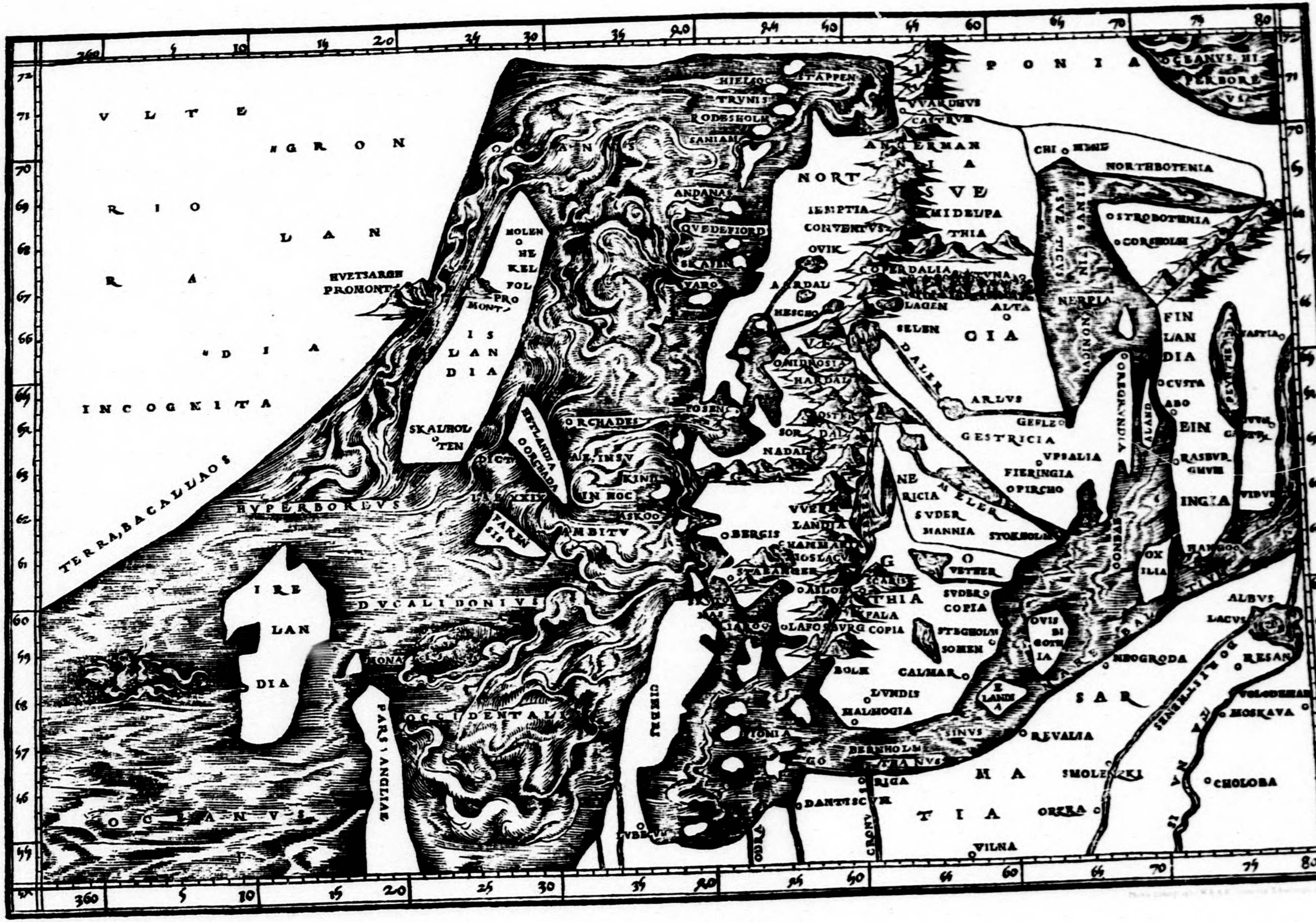
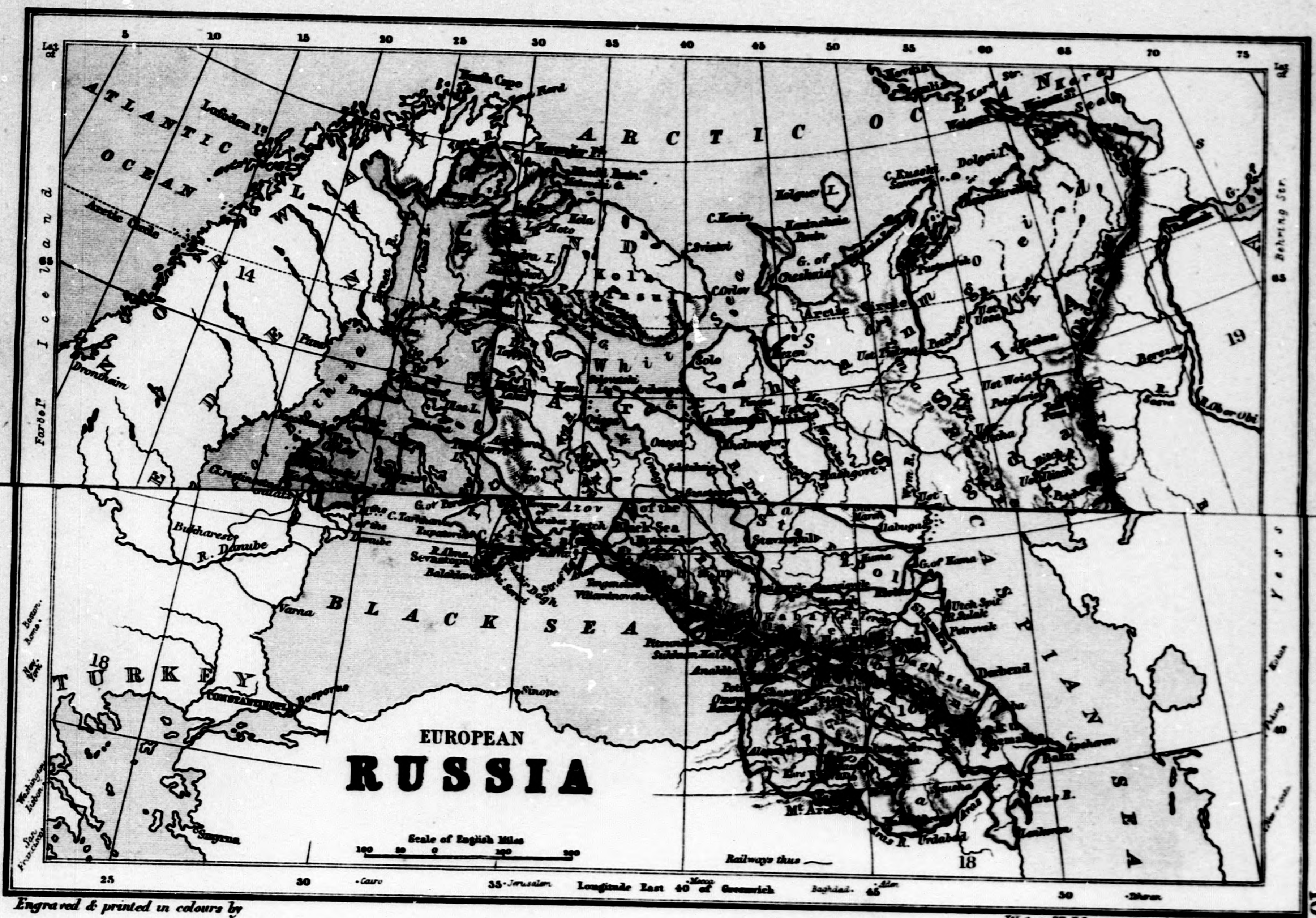

LAPONIA
OCEANVS HIPERBOREVS
VLTERIOR GRONLANDIA
INCOGNITA
TERRA BACALLAOS
HVETSARGH PROMONT
ISLANDIA
MOLEN
HEKELFOL
PROMONT
SKALHOLTEN
HIELSOC
STAPPEN
TRVNIS
RODESHOLM
SANIAM
ANDANAS
QVEDEFIORD
SKALIN
VARO
ANGERMANNIA
NORTVEGIA
SVECIA
IEMPTIA
CONVENTVS
OVIK
MIDELPADIA
CHIMENE
NORTHBOTENIA
OSTROBOTENIA
CORSHOLM
SINVS BOTNICVS
NERPIA
FINLANDIA
CVSTA
ABO
ALAND
RASBVRGHVM
WIBVRG
INGRIA
HANGO
COPERDALIA
LAGEN
ALTA
SELEN
DALER
ARLVS
NIDROSIA
HARDAL
ASKOO
BERGIS
STAFANGER
OSTERDAL
NADAL
GESTRICIA
GEFLE
VPSALIA
FIERINGIA
PIRCHO
NERICIA
SVDERMANNIA
STOKHOLM
WESTMANIA
GOTHIA
VETHER
SVDERCOPIA
STEGHOLM
SOMEN
CALMAR
LAFOSBVRG
LVNDIS
HALMOGIA
BORNHOLM
RIGA
DANTISCVM
VILNA
REVALIA
NEOGRODA
RESAN
VOLODEMAR
MOSKAVA
SMOLENZKI
CHOLOBA
ORZEA
SARMATIA
ALBVS LACVS
OVIS BIGOTHIA
EZELANDIA
HYPERBOREVS
ORCHADES
HETLANDIA
ORCHADA
FARENSIS
IRELANDIA
DVCALIDONIVS
MONA
OCCIDENTALIS
PARS ANGLIAE
OCEANVS
CIMBRIA
LVBECK
ODRA

MAP OF THE NORTH

FROM JAKOB ZIEGLER'S SCHONDIA, STRASBURG, 1532.



EUROPEAN

RUSSIA

ATLANTIC OCEAN
ARCTIC OCEAN
Loffoden Is.
North Cape
Arctic Circle
Iceland
Faroe I.s
Dronthaim
Christiania
Kola Peninsula
White Sea
Kolguev I.
C. Kanin
G. of Cheskaia
Archangel
Onega
Kholmogory
Mezen
Petchora
Ust Tzilma
Waigatz I.
Kara Str.
Nova Zemlia
Dolgoi I.
Ural
Arctic Circle
Beresov
Bukharest
R. Danube
Varna
BLACK SEA
Sea of Azov
C. Tarkhan
Eupatoria
Sevastopol
Balaklava
Kertch
Sinope
Bosporus
CONSTANTINOPLE
Smyrna
TURKEY
Anaklia
Poti
Daghestan
Derbend
Mt. Ararat
Aras R.
Urdabad
Lenkoran
Baku
C. Apsheron
CASPIAN SEA
Astrakhan
G. of Kama
Alabuga
Petrovsk
Uralsk
Zlatoust
Lat. of
Scale of English Miles
100 50 0 100 200
Railways thus
5
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
45
50
55
60
65
70
75
14
18
19
Longitude East 40 of Greenwich
Cairo
Jerusalem
Mecca
Baghdad
Aden
Teheran
Boston
Rome
New York
Washington
Lisbon
San Francisco
Peking
Behring Str.
Yess

Engraved & printed in colours by

W. & A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh & London.

1 Ah/

THE PRINCIPAL
Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques,
AND
Discoveries
OF
THE ENGLISH NATION.

Collected by

RICHARD HAKLUYT, PREACHER,

AND

Edited by

EDMUND GOLDSMID, F.R.H.S.

Edinburgh:
E. & G. GOLDSMID.
1885.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PAGE
I. Editor's Preface, . . . v
II. Facsimile Title-Page, . . . 1
III. Dedication to First Edition, . . 3
IV. Preface to First Edition, . . 9
V. Dedication to Second Edition, . . 16
VI. Preface to Second Edition, . . 23
VII. Εἰ'ς Ἀ'ποδημιας Βρετταvων πονημα Ριχαρδου του Ἁ'κλιτου, ... 40
VIII. In Nauales Richardi Hakluyti Commentarios, R. Mulcaster, . . 40
IX. Ejusdem in eundem, . . . 41
X. In eximium opus R. Hakluyti Gulielmi Camdeni Hexastichon, . . 42
XI. Marco Antonio Pigafeta ad Hakluytum, 42
XII. Extract from Oldys's Librarian, 1738. . 43
XIII. Extract from Zouch's Life of Sir Philip Sidney, ... 44
47

PAGE

1. The Conquests of Arthur, from Geoffrey of Monmouth, ... 45
2. A Testimonie of the Right and Appendances of the Crowne of the Kingdome of Britaine, taken out of Mr. Lambard, his Α'ρχαιονομία, 46
3. A Testimonie concerning the Conquests of Malgo, King of England, from Geoffrey of Monmouth, ... 49
4. The Conquest of the Isles of Anglesey and Man, by Edwin, King of Northumberland, from Bede's Ecclesiastical History, . 49
5. Another Testimonie by Bede to the same purpose, ... 50
6. The Voyage of Bertus, Generall of an Armie sent into Ireland by Ecfridus, King of Northumberland, from Bede's Ecclesiastical History, ... 51
7. The Voyage of Octher, made to the North-East parts beyond Norway, reported by himselfe unto Alfred, . . . 51
8. The Voyage of Octher out of his countrey of Halgoland into the Sound of Denmarke, . 54
9. Wolstan's Navigation in the East Sea (Baltic), from Hetha to Trusco, which is about Dantzig, ... 55

PAGE
10. The Navigation of King Edgar, from Florence of Worcester, Hoveden, and Dr. Dee, . 56
11. The Voyage of Edmund and Edward, the Sonnes of King Edmund Ironside, into Hungarie, from Florence of Worcester, 64
12. A Chronicle of the Kings of Man from Camden's Chorographia, . . . 65
13. The Marriage of the Daughter of Harold to Jeruslaus, Duke of Russia, from Saxo Grammaticus, ... 80
14. The State of the Shipping of the Cinque Ports from Edward the Confessour and William the Conqueror, and so downe to Edward I., from Lambert's Perambulations of Kent, 80
15. The roll of the huge Fleete of Edward III. before Calice, from Thomas Walsingham, 90
16. The Voyage of Nicholas de Linna, a Franciscan Frier, and an excellent Mathematician, of Oxford, to all the regions situate under the North Pole, in the yeere 1360, ... 93
17. A Testimonie of the learned Mathematician Master John Dee, touching the foresaid Voyage of Nicholas de Linna, . . 95
18. The Voyage of Henry, Earle of Derbie, after Duke of Hereford, and lastly King of England, by the name of Henry IV., into Prussia and Lettowe, against the Infidels, from Thomas of Walsingham, . . 96

PAGE

19. The Voyage of Thomas of Woodstocke, Duke of Gloucester, into Prussia, written by Thomas Walsingham, . . . 97

20. The verses of Geoffrey Chaucer, showing that the English Knights were wont in his time to travaile into Prussia and other heathen lands, ... 98

The original proceedings and successe of the northren, domestical, and forren trades and traffiques of this Isle of Britain, from the time of Nero the Emperor, who deceased in the yeere of our Lord 70, under the Romans, Britons, Saxons, and Danes, till the Conquest; and from the Conquest untill this present time, gathered out of the most authenticall histories and records of this Nation, viz.:

21. A Testimonie out of Cornelius Tacitus, proving London to have bene a famous Mart Town in the Reigne of Nero the Emperour, ... 99

22. A Testimonie out of Venerable Beda, proving London to have bene a citie of great Trafficke, not long after the beginning of the Saxons Reigne, . . 100

23. The League betweene Carolus Magnus and Offa, concerning safe trade of English Merchants, ... 100

PAGE
24. An ancient Testimonie as to the rank of Merchants, from Lambert's Perambulation of Kent 102

25. A Testimonie of certaine privileges obtained for English and Danish Merchants, of Conrad the Emperor, and John, Bishop of Rome, by Canutus the King, extracted out of a Letter of his, . . . 103

26. The flourishing state of the citie of London, in the Reigne of King Stephen, from William of Malmsbury, . . . 104

27. The Traffike of Bristow with Norway and Ireland, from William of Malmsbury . 105

28. The League betweene Henry II., and Frederick Barbarossa, from Radevicus and Otto Frisingenses, . . . 105

29. A generall safe-conduct granted to all forreine Marchants by King John, from the Records of the Tower, . . . 108

30. The Letters of King Henry III., unto Haquinus, King of Norway, concerning a Treaty of Peace, ... 109

31. A Mandate for the King of Norway, his ship called The Cog, . . . 110

32. A charter granted to the Merchants of Colen, by Edward I., . . . 111

33. The Charter of Lubeck, graunted by Henry III. 112

34. A Charter for the Marchants of Almaine, graunted by Edward I., . . . 114

PAGE

35. A Mandate of King Edward I., concerning outlandish Marchants, . . . 114

36. The Great Charter granted unto forreine Marchants by Edward I., . . . 114

37. The Letters of Edward II., unto Haquinus, King of Norway, concerning the English Marchants arrested in Germany, . . 125

38. An Ordinance of the Staple to be holden at one certaine place, . . . 135

39. A Charter of King Henry IV., to English Merchants resident in Prussia, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Germany, . . 139

40. A note touching the mighty ships of King Henry V., from a Chronicle in the Trinity Church of Winchester, . . . 141

41. A branch of a Statute made in the Reigne of Henry VI., for the trade to Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Finmark, . . 141

42. Another branch of a Statute made in the Reigne of Henry VI., concerning the English Marchants in Denmark, . . 142

43. The Process ot the Libel of English Policie, exhorting all England to Keepe the Sea, 143

44. A brief Commentarie of Island: wherein the errors of such as have written concerning this island are detected, and the Slanders and Reproches of certaine strangers, which

PAGE
they have used over boldly against the People of Island are confuted by Arngrimus Ionas, ... 177

BOOK I.

Section 1.
The Isle of Island, being severed from other countries an infinite distance, standeth farre into the ocean, etc., . . . 191

Section 2.
In this Island at the Summer Solstitium, there is no night, etc., ... 194

Section 3.
It is named of the ice, which continually cleaveth unto the north part thereof, . 196

Section 4.
The Island is so great that it containeth many people, etc., ... 199

Section 5.
The Island, the most part thereof, is mountainous and untilled, ... 200

Section 6.
There be in this Island mountaines lift up to the skies, whose tops being white with perpetual snowe, their roots boile with everlasting fire, etc., . . . 204

PAGE

SECTION 7.

The flame of Mount Hecla will not burne towe, neither is it quenched with water. . . . This place is thought by some to be the prison of uncleane soules, etc., . 214

SECTION 8.

Neare unto the mountaines there be three vast holes, the depth thereof cannot be discerned by any man; but there appeare to the beholders thereof certaine men at that instant plunged in, who answere their friends, exhorting them, with deepe sighs, to returne home, and, with that, they suddenly vanish away, . . . 225

SECTION 9.

But round about the Island there floateth ice. The inhabitants are of opinion that in Mount Hecla and in the ice there are places wherein the soules of their countrymen are tormented, . . . 229

SECTION 10.

If any man shall take a great quantity of this ice, and shall keepe it never so warily in a coffer or vessel, it wil, at the time when the ice thaweth about the Island, utterly vanish away, etc., ... 233

SECTION 11.

Not far from the Mountains there be four fountaines of a most contrary nature betweene themselves. The first converteth

PAGE

into a stone any body cast into it. The second is extremely cold. The third is sweeter than honey. The fourth is altogether deadly, etc., . . . 240

SECTION 12.

There are so great store of Fishes in this Island, that they are laid forth on piles to be sold in the open air, as high as the tops of houses, ... 247

SECTION 13.

They have most swift horses, which will run without ceasing a continual course, for the space of thirty leagues, . . . 248

SECTION 14.

There be seen neare unto Island huge whales. . . . . It sometimes falleth out that Mariners thinking these whales to be Islands, and casting out upon their backs, are often in danger of drowning, etc., . 252

BOOK. II.

Introduction, ... 256

SECTION 1.

Adalbert, Metropolitanie of Hamburg, saw the Islanders converted unto Christianity. . . . . At their humble request he appointed a certaine holy man named Islief to be their first Bishop, . . . 264

PAGE

Chronology of the Bishops of Schalholt, . 273

Chronology of the Bishops of Holen, . . 283

SECTION 2.

They inhabit caves. . . . and have many houses built with the bones of fishes, etc., 294

SECTION 3.

They and their cattell use all one house, etc., 300

SECTION 4.

The customs of the inhabitants, . 305

SECTION 5.

The King of Denmarke and Norway sendeth every year a Lieutenant into the country, . 306

SECTION 6.

All things are common among them, except their wives, ... 308

SECTION 7.

They make all one reckoning of their whelpes and of their children, etc., . . 313

SECTION 8.

They honour their Bishop as their King, etc., . 319

SECTION 9.

They live there for the most part upon fishes, etc., ... 320

SECTION 10.

The inhabitants do celebrate the acts of their ancestors. . . with songs, and they grave them in rocks. . . . There be divers found among them that be minstrels, etc., 322

PAGE

SECTION 11.

Joachim Leo and his slanders on Iceland, . 324

SECTION 12.

Adulteries and Whoredoms are not only public and common vices. . . . but are not accounted by them for vices, . . 326

SECTION 13.

The treachery of the inhabitants, . . 328

SECTION 14.

The good wife of the house reacheth to every one a Chamber-pot . . . at Banquets. . . . Ten persons, men and women, lie together in one bed, etc., . . . 330

SECTION 15.

The food of the inhabitants, . . . 334

SECTION 16.

The simple manners of the inhabitants, and their Commerce, etc., . . . 340

45. A Letter written by Gudbrandus Thorlacius, Bishop of Holen in Island, concerning the Ancient State of Island and Gronland, . 344

PAGE

I. An Epistle from Yuo of Narbona, containing the confession of an Englishman touching the Tartars, recorded by Mathew Paris . . . 5

II. Libellus Joannis de Plano Carpini

Prologus 9

Chap. 1 *De Terra* Tartarorum 9

2 De Formis Tartarorum, de Conjugio, etc. 11

3 De Cultu et Ceremoniis 12

4 De Consuetudinibus et Cibis . . . 16

5 De ipsorum Imperio 20

6 Qualiter se habent in Præliis . . . 29

7 De terris quas subjugarunt . . . 33

8 Quomodo bello occuratur Tartaris . . 37

III. The long and wonderful Voyage of Friar John de Plano Carpini, sent Ambassadour by Pope Innocentius the IIII., An. Do. 1246, to the great Can of Tartaria

The first sending of Certaine Friers unto the Tartars from the 32. booke of Vincentius Beluicensis his Speculum Historiale, beginning at the second chapter . . . 43

Chap. 3 Of the situation of the Tartars land . . 45

4 Of their forme, habite, and manner of living 47

5 Of their manners both good and bad . 49

6 Of their lawes and customes . . . 52

PAGE

7 Of their superstitious traditions . . 55
8 Of the beginning of their Empire . . 57
9 Of the mutuall victories betweene them and the people of Kythay . . . 60
10 Of their warre against India . . . 63
11 How being repelled by monstrous men shapen like dogs, they overcame the people of Burithabeth 64
12 How they had the repulse at the Caspian Mountaynes 67
13 Of the Statutes of Chingis Cham, of his death, of his sonnes etc. . . . 69
14 Of the authoritie of the Emperour and of his dukes 71
15 Of the election of Emperour Occoday, and of the Expedition of Duke Bathy . . 73
16 Of the Expedition of Duke Cyrpodan . 76
17 How the Tartars behave themselves in warre 78
18 How they may be resisted . . . 81
19 Of the journey of Frier John unto the first guard of the Tartars 84
20 How he and his company were at the first received of the Tartars 87
21 How they were received at the court of Corrensa 89
22 How we were received at the court of Bathy 92
23 How departing from Bathy, they passed through the land of Comania, and of the Kangittæ 94
24 How they came unto the first court of the new Emperor 97
25 Howe they came unto Cuyne, himselfe . 98
26 How Cuyne enterteined the Friers . . 101
27 How he was exalted to his Empire . . 103
28 Of his age and demeanour and of his seale 105
29 Of the admission of the Friers unto the Emperour 107
30 Of the place where the Emperour and his mother tooke their leaves one of another 109

PAGE
31 How the friers gave and received letters 111
32 How they were licensed to depart . . 114
33 How they returned homewards . . 116

IV. The Journal of Frier William Rubruquis unto the East parts of the World. An. Dom. 1253.

Chap. 1 Introduction 120
2 Of the Tartars and of their houses . . 126
3 Of their beds and of their drinking pots . 129
4 Of their drinkes 131
5 Of their foode 133
6 How they make their drinke called Cosmos 135
7 Of the beastes which they eat, of their garments, and of their manner of hunting . 138
8 Of the fashion of cutting their haire, and of the attire of their women . . . 140
9 Of the Tartarian Women and their marriages 143
10 Of their execution of justice and judgment, and of their deaths and burials . . 145
11 Of our first entrance among the Tartars . 148
12 Of the court of Scacatai, etc. . . . 151
13 Howe the Alanians came unto us . . 154
14 Of a Saracen which said he would be baptized, etc. 157
15 Of our afflictions which we sustained, etc. 161
16 Of the dominion of Sartach . . . 164
17 Of the court of Sartach 168
18 How they were given in charge to goe unto Baatu, etc. 172
19 Howe Sartach, etc., doe reverence unto Christians 175
20 Of the Russians, Hungarians, and Alanians, etc. 179
21 Of the court of Baatu, etc. . . . 183
22 Of our journey towards the court of Mangu Can 189
23 Of the river of Iagac, and of divers regions 192
24 Of the miseries which we sustained in our journey 195

PAGE

25 How Ban was put to death; and concerning the habitation of the Dutch men . . 199
26 How the Nestorians, etc., are joined together 202
27 Of their temples and idols, etc. . . 206
28 Of divers and sundry nations; and of certaine people which were wont to eate their owne parents 211

I. A briefe treatise of the great Duke of Moscovia, his genealogie, being taken out of the Moscovites manuscript chronicles, written by a Polacke 5
II. Ordinances, instructions, etc., for the intended voyage for Cathay, compiled by Sebastian Cabota, Esquier, in the yere of our Lord God 1553 16
III. Copy of the letters which Edward the Sixt sent to the kings, etc., inhabiting the north east parts of the worlde, in the yeere of Christ 1553 27
IV. Copy of a note found written in the Speranza, which wintered in Lappia, where Sir Hugh Willoughby and all his companie died, being frozen to death. Anno 1553 29
Sub-section I.
The names of the ships, their captaines, and mariners 29
Sub-section II.
The Juramentum, or othe, ministred to the captaine 32
Sub-section III.
The othe ministred to the maister of the ship 32
V. The booke of the great and Mighty Emperor of Russia, drawen by Richard Chancelour 40
VI. The testimonie of M. Richard Eden [concerning Clement Adams's NAVIGATION BY THE NORTH EAST] 51

PAGE

VII. The newe Navigation and discoverie of the kingdome of Moscovia by the North East written in Latine by Clement Adams 52

Sub-section I.
Of Moscovie, which is also called Russia . 62
Sub-section II.
Of Mosco, the chiefe citie of the kingdome, and of the Emperour thereof . . . 64
Sub-section III.
Of the discipline of warre among the Russes . 67
Sub-section IV.
Of the ambassadours of the Emperour of Moscovie 69
Sub-section V.
Novogorode 69
Sub-section VI.
Jeraslave 70
Sub-section VII.
Vologda 70
Sub-section VIII.
Plesco 70
Sub-section IX.
Colmogro 70
Sub-section X.
Of Controversies in lawe and how they are ended 71
Sub-section XI.
Of punishments upon thieves . . . 72
Sub-section XII.
Of their religion 72
Sub-section XIII.
Of the Moscovites that are idolators, dwelling neere to Tartaria 75
Sub-section XIV.
Of the forme of their private houses, and of the apparel of the people . . . 76
Sub-section XV.
The conclusion to Queen Marie . . . 76

PAGE

VIII. The copie of the Duke of Moscovie and Emperour of Russia, his letters sent to King Edward the Sixt . 77

IX. The letters of King Philip and Queenie Marie to Ivan Vasilowich the Emperour of Russia 78

X. Articles for the commission of the merchants of this country residant in Russia and at the Wardhouse, for the second voyage, 1555. 80

Sub-section I.

The othe ministred to the servants of the fellowship 87

XI. The letter of M. George Killingworth and . . . . touching their enterteinement in their second voyage anno 1555 . . 88

Addendum.

Notice of coines, weights and measures used in Russia written by John Hasse, in the yeere 1554. 93

XII. A copie of the first privileges graunted by the Emperour of Russia to the English Marchants, 1556. . . . 96

XIII. The charter of the Marchants of Russia granted upon the discoverie of the saide countrey by King Philip and Queene Marie 101

XIV. Certaine instructions delivered in the third voyage for Russia. Anno 1556 112

XV. The navigation and discoverie toward the river of Ob, made by Master Steven Burrough in the yere 1556 116

XVI. Certaine notes unperfectly written by Richard Johnson, servant to Master Richard Chancelour, which was in the discoverie of Vaigatz, 1556 138

XVII. A discourse of the honorable receiving into England of the first ambassador from the Emperor oi Russia in the yere of Christ, 1556, registred by Master John Incent, protonotarie 141

XVIII. The voyage of M. Stephen Burrough an. 1557, which was sent to seeke the Bona

PAGE

Esperanza, the Bona Confidentia, and the Philip and Mary, which were not heard of the yeere before 152

XIX. Instructions given to the masters and mariners passing this yeere 1577, toward the bay of St. Nicholas in Russia 163

XX. A letter of the company of the marchants adventurers to Russia, unto George Killingworth, Richard Gray, and Henry Lane 166

XXI. A letter of Master Thomas Hawtrey to the Worshipfull Master Henrie Lane (1557) 176

XXII. A letter of Master Richard Gray to Master Henrie Lane (1558) 178

XXIII. A letter of Thomas Alcock to Richard Gray and Henrie Lane (1558) 179

XXIV. A letter of Master Anthonie Jenkinson to Master Henrie Lane (1559) 182

XXV. A letter of the Muscovie Companie to Henry Lane, Christopher Hudson, and Thomas Glover (1560) . 183

XXVI. Another letter to the foresaid parties (1560) . . 188

XXVII. The manner of Justice by lots in Russia written by Master Henrie Lane 191

XXVIII. The first voyage made by Master Anthonie Jenkinson toward the land of Russia 192

XXIX. The voyage wherein Osep Napea the Moscovite Ambassadour returned home into his countrey . . . . and a large description of the maners of the countrey . 202

Sub-section I.

Of the Emperour 213

Sub-section II.

Of their religious men 214

Sub-section III.

Of their baptisme 217

Sub-section IV.

Of their matrimonie 218

PAGE
Sub-section V.
Of their buriall 220
Sub-section VI.
The names of certaine sortes of drinkes used in Russia 221
XXX. The voyage of Master Anthony Jenkinson to the citie of Boghar (1558), written by himselfe 222
Addendum (*a*).
The latitudes of certaine places of Russia . 247
Addendum (*b*).
The way from Astrakan to Cathaya . . . 247
Addendum (*c*).
Another way more sure to traveile . . . 248
Addendum (*d*).
Another route 248
Addendum (*e*).
Another way neere the sea coast . . . 250
Addendum (*f*),
Certaine countries of the Samoeds . . . 250
Addendum (*g*).
The way from Tauris to Campion in Cathay . 251
XXXI. A letter of Sigismond king of Polonia to Elizabeth 251
XXXII. The queenes letters to the Emperour of Russia (1561) 253
XXXIII. The queenes letters to the great Sophy of Persia 257
XXXIV. A remembrance of the company of merchants trading into Russia to Anthony Jenkinson at his departure for Persia 260
XXXV. A compendious declaration of the journey of A. Jenkinson from London into the land of Persia anno 1561. . . . 264
XXXVI. The second voyage into Persia, made by Thomas Alcock in anno 1563. written by Richard Cheinie . 285

The third voyage into Persia by Richard Johnson, Alexander Kitchin and Arthur Edwards.

37. A letter of Arthur Edwards to Thomas

PAGE
38. Another letter of Arthur Edwards to Sir Thomas Lodge, touching the successe of Richard Johnson in the third voyage into Persia 289
39. A letter of Arthur Edwards to the (Mus-)covy) companie, showing his accesse unto the Emperour of Persia . . . 296
40. Another letter of Arthur Edwards written on his return out of Persia 304
Sub-section I.
The wares which the Shaugh has written to be sent him 306
Sub-section II.
Distances of certain places in Russia . . . 307
Sub-section III.
The way and distances from St. Nicholas to the Caspian Sea 308
XLI. The way by water from Colmogro to Novogrod, by Thomas Southam 310
XLII. An act for the corporation of Merchants adventurers, Anno. 1566. 319
XLIII. A very briefe remembrance of a voyage made by Anthony Jenkinson from London, to Moscovia in the yeere 1566. 326

I. The priviledges graunted by the Emperour of Russia to the English merchants of that company. 1567 . . . 5
II. A letter of Henrie Lane to Richard Hakluit concerning the first ambassage from Russia to Queene Elizabeth . 9
III. A letter of Queene Elizabeth to the Emperour of Russia 12
IV. The ambassage of Thomas Randolfe to the Emperour of Russia 12
V. A copie of the priviledges granted by the Emperor of Russia to the English merchants 1569 . . . 17

PAGE
VI. Other special grants by his Majesty 26
VII. A commission unto James Bassendine, James Woodcock, and Richard Browne in a voyage of discovery to the eastwards 26
Certaine letters in verse by Master George Turberville
    8. To his speciall friend Master Edward Dancie 31
    9. To Spencer 32
    10. To Parker 35
XI. The fourth voyage into Persia made by Arthur Edwards, written by Lawrence Chapman 38
XII. Notes concerning this fourth voyage into Persia, gathered by Richard Willes from the mouth of Arthur Edwards 44
  Sub-section I.
    The articles of the second priviledge, which are to be annexed unto the former priviledge 46
  Sub-section II.
    The maner how the Christians become Busormen, and forsake their religion . . 48
  Sub-section III.
    Of the tree which beareth Bombasin cotton, or Gossampine 48
  Sub-section IV.
    The writing of the Persians 49
XIII. The fift voyage into Persia made by Thomas Bannister and Geoffrey Ducket, written by P. I. from the mouth of Lionel Plumtree 49
XIV. Further observations concerning the state of Persia, written by Geoffrey Ducket 55
  Sub-section I.
    Of the name of the Sophy of Persia, and why he is called the Shaugh 56
  Sub-section II.
    Of the religion of the Persians 57

PAGE
XV. The copy of a letter to the Emperour of Russia by Christopher Hodsdon and William Burrough, 1570 . 63
XVI. A letter of Richard Uscombe to Henrie Lane, touching the burning of the citie of Mosco by the Crimme Tartar 65
XVII. A note of the proceeding of Anthonie Jenkinson from July 1571 to July 1572 . 65
Addendum.
The names of such countries as Anthony Jenkinson travelled unto from 1546 to 1572 85
XVIII. A letter of James Alday to Michael Lock touching a trade to be established in Lappia 86
XIX. A request of an honest merchant to be directed in the course of killing the whale 91
XX. The answer thereto 91
XXI. The deposition of William Burrough to certaine interrogations ministred unto him concerning the Narve, Kegor, etc., to what king or prince they do appertaine and are subject 92
Addendum (*a*).
Certaine reasons to disswade the use of a trade to the Narve aforesaide, by way through Sweden 95
Addendum (*b*).
A remembrance of advise given to the merchants touching a voyage for Cola 95
XXII. Dedicatorie Epistle to Queen Elizabeth, written by Master William Burrough and annexed unto his mappe of Russia 97
XXIII. The Queene's letter to Shaugh Thamas (1579) . 99
XXIV. Advertisements and reports of the sixth voyage into Persia and Media, gathered out of sundrie letters written by Christopher Burrough, and sent to his uncle Master William Burrough 101
Addendum (a).
Observations of the latitudes and meridian

PAGE
altitudes of divers places in Russia. Anno 1581 128
Addendum (b).
Certaine directions given by M. Richard Hakluit to M. Morgan Hubblethorne, dier, sent into Persia 1579 . . . 129
XXV. Commission given by the company of English merchants to Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman for a voyage by them to be made for discovery of Cathay 1580 131
Sub-section I.
Instructions and notes to be observed in the purposed voyage, given by M. William Burrough 137
Sub-section II.
Certaine briefe advises given by Master Dee to Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman . 140
XXVI. Notes in writing that were given by W. Richard Hakluyt to Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman.
Sub-section I.
What respect of islands is to be had and why . 141
Sub-section II.
Respect of havens and harborrowes . . 141
Sub-section III.
Respect of fish and certaine other things . 143
Sub-section IV.
The islands to be noted with their commodities and wants 143
Sub-section V.
If a straight be found, what is to be done, and what great importance it may be of . 143
Sub-section VI.
Which way the savage may bee made able to purchase our cloth and other their wants 144
Sub-section VII.
Not to venture the losse of any one man . 144
Sub-section VIII.
To bring home besides merchandize certaine trifles 144

PAGE
Nichols concerning the preparation of their voyage to Persia . . . 288
Sub-section IX.
To note their (foreign nations) force by sea and by land 145
Sub-section X.
Things to be marked to make conjectures by . 145
Sub-sections XI. to XXXVIII.
Things to be caried with you whereof more or lesse is to bee caried for a shew of our commodities to be made . 146-151
XXVII. A letter of Gerardus Mercator to Richard Hakluyt, touching the intended discovery of the North East Passage 154
XXVIII. The discoverie made by Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman of the Northeast parts beyond the island of Vaigatz, written by Hugh Smith 157
XXIX. Instructions made by the company of English merchants for a voyage to S. Nicholas in Russia, (1582) 175
Sub-section I.
The opinion of Master W. Burrough as to fittest time for the departure towards St. Nicholas in Russia 177
XXX. A copie of the commission given to Sir Jerome Bowes, authorizing him her majesties ambassadour unto the Emperour of Russia 180
XXXI. A letter from Her Highnesse to the Great Duke of Russia 183
XXXII. A briefe discourse of the voyage of Sir Jerome Bowes in the yeere 1583 . 184
Addendum.
The maner of the preferring of suites in Russia 196
XXXIII. A letter of Henrie Lane conteining a briefe discourse of that which passed in the North East Discovery, for the space of 33 yeres 197
XXXIV. The most solemne and magnificent coronation of Pheodor Ivanowich in the yeere 1584, seene by

PAGE
Jerome Horsey, where with is also joined his journey overland from Mosco to Emden 202
XXXV. Pheodor Ivanowich, the new Emperors letter of privilege to the English merchants, 1586 . . . 211
XXXVI. The ambassage of M. Giles Fletcher to the Emperor of Russia, 1588 216

XXXVII. The booke of the Russe Common-Wealth by Giles Fletcher

Section I.
The description of the countrey of Russia, with the bredth, length, and names of the shires 219
Section II.
Of the soile and climate 221
Section III.
The native commodities of the countrey . . 224
Section IV.
The chiefe cities of Russia 230
Section V.
Of the maner of crowning or inauguration of the Russe Emperours . . . 233
Section VI.
The style where with he is invested at his coronation 234
Section VII.
Their forces for the wars with their chief officers and their salaries 235
Section VIII.
Of their mustering and levying of forces, maner of armour, etc. 239
Section IX.
Of their marching, charging and other martial discipline 241
Section X.
Of their colonies and maintaining of their conquests 243
Section XI.
Of the Tartars and other borderers to the country of Russia, etc. 246

PAGE

Section XII.

Of the Permians, Samoites, and Lappes . . 256

Sub-section (a).

The description of the regions, people and rivers lying north and east from Moscovia, likewise the description of other countreys and regions, even unto the empire of the great Can of Cathay, taken out of Sigismundus ab Herbertstein 259

Sub-section (b).

A note gathered by John Baptista Ramusius, out of Abilfada Ishmael, concerning the trending of the ocean sea from China northward . . 265

Section XIII.

The Emperor's private or houshold officers . 266

Section XIV.

Of the private behaviour or qualitie of the Russe people 267

XXXVIII. The Lord Boris Pheodorowich his letter to William Burghley, Lord High Treasurer of England . 271

XXXIX. The queenes majesties letter to Pheodor Ivanowich (1591) 273

XL. The queenes majesties letters to Boris Pheodorowich . 277

XLI. Letter from Lord Burghley to Boris Pheodorowich . 279

XLII. Letter from Pheodor Ivanowich to Queen Elizabeth 281

XLIII. Letter from Boris Pheodorowich to Queen Elizabeth 282

XLIV. Letter from Boris Pheodorowich to Lord Burghley 284

XLV. A letter given to the English merchants by Pheodor Ivanowich 286

XLVI. M. Garlands commission unto Thomas Simkinson for the bringing of M. John Dee to the Emperour of Russia his court 291

XLVII. A letter from Edward Garland to M. John Dee for the same purpose 292

XLVIII. A branch of a letter from M. John Merick, touching the death of Pheodor Ivanowich 293

XLIX. A letter from John Balak to Gerardus Mercator, concerning the North East 297

L. A testimonie of the north eastern discoverie made by the English, by John Baptista Ramusius . . . 301

PAGE
LI. The testimonie of Gerardus Mercator, touching the same 302
LII. The testimonie of Joannes Metellus Sequanus, concerning the same 303

PAGE

I. A Catalogue of the Great Masters of the Order of the Dutch Knights, commonly called the Hospitalaries of Ierusalem: and what great exploites euery of the saide Masters hath achieued, etc. . . . 1

II. The Oration or speech of the ambassadours sent from Conradus de Zoluer master generall of the land of Prussia, vnto Richard the Second, King of England, etc. 14

III. An agreement made by the ambassadours of England and Prussia, confirmed by King Richard the Second 19

IV. The letters of Conradus de Iungingen, master generall of Prussia, written vnto Richard the Second, King of England, in the yeere 1398, for the renouncing of a league and composition concluded betweene England and Prussia, in regard of manifold iniuries offered vnto the Prussians 24

V. A briefe relation of William Esturmy, and Iohn Kington concerning their ambassages into Prussia, and the Hanstownes 26

VI. Compositions and Ordinances concluded between the messengers of Frater Conradus de Iungingen master generall of Prussia: and the Chancelor and treasurer of the realme of England 1403 34

VII. The letters of the chancelor and treasurer of England, vnto Frater Conradus de Iungingen, master generall of Prussia 1403 35

PAGE
VIII. The letters of King Henry the 4. vnto Conradus de Iungingen the master general of Prussia, for mutual conuersation and intercourse of traffique to continue between the marchants of England and of Prussia, for a certeine terme of time 37
IX. The answer of Conradus thereto 40
X. An agreement made betweene King Henry the fourth and Conradus de Iungingen 42
XI. An agreement made betweene King Henry the fourth and the common societie of the Marchants of the Hans 49
XII. A letter of Henry the fourth vnto Frater Conradus de Iungingen 71
XIII. Letter from Frater Wernerus de Tettingen to Sir William Sturmy 73
XIV. The letters of Henry the 4. King of England vnto Vlricus de Iungingen, 1408 74
XV. The answer of Vlricus de Iungingen thereto . . 77
XVI. The letters of King Henry the 4. to Frater Vlricus . 81
XVII. A new concord concluded between King Henry the 4. and Vlricus de Iungingen 83
XVIII. That the Brittons were in Italie and Greece with the Cimbrians and Gaules, before the Incarnation of Christ. (Camden) . . . . , . 90
XIX. The Trauaile of Helena 90
XX. The life and trauailes of Alexander the great, Emperour and King of Britaine 92
XXI. Certaine Englishmen sent to Constantinople by the French King to Iustinian the Emperour, about the yeere of Christ, 500. (Procopius) 95
XXII. The life and trauailes of Iohn Erigena . . . 96
XXIII. Englishmen were the guard of the Emperours of Constantinople in the reign of Iohn the sonne of Alexius Comnenus . . . . - 97
XXIV. The woorthy voiage of Richard the first, K. of England into Asia, for the recouerie of Ierusalem out of the hands of the Saracens. (Iohn Foxe) 98

PAGE

XXV. Epitaphium Richardi primi regis Anglorum apud Fontem Ebraldi 117

XXVI. Epitaphium eiusdem vbi viscera eius requiescunt . 117

XXVII. The Trauailes of Gulielmus Peregrinus . . 117

XXVIII. The comming of the Emperour of Constantinople called Baldwin into England in the yere 1247 . . 118

XXIX. Confirmatio treugarum inter regem Angliæ Eduardum quartum, et Ioannem secundum Regem Portugalliæ, 1482 118

XXX. The voyage of Matthew Gourney against the Moores of Algier in Barbarie and Spaine. (Camden) . . 119

XXXI. The comming of Lyon King of Armenia into England in the yere 1386 120

XXXII. How the King of Armenia returned out of England 121

XXXIII. The memorable victories in diuers parts of Italie of Iohn Hawkwood Englishman in the reign of Richard the second 124

XXXIV The comming of the Emperor of Constantinople into England, 1400 124

XXXV. A briefe relation of the siege and taking of the Citie of Rhodes, by Sultan Soliman the great Turke, translated out of French into English at the motion of the Reuerend Lord Thomas Dockwray, great Prior of the order of Ierusalem in England, in the yeere 1524 125

Sub-section 1 The occasions why the great Turke came to besiege the Citie of Rhodes . . . 125

2 How the great Turke caused the passages to be kept, that none should beare tidings of his hoste to Rhodes 129

3 How the lord great master consulted with the lordes for prouision of the towne . . 130

4 Of the prouision for vitailes and ordinance of warre 130

5 How a Brigantine was sent to Candie for wine, and of diuers ships that came to helpe the towne 131

PAGE

6 How the corne was shorne downe halfe ripe and brought into the towne for feare of the Turkes hoste 132
7 How the great master caused generall musters to be made, and sent a vessell to the Turkes nauie, of whom he receiued a letter . 133
8 The copie of the letter that the great Turke sent to the lord great master, and to the people of the Rhodes 135
9 How the Turkes came to land in the Isle of Lango, and were driuen to their ships againe by the Prior of S. Giles 136
10 How part of the nauie and armie of the great Turke came before the citie of Rhodes . 136
11 The number and names of the vessels that came to besiege Rhodes 137
12 How the lord great Master made his petition before the image of S. Iohn and offered him the Keyes of the towne . . . 138
13 How the women slaues would haue set fire to the towne 139
14 How the Turkes layd their artillerie about the towne, and of the maner and quantitie of their pieces and gunshot 139
15 How the captaine Gabriel Martiningo came to the succor of Rhodes, and all the slaues were in danger to be slaine 141
16 How the great Turke arriued in person before Rhodes 141
17 Of the marueilous mounts that the Turks made afore the towne, and how the Captaines were ordered in the trenches . . 142
18 Of the politike repaires and defences that the ingenious Captaine Gabriel Martiningo made within the towne against the breaches in the walles 145
19 Of the mines that the Turks made: and how they ouerthrew part of the bulwarke of England 146
20 How the Turks assailed the bulwarke of England, and how they were driven away 147

PAGE
21 How Sir Iohn Brough Turcoplier of England was slaine at an assault of the English bulwarke 148
22 Of the terrible mine of the posterne of Auuergne 149
23 How the bulwarke of Spaine was lost and woone again 149
24 How the great Turke for anger that he could not get the towne, would have put his chiefe captaine to death, and how they made 11 mines vnder the bulwarke of England 151
25 How the Turks were minded to haue gone their way, and of the traitours within the towne, and of many great assaults . . . 152
26 How the enemies assailed the posternes of Prouence and Italy, and how they were driven away 156
27 How the treason of Sir Andrew de Merall was knowen, and of the maruellous assaults that the Turks made 157
28 How the Turks got the plaine ground of Spaine 159
29 How a Geneuois came to the gate of the towne for to speake for a treaty and deliuerance of the same 159
30 How the great Turke sent two of his men to the towne, to haue it by intreating. And how the lord great master sent two knights to him, to know his assurance 163
31 How the Ambassadours of Rhodes spake with the great Turke, and what answere they had 165
32 How one of the Ambassadours made answere of his message, and how the Commons would not agree to yeeld the towne. . . 166
33 How the lord great master sent two ambassadors for the Commons to the great Turke 166
34 How the Turke began the assault, and how the Commons agreed to yeeld the towne . 167

PAGE

35 An answere to such as will make question for the deliuerance of the citie of Rhodes . 170
36 How the citie of Rhodes was yeelded to the great Turke, and of the euill behauiour of certaine Turkes 170
37 Lenuoy of the Translator 173
XXXVI. An Ambassage from Don Ferdinando, brother to the Emperor Charles V. vnto King Henry the VIII., in the yeere 1527, desiring his aide against Solyman the great Turke 174
XXXVII. The antiquitie of the trade with English ships into the Leuant . . . 175
XXXVIII. A letter of Henry the VIII. to John, King of Portugall 176
XXXIX. A voyage made with the shippes called the Holy Crosse and the Mathew Gonson, to the isles of Candia and Chio, about the yeere 1534 179
XL. Another voyage to the isles of Candia and Chio, made by the shippe the Mathew Gonson about the yeere 1535 180
XLI. The Epitaph of the valiant Esquire M. Peter Read in the South ile of Saint Peters Church in Norwich . 181
XLII. A discourse of the trade of Chio, in the yeere 1569, made by Master Campion 181
XLIII. The first voyage of Robert Baker to Guinie with the Minion and Primrose, set out in October 1562 . 185
XLIV. The second voyage to Guinie set out in the moneth of November 1563 199
XLV. The voyage of M. Roger Badenham with the great barke Aucher to Candia and Chio, in the yeere 1550 220
XLVI. Another discourse of the trade to Chio in the yeere 1569 made by Gaspar Campion 224
XLVII. The true report of the siege and taking of Famagusta, a citie in Cyprus 1571, Englished out of Italian by William Malim 226
XLVIII. A briefe description of the iland of Cyprus . . 231
Sub-section 1 In Turchas precatio 233
XLIX. The true report of all the successe of Famagusta, made by the Earle Nestor

PAGE
Martiningo, vnto the renowmed prince the Duke of Venice 234
Sub-section 1 The first assault 240
2 The second assault 241
3 The third assault 242
4 The fourth assault 243
5 The fift assault 247
6 The sixt and last assault 247
7 The captaines of the Christians slaine in Famagusta 253
8 The names of Christians made slaues . . 254
9 The Fortifiers 255
10 Turkish Captains at Famagusta . . . 255
L. The renuing and increasing of an ancient and commodious trade in the Levant 256
LI. The letters sent from Murad Can to Elizabeth . . 257
LII. The answer of her Maiestie to the aforesaid letters . 259
LIII. The Charter of the priuileges granted to the English, dated in Iune 1500 264
LIV. Her Maiesties letter to the Turke, 1581 . . . 273
LV. The letters patent graunted by Her Maiestie to Sir Edward Osborne and other Marchants of London for their trade into the dominions of the great Turke, 1681 . 283
LVI. The Queenes Commission to Master William Hareborne, to be her Maiesties ambassadour in the partes of Turkie, 1582 283
LVII. The Queenes letters to the great Turke, 1582 . 286
LVIII. A letter of the Queenes Maiestie to Ali Bassa, the Turkes High Admirall 289
LIX. A briefe remembrance of things to be indeuoured at Constantinople, &c., touching our clothing and our dying, drawen by M. Richard Hakluyt of the Middle Temple, 1582 290
LX. Remembrance for Master S., &c. 291
LXI. The voyage of the Susan of London to Constantinople 302
LXII. A letter of Mustapha Chaus to the Queene . . 315
LXIII. A letter of M. Harborne to Mustapha . . . 315

PAGE
LXIV. A petition exhibited to the viceroy for reformation of sundry iniuries offered our nation in Morea . . . 316
LXV. A commandement to Patrasso in Morea 317
LXVI. A commandement for Chio 318
LXVII. A commandement for Baliabadram . . . 319
LXVIII. A commandement for Egypt 320
LXIX. A commandement to the Cadie of Alexandria . 320
LXX. A commandement to the Bassa of Alexandria . . 321
LXXI. A commandement to the Cadies of Metelin and Rhodes 321
LXXII. A commandement for Aleppo 322
LXXIII. The voyage of Master Henry Austell to Constantinople 323
Sub-section 1 The Turkes Passport for Captaine Austell . 330
LXXIV. A Passport of the Earle of Leicester for Thomas Foster to Constantinople 331
LXXV. The returne of Master William Hareborne from Constantinople ouerland to London, 1588 . . . 331
LXXVI. The priuilege of Peter the prince of Moldauia graunted to the English Marchants 333
LXXVII. The letters of Sinan Bassa to Queene Elizabeth 354
LXXVIII. A letter written by the Empresse, wife of the Grand Signior Murad Can to the Queene, 1594 . 337

I. Dedication to the First Edition (of Vol. II., 1599) . 7
II. The voyage of Macham on Englishman, wherein he the first of any man discovered . . . . Madeira, ... written by Antonio Galuano 17
III. A briefe note concerning an ancient trade of the English marchants to the Canarie Ilands, &c. . . 19
IV. A Description of . . . . the Ilands of Canaria, . . . , . composed by Thomas Nicols, &c. 20

PAGE

V. The Fardle of Facions, conteining the auncìente Maners, Customs, and Lawes, of the Peoples enhabiting . . . . Affricke and Asia (1555) 31

(a) To the Righte Honourable the Erle of Arundel, &c. 33

(b) The Preface of the Authour 35

The First Parte.

Chapitre 1 The true opinion of the deuine, concernyng the beginnyng of man 42

2 The false opinion of the Philosophre concernyng the beginnyng of man 45

3 The deuision and limites of the Earthe . . 47

4 Of Ethiope, and the auncient maners of that nation 49

5 Of Aegipte, and the auncient maners of that people 54

6 Of the Pœni and thother peoples of Aphrique . 81

The Seconde Parte.

Chapitre 1 Of Asie and the peoples most famous therein . 92

2 Of Panchaia, and the maners of the Panqueis . 96

3 Of Assiria and Babilonia, and the maners of those peoples 98

4 Of Iewry, and of the life, maners, and Lawes of the Iewes 103

5 Of Media, and the maners of the Medes . . 109

6 Of Parthia, and the maner of the Parthians . 110

7 Of Persia, and the maners and ordinaunces of the Persians 112

8 Of Ynde, and the vncouth trades and maners of life of the people therein 116

9 Of Scithia, and their sterne maners . . . 128

10 Of Tartarie, and the maners and power of the Tartarians 136

11 Of Turcquie, and of the maners, lawes, and ordenaunces of the Turcques . . . 149

12 Of the Christians, of their firste commyng vp, their ceremonies and ordenaunces . . 160

VI. The Conquest of the Grand Canaries, &c. 181

PAGE
VII. The Summary or briefe declaration of the Admirals departing towardes the West Indies 201
VIII. The Worldes Hydrographical Discription, ... published by J. Dauis of Sandrudg by Dartmouth . . . . anno 1595, May 27 . . . . , . . . 205
Sub-section 1 To the Righte Honorable Lordes of Her Maiesties Most Honorable Priuie Counsayle 207
2 The World's Hydrographical Obiections against al northerly Discoueries . . 209
3 To proue a passage by the norwest, etc. . 210
4 By experience of Trauellers to proue this passage 211
5 To proue the premisses by the attemptes of our owne countrymen, besides others . 212
6 By late experience to proue that America is an Iland, etc. 214
7 That the Ayre in colde regions is tollerable . 225
8 That vnder the Pole is the place of greatest dignitie 228
9 What benefites would growe vnto Englande by this passage being discouered . . . 229

I. A voyage to the Azores with the Serpent and Mary Sparke, belonging to Sir W. Raleigh, written by John Evesham 5
II. A briefe Relation of the notable service performed by Sir Francis Drake vpon the Spanish Fleete prepared in the Road of Cadiz . . . . in the yeere 1587 . . 8

PAGE

III. A True discourse written . . . . by Colonel Antonie Winkfield emploied in the voiage to Spaine and Portugall, 1589 12

IV. The Escape of the Primrose from . . . . Bilbao in Biscay 59

V. The Spanish King's Commission for the generall arrest of the English 62

VI. The voiage of George, Earl of Cumberland to the Azores, written by Edward Wright 63

VII. The valiant fight performed by 10 merchants ships of London against 12 gallies in the Straights of Gibraltar the 24. of April 1590 87

VIII. The valiant Fight performed in the Straight of Gibraltar between the Centurion of London against five Spanish Gallies in April 1591 90

IX. A report of the trueth of the Fight about the Iles of Acores . . . . betwixt the Revenge . . . . and an Armada of the King of Spaine; penned by the honourable Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight . . 93

X. A particular note of the Indian Fleet, expected to have come into Spaine this present yeere of 1591 . . 105

XI. A report of master Robert Flicke . . . . concerning the successe of a part of the London supplies sent to my Lord Thomas Howard in the Azores . 107

XII. A large Testimony of John Huighen van Linschotten concerning the worthy exploits of the Earl of Cumberland, &c. . 112

XIII. The miraculous victory achieved by the English Fleete under the Lord Charles Howard upon the Spanish Huge Armada in the yeere 1588 132

XIV. Ad Serenissimam Elizabetham, Angliæ Reginam, Theodor. Beza 164

PAGE
XV. A briefe and true report of the Honorable voyage unto Cadiz, 1596 165
XVI A copie of the Lord Admirals letters to the Duke of Medina Sidonia 187
XVII. The Most Honourable Tragedie of Sir Richard Grinuile, 1595 192
XVIII. A True report of a worthy fight betweene five ships of London and 11 gallies, written by Philip Jones . 229

PAGE
I. The Life and trauailes of Pelagius borne in Wales . 5
II. A Testimonie of the sending of Sighelmus, Bishop of Shirburne, by King Alphred, vnto Saint Thomas of India in the yeare of our Lord 883, recorded by William of Malmesburie 7
III. A Second testimonie of the foresaid Sighelmus, etc. . 7
IV. The trauailes of Andrew Whiteman, alias Leucander . 8
V. The Voyages of Swanus, the son of Earl Godwin, to Jerusalem, recorded by William of Malmesburie . 9
VI. A Voyage of three Ambassadours who in the time of Edward the Confessor, were sent vnto Constantinople, and from thence to Ephesus, recorded by William of Malmesburie 9
VII. The Voyage of Alured, bishop of Worcester, vnto Jerusalem. Recorded by Roger Hoveden . . 12
VIII. The Voyage of Ingulphus, Abbat of Croyland, vnto Jerusalem, described by the said Ingulphus . . 13
IX. Diuers of the hon. family of the Beauchamps, with Robert Curtoys sonne of William the Conqueror, made a Voyage to Jerusalem, 1096. (From Hol. pag. 22. vol. 2.) 17
X. The Voyage of Gutuere toward Ierusalem, 1097 . . 17
XI. The Voyage of Prince Edgar vnto Jerusalem 1102. Recorded by William of Malmesburie . . . 18
XII. Mention made of one Godericus, etc. . . . 20
XIII. Mention made of one Hardine, etc. . . . 21
XIV. A fleete of Englishmen, Danes, etc. arriued at Joppa; written in the Chronicles of Jerusalem . . . 23
XV. The trauailes of one Athelard, recorded by Master Bale 27
XVI. The life and trauailes of one William of Tyre . . 28
XVII. The trauailes of Robertus Ketenensis . . . 29
XVIII. A Voyage of certaine Englishmen vnder the conduct of Lewes King of France vnto the Holy Land 30
XIX. The Voyage of John Lacy to Jerusalem . . . 30
XX. The Voyage of William Mandeuile to Jerusalem . 31
XXI. A great supply of money to the Holy Land by Henry II. . . . - 31

PAGE
XXII. A letter from Manuel the Emperour of Constantinople vnto Henrie the second, King of England. Recorded by Roger Houeden 31
XXIII. The Life and Trauailes of Balwinus Deuonius, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury 37
XXIV. An annotation concerning the said Baldwine, taken out of Giraldus Cambrensis 38
XXV. A note touching Sir Frederike Tilney . . . 39
XXVI. The trauailes of Richard Canonicus . . . 40
XXVII. The large contribution to the succour of the Holy Land made by King John of England. 1201 . 41
XXVIII. The trauailes of Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisburie 41
XXIX. The trauailes of Robert Curson 42
XXX. The voyage of Ranulph Earle of Chester and others to the Holy Land. 1218 44
XXXI. The voyage of Henry Bohun and Saer Quincy to the Holy Land 44
XXXII. The trauailes of Ranulph Glanuile, Earle of Chester 44
XXXIII. The voyage of Petrus de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, to Jerusalem. 1231 45
XXXIV. The voyage of Richard Earle of Cornewall . . . into Syria 46
XXXV. The voyage of William Longespee into Asia. 1248 46
XXXVI. The voyage of Prince Edward into Asia. 1270 . 51
XXXVII. The Trauaile of Robert Turneham . . . 57
XXXVIII. The Life of Sir John Mandeville, written by Master Bale 58
XXXIX. The Tomb and Epitaph of Sir John Mandeville from Ortelius 60
XL. Tabula Libri Joannis Mandevil 60
XLI. Liber Joannis Mandevil de Turcia, Armenia, Ægypto, Lybia, Syria, Arabia, Persia, Chaldæa, Tartaria, India, et infinitis insulis civitatibus et locis . . . 62
⁂ The English version begins 64

PAGE

I. Mandeville's voyage continued 5

II. Richardi Hakluyti brevis admonitio ad lectorem . 84

III. Verba C. Plinii secundi 84

IV. Plinius de Scythis 85

V. Anthony Beck Bishop of Durisme made Patriarch of Hierusalem from Leland 90

VI. Itinerarium fratris Odorici 91

Sub-section 1 His journey from Pera to Thana . . . 121

2 Of the maners of the Chaldæans and of India 123

3 How pepper is had and where it groweth . 124

4 Of a strange idol &c. 126

5 Of certaine trees yielding meale, hony, and poyson 128

6 Of the abundance of fishes, &c. . . . 130

7 Of the island of Sylan and of the mountain where Adam mourned for Abel . . 131

8 Of Upper India, &c. 133

9 Of the city Fuco 134

10 Of a monastery where many strange beastes doe live 136

11 Of the city of Cambaleth 138

12 Of the Glory of the great Can . . . 139

13 Of certain innes or hospitals, &c. . . . 141

14 Of the four feasts which the Great Can solemnizeth 142

15 Of divers provinces and cities . . . 143

16 Of a certaine rich man who is fed, &c. by fiftie virgins 145

17 Of the death of Senex de Monte . . . 146

18 Of the honour and reverence done unto the great Can 148

19 Of the death of Frier Odoricus . . . 149

VII. The voyage of the Lord John of Holland, Earl of Huntington to Jerusalem. 1394 150

VIII. The voyage of Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk to Jerusalem. 1399 151

IX. The voyage of the Bishop of Winchester to Jerusalem. 1417 . . . . . , ... 151

X. A preparation of a voyage of King Henry IV. to the Holy Land, &c. 152
XI. The voyage of M. John Locke to Jerusalem 153
XII. The first voyage made by M. Laurence Aldersey to Jerusalem, &c. 1581 . . 177
XIII. The passport made by the great master of Malta to the Englishmen in the barque Reynolds, 1582. . 187
XIV. Commission given by M. William Harebourne to Richard Foster, etc. 191
XV. A letter of directions to Richard Foster. . . . 192
XVI. A commandement for Chio. 194
XVII. A description of the yearly voyage . . . unto Mecca 194
XVIII. The voyage of M. Cæsar Frederick into East India and beyond . . . 224
XIX. The money and measures of Babylon, Balsara, and the Indies, written by W. Barret. 294
XX. A note of charges from Aleppo to Goa. . . . 305
XXI. A declaration of the places from whence sundry goods come. 305
XXII. The times or monsons wherein ships depart in the East Indies 308
XXIII. A briefe extract specifying the daily payments by the grand Signior to the officers of his court . . 314
XXIV. The Turkes chiefe officers 318
XXV. The number of souldiers attending upon the Beglerbegs, &c. 319
XXVI. The Turkes yeerely revenue 320
XXVII. Ambassadors allowances. 320
XXVIII. Letter from Richard Wrag to Richard Hewish. . 321
XXIX. A description of a voyage to Constantinople and Lyria, by Master Edward Barton, 1595. . . . 322
XXX. The number of Turkish souldiours which were appointed to goe into Hungary against the Christian Emperour, 1594. 330

PAGE

I. The manner of the entring of Soliman the great Turke into Aleppo, noted by Anthony Jenkinson. 1553 . 5

II. A note of the presents that were given to the grand Signior 7

III. The safe conduct given by Soliman to Anthony Jenkinson 8

IV. Letters concerning the voyage of John Newbury and Ralph Fitch to the East. 1583 9

Sub-section 1 A letter from the Queen to Zelabdin Echebar 9

2 A letter from the Queen to the King of China 10

3 A letter of John Newbury to Richard Hakluyt 11

4 A letter from the said J. Newbury to Leonard Poore 12

5 Another letter from the same to the same . 14

6 A letter from J. Newbury to John Eldred and William Shals 15

7 A second letter from the same to the same . 16

8 A letter from the same to Leonard Poore . 16

9 A letter from Ralph Fitch to Leonard Poore 20

V. The voyage of Ralph Fitch to the East. 1583-91 21

VI. The report of John Huighen van Linchoten, concerning J. Newbury and R. Fitch's imprisonment . . 55

VII. The voyage of John Eldred to Tripolis in Syria . 60

VIII. The second letters patents graunted by the Queenes Maiestie to the companie of the English marchants for the Levant. 1592 67

IX. Voyage d'Outremer et retour de Jérusalem en France par la voie de terre par Bertrandon de La Brocquière remis en Français moderne par Le grand d'Aussy . . 83

X. A voyage made by certaine ships of Holland into the East Indies. 1595-7 . . . 215

XI. A true report of the voyage to Java performed by a fleet from Holland. 1598 262

XII. A briefe description of a voiage before handled, in maner of a iournall 275

PAGE
I. The voyage of Henry, Earl of Derby, afterwards Henry IV., to Tunis, from P. Virgil 5
II. The same story from Froissart and Holinshead, . . 6
III. The memorable victories of John Hawkwood, from Camden 7
IV. The Epitaph of Peter Read at Norwich . . . 8
V. The voyage of Sir Thomas Chaloner to Alger . . 8
VI. The woorthy enterprise of John Foxe in delivering 266 Christians out of captivity at Alexandria, 1577 9
VII. The copie of the certificate for John Fox . . . 19
VIII. The Bishop of Rome, his letters in the behalfe of Iohn Fox 19
IX. The king of Spaine his letters for the placing of John Fox in the office of gunner 20
X. The voyage made to Tripolis in Barbary in the Jesus, written by Thomas Sanders. 1583 21
XI. The Queene's letters to the Turke for the restitution of the Jesus 37
XII. The Turkes letter to the King of Tripolis commanding restitution of the Jesus 39
XIII. A letter of Master William Hareborne for the release of the Jesus 41
XIV. The voyage of John Evesham into Egypt . . 44
XV. The second voyage of Laurence Aldersey to Alexandria and Cairo 47
XVI. A letter of the English Ambassador to M. Harvie Millers 53
XVII. A letter to W. Hareborne from Alger . . . 54
XVIII. A letter of W. Hareborne to Mustapha . . 55
XIX. The passport granted to Thomas Shingleton by the king of Algier 56
XX. A letter of Sir Edward Osborne to the king of Alger 57
XXI. Notes concerning the trade of Alger 59
XXII. Notes concerning the trade in Alexandria . . 60

PAGE
XXIII. A letter of the English Ambassador to Edward Barton. 62
XXIV. A commaundement obtained of the Grand Signor by W. Hareborne 63
XXV. A letter of William Hareborne to T. Typton . . 64
XXVI. Registrum valoris navium, &c. per trirenes Argerienses ereptorum 67
XXVII. A letter to Assan Aga 68
XXVIII. The originall of the first voyage for traffique into Marocco. 1551 69
XXIX. The second voyage to Barbary. 1552 70
XXX. A voyage into Guinea and Benin. 1553 . . 73
XXXI. A briefe description of Afrike by Richard Eden . 74
XXXII. Anthonie Pinteado, his letters patents from the king of Portugal 82
XXXIII. The letter of Don Lewis to Anthonie Pinteado . 83
XXXIV. The second voyage to Guinea . . 84
XXXV. The first voyage made by William Towrson to Guinea 102
XXXVI. The second voyage of W. Towrson to Guinea . 130
XXXVII. The third voyage of W. Towrson to Guinea . 146
XXXVIII. Certaine articles deliuered to Mr. John Lock . 164
XXXIX. A letter of John Lock to the company of marchants adventurers for Guinea 165
XL. The relation of William Rutter to Anthony Hickman touching a voyage to Guinea. 1562 167
XLI. A meeting at Sir William Gerard's house. 1564 . 170
XLII. Relations extracted from Sir John Hawkin's voyage 171
XLIII. The voyage of George Fenner to Guinea written by Walter Wren 173
XLIV. The ambassage of Edmund Hogan to the Emperor of Morocco. 1577 188
XLV. The voyage of Thomas Stukeley into Barbary . 195
XLVI. Certaine reports of the province of China learned from Portugalls taken prisoners 197
XLVII. Of the island Japan and other isles, by R. Willes . 223
XLVIII. An excellent treatise of the kingdom of China printed at Macao. 1590 241
XLIX. A letter by Thomas Stevens to his father . . 264
L. A briefe relation of the kingdom of Pegu . . . 271

PAGE
LI. A voyage to the East Indies by the Cape of Buona Speranza, written by R. Hakluyt 272
LII. Certaine remembrances of an intended iourney to Brassil. 1583 290
LIII. The letters patents granted by Her Majestie for a trade to Barbarie. 1585. 294
LIV. The Ambassage of Henry Roberts to the Emperour of Marocco. 1585 299
LV. A letter from Muly Hamet to the Earl of Leicester . 303
LVI. The Queenes letters to the Emperour of Marocco . 304
LVII. A patent to certaine merchants of Exeter for a trade to the river of Senega and Gambra in Guinea, 1588. 306
LVIII. A voyage to Benin, 1588. Written by James Welsh 312
LIX. The voiage of John Newton and John Bird to Benin. 1588 318
LX. The second voyage of John Newton and John Bird to Benin. 1590 321
LXI. An advertisement sent to Philip II. king of Spaine from Angola by Baltazar Almeida de Sousa. 1591 326
LXII. Confirmatio treugarum inter Eduardum quartum et Joannem secundum. 1482. 328
LXIII. The ambassage which John II. king of Portugall, sent to Edward IV. 329
LXIV. A relation sent by Melchior Petoney to Nigil de Moura, 1591. 330
LXV. The Voyage of Richard Rainolds and Thomas Dassel to Guinea. 331
LXVI. A briefe relation concerning the cities of Tombuto and Gago. 339
LXVII. Another relation concerning the same. . . 340
LXVIII. A briefe extract of a patent granted to Thomas Gregory, of Tanton. 341
LXIX. The maner of the taking of two Spanish ships by Thomas White, 1592. 342
LXX. A true report of the honourable service at sea perfourmed by Sir John Burrough, prepared by Sir Walter Raleigh. 344
LXXI. The firing and sinking of the stout and warrelike Carack called Las Cinque Llagas, by Nicholas Downton. 354

LXXII. The casting away of the Tobie, 1593. . . . 359
LXXIII. The letters of the Queene sent by Laurence Aldersey to the Emperour of Æthiopia, 1597. . 363
LXXIV. The Omissions of Cales voyage 367

Dedication to Sir Robert Cecil 5
I. The most ancient voyage and discouery of the West Indies performed by Madoc, Anno 1170: taken out of the history of Wales, &c. . . . 13
II. The verses of Meredith the sonne of Rhesus making mention of Madoc 15
III. The offer of the discouery of the West Indies by Christoper Columbus to K. Henry the 7. February the 13. Anno 1488; with the Kings acceptance of the said offer 15
IV. Another testimony concerning the foresaid offer made by Bartholomew Columbus to K. Henry the seuenth, on the behalfe of his brother Christopher Columbus 18
V. The letters patents of K. Henry the 7. granted vnto Iohn Cabot and his 3. sonnes, Anno 1495 . . 19
VI. The signed bill of K. Henry the 7. on the behalfe of Iohn Cabot 23
VII. The voyage of Sebastian Cabota to the North part of America, for the discouery of a Northwest passage, as farre as 58. degrees of latitude, confirmed by 6. testimonies 25, 113
VIII. A briefe extract concerning the discouery of Newfoundland 32
IX. The large pension granted by K. Edward the 6. to Sebastian Cabota, Anno 1549 . . . 32
X. A discourse written by sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, to prooue a passage by the Northwest to Cataya, and the East Indies 34

XI. The first voyage of M. Martin Frobisher to the Northwest for the search of a passage to China, anno 1576 . 74, 113
XII. The second voyage of M. Martin Frobisher to the West and Northwest regions, in the yeere 1577 . . . . 81, 113
XIII. The third and last voyage of M. Martin Frobisher for the discouery of a Northwest passage, in the yere 1578 . 98, 107
XIV. Notes by Richard Hakluyt 109
XV. Experiences and reasons of the Sphere to prooue all parts of the worlde habitable, and thereby to confute the position of the fiue Zones . . . 115
XVI. A letter of M. Martin Frobisher to certaine Englishmen, which were trecherously taken by the Saluages of Meta incognita in his first voyage . . 163
XVII. Articles and orders prescribed by M. Martin Frobisher to the Captaines and company of euery ship, which accompanied him in his last Northwestern voyage 175
XVIII. A generall and briefe description of the country and condition of the people, which are founde in Meta incognita 213
XIX. The letters patents of her Maiesty graunted to M. Adrian Gilbert and others for the search and discouery of a Northwest passage to China . . 219
XX. The first voyage of M. Iohn Dauis for the discouery of a Northwest passage, 1585 224
XXI. The second voyage of M. Iohn Dauis for the discouery of the Northwest pass. 1586 234
XXII. A letter of M. I. Dauis to M. Wil. Sanderson of London, concerning his second voyage . . 246
XXIII. The voyage and course which the Sunshine and the Northstarre held, after M. I. Davis had sent them from him to

discouer a passage betweene Groenland and Ise- land, 1587 247
XXIV. The third voyage of M. Iohn Dauis, 1587 252
XXV. A letter of M. Iohn Dauis to M. Wil. Sanderson of London, concerning his 3. voyage . . . 259
XXVI. A trauerse-booke of M. Iohn Dauis . . 260
XXVII. A report of M. Iohn Dauis concerning his three voyages made for the discouery of the Northwest passage, taken out of a treatise of his intituled The worlds hydrographical description . . . 270
XXVIII. The voyage of M. Nicolas Zeno and M. Anthony his brother, to the yles of Frisland, etc., begun in the yeere 1380 . 274
XXIX. THe voyage of two ships, for the discouery of the North parts 293
XXX. The voyage of M. Hore, in the yere 1536 . . 294
XXI. An act against the exaction of money, etc., made Anno 2. Edwardi sexti 298
XXXII. A letter written to M. Richard Hakluyt of the Midle Temple, by M. Antony Parkhurst, 1578 . 299
XXXIII. The letters patents granted by her Maiestie to sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, for inhabiting some part of America 1578 306
XXXIV. A Poeme written in Latine, concerning the voyage of sir Humfrey Gilbert 311
XXXV. The voyage of Sir Humfrey Gilbert to Newfoundland, An. 1583 . . 320
XXXVI. Orders agreed vpon by the Captaines and Masters, to bee obserued by the fleete of sir Humfrey Gilbert 328
XXXVII. A briefe relation of Newfound-land, and the commodities thereof 339
XXXVIII. A letter of the learned Hungarian Stephanus Parmenius Budeius to master Richard Hakluyt the the collectour of these voyages . . . 358
XXXIX. A relation of Richard Clarke of Weymouth master of the ship called the Delight. Part 1. . 363
XL. Appendices 375

PART I.

PAGE

I. Sir George Peckham's true report of the late discoueries. (*Continued.*) . . . 5

II. A letter of Sir Francis Walsingham to M. Richard Hakluyt 34

III. A letter of Sir Francis Walsingham to Master Thomas Aldworth, mayor of Bristol 34

IV. A letter from M. Thomas Aldworth to Sir Francis Walsingham 35

V. A briefe discourse upon the intended voyage to the hithermost parts of America, written by Captain Carlile in April 1583 36

VI. Articles set downe by the Committies appointed in the behalfe of the Companie of Muscovian Marchants to conferre with M. Carlile upon his intended discoverie 47

VII. A relation of the first voyage and discoverie of the Isle Ramea. 1591 49

VIII. A letter sent to the right honourable Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley, from M. Thomas James, of Bristoll, concerning the discoverie of the Isle of Ramea. (1591.) 53

IX. A brief note of the Morsse and the use thereof . 54

X. The Voyage of the ship Marigold unto Cape Briton and beyond. 1593. Written by Richard Fisher . 55

XI. A brief note concerning the Voyage of M. George Drake, of Apsham, to Isle of Ramea. 1593. . 58

XII. The Voyage of the Grace of Bristol into the Bay of St. Laurence, made by Silvester Wyet . . 60

XIII. The Voyage of M. Charles Leigh to Cape Briton and the Isle of Ramea . 62

XIV. The first relation of Jacques Cartier, of St. Malo, of the new land called New France. 1534. 77

XV. A short and briefe narration of the Navigation made by order of the King of France to Canada, etc. . . . The Second Voyage of Jacques Cartier. 1535. 101

XVI. The third Voyage of Jacques Cartier. 1540. 146

XVII. A letter written to M. John Growte, by Jacques Noel, of St. Malo, nephew of Jacques Cartier, touching the foresaid discovery . . . 154

XVIII. Extract from another letter from Jacques Noel . 155

XIX. The course from Belle Isle to Newfoundland, observed by John Alphonse, of Saintonge, chiefe pilot to Monsieur Roberval. 1542. . . 156

XX. The Voyage of Monsieur Roberval to Canada, etc. 1542. 163

XXI. The Voyage of Monsieur Roberval into the interior 1543. 167

XXII. A Discourse of Western Planting, written by Richard Hakluyt. 1584. . 169

XXIII. The letters patents granted by Queen Elizabeth to M. Walter Ralegh, for the discovery of new countries. 1584. 276

XXIV. The first voyage made to Virginia by order of Sir W. Raleigh. 1584. . . 282

XXV. The Voyage made by Sir Richard Greenvile for Sir W. Raleigh. 1585. . . 293

XXVI. An extract of M. Ralph Lane's letter to M. Richard Hakluyt, from Virginia. 1585 . . . 301

XXVII. The imployments of the Englishmen left in Virginia under the charge of Ralph Lane . . 302

* * *

PART II.

XXVIII. The third voyage to Virginia at the charges of Sir Walter Raleigh. 1586 . 325

XXIX. A briefe and true report of the New found land of Virginia: Written by Thomas Heriot 327

XXX. The fourth voyage made to Virginia. 1587 358

XXXI. The names of all which arrived in Virginia. 1587 371

XXXII. A letter from John White to M. Richard Hakluyt. 1593 373

XXXIII. The fifth voyage into Virginia. 1590 375

XXXIV. The relation of ohn de Verrazano of the land by him discovered. 1524 . 389

XXXV. A notable historie containing four voyages made by certaine French Captains into Florida, translated by M. Richard Hakluyt 402

Sub-section I.—The voyage of M. Rene Laudonniere 407

Sub-section II.—The second voyage into Florida by Captaine Laudonniere. 1562 441

Sub-section III.—The voyage made by Captain John Ribault into Florida. 1565 508

Sub-section IV.—The voyage of Captain Gourgues into Florida. 1567 . 524

XXXVI. The relation of Pedro Morales touching Florida, written by Richard Hakluyt. 1586. . . 533

XXXVII. The relation of Nicholas Burgoignon . . 534

XXXVIII. Virginia richly valued, by the description of . . . Florida, out of the trauel and discouerie . . . of Don Ferdinando de Soto . . . translated out of the Portuguese by Richard Hakluyt 537

* * *

211

71 1 AA A 30

I. Virginia richly valued, by the description of . . . . Florida, out of the trauel and discouerie . . . . of Don Ferdinando de Soto . . . . translated out of the Portuguese by Richard Hakluyt. Part II. 5
II. A discourse of J. B. Ramusius, concerning the three voyages of Frier Marco de Nica, Francis Vasquez de Coronado, and Ferdinando Alorchon 59
III. A letter of Francis Vasquez de Coronado to Don Antonio de Mendoça (1539) 60
IV. Another letter 61
V. Another letter 63
VI. A relation of the discovery of Ceuola or Cibola by Frier Marco de Niça 67
VII. El Viaie de Antonio de Espeio (1583) 84
VIII. A brief relation of two Voyages, the first by Frier Augustin Ruyz (1581), the second by A. de Espejo (1583), written by Frier J. Gonzales de Mendoça . 100
IX. Letter of Bartholomew Cano to Francis Hernandes (1590) 115
X. The Relation of Francis Vasquez de Coronado, concerning his voyage (1540) 117

XI. The conclusion of this voyage written by Lopez de Gomera 133
Sub-section 1 Gomara's account of the animals of Quivira 136
XII. The Voyage of Robert Tomson into Noua Hispania (1555) 138
XIII. A Relation of the commodities and inhabitants of Noua Hispania, written by H. Hawkes (1572) . 170
XIV. The Adventures of Miles Philips (1568) . . . 187
XV. The adventures of Job Hortop (1568) . . . 226
XVI. A Relation of the Hauen of Tecuanapa . . . 244
XVII. A brief relation of two voyages made by William Hawkins (1530 and 1532) . . 250
XVII. An Ancient voyage of Robert Reniger and Thomas Borey to Brasil (1540) 251
XIX. A Voyage of Pudsey to Brasil (1542) . . . 252
XX. A letter of John Whital to Richard Staper (1578) . 252
XXI. Letters to J. Whithal (1580) 256
XXII. Notes of the Voyage to Brasil (1580), written by Thomas Grigs 258
XXIII. A letter of Francis Suares to Diego Suares (1596) 263
XXIV. The Voyage of James Lancaster to Brasil (1594) . . . . , 266
XXV. A letter from Feliciano Cieça de Carualsho to the King of Spain 283
XXVI. A note concerning the currents between the Cape of Buena Esperança and the coast of Brasil . . 290
XXVII. A ruttier to be kept to go from Cabo Verde to the coast of Brasil 290
XXVIII. The course to go to the bay of All Saints in Brasil 292
XXIX. The course to go Baia das Ilhas in Brasil . . 294
XXX. The course to go to Porto Seguro in Brasil . . 296
XXXI. The course to go to Baia do Spirito Santo in Brasil 297
XXXII. The course to go to the Bay of S. Vincent. Also from S. Vincent to the river of Plate . . . 298
XXXIII. A ruttier from the River of Plate to the Streight of Magelane . . . . , 300
XXXIV The Voyage of two Englishmen in the company of Sebastiano Cabota (1527), written by Robert Thorne 306

XXXV. A discourse of Lopez Vaz concerning M. Fenton and John Drake 307
XXXVI. A ruttier of the situation of the coast of Brasil from Isle of Santa Catelina to River of Plate and up the said river 310
XXXVII. The discoveries of Francis de Vlloa (1539) written by John Baptista Ramusius . . . . 317 ✓
XXXVIII. The Voyage of Francisco de Gualle from New Spaine to China (1584) 378
XXXIX. The discoveries of Fernando Alarchon in the Haven of Aguaiaual (1540) 388
XL. The discoverie of Guiana by Sir Walter Raleigh (1595) 428

I. The discovery of Guiana by Sir Walter Raleigh. (1595.) 5
II. Spanish letters concerning Guiana and the Riuer Orenoque 41
III. A relation of a second voyage to Guiana by Laurence Keymis. (1596.) . , . 48
Sub-section 1 De Guiana Carmen Epicum . . . 52
2 De Guiana Carmen 57
3 Table of names of Rivers, Towns, &c. . 90
4 An advertisement to the reader . . . 96
IV. The Third voyage to Guiana by Sir Walter Raleigh. (1596.) 98
V. Testimonies concerning the River of Amazones, &c. . 110
VI. A description of the River Amazones by Martin Fernandez de Enciça. (1518.) 113
VIII, The voyage of Sir Thomas Pert and

Sebastian Cabot about the year (1516) to Brazil, &c. 120
VIII. The Voyage of Thomas Tison to the West Indies (1526) 123
IX. The first Voyage of John Hawkins to the West Indies (1562) 123
X. Voyage of John Hawkins to Guiana and the Indies of Nova Hispania (1564). . . . 125
Snb-section 1 The names of certain gentlemen that went in this voyage 170
XI. The third Voyage to Guiana by John Hawkins (1567, 1568) 170
XII. The Discovery of the Barmudas by Sil. Jourdan (1609) 181
XIII. The first Voyage of Sir Francis Drake to Nombre de Dios (1586) 190
XIV. The Voyage of John Cxuano to the West Indies (1575), written by Lopez Vaz 192
XV. The Voyage of Andrew Barker to the West Indies (1576) 196
XVI. The opinion of Don Alvaro Baçan, touching the army of Sir Francis Drake 204
XVII. A summary of Sir Francis Drake's voyage to the West Indies (1585) 208
Sub-section 1 Resolutions made by the Land Captains at Cartagena 227
XVIII. A relation of the ports, harbours, &c., in the West Indies, written by Baptista Antonio (1587) 239
XIX. A voyage of William Michelson to the West Indies (1589) 256
XX. A relation of a memorable fight in the West Indies between the Spaniards and Sir George Carey (1591) 258
XXI. The voyage to the West Indies by Sir Christopher Newport to the West Indies (1591) 262
XXII. The voyage of M. William King (1592) . . . 268
XXIII. A voyage to the East Indies by Captain Raimond (1591), written by Henry May 270

XXIV. A voyage of M. Robert Dudley to the Isle of Trinidad 278
Sub-section 1 A list of words of the language of Trinidad . 285
XXV. A voyage of Captain Amias Preston to the West Indies (1595) 287
XXVI. Certain Spanish Letters 313
XXVII. The voyage of Sir Anthony Sherley to S. Iago Dominica &c. (1596). . . 345
XXVIII. The voyage of William Parker to Margarita &c. (1596) 354
Sub-section 1 A Ruttier for the West Indies, Tierra Firma and Noueua Espanna 357
2 A Ruttier from Saint Lucar to the Indies in winter 357
3 A Guide in case of winds 358
4 A Ruttier from Santo Domingo to Noueua Espanna 360
5 A Ruttier from Hocoa to Noueua Espanna 361
6 Marks to know Cape de Santo Antonio . 362
7 A Ruttier from Dominica to Martinino and so to Tierra Firma 362
8 A Ruttier from Cartegena to Cuba . . 367
9 A Ruttier from Cape de Santo Antonio to Noueua Espanna 369
10 A ruttier from Noueua Espanna to Spain . 372
11 A ruttier from Havana to Spain, . . 372
12 A ruttier from east point of Cuba to Havana 375
13 A ruttier from S. Luca to Nueua Espanna, with marks of Islands, places, &c., on the way 379
14 A ruttier from Cabo de Corientes to Noueua Espanna 392
15 A ruttier to go between the Triangle and Sandy Island to S. Juan de Vllua . . 393
16 A ruttier from Roca to S. Juan de Vllua . 394
17 A ruttier from Sant Juan de Vllua to Spain 394
18 A ruttier from the Tortugas to Havana . 394
19 A ruttier from Havana to Spain . . 396
20 A ruttier from the chanell of Bahama to Spain 397

21 A ruttier from S. Juan de Vllua to Havana 398
22 A table of the latitudes of all Capes, Islands, &c., of Madera, the Canaries, the West Indies, Açores, &c. 402
XXIX. The first voyage round the world by Sir Francis Drake (1577) 408
Sub-section 1 List of Kings and Princes of Java . . 434
2 List of words of the Java language . . 434
3 The voyage of Nuno da Silua (1579) . 435

I Thomas Candish's voyage round the world (1588) 5
Sub-section 1 A list of heights of certain places, soundings, distances of places, &c 55
II. A Relation of a voyage made by John Chidley (1586) 84
Sub-section 1 A Petition made unto Robert Burnet, Master of the Delight, one of Chidley's consorts (1589) 87
III. The last voyage of Thomas Candish for the South Sea (1591) 91
Sub-section 1 The Testimonial of the company of the Desire, concerning the losing of their General 97
IV. Letters of the Queen to the Emperor of China sent in the year (1596) by Richard Allot and Thomas Bromefield 115
V. The invasion of Corea by Japan, written by Frier Lewis Frois (1590) 118
VI. A note concerning the province of Zuegara . . . 134

VII. Advertisement touching the ships that go from Seville to the West Indies 105
VIII. The order of the Carena given to ships that go from Spain to the West Indies 139
IX. Order of examination of Masters and Pilots that go between Spain and West Indies 144
X. Voyage of John Winter in consort with Francis Drake to the South Sea (1577) . 148
XI. Instructions given by the Lords of the Counsell to Edward Fenton for the voyage to the West Indies and Cathay (1582) . 161
XII. Edward Fenton's voyage to the West Indies, by M. Luke Ward (1582) . . . 168
XIII. A discourse on the West Indies by Lopez Vaz (1587) . ` 214
XIV. A letter to Sir Robert Cecil, from Richard Hakluyt . 269
XV. Letter of Sousa Tanares to Don John Duke of Anciro 272
XVI. A treatise on ancient and modern discoveries of the world by Antonio Galvano 275
Sub-section 1 The first discoveries of the Spaniards, with continuation of the discoveries of the Portugals 305
XVII. Charter granted by Edward IV. 369*

5

NOTICE.

Messrs. E. &. G. Goldsmid beg to call the attention of their Subscribers to *Page* 15 in the *First* Part of this Volume. They regret to say that they have found it impossible to reproduce the Map mentioned. They have therefore substituted a *Facsimile* of Ziegler's Map of 1532.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

"THIS elaborate and excellent Collection, which redounds as much to the glory of the English Nation as any book that ever was published, has already had sufficient complaints made in its behalf against our suffering it to become so scarce and obscure, by neglecting to *republish* it in a fair impression, with proper illustrations and especially an *Index*. But there may still be room left for a favourable construction of such neglect, and the hope that nothing but the casual scarcity of a work so long since out of print may have prevented its falling into those able hands that might, by such an edition, have rewarded the eminent *Examples* preserved therein, the *Collector* thereof and *themselves* according to their deserts."

Thus wrote Oldys (The British Librarian, No. III., March, 1737, page 137), nearly 150 years ago; and what has been done to remove this reproach? The work has become so rare that even a reckless expenditure of money cannot procure a copy.[1]

It has indeed long been felt that a handy edition of the celebrated "Collection of the Early Voyages, Travels and Discoveries of the English Nation," published by Richard Hakluyt in 1598, 1599, 1600, was one of the greatest desiderata of all interested in History, Travel, or Adventure. The labour and cost involved have however hitherto deterred publishers from attempting to meet the want except in the case of the very limited reprint of 1809-12.[1]

---

[1] Mr. Quaritch, the eminent Bibliopole, is now asking £42 for a copy of the 1598-1600 edition.

As regards the labour involved, the following brief summary of the contents of the Second Edition will give the reader some idea of its extent. I refer those who desire a complete analysis to Oldys.

Volume I. (1598) deals with Voyages to the North and North East, and contains *One hundred and nine* separate narratives, from Arthur's Expedition to Norway in 517 to the celebrated Expedition to Cadiz, in the reign of good Queen Bess. Amongst the chief voyages may be mentioned: Edgar's voyage round Britain in 973; an account of the Knights of Jerusalem; Cabot's voyages; Chancellor's voyages to Russia; Elizabeth's Embassies to Russia, Persia, &c.; the Destruction of the Armada; &c., &c.

Volume II. (1599) treats of Voyages to the South and South East, beginning with that of the Empress Helena to Jerusalem in 337. The chief narratives are those of Edward the Confessor's Embassy to Constantinople; The History of the English Guard in that City; Richard Cœur de Lion's travels; Anthony Beck's voyage to Tartary in 1330; The English in Algiers and Tunis (1400); Solyman's Conquest of Rhodes; Foxe's narrative of his captivity; Voyages to India, China, Guinea, the Canaries; the account of the Levant Company; and the travels of Raleigh, Frobisher, Grenville, &c. It contains *One hundred and sixty-five* separate pieces.

Volume III. (1600) has *Two hundred and forty-three different narratives*, commencing with the fabulous Discovery of the West Indies in 1170, by Madoc, Prince of Wales. It contains the voyages of Columbus; of Cabot and his Sons; of Davis, Smith, Frobisher, Drake, Hawkins; the Discoveries of Newfoundland, Virginia, Florida, the Antilles, &c.; Raleigh's voyages to Guiana; Drake's great Voyage; travels in South America, China, Japan, and all countries in the West; an account of the Empire of El Dorado, &c.

---

[1] Of this edition 250 copies were printed on royal paper, and 75 copies on imperial paper.

The three volumes of the Second Edition therefore together contain *Five hundred and seventeen* separate narratives. When to this we add those narratives included in the First Edition, but omitted in the Second, all the voyages printed by Hakluyt or at his suggestion, such as "Divers Voyages touching the Discoverie of America," "The Conquest of Terra Florida," "The Historie of the West Indies," &c., &c., and many of the publications of the Hakluyt Society, some idea may be formed of the magnitude of the undertaking.

I trust the notes and illustrations I have appended may prove useful to students and ordinary readers; I can assure any who may be disposed to cavil at their brevity that many a *line* has cost me hours of research. In conclusion, a short account of the previous editions of Hakluyt's Voyages may be found useful.

The *First* Edition (London: G. Bishop and R. Newberie), 1589, was in one volume folio. It contains, besides the Dedication to Sir Francis Walsingham (see page 3), a preface (see page 9), tables and index, 825 pages of matter. The map referred to in the preface was one which Hakluyt substituted for the one engraved by Molyneux, which was not ready in time, and which was used for the Second Edition.

The *Second* Edition (London, G. Bishop, R. Newberie, and R. Barker), 1598, 1599, 1600, folio, 3 vols. in 2, is the basis of our present edition. The celebrated voyage to Cadiz (pages 607-19 of first volume) is wanting in many copies. It was suppressed by order of Elizabeth, on the disgrace of the Earl of Essex. The first volume sometimes bears the date of 1598. Prefixed is an Epistle Dedicatorie, a preface, complimentary verses, &c. (twelve leaves). It contains 619 pages. Volume II. has eight leaves of prefatory matter, 312 pages for *Part I.*, and 204 pages for *Part II.* For Volume III. there are also eight leaves for title, dedication, &c., and 868 pages.

The *Third* Edition (London, printed by G. Woodfall), 1809-12, royal 4to, 5 vols., is an excellent reprint of the two early editions. It is very scarce, a poor copy fetching £17 to £18. Since this edition, there has been no reprint of the Collection.

I have taken upon myself to alter the order of the different voyages. I have grouped together those voyages which relate to the same parts of the globe, instead of adopting the somewhat haphazard arrangement of the original edition. This, and the indices I have added to each volume, will, I hope, greatly assist the student. The maps, with the exception of the facsimile ones, are modern; on them I have traced the presumed course of the journey or journeys they refer to. The illustrations I have taken from a variety of sources, which are always indicated.

EDMUND GOLDSMID.

EDINBURGH, *August 23rd,* 1884.

THE PRINCIPAL

Navigations, Voyages, Traffiqves, and Discoveries

OF

THE ENGLISH NATION,

MADE BY SEA OR OUER-LAND TO

THE REMOTE AND FARTHEST DISTANT QUARTERS OF THE EARTH,

AT ANY TIME WITHIN THE COMPASSE OF THESE 1600 YERES:

DIUIDED INTO THREE SEUERALL VOLUMES, ACCORDING TO THE POSITIONS OF THE REGIONS WHEREUNTO THEY WERE DIRECTED.

THE FIRST VOLUME CONTAINETH

The Worthy Discoueries, &c. of the English toward the North and Northeast by Sea,

AS OF

LAPLAND, SCRIKFINIA, CORELIA, THE BAIE OF S. NICOLAS, THE ISLES OF COLGOIEUE, VAIGATZ, AND NOUA ZEMBLA, TOWARD THE GREAT RIUER OB, WITH THE MIGHTY EMPIRE OF RUSSIA, THE CASPIAN SEA, GEORGIA, ARMENIA, MEDIA, PERSIA, BOGHAR IN BACTRIA, AND DIUERS KINGDOMES OF TARTARIA:

TOGETHER WITH MANY

NOTABLE MONUMENTS AND TESTIMONIES OF THE ANCIENT FORREN TRADES, AND OF THE WARRELIKE AND OTHER SHIPPING OF THIS REALME OF ENGLAND IN FORMER AGES,

WHEREUNTO IS ANNEXED

A Briefe Commentary of the True State of Island, and of the Northren Seas and Lands Situate that Way:

AS ALSO

The Memorable Defeat of the Spanish Huge Armada, Anno 1588.

THE SECOND VOLUME COMPREHENDETH

The Principall Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoueries of the English Nation made by Sea or Ouer-land,

TO

THE SOUTH AND SOUTH-EAST PARTS OF THE WORLD, AS WELL WITHIN AS WITHOUT THE STREIGHT OF GIBRALTAR,

AT ANY TIME WITHIN THE COMPASSE OF THESE 1600 YERES:

DIUIDED INTO TWO SEUERAL PARTS, &c.

By **Richard Hakluyt** PREACHER,

AND SOMETIME STUDENT OF CHRIST-CHVRCH IN OXFORD.

IMPRINTED AT LONDON BY GEORGE BISHOP. RALPH
NEWBERIE, AND ROBERT BARKER.
ANNO 1599.

DEDICATION TO THE FIRST EDITION.

TO THE
RIGHT HONORABLE
SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM KNIGHT,[1]
PRINCIPALL SECRETARIE TO HER MAIESTIE, CHANCELLOR OF THE
DUCHIE OF LANCASTER, AND ONE OF HER MAIESTIES
MOST HONOURABLE PRIUIE COUNCELL.

RIGHT Honorable, I do remember that being a youth, and one of her Maiesties scholars at Westminster[2] that fruitfull nurserie, it was my happe to visit the chamber of M. Richard Hakluyt my cosin, a Gentleman of the Middle Temple, well knowen vnto you, at a time when I found lying open vpon his boord certeine bookes of Cosmographie, with an vniuersall Mappe: he seeing me somewhat curious in the view therof, began to instruct my ignorance, by shewing me the diuision of the earth into three parts after the olde account, and then according to the latter, & better distribution, into more: he pointed with his wand to all the knowen Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Riuers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and Territories of ech part, with declaration also of their speciall commodities, & particular wants, which by the benefit of traffike, & entercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied. From the Mappe he brought me to the Bible, and turning to the 107 Psalme, directed mee to the 23 & 24 verses, where I read, that they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and his woonders in the deepe, &c. Which words of the Prophet together with my cousins discourse (things of high and rare delight to my yong nature) tooke in me so deepe an impression, that I constantly resolued, if euer I were preferred to the Vniuersity, where better time, and more conuenient place might be ministred for these studies, I would by Gods assistance prosecute that knowledge and kinde of literature, the doores whereof (after a sort) were so happily opened before me.

---

[1] Born at Chislehurst, Kent, in 1536. He was educated at King's College Cambridge, where he specially devoted himself to the study of languages, in which he became proficient. Appointed Ambassador to Paris in 1570, he distinguished himself by the extensive system of "secret police," or spies, which he established. He was present at the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, which did not excite in his cold diplomatic mind the horror it created in England. On his return in 1573 he became Secretary of State. Ten years later he was Ambassador to James VI. of Scotland, and in 1586 he sat as one of the commissioners on the trial of Mary, Queen of Scots. In the matter of the Babbington Conspiracy, he is said to have "outdone the Jesuits in their own bow, and overreached them in their equivocation." He died in 1590, in comparative disgrace with his mistress.

[2] We know little of Richard Hakluyt beyond what we can gather from his writings. He was born at Eyton, in Herefordshire, in 1553; was educated, as we here learn, at Westminster School, and afterwards at Christ Church, Oxford, where geography was his favourite study. In 1584 he went to Paris as Chaplain to the English Embassy, and, during his absence, was made Prebendary of Bristol. On his return he published several works, Leo's "Geographical History of Africa," translated from the Spanish, and Peter Martyr's "History of the West Indies." In 1605 he became Prebendary of Westminster, and Rector of Wetheringset, in Suffolk. He died in 1616. In compiling the present work, Hakluyt had the assistance of Sir Walter Raleigh.

According to which my resolution, when, not long after, I was remoued to Christ-church in Oxford, my exercises of duety first performed, I fell to my intended course, and by degrees read ouer whatsoeuer printed or written discoueries and voyages I found extant either in the Greeke, Latine, Italian, Spanish, Portugall, French, or English languages, and in my publike lectures was the first, that produced and shewed both the olde imperfectly composed, and the new lately reformed Mappes, Globes, Spheares,[1] and other instruments of this Art for demonstration in the common schooles, to the singular pleasure, and generall contentment of my auditory. In continuance of time, and by reason principally of my insight in this study, I grew familiarly acquainted with the chiefest Captaines at sea, the greatest Merchants, and the best Mariners of our nation: by which meanes hauing gotten somewhat more then common knowledge, I passed at length the narrow seas into France with sir Edward Stafford, her Maiesties carefull and discreet Ligier, where during my fiue yeeres aboad with him in his dangerous and chargeable residencie in her Highnes seruice, I both heard in speech, and read in books other nations miraculously extolled for their discoueries and notable enterprises by sea, but the English of all others for their sluggish security, and continuall neglect of the like attempts especially in so long and happy a time of peace, either ignominiously reported, or exceedingly condemned: which singular opportunity, if some other people our neighbors had beene blessed with, their protestations are often and vehement, they would farre otherwise haue vsed. And that the trueth and euidence heerof may better appeare, these are the very words of Popiliniere in his booke called L' Admiral de France, and printed at Paris. Fol. 73. pag. 1, 2. The occasion of his speech is the commendation of the Rhodnais, who being (as we are) Islanders, were excellent in nauigation, whereupon he woondereth much that the English should not surpasse in that qualitie, in this sort: Ce qui m'a fait autresfois rechercher les occasions, qui empeschent, que les Anglois, qui ont d' esprit, de moyens, & valeur assez, pour s'aquerir vn grand hõneur parmi tous les Chrestiens, ne se font plus valoir sur l'element qui leur est, & doit estre plus naturel qu' à autres peuples: qui leur doiuent ceder en la structure, accommodement & police de nauires: comme i' ay veu en plusieurs endroits parmi eux.[1] Thus both hearing, and reading the obloquie of our nation, and finding few or none of our owne men able to replie heerin: and further, not seeing any man to haue care to recõmend to the world, the industrious labors, and painefull trauels of our countrey men: for stopping the mouthes of the reprochers, my selfe being the last winter returned from France with the honorable the Lady Sheffield, for her passing good behauior highly esteemed in all the French court, determined notwithstanding all difficulties, to vndertake the burden of that worke wherin all others pretended either ignorance, or lacke of leasure, or want of sufficient argument, whereas (to speake truely) the huge toile, and the small profit to insue, were the chiefe causes of the refusall. I call the worke a burden, in consideration that these voyages lay so dispersed, scattered, and hidden in seuerall hucksters hands, that I now woonder at my selfe, to see how I was able to endure the delayes, curiosity, and backwardnesse of many from whom I was to receiue my originals: so that I haue iust cause to make that complaint of the maliciousnes of diuers in our time, which Plinie[1] made of the men of his age: At nos elaborata ijs abscondere átq; supprimere cupimus, & fraudare vitam etiam alienis bonis, &c.

---

[1] "Ortelius, in his 'Theatrum Orbis Terrarum,' the first edition of which was in 1570, gives a list of about 150 geographical treatises."—Hallam's "Literature of Europe," c. xvii. § 53.

---

[1] *Translation*: "This made me inquire into the reasons which prevent the English, who have sufficient intelligence, means, and courage to acquire great honour amongst all Christians, from shining more on the element which is and ought to be more natural to them than to other nations, who must needs yield to them in the building, fitting out, and management of ships, as I have myself often witnessed when amongst them."

To harpe no longer vpon this string, & to speake a word of that iust commendation which our nation doe indeed deserue: it can not be denied, but as in all former ages, they haue bene men full of actiuity, stirrers abroad, and searchers of the remote parts of the world, so in this most famous and peerlesse gouernement of her most excellent Maiesty, her subiects through the speciall assistance, and blessing of God, in searching the most opposite corners and quarters of the world, and to speake plainly, in compassing the vaste globe of the earth more then once, haue excelled all the nations and people of the earth. For, which of the kings of this land before her Maiesty, had theyr banners euer seene in the Caspian sea? which of them hath euer dealt with the Emperor of Persia, as her Maiesty hath done, and obteined for her merchants large & louing priuileges? who euer saw before this regiment, an English Ligier in the stately porch of the Grand Signor at Constantinople? who euer found English Consuls & Agents at Tripolis in Syria, at Aleppo, at Babylon, at Balsara, and which is more, who euer heard of Englishman at Goa before now? what English shippes did heeretofore euer anker in the mighty riuer of Plate? passe and repasse the vnpassable (in former opinion) straight of Magellan, range along the coast of Chili, Peru, and all the backside of Noua Hispania, further then any Christian euer passed, trauers the mighty bredth of the South sea, land vpon the Luzones in despight of the enemy, enter into alliance, amity, and traffike with the princes of the Moluccaes, & the Isle of Iaua, double the famous Cape of Bona Speranza, ariue at the Isle of Santa Helena, & last of al returne home most richly ladē with the cōmodities of China, as the subiects of this now florishing monarchy haue done?

---

[1] Plinius. lib. 25. cap. 1. Naturalis historiæ.

Lucius Florus in the very end of his historie de gestis Romanorum recordeth as a wonderfull miracle, that the Seres, (which I take to be the people of Cathay, or China) sent Ambassadors to Rome, to intreate frindship, as moued with the fame of the maiesty of the Romane Empire. And haue not we as good cause to admire, that the Kings of the Moluccaes, and Iaua maior, haue desired the fauour of her maiestie, and the commerce & traffike of her people? Is it not as strāge that the borne naturalles of Iapan, and the Philippinaes are here to be seene, agreeing with our climate, speaking our language, and informing vs of the state of their Easterne habitations? For mine owne part, I take it as a pledge of Gods further fauour both vnto vs and them: to them especially, vnto whose doores I doubt not in time shalbe by vs caried the incomparable treasure of the trueth of Christianity, and of the Gospell, while we vse and exercise common trade with their marchants. I must confesse to haue read in the excellent history intituled Origines of Ioannes Goropius, a testimonie of king Henrie the viij. a prince of noble memory, whose intention was once, if death had not preuented him, to haue done some singular thing in this case: whose words speaking of his dealing to that end with himselfe, he being a stranger, & his history rare, I thought good in this place verbatim to record: Ante viginti & plus eo annos ab Henrico Kneuetto Equite Anglo nomine Regis Henrici arram accepi, qua conuenerat, Regio sumptu me totam Asiam, quoad Turcorum & Persarum Regum commendationes, & legationes admitterentur, peragraturum. Ab his enim duobus Asiæ principibus facile se impetraturum sperabat, vt non solùm tutò mihi per ipsorum fines liceret ire, sed vt commendatione etiam ipsorum ad confinia quoque daretur penetrare. Sumptus quidem non exiguus erat futurus, sed tanta erat principi cognoscendi auiditas, vt nullis pecunijs ad hoc iter necessarijs se diceret parsurum. O Dignum Regia Maiestate animum, O me fœlicem, si Deus non antè & Kneuettum & Regem abstulisset, quàm reuersus ab hac peregrinatione fuissem, &c.[1] But as the purpose of Dauid the king to builde a house and temple to God was accepted, although Salomon performed it: so I make no question, but that the zeale in this matter of the aforesaid most renowmed prince may seeme no lesse worthy (in his kinde) of acceptation, although reserued for the person of our Salomon her gratious Maiesty, whome I feare not to pronounce to haue receiued the same Heroicall spirit, and most honorable disposition, as an inheritance from her famous father.

---

[1] Ioannis Goropij Becari originū lib. 5. pag. 494. *Translation*: "More than twenty years before I received from Henry Knevett, an English knight, in the name of King Henry, a retaining fee, it being agreed that I should

Now wheras I haue alwayes noted your wisdome to haue had a speciall care of the honor of her Maiesty, the good reputation of our country, & the aduancing of nauigation, the very walles of this our Island, as the oracle is reported to haue spoken of the sea forces of Athens:[1] and whereas I acknowledge in all dutifull sort how honorably both by your letter and speech I haue bene animated in this and other my trauels, I see my selfe bound to make presentment of this worke to your selfe, as the fruits of your owne incouragements, & the manifestation both of my vnfained seruice to my prince and country, and of my particular duty to your honour: which I haue done with the lesse suspition either of not satisfying the world, or of not answering your owne expectation, in that according to your order, it hath passed the sight, and partly also the censure of the learned phisitian M. Doctor Iames, a man many wayes very notably qualified.

And thus beseeching God, the giuer of all true honor & wisdome to increase both these blessings in you, with continuance of health, strength, happinesse, and whatsoeuer good thing els your selfe can wish, I humbly take my leaue.

London the 17 of Nouember.

Your honors most humble alwayes to be
commanded RICHARD HAKLUYT.

---

travel at the king's expense throughout Asia, so far as the letters of introduction or embassies of the Turkish and Persian monarchs would enable me. For he (the king) hoped easily to obtain from these two Asiatic monarchs not only permission for me to travel through their territories, but also, by their influence, through the frontier states of their kingdoms. The cost was not to be light, but such was that prince's eagerness after knowledge that he declared he would spare no expense for this journey. O mind worthy of regal dignity! O happy me if God had not called away both Knevett and the king before I had returned from that journey!"

[1] Plutarch in the life of Themistocles.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

RICHARD HAKLUYT TO THE FAVOURABLE READER.

I Haue thought it very requisite for thy further instruction and direction in this historie (Good Reader) to acquaint thee brieflie with the Methode and order which I haue vsed in the whole course thereof: and by the way also to let thee vnderstand by whose friendly aide in this my trauell I haue bene furthered: acknowledging that ancient speach to be no lesse true then ingenious, that the offence is great, Non agnoscere per quos profeceris, not to speake of them by whom a man in his indeuours is assisted.

Concerning my proceeding therefore in this present worke, it hath bene this. Whatsoeuer testimonie I haue found in any author of authoritie appertaining to my argument, either stranger or naturall, I haue recorded the same word for word, with his particular name and page of booke where it is extant. If the same were not reduced into our common language, I haue first expressed it in the same termes wherein it is originally written, whether it were a Latine, Italian, Spanish or Portingall discourse, or whatsoeuer els, and thereunto in the next roome haue annexed the signification and translation of the wordes in English. And to the ende that those men which were the paynefull and personall trauellers might reape that good opinion, and iust commendation which they haue deserued, and further, that euery man might answere for himselfe, iustifie his reports, and stand accountable for his owne doings, I haue referred euery voyage to his Author, which both in person hath performed, and in writing hath left the same: for I am not ignorant of Ptolomies assertion, that Peregrinationis historia, and not those wearie volumes bearing the titles of vniuersall Cosmographie which some mē that I could name haue published as their owne, beyng in deed most vntruly and vnprofitablie ramassed and hurled together, is that which must bring vs to the certayne and full discouerie of the world.

Moreouer, I meddle in this worke with the Nauigations onely of our owne nation: And albeit I alleage in a few places (as the matter and occasion required) some strangers as witnesses of the things done, yet are they none but such as either faythfully remember, or sufficiently confirme the trauels of our owne people: of whom (to speake trueth) I haue receiued more light in some respects, then all our owne Historians could affoord me in this case, Bale, Foxe, and Eden onely excepted.

And it is a thing withall principally to be considered, that I stand not vpon any action perfourmed neere home, nor in any part of Europe commonly frequented by our shipping, as for example: Not vpon that victorious exploit not long since atchieued in our narow Seas agaynst that monstrous Spanish army vnder the valiant and prouident conduct of the right honourable the lord Charles Howard high Admirall of England: Not vpon the good seruices of our two woorthie Generals in their late Portugall expedition: Not vpon the two most fortunate attempts of our famous Chieftaine Sir Frauncis Drake, the one in the Baie of Cales vpon a great part of the enimies chiefest shippes, the other neere the Islands vpon the great Carrack of the East India, the first (though peraduenture not the last) of that employment, that euer discharged Molucca spices in English portes: these (albeit singular and happy voyages of our renowmed countrymen) I omit, as things distinct and without the compasse of my prescribed limites, beyng neither of remote length and spaciousnesse, neither of search and discouerie of strange coasts, the chiefe subiect of this my labour.[1]

Thus much in breuitie shall serue thee for the generall order. Particularlie I haue disposed and digested the whole worke into 3. partes, or as it were Classes, not without my reasons. In the first I haue martialled all our voyages of any moment that haue bene performed to the South and Southeast parts of the world, by which I chiefly meane that part of Asia which is neerest, and of the rest hithermost towards vs: For I find that the oldest trauels as well of the ancient Britains, as of the

---

[1] Hakluyt afterwards, in his second edition, did *not* omit these remarkable adventures.

English, were ordinarie to Iudea which is in Asia, termed by them the Holy land, principally for deuotions sake according to the time, although I read in Ioseph Bengorion a very authenticall Hebrew author, a testimonie of the passing of 20000. Britains valiant souldiours, to the siege and fearefull sacking of Ierusalem vnder the conduct of Vespasian and Titus the Romane Emperour, a thing in deed of all the rest most ancient. But of latter dayes I see our men haue pierced further into the East, haue passed downe the mightie riuer Euphrates, haue sayled from Balsara through the Persian gulfe to the Citie of Ormuz, and from thence to Chaul and Goa in the East India, which passages written by the parties themselues are herein to be read. To these I haue added the Nauigations of the English made for the parts of Africa, and either within or without the streights of Gibraltar: within to Constantinople in Romania, to Alexandria, and Cayro in Egypt, to Tunez, to Goletta, to Malta, to Algier, and to Tripolis in Barbary: without, to Santa Cruz, to Asafi, to the Citie of Marocco, to the riuer of Senega, to the Isles of Cape Verde, to Guynea, to Benyn, and round about the dreadfull Cape of Bona Speranza, as farre as Goa.

The north, and Northeasterne voyages of our nation I haue produced in the second place, because our accesse to those quarters of the world is later and not so auncient as the former: and yet some of our trauailes that way be of more antiquitie by many hundred yeeres, then those that haue bene made to the westerne coastes of America. Vnder this title thou shalt first finde the old northerne Nauigations of our Brittish Kings, as of Arthur, of Malgo, of Edgar Pacificus the Saxon Monarch, with that also of Nicholaus de Linna vnder the North pole: next to them in consequence, the discoueries of the bay of Saint Nicholas, of Colgoieue, of Pechora, of the Isles of Vaigats, of Noua Zembla, and of the Sea eastwards towardes the riuer of Ob: after this, the opening by sea of the great Dukedome and Empire of Russia, with the notable and strange iourney of Master Ienkinson to Boghar in Bactria, Whereunto thou maist adde sixe of our voyages eleuen hundred verstes vp against the streame of Dwina to the towne of Vologhda: thence one hundred and fourescore verstes by land to Yeraslaue standing vpon the mighty riuer of Volga: there hence aboue two thousand and fiue hundred versts downe the streame to the ancient marte Towne of Astracan, and so to the manifolde mouthes of Volga, and from thence also by ship ouer the Caspian sea into Media, and further then that also with Camels vnto Georgia, Armenia, Hyrcania, Gillan, and the cheefest Cities of the Empire of Persia: wherein the Companie of Moscouie Marchants to the perpetual honor of their Citie, and societie, haue performed more then any one, yea then all the nations of Europe besides: which thing is also acknowledged by the most learned Cosmographers, and Historiographers of Christendome, with whose honorable testimonies of the action, not many for number, but sufficient for authoritie I haue concluded this second part.

Touching the westerne Nauigations, and trauailes of ours, they succeede naturallie in the third and last roome, for asmuch as in order and course those coastes, and quarters came last of all to our knowledge and experience. Herein thou shalt reade the attempt by Sea of the sonne of one of the Princes of Northwales in sayling and searching towards the west more then 400 yeeres since: the offer made by Christopher Columbus that renowned Genouoys to the most sage Prince of noble memorie King Henrie the 7. with his prompt and cheerefull acceptation thereof, and the occasion whereupon it became fruitlesse, and at that time of no great effect to this kingdome: then followe the letters Patentes of the foresaid noble Prince giuen to Iohn Cabot a Venetian and his 3. sonnes, to discouer & conquer in his name, and vnder his Banners vnknowen Regions: who with that royall incouragement & contribution of the king himselfe, and some assistance in charges of English Marchants departed[1] with 5. sailes from the Port of Bristoll accompanied with 300. Englishmen, and first of any Christians found out that mightie and large tract of lande and Sea, from the circle Arcticke as farre as Florida, as appeareth in the discourse thereof. The triumphant reigne of King Henry the 8. yelded some prosecution of this discouerie: for the 3. voyages performed, and the 4. intended for all Asia by his Maiesties selfe, do approoue and confirme the same. Then in processe of yeeres ariseth the first English trade to Brasill, the first passing of some of our nation in the ordinarie Spanish fleetes to the west Indies, and the huge Citie of Mexico in Noua Hispania. Then immediately ensue 3. voyages made by M. Iohn Hawkins now Knight, then Esquire, to Hispaniola, and the gulfe of Mexico: vpon which depende sixe verie excellent discourses of our men, whereof some for 15. or 16. whole yeeres inhabited in New Spaine, and ranged the whole Countrie, wherein are disclosed the cheefest secretes of the west India, which may in time turne to our no smal aduantage. The next leaues thou turnest, do yeelde thee the first valiant enterprise of Sir Francis Drake vpon Nombre de Dios, the mules laden with treasure which he surprised, and the house called the Cruzes, which his fire consumed: and therewith is ioyned an action more venterous then happie of Iohn Oxnam of Plimmouth written, and confessed by a Spanyard, which with his companie passed ouer the streight Istme of Darien, and building certaine pinnesses on the west shoare, was the first Englishman that entered the South sea. To passe ouer Master Frobisher, and his actions, which I haue also newly though briefely printed, and as it were reuiued, whatsoeuer Master Iohn Dauis hath performed in continuing that discouery, which Master Frobisher began for the northwest passage, I haue faithfully at large communicated it with thee, that so the great good hope, & singular probabilities & almost certaintie therof, which by his industry haue risen, may be knowen generally of all men, that some may yet still prosecute so noble an action. Sir Humfrey Gilbert, that couragious Knight, and very expert in the mysteries of Nauigation amongst the rest is not forgotten: his learned reasons & arguments for the proofe of the passage before named, together with his last more commendable resolution then fortunate successe, are here both to be read. The continuance of the historie, produceth the beginnings, and proceedings of the two English Colonies planted in Virginia at the charges of sir Walter Raleigh, whose entrance vpon those newe inhabitations had bene happie, if it had ben as seruiously followed, as it was cheerefully vndertaken. I could not omit in this parte the two voyages made not long since to the Southwest, whereof I thinke the Spanyard hath had some knowledge, and felt some blowes: the one of Master Edward Fenton, and his consort Master Luke Warde: the other of Master Robert Withrington, and his hardie consort Master Christopher Lister as farre as 44. degrees of southerly latitude, set out at the direction and charge of the right honorable the Earle of Cumberland, both which in diuers respectes may yelde both profite and pleasure to the reader, being carefully perused.

---

[1] Robert Fabian.

For the conclusion of all, the memorable voyage of Master

Thomas Candish into the South sea, and from thence about the globe of the earth doth satisfie mee, and I doubt not but will fully content thee: which as in time it is later then that of Sir Frauncis Drake, so in relation of the Philippinaes, Iapan, China, and the Isle of S. Helena it is more particular, and exact: and therfore the want of the first made by Sir Frauncis Drake will be the lesse: wherein I must confesse to haue taken more then ordinarie paines, meaning to haue inserted it in this worke: but being of late (contrary to my expectation) seriously delt withall, not to anticipate or preuent another mans paines and charge in drawing all the seruices of that worthie Knight into one volume, I haue yeelded vnto those my freindes which pressed me in the matter, referring the further knowledge of his proceedinges to those intended discourses.[1]

Now for the other part of my promise, I must craue thy further patience friendly reader, and some longer suspence from the worke it selfe, in acquainting thee with those vertuous gentlemen, and others which partly for their priuate affection to my selfe, but chiefely for their deuotion to the furtherance of this my trauaile, haue yelded me their seuerall good assistances: for I accompt him vnworthy of future fauours, that is not thankefull for former benefites. In respect of a generall incouragement in this laborious trauaile, it were grosse ingratitude in me to forget, and wilfull maliciousnes not to confesse that man, whose onely name doth carrie with it sufficient estimation and loue, and that is Master Edward Dier, of whom I will speake thus much in few wordes, that both my selfe and my intentions herein by his friendly meanes haue bene made knowne to those, who in sundrie particulars haue much steeded me. More specially in my first part, Master Richard Staper Marchant of London, hath furnished me with diuers thinges touching the trade of Turkie, and other places in the East. Master William Burrowgh, Clarke of her Maiesties nauie, and Master Anthonie Ienkinson, both gentlemen of great experience, and obseruations in the north Regions, haue much pleasured me in the second part. In the third and last besides myne owne extreeme trauaile in the histories of the Spanyards, my cheefest light hath bene receiued from Sir Iohn Hawkins, Sir Walter Raleigh, and my kinseman Master Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple.

---

[1] This, however, he printed privately.

And whereas in the course of this history often mention is made of many beastes, birds, fishes, serpents, plants, fruits, hearbes, rootes, apparell, armour, boates, and such other rare and strange curiosities, which wise men take great pleasure to reade of, but much more contentment to see: herein I my selfe to my singuler delight haue bene as it were rauished in beholding all the premisses gathered together with no small cost, and preserued with no litle diligence, in the excellent Cabinets of my very worshipfull and learned friends M. Richard Garthe, one of the Clearkes of the pettie Bags, and M. William Cope Gentleman Vssier to the right Honourable and most prudent Counseller (the Seneca of our common wealth,) the Lord Burleigh, high Treasourer of England.

Nowe, because peraduenture it would bee expected as necessarie, that the descriptions of so many parts of the world would farre more easily be conceiued of the Readers, by adding Geographicall, and Hydrographicall tables thereuuto, thou art by the way to be admonished that I haue contented my selfe with inserting into the wsrke one of the best generall mappes of the world onely, vntill the comming out of a very large and most exact terrestriall Globe, collected and reformed according to the newest, secretest, and latest discoueries, both Spanish, Portugall, and English, composed by M. Emmerie Mollineux of Lambeth, a rare Gentleman in his profession, being therein for diuers yeeres, greatly supported by the purse and liberalitie of the worshipfull marchant M. William Sanderson.[1]

This being the summe of those things which I thought good to admonish thee of (good Reader) it remaineth that thou take the profite and pleasure of the worke: which I wish to bee as great to thee, as my paines and labour haue bene in bringing these rawe fruits vnto this ripenesse, and in reducing these loose papers into this order. Farewell.

---

[1] **This map it has been found impossible to reproduce in facsimile, though every effort has been made; a facsimile of Ziegler's Map of 1532 has been substituted as a Frontispiece to this Volume.**

DEDICATION TO THE SECOND EDITION,

TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE MY SINGVLAR GOOD LORD,

THE LORD CHARLES HOWARD,[1]

EARLE OF NOTINGHAM, BARON OF EFFINGHAM, KNIGHT OF THE NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER, LORD HIGH ADMIRALL OF ENGLAND, IRELAND, AND WALES, &C., ONE OF HER MAIESTIES MOST HONOURABLE PRIVIE COUNSELL.

RIGHT Honourable and my very good Lord, after I had long since published in Print many Nauigations and Discoueries of Strangers in diuers languages, as well here at London, as in the citie of Paris, during my fiue yeeres abode in France, with the woorthie Knight Sir Edward Stafford your brother in lawe, her maiesties most prudent and carefull Ambassador ligier with the French King: and had waded on still farther and farther in the sweet studie of the historie of Cosmographie, I began at length to conceiue, that with diligent obseruation, some thing might be gathered which might commend our nation for their high courage and singular actiuitie in the Search and Discouerie of the most vnknowen quarters of the world. Howbeit, seeing no man to step forth to vndertake the recording of so many memorable actions, but euery man to folow his priuate affaires: the ardent loue of my countrey deuoured all difficulties, and as it were with a sharpe goad prouoked me and thrust me forward into this most troublesome and painfull action. And after great charges and infinite cares, after many watchings, toiles, and trauels, and wearying out of my weake body: at length I haue collected three seuerall Volumes of the English Nauigations, Traffiques, and Discoueries, to strange, remote, and farre distant countreys. Which worke of mine I haue not included within the compasse of things onely done in these latter dayes, as though litle or nothing woorthie of memorie had bene performed in former ages: but mounting aloft by the space of many hundred yeeres, haue brought to light many very rare and worthy monuments, which long haue lien miserably scattered in mustie corners, & retchlesly hidden in mistie darkenesse, and were very like for the greatest part to haue bene buried in perpetuall obliuion. The first Volume of this worke I haue thus for the present brought to light, reseruing the other two vntill the next Spring, when by Gods grace they shall come to the Presse. In the meane season bethinking my selfe of some munificent and bountifull Patrone, I called to mind your honourable Lordship, who both in regard of my particular obligation, and also in respect of the subiect and matter, might iustly chalenge the Patronage thereof. For first I remembered how much I was bound, and how deeply indebted for my yongest brother Edmund Hackluyt, to whom for the space of foure whole yeeres your Lordship committed the gouernment and instruction of that honorable yong noble man, your sonne & heire apparant, the lord William Howard, of whose high spirit and wonderful towardlinesse full many a time hath he boasted vnto me. Secondly, the bounden duetie which I owe to your most deare sister the lady Sheffield, my singular good lady & honorable mistresse, admonished me to be mindfull of the renoumed familie of the Howards. Thirdly, when I found in the first Patent graunted by Queene Marie to the Moscouie companie, that my lord your father being then lord high Admirall of England, was one of the first fauourers and furtherers, with his purse and countenance, of the strange and wonderfull Discouerie of Russia, the chiefe contents of this present Volume, then I remēbred the sage saying of sweet Isocrates, That sonnes ought not onely to be inheriters of their fathers substance, but also of their commendable vertues and honours. But what speake I of your ancestors honors (which to say the trueth, are very great, and such as our Cronicles haue notably blazoned) when as your owne Heroicall actions from time to time haue shewed themselues so admirable, as no antiquitie hath affoorded greater, and the future times will not in haste (I thinke) performe the like. To come to some particulars, when the Emperors sister, the spouse of Spaine, with a Fleete of an 130. sailes, stoutly and proudly passed the narow Seas, your Lordship accompanied with ten ships onely of her Maiesties Nauie Roiall, enuironed their Fleet in most strange and warrelike sort, enforced them to stoope gallant, and to vaile their bonets for the Queene of England, and made them perfectly to vnderstand that olde speach of the prince of Poets:

---

[1] He was the grandson of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk, and was born in 1536. He entered the army early, and distinguished himself in suppressing the rebellion of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland in 1568 (for full particulars of which see Froude, "History of England," vol. ix., p. 96). He became Lord High Admiral in 1585, and rendered great service in 1588 against the Invincible Armada. In 1596 he was created Earl of Nottingham for his Expedition against Cadiz in conjunction with the Earl of Essex. In 1601 he suppressed the revolt of the latter and made him prisoner. He was present at Elizabeth's death in 1603, and the following year went as ambassador to Spain. He died in 1624, never having forfeited in any way the confidence of his sovereign or the esteem of his countrymen.

Non illi imperium pelagi sæuúmque tridentem,
sed tibi sorte datum.[1]

Yet after they had acknowledged their dutie, your lordship on her Maiesties behalfe conducted her safely through our English chanell, and performed all good offices of honor and humanitie to that forren Princesse. At that time all England beholding your most honorable cariage of your selfe in that so weightie seruice, began to cast an extraordinarie eie vpon your lordship, and deeply to conceiue that singular hope which since by your most worthie & wonderfull seruice, your L. hath more then fully satisfied. I meane (among others) that glorious, triumphant, and thrise-happy victory atchieued against that huge and haultie Spanish Armada (which is notably described in the ende of this volume) wherein being chiefe and sole Commander vnder her sacred and roiall Maiestie, your noble gouernment and worthy behauior, your high wisedom, discretion and happinesse, accompanied with the heauenly blessing of the Almightie, are shewed most euidently to haue bene such, as all posteritie and succeeding ages shall neuer cease to sing and resound your infinite prayse and eternall commendations. As for the late renoumed expedition and honorable voyage vnto Cadiz, the vanquishing of part of the king of Spaines Armada, the destruction of the rich West Indian Fleete, the chasing of so many braue and gallant Gallies, the miraculous winning, sacking, and burning of that almost impregnable citie of Cadiz, the surprising of the towne of Faraon vpon the coast of Portugal, and other rare appendances of that enterprise, because they be hereafter so iudicially set downe, by a very graue and learned Gentleman, which was an eye witnesse in all that action, I referre your good L. to his faithfull report, wherein I trust (as much as in him lay) he hath wittingly depriued no man of his right. Vpon these and other the like considerations, I thought it fit and very conuenient to commend with all humilitie and reuerence this first part of our English Voiages & Discoueries vnto your Honors fauourable censure and patronage.

---

[1] Virgil, Æneid I. *Translation*: "Not to him is given by fate the empire of the ocean and the potent trident, but to thee."

And here by the way most humbly crauing pardon, and alwayes submitting my poore opinion to your Lordships most deep and percing insight, especially in this matter, as being the father and principall fauourer of the English Nauigation, I trust it shall not be impertinent in passing by, to point at the meanes of breeding vp of skilfull Sea-men and Mariners in this Realme. Sithence your Lordship is not ignorant, that ships are to litle purpose without skilfull Sea-men; and since Sea-men are not bred vp to perfection of skill in much lesse time (as it is said) then in the time of two prentiships; and since no kinde of men of any profession in the common wealth passe their yeres in so great and continuall hazard of life; and since of so many, so few grow to gray heires: how needfull it is, that by way of Lectures and such like instructions, these ought to haue a better education, then hitherto they haue had; all wise men may easily iudge. When I call to minde, how many noble ships haue been lost, how many worthy persons haue bene drenched in the sea, and how greatly this Realme hath bene impouerished by losse of great Ordinance and other rich commodities through the ignorance of our Sea-men, I haue greatly wished there were a Lecture of Nauigation read in this Citie, for the banishing of our former grosse ignorance in Marine causes, and for the increase and generall multiplying of the sea-knowledge in this age, wherein God hath raised so generall a desire in the youth of this Realme to discouer all parts of the face of the earth, to this Realme in former ages not knowen. And, that it may appeare that this is no vaine fancie nor deuise of mine, it may please your Lordship to vnderstand, that the late Emperour Charles the fift, considering the rawnesse of his Sea-men, and the manifolde shipwracks which they susteyned in passing and repassing betweene Spaine and the West Indies, with an high reach and great foresight, established not onely a Pilote Maior, for the examination of such as sought to take charge of ships in that voyage, but also founded a notable Lecture of the Art of Nauigation, which is read to this day in the Contractation house at Siuil. The readers of which Lecture haue not only carefully taught and instructed the Spanish Mariners by word of mouth, but also haue published sundry exact and worthy treatises concerning Marine causes, for the direction and incouragement of posteritie. The learned works of three of which readers, namely of Alonso de Chauez, of Hieronymo de Chauez, and of Roderigo Zamorano came long ago very happily to my hands, together with the straight and seuere examining of all such Masters as desire to take charge for the West Indies. Which when I first read and duely considered, it seemed to mee so excellent and so exact a course, as I greatly wished, that I might be so happy as to see the like order established here with vs. This matter, as it seemeth, tooke no light impression in the royall brest of that most renowmed and victorious prince King Henry the eight of famous memory; who for the increase of knowledge in his Seamen, with princely liberalitie erected three seuerall Guilds or brotherhoods, the one at Deptford here vpon the Thames, the other at Kingston vpon Hull, and the third at Newcastle vpon Tine: which last was established in the 28. yeere of his reigne. The chiefe motiues which induced his princely wisedome hereunto, himselfe expresseth in maner following. Vt magistri, marinarij, gubernatores, & alij officiarij nauium, iuuentutem suam in exercitatione gubernationis nauium transigentes, mutilati, aut aliquo alio casu in paupertatem collapsi, aliquod releuamen ad eorum sustentationem habeant, quo non solùm illi reficiantur, verùm etiam alij iuuenes moueantur & instigentur ad eandem artem exercendam, ratione cuius, doctiores & aptiores fiant nauibus & alijs vasis nostris & aliorum quorumcúnque in Mare gubernandis & manutenendis, tam pacis, quàm belli tempore, cum opus postulet, etc.[1] To descend a little lower, king Edward

---

[1] *Translation*: "That masters, mariners, pilots, and other officers of ships, who have passed their youth in the profession of navigating vessels, being mutilated, or reduced to poverty through any other cause, might have some means of subsistence, by which not only they may be made comfortable, but

the sixt that prince of peerelesse hope, with the aduise of his sage and prudent Counsaile, before he entred into the North-easterne discouery, aduanced the worthy and excellent Sebastian Cabota to be grand Pilot of England, allowing him a most bountifull pension of 166.li. vj.s. viij.d. by the yeere during his life, as appeareth in his Letters Patents which are to be seene in the third part of my worke. And if God had granted him longer life, I doubt not but as he dealt most royally in establishing that office of Pilote Maior (which not long after to the great hinderance of this Common wealth was miserably turned to other priuate vses) so his princely Maiestie would haue shewed himselfe no nigard in erecting, in imitation of Spaine, the like profitable Lecture of the Art of Nauigation. And surely when I considered of late the memorable bountie of sir Thomas Gresham,[1] who being but a Merchant hath founded so many chargeable Lectures, and some of them also which are Mathematicall, tending to the aduancement of Marine causes; I nothing doubted of your Lordships forwardnes in settling and establishing of this Lecture; but rather when your Lordship shall see the noble and rare effects thereof, you will be heartily sory that all this while it hath not bene erected. As therefore our skill in Nauigation hath hitherto bene very much bettered and increased vnder the Admiraltie of your Lordship; so if this

---

by which other youths may be induced and led to the exercise of the same profession, through which they may become more apt to and skilful in the pilotage and management at sea of ships and vessels in times of peace or war, as is necessary," etc.

[1] He was the son of Sir Richard Gresham, merchant and Lord Mayor of London, and was born in 1519. Educated at Cambridge, he was placed under his uncle, Sir John Gresham, and enrolled a member of the Mercers' Company. His father had been the king's agent at Antwerp, and the person who succeeded him having mismanaged the royal affairs, Sir Thomas was sent over in 1552 to retrieve them. This he was most successful in doing. Elizabeth removed him from his office, but soon restored and knighted him. He planned and erected the Royal Exchange in London, in imitation of that of Antwerp, and the queen opened it in person in 1570. Having built a mansion in Bishopsgate Street, he directed by his will that it should be converted into habitations and lecture rooms for seven professors or lecturers on the seven liberal sciences, and their salaries to be paid out of the revenues of the Royal Exchange. These and other benefactions procured for him the name of the "Royal Merchant." He died in 1579. Gresham College has since been converted into the General Excise Office, and the lectures havebeen given in a room over the Exchange.

one thing be added thereunto, together with seuere and straight discipline, I doubt not but with Gods good blessing it will shortly grow to the hiest pitch and top of all perfection: which whensoeuer it shall come to passe, I assure my selfe it will turne to the infinite wealth and honour of our Countrey, to the prosperous and speedy discouerie of many rich lands and territories of heathens and gentiles as yet vnknowen, to the honest employment of many thousands of our idle people, to the great comfort and reioycing of our friends, to the terror, daunting and confusion of our foes. To ende this matter, let me now I beseech you speake vnto your Lordship, as in times past the elder Scipio spake to Cornelius Scipio Africanus: Quò sis, Africane, alacrior ad tutandam Rempublicam, sic habeto: Omnibus, qui patriam conseruauerint, adiuuerint, auxerint, certum esse in cœlo, ac definitum locum, vbi beati æuo sempiterno fruantur. It remaineth therefore, that as your Lordship from time to time vnder her most gracious and excellent Maiestie, haue shewed your selfe a valiant protectour, a carefull conseruer, and an happy enlarger of the honour and reputation of your Countrey; so at length you may enioy those celestial blessings, which are prepared to such as tread your steps, and seeke to aspire to such diuine and heroical vertues. And euen here I surcease, wishing all temporal and spirituall blessings of the life present and that which is to come to be powred out in most ample measure, not onely vpon your honourable Lordship, the noble and vertuous Lady your bedfellow, and those two rare iewels, your generous off-springs, but also vpon all the rest wheresoeuer of that your noble and renowmed family. From London the 7. day of this present October 1598.

Your honours most humble alwayes to be
commanded:
Richard Hakluyt Preacher.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

¶ A preface to the Reader as touching the principall Voyages and discourses in this first part.

HAuing for the benefit and honour of my Countrey zealously bestowed so many yeres, so much trauaile and cost, to bring Antiquities smothered and buried in darke silence, to light, and to preserue certaine memorable exploits of late yeeres by our English nation atchieued, from the greedy and deuouring iawes of obliuion: to gather likewise, and as it were to incorporate into one body the torne and scattered limmes of our ancient and late Nauigations by Sea, our voyages by land, and traffiques of merchandise by both: and hauing (so much as in me lieth) restored ech particular member, being before displaced, to their true ioynts and ligaments; I meane, by the helpe of Geographie and Chronologie (which I may call the Sunne and the Moone, the right eye and the left of all history) referred ech particular relation to the due time and place: I do this second time (friendly Reader, if not to satisfie, yet at least for the present to allay and hold in suspense thine expectation) presume to offer vnto thy view this first part of my threefold discourse. For the bringing of which into this homely and rough-hewen shape, which here thou seest; what restlesse nights, what painefull dayes, what heat, what cold I haue indured; how many long & chargeable iourneys I haue trauailed: how many famous libraries I haue searched into; what varietie of ancient and moderne writers I haue perused; what a number of old records, patents, priuileges, letters, &c. I haue redeemed from obscuritie and perishing; into how manifold acquaintance I haue entered: what expenses I haue not spared; and yet what faire opportunities of priuate gaine, preferment, and ease I haue neglected; albeit thyselfe canst hardly imagine, yet I by daily experience do finde & feele, and some of my entier friends can sufficiently testifie. Howbeit (as I told thee at the first) the honour and benefit of this common weale wherein I liue and breathe, hath made all difficulties seeme easie, all paines and industrie pleasant, and all expenses of light value and moment vnto me.

For (to conteine myselfe onely within the bounds of this present discourse, and in the midst thereof to begin) wil it not in all posteritie be as great a renowme vnto our English nation, to haue bene the first discouerers of a Sea beyond the North cape (neuer certainly knowen before) and of a conuenient passage into the huge Empire of Russia by the bay of S. Nicholas and the riuer of Duina; as for the Portugales to haue found a Sea beyond the Cape of Buona Esperanza, and so consequently a passage by Sea into the East Indies; or for the Italians and Spaniards to haue discouered vnknowen landes so many hundred leagues Westward and Southwestward of the streits of Gibraltar, & of the pillers of Hercules? Be it granted that the renowmed Portugale Vasques de Gama trauersed the maine Ocean Southward of Africke: Did not Richard Chanceler and his mates performe the like Northward of Europe? Suppose that Columbus that noble and high-spirited Genuois escried vnknowen landes to the Westward of Europe and Africke: Did not the valiant English knight sir Hugh Willoughby; did not the famous Pilots Stephen Burrough, Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackman accoast Noua Zembla, Colgoieue, and Vaigatz to the North of Europe and Asia? Howbeit you will say perhaps, not with the like golden successe, not with such deductions of Colonies, nor attaining of conquests. True it is that our successe hath not bene correspondent vnto theirs: yet in this our attempt the vncertaintie of finding was farre greater, and the difficultie and danger of searching was no whit lesse. For hath not Herodotus (a man for his time, most skilfull and iudicial in Cosmographie, who writ aboue 2000. yeeres ago) in his 4. booke called Melpomene, signified vnto the Portugales in plaine termes; that Africa, except the small Isthmus between the Arabian gulfe and the Mediterran sea, was on all sides enuironed with the Ocean? And for the further confirmation thereof, doth he not make mention of one Neco an Ægyptian King, who (for trials sake) sent a fleet of Phœnicians downe the Red sea; who setting forth in Autumne and sailing Southward till they had the Sunne at noonetide vpon their sterbourd (that is to say, hauing crossed the Æquinoctial and the Southerne tropique) after a long Nauigation, directed their course to the North, and in the space of 3. yeeres enuironed all Africk, passing home through the Gaditan streites, and arriuing in Ægypt? And doth not[1] Plinie tel them that noble Hanno, in the flourishing time and estate of Carthage, sailed from Gades in Spaine to the coast of Arabia fœlix, and put downe his whole iournall in writing? Doth he not make mention that in the time of Augustus Cæsar, the wracke of certaine Spanish ships was found floating in the Arabian gulfe? And, not to be ouer tedious in alleaging of testimonies, doth not Strabo in the 2. booke of his Geography, together with Cornelius Nepos and Plinie in the place beforenamed, agree all in one, that one Eudoxus fleeing from king Lathyrus, and valing downe the Arabian bay, sailed along, doubled the Southern point of Africk, and at length arriued at Gades? And what should I speake of the Spaniards? Was not diuine[2] Plato (who liued so many ages ago, and plainely described their West Indies vnder the name of Atlantis) was not he (I say) instead of a Cosmographer vnto them? Were not those Carthaginians mentioned by Aristotle lib.[3] de admirabil. auscult. their forerunners? And had they not Columbus to stirre them vp, and pricke them forward vnto their Westerne discoueries; yea, to be their chiefe loads-man and Pilot? Sithens therefore these two worthy Nations had those bright lampes of learning (I meane the most ancient and best Philosophers, Historiographers and Geographers) to shewe them light; and the load-starre of experience (to wit those great exploits and voyages layed vp in store and recorded) whereby to shape their course: what great attempt might they not presume to vndertake? But alas our English nation, at the first setting foorth for their Northeasterne discouery, were either altogether destitute of such cleare lights and inducements, or if they had any inkling at all, it was as misty as they found the Northren seas, and so obscure and ambiguous, that it was meet rather to deterre them, then to giue them encouragement.

But besides the foresaid vncertaintie, into what dangers and difficulties they plunged themselues, Animus meminisse horret, I tremble to recount. For first they were to expose themselues vnto the rigour of the sterne and vncouth Northren seas, and to make triall of the swelling waues and boistrous winds which there commonly do surge and blow: then were they to saile by the ragged and perilous coast of Norway, to frequent the vnhaunted shoares of Finmark, to double the dreadfull and misty North cape, to beare with Willoughbies land, to run along within kenning of the Countreys of Lapland and Corelia, and as it were to open and vnlocke the seuen-fold mouth of Duina. Moreouer, in their Northeasterly Nauigations, vpon the seas and by the coasts of Condora, Colgoieue, Petzora, Ioughoria, Samoedia, Noua Zembla, &c. and their passing and returne through the streits of Vaigats, vnto what drifts of snow and mountaines of yce euen in Iune, Iuly, and August, vnto what hideous ouerfals, vncertaine currents, darke mistes and fogs, and diuers other fearefull inconueniences they were subiect and in danger of, I wish you rather to learne out of the voyages of sir Hugh Willoughbie, Stephen Burrough, Arthur Pet and the rest, then to expect in this place an endlesse catalogue thereof. And here by the way I cannot but highly commend the great industry and magnanimity of the Hollanders, who within these few yeeres haue discouered to 78. yea (as themselues affirme) to 81. degrees of Northerly latitude[1]: yet with this prouiso; that our English nation led them the dance, brake the yce before them, and gaue them good leaue to light their candle at our torch.[2] But nowe it is high time for vs to weigh our ancre, to hoise vp our sailes, to get cleare of these boistrous, frosty, and misty seas, and with all speede to direct our course for the milde, lightsome, temperate, and warme Atlantick Ocean, ouer which the Spaniards and Portugales haue made so many pleasant prosperous and golden voyages. And albeit I cannot deny, that both of them in their East and West Indian Nauigations haue indured many tempests, dangers, and shipwracks: yet this dare I boldly affirme; first that a great number of them haue satisfied their fame-thirsty and gold-thirsty mindes with that reputation and wealth, which made all perils and misaduentures seeme tolerable vnto them; and secondly, that their first attempts (which in this comparison I doe onely stand vpon) were no whit more difficult and dangerous, then ours to the Northeast. For admit that the way was much longer, yet was it neuer barred with ice, mist, or darknes, but was at all seasons of the yeere open and Nauigable; yea and that for the most part with fortunate and fit gales of winde. Moreouer they had no forren prince to intercept or molest them, but their owne Townes, Islands and maine lands to succour them. The Spaniards had the Canary Isles: and so had the Portugales the Isles of the Açores, of Porto santo, of Madera, of Cape verd, the castle of Mina, the fruitfull and profitable Isle of S. Thomas, being all of them conueniently situated, and well fraught with commodities. And had they not continuall and yerely trade in some one part or other of Africa, for getting of slaues, for sugar, for Elephants teeth, graines, siluer, gold and other precious wares, which serued as allurements to draw them on by little and litle, and as proppes to stay them from giuing ouer their attempts? But nowe let vs leaue them and returne home vnto ourselues.

---

[1] Lib. 2. nat. hist. cap. 67.

[2] In Timæo.

[3] *περὶ θαυμασίων ακουσμάτων.*

---

[1] This is wrong. The Austro-Hungarian Expedition of 1872—1874 only reached 81° in Franz Josef Land. Barentz certainly never penetrated beyond 77° or 78°.

[2] This refers to the expeditions of Willoughby (1553), Frobisher (1576-7), Pett, Jackman (1580), and Davis (1585).

In this first volume (friendly Reader) besides our Northeasterne Discoueries by sea, and the memorable voyage of M. Christopher Hodson, and M. William Burrough, Anno 1570. to the Narue, wherein with merchants ships onely, they tooke fiue strong and warrelike ships of the Freebooters, which lay within the sound of Denmark of purpose to intercept our English Fleete: besides all these (I say) thou maiest find here recorded, to the lasting honor of our nation, all their long and dangerous voyages for the aduauncing of traffique by riuer and by land to all parts of the huge and wide Empire of Russia: as namely Richard Chanceler his first fortunate arriuall at Newnox, his passing vp the riuer of Dwina to the citie of Vologda for the space of 1100. versts, and from thence to Yaruslaue, Rostoue, Peraslaue, and so to the famous citie of Mosco, being 1500. versts trauell in all. Moreouer, here thou hast his voiage penned by himselfe (which I hold to be very authentical, & for the which I do acknowledge my selfe beholding vnto the excellent Librarie of the right honorable my lord Lumley) wherein he describeth in part the state of Russia, the maners of the people and their religion, the magnificence of the Court, the maiestie, power, and riches of the Emperour, and the gracious entertainment of himselfe. But if he being the first man, and not hauing so perfect intelligence as they that came after him, doeth not fullie satisfie your expectation in describing the foresayd countrey and people; I then referre you to Clement Adams his relation next following, to M. Ienkinsons discourse as touching that argument, to the smooth verses of M. George Turberuile, and to a learned and excellent discourse set downe, pag. 536. of this volume,[1] and the pages following. Vnto all which (if you please) you may adde Richard Iohnsons strange report of the Samoeds, pag. 316. But to returne to our voyages performed within the bounds of Russia, I suppose (among the rest) that difficult iourney of Southam and Sparke, from Colmogro and S. Nicholas Baie, vp the great riuer of Onega, and so by other riuers and lakes to the citie of Nouogrod velica vpon the West frontier of Russia, to be right woorthy of obseruation; as likewise that of Thomas Alcock from Mosco to Smolensko, and thence to Tirwill in Polonia, pag. 339. & that also of M. Hierome Horsey from Mosco to Vobsko, and so through Liefland to Riga, thence by the chiefe townes of Prussia and Pomerland to Rostok, and so to Hamburg, Breme, Emden, &c. Neither hath our nation bene contented onely throughly to search into all parts of the Inland, and view the Northren, Southerne, and Westerne frontiers, but also by the riuers of Moscua, Occa and Volga, to visite Cazan and Astracan, the farthest Easterne and Southeasterne bounds of that huge Empire. And yet not containing themselues within all that maine circumference they haue aduentured their persons, shippes, and goods, homewards and outwards, foureteene times ouer the vnknowen and dangerous Caspian sea; that valiant, wise, and personable gentleman M. Anthonie Ienkinson being their first ring-leader: who in Anno 1558. sailing from Astracan towards the East shore of the Caspian sea, and there arriuing at the port of Mangusla, trauelled thence by Vrgence and Shelisur, and by the riuers of Oxus and Ardok, 40. dayes iourney ouer desert and wast countreys, to Boghar a principall citie of Bactria, being there & by the way friendly entertained, dismissed, and safely conducted by certaine Tartarian kings and Murses. Then haue you a second Nauigation of his performance to the South shore of the foresayd Caspian sea, together with his landing at Derbent, his arriuall at Shabran, his proceeding vnto Shamaky, the great curtesie vouchsafed on him by Obdolowcan king of Hircan, his iourney after of 30. dayes Southward, by Yauate,

---

[1] Refers to *original* edition.

Ardouil, and other townes and cities to Casben, being as then the seate imperiall of Shaugh Thamas the great Sophy of Persia, with diuers other notable accidents in his going foorth, in his abode there, and in his returne home. Immediately after you haue set downe in fiue seuerall voiages the successe of M. Ienkinsons laudable and well-begun enterprise, vnder the foresayd Shaugh Thamas, vnder Shally Murzey the new king of Hircan, and lastly our traffique with Osman Basha the great Turkes lieutenant at Derbent. Moreouer, as in M. Ienkinsons trauel to Boghar the Tartars, with their territories, habitations, maner of liuing, apparell, food, armour, &c. are most liuely represented vnto you: so likewise in the sixe Persian Iournals you may here and there obserue the state of that countrey, of the great Shaugh and of his subiects, together with their religion, lawes, customes, & maner of gouernment, their coines, weights and measures, the distances of places, the temperature of the climate and region, and the natural commodities and discommodities of the same.

Furthermore in this first Volume, all the Ambassages and Negociations from her Maiestie to the Russian Emperor, or from him vnto her Maiestie, seemed by good right to chalenge their due places of Record. As namely, first that of M. Randolph, 1568. then the emploiment of M. Ienkinson 1571. thirdly, Sir Ierome Bowes his honorable commission and ambassage 1582. and last of all the Ambassage of M. Doct. Fletcher 1588. Neither do we forget the Emperours first Ambassador Osep Napea, his arriuall in Scotland, his most honourable entertainment and abode in England, and his dismission into Russeland. In the second place we doe make mention of Stephen Tuerdico, and Pheodata Pogorella; thirdly, of Andrea Sauin; and lastly, of Pheodor Andrewich Phisemski. And to be briefe, I haue not omitted the Commissions, Letters, Priuileges, Instructions, Obseruations, or any other Particulars which might serue both in this age, and with all posteritie, either for presidents in such like princely and weightie actions to bee imitated, or as woorthy monuments in no wise to bee buried in silence. Finally that nothing should be wanting which might adde any grace or shew of perfection vnto this discourse of Russia; I haue prefixed before the beginning thereof, the petigree and genealogie of the Russian Emperors and Dukes, gathered out of their owne Chronicles by a Polonian, containing in briefe many notable antiquities and much knowledge of those partes: as likewise about the conclusion, I haue signified in the branch of a letter, the last Emperour Pheodor Iuanowich his death, and the inauguration of Boris Pheodorowich vnto the Empire.

But that no man should imagine that our forren trades of merchandise haue bene comprised within some few yeeres, or at least wise haue not bene of any long continuance; let vs now withdraw our selues from our affaires in Russia, and ascending somewhat higher, let vs take a sleight suruey of our traffiques and negotiations in former ages. First therefore the reader may haue recourse vnto the 137 page[1] of this Volume, & there with great delight and admiration, consider out of the iudicial Historiographer Cornelius Tacitus, that the Citie of London fifteene hundred yeeres agoe in the time of Nero the Emperour, was most famous for multitude of merchants and concourse of people. In the pages folowing he may learne out of Venerable Beda, that almost 900. yeeres past, in the time of the Saxons, the said citie of London was multorum emporium populorum, a Mart-towne for many nations. There he may behold, out of William of Malmesburie, a league concluded betweene the most renoumed and victorious Germane Emperour Carolus Magnus, and the Saxon king Offa, together with the sayd Charles his patronage and protection granted vnto all English merchants which in those dayes frequented his dominions. There may hee plainly see in an auncient testimonie translated out of the Saxon tongue, how our merchants were often woont for traffiques sake, so many hundred yeeres since, to crosse the wide Seas, and how their industry in so doing was recompensed. Yea, there mayest thou obserue (friendly Reader) what priuileges the Danish king Canutus obtained at Rome of Pope Iohn, of Conradus the Emperour, and of king Rudolphus for our English merchants Aduenturers of those times. Then if you shall thinke good to descend vnto the times and ages succeeding the conquest, there may you partly see what our state of merchandise was in the time of king Stephen and of his predecessor, and how the Citie of Bristol (which may seeme somewhat strange) was then greatly resorted vnto with ships from Norway and from Ireland. There may you see the friendly league betweene king Henry the second, and the famous Germane Emperour Friderick Barbarossa, and the gracious authorizing of both their merchāts to traffique in either of their dominions. And what need I to put you in mind of king Iohn his fauourable safe conduct, whereby all forren merchants were to haue the same priuileges here in England, which our English merchants enioied abroad in their seuerall countreys. Or what should I signifie vnto you the entercourse of league and of other curtesies betweene king Henry the third, and Haquinus king of Norway; and likewise of the free trade of merchandise between their subiects: or tell you what fauours the citizens of Colen, of Lubek, and of all the Hansetownes obtained of king Edward the first; or to what high endes and purposes the generall, large, and stately Charter concerning all outlandish merchants whatsoeuer was by the same prince most graciously published? You are of your owne industry sufficiently able to conceiue of the letters & negotiatiōs which passed between K. Edward the 2. & Haquinus the Noruagian king; of our English merchants and their goods detained vpon arrest at Bergen in Norway; and also of the first ordination of a Staple, or of one onely setled Mart-towne for the vttering of English woolls & woollen fells, instituted by the sayd K. Edward last before named. All which (Reader) being throughly considered, I referre you then to the Ambassages, Letters, Traffiques, and prohibition of Traffiques, concluding and repealing of leagues, damages, reprisals, arrests, complaints, supplications, compositions and restitutions which happened in the time of king Richard the 2. and king Henry the 4. between the said kings and their subiects on the one partie; and Conradus de Zolner, Conradus de Iungingen, and Vlricus de Iungingen, three of the great masters of Prussia, and their subiects, with the common societie of the Hans-townes on the other partie. In all which discourse you may note very many memorable things; as namely first the wise, discreet, and cautelous dealing of the Ambassadors and Commissioners of both parts, then the wealth of the foresaid nations, and their manifold and most vsuall kinds of wares vttered in those dayes, as likewise the qualitie, burthen, and strength of their shipping, the number of their Mariners, the maner of their combates at sea, the number and names of the English townes which traded that way, with the particular places as well vpon the coast of Norway, as euery where within the sound of Denmark which they frequented; together with the inueterate malice and craftie crueltie of the Hanse. And because the name, office, and dignitie of the masters generall or great Masters of Prussia would otherwise haue bene vtterly darke and vnknowen to the greater part of Readers, I haue set downe immediatly before the first Prussian ambassage, pagina 158[1] a briefe and orderly Catalogue of them all, contayning the first originall and institution of themselues and of their whole knightly order and brotherhood, with the increase of reuenues and wealth which befell them afterward in Italy and Germany and the great conquests which they atchieued vpon the infidels of Prussia, Samogitia, Curland, Liefland, Lituania, &c. also their decay and finall ouerthrow, partly by the reuolt of diuers Townes and Castles vnder their iurisdiction, and partly by the meanes of their next mightie neighbour the King of Poland.

---

[1] This refers to the original edition.

After all these, out of 2. branches of 2. ancient statutes, is partly shewed our trade and the successe thereof with diuers forren Nations in the time of K. Henry the sixt.

Then followeth the true processe of English policie, I meane that excellent and pithy treatise de politia conseruatiua maris: which I cannot to any thing more fitly compare, then to the Emperour of Russia his palace called the golden Castle, and described by Richard Chanceller pag. 264[2] of this volume: whereof albeit the outward apparance was but homely and no whit correspondent to the name, yet was it within so beautified and adorned with the Emperour his maiesticall presence, with the honourable and great assembly of his rich-attired Peers and Senatours, with an inualuable and huge masse of gold and siluer plate, & with other princely magnificence; that well might the eyes of the beholders be dazeled, and their cogitations astonished thereat. For indeed the exteriour habit of this our English politician, to wit, the harsh and vnaffected stile of his substantiall verses and the olde dialect of his wordes is such; as the first may seeme to haue bene whistled of Pans oaten pipe, and the second to haue proceeded from the mother of Euander: but take you off his vtmost weed, and beholde the comelinesse, beautie, and riches which lie hid within his inward sense and sentence; and you shall finde (I wisse) so much true and sound policy, so much delightfull and pertinent history, so many liuely descriptions of the shipping and wares in his time of all the nations almost in Christendome, and such a subtile discouery of outlandish merchants fraud, and of the sophistication of their wares; that needes you must acknowledge, that more matter and substance could in no wise be comprised in so little a roome.[1] And notwithstanding (as I said) his stile be vnpolished, and his phrases somewhat out of vse; yet, so neere as the written copies would giue me leaue, I haue most religiously without alteration obserued the same: thinking it farre more conuenient that himselfe should speake, then that I should bee his spokesman; and that the Readers should enioy his true verses, then mine or any other mans fained prose.

---

[1] This means, of course, page 158 of *original* edition.

[2] *Ibidem.*

Next after the conclusion of the last mentioned discourse, the Reader may in some sort take a vieu of our state of merchandise vnder K. Edward the fourth, as likewise of the establishing of an English company in the Netherlands, and of all the discreet prouisoes, iust ordinations, & gratious priuileges conteined in the large Charter which was granted for the same purpose.

Now besides our voyages and trades of late yeeres to the North and Northeast regions of the world, and our ancient traffique also to those parts; I haue not bene vnmindefull (so farre as the histories of England and of other Countreys would giue me direction) to place in the fore-front of this booke those forren conquests, exploits, and trauels of our English nation, which haue bene atchieued of old. Where in the first place (as I am credibly informed out of Galfridus Monumetensis, and out of M. Lambert his Αρχαιονομία) I haue published vnto the world the noble actes of Arthur and Malgo two British Kings. Then followeth in the Saxons time K. Edwin his conquest of Man and Anglesey, and the expedition of Bertus into Ireland. Next succeedeth Octher making relation of his doings, and describing the North Countreys, vnto his soueraigne Lord K. Ecfrid. After whom Wolstans Nauigation within the Sound of Denmark is mentioned, the voyage of the yong Princes Edmund and Edward into Sweden and Hungarie is recorded, as likewise the mariage of Harald his daughter vnto the Russian duke Ieruslaus. Neither is that Englishman forgotten, who was forced to traueile with the cruel Tartars into their Countrey, and from thence to beare them company into Hungary and Poland. And because those Northeasterne Regions beyond Volga, by reason of the huge deserts, the colde climate, and the barbarous inciuilitie of the people there inhabiting, were neuer yet throughly traueiled by any of our Nation, nor sufficiently knowen vnto vs: I haue here annexed vnto the said Englishmans traueile, the rare & memorable iournals of 2. Friers, who were some of the first Christians that trauailed farthest that way, and brought home most particular intelligence & knowledge of all things which they had seene. These Friers were sent as Ambassadours vnto the sauage Tartars (who had as then wasted and ouerrunne a great part of Asia, and had pierced farre into Europe with fire and sword) to mitigate their fury, and to offer the glad tidings of the Gospel vnto them. The former, namely Iohannes de Plano Carpini (whose iourney, because he road sixe moneths poste directly beyond Boristhenes, did, I thinke, both for length and difficultie farre surpasse that of Alexander the great, vnto the riuer of Indus) was in the yeere 1246. sent with the authoritie and commission of a Legate from Pope Innocentius the fourth: who passed through more garisons of the Tartars, and wandered ouer more vast, barren, and cold deserts, then (I suppose) an army of an hundred thousand good souldiers could haue done. The other, to wit, William de Rubricis, was 1253 by the way of Constantinople, of the Euxin sea, and of Taurica Chersonesus imployed in an ambassage from Lewis the French King (waging warre as then against the Saracens in the Holy land) vnto one Sartach a great duke of the Tartars, which Sartach sent him forthwith vnto his father Baatu, and from Baatu he was conducted ouer many large territories vnto the Court of Mangu-Can their Emperour. Both of them haue so well played their parts, in declaring what befell them before they came at the Tartars, what a terrible and vnmanerly welcomming they had at their first arriuall, what cold intertainment they felt in traueiling towards the great Can, and what slender cheere they found at his Court; that they seeme no lesse worthy of praise then of pitie. But in describing of the Tartars Countrey, and of the Regions adiacent, in setting downe the base and sillie beginnings of that huge and ouerspreading Empire, in registring their manifolde warres and bloody conquests, in making relation of their hords and mooueable Townes, as likewise of their food, apparell and armour, and in setting downe their vnmercifull lawes, their fond superstitions, their bestiall liues, their vicious maners, their slauish subiection to their owne superiours, and their disdainfull and brutish inhumanitie vnto strangers, they deserue most exceeding and high commendation. Howbeit if any man shall obiect that they haue certaine incredible relations: I answere, first, that many true things may to the ignorant seeme incredible. But suppose there be some particulars which hardly will be credited; yet thus much I will boldly say for the Friers, that those particulars are but few, and that they doe not auouch them vnder their owne names, but from the report of others. Yet farther imagine that they did auouch them, were they not to be pardoned as well as Herodotus, Strabo, Plutarch, Plinie, Solinus, yea & a great many of our new principall writers, whose names you may see about the end of this Preface; euery one of which hath reported more strange things then the Friers between thē both? Nay, there is not any history in the world (the most Holy writ excepted) whereof we are precisely bound to beleeue ech word and syllable. Moreouer sithens these two iournals are so rare, that Mercator and Ortelius (as their letters vnto me do testifie) were many yeeres very inquisitiue, and could not for all that attaine vnto them; and sithens they haue bene of so great accompt with those two famous Cosmographers, that according to some fragments of them they haue described in their Mappes a great part of those Northeastern Regions; sith also that these two relations containe in some respect more exact history of those vnknowen parts, then all the ancient and newe writers that euer I could set mine eyes on: I thought it good, if the translation should chance to swerue in ought from the originals (both for the preseruation of the originals themselues, and the satisfying of the Reader) to put them downe word for word in that homely stile wherein they were first penned. And for these two rare iewels, as likewise for many other extraordinary courtesies, I must here acknowledge my selfe most deepely bounded vnto the right reuerend, graue and learned Prelate, my very good lord the Bishop of Chichester, and L. high Almner vnto her Maiestie; by whose friendship and meanes I had free accesse vnto the right honor. my. L. Lumley his stately library, and was permitted to copy out of ancient manuscripts, these two iournals and some others also.

---

[1] The poem here alluded to was written between 1416 and 1438, as appears from the lines:

> "For Sigismond, the great Emperour
> Wich yet reigneth, when he was in this land
> With King Henry the fift," etc.

Sigismund died in 1438, and visited England in 1416.

After these Friers (thought not in the next place) foloweth a testimonie of Gerardus Mercator, and another of M. Dee, concerning one Nicholas de Linna an English Franciscan Frier.

Then succeedeth the long iourney of Henry Earle of Derbie, and afterward king of England into Prussia & Lithuania, with a briefe remembrance of his valiant exploits against the Infidels there; as namely, that with the help of certaine his Associates, he vanquished the king of Letto his armie, put the sayd king to flight, tooke and slew diuers of his captains, aduanced his English colours vpon the wall of Vilna, & made the citie it selfe to yeeld. Then mention is made also of Tho. of Woodstock his trauel into Pruis, and of his returne home. And lastly, our old English father Ennius, I meane, the learned, wittie, and profound Geffrey Chaucer, vnder the person of his knight, doeth full iudicially and like a cunning Cosmographer, make report of the long voiages and woorthy exploits of our English Nobles, Knights, & Gentlemen, to the Northren, and to other partes of the world in his dayes.

Neither haue we comprehended in this Volume, onely our Trades and Voiages both new and old; but also haue scattered here and there (as the circumstance of times would giue vs leaue) certaine fragments concerning the beginnings, antiquities, and grouth of the classical and warrelike shipping of this Island: as namely, first of the great nauie of that victorious Saxon prince king Edgar, mentioned by Florentius Wigorniensis, Roger Houeden, Rainulph of Chester, Matthew of Westminster, Flores historiarum, & in the libel of English policie, pag. 224. and 225. of this present volume.[1] Of which Authors some affirme the sayd fleet to haue consisted of 4800. others of 4000. some others of 3600. ships: howbeit (if I may presume to gloze vpon the text) I verily thinke that they were not comparable, either for burthen, strength, building, or nimble stirrage vnto the ships of later times, and specially of this age. But howsoeuer it be, they all agree in this, that by meanes of the sayd huge Fleet he was a most puissant prince; yea, and some of them affirme together with William of Malmesbury, that he was not onely soueraigne lord of all the British seas, and of the whole

---

[1] *Original* edition.

Ile of Britaine it selfe, but also that he brought vnder his yoke of subiection, most of the Isles and some of the maine lands adiacent. And for that most of our Nauigators at this time bee (for want of trade and practise that way) either vtterly ignorant, or but meanely skilfull, in the true state of the Seas, Shoulds and Islands, lying between the North part of Ireland and of Scotland; I haue for their better encouragement (if any weightie action shall hereafter chance to drawe them into those quarters) translated into English a briefe treatise called, A Chronicle of the Kings of Man. Wherein they may behold as well the tragical and dolefull historie of those parts, for the space almost of 300. yeeres, as also the most ordinarie and accustomed nauigations, through those very seas, and amidst those Northwesterne Isles called the Hebrides, so many hundred yeeres agoe. For they shall there read, that euen then (when men were but rude in sea-causes in regard of the great knowledge which we now haue) first Godredus Crouan with a whole Fleet of ships, throughly haunted some places in that sea: secondly, that one Ingemundus setting saile out of Norway, arriued vpon the Isle of Lewis: then, that Magnus the king of Norway came into the same seas with 160. sailes, and hauing subdued the Orkney Isles in his way, passed on in like conquering maner, directing his course (as it should seeme) euen through the very midst, and on all sides of the Hebrides, who sailing thence to Man, conquered it also, proceeding afterward as farre as Anglesey; and lastly crossing ouer from the Isle of Man to the East part of Ireland. Yea, there they shall read of Godredus the sonne of Olauus his voiage to the king of Norway, of his expedition with 80. ships against Sumerledus, of Sumerled his expedition with 53. ships against him; of Godred his flight and second iourney into Norway; of Sumerled his second arriuall with 160. shippes at Rhinfrin vpon the coast of Man, and of many other such combates, assaults, & voyages which were performed onely vpon those seas & Islands. And for the bringing of this woorthy monument to light, we doe owe great thanks vnto the iudiciall and famous Antiquarie M. Camden. But sithens we are entred into a discourse of the ancient warrelike shipping of this land, the reader shall giue me leaue to borow one principall note out of this litle historie, before I quite take my leaue thereof: and that is in few words, that K. Iohn passed into Ireland with a Fleet of 500. sailes; so great were our sea-forces euen in his time.

Neither did our shipping for the warres first begin to flourish with king Iohn, but long before his dayes in the reign of K. Edward the Confessor, of William the Conquerour, of William Rufus and the rest, there were diuers men of warre which did valiant seruice at sea, and for their paines were roially rewarded. All this and more then this you may see recorded, pag. 19.[1] out of the learned Gentleman M. Lambert his Perambulation of Kent; namely, the antiquitie of the Kentish Cinque ports, which of the sea-townes they were, how they were infranchised, what gracious priuileges and high prerogatiues were by diuers kings vouchsafed vpon them, and what seruices they were tied vnto in regard thereof; to wit, how many ships, how many souldiers mariners, Garsons, and for how many dayes each of them, and all of them were to furnish for the kings vse; and lastly what great exploits they performed vnder the conduct of Hubert of Burrough, as likewise against the Welshmen, vpon 200 French ships, and vnder the commaund of captaine Henry Pay. Then haue you, pag. 130.[1] the franke and bountifull Charter granted by king Edward the first, vpon the foresayd Cinque portes: & next thereunto a Roll of the mightie fleet of seuen hundred ships which K. Edward the third had with him vnto the siege of Caleis: out of which Roll (before I proceed any further) let me giue you a double obseruation. First that these ships, according to the number of the mariners which were in all 14151 persons, seeme to haue bene of great burthen; and secondly, that Yarmouth an hauen towne in Northfolke (which I much wonder at) set foorth almost twise as many ships and mariners, as either the king did at his owne costs and charges, or as any one citie or towne in England besides. Howbeit Tho. Walsingham maketh plaine and euident mention of a farre greater Fleete of the same king; namely, of 1100. shippes lying before Sandwich, being all of them sufficiently well furnished. Moreouer the Reader may behold, pag. 205.[1] a notable testimonie of the mightie ships of that valiant prince king Henry the 5. who (when after his great victory at Agincourt the Frenchmen to recouer Harflew had hired certain Spanish and Italian ships and forces, & had vnited their owne strength vnto them) sent his brother Iohn Duke of Bedford to encounter them, who bidding them battell got the victory, taking some of their ships, and sinking others, and putting the residue to dishonorable flight. Likewise comming the next yeere with stronger powers, and being then also ouercome, they were glad to conclude a perpetuall league with K. Henry: & propter eorum naues (saieth mine Author) that is for the resistance of their ships, the sayd king caused such huge ships to be built, quales non erant in mundo, as the like were not to be found in the whole world besides.

---

[1] Of original edition.

But to leaue our ancient shipping, and descend vnto later times; I thinke that neuer was any nation blessed of IEHOVAH, with a more glorious and wonderfull victory vpon the Seas, then our vanquishing of the dreadfull Spanish Armada, 1588. But why should I presume to call it our vanquishing; when as the greatest part of them escaped vs, and were onely by Gods out-stretched arme ouerwhelmed in the Seas, dashed in pieces against the Rockes, and made fearefull spectacles and examples of his iudgements vnto all Christendome. An excellent discourse whereof, as likewise of the honourable expedition vnder two of the most noble and valiant peeres of this Realme, I meane the renoumed Erle of Essex, and the right honorable the lord Charles Howard, lord high Admirall of England, made 1596. vnto the strong citie of Cadiz, I haue set downe as a double epiphonema to conclude this my first volume withall. Both of which, albeit they ought of right to haue bene placed among the Southerne voyages of our nation: yet partly to satisfie the importunitie of some of my special friends, and partly, not longer to depriue the diligent Reader of two such woorthy and long-expected discourses; I haue made bold to straine a litle curtesie with that methode which I first propounded vnto my selfe.

And here had I almost forgotten to put the Reader in mind of that learned and Philosophical treatise of the true state of Iseland, and so consequently of the Northren Seas & regions lying that way: wherein a great number of none of the meanest Historiographers and Cosmographers of later times, as namely, Munster, Gemma Frisius, Zieglerus, Krantzius, Saxo Grammaticus, Olaus Magnus, Peucerus and others, are by euident arguments conuinced of manifold errors: that is to say, as touching the true situation and Northerly latitude of that Island, and of the distance thereof from other places; touching the length of dayes in Sommer and of nights in Winter, of the temperature of the land and sea, of the time and maner of the congealing, continuance, and thawing of the Ice in those Seas, of the first Discouerie and inhabiting of that Island, of the first planting of Christianitie there, as likewise of the continuall flaming of mountains, strange qualities of fountaines, of helmouth, and of purgatorie which those authors haue fondly written and imagined to be there. All which treatise ought to be the more acceptable; first in that it hath brought sound trueth with it; and secondly, in that it commeth from that farre Northren climate which most men would suppose could not affoord any one so learned a Patrone for it selfe.

And thus (friendly Reader) thou seest the briefe summe and scope of all my labours for the common-wealths sake, and thy sake, bestowed vpon this first Volume: which if thou shalt as thankefully accept, as I haue willingly and freely imparted with thee, I shall bee the better encouraged speedily to acquaint thee with those rare, delightfull and profitable histories, which I purpose (God willing) to publish concerning the Southerne and Westerne parts of the World.

ΕΙ᾿Σ Α᾿ΠΟΔΗΜΙΑΣ ΒΡΕΤΤΑΝΩΝ ΠΟΝΗΜΑ ΡΙΧΑΡΔΟΥ ΤΟΥ Α῾ΚΛΥΙΤΟΥ,

Υ῞γων ὁ Βροχθωνὸς.

Ο῞Σσοι γαῖαν ἔχουσι βροτοὶ ἑνὸς ἐκπέφυασι
ὡς ἄλληλα ὁρᾶν ἔθνεσι χάρμα φύσει.
Ο῟ς δὲ θ᾿ἀλίπλαγκτος μετεκίαθεν ἔθνεα πλεῖστα,
ὅικοι μιμνάζουσ᾿ ἀξιάγαστος ἔφυ.
Ε῎ξοχα Βρεττανοὶ δ᾿, ἄλλων σχισθέντες ἔρανται,
ἴδμεναι ἀλλοθρόων φῦλα πολυσπερέα.
Ι᾿νδοὺς ἑσπερίους καὶ ἑώους, Αἰθίοπάς τε
καὶ Μόσχους, καὶ πάντ᾿ ἐσχατόωντα γένη.
Τοὺτων δ᾿ ὃια μάλιστα κλυτὰ, κλυτός Α῾κλυΐτος
γράψεν ἀριφραδέως, μνῆμ᾿ ἀεὶ ἐσσόμενον.

In nauales RICHARDI HAKLVYTI Commentarios.

Anglia magnarum fœcunda puerpera rerum,
siue solum spectes nobile, siue salum;
Quæ quantum sumptis se nobilitauerit armis,
siue domi gessit prælia, siue foris;

Multorum celebrant màtura volumina: tantæ
Insula materiem paruula laudis alit.
At se in quot, qualésq ;, & quando effuderit oras,
qua fidit ignotum peruia classis iter,
Solius Hakluyti decus est, prædiuite penna
ostendisse suis ciuibus ausa mari.
Quæcunque idcirco celeri gens Anglica naui,
Oceani tristes spernere docta minas,
A prima generísq ; & gentis origine gessit,
qua via per fluctus vlla patere potest,
Siue decus, laudémq ; secuta, vt & hostibus alas
demeret, atque suis læta pararet opes:
Hoc opus Hakluyti; cui debet patria multum,
cui multum, patriæ quisquis amicus erit.
Qua re námque magis se nostra Britannia iactat,
quàm quod sit præter cætera classe potens?
Quam prius obsessam tenebris sic liberat, vt nunc
quisque sciat, quàm sit nobile classis opus.
Quam si Dædalicè vtemur, surgemus in altum,
sin autem Icaricè, quod voret, æquor habet.
RICH. MVLCASTER.

Eiusdem in eundem.

QVi graui primus cecinit camœna
Aureum vellus, procerésque Græcos,
quos sibi adiunxit comites Iäson
Vectus in Argò
Naue, quam primùm secuisse fluctus
prædicant salsos, sibi comparauit
Inde non vnquam moritura magnæ
præmia famæ.
Tanta si merces calamum secuta
Vnicæ nauis referentis acta,
Quanta Richardum manet Hakluytum
gloria? cuius
Penna descripsit freta mille, mille
Insulæ nostræ celeres carinas,
Quæ per immensi loca peruolarunt
omnia mundi.

Senties gratam patriam, tuæq ;
Laudis æternùm memorem, & laboris :
Quæ tua cura, calamóque totum
ibit in orbem :
Quam doces omni studio fouere
Nauticum robur, validámq : classem.
Hac luet quisquis violentus Anglo
vsserit hostis.

In eximium opus R. HAKLVYTI de Anglorum ad disiunctissimas regiones nauigationibus GVLIELMI CAMDENI Hexastichon.

Anglia quæ penitùs toto discluditur orbe,
Angulus orbis erat, paruus & orbis erat.
Nunc cùm sepositos alios detexerit orbes,
Maximus orbis honos, Orbis & orbis erit.
At quid Haklute tibi monstranti hæc debeat orbis ?
Laus tua, crede mihi, non erit orbe minor.

Di Marc' Antonio Pigafeta Gentilhuomo Vicentino.

Ignota mi starei, con poco honore
Sepolta nell' oscure, antiche carte,
S'alcun de figli miei con spesa & arte
Non hauesse hor scoperto il mio splendore.

Ramusio pria pieno d' ardente amore
Manifesto le mie piu riche parte,
Che son lá doue il Maragnon diparte,
E doue il Negro allaga, e'l Gange scorre,
Hakluyto poi senza verun risguardo
Di fatica o di danno accolt' hà insieme,
Ciò c' hà potuto hauer da typhi Inglesi.
Onde vedrassie doue bella sguardo,
E la Dwina agghiaccia, e l' Obi freme,
Et altri membri miei non ben palesi.

EXTRACT FROM OLDYS'S LIBRARIAN, 1738.

(Article Hakluyt's Voyages.) p. 137.

Oldys (having given a list of the contents of the three volumes of Hakluyt) concludes,

This summary may sufficiently intimate what a treasury of maritime knowledge it is; wherefore we shall here take our leave of it, with referring only to a needful observation or two:

And first, As it has been so useful to many of our authors, not only in Cosmography, and Navigation, but in History, especially that of the glorious reign in which so many brave exploits were atchieved: As it has been such a LEADING STAR TO THE NAVAL HISTORIES since compiled; and saved from the wreck of oblivion many exemplary incidents in the lives of our most renowned navigators; it has therefore been unworthily omitted in the English historical library. And lastly, though the first volume of this collection, does frequently appear, by the date, in the title page, to be printed in 1599, the reader is not thence to conclude the said volume was then reprinted, but only the title page, as upon collating the books we have observed; and further, that in the said last printed title page, there is no mention made of the Cadiz Voyage; to omit which, might be one reason of reprinting that page; for it being one of the most prosperous and honourable enterprizes that ever the Earl of Essex was ingaged in, and he falling into the Queen's unpardonable displeasure at this time, our author, Mr. Hakluyt, might probably receive command or direction, even from one of the patrons to whom these Voyages are dedicated, who was of the contrary faction, not only to suppress all memorial of that action in the front of this book, but even cancel the whole narrative thereof at the end of it, in all the copies (far the greatest part of the impression) which remained unpublished. And in that castrated manner the volume has descended to posterity; not but if the castration was intended to have been concealed from us, the last leaf of the preface would have been reprinted also, with the like omission of what is there mentioned concerning the insertion of this Voyage. But at last, about the middle of the late King's reign, an uncastrated copy did arise, and the said Voyage was reprinted from it; whereby many imperfect books have been made complete.

EXTRACT FROM ZOUCH'S LIFE OF SIR PHILIP SIDNEY. page 317.

Every reader conversant in the annals of our Naval transactions will cheerfully acknowledge the merit of Richard Hakluyt, who devoted his studies to the investigation of those periods of the English history, which regard the improvement of navigation and commerce. He had the advantage of an academical education. He was elected Student of Christ-Church in Oxford in 1570, and was therefore contemporary with Sidney at the University. To him we are principally indebted for a clear and comprehensive description of those noble discoveries of the English nation made by sea or over land to the most distant quarter of the earth. His incomparable industry was remunerated with every possible encouragement by Sir Francis Walsingham and Sir Philip Sidney. To the latter, as to a most generous promoter of all ingenious and useful knowledge, he inscribed his first collection of voyages and discoveries, printed in 1582. Thus animated and encouraged, he was enabled to leave to posterity the fruits of his unwearied labours—an invaluable treasure of nautical information, preserved in volumes, which even at this day, affix to his name a brilliancy of reputation, which a series of ages can never efface or obscure.

NORTHERN EUROPE.

CERTEINE TESTIMONIES CONCERNING
K. ARTHUR AND HIS CONQUESTS OF THE NORTH REGIONS,

TAKEN OUT OF

THE HISTORIE OF THE KINGS OF BRITAINE,

WRITTEN BY GALFRIDUS MONUMETENSIS, AND NEWLY PRINTED AT HEIDELBERGE, ANNO 1587.

Lib. 9. cap. 10.

ANNO Christi, 517. Arthurus, secundo regni sui anno, subiugatis totius Hyberniæ partibus, classem suam direxit in Islandiam, eámque debellato populo subiugauit. Exin diuulgato per cæteras insulas rumore, quòd ei nulla Prouincia resistere poterat, Doldauius rex Gotlandiæ, & Gunfacius rex Orcadum vltrò venerunt, promissóque vectigali subiectionem fecerunt. Emensa deinde hyeme, reuersus est in Britanniam, statúmque regni in firmam pacem renouans, moram duodecim annis ibidem fecit.

The same in English.

IN the yere of Christ, 517. king Arthur in the second yeere of his reigne, hauing subdued all parts of Ireland, sailed with his fleet into Island, and brought it and the people thereof vnder his subiection. The rumour afterwards being spread thorowout all the other Islands, that no countrey was able to withstand him, Doldauius the king of Gotland, and Gunfacius the king of Orkney, came voluntarily vnto him, and yeelded him their obedi-

ence, promising to pay him tribute. The Winter being spent, he returned into Britaine, and establishing his kingdome in perfect peace, he continued there for the space of twelue yeres.

Lib. 9 cap. 12.

MIssis deinde in diuersa regna Legatis, inuitantur tam ex Gallijs, quàm ex collateralibus Insulis Oceani, quiad curiam venire deberent, &c. Et paulò post: Ex collateralibus autem Insulis, Guillaumurius rex Hyberniæ, Maluasius rex Islandiæ, Doldauius rex Gotlandiæ, Gunnasius rex Orchadum, Lot rex Noruegiæ, Aschilius rex Danorum.

The same in English.

AFter that king Arthur sending his messengers into diuers kingdomes, he summoned such as were to come to his Court, aswell out of France, as out of the adiacent Islands of the sea, &c. and a little after: From those adiacent Islands came Guillaumurius king of Ireland, Maluasius king of Island, Doldauius king of Gotland, Gunnasius king of Orkney, Lot the king of Norway, and Aschilius the king of Denmarke.

Lib. 9 cap. 19.

AT reges cæterarum Insularum, quoniam non duxerant in morem equites habere, pedites quot quisque debebat, promittunt, ita vt ex sex Insulis, videlicet, Hyberniæ, Islandiæ, Gotlandiæ, Orcadum, Noruegiæ, atque Daciæ, sexies viginti millia essent annumerata.

The same in English.

BVt the kings of the other Islands, because it was not their custome to breed vp horses, promised the king as many footmen, as euery man was bound to send: so that out of the six Islands, namely, of Ireland, Island, Gotland, Orkney, Norway, and Denmarke, the king had sixe score thousand souldiers sent him.

A testimonie of the right and appendances of the crowne of the kingdome of Britaine, taken out of M. Lambard, his *A'ρκαιονομία*, fol. 137. pag. 2.

ARthurus qui fuit quondam inclytissimus Rex Britonum, vir magnus fuit & animosus, & miles illustris. Parum fuit ei regnum istud, non fuit animus eius contentus regno Britanniæ. Sub-

iugauit igitur sibi strenuè Scantiam totam, quæ modo Norweia vocatur, & omnes insulas vltra Scantiam, scz. Islandiam, & Grenlandiam, quæ sunt de appendicijs Norweiæ, & Suechordam, & Hyberniam, & Gutlandiam, & Daciam, Semelandiam, Winlandiam, Curlandiam, Roe, Femelandiam, Wirelandiam, Flandriam, Cherelam, Lappam, & omnes alias terras & insulas, Orientalis Oceani vsque Russiam (in Lappa scilicet posuit Orientalem metam regni Britanniæ) & multas insulas vltra Scantiam, vsque dum sub Septentrione, quæ sunt de appendicibus Scantiæ, quæ modo Norweia vocatur. Fuerunt autem ibi Christiani occultè. Arthurus autem Christianus optimus fuit, & fecit eos baptizari, & vnum Deum per totam Norweiam venerari, & vnam fidem Christi semper inuiolatam custodire, & suscipere. Ceperunt vniuersi proceres Norweiæ vxores suas de nobili gente Britonum tempore illo, vnde Norwegienses dicunt se exijsse de gente & sanguine regni huius. Impetrauit enim temporibus illis Arthurus rex à domino Papa, & à Curia Romana, quod confirmata sit Norweia, in perpetuum coronæ Britanniæ in augmentum regni huius, vocauítque illam dictus Arthurus Cameram Britanniæ. Hac verò de causa dicunt Norwegienses, se debere in regno isto cohabitare & dicunt se esse de corpore regni huius, scilicet de corona Britanniæ. Maluerunt enim manere in regno isto, quàm in terra eorum propria. Terra enim eorum arida est, & montuosa, & sterilis, & non sunt ibi segetes nisi per loca. Ista verò opulenta est, & fertilis, & crescunt hic segetes, & cætera vniuersa. Qua ex causa sæpius per vices gesta sunt bella atrocissima inter Anglos & Norwegienses, & interfecti sunt innumerabiles. Occupauerunt verò Norwegienses terras multas & insulas regni huius, quas adhuc detinent occupatas, nec potuerunt vnquam postea penitus euelli. Tandem modò confederati sunt nobis fide, & sacramento, & per vxores suas, quas postea ceperunt de sanguine nostro, & per affinitates, & coniugia. Ita demum constituit, & eis concessit bonus rex Edouardus propinquus noster (qui fuit optimus filius pacis) per commune consilium totius regni. Qua de causa possent, & debent prædicti de cætero nobiscum cohabitare, & remanere in regno, sicut coniurati fratres nostri.

The same in English.

ARthur which was sometimes the most renowmed king of the Britains, was a mightie, and valiant man, and a famous warriour.

This kingdome was too litle for him, & his minde was not contented with it. He therefore valiantly subdued all Scantia, which is now called Norway, and all the Islands beyond Norway, to wit, Island and Greenland, which are apperteining vnto Norway, Sweueland, Ireland, Gotland, Denmarke, Semeland, Windland, Curland, Roe, Femeland, Wireland, Flanders, Cherilland, Lapland, and all the other lands & Islands of the East sea, euen vnto Russia (in which Lapland he placed the Easterly bounds of his Brittish Empire) and many other Islands beyond Norway, euen vnder the North pole, which are appendances of Scantia, now called Norway. These people were wild and sauage, and had not in them the loue of God nor of their neighbors, because all euil commeth from the North, yet there were among them certeine Christians liuing in secret. But king Arthur was an exceeding good Christian, and caused them to be baptized, and thorowout all Norway to worship one God, and to receiue and keepe inuiolably for euer, faith in Christ onely. At that time all the noble men of Norway tooke wiues of the noble nation of the Britaines, whereupon the Norses say, that they are descended of the race and blood of this kingdome. The aforesayd king Arthur obteined also in those dayes of the Pope & court of Rome, that Norway should be for euer annexed to the crowne of Britaine for the inlargement of this kingdome, and he called it the chamber of Britaine. For this cause the Norses say, that they ought to dwell with vs in this kingdome, to wit, that they belong to the crowne of Britaine: for they had rather dwell here then in their owne natiue countrey, which is drie and full of mountaines, and barren, and no graine growing there, but in certeine places. But this countrey of Britaine is fruitfull, wherein corne and all other good things do grow and increase: for which cause many cruell battels haue bene oftentimes fought betwixt the Englishmen and the people of Norway, and infinite numbers of people haue bene slaine, & the Norses haue possessed many lands and Islands of this Empire, which vnto this day they doe possesse, neither could they euer afterwards be fully expelled. But now at length they are incorporated with vs by the receiuing of our religion and sacraments, and by taking wiues of our nation, and by affinitie, and marriages. For so the good king Edward (who was a notable mainteiner of peace) ordeined and granted vnto them by the generall consent of the whole kingdome, so that the people may, and ought from henceforth dwell and remaine in this kingdome with vs as our louing sworne brethren.

A testimonie out of the foresayd Galfridus Monumetensis, concerning the conquests of Malgo, king of England. Lib. 11. cap. 7.

VOrtiporio successit Malgo, omnium ferè Britanniæ pulcherrimus, multorum tyrannorum depulsor, robustus armis, largior cæteris, & vltra modum probitate præclarus. Hic etiam totam Insulam obtinuit, & sex conprouinciales Oceani Insulas: Hyberniam videlicet, atque Islandiam, Gotlandiam, Orcades, Noruegiam, Daciam, adiecit dirissimis prælijs potestati suæ.

The same in English.

Malgo succeeded Vortiporius which was the goodliest man in person of all Britaine, a prince that expulsed many tyrants. He was strong and valiant in warre, taller then most men that then liued, and exceeding famous for his vertues. This king also obteined the gouernment of the whole Island of Britaine, and by most sharpe battailes he recouered to his Empire the sixe Islands of the Ocean sea, which before had bene made tributaries by king Arthur, namely Ireland, Island, Gotland, Orkney, Norway, and Denmarke.

The conquest of the Isles of Anglesey and Man by Edwin the Saxon king of Northumberland written in the second Booke and fift Chapter of Beda his Ecclesiasticall historie of the English nation.

EDuinus Nordanhumbrorum gentis, id est, eius quæ ad borealem Humbri fluminis plagam inhabitat, maiore potentia cunctis qui Britanniam incolunt, Anglorum pariter & Britonum populis præfuit, præter Cantuarios tantùm, necnòn & Menauias Britonum insulas, quæ inter Hiberniam & Britanniam sitæ sunt, Anglorum subiecit potestati.

The same in English.

EDwin king of the people of Northumberland, that is to say, of them which inhabit to the North of the riuer Humber, being of greater authoritie then any other potentate in the whole Isle of Britaine, bare rule as well ouer the English as the British nation, except onely the people of Kent: who also brought in subiection vnder the English, the Isles of Man and Anglesey, and the other Northwesterne Isles of the Britons, which are situate betweene Britaine and Ireland.

Another testimonie alledged by Beda to the same purpose. Lib. 2. cap. 9.

ANno ab incarnatione Domini sexcentesimo vicesimo quarto, gens Nordanhumbrorum, hoc est, ea natio Anglorum quæ ad aquilonarem Humbri fluminis plagam habitat, cum rege suo Eduino, verbum fidei (prædicante Paulino, cuius supra meminimus) suscepit: cui videlicèt regi in auspicium suscipiendæ fidei, & regni cœlestis potestas, & terreni creuerat imperij: ita vt (quod nemo Anglorum ante eum fecit) omnes Britanniæ fines, qua vel ipsorum vel Britonum Prouinciæ habitabantur, sub ditione acceperit. Quìn & Menauias insulas (sicut & supra docuimus) imperio subiugauit Anglorum. Quarum prior quæ ad austrum est, & situ amplior, & frugum prouentu atque vbertate fœlicior, nongentarum sexaginta familiarum mensuram, iuxta æstimationem Anglorum, secunda trecentarum & vltrà spatium tenet.

The Same in English.

IN the yeere from the incarnation of our Lord, sixe hundreth twentie and foure, the people of Northumberland, to wit, those English people which inhabit on the North side of the riuer of Humber, together with their king Edwin, at the Christian preaching and perswasion of Paulinus aboue mentioned, embraced the Gospel. Vnder which king, after he had once accepted of the Christian faith, the power both of the heauenly & of his earthly kingdome was inlarged; insomuch, that he (which no English king had done before him) brought vnder his subiection all the prouinces of Britaine, which were inhabited either by the English men themselues, or by the Britons. Moreouer, he subdued vnto the crowne of England (as we haue aboue signified) the Hebrides, commonly called the Westerne Islands. The principall wherof being more commodiously and pleasantly seated towards the South, and more abounding with corne then the rest, conteineth according to the estimation of the English, roome enough for 960. families, and the second for 300. and aboue.

The voyage of Bertus, generall of an armie sent into Ireland by Ecfridus king of Northumberland, in the yere of our Lord 684, out of the 4. Booke and 26. Chapter of Beda his Ecclesiasticall Hystorie.

ANno Dominicæ incarnationis sexcentesimo octogesimo quarto, Ecfridus rex Nordanhumbrorum, misso Hiberniam cum excercitu duce Berto, vastauit miserè gentem innoxiam, & nationi Anglorum semper amicissimam, ita vt nec ecclesijs quidem aut monasterijs manus parceret hostilis. At insulani & quantum valuere armis arma repellebant, & inuocantes diuinæ auxilium pietatis cœlitus se vindicari continuis diù imprecationibus postulabant. Et quamuis maledici regnum Dei possidere non possint, creditum tamen est, quod hi qui merito impietatis suæ maledicebantur, ocyùs Domino vindice, pœnas sui reatus luerent.

The same in English.

IN the yeere of our Lord 684, Ecfrid the king of Northumberland sent captaine Bert into Ireland with an armie, which Bert miserably wasted that innocent nation being alwayes most friendly vnto the people of England, insomuch that the fury of the enemy spared neither churches nor monasteries. Howbeit the Islanders to their power repelled armes with armes, and crauing Gods aid from heauen with continuall imprecations and curses, they pleaded for reuenge. And albeit cursed speakers can by no meanes inherit the kingdome of God, it was thought notwithstanding, that they which were accursed for their impiety did not long escape the vengeance of God imminent for their offences.

The voyage of Octher made to the Northeast parts beyond Norway, reported by himselfe vnto Alfred the famous king of England, about the yere 890.

OCther said, that the countrey wherein he dwelt was called Helgoland. Octher tolde his lord king Alfred that he dwelt furthest North of any other Norman. He sayd that he dwelt towards the North part of the land toward the West coast: and affirmed that the land, notwithstanding it stretcheth marueilous farre towards the North, yet it is all desert and not inhabited, vnlesse it be very few places, here and there, where certeine Finnes dwell vpon the coast, who liue by hunting all the Winter. and by fishing in Summer.

Fynnes liue by hunting and fishing.

He said that vpon a certeine time he fell into a fantasie and desire to prooue and know how farre that land stretched Northward, and whether there were any habitation of men North beyond the desert. Whereupon he tooke his voyage directly North along the coast, hauing vpon his steereboord alwayes the desert land, and vpon the leereboord the maine Ocean: and continued his course for the space of 3. dayes. In which space he was come as far towards the North, as commonly the whale hunters vse to trauell. Whence he proceeded in his course still towards the North so farre as he was able to saile in other 3. dayes. At the end whereof he perceiued that the coast turned towards the East, or els the sea opened with a maine gulfe into the land, be knew not how farre. Well he wist and remembred, that he was faine to stay till he had a Westerne winde, and somewhat Northerly: and thence he sailed plaine East along the coast still so far as he was able in the space of 4. dayes. At the end of which time he was compelled againe to stay till he had a full Northerly winde, forsomuch as the coast bowed thence directly towards the South, or at least wise the sea opened into the land he could not tell how farre: so that he sailed thence along the coast continually full South, so farre as he could trauaile in 5. dayes; and at the fifth dayes end he discouered a mightie riuer which opened very farre into the land. At the entrie of which riuer he stayed his course, and in conclusion turned back againe, for he durst not enter thereinto for feare of the inhabitants of the land: perceiuing that on the other side of the riuer the countrey was thorowly inhabited: which was the first peopled land that he had found since his departure from his owne dwelling: whereas continually thorowout all his voyage he had euermore on his steereboord, a wildernesse and desert countrey, except that in some places, he saw a few fishers, fowlers, and hunters, which were all Fynnes: and all the way vpon his leereboord was the maine ocean. The Biarmes had inhabited and tilled their countrey indifferent well, notwithstanding he was afrayed to go vpon shore. But the countrey of the Terfynnes lay all waste, and not inhabited, except it were, as we haue sayd, whereas dwelled certeine hunters, fowlers, and fishers. The Biarmes tolde him a number of stories both of their owne

The place whither the whale hunters travel.

The River of Duina of likelihood.

A Desert countrey.

Fynnes.

Biarmia.

Terfynnes.

countrey, and of the countreys adioyning. Howbeit, he knew not, nor could affirme any thing for certeine trueth; forsomuch as he was not vpon land, nor saw any himselfe. This onely he iudged, that the Fynnes and Biarmes speake but one language. The principall purpose of his traueile this way, was to encrease the knowledge and discouerie of these coasts and countreyes, for the more commoditie of fishing of horsewhales,[1] which haue in their teeth bones of great price and excellencie: whereof he brought some at his returne vnto the king. Their skinnes are also very good to make cables for shippes, and so vsed. This kinde of whale is much lesse in quantitie then other kindes, hauing not in length above seuen elles. And as for the common kind of whales, the place of most and best hunting of them is in his owne countrey: whereof some be 48. elles of length, and some 50. of which sort he affirmed that he himselfe was one of the sixe, which in the space of 3. dayes killed threescore. He was a man of exceeding wealth in such riches, wherein the wealth of that countrey doth consist. At the same time that he came to the king, he had of his owne breed 600. tame Deere, of that kinde which they call Rane Deere: of the which number 6, were stall Rane Deere, a beast of great value, and marueilously esteemed among the Fynnes, for that with them they catch the wilde Rane Deere. He was among the chiefe men of his countrey one: and yet he had but 20. kine, and 20. swine, and that little which he tilled, he tilled it all with horses. Their principall wealth consisteth in the tribute which the Fynnes pay them, which is all in skinnes of wilde beasts, feathers of birds, whale bones, and cables, and tacklings for shippes made of Whales or Seales skinnes. Euery man payeth according to his abilitie. The richest pay ordinarily 15. cases of Marterns, 5. Rane Deere skinnes, and one Beare, ten bushels of feathers, a coat of a Beares skinne, two cables threescore elles long a piece, the one made of Whales skin, the other of Seales.

The Fynnes and Biarmes speak one language.

Horsewhales teeth com̄ended.

Use of yᵉ morses skins for cables.

Sixe hundreth raine Deere.

The Fynnes tribute.

Note.

Cables of Whales and Seales skins.

He sayd, that the countrey of Norway was very long and small. So much of it as either beareth any good pasture, or may be tilled, lieth vpon the Sea coast, which notwithstanding in some places is very rockie and stonie: and all Eastward, all along against the inhabited land, lie wilde and huge hilles and mountaines, which are in some places inhabited by the Fynnes. The inhabited land is broadest toward the South, & the further it stretcheth towards the North, it groweth euermore smaller and smaller. Towards the South it is peraduenture threescore miles in bredth or broader in some places: about the middest, 30 miles or aboue, and towards the North where it is smallest, he affirmeth that it proueth not three miles from the Sea to the mountaines. The mountaines be in breadth of such quantitie, as a man is able to traueile ouer in a fortnight, and in some places no more then may be trauailed in sixe dayes. Right ouer against this land, in the other side of the mountaines, somewhat towards the South, lieth Swethland, and against the same towards the North, lieth Queeneland. The Quenes sometimes passing the mountaines, inuade and spoile the Normans: and on the contrary part, the Normans likewise sometimes spoile their countrey. Among the mountaines be many and great lakes in sundry places of fresh water, into the which the Queenes vse to carie their boats vpon their backs ouer lande, and thereby inuade and spoile the countrey of the Normans. These boats of theirs be very little and very light.

---

[1] Or morses.

A description of Norway.

The bredth of the moūtaines.

Swethland.

Queeneland.

Boats caried on mēs backs.

The voyage of Octher out of his countrey of Halgoland into the sound of Denmarke vnto a port called Hetha, which seemeth to be Wismer or Rostorke.

OCther sayd that the countrey wherein he dwelled, was called Halgoland: and affirmed that there was no man dwelling towards the North from him. From this countrey towards the South, there is a certeine port[1] called Scirings hall, whither, he sayth, that a man was not able to saile in a moneths space, if he lay still by night, although he had euery day a full winde. And he shall saile all the way along the coast, hauing on his steereboord, first Iutland and the Islands which lie betwixt this countrey & Iutland, still along the coast of this countrey, till he came to Scirings hall,

Or streight.

The description of the Sound of Denmarke.

---

[1] It seemeth to be about Elsenborg.—*Original note.*

hauing it on his larboord. At Scirings hall there entreth into the land a maine gulfe of the Sea, which is so broad, that a man cannot see ouer it: and on the other side against the same, is Gotland, and then Silland. This sea stretcheth many hundreth miles vp into the land. From Scirings hall he sayd that he sailed in 5. dayes to the port which is called Hetha, which lieth betwixt the countries of Wendles, Saxons, and Angles, whereunto it is subiect. And as he sailed thitherward from Scirings hall, he had vpon his steereboord Denmarke, and on his leereboord the maine sea, for the space of 3. dayes: and 2. dayes before, he arriued in Hetha,[1] he had Gotland on leerboord, and Silland, with diuers other Islands. In that countrey dwelt English men, before they came into this land. And these 2. dayes he had vpon his leereboord the Islands that are subiect to Denmarke.

Gotland.

Vandals.

Hetha but two dayes sayling from Seland.

Wolstans nauigation in the East sea, from Hetha to Trusco, which is about Dantzig.

Wolstan sayd, that he departed from Hetha, and arrived at Trusco, in the space of 7. dayes, and 7. nights: during which time, his shippe kept her course continually vnder saile. All this voyage Wenedland[2] was still vpon his steerboord, and on his leerboord was Langland, Layland, Falster, and Sconie: all which countreyes are subiect to Denmarke. Vpon his leerboord also, was Bargenland, which hath a priuate king, vnto whom it is subiect. Hauing left Bargenland, he passed by Blekingie, Meere, Eland and Gotland, hauing them on his leerboord: all which countreys are subiect to Sweden: and Wenedland was all the way vpon his steerboord, vntil he came to Wixel mouth. Wixel is a very great riuer which runneth along betwixt Witland and Wenedland. Witland is apperteining to the Easterlings; and the riuer of Wixel runneth out of Wenedland into Eastmeere, which Eastmeere is at the least 15. miles in breadth. There runneth also another riuer called Ilsing from the East, and falleth into Eastmeere, out of another lake vpon the banke, whereupon is situated Fruso. So that Ilsing comming out of Eastland,[3] and Wixel out of

Bargenland or Borholme.

Wixel is the river that falleth into the sea by Dantzig.

Fruso.

---

[1] It seemeth to be Wismer or Rostocke.—*Original note.*

[2] Prussia.

[3] Lithuania.

Wenedland, both fall together into Eastmeere, and there Wixel deprivueth Ilsing of his name, and runneth thence West & North into the sea; whereof the place is called Wixelmouth.

The description of Eastland.

Eastland is a very large land, and there be many cities and townes within it, and in euery one of them is a king: whereby there is continually among them great strife and contention. There is great plentie of hony and fish.

Mares milke a chiefe drinke.

The wealthiest men drinke commonly Mares milke, and the poore people and slaues meade. There is no ale brewed among the Easterlings, but of mead there is plentie.

The nauigation of King Edgar, taken out of Florentius Wigorniensis, Houeden, and M. Dee his discourse of the Brittish Monarchie, pag. 54, 55, &c.

I haue often times (sayd he) and many wayes looked into the state of earthly kingdomes, generally the whole world ouer (as farre as it may be yet knowen to Christian men commonly) being a studie of no great difficultie, but rather a purpose somewhat answerable to a perfect Cosmographer, to finde himselfe Cosmopolites, a citizen and member of the whole and onely one mysticall citie vniuersall, and so consequently to meditate of the Cosmopoliticall gouernment thereof, vnder the King almightie, passing on very swiftly toward the most dreadfull and most comfortable terme prefixed.

And I finde (sayd he) that if this British Monarchie would heretofore haue followed the aduantages which they haue had onward, they might very well, yer this, haue surpassed by iustice, and godly sort, any particular Monarchie els, that euer was on earth since mans creation, and that to all such purposes as to God are most acceptable, and to all perfect common wealths, most honorable, profitable, and comfortable.

But yet (sayd he) there is a little locke of Lady Occasion flickering in the aire, by our hands to catch hold on, whereby we may yet once more (before all be vtterly past, and for euer) discreetly and valiantly recouer and enioy, if not all our ancient & due appurtenances to this Imperiall Brittish monarchie, yet at the least some such notable portion thereof, as (al circumstances duely and iustly apperteining to peace & amitie with forrein princes being offred & vsed) this may become the most peaceable, most rich, most puissant, & most florishing monarchie of al els (this day) in christendome. Peaceable, I say, euen with the most part of the selfe same respects that good king Edgar had (being but a Saxon) and by sundry such meanes, as he chiefly in this Empire did put in proofe and vse triumphantly, whereupon his sirname was Pacificus, most aptly and iustly. This peaceable king Edgar had in his minde about six hundred yeeres past, the representation of a great part of the selfe same Idæa, which from aboue onely, & by no mans deuise hath streamed downe into my imagination, being as it becommeth a subiect carefull for the godly prosperitie of this British Empire vnder our most peaceable Queene Elizabeth.

For, Ædgarus pacificus, Regni sui prospiciens vtilitati, pariter & quieti, quatuor millia octingentas sibi robustas cōgregauit naues è quibus mille ducentas, in plaga Angliæ Orientali, mille ducentas in Occidentali, mille ducentas in Australi, mille ducentas in Septentrionali pelago cōstituit, vt ad defensionem regni sui, contra exteras nationes, bellorū discrimina sustinerent.[1]

O wisedome imperiall, most diligently to be imitated, *videlicet, prospicere,* to foresee. O charitable kingly parent, that was touched with ardent zeale, for procuring the publike profite of his kingdome, yea and also the peaceable enioying thereof. O, of an incredible masse of treasure, a kingly portion, yet, in his coffers remayning: if then he had, (or late before) any warres, seeing no notable taxe, or contribution publike is historically mentioned to haue bene for the charges leuied: if in peace he himselfe flourished so wealthily: O marueilous politicall, & princely prudencie, in time of peace to foresee, and preuent, (and that most puissantly, and inuincibly) all possible malice, fraude, force, and mischiefe forrain. O most discreet liberalitie to such excellent vses, powring out his treasure so abundantly. O faithfull English people (then,) and worthy subiects, of such an Imperiall and godly Gouernour. O your true, and willing hearts, and blessed ready hands (then,) so to impart such abundance of victuals for those huge Nauies maintenance: so (I say) as neither dearth of famine, seemed (fondly) to be feared of you, for any intolerable want likely to ensue thereby, nor prices of victuals complained of to be vnreasonable enhaunsed by you, finding for their great sales so good, and rare opportunitie.

---

[1] *Translation*: "Edgar the Pacific, looking forward to the benefit and peace of his kingdom, collected Four Thousand Eight Hundred powerful ships, of which he stationed One Thousand Two Hundred on the East Coast of England, One Thousand Two Hundred on the West Coast, One Thousand Two Hundred on the South Coast, and One Thousand Two Hundred on the Northern Coast, in order to be prepared for war in defence of his kingdom against foreign nations."

This peaceable king Edgar, was one of the perfect Imperiall Monarches of this British Empire, and therefore thus his fame remaineth (for euer) recorded.

Anglici orbis Basileus, flos, & decus Ædgarus, non minùs memorabilis Anglis, quàm Cyrus Persis, Romulus Romanis, Alexander Macedonibus, Arsaces Parthis, Carolus Francis, Anno vitæ 37. Regni sui cum fratre, & post 21. Idibus Iulij obijt, & apud Glascon sepelitur.[1]

Charta Regis Henrici secundi.

O Glastonbury, Glastonbury, the treasurie of the carcases of so famous, and so many persons (*Quæ olim mater sanctorum dicta es, & ab alijs, tumulus sanctorum, quam ab ipsis discipulis Domini, ædificatam fuisse venerabilis habet Antiquorum authoritas*) how lamentable is thy case nowe? howe hath hypocrisie and pride wrought thy desolation? though I omit here the names of very many other, both excellent holy men, and mighty princes, whose carcases are committed to thy custody, yet that Apostolike Ioseph, that triumphant British Arthur, and nowe this peaceable and prouident Saxon king Edgar, doe force me with a certaine sorowful reuerence, here to celebrate thy memorie.

This peaceable king Edgar, (as by ancient Recordes may appeare) his Sommer progresses, and yerely chiefe pastimes were, the sailing round about this whole Isle of Albion, garded with his grand nauie of 4000. saile at the least, parted into 4. equall parts of petie Nauies, eche one being of 1000. ships, for so it is anciently recorded.

Ranulphus Cestrinis.

---

[1] *Translation*: "The king of the English realm, that flower (of kings) and renowned Edgar, not less famous amongst the English than Cyrus amongst the Persians, Romulus amongst the Romans, Alexander amongst the Macedonians, Arsaces amongst the Parthians, Charles (the Great) amongst the Franks, in the 37th year of his age and 21st year of his reign with his brother and alone, died on the Ides of July, and was buried at Glastonbury."

Idem quoque Ædgarus 4000. naues congregauit, ex quibus omni anno, post festum Paschale, 1000. naues ad quamlibet Angliæ partem statuit, sic, æstate Insulam circumnauigauit: hyeme verò, iudicia in Prouincia exercuit: & hæc omnia ad sui exercitium, & ad hostium fecit terrorem.

Could, and would that peaceable & wise king Edgar, before need, as being in peace and quiet with all nations about him, and notwithstanding mistrusting his possible enemies, make his pastimes so roially, politically, and triumphantly, with so many thousand ships, and at the least with ten times so many men as ships, and that yerely? and shall we[1] being not assured of such neighbors friendship, as may become to vs as cruel and tyrannicall enemies as neuer king Edgar needed to dread the like, and they as many and mighty princes, as neuer king Edgar coped with the like, shall we (said he) not iudge it some part of wisdome, to imitate carefully in some litle proportion (though not with so many thousands) the prosperous pastimes of peaceable king Edgar, that Saxonicall Alexander? yea, prosperous pastimes these may be iustly counted, by which he also made euident to the whole world, that as he wisely knew the ancient bounds and limits of this British Empire, so that he could and would royally, iustly, and triumphantly enioy the same, spite of the deuil, and maugre the force of any forreine potentate. And al that, so highly and faithfully to the glory of God finally intended and brought to passe, as the wisest and godliest prelates and counsellors of those dayes (so counted of and recorded) coulde best aduise and direct him, or perchance, but sincerely commend and duetifully incourage him in, he being of himselfe so bent, as purposing first inuincibly to fortifie the chiefe and vttermost walles of his Islandish Monarchie, against all forreine encombrance possible. And in that fortification furthering and assuring to trust best his owne ouersight and iudgement, in yeerely viewing the same in euery quarter thereof, and that as it were for his pastime Imperiall, also in Sommer time, to the ende that afterward in all securitie, hee might in Winter time (*vacare*) be at conuenient leisure on land, chiefly to set foorth God's due honour, and secondly to vnderstand, and diligently to listen to the causes and complaints of his commons. For as Matthæus Westmonasteriensis of him to his Imperiall commendation hath left vs a remembrance.

---

[1] *Translation*: "The same Edgar collected Four Thousand ships, of which each year, after Easter, he placed One Thousand on each side of England, and thus sailed round the Island in summer; but in winter he rendered justice throughout the country; and he did all this for the practice of his own navy and the terror of his enemies."

> Habebat autem præterea consuetudinem, per omnes Regni prouincias transire, vt intelligeret quomodo legum iura, & suorum statuta decretorum, à principibus obseruarentur, & ne pauperes à potentibus præiudicium passi, opprimerentur, diligenter inuestigare solebat: in vno fortitudini, in altero Iustitiæ studens, & Reipub. regníque vtilitati consulens in vtroque. Hinc hostibus circumquáque timor, & amor omnium erga eum excreuerat subditorum.[1]

Thus we see how in opportunitie, this peaceable Edgar procured to this Empire such prosperous securitie, that his true and faithfull subiects, all maner of wayes (that is at home and also at sea, both outward and inward) might peaceably, safely and securely employ their wits and trauels for the marueilous enriching of this kingdome, and pleasuring very many other, carying forth the naturall commodities of this land, abounding here aboue our necessary vses (and due store reserued) and likewise againe furnishing the same with all necessary and not superfluous forreine commodities, fet from farre or foreign countreys. This was in deed (as before is recorded) a kingly prouidence, Reipub. Regníq; vtilitati consulens, &c. besides with great vtilitie and profite publique foreseene, and by his meanes enioyed, he himselfe vsed most gladly the aduantage of that securitie, in ministring of iustice, or causing the same to be executed all his kingdome ouer, not squemishly, frowningly or skornefully shunning the ragged and tattered sleeue of any suppliant, holding vp to him a simple soiled bill of complaint or petition, and that homely contriued, or afrayde at, and timerously hasting from the sickly pale face or feeble limmed suter, extreemely constrained so to speake for himselfe, nor parcially smoothering his owne conscience, to fauour or mainteine the foule fault and trespasse vnlawfull of any his subiects, how mightie or necessary soeuer, they (els) were, but diligently made search, least Pauperes à potentibus præiudicium passi, opprimerentur.

---

[1] *Translation*: "He had, besides, the habit of travelling through all the provinces of the kingdom, to ascertain how the enactments of the law and the ordinances of his decrees were carried out by those in authority; and he was careful that the poor who suffered injury from those in power should have justice done them, promoting courage in one, justice in another, in both ways benefiting the Crown and State. Thus on every side the fear of his enemies and the love of his subjects increased."

Thus did publique securitie frō forrein foe abroad, and true loue of his owne subiects, garding him at home, and the heauenly spirit directing all his good purposes, cause iustice and equitie in all quarters of this Albion to flourish. For which his peaceable and prosperous benefits at the eternall king his hand obteined, hee became not insolent or declined to tyrannicall regiment (as some princes in other countreis haue made their liues Comicotragical) but with all his foresaide inuincible Sea-force, aboundant wealth, triumphant peace, with securitie and Iustice ouer all his Monarchie preuailing, his heart was continually, and most zealously bent to set foorth the glory, laude and honour of the Almightie Creator, the heauenly and euerlasting king, by such principall and princely meanes, as (then) were deemed to God most acceptable, as many monuments yet to our dayes remaining, do of him vndoubtedly testifie: As this, for one.[1]

Altitonantis Dei largiflua clementia, qui est rex Regium, Ego Ædgarus Anglorum Basileus omniúmq; Regum, Insularum, Oceaniq; Britanniam circumiacentis, cunctarúmq; nationum quæ infra eam includuntur, Imperator, & Dominus, gratias ago ipsi Deo omnipotenti, Regi meo, qui meum Imperium sic ampliauit, & exaltauit super regnum patrū meorum: qui licet Monarchiam totius Angliæ adepti sunt à tempore Athelstani (qui primus regnum Anglorum, & omnes Nationes, quæ Britanniam incolunt, sibi Armis subegit) nullus tamen eorū vltra eius fines imperium suum dilatare aggressus est. Mihi autem concessit propitia Diuinitas, cum Anglorum Imperio, omnia regna Insularum Oceani, cum suis ferocissimis Regibus, vsq; Noruegiam, maximámq; partem Hyberniæ, cum

---

[1] Ex charta fundationis Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Wigorniæ.

sua nobilissima Ciuitate Dublinia, Anglorum regno subiugare: Quos etiam omnes, meis Imperijs colla subdere (Dei fauente gratia) coegi. Quapropter & ego Christi gloriam, & laudem exaltare, & eius seruitium amplificare deuotus disposui, & per meos fideles Fautores, Dunstanum viz. Archiepiscopum, Athelwoldum, & Oswaldum episcopos (quos mihi patres spirituales, & Consiliatores elegi) magna ex parte, secundum quod disposui, effeci, &c.[1]

And againe this in another Monument.[2]

OMnipotentis Dei, &c. Ipsius nutu & gratia suffultus, Ego Ædgarus Basileus dilectæ Insulæ Albionis, subditis nobis sceptris Scotorum, Cumbrorum, ac Brytonum, & omnium circumcirca Regionum, quieta pace perfruens, studiosus sollicitè de laudibus creatoris omnium occupo addendis: Ne nunc inertia, nostrísq; diebus (plus æquo) seruitus eius tepescere videatur, &c. 18. mei terreni Imperij anno, &c. Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ, 973.

Ego Ædgarus totius Albionis Basileus hoc priuilegium (tanta roboratum authoritate) crucis

Thaumate confirmaui.[3]

---

[1] *Translation*: "By the wide-extending Grace of the mighty God of Thunders, who is king of kings, I, Edgar, king of Angles and of all Kingdoms and Islands, and of the Ocean lying around Britain, Emperor and Lord of all the nations therein contained, return thanks to that same all-powerful God, my king, who has thus extended my Empire and exalted me above the state of my forefathers, who, although they held sway over all England from the days of Athelstan (who first conquered the kingdom of the Angles and all the nations which inhabit Britain), yet none attempted to extend his empire beyond the frontiers of Athelstan's kingdom. Favouring Providence, however, has permitted me, together with the throne of England, to add thereto all the kingdoms of the Islands of the Ocean, with their warlike kings, as far as Norway, and the greater part of Ireland, with its very powerful city of Dublin, all of whom, by the help of God, I have compelled to bow the neck to my power. Wherefore I desire to exalt the glory and praise of Christ, and increase His worship, and by my faithful counsellors, viz., Dunstan the Archbishop and Athelwold and Oswald, bishops (whom I have chosen to be my spiritual Fathers and Advisers), I have in a great measure performed what I intended, etc."

[2] Fundatio Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Eliensis.

[3] *Translation*: "In the name of Almighty God, etc. Strengthened by the

So that by all these rehearsed Records, it is most euident that the peaceable king Edgar, was one of those Monarchs, in whose handes (if life had suffised) the incredible value and priuiledge granted by God and nature vnto this British monarchie, might haue bene peaceably purchased in such sort, as the very blessing and fauour of the diuine Trinitie hath laid meanes for our industrie to attaine to, and enioye the same by.

And though sundry other valiant princes and kings of this land I could recite, which in times past haue either by intent gone about, or by wise and valiant exploit, haue meetely well prospered towards this Islandish appropriate supremacie attaining, yet neuer any other reasonable meanes was vsed, or by humane wit, or industrie can be contriued, to al purposes sufficient, but only by our sea forces preuailing, and so by our inuincible enioying al within the sea limites of our British royaltie contained.

To which incredible political mysterie attaining, no easier, readier, or perfecter plat and introduction, is (as yet) come to my imagination, then is the present and continuall seruice of threescore good and tall warlike ships, with twentie smaller barkes, and those 80. ships (great and smal) with 6660. apt men furnished, and all singularly well appointed for seruice both on sea and land, faithfully and diligently to be done in such circumspect and discreet order, as partly I haue in other places declared, and further (vpon good occasion offered) may declare.

This grand nauie of peaceable king Edgar, of so many thousand ships, and they furnished with an hundred thousand men at the least, with all the finall intents of those sea forces, so inuincible, continually mainteined, the order of the execution of their seruice, the godly and Imperial successe thereof, are in a maner kingly lessons and prophetical incouragements to vs left, euen now to bee as prouident for publique securitie as he was, to be as skilful of our sea right and royal limits, and wisely to finde our selues as able to recouer and enjoy the same as he was, who could not chuse, but with the passing and yeerely

---

favour and grace of God, I, Edgar, king of the favoured Isle of Albion, having made subject to us the kingdoms of the Scots, the Cumbrians, the Britons, and all regions around, in the enjoyment of quiet peace, being anxious to increase the praise of the Creator of all things, in order that lukewarmness may not appear to render His worship less earnest in these our days, etc., in the 18th year of my earthly reign, and the year of the Holy Incarnation 973, etc., I, Edgar, king of all Albion, have confirmed that privilege, etc."

sayling about this Brittish Albion, with all the lesser Isles next adiacent round about it, he could not chuse I say, but by such ful and peaceable possession, find himselfe (according to right, and his hearts desire) the true and soueraigne Monarch of all the British Ocean, enuironing any way his empire of Albion and Ireland, with the lesser Islands next adiacent: with memorial whereof, as with one very precious iewel Imperial, hee adorned the title and crowne of his regalitie, as with the testimonie annexed of the states and nobles of his Empire, to commit to perpetuall memorie, the stile of his chiefe worldly dignitie, in this very tenor of words before also remembred.

Note the Queenes Maiesties royaltie ouer the British Ocean sea, round about the British Empire.

Ego Ædgarus Anglorum Basileus, omniúmque Regum, Insularum, Oceaníque Britanniam circumiacentis, cunctarúmq ; nationum, quæ infra eam includuntur, Imperator, & Dominus.

The voyage of Edmund and Edward the sonnes of King Edmund Ironside into Hungarie, Anno D. 1017.

Recorded by Florentius Wigorniensis pag. 391.

An. Dom. 1017.

DEdit consilium Edricus Canuto regi, vt clitunculos Eadwardum & Eadmundum regis Eadmundi filios necaret. Sed quia magnum dedecus sibi videbatur, vt in Anglia perimerentur, paruo elapso tempore, ad regem Suauorum occidendos misit. Qui, licèt fœdus esset inter eos, precibus illius nullatenùs voluit acquiescere, sed illos ad regem Hungarorum Salomonem nomine misit nutriendos vitæque reseruandos. Quorum vnus scilicet Eadmundus processu temporis ibidem vitam finiuit. Eadwardus verò Agatham filiam Germani Imperatoris Henrici in matrimonium accepit, ex qua Margaretam Scotorum reginam, & Christinam Sanctimonialem, & Clitonem Eadgarum suscepit.[1]

---

[1] "Pus par le conseil le duc Edric aveit il en pense de aver tue les fiz le re Edmund ; cest a dire, Eduuard e Edmun. Mes pur ceo ke il fust avis ke ceo eust este grant honte ali, si il les eust fet tuer en Engleterre, e pur ceo ke il se duta ausi ke se il demorassent en Engleterre ke il pensent en prendre contre lui, il les envea al rei de Sueve, e ly manda ke il les meist ala mort : ki ne voleit unkes fere sa priere mes les envea a Salomon le rei de Hungrie pur nurir. E tant com il furunt la, Edmund morust tost, e Eduuard prist a femme Agathe la filie le emperour Henri, de la quele il engendra Margarete, ki pus fust reyne de Escoce, e Edgar." (*Le Livere de reis de Engleterre*, MS. in Trinity College, Cambridge.)

The same in English.

EDric counselled king Kanutus to murther the young princes Edward and Edmund the sonnes of King Edmund. But because it seemed a thing very dishonourable vnto him to haue them put to death in England, hee sent them, after a short space, vnto the king of Sweden to be slaine. Who, albeit there was a league betweene them, would in no case condescend vnto Canutus his bloody request, but sent them vnto Salomon[1] the king of Hungarie to be nourished and preserued aliue. The one whereof namely Edmund in processe of time there deceased. But Edward receiued to wife Agatha daughter vnto the Germane Emperour Henry, of whom he begot Margaret the Queene of the Scots, and Christina a Nunne, and Clito Edgar.[2]

A Chronicle of the Kings of Man, taken out of M. Camdens Chorographie.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1066, Edward King of England, of famous memory deceased, whom Harald sonne of Godwin succeeded in his kingdome; against which Harald the king of Norwaie called Harald Harfager fought a battel at Stainford bridge, where the English winning the fielde put all the Noruegians to flight[3]: out of which flight one Godredus sirnamed Crouan (the sonne of Harald the blacke, who had before time fled out of Island) repaired vnto Godred sonne of Syrric, who then reigned in Man, and was right friendly and honourably enterteined by him.

In the very same yeere William the Conquerour subdued England, and Godred the sonne of Syrric, king of Man, deceased, after whom succeeded his sonne Fingal. Fingal.

---

[1] An error for *Stephen* the Holy, who married the sister of Henry II. William of Malmesbury makes Agatha the niece of Henry and daughter of Stephen.

[2] Edgar Atheling.

[3] "Memes cel an Harald le rey de Norweye, frere Seint Olaf, ariva al flum de Tine a Nof Chastel ou plus de v^c granz neofs, a ki le counte Tostin, le frere le rey Harald de Engletere, vint ou sa navie, si com il aveient fet covenant en semble, e vindrunt sus a Richale (*Richmond*) e destrurent tut le pais de Euerwyk (*York*). E Kant ceo out oy Harald, le rei de Engletere, tant tost se mist countre eus ou son ost en un liu ki hom apele Stamfordbrigge, e la twa il le rey de Norweye e Tostin son frere de meine, e grant partie del ost. Mes IX. de ses chivalers pus le lesserent, pur ceo ke il ne les voleit ren doner de la preye ki il prist des Norreis." (*Le Livere ae reis de Engleterre*, MS. in Trinity College, Cambridge.)

In the yeere 1066. Godredus Crouan gathered a fleete of ships, and sailed vnto Man, and giuing battell vnto the people of the countrey, was vanquished and put to flight. The second time also hauing gathered his armie and ships together, hee came vnto Man, fought with the inhabitants, lost the victorie, and was chaced away. Yea, the third time[1] he assembled a great multitude, and comming by night vnto the port which is called Ramsa,[2] hid 300, of his men in a wood standing vpon the side of the hill called Scacafel. The Sunne was no sooner vp, but the Mannians arranged themselues and with great furie set vpon Godred. And in the midst of the skirmish, the foresaid 300, men rising out of their ambush, and comming vpon the backes of the Mannians, molested them so sore, that they were enforced to flie. But when they saw y^t they were ouercome and had no place of refuge to retire vnto (for the tide of the sea had filled the chanel of the riuer of Ramsa[3]) and seeing the enemie so fiercely pursuing them on the other side, they which remained, with lamentable outcries beseeched Godred to spare their liues. Then hee being mooued with compassion, and pitying their extreme calamitie, because hee had bene of late sustained and nourished among them, sounded a retreat and forbad his souldiers to make any longer pursuit. The day following Godred put his souldiers to their choice, whether they would diuide Man among themselues and inhabite it, or whether they would take the wealth of the countrey, and so returne vnto their owne home. Howbeit, it pleased them better to waste the whole Island and to enrich themselues with the commodities thereof, and so to returne from whence they came. Nowe Godred himselfe with a fewe Islanders which had remained with him, tooke possession of the South part of the Island, and vnto the remnant of the Mannians he granted the North part thereof, vpon condition, that none of them should at any time afterward dare once to chalenge any parcell of the said ground by title of inheritance. Whereupon it commeth to passe, that vnto this day the whole Island is the kings owne Fee-simple, and that all the reuenues thereof pertaine vnto him. Also Godredus subdued Dublin vnto himselfe & a great part of Lainestir. And he so tamed the Scots, that none of them durst build a ship or a boate, with aboue three yron nailes

Boats hauing not past three yron nailes in them.

---

[1] In 1077.

[2] Ramsay.

[3] The riuer Colby.

in it. Hee reigned 16. yeeres and died in the Island called Yle.[1] He left behinde him three sonnes, Lagman, Harald, and Olauus. Lagman being the eldest chalenged the kingdome and reigned seuen yeeres. Howbeit Harald his brother rebelled against him a long time, but being at length taken by Lagman, hee was gelt and had his eyes put out. Afterward Lagman repenting him that he had put out the eyes of his brother, did of his owne accord relinquish his kingdome, and taking vpon him the badge of the crosse, he went on pilgrimage to Ierusalem, in which iourney also he died.

In the yeere 1075. all the principall men of the Islands hauing intelligence of the death of Lagman, sent messengers vnto Murecardus O-Brien King of Irland, requesting him that hee would send some wel-disposed person of his owne kinred and blood royall, vntill Olauus sonne of Godred were come to full age. The king most willingly condescended vnto their request, and sent vnto them one Dopnald the sonne of Tade, charging and commaunding him that with all meekenesse and modestie, hee should gouerne that kingdome, which of right belonged not vnto him. Howbeit he, after he had once attained vnto the kingdome, neglecting the commaundement of his lord, vsurped the gouernment with great tyrannie, committing many heinous crimes, and so he reigned very disorderly for the space of three yeeres. Then all the princes of the Islands making a generall conspiracie, banded themselues against him, and expelled him out of their dominions. And he flying into Irland returned no more vnto them.

In the yeere 1077. one Ingemundus was sent from the king of Norway, to take possession of the kingdome of the Islands. And being come vnto the Island of Leodus,[2] he sent messengers vnto all the princes of the Islands to come vnto him, commaunding them to assemble themselues, and to appoint him to be their King. In the meane season he and his companions spent their time in robbing and rioting, rauished women and virgines, and addicted themselues to filthy pleasures and to the lustes of the flesh. And when these things were reported vnto the princes of the Islands, who had assembled themselues to chuse him king, being mightely incensed thereat, they made haste towards him, and comming vpon him in the night, they burnt the house wherein hee was, and slue both him and the rest of his company, partly with sword, and partly with fire.

---

[1] Yell, a northern island of the Shetland group, seventeen miles by seven.

[2] Lewis.

In the yeere 1098. the abbey of S. Maries at Cistertium was founded. In the same yeere also Antiochia was taken by the Christians, and a Comet appeared.

Moreouer, the same yeere there was a battel fought betweene the inhabitants of Man, at Santwat,[1] and they of the North obtained the victory. In which battell were slaine Earle Othor and Mac-Maras, chieftaines of both parts.

The same yeere Magnus king of Norway, sonne of Olauus, sonne of Harald Harfagre, being desirous to view the corps of S. Olauus king and Martyr, gaue commaundement that his monument should be opened. But the Bishop and the Clergie withstanding this his attempt, the king went very boldly and by his kingly authoritie, caused the cophin to be opened. And when hee had seene with his eyes, and handled with his hands the incorrupt body of the foresaid King and Martyr, a sudden feare came vpon him, and he departed with great haste. The night following Olauus king and Martyr appeared vnto him in a vision, saying: Chuse (I say) vnto your selfe one of these two, either within 30. dayes to lose your life with your kingdome, or else to depart from Norway and neuer to see it againe. The King so soone as he was awaked out of sleepe, called his princes and Senatours, and expounded the foresaide vision vnto them. And they also being astonished thereat gaue him this counsell, that with all speed he should depart out of Norway. Then he without any further delay caused a Nauie of 160. ships to be prouided, and so sailed vnto the Islands of Orkney, which hee presently subdued, and passing along through all the Islands and conquering them, at length he came vnto the Isle of Man, where he was no sooner arriued, but hee went vnto the Isle of S. Patric to see the place of battell, where the inhabitants of Man had of late fought, because many of the dead bodies were as yet vnburied. And seeing that it was a most beautifull Island, it pleased him exceeding well, and therefore hee made choice to inhabite therein his owne selfe, and built forts there which are at this day called by his owne name. He had the people of Galway in such awe, that he constrained them to cut downe their owne timber, and to bring it vnto his shore for the building of his fortes. Hee sailed on further vnto the Isle of Anglesey neere vnto Wales, and finding two Earles therein (either of them being called by the name of Hugo) he slue the one, and the other hee put to flight, and so subdued the Island. But the Welshmen presented many gifts vnto him, and so bidding them farewell he returned vnto Man. Vnto Murecard king of Irland he sent his shooes, commaunding him that he should cary them on his shoulders, vpon the birth-day of our Lord through the midst of his Palace, in the sight of his Embassadours, that thereby it might appeare vnto them, that he was subiect vnto king Magnus. Which when the Irishmen heard, they toke it grieuously and disdeined much thereat. But the King being better aduised, I had rather (said he) not onely beare his shooes, but eate his shooes, then that king Magnus should destroy any one prouince in Irland. Wherefore he fulfilled his commaundement, and honourably enterteined his Embassadours. Many giftes also he sent vnto king Magnus by them, and concluded a league. But the messengers returning vnto their lord, tolde him of the situation of Irland, of the beautie thereof, of the fruitfulnesse of the soile, and of the holesomnesse of the aire. Magnus hearing these things was fully resolued to conquer all Irland vnto himselfe. And for the same purpose he commaunded that a Fleet should be made ready. But he taking his voyage with sixteene ships, & being desirous to view the land, when he had vndiscreetly departed from his Nauie, he was suddenly inuironed by the Irish, and was himselfe slaine, together with all that were with him almost. Hee was interred neere vnto the Church of S. Patric in Armagh. Hee reigned sixe yeeres. After his death the Princes of the Islands sent for Olauus the sonne of Godredus Crouan, who liued in the Court of Henry King of England son vnto William the Conquerour.

---

[1] In the Parish of Jurby.

In the yeere 1102. Olauus sonne of Godredus Crouan beganne his reigne and reigned fourtie yeeres: he was a peaceable man being in league with all the Kings of Scotland and Irland in his time. He took to wife Affrica the daughter of Fergusius of Galway, of whom he begat Godredus. Of his concubines he begat Regnaldus, Lagmannus, and Haraldus, and many daughters, whereof one married vnto Sumerledus king of Herergaidel,[1] which afterward occasioned the ouerthrow of the whole kingdome of the Islands. He begat foure sonnes by her, namely Dulgallus, Raignaldus, Engus, and Olauus.

---

[1] Argyll.

In the yeere 1134. Olauus gaue vnto Yuo the Abbat of Furnes a portion of his owne ground in Man to build an Abbey in the place which is called Russin.[1] Also hee inriched with reuenues and indued with priuiledges al places of religion within his islands.

In the yere 1142. Godredus yͤ son of Olauus sailed vnto the K. of Norway called Hinge, and doing his homage vnto him he remained with him, & was by him honorably enterteined. The same yere the 3. sonnes of Harald brother vnto Olauus, who were brought vp at the citie of Dublin, gathering together a great multitude of people, and all the fugitiues and vagabonds of the kingdome resorted vnto Man, and demaunded of the said king the one halfe of al the kingdome of the Islands. Which thing when the king heard, being desirous to pacifie them, he answered that he would consult about that matter. And a day and place being appointed, where the consultation should bee kept, in the meane time those miscreants cōspired together, about the murthering of the King. And when the day appointed was come, both companies assembled themselues vnto the hauen towne called Ramsa, and they sate in order, the king with his nobilitie on the one side, and they with their confederates on the other side. Howbeit Regnaldus who had an intention to slay the king, stoode a-side in the midst of the house talking with one of the Princes of the lande. And being called to come vnto the king he turned himselfe about as if hee would haue saluted him, and lifting vp his glittering axe, he chopt the kings head quite off at a blow. Nowe hauing 1143. committed this outragious villanie, within a short space they diuided the Island betweene themselues, and gathering an armie together sailed vnto Galway, intending to subdue that also; howbeit the people of Galway assembled themselues, and with great furie encountred with them. Then they immediately turning their backs with great confusion fled vnto Man. And as touching all the Galwedians which inhabited in the said Island, some of them they slue, and the residue they banished.

---

[1] Rushen.

In the yeere 1143. Godredus sonne of Olauus returning out of Norway was created king of Man; who in reuenge of his fathers death, put out the eyes of two of Haralds sonnes and slue the thirde.

In the yeere 1144. Godredus began his reigne, and hee reigned thirtie yeeres. In the thirde yeere of his reigne the citizens of Dublin sent for him and created him king of Dublin, against whom Murecardus king of Irland made warre, and encamping himselfe at the citie called Coridelis, he sent his brother Osibel with 3000. horsemen vnto Dublin, who was slaine by Godred and the Dubliners, the rest of his company being put to flight. These things being thus finished, Godredus returned vnto Man, and began to exercise tyrannie, disinheriting certaine of his nobles, of whome one called Thorfinus the sonne of Oter, being mightier then the rest, went vnto Sumerledus, and named Dubgal the sonne of Sumerledus, king of the Islands, and subdued many of the said Islands on his behalfe. Whereof when Godred had intelligence by one Paulus, prouiding a Nauie, hee went to meete Sumerledus comming against him with 80. ships: and in the yeere 1156. 1156. vpon the night of the feast of Epiphanie, there was a Sea-battell fought, and many being slaine on both parts, the day folowing they were pacified, and diuided the kingdome of the Islands among themselues, and it continued two kingdomes from that day vnto this present time. And this was the cause of the ruine of the monarchie of the Islands, from which time the sonnes of Sumerled inioyed the one halfe thereof.

In the yeere 1158. Sumerled came vnto Man with 53. ships, putting Godred to flight and wasting the Island: and Godred sailed vnto Norway to seeke for aide against Sumerled. In the yere 1164. Sumerled gathered a fleete of 160. ships together; and arriued at Rhinfrin,[1] intending to subdue all Scotland vnto himselfe: howbeit, by Gods iust iudgement being ouercome by a few, together with his sonne, and an innumerable multitude of people, he was slaine. The very same yere there was a battel fought at Ramsa, betweene Reginald the brother of Godred, and the inhabitants of Man, but by the stratageme of a certaine Earle the Mannians were put to flight. Then began Reginald to vsurpe the kingly authoritie. Howbeit his brother Godred, within foure dayes after, comming out of Norway with a great power of armed men, apprehended his brother Reginald, gelt him, and put out his eyes. The same yeere deceased Malcolme the king of Scots, and his brother William succeeded in the kingdome.

---

[1] Renfrew.

In the yeere 1166. two Comets appeared in the moneth of August, before the rising of the Sunne, one to the South and another to the North.

In the yeere 1171. Richard earle of Penbroke sailed into Irland, and subdued Dublin with a great part of Irland.

In the yere 1176. Iohn Curcy conquered Vlster vnto himselfe. And at the same time also Viuianus legate frō the sea of Rome came into Man, & caused king Godred to bee lawfully wedded vnto his wife Phingola, daughter of Maclotlen son of Murkartac king of Irlād, mother of Olauus, who was then 3. yeeres old. Siluanus the abbat married them, vnto whom the very same day, king Godred gaue a portion of ground in Mirescoge, where he built a Monastery: howbeit, in processe of time, the said land with the monkes, was granted vnto the abbey of Russin.

In the yere 1172. Reginaldus the son of Eacmarcat (a man descended of the blood royal) comming into Man with a great multitude of people, in the absence of the king, at the first conflict hee put to flight certaine watchmen which kept the shoare, & slue about 30. persons. Whereupon the very same day the Mannians arranging themselues put him, & almost almost al his folowers to the sword.

In the yere 1183. O-Fogolt was vicount of Man.

In the yere 1185. the Sunne was ecclipsed vpon the feast of S. Philip and Iacob.

In the yere 1187. deceased Godred king of the Islands, vpō the 4. of the Ides of Nouember, and the next sommer his body was translated vnto the island of Hy. He left 3. sonnes behinde him, Reginaldus, Olauus, and Yuarus. In his life time he ordeined his sonne Olauus to be his heire apparant, because he onely was borne legitimate. But the Mannians, when Olauus was scarce ten yeeres olde, sent vnto the islands for Reginald and created him king.

In the yeere 1187. began Reginald the sonne of Godred to reigne ouer the islands: and Murchardus a man of great power throughout all the kingdome of the islands was put to death.

In the yere 1192. there was a battel fought betweene Reginald and Engus the two sonnes of Sumerled: but Engus obtained the victory. The same yere was the abbey of Russin remooued vnto Dufglas,[1] howbeit within foure yeeres after the monkes returned vnto Russin.

In the yere 1203. Michael bishop of the islands deceased at Fontanas, and Nicholas succeeded in his roome.

In the yere 1204. Hugo de Lacy inuaded Vlster with an armie and encountered with Iohn de Curcy, tooke him prisoner & subdued Vlster vnto himselfe. Afterward he permitted the said Iohn to goe at libertie, who comming vnto king Reginald was honourably enterteined by him, because he was his sonne in lawe, for Iohn de Curcy had taken to wife Affrica the daughter of Godredus, which founded the abbey of *S. Mary de iugo domini*, and was there buried.

In the yeere 1205. Iohn de Curcy & Reginald king of the islands inuading Vlster with a hundreth ships at the port which is called Stranfeord did negligently besiege the castle of Rath: but Walter de Lacy cōming vpō them with his armie, put them to flight, & from that time Curcy neuer recouered his land. In the yeere 1210. Engus the son of Sumerled & his 3 sonnes were slaine.

At the same time Iohn king of England conducted a fleet of 500. ships into Irland, and subdued it vnto himselfe: and sending a certaine earle named Fulco, vnto the isle of Man, his souldiours almost vtterly wasted it in the space of 15. dayes, and hauing taken pledges they returned home into their owne countrey. King Reginald and his nobles were at this time absent from Man.

King Iohn passed into Irland with 500. sailes.

In the yere 1217. deceased Nicolas bishop of the islands, and was buried in Vlster, in the house of Benchor, whom Reginald succeeded.

I thinke it not amisse to report somewhat more concerning the two foresaid brethren Reginaldus and Olauus.

REginald gaue vnto his brother Olauus, the island called Lodhus or Lewes, which is saide to be larger then the rest of the islands, but almost destitute of inhabitants, because it is so ful of mountaines & quarreis, being almost no where fit for tillage. Howbeit the inhabitants thereof do liue for the most part vpon hunting and fishing. Olauus therefore went to take possession of this Island, and dwelt therein leading a poore life:

---

[1] Douglas.

and when he saw that it would by no meanes suffice for the sustentation of himselfe & his folowers, hee went boldly vnto his brother Reginald, who as then remained in the islands, & spake on this wise vnto him. My brother (said he) and my lord and king, you know that the kingdom of the islands pertained vnto me by right of inheritance, howbeit because the Lord had chosen you to beare the scepter, I doe not enuie that honour vnto you, neither doeth it any whit grieue me that you are exalted vnto this royall dignitie Nowe therefore I beseech you to prouide mee some portion of land in the islands, whereby I may honestly liue. For the island of Lewis which you gaue me is not sufficient for my maintenance. Which his brother Reginald hearing said that he would consult about the premisses. And on the morow, when Olauus was sent for to parle, Reginald cōmanded him to be attached, and to be caried vnto William king of Scotland, and with him to remaine prisoner: and Olauus remained in prison almost for the space of 7. yeres. But at the 7. yeres end William king of Scots deceased, and Alexander his sonne reigned in his stead. The foresaid William, before his death, commanded that all prisoners should be set at libertie. Olauus therefore being at libertie came vnto Man, and immediatly with a great company of nobles tooke his iourney vnto S. Iames: and his brother Reginald caused the said Olauus to take vnto wife, the daughter of a certaine noble man of Kentyre, cousine german vnto his owne wife, & by name being called Lauon, and he granted vnto him the possession of Lewis. After a few dayes Reginald the bishop of the Islands hauing gathered a Synod, separated Olauus and Godred his sonne, and Lauon his wife, namely because shee was cousin german vnto his former wife. Afterward Olauus maried Scristina daughter vnto Ferkarus earle of Rosse.

Hereupon the wife of Reginald Queene of the Islands being incensed, sent letters vnto the Island of Sky in K. Reginald his name to her sonne Godred willing him to take Olauus. Which cōmandement Godred putting in practise, & entring the isle of Lewis for ye same purpose, Olauus fled in a little skiffe vnto his father in law the earle of Rosse, & in the meane time Godred wasted the isle of Lewis. At the very same time Pol the son of Boke vicount of Sky, being a man of power in al the islands, because he would not consent vnto Godred, fled, & dwelt together with Olauus in the dominions of the earle of Rosse, & making a league with Olauus, they went both in a ship vnto

Sky. To be short, sending certaine spies, they were informed that Godred remained secure with a smal company in a certaine Isle called ye isle of S. Columba.[1] And vniting vnto themselues their friends and acquaintance, & others that would goe voluntarily with them, in the dead of the night, hauing lanched 5. ships from the next sea-shore, which was distant about the space of 2. furlongs from the foresaid Island, they enuironed the said Island on all sides. Now Godred and his company rising early in the morning, and seeing themselues beset with their enemies on all sides, they were vtterly astonied. Howbeit arming themselues they began stoutly to make resistance, but altogether in vaine. For about 9. of the clocke in the morning, Olauus and the foresaid vicount Pol, with al their souldiers, entred the Island, and hauing slaine all whom they found without the precincts of the Church, they apprehended Godred, gelding him, and putting out his eyes. Vnto which action Olauus gaue not his cōsent, neither could he withstand it, by reason of the forenamed vicount the son of Boke. This was done in the yere of Christ 1223. The next sommer folowing Olauus hauing receiued pledges from all the chiefe men of the Islands, with a fleet of 32. ships sailed vnto Man, and arriued at Rognolfwaht.[2] At the same time Reginald and Olauus diuided the kingdome of the Islands betweene themselues, Man being granted vnto Reginald, & besides his portion the name of a king also. Olauus hauing receiued certaine victuals of the people of Man, returned, together with his company, vnto his owne portion of Islands. The yeere folowing Reginald taking vnto him Alanus lord of Galway, together with his subiects of Man, sailed vnto the Islands, that hee might take away that portion of ground from his brother Olauus, which he had granted vnto him, and subdue it vnto himselfe. Howbeit, by reason that the people of Man had no list to fight against Olauus or the Islanders, because they bare good will towards them, Reginald and Alanus lord of Galway being defeated of their purpose, returned home vnto their owne. Within a short space after Reginald, vnder pretense of going vnto the Court of his lord the king of England, receiued an 100. markes of the people of Man, and tooke his iourney vnto Alanus lord of Galway. Which the people of Man hearing tooke great

The Isle of Man aduanced to a kingdome.

---

[1] Iona.

[2] Peel.

indignation thereat, insomuch that they sent for Olauus, and appointed him to be their king.

In the yeere 1226. Olauus recouered his inheritance, that is to say the kingdome of Man and of the Islands, which Reginald his brother had gouerned for the space of 38. yeeres, and he reigned two yeeres in safetie.

In the yeere 1228. Olauus with all his nobles of Man, and the stronger part of his people, sailed vnto the Islands. A short space after Alanus lord of Galway, Thomas earle of Athol, & king Reginald came vnto Man with a mightie army, and wasted all the South part of Man, spoiled the Churches, and slue all the men whom they coulde take, insomuch, that the Southpart of the saide Island was brought almost into desolation. And then Alanus returned with his army into his owne land, leauing behind him bailiffes and substitutes in Man, which should gather vp and render vnto him the tribute of the countrey. Howbeit king Olauus came suddenly vpon them, chaced them away and recouered his kingdome. And the Mannians which of late were dispersed and scattered abroad, began to vnite themselues, and to inhabite without feare. The same yeere, in the time of Winter, vpon the sudden, and in the very dead of the night came king Reginald out of Galway with fiue ships, & burnt all the ships of his brother Olauus, and of the nobles of Man, at the isle of S. Patric, & concluding a peace with his brother, remained at the port of Ragnolwath 40. dayes: in the meane while hee allured vnto himselfe all the Islanders vpon the South part of Man, who sware, that they would aduenture their liues, vntill hee had gotten the one halfe of his kingdome: contrary wise Olauus ioyned vnto himselfe them of the North part, & vpon the 14. of February in the place called Tinguualla,[1] a field was fought betweene the two brothers, wherein Olauus got the victory, and Reginald the king was by certaine souldiers slaine without the knowledge of his brother. Also certaine pirates comming to the South part of Man, wasted & spoiled it. The monkes of Russin conueyed the body of K. Reginald, vnto the abbey of S. Mary of Fournes, & there he was interred in the place, which his owne selfe had chosen for the purpose. After these things Olauus traueiled vnto the king of Norway, but before he was arriued there, Haco king of Norway appointed a certaine noble man named Husbac the son of Owmund to be king of the Islands of the Hebrides & called his name Haco. Then came the said Haco with Olauus & Godred Don the son of Reginald, and a multitude of Noruegians, vnto the Islands: and while they were giuing an assault vnto a castle in the Island of Both,[1] Haco being hit with a stone died, and was buried in Iona.

---

[1] Tynwald Mount.

In the yere 1230. came Olauus, with Godredus Don, and certeine Noruegians vnto Man, and they parted the kingdome among themselues, Olauus stil reteining Man. Godred as he was going vnto the Islands, was slaine in the Isle of Lewis, & Olauus inioyed the kingdome of the islands also.

In the yere 1237. vpon the 12. of the kalends of Iune, Olauus sonne of Godred king of Man deceased in the isle of S. Patric, and was interred in the abbey of Russin. He reigned 11. yeres, two while his brother was aliue, and nine after his death.

Haraldus his sonne being of the age of 14. yeres, succeeded, and he reigned 12. yeeres. The first yere of his reigne taking his iourney vnto the islands, he appointed one Loglen his kinsman to be his deputie in Man. The Autumne folowing Haraldus sent the three sonnes of Nel, namely Dufgaldus, Torquellus, & Molmore, and his friend Ioseph vnto Man, that they might enter into cōsultation together. Wherefore the 25. day they assembled themselues at Tingualla: and malice growing betweene the sonnes of Nel, and Loglen, they fel to blowes and skirmished sore on both parts, Molmore, Dufgald, and the foresaid Ioseph being all slaine in the fray. The Spring folowing, king Harald came into the Isle of Man, and Loglen fleeing into Wales, was himselfe, together with Godred the sonne of Olauus his pupil, and 40. others, drowned by shipwracke.

In the yere 1238. Gospatricius and Gillescrist sonne of MacKerthac came from the king of Norway vnto Man, expelling Harald out of the said island, and taking tribute on the behalfe of the Noruegian king, because the said Harald refused to come vnto his Court.

In the yere 1240. Gospatricius deceased and was buried in the abbey of Russin.

In the yere 1239. Haraldus went unto the king of Norway, who within two yeres confirmed unto him, his heires and successors, vnder seale, all the islands which his predecessors enioyed.

---

[1] Bute.

In the yeere 1242. Haraldus returned out of Norway vnto Man, and being honourably receiued by the inhabitants, he liued in peace with the kings of England and Scotland.

In the yere 1247. Haraldus (like as his father also before him) was knighted by the king of England, and so being rewarded with many gifts, he returned home. The same yere he was sent for by the king of Norway, and he maried his daughter. And in the yere 1249. as he was returning home with his wife, with Laurence the elect of Man, and with many other nobles, neere vnto the confines of Radland, he was drowned in a tempest.

In the yere 1249. Reginald the sonne of Olauus, and brother vnto Harald began to reigne the day next before the nones of May: and vpon the 30. day of the same moneth he was slaine by Yuarus a souldier, and other of his complices, in the South part of a certaine medow, neere vnto the Church of the holy Trinitie, and he was buried at the Church of S. Marie at Russin.

The same yere Alexander king of Scots prouided a great nauie of ships, that he might conquere the islands vnto himselfe: howbeit falling into an ague at the isle of Kerwary,[1] he deceased.

Then Haraldus the sonne of Godred Don vsurped the name of a king ouer the islands, hee banished also all the princes of Harald the sonne of Olauus, and ordeined his fugitiues to bee princes and nobles in their stead.

In the yere 1250. Haraldus the son of Godred Don being summoned by letters went vnto the king of Norway, who deteined him in prison because he had vniustly possessed the kingdome. The same yeere Magnus the sonne of Olauus, and Iohn the sonne of Dugalt arriued at Roghalwhat, which Iohn named himselfe king, but the Mannians taking it grieuously, that Magnus was not nominated, draue them from their shoare, and many of the company perished by shipwracke.

In the yeere 1252. came Magnus the sonne of Olauus vnto Man, and was ordained king. The yere folowing he tooke his iourney vnto the king of Norway, & there he remained one whole yere.

In the yeere 1254. Haco king of Norway ordeined Magnus the sonne of Olauus king of the islands, confirming them to him and to his heires, and by name vnto Harald his brother.

In the yere 1256. Magnus tooke his iourney into England, and was by the king of England created knight.

---

[1] Query, Kerrera.

In ye yere 1257. the Church of S. Maries of Russin was dedicated by Richard bishop of Soder.

In the yeere 1260. Haco king of Norway came into the parts of Scotland, and without atchieuing ought, turning his course towards the Orcades he there deceased at Kirwas,[1] and was buried at Bergen.

In the yeere 1265. Magnus the sonne of Olauus king of Man and of the Islands died at the castle of Russin, and was buried at the Church of St. Mary at Russin.

In the yere 1266. the kingdome of the Islands was translated vnto Alexander king of Scots.

That which followeth was written in a new character or letter, and of a diuers kinde from the former.

IN the yeere 1270. vpon the seuenth day of October the Fleete of Alexander king of Scots arriued at Roghalwath, and the next day before the sunne rising there was a battell fought betweene the Mannians and the Scots, in the which conflict there were slaine 535. Mannians: whereupon a certaine versifier writeth to this effect:

Fiue hundreth fourtie men are slaine:
against ill haps,
Yee Mannians arme your selues, for feare
of afterclaps.

IN the yeere 1313. Robert king of Scots beseiged the castle of Russin, which Dingaway Dowil held against him, howbeit at the last the king tooke the castle.

In the yeere 1316. vpon the feast of Ascension, Richard le Mandeuile and his brethren, with diuers great personages of Irland arriued at Ramaldwath, demaunding to haue victuals and money ministred vnto them, because they had bene spoyled by their enemies, which made continuall warre vpon them. But when the whole company of the Mannians answered that they would giue nothing, they proceeded against them in warlike maner with two bands, till they were come vnder the side of the hill called Warthfel, in the fielde where Iohn Mandeuile remained, and there hauing fought a battell, the Irish ouercame the people of Man, and spoiled the Island and the Abbey of Russin also: and when they had reueled a whole moneth in the Island, lading their ships they returned home.

---

[1] Kirkwall. The date is an error. Haco's expedition took place in 1263. He sailed from Herdle-Voer on the 5th of July, and died Saturday, 15th December. (*Det Norske Folks Historie*, by P. A. Munch.)

The mariage of the daughter of Harald, slaine by William the conquerour, vnto Ieruslaus duke of Russia, taken out of the 9. booke of the Danish historie written by Saxo Grammaticus. An. D. 1067.

HAraldo cæso, filij eius duo confestìm in Daniam cum sorore migrarunt. Quos Sweno, paterni illorum meriti oblitus consanguineæ pietatis more accepit, puellamque Ruthenorum regi Waldemaro, (qui & ipse Iarislaus a suis est appellatus) nuptum dedit. 1067. Eidem postmodùm nostri temporis dux, vt sanguinis, ita & nominis hæres, ex filia nepos obuenit. Itaque hinc Britannicus, indè Eous sanguis in salutarem nostri principis ortum confluens communem stirpem duarum gentium ornamentum effecit.

The same in English.

HArald being slaine his two sonnes with their sister sped themselues immediatly into Denmarke. Whom Sweno forgetting their fathers deserts receiued in most kinde and friendly maner, and bestowed the yong damosell in mariage vpon Waldemarus king of Russia who was also called by his subiects Iarislaus. Afterward the said Waldemarus had by his daughter a nephew being duke at this present, who succeeded his predecessour both in lineal descent and in name also. Wherefore the English blood on the one side and the Russian on the other side concurring to the ioyful birth of our prince, caused that mutual kinred to be an ornament vnto both nations.

The state of the shipping of the Cinque ports from Edward the Confessour and William the Conquerour, and so downe to Edward the first, faithfully gathered by the learned Gentleman M. William Lambert in his Perambulation of Kent, out of the most ancient Records of England.

I Finde in the booke of the generall suruey of the Realme, which William the Conquerour caused to bee made in the fourth yeere of his reigne, and to be called Domesday, because (as Matthew Parise saith) it spared no man but iudged all men indifferently, as the Lord

The antiquity of the Ports. 1070.

in that great day wil do, that Douer, Sandwich, and Rumney, were in the time of K. Edward the Confessour, discharged almost of all maner of imposicions and burdens (which other townes did beare) in consideration of such seruice to bee done by them vpon the sea, as in their special titles shall hereafter appeare.

Whereupon, although I might ground reasonable coniecture, that the immunitie of the hauen Townes (which we nowe call by a certaine number, the Cinque Ports) might take their beginning from the same Edward: yet for as much as I read in the Chartre of K. Edward the first after the conquest (which is reported in our booke of Entries) A recitall of the graunts of sundry kings to the Fiue Ports, the same reaching no higher then to William the Conquerour, I will leaue my coniecture, and leane to his Chartre: contenting my selfe to yeelde to the Conquerour, the thankes of other mens benefits, seeing those which were benefited, were wisely contented (as the case then stood) to like better of his confirmation (or second gift) then of K. Edwards first graunt, and endowment.

And to the ende that I may proceed in some maner of array, I will first shewe, which Townes were at the beginning taken for the Fiue Ports, and what others be now reputed in the same number: secondly, what seruice they ought, and did in times passed: and lastly, what priuiledges they haue therefore, and by what persons they haue bene gouerned.

If I should iudge by the common, and rude verse,

Douer, Sandwicus, Ry, Rum, Frigmare ventus, Which be the Fiue Ports.

I must say that Douer, Sandwich, Rie, Rumney, and Winchelsey, (for that is, Frigmare ventus) be the Fiue Ports: Againe, if I should be ruled by the Rolle which reciteth the Ports that send Barons to the Parliament, I must then adde to these, Hastings and Hyde, for they also haue their Barons as well as the other: and so should I not onely, not shew which were the first Fiue, but also (by addition of two others) increase both the number, and doubtfulnesse. Leauing the verse therefore, for ignorance of the authour and suspition of his authoritie, and forsaking the Rolle (as not assured of the antiquitie) I will flee to Henry Bracton, a man both 1250. ancient, learned, and credible, which liued vnder K. Henry the thirde, and wrote (aboue three hundreth yeeres since) learnedly of the lawes of this Realme.

He (I say) in the third booke of his worke,[1] and treatise of the Crowne, taking in hand to shewe the articles inquirable before the Iustice in Eire, (or Itinerent, as we called them, because they vsed to ride from place to place throughout the Realme, for administration of iustice) setteth forth a special fourme of writs, to be directed seuerally to the Bailifes of Hastings, Hithe, Rumney, Douer, and Sandwich, commanding them, that they should cause twentie & foure of their Barons (for so their Burgesses, or townesmen, and the citizens of London likewise, were wont to be termed) to appeare before the Kings Justices at Shipwey in Kent (as they accustomed to do) there to enquire of such points, as should be giuen in charge. Which done, hee addeth moreouer, that forsomuch as there was oftentimes cōtention betwene them of the Fiue Ports, & the inhabitants of Yarmouth in Norfolke, and Donwich in Suffolke, there should be seuerall writs directed to them also, returnable before the same Justices at the same day and place, reciting, that where the King had by his former writs sommoned the Pleas of the Fiue Ports to bee holden at Shipwey, if any of the same townes had cause to complaine of any (being within the liberties of the said Ports) he should be at Shipwey to propound against him, and there to receiue according to law and Iustice.

Citizens were called Barons in old time.

Contention betweene Yarmouth, and the Fiue Ports.

1250. Antiquitie of Yarmouth fishing.

Thus much I recite out of Bracton, partly to shew that Shipwey was before K. Edward the firsts time, the place of assembly for the Plees of the Fiue Ports: partly to notifie the difference, and controuersie that long time since was betweene these Ports, and those other townes: But purposely, and chiefly, to proue, that Hastings, and Hithe, Douer, Rumney, and Sandwich, were in Bractons time accompted the Fiue principall hauens or Ports, which were endowed with priuiledge, and had the same ratified by the great Chartre of England.

Neither yet will I deny, but that soone after, Winchelsey and Rie might be added to the number. For I find in an old recorde, that king Henry the third tooke into his owne hands (for the better defence of the Realme) the townes of Winchelsey, and Rie, which belonged before to the

1268.

---

[1] *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliæ.*

Monasterie of Fescampe in Normandie, and gaue therefore in exchange, the Manor of Chiltham in Gloucestershire, & diuers other lands in Lincolneshire. This he did, partly to conceale from the Priors Aliens the intelligence of the secret affaires of his Realme, and partly because of a great disobedience & excesse, that was committed by the inhabitants of Wincelsey, against Prince Edward his eldest sonne. And therefore, although I can easily be led to thinke, that he submitted them for their correction to the order, and gouernance of the Fiue ports, yet I stand doubtfull whether hee made them partners of their priuiledges, or no, for that had bene a preferment, and no punishment vnto them: but I suspect rather, that his sonne king Edward the first, (by whose encouragement and aide, olde Winchelsey was afterward abandoned, and the newe towne builded) was the first that apparelled them with that preeminence.

Winchelsey first builded. 1277.

By this therefore let it appeare, that Hastings, Douer, Hithe, Rumney, and Sandwich, were the first Ports of priuiledge: which (because they were 5. in number) both at the first gaue, and yet continue, to all the residue, the name of Cinque Ports, although not onely Winchelsey and Rie, be (since that time) incorporated with them as principals, but diuers other places also (for the ease of their charge) be crept in, as partes, lims, and members of the same.

Now therefore, somewhat shalbe said, as touching the seruices that these Ports of duetie owe, and in deed haue done, to the Princes: whereof the one (I meane with what number of vessels, in what maner of furniture, and for how long season, they ought to wait on the king at the Sea, vpon their owne charges) shall partly appeare by that which we shall presently say, and partly by that which shall followe in Sandwich, and Rumney: The other shall bee made manifest by examples, drawne out of good histories: and they both shall be testified by the words of king Edward the first in his owne Chartre.

The booke of Domesday before remembred, chargeth Douer with twentie vessels at the sea, whereof eche to be furnished with one and twentie men for fifteene dayes together: and saith further, that Rumney and Sandwich answered the like seruice. But now whether this (like) ought to be vnderstoode of the like altogether, both in respect of the number and seruice, or of the (like) in respect of seruice, according to the proportion of their abilitie onely, I may not hereby take vpon me to determine. For on the one side, if Rumney, Sandwich, and the residue, should likewise finde twentie vessels a piece, then (as you shall anone see) the fiue Ports were subiect to a greater charge at that time, then King Edward the first layd vpon them: And on the other side, if they were onely chargeable after their proportion, then know I not how farre to burthen them, seeing the Record of Domesday it selfe, bindeth them to no certeintie. And therefore leauing this as I find it, I must elsewhere make inquisition for more lightsome proofe. And first I will haue recourse to king Edward the first his Chartre in which I read, that At ech time that the King passeth ouer the sea, the Ports ought to rigge vp fiftie and seuen ships, (whereof euery one to haue twentie armed souldiers) and to mainteine them at their owne costes, by the space of fifteene dayes together.

And thus it stoode with the Ports for their generall charge, in the sixt yeere of his reigne, for then was this Chartre sealed. But as touching the particular burthen of ech one, I haue seene two diuers testimonies, of which the first is a note in French (bearing the countenance of a Record) and is intituled, to haue bene renued in the two and twentie yeere of the Reigne of the same king, by Stephan Penchester, then Constable of Douer Castle, in which the particular charge is set downe in this maner.

The Port of Hastings ought to finde three ships.
The lowie of Peuensey, one.
Buluerhithe and Petit Iahn, one.
Bekesborne in Kent, seuen.
Grenche at Gillingham in Kent, two men and armour, with the ships of Hastings.
The towne of Rie, fiue.
To it was Tenterdene annexed, in the time of King Henrie the sixt.
The towne of Winchelsey, tenne.
The Port of Rumney, foure.
Lydde, seuen.
The Port of Hythe, fiue.
The Port of Douer, nineteene.
The towne of Folkestone, seuen.
The towne of Feuersham, seuen.

The Port of Sandwich, with Stonor, Fordwich, Dale, &c. fiue.

These ships they ought to finde vpon fortie dayes summons, armed and arrayed at their owne charge, and in ech of them twentie men, besides the Master of the Mariners: all which they shall likewise mainteine fiue dayes together at their owne costs, giuing to the Maister sixe pence by the day, to the Constable sixe pence, and to ech other Mariner three pence. And after those fiue dayes ended, the King shall defray the charges.

The other is a Latine Custumall of the towne of Hyde, the which although it pretend not so great antiquity as the first, yet seemeth it to me to import as much or more likelihood and credit: It standeth thus.

These be the Fiue Ports of our soueraigne Lord the King
hauing liberties, which other Ports haue not:
Hasting, Romenal, Heth, Douer, Sandwich, the chiefe Townes.
The seruices due by the same.

Hasting shall finde 21. ships, in euery ship 21. men, and a Garcion, or Boy, which is called a Gromet. To it perteine (as the members of one towne) the Seashore in Seford, Peuenshey, Hodeney, Winchelsey, Rie, Ihame, Bekesbourne, Grenge, Northie, Bulwerheth.

Romenal 5. ships, in euery ship 21. men, and a Garcion: To it perteine, as members thereof, Promhell, Lede, Eastwestone, Dengemareys, olde Rumney.

Hethe 5. ships, as Romenal before. To it perteineth the Westhethe.

Douer 21. ships, as Hasting before. To it pertaine, Folkstane, Feuersham, and S. Margarets, not concerning the land, but for the goods and cattels.

Sandwich 5. ships, as Romenal and hethe. To it perteine Fordwich, Reculuer, Serre, and Dele, not for the soile, but for the goods.

Summe of ships 57.

Summe of the men 1187. and 57. Garcions.

This seruice, the Barons of the Fiue Ports doe acknowledge to owe to the King, vpon summons yerely (if it happen) by the space of 15. dayes together, at their owne costs and charges, accounting that for the first day of the 15. in which they shall spread their sailes to goe towards those parts that the King intendeth: and to serue so long after 15. dayes, as the King will, at his owne pay and wages.

Thus much out of these ancient notes, whereby your selfe may easily discerne the difference: but whether the one or the other, or (by reason of some latter dispensation) neither of these, haue place at this day, I must referre it to them that be priuie, and of counsell with the Ports: and so leauing this also vndecided, holde on the way, wherein I am entred.

This duetie of attendance therefore (being deuised for the honourable transportation, and safe conduct of the Kings owne person or his armie ouer the narrow Seas) the Ports haue not onely most diligently euer since that time performed, but furthermore also valiantly behaued themselues against the enemie from time to time, in sundrie exploits by water, as occasion hath bene proferred, or the necessitie of the Realme required.

The good seruice of the fiue ports.

And amongst other feats not vnwoorthy perpetuall remembrance, after such time as Lewes (the eldest sonne of the French King) had entred the Realme to aide Stephan Langton the Archbishop, and the Nobilitie, in the life of King Iohn, and had sent into France for new supply of Souldiers after his death, Hubert of Borough (then captaine of Douer) following the opinion of Themistocles in the exposition of the oracle of the wooden walles, by the aide of the Port townes, armed fortie tall ships, and meeting with eightie saile of Frenchmen vpon the high seas, gaue them a most couragious encounter, in which he tooke some, sunke others, and discomfited the rest. 1217.

King Henrie the third also, after that he came to riper age, had great benefit by the seruice of the Cinque Ports: And king Edward the first in his Chartre, maketh their continuall faithfull seruice (and especially their good endeuour, then lately shewed against the Welshmen) the principall cause, and motiue of that his liberall grant. 1278.

Furthermore, about the midst of the reigne of the same king, an hundreth saile of the Nauie of the Ports fought at the Sea with a fleet of 200. French men, all which (notwithstanding the great oddes of the number) they tooke, and slew, and sunke so many of the Mariners, that France was thereby (for a long season after) in maner destitute, both of Seamen, and shipping. 1293.

Finally, and to conclude this part, in the dayes of king Henrie the the fourth, the nauie of the Fiue Ports, vnder the conduct of one Henrie Paye, surprised one hundreth and twentie French ships, all laden with Salt, Iron, Oile, and no worse merchandize.

1406.

The priuiledges of these Ports, being first granted by Edward the Confessour, and William the Conquerour, and then confirmed and increased by William Rufus, Henrie the second, Richard the first, Henrie the third, and king Edward the first, be very great, considering either the honour and ease, or the freedome and exemption, that the inhabitants haue by reason of the same.

Priuiledges of the fiue ports.

Part of the great Charter granted by king Edward the first to the Barons of the Cinque portes, in the sixt yeere of his reigne 1278. for their good seruices done vnto him by sea: wherein is mention of their former ancient Charters from Edward the Confessor, William the Conqueror, William Rufus, Henry the second, king Richard the first, king Iohn, and Henry the third continued vnto them.

EDward by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, & duke of Gascoigne, to all Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earles, Barons, Iustices, Shirifs, Prouosts, Officers, & to all Bayliffes and true subiects greeting. You shall knowe that for the faithfull seruice that our Barons of the fiue Ports hitherto to our predecessors kings of England, & vnto vs lately in our armie of Wales haue done, and for their good seruice to vs and our heires kings of England, truly to be continued in time to come, we haue granted & by this our Charter confirmed for vs and our heires, to the same our Barons and to their heires, all their liberties and freedomes. So that they shall be free from all toll, and from all custome; that is to say from all lastage, tallage, passage, cariage, riuage, asponsage, and from all wrecke, and from all their sale, carying and recarying through all our realme and dominion, with socke and souke, toll and theme. And that they shall haue Infangthefe, and that they shall be wreckefree, lastagefree, and louecopfree. And that they shall haue Denne and Strande at great Yarmouth, according as it is contayned in the ordinance by vs thereof made perpetually to bee obserued. And also that they are free from all shires and hundreds: so that if any person will

The fishing at great Yarmouth.

plead against them, they shall not aunswere nor pleade otherwise then they were wont to plead in the time of the lord, king Henrie our great grandfather: And that they shall haue their findelles in the sea and in the land: And that they be free of all their goods and of all their marchandises as our freemen. And that they haue their honours in our court, and their liberties throughout all the land wheresoeuer they shall come. And that they shall be free for euer of all their lands, which in the time of Lord Henrie the king our father they possessed: that is to say in the 44. yere of his reign, from all maner of summonces before our Iustices to any maner of pleadings, iourneying in what shire soeuer their lands are. So that they shall not be bound to come before the Iustices aforesaid, except any of the same Barons doe implead any man, or if any man be impleaded. And that they shall not pleade in any other place, except where they ought, and where they were wont, that is to say, at Shepeway. And they that haue their liberties and freedomes from hencefoorth, as they and their predecessors haue had them at any time better, more fully and honourably in the time of the kings of England, Edward, William the first, William the second, Henrie the king our great grandfather, and in the times of king Richard, and king Iohn our grandfathers, and lord king Henrie our father, by their Charters: as the same Charters which the same our Barons thereof haue, and which we haue seene, doe reasonably testifie. And we forbid that no man vniustly trouble them nor their marchandise vpon our forfeyture of ten pounds. So neuerthelesse, that when the same Barons shall fayle in doing of Iustice or in receiuing of Iustice, our Warden, and the wardens of our heires of the Cinque Portes, which for the time shall be, their Ports and liberties may enter for to doe their full Iustice. So also that the sayd Barons and their heires, do vnto vs and to our heirs kings of England by the yeare their full seruice of 57. shippes at their costs by the space of fifteene dayes at our somounce, or at the somounce of our heires. We haue granted also vnto them of our speciall grace that they haue Outfangthefe in their lands within the Ports aforesayd, in the same maner that Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earles and Barons, haue in their manours in the countie of Kent. And they be not put in any Assises, Iuries, or Recognisances by reason of their forreine

Henry the third.

Edward the confessor.

57. Ships of the Cinque Portes bound to serue the king 15. dayes at their owne costs.

tenure against their will: and that they be free of all their owne wines for which they do trauaile of our right prise,[1] that is to say, of one tunne before the mast, and of another behind the maste. We haue granted furthermore vnto the said Barons for vs and our heires, that they for euer haue this liberty, that is to say, That we or our heires shall not haue the wardship or mariages of their heires by reason of their landes, which they holde within the liberties and Portes aforesayde, for the which they doe their seruice aforesayd: and for the which wee and our progenitors had not the wardships and marriages in time past. But we our aforesayd confirmation vpon the liberties and freedomes aforesayde, and our grants following to them of our especiall grace, of newe haue caused to be made, sauing alwaies in al things our kingly dignitie: And sauing vnto vs and to our heires, plea of our crowne, life and member. Wherefore we will and surely command for vs and our heires that the aforesaid Barons and their heires for euer haue all the aforesaid liberties and freedomes, as the aforesaid Charters do reasonably testifie. And that of our especial grace they haue outfangthefe in their lands within the Ports aforesaid after the manner that Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earles and Barons haue in their manours in the county of Kent. And that they be not put in Assizes, Iuries, or recognisances by reason of their forreine tenure against their will. And that they bee free of their owne wines for which they trauaile of our right price or custome, that is to say of one tunne of wine before the maste, and of another tunne behinde the maste. And that likewise for euer they haue the libertie aforesayde: that is to say: That wee and our heires haue not the worships or mariages of their heires by reason of their landes which they holde within the liberties and Portes aforesayd, for the which their seruice aforesaid, and for which wee and our predecessors the wardships and mariages haue not had in times past, But our aforesayd confirmation of their liberties and freedomes aforesaid and other grants following to them of our especiall grace of new we haue caused to bee made. Sauing alwayes and in all things our regall dignity. And sauing vnto vs and our heires the pleas of our crowne of life and member as is aforesayd. These being witnesses, the reuerend father

---

[1] Prisage—one cask in ten, on wine, was the first customs-duty levied in England.

Robert of Portuens Cardinall of the holie Church of Rome, frier William of Southhampton Prior prouincial of the friers preachers in England, William of Valencia our vncle, Roger of the dead sea, Roger of Clifford, Master Robert Samuel deane of Sarum, Master Robert of Scarborough the Archdeacon of East Riding, Master Robert of Seyton, Bartholomew of Southley, Thomas of Wayland, Walter of Hoptan, Thomas of Normannel, Steuen of Pennester, Frances of Bonaua, Iohn of Lenetotes, Iohn of Metingham and others. Giuen by our hand at Westminster the fourteenth day of Iune, in the sixth yeare of our reigne.

Thomas Walsingham writeth y^{t} he had once 1100. strong shippes.

The roll of the huge fleete of Edward the third before Calice, extant in the kings wardrobe in London, whereby the wonderfull strength of England by sea in those dayes may appeare.

The South fleete.

The Kings	Shippes	25.	Lyme	Ships	4.
	Mariners	419.		Mariners	62.
London	Shippes	25.	Seton	Ships	2.
	Mariners	662.		Mariners	25.
Aileford	Shippes	2.	Sydmouth	Ships	3.
	Mariners	24.		Mariners	62.
Hoo	Shippes	2.	Exmouth	Ships	10.
	Mariners	24.		Mariners	193.
Maydstone	Shippes	2.	Tegmouth	Ships	7.
	Mariners	51.		Mariners	120.
Hope	Shippes	2.	Dartmouth	Ships	31.
	Mariners	59.		Mariners	757.
New Hithe	Shippes	5.	Portsmouth	Ships	5.
	Mariners	49.		Mariners	96.
Margat	Shippes	15.	Plimouth	Ships	26.
	Mariners	160.		Mariners	603.
[1]Motue	Shippes	2.	Loo	Ships	20.
	Mariners	22.		Mariners	315.
Feuersham	Shippes	2.	Yalme	Ships	2.
	Mariners	25.		Mariners	47.
Sandwich	Ships	22.	[2]Fowey	Ships	47.
	Mariners	504.		Mariners	770.
Douer	Ships	16.	Bristol	Ships	22.
	Mariners	336.		Mariners	608.
Wight	Ships	13.	Tenmouth	Ships	2.
	Mariners	220.		Mariners	25.
Winchelsey	Ships	21.	Hasting	Ships	5.
	Mariners	596.		Mariners	96.
Waymouth	Ships	15.	Romney	Ships	4.
	Mariners	263.		Mariners	65.

---

[1] Or, Morne.

[2] Or, Foy.

Rye	Ships	9.	Swanzey	Ships	1.
	Mariners	156.		Mariners	29.
Hithe	Ships	6.	Ilfercombe	Ships	6.
	Mariners	122.		Mariners	79.
Shoreham	Ships	20.	[2]Patrickestowe	Ships	2.
	Mariners	329.		Mariners	27.
[1]Soford	Ships	5.	Polerwan	Ships	1.
	Mariners	80.		Mariners	60.
Newmouth	Ships	2.	Wadworth	Ships	1.
	Mariners	18.		Mariners	14.
Hamowlhooke	Ships	7.	Kardife	Ships	1.
	Mariners	117.		Mariners	51.
Hoke	Ships	11.	Bridgwater	Ships	1.
	Mariners	208.		Mariners	15.
Southhāpton	Ships	21.	Kaermarthen	Ships	1.
	Mariners	576.		Mariners	16.
Leymington	Ships	9.	Cailechesworth	Ships	1.
	Mariners	159.		Mariners	12.
Poole	Ships	4.	Mulbrooke	Ships	1.
	Mariners	94.		Mariners	12.
Wareham	Ships	3.	Summe of the South fleete.	Ships	493.
	Mariners	59.		Mariners	9630.

The North fleete.

Bamburgh	Ships	1.	Waynefleet	Ships	2.
	Mariners	9.		Mariners	49.
Newcastle	Ships	17.	Wrangle	Ships	1.
	Mariners	314.		Mariners	8.
Walrich	Ships	1.	[4]Lenne	Ships	16.
	Mariners	12.		Mariners	382.
Hertilpoole	Ships	5.	Blackney	Ships	2.
	Mariners	145.		Mariners	38.
Hull	Ships	16.	Scarborough	Ships	1.
	Mariners	466.		Mariners	19.
Yorke	Ships	1.	[5]Yernmouth	Ships	43.
	Mariners	9.		Mariners	1950. or 1075.
Rauenser	Ships	1.	Donwich	Ships	6.
	Mariners	27.		Mariners	102.
Woodhouse	Ships	1.	Orford	Ships	3.
	Mariners	22.		Mariners	62.
[3]Strokhithe	Ships	1.	Goford	Ships	13.
	Mariners	10.		Mariners	303.
Barton	Ships	3.	Herwich	Ships	14.
	Mariners	30.		Mariners	283.
Swinefleete	Ships	1.	Ipswich	Ships	12.
	Mariners	11.		Mariners	239.
Saltfleet	Ships	2.	Mersey	Ships	1.
	Mariners	49.		Mariners	6.
Grimesby	Ships	11.	[6]Brightlingsey	Ships	5.
	Mariners	171.		Mariners	61.

---

[1] Or, Seford.

[2] Or, Padstow.

[3] Stockhith.

[4] Or, Linne.

[5] Or, Yermouth.

[6] Now Brickelsey.

Colchester	Ships	5.	Boston	Ships	17.
	Mariners	90.		Mariners	361.
Whitbanes	Ships	1.	Swinhumber	Ships	1.
	Mariners	17.		Mariners	32.
Malden	Ships	2.	Barton	Ships	5.
	Mariners	32.		Mariners	91.
Derwen	Ships	1.	The Summe of the North fleete.	Ships	217.
	Mariners	15.		Mariners	4521.

The summe totall of all the English fleete	Ships	700.
	Mariners	14151.

Estrangers their ships and mariners.

Bayon	Ships	15.	Flanders	Ships	14.
	Mariners	439.		Mariners	133
Spayne	Ships	7.	Gelderland	Ships	1.
	Mariners	184.		Mariners	24.
Ireland	Ships	1.			
	Mariners	25.			

The summe of all the Estrangers	Ships	38.
	Mariners	805.

THe summe of expenses aswell of wages, & prests, as for the expenses of the kings houses, and for other gifts and rewards, shippes and other things necessary to the parties of France and Normandie, and before Calice, during the siege there, as it appeareth in the accompts of William Norwel keeper of the kings Wardrobe, from the 21. day of April in the 18 yeere of the reigne of the said king, vnto the foure and twentieth day of Nouember in the one and twentieth yeere of his reigne, is iii. hundreth xxxvii. thousand li. ix. s. iiii. d.

A note out of Thomas Walsingham[1] touching the huge Fleete of eleuen hundred well furnished ships wherewith King Edward the third passed ouer vnto Calais in the yeere 1359.

ANno gratiæ 1359. Iohannes Rex Franciæ sub vmbra pacis, & dolose obtulit Regi Angliæ Flandriam, Picardiam, Aquitaniam, aliasque terras quas equitauerat & vastarat: pro quibus omnibus ratificandis idem Rex Edwardus in Franciam nuncios suos direxit; quibus omnibus Franci contradixerunt. Vnde motus Rex Angliæ, celeriter se & suos præparauit ad transfretandum, ducens secum principem Walliæ Edwardum suum primogenitum, ducem Henricum Lancastriæ, & ferè proceres omnes, quos comitabantur vel sequebātur pœne mille currus, habuitque apud Sanwicum instructas optime vndecies centum naues, & cum hoc apparatu ad humiliandum Francorum fastum Franciam nauigauit, relicto domino Thoma de Woodstock filio suo iuniore admodum paruulo, Anglici regni custode, sub tutela tamen.

---

[1] Thomas Walsingham, a native of Norfolk and Benedictine monk of St. Albans. He wrote *A History of England, from* 1273 *to the Death of Henry V.*, and *Ypodigma Neustriæ.* His writings contain very little original information.

The same in English.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1359. Iohn the French king craftily, and vnder pretence of peace, offered vnto Edward the third king of England, Flanders, Picardie, Gascoigne, and other territories which he had spoyled and wasted: for the ratifying of which agreement, the foresaid king Edward sent his ambassadors into France, but the Frenchmen gainsaied them in all their articles and demaunds. Whereupon the king of England being prouoked, speedily prepared himselfe and his forces to crosse the seas, carying with him Edward Prince of Wales his heire apparant, and Henry duke of Lancaster and almost all his Nobles, with a thousand wagons and cartes attending vpon them. And the said king had at Sandwich eleuen hundred ships exceedingly well furnished: with which preparation he passed ouer the seas, to abate the Frenchmens arrogancie: leauing his yonger sonne Thomas of Woodstocke, being very tender of age, as his vicegerent in the Realme of England; albeit not without a protectour, &c.

The voyage of Nicholas de Lynna a Franciscan Frier, and an excellent Mathematician of Oxford, to all the Regions situate vnder the North pole, in the yeere 1360. and in the raigne of Edward the 3. king of England.

QVod ad descriptionem partium Septentrionalium attinet, eam nos accipimus ex Itinerario Iacobi Cnoyen Buscoducensis, qui quædam ex rebus gestis Arthuri Britanni citat, maiorem autem partem & potiora, à Sacerdote quodam apud Regem Noruegiæ, An. Dom. 1364. didicit. Descenderat is ex illis quos Arthurus ad has habitandas insulas miserat, & referebat, An. 1360. Minoritam quendam Anglum Oxoniensem Mathematicum in eas insulas venisse, ipsisque relictis ad vlteriora arte Magica profectū descripsisse omnia, & Astrolabio dimensum

The words of Gerardus Mercator, in the foote of his general Map, vpon the description of the North partes.

esse in hanc subiectam formam ferè, vti ex Iacobo collegimus. Euripos illos quatuor dicebat tanto impetu ad interiorem voraginem rapi, vt naues semel ingressæ nullo vento retroagi possent, neque verò vnquam tantum ibi ventum esse, vt molæ frumentariæ circumagendæ sufficiat. Simillima his habet Giraldus Cambrensis (qui floruit, An. 1210.) in libro de mirabilibus Hyberniæ, sic enim scribit. Non procul ab insulis Hebridibus, Islandia, &c. ex parte Boreali, est maris quædam miranda vorago, in quam à remotis partibus omnes vndique fluctus marini tanquam ex condicto fluunt, & recurrunt, qui in secreta naturæ penetralia se ibi transfundentes, quasi in Abyssum vorantur. Si verò nauem hâc fortè transire contigerit, tanta rapitur, & attrahitur fluctuum violentia, vt eam statim irreuocabiliter vis voracitatis absorbeat.

Quatuor voragines huius Oceani, a quatuor oppositis mundi partibus Philosophi describunt, vnde & tam marinos fluctus, quàm & Æolicos flatus causaliter peruenire nonnulli coniectant.

The same in English.

TOuching the description of the North partes, I haue taken the same out of the voyage of Iames Cnoyen of Hartzeuan Buske, which alleageth certaine conquests of Arthur king of Britaine: and the most part, and chiefest things among the rest, he learned of a certaine priest in the king of Norwayes court, in the yeere 1364. This priest was descended from them which king Arthur had sent to inhabite these Islands, and he reported that in the yeere 1360, a certaine English Frier, a Franciscan, and a Mathematician of Oxford, came into those Islands, who leauing them, and passing further by his Magicall Arte, described all those places that he sawe, and tooke the height of them with his Astrolabe, according to the forme that I (Gerard Mercator) haue set downe in my mappe, and as I haue taken it out of the aforesaid Iames Cnoyen. Hee sayd that those foure Indraughts were drawne into an inward gulfe or whirlepoole, with so great a force, that the ships which once entred therein, could by no meanes be driuen backe againe, and that there is neuer in those parts so much winde blowing, as might be sufficient to driue a Corne mill.

Giraldus Cambrensis (who florished in the yeere 1210, vnder king Iohn) in his booke of the miracles of Ireland, hath certaine words altogether alike with these videlicet:

Not farre from these Islands (namely the Hebrides, Island &c.) towards the North there is a certaine woonderful whirlpoole of the sea, whereinto all the waues of the sea from farre haue their course and recourse, as it were without stoppe: which, there conueying themselues into the secret receptacles of nature, are swallowed vp, as it were, into a bottomlesse pit, and if it chance that any shippe doe passe this way, it is pulled, and drawen with such a violence of the waues, that eftsoones without remedy, the force of the whirlepoole deuoureth the same.

There is a notable whirlepoole on the coast of Norway, called Malestrande (Maelströin), about the latitude of 68.

The Philosophers describe foure indraughts of this Ocean sea, in the foure opposite quarters of the world, from whence many doe coniecture that as well the flowing of the sea, as the blasts of the winde, haue their first originall.

A Testimonie of the learned Mathematician master Iohn Dee,[1] touching the foresaid voyage of Nicholas De Linna.

ANno 1360. (that is to wit, in the 34. yeere of the reigne of the triumphant king Edward the third) a frier of Oxford, being a good Astronomer, went in companie with others to the most Northren Islands of the world, and there leauing his company together, hee trauailed alone, and purposely described all the Northerne Islands, with the indrawing seas: and the record thereof at his returne he deliuered to the king of England. The name of which booke is Inuentio Fortunata (aliter fortunæ) qui liber incipit a gradu 54. vsque ad polum. Which frier for sundry purposes after that did fiue times passe from England thither, and home againe.

Inuentio Fortunata.

It is to be noted, that from the hauen of Linne in Norfolke (whereof the foresaid Francisan frier tooke his name) to Island, it is not aboue a fortnights sailing with an ordinarie winde, and hath bene of many yeeres a very common and vsuall trade: which further appeareth by the priuileges granted to the Fishermen of the towne of Blacknie in the said Countie of Norfolke, by king Edward the third, for their exemption and freedome from his ordinary seruice, in respect of their trade to Island.

---

[1] Born in London in 1527. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. He was a man of vast erudition, but being, in Mary's reign, suspected of devoting himself to the "black art," a mob broke into his house and destroyed his library, museum, and mathematical instruments, said to be worth £2,000; and he himself was cast into prison. He was in great favour with Queen Elizabeth, who is said to have paid him a salary, employed him on secret political missions, and visited him at Mortlake. He professed to be able to raise the dead, and had a magic ball (in reality a lump of black lead), in which he pretended to read the future, and which was afterwards in Horace Walpole's collection at Strawberry Hill. In 1596 he was made Warden of Manchester College, and died in 1608.

An. 2. & 4. & 31. Edwardi tertij.

The voyage of Henry Earle of Derbie, after Duke of Hereford, and lastly king of England, by the name of Henry the fourth, An. Dom. 1390. into Prussia and Lettowe, against the infidels, recorded by Thomas of Walsingham.

Dominus Henricus Comes de Derbie per idem tempus profectus est in le Pruys, vbi cum adjutorio marescalli dictæ patriæ, & cujusdam Regis vocati Wytot deuicit exercitum Regis de Lettowe, captis quatuor ducibus, & tribus peremptis, & amplius quam trecentis, de valentioribus exercitus supradicti pariter interemptis. Ciuitas quoque vocatur || Will, in cujus castellum Rex de Lettowe nomine Skirgalle confugerat, potenti virtute dicti Comitis maximè atque suorum capta est. Namque qui fuerunt de familia sua primi murum ascenderant, & vexillum ejus super muros, cæteris vel torpentibus vel ignorantibus, posuerunt. Captaque sunt ibi vel occisa quatuor millia plebanorum, fratre Regis de Poleyn inter cæteros ibi perempto, qui aduersarius nostri fuit. Obsessumque fuit castrum dictæ Ciuitatis per quinque hebdomadas: Sed propter infirmitates, quibus vexabatur exercitus magistri de Pruys & de Lifland noluerunt diutiùs expectare. Facti sunt Christiani de gente de Lettowe octo. Et magister de Lifland duxit secum in suam patriam tria millia captiuorum.

An. Dom. 1390.

|| Alias Vilna.

The same in English.

ABout the same time L. Henry the Earle of Derbie trauailed into Prussia, where, with the helpe of the Marshall of the same Prouince, and of a certaine king called Wytot, hee vanquished the armie of the king of Lettowe, with the captiuitie of foure Lithuanian Dukes, and the slaughter of three, besides more then three hundred of the principall common souldiers of the sayd armie which were slaine. The Citie also which is called Wil or Vilna, into the castle whereof the king of Lettow named Skirgalle fled for his sauegard, was, by the valour of the sayd

Earle especially and of his followers, surprised and taken. For certaine of the chiefe men of his familie, while others were slouthfull or at least ignorant of their intent, skaling the walles, aduanced his colours thereupon. And there were taken and slaine foure thousand of the common souldiers, and amongst others was slaine the king of Poland his brother, who was our professed enemie. And the castle of the foresaid Citie was besieged for the space of fiue weekes: but by reason of the infirmities and inconueniences wherewith the whole armie was annoyed, the great masters of Prussia and of Lifland would not stay any longer. There were conuerted of the nation of Lettowe eight persons vnto the Christian faith. And the master of Lifland carried home with him into his countrey three thousand captiues.

The voyage of Thomas of Woodstocke Duke of Glocester into Prussia, in the yeere 1391. written by Thomas Walsingham.

EOdem tempore dux Glouerniæ Dominus || Thomas de Woodstock, multis mœrentibus, iter apparauit versùs le Pruys: quem non Londinensium gemitus, non communis vulgi moeror retinere poterant, quin proficisci vellet. Nam plebs communis tàm Vrbana quàm rustica metuebant quòd eo absente aliquod nouum detrimentum succresceret, quo præsente nihil tale timebant. Siquidèm in eo spes & solatium totius patriæ reposita videbantur. Ipse verò mòx, vt fines patriæ suæ transijt, illicò aduersa agitatus fortuna, nunc hàc nunc illàc turbinibus procellosis circumfertur; & in tantum destituitur, vt de vita etiam desperaret. Tandem post Daciam, post Norwagiam, post Scoticam barbariem non sine mortis pauore transcursam, peruenit Northumbriam, & ad castellum se contulit de Tinnemutha velùt assylum antiquitùs notum sibi: vbi per aliquot dies recreatus, iter assumpsit versus manerium suum de Plashy, magnum apportans gaudium toti regno, tam de ejus euasione, quàm de aduentu suo.

|| Filius natu minimus Edwardi 3.

Reditus.

The same in English.

AT the same time the Duke of Glocester Lord Thomas of Woodstock (the yongest sonne of Edward the third) to the great griefe of many, tooke his iourney towards Prussia: whom neither the Londoners mones nor yet the lamentation of the communaltie could restraine from his intended expedition. For the common people both of the Citie and of the countrey feared lest in his absence some newe calamitie might happen; which they feared not while he was present. For in him the whole nation seemed to repose their hope and comfort. Howbeit hauing skarce passed as yet the bounds of his owne countrey, he was immediatly by hard fortune tossed vp and downe with dangerous stormes and tempests, and was brought into such distresse, that he despaired euen of his owne life. At length, hauing not without danger of death, sailed along the coastes of Denmarke, Norway, and Scotland, he returned into Northumberland, and went to the castle of Tinmouth as vnto a place of refuge knowen of olde vnto him: where, after hee had refreshed himselfe a fewe dayes, hee tooke his iourney toward his Mannour of Plashy, bringing great ioy vnto the whole kingdome, aswell in regard of his safetie as of his returne.

The verses of Geofrey Chaucer in the knights Prologue, who liuing in the yeere 1402.[1] (as hee writeth himselfe in his Epistle of Cupide) shewed that the English Knights after the losse of Acon, were wont in his time to trauaile into Prussia and Lettowe, and other heathen lands, to aduance the Christian faith against Infidels and miscreants, and to seeke honour by feats of armes.

The English Knights Prologue.

A Knight there was, and that a worthie man,
that from the time that he first began
to riden out, he loued Cheualrie,
trouth, honour, freedome, and Curtesie.
full worthy was he in his lords warre:
and thereto had hee ridden no man farre,
Long trauaile. As well in Christendome as in Heathennesse,
and euer had honour for his worthinesse.
Alexandria. At Alisandre hee was, when it was wonne:
full oft time hee had the bourd begon
abouen all nations in Pruce,
In Lettowe had hee riden, and in Ruce,

---

[1] Chaucer died 25 October, 1400, according to the inscription on his tombstone at Westminster. Urry, in his edition of Chaucer, folio, 1721, p. 534, attributes the *Epistle to Cupid* to Thomas Occleve, Chaucer's scholar, but does not give his authority.

no Christen man so oft of his degree:
In Granade at the siege had he bee
At Algezer[1]: and ridden in Belmarye:
At Leyes[2] was hee, and also at Satalye,[3]
when they were wonne: and in the great see
at many a Noble armie had hee bee.
At mortall battailes had he bin fifteene,
And foughten for our faith at Tramissen,[4]
in listes thries, and aye slayne his foe:
This ilke worthie Knight had bin also,
sometime with the lord of Palathye[5]
ayenst another Heathen in Turkie.

Written in the lustie moneth of May
in our Palace, where many a million
of louers true haue habitation,
The yeere of grace ioyfull and iocond,
a thousand, foure hundred and second.

The original proceedings and successe of the Northren domestical and forren trades and traffiques of this Isle of Britain from the time of Nero the Emperour, who deceased in the yeere of our Lord. 70. vnder the Romans, Britons, Saxons, and Danes, till the conquest: and from the conquest, vntill this present time, gathered out of the most authenticall histories and records of this nation.

A testimonie out of the fourteenth Booke of the Annales of Cornelius Tacitus, proouing London to haue bene a famous Mart Towne in the reigne of Nero the Emperour, which died in the yeere of Christ 70.

AT Suetonius mira constantia medios inter hostes Londinium perrexit, cognomento quidem coloniæ non insigne, sed copia negociatorum & cōmeatu maxime celebre.

---

[1] Algezer in Granado.
[2] Layas in Armenia. Froysart. lib. 3. cap. 40.
[3] Satalie in the mayne of Asia neere Rhods.
[4] Tremisen is in Barbarie.
[5] Or, Palice. Froysart lib. 3. cap. 40.

The same in English.

BVt Suetonius with wonderfull constancie passed through the middest of his enemies, vnto London, which though it were not honoured with the name and title of a Romane Colonie, yet was it most famous for multitude of Marchants and concourse of people.

A testimonie out of Venerable Beda (which died in the yeere of our Lord 734.) proouing London to haue bene a Citie of great traffike and Marchandize not long after the beginning of the Saxons reigne.

ANno Dominicæ incarnationis sexcentesimo quarto Augustinus Britanniarum Archiepiscopus ordinauit duos Episcopos, Mellitum videlicet & Iustum: Mellitum quidem ad prædicandum prouinciæ Orientalium Saxonum, qui Tamesi fluuio dirimuntur à Cantia, & ipsi Orientali Mari contigui, quorum Metropolis Londonia Ciuitas est, super ripam præfati fluminis posita, & ipsa multorum emporium populorum, terra marique venientium.[1]

The same in English.

IN the yeere of the incarnation of Christ 604. Augustine Archbishop of Britaine consecrated two Bishops, to wit Mellitus and Iustus. He appoynted Mellitus to preach to the East Saxons, which are diuided from Kent by the riuer of Thames, and border vpon the Easterne sea, whose chiefe and Metropolitane Citie is London, seated vpon the banke of the aforesayd riuer, which is also a Marte Towne of many nations, which repayre thither by sea and by land.

The league betweene Carolus Magnus and Offa King of Mercia concerning safe trade of the English Marchants in all the Emperours Dominion. This Offa died in the yeere of our Lord 795.

OFfa interea Carolum magnum Regem Francorum frequentibus legationibus amicum parauit: quamuis non facile quod suis artibus conduceret in Caroli animo inuenerit. Discordarunt antea, adeo vt magnis motibus vtrobique concurrentibus, etiam negociatorum commeatus prohiberentur. Est Epistola Albini huiusce rei index, cuius partem hic apponam.

Nescio quid de nobis venturum sit. Aliquid enim dissentionis diabolico fomento inflammante, nuper inter Regem Carolum &

---

[1] Beda Ecclesiasticæ historiæ Gentis Anglorum lib. 2. cap. 3.

Regem Offam exortum est: ita vt vtrinque nauigatio interdicta negociantibus cesset. Sunt qui dicant nos pro pace in illas partes mittendos. Et nonnullis interpositis, Nunc, inquit, ex verbis Caroli fœdus firmum inter eum & Offam compactum subijciam. Carolus gratia Dei Rex Francorum, & Longobardorum, & patricius Romanorum, viro venerando & fratri charissimo Offæ Regi Merciorum salutem. Primo gratias agimus omnipotenti deo, de salute animarum, de Catholicæ fidei sinceritate, quam in vestris laudabiliter paginis reperimus exaratam. De peregrinis vero qui pro amore Dei, & salute animarum suarum beatorum Apostolorum limina desiderant adire, cum pace sine omni perturbatione vadant. Sed si aliqui, non religioni seruientes, sed lucra sectantes, inueniantur inter eos, locis opportunis statuta soluant telonia. Negociatores quoque volumus vt ex mandato nostro patrocinium habeant in Regno nostro legitime. Et si aliquo loco iniusta affligantur oppressione, reclament ad nos vel nostros iudices, & plenam videbimus iustitiam fieri.[1]

Nauigatio interdicta.

Negociatorum Anglicanorum patrocinium.

The same in English.

IN the meane season Offa by often legacies solicited Charles le maigne the king of France, to be his friend: albeit he could not easily finde king Charles any whit enclined to further and promote his craftie attempts. Their mindes were so alienated before, that, bearing hauty stomacks on both parts, euen the mutuall traffique of their Marchants was prohibited. The Epistle of Albinus is a sufficient testimony of this matter: part whereof I will here put downe.

Traffique prohibited.

I know not (quoth he) what will become of vs. For there is of late, by the instigation of the deuill, some discord and variance sprung vp betweene king Charles and king Offa: insomuch that sailing to and fro is forbidden vnto the Marchants of both their dominions. Some say that we are to be sent, for the obtaining of a peace, into those partes. And againe, after a fewe lines. Nowe (quoth he) out of Charles his owne words, I will make report of the league concluded betweene him and Offa.

Nauigation forbidden.

A league betweene Carol. Mag. and K. Offa.

Charles by the grace of God king of the Franks and Lombards and Senatour of the Romanes, vnto the reuerend and his most deare brother Offa king of the Mercians sendeth

---

[1] Malmsbur. de gestis Regum Anglorum lib. 1. cap. 4.

greeting. First we doe render vnto almightie God most humble thankes for the saluation of soules, and the sinceritie of the Catholique faith, which we, to your great commendation, haue found signified in your letters. As touching those pilgrimes, who for the loue of God and their owne soules health, are desirous to resort vnto the Churches of the holy Apostles, let them goe in peace without all disturbance. But if any be found amongst them not honouring religion, but following their owne gaine, they are to pay their ordinarie customes at places conuenient. It is our pleasure also and commandement, that your marchants shall haue lawfull patronage and protection in our dominions. Who, if in any place they chance to be afflicted with any iniust oppression, let them make their supplication vnto vs, or vnto our Iudges, and we will see iustice executed to the full.

Protection of the English Marchants.

An ancient testimonie translated out of the olde Saxon lawes, containing among other things the aduancement of Marchants for their thrise crossing the wide seas, set downe by the learned Gentleman Master William Lambert pagina 500. of his perambulation of Kent.

IT was sometime in English lawes, that the people and the lawes were in reputation: and then were the wisest of the people worship-worthy, euery one after his degree: Earle, and Churle, Thein, and vnder-Thein. And if a churle thriued so, that hee had fully fiue hides of his owne land, a Church and a Kitchin, a Belhouse, and a gate, a seate, and a seuerall office in the Kings hall, then was he thenceforth the Theins right worthy. And if a Thein so thriued, that he serued the king, and on his message rid in his houshold, if he then had a Thein that followed him, the which to the kings iourney fiue hides had, and in the kings seate his Lord serued, and thrise with his errand had gone to the king, he might afterward with his foreoth his lords part play at any great neede. And if a Thein did thriue so, that he became an Earle; then was he afterward an Earles right worthie. And if a Marchant so thriued, that he passed thrise ouer the wide seas, of his owne craft, he was thencefoorth a Theins right worthie. And if a scholar so prospered thorow learning that he degree had, and serued Christ, he was then afterward of dignitie and peace so much worthie, as thereunto

---

belonged: vnlesse he forfaited so, that he the vse of his degree vse ne might.

A testimonie of certaine priuiledges obtained for the English and Danish Marchants of Conradus the Emperour and Iohn the Bishop of Rome by Canutus the King of England in his iourney to Rome, extracted out of a letter of his written vnto the Cleargie of England.

SIt vobis notum quia magna congregatio nobilum in ipsa solemnitate Pascali, Romæ cum Domino Papa Ioanne, & imperatore Conrado erat, scilicet omnes principes gentium a monte Gargano, vsque ad istum proximum Mare: qui omnes me & honorifice suscepere, & magnificis donis honorauere. Maxime autem ab imperatore donis varijs & muneribus pretiosis honoratus sum, tam in vasis aureis & argenteis, quam in pallijs & vestibus valde pretiosis. Locutus sum igitur cum ipso imperatore, & Domino Papa, & principibus qui ibi erant, de necessitatibus totius populi mei, tam Angli quam Dani, vt eis concederetur lex æquior, & pax securior in via Romã adeundi, & ne tot clausuris per viam arcerentur, & propter iniustum teloneũ fatigarentur. Annuitque postulatis Imperator, & Rodulphus Rex, qui maxime ipsarum clausurarum dominatur, cunctique principes edictis firmarunt, vt homines mei tam Mercatores, quàm alij orandi gratia viatores, absque omni anguria clausurarum & teloneariorum, cum firma pace Romam eant & redeant.[1]

The same in English.

YOu are to vnderstand, that at the feast of Easter, there was a great company of Nobles with Pope Iohn and Conradus the Emperour assembled at Rome, namely all the princes of the nations from mount Garganus[2] vnto the West Ocean sea. Who all of them honourably interteined me, and welcomed mee with rich and magnificent gifts: but especially the Emperour bestowed diuers costly presents and rewards vpon mee, both in vessels of golde and siluer, and also in cloakes and garments of great value. Wherefore I conferred with the Emperour himselfe and the Pope, and with the other Princes who were there present, concerning the necessities of all my subiects both Englishmen and Danes; that a more fauourable law & secure peace in their way to Rome might bee graunted vnto them, and that they might not bee hindered by so many stops & impediments in their iourney, and wearied by reason of iniust exactions. And the Emperour condescended vnto my request, and king Rodulphus also, who hath greatest authoritie ouer the foresaid stops and streights, and all the other princes confirmed by their Edicts, that my subiects, as well Marchants, as others who trauailed for deuotions sake, should without all hinderance and restraint of the foresaid stops and customers, goe vnto Rome in peace, and returne from thence in safetie.

---

[1] William of Malmsb. lib. 2. cap. 9. de gestis Regum Anglorum.

[2] Garganus a mountain of Apulia in Italy.

The flourishing state of Marchandise in the Citie of London in the dayes of Willielmus Malmesburiensis, which died in the yeere 1142. in the reigne of K. Stephen.

HAud longe a Rofa quasi viginti quinque milliarijs est Londonia Ciuitas nobilis, opima ciuium diuitijs, constipata negociatorum ex omni terra, & maxime ex Germania venientium, commercijs. Vnde fit vt cum vbique in Anglia caritas victualium pro sterili prouentu messium sit, ibi necessaria distrahantur & emantur minore, quàm alibi, vel vendentium compendio, vel ementium dispendio. Peregrinas inuehit merces Ciuitatis finibus Tamesis fluuius famosus, qui citra vrbem ad 80. milliaria fonticulo fusus, vltra plus 70. nomen profert.[1]

The same in English.

NOt farre from Rochester, about the distance of fiue and twenty miles, standeth the Noble Citie of London, abounding with the riches of the inhabitants, and being frequented with the traffique of Marchants resorting thither out of all nations, and especially out of Germanie. Whereupon it commeth to passe, that when any generall dearth of victuals falleth out in England, by reason of the scarcitie of corne, things necessary may there be prouided and bought with lesse gaine vnto the sellers, and with lesse hinderance and losse vnto the buyers, then in any other place of the Realme. Outlandish wares are conueighed into the same Citie by the famous riuer of Thames: which riuer springing out of a fountaine 80. miles beyond the Citie, is called by one and the selfe same name 70. miles beneath it.

Germanie.

---

[1] Guliel. Malmesb. de gestis pont. Anglorum lib. 2.

The aforesaid William of Malmesburie writeth of traffike in his time to Bristowe in his fourth booke de gestis pontificum Anglorum, after this maner.

IN eadem valle est vicus celeberrimus Bristow nomine, in quo est nauium portus ab Hibernia & Norwegia & cæteris transmarinis terris venientium receptaculum, ne scilicet genitalibus diuitijs tam fortunata regio peregrinarum opum frauderetur commercio.

The same in English.

IN the same valley stands the famous Towne of Bristow,[1] with an Hauen belonging thereunto, which is a commodious and safe receptacle for all ships directing their course for the same, from Ireland, Norway, and other outlandish and foren countreys: namely that a region so fortunate and blessed with the riches that nature hath vouchsafed thereupon should not bee destitute of the wealth and commodities of other lands. Norway.

The league betweene Henry the second and Fredericke Barbarossa Emperour of Germanie, wherein is mention of friendly traffike betweene the Marchants of the Empire and England, confirmed in the yeere of our Lord 1157. recorded in the first Booke and seuenteenth Chapter of Radeuicus Canonicus Frisingensis, being an appendix to Otto Frisingensis.

IBidem tunc affuere etiam Henrici Regis Angliæ missi, varia & preciosa donaria multo lepore verborum adornata præstantes. Inter quæ papilionem vnum quantitate maximum, qualitate optimum perspeximus. Cuius si quantitatem requiris, non nisi machinis & instrumentorum genere & adminiculo leuari poterat: si qualitatem, nec materia nec opere ipsum putem aliquando ab aliquo huiusce apparatu superatum iri. Literas quoque mellito sermone plenas pariter direxerat, quarum hic tenor fuit. Præcordiali amico suo, Frederico Dei gratia Romanorum imperatori inuictissimo, Henricus Rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ, & Aquitaniæ, & Comes Andegauensis, salutem, & veræ dilectionis concordiam. Excellentiæ vestræ quantas possumus referimus grates, dominantium optime, quod nos nuncijs vestris visitare, salutare literis, muneribus præuenire, & quod his charius amplectimur, pacis & amoris inuicem dignatus estis fœdera inchoare. Exul-

---

[1] Bristol.

tauimus, & quodammodo animum nobis crescere, & in maius sensimus euehi dum vestra promissio, in qua nobis spem dedistis, in disponendis Regni nostri negocijs, alacriores nos reddidit, & promptiores. Exultauimus inquam, & tota mente magnificentiæ vestræ assurreximus, id vobis in sincero cordis affectu respondentes, quod quicquid ad honorem vestrum spectare nouerimus, pro posse nostro effectui mancipare parati sumus. Regnum nostrum, & quicquid vbique nostræ subijcitur ditioni vobis exponimus & vestræ committimus potestati, vt ad vestrum nutum omnia disponantur, & in omnibus vestri fiat voluntas imperij. Sit igitur inter nos & populos nostros dilectionis & pacis vnitas indiuisa, commercia tuta: Ita tamen vt vobis, qui dignitate præminetis, imperandi cedat authoritas, nobis non deerit voluntas obsequendi. Et sicut vestræ Serenitatis memoriam vestrorum excitat in nobis munerum largitio, sic vos nostri quoque reminisci præoptamus, mittentes quæ pulchriora penes nos erant, & vobis magis placitura. Attendite itaque dantis affectum, non data, & eo animo quo dantur accipite. De manu beati Iacobi, super qua nobis scripsistis, in ore magistri Hereberti & Guilielmi Clerici nostri verbũ posuimus. Teste Thoma Cancellario apud Northanton.

Commercia inter Germanos & Anglos.

The same in English.

THere were present also the same time, the messengers of Henry[1] king of England presenting diuers rich and precious gifts, and that with great learning & eloquence of speech. Amongst the which we saw a pauilion, most large in quantity, & most excellent in quality. For if you desire to know the quantitie therof, it could not be erected without engines and a kinde of instruments, and maine force: if the qualitie, I thinke there was neuer any furniture of the same kinde, that surpassed the same either in stuffe or workemanship. The said king directed his letters also, full of sugred speeches, the tenour whereof was this that followeth.

To his entirely beloued friend Frederick[2] by the grace of God Emperour of the Romanes most inuincible, Henry king of

---

[1] The Second.

[2] Son of Frederick, Duke of Suabia, was born in 1121, and succeeded his uncle Conrad III. in 1152 as Emperor of the West. As was proved by his campaigns in Italy in 1154, 1158, and 1162, and by the justice and probity of his administration, he was equally great as a soldier and as a ruler. He joined

England, duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, Earle of Anjou wisheth health and concord of sincere amitie. We doe render vnto your highnes (most renowmed and peerelesse Prince) exceeding great thanks for that you haue so graciously vouchsafed by your messengers to visite vs, in your letters to salute vs, with your gifts to preuent vs, and (which wee doe more highly esteeme of then all the rest) to beginne a league of peace and friendship betweene vs. We reioyced, and in a maner sensibly felt our selues to bee greatly emboldened, and our courage to encrease, whilest your promise, whereby you put vs in good comfort, did make vs more cheerefull and resolute, in managing the affaires of our kingdome. We reioyced (I say) & in our secret cogitations did humble obeisance vnto your Maiestie, giuing you at this time to vnderstand frō the sincere & vnfained affection of our heart, that whatsoeuer we shal know to tend vnto your honour, we are, to our power most ready to put in practise. Our kingdome, and whatsoeuer is vnder our iurisdiction we doe offer vnto you, and commit the same vnto your highnesse, that all matters may be disposed according to your direction, and that your pleasure may in all things be fulfilled. Let there be therefore betweene our selues and our subiects, an indiuisible vnitie of friendship and peace, and safe trade of Marchandize: yet so, as that vnto you (who excell in dignitie) authoritie in commanding may bee ascribed, and diligence in obeying shall not want in vs. And as the liberalitie of your rewards doeth often put vs in remembrance of your Maiestie, euen so in like maner sending vnto your Highnesse the most rare things in our custodie, and which we thought should be most acceptable vnto you, wee doe most heartily wish that your selfe also would not altogether bee vnmindefull of vs. Haue respect therefore not vnto the gifts, but vnto the affection of the giuer, and accept of them with that minde, wherewith they are offered vnto you.

Concerning the hand of S. Iames,[1] about which you wrote vnto vs, we haue sent you word by M. Herbert, and by William the Clerke. Witnes Thomas our Chancelour at Northanton.

---

the Third Crusade in 1189, and was drowned whilst crossing a river in Asia in June, 1190. His memory is still cherished amongst the peasants of Germany, who look upon him in the same light as the Welsh on Arthur.

[1] According to the legend, the relics of this saint were miraculously conveyed to Spain in a ship of marble from Jerusalem, where he was bishop.

A generall safe conduct graunted to all forreine Marchants || 1199. by king Iohn in the || first yeere of his reigne, as appeareth in the Records of the Tower, Anno 1. Regis Ioannis.

IOannes Dei gratia &c. Maiori & Communitati Londinensi salutem. Sciatis voluntatem esse nostram, quod omnes Mercatores de quacunq; fuerint terra saluum habeant conductum ire & redire cum mercibus suis in Angliam. Volumus etiam quod eandem habeant pacem in Anglia, quam Mercatores de Anglia habent in terris illis vnde fuerunt egressi. Et ideo vobis præcipimus, quod hoc faciatis denunciari in Balliua vestra, & firmiter teneri; permittentes eos ire & redire sine impedimento per debitas & rectas & solitas consuetudines in Balliua vestra. Teste Galfredo filio Petri comite Essexiæ apud Kinefard 5. die Aprilis.

Solitæ mercatorum consuetudines.

In eadem forma scribitur vicecomiti Sudsex, Maiori & communitati Ciuitatis Winton, Balliuo de Southampton, Balliuo de Lenne, Balliuo Kent, Vicecomiti Norffolciæ & Suffolciæ, Vicecomiti dorset & Sommerset, Baronibus de quinque portubus, Vicecomiti de Southampton sire, Vicecomiti de Herteford & Essex, Vicecomiti Cornubiæ & Deuon.

The same in English.

IOhn by the grace of God &c. to the Maior and communaltie of London, greeting. You are to vnderstand, that it is our pleasure, that all Marchants of what nation soeuer, shall haue safe conduct to passe and repasse with their Marchandize into England. It is our will also, that they be vouchsafed the same fauour in England, which is granted vnto the English Marchants in those places from whence they come. And therefore we giue you in charge, that you cause this to be published, and proclaimed in your bailiwicke, & firmely to be obserued, permitting them to goe & come, without impediment, according to the due, right and ancient customes vsed in your said Bailiwicke. Witnesse Geofry Fitz-Peter Earle of Essex at Kinefard the 5. day of April.

The ancient customes of Marchants.

The same forme of writing was sent to the sherife of Sudsex, to the Maior and communaltie of the Citie of Winchester, to the Baily of Southampton, the Baily of Lenne, the Baily of Kent, the sherife of Norfolke and Suffolke, the sherife of Dorset and Sommerset, the Barons of the Cinque-ports, the sherife of

Southampton-shire, the sherife of Hertford and Essex, the sherife of Cornewal and Deuon.

Literæ regis Henrici tertij ad Haquinum Regem Norwegiæ de pacis fœdere & intercursu mercandisandi ‖ Anno 1. Henrici 3.

‖ 1216.

HEnricus Dei gratia &c. Haquino eadem gratia Regi Norwegiæ salutem. Immensas nobilitati vestræ referimus gratiarum actiones de his quæ per literas vestras & prudentem virum Abbatem de Lisa, nobis significastis, volentes & desiderantes fœdus pacis & dilectionis libenter nobiscum inire, & nobiscum confœderari. Bene autem placet & placebit nobis quod terræ nostræ cōmunes sint, & Mercatores & homines qui sunt de potestate vestra libere & sine impedimento terram nostram adire possint, & homines & Mercatores nostri similiter terrā vestram. Dum tamen literas vestras patentes super hoc nobis destinetis, & nos vobis nostras transmittemus. Interim autem bene volumus & concedimus, quod Mercatores tam de terra vestra quàm nostra eant, veniant, & recedant per terras nostras. Et si quid vestræ sederit voluntati, quod facere valeamus, id securè nobis significetis. Detinuimus autem adhuc Abbatem prædictum, vt de naui vestra & rebus in ea contentis pro posse nostro restitutionem fieri faceremus: per quem de statu nostro & Regni nostri vos certificare curabimus, & quàm citius &c. Teste me ipso apud Lamhithe decimo die Octobris.

Eodem modo scribitur S. Duci Norwegiæ ibidem & eodem die.

The letters of King Henry the third vnto Haquinus[1] King of Norway concerning a treatie of peace and mutuall traffique of marchandize, &c.

HEnry by the grace of God, &c. vnto Haquinus by the same grace King of Norway, sendeth greeting. Wee render vnto your highnesse vnspeakeable thanks for those things which by your letters, and by your discreete subiect the Abbat of Lisa, you haue signified vnto vs, and also for that you are right willing and desirous to begin and to conclude betweene vs both, a league of peace and amitie. And wee for our part both nowe are, and hereafter shalbe well contented, that both our lands be common, to the ende that the Marchants and people of your

---

[1] Haco IV., bastard of the able adventurer Swerro. His invasion of Scotland in 1263 forms a striking episode of mediæval history.

dominions may freely and without impediment resort vnto our land, and our people and Marchants may likewise haue recourse vnto your territories. Prouided, that for the confirmation of this matter, you send vnto vs your letters patents, and wee will send ours also vnto you. Howbeit in the meane while wee doe will and freely graunt, that the Marchants both of our and your lands, may goe, come, and returne to and from both our Dominions. And if there be ought in your minde, whereby we might stand you in any stead, you may boldly signifie the same vnto vs. Wee haue as yet deteined the foresaid Abbat, that wee might, to our abilitie, cause restitution to be made for your ship, and for the things therein contained: by whome wee will certifie you of our owne estate, and of the estate of our kingdome so soone, &c. Witnesse our selfe at Lamhith the tenth of October.

Another letter in the same forme and to the same effect was there and then sent vnto S. Duke of Norway.

Mandatum pro Coga Regis Norwegiæ Anno 13. Henrici 3.

MAndatum est omnibus Balliuis portuum in quos ventura est Coga de Norwegia, in qua venerint in Angliam milites Regis Norwegiæ & Mercatores Saxoniæ, quod cum prædictam Cogam in portus suos venire contigerit, saluò permittant ipsam Cogam in portubus suis morari, quamdiu necesse habuerit, & libere sine impedimento inde recedere quando voluerint. Teste Rege.

The same in English.

√ A Mandate for the King of Norway his Ship called the Cog.

WEe will and commaund all bailifes of Portes, at the which the Cog of Norway (wherein certaine of the king of Norwaie his souldiers, and certaine Marchants of Saxonie are comming for England) shall touch, that, when the foresaid Cog shall chance to arriue at any of their Hauens, they doe permit the said Cog safely to remaine in their said Hauens so long as neede shall require, and without impediment also freely to depart thence, whensoeuer the gouernours of the sayd ship shall thinke it expedient. Witnesse the King.

Carta pro Mercatoribus de Colonia anno 20. Henrici 3. Confirmata per Regem Edwardum primum 8. Iulij Anno Regni 18. prout extat in rotulo cartarum de Anno 18. Regis Edwardi primi.

REx Archiepiscopis &c. salutem. Sciatis nos quietos cla-

masse pro nobis & hæredibus nostris dilectos nostros, Ciues de Colonia, & mercandisam suam de illis duobus solidis,|| quos solebant dare de Gildhalla sua London, & de omnibus alijs consuetudinibus & demandis, quæ pertinent ad nos in London, & per totam terram nostram; & quod liberè possunt ire ad ferias, per totam terram nostram & emere & vendere in villa London & alibi, salua libertate Ciuitatis nostræ London. Quare volumus & firmiter præcipimus pro nobis & hæredibus nostris, quod prædicti ciues de Colonia prænominatas libertates & liberas consuetudines habeant per totam terram nostram Angliæ sicut prædictum est. His testibus, venerabili patre Waltero Caerleolensi Episcopo, Willielmo de Ferarijs, Gilberto Basset, Waltero de Bello campo, Hugone Disspenser, Waltero Marescallo, Galfrido Dispenser, Bartholomæo Pech, Bartholomæo de Saukeuill, & alijs. Data per manum venerabilis patris Radulphi Cicistrensis Episcopi, Cancellarij nostri apud Dauintre Octauo die Nouembris, Anno Regni nostri vicesimo.

||Antiqua consuetudo Gildhallæ Coloniensium Londini.

The same in English.

A Charter graunted for the behalfe of the Marchants of Colen[1] in the twentieth yeere of Henry the third, confirmed by King Edward the first, as it is extant in the roule of Charters, in the eighteenth yeere of King Edward the first.

THe King vnto Archbishops &c. greeting. Be it knowen vnto you, that wee haue quite claimed, and for vs and our heires released our welbeloued the Citizens of Colen and their marchandize, from the payment of those two shillings which they were wont to pay out of their Gildhall at London, and from all other customes and demaunds, which perteine vnto vs, either in London, or in any other place of our Dominions: and that they may safely resort vnto Fayers throughout our whole Kingdome, and buy and sell in the Citie of London. Wherefore we will and firmely command for vs and our heires, that the forenamed Marchants of Colen may enioy the liberties and free priuiledges aboue-mentioned, throughout our whole kingdome of England as is aforesaid. Witnesses, the reuerend father Walter Bishop of Carlil, William de Ferarijs, Gilbert Basset, Walter de Beau-

The ancient custome of the Coloners Gildhall in London.

---

[1] Cologne.

champ, Hugh Disspenser, Walter Marescal, Geofrie Disspensser, Bartholomew Peach, Bartholomew de Saukeuill and others. Giuen by the hand of the reuerend father Ralph Bishop of Chichester and our Chauncellour at Dauintre, the eight day of Nouember, in the twentieth yeere of our reigne.

Carta Lubecensibus ad septennium concessa. Anno 41. Henrici 3.

HEnricus dei gracia Rex Angliæ, dominus Hiberniæ, dux Normanniæ, Aquitaniæ, & Comes Andegauiæ, omnibus Balliuis suis salutem. Sciatis nos ad instantiam dilecti & fidelis fratris nostri Ricardi Comitis Cornubiæ in Regem Romanorum electi, suscepisse in protectionem & defensionem nostram & saluum & securum conductum nostrum Burgenses de Lubek in Alemania cum omnibus rebus & mercandisis quas in Regnum nostrum deferent, vel facient deferri. Et eis concessimus, quod de omnibus rebus & mercandisis suis nihil capiatur ad opus nostrum vel alterius contra voluntatem eorundem ; sed libere vendant & negocientur inde in Regno prædicto, prout sibi viderint expédire. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod dictis Burgensibus vel eorum nuncijs in veniendo in terram nostram cum rebus & mercandisis suis, ibidem morando, & inde recedendo, nullum inferatis, aut ab alijs inferri permittatis impedimentum aut grauamen. Nec eos contra quietantiam prædictam vexetis, aut ab alijs vexari permittatis. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes per septennium durantes: Dum tamen ijdem Burgenses interim bene & fideliter se habuerint erga præfatum electum fratrem nostrum. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium vndecimo die Maij Anno Regni nostri quadragesimo primo. Hæc litera duplicata est, pro Burgensibus & mercatoribus Dacis, Brunswig, & Lubek.

Ricardus Comes Cornubiæ Rex Romanorum.

Carta conditionalis.

The same in English.

The charter of Lubek granted for seuen yeeres, obtained in the one and fortieth yeere of Henry the third.

HEnry by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, and Earle of Anjou, to all his Bailifs sendeth greeting. Know ye that at the instant request of our welbeloued and trusty brother Richard Earle of Cornewal being of late elected king of the Romanes, we haue receiued vnder our protection and defence, and vnder our safe and secure conduct, the citizens of Lubek in Alemain, with all their goods and wares, which they shall bring or cause to be brought into our kingdome. We haue also granted vnto them, that of all their goods and merchandize, nothing shal be seized vnto the vse of our selues, or of any other without their owne consent, but that they may freely sell and exercise traffike therewith, according as they shall thinke expedient. And therefore we straightly command you, that neither your selues do offer, nor that you permit any other to offer any impediment or molestation vnto the said Burgers or vnto their messengers, either at their comming into our land, with their goods and marchandize, in the time of their abode there, or at their departure from thence, and that yee neither molest them your selues, nor yet suffer them by others to be molested, contrary to the aforesaid Charter. In testimonie whereof, we haue caused these our Letters to be made Patents, during the space of seuen yeeres next following.

Prouided, that the sayd Burghers doe in the meane time behaue themselues well and faithfully towards our foresaid elected brother. Witnesse our selues at Westminster the eleuenth day of March,[1] in the one and fortieth yeere of our reigne.

This Letter was doubled, namely for the Burghers, and the Marchants of Denmarke, of Brunswig, and of Lubecke.

Carta pro Mercatoribus Alemanniæ, qui habent domum in London, quæ Gildhalla Teutonicorum vulgariter nuncupatur Anno 44. Henrici tertij, & Anno primo & 29. Edwardi primi renouata & confirmata.

AD instantiam Serenissimi principis Richardi Romanorum Regis charissimi fratris nostri concedimus mercatoribus Alemanniæ, illis videlicet qui habent domum in Ciuitate nostra London, quæ Gildhalla Teutonicorum vulgariter nuncupatur, quod eos vniuersos manutenebimus per totum Regnũ nostrum in omnibus ijsdem libertatibus & liberis consuetudinibus, quibus ipsi nostris &‖ progenitorum nostrorum temporibus vsi sunt & gauisi. Ipsosque extra huiusmodi libertates & liberas consuetudines non trahemus, nec trahi aliquatenus permittemus. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes.

‖Nota antiquitatem.

---

[1] *Sic.* in Hakluyt. It should be *May*.

The same in English.

A charter for the Marchants of Almaine, who haue an house at London commonly called‡ the Guild hall of the Dutch, graunted in the 44. yeere of Henry the third, renued and confirmed in the 1. & 29. yeere of Edward the first.

‡The Stiliard.

AT the instant request of the most gracious Prince Richard king of the Romanes our most deare brother, wee doe graunt vnto the Marchants of Alemain (namely vnto those that haue an house in our citie of London, commonly called the Guildhall of the Dutch Merchants) that we will, throughout our whole Realme, maintaine all and euery of them, in all those liberties and free customes, which both in our times, and in the times of our progenitors, they haue vsed and enioyed. Neither will we inforce them beyond these liberties and free customes, nor in any wise permit them to be inforced. In witnesse whereof, wee haue caused these our letters to be made patents.

Note the antiquitie.

Mandatum regis Edwardi primi de mercatoribus alienigenis.

MErcatores extranei vendant mercimonia sua in ciuitate London &c. infra quadraginta dies post ingressum suum, anno 3. Edwardi primi.

The same in English.

A mandate of king Edward the first concerning outlandish marchants.

WE will and command that outlandish marchants doe sel their wares in the citie of London &c. within forty dayes of their arriuall.

The great Charter granted vnto forreine marchants by king Edward the first, in the 31 yeare of his reigne commonly called Carta mercatoria, Anno Domini 1303.

EDwardus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, dux Aquitaniæ, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Iustitiarijs, Vicecomitibus, præpositis, ministris, & omnibus balliuis & fidelibus suis salutem. Circa bonum statum omnium mercatorum subscriptorum regnorum, terrarum, & prouinciarum, videlicet Alemanniæ, Franciæ, Hispaniæ, Portugalliæ, Nauarræ, Lombardiæ, Thusciæ, Prouinciæ, Cataloniæ, ducatus nostri Aquitaniæ, Tholosaniæ, Caturluni,

Flandriæ, Brabantiæ, & omnium aliarum terrarum & locorum extraneorum, quocunq ; nomine censeantur, venientium in regnum nostrum Angliæ & ibidem conuersantium nos præcipua cura sollicitat, qualiter sub nostro dominio tranquillitatis & plenæ securitatis immunitas eisdem mercatoribus futuris temporibus præparetur. Vt itaque vota ipsorum reddantur ad nostra & regni nostri seruitia promptiora, ipsorum petitionibus fauorabiliter annuentes, & pro statu eorundem plenius assecurando, in forma quæ sequitur ordinantes, pro nobis & hæredibus nostris in perpetuum subscripta dictis mercatoribus duximus concedenda.

1. Inprimis videlicet quod omnes mercatores dictorum regnorum & terrarum saluè & secure sub tuitione & protectione nostra in dictum regnum nostrum Angliæ, & vbique infra potestatem nostram alibi veniant cum mercandisis suis quibuscunque, de muragio, pontagio & pannagio liberi & quieti. Quodque infra idem regnum & potestatem nostram in ciuitatibus, burgis, & villis mercatorijs possunt mercari duntaxat in grosso tam cum indigenis seu incolis eiusdem regni & potestatis nostræ prædictæ, quàm cum alienigenis, extraneis, vel priuatis. Ita tamen quod merces, quæ vulgariter merceriæ vocantur, ac species, minutatim vendi possint, prout antea fieri consueuit. Et quod omnes prædicti mercatores mercandisas suas, quas ipsos ad prædictum regnum & potestatem nostram adducere, seu infra idem regnum & potestatem nostram emere, vel aliàs acquirere contigerit, possint quo voluerint tam infra regnum & potestatem nostram prædictam, quàm extra ducere vel portare facere, præterquam ad terras manifestorum & notoriorum hostium regni nostri, soluendo consuetudines quas debebunt: vinis duntaxat exceptis, quæ de eodem regno seu potestate nostra, postquam infra idem regnum seu potestatem nostram ducta fuerint, sine voluntate & licentia speciali non liceat eis educere quoquo modo.

Exceptio contra notorios regni hostes.

2. Item quod prædicti mercatores in ciuitatibus, burgis, & villis prædictis pro voluntate sua hospitari valeant, & morari cum bonis suis ad gratiam ipsorum, quorum sunt hospitia siue domus.

3. Item quod quilibet contractus per ipsos mercatores cum quibuscunque personis vndecunque fuerint super quocunque genere mercandisæ initus, firmus sit & stabilis, ita quod neuter mercatorum ab illo contractu possit recedere, vel resilire, postquam denarius Dei inter principales personas cōtrahentes datus

fuerit & receptus. Et si forsan super cōtractu eiusmodi contentio oriatur, fiat inde probatio aut inquisitio secundū vsus & consuetudines feriarū & villarū, vbi dictum contractum fieri contigerit & iniri.

4. Item promittimus præfatis mercatoribus pro nobis & hæredibus nostris in perpetuum concedentes, quod nullam prisam vel arrestationem, seu dilationem occasione prisæ de cætero de mercimonijs, mercandisis seu alijs bonis suis per nos vel alium seu alios pro aliqua necessitate vel casu contra voluntatem ipsorum mercatorum aliquatenus faciemus, aut fieri patiemur, nisi statim soluto precio pro quo ipsi mercatores alijs eiusmodi mercimonia vendere possint, vel eis aliter satisfacto, ita quod reputent se contentos: Et quod super mercimonia, mercandisas, seu bona ipsorum per nos vel ministros nostros nulla appreciatio aut estimatio imponetur.

Lex mercatoria.

5. Item volumus quod omnes balliui & ministri feriarum, ciuitatum, burgorum, & villarum mercatoriarum mercatoribus antedictis conquerentibus coram ijs celerem iustitiam faciant de die in diem sine dilatione secundum legem mercatoriam, de vniuersis & singulis quæ per eandem legem poterunt terminari. Et si forte inueniatur defectus in aliquo balliuorum vel ministrorum prædictorum, vnde ijdem mercatores vel eorum aliquis dilationis incommoda sustinuerint vel sustineant, licet mercator versus partem in principali recuperauerit damna sua, nihilominus balliuus vel minister alius versus nos, prout delictum exigit puniatur. Et punitionem istam concedimus in fauorem mercatorum prædictorum pro eorum iustitia maturanda.

6. Item quod in omnibus generibus placitorum, saluo casu criminis pro quo infligenda est pœna mortis, vbi mercator implacitatus fuerit, vel alium implacitauerit, cuiuscunque conditionis idem implacitatus extiterit, extraneus vel priuatus, in nundinis, ciuitatibus, siue Burgis, vbi fuerit sufficiens copia mercatorum prædictarum terrarum, & inquisitio fieri debeat, sit medietas inquisitionis de eijsdem mercatoribus, & medietas altera de probis & legalibus hominibus loci illius vbi placitum illud esse contigerit. Et si de mercatoribus dictarum terrarum numerus non inueniatur sufficiens, ponentur in inquisitione illi qui idonei inuenientur ibidem, & residij sint de alijs bonis hominibus & idoneis de locis in quibus placitum illud erit.

7. Item volumus, ordinamus, & statuimus, quod in qualibet villa

mercatoria & feria regni nostri prædicti & alibi infra potestatem nostram pondus nostrum in certo loco ponatur, & ante ponderationem statera in præsentia emptoris & venditoris vacua videatur, & quod brachia sint equalia: & ex tunc ponderator ponderet in æquali. Et cum stateram posuerit in æquali statim amoueat manus suas, ita quod remaneat in æquali: quodque per totum regnum & potestatem nostram sit vnum pondus & vna mensura: & signo standardi nostri signentur: Et quod quilibet possit habere stateram vnius quaternionis, & infra, vbi contra domini loci, aut libertatem per nos & antecessores nostros concessam illud non fuerit, siue contra villarum & feriarum consuetudinem hactenus obseruatam.

8. Item volumus & concedimus, quod aliquis certus homo fidelis & discretus Londini residens assignetur iustitiarius mercatoribus memoratis, coram quo valeant specialiter placitare, & debita sua recuperare celeriter, si Vicecomites & Maiores eis non facerent de die in diem celeris iustitiæ complementum: Et inde fiat Commissio extra Cartam præsentem concessa mercatoribus antedictis: scilicet de his quæ sunt inter mercatores & mercatores secundum legem mercatoriam deducenda.

Lex mercatoria, quæ?

9. Item ordinamus & statuimus, & ordinationem illam statutumque pro nobis & hæredibus nostris in perpetuum volumus firmiter obseruari, quod pro quacunque libertate, quam nos vel hæredes nostri de cætero concedemus, præfati mercatores supradictas libertates vel earum aliquam non amittant. Pro prædictis autem libertatibus & liberis consuetudinibus obtinendis, & prisis nostris remittendis ijdem supradicti mercatores vniuersi & singuli pro se & omnibus alijs de partibus suis nobis concorditer & vnanimiter concesserunt, quod de quolibet dolio vini, quod adducent vel adduci facient infra regnum & potestatem nostram, & vnde marinarijs fretum soluere tenebuntur, soluent nobis & hæredibus nostris nomine Custumæ duos solidos vltra antiquas custumas debitas & in denarijs solui consuetas nobis, aut alias infra quadraginta dies, postquam extra naues ad terram posita fuerint dicta vina. Item de quolibet sacco lanarum, quem dicti mercatores, aut alij nomine ipsorum ement & è regno educēt, aut emi & educi facient, soluent quadraginta denarios de incremēto vltra custumam antiquam dimidiæ marcæ, quæ prius fuerat persoluta. Et pro lasta coriorum extra regnum & potestatem nostram vehen-

Antiquæ Custumæ.

dorum dimidiam marcam supra id quod ex antiqua custuma ante soluebatur. Et similiter de trecentis pellibus lanitis extra regnum & potestatem nostram ducendis quadraginta denarios vltra certum illud, quod de antiqua custuma fuerat prius datum. Item duos solidos de quolibet scarlato & panno tincto in grano. Item decem & octo denarios de quolibet panno, in quo pars grani fuerit intermixta. Item duodecem denarios de quolibet panno alio sine grano. Item duodecem denarios de qualibet æris quintalla.

10. Cumque de præfatis mercatoribus nonnuli eorum alias exercere soleant mercandisas, vt de Auerio ponderis, & de alijs rebus subtilibus, sicut de pannis Tarsensibus, de serico, & cindallis, de seta & alijs diuersis mercibus, & de equis etiam & alijs animalibus, blado & alijs rebus & mercandisis multimodis, quæ ad certam custumam facile poni non poterunt, ijdem mercatores concesserunt dare nobis & hæredibus nostris de qualibet libra argenti estimationis seu valoris rerum & mercandisarum huiusmodi, quocunque nomine censeantur, tres denarios de libra in introitu rerum & mercandisarum ipsarum in regnum & potestatem nostram prædictam infra viginti dies postquam huiusmodi res & mercandisæ in regnum & potestatem nostram adductæ & etiam ibidem exoneratæ seu venditæ fuerint. Et similiter tres denarios de qualibet libra argenti in eductione quarumcunque rerum & mercandisarum huiusmodi emptarum in regno & potestate nostris prædictis vltra custumas nobis aut alijs ante datas. Et super valore & estimatione rerum & mercandisarum huiusmodi de quibus tres denarij de qualibet libra argenti sicut prædicitur sunt soluendi, credatur eis per literas, quas de Dominis aut socijs suis ostendere poterunt: Et si literas non habeant stetur in hac parte prædictorum mercatorum, si præsentes fuerint, vel valetorum suorum in eorundem mercatorum absentia, iuramentis.

11. Liceat insuper socijs de societate prædictorum mercatorum infra regnum & potestatem nostram prædictas, lanas vendere alijs suis socijs, & similiter emere ab ijsdem absque custuma soluenda. Ita tamen quod dictæ lanæ ad tales manus non deueniant, quod de custuma nobis debita defraudemur. Et præterea est sciendum, quod postquam supradicti mercatores semel in vno loco infra regnum & potestatem nostram custumam nobis concessam superius pro mercandisis suis in forma soluerint supradicta, & suum habeant inde warantum, siue huiusmodi

mercandisæ infra regnum & potestatem nostram remaneant, siue exterius deferantur, (exceptis vinis, quæ de regno & potestate nostris prædictis sine voluntate & licentia nostra sicut prædictū est, nullatenus educantur:) Volumus, ac pro nobis, ac hæredibus nostris concedimus, quod nulla exactio, prisa, vel præstatio, aut aliquod onus super personas mercatorū prædictorum, mercandisas seu bona eorundem aliquatenus imponatur contra formam expressam superius & concessam. His testibus veracibus principalibus, Roberto Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo totius Angliæ primate, Waltero Couentriæ & Lichfildiæ episcopo, Henrico de Lacy Lincolniense, Humfredo de Bohum comite Herfordiense & Essexiæ & Constabulo magno Angliæ, Adomaro de Valentia, Galfrido de Gaymal, Hugone de Lespensor,[1] Waltero de Bello campo, senescallo hospitij nostri, Roberto de Burijs, & alijs. Datum per manum nostrā apud Windesore, primo die Februarij, anno regni nostri xxxj.

The aforesaid generall Charter in English.

EDward by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, to Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earles, Barons, Iustices, Vicounts, gouernours, officers, and all bayliffes, and his faithfull people sendeth greeting. Wee haue speciall care for the good estate of all marchants of the kingdomes, lands, and countries following: to wit of Almaine, France, Spaine, Portugal, Nauarre, Lombardie, Florence, Prouence, Catalonia, of our duchie of Aquitaine, Tholosa, Caturlune,[2] Flanders, Brabant, and of all other forreine countreis and places by what name soeuer they be called, which come into our kingdome of England, and there remayne, that the sayd marchants may liue in quiet and full securitie vnder our dominion in time to come. Wherefore that their hearts desires may bee more readily inclined to our seruice and the seruice of our kingdome, wee fauourably agreeing to their petitions, for the fuller assuring of their estate, haue thought good to graunt to the sayd marchants for vs and our heires for euer these priuiledges vnder written, ordaining in forme as followeth.

1. First, that all marchants of the sayd kingdomes and countreys may come into our kingdome of England, and any where else into our dominion with their marchandises whatsoeuer safely and securely vnder our defence and protection

---

[1] *Sic.*

[2] Catalonia.

without paying wharfage, pontage, or pannage. And that in Cities, Boroughs, and market townes of the sayd kingdome and dominion they may traffique onely by the great[1] as well with the naturall subiects and inhabitantes of our aforesayde kingdome and dominion, as with forreiners, straungers, or priuate persons. Yet so, that marchandises which are commonly called mercerie wares, and spices, may be sold by the small,[2] as heretofore hath bin accustomed. And that all the aforesaid marchants may cary or cause to be caried whither they will, aswell within our realme or dominion, as out of the same; saving vnto the countreis of the manifest and knowne enemies of our kingdome, those marchandises which they shall bring into our foresayd realme and dominion, or buy, or otherwise purchase in our sayd realme and dominion, paying such customes as they ought to doe: except onely wines, which it shall not be any wayes lawfull for them to cary out of our sayd realme and dominion without our speciall fauour and licence, after they be once brought into our realme and dominion.

An exception for traficking with ye known enemies of the kingdome.

2. Item that the aforesayd marchants may at their pleasure lodge & remaine with their goods in the cities, boroughs, and townes aforesaid, with the good liking of those which are owners of their lodgings.

3. Item that euery bargaine made by the said marchants with any maner of persons, of what places soeuer they be, for any kind of marchādise whatsoeuer, shalbe firme & stable, so that none of both the marchants shall shrinke or giue backe from that bargaine, after that the earnest penie be once giuen and taken betweene the principall bargayners. And if peraduenture any strife arise about the same bargaine, the triall and inquirie thereof shall be made according to the vses and customes of the fayres and townes where it chanced that the said bargaine was made and contracted.

4. Item, we promise the aforesaid marchants granting for euer for vs and our heires, that from hence foorth we will not in any wise make nor cause to be made any stay or arrest, or any delay by reason of arrest of their wares, marchandises or other goods, by our selues, or by any other or others for any neede or accident against the will of the sayd marchants, without present

---

[1] Wholesale.

[2] Retail.

payment of such a price as the marchants would haue sold those marchandises for to other men, or without making of them other satisfaction, so that they shall hold themselues well contented: and that no price or valuation shalbe set vpon their wares, marchandises, & goods by vs or by any officer of ours.

5. Item, we will that all bayliffes and officers of fayres, cities, boroughs, and market townes shall doe speedie iustice from day to day without delay according to the lawe of Marchants to the aforesayd marchants when they shall complaine before them, touching all and singuler causes, which may be determined by the same law. And if default be found in any of the bayliffes or officers aforesayd, whereby the sayd marchants or any of them haue sustained, or do sustaine any damage through delay, though the marchant recouer his losses against the partie principall, yet the bayliffe or other officer shall be punished to vs ward, according to the qualitie of the default. And wee doe grant this punishment in fauour of the aforesayd marchants in regard of the hastening of their iustice.

Where is this law now become?

6. Item, that in al maner of pleas, sauing in case where punishmẽt of death is to be inflicted, where a marchant is impleaded, or sueth another, of what condition soeuer hee bee which is sued, whether stranger or home borne, in fayres, cities, or boroughs, where sufficient numbers of marchants of the foresayd countreis are, and where the triall ought to bee made, let the one halfe of the Iurie be of the sayd marchants, and the other halfe of good and lawfull men of the place where the suite shall fall out to bee: and if sufficient number of marchants of the sayd countries cannot bee found, those which shall be found fit in that place shall be put vpon the iurie, and the rest shall be chosen of good and fit men of the places where such suit shall chance to be.

7. Item we will, we ordaine, and wee appoint, that in euery market towne and fayre of our realme aforesayd and elsewhere within our dominion our weight shall bee set in some certaine place; and that before the weighing the balance shall bee seene emptie in the presence of the buyer and of the seller, and that the skales bee equall: and that afterward the weigher weigh in the equall balance. And when hee hath set the balances euen, let him straightway remooue his hands, so that the balance may remayne euen: And that throughout all our kingdome and

dominion there be one weight and one measure, and that they be marked with the marke of our standard. And that euery man may haue a weight of one quarter of an hundred, and vnder, where the same hath not bin contrary to the liberty of the lord of the place, and contrary to the libertie granted by vs and our predecessors, or contrary to the custome of townes and fayres which hath hitherto beene obserued.

8. Item we will and we grant that some certaine faythfull and discreete man resident in London be appointed to doe Iustice to the aforesayd marchants, before whome they may haue their sutes decided, and may speedilie recouer their debts, if the Shiriffes and Maior should not from day to day giue them speedy iustice. And hereof let a Commission be made: which we grant vnto the aforesaid marchants besides this present Charter: to wit of such things as betweene marchant and marchant are to be decided according to the lawe of marchants.

9. Item we ordayne and appoynt, and wee will that this ordinance and statute shall firmely bee obserued for euer for vs and our heires, that the aforesayd marchants shal not loose the aforesayd liberties nor any of them, for any libertie whatsoeuer, which wee or our heires hereafter shall grant. And for the obtayning of the aforesayd liberties and free customes, and for remission of our arresting of their goods, the aforesayd marchants all and euery of them for themselues and all other of their parties with one accorde and one consent haue granted vnto vs, that of euery tunne of wine, which they shall bring or cause to be brought into our realme and dominion, for which they shall bee bound to pay freight vnto the mariners, besides the olde customes which are due and were woont to bee payd vnto vs, they will pay vnto vs and to our heires in the name of a custome two shillings in money, either out of hande, or else within fortie dayes after the sayd wines shall bee brought on land out of the shippes. Item for euery sacke of wooll, which the sayd marchants or others in their name shall buy and carie out of the realme, or cause to bee brought and caried out, they will pay forty pence aboue the old custome of halfe a marke, which was payed heretofore: And for a last of hides to bee caryed out of our realme and dominion halfe a marke aboue that which heretofore was payed by the olde custome. And likewise for three hundreth Felles with the wooll on them to bee transported out of our realme and dominion fortie pence, aboue that

certaine rate which before was payed by the olde custome: Also two shillings vpon euery scarlate and euery cloth died in graine. Item eighteene pence for euery cloth wherein any kind of graine is mingled. Item twelue pence vpon euery cloth dyed without graine. Item twelue pence vpon euerie quintall of copper.

And whereas sundrie of the aforesayd marchants are woont to exercise other marchandises, as of Hauer de pois, and other fine wares, as sarcenets, lawnes, cindalles, and silke, and diuers other marchandises, and to sell horses and other beastes, corne, and sundrie other things and marchandises, which cannot easily bee reduced vnto a certaine custome: the sayd marchants haue granted to giue vnto vs, and to our heires of euery pound of siluer of the estemation and value of these kinde of goods and marchandises, by what name soeuer they be called, three pence in the pound in the bringing in of these goods into our realme and dominion aforesaid, within twentie dayes after these goods and marchandises shall be brought into our realme and dominion, and shall be there vnladen and solde. And likewise three pence vpon euery pound of siluer in the carying out of any such goods and marchandises which are bought in our realme and dominion aforesayd aboue the customes beforetime payd vnto vs or any of our progenitors. And touching the value and estimation of these goods and marchandises, whereof three pence of euery pound of siluer, as is aforesayd, is to be payd, credite shalbe giuen vnto them vpon the letters which they are able to shewe from their masters or parteners. And if they haue no letters in this behalfe, we will stand to the othe of the foresayd marchants if they bee present, or in their absence to the othes of their seruants.

Moreouer, it shall be lawfull for such as be of the company of the aforesayd marchants within our realme and dominion aforesayd, to sell woolles to other of their company, and likewise to buy of them without paying of custome. Yet so, that the said wools come not to such hands, that wee be defrauded of the custome due vnto vs. And furthermore it is to be vnderstood, that after that the aforesaid marchants haue once payed in one place within our realme and dominion, the custome aboue granted vnto vs in forme aforesayd for their marchandises, & haue their warrant therof, whether these marchandises remayne within our kingdome or be caried out (excepting wines, which in no wise shalbe caried forth of our realme and dominion aforesayd, without our fauour & licence as is aforesayd) we wil and we grant for vs and our heires, that no execution, attachment, or loane, or any other burthen be layd vpon the persons of the aforesayd marchants, vpon their marchandises or goods in any case, contrary to the forme before mentioned and granted. The faithfull & principall witnesses of these presents are these, Robert Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, Walter bishop of Couētrey and Lichfield, Henry Lacie of Lincolne, Humfrey de Bohume, Earle of Herford and Essex, high Constable of England, Adomare of Valentia, Geofrey of Gaymal, Hugh Spenser, Walter Beauchampe Seneschall of our house, Robert of Bures, and others. Giuen by our owne hand at Windesore the first day of February, in the yere of our reigne xxxi.

De mercatoribus Angliæ in Norwegia arestatis, & eorum mercimonijs dearrestandis literæ Edwardi secundi anno sexto regni sui, Haquino regi Norwegiæ.

MAgnifico principi domino Haquino Dei gratia regi Norwegiæ illustri, amico suo charissimo Edwardus eadē Dei gratia rex Angliæ, Dom. Hiberniæ, & dux Aquitaniæ salutē cū dilectione sincera. Miramur nō modicū & in intimis conturbamur de grauaminibus & oppressionibus quæ subditis nostris infra regnum vestrum causa negociandi venientibus his diebus plus solito absque causa rationabili, sicut ex graui querela didicimus, inferuntur. Nuper siquidem Willihelmus filius Laurentij de Waynfleete, Simon filius Alani de eadem, Guido filius Mathei & eorum socij mercatores nostri nobis conquerendo monstrarunt, quod cum ipsi quosdam homines & seruientes suos cum tribus nauibus suis ad partes regni vestri, ad negotiandum ibidem transmisissent: & naues illæ in portu villæ vestræ de Tonnesbergh halece & alijs bonis diuersis vsque ad magnam summam oneratæ fuissent: Et licet nautis nauiū prædictarum hominibusque & seruientibus prædictis à regno vestro liberè cum nauibus & bonis prædictis ad partes Angliæ redeundi vestras fieri feceritis de cōductu, postmodum tamen antequā naues illæ propter venti contrarietatē portum prædictum exire potuerunt, quidam balliui vestri naues prædictas cum hominibus & bonis omnibus tunc existentibus in eisdem, occasione mortis cuiusdam militis nuper balliui vestri in Vikia

Villa de Tonnesbergh.

per malefactores & piratas, dum naues prædictæ in portu supradicto sicut præmittitur remanserunt supra mare vt dicitur interfecti, de mandato vestro vt dicebant arrestarunt, & diu sub aresto huiusmodi detinebant, quousque videlicet homines & marinarij prædicti de quadraginta libris sterlingorũ certo die statuto ad opus vestrum pro qualibet naui prædictarum soluendis inuiti & coacti securitatem inuenissent: Et similiter de eisdem nauibus cum hominibus prædictis infra portum prædictum citra festũ natiuitatis Sancti Ioannis Baptistæ proximo futuro ad standum tunc ibidem de personis & nauibus suis vestræ gratiæ seu voluntatis arbitrio reducendis tres obsides vlterius liberassent: quod ipsis valde graue censetur, & auditu mirabile auribus audientium non immerito reputatur. Et quia contra rationem & æquitatem, omnemq; iustitiam fore dinoscitur, atque legem, quòd delinquentium culpæ seu demerita in personis vel rebus illorum qui criminis rei conscij vel participes, seu de huiusmodi delinquentium societate non fuerunt, aliqualiter vlciscantur, vestram amicitiam affectuose requirimus & rogamus, quatenus præmissa diligenti meditatione zelo iustitiæ ponderantes, obsides prædictos iubere velitis ab hostagiamento huiusmodi liberari, dictamq; securitatem relaxari penitus & resolui. Scientes pro certo, quod si malefactores prædicti, qui dictum militem vestrum, vt dicitur, occiderunt, alicubi infra regnum seu potestatem nostram poterunt inueniri, de ipsis iustitiam & iudicium secundum legem & consuetudinem eiusdem regni fieri faciemus. Non enim possumus his diebus æquanimiter tolerare, quod naues prædictæ seu aliæ de regno nostro, quæ semper promptæ ad nostrum seruitium esse debent, extra idem regnum ad partes remotas se diuertant sine nostra licentia speciali. Quid autem ad hanc nostram instantiam faciendum decreueritis in præmissis, nobis si placeat rescribatis per præsentium portatorem. Datæ apud Windesore decimo sexto die Aprilis.

The same in English.

The letters of Edward the second vnto Haquinus king of Norway, concerning the English marchants arrested in Norway, and their goods to be freed from arrest.

TO the mighty Prince, lord Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous king of Norway his most deare friend, Edward by the same grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke

of Aquitaine, greeting and sincere loue. We maruell not a little, and are much disquieted in our cogitations, considering the greeuances and oppressions, which (as wee haue beene informed by pitifull complaints) are at this present, more then in times past, without any reasonable cause inflicted vpon our subiects, which doe vsually resort vnto your kingdome for traffiques sake. For of late one William the sonne of Laurence of Wainfleete, and one Simon the sonne of Alan of the same towne, and Guido the sonne of Mathew, and their associates our marchants, in complayning wise declared vnto vs: that hauing sent certaine of their factors and seruants, with three shippes into your dominions, there to exercise traffique, and the sayd ships being laden in the hauen of your towne of Tonnesbergh, with Herrings and other commodities, to a great value: and also the said mariners, men, and seruants of the foresayd shippes, being licenced by vertue of the safe conduct which you had granted them, freely to returne from your kingdome vnto the parts of England with their ships and goods aforesayd, but afterward not being able to depart out of your hauen by reason of contrary windes: certaine of your bayliffes vpon occasion of the slaughter of a knight being himselfe also of late your bayliffe of Vikia, committed by malefactors and Pirates vpon the sea, whilest the sayd shippes remained in the hauen aforesayd, did at your commandement (as they say) arrest, and for a long season also deteined vnder that arrest, the foresaid ships, with all the men and goods that were in them: namely vntill such time, as the men and mariners aforesaide (beeing driuen perforce, and constrained thereunto) should lay in sufficient securitie for the payment of fortie pounds sterling, vpon a certain day appointed, vnto your vse, for euery of the foresaide ships: and also vntill they had moreouer deliuered three pledges, for the bringing of the saide ships and men backe againe into the foresaid hauen, before the feast of the natiuitie of S. Iohn the Baptist next ensuing, then and there to stand vnto your fauour and curtesie, as touching the said persons, and those ships of theirs: which dealing, the parties themselues take very grieuously, yea, and all others that heare thereof thinke it to be a strange and vnwonted course. And because it is most vndoubtedly contrary to all reason, equitie, iustice, and lawe, that the faults or demerits of offenders should in any sort be punished in such persons, or in their goods, as

The towne of Tonesbergh.

neither haue bene accessory nor partakers in the crime, nor haue had any society with the saide offenders: we doe heartily intreat and request your Highnes, that weighing and pondering the matter in the balance of iustice, you would of your loue and friendship, command the foresaid pledges to be set at libertie, and the said securitie vtterly to bee released and acquited. And know you this for a certaintie, that if the foresaide malefactors, who (as it is reported) slewe your Knight aforesaide, shall any where within our realme and dominions be found, we wil cause iustice and iudgement to bee executed vpon them, according to the Lawe and custome of our sayde Realme. For we cannot in these times conueniently and well indure, that the ships aforesaide, or any other ships of our kingdome (which ought alwayes to be in a readinesse for our seruice) should without speciall licence, depart out of our saide kingdome, vnto forreine dominions. Nowe, what you shall think good at this our request to performe in the premisses, may it please you by the bearer of these presents to returne an answere vnto vs. Geuen at Windsore the 16. of April.

Another Letter of Edward the second, to Haquinus King of Norway, in the behalfe of certaine English Marchants.

MAgnifico Principi Dom. Haquino Dei gratia regi Norwegiæ illustri, amico suo charissimo, Edwardus eadem Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, dominus Hyberniæ, & dux Aquitaniæ, salutem cum dilectione sincera. Querelam dilectorum Mercatorum nostrorum Thomæ de Swyn de Waynfleete, & Simonis filij Alani de eadem recepimus, continentem, Quod cùm ipsi nuper quosdam seruientes suos infrà regnum vestrum pro suis ibidem exercendis mercimonijs transmisissent, Thesaurarius vester bona & mercimonia prædictorum Thomæ & Simonis ad valenciam quadraginta librarum, quæ seruientes prædicti in villa de Northberne in sua custodia habuerunt, die Sancti Michaelis vltimò præterita fecit absque causa rationabili arestari, & ea adhuc taliter arestata detinet iniustè, in ipsorum Thomæ & Simonis damnum non modicum & depauperationem manifestam. Et quia eisdem mercatoribus nostris subuenire volumus, quatenus suadente iustitia poterimus in hac parte, vestram amicitiam requirimus cum affectu, quatenus audita querela prædictorum Thomæ & Simonis, vel ipsorum atturnatorum super restitutione bonorum & mercimoniorum prædicto-

Northbernæ villa.

rum impendere velitis eisdem celeris iustitiæ complementum: Ita quod pro defectu exhibitionis iustitiæ super arestatione prædicta non oporteat nos pro mercatoribus nostris prædictis de alio remedio prouidere. Nobis autem quid ad hanc nostram instantiam duxeritis faciendum, rescribere velitis per præsentium portitorem. Datæ vt suprà.

The same in English.

TO the mightie Prince Lord Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous King of Norway, his most deare friend Edward by the same grace of God king of England, Lorde of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, greeting and sincere loue. Wee receiued the complaint of our welbeloued Merchants Thomas de Swyn of Waynfleet, and Simon the sonne of Alanus of the same towne: the contents whereof are, that whereas of late, the saide parties sent certaine of their seruants to traffike in your kingdome, your Treasurer vpon the feast of S. Michael last past, without any iust or reasonable occasion, caused the goods and merchandise of the foresaide Thomas and Simon, to the value of fortie pound, which their said seruants had vnder their custodie at the towne of Northberne, to be arrested, and as yet also iniuriously deteineth the same vnder the same arrest, to the great damage and impouerishing of the sayd Thomas and Simon. And forasmuch as our desire is to succour these our marchants so far foorth as we can, Iustice requiring no lesse in this behalfe, we doe right earnestly request you, that hauing hearde the complaint and supplication of the foresayde Thomas and Simon, or of their Atturneyes, you woulde of your loue and friendship, vouchsafe them speedie administration of Iustice, about the restitution of their goods and marchandise aforesaide: least that for want of the exhibiting of Iustice about the foresaid arrest, we be constrained to prouide some other remedie for our marchants aforesaid. Our request is, that you would by the bearer of these presents, returne an answere vnto vs, what you are determined to doe, at this our instant motion. Giuen as aboue.

A third letter of King Edward the second, to Haquinus King of Norway in the behalfe of certaine English Marchants.

MAgnifico Principi Domino Haquino Dei gratia Regi Norwegiæ illustri, amico suo charissimo, Edwardus eadem Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, dominus Hyþerniæ, & dux Aquitaniæ, salutem cum dilectione sincera. Pro mercatoribus nostris Lennæ, & partium vicinarum, quos Balliuus & Officiarij vestri ciuitatis vestræ Bergen dudum ceperunt, & stricto carceri manciparunt, quorum multi vt iam intelleximus, propter alimentorum subtractionem & duritiam, ac asperitatem carceris perierunt, vt ipsorum & bonorum suorum deliberationem præcipere curaretis, vestræ serenitati Regiæ nostras nuper transmisimus literas speciales. Sed vos, retentis adhuc in carcere nostris mercatoribus sicut prius, nobis per literas vestras quas audiuimus & intelleximus diligenter, inter cætera rescripsistis, quod quidam mercatores de regno vestro de iniurijs, violentijs & arrestationibus, quibus in regno nostro his diebus sunt, vt asserunt, contra iustitiam aggrauati, multipliciter conqueruntur, adijciendo in vestris literis memoratis, quod quidam iniquitatis filij in villa Lennæ, ad piscandum vt dicebant halecia venientes, quendam militem Balliuum vestrum, in Vikia vnà cum decem alijs subditis vestris, in vestris & regni vestri negotijs existentibus crudeliter occiderunt. Super quibus mens nostra grauatur quàmplurimum & turbatur, præsertim quum nunquam nostræ fuerit voluntatis, quod iniuriæ, violentiæ, seu arrestationes aliquæ mercatoribus, vel alijs de regno vestro per aliquos de regno & potestate nostris fierent indebitè vel iniustè: nec adhuc intelligere possumus, quod mercatoribus vestris per aliquem vel aliquos de subditis nostris huc vsque aliter factum fuerit: Scientes pro certo quod si nobis per inquisitiones legitimas constare poterit huiusmodi grauamina subditis vestris infra regnum nostrum illata fuisse, nos sufficientes emendas, & satisfactiones debitas super illis, celerísque iustitiæ complementum fieri faciemus. Et insuper si malefactores prædicti, qui præfatum militem, & alios secum existentes, vt præmittitur, occiderunt, de regno, seu potestate nostra sint, vel infrà idem regnum vel potestatem poterunt inueniri, de ipsis iudicium & iustitiam fieri præcipiemus, secundùm Leges & consuetudines regni nostri. Et quia inter nos & vos, nostrósque & vestros subditos hinc inde foueri desideramus mutuam concordiam & amorem; ita quod mercatores nostri & vestri mercandisas suas in nostris & vestris regnis & dominijs liberè, & absque impedimento valeant exercere, prout temporibus progenitorum nostrorum fieri consueuit, & ex dictarum literarum vestrarum serie collegimus

Antiquitas commercij inter Angliam & Norwegiam.

euidenter vos promptos esse similiter, & paratos ad omnia & singula, quæ pro vobis & vestris subditis super discordijs, contentionibus, aut grauàminibus inter nostros & vestros subditos qualitercunque suscitatis pro bono pacis & iustitiæ fuerint æquanimiter facienda: Nos consimilia pro nobis & nostris, quantum ad nos & ad ipsos attinet, illius amore, qui pacis author fore dinoscitur, & pro quiete & commodo populi vtriusque regnorum nostrorum, quatenus ius & ratio dictitauerint, promittimus nos facturos: Vestram amicitiam requirentes obnixius & rogantes, quatenus mercatores nostros prædictos, qui adhuc superstites relinquuntur, quos etiam tempore, quo dicta felonia committi dicebatur, interclusos tenebat custodia carceralis, iubere velitis nostri contemplatione, zelóque iustitiæ ab huiusmodi custodia liberari, bona ab ipsis capta eis prout iustum fuerit restitui faciendo. Et vt deliberatio mercatorum nostrorum prædictorum, & bonorum suorum eò facilius concedatur, placeat vobis cum diligentia debita ponderare, quod Galfridus Drewe, & quidam alijs mercatores nostri de Lenne, quibusdam mercatoribus de regno vestro occasione eiusdem grauaminis ipsis mercatoribus vestris, ad sectam Tidemanni Lippe infrà regnum nostrum, vt dicebatur, illati, centum libras sterlingorum persoluerunt, sicut in quodam scripto indentato inter Ingelramum Lende de Thorenden, & quosdam alios mercatores vestros ex parte vna, & præfatum Galfridum, & quosdam alios de regno nostro similiter ex altera confecto, vidimus contineri. Si qui verò de subditis vestris de aliquibus subditis nostris, de aliqua iniuria ipsis facta querelas in curia nostra deponere voluerint, & prosequi cum effectu, ipsorum subditorum vestrorum petitiones admitti, & eis super querelis huiusmodi plenam & celerem iustitiā fieri faciemus. Ita quod ijdem subditi vestri exinde reputare debebunt meritò se contentos. Et interim de excessibus & grauaminibus subditis vestris infrà regnum nostrum qualitercunque illatis inquiri faciemus cum diligentia veritatem. Vestræ igitur voluntatis beneplacitum in præmissis nobis rescribere velitis per præsentium portitorem. Datæ apud Westminster tertio die Aprilis.

The same in English.

TO the mightie Prince king Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous king of Norway, his most deare friend Edward by the same grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, Duke of Aquitaine, greeting and sincere loue. We sent of late vnto

your royall maiestie our special letters, for the behalfe of our late marchants of Lenne, and of the coast adioyning (whome your baily and officers of the citie of Bergen lately apprehended, committing them to close prison, many of whome, as we vnderstand, are, for want of due nourishment, and by reason of the extremitie & loathsomnesse of the prison, quite perished) that you would cause them and their goods to bee released. Howbeit, you reteining as yet our marchants in durance as before, in your letters, which we haue diligently heard, and throughly vnderstood, haue, amongst other matters, returned this answere vnto vs: that certaine marchants of your kingdome doe make sundrie complaints of iniuries, violences and arrests, whereby they haue lately (as themselues auouch) contrary to iustice bene aggrieued and oppressed in our dominions: adding moreouer in your sayde letters, that certaine sonnes of iniquitie of the towne of Lenne, comming, as they saide, to fish for herrings, cruelly murthered a certaine Knight, who was in times past your bayliffe of Vikia, together with ten others of your subiects, being imployed about the affaires of your kingdome. In consideration whereof our minde is exceedingly and aboue measure grieued and troubled, especially sithence it was neuer any part of our intent, that any iniuries, violences, or arrests should vniustly be inflicted vpon any marchants, or any others of your realme by any of our kingdomes: neither can we as yet haue any intelligence, that any such hard measure hath bene offered vnto any of your marchants, by any one or moe of our subiects: giuing you for a certaintie to vnderstand, that if vpon lawfull inquisition we shalbe aduertised of any such grieuances, which haue bene offered vnto your subiects within our realme, we will cause speedie iustice to be administred, and sufficient recompence, and due satisfaction to be made in regarde thereof. And moreouer, if the saide malefactors, which, as it is aforesaid, slewe the forenamed Knight, and others of his companie, either be appertaining vnto our kingdome and dominion, or may at any time be found within our saide kingdome or dominion, we will command iustice and iudgement to be executed vpon them according to the lawes and customes of our realme. And forasmuch as our desire is, that mutuall concord and amitie should be mainteined and cherished between your and our subiects on both parts: so that our and your marchants may, in both our Realmes and dominions, freely and without impediment exercise their traffique, as in the times of our progenitors it hath bene accustomed: Whereas also we euidently gathered out of the contents of your letter, that you are in like sort readie and willing to put all things in practise, which are by you and your subiects (for the taking away of discords, contentions, and molestations howsoeuer occasioned, and sprung vp betweene your and our subiects) louingly to be performed: we also doe promise for our selues, and our subiects, so much as in vs and them lieth, for his sake who is knowen to be the author of peace, and for the benefite & tranquilitie of both our Realmes (as iustice and reason shall moue vs) to doe the like. Desiring and earnestly requesting at your hands, that of your loue and friendship, hauing regard of vs, and consideration of iustice, you would commaund that our foresaide marchants, who as yet remaine aliue, and who also at the time of the saide felonie committed, were shut vp in close prison, be deliuered out of the saide thraldome, causing their goods which haue bene taken from them, to bee, according vnto iustice, restored to them again. And that the deliuerie of our foresaide marchants and goods, may be the more easily yeelded vnto, may it please you with diligent obseruation to consider, that Gefferey Drew, and certaine other of our marchants of Lenne, vpon occasion of the greiuances offered vnto your marchants within our Realme, (as the report goeth) at the suite of Tidman Lippe, paide vnto the same your marchants an hundreth pound sterling: euen as in a certain Indenture made betweene Ingelram Lende of Thorenden, and some other of your marchants on the one part, and betweene the foresaide Geffrey, and certaine of our marchants on the other part, wee sawe conteined. Moreouer, if any of your subiects be minded to exhibite, and effectually to prosecute their complaints in our Court, concerning any of our subiects, or of any iniury done vnto them, we will cause the petitions of those your subiects to be admitted, and also full and speedie iustice to be administred, vpon any such like complaints of theirs. Insomuch, that those your subiects shal thinke themselues right well and sufficiently contented therewithall. And in the meane space we will cause diligent inquisition of the trueth to be made, of all excesses and grieuances howsoeuer offered vnto your subiects within our dominions. May it please you therfore, by the bearer of these presents, to returne an answere vnto vs, what you are determined

The antiquity of traffique betweene England and Norway.

to doe in the premisses. Giuen at Westminster, the third day of April.

De Stapula tenenda in certo loco ordinatio, Anno 13. Edwardi secundi.

REx collectoribus custumæ lanarum & pellium lanutarum in portu London salutem. Cùm nos vicesimo die Maij anno regni nostri sexto attendentes damna & grauamina, quæ mercatoribus de regno nostro diuersimodè euenerunt, ex eo quod mercatores tam indigenæ quàm alienigenæ lanas & pelles lanutas infrà regnum & potestatem nostram ementes, & se cum eisdem lanis & pellibus ad vendendum eas ad diuersa loca infrà terras Brabantiæ, Flandriæ, & de Artoys eorum libito voluntatis transtulerint: & volentes etiam huiusmodi damnis & grauaminibus quatenus bono modo possemus prouidere, de consilio nostro ordinauerimus, quod mercatores indigenæ & alienigenæ lanas & pelles huiusmodi infrà regnum & potestatem prædictam ementes, & ad terras prædictas ibidem vendendas ducere volentes, lanas illas & pelles ad certam stapulam infrà aliquam earundem terrarum, per Maiorem & Communitatem eorundem mercatorum, de regno nostro ordinandam assignari, ac prout & quando expedire viderint mutandum, & non ad alia loca in terris illis ducant, seu duci faciant vllo modo: & inter cætera concesserimus mercatoribus de regno nostro supradicto pro nobis & hæredibus nostris, quòd ipsi Maior & consilium dictorum mercatorum, qui pro tempore fuerint, quibuscunque mercatoribus indigenis seu alienigenis, qui contra dictam ordinationem venerint, & modo rationabili conuicti fuerint, certas pecuniæ summas pro delictis illis imponant, & quod illæ huiusmodi summæ de bonis & mercimonijs mercatorum sic delinquentium, vbicunque ea infrà regnum & potestatem prædictam inueniri contigerit, per ministros nostros ad opus nostrum leuentur: prout in Charta nostra inde confecta plenius continetur: quam quidem Chartam per singulos comitatus regni nostri super costeras maris fecimus publicari, & firmiter inhiberi, ne qui mercatores indigenæ seu alienigenæ contra tenorem Chartæ prædictæ sub pœnis contentis in eadem venerint vllo modo: Ac postmodum dato nobis intelligi, quod quàmplures mercatores tam indigenæ quàm alienigenæ, lanas & pelles lanutas infrà regnum & potestatem prædictas ementes, & se cum eisdem lanis & pellibus ad vendendum

Maior & Communitas stapulæ.

Charta anno regni sexto confecta.

eas ad alia loca in dictis terris, quàm ad Stapulam iuxta concessionem nostram prædictam per Maiorem & cōmunitatem dictorum mercatorum de regno nostro in aliqua terrarum illarum ordinatam & assignatam transtulerint in nostri contemptum, & contra Chartam ordinationis, publicationis & inhibitionis prædictarum assignauerimus quosdam fideles nostros in diuersis partibus regni ad inquirendum de lanis & pellibus lanutis ad dictas terras alibi quàm ad Stapulam illam ductis, ita quod emendæ inde ad nos pertinentes, ad opus nostrum leuentur; etiam intellexerimus, quod quasi omnes mercatores tam indigenæ quàm alienigenæ huiusmodi mercimonia in dicto regno nostro exercentes sunt culpabiles de præmissis: & quod plures inde indictati, ac alij timentes inde indictari, lanas suas ac pelles lanutas sub nominibus aliorum non culpabilium faciunt aduocari, & extra regnum nostrum transmitti quibusdam alienigenis, sic culpabilibus in dictum regnum forsitan non reuersuris, vt sic forisfacturas prædictas effugiant, & nos de emenda ad nos sic pertinente illudant: quæ si permitterentur sic transire in nostri damnum non modicum redundarent. Nos volentes huiusmodi fraudibus obuiare, & nostris damnis quatenus bono modo poterimus præcauere, vobis præcipimus firmiter iniungentes, quod à singulis mercatoribus lanas seu pelles lanutas per portum prædictum ad partes exteras ducere volentibus corporale sacramentum ad sancta Dei Euangelia recipiatis, quod ipsi lanas seu pelles lanutas sub nomine ipsius, cuius propriæ sunt, & non alterius aduocabunt, & tunc recepta ab illo cuius lanæ & pelles huiusmodi erunt, vel nomine suo sufficiente securitate pro qua respondere volueritis, de respondendo & faciendo nobis id quod ad nos pertinet de lanis & pellibus lanutis per ipsum ductis seu missis ad aliquam dictarum terrarum Flandriæ & Brabantiæ, & de Artoys contra formam Chartæ, proclamationis, & inhibitionis supradictarum, si ipsum super hoc conuinci contingat, lanas & pelles illas lanutas extra portum prædictum, recepta prius custuma debita de eisdem, ad partes exteras transire permittatis. Teste Rege apud Doueram decimo octauo die Iunij, per ipsum Regem & Consilium.

Et postmodum per breue de priuato sigillo eodem modo mandatum est collectoribus custumæ prædictæ in portubus subscriptis: Videlicet,

In portu villæ Southhampton.
In portu villæ Weymouth.

In portu villæ Sancti Botolphi.
In portu villæ de Kingtone super Hull.
In portu villæ de nouo Castro.
In portu villæ de magna Iernemutha.
In portu villæ de Lenne.
In portu villæ de Gypwico.

The same in English.

An Ordinance of the Staple to bee holden at one certaine place.

THe King vnto his Collectors of custome, for wooll and woollen fels, in his port of London, greeting. Whereas we vpon the 20. of May, in the sixt yeere of our reigne, considering the damages and grieuances that haue diuersly happened vnto the marchants of our realme, vpon occasion that the marchants both of our owne, & of other countreis, buying vp wooll and woollen fels within our kingdome and dominions, haue, for the better sale thereof, at their pleasure conueyed thēselues, and trasported the said wooll & fels into sundry places within the prouinces of Brabant, Flanders and Artoys: and being desirous also, to our power, to prouide a remedie against such damages and inconueniences, haue ordained by our counsel, that all marchants, both homeborne and aliens, buying vp such wools and fels, within our kingdome and dominion aforesaid, and being desirous to transport them into the foresaid prouinces, there to bee solde, may carrie the saide wools and fels, or cause them to be caried to some certaine staple, within any of the saide Prouinces, by the Maior and Communaltie of the said marchants of our realme, to be appointed and assigned, and when they shall thinke it expedient, to be changed and remoued, and not vnto any other place within the saide Prouinces whatsoeuer: and whereas also, amongst other things, we haue granted vnto the marchants of our foresaid realme, for vs and our heires, that the Maior and Councel of the saide marchants for the time being, may impose vpon all marchants, home-borne or aliens whatsoeuer, that shall transgresse the foresaid ordination, and shall thereof lawfully be conuicted, certaine summes of money to be paid for their offences, and that such summes must by our ministers and officers, to our vse, be leuied out of the goods and wares of the marchants so offending, wheresoeuer they shall chance to be found within our kingdome and dominions aforesaid, as in our Charter made for the same

A Charter made in the sixt yeere of his reigne.

purpose, it is more plainly expressed, (which Charter we haue caused to be published vpon the Sea-coasts, throughout all the countreys of our realme, and a strong prohibition to be proclaimed, that no marchants, neither home-borne, nor strangers, may in any wise transgresse the tenour of the foresaide Charter, vnder the penalties therein contained) and whereas afterward it beeing giuen vs to vnderstand, that diuers marchants both home-borne, and aliens, bought vp such woolles and woollen felles within our saide Realme and dominions, and conueyed themselues with the saide wools and felles for the sale thereof, vnto other places within the foresaide Prouinces, besides the saide Staple, which was, according to our graunt aforesaide, appointed and ordained by the Maior and communaltie of the said marchants of our Realme, in some one of those Prouinces, to the contempt of our authoritie, and contrary to the Charter of the ordination, publication, and inhibition aforesaide, wee assigned certaine of our faithfull subiects, in diuers parts of our Realme, to make inquisition for such wools and woollen felles, as were conueyed vnto any other place of the saide Prouinces, then vnto the Staple, so that by these meanes, the penalties due vnto vs might bee leuied vnto our vse: and hauing intelligence also, that in a maner all marchants both home-borne, and strangers bartering such wares in our kingdome, are culpable of the premisses, and that many being indicted thereupon, and others fearing to bee indicted, doe cause their wools and woollen felles to bee auouched vnder the names of persons not culpable, and to be sent ouer vnto certaine strangers being also culpable, and not minding perhaps to return any more into our realme, that they may so escape the foresaid forfeitures, and defraud vs of the penaltie, appertaining of right vnto vs, (which abuses, if they were suffered so to goe vnpunished woulde redound vnto our extreame hinderance:) and beeing likewise desirous to withstand such deceitefull dealing, and so farre forth as wee can, to preuent our owne losses, we firmely command, and streightly charge you, that you doe receiue of euery particular marchant, desirous to conuey any wools, or woollen fels out of the foresaid port, into any forrein dominions, a corporal oath vpon Gods holy Euangelists: that they shall auouch all those wools and woollen fels vnder his name vnto whom they doe properly belong, & vnder the name of none other: and then taking sufficient security from the owner of those wools and fels, or in his name, in regard whereof you wil vndertake to warrantize, and make good vnto vs those penalties and forfaitures which shal vnto vs appertaine, for all wools, and woollen fels conueied or sent by any of the foresaid merchants vnto any of the said prouinces of Flanders, Brabant, and Artoys, contrary to the Charter of the Proclamation and inhibition aboue mentioned (if they shal chance to be conuinced hereof) that first, our due custome being receiued, you doe permit the said wools and woollen fels to passe out of the foresaid port into forrein countries. Witnes the king at Douer the 18. day of Iune. By the king himselfe and his Councell.

And afterwarde by a Writte vnder the Kings priuie Seale there was a like commandement giuen vnto the Collectors of the custome aforesayde in the portes vnderwritten.

That is to say:

In the port of the Towne of
Weymouth.
Southhampton.
Saint Botulphs towne, now called Boston.
Kingtone vpon Hull.
Newcastle.
Iernemouth magna, or Yermouth.
Lenne.
Gypwick or Ipswich.

Carta Henrici quarti Anno|| quinto regni sui concessa mercatoribus Angliæ in partibus Prussiæ, Daciæ, Norwegiæ, Swethiæ, & Germaniæ, de gubernatore inter ipsos ibidem constituendo. |1404.

HEnricus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ & Franciæ & Dominus Hiberniæ omnibus, ad quos præsentes literæ peruenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod cum, vt accepimus, ob defectum boni & sani regiminis & gubernationis, diuersa damna, dissensiones, grauamina, & angustiæ inter mercatores Regni nostri Angliæ inpartibus Pruciæ, Daciæ, Noruegiæ, Hansæ, & Suethiæ commorantes sæpius ante hæc tempora mota fuissent & perpetrata, ac maiora, exinde, quod absit, futuris temporibus verisimiliter euenire formidantur, nisi pro meliori gubernatione inter eosdem mercatores mutuò habenda manus nostras adiutrices apponamus: Nos damnis & periculis in hac parte imminentibus præcauere, & eosdem Mercatores & alios de dicto regno nostro ad partes prædictas venturos iuste & fideliter regi & pertractari intime desiderantes,

volumus & tenore præsentium concedimus eisdem mercatoribus, quod ipsi quoties & quando eis placuerit in quodam loco competenti & honesto, vbi sibi placuerit, se congregare & vnire, & certas personas sufficientes & idoneas in gubernatores suos in eisdem partibus inter se ad eorum libitum eligere & obtinere valeant libere & impune: Dantes vlterius & concedentes huiusmodi gubernatoribus per prædictos Mercatores sic eligendis, quantum in nobis est, potestatem & authoritatem speciales, omnes & singulos mercatores Anglicos ad partes prædictas de cætero venientes & declinantes per se vel sufficientes loca sua tenentes regendi & gubernandi, ac eis & eorum cuilibet in suis causis & querelis quibuscunque inter eos in partibus prædictis motis vel mouendis plenam & celerem iusticiam faciendi & quascunque quæstiones, contentiones, discordias, & debatas inter ipsos mercatores Anglicos partium prædictarum motas sue mouendas reformandi, reformationemque petendi, redigendi, sedandi, & pacificandi, & quascunque transgressiones, damna, mesprisiones, excessus, violencias, & iniurias mercatoribus partium prædictarum per prædictos mercatores Anglicos factas seu faciendas redigendi, reparandi, restaurandi, & emendandi, consimilesque restitutiones, reparationes, restaurationes & emandationes de ipsis mercatoribus partium prædictarum seu deputatis suis requirendi, petendi, & recipiendi: Ac de communi assensu mercatorum Anglicorum prædictorum statuta, ordinationes, & consuetudines, prout pro meliori gubernatione status eorundem mercatorum Anglicorum in hac parte videbitur expedire, faciendi & stabiliendi, & omnes & singulos mercatores Anglicos præfatis gubernatoribus sic eligendis vel eorum loca tenentibus seu eorum alicui, aut alicui statutorum, ordinationum, & consuetudinum prædictarum contrarios, rebelles, vel inobedientes iuxta quantitatem delicti sui in hac parte rationabiliter puniendi. Volentes insuper omnia iusta & rationabilia statuta, ordinationes & consuetudines per dictos gubernatores sic eligendos in forma prædicta facienda & stabilienda, nec non omnes iustas & rationabiles ordinationes per || nuper gubernatores prædictorum mercatorum Anglicorum de communi assensu eorundem mercatorum pro huiusmodi gubernatione sua in partibus prædictis iuxta priuilegia & authoritates sibi per magistrum Pruciæ seu alios dominos partium prædictarum concessa, factas & stabilitas, seu per prædictos gubernatores nunc vt præmittitur eligendos iuxta priuilegia prædicta, seu alia priuilegia eisdem mercatoribus Anglicis per præ-

|| Nota.

dictos magistrum & dominos in posterum concedenda, facienda & stabilienda, rata, firma & accepta haberi, & pro ratis, firmis, & acceptis ibidem firmiter & inuiolabiter obseruari. Damus autem vniuersis & singulis mercatoribus Anglicis prædictis tenore præsentium firmiter in mandatis, quod eisdem gubernatoribus sic eligendis & eorum loca tenentibus in præmissis omnibus & singulis ac alijs gubernationem & regimen in hac parte qualitercunque concernentibus intendentes sint, consulentes, obedientes & auxiliantes, prout decet. Data in palatio nostro Westmonasterij sub magni sigilli nostri testimonio sexto die Iunij Anno regni nostri quinto.

A Charter of King Henry the fourth graunted in the fift yeere of his reigne to the English Marchants resident in the partes of Prussia, Denmarke, Norway, Sweden, and Germanie for the chusing of gouernours among themselues.

HEnry by the grace of God king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland: to all to whom these present letters may come, sendeth greeting. Know ye, that whereas, according as we are informed, through want of good and discreete rule and gouernement, sundry damages, strifes, oppressions, and wrongs oftentimes heretofore haue bene moued and committed among the Marchants of our kingdome of England remaining in the parties of Prussia, Denmarke, Norway, the Hans steeds, and Sweden, and greater hereafter, which God forbid, are feared to be like to fall out, vnlesse we put to our helping hands for the procuring of better gouernement to be maintained among the said Marchants: wee heartily desiring to preuent the perrils and dangers which are like to fall out in this case, and that the sayde Marchants and others which shall trauaile out of our said Realme into the partes aforesaid may iustly and faithfully be ruled and intreated, we will and graunt by the tenour of these presents to the said Marchants, that they may freely and without danger assemble and meete together as often and whensoeuer they please in some conuenient and honest place where they shall thinke good, and that they may choose among themselues certaine sufficient and fit persons for their gouernours in those parts at their good liking. And furthermore we giue and graunt to the said Gouernours which are in such sort to be chosen by the aforesaid Marchants, as much as in vs lieth, speciall power and authoritie to rule and gouerne all and singular the English Marchants which hereafter shall come or repayre to the parts aforesaid by themselues or their sufficient Deputies, and to minister vnto them and euery of them in their causes and quarels whatsoeuer, which are sprung vp, or shall hereafter fall out among them in the parts aforesaid full and speedie iustice, and to reforme all maner of questions, contentious discords, and debates moued or to be moued betweene the English Marchants remayning in those parts, and to seeke reformation, to redresse, appease, and compound the same. And further to redresse, restore, repayre and satisfie all transgressions, damages, misprisions, outrages, violences, and iniuries done or to be done by the aforesaid English Marchants against the Marchants of those parts: And to require, demaund and receiue the like restitutions, reparations, satisfactions and amends of the Marchants of those parts or of their deputies. And by the common consent of the aforesaid English Marchants to make and establish statutes, ordinances, and customes, as shall seeme expedient in that behalfe for the better gouernement of the state of the said English Marchants: and to punish with reason according to the quantitie of their fault in that behalfe all and singular the English Marchants which shall withstand, resist or disobey the aforesaid gouernours so to be chosen or their deputies, or any of them: or any of the aforesaid statutes, ordinances, or customes. Moreouer, we doe ratifie, confirme, and approoue, and as ratified, confirmed, and approoued, wee command firmely and inuiolably there to be obserued all iust, and reasonable statutes, ordinances, and customes which shalbe made and established by the said gouernors, so to be chosen, in forme aforesaid, and also all iust and reasonable ordinances made & established by the late gouernours of the aforesaid English Marchants with the common consent of the sayd Marchants for this their gouernement in the parts aforesayd, according to the priuileges and authorities now granted vnto them by the Master of Prussia, or other Lords of the partes aforesayd, or which shall be made and established by the aforesayd gouernours now as is mentioned to be chosen according to the aforesaid priuileges heretofore graunted, or other priuileges hereafter to bee granted to the sayde English Marchants by the aforesayde Master and lords of the Countrey. And furthermore by the tenor of these presents we straitely commaund all and singular the aforesaid English Marchants, that they attend, aduise, obey and assist, as it becommeth them, the sayde gouernours so to bee chosen, and their deputies in all and singular the premisses and other things, which any way may concerne in this behalfe their rule and gouernement. Giuen in our Palace at Westminster vnder the testimonie of our great Seale the sixt day of Iune in the fift yeere of our reigne.

A note touching the mighty ships of King Henry the fift, mentioned hereafter in the treatie of keeping the sea, taken out of a Chronicle in the Trinitie Church of Winchester.

EOdem anno quo victoria potitus est videlicet Anno Domini 1415. & regni sui Anno tertio, post bellum de Agencourt, conducti a Francis venerunt cum multis Nauibus recuperaturi Harfletum. Sed Rex Angliæ misit fratrem suum Iohannem Ducem Bedfordiæ & Andegauiæ, qui pugnauit cum eis & vicit, & Naues cepit, & quasdam submersit: cæteri fugerunt cum Hispanis nauibus qui venerant cum eis Anno gratiæ 1416. Sequenti vero Anno redierunt potentiores, & iterum deuicti perpetuam pacem cum Rege composuerunt, & propter eorum naues fecit Rex fieri naues quales non erant in mundo. De his sic conductis a Francis ita metricè scribitur.

Naues maximæ Henrici quinti.

Regum belligero trito celeberrimus aruo
Gallos, Hispanos, Ianos, deuicit, & Vrget,
Vastat; turbantur cætera regna metu.
Nauali bello bis deuicti quoque Iani.

A branch of a Statute made in the eight yeere of Henry the sixt, for the trade to Norwey, Sweueland, Denmarke, and Fynmarke.

ITem because that the kings most deare Vncle, the king of Denmarke, Norway and Sueueland, as the same our soueraigne Lord the king of his intimation hath vnderstood, considering the manifold & great losses, perils, hurts and damage which haue late happened as well to him and his, as to other foraines and strangers, and also friends and speciall subiects of our said soueraigne Lord the king of his realme of England, by ye going in, entring & passage of such forain & strange persons into his realme of Norwey & other dominions, streits, territories, iurisdictions & places subdued and subiect to him, specially into his Isles of Fynmarke, and elsewhere, aswell in their persons as their things and goods: for eschuing of such losses, perils, hurts & damages, and that such like (which God forbid) should not hereafter happen: our said soueraigne Lord the king hath ordeined and statuted, that all and singular strangers, as well Englishmen and others willing to apply by Ship and come into his realme of Norwey and other dominions, streights, territories, iurisdictions, Isles & places aforesaid with their ships to the intent to get or haue fish or any other Marchandises, or goods, shall apply and come to his Towne of Northberne, where the said king of Denmarke hath specially ordained and stablished his staple for the concourses of strangers and specially of Englishmen, to the exercise of such Marchandises: granting to the said Englishmen that they shall there inioy in and by all things the same fauour, priuileges and prerogatiues which they of the Hans did enioy. Therefore our said soueraigne Lord the king willing the loue, affinitie and amities to be firmely obserued, which betwixt his said Vncle and his noble progenitors of good memory, their Realmes, lands, dominions, streites, territories, iurisdictions and their said places, and the same our soueraigne Lord the king & his noble progenitours of famous memory, his great men, subiects, Realmes, lands & dominions hath bene of old times hitherto continued, nor nothing by our said soueraigne Lord the king or his people to be attempted or done whereby such amities by reason of any dissensions, enemities or discords might be broken: by the aduise of the Lords spirituall & temporall & of the cōmons of his said Realme of England, assembled in this present Parliament, hath ordained, prohibiting that none of his liege people nor subiects of his Realme of England by audacitie of their follie presume to enter the Realmes, lands, dominions, straits, territories, iurisdictions & places of the said king of Denmarke against yᵉ ordinance, prohibition & interdictiō of yᵉ same his Vncle aboue remembred, & in contempt of the same, vpō paine of forfeiture of all their moueable goods & imprisonment of their persons at the kings will.

Another branch of a statute made in the tenth yeere of the reigne of Henry the sixt concerning the state of the English Marchants in the dominions of the king of Denmarke.

ITem because that our soueraigne Lord the king at the grieuous complaint to him made in this Parliament by the commons of his realme of England being in this Parliament is informed, that many of his faithfull liege people be greatly impouerished, vndone, & in point to be destroyed by the king of Denmarke & his lieges, which be of the amitie of the king our soueraigne Lord, because that they do daily take of his said faithfull subiects their goods, so that they haue taken of marchants of York and Kinston vpon Hul goods & marchandises to the valour of v. M. li. within a yeere, and of other lieges & marchants of yᵉ realme of England goods & cattals to the valour of xx. M. li. wherof they haue no remedie of the said king of Denmarke, nor of none other, forasmuch as none of them cōmeth within the Realme of England, nor nothing haue in the same realme of England, & that yᵉ goods be taken out of the same Realme: The king willing to prouide remedy for his said liege people, hath ordeined & established, that if yᵉ goods of any of yᵉ said his lieges be or shalbe taken by the said king of Denmarke or any of his said lieges, the keeper of the priuie seale for yᵉ time being, shall haue power to make to yᵉ partie grieued letters of request vnder the priuie seale, wᵗout any other pursuite to be made to any for restitution to be had of yᵉ goods so taken & to be taken. And if restitution be not made by such letters, the king our soueraigne lord by the aduise of his counsel shal prouide to the partie grieued his couenable remedy, according as yᵉ case requireth.

Here beginneth the Prologue of the processe of the Libel of English policie, exhorting all England to keepe the sea, and namely the narrowe sea: shewing what profite commeth thereof, and also what worship and saluation to England, and to all English-men.

Incipit liber de custodia Maris præsertim arcti inter Doueram & Galisiam.

THe true processe of English policie
Of vtterward to keepe this regne in rest
Of our England, that no man may deny,
Ner say of sooth but it is one of the best,
Is this, that who seeth South, North, East and West,
Cherish Marchandise, keepe the admiraltie;
That wee bee Masters of the narrowe see.

For Sigismond the great Emperour,
Wich yet reigneth, when he was in this land[1]

---

[1] It is clear, from these lines, that this poem must have been written between 1416, when Sigismond was in England, and 1438, when he died.

Videns imperator Sigismundus duas villas inter cæteras Anglie scilicet Calisiam & Douereame, ponens suos duos digitos super duos suos oculos, ait regi: Frater, custodite istas duas villas sicut duos vestros oculos.

With king Henry the fift, Prince of honour,
Here much glory, as him thought, he found,
A mightie land which had take in hand
To werre in France, and make mortalitie,
And euer well kept round about the see.

And to the king thus hee sayd: My brother,
(When hee perceiued two Townes Caleis and Douer)
Of all your Townes to chuse of one and other,
To keepe the sea and soone to come ouer
To werre outwards and your regne to recouer:
Keepe these two Townes sure, and your Maiestee
As your tweyne eyne: so keepe the narrowe see.

For if this sea bee kept in time of werre,
Who can heere passe without danger and woe:
Who may escape, who may mischiefe differre:
What Marchandie may forby bee agoe:
For needs hem must take trewes euery foe:
Flanders and Spaine, and other, trust to mee,
Or ellis hindred all for this Narrow see.

Therefore I cast mee by a little writing
To shew at eye this conclusion,
For conscience and for mine acquiting
Against God and ageyne abusion,
And cowardise, and to our enemies confusion.
For foure things our Noble [2] sheweth to me,
King, Ship, and Swerd, and power of the see.

Where ben our ships, where ben our swerds become:
Our enemies bed for the ship set a sheepe.
Alas our rule halteth, it is benome.

---

[2] The Noble was coined by Edward the third Anno regni 18. Quatuor considerantur in moneta aurea Anglica, quæ dicitur Nobile: scilicet Rex, Nauis, gladius, & Mare: Quæ designant potestatem Anglicorum super Mare. In quorum opprobrium his diebus Britones minores & Flandrenses & alij dicunt Anglicis: Tollite de vestro Nobile nauem & imponite ouem. Intendentes, quod sicut quondam à tempore Edwardi tertij Anglici erant domini Maris, modo his diebus sunt vecordes, victi, & ad bellandum & Mare obseruandum velut oues.

Who dare well say that lordship should take keepe:
I will assay, though mine heart ginne to weepe,
To doe this werke, if wee will euer thee,
For very shame to keepe about the see.

Shall any Prince, what so be his name,
Which hath Nobles much leche ours,
Bee Lord of see: and Flemings to our blame,
Stop vs, take vs, and so make fade the flowers
Of English state, and disteyne our honours:
For cowardise alas it should so bee.
Therefore I ginne to write nowe of the see.

Of the commodities of Spaine and of Flanders. The first Chapter.

KNowe well all men that profits in certaine
Commodities called comming out of Spaine
And Marchandie, who so will weete what it is,
Bene Figs, Raisins, wine Bastard, and Datis,
And Licoris, Siuill oyle, and graine,
White Pastill Sope, and Waxe is not vayne.
Yron, Wooll, Wadmolle, Gotefell, Kidfell also:
For Poynt-makers full needefull bene they tweyn:
Saffron, Quickesiluer, which owne Spaine Marchandy,
Is into Flanders shipped full craftily,
Vnto Bruges as to her staple fayre:
The Hauen of Scluse hir Hauen for her repayre
Which is cleped Swyn tho shippes giding:
Where many vessels and fayre are abiding.
But these marchandes with their shippes great,
And such chaffare as they bye and get
By the weyes must nede take on hand
By the coasts to passe of our England,
Betwixt Douer and Caleis, this is no doubt.
Who can well els such matter bring about?

And when these sayd Marchants discharged bee
Of Marchandie in Flanders nere the see,
Then they bee charged againe with Marchandy,
That to Flanders bougeth full richly.
Fine cloth of Ypre that named is better than ours,
Cloth of Curtrike,[1] fine cloth of all colours,

---

[1] Courtrai.

Flemish cloth made of English Wooll.

Much Fustian, and also Linen cloth.
But Flemings, if yee bee not wroth,
The great substance of your cloth at the full
Yee wot ye make it of our English woll.

Then may it not sinke in mannis brayne,
But that it must this Marchandy of Spaine
Both out and in by our costes passe:
Hee that sayd nay in witte was like an asse.
Wee should haue peace with the grounds tweyne
Thus if this see were kept, I dare well sayne.

The necessarie coniunction of Spaine and Flanders.

For Spaine and Flanders is as eche other brother,
And neither may well liue without other:
They may not liuen to maintaine their degrees,
Without our English commodities:
Wolle and Tynne: for the woolle of England
Susteineth the Commons Flemings I vnderstand.
Then if England would her wolle restraine
From Flanders, this followeth in certaine,
Flanders of nede must with vs haue peace,
Or els shee is destroyed without lees.
Also if Flanders thus destroyed bee:
Some Marchandy of Spaine will neuer ythee:
For destroyed it is, and as in cheeffe
The wolle of Spaine it commeth not to preeffe,
But if it be costed and menged well
Amongst the English wolle the greter delle.
For Spanish wooll in Flaunders draped is,
And euer hath bee, that men haue minde of this:
And yet Wooll is one of the chiefe Marchandy
That longeth to Spaine: who so will espie,
It is of little value, trust vnto mee,
With English wooll but if it menged bee.
Thus if the sea be kept, than herken hether,
If these two lands comen not together:
So that the Fleete of Flanders passe nought
That in the narrowe see it be not brought
Into the Rochelle to fetch the fumose wine,
Ner into Bytonuse Bay for salt so fine,
What is then Spaine? What is Flanders also?
As who sayd, nought, the thrift is agoe.

For the little land of Flanders is
But a staple to other lands ywis:
And all that groweth in Flanders graine and seede
May not a Moneth finde hem meate and brede.
What hath then Flanders, bee Flemings lieffe or loth,
But a little Mader and Flemish Cloth:
By Drapering of our wooll in substance
Liuen her commons, this is her gouernance,
Without which they may not liue at ease.
Thus must hem sterue, or with vs must haue peace.

Of the commodities of Portugal.

The second Chapter.

THe Marchandy also of Portugal
By diuers lands turne into sale.
Portugalers with vs haue troth in hand:
Whose Marchandy commeth much into England.
They ben our friends, with their commodities,
And wee English passen into their countrees.
Her land hath wine, Osey, Waxe, and Graine,
Figges, Reysins, Hony and Cordoweyne:
Dates, and Salt, Hides, and such Marchandy:
And if they would to Flanders passe for by,
They should not bee suffred ones ner twyes,
For supporting of our cruell enemies,
That is to say Flemings with her gyle:
For changeable they are in little while. **Note well.**
Then I conclude by reasons many moe,
If we suffred neither friend nor foe,
What so enemies, and so supporting
Passe for by vs in time of werring,
Seth our friends will not ben in cause
Of our hindring, if reson lede this clause:
Then nede from Flanders peace bee to vs sought,
And other lands should seeke peace, dout nought:
For Flanders is Staple, as men tell mee,
To all nations of Christianitie.

The commodities of pety Britaine,[1] with her Rouers on the sea.

The third Chapter.

FUrthermore to write I am faine
Somewhat speaking of the little Britayne.
Commoditie thereof there, is and was,
Salt, and wine, crest cloth and canuas.
And the land of Flaunders sickerly
Is the staple of their Marchandy.
Wich Marchandie may not passe away
But by the coast of England, this is no nay.
And of this Britaine, who so trueth louis,

The Britons great Rouers and Theeues.

Are the greatest rouers and the greatest theeuis,
That haue bene in the sea many one yeere:
That our Marchants haue bought full dere.
For they haue tooke notable goods of ours,
On this side see, these false pelours
Called of Saincte Malo, and ellis where:
Which to their Duke none obeysance will bere:
With such colours wee haue bee hindred sore.
And fayned peace is called no werre herefore.
Thus they haue bene in diuers coasts many
Of our England, more then rehearse can I:
In Norfolke coastes, and other places about,
And robbed and brent and slaine by many a rowte:
And they haue also ransomed Towne by Towne:
That into the regnes of bost haue run her sowne:
Wich hath bin ruth vnto this Realme and shame:
They that the sea should keepe are much to blame.
For Britayne is of easie reputation;
And Saincte Malo turneth hem to reprobation.

A storie of Edward the third his ordinance for Britayne.

Historia ostendens quam ordinationem Rex Edwardus tertius fecit contra deprædatores

HEre bring I in a storie to mee lent,
That a good Squire in time of Parliament
Tooke vnto mee well written in a scrowe:
That I haue commond both with high and lowe,
Of which all men accorden into one,
That it was done not many yeeres agone.

---

[1] Brittany.

But when noble King Edward the thrid
Reigned in grace, right thus it betyd.
For hee had a maner gelosie
To his Marchants and loued them hartily.
He feld the weyes to rule well the see,
Whereby Marchants might haue prosperitee.
That for Harflew[1] Houndflew[2] did he maken;
And great werre that time were vndertaken,
betwixt the King and the Duke of Britayne:
At last to fall to peace both were they fayne:
Vpon the wich made with conuencion
Our Marchants made hem readie bowne
Toward Britayne to loade their Marchandie,
Wening hem friends they went foorth boldly:
But soone anon our Marchants were ytake,
And wee spedde neuer the better for truce sake.
They lost her good, her nauy and spending:
But their complaint came vnto the king.
Then wext he wroth, and to the Duke he sent,
And complained that such harme was hent;
By conuention and peace made so refused:
Wich Duke sent againe, and him excused,
Rehearsing that the mount of Saincte Michael,
And Sainct Malo would neuer a dell
Be subiect vnto his gouernance,
Nor be vnder his obeysance:
And so they did withouten him that deede.
But when the king anon had taken heede:
Hee in his herte set a iudgement,
Without calling of any Parliament,
Or greate tarry to take long aduise
To fortifie anon he did deuise
Of English Townes three, that is to say,
Dertmouth, Plymouth, the third it is Fowey:
And gaue hem helpe and notable puisance
With insistence set them in gouernance
Vpon pety Bretayne for to werre.
Those good sea men would no more differre,
But bete hem home and made they might not rowte,
Tooke prisoners, and made them for to lowte.

marinos Britanniæ minoris, ad debellandum eos & subiugandum Britannos minores.

---

[1] Harfleur. [2] Honfleur.

And efte the Duke, an ensample wise,
Wrote to the king as he first did deuise,
Him excusing: But our men wood
With great power passed ouer the floode
And werred foorth into the Dukes londe,
And had ny destroyed free and bond.
But than the Duke knewe that the townes three
Should haue lost all his natiue Countrie,
He vndertooke by suretie true not false,
For mount Michael and Saincte Malo als,
And other parties of the litle Brytaine,
Which to obey, as sayd was, were not fayne.
The Duke hymselfe for all did vndertake:
With all his herte a full peace did hee make:
So that in all the life time of the king,
Marchants had peace withouten werring:

Statutum Regis Edwardi tertij pro Lombardis.

He made a statute for Lombards in this land,
That they should in noe wise take on hande
Here to inhabite, here to chardge and dischardge
But fortie dayes, no more time had they large.
This good king by witte of such appreiffe
Kept his Marchants and the sea from mischiefe.

Of the commodities of Scotland and draping of her wolles in Flanders. The fourth Chapiter.

MOreouer of Scotland the commodities
Are Felles, Hides, and of Wooll the Fleese.
And all these must passe by vs away
Into Flanders by England, sooth to say.
And all her woolle was draped for to sell
In the Townes of Poperinge and of Bell:
Which my Lord of Glocester with ire
For her falshed set vpon a fire.
And yet they of Bell and Poperinge
Could neuer drape her wool for any thing,
But if they had English woll withall.
Our goodly wooll which is so generall
Needefull to them in Spaine and Scotland als,
And other costes, this sentence is nnot false:
Yee worthy Marchants I doe it vpon yow,
I haue this learned ye wot well where and howe;

Anno Domini 1436. Hen. 6. 14.

Ye wotte the Staple of that Marchandie,
Of this Scotland is Flaunders sekerly.
And the Scots bene charged knowen at the eye,
Out of Flanders with little Mercerie,
And great plentie of Haberdashers Ware,
And halfe her shippes with cart wheeles bare,
And with Barrowes are laden as in substance:
Thus most rude ware are in her cheuesance.
So they may not forbeare this Flemish land.
Therefore if wee would manly take in hand,
To keepe this Sea from Flanders and from Spaine,
And from Scotland, like as from pety Britaine,
Wee should right soone haue peace for all her bosts,
For they must needes passe by our English costs.

Of the commodities of Pruce, and High Dutch men, and Easterlings. The fifth Chapitle.

NOwe goe foorth to the commodities,
That commeth from Pruce in two maner degrees.
For two maner people haue such vse,
That is to say, High Duch men of Pruse,
And Esterlings, which might not be forborne,
Out of Flanders, but it were verely lorne.
For they bring in the substance of the Beere,
That they drinken feele too good chepe, not dere.
Yee haue heard that two Flemings togider
Will vndertake or they goe any whither,
Or they rise once to drinke a Ferkin full,
Of good Beerekin: so sore they hall and pull.
Vnder the board they pissen as they sit:
This commeth of couenant of a worthie wit.
Without Caleis in their Butter they cakked
When they fled home, and when they leysure lacked
To holde their siege, they went like as a Doe:
Well was that Fleming that might trusse, and goe.
For feare they turned backe and hyed fast,
My Lord of Glocester made hem so agast
With his comming, and sought hem in her land,
And brent and slowe as he had take on hand:
So that our enemies durst not bide, nor stere,
They fled to mewe, they durst no more appeare,

Rebuked sore for euer so shamefully,
Vnto her vtter euerlasting villanie.

Nowe Beere and Bakon bene fro Pruse ybrought
Into Flanders, as loued and farre ysought:
Osmond, Copper, Bow-staues, Steele, and Wexe,
Peltreware and grey Pitch, Terre, Board, and flexe:
And Colleyne threed, Fustian and Canuas,
Card, Bukeram: of olde time thus it was.
But the Flemings among these things dere,
In common louen best Bakon and Beere.
Also Pruse men maken her aduenture
Of Plate of siluer of wedges good and sure
In great plentie which they bring and bye,
Out of the lands of Beame and Hungarie:
Which is increase full great vnto their land,
And they bene laden, I vnderstand,
With wollen cloth all maner of colours
By dyers crafted full diuers, that ben ours.
And they aduenture full greatly vnto the Bay,
for salt that is needefull withouten nay.
Thus if they would not our friends bee,
We might lightly stoppe hem in the see:
They should not passe our streemes withouten leue,
It would not be, but if we should hem greue.

Of the commodities of the Genuoys and her great Caracks.

Chap. 6.

THe Genuois comen in sundry wies
Into this land with diuers marchandises
In great Caracks, arrayed withouten lacke
With cloth of gold, silke, and pepper blacke
They bring with them, and of crood[1] great plentee,
Woll Oyle, Woad ashen, by vessel in the see,
Cotton, Rochalum, and good gold of Genne.
And then be charged with wolle againe I wenne,
And wollen cloth of ours of colours all.
And they aduenture, as ofte it doth befall,
Into Flanders with such things as they bye,
That is their chefe staple sekerly:

---

[1] Woad.

And if they would be our full enemies,
They should not passe our stremes with marchandise.

The comodities and nicetees of the Venetians and Florentines, with their Gallees. Chap. 7.

THe great Galees of Venice and Florence
Be well laden with things of complacence,
All spicery and of grossers ware:
With sweete wines all maner of chaffare,
Apes, and Iapes, and marmusets tayled,
Nifles and trifles that little haue auayled:
And things with which they fetely blere our eye:
With things not induring that we bye.
For much of this chaffare that is wastable
Might be forborne for dere and deceiuable.
And that I wene as for infirmities
In our England are such commodities
Withouten helpe of any other lond
Which by witte and practise both yfound:
That all humors might be voyded sure,
With that we gleder with our English cure:
That we should haue no neede of Scamonie,
Turbit, enforbe, correct Diagredie,
Rubarbe, Sene, and yet they ben to needefull,
But I know things al so speedefull,
That growen here, as those things sayd.
Let of this matter no man be dismayde;
But that a man may voyde infirmitie
Without degrees fet fro beyond the sea.
And yet they should except be any thing
It were but sugre, trust to my saying:
He that trusteth not to my saying and sentence,
Let him better search experience.
In this matter I will not ferther prease,
Who so not beleeueth, let him leaue and cease.
Thus these galeys for this licking ware,
And eating ware, bare hence our best chaffare:
Cloth, woll, and tinne, which as I sayd before,
Out of this lond worst might be forbore,
For ech other land of necessitie
Haue great neede to buy some of them three:

And we receiue of hem into this coste
Ware and chaffare that lightly wilbe loste.
And would Iesus, that our Lordis wold
Consider this well both yong and old:
Namely old that haue experience,
That might the yong exhorte to prudence;
What harme, what hurt, and what hinderance
Is done to vs, vnto our great grieuance,
Of such lands, and of such nations:
As experte men know by probations,
By writings as discouered our counsailes,
And false colour alwaies the countertailes
Of our enimies: that doth vs hindering
Vnto our goods, our Relme, and to the king:
As wise men haue shewed well at eye;
And all this is couloured by marchandye.

An example of deceite.

ALso they bere the gold out of this land,
And sucke the thrift away out of our hand:
As the Waspe souketh honie fro the bee,
So minisheth our commoditee.
Nor wol ye here how they in Cotteswold
Were wont to borrow or they shold be sold
Her woll good as for yere and yere.
Of cloth and tinne they did in like manere:
And in her galies ship this marchandie:
Then soone at Venice of them men woll it bye.
Then vtterne there the chaffare by the peise,
And lightly als there they make her reise.
And when the goods beene at Venice sold,
Then to carie her change they this money haue,
They will it profer, their subtiltie to saue,
To English marchants to yeue it out by eschange
To be payed againe they make not strange,
At the receiuing and sight of a letter,
Here in England, seeming for the better,
by foure pence lesse in the noble round:
That is twelue pence in the golden pound.
And if wee wol haue of payment
A full moneth, than must him needes assent

To eight pence losse, that is shillings twaine
In the English pound; as eft soone againe,
For two moneths twelue pence must he pay.
In the English pound what is that to say,
But shillings three? So that in pound fell
For hurt and harme hard is with hem to dwell.
And when English marchants haue content
This eschange in England of assent,
That these sayd Venecians haue in woone
And Florentines to bere her gold soone
Ouer the see into Flanders againe:
And thus they liue in Flanders, sooth to saine,
And in London with such cheuisance,
That men call vsury, to our losse and hinderance.

Another example of deceite.

NOw lesten well how they made vs a valeys
When they borrowed at the town of Caleis
As they were wont, their woll that was hem lent,
For yere and yere they should make payment.
And sometimes als two yere and two yeare.
This was fayre[1] loue: but yet will ye heare,
How they to Bruges would her woll carie,
And for hem take payment withouten tarie,
And sell it fast for ready money in hand.
For fifty pounds of money of losse they wold not wond
In a thousand pound, and liue thereby
Till the day of payment easily,
Come againe in exchange: making
Full like vsury, as men make vndertaking.
Than whan this payment of a thousand pound
Was well content, they should haue chaffare sound
If they wold fro the Staple full,
Receiue againe three thousand pound in woll.
In Cotteswold also they ride about,
And all England, and buy withouten doubte
What them list with freedome and franchise,
More then we English may gitten many wise.
But would God that without lenger delayes
These galees were vnfraught in fortie dayes,

---

[1] Or, lone.

And in fortie dayes charged againe,
And that they might be put to certaine
To goe to oste, as we there with hem doe.
It were expedient that they did right soe,
As we doe there. If the king would it:
Ah what worship wold fall to English wit?
What profite also to our marchandie
Which wold of nede be cherished hertilie?
Note dili-gētly.
For I would witte, why now our nauie fayleth,
When manie a foe vs at our doore assayleth.
Now in these dayes, that if there come a nede,
A woful complaint of lacke of nauie if need come.
What nauie should we haue it is to drede.
In Denmarke were full noble conquerours
In time past, full worthy warriours:
A storie of destruction of Denmarke for destruction of their marchants.
Which when they had their marchants destroyed,
To pouerty they fell, thus were they noyed:
And so they stand at mischiefe at this day.
This learned I late well writon, this no nay.
Therefore beware, I can no better will,
If grace it woll, of other mennis perill.
For if marchants were cherished to her speede,
We were not likely to fayle in any neede.
If they be rich, then in prosperitee
Shalbe our londe, lords, and commontee,
And in worship. Now thinke I on the sonne
The prayse of Richard of Whitingdon marchant.
Of Marchandy Richard of Whitingdon;
That load sterre, and chiefe chosen floure:
What hath by him our England of honour,
And what profite hath bin of his riches,
And yet lasteth dayly in worthines?
That pen and paper may not me suffice
Him to describe: so high he was of price
Aboue marchants, that set him one of the best:
I can no more, but God haue him in rest.

Now the principal matter.

WHat reason is it that we should goe to oste
In their countries, & in this English coste
They should not so? but haue more liberty
Then we our selues now also motte I thee.

I would to gifts men should take no heede
That letteth our thing publicke for to speede.
For this we see well euery day at eye,
Gifts and fests stopen our policie.
Now see that fooles ben either they or wee:
But euer we haue the worse in this countree.
Therefore let hem vnto oste go here,
Or be we free with hem in like manere
In their countrees: and if it will not bee,
Compell them vnto oste, and yee shall see
Moch auantage, and moch profite arise,
Moch more then I can write in any wise.

Of our charge and discharge at her marts.

COnceiue wel here, that Englishmen at martes
Be discharged, for all her craftes and artes,
In Brabant of her marchandy
In fourteene dayes, and ageine hastily
In the same dayes fourteene acharged eft.
And if they bide lenger all is bereft,
Anon they should forfeit her goods all,
Or marchandy: it should no better fall.
And we to martis in Brabant charged beene
With English cloth full good and fayre to seene:
We ben againe charged with mercerie,
Haburdasher ware, and with grosserie:
To which marts, that English men call fayres,
Ech nation oft maketh her repayres:
English, and French, Lombards, Iennoyes,
Catalones, thedre they take her wayes:
Scots, Spaniards, Irishmen there abides,
With great plenty bringing of sale hides.
And I here say that we in Brabant bye,
Flanders and Zeland more of marchandy
In common vse then done all other nations:
This haue I heard of marchants relations:
And if the English ben not in the marts
They ben feeble, and as nought bene her parts.
For they byemore, and fro purse put out
More marchandie then all the other rowte.

Kept then the see, shippes should not bring ne fetch,
And then the carreys wold not thidre stretch:
And so those marts wold full euill thee,
If we manly kept about the see.

Of the commodities of Brabant and Zeland and Henauld and marchandy carried by land to the martes. Cap. 8.

YEt marchandy of Brabant and Zeland
The Madre and Woad, that dyers take on hand
To dyen with, Garlike and Onions,
And saltfishe als for husband and commons.
But they of Holland at Caleis byen our felles,
And wolles our, that Englishmen hem selles.
And the chaffare that Englishmen doe byen
In the marts, that noe man may denien,
Is not made in Brabant that cuntree:
It commeth from out of Henauld, not by see,
But al by land, by carts, and from France,
Bourgoyne, Colein, Cameret in substance,
Therefore at marts if there be a restraint,
Men seyne plainely that list no fables paynt,
If Englishmen be withdrawen away,
Is great rebuke and losse to her affray:
As though we sent into the land of France
Ten thousand people, men of good puissance,
To werre vnto her hindring multifarie,
So ben our English marchants necessarie.
If it be thus assay, and we shall witten
Of men experte, by whom I haue this written.
For sayd is that this carted marchandy
Draweth in value as much verily,
As all the goods that come in shippes thider,
Which Englishmen bye most and bring it hither.
For her marts ben febel, shame to say,
But Englishmen thither dresse her way.

What our marchants bye in that coste more then all other.

A conclusion of this depending of keeping of the sea.

THan I conclude, if neuer so much by land
Were by carres brought vnto their hand,
If well the sea were kept in gouernance
They should by sea haue no deliuerance.

Wee should hem stop, and we should hem
destroy,
As prisoners we should hem bring to annoy.
And so we should of our cruell enimies
Make our friends for feare of marchandies,
If they were not suffered for to passe
Into Flanders. But we be frayle as glasse
And also brittle, not thought neuer abiding;
But when grace shineth soone are we sliding;
We will it not receiue in any wise:
That maken lust, enuie, and couetise:
Expone me this; and yee shall sooth it find,
Bere it away, and keepe it in your mind.
Then shuld worship vnto our Noble bee
In feate and forme to lord and Maiestie:
Liche as the seale the greatest of this land
On the one side hath, as I vnderstand,
A prince riding with his swerd ydraw,
In the other side sitting, soth it is in saw,
Betokening good rule and punishing
In very deede of England by the king.
And it is so, God blessed mought he bee.
So in likewise I would were on the see
By the Noble, that swerde should haue power,
And the ships on the sea about vs here.
What needeth a garland which is made of Iuie
Shewe a tauerne winelesse, also thriue I?
If men were wise, the Frenchmen and Fleming
Shuld bere no state in sea by werring.
Then Hankin lyons shuld not be so bold
To stoppe wine, and shippes for to hold
Vnto our shame. He had be beten thence.
Alas, alas, why did we this offence,
Fully to shend the old English fames;
And the profits of England, and their names:
Why is this power called of couetise;
With false colours cast beforn our eyes?
That if good men called werriours
Would take in hand for the commons succours,
To purge the sea vnto our great auayle,
And winne hem goods, and haue vp the sayle,

And on our enimies their liues to impart,
So that they might their prises well departe,
As reson wold, iustice and equitie;
To make this land haue lordship of the sea.

Lombards are cause enough to hurt this land, although there were none other cause.

Then shall Lombards and other fained friends
Make her chalenges by colour false offends,
And say their chaffare in the shippes is,
And chalenge al. Looke if this be amisse.
For thus may al that men haue bought to sore,
Ben soone excused, and saued by false colour.

False colouring of goods by Lombards.

Beware yee men that bere the great in hand
That they destroy the policie of this land,

Alas for bribes & gift of good, feasts & other means, that stoppen our policie.

By gifte and good, and the fine golden clothis,
And silke, and other: say yee not this soth is?
But if we had very experience
That they take meede with priuie violence,
Carpets, and things of price and pleasance,
Whereby stopped should be good gouernance:

This is the very state of our time.

And if it were as yee say to mee,
Than wold I say, alas cupiditie,
That they that haue her liues put in drede,
Shalbe soone out of winning, all for meed,
And lose her costes, and brought to pouerty,
That they shall neuer haue lust to goe to sea.

An exhortation to make an ordinance against colour of maintainers and excusers of folkes goods.

It is a marueilous thing that so great a sicknes and hurt of yᵉ land may haue nō remedie of so many as take hēselues wise men of gouernance.

FOr this colour that must be sayd alofte
And be declared of the great full ofte,
That our seamen wol by many wise
Spoile our friends in steede of our enimies:
For which colour and Lombards maintenance,
The king it needes to make an ordinance
With his Counsayle that may not fayle, I trowe,
That friends should from enimies be knowe,
Our enimies taken and our friends spared:
The remedy of hem must be declared.
Thus may the sea be kept in no sell,
For if ought be spoken, wot yee well,
We haue the strokes, and enemies haue the winning:
But mayntainers are parteners of the finning.

We liue in lust and bide in couetise:
This is our rule to maintaine marchandise,
And policie that wee haue on the sea.
And, but God helpe, it will no other bee.

Of the commodities of Ireland, and policie and keeping thereof, and conquering of wild Irish: with an incident of Wales. Chap. 9.

I Cast to speake of Ireland but a litle:
Commodities of it I will entitle,
Hides, and fish, Salmon, Hake, Herringe,
Irish wooll, and linen cloth, faldinge,
And marterns goode ben her marchandie,
Hertes Hides, and other of Venerie.[1]
Skinnes of Otter, Squirell and Irish hare,
Of sheepe, lambe, and Foxe, is her chaffare,
Felles of Kiddes, and Conies great plentie.
So that if Ireland helpe vs to keepe the sea,
Because the King cleped is Rex Angliæ,
And is Dominus also Hyberniæ,
Old possessed by Progenitours:
The Irish men haue cause like to ours
Our land and hers together to defend,
That no enemie should hurt ne offend,
Ireland ne vs: but as one commontie
Should helpe well to keepe about the sea:
For they haue hauens great, and goodly bayes,
Sure, wyde and deepe, of good assayes,
At Waterford, and costes many one.
And as men sayne in England be there none
Better hauens, ships in to ride,
No more sure for enemies to abide.
Why speake I thus so much of Ireland?
For all so much as I can vnderstand,
It is fertile for things that there doe growe
And multiplien, loke who lust to knowe,
So large, so good, and so commodious,
That to declare is strange and maruailous.

---

[1] Hunting.

Mynes of siluer and gold in Ireland.

For of siluer and golde there is the oore,
Among the wilde Irish though they be poore.
For they are rude and can thereon no skill:
So that if we had their peace and good will
To myne and fine, and metal for to pure,
In wilde Irish might we finde the cure,
As in London saith a Iuellere,
Which brought from thence golde oore to vs here,
Whereof was fyned mettal good and clene,
As they touch, no better could be seene.
Nowe here beware and heartily take intent,
As yee will answere at last iudgement,
That for slought and for racheshede
Yee remember with all your might to hede
To keepe Ireland that it be not lost.
For it is a boterasse and a post,
Vnder England, and Wales another:
God forbid, but ech were others brother,
  Of one ligeance due vnto the king.
But I haue pittie in good faith of this thing
That I shall say with auisement:
I am aferde that Ireland will be shent:
It must awey, it wol bee lost from vs,
But if thou helpe, thou Iesu gracious,
And giue vs grace al slought to leue beside.
For much thing in my herte is hide,
Which in another treatise I caste to write
Made al onely for that soile and site,
Of fertile Ireland, wich might not be forborne,
But if England were nigh as goode as gone.
God forbid that a wild Irish wirlinge
Should be chosen for to bee their kinge,
After her conqueste for our last puissance,
And hinder vs by other lands alliance.
Wise men seyn, wich felin not, ne douten,
That wild Irish so much of ground haue gotten
There vpon vs, as likenesse may be
Like as England to sheeris two or three
Of this our land is made comparable:
So wild Irish haue wonne on vs vnable

Yet to defend, and of none power,
That our ground is there a litle corner,
To all Ireland in true comparison.
It needeth no more this matter to expon.
Which if it bee lost, as Christ Iesu forbed,
Farewel Wales, then England commeth to dred,
For aliance of Scotland and of Spaine,
And other moe, as the pety Bretaine,
And so haue enemies enuiron round about.
I beseech God, that some prayers deuout
Mutt let the said apparance probable
Thus disposed without feyned fable.
But all onely for perill that I see
Thus imminent, it's likely for to bee.
And well I wotte, that from hence to Rome,
And, as men say, in all Christendome,
Is no ground ne land to Ireland liche,
So large, so good, so plenteous, so riche,
That to this worde Dominus doe long.
Then mee semeth that right were and no wrong,
To get the lande: and it were piteous
To vs to lese this high name Dominus.
And all this word Dominus of name
Shuld haue the ground obeysant wilde and tame.
That name and people togidre might accord
Al the ground subiect to the Lord.
And that it is possible to bee subiect,
Vnto the king wel shal it bee detect,
In the litle booke that I of spake.
I trowe reson al this wol vndertake.
And I knowe wel howe it stante,
Alas fortune beginneth so to scant,
Or ellis grace, that deade is gouernance.
For so minisheth parties of our puissance,
In that land that wee lese euery yere,
More ground and more, as well as yee may here.
I herd a man speake to mee full late,
Which was a lord[1] of full great estate;

This is now to be greatly feared.

---

[1] This Lorde was the Earle of Ormond that told to me this matter, that he would vndertake it, in pain of losse of al his liuelihood. But this proffer could not be admitted. Ergo malè.

Than expense of one yere done in France
Werred on men well willed of puissance
This said ground of Ireland to conquere.
And yet because England might not forbere
These said expenses gadred in one yeere,
But in three yeeres or foure gadred vp here,
Might winne Ireland to a finall conqueste,
In one sole yeere to set vs all at reste.
And how soone wolde this be paied ageyne:
Which were it worth yerely, if wee not feyne:
I wol declare, who so luste to looke,
I trowe full plainely in my litle booke.
But couetise, and singularitie
Of owne profite, enuie, crueltie,
Hath doon vs harme, and doe vs euery day,
And musters made that shame is to say:
Our money spent al to litle auaile,
And our enimies so greatly doone preuaile,
That what harme may fall and ouerthwerte
I may vnneth write more for sore of herte.

An exhortation to the keeping of Wales.

BEware of Wales, Christ Iesu mutt vs keepe,
That it make not our childers childe to weepe,
Ne vs also, so if it goe his way,
By vnwarenes: seth that many a day
Men haue bee ferde of her rebellion,
By great tokens and ostentation:
Seche the meanes with a discrete auise,
And helpe that they rudely not arise
For to rebell, that Christ it forbede.
Looke wel aboute, for God wote yee haue neede,
Vnfainingly, vnfeyning and vnfeynt,
That conscience for slought you not atteynt:
Kepe well that grounde, for harme that may ben vsed,
Or afore God mutte yee ben accused.

Of the commodious Stockfish of Island, and keeping of the Sea, namely the Narrow sea, with an incident of the keeping of Caleis. Chap. 10.

The trade of Bristow to Island.

OF Island to write is litle nede,
Saue of Stock-fish; Yet forsooth in deed

Out of Bristowe, and costes many one,
Men haue practised by nedle and by stone
Thider wardes within a litle while,
Within twelue yere, and without perill
Gon and come, as men were wont of old
Of Scarborough vnto the costes cold.
And nowe so fele shippes this yeere there
ware,
That moch losse for vnfreyght they bare:
Island might not make hem to bee fraught
Vnto the Hawys: thus much harme they caught.
Then here I ende of the commoditees
For which neede is well to kepe the seas:
Este and Weste, South and North they bee.
And chiefly kepe the sharpe narrow see,
Betweene Douer and Caleis: and as thus
that foes passe none without good will of vs:
And they abide our danger in the length,
What for our costis and Caleis in our strength.

The old trade of Scarborough to Island and the North.

An exhortation for the sure keeping of Caleis.

ANd for the loue of God, and of his blisse
Cherish yee Caleis better then it is.
See well thereto, and heare the grete complaint
That true men tellen, that woll no lies paint,
And as yee know that writing commeth from thence:
Doe not to England for slought so great offence,
But that redressed it bee for any thing:
Leste a song of sorrow that wee sing.
For litle wenith the foole who so might chese
What harme it were good Caleis for to lese:
What wo it were for all this English ground.
Which wel conceiued the Emperour Sigismound,
That of all ioyes made it one of the moste,
That Caleis was subiect vnto English coste.
Him thought it was a iewel most of all,
And so the same in Latine did it call.
And if yee wol more of Caleis heare and knowe,
I cast to write within a litle scrowe,
Like as I haue done before by and by
In other parteis of our policie.

The ioy of Sigismund the Emperour that Caleis was English.

Loke how hard it was at the first to get;
And by my counsell lightly doe not it let.
For if wee lese it with shame of face
Wilfully, it is for lacke of grace.
Howe was Harflew[1] cried vpon, and Rone,[2]
That they were likely for shought to be gone;
Howe was it warned and cried on in England,
I make record with this pen in my hand.
It was warened plainely in Normandie,
And in England, and I thereon did crie.
The world was defrauded, it betyde right so.
Farewell Harflew: lewdly it was a go.
Nowe ware Caleis, I can say no better:
My soule discharge I by this present letter.

After the Chapitles of commodities of diuers lands, sheweth the conclusion of keeping of the sea enuiron, by a storie of King Edgar and two incidents of King Edward the third, and King Henrie the fifth. Chap. 11.

NOwe see we well then that this round see
To our Noble by pariformitee
Vnder the ship shewed there the sayle,
And our king with royal apparayle,
With swerd drawen bright and extent
For to chastise enimies violent;
Should be lord of the sea about,
To keepe enimies from within and without;
To behold through Christianitee
Master and lord enuiron of the see:
All liuing men such a prince to dreed,
Of such a regne to bee aferd indeed.
Thus proue I well that it was thus of old;
Which by a *Chronicle anon shalbe told,
Right curious: but I will interprete
It into English, as I did it gete:
Of king Edgar: O most marueilous
Prince liuing, wittie, and cheualerous:
So good that none of his predecessours
Was to him liche in prudence and honours.

* Dicit Chronica, quod iste Edgarus cunctis prædecessoribus suis fælicior, nulli sanctitate inferior, omnibus

---

[1] Harfleur, which was lost in 1449.

[2] Rouen.

Hee was fortunate and more gracious
Then other before, and more glorious:
He was beneth no man in holines:
Hee passed all in vertuous sweetnes.
Of English kings was none so commendable:
To English men no lesse memorable,
Then Cyrus was to Perse by puissance,
And as great Charles was to them of France,
And as to the Romanes was great Romulus,
So was to England this worthy Edgarus.
I may not write more of his worthines
For lacke of time, ne of his holines:
But to my matter I him exemplifie,
Of conditions tweyne and of his policie:
Within his land was one, this is no doubt,
And another in the see without;
That in time of Winter and of werre,
When boystrous windes put see men into fere;
Within his land about by all prouinces
Hee passed through, perceiuing his princes,
Lords, and others of the commontee,
Who was oppressour, and who to pouertee
Was drawen and brought, and who was clene in life,
And was by mischiefe and by strife
With ouer leding and extortion:
And good and badde of eche condition
Hee aspied: and his ministers als,
Who did trought, and which of hem was fals:
Howe the right and lawes of the land
Were execute, and who durst take in hand
To disobey his statutes and decrees,
If they were well kept in all countrees:
Of these he made subtile inuestigation
Of his owne espie, and other mens relation.
Among other was his great busines,
Well to ben ware, that great men of riches,
And men of might in citie nor in towne
Should to the poore doe non oppression.
Thus was he wont in this Winter tide
On such enforchise busily to abide.

morum suauitate præstantior fuerit. Luxit ipse Anglis non minus memorabilis, quàm Cyrus Persis, Carolus Francis, Romulus verò Romanis.

This was his labour for the publike thing,
Thus was hee occupied: a passing holy King.
Nowe to purpose, in the Sommer faire
Of lusty season, whan clered was the aire,
He had redie shippes made before
Great and huge, not fewe but many a store:
Full three thousand and sixe hundred also
Stately inough on our sea to goe.
The Chronicles say, these shippes were full boysteous:
Such things long to kings victorious.
In Sommer tide would hee haue in wonne
And in custome to be ful redie soone,
With multitude of men of good array
And instruments of werre of best assay.
Who could hem well in any wise descriue?
It were not light for eny man aliue.
Thus he and his would enter shippes great
Habiliments hauing and the fleete
Of See werres, that ioyfull was to see
Such a nauie and Lord of Maiestee,
There present in person hem among
To saile and rowe enuiron all along,
So regal liche about the English isle;
To all strangers terrours and perile.
Whose fame went about in all the world stout,
Vnto great fere of all that be without,
And exercise to Knights and his meynee
To him longing of his natall cuntree.
For courage of nede must haue exercise,
Thus occupied for esshewin of vice.
This knew the king that policie espied;
Winter and Somer he was thus occupied.
Thus conclude I by authoritee
Of Chronike, that enuiron the see
Should bene our subiects vnto the King,
And hee bee Lord thereof for eny thing:
For great worship and for profite also
To defend his land fro euery foo.
That worthy king I leue, Edgar by name,
And all the Chronike of his worthy fame:

Dicit Chronica, præparauerat naues robustissimas numero tria millia sexcenta: in quibus redeunte æstate omnem insulam ad terrorem extraneorũ, & ad suorum excitationem cum maximo apparatu circumnauigare consueuerat.

Saffe onely this I may not passe away,
A worde of mighty strength till that I say,
That graunted him God such worship here,
For his merites, hee was without pere,
That sometime at his great festiuitee
Kings, and Erles of many a countree,
And princes fele were there present,
And many Lords came thider by assent,
To his worship: but in a certaine day
Hee bad shippes to be redie of aray:
For to visit Saint Iohns Church hee list
Rowing vnto the good holie Baptist,
Hee assigned to Erles, Lords, and knights
Many ships right goodly to sights:
And for himselfe and eight kings moo
Subiect to him hee made kepe one of thoo,
A good shippe, and entrede into it
With eight kings, and downe did they sit;
And eche of them an ore tooke in hand,
At ore hales, as I vnderstand,
And he himselfe at the shippe behinde
As steris man it became of kinde.
Such another rowing I dare well say,
Was not seene of Princes many a day.
Lo than how hee in waters got the price,
In lande, in see, that I may not suffice
To tell, O right, O magnanimitee,
That king Edgar had vpon the see.

Dicit Chronica &c. vt non minus quantam ei etiam in hac vita bonorum operum mercedem donauerit: cum aliquando ad maximam eius festiuitatem, reges, comites, multarúmq; prouinciarum protectores conuenissent, &c.

An incident of the Lord of the sea King Edward the third.

Of king Edward I passe and his prowes
On lande, on sea yee knowe his worthines:
The siege of Caleis, ye know well all the matter
Round about by land, and by the water,
Howe it lasted not yeeres many agoe,
After the battell of Crecye was ydoe:
Howe it was closed enuiron about,
Olde men sawe it, which liuen, this is no doubt.
Old Knights say that the Duke of Burgoyn,
Late rebuked for all his golden coyne;

Caleis was yeelded to yͤ English 1347.

Of ship on see made no besieging there,
For want of shippes that durst not come for feare.
It was nothing besieged by the see:
Thus call they it no siege for honestee.
Gonnes assailed, but assault was there none,
No siege, but fuge: well was he that might be gone:
This maner carping haue knights ferre in age,
Expert through age of this maner language.

King Edward had 700. English ships, and 14151. English mariners before Caleis.

But king Edward made a siege royall,
And wanne the towne: and in especiall
The sea was kept, and thereof he was Lord.
Thus made he Nobles coyned of record;
In whose time was no nauie on the see
That might withstand his maiestie.
Battell of Scluse,[1] yee may rede euery day,
Howe it was done I leue and goe my way:
It was so late done that yee it knowe,
In comparison within a litle throwe:
For which to God giue we honour and glorie;
For Lord of see the king was with victorie.

Another incident of keeping of the see, in the time of the marueilous werriour and victorious Prince, King Henrie the fifth, and of his great shippes.

ANd if I should conclude all by the King
Henrie the fift, what was his purposing,
Whan at Hampton he made the great dromons,
Which passed other great ships of all the commons;

The great ships of Henry the fift, made at Hampton.

The Trinitie, the Grace de Dieu, the holy Ghost,
And other moe, which as nowe bee lost.
What hope ye was the kings great intent
Of thoo shippes, and what in minde hee meant?
It was not ellis, but that hee cast to bee
Lorde round about enuiron of the see.
And when Harflew had her siege about,

Great caracks of Genoa taken by the Duke of Bedford.

There came caracks horrible great and stoute
In the narrow see willing to abide,
To stoppe vs there with multitude of pride.
My Lord of Bedford came on and had the cure,
Destroyed they were by that discomfiture.

---

[1] The battle of L'Ecluse.

1416.

This was after the king Harflew had wonne,
Whan our enemies to siege had begonne;
That all was slaine or take, by true relation,
To his worshippe, and of his English nation.
There was present the kings chamberlaine
At both battailes; which knoweth this in certaine;
He can it tell other wise then I:
Aske him, and witte; I passe foorth hastily
What had this king of his magnificence,
Of great courage, of wisedome, and prudence?
Prouision, forewitte, audacitee,
Of fortitude, iustice, and agilitee,
Discretion, subtile auisednesse,
Attemperance, Noblesse, and worthinesse:
Science, prowesse, deuotion, equitie,
Of most estate, with his magnanimitie
Liche to Edgar, and the saide Edward,
As much of both liche hem as in regard.
Where was on liue a man more victorious,
And in so short time prince so marueilous?
By land and sea, so well he him acquitte,
To speake of him I stony in my witte.
Thus here I leaue the king with his noblesse,
Henry the fift, with whom all my processe
Of this true booke of pure policie
Of sea keeping, entending victorie
I leaue endly: for about in the see
No prince was of better strenuitee.
And if he had to this time liued here,
He had bene Prince named withouten pere:
His great ships should haue ben put in preefe,
Vnto the ende that he ment of in cheefe,
For doubt it not but that he would haue bee
Lord and master about the round see:
And kept it sure to stoppe our enemies hence,
And wonne vs good, and wisely brought it thence:
That no passage should be without danger,
And his licence on see to moue and sterre.

The French nauie thus ouerthrowen was of fiue hundred saile.

The Trinitie, the Grace de Dieu, the holy Ghost.

Of vnitie, shewing of our keeping of the see: with an endly or finall processe of peace by authoritie. Chap. 12.

NOw than for loue of Christ, and of his ioy,
Bring it England out of trouble and noy:
Take heart and witte, and set a gouernance,
Set many wits withouten variance,

Exhrat generalis in custodiam totius Angliæ, per diligentiam custodiæ circuitus maris circa littora eiusdem: quæ debet esse per vnanimitatē Consiliariorum regis, & hominum bonæ voluntatis.

To one accord and vnanimitee.
Put to good will for to keepe the see.
First for worship and profite also,
And to rebuke of eche euill willed foe.
Thus shall worship and riches to vs long.
Than to the Noble shall we doe no wrong,
To beare that coyne in figure and in deede,
To our courage, and to our enemies dreede:
For which they must dresse hem to peace in haste,
Or ellis their thrift to standen, and to waste.
As this processe hath proued by and by
All by reason and expert policy;
And by stories which proued well this parte:
Or ellis I will my life put in ieoparte,
But many londs would seche her peace for nede,
The see well kept: it must be doo for drede.
Thus must Flanders for nede haue vnitee
And peace with vs: it will non other bee,
Within short while: and ambassadours
Would bene here soone to treate for their succours.

Tres sunt causæ prædictæ custodiæ: scilicet, honor, commodum regni, & opprobrium inimicis.

This vnitie is to God pleasance:
And peace after the werres variance.
The ende of battaile is peace sikerly,
And power causeth peace finally.
Kept than the sea about in speciall,
Which of England is the towne wall.
As though England were likened to a citie,
And the wall enuiron were the see.
Kepe then the sea that is the wall of England:
And than is England kept by Goddes hande;
That as for any thing that is without,
England were at ease withouten doubt,
Aud thus should euery lond one with another
Entercommon, as brother with his brother,

And liue togither werrelesse in vnitie,
Without rancour in very charitie,
In rest and peace, to Christes great pleasance,
Without strife, debate and variance.
Which peace men should enserche with businesse,
And knit it saddely holding in holinesse.
The Apostle seith, if ye list to see,
Bee yee busie for to keepe vnitee
Of the spirit in the bond of peace.
Which is nedeful to all withouten lese.
The Prophet biddeth vs peace for to enquire
To pursue it, this is holy desire.

Ephes. 4. Solliciti sitis seruare vnitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis.

Our Lord Iesu saith, Blessed motte they bee
That maken peace; that is tranquillitee.
For peace makers, as Matthew writeth aright,
Should be called the sonnes of God almight.
God giue vs grace, the weyes for to keepe
Of his precepts, and slugly not to sleepe
In shame of sinne: that our verry foo
Might be to vs conuers, and turned so.

Matth. 5. Beati pacifici, quoniam filij Dei vocabuntur.

For in the Prouerbs is a text to this purpose
Plaine inough without any glose:
When mens weyes please vnto our Lord,
It shall conuert and bring to accord
Mans enemies vnto peace verray,
In vnitie, to liue to Goddis pay,
With vnitie, peace, rest and charitie.

Cum placuerint Domino viæ hominis, eius inimicos ad pacem conuertet.

Hee that was here cladde in humanitie,
That came from heauen, and styed vp with our nature,
Or hee ascended, he gaue to vs cure,
And left with vs peace, ageyne striffe and debate,
Mote giue vs peace, so well irradicate
Here in this world: that after all this feste
Wee may haue peace in the land of beheste,
Ierusalem, which of peace is the sight,
With his brightnes of eternall light,
There glorified in rest with his tuition,
The Deitie to see with full fruition:
Hee second person in diuinenesse is,
Who vs assume, and bring vs to the blis. Amen.

Vrbs beata Ierusalem dicta pacis visio.

Here endeth the true processe of the Libel of English policie, exhorting all England to keepe the sea enuiron: shewing what profit and saluation, with worship commeth thereof to the reigne of England.

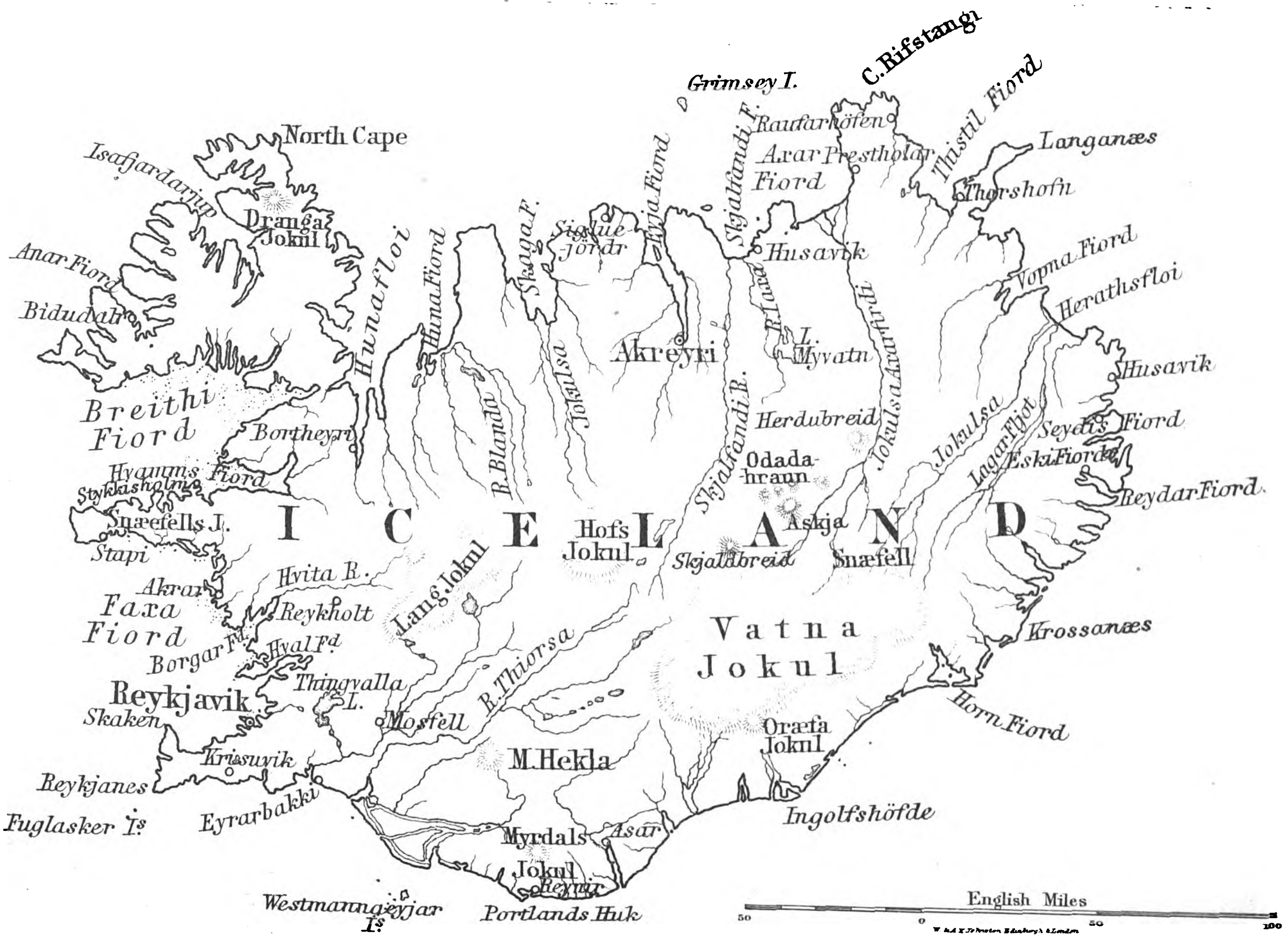
GOe furth Libelle, and meekely shew thy face;
Appearing euer with humble countenance:
And pray my Lords to take in grace,
In opposaile and cherishing the aduance.
To hardines if that not variance
Thou hast fro trought by full experience
Authors and reasons: if ought faile in substance
Remit to hem that yafe thee this science;
That seth it is soth in verray fayth,
That the wise Lord Baron of Hungerford
Hath thee ouerseene, and verely he saith
That thou art true, and thus he doeth record,
Next the Gospel: God wotte it was his worde,
When hee thee redde all ouer in a night.
Goe forth trew booke, and Christ defend thy right.

The wise lord of Hungerfords iudgement of this booke.

Explicit libellus de Politia conseruatiua maris.

Brevis Commentarius de Islandia: quo Scriptorum de hac Insula errores deteguntur, & extraneorum quorundam conuitijs, ac calumnijs, quibus Islandis liberiùs insultare solent, occurritur: per Arngrimum Ionam Islandum. Serenissimo Principi ac Domino, domino Christiano IIII, Daniæ, Noruegiæ, Vandalorum, Gothorúmq;, Regi electo: Slesuici, Holsatiæ, Stormariæ & Dithmarsiæ Duci: Comiti in Oldenburg & Delmenhorst: Domino suo clementissimo.

PRæclaram sanè apud Historicos meretur laudem, Sereniss. Princeps, Anchuri illius Midæ regis filij ausus plusquam humanus, & in patriam pietas, ferè exemplo carens, quòd ad occludendum ingentem circa Celænam Phrygiæ oppidum, terræ hiatum, quotidie homines haud exiguo numero, & quicquid in propinquo erat, absorbentem, sese vltrò obtulerit. Cum enim ab oraculo Midas pater accepisset, non prius conclusum iri istam voraginem, quam res eò preciosissimæ immitterentur: Anchurus existimans, nihil esse anima pretiosius, sese viuum in illud profundissimum chasma


ICELAND
Grimsey I.
C. Rifstangi
Thistil Fiord
Raufarhöfen
Axar Prestholar
Fiord
Langanæs
Thorshofn
North Cape
Isafjardardjup
Dranga Jokul
Anar Fiord
Bidudalr
Hunafloi
Huna Fiord
Skaga F.
Siglue-jördr
Eyja Fiord
Skjalfandi F.
Husavik
R. Laxa
L. Myvatn
Jokulsa Axarfirdi
Vopna Fiord
Herathsfloi
Akreyri
Jokulsa
R. Blanda
Skjalfandi R.
Herdubreid
Husavik
Seydis Fiord
Eski Fiord
Reydar Fiord
Jokulsa
Lagarfljot
Odada-hraun
Askja
Snæfell
Skjaldbreid
Hofs Jokul
Breithi Fiord
Bortheyri
Hvamms Fiord
Stykkisholm
Snæfells J.
Stapi
Akrar
Faxa Fiord
Hvita R.
Reykholt
Lang Jokul
Borgar Fd.
Hval Fd.
Thingvalla L.
Reykjavik
Skaken
Mosfell
R. Thiorsa
Vatna Jokul
Krossanæs
Horn Fiord
Oræfa Jokul
M. Hekla
Krisuvik
Reykjanes
Fuglasker Is.
Eyrarbakki
Myrdals Jokul
Asar
Reynir
Ingolfshöfde
Westmannaeyjar Is.
Portlands Huk
English Miles
50
0
50
100
W. & A. K. Johnston Edinburgh & London

præcipitem dedit: ídq; tanto animi cum feruore, vt neque parentis desiderio, neque dulcissimæ coniugis amplexu vel lachrymis, ab isto proposito se retrahi passus sit.

Nec inferiorem multò consecuti sunt gloriam Sperthius & Bulis, Lacedæmonij, qui ad auertendam potentissimi Regis Persarum Xerxis, ob occisos à Lacedemonijs Darij patris legatos, vltionem, ad Regem profecti sunt, & vt legatorum necem in se, non in patria vlcisceretur, erectis & constantibus animis sese obtulerunt.

Quæ verò res, Sereniss. Princeps, illos ac alios complures mouit, vt patriæ flagrantes amore, nullū pro ea periculum, nullas molestias, imò ne mortē ipsam recusarint, ea profectò me quoque impulit, non quidem, vt quemadmodum illi, mortem sponte oppeterem, aut me mactandum vltrò offerrem, sed tamen, vt id quod solum possem, in gratiam patriæ tentarem: Hoc est, vt scriptorum de ea errores colligerem & rumusculos vanos refellerem: Ac ita rem profectò periculosam, & multorum forsan sinistro obnoxiam iudicio, aggrederer.

In eo proposito me etiam Cn. Pompeij exemplum confirmauit: Quem rei frumentariæ apud Romanos procuratorem, cum in summa Vrbis annonæ charitate, in Sicilia, Sardinia & Africa frumentum collegisset, maiorem patriæ, quàm sui, tradunt rationem habuisse. Cum enim Romam versus properaret, & ingenti ac periculosa oborta tempestate, Naucleros trepidare, nec se ventorum aut maris sæuitiæ committere velle animaduerteret, ipse nauim primus ingressus, anchoras tolli iussit, in hæc verba exclamans: Vt nauigemus vrget necessitas: vt viuamus, non vrget. Quibus vir prudentissimus innuisse videtur, patriæ periclitantis maiorem habendam rationem, quàm priuatæ incolumitatis.

Hunc ego sic imitor,

(Si parua licet componere magnis, & muscam Elephanto conferre) vt collectis ac comportatis ijs, quibus ad succurrendum gentis nostræ nomini ac famæ, apud extraneos, ex maleuolorum quorundam inuidia iam diu laboranti vterer; paucula hæc in lucem emittere, méque pelago huic quantumuis turbulento committere, lintea ventis tradere, cúmque illo exclamare non dubitem: Vt scribamus, vrget necessitas: Vt verò scriptum nostrum, cuiusuis, delicato palato, vbíq; satisfaciat, aut omnem Momi proteruiam effugiat, non vrget. Institutum meum complures probaturos spero; successum forsan non itidem omnes probabunt. Nihilominus tamen maiorem habendam rationem patriæ, multorum hactenus opprobria & contumelias sustinentis, quàm siue laudis, siue vituperationis, ad me ipsum hinc forsan redituræ, existimabam. Quid enim causæ esse potest, cur nonnullorum odium & inuidentiam, cum hoc patriæ, benefaciendi seu gratificandi studio fortè coniunctam recusem?

Quodsi scriptorum errores liberius notare, si quorundam calumnias durius perstringere videbor, eos tamen æquos me habiturum censores confido, qui paulò diligentius animaduertere volent, quam parùm tolerabiles sint scriptorum de nostra gente errores: quot etiam & quàm graues quorundam in nos calumniæ, quibus nationem nostram varijs modis lacessiuere, & etiamnum lacessere non desistunt. Dandum etiam aliquid omnibus congenito soli natalis amori est; Dandum iusto, ob hanc patriæ illatam iniuriam, dolori. Et ego quidem, quantum fieri potuit, vbíq; mihi temperaui, ac à conuitijs abstinere volui: quòd si quid videatur mollius dicendum fuisse, id prædicta ratione veniam, spero, merebitur.

Cum igitur hæc mihi subeunda sit alea, quod omnibus scriptum aliquod edituris in more positum animaduerto, id mihi hoc tempore solicitè curandum est: Nempè vt patronum & mecænatem aliquem huic meo commentariolo quæram, sub cuius nomine & numine, tutius in vulgi manus exeat.

Eam igitur ad rem nihil poterit contingere optatius, vestra, clementissime Princeps, Sereniss. Maiestate: Et enim nos ei, qui vitam & fortunas nostras in suam potestatem & tutelam accepit, ei inquam, nomen quoque gentis nostræ innocenter contaminatum, curæ vt sit, supplices rogamus.

Imò verò, Rex clementiss. non solùm ad hanc rem, S. Maiestatis V. clemens implorare auxilium necessum habemus; Sed ad multa quoq; alia, quæ in nostra patria desiderantur, aut quæ alioqui ad huius vtilitatem & salutem communem spectant: quæq; non per me, sed per summorum nostræ gentis virorum libellos supplices hoc tempore exponuntur, aut certè breui exponentur. Nihil enim dubitamus quin S. V. Maiestas, Christianissimorum maiorum exemplo, etiam nostram patriam, inter reliquas imperij sui Insulas, sua cura & protectione regia dignari velit. Nam quæ nostra est ad S. Maiestatem V. confugiendi necessitas, ea est S. Maiestatis V. in nobis subleuandis, curandis & protegendis, gloria: Et ob nutritam extremi ferè orbis Arctoi ecclesiam, in remotissimis M. V. imperij finibus, quæ tranquillitatem & tuta singulari Dei beneficio halcyonia habet, præmium, ac reposita in cœlis immarcessibilis vitæ æternæ corona.

Cæterum cùm illa huius loci non sint, id quod mei est propositi subiũgo: & à S. Maiestate V. ea, qua par est, animi submissione peto, vt huic meæ opellæ & studio in patriam collato, fauere, & patroni benigni esse loco, clementer dignetur. Quod superest, Sereniss. Princeps, Dom. clementissime, Maiestatem V. sapientiæ & prudentiæ, omniúmq; adeò virtutum heroicarum indies incrementa sumentem, ad summum imperij fastigium, summus ille regnorum, omniúmq; adeò rerum humanarum dispensator, Deus opt. max. euehat: Euectam, omni rerum fœlicissimo successu continuè beet: Beatámque hoc modo, vt summum horum regnorum ornamentum, columen, præsidium, Ecclesiæ clypeum & munimen, quàm diutissimè conseruet: Ac tandem in altera vita, in solido regni cœlestis gaudio, cum præcipuis ecclesiæ Dei nutritijs, syderis instar, illustrem fulgere faciat. Faxit etiã idem Pater clementis. vt hæc vota, quantò sæpius, in amplissimorum Maiestatis V. regnorũ & Insularem quouis angulo, quotidiè repetuntur ac ingeminantur, tantò rata magis & certiora, maneant.

Haffniæ 1593. Mense Mart.

S. M. V. humiliter subiectus:
Arngrimus Ionas Islandus.

The same in English.

A briefe commentarie of Island: wherein the errors of such as haue written concerning this Island, are detected, and the slanders, and reproches of certaine strangers, which they haue vsed ouer-boldly against the people of Island are confuted.

By Arngrimus Ionas, of Island.

To the most mighty Prince and Lord, Lord Christian the 4[1] of Denmarke, Norway, and of the Vandals and Gothes, King elect: of Sleswic, Holste, Stormar, and Dithmarse Duke: Earle of Oldenburg, and Delmenhorst: His most gratious Lord.

THat heroical attempt of Anchurus, sonne of King Midas

---

[1] Christian IV. was the last elective king of Denmark and Norway. Frederick III. in 1665 changed the constitution to an hereditary monarchy, vested in his own family.

(most gratious prince) and that pietie towards his countrey in maner peerelesse, deserueth highly to be renowmed in histories: in that freely and couragiously he offered his owne person, for the stopping vp of an huge gulfe of earth, about Celœna, a towne in Phrigia, which daily swallowed multitudes of men and whatsoeuer else came neere vnto it. For when his father Midas was aduertised by the Oracle, that the said gulfe should not be shut vp, before things most precious were cast into it: Anchurus deeming nothing to be more inualuable then life, plunged himselfe aliue downe headlong into that bottomles hole; and that with so great vehemencie of mind, that neither by his fathers request nor by the allurements and teares of his most amiable wife, he suffered himselfe to be drawne backe from this his enterprise.[1]

Sperthius also and Bulis, two Lacedemonians, were not much inferiour to the former, who to turne away the reuenge of Xerxes that most puissant King of the Persians, entended against the Lacedemonians, for killing the ambassadors of his father Darius, hyed them vnto the sayd king, and that he might auenge the ambassadours death vpon them, not vpon their countrey, with hardy, and constant mindes presented themselues before him.

The very same thing (most gracious prince) which moued them, and many others being enflamed with the loue of their countrey, to refuse for the benefite thereof, no danger, no trouble, no nor death it selfe, the same thing (I say) hath also enforced me, not indeed to vndergoe voluntarie death, or freely to offer my selfe vnto the slaughter, but yet to assay that which I am able for the good of my countrey: namely, that I may gather together and refute the errors, and vaine reports of writers, concerning the same: and so take vpon me a thing very dangerous, and perhaps subiect to the sinister iudgement of many.

In this purpose the example of Cneius Pompeius hath likewise confirmed me: who being chosen procurator for corne among the Romanes, and in an extreme scarcetie and dearth of the citie hauing taken vp some store of graine in Sicilia, Sardinia, and Africa, is reported to haue had greater regard of his countrey, then of himselfe. For when he made haste towards Rome, and a mighty and dangerous tempest arising, he perceiued the Pilots to tremble, and to be vnwilling to commit themselues to the rigor of the stormie sea, himselfe first going on boord, and commanding the anchors to be weighed, brake foorth into these words: That we should sayle necessitie vrgeth: but that we should liue, it vrgeth not. In which words he seemeth wisely to inferre, that greater care is to be had of our countrey lying in danger, then of our owne priuate safetie.

---

[1] It is added that Midas raised an altar to Jupiter on the spot.

If small with great as equals may agree: } This man doe I thus
And Flie with Elephant compared bee. } imitate,

Namely that gathering together and laying vp in store those things which might be applied to succour the fame and credite of our nation, hauing now this long time bene oppressed with strangers, through the enuie of certeine malicious persons, I boldly aduenture to present these fewe meditations of mine vnto the viewe of the world, and so hoysing vp sailes to commit my selfe vnto a troublesome sea, and to breake foorth into the like speeches with him: That I should write necessitie vrgeth: but that my writings in all places should satisfie euery delicate taste, or escape all peeuishnes of carpers it vrgeth not. I doubt not but many will allow this my enterprise: the successe perhaps all men will not approue. Neuertheles, I thought that there was greater regard to be had of my countrey, susteining so many mens mocks and reproches, then of mine owne praise or dispraise, redounding perhaps vnto me vpon this occasion. For what cause should moue me to shunne the enuie and hate of some men, being ioyned with an indeuour to benefite and gratifie my countrey?

The errors of the writers of Island intolerable.

But if I shall seeme somewhat too bold in censuring the errors of writers, or too seuere in reprehending the slanders of some men: yet I hope all they will iudge indifferently of me, who shall seriously consider, how intolerable the errors of writers are, concerning our nation: how many also and how grieuous be the reproches of some, against vs, wherewith they haue sundry wayes prouoked our nation, and as yet will not cease to prouoke. They ought also to haue me excused in regard of that in-bred affection rooted in the hearts of all men, towards their natiue soile, and to pardon my iust griefe for these iniuries offered vnto my countrey. And I in very deed, so much as lay in me, haue in all places moderated my selfe, and haue bene desirous to abstaine from reproches: but if any man thinke, we should haue vsed more temperance in our stile, I trust, the former reason will content him.

Sithens therefore, I am to vndergoe the same hazard, which I see is commonly incident to all men, that publish any writings: I must now haue especiall regarde of this one thing: namely, of seeking out some patron, and Mecœnas for this my briefe commentary, vnder whose name and protection it may more safely passe through the hands of all men.

But for this purpose I could not finde out, nor wish for any man more fit then your royal Maiestie, most gratious prince. For vnto him, who hath receiued vnder his power & tuition our liues and goods, vnto him (I say) doe we make humble sute, that he would haue respect also vnto the credit of our nation, so iniuriously disgraced.

Yea verily (most gracious King) we are constreined to craue your Maiesties mercifull aide, not only in this matter, but in many other things also which are wanting in our countrey, or which otherwise belong to the publique commoditie and welfare thereof: which not by me, but by the letters supplicatory of the chiefe men of our nation, are at this time declared, or will shortly be declared. For we doubt not but that your sacred Maiestie, after the example of your Christian predecessors, will vouchsafe vnto our countrey also, amongst other Islands of your Maiesties dominion, your kingly care and protection. For as the necessitie of fleeing for redresse vnto your sacred Maiestie, is ours: so the glory of relieuing, regarding, and protecting vs, shal wholy redound vnto your sacred Maiestie: as also, there is layd vp for you, in respect of your fostering and preseruing of Gods church, vpon the extreme northerly parts almost of the whole earth, and in the vttermost bounds of your Maiesties dominion (which by the singular goodnes of God, enioyeth at this present tranquillitie and quiet safetie) a reward and crowne of immortall life in the heauens.

But considering these things are not proper to this place, I wil leaue them, and returne to my purpose which I haue in hand: most humbly beseeching your S. M. that you would of your clemencie vouchsafe to become a fauourer, and patron vnto these my labours and studies, for the behalfe of my countrey.

It now remaineth (most gracious and mercifull souereigne) for vs to make our humble prayers vnto almighty God, that king of kings, and disposer of all humane affaires, that it would please him of his infinite goodnes, to aduance your Maiestie (yearely growing vp in wisedome & experience, and all other heroicall vertues) to the highest pitch of souereigntie: and being aduanced, continually to blesse you with most prosperous successe in all your affaires: and being blessed, long to preserue you, as the chief ornament, defence and safegarde of these kingdomes, and as the shield and fortresse of his church: and hereafter in the life to come, to make you shine glorious like a starre, amongst the principall nurcing fathers of Gods Church, in the perfect ioy of his heauenly kingdome. The same most mercifull father likewise grant, that these praiers, the oftener they be dayly repeated and multiplied in euery corner of your Maiesties most ample territories & Islands, so much the more sure and certein they may remaine, Amen. At Haffnia, or Copen Hagen 93. in the moneth of March. Y. S. M.

most humble subiect,
Arngrimus Ionas, Islander.[1]

Benigno & pio Lectori salutem.

IN lucem exijt circa annum Christi 1561. Hamburgi fœtus valdè deformis, patre quodam Germanico propola: Rhythmi videlicet Germanici, omnium qui vnquam leguntur spurcissimi & mendacissimi in gentem Islandicam. Nec sufficiebat sordido Typographo sordidum illum fœtum semel emisisse, nisi tertiùm etiam aut quartùm publicasset, quo videlicet magis innocenti genti apud Germanos & Danos, aliósque vicinos populos summam & nunquam delendam ignominiam, quantum in ipso fuit, inureret. Tantum Typographi huius odiũ fuit, & ex re illicita lucri auiditas. Et hoc in illa ciuitate, quæ plurimos annos commercia sua magno suorum cum lucro in Islandia exercuit, impunè fecit. Ioachimus Leo nomen illi est, dignus certè qui Leones pascat.

Reperiuntur præterea multi alij scriptores, qui cum miracula naturæ, quæ in hac Insula creduntur esse plurima, & gentis Islandicæ mores ac instituta describere se velle putant, à re ipsa & veritate prorsus aberrarunt, nautarum fabulas plusquam aniles,

---

[1] A celebrated Icelandic astronomer, disciple of Tycho Brahe, and coadjutor of the Bishop of Holen, died in 1649 at the great age of 95. His principal works, besides his Description and History of Iceland (published at Amsterdam in 1643, 4to), are *Idea Veri Magistratus* (Copenhagen, 1689, 8vo); *Rerum Islandicarum libri tres* (Hamburg, 1630, 4to); *The Life of Gundebrand de Thorlac*, etc. He is remembered amongst the peasantry of Iceland as the only instance known in that country of a man of ninety-one marrying a girl in her teens.

& vulgi opiniones vanissimas secuti. Hi Scriptores etsi non tam spurca & probrosa reliquerunt, quàm sordidus iste Rhythmista: multa tamen sunt in illorum scriptis, quæ illos excusare non possunt, aut prorsus liberare, quo minus innocentem gentem suis scriptis deridendam alijs exposuerint. Hæc animaduertens, legens, expendens, subinde nouis, qui Islandorum nomen & æstimationem læderent, scriptoribus ortis, alienorum laborum suffuratoribus impudicis, qui etiam non desinunt gentem nostram nouis conspurcare mendacijs, lectorésque noua monstrorum enumeratione & descriptionibus fictis deludere, sæpe optabam esse aliquem, qui ad errata Historicorum, & aliorum iniquorum censorum responderet, quíque aliquo scripto innocentem gentem à tot conuicijs si non liberaret, certè aliquo modo apud pios & candidos Lectores defenderet. Quare hoc tempore Author eram honesto studioso, *Arngrimo Ionæ* F. vt reuolutis scriptorum monumentis, qui de Islandia aliquid scripserunt, errores & mendacia solidis rationibus detegeret. Ille etsi primò reluctabatur, vicit tamen demum admonitio, amórque communis patriæ, ita vt hunc qualemcunque commentariolum conscriberet, non ex vanis vulgi fabulis, sed & ex sua & multorum fide dignorum experientia, comprobationibus sumptis.

Ille verò, qui hanc rem meo est aggressus instinctu, vicissim à me suo quasi iure flagitabat, vt in has pagellas, vel tribus saltem verbis præfarer: existimans aliquid fidei vel authoritatis opusculo inde conciliatum iri. Quare vt mentem breuiter exponam: Ego quidem & honestam & necessariam quoque operam nauasse eum iudico, qui non modò scriptorum varias sententias de rebus ignotis perpendere, & inuicem conferre, nec non ad veritatis & experientiæ censuram exigere: Sed etiam patriam à venenatis quorundam sycophantarum morsibus vindicare conatus sit. Æquum est igitur, Lector optime, vt quicquid hoc est opusculi, velut sanctissimo veritatis & patriæ amore aduersus Zoilorum proteruiam munitum & muniendum excipias. Vale.

Gudbrandus Thorliacus Episcopus
Holensis in Islandia.
Anno 1592. Iul. 29.[1]

---

[1] In the *original* edition of the description of Iceland by Arngrimus, follow these lines:

¶ Authoris ad Lectorem.

IMbute Lector suauis arte Palladis,
Lector benigne, humane, multùm candide,

The same in English.

To the courteous and Christian reader Gudbrandus Thorlacius, Bishop of Holen in Island, wisheth health.

THere came to light about the yeare of Christ 1561, a very deformed impe, begotten by a certain Pedlar of Germany : namely a booke of German rimes, of al that euer were read the most filthy and most slanderous against the nation of Island. Neither did it suffice the base printer once to send abroad that base brat, but he must publish it also thrise or foure times ouer : that he might thereby, what lay in him, more deepely disgrace our innocent nation among the Germans, & Danes, and other neighbour countries, with shamefull, and euerlasting ignominie. So great was the malice of this printer, & his desire so greedy to get

---

Qui cuncta scis collis sacri mysteria :
Has videris si fortè quando paginas
Non lectione síq ; dedignabere,
Fac, nos tuo candori vt hæc committimus
Et æquitati, fronte sic non tetrica,
Vultu legas nec ista quando turbido :
Communis vnquam sortis haud sis immemor,
Infirmitas quam nostra nobis contulit.
Obnoxius nam non quis est mortalium
Erroribus næuísque semper plurimis ?
Quod si diu multúmque cogitaueris,
Nostris eris conatibus paulò æquior,
Tuis & isto ritè pacto consules :
Candore nam quo nostra arctans vtere,
En te legentes rursus vtentur pari :
Sic ipse semper alteri quæ feceris,
Aequalitatis lege & hæc fient tibi.
  De gente multis prædicata Islandica
Authoribus quamvis probata maximis,
Nostro perîclo hucúsq ; vulgò credita,
Licere nobis credimus refellere,
Non vt notam scriptorum inuram nomini,
Nostrum sed à nota probosa vindicem :
Hoc institutum iúsq ; fásq ; comprobant :
Hoc nostra consuetudo léxque comprobant :
Hoc digna lectu exempla denique comprobant.
Ergo faue : nostris faue conatibus,
Sis mitis, indulgens et æquus arbiter,
O lector arte imbute suauis Palladis,
Lector benigne, amice, multum candide,
Qui cuncta scis collis sacri mysteria.

lucre, by a thing vnlawfull. And this he did without controlment, euen in that citie, which these many yeres hath trafficked with Island to the great gaine, and commodity of the citizens. His name is Ioachimus Leo, a man worthy to become lions foode.

Great errors grow vpon mariners fabulous reports.

Moreouer, there are many other writers found, who when they would seeme to describe the miracles of nature, which are thought to be very many in this Island, & the maners, & customs of the Islanders, haue altogether swarued from the matter and truth it selfe, following mariners fables more trifling than old wiues tales, & the most vain opinions of the common sort. These writers, although they haue not left behind them such filthy and reprochful stuffe as that base rimer : yet there are many things in their writings that wil not suffer them to be excused, & altogether acquited from causing an innocent nation to be had in derision by others. Wherefore marking, reading, & weighing these things with my selfe, & considering that there dayly spring vp new writers, which offer iniury to the fame & reputatiō of the Islanders, being such men also as do shamelesly filtch out of other mens labours, deluding their readers w^t feined descriptions, & a new rehearsal of monsters, I often wished that some one man would come forth, to make answere to the errors of historiographers & other vniust censurers: and by some writing, if not to free our innocent nation from so many reproches, yet at leastwise, in some sort to defend it, among christian & friendly readers. And for this cause I haue now procured an honest and learned young man one Arngrimus Fitz-Ionas, to peruse the works of authors, that haue written anything concerning Island, and by sound reasons to detect their errors, & falshoods. And albeit at the first he was very loth, yet at length my friendly admonition, & the common loue of his countrey preuailed with him so farre, that he compiled this briefe commentary, taking his proofes, not out of the vaine fables of the people, but from his owne experience, and many other mens also of sufficient credit.

Now, he that vndertooke this matter at my procurement, did againe as it were by his owne authority chalēge at my hands, that I should in two or three words at least, make a preface vnto his booke; thinking it might gaine some credit, and authority thereby. Wherfore to speake my minde in a word : for my part, I iudge him to haue taken both honest & necessary paines,

who hath done his indeuour not onely to weigh the diuers opinions of wrighters concerning things vnknowen, and to examine them by the censure of trueth, and experience, but also to defend his countrey from the venemous bitings of certaine sycophants. It is thy part therefore (gentle reader) to accept this small treatise of his, being as it were guarded with the sacred loue of truth, and of his countrey, against the peruersnes of carpers. Farewel.

Anno 1592. Iulij 29.

COMMENTARII DE ISLANDIA INITIVM.

QVemadmodum in militia castrensi, alios nulla æqua ratione adductos, sed ambitione, inuidia & auaritia motos, Martis castra sequi animaduertimus: Alios verò iustis de causis arma sumere; vt qui vel doctrinæ cœlestis propagandæ aut seruandæ ergò bella mouent, vel aliquo modo lacessiti paratam vim ac iniuriam repellunt, vel saltem non lacessiti, propter obsidentem hostem metu in armis esse coguntur: Non secus Apollini militantes: alij animo nequaquam bono, Philosophico seu verius Christiano, ad scribendum feruntur: puta qui gloriæ cupiditate, qui liuore ac odio, qui affectata ignorantia alios sugillant, vt ipsi potiores habeantur, nunc in personam, nomen ac famam alicuius, nunc in gentem totam stylum acuentes, atque impudenter quasi mentiendo, insontem nationem & populos commaculantes: Alij verò contrà, animo ingenuo multa lucubrando inuestigant & in lucem emittunt; vt qui scientiam Theologicam & Philosophicam scriptis mandarunt, quíque suis vigilijs veterum monumenta nobis explicuerunt: qui quicquid in illis obscurum, imperfectum, inordinatum animaduerterunt, vsu & experientia duce illustrarunt, explerunt, ordinarunt: qui mundi historias, bona fide, æternæ memoriæ consecrarunt: qui linguarum cognitionem suis indefessis laboribus iuuerunt: denique qui aliorum in se suamue gentem vel patriam, licentiosam petulantiam reprimere, calumnias refellere, & quandam quasi vim iniustam propulsare annixi sunt.

Et quidem ego, cui literas vix, ac ne vix quidem videre contigit, omnium qui diuinæ Palladi nomen dederunt, longè infimus (vt id ingenuè de mea tenuitate confitear) facere certè non possum, quin me in illorum aciem conferam, qui gentis suæ maculam abluere, veritatem ipsam asserere, & conuitiantium iugum detrectare studuerunt: Maiora ingenio sors denegauit:

Id quoquo modo tentare compellit ipsius veritatis dignitas, & innatus amor patriæ, quam extraneos nonnullos falsis rumoribus deformare, varijs conuitijs, magna cum voluptate proscindere, aliísq; nationibus deridendam propinare comperimus. Quorum petulantiæ occurrere, & criminationes falsas, detectis simul scriptorum de hac Insula erroribus, apud bonos & cordatos viros, (Nam vulgus sui semper simile, falsi & vani tenacissimum, non est quòd sperem me ab hac inueterata opinione abducere posse) diluere hoc commentariolo decreui.

Etsi autem Islandia multos habet, vt ætate, ita ingenio & eruditione me longè superiores, ideóq; ad hanc causam patriæ suscipiendam multò magis idoneos: Ego tamen optimi & clarissimi viri, Dom. Gudbrandi Thorlacij, Episcopi Holensis, apud Islandos, sollicitationibus motus communi causæ, pro viribus, nequaquam deesse volui, tum ut æquissimæ postulationi ipsius parerem, atque amorem & studium debitum erga patriam declararem, tum vt reliquos sympatriotas meos, in bonarum literarum scientia fœlicius versatos, atque in rerum plurimarum cognitione vlterius progressos, ad hoc gentis nostræ patrocinium inuitarem: Tantum abest, vt ijs qui idem conabuntur, obstaculo esse voluerim.

Cæterum vt ad rem redeamus, quoniam illi quicunque sunt nostræ gentis obtrectatores, testimonio scripto se vti ac niti iactitant: videndum omnino est, quidnam de Islandia, & quàm vera scriptores prodiderint, vt si fortè isti, alijs in nos dicendi aliquam occasionem dederint, patefactis ipsorum erroribus (nolo enim quid durius dicere) quàm meritò nos calumnientur, reliquis planum fiat. Porrò, quamuis vetustiorum quorundam scripta de hac Insula, ad veritatis & experientiæ normam exigere non verear: Tamen nobis eorundem alioqui sacra est memoria, reuerenda dignitas, suspicienda eruditio, laudanda voluntas & in Rempub. literariam studium: Nouitij verò, si qui sunt id genus scriptores, aut verius pasquilli, cum ijs longè veriora quàm scripserant, audire & nosse de Islandia licuerit, sua leuitate & ingenio malè candido, nihil nisi inuidiæ & calumniæ maculam lucrati esse videbuntur.

Atque vt Commentarius hic noster aliquid ordinis habeat, duo erunt propositæ orationis capita, vnum de Insula, de incolis alterum: quantum quidem de his duobus capitibus Scriptores qui in nostris manibus versantur, annotatum reliquerunt: Quoniam vltra has metas vagari, vel plura quàm

Commentarij duæ partes.

hæc ipsa, & quæ huc pertinere videbuntur attingere nolo. Non enim ex professo Historicum vel geographum sed disputatorem tantùm agimus. Itaque omissa longiore præfatione partem primam, quæ est de situ, nomine, miraculis, & alijs quibusdam adiunctis Insulæ, aggrediamur.

Primæ partis tractatio.

The same in English.

HERE BEGINNETH THE COMMENTARY OF ISLAND.

EVen as in war, dayly experience teacheth vs, that some vpon no iust & lawful grounds (being egged on by ambition, enuie, and couetise) are induced to follow the armie, and on the contrary side, that others arme themselues vpon iust and necessary causes: namely such as go to battell for the defence and propagation of the Gospel, or such as being any way prouoked thereunto, doe withstand present violence and wrong, or at least (not being prouoked) by reason of the enemie approching are constrained to be vp in armes: right so, they that fight vnder Apolloes banner. Amongst whom, a great part, not vpon any honest, philosophical, or indeede Christian intention, addresse themselues to wright: especially such as for desire of glory, for enuy and spight, or vpon malicious and affected ignorance, carpe at others: and that they may be accompted superiours, sometimes whette their stiles against the person, name and fame of this or that particular man, sometimes inueighing against a whole countrey, and by shamelesse vntrueths disgracing innocent nations and people. Againe, others of an ingenuous minde, doe by great industry, search and bring to light things profitable: namely, they that write of Diuinity, Philosophy, History and such like: and they who (taking vse and experience for their guides) in the said Sciences haue brought things obscure to light, things maimed to perfection, and things confused to order: and they that haue faithfully commended to euerlasting posteritie, the stories of the whole world: that by their infinite labours haue aduaunced the knowledge of tongues: to be short, that endeuour themselues to represse the insolencie, confute the slanders, and withstand the vniust violence of others, against themselues, their Nation or their Countrey:

And I for my part, hauing scarce attained the sight of good letters, and being the meanest of all the followers of Minerua (that I may freely acknowledge mine owne wants) can do no lesse then become one of their number, who haue applied themselues to ridde their countrey from dishonor, to auouch the trueth, and to shake off the yoke of railers & reuilers. My estate enabled me onely to write; howbeit the excellencie of trueth, and the in-bred affection I beare to my countrey enforceth me to do the best I can: sithens it hath pleased some strangers by false rumours to deface, and by manifolde reproches to iniurie my sayd countrey, making it a by-word, and a laughing-stocke to all other nations. To meet with whose insolencie and false accusations, as also to detect the errours of certeine writers concerning this Island, vnto good and well affected men (for the common people will be alwayes like themselues, stubburnly mainteining that which is false and foolish, neither can I hope to remooue them from this accustomed and stale opinion) I haue penned the treatise following.

And albeit Island is not destitute of many excellent men, who, both in age, wit, and learning, are by many degrees my superiors, and therefore more fit to take the defence of the countrey into their hands: notwithstanding, being earnestly perswaded thereunto, by that godly & famous man Gudbrandus Thorlacius Bishop of Hola in Island, I thought good (to the vtmost of mine ability) to be no whit wanting vnto the common cause: both that I might obey his most reasonable request, and also that I might encourage other of my countreymen, who haue bene better trained vp in good learning, and indued with a greater measure of knowledge then I my selfe, to the defence of this our nation: so farre am I from hindering any man to vndertake the like enterprise.

But to returne to the matter, because they (whatsoeuer they be) that reproch and maligne our nation, make their boast that they vse the testimonies of writers: we are seriously to consider, what things, and how true, writers haue reported of Island, to the end that if they haue giuen (perhaps) any occasion to others of inueying against vs, their errours being layd open (for I will not speake more sharpely) all the world may see how iustly they do reproch vs. And albeit I nothing doubt to examine some ancient writers of this Island, by the rule of trueth and experience: yet (otherwise) their memory is precious in our eyes, their dignity reuerend, their learning to be had in honour, and their zeale and affection towards the whole common wealth of learned men, highly to be commended: but as for nouices (if there be any such writers or rather pasquilles) when they shall heare and know truer matters concerning Island, then they themselues haue written, they shall seeme by their inconstancie and peruerse wit to haue gained nought else but a blacke marke of enuy and reproch.

And that this commentarie of mine may haue some order, it shall be diuided into two generall parts: the first of the Island, the second of the inhabitants: and of these two but so farfoorth as those writers which are come to our hands haue left recorded: because I am not determined to wander out of these lists, or to handle more then these things and some other which perteine vnto them. For I professe not my selfe an Historiographer, or Geographer, but onely a Disputer. Wherefore omitting a longer Preface, let vs come to the first part concerning the situation, the name, miracles, and certaine other adiuncts of this Iland.

SECTIO PRIMA.

Insula Islandiæ, quæ per immensum à cæteris secreta longè sita est in Oceano, víxq; à nauigantibus agnoscitur, &c.

Munst. lib. 4. Cosmograph.

ETsi hæc tractare, quæ ipsam terram vel illius adiuncta seu proprietates concernunt, ad gentem vel incolas à calumniantium morsu vindicandos parùm faciat: tamen id nequaquam omittendum videtur. Sed de his primùm, & quidem prolixiùs aliquantò agendum est, vt perspecto, quàm vera de hac re tradant illi Islandiæ scriptores, facilè inde candidus Lector, in ijs quæ de Incolis scripta reliquerunt, quæque ab illis alij, tanquam Dijs prodentibus, acceperunt, vnde sua in gentem nostram ludibria depromi aiunt, quantum fidei mereantur, iudicet.

Primum igitur distantiam Islandiæ à reliquis terris non immensam esse, nec tantam, quanta vulgò putatur, si quis insulæ longitudinem & latitudinem aliquo modo cognitam haberet, facilè demonstrari posset. Non enim id alio, quàm isto cognosci exactè posse modo existimârim, cum nulli dubium sit. quàm semper nautarum vel rectissimus, vt illis videtur, cursus aberret. Quare varias authorum de situ Islandiæ sententias subiungam, vt inde quiuis de distantia id colligat, quod maximè verisimile videbitur, donec fortè aliquando propria edoctus ex-

perientia, meam quoque sententiam si non interponam, tamen adiungam.

	Longit.		Latitud.	
Munsterus Islandiam collocat sub gradibus ferè	20		68	
Gerardus Mercator	352		68	
Gemma Frisius:				
Medium Islandiæ:	7	0	65	30
Hersee:	7	40	60	42
Thirtes:	5	50	64	44
Nadar:	6	40	57	20
Iacobi Ziegleri:				
Littus Islandiæ Occident.	20		63	
Chos promontorium:	22	46	63	
Latus orientale extenditur cōtra Septentrionem: & finis extensionis habet	30		68	
Latus septentrionale contra occidentem extenditur, & finis extensionis habet	28		69	
Lateris Occidentalis descriptio.				
Heckelfel promontorium	25		67	
Madher promontorium	21	20	65	10
Ciuitates in ea mediterraneæ sunt				
Holen Episcopalis	28		67	50
Schalholten Episcopalis	22		63	30
Reinholdus.				
Per Holen Islandiæ.			68	
Ioh. Myritius.				
Per Med. Islandiæ			69	
Neander.				
Islandia tribus gradibus in circulum vsque Arcticum ab æquinoctiali excurrit, adeò ferè, vt mediam circulus ille secet, &c.				

Et si qui sunt præterea, qui vel in mappis, vel alioqui suis scriptis Insulæ situm notarunt, quorum plures sententias referre nihil attinet, cum quò plures habeas, eò magis dissidentes reperias. Ego quamuis verisimiles coniecturas habeo, cur nullæ citatæ de Islandiæ situ sententiæ assentiar, quin potius diuersum quippiam ab ijs omnibus statuam, tamen id ipsum in dubio relinquere malo, quàm quicquam non exploratum satis affirmare, donec, vt dixi, fortè aliquando non coniecturam, sed obseruationem & experientiam propriam afferre liceat.

Distantiam ab ostio Albis ad portum Islandiæ meridionalis Batzende, quidam scripserat esse circiter 400. milliarium: Vnde si longitudinis differentiam ad meridianum Hamburgensem supputaueris, nullam modò positarum longitudinum habebit illo in loco Islandia. Ego ternis Hamburgensium nauigationibus docere possum, septimo die Hamburgum ex Islandia peruentum esse. Præterea etiam, Insulæ quæ ab ouium multitudine Færeyjar, seu rectius Faareyjar dictæ sunt, bidui nauigatione, vt & littora Noruagiæ deserta distant. Quatridui verò nauigatione in Gronlandiam habitabilem, & pari ferè temporis interuallo, ad prouinciam Noruagiæ Stad. inter opida Nidrosiam & Bergas sitam peruenitur, quemadmodum in harum nationum vetustis codicibus reperimus.

Bidui nauigatio ab Islandia ad Noruagiam desertam.

The same in English.

THE FIRST SECTION.

The Isle of Island being seuered from other countreys an infinite distance, standeth farre into the Ocean, and is scarse knowen vnto Sailers.

Munsterus lib. 4. cosmographiæ.

ALbeit a discourse of those things which concerne the land, and the adiuncts or properties thereof be of little moment to defend the nation or inhabitants from the biting of slanderers, yet seemeth it in no case to be omitted; but to be intreated of in the first place, that the friendly reader perceiuing how truely those writers of Island haue reported in this respect, may thereby also easily iudge what credit is to be giuen vnto them in other matters which they haue left written concerning the inhabitants, and which others haue receiued from them as oracles, from whence (as they say) they haue borrowed scoffes and taunts against our nation.

First therefore, that the distance of Island from other countreys is not infinite, nor indeed so great as men commonly imagine, it might easily be prouided, if one did but in some sort know the true longitude & latitude of the said Iland. For I am

of opinion that it cannot exactly be knowen any other way then this, whenas it is manifest how the Mariners course (be it neuer so direct, as they suppose) doth at all times swerue. In yᵉ meane while therfore I will set downe diuers opinions of authors, concerning yᵉ situation of Island, that from hence euery man may gather that of the distance which seemeth most probable; vntil perhaps my selfe being one day taught by mine owne experience, may, if not intrude, yet at least adioin, what I shal thinke true as touching this matter.[1]

	Longit.		Latitud.	
	deg.	min.	deg.	min.
Munster placeth Island almost in	20		68	
Gerardus Mercator	325		68	
Gemma Frisius placeth the midst of Island	7	0	65	30
Hersee	7	40	60	42
Thirtes	5	50	64	44
Nadar	6	40	57	10
Iacobus Zieglerus.				
The West shore of Island . .	20	0	63	0
The promontorie of Chos . .	22	46	63	0
The East shore is extended Northward, and hath bounds of extension in . . .	30	0	68	0
The North shore is extended Westward and hath bounds of extension in	28	0	69	0
The description of yᵉ West side.				
The promontorie of Heckelfell .	25	0	67	0
The promontorie of Madher .	21	20	65	10
The inland cities of Island				
Holen the seat of a bishop .	28	0	67	50

---

[1] The real position of Iceland is 700 miles west of Norway, 200 miles east of Greenland, and 320 miles north-west of the Faroe Islands. It lies between latitude 63° 25′ and 66° 32′ north and longitude 13° 30′ and 24° 30′ west; length east to west 280 miles; breadth 210 miles. It will be thus seen that while Frisius is nearly right in his latitude, Gerard Mercator is considerably out. As regards the longitude, whilst Munster's estimate is converted to the standard of Greenwich, Mercator's reckoning is from Copenhagen or Hamburg, and Frisius has reckoned east of Reikiavik or Skallholt.

	Longit. deg.	Longit. min.	Latitud. deg.	Latitud. min.
Schalholten the seat of a bishop	22		63	30
Reinholdus.				
By Holen in Island			68	
Iohannes Miritius.				
By Mid-Island			69½	
Neander.				

Island stretcheth it selfe 3 degrees within the circle arctic from the equinoctial, insomuch that ye said circle arctic doeth almost diuide it in the midst &c.

There be others also, who either in their maps, or writings haue noted the situation of Island: notwithstanding it is to no purpose to set downe any more of their opinions, because the more you haue, the more contrary shall you finde them. For my part, albeit I haue probable coniectures perswading me not to beleeue any of the former opinions, concerning the situation of Island, but to dissent from them all: yet had I rather leaue the matter in suspense then affirme an vncerteinty, vntill (as I haue sayd) I may be able perhappes one day not to gesse at the matter, but to bring forth mine owne obseruation, and experience.

A certeine writer hath put downe the distance betweene the mouth of Elbe & Batzende in the South part of Island to be 400 leagues: from whence if you shall account the difference of longitude to the meridian of Hamburgh, Island must haue none of the forenamed longitudes in that place. I am able to proue by three sundry voyages of certaine Hamburgers, that it is but seuen dayes sailing from Island to Hamburgh. Besides all those Islands, which by reason of the abundance of sheepe, are called Fareyiar, or more rightly Faareyiar,[1] as likewise the desert shores of Norway, are distant from vs but two dayes sailing. We haue foure dayes sailing into habitable Gronland: and almost in the same quantitie of time we passe ouer to the prouince of Norway, called Stad, lying betweene the townes of Nidrosia or Trondon,[2] and Bergen, as we finde in the ancient records of these nations.

Seuen dayes sailing from Island to Hamburg.

Island but two dayes sailing distant from Faar-Islands, & from the desert shores of Norway.

---

[1] Faroe Islands.

[2] Trondheim.

SECTIO SECVNDA.

In hac, æstiuo solstitio, sole signum Cancri transeunte, nox nulla, brumali Solstitio proinde nullus dies. Item, Vadianus. In ea autem Insula quæ longe supra Arcticum circulum in amplissimo Oceano sita est, Islandia hodie dicta, & terris congelati maris proxima, quas Entgronlandt vocant, menses sunt plures sine noctibus.

Munsterus, Olaus magnus & reliqui.

NVllum esse hyemali solstitio diem, id est, tempus quo sol supra horizontem conspicitur in illo tantum Islandiæ angulo, si modò quis est, fatemur, vbi polus ad integros 67. gradus attollitur. Holis autem, quæ est sedes Episcopalis Borealis Islandiæ, sita etiam in angustissima & profundissima conualle, latitudo est circiter grad. 65. 44. min. vt à Domino Gudbrando eiusdem loci Episcopo accepimus, & illic diem breuissimum habemus ad minimum duarum horarum, in meridionali autem Islandia longiorem, vt ex artificum tabulis videre est. Vnde constat nec Islandiam vltra Arcticum circulum positam esse, nec menses plures noctibus in æstiuo, vel diebus in brumali solstitio carere.

The same in English.

THE SECOND SECTION.

In this Iland, at the Summer solstitium, the Sun passing thorow the signe of Cancer, there is no night, and therefore at the Winter solstitium there is no day. Also: Vadianus. But in that Iland, which farre within the artic circle is seated in the maine Ocean, at this day called Island, and next vnto the lands of the frozen sea, which they call Engrontland, there be many moneths in the yere without nights.

Munsterus. Olaus Magnus and others.

AT the solstitium of winter, that there is no day (that is to say, no time, wherein the Sunne is seene aboue the horizon) we confesse to be true onely in that angle of Island (if there be any such angle) where the pole is eleuated full 67 degrees. But at Holen (which is the bishops seat for the North part of Island, and lieth in a most deepe valley) the latitude is about 65 degrees and 44 minutes, as I am enformed by the reuerend father, Gud-

brand, bishop of that place : and yet there, the shortest day in all the yere is at least two houres long, and in South-Island longer, as it appeareth by the tables of Mathematicians. Heerehence it is manifest, first that Island is not situate beyond the arctic circle[1]: secondly, that in Island there are not wanting in Summer solstitium many nights, nor in Winter solstitium many dayes.

Island is not within the circle arctic.

SECTIO TERTIA.

> Nomen habet à glacie quæ illi perpetuo ad Boream adheret. Item. A latere Occidentali Noruagiæ Insula, quæ Glacialis dicitur, magno circumfusa Oceano reperitur, obsoletæ admodum habitationis tellus, &c. Item, Hæc est Thyle, nulli veterum non celebrata.

Munsterus.
Saxo.

NOmen habet à glacie) Tria nomina consequenter sortita est Islandia. Nam qui omnium primus eius inuentor fuisse creditur Naddocus genere Noruagus, cū versus insulas Farenses nauigaret tēpestate valida, ad littora Islandiæ Orientalis fortè appulit : vbi cum fuisset aliquot septimanas cum socijs commoratus, animaduertit immodicam niuium copiam, montium quorundam cacumina obtegentem, atque ideò à niue nomen Insulæ Snelandia indidit. Hunc secutus alter, Gardarus, fama quam de Islandia Naddocus attulerat impulsus, Insulam quæsitum abijt, reperit, & nomen de suo nomine Gardarsholme id est, Gardars Insula imposuit. Quin & plures nouam terram visendi cupido incessit: nam & post illos duos adhuc tertius quidam Noruagus (Floki nomen habuit) contulit se in Islandiam, illiq; à glacie qua viderat ipsam cingi nomen fecit.

Snelandia.

Obsoletæ admodum) Ego ex istis verbis Saxonis hanc sententiam nequaquam eruo, vt quidam, quòd inde ab initio habitatam esse Islandiam, seu vt verbo dicam, Islandos autocthonas dicat, cum constet vix ante annos 718. incoli cœptam.

Hæc est Thyle) Grammatici certant & adhuc sub iudice lis est. Quam tamen facilè dirimi posse crediderim, si quis animaduertat, circa annum Domini 874 primùm fuisse inhabitatam. Nisi quis dicere velit Thulen illum Aegypti Regem, quem hoc ipsi nomen

---

[1] This is true, except for the very small portion of Iceland round about Cape North.

dedisse putant, ad Insulam iam tum incultam & inhabitatam penetrasse. Illud verò rursus si quis neget, per me sanè licebit, vt illud sit quaddam quasi spectaculum, dum ita in contrarias scinduntur sententias. Vnus affirmat esse Islandiam. Alter quandam insulam, vbi arbores bis in anno fructificant. Tertius vnam ex Orcadibus, siue vltimam in ditione Scoti, vt Ioannes Myritius & alij, qui nomen illius referunt, Thylensey, quod etiam Virgilius per suam vltimam Thylen sensisse videtur. Siquidem ultra Britannos, quo nomine Angli hodie dicti & Scoti veniunt, nullos populos statueret. Quod vel ex illo Virgilij Eclog. I. apparet:

> Et penitus toto diuisos orbe Britannos.

Quartus vnam ex Farensibus. Quintus Telemarchiam Noruagiæ. Sextus Schrichfinniam.

Perpetuò ad Boream adhæret.) Illud verò, Glaciem Insulæ perpetuò, vel vt paulò post asserit Munsterus: Octo continuis mensibus adhærere: neutrum verum est. Nam vt plurimum in mense Aprili aut Maio soluitur, & Occidentem versus propellitur, nec ante Ianuarium aut Februarium sæpissimè etiam tardius redit. Quid? quòd plurimos annos numerare licet, quibus glaciem illam huius nationis immite flagellum, ne viderit quidem Islandia: Quod etiam hoc anno 1592. compertum est. Vnde constat quàm verè à Frisio scriptum sit, nauigationem ad hanc insulam tantùm quadrimestrem patere, propter glaciem & frigora, quibus intercludatur iter, Cùm Anglicæ naues quotannis nunc in Martio, nunc in Aprili, quædam in Maio, Germanorum & Danorum in Maio & Iunio, plærumque ad nos redeant, & harum quædam non ante Augustum iterum hinc soluunt. Superiore autem anno 1591. quædam nauis Germanica, cupro onusta, portum Islandiæ Vopnafiord 14. dies circiter in Nouembri occupauit, quibus lapsis inde fœliciter soluit. Quare cum glacies Islandiæ, nec perpetuò, neque octo mensibus adhæreat, Munsterus & Frisius manifestè falluntur.

Glacies Aprili aut Maio soluitur.

The same in English.

THE THIRD SECTION.

It is named of the ice which continually cleaueth vnto the North part thereof. Another writeth: From the West part of Norway there lieth an Iland which is named of the ice, enuironed with an

Munsterus.

Saxo.

huge sea, and being a countrey of ancient habitation, &c. Zieglerus. This is Thyle,[1] whereof most of the ancient writers haue made mention.

Island first discouered by Naddocus in a tempest.

IT is named of ice, &c. Island hath beene called by three names, one after another. For one Naddocus a Noruagian borne, who is thought to be the first Discouerer of the same, as he was sailing towards the Faar-Ilands,[2] through a violent tempest did by chance arriue at the East shore of Island; where staying with his whole company certaine weeks, he beheld abundance of snow couering the tops of the mountaines, and thereupon, in regard of the snow, called this Iland Sneland. After him one Gardarus, being mooued thereunto by the report which Naddocus gaue out concerning Island, went to seeke the sayd Iland; who, when he had found it, called it after his owne name Gardars-holme, that is to say, Gardars Ile. There were more also desirous to visit this new land. For after the two former, a certaine third Noruagian, called Flok, went into Island, and named it of the ice, wherewith he saw it enuironed.

Sneland.

Gardarsholme.

Island.

Of ancient habitation, &c. I gather not this opinion out of these wordes of Saxo (as some men do) that Island hath bene inhabited from the beginning, or (to speake in one word) that the people of Island were autochthones, that is, earth-bred, or bred out of their owne soile like vnto trees and herbs : sithens it is euident, that this Island scarse began to be inhabited no longer agoe then about 718 yeres since.[3]

This is Thyle, &c. Grammarians wrangle about this name, and as yet the controuersie is not decided. Which notwithstanding, I thinke might easily grow to composition, if men would vnderstand that this Iland was first inhabited about the yeere of our Lord 874. Vnlesse some man will say that Thule King of Aegypt (who, as it is thought, gaue this name thereunto) passed so farre vnto an Iland, which was at that time vntilled, and destitute of inhabitants. Againe, if any man will denie this, he may for all me, that it may seeme to be but a dreame, while they are distracted into so many contrary opinions.

---

[1] Thule.

[2] Faroe Islands.

[3] The Viking Naddodr is said to have discovered Iceland in 860, and it was colonized by Ingulf, a chieftain from the west coast of Norway.

One affirmes that it is Island: another, that it is a certeine Iland, where trees beare fruit twise in a yeere: the third, that it is one of the Orcades, or the last Iland of the Scotish dominion, as Iohannes Myritius and others, calling it by the name of Thylensey, which Virgil also seemeth to haue meant by his vltima Thyle. If beyond the Britans (by which name the English men and Scots onely at this day are called) he imagined none other nation to inhabit. Which is euident out of that verse of Virgil in his first Eclogue:

And Britans whole from all the world diuided.

The fourth writeth, that it is one of the Faar-Ilands: the fift, that it is Telemark in Norway: the sixt, that it is Scrichfinnia.

Which continually cleaueth to the North part of the Iland. That clause that ice continually cleaueth &c. or as Munster affirmeth a little after, that it cleaueth for the space of eight whole moneths, are neither of them both true, when as for the most part the ice is thawed in the moneth of April or May, and is driuen towards the West: neither doth it returne before Ianuarie or Februarie, nay often times it commeth later. What if a man should recken vp many yeeres, wherein ice (the sharpe scourge of this our nation) hath not at all bene seene about Island? which was found to be true this present yeere 1592. Heereupon it is manifest how truely Frisius hath written that nauigation to this Iland lieth open onely for foure moneths in a yeere, and no longer, by reason of the ice and colde, whereby the passage is shut vp, when as English ships euery yere, sometimes in March, sometimes in April, and some of them in May; the Germans and Danes, in May and Iune, doe vsually returne vnto vs, and some of them depart not againe from hence till August. But the last yere, being 1591, there lay a certeine shippe of Germanie laden with Copper within the hauen of Vopnafiord in the coast of Island about fourteene dayes in the moneth of Nouember, which time being expired, she fortunately set saile. Wherefore, seeing that ice, neither continually, nor yet eight moneths cleaueth vnto Iland, Munster and Frisius are much deceiued.[1]

The ice of Iseland sets always to the West.

No ice at all some yeres in Island.

Nauigation open to Island from March till the midst of Nouember.

---

[1] The mean temperature of Iceland is said to be 40 degrees.

SECTIO QVARTA.

Tam grandis Insula, vt populos multos contineat. Item, Zieglerus. Situs Insulæ extenditur inter austrum & boream ducentorum prope Schænorum longitudine. Kranzius. Munsterus.

GRandis.) Wilstenius quidam, rector Scholæ OLDENBVRGENSIS Anno 1591. ad auunculum meum in Islandia Occidentali misit breuem commentarium, quem ex scriptorum rapsodijs de Islandia collegerat. Vbi sic reperimus: Islandia duplo maior Sicilia, &c. Sicilia autem secundum Munsterum 150. milliaria Germanica in ambitu habet. Nostræ verò Insulæ ambitus etsi nobis non est exactè cognitus, tamen vetus & constans opinio, & apud nostrates recepta 144. milliaria numerat per duodecim videlicet promontoria Islandiæ insigniora, quæ singula 12. inter se milliaribus distent, aut circiter, quæ collecta prædictam summam ostendunt. Magnitudo Islandiæ.

Populos multos.) Gysserus quidam, circa annum Domini 1090. Episcopus Schalholtensis in Islandia, omnes Insulæ colonos seu rusticos qui tantas facultates possiderent, vt regi tributum soluere tenerentur (reliquis pauperibus cum fœminis & promiscuo vulgo omissis) lustrari curauit, reperitque in parte Insulæ Orientali 700, meridionali 1000, Occidentali 1100, Aquilonari 1200. Summa 4000. colonorum tributa soluentium. Iam si quis experiatur, inueniet Insulam plus dimidio fuisse inhabitatam.

The same in English.

THE FOURTH SECTION.

The Iland is so great that it conteineth many people. Item Zieglerus sayth : The situation of the Iland is extended betweene the South and the North almost 200 leagues in length. Krantzius. Munsterus.

SO great, &c. One Wilstenius schoolemaster of Oldenburg, in the yere 1591, sent vnto mine Vncle in West Island, a short treatise which he had gathered out of the fragments of sundrie writers, concerning Island. Where we found thus written : Island is twise as great as Sicilie, &c. But Sicilie, according to Munster, hath 150 Germaine miles in compasse. As for the circuit of our

Iland, although it be not exactly knowen vnto vs, yet the ancient, constant, and receiued opinion of the inhabitants accounteth it 144 leagues; namely by the 12 promontories of Iland, which are commonly knowen, being distant one from another 12 leagues or thereabout, which two numbers being multiplied, produce the whole summe.[1]

Island 144 Germaine miles in compasse.

Many people, &c. One Gysserus about the yere of our Lord 1090, being bishop of Schalholten in Island, caused all the husbandmen, or countreymen of the Iland, who, in regard of their possessions were bound to pay tribute to the king, to be numbred (omitting the poorer sort with women, and the meaner sort of the communalty) and he found in the East part of Island 700, in the South part 1000, in the West part 1100, in the North part 1200, to the number of 4000 inhabitants paying tribute. Now if any man will trie, he shall finde that more then halfe the Iland was at that time vnpeopled.[2]

SECTIO QVINTA.

Insula multa sui parte montosa est & inculta. Qua parte autem plana est præstat plurimùm pabulo, tam læto, vt pecus depellatur à pascuis, ne ab aruina suffocetur.

Munst. Frisius, Ziegler.

ID suffocationis periculum nullo testimonio, nec nostra nec patrum nostrorum, vel quàm longè retrò numeraris, memoria confirmari potest.

The same in English.

THE FIFTH SECTION.

The Iland, most part thereof, is mountainous and vntilled. But that part which is plaine doth greatly abound with fodder, which is so ranke, that they are faine to driue their cattell from the pasture, least they surfet or be choaked.

Munster. Frisius. Zieglerus.

THat danger of surfetting or choaking was neuer heard tell of,

---

[1] The exact area is 39,737 square miles.

[2] In 1875 the population was 69,800.

in our fathers, grandfathers, great grandfathers or any of our predecessours dayes, be they neuer so ancient.[1]

SECTIO SEXTA.

> Sunt in hac Insula montes elati in cœlum, quorum vertices perpetua niue candent, radices sempiterno igne æstuant. Primus Occidentem versus est, qui vocatur Hecla, alter crucis, tertius Helga. Item Zieglerus. Rupes siue promontorium Hecla æstuans perpetuis ignibus. Item Saxo. In hac itidem Insula mons est, qui rupem sideream perpetuæ flagrationis æstibus imitatus, incendia sempiterna iugi flammarum eructatione continuat.

Munst.
Frisius.

MIracula Islandiæ Munsterus & Frisius narraturi mox in vestibulo, magno suo cum incommodo impingunt. Nam quod hîc de monte Hecla asserunt, etsi aliquam habet veritatis speciem, tamen quod idem de duobus alijs montibus perpetuo igne æstuantibus dicunt, manifestè erroneum est. Illi enim in Islandia non extant, nec quicquam, quod huic tanto scriptorum errori occasionem dederit, imaginari possumus. Facta tamen est, sed nunc demum Anno 1581. ex monte quodam australis Islandiæ, maritimo, perpetuis niuibus & glacie obducto memorabilis fumi ac flammæ eruptio, magna saxorum ac cineris copia eiecta. Cæterum ille mons longè est ab his tribus, quos authores commemorant, diuersissimus. Porrò etsi hæc de montibus ignitis maximè vera narrarent, annon naturaliter ista contingerent? An ad extruendam illam, quæ mox in Munstero, Zieglero & Frisio sequitur, de orco Islandico opinionem aliquid faciunt? Ego sanè nefas esse duco, his vel similibus naturæ miraculis ab absurda asserenda abuti, vel hæc tanquam impossibilia cum quadam impietate mirari. Quasi verò non concurrant in huiusmodi incendijs causæ ad hanc rem satis validæ. Est in horum montium radicibus materia vri aptissima, nempe sulphurea & bituminosa. Accedit aër per poros ac cauernas in terræ viscera ingressus, ac illum maximi incendij fomitem exsufflans vnà cum nitro, qua exsufflatione tanquam follibus quibusdam, ardentissima excitatur flamma. Habet siquidem ignis, his ita conuenientibus, quæ tria ad vrendum sunt necessaria, materiam scilicet, motum, & tandem penetrandi facultatem: Materiam quidem pinguem & humidam ideóque flammas diuturnas alentem: Motum præstat per terræ cauernas admissus aër: Penetrandi facultatem facit ignis vis inuicta, sine respiraculo esse nescientis, & incredibili conatu violenter erumpentis, atque ita (non secus ac in cuniculis machinisue seu tormentis bellicis, globi è ferro maximi, magno cum fragore ac strepitu, à sulphure & nitro, è quibus pyrius puluis conficitur, excitato, eijciuntur) lapides & Saxa in ista voragine ignita, ceu quodam camino, collique facta cum immodica arenæ & cinerum copia, exspuentis & eiaculantis, idque vt plurimum, non sine terræmotu: qui si secundum profunditatem terræ fiat, succussio à Possidoneo appellatur vel hiatus erit, vel pulsus. Hiatu terra dehiscit: pulsu eleuatur intumescens, & nonunquam, vt inquit Plinius, moles magnas egerit: Cuiusmodi terræmotus iam mentionem fecimus, maritima Islandiæ Australis Anno 1581 infestantis quíque à Pontano his verbis scitissimè describitur.

---

[1] In the tenth and eleventh centuries, corn and other crops seem to have been raised in considerable quantities, but at present only small crops of potatoes, turnips, and cabbages are grown. The pastures are good, and many horses, cattle, and sheep are reared.

Lib. 2. cap. 20.

Ergo incerta ferens raptim vestigia, anhelus
Spiritus incursat, nunc huc, nunc percitus illuc,
Explorátque abitum insistens, & singula tentat,
Si quâ forte queat victis erumpere claustris.
Interea tremit ingentem factura ruinam
Terra, suis quatiens latas cum mœnibus vrbes:
Dissiliunt auulsa iugis immania saxa, &c.

Hæc addere libuit, non quòd cuiquam hæc ignota esse existimemus; sed ne nos alij ignorare credant, atque ideo ad suas fabulas, quas hinc extruunt, confugere velle.

Cæterum video quid etiamnum admirationem non exiguam scriptoribus moueat, in his, quos ignoranter fingunt, tribus Islandiæ montibus, videlicet cum eorum basin semper ardere dicant, summitates tamen nunquā niue careant. Porrò id admirari, est præter authoritatem tātorum virorum, quibus Ætnæ incendium optimè notum erat, quæ, cùm secundum Plinium hybernis temporibus niualis sit, noctibus tamen, eodem teste, semper ardet. Quare etiam secundū illos, ille mons, cum adhuc niuium copia obducitur, & tamen ardeat, sordidarum animarum quoque erit receptaculum: id quod Heclæ propter niues in summo vertice & basin æstuantem, adscribere non dubitarunt. Vix autem mirum esse potest, quòd ignis montis radicibus latens, & nunquā, nisi rarissimè erumpens, excelsa montis cacumina, quæ niuibus obducuntur, non colliquefaciat.

Cardanus.

Nam & in Caira, altissima montis cacumina niuibus semper cādentia esse perhibentur: & in Beragua quidem similiter, sed 5000 passuum in cœlum elata, quæ niuibus nunquam liberentur, cum tamen partibus tantùm decem ab æquatore distent. Vtrámq; hanc prouinciam iuxta Pariam esse sitam accepimus. Quid? quod illa Teneriffæ (quæ una est ex insulis Canarijs, quæ & fortunatæ) pyramis, secundum Munsterum, 8 aut 9 milliarium Germanicorum altitudine in aëra assurgens, atq; instar Aetnæ iugiter conflagrans, niues, quibus media cingitur, teste Benzone Italo, Indiæ occidentalis Historico, non resoluit. Quod ipsum in nostra Hecla quid est, quod magis miremur? Atque hæc ita breuiter de incendiis montanis.

Nunc illud quoq; castigandum arbitramur, quod hos montes in cœlum vsq; attolli scribant. Habent enim nullā præ cæteris Islandiæ montibus notabilem altitudinem. Precipuè tertius ille Helga à Munstero appellatus, nobis Helgafel. i. Sacer mons, apud monasterium eiusdē nominis, nulla sui parte tempore æstiuo niuibus obductus, nec montis excelsi, sed potius collis humilis nomen meretur, nunquā, vt initio huius sectionis dixi, de incendio suspectus. Nec verò perpetuæ niues Heclæ, vel paucis alijs adscribi debebant: Permultos enim habet eiusmodi mōtes niuosos Islandia, quos omnes vel toto anno, non facilè collegerit aut connumerarit, horum prædicator & admirator Cosmographus. Quin etiam id non negligendum, quod mons Hecla non occidentem versus, vt à Munstero & Zieglero annotatum est, sed inter meridiem & orientem positus sit. Nec promontorium est: sed mons ferè mediterraneus.

Annales Islandiæ.

Incendia perpetua iugi, &c. Quicunq; perpetuam flammarum eructationem Heclæ adscripsèrunt, toto cœlo errarunt, adeò, vt quoties flammas eructârit, nostrates in annales retulerint, viz. anno Christi 1104. 1157. 1222. 1300. 1341. 1362. & 1389. Neque enim ab illo de montis incendio audire licuit, vsque ad annum 1558. quæ vltima fuit in illo monte eruptio. Interea non nego, fieri posse, quin mons infernè latentes intus flammas & incendia alat, quæ videlicet statis interuallis, vt hactenus annotatum est, eruperint, aut etiam forte posthac erumpant.

The same in English.

THE SIXTH SECTION.

Munsterus. Frisius.

There be in this Iland mountaines lift vp to the skies, whose tops being white with perpetuall snowe, their roots boile with euerlasting fire. The first is towards the West, called Hecla : the other the mountaine of the crosse : and the third Helga. Item : Zieglerus. The rocke or promontorie of Hecla boileth with continuall fire. Item : Saxo. There is in this Iland also a mountaine, which resembling the starrie firmament, with perpetuall flashings of fire, continueth alwayes burning, by vncessant belching out of flames.

MVnster and Frisius being about to report the woonders of Island doe presently stumble, as it were, vpon the thresholde, to the great inconuenience of them both. For that which they heere affirme of mount Hecla, although it hath some shew of trueth : notwithstanding concerning the other two mountaines, that they should burne with perpetuall fire, it is a manifest errour. For there are no such mountaines to be found in Island, nor yet any thing els (so farre foorth as wee can imagine) which might minister occasion of so great an errour vnto writers. Howbeit there was seene (yet very lately) in the yeere 1581 out of a certaine mountaine of South Island lying neere the Sea, and couered ouer with continuall snow and frost, a marueilous eruption of smoke and fire, casting vp abundance of stones and ashes. But this mountaine is farre from the other three, which the sayd authours doe mention. Howbeit, suppose that these things be true which they report of firie mountaines : is it possible therefore that they should seeme strange, or monstrous, whenas they proceed from naturall causes? What? Doe they any whit preuaile to establish that opinion concerning the hell of Island, which followeth next after in Munster, Ziegler, and Frisius? For my part, I thinke it no way tollerable, that men should abuse these, and the like miracles of nature, to auouch absurdities, or, that they should with a kinde of impietie woonder at them, as at matters impossible. As though in these kindes of inflammations, there did not concurre causes of sufficient force for the same purpose. There is in the rootes of these mountaines a matter most apt to be set on fire, comming so neere as it doeth to the nature of brimstone and pitch. There is ayer also, which insinuating it selfe by passages, and holes, into the very bowels of the earth, doeth puffe vp the nourishment of so huge a fire, together with Salt-peter, by which puffing (as it were with certeine bellowes) a most ardent flame is kindled. For, all these thus concurring, fire hath those three things, which necessarily make it burne, that is to say, matter, motion, and force of making passage: matter which is fattie and moyst, and therefore nourisheth lasting flames: motion which the ayer doeth performe, being admitted into the caues of the earth: force of making passage, and that the inuincible might of fire it selfe (which can not be without inspiration of ayre, and can not but breake foorth with an incredible strength) doeth bring to passe: and so (euen as in vndermining trenches, and engines or great warrelike ordinance, huge yron bullets are cast foorth with monstrous roaring, and cracking, by the force of kindled Brimstone, and Salt-peeter, whereof Gunne-powder is compounded) chingle and great stones being skorched in that fiery gulfe, as it were in a furnace, together with abundance of sande and ashes, are vomitted vp and discharged, and that for the most part not without an earthquake: which, if it commeth from the depth of the earth, (being called by Possidonius, Succussio) it must either be an opening or a quaking. Opening causeth the earth in some places to gape, and fall a sunder. By quaking the earth is heaued vp and swelleth, and sometimes (as Plinie saith) casteth out huge heaps: such an earthquake was the same which I euen now mentioned, which in the yere 1581 did so sore trouble the South shore of Island. And this kinde of earth-quake is most clearkely described by Pontanus in these verses:

Three naturall causes of firie mountaines.

Lib. 20. cap. 20.

The stirring breath runnes on with stealing steppes,
vrged now vp, and now enforced downe:
For freedome eke tries all, it skips, it leaps,
to ridde it selfe from vncouth dungeon.
Then quakes the earth as it would burst anon,
The earth yquakes, and walled cities quiuer,
Strong quarries cracke, and stones from hilles doe shiuer.

I thought good to adde these things, not that I suppose any man to be ignorant thereof: but least other men should thinke that we are ignorant, and therefore that we will runne after their fables, which they do from hence establish. But yet there is somewhat more in these three fained mountaines of Island, which causeth the sayd writers not a little to woonder, namely whereas they say that their foundations are alwayes burning, and yet for all that, their toppes be neuer destitute of snowe. Howbeit, it beseemeth not the authority and learning of such great clearks to marueile at this, who can not but well know the flames of mount Aetna, which (according to Plinie) being full of snowe all Winter, notwithstanding (as the same man witnesseth) it doth alwayes burne. Wherefore, if we will giue credit vnto them, euen this mountaine also, sithens it is couered with snowe, and yet burneth, must be a prison of vncleane soules: which thing they haue not doubted to ascribe vnto Hecla, in regard of the frozen top, and the firie bottome. And it is no marueile that fire lurking so deepe in the roots of a mountaine, and neuer breaking forth except it be very seldome, should not be able continually to melt the snowe couering the toppe of the sayd mountaine. For in Caira (or Capira) also, the highest toppes of the mountaine are sayd continually to be white with snowe: and those in Veragua likewise, which are fiue miles high, and neuer without snowe, being distant notwithstanding but onely 10 degrees from the equinoctiall. We haue heard that either of the forsayd Prouinces standeth neere vnto Paria. What, if in Teneriffa (which is one of the Canarie or fortunate Islands) the Pike[1] so called, arising into the ayre, according to Munster, eight or nine Germaine miles in height, and continually flaming like Aetna: yet (as Benzo an Italian, and Historiographer of the West Indies witnesseth) is it not able to melt the girdle of snowe embracing the middest thereof. Which thing, what reason haue we more to admire in the mountaine of Hecla? And thus much briefly concerning firie mountaines.

Cardanus.

Now that also is to be amended, whereas they write that these mountaines are lifted vp euen vnto the skies. For they haue no extraordinarie height beyond the other mountaines of Island, but especially that third mountaine, called by Munster Helga, and by vs Helgafel, that is the holy mount, standing iust by a monastery of the same name, being couered with snowe, vpon no part thereof in Summer time, neither deserueth it the name of an high mountaine, but rather of an humble hillocke, neuer yet (as I sayd in the beginning of this section) so much as once suspected of burning. Neither yet ought perpetuall snowe to be ascribed to Hecla onely, or to a few others; for Island hath very many such snowy mountaines, all which the Cosmographer (who hath so extolled and admired these three) should not easily finde out, and reckon vp in a whole yere. And that also is not to be omitted, that mount Hecla standeth not towards the West, as Munster and Ziegler haue noted, but betweene the South and the East: neither is it an headland, but rather a mid-land hill.

---

[1] The Peak.

Continueth alwayes burning &c. whosoeuer they be that haue ascribed vnto Hecla perpetuall belching out of flames, they are farre besides the marke: insomuch that as often as it hath bene enflamed, our countreymen haue recorded it in their yerely Chronicles for a rare accident: namely in the yeeres of Christ 1104, 1157, 1222, 1300, 1341, 1362, and 1389: For from that yeere we neuer heard of the burning of this mountaine vntill the yeere 1558, which was the last breaking foorth of fire in that mountaine. In the meane time I say not that is impossible, but that the bottome of the hill may inwardly breed and nourish flames, which at certaine seasons (as hath bene heretofore obserued) haue burst out, and perhaps may do the like hereafter.[1]

The chronicles of Island.

---

[1] The surface of the country is very mountainous, but there are no definite ranges, the isolated volcanic masses being separated by elevated plateaux of greater or less size. The whole centre is, in fact, an almost continuous desert fringed by a belt of pasture land, lying along the coast and running up the valleys of several of the greater rivers. This desert is occupied partly by snow mountains and glaciers, partly by enormous lava streams, partly by undulating plains of black volcanic sand, shingle, and loose stones. This region is of course without verdure, and entirely uninhabited. The rocks are all of igneous origin, but of very different ages, traps, basalts, amygdaloids, tufas, ochres, and porous lavas. The number of active volcanoes is, at present, not great, but hot springs and mud volcanoes testify to the existence of volcanic action along a line running from the extreme south-west at Cape Reykjanes to the north coast near Husavik. The only recent well-ascertained eruptions have been from Hecla, Aotlugja, Skaptar Yokul, and (in 1874-5) from the mountains to the south-east of Myratu Lake. The eruption of Skaptar in 1783 is the greatest anywhere on record in respect of the quantity of lava and ashes ejected. Earthquakes are not unfrequent. The greatest mountain group is the Vatna or Klofa Yokul, on the south coast, a mass of snow and ice covering many hundred square miles, and sending down prodigious glaciers which almost reach the

SECTIO SEPTIMA.

Montis Heclæ flamma nec stuppam lucernarum luminibus aptissimam adurit, neque aqua extinguitur: Eóque impetu, quo apud nos machinis bellicis, globi eijciuntur, illinc lapides magni in aera emittuntur, ex frigoris & ignis & sulphuris commixtione. Is locus à quibusdam putatur carcer sordidarum animarum. Item Zieglerus. Is locus est carcer sordidarum animarum.

Frisius. Munst.

Nec stuppam adurit.) Vnde habeant Scriptores, non satis conijcitur. Hæc enim nostris hominibus prorsus ignota, nec hîc vnquam, nisi prodidissent illi, audita fuissent. Nemo enim est apud nos tam temerariæ curiositatis, vt huius rei periculum, ardente monte, facere ausit, vel quod scire licuit, vnquā ausis fuerit. Quod tamen Munsterus asserit. Qui, inquit, naturam tanti incendij contēplari cupiunt, & ob id ad montem propius accedunt, eos vna aliqua vorago viuos absorbet &c. Quæ res, vt dixi, nostræ genti est ignota prorsus. Exstat tamen liber veteri Noruagorum lingua scriptus, in quo terrarum, aquarum, ignis, aëris, &c. miracula aliquot confusa reperias, pauca vera, plurima vana & falsa. Vnde facile apparet, à Sophis quibusdam, si dijs placet, in Papatu olim esse conscriptum: Speculum Regale nomen dederunt, propter vanissima mendacia, quibus totus, sed plærúmque sub religionis & pietatis prætextu (quo difficilius est fucum agnoscere) scatet speculum minimè regale, sed Anile & Irregulare. In hoc speculo figmenta quædam de Heclæ incendio, his quæ nunc tractamus non multum dissimilia, habentur, nullo experimento magis quàm hæc stabilita, ideóque explodenda.

Speculum Regale.

Cæterum ne audaculus videar, qui speculum illud Regale mendacij accusem; nullum verò ex his quæ minus credibilia

---

sea. From one of these a torrent issues, little more than a hundred yards long, and a mile and a half broad. The line of perpetual snow ranges from 2,000 to 3,000 feet. The loftiest summits of this great mountain mass have never been ascended, but the highest point is believed to be the Orefa Yokul, 6,405 feet. The other considerable peaks in different parts of the island are Herdubreidr (an extinct volcano), 5,290 feet, Eyjafjalla Yokul, 5,579 feet, Snæfels Yokul, 5,965 feet, and Hecla, 5,095 feet.

affert, recenseam; Accipe horum pauca Lector, quæ fidem minimè mereri existimarim.

1 De quadam Insula Hyberniæ; quæ templum & Parochiam habet: Cuius incolæ decedentes non inhumantur: sed ad aggerem seu parietem cœmeterij, viuorum instar erecti, consistunt perpetuò: Nec vlli corruptioni, nec ruinæ, obnoxij: vt posterûm quiuis suos maiores ibi quærere & conspicere possit.

2 De altera Hyberniæ Insula, vbi homines emori nequeant.

3 De omni terrâ & omnibus arboribus Hyberniæ, quæ omnibus omninò venenis resistant, serpentes & alia venenata, vbiuis terrarum, solâ virtute & præsentiâ, etiam sine contactu, enecent.

4 De tertia Hyberniæ Insula: Quòd hæc dimidia Diabolorum colonia facta sit. In dimidiam vero propter templum ibidem exstructum, iuris habeant nihil, licet & pastore (vt tota Insula incolis) & sacris perpetuò careat: idque per naturam ita esse.

5 De quarta Hyberniæ Insula, quæ in lacu quodam satis vasto fluitet: cuius gramina, quibusuis morbis præsentissimum remedium existant: Insula verò ripam lacus statis temporibus accedat, idque vt plurimum, diebus Dominicis, vt tum quiuis facilè eam veluti nauim quandam, ingrediatur: id quod tamen pluribus simul, per fatum licere negat. Hanc vero Insulam septimo quoque anno ripæ adnasci tradit, vt à continente non discernas: In eius autem locum mox succedere alteram, priori, naturâ, magnitudine & virtute consimilem: quæ vnde veniat, nesciri: idque cum quodam quasi tonitru contingere.

6 De venatoribus Noruegiæ, qui lignum domare (sic enim loquitur, quantumuis impropriè: cùm ligno vt non vita, ita nec domitura competat) adeò docti sint, vt asseres 8. vlnas longi, plantis pedum eorundem alligati, tanta eos celeritate, vel in excelsis montibus, promoueant, vt non modò canum venaticorum, aut caprearum cursu, sed etiam auium volatu superari nequeant: atque vnico cursu, vnico etiam hastæ ictu, nouem vel plures capreas feriant. Hæc & similia, de Hybernia, Noruegia, Islandia, Gronlandia, de aquæ & aëris etiam miraculis, centonum ille magister, in suum speculum collegit: Quibus, licet suis admirationem, vulgo stuporem, nobis tamen risum concitauit.

Gronlandia.

Sed Frisium audiamus. Flamma, inquit, Montis Heclæ nec stuppam, lucernarū luminibus aptissimam, adurit, nec aqua extinguitur. Atqui, inquam, ex Schola vestra Philosophica petitis rationibus hoc Paradoxon confirmari poterit. Docent enim Physici, commune esse validioribus flammis omnibus vt siccis extinguantur, alantur verò humidis: Vnde etiam fabri, aqua inspersa, ignem excitare solent. Cùm enim, aiunt, ardentior fuerit ignis, à frigido incitatur, & ab humido alitur, quorum vtrumq; aquæ inest. Item: Aqua solet vehementes accendere ignes: Quoniam humidum ipsum quod exhalat, pinguius redditur, nec à circumfuso fumo absumitur, sed totum ignis ipse depascitur, quò purior inde factus, ac simul collectus, à frigido alacrior inde redditur. Vnde etiam ignes artificiosi aqua minimè extinguibiles. Item: Sunt sulphure & bitumine loca abundantia, quæ sponte ardent, quorum flamma aqua minimè extinguitur. Prodidit etiam Philosophus, Aqua ali ignem. Arist. 3. de anim. Et Plin. lib. 2. Nat. Histor. cap. 110. Et Strabo lib. 7. In Nymphæo excitè Petra flamma, que aquâ accenditur. Idem, Viret æternum contexens fontem igneum fraxinus. Quin & repentinos ignes in aquis existere, vt Thrasumenum lacum in agro Perusino arsisse totum, idem autor est. Et anno 1226, & 1236. non procul à promontorio Islandiæ Reykianes, flamma ex ipso mari erupit. Etiam in corporibus humanis repentinos ignes emicuisse, vt Seruio Tullio dormienti, è capite flammam exsilijsse: Et L. Martium in Hispania, interfectis Scipionibus, concionem seu orationem ad milites habentem, atque ad vltionem exhortantem, conflagrasse, Valerius Antias narrat. Meminit etiam Plinius flammæ montanæ, quæ, vt aqua accendatur, ita terra aut fœno extinguatur. Item, Alterius campestris, que frondem densi supra se nemoris non adurat. Quæ cum ita sint, mirum, homines id in solâ Heclâ mirari (ponam enim iam ita esse, cum non sit tamen, quòd à quoquam scire potuerim) quod multis aliarum terrarum partibus seu locis, tam montanis, quàm campestribus, cum ea commune esset.

Chronica Islandie.

Eo impetu quo apud nos globi. Sic enim Munsterus. Mons ipse cum furit, inquit, horribilia tonitrua insonat, proijcit ingentia Saxa, sulphur euomit, cineribus egestis, tam longè terram circumcirca operit, vt ad vicesimum lapidem coli non possit, &c. Cæterum oportuit potius cum Ætnâ, aut alijs montibus flammiuomis, quos mox recitabo, comparasse, cum non deesset, non modò simile, sed prope idem: Nisi fortè quòd incendia rarius ex Heclâ erumpant, quàm alijs id genus montibus. Nam proximis 34. annis prorsus quieuit, facta videlicet vltima eruptione, An. 1558 vt superius annotauimus. Et nihil tam magnificè dici potest de nostra Hecla, quin idem, vel maius

Frisius.

cæteris montibus flammiuomis competat, vt mox apparebit. Quòd verò sulphur eiaculetur, manifestum est commentum, nullo experimento apud nostrates cognitum.

Is locus est carcer sordidarum animarum. Hîc præfandum esse mihi video, atque veniam à Lectore petendam, quòd, cum initio proposuerim, de terra & incolis diuisim agere, in hac prima parte tamen, quæ sunt meritò secundæ partis, miscere cogar. Euenit hoc scriptorum culpa, qui Insulæ situi ac miraculis, religionis incolarum particulam hanc, de opinione infernalis carceris, confuderunt. Quare etiam vt hunc locum attingamus, quis non miretur isthoc commentum ab homine cordato in Historia positum esse? Quis non miretur, viros sapientes eò perduci, vt hæc vulgi deliramenta auscultent, nedum sequantur? Vulgus enim extraneorum & hominum colluuies nautica, (hîc enim saniores omnes, tam inter nautas quam reliquos, excipio,) de hoc insolito naturæ miraculo audiens, ingenito stupore ad istam, de carcere animarum, imaginationem fertur: Siquidem incendio nullam substerni materiam videt, quemadmodum in domesticis focis fieri consueuit. Atque hac persuasione vulgi fama inoleuit, dum (vt ad maledicta optimè assuefactum est) vnus alteri huius montis incendium imprecatur. Quasi verò ignis elementaris & materiatus ac visibilis, animas, i. substantias spirituales comburat. Quis deníque non miretur, cur eundem carcerē damnatorum, non in Ætnâ etiam, nihilo minus ignibus ac incendijs celebri, confingant? At confinxit, dices, Gregorius Pontifex. Purgatorium igitur est. Sit sanè: Eadem igitur huius carceris veritas quæ & purgatorij. Sed priusquā longius procedamus, libet hîc referre fabulam perlepidam, huius opinionis infernalis originem & fundamentum: Nempe cuidam extraneorum naui Islandiam relinquenti, & turgidis velis, citissimo cursu iter suum rectà legenti, factam obuiam alteram, similiter impigro cursu, sed contra vim tempestatum, velis & remis nitentem: cuius præfectus rogatus, quinam essent? Respondisse fertur: De Bischop van Bremen. Iterum rogatus quo tenderent? ait. Thom Heckelfeldt tho, Thom Heckelfeldt tho. Hæc videns Lector vereor, ne peluim postulet dari: Est enim mendacium adeo detestandum, vt facilè nauseam pariat. Abeat igitur ad Cynosarges & ranas palustres: illud enim eiusdē facimus atq; illarū coax, coax. Nec verò dignum est hoc commentum, quod rideatur, nedum refutetur. Sed nolo cum insanis Papistis nugari: Quin potius ad scriptores nostros conuertamur.

Atque inprimis nequeo hîc, clarissimi viri, D. Casparis Peuceri, illud præterire. Est in Islandia, inquit, mons Hecla, qui immanis barathri, vel inferni potius profunditate terribilis, eiulantium miserabili & lamentabili ploratu personat, vt voces plorantium circumquaq;, ad interuallum magni milliaris, audiantur. Circumuolitant hunc coruorum & vulturum nigerrima agmina, quæ nidulari ibidē ab incolis existimantur. Vulgus incolarum descensum esse per voraginem illam ad inferos persuasum habet: Inde, cum prælia committuntur alibi in quacunq; parte orbis terrarum, aut cædes fiunt cruentæ, commoueri horrendos circumcirca tumultus, & excitari clamores, atq; eiulatus ingentes longâ experientiâ didicerunt. Quis verò rem tam incredibilem ad te vir doctissime perferre ausus fuit? Nec enim vultures habet Islandia, sed genus aquilarum secundum, quod ab albicante caudâ Plinius notauit, & 'Pygarsum appellauit. Nec vlli sunt huius spectaculi apud nos testes: Nec deníq; ibidem coruos aut aquilas nidificare probabile est, quæ, igni & fumo semper inimicissimo, potius à focis vel incendijs arceantur. Et nihilominus in huius rei testimonium, (vt & exauditi per voraginem montis tumultus extranei,) experientiam incolarum allegant, quæ certè contraria omnia testatur. Vnde verò foramen vel fenestra illa montana, per quam clamores, strepitus & tumultus apud antipodes, periæcos & antæcos factos exaudiremus? De quâ re multa essent, quæ authorem istius mendacij interrogatum haberem, modò quid de illo nobis constaret: qui vtinam veriora narrare discat, nec tam perfrictâ fronte similia, incomperta, átq; adeò incredibilia, clarissimo viro Peucero, aut alijs referre præsumat.

Ast verò Munsterus cum incendij tanti & tam incredilis caussas in famosissimâ Ætna inuestigare conatus sit, quam rem illic naturalem facit, hîc verò præternaturalē imo infernalem faciat, an non monstri simile est? Cæterùm de Æthnâ quid dico? Quin potius videamus quid de Heclæ incendio aliàs sentiat Munsterus.

Munsterus Cosmograph. vniuersal. lib. 1. cap. 7.

Dubium non est, inquit, montes olim & campos arsisse in orbe terrarum: Et nostra quidem ætate ardent. Verbi gratia: In Islandia mons Hecla statis temporibus foras proijcit ingentia Saxa, euomit sulphur, spargit cineres, tam longè circumcirca, vt terra ad vicesimum lapidem coli non possit. Vbi autem montiū incendia perpetua sunt, intelligimus nullam esse obstructionem meatuum, per quos modò, quasi fluuium quendam, ignes, modò flammas, nunc verò fumum tantùm euomunt. Sin per temporum interualla increscunt, internis meatibus obturatis, eius viscera nihilominus ardent. Superioris autem partis incendia, propter fomitis inopiam, non nihil remittunt ad tempus. Ast vbi spiritus vehementior, rursus reclusis meatibus ijsdem vel alijs, ex carcere magnâ vi erumpit, cineres, arenam, sulphur, pumices, massas, quæ habent speciem ferri, saxa, aliásq; materias foras proijcit, plerúnq; non sine detrimento regionis adiacentis. Hæc Munsterus. Vbi videas quæso Lector, quomodo suo se iugulet gladio, videas inquam hîc eãdem de incendio Heclæ & AEtnæ opinionem & sententiam, quæ tamen lib. 4. eiusdem, admodum est dispar, vt illic ad causas infernales confugiat.

Habet profectò Indiæ occidentalis mons quidam flammiuomus æquiores multò, quàm hic noster, censores & historicos, minimè illic barathrum exædificantes: Cuius historiam, quia & breuis est, & non illepida, subijciam, ab Hieronimo Benzone Italo in Historiar. noui orbis, lib. 2. his verbis descriptam.

Triginta quínq;, inquit, milliarium interuallo abest Legione mons flammiuomus, qui per ingentem craterem tantos sæpe flammarum globos eructat, vt noctu latissimè vltra 10000. passuum incendia reluceant. Nonnullis fuit opinio, intus liquefactum aurum esse, perpetuam ignibus materiam. Itáq; Dominicanus quidam monachus, cum eius rei periculum facere vellet, ahenum & catenam ferream fabricari curat, móxq; in montis iugum cum quatuor alijs Hispanis ascendens, catenam cum aheno ad centum quadraginta vlnas in caminum demittit. Ibi ignis feruore, ahenum cum parte catenæ liquefactum est. Monachus non leuiter iratus Legionem recurrit, fabrum incusat, quòd catenam tenuiorem multò, quàm iussisset ipse, esset fabricatus. Faber aliam multo crassiorem excudit. Monachus montem repetit: Catenam & lebetem demittit. Res priori incœpto similem exitum habuit. Nec tantùm resolutus lebes euanuit, verũ etiã flammæ globus repentè è profundo exsiliens, propemodũ & Fratrem & socios absumpsit. Omnes quidem adeo perculsi in vrbem reuersi sunt, vt de eo incœpto exequendo nunquam deinceps cogitarent, &c.

O quam censura dispar? In montano Indiæ occidentalis camino aurum: Islandiæ verò, infernum quærunt. Sed hoc vt nimis recens, ac veteribus ignotum fortasse reijcient: Cur igitur eundẽ, quem in Hecla Islandiæ, animarũ in Chimæra carcerẽ, Lyciæ monte, cuius noctu diúq; flamma immortalis perhibetur, non sunt imaginati scriptores? Cur no in Ephesi montibus, quos tæda flāmante tactos, tantū ignis cōcipere accepimus, vt lapides quoq; & arenæ in ipsis aquis ardeāt, & ex quibus accenso baculo, si quis sulcū traxerit, riuos igniū sequi narratur à Plinio? Cur non in Cophantro Bactrorum monte, noctu semper conflagrante? Cur non in Hiera Insula, medio mari ardente? Cur non in Aeolia, similiter in ipso mari olim dies aliquot aliquot accensa? Cur non in Babyloniorum campo, interdiu flagrante? Cur non in Aethiopum campis, Stellarum modo, noctu semper nitentibus? Cur non in illo Liparæ tumulo, ampla & profunda voragine hiante, teste Aristotele, ad quē non tutò noctu accedatur: ex quo Cymbalorū sonitus, crotalorum boatus, cum insolitis & inconditis cachinnis exaudiantur? Cur non in Neapolitanorum agro ad Puteolos? Cur nō in illa superius cōmemorata Teneriffæ pyramide montana, instar Aetnæ, iugiter ardente, & lapides, vt ex Munstero videre est, in aëra exspuente? Cur non in illo Aethiopum iugo, quod Plinius testatur, horum omnium maximo aduri incendio? Cur non denique in Vesuuio monte, non sine insigni viciniæ clade, & C. Plinij exitiali detrimēto, dum insueti incendij causas perscrutaturus venit, nubium tenus flammas cum saxis euomēte, pumicum & cinerum ineffabili copiâ aëra replente, & solem meridianum per totam viciniam densissimis tenebris intercipiente? Dicam, & dicam quod res est: Quia scilicet illis, vtpote notioribus, fidem, etsi inferni esse incendia finxissent, minimè adhiberi præuidebant: Heclæ verò æstum, cuius rumor tardius ad eorum aures peruenit, huic commento vanissimo stabiliendo, magis inseruire putabant. Sed facessite: Depræhensa fraus est: Desinite posthac illam de inferno Heklensi opinionem cuiquam velle persuadere. Docuit enim & nos, & alios, vobis inuitis, consimilibus incendijs, operationes suas Natura, non Infernus. Sed videamus iam plura eiusdem farinæ vulgi mendacia, quæ Historicis & Cosmographis nostris adeò malè imposuerunt.

The same in English.

THE SEUENTH SECTION.

The flame of mount Hecla will not burne towe (which
Frisius. is most apt for the wieke of a candle)
Munsterus. neither is it quenched with water: and by
the same force that bullets are discharged out of warlike

> engines with vs, from thence are great stones cast foorth into the aire, by reason of the mixture of colde, and fire, and brimstone. This place is thought of some to be the prison of vncleane soules. Item: Zieglerus. This place is the prison of vncleane soules.

Will not burne towe. Where these writers should finde such matters, it is not easie to coniecture. For our people are altogether ignorant of them, neither had they euer bene heard of heere among vs, if they had not brought them to light. For there is no man with vs so rashly and fondly curious, that dareth for his life, the hill being on fire, trie any such conclusions, or (to our knowledge) that euer durst: which notwithstanding Munster affirmeth, saying: They that are desirous to contemplate the nature of so huge a fire, & for the same purpose approch vnto the mountaine, are by some gulfe swallowed vp aliue, &c. which thing (as I sayd) is altogether vnknowen vnto our nation. Yet there is a booke extant, written in the ancient language of the Noruagians, wherein you may finde some miracles of earth, water, fire, and aire, &c. confusedly written, few of them true, and the most part vaine and false. Whereupon it easily appeareth that it was written long since by some that were imagined to be great wise men in the time of Popery. They called it a royall looking glasse: howbeit, in regard of the fond fables, wherewith (but for the most part vnder the shew of religion and piety, whereby it is more difficult to finde out the cousinage) it doeth all ouer swarme, it deserueth not the name of a looking glasse royall, but rather of a popular, and olde wiues looking glasse. In this glasse there are found certaine figments of the burning of Hecla, not much vnlike these which we now entreat of, nor any whit more grounded vpon experience, and for that cause to be reiected.

Speculum regale written in the Noruagian tongue.

Whence the fables of Island grew.

But that I may not seeme somewhat foolehardy, for accusing this royall looking glasse of falshood (not to mention any of those things which it reporteth as lesse credible) loe heere a few things (friendly reader) which I suppose deserue no credit at all.

1 Of a certain Isle in Ireland, hauing a church and a parish in it, the inhabitants whereof deceasing are not buried in the earth, but like liuing men, do continually, against some banke or wall

in the Churchyard, stand bolt-vpright: neither are they subiect to any corruption or downefall: insomuch that any of the posteritie may there seeke for, and beholde their ancestors.

2 Of another Isle of Ireland, where men are not mortall.

3 Of all the earth and trees of Ireland, being of force to resist all poisons, and to kill serpents, and other venimous things, in any countrey whatsoeuer, by the only vertue and presence thereof, yea euen without touching.

4 Of a third Isle of Ireland, that the one halfe thereof became an habitation of deuils, but that the sayd deuils haue no iurisdiction ouer the other halfe, by reason of a Church there built, although, as the whole Isle is without inhabitants, so this part is continually destitute of a Pastor, and of diuine seruice: and that it is so by nature.

5 Of a fourth Isle of Ireland floating vp and downe in an huge lake, the grasse whereof is a most present remedy for all kinde of diseases, and that the Iland, at certeine seasons, especially on Sundayes, commeth to the banke of the lake, so that any man may then easily enter into it, as it were into a shippe: which notwithstanding (sayth he) destiny will not suffer any more then one to enter at a time. Furthermore he reporteth that this Island euery seuenth yere groweth fast to the banke, so that you cannot discerne it from firme land: but that into the place thereof there succeedeth another, altogether like the former, in nature, quantitie, and vertue: which, from what place it commeth, no man can tell: and that all this happeneth with a kinde of thundering.

6 Of the hunters of Norway who are so expert to tame wood (for so he speaketh very improperly, whereas vnto wood neither life nor taming can be ascribed) that wooden pattens of eight elnes long being bound to the soles of their feet do cary them with so great celeritie euen vpon hie mountaines, that they cannot be outrun, either by the swiftnes of hounds and deere, or yet by the flying of birds. And that they will kill nine roes or more at one course & with one stroke of a dart.

These and such like, concerning Ireland, Norway, Island, Gronland, of the miracles of water, and aire, this master of fragments hath gathered together into his looking glasse: whereby, although he hath made his owne followers woonder, and the common people to be astonished, yet hath he ministred vnto vs nothing but occasion of laughter.

But let vs heare Frisius. The flame of mount Hecla (sayth he) will not burne towe (which is most apt matter for the wieke of a candle) neither is it quenched with water. But I say that this strange opinion may be confirmed by many reasons borrowed out of your schoole of Philosophy. For the naturall Philosophers doe teach, That it is common to all forcible flames to be quenched with dry things, and nourished with moiste: whereupon, euen blacksmithes, by sprinckling on of water, vse to quicken and strengthen their fire. For (say they) when fire is more vehement, it is stirred vp by colde, and nourished by moisture, both which qualities doe concurre in water. Item, water is wont to kindle skorching fires: because the moisture it selfe, which ariseth, doth proue more fattie and grosse, neither is it consumed by the smoke enclosing it, but the fire it selfe feedeth vpon the whole substance thereof, whereby being made purer, and gathering round together, it becommeth then more vehement by reason of colde. And therefore also wild-fires cannot be quenched with water. Item, There be places abounding with brimstone and pitch, which burne of their owne accord, the flame wherof cannot be quenched with water. The graund Philosopher also hath affirmed, that fire is nourished by water. Arist. 3. de anim. And Plinie, in the second booke of his naturall historie cap. 110. And Strabo in his 7. booke. In Nympheum there proceedeth a flame out of a rocke, which is kindled with water. The same author sayth: The ashe continually flourisheth, couering a burning fountaine. And moreouer that there are sudden fires at some times, euen vpon waters, as namely that the lake of Thrasumenus in the field of Perugi, was all on fire, as the same Strabo witnesseth. And in the yeares 1226, and 1236, not farre from the promontorie of Islande called Reykians, a flame of fire brake forth out of the sea. Yea euen vpon mens bodies sudden fires haue glittered: as namely, there sprang a flame from the head of Seruius Tullius lying a sleepe: and also Lucius Martius in Spaine after the death of the Scipions, making an oration to his souldiers, and exhorting them to reuenge, was all in a flame, as Valerius Antias doth report. Plinie in like sort maketh mention of a flame in a certaine mountaine, which, as it is kindled with water, so is it quenched with earth or haye: also of another field which burneth not the leaues of shadie trees that growe directly ouer it. These things being thus, it is strange that men should accompt that a wonder in Hecla onely (for I will graunt it to be, for disputation sake, when indeede there is no such matter so farre foorth as euer I could learne of any man) which is common to manie other parts or places in the world, both hilly and plaine, as well as to this.

Frisius.

And by the same force that bullets, &c. Munster saith the like also. This mountaine when it rageth, it soundeth like dreadfull thunder, casteth forth huge stones, disgorgeth brimstone, and with the cinders that are blowen abroad, it couereth so much ground round about it, that no man can inhabite within 20. miles thereof, &c. Howbeit, they ought to haue compared it with Aetna, or with other fierie mountaines, whereof I will presently make mention, seeing there is to be found in them, not onely a like accident, but in a manner the very same. Vnlesse perhaps this be the difference, that flames brake seldomer out of Hecla, then out of other mountaines of the same kinde. For it hath now rested these 34. yeares full out, the last fierie breach being made in the yeare 1558. as we haue before noted. And there can no such wonders be affirmed of our Hecla, but the same or greater are to be ascribed vnto other burning mountaines, as it shall by and by appeare.

But that brimstone should be sent fooorth it is a meere fable, and neuer knowen vnto our nation, by any experiment.

This place is the prison of vncleane soules. Here I am constrained to vse a preface, and to craue pardon of the Reader, because, whereas in the beginning I propounded vnto my selfe to treat of the land, and of the inhabitants distinctly by themselues, I must of necessitie confusedly handle certaine matters in this first part, which do properly belong vnto the second. This is come to passe through the fault of these writers, who haue confounded this part of the inhabitants religion concerning the opinion of hell, or of the infernall prison, with the situation & miracles of the island. Wherfore that we may come to this matter, who can but wonder, that wise men should be growen to this point, not onely to listen after, but euen to follow and embrace the dotings of the rude people: For the common sort of strangers, and the offskowring of mariners (here I do except them of better iudgement aswell mariners as others) hearing of this rare miracle of nature, by an inbred and naturall blockishnesse are carried to this imagination of the prison of soules: and that because they see no wood nor any such fewell layed vpon this fire as they haue in their owne chimneys at home. And by this perswasion of the grosse multitude, the report grew strong, especially (as they are too much accustomed to banning and cursing) while one would wish to another the firie torments of this mountaine. As though elementarie, materiall, and visible fire could consume mens soules being spirituall, bodilesse, and inuisible substances. And to be short, who can but woonder, why they should not faine the same prison of damned soules, aswell in mount Aetna, being no lesse famous for fires and inflamations then this: But you will say, that Pope Gregorie fained it so to be. Therefore it is purgatorie. I am content it should be so: then there is the same trueth of this prison that there is of purgatorie. But before I proceede any further I thinke it not amisse to tell a merie tale, which was the originall and ground of this hellish opinion: namely that a ship of certaine strangers departing from Island, vnder full saile, a most swift pace, going directly on her course, met with another ship sailing against winde & weather, and the force of the tempest as swiftly as themselues, who hailing them of whence they were, answere was giuen by their gouernour, De Bischop van Bremen: being the second time asked whether they were bound: he answered, Thom Heckelfeld tho, Thom Heckelfeld tho. I am affeard lest the reader at the sight of these things should call for a bason: for it is such an abominable lie, that it would make a man cast his gorge to heare it. Away with it therefore to fenny frogs, for we esteeme no more of it, then of their croaking coax coax. Nay, it is so palpable that it is not worthy to be smiled at, much lesse to be refuted. But I will not trifle any longer with the fond Papists: let vs rather come vnto our owne writers.

And first of all I cannot here omit a saying of that most worthie man Doctor Caspar Peucer. There is in Islande (quoth he) mount Hecla, being of as dreadfull a depth as any vaste gulfe, or as hell it selfe, which resoundeth with lamentable, & miserable yellings, that the noise of the cryers may be heard for the space of a great league round about. Great swarmes of vgly blacke Rauens and Vultures lie hoouering about this place which are thought of the inhabitantes to nestle there. The common people of that countrey are verily perswaded, that there is a descent downe into hell by this gulfe: and therefore when any battailes are foughten else where, in whatsoeuer part of the whole world, or any bloudie slaughters are committed, they haue learned by long experience, what horrible tumults and out-cryes, what monstrous skritches are heard round about this mountaine. Who durst be so bold (most learned Sir) to bring such an incredible report to your eares: Neither hath Island any Vultures, but that second kinde of Eagles, which Plinie noted by their white tayles, and called them Pygarsi: neither are there any with vs, that can beare witnesse of the foresaid spectacle: nor yet is it likely that Rauens and Eagles would nestle in that place, when as they should rather be driuen from thence by fire and smoke, being things most contrarie to their nature. And yet notwithstanding for proofe of this matter, as also of a strange tumult heard within the hollow of the mountaine, they allege the experience of the inhabitants, which indeede testifieth all things to the contrarie. But whereabout should that hole or windowe of the mountaine be, by the which we may heare outcries, noyse and tumults done among them, who inhabite the most contrarie, distant, and remote places of the earth from vs: Concerning which thing I would aske the author of this fable many questions, if I might but come to the knowledge of him: in the meane time I could wish that from hencefoorth he would learne to tell troth, & not presume with so impudent a face to enforme excellent Peucer, or others, of such vnknowen and incredible matters.

But to returne to Munster, who endeuouring to search out the causes of the great and strange fire of that famous hill Aetna, is it not monstrous that the very same thing which he there maketh natural, he should here imagine to be preternaturall, yea infernal? But why do I speake of Aetna? Let vs rather consider what Munster in another place thinketh of the burning of Hecla.

Munsterus Cosmograph. vniuersalis lib. 1. cap. 7.

It is without doubt (saith he) that some mountaines and fields burned in old time throughout the whole world: and in this our age do burne. As for example: mount Hecla in Island at certaine seasons casteth abroad great stones, spitteth out brimstone, and disperseth ashes, for such a distance round about, that the land cannot be inhabited within 20. miles thereof. But where mountaines do continually burne we vnderstand that there is no stopping of the passages, wherby they poure forth abundance of fire sometime flaming, & sometime smoaking gas it were a streaming flood. But if betweene times the fire encreaseth, all secret passages being shut vp, the inner parts of the mountaine are notwithstanding enflamed. The fire in the vpper part, for want of matter, somewhat abateth for the time. But when a more vehement spirite (the same, or other passages being set open again) doth with great violence breake prison, it casteth forth ashes, sand, brimstone, pumistones, lumpes resembling iron, great stones, & much other matter, not without the domage of the whole region adioyning. Thus farre Munster. Where consider (good Reader) how he cutteth his throat with his owne sword, consider (I say) that in this place there is the very same opinion of the burning of Hecla, & the burning of Aetna, which notwithstanding in his 4. booke is very diuerse, for there he is faine to run to infernall causes. A certaine fierie mountaine of West India hath farre more friendly censurers, & historiographers then our Hecla, who make not an infernall gulfe therof. The History of which mountain (because it is short & sweete) I will set downe, being written by Hieronimus Benzo an Italian, in his history of the new world, lib. 2. These be the words. "About 35. miles distant from Leon there is a mountaine which at a great hole belcheth out such mightie balles of flames, that in the night they shine farre and neare, aboue 100. miles. Some were of opinion that within it was molten gold ministring continuall matter & nourishment for the fire. Hereupon a certain Dominican Frier, determining to make trial of the matter, caused a brasse kettle, & an irō chain to be made: afterward ascending to the top of the hill with 4. other Spaniards, he letteth downe the chaine & the kettle 140. elnes into the fornace: there, by extreme heate of the fire, the kettle, & part of the chaine melted. The monke in a rage ran back to Leon, & chid the smith, because he had made the chaine far more slender then himselfe had cōmanded. The smith hammers out another of more substance & strength then the former. The Monke returnes to the mountains, and lets downe the chaine & the cauldron: but with the like successe that he had before. Neither did the caldrō only vanish & melt away: but also, vpon the sudden there came out of the depth a flame of fire, which had almost cōsumed the Frier, & his companions. Then they all returned so astonished, that they had small list afterward to prosecute that attempt, &c." What great difference is there betweene these two censures? In a fiery hill of West India they search for gold: but in mount

Hecla of Island they seeke for hel. Howbeit they wil perhaps reiect this as a thing too new, & altogether vnknowen to ancient writers. Why therefore haue not writers imagined the same prison of soules to be in Chimæra an hill in Lycia (which, by report, flameth continually day and night) that is in mount Hecla of Island? Why haue they not imagined the same to be in the mountaines of Ephesus, which being touched with a burning torch, are reported to conceiue so much fire, that the very stones & sand lying in the water are caused to burne, & from the which (a staffe being burnt vpon them, & trailed after a man on the ground) there proceede whole riuers of fire, as Plinie testifieth? Why not in Cophantrus a mountaine of Bactria, alwayes burning in the night? Why not in the Isle of Hiera, flaming in the midst of the sea? Why not in Aeolia in old time likewise burning for certaine daies in the midst of the sea? Why not in the field of Babylon burning in the day season? Why not in the fields of Aethiopia glittering alwaies like stars in the night? Why not in the hill of Lipara opening with a wide and bottomlesse gulfe (as Aristotle beareth record) whereunto it is dangerous to approch in the night: frō whence the sound of Cymbals and the noyse of rattles, with vnwonted and vncouth laughters are heard? Why not in the field of Naples, neare vnto Puteoli? Why not in the Pike of Teneriffa before mentioned, like Aetna continually burning and casting vp stones into the aier, as Munster himselfe witnesseth? Why not in that Aethiopian hill, which Plinie affirmeth to burne more then all the former? And to conclude, why not in the mountaine of Vesuuius, which (to the great damage of al the countrey adioyning, & to the vtter destruction of Caius Plinius prying into ye causes of so strange a fire) vomiting out flames as high as the clouds, filling the aire with great abundance of pumistones, and ashes, & with palpable darknesse intercepting the light of the sunne from al the region therabout? I wil speake, & yet speake no more then the truth: because in deede they foresaw, that men would yeeld no credite to those things as being too well knowen, though they should have feined them to haue beene the flames of hell: but they thought the burning of Hecla (the rumour whereof came more slowly to their eares) to be fitter for the establishing of this fond fable. But get ye packing, your fraud is found out: leaue off for shame hereafter to perswade any simple man, y^t there is a hel in mount Hecla.

For nature hath taught both vs & others (maugre your opinion) to acknowledge her operations in these fire workes, not the fury of hell. But now let vs examine a few more such fables of ye cōmō people, which haue so vnhappily misledd our historiographers & cosmographers.

SECTIO OCTAVA.

> Iuxta hos montes (tres prædictos Heclam, &c.) sunt tres hiatus immanes, quorum altitudinem apud montem Heclam potissimum, ne Lynceus quidem perspicere queat: Sed apparent ipsum inspicientibus, homines primùm submersi, adhuc spiritum exhalantes, qui amicis suis, vt ad propria redeant, hortantibus, magnis suspirijs se ad montem Heclam proficisci debere respondent: Sicque subitò euanescunt.

Frifius Zieglerus, Olauus Magn.

AD confirmandum superius mendacium de Inferno terrestri ac visibili, commentum hoc, non minus calumniosum (etsi facilè largiar, Frisium non tam calumniandi, quàm noua & inaudita prædicandi animo ista scripsisse) quàm falsum ac gerris Siculis longè vanius ac detestabilius, excogitarūt homines ignaui, nec cœlū nec infernū scientes. Quos scriptores isti, viri alioqui præclarissimi & optimè de Repub. literaria meriti, nimiū præpropero iudicio secuti sunt.

Cæterum optandum esset, nullos tanto nouitatis studio Historias scribere, vt non vereantur aniles quasuis nugas ijs inserere, atq; ita aurum purū cœno aspergere. Qui verò demū sunt homines illi submersi, in lacu infernali natitantes, & nihilominus cum notis & amicis confabulantes? Anne nobis veterem Orphea, cum sua Euridice, in Stygias relabente vndas, colloquentem, & in his extremi orbis partibus, tanquam ad Tanaim Hebrúmque niualem, cantus exercentem lyricos, rediuiuum dabitis? Certè, etsi nolint alij futilem huiusmodi ineptiarum leuitatem ac mendacium agnoscere, agnouit tamen rerum omnium haud negligens æstimator Cardanus, lib. 18. subtil. cuius hæc sunt verba.

Est Hecla mons in Islandia, ardétq; non aliter ac Ætna in Sicilia per interualla, ideóq; persuasione longa (vulgi) concepta, quod ibi expientur animæ. Alij, ne vani sint, affingunt inania fabulæ, vt consona videantur. Quæ sunt autem illa inania? Quòd spectra comminiscuntur, se ad montem Heclam ire respondentia, ait idem. Et addit. Nec in Islandia solum, sed vbiq;, licet rarò, talia contingunt: Subditq; de laruâ homicidâ Historiam, quæ sic habet. Efferebatur, inquit, anno præterito, funus viri plebeij Mediolani, orientali in porta iuxta templum maius foro venali, quod à caulium frequentia nomen caulis nostra lingua sonat. Occurrit mihi notus: Peto, vt medicorum moris est, quo morbo excesserit? Respondet ille: consuesse hunc virum hora noctis tertia à labore redire domum: Vidit lemurem nocte quadam insequentem: Quam cum effugere conaretur, ocyus citato pede abibat: Sed à spectro captus atq; in terram proiectus videbatur. Exclamare nitebatur: Non poterat. Tandem, cum diu in terra cum larua volutatus esset, inuentus à prætereuntibus quibusdam, semiviuus domum relatus, cum resipuisset, interrogatus, hæc quæ minus expectabantur, retulit. Ob id animam despondens, cum nec ab amicis, nec medicis, nec sacerdotibus persuaderi potuisset, inania esse hæc, octo inde diebus perijt. Audiui postmodum & ab alijs, qui vicini essent illi, neminem ab inimico vulneratum tam constanter de illo testatum, vt hic, quod à mortuo fuisset in terram prouolutus. Cum quidam quærerent, quid ille postquam in terram volutaretur ageret? Conatum, inquit, mortuum adhibitis gulæ manibus, vt eum strangularet: Nec obstitisse quicquam, nisi quòd se ipsum tueretur manibus. Cum alij dubitarent, ne fortè hæc à viuo passus esset, interrogaréntq; in quo mortuum a viuo secernere potuisset? Caussam reddidit satis probabilem, dicens se tanquam cottum attrectasse, nec pondus habuisse, nisi vt premebatur. Et paulò post addit. Eadem verò ratione qua in Islandia, in arenæ solitudinibus Ægypti & Æthiopiæ, Indíæq; vbi Sol ardet, eædem imagines, eadem spectra viatores ludificare solent. Hactenus Cardanus. Inde tamen nemo concluseret, sicut de Islandia scriptores nostri faciunt, in illis Ægypti and Æthiopiæ, Indiæq; locis, carcerem existere damnatorum.

Hæc ex Cardano adscribere libuit, vt etiam extraneorum testimonia pro nobis, contra figmenta tanta afferamus. Conuincit a uē præsens Cardani locus hæc duo, scilicet: nec esse Islandiæ proprias spectrorū apparitiones: (quod etiā omnes norunt, nisi eius rei ignorantiā nimis affectent) nec illud mortuorū cū viuis, in hiatu Heclensi, colloquium, nisi ementitis hominum fabulis, quauis ampulla vani oribus, niti, quibus beluæ vulgares, ad confirmandā de animarū cruciatibus opinionē, vsæ fuerant. Et quisquā est, qui illis scriptorū hiatibus, mortuorū miraculis ad summum vsque refertis, adduci potest vt credat? Quisquam, qui

vanitatē tantam non cotēnat? Certè. Nam & hinc conuicia in gentem nostram rectè sumi aiunt: Nihil scilicet hac proiectius ac deterius esse vsquā, quæ intra limites Orcum habeat. Scilicet hoc cōmodi nobis peperit Historicorum ad res nouas diuulgandas auiditas. Verum illa è vulgi dementia nata opinio, vt stulta ac inanis, & in opprobrium nostræ gentis conficta, hactenus, vt spero, satis labefactata est. Quare iam perge Lector, vlterius hanc de secretis infernalibus Philosophiam cognoscere.

The same in English.

THE EIGHT SECTION.

> Neare vnto the mountaines (the 3. fornamed Hecla &c.) there be three vaste holes, the depth whereof, especially at mount Hecla, cannot be discerned by any man, be he neuer so sharpe sighted: but there appeare to the beholders thereof certaine men at that instant plunged in, & as yet drawing their breath, who answere their friends (exhorting them with deepe sighs to returne home) that they must depart to mount Hecla: and with that, they suddenly vanish away.

Frisius. Zieglerus. Olaus magnus.

TO confirme the former lie, of an earthly & visible hell (albeit I will easily grant that Frisius in writing these things did not entend to reproch any, but only to blaze abroad new & incredible matters) certaine idle companions knowing neither hell nor heauen haue inuented this fable, no lesse reprochfull then false, and more vaine & detestable then Sicilian scoffes. Which fellowes these writers (being otherwise men of excellent parts, and to whom learning is much indebted) haue followed with an ouer hastie iudgement.

But it were to be wished, that none would write Histories with so great a desire of setting foorth nouelties & strange things, that they feare not, in that regard to broch any fabulous & old-wiues toyes, & so to defile pure gold with filthy mire. But I pray you, how might those drowned mē be swimming in the infernal lake, & yet for al that, parleing with their acquaintance & friends? What? Will you coniure, & raise vp vnto vs from death to life old Orpheus conferring with his wife Euridice (drawen backe againe down to the Stigian flood)

& in these parts of the world, as it were by the bankes of snowey Tanais, & Hebrus descanting vpon his harpe? But in very deed although others will not acknowledge the falshood, & vanity of these trifles, yet Cardane being a diligent considerer of al things in his 18. booke de subtilitate, doth acknowledge & find them out. Whose words be these. There is Hecla a mountaine in Island, which burneth like vnto Ætna at certain seasons, & hereupon the cōmon people haue conceiued an opinion this long time, that soules are there purged: some, least they should seeme liars, heape vp more vanities to this fable, that it may appeare to be probable, & agreeable to reasō. But what be those vanities? namely, they feine certaine ghosts answering thē, that they are going to mount Hecla: as the same Cardane saith. And further he addeth. Neither in Island only, but euery where (albeit seldome) such things come to passe. And then he tels this storie following of a man-killing spright. There was (saith he) solemnized this last yeare the funerall of a cōmon citizen, in the gate neare vnto the great Church, by that marketplace, which in regard of the abundāce of herbs, in our tong hath the name of the herbmarket. There meets with me one of mine acquaintance: I (according to the custome of Phisitians) presently aske of what disease the man died? he giueth me answere that this man vsed to come home from his labour 3. houres within night: one night amōg the rest he espied an hobgoblin pursuing him: which to auoid, he ran away with al speed: but being caught by the spright, he was throwne down vpon the ground. He would faine haue made a shout, & was not able. At length (when the spright & he had struggled together vpon the ground a good while) he was found by certain passengers, & carried home halfe dead. And when he was come to himselfe againe, being asked what was the matter, he vp and tolde this strange relation. Hereupon (being vtterly daunted, & discouraged, when neither by his friends, nor by Phisitians, nor by Priests, he could be perswaded, that these things were but his owne conceits, & that there was no such matter) 8. daies after he died. I heard also afterward of others which were his neighbors, that no man could more cōstantly affirme himselfe to be wounded of his enemy, then this man did, that he was cast vpon the ground by a ghost. And when some demanded what he did, after he was tumbled on the earth? The dead man (quoth he) laying his hands to my throat, went about to strāgle me: neither was there any remedy, but by defending my selfe with mine own hands. When others doubted least he might suffer these things of a liuing man, they asked him how he could discerne a dead man frō a liuing? To this: he rendered a very probable reason, saying that he seemed in handling to be like Cottum, & that he had no weight, but held him down by maine force. And presently after he addeth. In like manner as in Island, so in the desert sands of Ægypt, Æthiopia, and India, where the sunne is hot, the very same apparitions, the same sprights are wont to delude wayfaring men. Thus much Cardane. Yet from hence (I trow) no man will conclude as our writers of Island do, that in the places of Ægypt, Æthiopia, and India, there is a prison of damned soules.

I thought good to write these things out of Cardane, that I may bring euen the testimony of strangers on our sides, against such monstrous fables. This place of Cardane implieth these two things, namely y^t apparitions of sprights are not proper to Island alone (which thing al mē know, if they do not maliciously feigne thēselues to be ignorant). And secondly that that conference of the dead with the liuing in ye gulfe of Hecla is not grounded vpon any certainty, but only vpon fables coined by some idle persons, being more vaine then any bubble, which the brutish cōmon sort haue vsed, to confirme their opinion of the tormenting of soules. And is there any man so fantasticall, that wilbe induced to beleeue these gulfes, mētioned by writers, to be any where extant, although they be neuer so ful of dead mens miracles? yea doubtlesse. For frō hence also they say, y^t reproches are iustly vsed against our nation: namely y^t there is nothing in all the world more base, & worthlesse then it, which conteineth hell within the bounds therof. This verely is the good that we haue gotten by those historiographers, who haue bin so greedy to publish nouelties. But this opinion, bred by the sottishnes of the cōmon people hath hitherto (as I hope) bene sufficiently ouerthrowen as a thing foolish & vaine, and as being deuised for the vpbrayding of our nation. Wherefore, proceede (friendly Reader) and be farther instructed in this philosophy of infernall secrets.

SECTIO NONA.

> Circum verò Insulam, per septem aut octo menses fluctuat glacies, miserabilem quendam gemitum, & ab humana voce non alienum, ex collisione edens. Putant incolæ, & in monte Hecla, & in glacie loca esse, in quibus animæ suorum crucientur.

Frisius & Munst.

EGregium scilicet Historiæ augmentum, de Orco Islandico in vnius montis basin, haud sanè vastam, coacto: Et interdum (statis forsan temporibus) loca commutante. Vbi scilicet domi in foco mōtano delitescere piget, & exire, pelagúsq; sed sine rate, tentare iuuat, seseq; in glaciei frustella colligere. Audite porrò, huius secreti admiratores: En porrigā Historicis aliud Historiæ auctarium nequaquam contemnendum. Scribant igitur, quotquot his scriptorū cōmentis adherent, Islandos non solùm infernum intra limites habere, sed & scientes volentes ingredi, atq; intactos eodē die egredi. Quid ita? Quia peruetus est Insulæ cōsuetudo, vt maritimi in hanc glaciem, ab Historicis infernalem factam, manè phocas, seu vitulos marinos captum eant, ac vesperi incolumes redeant. Addite etiam, in scrinijs & alijs vasis ab Islandis carcerem damnatorum asseruari, vt paulò post ex Frisio audiemus.

Sed maturè prævidendum erit vobis, ne Islandi fortitudinis & constantiæ laudem vestris nationibus præripiant: Quippe qui tormenta (vt historicis vestris placet) barathri sustinuisse & velint & possint, illáq; sine vllo grauiore damno perrūpere atq; effugere valeant, quod quidem ipsum ex iam dictis efficitur: Et multos nostratium enumerare possum, qui in ipso venationis actu longiusculè à littore digressi, glacie à Zephyris dissipata, multa milliaria glaciei insidētes, tempestatis violentia profligati, & aliquot dies ac noctes continuas crudelissimi pelagi fluctibus iactati, sicque (id enim, inquam, ex præsenti Historicorum problemate consequitur) tormenta & cruciatus barathri glacialis experti sunt: Qui tandem mutata tempestate, atq; à Borea spirantibus ventis, ad littora, cum hoc suo glaciali nauigio rursus adacti, incolumes domum peruenerunt: Quorum aliqui etiam hodie viuunt. Quare hoc nouitatis auidi arripiant, indeque, si placet, iustum volumen conficiant, atque ad Historiam suam apponant. Nec enim vanissima illa commenta aliter, quàm eiusmodi iocularibus excipienda & confundenda videntur. Cæterum, ioco seposito, vnde digressi sumus, reuertamur.

Primùm igitur ex sectione secunda satis constat, glaciem, neque septem, neque octo mensibus circa ipsam Insulam fluitare: Deinde etiam, glaciem hanc, et si interdum ex collisione grandes sonitus & fragores edit, interdum propter vndarum alluuionem, raucum murmur personat, quicquam tamen humanæ voci simile resonare aut eiulare minimè fatemur.

Quod autem dicunt, nos & in glacie, & in monte Hecla loca statuere, in quibus animæ nostrorū crucientur, Id verò seriò pernegamus, Deóq; ac Domino nostro Iesu Christo, qui nos à morte & inferno eripuit, & regni cœlestis ianuam nobis reserauit, gratias ex animo agimus, quod nos de loco, in quem animæ nostrorum defunctorum commigrent, rectius, quàm dicunt isti Historici, instituerit. Scimus & tenemus animas piorum non in Purgatorium Pontificiorum, aut campos Elysios, sed in sinum Abrahæ, in manum Dei, in Paradisum cœlestem, mox è corporis ergastulo transferri. Scimus & tenemus de impiorum animabus, non in montanos focos & cineres, vel glaciem nostris oculis expositam, deflectere, sed in extremas mox abripi tenebras, vbi est fletus & stridor dentiū, vbi est frigus, vbi est ignis ille, non vulgaris, sed extra nostrā scientiā & subtilem disputationem positus. Vbi non modò corpora, sed animæ etiam. i.e. substantiæ spirituales, cruciantur. Huic extremo & tenebricoso carceri non Islandos viciniores, quàm Germanos, Danos, Gallos, Italos, aut quamvis aliam gentem, quoad loci situm, statuimus. Nec de huius carceris loco sitúue quicquā disputare attinet: sufficit nobis abundè, quòd illius tenebricosum fœtorem & reliqua tormēta, dante & iuuante Domino nostro Iesu Christo, cuius precioso sanguine redempti sumus, nunquam simus visuri aut sensuri. Atque hîc de orco Islandico disputationis colophon esto.

The same in English.

THE NINTH SECTION.

But round about the Iland, for the space of 7. or 8. moneths in a yere there floateth ise, making a miserable kind of mone, and not vnlike to mans voice, by reason of the clashing together. The inhabitants are of opinion that in mount Hecla and in the ise, there are places wherein the soules of their countreymen are tormented.

Frisius and Munster.

NO doubt, a worthy augmentation of the history, concerning the hel of Island, shut vp within the botome of one mountaine, & that no great one: yea, at some times (by fits and seasons) changing places: namely, whē it is weary of lurking at home by the fires side within ye mountaine, it delighteth to be ranging abroad, & to venter to sea, but without a ship, & to gather it selfe round into morsels of yce. Come forth, & giue eare all ye y^t^ wonder at this secret. Lo, I will afford these historiographers another addition of history very notable. Let them write therfore, that ye Islanders haue not only hel within their iurisdiction, but also y^t^ they enter into it willingly & wittingly, & come forth againe vntouched ye very same day. How can that be? Why: it is an ancient custome of the Island that they which inhabite neare the sea shore do vsually go betimes in a morning to catch Seales, euen vpon the very same ise which the historiographers make to be hel, & in the euening returne home safe and sound. Set downe also (if ye please) that the prison of the damned is kept in store by the Islanders in coffers and vessels, as we shall anon heare out of Frisius.

Taking of Seales on the ice.

But you had need wisely to foresee, lest ye Islanders beguile all your countries of the cōmendation of courage & constācy: namely, as they (for so it pleaseth your writers to report) who both can and will endure the torments of hell, & who are able to breake through & escape them, without any farther hurt: which thing is necessarily to be collected out of that, that hath bin before mentioned. And I am able to reckon vp a great many of our countrimen who in ye very act of hunting, wandring somewhat farre from the shoare (the ice being dispersed by westerne winds) & for the space of many leagues resting vpon the ice, being chased with the violence of the tempest, & some whole daies & nights being tossed vp & downe in the waues of ye raging sea, & so (for it followeth by good consequence out of this probleme of the historiographers) haue had experience of the torments, & paines of this hell of ice. Who at the last, the weather being changed, & the winds blowing at the North, being transported again to the shoare, in this their ship of ice, haue returned home in safety: some of which number are aliue at this day. Wherefore let such as be desirous of newes snatch vp this, & (if they please) let them frame a whole volume hereof, & adde it to their

Westerne windes disperse the ice.

history. Neither do these vaine phantasies deserue otherwise to be handled & cōfuted, then with such like merimēts, & sportings. But to lay aside all iesting, let vs returne to the matter from whence we are digressed. First of all therefore it is euident enough out of the second section, y^t ice floateth not about this Iland, neither 8. nor 7. moneths in a yere: then, that this ice (although at some times by shuffling together it maketh monstrous soundings & cracklings, & againe at some times with the beating of the water, it sendeth forth an hoarse kind of murmuring) doth any thing at all resound or lament, like vnto mans voice, we may in no case confesse. But wheras they say that, both in the Isle, and in mount Hecla we appoint certaine places, wherin the soules of our countrimen are tormented, we vtterly stand to the deniall of that: and we thanke God & our Lord Iesus Christ from the botome of our hearts (who hath deliuered vs from death & hell, & opened vnto vs the gate of the kingdome of heauen) because he hath instructed vs more truely, concerning the place, whether the soules of our deceased countrimen depart, then these historiographers doe tell vs. We know and maintain that the soules of ye godly are transported immediatly out of their bodily prisons, not into the Papists purgatory, nor into the Elysian fields, but into Abrahams bosome, into the hand of God, & into the heauenly paradise. We know & maintaine concerning the soules of the wicked, that they wander not into the fires & ashes of mountaines or into visible ice, but immediatly are carried away into vtter darknesse, where is weeping & gnashing of teeth, where there is colde also, & fire not cōmon, but far beyond our knowledge & curious disputation. Where not onely bodies, but soules also, y^t is spirituall substances are tormented. And we do also hold, y^t the Islanders are no whit nearer vnto this extreame & darke prison, in regard of the situation of place, then the Germans, Danes, Frenchmen, Italians, or any other nation whatsoeuer. Neither is it any thing to the purpose, at all to dispute of the place or situation of this dungeon. It is sufficient for vs, that (by the grace and assistance of our Lord Iesus Christ, with whose precious blood we are redeemed) we shall neuer see that vtter darknesse, nor feele the rest of the torments that be there. Now let vs here shut vp the disputation concerning the hell of Island.

Ice floateth not 7. or 8. moneths about Island.

SECTIO DECIMA.

Quòd si quis ex hac glacie magnam partem ceperit, eámque vasi aut scrinio inclusam, quàm diligentissimè asseruarit, illa tempore glaciei, quæ circum insulam est, degelantis, euanescit, vt neque minima eius particula vel guttula aquæ reperiatur.

Frisius, Zieglerus Saxo fere similiter.

ID profecto necessariò addendum fuit: Hanc scilicet glaciem, voces humanas, secundum Historicos, representatem, & damnatorum receptaculum existentem, non esse, vt reliqua in vastissima hac vniuersitate omnia, ex Elementi alicuius materia conflatam. Siquidem cum corpus esse videatur, corpus tamen non sit, (quod ex Frisij paradoxo rectè deducitur) cum etiam corpora dura & solida perrumpat, non secus ac spectra & genij: Restat igitur cum non sit elementaris naturæ, vt vel spiritualem habeat materiam, vel cœlestem, vel quod ipsi forsan largiantur, infernalem. Infernalem tamen esse non assentiemur, quia ad aures nostras peruenit frigus infernale longè esse intractabilius, quam est hæc glacies, humanis manibus in scrinio reposita, nec quicquā suo contactu, vel nudatam carnem lædere valens. Nec profectò spiritualem esse dabimus; accepimus enim à Physicis, substantias spirituales nec cerni, nec tangi, nec ijs quicquam decedere posse: quæ tamen omnia in hanc historicorum glaciem, quantumuis, secundum illos, hyperphysicam, cadere certum & manifestum est. Præterea & hoc verissimum est, eam calore solis resolutam, ac in superficie sua stagnantem, siti piscatorum restinguendæ, nō secus ac riuos terrestres, inseruire: Id quod substantiæ spirituali denegatū est. Non est igitur spiritualis, vt nec infernalis. Iam verò cœlestem habere materiam, nemo audebit dicere: Ne forte inde aliquis suspicetur, glaciem hanc barathrum, quod illi Historici affingūt, secum è cœlo traxisse: Vel id cœlo, quippe eiusdem materiæ cum glacie, commune esse, atq; ita carcer damnatorum cum Paradiso cœlesti loca commutasse, Historicorum culpa putetur.

Quare cum glacies hæc Historica nec sit elementaris, vt ex præsenti loco Frisij optimè sequi iam toties monuimus: nec spiritualis, nec infernalis, quod vtrúmq; breuibus, solidis tamen rationibus demonstrauimus: nec cœlestis materiæ, quod opinari religio vetat: relinquitur omnino, vt secundum eosdem His-

toricos nulla sit, quam tamē illi tàm cum stupendâ admiratione prædicant, & nos videri ac tangi putamus. Est igitur, & non est : Quod axioma vbi secundum idem, & ad idem, & eodem tempore, verum esse poterit, nos demum miraculis istis glacialibus credemus. Itáq ; iam vides Lector, ad hæc refellenda nullo alio esse opus, quàm mōstrari quomodo secum dissideant. Sed haud mirum, eum qui semel vulgi fabulosis rumoribus se cermisit, sæpius errare. Cuiusmodi etiam prodidit quidam de glaciei huius Sympathiâ, quòd videlicet molis, cuius pars esset, discessum insequeretur, vt omnem obseruationis diligentiam ineuitabili fugæ necessitate deciperet. Atqui sæpe vidimus eiusmodi solitariam molem post abactam reliquam glaciem, nullis vectibus nullis machinis detentam, ad littus multis septimanis consistere. Palam est igitur, illud de glacie miraculum fundamento niti, quàm est ipsa glacies, magis lubrico.

The same in English.

THE TENTH SECTION.

If any man shall take a great quantity of this ice, & shall
keepe it neuer so warily enclosed in a coffer Frisius.
or vessel, it wil at that time when the ice Zieglerus.
thaweth about the Iland, vtterly vanish Saxo.
away, so that not the least part thereof, no nor a drop
of water is to be found.

SVrely, this was of necessity to be added: namely, y^t this ice, which according to historiographers representeth mans voice, & is the place of the damned, doth not as all other things in this wide world, consist of ye matter of some element. For whereas it seemeth to be a body, when indeed it is no body: (which may directly be gathered out of Frisius absurd opinion) whereas also it pierceth through hard & solide bodies, no otherwise then spirits & ghosts: therefore it remaineth, seeing it is not of an elementary nature, y^t it must haue either a spirituall, or a celestial, or an infernal matter. But y^t it should be infernall, we can not be perswaded, because we haue heard that infernall cold is farre more vnsufferable then this ise, which vseth to be put into a boxe with mens hands, & is not of force any whit to hurt euen naked flesh, by touching thereof. Nor yet will we grant it to be spirituall: for we haue learned in naturall Philosophy, that spiritual substances can neither be seene nor felt, & cannot haue any thing taken from them: all which things do notwithstanding most manifestly agree to this ise of the Historiographers, howsoeuer according to them it be supernatural. Besides also, it is most true, that the very same yse being melted with the heat of the sunne, & resolued into water, vpon the vpper part therof, standeth fishermen in as good stead to quench their thirst, as any land-riuer would do, which thing can no way be ascribed to a spirituall substance. It is not therefore spirituall, nor yet infernall. Now none wilbe so bold to affirme, that it hath celestiall matter, least some man perhaps might hereupon imagine, y^{t} this ise hath brought hell (which the historiographers annexe vnto it) downe from heauen together with it selfe: or that the same thing should be common vnto heauen, being of one & the same matter with ise, & so that the prison of the damned may be thought to haue changed places with the heauēly paradise, & all by the ouersight of these Historiographers. Wherfore seeing the matter of this historicall ise is neither elementarie (as we haue so often proued by this place of Frisius) neither spirituall, nor infernall, both which we haue concluded euidently, in short, yet sound and substanciall reasons: nor yet celestiall matter, which, religion forbiddeth a man once to imagine: it is altogether manifest, y^{t} according to the said historiographers, there is no such thing at all, which notwithstanding they blaze abroad with such astonishing admiration, & which we thinke to be an ordinary matter commonly seene and felt. Therefore it is, and it is not: which proposition when it shall fall out true, in the same respect, in the same part, and at the same time, then will we giue credite to these frozen miracles. Now therefore the Reader may easily iudge, that wee need none other helpe to refute these things, but onely to shew how they disagree one with another. But it is no maruell that he, which hath once enclined himselfe to the fabulous reports of the common people, should oftentimes fall into error. There was a like strange thing inuented by another concerning the sympathy or conioining of this ise: namely, that it followeth the departure of that huge lumpe, whereof it is a part, so narrowly, & so swiftly, that a man by no diligence can obserue it, by reason of the vnchangeable necessitie of following. But we haue oftentimes seene such a solitarie lumpe of ise remaining (after the other parts thereof were driuen away) and lying vpon the shore for many weekes together, without any posts or engines at all to

stay it. Therefore it is plaine that these miracles of ise are grounded vpon a more slippery foundation then ise it selfe.

SECTIO VNDECIMA.

> Non procul ab his montibus, (tribus prædictis) ad maritimas oras vergentibus, sunt quatuor fontes diuersissimæ naturæ. Vnus suo perpetuo ardore omne corpus sibi immissum raptim conuertit in saxum, manente tamen priore formâ. Alter est algoris intolerabilis. Tertius vel melle dulcior & restinguendæ siti iucundissimus. Quartus plane exitialis, pestilens, & virulentus.

Frisius.

ETiam hæc fontium topographia satis apertè monstrat, quàm ex impuro fonte has suas narrationes omnes miraculosas hauserit Geographus. Id enim dicere videtur: Montes hos tres prædictos ferè cōtiguos esse: Siquidē tribus montibus quatuor fontes indiscretè adscribit. Alioqui si non vicinos statuisset, vni alicui horum duos fontes adscripsisset. Sed neque hi montes contigui sunt (quippe multis milliaribus inuicem dissiti) neque iuxta hos fontes illi quatuor reperiuntur: quod, qui credere nolit, experiatur. Cæterum ad hæc confundenda sufficit, credo, ipsorum historicorū contrarietas. Nam de duobus fontibus quidam Frisio his verbis contradicit. Erumpunt ex eodem monte (Heclâ) fontes duo, quorum alter equarum frigiditate, alter feruore intolerabili exedit omnem elementarem vim. Hi duo sunt primi illi Frisij fontes, nisi quod hîc miraculum indurandi corpora, alteri fontium attributum, omissum sit. Atqui non simul possunt ex ipso monte, & iuxta montem erumpere.

Hîc vero libenter quæsierim, quâ ratione quisquam ex Peripatecicis dicat, aliquid ipso elemento aquæ frigidius, aut igne calidius? Vnde demum, scriptores, ista frigiditas? Vnde iste feruor? Nonne è Schola vestra accepimus aquam esse elementum frigidissimum & humidum, atque adeò frigidissimum, vt ad constituendas qualitates secundas, remitti sit necesse, nec simplicem vsibus humanis inseruire? (Hæc ego nunc Physicorum oracula fundo, vera an falsa, nescio). Testis est vnus omnium, & pro omnibus, Iohannes Fernelius lib. 2. Physiologiæ, cap. 4. Sic, inquit, qualitates hæ (quatuor primæ) quatuor rerum naturis summæ obtigerunt, vt quemadmodum puro igne nihil calidius, nihilque leuius; Sic terra nihil siccius, nihil gravius: Aquam sinceram, nullius medicamenti vis gelida euincet, vt nec aërem, vllius humor. Summæ præterea sic illis insunt, vt ne minimum quidem possint augescere, remitti verò possint. Nolo huc rationes seu argumenta Physicorum aggregare. Vnum profecto hic cauendum est, ne dum fontium miracula prædicant scriptores, vt glaciem Islandorum, ita etiam fontes creatorum numero eximant. Nos fontium adiuncta, quæ huc scriptores pertraxerunt, ordine persequemur. Primus suo perpetuo calore: Plurimæ sunt in Islandia thermæ seu fontes calidi: Pauciores ardentes: quos neque cuiquam miraculo esse debere existimamus, cum huiusmodi, vt a scriptoribus didici, passim abundet Germania, præcipuè in ijs locis, quæ non sunt procul ab Alpium radicibus. Nota est fama thermarum Badensium, Gebarsuiliensium, Calbensium, in ducatu Wirtēbergensi, & multarum aliarum quarum meminit Fuchsius in lib. de arte medendi. Et non solum Germania, sed etiam Gallia, & longe magis omnium bonorum parens Italia, inquit Cardanus. Et Aristoteles narrat, circa Epyrum calidas aquas scaturire, vnde locus Pyriphlegeton appellatur. Atq; inquam, hæc ideo minus miranda, quod vt incendij montani, ita feruoris aquei caussas indagarint Naturæ speculatores: Aquam scilicet per terræ venas sulphureas, aut aluminosas labi, indéq; non calorem solùm, sed saporem etiam & virtutes alienas concipere. Docuit hoc Aristoteles libro de mundo. Continet, inquit, terra in se multos fontes, vt aquæ, ita & spiritus & ignis: Quidam amnium more fluunt, & vel ignescens eijciunt ferrum: Nunc tepidæ aquæ erumpunt, nunc feruentissimæ, nunc temperatæ. Et Seneca: Empedocles existimabat ignibus, quos multis locis apertos tegit terra, aquam calescere, si subiecti sint solo, per quod aquæ transitus est. Et scitè de thermis Baianis Pontanus.

Lib. 3. Nat. quæst.

Baiano sed ne fumare in littore thermas
Mirere, aut liquidis fluitare incendia venis:
Vulcani fora sulphureis incensa caminis
Ipsa monent, latè multùm tellure sub ima
Debacchari ignem, camposq; exurere opertos.
Inde fluit, calidum referens ex igne vaporem,
Vnda fugax, tectis feruent & balnea flammis.

HOc loco attingendum duxi quod tradit Saxo Grammaticus, Danorum celebratissimus historicus, Islandiæ fontes quosdam nunc ad summum excrescere, & exūdare: Nunc adeò subsidere, vt vix fontes agnoscas. Qui etsi rariores apud nos inueniuntur, adscribam tamen similes, etiam alibi à natura productos, ne quis hic monstri quippiam imaginetur. Hos autem recitat Plinius. In Tenedo Insula vnum, qui semper à tertia noctis hora, in sextam solstitio æstiuo exundet. In agro Pitinate, trans Apenninum montem, fluuium esse, qui omnibus Solstitijs æstiuis exundet, brumali tempore siccetur. Refert etiam de fonte quodā satis largo, qui singulis horis intumescat & residat. Nec id magis negligendum: subire terras flumina, rursusque redire; vt Lycus in Asia, Erasinus in Argolica, Tigris in Mesopotamia, quibus Cardanus addit Tanaim in Moscouia: Et quæ in Æsculapij fonte Athenis immersa sunt, in Phaletico reddi. Et Seneca scribit esse flumina, quæ in specum aliquem subterraneum demissa, ex hominum oculis se subducunt, quæ cōsumi paulatim & intercidere constet: Eademq; post interuallum reuerti, recipereq; & nomen & cursum priorem. Et iterum Plinius; fluuium in Atinate campo mersum, post 20 millia passuum exire. Quæ omnia, & his similia, Islandiæ fontes, miraculo nullo, præ cæteris esse debere, ostendunt.

Omne corpus immissum continuò conuertit in saxum. His duobus adiunctis, feruore nempe, seu ardore vehementissimo, & virtute indurandi corpora, primum suū fontem describit Frisius. Et fama quidem accepi, ipse non sum expertus, existere similem fontē in Islandia, non procul à sede Episcopali Schalholt, apud villam nomine Haukadal. Habet simile Seneca, dicens, fontē quendam esse, qui ligna in lapides conuertat, hominumq; viscera indurescere, qui aquam eius biberint: Et addit eiusmodi fontes in quibusdam Italiæ locis inueniri: quod Ouidius Ciconum flumini tribuit 15. Metamorph.

> Flumen habent Cicones, quod potum saxea reddit
> Viscera, quod tactis inducit marmora rebus.

Et Cardanus: Georgius Agricola, inquit, in Elbogano tractu iuxta oppidum à falconibus cognominatum, integras cum corpore abietes in lapidem conuersas esse, atq; quod maius est, in rimis etiam Pyritidem lapidem continere. Et Domitius Brusonius, in Sylare amne, qui radices montis eius, qui est in agro vrbis Vrsentinorum olim, nunc Contursij lambit, folia & arborum ramos in lapides transire, non fide aliorum, sed propria, vt qui incola sit regionis, (cui rei etiam Plinius astipulatur) narrat, cortices autē lapidū, annos numero ostendere. Sic (si scriptoribus credimus) guttæ Gotici fontis sparsæ lapidescunt. Et in Vngaria, Cepusij aqua, in vrceos infusa, lapidescit. Plinius refert etiam, vt in Ciconum flumine, & in Piceno lacu velino, lignum deiectum, lapideo cortice obduci.

Secundus algoris intolerabilis. Quantum ad secundum fontem attinet, nullus hîc est quòd quisquā sciat, algoris intolerabilis, sed plurimi bene frigidi, ita vt vulgaribus riuis æstiuo sole tepescentibus, non sine voluptate ex frigidioribus illis aquam hauriamus. Sunt & longè frigidiores fortè alibi: Nam & Cardanus in agro Corinthio è montis vertice fluentem riuum commemorat, niue frigidiorem: Et intra primum à Culma lapidem, Insanam vocatum: quæ aqua cū feruere videatur, sit tamen longè frigidissima, &c.

Tertius vel melle dulcior. Neq; id prorsus verum est. Non enim est vllus apud nos, qui vel minima ex parte cum mellis dulcedine conferri possit. Rectius igitur Saxo, qui fontes (quoniam plures sunt) in Islandia dicit inueniri Cerealem referentes liquorem, vt etiam ibidem non diuersi saporis solùm, sed diuersi etiam coloris fontes & flumina reperiuntur.

Etsi autem tradunt Physici aquam naturaliter ex se neq; saporem neq; odorem habere, tamen, vt superius attigimus, veri simile est, quod alij per accidens vocant, eam sæpe referre qualitatem terræ, in qua generatur, & per cuius venas transitum atq; excursum habet: Atq; hinc aquarum odores, colores, sapores, alios atq; alios existere. Cuiusmodi sunt, de quibus narrat Seneca, quorum alij famem excitent, alij bibentes inebrient, alij memoriæ officiant, alij iuuent eandem, alij vini saporem & virtutem repræsentent: Vt ille apud Plinium in Andro Insula fons, in templo Liberi, qui Nonis Ian: vini sapore fluat. Et apud Aristotelem fons in agro Carthaginensi, qui oleū præbeat, & guttulas Cedri odore repræsentet. Item, Orcus fluuius Thessaliæ, influens in Peneum, olei instar supernatans: Cuiusmodi etiam narrat Cardanus in Saxonia esse, iuxta Brunonis oppidum, fontem oleo perfusum: Et in Sueuia, iuxta Cœnobium, cui Tergensche nomen est. Itē, in valle montis Iurassi. Causam huius rei putat esse bitumen valde pingue, quod oleum sine dubio contineat. Idem, famam esse ait, in Cardia, iuxta locū Daschyli, in campo albo aquam esse lacte dulciorem. Aliā quoq; iuxta

Lib. de mirab. auscultat.

Lib. 2. de Element.

pontem, qua Valdeburgum itur. Iam aquarū vini saporem referentium meminit his verbis Propertius, 3. lib. Elegiar.

> En tibi per mediam bene olentia flumina Naxon,
> Vnde tuum pota Naxia turba merum.

Est autem Naxus Insula vna ex Cycladibus, in mari Ægeo. Causam huius assignat Cardanus, quod hydromel vetustate transeat in vinum. Aristoteles commemorat Siciliæ fontem, quo incolæ loco aceti vtantur. Idem saporum aquæ causam in calorem retulit, quòd terra excocta mutet & præbeat saporem aquæ.

Iam de aquæ coloribus ita Cardanus. Eadem est ratio colorum aquæ, ait, quæ & saporum: videlicet à terra originem trahere. Nam Candida est aqua, ad secundum lapidem à Glauca, Misenæ oppido: Rubea, vt in Radera Misenæ fluuio, iuxta Radeburgum: Et olim in Iudæa iuxta Ioppen: Viridis, in Carpato monte, iuxta Neusolam: Cærulea aut blaua, inter Feltrium & Taruisium, & in Thermopylis etiam talem fuisse referunt: Nigerrima in Allera fluuio Saxoniæ, vbi in Visurgim se exonerat. Caussæ sunt argillæ colores, sed tenuiores. Item Aristoteles: circa Iapygiam promontoriū, esse fontem, qui sanguinem fundat, addens, eam maris partem suo fœtore nauigantes procul arcere. Aiunt præterea in Idumæa fontem esse, qui quater in anno colorem mutet, cum sit colore nunc viridi, nunc albo, nunc sanguineo, nunc lutulento.

Et de aquarum odore sic Cardanus. Similis ratio differentiæ est in odoribus. Plerumq; tamen aquarum odores iniucundi sunt, quòd raró terra bene oleat. Pessimè olim fœtabat in-Ælide, Anigri fluminis aqua, vsq; ad perniciem, non solum piscium, sed etiam hominum. Iuxta Metonem in Messania, in puteo quodam optimè olens aqua hauriebatur. Hæc ideo recito, vt nullus magis in Islandia quàm alibi, aquarum, colores, odores, sapores, miretur.

Quartus plane exitialis. Autor est Isidorus, esse fontem quendam, cuius aqua pota vitam extinguat: Et Plinius: Iuxta Nonarim, inquit, Arcadiæ, Styx (iuxta Cyllenem montem, ait Cardan. Sola equi vngula continebatur: referunt ea sublatum Alexandrum magnū) nec odore differens, nec colore, epota illico necat. Idem, In Beroso Taurorum colle sunt tres fontes sine remedio, sine dolore mortiferi: Et quod longè maximum est, quod Seneca stagnum esse dicat, in quod prospicientes statim moriantur. Nos verò Islandi etiam hunc quartum Frisij fon ē, cuius etiam Saxo meminit, vt antehac semper, itidem etiam nobis hodie penitus ignotum testamur: Hocq; igitur nomine, Deo immortales gratias agimus, quòd ab eiusmodi fontibus & serpētibus, insectis venenatis, ac alijs pestiferis & contagiosis, esse nos immunes voluerit.

Præterea est apud prædictos fontes tanta sulphuris copia. Montes tres à Munstero & Frisio igniuomi dicti, omnes longissimo interuallo à nostris fodinis distant. Quare cum iuxta hos montes, fontibus quatuor, quos tantopere miraculis celebrant, locum & situm faciant, necesse est eos fontes pari ferè interuallo à fodinis sulphureis remotos esse. Nec verò apud montem Heclam, vt Munsterus, nec apud hos Frisij fontes (quorum rumor quàm verus sit, hactenus ostensum est) sulphur effoditur: Nec patrum nostrorum memoria effossum esse arbitramur. Neq; verum est, quod de sulphuris copia tradit Munsterus, esse videlicet penè vnicum Insulæ mercimonium & vectigal. Nam cum insula in quatuor partes diuisa sit, quarta pars, nempe borealis, tantum dimidia, hoc vtitur mercimonio, nec sulphuris mica in vectigal Insulæ penditur.

Sulphur in boreali Iſlandiæ parte

The same in English.

THE ELEUENTH SECTION.

Frisius.

Not farre from these mountaines (the three forenamed) declining to the sea shoare, there be foure fountaines of a most contrary nature betweene themselues. The first, by reason of his continuall heat conuerteth into a stone any body cast into it, the former shape only still remaining. The second is extremely cold. The third is sweeter then honey, and most pleasant to quench thirst. The fourth is altogether deadly, pestilent, and full of ranke poison.

EVen this description of fountaines doth sufficiently declare howe impure that fountaine was, out of which the geographer drew all these miraculous stories. For he seemeth to affirme, that the three foresaid mountaines doe almost touch one another: for he ascribeth foure fountaines indifferently vnto them all. Otherwise if he had not made them stand neare together, he would haue placed next vnto some one of these, two of the

foresaid fountaines. But neither doe these mountaines touch (being distant so many leagues a sunder) neither are there any such foure fountaines neare vnto them, which, he that wil not beleeue, let him go try. But to confute these things, the very contrariety of writers is sufficient. For another concerning two fountaines gainsayth Frisius in these words. There do burst out of the same hill Hecla two fountaines, the one whereof, by reason of the cold streames, the other with intollerable heat exceedeth al the force of elemēts. These be Frisius his two first fountaines, sauing that here is omitted the miracle of hardening bodies, being by him attributed to one of the said fountaines. But they cannot at one time breake forth, both out of the mountaine it selfe, and neare vnto the mountaine.

But here I would willingly demaund, by what reason any of the Peripateticks can affirme, that there is some thing in nature colder then the element of water, or hotter then the element of fire. From whence (I pray you, learned writers) proceedeth this coldnesse: From whence commeth this heate: Haue we not learned out of your schole that water is an element most colde and somewhat moist: and in such sort most cold, that for the making of secundarie qualities, it must of necessitie be remitted, & being simple, that it cannot be applyed to the vses of mankind: I do here deliuer these Oracles of the naturall Philosophers, not knowing whether they be true or false. M. Iohn Fernelius, lib. 2. Phys. cap. 4. may stand for one witnesse amongst all the rest, & in stead of thē all. So excessiue (saith he) be these foure first qualities in the foure elements, that as nothing is hotter thē pure fire, & nothing lighter: so nothing is drier then earth, & nothing heauier: and as for pure water, there is no qualitie of any medicine whatsoeuer exceedeth the coldnes thereof, nor the moisture of aire. Moreouer, the said qualities be so extreme & surpassing in thē, that they cannot be any whit encreased, but remitted they may be. I wil not heare heape vp the reasons or arguments of the natural Philosophers. These writers had need be warie of one thing, lest while they too much magnifie the miracles of the fountains, they exempt them out of the number of things created, aswel as they did the ice of the Islanders. We wil prosecute in order the properties of these fountains set downe by the foresaid writers. The first by reason of his continuall heat. There be very many Baths or hote fountains in Island, but fewer vehemently hote, which we

Many hote Bathsin Island.

thinke ought not to make any man wonder, when as I haue learned out of authors, that Germanie euery where aboundeth with such hote Baths, especially neere the foot of the Alpes. The hote Baths of Baden, Gebarsuil, Calben in the dutchy of Wirtenberg and many other be very famous: all which Fuchsius doeth mention in his booke de Arte medendi. And not onely Germanie, but also France, & beyond all the rest Italy that mother of all commodities, saith Cardan. And Aristotle reporteth, that about Epyrus these hote waters doe much abound, whereupon the place is called Pyriplegethon. And I say, these things should therefore be ye lesse admired, because the searchers of nature haue as wel found out causes of the heate in waters, as of the fire in mountaines: namely, that water runneth within the earth through certaine veines of Brimstone & Allom, and from thence taketh not onely heat, but taste also, & other strange qualities. Aristotle in his booke de Mundo hath taught this. The earth (saith he) conteineth within it fountains not only of water, but also of spirite & fire: some of them flowing like riuers, doe cast foorth red hote iron: from whence also doeth flow, sometimes luke-warme water, sometimes skalding hote, and somtimes temperate. And Seneca. Empedocles thought that Baths were made hote by fire, which the earth secretly conteineth in many places, especially if the said fire bee vnder that ground where the water passeth. And Pontanus writeth very learnedly concerning the Baian Baths.

The causes of hote Baths.

Lib. 3. nat. quæst.

No maruell though from banke of Baian shore
hote Baths, or veines of skalding licour flow:
For Vulcans forge incensed euermore
doeth teach vs plaine, that heart of earth below
And bowels burne, and fire enraged glow.
From hence the flitting flood sends smokie streames,
And Baths doe boile with secret burning gleames.

I thought good in this place to touch that which Saxo Grammaticus the most famous historiographer of the Danes reporteth. That certaine fountains of Island do somtime encrease & flow vp to the brinke: sometimes againe they fall so lowe that you can skarse discerne them to be fountaines. Which kind of fountaines, albeit they bee very seldome found with vs, yet I will make mention of some like vnto them, produced by nature in other countries, lest any man should think it somwhat strange. Plinie maketh a great recitall of these. There is one (saieth he) in the Isle of Tenedos, which at the Solstitium of sommer doth alwaies flow from the third houre of the night, till the sixt. In the field of Pitinas beyond the Apennine mountaine, there is a riuer which in the midst of sommer alwaies encreaseth, and in winter is dried vp. He maketh mention also of a very large fountaine, which euery houre doeth encrease and fall. Neither is it to be omitted, that some riuers run vnder the ground, and after that fall againe into an open chanel: as Lycus in Asia, Erasinus in Argolica, Tigris in Mesopotamia, vnto which Cardan addeth Tanais in Moscouia: and those things which were throwen into Aesculapius fountaine at Athens, were cast vp againe in Phaletico. And Seneca writeth that there are certaine riuers which being let downe into some caue vnder ground, are withdrawen out of sight, seeming for the time to be vtterly perished and taken away, and that after some distance the very same riuers returne, enioying their former name and their course. And againe Plinie reporteth that there is a riuer receiued vnder ground in the field of Atinas that issueth out twentie miles from that place. All which examples and the like, should teach vs that the fountaines of Island are not to be made greater wonders then the rest.

Doth forthwith conuert into a stone any body cast into it. By these two properties, namely warmth or most vehement heat, & a vertue of hardening bodies doth Frisius describe his first fountaine. And I haue heard reported (though I neuer had experience thereof my selfe) that there is such a fountain in Island not far frō the bishops seat of Schalholt, in a village called Haukadal. Seneca reporteth of the like, saying: That there is a certain fountain which conuerteth wood into stone, hardening the bowels of those men which drinke thereof. And addeth further, that such fountains are to bee found in certaine places of Italy: which thing Ouid in the 15. booke of his Metamor. ascribeth vnto the riuer of the Cicones.

Water drunke out of Ciconian flood
  fleshy bowels to flintie stone doeth change:
Ought else therewith besprinckt, as earth or wood
  becommeth marble streight: a thing most strange.

And Cardane, Georgius Agricola affirmeth, that in the territorie of Elbogan, about the town which is named of Falcons, that the whole bodies of Pine trees are conuerted into stone, and which is more wonderfull, that they containe, within certaine rifts, the stone called Pyrites, or the Flint. And Domitius Brusonius reporteth, that in the riuer of Silar (running by the foote of that mountain which standeth in the field of the citie in old time called Vrsence, but now Contursia) leaues and boughs of trees change into stones, & that, not vpon other mens credite, but vpon his own experience, being borne & brought vp in that country: which thing Plinie also auoucheth, saying, that the said stones doe shew the number of their yeeres, by the number of their Barks, or stony husks. So (if we may giue credite to authors) drops of the Gothes fountain being dispersed abroad, become stones. And in Hungary, the water of Cepusius being poured into pitchers, is conuerted to stone. And Plinie reporteth, that wood being cast into the riuer of the Cicones, and into the Veline lake in the field of Pice, is enclosed in a barke of stone growing ouer it.

Riuers of Island in sommer season luke-warme.

The second is extremely cold. As for the second fountaine, here is none to any mens knowledge so extremely cold: In deed there be very many that bee indifferently coole, insomuch that (our common riuers in the Sommer time being luke-warme) wee take delight to fetch water from those coole springs. It may be that there are some farre colder in other countries: for Cardane maketh mention of a riuer (streaming from the top of an hill in the field of Corinth) colder then snow: and within a mile of Culma, the riuer called Insana seeming to be very hote is most extremely cold, &c.

The third is sweeter than honie. Neither is this altogether true. For there is not any fountaine with vs, which may in the least respect be compared with the sweetnesse of honie. And therfore Saxo wrote more truly, saying, that certaine fountaines (for there be very many) yeelding taste as good as beere: and also in the same place there are fountains & riuers not onely of diuers tasts, but of diuers colours.

And albeit naturall Philosophers teach, that water naturally of it selfe hath neither taste nor smel, yet it is likely (as we haue touched before, which other call per accidens) that oftentimes it representeth the qualities of that earth wherein it is engendred, and through the veines whereof it hath passage and issue: and from hence proceed the diuers & sundry smels, colours and sauours of all waters. Of such waters doeth Seneca make mention, whereof some prouoke hunger, others make men drunken, some hurt the memory, & some helpe it, & some resemble the very qualitie and taste of wine, as that fountaine which Plinie speaketh of in the Isle of Andros, within the temple of Bachus, which in the Nones of Ianuary used to flow ouer with wine. In lib. de mirab. And Aristotle reporteth, that in the field of Carthage there is a fountain which yeeldeth oile, & certaine drops smelling like Cedar. Also Orcus a riuer of Thessalie flowing into Peneus, swimmeth aloft like oile. Cardane reporteth, that there is in Saxonie, neere vnto the town of Brunswic, a fountaine mixed with oile: and another in Sueuia neere vnto the Abbey called Tergensch. Also in the valley of the mountain Iurassus. He supposeth the cause of this thing to bee very fattie pitch, which cannot but conteine oile in it. The same author saieth: It is reported that in Cardia neere to the place of Daschylus, in the white field, there is water sweeter then milke. Another also neere vnto the bridge which we passe ouer going to the towne of Valdeburg. Propertius likewise in the third booke of his Elegies mentioneth certaine waters representing the sauour of wine in these words.

Amidst the Isle of Naxus loe, with fragrant smels and fine
A freshet runs; ye Naxians goe fill cups, carouse, there's wine.

This Naxus is one of the Islands called Cyclades lying in the Ægæan sea. Cardane giueth a reason hereof, namely, because Hydromel or water-hony, in long continuance will become wine. Aristotle nameth a fountaine in Sicilia, which the inhabitants vse in stead of vineger. The same author maketh the cause of sauours in water to be heate, because the earth being hote changeth and giueth sauour vnto the water.

Now concerning the colours of water so saieth Cardane. There is the same reason (saith he) of the colours of water, that there is of the sauours thereof, for both haue their originall frō the earth. For there is white water within two miles of Glauca a town in Misena: red water in Radera a riuer of Misena not farre from Radeburg: & in old time neere vnto Ioppa in Iudea: greene water in the mountaine of Carpathus by Nensola: skie-coloured or blue water betweene the mountains of Feltrius & Taruisius: & it is reported that there was water of that colour in Thermopylis: cole-blacke water in Alera a riuer of Saxonie, at that place where it dischargeth it self into the Weser. The causes of these colours are the colours of the soile. Also Aristotle saieth, that about the promontorie of Iapigia, there is a fountaine which streameth blood: adding moreouer, that Mariners are driuen farre from that place of the sea, by reason of the extreme stench thereof. Furthermore, they say that in Idumæa there is a fountaine which changeth color foure times in a yeere: for somtimes it is greene, somtime white, somtime bloodie, & somtimes muddy coloured.

Concerning the smels of waters, thus writeth Cardane. There is the like reason of difference in smels. But for the most part the steames of waters bee vnpleasant, because the earth doeth seldome times smel well. The water of the riuer Anigris in Aelis stanke, to the destruction, not onely of fishes, but also of men. About Meton in Messania, out of a certaine pond there hath bene drawen most sweet smelling, and odoriferous water. I doe recite all these examples to the end that no man should make a greater wonder at the colours, smels, and sauours of waters that be in Island, then at those which are in other countreis.

The fourth is altogether deadly. Isidore affirmeth, that there is a certaine fountaine whose water being drunke, extinguisheth life. And Plinie saieth, That about Nonaris in Arcadia, the riuer of Styx (neere the mountaine of Cillene, saieth Cardane: it would be contained in nothing but an horse-hoofe: and it is reported that Alexander the great was poisoned therewithal) not differing from other water, neither in smell nor colour, being drunke, is present death. In Berosus an hill of the people called Tauri, there are three fountains, euery one of them deadly without remedy, & yet without griefe. And (which is the strangest thing of all the rest) Seneca maketh mention of a poole, into which whoseouer looke, do presently die. But, as for this fourth fountaine of Frisius, which Saxo doeth likewise mention, we Islanders, as alwayes heretofore, so euen at this day do testifie, that it is vtterly vnknowen vnto vs: and therefore in this regard, we render vnto God immortall thanks, because he hath vouchsafed to preserue our nation from such fountains, from serpents and venemous wormes, & from al other pestiferous & contagious creatures.

The same Author saieth.

Island free from snakes and other venemous beasts.

Furthermore about the foresaid mountaines there is such abundance of brimstone. The three mountains called by Munster and Frisius, Fierie mountains, do all of them stand an huge distance from our Mines. Wherefore, when as neere vnto these hils they haue found out a place for foure fountains, which they doe so mightily extoll for wonders, they must needs haue some Brimstone Mines also, standing a like distance from the said fountaines. And assuredly, neither about mount Hecla, as Munster would haue it, nor by Frisius his fountaines (the report whereof how true it is, hath bene hitherto declared) is Brimstone digged vp at this day: nor I thinke euer was within the remembrance of our fathers. Neither is it true that Munster reporteth concerning the abundance of Brimstone: namely, that it is almost the onely merchandize and tribute of the Iland. For whereas the Iland is deuided into foure partes, the fourth part onely towards the North (nay, but euen the halfe thereof) doeth vse it for merchandize, and there is not one crumme of Brimstone paied for tribute of the Iland.

Brimstone Mines onely in the North part of Island.

SECTIO DVODECIMA.

Piscium tanta est copia in hac Insula, vt ad altitudinem domorũ sub aperto cœlo vendēdi exponantur.

Munst.

SVb aperto cœlo. Id quidem facere vidimus mercatores extraneos, donec naues mercibus extraneis exonerarint, incipiãtq; easdem rursus piscibus & reliquis nostratium mercibus onerare. An verò nostri homines id aliquando fecerint, non satis liquet. Certè copiosa illa & vetus piscium abundantia iam desijt, Islandis & istius boni, & aliorum penuria laborare incipientibus, Domino Deo meritum impietatis nostræ flagellum, quod vtinam ritè agnoscamus, immittente.

The same in English.

THE TWELFTH SECTION.

There are so great store of fishes in this Iland, that they are laid foorth on piles to be sold in the open aire, as high as the tops of houses.

Munster.

IN the open aire. In deed we haue seen other country merchants doe so, vntill they had vnladen their ships of outlandish wares, & filled thē againe with fishes & with other of our countrey merchandize. But whether our men haue done the like at any time, it is not manifest. Certainly, that plentifull and ancient abundance of fish is now decaied, and the Islanders now begin to be pinched with the want of these and other good things, the Lord laying the iust scourge of our impietie vpon vs, which I pray God we may duely acknowledge.

Abundance of fish about Island diminished.

SECTIO DECIMATERTIA.

Frisius.

Equos habent velocissimos, qui sine intermissione 30. millaria continuo cursu conficiunt.

QVidam in sua mappa Islandiæ, 20. millaria continuo cursu assequi tradit cuiusdam parœciæ equos. Sed vtrumque impossibile ducimus. Nam maximæ celeritatis & roboris bestias (Rangiferos appellant) scribit Munsterus non nisi 30. millaria 24. horarum spacio conficere.

The same in English.

THE THIRTEENTH SECTION.

Frisius.

They haue most swift horses, which wil run without ceasing a continual course for the space of 30. leagues.

A Certaine Cosmographer in his Map of Island reporteth concerning the horses of one parish, that they will run 20. leagues at once in a continued race. But we account both to bee impossible. For Munster writeth that those beasts which excell all other in swiftnesse & strength of body, called || Rangiferi, cannot run aboue 30. leagues in 24. houres.

|| Raine deere.

SECTIO DECIMAQVARTA.

Munst.

Cete grandia instar montium prope Islandium aliquando conspiciuntur, quæ naues euertunt, nisi tubarum sono absterreantur, aut missis in mare rotundis & vacuis vasis, quorum lusu delectantur, ludificentur. Fit aliquando, vt nautæ in dorsa cetorum, quæ Insulas esse putant, anchoras figentes,

sæpe periclitentur, vocantur autem eorum lingua Troll-wal, Tuffelwalen. i. Diabolica cete.

INstar montium: En tibi iterum, Lector, Munsteri, Telenicia Echo, et cæcum, vt dici solet, insomnium. Deformat, me Hercule, adeò mendax et absurda hyperbole historiam, idque tantò magis quantò minus est necessaria. Nam quorsum attinet mentiri Historicum, si historia est rei veræ narratio? Quorsum tropicas hyperboles assumet? Quid conabitur persuadere, aut quo pertrahere Lectorem, siquidem nihil nisi simplicem rerum expositionem sibi proponit?

Pictoribus atq; Poëtis,
Quodlibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas:
Non itidem Historicis.

Dorsa cetorum, quæ insulas putant: Nata est hæc fabula, vt et reliquæ, ex mendacio quodam, vt antiquo, ita ridiculo et vano, cuius ego fidem titiuilitio non emam. Est autem tale: Missos fuisse olim Legatos cum sodalitio monastico, ab Episcopo Bremensi (Brandanus veteribus Noruagis, Crantzio, ni fallor, Alebrandus appellatur) ad fidem Papisticam, quæ tum Christiana putabatur, in Septentrione prædicandam et diuulgandam: Eosque, vbi immensum iter Septentrionem versus nauigando consumpsissent, ad insulam quandam peruenisse: ibique iacta anchora descensum in Insulam fecisse, focos accendisse: (Nam verisimile est nautas in ipso mari glaciali frigore non parum esse vexatos) et commeatum naualem ad reliquum iter expediuisse. Ast vbi bene ignibus accensis incaluerant foci, Insulam hanc submersam citò euanuisse, nautas autem per præsentem scapham vix seruatos fuisse. Habes huius rei fundamentum, Lector, sed quàm incredibile, ipse vides. Quid verò tandem est animi nautis, qui in mari procelloso videntes scopulum, vel, vt Munsterus, Insulam perexiguam emergere, non vitent potius omni studio, allisionem et naufragium metuentes, quàm vt in portu parum tuto quiescere tentent? Sed vbi anchora figenda? Solent enim, vt plurimùm, deesse nautis tam immensi funes, vt in altissimo æquore anchoram demittant: Igitur in dorsis cetorum, respondet Munsterus. Oportet igitur, vestigium vnci prius effodiant. O stultos nautas, balenarum carnem, à terræ cespitibus, inter fodiendum, non dignoscentes, nec lubricam cetorum cutem, à terrestri superficie internoscentes. Digni profectò, quibuscum ipse Munsterus, nauclerus transfretaret. Equidem hoc loco, vt et superius, de miraculis Islandiæ terrestribus agens, è Tantali, vt aiunt, horto fructus colligit, id est, ea consectatur, quæ nunquam reperiuntur, nec vsquam sunt, dum miracula hinc inde conquirere, terram et pelagus verrere, ad Historiæ suæ supplementum studet: Vbi tamen nihil nisi commentitia tantùm venari potest.

Vocantur autem lingua eorum Trollwal. Ne vltra peram, Munstere: Nullam siquidem es linguæ nostræ cognitionem adeptus: Quare meritò puderet tantum virum, rem ignotam alios velle docere: Est enim eiusmodi incœptum erroribus obnoxium complurimis, vt vel hoc tuo exemplo docebimus. Dum enim vis alijs autor esse, quomodo nostra lingua balenæ vel cete appellentur, detracta, per inscitiam, aspiratione, quæ penè sola vocis significationem facit, quod minimè verum est, affers: Non enim val nostra lingua balenam, sed electionem siue delectum significat, à verbo, Eg vel .i. eligo, vel deligo: vnde val, &c. At balena Hualur nobis vocatur: Vnde tu Trollhualur scribere debebas. Nec vero Troll Diabolum, vt tu interpretaris, sed Gigantes quosdam montanos significat. Vides igitur, quomodo in toto vocabulo turpiter, quod haud tamen mirum, erres. Leuis quidem illa in linguam nostram iniuria, in vnica tantùm voce: quoniam plures, haud dubiè, non noras.

Idem alijs etiam vsu venit: Non enim probandum est, quòd quidam, dum Islandiæ descriptionem, ab Islandis acceptam, ederet, maluerit omnia, aut certè plurima promontoriorum, sinuum, montium, fontium, fluminum, tesquorum, vallium, collium, pagorum nomina desprauare (quòd nostræ linguæ ignaris, non sciret à nostratibus accepta satis exactè legere) atque corrumpere, quàm prius ab ipsis Islandis, qui tum temporis, id est, Anno 1585. in Academia Haffniensi vixerunt, quomodo singula legi ac scribi deberent, ediscere. Ipsum certè hac natiuorum nominum et appellationum voluntaria deprauatione, (qua factum est, vt ipsi ea legentes, paucissima nostra agnoscamus) in linguam nostram, alioqui puram et auitam penè elegantiam retinentem, non leuiter peccasse reputamus.

1585.

Cæterum iam plurima Islandiæ miracula, quæ quidem scriptores nostri attigerunt, sic utcunq; examinauimus. Sed tamen priusquam alio diuertamur, in hac parte attingendum videtur, quod idem ille in mappa Islandiæ, quam sub suo nomine, prædicto anno edi fecerat, de duobus, præter supra dictos, fontibus Islandiæ prodidit: quorum alter lanas albas colore nigro, alter nigras, albo inficiat. Quod quidem vbi acceperit, aut vnde habeat, scire equidem non possumus: Nec enim apud nostrates, nec apud extraneos scriptores, reperire licuit. Sed vndecunq; est, fabula est, nec veritatis micam habet. Quamuis autem sit incredibile, Lanas nigras albo infici colore, cum traditum sit a Plinio, Lanarum nigras nullum imbibere colorem: Tamen simile quiddam narratur à Theophrasto: Flumen esse in Macedonia, quod oues nigras, albas reddat. Et illa, cuius etiam superious memini, rapsodia Noruagica, speculum scilicet illud Regale, hos ipsos fontes Irlandiæ, quæ hodie Hybernia, non Islandiæ esse affirmat. Quod forsan Lectori imposuit, in lingua peregrina, pro R, S, legenti.

Non maiorem fidem meretur, quod Historicus quidam habet: Esse in Islandia saxum, quod montium prærupta non extrinseca agitatione, sed propria natiuaq; motione peruolitet: Id qui credere volet, quid incredibile ducet? Est enim commentum tam inauditum, vt nullum eius simile, fabulatos fuisse Epicuræos (qui tamen multa incredibilia excogitasse Luciano visi sunt) constet: Nisi fortè hominem qui Islandis proprio nomine Stein dicitur, sentit Historicus rupes quasdam circuisse, vel circumreptasse. Quod, etsi ridiculum est in Historiam miraculosam referre, hominem scilicet moueri vel ambulare, tamen ad saluandam Historici fidem, simulandum: ne figmentum illud, per se satis absurdum, nec dignum quod legatur, durius perstringamus.

Eodem crimine tenentur, quicunq; Islandiæ, coruos albos, picas, lepores, et vultures adscripserunt: Perrarò enim vultures, cum glacie marina, sicut etiam vrsos (sed hos sæpius quam vultures) et cornicum quoddam genus, Islandis Isakrakur, aduenire obseruatum est. Picas verò et lepores, vt et coruos albos, nunquàm Islandia habuit.

Atque hæc ferè sunt, quæ de prima commentarij nostri parte per quotidianas occupationes, in præsentia, affere licuit. Quæ in hunc finem à me scripta sunt, (quod etiam prius testatus sum,) vt scriptorum de terra ignota errores, et quorundam etiam affectata vanitas, patefierent: Neq; enim eorum famæ quicquam detractum cupio: Sed quòd veritati et patriæ, operam meam consecraram, illa, quæ hactenus dicta sunt à multis, de Insula, fidem valde exiguam mereri, necesse habui ostendere: ac ita mihi viam ad sequentia de Incolis sternere.

Commentarij primæ partis Finis.

The same in English.

THE FOURETEENTH SECTION.

> There be seen sometimes neere vnto Island huge Whales like vnto mountains, which ouerturne ships, vnlesse they be terrified away with the sound of trumpets, or beguiled with round and emptie vessels, which they delight to tosse vp and downe. It sometimes falleth out that Mariners thinking these Whales to be Ilands, and casting out ankers vpon their backs, are often in danger of drowning. They are called in their tongue Trollwal Tuffelwalen, that is to say, the deuilish Whale.

Munster.

LIke vnto mountains. Loe here once againe (gentle Reader) Munsters falsifying eccho, and (as the prouerbe saieth) his blind dreame. Such a false and sencelesse ouer-reaching doeth exceedingly disgrace an historie, and that by so much the more, by how much the lesse necessary it is. For to what purpose should an Historiographer make leasings, if history be a report of plaine trueth: Why should he vse such strange surmountings: What is it that he would perswade, or whither would he rauish the reader, if he propoundeth vnto himselfe nothing but the simple declaration of things:

Poets and Painters had leaue of old,
To feigne, to blaze, in all things to be bold.
But not Historiographers.

The backs of Whales which they thinke to be Ilands. This fable, like all the rest, was bred of an old, ridiculous and vaine tale, the credite and trueth whereof is not woorth a strawe. And it is this that foloweth, namely, that the bishop of Breme (called by the ancient Norwaies Brandan, and by Krantzius, if I be not deceiued, Alebrandus) in old time sent certaine Legates with a Couen of Friers to preach and publish in the North the popish faith, which was then thought to bee Christian: and when they had spent a long iourney in sailing towards the North, they came vnto an Iland, and there casting their anker they went a shore, and kindled fiers (for it is very likely that the Mariners were not a litle vexed with the nipping cold which they

Certain letters sent by Brandan bishop of Breme, to preach Christian faith in the North.

felt at sea) and so prouided victuals for the rest of their iourny. But when their fires grew very hote, this Iland sanke, and suddenly vanished away, and the Mariners escaped drowning very narowly with the boate that was present. This is the foundation of the matter, but how incredible it is, I appeale to the Reader. But what ailed these Mariners, or what meant they to doe, who in a tempestuous sea, seeing a rocke before their eyes, or (as Munster saieth) a little Iland, would not rather with all diligence haue auoided it for feare of running a shore and shipwracke, then to rest in such a dangerous harbour? But in what ground should the anker be fastened? for Mariners for the most part are destitute of such long cables, whereby they may let downe an anker to the bottom of the maine sea, therfore vpon the backs of Whales, saith Munster. But then they had need first to bore a hole for the flouke to take hold in. O silly Mariners that in digging cannot discern Whales flesh from lumps of earth, nor know the slippery skin of a Whale from the vpper part of the ground: without doubt they are woorthy to haue Munster for a Pilot. Verily in this place (as likewise before treating of the land-miracles of Island) he gathereth fruits as they say, out of Tantalus his garden, and foloweth hard after those things which will neuer and no where be found, while he endeuoureth to proule here and there for miracles, perusing sea and land to stuffe vp his history: where notwithstanding he cannot hunt out ought but feigned things.

But they are called in their language Trollwal. Go not farther then your skil, Munster, for I take it you cannot skill of our tongue: and therefore it may be a shame for a learned man to teach others that which he knoweth not himselfe: for such an attempt is subiect to manifold errours, as we will shew by this your example. For while you take in hand to schoole others, & to teach them by what name a Whale-fish is to be called in our tongue, leauing out through ignorance the letter H, which almost alone maketh up the signification of the worde, you deliuer that which is not true: for val in our language signifieth not a Whale, but chusing or choise of the verbe Eg vel, that is to say, I chuse, or I make choise, from whence val is deriued, &c. But a Whale is called Hualur with vs, & therefore you ought to haue written Trollhualur. Neither doeth Troll signifie the deuill, as you interprete it, but certaine Giants that liue in mountaines. You see therefore (and no maruel) how you erre in the whole word. It is no great iniurie to our language being in one word onely: because (doubtlesse) you knew not more then one.

Others also do offend in the same fault, for it is not to be allowed that a certaine man being about to publish a Map of Island receiued from Islanders themselues, had rather marre the fashion of all, or in very deed of the most names of Capes, Baies, mountaines, springs, riuers, homocks, valleis, hils & townes (because that being ignorant of our language, he was not able to read those things aright, which he receiued from our countreymen) he had rather (I say) depraue & corrupt them all, then learne of the Islanders themselues, which at that time, namely in the yeere 1585, liued in the vniuersitie of Hafnia, or Copen Hagen, how euery thing ought to be read and written. And we esteeme him for this his wilfull marring of our natiue names and words, (whereupon it came to passe that we reading the same, could acknowledge very few to be oure owne) that he is no slight offender against our tongue, otherwise retaining the pure and the ancient propertie.

But now we haue after some sort examined most of the myracles of Island, which our writers haue mentioned. Notwithstanding before we enter into any further matter, we thinke it good in this section to touch that which the last forenamed man (in this Map of Island, that he caused to be put forth in ye foresaid yeere vnder his own name) hath giuen out concerning two other fountains besides the former: whereof the one should die white wooll black, & the other blacke wooll white. Which thing where he receiued it, or whence he had it, we can by nomeans imagine: for it is not to be found in our own writers, nor in ye writers of other countries. But whence soeuer it be, it is but a tale, & hath not one iote of trueth in it. And although it be incredible That black wooll may be died of a white colour, seeing it is affirmed by Plinie, that blacke wooll (of all other) will receiue no colour: nothwithstanding there is some such thing reported by Theophrastus: namely, that there is a riuer in Macedonia which maketh blacke sheepe white. Also, that Norway pamphlet called the Roiall looking-glasse, which I mentioned before, doth attribute these fountains to Ireland, which is also called Hybernia, and not to Island. Which peraduenture deceiued the Reader, reading in a strange language S in stead of R.

Who be the Islandish writers?

Speculum regale.

That likewise deserueth no better credite which another Author writeth: That there is a certaine great stone in Island which runneth vp and downe the crags and clifs of mountaines by no outward force, but by the owne proper and naturall motion. Hee that will beleeue this, what will he not beleeue? For it is such a rare deuise that the Epicures themselues (who yet seemed to Lucian to haue fained many incredible things) I am sure neuer inuented the like: vnlesse perhaps the sayd Author doeth imagine, (that a man who is called of the Islanders by the proper name of Stein) should compasse about, and clime vp certaine rockes: which although it be ridiculous to put into a story of wonders, namely, that a man should mooue or walke, yet is it so to bee supposed to saue the credite of the Author, that we may not more seuerely condemne that fable, which is so sencelesse of it selfe and not woorthy to be read.

Vultures, beares and crowes come vpon the drift Ice into Island.

They are guiltie of the same crime also who haue found out rauens, pies,[1] hares and vultures, all white in Island: for it is wel knowen that vultures come very seldome together with the Ise of the sea, vnto vs, as beares also (but they seldomer then vultures) and a certaine kind of crowes called by the Islanders Isakrakur. But as for white pies, hares, and rauens Island neuer had any.[2]

And these in a maner be the things which, in regard of our daily busines, we were able at this present to affoord, as touching the former part of our treatise, which were penned by me for this purpose (as in the beginning I did protest) that the errors of Authors concerning an vnknowen land, and the affected vanitie also of some men might be disclosed, for I am not desirous to diminish any mans good name: but because I consecrated these my labours to trueth and to my countrey, I could not chuse but shew, that those things which hitherto haue bene reported by many concerning our Island deserue very litle credite: and so to addresse myselfe vnto the matters folowing concerning the Inhabitants.

Here endeth the first part of the Commentarie.

Commentarij de Islandia pars secunda: quæ est de incolis.

ABsolutis hactenus miraculis Islandiæ, (cum nonnullis alijs, primæ parti annexis) quæ dum scriptores, velut Agamemnonios quosdam fontes, imò, vt quiddam præter et contra omnem

---

[1] Magpies.

[2] All modern writers, however, ascribe white hares to Iceland.

naturam, mirantur, nec non variè deprædicant, minus veritati ipsi, et authoritati suæ cousulunt; monet propositæ orationis series, vt ad alteram commentarij partem nos conferamus, quæ est de incolis: Vbi quid primùm dicam, aut vnde initium sumam, non satis teneo. Tanta enim sunt in nos vltimos Islandos, et tot quorundam ludibria, tot opprobria, tot scommata, tot dicteria, (Atque inter hæc etiam nonnulla eorum, qui simplicissimam veritatem profiteri, volunt, nempe historicorum) vt si singula recensere velim, non aliud quàm

Icariæ numerum dicere coner aquæ.

Sed, vt dixi initio, non cum omnibus æquè stricto iure agemus. Nam licet Krantzius, Munsterus, Frisius, et alij, nimis audacter multa de gente nostra scripserint: Tamen suis monumentis de studijs liberalibus alioqui benè meriti, etiam apud nos eo erunt in precio, quo merentur. Verum interea, etsi quis velit eos à calumniandi nota liberare, tamen non leue est, eos res quasdam tam absurdas, impossibiles et ridiculas proposuisse, cuiusmodi illa fuerunt, quæ hactenus exposuimus, tum impias, et atrocitate mendaciorum horrendas, cuiusmodi iam sequentur aliquot, in historias retulisse. Ast alijs, quicunq; sunt, qui quotidianus conuicijs nationem Islandorum incessunt, responsio, quam merentur, parata esse debet: Ex quorum numero, scurra ille fuit, qui rhythmis aliquot, in gentis nostræ contumeliam, Germanica lingua editis, nomen suum immortali dedecori consecrauit.

Quapropter, vt instituti nostri ratio exigit, dum scriptorum de hac re monumenta persequimur, etsi quædam in eis occurrant, quæ coutumeliæ parum habent, nos tamen plæraq; excutiemus, et errores, vt hactenas, annotabimus: tum si quid veri interea Secundæ partis distributio. attulerint, id nequaquam dissimulabimus. Ac eo modo, primùm Munsterum, Krantzium, Frisium, et si qui sunt alij, audiemus, Graculo illo, cum suis rhythmis Germanicis, 1. Capitis huius partis diuisio. dira calumnia infectis in postremum, vt dignus est, reiecto locum. In hunc igitur modum, primùm de fide seu Religione Islandorum: Deinde de ipsorum moribus, institutis seu viuendi ratione, authores isti scribunt.

The same in English.

Of Island the second part, concerning the Inhabitants.

HAuing hitherto finished the miracles of Island with certaine other particulars belonging to the first part, the which while

writers doe wonder at and diuersly extoll as it were the fountains of Agamemnon, yea, as things besides and against all nature, they haue bene very carelesse both of trueth it selfe, & of their owne credite. Now the course of the present speach doeth admonish mee to make haste vnto the other part of the treatise concerning the Inhabitants: wherein what I should first say, or where I should begin, I am altogether ignorant. For there be such monstrous, and so many mocks, reproches, skoffes, and taunts of certaine men against vs poore Islanders dwelling in the vtmost parts of the world (and amongst these also, some things of theirs who take vpon them to professe most simple trueth, namely Historiographers) insomuch, that to reckon vp the particulars were nothing els but to tell the drops of the Icarian sea. But as I said in the beginning, we will not deale alike seuerely with all. For although Krantzius, Munsterus, Frisius & others haue written many things too boldly of our nation: yet hauing otherwise deserued wel of learning by their monuments, they shalbe still in ye same reputation w^{t} vs that they are worthy of. Howbeit in the meane time, although a man would free them from the marke of slanderers, yet is it no small matter that they should broch certaine sencelesse, impossible & ridiculous things, such as those are which we haue hitherto laid downe: as also that they should record in histories prophane and horrible vntrueths, some of which kind shal now immediately be discussed. As for others, whatsoeuer they be, who vpbraid the nation of Islanders with daily reproches, they are to haue that answere in a readinesse which such men deserue. In the number of whom, that scoffer is to be accounted, who by a company of rimes published in the Germane tongue, to the disgrace of our countrey, hath brought his name into euerlasting ignominie.

Wherefore as our present businesse requireth, while we are in hand with the writings of Authors concerning this matter, although we meet with some things containing litle reproch, notwithstanding we will examine most of them, noting the errors as hitherto we haue done: in the meane time also when they shall alleage any trueth, we will in no case dissemble it. And after this maner, first we will heare Munster, Krantzius and Frisius, and others also, if there be any more, what they haue to say, reiecting that Paro and his Dutch rimes infected with fell slander, as he is woorthy vnto the last place. First therefore the sayd Authors write concerning the faith or religion of the Islanders: and secondly, of their Maners, Customes, and course of life in maner folowing.

SECTIO PRIMA.

Adalbertus Metropolitanus Hamburgensis, Anno Christi 1070. Vidit ad Christum conuersos Islandos: licet ante susceptam Christi fidem, lege Naturali viuentes, non multùm à lege nostra discrepantes: itaque, pretentibus illis, ordinauit quendam virum sanctum, primum Episcopum, nomine Isleif.

KRantzius his verbis, et Munsterus alibi, fidei seu Religionis Christianæ dignitatem Islandis videntur adscribere: Facerentq; et se, et veritate dignum, nisi eandem aliàs nobis adimerent. Nam (vt de Krantzio infra) Munsterus, quæ supra prodidit, de fide nostra, seu opinione circa Inferni locum situmque, omnino est à Christiana pietate alienum: Velle scilicet scrutari arcana, quæ Deus sibi soli reseruauit, quæq; voluit nostrum captum excedere: Non enim reperitur de hac re quicquam in literis sacris, vbi locus vel sitis inferni seu ignis æterni, Diabolo et Angelis ipsius, adeoq; damnatis omnibus animabus destinati, determinetur, aut circumscribatur: Nullam inquam, infra terram, seu in ea, aut vlla alia huius mundi parte, corporalem seu localem situm illi damnatorum carceri pagina sacra assignat: quinimo, terram hanc interituram, et terram nouam et cœlos nouos, iustorum et sanctorum habitacula, creanda affirmat: Apoc. 2. 2. Petri 3. Esa. 65. Quare Christianus rerum adeò abstrusarum inquisitionem libenter præterit: tum dogmata nullis appertis et illustribus scripturæ sacræ testimonijs stabilita, velut certa et vera recipere, aut alijs tradere, nefas esse ducit. Deut. 4. et 12. Esa. 8. Matth. 17. 2. Timoth. 3.

Deinde etiam pugnat acriter cum Religione Christiana, quo Munsterus & Krantzius Islandos ornant, encomium: Eos videlicet, catulos ac pueros suos æquo habere in precio. De quo infra, section. 7. Sic igitur secum dissidet Munst. dum quos Christianos asserit, inferni architectos aliàs facit: Item, Krantzius et Munsterus, dum quos fide Christo insertos affirmant, eosdem omni pietatis et honestatis sensu exuunt: quòd scribant filios ab his, non maiore cura, quàm catulos diligi.

Sed vt ad rem: De Religione equidem nostra, quæ qualiseu fuerit, cum Ethnicismus primùm fugari cœpit, nihil magnificè diceret possumus: quemadmodum nec alia Septentrionis Regna vicina, vti existimo, de suis fidei initijs. Fatendum enim est, et cum serijs gemitibus deplorandum vsq; ad illam nunquam satis prædicatam diem, quæ nobis velut immortalitatis initium illuxit et repurgati Euangelij doctrinam attulit, tenebras plusquam Cimmerias, etiam nostris hominibus, vt reliquis Septentrionis Ecclesijs, offusas fuisse. Illud tamen piè nobis sentire liceat, apud nos, vt et in vicina Noruegia (nam nolo vltra septa vagari, et de populis ignotis quicquam pronunciare) eiecta primum Idololatria Ethnica, sinceriorem longè et simpliciorem fidem seu religionem Christianam viguisse; quippe veneno Papistico minus infectam, quam posteà, vbi auctum Romanæ sedis fermentum pestiferum, et malum contagiosum maturuit, et per totum orbem virus suum diffudit: Nam vt posteà apparebit, multis annis antequam noua Pontificiorum Idololatria vires et incrementum cepit, Islandia Christum amplexa est: et vt laudatissimi duo illi Noruegiæ Reges, quibus vt commune nomen, ita commune nominis Christi propagandi studium et professio, nihil nisi fidem in Deum Patrem, Filium, et spiritum Sanctum, sonabat. Dico autem illum Olaum Thryggonis F. qui Anno Christi 968. natus, Anno ætatis 27. imperium Noruegiæ adeptus est, et primus, vt accepimus, Noruegis Christum obtrusit: quibus imperitabat annis 5. Et huic cognominem, Olaum nuncupatum Sanctum, Haraldi F. Qui anno Christi 1013. aut circiter, imperij habenas arctius in primis obtinuit: Per annos fere 17. Christi doctrinam audacter tradidit. Anno Christi 1030. ab improbis parricidis nefariè interfectus, in pago Noruegiæ Stickla Stodum, pro Christi nomine cruorem fudit.

Habuit etiam nostra patria inter multos alios quendam insignem pietate virum; cui Nialus nomen erat, qui circa annum Christi 1000 vixit in prædio seu villa Berthors huol, sita in Parochia Islandiæ, Landenum: Quiq; rerum humanarum experientia, circumspecta animi prudentia, sagacitate et consilio, habebatur insignis. Cum enim, eius seculo, indomitis Islandia motibus fluctuaret, incolis à nullo ferè superiore magistratu repressis, nullis se factionibus immiscuit: Plurimas cauta animi virtute ac industria composuit: Nunquam vim fecit, nec passus est, si vltimum tantum in vita diem excipias. Adeò studiosè seditiones et turbas vitauit: aliosq; vitare aut euadere cupientes optimè iuuit: Nec quisquam eius consilio, nisi maximo suo commodo est vnquam vsus: nec quisquam ab eo, nisi cum vitæ et fortunarum periculo deflexit. Tam certum ab eo oraculum petebatur, vt valde mirandum sit, vnde homini tanta futurorum euentuum, et tam certa coniectura et consilium esse potuerit, quanta in ipso deprehensa est. Vnde ipsius cauta, prouidens et consilij plena sapientia, apud nostrates in prouerbium abijt: Nials biita raden: quasi dicas, Niali consilium; vel, Niali consilio res geritur, aut succedit: cùm quid prudenter et admirando cum consilio gestum est.

Hic cum domi suæ, à 100. viris coniuratis ob cædem à filio ipsius, ipso tamen inscio, patratam cingeretur, et inimicis domum vndiq: igni succendentibus, sibi videret supremum fatum instare, ait tandem. Hæc quidem fato, hoc est, voluntate diuina accidunt. Cæterum spem et fiduciam in Christo sitam habeo, nos (de se et vxore loquens) licet corpus hoc nostrum caducum, inimicorum flammis, mortalitatis corruptionem subeat, ab æternis tamen flammis liberatum iri. Sicq; inter has voces, et flammarum sæuitiam, vitam, An. Christò 1010. cum vxore et filio homicida, finiuit. Vox profectò filijs Dei non indigna, animæ, cum mortis acerbitate luctantis summum solatium arguens.

Hæc ideo addidi, vt ostendam quà coniectura adducar ad existimamdum mox initio Christianismi (vt sic loquar) apud nos recepti, non fuisse tam deceptas et errorum tenebris immersas hominum mentes, quàm nunc, paulò ante hæc nostra tempora fuerunt.

Ast verò iam postquam Dominus Deus per Lutherum, et Lutheri in vinea Domini collegas, et pios successores, salutis doctrinam illustriorem reddidit, mentiùmq; nostrarum graui veterno et densa caligine excussis, dextræ suæ digito, hoc est, spiritu Sancto, (Matth. 12. vers. 28.) cordis nostri auriculas vellicauit, ac oculos, quibus saluificam ipsius veritatem cerneremus, nobis aperuit: Nos omnes et singuli credimus et confitemur Deum esse Spiritum, (Iohan. 4. vers. 24.) æternum (Esai 40. vers. 28.) Infinitum (Ierem. 23. vers. 24. Psalm. 136. vers. 7. 8. 9.) optimum (Matth. 19. 17.) omnipotentem (Gene. 17. 1. Apocal. 1. 8.) Vnum essentia et natura: Vnum prouidentia: vnum efficientia rerum et administratione (Deut. 6. 5. Ephes. 4. 5.) At personis diuinitatis, proprietatibusque distinctum, Patrem, Filium et spiritum Sanctum (Matth. 28. 19. & 3. 17.) Deum Patrem quidem, primam diuinitatis personam, cœli terræ et omnium rerum creatorem (Gene. 1. vers. 1. & sequent.) Sustentatorem et gubernatorem (Psal. 115. 3. Heb. 1. 3.) Patrem Domini nostri Iesu Christi (Psalm. 2. 7. & sequent:) et nostrum per eundem Patrem (Rom. 8. 15.) Animæ et corporis curatorem (Luc. 12. 12.) Tum Iesum Christum, secundam diuinitatis personam, filium Dei patris (Iohan. 1. 18. &c.) Vnigenitum (Iohan. 1. 29. Heb. 1. 2.) æqualem patri (1. Paral. 17. 13. Iohan. 1. 1.) Deum verum (Iohan. 1.

2. &c.) ante omnia creata præordinatum (1. Pet. 1. 20. Apocal. 13. 8. &c.) et statim post lapsum, promissum Messiam (Gen. 3. 15.) Sanctis Patriarchis identidem promulgatum, vt Abrahæ (Gen. 12. 3. &c.) Isaac. (Gen. 26. 4.) Jacob. (Gen. 28. 14.) et promissionibus confirmatum (Genes. 49. 9. Esa. 11. 1. 10.) Sacrificijs Mosaicis (Leuit. 1. 2. &c.) Et alijs typis præfiguratum: immolatione Isaac (Gen. 22.) Exaltatione ænei serpentis. (Num. 21.) Iona (Ion. 2. &c.) Prophetarum testimonio proclamatum (Esai 7. 14. &c.) ac tandem in plenitudine temporis verè exhibitum: hominem verum (Iohan. 1. 14. &c. Paul. Galat. 4.) mortuum pro peccatis nostris: resuscitatum propter iustificationem nostri (Rom. 4. 25. &c.) Ascendentem in cœlum (Act. 1. 9. &c.) ac pro nobis ad dexteram patris sine intermissione interpellantem (1. Iohan. 2. 1. &c.) per spiritum Sanctum suum qui tertia est diuinitatis persona patri et filio compar et consubstantialis. (Actor. 5. 4.) Ecclesiam sibi verbo et Sacramentis colligentem (Matth. 16. 18. Roman. 10. 14. &c.) Et ad vitam æternam sanctificantem (Actor. 9. 31. &c.) Ac tandem consummatis seculis è cœlo venturum (Actor. 1. 11.) Iudicare viuos et mortuos (1. Thess. 4. 15.) redditurum impijs secundum opera sua, eòsq; pœnis æternis adiudicaturum (Mat. 13. 42. & 25. 41.) credentes verò in nomine ipsius æterna vita donaturum (Mat. 25. 34. &c.) Hunc, inquam, Iesum Christum redemptorem (Mat. 1. 21.) Caput (1. Corinth. 12. 27.) et Dominum nostrum (Ephes. 4. 5.) agnoscimus: Nosq; illi nomen in sacro baptismo dare ac dedisse (Actor. 2. 38.) Et per baptismum illi insertos esse (1. Cor. 12. 13.) apertè, ingenuè, liberè ac libenter fatemur ac contestámur: omnesque alios, quicunq; aliud nomen sub cœlo datum esse hominibus, per quod salui fiant, comminiscuntur, seriò detestamur, execramur et damnamus. (Actor. 4. 12.) Verbum ipsius sanctissimum vnicam salutis normam statuimus, illudque tantummodò, omnibus humanis commentis abiectis et spretis, infallibilem fidei nostræ regulam et amussim nobis proponimus: (Galat. 1. 8. Esa. 29. 13. Ezech. 20.) Quod duplicis Testamenti, veteris et noui appellatione complectimur. (Hebr. 8.) traditum per Prophetas et Apostolos (Ephes. 2. 20.) singulari et immensa Dei bonitate in hunc vsque diem semper in Ecclesia conseruatum et conseruandum in posterum. (Matth. 28. vlt. Psalm. 71. 18. 1. Cor. 11. 26.)

Deo igitur optimo maximo gratias ex animo et toto pectore agimus, quòd etiam ad nos, vastissimo interuallo à reliquo Ecclesiæ corpore diuulsos et vltimas mundi partes habitantes, lumen hoc suum, concessum, ad reuelationem gentium, et paratum ante faciem omnium populorum, olim pio Simeoni benigne ostensum (Nam in Christo omnes thesauri sapientiæ reconditi) quod nunc totam nostram gentem radijs suis saluificis illuminat ac fouet, pertingere voluerit. Hæc ita breuiter, ipsam summam perstringendo, fides nostra est, et nostra religio, quam monstrante spiritu Sancto, et ipsius in vinea Christi ministris, hausimus: idq; ex fontibus Israëlis.

Anno Domini 1070. vidit ad Christum conuersos Islandos.

Krantzius.

DVbium nobis est, vtrum his verbis dicere voluerit Krantzius, Islandos primùm Anno Domini 1070. ad Christum esse conuersos: an verò, prius quidem esse conuersos non neget, sed eo primùm anno id Adalberto innotuisse dicat. Vtrumuis autem affirmet, tamen fidem ipsius hoc loco suspectam reddunt annales et chronologiæ nostræ gentis antiquissimæ, quæ contrarium testantur: quibus vtrum malis, de rebus nostris proprijs et domesticis et intra nostræ insulæ limites gestis credere, an verò Krantzio, aut cuiuis alteri in nostratium rerum historia peregrino, sit penes tuum, candide Lector, arbitrium. Ego profectò multis adducor vt nostris potius assentiar. Nostrates enim nota tantùm et fere domestica asserunt: ille peregrina et ignota. Hi suas Chronologias sine aliarum omnium nationum labe, macula et sugillatione contexuerunt tantummodò, vt rebus gestis suum verum tempus seu æram assignarent; ille quæ̀dam cum re et veritate pugnantia in contumeliam gentis nostræ ignotissimæ, historiæ suæ admiscuit, vt paulò post apparebit: hi omnium episcoporum Islandiæ nomina, annos, ordinem et successum describunt: ille vnius tantùm mentionem facit, idq; longè secus quàm res habet. Porrò vt his fidem faciam, pauca, quæ in ventustissimis nostris annalibus de Islandia ad Christum conuersa, et de Episcoporum in nostris Ecclesijs successione reperi, quorum etiam fides apud nos publicè recepta est, cum extraneis communicabo. Quæ tametsi leuiuscula, nec omnia prorsus digna quæ scribantur, scribenda tamen omninò sunt ad nostrarum rerum veritatem, aduersus Krantzium et alios asserendam: Sic igitur habent.

Chronologiæ Islandicæ gentis antiquissimæ.

Vetustissimi annales.

Anno Christi 874. prius quidem, vt ante commemorauimus, inuenta, sed tunc primum à Noruagis (quorum princeps fuit Ingulphus quidam, è cuius nomine promontorium Islandiæ orientalis Ingulffs hoffdi appellati-

874. Islandia primum inhabitata.

tionem traxit) occupata est Islandia. Hi plures quam 400. cum cognatis et agnatis et præterea numerosa familia nominatim in annalibus nostris recensentur: nec illorum tantùm numerus describitur, sed quas oras, quæ littora, et quæ loca mediterranea, singuli occupauerint et incoluerint, et quomodo primi inhabitatores, fretis, sinibus, portubus, Isthmis, porthmis, promontorijs, rupibus, scopulis, montibus, collibus, vallibus, tesquis, fontibus, fluminibus, riuis, ac deniq; villis seu domicilijs suis nomina dederint, quorum hodié plæraq; retinentur et in vsu sunt, apertè narratur. Itaq; Noruagi occupatæ iam Islandiæ 60. annorum spacio, aut circiter, habitabiles partes sua multitudine implent: Centum verò prope modum annis Ethnici manserunt, ci paucissimos, qui in Noruagia fortè sacro fonte abluti fuerant, excipias. Annis autem vix centum à primo ingressu elapsis, mox de religione Christiana agi cœptum est, nempe circa annum Domini 974 quæ res non sine insigni rebellione plusquam 20 annis variè à multis tentata est. Commemorantur autem duo Episcopi extranei, qui cum alijs, in conuertenda ad fidem Christi insula, diligenter laborarint: Prior Fridericus, Saxo natione, qui anno 981. ad Islandos venit, atque docendi munere strenuè functus est, ac tantum fecit, vt Anno 984, sacræ ædes Islandis in vsu fuerint.

974.

Fredericus Saxo.

Alter verò ille extraneus Episcopus siue concionator, quem Thangbrandt nuncupauere, anno 997. in Islandiam primùm venit.

Hinc post 26, annorum disceptationem de religione, tandem Anno 1000. in conuentu generali omnium incolarum decretum est, vniuersali eorundem consensu, vt Ethnicorum numinum cultu seposito, religionem sectarentur Christianam.

Anno Dom. 1000.

Rursus in solenni incolarum conuentu Anno 1050. sancitum est, vt leges seculares seu politicæ (quarum constitutiones allatas ex Noruagia quidam Vlfliotus, Anno 926. Islandis communicarat) vbique cederent iuri Canonico seu diuino.

Anno 1056. abit peregrè ex Islandia Isleifus quidam, in Episcopum Islandiæ ordinandus.

Redit ordinatus in Islandiam, et Cathedram Schalholtensem adit Anno 1057. Moritur 1080. Ætatis 74. 4. Kalendas Iulias.

Videbuntur forsitan hæc minuta, concisa, vilia, nec narratione satis digna, cum multis fortè quæ sequuntur: Sed nec historiam Romanam conteximus, nec tam minuta erunt, quin contra Krantzij et aliorum errores conuincendos, prout nostrum est institutum, valeant. Et certè, quantum ad fidem nostrarum Chronologiarum, constat Saxonem Grammaticum non parum illis tribuisse: Cuius, in præfatione suæ Daniæ, hæc sunt verba. Nec Thylensium inquit, (sic enim Islandos appellat) industria silentio obliteranda: qui cum ob natiuam soli sterilitatem, luxuriæ nutrimentis carentes, officia continuæ sobrietatis exerceant, omniàq; vitæ momenta ad alienorum operum notitiam conferre soleant, inopiam ingenio pensant. Cunctarum quippe nationum res gestas cognosse, memoriæq; mandare, voluptatis loco reputant non minoris gloriæ iudicantes, alienas virtutes disserere, quam proprias exhibere. Quorum thesauros Historicarum rerum pignoribus refertos curiosius consulens, haud paruam præsentis operis partem ex eorum relationis imitatione contexui: nec arbitros habere contempsi, quos tamta vetustatis peritia callere noui. Hæc Saxo. Quare lubet Episcoporum Islandiæ Catalogum persequi, vt ex annalibus nostris continuata diligenter, quoad eius fieri potest, omnium series, his quæ de primo Isleifo contra Krantzium attulimus, fidem faciat.

The same in English.

THE FIRST SECTION.

Adalbert Metropolitane of Hamburg in the yeere of Christ 1070. saw the Islanders conuerted vnto Christianitie: albeit, before the receiuing of Christian faith, they liued according to the lawe of nature, and did not much differ from our lawe: therefore at their humble request, he appointed a certaine holy man named Islief to be their first Bishop.

Krantzius in præfatione suæ Norwegiæ.

KRantzius in these words, and Munster other where, doe seeme to attribute vnto the Islanders the prerogatiue of Christian faith: and they should deale both beseeming themselues and the trueth, if they did not in other places depriue vs of the same. For (to speake of Krantzius anone) that which Munster before reported concerning our faith or opinion about the place and situation of hell, is very farre from Christian pietie: namely to be desirous to prie into those secrets which God hath kept close vnto himselfe alone, and which his pleasure is, should exceed our capacitie: for there is not any thing found in the holy Scriptures of this matter, where the place and situation of hell, or of eternall fire prepared

for the deuill and his angels, and so for all damned soules, is bounded or compassed about. The holy Bible (I say) assigneth no locall or bodily situation beneath the earth, or vpon the earth, or in any other place of this world, to that prison of the damned: but it affirmeth that this earth shall perish, and that a new earth, and new heauens shall be created for the habitation of iust and holy men, Reuel. 2. 2. Pet. 3. and Esay[1] 65. wherefore a Christian man willingly giueth ouer to search into such hidden secrets: and he accounteth it vnlawful to receiue or deliuer vnto others, opinions (grounded vpon no plaine and manifest places of Scripture) for certainties and trueths, Deut. 4. and 12. Esay. 8. Matth. 27. 2. Tim. 3.

Further also that commendation wherewith Munster and Krantzius doe grace the Islanders, is meerly contrary to Christian religion: namely that they make al one reckoning of their whelps and of their children. But more of this matter anone in the 7. section. So therefore Munster disagreeth with himselfe, whereas those whom he affirmeth to be Christians, afterward he maketh to be master-builders of hell. Also Krantzius and Munster both together, when as those whom they affirme to be engraffed by faith into Christ, they except from all sense of piety and honesty, in that they write that their sonnes are not dearer vnto them then their whelpes.

But to returne to the matter: In very deed we haue no great thing to say concerning our religion, what, or of what sort it was when Gentilisme was first put to flight. No more (I thinke) haue other Northern nations neere vnto vs to say concerning ye beginning of their faith. For (alas) we must needs confesse and bewaile with deepe sighes, that vntill that day which shined vnto vs like the beginning of immortalitie, and brought vnto vs the pure doctrine of the gospel, our countrymen, as likewise other churches of the North, were ouerspred with more then Cimmerian darkenesse. But we may iustly and religiously thinke thus muche, that among vs and our neighbours of Norway (for I will not range out of my bounds, nor affirme any thing of vnknowen people) after heathenish idolatry was rooted out, Christian faith and religion did florish far more sincere and simple, as being lesse infected with the poison of poperie at that time, then afterward, when as the pestiferous leauen of the see of Rome being augmented, and the contagious mischiefe growing ripe, the poison thereof was dispersed through ye whole world: for, as it shal afterward appeare, Island embraced Christ many yeeres before the new idolatry of the papists began to preuaile, and did sound foorth nothing but faith in God the Father, the Sonne and the holy Ghost, like vnto those two most renoumed kings of Norway, who as they had one common name, so had they one common care and profession to aduance the gospel of Christ. I meane Olaus the sonne of Thryggo, who was borne in the yere of Christ 968. attaining to the kingdom of Norway in the 27. yeere of his age, and was the first, as we haue heard, that offred Christ vnto the Norwegians, ouer whom hee reigned fiue yeeres: and another of that name called Olaus Sanctus the sonne of Harald, who in the yeere of Christ 1013. or there about, gouerned with more seueritie, and for the space of 17. yeeres did boldly deliuer the doctrine of Christ. In the yere of Christ 1030. being vniustlie slaine by wicked murtherers, he shed his blood for ye name of Christ in a town of Norway called Sticfla Stodum.

---

[1] Isaiah.

The first christian king of Norway.

Nialus the first knowne professour of Christian faith in Island.

Our countrey also had, among many other, one man of excellent pietie whose name was Nialus, who about the yeere of Christ 1006. liued in the village of Berthorshuol situate in the parish of Island called Landehum: who also for his experience in humane affaires, for his great wisedome and sage counsell was accompted famous. For whereas in his time Island was turmoiled with many fierce mutinies, the inhabitants being in subiection to no superiour magistrate, he intermedled not in any quarels, sauing that by his discreet vertue and diligence he set through and brought to composition a great number: hee neuer did nor suffered violence, but onely vpon the last day of his life. So carefully auoyded he al seditions and strifes: and gaue good assistance to others, who were desirous also to auoyd and escape them: neither did any man euer put in practise his counsel, but it turned to his especiall good: nor euer any did swerue therefrom, but with the danger of his life and possessions. The wordes or rather the oracles that came from him were so certaine, that it was wonderful from whence any man should haue so great and so sure forecast and counsell of things to come, as was found to be in him. Whereupon his discreet and prouident wisedome, ioyned with counsell became a prouerbe amongst vs, "Nials byta raden:" That is to say, the counsel of Nialus: or, the thing is done, or succeedeth by Nialus his counsel: when any business was atchieued prudently, and with admirable discretion. This man, when, for a slaughter committed by his sonne without his knowledge, he was in his owne house beset with a 100. men, who had conspired his death, and when his enemies began on all sides to set his house on fire, seeing his ende approch, at length he brake into these words. "Doubtlesse these things happen by fate, that is, by the will of God. Howbeit, I put my hope and confidence in Christ, that we (meaning his wife and himselfe) although this our fraile body shal vndergoe the corruption of death, in the fire of our enemies, yet, that it shalbe deliuered from eternal flames." And so in the midst of these voyces, and in the fury of the flames, he with his wife and the manslayer his sonne, in the yere of Christ 1010. ended his life. A voyce vndoubtedly full well beseeming the sonnes of God, arguing the notable comfort of his soule amidst the very pangs of death.

I therefore added those things to shew by what reason I was moued to thinke that in the very beginning of Christianitie receiued amongst vs, mens minds were not so beguiled and ouerwhelmed in the darkenes of errors, as of late, a little before these our times they haue bene.

A summe of the Islanders Religion.

But after the Lord God by Luther, and Luthers fellow-labourers in the vineyard of the Lord, and by his godly successours, did make the doctrine of saluation more manifest, and shaking off the heauie slothe, and thicke miste of our minds by the finger of his right hand, that is by his holy spirit (Matth. 12. v. 28.) did plucke the eares of our hearts, and opened our eyes that we might behold his sauing health: We all, and euery of vs do beleeue and confesse that God is a spirit (Iohn 4. v. 24.) eternal (Esay. 40. v. 28.) infinite (Iere. 23. v. 24. Psal. 139. v. 7. 8. 9.) most good (Matth. 19. v. 17.) almighty (Gen. 17. 1. Reuel. 1. 8.) one in being, and nature: one in prouidence: one in the making and gouerning of all things (Deut. 6. 5. Ephe. 4. 5.) But distinguished by the persons of the Godhead and their properties, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost (Matth. 28. 19. and 3. 17.) God the Father the first person of the Godhead creator of heauen and earth, and all other things (Gen. 1. v. 1. and in those that folow) the vpholder and gouernor of all (Psa. 115. 3. Heb. 1. 3.) Father of our Lord Iesus Christ (Psal. 2, 7. and verses following) and our Father through him (Rom. 8. 15.) keeper of our soules and bodies (Luke 12. 12.) And that Iesus Christ the second person of the Godhead is the sonne of God the Father (Iohn 1. 18 &c.) onely begotten (Iohn 1. 29. Heb. 1. 2.) equal to his Father (1 Chro. 17. 13. Ioh. 1. 1.) true God (Iohn 1. 2. &c.) foreappointed before the creation of all things (1. Pet. 1. 20, Reuel. 13. 8. &c.) and presently after mans fall promised to be the Messias (Gene. 3. 15. &c.) published eftsoones vnto the holy Patriaches, as vnto Abraham (Gen. 12. 3. &c.) vnto Isaac (Gen. 26. 4.) vnto Iacob (Gene. 28. 14.) and confirmed by promises (Gen. 49. 9. Esa. 11. 1, 10.) prefigured by ye sacrifices of Moses (Leu. 1. 2. &c.) and by other types, as namely by the offering of Isaac (Gen. 22.) by the lifting vp of the brazen serpent (Num. 21.) by Ionas (Ionas 2. &c.) proclaimed by the testimony of the Prophets (Esa. 7. 14.) and at length in the fulnesse of time truely exhibited: true man (Iohn I. 14. &c. Gal. 4.) that he died for our sinnes, and was raised again for our iustification (Rom. 4. 25. &c.) Ascending into heauen (Acts 1. 9. &c.) and making intercession for vs at the right hand of his Father without ceasing (1. Iohn 2. 1. &c.) by his holy Spirit (which is the thirde person of the Godhead, coequall, and consubstantial to the Father and the Sonne, Acts. 5. 4.) gathering the Church to himselfe by the word, and Sacraments (Matth. 16. 18. Rom. 10. 14. &c.) and sanctifying it to eternal life, (Acts. 9. 31. &c.) And that one day at the end of the world he will come from heauen (Acts 1. 11.) to iudge the quicke and the dead (1. Thessal. 4. 15.) that he will render vnto the wicked according to their workes, and that he will iudge them to eternal paines (Matth. 13. 42. and 25. 4.) but that he wil reward them with eternal life, who beleeue in his Name (Matth. 25. 34.) This Iesus Christ (I say) wee acknowledge to be our Redeemer (Matth. 1. 21.) our head (1. Corinth. 12. 27.) and our Lord (Ephe. 4. 5.) And that wee in our holy baptisme do giue, and haue giuen our names vnto him (Acts. 2. 38.) and that wee are engraffed into him by baptisme (1. Corin. 12. 13.) And this we do plainely, ingenuously, freely, and willingly confesse and witnesse: And as for all others who inuent any other name in heauen giuen vnto men by which they may be saued, we doe earnestly detest, cursse, and condemne them (Acts. 4. 12.) We holde his most holy Word to be the onely rule of our saluation: and that alone (al mans deuises being cast away and contemned) we propound vnto our selues as an infallible rule, and leuel of our faith (Galat. 1. 8. Esai 29. 13. Ezech. 20.) which we conteine vnder the name of the olde and newe Testament (Hebr. 8.) deliuered by the Prophets and Apostles (Ephe. 2. 20.) by the singular and infinite goodnesse of God, preserued euer vnto this day and to be preserued hereafter alwayes in the Church (Matth. 28. last verse. Psal. 71. 18. 1. Cor. 11. 26.)

Therefore we render thankes vnto our* most gratious and Almighty God from our soule, and from our whole heart, because that euen vnto vs being separated an huge distance from the rest of the body of his Church, and inhabiting the farthest parts of the world, hee would that this light graunted for the reuelation of the Gentiles, and prepared before the face of all people, and in olde time fauourably shewed to holy Simeon (for in Christ are all the treasures of wisedome hidden) which now doeth enlighten and cherish with the sauing beames thereof our whole nation, that hee would (I say) this light should come vnto vs. This in briefe (running ouer the very summe) is our faith, and our Religion, which by the direction of the holy Spirit and of his Ministers in the vineyard of Christ, we haue drawen and that out of the fountaines of Israel.

Krantzius.

In the yeere of our Lord 1070. saw the Ilanders conuerted vnto Christ, &c.

It is doubtful vnto vs whether in these words Kranzius would haue said, that yͤ Islanders were first converted vnto Christ in the yeere of our Lord 1070: or whether he doth not deny that they were indeed before conuerted, but saith that it was knowne first vnto Adalbert that yeere. But whethersoeuer of these he affirmeth : notwithstanding the yeerely records, and most auncient Chronicles of our nation testifying the contrary do make his credite to be suspected in this place, vnto which records and Chronicles, whether you had rather giue assent concerning our owne proper and domestical affaires, done within the bounds of our Island, or to Krantzius or any other being ignorant in the story of our countrey, I appeale (friendly reader) vnto your owne discretion. For my part I am enforced by many reasons to agree rather vnto our owne writers. For our countreymen affirme those things onely that be knowen, and in a maner domesticall: he writeth matters forreine and vnknowen : they haue compiled their histories without the diffaming, disgracing or reprehending of any other nations, onely that they might assigne vnto their owne acts and exploits the true time or age thereof: he hath intermedled in

The most ancient Chronicles of Island.

his historie certaine things contrary to the trueth, and that to the vpbraiding of our nation being most vnknowen vnto him, as it shall immediatly appeare: they describe the names, yeres, order, succession of all the Bishops of Island: he mentioneth onely one, and that farre otherwise then the trueth. Furthermore that I may make good the credite of our Countreymen, I wil impart with strangers a fewe things which I found in our most ancient records of the conuersion of Island vnto Christ, and of the succession of Bishops in our Churches. Which although they be of litle moment, and not altogether worthy to be written, yet must they of necessitie bee set downe for the defence of the trueth of our affaires against Krantzius and others: thus therefore standeth the certaintie thereof.

Island first inhabited.

In the yeere of Christ 874. Island (being indeed discouered before that time, as is aboue mentioned) was then first of all inhabited by certaine Noruagians. Their chiefetaine was one Ingulphus from whose name the East cape of Island is called Ingulffs hoffdi. These planters are reckoned vp by name in our recordes more then to the number of 400. together with those of their blood and kinred, and great families besides: neither onely is their number described, but it is also plainely set downe, what coasts, what shores, and what inland places eche of them did occupie and inhabite, and what names the first inhabitants did giue vnto Streights, bayes, harboroughs, necklands, creekes, capes, rockes, cragges, mountaines, hilles, valleys, homockes, springs, floods, riuers. And to be short, what names they gaue vnto their graunges or houses, whereof many at this day are reteined and vsed. Therefore the Norwayes with their company peopled all the habitable parts of Island now occupied by them for the space of 60 yeeres or thereabout: but they remayned Ethnickes almost 100. yeres, except a very fewe which were baptised in Norwaie. But scarce a 100 yeres from their first entrance being past, presently Christian religion began to be considered vpon, namely about the yeere of our Lord 974. Which thing aboue 20. yeres together, was diuersly attempted of many not without notable rebellion: amongst the rest there are mentioned two outlandish Bishops, who with others diligently laboured in conuerting the Island to Christian faith: the former was one Fridericus a Saxon borne, who in the yeere 981. came into Island, and behaued himselfe couragiously in the office of preaching, and

Fridericus Saxo, the first preacher of the Christian faith in Island. Anno Domini 981.

preuailed so much, that in the yeere 984. Churches were vsed in Island.

But the other outlandish Bishop or preacher whom they called Thangbrandt came first into Island in the yeere 997.

Anno Domini 1000.

And then after 26. yeeres consulting about Religion, at length in the yeere 1000. it was decreed in a generall assembly of all the inhabitants by their whole consent, that the worship of heathenish Idoles being abandoned, they should embrace Christian Religion.

Againe, in the yeere 1050, it was decreed in a solemne assembly of the inhabitants, that temporall or politique lawes (the constitutions whereof being brought out of Norwaie were communicated vnto the Islanders by one Vlfliot in the yeere 926.) should euery where giue place to the Canon or diuine Lawe.

In the yere 1056. one Isleif went beyond the seas out of Island to be consecrated bishop of Island.

He came home consecrated into Island, and entred into the bishopricke of Scalholt in the yeere 1057. He died 1080. in the yeere of his age 74. The 4. of the Kalends of Iuly.

A notable testimonie of Saxo concerning the Islanders.

These things perhaps wil seeme trifling, short and base, not sufficiently worthy to be mentioned, together with many other matters which follow : but neither doe wee compile the Romane history, neither yet shall these things be so trifling, but that they may be of sufficient force to conuince the errours of Krantzius and others, according to our purpose. And vndoubtedly as touching the trueth of our histories, it is euident that Saxo Grammaticus attributeth very much vnto them : whose words in his preface of Denmarke be these : Neither is the diligence of the Thylenses (for so he calleth Islanders) to be smothered in silence : who when as by reason of the natiue barrennes of their soile, wanting nourishments of riot, they do exercise the duties of continuall sobrietie, and vse to bestow all the time of their life in the knowledge of other men's exploits, they supply their want by their wit. For they esteeme it a pleasure to know, and commit vnto memory the famous acts of other nations, reckoning it no lesse praiseworthy to discourse of other mens vertues, then to practise their owne. Whose treasures replenished with the monuments of historical matters, I more curiously searching into, haue compiled no smal part of this present worke by following of their relation : neither despised I to haue those men for my iudges, whom I knew ta be skilful in so great knowledge of antiquitie. Thus farre Saxo.

Wherefore I thinke it not amisse to proceede in the recitall of the Bishops of Island, that the order and descent of them all, being so farre foorth as is possible, diligently put together out of our yeerely records, may make good that which we haue alledged against Krantzius concerning Isleif the first Bishop of Island.

CATALOGUS CHRONOLOGICUS EPISCOPORUM ISLANDIÆ.

Anno Christi.	Episcopi Schalholtenses.
	I.
	Isleif.
1056	Ordinatur peregrè.
1057	Redit et Schalholtensem cathedram adit.
1080	Anno ætat. 74. Moritur 4. Kalend. Jul.
	II.
	Gysserus.
1082	Ordinatur peregrè,
1083	Redit in Islandiam cum Episcopatu.
1118	Moritur 5. Kalend. Maias qui fuit dies Martis.
	III.
	Thorlacus Runolphi. F.
Anno ætatis	Ordinatur eodem anno, quo prædecessor.
32:	Gysserus vita excessit, sed tamen ante illius obitum 30. die.
1133	Moritur.
	IV.
	Magnus.
1134	Ordinatur.
1148	Postridiè festi omnium Sanctorum in villa sacerdotali Hiitardal comuiuans, cœnaculo fulmine percusso, cum viris 70. flammis absumptus est.
	V.
	Klaingus.
1151	Eligitur.
1152	Cathedram adit.
1176	Moritur.

The same in English.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE BISHOPS OF ISLAND.

The Bishops of Schalholt.	In the yeere of Christ.
I.	
Isleif.	
Consecrated beyond the seas.	1056
Returneth and entereth the Bishops sea of Schalholt.	1057
Dieth in the yere of his age 74. the 4. of the Kalends of Iuly.	1080
II.	
Gysserus.	
Consecrated beyond the sea.	1082
Returneth into Island with his Bishopricke.	1083
Dieth the 5. of the Kal. of May being tuesday.	1118
III.	
Thorlacus sonne of Runulphus.	
Consecrated the same yeere, wherein his predecessor Gysserus deceased, but yet 30. dayes before his death. Dieth.	In the year of his age 32. 1133
IV.	
Magnus.	
Consecrated.	1134
On the morrowe after the feast of all Saints, in his parish towne of Hiitardal, the house being striken with lightning, hee, and 70. men with him were consumed with fire.	1148
V.	
Klaingus.	
Chosen.	1151
Entreth the see.	1152
Dieth.	1176

Anno Christi.	Episcopi Schalholtenses.
	VI.
	Thorlacus.
	Eligitur biennio ante obit. prædecessoris.
1178	Ordinatur.
1193	Moritur.
	VII.
	Paulus.
1195	Ordinatur.
1211	Moritur.
	VIII.
	Magnus.
1216	Ordinatur.
	IX.
	Siguardus.
1239	Cathedram adit.
1268	Moritur.
	X.
	Arnerus.
1269	Cathedram adit.
1298	Moritur.
	XI.
	Arnerus Helgonis F.
1304	Ordinatur.
1305	Cathedram adit.
1309	In Noruagiam abit ligna à rege Noruagiæ petiturus, quibus templum Schalholtense reædificaretur, quod eodem anno fulmine tactum conflagrarat.
1310	Redit ex itinere.
1320	Moritur.
	XII.
	Ionas Haldorus.
1321	Eligitur.
1322	Ordinatur Kal. Augusti.
1323	Cathedram adit.
1338	Moritur.

The Bishops of Schalholt.	In the yeere of Christ.
VI.	
Thorlacus.	
Chosen two yeres before the death of his predecessour.	
Consecrated.	1178
Dieth.	1193
VII.	
Paulus.	
Consecrated.	1195
Dieth.	1211
VIII.	
Magnus.	
Consecrated.	1216
IX.	
Siguardus.	
Entreth his see.	1239
Dieth.	1268
X.	
Arnerus.	
Entreth his see.	1269
Dieth.	1298
XI.	
Arnerus sonne of Helgo.	
Consecrated.	1304
Entreth the see.	1305
Saileth into Norwaie, to craue timber of the king of Norway, wherewith the Church of Schalholt might be reedified, which the same yere being toucht with lightning, was burnt downe.	1309
Returneth home.	1310
Dieth.	1320
XII.	
Ionas Haldorus.	
Elected.	1321
Consecrated the first of August.	1322
Entreth his see.	1323
Dieth.	1338

Anno Christi.	Episcopi Schalholtenses.
	XIII.
	Ionas Indridi F. Noruagus.
1339	Cathedram adit.
1341	Moritur.
	XIV.
	Ionas Siguardi F.
	Cathedram adit.
1343	Moritur pridiè Diui Magni.
1348	
	XV.
	Gyrthus.
1349	Ordinatus Asloiæ Noruagorum, ab Episcopo Asloensi Salomone.
	Abiens peregrè fluctibus vitam finit.
1356	
	XVI.
	Thorarinnus.
	Cathedram adit.
1362	Moritur.
1364	XVII.
	Oddgeirus.
	Cathedram adit.
1366	Moritur in assumpt. beatæ virginis, in portu Noruagiæ Burgensi, è mercium aceruo in imum nauis delapsus. Sepultus Bergis in æde Saluatoris.
1381	
	XVIII.
	Michaël Danus.
1385	Cathedral adit.
1388	Resignat profectus in Daniam.
	XIX.
	Wilhelmus Danus.
1394	Cathedram adit. Moritur.

The Bishops of Schalholt.	In the yeere of Christ.
XIII.	
Ionas sonne of Indred, a Noruagian borne.	
Entreth his see.	1339
Dieth.	1341
XIV.	
Ionas sonne of Siguardus.	
Entreth his see.	1343
Dieth on S. Magnus euen.	1348
XV.	
Gyrthus.	
Consecrated at Aslo in Norway by Salomon bishop of Aslo.	1349
Going beyond the seas he was drowned.	1356
XVI.	
Thorarinnus.	
Entreth his see.	1362
Dieth.	1364
XVII.	
Oddgeirus.	
Entreth his see.	1366
Dieth vpon the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, in the port of Bergen in Norway, falling downe from a packe of wares into the botome of the ship. He was buried at Bergen in the Church of our Sauiour.	1381
XVIII.	
Michael a Dane.	
Entreth his see.	1385
Resigneth, and saileth into Denmarke.	1388
XIX.	
William a Dane.	
Entereth the Bishopricke.	1394
Dieth.	

Anno Christi. | **Episcopi Schalholtenses.**

XX.

Arnerus.

Hîc cognomento fuit Milldur. i. liberalis. Gessit vna præfecturam Islandiæ tertius : Episcopatum Schalholtens. & vice Episcopatum Holensem.

1420 Obijt.

XXI.

Ionas Gerickso.

1432 Suecus siue cognomento siue natione præest Ecclesiæ Schalholtensi: ac posteà ob quædam nimis audacter tentata, à quodam Thorualdo de Modruuallum (vt fama est) captus, & aligato ad collum saxo in amne Schalholtensi, qui à ponte nomen habet, viuus submersus & strangulatus est.

XXII.

Gosuinus.

1445 Præest Ecclesiæ Schalholtensi.

XXIII.

Sueno.

1472 Dictus sapiens præest.

XXIV.

Magnus Eiolphi F.

1489 Præest.

XXV.

Stephanus.

1494 Cathedram adit.

Deinde Godtschalco episcopo Holensi, qui crudelis nomen meritus esse videtur, Synehronos similem cum illo clementiæ & iusticiæ laudem reportauit.

1519 Moritur : aut circiter.

The Bishops of Schalholt.	In the yeere of Christ.
XX.	
Arnerus.	
Arnerus sirnamed Mildur, that is to say, Liberall. He was at one time Lord President of all Island, bishop of Schalholt, and vicebishop of Holen. He died.	1420
XXI.	
Ionas Gerickson.	
Sueden either sirnamed or borne, is made Bishop ouer the Church of Schalholt: and afterward for certaine bolde attempts being taken by one Thorualdus de Modruuollum (as it is reported) and a great stone being bound to his necke, hee was cast aliue into the riuer of Schalholt, (which taketh name of the bridge) and was there strangled.	1432
XXII.	
Goswinus.	
Bishop of Schalholt.	1445
XXIII.	
Sueno,	
Called ye wise, bishop of Schalholt.	1472
XXIV.	
Magnus sonne of Eiolphus.	
Bishop, &c.	1489
XXV.	
Stephen.	
Entreth the See. Then (liuing at one time with Godschalchus bishop of Holen, who seemed worthy to be sirnamed cruel) he had the same commendations for mercy and iustice, that Godschalchus had.	1494
He died: or thereabout.	1519

Anno Christi.	Episcopi Schalholtenses.
	XXVI.
	Augmundus.
	Eligitur anno obitus Stephani.
1522	Cathedram adit.
	Hoc episcopo, præfectus regius cum comitibus aliquot Scalhotiam inuitatus, in ipso conuiuio à coniuratis quibusdam interfectus est, eò quòd impiè passim in incolas & bona ipsorum grassatus esset. Augmundus verò tanquam istius cædis author, quanquam se iuramento purgarat, in Daniam transuectus, Obijt.
	XXVII.
	Gysserus.
1540	Eligitur viuente Augmundo.
1541	Cathedram adit, Papisticarum traditionum abrogator circa coniugium sacerdotum: Eius nuptiæ
1544	Schalholtiæ celebratæ.
	XXVIII.
	Martinus.
1547	Præest, & sequentibus.
	XXIX.
	Gislaus Ionas.
	Hic statim, Augmundo episcopo, cœpit iuuenis veræ pietatis & purioris doctrinæ Euangelicæ studio, & amore flagrare, eandemq; pastor ecclesiæ Selardalemsis diligenter propagare, qua ratione Pontificiorum odium adeò in se deriuauit, vt illorum insidijs ac rabiei cedere coactus, Hamburgum se contulerit, vnde Haffniam Danorum profectus, in cœpto veræ Theologiæ studio strenuè pergens, in multorum, præcipuè verò in summa D. D. Petri Palladii tum temporis Episcopi, familiaritate et gratia
1556	viuebat. Postea, inde in patriam reuerso, Mar-

The Bishops of Schalholt.	In the yeere of Christ.
XXVI.	
Augmundus.	
Chosen in the yeere wherein Stephen deceased.	
Entreth the see.	1522.
While he was Bishop, the kings Lieu-tenant with some of his followers being inuited to Schalholt, in the time of the banquet, was slaine by certaine conspirators: because hee had in all places wickedly wasted the inhabitants and their goods. But Augmundus as the authour of that murther (although he purged himselfe with an othe) being transported into Denmarke, there ended his life.	
XXVII.	
Gysserus.	
Elected, Augmundus yet liuing.	1540.
Entred the see.	1541.
He was the abolisher of Popish traditions about Priests marriages: his owne marriage being solemnized at Schalholt.	1544.
XXVIII.	
Martinus.	
Bishop, &c. And the yeeres following.	1547.
XXIX.	
Gislaus Ionas.	
This man presently, in the time of bishop Augmund began in his youth to be enflamed with ye loue of true pietie, & of the pure doctrine of the Gospel, & being pastour of the Church of Selardal, diligently to aduance the same, by which meanes he did so procure vnto himselfe ye hatred of Papists, as being constreined to giue place vnto their craft & crueltie, he departed ouer to Hamburg, from whence comming to Copen Hagen in Denmarke, & painefully proceeding in his former study of diuinitie, he liued in the familiaritie, and fauour of many,	

Anno Christi.	Episcopi Schalholtenses.
1587	tinus sponte cessit. Moritur et hic 31. annos plus minus Euangelium Iesu Christi professus: nec tantum viua voce, sed et quocunq; demum potuit modo, docendo, dicendo, scribendo, re et consilio Ecclesiam Dei iuuit et promouit.
	XXX.
	Otto Enerus.
	Vir grauis, pius et eruditus.
1588	Electus abit patria.
1589	Ordinatur.
	Redit et cathedram adit, susceptiq; muneris labores aggreditur.

Anno Christi.	Episcopi Holenses.
	I.
	Ionas Augmundi F.
	Isleifi discipulus.
1106	Ordinatur peregrè: anno ætat. 64. cognomentum illi, sanctus: cuius memoriæ dies 3. Martij, apud Islandos est antiquitùs dicatus.
1121	Moritur 11. Kalend. Maias.
	II.
	Ketillus siue Catullus.
1122	Ordinatur.
1145	Moritur.

The Bishops of Schalholt.	In the yeere of Christ.
but specially of D. D. Peter Palladius: who was at that time bishop there. Afterward returning into his countrey, Martine gaue place vnto him of his owne accord. This man died also, hauing for the space of 31. yeres or there abouts, professed the Gospel of Iesus Christ: neither did he helpe & further the Church of God by the sound of his voice onely, but by all other meanes to the vtmost of his abilitie, by teaching, preaching, writing, by his wealth & his counsel.	1556. 1587.
XXX.	
Otto Enerus.	
A graue, godly, and learned man. Being chosen he departeth his country. Hee is consecrated, returneth, and entreth the sea, endeuouring himselfe in the labours of his function.	1588. 1589.

The Bishops of Holen.	In the yeere of Christ.
I.	
Ionas sonne of Augmundus.	
Isleif his disciple.	1106
Consecrated beyonde the seas in the yeere of his age 64, his sirname was Sanctus, vnto whose memorie the 3. of March was by the inhabitants in old time dedicated.	
Dieth the 11. of the Kalends of May.	1121
II.	
Ketillus or Catullus.	
Consecrated.	1122
Dieth.	1145

Anno Christi.	Episcopi Holenses.
	III.
	Biorno.
1147	Ordinatus venit in Islandiam.
1162	Moritur.
	IV.
	Brandus.
1163	Ordinatur.
1165	Cathedram adit.
1201	Moritur.
	V.
	Gudmundus, cognomento Bonus.
1203	Eligitur et ordinatur.
1237	Moritur.
	VI.
	Botolphus.
1239	Redit ordinatus.
1246	Moritur.
	VII.
	Henricus.
1247	Cathedram adit.
1260	Moritur.
	VIII.
	Brandus.
1262	Abbas peregrè abit.
1263	Cathedram adit.
1264	Moritur.
	IX.
	Jorundus.
1267	Cathedram adit.
1313	Moritur.
	X.
	Audunnus.
1314	Cathedram adit.
1322	Moritur.
	XI.
	Laurentius.
1324	Eligitur & ordinatur.
1331	Moritur Idib. April.

The Bishops of Holen.	In the yeere of Christ.
III.	
Biorno.	
Being consecrated came into Island.	1147
Dieth.	1162
IV.	
Brandus.	
Consecrated.	1163
Entreth his Episcopall see.	1165
Dieth.	1201
V.	
Gudmundus sirnamed Bonus.	
Elected and consecrated.	1203
Dieth.	1237
VI.	
Botolphus.	
Returneth consecrated.	1239
Dieth.	1246
VII.	
Henricus.	
Entreth the see.	1247
Dieth.	1260
VIII.	
Brandus an Abbat.	
Goeth beyond the seas.	1262
Entreth the Bishopricke.	1263
Dieth.	1264
IX.	
Iorundus.	
Entreth his see.	1267
Dieth.	1313
X.	
Audunnus.	
Entreth his see.	1314
Dieth.	1322
XI.	
Laurentinus.	
Elected and consecrated.	1324
Dieth in the Ides of April.	1331

Anno Christi.	Episcopi Holenses.
	XII.
	Egillus.
1332	Cathedram adit.
1341	Moritur.
	XIII.
	Ormus.
1343	Cathedram adit.
1355	Moritur in festo omnium Sanctorum.
	XIV.
	Ionas Erici F. *cognomento* **Skalle.**
1358	Cathedram Holensem aditurus venit in Islandiam.
Grondlandiæ Episcopus. 1356	Hic Ionas, olim in Episcopum Gronlandiæ ordinatus, à Pontifice Romano impetrauit, vt liceret sibi Episcopatum Holensem adire, qui tunc temporis vacabat. Vnde cum confirmationem huius dignitatis ac muneris, à Pontifice acceptam, veniens non proferret, apud Presbyteros diœcesis Holensis, suspectæ fidei esse cœpit. Quare ab ijsdem in Noruagiam relegatus est, vt ea res arbitrio Regis componeretur. Rege igitur ipsius partibus fauente Cathedram Holensem obtinuit.
1391	Moritur.
	XV.
	Petrus.
	Ordinatur, quo anno prædecessor rebus mortalium exemptus est.
1392	Cathedram adit Holensem.
	Moritur.
	XVI.
	Ionas Wilhelmus.
1432	Anglus, siue genere, siue cognomine, præfuit Ecclesiæ Holensi.
	XVII.
	Godschalcus.
1457	Moritur.

The Bishops of Holen.	In the yeere of Christ.
XII.	
Egillus.	
Entreth his see.	1332
Dieth.	1341
XIII.	
Ormus.	
Entreth his see.	1343
Dieth vpon the feast of all Saints.	1355
XIV.	
Ionas sonne of Ericus, sirnamed Skalle.	
Being to enter his sea of Holen came into Island.	1358
This Ionas being before time consecrated bishop of Gronland, obteined licence of the bishop of Rome to enter the See of Holen, which was at that time vacant. Whereupon comming and not bringing with him the confirmation of this dignitie and function, receiued from the Pope, hee began to be suspected among the priests of the diocesse of Holen. Wherefore he was sent backe by them into Norway, that the matter might bee set through by the iudgement of the king. The king therefore fauouring his part, he obteined the bishopricke of Holen.	A Bishop of Gronland. 1356
He dieth.	1391
XV.	
Peter.	
Consecrated the same yere wherein his predecessour departed out of this present life.	
Entreth the see of Holen.	1392
Dieth.	
XVI.	
Ionas Wilhelmus.	An English-man Bishop of Island.
English, either borne or sirnamed.	
Entred the see.	1432
XVII.	
Godschalcus.	
Died.	1457

Anno Christi.	Episcopi Holenses.
	XVIII.
	Olaus Rogwaldi F.
1458	Prædicti Godschalchi ex sorore nepos, vterq; Noruagus, eligitur.
1497	Moritur.
	XIX.
	Godschalcus.
	Demortui Olai nepos ex fratre, et ille Noruagus, eligitur eodem anno quo patruus decessit.
1500	Cathedram adit, ac per totos 20. annos multos ex subditis duriter exercuisse fertur.
	Anno 1520. cum inter pocula et voluptates conuiuales versaretur audirétq; obijsse Ionam Sigismundum, quem cum vxore et liberis multos annos crudelissimè vexauerat, in subitum morbum repentè incidit, et sic paulò post, eam, qua in tota vita in miseros subditos vsus est, vim cum miserabili morte commutauit.
	XX.
	Ionas Aræsonius.
1525 1548 1550 1551	Cathedram adit: etiam hic Papisticarum superstitionum vltimus et acerrimus assertor. Qui, cum Gyssero et Martino episcopis Scalholtiæ acriter resisteret, à pientiss. Rege Christiano tertio iubetur sub pœna exilij protinus in Daniam aduentare. Sed hoc neglecto, captum Martinum Schalholtiæ Episcopum custodiæ mandauit. Tandem et ipse à viro quodam magni nominis, quem prius vt fertur, lacessiuerat, captus, ac Schalholtiam adductus, ibidem cum filijs duobus, authoritate regij præfecti, capitis supplicio affectus est. In cuius vltionem, non multò post præfectus ille regius, cum socijs aliquot, à quibusdam sicarijs, decollatorum olim famulis, nefariè occisus est.

The Bishops of Holen.	In the yeere of Christ.
XVIII.	
Olaus.	
Son of Rogwaldus nephew to the forenamed Godschalcus by the sisters side, both of them being Norwayes.	
He was established.	1458
He died.	1497
XIX.	
Godschalcus.	
The nephewe of Olaus deceased, by the brothers side: also hee being a Noruagian was elected the same yeere wherein his vncle deceased.	
He entreth the see. And for the space of 20. whole yeres is reported cruelly to haue entreated many of the subiects. In the yeere 1520. when he was in the midst of his cups, and banquetting dishes, and heard that Ionas Sigismundus was departed out of this life (whom with his wife and children, he had for many yeres most cruelly oppressed) he presently fell into a sudden disease, and so not long after changed that violence for miserable death, which in his whole life he had vsed against his distressed subiects.	1500
XX.	
Ionas Aræsonius.	
Entreth the see.	1525
This man was the last and most earnest mainteiner of Popish superstitions. Who stoutely withstanding Gysserus and Martinus bishops of Schalholt, was commanded by the most religious king Christian the 3. vnder paine of banishment to come with all speed into Denmarke. But neglecting the king's commaundement, hee tooke Martine bishop of Schalholt, and committed him to ward. At length he himselfe also being taken by a man of great name (whom before that time, it is saide, he had prouoked) and being brought to Schalholt, was, together with his two sonnes, by the authoritie of the kings Lieutenant beheaded. In reuenge whereof not long after, the saide Lieu-tenant with some of his company, was villanously slaine by certaine roysters, which were once seruants to the parties beheaded.	1551

Anno Christi.	Episcopi Holenses.
	XXI.
	Olaus Hialterus.
1552	Abit patria.
1553	Cathedram adit.
	Hic primus sincerioris doctrinæ apud Holenses amorem in multorum animis, etiam adhuc prædecessoris sui collega, accendit: Deinde eandem doctrinam Episcopus apertiùs docuit et propugnauit.
1568	Moritur.
	XXII.
	Gudbrandus Thorlacius.
	Ille non modò suæ ætatis, sed et posteritatis ornamentum. Qui præterquam quod inchoatum opus à prædecessore Olao sibi relictum ducente S. S. optimè ad eam, quam dedit Deus perfectionem, deduxit; (dico labores et diligentiam in asserenda veritate Euangelica, et papisticis superstitionibus abrogandis) etiam in hac patria sua officinam Typographicam primus Islandorum aperuit. Cui idcirco patria inter libros complures in linguam vernaculam translatos, etiam sacrosancta Biblia, elegantissimis typis Islandica lingua in officina ipsius excusa, in æternum debebit.
	Hic inquam Episcopus præsens, officium suscepturus.
1570	Abijt:
1571	Redit et Cathedram Holensem ingreditur.

The Bishops of Holen.	In the yeere of Christ.
XXI.	
Olaus Hialterus.	
Departed his countrey.	1552
Entreth the see.	1553
This man (being as yet in the life time of his predecessour fellow-labourer with him) was the first that kindled the loue of sincere doctrine at Holen in the hearts of many : and then being bishop did openly teache and defend the said doctrine.	
He died.	1568
XXII.	
Gudbrandus Thorlacius.	
The ornament, not onely of his age, but of posteritie also : who besides that, by the direction of the holy spirit, he hath most notably brought the worke begunne, and left vnto him by his predecessour Olaus to that perfection which it hath pleased God to vouchsafe : (namely his labours and diligence in maintayning the trueth of the Gospel, and in abolishing of Popish superstitions) euen in this his countrey hee is the first that hath established a Printing house. For which cause his countrey (besides, for many other books translated into our mother tongue) shalbe eternally bounded vnto him, that the sacred Bible also, by his meanes, is fairely printed in the language of Island. (I say) being at this present, Hee Bishop, when he was about to take his charge :	
Departed his countrey.	1570
Returned and entred the see of Holen.	1571

CIrca hæc igitur tempora mentibus nostris è cœlo redditta lux est, et regni cœlestis ianua per sinceriorem doctrinæ Christianæ expositionem reserata. Nam et Schola triuialis in vtraque sede Episcopali, laudatissimi Regis Daniæ Christiani tertij munificentia et pietate, circa annum 1553. fundata est: ac subinde patris Christianissimi eximiam pietatem imitante filio, Diuo Friderico secundo rege nostro sanctissimo, Anno 1588. ad cœlestem patriam euocato, aucta et promota: quæ etiam hodiè, clementissimi regis et principis nostri, Christiani 4. fauore et nutu viget floretque: in qua iuuentus nostræ Insulæ, artium dicendi et sacræ Theologiæ rudimentis imbuta, ad scientiam et veram pietatem formatur, vt hinc ministri Ecclesiarum petantur.

Peruenimus tandem ad hodiernum vsq; diem in Episcoporum Islandiæ catalogo: quo prædicti viri clarissimi Dom. Gudbrandus Thorlacius, et Dom. Otto Enerus ille Holis, hic Schalholtiæ Ecclesiarum sunt antistites: quorum vtrumque, vt Deus opt. max. Ecclesiæ suæ saluum et superstitem, propter gloriam nominis sui sanctissimi, diu conseruare velit, omnes seriò et ardentibus votis flagitamus.

The same in English.

IN these times therefore light is restored vnto our soules from heauen, and the gate of the kingdome of heauen is opened vnto vs by the sincere preaching of Christian doctrine. For in either of the Bishops seats there is a free schoole founded by the liberality and pietie of that most renoumed King of Denmarke Christian the third: and afterward the sonne following the godly steppes of his most Christian father, the said Free schooles by Lord Friderick the second, our most religious King, being called vp to his heauenly countrey in the yeare 1588, haue beene encreased and furthered: which at this day also doe prosper and flourish by the fauour and authoritie of the most gracious King and our Prince, Christian the fourth, wherein the youth of our Islande being instructed in the rudiments of liberall artes, and sacred diuinitie, are trained vp to knowledge and true godlinesse, that from hence ministers of Churches may proceede.

We are come at length in the register of the Bishops of Island downe to this present day, wherein the forenamed excellent men Gudbrandus Thorlacius, and Otto Enerus, the one at Holen, and the other at Schalholt are Bishops of our Cathedrall Churches: both of which men, that it would please God long to preserue vnto his Church in health and life, for the glorie of his most holy name, we all doe earnestly and with feruent prayers beseech him.

SECTIO SECVNDA.

Must. Krantz. Frisius.

> Specus habitant plerùmque, aut ad montium latera in excauatis mansiunculis. Et mox: Templa habent multa et domos ex ossibus piscium et balenarum constructas. Item: Multi etiam ad pellendam frigoris asperitatem in cauernis latitant, quemadmodum Africani ad solis æstum vitandum. Item Munsterus. Multi in Islandia hodie costis et ossibus balenarum, domos suas construunt, &c.

HIc membrum secundum initium sumit, de incolarum viuendi ratione et moribus. Et primùm, quibus vtantur, edificijs seu domibus: nempè secundum Munsterum, Krantzium, Frisium, &c. Specubus et montium cauernis. Quamuis autem in splendidis ædificijs, alìjsq; id genus mundani ornatus pretiosis rebus parum inest, quod ad verè beatam vitam conferre queat, tamen nec hîc veritatem tacere possumus: dicimúsq; omnino Cosmographos et Historicos in errore etiam hîc versari. Etenim, cuiusmodi gentis publica domicilia esse scribunt, ea sunt tantùm in paucis locis, tum magalia, vt opilionum, tum piscatorum casæ et receptacula, eo tantum anni tempore quo piscaturæ operam dare, aut propter gregem excubare opus habent. At ipsas domus, seu ipsa hominum domicilia, antiquitùs quidem satis magnificè et sumptuosè, quoad huius terræ fert conditio, ligno, cespite et saxis habuerunt Islandi constructa, vsq; ad illud tempus, quo illis cum Noruagis, qui ligna sufficiebant, negociatio, et mercium commutatio esse desijt, quæ inde paulatim collabi incipiunt: Cum nec syluas ædificijs aptas habeamus, nec fluctuum maris beneficio iam vt olim ad littora, quod minima ex parte sufficiat, adferatur: Nec mercatores extranei inopiæ nostræ succurrant. Vnde plurima rura ignobiliora ab antiqua illa integritate multum declinarunt, et iam quædam collapsa sunt, quædam ruinam minantur. Nihilominus multa sunt prædia, multæ villæ, quas haud facilè recensuero, quarum ædificia veterem illam excellentiam imitantur, et quarum domus sunt maximæ, et latæ et longæ, tum plærúmque benè altæ. Vt exempli gratia. Prædia seu villæ, quæ cubilia habent plus-

Negotiatio cum Noruagis desijt. Syluæ fluctibus maris delatæ.

quam 50. cubitos longa, 10. lata, alta 20. Tum reliquas domus, vt cœnaculum, hypocaustum, penuarium &c. huic sua proportione respondentes. Possum multa nostratium ædificia ampla et vasta, nec in speciem deformia, nec ob artis structuram et sumptuosam firmitudinem, seu robur, contemnenda cum aliquot delubris, siue sacris ædibus, solis lignis, antiqua et operosa grauitate et pulchritudine extructis commemorare: Cuiusmodi est templum Cathedrale Holense atrium habens, cuius columnæ vtrinque quinque, vlnas 14. altæ, 5. circiter crassæ: tum trabes ac tigna, et reliquum culmen, huic substructioni proportionaliter respondens. Ligna ad hoc ipsum atrium Anno 1584. horrenda tempestate collapsum, clementissimus Rex noster D. Fridericus, cuius nobis sacratissima est memoria, Anno 1588. benignissimè largitus est. Ipsum verò templum atrium suum omni quantitate manifestè excedit: tum templi intima pars quæ chorus appellari solet, et templi meditullio, et atrio magnitudine nonnihil cedit. Erat autem hoc longè maius olim, vt accepi Schalholtense, quod iam bis concrematum, ad inferiorem magnitudinem redactum est. Prætereà aliquot alia templa nostræ Insulæ, horum antiquam magnificentiam imitantia licet non æquantia. Sed hîc nequaquam res exigere videtur, vt in prolixiorem eius rei descriptionem euager. Vt enim Domus et ædificia nostra nihil depredicamus: ita eorundem nos nihil pudet, quòd contenti paupertate nostra Christo gratias immortales agamus, qui à nobis vili tecto non dedignatur recipi, quòdq; templa et domus nostras, quas Munsterus, Krantzius, et Frisius piscium et balenarum ossibus non verè dicunt exstructas, non aspernetur magis, quàm illa extraneorum culmina marmorea, parietes vermiculatos, pauimenta tesselata reliquùmque id genus ornamenti.

The same in English.

THE SECOND SECTION.

They inhabite for the most part in caues, or hollowe places within the sides of mountaines. And againe, They haue many houses and Churches built with the bones of fishes, and Whales. Againe. Many of them also to auoide the extremitie of colde, doe keepe themselues close in their caues, euen as the people of Africa doe to auoyde the heate of the sunne.

Munsterus.
Krantzius.
Frisius.

> Also Munster sayth: Many in Island at this day build their houses with the ribbes and bones of Whales.

HEre the second member taketh his beginning concerning the course of life, and the manners of the inhabitants. And first of all what buildings or houses they doe vse: namely according to Munster, Krantzius, Frisius &c. Holes and caues of mountaines. But although in gorgeous buildings, and such other worldly braueries there is very little helpe to the attayning of a life truely happie: notwithstanding, wee can not in this place conceale the truth: and we plainly affirme that Cosmographers and Historiographers also doe erre in this point. For such habitations as they write to be common vnto the whole nation, are but in verie fewe places, and are either sheepe-cots for shepheards, or cottages and receptacles for fishermen at that time of the yeere onely when they goe a fishing, and the others stande in neede to watch their flocke. But for their houses themselues, and the verie dwelling places of men, the Islanders haue had them built from auncient time stately and sumptuously enough, according to the condition of the Countrey, with timber, stones, and turfes, vntill such time as traffike and exchange of wares beganne to cease betweene them and the Noruagians, who were wont to supply them with timber, and for that cause nowe our houses beginne to decay: whenas neither we haue woods conuenient for building, nor yet there are nowe a dayes, as there were in olde time, trees cast vpon our shores by the benefite of the sea, which may in any sort relieue vs: neither doe outlandish Merchants succour our neccessities; whereupon many of our meanest countrey villages are much decayed from their auncient integritie, some whereof be fallen to the ground, and others bee very ruinous. Notwithstanding there be many farmes and villages which I cannot easily reckon vp, the buildings whereof doe resemble that auncient excellencie, the houses being verie large, both in breadth and length, and for the most part in height also. As for example: farmes or granges which conteine chambers in them, more than fiftie cubites in length, tenne in breadth, and twentie in height. And so other roomes, as a parler, a stoue, a butterie, &c. answering in proportion vnto the former. I could here name many of our countrey buildings both large and wide, neither ilfauoured in shewe, nor base in regarde of their worke-

Traffike with the people of Norway ceaseth.

Drift wood not so plentifull now, as in times past.

manship and costly firmenesse or strength, with certaine Churches also, or religious houses, built of timber onely, according to auncient and artificiall seemelinesse and beautie : as the Cathedrall Church of Holen hauing a bodie the fiue pillars whereof on both sides be foure elnes high, and about fiue elnes thicke, as also beames and weather-bourdes, and the rest of the roofe proportionally answering to this lower building. Our most gracious King Lord Frederick, whose memory is most sacred vnto vs, in the yere 1588. did most liberally bestowe timber for the reedifying of this body being cast downe in the yere 1584. by an horrible tempest. But the Church it selfe doth manifestlie exceed the body thereof in all quantity: also the inner part of the Church, which is commonly called the quier is somwhat lesse, both then the middle part of the Church, and also then the bodie.

The Church of Schalholt was farre greater as I haue heard in olde time, then this our Cathedrall, which hauing now beene twise burnt, is brought to a lesser scantling. Likewise there be some other Churches of our Island, although not matching, yet resembling the auncient magnificence of these. But here the matter seemeth not to require that I shoulde runne into a long description of these things. For as wee doe not greatly extoll our houses and buildings, so are we nothing ashamed of them; because being content with our pouertie, we render vnto Christ immortall prayse who despiseth not to be receiued of vs vnder a base roofe, and contemneth not our temples and houses (which Munster, Krantzius, and Frisius doe not truely affirme to be built of fishes and Whales bones) more then the marble vaults, the painted walles, the square pauements, and such like ornamentes of Churches and houses in other countries.

SECTIO TERTIA.

Munsterus Krantzius.

Communi tecto, victu, statu, (hîc Krantzius habet, strato) gaudent cum iumentis. Item: Solo pastu pecorum et nunc captura piscium victitant.

HAec sunt et sequentia, quæ Krantzius suo Munstero præmansa, in os ingessit, adeò ut Munstero non opus fuerit ea vel semel masticare, quod ex collatione vtriúsq; patet. Munsterus enim hæc opprobria, vt ex Krantzij in suam Noruegiam præfa-

tione hausta deglutierat, ita eadem cruda lib. 4. Cosmographiæ capit. 8. in gentem nostram euomit. Quæ hactenus fuerunt, etsi satis grauia sunt, tolerabiliora tamen erant. Hoc verò commentum malignissimum, et quæ sequentur, non facilè est sine stomacho præterire. Nostrum igitur est, etiam hîc veritatem asserere, et mendacium in Authoris caput retorquere.

Tecto: Primùm igitur quod de communi tecto (vti etiam de victu et statu) cum iumentis dicunt, falsum et erroneum clamamus, teste non modò re ipsa, si quis id hodiè perquirere volet: Sed etiam multorum extraneorum, qui aliquot apud nos annos egerant, et veritati plus quam gentem nostram calumniandi affectui tribuunt, experientia; qui ipsi domos et habitationes nostras viderunt, et norunt in singulis prædijs seu villis, multas esse distinctas domus: nempe in abiectissimis et vilissimis 7. vel. 8. in maioribus, nunc decem, nunc 20. In maximis, nunc 40, nunc 50; quæ vt plurimùm, et tecto et parietibus distinctæ, vni possessori vel domino, raró duobus aut tribus, rarissimè pluribus inseruiunt, ac vsibus quotidianis et domesticis sufficiunt. Vnde facilè intelligis, Lector, quàm verè eodem tecto cum iumentis vtantur Islandi, cum singuli rustici in hac domuum varietate, peculiaria bouilia, ouilia, equilia, agnilia, debitis interuallis dissita habeant, quæ serui, quoties opus est, petunt, vnde rursus habitationem subinde repetunt.

Quòd autem quidam in mappa Islandiæ de prouincia Skagefiord annotauit, sub eodem tecto homines, canes, sues et oues, viuere, partim falsum, partim minimè mirandum est. De ouibus quidem, vt iam dictum est, et præcipuè suibus (cum illa prouincia sues non habeat) falsum: De canibus haud mirum, cum illis nec regum aulæ caruerint nec hodiè careant, vt nimis omnibus est notum. Sed de canibus paulò post. Sect. 7. huius.

Victu. An iumentorum pabula possint commodè victus appellatione contineri, meritò dubitauerim: Cùm Doletus, Ciceronis interpretem agens, dicat: Victum, inquit, cum iureconsultis, ita exponemus, vt victus verbo contineantur, quæ esui, potui, cultúiq; corporis, quæque ad viuendum homini sunt necessaria. Et Vlpianus, de verborum significat. Ijsdem verbis victum definit. Hoc loco verò Authores illi, etiam iumentorum pabula, victum appellant.

Cæterum videamus quomodo hîc eluceat veritatis et candoris præstantia. Iumenta non habemus præterquam equos et boues: His gramina et fœnum (nisi vbi fœni inopia obrepit) pabulum, aqua potum præbet. At hi ipsi scriptores fatentur, Islandos piscibus, butyro, carnibus, tum bubulis, tum ouillis, etiam frumento, licet pauco et aduentitio, viuere. Non igitur cibum habent cum brutis communem, quod tamen ijdem his verbis asserunt: Communi victu gaudent cum iumentis: Quod quid sit Munstero, ipse paulò superius haud obscurè docuit. Islandia, inquit, populos multos continet, solo pecorum pastu, et nunc captura piscium victitantes. Quid autem est pecorum pastus, aliud, quàm pecorum cibus? ait Doletus: nisi Munsterus fortè pecorum pastum, ipsa pecora ad pastum hominum mactata appellet: cui, vt existimo, vsus Romanorum refragatur, qui, vt homines vesci, ita pecora pasci docuit: hominúmque victum, pecorum autem, pastum et pabulum vocari iussit. An verò existimem tam dementes fuisse Munsterum et Krantzium, vt senserint Islandos graminibus et fœno viuere? Quo miseriæ Nabuchodonozor, diuinæ vltionis iugum subiens, redactus est, Dani. 4. 30. Facilè dabimus multa, quibus homines, non modò nostrates, sed vestrates quoque vescuntur, iumenta et pecora fortè non reijcere, si familiari pabulo destituantur. Vt equi frumento et panibus hordeaceis pascuntur: ijdem lac (quemadmodum etiam vituli et agni) et cereuisiam, si offeratur, bibunt, et quidem auidè. Sed et canes quæuis fercula et cibaria deuorant. An idcircò quisquam dicet, homines communi victu cum canibus et iumentis gaudere?

Iam quæcunq; famis grassantis tempore contigêre, pro vniuersali gentis alicuius consuetudine in historiam referri non debent. Vt non licet nobis de extraneis scribere, huius aut illius terræ populos canum, murium aut felium vsu victitare solitos, etsi fortè fame, siue obsidione, siue alioqui annonæ charitate inualescente immissa, id factitarint.

Potum autem interdum esse multis cum iumentis communem non magnoperè contraibimus: nempè aquam limpidissimam, naturalem illum potum, omnibus animantibus à Deo creatum: quem etiam ex parte, medicinæ consulti comendant, imò nec patres Hebræi, nec ipse Seruator noster fastidiebat.

Ad amictum verò quod attinet, (Nam et amictum victus vocabulo comprehendimus) nequaquam hic cum iumentis communis est. Illa enim pilis et villis natura (quod Munsterum et Krantzium nouisse iurarim) vestiuit: homines, alioqui nudi, pannis corpus induere necesse habent. Hæc indumenta, quæ quidem Islandia suppeditat, ex lanis ouium conficiuntur. Sed non cogitaram ideò rectè dici, amictum esse nobis cum ouibus communem, siue eundem. Vtuntur etiam extranei pannis ex ouilla lana confectis, licet artificio subtiliore. Sed de indumentis nihil: Stultum enim est, ex eo laudem vel superbam æstimationem quærere, quod naturæ nostræ infirmitatem arguit.

Statu. Restat ille status, quem cum brutis habere communem dicimur. Qui qualis aut cuiusmodi sit, aut eum esse velint nostri scriptores, certè non facilè assequor. Status inquit Doletus, est vel corporis, vel causarum, vel ordinis et conditionis. Certè alium esse statum nostri corporis, quàm iumentorum (nam præter duos pedes etiam manus habemus, et corpore ac vultu sursum erecto incedimus) alium item ordinem et conditionem nostram ducimus. Illi boni viri, si id de se aut alijs cognitum habent, fateantur. Nos hæc tam vana et in Deum creatorem nostrum tam contemptibilia irridemus, nec prolixiore tractatu dignamur.

Cæterum quia nostrum est, nec amori patriæ, nec vlli rei tantum tribuere, quin plus semper et vbique veritati largiamur: Dicam quid sit, quod huic infami scriptorum conuicio occasionem fortè dederit.

Occasio harum fabularum.

Sunt in vicinia Schalholtiæ, ad littus Islandiæ australe, parœchiolæ tres, inter duos rapidissimos amnes Thiorsaa et Olffwis Aa interceptæ; quæ et syluis et cespitibus, consueto gentis ad focos alendos fomite, ferè destituuntur. In istis parœchijs habitantes, et si qui sint vicini, quamuis plures eorum, vt de omnibus rebus, ad rem familiarem pertinentibus, ita etiam de his, quæ ad focos et balnea opus habent, sibi opportunè prospiciunt: Tamen sunt inter eos quidam, sed infimæ tantum sortis coloni, qui quoniam istis rebus domi destituantur, nec aliunde petere eas ualeant, in culinis fœno ad coquendos cibos vtuntur: Ast vbi hyemis niuosæ sæuitia horrida ingruit, coloni isti miseri ad suum bouile refugiunt, illic scilicet exstructis tabulatis interidiù operas domesticas exercentes, à bobus, cum focos habere nequeant, calorem mutuantur, quemadmodum mihi ab alijs narratum est. Sícq; illi tantùm, qui sanè paucissimi sunt, communi cum bobus tecto, in bruma, vti quidem non gaudent, sed coguntur. Verùm victum et statum longè alium habent, de qua re hactenus. Hæc est in istis Parœchiolis quorundam sors et inopia, quorum conditio idcirco etiam apud nos fabula vulgi effecta est, quamuis non satis iustè. Vbi, quo iure toti genti tribuatur, quod vix ac ne vix quidem de istis paucis colonis verum est, libentur quæsierim? Tædet de his pluribus agere: Tantùm quia mihi cum Theologis res est, illud Salomonis

Prouerb 14. ijs reponam. Qui calumniatur egenum, deridet factorem eius.

Equidem quia gens hæc nostra pauper et egena est et fuit, ac veluti quidam mendicus inter diuites, tot extraneorum probra et scommata tulit. Sed videant cui exprobrent. Certè, si aliud nihil nobis cum illis commune est, tamen omnes ex ijsdem constamus elementis, et vnus et idem omnium Pater, Deus.

The same in English.

THE THIRD SECTION.

Krantzius. Munsterus. They and their cattell vse all one house, all one food or victuals, all one state (here Krantzius hath it lodging.) Also. They liue onely by feeding of cattell, and sometimes by taking of fishes.

THese be the things together with those that followe, which Krantzius hath champed, and put into Munsters mouth, so that Munster shall not neede so much as once to chewe them, which may appeare by comparing them both together. For Munster, as hee swallowed these reproches, taking them out of Krantzius his preface vpon Norway, so he casteth vp the verie same morsels vndigested and rawe against our nation, in his fourth booke of Cosmographie cap. 8. Those things which haue beene hitherto, although they haue sufficiently grieued us, yet will we let them seeme more tollerable: but this most malitious deuise, and those which follow we cannot easily brooke. It is our part therefore in this place also to auouch the trueth, and to turne the leasing vpon the authors owne head.

House, &c. First, that which they say concerning the same common house (as also liuing, and state) with our cattell, we plainely affirme to be false and erronious, not onely the truth it selfe being our witnesse, if any man would make triall, but also the experience of manie strangers, that haue liued some yeeres amongst vs, and haue more minde to speake the trueth then to reuile our nation: who haue seene our house and habitations with their owne eyes, and knewe that in euery particular farme or graunge there were many seuerall roomes: namely, in those that were most simple and base, seuen or eight: In others which were greater, sometimes tenne, and sometimes twentie. In the greatest sometimes fortie, and sometimes fiftie. Which for the most part being seuered, both by roofes and walles, doe serue for the dayly and household affaires of one owner or master, seldome of two or three, but almost neuer of more: whereupon the Reader may easily iudge, howe true it is that the Islanders and their cattell haue all one house to lie in, when euery husbandman in this varietie of roomes hath seuerall oxe-stalles, sheepe-cotes, stables, lambes-cots separated in different spaces one from another, which the seruants goe vnto so oft as neede requireth, and from thence returne backe to the dwelling houses.

But whereas one noted in his Mappe of Island, concerning the prouince of Skagefiord, that vnder the same roofe, men, dogges, swine and sheepe liue altogether, it is partly false, and partly no maruell: for sheepe, as it hath been sayde, and especially for swine (when as that prouince hath no swine at all) it is vtterly false: for dogges it is no maruell, when as not kings courts were euer, or at this day are destitute of them, as it is well knowen to all men. But as touching dogges afterward in the seuenth section.

Victuals, &c. Whither beasts meate may fitly be termed by the name of Victus, a man may iustly doubt: When Doletus interpreting a peece of Tullie, saith: As for Victus (sayth he) wee will so expound it with the Ciuilians, namely that we comprehend vnder the word of Victus all things necessarie for the life of man, as meate, drinke, attire of the bodie, &c. And Vlpianus de verborum significatione defineth Victus in the very same words. But in this place the saide authors call beasts meate by the name of Victus.

But let us see what trueth and plaine dealing is to be found in these men. We haue no labouring cattel besides horses and oxen: these haue grasse and hay (except where haye is wanting) for their fodder, and water to drinke. Now, the very same writers confesse, that the Islanders liue by fish, butter, flesh both beefe and mutton, and corne also, though it bee scarce, and brought out of other countries. Therefore they haue not the same foode with brute beasts, which notwithstanding the sayde writers affirme in these wordes: They and their cattel vse all one victuals or food. What Munsters meaning is in this clause, he himselfe a little before hath plainely taught.

Island (saith he) conteineth many people liuing onely with the food of cattell, and sometimes by taking of fishes. But what else is the food of cattell, but the meat of cattell, saith Doletus?

Vnlesse perhaps Munster calleth the food of cattell, cattell themselues slaine for the foode of men: whom, as I thinke, the vse of the latine tongue doth gaine say, which hath taught vs that as men doe eate, so beasts do feede, and hath termed the victuals of men, and the food or fodder of cattell. But may I thinke that Munster and Krantzius were so mad as to imagine that the Islanders liue vpon grasse and hay: To this passe of miserie was Nabuchodonozor brought vndergoing the yoke of Gods vengeance: Daniel 4. vers. 30. We will easily graunt that beasts and cattell will not perhaps refuse many things, which men not onely of our countrey but of yours also eate, if the saide beasts be destitute of their vsuall food: as horses are fedde with corne and barley loaues: they will drinke milke also (like vnto calues and lambes) and ale, if it be proffered them, and that greedily. And dogges in like manner will deuour any deinty dishes whatsoeuer. May any man therefore say that men vse the same common victuals with dogges and horses?

Now, whatsoeuer things haue happened in the time of grieuous famine ought not to be recorded in historie for the generall custome of any countrey. As it is not lawfull for vs to write concerning other nations, that the people of this or that countrie, doe vsually liue by eating of dogs, mise, cats, although perhaps in the time of famine or seige or dearth of corne, they haue often bene constrained so to doe.

But that the same drinke is sometimes common to many men with beasts, we will not greatly gainesay: namely most pure water, that naturall drinke created by God for all liuing creatures: which also in some respect Phisicians doe commende, yea, neither the Patriarkes themselues, nor our sauiour Christ despised it.

As touching apparell (for we comprehend apparell also vnder the name of Victus) it is no wise common to vs with beasts. For nature hath clad them with hairs and bristles (as I dare say Munster and Krantzius cannot be ignorant), men, being otherwise naked, stande in neede of clothes to couer their bodies. But I had not thought it might therefore haue properly beene sayde, that sheepe and we haue all one apparell. Men of other countries also weare cloth of sheepes wooll, although it be more finely wrought. But no more concerning the attire of the bodie. For it is a meere folly to seeke for praise, and ambitious reputation by that, which argueth the infirmitie of our nature.

State, &c. Now, it remaineth that we should speake of that state, which we are sayd to haue common with beasts: but of what kinde or maner it should be, or our writers would haue it to be, I cannot easily discerne. State (sayth Doletus) is either of the body, or of causes, or of order and condition. Doubtlesse, that there is another state of our bodies then of beasts (for besides our two feet, we haue hands also, and go with our bodies, and countenances lift vpright) and that we be of another order and condition from them, we are verily perswaded. As for these good fellowes, if they know any such matter by themselues or others, let them disclose it. We doe altogether scorne these, being so vaine things, and breeding so great contempt against the Maiesty of God our creator, neither do we vouchsafe them any larger discourse.

But because it is our duety not so highly to regard either the loue of our countrey, or of any other thing whatsoeuer, but that we may be ready at all times, and in all places, to giue trueth the preheminence: I will say in a word what that was which perhaps might minister occasion to this infamous reproch of writers.

There be neere vnto Schalholt, upon the South shore of Island, three small parishes standing betweene two most swift riuers Thiorsaa and Olffwis Aa, being in a maner destitute both of wood and turfe, which is the accustomed fewell of the countrey. And although most of the inhabitants of these parishes, and some of their neighbours, as they doe in time of yeere prouide all things necessary for householde, so especially those things which belong to fires and bathes: notwithstanding there be certaine among them of the basest sort of people, who, because they want those things at home, and are not able to prouide them from other places, are constrained to vse straw for the dressing of their meat. But when the sharpe rigor of snowy Winter commeth on, these poore people betake them to their oxe stalles, and there setting up sheds, and doing their necessary businesse in the day time, when they are not able to make fires, they borrow heat from their oxen, as it hath beene reported to mee by others: And so they onely, being verie fewe in number, doe not willingly enioye, but are constrayned to vse the same common house with their oxen. But for their liuelihoode and state it is farre otherwise with them then with their oxen, of which thing I haue entreated before. This is the lot, & pouertie of certaine men in those pettie parishes, the condition whereof is therefore made a common by-worde of the people amongst vs, though somewhat iniuriously. Where I would willingly demaund with what honestie men can impute that vnto the whole nation, which is hard and skantly true of these fewe poore men? I am wearie to stay any longer in this matter: onely, because I haue to doe with Diuines, let that of Salomon suffice, Prouerbs 17. verse 5. Hee that mocketh the poore, reprocheth him that made him.

And in very deede, because this our nation is nowe, and heretofore hath been poore and needie, and as it were a begger amongest many rich men, it hath susteined so many taunts and scoffes of strangers. But let them take heede whom they vpbraide. Verely if there were nothing else common vnto vs with them, yet we both consist of the same elements, and haue all one father and God.

SECTIO QVARTA.

Krantzius Munster.

In simplicitate sancta vitam agunt, cum nihil amplius quærant quàm natura concedit. Beata gens, cuius paupertati nullus inuidet. Sed mercatores Anglici et Dani quiescere gentem non sinunt, qui ob piscaturam uehendam terram illam frequentantes cum mercibus omnigenis vitia quoq; nostra inuexerunt. Nam et fruges aquæ miscere in potum didicerunt, et simplicis aquæ haustus oderunt. Nunc aurum et argentum cum nostris admirantur.

SImplicitate. Equidem sanctæ simplicitatis laudem nobis attribui, meritò gaudemus: Sed id dolemus, quòd reperiatur etiam apud nos iustitiæ ac legum ingens deprauatio, ac magna anarchia, quam multorum scelerum myriades consequuntur; quod pij et boni omnes quotidiè deplorant. Id mali autem nequaquam supremi Magistratus, hoc est, Regis nostri clementissimi, sed verius nostra culpa accidit: qui hæc quæ clàm ipso præposterè geruntur et quæ in inferiore magistratu desiderantur, ad maiestatem ipsius non deferimus.

Mercatores. Mercatores porrò, non solùm Angli et Dani, sed maximè Germani, vt nunc, ita olim terram nostram, non ob piscaturam sed pisces euehendos frequentantes, nequaquam artem illam, miscendarum frugum aquæ, Islandos docuerunt. Quippe ipsi Noruagi primi, quòd nobis constet, terræ nostræ incolæ, à quibus oriundi sunt Islandi, artem illam, sicut etiam aureos argenteósq; nummos, secum ex Noruegia attulerunt; vt initio nonfuerit minor argenti et auri vsus apud nos, quàm est hodiè.

Et quidem ante Danorum, Germanorum, Anglorumue frequentes ad nos nauigationes, terra nostra multò, quàm nunc, senescentis mundi incommoda, cœlo solóq; persentiens, fertilior, in delectissimis quibúsque locis, Cereris munera produxit.

The same in English.

THE FOURTH SECTION.

Krantzius Munster.

They leade their liues in holy simplicitie, not seeking any more then nature doeth afforde. A happie Nation, whose pouertie no man doth enuie. But the English and Danish merchants suffer not the nation to be at rest, who frequenting that countrey to transport fishing, haue conueighed thither our vices, together with their manifolde wares. For nowe, they haue learned to brew their water with corne, and beginne to despise, and loath the drinking of faire water. Now they couet golde and siluer like vnto our men.

SImplicitie, &c. I am exceedingly glad, that the commendation of holy simplicitie is giuen vnto vs. But it grieueth vs that there is found so great a decay of iustice, and good lawes, and so great want of gouernement amongst vs, which is the cause of many thousande haynous offences: which all honest and godly men doe continually bewayle. This inconuenience doth not happen through the negligence of the highest Magistrate, that is of our most gracious King, but rather by our owne fault: who doe not present these thinges vnto his Maiestie, which are disorderly committed without his knowledge, and which are wanting in the inferiour Magistrate.

Merchants. Moreouer, Merchants, not onely of England and Denmarke, but especially of Germanie, as at this time, so heretofore frequenting our countrey, not to transport fishing, but fishes, taught not Islanders the arte of brewing corne with water. For yᵉ Norvagians themselues, the first, to our knowledge, that inhabited this Island, from whom yᵉ Islanders are lineally descended, brought with them out of Norway that arte, as also golde and siluer coine, so that in old time there was no lesse vse of siluer and golde with vs, then there is at this day.

Corne of old time growing in Island.

And it is certaine that before the often nauigations of Danes, Germans, and English men vnto vs, our land was much more fertile then nowe it is (feeling the inconueniences of the aged and decayed worlde, both from

heauen and earth) and brought foorth, in certaine choyse places, corne in abundance.

SECTIO QVINTA.

Munsterus.
Krantzius.

Rex Daniæ qui et Noruagiæ quotannis præfectum immittit genti.

ANno Domino 846. natus est Haraldus Harfagre (quod auricomum vel pulchricomum dixeris) Qui deinde Anno 858, Rex Noruagiæ designatus, vbi ætas viresque iustum incrementum acceperunt, formam imperij Noruagici mutauit. Nam antea in minutas prouincias diuisum (quas Fylki vocabant, et qui his præerant regulos, Fylkis Konga) ad Monarchiam armis potentibus redegit. Id cum et genere et potentia valentes aliquot regni incolæ ægrè ferrent, patria exulare, quàm ipsius Tyrannidis iugum non detrectare maluerunt. Vnde hi in Islandiam, antea quidem à quibusdam visam et inuentam, at desertam tamen, colonias, dicto Superius Anno 874. transtulerunt: Atque sic genti nostræ originem præbentes, se Islandos nuncuparunt, quod nomen hodiè posteri retinent. Vixerunt itaque Islandi diu, nullius imperium agnoscentes, annis scilicet 386. plus minus. Et quamuis Rex Noruagiae Haquinus ille conatus, qui omnium regum Noruagiæ diutissimè, nempe plusquam 66. annos imperium gerebat, sæpè per legatos tentarat tributarios sibi facere Islandos, constanter tamen semper restiterunt, donec tandem circa annum Domini 1260. homagium ipsi præstarent. Atque postea semper in data fide persistentes, et regibus Noruagiæ parentes, translato per Margaretam, Daniæ, Sueciæ, et Noruagiæ reginam, Noruagorum imperio, ad Danos, vnà cum reliquis imperij Noruagici Insulis, Serenissimum Daniæ regem; Dominum et Regem suum hodiè salutant.

Margareta.

The same in English.

THE FIFTH SECTION.

Munsterus.
Krantzius.

The King of Denmarke and Norway sendeth euery yeere a Lieutenant into the Countrey.

IN the yeere of our Lord eight hundred fortie and sixe Harald Harfagre (which is to say, golden haires or faire lockes) was borne. Who afterward in the yeere eight hnndred fiftie and

eight, being chosen king of Norway, when he was growen to age, and full strength, chaunged the forme of the Noruagian gouernment. For whereas before it was diuided into pettie Prouinces (which they called Fylki, and the pettie kings that gouerned them, Fylkis konga) he reduced it by force of armes vnto a Monarchie. But when some inhabitants of the countrie, being mightie, and descended of good parentages, could not well brooke this hard dealing, they chose rather to be banished their countrey, then not to shake off the yoke of tyranny. Whereupon, they in the yeere aboue named eight hundred seuentie and foure, transported colonies into Island being before discouered by some men and found out, but vnpeopled as yet: And so being the first founders of our nation, they called themselues Islanders, which name their posteritie reteineth vnto this day. And therefore the Islanders liued a long time, namely, three hundred eightie and sixe yeeres, more or lesse, acknowledging no submission to any other Nation. And although Haquinus that crowned King of Norway, who reigned longest of any Noruagian king, namely, about sixtie sixe yeares, did oftentimes attempt by Ambassadours to make the Islanders become tributaries vnto him, notwithstanding at all times they constantly withstoode him, till at length about the yeere of our Lord 1260. they performed homage vnto him. And afterward continued alwayes in their promised loyaltie, being subiects to the king of Norway. But now at this day, since the Empire of the Noruagians was translated by Margaret Queene of Denmarke, Suedeland, and Norway vnto the Danes, they doe honour as their soueraigne Lord and King the most gracious king of Denmarke.

The occasion of the first inhabiting of Island by the people of Norway.

Haquinus coronatus.

SEXIO SEXTA.

Omnia eos communia sunt, præter vxores.

Krantzius. Munsterus.

HOc loco præmittit Krantzius talem Ironiam.

Multa insignia in moribus illorum, &c. Porrò etiam hîc fidem vestram eleuat ingenium, ad asserendum res incompertas nimis procliue, cupidinem nouitatis, et nominis ac famaæ, imò veritatis curam preposteram arguit, omnium et rerum personarúmq ; et temporum experientia: O scriptores suspiciendi.

Testes sunt leges politicæ, quibus inde ab initio cum Noruagis vsi sunt eisdem Islandi: De Rege et subditis: De foro, et his

quæ in forensem disceptationem cadere possunt: De hæreditatibus: adoptionibus, nuptijs, furto, rapinis, mutuo contractibus et cæteris: Quæ omnia, quorsum illis, quebus res omnes sunt communes? Testes sunt, tot de bonis mobilibus et immobilibus contentiones, turbæ et certamina, in foris ac iudicijs Islandorum: Testes sunt Reges nunc Daniæ et olim Noruagiæ, qui tot libellis supplicibus Islandorum, ad componendas istas de possessionibus controuersias, olim et nunc interpellati sæpè fuerant. Testis contra seipsum Krantzius, cuius verba distinction. i. huius, hæc fuerunt. 'Ante susceptam Christi fidem (Islandi) lege naturali viuentes parum à lege nostra discrepabant, &c. Si lege naturæ, certè lege illa iustitiæ, quæ tribuit vnicuique suum: Si lege iustitiæ, certè proprietatum et dominiorum distinctiones in nostra gente locum habuisse oportet: Quanquam autem in hanc ipsam legem etiam in Ecclesia, et quidem satis atrocitur, sæpè delinquitur: tamen et Ecclesia et Ethnici iustissimam et optimam esse semper fassi sunt.

The same in English.

THE SIXTH SECTION.

Krantzius.
Munsterus.

All things are common among them except their wiues.

HEre Krantzius in the first place beginneth with such a gybe. There be many notable things in their manners, &c. Moreouer, your wit being too hastie in affirming things vnknowen, doth here also diminish your credite. The experience as well of all things as of persons and times proueth your ouer greedie desire of noueltie, of fame and vaine-glorie, and argueth your great negligence in maintaining the truth. O worthy writers.

But whether the aforesayde things bee true or no, wee call the lawes of our Countrey to witnesse, which the Islanders from the beginning haue vsed all one with the Norwayes: of the King and his subiects: of the seate of iustice, and of law-cases which come to be decided there: of inheritances: of adoptions, marriages, theft, extortions, lending, bargaines, and the rest: all which, to what purpose should they be enioyned vnto them with whom all things are common? We call to witnesse so many broyls and contentions in our courts, and places of iudgement in Island concerning goods mooueable, and immooueable: we call to witnesse our kings now of Denmarke, aforetime of Norway, who by so many billes of supplication out of Island in old time, and of late haue beene often interrupted, for the setting through of controuersies concerning possessions. Wee call Krantzius himselfe to witnesse against himselfe, whose words in the first section were these. Before the receiuing of Christian faith the Islanders liuing according to the lawe of nature did not much differ from our lawe, &c. If by the lawe of nature, then doubtlesse by that lawe of iustice, which giueth to euery man his owne: If by the lawe of iustice, then certainely distinctions of properties and possessions must needes haue taken place in our Nation: and although this very lawe is often transgressed, and that haynously euen in the Church: notwithstanding both the Church, and also heathen men doe acknowledge it to be most iust and good.

SECTIO SEPTIMA.

Catulos suos et pueros æquo habent in precio: Nisi quòd à
pauperioribus facilius impetrabis filium
quàm catulum, &c.

QVamuis principio huius commentarioli censuerim, Munsterum et alios magni nominis viros, in ijs, quæ de Islandia scripta reliquerunt, esse à calumniæ nota liberandos: num tamen id hîc, etiam à candidissimo et maxime sincero quocunque fieri possit, non satis video. Quid enim mouit tantos viros, vt Nautarum maleuolas nugas et mendacia secuti, tam atroci et contumelioso opprobrio gentem nostram diffamarent, commacularentque? Nihil profectò, nisi secura ridendi et contemnendi gentem pauperem et ignotam, licentia, et si quæ sunt huic vicia confinia.

Cæterum nôrint omnes non tam Islandis, quàm ipsis Authoribus, incommodare hoc mendacium. Cum enim illud, et plurima etiam alia in historiam suam accumulant, efficiunt vnà, vt alibi quoque suspectæ fidei habeantur. Illùdq; quod ait Aristoteles, lucrantur, vt cum vera dixerint, illis sine suspitione non credatur.

Sed age Lector, subsiste paulisper, mecùmq; grauitatem et sapientiam tantorum virorum expende: Ne tantum Islandiæ Elogium intactum prætereamus. Docuerunt hactenus Krantzius et Munsterus: Islandos esse Christianos. Item: Islandos ante susceptam Christi fidem lege naturali vixisse. Item: Islandos vixisse lege quadam non multum à lege Germanorum discrepante. Item: Vixisse eos in sancta simplicitate. Adesdum igitur Lector, et quas

Christianismi, Legis naturalis, legis Germanorum, sanctæ simplicitatis notas Authores illi requirant, et in Islandis monstrent ac depingant, perpende. Vna fuit supra, quòd infernum siue carcerem damnatorum montis Heclæ voragine et radicibus circumscribant Islandi; de quo vide Sect. 1. huius: et sect. 7. prior. part. Altera nota, quòd, cum Anabaptistis, proprietatum et dominiorum distinctiones tollant: de quo Sect. præced. Tertia eàque longe excellentissima hæc est: illi præclari affectus naturales, amor, cura, et animus tam pius et paternus Islandorum in liberos, quòd videlicit eiusdem precij sint apud illos canes et filij, aut hi etiam vilioris. Siccine nobis Munstere et Krantzi. Legem Christi, naturæ, Germanorum, et sanctam simplicitatem depingitis: O picturam præclaram et excellentem, quamuis non prorsus Apellæam: O Inuentum acutum et admirandum, si benè authenticum: O scientiam plusquàm humanam, etsi non prorsus diuinam.

Nos verò Islandi, quamuis vltimi et gelidum conclusi ad Arcton, longè alias Christianismi notas requirimis. Nam et præceptum Dei habemus, vt quilibet proximum diligat velut seipsum. Iam nemo est, puto, qui seipsum non plus diligat, aut pluris faciat, quàm canem. Quod si tantus esse debet proximi cuiuslibet fauor, tanta æstimatio, tantus amor, quantus quæso erit in liberos? Quorum arctissimum amorem, præterquam quod ipsa parens natura nobis firmissimè conciliauit, etiam Lex diuina curam summam in enutriendo habere iussit. (Exo. 12. 24. Ephe. 6. 4.) vt scilicet sint in sancto coniugio, Ecclesiæ quædam seminaria, omnis pietatis et honestatis exercitia: Prout vates ille pulcherrimè cecinit.

Vult Ecclesiolam quamlibet esse domum.

Item:

Coniugium humanæ quædam est Academia vitæ.

Vt iam satis constet, apud Christianos longè pluris faciendos et curandos filios, quàm canes: Et, si qui non aliter curent, Christianos non esse.

Sed et hic in prolem dulcissimam affectus naturalis in Ethnicis etiam satis apertè conspicitur: vt si quos hoc penitùs exueris, eosdem etiam homines esse negaueris. Monstrant id matres Carthaginenses, cum tertio bello Punico adolescentes quiq; lectissimi obsides in Siciliam mitterentur, quos illæ fletu et lamentatione miserabili ad naues comitatæ, et ex his quædam à filiorum compleximus ægrè diuulsæ, cum ventis pandi vela cernerent, nauesq ; è portu egredi, dolore stimulante, in subiectos fluctus dissiluere: Sabellico authore. Monstrat Ægeus, qui nauem filij Thesei, cum velis atri coloris, ex Creta redeuntem cerneret, perijsse filium ratus, vitam in proximis vndis finiuit. Sabellic. lib. 3. cap. 4. Monstrat Gordianus senior, Africæ proconsul, qui similiter, ob rumores de morte filij, vitam suspendio clausit. Campofulgos. lib. 5. cap. 7. Monstrant idem Iocasta Creontis filia, Auctolia Sinonis F. Anius Tuscorum Rex, Orodes Rex Parthorum, et alij numero innumero: De quibus vide stat. lib. 2. Plutarchum, et alios, &c. Huc illud. Amor descendit, &c. Adeò, vt videas non minus esse homini proprium, sobolem intimè diligere, et summo amore prosequi, quàm aui volare; vt si iam aliquando homines esse Islandos, nedum Christianos scriptores nostri fassi sint, hunc amorem et affectum in filios ijsdem, quantumuis inuiti et repugnantes, adscribant: sin minus, non modò hominis titulum et dignitatem illis detrahant, sed etiam infrà bruta et quasuis bestias, quæ ipsæ, stimulante natura, maximo prolis suæ et arctissimo amore tenentur, deprimant.

Non addam contra hoc impudens mendacium exempla etiam nostratium satis illustria: Tacebo leges nostras plagiarias ipsis Islandis antiquiores, quippe a Noruagis acceptas, quæ exstant in codice legum nostrarum, titulo Mannhelge: cap. 5. Si quis hominem liberum (quemuis nedum filium) extraneis vendat, &c.

Iam verò si quis eò fortunæ deueniat, vt proprium filium, siue incolæ, siue extranei alicuius potestati, vel fame vel extrema quacunq ; vrgente necessitate, aut periculo, permittat, ne familicum inedia deficientem aspicere cogatur, canem verò in proprias dapes reseruet, Is minimè dicendus est filium æquo aut inferiore loco habere quàm canem, siue id faciant, Islandi, siue extranei quilibet.

Offenderant fortè Germanorum vel Danorum nautæ apud nos mendicos quosdam, liberis onustos, quorum hîc maximus est numerus, qui iocando, vt sunt nugis scurrilibus addicti, dixerint: Da mihi aut vende hoc vel illud: Cumq ; rogarint extranei: Quid tu mihi vicissim? Responderint mendici. Habeo liberos 10. vel 14. dabo ex eis vnum vel plures, &c. Solet enim ista mendicorum colluuies istiusmodi scurriles dialogismos cum extraneis instituere. Quod si tum quispiam bonus vir, misertus stoliditatis et inopiæ mendicorum, vno illos filio leuauerit, eique propter Deum in alijs terris, aliquo tandem modo benè prospexerit, num mendicus, qui alioqui cum filio, fame et paupertate moriturus, filium miserenti permittit et committit, filium istum suum minoris facit quàm canem? Præstitum est à multis tam Islandis quàm extraneis huiusmodi beneuolentiæ et commiserationis opus: ex quibus fuit vir nobilissimus Accilius Iulius à serenissimo rege Daniæ olim missus ad Islandos, Anno Domini 1552. Qui vt audiui, 15. pueros pauperculos assumpsit et secum in Daniam auexit: Vbi postea ipsius beneficio singulos suo vitæ generi addictos, in viros bonos et frugi euasisse, mihi narratum est.

Quid si quis in extrema constitutus angustia, filium non modò vendat; sed si emptorem non habet, ipse mactet et comedat? Nota sunt huius rei exempla: Parentum videlicet inuitiæ crudelitatis in filios, stimulante non odio vel astorgia, sed ineuitabili necessitate compellente. Num quis inde vniuersale gentis alicuius conuicium exstruxerit? Legimus, in obsidione Samariæ matres duas filios suos mactasse, et coctos comedisse: 4. Reg. C. 6. Legimus in obsidione Ierosolymitana, quam flebilis fuerit vox miserrimæ matris, filium misellum iam mactaturæ. Infans, ait, (referam enim Eusebij verba de hac re, etsi notissima, vt miseræ matris affectus appareat,) miselle et infelix, cuinam in hoc belli, famis, et seditionis tumultu, te commodè reseruem? Si Romanorum subjiciamur imperio, illic seruitutis iugo pressi, vitam infœliciter exigemus. Sed seruitutum credo fames anteuertet. Accedit factiosorum prædonum turba, his vtrisq; miserijs toleratu multò asperior. Age igitur mi gnate, sis matri cibus, sis prædonibus furia, sis communi hominum vitæ fabula, quæ res vna ad Iudæorum calamitates deesse videtur. Quæ cum dixisset, natum trucidat, assatumq; dimidium mox comedit, dimidium reseruat &c. Eusebius libro 3. capite 6. Iam quis est, qui non credat misserrimam hanc matrem filium hunc suum, domini alicuius, si se obtulisset, apud quem credidisset seruatum iri, aut emptoris possessioni fuisse permissuram? Nota est fames, Calagurium, Hispaniæ vrbem, olim à Cneio Pompeio obsessam opprimens (Val. libro septimo cap. 7.) cuius ciuibus, vxores et liberi in vsum extremæ dapis conuersi sunt, quos profectò; pro cibarijs et alijs dapibus haud inuiti vendidissent. Nota est quoque fames, quæ Anno Domini 851. (Vincent. libro 25. cap. 36.) Germaniam attriuit, vt etiam pater filium suum deuorare voluerit. Notum etiam est, post mortem Henrici septimi Imperat. fame per triennium continuata, quomodo parentes liberos, vel liberi parentes deuorarint, et præcipuè quidem in Polonia et Bohemia. Et ne exempla tantùm antiqua petamus, accepimus tantam annonæ sæuitiam, Anno 1586. et 1587. in Hungaria grassatam fuisse, vt quidam alimentorum inopia adacti immanissimo Christianorum hosti proprios liberos vendiderint, et in perpetuum seruitutis iugum manciparint: quidam paruulos suos, quos vlterius tolerare non sustinebant, crudeli misericordia in Danubium proiecisse, et suffocasse dicantur. Sed, num hæc et similia exempla quempiam eò insaniæ adigent, vt dicat hanc vel illam nationem, liberos in escam propriam mactare consueuisse, Turcis libenter vendere, aut aquis submergere et suffocare solitam esse? Non opinor. Sic neq; quòd mendici apud Islandos, extrema vrgente necessitate, cuius durissimi sunt morsus, filios suos libenter amittant, toti genti, et quidem probri loco, communiter adscribendum est à quoquam, nisi apud eundem omnis pudor, candor, humanitas, veritas exulent.

Cæterum optarim ego, parcius Islandis canum curam exprobrare illos populos, quorum matronæ, et præcipuè nobiles, canes in maximis delicijs habent, vt eos vel in plateis, ne dicam in sacris concionibus, sinum gestent, quem morem in peregrinis quibusdam, quos Romæ catulos simiarum et canum in gremio circumferre Cæsar conspexit, hac quæstione reprehendit, dum quæreret: Numquid apud ipsos mulieres liberos non parerent? Monens errare eos, qui à natura inditos sibi affectus, quibus in amorem hominum ac præcipuè sobolis incitarentur, in bestias transferunt, quarum deliciarum voluptas Islandorum gentem, nunquam cepit aut habuit. Quare iam Munstere et Krantzi, alias nobis Christianitatis, (vt sic dicam) legis naturæ, legis item Germanorum, et sanctæ simplicitatis notas quærite.

The same in English.

THE SEVENTH SECTION.

They make all one reckoning of their whelpes, and of their children: except that of the poorer sort you shall easier obtaine their sonne then their shalke.

ALthough in the beginning of this Treatise I thought that Munster and other men of great name in those things which they haue left written concerning Islande, were not to bee charged with slander, yet whether that fauour may here be shewed by any man whatsoeuer (be he neuer so fauourable, and neuer so sincere) I

doe not sufficiently conceiue. For what should moue such great men, following the despightful lyes, and fables of mariners, to defame and staine our nation with so horrible and so shamefull a reproch? Surely nothing else but a carelesse licentiousnesse to deride and contemne a poore and vnknowen Nation, and such other like vices.

But, be it knowen to all men that this vntrueth doth not so much hurt to the Islanders, as to the authors themselues. For in heaping vp this, and a great number of others into their Histories, they cause their credite in other places also to be suspected: And hereby they gaine thus muche (as Aristotle sayth) that when they speake trueth no man will beleeue them without suspition.

But attend a while (Reader) and consider with me the grauitie and wisedome of these great Clarkes: that we may not let passe such a notable commendation of Island. Krantzius and Munster haue hitherto taught, that the Islanders are Christians. Also: that before receiuing of Christian faith they liued according to the lawe of Nature. Also: that the Islanders liued after a law not much differing from the lawe of the Germanes. Also, that they liued in holy simplicitie.

Attend I say (good Reader) and consider, what markes of Christianitie, of the lawe of nature, of the Germanes law, of holy simplicitie, these authors require, and what markes they shew and describe in the Islanders. There was one of the sayd markes before: namely, that the Islanders doe place hell or the prison of the damned, within the gulfe and bottome of mount Hecla: concerning which, reade the first section of this part, and the seuenth section of the former. The seconde marke is, that with the Anabaptists they take away distinctions of properties and possessions: in the section next going before. The third and most excellent is this: those singular and natural affections, that loue and tender care, and that fatherly and godly minde of the Islanders towards their children, namely, that they make the same accompt of them, or lesse then they doe of their dogges. What? Will Munster and Krantzius after this fashion picture out vnto vs the lawe of Christ, the lawe of nature, the lawe of the Germanes, and holy simplicitie? O rare and excellent picture, though not altogether matching the skill of Apelles: O sharpe and wonderfull inuention, if authenticall: O knowledge more then humane, though not at all diuine.

But wee Islanders (albeit the farthest of all nations and inhabiting a frozen clime) require farre other notes of Christianitie. For we haue the commaundement of God, that euery man should loue his neighbour as himselfe. Nowe there is none (I suppose) that doeth not loue or esteeme more of himselfe then of his dogge. And if there ought to bee so great fauour, so great estimation, so great loue vnto our neighbour, then how great affection doe we owe vnto our children? The most neare and inseparable loue of whom, besides that nature hath most friendly setled in our mindes, the loue of God also commaundeth vs to haue speciall regard in trayning them vp (Exod. 12. 24. Ephes. 6. 4.) namely that there may be in holy marriage certaine seminaries of Gods Church, and exercises of all pietie and honestie: according to the excellent saying of the Poet—

God will haue each family,
A little Church to be.

Also,

Of humane life or mans societie,
A Schole or College is holy matrimonie.

That it may be manifest, that among Christians their sonnes are more to be accompted of and regarded, then their dogges: and if any doe no otherwise esteeme of them, that they are no Christians.

But this naturall affection towarde our most deare of-spring is plainely seene in the heathen themselues: that whomsoeuer you totally deprive of this, you denie them also to bee men. The mothers of Carthage testifie this to be true, when as in the third Punic warre the most choyse and gallant young men in all the Citie were sent as pledges into Sicilia, whom they followed vnto the shippes with most miserable weeping and lamentation, and some of them being with griefe separated from their deare sonnes, when they sawe the savles hoysed, and the shippes departing out of the hauen, for very anguish cast themselues headlong into the water: as Sabellicus witnesseth. Egæus doth testifie this, who when he sawe the shippe of his sonne Theseus, returning out of Creete with blacke sayles, thinking that his sonne had perished, ended his life in the next waters: Sabell. lib. 3. cap. 4. Gordianus the elder, Proconsul of Affrica, doth testifie this, who likewise, vpon rumours of the death of his sonne, hanged himselfe. Campoful. lib. 5. cap. 7. Also, Iocasta the daughter of Creon, Auctolia daughter of Simon, Anius King of the Thuscans, Orodes King of the Parthians, and an infinite number of others. Concerning whom reade Plutarch stat. lib. 2. and other authors, &c. To these may be added that sentence, Loue descendeth, &c. So that you see, it is no lesse proper to a man entirely to loue his children, then for a bird to flie: that if our writers at any time haue confessed the Islanders to be men (muche lesse to be Christians,) they must, will they nill they, ascribe vnto them this loue and affection towardes their children: if not, they doe not onely take from them the title and dignitie of men, but also they debase them vnder euery brute beast, which euen by the instinct of nature are bound with exceeding great loue, and tender affection towards their young ones.

I will not adde against this shamelesse vntruth most notable examples of our owen countreymen: I will omit our lawes of man-stealing, more ancient then the Islanders themselues, being receiued from the Noruagians, and are extant in our booke of lawes vnder the title Manhelge cap. 5. Whosoeuer selleth a free man (any man much more a sonne) vnto strangers, &c.

Now if any man be driuen to that hard fortune, that he must needs commit his own sonne into the hands of some inhabitant or stranger, being vrged thereunto by famine, or any other extreame necessity, that he may not be constrained to see him hunger-starued for want of sustenance, but keepeth his dogge still for his owne eating, this man is not to be sayd, that he esteemeth equally or more basely of his sonne then of his dogge: whether Islanders or any other countreymen do the same.

The occasion of this slander.

The Germane or the Danish mariners might perhaps find amongst vs certaine beggars laden with children (for we haue here a great number of them) who in iesting maner, for they are much giuen to trifling talke, might saye: Giue me this, or sell me that: and when the stranger should aske, What will you giue me for it? the beggar might answere: I haue ten or foureteene children, I will giue you some one or more of them, &c. For this rabble of beggars vseth thus fondly to prate with strangers. Now if there be any well-disposed man, who pitying the need and folly of these beggers, releaseth them of one sonne, and doth for Gods sake by some meanes prouide for him in another countrey: doth the begger therefore (who together with his sonne being ready to die for hunger and pouerty, yeeldeth and committeth his sonne into the hands of a mercifull man) make lesse account of his sonne then of his dogge? Such works of loue and mercie haue bene performed by many, as well Islanders themselues as strangers: one of which number was that honourable man Accilius Iulius, being sent by the most gracious King of Denmarke into Island in the yere of our Lord 1552, who, as I haue heard, tooke, and carried with him into Denmarke fiftene poore boyes: where afterward it was reported vnto me, that by his good meanes euery one of them being bound to a seuerall trade, proued good and thriftie men.

What if some man be driuen to that passe, that he doth not onely sell his sonne but not finding a chapman, his owne selfe killeth and eateth him? Examples of this kinde be common, namely of the vnwilling and forced cruelty of parents towards their children, not being pricked on through hate, or want of naturall affection, but being compelled thereunto by vrgent necessity. Shall any man hereupon ground a generall reproch against a whole nation? We reade that in the siege of Samaria, two mothers slew their sonnes, and eat them sodden: 4. King. chap. 6. We reade in the siege of Ierusalem, how lamentable the voice of that distressed mother was, being about to kill her tender childe: My sweete babe, sayth she (for I will report Eusebius owne words, concerning this matter, though very common, that the affection of a mother may appeare) borne to miserie and mishap, for whom should I conueniently reserue thee in this tumult of famine, of warre, and sedition? If we be subdued to the gouernment of the Romans, we shall weare out our vnhappy dayes vnder the yoke of slauery. But I thinke famine will preuent captiuity. Besides, there is a rout of seditious rebels much more intollerable then either of the former miseries. Come on therefore, my sonne, be thou meat vnto thy mother, a fury to these rebels, and a byword in the common life of men, which one thing onely is wanting to make vp the calamities of the Iewes. These sayings being ended, she killeth her sonne, roasting and eating one halfe, and reseruing the other, &c. Eusebius lib 3. cap. 6. Now, what man will not beleeue that this vnhappy mother would full gladly haue passed ouer this her sonne into the possession of some master or chapman, if she could haue happened vpon any such, with whom she thought he might haue beene preserued: That famine is well knowen which oppressed Calagurium, a city of Spaine, when in olde time Cneius Pompeius layed siege thereunto (Valerius lib. 7. cap. 7.) the citizens whereof conuerted their wiues and children into meat for the satisfying of their extreame hunger, whom doubtlesse they would with all their heartes haue solde for other victuals. That famine also is well knowen which in the yere of our Lord 851 (Vincent. lib. 25. cap. 26.) afflicted Germany, insomuch that the father was glad to deuoure his owne sonne. It was well knowen after the death of the Emperour Henry the seuenth, in a famine continuing three whole yeres, how the parents would deuoure their children, and the children their parents, and that especially in Polonia and Bohemia. And that we may not onely allege ancient examples: it is reported that there was such a grieuous dearth of corne in the yeeres 1586, and 1587, thorowout Hungary, that some being compelled for want of food were faine to sell their children vnto the most bloudy and barbarous enemy of Christians, and so to enthrall them to the perpetuall yoke of Turkish slauery: and some are sayd to haue taken their children, whom they could no longer sustaine, and with cruell mercy to haue cast them into Danubius, and drowned them. But should these stories and the like make any man so mad as to affirme that this or that nation accustometh to kill their children for their owne food, and to sell them willingly vnto the Turks, or to drowne and strangle them willingly in the water? I cannot thinke it. So neither (because beggers in Island being enforced through extreame and biting necessitie, do willingly part with their sonnes) is this custome generally to be imputed vnto the whole nation, and that by way of disgrace, by any man, except it be such an one who hath taken his leaue of all modesty, plaine dealing, humanity, and trueth.

But I could wish that the loue of dogges in Islanders might be more sparingly reprehended by those people, whose matrons, and specially their noble women, take so great delight in dogs, that they carry them in their bosomes thorow the open streetes: I will not say in Churches: which fashion Cæsar blamed in certaine strangers, whom he sawe at Rome carrying about yoong apes and whelpes in their armes, asking them this question: Whether women in their countrey brought foorth children or no? signifying heereby, that they do greatly offend who bestow vpon beasts these naturall affections, wherewith they should be inuited to the loue of mankinde, and specially of their owne ofspring: which strange pleasure neuer ouertooke, nor possessed the nation of the Islanders. Wherefore now (Munster and Krantzius) you must finde vs out other marks of Christianity, of the law of nature, of the Germans law, and of holy simplicity.

SECTIO OCTAVA.

Episcopum suum colunt pro Rege: ad cuius nutum respicit totus populus. Quicquid ex lege, scripturis, et ex consuetudine aliarum gentium constituit, quàm sanctè obseruant. Krantzius. Munsterus.

FVit equidem initio ferè ad repurgatàm Euangelij doctrinam maxima Episcopi obseruantia; sed nunquam tanta vt exteris legibus aut consuetudini cederent nostræ leges politicæ, ex nutu Episcopi. Nec tempore Alberti Krantzij, multò minùs Munsteri (quorum ille 1517, hic 1552. post partum salutiferum decessit) Episcopi Islandorum regiam obtinuerunt authoritatem, cùm scilicet multi ex ijs, qui diuitijs paulò plus valebant aduersus ipsos consurgere non dubitarint; quæ res apud nostrates liquidò constat. Interim tamen Episcopi, anathematis fulmine terribiles, alios in suam potestatem redegerunt, alios furibunda sæuitia id temporis persecuti sunt.

Porrò etsi tum fuit magna, imò maxima Episcopi obseruantia, tamen nunc dispulsis tenebris Papisticis, alia ratione homines Satan aggreditur, eorùmq; mentes contemptus libertate et refractaria contumacia, aduersus Deum et sacrum ministerium, etiam hîc armare non negligit.

The same in English.

THE EIGHTH SECTION.

They honour their Bishop as their King: vnto whose command all the whole people haue respect. Whatsoeuer he prescribeth out of the law, the scriptures, or the customes of other nations, they do full holily obserue. Krantzius. Munsterus.

THere was indeed at the beginning, about the time of the reformation of religion, great reuerence had vnto the bishop; but neuer so great, that our politique lawes at the bishops command should giue place to outlandish lawes and customes. Neither in the time of Albertus Krantzius, much lesse of Munster (of which two the first deceased in the yere of our Lord 1517, and the second 1552) the bishops of Island had the authority of kings, when as many of the country which were of the richer sort, would not doubt to rebell against them; which thing is too well knowen in our countrey. Yet in the meane time, the bishops being terrible with their authority of excommunication, reduced some vnder their subjection, and others at that time they cruelly persecuted.

Moreouer, albeit at that time the bishop was had in great, yea, in exceeding great reuerence, yet now adayes, the darkenesse of popery being dispelled, the deuill assaulteth men after another sort, and euen here amongst vs, he is not slacke to arme their minds with contempt, and peruerse stubburnnesse against God, and his holy ministery.

SECTIO NONA.

Illic victitant plerumq: piscibus, propter magnam penuriam frumenti, quod aliunde à maritimis ciuitatibus infertur: & qui inde cum magno lucro pisces exportant. Item Munsterus. Illic piscibus induratis vtuntur loco panis qui illic non crescit.

Munster.

Vide Lector, quàm Munsterum iuuet, eadem oberrare chorda: vt cum de gente ignota nihil scribere possit, quod coloris aliquid habeat, vel falsa afferre, vel eadem sæpius repetere, sicque cramben eandem recoquere sustineat: Dixerat enim paulò ante, Islandos piscibus viuere. Verba ipsius superiùs etiam recitata, hæc sunt. Islandia populos continet multos, solo pecorum pastu et nunc captura piscium victitantes, etc. Et vt cætera transeam in quibus leue quiddam notari poterat: Illud sanè, panem in Islandia non crescere, perquam verum est. Quod etiam illi cum Germania commune esse crediderim, quòd videlicet nec illic panis crescat, nisi fortè in Munsteri, agro, vbi etiam acetum naturale optimè crescit. Sed hæc, troporum indulgentia, scilicet, salua erunt. Ad conicia autem, quæ ex victu Islandorum petunt extranei, infrà paucis respondebitur, Sect. 15.

The same in English.

THE NINTH SECTION.

Munsterus.

They liue there for the most part vpon fishes, because of their great want of corne, which is brought in from the port townes of other countreys: who cary home fishes

from thence with great gaine. Also Munster sayth, they do there vse stockefish in stead of bread, which groweth not in that countrey.

COnsider (friendly reader) how Munster is delighted to harpe upon one string, that when he can write nothing of an vnknowen nation which may cary any shew with it, he is faine either to bring in falshood, or often to repeat the same things, and so to become tedious vnto his reader: for he sayd a little before, that the Islanders liue vpon fish. His words aboue recited were these: Island conteineth many people liuing onely with the food of cattell, and sometimes by taking of fishes. And that I may omit the rest in which some trifle might be noted: whereas he sayeth that bread groweth not in Island: it is most true: which I thinke is common therewith to Germany also, because bread groweth not there neither, except it be in Munsters field where naturall vineger also doth marueillously encrease. But these toyes, by the liberty of rethoricke forsooth, shall be out of danger. Howbeit, vnto these reproches, which strangers do gather from the meats and drinks of the Islanders, we will hereafter briefly answere, Sect. 15.

SECTIO DECIMA.

Incolæ res maiorum et sui temporis celebrant cantibus et insculpunt scopulis, atque promontorijs, vt nulla, nisi cum naturæ iniuria, intercidant apud posteritatem. Munster. Krantzius.

Citharædi, et qui testudine ludunt, apud eos reperiuntur quàm plurimi, qui prædulci modulamine et volucres et pisces irretiant et capiant. Frisius.

QVin veterum gesta aliquot cantibus et poëmatibus nostratium, vt et soluta oratione, apud nos conseruentur, non negamus. Quòd verò à nobis aut maioribus nostris eadem scopulis vel promontorijs insculpta sunt, eam non licet nobis, vt neque illam tantam Citharædorum, aues aut pisces demulcentium, laudem accipere. Statuimus enim animi esse generosi ac veracis, vt crimina falsa refellere, ita laudem immeritam sibi haud vendicare, nec, etsi quis tribuat, agnoscere. Veterum gesta apud Islandes conseruata.

The same in English.

THE TENTH SECTION.

Munsterus. Krantzius. The inhabitants do celebrate the actes of their ancestours, and of their times, with songs, and they graue them in rocks and promontories, that they may not decay with posterity, but onely by the defect of nature.

Frisius. There be diuers found amongst them that be minstrels, and can play upon the lute, who with their delectable musicke ensnare and take both fowles and fishes.

The Islanders preserue in writing the acts of their ancestors. We denie not but that some woorthy actes of our forefathers be reserued in the songs and poemes of o u countreymen, as also in prose: but that the same things haue beene engrauen by vs, or by our ancestours, in rocks or promontories, we may in no case acknowledge that praise be due vnto vs, nor yet the other of minstrels, and taking of birds and fishes. For we holde it to be part of an honest and ingenuous mind, as to refute false crimes, so not to challenge vndeserued praise vnto himselfe, nor to accept it being offered.

SECTIO VNDECIMA.

SEd cum scriptoribus iam dictis, viris alioqui spectatæ eruditionis et preclari nominis, qui tamen hæc ita inconsideratè scriptis suis interseruerunt, actionis finis esto.

Etiam magna mei pars est exhausta laboris:

Sed restat tamen fætus ille vipereus Germanicus, quem idcircò anonymum secundo partu mater edi voluit, vt venenatis aculeis nomen Islandorum tantò liberiùs pungeret.

Porrò licet aduersus hanc bestiam in arenam descendere non dubitem, omnibus tamen constare volo, quonam hoc animo faciam, videlicet, non vt cum illius pestifera virulentia, conuicijs aut maledicentia certem (Nam vt est in triuiali paroemia,

Hoc scio pro certo, quod si cum stercore certo,
Vinco, seu vincor, semper ego maculor:)

Sed vt bonis et cordatis omnibus, etiam extraneis, satisfaciam

qui maledicentiam istam Germanicam lecturi vel audituri sunt, aut olim audierint, ne et hi nos meritò calumniam tantam sustinere credant: Tum etiam vt alios qui istis virulentis rhythmis Germanicis, in gentis nostræ opprobrium vtuntur, et inde dicteria et contumeliosas subsannationes ad despiciendos Islandos petunt, ab illa mordendi licentia in posterum, si fieri possit, abducamus.

Ergò, ne longis ambagibus Lectori fastidium oratio nostra pariat, ad ea narranda accedam, quæ maledicus ille Germanus in suum pasquillum congessit: Quem etiam sua de Islandis carmina Encomiastica recitantem in his pagellis introducerem, nisi præuiderem fœtum illum probrosum, tot et tam varijs maledictis turgidum, omnibus bonis nauseam mouere posse, ac sua spurcitie ab ijs legendis absterrere.

Referam igitur præcipua, (ijs scilicet omissis quæ cum alijs communia habet, atque hactenus ventilata sunt) sed, quam ille, longe mitius; ne, vt dixi, linguæ ipsius obscœna petulantia, aures bonæ et eruditæ offendantur: Qui ipsum videre aut audire volet, quærat apud propolas. Nobis inquam, non est in animo putida ipsius calumnia et conuiciorum sentina, has chartas inquinare.

1. Obiectio seu conuicium. Primùm igitur obijcit Germanicus hic noster, si Dijs placet, Historicus: Multos ex pastoribus Islandiæ toto biennio sacram concionem ad populum nullam habere: Vt in priore editione, huius pasquilli legitur, quod tamen posterior editio eiusdem refutat: Dicens, eosdem pastores in integro anno tantum quinquies concionari solitos: quæ duo quàm ritè sibi consentiant, videas bone Lector, cum constet Authorem mox à prima editione vix vidisse Islandiam. Ita scilicet plerumq; mendacium mendacio proditur, iuxta illud: Verum vero consentit: Falsum nec vero nec falso.

Sed cum nostrum non sit veritatem vspiam dissimulare, nos haud negandum ducimus conciones sacras circa id tempus, quo iste Sycophanta in Islandia vixit, nempe anno 1554. aut circiter multò fuisse rariores, quàm sunt hodiè, tum scilicet tenebris Papisticis vix dum discussis. Quod etiam de Psalmis Dauidicis à vulgo Latinè demurmuratis, vt idem nostratibus exprobrat, intelligere est: Papistæ enim totam spem salutis in sua Missa collocantes, de concione aut doctrina parùm fuere solliciti. Postquam verò caligine illa exempti sumus, aliter se rem habere, Deo inprimis gratias agimus: Licet quorundam pastorum nostrorum tardam stupiditatem, segnitiem et curam præposteram non possimus omni modo

excusare. Quod vtrum in nullos suorum popularium etiam competat, aliæ quoque nationes viderint.

The same in English.

THE ELEVENTH SECTION.

BVt now, let this be the end of our controuersie with the authours aforesayd, being otherwise men of excellent learning, and of great renoume, who notwithstanding so inconsiderately haue entermedled these things in their writings. And now the better part of my labour is finished.

But yet there remaynes that viperous German brood, the mother whereof would haue come to light, as it were at a second birth, without name, that it might so much the more freely wound the fame of the Islanders with venomous sting.

Moreouer, although I be not afrayd to encounter with this beast, yet would I haue all men to know with what minde I vndertake this enterprise, namely, not that I meane to contend with his pestiferous rancour, by reproches, and railing speeches (for as it is in the common prouerbe:

I know, that if I striue with dung most vile,
How ere it be, my selfe I shall defile);

but that I may satisfie all honest and well affected men, euen strangers themselues, who shall hereafter reade or heare, or haue heretofore heard that Germane pasquill, least they also should thinke that we woorthily sustaine so monstrous a disgrace: and also that I may from henceforth, if it be possible, restraine others (who vse those venomous Germaine rimes to the vpbrading of our nation, and from hence borrow their scoffes, and reproachfull taunts to the debasing of vs Iselanders) from that libertie of backbiting.

Therefore, that I may not be tedious to the reader with long circumstances, I will come to the rehearsing of those things which that railing Germane hath heaped vp in his leud pasquill: whom also I could bring in, repeating his friendly verses of the Ilanders, within the compasse of this my booke, but that I doe foresee that the sayd slanderous libell being stuffed with so many and diuers reproches, might breed offence to all honest men, and deterre them from reading it, with the filthinesse thereof.

I will therefore repeat the principall matters (omitting those things which he hath common with others, or, that heretofore haue been examined) but farre more modestly then he, least (as I sayd) I cause good and learned mens eares to tingle at his leud and vnseemely rimes: that they are desirous to see or heare him, let them enquire at the Stationers. It is no part of our meaning (I say) to defile these papers with his stinking slanders, or with the filthy sinke of his reproches.

The first obiection or reproch.

First therefore, this our goodly Germaine Historiographer obiecteth that there be many Pastours in Island, which preach not to their people once in two yeres, as it is read in the former edition of this pasquill, which notwithstanding the latter edition doth refute: saying that the sayd Pastours vse to preach but fiue times in an whole yeere: which two, how well they agree together, let the reader be iudge, seeing it is manifest that the authour himselfe, presently after the first edition, had scarse seene Island. So oftentimes one lie betrayeth another, according to that saying: Trueth agreeth vnto trueth; but falshood agreeth neither to trueth nor to falshood.

But sith it is our part not to dissemble the trueth in any place, we will not denie that holy sermons, about the time wherein this sycophant liued in Island, namely in the yere 1554, were seldomer in vse then they are at this day, namely, the darkenesse of popery being scarsely at that time dispelled. Which also is to be understood concerning the Psalmes of Dauid mumbled by the common people in Latine, as he casteth vs in the teeth: for the Papists grounding all the hope of their saluation in the Masse, did little regard the sermon, or doctrine. But after we were freed from that mist, it hath bene (God be thanked) farre otherwise with vs: although we cannot altogether excuse the dulnesse, slouth, and preposterous care of certeine of our Pastours. Which, whether it agreeth to any of their countreymen or no, let other nations iudge.

SECTIO DVODECIMA.

2. Conuitium.

Secundò calumniatur vitilitigator: Adulteria et scortationes non modò publica esse et frequentia scelera inter Islandos: sed ab ijs pro scelere ne haberi quidem.

ETsi autem fœdissimæ istæ turpitudines etiam in nostra repub. non prorsus inusitatæ sunt: tamen cum omnibus constet in alijs

quoque nationibus longè etiam frequentiores esse, cum ibi quoque populi frequentia maior: immeritò et malignè hoc nomine magis Islandos, quàm populos et gentes reliquas, quarum, vt dixi, nomen etiam plus nostratibus hoc crimine malè audit, notauit.

Et licet ex animo optarim longè minus ad scelera, et turpitudines in nostra patria conniueri, quàm passim hîc fieri videmus: tamen etiam innata illa mordendi libidine, hoc veterator in præsenti conuitio attexuit: videlicet, quòd scelera ista ab Islandis pro scelere non habeantur. Nam in quâ demum repub. id impudens ille asserere audet? Illane; quæ in legem codicis ll. titulo Mannhelge: cap. 28. iurauit; quæ statuit, vt iterum adulterium qui cum coniuge alterius commiserit, confiscatis suis bonis, capite etiam plectatur? Illane. quæ pro adulterio, à famulo cum vxore domini commisso, non ita dudum 80. thalerorum mulctam irrogauit? Illane, quæ eundem, si ad statutum tempus non soluerit vel vades dederit, in exilium proscribendum decreuit? Illane: cuius leges politicæ, quemuis in adulterio cum vxore, à viro legitimè deprehensum, si euaserit, homicidij mulctam expendere iubent? Illane, cuius itidem leges politicæ, in complexu matris, filiæ aut sororis, à filio, patre, vel fratre deprehensum, vitam suam dimidio eius, quod quis si eundem insontem interfecisset, expendere teneretur, redimere iubent? Illane, cuius leges politicæ adulterium sceleris infandi nomine notarunt et damnarunt? Et in eo tertiò deprehensum, capite plectendum seuerè mandant?

Cernis igitur, Lector benigne, quàm iniurium habeamus notarium, dicentem: Adulterium et scortationes in Islandia peccati aut sceleris nomen non mereri. Nam licet politici quidam hoc vel illud scelus impunitum omittant, non debet tota gens, non leges, non boni et pij omnes, eo nomine in ius vocari, aut malè audire.

The same in English.

THE TWELFTH SECTION.

The second reproch.

Secondly, the trifler shamefully reporteth, that adulteries and whoredomes are not onely publique, and common vices amongst Islanders: but that they are not accounted by them for vices.

ALthough indeed these most filthy abominations, euen in our common wealth, be not altogether vnusuall: notwithstanding, since al men know that they are farre more common in other nations, where be

greater multitudes of people, he did vndeservedly, and maliciously note the Islanders rather with this reproch, then other people and nations, who are more infamous with this crime then our countreymen.

And albeit I wish with all mine heart that vices and enormities were much lesse wincked at in our countrey, then we see they are, yet notwithstanding this iugler, by reason of his naturall inclination to backbiting, hath added this in his last reproch: namely, that these vices by the Iselanders are not accounted for vice. For, in what common wealth dare the impudent companion affirme this to be true? What? in that common wealth which hath sworne to obserue the law contained in our statute booke vnder the title of Manhelge chap. 28, whereby it is enacted, that whosoeuer committeth adultery with another man's wife the second time, his goods being confiscate, he shall be punished with death? Or in that common wealth, which not long since hath inflicted the penalty of 80 dollers upon a seruant committing adultery with his masters wife? Or in that common wealth which hath decreed that if he doth not pay, nor lay in sureties at the day appointed, he shalbe banished the country? Or in that common wealth the politike lawes whereof doe streightly command that whosoeuer be according to law found in adultery with another man's wife, by her husband, if he escape, he shall vndergoe the punishment of manslaughter? Or in that common wealth, the politike lawes whereof do also enioyne a man that is taken in carnall copulation with the mother, daughter, or sister, by the sonne, father, or brother, to redeeme his life with the one halfe of that which he oaght to have payed, if he had shed the innocent bloud of the sayd party? Or in that common wealth the pollitike lawes whereof haue noted and condemned adultery vnder the name of a most heinous offence? and do straightly command that he which is taken the third time in that beastly act shalbe punished with death?

You see therefore (friendly readers) what an injurious Notary we haue, affirming that adultery and whoredome in Island deserueth not the name of sinne and wickednesse: for although some officers let slip this or that vice unpunished, yet ought not the whole nation, nor the lawes, nor all good and godly men, in that regard, to be accused or euill spoken of.

SECTIO DECIMATERTIA.

3. Conuitium. TErtium conuicium est, quo fraudis et perfidiæ erga Germanos Islandis notam inurit. Fuit autem proculdubio famosi huius libelli author, cerdo et propola circumforaneus, multòsq; Ilandiæ angulos, sordidæ mercaturæ gratia, ostiatim adierat: quod ipse de se in præclaris illi suis rythmis testatur, maximam Islandiæ partem sibi peragratam esse. Vnde cum ipse mala fide cum multis egerit (plerumq; enim fraus et mendacia coniunguntur, et mendacem se fuisse, hac ingenij sui experientia satis probauit) etiam fortè à se deceptorum fraudem est expertus. Hinc illa in totam gentem criminatio extitit: Dissimulato intereà, qua fide quidam Germanorum, quibus annua est nauigatio ad Islandos, cum nostris hominibus agant. Ea autem querela, cùm non alios conuiciari, sed aliorum in gentem nostram immerita conuicia monstrare instituerim, consultò supersedeo.

The same in English.

THE THIRTEENTH SECTION.

The third reproch. The third reproch is, whereby he doth brand the Islanders with the marke of deceit and trechery toward the Germans.

DOubtles the author of this libell was some vagabond huckster or pedler, and had gone particularly into many corners of Island to vtter his trumpery wares, which he also testifieth of himselfe in his worthy rimes, that he had trauailed thorow the greatest part of Island, whereupon when he had played the cousining mate with others (for often times deceit and lying are ioyned together, and he hath sufficiently proued himselfe to be a liar, by this triall of his wit) peraduenture himselfe was beguiled by them whom he before time had defrauded.

From hence proceedeth this slander, against our whole Nation: dissembling in the meane time with what honestie certaine Germans, making yerely voyages into Island, deale with our men. But seeing by this complaint I haue not determined to reproch others, but to lay open the vndeserued reproches of others against our nation, I do here of purpose surcease.

SECTIO DECIMAQVARTA.

Quarto: negat in conuiuijs quemquam discumbentium à mensa surgere: sed matres familias singulis conuiuis quoties opus fuerit matellas porrigere. Prætereà variam conuiuiorum edendi bibendíq; rusticitatem notat. 4. 5. 6. & 7. Conuitia.

Cubandi et prandendi ritus obijcit: quod decem plus minus in eodem lecto promiscuè viri cum fœminis pernoctent, inque lecto cibum capiant: atq; interea se non nisi aleæ aut latrunculorum ludo exerceant.

Sexto. Calumniatur eosdem faciem et os vrina proluere.

Septimo. Nuptiarum, sponsalium, natalitiorum celebritatem et funerum ritus contemptuosè extenuat.

HÆc et huiusmodi plurima in gentem insontem, imò de se et suis optimè meritam, impvrus calumniator euomit. Quæ quidem eius generis sunt, vt illi de his respondere prorsus dedignemur. Nam vt demus (quod tamen non damus) aliquid huiusmodi apud homines sordidos, et ex ipsa vulgi colluuie infimos, quibuscum longè sæpius, quàm bonis et honestis conuersabatur, animaduertisse præclarum hunc notarium Germanicum (vixerat enim, vt eius rhythmi testantur, diutiusculè in locis maritimis Islandiæ, quo ferè promiscuum vulgus, tempore piscaturæ annuatim confluit, et tam extraneorum nautarum, quàm sua nequitia corruptum, sæpius inhonestè mores et vtam instituit) Tamen manifestiorem etiam hoc loco iniuriam nobis facit, vnius nebulonis et desperati Sycophantæ turpitudine, totam gentem (vt ferè solent etiam alij) aspergendo, quàm vt refutatione vlla indigeat. Cuius rei etiam ipsi extranei in nostra Insula non parum versati, locupletissimi testes esse possunt.

Possem multas eius farinæ fœditates, rusticitates et obscœnitates, etiam in ipsius natione deprehensas colligere. Sed odi facundiam caninam, nec in aliorum opprobrium disertum esse iuuat: nec tam tener esse volo, vt uerbulis transuerberer. Id tantum viderint boni et pij omnes, cuius sit animi, pessima quæq; ab vno aut altera designata, toti genti objicere. Si quis Germaniæ aut alterius nationes vrbes et pagos omnes peragret, et scelera ac mores pessimos, furta, homicidia, parricidia, scortationes, adulteria, incestus, luxuriem, rapinas et reliquas impietates et obscœnitates in vnum coactas, omnibus Germanis, aut alioqui alteri cuiuis toti nationi communes esse asserat, atq; hæc omnia insigniter mentiendo, exaggeret, ſsne optimæ rei studiosus habebitur?

Sed quid mirum, licet verbero, et, ut propriè notem, porcus impurus, iste, inquam, Rhythmista, naturam et ingenium suum eiusmodi loidoria prodiderit?

Notum est enim porcos, cum hortos amænissimos intrarint, nec lilium nec rosas aut flores alioqui pulcherrimos et suauissimos decerpere: Sed rostro in cœnum prono, quicquid est luti et stercoris volutare, vertere et inuertere, donec impurissima, hoc est, suo genio apprimè congruentia eruant, vbi demum solida voluptate pascuntur.

Ad istum igitur modum hic porcus Rythmista, optima, et quæ in nostra Repub. laudabilia esse possunt, sicco pede præterit, pessima quæq; atq; ea, vel à nullo, vel admodum paucis designata, hoc est, suæ naturæ, et ingenio aptissima, vt se esse, qui dicitur, re ipsa probaret, corrasit: unde posthac porci nomen ex moribus et ingenio ipsius factum, sortitor.

The same in English.

THE FOURTEENTH SECTION.

The 4. 5. 6. & 7. reproches.

Fourthly, he sayth that in bankets none of the ghests vse to rise from the table: but that the good wife of the house reacheth to euery one a chamber pot, so oft as need requireth. Moreouer, he noteth much vnmanerliness of eating and drinking at bankets.

Ftftly, he obiecteth customes of lying in bed, and of dining: namely that ten persons, more or lesse, men and women lie altogether in the same bed, and that they eat their meat lying in bed: and that in the meane time they do nothing bnt play at dice or at tables.

Sixtly, he reporteth that they wash their hands or their faces in pisse.

Seuenthly, he despightfully abaseth our solemnizings of marriages, spousals, birth-dayes, and our customes at burials.

THese, and a number of such like reproches hath this impure

slanderer, spued foorth against an innocent nation, yea and that nation which hath deserued right well of him and his countrimen. Which are of the same kind with these, in so much that we altogether disdeigne to make answere vnto them. For, that we may graunt (which notwithstanding we will in no case yeelde vnto) that this worthy Germane notarie obserued some such matter among base companions, and the very of-scouring of the common people, with whom he was much more conuersant than with good and honest persons (for he had liued, as his rimes testifie, somewhat long vpon the coast of Island, whither a confused rout of the meanest common people, in fishing time do yerely resort, who being naught aswell through their owne leudnesse, as by the wicked behauiour of outlandish mariners, often times doe leade a badde and dishonest life) notwithstanding we are in this place more manifestly wronged through the knauery of this one varlet, and desperate sycophant by his defaming of the whole nation (as others also vsually do) then that it should neede any refutation at all. Of which thing strangers themselues, who are not a little conuersant in our Iland, may be most sufficient witnesses.

I could also gather together many such filthy, vnmannerly, and baudie fashions noted by others euen in his own countrey. But I detest this dogged eloquence, neither take I any pleasure to be witty in the disgracing of others: and yet I will not shew my selfe such a milke-soppe as to be daunted with light words. Onely, let all honest and good men consider, what disposition it argueth, for one to obiect against a whole nation certaine misdemeanours committed by some one or other particular man. If any man should trauell thorowout all the cities and townes of Germanie or any other nation, and heaping together the offences, and most leud maners, the robberies, manslaughters, murthers, whoredomes, adulteries, incests, riots, extortions, and other prophane, and filthy actes, should affirme them to be common to all Germans, or otherwise to any other whole nation, and should exaggerate all these things with notorious lies, is he to be accounted one that spends his time in a good argument? But what maruaile is it, though a varlet, and, that I may giue him his true title, a filthy hogge, that imer (I say) hath bewrayed his nature and disposition in such like reproches? For it is well knowen that swine, when they enter into most pleasant gardens, do not plucke lillies or roses, or any other most beautifull aud sweet flowers; but thrusting their snouts into the ground, doe tumble and tosse vp and downe whatsoeuer durt and dung they can finde, vntill they haue rooted vp most vncleane things, namely such as are best agreeable to their nature, wherewith they greedily glut themselues: Euen so this hoggish Rimer lightly passeth ouer the best and most commendable things of our Common wealth, but as for the woorst, and those which haue been committed by none, or by very few, namely, such things as best fit his humour and disposition (that he might indeed show himselfe to be the same which we haue termed him) those things (I say) hath he scraped vp together: whereupon hereafter by my consent, for his maners and disposition let him enioy the name of a swine.

SECTIO DECIMAQVINTA.

9. Conuitium.

NOnum conuicium hic recensebimus, quod à victu, ac præcipuè cibo potu Islandorum maledicus ille porcus, non vno aut paucis verbis, sed prolixa inuectiua petiuit: Nempe quòd cibis vtantur vetustis, et insulsis, idq; sine panis vsu: Tum etiam quòd varia et incognita extraneis piscium genera illis sint esui, et aquam ac serum lactis in potum misceant. Quæ omnia venenatus hic pasquillus diserta contumelia, et ingeniosa calumnia, pulchrè amplificauit.

Cæterum etsi illum prolixiore responsione non dignemur: tamen propter alios, qui hodie hanc rem partim mirantur, partim haud leuiter nostræ genti objiciunt, pauca hoc loco addenda videbantur.

Primùm igitur totam hanc gentem bipartitò secabimus: In mendicos, et hos qui et se et cum alijs etiam mendicos alunt. Mendicorum, et eorum qui ad hos proximè accedunt, omnia cibaria recensere aut examinare haud facile est, nec quòd illos edere, aut edisse, extrema aliquando coëgit necessitas, reliquæ genti cibariorum genera aut numerum præscribere fas est. Nam et de suffocatis quidem non comedendis legem habemus inter canones, quorum seruantissima videri voluit antiquitas.

Deinde etiam tempora distinguemus, vt nihil mirum sit grassante annonæ sæuitia, multa à multis ad explendam famem adhiberi aut adhibita fuisse, quæ aliàs vix canes pascant. Vt nuperrimè de Parisiensibus accepimus, Anno 1590, arctissima Henrici 4. Nauarræi obsidione pressis, et famem Saguntinam, vt P. Lindebergius loquitur, perpessis; eos non modò equinam, sed morticinam quoque carnem ex mortuorum ossibus in mortario contusis farinæ pugillo vno aut altero misto, confectam, in suas

dapes conuertisse; et de alijs quoque populis notum est, qui simili vrgente inopia, etiam murium, felium et canum esu victitarint. Sic etiam Islandis aliquando vsu venit (quanquam à canina, murium et felium, vt et humana carne hactenus, nobis quantum constat, abstinuerint) licet non ab hoste obsessis: Nam cùm ad victum necessaria ex terra marique petant, et ab extraneis nihil commeatus, aut parum admodum aduehatur, quoties terræ marisque munera DEVS præcluserit, horrendam annonæ caritatem ingruere et ingruisse, et dira fame vexare incolas, necesse est. Vnde fit, vt illos qui in diem viuere soliti fuerint, nec præcedentium annorum superantes commeatus habuerint, extrema tentasse, quoties egestas vrserit, credibile. Cæterum, vtrum hæc res publico et perpetuo opprobrio magis apud Islandos, quàm alias nationes, occasionem meritò præbere debeat, candidis et bonis animis iudicandum relinquo.

Porrò quod de gentis nostræ proprijs et consuetis alimentis multi objicere solent, potissimum de carne, piscibus, butyro, absque sale inueteratis, Item de lacticinijs, frumenti inopia, potu aquæ, &c. et reliquis: id nos in plurimis Islandiæ locis (nam sunt multi quoque nostratium, qui Danorum et Germanorum more, quantum quidem castis et temperatis animis ad mediocritatem sufficere debet, licet magna condimentorum varietate, vt et ipsis Pharmacopolijs, destituimur, mensam instruere et frugaliter viuere sustineant) ita se habere haud multis refragabimur, videlicet prædicta victus genera, passim sine salis condimento vsitata esse. Et insuper addemus, hæc ipsa cibaria, quæ extranei quidam vel nominare horrent, ipsos tamen extraneos apud nos, non sine voluptate, manducare solitos. Nam etsi frumenti aut farris penè nihil vulgò habeamus, nec sal, gulæ irritamentum, ad cibaria condienda, omnibus suppetit: docuit tamen Deus opt. max. etiam nostros homines rationem tractandi et conseruandi, quæ ad vitam sustentandam spectant, vt appareat, Deum in alendis Islandis non esse ad panem vel salem alligatum. Quòd verò sua omnia extranei iucundiora et salubriora clamant; negamus tamen satis causæ esse, cur nostra nobis exprobrent: Nec nos DEVM gulæ nostræ debitorem reputamus; quin potius toto pectore gratias agimus, quod sine opiparis illis delicijs et lautitijs, quæ tam iucundæ et salubres putantur, etiam nostræ gentis hominibus, annos et ætatem bonam, tum valetudinem etiam firmissimam, robur ac vires validas (quæ omnia statuimus boni et conuenientis alimenti, καὶ τῆς ἐυχρασιας esse indicia), concedere

Ratio conseruandos cibos sine sale.

dignetur, cum ingenio etiam non prorsus tam crasso ac sterili, quàm huic nostro aëri et alimentis assignare Philosophi videntur, quod re libentius, quàm verbis multi fortasse nostratium comprobare poterant

Ni nos (vt inquit ille) paupertas inuidia deprimeret.

Sed hîc vulgi iudicium, vt in alijs sæpè, etiam eos qui sapere volunt (iam omnes bonos et cordatos excipio) nimis apertè decipit: Videlicet hoc ipso, quòd omnia, quæ illorum vsus non admittit, aut quæ non viderunt, aut experti sunt antea, continuò damnent. Veluti, si quis, qui mare nunquam vidit, mare mediterraneum esse àliquod, non possit adduci vt credat: Sic illi sensu suæ experientiæ omnia metiuntur, vt nihil sit bonum, nihil conducibile, nisi quo illi soli viuunt: At profectò nos, eò dementiæ non processimus, vt eos qui locustis vescuntur, quod tum de alijs, tum Æthiopiæ quibusdam populis, ideo (autore Diodoro) Acridophagis appellatis, et Indiæ, gente, cui Mandrorum nomen Clytharcus et Magestanes dederunt, teste Agatarchide, didicimus; aut ranis, aut cancris marinis, aut squillis gibbis, quæ res hodiè nota est, vulgi propterea ludibrijs exponere præsumamus, à quibus tamen edulijs, in totum nostrâ consuetudo abhorret.

The same in English.

THE FIFTEENTH SECTION.

The ninth reproch.

WEe will heere rehearse the ninth reproch, which that slanderous hogge hath drawen from the mâner of liuing, and specially from the meat and drinke of the Islanders, and that not in one or a few wordes, but in a large inuectiue: namely, that they eate olde and unsauoury meates, and that, without the vse of bread. Also that they eate diuers kinds of fishes which are vnknowen to strangers: and that they mingle water and whey together for drinke. All which this venemous pasquill, with eloquent railing and wittie slaunder hath set out at the full.

And albeit we doe scarse vouchsafe to stand longer about answering of him, yet in regard of others, who at this day partly woonder at the matter, and partly obiect it to our nation, we thought good to adde some few things in this place.

First therefore we will diuide this our nation into two parts: into

beggers, and those that susteine both themselues, and amongst others, beggers also. As touching all kinds of meats wherewith beggers and other poore men satisfie their hunger, it is no easie matter to rehearse and examine them; neither, because extreame necessity hath at some times compelled them to eate this or that, therefore it is meet to prescribe certeine kindes and number of meats to the rest of the nation. For we haue also a law among the canons apostolicall, which forbiddeth to eat things strangled: in the obseruing of which canons, antiquity hath seemed to be very deuout.

Moreouer, we will make a distinction of times also, that it may seeme no strange accident in the time of famine, though many things are, and haue bene vsed by a great number of men to satisfie their hunger, which at other times are scarse meat for dogges. As very lately in the yeere 1590 we heard concerning the citizens of Paris, being enuironed with the most streite siege of Henrie the fourth, King of Nauarre, suffering (as Petrus Lindebergius speaketh) the famine of Saguntum; insomuch that they did not onely eate their horses, but also taking the flesh of dead men, and beating their bones to powder in a morter, they mingle therewith a handfull or two of meale, esteeming it dainties. And it is well knowen also of other nations who in the like vrgent necessities haue liued by eating of mise, cats and dogs. In like maner sometimes are we Islanders constrained to doe, not being besieged by our enemies (although hitherto we haue absteined from mans flesh, yea, and to our knowledge, from dogs, mise, and cats) for whereas we prouide things necessary for food out of the land and sea, and no sustenance, or very little is brought unto us by strangers: so often as God withholdeth his gifts of land and sea, then must follow and ensue a dreadfull scarsity of victuals, whereupon the inhabitants are sometimes vexed with grieuous famine. And therefore it is likely that they amongst vs which vsed to liue from hand to mouth, and had not some prouision of former yeeres remaining, haue beene driuen to great extremities, so often as need hath enforced them thereunto. But whether this thing ought woorthily to minister occasion to a publike and perpetuall reproch against the Islanders, more then other nations, I referre it to the iudgement of indifferent and honest mindes.

Moreouer, whereas diuers vse to obiect concerning the proper and accustomed fare of our country, especially of flesh, fish, butter being long time kept without salt; also concerning white-meats, want of corne, drinking of water, and such like: in most places of Island (for there be many of our countrimen also, who, after the maner of the Danes and Germans so farre foorth as ought in a meane to suffice chast and temperate minds, although we haue not any great variety of sauce, being destitute of Apothecaries shops, are of ability to furnish their table, and to liue moderately) we confesse it to be euen so: namely that the foresaid kind of victuals are vsed in most places without the seasoning of salt. And I wil further adde, that the very same meats, which certaine strangers abhorre so much as to name, yet strangers themselues, when they are among vs do vse to eat them with delight. For albeit for the most part we haue no corne, nor meale, nor yet salt the prouocation of gluttony, for the seasoning of our victuals, is common to vs all: yet notwithstanding almighty God of his goodnesse hath taught our men also the way, how they should handle, and keepe in store those things which belong to the sustentation of life, to the end it may appeare, that God in nourishing and susteining of vs Islanders, is not tyed to bread and salt.

Want of salt in Island.

The Islanders meanes of preseruing their meates without salt.

But whereas strangers boast that all their victuals are more pleasant and wholesome: yet we denie that to be a sufficient reason, why they should vpbraid vs in regard of ours: neither do we thinke God to be a debter vnto our deinty mouthes: but rather we giue him thanks with our whole hearts, that he vouchsafeth without this delicate and nice fare, which is esteemed to be so pleasant and wholesome, to grant euen vnto the men of our countrey many yeeres, and a good age as also constant health, and flourishing strength of body; all which we account to be signes of wholesome and conuenient nourishment and of a perfect constitution. Besides, onr wits are not altogether so grosse and barren, as the philosophers seeme to assigne vnto this our aier, and these nourishments, which perhaps many of our countreymen could much rather verifie in deeds then in words, if (as the Poet sayth) enuious pouerty did not holde vs downe.

But here the iudgement of the common people, as often in other matters, doth too plainly deceiue (I except all good and well experienced men) some of them which would seeme to be wise: namely, that whatsoeuer their vse doth admit, or that they haue not seene, nor had trial of beforetime, they presently condemne. As for example, he that neuer saw the sea will not be persuaded that there is a mediterrane sea; so doe they measure all things by their

owne experience and conceit, as though there were nothing good and profitable, but that onely wherewith they mainteine their liues. But we are not growen to that pitch of folly, that because we haue heard of certaine people of Aethiopia, which are fed with locusts, being therefore called by Diodorus, Acridophagi, and of a certaine nation of India also, whom Clitarchus and Megasthenes haue named Mandri, as Agatarchides witnesseth, or of others that liue vpon frogs or sea-crabs, or round shrimps, which thing is at this day commonly knowen, that (I say) we should therefore presume to make them a laughing stocke to the common people, because we are not accustomed to such sustenance.

SECTIO DECIMASEXTA.

10. Conuicium.

DEcimo. Hospitalitatem nostris hominibus inhumanissimus porcus objicit. Marsupium inquit, non cirumferunt, nec hospitiari aut conuiuari gratis pudor est. Nam si quis aliquid haberet, quod cum alijs communicaret, id faceret sane in primis ac libenter. His quoq; annectamus, quod templa, seu sacras ædiculas domi propriæ à multis Islandorum extructas velut pudendum quiddam commemorat: quodq; eas primùm omnium de manè oraturi petant, nec à quoquam prius interpellari patiantur. Hæc ille velut insigne quoddam dedecus in Islandis notauit.

Scilicet, quia nihil cum Amaricino, sui:

Nec porci diuina vnquam amarunt: quod sanè metuo ne nimis verè de hoc conuiciatore dicatur, id quod vel ex his vltimis duabus obiectionibus constare poterit.

Verùm enimuerò cùm ipse suarum virtutum sit testis locupletissimus, nos Lectorem eius rei cupidum ad ipsius hoc opus Poëticum remittimus, quod is de Islandia composuit, et nos iam aliquot proximis distinctionibus examinauimus: cuius maledicentiæ et fœditatis nos hic pro ipso puduit; ita, vt quæ is Satyrica, at quid Satyrica? Sathanica, inquam, mordacitate et maledicentia in nostram gentem scribere non erubuit, nos tamen referre pigeat: Tanta eius est et tam abominanda petulantia, tam atrox calumnia. DEVS BONE: Hoc conuiciorum plaustrum (paucissima namq; attigimus: Nolui enim laterem lauare, et stulto, vt inquit ille sapientissimus, secundum stultitiam suam respondere, cum in ipsius Rhythmis verbum non sit quod conuicio careat) qui viderit, nonne iudicabit pasquilli istius autorem hominem fuisse pessimum, imò fæcem hominum, tum virtutis ac veritatis contemptorem, sine pietate, sine humanitate?

Sed hîc meritò dubitauerim, peiusne horum conuiciorum autor de Islandis meritus sit, an verò Typographus ille Ioachimus Leo (et quicunq; sunt alij, qui in suis editionibus, nec suum nec vrbis suæ nomen profiteri ausi sunt) qui illa iam bis, si non sæpius Typis suis Hamburgi euulgauit. Hoccine impunè fieri sinitis, ô senatus populusq; Hamburgensis? Hanccine statuistis gratiam deberi Islandiæ, quæ vrbi vestræ iam plurimos annos, exportatis affatim nostratium quibusuis commodis, pecudum, pecorumq; carnibus butyro et piscium copia quotannis, penè immodica, quædam quasi cella penuaria fuit? Sensere huius Insulæ commoda etiam Hollandiæ olim et Angliæ vrbes aliquot: Præterea Danis, Bremensibus, et Lubecensibus cum Islandis commercia diu fuerunt. Sed a nullis vnquam tale encomium, talem gratiam reportarunt, qualis hæc est Gregoriana calumnia: In vestrâ, vestrâ inquam vrbe, nata, edita, iterata, si non tertiata: quæ alias nationes, quibus Islandia vix, ac ne vix quidem, nomine tenus, alioqui innotuerat, ad huius gentis opprobrium et contemptum armauit: quam à ciue vestro acceptam iniuriam, iam 30. annos, et plus eò, Islandia sustinet. Sed etiam, inscio magistratu, eiusmodi multa sæpè fiunt: Neq; enim dubitamus, quin viri boni eiusmodi scripta famosa indignè ferant, et ne edantur, diligenter caueant: cum tales editiones pugnent cum iure naturali: Ne alteri facias, quod tibi factum non velis: Et Cæsareo, de libellis famosis: in quo irrogatur pœna grauissima ijs, qui tales libellos componunt, scribunt, proferunt, emi vendiue curant, aut non statim repertos discerpunt.

Vrbes Angliæ commercia olim in Islandia exercentes.

Cæterum iam tandem receptui canamus: Nosq; ad te, Islandia parens carissima, quam nec paupertas, nec frigora, nec id genus incommoda alia, quamdiu Christo hospitia cupidè et libenter exhibere non desistis, inuisam facient conuertamus: Vbi te primùm ad id quod modò diximus, nempè serium et ardens studium ac amorem DEI, et diuinæ scientiæ, nobis in Christo patefactæ, totis viribus hortamur: vt vni huic cuncta posthabeas, doctrinæ et verbi cupiditate flagres: Sacrum ministerium et ministros, non parum cures, non contemnas aut odio prosequeris: sed reuerearis, foueas, ames. Contra facientes, pro impijs et profanis habeas: vt omnia ad pietatis et honestatis præscriptum geras, in vita priuata et communi, vt huic status et ordines Ecclesiastici et Politici, in vniuersum obtemperent: In vtroque vitæ genere ab illi amussi seu norma æqui et boni dependeas, et cæteros qui pertinacia ac impietate ab ea deflectunt, auerseris, quos æquum est pœnis condignis affici, id quod magistratui curæ futurum non diffidimus. In primis verò nullos nisi spectatæ fidei et probitatis viros, quique ad istas virtutes, reliquas huc pertinentes coniungant, ad gubernacula admittas, qua ratione reliquis incommodis ritè occurritur. Res ista enim, si probè curetur, vt videlicet, qui munus publicum gerunt, ex bonis omnibus optimi quique deligantur, improbi et huic rei inepti, procul inde arceantur; subditorum conditio, longè erit optatissima: vita et mores tantò magis laudabiles sequentur: pieras et honestas tantò erunt illustriores. At verò si secus fiat, si Pastores Ecclesiarum suo muneri, vel vita vel doctrina non respondeant, si ad administrationem politicam promiscuè admittantur, quicunq; eò propria leuitate, ambitione vel auaritia et contentione honoris, ruunt: si ijdem criminum aut improbitatis, vel suspecti vel conuicti sint, aut suspectorum et conuictorum protectores, vel ijsdem illicitè indulgentes, quis tuus quæso demum futurus est status? quæ facies? quæ conditio? Certè longè omnium miserrima. Nec enim alio pacto citius ad ruinam et interitum tuum appropinquabis, quàm si istis te regendam commiseris, qui quod in ijs est, licet sint et ipsi ex tuis, iugulum tuum, propter emolumenta priuata, et odia latentia, quotidiè petere contendunt. Quamobrem (ne ista pluribus agam) quanti intersit, vt hæc probè curentur, facilè, ô Patria, intelligis.

Sed dum hæc tuis auribus à me occinuntur, utinam gemitus meos altissimos, qui sub hac ad te Apostrophe latent, Serenissimæ Regiæ Maiestatis aures exaudiant, apud quam ego pro te ita deploro damna publica, quæ ea de causa exoriuntur maximè, quòd patria nostra à regia sede, et conspectu, tantò interuallo sit remota, vt multi propterea tantò sibi maiorem sumant licentiam, et impunitatem securius promittant. Cæterum ista numini iustissimo, quod æquis omnia oculis aspicit, committenda ducimus.

Reliquum est, ô patria, vt studium in te nostrum, eo quo speramus animo. i. comi et benigno, suscipias: quod quamuis minimè tale est, quale optaremus, tamen cum VELLE SIT INSTAR OMNIVM, nolui idcirco desistere, quod pro tuo nomine, tua dignitate, tua innocentia pugnare me satis strenuè diffiderem. Quin potius, quicquid id est si modò quicquam est et quantulumcunque tandem, quod ad tui patrocinium pro mea tenui parte afferre possem, nequaquam supprimendum putaui nec enim illos laudare soleo,

Qui, quòd desperent inuicti membrà Glyconis,
Nodosa nolunt corpus prohibere Chiragra.

Me sanè, si hæc commentatiuncula non erit tibi aut mihi dedecori, operæ nequaquam pœnitebit. Quod si ad laudem vel aliquale patrocinium tui aliquid faciat, operam perdidisse haud videbor. Sin verò alios alumnos tuos, meos conterraneos, arte et industria superiores, ad causam tuam, vel nunc, vel in posterum suscipiendam, hoc conatu tenello excitauero, quid est cur operæ precium non fecisse dicar? quibus scribentibus, licet mea fama in obscuro futura est, tamen præstantia illorum, qui nomini officient meo, me consolabor: Nam etsi famæ et nominis cura summa esse debet, maior tamen patriæ; cuius dignitate salua et incolumni, nos quoq; saluos et incolumes reputabimus.

Scripsi Holis Hialtædalensium in Islandia, Æræ Christianæ
Anno 1592. 17. Kalendas Maias.

The same in English.

THE SIXTEENTH SECTION.

The tenth reproch.

TEnthly, that vnciuill beast casteth our men in the teeth with their good hospitality. They do not (sayth he) carry about money with them in their purses, neither is it any shame to be enterteined in a strange place, and to haue meat and drinke bestowed of free cost. For if they had any thing which they might impart with others, they would very gladly. Moreouer, he maketh mention of certeine churches or holy chappels (as of a base thing) which many of the Islanders haue built in their owne houses: and that first of all in the morning, they haue recourse thither, to make their prayers, neither do they suffer any man before they have done their deuotion to interrupt them. These be the things which he hath set downe as some notable disgrace vnto the Islanders. And no maruell:

For filthy swine detest all cleanly ones,
And hogs vncleane regarde not precious stones.

Which I feare, least it may be too truely affirmed of this slanderer, as it is manifest out of these two last obiections.

Howbeit, sithens he himselfe is a most sufficient witnesse of his owne vertues, we will referre the reader, who is desirous to know more of him vnto his booke of rimes against Island, which we

haue now examined in our former sections: at whose railing and filthy speeches we haue bene ashamed on his behalfe: insomuch that those things which he with satyrical, satyrical? nay sathanicall biting and reuiling of our nation, hath not blushed to write, are irksome for vs to repeat: so great and abominable is his insolency, and his reproches so heinous. Good God! whosoeuer shall view this cartlode of slanders (for we haue mentioned the least part thereof, because I was loth to lose my labour, or, as the wise man sayth, to answere a foole according to his foolishnesse, whereas in his rimes there is not one word without a reproch) will he not iudge the authour of this pasquill to haue bene a most lewde man, yea the very drosse of mankinde, without pietie, without humanitie?

But here I haue iust occasion to doubt whether the authour of these revilings hath bene the more iniurious to Islanders, or the Printer thereof Ioachimus Leo (and whatsoeuer else they be who in their editions dare neither professe their own name, nor the name of their Citie) which Leo hath nowe twise, if not oftener, published the saide pamphlet at Hamburg. Doe you suffer this to goe vnpunished, O ye counsell and commons of Hamburg? What? Haue you determined to gratifie Island in this sort, which these many yeeres, by reason of your aboundant traffique with vs, and your transporting home of all our commodities, of our beeues and muttons, and of an incredible deale of butter and fishes, hath bene vnto your Citie in stead of a storehouse: In times past also, certaine Cities of England and of Holland haue reaped the commodities of this Isle: Moreouer, there hath bene ancient traffique of Denmarke, Breme, and Lubeck with the Islanders. But they neuer gained by any of their chapmen such commendations, and such thanks, as are conteined in this libell: It hath in your, in your Citie (I say) bene bred, brought foorth, iterated, if not the thirde time published: which I hath armed other people, vnto whom the name of Island was otherwise scarce knowne, to the disdaine and contempt of this our Nation: and this iniurie offered by a Citizen of yours, hath Island susteined these 30. yeeres and more, and doeth as yet susteine. But many such accidents often come to passe without the knowledge of the magistrate, neither do we doubt but that good men are grieued at such infamous libels, and do take diligent heed that they be not published: for such editions are contrary to the lawe of nature: Doe not that to another

The commodities of Island.

The ancient traffique of England with Island.

which thou wouldest not haue done vnto thy selfe: and to the lawes Emperial of infamous libels: wherein is enioyned a most grieuous penaltie vnto those who inuent, write, vtter, or cause such libels to be bought or sold, or do not presently vpon the finding thereof teare them in pieces.

Lawes against libels.

But now time bids vs to sound a retreat: and to returne home vnto thee, Island (our most deare mother) whom neither pouertie, nor colde, nor any other such inconveniences shall make ircksome vnto vs, so long as thou ceasest not to giue heartie and willing entertainment vnto Christ: where, first we doe earnestly exhort thee to the serious and ardent affection, and loue of God, and of the heauenly knowledge reueiled unto us in Christ: that thou wouldest preferre this before all things, being enflamed with desire of doctrine, and of the worde: that thou wouldest not lightly esteeme, contemne or hate the holy ministerie and ministers, but reuerence, cherish and loue them. Accompting those that practise the contrary as wicked and prophane: and managing all thine affaires both priuate and publique, according to the prescript rule of pietie and honestie, that vnto this, thy states and orders Ecclesiasticall and politique may in all things be conformed; and so in either kinde of life relying thy selfe vpon that leuell and line of equitie and iustice, and auoyding others, who vpon stubbernesse and impietie swerue therefrom. That thou wouldest also inflict iust punishments vpon offenders: All which we doubt not but the Magistrate will haue respect vnto. But especially that thou admittest none to be Magistrates, but men of approued fidelitie and honestie, and such as may adioyne vnto these vertues others hereto belonging, by which meanes inconueniences may fitly be preuented. For if this matter be well handled, namely that they which are the best of all good men be chosen to beare publicke authoritie, wicked and vnfit men being altogether reiected; the condition of the subiects shalbe most prosperous: the liues and maners of all men shal proue by so much the more commendable: godlinesse also and honestie shal become the more glorious. But on the contrary, if pastours of Churches be not answerable to their function, either in life or doctrine; if all men without respect or difference be admitted to the gouernment of the common wealth, who aspire thereunto by their owne rashnesse, ambition, or auarice, and desire of honour, yea though they be suspected or conuicted of crimes and dishonestie, or be protectours or vniust fauourers of such persons as are suspected and conuicted; then what will be thy state, oh Island? What wil be thy outward show or condition? Doubtlesse most miserable. Neither shalt thou by any other meanes more suddenly approch to thy ruine and destruction, then if thou committest thy selfe to the gouernment of such men, who to the vttermost of their power, although they be of thine owne brood, dayly seeke thine ouerthrow for their owne priuate aduantage and secret malice. Wherefore (to be short) let these be to aduertise my deare Countrey, how behouefull it is that the matters aforesaid be put in practise.

But whilest I am speaking these things vnto thee (my Countrey) oh that my deepe and dolefull sighes, which lie hid in the former speach, might pierce the eares of our Kings most excellent Maiestie, before whom, on thy behalfe I doe bewaile the publique miseries, which in this respect especially doe arise, because wee are so farre distant from the seate and royall presence of our King, that many therefore take more libertie, and promise more securitie of offending vnto themselues. But we will commit all these matters to the most iust Judge of heauen and earth who beholdeth all things in equitie.

Nowe it remaineth (my beloued Countreys that thou wouldest take in good part these my labours employed in thy seruice, and accept them with that fauourable and courteous minde which I haue expected. And although they be not of such worth as I could wish, yet sith a willing minde is worth all, I would not therefore giue ouer because I mistrusted my selfe as one insufficient to contend for thine innocencie, for thy reputation, and thine honour, my deare Countrey. But rather whatsoeuer it be (if it be ought) and how mickle-soeuer which for my slender abilitie I was able to afford in thy defence, I thought good not to suppresse it: for I esteeme not those men worthy of commendation, who despairing

> To ouergrow the limmes of Lyco stoute,
> Neglect to cure their bodies of the goute:

And in very deed, it doeth no whit repent me of my labour, if this little treatise shall tend neither to thine, nor to mine owne disgrace. But if it shall any thing auaile to thine honour or defence, I will thinke my trauaile right well bestowed. Yea, if by this my slender attempt, I may but onely excite other of thy children, and my natiue Countreymen, being farre my superiours both in learning and industrie to take thy cause in hand, either nowe or hereafter,

what reason is there why any man should say that it is not worth my labour? Nowe, if they addresse themselues to write, howsoever my fame shalbe obscured, yet wil I comfort my selfe with their excellencie, who are like to impaire my credite: for albeit a man ought to haue speciall regard of his name and fame, yet he is to haue more of his Countrey, whose dignitie being safe and sound, we also must needes esteeme our selues to be in safetie.

Written at Holen Hialtedale in Island, the yeere of our
Lord 1592. the 17. of the Kalends of May.

A letter written by the graue and learned Gudbrandus Thorlacius Bishop of Holen in Island, concerning the ancient state of Island and Gronland, &c.

Reuerendissimo viro, eruditione et virtute conspicuo, D. Hugoni Branham, Ecclesiæ Hareuicensis in Anglia pastori vigilantissimo, fratri et symmystæ obseruando.

MIrabar equidem (vt conjicis, reuerende domine pastor) primo literarum tuarum intuitu, ignotum me, ab ignoto, scriptis salutari. Cæterùm, cum vlterius progrederer, comperi me, si non aliter, certè nomine tenùs, tibi (quæ tua est humanitas) innotuisse: Simúlq; quòd te nominis Islandorum studiosum experirer, ex animo gauisus sum. Vnde etiam faciam, vt tua pietas, tuúmque nomen, de Euangelio Iesu Christi nobis congratulantis, dèque gente nostra tàm benignè támque honorificè sentientis, et scribentis apud nos ignotum esse desinat.

Commentarius breuis de Islandia: per Arngrimum Ionam Islandum editus, 1593.

Quòd verò ad antiquitatis monimenta attinet, quæ hic extare creduntur, nihil sanè est (præter illa, quorum in Commentario isto de Islandia, quem vidisse te scribis, fit mentio) de hac nostra insula lectu scriptuuà dignum, quod cum humanitate tua communicem. De vicinis itidem terris pauca, præter historiam Regum Noruegiæ, seu veriùs eiusdem historiæ fragmenta; quæ alijs alitèr descripta sunt: sunt tamen talia, quæ Krantzius non attigerit, aut eorum certè pauca. De vicina quoque Gronlandia, id veterum opinione habemus, eam magno circuitu ab extrema Noruegia, vbi Biarmlandia || nuncupatur, et à qua haud vasto interuallo sita sit, circum quasi Islandiam exporrigi. Illic nostrates aliquando commercia exercuisse, et eam terram tempore Pontificiorum suos Episcopos habuisse annales nostri

|| Biarmia.

testantur. Cætera nobis incognita. At hodiè fama est, vestris Brittannis (quos ego propè maris dominos appellarim) quotannis esse in Gronlandia negotiationes: de qua re, si me certiorem feceris, non erit iniucundum. Etiam velim quæcunque noua erunt de rebus vestratium aut vicinorum regnorum, ea non omittas.

Gronlandia olim suos habuit Episcopos.

Vale fœliciter (reuerende Dom. pastor) Deo, musis, et commisso gregi quàm diutissime superstes, Amen. Ex Islandia in festo visitationis D. Mariæ Anno 1595.

Human. tuæ studiosus Gudbrandus Thorlacius
Episcopus Holensis in Islandia.

The same in English.

To the reuerend, learned, and vertuous, Master Hugh Branham minister of the Church of Harewich in England, his brother and felow-pastour. &c.

I Much marueiled (euen as you your selfe, reuerend sir, coniectured that I would) at the first sight of your letters, that being a stranger I should be saluted in writing by one altogether vnknown vnto mee. Howbeit, reading a little further, I found my selfe, if not otherwise, yet by name at least (which proceedeth of your courtesie) knowen vnto you: And also, for that I sawe you desirous of the credite and honest report of vs Islanders, I greatly reioyced. Wherefore I my selfe will be a meane, that your vertue and good name (because you congratulate with vs for the gospel of Christ here published, and doe thinke and write so louingly and honourably of our nation) may cease hereafter to be vnknowen amongst vs.

As touching the monuments of antiquitie which are here thought to be extant, there is, in very deede, nothing (except those particulars, whereof mention is made in the Commentary of Island, which you write vnto me that you haue seene) worthy to be read or written, which I may communicate with you. And as concerning our neighbour Countreys we haue litle to shewe, besides the history of the Kings of Norway, (or rather some fragments of the same history) which others have otherwise described: howbeit they are all in a maner such things as Crantzius neuer mentioned: vnlesse it be some fewe relations. Moreouer, as touching Gronland,

This is the briefe Commentarie of Ionas Arngrimus immediatly going before.

we holde this from the opinion of our ancestours; that, from the extreeme part of Norway, which is called Biarmlandia || and from whence the saide Gronland is not farre distant, it fetcheth about the Northren coast of Island with an huge circuit in maner of an halfe Moone. Our Chronicles likewise doe testifiie that our owne countreymen in times past resorted thither for traffique, and also that the very same countrey of Gronland had certaine Bishops in the dayes of Poperie. More then this we cannot auouch. But now it is reported that your Englishmen (whom I may almost call the lordes of the Ocean sea) make yeerely voyages vnto Gronland: concerning which matter if you please to giue me further aduertisement, you shall doe me an especial fauour. Moreouer, whatsoeuer newes you heare concerning the the affaires of England or of other Countreys thereabout, I pray you make vs acquainted therewith. Thus (reuerend sir) wishing you long life, for the seruice of God, for the increase of learning, and the benefit of the people committed to your charge, I bid you farewel. From Island vpon the feast of the visitation of the blessed Virgine Mary, Anno Dom. 1595.

|| Biarmia.

Gronland in old time had Christian Bishops.

Yours Gudbrandus Thorlacius Bishop of
Hola in Island.

NORTH-EASTERN EUROPE, AND ADJACENT COUNTRIES.

PART I.

TARTARY.

Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries

IN

EASTERN EUROPE.

Part of an Epistle written by one Yuo of Narbona vnto the Archbishop of Burdeaux, conteining the confession of an Englishman as touching the barbarous demeanour of the Tartars, which had liued long among them, and was drawen along perforce with them in their expedition against Hungarie: Recorded by Mathew Paris in the yere of your Lord 1243.

The Lord therefore being prouoked to indignation, by reason of this and other sinnes committed among vs Christians, is become, as it were, a destroying enemie, and a dreadful auenger. This I may iustly affirme to be true, because an huge nation, and a barbarous and inhumane people, whose law is lawlesse, whose wrath is furious, euen the rod of Gods anger, ouerrunneth, and vtterly wasteth infinite countreyes, cruelly abolishing all things where they come, with fire and sword. And this present Summer, the foresayd nation, being called Tartars, departing out of Hungarie, which they had surprised by treason, layd siege vnto the very same towne, wherein I my selfe abode, with many thousands of souldiers: neither were in the sayd towne on our part aboue 50. men of warre, whom, together with 20. cros-bowes, the Neustat.

captaine had left in garrison. All these, out of certeine high places, beholding the enemies vaste armie, and abhorring the beastly crueltie of Antichrist his complices, signified foorthwith vnto their gouernour, the hideous lamentations of his Christian subiects, who suddenly being surprised in all the prouince adioyning, without any difference or respect of condition, fortune, sexe, or age, were by manifolde cruelties, all of them destroyed: with whose carkeises, the Tartarian chieftains, and their brutish and sauage followers, glutting themselues, as with delicious cates, left nothing for vultures but the bare bones. And a strange thing it is to consider, that the greedie and rauenous vultures disdeined to praye vpon any of the reliques, which remained. Olde, and deformed women they gaue, as it were for dayly sustenance, vnto their Canibals: the beautifull deuoured they not, but smothered them lamenting and scritching, with forced and vnnaturall rauishments. Like barbarous miscreants, they quelled virgins vnto death, and cutting off their tender paps to present for deinties vnto their magistrates, they engorged themselues with their bodies.

Howbeit, their spials in the meane time discrying from the top of an highe mountaine the Duke of Austria, the king of Bohemia, the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Duke of Carinthia, and (as some report) the Earle of Baden, with a mightie power, and in battell aray, approching towards them, that accursed crew immediately vanished, and all those Tartarian vagabonds retired themselues into the distressed and vanquished land of Hungarie: who as they came suddenly, so they departed also on the sudden: which their celeritie caused all men to stand in horrour and astonishment of them. But of the sayd fugitiues, the prince of Dalmatia tooke eight: one of which number the Duke of Austria knew to be an English man, who was perpetually banished out of the Realme of England, in regard of certaine notorious crimes by him committed. This fellow, on the behalfe of the most tyrannicall king of the Tartars, had bene twise, as a messenger and interpreter, with the king of Hungarie, menacing and plainely foretelling those mischiefes which afterward happened, vnlesse he would submit himselfe and his kingdome vnto the Tartars yoke. Well, being allured by our Princes to confesse the trueth, he made such oathes and protestations, as (I thinke) the deuill himselfe would haue beene trusted for. First therefore he reported of himselfe, that presently after the time of his banishment, namely about the 30. yere of his age, hauing lost all that he had in the citie of Acon at Dice, euen in the midst of Winter, being compelled by ignominious hunger, wearing nothing about him but a shirt of sacke, a paire of shooes, and a haire cappe onely, being shauen like a foole, and vttering an vncoth noise as if he had bene dumbe, he tooke his iourney, and and so traueiling many countreyes, and finding in diuers places friendly enterteinment, he prolonged his life in this maner for a season, albeit euery day by rashnesse of speech, and inconstancie of heart, he endangered himselfe to the deuill. At length, by reason of extreame trauaile, and continuall change of aire and of meats in Caldea, he fell into a greuious sicknesse, insomuch that he was wearie of his life. Not being able therefore to go forward or backeward, and staying there a while to refreshe himselfe, he began (being somewhat learned) to commend to writing those wordes which hee heard spoken, and within a short space, so aptly to pronounce, and to vtter them himselfe, that he was reputed for a natiue member of that countrey: and by the same dexteritie he attained to manie languages. This man the Tartars hauing intelligence of by their spies, drew him perforce into their societie: and being admonished by an oracle or vision, to challenge dominion ouer the whole earth, they allured him by many rewards to their faithfull seruice, by reason that they wanted interpreters. But concerning their maners and superstitions, of the disposition and stature of their bodies, of their countrey and maner of fighting &c, he protested the particulars following to be true: namely, that they were aboue all men, couetous, hasty, deceitfull, and mercilesse: notwithstanding, by reason of the rigour and extremitie of punishments to be inflicted vpon them by their superiours, they are restreined from brawlings, and from mutuall strife and contention. The ancient founders and fathers of their tribes, they call by the name of gods, and at certaine set times they doe celebrate solemne feasts vnto them, many of them being particular, & but foure onely generall. They thinke that all things are created for themselues alone. They esteeme it none offence to exercise cruelty against rebels. They be hardie and strong in the breast, leane and pale-faced, rough and huf-shouldered, hauing flatte and short noses, long and sharpe chinnes, their vpper iawes are low and declining, their teeth long and thinne, their eye-browes extending from their fore-heads downe to their noses, their eies inconstant and blacke, their countenances writhen and terrible, their extreame ioynts strong with bones and sinewes, hauing thicke and great thighes, and short legs, and yet being equall vnto vs in stature: for that length which is wanting in their legs is supplied in the vpper parts of their bodies. Their countrey in olde time was a land vtterly desert and waste, situated far beyond Chaldea, from whence they haue expelled Lions, Beares, & such like vntamed beasts with their bowes, and other engines. Of the hides of beasts being tanned, they vse to shape for themselues light, but yet impenetrable armour. They ride fast bound to their horses, which are not very great in stature, but exceedingly strong, and mainteined with little prouender. They vse to fight constantly and valiantly with iauelines, maces, battle-axes, and swords. But specially they are excellent archers, and cunning warriers with their bowes. Their backs are slightly armed, that they may not flee. They withdraw not themselues from the combate, till they see the chiefe Standerd of their Generall giue backe. Vanquished, they aske no fauour, and vanquishing, they shew no compassion. They all persist in their purpose of subduing the whole world vnder their owne subiection, as if they were but one man, and yet they are moe then millions in number. They haue 60000. Courriers, who being sent before vpon light horses to prepare a place for the armie to incampe in, will in the space of one night gallop three days iourney. And suddenly diffusing themselues ouer an whole province, and surprising all the people thereof vnarmed, vnprouided, dispersed, they make such horrible slaughters, that the king or prince of the land inuaded, cannot finde people sufficient to wage battell against them, and to withstand them. They delude all people and princes of regions in time of peace, pretending that for a cause which indeed is no cause. Sometimes they say, that they will make a voyage to Colen, to fetch home the three wise kings into their owne countrey; sometimes to punish the auarice and pride of the Romans, who oppressed them in times past; sometimes to conquere barbarous and Northren nations; sometimes to moderate the furie of the Germans with their owne meeke mildnesse; sometimes to learne warlike feats and stratagems of the French; sometimes for the finding out of fertile ground to suffice their huge multitudes; sometimes again in derision they say, that they intend to goe on pilgrimage to S. Iames of Galicia. In regard of which sleights and collusions certaine vndiscreet gouernors concluding a league with them, haue granted them free passage thorow their territories, which leagues notwithstanding being violated, were an occasion of ruine and destruction vnto the foresayd gouernours, &c. .

Libellus historicus Ioannis de Plano Carpini, qui missus est Legatus ad Tartaros anno Domini 1246. ab Innocentio quarto Pontifice maximo. Incipit Prologus in librum Tartarorum.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos præsens scriptum peruenerit, frater Ioannes de Plano Carpini ordinis fratrum minorum, Apostolicæ sedis Legatus, nuncius ad Tartaros et nationes alias Orientis, Dei gratiam in præsenti, et gloriam in futuro, et de inimicis suis gloriam triumphalem. Cum ex mandato sedis apostolicæ iremus ad Tartaros et nationes alias Orientis, et sciremus Domini Papæ et venerabilium Cardinalium voluntatem, eligimus priùs ad Tartaros profiscisci. Timebamus enimne per eos in proximo ecclesiæ Dei periculum immineret. Et quamuis a Tartaris et alijs nationibus timeremus occidi, vel perpetuo captiuari, vel fame, siti, algore, æstu, contumelia, et laboribus nimijs, et quasi vltra vires affligi (quæ omnia multo plusquam prius credidimus, excepta morte vel captiuitate perpetua nobis multipliciter euenerunt) non tamen pepercimus nobis ipsis, vt voluntatem Dei secundum Domini papæ mandatum adimplere possemus, et vt proficeremus in aliquo Christianis, vt saltem scita veraciter voluntate et intentione ipsorum, possemus illam patefacere Christianis, ne forte subito irruentes inuenirent eos imparatos, sicut peccatis hominum exigentibus alia vice contigit: et fecerunt magnam stragem in populo Christiano. Vnde qnæcunque pro vestra vtilitate vobis scribimus ad cautelam, tanto securius credere debetis, quanto nos cuncta vel ipsi vidimus oculis nostris, qui per annum et quatuor menses et amplius, ambulauimus per ipsos et cum ipsis, ac fuimus, inter eos, vel audiuimus a Christianis qui sunt inter eos captiui, et vt credimus fide dignis. Mandatum etiam a supremo pontifice habebamus, vt cuncta, perscrutaremur et videremus omnia diligenter. Quod tam nos quàm frater Benedictus eiusdem ordinis qui nostræ tribulationis fuit socius et interpres fecimus studiose.

Annus & 4 menses & amplius.

Frater Benedictus Polonus comes Ioannis de Plano Carpini.

De terra Tartarorum, situ, qualitate & dispositione aeris in eadem. Cap. 1.

VOlentes igitur facta scribere Tartarorum, vt lectores facilius valeant inuenire, hoc modo per capitula describemus. Primo quidem dicemus de terra. Secundo de hominibus. Tertio de ritu. Quarto de moribus. Quinto de ipsorum imperio. Sexto de bellis. Septimo de terris quas eorum dominio subiugauerunt.

Octauo quomodo bello occurratur eisdem. De terra possumus hoc modo tractare. In principio quidem dicemus de situ ipsius: secundo de qualitate: tertio de dispositione aeris in eadem. Terra vero prædicta est in ea posita parte Orientis in qua oriens sicut credimus coniungitur Aquiloni. Ab Oriente autem est terra posita Kyraiorum et etiam Solangorum: a meridie sunt terræ Saracenorum: inter Occidentem et Meridiem Huyrorum. Ab Occidente prouincia Naymanorum; ab Aquilone mari oceano circundatur. Hæc vero in parte aliqua est nimium montuosa, et in aliqua est campestris, sed fere tota admixta glarea, raro argillosa, plurimum est arenosa. In aliqua parte terræ sunt aliquæ modicæ siluæ: alia vero est sine lignis omnino. Cibaria autem sua decoquunt et sedent tam imperator quàm principes et alij ad ignem factum de boum stercoribus et equorum. Terra autem prædicta non est in parte centesima fructuosa: nec etiam potest fructum portare nisi aquis fluuialibus irrigetur. Sed aqua et riui ibidem sunt pauci: flumina vero rarissima vnde ibidem villæ sunt paucæ; nec aliquæ ciuitates excepta vna, quæ esse dicitur satis bona; nos autem non vidimus illam, sed fuimus prope ad dimidium diem, cum apud Syram ordam essemus, quæ curia est maior imperatoris eorum. Et licet aliàs infructuosa sit, quamuis non multum, tamen competenter est alendis pecoribus apta. Aer in ipsa est mirabiliter inordinatus. In media etiam æstate quando in alijs partibus solet calor maximus abundare; ibi sunt tonitrua magna et fulgura, ex quibus homines quàm plurimi occiduntur. Cadunt etiam ibi eodem tempore maximæ niues. Ibi sunt etiam frigidissimorum ventorum tam maximæ tempestates, quod cum labore vix possunt homines aliquando equitare. Vnde cum essemus apud ordam (sic enim stationes imperatoris apud eos et principum appellantur) iacebamus in terra præ magnitudine venti prostrati, et propter pulueris multitudinem videre minime poteramus. In ea etiam in hyeme nusquam pluit, sed in æstate: et tam modicum, quod vix potest aliquando puluerem et radices graminum madidare. Grando etiam ibi sæpe maxima cadit. Vnde eo tempore quando fuit electus, et in sede regni poni debuit imperator, nobis in curia existentibus, tanta cecidit grando, quod ex subita resolutione, sicut plenius intelleximus, plusquam centum et quadraginta homines in eadem curia fuerunt submersi. Res autem et habitacula plura deducta fuerunt. Ibi est etiam in æstate subito magnus calor, et repente

Al. Solangorum.

Oceanus ab Aquilone.

Syra orda, curia maior imperatoris.

Maximæ niues in æstate in Tartaria.

Grando maxima.

Maxima inundatio ex subita grandinis resolutione.

maximum frigus. In hyeme vero in aliqua parte cadunt maximæ niues, in alia autem paruæ. Et vt breuiter de terra concludam, magna est, sed aliter, sicut vidimus oculis nostris, (quia per ipsam circuendam quinque mensibus et dimidium ambulauimus) multo vilior est, quàm dicere valeamus.

Iter quinq ; mensium et dimidij.

De formis Tartarorum, de coniugio, vestibus et habitaculis eorum. Cap. 2.

Dicto de terra, de hominibus est dicendum. Primò quidem formas describemus personarum. Secundò de ipsorum coniugio supponemus. Tertio de vestibus. Quarto de habitaculis. Quinto de rebus eorum. Forma personarum ab hominibus alijs est remota. Inter oculos enim et genas plusquam alij homines sunt lati. Genæ etiam satis prominent a maxillis. Graciles sunt generaliter in cingulo exceptis quibusdam paucis. Pene omnes sunt mediocris staturæ. Barba fere omnibus minime crescit. Aliqui tamen in inferiori labio et in barba modicos habent crines, quos minime tondent. Super verticem capitis in modum clericorum habent coronas, et ab aure vna vsque ad aliam, ad latitudinem trium digitorum similiter omnes radunt. Quæ rasuræ coronæ prædictæ iunguntur. Super frontem etiam ad latitudinem duorum digitorum similiter omnes radunt. Illos autem capillos qui sunt inter coronam et prætaxatam rasuram crescere vsque ad supercilia sinunt. Et ex vtraque parte frontis tondendo plusquam in medio crines faciunt longos: reliquos vero crines permittunt crescere vt mulieres. De quibus faciunt duas cordas, et ligant vnamquamque post aurem. Pedes etiam modicos habent. Vxores vero habet vnusquisque quot potest tenere. Aliquis centum, aliquis quinquaginta, aliquis decem, aliquis plures vel pauciores: et omnibus parentibus generaliter iunguntur, excepta matre, filia, vel sorore ex eadem matre, sororibus etiam ex patre: tamen et vxores patris post mortem ducere possunt. Vxorem etiam fratris alter frater iunior post mortem vel alius de parentela iunior ducere tenetur. Reliquas mulieres omnes sine vlla differentia ducunt in vxores, et emunt eas valde pretiosè a parentibus suis. Post mortem maritorum de facili ad secunda coniugia non migrant, nisi quis velit suam nouercam ducere in vxorem. Vestes autem tam virorum quàm mulierum sunt vno modo formatæ. Pallijs, cappis vel capputijs vel pellibus non vtuntur. Tunicas vero portant de Bukeramo, purpura, vel Baldaquino in hunc modum formatas. A supremo vsque deorsum sunt scissæ, quia ante pectus duplicantur. A latere vero sinistro vna, et in dextris

Vestes.

tribus ligaturis nectuntur, et in latere et in sinistro vsque ad brachiale sunt scissæ. Pellicia cuiuscunque sunt generis in eundem modum formantur: superius tamen pellicium exterius habet pilum, sed a posterioribus est apertum. Habet autem caudulam vnam vsque ad genua retro. Mulieres vero quæ sunt maritatæ habent tunicam valde amplam et vsq; ad terram ante scissam. Super caput vero habent vnum quid rotundum de viminibus vel de cortice factum, quod in longum protenditur ad vnam vlnam, et in summitate desinit in quadrum: et ab imo vsque ad summum in amplitudine semper crescit, et in summitate habet virgulam vnam longam et gracilem de auro vel de argento seu de ligno, vel etiam pennam: et est assutum super vnum pileolum, quod protenditur vsque ad humeros. Instrumentum prædictum est tectum de buccaramo, siue purpura vel baldaquino: sine quo instrumento coram hominibus nunquam vadunt, et per hoc ab alijs mulieribus cognoscuntur. Virgines autem et iuuenes mulieres cum magna difficultate a viris suis possunt discerni: quum per omnia vestiuntur ut viri. Pileola habent alia quàm aliæ nationes, quorum formam intelligibiliter describere non valemus. Stationes rotundas habent Tabernacula. in modum tentorij præparatas, de virgis et baculis subtiliter factas. Supra vero in medio rotundam habent fenestram vnde lumen ingreditur, et vt possit fumus exire: quia semper in medio ignem faciunt. Parietes autem et tecta filtro sunt cooperta. Ostia etiam de filtro sunt facta. Quædam stationes sunt magnæ, quædam paruæ, secundum dignitatem et hominum paruitatem. Quædam soluuntur subito et reparantur, et super somarios deferuntur. Quædam dissolui non possunt, sed in curribus deferuntur. Minoribus autem in curru ad deferendum vnus bos; maioribus tres vel quatuor, vel etiam plures, vel quod est magis, sufficiunt ad portandum. Quocunque vadunt siue ad Opes in pecore. bellum, siue aliás, semper illas deferunt secum. In animalibus sunt diuites valde: in camelis, bobus, ouibus, capris, et equis. Iumentorum tantam habent multitudinem, quantam non credimus habere totum mundum. Porcos et alias bestias minime habent.

De cultu et de hijs quæ credunt esse peccata, et de diuinationibus et ritu funeris eorum, et de purgationibus suorum peccatorum. Cap. 3.

DIcto de hominibus, dicendum est de ritu: de quo tractabimus in hunc modum. Primo de cultu: secundo de hijs quæ credunt esse peccata: tertio de diuinationibus, et purgationibus peccatorum: quarto de ritu funeris. Vnum Deum credunt, quem credunt esse factorem omnium visibilium et inuisibilium. Et credunt eum tam bonorum in hoc mundo quám pœnarum esse factorem: non tamen orationibus vel laudibus, aut ritu aliquo ipsum colunt. Nihilominus habent idola quædam de filtro ad imaginem hominis facta; et illa ponunt et vtraque parte ostij stationis, et subtus illa ponunt quiddam de filtro in modum vberis factum, et illa credunt esse pecorum custodes, et eis beneficium lactis et pullorum præstare. Alia vero faciunt de pannis sericis, et illa multum honorant. Quidam ponunt illa in pulchro curru tecto ante ostium stationis: et quicunq; aliquid de illo curru furatur, sine vlla miseratione occiditur. Duces, millenarij, et centenarij vnum semper habent in medio stationis. Prædictis idolis offerunt primum lac omnis pecoris et iumenti. Et cum primo comedere et bibere incipiunt, primo offerunt eis de cibarijs et potu. Et cum bestiam aliquam occidunt, offerunt cor Idolo quod est in curru in aliquo cypho, et dimittunt vsque mane, et tunc auferunt de præsentia eius et decoquunt et manducant. Primo etiam imperatori faciunt idolum, quod ponunt in curru, ante quam stationem honorifice, sicut vidimus ante ordam imperatoris istius, offerunt munera multa. Equos etiam offerunt ei, quos nullus audet ascendere vsque ad mortem. Alia etiam animalia eidem offerunt. Quæ vero occidunt ad manducandum, nullum os ex eis confringunt, sed igni comburunt. Et etiam ad meridiem tanquam Deo inclinant, et inclinare faciunt alios nobiles, qui se reddunt eisdem. Vnde nuper contigit quod Michael, qui fuit vnus de magnis ducibus Russiæ, cum iuisset ad se reddendum Bati, fecerunt eum prius inter duos ignes transire: Post hoc dixerunt, quod ad meridiem Cyngis inclinaret. Qui respondit, quod Bati et seruis suis inclinaret libenter, sed imagini hominis mortui non inclinaret, quia non licet hoc facere Christianis. Et cum sæpe diceretur, quod inclinaret, et nollet, mandauit ei prædictus per filium Ieroslai, quod occideretur si non inclinaret. Qui respondit, quod potius vellet mori, quàm hoc faceret, quia non liceret. At ille satellitem vnum misit, qui tam diu contra cor eum in ventre calce percussit, quousque deficeret. Tunc quidam de suis militibus quia astabat confortans eum dixit: Esto robustus quia hæc pœna non diu tibi durabit, et statim sequetur gaudium sempiternum: post hoc fuit caput eius cultello præcisum. Militi vero prædicto fuit caput

Martyrium Michaelis ducis Russiæ.

|| Vel, Sciruogle.

Andreas dux Russiæ.

De superstitiosis traditionibus eorum.

Εθελοθρησκέια.

ἀθεότης.

etiam cultello amputatum. Solem igitur lumina et ignem venerantur et adorant, et aquam et terram, eis ciborum et potus primitias offerentes, et mane potissime antequam comedant et bibant: quia de cultu Dei nullam legem obseruant. Neminem cogunt suam fidem vel legem negare. Accidit tamen dum adhuc nuper essemus in terra quod Andreas dux de || Saruogle quæ est in Russia fuit apud Bati accusatus, quod educeret equos Tartarorum de terra et venderet aliàs, et cum tamen non esset probatum fuit, occisus: quod audiens iunior frater eius, venit cum vxore occisi ad ducem prædictum Bati, volens supplicare, ne terra tolleretur eisdem. Qui dixit par esse, quod vxorem fratris carnalis prædicti duceret in vxorem: et mulieri præcepit ducere illum in virum secundum consuetudinem Tartarorum. Qui respondit, quod prius vellet occidi, quàm faceret contra legem. At ille, nihilominous tradidit eam illi, quamuis renuerat quantum posset:‘ et duxerunt ambo in lecto, et posuerunt puerum super illam plorantem et clamantem et cogerunt eos commisceri coactione non conditionali, sed absoluta. Quamuis de iustitia facienda, vel peccato, cauendo nullam habeant legem, nihilominus tamen habent aliquas traditiones, quas dicunt esse peccata: quas confinxerunt ipsi et patres eorum. Vnum est, cultellum figere in igne, vel etiam quocunque modo tangere cum cultello: vel cum cultello extrahere carnes de caldario: iuxta ignem etiam incidere cum securi. Credunt etiam quod sic auferri caput debeat igni. Item appodiare se ad flagellum, cum quo percutitur equus: Ipsi enim calcaribus non vtuntur. Item tangere flagellis sagittas. Item iuuenes aues occidere, vel accipere : cum frœno equum percutere, Item os cum osse alio frangere. Item lac vel aliquem potum vel cibum super terram effundere. In statione mingere, sed si voluntarie facit occiditur: si autem aliter, oportet quod pecunia soluatur incantatori, qui purificet eos: faciat etiam stationem et ea quæ in ipsa sunt inter duos ignes transire. Sed antequam sic purificetur nullus audet intrare vel aliquid de ipsa portare. Item si alicui morsus imponitur, et deglutire non potest, et de ore suo eijcit eum, fit foramen sub statione, et extrahunt per illud foramen, et sine vlla misericordia occiditur. Item si aliquis calcat limen stationis alicuius ducis interficitur eodem modo. Et multa habent similia, de quibus longum est narrare. Sed homines occidere, aliorum terras inuadere, res aliorum accipere, quocunque iniusto modo fornicari, alijs hominibus iniuriari, facere contra Dei prohibitiones et Dei præcepta, nullum est peccatum apud eos. De vita æterna et damnatione perpetua, nihil sciunt. Credunt tamen quod post mortem in alio seculo viuant, greges multiplicent, comedant, bibant, et alia faciant, quæ in hoc seculo a viuentibus hominibus fiunt. Diuinationibus, augurijs, aruspicijs, veneficijs, incantationibus multum intendunt. Et cum a dæmonibus ipsis respondetur, credunt quod Deus ipsis loquatur, quem Deum vocant Itoga: sed Comani Cham, id est, imperatorem ipsum appellant, quem mirabiliter timent et reuerentur: ac oblationes offerunt multas, et primitias cibi et potus. Secundum autem responsa ipsius faciunt vniuersa. In principio etiam lunationis vel plenilunio incipiunt quicquid noui agere volunt. Vnde illam magnum imperatorem appellant, eique genua flectunt et deprecantur. Solem dicunt esse matrem lunæ, eo quod lumen a sole recipiat. Et vt breuiter dicam per ignem credunt omnia purificari. Vnde cum nuncij veniunt ad eos, vel principes, vel qualescunq: personæ, oportet ipsos et munera quæ portant per duos ignes transire, vt purificentur. Item si cadit ignis de cœlo super pecora, vel super homines, quod ibidem sæpe contingit, siue aliquid talium euenerit eis, per quod immundos seu infortunatos se reputant, oportet similiter per incantatores mundari. Et quasi omnem spem suam in talibus posuerunt. Quando aliquis eorum infirmatur, ponitur in statione eius vna hasta, et contra illam filtrum circumuoluitur nigrum: et ex tunc nullus audet alienus postes stationum intrare. Et quando incipit agonizare, omnes recedunt ab eo; quoniam nullus de ijs qui morti eius assistunt, potest ordam alicuius ducis vel imperatoris vsq; ad nouam lunationem intrare. Cum autem mortuus est, si est de maioribus, sepelitur occultè in campo vbi placuerit: sepelitur autem cum statione sedendo in medio eius, et ponunt mensam ante eum, et alueum carnibus plenum, et cyphum lactis iumentini: Sepelitur autem cum eo vnum iumentum cum pullo, et equus cum fræno et sella: et alium equum comedunt et stramine corium implent, et super duo vel quatuor ligna altius ponunt, vt habeat in alio mundo stationem vbi moretur, et iumentum de quo lac habeat, et possit sibi equos multiplicare, et equos etiam in quibus valeat equitare. Aurum et argentum sepeliunt eodem modo cum ipso. Currus in quo ducitur frangitur, et statio sua destruitur, nec nomen proprium eius vsque ad tertium generationem audet aliquis

Cultus lunæ.

Ritus funebris

Idem mos sepeliendi fere in Florida.

Lustrationis ritus.

nominare. Alius etiam est modus sepeliendi quosdam maiores. Vaditur in campo occultè, et ibi gramina remouent cum radicibus, et faciunt foueam magnam, et in latere illius foueæ faciunt vnam sub terra, et illum seruum quem habet dilectum ponunt sub eo, qui iacet tam diu sub eo donec incipit agonizare, deinde extrahunt eum vt valeat respirare, et sic faciunt ter. Et si euadet, postea est liber, et facit quicquid ei placuerit, et est magnus in statione, ac inter parentes illius. Mortuum autem ponunt in foueam, quæ est in latere facta cum his quæ superius dicta sunt. Deinde replent foueam quæ est ante foueam suam, et desuper gramina ponunt, vt fuerant prius, ad hoc, ne locus vlterius valeat inueniri. Alia faciunt vt dictum est. In terra eorum sunt cœmeteria duo. Vnum in quo sepeliuntur imperatores, duces et nobiles omnes: et vbicunque moriuntur, si congruè fieri potest, illuc deferuntur. Sepelitur autem cum eis aurum et argentum multum. Aliud est in quo sepeliuntur illi qui in Hungaria interfecti fuerunt: multi enim ibidem occisi fuerunt. Ad illa cœmeteria nullus audet accedere præter custodes, qui ad custodiendum positi sunt ibidem. Et si aliquis accesserit, capitur, spoliatur et verberatur, et valde malè tractatur. Vnde nos ipsi nescientes intrauimus terminos cœmeterij eorum qui in Hungaria occisi fuerunt, et venerunt super nos sagittæ volantes: sed quia eramus nuncij consuetudinem terræ nescientes, nos liberos dimiserunt abire. Parentes autem et omnes alij qui morantur in stationibus suis oportet purificari per ignem: quæ purificatio fit hoc modo. Faciunt duos ignes, et duas hastas ponunt iuxta ignes, et vnam cordam in summitate hastarum: et ligant super cordam illam quasdam scissuras de buccharamo: sub qua corda et ligaturis inter illos duos ignes transeunt homines, bestiæ et stationes: Et sunt duæ mulieres, vna hinc, et alia inde aquam projicientes, et quædam carmina recitantes. Et si aliqui currus ibi franguntur, vel etiam res ibi cadunt aliquæ, incantatores accipiunt. Et si aliquis occiditur a tonitruo, omnes illos homines qui morantur in stationibus illis, oportet prædicto modo ignes transire. Statio, lectus, filtra, currus, vestes, et quicquid talium habuerint, a nullo tanguntur, sed tanquam immunda ab omnibus respuuntur.

De consuetudinibus bonis et malis et cibis eorum. Cap. 4.

DIcto de ritu, dicendum est de moribus: de quibus tractabimus hoc modo. Primo dicemus de bonis, secundo de malis:

tertio de consuetudinibus: quarto de cibis.

Obedientia.

Prædicti homines, scilicet Tartari sunt magis obedientes Dominis suis, quàm aliqui homines in hoc mundo, siue religiosi, siue seculares: et magis reuerentur eosdem: neq; de facili mentiuntur eis. Verbis ad inuicem rarò aut nunquam contendunt, factis verò nunquam. Bella, rixæ, vulnera, homicidia inter eos non contingunt.

Abstinentia.

Prædones et fures magnarum rerum non inueniuntur inter eos. Vnde stationes et currus eorum, vbi habent thesaurum suum setis aut vectibus non firmantur. Si aliquæ bestiæ perduntur, quicunque inuenerit eas vel dimittit sic esse, vel ducit eas ad homines illos, qui positi sunt ad hoc. Homines autem quorum sunt bestiæ apud eosdem illas requirunt, et absque vlla difficultate recipiunt illas.

Comitas.

Vnus alium satis honorat: et ad inuicem sunt satis familiares: Et cibaria quamuis inter illos sint pauca, tamen inter se satis competenter communicant illa; et satis sunt sufferentes.

Temperantia.

Vnde quum ieiunant vno die vel duobus diebus nihil comedentes omninò de facili non videntur impatientes, sed cantant et ludunt quasi comederunt bene. In equitando multum sustinent frigus, et calorem nimium patiuntur. Non sunt homines delicati. Inuidi ad inuicem non videntur. Inter eos quasi nulla placita sunt: nullus alium spernit, sed iuuat et promouet quantum congruè potest.

Castitas mulierum.

Mulieres eorum sunt castæ: nec de impudicitia earum inter eas aliquid auditur. Verba tamen quædam ex eis in ioco satis habent turpia et impudica. Seditiones verò inter eas rarò vel nunquam audiuntur. Et quamuis multum inebrientur, in ebrietate sua tamen verbis vel facto nunquam contendunt. Nunc de malis moribus eorum est supponendum.

Insolentia aduersus exteros.

Superbissimi alijs hominibus sunt, et despiciunt omnes: ideò quasi pro nihilo reputant, siue nobiles sint, siue ignobiles. Vidimus euim in curia Imperatoris nobilem virum Ieroslaum, magnum Ducem Russiæ, filium etiam Regis et Reginæ Georgiæ, et Soldanos multos, duces etiam Soldanorum nullum honorem debitum recipere inter eos. Sed Tartari qui erant eis assignati, quantumcunq; erant viles, antecedebant eos, et semper primum locum et summum tenebant: immò sæpè oportebat eos post posteriora sedere.

Iracundia.
Mendacitas.

Iracundi multum et indignantis naturæ sunt: et etiam alijs hominibus plus sunt mendaces, et fere nulla veritas inuenitur in eis. In principio quidem sunt blandi, sed in fine pungunt vt scorpio. Subdoli

Fraudulentia.
Sordes.
Temulentia.
Extortio.
Crudelitas.
Cibi.

sunt et fraudulenti, et si possunt astutia circumueniunt omnes. Homines sunt immundi, sumendo cibum et potum, et alijs factis suis. Qui cum volunt aliquid mali facere alijs hominibus, miro modo occultant, vt præuidere non possint, vel contra eorum astutias remedium inuenire. Ebrietas honorabilis est apud eos: et quum multum quis bibit, ibidem reijcit, nec propter hoc dimittit quin iterum bibat.* Valdè sunt cupidi et auari, exactores maximi ad petendum: tenacissimi retentores, et parcissimi donatores. Aliorum hominum occisio pro nihilo est apud illos. Et, vt breuiter dicam, omnes mali mores eorum propter prolixitatem in scripto redigi non possunt. Cibi eorum sunt omnia quæ mandi possunt. Comedunt canes, lupos, vulpes, et equos; et in necessitate carnes humanas. Vnde quando pugnauerunt contra quandam ciuitatem Kytaorum,† vbi morabatur imperator ipsorum; eam obsederunt tam diu, quod defecerunt ipsis Tartaris omninò expensæ. Et quia non habebant quòd manducarent omninò, tunc accipiebatur de decem hominibus vnus ad manducandum. Abluuiones etiam quæ egrediuntur de iumentis cum pullis manducant. Imò vidimus etiam eos pediculos manducare: vidimus etiam eos commedere mures. Mensalibus et manutergijs non vtuntur: panem non habent, nec olera, nec legumina, nec aliquid aliud nisi carnes: et tam paucas habent, quòd aliæ nationes vix inde viuere possent. Cum pinguedine carnium multum polluunt manus: quando verò comederunt, tunc manus ad ocreas suas, vel ad gramina, vel ad aliquid talium tergunt. Solent etiam honestiores habere aliquos panniculos paruos, cum quibus vltimo tergunt manus, quando carnes manducarunt. Cibum vnius eorum incidit, et alius accipit cum puncto cultelli morsellos, et vnicuiq; prebet, quibusdam plus, quibusdam minus, secundum quod plus vel minus volunt eos honorare. Scutellas non lauant, et si aliquando cum brodio lauant carnium, iterum cum carnibus in olla reponunt. Ollas etiam vel caldaria, vel alia vasa ad hoc deputata si abluunt, simili modo lauant. Apud eos est magnum peccatum, si de cibo vel potu perire permittatur aliquid. Vnde ossa, nisi prius extrahatur medulla, dari canibus non permittunt. Vestes etiam non lauant, nec lauari permittunt et maximè quo tonitrua ab illa hora incipiunt donec desinant. Lac iumentinum bibunt in maxima quantitate si habent: bibunt etiam ouinum, caprinum, vaccinum, et camelorum. Vinum, ceruisiam, et medonem non habent, nisi ab alijs nationibus mittatur, vel donetur eisdem. In hyeme, nisi diuites sint, lac iumentinum non habent. Millium cum aqua decoquunt, quod tam tenue faciunt, quòd non comedere sed bibere possunt. Et vnus quisq; ex eis bibit cyphum vnum vel duos in mane, et nil plus in die manducant. In sero vnicuiq; parum de carnibus datur, et brodium de carnibus bibunt. In æstate autem, quia tunc habent satis de lacte iumentino carnes raró manducant, nisi fortè donentur eis, aut venatione aliquam bestiam ceperint, siue auem. Legem etiam siue consuetudinem habent occidendi virum et mulierem quos in adulterio inuenirent manifestè. Similiter et virginem si fornicata fuerit, mulierem occidunt et virum. Si aliquis inuenitur in præda vel in furto manifesto in terra potestatis eorum sine vlla miseratione occiditur. Item si aliquis eorum deundat consilium, maximè quando volunt ire ad bellum, centum plagæ dantur super posteriora, quanto maiores dare cum baculo magno vnus rusticus potest. Item quando aliqui di minoribus offendunt in aliquo à suis maioribus non parciter eis, sed verberibus grauiter affliguntur. Item inter filium concubinæ et vxoris nulla est differentia, sed dat pater vnicuiq; eorum quod vult, et si est de genere ducum, ita est dux filius concubinæ, sicut filius legitimus. Et cum vnus Tartarus habet multas vxores, vnaquæq; per se suam stationem, et familiam habet; et cum vna comedit, et bibit, et dormit vna die, et altera die cum alia. Vna tamen ex ipsis maior est inter alias, et frequentius cum illa quam cum alijs commoratur. Et cum tam multæ sint inter se tamen de facili non contendunt. Viri nihil operantur omninò exceptis sagittis: et etiam de gregibus aliquantulam habent curam, sed venantur, et exercent se ad sagittandum: Omnes enim à paruo vsque ad magnum sagittarij sunt et boni. Et statim pueri eorum, cum sunt duorum annorum vel trium, incipiunt equitare. Equos eorum regunt et currunt in eis: et dantur eis arcus secundùm suam ætatem, et instruunt ad sagittandum. Agiles enim sunt et audaces valdè. Virgines et mulieres equitant, et agiliter in equis currunt vt viri. Vidimus enim eas arcus et pharetras portare. Et tam viri quàm mulieres diu in equitando possunt durare. Breuissimas habent strepas: equos valdè custodiunt: imo rerum

---

* Chief engineer Melville, in his account of the adventures of the survivors of the "Jeanette" in the Lena Delta, gives a similar description of the drinking customs of the inhabitants of the *Tundra.*

† Query, the inhabitants of the province of Kutais, on the Euxine, or of Cathay?

Pœna adulterij.

Furti.

Arcani euulgati.

Πολιγαμία.

omnium sunt magni conseruatores. Mulieres eorum omnia operantur. Pellicia, vestes, calceos, ocreas, et omnia opera quæ de corio fiunt. Currus etiam ducunt et reparant, camelos onerant, et velocissimæ sunt et strenuæ in omnibns operibus suis: fœmoralibus omnes vtuntur: aliquæ, sicut viri, sagittant.

Fœminæ

Metæ incognitæ eodem modo vestiuntur.

De ipsorum Imperio. Cap. 5.

DIcto de eorum consuetudinibus, dicendum est de eorum imperio. Et primò de ipsius principio. Secundò de principibus eius. Tertiò de dominio Imperatoris et principum. Terra quædam est in partibus Orientis, de qua dictum est suprà, quæ Mongol nominatur. Hæc terra quondam quatuor populos habuit. Et vnus Yeka-Mongol, id est, magni Mongali vocabatur. Secundus Sumongol, id est Aquatici Mongali. Ipsi autem seipsos Tartaros appellabant, à quodam fluuio, qui currit per terram eorum, qui Tartar nominatur. Allius appellatur Merkat, quartus Metrit. Hij populi omnes vnam formam personarum, et vnam linguam habebant: quamuis inter se per principes et prouincias essent diuisi. In terra Yeka-Mongol fuit qui vocabatur Cyngis. Iste incepit esse robustus venator coram Domino. Didicit enim homines furari, rapere, prædari. Ibat autem ad alias terras, et quoscunque potuit capere, et sibi associare non demittebat: homines verò suæ gentis ad se inclinabat, qui tanquam ducem ipsum sequebantur ad omnia malefacta. Hic autem incepit pugnare cum Sumongol, siue Tartaris, postquam homines aggregauerat sibi, et interfecit ducem eorum, et multo bello omnes Tartaros sibi subiugauit et in suam seruitutem redegit. Post hæc cum omnibus his pugnauit, cum Merkat, qui erant positi iuxta terram Tartarorum, quos etiam bello sibi subiecit: Inde procedens pugnauit contra Metritas, et etiam illos deuicit. Audientes itaque Naymani, quod Cyngis erat taliter eleuatus, indignati fuerunt. Ipsi enim habuerunt Imperatorem, qui fuerat strenuus valdè, cuidabant tributum omnes nationes prædictæ. Qui debitum vniuersæ carnis exsoluens, filij eius successerunt loco eius; sed iuuenes erant et stulti, et populum nesciebant tenere: sed inuicem diuisi erant et scissi: vnde medio tempore Cyngis erat taliter exaltatus, nihilominus, insultum faciebant in terras superius annotatas, viros et mulieres,

Tartariæ populi.

Tartar fluuius.

Cyngis ortus et res gestæ.

Naymani.

Fratres discordantes oppressi.

et pueros occidebant, et capiebant prædam eorum. Cyngis hoc audiens, omnes sibi subiectos homines aggregauit.

Kara Kitai.

Naymani et Kara Kitai, id est nigri Kitai, ex aduerso in quandam vallem strictam inter montes duos, per quam nos euntes ad imperatorem eorum transiuimus, similiter conueniunt: et commissum est prælium, in quo Naymani et Kara Kitai a Mongallis sunt deuicti, et maior pars eorum occisa: et alij qui euadere non potuerunt in seruitutem redacti sunt.

Occaday can.

In terra autem prædictorum Kara Kytaorum Occaday can filius Cyngis can, postquam positus fuit imperator, quandam ciuitatem, ædificauit, quam || Omyl appellauit.

|| Vel Chanyl.

Homines syluestres.

Propè quam ad meridiem est quoddam desertum magnum, in quo syluestres homines pro certo habitare dicuntur, qui nulla modo loquuntur, nec in cruribus habent iuncturas: et si quando cadunt, per se surgere sine adiutorio aliorum minimè possunt, aliquantam tamen habent discretionem. Mongali autem in terram eorum reuertentes se contra Kytaos in prælium præparauerunt, qui castra mouentes terram eorum intrauerunt.

De mutua victoria Mongalorum et Kytaorum.

Tartarorum Kytaina clades.

Imperator autem Kytaorum hoc audiens venit contra eos cum exercitu suo; et commissum est prælium durum; in quo prælio Mongali fuerunt deuicti: et omnes nobiles Mongalorum qui erant in prædicto exercitu fuerunt occisi vsque ad septem. Cyngis verò et alij qui remanserunt in terram suam fugerunt. Et quum aliquantulum quieuisset Cyngis, præparauit se rursus ad prælium et contra terram Huyrorum processit ad bellum. Isti homines Christiani de secta Nestorianorum erant, quos etiam bello deuicit, et eorum literas acceperunt. Nam prius scripturam aliquam non habebant. Nunc autem eandem literam Mongallorum appellant. Inde processit contra terram Saruiuorum, et contra terram Karauitarum, et contra terram Voyrat, et contra terram Comana, quas terras omnes deuicit.

Nouæ victoriæ literæ.

Vel Saruiur.

Vel Karanitarum

Vel Hudirat.

Inde est in terram suam reuersus. Et cum aliquantulum quieuisset, conuocatis omnibus gentibus supradictis, contra Kytaos ad bellum processit, et cum diu contra eos pugnasset, magnam partem terræ Kytaorum vicerunt: Imperatorem autem eorum concluserunt in sua ciuitate maiori: quam cum tam diu obsiderunt, quod exercitui defecerunt expensæ, et cum non haberent quod manducarent, præcipit illis Cyngis can, quod de decem hominibus vnum darent ad manducandum. Illi autem de ciuitate pugnabant viriliter contra illos

Argentum loco lapidum in hostem proiectum.

sagittis et machinis: Et cum deficerent lapides, pro lapidibus proiecerunt argentum, et maximè liquefactum. Ciuitas enim hæc multis diuitijs erat plena. Et cum diu pugnassent, et eam bello vincere minimè possent, fecerunt vnam magnam viam sub terra ab exercitu vsque ad mediam ciuitatem, et aperientes subitò terram, eis nescientibus prosilierunt in medio ciuitatis, et pugnabant cum hominibus ciuitatis, et illi qui erant extra simili modo pugnabant, et concidentes portas intrauerunt ciuitatem: et occidentes Imperatorem et homines plures, ciuitatem possidebant: et aurum et argentum, et omnes diuitias abstulerunt.

Kytai victi.

Et cum terræ prædictæ Kytaorum suos homines præfecissent, in terram propriam sunt reuersi. Et tunc Imperatore Kytaorum deuicto factus est Imperator.

Cyngis salutatur Imperator.

Kythaiæ pars in mari posita.

Quandam autem partem terræ Kytaorum, quæ posita est in mari, vsque in hodiernum diem nullatenus deuicerunt.

Kytaorum litera et religio.

Kytai autem, de quibus superiùs diximus, homines sunt Pagani, qui habent literam specialem: et habent nouum et vetus Testamentum; et habent vitas patrum, et Erimitas et domos quasi Ecclesias factas, in quibus orant temporibus suis: Et dicunt se quosdam sanctos, habere. Vnum Deum colunt: Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum honorant, et credunt vitam æternam, sed minimè baptizantur. Scripturam nostram honorant et reuerentur: Christianos diligunt, et Ecclesias faciunt plures. Homines benigni et humani satis videntur: barbam non habent, et in dispositione faciei satis concordant cum Mongalis, non tamen sunt in facie ita lati. Linguam propriam habent:

Opificiorum laus.

meliores artifices non inueniuntur in toto mundo in omnibus operibus, in quibus solent homines exercitari. Terra eorum est opulenta valdè in frumento, vino, auro, argento, et serico, et omnibus rebus in quibus solet sustentari humana natura. Et cum aliquantulum quieuissent, suos exercitus diuiserunt.

Thossuch can Cyngis filius Comanos deuicit.

Vnum de filijs Tossuch nomine, quem etiam Can appellabant, id est Imperatorem, misit cum exercitu contra Comanos, quos multo bello deuicit: et postquam vicerat eos in terram suam reuertabatur.

India minor debellata.

Alium etiam filium misit cum exercitu contra Indos; qui Minorem Indiam deuicerunt. Hij autem nigri sunt Saraceni, qui Æthiopes nuncupantur. Hic autem exercitus contra Christianos, qui sint in India maiori in pugnam processit. Quod audiens rex terræ illius, qui vulgò Presbyter Iohannes appellatur, venit contra eos exercitu congregato. Et faciens imagines cupreas hominum in sella posuit super equos, ponens ignem interius, et posuit hominem cum folle post imaginem cupream super equum: et cum multis imaginibus, et equis taliter præparatis venerunt contra prædictos ad pugnandum. Et cum ad locum prælij peruenissent, istos equos vnum iuxta vnum præmiserunt. Viri autem, qui erant retro, posuerunt nescio quid super ignem qui erat in prædicta imagine, et cum follibus fortiter sufflauerunt. Vnde factum est, quod de fumo illo aer est denigratus. Et tunc super Tartaros iecerunt sagittas, ex quibus multi interfecti et vulnerati fuerunt. Et sic cum confusione eos de finibus suis eiecerunt: Et nunquam audiuimus, quod vltra ad eos redierunt. Cum autem per deserta redirent, in quandam terram venerunt in qua quædam monstra fœmineas imagines habentia reperirunt. Et cum interrogassent eas per multos interpretes vbi essent viri terræ illius, responderunt quod in illa terra quæcunque fœminæ nascebantur, habebant formam humanam: Masculi verò formam caninam. Et dum moram protraherant in terra prædicta, Canes in alia parte conuenerunt in vnum: Et dum esset hyems asperrima, se omnes proiecerunt in aquam: et post hæc incontinenti in puluerem mouebantur, et ita puluis admixtus aquæ super eos congelauit: et dum sæpè hoc fecissent, glacies densa facta est super eos: Vnde cum magno impetu cum Tartaris conuenerunt ad pugnam. At illi quum sagittas super eos iactabant, ac si super lapides sagitassent, retro sagittæ redibant: Alia etiam arma eorum in nullo eos lædere potuerunt. Canes verò insultum facientes in eos morsibus vulnerauerunt, multos etiam occiderunt, et ita eiecerunt eos de finibus suis. Et dum reuerteretur exercitus ille, venit ad terram Burutabeth, quos bello vicerunt: qui sunt Pagani. Qui consuetudinem mirabilem imo potius miserabilem habent. Quia cum aliquis patrum suorum humanæ naturæ debitum exsoluit, omnem congregant parentelam, et comedunt eum. Isti pilos in barba non habent: immo quoddam ferrum in manibus portant, cum quo barbam semper depilant, si fortè aliquis crinis crescit in ipsa: et multum etiam deformes sunt. Inde exercitus ille reuertebatur in terram suam. Cyngis can etiam eo tempore quo diuisit exercitus

Presbyter Iohannes: eiusdem stratagema.

Victoria de Tartaris.

De monstrosis mulieribus et canibus monstrosa narratio.

Glacies.

Burutabeth regio.

Incolarum mores.

Terra Kergis Orientalis.

Nota iter duorum mensium versus Orientem.

Troglodytæ.

Videtur hic sonitus fieri, et fragore glaciei, et niuium de montibus.

Cyngis lex.

illos, misit in expeditione contra Orientem per terram Kergis, quos bello non vicit: et vsque ad Caspios montes peruenit, montes autem illi sunt de lapide adamantino. Vnde eorum sagittas et arma ferrea ad se traxerunt. Homines inter Caspios montes conclusos viderunt, quia iam montem fregerunt: sed nubes quædam erat posita ante ipsos, ad quam accedere non poterant vllo modo, quia statim moriebantur, cum perueniebant ad illam. Sed antequam peruenirent ad prædictum montem plusquam per mensem vastam solitudinem transierunt. Inde procedentes adhuc contra Orientem plusquam per mensem per magnum desertum iuerunt. Et peruenerunt ad quandam terram, vbi viderunt vias tritas, sed nullum hominem poterant inuenire. Sed tantum quæsiuerunt per terram, quod inuenerunt hominem cum vxore sua; quos ante Cyngis can adduxerunt. Et cum interrogasset, vbi essent homines terræ illius, responderunt quod in terra sub montibus habitarent. At Cyngis can retenta vxore misit virum illum cum nuncijs suis mandans hominibus illis vt venirent ad mandatum ipsius. Illi verò euntes ad eos, narrauerunt omnia quæ Cyngis can mandauerat. Qui responderunt quod tali die venirent ad mandatum suum faciendum. Medio vero tempore congregauerunt se per vias occultas sub terra, et venerunt contra istos ad pugnandum: et irruentes subitò super eos plurimos occiderunt. At illi, Cyngis can videlicet et sui fugam ineuntes, terram exierunt prædictam. Illos tamen homines, virum scilicet et mulierum secum duxerunt, qui vsque ad mortem in terra Tartarorum fuerunt. Interrogati verò quare sub terra habitarent, dixerunt quod vno tempore anni quum sol oritur, tantus souitus est, quod homines nulla ratione possunt sustinere. Immo etiam tunc percutiebant in organis et tympanis, et alijs instrumentis, vt illum sonitum non audirent. Et dum Cyngis de terra illa reuerteretur, defecerunt ei victualia et habebant maximam famem. Et tunc recentia interiora vnius bestiæ eos contigit inuenire: quæ accipientes, depositis tamen stercoribus decoxerunt: et coram Cyngis can portantes cum suis illa comedit. Et ex hoc statutum fuit ab eo, vt nec sanguis, nec interiora, nec aliquid de bestia quod manducari potest, exceptis stercoribus, proijciatur. Et deinde in terram propriam est reuersus: et ibidem leges et statuta multiplicia fecit, quæ Tartari non violabiliter obseruant. Ex quibus tantum duo dicemus. Vnum est, quod quicunque in superbia erectus, propria authoritate sine electione principum esse voluerit imperator, sine vlla miseratione debet occidi. Vnde ante electionem ipsius Cuynch propter hoc vnus de principibus, nepos ipsius Cyngis can fuit occissus. Volebat enim sine electione regnare. Aliud statutum est, quod sibi debent subiugare omnem terram: nec cum aliqua gente debent pacem habere, nisi prius eis subdatur, quo vsque veniat tempus occisionis eorum. Debent enim occidi, vt prophetatum est eis: Et illi qui euadere poterunt, vt dicunt, debent illam legem tenere quam tenent alij, qui eos bello deuincunt. Statuit etiam quod per millenarios, et centenarios et Decanos debeat eorum exercitus ordinari. Post hoc ab ictu tonitrui est occisus, peractis suis ordinationibus and statutis. Hic autem habuit quatuor filios: Vnus vocabatur Occoday, secundus Tossuch can, tertius Thaaday: et nomen quarti ignoramus. Isti quatuor filij cum alijs maioribus qui tunc erant, primum filium videlicet Occoday elegerunt imperatorem, filij autem istius Occoday Cuyne, qui nunc est imperator, Cocthen et Cyrenen. Et si plures habuerit filios ignoramus. Filij autem Tossuch can Bati: iste est ditior et potentior post imperatorem: Ordu, iste est senior omnium ducum: Syban, Bora, Bercuthanth: aliorum filiorum Tossuch can nomina ignoramus. Filij Thaaday sunt Burin et Chadan, nomina aliorum filiorum nescimus. Alterius autem filij Cyngis can, cuius nomen nescimus, filiorum nomina sunt hæc. Vnus vocatur Mengu, cuius mater est Seroctan. Ista domina inter omnes Tartaros, excepta matre imperatoris, est magis nominata: et potentior est omnibus excepto Bati. Alius vocatur Becas. Alios filios habuit plures, sed eorum nomina ignoramus. Hæc sunt ducum nomina. Ordu: iste fuit in Polonia et in Hungaria: Bati, Cathan, Syban, Bureth. Omnes isti fuerunt in Hungaria, Cyrpodan iste est adhuc vltra mare contra Soldanum Damasci. Isti remanserunt in terra: Mangu, Cuthen, Syrennen, Hybilay, Syremum, Synocur, Thuatamur, Cyragay, Sybedey, senex quidam miles inter eos, Bora, Berca, Mauci, Choranca: sed iste inter alios est minimus. Alij verò duces sunt plures, sed eorum nomina ignoramus.

Interitus.

Liberi.

Nepotes.

Duces.

Imperator autem Tartarorum habet mirabile dominium super omnes. Nullus audet in aliqua parte morari, nisi ipse assignet ei. Ipse autem assignat vbi maneant duces: millenarij centenarijs, Centenarij de-

Imperatoris Tartarorum seruile in omnes imperium.

canis. Insuper quicquid præcipitur in quocunq; tempore quocunq; loco, siue ad bellum, siue ad mortem, siue ad vitam, sine vlla contradictione obediunt. Etiam si petit filiam virginem vel sororem, sine contradictione dant ei. Aut singulis annis, aut intermissis aliquibus annis virgines colligit ex omnibus finibus Tartarorum. Si ipse vult sibi retinere aliquas retinet: alias dat suis hominibus, sicut videtur ei expedire. Nuncios quoscunq; quotcunq; et vbicunq; transmittit, oportet quod dent ei sine mora equos subdititios et expensas. Vndecunq; venerint ei tributa vel nuncij, oportet quod equi, currus, et expensæ similiter dentur eis. Nuncij qui veniunt aliunde in magna miseria sunt in victu pariter et vestitu: quia expensæ viles sunt et paucæ: et maximè cum veniunt ad principes, et ibi debent moram contrahere. Tunc ita parum datur decem hominibus, quod inde vix possint viuere duo. Nec etiam in curijs principum, nec in via datur eis comedere, nisi semel in die, et satis parum. Insuper si aliquæ iniuriæ sibi fiunt, conqueri de facili minimè possunt. Vnde eos oportet illa patienter portare. Insuper multa tam à principibus, quam ab alijs nationibus et minoribus ab eis exiguntur: et si non daretur, vili pendunt eos, immò quasi pro nihilo habent eos. Et si à magnis viris mittuntur, nolunt ab eis modicum munus habere: sed dicunt: A magno homine venistis, et cur modicum datis? et accipere dedignantur. Et si nuncij benè volunt facere facta sua, oportet eos dare maiora. Idcirco magnam partem rerum, quæ nobis à fidelibus erant datæ, oportuit nos de necessitate muneribus dare. Et sciendum, quod ita omnia sunt in manu imperatoris prædicti, quod nemo audet dicere, hoc est meum vel illius; sed omnia sunt Imperatoris, res, iumenta, et homines. Et super hoc etiam nuper emanauit Imperatoris statutum. Idem dominium per omnia habent duces super homines suos. Diuisi enim sunt homines Tartari, videlicet etiam alij inter duces. Nuncij etiam ducum, quocunque eos transmittunt, et homines tam Imperatoris quàm alij omnes equos subdititios et expensas, et qui equos custodiant, et etiam nuncijs seruiant sine contradictione dare tenentur. Imperatori autem iumenta vt habeat ex eis lac ad annum vel ad duos, vel ad tres, sicut placuerit ei, tam duces quàm alij pro redditu dare tenentur. Et homines ducum idem facere tenentur dominis suis. Inter eos enim nullus est liber. Et vt breuiter dicam, Quicquid Imperator et duces volunt, et quantum volunt de rebus suis accipiunt. De personis etiam eorum disponunt per omnia, sicut volunt. Mortuo Im-

Inhumanitas erga Legatos.

peratore, sicut superius dictum est, conuenerunt Duces et elegerunt Occoday filium Cyngis can prædicti Imperatorem. Qui habito consilio principum diuisit exercitus. Bati, qui in secundo gradu attinebat ei, misit contra Altisoldanum, et contra terram Biserminorum. Hij erant Saraceni, et Komanicum loquebantur. Et cum intrasset terram illorum pugnauit contra eos, et bello eos sibi subiecit. Quædam autem ciuitas quæ || Barthra dicitur, diu restitit ei, fecerant enim foueas multas in circuitu ciuitatis et operuerant illas; et quando illi veniebant cadebant in foueas. Vnde non potuerunt capere ciuitatem, donec illas foueas replessent. Homines autem de quadam ciuitate quæ vocatur || Iakint hæc audientes exierunt obuiam eis, se sponte in manus eorum tradentes: vnde ciuitas eorum non erat destructa, sed plures eorum occiderunt, et alios transtulerunt. Et accepto spolio ciuitatis, ipsam alijs hominibus repleuerunt. Et venerunt contra ciuitatem quæ vocatur Orna. Ista ciuitas erat nimium populosa: Christiani ibi erant plures; Gazari videlicet, Rutheni, et Alani, et alij: nec non et Saraceni, Saracenorum enim erat dominium ciuitatis. Hæc autem ciuitas erat diuitijs multum plena. Est enim posita super fluuium qui vocatur Don, qui intrat in mare. Vnde est quasi portus: et forum maximum habebant de illa ciuitate alij Saraceni. Et cum non possent aliter deuincere, præciderunt fluuium, qui ciurrebat per ciutatem, et illam cum rebus omnibus submerserunt. Quo facto: postea intrauerunt terram Tortorum, qui similiter sunt Pagani: quam deuincentes, iuerunt contra Russiam, et fecerunt magnam stragem in terra Russiæ, ciuitates et castra destruxerunt, et homines occiderunt: etiam Kiouiam quæ erat Metropolis Russiæ obsederunt: et cum diu obsedissent, illam ceperunt, et occiderunt homines ciuitatis. Inde procedentes pugnando destruxerunt totam Russiam. De Russia autem et Comania processerunt duces prædicti, et pugnauerunt contra Hungaros et Polonos. Ex quibus Tartaris in Polonia, et in Hungaria plures interfecti fuerunt. Et si non fugissent, sed viriliter restitissent, Hungari exiuissent Tartari de finibus suis: quia tunc habuerunt timorem, quod omnes fugere attentabant. Sed Bati vaginato gladio in faciem eis restitit, dicens: Nolite fugere: quia si fugitis nullus euadet: Et si debemus mori, moriamur omnes: quia futurum est, vt Cyngis can prædixit, quod interfici debeamus; Et si nunc est tempus, sustineamus. Et sic animati sunt et

Occoday secundus Imperator Tartarorum.

|| Barthra ciuitas vel Barchin.

|| Vel Sarguit.

Orna super Don fluuium.

Kiouia ciuitas.

remanserunt, et Hungariam destruxerunt. Inde reuertentes iuerunt in terram Morduanorum, qui sunt Pagani, et bello deuicerunt. Inde procedentes contra Bileros, id est Bulgariam magnam, et ipsam destruxerunt omnino. Inde procedentes ad Aquilonem adhuc contra Bascart, id est, Hungariam magnam, et eos etiam deuicerunt. Inde egredientes iuerunt ad Aquilonem, et venerunt ad Parossitas qui habent paruos stomachos et os paruulum, nec manducant, sed decoquunt carnes: quibus decoctis ponunt se inter fumum et ollam, et recipiunt fumum, et de hoc solo reficiuntur: Sed etiam si aliquid manducant, hoc valdè modicum est. Inde procedentes venerunt ad Samogedos. Hij autem homines tantùm de venationibus viuunt: tabernacula et vestes habent tantummodo de bestiarum pellibus. Inde vltra procedentes venerunt ad quandam terram super Oceanum, vbi inuenerunt quædam monstra quæ per omnia formam humanam habebant, sed pedes desinebant in pedes bouinos, et faciem per omnia habebant vt canis: duo verba loquebantur more humano et tertio latrabant vt canis: et sic per interualia temporum latratum interponebant: tum ad naturam suam redibant: et sic intelligi poterat quod dicebant: Inde redierunt in Comaniam, et vsq; nunc quidam ex eis morantur ibidem. Cyrpodan vero eodem tempore misit Occoday can cum exercitu ad meridiem contra Kergis, quos etiam bello deuicit. Hij autem homines sunt pagani, qui pilos in barba non habent. Quorum consuetudo est talis. Cum pater moritur alicuius, præ dolore quasi vnam corrigiam in signum lamenti ab aure vsq; ad aurem de facie sua leuant. Quibus deuictis, ad meridiem iuit contra Armenos. Sed cum per deserta transiret, etiam quædam monstra effigiem humanam habentia inuenerunt: sed non nisi vnum brachium cum manu in medio pectoris, et vnum pedem habebant; et duo sagittarunt cum vno arcu, et isti ita fortiter currebant, quod equi eos inuestigare non poterant. Currebant enim saltando super illum vnum pedem, et cum essent fessi taliter eundo, ibant super manum et pedem, remouendo se quasi rota; et sic cum essent fessi iterum currebant secundum modum priorem: aliquos tamen occidebant ex eis. Inde procedentes venerunt in Armeniam, quam bello vicerunt, et partem Georgiæ: et alia pars venit ad mandatum

Morduanorum terra.

Bulgaria magna.

Hungaria magna.

Parossitæ.

Samogedi.

Oceanus Septentrionalis.

Similes Frobisheri hominibus.

Expeditio Cyrpodanis.

Armeni.

Hij videntur sagittasse balistis.

Georgia.

eorum; et quadraginta millia yperperorum singulis annis dederunt, et adhuc faciunt idem. Inde procedentes ad terram Soldani Deurum, qui erat satis magnus et potens, cum eo pugnauerunt et deuicerunt. Inde procedentes vltra debellando et vincendo vsq; ad terram Soldani Halapiæ et nunc terram illam impugnant; nec postea vsque in hodiernum diem in terram suam fuerunt reuersi. Alius exercitus iuit contra terram Calif de Baldach, quam sibi etiam subdiderunt: Et quadraginta bisantia exceptis Baldachinis et alijs muneribus omni die dant pro tributi: Et omni anno pro Calif, vt ad eos veniat, nuncios mittunt: qui cum tributo munera magna mittit, rogans vt eum supportent. Ipse vero imperator munera accipit, et nihilominus vt veniat mittit pro eo.

Terra Soldani Deurum.

Terra Soldani Halapiæ.

Qualiter Tartari se habent in prælijs. Cap. 6.

DIcto de imperio, dicendum est hoc modo de bello. Primo de ordinatione acierum. Secundo de armis. Tertio de astutijs in congressione, quarto de crudelitate quam faciunt in captiuos. Quinto de oppugnatione castrorum et ciuitatum. Sexto de perfidia quam exercent cum hijs qui se reddunt eisdem. De ordinatione acierum dicemus hoc modo. Cyngis can ordinauit, vt decem hominibus præponeretur vnus: et ille secundum nos appellatur Decanus. Decem autem Decanis præponeretur vnus, qui centenarius nuncupatur: Decem vero Centenarijs præponeretur vnus qui millenarius nuncupatur: decem millenarijs præponeretur vnus, et ille numerus vocatur tenebre apud eos. Cuncto vero exercitui præponnuntur duo duces vel tres, ita tamen quod habeant respectum ad vnum. Cum autem omnes sunt in bello si de decem hominibus fugit vnus vel duo, vel tres, vel etiam plures, omnes occiduntur. Et vt breuiter dicam, nisi communiter cedant, omnes qui fugiunt occiduntur. Item si vnus vel duo aut plures audacter ad pugnam accedunt, et decem alij non sequuntur, etiam occiduntur. Item si vnus de decem vel plures capiuntur, et alij socij sui non liberant eos, etiam occiduntur. Duo arcus vel tres, vel vnum bonum ad minus, et tres pharetras magnas plenas de sagittis et vnam securim, et funes ad machinas trahendas habere debet vnusquisque. Diuites autem habent gladios acutos in fine, ex vna tantum parte incidentes, et aliquantulum curuos: et habent equum armatum, crura etiam tecta. Galeas et loricas quidam habent de corio in hunc modum formatas. Habent quasdam corrigias de boue ad latitudinem vnius manus, et bituminant tres vel quatuor simul, et ligant illos corrigiolis vel cordis. In corrigia superiori ponunt cordulas in fine; in inferiori ponunt in medio, et sic faciunt vsque ad finem. Vnde quum se inclinant in inferiores, corrigiæ superiores ascendunt et sic duplicantur super corpus, vel triplicantur. De coopertura equi faciunt quinque partes: ex vna parte faciunt vnam, ex alia parte faciunt aliam, quam partem ducunt à cauda vsq; ad caput: quæ ligantur ad sellam, et post sellam in dorso et etiam in collo, super renes etiam partem aliam ponunt, vbi duæ partium ligaturæ iunguntur: in qua pecia faciunt vnum foramen, per quod caudas exponunt: et ante pectus ponant etiam vnam: quæ omnes protenduntur vsque ad crurium iuncturas. Et ante frontem laminam ferream ponunt, quæ ex vtraque parte colli partibus prædictis ligatur. Lorica vero etiam quatuor partes habet, vna pars protenditur à fœmore vsque ad collum; sed est facta secundum dispositionem humani corporis: quia ante pectus est stricta: in rotundum obuoluitur circa corpus à brachijs inferius: Super humeros autem retro ad renes habent aliam peciam, quæ protenditur a collo vsque ad aliam peciam, quæ reuoluitur circa corpus: Super humeros autem istæ duæ peciæ anterior videlicet et posterior, ad duas laminas ferreas quæ sunt in vtroque humero fibulis connectuntur. Et in vtroque brachio vnam habent peciem, quæ ab humero protenduntur vsque ad manus, quæ etiam inferius sunt aptæ. Et in vtroque crure vnam habent peciam: quæ peciæ omnes fibulis coniunguntur. Galea autem superius est ferrea. Sed illud quod protegit in circuitu collum et gulam de corio fit. Et omnes istæ peciæ de corio sunt formatæ secundum modum superius annotatum. Quidam autem omnia quæ superius diximus habent de ferro in hunc modum formata. Vnam laminam tenuem ad latitudinem vnius digiti faciunt, et ad longitudinem palmæ vnius. Et in hunc modum faciunt laminas multas: et in vnaquaque lamina octo foramina paruula faciunt, et interius tres corrigias strictas et fortes ponunt, et laminas vnam super aliam ponunt, quasi ascendendo per gradus: et ligant laminas prædictas ad corrigias tenuibus corrigiolis, quas mittunt per foramina superius annotata: Et in superiori parte consuunt corrigiolam vnam, vt laminæ prædictæ bene et firmiter cohæreant sibi. Et faciunt ex laminis quasi corrigiam vnam, et postea ligant per pecias per omnia, sicut superius dictum est. Et ista faciunt tam ad equorum quam ad hominum armaturas. Et faciunt illa ita lucere, quod potest homo in eis faciem suam videre. Aliqui eorum lanceas habent: et in fine ferri lanceæ vnum habent vncum, cum quo trahunt hominem de sella si possunt. Longitudo saggitarum est duorum pedum et vnius palmæ, et duorum digitorum. Et quia diuersi sunt pedes, mensuram pedum geometricam ponimus. Duodecem grana hordei pollicis transuersio est. Sexdecem pollices transuersi faciunt vnum geometricum pedem. Ferramenta sagittarum sunt acutissima, et ex vtraq; parte incidentia quasi gladius biceps, et semper portant limas iuxta pharetram ad acuendum sagittas. Ferramenta prædicta caudam habent acutam ad longitudinem vnius digiti, quam imponunt in lignum. Scutum habent de viminibus vel de virgulis factum. Saggitas habent alias ad sagittandum aues bestias et homines inermes ad trium digitorum latitudinem. Sagittas alias habent diuersimodas ad aues et bestias sagittandas. Quum ad bellum procedere volunt præcursores præmittunt, qui nihil secum portant præter filtra sua, equos et arma. Isti nihil rapiunt, domos non comburunt, bestias non occidunt: Sed tamen homines vulnerant et mortificant, et si non possunt aliud, mittunt in fugam; multo libentius tamen occidunt, quam fugant, post istos sequitur exercitus, qui cuncta quæ inuenit accipit, et homines etiam, si inueniri possunt, accipiunt et occidunt. Quum autem ad flumina perueniunt, hoc modo transeunt illa etiamsi sunt magna. Maiores vnum rotundum et leue corium habent, in quo in summitate per circuitum crebras faciunt ansas, in quibus funem imponunt, et stringunt ita quod in circuitu faciunt quendam ventrem, quem replent vestibus, et alijs rebus, et fortissime comprimunt ad inuicem: post hoc in medio ponunt sellas et alias res duriores: homines autem in medio sedent: et ligant et caudam equi nauem hanc taliter præparatam, et vnum hominum qui equum regat faciunt pariter cum equo ante natare: vel habent aliquando duos remos, et cum illis remigant vltra aquam, et sic transeunt fluuium. Equos vero pellunt in aqua, et vnus homo iuxta vnum equum, quem regit, natat: et alij equi illum sequuntur. Et sic transeunt aquas et flumina magna. Alij vero pauperiores vnam bursam de corio bene consutam vnusquisq; tenetur habere: in qua bursa vel in quo sacco vestes et omnes res suas imponunt; et in summitate saccum fortissime ligant, et suspendunt ad caudam equi, et transeunt, vt supradictum est. Sciendum est, quod cum vident hostes tunc vadunt ad eos, et vnusquisq; iacit tres saggitas vel quatuor contra aduersarios: Et si vident quod eos superare non possunt, retro gradiuntur ad suos: Et hoc faciunt in fraudem, vt aduersarij

Mos tranandi flumina.

eos sequantur ad loca vbi insidias paruerunt: Et si inimici eorum sequuntur ad prædictas insidias, circumdant eos et sic vulnerant et occidunt. Item si vident quod magnus exercitus est contra eos, aliquando diuertunt ab eo per vnam dietam vel duas, et aliam partem terræ inuadunt et spoliant: et interficiunt homines, et terra destruunt et deuastant. Et si vident quod hoc etiam facere non possunt, cedunt retro ad decem vel duo decem dietas: aliquando etiam morantur in loco tuto, quousq; aduersariorum exercitus separetur, et tunc furtim veniunt, et depopulantur totam terram. In bellis etiam astutissimi sunt: quia iam per quadraginta annos et amplius cum alijs gentibus dimicarunt. Cum autem volunt ad pugnam accedere, omnes acies ordinant sicut deberent pugnare. Duces siue principes exercitus bellum non intrant, sed stant à longe contra inimicorum exercitum, et iuxta se habent pueros in equis et mulieres et equos. Et faciunt aliquando imagines hominum, et ponunt super equos. Hoc ideo faciunt, vt multitudo magna bellantium esse credantur. Contra faciem equorum vnam aciem captiuorum et aliarum gentium quæ sunt inter eos transmittunt: et forsitan aliqui Tartari uadunt cum eis. Alias acies fortiorum hominum longe mittunt à dextras et à sinistris, vt non videantur ab aduersarijs suis: et sic circumdant aduersarios et colligunt in medium, et pugnare incipiunt ex omni parte. Et cum sunt aliquando pauci, putantur ab aduersarijs qui circumdati sunt, esse multi. Et maxime cum videant illos, qui sunt cum duce vel principe exercitus pueros et mulieres et equos, et homines fictos, vt dictum est supra: quos credunt esse pugnatores: et per hoc terrentur et confunduntur. Et si forte aduersarij bene pugnant, faciunt eis viam vt fugiant: et statim cum fugere incipiunt, ab inuicem separati insequuntur eos, et plures tunc occidunt fuga, quàm mortificare possent in bello. Sciendum tamen est, quod si aliud possunt, non libenter congrediuntur, sed homines et equos sagittis vulnerant et occidunt. Munitiones in hunc modum expugnant. Si est talis munitio ipsam circumdat, immo aliquando ita sepiunt, vt nullus ingredi vel exire possit. Expugnant fortissime machinis et sagittis: et nec die nec nocte cessant a prælio, vt illi qui sunt in munitionibus non quiescant. Ipsi Tartari quiescunt: quia acies diuidunt et vna succedit alteri in pugnam vt non nimium fatigentur. Et si eam taliter habere non possunt græcum proijciunt ignem. Imo solent aliquando accipere aruinam hominum quos occidunt, et liquefactum proijciunt super domos: Et vbicunque

Qualiter munitiones obsident.

venit ignis super pinguedinem illam, quasi inextinguibiliter ardet. Et si ita non præualent, et si ciuitas illa vel castrum habeat flumen, obstruunt illud, vel faciunt alium alueum et submergunt illam munitionem si possunt. Si autem non possunt suffodiunt illam, et sub terra armati in ipsam ingrediuntur. Et cum iam intrauerunt, vna pars ignem imponit vt comburatur: et alia pars cum illius munitionis hominibus pugnat. Si autem nec sic illam vincere possunt, castrum vel munitionem suam faciunt contra illam, vt ab inimicorum iaculis non grauentur, et contra illam multo tempore iacent: nisi forte exterius adiutorium exercitus qui pugnat cum eis adhibeat, et vi remoueant ipsos. Sed cum iacent ante munitionem, blande eis loquuntur, et multa promittunt, ad hoc vt se in eorum manus tradant: Et si illi se eis tradiderint, dicunt: Exite, vt secundum morem nostrum vos muneremus. Et cum illi ad eos exeunt, quærunt qui sunt artifices inter eos, et illos reseruant: alios autem, exceptis illis quos volunt habere pro seruis cum securi occidunt. Et si aliquibus alijs parcunt, vt dictum est, nobilibus et honestis nunquam parcunt. Et si fortè aliquo casu contingente reseruant aliquos nobiles; nec prece nec precio vltra de captiuitate possunt exire. In bellis autem quoscunque capiunt occidunt, nisi forte velint aliquos reseruare vt habeant eos pro seruis. Occidendos autem diuidunt per centenarios, vt cum bipenni interficiantur ab eis. Ipsi vero post hoc diuidunt captiuos, et vnicuique seruo ad interficiendum dant decem aut plures vel pauciores, secundum quod maioribus placet.

Punica fides.

De terris quas eorum dominio subiugarunt. Cap. 7.

SCripto quomodo pugnant, dicendum est de terris, quas eorum dominio subiugarunt. De quo isto modo scribemus. Primo dicemus quomodo faciunt cum hominibus pacem. Secundo de terrarum nominibus quas sibi subdiderunt. Tertio de tyrannide quam exercent in eis. Quarto de terris quæ viriliter restiterunt. Sciendum est quod cum nullis hominibus faciunt pacem, nisi subdentur eis, quia, vt dictum est supra, Cyngis can habent mandatum, vt cunctas si possunt sibi subijciant nationes. Et hæc sunt illa quæ petunt ab eis, vt vadant cum eis in exercitu contra omnem hominem quando placet, et vt dent decimam de omnibus tam de hominibus, quàm de rebus. Computant enim decem, et vnum accipiunt. De puellis faciunt illud idem, quos in terram eorum deducunt et tenent eos pro seruis: reliquos numerant et ordinant secundum morem. Sed quando plene habent dominium super eos, si aliquid promiserunt eis nihil obseruant: sed quascunque possunt congrue occasiones inueniunt contra eos. Nam cum essemus in Russia, missus fuit Saracenorum ex parte Cuynthcan vt dicebatur et Bati: et præfectus ille a quolibet homine qui habebat tres pueros vnum accipiebat: et quicunque viri non habebant vxores, illos deducebant, et faciebant de mulieribus etiam illud idem quæ viros legitimos non habebant. Pauperes etiam qui mendicando suum victum quærebant similiter deportabunt. Reliquos autem secundum eorum consuetudinem numerauit, præcipiens vt vnusquisq; tam paruus quam magnus, et infans vnius diei, siue pauper siue diues esset, tale tributum præberet: vt scilicet daret vnum pellem albi vrsi, et vnum nigrum castorem, et vnum Zabulum, et vnam nigram pellem cuiusdam animalis quod in terra latibulum habet, cuius nomen nescio in latinum transferre, sed Teutonice dicitur || illit: Poloni autem et Rutheni appellant illam Dochon: et vnam nigram pellem vulpinam. Et quicunque ista non dat, inter Tartaros debet duci, et in eorum redigi seruitutem. Mittunt etiam pro principibus terrarum, vt ad eos veniant sine mora: et cum venerint, debitum honorem nullum recipiunt, sed habentur vt aliæ viles personæ: et oportet vt eis munera magna præsentent, tam ducibus quam vxoribus eorum, et officialibus, millenarijs et centenarijs. Imo omnes generaliter, et ipsi etiam serui ab eis cum magna importunitate munera quærunt: Et non solum ab ipsis, sed etiam à nuncijs eorum cum mittuntur. Aliquibus etiam inueniunt occasiones vt eos occidant. Sicut de Michaele et alijs actum est. Aliquos vero alliciunt, quos permittunt redire. Aliquos etiam potionibus perimunt vel veneno. Eorum enim intentio est, vt ipsi soli dominentur in terra. Idcirco quærunt occasiones contra nobiles, vt eos occidant. Ab illis vero quos redire permittunt petunt eorum filios aut fratres, quos vlterius nunquam dimittunt. Sicut factum est de filio Ieroslai, et de quodam duce Alanorum, et alijs plurimis. Et si moritur pater vel frater siue hæres, filium vel fratrem nunquam dimittunt: immo illius principatum totaliter accipiunt sibi. Sicut de quodam Solangorum vidimus esse factum, Baschathos suos ponunt in terris eorum quos redire permittunt, quibus oportet vt ad nutum tam duces quam alij debeant obedire. Et si homines alicuius ciuitatis vel terræ non faciunt quod volunt, isti Baschathi imponunt eis, quod

Vrsi albi.

|| Vel illic.

Dochon.

Solangi.

Bascha, vox Tartarica qua vtuntur Turci.

sunt Tartaris infideles: et sic ciuitatem illam vel terram destruunt, et homines qui sunt in ea occidunt, per manum validam Tartarorum, qui ex mandato principis illius cui obedit terra illa veniunt eis nescientibus, et subito irruunt super eos: sicut nuper contigit cum in terra Tartarorum essemus de quadam ciuitate. Quod ipsummet de Ruthenis fecerunt in terra Comanorum. Et non solum princeps Tartarorum qui terram vsurpauit, sed præfectus ipsius, et quicunque Tartarus per ciuitatem illam siue terram transit quasi dominatur eidem, et maxime qui maior est apud eos. In super aurum et argentum, et alia quæ volunt et quando libet ad imperatorem vadant Tartarorum ad placitandum. Sicut nuper contigit de duobus filijs regis Georgiæ. Vnus enim erat legitimus, et alter de adulterio natus, qui vocabatur Dauid: legitimus autem Melic vocabatur. Filio adulteræ terræ partem relinquebat pater. Alius vero, qui iunior erat, veniebat cum matre ad Tartarorum imperatorem, pro eo quod Dauid prædictus ad ipsum iter arripuerat veniendi. Mater alterius scilicet Melic regina Georgiæ, per quam maritus tenebat regnum, quia per fœminas illud regnum tenebatur, mortua fuit in via. Illi autem cum venerunt dederunt maxima munera: et maxime legitimus filius, qui repetebat terram quam reliquerat pater filio suo Dauid, cum non deberet habere, quia adulteræ filius erat. Ille vero respondit: Licet sim filius concubinæ, peto tamen vt fiat mihi iusticia secundum legem Tartarorum qui nullam differentiam faciunt inter filios legitimæ et ancillæ: vnde fuit data sententia contra filium legitimum, vt ille Dauidi qui maior erat subesset, et terram haberet quiete et pacifice, quam dederat ei pater: et sic donaria quæ dederat, et causam quam contra fratrem suum Dauid habuerat, amisit. Ab illis etiam nationibus quæ longe sunt ab eis, et coniunctæ sunt alijs nationibus quas aliquo modo timent, quæ non sunt eis subiectæ, tributum accipiunt et quasi misericorditer agunt cum eis, vt non adducant exercitum super eos, vel etiam vt alij non terreantur, se tradere eis. Sicut factum est de Obesis siue Georgianis, a quibus quinquaginta vel quadraginta millia, vt dictum est, yperperorum siue Bysantiorum accipiunt pro tributo: aliàs ad hoc in pace esse permittunt. Tamen, secundum quod intelleximus ab eis, rebellare proponunt.

Terrarum nomina quas vicerunt sunt hæc. Kytai, Naymani, Solangi, Kara Kytai, siue nigri Kytai, Comania, Tumat, Voyrat, Caraniti, Huyur, Soboal, Merkiti, Meniti, Baryhryur, Gosmit, Saraceni, Bisermini, Turcomani, Byleri, magna Bulgaria, Baschare, magna Hungaria, Kergis, Colona, Thorati, Buritabeth, Parossiti, Sassi, Iacobiti, Alani, siue Assi, Obesi siue Georgiani, Nestoriani, Armeni, Cangiti, Comani Brutachi, qui sunt Iudæi, Mordui, Torci, Gazari, Samogedi, Perses, Thoas, India minor siue Æthiopia, Yrchasi, Rutheni, Baldach, Sarthi: Aliæ terræ sunt plures, sed earum nomina ignoramus. Vidimus etiam viros et mulieres fere de omnibus terris supra nominatis. Hæc autem sunt nomina Terrarum quæ eis viriliter restiterunt, nec sunt adhuc subditæ eis, India magna, Mangia; Quædam pars Alanorum, Quædam pars Kytaorum, Sayi. Quandam enim ciuitatem Sayorum prædictorum obsederunt et debellare tentauerunt. At ipsi fecerunt machinas contra machinas eorum, et Tartarorum machinas omnes fregerunt, nec ciuitati appropinquare poterant ad pugnam contra machinas et balistas. Tandem vnam viam sub terra fecerunt, et prosiluerunt in ciuitatem, et alij tentabant incendere ciuitatem, alij pugnabant. Homines autem ciuitatis vnam partem populi ad extinguendum ignem posuerunt, et alia pars fortiter pugnabat cum hijs qui intrauerunt ciuitatem, et multos occiderunt ex eis, et alios vulnerauerunt, compellentes eos ad suos redire. At ipsi videntes quod nihil possent facere, et multi homines morerentur, recesserunt ab eis. In terra Saracenorum et aliorum vbi sunt quasi inter eos domini, accipiunt omnes artifices meliores, et in omnibus operibus suis ponunt. Alij autem artifices dant eis de opere suo tributum. Segetes omnes condunt in horreis dominorum: et vnicuique vnum pondus satis modicum dant in die: nihil aliud nisi ter in septimana modicum quid de carnibus eis prebent. Et illi hoc tantum artificibus faciunt qui in ciuitatibus commorantur. Item quando dominis placet iuuenes omnes accipiunt, et post se cum omnibus famulis suis ire cogunt: qui de cætero certo sunt numero Tartarorum; immo potius de numero captiuorum: quia etsi inter ipsos sunt numerati, non tamen habentur in reuerentia sicut Tartari; sed habentur pro seruis, et ad omnia pericula vt alij captiui mittuntur. Ipsi enim in bello sunt primi: Etiam si debet palus vel aqua periculosa transiri, eos oportet primo vadum tentare. Ipsos est etiam necesse operari omnia quæ sunt facienda. Ipsi etiam si in aliquo offendunt, vel si non obediunt ad nutum, vt asini verberantur. Et vt breuiter dicam, modicum quid manducant, et etiam modicum bibunt, et pessime induuntur; nisi forte aliquid possunt lucrari, nisi sunt aurifabri et alij artifices boni. Sed aliqui tam malos dominos habent, quod nihil eis dimittunt,

Samogedi aquilonares.

Mangia.

nec hadent tempus præ multitudine operum dominorum, vt sibi aliquid operentur, nisi furentur sibi tempus, quando forsitan debent quiescere vel dormire. Et hoc si vxores vel propriam stationem permittuntur habere. Alij autem qui tenentur in domo pro seruis omni miseria sunt repleti. Vidi enim eos ire in bracis sæpissime, et toto corpore nudos in maximo solis ardore. Et in hyeme patiuntur maximum frigus. Vidimus etiam aliquos pedicas et digitos manuum de magno frigore perdidisse. Audiuimus etiam alios esse mortuos, vel etiam de magno algore quasi in omnibus membris inutiles esse factos.

Quomodo bello occurratur Tartaris. Cap. 8.

DIcto de terris, quæ obediunt eis, supponendum est quomodo bello occurratur eisdem. Quod videtur nobis hoc modo dicendum. Primo scribendum est quid intendunt. Secundo de armis et ordinatione acierum. Tertio quomodo occurratur astutijs eorum in congressione. Quarto de munitione castrorum et ciuitatum. Quinto quid faciendum sit de captiuis eorum. Intentio Tartarorum est subijcere sibi totum mundum si possunt. Et de hoc Cyngischan habent mandatum, sicut superius dictum est. Idcirco eorum imperator sic in literis suis scribit: "Dei fortitudo, Omnium imperator." Et in superscriptione sigilli sui hoc habet: "Dominus in cœlo, et Cuynch Chan super terram. Dei fortitudo, omnium hominum imperatoris sigillum." Et ideo cum nullis hominibus faciunt pacem, vt dictum est, nisi forte se in eorum manibus tradunt. Et qvia excepta Christianitate nulla est terra in orbe quam timent, idcirco se ad pugnam præpararunt contra nos. Vnde nouerint vniuersi quod nobis existentibus in terra eorum in solenni curia, quæ iam ex pluribus annis indicta erat, fuimus, vbi elegerunt Cuynch imperatorem in presentia nostra, qui in lingua eorum dicitur Chan. Qui Cuynch Chan prædictus erexit cum omnibus principibus vexillum contra ecclesiam dei et Romanum imperium, et contra omnia regna Christianorum et populos occidentis, nisi forsan facerent ea, quæ mandat Domino Papæ, et potentibus ac omnibus Christianorum populis Occidentis: quod nulla ratione faciendum est: tum propter nimiam seruitutem et intolerabilem, quæ est hactenus inaudita, quam vidimus oculis nostris, in quam redigunt omnes gentes sibi subiectas: tum propterea quod nulla in eis est fides: nec potest aliqua gens confidere in verbis eorum: quia quicquid promittunt non obseruant, quando vident sibi tempora fauere: et subdoli sunt in omnibus factis et promissis eorum. Intendunt etiam delere omnes principes, omnes nobiles, omnes milites de terra, vt superius dictum est: sed hoc faciunt subdole et artificiose in subditos suos: Tum etiam quia indignum est quod Christiani subdantur eisdem, propter abominationes eorum, et quia in nihilum redigitur cultus dei, et animæ pereunt, et corpora vltra quam credi possit multitudine affliguntur. In primo quidem sunt blandi, sed postea vt scorpio cruciant et affligunt. Tum quia pauciores sunt numero, et corpore debiliores quam populi Christiani. In prædicta autem curia sunt bellatores et principes et exercitus assignati. De decem hominibus mittuntur tres cum familijs eorum, de omni terra potestatis eorum. Vnius exercitus debet intrare per Hungariam: secundus per Poloniam. Veniunt autem pugnaturi continue octodecem annis. Tempus est etiam eis assignatum, In Martio an. Dom. 1247, si de terra sua mouebunt. Venient autem in tribus vel in quatuor || annis vsq; ad Comaniam. De Comania autem insultum facient in terras superius annotatas. Hæc omnia firma sunt et vera, nisi dominus aliquod impedimentum pro sua gratia faciat eis. Sicut fecit quando venerunt in Hungariam et Poloniam. Debebant enim procedere tunc pro certo triginta annis. Sed interfectus fuit tunc imperator eorum veneno: et propter hoc quieuerunt à prelijs vsq.; nunc. Sed modo, quia positus est imperator de nouo, iterum se de nouo ad pugnam incipiunt præparare. Adhoc sciendum est, quod imperator dixit ore suo, quod vellet mittere exercitum in Liuoniam et Prussiam. Et quoniam omnem terram volunt delere vel in seruitutem redigere, quæ seruitus est intolerabilis nostræ genti, vt superius dictum est: Occurrendum est igitur eis in bello. Sed si vna prouincia non vult alteri opem ferre, terra illa delebitur contra quam pugnant, et cum illis hominibus quos capiunt pugnabunt contra aliam terram; et in acie erunt primi. Si male pugnant occidentur ab eis: Si autem bene, ipsos cum promissis adulationibus tenent: et etiam vt ab ipsis non fugiant promittunt eis quod facient eos dominos magnos: et post hoc quando securi esse possunt de ipsis, vt non redeant, faciunt eos infœlicissimos seruos. Ac de mulieribus quas volunt in concubinas tenere pro seruitijs faciunt illud idem. Et ita cum hominibus deuictæ prouinciæ destruunt aliam terram. Nec est aliqua prouincia quæ per se possit resistere eis: quia de omni terra potestatis eorum, vt dictum est, homines congregant ad bellum. Vnde si Christiani seipsos

|| Forte mensibus.

Tartari proponunt inuadere Liuoniam et Prussiam.

et suam terram, et Christanitatem volunt seruare, oportet quod in vnium conueniant reges, principes et barones, et terrarum rectores, et mittant de communi consilio homines contra eos ad pugnam, antequam ipsi incipiunt in terras diffundi. Quoniam postquam incipiunt spargi per terras, vndiq; homines quærunt, et nullus congrue auxilium alteri potest præbere: quoniam ipsi cateruatim vndiq; quaerunt homines et occidunt. Et si claudunt se in castris, ponunt tria millia vel quatuor millia hominum contra castrum vel ciuitatem, qui obsideant eam; et ipsi nihilominus diffunduntur per terras homines occidentes. Quicunq; autem volunt pugnare cum eis, hæc arma debent habere. Arcus bonos et fortes, et balistas, quas multum timent, et sagittas sufficientes: et bonum dolabrum de bono ferro, et scutum cum longo manubrio. Ferramenta sagittarum de arcu vel de balista debent, vt Tartari, quando sunt calida, temperari in aqua cum sale mixta, vt fortia sint ad penetrandum arma eorum. Gladios et etiam lanceas cum vnco, qui valeant ad trahendum eos de sellis: quia de eis facillime cadunt; ac cultellos ac loricas duplicatas; quia illos eorum sagittæ non penetrant: et galeam et arma alia ad protegendum corpus et equum ab armis et sagittis eorum. Et si aliqui non sunt ita bene armati, vt dixi; debent ire post alios vt faciunt Tartari: et trahere contra eos de armis et sagittis. Nec debent parcere pecuniæ, quoniam comparent arma, vt possint animas et corpora, libertatem et res alias conseruare. Acies debent ordinari, vt ipsi, per millenarios, centenarios, et decanos et duces exercitus: qui duces nequaquam debent prælium intrare, sicut nec duces eorum, sed debent exercitus videre et ordinare: legemque debent ponere vt simul incedant ad bellum, siue aliàs, sicut sunt ordinati. Et quicunque relinquit alium siue ad bellum procedentem, siue pugnantem, vel quicunque fugerit, nisi omnes communiter cedant, grauissime puniatur: quia tunc pars bellantium sequitur fugientes, et sagittis eorum occidunt, et pars cum hijs qui remanent pugnant, et sic confunduntur et occiduntur remanentes et fugientes. Similiter quicunq; conuersus fuerit ad prædam tollendam, antequam omnino sit exercitus contrariorum deuictus, maxima pœna mulctetur. Talis enim apud Tartaros sine vlla miseratione occiditur. Locus ad præliandum est eligendus, si fieri potest vt campus sit planus, et possint vndique videre: et si possunt habeant syluam magnam a tergo vel a latere. Ita tamen quod non possunt intrare inter ipsos et syluam: nec debent

Temperamentum ferri.

simul omnes conuenire in vnum, sed facere acies multas, et diuersas ab inuicem, nec tamen multum distantes. Et contra illos qui post veniunt debent vnam aciem mittere qui eis occurrat. Et si Tartari simulant fugam, non multum vadant post eos, nisi forte quantum possunt videre, ne forte ipsos ad paratas insidias trahant, sicut facere solent: Et alia sit parata ad iuuandum aciem illam, si fuerit opportunum. Insuper habeant speculatores ex omni parte, vt videant quando veniant aliæ acies Tartarorum retro, à dextris et à sinistris: et semper debent mittere aciem contra aciem quæ eis occurrat. Ipsi enim semper nituntur concludere aduersarios eorum in medio, vnde magnam cautelam debent habere ne hoc facere possint, quia sic exercitus facillime debellatur. Omnes acies hoc debent cauere, ne diu currant post eos, propter insidias quas solent præparare: plus enim fraudulentia quàm fortitudine pugnant. Duces exercitus semper debent esse parati ad mittendum adiutorium, si necesse est, illis qui sunt in pugna, et propter hoc etiam debent vitare nimium cursum post eos: ne forte fatigentur equi eorum; quoniam nostri multitudinem equorum non habent. Sed Tartari illum quem equitant vna die, illum non ascendunt in tribus vel in quatuor diebus post hoc. Vnde non curant si fatigentur equi eorum propter multitudinem quam habent. Et si Tartari cedunt, non tamen nostri debent recedere, vel ab inuicem separari: quia simulando hoc faciunt, vt exercitus diuidatur, et post hoc terram libere ingrediantur, et eam destruant. Debent etiam cauere vt non faciant nimias expensas, vt solent; ne propter penuriam redire compellantur, et dent Tartaris viam, vt ipsos et alios occidant, et destruant omnem terram; et propter eorum superfluitatem nomen Domini blasphemetur. Et hoc debent facere diligenter: vt si contingat aliquos pugnatores recedere, quod alij loco eorum succedant. Duces etiam nostri debent die nocteque facere exercitum custodiri, ne repente et subito irruant super ipsos: quia Tartari vt dæmones, multas excogitant iniquitates et artes nocendi: Immo tam de die quam de nocte semper debent esse parati: sed nec spoliati debent iacere nec deliciose ad mensam sedere, ne imparati inueniantur, quia Tartari semper vigilant, vt possint nocere. Homines vero terræ qui Tartaros expectant, vel super se timent venire, occultas foueas debent habere, in quibus sagittas, et alia debent reponere, propter duo: vt videlicet Tartari non possint ea habere; et si propitius fuerit eis Deus, valeant ea postea inuenire; Eis fugientibus de terra, debent fœnum et stramina comburere, vt equi Tartarorum ad comedendum

Speculatores.

minus inueniant. Ciuitates autem et castra si volunt munire, videant prius qualia sint in situ. Situs enim talis debet esse in castris, quod machinis et sagittis expugnari non possit; et aquam habeant sufficientem et lignum, et si fieri potest, quod introitus et exitus eis tolli non possit: et quod habeant homines sufficientes qui possint vicissim pugnare. Et debent vigilare diligenter ne aliqua astutia possint castrum furari. Expensas ad multos annos debent habere sufficientes: custodiant tamen diligenter illas, et in mensura manducent, quia nesciunt quanto tempore eos in castris oportet esse inclusos. Quum enim incipiunt, tunc multis annis obsident vnum castrum. Sic fit hodierna die in terra Alanorum de quodam monte, quem, vt credo, iam obsederunt per duodecem annos; qui viriliter restiterunt, et multos Tartaros et nobiles occiderunt. Alia autem castra et ciuitates, quæ talem situm non habent debent fortiter vallari foueis profundis munitis, et muris bene præparatis; et arcus et sagittas sufficientes: et lapides ac fundas debent habere. Et debent diligenter cauere, quod non permittant Tartaros ponere machinas suas; et suis machinis debent eos repellere. Et si forte aliquo ingenio vel arte erigunt Tartari machinas suas, debent eas destruere machinis suis si possunt. Balistis etiam, fundis et machinis debent resistere ne ciuitati appropinquent. Aliàs etiam debent esse parati, vt superius dictum est. De castris et ciuitatibus, quæ sunt in fluminibus positæ, diligenter debent videre ne possint submergi. Sed ad hoc sciendum est, quod Tartari plus diligunt, quod homines claudant se in ciuitatibus, quàm quod pugnent cum eis in campo. Dicunt enim eos esse suos porcellos in hara conclusos. Vnde ponunt eis custodes, vt supradictum est. Si autem aliqui Tartari de equis suis in bello proijciuntur, statim sunt capiendi: quia cum sunt in terra fortiter sagitant, et equos et homines vulnerant et occidunt. Et si seruantur tales, potest esse, quod habeatur pro eis pax perpetua, aut pecunia magna redimantur: quoniam se adinuicem satis diligunt. Sed quomodo Tartari cognoscantur, superius dictum est vbi forma eorum fuit expressa. Tamen quando capiuntur, si debent seruari, ne fugiant diligens est custodia adhibenda. Sunt etiam aliæ multæ gentes cum eis, quæ per formam superius annotatam possunt ab ipsis cognosci. Est etiam hoc sciendum, quod multi in exercitu eorum sunt, qui si viderent tempus, et haberent fiduciam, quod nostri non occiderent eos, ex omni parte exercitus, sicut ipsimet

Obsidio 12 annorum.

nobis dixerunt, pugnarent cum eis, et plura malá facerent ipsis, quàm alij, qui sunt eorum aduersarij manifesti.

THe long and wonderful voyage of Frier John de Plano Carpini, sent ambassadour by Pope Innocentius the iiii. An. Do. 1246. to the great CAN of Tartaria; wherin he passed through Bohemia, Polonia, Russia, and so to the citie of Kiow vpon Boristhenes, and from thence rode continually post for the space of sixe moneths through Comania, ouer the mighty and famous riuers of Tanais, Volga, and Iaic, and through the countries of the people called Kangittæ, Bisermini, Kara-Kitay, Naimani, and so to the natiue countrie of the Mongals or Tartars, situate in the extreme Northeasterne partes of all Asia: and thence backe againe the same way to Russia, and Polonia, and so to Rome; spending in the whole voyage among the sayd Tartars one whole yeere and aboue foure moneths: Taken out of the 32. booke of Vincentius Beluacensis his Speculum historiale.

LIBRI XXXII.

De prima missione Fratrum Prædicatorum et Minorum ad Tartaros. Cap. 2.

Ascelinus.

¶ Vide Mechouium lib. 1 cap. 5.

HOc etiam tempore misit Innocentius IIII. Papa Fr. Ascelinum de ordine Prædicatorum cum tribus alijs Fratribus, auctoritate, qua fungebantur, de diuersis ordinis sui conuentibus sibi associatis, cum literis Apostolicis ad exercitum Tartarorum, in quibus hortabatur eos, vt ab hominum strage desisterent, et fidei veritatem reciperent. Et ego quidem ab vno Fratrum Prædicatorum, videlicet à Fr. Simone de S. Quintino, iam ib illo itinere regresso, gesta Tartarorum accepi, illa duntaxat, quæ superius per diuersa loca iuxta congruentiam temporum huic operi inserui. Siquidem et eo tempore quidam Frater ordinis Minorum, videlicet Fr. Iohannes de Plano Carpini, cum quibusdam alijs missus fuit ad Tartaros, qui etiam, vt ipse testatur, per annum et quatuor menses et amplius cum eis mansit, et inter eos ambulauit. A summo namq; Pontifice mandatum, vt omnia, quæ apud eos erant, diligenter scrutaretur, acceperat, tam ipse, quàm Fr. Bendictus Polonus eiusdem ordinis, qui suæ tribulationis particeps et

Simon Sanquintinianus.

Ioannes de Plano Carpini.

Benedictus Polonus.

socius erat. Et hic ergo Fr. Ioannes de his, quæ apud Tartaros vel oculis proprijs vidit, vel à Christianis fide dignis, qui inter illos captiui erant, audiuit, libellum historialem conscripsit, qui et ipse ad manus nostras peruenit. De quo etiam hîc quasi per epilogum inserere libet aliqua, videlicet ad supplementum eorum, quæ desunt in prædicta Fr. Simonis historia.

Libellus historialis Ioannis de Plano Carpini.

The same in English.

The voyage of Iohannes de Plano Carpini vnto the Northeast parts of the world, in the yeere of our Lord, 1246.

Of the first sending of certaine Friers Prædicants and Minorites vnto the Tartars, taken out of the 32. Booke of Vincentius Beluacensis* his Speculum Historiale: beginning at the second Chapter.

ABout this time also, Pope Innocentius the fourth sent Frier Ascelline being one of the order of the Prædicants, together with three other Friers (of the same authoritie whereunto they were called) consorted with him out of diuers Conuents of their order, with letters Apostolicall vnto the Tartars campe: wherein hee exhorted them to giue ouer their bloudie slaughter of mankinde, and to receiue the Christian faith. And I, in verie deede, receiued the relations concerning the deedes of the Tartars onelie, (which, according to the congruence of times, I haue aboue inserted into this my woorke) from a Frier Minorite, called Simon de Sanct. Quintin, who lately returned from the same voyage. And at that verie time also, there was a certaine other Frier Minorite, namely Frier Iohn de Plano Carpini, sent with certaine associates vnto the Tartars, who likewise (as himselfe witnesseth) abode and conuersed with them a yeere and three moneths at the least. For both he and one Frier Benedict a Polonian being of the same order, and a partaker of all his miserie and tribulation, receiued straight commaundement from the Pope,

Ascellinus.

Simon Quintinianus.

Iohn de Plano Carpini.

Benedictus Polonus.

---

* Vincentius Belvacensis, or of Beauvais, who died in 1264, was a favourite of Louis IX. of France, who supplied him with whatever books he required. He thus obtained plenty of material for his *Speculum Majus* (printed at Douay in 1624, 10 vols. in 4, folio), a badly chosen and ill-arranged collection of extracts of all kinds. It is in four parts: the first called *Speculum naturale*, the second, *Speculum doctrinale*, the third, *Speculum morale*, and the fourth, *Speculum Historiale*.

that both of them shoulde diligently searche out all things that concerned the state of the Tartars. And therefore this Frier Iohn hath written a litle Historie (which is come to our hands) of such things, as with his owne eyes hee sawe among the Tartars, or which he heard from diuers Christians worthy of credit, remaining there in captiuitie. Out of which historie I thought good by way of conclusion, to insert somewhat for the supply of those things which are wanting in the said Frier Simon.

De situ et qualitate terræ Tartarorum. Cap. 3.

Iohannes de Plano Carpini.

Tartariæ descriptio.

|| Vel Occidentem.

Syra orda.

Aëris intemperies.

Orda quid.

ESt in partibus Orientis terra, quæ Mongal siue Tartaria dicitur, in ea scilicet parte sita, in qua Oriens Aquiloni coniungi creditur. Ab Oriente quidem habet terram Kythaorum et etiam Salangorum, à meredie verò terram Sarracenorum. Inter || Orientem et meridiem terram Huynorum, et ab Occidente prouinciam Naymanorum, ab Aquilone verò circundatur Oceano. In parte aliqua nimium est montuosa, et in aliqua campestris, sed tota ferè admixta glarea plurimum arenosa, nec est in centesima parte fructuosa. Nec enim potest fructum portare, nisi aquis fluuialibus irrigetur, quæ ibi sunt rarissimæ. Vnde nec villæ nec aliquæ ciuitates ibidem reperiuntur, excepta vna, quæ Cracurim appellatur, et satis bona esse dicitur. Nos quidem illam non vidimus, sed ad dimidiam dietam prope fuimus, cùm apud Syram ordam, quæ curia maior Imperatoris eorum est, essemus. Licet autem aliàs infructifera sit illa terra, tamen alendis pecoribus est apta. In aliqua eius parte sunt aliquæ syluæ modicæ, alia verò sine lignis est omninò. Itaque tam Imperator quàm Principes, et omnes alij sedent, et cibaria sua decoquunt ad focum, de boum et equorum stercoribus factum. Ipse quoq: aër inordinatus est ibidem mirabiliter. In media siquidem æstate ibi tonitrua magna et fulgura fiunt, ex quibus plurimi occiduntur homines, et eodem quoq; tempore cadunt ibidem maximæ niues. Sunt et ibi ventorum frigidissimorum tam maximæ tempestates, quòd aliquando vix possunt equitare homines. Vnde cùm ante ordam essemus (sic enim apud eos stationes Imperatoris et Principum appellantur) præ venti magnitudine in terra prostrati iacebamus, et videre propter pulueris magnitudinem minimè poteramus. Nunquam

ibi pluit in hyeme, sed frequenter in æstate, et tam modicum, vt vix posset aliquando puluerem et radicem graminum madefacere. Ibi quoq; maxima grando cadit sæpè. Vnde cùm Imperator electus in sede regni debuit poni, nobis in curia tunc existentibus, tanta cecidit grando, quod ex subita resolutione plusquam CLX. homines in eadem curia fuerunt submersi. Res etiam et habitacula plura fuerunt deducta. Ibi etiam est in æstate subitò calor magnus, et repentè maximum frigus.

The same in English.

Of the situation and qualitie of the Tartars land, by Iohannes de Plano Carpini. Chap. 3.

THere is towards the East a land which is called Mongal or Tartaria, lying in that parte of the worlde which is thought to be most North Easterly. On the East part it hath the countrey of Kythay[*] and of the people called Solangi: on the South part the countrey of the Saracens: on the South east the land of the Huini: and on the West the prouince of Naimani: but on the North side it is inuironed with the Ocean Sea. In some part thereof it is full of mountaines, and in other places plaine and smoothe grounde, but euerie where sandie and barren, neither is the hundreth part thereof fruitefull. For it cannot beare fruite vnlesse it be moistened with riuer waters, which bee verie rare in that countrey. Wherevpon they haue neither villages, nor cities among them, except one which is called Cracurim, and is said to be a proper towne. We our selues sawe not this towne, but were almost within halfe a dayes iourney thereof, when we remained at Syra Orda, which is the great court of their Emperour. And albeit the foresaid lande is otherwise vnfruitfull, yet it is very commodious for the bringing vp of cattell. In certaine places thereof are some small store of trees growing, but otherwise it is altogether destitute of woods. Therefore the Emperour, and his noble men and all other warme themselues, and dresse their meate with fires made of the doung of oxen, and horses. The ayre also in that countrey is verie intemperate. For in the midst of Sommer there be great thunders and lightnings, by the which many men are slaine, and at the same time there falleth great

A description of Tartaria.

The North Ocean.

Syra Orda.

The intemperature of the aire.

---

[*] Or Cathay.

abundance of snowe. There bee also such mightie tempestes of colde windes, that sometimes men are not able to sitte on horsebacke. Whereupon, being neere vnto the Orda (for by this name they call the habitations of their Emperours and noble men) in regarde of the great winde we were constrained to lye groueling on the earth, and could not see by reason of the dust. There is neuer any raine in Winter, but onely in Sommer, albeit in so little quantitie, that sometimes it scarcely sufficeth to allay the dust, or to moysten the rootes of the grasse. There is often times great store of haile also. Insomuch that when the Emperour elect was to be placed in his Emperiall throne (my selfe being then present) there fell such abundance of haile, that, vpon the sudden melting thereof, more than 160. persons were drowned in the same place: there were manie tentes and other thinges also carried away. Likewise, in the Sommer season there is on the sudden extreame heate, and suddenly againe intollerable colde.

What Orda signifieth.

De forma et habitu et victu eorum. Cap. 4.

MOngalorum autem sive Tartarorum forma ab omnibus alijs hominibus est remota. Inter oculos enim, et inter genas, lati sunt plus cæteris, genæ quoq; satis prominent à maxillis. Nasum habent planum et modicum, oculos etiam paruos, et palpebras vsq; ad supercilia eleuatas, ac super verticem in modum Clericorum coronas. Ex vtraq; parte frontis tondendo, plusquam in medio crines longos faciunt, reliquos autem sicut mulieres crescere permittunt. De quibus duas cordas faciunt, et vnamquamq; post aurem ligant. Pedes quoq; modicos habent. Vestes tam virorum quàm mulierum vno modo formatæ sunt. Pallijs vel cappis vel caputiis non vtuntur. Tunicas verò miro modo formatas portant de buccaramo, vel purpurato, vel baldaquino. Pellicium habet pilos exterius, sed apertum est à posterioribus. Habet tamen caudulam vnam vsq; ad genua retrò. Vestes suas non lauant, nec lauari permittunt, et maximè à tempore, quo tonitrua incipiunt, vsquequo desinat illud tempus. Stationes habent rotundas in modum tentorij de virgulis et baculis subtilibus præparatas. Supra verò in medio rotundam habent fenestram, vnde ingrediatur lumen, et fumus exire possit: quia semper in medio faciunt ignem: parietes autem

Tartarorum species.

Tonsura.

Habitus.

Vestes retro caudatæ.

Tabernacula.

et tecta filtro sunt operta. Ostia quoq; de filtro sunt facta Harum quædam subitò soluuntur, et reparantur, et super summarios deferuntur: quædam verò dissolui non possunt sed in curribus portantur. Et quocunq; siue ad bellum siue aliàs vadunt, semper illas secum deferunt. In animalibus valde diuites sunt, vt in Camelis et bobus, capris et ouibus. Iumenta et equos habent in tanta multitudine, quantam non credimus totum mundi residuum habere. Porcos autem et alias bestias non habent. Imperator ac Duces atq; alij magnates in auro et argento ac serico et gemmis abundant. Cibi eorum sunt omnia, quæ mandi possunt. Vidimus eos etiam manducare pediculos. Lac bibunt animalium, et in maxima quantitate, si habent, iumentinum. Porro in hyeme, quia nisi diuites sint, lac iumentinum non habent, millium cum aqua decoquunt, quod tam tenue faciunt, vt illud bibere valeant. Vnde quilibet eorum scyphum bibit vnum vel duos in mane, et quandoq; nihil amplius manducant in die. In sero autem vnicuiq; datur de carnibus modicum, et bibunt ex eis brodium. Porrò in æstate quando satis habent de lacte iumentino, carnes comedunt rarò, nisi fortè donentur eisdem, aut venatione bestiam aliquam ceperint vel auem.

Opes in pecore.

Victus.

The same in English.

Of their forme, habite, and manner of liuing. Chap. 4.

THe Mongals or Tartars, in outward shape, are vnlike to all other people. For they are broader betweene the eyes, and the balles of their cheekes, then men of other nations bee. They haue flat and small noses, litle eyes, and eye liddes standing streight vpright, they are shauen on the crownes like priests. They weare their haire somewhat longer about their eares, then vpon their foreheads: but behinde they let it growe long like womans haire, whereof they braide two lockes binding eche of them behind either eare. They haue short feet also. The garments, as well of their men, as of their women are all of one fashion. They vse neither cloakes, hattes, nor cappes. But they weare Iackets framed after a strange manner, of buckeram, skarlet, or Baldakines. Their shoubes or gownes are hayrie on the outside, and open behinde, with tailes hanging downe to their hammes. They vse not to washe their gar-

The shape of the Tartars.

Their habite.

Like vnto Frobishers men.

Their tabernacles.

Their cattell.

Their victuals.

ments, neither will in any wise suffer them to bee washed, especially in the time of thunder. Their habitations bee rounde and cunningly made with wickers and staues in manner of a tent. But in the middest of the toppes thereof, they haue a window open to conuey the light in and the smoake out. For their fire is alwayes in the middest. Their walles bee couered with felt. Their doores are made of felte also. Some of these Tabernacles may quickely be taken asunder, and set together againe, and are caried vpon beastes backes. Other some cannot be taken insunder, but are stowed vpon carts. And whithersoeuer they goe, be it either to warre, or to any other place, they transport their tabernacles with them. They are very rich in cattel, as in camels, oxen, sheep, and goats. And I thinke they haue more horses and mares then all the world besides. But they haue no swine nor other beasts. Their Emperors, Dukes, and other of their nobles doe abound with silk, gold, siluer, and precious stones. Their victuals are al things that may be eaten: for we saw some of them eat lice. They drinke milke in great quantitie, but especially mares milke, if they haue it: They seeth Mill also in water, making it so thinne, that they may drinke thereof. Euery one of them drinkes off a cup full or two in a morning, and sometime they eate nought else all the day long. But in the euening each man hath a little flesh giuen him to eate, and they drinke the broath thereof. Howbeit in summer time, when they haue mares milk enough, they seldome eate flesh, vnles perhaps it be giuen them, or they take some beast or bird in hunting.

De moribus eorum bonis et malis. Cap. 5.

πειθαρχία.

Abstinentia.

HAbent autem mores quosdam quidem commendabiles, et quosdam detestabiles. Magis quippe sunt obedientes Dominis suis, quàm aliqui qui in mundo sint homines, siue religiosi siue seculares. Nam eos maximè reuerentur, nec illis de facili mentiuntur verbis factisue: rarò vel nunquam ad inuicem contendunt, belláq; vel rixæ, vulnera vel homicidia nunquam inter eos contingunt. Prædones etiam ac fures rerum magnarum ibi nequaquam inueniuntur, ideoq; stationes et currus eorum, vbi thesauros habent, seris aut vectibus non firmantur. Si aliqua bestia perdita fuerit, quicunq; inuenit

Comitas.

Temperantia.

Castitas.

Insolentia aduersus exteros.

Iracundia.

Fraudulentia.

Sordes.

Temulentia.

δωροδοξία.

eam vel dimittit, vel ad illos, qui ad hoc positi sunt, eam ducit. Apud quos ille, cuius est bestia, illam requirit, et absq; vlla difficultate recipit. Vnus alium satis honorat, et familiaritatem ac cibaria, quamuis apud eos sint pauca, liberaliter satis communicat. Satis etiam sunt sufferentes, nec cùm ieiunauerint vno die, vel duobus, omninò sine cibo, videntur impatientes, sed cantant et ludunt, ac si bene comedissent. In equitando multum sustinent frigus, calorem quoq; nimium patiuntur. Inter eos quasi nulla placita sunt, et quamuis multum inebrientur, tamen in ebrietate sua nunquam contendunt. Nullus alium spernit, sed iuuat et promouet, quantum congruè potest. Castæ sunt eorum mulieres, nec aliquid inter eos auditur de ipsarum impudicitia. Quædam tamen ex ijs verba turpia satis habent et impudica. Porrò erga cæteros homines ijdem Tartari superbissimi sunt, omnesq; nobiles et ignobiles quasi pro nihilo reputantes despiciunt. Vnde vidimus in curia Imperatoris magnum Russiæ ducem, et filium regis Georgianorum, ac Soldanos multos et magnos nullum honorem debitum recipere apud eos. Quinetiam Tartari eisdem assignati, quantumcunq ; viles essent illos antecedebant, sempérq; primum locum et summum tenebant, imò etiam sæpè oportebat illos post eorum posteriora sedere. Præterea iracundi sunt, et indignantis naturæ multum erga cæteros homines, et vltra modum erga eosdem mendaces. In principio quidem blandi sunt, sed postmodum vt Scorpiones pungunt. Subdoli enim et fraudulenti sunt, et omnes homines si possunt astutia circumueniunt. Quicquid mali volunt eis facere, miro modo occultant, vt sibi non possint prouidere, vel contra eorum astutias remedium inuenire. Immundi quoq; sunt in cibo et potu sumendis, et in cæteris factis suis. Ebrietas apud illos est honorabilis: cùmq; multum aliquis biberit, ibidèmq; reijcit, non ideo cessat, quin iterim bibat. Ad petendum maximi sunt exactores, tenacissimi retentores, parcissimi donatores. Aliorum hominum occisio apud illos est pro nihilo.

The same in English.

Of their manners both good and bad. Chap. 5.

Their obedience.

THeir manners are partly prayse-worthie, and partly detestable: For they are more obedient vnto their

lords and masters, then any other either clergie or laie-people in the whole world. For they doe highly reuerence them, and will deceiue them, neither in wordes nor deedes. They seldom or neuer fall out among themselues, and, as for fightings or brawlings, wounds or manslaughters, they neuer happen among them.

Their abstinence.

There are neither theeues nor robbers of great riches to be found, and therefore the tabernacles and cartes of them that haue any treasures are not strengthened with lockes or barres. If any beast goe astray, the finder thereof either lets it goe, or driueth it to them that are put in office for the same purpose, at whose handes the owner of the said beast demaundeth it, and without any difficultie receiueth it againe.

Their courtesie.

One of them honoureth another exceedingly, and bestoweth banquets very familiarly and liberally, notwithstanding that good victuals are daintie and scarce among them. They are also very hardie, and when they haue fasted a day or two without any maner of sustenance, they sing and are merry as if they had eaten their bellies full. In riding, they endure much cold and extreme heat. There be, in a maner, no contentions among them, and although they vse commonly to be drunken, yet doe they not quarrell in their drunkennes. Noe one of them despiseth another but helpeth and furthereth him, as much as conueniently he can.

Their chastity.

Their women are chaste, neither is there so much as a word vttered concerning their dishonestie. Some of them will notwithstanding speake filthy and immodest words.

Their insolencie against strangers.

But towards other people, the said Tartars be most insolent, and they scorne and set nought by all other noble and ignoble persons whatsoeuer. For we saw in the Emperours court the great duke of Russia, the kings sonne of Georgia, and many great Soldanes receiuing no due honour and estimation among them. So that euen the very Tartars assigned to giue attendance vnto them, were they neuer so base, would alwaies goe before them, and take the vpper hand of them, yea, and sometimes would constraine them to sit behinde their backes. Moreouer they are angrie and of a disdainfull nature vnto other people, and beyond all measure deceitfull, and treacherous towards them. They speake fayre in the beginning, but in conclusion, they sting like scorpions. For craftie they are, and full of falshood, circumuenting all men whom they are able, by their sleights. Whatsoeuer mischiefe they entend to practise against a man, they keepe it wonderfully secrete, so that he may by no meanes prouide for himselfe, nor find a remedie against their conspiracies. They are vnmanerly also and vncleanly in taking their meat and their drinke, and in other actions. Drunkennes is honourable among them, and when any of them hath taken more drinke then his stomacke can well beare, hee casteth it up and falles to drinking againe. They are most intollerable exacters, most couetous possessours, and most nigardly giuers. The slaughter of other people is accompted a matter of nothing with them.

De legibus et consuetudinibus eorum. Cap. 6.

HOc autem habent in lege siue consuetudine, vt occidant viros et mulieres, si quando inueniantur in adulterio manifestè. Similiter etiam virginem, si fornicata fuerit cum aliquo, occidunt eam cum eo. Præterea si aliquis in præda vel furto manifesto inuenitur, sine vlla miseratione occiditur. Item si quis denudauit consilia, maximè quando volunt ad bellum procedere, dantur ei super posteriora centum plagæ, quanto maiores vnus rusticus cum magno baculo potest dare. Similiter cùm aliqui de minoribus offendunt in aliquo, non eis à maioribus suis parcitur, sed verberibus grauiter affliguntur. Matrimonio autem generaliter coniunguntur omnibus, etiam propinquis carne, excepta matre et filia et sorore ex eadem matre. Nam sororem tantùm ex patre, et vxorem quoq; patris, post eius mortem solent ducere. Vxorem etiam fratris alius frater iunior, post eius mortem, vel alivs de parentela, tenetur ducere. Vnde dum adhuc essemus in terra, Dux quidam Russiæ, Andreas nomine, apud Baty, quòd equos Tartarorum de terra educeret, et alijs venderet, accusatus est: quod licet non esset probatum, occisus est. Hoc audiens iunior frater, et vxor occisi, pariter venerunt ad præfatum Ducem, supplicare volentes, ne terra auferretur eisdem. At ille paruo præcepit, vt fratris defuncti duceret vxorem, mulieri quoq; vt illum in virum duceret, secundum Tartarorum consuetudinem. Quæ respondit, se potius occidi velle, quàm sic contra legem facere. At ille nihilominus eam illi tradidit quamuis ambo renuerunt, quantum possent. Itàq; ducentes eos in lectum, clamantem puerum et plorantem super illam posuerunt, ipsosq; commisceri pariter coëgerunt. Deníq; post mortem maritorum, vxores Tartarorum non de facili solent ad secunda coniugia trans-

Pœna adulterij.

Furti.

Arcani euulgati.

Leges matrimoniorum.

Andreas Dux Russiæ.

¶ Vide Herbersteinium de rebus Moschoui. pag. 8. b.

ire, nisi fortè quis velit sororiam aut nouercam suam ducere. Nullo verò differentia est apud eos inter filium vxoris et concubinæ, sed dat pater quod vult vnicuiq; Itàq; si sunt etiam ex Ducum genere, ita fit Dux filius concubinæ, sicut filius vxoris legitimæ. Vnde cùm rex Georgiæ duos filios nuper, vnum scilicet nomine Melich legitimum, alterum verò Dauid ex adulterio natum haberet, moriensq; terræ partem adulteræ filio reliquisset, Melich, cui etiam ex parte matris regnum obuenerat, quia per fœminas tenebatur, perrexit ad Imperatorem Tartarorum, eo quòd et Dauid iter arripuerat ad illum. Ambobus igitur ad curiam venientibus, datísq; maximis muneribus, petebat adulteræ filius, vt fieret ei iustitia secundum morem Tartarorum. Datáq; est sententia contra Melich, vt Dauid, qui maior erat natu, subesset, ac terram à patre sibi concessam quietè ac pacificè possideret. Cùmq; Tartarorum vnus habet vxorum multitudinem, vnaquæq; per se suam habet familiam et stationem. Et vna die Tartarus comedit et bibit et dormit cum vna, altera die cum alia. Vna tamen inter cæteras maior habetur, cum qua frequentius quam cum alijs commoratur. Et licet, vt dictum est, sint multæ, nunquam tamen de facili contendunt inter se.

Melich et Dauid fratres Georgiani.

πολυγαμία.

The same in English.

Of their lawes and customes. Chap. 6.

MOreouer, they haue this law or custome, that whatsoeuer man or woman be manifestly taken in adultery, they are punished with death. A virgine likewise that hath committed fornication, they slay together with her mate. Whosoeuer be taken in robberie or theft, is put to death without all pitie. Also, if any man disclose their secrets, especially in time of warre, he receiueth an hundreth blowes on the backe with a bastinado, layd on by a tall fellow. In like sort when any inferiours offend in ought, they finde no fauour at their superiours handes, but are punished with grieuous stripes. They are ioyned in matrimony to all in generall, yea, euen to their neare kinsfolkes except their mother, daughter and sister by the mothers side. For they vse to marrie their sister by the fathers side onely, and also the wife of their father after his decease. The yonger brother also, or some other of his kindred, is bound to marry the wife of

Punishments of adultery.

Of theft.

Of secretes disclosed.

Lawes of matrimonie.

his elder brother deceased. For, at the time of our aboad in the countrey, a certaine duke of Russia named Andreas, was accused before duke Baty for conueying the Tartars horses out of the land, and for selling them to others: and although it could not be prooued, yet was he put to death. His yonger brother and the wife of the party deceased hearing this, came and made their supplication vnto the forenamed duke, that the dukedome of Russia might not be taken from them. But he commanded the youth to marrie his deceased brothers wife, and the woman also to take him vnto her husband, according to the custome of the Tartars. She answered, that she had rather die, than so haynously transgresse the law. Howbeit, hee deliuered her vnto him, although they both refused as much as they could. Wherefore carying them to bed, they constrained the youth, lamenting and weeping, to lie down and commit incest with his brothers wife. To be short, after the death of their husbands, the Tartars wiues vse very seldome to marrie the second time, vnlesse perhaps some man takes his brothers wife or his stepmother in marriage. They make no difference betweene the sonne of their wife and of their concubine, but the father giues what he pleaseth vnto each one: For of late the king of Georgia hauing two sonnes, one lawfully begotten call Melich; but the other Dauid, borne in adulterie, at his death left part of his lande vnto his base sonne. Hereupon Melich (vnto whome the kingdome fell by right of his mother, because it was governed before time by women) went vnto the Emperour of the Tartars, Dauid also hauing taken his iourney vnto him. Nowe bothe of them comming to the court and proffering large giftes, the sonne of the harlot made suite, that he might haue iustice, according to the custome of the Tartars. Well, sentence passed against Melich, that Dauid being his elder brother, should haue superioritie ouer him, and should quietly and peaceably possesse the portion of land granted vnto him by his father. Whensoeuer a Tartar hath many wiues, each one of them hath her family and dwelling place by her selfe. And sometime the Tartar eateth, drinketh and lieth with one, and sometime with another. One is accompted chiefe among the rest, with whom hee is oftener conuersant, then with the other. And notwithstanding (as it hath bin said) they are many, yet do they seldome fal out among themselues.

Andreas duke of Russia.

Melich and Dauid two brothers.

De superstitiosis traditionibus ipsorum. Cap. 7.

QVibusdam verò traditionibus indifferentia quædam esse peccata dicunt, quas vel ipsi vel antecessores eorum confinxerunt. ἐθελοθρησκεία. Vnum est, cultellum in ignem figere, vel quocunq; modo ignem cultello tangere, vel etiam de caldaria cum cultello carnes extrahere, vel cum securi iuxta ignem incidere. Credunt enim, quòd sic auferri debeat caput igni. Aliud est appodiare se ad flagellum, quo percutitur equus: ipsi enim non vtuntur calcaribus. Item flagello sagittas tangere, iuuenes aues capere vel occidere, cum fræno equum percutere, os cum osse alio frangere. Itémq; lac, vel aliquem potum aut cibum super terram effundere, in statione mingere. Quod si voluntariè facit, occiditur, si autem aliter, oportet quòd pecuniam multam incantatori soluat, à quo purificetur. Qui etiam faciat, vt statio cum omnibus, quæ in ipsa sunt, inter duos ignes transeat. Antequam sic purificetur, nullus audet intrare, nec aliquid de illa exportare. Præterea si alicui morsellus imponitur, quem deglutire non possit, et illum de ore suo eijcit, foramen sub statione fit, per quod extrahitur, ac sine vlla miseratione occiditur. Iterum si quis calcat super limen stationis Ducis alicuius, interficitur. ἀθεότης. Multa etiam habent his similia, quæ reputant peccata. At homines occidere, aliorum terras inuadere, ac res illorum diripere, et contra Dei præcepta vel prohibitiones facere, nullum apud eos est peccatum. De vita æterna et damnatione perpetua nihil sciunt. Credunt tamen, quòd post mortem in alio seculo viuant, gregésque multiplicent, comedant et bibant, et cætera faciant, quæ hîc à viuentibus fiunt. Cultus lunæ. In principio lunationis vel in plenilunio incipiunt, quicquid noui agere volunt, ipsàmq; Lunam Imperatorem magnum apellant, eàmq; deprecantes genua flectunt. Omnes, qui morantur in stationibus suis, oportet per ignem purificari. Quæ scilicet purificatio fit hoc modo. Lustrationis ritus. Duos quidem ignes faciunt, et duas hastas iuxta eos, vnamq; cordam in summitate hastarum ponunt. Ligántq; super cordam illam quasdam de Bucaramo scissiones, sub qua scilicet corda et ligaturis inter illos ignes transeunt homines, ac bestiæ ac stationes. Sunt etiam duæ mulieres, vna hinc, et alia inde aquam proijcientes, ac quædam carmina recitantes. Cæterum si aliquis à fulgure occiditur, oportet prædicto modo per ignes transire omnes illos, qui in illis stationibus morantur. Statio siquidem ac lectus et currus, filtra et vestes, et

quicquid talium habent, à nullo tanguntur, sed ab hominibus tanquam immunda respuuntur. Et ut breuiter dicam, omnia purificari credunt per ignem. Vnde quando veniunt ad eos nuncij, vel Principes, aut qualescunq; personæ, oportet ipsos et munera sua per duos ignes, vt purificentur, transire, ne fortè veneficia fecerint, aut venenum seu aliquid mali attulerint.

Ignis superstitiosa efficacitas.

The same in English.

Of their superstitious traditions. Chap. 7.

BVt by reason of certain traditions, which either they or their predecessors haue deuised, they accompt some things indifferent to be faults. One is to thrust a knife into the fire, or any way to touch the fire with a knife, or with their knife to take flesh out of the cauldron, or to hewe with an hatchet neare vnto the fire. For they think by that means to take away the head or force from the fire. Another is to leane vpon the whip, wherewith they beate their horses: for they ride not with spurs. Also, to touch arrowes with a whip, to take or kill yong birds, to strike an horse with ye raine of their bridle, and to breake one bone against another. Also, to powre out milke, meate, or any kinde of drinke vpon the ground or to make water within their tabernacle: which whosoeuer doth willingly, he is slaine, but otherwise he must pay a great summe of money to the inchanter to be purified. Who likewise must cause the tabernacle with all things therein, to passe betweene two fiers. Before it be on this wise purified, no man dare once enter into it, nor conueigh any thing thereout. Besides, if any man hath a morsell giuen him, which he is not able to swallow, and for that cause casteth it out of his mouth, there is an hole made vnder his tabernacle, by which hee is drawen forth and slaine without all compassion. Likewise, whosoeuer treads vpon the threshold of any of their dukes tabernacles, he is put to death. Many other things there be, like vnto these, which they take for heinous offences. But to slay men, to inuade the dominions of other people, and to rifle their goods, to transgresse the commaundements and prohibitions of God, are with them no offences at all. They know nothing concerning eternall life, and euerlasting damnation, and yet they thinke, that after death they shall liue in another world, that they shall multiply their cattell, that they

Ridiculous traditions.

The Tartars worship the moone.

Their custome of purifying.

shal eate and drinke and doe other things which liuing men performe here vpon earth. At a new moone, or a full moone, they begin all enterprises that they take in hand, and they call the moone the Great Emperour, and worship it vpon their knees. All men that abide in their tabernacles must be purified with fire: Which purification is on this wise, They kindle two fires, and pitch two Iauelines into the ground neere vnto the said fires, binding a corde to the tops of the Iauelines. And about the corde they tye certaine iagges of buckram, vnder which corde, and betweene which fires, men, beastes, and tabernacles do passe. There stand two women also, one on the right side, and another on the left casting water, and repeating certaine charmes. If any man be slaine by lightning, all that dwell in the same tabernacle with him must passe by fire in maner aforesaid. For their tabernacles, beds, and cartes, their feltes and garments, and whatsoeuer such things they haue, are touched by no man, yea, and are abandoned by all men as things vncleane. And to bee short, they think that all things are to be purged by fire. Therefore, when any ambassadours, princes, or other personages whatsoeuer come vnto them, they and their giftes must passe betweene two fires to be purified, lest peraduenture they haue practised some witchcraft, or haue brought some poyson or other mischiefe with them.

De initio imperij siue Principatus eorum. Cap. 8.

Tartariæ populi.

Chingis ortus et res gestæ.

TErra quidem illa Orientalis, de qua dictum est suprà, quæ Mongal nominatur, quatuor quondam habuisse populos memoratur. Vnus eorum Yeka Mongal, id est, magni Mongali vocabantur. Secundus Sumongal, id est, aquatici Mongali, qui seipsos appellabant Tartaros, à quodam fluuio per eorem terram currente, qui Tartar nominatur. Tertius appellabatur Merkat. Quartus verò Metrit. Omnes vnam personarum formam et vnam linguam habebant hi populi, quamuis inter se per Principes ac prouincias essent diuisi. In terra Yeka Mongal quidam fuit, qui vocabatur Chingis. Iste cœpit robustus venator esse: didicit enim homines furari, et prædam capere. Ad alias terras ibat, et quoscunque poterat, captiuabat, sibíq: associabat. Homines quoque suæ gentis inclinauit ad se, qui tanquam Ducem sequebantur ipsum ad malè agendum. Cœpit autem pugnare cum Sumongal, siue cum Tar-

taris, et Ducem eorem interfecit, multòq; bello sibi Tartaros omnes subiecit, et in seruitutem redigit. Post hæc cum istis omnibus contra Merkatas, iuxta terram positos Tartarorum pugnauit, quos etiam bello sibi subiecit. Inde procedens contra Metritas pugnam exercuit, et illos etiam obtinuit. Audientes Naymani, quòd Chingis taliter eleuatus esset, indignati sunt. Ipsi enim habuerant Imperatorem strenuum valdè, cui dabant tributum cunctæ nationes prædictæ. Qui cùm esset mortuus, filij eius successerunt loco ipsius. Sed quia iuuenes ac stulti erant, populum tenere nesciebant, sed ad inuicem diuisi ac scissi erant. Vnde Chingi prædicto modo iam exaltato, nihilominus in terras prædictas faciebant insultum, et habitatores occidebant, ac diripiebant prædam eorum. Quod audiens Chingis, omnes sibi subiectos congregauit. Naymani et Karakytay ex aduerso similiter in quandam vallem strictam conuenerunt, et commissum est prælium, in quo Naymani et Karakytay à Mongalis deuicti sunt. Qui etiam pro maiori parte occisi fuerunt, et alij, qui euadere non potuerunt, in seruitutem redacti sunt. In terra prædictorum Karakytaorum Occoday Cham, filius Chingischam, postquam imperator fuit positus, quandam ciuitatem ædificauit, quam Chanyl appellauit. Prope quam ad Meridiem est quoddam desertum magnum, in quo pro certo syluestres homines habitare dicuntur, qui nullatenus loquuntur, nec iuncturas in cruribus habent, et si quando cadunt, per se surgere non valent. Sed tamen discretionem tantam habent, quod filtra de lana Camelorum quibus vestiuntur, faciunt et contra ventum ponunt. Et si quando Tartari pergentes ad eos vulnerant eos sagittis, gramina in vulneribus ponunt, et fortiter ante ipsios fugiunt.

Naymani.
¶ Infra cap. 25.

Fratres discordantes oppressi.

Occoday Cham.

Homines syluestres

The same in English.

Of the beginning of their empire or gouernment. Chap. 8.

THe East countrie, whereof wee haue entreated, which is called Mongal, is reported to haue had of olde time foure sortes of people. One of their companions was called Yeka Mongal, that is the great Mongals. The second company was called Sumongal, that is, the Water-Mongals, who called themselues Tartars of a certaine riuer running through their countrey named Tartar. The third was called Merkat, and the fourth Metrit. All these people had one and the same person,

The people of Tartarie.

attire of body and language, albeit they were diuided by princes and prouinces. In the prouince of Yeka Mongal, there was a certaine man called Chingis. This man became a mighty hunter. For he learned to steale men, and take them for a pray. He ranged into other countries taking as many captiues as he could, and ioining them vnto himselfe. Also hee allured the men of his owne countrey vnto him, who followed him as their captaine and ringleader to doe mischiefe. Then began he to make warre vpon the Sumongals or Tartars, and slewe their captaine, and after many conflicts, subdued them vnto himselfe, and brought them all into bondage. Afterwards he vsed their helpe to fight against the Merkats, dwelling by the Tartars, whom also hee vanquished in battell. Proceeding from thence, he fought against the Metrites, and conquered them also. The Naimani hearing that Chingis was thus exalted, greatly disdeined thereat. For they had a mighty and puissant Emperour, vnto whom all the foresaid nations payed tribute. Whose sonnes, when he was dead, succeeded him in his Empire. Howbeit, being young and foolish, they knew not howe to gouerne the people, but were diuided, and fell at variance among themselues. Now Chingis being exalted, as is aforesaid, they neuerthelesse inuaded the forenamed countries, put the inhabitants to the sword, and carried away their goods for a pray. Which Chingis hauing intelligence of, gathered all his subiects together. The Naimani also, and the people called Karakitay assembled and banded themselues at a certaine straight valley, where, after a battell foughten they were vanquished by the Mongals. And being thus vanquished, they were, the greater part of them, slaine; and others, which could not escape, were carried into captiuitie.

The original and the exploits of Chingis.

The Naimani.

The discord of brethren.

In the land of the foresayd Karakytayans, Occoday Cham, the sonne of Chingis Cham, after he was created Emperour, built a certaine citie, which he called Chanyl. Neare vnto which citie, on the South side, there is an huge desert, wherein wilde men are certainely reported to inhabite, which cannot speake at all, and are destitute of ioynts in their legges, so that if they fall, they cannot rise alone by themselues. Howbeit, they are of discretion to make feltes of Camels haire, wherewith they clothe themselues, and which they holde against the winde. And if at any time, the Tartars pursuing them, chance to wound them with their arrowes, they put herbes into their wounds, and flye strongly before them.

Occoday Cham.

De mutua victoria ipsorum et Kythaorum. Cap. 9.

MOngali autem in terram suam reuertentes, se contra * Kythaos ad prælium parauerunt, et castra mouentes, eorum terram intrauerunt. Quod audiens eorum Imperator, vnit cum exercitu suo contra illos, et commissum est prælium durum, in quo Mongali sunt deuicti, omnésq; nobiles eorum, qui erant in exercitu, præter septem occisi sunt. Vnde cùm illis volentibus aliquam impugnare regionem, minatur aliquis stragem, adhuc respondent: Olim etiam occisi non nisi septem remansimus, et tamen modò creuimus in multitudinem magnam, ideóq; non terremur de talibus. Chingis autem et alij, qui remanserunt, in terram suam fugerunt. Cúmq; quieuisset aliquantulum, præparauit se rursus ad prælium, et processit contra terram Huyrorum. Isti sunt homines Christiani de secta Nestorianorum. Et hos etiam Mongali deuicerunt, eorumq; literam acceperunt; prius enim scripturam non habebant, nunc autem eandem Mongalorem literam appellant. Inde contra terram Saruyur, et contra terram Karanitarum, et contra terram Hudirat processit, quos omnes bello deuicit. Inde in terram suam redijt, et aliquantulum quieuit. Deinde conuocatis omnibus hominibus suis, contra Kythaos pariter processerunt, diúq; contra illos pugnantes, magnam partem terræ illorum vicerunt, eorumq; Imperatorem in ciuitatem suam maiorem concluserunt. Quam et tam longo tempore obsederunt, quod exercitus expensæ omninò, defecerunt. Cúmq; iam quod manducarent, penitus non haberent, præcipit Chingischam suis, vt de decem hominibus vnum ad manducandum darent. Illi verò de ciuitate machinis et sagittis viriliter contra istos pugnabant, et cùm deficerent lapides, argentum et maximè liquefactum proijciebant. Ciuitas siquidem illa multis erat diuitijs plena. Cúmq; diu Mongali pugnassent, et eam bello vincere non possent, vnam magnam sub terra viam ab exercitu vsq; ad medium ciuitatis fecerunt, et prosilientes in medium eius, contra ciues pugnauerunt. Illi quoque, qui extra remanserant, eodem modo contra illos pugnabant. Deniq; concidentes portas ciuitatis intrauerunt, et imperatorem cum pluribus occidentes vrbem possederunt, aurúmq; et argentum, et omnes eius diuitias abstulerunt. Et cùm aliquos terræ suos homines nuntios præficissent, in terram propriam reuersi sunt. Tunc primum Im-

*** Haythono et Paulo Veneto sunt Cathay.**

Tartarorum Cathayna clades.

Nouæ victoriæ.

Literæ.

Argentum loco lapidum in hostem proiectum.

Chingis salutatur Imperator

peratore Kythaorum deuicto, factus est Chingischam imperator. Quandam tamen partem illius terræ, quia posita erat in mari, nullatenus deuicerunt vsq; hodie. Sunt autem Kytai homines pagani, habentes literam specialem, et etiam, vt dicitur, veteris et noui Testamenti scripturam. Habent etiam vitas patrum et eremitas et domos, in quibus orant temporibus suis, ad modum Ecclesiarum factas. Quosdam etiam sanctos habere se dicunt, et vnum Deum colunt. Christum IESVM Dominum venerantur, et credunt vitam æternam, sed non baptizantur. Scripturam nostram honorant ac reuerentur. Christianos diligunt, et eleemosynas plures faciunt, homines benigni satis et humani videntur. Barbam non habent, et in dispositione faciei cum Mongalis in parte concordant. Meliores artifices in mundo non inueniuntur in omnibus operibus, in quibus homines exercentur. Terra eorum est opulenta nimis in frumento et vino, auro et serico ac rebus cæteris.

Cathaynorum literæ et religio.

Opificiorum ἐξοχη.

The same in English.

Of the mutuall victories betweene them, and the pepole of Kythay. Chap. 9.

BVt the Mongals returning home into their owne countrey, prepared themselues to battell against the * Kythayans: Which their Emperour hearing, set forward against them with his armie, and they fought a cruell battell, wherein the Mongals were ouercome, and all their nobles in the armie, except seuen, were slaine. And for this cause, when they, purposing to inuade anie region, are threatned by the inhabitants thereof to be slaine, they doe, to this day, answere: in old time also our whole number besides being slaine, we remayned but seuen of vs aliue, and yet notwithstanding we are now growen vnto a great multitude, thinke not

Haython[†] and Paulus Venetus[‡] call them * Cathayans.

[†] Bishop of Basle, was sent by Charlemagne as ambassador to Nicephorus, Emperor of Constantinople, in 811. He published an account of his journey, which he called his *Itinerarium*. There is a curious capitulary of his, inserted in Lucas of Acheri's *Spicilegium*.

[‡] Better known as Fra Paolo, or Paul Sarpi, the citizen monk of Venice, who has been said to have been "a Catholic in general, but a Protestant in particular." His attempted assassination on the Piazza of St. Mark at Venice, by order of Paul V., the Pope, is still one of the favourite legends of the City of Gondolas. He is said to have discovered the circulation of the blood. He died in 1623. (See *Native Races of America*, in Goldsmid's *Bibliotheca Curiosa*, *p.* 17.)

therefore to daunt vs with such brags. But Chingis and the residue that remained aliue, fled home into their countrey: And hauing breathed him a little, he prepared himselfe to warre, and went forth against the people called Huyri: These men were Christians of the sect of Nestorius. And these also the Mongals ouercame, and receiued letters or learning from them: for before that time they had not the arte of writing, and nowe they call it the hand or letters of the Mongals. Immediately after, hee marched against the countrey of Saruyur, and of the Karanites, and against the land of Hudirat; all which he vanquished. Then returned he home into his owne countrey, and breathed himselfe. Afterward, assembling his warlike troupes, they marched with one accord against the Kythayans, and waging warre with them a long time, they conquered a great part of their land, and shut vp their Emperour into his greatest citie: which citie they had so long time besieged, that they began to want necessary prouision for their armie. And when they had no victuals to feede vpon, Chingis Cham commaunded his souldiers, that they should eate euery tenth man of the companie. But they of the citie fought manfully against them, with engines, dartes, and arrowes, and when stones wanted they threw siluer, and especially melted siluer: for the same citie abounded with great riches. Also, when the Mongals had fought a long time and could not preuayle by warre, they made a great trench vnderneath the ground from the armie vnto the middest of the citie, and there issuing foorth they fought against the citizens, and the remnant also without the walles fought in like manner. At last, breaking open the gates of the citie, they entred, and putting the Emperour, with many other to the sworde, they tooke possession thereof and conueighed away the golde, siluer, and all the riches therein. And hauing appointed certaine deputies ouer the countrey, they returned home into their owne lande. This is the first time, when the Emperour of the Kythayans being vanquished, Chingis Cham obtayned the Empire. But some parte of the countrey, because it lyeth within the sea, they could by no meanes conquere vnto this day. The men of Kytay are Pagans, hauing a speciall kinde of writing by themselues, and (as it is reported) the Scriptures of the olde and newe Testament. They haue also recorded

New victories.

Letters.

Siluer cast at the enemie instead of stones.

ChingisCham proclaimed Emperour.

Part of Cathay in the sea.

The letters and the religion of the Cathayans.

in hystories the liues of their forefathers: and they haue Eremites, and certaine houses made after the manner of our Churches, which in those dayes they greatly resorted vnto. They say that they haue diuers Saints also, and they worship one God. They adore and reuerence CHRIST IESVS our Lorde, and beleeue the article of eternall life, but are not baptized. They doe also honourably esteeme and reuerence our Scriptures. They loue Christians, and bestowe much almes, and are a very courteous and gentle people. They haue no beardes, and they agree partly with the Mongals in the disposition of their countenance. In all occupations which men practise, there are not better artificers in the whole worlde. Their countrey is exceeding rich, in corne, wine, golde, silke, and other commodities.

Their excellent workmanship.

De pugna ipsorum contra Indiam minorem et maiorem. Cap. 10.

CVm autem Mongali cum Imperatore suo Chingischam post præfatam victoriam aliquantulum quieuissent, exercitus suos diuiserunt. Imperator siquidem vnum de filijs suis nomine Thosut, quem etiam Can, id est, Imperatorem, appellabant, cum exercitu contra Comanos misit, quos ille multo bello deuicit, et postmodum in terram suam redijt. Alium verò filium cum exercitu contra Indos misit, qui et minorem Indiam subiecit. Hi sunt nigri Sarraceni, qui Æthiopes sunt vocati. Hic autem exercitus ad pugnam contra Christianos, qui sunt in India maiori, processit. Quod audiens Rex illius terræ, qui vulgò * Presbyter Iohannes appellatur, contra illos venit exercitu congregato. Et faciens imagines cupreas hominum, vnamquanq; posuit in sella super equum. Posuit et interius ignem, et hominem cum folle super equum post imaginem. Itàq; cum multis equis et imaginibus, taliter præparatis, ad pugnam contra Mongalos seu Tartaros processerunt. Et cùm ad locum prælij peruenissent, equos istos vnum iuxta alium præmiserunt. Viri autem, qui erant retrò, nescio quid super ignem, qui erat intra imagines, posuerunt, et cum follibus fortiter sufflauerunt. Vnde factum est, vt ex Græco igne homines et equi comburerentur, et etiam aër ex fumo denigraritur. Tùmque super Tartaros sagittas iecerunt Indi, ex quibus multi vul-

Thossut Can, Chingis F.

India minor debellata.

Regis maioris Indiæ stratagema.

* Vide scolion in lib. 1. cap. 51. M. Pauli Veneti.

Victoria.

nerati fuerunt et interfecti. Sícq; eiecerunt illos cum magna confusione de suis finibus, nec vnquam, quod ad ipsos vltra redierint audiuimus.

The same in English.

Of their warre against India maior and minor. Chap. 10.

ANd when the Mongals with their emperour Chingis Cham had a while rested themselues after the foresayd victorie, they diuided their armies. For the Emperour sent one of his sonnes named Thossut (whom also they called Can, that is to say, Emperour) with an armie against the people of Comania, whom he vanquished with much warre, and afterward returned into his owne country. But he sent his other sonne with an armie against the Indians, who also subdued India minor. These Indians are the blacke Saracens, which are also called Æthiopians. But here the armie marched forward to fight against Christians dwelling in India maior. Which the King of that countrey hearing (who is commonly called Presbiter Iohn) gathered his souldiers together, and came foorth against them. And making mens images of copper, he set each of them vpon a saddle on horsebacke, and put fire within them, and placed a man with a paire of bellowes on the horse backe behinde euery image. And so with many horses and images in such sorte furnished, they marched on to fight against the Mongals or Tartars. And comming neare vnto the place of the battell, they first of all sent those horses in order one after another. But the men that sate behind laide I wote not what vpon the fire within the images, and blew strongly with their bellowes. Whereupon it came to passe, that the men and the horses were burnt with wilde fire, and the ayre was darkened with smoake. Then the Indians cast dartes vpon the Tartars, of whom many were wounded and slain. And so they expelled them out of their dominions with great confusion, neither did we heare, that euer they returned thither againe.

Thossut Can son of Chingis.

India minor subdued.

The stratagem of the king of India.

Qualiter ab hominibus caninis repulsi, Burithabethinos vicerunt. Cap. 11.

CVm autem per deserta redirent, in quandam terram venerunt, in qua, sicut nobis apud Imperatoris curiam per clericos Ruthenos, et alios, qui diu fuerant inter ipsos, firmiter asserendo referebatur,

De monstrosis mulieribus et canibus monstrosa narratio.

¶ Forsam autem videri allegorica allusio possit ad Canibales de quibus *Petrus Martyr Mediolan. de rebus Occanicis.

monstra quædam, imaginem fœmineam habentia, repererunt. Quas cùm per multos interpretes interrogassent, vbi viri terræ illius essent, responderunt, quòd in illa terra quæcunq; fœminæ nascebantur, habebant formam humanam, masculi vero speciem caninam. Dumq; moram in terra illa protraherent, Canes in alia fluuij parte conuenerunt. Et cùm esset hyems asperrima omnes se in aquam proiecerunt. Post hæc incontinenti sponte in puluerem voluebantur, sícq; puluis admixtus aquæ super eos congelabatur, et vt ita pluries fecerunt, glacie super eos depressata, cum impetu magno contra Tartaros ad pugnam conuenerunt. At verò cum illi sagittas super eos iaciebant, ac si super lapides sagittassent, retrò sagittæ redibant. Alia quoq; arma eorum in nullo eos lædere poterant. Ipsi verò Canes insultum in Tartaros facientes, morsibus vulnerauerunt multos, et occiderunt sícq; illos de suis finibus eiecerunt. Vnde adhuc inter illos est prouerbium de hoc facto, quod dicunt ad inuicem ridendo: Pater meus vel frater meus à Canibus fuit occisus. Mulieres autem illorum, quas ceperant, ad terram suam duxerunt, et vsq; ad diem mortis eorum ibidem fuerunt. Cùm autem exercitus ille Mongalorum rediret, venit ad terram Burithabeth, cuius habitatores pagani sunt, et hos Tartari bello vicerunt. Hi consuetudinem habent mirabilem, imò potius miserabilem. Cùm enim alicuius pater humanæ naturæ soluit debitum, congregant omnem parentelam, et comedunt eum. Hi pilos in barba non habent, imò ferrum quoddam in manibus, sicut vidimus, portant, cum quo semper barbam, si forte crinis aliquis in ea crescit, depilant. Multi etiam deformes sunt. Inde verò ille Tartarorum exercitus in terram suam est reuersus.

Burithabeth regio.

Incolarum mores.

The same in English.

How̃ being repelled by monstrous men shapen like dogs, they ouercame the people of Burithabeth. Chap. 11.

BVt returning through the deserts, they came into a certaine countrey, wherin (as it was reported vnto vs in the Emperours

---

* Born at Florence in 1500, he entered the church very young, but the reading of the works of Zwingler and Bucer led him to join the reformers. He withdrew to Basle, where he married a young nun. He passed over to England in 1547, and obtained a chair of Theology at Oxford, but Mary caused him to be expelled. He withdrew to Augsburg, and thence to Zurich, where he died in 1562. His real name was Pietro Vermigli.

court, by certaine clergie men of Russia, and others, who were long time among them, and that by strong and stedfast affirmation) they found certaine monsters resembling women: who being asked by many interpreters, where the men of that land were, they answered, that whatsoeuer women were borne there, were indued with the shape of mankinde, but the males were like vnto dogges. And delaying the time, in that countrey they met with the said dogges on the other side of the riuer. And in the midst of sharpe winter, they cast themselues into the water: Afterward they wallowed in the dust vpon the maine land, and so the dust being mingled with water, was frozen to their backes, and hauing often times so done, the ice being strongly frozen vpon them, with great fury they came to fight against the Tartars. And when the Tartars threwe their dartes, or shot their arrowes among them, they rebounded backe againe, as if they had lighted vpon stones. And the rest of their weapons coulde by no meanes hurt them. Howbeit, the Dogges made an assault vpon the Tartars, and wounding some of them with their teeth, and slaying others, at length they draue them out of their countries. And thereupon they haue a Prouerbe of the same matter, as yet rife among them, which they speake in iesting sorte one to another; My father or my brother was slaine of Dogges. The women which they tooke, they brought into their owne countrey, who remayned there till their dying day. And in traueiling homewardes, the sayd armie of the Mongals came vnto the lande of Burithabeth (the inhabitants whereof are Pagans) and conquered the people in battell. These people haue a strange or rather a miserable kinde of custome. For when anie man's father deceaseth, he assembleth all his kindred, and they eate him. These men haue no beards at all, for we saw them carie a certaine iron instrument in their hands, wherewith, if any haires growe vpon their chinne, they presently plucke them out. They are also very deformed. From thence the Tartars army returned to their owne home.

A strange report of certain monstrous women and dogs.

The region of Burithabeth.

The manners of the people.

Qualiter à montibus Caspijs, et ab hominibus subterraneis repulsi sunt. Cap. 12.

CHingischam etiam illo tempore, quo dimisit alios exercitus contra Orientem, per terram Kergis cum expeditione perrexit, quos tamen tunc bello non vicit, et vt nobis

Alia Chingis expeditio.

dicebatur, ibidem vsq; ad montes Caspios peruenit. At illi montes in ea parte, ad quam applicauerunt, de lapide Adamantino sunt: ideóq; sagittas et arma ferrea illorum ad se traxerunt. Homines autem inter Caspios montes conclusi clamorem exercitus, vt creditur, audientes, montem frangere cœperunt, et cùm alio tempore post decem annos redirent Tartari, montem confractum inuenerunt. Cúmq; ad illos accedere attentassent, minimè potuerunt: quia nubes quædam erat posita ante ipsos, vltra quam ire nullatenus poterant. Omninò quippe visum amittebant, statim vt ad illam perueniebant. Illi autem ex aduerso credentes, quòd Tartari ad illos accedere formidarent, insultum contra eos fecerunt, sed statim vt peruenerunt ad nubem propter causam prædictam, procedere non potuerunt. Ac verò antequam ad montes prædictos peruenirent Tartari, plusquam per mensem per vastam solitudinem transierunt, et inde procedentes adhuc contra Orientem, plusquàm per mensem per magnum desertum perrexerunt. Itáq; peruenerunt ad quandam terram, in qua vias quidem tritas videbant, sed neminem inuenire poterant. Tandem quærentes, vnum hominem cum vxore sua repererunt, quos in præsentiam Chingischam adduxerunt. Qui cùm interrogasset illos vbi homines illius terræ essent, responderunt, quòd in terra sub montibus habitarent. Tunc Chingischam retenta vxore, misit ad eos virum illum, mandans illis, vt venirent ad ipsius mandatum. Qui pergens ad illos, omnia narrauit, quæ Chingischam eis mandauit. Illi verò respondentes dixerunt, quod die tali venirent ad ipsum, vt facerent eius mandatum. Ac ipsi medio tempore per vias occultas sub terra se congregantes, ad pugnam contra illos venerunt, et subitò super eos irruentes, plurimos occiderunt. Solis quoque sonitus in ortu suo sustinere non poterant, imò tempore, quo oriebatur, oportebat eos vnam aurem ad terram ponere, et superiorem fortiter obturare, ne sonum illum terribilem audirent. Nec sic tamen cauere poterant, quin hac de causa plurimi ex eis interirent. Videns ergo Chingischam et sui, quòd nihil proficerent, sed potius homines suos perderent, fugerunt, ac terra illa exierunt. Illum tamen virum cum vxore sua secum deduxerunt, qui etiam vsque ad mortem in terra eorum fuerunt. Interrogati verò, cur in regione sua sub terra soleant habitare, dixerunt, quòd ibi quodam tempore anni, cùm oritur Sol, tantus fit sonitus, vt homines nulla ratione valeant sustinere. Quin etiam tunc in

¶ Vide an Hamsem regionem dicat: de qua Haythonus cap. 10.

Troglodytæ.

Fabulosus Solis orientis sonitus.

organis et tympanis cæterisque musicis instrumentis percutere solent, vt sonitum illum non audiant.

The same in English.

How they had the repulse at the Caspian mountaynes, and were driuen backe by men dwelling in caues. Chap. 12.

Another expedition of Chingis.

MOreouer Chingis Cham, at the same time when he sent other armies against the East, hee himselfe marched with a power into the lande of Kergis, which notwithstanding, he conquered not in that expedition, and as it was reported vnto vs, he went on forward euen to the Caspian mountaines. But the mountaines on that part where they encamped themselues, were of adamant, and therefore they drew vnto them their arrowes, and weapons of iron. And certaine men contained within those Caspian mountaynes, hearing, as it was thought, the noyse of the armie, made a breach through, so that when the Tartars returned vnto the same place tenne yeeres after, they found the mountaine broken. And attempting to goe vnto them, they could not: for there stood a cloud before them, beyond which they were not able to passe, being depriued of their sight so soone as they approached thereunto. But they on the contrary side thinking that the Tartars durst not come nigh them, gaue the assault, and when they came at the cloud, they could not proceed for the cause aforesaid. Also the Tartars, before they came vnto the said mountaines, passed for the space of a moneth and more, through a vast wildernes, and departing thence towards the East, they were aboue a moneth traueiling through another huge desert. At length, they came vnto a land wherin they saw beaten waies, but could not find any people. Howbeit, at the last, diligently seeking, they found a man and his wife, whom they presented before Chingis Cham: and demanding of them where the people of that countrey were, they answered, that the people inhabited vnder the ground in mountains. Then Chingis Cham keeping still the woman, sent her husband vnto them, giuing them charge to come at his command. And going vnto them, he declared all things that Chingis Cham had commanded them. But they answered, that they would vpon such a day visite him, to satisfie his desire. And in the meane season, by blinde and hidden passages vnder the earth, assembling themselues, they came against the Tartars in warlike manner, and suddenly issuing forth, they slewe a great number of them. This people were not able to endure the terrible noise, which in that place the Sunne made at his vprising: for at the time of the Sunne rising, they were inforced to lay one eare vpon the ground, and to stoppe the other close, least they should heare that dreadfull sound. Neither could they so escape, for by this meanes many of them were destroyed. Chingis Cham therefore and his company, seeing that they preuailed not, but continually lost some of their number, fled and departed out of that land. But the man and his wife aforesaid they caried along with them, who all their life time continued in the Tartars countrey. Being demaunded why the men of their countrey doe inhabite vnder the ground, they sayd, that at a certeine time of the yeare, when the sunne riseth, there is such an huge noyse, that the people cannot endure it. Moreouer, they vse to play vpon cymbals, drums, and other musicall instruments, to the ende they may not heare that sounde.

A fabulous narration of the sun rising.

De statutis Chingischam, et morte ipsius, et filijs ac Ducibus.

Cap. 13.

CVm autem de terra illa reuerteretur Chingischam, defecerunt eis victualia, famemq; patiebantur maximam. Tunc interiora vnius bestiæ recentia casu inuenerunt: quæ accipientes, depositis tantum stercoribus, decoxerunt, et coram Chingischam deportata pariter comederunt. Ideoq.; statuit Chingischam, vt nec sanguis, nec interiora, nec aliquid de bestia, quæ manducari potest, proijciatur, exceptis stercoribus. Inde ergò in terram propriam reuersus est, ibiq; leges et statuta edidit, quæ Tartari inuiolabiliter obseruant, de quibus scilicet iam aliàs superiùs dictum est. Post hoc ab ictu tonitrui occissus est. Habuit autem quatuor filios: Occoday vocobatur primus, Thossut Can secundus, Thiaday Tertius, quarti nomen ignoramus. Ab his iiij. descenderunt omnes Duces Mongalorum. Primus filiorum Occoday est Cuyne, qui nunc est Imperator. Huius fratres Cocten et Chyrenen. Ex filijs autem Thossut Can sunt Bathy, Ordu, Siba, Bora. Bathy post Imperatorem omnibus ditior est ac potentior. Ordu verò omnium Ducum senior. Filij Thiaday, sunt Hurin et Cadan. Filij autem alterius filij Chingischam, cuius ignoramus nomen, sunt, Mengu et Bithat et alij plures. Huius Mengu mater Seroctan est, Domina magna inter Tartaros,

Chingis lex.

Liberi.

Nepotes.

excepta Imperatoris matre plus nominata, omnibúsq; potentior, excepto Bathy. Hæc autem sunt nomina Ducum: Ordu, qui fuit in Polonia, et Hungaria, Bathy quoq; et Huryn et Cadan et Syban et Ouygat, qui omnes fuerunt in Hungaria. Sed et Cyrpodan, qui adhuc est vltra mare contra quosdam Soldanos Sarracenorum, et alios habitatores terræ transmarinæ. Alij verò remanserunt in terra, scilicet Mengu, Chyrenen, Hubilai, Sinocur, Cara, Gay, Sybedey, Bora, Berca, Corrensa. Alij quoq; Duces eorum plures sunt, quorum nomina nobis ignota sunt.

Duces.

The same in English.

Of the statutes of Chingis Cham, of his death, of his sonnes, and of his dukes. Chap. 13.

BVt as Chingis Cham returned out of that countrey, his people wanted victuals, and suffered extreme famin. Then by chance they found yᵉ fresh intrails of a beast: which they tooke, and casting away the dung therof, caused it to be sodden, brought it before Chingis Cham, and did eat therof. And hereupon Chingis Cham enacted: that neither the blood, nor the intrails, nor any other part of a beast which might be eaten, should be cast away, saue onely the dunge. Wherefore he returned thence into his owne land, and there he ordayned lawes and statutes, which the Tartars doe most strictly and inuiolably obserue, of the which we haue before spoken. He was afterward slaine by a thunderclap. He had foure sonnes: the first was called Occoday, the second Thossut Can, the third Thiaday: the name of the fourth is vnknowen. From these foure descended all the dukes of the Mongals. The first sonne of Occoday is Cuyne, who is now Emperour: his brothers be Cocten und Chyrinen. The sons of Thossut Can are Bathy, Ordu, Siba, and Bora. Bathy, next vnto the Emperour, is richer and mightier then all the rest. But Ordu is the seignior of all the dukes. The sonnes of Thiaday be Hurin and Cadan. The sonnes of Chingis Cham his other sonne, whose name is vnknowen, are Mengu, Bithat, and certaine others. The mother of Mengu was named Seroctan, and of all others most honoured among the Tartars, except the Emperors mother, and mightier than any subiect except Bathy. These be the names of the dukes: Ordu, who

The lawe of Chingis.

The death of Chingis.

His sonnes.

His graund-children.

The Tartarian dukes.

was in Poland and in Hungarie: Bathy also and Hurin and Cadan, and Siban, and Ouygat, all which were in Hungarie. In like maner Cyrpodan, who is as yet beyond the sea, making war against certaine Soldans of the Saracens, and other inhabitants of farre countries. Others remained in the land, as namely Mengu, Chyrinen, Hubilai, Sinocur, Cara, Gay, Sybedey, Bora, Berca, Corrensa. There be many other of their dukes, whose names are vnknowen vnto vs.

De postestate Imperatoris et Ducum eius. Cap. 14.

Imperatoris Tartarorum seruile in omnes imperium.

POrrò Imperator eorum, scilicet Tartarorum, super omnes habet mirabile dominium. Nullus enim audet in aliqua morari parte, nisi vbi assignauerit ipse. Et ipse quidem assignat Ducibus vbi maneant. Duces autem loca Millenarijs assignant, Millenarij verò Centenarijs et Centenarij Decanis. Quicquid autem eis præcipitur, quocunq; tempore, quocunq; loco, siue ad bellum, siue ad mortem, vel vbicunque, sine vlla obediunt contradictione. Nam etsi petit alicuius filiam virginem, vel sororem, mox ei sine contradictione exponunt eam, imò frequenter colligit virgines ex omnibus Tartarorum finibus, et si vult aliquas retinere, sibi retinet, alias verò dat suis hominibus. Nuncios etiam quoscunq; et vbicunq; transmittat, oportet quòd dent ei sine mora equos et expensas. Similiter vndecunque veniant ei tributa vel nuncij, oportet equos et currus et expensas tribui. Ac verò nuncij, qui aliunde veniunt, in magna miseria, et victus et vestitus penuria sunt. Maximeq; quando veniunt ad Principes, et ibi debent moram contrahere. Tunc adeò parum datur decem hominibus, quòd vix inde possent duo viuere. Insuper et si aliquæ illis iniuriæ fiunt, minimè conqueri facile possunt. Multa quoque munera tam à principibus quàm à cæteris ab illis petuntur: quæ si non dederint, vilipenduntur, et quasi pro nihilo reputantur. Hinc et nos magnam partem rerum, quæ nobis pro expensis à fidelibus erant datæ, de necessitate oportuit in muneribus dare. Denique sic omnia sunt in manu Imperatoris, quod nemo audet dicere, Hoc meum est vel illius, sed omnia, scilicet res et iumenta ac homines, sunt ipsius. Super hoc etiam nuper emanauit statutum eiusdem. Idem quoq; per omnia dominium habent Duces super sibi subditos homines.

Inhumanitas erga Legatos.

The same in English.

Of the authoritie of the Emperour, and of his dukes. Chap. 14.

The absolute and lordly dominion of the Tartarian Emperour ouer his subiects.

MOreouer, the Emperour of the Tartars hath a wonderfull dominion ouer all his subiects. For no man dare abide in any place, vnles he hath assigned him to be there. Also he himselfe appointeth to his dukes where they should inhabite. Likewise the dukes assigne places vnto euery Millenarie, or conducter of a thousand souldiers, the Millenaries vnto each captaine of an 100. the captaines vnto euery corporall of ten. Whatsoeuer is giuen them in charge, whensoeuer, or whersoeuer, be it to fight or to lose their liues, or howsoeuer it be, they obey without any gainsaying. For if he demandeth any mans daughter, or sister being a virgine, they presently deliuer her vnto him without all contradiction: yea, often times he makes a collection of virgines throughout all the Tartars dominions, and those whom he meanes to keepe, he retaineth vnto himselfe, others he bestoweth vpon his men. Also, whatsoeuer messenger he sendeth, or whithersoeuer, his subiects must without delay finde them horses and other necessaries. In like sorte, from what countrey soeuer tribute payers, or ambassadours come vnto him, they must haue horses, carriages, and expenses allowed them. Notwithstanding ambassadours comming from other places do suffer great misery, and are in much wante both of victuals, and of apparel: especially when they come to any of the dukes, and there they are constrayned to make some lingering abode. Then ten men are allowed so little sustenance, that scarcely two could liue thereof. Likewise, if any iniuries be offered them, they cannot without danger make complaint. Many gifts also are demaunded of them, both by dukes and others, which if they doe not bestow, they are basely esteemed, and set at nought. And hereupon, wee were of necessitie enforced to bestowe in giftes a great part of those things which were giuen vs by well disposed people, to defray our charges. To be short, all things are so in the power and possession of the Emperour, that no man dare say, This is mine, or, this is my neighbours; but all, both goods, cattell and men are his owne. Concerning this matter also he published a statute of late. The very same authority and iurisdiction, doe the dukes in like sorte exercise vpon their subiects.

Their barbarous inhumanitie towards ambassadours.

De electione Imperatoris Occoday, et legatione Ducis Bathy. Cap. 15.

MOrtuo, vt suprà dictum est, Cyngischam conuenerunt Duces, et elegerunt Occoday, filium eius Imperatorem. Qui habito consilio Principum, diuisit exercitus. Misitq; Bathy, qui in secundo gradu attingebat eum, contra terram Altissodan et contra terram Bisminorum, qui Sarraceni erant, sed loquebantur Comanicum. Qui terram illorum ingressus, cum eis pugnauit, eósq; sibi bello subiecit. Quædam antem ciuitas, nomine Barchin, diu restitit eis. Ciues enim in circuitu ciuitatis foueas multas fecerant, propter quas non poterant à Tartaris capi, donec illas repleuissent. Ciues autem vrbis Sarguit hoc audientes, exierunt obuiam eis, spontè in manus eorum se tradentes. Vnde ciuitas eorum destructa non fuit, sed plures eorum occiderunt, et alios transtulerunt, acceptisq; spolijs, vrbem alijs hominibus repleuerunt, et contra ciuitatem Orna perrexerunt. Hæc erat nimium populosa et diuitijs copiosa. Erant enim ibi plures Christiani, videlicet Gasari et Rutheni, et Alani, et alij nec non et Sarraceni. Erátq; Sarracenorum ciuitatis dominium. Est etiam posita super quendam magnum fluuium, et est quasi portus, habens forum maximum. Cumq; Tartari non possent eos aliter vincere, fluuium qui per vrbem currebat, præciderunt, et illam cum rebus et hominibus submerserunt. Quo facto, contra Russiam perrexerunt, et magnam stragem in ea fecerunt, ciuitates et castra destruxerunt, et homines occiderunt. Kiouiam, Russiæ metropolin, diu obsederunt, et tandem ceperunt, ac ciues interfecerunt. Vnde quando per illam terram ibamus, innumerabilia capita et ossa hominum mortuorum, iacentia super campum, inueniebamus. Fuerat enim vrbs valdè magna et populosa, nunc quasi ad nihilum est redacta: vix enim domus ibi remanserunt ducentæ, quarum etiam habitatores tenentur in maxime seruitute. Porrò de Russia et de Comania Tartari contra Hungaros et Polonos processerunt, ibíq; plures ex ipsis interfecti fuerunt, et vt iam superius dictum est, si Hungari viriliter restitissent, Tartari ab eis confusi recessissent. Inde reuertentes in terram Morduanorum, qui sunt Pagani, venerunt, eósq; bello vicerunt. Inde contra Byleros, id est, contra Bulgariam magnam profecti sunt, et ipsam omninò destruxerunt. Hinc ad

Occoday surrogatur patri.

Bathy eiúsq; expeditio.

Barchin ciuitas.

Sarguit ciuitas.

Orna ciuitas.

¶ Vide Mechouium lib. 1 cap. 3.

Morduani.

Bulgaria magna.

Aquilonem adhuc contra Bastarcos, id est Hungariam magnam processerunt, et illos etiam deuicerunt. Hinc ampliùs ad Aquilonem pergentes, ad Parossitas venerunt, qui paruos habentes stomachos et os paruum, non manducant, sed carnes decoquunt, quibus decoctis, se super ollam ponunt, et fumum recipiunt, et de hoc solo reficiuntur, vel si aliquid manducant, hoc valdé modicum est. Hinc et ad Samogetas venerunt, qui tantùm de venationibus viuunt, et tabernacula vestésq; tantum habent de pellibus bestiarum. Inde ad quandam terram super Oceanum peruenerunt, vbi monstra quædam inuenernnt, quæ per omnia formam humanam habebant, sed pedes bouinos, et caput quidem humanum, sed faciem vt canis. Duo verba loquebantur vt homines, tertiò latrabant vt canes. Hinc redierunt in Comaniam, et vsq; nunc ibi morantur ex eis quidam.

Hungaria magna.

Parossitæ.

Samogetæ.

Monstra aquilinaria.

† De his regionibus Herbersteinius pag. 8. b. et 91. b. Paret enim hodie vtraq; Moschorum Principi. Item de Bulgaria Guaguinus pag. 106. b.

The same in English.

Of the election of Emperour Occoday, and of the expedition of duke Bathy. Chap. 15.

AFter the death of Chingis Cham aforesayd, the dukes assembled themselues and chose Occoday his sonne to be their Emperour. And he, entering into consultation with his nobles, diuided his armies, and sent duke Bathy his nephew against the countrie of Altisoldan, and against the people called Bisermini, who were Saracens, but spake the language of Comania. The Tartars inuading their countrey, fought with them and subdued them in battel. But a certeine citie called Barchin resisted them a long time. For the citizens had cast vp many ditches and trenches about their citie, in regard whereof the Tartars could not take it, till they had filled the said ditches. But the citizens of Sarguit hearing this, came foorth to meete them, yeelding themselues vnto them of their owne accord. Whereupon their citie was not destroyed, but they slue manie of them and others they carried away captiue, and taking spoyles, they filled the citie with other inhabitants, and so marched foorth against the citie of Orna. This towne was very populous and exceeding

Occoday succeedeth his father.

The expedition of Bathy.

The citie of Barchin.

Orna.

rich. For there were many Christians therein, as namely Gasarians, Russians, and Alanians, with others, and Saracens also. The gouernment of the citie was in the Saracens hande. It standeth vpon a mighty riuer, and is a kinde of porte towne, hauing a great marte exercised therein. And when the Tartars could not otherwise ouercome it, they turned the said riuer, running through the citie, out of his chanell, and so drowned the citie with the inhabitantes and their goods. Which being done, they set forward against Russia, and made foule hauocke there, destroying cities and castles and murthering the people. They layd siege a long while vnto Kiow the chiefe citie of Russia, and at length they tooke it and slue the citizens. Whereupon, traueiling through that countrey, wee found an innumerable multitude of dead mens skulles and bones lying vpon the earth. For it was a very large and a populous citie, but it is nowe in a maner brought to nothing: for there doe scarce remaine 200 houses, the inhabitants whereof are kept in extreame bondage. Moreouer, out of Russia and Comania, they proceeded forward against the Hungarians, and the Polonians, and there manie of them were slaine, as is aforesaid: and had the Hungarians manfully withstood them, the Tartars had beene confounded and driuen backe. Returning from thence, they inuaded the countrey of the Morduans being pagans, and conquered them in battell. Then they marched against the people called Byleri, or Bulgaria magna, and vtterly wasted the countrey. From hence they proceeded towards the North against the people called Bastarci or Hungaria magna, and conquered them also. And so going on further North, they came vnto the Parossitæ, who hauing little stomacks and small mouthes, eate not any thing at all, but seething flesh they stand or sitte ouer the potte, and receiuing the steame or smoke thereof, are therewith onely nourished, and if they eate anie thing it is very little. From hence they came to the Samogetæ, who liue onely vpon hunting, and vse to dwell in tabernacles onely, and to weare garments made of beastes skinnes. From thence they proceeded vnto a countrey lying vpon the Ocean sea, where they found certaine monsters, who in all things resembled the shape of men, sauing that their feete were like the feete of an oxe, and they had in deede mens heads but dogges faces. They spake, as it were, two words like men, but at

The Morduans.

Bulgaria magna.

Hungaria magna.

Parossitæ.

Samogetæ.

The North ocean.

Northerne monsters.

the third they barked like dogges. From hence they retired into Comania, and there some of them remaine vnto this day.

De legatione Cyrpodan Ducis. Cap. 16.

EO tempore misit Occoday Can Cyrpodan Ducem cum exercitu ad meridiem contra Kergis, qui et illos bello superauit. Hi homines sunt Pagani, qui pilos in barba non babent. Quorum consuetudo talis est, vt cùm alicuius pater moritur, præ dolore quasi vnam corrigiam in signum lamenti ab aure vsq; aurem de facie sua leuet. His autem deuictis, Dux Cyrpodan contra Armenios iuit ad meridiem cum suis. Qui cùm transirent per deserta quædam, monstra inuenerunt, effigiem humanam habentia, quæ non nisi vnum brachium cum manu in medio pectoris, et vnum pedem habebant, et duo cum vno arco sagittabant, adeóq; fortiter currebant, quòd equi eos inuestigare non poterant. Currebant autem super vnum pedem illum saltando, et cùm essent fatigati, taliter eundo ibant super manum et pedem, se tanquam in circulo reuoluendo. Cúmq; sic etiam fessi essent, iterum secundùm priorem modum currebant. Hos Isidorus Cyclopedes appellat. Et ex eis Tartari nonnullus occiderunt. Et sicut nobis à Ruthenis Clericis in curia dicebatur, qui morantur cum Imperatore prædicto, plures ex eis nuncij venerunt in legatione ad curiam Imperatoris, superiùs annotati, vt possent habere pacem cum illo. Inde procedentes venerunt in Armeniam, quam bello deuicerunt, et etiam Georgiæ partem. Alia verò pars venit ad mandatum eorum, et singulis annis dederunt, et adhuc dant ei pro tributo xx. millia Yperperarum. Hinc ad terram Soldani Deurum, potentis et magni, processerunt, cum quo etiam pugnantes, ipsum deuicerunt. Denique processerunt vlterius debellando ac vincendo vsque ad terram Soldani Halapiæ, et nunc etiam terram obtinent, alias quoque terras vltra illas proponentes impuguare: nec postea reuersi sunt in terram suam vsq; hodiè. Idémq; exercitus contra terram Caliphi Baldach perrexit, quam etiam sibi subdidit, et vt CCCC. Byzantios, exceptis Baldekinis cæterísq; muneribus, ei quotidiè pro tributo daret, obtinuit. Sed et quolibet anno mittunt nuncios ad Caliphum, vt ad eos veniat. Qui cum tributo munera magna trasmittens, vt eum supportent, rogat. Ipse autem Imperator Tartarorum munera quidem accipit, et nihilominus vt veniat, pro eo mittit.

Expeditio Cyrpodanis

Cyclopedes.

Armenia et Georgia subacta.

Soldanus Halapiæ.

Calipha Baldacensis.

The same in English.

Of the expedition of duke Cyrpodan. Chap. 16.

AT the same time Occoday Can sent duke Cyrpodan with an armie against Kergis, who also subdued them in battell. These men are Pagans, hauing no beardes at all. They haue a custome when any of their fathers die, for griefe and in token of lamentation to drawe as it were, a leather thong ouerthwart their faces, from one eare to the other. This nation being conquered, duke Cyrpodan marched with his forces Southward against the Armenians. And trauailing through certain desert places, they found monsters in the shape of men, which had each of them but one arme and one hand growing out of the midst of their breast, and but one foote. Two of them vsed to shoote in one bowe, and they ran so swiftly, that horses could not ouertake them. They ran also vpon that one foote by hopping and leaping, and being weary of such walking, they went vpon their hand and their foote, turning themselues round, as it were in a circle. And being wearie of so doing, they ran againe according to their wonted manner. Isidore calleth them Cyclopedes. And as it was told vs in court, by the clergie men of Russia, who remaine with the foresayd Emperour, many ambassadours were sent from them vnto the Emperours court, to obtaine peace. From thence they proceeded forth into Armenia, which they conquered in battell, and part also of Georgia. And the other part is vnder their jurisdiction, paying as yet euery yeare vnto them for tribute, 20000. pieces of coyne called Yperpera. From thence they marched into the dominions of the puissant and mighty Soldan called Deurum, whom also they vanquished in fight. And to be short, they went on farther sacking and conquering, euen vnto the Soldan of Aleppo his dominions, and now they haue subdued that land also, determining to inuade other countries beyond it: neither returned they afterward into their owne land vnto this day. Likewise the same armie marched forward against the Caliph of Baldach his countrey, which they subdued also, and exacted at his handes the daylie tribute of 400. Byzantines, besides Baldakines and other giftes. Also euery yeare they send messengers vnto the Caliph mouing him to come vnto them. Who sending back great gifts together with his tribute beseecheth them to be fauourable vnto

Kergis.

Cyclopedes.

Armenia and Georgia conquered.

The Soldan of Aleppo his land.

The Caliph of Baldach.

him. Howbeit the Tartarian Emperour receiueth al his gifts, and yet still neuertheles sends for him, to haue him come.

Qualiter Tartari se habent in prælijs. Cap. 17.

Tartarorum militaris disciplina.

Armatura.

ORdinauit Chingischam Tartaros per Decanos et centenarios et millenarios. Decem quoque millenarijs præponunt vnum, cunctóq; nihilominus exercitui duos aut tres Duces, ita tamen vt ad vnum habeant respectum. Cúmq; in bello contra aliquos congrediuntur, nisi communiter cedant, omnes qui fugiunt, occiduntur. Et si vnus aut duo, vel plures ex decem audacter accedunt ad pugnam, alij verò ex illo Denario non sequuntur, similiter occiduntur. Sed etiam si vnus ex decem vel plures capiuntur, socij eorum si non eos liberant, ipsi etiam occiduntur. Porrò arma debent habere tallia. Duos arcus vel vnum bonum ad minus. Trésq; pharetras sagittis plenas, et vnam securim et funes ad machinas trahendas. Diuites autem habent gladios in fine acutos, ex vna parte tantùm incidentes, et aliquantulum curuos. Habent et equos armatos, crura etiam tecta, galeas et loricas. Verùm loricas et equorum coopertures quidam habent de corio, super corpus artificiosè duplicato vel etiam triplicato. Galea verò superius est de chalybe, vel de ferro: sed illud, quod in circuitu protegit collum et gulam, est de corio. Quidam autem de ferro habent omnia supradicta, in hunc modum formata. Laminas multas tenues ad vnius digiti latitudinem et palmæ longitudinem faciunt, et in qualibet octo foramina paruula facientes, interius tres corrigias strictas et fortes ponunt. Sicq; laminas, vnam alij quasi per gradus ascendendo, supponunt. Itáq; laminas ad corrigias, tenuibus corrigiolis per foramina prædicta immissis, ligant, et in superiori parte corrigiolam vnam ex vtraque parte duplicatam cum alia corrigiola consuunt, vt laminæ simul benè firmitérq; cohæreant. Hæc faciunt tam ad coopertures equorum, quàm ad armaturas hominum. Adeóq; faciunt illa lucere, quod in eis potest homo faciem suam videre. Aliqui verò in collo ferri lanceæ vncum habent, cum quo de sella, si possunt, hominem detrahant. Sagittarum eorum ferramenta sunt acutissima, ex vtraque parte quasi gladius biceps incidentia, sempérq; iuxta pharetram portant limas ad acuendum sagittas. Habent verò scuta de viminibus, aut de virgulis facta. Sed non credimus, quòd ea soleant portare, Vsus bellorum.

nisi ad castra et ad custodiam Imperatoris ac principum, et hoc tantùm de nocte. In bellis astutissimi sunt: quia per annos xlij. cum cæteris gentibus dimicârunt.

Mos tranandi flumina.

Cùm autem ad flumina peruenerunt, maiores habent rotundum ac leue corium, in cuius summitate per circuitum ansas crebras facientes, funem imponunt ac stringunt, ita quod in circuitu quasi ventrem efficiunt, quem vestibus ac rebus cæteris replent, fortissiméq; ad inuicem comprimunt. In medio autem ponunt sellas et alias res duriores: ibi quoque sedent homines. Huiusmodi nauim ad equi caudam ligant, et hominem, qui equum regat, pariter natare faciunt, vel habent aliquando duos remos, cum quibus remigant. Equo igitur in aquam impulso, omnes alij equi sequuntur illum, et sic transeunt fluuium. Pauperior autem quilibet vnam bursam vel saccum de corio benè consutum habet, in quo res suas omnes imponit, et in summitate fortiter ligatum, ad equi caudam suspendit, sícq; modo prædicto transit.

The same in English.

How the Tartars behaue themselues in warre. Chap. 17.

The military discipline of the Tartars.

CHingis Cham diuided his Tartars by captaines of ten, captaines of an 100. and captaines of a 1000. And ouer ten Millenaries or captains of a 1000, he placed, as it were, one Colonel, and yet notwithstanding ouer one whole armie he authorised two or three dukes, but yet so that all should haue especiall regard vnto one of the said dukes. And when they ioine battel against any other nation, vnles they do all with one consent giue backe, euery man that flies is put to death. And if one or two, or more of ten proceed manfully to the battel, but the residue of those ten draw backe and follow not the company, they are in like maner slaine. Also, if one among ten or more bee taken, their fellowes, if they rescue them not, are punished with death. Moreouer they are enioined to haue these

Their weapons.

weapons following. Two long bowes or one good one at the least, three quiuers full of arrowes, and one axe, and ropes to draw engines withal. But the richer sort haue single edged swords, with sharpe points, and somewhat crooked. They haue also armed horses with their shoulders and breasts defenced, they haue helmets and brigandines. Some of them haue iackes, and caparisons for their horses made of leather artificially doubled

or trebled vpon their bodies. The vpper part of their helmet is of iron or steele, but that part which compasseth about the necke and the throate is of leather. Howbeit some of them haue all their foresaide furniture of iron framed in maner following. They beate out many thinne plates a finger broad, and a handful long, and making in euery one of them eight little holes, they put thereunto three strong and streight leather thongs. So they ioine the plates one to another, as it were, ascending by degrees. Then they tie the plates vnto the said thongs, with other small and slender thongs, drawen through the holes aforesayd, and in the vpper part, on each side therof, they fasten one small doubled thong vnto another, that the plates may firmely be knit togethet. These they make, as well for their horses caparisons, as for the armour of their men: And they skowre them so bright that a man may behold his face in them. Some of them vpon the necke of their launce haue an hooke, wherewithall they attempt to pull men out of their saddles. The heads of their arrowes are exceedingly sharpe cutting both wayes like a two edged sworde, and they alwaies carie a file in their quiuers to whet their arrowheads. They haue targets made of wickers, or of small roddes. Howbeit they doe not (as we suppose) accustome to carrie them, but onely about the tents, or in the Emperours or dukes guardes, and that only in the night season. They are most politique in warres, hauing bene exercised therein with other nations for the space of these 42. yeres. When they come at any riuers, the chiefe men of the company haue a round and light piece of leather, about the borders whereof making many loopes, they put a rope into them to drawe it together like a purse, and so bring it into the rounde forme of a ball, which leather they fill with their garments and other necessaries, trussing it vp most strongly. But vpon the midst of the vpper parte thereof, they lay their saddles and other hard things, there also doe the men themselues sit. This their boate they tye vnto an horse tayle, causing a man to swimme before, and to guide ouer the horse, or sometime they haue two oares to row themselues ouer. The first horse therefore being driuen into the water, all the other horses of the company followe him, and so they passe through the riuer. But the poorer sorte of common souldiers haue euery man his leather bag or sachell well sowen together, wherin he packs vp all his trinkets, and strongly trussing it vp hangs it at his horses tayle, and so passeth ouer, in maner aforesaid.

Their experience and cunning in warres.

Their maner of passing ouer riuers.

Qualiter resistendum sit eis. Cap. 18.

Παραίνεσις de bello contra Tartaros gerendo.

Ferri temperamentum.

NVllam æstimo prouinciam esse, quæ per se possit eis resistere; quia de omni terra potestatis suæ solent homines ad bellum congregare. Et siquidem vicina prouincia non vult eis opem ferre, quam impugnant, delentes illam, cum hominibus, quos ex illa capiunt, contra aliam pugnant. Et illos quidem in acie primos ponunt, et si malè pugnant, ipsos occidunt. Itaq; si Christiani eis resistere volunt, oportet quòd Principes ac rectores terrarum in vnum conueniant, ac de communi consilio eis resistant. Habeántq; pugnatores arcus fortes et balistais, quas multùm timent, sagittásq; sufficientes, dolabrum quoq; de bono ferro, vel securim cum manubrio longo. Ferramenta verò sagittarum more Tartarorum, quando sunt calida, temperare debent in aqua, cum sale mixta, vt fortia sint ad penetrandum illorum arma. Gladios etiam et lanceas cum vncis habeant, qui volunt, ad detrahendum illos de sella, de qua facillimè cadunt. Habeant et galeas et arma cætera, ad protegendum corpus et equum ab armis et saggitis eorum, et si qui non ita sunt armati, debent more illorum post alios ire, et contra ipsos arcubus vel balistis traijcere. Et sicut dictum est suprà de Tartaris, debent acies suas ordinare, ac legem pugnantibus imponere. Quicunq; conuersus fuerit ad prædam ante victoriam, maximam debet pœnam subire: talis enim apud illos occiditur absq; miseratione. Locus ad prælium, si fieri potest, eligendus est planus, vt vndiq; possint videre, nec omnes debent in vnum conuenire, sed acies multas et diuisas, nec tamen nimis distantes ab inuicem, facere. Contra illos, qui primò veniunt, debent vnam aciem mittere, et alia parata sit ad iuuandum illam opportuno tempore. Habeant et speculatores ex omni parte, qui videant, quando veniunt acies cæteræ. Nam ideò semper debent aciem contra aciem, vt ei occurrant, mittere, quoniam illi semper nituntur aduersarios in medio concludere. Hoc autem acies caueant, ne si etiam illi fugere videantur, diu post illos currant, ne fortè, sicut facere solent, ipsos ad paratas insidias trahent: quia plus fraudulentia quàm fortitudine pugnant. Et iterum ne fatigentur equi eorum: quia nostri multitudinem non habent equorum. Tartari verò quos equitant die vna, non ascendunt tribus diebus, vel quatuor postea. Prætera si cedunt Tartari, non ideò debent nostri recedere, vel ab inuicem separari: quoniam hoc simulando faciunt, vt exercitus

diuidatur, et sic ad terræ destructionem liberè ingrediantur. Cæterùm Duces nostri die noctúque facere debent exercitum custodiri: nec jacere spoliati, sed semper ad pugnam parati: quia Tartari quasi Dæmones semper vigilant, excogitantes artem nocendi. Porrò si aliqui Tartarorum in bello de suis equis proijciuntur, statim capiendi sunt, quia quando sunt in terra fortiter sagittant, et equos hominésq; vulnerant.

The same in English.

Howe they may be resisted. Chap. 18.

I Deeme not any one kingdome or prouince able to resist them: because they vse to take vp souldiers out of euery countrey of their dominions. And if so be the neighbour prouince which they inuade, wil not aide them, vtterly wasting it, with the inhabitants therof, whom they take from thence with them, they proceed on to fight against another countrey. And placing their captiues in the forefront of the battell, if they fight not couragiously, they put them to the sworde. Wherefore, if Christians would withstande them, it is expediennt, that the prouinces and gouernours of countreies should agree in one, and so by common counsell, should giue them resistance. Their souldiers also must be furnished with strong hand-bowes and cros-bowes, which they greatly dread, and with sufficient arrowes, with maces also of good iron, or an axe with a long handle or staffe. When they make their arrow heads, they must (according to ye Tartars custome) dip them red-hot into water mingled with salte, that they may be strong to pierce the enemies armour. They that wil may haue swords also and lances with hooks at the ends, to pull them from their saddles, out of which they are easilie remoued. They must haue helmets likewise and other armour to defend themselues and their horses from the Tartars weapons and arrowes, and they that are vnarmed, must (according to ye Tartars custome) march behinde their fellowes, and discharge at the enemie with long bowes and cros-bowes. And (as it is aboue said of the Tartars) they must orderly dispose their bandes and troupes, and ordeine lawes for their souldiers. Whosoeuer runneth to the pray or spoyle, before the victorie be achieued, must vndergoe a most seuere punishment. For such a fellow is put to death among the Tartars without all pitie or mercie. The place of battel must be

Counsel how to wage warre against the Tartars.

A notable temper of iron or steele.

chosen, if it be possible, in a plaine fielde, where they may see round about, neither must all be in one company, but in manie and seuerall bandes, not very farre distant one from another. They which giue the first encounter must send one band before, and must haue another in a readynesse to relieue and second the former in time conuenient. They must haue spies also on euery side to giue them notice when the rest of the enemies bandes approch. For therefore ought they alwayes to send forth band against band and troupe against troupe, because the Tartar euer practiseth to gette his enemie in the midst and so to enuiron him. Let our bands take this caveat also, if the enemie retire, not to make any long pursuit after him, lest peraduenture (according to his custome) he might draw them into some secret ambush: for the Tartar fights more by policie than by maine force. Those horses which the Tartars vse one day, they ride not vpon three or foure dayes after. Moreouer, if the Tartars draw homeward, our men must not therefore depart and casseir their bandes, or separate themselues asunder: because they doe this vpon policie, namely to haue our armie diuided, that they may more securely inuade and waste the countrey. And in very deede, our captaines ought both day and night to keepe their armie in a readines: and not to lie out of their armour, but at all assayes, to bee prouided for battell. For the Tartars like deuils are alwaies watching and deuising howe to practise mischiefe. Furthermore, if in battell any of the Tartars be cast off their horse backes, they must presently bee layd holde on and taken, for being on foote they shoote strongly, wounding and killing both horses and men.

De itinere Fratris Iohannis de Plano carpini vsque ad primam custodiam Tartarorum. Cap. 19.

NOs igitur ex mandato sedis Apostolicæ cùm iremus ad Orientis nationes, elegimus prius ad Tartaros proficisci: quia timebamus, ne per illos in proximo Ecclesiæ Dei periculum immineret. Itaq; pergentes, ad regem Boëmorum peruenimus: qui cùm esset nobis familiaris, consuluit, vt per Poloniam et Russiam iter ageremus. Habebat enim consanguineos in Polonia, quorum auxilio Russiam intrare possemus. Datísq; literis et bono conductu, fecit et expensas nobis dari per curias et ciuitates eius, quo vsque ad Ducem Silesiæ Bolezlaum, nepotem eius, veniremus, qui etiam erat

Itinerarium Iohann. et sociorum legatorum.

Boleslaus Dux Silesiæ.

nobis familiaris et notus. Hinc et ipse nobis similiter fecit, donec veniremus ad Conradum, Ducem * Lautisciæ, ad quem tunc, Dei gratia nobis fauente, venerat Dominus Wasilico, Dux Russiæ, à quo etiam plenius de facto audiuimus Tartarorum: quia nuncios illuc miserat, qui iam redierant ad ipsum. Audito autem, quòd opporteret nos illis munera dare, quasdam pelles castorum et aliorum animalium fecimus emi, de hoc, quod datum nobis fuerat in eleemosynam ad subsidium viæ. Quod agnoscentes Dux Conradus et * Ducissa Cracouiæ, et Episcopus et quidam milites, plures etiam nobis dederunt huiusmodi pelles. Denique Dux Wasilico à Duce Cracouiæ, et Episcopo atque Baronibus pro nobis attentè rogatus, secum nos in terram suam duxit, et vt aliquantulum quiesceremus aliquot diebus nos in expensis suis detinuit. Et cùm rogatus à nobis, fecisset Episcopos suos venire, legimus eis literas Domini Papæ, monentis eos, ad sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ vnitatem redire. Ad idem quoque nos ipsi monuimus eos, et induximus, quantum potuimus, tam Ducem quàm Episcopos et alios. Sed quia Dux Daniel, frater Wasiliconis prædicti, præsens non erat, quoniam ad Baty profectus erat, non potuerunt eo tempore finaliter respondere. Post hæc Dux Wasilico transmisit nos vsque in Kiouiam metropolin Russiæ, cum seruiente vno. Ibamus tamen in periculo capitis semper propter Lituanos, qui sæpè faciebant insultum super terram Russiæ, et in illis maximè locis, per quos debebamus transire. At per prædictum seruientem eramus securi à Ruthenis, quorum etiam maxima pars occisa vel captiuata erat à Tartaris. Porrò in Danilone vsque ad mortem tunc infirmati fuimus. Nihilominus tamen in vehiculo per niuem et frigus magnum trahi nos fecimus. Cùm ergò Kiouiam peruenimus, habuimus de via nostra consilium cum millenario ac cæteris ibidem nobilibus. Qui responderunt nobis, quòd si duceremus equos illos, quos tunc habebamus, ad Tartaros, cùm essent magnæ niues, morerentur omnes: qui nescirent herbam fodere sub niue, sicut equi faciunt Tartarorum, nec inueniri posset aliquod pro eis ad manducandum, cùm Tartari nec stramina nec fœnum habeant, nec pabulum. Itaque decreuimus eos illic dimittere cum duobus pueris, deputatis eorum custodiæ. Ideóq; nos oportuit millenario dare munera, vt ipsum haberemus propitium, ad dandum nobis equos

* Mazouiæ.

* Grimislaua, vt Mechouius lib. 1. cap. 9.

Literæ Papæ ad Russos.

Daniel, frater Basilij.

Lituani.

Pabulum equorum Tartaric.

subductitios et conductum. Secundo igitur die post festum Purificationis cepto itinere, venimus ad villam Canouæ, quæ sub Tartaris erat immediatè. Cuius præfectus nobis dedit equos et conductum vsque ad aliam, in qua reperimus præfectum Micheam omni malitia plenum. Qui tamen acceptis à nobis muneribus secundum velle suum, duxit nos vsq; ad primam custodiam Tartarorum.

Micheas πάγκακος.

The same in English.

Of the iourney of frier * Iohn vnto the first guard of the Tartars. Chap. 19.

* Iohannes de plano Carpini.

WE therefore by the commaundement of the sea apostolique setting foorth towards the nations of the East, chose first to trauel vnto the Tartars, because we feared that there might be great danger imminent vpon the Church of God next vnto them, by their inuasions. Proceeding on therefore, we came to the king of Bohemia, who being of our familiar acquaintance, aduised vs to take our iourney through Polonia and Russia. For he had kinsfolkes in Polonia, by whose assistance, we might enter into Russia. Hauing giuen vs his letters, hee caused our charges also to be defrayed, in all his chiefe houses and cities, till we came vnto his nephew Boleslaus duke of Silesia, who also was familiar and well knowen vnto vs. The like fauour he shewed vs also, till wee came vnto Conradus duke of * Lautiscia, vnto whome then (by Gods especiall fauour towards vs) lord Wasilico duke of Russia was come, from whose mouth we heard more at large concerning the deedes of the Tartars: for he had sent ambassadours thither, who were returned backe vnto him. Wherefore, it being giuen vs to vnderstand, that we must bestow giftes vpon them, we caused certaine skinnes of beuers and other beastes to be bought with part of that money, which was giuen upon almes to succour vs by the way. Which thing duke Conradus and the * duches of Cracow, and a bishop, and certaine souldiers being aduertised of, gaue vs likewise more of the same skins. And to be short, duke Wasilico being earnestly requested by the duke of Cracow, and by the bishop and barons, on our behalfe, conducted vs with him, vnto his owne land, and there for certaine daies, enterteined vs at his

The iourney of frier Iohn and his fellow Legates.

Boleslaus duke of Silesia.

* Mazouia.

* Grimslaua.

owne charges, to the ende that we might refresh our selues a while. And when, being requested by vs, he had caused his bishops to resort vnto him, we reade before them the Popes letters, admonishing them to returne vnto the vnitie of the Church. To the same purpose also, we our selues admonished them, and to our abilitie, induced as well the duke as the bishops and others thereunto. Howbeit because duke Daniel the brother of Wasilico aforesaid (hauing as then taken his iourney vnto Baty) was absent, they could not at that time, make a finall answere. After these things duke Wasilico sent vs forward with one of his seruants as farre as Kiow the chiefe citie of Russia. Howbeit we went alwayes in danger of our liues by reason of the Lithuanians, who did often inuade ye borders of Russia, euen in those verie places by which we were to passe. But in regard of the foresayd seruant, wee were out of the Russians daunger, the greatest part of whome were either slaine, or caried into captiuitie by the Tartars. Moreouer, at Danilon wee were feeble euen vnto the death. (Notwithstanding wee caused our selues to bee carried in a waggon through the snowe and extreme colde) And being come vnto Kiow, wee consulted with the Millenary, and other noble men there concerning our iourney. They told vs, that if wee carried those horses, which wee then had, vnto the Tartars, great store of snowe lying vpon the ground, they would all dye: be cause they knew not how to digge vp the grass vnder the snow, as the Tartarian horses doe, neither could there bee ought found for them to eate, the Tartars hauing neither hay nor strawe, nor any other fodder. We determined therefore to leaue them behind at Kiow with two seruants appointed to keepe them. And wee were constrayned to bestow gifts vpon the Millenary, that we might obtaine his fauour to allowe vs poste horses and a guide. Wherefore beginning our iourney the second daye after the feast of the Purification, wee arriued at the towne of Canow, which was immediately vnder the dominion of the Tartars. The gouernour whereof allowed vs horses and a guide vnto another towne, wherein wee found one Michæas to be gouernour, a man full of all malice and despight. Who notwithstanding, hauing receiued giftes at our handes, according to his maner conducted vs to the first guarde of the Tartars.

Daniel brother vnto Wasilico.

The Lithuanians.

The fodder of the Tartarian horses.

Michæas the malicious.

Qualiter primò cum socijs suis receptus est à Tartaris. Cap. 20.

CVm ergo in prima sexta feria post diem cinerum, Sole ad occasum tendente, hospitaremur, Tartari super nos armati horribiliter irruerunt, quærentes cuiusmodi homines essemus: cúmq; respondissemus, quòd Domini Papæ nuncij essemus, quibusdam cibarijs à nobis acceptis, continuò discesserunt. Porrò mane facto, cùm surgentes aliquantulum processissemus, maiores illorum, qui erant in custodia, nobis occurrerunt, interrogantes, cur ad eos veniremus? et quid negotij haberemus? Quibus respondimus, Domini Papæ nuncij sumus, qui Christianorum pater est ac Dominus. Hic nos idcircò tam ad Regem quàm ad Principes, omnésq; Tartaros, mittit, quia placet ei, quòd omnes Christiani Tartarorum sint amici, et pacem habeant cum ipsis. Desiderat insuper, vt apud Deum in cœlo sint magni, et idcircò monet eos tam per nos quàm per literas suas, vt efficiantur Christiani, fidémq; recipiant Domini nostri Iesu Christi, quia non possunt aliter saluari. Mandat præthereà, quòd miratur de tanta occisione hominum, et maximè Christianorum, ac potissimè Hungarorum, Montanorum, et Polonorum, qui sunt ei subiecti, facta per Tartaros, cùm in nullo læsissent, aut lædere attentassent eos. Et quia Dominus Deus grauiter est super hoc offensus, monet eos, vt à talibus de cætero caueant, et de commissis pœnitentiam agant. Super his etiam rogat, vt ei rescribant, quid facere velint de cætero, et quæ sit eorum intentio. Quibus auditis, et intellectis, dixerunt Tartari, se velle equos nobis subductitios vsq; ad Corrensam et ducatum præbere. Statímq; munera petierunt, et à nobis acceperunt. Equis igitur acceptis, de quibus descenderunt ipsi, cum eorum ducatu ad Corrensam arripuimus iter eundi. Ipsi tamen velociter equitantes, nuncium vnum præmiserunt ad præfatum Ducem cum his verbis, quæ dixeramus eisdem. Est autem Dux iste Dominus omnium, qui positi sunt in custodia contra omnes Occidentis populos, ne fortè subitò et improuisò irruant aliqui super illos. Et iste dicitur habere sexaginta millia hominum armatorum sub se.

Papa Christianorum pater et Dominus.

Legationibus mandata.

Corrensa.

Dux limitis occidentalis.

The same in English.

How he and his company were at the first receiued of the Tartars. Chap. 20.

WHerefore, the first saturday next after Ashwednesday, hauing about the Sunnes going downe, taken vp our place of rest, the armed Tartars came rushing vpon vs in vnciuil and horrible maner, being very inquisitiue of vs what maner of persons, or of what condition we were: and when we had answered them that we were the Popes Legates, receiuing some victuals at our handes, they immediately departed. Moreouer in the morning rising and proceeding on our iourney, the chiefe of them which were in the guard met with vs, demaunding why, or for what intent and purpose we came thither: and what busines we had with them: Vnto whom we answered, We are the legates of our lord the Pope, who is the father and lord of the Christians. He hath sent vs as well vnto your Emperour, as to your princes, and all other Tartars for this purpose, because it is his pleasure, that all Christians should be in league with the Tartars, and should haue peace with them. It is his desire also that they should become great or in fauour with God in heauen, therfore he admonisheth them aswel by vs, as by his own letters, to become Christians, and to embrace the faith of our Lord Iesu Christ, because they could not otherwise be saued. Moreouer, he giues them to vnderstand, that he much marueileth at their monstrous slaughters and massacres of mankind, and especially of Christians, but most of al of Hungarians, Mountaineirs, and Polonians, being al his subiects, hauing not iniuried them in ought, nor attempted to doe them iniurie. And because the Lord God is grieuously offended thereat, he aduiseth them from henceforth to beware of such dealing, and to repent them of that which they had done. He requesteth also, that they would write an answere vnto him, what they purpose to doe hereafter, and what their intention is. All which things being heard and vnderstood, the Tartars sayd that they would appoint vs poste horses and a guide vnto Corrensa. And immediately demanding gifts at our hands, they obtained them. Then receiuing the same horses, from which they dismounted, together with a guide wee tooke our iourney into Corrensa. But they riding a swift pace, sent a messenger before vnto the sayd duke, to signifie the message, which we had deliuered vnto

The contents of the legacie.

Corrensa.

The duke of the westerne marches.

them. This duke is gouernour of all of them, which lie in guard against the nations of the West, least some enemy might on the sudden and at vnawares breake in vpon them. And hee is said to haue 60000. men vnder him.

Qualiter recepti sunt apud Corrensam. Cap. 21.

CVm ergò peruenissemus an eius curiam, fecit nobis longè à se poni stationem, et misit ad nos procuratores suos, vt quærerent à nobis, cum quo ei vellemus inclinare, id est, quæ ei munera inclinando vellemus offerre. Quibus respondimus, quòd Dominus Papa non mittebat aliqua munera; quia non erat certus, quòd ad illos peruenire possemus, et insuper veneramus per loca valdè periculosa. Veruntamen in quantum de his, quæ habebamus ex gratia Dei et Domini Papæ ad victum nostrum, sicut poterimus, honorabimus ipsum. Acceptísq; muneribus duxerunt nos ad ordam siue tentorium ipsius, et instructi fuimus, vt ante ostium stationis ter cum sinistro genu inclinaremus, et caueremus attentè, ne pedem super limen ostij poneremus. Et postquam intrauimus, opportuit nos coram Duce omnibúsq; maioribus, qui ad hoc erant vocati, dicere flexis genibus ea, quae dixeramus superiùs. Literas etiam Dom. Papæ obtulimus: sed interpres, quem de Kyouia, dato pretio, duxeramus, non erat sufficiens ad interpretandum, nec aliquis alius habebatur idoneus. Hinc equi nobis dati sunt, et tres Tartari, qui nos ducerent festinanter ad ducem Bathy. Ipse est apud eos potentior excepto Imperatore, cui tenentur præ cunctis principibus obedire. Itaq; iter arripuimus secunda feria post primam dominicam || xl. et equitando, quantum equi trotare poterant, quoniam habebamus equos recentes ferè ter aut quater omni die, properabamus de mane vsq; ad noctem, imò etiam de nocte sæpissimè, nec tamen ante quartam feriam maioris hebdomadæ potuimus ad ipsum peruenire. Ibamus autem per terram Comanorum, quæ tota est plana, et flumina quatuor habet magna. Primum appellatur * Neper, iuxta quod ex parte Russiæ ambulabat Correnza et Montij, qui maior est illo ex altera parte per campestria. Secundum appellatur † Don, super quod ambulat quidam Princeps, habens in coniugio sororem Baty, qui vocatur Tirbon. Tertium dicitur ‡ Volga, quod est magnum valdè, super quod incedit Bathy. Quartum nominatur § Iaec,

Mos salutandi Tartaricos proceres.

Bathy eiúsque potentia.

|| Quadragesimæ.

Comania.

* Veteribus Borysthenes.

† Tanaïs.

‡ Rha.

§ Rhymnus.

super quod duo millenarij vadunt, vnus ex parte fluminis vna, et alter ex altera. Hi omnes in hyeme ad mare descendunt, et in æstate super ripam eorundem fluminum ad montes ascendunt. Hoc est mare magnum, de quo brachium sancti Georgij exit, quod in Constantinopolin vadit. Hæc autem flumina sunt piscibus valdè plena, maximè Volga, intrántq; mare Græciæ, quod dicitur Magnum mare. Super Nepre autem multis diebus iuimus per glaciem. Super littora quoq; maris Græciæ satis periculosè per glaciem iuimus in pluribus locis multis diebus. Congelantur enim circa littora vndæ ad tres leucas inferiùs. Prius autem quàm ad Bathy perueniremus, duo ex nostris Tartaris præcesserunt, ad indicandum ei omnia verba, quæ apud Corrensam dixeramus.

Pontus Euxinus.

Volga non intrat.

The same in English.

How they were receiued at the court of Corrensa. Chap. 21.

BEing come therefore vnto his court, hee caused our tent to be placed farre from him, and sent his agents to demaund of vs with what we would incline vnto him, that is to say, what giftes we would offer, in doing our obeisance vnto him. Vnto whome wee answered, that our lord the Pope had not sent any giftes at all, because he was not certaine that wee should euer bee able to come at them: for we passed through most dangerous places. Notwithstanding, to our abilitie, we will honour him with some part of those things, which haue bene, by the goodnes of God, and the fauour of the Pope, bestowed vpon vs for our sustenance. Hauing receiued our gifts, they conducted vs vnto the Orda or tent of the duke, and we were instructed to bow thrise with our left knee before the doore of the tente, and in any case to beware, lest wee set our foote vpon the threshold of the sayd doore. And that after we were entred, wee should rehearse before the duke and all his nobles, the same wordes, which wee had before sayd, kneeling vpon our knees. Then presented wee the letters of our lord the Pope: but our interpreter whome we had hired and brought with vs from Kiow was not sufficiently able to interpret them, neither was there any other esteemed to bee meete for the same purpose. Here certaine poste horses and three Tartars were appoynted for vs to conduct vs from hence with al speede vnto duke Bathy.

The maner of saluting the Tartarian princes.

Duke Bathy and his power.

*Boristhenes.

† Tanais.

‡ Rha.

|| Rhymnus.

§ Pontus Euxima. He is deceiued, for albeit Neper and Don run into Mare maior: yet Volga and Iaec flowe into the Caspian sea.

This Bathy is the mightiest prince among them except the Emperour, and they are bound to obey him before all other princes. We began our iourney towards his court the first tuesday in Lent, and riding as fast as our horses could trot (for we had fresh horses almost thrise or foure times a day) we posted from morning till night, yea very often in the night season also, and yet could we not come at him before Maundie thursday. All this iourney we went through the land of Comania, which is al plaine ground, and hath foure mighty riuers running through it: * Neper, on the side whereof towards Russia, duke Corrensa and Montij marched vp and downe, which Montij on the other side vpon the plaines is greater then he. The second is called † Don, vpon the banke whereof marcheth a certain prince hauing in marriage the sister of Bathy, his name is Tirbon. The third is called ‡ Volga, which is an exceeding great riuer, vpon the bankes whereof duke Bathy marcheth. The fourth is called || Iaec, vpon which two Millenaries doe march, on each side of the riuer one. All these, in the winter time, descend down to the sea, and in summer ascend backe by the bankes of the said riuers vp to the mountains. The sea last named is the §Great sea, out of which the arme of S. George proceedeth, which runneth by Constantinople. These riuers do abound with plenty of fishes, but especially Volga, and they exonerate themselues into the Grecian sea, which is called Mare maior. Ouer Neper we went many daies vpon the ice. Along the shore also of the Grecian sea we went very dangerously vpon the ice in sundry places, and that for many daies together. For about the shore the waters are frozen three leagues into the sea. But before we came into Bathy, two of our Tartars rode afore, to giue him intelligence of all the sayings which we had vttered in the presence of Corrensa.

Qualiter recepti sunt apud Bathy magnum Principem. Cap. 22.

Ceremonia per duos ignes transeundi.

POrrò cùm in finibus terræ Comanorum ad Bathy perueniremus, benè positi fuimus per vnam leucam à stationibus eius. Cúmq; duci debuimus ad curiam ipsius, dictum fuit nobis, quòd inter duos ignes transire deberemus. Nos autem hoc nulla ratione facere volebamus. At illi dixerunt nobis : Ite securè, quia pro nulla causa volu-

mus hoc facere, nisi tantùm, vt si vos aliquid malum cogitatis Domino nostro, vel portatis venenum, ignis auferat omne malum. Quibus respondemus: quod propter hoc, ne de tali re suspectos redderemus nos, transiremus. Cùm igitur ad Ordam peruenissemus, interrogati à procuratore ipsius Eldegay, cum quo inclinare vellemus? idem quod prius apud Corrensam respondimus, datísq; muneribus et acceptis, auditis etiam itineris causis, introduxerunt nos in stationem Principis, prius facta inclinatione, et audita de limine non calcando, sicut prius, admonitione. Ingressi autem flexis genibus, verba nostra proposuimus, deinde literas obtulimus, et ut nobis darentur interpretes ad transferendum eas, rogauimus. Qui etiam in die Parasceue dati fuerunt nobis, et eas in litera Ruthenica, Sarracenica, et in Tartarica diligenter cum ipsis transtulimus. Hæc interpretatio Bathy præsentata fuit; quam et legit, et attentè notauit. Tandem ad nostram stationem reducti fuimus, sed nulla cibaria nobis dederunt, nisi semel aliquantulum millij in vna scutella, scilicet in prima nocte quando venimus. Iste Bathy magnificè se gerit, habens ostiarios et omnes officiales ad modum Imperatoris, et sedet in eminenti loco velut in throno cum vna de vxoribus suis. Alij verò tam fratres sui et filij, quàm alij maiores inferiùs sedent in medio super bancum, et homines cæteri post eos in terra deorsum, sed viri à dextris, et fœminæ à sinistris. Tentoria quoque de panno lineo habet pulchra et magna satis, quæ fuerunt Hungariæ regis. Nec aliquis ad eius tentorium audet accedere præter familiam, nisi vocatus, quantumcunque sit potens et magnus, nisi fortè sciatur, quòd sit voluntas ipsius. Nos etiam dicta causa sedimus à sinistris: Sic etenim et omnes nuncij faciunt in eundo: sed in redeundo ab Imperatore, semper ponebamur à dextris. In medio ponitur mensa eius prope ostium stationis, super quam apponitur potus in aureis et argenteis vasis. Nec vnquam bibit Bathy, vel aliquis Tartarorum Princeps, maximè quando in publico sunt, nisi cantetur ei vel cytharizetur. Et cùm equitat, semper portatur solinum vel tentoriolum super caput eius in hasta. Sícq; faciunt cuncti maiores Principes Tartarorum, et etiam vxores eorum. Idem verò Bathy satis est hominibus suis benignus, valdè tamen ab eis timetur, et in pugna est crudelisimus, sagax est multum et astutissimus in bello: quia iam pugnauit tempore longo.

Eldegay.

Bathy audit legatos.

Gerit se regifice.

Eiusdem bibendi ad Symphoniæ cantum mos.

Authoritas.

The same in English.

How we were receiued at the court of the great prince Bathy.

Chap. 22.

MOreouer, when we came vnto Bathy in the land of Comania, we were seated a good league distant from his tabernacles. And when we should be conducted vnto his court, it was told vs that we must passe between two fires. But we would by no means be induced thereunto. Howbeit, they said vnto vs: you may passe through without al danger: for we would haue you to doe it for none other cause, but only that if you intend any mischiefe against our lord, or bring any poyson with you, fire may take away all euill. Vnto whom we answered, that to the end we might cleare ourselues from all suspition of any such matter, we were contented to passe through. When therefore we were come vnto the Orda, being demanded by his agent Eldegay with what present or gift we would do our obeisance? Wee gaue the same answere which we did at the court of Corrensa. The gifts being giuen and receiued, the causes of our iourney also being heard, they brought vs into the tabernacle of the prince, first bowing ourselues at the doore, and being admonished, as before, not to tread vpon the threshold. And being entred, we spake vnto him kneeling vpon our knees, and deliuered him our letters, and requested him to haue interpreters to translate them. Who accordingly on good friday were sent vnto vs, and we together with them, diligently translated our sayd letters into the Russian, Tartarian, and Saracen languages. This interpretation was presented vnto Bathy, which he read, and attentiuely noted. At length wee were conducted home againe vnto our owne lodging, howbeit no victuals were giuen vnto vs, except it were once a litle Millet in a dich, the first night of our comming. This Bathy caries himselfe very stately and magnificently, hauing porters and all officers after the maner of the Emperour, and sittes in a lofty seate or throne together with one of his wiues. The rest, namely, as well his brethren and sonnes, as other great personages sit vnderneath him in the midst vpon a bench, and others sit down vpon the ground, behinde him, but the men on the right hand and the women on the left. He hath very faire and large tentes of linnen cloth also, which were once the kings of Hungaria. Neither dare any man come into his tent

A ceremony of passing betweene two fires.

Eldegay.

Bathy heareth the Legates.

He behaues himselfe like a king.

(besides them of his owne family) vnles he be called, be he neuer so mighty and great, except perhaps it be knowen that it is his pleasure. Wee also, for the same cause, sate on the left hand; for so doe all ambassadors in going: but in returning from the Emperour, we were alwaies placed on the right hand. In the middest stands his table, neare vnto the doore of the tent, vpon the which there is drinke filled in golden and siluer vessels. Neither doth Bathy at any time drinke, nor any other of the Tartarian princes, especially being in a publique place, but they haue singing and minstrilsie before them. And alwaies, when hee rides, there is a canopie or small tent caried ouer his head vpon the point of a iaueline. And so doe all the great princes of the Tartars, and their wiues also. The sayd Bathy is courteous enough vnto his owne men, and yet is hee had in great awe by them: he is most cruel in fight: he is exceedingly prudent and politique in warre, because he hath now continued a long time in martiall affaires.

Their custome of drinking at the sound of musicke.

Qualiter recedentes à Bathy per terram Comanorum et Kangittarum transierunt. Cap. 23.

IN die porrò Sabbathi sancti ad stationem fuimus vocati, et exiuit ad nos procurator Bathy prædictus, dicens ex parte ipsius, quòd ad Imperatorem Cuyne in terram ipsorum iremus, retentis quibusdam ex nostris sub hac specie, quòd vellent eos remittere ad Dominum Papam, quibus et literas dedimus de omnibus factis nostris, quas deferrent eidem. Sed cùm rediissent vsq; ad Montij Ducem supradictum, ibi retenti fuerunt vsque ad reditum nostrum. Nos autem in die Paschæ officio dicto, et facta comestione qualicunq; cum duobus Tartaris, qui nobis apud Corrensam fuerant assignati, cum multis lacrymis recessimus, nescientes vtrum ad mortem vel vitam pergeremus. Eramus tamen ita infirmi corpore, quòd vix poteramus equitare. In tota siquidem illa quadragesima fuerat cibus noster millum cum aqua et sale tantùm, et in alijs similiter diebus ieiuniorum. Nec habebamus aliquid ad bibendum præter niuem in caldario liquefactam. Ibamus autem per Comaniam equitando fortissimè quoniam habebamus equos recentes quinquies aut pluries in die, nisi quando per deserta ibamus, et tunc equos meliores atque fortiores, qui possent continuum sustinere laborem, accipiebamus. Et hoc ab ineunte quadragesima vsque

Legati iubentur ad Cuyme Imperat. pergere.

Comaniæ descriptio. ad octo dies post Pascha. Hæc terra Comania ab Aquilone immediatè post Russiam habet Morduynos, Byleros, id est, magnam Bulgariam, Bastarcos, id est, magnam Oceanus septentrionalis. Hungariam, post Bastarcos, Parositas et Samogetas. Post Samogetas, illos, qui dicuntur habere faciem caninam in Oceani littoribus desertis. A meridie habet Alanos, Circassos, Gazaros, Græciam et Constantinopolin, ac terram Iberorum, Cathos, Brutachios, qui dicuntur esse Iudæi, caput radentes per totùm, terram quoq: Cithorum atque Georgianorum et Armeniorum et Turcorum. Ab occidente autem Hungariam habet atque Russiam. Et est Comania terra maxima et longa. Cuius populos, scilicet Comanos, Tartari occiderunt, quidam tamen à facie eorum fugerunt, et quidam in eorum seruitutem redacti sunt. Plurimi autem ex eis, qui fugerunt, ad ipsos redierunt.

Terra Kangittarum. Post hæc intrauimus terram Kangittarum, quæ magnam habet in plurimis locis penuriam aquarum, in qua etiam homines pauci morantur propter aquæ defectum. Vnde Ieroslaus, Dux Russiæ. homines Ieroslai, Ducis Russiæ, cùm ad ipsum in terram Tartarorum perrexerunt, plures eorum in illo deserto præ siti mortui sunt. In hac etiam terra et in Comania multa inuenimus capita et ossa mortuorum hominum, super terram iacentia tanquam sterquilinium. Per hanc itaq; terram iuimus ab octo diebus post Pascha ferè vsque ad Ascensionem Dominicam. Huiúsq; habitatores Pagani erant, et tam ipsi quàm Comani non laborabant, sed tantùm de animalibus viuebant, nec domos ædificabant, sed in tabernaculis habitabant. Istos etiam Tartari deleuerunt, et habitabant in terris eorum, illíq; qui remanserunt, redacti sunt in seruitutem ipsorum.

The same in English.

How departing from Bathy, they passed through the land of Comania, and of the Kangittæ. Chap. 23.

MOreouer, vpon Easter euen, we were called vnto the tent, and there came forth to meete vs the foresaid agent of Bathy, saying on his masters behalfe, that we should go into their land, vnto the Emperor Cuyne, deteining certaine of our company with this pretence, that they would send them backe vnto the Pope, to whom we gaue letters of al our affaires to deliuer vnto him. But being come as farre as duke Montij aforesaid, there they were kept vntill our returne. Vpon Easter day, hauing said our

praiers, and taken a slender breakfast, in the company of two Tartars, which were assigned vnto vs by Corensa, we departed with many teares, not knowing whether we went to death or to life. And we were so feeble in bodie, that we were scarce able to ride. For all that Lent through, our meat was Millet onely with a little water and salte. And so likewise vpon other fasting dayes. Neither had we ought to drinke, but snow melted in a skillet. And passing through Comania we rode most earnestly, hauing change of horses fiue times or oftener in a day, except when we went through deserts, for then we were allowed better and stronger horses, which could vndergoe the whole labour. And thus farre had we trauailed from the beginning of Lent vntill eight dayes after Easter. The land of Comania on the North side immediately after Russia, hath the people called Morduyni Byleri, that is, Bulgaria magna, the Bastarci, that is, Hungaria magna, next vnto the Bastarci, the Parositæ and the Samogetæ. Next vnto the Samogetæ are those people which are sayd to haue dogges faces, inhabiting vpon the desert shores of the Ocean. On the South side it hath the Alani, the Circassi, the Gazari, Greece and Constantinople; also the land of Iberia, the Cathes, the Brutaches who are said to be Iewes shauing their heads all ouer, the landes also of Scythia, of Georgia, of Armenia, of Turkie. On the West side it hath Hungaria, and Russia. Also Comania is a most large and long countrey. The inhabitantes whereof called Comani the Tartars slewe, some notwithstanding fled from them, and the rest were subdued vnder their bondage. But most of them that fled are returned againe. Afterward wee entred the lande of the Kangittæ, which in many places hath great scarcetie of waters, wherin there are but fewe inhabitants by reason of the foresayd defect of water. For this cause diuers of the seruants of Ieroslaus duke of Russia, as they were traueiling towards him into the land of Tartaria, died for thirst, in that desert. As before in Comania, so likewise in this countrey, wee found many skulles and bones of dead men lying vpon the earth like a dunghill. Through this countrey we were traueiling from the eight day after Easter vntil Ascension day. The inhabitants therof were Pagans, and neither they nor the Comanians vsed to till the ground, but liued onely vpon cattell, neither built they any houses but dwelled in tents. These men also haue

They trauelled post from Easter day to the 22. of July Eastward to Volga.

A description of Comania.

The North Ocean.

The lande of the Kangittæ.

Ieroslaus duke of Russia.

the Tartars rooted out, and doe possesse and inhabite their countrey, howbeit, those that remained are reduced into their bondage.

Qualiter ad primam Imperatoris futuri curiam deuenerunt.
Cap. 24.

Terra Biserminorum.
Altisoldanus.
Montes maximi.
Burin.
Cadan.
Oceanus ab Aquilone.
Syban, frater Bathy.
Nigri Cathayni.
Mare paruum.
Plurimus diebus.
Pluresinsulæ.
Ordu. cap. 13.
Prima curia Imperatoris.

POrrò de terra Kangittarum intrauimus terram Biserminorum, qui loquuntur lingua Comanica, sed legem tenent Sarracenorum. In hac etiam terra inuenimus vrbes innumeras cum castris dirutas, villásq; multas desertas. Huius Dominus dicebatur Altisoldanus, qui cum tota sua progenie à Tartaris est destructus. Habet autem hæc terra montes maximos. Et à meridie quidem habet Hierusalem et Baldach, totámq; Sarracenorum terram. Atque in finibus illis propinquis morantur duo fratres carnales, Tartarorum Duces, scilicet Burin et Cadan, filij Thiaday, qui fuit filius Chingischam. Ab Aquilone verò terram habet nigrorum Kythaorum and Oceanum. In illa verò moratur Syban, frater Bathy. Per hanc iuimus à festo Ascensionis dominicæ ferè vsque ad viij. dies ante festum sanct. Iohan. Baptistæ. Deinde ingressi sumus terram nigrorum Kythaorum, in qua Imperator ædificauit domum, vbi etiam vocati fuimus ad bibendum. Et ille, qui erat ibidem ex parte imperatoris, fecit maiores ciuitatis, et etiam duos filios eius, plaudere coram nobis. Hinc exeuntes, quoddam mare paruum inuenimus, in cuius littore quidam existit mons paruus. In quo scilicet monte quoddam foramen esse dicitur, vnde in hyeme tam maximæ tempestates ventorum exeunt, quòd homines inde vix et cum magno periculo transire possunt. In æstate verò semper quidem ibi ventorum sonitus auditur, sed de foramine tenuiter egreditur. Per huius maris littora plurimis diebus perreximus, quod quidem licet non multum sit magnum, plures insulas habet, et illud in sinistris dimisimus. In terra verò illa habitat Ordu, quem omnium Ducum Tartarorum antiquiorem diximus, et est orda, siue curia patris ipsius, quam inhabitat, et regis vna de vxoribus eius. Consuetudo enim est apud Tartaros, quòd principum et maiorum curiæ non delentur, sed semper ordinantur aliquæ mulieres, quæ illas regant, eísque donariorum partes, sicut Dominis earum dari solebant, dantur. Sic tandem ad primam Imperatoris curiam venimus, in qua erat vna de vxoribus ipsius.

The same in English.

How they came vnto the first court of the new Emperour.
Chap. 24.

MOreouer, out of the land of the Kangittae, we entered into the countrey of yͤ Bisermini, who speake the language of Comania, but obserue the law of the Saracens. In this countrey we found innumerable cities with castles ruined, and many towns left desolate. The lord of this country was called Soldan Alti, who with al his progenie, was destroyed by the Tartars. This countrey hath most huge mountains. On the South side it hath Ierusalem and Baldach, and all the whole countrey of the Saracens. In the next territories adioyning doe inhabite two carnall brothers dukes of the Tartars, namely, Burin and Cadan, the sonnes of Thyaday, who was the sonne of Chingis Can. On the North side thereof it hath the land of the blacke Kythayans, and the Ocean. In the same countrie Syban the brother of Bathy remaineth. Through this countrie we were traueiling from the feast of Ascension, vntil eight daies before the feast of S. Iohn Baptist. And then we entred into the land of the blacke Kythayans, in which the Emperour built an house, where we were called in to drinke. Also the Emperours deputy in that place caused the chiefe men of the citie and his two sonnes to daunce before us. Departing from hence, wee found a certaine small sea, vpon the shore whereof stands a little mountaine. In which mountaine is reported to be a hole, from whence, in winter time such vehement tempests of winds doe issue, that traueilers can scarcely, and with great danger passe by the same way. In summer time, the noise in deede of the winde is heard there, but it proceedeth gently out of the hole. Along the shores of the aforesaid sea we traueiled for the space of many dayes, which although it bee not very great, yet hath it many islandes, and wee passed by leauiug it on our left hande. In this lande dwelleth Ordu, whom wee sayde to bee auncient vnto all the Tartarian dukes. And it is the Orda or court of his father which hee inhabiteth, and one of his wiues beareth rule there. For it is a custome among the Tartars, that the Courts of Princes or of noble men are not dissolued, but alwayes some women are

The land of the Bisermini.

Alti Soldanus.

Huge mountaines.

Burin and Cadan.

The North ocean.

Syban brother vnto Bathy.

The blacke Kythayans.

A small sea.

Many dayes.

Ordu cap. 13.

The first court of the Emperour.

appointed to keepe and gouerne them, vpon whom certain gifts are bestowed, in like sort as they are giuen vnto their Lords. And so at length we arriued at the first court of the Emperour, wherein one of his wiues dwelt.

Qualiter ad ipsum Cuyne, Imperatorem futurum peruenerunt. Cap. 25.

Terra Nyamanorum.

Tartaria. Iulij 22.

Acceleratum legatorum iter.

AT verò quia nondum Imperatorem videramus, noluerunt vocare nos, nec intromittere ad Ordam ipsius, sed nobis in tentorio nostro secundum morem Tartarorum valdè benè seruiri fecerunt, et vt quiesceremus, nos ibidem per vnam diem tenuerunt. Inde procedentes in vigilia sanctorum Petri et Pauli, terram Naymanorum intrauimus, qui sunt Pagani. In ipsa verò die Apostolorum ibidem cecidit magna nix, et habuimus magnum frigus. Hæc quidem terra montuosa et frigida est supra modum, ibíq; de planicie reperitur modicum. Istæ quoque duæ nationes prædictæ non laborabant, sed sicut et Tartari in tentorijs habitabant, quas et ipsi deleuerant. per hanc etiam multis diebus perreximus. Deinde terram Mongalorum intrauimus, quos Tartaros appellamus. Per has itaque terras, vt credimus, tribus septimanis equitando fortiter iuimus, et in die Beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ ad Cuyne Imperatorem electum peruenimus. Idèo autem per omnem viam istam valdè festinauimus, quia præceptum erat Tartaris nostris, vt citò nos deducerent ad curiam solennem, iam ex annis pluribus indictam, propter ipsius Imperatoris electionem. Idcircò de mane surgentes, ibamus vsque ad noctem sine comestione, et sæpius tam tardè veniebamus, quòd non comedebamus in sero, sed quod manducare debebamus in vespere, dabatur nobis in mane. Mutatísq; frequentius equis, nullatenus parcebatur eis, sed equitabamus velociter ac sine intermissione, quantum poterant equi trotare.

The same in English.

Howe they came vnto Cuyne himselfe, who was forthwith to be chosen Emperour. Chap. 25.

BVt because we had not as yet seene the Emperour, they would not inuite vs nor admit vs into his Orda, but caused good attendauce and entertainment, after the Tartars fashion, to be giuen vnto vs in oure owne tent, and they caused us to stay there, and

to refresh our selues with them one day. Departing thence vpon the euen of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, wee entered into the land of the Naymani, who are Pagans. But vpon the very feast day of the saide Apostles, there fel a mightie snowe in that place, and wee had extreame colde weather. This lande is full of mountaines, and colde beyonde measure, and there is little plaine ground to bee seene. These two nations last mentioned vsed not to till their grounde, but, like vnto the Tartars, dwelt in tents, which the sayde Tartars had destroyed. Through this countrey wee were trauailing manie dayes. Then entered wee into the lande of the Mongals, whome wee call Tartars. Through the Tartars lande wee continued our trauaile (as wee suppose) for the space of some three weekes, riding alwayes hastily and with speede, and vpon the day of Marie Magdalene we arriued at the court of Cuyne the Emperour elect. But therefore did we make great haste all this way, because our Tartarian guides were straightly commaunded to bring vs vnto the court Imperiall with all speede, which court hath beene these many yeeres, ordained for the election of the Emperour. Wherefore rising earely, wee trauailed vntil night without eating of any thing, and oftentimes wee came so late vnto our lodging, that we had no time to eate the same night, but that which we should haue eaten ouer night, was giuen vs in the morning. And often changing our horses, wee spared no Horse-fleshe, but rode swiftly and without intermission, as fast as our horses could trot.

The land of Naymani.

The 22. of Iuly.

Qualiter Cuyne Fratres Minores suscepit. Cap. 26.

CVm autem peruenimus ad Cuyne, fecit nobis dari tentorium et expensas, quales Tartaris dare solent, nobis tamen melius quàm alijs nuncijs faciebant. Ad ipsum autem vocati non fuimus, eo quòd nondum electus erat, nec adhuc de imperio se intromittebat. Interpretatio tamen literarum Domini Papæ, ac verba etiam à nobis dicta, à prædicto Baty erant ei mandata. Cùm ergo stetissemus ibi per quinque vel sex dies, ad matrem suam nos transmisit, vbi adunabatur curia solennis. Et cùm venissemus illuc, tam extensum erat tentorium magnum, de alba purpura præparatum, erátq; tam grande nostro iudicio, quòd plusquam duo millia hominum poterant esse sub illo. Et in circuitu factum erat ligneum tabulatum varijs imaginibus depictum. Illuc ergò

Cuyne in legatos benignitas.

Tentorium regium.

perreximus cum Tartaris, nobis ad custodiam assignatis, ibíq; conuenerant omnes duces, et vnusquisq; cum hominibus suis equitabat in circuitu per planiciem et colles. In prima die vestiti sunt omnes purpuris albis, in secunda verò rubeis. Et tunc venit Cuyne ad tentorium illud. Porrò tertia die fuerunt omnes in blaueis purpuris, et quarta in optimis Baldakinis. In illo autem tabulato iuxta tentorium erant duæ maiores portæ, per quarum vnam solus Imperator debebat intrare, et ad illam nulla erat custodia, quamuis esset aperta, quia per illam nullus audebat ingredi vel exire: per aliam omnes, qui admittebantur, intrabant, et ad illam custodes cum gladijs et arcubus et sagittis erant. Itaq; si quis tentorio propinquabat vltra terminos, qui positi erant, si capiebatur, verberabatur, si fugiebat, sagitta siue ferro sagittabatur. Multíq; ibi erant, qui in frænis, pectoralibus, sellis et huiusmodi, iudicio nostro, auri circiter viginti marcas habebant. Sic Duces infra tentorium colloquebantur, et de Imperatoris electione tractabant, vt à nobis creditur. Alius autem vniuersus populus longè extra tabulatum collocabatur, et ita ferè vsque ad meridiem morabantur. Tunc incipiebant lac iumentinum bibere, et vsque ad vesperas tantum bibebant, quod erat visu mirabile. Nos autem vocauerunt interius, et dederunt nobis cereuisiam: quia iumentinum lac non bibebamus. Et hoc quidem nobis pro magno fecerunt honore: sed tamen nos compellebant ad bibendum, quod nullatenus poteramus propter consuetudinem sustinere. Vnde ostendimus eis, hoc esse nobis graue, ideóq; nos cessauerunt compellere. Foris autem erat Dux Ieroslaus de Susdal Russiæ, plurésq; Duces Kythaorum et Solangorum. Duo quoq; filij regis Georgiæ, nuncius etiam Caliphi de Baldach, qui erat Soldanus, et plus quam decem alij Soldani Sarracenorum, vt credimus. Et sicut nobis à procuratoribus dicebatur, erant ibi nunciorum plus quàm quatuor millia, inter illos, qui tributa portabant, et illos, qui deferebant munera, et Soldanos ac Duces alios, qui ad tradendum seipsos veniebant, et illos, pro quibus ipsi miserant, illósq; qui terrarum præfecti erant. Hi omnes simul extra tabulatum ponebantur, eísq; simul bibere præbebatur. Nobis autem et Duci Ierozlao ferè semper ab eis dabatur superior locus, quando cum eis eramus exterius.

Comitia.

Symposium procorum.

Ieroslaus Dux Russiæ.

Legati diuersarum nationum.

The same in English.

How Cuyne enterteined the Minorite Friers. Chap. 26.

The curtesie of Cuyne towards Ambassadors.

BVt when wee were come vnto the court of Cuyne, hee caused (after the Tartars manner) a Tent and all expenses necessarie to bee prouided for vs. And his people entreated vs with more regarde and courtesie, then they did anie other Ambassadours. Howbeeit wee were not called before his presence, because hee was not as yet elected, nor admitted vnto his empire. Notwithstanding, the interpretation of the Popes letters, and the message which we deliuered, were sent vnto him by the foresaid Bathy. And hauing stayed there fiue or sixe dayes, hee sent vs vnto his mother, vnder whome there was mainteyned a verie solemne and royall court. And being come thither, we saw an huge tent of fine white cloth pitched, which was, to our iudgement, of so great quantitie, that more then two thousand men might stand within it, and round about it there was a wall of planks set vp, painted with diuers images. Wee therefore with our Tartars assigned to attende vpon vs, tooke our iourney thither, and there were all the Dukes assembled, eche one of them riding vp and downe with his traine ouer the hilles and dales. The first day they were all clad in white, but the second in skarlet robes. Then came Cuyne vnto the saide tent. Moreouer, the third day they were all in blew robes, and the fourth in most rich robes of Baldakin cloth. In the wall of boardes, about the tent aforesaid, were two great gates, by one of the which gates, the Emperour only was to enter, and at that gate there was no gard of men appointed to stand, although it stood continually open, because none durst go in or come out the same way: all that were admitted, entred by another gate, at which there stood watchmen, with bowes, swords, and arrowes. And whosoeuer approached vnto the tent beyond the bounds and limit assigned, being caught, was beaten, but if he fled, he was shot at with arrowes or iron. There were many to our iudgement, had vpon their bridles, trappers, saddles, and such like furniture, to the value of 20. markes in pure gold. The foresaid Dukes (as we thinke) communed together within the tent, and consulted about the election of their Emperor. But all the residue of the people were placed farre away without the walles of board, and in this maner they staied

The tent roial.

A generall assemblie.

The banquet of the Nobles.

Ieroslaus Duke of Susdal.

Ambassadors of sundry nations.

almost til noone. Then began they to drink mares milk, and so continued drinking til euen tide, and that in so great quantity, as it was wonderfull. And they called vs in vnto them, and gaue vs of their ale, because we could not drink their mares milke. And this they did vnto vs in token of great honor. But they compelled vs to drink so much, that in regard of our customary diet, wee coulde by no means endure it. Whereupon, giuing them to vnderstand, that it was hurtful vnto vs, they ceassed to compel vs any more. Without the doore stoode Duke Ieroslaus of Susdal, in Russia, and a great many Dukes of the Kythayans, and of the Solangi. The two sonnes also of the king of Georgia, the ligier of the Caliph of Baldach, who was a Soldan, and (as we thinke) aboue ten Soldans of the Saracens beside. And, as it was tolde vs by the agents, there were more than 4000, ambassadors, partly of such as paide tributes, and such as presented gifts, and other Soldans, and Dukes, which came to yeeld themselues, and such as the Tartars had sent for, and such as were gouernours of lands. All these were placed without the lists, and had drinke giuen vnto them. But almost continually they all of them gaue vs and Duke Ieroslaus the vpper hand, when we were abroad in their companie.

Qualiter in imperium sublimatus fuit. Cap. 27.

Imperij Cuynæ primitiæ.

Syra orda.

Aurea orda.

Augusti 15.

ET quidem, si benè meminimus ibidem per septimanas circiter quatuor fuimus. Credimúsq; quòd ibi fuit electio celebrata, non tamen ibidem fuit publicata. Propter hoc autem id maximè credebatur, quia semper, quando Cuyne tentorio exibat, eidem cantabatur, et cum virgis speciosis, in summitate lanam coccineam habentibus, inclinabatur, quod alteri Ducum nulli fiebat, quousq; exterius morabatur. Hæc autem statio siue Curia nominatur ab eis Syra orda. Hinc exeuntes, vnanimiter omnes equitauimus per tres aut quatuor leucas ad alium locum, vbi erat in quadam pulchra planicie iuxta riuum inter montes aliud tentorium, quod apud ipsos appellatur Orda aurea, præparatum. Ibi enim Cuyne debebat poni in sede in die Assumptionis Dominæ nostræ. Sed propter grandinem nimiam, quæ tunc, vt suprà dictum est, cecidit, res dilata fuit. Erátq; tentorium in columnis positum, quæ laminis aureis erant tectæ, et clauis aureis cum alijs lignis fixæ. Porrò de Baldakino erat tectum superius, sed alij erant panni exterius. Fuimus autem ibi vsq; ad festum Beati Bartholomæi, in quo maxima multitudo conuenit, et contra meridiem versis vultibus stetit. Et quidam ad iactum lapidis longè à cæteris erant, sempérq; orationes faciendo, ac genua flectendo, contra meridiem longius et longius procedebant. Nos autem vtrum incantationes facerunt, aut genua Deo vel alteri flecterent, nescientes, nolebamus facere genu flexiones. Cúmq; diu ita fecissent, ad tentorium reuersi sunt, et Cuyne in sede imperiali posuerunt, Ducésq; coram eo genua flexerunt. Post hoc idem fecit vniuersus populus, exceptis nobis, qui eis subditi non eramus.

Preces solemnes.

The same in English.

How he was exalted to his Empire. Chap. 27.

ANd to our remembrance, we remained there, about the space of foure weekes. The election was to our thinking there celebrated, but it was not published and proclaimed there. And it was greatly suspected so to be, because alwayes when Cuyne came forth out of the tent, he had a noyse of musicke, and was bowed vnto, or honoured with faire wands, hauing purple wooll vpon the tops of them, and that, so long as he remained abroad: which seruice was performed to none of the other Dukes. The foresaid tent or court is called by them Syra Orda. Departing thence, wee all with one accord rode 3. or 4 leagues vnto another place, where, in a goodly plaine, by a riuers side, betweene certaine mountaines, there was another tent erected, which was called the golden Orda. For there was Cuyne to be placed in the throne Emperiall, vpon the day of the Assumption of our Ladie. But, for the abundance of haile which fell at the same time, as is aboue said, the matter was deferred. There was also a tent erected vpon pillars, which were couered with plates of golde, and were ioyned vnto other timber with golden nailes. It was couered aboue with Baldakin cloth, but there was other cloth spread ouer that, next vnto the ayre. Wee abode there vnto the feast of Saint Bartholomew, what time there was assembled an huge multitude standing with their faces towards the South. And

The beginnings of Cuyne his empire.

Syra Orda.

The golden Orda.

The 15. of August.

Wollen cloth.

a certaine number of them beeing a stones cast distant from the residue, making continuall prayers, and kneeling vpon their knees, proceeded farther and farther towards the South. Howbeit wee, not knowing whether they vsed inchantments, or whether they bowed their knees to God or to some other, woulde not kneele vpon the grounde with them. And hauing done so a long time, they returned to the tent, and placed Cuyne in his throne imperiall, and his Dukes bowed their knees before him. Afterwarde the whole multitude kneeled downe in like maner, except our selues, for wee were none of his subiects.

De ætate ac moribus ac sigillo ipsius. Cap. 28.

Cuynæ ætas et mores.

HIc autem Imperator quando sublimatus est in regnum, videbatur esse circiter xl. vel xlv. annorum. Mediocris erat staturæ, prudens valde, nimis astutus multúmq; seriosus, et grauis in moribus. Nec vnquam videbat eum homo de facili ridere, vel aliquam leuitatem facere, sicut dicebant Christiani, qui cum ipso morabantur continuѐ. Dicebant etiam nobis asserendo firmiter Christiani, qui erant de familia eius, quòd deberet fieri Christianus. Cuius signum erat, quod ipse Clericos Christianos tenebat, et expensas eis dabat. Habebat etiam semper capellam Christianorum ante maius, tentorium suum, vbi cantant Clerici publicѐ et apertѐ, ac pulsant ad horas, vt cæteri Christiani secundùm mores Græcorum, quantacunq; sit ibi multitudo Tartarorum, vel etiam aliorum hominum. Hoc tamen non faciunt alij Duces ipsorum. Est autem mos Imperatoris ipsius, vt nunquam ore proprio loquatur cum extraneo, quantumcunq; magnus sit, sed audit et respondet per interpositam personam, et quandocunq; negotium proponunt, vel Imperatoris responsionem audiunt illi, qui sub eo sunt, quantumcunq; sint magni, flexis genibus vsq; ad finem verborum persistunt. Nec alicui de consuetudine super aliquo negotio loqui licitum est, postquam ab Imperatore definitum est. Habet autem Imperator prædictus procuratorem et protonotarios, atq; scriptores, omnésq; officiales in negotijs tam publicis quàm priuatis, exceptis Aduocatis. Nam sine litium vel iudiciorum strepitu secundum arbitrium Imperatoris omnia fiunt. Alij quoque Principes Tartarorum de his, quæ ad illos pertinent, idem faciunt. Hoc autem nouerint vniuersi, quia nobis tunc existentibus in solenni curia, iam ex

Studium Christianismi.

Maiestas.

Potestas ex lex.

pluribus annis indicta, idem Cuyne Imperator, de nouo electus, cum omnibus suis Principibus erexit vexillum contra Ecclesiam Dei, ac Romanum Imperium, et contra omnia regna Christianorum et populos Occidentis, nisi fortasse, quod absit, facerent ea, quae mandabat Domino Papæ, atque potentibus, et omnibus Christianorum populis, videlicet vt ipsi subdantur eis. Nam excepta Christianitate, nulla est terra in orbe, quam timeant, et idcirco contra nos ad pugnam se præparant. Huius siquidem Imperatoris pater, scilicet Occoday, necatus fuerat veneno, et ob hoc à bellis quieuerant tempore pauco. Intentio autem eorum, vt dictum est suprà, est, sibi totum subijcere mundum, sicut à Chingischam habent mandatum. Vnde et ipse Imperator in literis suis ita scribit: Dei fortitudo, omnium hominum Imperator. In superscriptione quoque sigilli eius est hoc: Deus in cœlo, et Cuyne Cham super terram, Dei fortitudo: omnium hominum Imperatoris sigillum.

Bellum in Christianos cogitatum.

† Et præclarè Aristoteles Politic. lib. 3. cap. 12. in hanc sententiam: Qui legem præesse vult, is velle videtur Deum ac leges imperare: qui autem vult hominem, is etiam belluam adiungit, cùm præsertim tale quid sit cupiditas et iracundia: et magistratus et optimus quisq; à recta via detorqueantur &c. Adde quæ è Chrysippo adducuntur ff. li. i. tit. 3. 1. 2.

The same in English.

Of his age and demeanour, and of his seale. Chap. 28.

THis Emperour, when hee was exalted vnto his gouernment, seemed to bee about the age of fourty or fourty fiue yeeres. He was of a meane stature, very wise and politike, and passing serious and graue in all his demeanour. A rare thing it was, for a man to see him laugh or behaue himself lightly, as those Christians report, which abode continually with him. Certaine Christians of his familie earnestly and strongly affirmed vnto vs, that he himselfe was about to become a Christian. A token and argument whereof was, that hee reteined diuers Cleargie men of the Christians. Hee had likewise at all times a Chappell of Christians, neere vnto his great Tent, where the Clearkes (like vnto other Christians, and according to the custome of the Græcians) doe sing publiquely

His inclination to Christianitie.

and openly, and ring belles at certaine houres, bee there neuer so great a multitude of Tartars, or of other people in presence. And yet none of their Dukes doe the like. It is the manner of the Emperour neuer to talke his owne selfe with a stranger, though he be neuer so great, but heareth and answeareth by a speaker. And when any of his subiects (howe great soeuer they bee) are in propounding anie matter of importaunce vnto him, or in hearing his answeare, they continue kneeling vpon their knees vnto the ende of their conference. Neither is it lawfull for any man to speake of any affaires, after they haue beene determined of by the Emperour. The sayde Emperour, hath in his affaires both publike and priuate, an Agent, and Secretary of estate, with Scribes and all other Officials, except aduocates. For, without the noyse of pleading, or sentence giuing, all things are done according to the Emperours will and pleasure. Other Tartarian princes do the like in those things which belong vnto them. But, be it known vnto al men, that whilest we remained at the said Emperours court, which hath bin ordained and kept for these many yeeres, the sayde Cuyne being Emperour new elect, together with al his princes, erected a flag of defiance against the Church of God, and the Romane empire, and against al Christian kingdomes and nationes of the West, vnlesse peraduenture (which God forbid) they will condescend vnto those things, which he hath inioined vnto our lord the pope, and to all potentates and people of the Christians, namely, that they wil become obedient vnto him. For, except Christendom, there is no land vnder heauen, which they stande in feare of, and for that cause they prepare themselues to battel against vs. This Emperors father, namely Occoday, was poisoned to death, which is the cause why they haue for a short space absteined from warre. But their intent and purpose is (as I haue aboue said) to subdue the whole world vnto themselues, as they were commanded by Chingis Can. Hence it is that the Emperor in his letters writeth after this maner: The power of God, and Emperour of all men. Also, vpon his seale, there is this posie ingrauen: God in heauen, and Cuyne Can vpon earth, the power of God: the seale of the Emperour of all men.

His maiestie.

A lawlesse authoritie.

Warre intended against all Christians.

De admissione Fratrum et nunciorum ad Imperatorem.
Cap. 29.

IN loco illo, vbi positus est Imperator in throno, vocati fuimus coram ipso. Cúmq; Chingay protonotarius eius nomina nostra scripsisset, illorumq; à quibus missi eramus, et Ducis Solangorum et aliorum, clamauit alta voce, recitans illa coram Imperatore ac Ducum vniuersitate. Quo facto, flexit vnusquisq; nostrum quater genu sinistrum, et monuerunt, ne tangeremus limen deorsum. Cúmq; pro cultellis nos diligentissimè scrutati fuissent, et nullatenus inuenissent, intrauimus ostium ab Orientali parte: quia nullus ab Occidente, nisi solus imperator, audet intrare. Similiter et Dux ab illa parte ingreditur solus, si est tentorium eius. Minores autem non multum curant de talibus. Tunc ergò primum in eius præsentia suam intrauimus stationem, videlicet postquam factus est Imperator ibidem. Omnes quoque nuncij tunc ab eo recepti sunt, sed paucissimi tentorium eius intrauerunt. Ibi verò tanta donaria ab ipsis nuncijs fuerunt ei præsentata, quòd quasi videbantur infinita, videlicet in samitis ac purpureis et baldakinis ac cingulis sericis cum auro præparatis, pellibus etiam nobilibus, cæterísq; muneribus. Quoddam etiam Solinum, siue tentoriolum, quod super caput Imperatoris portatur, fuit eidem præsentatum, quod totum erat cum gemmis præparatum. Quidam verò præfectus vnius prouinciæ adduxit ei Camelos multos cum Baldakinis tectos. Similiter sellæ positæ cum instrumentis quibusdam erant, in quibus homines interius sedere valebant. Equos etiam multos et mulos adducebant eidem phaleratos et armatos, quosdam quidem de corio, et quosdam de ferro. Nos etiam requisiti fuimus, an ei munera dare vellemus: sed iam facultas non erat, quoniam omnia ferè nostra consumpseramus. Ibidem longè à stationibus super montem erant positi currus plusquam quingenti, qui omnes auro et argento ac sericis vestibus erant pleni. Cunctísq; inter imperatorem et Duces diuisi fuerunt, singulísq; Duces inter homines suos partes suas, vt eis placuit, diuiserunt.

Cuyne audit legatos.

Munera eidem oblata.

Currus.

The same in English.
Of the admission of the Friers and Ambassadours vnto the Emperour. Chap. 29.

IN the same place where the Emperour was established into

Cuyne heareth the Legates.

his throne, we were summoned before him. And Chingay, his chiefe secretary hauing written down our names, and the names of them that sent vs, with the name of the Duke of Solangi, and of others, cried out with a loude voice, rehearsing the said names before the Emperour, and the assembly of his Dukes. Which beeing done, ech one of vs bowed his left knee foure times, and they gaue vs warning not to touch the threshold. And after they had searched vs most diligently for kniues, and could not find any about vs, we entred in at the doore vpon the East side: because no man dare presume to enter at the West doore, but the Emperour onely. In like maner, euery Tartarian Duke entreth on the West side into his tent. Howbeit the inferiour sort doe not greatly regard such ceremonies. This therefore was the first time, when we entred into the Emperours tent in his presence, after he was created Emperour. Likewise all other ambassadours were there receiued by him, but very fewe were admitted into his tent. And there were presented vnto him such abundance of gifts by the saide Ambassadours, that they seemed to be infinite, namely in Samites, robes of purple, and of Baldakin cloth, silke girdles wrought with golde, and costly skinnes, with other gifts also. Likewise there was a certaine Sun Canopie, or small tent (which was to bee carried ouer the Emperours head) presented vnto him, being set full of precious stones. And a gouernour of one Prouince brought vnto him a companie of camels couered with Baldakins. They had saddles also vpon their backs, with certaine other instruments, within the which were places for men to sitte vpon. Also they brought many horses and mules vnto him furnished with trappes and caparisons, some being made of leather, and some of iron. And we were demanded whether we would bestow any gifts vpon him or no? But wee were not of abilitie so to doe, hauing in a maner spent all our prouision. There were also vpon an hill standing a good distance from the tents, more than 500. carts, which were all ful of siluer and of gold, and silke garments. And they were all diuided betweene the Emperour and his Dukes, and euery Duke bestowed vpon his owne followers what pleased him.

Gifts presented vnto him.

500 Carts ful of treasure.

De loco diuisionis Imperatoris et matris suæ, et morte Ieroslai, Ducis Russiæ. Cap. 30.

Tentorium purpureum.

Solium churnum.

Nex Occoday vindicata.

Ieroslaus Dux Russiæ.

INde recedentes, venimus ad alium locum, vbi tentorium mirabile, totum de purpura rufa, quod Kitay dederant, erat positum. Illic interius introducti fuimus, et semper cùm intrabamus nobis dabatur ad bibendum cereuisia vel vinum, et etiam carnes coctæ, si volebamus, ad edendum. Erátque solariolum vnum, de tabulis altè præparatum, vbi thronus Imperatoris erat positus, ex ebore mirabiliter sculptus, in quo etiam erat aurum, et lapides preciosi, si bené meminimus, et illuc ascendebatur per gradus. Erátque rotundum superius. Banci verò erant positi in circuitu sedis, vbi dominæ sedebant à parte sinistra in scamnis, à dextris autem nemo sedebat superius, sed Duces sedebant in Bancis inferius, et hoc in medio. Alij verò sedebant post eos, et quolibet die veniebat dominarum maxima multitudo. Ista verò tria tentoria, de quibus suprà diximus, erant valdè magna, aliáq; habebant vxores eius de filtro albo satis magna et pulchra. Ibidem Imperator diuisus est à matre sua, quæ iuit in vnam terræ partem, et Imperator in aliam ad iudicia facienda. Capta siquidem erat amica Imperatoris istius, quæ veneno interfecerat patrem eius, eo tempore, quo exercitus eorum in Hungaria fuit. Propter quod etiam exercitus eorum, qui erat in partibus illis, recessit. De qua cum alijs pluribus factum fuit iudicium, et occisi fuerunt. Eodem tempore mortuus fuit Ierozlaus, Dux magnus Soldal, quæ est quædam Russiæ pars. Vocatus enim ad matrem Imperatoris quasi pro honore, vt manducaret ac biberet de manu ipsius, in continenti ad hospitum est reuersus, infirmatúsq; mortuus est post septem dies, totúmque corpus eius miro modo glaucum effectum est, dicebatúrq; ab omnibus, quod ibidem, vt terram eius liberè ac plenariè possiderent, fuisset impotionatus.

The same in English.

Of the place where the Emperour and his mother tooke their leaues one of another, and of Ieroslaus Duke of Russia. Chap. 30.

A tent of purple.

DEparting thence, we came vnto another place, where a wonderfull braue tent, all of red purple,

giuen by the Kythayans, was pitched. Wee were admitted into that also, and alwaies when we entred, there was giuen vnto vs ale and wine to drinke, and sodden fleshe (when we would) to eate. There was also a loftie stage built of boords, where the Emperours throne was placed, being verie curiously wrought out of iuorie, wherein also there was golde and precious stones, and (as we remember) there were certain degrees or staires to ascend vnto it. And it was round vpon the top. There were benches placed about the saide throne, whereon the ladies sate towarde the left hand of the Emperour vpon stooles, (but none sate aloft on the right hand) and the Dukes sate vpon benches below, the said throne being in the midst. Certaine others sate behind the Dukes, and euery day there resorted great companie of Ladies thither. The three tents whereof we spake before, were very large, but the Emperour his wiues had other great and faire tentes made of white felt. This was the place where the Emperour parted companie with his mother: for she went into one part of the land, and the Emperour into another to execute iustice. For there was taken a certaine Concubine of this Emperour, which had poysoned his father to death, at the same time when the Tartars armie was in Hungarie, which, for the same cause returned home. Moreouer, vpon the foresaide Concubine, and many other of her confederats sentence of iudgement was pronounced, and they were put to death. At the same time Ieroslaus the great Duke of Soldal, which is a part of Russia, deceased. For being (as it were for honours sake) inuited to eate and drinke with the Emperours mother, and immediately after the banquet, returning vnto his lodging, he fel sicke, and within seuen dayes, died. And after his death, his body was of a strange blew colour, and it was commonly reported, that the said Duke was poisoned, to the ende that the Tartars might freely and totally possess his Dukedome.

A throne of Iuorie.

The death of Occoday reuenged.

Qualiter tandem Fratres ad Imperatorem accedentes, literas dederunt & acceperunt. Cap. 31.

DEnſq; Tartari nostri nos ad Imperatorem duxerunt: qui cùm audisset per illos, nos ad eum venisse, iussit nos ad matrem redire. Volebat enim secundo die, sicut superiùs dictum est, contra totam Occidentis terram vexillum erigere, quod nos volebat ignorare. Itaque

Cuyne cum legatis dissimulanter agit.

reuersi stetimus paucis diebus, & iterum ad ipsum reuersi sumus. Cum quo benè per mensem fuimus in tanta fame ac siti, quòd vix viuere poteramus. Nam expensæ, quæ nobis pro diebus quatuor debantur, vix vni sufficiebant. Nec inuenire poteramus aliquid ad emendum, quia forum erat nimis remotum. Sed Dominus nobis quendam Ruthenum, nomine Cosmam, aurifabrum præparauit, qui satis dilectus Imperatori, nos in aliquo sustentauit. Et hic nobis ostendit thronum Imperatoris, quem ipse fecerat, antequam poneretur in sede, & sigillum eiusdem, quod etiam fabricauerat ipse. Post hoc Imperator pro nobis misit, nobísq; per Chingay protonotarium suum dici fecit, vt verba nostra & negotia scriberemus, eísq; porrigeremus. Quod & fecimus. Post plures dies nos iterum vocari fecit, & vtrum essent apud Dominum Papam, qui Ruthenorum vel Sarracenorum, aut etiam Tartarorum literam intelligerent, interrogauit. Cui respondimus, quòd nullam istarum literarum habebamus. Sarraceni tamen erant in terra, sed remoti erant à Domino Papa. Diximus tamen, quia nobis expedire videbatur, quòd in Tartarico scriberent, & nobis interpretarentur, nos autem in litera nostra diligenter scriberemus, & tam literam quàm interpretationem ad Dominum Papam deferremus. Tunc à nobis recesserunt, & ad Imperatorem iuerunt. Porrò à die Beati Martini fuimus vocati. Tunc Kadac, totius imperij procurator, & Chingay & Bala, plurésq; scriptores ad nos venerunt, nobísq; literam de verbo ad verbum interpretati fuerunt. Et cùm in Latina litera scripsissemus, faciebant sibi per singulas orationes interpretari, volentes scire, si nos in aliquo verbo erraremus. Cum igitur ambæ literæ fuissent scriptæ, fecerunt nos semel ac secundo legere, ne fortè minus aliquid haberemus. Dixerunt enim nobis, videte, quòd omnia benè intelligatis, quia non expediret, quòd non omnia benè intelligeretis. Literas etiam in Sarracenico scripserunt, vt aliquis in partibus nostris inueniri posset, qui eas, si opus esset, legeret.

Cosmas Russus.

Chingay internuncius.

Prudens de literis consilium.

The same in English.

How the Friers coming at length vnto the Emperour, gaue, and receiued letters. Chap. 31.

TO be short, the Tartars brought vs vnto their Emperor, who when he had heard of them, that we were come vnto him, commanded that we should

Cuyne dissembleth with the Legates.

return, vnto his mother. For he was determined the next day, (as it is abouesaid) to set vp a flag of defiance against all ye countreis of the West, which he would haue vs in no case to know. Wherefore returning, we staid some few dayes with his mother, and so returned backe again vnto him. With whom we continued for the space of one whole moneth in such extreme hunger and thirst, that we could scarce hold life and soule together. For the prouision allowed vs for foure dayes, was scantly sufficient for one day. Neither could we buy vs any sustenance, because the market was too farre off. Howbeit the Lorde prouided for vs a Russian goldsmith, named Cosmas, who being greatly in the Emperours fauour, procured vs some sustenance. This man shewed vnto vs the throne of the Emperour, which hee had made, before it was set in the proper place, and his seale, which he also had framed. Afterward the Emperor sent for vs, giuing vs to vnderstand by Chingay his chief Secretary, that wee should write downe our messages & affaires, and should deliuer them vnto him. Which thing we performed accordingly. After many daies he called for vs againe, demanding whether there were any with our Lord the Pope, which vnderstood the Russian, the Saracen, or the Tartarian language? To whom we answered, that we had none of those letters or languages. Howbeit, that there were certaine Saracens in the land, but inhabiting a great distance from our Lord the Pope. And wee saide, that wee thought it most expedient, that when they had written their mindes in the Tartarian language, and had interpreted the meaning thereof vnto vs, we should diligently translate it into our own tongue, and so deliuer both the letter and the translation thereof vnto our Lord the Pope. Then departed they from vs, and went vnto the Emperour. And after the day of S. Martine, we were called for againe. Then Kadac, principal agent for the whole empire, and Chingay, and Bala, with diuers other Scribes, came vnto vs, and interpreted the letter word for word. And hauing written it in Latine, they caused vs to interprete vnto them eche sentence, to wit if we had erred in any word. And when both letters were written, they made vs to reade them ouer twise more, least we should haue mistaken ought. For they said vnto vs: Take heed that ye vnderstand all things throughly, for if you should not vnderstand the whole matter aright, it might breed some inconuenience. They wrote the said letters also in the Saracen tongue

Cosmas a Russian.

The message of Chingay.

that there might be some found in our dominions which could reade and interprete them, if need should require.

Qualiter licentiati fuerunt. Cap. 32.

VT autem nobis Tartari nostri dixerunt, proposuit Imperator nuncios suos nobiscum mittere. Volebat tamen, vt credimus, quod nos id ab eo peteremus. Sed cùm vnus de Tartaris nostris, qui senior erat, nos ad hoc petendum hortaretur, nobis quidem, vt venirent, ne quaquam bonum videbatur. Ideóq; respondimus ei, quòd non erat nostrum petere, sed si sponte ipse Imperator mitteret eos, libenter eos securè conduceremus, Domino adiuuante. Nobis autem ob plures causas vt venirent, non videbatur expedire. Prima quidem fuit, quia timuimus, ne visis dissentionibus aut guerris, quæ fiunt inter nos, magis animarentur ad veniendum contra nos. Secunda fuit, timebamus eos exploratores terræ fieri. Tertia verò, quia timebamus eos interfici. Gentes enim nostræ arrogantes sunt et superbæ. Vnde quando seruientes, qui stant nobiscum, ex rogatu Cardinalis, legati scilicet Alemanniæ, in habitu Tartarico ibant ad ipsum, in via ferè lapidati sunt à Teutonicis, et coacti sunt deponere habitum illum. Consuetudo autem est Tartarorum, vt cum illis, qui nuncios eorum occiderint, nunquam faciant pacem, nisi sumant de ipsis vltionem. Quarta etiam causa fuit, quia timebamus ne nobis auferrentur vi. Quinta verò causa erat, quia de aduentu eorum nulla foret vtilitas, cùm nullum haberent aliud mandatum vel potestatem, nisi quòd literas Imperatoris ad Dominum Papam et ad Principes deferrent, quas videlicet literas ipsi nos habebamns, et malum ex eorum aduentu posse contingere credebamus. Itaq; tertia die post hoc, scilicet in festo beati Briccij nobis dederunt licentiam et literam, Imperatoris sigillo munitam, mittentes nos ad ipsius Imperatoris matrem, quæ vnicuiq; nostrum dedit pelliceum vnum de pellibus vulpinis, quod habebat pilos de foris, et purpuram vnam. De quibus Tartari nostri furati sunt ex vnaquaq: vnum passum. De illa quoq; quæ dabatur seruienti, meliorem medietatem sunt furati. Quod nos quidem non ignorauimus, sed inde verba mouere noluimus.

Legati abhorrent a Tartarorum ad Christianos legatione.

Nouemb. 13.

Honorantur commeatu et lautijs.

The same in English.

How they were licensed to depart. Chap. 32.

The Legates are loth to haue any Ambassadours sent from the Tartars to the Christians.

ANd (as our Tartars told vs) the Emperour was purposed to send his ambassadors with vs. Howbeit, he was desirous (as we thought) that we our selues should craue that fauour at his hands. And when one of our Tartars being an ancient man, exhorted vs to make the said petition, we thought it not good for vs, that the Emperour should send his ambassadours. Wherefore we gaue him answere, that it was not for vs to make any such petition, but if it pleased the Emperour of his owne accord to send them, we would diligently (by Gods assistance) see them conducted in safetie. Howbeit, we thought it expedient for vs, that they should not goe, and that for diuers causes. First, because we feared, least they, seeing the dissentions and warres which are among vs, should be the more encouraged to make warre against vs. Secondly, we feared, that they would be insteade of spies and intelligencers in our dominions. Thirdly, we misdoubted that they would be slaine by the way. For our nations be arrogant and proud. For when as those seruants (which at the request of the Cardinall, attended vpon vs, namely the legates of Almaine) returned vnto him in the Tartars attire, they were almost stoned in the way, by the Dutch, and were compelled to put off those garments. And it is the Tartars custome, neuer to bee reconciled vnto such as haue slaine their Ambassadours, till they haue reuenged themselues. Fourthly, least they should bee taken from vs by mayne force. Fiftly, because there could come no good by their ambassade, for they were to haue none other commission, or authoritie, but onely to deliuer their Emperours letter vnto the Pope, and to the Princes of Christendome, which very same letters wee our selues had, and we knew right well, that much harme might ensue thereof.

Nouember 13.

Wherefore, the third day after this, namely, vpon the feast of Saint Brice, they gaue vs our passe-port and a Letter sealed with the Emperours owne seale, sending vs vnto the Emperours mother, who gaue vnto eche of vs a gowne made of Foxe skinnes, with the furre on the outside, and a piece of purple. And our Tartars stole a yard out of euery one of them. And out of that which was

They are rewarded with gifts.

giuen vnto our seruant, they stole the better halfe. Which false dealing of theirs we knew well enough, but would make no words thereof.

Qualiter ab illo itinere redierunt. Cap. 33.

TVnc iter ad reuertendum arripuimus, at per totam hyemem uenimus, iacentes in desertis sæpiùs in niue, nisi quantum poteramus nobis cum pede locum facere. Ibi quippe non erant arbores; sed planus campus. Et sæpe manè nos inueniebamus totos niue, quam ventus pellebat, coopertos. Sic venientes vsq; ad Ascensionem Domini peruenimus ad Bathy. A quo cùm inquireremus, quid responderet Domino Papæ, dixit se nolle aliud, nisi quod Imperator diligenter scripserat, demandare. Datísq; nobis de conductu literis, ab eo recessimus, & sabbatho infra octauas Pentecostes vsq; ad Montij peruenimus, vbi erant socij nostri, ac seruientes, qui fuerant retenti, quos ad nos fecimus reduci. Hinc vsq; Corrensam peruenimus, cui iterum à nobis donaria petenti non dedimus, quia non habebamus. Dedítq; nobis duos Comanos, qui erant ex Tartarorum plebe, vsque ad Kiouiam Russiæ. Tartarus tamen noster non dimisit nos, donec exiremus vltimam Tartarorum custodiam. Isti verò alij, qui nobis à Corrensa dati sunt, in sex diebus ab vltima custodia vsq; ad Kiouiam nos duxerunt. Venimus autem illuc ante festum Beati Iohannis Baptistæ xv. diebus. Porrò Kiouienses aduentum nostrum percipientes, occurrerunt nobis omnes lætanter. Congratulabantur enim nobis, tanquam à morte suscitatis. Sic fecerunt nobis per totam Russiam, Poloniam & Bohemiam. Daniel & Wasilico frater eius festum nobis magnum fecerunt, & nos contra voluntatem nostram bene per octo dies tenuerunt. Medióq; tempore inter se & cum Episcopis, cæterísq; probis viris, super his, quæ locuti fueramus eisdem, in processu nostro ad Tartaros consilium habentes, responderunt nobis communiter, dicentes: quòd Dominum Papam habere vellent in specialem Dominum, & in patrem, sanctam quoq; Romanam Ecclesiam in dominam & magistram, confirmantes etiam omnia, quæ priùs de hac materia per Abbatem suum transmiserant. Et super hoc etiam nobiscum ad Dominum Papam nuncios suos & literas transmiserunt.

Difficilis legatorum reditus.

Bathy.

Corrensa.

Iunij 8.

Gratulationes reducibus factæ. Basilius & Daniel Principes.

Russi agnoscunt primatum Papæ.

The same in English.

How they returned homewards. Chap. 33.

The sore iourneys of the legates in returning.

THen taking our iourney to returne, we trauailed all Winter long, lying in the deserts oftentimes vpon the snow, except with our feete wee made a piece of ground bare to lye vpon. For there were no trees, but the plaine champion* field.; And oftentimes in the morning, we found our selues all couered with snow driuen ouer vs by the winde. And so trauailing till the feast of our Lordes Ascension, we arriued at the court of Bathy. Of whom when wee had enquired, what answere he would send vnto our Lord the Pope, he said that he had nothing to giue vs in charge, but onely that we should diligently deliuer that which the Emperour had written. And, hauing receiued letters for our safe conduct, the thirteenth day after Pentecost, being Saterday, wee were proceeded as farre as Montij, with whome our foresaide associates and seruants remained, which were withheld from vs, and we caused them to be deliuered vnto vs. From hence wee trauailed vnto Corrensa, to whom, requiring gifts the second time at our hands, we gaue none, because we had not wherewithall. And hee appointed vs two Comanians, which liued among the common people of the Tartars, to be our guides vnto the citie of Kiow in Russia. Howbeit one of our Tartars parted not from vs, till we were past the vtmost gard of the Tartars. But the other guides, namely the Comanians, which were giuen vs by Corrensa, brought vs from the last garde vnto the citie of Kiow, in the space of sixe dayes. And there we arriued fifteene dayes before the feast of Saint John Baptist. Moreouer, the Citizens of Kiow hauing intelligence of our approach, came foorth all of them to meet vs, with great ioy, For they reioyced ouer vs, as ouer men that had bene risen from death to life. So likewise they did vnto vs throughout all Russia, Polonia, and Bohemia. Daniel and his brother Wasilico made vs a royall feast, and interteined vs with them against our willes for the space of eight dayes. In the mean time, they with their Bishops, and other men of account, being in consultation together about those matters which we had propounded vnto

Bathy.

Corrensa.

Iune 8.

How they were welcomed at their returne.

Basilius and Daniel Princes.

---

* Champagne (Fr.) Open.

them in our iourney towards the Tartars, answered vs with common consent, saying: that they would holde the Pope for their speciall Lord and Father, and the Church of Rome for their Lady & mistresse, confirming likewise al things which they had sent concerning this matter, before our comming, by their Abbate. And for the same purpose, they sent their Ambassadours and letters by vs also, vnto our Lord the Pope.

Itinerarium fratrts Willielmi de Rubruquis de ordine fratrum Minorum, Galli, Anno gratiæ 1253. ad partes Orientales.

EXcellentissimo Domino & Christianissimo, Lodouico Dei gratia Regi Francorum illustri, frater Willielmus de Rubruquis in ordine fratrum Minorum minimus salutem, & semper triumphare in Christo. Scriptum est in Ecclesiastico de sapiente, In terram alienarum gentium transibit, bona & mala in omnibus tentabit. Hoc opus, Domine mi Rex, feci: sed vltinam vt sapiens et non stultus. Multi enim faciunt quod facit sapiens, sed non sapienter, sed magis stultè; de quorum numero timeo me esse. Tamen quocunque modo fecerim; quia dixistis mihi quando recessi à vobis, vt omnia scriberem vobis, quæcunque viderem inter Tartaros, & etiam monuistis vt non timerem vobis scribere longas literas, facio quod iniunxistis: Cum timore tamen & verecundia, quia verba congrua mihi non suppetunt, quæ debeam tantæ scribere Maiestati. Nouerit ergò vestra sancta maiestas, quòd anno Domini millessimo ducentessimo, quinquagessimo tertio, nonas Maij ingressi sumus mare Ponti, quod Bulgarici vocant, Maius Mare: & habet mille octo milliaria in longum, vt didici à mercatoribus, & distinguitur quasi in duas partes. Circa medium enim eius sunt quæ prouinciæ terræ, vna ad Aquilonem, & alia ad meridiem. Illa quæ est ad meridiem dicitur Synopolis; & est castrum & portus Soldani Turchiæ. Quæ verò ad Aquilonem est, est Prouincia quædam, quæ nunc dicitur à Latinis Gasaria, à Græcis verò qui inhabitant eam super littus maris dicitur Cassaria, hoc est Cæsaria. Et sunt promontoria quædam extendentia se in mare, & contra meridiem versus Synopolim. Et sunt trecenta milliaria inter Synopolim & Cassariam. Ita quod sint septingenta milliaria ab istis punctis versus Constantinopolim in longum et latum: et septingenta versus Orientem: hoc est, Hiberiam, quæ est prouincia Georgiæ. Ad prouinciam Gasariæ siue Casariæ applicuimus, quæ est quasi

Ecclus 39. ver 4.

triangularis, ad Occidentem habens ciuitatem, quæ dicitur Kersoua in qua fuit Sanctus Clemens marterizatus. Et nauigantes coram ea vidimus insulam in qua est templum illud quod dicitur Angelicis manibus præparatum. In medio verò quasi in cuspide ad meridiem habet ciuitatem quæ dicitur Soldaia, quæ ex transuerso respicit Synopolim: Et illuc applicant omnes Mercatores venientes de Turchia volentes ire ad terras Aquilonares, et è contrario venientes de Russia et terris Aquilonaribus, volentes transire in Turchiam. Illi portant varium et grisiam, et alias pelles pretiosas. Alij portant telas de cottone siue bombasio, et pannos sericos et species aromaticas. Ad Orientem verò illius prouinciæ est ciuitas quæ dicitur Matriga, vbi cadit fluuius Tanais in mare Ponti per orificium habens latitudinem duodecem milliarium. Ille enim fluuius antequam ingrediatur mare Ponti, facit quoddam mare versus Aquilonem, habens in latitudine et longitudine septinginta milliaria, nusquam habens profunditatem vltra sex passus, vnde magna vasa non ingrediuntur illud. Sed mercatores de Constantinopoli applicantes ad prædictam ciuitatem Matertam, mittunt barcas suas vsque ad flumen Tanaim, vt emant pisces siccatos, sturiones, thosas, borbatos, et alios pisces infinitæ multitudinis. Prædicta verò prouincia Cassaria cingitur mari in tribus lateribus: ad Occidentem scilicet, vbi est Kersoua ciuitas Clementis, ad meridiem vbi est ciuitas Soldaia, ad quam applicuimus, quæ est cuspis prouinciæ, et ad Orientem Maricandis, vbi est ciuitas Materta, et orificium Tanais. Vltra illud orificium est Zikia, quæ non obedit Tartaris: Et Sueui et Hiberi ad Orientem, qui non obediunt Tartaris. Posteà versus meridiem est Trapesunda quæ habet proprium Dominum nomine Guidonem, qui est de genere imperatorum Constantinopolitanorum, qui obedit Tartaris: posteà Synopolis quæ est Soldani Turchiæ qui similiter obedit: posteà terra Vastacij cuius filius dicitur Astar ab auo materno, qui non obedit. Ab orificio Tanaius versus Occidentem vsque ad Danubium totum est subditum. Etiam vltrà Danubium versus Constantinopolim, Valakia, quæ est terra Assani, et minor Bulgaria vsque in Solonomam omnes soluunt eis tributum. Et etiam vltra tributum condictum sumpserunt annis nuper transactis de qualibet domo securim vnam, et totum frumentum quod inuenerunt in massa. Applicuimus ergò Soldaiæ in 12. Kalendas Iunij: Et præuenerant nos quidam mercatores de Constantinopoli, qui

Soldaia.

Matriga ciuitas.

Zikia.

dixerunt venturos illuc nuncios de terra sancta volentes ire ad Sartach. Ego tamen prædicaueram publicè in Ramis Palmarum apud Sanctam Sophiam, quod non essem nuncius, nec vester, nec alicuius, sed ibam apud illos incredulos secundùm regulam nostram. Tunc cùm applicuissem, monebant me dicti mercatores vt cautè loquerer, quia dixerunt me esse nuncium, et si non dicerem me esse nuncium, quod non præberetur mihi transitus. Tunc loquutus sum hoc modo ad capitaneos ciuitatis, imò ad vicarios capitaneorum, quia capitanei iuerant ad Baatu portantes tributum, et non fuerant adhuc reuersi. Nos audiuimus, dixi, de Domino vestro Sartach in Terra Sancta quod esset Christianus: et gauisi sunt inde vehementer Christiani, et præcipuè Dominus Rex Francorum Christianissimus, qui ibi peregrinatur, et pugnat contra Saracenos, vt eripiat loca sancta de manibus eorum: vnde volo ire ad Sartach, et portare ei literas Domini Regis, in quibus monet eum de vtilitate totius Christianitatis. Et ipsi receperunt nos gratanter, et dederunt nobis hospitium in ecclesia Episcopali. Et Episcopus ipsius ecclesiæ fuerat ad Sartach, qui multa bona dixit mihi de Sartach, quæ ego postea non inueni. Tunc dederunt nobis optionem vtrum vellemus habere bigas cum bobus ad portandum res nostras vel equos pro summarijs. Et mercatores Constantinopolitani consuluerunt mihi quod non acciperem bigas, imò quod emerem proprias bigas coopertas, in quibus apportant Ruteni pelles suas, et in illis includerem res nostras quas vellem quotidiè deponere, quia si acciperem equos, oporteret me in qualibet Herbergia deponere et reponere super alios, et prætereà equitarem lentiori gressu iuxta boues. Et tunc acquieui consilio eorum malo, tum quia fui in itinere vsq; Sartach duobus mensibus, quod potuissem vno mense fecisse, si iuissem equis. Attuleram mecum de Constantinopoli fructus et vinum muscatum, et biscoctum delicatum de consilio mercatorum ad præsentandum capitaneis primis, vt faciliùs pateret mihi transitus; quia nullus apud eos respicitur rectis oculis, qui venit vacua manu. Quæ omnia posui in vna biga, quando non inueni ibi capitaneos ciuitatis, quia dicebant mihi, quod grattissima forent Sartach, si possem deferre ea vsq; ad eum. Arripuimus ergo iter tunc circa Kalend. Iunij cum bigis nostris quatuor coopertis et cum alijis duabus quas accepimus ab eis, in quibus portabantur lectisternia ad dormiendum de nocte, et quinque equos dabant nobis ad equitandum. Eramus enim quinq; personæ. Ego et socius meus frater Bartholomeus de Cremona, et Goset lator præsentium, et homo dei Turgemannus, et puer Nicolaus, quam emeram Constantinopoli de nostra eleemosyna. Dederunt etiam duos homines qui ducebant bigas et custodiebant boues et equos. Sunt autem alta promontoria super Mare à Kersoua vsque ad orificium Tanais: Et sunt quadraginta castella inter Kersouam et Soldaiam, quorum quodlibet fere habet proprium idioma: inter quos erant multi Goti, quorum idioma est Teutonicum. Post illa montana versus Aquilonem est pulcherrima sylua in planicie, plena fontibus et riuulis: Et post illam syluam est planicies maxima, quæ durat per quinque dietas vsque ad extremitatem illius prouinciæ ad aquilonem, quæ coarctatur habens Mare ad Orientem et Occidentem: Ita quod est vnum fossatum magnum ab vno Mari vsque ad aliud. In illa planicie solebant esse Comani antequam venirent Tartari, et cogebant ciuitates prædictas et castra vt darent eis tributum. Et cum venerunt Tartari, tanta multitudo Comanorum intrauit prouinciam illam, qui omnes fugerunt vsque ad ripam Maris, quod comedebant se mutuo viui morientes: secundum quod narrauit mihi quidam mercator, qui hoc vidit: Quod viui deuorabant et lacerabant dentibus carnes crudas mortuorum, sicut canes cadauera. Versus extremitatem illius prouinciæ sunt lacus multi et magni: in quorum ripis sunt fontes salmastri, quorum aqua, quàm cito intrat lacum, efficit salem durum ad modum glaciei. Et de illis salinis habent Baatu et Sartach magnos reditus: quia de toto Russia veniunt illuc pro sale: et de qualibet biga onusta dant duas telas de cottone valentes dimidiam Ipperperam. Veniunt, et per Mare multæ naues pro sale, quæ omnes dant tributum secundum sui quantitatem. Postquam ergo recessimus de Soldaia, tertia die inuenimus Tartaros: inter quos cùm intraueram, visum fuit mihi recte quod ingrederer quoddam aliud sæculum. Quorum vitam et mores vobis describam prout possum.

The same in English.

The iournal of frier William de Rubruquis a French man of the order of the minorite friers, vnto the East parts of the worlde. An. Dom. 1253.

TO his most Soueraigne, & most Christian Lord Lewis, by Gods grace the renowned king of France, frier William de Rubruk, the meanest of the Minorites order, wisheth health and continual triumph in CHRIST.

It is written in the booke of Ecclesiasticus concerning the wise man: He shall trauell into forren countries, and good and euill shall he trie in all things. Ecclus. 39. ver. 4. The very same action (my lord and kinge) haue I atchieued: howbeit I wish that I haue done it like a wise man, and not like a foole. For many there be, that performe the same action which a wise man doth, not wisely but more vndiscreetly: of which number I feare myselfe to be one. Nothwithstanding howsoeuer I haue done it, because you commanded mee, when I departed from your highnes, to write all things vnto you, which I should see among the Tartars, and you wished me also that I should not feare to write long letters, I haue done as your maiestie inioined me: yet with feare and reuerence, because I want wordes and eloquence sufficient to write vnto so great a maiestie. Be it knowen therefore vnto your sacred Maiestie, that in the yere of our Lord 1253, about the Nones of May, we entered into the sea of Pontus, which the Bulgarians call the great sea. It containeth in length (as I learned of certaine merchants) 1008 miles, and is in a maner, diuided into two parts. About the midst thereof are two prouinces, one towards the North, and another towards the South. The South prouince is called Synopolis, and it is the castle and porte of the Soldan of Turkie: but the North prouince is called of the Latines, Gasaria: of the Greeks, which inhabite vpon the sea shore thereof, it is called Cassaria, that is to say Cæsaria. And there are certaine head lands stretching foorth into the sea towards Synopolis. Also, there are 300. miles of distance betweene Synopolis and Cassaria. Insomuch that the distance from those points or places to Constantinople, in length and breadth is about 700. miles: and 700 miles also from thence to the East, namely to the countrey of Hiberia which is a prouince of Georgia. Gasaria. At the prouince of Gasaria or Cassaria we arriued, which prouince is, in a maner, three square, hauing a citie on the West part thereof called Kersoua,[*] wherein S. Clement suffered martyrdome. And sayling before the said citie, we sawe an island, in which a Church is sayd to be built by the hands of angels. But about the midst of the said prouince toward the South, as it were, vpon a sharpe angle or point, standeth a citie called Soldaia[†] directly ouer against Synopolis. Soldaia. And there doe all the Turkie merchants, which traffique into the north countries, in their iourney outward, arriue, and as they returne homeward also from Russia, and the said Northerne regions, into Turkie. The foresaid merchants transport thither ermines and gray furres, with other rich and costly skinnes. Others carrie cloathes made of cotton or bombast, and silke, and diuers kindes of spices. But vpon the East part of the said prouince standeth a citie called Matriga,* where the river Tanais† dischargeth his streames into the sea of Pontus, the mouth whereof is twelue miles in breadth. For this riuer, before it entreth into the sea of Pontus, maketh a little sea, which hath in breadth and length seuen hundreth miles,‡ and it is no place there of aboue sixe paces deepe, whereupon great vessels cannot sayle ouer it. Howbeit the merchants of Constantinople, arriuing at the foresayd citie of *Materta, send their barkes vnto the riuer of Tanais to buy dried fishes, Sturgeons, Thosses, Barbils, and an infinite number of other fishes. The foresayd prouince of Cassaria is compassed in with the sea on three sides thereof: namely on the West side, where Kersoua the citie of Saint Clement is situate: on the South side the citie of Soldaia whereat we arriued: on the East side Maricandis, and there stands the citie of Matriga vpon the mouth of the riuer Tanais.

---

[*] Kertch.

[†] Simferopol, I presume.

The citie of Matriga.

*Matriga.

Beyond the sayd mouth staudeth Zikia, which is not in subiection vnto the Tartars: also the people called Sueui and Hiberi towards the East, who likewise are not vnder the Tartars dominion. Moreouer towards the South, standeth the citie of Trapesunda,§ which hath a gouernour proper to it selfe, named Guydo being of the linage of the Emperours of Constantinople, and is subiect vnto the Tartars. Next vnto that is Synopolis the citie of the Soldan of Turkie, who likewise is in subiection vnto them. Next vnto these lyeth the countrey of Vastacius, whose sonne is called Astar, of his grandfather by the mothers side, who is not in subiection. All the land from the mouth of Tanais Westward as farre as Danubius is under their subiection. Yea beyond Danubius also, towards Constantinople, Valakia, which is the land of Assanus, and Bulgaria minor as farre as Solonia, doe all pay tribute vnto them. And besides the tribute imposed, they haue also of late yeares, exacted of euery

Zikia.

---

* Azov. † The Don.

‡ The Sea of Azov is 210 miles long, and its breadth varies from 10 to 100 miles. § Trebizond.

houshold an axe, and all such corne as they found lying on heapes. We arriued therefore at Soldaia the twelfth of the Kalends of Iune. And diuers merchants of Constantinople, which were arriued there before vs, reported that certaine messengers were comming thither from the holy land, who were desirous to trauell vnto Sartach. Notwithstanding I my self had publickely giuen out vpon Palme Sunday within ye Church of Sancta Sophia, that I was not your nor any other mans messenger, but that I trauailed vnto those infidels according to the rule of our order. And being arriued, the said merchants admonished me to take diligent heede what I spake: because they hauing reported me to be a messenger, if I should say the contrary, that I were no messenger, I could not haue free passage granted vnto me. Then I spake after this maner vnto the gouernors of the citie, or rather vnto their Lieutenants, because the gouernors themselves were gone to pay tribute vnto Baatu, and were not as yet returned. We heard of your lord Sartach (quoth I) in the holy land, that he was become a Christian: and the Christians were exceeding glad thereof, and especially the most Christian king of France, who is there now in pilgrimage, and fighteth against the Saracens to redeeme the holy places out of their handes: wherfore I am determined to go vnto Sartach, and to deliuer vnto him ye letters of my lord the king, wherein he admonisheth him concerning the good and commoditie of all Christendome. And they receiued vs with gladnes, and gaue vs enterteinement in the cathedrall Church. The bishop of which Church was with Sartach, who told me many good things concerning the saide Sartach, which after I found to be nothing so. Then put they vs to our choyce, whither we woulde haue cartes and oxen, or packehorses to transport our cariages. And the marchants of Constantinople aduised me, not to take cartes of the citizens of Soldaia, but to buy couered cartes of mine owne, (such as the Russians carrie their skins in), and to put all our cariages, which I would daylie take out, into them: because, if I should vse horses, I must be constrained at euery baite to take downe my cariages, and to lift them vp againe on sundry horses backs: and besides, that I should ride a more gentle pace by the oxen drawing the cartes. Wherefore contenting my selfe with their euil counsel, I was trauelling vnto Sartach 2. moneths which I could haue done in one, if I had gone by horse. I brought with me from Constantinople (being by the marchants aduised so to doe) pleasant fruits, muscadel wine, and delicate bisket bread to present vnto the gouernours of Soldaia, to the end I might obtain free passage: because they looke fauorablie vpon no man which commeth with an emptie hand. All of which things I bestowed in one of my cartes, (not finding the gouernours of the citie at home) for they told me, if I could carry them to Sartach, that they would be most acceptable vnto him. Wee tooke oure iourney therefore about the kalends of Iune, with fower couered cartes of our owne and with two other which wee borrowed of them, wherein we carried our bedding to rest vpon in the night, and they allowed vs fiue horses to ride vpon. For there were iust fiue persons in our companie: namely, I my selfe and mine associate frier Batholomew of Cremona, and Goset the bearer of these presents, the man of God Turgemannus, and Nicolas, my seruant, whome I bought at Constantinople with some part of the almes bestowed vpon me. Moreouer, they allowed vs two men, which draue our carts and gaue attendance vnto our oxen and horses. There be high promontories on the sea shore from Kersoua vnto the mouth of Tanais. Also there are fortie castles betweene Kersoua and Soldaia, euery one of which almost haue their proper languages: amongst whome there were many Gothes, who spake the Dutch tongue. Beyond the said mountaines towards the North there is a most beautifull wood growing on a plaine ful of fountaines and freshets. And beyond the wood there is a mightie plaine champion, continuing fiue days iourney vnto the very extremitie and borders of the said prouince northward, and there it is a narrow Isthmus or neck land,* hauing sea on the East and West sides therof, insomuch that there is a ditch made from one sea vnto the other. In the same plaine (before the Tartars sprang vp) were the Comanians wont to inhabite, who compelled the foresayd cities and castles to pay tribute vnto them. But when the Tartars came vpon them, the multitude of the Comanians entred into the foresaid prouince, and fled all of them, euen vnto the sea shore, being in such extreame famine, that they which were aliue, were constrained to eate vp those which were dead; and (as a marchant reported vnto me who sawe it with his owne eyes) that the liuing men deuoured and tore with their teeth, the raw flesh of the dead, as dogges would knawe vpon carrion. Towards the border of the sayd prouince

Frier Bartholomeus de Cremona.

The necke of Taurica Chersonesus.

---

* The Isthmus of Perekop.

there be many great lakes: vpon the bankes whereof are salt pits or fountaines, the water of which so soon as it entereth into the lake, becommeth hard salte like vnto ice. And out of those salte pittes Baatu and Sartach haue great reuenues: for they repayre thither out of all Russia for salte: and for each carte loade they giue two webbes of cotton amounting to the value of half an Yperpera. There come by sea also many ships for salt, which pay tribute euery one of them according to their burden. The third day after wee were departed out of the precincts of Soldaia, we found the Tartars. Amongst whome being entered, me thought I was come into a new world. Whose life and maners I will describe vnto your Hignes as well as I can.

The Tartars.

De Tartaris and domibus eorum. Cap. 2.

NVsquam habent manentem ciuitatem, sed futuram ignorant. Inter se diuiserunt Scythiam, quæ durat à Danubio vsque ad ortum solis. Et quilibet Capitaneus, secundum quod habet plures vel pauciores homines sub se, scit terminos pascuorum suorum, et vbi debet pascere hyeme et æstate, vere et autumno. In hyeme enim descendunt ad calidiores regiones versus meridiem. In æstate ascendunt ad frigidiores versus aquilonem. Loca pascuosa sine aquis pascunt in hyeme quando est ibi nix, quia niuem habent pro aqua. Domum in qua dormiunt fundant super rotam de virgis cancellatis, cuius tigna sunt de virgis, and conveniunt in vnam paruulam rotam superius, de qua ascendit collum sursum tanquam fumigatorium, quam cooperiunt filtro albo: et frequentius imbuunt etiam filtrum calce vel terra alba et puluere ossium, vt albens splendeat, et aliquando nigro. Et filtrum illud circa collum superius decorant pulchra varietate picturæ. Ante ostium similiter suspendunt filtrum opere polimitario variatum. Consumunt enim filtrum coloratum in faciendo vites et arbores, aues et bestias. Et faciunt tales domos ita magnas, quod habent triginta pedes in latitudine. Ego enim mensuraui semel latitudinem inter vestigia rotarum vnius bigæ viginti pedum: et quando domus erat super bigam excedebat extra rotas in vtroque latere quinque pedibus ad minus. Ego numeraui in vna biga viginti duos boues trahentes vnam domum: Vndecem in vno ordine secundum latitudinem bigæ, et alios vndecem ante illos: Axis bigæ erat magnus ad modum arboris nauis: Et vnus homo stabat in ostio domus super bigam minans boues. Insuper faciunt

quadrangulos de virgulis fissis attenuatis ad quantitatem vnius arcæ magnæ: et postea de vna extremitate ad aliam eleuant testudinem de similibus virgis, et ostiolum faciunt in anteriori extremitate: et postea cooperiunt illam cistam siue domunculam filtro nigro inbuto seuo siue lacte ouino, ne possit penetrari pluuia; quod similiter decorant opere polimitario vel plumario. Et in talibus arcis ponunt totam suppellectilem suam et thesarum: quas ligant fortiter super bigas alteras quas trahunt cameli, vt possint transuadare flumina. Tales arcas nunquam deponunt de bigis. Quando deponunt domas suas mansionarias, semper vertunt portam ad meridiem; et consequenter collocant bigas cum arcis hinc et inde prope domum ad dimidium iactum lapidis: ita quod domus stat inter duos ordines bigarum quasi inter duos muros. Matronæ faciunt sibi pulcherrimas bigas, quas nescirem vobis describere nisi per picturam. *Imo omnia depinxissem vobis si sciuissem pingere. Vnus diues Moal siue Tartar habet bene tales bigas cum arcis ducentas vel centum. Baatu habet sexdecem vxores: quælibet habet vnam magnam domum, exceptis alijs paruis, quas collocant post magnam, quæ sunt quasi cameræ; in quibus habitant puellæ. Ad quamlibet istarum domorum appendent ducentæ bigæ. Et quando deponunt domus, prima vxor deponit suam curiam in capite occidentali, et postea aliæ secundum ordinem suum; ita quod vltima vxor erit in capite Orientali: et erit spacium inter curiam vnius dominæ et alterius, iactus vnius lapidis. Vnde curia vnius diuitis Moal apparebit quasi vna magna Villa: tunc paucissimi viri eruntin ea. Vna muliercula ducet 20. bigas vel 30. Terra enim plana est. Et ligant bigas cum bobus vel camelis vnam post aliam: et sedebit muliercula in anteriori minans bouem, et omnes aliæ pari gressu sequentur. Si contingat venire ad aliquem malum passum, soluunt eas et transducunt sigillatim: Vadunt enim lento gressu, sicut agnus vel bos potest ambulare.

*Nota.

The same in English.

Of the Tartars, and of their houses. Chap. 2.

THey haue in no place any setled citie to abide in, neither knowe they of the celestiall citie to come. They haue divided all Scythia among themselues, which stretcheth from the riuer Danubius euen vnto the rising of the sunne. And euery of their

captaines, according to the great or small number of his people, knoweth the bound of his pastures, and where he ought to feed his cattel winter and summer, Spring and autumne. For in the winter they descend vnto the warme regions southward. And in the summer they ascend vnto the colde regions northward. In winter when snowe lyeth vpon the ground, they feede their cattell vpon pastures without water, because then they vse snow in stead of water. Their houses wherein they sleepe, they ground vpon a round foundation of wickers artificially wrought and compacted together: the roofe whereof consisteth (in like sorte) of wickers, meeting aboue into one little roundell, out of which roundell ascendeth a necke like vnto a chimney, which they couer with white felte, and oftentimes they lay mortar or white earth vpon the sayd felt, with the powder of bones, that it may shine white. And sometimes also they couer it with blacke felte. The sayd felte on the necke of their house, they doe garnish ouer with beautifull varietie of pictures. Before the doore likewise they hang a felt curiously painted ouer. For they spend all their coloured felte in painting vines, trees, birds, and beastes thereupon. The sayd houses they make so large, that they conteine thirtie foote in breadth. For measuring once the breadth betweene the wheele-ruts of one of their cartes, I found it to be 20 feete ouer: and when the house was vpon the carte, it stretched ouer the wheeles on each side fiue feete at the least. I told 22. oxen in one teame, drawing an house upon a cart, eleuen in one order according to the breadth of the carte, and eleuen more before them: the axletree of the carte was of an huge bignes like vnto the mast of a ship. And a fellow stood in the doore of the house, vpon the forestall of the carte driuing forth the oxen. Moreouer, they make certaine fouresquare baskets of small slender wickers as big as great chestes: and afterward, from one side to another, they frame an hollow lidde or couer of such like wickers, and make a doore in the fore side thereof. And then they couer the sayd chest or little house with black felt rubbed ouer with tallow or sheeps milke to keepe the raine from soaking through, which they decke likewise with painting or with feathers. And in such chests they put their whole houshold stuffe and treasure. Also the same chests they do strongly binde vpon other carts, which are drawen with camels, to ye end they may wade through riuers. Neither do they at any time take down the sayd chests from off their carts. When they take down their dwelling houses, they turne the doores alwayes to the South: and next of all they place the carts laden with their chests, here and there, within half a stones cast of ye house: insomuch that the house standeth between two ranks of carts, as it were, between two wals.*

The benefite of a painter in strange countries.

The matrons make for themselues most beautiful carts, which I am not able to describe vnto your maiestie but by pictures onlie: for I would right willingly haue painted al things for you, had my skill bin ought in that art. One rich Moal or Tartar hath 200. or 100. such cartes with chests. Duke Baatu hath sixteene wiues, euery one of which hath one great house, besides other little houses, which they place behind the great one, being as it were chambers for their maidens to dwel in. And vnto euery of the said houses do belong 200. cartes. When they take their houses from off the cartes, the principal wife placeth her court on the West frontier, and so all the rest in their order: so that the last wife dwelleth vpon the East frontier: and one of the said ladies courts is distant from another about a stones cast. Whereupon the court of one rich Moal or Tartar will appeare like vnto a great village, very few men abiding in the same. One woman will guide 20. or 30. cartes at once, for their countries are very plaine, and they binde the cartes with camels or oxen, one behind another. And there sittes a wench in the foremost carte driuing the oxen, and al the residue follow on a like pace. When they chance to come at any bad passage, they let them loose, and guide them ouer one by one: for they goe a slowe pace, as fast as a lambe or an oxe can walke.

De lectis eorum et poculis. Cap. 3.

POstquam deposuerint domus versa porta ad meridiem, collocant lectum domini ad partem aquilonarem. Locus mulierum est semper ad latus Orientale hoc est ad sinistrum domini domus cum sedet in lecto suo versa facie ad meridiem: locus verò virorum ad latus occidentale, hoc est ad dextrum. Viri ingredientes domum nullo modo suspenderent pharetram ad partem mulierum. Et super caput Domini est semper vna imago quasi puppa et statuuncula de filtro, quam vocant fratrem domini: alia similis super caput dominæ, quam vocant fratrem dominæ, affixa parieti: et superius inter vtramque illarum est vna paruula,

---

* Something in the style of the laagers of South Africa at the present day.

macilenta, quæ est quasi custos totius domus. Domina domus ponit ad latus suum dextrum ad pedes lecti in eminenti loco pelliculam hœdinam impletam lana vel alia materia, et iuxta illam statuunculam paruulam respicientem famulas et mulieres. Iuxta ostium ad partem mulieris est iterum alia imago cum vbere vaccino, pro mulieribus quæ mungunt vaccas. De officio fœminarum est mungere vaccas. Ad aliud latus ostij versus viros est alia statua cum vbere equæ pro viris qui mungunt equas. Et cum conuenerint ad potandum primo spargunt de potu illi imagini, quæ est super caput domini: postea alijs imaginibus per ordinem: postea exit minister domum cum cipho et potu, et spargit ter ad meridiem, qualibet vice flectendo genu; et hoc ad reuerentiam ignis: postea ad Orientem ad reuerentiam aeris: postea ad Occidentem ad reuerentiam aquæ; ad aquilonem proijciunt pro mortuis. Quando tenet dominus ciphum in manu et debet bibere, tunc primo antequam bibat, infundit terræ partem suam. Si bibit sedens super equum, infundit antequam bibat, super collum vel crinem equi. Postquam vero minister sic sparserit ad quatuor latera mundi, reuertitur in domum et sunt parati duo famuli cum duobus ciphis et totidem patenis vt deferant potum domino et vxori sedenti iuxta eum sursum in lecto. Et cum habet plures vxores, illa cum qua dormit in nocte sedet iuxta eum in die: et oportet quod omnes aliæ veniant ad domum illam illa die ad bibendum: et ibi tenetur curia illa die: et xenia quæ deferuntur, illa deponuntur in thesauris illius dominæ. Bancus ibi est cum vtre lactis vel cum alio potu et cum ciphis.

The same in English.

Of their beds, and of their drinking pots. Chap. 3.

HAuing taken downe their houses from off their cartes, and turning the doores Southward, they place the bed of the master of the house, at the North part thereof. The womens place is alwaies on the East side, namely on the left hand of the good man of the house sitting vpon his bed with his face Southwards; but the mens place is vpon ye West side, namely at the right hand of their master. Men when they enter into the house, wil not in any case hang their quiuers on the womens side. Ouer the masters head is alwayes an image, like a puppet, made of felte, which they call the masters brother: and another ouer the head of the good wife or mistresse, which they call her brother being fastened to the

wall: and aboue betweene both of them, there is a little leane one, which is, as it were the keeper of the whole house. The good wife or mistresse of the house placeth aloft at her beds feete, on the right hand, the skinne of a Kidde stuffed with wooll or some other matter, and neare vnto that a little image or puppet looking towards the maidens and women. Next vnto the doore also on the womens side, there is another image with a cowes vdder, for the women that milke the kine. For it is the duety of their women to milke kine. On the other side of the doore next vnto the men, there is another image with the vdder of a mare, for the men which milke mares. And when they come together to drinke and make merie, they sprinckle parte of their drinke vpon the image which is aboue the masters head: afterward vpon other images in order: then goeth a seruant out of the house with a cuppe full of drinke sprinckling it thrise towards the South, and bowing his knee at euery time: and this is done for the honour of the fire. Then perfourmeth he the like superstitious idolatrie towards the East, for the honour of the ayre: and then to the West for the honour of the water: and lastly to the North in the behalfe of the dead. When the maister holdeth a cuppe in his hande to drinke, before he tasteth thereof, hee powreth his part vpon the ground. If he drinketh sitting on horse backe, hee powreth out part thereof vpon the necke or maine of his horse before hee himselfe drinketh. After the seruaunt aforesaide hath so discharged his cuppes to the fower quarters of the world, hee returneth into the house: and two other seruants stand ready with two cuppes, and two basons, to carrie drinke vnto their master and his wife, sitting together vpon a bed. And if he hath more wiues than one, she with whome hee slept the night before, sitteth by his side the daye following: and all his other wiues must that day resorte vnto the same house to drinke: and there is the court holden for that day: the giftes also which are presented that daye are layd vp in the chests of the sayd wife. And vpon a bench stands a vessell of milke or of other drinke and drinking cuppes.

De potibus eorum et qualiter prouocant alios ad bibendum.

Cap. 4.

FAciunt in hyeme optimum potum, de risio, de millio, de melle: claret sicut vinum. Et defertur eis vinum à remotis partibus. In æstate non curant nisi de Cosmos. Stat semper infra

domum ad introitum portæ, et iuxta illud stat citharista cum citherula sua. Citheras et vielas nostras non vidi ibi, sed multa alia instrumenta, quæ apud nos non habentur. Et cum incipit bibere tunc vnus ministrorum exclamat alta voce, HA: et citharista per cutit citharum. Et quando faciunt festum magnum, tunc omnes plaudunt manibus et saltant ad vocem citharæ, viri coram Domino, et mulieres coram domina. Et postquam dominus biberit, tunc exclamat minister sicut priùs, et tacet citharista: tunc bibunt omnes in circuitu viri et mulieres: et aliquando bibunt certatim valde turpiter et gulose. Et quando volunt aliquem prouocare ad potum arripiunt eum per aures et trahunt fortiter vt dilatent ei gulam, et plaudunt et saltant coram eo. Item cum aliqui volunt facere magnum festum et gaudium, vnus accipit ciphum plenum, et alij duo sunt ei à dextris et sinistris: et sic illi tres veniunt cantantes vsque ad illum cui debent porrigere ciphum, et cantant et saltant coram eo: et cum porrigit manum ad recipiendum ciphum, ipsi subito resiliunt, et iterum sicut prius reuertuntur, et sic illudunt ei ter vel quater retrahendo ciphum, donec fuerit bene exhileratus et bonum habeat appetitum, et tunc dant ei ciphum, et cantant et plaudunt manibus et terunt pedibus donec biberit.

Similiter in Florida.

The same in English.

Of their drinkes, and how they prouoke one another to drinking. Chap. 4

IN winter time they make excellent drinke of Rise, of Mill, and of honie, being well and high coloured like wine. Also they haue wine brought vnto them from farre countries. In summer time they care not for any drinke, but Cosmos. And it standeth alwaies within the entrance of his doore, and next vnto it stands a minstrell with his fidle. I sawe there no such citerns and vials as ours commonly be, but many other musicall instruments which are not vsed among vs. And when the master of the house begins to drinke, one of his seruants cryeth out with a lowde voice HA, and the minstrell playes vpon his fidle. And when they make any great solemne feast, they all of them clap their hands and daunce to the noyse of musique, the men before their master and the women before their mistresse. And when the master hath drunke, then cries out his seruant as

They vse the like custome in Florida.

before, and the minstrell stayeth his musique. Then drinke they all around both men and women: and sometimes they carowse for the victory very filthily and drunkenly. Also when they will prouoke any man, they pul him by the eares to the drinke, and lug aud drawe him strongly to stretch out his throate clapping their handes and dauncing before him. Moreouer when some of them will make great feasting and reioycing, one of the company takes a full cuppe, and two other stand, one on his right hand and another on his left, and so they three come singing to the man who is to haue the cuppe reached vnto him, still singing and dauncing before him: and when he stretcheth foorth his hand to receiue the cuppe, they leape suddenly backe, returning againe as they did before, and so hauing deluded him thrice or fower times by drawing backe the cuppe vntill he be merie, and hath gotten a good appetite, then they giue him the cuppe, singing and dauncing and stamping with their feete, vntill he hath done drinking.

De cibarijs eorum. Cap. 5.

DE cibis et victualibus eorum noueritis, quod indifferenter comedunt omnia morticinia sua. Et inter tot pecora et armenta non potest esse quin multa animalia moriantur. Tamen in æstate quamdiu durat eis cosmos, hoc est lac equinum, non curant de alio cibo. Vnde tunc si contingat eis mori bouem vel equum, siccant carnes scindendo per tenues pecias et suspendendo ad solem et ventum, quæ statim sine sale siccantur absque aliquo fætore. De intestinis equorum faciunt andulges meliores quàm de porcis; quas comedunt recentes: reliquas carnes reseruant ad hyemem. De pellibus boum faciunt vtres magnos, quos mirabiliter siccant ad fumum. De posteriori parte pellis equi faciunt pulcherrimos soculares. De carne vnius arietis dant comedere quinquaginta hominibus vel centum. Scindunt enim minutatim in scutella cum sale et aqua, aliam enim salsam non faciunt, et tunc cum puncto cultelli vel furcinula, quas proprias faciunt ad hoc, cum qua solemus comedere pira et poma cocta in vino, porrigunt cuilibet circumstantium buccellam vnam vel duas, secundum multitudinem comedentium. Dominus antequam proponitur caro arietis in primo ipse accipit quod placet ei: et etiam si dat alicui partem specialem, oportet quod accipiens comedat eam solus, et nemini licet dare ei. Si non potest totum comedere, asportat secum, vel dat garcioni suo, si est presens, qui custodiat ei: sin aliter, recondit in saptargat suo, hoc est in bursa quadrata, quam portant ad recondendum omnia talia, in qua et ossa recondunt, quando non habent spacium bene rodendi ea, vt postea rodant, ne pereat aliquid de cibo.

The same in English.

Of their foode and victuals. Chap. 5.

COncerning their foode and victuals, be it knowen vnto your Highnesse that they do, without al difference or exception, eate all their dead carrions. And amongst so many droues it cannot be, but some cattell must needes die. Howbeit in summer, so long as their Cosmos, that is, their mares milke lasteth, they care not for any foode. And if they chance to haue an oxe or an horse dye, they drie the flesh thereof: for cutting it into thin slices and hanging it vp against the Sunne and the wind, it is presently dried without salt, and also without stenche or corruption. They make better puddings of their horses then of their hogs, which they eate being new made: the rest of the flesh they reserue vntill winter. They make of their oxe skins great bladders or bags, which they doe wonderfully dry in the smoake. Of the hinder part of their horse hides they make very fine sandals and pantofles. They giue vnto 50. or an 100. men the flesh of one ram to eat. For they mince it in a bowle with salt and water (other sauce they haue none) and then with the point of a knife, or a little forke which they make for the same purpose (such as wee vse to take rosted peares or apples out of wine withal) they reach vnto euery one of the company a morsell or twaine, according to the multitude of guestes. The master of the house, before the rams flesh be distributed, first of all himselfe taketh thereof, what he pleaseth. Also, if he giueth vnto any of the company a speciall part, the receiuer therof must eat it alone, and must not impart ought therof vnto any other. Not being able to eate it vp all, he caries it with him, or deliuers it vnto his boy, if he be present, to keepe it: if not, he puts it vp into his Saptargat, that is to say, his foure square budget, which they vse to cary about with them for the sauing of all such prouision, and wherein they lay up their bones, when they haue not time to gnaw them throughly, that they may burnish them afterward, to the end that no whit of their food may come to nought.

Drying of flesh in the wind.

Quomodo faciunt Cosmos. Cap. 6.

IPsum Cosmos, hoc est lac iumentinum fit hoc modo. Extendunt cordam longam super terram ad duos palos fixos in terra, et ad illam cordam ligant circiter horas tres, pullos equarum quas volunt mungere. Tunc stant matres iuxta pullos suos et permittunt se pacifice mungi. Et si aliqua est nimis indomita, tunc accipit vnvs homo pullum et supponit ei permittens parum sugere, tunc retrahit illum, et emunctor lactis succedit. Congregata ergo multitudine lactis, quod est ita dulce sicut vaccinum, dum est recens, fundunt illud in magnum vtrem siue bucellam, et incipiunt illud concutere cum ligno ad hoc aptato, quod grossum est inferius sicut caput hominis et cauatum subtus: et quam cito concutiunt illud, incipit bullire sicut vinum nouum, et acescere siue fermentari, et excutiunt illud donec extrahant butirum. Tunc gustant illud; et quando est temperate pungitiuum bibunt: pungit enim super linguam sicut vinum raspei dum bibitur. Et postquam homo cessat bibere, relinquit saporem super linguam lactis amygdalini, et multum reddit interiora hominis iucunda, et etiam inebriat debilia capita: multum etiam prouocat vrinam. Faciunt etiam Cara-cosmos, hoc est nigrum cosmos ad vsum magnorum dominorum, hoc modo. Lac equinum non coagulatur. Ratio enim est: quod nullius animalis lac nisi cuius fetet venter non inuenitur coagulum. In ventre pulli equi non inuenitur: vnde lac equæ non coagulatur. Concutiunt ergo lac in tantum, quod omnino quod spissum est in eo vadat ad fundum rectà, sicut fæces vini, et quod purum est remanet superius et est sicut serum, et sicut mustum album. Fæces sunt albæ multum, et dantur seruis, et faciunt multum dormire. Illud clarum bibunt domini: et est pro certo valde suauis potus et bonæ efficaciæ. Baatu habet 30. casalia circa herbergiam suam ad vnam dietam, quorum vnam quodq; qualibet die seruit ei de tali lacte centum equarum, hoc est, qualibet die lac trium millium equarum, excepto alio lacte albo, quod deferunt alij. Sicut enim in Syria rustici dant tertiam partem fructuum, quam ipsi afferunt ad curias dominorum suorum, ita et isti lac equarum tertiæ diei. De lacte vaccino primò extrahunt butyrum et bulliunt illud vsque ad perfectam decoctionem, et postea recondunt illud in vtribus arietinis quos ad hoc reseruant. Et non ponunt sal in butiro: tamen propter magnam decoctionem non putrescit; et reseruant illud contra hyemem.

Residuum lac quod remanet post butirum permittunt acescere quantum acrius fieri potest et bulliunt illud, et coagulatur bulliendo, et coagulum illud desiccant ad solem, et efficitur durum sicut scoria ferri. Quod recondunt in saccis contra hyemem: tempore hyemali quando deficit eis lac, ponunt illud acre coagulum, quod ipsi vocant gri-vt, in vtre, et super infundunt aquam calidam, et concutiunt fortiter donec illud resoluatur in aqua; quæ ex illo efficitur tota acetosa, et illam aquam bibunt loco lactis. Summè cauent ne bibant aquam puram.

The same in English.

How they make their drinke called Cosmos. Chap 6.

Their drinke called Cosmos, which is mares milke, is prepared after this manner. They fasten a long line vnto 2. posts standing firmely in the ground, and vnto the same line they tie the young foles of those mares, which they mean to milke. Then come the dams to stand by their foles gently suffering themselues to be milked. And if any of them be too vnruly, then one takes her fole, and puts it under her, letting it suck a while, and presently carying it away againe, there comes another man to milke the said mare. And hauing gotten a good quantity of this milke together (being as sweet as cowes milke) while it is newe they powre it into a great bladder or bag, and they beat the said bag with a piece of wood made for the purpose, hauing a club at the lower ende like a mans head, which is hollow within: and so soone as they beat vpon it, it begins to boile like newe wine, and to be sower and sharp of taste, and they beate it in that manner till butter come thereof. Then taste they thereof, and being indifferently sharpe they drinke it: for it biteth a mans tongue like the wine of raspes, when it is drunk. After a man hath taken a draught thereof, it leaueth behind it a taste like the taste of almon milke, and goeth downe very pleasantly, intoxicating weake braines: also it causeth vrine to be auoided in great measure. Likewise Caracosmos, that is to say black Cosmos, for great lords to drink, they make on this maner. First they beat the said milke so long till the thickest part thereof descend right downe to the bottome like the lees of white wine, and that which is thin and pure remaineth aboue, being like unto whay or white must. The said lees or dregs being very white, are giuen to seruants, and will cause them to sleepe exceedingly. That which is thinne and cleare their masters drinke: and in very deed it is marueilous sweete and holesome liquor. Duke Baatu hath thirty cottages or granges within a daies iourney of his abiding place: euery one of which serueth him dayly with the Caracosmos of an hundreth mares milk, and so all of them together euery day with the milke of 3000. mares, besides white milke which other of his subiects bring. For even as the husbandmen of Syria bestow the third part of their fruicts and carie it vnto the courts of their lords, euen so doe they their mares milke euery third day. Out of their cowes milke they first churne butter, boyling the which butter vnto a perfect decoction, they put it into rams skinnes, which they reserue for the same purpose. Neither doe they salte their butter: and yet by reason of the long seething, it putrifieth not: and they keepe it in store for winter. The churnmilke which remaineth of the butter, they let alone till it be as sowre as possibly it may be, then they boile it and in boiling, it is turned all into curdes, which curds they drie in the sun, making them as hard as the drosse of iron: and this kind of food also they store vp in sachels against winter. In the winter season when milke faileth them, they put the foresaid curds (which they cal Gry-vt) into a bladder, and powring hot water thereinto, they beat it lustily till they have resolued it into the said water, which is thereby made exceedingly sowre, and that they drinke in stead of milke.* They are very scrupulous, and take diligent heed that they drinke not fayre water by it selfe.

De bestijs quas comedunt, et de vestibus, ac de venatione eorum. Chap. 7.

MAgni domini habent casalia versus meridiem, de quibus afferunt eis milium et farinam contra hyemem, pauperes procurant sibi pro arietibus et pellibus commutando. Sclaui etiam implent ventrem suum aqua crassa, et hac contenti sunt. Mures cum longis caudis non comedunt et omne genus murium habens curtam caudam. Sunt etiam ibi multæ marmotes, quas ipsi vocant Sogur; quæ conueniunt in vna fouea in hyeme 20. vel 30. pariter, et dormiunt sex mensibus: quas capiunt in magna multitudine. Sunt etiam ibi, cuniculi habentes longam caudam sicut cari; et in summitate caudæ habent pilos nigros et albos. Habent et multas alias bestiolas bonas ad comedendum: quas ipsi valde bene dis-

---

* Presumably the first mention of preserved milk in any form.

cernunt. Ceruos non vidi ibi; lepores paucos vidi, gaselos multos. Asinos syluestres vidi in magna multitudine, qui sunt quasi muli. Vidi et aliud genus animalis quod dicitur Artak, quod habet recte corpus arietis et cornua torta, sed tantæ quantitatis, quod vix poteram vna manu leuare duo cornua: et faciunt de cornibus illis ciphos magnos. Habent falcones, girfalcones, et herodios in magna multitudine: quos omnes portant super manum dexteram: et ponunt semper falconi vnam corrigiam paruulam circa collum, quæ pendet ei vsque ad medietatem pectoris: per quam cum proijciunt eum ad prædam, inclinant cum sinistra manu caput et pectus falconis, ne verberetur à vento, vel ne feratur sursum. Magnum ergo partem victus sui acquirunt venatione. De vestibus et habitu eorum noueritis, quod de Cataya et alijs regionibus Orientis, et etiam de Perside et alijs regionibus austri veniunt eis panni serici et aurei, et telæ de bambasio, quibus induuntur in æstate. De Russia, de Moxel, et Maiore Bulgaria et Pascatir, quæ est maior Hungaria, et Kersis: (quæ omnes sunt regiones ad Aquilonem et plenæ syluis ;) et alijs multis regionibus ad latus aquilonare, quæ eis obediunt, adducuntur eis pelles preciosæ multi generis; quas nunquam vidi in partibus nostris: Quibus induuntur in hyeme. Et faciunt semper in hyeme duas pelliceas ad minus: vnam, cuius pilus est ad carnem: aliam cuius pilus est extra contra ventum et niues, quæ multoties sunt de pellibus lupinis vel vulpibus vel papionibus. Et dum sedent in domo habent aliam delicatiorem. Pauperes faciunt illas exteriores de canibus et capris. Quum volunt venari feras, conueniunt magna multitudo et circundant regionem in qua sciunt feras esse, et paulatim appropinquant sibi, donec concludant feras inter se quasi infra circulum, et tunc sagitant ad eas; faciunt etiam braccas de pellibus. Diuites etiam furrant vestes suas de stupa setæ, quæ est supra modum mollis, et leuis et calida. Pauperes furrant vestes de tela de bambasio, de delicatiori lana quam possunt extrahere: de grossiori faciunt filtrum ad cooperiendum domos suas et cistas, et ad lectisternia. De lana etiam et tertia parte pilorum equi admixta, faciunt cordas suas. De filtro etiam faciunt pauellas sub sellis, et capas contra pluuiam. Vnde multum expendunt de lana. Habitum virorum vidistis.

Major Hungaria.

Nota.

The same in English.

Of the beastes which they eat, of their garments, and of their maner of hunting. Chap. 7.

GReat lords haue cottages or granges towards the South, from whence their tenants bring them Millet and meale against winter. The poorer sort prouide themselues of such necessaries, for yᵉ exchange of rams, and of other beasts skins. The Tartars slaues fil their bellies with thick water, and are therewithall contented. They wil neither eate mise with long tailes, nor any kinde of mise with short tailes. They haue also certaine litle beasts called by them Sogur, which lie in a caue twenty or thirty of them together, al the whole winter sleeping there for the space of sixe moneths :* and these they take in great abundance. There are also a kind of conies hauing long tayles like vnto cats: and on the outside of their tailes grow blacke and white haires. They haue many other small beasts good to eat, which they know and discerne right well. I saw no Deere there, and but a fewe hares, but a great number of Roes. I saw wild asses in great abundance, which be like vnto Mules. Also I saw another kind of beast called Artak, hauing in al resemblance the body of a ram, and crooked hornes, which are of such bignes, that I could scarce lift vp a paire of them with one hand; and of these hornes they make great drinking cups. They haue Falcons, Girfalcons, and other haukes in great plenty: all which they cary vpon their right hands: and they put alwaies about their Falcons necks a string of leather, which hangeth down to yᵉ midst of their gorges, by the which string, when they cast them off the fist at their game, with their left hand they bow doune the heads and breasts of the sayd haukes, least they should be tossed vp and downe, and beaten with the wind, or least they should soare too high. Wherefore they get a great part of their victuals, by hunting and hauking. Concerning their garments and attire be it knowen vnto your Maiestie, that out of Cataya and other regions of the East, out of Persia also and other countries of the South, there are brought vnto them stuffes of silke, cloth of gold, and cotton cloth, which they weare in time of summer. But out of Russia, Moxel, Bulgaria the greater, and Pascatir, that is Hungaria the greater, and out of Kersis (all which

Our falconers vse the left first. Another strange custome, which I leaue to be scanned by falconers themselves.

---

* Marmosets.

are Northerne regions and full of woods) and also out of many other countries of the North, which are subiect vnto them, the inhabitants bring them rich and costly skins of diuers sortes (which I neuer saw in our countries) wherewithal they are clad in winter, And alwaies against winter they make themselues two gownes, one with the fur inward to their skin, and another with the furre outward, to defend them from wind and snow, which for the most part are made of woolues skins, or Fox skins, or els of Papions. And when they sit within the house, they haue a finer gowne to weare. The poorer sort make their vpper gowne of dogs or of goats skins. When they goe to hunt for wild beasts, there meets a great company together, and inuironing the place round about, where they are sure to find some game, by litle and litle they approach on al sides, til they haue gotten the wild beasts into the midst, as it were into a circle, and then they discharge their arrowes at them. Also they make themselues breeches of skins. The rich Tartars somtimes fur their gowns with pelluce or silke shag, which is exceeding soft, light, and warme. The poorer sort do line their clothes with cotton cloth which is made of the finest wooll they can pick out, and of the courser part of the said wool, they make felt to couer their houses and their chests, and for their bedding also. Of the same wool, being fixed with one third part of horse haire, they make all their cordage. They make also of the said felt couerings for their stooles, and caps to defende their heads from the weather: for all which purposes they spend a great quantity of their wooll. And thus much concerning the attyre of the men.

Great expense of wooll.

De rasura virorum et ornatu mulierum. Cap. 8.

VIri radunt in summitate capitis quadrangulum, et ab anterioribus angulis ducunt rasuram cristæ capitis vsque ad tempora. Radunt etiam tempora et collum vsque ad summum concauitatis ceruicis: et frontem anterius vsque ad frontinellam, super quam relinquunt manipulum pilorum descendentium vsque ad supercilia: In angulis occipitis relinquunt crines, quibus faciunt tricas, quas succingunt nodando vsque ad aures. Et habitus puellarum non differt ab habitu virorum, nisi quod aliquantulum est longior. Sed in crastino postquam est nupta radit caluariam suam à medietate capitis versus frontem, et habet tunicam latam sicut cucullam monialis, et per omnia latiorem et longiorem, fissam ante, quam

ligat sub dextro latere. In hoc enim differunt Tartari à Turcis: quod Turci ligant tunicas suas ad sinistram, Tartari semper ad dextram. Postea habent ornamentum capitis, quod vocant botta, quod fit de cortice arboris vel alia materia, quam possunt inuenire, leuiore: et est grossum et rotundum, quantum potest duabus manibus complecti; longum vero vnius cubiti et plus, quadrum superius, sicut capitellum vnius columnæ. Istud botta cooperiunt panno serico precioso; et est concauum interius: et super capitellum in medio vel super quadraturam illam ponunt virgulam de calamis pennarum vel cannis gracilibus longitudinis scilicet vnius cubiti et plus: et illam sibi virgulam ornant superius de pennis pauonis, et per longum in circuitu pennulis caudæ malardi, et etiam lapidibus præciosis. Diuites dominæ istud ornamentum ponunt in summitate capitis quod stringunt fortiter cum almucia, quæ foramen habet in summitate ad hoc aptatum, et in isto recondunt crines suos quos recolligunt à parte posteriori ad summitatem capitis quasi in nodo vno et reponunt in illo botta, quod postea fortiter ligant sub gutture. Vnde quum equitant plures dominæ simul et videntur à longe, apparent milites, habentes galeas in capitibus cum lanceis eleuatis. Illud enim botta apparet galea de super lancea. Et sedent omnes mulieres super equos sicut viti diuersificantes coxas; et ligant cucullas suas panno serico aerij coloris super renes, et alia fascia stringunt ad mamillas: et ligant vnam peciam albam sub occulis, quæ descendit vsque ad pectus. Et sunt mulieres miræ pinguedinis, et quæ minus habet de naso pulchrior reputatur. Deturpant etiam turpiter pinguedine facies suas: nunquam cubant in lecto pro puerperio.

The same in English.

Of the fashion which the Tartars vse in cutting their haire, and of the attire of their women. Chap. 8.

THe men shaue a plot foure square vpon the crownes of their heads, and from the two formost corners they shaue, as it were, two seames downe to their temples: they shaue also their temples and the hinder part of their head euen vnto the nape of the necke: likewise they shaue the forepart of their scalp downe to their foreheads, and vpon their foreheads they leaue a locke of hayre reaching downe vnto their eye browes: vpon the two hindermost corners of their heads, they haue two lockes also, which they twine and braid into knots and so bind and knit them vnder each eare

one. Moreouer their womens garments differ not from their mens, sauing that they are somewhat longer. But on the morrowe after one of their women is maried, shee shaues her scalpe from the middest of her head downe to her forehead, and weares a wide garment like vnto the hood of a Nunne, yea larger and longer in all parts then a Nuns hood, being open before and girt vnto them vnder the right side. For herein doe the Tartars differ from the Turkes: because the Turkes fasten their garments to their bodies on the left side: but the Tartars alwaies on the right side. They haue also an ornament for their heads which they call Botta, being made of the barke of a tree, or of some such other lighter matter as they can find, which by reason of the thicknes and roundnes therof cannot be holden but in both hands together: and it hath a square sharp spire rising from the top therof, being more then a cubite in length, and fashioned like vnto a pinacle. The said Botta they couer al ouer with a piece of rich silke: and it is hollow within: and vpon the midst of the sayd spire or square toppe, they put a bunch of quils or of slender canes a cubite long and more: and the sayd bunch, on the top thereof, they beautifie with Peacocks feathers, and round about al ye length therof, with the feathers of a Malards taile, and with precious stones also. Great ladies weare this kind of ornament vpon their heads binding it strongly with a certain hat or coyfe, which hath an hole in the crowne, fit for the spire to come through it: and vnder the foresaid ornament they couer the haires of their heads, which they gather vp round together from the hinder part therof to the crowne, and so lap them vp in a knot or bundel within the said Botta, which afterward they bind strongly vnder their throtes. Hereupon when a great company of such gentlewomen ride together, and are beheld a far off, they seem to be souldiers with helmets on their heads carrying their launces vpright: for the said Botta appeareth like an helmet with a launce ouer it. Al their women sit on horsebacke bestriding their horses like men: and they bind their hoods or gownes about their wastes with a skie coloured silke skarfe, and with another skarfe they girde it aboue their breasts: and they bind also a piece of white silke like a mufler or mask vnder their eyes, reaching down vnto their breast. These gentlewomen are exceeding fat, and the lesser their noses be, the fairer are they esteemed: they daube ouer their sweet faces with grease too shamefully: and they neuer lie in bed for their trauel of childbirth.

De officio mulierum, et operibus earum, ac de nuptijs earum. Cap. 9.

OFficium fœminarum est ducere bigas, ponere domus super eas et deponere, mungere vaccas, facere butirum et griut, parare pelles, et consuere eas, quas consuunt filo deneruis; diuidunt enim neruos in minuta fila, et postea illa contorquent in vnum longum filum. Consuunt etiam soculares et soccos et alias vestes. Vestes vero nunquam lauant, quia dicunt quod Deus tunc irascitur, et quod fiant tonitrua si suspendantur ad siccandum: Imo lauantes verberant et eis auferunt. Tonitrua supra modum timent: tunc omnes extraneos emittunt de domibus suis; et inuoluunt se in filtris nigris, in quibus latitant, donec transierit. Nunquam etiam lauant scutellos, imo carne cocta alueum in quo debent ponere eam lauant brodio bulliente de caldaria, et postea refundunt in caldariam; faciunt et filtrum et cooperiunt domos. Viri faciunt solùm arcus et sagittas, fabricant strepas et fræna, et faciunt cellas, carpentant domos et bigas: custodiunt equos et mungunt equas, concutiunt ipsum cosmos et lac equinum, faciunt vtres in quibus reconditur: custodiunt etiam camelos, et onerant eos Oues et Capras custodiunt mixtim et mungunt aliquando viri, aliquando mulieres. De lacte ouium inspissato et salso parant pelles. Cum volunt manus vel caput lauare implent os suum aqua et paulatim fundunt de ore suo super manus, et eadem humectant crines suos, et lauant caput suum. De nuptijs eorum noueritis, quod nemo habet ibi vxorem nisi emat eam: vnde aliquando sunt puellæ multum advltæ ante quam nubant: semper enim tenent eas parentes, donec vendant eas. Seruant etiam gradus consanguinitatis primum et secundum: nullum autem seruant affinitatis. Habent enim simul vel successiue duas sorores. Nulla vidua nubit inter eos, hac ratione; quia credunt quod omnes qui seruiunt eis in hac vita seruient in futura. Vnde vidua credunt, quod semper reuertitur post mortem ad primum maritum. Vnde accidit turpis consuetudo inter eos quod filius scilicet ducit aliquando omnes vxores patris sui, excepta matre. Curia enim patris et matris semper accidit iuniori filio. Vnde oportet quod ipse prouideat omnibus vxoribus patris sui, quia adueniunt eæ cum curia paterna. Et tunc si vult vtitur eis pro vxoribus, quia non reputat sibi iniuriam, si reuertatur ad patrem post mortem. Cum ergo aliquis fecerit pactum cum aliquo de filia accipienda, facit pater puellæ conuiuium, et illa fugit ad consanguineos, vt ibi

Pellium paratio

lateat: Tunc pater dicit, Ecce filia mea tua est, accipe eam vbicunque inueneris: Tunc ille quærit cum amicis suis, donec inveniat eam, et oportet, quod vi capiat eam et ducat eam quasi violenter ad domum.

The same in English.

Of the dueties inioined vnto the Tartarian women, and of their labours, and also of their mariages. Chap. 9.

THe duties of women are, to driue carts: to lay their houses vpon carts and to take them downe again: to milke kine: to make butter and Gry-vt: to dresse skins and to sow them, which they vsually sowe with thread made of sinewes, for they diuide sinewes into slender threads, and then twine them into one long thread. They make sandals and socks and other garments. Howbeit they never wash any apparel: for they say that God is then angry, and that dreadful thunder wil ensue, if washed garments be hanged forth to drie: yea, they beat such as wash, and take their garments from them. They are wonderfully afraid of thunder: for in the time of thunder they thrust all strangers out of their houses, and then wrapping themselues in black felt, they lie hidden therein, til the thunder be ouerpast. They neuer wash their dishes or bowles: yea, when their flesh is sodden, they wash the platter wherein it must be put, with scalding hot broth out of the pot, and then powre the said broth into the pot againe. They make felte also, and couer their houses therewith. The duties of the men are to make bowes and arrowes, stirrops, bridles, and saddles: to build houses and carts, to keep horses: to milke mares: to churne Cosmos and mares milke, and to make bags wherein to put it: they keepe camels also and lay burthens vpon them. As for sheepe and goates they tend and milke them, aswell the men as the women. With sheeps milke thicked and salted they dresse and tan their hides. When they wil wash their hands or their heads, they fil their mouthes full of water, and spouting it into their hands by little and little, they sprinckle their haire and wash their heades therwith.* As touching mariages, your Highnes is to vnderstand, that no man can haue a wife among them till he hath bought her: whereupon somtimes their maids are very stale before they be maried, for their parents alwaies keepe them till they can sel them. They keepe the first and second degrees of consanguinitie inuiolable, as we do: but they haue no regard of the degrees of affinity: for they wil marrie together, or by succession, two sisters. Their widowes marie not at al, for this reason: because they beleeue, that al who haue serued them in this life, shall do them seruice in the life to come also. Whereupon they are perswaded, that euery widow after death shal returne vnto her own husband. And herehence ariseth an abominable and filthy custome among them, namely that the sonne marieth somtimes all his fathers wiues except his own mother: For the court or house of the father or mother falleth by inheritance alwaies to the yonger son. Whereupon he is to prouide for all his fathers wiues, because they are part of his inheritance aswel as his fathers possessions. And then if he will he vseth then for his owne wiues: for he thinks it no iniurie or disparagement vnto himselfe, although they returne vnto his father after death. Therfore when any man hath bargained with another for a maid, the father of the said damosel makes him a feast: in the meane while she fleeth vnto some of her kinsfolks to hide her selfe. Then saith her father vnto the bridegrome: Loe, my daughter is yours, take her whersoeuer you can find her. Then he and his friends seek for her till they can find her, aud hauing found her hee must take her by force and cary her, as it were, violently vnto his owne house.

---

* The same custom still exists amongst the inhabitants of the Lena Delta.

De iusticijs eorum et iudicijs, et de morte ac sepultura eorum.

Cap. 10.

DE iusticijs eorum noueritis, quod quando duo homines pugnant, nemo audet se intermittere. Etiam pater non audet iuuare filium. Sed qui peiorem partem habet, appellat ad curiam domini. Et si alius post appellationem tangat eum, interficitur. Sed oportet quod statim absque dilatione vadat: Et ille qui passus est iniuriam ducit eum quasi captiuum. Neminem puniunt capitali sententia, nisi deprehensus fuerit in facto, vel confessus. Sed quum diffamatus est à pluribus, bene torquent eum, vt confiteatur. Homicidium puniunt capitali sententia, et etiam coitum cum non sua. Non suam dico vel vxorem vel famulam: Sua enim sclaua licet vti prout libet. Item enorme furtum puniunt morte. Pro leui furto, sicut pro vno ariete, dummodo non fuerit sæpe deprehensus in hoc, verberant crudeliter. Et si dant centum ictus oportet quod habeant centum baculos, de illis dico, qui verberantur sententia curiæ. Item falsos nuncios, quia faciunt

se nuncios et non sunt, interficiunt. Item sacrilegas, de quibus dicam vobis postea plenius, quia tales reputant veneficas. Quando aliquis moritur plangunt vehementer vlulando: et tunc sunt liberi quod non dant vectigal vsque ad annum. Et si quis interest morti alicujus adulti non ingreditur domum ipsius Mangucham vsque ad annum. Si paruulus est qui moritur, non ingreditur vsque post lunationem. Iuxta sepulturam defuncti semper relinquunt domum vnam. Si est de nobilibus, hoc est de genere Chingis, qui fuit primus pater et dominus eorum, illius qui moritur ignoratur sepultura: et semper circa loca illa vbi sepeliunt nobiles suos est vna herbergia hominum custodientium sepulturas. Non intellexi quod ipsi recondunt thesaurum cum mortuis. Comani faciunt magnum tumulum super defunctum et erigunt ei statuam versa facie ad orientem, tenentem ciphum in manu sua ante vmbelicum; fabricant et diuitibus pyramides, id est domunculas acutas: et alicubi vidi magnas turres de tegulis coctis: alicubi lapideas domos, quamuis lapides non inueniantur ibi. Vidi quendam nouiter defunctum, cui suspenderant pelles sexdecem equorum, ad quodlibet latus mundi quatuor inter perticas altas: et apposuerunt ei cosmos vt biberet, et carnes vt comederet: et tamen dicebant de illo quod fuerat baptizatus. Alias vidi sepulturas versus orientem. Areas scilicet magnas structas lapidibus, aliquas rotundas, aliquas quadratas, et postea quatuor lapides longos erectos ad quatuor regiones mundi circa aream. Et vbi aliquis infirmatur cubat in lecto et ponit signum super domum suam, quod ibi est infirmus, et quod nullus ingrediatur: vnde nullus visitat infirmum nisi seruiens eius. Quando etiam aliquis de magnis curijs infirmatur, ponunt custodes longe circa curiam, qui infra illos terminos neminem permittunt transire: timent enim ne mali spiritus vel ventus veniant cum ingredientibus. Ipsos diuinatores vocant tanquam sacerdotes suos.

The same in English.

Of their execution of iustice and iudgement: and of their deaths and burials. Chap. 10.

COncerning their lawes or their execution of iustice, your Maiesty is to be aduertised, and when two men fight, no third man dare intrude himself to part them. Yea, the father dare not help his owne sonne. But he that goes by the worst must appeale vnto the court of his lord. And whosoeuer els offereth him any

violence after appeale, is put to death. But he must go presently without all delay: and he that hath suffered the iniury, carieth him, as it were captiue. They punish no man with sentence of death, vnles hee bee taken in the deede doing, or confesseth the same. But being accused by the multitude, they put him vnto extreame torture to make him confesse the trueth. They punish murther with death, and carnall copulation also with any other besides his owne. By his own, I meane his wife or his maid seruant, for he may vse his slaue as he listeth himself. Heinous theft also or felony they punish with death. For a light theft, as namely for stealing of a ram, the party (not being apprehended in the deed doing, but otherwise detected) is cruelly beaten. And if ye executioner laies on an 100. strokes, he must haue an 100. staues, namely for such as are beaten vpon sentence giuen in the court. Also counterfeit messengers, because they feine themselues to be messengers, when as indeed they are none at all, they punish with death. Sacrilegious persons they vse in like manner (of which kind of malefactors your Maiesty shall vnderstand more fully hereafter) because they esteeme such to be witches. When any man dieth, they lament and howle most pitifully for him: and the said mourners are free from paying any tribute for one whole yeare after. Also whosoeuer is present at the house where any one growen to mans estate lieth dead, he must not enter into the court of Mangu-Can til one whole yere be expired. If it were a child deceased he must not enter into the said court til the next moneth after. Neere vnto the graue of the partie deceased they alwaies leaue one cottage. If any of their nobles (being of the stock of Chingis, who was their first lord and father) deceaseth, his sepulcher is vnknowen. And alwayes about those places where they interre their nobles, there is one house of men to keep the sepulchers. I could not learn that they vse to hide treasures in the graues of their dead. The Comanians build a great toomb ouer their dead, and erect the image of the dead party thereupon, with his face towards the East, holding a drinking cup in his hand, before his nauel. They erect also vpon the monuments of rich men, Pyramides, that is to say, little sharpe houses or pinacles: and in some places I saw mighty towers made of brick, in other places Pyramides made of stones, albeit there are no stones to be found thereabout. I saw one newly buried, in whose behalfe they hanged vp 16. horse hides, vnto each quarter of the world 4, betweene certain high posts: and they set besides his graue

Cosmos for him to drink, and flesh to eat: and yet they sayd that he was baptized. I beheld other kinds of sepulchers also towards the East: namely large flowres or pauements made of stone, some round and some square, and then 4. long stones pitched vpright, about the said pauement towards the 4. regions of the world. When any man is sicke, he lieth in his bed, and causeth a signe to be set vpon his house, to signifie that there lieth a sicke person there, to the end that no man may enter into the sayd house: whereupon none at all visit any sicke party but his seruant only. Moreouer, when any one is sicke in their great courts, they appoint watchmen to stand round about the said court, who wil not suffer any person to enter within the precincts thereof. For they feare least euill spirits or winds should come together with the parties that enter in. They esteeme of soothsayers, as of their priests.

Qualiter ingressi sunt inter Tartaros, et de ingratitudine eorum. Cap. 11.

QVando ergo ingressi sumus inter illos barbaros, visum fuit mihi, vt dixi superius, quod ingrederer aliud seculum. Circumdederunt enim nos in equis postquam diu fecerant nos expectare sedentes in vmbra sub bigis nigris. Prima quæstio fuit, vtrum vnquam fuissemus inter eos; habito quod non: inceperunt impudenter petere de cibarijs nostris, et dedimus de pane biscocto et vino quod attuleramus nobiscum de villa: et potata vna lagena vini, petierunt aliam, dicentes, quod homo non ingreditur domum vno pede; non dedimus eis, excusantes nos quod parem haberemus. Tunc quæsiuerunt vnde veniremus, et quo vellemus ire; dixi eis superiora verba, quod audieramus de Sartach, quod esset Christianus, et quod vellem ire ad eum, quia habebam deferre ei literas vestras. Ipsi diligenter quæsiuerunt, vtrum irem de mea voluntate, vel vtrum mitterer. Ego respondi quod nemo coegit me ad eundum, nec iuissem nisi voluissem: vnde de mea voluntate ibam, et etiam de voluntate superioris mei. Bene caui, quod nunquam dixi, me esse nuncium vestrum. Tunc quæsiuerunt quid esset in bigis, vtrum esset aurum vel argentum, vel vestes preciosæ, quas deferrem Sartach. Ego respondi, quod Sartach videret quid deferremus ei, quando perueniremus ad eum; et quod non intererat eorum ista quærere: sed facerent me deduci vsque ad capitaneum suum, et ipse si vellet mihi præbere ducatum vsque

ad Sartach faceret: sin minus, reuerterer. Erat enim in illa prouincia vnus consanguineus Baatu, nomine Scacatai, cui dominus imperator Constantinopolitanus mittebat literas deprecatorias, quod me permitteret transire. Tunc ipsi acquieuerunt, præbentes nobis equos et boues et duos homines, qui deducerent nos. Et alij qui adduxerant nos sunt reuersi. Prius tamen antequam prædicta darent, fecerunt nos diu expectare petentes de pane nostro pro parvulis suis: Et omnia quæ videbant super famulos nostros, cultellos, chirothecas, bursas, corrigias, omnia admirantes et volentes habere. Excusabam me, quia longa nobis restabat via, nec debebamus ita cito spoliare nos rebus necessarijs ad tantam viam perficiendam. Tunc dicebant quod essem batrator. Verum est quod nihil abstulerint vi: Sed valde importune et impudenter petunt quæ vident. Et si dat homo eis perdit, quia sunt ingrati. Reputant se dominos mundi, et videtur eis, quod nihil debeat eis negari ab aliquo. Si non dat, et postea indigeat seruicio eorum, male ministrant ei. Dederunt nobis bibere de lacte suo vaccino, a quo contractum erat butirum, acetoso valde, quod ipsi vocant Apram: et sic recessimus ab eis. Et visum fuit mihi recte, quod euasissem de manibus dæmonum. In crastino peruenimus ad capitaneum. Ex quo recessimus a Soldaia vsque ad Sartach in duobus mensibus nunquam iacuimus in domo nec in tentorio, sed semper sub dio, vel sub bigis nostris, nec vidimus aliquam villam, vel vestigium alicujus ædificij vbi fuisset villa, nisi tumbas Comanorum in maxima multitudine. Illo sero dedit nobis garcio qui ducebat nos bibere cosmos; ad cuius haustum totus sudaui propter horrorem et nouitatem, quia nunquam biberam de eo; valde tamen sapidum videbatur mihi, sicut vere est.

The same in English.

Of our first entrance among the Tartars, and of their ingratitude. Chap. 11.

ANd being come amongst those barbarous people, me thought (as I said before) y^t I was entred into a new world: for they came flocking about vs on horse back, after they had made vs a long time to awaite for them sitting in the shadow, vnder their black carts. The first question which they demanded was whether we had euer bin with them heretofore, or no? And giuing them answere that we had not, they began impudently to

beg our victuals from vs. And we gaue them some of our bisket and wine, which we had brought with vs from the towne of Soldaia. And hauing drunke off one flagon of our wine they demanded another, saying, that a man goeth not into the house with one foote. Howbeit we gaue them no more, excusing our selues that we had but a litle. Then they asked vs, whence we came, and whither we were bound? I answered them with the words aboue mentioned: that we had heard concerning duke Sartach, that he was become a Christian, and that vnto him our determination was to trauel, hauing your Maiesties letters to deliuer vnto him. They were very inquisitiue to know whether I came of mine own accord, or whether I were sent? I answered that no man compelled me to come, neither had I come, vnles I my selfe had bin willing: and that therefore I was come according to mine own wil, and to the will of my superior. I tooke diligent heed neuer to say that I was your Maiesties ambassador. Then they asked what I had in my carts; whether it were gold or siluer, or rich garments to carie vnto Sartach? I answered that Sartach should see what we had brought, when we were once come vnto him, and that they had nothing to do to aske such questions, but rather ought to conduct me vnto their captaine, and that he, if he thought good, should cause me to be directed vnto Sartach: if not, that I would returne. For there was in the same prouince one of Baatu his kinsmen called Scacati, vnto whom my lord the Emperor of Constantinople had written letters of request to suffer me to passe through his territory. With this answere of ours they were satisfied, giuing vs horses and oxen, and two men to conduct vs. Howbeit before they would allow vs the foresayd neccessaries for our iorney, they made vs to awayt a long whyle, begging our bread for their yong brats, wondering at all things which they sawe about our seruants, as their kniues, gloues, purses, and points, and desiring to haue them. I excused my self that we had a long way to trauel, and that we must in no wise so soon depriue our selues of things necessary, to finish so long a iourney. Then they said that I was a very varlet. True it is, that they tooke nothing by force from me: howbeit they will beg that which they see very importunatly and shamelesly. And if a man bestow ought vpon them, it is but cost lost, for they are thankles wretches. They esteeme themselues lords and think y^{t} nothing should be denied them by any man. If a man giues them nought, and afterward stands in neede of their seruice, they will do right nought for him. They gaue vs of their cowes milke to drink after ye butter was cherned out of it, being very sower, which they cal Apram. And so we departed from them. And in very deed it seemed to me y^t^ we were escaped out of the hands of diuels. On the morrow we were come vnto the captain. From the time wherin we departed from Soldaia, till we arriued at the court of Sartach, which was the space of two moneths, we neuer lay in house or tent, but alwaies vnder the starry canopy, and in the open aire, or vnder our carts. Neither yet saw we any village, nor any mention of building where a village had bin, but the graues of the Comanians in great abundance. The same euening our guide which had conducted vs, gaue vs some Cosmos. After I had drunke thereof I sweat most extreamly for the nouelty and strangenes, because I neuer dranke of it before. Notwithstanding me thought it was very sauory, as indeed it was.

De curia Scacatay, et quod Christiani non bibunt cosmos.
Cap. 12.

MAne ergo obviauimus bigis Scacatay onustis domibus. Et videbatur mihi quod obuiaret mihi ciuitas magna. Mirabar etiam super multitudine armentorum boum et equorum et gregum ouium: paucos videbam homines qui ista gubernarent; vnde inquisiui quot homines haberet sub se? et dictum fuit mihi, quod non plusquam quingentos, quorum medietatem transiueramus in alia herbergia. Tunc incepit mihi dicere garcio qui ducebat nos, quod aliquid oporteret Scacatay dare: et ipse fecit nos stare, et præcessit nuncians aduentum nostrum. Iam erat hora plusquam tertia, et deposuerunt domos suas iuxta quandam aquam. Et venit ad nos interpres ipsius, qui statim cognito, quod nunquam fueramus inter illos, poposcit de cibis nostris, et dedimus ei, poscebat etiam vestimentum aliquod, quia dicturus erat verbum nostrum ante dominum suum. Excusauimus nos. Quæsiuit quid portaremus domino suo? Accepimus vnum flasconem de vino, et impleuimus vnum veringal de biscocto et platellum vnum de pomis et aliis fructibus. Sed non placebat ei, quia non ferebamus aliquem pannum pretiosum. Sic tamen ingressi sumus cum timore et verecundia. Sedebat ipse in lecto suo tenens citharulam in manu, et vxor sua iuxta eum: de qua credebam in veritate, quod amputasset sibi nasum inter oculos vt simior esset: nihil

enim habebat ibi de naso, et vnxerat locum illum quodam vnguento nigro, et etiam supercilia: quod erat turpissimum in oculis nostris Tunc dixi ei verba supradicta. Vbique enim apor- tebat nos dicere idem verbum. Super hoc enim eramus bene præmoniti ab illis qui fuerant inter illos, quod nunquam mutaremus verba nostra. Rogaui etiam eum vt dignaretur accipere munusculum de manu nostra, excusans me, quia monachus eram, nec erat ordinis nostri possidere aurum, vel argentum, vel vestes preciosas. Vnde non habebam aliquid talium, quod possem ei dare: sed de cibis nostris acciperet pro benedictione. Tunc fecit recipi, et distribuit statim hominibus suis qui conuenerant ad potandum. Dedi etiam ei literas Imperatoris Constantinopolitani: (Hoc fuit in octauis ascensionis). Qui statim eas Soldaiam misit vt ibi interpretarentur: quia erant in Græco, nec habebat secum qui sciret literas Græcas. Quæsiuit etiam à nobis, si vellemus bibere cosmos, hoc est, lac iumentinum. Christiani enim Ruteni, Græci, et Alani, qui sunt inter eos, qui volunt stricte custodire legem suam, non bibunt illud: Imo non reputant se Christianos postquam biberunt. Et sacerdotes eorum reconciliant eos, tanquam negassent fidem Christianam. Ego respondi, quod habebamus adhuc sufficienter ad bibendum: et cum ille potus deficeret nobis, oporteret nos bibere illud, quod daretur nobis. Quæsiuit etiam quid contineretur in literis nostris, quas mittebatis Sartach. Dixi quod clausæ erant bullæ nostræ: et quod non erant in eis nisi bona verba et amicabilia. Quæsiuit et quæ verba diceremus Sartach? Respondi, Verba fidei Christianæ. Quæsiuit quæ? Quia libenter vellet audire. Tunc exposui ei prout potui per interpretem meum, qui nullius erat ingenij, nec alicuius eloquentiæ, symbolum fidei. Quo audito, ipse tacuit et mouit caput. Tunc assignauit nobis duos homines, qui nos custodirent, et equos et boues: et fecit nos bigare secum, donec reuerteretur nuncius, quem ipse miserat pro interpretatione literarum imperatoris; et iuimus cum eo vsque in crastinum Pentecostes.

Nota diligenter.

The same in English.

Of the court of Scacatai: and how the Christians drinke no Cosmos. Chap. 12.

ON the morrowe after we met with the cartes of Scacatai laden with houses, and me thought that a mighty citie came to meete me. I wondered also at the great multitude of huge droues of

oxen, and horses, and at the flockes of sheepe. I could see but a fewe men that guided all these matters: whereupon I inquired how many men he had vnder him, and they told me that he had not aboue 500. in all, the one halfe of which number we were come past, as they lay in another lodging. Then the seruant which was our guide told me, that I must present somwhat vnto Scacatay: and so he caused vs to stay, going himselfe before to giue notice of our comming. By this time it was past three of the clocke, and they vnladed their houses nere vnto a certain water: And there came vnto vs his interpreter, who being aduertised by vs that wee were neuer there before, demanded some of our victuals, and we yeelded vnto his request. Also he required of vs some garment for a reward, because he was to interpret our sayings vnto his master. Howbeit we excused our selues as well as wee could. Then he asked vs, what we would present vnto his Lord? And we tooke a flagon of wine, and filled a maund with bisket, and a platter with apples and other fruits. But he was not contented therewith, because we brought him not some rich garment. Notwithstanding we entred so into his presence with feare and bashfulnes. He sate vpon his bed holding a citron in his hand, and his wife sate by him: who (as I verily thinke) had cut and pared her nose betweene the eyes, that she might seeme to be more flat and saddle-nosed: for she had left her selfe no nose at all in that place, hauing annointed the very same place with a black ointment, and her eye browes also: which sight seemed most vgly in our eies. Then I rehearsed vnto him the same wordes, which I had spoken in other places before. For it stoode vs in hand to vse one and the same speech in all places. For we were wel forewarned of this circumstance by some which had been amongst the Tartars, that we should neuer varie in our tale. Then I besought him, that he would vochsafe to accept that small gifte at our hands, excusing my selfe that I was a Monke, and that it was against our profession to possesse gold, or siluer, or precious garments, and therefore that I had not any such thing to giue him, howbeit he should receiue some part of our victuals instead of a blessing. Hereupon he caused our present to be receiued, and immediately distributed the same among his men, who were mette together for the same purpose, to drinke and make merrie. I deliuered also vnto him the Emperor of Constantinople his letters (this was eight dayes after the feast of

A caueat right worthy the noting.

Ascension) who sent them forthwith to Soldaia to haue them interpreted there: for they were written in Greeke, and he had none about him that was skilfulle in the Greeke tongue. He asked vs also whether we would drink any Cosmos, that is to say mares milke? (For those that are Christians among them, as namely the Russians, Grecians, and Alanians, who keep their own law very strictly, wil in no case drinke thereof, yea, they accompt themselues no Christians after they haue once drunke of it, and their priests reconcile them vnto the Church as if they had renounced the Christian faith.) I gaue him answere, that we had as yet sufficient of our owne to drinke, and that when our drinke failed vs, we must be constrained to drink such as should be giuen vnto vs. He enquired also what was contained in our letters, which your Maiestie sent vnto Sartach? I answered: that they were sealed vp, and that there was nothing conteined in them, but good and friendly wordes. And he asked what wordes wee would deliuer vnto Sartach? I answered: the words of Christian faith. He asked again what these words were? For he was very desirous to heare them. Then I expounded vnto him as well as I could, by mine interpretor, (who had no wit nor any vtterance of speech) the Apostles creed. Which after he had heard, holding his peace, he shooke his head. Then hee assigned vnto vs two men, who shoulde giue attendance vpon our selues, vpon our horses, and vpon our Oxen. And hee caused vs to ride in his companie, till the messenger whome hee had sent for the interpretation of the Emperours letters, was returned. And so wee traueiled in his companie till the morowe after Pentecost.

Qualiter Alani venerunt ad eos in vigilia pentecostes. Cap. 13.

||Vel Akas.

IN vigilia Pentecostes venerunt ad nos quidam Alani, qui ibi dicuntur|| Acias, Christiani secundum ritum Græcorum; habentes literas Græcas et sacerdotes Græcos: tamen non sunt schismatici sicut Græci; sed sine acceptione personarum venerantur omnem Christianum: et detulerunt nobis carnes coctas, rogantes vt comedremus de cibo eorum, et oraremus pro quodam defuncto eorum. Tunc dixi quod vigilia erat tantæ solennitatis, quod illa die non comederemus carnes. Et exposui eis de solennitate, super quo fuerunt multum gauisi; quia omnia ignorabant quæ spectant ad ritum Christianum, solo nomine Christi excepto. Quæsiuerunt et ipsi et alij multi

Christiani, Ruteni et Hungari, vtrum possent saluari, quia oportebat eos bibere cosmos, et comedere morticinia et interfecta à Saracenis et alijs infidelibus: quæ etiam ipsi Græci et Ruteni sacerdotes reputant quasi morticinia vel idolis immolata: quia ignorabant tempora ieiunij: nec poterant custodire etiam si cognouissent. Tunc rectificabar eos prout potui, docens et confortans in fide. Carnes quas detulerant reseruauimus vsque ad diem festum: nihil enim inueniebamus venale pro auro et argento, nisi pro telis et alijs ||pannis: et illos non habebamus. Quum famuli nostri offerebant eis ipperpera, ipsi fricabant digitis, et ponebant ad nares, vt odore sentirent, vtrum essent cuprum. Nec dabant nobis cibum nisi lac vaccinum acre valde et fœtidum. Vinum iam deficiebat nobis. Aqua ita turbabatur ab equis, quod non erat potabilis. Nisi fuisset biscoctum quod habebamus, et gratia Dei, fortè fuissemus mortui.

|| Nota diligentissime.

The same in English.

Howe the Alanians came vnto vs on Pentecost or Whitson euen. Chap. 13.

VPon the euen of Pentecost, there came vnto vs certaine Alanians, who are called *Acias, being Christians after the maner of the Grecians, vsing greeke bookes and Grecian priests: howbeit they are not schismatiques as the Grecians are, but without acception of persons, they honour al Christians. And they brought vnto vs sodden flesh, requesting vs to eat of their meat, and to pray for one of their company being dead. Then I sayd, because it was the euen of so great and so solemne a feast day, that we would not eate any flesh for that time. And I expounded vnto them the solemnitie of the sayd feast, whereat they greatly reioyced: for they were ignorant of all things appertayning to Christian religion, except only the name of Christ. They and many other Christians, both Russians, and Hungarians demanded of us, whether they might be saued or no, because they were constrained to drinke Cosmos, and to eate the dead carkases of such things, as were slaine by the Saracens, and other infidels? Which euen the Greeke and Russian priests themselues also esteeme as things strangled or offered vnto idoles: because they were ignorant of the times of fasting, neither could they haue obserued them albeit they had knowen them. Then instructed I them as well as I could and strengthened them in the

* Or, Akas.

faith. As for the flesh which they had brought we reserued it vntill the feast day. For there was nothing to be sold among the Tartars for gold and siluer, but only for cloth and garments of the which kind of marchandise wee had none at all. When our seruants offered them any coine called Yperpera, they rubbed it with their fingers, and put it vnto their noses, to try by the smell whether it were copper or no. Neither did they allow vs any foode but cowes milke onely which was very sowre and filthy. There was one thing most necessary greatly wanting vnto vs. For the water was so foule and muddy by reason of their horses, that it was not meete to be drunk. And but for certaine bisket, which was by the goodnes of God remaining vnto vs, we had vndoubtedly perished.

Cloth is the chiefe marchandise in Tartarie.

De Saraceno qui dixit se velle baptizarj, et de hominibus qui apparent leprosi. Cap. 14.

IN die pentecostes venit ad nos quidam Saracenus, qui cum loqueretur nobiscum, incepimus exponere fidem. Qui audiens beneficia Dei exhibita humano generi in incarnatione Christi, et resurrectionem mortuorum, et indicium futurum, et quod ablutio peccatorum esset in baptismo: dixit se velle baptizari. Et cum pararemus nos ad baptizandum eum, ipse subito ascendit equum suum, dicens se iturum domum et habiturum consilium cum vxore sua. Qui in crastino loquens nobiscum, dixit quod nullo modo auderet accipere baptisma, quia tunc non biberet cosmos. Christiani enim illius loci hoc dicebant, quod nullus verus Christianus deberet bibere: et sine potu illo non posset viuere in solitudine illa. A qua opinione nullo modo potui diuertere illum. Vnde noueritis pro certo quod multum elongantur à fide propter illam opinionem quæ iam viguit inter illos per Rutenos, quorum maxima multitudo est inter eos. Illa die dedit nobis ille capitaneus vnum hominem, qui nos deduceret vsque ad Sartach: et duos qui ducerent nos vsque ad proximam herbergiam; quæ inde distabat quinque dietas prout boues poterant ire. Dederunt etiam nobis vnam capram pro cibo et plures vtres lactis vaccini, et de cosmos parum: quia illud preciosum est inter illos. Et sic arripientes iter rectè in aquilonem, visum fuit mihi quod vnam portam inferni transissemus. Garciones qui ducebant nos, incipiebant nobis audacter furari, quia videbant nos parum cautos. Tandem amissis pluribus vexatio dabat nobis intellectum

Peruenimus tandem ad extremitatem illius prouinciæ, quæ clauditur vno fossato ab vno mari vsque ad aliud: extra quam erat herbergia eorum apud quos intrassemus: videbantur nobis leprosi omnes: quia erant viles homines ibi collocati, vt reciperent tributum ab accipientibus sal a salinis superius dictis. Ab illo loco, vt dicebant, oportebat nos ambulare quindecim diebus, quibus non inueniremus populum. Cum illis bibimus cosmos: et dedimus illis vnum veringal plenum fructibus et panem biscoctum. Qui dederunt nobis octo boues, vnam captram pro tanto itinere, et nescio quot vtres plenos lacte vaccino. Sic mutatis bobus arripuimus iter, quod perfecimus decem diebus vsque ad aliam herbergiam: nec inuenimus aquam in illa via nisi in fossis in conuallibus factis, exceptis duobus paruis fluminibus. Et tendebamus rectè in orientem ex quo exiuimus prædictam prouinciam Gasariæ, habentes mare ad meridiem et vastam solitudinem ad aquilonem: quæ durat per viginti dietas alicubi in latitudine; In qua nulla est sylua, nullus mons, nullus lapis. Herba est optima. In hac solebant pascere Comani, qui dicuntur Capchat. A Teutonicis verò dicuntur Valani, et prouincia Valania. Ab Isidoro vero dicitur à flumine Tanai vsque ad paludes Meotidis et Danubium Alania. Et durat ista terra in longitudine a Danubio vsque Tanaim; qui est terminus Asiæ et Europæ, itinere duorum mensium velociter equitando prout equitant Tartari: Quæ tota inhabitabatur à Comanis Capchat, et etiam vltra à Tanai vsque ||Etiliam: Inter quæ flumina sunt decem dietæ magnæ. Ad aquilonem verò istius prouinciæ iacet Russia, quæ vbique syluas habet, et protenditur à Polonia et Hungaria vsque Tanaim: quæ tota vastata est à Tartaris, et adhuc quotidie vastatur. Præponunt enim Rutenis, quia sunt Christiani, Saracenos: et cum non possunt amplius dare aurum vel argentum, ducunt eos et paruulos eorum tanquam greges ad solitudinem vt custodiant animalia eorum. Vltra Russiam ad aquilonem est Prussia, quam nuper subiugauerunt totam fratres Teutonici. Et certe de facili acquierent Russiam, si apponerent manum. Si enim Tartari audirent, quod magnus sacerdos, hoc est, Papa faceret cruce signari contra eos, omnes fugerunt ad solitudines suas.

Salinæ.

Decem dietæ.

Comania longitudo.

|| Etilia quæ et Volga flumen.

Russia.

Prussia.

The same in English.

Of a Saracen which said that he would be baptized: and of certaine men which seemed to be lepers. Chap. 14.

VPon the day of Pentecost there came vnto vs a certain Saracen, vnto whome, as hee talked with vs, we expounded the Christian faith. Who (hearing of God's benefits exhibited vnto mankind by the incarnation of our Sauior Christ, and the resurrection of the dead, and the iudgement to come, and that in baptisme was a washing away of sinnes) sayd that hee would be baptized. But when we prepared our selues to the baptising of him, he suddenly mounted on horsebacke, saying that he would goe home and consult with his wife what were best to be done. And on the morrow after he told vs, that he durst in no case receiue baptisme, because then he should drinke no more Cosmos. For the Christians of that place affirme that no true Christians ought to drinke thereof: and that without the said liquor he could not liue in that desert. From which opinion, I could not for my life remoue him. Wherefore be it knowen of a certainty vnto your highnes, that they are much estranged from the Christian faith by reason of that opinion which hath bin broached and confirmed among them by the Russians, of whom there is a great multitude in that place. The same day Scacatay the captaine aforesayd gaue vs one man to conduct vs to Sartach, and two other to guide vs unto the next lodging, which was distant from that place fiue dayes iourney for oxen to trauell. They gaue vnto vs also a goate for victuals, and a great many bladders of cowes milke, and but a little Cosmos, because it is of so great estimation among them. And so taking our iourney directly toward the North, me thought that wee had passed through one of hell gates. The seruants which conducted vs began to play the bold theeues with vs, seeing vs take so little heed vnto our selues. At length hauing lost much by their theeuery, harme taught vs wisdome. And then we came vnto the extremity of that prouince, which is fortified with a ditch from one sea vnto another: without the bounds wherof their lodging was situate. Into the which, so soone as we had entred, al the inhabitants there seemed vnto vs to be infected with leprosie: for certain base fellowes were placed there to receiue tribute of al such as tooke salt out of the salt pits aforesaid. From that place they told vs that we must trauel fifteen daies iourney,

Salt pits.

before we shuld find any other people. With them wee dranke Cosmos, and gaue vnto them a basket full of fruites and of bisket. And they gaue vnto vs eight oxen and one goate, to sustaine vs in so great a iourney, and I knowe not how many bladders of milke. And so changing our oxen, we tooke our iourney which we finished in tenne dayes, arriuing at another lodging: neither found wee any water all that way, but onely in certaine ditches made in the valleys, except two small riuers. And from the time wherein wee departed out of the foresaid prouince of Gasaria, we trauailed directly Eastward, hauing a Sea on the South side of vs, and a waste desert on the North, which desert, in some places, reacheth twenty dayes iourney in breadth, and there is neither tree, mountaine, nor stone therein. And it is most excellent pasture. Here the Comanians, which were called Capthac, were wont to feede their cattell. Howbeit by the Dutch men they are called Valani, and the prouince it selfe Valania. But Isidore calleth all that tract of land stretching from the riuer of Tanais to the lake of Mæotis, and so along as farre as Danubius, the countrey of Alania. And the same land continueth in length from Danubius vnto Tanais (which diuideth Asia from Europe) for the space of two moneths iourney, albeit a man should ride poste as fast as the Tartars vse to ride: and it was all ouer inhabited by the Comanians, called Capthac: yea and beyond Tanais, as farre as the riuer of Edil or Volga: the space betweene the two which riuers is a great and long iourney to bee trauailed in ten dayes. To the North of the same prouince lieth Russia, which is full of wood in all places, and stretcheth from Polonia and Hungaria, euen to the riuer of Tanais: and it hath bene wasted all ouer by the Tartars, and as yet is daily wasted by them. They preferre the Saracens before the Russians, because they are Christians, and when they are able to giue them no more golde or siluer, they driue them and their children like flockes of sheepe into the wildernes, constraining them to keepe their cattell there. Beyond Russia lieth the countrey of Prussia, which the Dutch knights of the order of Saint Maries hospitall of Ierusalem haue of late wholly conquered and subdued. And in very deede they might easily winne Russia, if they would put to their helping hand. For if the Tartars should but once know, that the great Priest, that is to say, the Pope did cause the ensigne of the crosse

Ten dayes iorney.

The length of Comania.

Russia.

Prussia.

to bee displaied against them, they would flee all into their desert and solitarie places.*

De tedijs quæ patiebantur, et de sepultura Comanorum. Cap. 15.

IBamus ergo versus orientem, nihil videntes nisi cœlum et terram, et aliquando mare ad dextram, quod dicitur Mare Tanais, et etiam sepulturas Comanorum. quæ apparebant nobis à duabus leucis secundum quod solebant parentelæ eorum sepeliri simul. Quam diu eramus in solitudine bene erat nobis: quòd tædium quod patiebar quum veniebamus ad mansiones eorum non possem exprimere verbis. Volebat enim dux noster, quod ad quoslibet capitaneos ingrederer cum xenio: et ad hoc non sufficiebant expensæ. Quotidie enim eramus octo personæ comedentes viaticum nostrum exceptis seruientibus, qui omnes volebant comedere nobiscum. Nos enim eramus quinqui, et ipsi tres qui ducebant nos: duo ducentes bigas, et vnus iturus nobiscum vsque ad Sartach. Carnes quas dabant non sufficiebant; nec inueniebamus aliquid venale pro moneta. Et cum sedebamus sub bigis notris pro vmbra, quia calor erat ibi maximus illo tempore, ipsi ita importune ingerebant se nobis, quod conculcabant nos, volentes omnia nostra videre. Si arripiebat eos appetitus purgandi ventrem, non elongabant se a nobis, quam possit faba iactari. Imo iuxta nos colloquentes mutuò faciebant immunditias suas: et multa alia faciebant quæ erant supra modum tædiosa. Super omnia grauabat me, quod cum volebam dicere eis aliquod verbum ædificationis, interpres meus dicebat, non facietis me prædicare: quia nescio talia verba dicere. Et verum dicebat. Ego enim perpendi postea, quum incepi aliquantulum intelligere idioma, quod quum dicebam vnum, ipse totum aliud dicebat, secundum quod ei occurrebat. Tunc videns periculum loquendi per ipsum, elegi magis facere. Ambulauimus ergo cum magno labore de mansione in mansionem: ita quod paucis diebus ante festum beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ veni ad fluuium magnum Tanais: qui diuidit Asiam ab Europa, sicut Nilus fluuius Ægypti, Asiam ab Africa. In illo loco quo applicuimus fecerunt Baatu et Sartach fieri quoddam casale de Rutenis in ripa orientali, qui transferunt nuncios et mercatores

Calor maximus ibi in æstate.

Tanais fluuius.

Casale Rutenorum.

---

* There is some confusion in original edition, which I have here corrected.

cum nauiculis. Ipsi transtulerunt nos primo et postea bigas ponentes vnam rotam in vna barca et aliam in alia, ligantes barcas ad inuicem; et sic remigantes transibant. Ibi egit dux noster valde stulte. Ipse enim credebat, quod illi de casali deberent nobis ministrare equos, et dimisit animalia quæ adduxeramus in alia biga, vt redirent ad dominos suos. Et quum postulauimus ab eis animalia, ipsi respondebant quod habebant priuilegium à Baatu, quod non tenerentur ad aliud, nisi transferre euntes et redeuntes: etiam à mercatoribus accipiebant magnum tributum. Stetimus ergo ibi in ripa fluminis tribus diebus. Prima die dederunt nobis magnam borbatam recentem: secunda die panem de siligine et parum de carnibus, quas acceperat procurator villæ ostiatim per diuersas domos. Tertia die pisces siccos, quos habent ibi in magna multitudine. Fluuius ille erat ibi tantæ latitudinus, quantæ est Sequana Parisijs. Et antequam peruenissemus ad locum illum, transiuimus multas aquas pulcherrimas et piscosissimas: Sed Tartari nesciunt eos capere: nec curant de pisce nisi sit ita magnus, quod possunt comedere carnes eius, sicut carnes arietinas. Ille fluuius est terminus Orientalis Russiæ; et oritur de paludibus quæ pertingunt ad Oceanum ad aquilonem. Fluuius vero currit ad meridiem in quoddam magnum Mare septingentorum millium, antequam pertingat ad Mare Ponti: Et omnes aquæ quas transiuimus vadunt ad illas partes. Habet etiam prædictum flumen magnam syluam in ripa Occidentali. Vltra locum illum non ascendunt Tartari versus Aquilonem: quia tunc temporis || circa introitum Augusti incipiunt redire versus meridiem. Vnde aliud est casale inferius vbi transeunt nuncij tempore hyemali. Eramus igitur ibi in magna angustia, quia nec equos nec baues inueniebamus pro pecunia. Tandem postquam ostendi eis, quod laboraui pro communi vtilitate omnium Christianorum, accommodauerunt nobis boues et homines: nos autem oportebat ire pedibus. Tunc temporis metebant siliginem: triticum non proficiebat ibi bene. Milium habent in magna copia. Mulieres Rutenæ ornant capita sicut nostræ. Supertunicalia sua exterius ornant vario vel grisio a pedibus vsque ad genua. Homines portant capas sicut Teutonici: sed in capite portant pileos de filtro acutos in summitate longo acumine. Ambulauimus ergo tribus diebus non inuenientes populum. Et cum essemus valde fatigati et boues similiter, nec sciremus quorsum possemus Tar-

Latitudo Tanais.

Oceanus.

Ad introitum Augusti redeunt ad meridiem.

taros inuenire, accurrerunt subito duo equi, quos recepimus cum gaudio magno, et ascenderunt eos dux noster et interpres, vt specularentur quorsum possemus populum inuenire. Tandem quarta die inuentis hominibus gauisi sumus tanquam naufragi venientes ad portum. Tunc acceptis equis et bobus iuimus de mansione ad mansionem donec peruenimus vsque ad herbergiam Sartach secundo Calendas Augusti.

The same in English.

Of our afflictions which we sustained: and of the Comanians maner of buriall. Chap. 15.

WE therefore went on towards the East, seeing nothing but heauen and earth, and sometimes the sea on our right hand, called the Sea of Tanais, and the sepulchres of the Comanians, which appeared vnto vs two leagues off, in which places they were wont to burie their kinred altogether. So long as we were trauelling through the desert, it went reasonably well with vs. For I cannot sufficiently expresse in words the irkesome and tedious troubles which I susteined, when I came at any of their places of abode. For our guide would haue vs goe in vnto euery Captaine with a present, and our expenses would not extend so farre. For we were euery day eight persons of vs spending our waifaring prouision, for the Tartars seruants would all of them eate of our victuals. We ourselues were fiue in number, and the seruants our guides were three, two to driue our carts, and one to conduct vs unto Sartach. The flesh which they gaue vs was not sufficient for vs: neither could we finde any thing to be bought for our money. And as we sate vnder our carts in the coole shadowe, by reason of the extreame and vehement heate which was there at that time, they did so importunately and shamelesly intrude themselues into our companie, that they would euen tread vpon vs, to see whatsoeuer things we had. Hauing list at any time to ease themselues, the filthy lozels had not the maners to withdrawe themselues farther from vs, then a beane can bee cast. Yea, like vile slouens they would lay their tailes in our presence, while they were yet talking with vs: many other things they committed, which were most tedious and loathsome vnto vs. But aboue all things it grieued me to the very heart, that when I would vtter ought vnto them, which might tend to their edification, my foolish interpreter would say: you shall not make me become a Preacher now: I tell you, I cannot nor I will not rehearse any such wordes. And true it

Extreme heate in Sommer.

was which he saide, For I perceiued afterward, when I began to haue a little smattering in the language, that when I spake one thing, he would say quite another, whatsoeuer came next vnto his witlesse tongues end. Then seeing the danger I might incurre in speaking by such an interpreter, I resolued much rather to holde my peace, and thus we traueiled with great toile from lodging to lodging, till at the length, a fewe dayes before the feast of Saint Marie Magdalene, we arriued at the banke of the mightie riuer Tanais which diuideth Asia from Europa, euen as the riuer Nilus of Ægypt disioyneth Asia from Africa. At the same place where wee arriued, Baatu and Sartach did cause a certaine cottage to be built, vpon the Easterne banke of the riuer, for a companie of Russians to dwelle in to the ende they might transport Ambassadours and merchants in ferrie-boates ouer that part of the riuer. First they ferried vs ouer, and then our carts, putting one wheele into one lyter, and the other wheele into another lyter, hauing bounde both the lyters together, and so they rowe them ouer. In this place our guide played the foole most extreamely. For hee imagining that the said Russians, dwelling in the cottage, should haue prouided vs horses, sent home the beasts which we brought with vs, in another cart, y^t they might returne vnto their owne masters. And when we demanded to haue some beasts of them, they answered, that they had a priuiledge from Baatu, whereby they were bound to none other seruice, but only to ferry ouer goers and commers: and that they receiued great tribute of marchants in regard therof. We staied therfore by the said riuers side three daies. The first day they gaue vnto vs a great fresh turbut: the second day they bestowed rye bread, and a litle flesh vpon vs, which the purueyer of the village had taken vp at euerie house for vs: and the third day dried fishes, which they haue there in great abundance. The saide riuer was euen as broad in that place, as the riuer of the Sein is at Paris. And before we came there, we passed ouer many goodly waters, and full of fish: howbeit the barbarous and rude Tartars know not how to take them: neither do they make any reckoning of any fish, except it be so great, that they may pray vpon the flesh thereof, as vpon the flesh of a ram. The riuer is the limite of the East part of Russia, and it springeth out of the fennes of Mæotis, which fennes stretch vnto the North Ocean. And it runneth Southward into a certain great sea 700. miles about

Tanaia.

The breadth of Tanaia.

He is much deceiued.

before it falleth into the sea called Pontus Euximus. And al the riuers, which we passed ouer, ran with ful stream into those quarters. The foresaid riuer hath great store of wood also growing vpon the West side thereof. Beyond this place the Tartars ascend no farther vnto the North: for at that season of the yeere, about the first of August, they begin to returne backe vnto the South. And therfore there is another cottage somewhat lower, where passengers are ferried ouer in Winter time. And in this place wee were driuen to great extremitie, by reason that we could get neither horses, nor oxen, for any money. At length, after I had declared vnto them, that my comming was to labour for the common good of all Christians, they sent us oxen and men; howbeit we our selues were faine to trauel on foote. At this time they were reaping their rye. Wheat prospereth not wel in that soile. They haue the seede of Millium in great abundance. The Russian women attire their heads like vnto our women. They imbroder their safegards or gowns on the outside, from their feet vnto their knees with particoloured or grey stuffe. The Russian men weare caps like vnto the Dutch men. Also they weare vpon their heads certain sharpe, and high crowned hats made of felt much like vnto a sugar loafe. Then traueiled we 3. daies together, not finding any people. And when our selues and our oxen were exceeding weary and faint, not knowing how far off we should find any Tartars, on the sudden, there came two horses running towards vs, which we tooke with great ioy, and our guide and interpreter mounted vpon their backes, to see, how far off they could descry any people. At length vpon the fourth day of our iourney, having found some inhabitants, we reioyced like seafaring men, which had escaped out of a dangerous tempest, and had newly recouered the hauen. Then hauing taken fresh horses, and oxen, we passed on from lodging to lodging, till at the last, vpon the second of the Kalends of August, we arriued at the habitation of Duke Sartach himselfe.

About the beginning of August, the Tartars returne Southward.

De regione Sartach, et de gentibus illius. Cap. 16.

REgio ista vltra Tanaim est pulcherrima, habens flumina et syluas aquilonem. Sunt syluæ maximæ, quas inhabitant duo genera hominum: Moxel scilicet, qui sunt sine lege, puri pagani. Ciuitatem non habent sed casulas in syluis. Dominus eorum et

magna pars eorum fuerunt interfecti in Alemania. Tartari enim dux erant eos ad introitum Alemaniæ. Vnde ipsi multum commendant Alemanos, sperantes quod adhuc liberabuntur per eos à seruitute Tartarorum. Si mercator veniat ad eos, oportet quod ille apud quem primo descendit prouideat ei quamdiu vult esse inter eos. Si quis dormiat cum vxore alterius, ille non curat nisi videat proprijs oculis: vnde non sunt Zelotypi. Abundant apud eos porci, mel, et cera, pelles preciosæ, et falcones. Post illos sunt alij qui dicuntur Merdas, quos latini vocant Merduos, et sunt Saraceni. Post illos est || Etilia, quæ est maior fluuius, quam vnquam viderim: et venit ab Aquilone de maiori Bulgaria tendens ad meridiem: et cadit in quendam lacum habentum spacium quatuor mensium in circuitu, de quo postea dicam vobis. Ista ergo duo flumina Tanais et Etilia versus regiones Aquilonis per quas transiuimus non distant ab inuicem nisi decem dietis, sed ad meridiem multum diuiduntur ab inuicem. Tanais enim descendit in Mare Ponti: Etilia facit prædictum Mare siue lacum, cum alijs multis fluminibus, quæ cadunt in illum de Perside. Habebamus autem ad meridiem montes maximos in quibus habitant in lateribus versus solitudinem illam Cergis et Alani siue || Acas, qui sunt Christiani et adhuc pugnant contra Tartaros. Post istos prope Mare siue lacum Etiliæ sunt quidam Saraceni qui dicuntur Lesgi, qui similiter obediunt. Post hos est Porta ferrea, quam fecit Alexander ad excludendas Barbaras gentes de Perside; de cuius situ dicam vobis postea, || quia transiui per eam in reditu. Et inter ista duo flumina in illis terris per quas transiuimus habitabant Comani antequam Tartari occuparent eas.

Merdui Saraceni.

|| vel Volga fluuius.

|| Kerkis. vel Aas.

Lesgi Saraceni.

|| Reditus eius per Derbent.

The same in English.

Of the dominion of Sartach, and of his Subiects. Cbap. 16.

THe region lying beyond Tanais, is a very goodly countrey, hauing store of riuers and woods toward the North part thereof. There be mighty huge woods which two sorts of people do inhabite. One of them is called Moxel, being meere Pagans, and without law. They haue neither townes nor cities, but only cottages in y woods. Their lord and a great part of themselues were put to the sword in high

The people of Moxel are Pagans.

Germanie. Whereupon they highly commend the braue courage of the Almans, hoping as yet to be deliuered out of the bondage of the Tartars, by their meanes. If any merchant come vnto them, he must prouide things necessary for him, with whom he is first of all enterteined, all the time of his abode among them. If any lieth with another mans wife, her husband, vnles he be an eiewitnes therof, regardeth it not: for they are not ielous ouer their wiues. They haue abundance of hogs, and great store of hony and waxe, and diuers sorts of rich and costly skins, and plentie of falcons. Next vnto them are other people called Merclas, which the Latines cal Merdui, and they are Saracens. Beyond them is the riuer of Etilia or Volga, which is ye mightiest riuer that euer I saw. And it issueth from the North part of Bulgaria the greater, and so trending along Southward, disimboqueth into a certain lake containing in circuit the space of 4. moneths trauel, whereof I will speak hereafter. The two foresaid riuers, namely Tanais and Etilia, otherwise called Volga, towards the Northren regions through the which we traueiled, are not distant asunder aboue x. daies iourney, but Southward they are diuided a great space one from another. For Tanais descendeth into the sea of Pontus: Etilia maketh the foresaid sea or lake, with the help of many other riuers which fal therinto out of Persia. And we had to the South of vs huge high mountains, vpon the sides wherof, towards the said desert, doe the people called Cergis, and the Alani or Acas inhabit, who are as yet Christians, and wage warre against the Tartars. Beyond them, next vnto the sea or lake of Etilia, there are certaine Saracens called Lesgi, who are in subiection vnto the Tartars. Beyond these is Porta ferrea, or the yron gate, nowe called Derbent, which Alexander built to exclude the barbarous nations out of Persia. Concerning the situation whereof, your maiestie shall vnderstand more about the end of this Treatise: for I trauailed in my returne by the very same place. Betweene the two foresaid riuers, in the regions through the which we passed did Comanians of olde time inhabite, before they were ouerrun by the Tartars.

The people called Merdui being Saracens.

The circuite of the Caspian sea.

Kergis or Asa.

The Sara- called Lesgi.

He returneth by Derbent.

De Curia Sartach et de gloria eius. Cap. 17.

INuenimus ergo Sartach prope Etiliam per tres dietas: cuius curia valde magna videbatur nobis: quia habet sex vxores, et filius eius primogenitus iuxta eum duas vel tres: et quælibet bet habet domum magnam et bigas forte ducentas. Accessit autem ductor noster ad quendam Nestorinum Coiat nomine, qui est vnus de maioribus Curiæ suæ. Ille fecit nos ire valde longe ad domini Iannam. Ita vocant illum qui habet officium recipiendi nuncios. In sero præcepit nobis dictus Coiat, vt veniremus ad eum. Tunc incepit quærere ductor noster quid portaremus ei, et cœpit multum scandalizari, quum vidit quod nihll parabamus ad portandum. Stetimus coram eo, et ipse sedebat in gloria sua et faciebat sonare citharam et saltare coram se. Tunc dixi ei verba prædicta qualiter veniremus ad dominum eius, rogans eum vt iuuaret nos vt Dominus eius videret literas nostras. Excusaui etiam me quia monachus eram, non habens, nec recipiens, nec tractans aurum vel argentum vel aliquid preciosum, solis libris et capella in qua seruiebamus deo exceptis: vnde nullum xenium afferebamus ei nec domino suo. Qui enim propria dimiseram, non poteram portator esse alienorum. Tunc respondit satis mansuete, quod bene faciebam ex quo eram monachus: sic seruarem votum meum, et non indigebat rebus nostris; sed magis daret nobis de suis, si indigeremus: et fecit nos sedere et bibere de lacte suo. Et post pauca rogauit vt diceremus benedictionem pro eo, quod et fecimus. Quæsiuit et quis esset maior dominus inter Francos. Dixi, Imperator, si haberet terram suam in pace. Non, inquit, sed Rex Franciæ. Audiuerat enim de vobis à domino Baldewyno de Hannonia. Inueni etiam ibi vnum de Socijs domus Dominicæ, qui fuerat in Cypro, qui narrauerat omnia quæ viderat. Tunc reuersi sumus ad hospitium nostrum. In crastino misi ei vnum flasconem de vino Muscato, quod optime se custodierat in tam longa via; et cophinum plenum biscocto quod fuit ei gratissimum, et retinuit illo sero famulos nostros secum. In crastino mandauit mihi quod venirem ad curiam; afferens literas regis et capellam et libros mecum, quia dominus suus vellet videre ea; quod et fecimus, onerantes vnam bigam libris et capella, et aliam pane et vino et fructibus. Tunc fecit omnes libros et vestes explicari, et circumstabant nos in equis multi Tartari et Christiani et Saraceni: quibus inspectis, quæsiuit, si vellem ista omnia dare domino

Coiat Nestorinus.

suo, quo audito, expaui, et displicuit mihi verbum, dissimulans tamen respondi, domine rogamus, quatenus dominus noster dignetur recipere panem istum, vinum et fructus non pro xenio quia exiguum quid est, sed pro benedictione, ne vacua manu veniamus coram eo. Ipse autem videbit literas domini regis, et per eas sciet, qua de causa venimus ad eum: et tunc stabimus mandato eius nos et omnes res nostræ. Vestes enim sanctæ sunt, et non licet eas contingere nisi sacerdotibus. Tunc præcepit quod indueremus nos ituri coram domino suo: quod et fecimus. Ego autem indutus preciosioribus vestibus accepi in pectore puluinar, quod erat valde pulchrum, et biblium quod dederatis mihi, psalterium pulcherrimum, quod dederat mihi domina regina, in quo erant picturæ pulchræ. Socius meus accepit missale et crucem, clericus indutus supercilicio accepit thuribulum: sic accessimus ante dominum eius: et leuauerunt filtrum quod pendebat ante ostium vt nos posset videre. Tunc fecerunt flectere genua ter clerico et interpreti: à nobis non requisiuerunt. Tunc monuerunt nos valde diligenter, vt caueremus ingrediendo et egrediendo ne tangeremus limen domus, et vt cantaremus aliquam benedictionem pro eo. Tunc ingressi sumus cantando, Salue regina. In introitu, autem ostij stabat bancus cum cosmos et cum ciphis. Et conuenerant omnes vxores eius: et ipsi Moal. Ingredientes nobiscum comprimebant nos. Illic Coiac tulit ei thuribulum cum incenso, quod ipse respexit, tenens in manu diligenter: postea tulit ei psalterium quod valde respexit, et vxor eius sedens iuxta eum. Postea tulit biblium, et ipse quæsiuit, si euangelium esset ibi. Dixi, etiam tota Scriptura Sacra. Accepit etiam crucem in manu sua, et quæsiuit de imagine, vtrum esset imago, Christi? Respondi quod sic. Ipsi Nestoriani et Armeni nunquam faciunt super cruces suas figuram Christi. Vnde videntur male sentire de passione, vel erubescunt eam. Postea fecit circumstantes nos retrahere se, vt plenius posset videre ornamenta nostra. Tunc obtuli ei literas vestras cum transcriptis in Arabico et Syriano. Feceram enim eas transferri in Acon in vtraque litera et lingua. Et ibi erant sacerdotes Armeni, qui sciebant Turcicum et Arabicum, et Ille Socius domus Domini qui sciebat Syrianum, et Turcicum et Arabicum. Tunc exiuimus et deposuimus vestimenta nostra: et venerunt scriptores et ille Coiac, et fecerunt literas interpretari. Quibus auditis, fecit recipi panem et vinum et fructus: vestimenta et libros fecit nos reportare ad hospitium. Hoc actum est in festo Sancti Pietri ad vincula.

The same in English.

Oi the Court of Sartach, and of the magnificence thereof. Chap. 17.

ANd we found Sartach lying within three daies iourney of the riuer Etilia: whose Court seemed vnto vs to be very great. For he himselfe had sixe wiues, and his eldest sonne also had three wiues: euery one of which women hath a great house, and they haue ech one of them about 200. cartes. Our guide went vnto a certaine Nestorian named Coiat, who is a man of great authoritie in Sartachs Court. He made vs to goe very farre vnto the Lordes gate. For so they call him, who hath the office of enterteining Ambassadours. In the euening Coiac commanded vs to come vnto him. Then our guide began to enquire what we would present him withal, and was exceedingly offended, when he saw that we had nothing ready to present. We stoode before him, and he sate maiestically, hauing musicke and dauncing in his presence. Then I spake vnto him in the wordes before recited, telling him, for what purpose I was come vnto his lorde, and requesting so much fauour at his hands, as to bring our letters vnto the sight of his Lord. I excused my selfe also, that I was a Monke, not hauing, nor receiuing, nor vsing any golde, or siluer, or any other precious thing, saue onely our bookes, and the vestiments wherein we serued God: and that this was the cause why I brought no present vnto him, nor vnto his Lord. For I that had abandoned mine owne goods, could not be a transporter of things for other men. Then hee answered very courteously, that being a Monke, and so doing, I did well: for so I should obserue my vowe: neither did himselfe stande in neede of ought that we had, but rather was readie to bestowe vpon vs such thinge as we our selues stood in neede of: and he caused vs to sit downe, and to drinke of his milke. And presently after he requested vs to say our deuotions for him: and we did so. He enquired also who was the greatest Prince among the Franckes? And I saide, the Emperour, if he could inioy his owne dominions in quiet. No (qnoth he) but the king of France. For he had heard of your Highnes by lord Baldwine of Henault. I found there also one of the Knights of the temple, who had bene in Cyprus, and had made report of all things which he sawe there. Then returned wee vnto our lodging. And on the

Coiat the historian.

morow we sent him a flagon of Muscadel wine (which had lasted very wel in so long a iourney) and a boxe full of bisket, which was most acceptable vnto him. And he kept our seruants with him for that euening. The next morning he commanded me to come vnto the Court, and to bring the kings letters and my vestimentes, and bookes with me; because his Lorde was desirous to see them. Which we did accordingly, lading one cart with our bookes and vestiments, and another with bisket, wine, and fruites. Then he caused all our bookes and vestiments to bee laide forth. And there stoode rounde about vs many Tartars, Christians and Saracens on horseback. At the sight whereof, he demanded whether I would bestow all those things vpon his Lord or no? Which saying made me to tremble, and grieued me full sore. Howbeit, dissembling our griefe as well as we could, we shaped him this answere: Sir, our humble request is, that our Lorde your master would vouchsafe to accept our bread, wine, and fruits, not as a present, because it is too meane, but as a benediction, least we should come with an emptie hand before him. And he shall see the letters of my souereigne Lord the king, and by them he shall vnderstand for what cause we are come vnto him, and then both our selues, and all that we haue, shall stand to his curtesie: for our vestiments be holy, and it is vnlawfull for any but Priests to touch them. Then he commaunded vs to inuest our selues in the saide garments, that we might goe before his Lord: and wee did so. Then I my selfe putting on our most precious ornaments, tooke in mine armes a very faire cushion, and the Bible which your Maiesty gaue me, and a most beautifull Psalter, which the Queenes Grace bestowed vpon me, wherein there were goodly pictures. Mine associate tooke a missal and a crosse: and the clearke hauing put on his surplesse, tooke a censer in his hand. And so we came vnto the presence of his Lord: and they lifted vp the felt hanging before his doore, that he might behold vs. Then they caused the clearke and the interpreter thrise to bow the knee: but of vs they required no such submission. And they diligently admonished vs to take heed, that in going in, and in comming out, we touched not the threshold of the house, and requested vs to sing a benediction for him. Then we entred in, singing *Salue Regina.* And within the entrance of the doore, stood a bench with cosmos, and drinking cups thereupon. And all his wiues were there assembled. Also the Moals or rich

Tartars thrusting in with vs pressed vs sore. Then Coiat caried vnto his Lord the censer with incense, which he beheld very diligently, holding it in his hand. Afterward hee caried the Psalter vnto him, which he looked earnestly vpon, and his wife also that sate beside him. After that he caried the Bible: then Sartach asked if the Gospel were contained therein? Yea (said I) and all the holy scriptures besides. He tooke the crosse also in his hand, and demanded concerning the image, whether it were the image of Christ or no? I said it was. The Nestorians and the Armenians do neuer make the figure of Christ vpon their crosses. Wherefore either they seem not to think wel of his passion, or els they are ashamed of it. Then he caused them that stood about vs, to stand aside, that he might more fully behold our ornaments. Afterward I deliuered vnto him your Maiesties letters, with translation therof into the Arabike, and Syriake languages. For I caused them to be translated at Acon into the character, and dialect of both the saide tongues. And there were certain Armenian Priests, which had skil in the Turkish and Arabian languages. The aforesaid knight also of the order of the Temple had knowledge in the Syriake, Turkish, and Arabian tongues. Then we departed forth, and put off our vestiments, and there came vnto vs certaine Scribes together with the foresaid Coiat, and caused our letters to be interpreted. Which letters being heard, he caused our bread, wine and fruits to be receiued. And he permitted vs also to carie our vestiments and bookes vnto our owne lodging. This was done vpon the feast of S. Peter ad vincula.

No good consequence.

Qualiter habuerunt in mandatis adire Baatu patrem Sartach.

Cap. 18.

IN crastino mane venit quidam sacerdos frater ipsius Coiac postulans vasculum cum chrismate, quia Sartach volebat illud videre, vt dicebat, et dedimus ei. Hora vespertina vocauit nos Coiac, dicens nobis: Dominus rex scripsit bona verba Domino meo: Sed sunt in eis difficilia, de quibus nihil auderet facere, sine consilio patris sui. Vnde oportet vos ire ad patrem suum, et duas bigas quas adduxistis heri cum vestimentis et libris dimittetis mihi, quia Dominus meus vult res diligentius videre. Ego statim suspicatus sum malum de cupiditate eius, et dixi ei. Domine, non solum illas sed etiam duas quas adhuc habemus relinquemus sub custodia vestra. Non inquit, illas relinquetis, de alijs facietis

velle vestrum. Dixi quod hoc nullo modo posset fieri. Sed totam dimitteremus ei. Tunc quæsiuit si vellemus morari in terra? Ego dixi, Si bene intellexistis literas domini regis, potestis scire, quod sic. Tunc dixit, quod oporteret nos esse patientes multum, et humiles. Sic discessimus ab eo illo sero. In crastino mane misit vnum sacerdotem Nestorinum pro bigis, et nos duximus omnes quatuor. Tunc occurrens nobis frater ipsius Coiacis, separauit omnia nostra ab ipsis rebus quas tuleramus pridie ad curiam, et illa accepit tanquam sua, scilicet libros et vestimenta: et Coiac præceperat, quod ferremus nobiscum vestimenta quibus induti fueramus coram Sartach vt illis indueremur coram Baatu si expediret: quas ille sacerdos abstulit nobis vi, dicens: Tu attulisti eas ad Sartach, modo vis ferre Baatu? Et cum vellem ei reddere rationem, respondit mihi, Ne loquaris nimis, et vade viam tuam. Tunc necessaria fuit patientia, quia apud Sartach, non patebat nobis ingressus; nec aliquis erat, qui nobis exhiberet iusticiam. Timebam etiam de interprete, ne ipse aliquid aliter dixissit, quam ego dixissem ei : quia ipsi bene voluisset, quod de omnibus fecissemus xenium. Vnum erat mihi solacium, quia quum persensi cupiditatem eorum, ego subtraxi de libris Biblium et sententias, et alios libros quos magis diligebam. Psalterium dominæ reginæ non fui ausus subtrahere, quia illud fuerat nimis notatum propter aureas picturas quæ erant in eo. Sic ergo reuersi sumus cum duobus residuis bigis ad hospitium nostrum. Tunc venit ille, qui debebat ducere nos ad Baatu, volens cum festinatione arripere iter: cui dixi quod nulla ratione ducerem bigas. Quod ipse retulit ad Coiac. Tunc præcepit Coiac quod relinqueremus eas apud ipsum cum garcione nostro: quod et fecimus. Sic ergo euntes versus Baatu recta in Orientem, tertia die peruenimus ad Etiliam: cuius aquas cum vidi, mirabar vnde ab Aquilone descenderunt tantæ aquæ. Antequam recederemus à Sartach, dixit nobis supradictus Coiac cum alijs multis scriptoribus curiæ, Nolite dicere quod dominus noster sit Christianus, sed Moal. Quia nomen Christianitatis videtur eis nomen cuiusdam gentis. In tantam superbiam sunt erecti, quod quamuis aliquid forte credant de Christo, tamen nolunt dici Christiani volentes nomen suum, hoc est, Moal exaltare super omne nomen. Nec volunt vocari Tartari: Tartari enim fuerunt alia gens de quibus sic didici.

Perueniunt ad Etiliam vel Volgam.

Tartari volunt vocari Moal.

The same in English.

How they were giuen in charge to goe vnto Baatu the Father of Sartach. Chap. 18.

THe next morning betimes came vnto vs a certaine Priest who was brother vnto Coiat, requesting to haue our box of Chrisme, because Sartach (as he said) was desirous to see it: and so we gaue it him. About euentide Coiat sent for vs, saying: My lord your king wrote good words vnto my lord and master Sartach. Howbeit there are certaine matters of difficulty in them concerning which he dare not determine ought, without the aduise and counsell of his father. And therfore of necessitie you must depart vnto his father, leauing behind you the two carts, which you brought hither yesterday with vestiments and bookes, in my custodie: because my lorde is desirous to take more diligent view thereof. I presently suspecting what mischiefe might ensue by his couetousnes, said vnto him: Sir, we will not onely leaue those with you, but the two other carts also, which we haue in our possession, will we commit vnto your custodie. You shall not (quoth he) leaue those behinde you, but for the other two carts first named, we will satisfie your request. I saide that this could not conueniently be done: but needes we must leaue all with him. Then he asked, whether we meant to tarie in the land? I answered: If you throughly vnderstand the letters of my lorde the king, you know that we are euen so determined. Then he replied, that we ought to be patient and lowly: and so we departed from him that euening. On the morrowe after he sent a Nestorian Priest for the carts, and we caused all the foure carts to be deliuered. Then came the foresaid brother of Coiat to meet vs, and separated all those things, which we had brought the day before vnto the Court, from the rest, namely, the bookes and vestiments, and tooke them away with him. Howbeit Coiat had commanded, that we should carie those vestiments with vs, which wee ware in the presence of Sartach, that wee might put them on before Baatu, if neede should require: but the said Priest tooke them from vs by violence, saying: thou hast brought them vnto Sartach, and wouldest thou carie them vnto Baatu? And when I would haue rendred a reason, he answered: be not too talkatiue, but goe your wayes. Then I sawe that there was no remedie but patience: for wee could haue no accesse vnto

Sartach himselfe, neither was there any other, that would doe vs iustice. I was afraide also in regard of the interpreter, least he had spoken other things then I saide vnto him: for his will was good that we should haue giuen away all that we had. There was yet one comfort remaining vnto me: for when I once perceiued their couetous intent, I conueyed from among our bookes the Bible, and the sentences, and certaine other bookes which I made speciall account of. Howbeit I durst not take away the Psalter of my soueraigne Lady the Queene, because it was too wel known, by reason of the golden pictures therein. And so we returned with the two other carts vnto our lodging. Then came he that was appointed to be our guide vnto the court of Baatu, willing vs to take our iourney in all post-haste: vnto whom I said, that I would in no case haue the carts to goe with me. Which thing he declared vnto Coiat. Then Coiat commaunded, that we should leaue them and our seruant with him: And we did as he commanded. And so traueling directly Eastward towards Baatu, the third day we came to Etilia or Volga: the streams whereof when I beheld, I wondered from what regions of the North such huge and mighty waters should descend. Before we were departed from Sartach, the foresaid Coiat, with many other Scribes of the court said vnto vs: doe not make report that our Lord is a Christian, but a Moal. Because the name of a Christian seemeth vnto them to be the name of some nation. So great is their pride, that albeit they beleeue perhaps some things concerning Christ, yet will they not bee called Christians, being desirous that their owne name, that is to say, Moal should be exalted aboue all other names. Neither wil they be called by the name of Tartars. For the Tartars were another nation, as I was informed by them.

They are come as farre as Volga.

The Tartars will be called Moal.

Qualiter Sartach, et Mangucham et Kencham faciunt reuerentiam Christianis. Cap. 19.

TEmpore quo Franci ceperunt Antiochiam tenebat monarchiam in illis lateribus Aquilonis quidam qui vocabatur Concan. Con est proprium nomen: Can nomen dignitatis quod idem est qui diuinator. Omnes diuinatores vocant Can. Vnde principes dicuntur Can, quia penes eos spectat regimen populi per diuinationem. Vnde legitur in historia Antiochæ, quod Turci miserunt propter succursum contra Francos

Con Can.

ad regnum Con can. De illis enim partibus venerunt omnes Turci. Iste Con erat Cara-Catay. Cara idem est quod nigrum. Catai nomen gentis. Vnde Cara-Catay idem est quod nigri Catay. Et hoc dicitur ad differentiam ipsorum Catay qui erant in Oriente super Oceanum de quibus postea dicam vobis. Isti Catay erant in quibusdam alpibus per quas transiui. Et in quadam planicie inter illas Alpes erat quidam Nestorinus pastor potens et dominus super populum, qui dicebatur Yayman, qui erant Christiani Nestorini. Mortuo Con can eleuauit se ille Nestorius in regem, et vocabant eum Nestoriani Regem Iohannem: et plus dicebant de ipso in decuplo quàm veritas esset. Ita enim faciunt Nestoriani venientes de partibus illis. De nihilo enim faciunt magnos rumores. Vnde disseminauerunt de Sartach quod esset Christianus, et de Mangu Can et Ken can: quia faciunt maiorem reuerentiam Christianis, quàm alijs populis, et tamen in veritate Christiani non sunt. Sic ergo exiuit magna fama de illo Rege Iohanne. Et quando ego transiui per pascua eius, nullus aliquid sciebat de eo nisi Nestoriani pauci. In pascuis eis habitat Kencam, apud cuius curiam fuit frater Andreas: et ego etiam transiui per eam in reditu. Huic Iohanni erat frater quidam potens, pastor similiter, nomine Vut: et ipse erat vltra Alpes ipsorum Caracatay, distans à fratre suo spacium trium hebdomadarum et erat dominus cuiusdam Villulæ quæ dicitur Caracarum, populum habens sub se, qui dicebantur Crit, Merkit, qui erant Christiani Nestorini. Sed ipse dominus eorum dimisso cultu Christi, sectabatur idola; habens sacerdotes idolorum, qui omnes sunt inuocatores dæmonum et sortilegi. Vltra pascua istius ad decem vel quindecem dietas erant pascua Moal: qui erant pauperrimi homines sine capitaneo et sine lege, exceptis sortilegijs et diuinationibus, quibus omnes in partibus illis intendunt. Et iuxta Moal erant alij pauperes, qui dicebantur Tartari. Rex Iohannes mortuus fuit sine hærede, et ditatus est frater eius Vnc: et faciebat se vocari Can: et mittebantur armenta greges eius vsque ad terminos Moal. Tunc temporis Chingis faber quidam erat in populo Moal: et furabatur de animalibus Vnc can quod poterat: In tantum quod conquesti sunt pastores Vut domino suo. Tunc congregauit exercitum et equitauit in

Vnde venerunt Turci.

Caracatay.

Oceanus.

Vel Nayman.

Presbyter Iohannes.

Kencham vbi habitauit.

Frater Andreas in Curia Kencham.

Vut can, vel Vnc.

Caracarum Villula.

Crit, et Merkit.

Moal pauperrimi homines.

Tartarorum sedes.

Cyngis.

terram Moal, quærens ipsum Cyngis. Et ille fugit inter Tartaros et latuit ibi. Tunc ipse Vut accepta præda Moal et à Tartaris reuersus est. Tunc ipse Cyngis allocutus est Tartaros et ipsos Moal dicens, Quia sine duce sumus opprimunt nos vicini nostri. Et fecerunt ipsum ducem et capitaneum Tartari et Moal. Tunc latenter congregato exercitu irruit super ipsum Vut, et vicit ipsum, et ipse fugit in Cathaiam. Ibi capta fuit filia eius, quam Cyngis dedit vni ex filijs in vxorem, ex quo ipsa suscepit istum qui nunc regnat Mangu. Tunc ipse Cyngis permittebat vbique ipsos Tartoros: et inde exiuit nomen eorum, quia vbique clamabatur, Ecce Tartari veniunt. Sed per crebra bella modo omnes fere deleti sunt. Vnde isti Moal modo volunt extinguere illud nomen, et suum eleuare. Terra illa in qua primo fuerunt, et vbi est adhuc curia Cyngiscan, vocatur Mancherule. Sed quia Tartari est regio circa quam fuit acquisitio eorum, illam ciuitatem habent pro regali, et ibi prope eligunt suum Can.

Mangu-can.

Mancherule.

The same in English.

Howe Sartach, and Mangu-Can, and Ken-Can doe reuerence vnto Christians. Chap. 19.

At the same time when the French-men tooke Antioch, a certaine man named Con Can had dominion ouer the Northren regions, lying thereabouts. Con is a proper name: Can is a name of authority or dignitie, which signifieth a diuiner or soothsayer. All diuiners are called Can amongst them. Whereupon their princes are called Can, because that vnto them belongeth the gouernment of the people by diuination. Wee doe reade also in the historie of Antiochia, that the Turkes sent for aide against the French-men, vnto the kingdome of Con Can. For out of those parts the whole nation of the Turkes first came. The said Con was of the nation of Kara-Catay, Kara signifieth blacke, and Katay is the name of a countrey. So that Kara-Catay signifieth the blacke Catay. This name was giuen to make a difference between the foresaid people, and the people of Catay, inhabiting Eastward ouer against ye Ocean sea: concerning whom your maiesty shall vnderstand more hereafter. These Catayans dwelt vpon certaine Alpes, by the which I trauailed. And in a certaine plaine countrey within those Alpes, there inhabited a Nestorian shepheard, being a mighty gouernour

An Ocean sea.

Nayman. Presbiter Iohn. ouer the people called Yayman, which were Christians, following the sect of Nestorius. After the death of Con Can, the said Nestorian exalted himselfe to the kingdome, and they called him King Iohn,* reporting ten times more of him then was true. For so the Nestorians which come out of those parts, vse to doe. For they blaze abroade great rumors, and reports vpon iust nothing. Whereupon they gaue out concerning Sartach, that he was become a Christian, and the like also they reported concerning Mangu Can, and Ken Can: namely because these Tartars make more account of Christians, then they doe of other people, and yet in very deede, themselues are no Christians. So likewise there went foorth a great report concerning the said king Iohn. Howbeit, when I trauailed along by his territories, there was no man that knew any thing of him, but onely a fewe Nestorians. The place of Ken Can his abode. In his pastures or territories dwelleth Ken Can, at whose Court Frier Andrew was. And I my selfe passed by it at my returne. Vut Can, or Vnc Can. This Iohn had a brother, being a mightie man also, and a shepheard like himselfe, called Vut, and he inhabited beyond the Alpes of Cara-Catay, being distant from his brother Iohn, the space of three weekes iourney. The village of Cara Carum. He was lord ouer a certain village, called Cara Carum, hauing people also for his subiects, Crit and Merkit. named Crit, or Merkit, who were Christians of the sect of Nestorius. But their Lorde abandoning the worship of Christ, followed after idoles, reteining with him Priests of the saide idoles, who all of them are worshippers of deuils and sorcerers. Moal in olde time a beggerly people. Beyond his pastures some tenne or fifteene dayes iourney, were the pasture of Moal, who were a poore and beggerly nation, without gouernour, and without Lawe, except their soothsayings, and their diuinations, vnto the which detestable studies, all in those partes doe apply their mindes. The place of the Tartars. Neere vnto Moal were other poore people called Tartars. The foresaid king Iohn died without issue male, and thereupon his brother Vut was greatly inriched, and caused himselfe to be named Can; and his droues and flockes raunged euen vnto the borders of Moal. About the same time there was one Cyngis, a blacke smith among the people of Moal. This Cyngis stole as many cattel from Vut Can, as he could possibly get: insomuch that the shepheards of Vut complained vnto their Lord. Then prouided he an armie, and marched vp into the countrey of Moal to seeke for the saide Cyngis. But Cyngis fledde among the Tartars, and hidde himselfe amongest them. And Vut hauing taken some spoils both from Moal, and also from the Tartars, returned home. Then spake Cyngis vnto the Tartars, and vnto the people of Moal, saying: Sirs, because we are destitute of a gouernonr and Captaine, you see howe our neighbours do oppresse vs. And the Tartars and Moals appointed him to be their Chieftaine. Then hauing secretly gathered together an armie, he brake in suddenly vpon Vut, and ouercame him, and Vut fledde into Cataya. At the same time was the daughter of Vut taken, which Cyngis married vnto one of his sonnes, by whome she conceiued, and brought forth the great Can, which now reigneth, called Mangu-Can. Then Cyngis sent ye Tartars before him in al places where he came: and thereupon was their name published and spread abroade: for in all places the people woulde crie out: Loe, the Tartars come, the Tartars come. Howbeit, through continuall warres, they are nowe, all of them in a maner, consumed and brought to nought. Whereupon the Moals endeuour what they can, to extinguish the name of the Tartars, that they may exalt their owne name. The countrey wherein they first inhabited, and where the Court of Cyngis Can as yet remaineth, is called Mancherule. But because Tartaria is the region about which they haue obtained their conquests, they esteeme that as their royall and chiefe citie, and there for the most part doe they elect their great Can.

---

* This history of Presbiter Iohn in the North-east, is alleadged at large by Gerardus Mercator in his generall mappe. From whence the Turkes first sprang.—[*Marginal Note.*]

Cyngis.

Mangu-can.

Mancherule.

De Rutenis et Hungaris, et Alanis, et de mari Caspio. Cap. 20.

DE Sartach autem vtrum credit in Christum vel non nescio. Hoc scio quod Christianus non vult dici. Immò magis videtur mihi deridere Christianos. Ipse enim est in itinere Christianorum, scilicet Rutenorum, Blacorum, Bulgarorum minoris Bulgariæ, Soldainorum, Kerkisorum, Alanorum: qui omnes transeunt per eum quum vadunt ad curiam patris sui deferre ei munera, vnde magis amplectitur eos. Tamen si Saraceni veniant, et maius afferant, citiùs expediuntur. Habet etiam circa se Nestorinos sacerdotes, qui pulsant tabulam, et cantant officium suum.

Berta vel Berca.

Est alius qui dicitur Berta super Baatu, qui pascit versus Portam ferream, vbi est iter Saracenorum omnium qui veniunt de Perside et de Turchia, qui euntes ad Baatu, et transeuntes per eum, deferunt ei munera. Et ille facit se Saracenum, et non permittit in terra sua comedi carnes porcinas. Baatu in reditu nostro præceperat ei, quod transferret se de illo loco vltra Etiliam ad Orientem, nolens nuncios Saracenorum transire per eum, quia videbatur sibi damnosum.

Quatuor autem diebus quibus fuimus in curia Sartach, nunquam prouisum fuit nobis de cibo, nisi semel de modico cosmos. In via verò inter ipsum et patrem suum habuimus magnum timorem. Ruteni enim et Hungari, et Alani serui eorum, quorum est magna multitudo inter eos, associant se viginti vel triginta simul, et fugiunt de nocte, habentes pharetras et arcus, et quemcunque inueniunt de nocte interficiunt, de die latitantes. Et quando sunt equi eorum fatigati veniunt de nocte ad multitudinem equorum in pascuis, et mutant equos, et vnum vel duos ducunt secum, vt comedant quum indiguerint. Occursum ergo talium timebat multum Dux noster. In illa via fuissemus mortui fame, si non portauissemus nobiscum modicum de biscocto.

Venimus tandem ad Etiliam maximum flumen. Est enim in quadruplo maius quàm Sequana, et profundissimum: Veniens de maiori Bulgaria, quæ est ad Aquilonem, tendens in quendam lacum, siue quoddam mare, quod modò vocat illud mare Sircan, à quadam ciuitate, quæ est iuxta ripam eius in Perside. Sed Isidorus vocat illud mare Caspium. Habet enim montes Caspios, et Persidem à meridie: montes verò Musihet, hoc est, Assassinorum ad Orientem, qui contiguantur cum montibus Caspijs: Ad Aquilonem verò habet illam solitudinem, in qua modo sunt Tartari. Prius verò erant ibi quidam qui dicebantur Canglæ: Et ex illo latere recipit Etiliam, qui crescit in æstate sicut Nilus Ægypti. Ad Occidentem verò habet montes Alanorum et Lesgi; et Portam ferream, et montes Georgianorum. Habet igitur illud mare tria latera inter montes, Aquilonare verò habet ad planiciem. Frater Andreas ipse circumdedit duo latera eius, meridionale scilicet et Orientale. Ego verò alia duo; Aquilonare scilicet in eundo à Baatu ad Mangu cham, Occidentale verò in reuertendo de Baatu in Syriam. Quatuor mensibus potest circundari. Et non est verum quod dicit Isidorus,

Exacta Maris Caspij descriptio.

Canglæ populi, vel Cangittæ.

Frater Andreas.

Reprehenditur Isidori error de mari Caspio.

quod sit sinus exiens ab Oceano: nusquam enim tangit Oceanum, sed vndique circundatur terra.

The same in English.

Of the Russians, Hungarians, and Alanians: and of the Caspian Sea. Chap. 20.

NOw, as concerneth Sartach, whether he beleeues in Christ, or no, I knowe not. This I am sure of, that he will not be called a Christian. Yea rather he seemeth vnto mee to deride and skoffe at Christians. He lieth in the way of the Christians, as namely of the Russians, the Valachians, the Bulgarians of Bulgaria the lesser, the Soldaianes, the Kerkis, and the Alanians: who all of them passe by him, as they are going to the Court of his father Baatu, to carie gifts: whereupon he is more in league with them. Howbeit, if the Saracens come, and bring greater gifts than they, they are dispatched sooner. He hath about him certaine Nestorian Priestes, who pray vpon their beades, and sing their deuotions. Also, there is another vnder Baatu called Berta, who feedeth his cattell toward Porta ferrea, or Derbent, where lieth the passage of all those Saracens, which come out of Persia, and out of Turkie to goe vnto Baatu, and passing by they giue rewards vnto him. And he professeth himselfe to be a Saracene, and will not permit swines flesh to be eaten in his dominions. Howbeit, at the time of our returne, Baatu commanded him to remoue himselfe from that place, and to inhabite vpon the East side of Volga: for hee was vnwilling that the Saracens messengers should passe by the saide Berta, because he sawe it was not for his profite. For the space of foure dayes while we remained in the court of Sartach, we had not any victuals at all allowed vs, but once onely a little Cosmos. And in our iourney betweene him and his father, wee traueiled in great feare. For certaine Russians, Hungarians, and Alanians being seruants vnto the Tartars (of whom they haue great multitudes among them) assemble themselues twentie or thirtie in a companie, and so secretly in the night conueying themselues from home, they take bowes and arrowes with them, and whomsoeuer they finde in the night season, they put him to death, hiding themselues in the day time. And hauing tired their horses, they goe in the night vnto a company of other horses feeding in some pasture, and change them for newe, taking with them also one or two horses besides, to eate them when they stand in neede. Our guide therefore was

Or, Berca.

sore afraide, least we should haue met with such companions. In this iourney wee had died for famine, had we not caried some of our bisket with vs. At length we came vnto the mighty riuer of Etilia, or Volga. For it is foure times greater then the riuer of Sein, and of a wonderfull depth: and issuing forth of Bulgaria the greater, it runneth into a certain lake or sea, which of late they call the Hircan sea, according to the name of a certain citie in Persia, standing vpon the shore thereof. Howbeit Isidore calleth it the Caspian Sea. For it hath the Caspian mountaines and the land of Persia situate on the south side thereof: and the mountaines of Musihet, that is to say, of the people called Assassini[*] towards the East, which mountaines are coioyned vnto the Caspian mountaines: but on the North side thereof lieth the same desert, wherein the Tartars doe now inhabite. Howbeit heretofore there dwelt certaine people called Changlæ. Changlæ. And on that side it receiueth the streams of Etilia; which riuer increaseth in Sommer time, like vnto the riuer Nilus in Ægypt. Vpon the West part thereof, it hath the mountaines of Alani, and Lesgi, and Porta ferrea, or Derbent, and the mountaines of Georgia. This Sea therefore is compassed in on three sides with the mountaines, but on the North side by plaine grounde. Frier Andrew. Frier Andrew, in his iourney traueiled round about two sides therof, namely the South and the East sides: and I my selfe about other two, that is to say, the North side in going from Baatu to Mangu-Can, and in returning likewise: and the West side in comming home from Baatu into Syria. A man may trauel round about it in foure moneths. And it is not true what Isidore reporteth, namely that this Sea is a bay or gulfe comming forth of the Ocean: for it doeth, in no part thereof, ioyne with the Ocean, but is inuironed on all sides with lande.

De curia Baatu, et qualiter recepti fuerunt ab eo. Cap. 21.

TOta illa regio à latere Occidentali istius maris, vbi sunt Porta ferrea Alexandri, et montes Alanorum, vsq; ad Oceanus Aquilonaris. Oceanum Aquilonarem et paludes Mæotidis vbi Isidorus. mergitur Tanais, solebat dici Albania: de qua dicit Isidorus, quòd habet canes ita magnos, tantæque feritatis, vt tauros premant, leones perimant. Quod verum est, prout intellexi à narrantibus, quod ibi versus Oceanum Aquilonarem faciunt canes trahere in bigis sicut boues propter magnitudinem

---

[*] A tribe who murdered all strangers: hence our word *assassin.*

et fortitudinem eorum. In illo ergo loco vbi nos applicuimus super Etiliam est casale nouum, quod fecerunt Tartari de Rutenis mixtim, qui transponunt nuncios euntes, et redeuntes ad curiam Baatu: quia Baatu est in vlteriori ripa versus Orientem: nec transit illum locum vbi nos applicuimus ascendendo in æstate, sed iam incipiebat descendere. De Ianuario enim vsque ad Augustum ascendit ipsi, et omnes alij versus frigidas regiones, et in Augusto incipiunt redire.

Descendit naui per flumen Volga.

Nota.

Descendimus ergo in naui ab illo casali vsque ad curiam eius. Et ab illo vsque ad villas maioris Bulgariæ versus Aquilonem, sunt quinque dietæ. Et miror quis Diabolus portauit illuc legem Machometi. A Porta enim ferrea, quæ est exitus Persidis, sunt plusquam triginta dietæ per transuersum, solitudinem ascendendo iuxta Etiliam vsque in illam Bulgariam, vbi nulla est ciuitas, nisi quædam casalia propè vbi cadit Etilia in mare.

30 dietæ à Porta ferrea.

Astracan.

Et illi Bulgari sunt pessimi Saraceni, fortius tenentes legem Machometi, quàm aliqui alij. Quum ergo vidi curiam Baatu, expaui; quia videbantur propè domus eius, quasi quædam magna ciuitas protensa in longum, et populus vndìq; circumfusus, vsq; ad tres vel quatuor leucas.

Descriptio curiæ Baatu.

Et sicut populus Israel sciebat vnusquisq; ad quam regionem tabernaculi deberet figere tentoria: ita ipsi sciunt ad quod latus curiæ debeant se collocare, quando ipsi deponunt domus. Vnde dicitur curia Orda lingua eorum, quod sonat medium, quia semper est in media hominum suorum: hoc excepto quod rectè ad meridiem nullus se collocat, quia ad partem illam aperiuntur portæ Curiæ: Sed à dextris et à sinistris extendunt se quantum volunt secundum exigentiam locorum: dummodo rectè ante curiam, vel ex opposito curiæ non descendunt.

Horda sonat medium.

Fuimus ergo ducti ad quendam Saracenum, qui non prouidebat nobis de aliquo cibo: sequenti die fuimus ad curiam, et fecerat extendi magnum tentorium, quia domus non potuisset capere tot homines et mulieres, quot conuenerant. Monuit nos ductor noster vt non loqueremur, donec Baatu præciperet: et tunc loqueremur breuiter. Quæsiuit etiam vtrum misissetis nuncios ad eos. Dixi qualiter misseratis ad Kencham, et quod nec ad ipsum misissetis nuncios, nec ad Sartach literas, nisi credidissetis eos fuisse Christianos: quia non pro timore aliquo, sed ex congratulatione, quia audiueratis eos esse Christianos misistis. Tunc duxit nos ad papilionem: et monebamur, ne tangeremus cordas

Misit rex Franciæ ad Kencham nuncios.

Iohannes de Plano carpini.

tentorij, quas ipsi reputant loco liminis domus. Stetimus ibi nudis pedibus in habitu nostro discoopertis capitibus, et eramus spectaculum magnum in oculis eorum. Fuerat enim ibi frater Iohannes de Plano Carpini, sed ipse mutauerat habitum ne contemneretur; quia erat nuncius Domini Papæ. Tunc inducti fuimus vsque ad medium tentorij, nec requisiuerunt vt faceremus aliquam reuerentiam genua flectendo, sicut solent facere nuncij. Stetimus ergo coram eo quantum possit dici, Miserere mei Deus: et omnes erant in summo silentio. Ipse verò super solium longum sedebat et latum sicut lectus, totum deauratum, ad quod ascendebatur tribus gradibus, et vna domina iuxta eum. Viri vero diffusi sedebant à dextris dominæ et à sinistris: quod non implebant mulieres ex parte vna quia erant ibi solæ vxores Baatu, implebant viri. Bancus verò cum cosmos et ciphis maximis aureis et argenteis, ornatis lapidibus prætiosis erat in introitu tentorij. Respexit ergo nos diligentius, et nos eum: et videbatur mihi similis in statura Domino Iohanni de Bello monte cuius anima requiescit in pace. Erat etiam vultus eius tunc perfusus gutta rosea. Tandem præcepit vt loquerer. Tunc ductor noster præcepit vt flecteremus genua, et loqueremur. Flexi vnum genu tanquam homini: tunc innuit quod ambo flecterem, quod et feci, nolens contendere super hoc. Tunc præcepit quod loquerer. Et ego cogitans quod orarem Dominum, quia flexeram ambo genua, Incepi verba oratione, dicens: Domine, nos oramus Dominum, à quo bona cuncta procedunt, qui dedit vobis ista terrena, vt det vobis post hæc cœlestia: quia hæc sine illis vana sunt. Et ipse diligenter auscultauit, et subiunxit: Noueritis pro certo quòd cœlestia non habebitis, nisi fueritis Christianus. Dicit enim Deus, Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, saluus erit: qui vero non crediderit, condemnabitur. Ad illud verbum ipse modestè subrisit, et alij Moal inceperunt plaudere manus deridendo nos. Et obstupuit interpres meus, quem oportuit me confortare ne timeret. Tunc facto silentio, dixi: Ego veni ad filium vestrum, quia audiuimus quòd esset Christianus, et attuli ei literas ex parte Domini Regis Francorum: ipse misit me huc ad vos. Vos debetis scire qua de causa. Tunc fecit me surgere. Et quæsiuit nomen vestrum, et meum, et socij mei, et interpretis, et fecit omnia scribi. Quæsiuit etiam, quia intellexerat quod exieratis terram vestram cum exercitu vt haberetis bellum. Respondi, Contra Saracenos violantes domum Dei Hierusalem. Quæsiuit etiam si vnquam misissetis nuncios

Literæ Regis Francorum.

ad eum. Ad vos dixi nunquam. Tunc fecit nos sedere, et dari de lacte suo ad bibendum, quod ipsi valdè magnum reputant, quando aliquis bibit cosmos cum eo in domo sua. Et dum sedens respicerem terram, præcepit vt eleuarem vultum, volens adhuc nos amplius respicere, vel fortè pro sortilegio: quia habent pro malo omine vel signo, vel pro mala Prognostica, quando aliquis sedet coram eis inclinata facie quasi tristis, maximè quum appodiat maxillam, vel mentum super manum. Tunc exiuimus, et post pauca, venit Ductor noster ad nos, et ducens nos ad hospitium, dixit mihi, Dominus Rex rogat, quod retinearis in terra ista: et hoc non potest Baatu facere sine conscientia Mangu cham. Vnde oportet quod tu et interpres tuus eatis ad Mangu cham. Socius verò tuus et alius homo reuertentur ad curiam Sartach ibi expectantes donec reuertatis. Tunc incepit homo DEI Interpres lugere reputans se perditum: Socius etiam meus contestari, quod citius amputarent ei caput, quam quod diuideretur à me. Et ego dixi, quod sine socio non possem ire: Et etiam quod benè indigebamus duobus famulis, quia si contingeret vnum infirmari, non possem solus remanere. Tunc ipse reuersus ad curiam dixit verba Baatu. Tunc præcepit: vadant duo sacerdotes et interpres: et Clericus reuertatur ad Sartach. Ille reuersus dixit nobis summam. Et quando volebam loqui pro Clerico, quod iret nobiscum, dixit, Non loquamini amplius quia Baatu definiuit, et eo amplius non audeo redire ad curiam. De eleemosyna habebat Goset clericus viginti sex ipperpera, et non plus: quorum decem retinuit sibi et puero: et sexdecem dedit homini Dei pro nobis. Et sic diuisi sumus cum lachrimis ab inuicem: Illo redeunte ad curiam Sartach, et nobis ibi remanentibus.

The same in English.

Of the Court of Baatu: and howe we were interteined by him.

Chap. 21.

AL the region extending from the West shore of the foresaid sea, where Alexanders Iron gate, otherwise called the citie of Derbent, is situate, and from the mountaines of Alania, all along by the fennes of Mæotis, whereinto the riuer of Tanais falleth, and so forth, to the North Ocean, was wont to be called Albania. Of which countrey Isidore reporteth, that there be dogs of such an huge stature, and so fierce, that they are able in fight to match bulles, and to master lions. Which is true,

The North Ocean.

The North Ocean.

as I vnderstand by diuers, who tolde me, that there towardes the North Ocean they make their dogges to draw in carts like oxen, by reason of their bignesse and strength. Moreouer, vpon that part of Etilia where we arriued, there is a new cottage built, wherein they haue placed Tartars and Russians both together, to ferrie ouer, and transport messengers going and comming to and fro the court of Baatu. For Baatu remaineth vpon the farther side towards the East. Neither ascendeth hee in Sommer time more Northward then the foresaide place where we arriued, but was euen then descending to the South. From Ianuarie vntil August both he and all other Tartars ascend by the banks of riuers towards cold and Northerly regions, and in August they begin to returne backe againe. We passed downe the streame therefore in a barke, from the foresaid cottage vnto his court. From the same place vnto the villages of Bulgaria the greater, standing toward the North, it is fiue dayes iourney. I wonder what deuill caried the religion of Mahomet thither. For, from Derbent, which is vpon the extreame borders of Persia, it is about 30 daies iourney to passe ouerthwart the desert, and so to ascend by the banke of Etilia, into the foresaid countrey of Bulgaria. All which way there is no citie, but onely certaine cottages neere vnto that place where Etilia falleth into the sea. Those Bulgarians are most wicked Saracens, more earnestly professing the damnable religion of Mahomet, then any other nation whatsoeuer. Moreouer, when I first behelde the court of Baatu, I was astonied at the sight thereof; for his houses or tents seemed as though they had bene some huge and mighty citie, stretching out a great way in length, the people ranging vp and downe about it for the space of some three or four leagues. And euen as the people of Israel knew euery man, on which side of the tabernacle to pitch his tent: euen so euery one of them knoweth right well, towards what side of the court he ought to place his house when he takes it from off the cart. Wherupon the court is called in their language Horda, which signifieth, the midst: because the gouernour or chieftaine among them dwels alwaies in the middest of his people: except onely that directly towards the South no subiect or inferiour person placeth himselfe, because towards that region the court gates are set open: but vnto the right hand, and the left hand they extend

He descendeth downe the riuer Volga in a barke.

Astracan.

The description of Baatu his court.

Horda signifieth the midst.

themselues as farre as they will, according to the conueniencie of places, so that they place not their houses directly opposite against the Court. At our arriual we were conducted vnto a Saracen, who prouided not for vs any victuals at all. The day following, we were brought vnto the court: and Baatu had caused a large tent to be erected, because his house or ordinarie tent could not contain so many men and women as were assembled. Our guide admonished vs not to speake, till Baatu had giuen vs commandement so to doe, and that then we should speake our mindes briefly. Then Baatu demanded whether your Maiestie had sent Ambassadours vnto him or no? I answered, that your Maiestie had sent messengers to Ken Can: and that you would not haue sent messengers vnto him, or letters vnto Sartach, had not your Highnes bene perswaded that they were become Christians: because you sent not vnto them for any feare, but onely for congratulation, and curtesies sake, in regard that you heard they were conuerted to Christianitie. Then led he vs vnto his pauilion: and wee were charged not to touch the cordes of the tent, which they account in stead of the threshold of the house. There we stoode in our habite bare-footed, and bare-headed, and were a great and strange spectacle in their eyes. For indeed Frier Iohn de Plano Carpini had byn there before my comming: howbeit, because he was the Pope's messenger, he changed his habit that he might not be contemned. Then we were brought into the very midst of the tent, neither required they of vs to do any reuerence by bowing our knees, as they vse to doe of other messengers. Wee stood therefore before him for the space wherein a man might haue rehearsed the Psalme, Miserere mei Deus: and there was great silence kept of all men. Baatu himselfe sate vpon a seate long and broad like vnto a bed, guilt all ouer, with three stairs to ascend thereunto, and one of his ladies sate beside him. The men there assembled, sate downe scattering, some on the right hand of the saide Lady, and some on the left. Those places on the one side which the women filled not vp (for there were only the wiues of Baatu) were supplied by the men. Also, at the very entrance of the tent stoode a bench furnished with cosmos, and with stately great cuppes of siluer, and golde, beeing richly set with precious stones. Baatu beheld vs earnestly, and we him: and he seemed to me to resemble in personage, Monsieur Iohn de beau mont, whose soule resteth in peace. And hee had a fresh ruddie colour in his

Iohn de Plano Carpini.

countenance. At length he commanded vs to speake. Then our guide gaue vs direction, that wee should bow our knees and speak. Wherupon I bowed one knee as vnto a man: then he signified that I should kneele vpon both knees: and I did so, being loath to contend about such circumstaunces. And again he commanded me to speak. Then I thinking of praier vnto God, because I kneeled on both my knees, began to pray on this wise: Sir, we beseech the Lord, from whom all good things doe proceed and who hath giuen you these earthly benefites, that it would please him hereafter to make you partaker of his heauenly blessings: because the former without these are but vain and improfitable. And I added further. Be it knowen vnto you of a certainty, that you shal not obtain the ioyes of heaven, vnles you becomes a Christian: for God saith, Whosoeuer beleeueth and is baptized, shalbe saued: but he that beleeueth not, shalbe condemned. At this word he modestly smiled: but the other Moals began to clap their hands, and to deride vs. And my silly interpreter, of whom especially I should haue receiued comfort in time of need, was himself abashed and vtterly dasht out of countenance. Then, after silence made, I said vnto him, I came vnto your soune, because we heard that he was become a Christian: and I brought vnto him letters on the behalfe of my soueraigne Lord the king of France: and your sonne sent me hither vnto you. The cause of my comming therefore is best known vnto your selfe. Then he caused me to rise vp. And he enquired your maiesties name, and my name, and the name of mine associate and interpreter, and caused them all to be put down in writing. He demaunded likewise (because he had bene informed, that you were departed out of your owne countreys with an armie) against whom you waged warre? I answered: against the Saracens, who had defiled the house of God at Ierusalem. He asked also, whether your Highnes had euer before that time sent any messengers vnto him, or no? To you sir? (said I) neuer. Then caused he vs to sit downe, and gaue vs of his milke to drinke, which they account to be a great fauour, especially when any man is admitted to drinke Cosmos with him in his own house. And as I sate looking downe vpon the ground, he commanded me to lift up my countenance, being desirous as yet to take more diligent view of vs, or els perhaps for a kinde of superstitious obseruation. For they esteeme it a signe of ill lucke, or a prognostication of euill

The letters of the French King.

vnto them, when any man sits in their presence, holding downe his head, as if he were sad : especially when he leanes his cheeke or chinne vpon his hand. Then we departed forth, and immediately after came our guide vnto vs, and conducting vs vnto our lodging, saide vnto me : Your master the King requesteth that you may remaine in this land, which request Baatu cannot satisfie without the knowledge and consent of Mangu-Can. Wherefore you, and your interpreter must of necessitie goe vnto Mangu-Can. Howbeit your associate, and the other man shall returne vnto the court of Sartach, staying there for you, till you come backe. Then began the man of God mine interpreter to lament, esteeming himselfe but a dead man. Mine associate also protested, that they should sooner chop off his head, then withdrawe him out of my companie. Moreouer I my selfe saide, that without mine associate I could not goe : and that we stood in neede of two seruants at the least, to attend vpon vs, because, if one should chance to fall sicke, we could not be without another. Then returning vnto the court, he told these sayings vnto Baatu. And Baatu commanded saying : let the two Priests and the interpreter goe together, but let the clearke return vnto Sartach. And comming againe vnto vs, hee tolde vs euen so. And when I would haue spoken for the clearke to haue had him with vs, he saide : No more words : for Baatu hath resolued, that so it shall be, and therefore I dare not goe vnto the court any more. Goset the clearke had remaining of the almes money bestowed vpon him, 26. Yperperas, and no more ; 10. whereof he kept for himselfe and for the lad, and 16. he gaue vnto the man of God for vs. And thus were we parted asunder with teares : he returning vnto the court of Sartach, and our selues remaining still in the same place.

De itinere fratum versus curiam Mangu cham. Cap. 22.

In Vigilia Assumptionis peruenit ipse clericus ad Curiam Sartach : et in crastino fuerunt Sacerdotes Nestorini induti vestimentis nostris coram Sartach. Tunc ducti fuimus ad alium hospitem, qui debebat nobis prouidere de domo et cibo et equis. Sed quia non habuimus, quod daremus ei, omnia malè faciebat. Et bigauimus cum Baatu descendendo iuxta Etiliam quinque septimanas. Aliquando habuit socius meus tantam famem, quod dicebat mihi quasi lachrymando : videbatur mihi quod nunquam comederim. Forum

Quinque septimanas iuxta Etiliam descendebant.

sequitur semper Curiam Baatu. Sed illud erat tam longè à nobis, quod non poteramus ire. Oportebat enim nos ire pedibus pro Quidam Hungari. defectu equorum. Tandem inuenerunt nos quidam Hungari, qui fuerant Clericuli, quorum vnus sciebat adhuc cantare multa corde, et habebatur ab alijs Hungaris quasi Sacerdos, et vocabatur ad exequias suorum defunctorum: Et alius fuerat competenter instructus in Grammatica: qui intelligebat quicquid dicebamus ei literaliter, sed nesciebat respondere: qui fecerunt nobis magnam consolationem, afferentes cosmos ad bibendum, et carnes aliquando ad comedendum: qui quum postulassent à nobis aliquos libros, et non haberem quos possem dare, nullos enim habebam, nisi Biblium et breuiarium, dolui multum. Tunc dixi eis, afferte nobis chartas, et ego scribam vobis, quandiu erimus hîc: quod et fecerunt. Et scripsi vtrasque horas Beatæ Comanus. Virginis et officium defunctorum. Quodam die iunxit se nobis quidam Comanus, salutans nos verbis latinis, dicens, Saluete Domini. Ego mirans, ipso resalutato, quæsiui ab eo, quis eum docuerat illam salutationem. Et ipse dixit quod in Hungaria fuit baptizatus à fratribus nostris qui docuerant illam salutationem. Et ipsi dixit quod in Hungaria fuit baptizatus à fratribus nostris qui docuerant illum eam. Dixit etiam quod Baatu quæsiuerat ab eo multa de nobis, et quod ipse dixerat ei conditiones ordinis nostri. Ego vidi Baatu equitantem cum turba sua, et omnes patres familias equitantes cum eo, secundùm æstimationem meam non erant quingenti viri. Tandem circa finem exaltationis sanctæ crucis venit ad nos quidam diues Moal, Iter quatuor mensium à Volga. Ingens frigus. cuius pater erat millenarius, quod magnum est inter eos, dicens, Ego vos debeo ducere ad Mangu cham, et est iter quatuor mensium: et tantum frigus est ibi, quod finduntur ibi lapides et arbores pro frigore: Videatis vtrum poteritis sustinere. Cui respondi: Spero in virtute Dei, quod nos sustinebimus, quod alij homines possunt sustinere. Tunc dixit: Si non poteritis sustinere, ego relinquam vos in via. Cui respondi, hoc non esset iustum: quia non iuimus pro nobis, nisi missi à Domino vestro: Vnde ex quo vobis committimur, non debetis nos dimittere. Tunc dixit, benè erit. Post hoc fecit nos ostendere sibi omnes vestes nostras, et quod sibi videbatur minus necessarium fecit deponere sub custodia hospitis nostri. In crastino attulerunt cuilibet nostrum vnam pelliceam villosam arietinam 16. Septemb. et braccas de eadem, et botas siue bucellos secundùm morem eorum cum soccis de filtro; et almucias de pellibus secundum modum eorum. Et secunda die post exaltationem Sanctæ crucis incepimus equitare nos tres habentes signarios: et equitauimus continuè versus Orientem vsque ad festum Omnium Sanctorum, per totam illam terram, et adhuc amplius habitabant Cangle, quædam parentela Romanorum. Ad Aquilonem habebamus maiorem Bulgariam, et ad meridiem prædictum mare Caspium.

Cangle populi. Maior Bulgaria.

The same in English.

Of our iourney towards the Court of Mangu Can. Chap. 22.

VPon Assumption euen our clearke arriued at the court of Sartach. And on the morrow after, the Nestorian Priestes were adorned with our vestments in the presence of the said Sartach. Then wee our selues were conducted vnto another hoste, who was appointed to prouide vs houseroome, victualles, and horses. But because wee had not ought to bestowe vpon him, hee did all things vntowardly for vs. Then wee rode on forwarde with Baatu, descending along by the banks of Etilia, for the space of fiue weekes together: Sometimes mine associate was so extremelie hungrie, that hee would tell mee in a manner weeping, that it fared with him as though hee had neuer eaten any thing in all his life before. There is a faire or market following the court of Baatu at all times: but it was so farre distant from vs that we could not haue recourse thereunto. For wee were constrained to walke on foote for want of horses. At length certaine Hungarians (who had sometime bene after a sort Cleargie men) found vs out: and one of them could as yet sing many songs without booke, and was accompted of other Hungarians as a Priest, and was sent for vnto the funerals of his deceased countrey men. There was another of them also pretily wel instructed in his Grammer: for hee could vnderstand the meaning of any thing that wee spake, but could not answere vs. These Hungarians were a great comfort vnto vs, bringing vs Cosmos to drinke, yea, and sometimes flesh for to eate also: who, when they requested to haue some bookes of vs, and I had not any to giue them (for indede we had none but onely a Bible, and a breuiarie) it grieued mee exceedingly. And I said vnto them: Bring mee some inke and paper, and I will write for you so long as we shall remaine here:

They trauell fiue weekes by the banke of Etilia.

Hungarians.

and they did so. And I copied out for them Horas beatæ Virginis, and Officium defunctorum. Moreouer, vpon a certaine day, there was a Comanian that accompanied vs, saluting us in Latine, and saying: Saluete Domini. Wondering thereat and saluting him againe, I demaunded of him, who had taught him that kind of salutation? Hee saide that hee was baptised in Hungaria by our Friers, and that of them hee learned it. He said moreouer, that Baatu had enquired many things of him concerning vs, and that hee told him the estate of our order. Afterwarde I sawe Baatu riding with his companie, and all his subjects that were householders or masters of families riding with him, and (in mine estimation) they were not five hundred persons in all. At length about the ende of Holy roode, there came a certaine great Moal vnto vs (whose father was a Millenarie, which is a great office among them) saying: I am the man that must conduct you vnto Mangu-Can, and we haue thither a iourney of foure moneths long to trauell, and there is such extreame colde in those parts, that stones and trees do euen riue asunder in regarde thereof. Therefore I would wish you throughly to aduise your selues, whether you be able to indure it or no. Vnto whom I answered: I hope by Gods help that we shalbe able to brooke that which other men can indure. Then he saide: if you cannot indure it, I will foresake you by the way. And I answered him: it were not iust dealing for you so to doe: for wee goe not thither vpon anie businesse of our owne, but by reason that we are sent by your lord. Wherefore sithence we are committed vnto your charge, you ought in no wise to forsake vs. Then he said: all shalbe well. Afterward he caused vs to shewe him all our garments: and whatsoeuer hee deemed to be lesse needfull for vs, he willed vs to leaue it behind in the custodie of our hoste. On the morrow they brought vnto each of vs a furred gowne, made all of rammes skinnes, with the wool stil vpon them, and breeches of the same, and boots also of buskins according to their fashion, and shooes made of felt, and hoods also made of skins after their maner. The second day after Holy rood, we began to set forward vpon our iourney, hauing three guides to direct vs: and we rode continually Eastward, tiil the feast of All Saints. Throughout all that region, and beyonde also did the people of Changle inhabite, who were by parentage descended from the Romanes. Vpon the North side of vs, wee had Bulgaria the greater, and on the South, the foresaid Caspian sea.

A Comanian.

A iourney of 4. moneths from Volga.

The 16. of September. 46. dayes.

Or, Kangittæ.

De flumine Iagag, et de diuersis regionibus siue nationibus.
Cap. 21.

POstquam iueramus duodecim diebus ab Etilia inuenimus magnum flumen, quod vocant Iagag: et venit ab Aquilone de terra Pascatir descendens in prædictum mare. Idioma Pascatir et Hungarorum idem est: et sunt pastores sine ciuitate aliqua. Et contiguatur maiori Bulgariæ ab Occidente. Ab illa terra versus Orientem in latere illo Aquilonari non est amplius aliqua ciuitas. Vnde Bulgaria maior est vltima regio habens ciuitatem. De illa regione Pascatir exierunt Huni, qui posteà dicti sunt Hungari. Vnde ipsa est maior Bulgaria. Et dicit Isidorus, quòd pernicibus equis claustra Alexandri rupibus Caucusi feras gentes cohibentia transierunt: ita quod vsque in Ægyptum soluebatur eis tributum. Destruxerunt etiam omnes terras vsque in Franciam. Vnde fuerunt maioris potentiæ, quàm sunt adhuc Tartari. Cum illis occurrerunt Blaci et Bulgari et Vandali. De illa enim maiori Bulgaria venerunt illi Bulgari: Et qui sunt vltra Danubium propè Constantinopolin, et iuxta Pascatir sunt Ilac, quod idem est quod Blac: sed B. nesciunt Tartari sonare: à quibus venerunt illi qui sunt in terra Assani. Vtrosque enim vocant Ilac, et hos et illos lingua Rutenorum et Polonorum, et Boëmorum. Sclauorum est idem idioma cum lingua Vandalorum, quorum omnium manus fuit cum Hunis: et nunc pro maiori parte est cum Tartaris quos Deus suscitauit à remotioribus partibus, populum multum, et gentem stultam, secundùm quod dicit Dominus, Prouocabo eos, id est, non custodientes Legem suam, in eo qui non est populus, et in gente stulta irritabo eos. Hoc completur ad literam super omnes nationes non custodientes Legem Dei. Hoc quod dixi de terra Pascatir scio per fratres Prædicatores, || qui iuerunt illuc ante aduentum Tartarorum. Et ex tunc erant ipsi subiugati à vicinis Bulgaris Saracenis, et plures eorum facti Saraceni. Alia possunt sciri per Chronica: quia constat quod illæ prouinciæ post Constantinopolim, quæ modo dicuntur Bulgaria, Valachia, Sclauonia, fuerunt prouinciæ Græcorum. Hungaria fuit Pannonia. Eqitauimus ergo per terram Cangle à festo Sanctæ crucis vsque ad festum Omnium Sanctorum, quolibet die ferè

Iagag flumen 12. dietis à Volga.

Pascatir terra, vel Bascirdorum terra vel Zibier.

Hungari à Pascatir oriundi.

Nota.

Deut. 32. 21.

|| Qui fuerunt isti fratres?

Cangle planicies ingens.

quantum est à Parisijs vsque Aurelianum, secundùm quod possum estimare, et plus aliquando: secundùm quod habebamus copiam equorum. Aliquando enim mutabamus bis in die vel ter equos. Aliquando ibamus duobus diebus vel tribus, quibus non inueniebamus populum, et oportebat leuius ire. De viginti vel triginta equis nos semper hauebamus peiores, quia extranei eramus. Omnes enim accipiebant ante nos equos meliores. Mihi semper prouidebant de forti equo, quia eram ponderosus valdè: sed vtrum suauiter ambularet vel non, de hoc non auderem facere quæstionem. Nec etiam audebam conqueri, si durè portaret. Sed fortunam suam oportebat vnumquemque sustinere. Vnde oriebatur nobis difficilimus labor: quia multoties fatigabantur equi, antequam possemus peruenire ad populum. Et tunc oportebat nos percutere et flagellare equos, ponere etiam vestes super alios saginarios, mutare equos saginarios; aliquando nos duos ire in vno equo.

The same in English.

Or, Iaic.

Of the the riuer of Iagac: and of diuers regions or nations. Chap. 23.

Iaic twelue dayes iourney from Volga.

Pascatir.

HAuing traueiled twelue dayes iourney from Etilia, wee found a mightie riuer called Iagac: which riuer issuing out of the North, from the land of Pascatir, descendeth into the foresaid sea. The language of Pascatir, and of the Hungarians is all one, and they are all of them shepheards, not hauing any cities. And their countrey bordereth vpon Bulgaria the greater, on the West frontier thereof. From the Northeast part of the said countrey, there is no citie at all. For Bulgaria the greater is the farthest countrey that way, that hath any citie therein. Out of the forenamed region of Pascatir, proceeded the Hunnes of olde time, who afterwarde were called Hungarians. Next vnto it is Bulgaria the greater. Isidore reporteth concerning the people of this nation, that with swift horses they trauersed the impregnable walles and bounds of Alexander, (which, together with the rocks of Caucasus, serued to restraine those barbarous and blood-thirstie people from inuading the regions of the South) insomnch that they had tribute paid vnto them, as farre as Ægypt. Likewise they wasted all countreis euen vnto France. Whereupon they were more mightie then the

The Hungarians descended from the Bascirdes.

Valachians. Tartars as yet are. And vnto them the Blacians, the Bulgarians, and the Vandals ioyned themselues. For out of Bulgaria the greater, came those Bulgarians. Moreouer, they which inhabit beyond Danubius, neere vnto Constantinople, and not farre from Pascatir, are called Ilac, which (sauing the pronunciation) is al one with Blac, (for the Tartars cannot pronounce the letter B) from whom also descended the people which inhabit the land of Assani. For they are both of them called Ilac (both these, and the other) in yᵉ languages of the Russians, yᵉ Polonians, and the Bohemians. The Sclauonians speake all one language with the Vandals, all which banded themselues with the Hunnes: and now for the most part, they vnite themselues vnto the Tartars: whom God hath raised vp from the vtmost partes of the earth, according to that which the Lord saith: I will prouoke them to enuy (namely such as keepe not his Law) by a people, which is no people, and by a foolish nation will I anger them. This prophecie is fulfilled, according to the literal sense thereof, vpon all nations which obserue not the Law of God. All this which I haue written concerning the land of Pascatir, was told me by certaine Friers prædicants, which trauailed thither before euer the Tartars came abroad. And from that time they were subdued vnto their neighbors the Bulgarians being Saracens, whereupon many of them proued Saracens also. Other matters concerning this people, may be known out of Chronicles. For it is manifest, that those prouinces beyond Constantinople, which are now called Bulgaria, Valachia, and Sclauonia, were of old time prouinces belonging to the Greekes. Also Hungaria was heretofore called Pannonia. And wee were riding ouer the land of Cangle, from the feast of Holy roode, vntill the feast of All Saints: traueiling almost euery day (according to mine estimation) as farre, as from Paris to Orleans, and sometimes farther, as we were prouided of poste horses: for some dayes we had change of horses twise or thrise in a day. Sometimes we trauailed two or three daies together, not finding any people, and then we were constrained not to ride so fast. Of 20. or 30. horses we had alwayes the woorst, because wee were strangers. For euery one tooke their choice of the best horses before vs. They prouided mee alwaies of a strong horse, because I was very corpulent and heauy: but whether he ambled a gentle pase or no, I durst not make any question. Neither yet

Deut. 32. v. 21.

Rom. 10. v. 19.

Cangle an huge plaine countrey.

durst I complaine, although he trotted full sore. But euery man must be contented with his lot as it fell. Whereupon wee were exceedingly troubled: for oftentimes our horses were tired before we could come at any people. And then wee were constrained to beate and whip on our horses, and to lay our garments vpon other emptie horses: yea and sometimes two of vs to ride vpon one horse.

De fame et siti, et alijs miserijs quas sustinuerunt in itinere. Cap. 24.

DE fame et siti, frigore et fatigatione non est numerus. Non enim dant cibum nisi in sero. In mane dant aliquid bibere, vel sorbere milium. In sero dabant nobis carnes, scapulam arietis cum costis et de brodio ad mensuram bibere. Quando habebamus de brodio carnium ad satietatem optimè reficiebamur. Et videbatur mihi suauissimus potus et maximè nutriens. Feria sexta permanebam ieiunus vsq; ad noctem, nihil auriens. Tunc oportebat me in tristitia et dolore comedere carnes. Aliquando oportebat nos comedere carnes semicoctas vel ferè crudas propter defectum materiæ ignis, quando iacebamus in campis et de nocte descendebamus: quia tunc non poteramus benè colligere stercora equorum vel boum: aliam materiam ignis rarò inueniebamus; nisi fortè alicubi aliquas spinas. In ripis etiam aliquorum fluminum sunt alicubi syluæ. Sed hoc rarò. In principio despiciebat nos multùm Ductor noster, et fastidiebat eum ducere tam viles homines. Postea tamen quando incepit nos melius cognoscere, ducebat nos per curias diuitum Moallorum: et oportebat nos orare pro ipsis. Vnde si habuissem bonum interpretem, habebam oportunitatem seminandi multa bona. Ille Chingis primus Cham habuit quatuor filios, de quibus egressi sunt multi, qui omnes habent modo magnas curias: et quotidiè multiplicantnr et diffunduntur per illam Vastam solitudinem, quæ est sicut mare. Per multos ergò illorum ducebat nos Ductor noster. Et mirabantur supra modum, quia nolebamus recipere aurum, vel argentum, vel vestes præciosas. Quærebant etiam de magno Papa, si esset ita senex sicut audierant: audierant enim quod esset quingentorum annorum. Quærebant de terris nostris si ibi essent multæ oues, et boues, et equi. De Oceano mari non potuerunt intelligere, quod esset sine termino vel sine ripa In vigilia omnium

Defectus materiæ ignis.

Aliqua flumina.

Vasta solitudo.

Sanctorum dimisimus viam in Orientem, || quia iam populus descenderat multum versus meridiem: Et dreximus iter per quasdam Alpes rectè in meridiem continuè per octo dies. In illa solitudine vidi multos asinos, quos vocant Colan, qui magis assimilantur mulis: quos multum prosequuti[*] sunt Dux noster et socij eius, sed nihil profecerunt propter nimiam velocitatem eorum. Septima die inceperunt nobis apparere ad meridiem montes altissimi: et intrauimus planiciem, quæ irrigabatur sicut hortus, et inuenimus terras cultas. In octauis omnium Sanctorum intrauimus villam quandam Saracenorum nomine Kenchat: cuius capitaneus occurrebat extra villam duci nostro cum ceruisia et ciphis. Hic est enim mos eorum; quod de omnibus villis subditis eis, occurratur nuncijs Baatu, et Mangu cham cum cibo et potu. Tunc temporis ibant ibi super glaciem. Et prius à festo Sancti Michaelis habueramus gelu in solitudine. Quæsiui de nomine Prouinciæ illius: sed quia iam eramus in alio territorio nescierunt mihi dicere, nisi à nomine ciuitatis, quæ erat valdè parua. Et descendebat magnus fluuius de montibus qui irrigabat totam regionem, secundùm quod volebant aquam ducere: nec descendebat in aliquod mare, sed absorbebatur à terra: et faciebat etiam multas paludes. Ibi vidi vites, et bibi bis de vino.

|| Nota diligenter.

Iter versus meridiem octo dierum.

Asini velocissimi.

Montes Altissimi.

Terræ cultæ.

Kenchat villa Saracenorum.

Septimo die Nouembris ibant super glaciem.

Ciuitas valdè parua.

Magnus Fluuius.

Multæ Paludes.

Vites.

The same in English.

Of the hunger, and thirst, and other miseries, which wee sustained in our iourney. Chap. 24.

OF hunger and thirst, colde and wearinesse, there was no end. For they gaue vs no victuals, but onely in the euening. In the morning they vsed to giue vs a little drinke, or some sodden Millet to sup off. In the euening they bestowed flesh vpon vs, as namely, a shoulder and breast of rams mutton, and euery man a measured quantitie of broath to drinke. When we had sufficient of the flesh-broath, we were maruellously wel refreshed. And it seemed to me most pleasant, and most nourishing drinke. Euery Saterday[†] I remained fasting vntil night, without eating or drinking of ought. And when night came, I was constrained, to my great grief and sorow, to eat flesh. Sometimes we were faine to eate flesh halfe sodden, or almost rawe, and all for want of fewel to

---

[*] *Sic.*

[†] Friday (?).

seethe it withal: especially when we lay in the fields, or were benighted before we came at our iourneis end: because we could not then conueniently gather together the doung of horses or oxen: for other fewel we found but seldome, except perhaps a few thornes in some places. Likewise upon the bankes of some riuers, there are woods growing here and there. Howbeit they are very rare. In the beginning our guide highly disdained vs, and it was tedious vnto him to conduct such base fellowes. Afterward, when he began to know vs somewhat better, he directed vs on our way by the courts of rich Moals, and we were requested to pray for them. Wherefore, had I caried a good interpreter with me, I should haue had opportunitie to haue done much good. The foresaid Chingis, who was the first great Can or Emperour of the Tartars, had foure sonnes, of whome proceeded by naturall descent many children, euery one of which doeth at this day enioy great possessions: and they are daily multiplied and dispersed ouer that huge and waste desert, which is, in dimensions, like vnto the Ocean Sea. Our guide therefore directed vs, as we were going on our iourney, vnto many of their habitations. And they marueiled exceedingly, that we would receiue neither gold, nor silver, nor precious and costly garments at their hands. They inquired also, concerning the great Pope, whether he was of so lasting an age as they had heard? For there had gone a report among them, that he was 500. yeeres olde. They inquired likewise of our countreis, whether there were abundance of sheep, oxen, and horses or no? Concerning the Ocean sea, they could not conceiue of it, because it was without limits or banks. Vpon the euen of ye feast of Al Saints, we forsook the way leading towards the East, (because the people were now descended very much South) and we went on our iourney by certaine Alpes, or mountaines directly Southward, for the space of 8. dayes together. In the foresaid desert I saw many asses (which they cal Colan) being rather like vnto mules: these did our guide and his companions chase very eagerly: howbeit, they did but lose their labour: for the beastes were too swift for them. Vpon the 7. day there appeared to the South of vs huge high mountaines, and we entred into a place which was well watered, and fresh as a garden, and found land tilled and manured. The eight day after the feast of All Saints, we arriued at a certain

Certaine riuers.

Eight dayes iourney southward.

Asses swift of foote.

High mountaines.

Manured grounds.

towne of the Saracens, named Kenchat, the gouernour whereof met our guide at the townes end with ale and cups. For it is their maner at all townes and villages, subiect vnto them, to meet the messengers of Baatu and Mangu-Can with meate and drinke. At the same time of the yere, they went vpon the yce in that countrey. And before the feast of S. Michael, we had frost in the desert. I enquired the name of that prouince: but being now in a strange territorie, they could not tell mee the name thereof, but onely the name of a very smal citie in the same prouince. And there descended a great riuer* downe from the mountaines, which watered the whole region, according as the inhabitants would giue it passage, by making diuers chanels and sluces: neither did this riuer exonerate it selfe into any sea, but was swallowed vp by an hideous gulfe into the bowels of the earth: and it caused many fennes or lakes. Also I saw many vines, and dranke of the wine thereof.

Kenchat a village of the Saracens.

The 7. day of November.

A great riuer.

Many lakes.

Vines.

De interfectione Ban et habitatione Teutonicorum. Cap. 25.

SEquenti die venimus ad aliud casale propinquius montibus. Et quæsiui de montibus, de quibus intellexi, quòd essent montes Caucasi: qui contiguantur ex vtraque parte maris ab Occidente vsque ad Orientem: et quod transiueramus mare supradictum, quod intrat Etilia. Quæsiui etiam de Talas ciuitate, in qua erant Teutonici serui Buri, de quibus dixerat frater Andreas, de quibus etiam quæsiueram multum in curia Sartach et Baatu. Sed nihil poteram intelligere, nisi quod Ban dominus eorum fuerat interfectus tali occasione. Ipse non erat in bonis pascuis. Et quadam die dum esset ebrius, loquebatur ita cum hominibus suis. Nonne sum de genere Chingis can sicut Baatus (Et ipse erat nepos Baatu vel frater) quare non vadam super ripam Etiliæ, sicut Baatu, vt pascam ibi? Quæ verba relata fuerunt Baatu. Tunc ispse Baatu scripsit hominibus illius, vt adducerent ei dominum ipsorum vinctum: quod et fecerunt. Tunc Baatu quæsiuit ab eo si dixisset tale verbum: et ipse confessus est, tamen excusauit se, quia ebrius erat: (quia solent condonare ebrijs :) et Baatu respondit: Quomodo audebas me nominare in ebrietate tua? Et fecit ei amputari caput. De illis Teutonicis

Casale.

Montes Caucasi contiguantur mari Orientali.

Talas, vel Chincitalas ciuitas.

Frater Andreas.

Casale.

---

[*] The Terek is probably alluded to.

nihil potui cognoscere vsque ad curiam Mangu. Sed in supradicto casali intellexi, quod Talas erat post nos iuxta montes per sex dietas. Quando veni ad curiam Mangu cham, intellexi quod ipse Mangu transtulerat eos de licentia Baatu versus Orientem spacio itineris vnius mensis à Talas ad quandam villam quæ dicitur Bolac: vbi fodiunt aurum, e fabricant arma. Vnde non potui ire nec redire per eos. Transiui eundo satis prope, per tres dietas fortè ciuitatem illam: sed ego ignoraui: nec potuissem etiam declinasse extra viam, si benè sciuissem. A prædicto casali iuimus ad Orientem iuxta montes prædictos: et tunc intrauimus inter homines Mangu cham, qui vbique cantabant et plaudebant coram ductore nostro: quia ipse erat nuncius Baatu. Hunc enim honorem exhibent sibi mutuo, vt homines Mangu cham recipiant nuncios Baatu prædicto modo: Et similiter homines Baatu nuncios Mangu. Tamen homines Baatu superiores sunt, nec exequuntur ita diligenter. Paucis diebus post hoc intrauimus Alpes, in quibus solebant habitare Caracatay: et inuenimus ibi magnum fluuium,* quem oportuit nos transire nauigio. Post hæc intrauimus quandam vallem, vbi vidi castrum quoddam destructum, cuius muri non erant nisi de luto, et terra colebatur ibi. Et pòst inuenimus quandam bonam villam quæ dicitur Equius, in qua erant Saraceni loquentes Persicum: longissimè tamen erant à Perside. Sequenti die transgressis illis Alpibus quæ descendebant à magnis montibus ad meridiem, ingressi sumus pulcherrimam planiciem habentem montes altos à dextris, et quoddam mare à sinistris, siue quendam lacum qui durat quindecem dietas in circuitu. Et illa planicies tota irrigabatur ad libitum aquis descendentibus de montibus, quæ omnes recipiuntur in illud mare. In æstate rediuimus ad latus Aquilonare illius maris, vbi similiter erant magni montes. In planicie prædicta solebant esse multæ villæ: sed pro maiori parte omnes erant destructæ, vt pascerent ibi Tartari: quia optima pascua erant ibi. Vnam magnam villam inuenimus ibi nomini Cailac, in qua erat forum, et frequentabant eam multi mercatores. In illa quieuimus quindecem diebus, expectantes quendam scriptorem Baatu, qui debebat esse socius ducis nostri in negotijs

Bolac villa. Aurifodinæ.

Intrat ditionem Mangu cham.

Alpes in quibus habitabant Caracatay. Magnus fluuius.

Terra culta. Equius villa bona, longissimè à Perside.

Lacus quindecem dietarum circuitu.

Cailac magna villa et plena mercatoribus.

---

* The River Roup.

expediendis in curia Mangu. Terra illa solebat dici Organum: et solebant habere proprium idioma, et propriam literam: Sed hæc tota erat occupata à Contomannis. Etiam in literatura illa et idiomate solebant facere Nestorini de partibus illis. Dicuntur Organa, quia solebant esse optimi Organistæ vel Citharistæ, vt dicebatur mihi. Ibi primo vidi Idolatrias, de quibus noueritis, quod sunt multæ sectæ in Oriente.

Contomanni.

The same in English.

How Ban was put to death: and concerning the habitation of the Dutch men. Chap. 25.

THe day following, we came vnto another cottage neere vnto the mountains. And I enquired what mountains they were, which I vnderstood to be the mountains of Caucasus, which are stretched forth, and continued on both parts to the sea, from the West vnto the East: and on the East part they are conioyned vnto the foresaid Caspian sea, whereinto the riuer of Volga dischargeth his streams. I enquired also of the city of Talas, wherein were certaine Dutchmen seruants vnto one Buri, of whom Frier Andrew made mention. Concerning whom also I enquired very diligently in the courts of Sartach and Baatu. Howbeit I could haue no intelligence of them, but onely that their lord and master Ban was put to death vpon the occasion following: This Ban was not placed in good and fertile pastures. And vpon a certain day being drunken, he spake on this wise vnto his men. Am not I of the stocke and kinred of Chingis Can, as well as Baatu? (for in very deede he was brother or nephew vnto Baatu). Why then doe I not passe and repasse vpon the banke of Etilia, to feed my cattel there, as freely as Baatu himselfe doeth? Which speeches of his were reported unto Baatu. Whereupon Baatu wrote vnto his seruants to bring their Lorde bound vnto him. And they did so. Then Baatu demanded of him whether he had spoken any such words? And hee confessed that he had. Howbeit, (because it is the Tartars maner to pardon drunken men) he excused himselfe that he was drunken at the same time. Howe durst thou (quoth Baatu) once name mee in thy drunkennesse? And with that hee caused his head to be chopt off. Concerning the foresaid Dutchmen, I could not vnderstand ought,

A cottage.

The mountains of Caucasus are extended vnto the Easterne Sea.

The citie of Talas, or Chincitalas.

Frier Andrew.

till I was come vnto the court of Mangu-Can. And there I was informed that Mangu-Can had remoued them out of the iurisdiction of Baatu, for the space of a moneths iourney from Talas Eastward, vnto a certaine village, called Bolac: where they are set to dig gold, and to make armour. Whereupon I could neither goe nor come by them. I passed very neere the saide citie in going forth, as namely, within three dayes iourney thereof: but I was ignorant that I did so: neither could I haue turned out of my way, albeit I had knowen so much. From the foresaide cottage we went directly Eastward, by the mountaines aforesaid. And from that time we trauailed among the people of Mangu-Can, who in all places sang and daunced before our guide, because hee was the messenger of Baatu. For this curtesie they doe affoord eche to other: namely the people of Mangu-Can receiuing the messengers of Baatu, in maner aforesaide: and so likewise the people of Baatu intertaining the messengers of Mangu-Can. Notwithstanding the people of Baatu are more surlie and stoute, and shewe not so much curtesie vnto the subiectes of Mangu-Can, as they doe vnto them. A fewe dayes after, wee entered vpon those Alpes where the Cara Catayans were woont to inhabite. And there wee found a mightie riuer: insomuch that we were constrained to embarke our selues, and to saile ouer it. Afterward we came into a certaine valley, where I saw a castle destroyed, the walles whereof were onely of mudde: and in that place the ground was tilled also. And there wee founde a certaine village, named Equius, wherein were Saracens, speaking the Persian language: howbeit they dwelt an huge distance from Persia. The day following, hauing passed ouer the foresaide Alpes which descended from the great mountains Southward, we entered into a most beautiful plaine, hauing high mountaines on our right hande, and on the left hande of vs a certaine Sea or lake,* which containeth fifteene dayes iourney in circuite. All the foresayde plaine is most commodiously watered with certaine freshets distilling from the said mountaines, all which do fall into the lake. In Sommer time wee returned by the

The village of Bolac.

He entreth into the territories of Mangu Can.

Certain Alpes wherein the Cara Catayans inhabited.

A mighty riuer.

Ground tilled.

Equius.

A lake of fifteene dayes iourney in compasse.

---

* Lake Erivan.

North shore of the saide lake, and there were great mountaines on that side also. Vpon the forenamed plaine there were wont to be great store of villages: but for the most part they were all wasted, in regarde of the fertile pastures, that the Tartars might feede their cattel there. Wee found one great citie there named Cailac, wherein was a mart, and great store of Merchants frequenting it. In this citie wee remained fifteene dayes, staying for a certaine Scribe or Secretarie of Baatu, who ought to haue accompanied our guide for a despatching of certaine affaires in the court of Mangu. All this countrey was wont to be called Organum: and the people thereof had their proper language, and their peculiar kinde of writing. But it was altogether inhabited of the people called Contomanni. The Nestorians likewise in those parts vsed the very same kinde of language and writing. They are called Organa, because they were wont to be most skilfull in playing vpon the Organes or citherne, as it was reported vnto me. Here first did I see worshippers of idoles, concerning whom, bee it knowen vnto your maiestie, that there be many sects of them in the East countries.

Cailac a great city, and full of merchants.

Contomanni.

Quod Nestorini et Saraceni sunt mixti et Idolatræ. Cap. 26.

PRimi sunt Iugures, quorum terra contiguatur cum terra prædicta Organum inter montes illos versus Orientem: Et in omnibus ciuitatibus eorum sunt mixti Nestorini et Saraceni. Et ipsi etiam sunt diffusi versus Persidem in ciuitatibus Saracenorum. In prædicta ciuitate Cailac habebant etiam ipsi tres Idolatrias, quarum duas intraui, vt viderem stultitias eorum. In prima inueni quendam, qui habebat cruciculam de atramento super manum suam. Vnde credidi, quod esset Christianus: quia ad omnia quæ querebam ab eo, respondebat vt Christianus. Vnde quæsiui ab eo: Quare ergo non habetis crucem et imaginem Iesu Christi? Et ipse respondit, non habemus consuetudinem. vnde ego credidi quod essent Christiani: sed ex defectu doctrinæ omitterent. Videbam enim ibi post quandam cistam, quæ erat eis loco altaris, super quam ponunt lucernas et oblationes, quandam imaginationem habentem alas quasi Sancti Michaelis: et alias quasi ipsorum tenentes digitos sicut ad benedicendum. Illo sero non potui aliud inuenire. Quia Saraceni in tantum inuitant eos,

Iugures populi, Idolatræ.

Cailac.

quod nec etiam volunt loqui inde eis. Vnde quando quærebam a Saracenis de ritu talium, ipsi scandalizabantur. In crastino fuerunt kalendæ et pascha Saracenorum et mutaui hospitium: ita quod fui hospitatus prope aliam Idolatriam. Homines enim colligunt nuncios, quilibet secundum posse suum vel portionem suam. Tunc intrans Idolatriam prædictam inueni sacerdotes Idolorum. In kalendis enim aperiunt templa sua, et ornant se sacerdotes, et offerunt populi oblationes de pane et fructibus.

Iugures secta diuisa ab alijs Idolatris.

Primò ergo describo vobis ritus communes omnes Idolatrarum: et postea istorum Iugurum; qui sunt quasi secta diuisa ab alijs. Omnes adorant ad Aquilonem complosis manibus: et prosternentes se genibus flexis ad terram, ponentes frontem super manus. Vnde Nestorini in partibus illis nullo modo iungunt manus orando: sed orant extensis palmis ante pectus. Porrigunt templa sua ab Oriente in Occidentem: et in latere Aquilonari faciunt cameram vnam quasi eorum exeuntem: vel aliter, Si est domus quadrati, in medio domus ad latus aquilonare intercludunt vnam cameram in loco chori. Ibi ergo collocant vnam arcam longam et latam sicut mensam vnam. Et post illam arcam contra meridiem collocant principale idolum: quod ego vidi apud Caracarum, ita magnum sicut pingitur Sanctus Christopherus. Et dixit mihi quidam sacerdos Nestorinus, qui venerat ex Cataya, quod in terra illa est Idolum ita magnum, quod potest videri à duabus dietis. Et collocant alia idola in circuitu, omnia pulcherrime deaurata: Super cistam illam, quæ est quasi mensa vna, ponunt lucernas et oblationes. Omnes portæ templorum sunt apertæ ad meridiem contrario modo Saracenis. Item habent campanas magnas sicut nos. Ideo credo quod orientales Christiani noluerunt habere eas. Ruteni tamen habent et Græci in Gasaria.

Fuit apud Caracarum frater Wilhelmus.

The same in English.

How the Nestorians, Saracens, and Idolaters are ioyned together. Chap. 26.

THe first sort of these idolaters are called Iugures: whose land bordereth vpon the foresaid land of Organum, within the said mountains Eastward: and in al their cities Nestorians do inhabit together, and they are dispersed likewise towards Persia in the cities of the

The people called Iugures idolaters.

Saracens. The citizens of ye foresaid city of Cailac had 3. idole-Temples: and I entred into two of them, to beholde their foolish superstitions. In the first of which I found a man hauing a crosse painted with ink vpon his hand, whereupon I supposed him to be a Christian: for he answered like a Christian vnto al questions which I demanded of him. And I asked him, Why therefore haue you not the crosse with the image of Iesu Christ thereupon? And he answered: We haue no such custome. Whereupon I coniectured that they were indeede Christians: but, that for lacke of instruction they omitted the foresaide ceremonie. For I saw there behind a certaine chest (which was vnto them in steed of an altar, whereupon they set candles and oblations) an image hauing wings like vnto the image of Saint Michael, and other images also, holding their fingers, as if they would blesse some body. That euening I could not find any thing els. For the Saracens doe onely inuite men thither, but they will not haue them speake of their religion. And therfore, when I enquired of the Saracens concerning such ceremonies, they were offended thereat. On the morrow after were the Kalends, and the Saracens feast of Passeouer. And changing mine Inne or lodging the same day, I tooke vp mine abode neere vnto another idole-Temple. For the citizens of the said citie of Cailac doe curteously inuite, and louingly intertaine all messengers, euery man of them according to his abilitie and portion. And entring into the foresaid idole-Temple, I found the Priests of the said idoles there. For alwayes at the Kalends they set open their Temples, and the priests adorne themselues, and offer vp the peoples oblations of bread and fruits. First therefore I will describe vnto you those rites and ceremonies, which are common vnto all their idole-Temples: and then the superstitions of the foresaid Iugures, which be, as it were, a sect distinguished from the rest. They doe all of them worship towards the North, clapping their hands together, and prostrating themselues on their knees vpon ye earth, holding also their foreheads in their hands. Wherupon the Nestorians of those parts will in no case ioyne their hands together in time of prayer: but they pray, displaying their hands before their breasts. They extend their Temples in length East and West: and vpon the North side they build a chamber, in maner of a Vestry for themselues to goe forth into. Or sometimes it is otherwise. If it be a foure square Temple, in the midst of the Temple towards the North side therof, they take in one chamber in that place where the quire should stand. And within the said chamber they place a chest long and broad like vnto a table: and behinde the saide chest towardes the South stands their principall idole: which I sawe at Caracarum, and it was as bigge as the idole of Saint Christopher. Also a certaine Nestorian priest, which had bin in Catay, saide that in that countrey there is an idole of so huge a bignes, that it may be seen two daies iourney before a man come at it. And so they place other idoles round about the foresaid principal idole, being all of them finely gilt ouer with pure golde: and vpon the saide chest, which is in manner of a table, they set candles and oblations. The doores of their Temples are alwayes opened towards the South, contrary to the custome of the Saracens. They haue also great belles like vnto vs. And that is the cause (as I thinke) why the Christians of the East will in no case vse great belles. Notwithstanding they are common among the Russians, and Græcians of Gasaria.

Frier William was at Caracarum.

De templis eorum et idolis, et qualiter se habent in officio deorum suorum. Cap. 27.

OMnes sacerdotes eorum rasum habent totum caput et barbam; sunt vestiti de croceo, et seruant castitatem, ex quo radunt caput: et viuunt pariter centum vel ducenti in vna congregatione. Diebus quibus intrant templum, ponunt duo scamna, et sedent è regione chorus contra chorum habentes libros in manibus, quos aliquando deponunt super illa scamna: et habent capita discooperta quandiu insunt in templo, legentes in silencio, et tenentes silencium. Vnde cùm ingressus fuissem apud Oratorium quoddam eorum, et inuenissem eos ita sedentes, multis modis tentaui eos prouocare ad verba, et nullo modo potui. Habent etiam quocunque vadunt quendam restem centum vel ducentorum nucleorum, sicut nos portamus pater noster: Et dicunt semper hæc verba: Ou mam Hactani: hoc est, Deus tu nosti; secundum quod quidem eorum interpretatus est mihi. Et toties expectant remunerationem à Deo, quoties hoc dicendo memoratur Dei. Circa templum suum semper faciunt pulchrum atrium, quod bene includunt muro: et ad meridiem faciunt portam magnam, in qua sedent ad colloquendum. Et super illam portam erigunt perticam longam, quæ emineat si possint, super totam villam. Et per illam perticam potest cognosci, quod domus illa sit templum Idolorum. Ista communia

sunt omnibus Idolatris. Quando ergo ingressus fui prædictam Idolatriam, inueni sacerdotes sedentes sub porta exteriori. Illi quos vidi, videbantur mihi fratres Franci esse rasis barbis. Tyaras habebant in capitibus cartaceas. Istorum Iugurum sacerdotes habent talem habitum quocunque vadunt: semper sunt in tunicis croceis satis strictis accincti desuper recte sicut Franci: et habent pallium super humerum sinistrum descendens inuolutum per pectus et dorsum ad latus dextrum sicut diaconus portans casulam in quadragesima. Istorum literas acceperunt Tartari. Ipsi incipiunt scribere sursum, et ducunt lineam deorsum, et eodem modo ipsi legunt et multiplicant lineas a sinistra ad dextram. Isti multum vtuntur cartis et caracteribus pro sortilegio. Vnde templa sua plena sunt breuibus suspensis. Et Mangu-cham mittit vobis literas in idiomate Moal et literatura eorum. Isti comburunt mortuos suos secundum antiquum modum, et recondunt puluerem in summitate pyramidis. Cum ergo sedissem iuxta prædictos sacerdotes postquam ingressus fueram templum et vidissem idola eorum multa magna et parua: quæsiui ab eis, quid ipsi crederent de Deo. Qui responderunt, Non credimus nisi vnum Deum. Et ego quæsiui: Creditis quod ipse sit spiritus vel aliquid corporale? Dixerunt, credimus quod sit spiritus. Et ego: Creditis quod nunquam sumpserit humanam naturam: Dixerunt, minime. Tunc ego: ex quo creditis, quod non sit nisi vnus spiritus, quare facitis ei imagines corporales, et tot insuper? Ex quo non creditis quod factus sit homo, quare facitis ei magis imagines hominum, quàm alterius animalis? Tunc responderunt, Nos non figuramus istas imagines Deo. Sed quando aliquis diues moritur ex nostris, vel filius, vel vxor, vel aliquis charus eius facit fieri imaginem defuncti, et ponit eam hic: et nos veneramur eam ad memoriam eius. Quibus ego, Tunc ergo non facitis ista nisi propter adulationem hominum. Immo dixerunt ad memoriam. Tunc quæsiuerunt à me quasi deridendo: vbi est Deus? Quibus ego, Vbi est anima vestra? Dixerunt, in corpore nostro. Quibus ego, Nonne est vbique in corpore tuo et totum regit, et tamen non videtur? Ita Deus vbique est, et omnia gubernat, inuisibilis tamen, quia intellectus et sapientia est. Tunc cum vellem plura ratiocinari cum illis, interpres meus fatigatus, non valens verba exprimere, fecit me tacere. Istorum sectæ sunt Moal siue Tartari, quantum

Tyaræ cartaceæ.

Chinenses ita etiam scribunt.

Sortilegi.

Combustio mortuorum.

ad hoc, quod ipsi non credunt nisi vnum Deum: tamen faciunt de filtro imagines defunctorum suorum, et induunt eas quinque pannis preciosissimis, et ponunt in vna biga vel duabus, et illas bigas nullus audet tangere: et sunt sub custodia diuinatorum suorum, qui sunt eorum sacerdotes, de quibus postea narrabo vobis. Isti diuinatores semper sunt ante curiam ipsius Mangu et aliorum diuitum: pauperes enim non habent eos; nisi illi qui sunt de genere Chingis. Et cum debent bigare, ipsi præcedunt, sicut columna nubis filios Israel, et ipsi considerant locum metandi castra, et post deponunt domos suas; et post eos tota curia. Et tunc cum sit dies festus siue kalendæ ipsi extrahunt prædictas imagines et ponunt eas ordinate per circuitum in domo sua. Tunc veniunt Moal et ingrediuntur domum illam, et inclinant se imaginibus illis et venerantur illas. Et illam domum nemini ingredi extraneo licet: Quadam enim vice volui ingredi et multum durè increpatus fui.

The same in English.

Of their Temples and idoles: and howe they behaue themselues in worshipping their false gods. Chap. 27.

ALL their Priests had their heads and beards shauen quite ouer: and they are clad in saffron coloured garments: and being once shauen, they lead an vnmaried life from that time forward: and they liue an hundreth or two hundreth of them together in one cloister or couent. Vpon those dayes when they enter into their temples, they place two long foormes therein: and so sitting vpon the sayd foormes like singing men in a quier, namely the one halfe of them directly ouer against the other, they haue certaine books in their hands, which sometimes they lay downe by them vpon the foormes: and their heads are bare so long as they remaine in the temple. And there they reade softly vnto themselues, not vttering any voice at all. Whereupon comming in amongst them, at the time of their superstitious deuotions, and finding them all siting mute in maner aforesayde, I attempted diuers waies to prouoke them vnto speach, and yet could not by any means possible. They haue with them also whithersoeuer they goe, a certaine string with an hundreth or two hundreth nutshels thereupon, much like to our bead-roule which we cary about with vs. And they doe alwayes vtter these words: *Ou mam Hactani*, God thou knowest: as one of them

Bookes.

expounded it vnto me. And so often doe they expect a reward at Gods hands, as they pronounce these words in remembrance of God. Round about their temple they doe alwayes make a faire court, like vnto a churchyard, which they enuiron with a good wall: and vpon the South part thereof they build a great portal, wherein they sit and conferre together. And vpon the top of the said portall they pitch a long pole right vp, exalting it, if they can, aboue all the whole towne besides. And by the same pole all men may knowe, that there stands the temple of their idoles. These rites and ceremonies aforesayd be common vnto all idolaters in those parts. Going vpon a time towards the foresayd idole-temple, I found certain priests sitting in the outward portal. And those which I sawe, seemed vnto me, by their shauen beards, as if they had bene French men. They wore certaine ornaments vpon their heads made of paper. The priestes of the foresaide Iugures doe vse such attire whithersoeuer they goe. They are alwaies in their saffron coloured iackets, which be very straight being laced or buttened from the bosome right downe, after the French fashion. And they haue a cloake vpon their left shoulder descending before and behind vnder the right arme, like vnto a deacon carying the houssel-boxe in time of lent. Their letters or kind of writing the Tartars did receiue. They begin to write at the top of their paper drawing their lines right downe: and so they reade and multiply their lines from the left hand to the right. They doe vse certaine papers and characters in their magical practices. Whereupon their temples are full of such short scroules hanged round about them. Also Mangu-Can hath sent letters vnto your Maiestie written in the language of the Moals or Tartars, and in the foresayd hand or letter of the Iugures. They burne their dead according to the auncient custome, and lay vp the ashes in the top of a Pyramis. Now, after I had sit a while by the foresaid priests, and entred into their temple and seene many of their images both great and small, I demanded of them what they beleeued concerning God? And they answered: We beleeue that there is onely one God. And I demaunded farther: Whether do you beleue that he is a spirit, or some bodily substance? They saide: We beleeue that he is a spirite. Then said I: Doe you beleeue that God euer tooke mans nature

Paper.
So do the people of China vse to write, drawing their lines perpendicularly downward, and not as we doe from the right hand to the lefte.

vpon him? They answered: Noe. And againe I said: Sithence ye beleeue that he is a spirit, to what end doe you make so many bodily images to represent him? Sithence also you beleeue not that hee was made man: why doe you resemble him rather vnto the image of a man then of any other creature? Then they answered saying: we frame not these images whereby to represent God. But when any rich man amongst vs, or his sonne, or his wife, or any of his friends deceaseth, hee causeth the image of the dead party to be made, and to be placed here: and we in remembrance of him doe reuerence thereunto. Then I replyed: you doe these things onely for the friendship and flatterie of men. Noe (said they) but for their memory. Then they demanded of me, as it were in scoffing wise: Where is God? To whom I answered: where is your soule? They said, in our bodies. Then saide I, is it not in euery part of your bodie, ruling and guiding the whole bodie, and yet notwithstanding is not seene or perceiued? Euen so God is euery where and ruleth all things, and yet is he inuisible, being vnderstanding and wisedome it selfe. Then being desirous to haue had some more conference with them, by reason that mine interpreter was weary, and not able to expresse my meaning, I was constrained to keepe silence. The Moals or Tartars are in this regard of their sect: namely they beleeue that there is but one God: howbeit they make images of felt, in remembrance of their deceased friends, couering them with fiue most rich and costly garments, and putting them into one or two carts, which carts no man dare once touch: and they are in the custody of their soothsayers, who are their priests, concerning whom I will giue your Highnesse more at large to vnderstand hereafter. These soothsayers or diuiners do alwaies attend vpon the court of Mangu and of other great personages. As for the poorer or meaner sorte, they haue them not, but such onely as are of the stocke and kindred of Chingis. And when they are to remoue or to take any iourney, the said diuiners goe before them, euen as the cloudie piller went before the children of Israel. And they appoint ground where the tents must be pitched, and first of al they take down their owne houses: and after them the whole court doth the like. Also vpon their festiual daies or kalends they take forth the foresayd images, and place them in order round, or circle wise within the house. Then come the Moals or Tartars, and enter into the same house, bowing themselues before the said images and worship them. Moreouer, it is not lawfull for any

stranger to enter into that house. For vpon a certaine time I my selfe would haue gone in, but I was chidden full well for my labour.

De diuersis nationibus, et de illis qui comedere solebant parentes suos. Cap. 28.

PRædicti vero Iugures, qui sunt mixti cum Christianis et Saracenis, per frequentes disputationes, vt credo, peruenerunt ad hoc, quod non credunt nisi vnum deum. Et isti fuerunt habitantes in ciuitatibus, qui post obediuerunt Chingis Cham: vnde ipse dedit regi eorum filiam suam. Et ipsa Caracarum est quasi in territorio eorum: Et tota terra regis siue presbyteri Iohannis et Vut fratris eius circa terras eorum; Sed isti in pascuis ad aquilonem, illi Iugures inter montes ad meridiem. Inde est quod ipsi Moal sumpserunt literas eorum. Et ipsi sunt magni scriptores eorum: et omnes fere Nestorini sciunt literas eorum. Post istos sunt ipsi Tangut ad orientem inter montes illos, homines fortissimi, qui ceperunt Chingis in bello. Et pace facta dimissus ab eis, postea subiugauit eos. Isti habent boues fortissimos habentes caudas plenas pilis sicut equi, et ventres pilosos et dorsa. Bassiores sunt alijs bobus in tibijs, sed ferociores multum. Isti trahunt magnas domos Moallorum: et habent cornua gracilia, longa, acuosa, acutissima: ita quod oportet semper secare summitates eorum. Vacca non permittit se iniungi nisi cantetur ei. Habent etiam naturam bubali quia si vident hominem indutùm rubeis, insiliunt in eum volentes interficere. Post illos sunt Tebet homines solentes comedere parentes suos defunctos, vt causa pietatis non facerent aliud sepulchrum eis nisi viscera sua. Modo tamen hoc dimiserunt, quia abominabiles erant omni nationi. Tamen adhuc faciunt pulcros ciphos de capitibus parentum, vt illis bibentes habeant memoriam eorum in iocunditate sua. Hoc dixit mihi qui viderat. Isti habent multum de auro in terra sua. Vnde qui indiget auro, fodit donec reperiat, et accipiat quando indiget, residuum condens in terra: quia si reponeret in arca vel in thesauro, crederet quod Deus auferret ei aliud quod est in terra. De istis hominibus vidi personas multum deformes. Tangut vidi homines magnos sed fuscos. Iugures sunt mediocris staturæ sicut nostri. Apud Iugures est fons et radix ideomatis

Patria Presbiter Iohannis.

Tangut populi fortissimi.

Boues pilosis caudis: his similes sunt in Quiuera Americæ septentrionalis prouincia.

Tebet populi.

Auri Abundantia.

Tangut homines magni sed fusci.

2 D

Langa et Solanga.

Turci et Comanici. Post Tebet sunt Langa et Solanga, quorum nuncios vidi in curia: Qui adduxerant magnas bigas plusquam decem, quarum quælibet trahebatur sex bobus. Isti sunt parui homines et fusci sicut Hispani: et habent tunicas sicut supertunicale diaconi manicis parum strictioribus: et habent in capitibus mitras sicut episcopi. Sed pars anterior est parum interior quàm posterior, et non terminatur in vnum angulum: sed sunt quadræ desuper, et sunt de stramine rigidato per calorem magnum, et limato in tantum, quod fulget ad radium solis sicut speculum vel galea bene burnita. Et circa tempora habent longas bendas de eadem materia assutas ipsi mitræ; quæ se extendunt ad ventum sicut duo cornua egredientia de temporibus. Et quando ventus nimis iactat eas plicant eas per medium mitræ superius à tempore in tempus: et iacent sicut circulus ex transuerso capitis. Et principalis nuncius quando veniebat ad curiam, habebat tabulam de dente elephantino ad longitudinem vnius cubiti, et ad latitudinem vnius palmi, rasam multum: Et quandocunque loquebatur ipsi Cham, vel alicui magno viro, semper aspiciebat in illam tabulam, ac si inueniret ibi ea quæ dicebat: nec respiciebat ad dextram vel sinistram, nec in faciem illius cui loquebatur. Etiam accedens coram domino et recedens nusquam respicit nisi in tabulam suam. Vltra istos sunt alij homines, vt intellexi pro vero, qui dicuntur Muc, qui habent villas, sed nulla animalia sibi appropriant: tamen sunt multi greges et multa armenta in terra ipsorum, et nullus custodit ea. Sed cum aliquis indiget aliquo, ascendit collem et clamat, et omnia animalia audientia clamorem accedunt circa illum, et permittunt se tractari quasi domestica. Et si nuncius vel aliquis extraneus accedat ad regionem illam, ipsi includunt eum in domo, et ministrant ei necessaria, donec negocium eius fuerit expeditum. Quia si iret extraneus per regionem, animalia ad odorem eius fugerent, et efficerentur syluestria. Vltra est magna Cathaya, cuius incolæ antiquitus vt credo dicebantur Seres. Ab ipsis enim veniunt optimi panni serici. Et ille populus dicitur Seres a quodam oppido eorum. Bene intellexi, quod in illa regione est oppidum habens muros argenteos et propugnacula aurea. In ista terra sunt multæ prouinciæ, quarum plures adhuc non obediunt Moallis. Et inter*

Solani similes Hispanis, et fusci.

Tabula de elephantino.

Muc populi.

Magna Cathaya.

* *Aliqua desiderantur.*

The same in English.

Of diuers and sundry nations: and of certaine people which were wont to eate their owne parents. Chap. 28.

BVt the foresayd Iugures (who liue among the Christians, and the Saracens) by their sundry disputations, as I suppose, haue bene brought vnto this, to beleeue, that there is but one onely God. And they dwelt in certaine cities, which afterward were brought in subiection vnto Chingis Can: whereupon he gaue his daughter in mariage vnto their king. Also the citie of Caracarum it selfe is in a manner within their territory: and the whole countrey of king or Presbyter Iohn, and of his brother Vut lyeth neere vnto their dominions: sauing, that they inhabite in certaine pastures Northward, and the sayde Iugures betweene the mountaines towardes the South. Whereupon it came to passe, that the Moals receiued letters from them. And they are the Tartars principall scribes: and al the Nestorians almost can skill of their letters. Next vnto them, between the foresaid mountaines Eastward, inhabiteth the nation of Tangut, who are a most valiant people, and tooke Chingis in battell. But after the conclusion of a league hee was set at libertie by them, and afterward subdued them. These people of Tangut haue oxen of great strength, with tailes like vnto horses, and with long shagge haire vpon their backes and bellyes. They haue legges greater then other oxen haue, and they are exceedingly fierce. These oxen drawe the great houses of the Moals: and their hornes are slender, long, streight, and most sharpe pointed; insomuch that their owners are faine to cut off the endes of them. A cowe will not suffer her selfe to be coupled vnto one of them, vnles they whistle or sing vnto her. They haue also the qualities of a Buffe: for if they see a man clothed in red, they run vpon him immediately to kill him. Next vnto them are the people of Tebet, men which were wont to eate the carkases of their deceased parents: that for pities sake, they might make no other sepulchre for them, then their owne bowels. Howbeit of late they haue left off this custome, because that thereby they became abominable and odious vnto al other nations. Notwithstanding vnto this day they make fine cups of the skuls of their parents, to the ende that when they drinke out of them, they may amidst all

The countrey of Presbiter Iohn.

Tangut.

Strange oxen.

The people of Tebet.

their iollities and delights call their dead parents to remembrance. This was tolde mee by one that saw it. The sayd people of Tebet haue great plentie of golde in their land. Whosoeuer therefore wanteth golde, diggeth till he hath found some quantitie, and then taking so much thereof as will serue his turne, he layeth vp the residue within the earth: because, if he should put it into his chest or storehouse, hee is of opinion that God would withholde from him all other gold within the earth. I sawe some of those people, being very deformed creatures. In Tangut I saw lusty tall men, but browne and swart in colour. The Iugures are of a middle stature like vnto our French men. Amongst the Iugures is the originall and roote of the Turkish, and Comanian languages. Next vnto Tebet are the people of Langa and Solanga, whose messengers I saw in the Tartars court. And they had brought more than ten great cartes with them, euery one of which was drawen with sixe oxen. They be little browne men like vnto Spaniards. Also they haue iackets, like vnto the vpper vestment of a deacon, sauing that the sleeues are somewhat streighter. And they haue miters vpon their heads like bishops. But the fore part of their miter is not so hollow within as the hinder part: neither is it sharpe pointed or cornered at the toppe: but there hang downe certaine square flappes compacted of a kinde of strawe which is made rough and rugged with extreme heat, and is so trimmed, that it glittereth in the sunne beames, like vnto a glasse, or an helmet well burnished. And about their temples they haue long bands of the foresayd matter fastened vnto their miters, which houer in the wind, as if two long hornes grewe out of their heads. And when the wind tosseth them vp and downe too much, they tie them ouer the midst of their miter from one temple to another: and so they lie circle wise ouerthwart their heads. Moreouer their principal messenger comming vnto the Tartars court had a table of elephants tooth about him of a cubite in length, and a handfull in breadth, being very smoothe. And whensoeuer hee spake vnto the Emperor himselfe, or vnto any other great personage, hee alwayes beheld that table, as if hee had found therein those things which hee spake: neither did he cast his eyes to the right hand, nor to the lefte, nor vpon his face, with whom he talked. Yea, going too and fro before his lord, he looketh no where but only

Abundance of golde.

The stature of the people of Tangut, and of the Iugures.

Langa and Solanga.

The people of Solanga resemble Spaniards.

A table of elephants tooth.

vpon his table. Beyond them (as I vnderstand of a certainty) there are other people called Muc, hauing villages, but no one particular man of them appropriating any cattell vnto himselfe. Notwithstanding there are many flockes and droues of cattell in their countrey, and no man appointed to keepe them. But when any one of them standeth in neede of any beast, hee ascendeth vp vnto an hill, and there maketh a shout, and all the cattel which are within hearing of the noyse, come flocking about him, and suffer themselues to be handled and taken, as if they were tame. And when any messenger or stranger commeth into their countrie, they shut him vp into an house, ministring there things necessary vnto him, vntill his businesse be despatched. For if anie stranger should trauell through that countrie, the cattell would flee away at the very sent of him, and so would become wilde. Beyond Muc is great Cathaya, the inhabitants whereof (as I suppose) were of olde time, called Seres. For from them are brought most excellent stuffes of silke. And this people is called Seres of a certaine towne in the same countrey. I was crediblie informed, that in the said countrey, there is one towne hauing walls of siluer, and bulwarkes or towers of golde. There be many prouinces in that land, the greater part whereof are not as yet subdued vnto the Tartars. And amongst*

The people called Muc.

Great Cathaya.

*Somewhat is wanting.

HERE ENDETH THE ACCOUNT OF TARTARY.

PART II.

THE MUSCOVY COMPANY AND THE NORTH-EASTERN PASSAGE.

Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries

IN

NORTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

A briefe Treatise of the great Duke of Moscouia his genealogie, being taken out of the Moscouites manuscript Chronicles written by a Polacke.

IT hath almost euer bene the custome of nations, in searching out the infancie and first beginnings of their estate, to ascribe the same vnto such authors as liued among men in great honour and endued mankinde with some one or other excellent benefite. Nowe, this inbred desire of all nations to blaze and set foorth their owne petigree hath so much preuayled with the greater part, that leauing the vndoubted trueth, they haue betaken themselues vnto meere fables and fictions. Yea and the Chronicles of many nations written in diuers and sundrie ages doe testifie the same. Euen so the Grecians boasted that they were either Autocthones, that is earthbredde, or els lineally descended from the Gods. And the Romans affirme that Mars was father vnto their first founder Romulus. Right well therefore and iudicially sayth Titus Liuius: Neither meane I to auouch (quoth he) ne to disable or confute those thinges which before the building and foundation of the Citie haue beene reported, being more adorned and fraught with Poeticall fables then with incorrupt and sacred monuments of trueth: antiquitie is it to be pardoned in this behalfe, namely in ioyning together matters historicall and poeticall, to make the beginnings of cities to seeme the more honourable. For sith antiquity it selfe is accompted such a notable argument of true nobility, euen priuate men in all ages haue contended thereabout. Wherefore citizens of Rome being desirous to make demonstration of their Gentrie, vse to haue their auncestors armes painted along the walles of their houses: in which regarde they were so puffed vp, that oftentimes they would arrogantly disdaine those men, which by their owne vertue had attained vnto honour. In like sorte Poets, when the originall of their woorthies and braue champions was either vtterly vnknowen or somewhat obscure, would ofte referre it vnto their Gods themselues. So in these our dayes (to lette passe others) the Turkish Emperour with great presumption boasteth himselfe to bee descended of the Troian blood. Likewise the great duke of Moscouie, to make himselfe and his predecessours seeme the more souereigne, deriueth the beginnings of his parentage from the Romane Emperours, yea euen from Augustus Cæsar. Albeit therefore no man is so fonde as to accept of this report for trueth, yet will wee briefly set downe what the Moscouites haue written in their Chronicles as touching this matter.

Augustus (beleeue it who listeth) had certaine brethren or kinsfolkes which were appoynted gouernours ouer diuers prouinces. Amongst the rest one Prussus (of whome Prussia was named) had his place of gouernment assigned vnto him vpon the shore of the eastern or Balthick Sea, and vpon the famous riuer of Wixel. This mans graund children or nephewes of the fourth generation were Rurek, Sinaus, and Truuor, who likewise inhabited in the very same places. Whereas therefore at the very same time the Russians or the Moscouites without any ciuill regiment possessed large and spacious territories towards the north, the foresayd three brethren, vpon the perswasion of one Gostomislius the chiefe citizen of Nouogrod, in the yeare since the worldes creation (according to the computation of the Greekes) 6370, which was in the yeare of our Lord 572, were sent for, to beare rule. And so ioyning their kinsman Olechus vnto them, and diuiding these huge countreys among themselues, they laboured to reduce the barbarous and sauage people vnto a ciuill kinde of life.

Sinaus and Truuor deceasing without issue, Rurek succeeded and left a sonne behinde him named Igor; who not being of sufficient yeres to beare rule, was committed vnto the protection of his kinsman Olechus. The sayde Igor begate of Olha daughter vnto a citizen of Plesco (who, after her husbande was slaine by his enemies, taking her iourney to Constantinople, was there baptized by the name of Helena) a sonne called Stoslaus, who fought many battels with the neighbour countreys. Howbeit at length Stoslaus was slayne by his foe, who making a drinking cup of his skull, engraued therupon in golden letters this sentence: Seeking after other mens he lost his owne. He left behind him three sonnes, namely Teropolchus, Olega, and Vulodimir. The which Vulodimir hauing slaine his two brethren, became sole gouernour of Russia, or (as the Moscouites call it) Rosseia, his owne selfe. This man beginning at length to loath and mislike the ethnik religion, and the multitude of false gods, applyed his minde vnto the religion of Christ, and hauing taken to wife Anna sister vnto Basilius and Constantinus Emperours of Constantinople, was together with his whole nation, in the yeare of Christ 988. baptized, and imbraced the Christian religion, with the rites and ceremonies of the Greeke Church, and his name being changed, he was called Basilius.

Howbeit Zonoras reporteth that before the time of Vulodimir, Basilius Emperour of Constantinople sent a bishop vnto the Russians, by whose meanes they were conuerted vnto the Christian faith. He reporteth moreouer that they would not be perswaded vnlesse they might see a miracle: whereupon the said bishop hauing made his prayers vnto almighty God, threwe the booke of the Euangelists into the fire, which remained there vnconsumed. And that by this miracle they were moued to giue credite vnto the doctrine of Christ, and to conforme themselues thereunto.

The sonnes of Vulodimir were Vuiseslaus, Isoslaus, Iaroslaus, Suatopolcus, Borissus, Glebus, Stoslaus, Vulzeuolodus, Stanislaus, Sudislaus, and Podius who died in his childhood. Amongst the residue all Russia was diuided by their father, who not being contented with their portions, but inuading each other, were most of them slaine by their mutuall contentions. Borissus and Glebus in regard of their holy conuersation were registred for Saints, whose feasts are euery yeere celebrated with great solemnitie vpon the twelfth of Nouember.

At length Iaroslaus only got the Souvereigne authoritie into his owne hands, and left behind him foure sonnes, Vvlodimir, Isoslauus, Weceslauus, and Vuszeuolodus.

The foresaid Vulodimir sonne of Iaroslaus kept his residence at the ancient citie of Kiow standing vpon the riuer of Boristhenes, and after diuers conflicts with his kinsmen, hauing subdued all the prouinces vnto himselfe, was called Monomachos, that is, the onely champion. This man (for I thinke it not amisse to report those things which their owne Manuscript Chronicles make mention of) waged warre against Constantine the Emperour of Constantinople, when he had wasted and ouerrun Thracia, being returned home with great and rich spoyles, and making preparation for new wars, Constantine sent Neophytus the Metropolitane of Ephesus and two Bishops, with the gouernour of Antiochia, and Eustaphius the Abbat of Ierusalem, to present rich and magnificent gifts vnto him; as namely, part of the crosse of Sauiour Christ, a crowne of gold, a drinking cup curiously made of Sardonyx stone, a cloake set all ouer with precious stones, and a golden chaine; commaunded them to salute him by the name of Czar (which name, as it may be prooued by many arguments, signifieth a king, and not an Emperour) and concluded a most inuiolable league of amity and friendship with him.

The foresayd Vulodimir begate Vuszeuolodus the second. This Vuszeuolodus lefte eight sonnes behind him, Miscislaus, Isoslaus, Stoslaus, Teropolcus, Weceslaus, Romanus, Georgius, and Andrew. The sonnes of George were Roseslaus, Andrew, Basilius, and Demetrius.

Demetrius begat George, in the yeere 1237. was slaine by one Bathy, a Tartarian duke, which Bathy wasted Moscouia, and subdued the same vnto himselfe. Since which time the Russians were tributary to the Tartars, and were gouerned by such dukes as they pleased to set ouer them. Howbeit the Tartars so greatly abused that authoritie, that when they sent their ambassadours vnto the prince of Moscouie, he was constrained to goe forth and meete with them, and (as Herbortus Fulstinius in his Polonian historie reporteth) to offer them a bason full of mares milke, and if they had spilt any whit thereof vpon their horses maines, to licke it off with his toung, and hauing conducted them into his princely court, to stand bareheaded before them while they sate downe, and with all reuerence to giue eare and attendance vnto them. But by what meanes they shooke off at the length this yoake of seruitude, I will forthwith declare.

About the same time almost all Polonia, and the dukedome of Silesia were ouerrun by the Tartars with fire and sword. Who hauing burnt Presla the chiefe citie of Silesia, and being come before the citie of Legnitz, they fought there a most cruel and bloody field, wherin was slain Duke Henrie himselfe being sonne vnto the most holy and deuout lady Heduice, with many others, whose monuments and graues be as yet extant in sundry places, and with an infinite multitude of common souldiers, insomuch that the Tartars filled nine great sackes with the eares of them which they had slaine. The Tartars to the end they might obtaine the victorie, presented vnto the view of our souldiers the portrature of a mans head placed by arte magique vpon a banner, wherein the letter X. was painted, which being shaken and mooued vp and downe breathed foorth a most loathsome stench, and strooke such a terrour into the hearts of our men, that being as it were astonished with the snaky visage of Medusa, they were vtterly daunted and dismayed.

From thence Bathy and his company with the same bloodthirstie intent marched into Hungarie, and had almost slaine king Bela the fourth, who together with his sonne escaping by flight did scarcely ridde themselues out of the enemies hand. And when the whole world almost was exceedingly terrified at the cruel inuasions of this most barbarous nation, at length Pope Innocentius the fourth sending ambassadours * vnto Bathy obtained peace for fiue yeeres: but to forsake his heathenish superstitions and to become a Christian, he would by no meanes bee perswaded. For he was by the instigation of the Saracens infected with deuilish opinions of Mahomet, as being more agreeable vnto his barbarous rudenes, which euen vnto this day the Tartars do maintaine, like as the prophane Turkes also.

This Bathy had a sonne called Tamerlan, whome the Moscouites call Temirkutla, who likewise, as it is recorded in histories, attained vnto great renoume. For he caried about with him in a cage Baiazet the Turkish Emperour being fettered in golden chaines, and made him a laughing stocke vnto all men.

Let vs now returne vnto the Russians. George being slaine, Iaroslaus his brother succeeded in his room, and left behinde him three sonnes, Theodorus, Alexander, and Andreas. Daniel the sonne of Alexander first established his royal seat in the citie of Mosco, and magnificently building the Castle which before time

---

* These ambassadours were Iohan. de Plano Carpini and Frier Benedict a Polonian.—(*Marginal note*).

had been obscure, he tooke vpon him the title of the great Duke of Russia. He had fiue sonnes, namely, George, Alexander, Borissus, Ophonias, and Iohn. This Iohn succeeded his father, and because he continually caried a scrippe about with him to bestow almes, he was sirnamed Kaleta, which word signifieth a scrippe. His sonnes were, Simeon, Iohn, and Andrew. He gaue vnto his sonne Simeon the prouinces of Vvlodimiria and Moscouia: which Simeon deceasing without issue his brother Iohn succeeded, who begate a son called Demetrius. This Demetrius had seuen sonnes, namely, Daniel, Basilius, George, Andrew, Peter, Iohn, and Constantine. Basilius reigned after his fathers death. This man disinheriting his sonne whiche was called after his owne name, because he suspected his mother of adulterie, at his death surrendred his Dukedome vnto his brother George, who kept his nephewe a long time in prison. Howbeit at his death, though himselfe had two sonnes namely Andrew and Demetrius, yet being stricken perhaps with remorse of conscience, he bestowed the Dukedome vpon his nephew Basilius. Against whom his two cousins bearing a grudge waged warre, and at length hauing taken him by a wyly stratageme they put out his eyes. Notwithstanding the Boiarens (for so the Moscouites call their nobles) continued their duetifull alleageance vnto this their blinde Duke, whom for his blindnes they called Cziemnox, that is to say, darke or darkened. He left a sonne behind him called Iuan Vasilowich who brought the Russian common wealth, being before his time but obscure, vnto great excellencie and renowme. Who that he might the better get all the superiority into his owne hands put to death so many sonnes and nephewes of the former Dukes as he could lay hold on, and began to take vpon him the title of the great Duke of Vvlodimiria, Moscouia, and Nouogardia, and to call himselfe the Monarch or Czar of all Russia. He brought vnder his subiection two principall cities, namely Plesco being the only walled citie in all Moscouie, and Mouogrod, both of them being in regard of traffike most riche and flourishing cities, and hauing bin subiect vnto the Lithuanians for the space of 50. yeeres before. The treasure of Nouogrod was so exceeding, that the great Duke is reported to haue carried home from thence 300. carts laden with gold and siluer.

He also was the first man that waged warre against the Polonians and the Liuonians: against Polonia he pretended a quarell, alleaging that his daughter Helena (whome hee had married vnto Alexander the great Duke of Lithuania, which was afterward king of Polonia) was euil intreated, and was withdrawen from the Greekish religion vnto the ceremonies of the Church of Rome. But against the Liuonians for none other cause, but onely for an incredible desire of enlarging his dominions. Howbeit what impulsiue causes of litle or no moment happened in the mean season, we will in another place more plainely declare. Notwithstanding he was very often and in diuers battels vanquished by Plettebergius the great master of the Dutch knights: but it is not to the purpose to stand any longer vpon this discourse.

He was married first vnto Marie the Duke of Tyuersky his daughter, and of her hee begate Iohn, vnto whom in his life time he surrendred his Dukedome, and married him vnto the daughter of Stephan the Palatine of Moldauia: which Iohn, after he had begotten his sonne Demetrius, deceased before his father.

Afterward Iuan Vasilowich aforesaide married a wife called Sophia being daughter vnto Thomas Palælogus, which is reported to haue had her dowry out of the Popes treasury, because the Moscouite had promised to conforme himselfe vnto the Romish Church. This Sophia being a woman of a princely and aspiring minde, and often complaining that she was married vnto the Tartars vassal, at length by her instant intreatie and continual perswasions, and by a notable strätageme she cast off that slauish yoke very much vnbeseeming so mighty a prince. For whereas the Tartarian Duke had his procuratours and agents in the Moscouites court, who dwelt in their owne houses built within the very castle of Mosco, and were eye witnesses of all affaires which were there performed: Sophia said she was admonished from heauen to builde a Temple in the selfe same place where the Tartars house stoode, and to consecrate it vnto Saint Nicholas. Being therfore deliuered of a sonne she inuited the Tartarian Duke vnto the solemne baptizing of him, and beeing come, shee requested him to giue her his house, and obtained it at his hands. Which house being razed and those Tartarians espials beeing excluded, the Tartars at length were quite bereaued and vtterly dispossessed of their authoritie which they had exercised ouer the Russians for many yeres, and could neuer yet recouer it; albeit they haue giuen sundry attempts. Of his wife Sophia he begate sixe children, namely, a daughter called Helena, and fiue sonnes, that is to say, Gabriel, Demetrius, George, Simeon, and Andrew.

The Dukedome of right appertayned vnto Demetrius the sonne of Iohn, which was the sonne of Vasilowich by his first marriage. Howbeit Sophia preuailed so with her husband, that neglecting his graund-childe Demetrius, hee bestowed his Dukedome vpon Gabriel his sonne.

Andrew the younger had a sonne called Vvlodimir, of whom Mary was borne, which in the yeere of Christ 1573, was maried vnto Magnus the Duke of Holst.

Gabriel hauing obtained the great dukedome of Russia, changed his name calling himselfe Basilius, and applied his minde to the atchieuing of high and great enterprises. For hee reduced a great part of the dukedome of Moscouie, which Vitoldus the great Duke of Lithuania helde in possession, vnder his owne iurisdiction, and wonne vpon the riuer of Boristhenes (which the Russians call Neiper) many cities and especially Smolensco, in the yeere of our Lord 1514. Hauing diuorced his first wife, hee begate of Helena daughter vnto Duke Glinskie, Iuan Vasilowich, which now this present 1580. reigneth as great Duke. He was borne in the yeere of our Lorde 1528. the 25. of August, sixe houres after the rising of the sonne. The great dukedome of Russia fell vnto the said Iuan Vasilowich in the fifth yeere of his age, hauing his vncle George for his great protector; being 25. yeeres of age, and being of a strong body and of a courageous mind he subdued the Tartars of Cazan and Astracan vpon the riuer of Volgha, carrying their Dukes and chieftaines into captiuitie.

But by what wayes and meanes (after the league which by the intercession of the most sacred Roman Emperour, continued from the yeere 1503. for the space of fifty yeeres, was expired) hauing renewed warres against Liuonia, hee brought that most flourishing prouince into extreame miserie, vsing for the same purpose a new pretense, and alleadging that it belonged vnto him by right of inheritance, I tremble to recount: and it requireth a large historie, which perhaps in time and place conuenient some more learned then my selfe will take vpon them to addresse.

He is exceedingly addicted vnto piety and deuotion, and doth oftentimes obserue very strict fastings and abstinence with his monks: and whereas the Russes in doing reuerence and adoration vnto God doe beate their foreheads against the ground, this Iuan Vasilowich with performing of the same ceremonie causeth his forehead to be ful of boines and swellings, and sometimes to be black and blew, and very often to bleed. He is much delighted with building of Churches and spareth no cost for that purpose.

Whether therfore by nature, or (which hee pretendeth to bee the cause) by reason of his subjects malice and treacherie, he be so addicted vnto all rigour and cruelty, I dare not determine, especially sithens he hath not an illiberal or mishapen countenance, as Attila is reported to haue had. Of his first wife which was sister vnto Mikita Romanowich, beeing nowe great steward of his houshold, he begate two sonnes, namely Iuan and Theodore. And albeit he was fiue times married, yet had he not one childe more.

Whereas this Iuan Vasilowich vpon certaine friuolous reasons calleth himselfe the naturall lord of Liuonia, I thought it not amisse to adde an Epistle hereunto, which was written by a certaine honourable man concerning the same matter.

S. All we which inhabite this Prouince with all seemely reuerence and submission of mind, do offer most humble thanks vnto the Emperors most sacred and peerelesse maiesty our most gracious lord, in that according to his fatherly affection which he beareth towards all Christendome, and for the good and commodity of this our distressed and afflicted countrey, which these many yeres hath bin in stead of a bulwarke against the inuasion of barbarous nations, he hath sent his ambassadors vnto the great duke of Moscouia. In regard of which his fatherly loue and great benefite vouchsafed on vs, wee are ready when occasion shall serue, to aduenture our liues and goods: praying in the meane season vnto Almightie God, who is the onely establisher and confounder of common wealths, to bring this excellent woorke, the foundation whereof is already laide vnto a prosperous conclusion. But as touching the title which the Moscouite maketh to this prouince, to say the very trueth, we greatly wondred and were astonished at the declaration thereof. For it is most apparent, not onely out of all ancient and credible histories, but euen from the experience and state of these regions, that the said title and allegations are fabulous and fained. For out of all auncient monuments, by what names soeuer they bee called (whereof there are diuers extant among vs) it cannot be proued by any mention, nor yet by any likelihoode or coniecture, that those things which the Moscouite affirmeth concerning the people which were gouernors of these regions in times past, and concerning the right and title of his ancestors vnto this prouince, are grounded vpon truth.

For it is not vnknowen by what meanes this prouince, partly through the industry of marchants, and partly by the benefite of nauigation, was first discouered: neither is it vnknowen howe the inhabitants thereof beeing wholly addicted vnto heathenish superstitions and idolatrie, were by the croised* knights (who drew other knights professing the same order in Prussia to aide and accompanie them in this their enterprise) and that with great labour and difficultie, conuerted vnto the Christian faith: when as at the same time the Liuonians had no knowledge at all of the iurisdiction, religion, maners, or language of Moscouie: who had not onely no conuersation nor dealings with the Moscouites, but were estranged also from all other nations whatsoeuer: for leading a miserable, poore, barbarous, and heathenish life, in sauage maner among wilde beastes, and in the desert and solitary woods, they were vtterly ignorant of God and destitute of ciuil magistrates. Howbeit this kind of gouernment was peculiar vnto them, namely that all of one familie and society vsed a kinde of reuerence vnto their elders more then to any other, whom also, that their authoritie might be the greater, they called by the name of kings, and (albeit one of their families consisted of a 100. persons) they obeyed them in al respects, and after their rude and barbarous maner did them loyal seruice. At the very same time the Moscouites had receiued the religion, and the Ecclesiasticall ceremonies of the Greeke and Easterne Church, which religion they published and dispersed throughout all prouinces subiect to their dominion, vsing their owne proper letters and characters for the same purpose. Of all which things the Liuonians which very barbarously inhabited a lande beeing enuironed with Russia, Lithuania, Samogitia, Prussia, and the Balthic Sea, neuer heard any report at all. It is moreouer to be noted that neuer at any time heretofore either within the earth, or in other places of Liuonia, there haue bene found any monuments at all of the antiquitie or letters of the Russes: which verily must needs haue come to passe, if the Moscouites, Russes, or any other nations which vse the foresaid particulars, had borne rule and authority ouer the Liuonians: yea there had beene left some remainder and token, either of their religion and diuine worship, or of their lawes and customes, or at the least of their maners, language, and letters. This indeed we can in no wise deny, that euen in Liuonia it selfe, there haue bin in times past and at this present are many and diuers languages spoken by the people. Howbeit no one language of them all hath any affinity either with the Moscouian tongue, or with the tongues of any other nations. But whereas the Moscouite pretendeth that there hath been vsually paide a pension or tribute vnto himselfe and his predecessours out of the whole prouince, it is as incredible as the former.

---

* *Croised:* wearing the cross, Crusaders.

About the beginning of this tragicall warre, the Moscouite, to cloke his tyranny and ambition vnder some faire pretense, amongst other of his demaunds, made mention also of a tribute which should be due vnto him out of the bishop of Dorpat his iurisdiction, whereof notwithstanding hee could neither bring any iust account, nor affirm any certainty: howbeit there is no man liuing to be found which either can tell of his owne remembrance, or from the relation of others, that any such tribute was euer paid vnto the Moscouite. What time therefore he referred al this negotiation vnto the master of the Liuonian order, and commanded him to get what knowledge hee could therof from the men of Dorpat, and vrged the tribute, saying if it were worth but one haire, that he would not remit it: at length it was found recorded in the ancient Chronicles of Dorpat, that beyond the memory of man, when the territory of Plesco contained nothing but woods and forrests for wilde beastes, that the peasaunts of the liberty of Dorpat called Neuhus, by the consent of the Russian borderers, enioyed Bee hiues in the said woods, and paid euery yeere in lieu thereof vnto the Russian gouernours, sixe shillings of Liuonian coine. But so soone as the Russians had felled the woods and had built townes and villages in their place, the saide pension ceased together with the trees which were cut downe. Wherefore the saide sixe shillings were neuer since that time either demanded by the Russes or paid by the Liuonians. These things which I knew concerning the causes of the Liuonian warres I thought good to signifie vnto you. Giuen the 22. of May, in the yeere of our Lord 1576.

* * *

Ordinances, instructions, and aduertisements of and for the direction of the intended voyage for Cathay, compiled, made, and deliuered by the right worshipfull M. Sebastian Cabota Esquier, gouernour of the mysterie and companie of the Marchants aduenturers for the discouerie of Regiones, Dominions, Islands and places vnknowen, the 9. day of May, in the yere of our Lord God, 1553. and in the 7. yeere of the reign of our most dread soueraigne Lord Edward the 6. by the grace of God, king of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the Church of England and Ireland, in earth supreame head.*

First the Captaine general, with the pilot maior, the masters, marchants and other officers, to be so knit and accorded in vnitie, loue, conformitie, and obedience in euery degree on all sides, that no dissention, variance, or contention may rise or spring betwixt them and the mariners of this companie, to the damage or hinderance of the voyage: for that dissention (by many experiences) hath ouerthrown many notable intended and likely enterprises and exploits.

2. Item, for as much as euery person hath giuen an othe to be true, faithfull, and loial subiects, and liege men to the kings most excellent Maiestie, his heires and successors, and for the obseruation of all lawes and statutes, made for the preseruation of his most excellent Maiestie, and his crown Imperiall of his realmes of England and Ireland, and to serue his grace, the Realme, and this present voyage truely, and not to giue vp, intermit, or leaue off the said voyage and enterprise vntill it shalbe accomplished, so farre forth as possibilitie and the life of man may serue or extend: Therfore it behoueth euery person in his degree, as well for conscience, as for dueties sake to remember his said charge, and the accomplishment thereof.

3. Item, where furthermore euery mariner or passenger in his ship hath giuen like othe to bee obedient to the Captaine generall, and to euery Captaine and master in his ship, for the obseruation of these present orders contained in this booke, and all other which hereafter shalbe made by the 12. counsailers in this present

---

* "Some of these Instructions now indeed appear rather childish, but others might still be used as rules for any well-ordered exploratory expedition."—Nordenskiöld, *Voyage of the Vega*, vol. I., p. 58.

book named, or the most part of them, for the better conduction, and preseruation of the fleete, and atchieuing of the voyage, and to be prompt, ready and obedient in all acts and feates of honesty, reason, and duetie to be ministred, shewed and executed, in aduancement and preferment of the voyage and exploit: therfore it is conuenient that this present booke shall once euery weeke (by the discretion of the Captaine) be read to the said companie, to the intent that euery man may the better remember his othe, conscience, duetie and charge.

4. Item, euery person by vertue of his othe, to doe effectually and with good wil (as farre forth as him shall complie) all and euery such act and acts, deede and deeds, as shalbe to him or them from time to time commanded, committed and enioyned (during the voyage) by the Captain generall, with the assent of the Counsell and assistants, as well in and during the whole Nauigation and voyage, as also in discouering and landing, as cases and occasions shall require.

5. Item, all courses in Nauigation to be set and kept, by the aduice of the Captaine, Pilot maior, masters, and masters mates, with the assents of the counsailers and the most number of them, and in voyces vniformely agreeing in one to preuaile, and take place, so that the Captaine generall, shall in all counsailes and assemblies haue a double voyce.

6. Item, that the fleete shal keep together, and not separate themselues asunder, as much as by winde and weather may be done or permitted, and that the Captaines, Pilots and masters shall speedily come aboord the Admiral, when and as often as he shall seeme to haue iust cause to assemble them for counsaile or consultation to be had concerning the affaires of the fleete and voyage.

7. Item, that the marchants, and other skilful persons in writing, shal daily write, describe, and put in memorie the Nauigation of euery day and night, with the points, and obseruation of the lands, tides, elements, altitude of the sunne, course of the moon and starres, and the same so noted by the order of the Master and pilot of euery ship to be put in writing, the captaine generall assembling the masters together once euery weeke (if winde and weather shal serue) to conferre all the obseruations, and notes of the said ships, to the intent it may appeare wherein the notes do agree, and wherein they dissent, and vpon good debatement, deliberation, and conclusion determined, to put the same into a

common leger, to remain of record for the company: the like order to be kept in proportioning of the Cardes, Astrolabes, and other instruments prepared for the voyage, at the charge of the companie.

8. Item, that all enterprises and exploits of discouering or landing to search Iles, regions, and such like, to be searched, attempted, and enterprised by good deliberation, and common assent, determined aduisedly. And that in all enterprises, notable ambassages, suites, requests, or presentment of giftes, or presents to Princes, to be done and executed by the captaine generall in person, or by such other, as he by common assent shall appoint or assigne to doe or cause to be done in the same.

9. Item, the steward and cooke of euery ship, and their associats, to giue and render to the captaine and other head officers of their shippe weekely (or oftner,) if it shall seeme requisite, a iust or plaine and perfect accompt of expenses of the victuals, as wel flesh, fish, bisket, meate, or bread, as also of beere, wine, oyle, or vinegar, and all other kinde of victualling vnder their charge, and they, and euery of them so to order and dispende the same, that no waste or vnprofitable excesse be made otherwise then reason and necessitie shall command.

10. Item, when any inferiour or meane officer of what degree or condition he shalbe, shalbe tried vntrue, remisse, negligent, or vnprofitable in or about his office in the voyage, or not to vse him selfe in his charge accordingly, then euery such officer to be punished or remoued at the discretion of the captaine and assistants, or the most part of them, and the person so remoued not to be reputed, accepted, or taken from the time of his remoue, any more for an officer, but to remaine in such condition and place, as hee shall be assigned vnto, and none of the companie, to resist such chastisement or worthie punishment, as shalbe ministred vnto him moderately, according to the fault or desert of his offence, after the lawes and common customes of the seas, in such cases heretofore vsed and obserued.

11. Item, if any Mariner or officer inferiour shalbe found by his labour not meete nor worthie the place that he is presently shipped for, such person may bee vnshipped and put on lande at any place within the kings Maiesties realme and dominion, and one other person more able and worthy to be put in his place, at the discretion of the captaine and masters, and order to be taken that the partie dismissed shalbe allowed proportionably the value of

that he shall haue deserued to the time of his dismission or discharge, and he to giue order with sureties, pawn, or other assurance, to repay the ouerplus of that he shall haue receiued, which he shall not haue deserued, and such wages to be made with the partie newly placed as shalbe thought reasonable, and he to haue the furniture of all such necessaries as were prepared for the partie dismissed, according to right and conscience.

12. Item, that no blaspheming of God, or detestable swearing be vsed in any ship, nor communication of ribaldrie, filthy tales, or vngodly talke to be suffred in the company of any ship, neither dicing, carding, tabling, nor other diuelish games to be frequented, whereby ensueth not onely pouertie to the players, but also strife, variance, brauling, fighting, and oftentimes murther to the vtter destruction of the parties, and prouoking of Gods most iust wrath, and sworde of vengeance. These and all such like pestilences, and contagions of vices, and sinnes to bee eschewed, and the offenders once monished, and not reforming, to bee punished at the discretion of the captaine and master, as appertaineth.

13. Item, that morning and euening prayer, with other common seruices appointed by the kings Maiestie, and lawes of this Realme to be read and saide in euery ship daily by the minister in the Admirall, and the marchant or some other person learned in other ships, and the Bible or paraphrases to be read deuoutly and Christianly to Gods honour, and for his grace to be obtained, and had by humble and heartie praier of the Nauigants accordingly.

14. Item, that euery officer is to be charged by Inuentorie with the particulars of his charge, and to render a perfect accompt of the diffraying of the same together with modest and temperate dispending of powder, shot, and vse of all kinde of artillery, which is not to be misused, but diligently to be preserved for the necessary defence of the fleete and voyage, together with due keeping of all instruments of your Nauigation, and other requisites.

15 Item, no liquor to be spilt on the balast, nor filthiness to be left within boord: the cook room, and all other places to be kept cleane for the better health of the companie, the gromals and pages to bee brought vp according to the laudable order and vse of the Sea, as well in learning of Nauigation, as in exercising of that which to them appertaineth.

16 Item, the liueries in apparel giuen to the mariners be to be kept by the marchants, and not to be worne, but by the order of the captaine, when he shall see cause to muster or shewe them in good aray, for the aduancement and honour of the voyage, and the liueries to bee redeliuered to the keeping of the marchants, vntill it shal be thought conuenient for euery person to haue the ful vse of his garment.

17 Item, when any mariner or any other passenger shal haue neede of any necessarie furniture of apparell for his body, and conseruation of his health, the same shall bee deliuered him by the Marchant, at the assignement of the captaine and Master of that shippe, wherein such needie person shall be, at such reasonable price as the same cost, without any gaine to be exacted by the marchants, the value therof to be entred by the marchant in his booke, and the same to be discounted off the parties wages, that so shal receiue, and weare the same.

18 Item, the sicke, diseased, weake, and visited person within boord, to be tendred, relieued, comforted, and holpen in the time of his infirmitie, and euery maner of person, without respect, to beare anothers burden, and no man to refuse such labour as shall be put to him, for the most benefite, and publike wealth of the voyage, and enterprise, to be atchieued exactly.

19 Item, if any person shal fortune to die, or miscary in the voyage, such apparell, and other goods, as he shall haue at the time of his death, is to be kept by the order of the captaine and Master of the shippe, and an inuentorie to be made of it, and conserued to the vse of his wife, and children, or otherwise according to his mind, and wil, and the day of his death to be entred in the Marchants and Stewards Bookes: to the intent it may be knowen what wages he shall haue deserued to his death, and what shall rest due to him.

20 Item, that the Marchants appointed for this present voyage, shall not make any shew or sale of any kind of marchandizes, or open their commodities to any forrein princes, or any of their subiects, without the consent, priuitie, or agreement of the Captaines, the cape Marchants and the assistants, or foure of them, whereof the captaine generall, the Pilot Maior, and cape marchant to be three, and euery of the pettie marchants to shewe his reckoning to the cape marchant, when they, or any of them shall be required: and no commutation or trucke to be made by any of the petie marchants, without the assent abouesaid: and all

wares, and commodities trucked, bought or giuen to the companie, by way of marchandise, trucke, or any other respect, to be booked by the marchants, and to be wel ordred, packed, and conserued in one masse entirely, and not to be broken or altered, vntil the shippes shall returne to the right discharges, and inuentorie of al goods, wares, and marchandises so trucked, bought, or otherwise dispended, to be presented to the Gouernor, Consuls, and Assistants in London,* in good order, to the intent the Kings Maiestie may be truly answered of that which to his grace by his grant of corporation is limited, according to our most bound dueties, and the whole companie also to haue that which by right vnto them appertaineth, and no embezelment shall be vsed, but the truth of the whole voyage to bee opened, to the common wealth and benefite of the whole companie, and mysterie, as appertaineth, without guile, fraude, or male engine.

21 Item, no particular person, to hinder or preiudicate the common stocke of the company, in sale or preferment of his own proper wares, and things, and no particular emergent or purchase to be employed to any seueral profite, vntill the common stocke of the companie shall be furnished, and no person to hinder the common benefite in such purchases or contingents, as shal fortune to any one of them, by his owne proper policie, industrie, or chance, nor no contention to rise in that behalfe, by any occasion of iewel, stone, pearles, precious mettals, or other things of the region, where it shall chance the same to rise, or to be found, bought, trucked, permuted, or giuen: but euery person to be bounden in such case, and vpon such occasion, by order, and direction, as the generall captaine, and the Councell shall establish and determine, to whose order and discretion the same is left: for that of things vncertaine, no certaine rules may or can be giuen.

22. Item not to disclose to any nation the state of our religion, but to passe it ouer in silence, without any declaration of it, seeming to beare with such lawes, and rites, as the place hath, where you shall arriue.

23. Item for as much as our people, and shippes may appeare vnto them strange and wonderous, and theirs also to ours: it is to be considered, how they may be vsed, learning much of their natures and dispositions, by some one such person, as you may first either allure, or take to be brought aboord, your ships, and

---

* King Edward's Corporation.—(*Marginal Note*).

there to learne as you may, without violence or force, and no woman to be tempted, or intreated to incontinencie, or dishonestie.

24. Item the person so taken, to be well entertained, vsed, and apparelled, to be set on land, to the intent that he or she may allure other to draw nigh to shewe the commodities: and if the person taken may be made drunke with your beere, or wine, you shal know the secrets of his heart.

25. Item our people may not passe further into a land, then that they may be able to recouer their pinnesses, or ships, and not to credit the faire words of the strange people, which be many times tried subtile, and false, nor to be drawen into perill of losse, for the desire of golde, siluer, or riches, and esteeme your owne commodities aboue al other, and in countenance shew not much to desire the forren commodities: neuertheless take them as for friendship, or by way of permutation.

26. Item every nation and region is to be considered aduisedly, and not to prouoke them by any disdaine, laughing, contempt, or such like, but to vse them with prudent circumspection, with al gentlenes, and curtesie, and not to tary long in one place, vntill you shall haue attained the most worthy place y^t^ may be found, in such sort, as you may returne w^t^ victuals sufficient prosperously.

27. Item the names of the people of euery Island, are to be taken in writing, with the commodities, and incommodities of the same, their natures, qualities, and dispositions, the site of the same, and what things they are most desirous of, and what commodities they wil most willingly depart with, and what mettals they haue in hils, mountaines, streames, or riuers, in, or vnder the earth.

28. Item if people shal appeare gathering of stones, gold, mettall, or other like, on the sand, your pinnesses may drawe nigh, marking what things they gather, vsing or playing vpon the drumme, or such other instruments, as may allure them to harkening, to fantasie, or desire to see, and heare your instruments and voyces, but keepe you out of danger, and shewe to them no poynt or signe of rigour and hostilitie.

29. Item if you shall be inuited into any Lords or Rulers house, to dinner, or other parliance, goe in such order of strength, that you may be stronger then they, and be warie of woods and ambushes, and that your weapons be not out of your possessions.

30. Item if you shall see them weare Lyons or Beares skinnes, hauing long bowes, and arrowes, be not afraid of that sight: for such be worne oftentimes more to feare strangers, then for any other cause.

31. Item there are people that can swimme in the sea, hauens, and riuers, naked, hauing bowes and shafts, coueting to draw nigh your ships, which if they shal finde not wel watched, or warded, they wil assault, desirous of the bodies of men, which they couet for meate: if you resist them, they diue, and so will flee, and therefore diligent watch is to be kept both day and night, in some Islands.

32. Item if occasion shal serue, that you may giue aduertisements of your proceedings in such things as may correspond to the expectation of the company, and likelihood of successe in the voyage, passing such dangers of the seas, perils of ice, intollerable coldes, and other impediments, which by sundry authors and writers, haue ministred matter of suspition in some heads, that this voyage could not succede for the extremitie of the North pole, lacke of passage, and such like, which haue caused wauering minds, and doubtful heads, not onely to withdraw themselues from the aduenture of this voyage, but also disswaded others from the same, the certaintie whereof, when you shall haue tried by experience, (most certaine Master of all worldly knowledge) then for declaration of the trueth, which you shall haue experted, you may by common assent of counsell, sende either by lande, or otherwaies, such two or one person, to bring the same by credite, as you shal think may passe in safetie: which sending is not be done, but vpon vrgent causes, in likely successe of the voyage, in finding of passage, in towardlines of beneficiall traffike, or such other like, whereby the company being aduertised of your estates and proceedings, may further prouide, foresee, and determine that which may seeme most good and beneficiall for the publike wealth of the same: either prouiding before hand such things, as shall bee requisite for the continuance of the voyage, or else otherwise to dispose as occasion shall serue: in which things your wisedomes and discretions are to be vsed, and shewed, and the contents of this capitule, by you much to be pondred, for that you be not ignorant, how many persons, as well the kings Maiestie, the Lords of his honorable Counsel, this whole companie, as also your wiues, children, kinsfolkes, allies, friends and familiars, be replenished

in their hearts with ardent desire to learne and know your estates, conditions, and welfares, and in what likelihood you be in, to obtain this notable enterprise, which is hoped no lesse to succeed to you, then the Orient or Occident Indias haue to the high benefite of the Emperour, and kings of Portingal, whose subiects industries, and trauailes by sea, haue inriched them, by those lands and Islands, which were to all Cosmographers, and other writers both vnknowne, and also by apparances of reason voide of experience thought and reputed vnhabitable for extremities of heates, and colds, and yet indeed tried most rich, peopled, temperate, and so commodious, as all Europe hath not the like.

33 Item no conspiracies, parttakings, factions, false tales, vntrue reports, which be the very seedes, and fruits of contention, discord, and confusion, by euill tongues to be suffered, but the same, and all other vngodlines to be chastened charitably with brotherly loue, and alwaies obedience to be vsed and practised by al persons in their degrees, not only for duetie and conscience sake towards God, vnder whose mercifull hand nauigants aboue all other creatures naturally bee most nigh, and vicine, but also for prudent and worldly pollicie, and publike weale, considering and alwaies hauing present in your mindes that you be all one most royall kings subiects, and naturals, with daily remembrance of the great importance of the voyage, the honour, glorie, praise, and benefite that depend of, and vpon the same, toward the common wealth of this noble Realme, the aduancement of you the trauailers therein, your wiues, and children, and so to endeuour your selues as that you may satisfie the expectation of them, who at their great costs, charges, and expenses, haue so furnished you in good sort, and plentie of all necessaries, as the like was neuer in any realme seene, vsed, or knowen requisite and needful for such an exploit, which is most likely to be atchieued, and brought to good effect, if euery person in his vocation shall endeauour himselfe according to his charge, and most bounden duetie: praying the liuing God, to giue you his grace, to accomplish your charge to his glorie, whose merciful hand shal prosper your voyage, and preserue you from all dangers.

In witnes whereof I Sebastian Cabota, Gouernour aforesaide, to these present ordinances, haue subscribed my name, and put my seale, the day and yeere aboue written.

The names of the twelue Counsellors appointed in this voyage.

1. Sir Hugh Willoughby Knight, Captaine generall.
2. Richard Chancelour Captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, and Pilot generall of the fleete.
3. George Burton Cape marchant,
4. Master Richard Stafford Minister.
5. Thomas Langlie Marchant.
6. Iames Dalabere Gentleman.
7. William Gefferson Master of the Bona Speranza Admirall.
8. Stephen Borrough Master of the Edward Bonauenture.
9. Cornelius Durfurth Master of the Confidentia.
10. Roger Wilson.
11. Iohn Buckland. } Masters mates.
12 Richard Ingram.

Exemplar Epistolæ seu literarum Missiuarum, quas illustrissimus Princeps Eduardus eius nominis Sextus, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rex, misit ad Principes Septentrionalem, ac Orientalem mundi plagam inhabitantes iuxta mare glaciale, nec non Indiam Orientalem; Anno Domini 1553 Regni sui anno septimo, et vltimo.

EDuardus sextus, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rex, etc. Omnibus Regibus et principibus ac dominis, et cunctis Iudicibus terræ, et ducibus eius, quibuscunque est excellens aliqua dignitas in ea, cunctis in locis quæ sunt sub vniuerso cœlo: Pax, tranquillitas, et honor vobis, terris, et regionibus vestris quæ imperio vestro subiacent, cuiq; vestrum quemadmodum conuenit ei. Propterèà quòd indidit Deus Opt. Max. hominibus præ cunctis alijs viuentibus; cor et desiderium tale, vt appetat quisque cum alijs societatem inire, amare, et vicissim amari, beneficijs afficere, et mutua accipere beneficia studeat, ideò cuique pro facultate sua hoc desiderium in omnibus quidem hominibus beneficijs fouere et conseruare conuenit, in illis autem maximè, qui hoc desiderio adducti, à remotis etiam regionibus ad eos veniunt. Quo enim longius iter eius rei gratia ingressi sunt, eò ardentius in eis hoc desiderium fuisse declararunt. Insuper etiam ad hoc, nos patrum maiorúmq; nostrorum exempla inuitant, qui semper humanissimè susceperunt et benignissimè tractauerunt illos, qui tum à locis propinquis, tum à remotis, eos amicè adibant, eorum se protectioni

commendantes. Quod si omnibus id præstare æquum est, certè mercatoribus imprimis præstari debet, qui per vniuersum orbem discurrunt, mare circumlustrantes et aridam, vt res bonas et vtiles, quæ Dei beneficio in regione eorum inueniuntur, ad remotissimas regiones et regna adferant, atque inde vicissim referant, quòd suæ regioni vtile ibi repeterint: vt et populi ad quos eunt, non destituantur commodis quæ non profert illis terra eorum, et ipsi sint participes rerum quibus illi abundant. Nam Deus cæli et terræ, humano generi maximè consulens, noluit vt omnia in quauis regione inuenirentur, quò regio ope alterius regionis indigeret, et gens ab alia gente commodum aliquod expectaret, ac ita stabiliretur amicitia inter omnes, singulíq; omnibus benefacere quærerent. Hoc itaque ineundæ ac stabiliendæ amicitiæ desiderio moti viri quidam regni nostri, iter in remotas maritimas regiones instituerunt, vt inter nostros et illos populos, viam mercibus inferendis et efferendis aperirent nòsq; rogauerunt et vt id illis concederemus. Qui petitioni illorum annuentes, concessimus viro honorabili et forti, Hugoni Wilibeo, et alijs qui cum eo sunt seruis nostris fidis et charis, vt pro sua voluntate, in regiones eis priùs incognitas eant, quæsituri ea quibus nos caremus, et adducant illis ex nostris terris id quo illi carent. Atque ita illis et nobis commodum inde accedat, sítq; amicitia perpetua, et fœdus indissolubile inter illos et nos, dum permittent illi nos accipere de rebus, quibus superabundant in regnis suis, et nos concedemus illis ex regnis nostris res, quibus destituuntur. Rogamus itaque vos Reges et Principes, et omnes quibus aliqua est potestas in terra, vt viris istis nostris, transitum permittatis per regiones vestras. Non enim tangent quicquam ex rebus vestris inuitis vobis. Cogitate quòd homines et ipsi sunt. Et si qua re caruerint, oramus pro vestra beneficentia, eam vos illis tribuatis, accipientes vicissim ab eis quod poterunt rependere vobis. Ita vos gerite erga eos, quemadmodum cuperetis vt nos, et subditi nostri, nos gereremus erga seruos vestros, si quando transierint per regiones nostras. Atque promittimus vobis per Deum omnium quæ cælo, terra et mari continentur, pérq; vitam nostram, et tranquillitatem regnorum nostrorum, nos pari benignitate seruos vestros accepturos, si ad regna nostra aliquando venerint. Atque à nobis et subditis nostris, ac si nati fuissent in regnis nostris ita benignè tractabuntur, vt rependamus vobis benignitatem, quam nostris exhibueritis. Postquam vos Reges, Principes, etc. rogauimus, vt humanitate et beneficentia omni prosequamini seruos nostros nobis charos, oramus omnipotentem Deum nostrum, vt

vobis diuturnam vitam largiatur, et pacem quæ nullam habeat finem. Scriptum Londini, quæ ciuitas est primaria regni nostri, Anno 5515. à creato mundo, mense Iair, 14. die mensis, anno septimo regni nostri.

The same in English.

The copie of the letters missiue, which the right noble Prince Edward the sixt sent to the Kings, Princes, and other Potentates, inhabiting the Northeast partes of the worlde, toward the mighty Empire of Cathay, at such time as Sir Hugh Willoughby knight, and Richard Chancelor, with their company attempted their voyage thither in the yeere of Christ 1553. and the seuenth and last yeere of his raigne.

EDward the sixt, by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, &c. To all Kings, Princes, Rulers, Iudges, and gouernours of the earth, and all other hauing any excellent dignitie on the same, in all places vnder the vniuersall heauen: peace, tranquillitie, and honour be vnto you, and your lands and regions, which are vnder your dominions, and to euery of you, as is conuenient.

Forasmuch as the great and Almightie God hath giuen vnto mankinde, aboue all other liuing creatures, such an heart and desire, that euery man desireth to ioine friendship with other, to loue, and be loued, also to giue and receiue mutuall benefites: it is therefore the duety of all men, according to their power, to maintaine and increase this desire in euery man, with well deseruing to all men, and especially to shew this good affection to such, as beeing moued with this desire, come vnto them from farre countreis. For how much the longer voyage they haue attempted for this intent, so much the more doe they thereby declare that this desire hath bene ardent in them. Furthermore also, the examples of our fathers and predecessors doe inuite vs hereunto, forasmuch as they haue euer gently and louingly intreated such as of friendly mind came to them, aswell from Countries neare hand, as farre remote, commending themselues to their protection. And if it be right and equity, to shew such humanitie toward all men, doubtlesse the same ought chiefly to be shewed to marchants, who wandering about the world, search both the land and the sea, to carry such good and profitable things, as are found in their Countries, to remote regions and kingdomes, and againe to bring from the same, such things as they find there commodious for their owne Countries: both aswell that the people, to whom they goe, may not be destitute of such commodities as their Countries bring not foorth to them, as that also they may be partakers of such things, whereof they abound. For the God of heauen and earth greatly prouiding for mankinde, would not that all things should be found in one region, to the ende that one should haue neede of another, that by this meanes friendship might be established among all men, and euery one seeke to gratifie all. For the establishing and furtherance of which vniuersall amitie, certaine men of our Realme, mooued heereunto by the said desire, haue instituted and taken vpon them a voyage by sea into farre Countries, to the intent that betweene our people and them, a way may bee opened to bring in, and cary out marchandises, desiring vs to further their enterprise. Who assenting to their petition, haue licensed the right valiant and worthy Sir Hugh Willoughby, knight, and other our trusty and faithfull seruants, which are with him, according to their desire, to goe to countries to them heeretofore vnknowen, aswell to seeke such things as we lacke, as also to cary vnto them from our regions, such things as they lacke. So that hereby not onely commoditie may ensue both to them and vs, but also an indissoluble and perpetuall league of friendship be established betweene vs both, while they permit vs to take of their things, such whereof they haue abundance in their regions, and we againe grant them such things of ours, whereof they are destitute. We therefore desire you kings and princes, and al other, to whom there is any power on the earth, to permit vnto these our seruants free passage by your regions and dominions: for they shall not touch any thing of yours unwilling vnto you. Consider you that they also are men. If therefore they shall stand in neede of any thing, we desire you of all humanitie, and for the nobilitie which is in you, to ayde and helpe them with such things as they lacke, receiuing againe of them such things as they shall be able to giue you in recompense. Shew your selues so towards them, as you would that we and our subiects should shewe ourselues towards your seruants, if at any time they shall passe by our regions.

Thus doing, we promise you by the God of all things that are contained in heauen, earth, and the Sea, and by the life and tranquillitie of our kingdomes, that we will with like humanitie accept your seruants, if at any time they shall come to our kingdomes, where they shall as friendly and gently bee entertained, as if they were borne in our Dominions, that wee may hereby recompence the fauour and benignitie which you haue shewed to our men. Thus after we haue desired you Kings and princes, &c. with all humanity and fauour, to entertaine our welbeloued seruants, we will pray our Almighty God, to graunt you long life, and peace, which neuer shall haue ende. Written in London, which is the chiefe citie of our kingdome, in the yeere from the creation of the world 5515. in the month of Iair,* the fourteenth day of the moneth, and seuenth yeere of our reigne.

This letter was written also in Greeke, and diuers others languages.

The true copie of a note found written in one of the two ships, to wit, the Speranza, which wintered in Lappia, Where sir Hugh Willoughby and all his companie died, being frozen to death. Anno 1553.

The voiage intended for the discouerie of Cathay, and diuers other regions, dominions, Islands, and places vnknowen, set forth by the right worshipful, master Sebastian Cabota Esquire, and Gouernour of the mysterie and company of the Marchants Aduenturers of the citie of London: which fleete being furnished, did set forth the tenth day of May, 1553. and in the seuenth yeere of our most dread Soueraigne Lord, and King, Edward the sixt.

The names of the shippes of the fleete and of their burden, together with the names of the Captaines, and Counsellors, Pilot Maior, Masters of the ships, Marchants, with other officers, and Mariners, as hereafter followeth.

THE FIRST SHIP: The Bona Esperanza, Admirall of the fleete, of 120. tunnes, hauing with her a pinnesse, and a boate.

Sir Hugh Willoughby, knight, Captaine generall of the fleete.
William Gefferson, Master of the shippe.
Roger Wilson, his Mate.
William Gittons, Charles Barret, Gabriel Willoughby, Iohn Andrews, Alexander Woodfoord, Ralph Chatterton, Marchants.

*** Iair, I woulde reade Mair, that is, in the Sarasen language, mixt of Turkish and Aegyptian, Februarie, interpreted by them the moneth to set ships to the sea.—(*Marginal note.*)**

Mariners and officers, according to the custome, and vse of the Seas,

Iohn Brooke, Master Gunner.

Nicholas Anthony, Boateswaine.

Iohn Web, his Mate.

Christopher Banbrucke, Thomas Dauison, Robert Rosse, Thomas Simpson, quarter Masters.

William White, Iames Smith, Thomas Painter, Iohn Smith, their Mates.

Richard Gwinne, George Goiswine, Carpenters.

Robert Gwinne, Purser.

Laurence Edwards, his Mate, and Couper.

Richard Morgan, Cooke.

Thomas Nashe, his Mate.

William Light, Iohn Brande, Cutbert Chelsie, George Blage, Thomas Walker, Thomas Allen, Edward Smith, Edward Hunt, Iohn Fawkner, Rowland Brooke.

Alexander Gardiner, Richard Molton, Surgeons, which two were taken in at Harwich.

Discharged at Harwich, by reason of sicknes, George Blake,* Nicholas Anthony.

For pickerie ducked at the yards arme, and so discharged Thomas Nash.

THE SECOND SHIP: The Edward Bonauenture, of 160. tunnes, with her a pinnesse, and a boate.

Richard Chancelor, Captaine, and Pilot maior of the fleete.

Stephen Borowgh, Master of the ship.

Iohn Buckland, his Mate.

George Burton, Arthur Edwards, Marchants.

Iohn Stafford, Minister.

Iames Dallaber, Nicholas Newborrow, Iohn Sedgswike, Thomas Francis, Iohn Hasse, Richard Iohnson, William Kempe.

Mariners and officers, according to the custome and vse of the Seas.

Robert Stanton, Master Gunner.

Iohn Walker, his Mate.

---

* The "George Blage" mentioned above.

Iames Long, Iohn Cocks, Gunners.
Thomas Walter, Surgeon.
Peter Palmer, Boateswaine.
Richard Strowde, his Mate.
Iohn Robinson, Iohn Carowe, Thomas Stone, Roger Lishbie, quarter Masters.
Iohn Austen, Steward: Patricke Steuens, his Mate.
Austen Iacks, Cooke.
William Euery, Cowper.
Griffin Wagham, Carpenter.
Thomas Steltson, Thomas Townes, Iohn Robinson, Iohn White, William Laurence, Miles Butter, Iohn Browne, William Morren, William Watson, Thomas Handcocks, Edward Pacie, Thomas Browne, Arthur Pet, George Phibarie, Edward Patterson, William Beare, Iohn Potter, Nicholas Lawrence, William Burrough,* Roger Welford, Iohn Williams.

THE THIRD SHIP: The Bona Confidentia of 90. tunnes, hauing with her a pinnesse, and a boate.

Cornelius Durfoorth, Master of the shippe.
Richard Ingram, his Mate.
Thomas Langlie, Edward Kener, Henrie Dorset, Marchants.

Mariners and officers, according to the vse and custome of the Sea.

Henrie Tailer, Master Gunner.
George Thurland, his Mate.
William Hamane, Boateswaine.
Iohn Edwards, his Mate.
Thomas Kirbie, Henrie Dickenson, Iohn Haye, William Shepwash, quarter Masters.
Iohn Reyne, Steward.
Thomas Hante, Cooke. William Lassie, his Mate.
Nicholas Knight, Carpenter.
Peter Lewike, Nicholas Wiggleworth, Iohn Moore, William Chapman, Brian Chester, William Barrie, Richard Wood, Clement Gibson, Iohn Clarocke, Erasmus Bently, Iohn Duriforth.

---

* Nowe comptroller of Her Maiesties (Queen Elizabeth) Nauie.—*Marginal note.*

◆

The Iuramentum, or othe, ministred to the Captaine.

YOu shall sweare to be a faithful, true, and loyal subiect in all points, and duties, that to a subiect appertaineth, to our soueraigne Lord the kings Maiestie, his heires, and successors: and that you shall wel and truely to the vttermost of your capacitie, wit, and knowledge, serue this present voiage, committed to your charge, and not to giue vp nor sooner intermit the same, vntil you shall haue atchieued the same, so farre foorth, as you may without danger of your life, and losse of the fleete: you shall giue good, true and faithful counsell to the said societie, and to such as shal haue the charge with or vnder you, and not to disclose the secrets, or priuities of the same to any person by any maner of meane, to the preiudice, hurt, or damage of it. You shal minister iustice to all men vnder your charge, without respect of person, or any affection, that might moue you to decline from the true ministration of iustice. And further, you shal obserue, and cause to be obserued, as much as in you lieth, all and singular rules, articles, prouisions hitherto made, or heereafter to be made for the preseruation or safeconduct of the fleete and voyage, and benefit of the company. You shall not permit nor suffer the stocke or goods of the company to be wasted, imbezeled, or consumed, but shall conserue the same whole and entire, without diminishment, vntill you shall haue deliuered, or cause to be deliuered the same, to the vse of the companie. And finally you shall vse your selfe in all points, sorts, and conditions, as to a faithfull captaine, and brother of this companie shall belong and appertaine: So helpe you God, &c.

The othe ministred to the Maister of the ship, &c.

YOu shall sweare by the holy contents in that booke, that you according and to the vttermost of your knowledge and good vnderstanding in mariners science and craft, shall in your vocation doe your best to conduct the good shippe called the N. &c. whereof you nowe are Maister vnder God, both vnto and from the portes of your discouerie, and so vse your indeauour and faithfull diligence, in charging, discharging, lading againe, and roomaging of the same shippe, as may be most for the benefite and profite of this right woorshipfull fellowship: and you shall not priuately bargein, buy, sell, exchange, barter, or distribute any goods, wares, merchandise, or things whatsoeuer (necessary tackles and victuals for the shippe onely excepted) to or for your owne lucre, gaine or profit, neither to nor for the private lucre, gaine, or profit of any other person or persons whatsoeuer. And further, If you shall know any boatswaine, mariner, or any other person or persons whatsoeuer, to buy, sell, barter, trucke, or exchange any goods, wares, merchandises, or things for priuate account, reckoning, or behalfe, you shall doe your best to withstand and let the same: and if you cannot commodiously so doe, that then before the discharge of such goods bought for priuat account, you shall giue knowledge therof to the cape marchant of this said fellowship for the time being. And you shall not receiue nor take, nor suffer to be receiued or taken into your said ship during this voyage any maner person or persons whatsoeuer, going or returning, but onely those mariners which without fraud or guile shall be hired to be of your company, and to serue in mariners craft and science onely: so helpe you God, &c.

These foresaid shippes being fully furnished with their pinnesses and boates, well appointed with al maner of artillerie, and other things necessary for their defence with al the men aforesaid, departed from Ratcliffe, and valed vnto Detford, the 10. day of May, 1553.

The 11. day about two of the clocke, we departed from Detford, passing by Greenwhich, saluting the kings Maiesty then being there, shooting off our ordinance, and so valed vnto Blackwall, and there remained vntil the 17. day, and that day in the morning we went from Blackwall, and came to Woolwhich by nine of the clocke, and there remained one tide, and so the same night vnto Heyreth.

The 18. day from Heyreth vnto Grauesend, and there remained vntil the twentieth day: that day being Saterday, from Grauesend vnto Tilberie hope, remayning there vntill the two and twentieth day.

The 22. day from Tilbury Hope to Hollie Hauen.

The 23. day from Hollie Hauen, till we came against Lee, and there remained that night, by reason that the winde was contrary to vs.

The 24. day the winde being in the Southwest in the morning, we sailed along the coast ouer the Spits, vntill we came against S. Osyth, about sixe of the clocke at night, and there came to anker, and abode there all that night.

The 25. day about tenne of the clocke we departed from S. Osyth, and so sailed forward vnto the Nase, and there abode that night for winde and tide.

The 26. day at fiue of the clock in the morning, we weyed our anker, and sailed ouer the Nase, the winde being at the Southwest, vntill wee came to Orwell wands, and there came to an anker, and abode there vntill the 28. day.

The same day being Trinitie Sunday about 7. of the clocke before noone we weyed our ankers, and sailed til we came athwart Walsursye, and there came to an anker.

The 29. day from thence to Holmehead, where we stayed that day, where we consulted which way, and what courses were best to be holden for the discouerie of our voyage, and there agreed.

The 30. day of May at fiue of the clocke in the morning wee set saile, and came against Yermouth about three leagues into the sea, riding there at anker all that night.

The last of May into the sea sixe leagues Northeast, and there taried that night, where the winde blew very sore.

The first of Iune the winde being at North contrary to vs, wee came backe againe to Orwell, and remained there vntill the 15. day tarying for the winde, for all this time the winde was contrary to our purpose.

The 15 day being at Orwel in the latitude of 52 degrees, in the morning wee weyed our ankers, and went forth into the wands about two miles from the towne, and lay there that night.

The 16 day at eight of the clocke we set forward, and sayled vntill we came athwart Alburrough, and there stayed that night.

The 17 day about fiue of the clocke before noone we went backe vnto Orfordnesse, and there remained vntill the 19 day.

The 19 day at eight of the clocke in the morning we went backe to Orwel, and abode there three dayes tarying for the winde.

The 23 day of Iune the wind being faire in the Southwest we hailed into the seas to Orfordnesse, and from thence into the seas ten leagues Northeast: then being past the sands, we changed our course sixe leagues Northnortheast: about midnight we changed our course againe, and went due North, continuing in the same vnto the 27 day.

The 27 day about seuen of the clocke Northnorthwest 42 leagues to the ende to fall with Shotland: then the wind veared to the West, so that we could lie but North and by West, continuing in the same course 40 leagues, whereby we could not fetch Shotland: then we sayled North 16 leagues by estimation, after that North and by West, and Northnorthwest, then Southeast, with diuers other courses, trauersing and tracing the seas, by reason of sundry and manifolde contrary windes, vntill the 14 day of Iuly: and then the sunne entring into Leo, we discouered land Eastward of vs, vnto the which we sayled that night as much as we might: and after wee went on shore with our Pinnesse, and found little houses to the number of 30, where we knew that it was inhabited, but the people were fled away, as we iudged, for feare of vs.

The land was all full of little Islands, and that innumerable, which were called (as we learned afterwards) Ægeland and Halgeland,* which lieth from Orfordnesse North and by East, being in the latitude of 66 degrees. The distance betweene Orfordnesse and Ægeland 250 leagues. Then we sailed from thence 12 leagues Northwest, and found many other Islandes, and there came to anker the 19 day, and manned our Pinnesse, and went on shore to the Islands, and found people mowing and making of hay, which came to the shore and welcomed vs. In which place were an innumerable sort of Islands, which were called the Isles of Rost, being vnder the dominion of the king of Denmarke: which place was in latitude 66 degrees, and 30 minutes. The winde being contrary, we remayned there three dayes, and there was an innumerable sort of foules of diuers kindes, of which we tooke very many.

The 22 day the winde comming fayre, we departed from Rost sailing Northnortheast, keeping the sea vntill the 27 day, and then we drew neere vnto the land, which was still East of vs: then went forth our Pinnesse to seeke harborow, and found many good harbours, of the which we entred into one with our shippes, which was called Stanfew, † and the land being Islands, were called Lewfoot, or Lofoot, which were plentifully inhabited, and very gentle people, being also vnder the king of Denmarke: but we could not learne how farre it was from the maine land: and we remained there vntill the 30 day, being in latitude 68 degrees, and from the foresaid Rost about 30 leagues Northnortheast.

---

* In this land dwellt Octher, as it seemeth.—*Marginal Note.* See Vol. I, p. 51, of this Edition.

† Steenfjord, on the West of Lofoden.

The 30 day of Iuly about noone we weyed our ankers, and went into the Seas, and sayled along these Islands Northnortheast, keeping the land still in sight vntill the second day of August: then hailing in close aboord the land, to the entent to knowe what land it was, there came a skiffe of the island aboord of vs, of whom we asked many questions, who shewed vnto us, that the Island was called Seynam, which is the latitude of seuenty degrees, and from Stanfew thirtie leagues, being also vnder the king of Demarke, and that there was no merchandise there, but onely dryed fish, and traine oyle. Then we being purposed to goe vnto Finmarke, inquired of him, if we might haue a pilot to bring vs vnto Finmarke, and he said, that if we could beare in, we should haue a good harbour, and on the next day a pilot to bring vs vnto Finmarke, vnto the wardhouse,* which is the strongest holde in Finmarke, and most resorted to by report. But when wee would haue entred into an harbour, the land being very high on euery side, there came such flawes of winde and terrible whirlewinds, that we were not able to beare in, but by violence were constrained to take the sea agayne, our Pinnesse being vnshipt: we sailed North and by East, the wind increasing so sore that we were not able to beare any saile, but tooke them in, and lay a drift, to the end to let the storme ouer passe. And that night by violence of winde, and thickenesse of mists, we were not able to keepe together within sight, and then about midnight we lost our pinnesse, which was a discomfort vnto vs. Assoone as it was day, and the fogge ouerpast, we looked about, and at the last we descried one of our shippes to Leeward of vs: then we spred an hullocke of our foresaile, and bare roome with her, which was the Confidence, but the Edward we could not see. † Then the flaw something abating, we and the Confidence hoysed vp our sailes the fourth day, sayling Northeast and by North, to the end to fall with the Wardhouse, as we did consult to doe before, in case we should part company. Thus running Northeast and by North, and Northeast fiftie leagues, then we sounded, and had 160 fadomes, whereby we thought to be farre from land, and perceiued that the land lay not as the Globe made mention. Wherfore we changed our course the sixt day, and sailed Southeast and by South eight and fortie leagues, thinking thereby to find the Wardhouse.

---

* Vardoe.

† This vessel's successful voyage is related further on.

The eight day much winde arising at the Westnorthwest, we not knowing how the coast lay, strook our sayles, and lay a drift, where we sounded and found 160 fadomes as afore.

The ninth day, the wind vearing to the South Southeast, we sailed Northeast 25 leagues.

The tenth day we sounded, and could get no ground, neither yet could see any land, wherat we wondered: then the wind comming at the Northeast, we ran Southeast about 48 leagues.

The 11 day, the wind being at South, we sounded, and found 40 fadoms, and faire sand.

The 12 day the winde being at South and by East, we lay with our saile East, and East and by North 30 leagues.

The 14 day early in the morning we descried land, which land we bare with all, hoising out our boat to discouer what land it might be: but the boat could not come to land the water was so shoale, where was very much ice also, but there was no similitude of habitation, and this land lyeth from Seynam East and by North 160 leagues, being in latitude 72 degrees. Then we plyed to the Northward the 15, 16 and 17 day.*

Willoughbie his land in 72 degrees.

The 18 day, the winde comming at the Northeast, and the Confidence being troubled with bilge water, and stocked, we thought it good to seeke harbour for her redresse: then we bare roome the 18 day Southsoutheast, about 70 leagues.

The 21 day we sounded, and found 10 fadome, after that we sounded againe, and found but 7 fadome, so shoalder and shoalder water, and yet could see no land, where we marueiled greatly: to auoide this danger, we bare roomer into the sea all that night Northwest and by the West.

The next day we sounded, and had 20. fadoms, then shaped our course, and ran West Southwest vntill the 23. day: then we descried Low land, vnto which we bare as nigh as we could, and it appeared vnto vs vnhabitable. Then we plyed Westward along by that lande, which lyeth West Southwest, and East Northeast, and much winde blowing at the West, we haled into the sea North and by East 30. leagues. Then the winde comming about at the Northeast, we sailed West Northwest: after that, the winde bearing to the Northwest, we lay with our sailes West southwest, about 14. leagues, and then descried land, and bare in with it, being the 28. day, finding shoale water, and bare in till we came to 3. fadome, then perceiuing it to be shoale water, and also seeing drie sands, we haled out againe Northeast along that land vntill we came to the point therof. That land turning to the Westwarde, we ran along 16. leagues Northwest: then comming into a faire bay, we went on land with our boat, which place was vnhabited, but yet it appeared vnto vs that the people had bin there, by crosses, and other signes: from thence we went all along the coast Westward.

---

* In *Purchas*, III., p. 462, Thomas Edge, a captain in the service of the Muscovy Company, endeavoured to show that this land was Spitzbergen. This being proved incorrect, others have supposed that the land Willoughby saw was Gooseland. or Novaya Zemlya. Nordenskiöld supposes it to be Kolgujev Island. This, he says, would make its latitude two degrees less than stated, but such errors are not impossible in the determination of the oldest explorers.

The fourth day of September we lost sight of land, by reason of contrary winds, and the eight day we descried land againe. Within two dayes after we lost the sight of it: then running West and by South about 30. leagues, we gat the sight of land againe, and bare in with it vntill night: then perceiuing it to be a lee shore, we gat vs into the sea, to the end to haue sea roome.

The 12. of September we hailed to shoareward againe, hauing then indifferent wind and weather: then beeing neere vnto the shoare, and the tide almost spent, we came to an anker in 30. fadoms water.

The 13. day we came along the coast, which lay Northwest and by West, and Southeast and by East.

The 14. day we came to an anker within two leagues of the shoare, hauing 60. fadoms.

There we went a shore with our boat, and found two or three good harboroughs, the land being rocky, and high, but as for people could we see none. The 15 day we ran still along the coast vntill the 17 day: then the winde being contrary vnto vs, we thought it best to returne vnto the harbor which we had found before, and so we bare roomer with the same, howbeit we could not accomplish our desire that day. The next day being the 18 of September, we entred into the Hauen, and there came to an anker at 6 fadoms. This hauen runneth into the maine, about two leagues, and is in bredth halfe a league, wherein were very many seale fishes, and other great fishes, and vpon the maine we saw beares, great deere, foxes, with diuers strange beasts, as guloines,* and such other which were to vs vnknowen, and also wonderfull. Thus remaining in this hauen the space of a weeke, seeing the yeare farre spent, and also very euill wether, as frost, snow, and haile, as though it had beene the deepe of winter, we thought best to winter there. Wherefore we sent out three men Southsouthwest, to search if they could find people who went three dayes iourney, but could figd none: after that, we sent other three Westward foure daies iourney, which also returned without finding any people. Then sent we three men Southeast three dayes three dayes iourney, who in like sorte returned without finding of people, or any similitude of habitation.

Here endeth Sir Hugh Willoughbie his note, which was written with his owne hand.

These two notes following were written vpon the outside of this Pamphlet, or Booke.

1. The proceedings of Sir Hugh Willoughby after he was separated from the Edward Bonaventure.
2. Our shippe being at an anker in the harbour called Sterfier in the Island Lofoote. †

The riuer or hauen wherein Sir Hugh Willoughbie with the companie of his two ships perished for cold, is called Arzina in Lapland, neere vnto Kegor.‡ But it appeared by a Will found in the ship that Sir Hugh Willoughbie and most of the company were aliue in Ianuary 1554. *

---

* Or, Ellons.—*Marginal note.*

† The object of Willoughby's voyage was to discover a new route to Asia, inaccessible to the armadas of Spain and Portugal, a feat only performed in 1878-9 by Professor Nordenskiöld. It was the first maritime expedition on a large scale sent out by England. The above narrative, written by Willoughby himself, is all we know of that unfortunate navigator's proceedings after his separation from the *Edward Bonaventure* in August 1553. The following year some Russian fishermen found, at the ship's winter station, the bodies of those who had perished, probably of scurvy, with the above journal and a will, referred to in the note on page 40. The two ships, with Willoughby's corpse, were sent to England in 1555 by George Killingworth.

‡ "With regard to the position of Arzina, it appears from a statement in Anthony Jenkinson's first voyage [*see post*] that it took seven days to go from Vardoehus to Swjatoinos, and that on the sixth he passed the mouth of the river where Sir Hugh Willoughby wintered. At a distance from Vardoehus

The booke of the great and mighty Emperor of Russia, and Duke of Muscouia, and of the dominions orders and commodities thereunto belonging: drawen by Richard Chancelour.

Forasmuch as it is meete and necessary for all those that minde to take in hande the trauell into farre or strange countreys, to endeuour themselues not onely to vnderstande the orders, commodities, and fruitfulnesse thereof, but also to applie them to the setting foorth of the same, whereby it may incourage others to the like trauaile: therefore haue I nowe thought good to make a briefe rehearsall of the orders of this my trauaile in Russia and Moscouia, and other countreys thereunto adioyning; because it was my chaunce to fall with the North partes of Russia before I came towards Moscouia, I will partly declare my knowledge therein. Russia is very plentifull both of land and people, and also wealthy for such commodities as they haue. They be very great fishers for Salmons and small Coddes: they haue much oyle which wee call treine oyle, the most whereof is made by a riuer called Duina. They make it in other places, but not so much as there. They haue also a great trade in seething of salte water. To the North parte of that countrey are the places where they haue their Furres, as Sables, marterns, greese Beuers, Foxes white, blacke, and redde, Minkes, Ermines, Miniuer, and Harts. There are also a fishes teeth, which fish is called a Morsse. The takers thereof dwell in a place called Postesora,† which bring them vpon Hartes to Lampas to sell, and from Lampas carie them to a place called Colmogro,‡ where the hie market is holden on Saint Nicholas day. To the West of Colmogra there is a place called Gratanowe, in our language Nouogorode, where much fine flaxe and Hempe groweth, and also much waxe and honie. The Dutch marchants haue a

---

of about six-sevenths of the way between that town and Swjatoinos, there debouches into the Arctic Ocean, in 68 deg. 20 min. N. L. and 38 deg. 30 min. E. L. from Greenwich, a river, which in recent maps is called the Varzina. It was doubtless at the mouth of this river that the two vessels of the first North-East Passage Expedition wintered, with so unfortunate an issue for the officers and men."—NORDENSKIÖLD, *Voyage of the Vega*, Vol. I., p. 63.

* The testator was Gabriel Willoughby, and Sir Hugh was a witness.

† Query, Petschora?

‡ Cholmogori, near Archangel.

Staplehouse there. There is also great store of hides, and at a place called Plesco:* and thereabout is great store of Flaxe, Hempe, Waxe, Honie; and that towne is from Colmogro 120. miles.

There is a place called Vologda; the commodities whereof are Tallowe, Waxe, and Flaxe: but not so great plenty as is in Gratanowe. From Vologda to Colmogro there runneth a riuer called Duyna, and from thence it falleth into the sea. Colmogro serueth Gratonowe, Vologda and the Mosco with all the countrey thereabout with salte and saltfish. From Vologda to Ieraslaue is two hundreth miles:† which towne is very great. The commodities thereof are hides, and talowe, and corne in great plenty, and some Waxe, but not so plentifull as in other places.

The Mosco is from Ieraslaue two hundreth miles. The countrey betwixt them is very wel replenished with small Villages, which are so well filled with people, that it is wonder to see them: the ground is well stored with corne which they carie to the citie of Mosco in such abundance that it is wonder to see it. You shall meete in a morning seuen or eight hundred sleds comming or going thither, that carrie corne, and some carie fish. You shall haue some that carie corne to the Mosco, and some that fetch corne from thence, that at the least dwell a thousand miles off; and all their cariage is on sleds. Those which come so farre dwell in the North partes of the Dukes dominions, where the cold will suffer no corne to grow, it is so extreme. They bring thither fishes, furres, and beastes skinnes. In those partes they haue but small store of cattell.

The Mosco it selfe is great: I take the whole towne to bee greater then London with the suburbes: but it is very rude, and standeth without all order. Their houses are all of timber very dangerous for fire. There is a faire Castle, the walles whereof are of bricke, and very high: they say they are eighteene foote thicke, but I doe not beleeue it, it doth not so seeme, notwithstanding I doe not certainely know it: for no stranger may come to viewe it. The one side is ditched, and on the other side runneth a riuer called Moscua which runneth into Tartarie and so into the sea called Mare Caspium: and on the North side there is a base towne, the which hath also a bricke wall about it, and so it ioyneth with the Castle wall. The Emperour lieth in the castle, wherein are nine fayre Churches, and therein are religious men. Also there is a Metropolitane with diuers Bishops. I will not stande in description of their buildinges nor of the strength thereof because we haue better in all points in England. They be well furnished with ordinance of all sortes.

---

* Ploska, on the Dwina.

† Rather less; about 160 miles.

The Emperours or Dukes house neither in building nor in the outward shew, nor yet within the house is so sumptuous as I haue seene. It is very lowe built in eight square, much like the olde building of England, with small windowes, and so in other poynts.

Now to declare my comming before his Maiestie:* After I had remained twelue daies, the Secretary which hath the hearing of strangers did send for me, aduertising me that the Dukes pleasure was to haue me to come before his Ma. with the kings my masters letters: whereof I was right glad, and so I gaue mine attendance. And when the Duke was in his place appointed, the interpretour came for me into the vtter chamber, where sate one hundred or moe gentlemen, all in cloth of golde very sumptuous, and from thence I came into the Counsaile chamber, where sate the Duke himselfe with his nobles, which were a faire company: they sate round about the chamber on high, yet so that he himselfe sate much higher then any of his nobles in a chaire gilt, and in a long garment of beaten golde, with an emperial crowne vpon his head and a staffe of Cristall and golde in his right hand, and his other hand halfe leaning on his chaire. The Chancelour stoode vp with the Secretary before the Duke. After my dutie done and my letter deliuered, he bade me welcome, and enquired of me the health of the King my master, and I answered that he was in good health at my departure from his court, and that my trust was that he was now in the same. Vpon the which he bade me to dinner. The chancelour presented my present vnto his Grace bareheaded (for before they were all couered) and when his Grace had receiued my letter, I was required to depart: for I had charge not to speake to the Duke, but when he spake to me. So I departed vnto the Secretaries chamber, where I remayned two houres, and then I was sent for agayne vnto another palace which is called the golden palace, but I saw no cause why it should be so called; for I haue seene many fayrer then it in all poynts: and so I came into the hall, which was small and not great as is the Kings Maiesties of England, and the table was couered with a tablecloth; and the

---

* Ivan Vasileovitsch.

Marshall sate at the ende of the table with a little white rod in his hand, which boorde was full of vessell of golde: and on the other side of the hall did stand a faire cupborde of plate. From thence I came into the dining chamber, where the Duke himselfe sate at his table without cloth of estate, in a gowne of siluer, with a crowne emperiall vpon his head, he sate in a chaire somewhat hie: There sate none near him by a great way. There were long tables set round about the chamber, which were full set with such as the Duke had at dinner: they were all in white. Also the places where the tables stoode were higher by two steppes than the rest of the house. In the middest of the chamber stoode a table or cupbord to set plate on; which stoode full of cuppes of golde: and amongst all the rest there stoode foure marueilous great pottes or crudences as they call them, of golde and siluer: I think they were a good yarde and a halfe hie. By the cupborde stoode two gentlemen with napkins on their shoulders, and in their handes each of them had a cuppe of gold set with pearles and precious stones, which were the Dukes owne drinking cups; when he was disposed, he drunke them off at a draught. And for his seruice at meate it came in without order, yet it was very rich seruice, for all were serued in gold, not onely he himselfe, but also all the rest of vs, and it was very massie: the cups also were of golde and very massie. The number that dined there that day was two hundred persons, and all were serued in golden vessell. The gentlemen that waited were all in cloth of gold, and they serued him with their caps on their heads. Before the service came in, the Duke sent to euery man a great shiuer of bread, and the bearer called the party so sent to by his name aloude, and sayd, John Basiliuich Emperour of Russia and great Duke of Moscouia doth reward thee with bread: then must all men stand vp, and doe at all times when those words are spoken. And then last of all he giueth the Marshall bread, whereof he eateth before the Dukes Grace, and so doth reuerence and departeth. Then commeth the Dukes seruice of the Swannes all in pieces, and euery one in a seuerall dish: the which the Duke sendeth as he did the bread, and the bearer sayth the same wordes as he sayd before. As I sayd before, the seruice of his meate is in no order, but commeth in dish by dish: and then after that the Duke sendeth drinke, with the like saying as before is tolde. Also before dinner hee changed his crowne, and in dinner time two crownes; so that I saw three seuerall crownes vpon his head in one day. And thus when his seruice was all come in he gaue to euery one of his gentlemen waiters meate with his owne hand, and so likewise drinke. His intent thereby is, as I haue heard, that euery man shall know perfectly his seruants. Thus when dinner is done hee calleth his nobles before him name by name, that it is wonder to heare howe he could name them, hauing so many as he hath. Thus when dinner was done I departed to my lodging, which was an hower within night. I will leaue this, and speake no more of him nor his houshold: but I will somewhat declare of his land and people, with their nature and power in the wars. This Duke is Lord and Emperour of many countries, and his power is marueilous great. For he is able to bring into the field two or three hundred thousand men: he neuer goeth into the field himselfe with vnder two hundred thousand men: And when he goeth himselfe he furnisheth his borders all with men of warre, which are no small number. He leaueth on the borders of Liefland fortie thousand men, and vpon the borders of Letto 60 thousand men, and towarde the Nagayan Tartars sixtie thousand, which is wonder to heare of: yet doeth hee neuer take to his warres neither husbandman nor marchant. All his men are horsemen: he vseth no footmen, but such as goe with the ordinance and labourers, which are thirtie thousand. The horsemen are all archers, with such bowes as the Turkes haue, and they ride short as doe the Turkes. Their armour is a coate of plate, with a skull on their heads. Some of their coates are couered with veluet or cloth of gold: their desire is to be sumptuous in the field, and especially the nobles and gentlemen: as I haue heard their trimming is very costly, and partly I haue seene it, or else I would scarcely haue beleeued it: but the Duke himselfe is richly attired aboue all measure: his pauilion is couered either with cloth of gold or siluer, and so set with stones that it is wonderfull to see it. I haue seene the Kings Maiesties of England and the French Kings pauilions, which are fayre, yet not like vnto his. And when they bee sent into farre or strange countreys, or that strangers come to them, they be very gorgious. Els the Duke himselfe goeth but meanly in apparell: and when he goeth betwixt one place and another hee is but reasonably apparelled ouer other times. In the while that I was in Mosco the Duke sent two Ambassadours to the King of Poleland, which had at the lest fiue hundred horses; their sumptuousnes was aboue measure, not onely in them selues, but also in their horses, as veluet, cloth of golde, and cloth of siluer set with pearles and not scant. What shall I farther say? I neuer heard of nor saw men so sumptuous: but it is no dayly guise, for when they haue not occasion, as I sayd before, all their doing is but meane. And now to the effect of their warres: They are men without al order in the field. For they runne hurling on heapes, and for the most part they neuer giue battell to their enemies: but that which they doe, they doe it all by stelth. But I beleeue they be such men for hard liuing as are not vnder the sun: for no cold wil hurt them. Yea and though they lie in the field two moneths, at such time as it shall freese more then a yard thicke, the common souldier hath neither tent nor any thing else ouer his head: the most defence they haue against the wether is a felte, which is set against the winde and weather, and when Snowe commeth hee doth cast it off, and maketh him a fire, and laieth him down thereby. Thus doe the most of all his men, except they bee gentlemen which haue other prouision of their owne. Their lying in the fielde is not so strange as is their hardnes: for euery man must carie and make prouision for himselfe and his horse for a moneth or two, which is very wonderful. For he himselfe shall liue vpon water and otemeale mingled together cold, and drinke water therto: his horse shall eat green wood, and such like baggage, and shall stand open in the cold field without couert, and yet wil he labour and serue him right wel. I pray you amongst all our boasting warriours how many should we find to endure the field with them but one moneth. I know no such region about vs that beareth that name for man and beast. Now what might be made of these men if they were trained and broken to order and knowledge of ciuill wars? If this Prince had within his countreys such men as could make them to vnderstand ye things aforesaid, I do beleeue that 2 of the best or greatest princes in Christendome were not wel able to match with him, considering the greatnes of his power and the hardnes of his people and straite liuing both of people and horse, and the small charges which his warres stand him in: for he giueth no wages, except to strangers. They haue a yerely stipend and not much. As for his own countrey men euery one serueth of his owne proper costes and charges, sauing that he giueth to his Harcubisiers certaine allowance for powder and shot: or else no man in all his countrey hath one pennie wages. But if any man hath done very good seruice he giueth him a ferme or a piece of lande; for the which hee is bound at all times to be readie with so many men as the Duke shall appoynt: who considereth in his mind what that lande or ferme is well able to finde: and so many shall he bee bound to furnish at all and euery such time as warres are holden in any of the Dukes dominions. For there is no man of liuing, but hee is bound likewise, whether the Duke call for either souldier or labourer, to furnish them with all such necessaries as to them belong.

Also, if any gentleman or man of liuing do die without issue male, immediately after his death the Duke entreth his land, notwithstanding he haue neuer so many daughters, and peraduenture giueth it foorthwith to another man, except a small portion that he spareth to marrie the daughters with all. Also if there be a rich man, a fermour, or man of liuing, which is stricken in age or by chance is maimed, and be not able to doe the Duke seruice, some other gentleman that is not able to liue and more able to doe seruice, will come to the Duke and complayne, saying, your Grace hath such an one, which is vnmeete to doe seruice to your Highnes, who hath great abundance of welth, and likewise your Grace hath many gentlemen which are poore and lacke liuing, and we that lacke are well able to doe good seruice, your grace might doe well to looke vpon him, and make him to helpe those that want. Immediately the Duke sendeth forth to inquire of his wealth: and if it be so proued, he shall be called before the Duke, and it shall bee sayd vnto him, friend, you haue too much liuing, and are vnseruiceable to your prince, lesse will serue you, and the rest will serue other men that are more able to serue, whereupon immediately his liuing shall be taken away from him, sauing a little to find himselfe and his wife on, and he may not once repine thereat: but for answere he will say, that he hath nothing, but it is Gods and the Dukes Graces, and cannot say, as we the common people in England say, if wee haue any thing; that is God's and our owne. Men may say, that these men are in wonderfull great awe, and obedience, that thus one must giue and grant his goods which he hath bene scraping and scratching for all his life to be at his Princes pleasure and commandement. Oh that our sturdie rebels were had in the like subiection to knowe their duety towarde their Princes. They may not say as some snudges in England say, I would find the Queene a man to serue in my place, or make his friends tarrie at home if money haue the vpper hand. No, no, it is not so in this countrey: for hee shall make humble sute to serue the Duke. And whom he sendeth most to the warres he thinketh he is most in his fauour: and yet as I before haue sayde, hee giueth no wages. If they knewe their strength no man were able to make match with them: nor they that dwel neere them should haue any rest of them. But I thinke it is not Gods will: for I may compare them to a young horse that knoweth not his strength: whome a little childe ruleth and guideth with a bridle, for all his great strength: for if he did, neither childe nor man could rule him. Their warres are holden against the Crimme Tartarians and the Nagaians.

I will stand no longer in the rehearsall of their power and warres. For it were too tedious to the reader. But I will in part declare their lawes, and punishments, and the execution of iustice. And first I will begin with the commons of the countrey, which the gentlemen haue rule on: And that is, that euery gentleman hath rule and iustice vpon his owne tenants. And if it so fall out that two gentlemens seruants and tenaunts doe disagree, the two gentlemen examine the matter, and haue the parties before them, and soe giue the sentence. And yet cannot they make the ende betwixt them of the controuersie, but either of the gentlemen must bring his seruant or tenant before the high iudge or iustice of that countrey, and there present them, and declare the matter and case. The plaintife sayth, I require the law: which is graunted: then commeth an officer and arresteth the party defendant, and vseth him contrarie to the lawes of England. For when they attach any man they beate him about the legges, vntill such time as he findeth sureties to answere the matter: And if not, his handes and necke are bound together, and he is led about the towne and beaten aboute the legges, with other extreme punishments till he come to his answere: And the Iustice demaundeth if it be for debt, and sayth: Owest thou this man any such debt? He will perhaps say nay. Then sayth the Iudge: art thou able to denie it? Let vs heare how? By othe sayth the defendant. Then he commandeth to leaue beating him till further triall be had.

Their order in one point is commendable. They haue no man of Lawe to plead their causes in any court: but euery man pleadeth his owne cause, and giueth bill and answere in writing: contrarie to the order in England. The complaint is in maner of a supplication, and made to the Dukes grace, and deliuered him into his owne hand, requiring to haue iustice as in his complaint is alleadged.

The Duke giueth sentence himselfe vpon all matters in the Law.

Which is very commendable, that such a Prince wil take paines to see ministration of iustice. Yet nowithstanding it is wonderfully abused: and thereby the Duke is much deceiued. But if it fall out that the officers be espied in cloking the trueth, they haue most condigne punishment. And if the plaintife can nothing prooue, then the defendant must take his oth vpon the crucifixe whether he be in the right or no. Then is demanded if the plaintife be any thing able further to make proof: if hee bee not; then sometimes he will say, I am able to prooue it by my body and hands, or by my champions body, so requiring the Campe. After the other hath his othe, it is graunted aswell to the one as to the other. So when they goe to the field, they sweare vpon the Crucifixe, that they be both in the right, and that the one shall make the other to confesse the trueth before they depart foorth of the field: and so they goe both to the battell armed with such weapons as they vse in that countrey: they fight all on foote, and seldome the parties themselues do fight, except they be Gentlemen, for they stand much vpon their reputation, for they wil not fight, but with such as are come of as good an house as themselues. So that if either partie require the combate, it is granted vnto them, and no champion is to serue in their room: wherein is no deceit: but otherwise by champions there is. For although they take great othes vpon them to doe the battell truely, yet is the contrarie often seene: because the common champions haue none other liuing. And assoone as the one partie hath gotten the victorie, he demandeth the debt, and the other is carried to prison, and there is shamefully vsed tiil he take order. There is also another order in the lawe, that the plaintife may sweare in some causes of debt. And if the partie defendant be poore, he shalbe set vnder the Crucifixe, and the partie plaintife must sweare ouer his head, and when hee hath taken his othe, the Duke taketh the partie defendant home to his house, and vseth him as his bond-man, and putteth him to labour, or letteth him for hier to any such as neede him, vntill such time as his friends make prousion for his redemption: or else hee remaineth in bondage all the dayes of his life. Againe there are many that will sell themselues to Gentlemen or Marchants to bee their bond-men, to haue during their life meate, drinke and cloth, and at their comming to haue a piece of mony, yea and some will sell their wiues and children to be bawdes and drudges to the byer. Also they haue a Lawe for Fellons and Pickers contrary to the Lawes of England. For by their law they can hang no man for his first offence; but may keepe him long in prison, and oftentimes beate him with whips and other punishment: and there he shall remaine vntill his friends be able to bayle him. If he be a picker or a cut-purse, as there be very many, the second time he is taken, he hath a piece of his nose cut off, and is burned in the forehead, and kept in prison till hee finde sureties for his good behauiour. And if he be taken the third time, he is hanged. And at the first time he is extremely punished and not released, except hee haue very good friends, or that some Gentleman require to haue him to the warres: And in so doing, he shall enter into great bonds for him: by which meanes the countrey is brought into good quietnesse. But they be naturally giuen to great deceit, except extreme beating did bridle them. They be naturally giuen to hard liuing aswell in fare as in lodging. I heard a Russian say, that it was a great deale merrier liuing in prison then foorth, but for the great beating. For they haue meate and drinke without any labour, and get the charitie of well disposed people: But being at libertie they get nothing. The poore is very innumerable, and liue most miserably: for I haue seene them eate the pickle of Hearring and other stinking fish : nor the fish cannot be so stinking nor rotten, but they will eate it and praise it to be more wholesome then other fish or fresh meate. In mine opinion there be no such people vnder the sunne for their hardnesse of liuing. Well, I will leaue them in this poynt, and will in part declare their Religion. They doe obserue the lawe of the Greekes with such excesse of superstition, as the like hath not bene heard of. They haue no grauen images in their Churches, but all painted, to the intent they will not breake the commandement: but to their painted images they vse such idolatrie, that the like was neuer heard of in England. They will neither worship nor honour any image that is made forth of their owne countrey. For their owne images (say they) haue pictures to declare what they be, and howe they be of God, and so be not ours: They say, Looke how the Painter or Caruer hath made them, so we doe worship them, and they worship none before they be Christened. They say we be but halfe Christians: because we obserue not part of the olde Law with the Turks. Therefore they call themselues more holy then vs. They haue none other learning but their mother tongue, nor will suffer no other in their countrey among them. All their seruice in Churches is in their mother tongue. They haue the olde and newe Testament, which are daily read among them: and yet their superstition is no lesse. For when the Priests doe reade, they haue such tricks in their reading, that no man can vnderstand them, nor no man giueth eare to them. For all the while the Priest readeth, the people sit downe and one talke with another. But when the Priest is at seruice no man sitteth, but gagle and ducke like so many Geese. And as for their prayers they haue but little skill, but vse to say *As bodi pomele:* As much to say, Lord haue mercy vpon me. For the tenth man within the land cannot say the Pater noster. And as for the Creede, no man may be so bolde as to meddle therewith but in the Church: for they say it shoulde not bee spoken of, but in the Churches. Speake to them of the Commandements, and they will say they were giuen to Moses in the law, which Christ hath now abrogated by his precious death and passion: therefore, (say they) we obserue little or none thereof. And I doe beleeue them. For if they were examined of their Lawe and Commaundements together, they shoulde agree but in fewe poynts. They haue the Sacrament of the Lords Supper in both kindes, and more ceremonies then wee haue. They present them in a dish in both kindes together, and carrie them rounde about the Church vpon the Priestes head, and so doe minister at all such times as any shall require. They be great offerers of Candles, and sometimes of money, which wee call in England, Soule pense, with more ceremonies then I am able to declare. They haue foure Lents in the yeere, whereof our Lent is the greatest. Looke as we doe begin on the Wednesday, so they doe on the Munday before: And the weeke before that they call The Butter weeke: And in that weeke they eate nothing but Butter and milke. Howbeit I beleeue there bee in no other countrey the like people for drunkennesse. The next Lent is called Saint Peters Lent, and beginneth alwayes the Munday next after Trinitie sunday, and endeth on Saint Peters euen. If they should breake that fast, their beliefe is, that they should not come in at heauen gates. And when any of them die, they haue a testimoniall with them in the Coffin, that when the soule commeth to heauen gates it may deliuer the same to Saint Peter, which declareth that the partie is a true and holy Russian. The third Lent beginneth fifteene dayes before the later Lady day, and endeth on our Lady Eeuen. The fourth Lent beginneth on Saint Martin's day, and endeth on Christmas Eeuen: which Lent is fasted for Saint Philip, Saint Peter, Saint Nicholas, and Saint Clement. For they foure be the principall and greatest Saints in that Countrey. In these

Lents they eate neither Butter, Egges, Milke, or Cheese; but they are very straitely kept with Fish, Cabbages, and Rootes. And out of their Lents, they obserue truely the Wednesdayes and Fridayes throughout the yeere: and on the Saturday they doe eate flesh. Furthermore they haue a great number of Religious men: which are blacke Monks, and they eate no flesh throughout the yeere, but fish, milke and Butter. By their order they should eate no fresh-fish, and in their Lents they eate nothing but Coleworts, Cabbages, salt Cowcumbers, with other rootes, as Radish and such like. Their drinke is like our peny Ale, and is called Quass. They haue seruice daily in their Churches; and vse to goe to seruice two houres before day, and that is ended by day light. At nine of the clocke they goe to Masse: that ended, to dinner: and after that to seruice againe: and then to supper. You shall vnderstand that at euery dinner and supper they haue declared the exposition of the Gospel of that day: but howe they wrest and twine the Scripture and that together by report it is wonderfull. As for whoredome and drunkennesse there be none such liuing: and for extortion, they be the most abhominable under the sunne. Nowe iudge of their holinesse. They haue twise as much land as the Duke himselfe hath: but yet he is reasonable eeuen with them, as thus: When they take bribes of any of the poore and simple, he hath it by an order. When the Abbot of any of their houses dieth, then the Duke hath all his goods moueable and vnmoueable: so that the successour buieth all at the Dukes hands: and by this meane they be the best Fermers the Duke hath. Thus with their Religion I make an ende, trusting hereafter to know it better.

To the right worshipful and my singular good
Vncle, Master Christopher Frothingham,
giue these.

Sir, Reade and correct;
For great is the defect.

The Testimonie of M. Richard Eden in his decades, concerning the Booke following.

AND whereas (saith he) I haue before made mention howe Moscouie was in our time discouered by Richard Chanceler in his voyage toward Cathay, by the direction and information of M. Sebastian Cabota, who long before had this secret in his minde: I shall not neede here to describe that voyage, forasmuch as the same is largely and faithfully written in the Latine tongue, by that learned yong man Clement Adams, schoolemaster to the Queenes henshmen, as he receiued it at the mouth of the said Richard Chanceler.

The newe Nauigation and discouerie of the kingdome of Moscouia, by the Northeast, in the yeere 1553: Enterprised by Sir Hugh Willoughbie knight, and perfourmed by Richard Chancelor Pilot maior of the voyage: Written in Latine by Clement Adams.

AT what time our Marchants perceiued the commodities and wares of England to bee in small request with the countreys and people about vs, and neere vnto vs, and that those Marchandizes which strangers in the time and memorie of our auncesters did earnestly seeke and desire, were nowe neglected, and the price thereof abated, although by vs carried to their owne portes, and all forreine Marchandises in great accompt, and their prises wonderfully raised: certaine graue Citizens of London, and men of great wisedome, and carefull for the good of their Countrey, began to thinke with themselues, howe this mischiefe might bee remedied. Neither was a remedie (as it then appeared) wanting to their desires, for the auoyding of so great an inconvenience: for seeing that the wealth of the Spaniards and Portingales, by the discouerie and search of newe trades and Countreys was marueilously increased, supposing the same to be a course and meane for them also to obteine the like, they thereupon resolued vpon a newe and strange Nauigation. And whereas at the same time one Sebastian Cabota, a man in those dayes very renowmed, happened to bee in London, they began first of all to deale and consult diligently with him, and after much speech and conference together, it was at last concluded that three shippes should bee prepared and furnished out, for the search and discouerie of the Northerne part of the world, to open a way and passage to our men for trauaile to newe and vnknowen kingdomes.

And whereas many things seemed necessary to bee regarded in this so hard and difficult a matter, they first make choyse of certaine graue and wise persons in maner of a Senate or companie, which should lay their heads together, and giue their iudgments, and prouide things requisite and profitable for all occasions: by this companie it was thought expedient, that a certaine summe of money should publiquely bee collected to serue for the furnishing of so many shippes. And lest any priuate man should bee too much oppressed and charged, a course was taken that euery man willing to be of the societie, should disburse the portion of twentie and fiue pounds a piece: so that in short time by this meanes the summe of sixe thousand pounds being gathered, the three shippes were bought, the most part whereof they prouided to be newly built and trimmed. But in this action, I wote not whether I may more admire the care of the Marchants, or the diligence of the Shipwrights: for the Marchants, they get very strong and well seasoned plankes for the building, the Shippewrights, they with daily trauaile, and their greatest skill doe fitte them for the dispatch of the shippes: they calke them, pitch them, and among the rest, they make one most stanch and firme, by an excellent and ingenious inuention. For they had heard that in certaine parts of the Ocean, a kinde of wormes is bredde, which many times pearceth and eateth through the strongest oake that is: and therfore that the Mariners, and the rest to bee imployed in this voyage might bee free and safe from this danger, they couer a piece of the keele of the shippe with thinne sheetes of leade: and hauing thus built the ships, and furnished them with armour and artillerie, then followed a second care no lesse troublesome and necessarie then the former, namely, the prouision of victuals, which was to be made according to the time and length of the voyage. And whereas they afore determined to haue the East part of the world sayled vnto, and yet that the sea towards the same was not open, except they kept the Northern tract, whereas yet it was doubtfull whether there were any passage yea or no, they resolued to victuall the ships for eighteene moneths, which they did for this reason. For our men being to passe that huge and colde part of the world, they wisely foreseeing it, allowe them sixe moneths victuall to saile to the place, so much more to remaine there if the extremitie of the winter hindered their returne, and so much more also for the time of their comming home.

Nowe this prouision being made and caried aboord, with armour and munition of all sorts, sufficient Captaines and gouernours of so great an enterprise were as yet wanting: to which office and place, although many men, (and some voyde of experience) offered themselues, yet one Sir Hugh Willoughbie a most valiant Gentleman, and well borne, very earnestly requested to haue that care and charge committed vnto him: of whom before all others, both by reason of his goodly personage (for he was of a tall stature) as also for his singular skill in the seruices of warre, the company of the Marchants made greatest accompt: so that at the last they concluded and made choyce of him for the Generall of this voyage, and appoynted him to the Admirall with authoritie and command ouer all the rest. And for the gouernement of other ships although diuers men seemed willing, and made offers of themselues thereunto, yet by a common consent one Richard Chanceler, a man of great estimation for many good partes of wit in him, was elected, in whom alone great hope for the performance of this businesse rested. This man was brought vp by one Master Henry Sidney, a noble young Gentleman and very much beloued of King Edward, who at this time comming to the place where the Marchants were gathered together, beganne a very eloquent speech or Oration, and spake to them after this maner following.

My very worshipfull friends, I cannot but greatly commend your present godly and vertuous intention, in the serious enterprising (for the singular loue you beare to your Countrey) a matter, which (I hope) will prooue profitable for this nation, and honourable to this our land. Which intention of yours wee also of the Nobilitie are ready to our power to helpe and further: neither doe wee holde any thing so deare and precious vnto vs, which wee will not willingly forgoe, and lay out in so commendable a cause. But principally I reioyce in my selfe, that I haue nourished and maintained that witte, which is like by some meanes and in some measure, to profite and steede you in this worthy action. But yet I would not haue you ignorant of this one thing, that I doe now part with Chanceler, not because I make little reckoning of the man, or that his maintenance is burdenous and chargeable vnto mee, but that you might conceiue and vnderstand my good will and promptitude for the furtherance of this businesse, and that the authoritie and estimation which hee deserueth may be giuen him. You know the man by report, I by experience, you by wordes, I by deedes, you by speech and companie, but I by the daily triall of his life haue a full and perfect knowledge of him. And you are also to remember, into howe many perils for your sakes, and his countreys loue, he is nowe to runne: whereof it is requisite that wee be not vnmindefull, if it please God to send him good successe. Wee commit a little money to the chaunce and hazard of Fortune: He commits his life (a thing to a man of all things most deare) to the raging Sea, and the vncertainties of many dangers. We shall here liue and rest at home quietly with our friends, and acquaintance: but hee in the meane time labouring to keepe the ignorant and vnruly Mariners in good order and obedience, with howe many cares shall hee trouble and vexe himselfe? with how many troubles shall he breake himselfe? and howe many disquietings shall hee bee forced to sustaine? We shall keepe our owne coastes and countrey: Hee shall seeke strange and vnknowen kingdomes. He shall commit his safetie to barbarous and cruell people, and shall hazard his life amongst the monstrous and terrible beastes of the Sea. Wherefore in respect of the greatnesse of the dangers, and the excellencie of his charge, you are to fauour and loue the man thus departing from vs: and if it fall so happily out that hee returne againe, it is your part and duetie also, liberally to reward him.

After that this noble yong Getleman had deliuered this or some such like speech, much more eloquently then I can possiblie report it, the companie then present beganne one to looke vpon another, one to question and conferre with another: and some (to whom the vertue and sufficiencie of the man was knowen) began secretly to reioyce with themselues, and to conceiue a speciall hope, that the man would prooue in time very rare and excellent, and that his vertues already appearing and shining to the world woulde growe to the great honour and aduancement of this kingdome.

After all this, the companie growing to some silence, it seemed good to them that were of greatest grauity amongst them, to inquire, search and seeke what might be learned and knowen, concerning the Easterly part or tract of the world. For which cause two Tartarians, which were then of the kings Stable, were sent for, and an interpreter was gotten to be present, by whom they were demaunded touching their Countrey and the maners of their nation. But they were able to answere nothing to the purpose: being in deede more acquainted (as one there merily and openly said) to tosse pottes, then to learne the states and dispositions of people. But after much adoe and many things passed about this matter, they grew at last to this issue, to set downe and appoynt a time for the departure of the shippes: because diuers were of opinion, that a great part of the best time of the yeere was already spent, and if the delay grewe longer, the way would bee stopt and bard by the force of the Ice, and the colde climate: and therefore it was thought best by the opinion of them all, that by the twentieth day of May,* the Captaines and Mariners should take shipping, and depart from Radcliffe vpon the ebbe, if it pleased God. They hauing saluted their acquaintance, one his wife, another his children, another his kinsfolkes, and another his friends deerer then his kinsfolkes, were present and ready at the day appoynted: and hauing wayed ancre, they departed with the turning of the water, and sailing easily, came first to Greenewich. The greater shippes are towed downe with boates, and oares, and the mariners being all apparelled in Watchet or skie coloured cloth, rowed amaine, and made way with diligence. And being come neere to Greenewich, (where the Court then lay) presently vpon the newes therof, the Courtiers came running out, and the common people flockt together, standing very thicke vpon the shoare: the priuie Counsel, they lookt out at the windowes of the Court, and the rest ranne vp to the toppes of the towers: the shippes hereupon discharge their Ordinance, and shoot off their pieces after the maner of warre, and of the sea, insomuch that the tops of the hilles sounded therewith, the valleys and the waters gaue an Eccho, and the Mariners, they shouted in such sort, that the skie rang againe with the noyse thereof. One stoode in the poope of the ship, and by his gesture bids farewell to his friendes in the best maner hee could. Another walkes vpon the hatches, another climbes the shrowds, another stands vpon the maine yard, and another in the top of the shippe. To be short, it was a very triumph (after a sort) in all respects to the beholders. But (alas) the good King Edward (in respect of whom principally all this was prepared) hee onely by reason of his sickenesse was absent from this shewe, and not long after the departure of these ships, the lamentable and most sorrowfull accident of his death followed.

But to proceede in the matter.

The shippes going downe with the tyde came at last to Woolwich, where they stayed and cast ancre, with purpose to depart therehence againe, as soone as the turning of the water, and a better winde should draw them to set saile. After this they departed and came to Harwich, in which porte they stayed long, not without great losse and consuming of time: yet at the last with a good winde they hoysed vp saile, and committed themselues to the sea, giuing their last adieu to their natiue Countrey, which they knewe not whether they should euer returne to see againe or not. Many of them looked oftentimes back, and could not refraine from teares, considering into what hazards they were to fall, and what vncertainties of the sea they were to make triall of.

---

* They departed from Ratcliffe, the 20. of May, 1553.—*Marginal note.*

Amongst the rest, Richard Chanceler the Captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, was not a little grieued with the feare of wanting victuals, part whereof was found to be corrupt and putrified at Harwich, and the hoggesheads of wine also leaked, and were not stanch: his naturall and fatherly affection also somewhat troubled him, for he left behinde him his two little sonnes, which were in the case of Orphanes if he spedde not well: the estate also of his companie mooued him to care, being in the former respects after a sort vnhappie, and were to abide with himselfe euery good or badde accident: but in the meane time while his minde was thus tormented with the multiplicitie of sorrows and cares, after many dayes sayling, they kenned land afarre off, whereunto the Pilots directed the ships: and being come to it, they land, and find it to be Rost Island, where they stayed certaine dayes, and afterwards set saile againe, and proceeding towards the North, they espied certaine other Islands, which were called the Crosse of Islands. From which places when they were a little departed, Sir Hugh Willoughby the General, a man of good foresight and prouidence in all his actions, erected and set out his flagge, by which hee called together the chiefest men of the other shippes, that by the helpe and assistance of their counsels, the order of the gouernement, and conduction of the shippes in the whole voyage might bee the better: who being come together accordingly, they conclude and agree, that if any great tempest should arise at any time, and happen to disperse and scatter them, euery shippe should indeuour his best to goe to Wardhouse, a hauen, or castell of some name in the kingdome of Norway, and that they that arriued there first in safetie should stay and expect the comming of the rest.

The very same day in the afternoone, about foure of the clocke, so great a tempest suddenly arose, and the Seas were so outrageous, that the ships could not keepe their intended course, but some were perforce driuen one way, and some another way, to their great perill and hazard: The generall with his lowdest voyce cried out to Richard Chanceler, and earnestly requested him not to goe farre from him: but hee neither would nor could keepe companie with him, if he sailed still so fast: for the Admirall was of better saile then his shippe. But the said Admirall (I knowe not by what meanes) bearing all his sailes, was caried away with so great force and swiftnesse, that not long after hee was quite out of sight, and the third ship also with the same storme and like rage was dispersed and lost vs.

The shippe boate of the Admirall (striking against the shippe,) was ouerwhelmed in the sight and viewe of the Mariners of the Bonauenture: and as for them that are already returned and arriued, they know nothing of the rest of the ships what was become of them.

But if it be so, that any miserable mishap haue ouertaken them, If the rage and furie of the Sea haue deuoured those good men, or if as yet they liue, and wander vp and downe in strange Countreys, I must needs say they were men worthy of better fortune, and if they be liuing, let vs wish them safetie and a good returne: but if the crueltie of death hath taken holde of them, God send them a Christian graue and Sepulchre.

Nowe Richard Chanceler with his shippe and company being thus left alone, and become very pensiue, heauie, and sorrowfull, by this dispersion of the Fleete, hee (according to the order before taken,) shapeth his course for Wardhouse in Norway, there to expect and abide the arriuall of the rest of the shippes. And being come thither, and hauing stayed there the space of 7. dayes, and looked in vaine for their comming, hee determined at length to proceede alone in the purposed voyage. And as hee was preparing himselfe to depart, it happened that hee fell in company and speech with certaine Scottishmen: who hauing vnderstanding of his intention, and wishing well to his actions, beganne earnestly to disswade him from the further prosecution of the discouerie, by amplifying the dangers which hee was to fall into, and omitted no reason that might serue to that purpose But hee holding nothing so ignominious and reproachfull, as inconstancie and leuitie of minde, and perswading himselfe that a man of valour coulde not commit a more dishonourable part then for feare of danger to auoyde and shunne great attempts, was nothing at all changed or discouraged with the speeches and words of the Scots, remaining stedfast and immutable in his first resolution: determining either to bring that to passe which was intended, or els to die the death.

And as for them which were with Master Chanceler in his shippe, although they had great cause of discomfort by the losse of their companie (whom the foresaid tempest had separated from them,) and were not a little troubled with cogitations and pertubations of minde, in respect of their doubtfull course: yet notwithstanding, they were of such consent and agreement of minde with Master Chanceler, that they were resolute, and prepared vnder his direction and gouernment, to make proofe and triall of all aduentures, without all feare or mistrust of future dangers. Which constancie of minde in all the companie did exceedingly increase their Captaines carefulnesse: for hee being swallowed vp with like good will and loue towards them, feared lest through any errour of his, the safetie of the companie should bee indangered. To conclude, when they sawe their desire and hope of the arriuall of the rest of the shippes to be euery day more and more frustrated, they prouided to sea againe, and Master Chanceler held on his course towards that vnknowen part of the world, and sailed so farre, that hee came at last to the place where he found no night at all, but a continual light and brightnesse of the Sunne shining clearely vpon the huge and mightie Sea. And hauing the benefite of this perpetuall light for certaine dayes, at the length it pleased God to bring them into a certaine great Bay,* which was of one hundreth miles or thereabout ouer. Whereinto they entred, and somewhat farre within it cast ancre, and looking euery way about them, it happened that they espied a farre off a certaine fisher boate, which Master Chanceler, accompanied with a fewe of his men, went towards to common with the fishermen that were in it, and to knowe of them what Countrey it was, and what people, and of what maner of liuing they were: but they beeing amazed with the strange greatnesse of his shippe, (for in those partes before that time they had neuer seene the like) beganne presently to auoyde and to flee: but hee still following them at last ouertooke them, and being come to them, they (being in great feare, as men halfe dead) prostrated themselues before him, offering to kisse his feete: but hee (according to his great and singular courtesie,) looked pleasantly vpon them, comforting them by signes and gestures, refusing those dueties and reuerences of theirs, and taking them vp in all louing sort from the ground. And it is strange to consider howe much fauour afterwards in that place, this humanitie of his did purchase to himselfe. For they being dismissed spread by and by a report abroad of the arriuall of a strange nation, of a singular gentlenesse and courtesie: whereupon the common people came together offering to these newe-come ghests victuals freely, and not refusing to traffique with them, except they had bene bound by a certaine religious vse and custome, not to buy any forreine commodities, without the knowledge and consent of the king.

---

* They arriue in the Bay of Saint Nicholas.—*Marginal Note.*

By this time our men had learned that this Countrey was called Russia, or Moscouie, and that Iuan Vasiliwich (which was at that time their Kings name) ruled and gouerned farre and wide in those places. And the barbarous Russes asked likewise of our men whence they were, and what they came for: whereunto answere was made, that they were Englishmen sent into those coastes, from the most excellent King Edward the sixt, hauing from him in commandement certaine things to deliuer to their King, and seeking nothing els but his amitie and friendship, and traffique with his people, whereby they doubted not, but that great commoditie and profit would grow to the subiects of both kingdomes.

The Barbarians heard these things very gladly, and promised their aide and furtherance to acquaint their king out of hand with so honest and a reasonable request.

In the meane time Master Chanceler intreated victuals for his money of the gouernour of that place (who together with others came aboord him) and required hostages of them likewise for the more assurance of safetie to himselfe and his company. To whom the gouernours answered, that they knewe not in that case the will of their king, but yet were willing in such things as they might lawfully doe, to pleasure him: which was as then to affoord him the benefit of victuals.

Nowe while these things were a doing, they secretly sent a messenger vnto the Emperour, to certifie him of the arriuall of a strange nation, and withall to knowe his pleasure concerning them. Which message was very welcome vnto him, insomuch that voluntarily he inuited them to come to his Court. But if by reason of the tediousnesse of so long a iourney, they thought it not best so to doe, then hee graunted libertie to his subiects to bargaine, and to traffique with them: and further promised, that if it would please then to come to him, hee himselfe would beare the whole charges of poste horses. In the meane time the gouernours of the place differred the matter from day to day, pretending diuers excuses, and saying one while that the consent of all the gouernours, and another while, that the great and waightie affaires of the kingdome compelled them to differ their answere: and this they did of purpose, so long to protract the time, vntill the messenger (sent before to the king) did returne with relation of his will and pleasure.

But Master Chanceler, (seeing himselfe held in this suspense with long and vaine expectation, and thinking that of intention to delude him, they posted the matter off so often,) was very instant with them to performe their promise: Which if they would not doe, hee tolde them that hee would depart and proceede in his voyage. So that the Moscouites (although as yet they knew not the minde of their king) yet fearing the departure in deede of our men who had such wares and commodities as they greatly desired, they at last resolued to furnish our people with all things necessarie, and to conduct them by land to the presence of their king. And so Master Chanceler beganne his iourney, which was very long and most troublesome, wherein hee had the vse of certaine sleds, and all their carriages are in the same sort, the people almost not knowing any other maner of carriage, the cause whereof is the exceeding hardnesse of the ground congealed in the winter time by the force of the colde, which in those places is very extreme and horrible, whereof hereafter we will say something.

But nowe they hauing passed the greater part of their iourney, mette at last with the Sleddeman (of whom I spake before) sent to the king secretly from the Iustices or gouernours, who by some ill happe had lost his way, and had gone to the Sea side, which is neere to the Countrey of the Tartars thinking there to haue found our ship. But hauing long erred and wandered out of his way, at the last in his direct returne, hee met (as hee was coming) our Captaine on the way. To whom hee by and by deliuered the Emperours letters, which were written to him with all courtesie and in the most louing maner that could be: wherein expresse commandement was giuen, that post horses should bee gotten for him and the rest of his company without any money. Which thing was of all the Russes in the rest of their iourney so willingly done, that they began to quarrell, yea, and to fight also in striuing and contending which of them should put their post horses to the sledde: so that after much adoe and great paines taken in this long and wearie iourney, (for they had trauelled very neere fifteene hundred miles) Master Chanceler came at last to Mosco the chiefe citie of the kingdome, and the seate of the king: of which citie, and of the Emperour himselfe, and of the principall cities of Moscouie, wee will speake immediately more at large in this discourse.

Of Moscouie, which is also called Russia.

MOscouie, which hath the name also of Russia the white, is a very large and spacious Countrey, euery way bounded with diuers nations. Towards the South and the East, it is compassed with Tartaria: the Northren side of it stretcheth to the Scytian Ocean: vpon the West part border the Lappians, a rude and sauage nation, liuing in woods, whose language is not knowen to any other people: next vnto these, more towards the South, is Swecia, then Finlandia, then Liuonia, and last of all Lituania. This Countrey of Moscouie, hath also very many and great riuers in it, and is marish ground in many places: and as for the riuers, the greatest and most famous amongst all the rest, is that, which the Russes in their owne tongue call Volga, but others know it by the name of Rha. Next vnto it in fame is Tanais, which they call Don, and the third Boristhenes which at this day they call Neper. Two of these, to wit, Rha, and Boristhenes yssuing both out of one fountaine, runne very farre through the land: Rha receiving many other pleasant riuers into it, and running from the very head or spring of it towards the East, after many crooked turnings and windings, dischargeth it selfe, and all the other waters and riuers that fall into it by diuers passages into the Caspian Sea. Tanais springing from a fountaine of great name in those partes, and growing great neere to his head, spreds it selfe at length very largely, and makes a great lake: and then growing narrowe againe, doth so runne for certaine miles, vntill it fall into another lake, which they call Iuan: and therehence fetching a very crooked course, comes very neere to the riuer Volga: but disdaining as it were the company of any other riuer, doth there turne it selfe againe from Volga, and runnes toward the South, and fals at last into the Lake of Mœotis. Boristhenes, which comes from the same head that Rha doth, (as wee sayde before) carieth both it selfe, and other waters that are neere vnto it, towards the South, not refusing the mixture of other small riuers: and running by many great and large Countreys fals at last into Pontius Euxinus. Besides these riuers, are also in Muscovie certaine lakes, and pooles, the lakes breede fish by the celestiall influence: and amongst them all, the chiefest and most principall is called Bealozera, which is very famous by reason of a very strong towre built in it, wherein the kings of Muscovie reserue and repose their treasure in all times of warre and danger.

Touching the Riphean mountaines, whereupon the snow lieth continually, and where hence in times past it was thought that Tanais the riuer did spring, and that the rest of the wonders of nature, which the Grecians fained and inuented of olde, were there to be seene: our men which lately came from thence, neither sawe them, not yet haue brought home any perfect relation of them, although they remained there for the space of three moneths, and had gotten in that time some intelligence of the language of Moscouie. The whole Countrey is plaine and champion, and few hils in it: and towards the North it hath very large and spacious woods, wherein is great store of Firre trees, a wood very necessarie, and fit for the building of houses: there are also wilde beastes bred in those woods, as Buffes, Beares, and blacke Wolues, and another kinde of beast vnknowen to vs, but called by them Rossomakka: and the nature of the same is very rare and wonderfull: for when it is great with yong, and ready to bring foorth, it seeketh out some narrow place betweene two stakes, and so going through them, presseth it selfe, and by that meanes is eased of her burden, which otherwise could not be done. They hunt their buffes for the most part a horsebacke, but their Beares a foot, with woodden forkes. The north parts of the Countrey are reported to be so cold, that the very ice or water which distilleth out of the moist wood which they lay upon the fire is presently congealed and frozen: the diuersitie growing suddenly to be so great, that in one and the selfe same firebrand, a man shall see both fire and ice. When the winter doth once begin there it doth still more and more increase by a perpetuitie of cold: neither doth that colde slake, vntill the force of the Sunne beames doth dissolue the cold, and make glad the earth, returning to it againe. Our mariners which we left in the ship in the meane time to keepe it, in their going vp onely from their cabbins to the hatches, had their breath oftentimes so suddenly taken away, that they eftsoones fell downe as men very neere dead, so great is the sharpenesse of that colde climate: but as for the South parts of the Countrey, they are somewhat more temperate.

◆

Of Mosco the chiefe Citie of the kingdome, and of the Emperour thereof.

It remaineth that a larger discourse be made of Mosco, the principall City of that Countrey, and of the Prince also, as before we haue promised. The Empire and gouernment of the king is very large, and his wealth at this time exceeding great. And because the citie of Mosco is the chiefest of al the rest, it seemeth of it selfe to challenge the first place in this discourse. Our men say, that in bignesse it is as great as the Citie of London, with the suburbes thereof. There are many and great buildings in it, but for beautie and fairenesse, nothing comparable to ours. There are many Townes and Villages also, but built out of order, and with no hansomnesse: their streets and wayes are not paued with stone as ours are: the walles of their houses are of wood: the roofes for the most part are couered with shingle boords. There is hard by the Citie a very faire Castle, strong, and furnished with artillerie, whereunto the Citie is ioyned directly towards the North, with a bricke wall: the walles also of the Castle are built with bricke, and are in breadth or thickenesse eighteene foote. This Castle hath on the one side a drie ditch, on the other side the riuer Moscua, whereby it is made almost inexpugnable. The same Moscua trending towards the East doth admit into it the companie of the riuer Occa.

In the Castle aforesaide, there are in number nine Churches, or Chappells, not altogether vnhansome, which are vsed and kept by certaine religious men, ouer whom there is after a sort, a Patriarke, or Gouernour, and with him other reuerend Fathers all which for the greater part, dwell within the Castle. As for the kings Court and Palace, it is not of the neatest, onely in forme it is foure square, and of low building, much surpassed and excelled by the beautie and elegancie of the houses of the kings of England. The windowes are very narrowly built, and some of them by glasse, some other by lettisses admit the light: and whereas the Palaces of our Princes are decked, and adorned with hangings of cloth of gold, there is none such there: they build and ioyne to all their wals benches, and that not onely in the Court of the Emperour, but in all priuate mens houses.

Nowe after that they had remained about twelue dayes in the Citie there was then a Messenger sent vnto them, to bring them to the Kings house: and they being after a sort wearied with their long stay, were very ready, and willing so to doe: and being entred within the gates of the Court, there sate a very honorable companie of Courtiers, to the number of one hundred, all apparelled in cloth of golde, downe to their ankles: and therehence being conducted into the chamber of presence, our men beganne to wonder at the Maiestie of the Emperour: his seate was aloft, in a very royall throne, hauing on his head a Diademe, or Crowne of golde, apparalled with a robe all of Goldsmiths worke, and in his hand hee held a Scepter garnished, and beset with precious stones: and besides all other notes and apparances of honour, there was a Maiestie in his countenance proportionable with the excellencie of his estate: on the one side of him stood his chiefe Secretarie, on the other side, the great Commander of silence, both of them arayed also in cloth of gold: and then there sate the Counsel of one hundred and fiftie in number, all in like sort arayed, and of great State. This so honorable an assemblie, so great a Maiestie of the Emperour, and of the place might very well haue amazed our men, and haue dasht them out of countenance: but notwithstanding Master Chanceler being therewithall nothing dismaied saluted, and did his duetie to the Emperour, after the maner of England, and withall, deliuered vnto him the letters of our king, Edward the sixt. The Emperour hauing taken, and read the letters, began a litle to question with them, and to aske them of the welfare of our king: whereunto our men answered him directly, and in few words: hereupon our men presented some thing to the Emperour, by the chiefe Secretary, which at the deliuery of it, put of his hat, being before all the time couered: and so the Emperour hauing inuited them to dinner, dismissed them from his presence: and going into the chamber of him that was Master of the Requests to the Emperour, and hauing stayed there the space of two howres, at the last, the Messenger commeth, and calleth them to dinner: they goe, and being conducted into the golden Court, (for so they call it, although not very faire) they finde the Emperour sitting vpon an high and stately seate, apparelled with a robe of siluer, and with another Diademe on his head: our men being placed ouer against him, sit downe: in the middes of the roome stoode a mightie Cupboord vpon a square foote, whereupon stoode also a round boord, in manner of a Diamond, broade beneath, and towardes the toppe narrowe, and euery steppe rose vp more narrowe then another. Vpon this Cupboorde was placed the Emperours plate, which was so much, that the very Cupboord it selfe was scant able to sustaine the waight of it: the better part of all the vessels, and goblets, was made of very fine gold: and amongst the rest, there were foure pots of very large bignesse, which did adorne the rest of the plate in great measure: for they were so high, that they thought them at the least fiue foote long. There were also vpon this Cupbord certaine siluer caskes, not much differing from the quantitie of our Fyrkins, wherein was reserued the Emperours drinke: on each side of the Hall stood foure Tables, each of them layde and couered with very cleane table clothes, whereunto the company ascended by three steps or degrees: all which were filled with the assemblie present: the ghests were all apparelled with linnen without, and with rich skinnes within, and so did notably set out this royall feast. The Emperour, when hee takes any bread or knife in his hand, doth first of all crosse himselfe vpon his forehead: they that are in special fauour with the Emperour sit vpon the same bench with him, but somewhat farre from him: and before the comming in of the meate, the Emperour himselfe, according to an ancient custome of the kings of Moscouy, doth first bestow a piece of bread vpon euery one of his ghests, with a loud pronunciation of his title, and honour, in this manner: The great Duke of Moscouie, and chiefe Emperour of Russia, Iohn Basiliwich (and then the officer nameth the ghest) doth giue thee bread. Whereupon al the ghests rise vp, and by and by sit downe againe. This done, the Gentleman Vsher of the Hall comes in, with a notable company of seruants, carying the dishes, and hauing done his reuerence to the Emperour, puts a yong Swanne in a golden platter vpon the table, and immediately takes it thence againe, deliuering it to the Caruer, and seuen other of his fellowes, to be cut up: which being perfourmed, the meate is then distributed to the ghests, with the like pompe, and ceremonies. In the meane time, the Gentleman Vsher receiues his bread, and tasteth to the Emperour, and afterward, hauing done his reuerence, he departeth. Touching the rest of the dishes, because they were brought in out of order, our men can report no certaintie: but this is true, that all the furniture of dishes, and drinking vessels, which were then for the vse of a hundred ghests, was all of pure golde, and the tables were so laden with vessels of gold, that there was no roome for some to stand vpon them.

We may not forget, that there were 140. seruitors arayed in cloth of gold, that in the dinner time, changed thrise their habit and apparell, which seruitors are in like sort serued with bread from the Emperour, as the rest of the ghests. Last of all, dinner being ended, and candles brought in, (for by this time night was come) the Emperour calleth all his ghests and Noble Men by their names, in such sort, that it seemes miraculous, that a Prince, otherwise occupied in great matters of estate, should so well remember so many and sundry particular names. The Russes tolde our men, that the reason thereof, as also of the bestowing of bread in that maner, was to the ende that the Emperour might keepe the knowledge of his owne houshold: and withal, that such as are vnder his displeasure, might by this meanes be knowen.

Of the discipline of warre among the Russes.

WHensoeuer the iniuries of their neighbours doe call the King foorth to battell, hee neuer armeth a lesse number against the enemie, then 300. thousand soldiers, 100. thousand whereof hee carieth out into the field with him, and leaueth the rest in garison in some fit places, for the better safetie of his Empire. He presseth no husbandman, nor Marchant: for the Countrey is so populous, that these being left at home, the youth of the Realme is sufficient for all his wars. As many as goe out to warfare doe prouide all things of their owne cost: they fight not on foote, but altogether on horsebacke: their armour is a coate of maile, and a helmet: the coate of maile without is gilded, or els adorned with silke, although it pertaine to a common soldier: they haue a great pride in shewing their wealth: they vse bowes, and arrowes, as the Turks do: they cary lances also into the field. They ride with a short stirrop, after the maner of the Turks: They are a kinde of people most sparing in diet, and most patient in extremitie of cold, aboue all others. For when the ground is couered with snowe, and is growen terrible and hard with the frost, this Russe hangs vp his mantle, or souldiers coate, against that part from whence the winde and Snowe driues, and so making a little fire, lieth downe with his backe towards the weather: this mantle of his serues him for his bed, wall, house and all: his drinke is colde water of the riuer, mingled with oatemeale, and this is all his good cheere, and he thinketh himselfe well, and daintily fedde therewith, and so sitteth downe by his fire, and vpon the hard ground, rosteth as it were his wearie sides thus daintily stuffed: the hard ground is his feather bed, and some blocke or stone his pillow: and as for his horse, he is as it were a chamberfellow with his master, faring both alike. How iustly may this barbarous, and rude Russe condemne the daintinesse and nicenesse of our Captaines, who liuing in a soile and aire much more temperate, yet commonly vse furred boots, and clokes? But thus much of the furniture of their common souldiers. But those that are of higher degrees come into the field a little better prouided. As for the furniture of the Emperour himselfe, it is then aboue all other times, most notable. The couerings of his tent for the most part, are all of gold, adorned with stones of great price, and with the curious workemanship of plumasiers. As often as they are to skirmish with the enemie, they goe forth without any order at all: they make no wings, nor militarie diuisions of their men, as we doe, but lying for the most part, in ambush, doe suddenly set vpon the enemie. Their horses can well abstaine two whole daies from any meate. They feede vpon the barkes of trees, and the most tender branches, in all the time of warre. And this scant and miserable maner of liuing, both the horse and his Master can well endure, sometimes for the space of two moneths, lustie, and in good state of body. If any man behaue himselfe valiantly in the fielde, to the contentation of the Emperour, he bestoweth vpon him in recompense of his seruice, some farme, or so much ground as he and his may liue vpon, which notwithstanding after his death, returneth againe to the Emperour, if he die without a male issue. For although his daughters be neuer so many, yet no part of that inheritance comes to them, except peraduenture the Emperour of his goodnesse, giue some portion of the land amongst them, to bestowe them withall. As for the man, whosoeuer he be, that is in this sort rewarded by the Emperours liberalitie, hee is bound in a great summe, to maintaine so many souldiers for the warre, when need shall require, as that land, in the opinion of the Emperour, is able to maintaine. And all those, to whom any land fals by inheritance, are in no better condition: for if they die without any male issue, all their lands fall into the hands of the Emperour. And moreouer, if there be any rich man amongst them, who in his owne person is vnfit for the warres, and yet hath such wealth, that thereby many Noble men and warriours might be maintained, if any of the Courtiers present his name to the Emperour, the vnhappy man is by and by sent for, and in that instant, depriued of all his riches, which with great paines and trauell all his life time he had gotten together: except perhaps some small portion thereof be left him, to maintaine his wife, children and familie. But all this is done of all the people so willingly at the Emperours commandement, that a man would thinke, they rather make restitution of other mens goods, then giue that which is their owne to other men. Nowe the Emperour hauing taken these goods into his hands, bestoweth them among his Courtiers, according to their deserts: and the oftener that a man is sent to the warres, the more fauour he thinketh is borne to him by the Emperour, although he goe vpon his owne charge, as I said before. So great is the obedience of all men generally to their Prince.

Of the Ambassadours of the Emperour of Moscouie.

THe Moscouite, with no lesse pompe, and magnificence, then that which we haue spoken of, sends his Ambassadors to forrein Princes, in the affaires of estate. For while our men were abiding in the Citie of Mosco, there were two Ambassadors sent to the King of Poland, accompanied with 500. notable horses, and the greater part of the men were arrayed in cloth of gold, and of silke, and the worst apparell was of garments of blewe colour, to speake nothing of the trappings of the horses, which were adorned with gold and siluer, and very curiously embrodered: they had also with them one hundred white and faire spare horses, to vse them at such times, as any wearinesse came vpon them. But now the time requireth me to speake briefly of other Cities of the Moscouites, and of the wares and commodities that the Countrey yeeldeth.

Nouogorode.

NExt vnto Mosco, the Citie of Nouogorode is reputed the chiefest of Russia: for although it be in Maiestie inferior to it, yet in greatnesse it goeth beyond it. It is the chiefest and greatest Marte Towne of all Moscouie: and albeit the Emperour's seate is not there, but at Mosco, yet the commodiousness of the riuer, falling into the gulfe, which is called Sinus Finnicus, whereby it is well frequented by Marchants, makes it more famous then Mosco it selfe. This towne excels all the rest in the commodities of flaxe and hempe: It yeeldes also hides, honie, and waxe. The Flemings there sometimes had a house of Marchandize, but by reason that they vsed the like ill dealing there, which they did with vs, they lost their priuileges, a restitution whereof they earnestly sued for at the time that our men were there. But those Flemings hearing of the arriuall of our men in those parts, wrote their letters to the Emperour against them, accusing them for pirats and rouers, wishing him to detaine, and imprison them. Which things when they were knowen of our men, they conceiued feare, that they should neuer haue returned home. But the Emperour beleeuing rather the Kings letters, which our men brought, then the lying and false suggestions of the Flemings, vsed no ill intreatie towards them.

Yeraslaue.

YEraslaue also is a Towne of some good fame, for the commodities of hides, tallow, and corne, which it yeeldes in great abundance. Cakes of waxe are there also to bee solde, although other places haue greater store: This Yeraslaue is distant from Mosco, about two hundred miles: and betwixt them are many populous villages. Their fields yeeld such store of corne, that in conuaying it towards Mosco, sometimes in a forenoone, a man shall see seuen hundred or eight hundred sleds, going and comming, laden with corne and salt fish: the people come a thousand miles to Mosco, to buy that corne, and then cary it away vpon sleds: and these are those people that dwell in the North parts, where the colde is so terrible, that no corne doth growe there, or if it spring vp it neuer comes to ripenesse. The commodities that they bring with them, are salt fish, skinnes, and hides.

Vologda.

VOlogda being from Mosco, 550. miles yeeldes the commodities of Hempe and Flaxe also: although the greatest store of Flaxe is solde at Nouogrode.

Plesco.

THe Towne of Plesco, is frequented of Marchants for the good store of Honie and Waxe that it yeeldeth.

Colmagro.

THE North parts of Russia yeelde very rare and precious skinnes: and amongst the rest, those principally, which we call Sables, worne about the neckes of our Noble women and Ladies: it hath also Martins skinnes, white, blacke, and red Foxe skinnes, skinnes of Hares, and Ermyns, and others, which they call and terme barbarously, as Beuers, Minxes, and Miniuers. The sea adioyning, breedes a certaine beast, which they call the Mors, which seeketh his foode vpon the rockes, climing vp with the helpe of his teeth. The Russes vse to take them, for the great vertue that is in their teeth, whereof they make as great accompt, as we doe of the Elephants tooth. These commodities they cary vpon Deeres backes to the towne of Lampas: and from thence to Colmagro, and there in the winter time, are kept great Faires for the sale of them. This Citie of Colmagro, serues all the Countrey about it with salt, and salt fish. The Russians also of the North parts, send thither oyle, which they call traine, which they make in a riuer called Vna,* although it be also made elsewhere: and here they vse to boile the water of the sea, whereof they make very great store of salt.

Of controuersies in Lawe, and how they are ended.

Hauing hitherto spoken so much of the chiefest Cities of Russia, as the matter required: it remaineth that we speake somewhat of the lawes, that the Moscouits doe vse, as farre foorth as the same are come to our knowledge. If any controuersie arise among them, they first make their Landlords Iudges in the matter, and if they cannot end it, then they preferre it to the Magistrate. The plaintif craueth of the said Magistrate, that he may haue leaue to enter law against his aduesarie: and hauing obtained it, the officer fetcheth the defendant, and beateth him on the legges, till he bring forth a suretie for him: but if he be not of such credite, as to procure a surety, then are his hands by an officer tied to his necke, and he is beaten all the way, till he come before the Iudge. The Iudge then asketh him (as for example in the matter of debt) whether he oweth any thing to the plaintife. If he denies it, then saith the Iudge, How canst thou deny it? the defendant answereth, By an othe: thereupon the officer is commaunded to cease from beating of him, vntill the matter be further tried. They haue no Lawyers, but euery man is his owne Aduocate, and both the complaint of the accuser, and the answere of the defendant, are in maner of petition deliuered to the Emperour, intreating iustice at his hands. The Emperour himselfe heareth euery great controuersie, and vpon the hearing of it, giueth iudgement, and that with great equitie, which I take to be a thing worthy of speciall commendation, in the Maiestie of a Prince. But although he doe this with a good purpose of mind, yet the corrupt Magistrates do wonderfully peruert the same : but if the Emperour take them in any fault, he doeth punish them most seuerely. Now at the last, when ech partie hath defended his cause with his best reasons, the Iudge demandeth of the accuser, whether he hath any more to say for himselfe: he answereth, that he will trie the matter in fight by his Champion, or else intreateth, that in fight betwixt themselues the matter may be ended: which being graunted, they both fight it out: or if both of them, or either of them seeme vnfit for that kinde of triall, then they haue publike Champions to be hired, which liue by ending of quarrels. These Champions are armed with yron axes, and speares, and fight on foote, and he whose Champion is ouercome, is by and by taken, and imprisoned, and terribly handled, vntill he agree with his aduersarie. But if either of them be of any good calling, and degree, and doe challenge one another to fight, the Iudge granteth it: in which case they may not vse publike Champions. And he that is of any good birth, doth contemne the other, if he be basely borne, and wil not fight with him. If a poore man happen to grow in debt, his Creditor takes him, and maketh him pay the debt, in working either to himselfe, or to some other man, whose wages he taketh vp. And there are some among them, that vse willingly to make themselues, their wiues, and children, bondslaues vnto rich men, to haue a little money at the first into their hands, and so for euer after content themselues with meate and drinke : so little accompt doe they make of libertie.

---

* *Marginal note:* Or Dwina.

Of punishments vpon theeues.

IF any man be taken vpon committing of theft, he is imprisoned, and often beaten, but not hanged for the first offence, as the manner is with vs : and this they call the lawe of mercie. He that offendeth the second time hath his nose cut off, and is burnt in the forehead with a hot yron. The third time, he is hanged. There are many cutpurses among them, and if the rigour of the Prince did not cut them off, they could not be auoyded.

Of their religion.

THey maintaine the opinions of the Greeke Church : they suffer no grauen images of saints in their Churches, but their pictures painted in tables they haue in great abundance, which they do adore and offer vnto, and burne waxe candles before them, and cast holy water vpon them, without other honour. They say that our images which are set vp in Churches, and carued, haue no diuinitie in them. In their priuate houses they haue images for their household saints, and for the most part, they are put in the darkest place of the house: hee that comes into his neighbours house doth first salute his saints, although he see them not. If any foorme or stoole stand in his way, hee oftentimes beateth his browe vpon the same, and often ducking downe with his head, and body, worshippeth the chiefe Image. The habite, and attire of the Priests, and of the Lay men, doth nothing at all differ: as for marriage, it is forbidden to no man: onely this is receiued and held amongst them for a rule, and custome, that if a Priests wife doe die, he may not marry againe, nor take a second wife: and therefore they of secular Priests, as they call them, are made Monkes, to whom then chastitie for euer is commanded. Their diuine seruice is all done and said in their owne language, that euery man may vnderstand it: they receiue the Lords Supper with leauened bread, and after the consecration, they carry it about the Church in a saucer, and prohibite no man from receiuing and taking of it, that is willing so to doe. They vse both the Olde and the Newe Testament, and read both in their owne language, but so confusedly, that they themselues that doe reade, vnderstand not what themselues doe say: and while any part of either Testament is read, there is liberty giuen by custome to prattle, talke, and make a noise: but in the time of the rest of the seruice they vse very great silence and reuerence and behaue themselues very modestly, and in good sort. As touching the Lords praier, the tenth man amongst them knowes it not: and for the articles of our faith, and the ten commandements, no man, or at the least very fewe of them doe either know them or can say them: their opinion is, that such secrete and holy things as they are should not rashly and imprudently be communicated with the common people. They holde for a maxime amongst them, that the olde Lawe, and the commandements also are abolished by the death and blood of Christ: all studies and letters of humanitie they vtterly refuse: concerning the Latine, Greeke, and Hebrew tongues, they are altogether ignorant in them.

Euery yeere they celebrate foure seuerall fastes, which they call according to the names of the Saints: the first beginnes with them, at the time that our Lent beginnes. The second is called amongst them the fast of S. Peter. The third is taken from the day of the Virgin Marie. And the fourth and last begins vpon S.

Philips day. But as we begin our Lent vpon Wednesday, so they begin theirs vpon the Sunday. Vpon the Saturday they eate flesh: whensoeuer any of those fasting feastes doe drawe neere, looke what weeke doth immediately goe before them, the same weeke they liue altogether vpon white meates, and in their common language they call those weekes, the fast of Butter.

In the time of their fasts, the neighbours euery where goe from one to another, and visite one another, and kisse one another with kisses of peace, in token of their mutuall loue and Christian concord: and then also they doe more often then at any other time goe to the holy Communion. When seuen dayes are past, from the beginning of the fast, then they doe often either goe to their Churches, or keepe themselues at home, and vse often prayer: and for that seuennight they eate nothing but hearbes: but after that seuennights fast is once past, then they returne to their old intemperancie of drinking, for they are notable tospots. As for the keeping of their fasting dayes, they doe it very streightly, neither doe they eate any thing besides hearbes, and salt fish, as long as those fasting dayes doe endure: but vpon euery Wednesday and Friday, in euery weeke thoughout the yeere, they fast.

There are very many Monasteries of the order of S. Benedict, amongst them, to which many great liuings, for their maintenance, doe belong: for the Friers and the Monkes doe at the least possesse the third part of the liuings, throughout the whole Moscouite Empire. To those Monkes that are of this Order, there is amongst them a perpetuall prohibition, that they may eate no flesh: and therefore their meate is onely salt fish, milke, and butter: neither is it permitted them by the lawes, and customes of their religion, to eate any fresh fish at all: and at those foure fasting times, whereof we spake before, they eate no fish at all: onely they liue with hearbes, and cucumbers, which they doe continually for that purpose cause and take order to grow and spring, for their vse and diet.

As for their drinke, it is very weake, and small. For the discharge of their office, they do euery day say seruice, and that early in the mornings before day: and they doe in such sort, and with such obseruation begin their seruice, that they will be sure to make an ende of it, before day: and about nine of the clocke in the morning they celebrate the Communion. When they haue so done, they goe to dinner, and after dinner they goe againe to seruice, and the like also after supper: and in the meane time while they are at dinner there is some exposition or interpretation of the Gospel vsed.

Whensoeuer any Abbot of any monasterie dieth, the Emperour taketh all his housholde stuffe, beastes, flockes of sheepe, golde, siluer, and all that he hath: or els hee that is to succeede him in his place and dignitie doth redeeme all those things, and buyeth them of the Emperour for money.

Their churches are built of timber, and the towers of their churches for the most part are couered with shingle boordes. At the doores of their churches, they vsually build some entrance or porch as we doe, and in their churchyardes they erect a certain house of woode, wherein they set vp their bels, wherein sometimes they haue but one, in some two, and in some also three.

There is one vse and custome amongst them, which is strange and rare, but yet it is very ridiculous, and that is this: when any man dyeth amongst them, they take the dead body and put it in a coffine or chest, and in the hand of the corps they put a little scroule, and in the same there are these wordes written, that the same man died a Russe of Russes, hauing receiued the faith, and died in the same. This writing or letter they say they send to S. Peter, who receiuing it (as they affirme) reades it, and by and by admits him into heauen, and that his glory and place is higher and greater than the glory of the Christians of the Latine church, reputing themselues to be followers of a more sincere faith and religion than they: they hold opinion that we are but halfe Christians, and themselues onely to be the true and perfect church: these are the foolish and childish dotages of such ignorant Barbarians.

Of the Moscouites that are Idolaters, dwelling neere to Tartaria.

THere is a certaine part of Moscouie bordering vpon the countreys of the Tartars, wherein those Moscouites that dwell are very great idolaters: they haue one famous idole amongst them, which they call the Golden old wife: and they haue a custome that whensoeuer any plague or any calamity doth afflict the country, as hunger, warre, or such like, then they goe to consult with their idol, which they do after this manner: they fall down prostrate before the idol, and pray vnto it, and put in the presence of the same, a cymbal: and about the same certaine persons stand, which are chosen amongst them by lot: vpon their cymball they place a siluer tode, and sound the cymball, and to whomsoeuer of those lotted persons that tode goeth, he is taken, and by and by slaine: and immediately, I know not by what illusions of the deuill or idole, he is againe restored to life, and then doth reueale and deliuer the causes of the present calamitie. And by this meanes knowing how to pacifie the idole, they are deliuered from the imminent danger.

Of the forme of their priuate houses, and of the apparell of the people.

THe common houses of the countrey are euery where built of beames of Firre tree: the lower beames doe so receiue the round hollownesse of the vppermost, that by the meanes of the building thereupon, they resist, and expell all winds that blow, and where the timber is ioined together, there they stop the chinks with mosse. The forme and fashion of their houses in al places is foure square, with streit and narrow windoes, whereby with a transparent casement made or couered with skinne like to parchment, they receiue the light. The roofes of their houses are made of boords couered without with ye barke of trees: within their houses they haue benches or griezes hard by their wals, which commonly they sleepe vpon, for the common people knowe not the vse of beds: they haue stoues wherein in the morning they make a fire, and the same fire doth either moderately warme, or make very hote the whole house.

The apparell of the people for the most part is made of wooll, their caps are picked like vnto a rike or diamond, broad beneath, and sharpe vpward. In the maner of making whereof, there is a signe and representation of nobilitie: for the loftier or higher their caps are, the greater is their birth supposed to be, and the greater reuerence is giuen them by the common people.

The conclusion to Queen Marie.

THese are the things most excellent Queene, which your Subiects newly returned from Russia haue brought home concerning the state of that countrey: wherfore if your maiestie shall be fauourable, and grant a continuance of the trauell, there is no doubt but that the honour and renowme of your name will be spred amongst those nations, whereunto three onely noble personages from the verie creation haue had accesse, to whom no man hath bene comparable.

The copie of the Duke of Moscouie and Emperour of Russia his letters, sent to King Edward the sixt, by the hands of Richard Chancelour.

THe Almighty power of God, and the incomprehensible holy Trinitie, rightfull Christian beliefe, &c. We great Duke Iuan Vasiliuich,* by the grace of God great lord and Emperor of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosco, and Nouograd, King of Kazan, King of Astracan, lord of Plesko, and great duke of Smolensko, of Twerria, Ioughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others, lord and great duke of Nouograd in the Low countrey, of Chernigo, Resan, Polotskoy, Rostoue, Yaruslaueley, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condensa, Commander of all Siberia, and of the North parts, and lord of many other countries, greeting. Before all, right great and worthy of honour Edward King of England &c. according to our most hearty and good zeale, with good intent and friendly desire, and according to our holy Christian faith, and great gouernance, and being in the light of great vnderstanding, our answere by this our honourable writing vnto your kingly gouernance, at the request of your faithfull seruant Richard Chancelour, with his company, as they shall let you wisely know, is this. In the strength of the twentieth yeere of our gouernance, be it knowen, that at our sea coastes arriued a shippe, with one Richard, and his companie, and sayd, that hee was desirous to come into our dominions, and according to his request, hath seene our Maiestie, and our eyes:† and hath declared vnto vs your Maiesties desire, as that we should grant vnto your subiects, to goe and come, and in our dominions, and among our subiects, to frequent free Marts, with all sortes of marchandizes, and vpon the same to haue wares for their returne. And they haue also deliuered vs your letters, which declare the same request. And hereupon we haue giuen order, that wheresoeuer your faithful seruant Hugh Willoughbie land or touch in our dominions, to be wel entertained, who as yet is not arriued, as your seruant Richard can declare.

And we with Christian beliefe and faithfulnes, and according to your honourable request, and my honourable commandement will not leaue it vndone: and are furthermore willing that you send vnto vs your ships and vessels, when and as often as they may haue passage, with good assurance on our part to see them harmlesse. And if you send one of your maiesties counsel to treate with vs whereby your countrey marchants may with all kinds of wares, and where they wil make their market in our dominions, they shall haue their free Marte with all free liberties through my whole dominions with all kinde of wares to come and goe at their pleasure, without any let, damage or impediment, according to this our letter, our word and our seale which we haue commaunded to be vnder sealed. Written in our dominion, in our citie and our palace in the castle of Mosco, in the yeare 7060, the second moneth of February.

---

* *Marginal note:* Iuan Vasiluich, that is to say, Iohn the sonne of Basilius.

† *Marginal note:* That is, come into our presence.

[This letter was written in the Moscouian tongue, in letters much like to the Greeke letters, very faire written in paper, with a broad seale hanging at the same, sealed in paper vpon waxe. This seale was much like ye broad seale of England, hauing on the one side the image of a man on horseback in compleate harnesse fighting with a dragon. Vnder this letter was another paper written in the Dutch tongue, which was the interpretation of the other written in the Moscouian letters. These letters were sent the next yere after the date of king Edwards letters, 1554.]

The letters of king Philip and Queene Marie to Iuan Vasiliuich the Emperour of Russia written the first of April 1555 and in the second voyage.

PHilip and Marie by the grace of God, King and Queene of England, France, Naples, Ierusalem, and Ireland, defenders of the faith, Princes of Spaine and Sicilie, Archdukes of Austrich, Dukes of Burgundie, Millaine, and Brabant, Counties of Haspurge, Flanders, and Tiroll: To the right High, right Mightie, and right excellent Prince, garnished with all gifts of nature, by Gods grace Iohn Vasiliuich Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan, King of Astracan, Lord of Plesco, and great Duke of Smolensko, of Tueria, Ioughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others, Lorde and great Duke of Nouogrod of the lowe Countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskay, Rostoue, Yeraslaue, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condensa, Commander of all Siberia, and of the North partes, and lord of many other countreys, greeting

Whereas by the consent and license of our most deare and entirely beloued late brother, King Edward the sixt, whose soule God pardon, sundrie of our subjects marchants of the citie of London within this our realme of England did at their owne proper costs and aduenture furnish three shippes to discouer, serch and find lands, Islands, regions, and territories before this aduenture not knowen, ne commonly haunted and frequented by seas. The one of the which three shippes, named the Edward Bonauenture, (whereof our right welbeloued Richard Chancelour was then gouernour and great Captaine) chanced by the grace of God, and the good conduct of the sayd Chancelour to arriue and winter in the North part of your Empire of Russia. Forasmuch as we be credibly informed by the report of our trustie and welbeloued subiect, that your Maiestie did not onely call him and certaine of his company to your emperiall presence and speech, entertayned and banqueted them with all humanitie and gentlenes: but also being thereunto requested partly by the letters of our said brother, and partly by request of the sayd Richard Chancelour, haue by your letters patents vnder your seale among other things granted: That all such marchants as shall come forth of anie of our realms of England or Ireland with al maner of wares, if they wil trauel or occupie within your dominions, the same marchants with their marchandises in al your lordship may freely, and at their libertie trauaile out and in without hindrance or any maner of losse: And of your farther ample goodnesse haue promised that our ambassadours, if wee send any, shall with free good will passe to and from you without any hindrance or losse, with such message as shall come vnto you, and to returne the same to our kingdomes well answered, as by the same your letters, written in your lordly Palace and Castle of Mosco in the yeere 7063* the moneth of Februarie more at large appeareth. Like as wee cannot but much commend your princely fauour and goodnesse, and in like manner thank you for the abundant grace, extended to the sayd Richard Chancelour, and others our subiects marchants: Euen so these are to pray and request you to continue the same beneuolence toward them, and other our marchants and subiects, which doe or heereafter shall resorte to your countrey: And for the more assurance and incouragement to trade and exercise the feate of marchandise with your subiects and all other marchants within your dominions, that it may please you at this our contemplation to assigne and authorise such Commissaries as you shall thinke meete to trade and conferre with our welbeloued suiects and marchants, the sayd Richard Chancelour, George Killingworth, and Richard Graie, bearers of these our letters: who are by vs authorised for that purpose: and to confirme and graunt such other liberties and priuiledges vnto the Gouernour, Consuls, Assistants, and Communaltie of the fellowship of the saide Marchants, as the said bearers in their name propone and require by you to be granted for their safe conduct, good gouernment, and order to bee erected and continued among them in your saide dominions; And this with such your clemencie and expedition, as we, vpon the next arriuall of the saide Richard Chancelour may bee enformed of your gracious disposition and answere. Which your beneuolences so to bee extended, wee bee minded to requite towards any your subjects Marchants, that shal frequent this our realme at your contemplation therefore to be made. Thus right high, right Excellent, and right mightie, Almightie God the Father, the Sonne and the holy Ghost haue you in his blessed keeping. Giuen vnder our seale at our Palace of Westminster, the first of April, in the yeere from the blessed incarnation of our Sauiour Iesus Christ, 1555. and in the first and second yeeres of our reignes.

---

* Should be 7060.

Articles conceiued and determined for the Commission of the Merchants of this company residant in Russia, and at the Wardhouse, for the second voyage, 1555. the first of May, as followeth.

First, the Gouernour, Consuls, Assistants and whole company assembled this day in open court, committeth and authorizeth Richard Gray and George Killingworth, iointly and seuerally to be Agents, Factors, and Atturneis generall and speciall, for the whole body of this company, to buy, sel, trucke, change and permute al, and every kind and kindes of wares, marchandises and goods to the said company appertaining, now laden and shipped in the good ship called the Edward Bonauenture, appointed for Russia, the same to vtter and sell to the best commoditie, profit and aduantage of the said corporation, be it for ready money, wares and merchandises, or truck, presently, or for time, as occasion and benefit of the company shal require: and all such wares as they or either of them shal buy, trucke, or prouide, or cause to be bought for the company to lade them homeward in good order and condition, as by prudent course of marchandises, shall, and ought to appertaine, which article extendeth also to Iohn Brooke for the Wardhouse, as in the 17. and 18. articles of this commission appeareth.

2. Item, it is also committed, as aboue, to the said Agents, to binde and charge the said company by debt for wares vpon credit, as good opportunitie and occasion shal serue, with power to charge and bind the said company, and their successors, for the paiments of such things as shalbe taken vp for credite, and the said Agents to be relieued ab opere satis dandi.

3. Item full authoritie and power is committed to the said first named factors, together with Richard Chancelor grand Pilot of this fleete, to repaire to the Emperors court, there to present the king and Queenes Maiesties letters, written in Greeke, Polish, and Italian, and to giue and exhibite the marchants presents at such time and place as shalbe thought most expedient, they, or one of them to demand, and humbly desire of ye Emperour such further grants and priuiledges to be made to this companie, as may be beneficiall for the same, to continue in traffike with his subiects, according to such instructions as bee in this behalfe deuised and deliuered to the Agents whereunto relation is to be had, and some one of these persons to attend vpon the court for the obtaining of the same, as to their discretions shalbe thought good.

4. Item, that all the saide Agents doe well consider, ponder and weigh such articles as bee deliuered to them to know the natures, dispositions, lawes, customes, maners and behauiours of the people of the countries where they shal traffike, as well of the Nobilitie as of the Lawyers, Marchants, Mariners and common people, and to note diligently the subtilties of their bargaining, buying and selling, making as fewe debtes as possiblie may bee, and to bee circumspect, that no lawe neither of religion nor positiue bee broken or transgressed by them or any minister vnder them, ne yet by any mariner or other person of our nation, and to foresee that all tolles, customes, and such other rites be so duely paid, that no forfeiture or confiscation may ensue to our goods either outward or inward, and that al things passe with quiet, without breach of the publike peace or common tranquilitie of any of the places where they shall arriue or traffique.

5. Item, that prouision bee made in Mosco or elsewhere, in one or mo good townes, where good trade shall be found for a house or houses for the Agents, and companie to inhahite and dwell at your accustomed diets, with warehouses, sellers, and other houses of offices requisite, and that none of the inferiour ministers of what place or vocation soeuer he be, doe lie out of the house of the Agents without licence to be giuen, and that euery inferiour officer shalbe obedient to the orders, rules and gouernments of the said Agents, and in case any disobedient person shall be found among any of them, then such person to be punished for his misbehauiour, at the discretion of the said Agents, or of one of them in the absence of the other.

6. Item, if any person of the said ministers shall be of such pride or obstinacie, that after one or two honest admonitions, hee will not bee reformed nor reconciled from his faultes, then the saide Agents to displace euery such person from the place or rōume to him heere committed, and some other discreete person to occupie the same, as to the saide Agents by their discretions shal seeme meete.

7. Item, if any person shall be found so arrogant, that he will not be ordered nor reformed by the said Agents or by one of them in the absence of the other, then the sayde person to bee deliuered to the Iustice of the countrey, to receiue such punishment, as the lawes of the countrey doe require.

8. Item, that the Agents and factours shall daily one houre in the morning conferre and consult together what shall bee most conuenient and beneficiall for the companie, and such orders as they shall determine, to bee written by the Secretarie of the companie in a booke to bee prouided for that purpose, and no inferiour person to infringe and breake any such order or deuise, but to obserue the same exactly, vpon such reasonable paine as the Agents shall put him to by discretion.

9. Item, that the said Agents shall in the ende of euerie weeke, or oftener as occasion shall require, peruse, see and trie, not onely the Casshers, bookes, reckonings and accounts, firming the same with their handes, but also shall receiue and take weekly the account of euery other officer, as well of the Vendes, as of the empteous, and also of the state of the houshold expenses, making thereof a perfect declaration as shall appertaine, the same accounts also to bee firmed by the saide Agents hands.

10. Item, that no inferior minister shall take vpon him to make

any bargaine or sale of any wares, marcnandises or goods, but by the Commission and Warrantise of the sayde Agents vnder their handes, and hee not to transgresse his Commission by any way, pretense or colour.

11. Item, that euery inferiour minister, that is to vnderstand, all Clerks and yong merchants, being at the order of the saide Agents, shall ride, goe, saile and trauaile to all such place, and places, as they or hee shall be appointed vnto by the saide Agents, and effectually to follow and do all that which to him or them shall be committed, well and truely to the most benefite of the company, according to the charge to him or them committed, euen as by their othes, dueties and bondes of their masters they be bounden and charged to doe.

12. Item, that at euery moneths end, all accounts and reckonings shalbe brought into perfect order, into the Lidger or memoriall, and the decrees, orders, and rules of the Agents together with the priuileges, and copies of letters, may and shall be well and truely written by the secretarie, in such forme as shalbe appointed for it, and that copies of all their doings may be sent home with the said ship at her returne.

13. Item, that all the Agents doe diligently learne and obserue all kinde of wares, as wel naturals as forrein, that be beneficiall for this Realme, to be sold for the benefit of the company, and what kinde of our commodities and other things of these West partes bee most vendible in those Realmes with profite, giuing a perfect aduise of all such things requisite.

14. Item, if the Emperour will enter into bargain with you for the whole masse of your stock, and will haue the trade of it to vtter to his owne subiects, then debating the matter prudently among your selues, set such high prises of your commodities, as you may assure your selues to be gainers in your owne wares, and yet to buy theirs at such base prises, as you may here also make a commoditie and gaine at home, hauing in your mindes the notable charges that the companie haue diffrayed in aduancing this voyage: and the great charges that they sustaine dayly in wages, victuals and other things: all which must bee requited by the wise handling of this voyage, which being the first president shalbe a perpetual president for euer: and therefore all circumspection is to be vsed, and foreseene in this first enterprise, which God blesse and prosper vnder you, to his glorie, and the publike wealth of this Realme, whereof the Queenes Maiestie, and the

Lords of the Councell haue conceiued great hope, whose expectations are not to be frustrated.

15. Item, it is to be had in minde, that you vse all wayes and meanes possible to learne howe men may passe from Russia, either by land or by sea to Cathaia, and what may be heard of our other ships, and to what knowledge you may come, by conferring with the learned or well trauailed persons, either naturall or forrein, such as haue trauailed from the North to the South.

16. Item, it is committed to the said Agents, that if they shall be certified credibly, that any of our said first ships be arriued in any place whereunto passage is to be had by water or by land, that then certaine of the company at the discretion of the Agents shall bee appointed to be sent to them, to learne their estate and condition, to visite, refresh, relieue, and furnish them with all necessaries and requisites, at the common charges of the companie, and to imbrace, accept, and intreat them as our deare and welbeloued brethren of this our societie, to their reioycing and comfort, aduertising Syr Hugh Willoughbie and others of our carefulnes of them and their long absence, with our desire to heare of them, with all other things done in their absence for their commoditie, no lesse then if they had bene present.

17. Item, it is decreed, that when the ships shal arriue at this going foorth at the Wardhouse, that their Agents, with master Chancelor grand pilot, Iohn Brooke, merchant, deputed for the Wardhouse, with Iohn Buckland master of the Edward, Iohn Howlet master, and Iohn Robins pilot of the Philip and Marie, shall conferre and consult together, what is most profitable to be done therfore for the benefit of the company, and to consider whether they may bargaine with the captaine of the castle, and the inhabitants in that place, or alongst the coast for a large quantitie of fish, drie or wet, killed by the naturals, or to be taken by our men at a price reasonable for trucke of cloth, meale, salt, or beere, and what traine oyle, or other commodity is to be had there at this time, or any other season of the yeere, and whether there will be had or found sufficient lading for both the sayd shippes, to be bought there, and how they may conferre with the naturals for a continuance in hanting the place, if profit wil so arise to the company, and to consider whether the Edward in her returne may receiue at the Wardhouse any kind of lading homeward, and what it may amount vnto, and whether it shall be expedient for the Philip to abide at the Wardhouse the returne

of the Edward out of Russia, or getting that she may returne with the first good wind to England, without abiding for the Edward, and so to conclude and accord certainely among themselues vpon their arriuall, that the certaintie may (vpon good deliberation) be so ordered and determined betweene both ships, that the one may be assured of the other, and their determinations to be put in writing duplicate to remaine with ech ship, according to such order as shall be taken betweene them.

18. Item, that Iohn Brooke our marchant for the Wardhouse take good aduise of the rest of our Agents, how to vse himselfe in al affaires, whiles the ship shalbe at the Wardhouse, he to see good order to be kept, make bargains aduisedly, not crediting the people vntill their natures, dispositions and fidelities shal be well tried, make no debts, but to take ware for ware in hand, and rather be trusted then to trust. Note diligently what be the best wares for those parts, and howe the fishe falleth on the coast, and by what meane it is to bee bought at the most aduantage, what kindes and diuersities of sortes in fishes be, and whether it will keepe better in bulke piled, or in caske.

19. Item, he to haue a diligent eye and circumspection to the beere, salt, and other liquid wares, and not to suffer any waste to be made by the companie, and he in all contracts to require aduise, counsel, and consent of the master and pilot, the marchant to be our houswife, as our special trust is in him, he to tender that no lawes nor customes of the countrey be broken by any of the company, and to render to the prince, and other officers, all that which to them doth appertaine, the company to be quiet, voide of all quarrelling, fighting, or vexation, absteine from all excesse of drinking as much as may bee, and in all to vse and behaue themselues as to quiet marchants doeth, and ought to apperteine.

20. Item, it is decreed by the companie, that the Edward shall returne home this yeere with as much wares as may be conueniently, and profitably prouided, bought, and laden in Russia, and the rest to be taken in at the Wardhouse, as by the Agents shall be accorded. But by all meanes it is to be foreseene and noted, that the Edward returne home, and not to winter in any forrein place, but to come home and bring with her all the whole aduertisements of the marchants, with such further aduise for the next yeeres prouision, as they shall giue.

21. Item, it is further decreed and ordeined, inuiolably to be

obserued, that when the good ships, or either of them (by Gods grace) shall returne home to the coastes of England, that neither of them shall stay or touch in any Hauen or Port of England, other wise then wind and weather shall serue, but shall directly saile and come to the Port of the citie of London, the place of their right discharge, and that no bulke be broken, hatches opened, chest, fardell, trusse, barrel, fat, or whatsoeuer thing it shall be, be brought out of the shippe, vntill the companie shall giue order for the same, and appoint such persons of the companie as shall be thought meet for that purpose, to take viewe, and consider the shippe and her lading, and shall giue order for the breaking vp of the saide bulke, or giue licence by discretion, for things to be brought to land. And that euery officer shall shewe the inuoise of his charge to him first committed, and to examine the wastes and losses, and to deliuer the remainder to the vse and benefit of the company, according to such order as shall be appointed in that behalfe.

22. Item, the company exhorteth, willeth, and requireth, not onely all the said Agents, pilots, masters, marchants, clerkes, boatswaines, stewards, skafemasters, and all other officers and ministers of this present voyage, being put in charge and trust daily to peruse, reade, and studie such instructions as be made, giuen, and deliuered to them for perfect knowledge of the people of Russia, Moscouia, Wardhouse and other places, their dispositions, maners, customes, vses, tolles, cariages, coines, weights, numbers, measures, wares, merchandises, commodities, and incommodities, the one to be accepted and imbraced, the other to be reiected and vtterly abandoned, to the intent that euery man taking charge, may be so well taught, perfited, and readily instructed in all the premisses, that by ignorance, no losse or preiudice may grow or chance to the company: assuring themselues, that for asmuch as the company hath trauelled and laboured so in these their instructions to them giuen, that euery man may bee perfect, and fully learned to eschew all losses, hurts and damages that may insue by pretence or colour of none knowledge, the company entendeth not to allow, or accept ignorance for any lawfull or iust cause of excuse, in that which shall be misordered by negligence, the burden whereof shall light vpon the negligent offending person, especially vpon such as of their owne heads, or temeritie, will take vpon him or them to doe or to attempt any thing, whereby preiudice may arise, without the commission of

the Agents as aboue is mentioned, whereunto relation must be had.

23. Forasmuch as it is not possible to write and indite such prescribed orders, rules and commissions to the Agents and factours, but that occasion, time and place, and the pleasures of the princes, together with the operation or successe of fortune shall change or shift the same, although not in the whole, yet in part, therefore the said company doe commit to you their deare and intire beloued Agents and factors to doe in this behalfe for the commodity and wealth of this company, as by your directions, vpon good aduised deliberations shalbe thought good and beneficiall. Prouided alwayes, that the honour, good name, fame, credite, and estimation of the same companie be conserued and preserued: which to confirme we beseech the liuing Lord to his glory, the publike benefite of this realme, our common profits, and your praises.

Finally for the seruice, and due accomplishment of all the premisses, euery Agent and minister of and for this voyage, hath not onely giuen a corporall othe vpon the Euangelists, to obserue, and cause to be obserued, this commission, and euery part, clause and sentence of the same, as much as in him lyeth, as well for his owne part as for any other person, but also haue bounde themselues and their friendes to the companie in seuerall summes of money, expressed in the actes and records of this societie, for the trueth and fidelities of them, for the better, and also manifester testification of the trueth, and of their othes, promises, and bands aforesaid, they haue to this commission subscribed particularly their seuerall hands, and the company also in confirmation of the same, haue set their seale. Yeuen the day, moneth, and yeeres first aboue mentioned.

The othe ministred to the seruants of the fellowship.

YE sweare by the holy contents of that booke, that ye shal wel, faithfully and truely, and vprightly, and with all your indeuour, serue this right worshipfull company in that order, which by this fellowships Agent or Agents in the dominions of the Emperours of Russia, &c. shall bee vnto you committed, by commission, commandement, or other his direction. And that you shall bee obedient and faithfull to the same our Agent or Agents, and that well, and truely and vprightly according to the commission, charge, commandement, or other direction of the said Agent or Agents to you from time to time giuen and to be giuen, you shall prosecute and doe all that which in you lieth, for the good renowme, commoditie, benefite and profite of the said fellowship: and you shall not directly or indirectly, openly or couertly doe, exercise or vse any trade or feate of marchandises for your owne priuate account, commodity, gaine or profite, or for the account of or for any other person or persons, without consent or licence of this said fellowship, first obtained in writing. And if you shall know or vnderstand any other person or persons to vse, exercise or doe any trade, traffike or feat of marchandise, to or for his or their own account or accounts, at any time or times hereafter, that then ye shall truely and plainly disclose, open, vtter and reueale, and shew the same vnto this said fellowship, without fraude, colour, couin or delay: So helpe you God, &c.

The letter of M. George Killingworth the companies first Agent in Moscouie, touching their interteinement in their second voyage. Anno 1555. the 27. of Nouember in Mosco.

RIght worshipful, my duetie, considered, &c. It may please your worship to vnderstand, that at the making hereof we all be in good health, thanks be to God, saue onely William our cooke as we came from Colmogro fell into the river out of the boate, and was drowned. And the 11. day of September wee came to Vologda, and there we laide all our wares vp, and sold very little: but one marchant would haue giuen vs 12. robles for a broad cloth, and he said he would haue had them all, and 4. altines for a pound of sugar, but we did refuse it because he was the first, and the marchants were not come thither, nor would not come before Winter, trusting to haue more: But I feare it will not be much better. Yet notwithstanding we did for the best. And the house that our wares lie in costs from that day vntil Easter ten robles. And the 28. day of September we did determine with our selues that it was good for M. Gray, Arthur Edwards, Thomas Hautory, Christopher Hudson, Iohn Segewicke, Richard Ionson, and Richard Iudde, to tarie at Vologda, and M. Chancelor, Henry Lane, Edward Prise, Robert Best and I should goe to Mosco. And we did lade the Emperours suger, with part of all sorts of wares to haue had to the Mosco with vs, but the way was so deepe, that we were faine to turne back, and leaue is stil at Vologda till the frost. And we went forth with poste horse, and the charge of euery horse being stil ten in number, comes to 10. s. 7. d. halfe penie, besides the guides. And we came to the Mosco the 4. day of October, and were lodged that night in a simple house: but the next day we were sent for to the Emperour his secretarie, and he bade vs welcome with a cheerefull countenance and cheerefull wordes, and wee shewed him that we had a letter from our Queenes grace to the Emperour his grace, and then he desired to see them all, and that they might remain with him, to haue them perfect, that the true meaning might be declared to the Emperour, and so we did: and then we were appointed to a better house: and the seuenth day the secretary sent for vs againe, and then he shewed vs that we should haue a better house: for it was the Emperour his will, that we should haue all things that we did lacke, and did send vs meade of two sorts, and two hens, our house free, and euery two dayes to receiue eight hens, seuen altines, and two pence in money, and meade a certaine, and a poore fellow to make cleane our house, and to doe that wherunto we would set him. And wee had giuen many rewards before, which you shal perceiue by other, and so we gaue the messengers a reward with thanks: and the ninth day we were sent to make vs readie to speak with the Emperour on the morow. And the letters were sent vs, that wee might deliuer them our selues, and we came before him the tenth day: and before we came to his presence we went thorow a great chamber, where stood many small tunnes, pailes, bowles and pots of siluer, I meane, like washing bowles, all parsel gilt: and within that another chamber, wherein sate (I thinke) neere a hundred in cloth of gold, and then into the chamber where his grace sate, and there I thinke were more then in the other chamber also in cloth of gold, and we did our duety, and shewed his grace our Queenes graces letters, with a note of your present which was left in Vologda: and then his grace did aske how our Queenes grace did, calling her cousin, saying that hee was glad that wee were come in health into his Realme, and we went one by one vnto him, and tooke him by the hand, and then his grace did bid vs goe in health, and come to dinner againe, and we dined in his presence, and were set with our faces towards his grace, and none in the chamber sate with their backes towards him, being I thinke neere a hundred at dinner then, and all serued with golde, as platters, chargers, pottes, cuppes, and all not slender but very massy, and yet a great number of platters of golde, standing still on the cupboord, not moued: and diuers times in the dinner time his grace sent vs meat and drinke from his owne table, and when we had dined we went vp to his grace, and receiued a cuppe wlth drinke at his owne hand, and the same night his grace sent certaine gentlemen to us with diuers sortes of wine and mede, to whome wee gaue a rewarde. And afterwarde we were by diuers Italians counselled to take heed whom we did trust to make the copie of the priuiledges that we would desire to haue, for feare it should not be written in the Russie tongue, as we did meane. So first a Russian did write for vs a breuiat to the Emperor, the tenour wherof was, that we did desire a stronger priuilege: and when the Secretary saw it, he did deliuer it to his grace, and when we came againe, his grace willed vs to write our minds, and hee would see it, and so we did. And his grace is so troubled with preparations to warres, that as yet wee haue no answere: but we haue byn required of his Secretary, and of the vnder Chancelor, to know what wares we had brought into the Realme, and what wares we doe intend to haue, that are, or may bee had in this Realme: and we shewed them, and they shewed the Emperor therof. And then they said his graces pleasure was, that his best marchants of the Mosco should be spoken to, to meet and talk with vs. And so a day was appointed, and wee mette in the Secretarie his office, and there was the vnder Chancelor, who was not past two yeeres since the Emperors marchant, and not his Chancelour: and then the conclusion of our talke was, that the Chancelour willed vs to bethinke vs, where we would desire to haue a house or houses, that wee might come to them as to our owne house, and for marchandize to be made preparation for vs, and they would know our prises of our wares and frise: and we answered, that for our prices they must see the wares before we coulde make any price thereof, for the like in goodnesse hath not bene brought into the Realme, and we did looke for an example of all sorts of our wares to come from Vologda, with the first sledway, and then they should see them, and then we would shew them the prices of them: and likewise we could not tell them what we would giue them iustly, till we did knowe as well their iust weights as their measures: for in all places where we did come, al weights and measures did vary. Then the Secretary (who had made promise vnto vs before) saide, that we should haue all the iust measures vnder seale, and he that was found faulty in the contrary, to buy or sel with any other measure then that, the law was, that he should be punished: he said moreouer, that if it so happen that any of our marchants do promise by couenant at any time to deliuer you any certain sum of wares in such a place, and of such like goodnesse, at such a day, for such a certaine price, and then because of variance, we should cause it to be written, according as the bargain is, before a iustice or the next ruler to the place: if he did not keepe couenant and promise in all points, according to his couenant, that then looke what losse or hinderance we could iustly proue that we haue therby, he should make it good if he be worth so much: and in like case we must do to them: and to that we did agree, saue onely if it were to come ouer the sea, then if any such fortune should bee (as God forbid) that the ship should mischance or be robbed, and the proofe to be made that such kind of wares were laden, the English marchants to beare no losse to the other marchant. Then ye Chancelor said, me thinks you shall do best to haue your house at Colmogro, which is but 100. miles from the right discharge of the ships, and yet I trust the ships shall come neerer hereafter, because the ships may not tary long for their lading, which is 1000. miles from Vologda by water, and all our marchants shall bring all our marchandize to Colmogro to you, and so shall our marchants neither go empty nor come empty: for if they lacke lading homeward, there is salt, which is good ware here, that they may come loden againe. So we were very glad to heare that, and did agree to his saying: for we shal neuerthelesse, if we lust, haue a house at Vologda, and at the Mosco, yea, and at Nouogrode, or where we wil in Rusland: but the three and twentieth of this present we were with the Secretary, and then among other talke, we moued, that if we should tary at Colmogro with our wares, and should not come to Vologda, or further to seeke our market, but tary still at Colmogro, and then the merchants of the Mosco and others should not come and bring their wares, and so the ships should come, and not haue their lading ready, that then it were a great losse and hinderance for vs: then saide hee againe to vs, that the marchants had beene againe together with him, and had put the like doubt, that if they should come and bring their wares to Colmogro, and that they should not find wares there sufficient to serue them, that then they should be at great losse and hinderance, they leauing their other trades to fal to that: and to that we did answere, that after the time that we do appoint with them to bring their wares to Colmogro, God willing, they should neuer come thither, but at the beginning of the yere, they should find that our marchants would haue at the least for a thousand robles, although the ships were not come: so that he saide, that then wee must talke further with the marchants: so that as yet I know not, but that we shall haue neede of one house at Colmogro, and another at Vologda, and that if they bring not their wares to Colmogro, then wee shalbe sure to buy some at Vologda, and to be out of bondage.

And thus may we continue three or foure yeeres, and in this space we shall know the countrey and the marchants, and which way to saue our selues best, and where to plant our houses, and where to seeke for wares: for the Mosco is not best for any kind of wares for vs to buy, saue onely waxe, which we cannot haue vnder seuen pence the Russe pound, and it lackes two ounces of our pound, neither will it be much better cheape, for I haue bidden 6. pence for a pound. And I haue bought more, fiue hundred weight of yarne, which stands mee in eight pence farthing the Russe pound one with another. And if we had receiued any store of money, and were dispatched heere of that we tarry for, as I doubt not but we shalbe shortly (you know what I meane) then as soone as we haue made sale, I doe intend to goe to Nouogrode and to Plesco, whence all the great number of the best tow flaxe, cometh, and such wares as are there I trust to buy part. And feare you not but we will do that may be done, if God send vs health, desiring you to prepare fully for one ship to be ready in the beginning of April to depart off the coast of England.

Concerning all those things which we haue done in the wares, you shal receiue a perfect note by the next bearer (God willing) for he that carieth these from vs is a marchant of Terwill and he was caused to cary these by the commandement of the Emperour his secretarie, whose name is Iuan Mecallawich Weskawate, whom we take to be our very friend. And if it please you to send any letters to Dantiske to Robert Elson, or to William Watson's seruant Dunstan Walton to be conueyed to vs, it may please you to inclose ours in a letter sent from you to him, written in Polish, Dutch, Latine, or Italian: so inclosed, comming to the Mosco to his hands, he wil conuey our letters to vs wheresoeuer we be. And I haue written to Dantiske already to them for the conueyance of letters from thence.

And to certifie you of the weather here, men say that these hundred yeeres was neuer so warme weather in this countrey at this time of the yeere. But as yesternight wee receiued a letter from Christopher Hudson * from a citie called Yeraslaue, who is comming hither with certaine of our wares, but the winter did decieue him, so that he was faine to tarie by the way: and he wrote that the Emperours present was deliuered to a gentleman at Vologda, and the sled did ouerthrow, and the butte of Hollocke was lost, which made vs all very sory.

I pray you be not offended with these my rude letters for lacke of time: but assoone as sales be made, I will finde the meanes to conuey you a letter with speed: for the way is made so doubtful, that the right messenger is so much in doubt, that he would not haue any letters of any effect sent by any man, if he might, for he knowes not of these: and to say the truth, the way is not for him to trauell in. But I will make another shift beside, which I trust shall serue the turne till he come, if sales be made before he be readie, which is and shall be as pleaseth God: who euer preserue your worship, and send us good sales. Written in haste.

By yours to commaund

GEORGE KILLINGWORTH
Draper.

(George Killingworth was furnished with a copy of the following notice of the coines, weights and measures vsed in Russia, written by Iohn Hasse, in the yeere, 1554:—)

FOrasmuch as it is most necessary for al marchants which seeke to haue traffique in any strange regions, first to acquaint themselues with the coines of those lands with which they do intend to ioyne in traffique, and how they are called from the valuation of the highest piece to the lowest, and in what sort they make their paiments, as also what their common weights and measures be: for these causes I haue thought good to write something thereof according to mine owne knowledge and experience, to the end that the marchants of that new aduenture, may the better vnderstand how the wealth of that new frequented trade will arise.

First, it is to be noted that the Emperour of Russia hath no other coines then siluer in all his land, which goeth for paiment amongst merchants, yet notwithstanding there is a coine of copper, which serueth for the reliefe of the

---

* Mr. John M. Read, in his "Historical Enquiry respecting Henry Hudson," printed by the Clarendon Historical Society, is of opinion that both Christopher Hudson and the Henry Hudson named in Queen Mary's Charter as one of the founders of the Muscovy Company, were related to the discoverer of Delaware Bay. (Clarendon Hist. Soc. Reprints, Series I. p. 149.)

poore in Mosco, and no where els, and that is but only for quasse, water and fruit, as nuts, apples, and such other like. The name of which money is called Pole or Poles, of which Poles there goe to the least of the siluer coines, 18. But I will not stand vpon this, because it is no currant money among marchants.

Of siluer coines there be three sortes of pieces: the least is a Poledenga, the second a Denga, the third, Nowgrote, which is as much to say in English as halfepenie, penie and twopence, and for other valued money then this, there is none: there are oftentimes there coines of gold, but they come out of forrein countreys, whereof there is no ordinarie valuation, but they passe according to the agreement of marchants.

Their order in summing of money is this: as we say in England, halfpenie, penie, shilling, and pound, so say they Poledenga, Denga, Altine and Rubble: there goeth two Poledengas to a Denga, six Dengaes to an Altine, and 23 Altines, and two Dengaes to a Rubble.

Concerning the weights of Russia they are these: There are two sortes of pounds in vse amongst them, the one great, ye other small: the great pound is iust two small pounds: they call the great weight by the name of Beasemar, and the smal they call the Skalla weight: with this smal weight they weigh their silues coines, of the which the Emperor hath commanded to put to euery small pound three Rubbles of siluer, and with the same weight they weigh all Grocerie wares, and almost al other wares which come into the land, except those which they weigh by the Pode, as hops, salt, iron, lead, tinne and batrie with diuers others, notwithstanding they vse to weigh batrie more often by the small weight then by the great.

Whensoeuer you find the prices of your wares rated by the Pode, consider that to the great weight, and the pound to be the small. Also they diuide the small pound into 48 parts, and they call the eight and fortieth part a Slotnike, by the which Slotnike the retailers sell their wares out of their shops, as Goldsmiths, Grocers, Silkesellers, and such other like as we doe vse to retaile by the ounce: and as for their great weight which they cal the Beasemar, they sel by pode or shippond. The pode doth containe of the great weight, 40 pounds, and of the small 80; there goe 10. podes to a shippond.

Yet you must consider that their great weight is not full with ours: for I take not their great pound to be full 13 ounces, but aboue 12 I thinke it be. But for your iust proofe, weigh 6 Rubbles of Russia money with our pound weight, and then shal you see what it lacketh: for 6 Rubbles of Russia is by the Emperors standerd, the great pound: so that I thinke it the next way to know the iust weight, as well of the great pound as of the small.

There is another weight needfull to be knowen, which is the weight of Wardhouse, for so much as they weigh all their drie fish by weight, which weight is the Baesemar, as they of Russia doe vse, notwithstanding there is another sorte in it: the names of those weights are these: the marke pound, the great pound, the weie, and the shippond. The marke pound is to be vnderstood as our pound, and their great pound is 24 of their marke pound: the weie is 3 great pound, and 8 weie is a shippound.

Now concerning their measures. As they haue two sortes of weights, so they haue also two sortes of measures: wherewith they measure cloth both linnen and wollen: they cal the one an Areshine, and the other a Locut: the Areshine I take to bee as much as the Flanders ell, and their Locut halfe an English yard: with their Areshine they may mete all such sorts of clothes as come into the land, and with the Locut all such cloth both linnen and wollen, as they make themselues. And whereas we vse to giue yard and inch, or yard and handfull, they do giue nothing but bare measure.

They haue also measure wherewith they doe mete their corne, which they cal a Setforth, and the halfe of that an Osmine: this Setforth I take to bee three bushels of London measure. And as for their drinke measure, they call it a Spanne, which is much like a bucket, and of that I neuer saw any true rate, but that some was greater then other some. And as for the measures of Wardhouse wherewith they mete their cloth, there is no difference between that and the measure of Danske, which is halfe an English ell.

Concerning the tolles and customs of Russia, it was reported to me in Moscouia, that the Turkes and Armenians pay the tenth penie custome of all the wares they bring into the Emperors land, and aboue that they pay for all such goods as they weigh at the Emperours beame, two pence of the Rubble, which ye buyer or seller must make report to the Master of the beame: they also pay a certaine horse toll, which is in diuers places of his Realme four pence of a horse.

The Dutch nation are free of this: notwithstanding for certaine offences, they had lost their priuiledges which they haue rccouered this Summer to their great charge. It was reported to me by a Iustice of that countrey, that they paied for it thirtie thousand Rubbles, and also that Rye, Dorpte and Reuel haue yeelded themselues vnder the gouernment of the Emperor of Russia: whether this was a bragge of the Russes or not, I know not, but thus he sayd, and in deed whiles we were there, there came a great Ambassadour out of Liefland, for the assurance of their priuiledges.

To speake somewhat of the commodities of this countrey, it is to be vnderstood, that there is a certaine place foure score miles from the Sea called Colmogro: to which place there resorte all the sortes of Wares that are in the North parts, as Oyles, Salt, Stockefish, Salmon, Fethers and Furres: their Salt they make of saltwater by the sea side: their Oyles they make of Seales, whereof they haue great store which is brought out of the Bay where our shippes came in: they make it in the Spring of the yeere, and bring it ſto Colmogro to sell, and the marchants there carie it to Nouogrode, and so sell it to the Dutch nation. Their Stockefish and Salmon commeth from a place called Mallums, not farre from Wardhouse: their Salmon and their Salt they carrie to Mosco, and their drie fish they carrie to Nouogrode, and sell it there to the Lieflanders.

The Furres and Fethers which come to Colmogro, as Sables, Beauers, Minkes, Armine, Lettis, Graies, Wooluerings, and white Foxes, with Deere skinnes, they are brought thither, by the men of Penninge, Lampas, and Powstezer, which fetch them from the Samoedes that are counted sauage people: and the merchants that bring these Furres doe vse to trucke with the marchants of Colmogro for Cloth, Tinne, Batrie, and such other like, and the merchants of Colmogro carie them to Nouogrode, Vologda, or Mosco, and sell them there. The Fethers which come fom Penning they doe little esteeme.

If our marchants do desire to know the meetest place of Russia for the standing house, in mine opinion I take it to be Vologda, which is a great towne standing in the heart of Russia, with many great and good towns about it. There is great plenty of corne, victuals, and of all such wares as are raised in Rusland, but specially, flaxe, hempe, tallow and bacon: there is also great store of waxe, but it commeth from the Mosko.

The towne of Vologda is meetest for our marchants, because it lieth amongst all the best towns of Russia, and there is no towne in Russia but trades with it: also the water is a great commoditie to it. If they plant themselues in Mosco or Nouogrode their charge will be great and wonderfull, but not so in Vologda: for all things will there be had better cheape by the one half. And for their vent, I know no place so meet. It is likely that some will think ye Mosko to be the meetest by the reason of the court, but by that reason I take it to be woorse: for the charge there would be so great by crauers and expenses, that the moitie of the profite would bee wholly consumed, which in the other place will be saued. And yet notwithstanding our marchants may bee there in the Winter to serue the Emperour and his court. The Emperour is a great marchant himselfe of waxe and sables, which with good foresight may bee procured to their hands: as for other commodities there are little or none in Moscouia, besides those aboue rehearsed: if there bee other, it is brought thither by the Turkes, who will be daintie to buy our clothes considering the charges of cariage ouer land.

Our marchants may doe well to prouide for the Russes such wares as the Dutch nation doeth serue them of, as Flanders and Holland clothes, which I beleeue, they shal serue better and with lesse charge than they of Rye or Dorpt, or Reuel: for it is no smal aduenture to bring their clothes out of Flanders to either of these places, and their charge not litle to cary them ouer lande to Nouogrode, which is from Rye nine hundred Russian miles.

This Nouogrode is a place wel furnished with flaxe, Waxe, Hides, tallow and many other things: the best flaxe in Russia is brought thither and there sold by the hundred bundles, which is done also at Vologda, and they that bring the flaxe to Nouogrode, dwell as neere Vologda, as Nouogrode, and when they heare of the vtterance which they may haue with our nation, they will as willingly come to them as goe to other.

They haue in Russia two sortes of flaxe, the one is called great flaxe, and the other small: that which they call great flaxe is better by foure rubbles in 100. bundels than the small: It is much longer than the other, and cleaner without wood: and whereas of the small flaxe there goe 27. or 28 bundles to a shippound, there goeth not of the greater sort aboue 22. or 24. at the most. There are many other trifles in Russia, as sope, mats, &c. but I thinke there will bee no great account made of them.

A copie of the first Priuileges graunted by the Emperour of Russia to the English Marchants in the yeere 1555.

Iohn Vasiliuich, by the grace of God Emperor of Russia, great duke of Nouogrode, Moscouia, &c. To all people that shall see, reade, heare or vnderstand these presents, greeting. Forasmuch as God hath planted al realmes and dominions in the whole world with sundry commodities, so as the one hath neede of the amity and commodities of the other, and by means thereof traffike is vsed from one to another, and amity therby increased: and for that as amongst men nothing is more to be desired than amity, without the which no creature being of a naturall good disposition can liue in quietnes, so that it is as troublesome to be vtterly wanting, as it is perceiued to be grieuous to the body to lacke aire, fire, or any other necessaries most requisite for the conseruation and maintenance thereof in health: considering also how needfull marchandize is, which furnisheth men of all that which is conuenient for their liuing and nouriture, for their clothing, trimming, the satisfying of their delights, and all other things conuenient and profitable for them, and that marchandize bringeth the same commodities from diuers quarters in so great abundance, as by meanes thereof nothing is lacking in any part, and that all things be in euery place (where entercourse of marchandizes is receiued and imbraced) generally in such sort, as amity thereby is entred into, and planted to continue, and the inioyers thereof be as men liuing in a golden world: Vpon these respects and other weighty and good considerations, vs hereunto mouing, and chiefly vpon the contemplation of the gracious letters, directed from the right high, right excellent, and right mighty Queene Mary, by the grace of God Queene of England, France, &c. in the fauour of her subiects, merchants, the gouernour, consuls, assistants, and communaltie of merchants aduenturers for discouery of lands, &c.

Know ye therefore, that we of our grace speciall, meere motion, and certaine knowledge, have giuen and graunted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successours, do giue and graunt as much as in vs is and lieth, vnto Sebastian Cabota Gouernour, Sir George Barnes knight, &c. Consuls: Sir Iohn Gresham, &c. Assistants, and to the communaltie of the aforenamed fellowship, and to their successours for euer, and to the successours of euerie of them, these articles, graunts, immunities, franchises, liberties and priuileges, and euery of them hereafter following, expressed and declared. Videlicet:

1. First, we for vs, our heires and successors, do by these presents giue and graunt free licence, facultie, authority and power vnto the said Gouernour, Consuls, Assistants, and communalty of the said fellowship, and to their successors for euer, that all and singular the marchants of the same company, their Agents, factours, doers of their businesse, atturneys, seruants, and ministers,

and euery of them may at all times hereafter for euer more surely, freely and safely with their shippes, merchandizes, goods and things whatsoeuer saile, come and enter into all and singular our lands, countreis, dominions, cities, townes, villages, castles, portes, iurisdictions, and destraicts by sea, land or fresh waters, and there tary, abide and soiourne, and buy, sell, barter and change all kind of merchandizes with al maner of marchants and people, of whatsoeuer nation, rite, condition, state or degrees they be, and with the same or other ships, wares, marchandizes, goods and things whatsoeuer they be, vnto other empires, kingdomes, dukedomes, parts, and to any other place or places at their pleasure and liberty by sea, land or fresh waters may depart, and exercise all kinde of merchandizes in our empire and dominions, and euery part thereof freely and quietly without any restraint, impeachment, price, exaction, prest, straight custome, toll, imposition, or subsidie to be demanded, taxed or paid, or at any time hereafter to be demanded, taxed, set, leuied or inferred vpon them or any of them, or vpon their goods, ships, wares, marchandizes, and things, of, for or vpon any part or parcell thereof, or vpon the goods, ships, wares, merchandizes, and things of any of them, so that they shall not need any other safe conduct or licence generall, ne speciall of vs, our heires or successours, neither shall be bound to aske any safe conduct or licence in any of the aforesaid places subiect vnto vs.

2. Item, we giue and graunt, to the said marchants this power and liberty, that they, ne any of them, ne their goods, wares, marchandizes or things, ne any part thereof, shal be by any meanes within our dominions, landes, countreyes, castles, townes, villages, or other place or places of our iurisdiction, at any time heereafter attached, staied, arrested ne disturbed for anie debt, duetie or other thing, for the which they be not principall debters or sureties, ne also, for any offence or trespasse committed, or that shall be committed, but onely for such as they or any of them shall actually commit, and the same offences (if any such happen,) shall bee by vs onely heard, and determined.

3. Item, we giue and graunt, that the said Marchants shal and may haue free libertie, power, and authoritie to name, choose and assigne brokers, shippers, packers, weighers, measurers, wagoners, and all other meet and necessary laborers for to serue them in their feat of marchandises, and minister and giue vnto them and euery of them a corporall othe, to serue them well and truely in

their offices, and finding them or any of them doing contrary to his or their othe, may punish and dismisse them, and from time to time choose, sweare, and admit other in their place or places, without contradiction, let, vexation or disturbance, either of vs, our heires or successors, or of any other our Iustices, officers, ministers or subiects whatsoeuer.

4. Item, we giue and graunt vnto the saide Marchants and their successours, that such person as is, or shalbe commended vnto vs, our heires or successours by the Gouernour, Consuls and assistants of the said fellowship residant within the citie of London within the realme of England, to be their chiefe Factor within this our empire and dominions, may and shal haue ful power and authoritie to gouerne and rule all Englishmen that haue had, or shall haue accesse, or repaire in or to this said Empire and iurisdictions, or any part thereof, and shal and may minister vnto them, and euery of them good iustice in all their causes, plaints, quarrels, and disorders betweene them moued, and to be moued, and assemble, deliberate, consult, conclude, define, determine, and make such actes, and ordinances, as he so commended with his Assistants shall thinke good and meete for the good order, gouernment and rule of the said Marchants, and all other Englishmen repairing to this our saide empire or dominions, or any part thereof, and to set and leuie vpon all, and euery Englishman, offender or offenders, of such their acts and ordinances made, and to be made, penalties and mulcts by fine and imprisonment.

5. Item, if it happen that any of the saide Marchants, or other Englishmen, as one or more doe rebell against such chiefe Factor or Factors, or his or their deputies, and will not dispose him or themselues to obey them and euery of them as shall appertaine, if the saide Rebels or disobedients doe come, and bee founde in our our saide Empire and iurisdictions, or any part and place thereof, then wee promise and graunt, that all and euery our officers, ministers, and subiects shall effectually ayde and assist the saide chiefe Factour or Factours, and their deputies, and for their power shall really woorke, to bring such rebell or disobedient rebels, or disobedients to due obedience: and to that intent shall lende vnto the same Factour or Factours, and their deputies vpon request therefore to be made, prisons, and instruments for punishments from time to time.

6. Item, we promise vnto the saide Marchants, and their successours, vpon their request to exhibite and doe vnto them good,

exact and fauourable iustice, with expedition in all their causes, and that when they or any of them shall haue accesse, or come to or before any of our Iustices, for any their plaints mooued, and to bee mooued betweene any our subiects or other stranger, and them, or any of them, that then they shalbe first and forthwith heard, as soon as the party which they shal find before our Iustices shalbe depeached, which party being heard forthwith, and assoone as may be, the said English marchants shall be ridde and dispatched: And if any action shall be moued by or against any of the said Marchants being absent out of our saide empire and dominions, then such Marchants may substitute an Atturney in all and singular his causes to be followed as need shall require, and as shall seeme to him expedient.

7. Item, wee graunt and promise to the saide Marchants, and to their successours, that if the same Marchants or any of them shall bee wounded, or (which God forbid) slaine in any part or place of our Empire or dominions, then good information thereof giuen, Wee and our Iustices and other officers shall execute due correction and punishment without delay, according to the exigence of the case: so that it shall bee an example to all other not to commit the like. And if it shall chaunce the factors, seruants, or ministers of the saide Marchants or any of them to trespasse or offende, whereby they or any of them shall incurre the danger of death or punishment, the goods, wares, marchandizes, and things of their Masters shall not therefoore bee forfaited, confiscated, spoiled ne seised by any meanes by vs, our heires or successours, or by any our officers, ministers or subiects, but shall remaine to their vse, franke, free, and discharged from all punishment and losse.

8. Item, we graunt that if any of the English nation be arrested for any debt, he shal not be laid in prison, so farre as he can put in sufficient suretie and pawne: neither shall any sergeant, or officer leade them or any of them to prison, before he shall have knowen whether the chiefe Factor or factors, or their deputies shalbe sureties, or bring in pawne for such arrested: then the officers shal release the partie, and shall set him or them at libertie.

9. Moreouer, we giue, graunt and promise to the saide Marchants, that if any of their ships or other vessels shall bee spoyled, robbed, or damnified in sayling, anckoring or returning to or from our saide Empires and Dominions, or any part thereof, by any

Pirats, Marchants, or other person, whatsoeuer hee or they bee, that then and in such case, wee will doe all that in vs is to cause restitution, reparation, and satisfaction to bee duely made to the said English marchants by our letters and otherwise, as shall stand with our honour, and be consonant to equitie and iustice.

10. Item, for vs, our heires and successours, wee doe promise and graunt to performe, mainteine, corroborate, autenticate and obserue all and singular the aforesaide liberties, franchises, and priuiledges, like as presently we firmely doe intend, and will corroborate, autentike and performe the same by all meane and way that we can, as much as may be to the commoditie and profite of the said English Marchants, and their successours for euer.

And to the intent that all and singuler the saide giftes, graunts and promises, may bee inuiolably obserued and performed, we the said Iohn Vasiliuich by the grace of God Emperor of Russia, great Duke of Nouogrode, Mosco, &c. for vs, our heires and successors, by our Imperiall and lordly word in stead of an othe, haue and doe promise by these presents, inuiolably to mainteyne and obserue, and cause to be inuiolably obserued and mainteined all and singuler the aforesayde giftes, graunts and promises from time to time, and at all and euery time and times heereafter. And for the more corroboration hereof haue caused our Signet hereunto to be put: Dated in our Castle of Mosco the 20. day of * * * in the yeere * * *.

The Charter of the Marchants of Russia, graunted vpon the discouerie of the saide Countrey by King Philip and Queene Marie.

PHilip and Marie, by the grace of God King and Queene, &c. To all manner of officers, true Iurie men, ministers and subiects, and to all other people as well within this our Realme or elsewhere vnder our obeysance, iurisdiction, and rule, or otherwise vnto whome these our letters shall bee shewed, seene, or read, greeting.

Whereas wee be credibly informed, that our right trusttie, right faithfull, and welbeloued Counsailors, William Marques of Winchester Lord high Treasurer of this our Realme of England, Henrie Earle of Arundel Lord Steward of our housholde, Iohn Earle of Bedford Lord keeper of our priuie Seale, William Earle of Pembroke, William Lorde Howard of Effingham Lorde high

Admirall of our saide Realme of England, &c. Haue at their own aduenture, costs and charges, prouided, rigged, and tackled certaine ships, pinnesses, and other meete vessels, and the same furnished with all things necessary haue aduanced and set forward, for to discouer, descrie, and finde Isles, landes, territories, Dominions, and Seigniories vnknowen, and by our subiects before this not commonly by sea frequented, which by the sufferance and grace of Almightie God, it shall chaunce them sailing Northwards, Northeastwards, and Northwestwards, or any partes thereof, in that race or course which other Christian Monarches (being with vs in league and amitie) haue not heeretofore by Seas traffiqued, haunted, or frequented, to finde and attaine by their said aduenture, as well for the glorie of God, as for the illustrating of our honour and dignitie royall, in the increase of the reuenues of our Crowne, and generall wealth of this and other our Realmes and Dominions, and of our subiects of the same: And to this intent our subiects aboue specified and named, haue most humbly beseeched vs, that our abundant grace, fauour and clemencie may be gratiously extended vnto them in this behalfe: whereupon wee inclined to the petition of the foresaide our Counsailours, subiects and marchants, and willing to animate, aduance, further and nourish them in their said godlie, honest, and good purpose, and, as we hope, profitable aduenture, and that they may the more willingly, and readily atchieue the same. Of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, haue graunted, and by these presents doe graunt, for vs, our heires and successours, vnto our said right trustie, and right faithfull, andright wel beloued Counsailours, and the other before named persons, that they by the name of marchants aduenturers of England, for the discouery of lands, territories, Iles, Dominions, and Seigniories vnknowen, and not before that late aduenture or enterprise by sea or Nauigation, commonly frequented as aforesaid, shalbe from henceforth one bodie and perpetuall fellowship and communaltie of themselues, both in deede and in name, and them, by the names of Marchants aduenturers for the discouerie of lands, territories, Iles and seigniories vnknowen, and not by the seas, and Nauigations, before their saide late aduenture or enterprise by sea or Nauigation commonly frequented, We doe imcorporate, name, and declare by these presents, and that the same fellowship or communalty from henceforth shalbe, and may haue one Gouernour of the saide fellowship, and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers.

And in consideration that one Sebastian Cabota hath bin the chiefest setter forth of this iourney or voyage, therefore we make, ordeine, and constitute him the said Sebastian to be the first and present gouernour of the same fellowship and communaltie, by these presents. To haue and enioy the said office of Gouernour, to him the said Sebastian Cabota during his naturall life, without amouing or dismissing from the same roome.

And furthermore, we graunt vnto the same fellowship and communaltie and their successors, that they the saide fellowship and communaltie, and their successors after the decease of the saide Sebastian Cabota, shall, and may freely and lawfully in places conuenient and honest, assemble themselues together, or so many of them as will or can assemble together, as well within our citie of London, or elsewhere, as it shall please them, in such sort and maner, as other worshipfull corporations of our saide citie haue vsed to assemble, and there yeerely name, elect and choose one Gouernour or two of themselues, and their liberties, and also as well yeerely during the natural life of the said Sebastian Cabota now Gouernour, as also at the election of such saide Gouernour or gouernours before his decease, to choose, name, and appoint eight and twentie of the most sad, discreete, and honest persons of the saide fellowship, and communaltie of Marchant aduenturers, as is aboue specified, and 4. of the most expert and skilfull persons of the same 28. to be named and called Consuls, and 24. of the residue, to be named and called Assistants to the saide Gouernour or gouernours, and Consuls for the time being, which shal remaine and stand in their authorities for one whole yeere then next following. And if it shall fortune the saide Gouernour, Consuls, and assistants, or any of them so to be elected, and chosen as is aforesaid, to die within the yeere after his or their election, that then and so often, it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said fellowship, and communalty, to elect and choose of themselues other Gouernour or gouernours, Consuls and assistants, in the place and steade of such as so shall happen to die, to serue out the same yeere.

And further we do make, ordeine, and constitute George Barnes knight and Alderman of our Citie of London, William Garret Alderman of our saide Citie, Anthonie Husie, and Iohn Suthcot, to be the first and present 4. Consuls of the said fellowship and communalty by these presents, to haue and enioy the said offices of Consuls to them the said George Barnes, William Garret, Anthony Husie, and Iohn Suthcot, for terme of one whole yere next after ye date of these our letters patents: And we doe likewise make, ordeine and constitute Sir Iohn Gresham knight, Sir Andrew Iudde knight, Sir Thomas White knight, Sir Iohn Yorke knight, Thomas Offley the elder, Thomas Lodge, Henry Herdson, Iohn Hopkins, William Watson, Will. Clifton, Richard Pointer, Richard Chamberlaine, William Mallorie, Thomas Pallie the elder, William Allen, Henry Becher, Geffrey Walkenden, Richard Fowles, Rowland Heyward, George Eaton, Iohn Ellot, Iohn Sparke, Blase Sanders, and Miles Mording, to be the first and present 24. Assistants to the saide Gouernour or governours, and Consuls, and to the said fellowship and communaltie by these presents, to haue and enioy the said offices of assistants to them for terme of one whole yere, next after the date of these our letters patents. And further, we for vs, our heires and successors, as much as in vs is, wil and graunt by these presents vnto the saide Gouernour, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and company of Marchants aduenturers aforesaid, and to their successors, that the said gouernour or gouernours, 4. Consuls, and 24. assistants, that now by these patents are nominated and appointed, or that hereafter by the saide fellowship and communaltie of marchants aduenturers, or the more part of them, which shalbe then present, so from time to time to be chosen, so that there be 15. at the least wholy agreed therof, the said Gouernour or gouernours, or one of them, and 2. of the said Consuls shalbe there, and 12. of the residue of the said number of 15. shall be of the saide assistants, and in the absence of such Gouernour, that then 3. of the said Consuls, and 12. of the saide assistants at the least for the time being shal and may haue, vse and exercise ful power and authority to rule and gouerne all and singuler the Marchants of the said fellowship and communaltie, and to execute and doe full and speedie iustice to them, and euery of them, in all their causes, differences, variances, controuersies, quarrels, and complaints, within any our realmes, dominions and iurisdictions onely moued, and to be moued touching their marchandise, traffikes, and occupiers aforesaid, or the good order or rule of them or any of them.

Also wee for vs, our heires and successours, so much as in vs is, doe likewise by these presents graunt, that the said Gouernour, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communaltie, and their successors shall and may haue perpetuall succession, and a common

Seale which shall perpetually serue for the affaires and businesse of the saide fellowship and communaltie. And that they and their successours, shall and may bee for euer able persons, and capax in the lawe, for to purchase and possesse in fee and perpetuitie, and for term of life or liues, or for terme of yeeres or otherwise, lands, tenements, rents, reuersions, and other possessions, and hereditaments whatsoeuer they bee, by the name of the Gouernour, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communaltie of the Marchants aduenturers by Seas and Nauigations for the discouerie of landes, territories, Iles, Dominions, and Seigniories vnknowen, and before the saide last aduenture or enterprise by seas not frequented, as before is specified, and by the same names shall and may lawfully alien, graunt, let and set the same or any part thereof to any person or persons able in the lawe to take and receiue the same. So that they doe not graunt nor alien the same, or any part thereof into mortmaine, without speciall licence of vs, our heires or successours, first had and obtained.

Also wee for vs, our heires and successours haue graunted, and by these presents doe graunt vnto the saide Gouernours, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communaltie of the saide Marchants and to their successours, that they and their successours, shall and may lawfully purchase vnto them and their successors for euer, landes, tenements and hereditaments whatsoeuer, of the cleare yeerely value of threescore sixe pounds, thirteene shillings and foure pence of lawful money of England and not aboue, as well of such lands, tenements and hereditaments, as be holden or shall be holden of vs, our heires or successours, as of any other person or persons, the statutes prouided against alienations into mortmaine, or any of them, or any article or clause in them or any of them contained, or any other lawe, custome, statute or prouision to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And that they by the name of the Gouernour, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers, for the discouerie of lands, territories, Isles, dominions and Seigniories vnknowen by the Seas and Nauigations, and not before the said late aduenture or enterprise by seas frequented as aforesaid, shall and may be able in the law to implead, and be impleaded, to answere, and to be answered, to defende, and to be defended before whatsoeuer Iudge or Iustice, temporall or spirituall, or other persons whatsoeuer, in whatsoeuer court, or courts, and in all actions personall, reall, and mixt, and in euery of them, and in all plaints of nouel disseison, and also in all plaints, suites, quarels, affaires, businesses and demaunds whatsoeuer they bee, touching and concerning the saide fellowship and communaltie, and the affaires and businesse of the same onely, in as ample manner and forme, as any other corporation of this our Realme may doe.

Moreouer, wee for vs, our heires and successours, haue giuen and graunted, and by these presents doe giue and graunt vnto the said Gouernour, Consuls, assistants, fellowshippe, and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers aforesaide, and to their successours, that the saide Gouernour, or Gouernours, Consuls and assistants, and their successors, in maner, forme, and number afore rehearsed, shall haue full power and authoritie from time to time hereafter, to make, ordein, establish and erect all such statutes, actes and ordinaunces, for the gouernement, good condition, and laudable rule of the saide fellowship and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers aforesaid, as to them shall bee thought good, meete, conuenient and necessarie, and also to admit vnto the saide Corporation and fellowship to be free of the same, such and as many persons, as to them shal bee thought good, meete, conuenient and necessarie. And that euery such person or persons, as shall fortune heereafter to bee admitted into the saide fellowshippe, communaltie and corporation, shal from the time of his or their admittance, be free of the same. And also wee will, and by these presents, graunt for vs, our heires and successours, vnto the saide Gouernours, Consuls, assistants, fellowship, communaltie of Marchants aduenturers aforesaid, and to their successours, that the Gouernour, or gouernors, Consuls and assistants of the same, in maner, forme, and number afore rehearsed, and their successours for the time being, shall, and may haue full power and authoritie by these presents from time to time, as to them shal seeme good, to limite, set, ordeine and make, mulcts, and penalties by fines, forfeitures, and imprisonments, or any of them vpon any offender of the saide fellowship and communaltie, for any offence touching the same fellowhip and communaltie, and also that all acts and ordinances by them or their successours to bee made, which time shall thinke not necessarie or preiudiciall to the saide fellowship or communaltie, at al times to reuoke, breake, frustrate, annihilate, repeale and dissolue at their pleasure and liberty. And further, wee will, that if any of the saide fellowship and communaltie shalbe found contrarious, rebellious, or disobedient to the saide Gouernour or gouernours, Consuls, and the said assistants for the time being, or to any statutes, acts or ordinances by them made or to be made, that then the saide Gouernour or gouernours, Consuls, and the saide assistants, in maner, forme, and number aboue specified, for the time being shall and may by vertue of these presents, mulct, and punish euery such offender or offenders, as the quality of the offence requireth, according to their good discretions.

And further, we will that none of the saide offender or offenders shall decline from the power of the saide Gouernour, or gouernours, Consuls and assistants, in maner, forme, and number abouesaide for the time being: so alwayes, that the saide actes, statutes and ordinances, doe onely touch and concerne the saide Gouernour or gouernours, Consuls, assistants, and the saide fellowship and communaltie of our before named Marchants aduenturers, or the men of the same fellowship and communaltie, and none other; And so alwayes, that such their acts, statutes and ordinances bee not against our prerogatiue, lawes, statutes, and customes of our realmes and Dominions, nor contrary to the seuerall duetie of any our subiects towards vs, our heires and successours, nor contrarie to any compacts, treaties or leagues, by vs or any our progenitours heretofore had or made, or hereafter by vs, our heires and successours to bee made, to or with any forreine Prince or potentate, nor also to the preiudice of the corporation of the Maior, communalties and Citizens of our Citie of London, nor to the preiudice of any person or persons, bodie politique, or corporate or incorporate, iustly pretending, clayming, or hauing any liberties, franchises, priuiledges, rightes or prehemінences, by vertue or pretext of anie graunt, gift, or Letters patents, by vs, or anie our Progenitours, heeretofore giuen, graunted, or made.

Moreouer, we for vs, our heires, and successours, will, and by these presents, doe graunt vnto the said Gouernors, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communaltie of our Marchants aforesaid, that their said Gouernour or gouernours, Consuls and assistants, and their successors for the time being, in maner, forme and number aboue rehearsed, shal haue full power and authoritie to assigne, constitute and ordaine one officer, or diuers officers as well within our aforesaide Citie of London, as also in any other place or places of this our Realme of England, or else where within our dominions, which officer or officers, wee will to be named and called by the name of Sergeant or Serjeants to the fellowship or communalty of the said marchants, and that the said sergeant or sergeants, shall and may haue full power and authoritie by these presents, to take, leuie and gather all maner fines, forfeitures, penalties and mulcts of euery person and persons, of the saide fellowship and communaltie conuict, and that shalbe conuicted, vpon or for breaking of any statutes, acts, ordinances, to bee made by the saide Gouernour or gouernours, Consuls and assistants for the time being.

And further, we will and also graunt for vs, our heires, and successours, that the saide officer or officers shall haue further power and authoritie for the default of payment, or for disobedience in this behalfe (if neede be) to set hands and arrest aswell the bodie and bodies, as the goods and chattels of such offender, and offenders, and transgressers, in euery place and places not franchised. And if it shall fortune any such offender or offenders, their goods and chattels or any part thereof, to be in any citie, borough, towne incorporate, or other place franchised or priuiledged, where the said officer or officers may not lawfully intromit or intermeddle, that then the Maior, shirifes, baylifes, and other head officers, or ministers, within euery such citie, borough, towne incorparate or place or places franchised, vpon a precept to them, or any of them, to be directed from the gouernour or gouernours, Consuls and assistants of the said fellowship, in number and forme aforesaid, vnder the common seale of the sayd fellowship and communaltie for the time being, shall and may attach and arrest the body or bodies of such offender or offenders, as also take, and seise the goods and chattels of all and euery such offender or offenders, being within any such place or places franchised, and the same body and bodies, goods and chattels of all and euery such offender and offenders, being within any such place or places franchised, and euery part therof so attached and seazed, shall according to the tenor and purport of the sayd precept, returne, and deliuer vnto the sayd officer or officers of the aforesaid fellowship, and communaltie.

And further, we will and grant for vs, our heires and successours by these presents, that all, and euery such Maior, shirife, baylife, or other head officers or ministers of any citie, borough, towne incorporate, or other places franchised, shall not be impeached, molested, vexed or sued in any our court or courts, for executing or putting in execution of any of the said precept or precepts.

And furthermore, we of our ample and abundant grace, meere motion, and certaine knowledge, for vs, our heires, and successors, as much as in vs is, haue giuen and granted, and by these presents doe giue and grant vnto the sayd gouernour, Consuls, assistants, fellowship, and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers, and to their successors, and to the Factor and Factors, assigne and assignes of euery of them, ful and free authoritie, libertie, facultie and licence, and power to saile to all portes, regions, dominions, territories, landes, Isles, Islands, and coastes of the sea, wheresoeuer before their late aduenture or enterprise vnknowen, or by our Marchants and subiects by the seas not heretofore commonly frequented, vnder our banner, standerd, flags and ensignes, with their shippe, ships, barke, pinnesses, and all other vessels of whatsoeuer portage, bulke, quantitie or qualitie they may be, and with any Mariners, and men as they will leade with them in such shippe or shippes, or other vessels at their owne and proper costs and expences, for to traffique, descrie, discouer and finde, whatsoeuer Isle, Islands, countreis, regions, prouinces, creekes, armes of the sea, riuers and streames, as wel of Gentiles, as of any other Emperor, king, prince, gouernor or Lord whatsoeuer he or they shalbe, and in whatsoeuer part of the world they be situated, being before the sayd late aduenture or enterprise vnknowen, and by our Marchants and subiects not commonly frequented: and to enter and land in the same, without any maner of denying, paine, penaltie or forfeiture to be had or taken by anie our lawes, customes or statutes to our vse, or to the vse of our heires or successors for the same.

K. Philip and Queene Mary hereby do disanull Pope Alexanders diuision.*

And we haue also granted, and by these presents, for vs, our heires and successors, doe graunt vnto the sayd Gouernours, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communalty, and to their successours, and to their Factors and assignes, and to euery of them, licence for to reare, plant, erect, and fasten our banners, standards, flags, and Ensignes, in whatsoeuer citie, towne, village, castle, Isle, or maine lande, which shall be by them newly found, without any the penalties, forfeitures, or dangers aforesayde, and that the sayd fellowship and communalty, and their successors, Factors and assignes and euery of them shall and may subdue, possesse, and occupie, all maner cities, townes, Isles, and maine lands of infidelitie, which is or shal be by them, or any of them newly founde or descried, as our vassals and subiects, and for to acquire and get the Dominion, title, and iurisdiction of the same Cities, Townes, Castles, Villages, Isles, and maine landes, which shall bee by them, or any of them newly discouered or found vnto vs, our heires and successours for euer.

---

* Alexander VI., the father of Lucretia and Cæsar Borgia, had divided the Indies between Spain and Portugal.

And furthermore, whereas by the voyage of our subiects in this last yeere* attempted by Nauigation, towards the discouerie and disclosure of vnknowen places, Realmes, Islandes, and Dominions by the seas not frequented, it hath pleased Almighty God to cause one of the three shippes by them set foorth for the voyage, and purpose aboue mentioned, named the Edward Bonaventure, to arriue, abide, and winter within the Empire and dominions of the high and mightie Prince our cousin and brother, Lord Iohn Basiliuich Emperour of all Russia, Volodomer, great duke of Moscouie, &c. Who, of his clemencie, for our loue and zeale, did not onely admitte the Captaine, and marchants our subiects into his protection, and Princely presence, but also receiued and interteined them very graciously, and honourably, granting vnto them by his letters addressed vnto vs, franke accesse into all his Seigniories and dominions, with license freely to traffique in and out with all his Subiects in all kinde of Marchandise, with diuers other gracious priuiledges, liberties and immunities specified in his sayde letters vnder his Signet: Know yee therefore that wee of our further royall fauour and munificence, of our meere motion, certaine knowledge, and speciall grace, for vs our heires and successours, haue giuen and graunted, and by these presents doe giue and graunt vnto the same Gouernours, Consuls, assistants, fellowship, and comunalty aboue named, and to their successours, as much as in vs is, that all the mayne landes, Isles, Portes, hauens, creekes, and riuers of the said mighty Emperour of all Russia, and great Duke of Mosco, &c. And all and singuler other lands, dominions territories, Isles, Portes, hauens, creekes, riuers, armes of the sea, of al and euery other Emperor, king, prince, ruler, and gouernour, whatsoeuer he or they before the said late aduenture or enterprise not knowen, or by our foresayd marchants and subiects by the seas not commonly frequented, nor by any part nor parcell thereof lying Northwards, Northeastwards, or Northwestwards, as is aforesayd, by sea shall not be visited, frequented nor hanted by any our subiects, other then of the sayd company and felowship, and their successours without expresse licence, agreement and consent of the Gouernour, Consuls, and Assistants of the said felowship and communaltie aboue named, or the more part of them, in manner and number aforesayd, for the time being, vpon paine of forfeiture and losse, as well of the shippe and shippes, with the appurtenances, as also of all the goods, marchandises, and things whatsoeuer they be, of those our subiects, not being of the sayd felowship and communalty, which shall attempt and presume to saile to any of those places, which bee, or hereafter shall happen to bee found, and traffiked vnto: the one hafe of the same forfeiture to be to the vse of vs, our heires and successors, and the other halfe to be to the vse of the sayd fellowship and communaltie. And if it shall fortune anie stranger or strangers, for to attempt to hurt, hinder, or endamage the same marchants, their factors, deputies, or assignes, or any of them in sailing, going or returning at any time in the sayd aduenture, or for to saile or trade to or from any those places, landes or coastes, which by the sayd marchants, their factors, deputies and assignes haue bene, or shall bee descried, discouered and found, or frequented, aswell within the coastes and limites of gentility, as within the dominions and Seigniories of the sayd mighty Emperour and Duke, and of all and euery other Emperour, King, Prince, Ruler and gouernour whatsoeuer he or they be, before the sayd late aduenture or enterprise not knowen by any our said marchants and subiects, by the seas not commonly frequented, and lying Northwards, Northwestwards or Northeastwards as aforesaid, then wee will and grant, and by these presents doe licence, and authorise for vs, our heires and successors, the said marchants, their factors, deputies, and assignes, and euery of them to doe their best in their defence, to resist the same their enterprises and attempts. Willing therefore, and straightly commanding and charging al and singular our Officers, Maiors, Sherifes, Escheators, Constables, Bailifes, and all and singuler other our ministers and liege men, and subiects whatsoeuer, to bee aiding, fauouring, helping and assisting vnto the sayd gouernour or gouernours, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communalty, and to their successors and deputies, factors, seruants, and assignes, and to the deputies, factors and assignes of euery of them, in executing and enioying the premisses, as well on land as in the sea, from

---

* Anno 1554.

The largenes of the priuiledge of the Muscouite companie.

time to time, and at all times when you or any of you shall be thereunto required. In witnesse whereof, &c.

Apud Westmonasterium, 6 die Feb. Annis
Regnorum nostrorum, primo et secundo.*

CErtaine instructions deliuered in the third voyage, Anno 1556. for Russia, to euery Purser and the rest of the seruants, taken for the voyage, which may serue as good and necessary directions, to all other like aduenturers.

1. First you before the ship doth begin to lade, goe aboord, and shall there take, and write one inuentorie, by the aduise of the Master, or of some other principall officer there aboord, of all the tackle, apparell, cables, ankers, ordinance, chambers, shot, powder, artillerie, and of all other necessaries whatsoeuer doth belong to the sayd ship: and the same iustly taken, you shall write in a booke, making the sayd Master, or such officer priuie of that which you haue so written, so that the same may not be denied, when they shall call accompt thereof: that done, you shall write a copie of the same with your owne hand, which you shall deliuer before the shippe shall depart, for the voyage to the companies booke keeper here to be kept to their behalfe, to the ende that they may be iustly answered the same, when time shall require: and this order to be seene and kept euery voyage orderly, by the Pursers of the companies owne ship, in any wise.

2. Also when the shippe beginneth to lade, you shall be ready a boord with your booke, to enter such goods as shall be brought aboord, to be laden for the company, packed, or vnpacked, taking the markes and numbers of euery packe, fardell, trusse, or packet, corouoya, chest, fatte, butte, pipe, puncheon, whole barrell, halfe barrell, firken, or other caske, maunde, or basket, or any other thing, which may, or shall be packed by any other manner of waies or deuise. And first, all such packes, or trusses, &c. as shal be brought aboord to be laden, not marked by the companies marke, you shall doe the best to let that the same be not laden, and to enquire diligently to know the owners thereof, if you can, and what commoditie the same is, that is so brought aboord to be laden: if you can not know the owners of such goods, learne what you can thereof, as well making a note in your booke, as also to send or bring

---

* Anno 1555.

word thereof to the Agent, and to some one of the foure Marchants with him adioined so speedily as you can, if it be here laden or to be laden in this riuer, being not marked with the companies marke, as is aforesaid: and when the sayd shippe hath receiued in all that the companies Agent will haue laden, you shall make a iust copie of that which is laden, reciting the parcels, the markes and numbers of euery thing plainely, which you shall likewise deliuer to the sayd bookekeeper to the vse aforesayd.

3. Also when the ship is ready to depart, you shall come for your cockets and letters to the Agent, and shall shew him all such letters as you haue receiued of any person or persons priuately or openly, to be deliuered to any person or persons in Russia or elsewhere, and also to declare if you know any other that shall passe in the ship either master or mariner that hath receiued any letters to be priuily deliuered to any there, directed from any persons or persons, other then from the Agent here to the Agent there: which letters so by you receiued, you shall not carie with you, without you be licensed so to doe by the Agent here, and some of the foure merchants, as is aforesaid: and such others as doe passe, hauing receiued any priuie letters to be deliuered, you shal all that in you lieth, let the deliuerie of them at your arriuing in Russia: and also if you haue or do receiue, or shal know any other that doth or hath receiued any goods or ready money to be imployed in Russia, or to bee deliuered there to any person or persons from any person or persons, other then such as bee the companies goods, and that vnder their marke, you shall before the ship doeth depart, declare the same truely to the sayd Agent, and to some of the other merchants to him adioyned, as it is before declared.

4. Also when the shippe is ready to depart, and hath the master and the whole company aboord, you shall diligently foresee and take heede, that there passe not any priuie person or persons, other then such as be authorized to passe in the said ship, without the licence and warrant of one of the Gouernours and of the assistants, for the same his passage, to be first shewed. And if there be any such person or persons that is to passe and will passe without shewing the same warrant, you shall let the passage of any such to the vttermost of your power: And for that there may no such priuie person passe vnder the cloke and colour of some mariner, you shall vpon the weying of your ships anker, call the master and the mariners within boord by their names and that by

your bookes, to the ende that you may see that you haue neither more nor lesse, but iust the number for the voyage.

5. Also you must haue in remembrance, that if it shall chance the shippe to bee put into anie harbour in this coast by contrary windes or otherwise in making the voyage, to send word thereof from time to time as the case shall require, by your letters in this maner. To Master I. B. Agent for the company of the New trades in S. in London: If you doe hier any to bring your letters, write that which he must haue for the portage. And for your better knowledge and learning, you shall doe very well to keepe a dayly note of the voyage both outwards and homewards.

6. And principally see that you forget not dayly in all the voiage both morning and euening, to call the company within boord to prayer, in which doing you shall please God, and the voiage will haue the better successe thereby, and the company prosper the better.

7. Also in calme weather and at other times when you shall fortune to come to anker in the seas during the voyage, you shall for the companies profite, and for the good husbanding of the victuals aboord, call vpon the Boateswaine and other of the company to vse such hookes and other engines as they haue aboord to take fish with, that such fish so taken may bee eaten for the cause aforesayd: and if there bee no such engines aboord, then to prouide some before you goe from hence.

8. And when God shall send you in safetie into the Bay of S. Nicholas at an anker, you shall goe a shore with the first boate that shall depart from the ship, taking with you such letters as you haue to deliuer to the Agent there: and if he be not there at your comming a land, then send the companies letters to Colmogro to him by some sure mariner or otherwise, as the master and you shall thinke best, but goe not your selfe at any hand, nor yet from aboord the ship, vnlesse it be a shore to treate with the Agent for the lading of the ship that you be appointed in, which you shall applie diligently to haue done so speedily as may be. And for the discharging of the goods therein in the Bay, to be carried from thence, see that you doe looke well to the vnlading thereof, that there be none other goods sent a shore then the companies, and according to the notes entred in your booke as is aforesaid: if there be, inquire diligently for whom they bee, and what goods they be, noting who is the receiuer of the sayd goods, in such sort that the company may haue the true knowledge thereof at your comming home.

9. Also there a shore, and likewise aboord, you shall spie and search as secretly as you may, to learne and know what bargaining, buying and selling there is with the master and the mariners of the shippe and the Russes, or with the companies seruants there: and that which you shall perceiue and learne, you shall keepe a note thereof in your booke secretly to your selfe, which you shall open and disclose at your comming home to the gouernours and assistants, in such sort as the trueth of their secret trades and occupyings may be reuealed and knowen. You shall need alwayes to haue Argos eyes, to spie their secret packing and conueyance, aswell on land as aboord the shippe, of and for such furres and other commodities, as yeerely they doe vse to buy, packe and conuey hither. If you will bee vigilant and secrete in this article, you cannot misse to spie their priuie packing one with another, either on shore or aboord the shippe: worke herein wisely, and you shall deserue great thanks of the whole company.

10. Also at the lading againe of the shippe, you shall continue and abide abord, to the ende that you may note and write in your booke all such goods and marchandises as shall be brought and laden, which you shall orderly note in all sortes as heretofore, as in the second article partly it is touched: and in any wise put the Master and the company in remembrance, to looke and foresee substantially to the roomaging of the shippe, by faire meanes or threats, as you shall see and thinke will serue for the best.

11. Thus when the shippe is full laden againe, and all things aboord in good order, and that you doe fortune to goe a shore to the Agent for your letters, and dispatch away: you shall demand whether all the goods be laden that were brought thither, and to know the trueth therof, you shal repaire to the companies storehouse there at S. Nicholas, to see if there be any goods left in the sayd storehouse: if there be, you shal demand why they be not laden, and note what kinde of goods they be that be so left: and seeing any of the shippes there not fully laden, you shall put the Agent in remembrance to lade those goods so left, if any such be to be laden, as is aforesayd. And thus God sending you a faire wind, to make speede and away.

12. Finally, when God shall send you to arriue againe vpon this coast in safetie, either at Harewich, or elsewhere, goe not you aland, if you may possiblie, to the ende that when you be gone a shore, there may no goods be sent priuily ashore to be solde, or else to be solde aboord the ship in your absence, but keepe you

still aboord, if you can by any meanes, for the causes aforesaid, and write the company a letter from the shippe of your good arriuall, which you may conuey to them by land by some boy or mariner of the shippe, or otherwise as you shall thinke best: and likewise when God shall send you and the shippe into the riuer here, doe not in any wise depart out of the shippe that you be in, vntil the company doe send some other aboord the shippe, in your steede and place, to keepe the shippe in your absence.

The Nauigation and discouerie toward the riuer of Ob, made by Master Steuen Burrough, Master of the Pinnesse called the Serchthrift, with diuers things worth the noting, passed in the yere 1556.

WE departed from Ratcliffe to Blackewall the 23 of April. Satturday being S. Markes day, we departed from Blackewall to Grays.

The 27 being Munday the right worshipfull Sebastian Cabota came aboord our Pinnesse at Grauesende, accompanied with diuers Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen, who after that they had viewed our Pinnesse, and tasted of such cheere as we could make them aboord, they went on shore, giuing to our mariners right liberall rewards: and the good olde Gentleman Master Cabota* gaue to the poore most liberall almes, wishing them to pray for the good fortune, and prosperous successe of the Serchthrift our Pinnesse. And then at the signe of the Christopher, hee and his friends banketted, and made me, and them that were in the company great cheere: and for very ioy that he had to see the towardnes of our intended discouery, he entred into the dance himselfe, amongst the rest of the young and lusty company: which being ended, hee and his friends departed most gently, commending vs to the gouernance of almighty God.

Tuesday (28) we rode still at Grauesend, making prouision for such things as we wanted.

Wednesday (29) in the morning we departed from Grauesende, the winde being at Southwest, that night we came to an anker thwart our Lady of Hollands.

Thursday (30) at three of the clocke in the morning we weyed, and by eight of the clocke, we were at an anker in Orwell wannes, and then incontinent I went aboord the Edward Bonauenture,* where the worshipfull company of marchants appointed me to be, vntill the sayd good ship arriued at Wardhouse. Then I returned againe into the pinnesse.

---

* Sebastian Cabot was then 79 years old.

Friday the 15 of May we were within 7 leagues of the shore, on the coast of Norway: the latitude at a South sunne, 58 degrees and a halfe, where we saw three sailes, beside our owne company: and thus we followed the shoare or land, which lieth Northnorthwest, North and by West, and Northwest and by North, as it doth appeare by the plat.

Saturday (16) at an East sunne we came to S. Dunstan's Island,† which Island I so named. It was off vs East two leagues and a halfe, the wind being at Southeast: the latitude this day at a South sunne 59 degrees, 42 minutes. Also the high round mountaine bare East of vs, at a south sunne: and when this hill is East of you, and being bound to the Northward, the land lyeth North and halfe a point Westerly, from this sayd South sunne, vnto a North sunne twenty leagues Northwest alongst the shoare.

Vpon Sunday (17) at sixe of the clocke in the morning, the farthest land that we could see that lay Northnorthwest, was East of vs three leagues, and then it trended to the Northwards, and to the Eastwards of the North, which headland I iudged to be Scoutsnesse. At seuen of the clocke we changed our course and went North, the wind being at Southsoutheast, and it waxed very thicke and mistie, and when it cleered, we went Northnortheast. At a South sunne we lost sight of the Serchthrift, because of the mist, making our way North. And when we lost sight of the shoare and pinnesse, we were within two leagues and a halfe of the shoare: the last land that we saw when this mist came vpon vs, which is to the Northwards of Scowtsnesse, lay Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest, and we made our way North vntill a west sunne fiue leagues.

From that vntill Munday (18) three a clocke in the morning ten leagues Northnortheast: and then we went North and by East, because the winde came at the Westsouthwest with thicke miste: the latitude this day at a South sunne sixtie three degrees and a halfe truely taken: at this season we had sight of our Pinnesse againe.

From that vntill Tuesday (19) a South sunne Northnortheast fortie foure leagues, and then Northeast. From a South sunne vntill eight of the clocke, fifteene leagues Northeast.

---

* The ship that had successfully carried Chancellor in the expedition of 1553-4.

† Bommeloe Island.

From that vntill Wednesday (20) a South sunne Northnortheast, except the first watch Northeast: then had we the latitude in sixtie seuen degrees, thirtie nine minutes. From that vnto a Northwest sunne eighteen leagues Northeast, and then we were within two leagues off the shore, and saw the high land to the Southwards of Lowfoot* breake out through the mist, and then we went North and by east.

From the sayd Northwest sunne vntill foure of the clocke in the morning (21) North and by East ten leagues and a halfe: and then Northnortheast vntill a South sunne, the latitude being sixtie nine degrees, and a halfe. From that vntill halfe an houre past seuen of the clocke, Northnortheast eleuen leagues and a halfe, and then we went Northeast ten leagues. From that 3 leagues and a halfe Eastnortheast, and then we sawe the land through the cloudes and hazie thwart on the broadside of vs the winde being then at Southsouthwest.

From that vntill Saturday (22), at eight of the clocke in the morning Eastnortheast, and to the Northwards fortie eight leagues, and then the wind came vp at North, wee being aboord the shore, and thwart of the Chappell, which I suppose is called Kedilwike:† then we cast the shippes head to the seawards, because the winde was verie scant: and then I caused the Pinnesse to beare in with the shore, to see whether she might find an harborough for the ships or not, and that she found and saw two roaders ride in the sound: and also they sawe houses. But notwithstanding, God be praysed, the winde enlarged vpon vs, that we had not occasion to goe into the harborough: and then the Pinnesse bare her Myssen mast ouer boord with flagge and all, and lost the flagge: with the mast there fell two men ouer boord, but God be praised, they were saued: the flagge was a token, whereby we might understand whether there were a good harbour there or not.

The North cape so named by Steuen Burrowe.

At a North sunne the North cape (which I so named the first voyage) was thwart of vs, which is nine leagues to the Eastwards of the foresayd Chappell from the Eastermost point of it.‡

---

* The Lofoden Islands lie between 67 deg. 30 min. N. Latitude, and 12 deg. and 16 deg. E. longitude. They consist of ten large and many small islands, all rocky and mountainous. The largest Islands are: Hindoen, E. and W. Waagèn, Langoen, Andoe, Rost, &c.

† Probably Hammerfest, the most northern town in Europe.

‡ This is a slight error, if by the "Chappell" is meant the present site of

Iune.

The sunday (7) we weied in Corpus Christi Bay, at a Northeast and by East sunne: the Bay is almost halfe a league deepe: the headland which is Corpus Christi point, lyeth Southeast and by East, one league from the head of the Bay, where we had a great tyde, like a race ouer the flood: the Bay is at the least two leagues ouer: so doe I imagine from the fayre foreland to Corpus Christi poynt ten leagues Southeast and by East: It floweth in this Bay, at a South and by West moone full sea. From that we went vntill seuen a clocke at after noone twentie leagues Southeast and by South: and then we tooke in all our sailes, because it was then very mistie, and also we met with much ice that ran out of the Bay, and then wee went Southsoutheast with our foresayle: at eight of the clocke, we heard a piece of ordinance, which was out of the Edward, which bade vs farewell, and then we shot off another piece, and bade her farewell: wee could not one see the other, because of the thicke miste: at a Northwest sunne it began somewhat to cleere, and then we sawe a head lande, and the shoare trended to the Southwestward, which I iudged to be about Crosse Island: it was off vs at a Northnorthwest sunne, Westsouthwest.

From this Northnorthwest sunne, vntill Munday (8), we went Southeast, and this morning we came at anker among the shoales that lie off of point Looke out, at a Northeast and by East sunne, the wind being at Eastsoutheast. At this poynt Looke out, a south Moone maketh a full sea. Cape good fortune lyeth from the Isle of Crosses Southeast, and betweene them is tenne leagues: point Looke out lyeth from Cape Good fortune Eastsoutheast, and betweene them are sixe leagues. S. Edmonds point lieth from point Looke out Eastsoutheast, and halfe a point to the Southwards, and betweene them are sixe leagues. There is betweene these two points, a Bay that is halfe a league deepe, and is full of shoales and dangers. At a Southeast

---

Hammerfest, as North Cape, which is in 71 deg. 10 min. N. latitude, and 25 deg. 46 min. E. longitude, is only distant 14½ miles N.E. from that town. Von Herbertstein states that Istoma and other Russians had sailed round the North of Norway, in 1496. North Cape, or rather Nordkyn, was called then Murmunski Nos (the Norman Cape). When Hulsius, in his Collection of Travels, gives Von Herbertstein's account of Istoma's voyage, he considers Swjatoi Nos, on the Kola peninsula, to be North Cape. (Hamel, *Tradescant*, St. Petersburg, 1847, p. 40, quoted by Nordenskiöld, *Voyage of the Vega*, Vol. I., p. 218.)

sunne we weyed, and turned to the windwards, the winde being at Eastsoutheast: and at a Southeast sunne, we came to an anker, being then a full sea, in fiue fadoms and a halfe water. It hieth at this place where we roade, and also at point Looke out, foure fadome water. At a Westnorthwest sunne we weyed, and driued to the windewards, vntill Tuesday (9), a Northnortheast sunne, and then being a high water, we came to an anker open of the riuer Cola, in eight fadome water. Cape S. Bernard lyeth from S. Edmondes point, Southeast and by South, and betwixt them are sixe leagues, and also betwixt them is the Riuer Cola, into which Riuer we went this euening.

Wednesday (10) we roade still in the sayd riuer, the winde being at the north: we sent our skiffe aland to be dressed: the latitude of the mouth of the riuer Cola is sixtie fiue degrees, fortie and eight minutes.*

Thursday (11) at 6 of the clocke in the morning, there came aboord of vs one of the Russe Lodiaes, rowing with twentie oares, and there were foure and twenty men in her. The master of the boate presented me with a great loafe of bread, and sixe ringes of bread, which they call Colaches, and foure dryed pikes, and a pecke of fine otemeale, and I gaue vnto the Master of the boate, a combe, and a small glasse: and he declared vnto me, that he was bound to Pechora, and after that, I made them to drinke, the tide being somewhat broken, they gently departed. The Masters name was Pheodor.

Whereas the tenth day I sent our Pinnesse on shoare to be mended, because she was leake, and weake, with the Carpenter and three men more to helpe him, the weather chanced so, that it was Sunday before they could get aboord our shippe. All that time they were without prouision of victuals, but onely a little bread, which they spent by Thursday at night, thinking to haue come aboord when they had listed, but winde and weather denied them: insomuch that they were faine to eate grasse, and such weedes as they could find then aboue grounde, but fresh water they had plentie, but the meate with some of them could scant frame by reason of their queazie stomackes.

From Thursday at afternoone, vntill Sunday (14) in the morning, our barke did ride such a roadsted that it was to be marueiled, without the helpe of God, how she was able to abide it.

---

* This is another error, the latitude being 68 deg. 51 min.

In the bight of the Southeast shoare of the riuer Cola, there is a good roade in fiue fadome, or foure fadome and a halfe, at a lowe water: but you shall haue no land Northnortheast of you then, I proued with our pinnesse, that the depth goeth on the Southeast shoare.

Thursday (18) we weyed our ankers in the riuer Cola, and went into the Sea seuen or eight leagues, where we met with the winde farre Northerly, that of force it constrained vs to goe againe backe into the sayd riuer, where came aboord of vs sundry of their Boates, which declared vnto me that they were also bound to the northwards, a fishing for Morse, and Salmon, and gaue me liberally of their white and wheaten bread.

As we roade in this riuer, wee sawe dayly comming downe the riuer many of their Lodias, and they that had least, had foure and twenty men in them, and at the last they grew to thirtie saile of them: and amongst the rest, there was one of them whose name was Gabriel, who showed me very much friendshippe, and he declared vnto mee, they all were bound to Pechora, a fishing for Salmons, and Morses: insomuch that hee shewed mee by demonstrations, that with a faire winde wee had seuen or eight dayes sailing to the Riuer Pechora, so that I was glad of their company. This Gabriel, promised to giue mee warning of shoales, as hee did indeede.

Sunday (21) being the one and twentieth day, Gabriel gaue me a barrell of Meade, and one of his speciall friends gaue me a barrell of beere, which was caryed vpon mens backs at least 2 miles.

Munday (22) we departed from the riuer Cola, with all the rest of the said Lodias, but sailing before the wind, they were all too good for vs:* but according to promise, this Gabriel and his friend did often strike their sayles, and taried for vs forsaking their owne company.

Tuesday (23) at an Eastnortheast sunne we were thwart of Cape S. Iohn.† It is to be vnderstood, that from the Cape S. Iohn vnto the riuer or bay that goeth to Mezen, it is all sunke land, and full of shoales and dangers, you shall haue scant two fadome water, and see no land. And this present day wee came to an anker thwart of a creeke, which is 4 or 5 leagues to the Northwards of the sayd Cape, into which creeke Gabriel and his fellow rowed, but we could not get in: and before night there were aboue 20 saile that went into the sayd creeke, the wind being at the Northeast. We had indifferent good landfang.

---

* It is curious to find that the Russian Lodias (of which an engraving is annexed) were better sailers than the ships of the more civilised Englishmen.

† Cape Krasnoj.

This afternoone Gabriel came aboord with his skiffe, and then I rewarded him for the good company that he kept with vs ouer the shoales with two small iuory combes, and a steele glasse, with two or three trifles more, for which he was not vngratefull. But notwithstanding, his first company had gotten further to the Northwards.

Wednesday (24) being Midsummer day, we sent our skiffe aland to sound the creeke, where they found it almost drie at a low water. And all the Lodias within were on ground.

Although the harborough were euil, yet the stormie similitude of the Northerly winds tempted vs to set our sayles, and we let slip a cable and an anker, and bare with the harborough, for it was then neere a high water: and as alwaies in such iournies varieties do chance, when we came vpon the barre in the entrance of the creeke, the wind did shrink so suddenly vpon vs, that we were not able to lead it in, and before we could haue slatted the shippe before the winde, we should haue bene on ground on the lee shore, so that we were constrained to let fall an anker vnder our sailes, and rode in a very breach, thinking to haue warpt in. Gabriel came out with his skiffe, and so did sundry others also, shewing their good will to helpe vs, but all to no purpose, for they were likely to haue bene drowned for their labour, in so much that I desired Gabriel to lend me his anker, because our owne ankers were too big for our skiffe to lay out, who sent me his owne, and borrowed another also and sent it vs. Then we layd out one of those ankers, with a hawser which he had of 140 fadom long, thinking to haue warpt in, but it would not be: for as we shorted vpon ye said warpe the anker came home, so that we were faine to beare the end of the warpe, that we rushed in vpon the other small anker that Gabriel sent aboord, and layd that anker to seawards: and then betweene these two ankers we trauersed the ships head to seawards, and set our foresaile and maine sayle, and when the barke had way, we cut the hawser, and so gate the sea to our friend, and tryed out al that day with our maine corse.

The Thursday (25) we went roome with Cape S. Iohn, where we found indifferent good rode for a Northnortheast wind, and for a neede, for a North and by West winde.

Friday (26) at afternoone we weyed, and departed from thence, the wether being meetly faire, and the winde at Eastsoutheast, and plied for the place where we left our cable and anker, and our hawser: and as soone as we were at an anker, the foresaid Gabriel came aboord of vs, with 3 or foure more of their small boats, and brought with them of their Aquauitæ and Meade, professing vnto me very much friendship, and reioiced to see vs againe, declaring that they earnestly thought that we had bene lost. This Gabriel declared vnto me, that they had saued both the ankers and our hauser, and after we had thus communed, I caused 4 or 5 of them to goe into my cabbin, where I gaue them figs, and made them such cheere as I could. While I was thus banketing of them, there came another of their skiffes aboord with one who was a Keril,* whose name afterwards I learned, and that he dwelt in Colmogro, and Gabriel dwelled in the towne of Cola, which is not far from the riuers mouth. This foresaid Keril said vnto me that one of the ankers which I borowed was his, I gaue him thanks for the lone of it, thinking it had bene sufficient. And as I continued in one accustomed maner, that if the present which they brought were worth enterteinment, they had it accordingly, he brought nothing with him, and therefore I regarded him but litle. And thus we ended, and they took their leaue and went ashore. At their comming ashore, Gabriel and Keril were at vnconuenient words, and by the eares, as I vnderstand: the cause was because the one had better enterteinment then the other: but you shal vnderstand that Gabriel was not able to make his party good, because there were 17 lodias of the Kerils company who tooke his part, and but 2 of Gabriels company.

The next high water Gabriel and his company departed from thence, and rowed to their former company and neighbours, which were in number 28 at the least, and all of them belonging to the riuer Cola.

And as I vnderstood Keril made reckoning that the hawser which was fast in his anker should haue bene his owne, and at first would not deliuer it to our boat, insomuch that I sent him worde that I would complaine vpon him, whereupon he deliuered the hawser to my company.

The next day being Saturday, (27) I sent our boat on shore to fetch fresh water and wood, and at their comming on shore this Keril welcomed our men most gently, and also banketed them : and in the meane time caused some of his men to fill our baricoes with water, and to help our men to beare wood into their boat: and then he put on his best silke coate, and his coller of pearles, and came aboord againe, and brought his present with him: and thus hauing more respect vnto his present then to his person, because I perceiued him to be vainglorious, I bade him welcome, and gaue him a dish of figs: and then he declared vnto me that his father was a gentleman, and that he was able to shew me pleasure, and not Gabriel, who was but a priests sonne.

---

* Karelian.

After their departure from vs we weied, and plied all the ebbe to the windewards, the winde being Northerly, and towards night it waxed very stormy, so that of force we were constrained to go roome with Cape S. Iohn againe, in which storme wee lost our skiffe at our sterne, that wee bought at Wardhouse, and there we rode vntil the fourth of Iuly. The latitude of Cape S. Iohn is 66 degrees 50 minutes. And it is to be noted, that the land of Cape S. Iohn is of height from the full sea marke, as I iudge, 10 fadomes, being cleane without any trees growing, and also without stones or rockes, and consists onely of blacke earth, which is so rotten, that if any of it fall into the sea, it will swimme as though it were a piece of wood. In which place, about three leagues from the shore you shall not haue aboue 9 fadom water, and clay ground.

Iulie.

SAturday (4) at a Northnorthwest sunne the wind came at Eastnortheast, and then we weied, and plied to the Northwards, and as we were two leagues shot past the Cape, we saw a house standing in a valley, which is dainty to be seene in those parts, and by and by I saw three men on the top of the hil. Then I iudged them, as it afterwards proued, that they were men which came from some other place to set traps to take vermin* for their furres, which trappes we did perceiue very thicke, alongst the shore as we went.

Sunday (5) at an East sunne we were thwart off the creeke where the Russes lay, and there came to an anker, and perceiuing the most part of the Lodias to be gone we thought it not good to tary any longer there, but weyed and spent all the ebbe, plying to the windewards.

---

* Probably mountain foxes. Remains of fox-traps are still frequently met with along the coast of the Polar Sea, where the Russians have carried on hunting.

Munday (6) at a South sunne it was high water. All alongst the coast it floweth little, onely a South moone makes a full sea: and as we were a weying we espied the Russe Lodias, which we first lost. They came out of a creeke amongst the sandy hilles,* which hilles beginne 15 leagues Northnortheast from Cape S. Iohn.

Plying this ebbe to an end, we came (7) to an anker 6 leagues Northnortheast from the place where we saw the Russes come out: and there the Russes harboured themselues within a soonke banke, but there was not water enough for vs.

At a North sunne we weyed and plied to the Northwards, the land lying Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest, vntill a South sunne, and then we were in the latitude of 68 degrees and a halfe: and in this latitude ende those sandy hilles, and the land beginneth to lie North and by West, South and by East, and Northnorthwest, and to the Westwards, and there the water beginneth to waxe deepe.

At a Northwest sunne we came to an anker within halfe a league of the shore, where wee had good plenty of fish, both Haddocks and Cods, riding in 10 fadom water.

Wednesday (8) we weyed, and plyed neerer the headland, which is called Caninoz,† the wind being at East and by North.

Thursday (9) the wind being scant we turned to windwards the ebbe, to get about Caninoz: the latitude this day at noone was 68 degrees 40 minutes.

Friday (10) we turned to the windward of the ebbe, but to no purpose: and as we rode at an anker, we saw the similitude of a storme rising at Northnorthwest, and could not tell where to get rode nor succor for that winde, and harborough we knew none: and that land which we rode vnder with that winde was a lee shore. And as I was musing what was best to be done, I saw a saile come out of a creeke vnder the foresayd Caninoz, which was my friend Gabriel, who forsooke his harborough and company, and came as neere vs as he might, and pointed vs to the Eastwards, and then we weyed and followed him, and went East and by South, the wind being at Westnorthwest, and very mistie.

---

* Kija Bay.

† Canin Nos, latitude 68 deg. 30 min. N.

Saturday (11) we went Eastsoutheast and followed Gabriel, and he brought vs into an harborough called Morgiouets, which is 30 leagues from Caninoz, and we had vpon the barre going in two fadome and a fourth part: and after we were past in ouer the barre, it waxed deeper, for we had 5 fadoms, 4 and a half, and 3 fadom &c. Our barke being mored, I sent some of our men to shoare to prouide wood, where they had plenty of drift wood, but none growing: and in this place we found plenty of young foule, as Gulles, Seapies,* and others, whereof the Russes would eate none, whereof we were nothing sory, for there came the more to our part.

Sunday (12) our men cut wood on shoare, and brought it aboord, and wee balasted our shippe with stones.

This morning Gabriel saw a smoke on ye way, who rowed vnto it with his skiffe, which smoke was two leagues from the place where we road: and at a Northwest sunne he came aboord again, and brought with him a Samoed,† which was but a young man: his apparell was then strange vnto vs, and he presented me with three young wild geese, and one young barnacle.‡

Munday (13) I sent a man to the maine in Gabriels boat and he brought vs aboord 8 barricoes of fresh water: the latitude of the said Morgiouets is sixtie eight degrees and a terce. It floweth there at a Southsouthwest moone full sea, and hyeth two fadome and a halfe water.

At a Westnorthwest sunne we departed from this place, (14) and went East 25 leagues, and then saw an Island by North and by West of vs eight leagues, which Island is called Dolgoieue:§ and from the Eastermost part of this Island, there lyeth a sand East and by South 7 leagues long.

Wednesday (15) at a North and by East sunne Swetinoz|| was South of vs 5 leagues. This day at afternoone we went in ouer the dangerous barre of Pechora, and had vpon the barre but one fadome water.††

Thursday (16) we road still.

Friday (17) I went on shoare and obserued the variation of the Compasse, which was three degrees and a halfe from the North to the West: the latitude this day was sixtie nine degrees ten minutes.

---

* Probably the little Auk (*Mergulus Alle*, L.).

† This was the first meeting between West Europeans and Samoyeds.

‡ *Anser bernicla*, L. § Dolgoi Island. || Swjatoi Nos.

†† The capes at the Mouth of the Petchora, Cape Ruski Savorot, and Cape Medinski Savorot are very nearly in lat. 69 deg.

From two or three leagues to the Eastward of Swetinoz, vntill the entering of the riuer Pechora, it is all sandie hilles, and towards Pechora the sandie hilles are very low.

It higheth on the barre of Pechora foure foote water, and it floweth there at a Southwest moone a full sea.

Munday (20) at a North and by East sunne, we weyed, and came out ouer the sayd dangerous barre, where we had but fiue foote water, insomuch that wee found a foote lesse water comming out then wee did going in. I thinke the reason was, because when we went in the winde was off the sea, which caused the sands to breake on either side of vs, and we kept in the smoothest betweene the breaches, which we durst not haue done, except we had seene the Russes to haue gone in before vs: and at our comming out the winde was off the shoare, and fayre weather, and then the sands did not appeare with breaches as at our going in: we thanke God that our ship did draw so little water.

When we were a seaboord the barre the wind scanted vpon vs, and was at Eastsoutheast, insomuch that we stopped the ebbes, and plyed all the floods to the windewards, and made our way Eastnortheast.

Tuesday (21) at a Northwest sunne we thought that we had seen land at East, or East and by North of vs: which afterwards prooued to be a monstrous heape of ice.

Within a little more than halfe an houre after, we first saw this ice, we were inclosed within it before we were aware of it, which was a fearefull sight to see: for, for the space of sixe houres, it was as much as we could doe to keepe our shippe aloofe from one heape of ice, and beare roomer from another, with as much wind as we might beare a coarse. And when we had past from the danger of this ice, we lay to the Eastwards close by the wind.

The next day (22) we were againe troubled wtth the ice.

Thursday (23) being calme, we plyed to the windwards, the winde being Northerly. We had the latitude this day at noone in 70 degrees 11 minutes.

We had not runne past two houres Northwest, the wind being at Northnortheast and Northeast and by North a good gale, but we met againe with another heape of ice: we wethered the head of it, and lay a time to the seawards, and made way West 6 leagues.

Friday (24) at a Southeast sunne we cast about to the Eastwards, the wind being at Northnortheast: the latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees 15 minutes.

On S. Iames his day (25) bolting to the windewardes, we had the latitude at noone in seuenty degrees twentie minutes. The same day at a Southwest sunne, there was a monstrous Whale aboord of us, so neere to our side that we might haue thrust a sworde or any other weapon in him, which we durst not doe for feare hee should haue ouerthrowen our shippe: and then I called my company together, and all of vs shouted, and with the crie that we made he departed from vs: there was as much aboue water of his backe as the bredth of our pinnesse, and at his falling downe, he made such a terrible noyse in the water, that a man would greatly haue maruelled, except hee had knowen the cause of it: but God be thanked, we were quietly deliuered of him.*

---

* Of the various species of Whales, the Narwhal occurs very rarely off Novaya Zemlya. It is more common at Hope Island, and Witsen states that large herds have been seen between Spitzbergen and Novaya Zemlya. The White Whale (*Delphinapterus leucas*, Pallas), on the other hand, occurs in large shoals on the coasts of Spitzbergen and Novaya Zemlya. In 1871, 2167 White Whales were taken by the Tromsoe fleet alone, an estimated value of £6500. In 1880, one vessel had 300 whales at one cast of the net, in Magdalena Bay. In former times they appear to have been caught at the mouth of the Yenisej, which river they ascend several hundred miles. Nordenskiöld also saw large shoals off the Taimur peninsula. Other species occur seldom off Novaya Zemlya. It is rather amusing to find the meeting with a whale mentioned as very remarkable and dangerous. When Nearchus sailed with the fleet of Alexander the Great from the Indus to the Red Sea, a whale also caused so great a panic that it was only with difficulty that the commander could restore order among the frightened seamen, and get the rowers to row to the place where the Whale spouted water and caused a commotion in the sea like that of a whirlwind. All the men shouted, struck the water with their oars, and sounded their trumpets, so that the large, and, in the judgment of the Macedonian Heroes, terrible animal, was frightened. *(See the "Indica" of Nearchus, preserved to us by Arrian, an excellent translation of which, by J. W. M'Crindle, appeared in 1879.)* Quite otherwise was the Whale regarded on Spitzbergen some few years after Burrough's voyage. At the sight of a Whale all men were beside themselves with joy, and rushed down into the boats in order to attack and kill the valuable animal. The fishery was carried on with such success, that the right Whale *(Balæna mysticetus* L.*)*, whose pursuit then gave full employment to ships by hundreds, and to men by tens of thousands, is now practically extirpated. As this Whale still occurs in no limited numbers in other parts of the Polar Sea, this state of things shows how easily an animal is driven away from a region where it is so much hunted. Captain Svend Foeyn, from 1864 to 1881, exclusively hunted another species [*Balænoptera Sibbaldii*,

And a little after we spied certaine Islands, with which we bare, and found good harbor in 15 or 18 fadome, and blacke oze: we came to an anker at a Northeast sunne, and named the Island S. Iames his Island,* where we found fresh water.

Sunday, (26) much wind blowing we rode still.

Munday (27) I went on shoare and tooke the latitude, which was 70 degrees 42 minutes: the variation of the compasse was 7 degrees and a halfe from the North to the West.

The relation of Loshak.

Tuesday (28) we plyed to the Westwards alongst the shoare, the wind being at Northwest, and as I was about to come to anker, we saw a sayle comming about the point, whereunder we thought to haue ankered. Then I sent a skiffe aboord of him, and at their coming aboord they tooke acquaintance of them, and the chiefe man said hee had bene in our company in the riuer Cola, and also declared vnto them that we were past the way which should bring vs to the Ob. This land, sayd he, is called Noua Zembla, that is to say, the New land: and then he came aboord himselfe with his skiffe, and at his comming aboord he told me the like, and sayd further, that in this Noua Zembla is the highest mountaine in the worlde, as he thought,† and that Camen Boldshay, which is on the maine of Pechora, is not to be compared to this mountaine, but I saw it not: he made me also certaine demonstrations of the way to the Ob, and seemed to make haste on his owne way, being very lothe to tarie, because the yeere was farre past, and his neighbour had fet Pechora, and not he: so I gaue him a steele glasse, two pewter spoones, and a paire of veluet sheathed kniues: and then he seemed somewhat the more willing to tary, and shewed me as much as he knew for our purpose: he also gaue me 17 wilde geese, and shewed me that foure of their lodias were driuen perforce from Caninoze to this Noua Zembla. This mans name was Loshak.

Wednesday, (29) as we plied to the Eastwards, we espied another saile, which was one of this Loshaks company, and we bare roome, and spake with him, who in like sort tolde vs of the Ob, as the other had done.

Gray), on the coast of Finmark; and other species still follow shoals of fish on the Norwegian coast, where they sometimes strand and are killed in considerable numbers. (Nordenskiöld's *Voyage of the Vega*, vol. I., p. 165).

* Evidently one of the Islands at the south of Novaya Zemlya.

† The highest mountains in Novaya Zemlya hardly exceed 3500 feet.

Thursday, (30) we plied to the Eastwards, the winde being at Eastnortheast.

Friday, (31) the gale of winde began to increase, and came Westerly withall, so that by a Northwest sunne we were at an anker among the Islands of Vaigats, where we saw two small lodias, the one of them came aboord of vs, and presented me with a great loafe of bread: and they told me that they were all of Colmogro, except one man that dwelt at Pechora, who seemed to be the chiefest among them in killing of the Morse.

There were some of their company on shoare, which did chase a white beare ouer the high clifs into the water, which beare the lodia that was aboord of vs killed in our sight.

This day there was a great gale of wind at North, and we saw so much ice driuing a seaboord, that it was then no going to sea.

August.

SAturday (1) I went ashore, and there I saw three morses that they had killed: they held one tooth of a Morse, which was not great, at a roble, and one white beare skin at three robles and two robles: they further tolde me, that there were people called Samoeds on the great Island, and that they would not abide them nor vs, who haue no houses, but only couerings made of Deere skins, set ouer them with stakes: they are men expert in shooting,* and haue great plenty of Deere.

This night there fell a cruell storme, the wind being at West.

Sunday (2) we had very much winde, with plenty of snow, and we rode with two ankers a head.

Munday (3) we weyed and went roome with another Island, which was fiue leagues Eastnortheast from vs, and there I met againe with Loshak, and went on shore with him, and hee brought me to a heap of the Samoeds idols, which were in number aboue 300, the worst and the most vnartificiall worke that euer I saw: the eyes and mouthes of sundrie of them were bloodie, they had the shape of men, women and children, very grosly wrought, and that which they had made for other parts, was also sprinckled with blood. Some of their idols were an old sticke with two or three notches, made with a knife in it.* I saw much of the footing of the sayd Samoeds, and of the sleds that they ride in. There was one of their sleds broken, and lay by the heape of idols, and there I saw a deers skinne which the foules had spoyled: and before certaine of their idols blocks were made as high as their mouthes, being all bloody, I thought that to be the table whereon they offered their sacrifice: I saw also the instruments, whereupon they had roasted flesh, and as farre as I could perceiue, they make their fire directly under the spit.

---

* That the Samoyeds were archers is shewn by old drawings, one of which I reproduce from Linschoten. Now the bow has completely gone out of use, for Nordenskiöld did not see a single archer. Wretched old flint firelocks are, however, common.

Loshak being there present tolde me that these Samoeds were not so hurtful as they of Ob are, and that they haue no houses, as indeede I saw none, but onely tents made of Deers skins, which they vnderproppe with stakes and poles: their boates are made of Deers skins, and when they come on shoare they cary their boates with them upon their backes: for their cariages they haue no other beastes to serue them, but Deere onely. As for bread and corne they haue none, except the Russes bring it to them: their knowledge is very base, for they know no letter.†

---

* The accompanying *fac-simile* of a quaint old engraving of a Samoyed sleigh and idols gives an excellent idea of both.

† This is one of the oldest accounts of the Samoyeds we possess. Giles Fletcher, who in 1588 was Queen Elizabeth's Ambassador to theCzar, writes, in his accounts of Russia, of the Samoyeds in the following way:—

"The *Samoyt* hath his name (as the *Russe* saith) of eating himselfe: as if in times past they lived as the *Cannibals*, eating one another. Which they make more probable, because at this time they eate all kind of raw flesh, whatsoeuer it bee, euen the very carrion that lyeth in the ditch. But as the *Samoits* themselves will say, they were called *Samoie*, that is, *of themselves*, as though they were *Indigenæ*, or people bred upon that very soyle that never changed their seate from one place to another, as most Nations have done. They are clad in Seale-skinnes, with the hayrie side outwards downe as low as the knees, with their Breeches and Netherstocks of the same, both men and women. They are all Blacke hayred, naturally beardless. And therefore the Men are hardly discerned from the Women by their lookes: saue that the Women weare a locke of hayre down along both their eares." (*Treatise of Russia and the adjoining Regions*, written by Doctor Giles Fletcher, Lord Ambassador from the late Queen, Everglorious Elizabeth, to Theodore, then Emperor of Russia. A.D. 1588. *Purchas*, iii. p. 413.)

In nearly the same way the Samoyeds are described by G. De Veer, in his account of Barents's Second Voyage in 1595.

Serebrenikoff, according to Nordenskiöld, maintains that *Samodin* should be written instead of *Samoyed*. For *Samoyed* means "self eater," while *Samodin* denotes an "individual," "one who cannot be mistaken for another," and, as the Samoyeds were never cannibals, Serebrenikoff gives a preference to the latter name, which is used by the Russians at Chabarova, and appears to be a literal translation of the name which the Samoyeds give themselves. Nordenskiöld, Tuesday (4) we turned for the harborough where Loshaks barke lay, whereas before we road vnder an Island. And there he came aboord of vs and said vnto me: if God sende winde and weather to serue, I will goe to the Ob with you, because the Morses were scant at these Islands of Vaigats, but if he could not get to the riuer of Ob, then he sayd hee would goe to the riuer of Naramzay, where the people were not altogether so sauage as the Samoyds of the Ob are: hee shewed me that they will shoot at all men to the vttermost of their power, that cannot speake their speech.

Wednesday (5) we saw a terrible heape of ice approach neere vnto vs, and therefore wee thought good with al speed possible to depart from thence, and so I returned to the Westwards againe, to the Island where we were the 31. of Iuly.

---

however, considers it probable that the old tradition of man-eaters (*androphagi*), living in the north, which originated with Herodotus, and was afterwards universally adopted in the geographical literature of the Middle Ages, reappears in Russianised form in the name *Samoyed.* With all due respect for Nordenskiöld, I am inclined to agree with Serebrenikoff. In the account of the journey which the Italian minorite, Joannes de Plano Carpini, undertook in High Asia in 1245-47, an extraordinary account of the Samoyeds and neighbouring tribes is given. (See Vol. II. of these Collections, pp. 28 and 95).—I give a very curious engraving of *Samoyeds* from Schleissing.—Nordenskiöld inserts, in his *Voyage of the Vega*, the following interesting communication from Professor Ahlquist, of Helsingfors:—

"The Samoyeds are reckoned, along with the Tungoose, the Mongolian, the Turkish and the Finnish-Ugrian races, to belong to the so-called Altaic or Ural-Altaic stem. What is mainly characteristic of this stem, is that all the languages occurring within it belong to the so-called agglutinating type. For in these languages the relations of ideas are expressed exclusively by terminations or suffixes—inflections, prefixes and prepositions, as expressive of relations, being completely unknown to them. Other peculiarities characteristic of the Altaic languages are the vocal harmony occurring in many of them, the inability to have more than one consonant in the beginning of a word, and the expression of the plural by a peculiar affix, the case terminations being the same in the plural as in the singular. The affinity between the different branches of the Altaic stem is thus founded mainly on analogy or resemblance in the construction of the languages, while the different tongues in the material of language (both in the words themselves and in the expression of relations) show a very limited affinity or none at all. The circumstance that the Samoyeds for the present have as their nearest neighbours several Finnish-Ugrian races (Lapps, Syrjaeni, Ostjaks, and Voguls), and that these to a great extent carry on the same modes of life as themselves, has led some authors to assume a close affinity between the Samoyeds and the Fins and the Finnish races in general. The speech of the two neighbouring tribes, however, affords no ground for such a supposition. Even the language of the Ostjak, which is the most closely related to that of the Samoyeds, is separated heaven-wide from it and has nothing in common with it, except a small number of borrowed words (chiefly names of articles from the Polar nomad's life), which the Ostjak has taken from the language of his northern neighbour. With respect to their language, however, the Samoyeds are

Thursday (6) I went a shoare, and tooke the latitude, which was 70 degrees 25 minutes: and the variation of the compasse was 8 degrees from the North to the West.

Loshak and the two small Lodias of Pechora departed from this Island, while I was on shoare taking the latitude, and went to the Southwards: I maruailed why he departed so suddenly, and went ouer the shoales amongst the Islands where it was impossible for vs to follow them. But after I perceiued them to be weatherwise.

Friday (7) we road still, the winde being at Northnortheast, with a cruel storme. The ice came in so abundantly about vs at both ends of the Island that we rode vnder, that it was a fearefull sight to behold: the storme continued with snow, raine, and hayle plenty.

Saturday (8) we rode still also, the storme being somewhat abated, but it was altogether misty, that we were not able to see a cables length about vs, the winde being at Northeast and by East.

Sunday (9) at foure of the clocke in the morning we departed from this Island, the winde being at Southeast, and as we were cleere a sea boord the small Islandes and shoales, it came so thick with mistes that we could not see a base shotte from vs. Then we took in all our sailes to make little way.

At a Southeast sunne it waxed cleere, and then we set our sayles, and lay close by the wind to the Southwards alongst the Islands of Vaigats. At a west sunne we tooke in our sayle againe because of the great mist and raine. Wee sounded at this place, and had fiue and twenty fadomes water, and soft black oze, being

---

said to stand at a like distance from the other branches of the stem in question. To what extent craniology or modern anthropology can more accurately determine the affinity-relationship of the Samoyed to other tribes, is still a question of the future.

At the present day, the Samoyeds dwell in skin tents. They dress principally in reindeer-skins, and the women's holiday-dress is particularly showy. Their boots, also of reindeer skin, are beautifully and tastefully embroidered. In summer, the men go bare-headed: the women divide their hair into tresses, and use artificial plaits, ornamented with pearls, buttons, &c. Like the man, the woman is small, with coarse black hair, face of a yellow colour, small and sunken eyes, a flat nose, broad cheek-bones, slender legs, and small feet and hands. She competes with the man in dirt. Nordenskiöld places the Samoyeds in the lowest rank of all the Polar races. The women have perfectly equal rights with the men.

three leagues from the shoare, the winde being at South and by East, but still misty.

Munday (10) at an East sunne we sounded, and had 40 fadomes, and oze, still misty: at noone wee sounded againe, and had 36 fadome, still misty.

Tuesday (11) at an Eastnortheast sunne we let fall our anker in three and twenty fadome, the mist still continuing.

Wednesday (12) at three of the clocke in the morning the mist brake vp, the wind being at Northeast and by East, and then we saw part of the Islands of Vaigats, which we bare withal, and went Eastsoutheast close by the winde: at a West sunne we were at an anker vnder the Southwest part of the said Vaigats, and then I sent our skiffe to shoare with three men in her, to see if they might speake with any of the Samoeds, but could not: all that day was rainie, but not windie.

Thursday (13) the wind came Westerly, so that we were faine to seeke vs another place to ride in, because the wind came a seaboord land, and although it were misty, yet wee followed the shoare by our lead: and as we brought land in the wind of vs, we let fall our anker. At a West sunne the mist brake up, so that we might see about vs, and then we might perceiue that we were entred into a sound.

This afternoone we tooke in two or three skiffes lading of stones to ballast our shippe withall. It hyeth here four foot water, and floweth by fits, vncertaine to be iudged.

Friday (14) we rode still in the sound, the wind at Southwest, with very much raine, and at the end of the raine it waxed againe mistie.

Saturday (15) there was much wind at West, and much raine, and then againe mistie.

Sunday (16) was very mistie and much winde.

Munday (17) very mistie, the winde at Westnorthwest.

Tuesday (18) was also mistie, except at noone: then the sunne brake out through the mist, so that we had the latitude in 70 degrees 10 minutes: the afternoone was misty againe, the wind being at Westnorthwest.

Wednesday (19) at three of the clocke afternoone the mist brake vp, and the wind came at Eastnortheast, and then we weyed, and went South and by East, vntil seuen of the clocke, eight leagues, thinking to haue had sight of the sandie hilles that are to the Eastwards of the riuer Pechora. At a Northwest sunne we took in our maine saile, because the wind increased, and went with a foresaile Westnorthwest, the wind being at Eastnortheast: at night there grewe so terrible a storme, that we saw not the like, although we had indured many stormes since we came out of England. It was wonderfull that our barke was able to brooke such monstrous and terrible seas, without the great helpe of God, who neuer fayleth them at neede, that put their sure trust in him.

Thursday (20) at a Southsouthwest sunne, thanks be to God, the storme was at the highest, and then the winde began to slake, and came Northerly withall, and then I reckoned the Westermost point of the riuer Pechora to be South of vs 15 leagues. At a Westsouthwest sunne we set our maine sayle, and lay close by the winde, the winde being at Northwest and by North, making but little way, because the billow went so high: at midnight wee cast about, and the shippe caped Northnortheast, making little way.

Friday (21) at noone we had the latitude in 70 degrees 8 minutes, and we sounded, and had 29 fadomes sand, and in maner stremy ground. At West sunne we cast about to the Westwards, and a little after the wind came vp at West.

Saturday (22) was calme: thc latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees and a terce, we sounded heere, and had nine and forty fadomes and oze, which oze signified that we drew towards Noua Zembla.

And thus we being out of al hope to discouer any more to the Eastward this yeere, wee thought it best to returne, and that for three causes.

The first, the continuall Northeast and Northerly winds, which haue more power after a man is past to the eastwards of Caninoze, then in any place that I doe know in these Northerly regions.

Second, because of great and terrible abundance of ice which we saw with our eies, and we doubt greater store abideth in those parts: I aduentured already somewhat too farre in it, but I thanke God for my safe deliuerance from it.

Third, because the nights waxed darke, and the winter began to draw on with his stormes: and therefore I resolued to take the first best wind that God should send, and plie towards the bay of S. Nicholas, and to see if wee might do any good there, if God would permitt it.

This present Saturday we saw very much ice, and were within two or three leagues of it: it shewed vnto vs as though it had beene a firme land as farre as we might see from Northwest off vs to the Eastwards: and this afternoone the Lord sent vs a little gale of wind at South, so that we bare cleere of the Westermost part of it, thanks be to God. And then against night it waxed calme againe, and the winde was at Southwest: we made our way vntill Sunday (23) noone Northwest and by West, and then we had the latitude in 70 degrees and a halfe, the winde at Southwest: there was a billow, so that we could not discerne to take the latitude exactly, but by a reasonable gesse.

Munday (24) there was a pretie gale of wind at South, so that wee went West and by South, the latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees 10 minutes: wee had little winde all day: at a Westnorthwest sunne we sounded, and had 29 fadoms blacke sandie oze, and then we were Northeast 5 leagues from the Northeast part of the Island Colgoieue.

Tuesday (25) the wind all Westerly we plyed to the windwards.

Wednesday (26) the wind was all Westerly, and calme: wee had the latitude this day in 70 degrees 10 minutes, we being within three leagues of the North part of the Island Colgoieue.

Thursday, (27) we went roome about the Westermost part of the Island, seeking where we might finde a place to ride in for a Northwest wind, and could not find none, and then we cast about againe to the seawards, and the winde came at Westsouthwest, and this morning we had plenty of snow.

Friday, (28) the winde being at Southwest and by West, we plied to the windewards.

Saturday (29) the winde being at South, we plyed to the Westwards, and at afternoone the mist brake vp, and then we might see the land seuen or eight leagues to the Eastwards of Caninoz: we sounded a little before and had 35 fadoms and oze. And a while after wee sounded againe, and had 19. fadome and sand: then we were within three leagues and a halfe of the shore, and towards night there came downe so much winde, that we were faine to bring our ship a trie, and laide her head to the Westwards.

Sunday, (30) the winde became more calme, and when it waxed verie mystie: At noone wee cast about to the Eastwards, the winde beeing at South, and ranne eight houres on that boorde, and then we cast about and caped West southwest: we sounded and had 32 fathomes, and found oaze like clay.

Munday, (31) we doubled about Caninoze, and came at an anker there, to the intent that we might kill some fish if God would permit it, and there we gate a great Nuse, which Nuses were there so plentie, that they would scarcely suffer any other fish to come neere the hookes: the said Nuses caried away sundrie of our hookes and leads.

A little after at a West Sunne, the winde began to blow stormie at West southwest, so that we were faine to wey and forsake our fishing ground, and went close by the winde Southwest, and Southwest and by West, making our way South southwest.

September.

Tuesday (1) at a West Sunne we sounded and had 20. fathoms, and broken Wilkeshels: I reckoned Caninoze to be 24 leagues Northnortheast from vs.

The eleuenth day we arriued at Colmogro, and there we wintered, expecting the approch of the next Summer to proceede farther in our intended discouerie for the Ob: which (by reason of our imploiments to Wardhouse the next spring for the search of some English ships)* was not accordingly performed.

---

* The fate of the three vessels that were employed on the first English Expedition to the North-East (see p. 29) was equally unfortunate. The *Edward Bonaventure*, commanded, as we have seen, by Chancellor, sailed in 1553 from England to the White Sea, returned to England in 1554, and was on the way plundered by the Dutch (Purchas, iii., p. 250); started again with Chancellor for the Dwina in 1555, and returned the same year to England under John Buckland; accompanied Burrough in 1556 to the Kola Peninsula; went thence to the Dwina to convey to England Chancellor and a Russian Embassy, the vessel, besides, carrying £20,000 worth of goods. It was wrecked in Aberdour Bay, near Aberdeen, on the 20th (10th) November, and Chancellor, his wife, and seven Russians were drowned.—The *Bona Esperanza*, commanded by Willoughby in 1553, carried him and his crew to perish at the mouth of the Varzina. The vessel was recovered, and was to have been used in 1556 to carry to England the Embassy already mentioned. It reached a harbour near Trondhjeim, but after leaving there, was never heard of again.—The *Bona Confidenzia* was also saved after the fatal wintering at the Varzina, and was employed in escorting the Embassy in 1556, but stranded on the Norwegian coast, every soul on board perishing. (See the account of the Russian Embassy to England, pp. 142-3.)—The vessels alluded to by Burrough are the *Edward Bonaventure* and *Bona Confidenzia.*

Certaine notes vnperfectly written by Richard Iohnson seruant to Master Richard Chancelour, which was in the discouerie of Vaigatz and Noua Zembla, with Steuen Burrowe in the Serchthrift 1556. and afterwarde among the Samoedes, whose deuilish rites hee describeth.

FIrst, after we departed out of England we fell with Norway, and on that coste lieth Northbern or Northbergen, and this people are vnder the King of Denmarke: But they differ in their speech from the Danes, for they speake Norsh. And North of Northbern lie the Isles of Roste and Lofoot, and these Islands pertaine vnto Finmarke, and they keepe the lawes and speake the language of the Islanders. And at the Eastermost part of that land is a castle which is called the Wardhouse, and the King of Denmarke doeth fortifie it with men of warre: and the Russes may not goe to the Westward of that castle. And East Southeast from that castle is a lande called Lappia: in which lande be two maner of people, that is to say, the Lappians, and the Scrickfinnes, which Scrickfinnes are a wilde people which neither know God, nor yet good order: and these people liue in tents made of Deares skinnes: and they haue no certaine habitations, but continue in heards and companies by one hundred and two hundreds. And they are a people of small stature, and are clothed in Deares skinnes, and drinke nothing but water, and eate no bread but flesh all raw. And the Lappians bee a people adioyning to them and be much like to them in al conditions: but the Emperour of Russia hath of late ouercome manie of them, and they are in subiection to him. And this people will say that they beleeue in the Russes God. And they liue in tents as the other doe. And Southeast and by South from Lappia lyeth a prouince called Corelia, and these people are called Kerilli. And South southeast from Corelia lyeth a countrey called Nouogardia. And these three nations are vnder the Emperour of Russia, and the Russes keepe the Lawe of the Greekes in their Churches, and write somewhat like as the Greekes write, and they speake their owne language, and they abhorre the Latine tongue, neither haue they to doe with the Pope of Rome, and they holde it not good to worshippe any carued Image, yet they will worshippe paynted Images on tables or boords. And in Russia their Churches, steeples, and houses are all of wood: and their shippes that they haue are sowed with withes and haue no nayles. The Kerilles, Russians or Moscouians bee much alike in all conditions.

And South from the Moscouians lye the Tartarians, which bee Mahumetans, and liue in tentes and wagons, and keepe in heardes and companies: and they holde it not good to abide long in one place, for they will say, when they will curse any of their children, I woulde thou mightest tary so long in a place that thou mightest smell thine owne dung, as the Christians doe: and this is the greatest curse that they haue. And East Northeast of Russia lieth Lampas, which is a place where the Russes, Tartars, and Samoeds meete twise a yeere, and make the faire to barter wares for wares. And Northeast from Lampas lieth the countrey of the Samoeds, which be about the riuer of Pechere, and these Samoeds bee in subiection to the Emperour of Russia, and they lie in tentes made of Deere skinnes, and they vse much witchcraft, and shoot well in bowes. And Northeast from the river Pechere* lieth Vaygatz, and there are the wilde Samoeds which will not suffer the Russes to land out of the Sea, bnt they will kill them and eate them, as wee are tolde by the Russes: and they liue in heards, and haue all their carriages with deere, for they haue no horses. Beyond Vaygatz lyeth a lande called Noua Zembla, which is a great lande, but wee sawe no people, and there we had Foule inough, and there wee sawe white Foxes and white Beares. And the sayde Samoeds which are about the bankes of Pechere, which are in subiection to the Emperour of Russia, when they will remoue from one place to another, then they will make sacrifices in manner following. Euerie kinred doeth sacrifice in their owne tent, and hee that is most auncient is their Priest. And first the Priest doth beginne to play vpon a thing like to a great sieue, with a skinne on the one ende like a drumme: and the sticke that he playeth with is about a spanne long, and one ende is round like a ball, couered with the skinne of an Harte. Also the Priest hath vpon his head a thing of white like a garlande, and his face is couered with a piece of a shirt of maile, with manie small ribbes, and teeth of fishes, and wilde beastes hanging on the same maile. Then he singeth as wee vse heere in Englande to hallow, whope, or showte at houndes, and the rest of the company answere him with this Owtis, Igha, Igha, Igha, and then the Priest replieth againe with his voyces. And they answere him with the selfsame wordes so manie times, that in the ende he becommeth as it were madde, and falling downe as hee were dead, hauing nothing on him but a shirt, lying vpon his backe I might perceiue him to breathe. I asked them why hee lay so, and they answered mee, Now doeth our God tell him what wee shall doe, and whither we shall goe. And when he had lyen still a little while, they cried thus three times together, Oghao, Oghao, Oghao, and as they vse these three calles, hee riseth with his head and lieth downe againe, and then hee rose vp and sang with like voyces as hee did before: and his audience answered him, Igha, Igha, Igha. Then hee commaunded them to kill fiue Olens or great Deere, and continued singing still both hee and they as before. Then hee tooke a sworde of a cubite and a spanne long, (I did not mete it my selfe) and put it into his bellie halfeway and sometime lesse, but no wounde was to bee seene, (they continuing in their sweete song still). Then he put the sworde into the fire till it was warme, and so thrust it into the slitte of his shirte and thrust it through his bodie, as I thought, in at his nauill and out at his fundament: the poynt beeing out of his shirt behind, I layde my finger vpon it, then hee pulled out the sworde and sate downe. This beeing done, they set a kettle of water ouer the fire to heate, and when the water doeth seethe, the Priest beginneth to sing againe they answering him, for so long as the water was in heating, they sate and sang not. Then they made a thing being foure square, and in height and squarenesse of a chaire, and couered with a gown very close the forepart thereof, for the hinder part stood to the tents side. Their tents are rounde and are called Chome in their language. The water still seething on the fire, and this square seate being ready, the Priest put off his shirt, and the thing like a garland which was on his head, with those things which couered his face, and he had on yet all this while a paire of hosen of deeres skins with ye haire on, which came vp to his buttocks. So he went into the square seate, and sate down like a tailour and sang with a strong voyce or hallowing. Then they tooke a small line made of deeres skinnes of four fathoms long, and with a smal knotte the Priest made it fast about his necke, and vnder his left arme, and gaue it vnto two men standing on both sides of him, which held the ends together. Then the kettle of hote water was set before him in the square seat, al this time the square seat was not couered, and then it was couered w^t a gown of broad cloth without lining, such as the Russes do weare. Then the 2. men which did hold ye ends of the line stil standing there, began to draw, and drew til they had drawn the ends of the line stiffe and together, and then I hearde a thing fall into the kettle of water which was before him in the tent. Thereupon I asked them that sate by me what it was that fell into the water that stoode before him. And they answered me, that it was his head, his shoulder and left arme, which the line had cut off, I meane the knot which I sawe afterwarde drawen hard together. Then I rose vp and would haue looked whether it were so or not, but they laid hold on me, and said, that if they should see him with their bodily eyes, they shoulde liue no longer. And the most part of them can speake the Russe tongue to be vnderstood: and they tooke me to be a Russian. Then they beganne to hallow with these wordes, Oghaoo, Oghaoo, Oghaoo, many times together. And as they were thus singing and out calling, I sawe a thing like a finger of a man two times together thrust through the gowne from the Priest. I asked them that sate next to me what it was that I sawe, and they saide, not his finger; for he was yet dead: and that which I saw appeare through the gowne was a beast, but what beast they knew not nor would not tell. And I looked vpon the gowne, and there was no hole to bee seene; and then at the last the Priest lifted vp his head with his shoulder and arme, and all his bodie, and came forth to the fire. Thus farre of their seruice which I sawe during the space of certaine houres: but how they doe worship their Idols that I saw not: for they put vp their stuffe for to remoue from that place where they lay. And I went to him that serued the Priest, and asked him what their God saide to him when he lay as dead. Hee answered, that his owne people doeth not know: neither is it for them to know, for they must doe as he commanded. This I saw the fift day of Ianuarie in the yere of our Lord 1556, after the English account.

---

* Or, Pechora.

A discourse of the honourable receiuing into England of the first Ambassador from the Emperor of Russia, in the yeere of Christ 1556. and in the third yeere of the raigne of Queene Marie, seruing for the third voyage to Moscouie. Registred by Master Iohn Incent Protonotarie.

IT is here recorded by writing and autenticall testimonie, partly for memorie of things done, and partly for the veritie to be knowen to posteritie in time to come, that whereas the most high and mightie Iuan Vasiliuich Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Moscouia and Nouogrode, Emperor of Cassan, and of Astrachan, Lord of Pleskie, and great Duke of Smolenskie, Tuerskie, Yowgoriskie, Permskie, Viatskie, Bolgarskie and Sibierskie, Emperour and great Duke of many others, as Nouogrode in the nether countries, Chernigoskie, Rezanskie, Polodskie, Rezewskie, Bielskie, Rostoskie, Yeraslaueskie, Bealozarskie, Oudarskie, Obdorskie, Condenskie, and manie other countries, and lord ouer all those partes, in the yeere of our Lord God, folowing the account of ye Latin church, 1556. sent by the sea from the port of S. Nicholas in Russia, his right honorable ambassador sirnamed Osep Napea,* his high officer in the towne and countrey of Vologda, to the most famous and excellent princes, Philip and Mary by the grace of God, king and Queene of England, Spaine, France and Ireland, defenders of the faith, Archdukes of Austria, dukes of Burgundie, Millaine, and Brabant, counties of Haspurge, Flanders and Tyroll, his ambassador and Orator with certaine letters tenderly conceiued, together with certaine presents and gifts mentioned in the foot of this memorial, as a manifest argument and token of a mutual amity and friendship to be made and continued betweene their maiesties and subiects respectiuely, for the commoditie and benefit of both the realmes and people: which Orator was the 20. day of Iuly imbarked and shipped in, and vpon a good English ship named the Edward Bonauenture, belonging to the Gouernour, Consuls and company of English marchants, Richard Chancelor being grand Pilot, and Iohn Buckland master of the said ship. In which was laden at the aduenture of the foresaid Ambassador and marchants at seueral accounts, goods and merchandizes, viz. in waxe, trane oyle, tallow, furres, felts, yarne and such like, to the summe of 20000. li. sterling, together with 16. Russies attendant vpon the person of the said Ambassador. Ouer and aboue ten other Russies shipped within the said Bay of S. Nicholas, in one other good ship to the said company also belonging called the Bona Speranza, with goods of the said Orators and marchants to the value of 6000. lib. sterling, as by the inuoices and letters of lading of the said seueral ships (whereunto relation is to be had) particularly appeareth. Which good ships comming in good order into the seas, and trauersing the same in their iourney towards the coast of England, were by the contrary winds and extreme tempests of weather seuered the one from the other, that is to say, the saide Bona Speranza with two other English ships also appertaining to

Foure ships.

---

* Ossip Gregorjevitsch Nepeja.

the saide company, the one sirnamed the Philip and Mary, the other the Confidentia, were driuen on the coast of Norway, into Drenton water, where the saide Confidentia was seene to perish on a Rocke, and the other, videlicet, the Bona Speranza, with her whole company, being to the number of foure and twentie persons seemed to winter there, whereof no certaintie at this present day is knowen. The third, videlicet, the Philip and Mary arriued in the Thames nigh London the eighteenth day of April, in the yeere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and seuen. The Edward Bonauenture trauersing the seas foure moneths, finally the tenth day of Nouember of the aforesaide yeere of our Lorde one thousand fiue hundred, fiftie and sixe, arriued within the Scottish coast in a Bay named Pettislego, where by outragious tempests, and extreme stormes, the said ship being beaten from her ground tackles, was driuen vpon the rockes on shoare, where she brake and split in pieces in such sort, as the grand Pilot vsing all carefulnesse for the safetie of the bodie of the sayde Ambassadour and his trayne, taking the boat of the said ship, trusting to attaine the shore, and so to save and preserue the bodie, and seuen of the companie or attendants of the saide Ambassadour, the same boat by rigorous waues of the seas, was by darke night ouerwhelmed and drowned, wherein perished not only the bodie of the said grand Pilot, with seuen Russes, but also diuers of the Mariners of the sayd ship: the noble personage of the saide Ambassadour with a fewe others (by Gods preseruation and speciall fauour) onely with much difficultie saued. In which shipwracke not onely the saide shippe was broken, but also the whole masse and bodie of the goods laden in her, was by the rude and rauenous people of the Countrey thereunto adioyning, rifled, spoyled and caried away, to the manifest losse and vtter destruction of all the lading of the said ship, and together with the ship, apparell, ordinance and furniture belonging to the companie, in value of one thousand pounds, of all which was not restored toward the costs and charges to the summe of fiue hundred pounds sterling.

The Edward Bonauenture arriued in Scotland, in the Bay of Pettislego, November 7, 1556.

Richard Chancelor drowned.

As soone as by letters addressed to the saide companie, and in London deliuered the sixt of December last past, it was to them certainely knowen of the losse of their Pilote, men, goods and ship, the same merchants with all celeritie and expedition, obteined not onely the Queenes maiesties most gracious and fauourable letters to the Ladie Dowager and lordes of the Councell of Scotland for the gentle comfortment and entertainment of the saide Ambassadour, his traine and companie, with preseruation and restitution of his goods, as in such miserable cases, to Christian pitie, princely honour and meere Iustice appertaineth, but also addressed two Gentlemen of good learning, grauitie and estimation, videlicet, Master Lawrence Hussie Doctor of the Ciuill Lawe, and George Gilpin with money and other requisites into the Realme of Scotland, to comfort, ayde, assist, and relieue him and his there, and also to conduct the Ambassadour into England, sending with them by poste a Talmach or Speachman for the better furniture of the seruice of the sayde Ambassadour, trusting thereby to haue the more ample and speedie redresse of restitution: which personages vsing diligence, arriued at Edenborough (where the Queenes court was) the three and twentieth day of the saide moneth of December, who first visiting the saide Ambassadour, declaring the causes of their comming and Commission, shewing the letters addressed in his fauour, the order giuen them for his solace and furniture of all such things as hee would haue, together with their daily and readie seruice to attend vpon his person and affaires, repaired consequently vnto the Dowager Queene, deliuering the letters.

Whereupon they receiued gentle answeres, with hope and comfort of speedie restitution of the goods, apparell, iewels, and letters: for the more apparance whereof, the Queene sent first certaine Commissioners with an Harold of armes to Pettislego, the place of the Shipwracke, commaunding by Proclamation and other Edictes, all such persons (no degree excepted) as had any part of such goods as were spoyled and taken out or from the ship to bring them in, and to restore the same with such further order as her grace by aduise of her Council thought expedient: by reason whereof not without great labours, paines and charges (after long time) diuers small parcels of Waxe, and other small trifling things of no value, were by the poorer sort of the Scottes brought to the Commissioners, but the Iewels, rich apparell, presents, gold, siluer, costly furres, and such like, were conueyed away, concealed and vtterly embezelled. Whereupon, the Queene at the request of the said Ambassadour, caused diuers persons to the number of 180. or moe, to be called personally before her princely presence, to answer to ye said spoile, and really to exhibit and bring in all such things as were spoiled and violently taken, and caried out of the same, whereof not onely good testimonie by writing was shewed, but also the things themselues found in the hands of the Scottish subiects, who by subtile and craftie dealings, by conniuence of the commissioners, so vsed or rather abused themselues towards the same Orator & his attendants, that no effectuall restitution was made: but he fatigated with daily attendance and charges, the 14. day of February next ensuing, distrusting any reall and effectual rendring of the saide goods and marchandizes and other the premisses, vpon leaue obtained of the saide Queene, departed towards England, hauing attending vpon him the said two English Gentlemen and others (leauing neuerthelesse in Scotland three Englishmen to pursue the deliuerie of such things as were collected to haue bene sent by ship to him in England: which being in Aprill next, and not before imbarked for London, was not at this present day here arriued) came the 18. day of Februarie to Barwike within the dominion and realme of England, where he was by the Queenes maiesties letters and commandement honourably receiued, vsed and interteined by the right honourable lord Wharton, lord Warden of the East marches, with goodly conducting from place to place, as the dayly iourneys done ordinarily did lie, in such order, maner and forme, as to a personage of such estate appertaineth. He prosecuting his voyage vntil the 27. of Februarie * approched to the citie of London within twelue English miles, where he was receiued with fourscore merchants with chaines of gold and goodly apparell, as wel in order of men seruants in one vniforme liuerie, as also in and vpon good horses and geldings, who conducting him to a marchants house foure miles from London, receiued there a quantitie of gold, veluet and silke, with all furniture thereunto requisite, wherewith he made him a riding garment, reposing himselfe that night. The next day being Saturday and the last day of Februarie, he was by the merchants aduenturing for Russia, to the number of one hundred and fortie persons, and so many or more seruants in one liuerie, as abouesaid, conducted towards the citie of London, where by the way he had not onely the hunting of the Foxe and such like sport shewed him, but also by the Queenes maiesties commandement was receiued and embraced by the right honourable Viscount Montague, sent

---

* 1557.

by her grace for his entertainment: he being accompanied with diuers lustie knights, esquiers, gentlemen and yeomen to the number of three hundred horses led him to the North partes of the Citie of London, where by foure notable merchants richly apparelled was presented to him a right faire and large gelding richly trapped, together with a footcloth of Orient crimson veluet, enriched with gold laces, all furnished in most glorious fashion, of the present, and gift of the sayde merchants: where vpon the Ambassadour at instant desire mounted, riding on the way towards Smithfield barres, the first limites of the liberties of the Citie of London. The Lord Maior accompanied with all the Aldermen in their skarlet did receiue him, and so riding through the Citie of London in the middle, betweene the Lord Maior and Viscount Montague, a great number of merchants and notable personages riding before, and a large troupe of seruants and apprentises following, was conducted through the Citie of London (with great admiration and plausibilitie of the people running plentifully on all sides, and replenishing all streets in such sort as no man without difficultie might passe) into his lodging situate in Fant church streete, where were prouided for him two chambers richly hanged and decked, ouer and aboue the gallant furniture of the whole house, together with an ample and rich cupboord of plate of all sortes, to furnish and serue him at all meales, and other seruices during his abode in London, which was, as is vnderwritten, vntil the third day of May: during which time daily diuers Aldermen and the grauest personages of the said companie did visite him, prouiding all kind of victuals for his table and his seruants, with al sorts of Officers to attend vpon him in good sort and condition, as to such an ambassadour of honour doeth and ought to appertaine.

It is also to be remembred that at his first entrance into his chamber, there was presented vnto him on the Queenes Maiesties behalfe for a gift and present, and his better furniture in apparel, one rich piece of cloth of tissue, a piece of cloth of golde, another piece of cloth of golde raised with crimosin veluet, a piece of crimosin veluet in graine, a piece of purple veluet, a piece of Damaske purpled, a piece of crimosin damaske, which he most thankfully accepted. In this beautifull lodging refreshing and preparing himselfe and his traine with things requisite he abode, expecting the kings maiesties repaire out of Flanders into England, whose highnesse arriuing the one and twentie of March, the same Ambassadour the fiue and twentieth of March being the Annunciation of our Ladie (the day tweluemoneth he took his leaue from the Emperour his master) was most honourably brought to the King and Queenes maiesties court at Westminster, where accompanied first with the said Viscount and other notable personages, and the merchants, hee arriuing at Westminster bridge, was there receiued with sixe lords, conducted into a stately chamber, where by the lords, Chancellor, Treasurer, Priuie seale, Admirall, bishop of Elie, and other Counsellers, hee was visited and saluted: and consequently was brought vnto the Kings and Queenes maiesties presence, sitting vnder a stately cloth of honour, the chamber most richly decked and furnished, and most honourably presented. Where, after that hee had deliuered his letters, made his Oration, giuen two timber of Sables, and the report of the same made both in English and Spanish, in most louing maner embraced, was with much honour and high entertainement, in sight of a great confluence of people, Lordes and Ladies eftsoones remitted by water to his former lodging, to the which, within two dayes after by the assignement of the King and Queenes maiesties, repaired and conferred with him secretly two graue Counsellers, that is, the lord Bishop of Elie, and Sir William Peter Knight, chiefe Secretary to their Highnesse, who after diuers secret talkes and conferences, reported to their highnesse their proceedings, the grauitie, wisedome, and stately behauior of the sayd Ambassadour, in such sort as was much to their maiesties contentations.

Finally concluding vpon such treaties and articles of amitie, as the letters of the Kings and Queenes maiesties most graciously vnder the greate seale of England to him by the sayd counsellers deliuered, doth appeare.

The three and twentieth of April, being the feast of S. George, wherein was celebrated the solemnitie of the Noble order of the Garter at Westminster, the same lord ambassadour was eftsoones required to haue audience: and therefore conducted from the sayd lodging to the court by the right Noble the lords Talbot and Lumley to their maiesties presence: where, after his Oration made, and thanks both giuen and receiued, hee most honourably tooke his leaue with commendations to the Emperour. Which being done, he was with special honour led into the chappell, where before the Kings and Queens maiesties, in the sight of the whole Grder of the Garter, was prepared for him a stately seate, wherein he accompanied with the Duke of Norfolke, the lords last aboue mentioned, and many other honourable personages, was present at the whole seruice, in ceremonies which were to him most acceptable: the diuine seruice ended, he eftsoones was remitted and reduced to his barge, and so repaired to his lodging, in like order and gratulation of the people vniuersally as before.

The time of the yeere hasting the profection and departure of the Ambassador, the merchants hauing prepared foure goodly and well trimmed shippes laden with all kinds of merchandises apt for Russia, the same Ambassadour making prouision for such things as him pleased, the same ships in good order valed downe the Riuer of Thames, from London to Grauesend, where the same Ambassadour with his traine and furniture was imbarked towards his voyage homeward, which God prosper in all felicitie.

It is also to be remembred, that during the whole abode of the sayd Ambassadour in England, the Agents of the sayde marchants did not onely prosecute and pursue the matter of restitution in Scotland, and caused such things to be laden in an English shippe hired purposely to conuey the Ambassadours goods to London, there to be deliuered to him, but also during his abode in London, did both inuite him to the Maior, and diuers worshipfull mens houses, feasting and banquetting him right friendly, shewing vnto him the most notable and commendable sights of London, as the kings palace and house, the Churches of Westminster and Powles, the Tower and Guild hall of London, and such like memorable spectacles. And also the said 29. day of April, the said merchants assembling themselues together in the house of the Drapers hal of London, exhibited and gaue vnto ye said Ambassador, a notable supper garnished with musicke, Enterludes and bankets: in the which a cup of wine being druuke to him in the name and lieu of the whole companie, it was signified to him that the whole company with most liberall and friendly hearts, did frankly giue to him and his all maner of costs and charges in victuals riding from Scotland to London during his abode there, and vntill setting of saile aboord the ship, and requesting him to accept the same in good part as a testimonie and witnes of their good hearts, zeale and tendernesse towards him and his countrey.

It is to be considered that of the Bona Speranza no word nor knowledge was had at this present day, nor yet of the arriual of the ships or goods from Scotland.

The third day of May the Ambassadour departed from London to Grauesend, accompanied by diuers Aldermen and merchants, who in good gard set him aboord the noble shippe, the Primrose Admirall to the Fleete, where leaue was taken on both sides and parts, after many imbracements and diuers farewels not without expressing of teares.

Memorandum, that the first day of May the Councillers, videlicet, the Bishop of Elye, and Sir William Peter on the behalfe of the Kings and Queens Maiesties repairing to the orde Ambassadour did not onely deliuer vnto him their highness letters of recommendations vnder the great seale of England to the Emperour, very tenderly and friendly written, but also on their Maiesties behalf gaue and deliuered certaine notable presents to the Emperours person, and also gifts for the lord Ambassadours proper vse and behoofe, as by the particulars vnder written appeareth, with such further good wordes and commendations, as the more friendly haue not bin heard, whereby it appeareth how well affected their honours be to haue and continue amitie and traffique betweene their honours and their subiects: which thing as the kings and Queenes maiesties haue shewed of their princely munificences and liberalities, so haue likewise the merchants and fellowship of the Aduenturers, for and to Russia, manifested to the world their good willes, mindes and zeales borne to this new commensed voyage, as by the discourse aboue mentioned, and other the notable actes ouer long to be recited in this present memoriall, doeth and may most clearely appeare, the like whereof is not in any president or historie to bee shewed.

The King and Queens second letters to the Emperour of Russia.

Forasmuch as it may bee doubted how the ship named the Edward Bonauenture suffered shipwracke, what became of the goods, howe much they were spoiled and deteined, how little restored, what charges and expenses ensued, what personages were drowned, how the rest of the ships either arriued or perished, or howe the disposition of almightie God hath wrought his pleasure in them, how the same ambassadour hath bene after the miserable case of shipwracke in Scotland vnreuerently abused, and consequently into England receiued and conducted, there intertained, vsed, honoured, and finally in good safetie towards his returne, and repaire furnished, and with much liberalitie and franke handling friendly dismissed, to the intent that the trueth of the premisses may be to the most mightie Emperour of Russia sincerely signified in eschewment of all euents and misfortunes that may chance in this voyage (which God defend) to the Ambassadours person, traine, and goods, this present memoriall is written, and autentikely made, and by the sayde Ambassadour his seruants, whose names be vnderwritten, and traine in presence of the Notarie, and witnesses vndernamed, recognized, and acknowledged. Giuen the day, moneth, and yeere vnderwritten, of which instrument into euery of the sayde Shippes one testimoniall is deliuered, and the first remaineth with the sayde Companie in London.

Giftes sent the King and Queenes Maiesties of England by the Emperour of Russia, by the report of the Ambassadour, and spoyled by the Scots after the Shipwracke.

1 First, sixe timber of Sables rich in colour and haire.
2 Item, twentie entire Sables exceeding beautifull with teeth, eares and clawes.
3 Item, foure liuing Sables with chaines and collars.
4 Item, thirtie Lusarnes large and beautifull.
5 Item, sixe large and great skinnes very rich and rare, worne onely by the Emperour for worthinesse.
6 Item, a large and faire white Ierfawcon* for the wild Swanne, Crane, Goose, and other great Fowles, together with a drumme of siluer, the hoopes gilt, vsed for a lure to call the sayd Hawke.

Giftes sent to the Emperour of Russia by the King and Queenes Maiesties of England.

1 First, two rich pieces of cloth of Tissue.
2 Item, one fine piece of Scarlet.
3 Item, one fine Violet in graine.
4 Item, one fine Azur cloth.
5 Item, a notable paire of Brigandines with a Murrian couered with crimson veluet and gilt nailes.
6 Item, a male and Female Lions.

Giftes giuen to the Ambassadour at his departure, ouer and aboue such as were deliuered vnto him at his first arriual.

1 First, a chaine of golde of one hundred pound.
2 Item, a large Bason and Euer, siluer and gilt.

---

* Gerfalcon.

3 Item, a paire of pottle pots gilt.
4 Item, a paire of flaggons gilt.

The names of all such Russies as were attendant vpon the Ambassadour, at and before his departure out of England.

Isaak Fwesscheneke.
Demetre.
Gorbolones.
Symonde.
Yeroffia.
Stephen.
Lowca.
Andria.
Foma.

Memorandum, the day and yeere of our Lord aboue mentioned, in the house of the worshipfull Iohn Dimmocke Citizen and Draper of London, situate within the famous Citie of London in the Realme of England, the abouenamed honourable Osep Gregorywich Napea, Ambassadour and Orator aboue mentioned, personally constituted and present, hauing declared vnto him by the month of the right worshipfull master Anthony Hussie Esquire, the effect of the causes and contents, of, and in this booke, at the interpretation of Robert Best his interpreter sworne, recognized, and knowledged in presence of me the Notarie and personages vnderwritten, the contents of this booke to be true, as well for his owne person as for his seruants aboue named, who did not subscribe their names as is aboue mentioned, but onely recognized the same. In witness whereof, I Iohn Incent Notary Publike, at the request of the said master Anthonie Hussie, and other of the Marchants haue to these presents vnderwritten set my accustomed signe, with the Subscription of my name, the day and yeere aboue written, being present the right Worshipfull,

Andrew Iudde, Knight.
George Barne, „ and Alderman of London.
William Chester „ „
Rafe Greeneaway. „
Iohn Mersh Esquier.
Iohn Dimmock.
Blase Sanders.
Hubert Hussie, and
Robert Best aboue mentioned.

The voyage of the foresaid M. Stephen Burrough, An. 1557. from Colmogro to Wardhouse, which was sent to seeke the Bona Esperanza, the Bona Confidentia, and the Philip and Mary, which were not heard of the yeere before.*

May.

VPon Sunday the 23 of May, I departed with the Searchthrift from Colmogro, the latitude whereof is 64. degrees, 25. minutes, and the variation of the compasse, 5 degrees, 10. minutes from the North to the East.

Wednesday (26) we came to the Island called Pozanka, which Island is within foure leagues of the barre Berozoua. It floweth here at an East and by South moone full sea.

Saturday (29) in the morning we departed from Pozanka, and plied to the barre of Berozoua Gooba, whereupon wee came to anker at a lowe water, and sounded the said Barre with our two Skiffes, and found in the best upon the shoaldest of the barre 13. foote water by the rule. It higheth vpon this barre, in spring streames 3. foote water: and an East Moone maketh a full sea vpon this barre.

Sunday (30) in the morning wee departed from the barre of Berozoua, and plied along by the shoalds in fiue fadome, vntill I had sight of S. Nicholas roade, and then wee cast about to the Northwards, and went with a hommocke, which is halfe a mile to Eastwards of Coya Reca, which hommocke and S. Nicholas abbey lye Southsouthwest, and Northnortheast, and betweene them are 11. leagues. Coia Reca is halfe a mile to the Eastwards of Coscaynos. Coscaynos and the middles of the Island called Mondeustoua ostroue, which is thwart of the barre of Berozoua lieth South and by East, North and by West, and betweene them are 4. leagues, or as you may say from the Seaboord part of the barre to Coscaynos are 3. leagues and a halfe.

Munday (31) at a Northeast and by East sunne we were thwart of Coscaynos.

Dogs nose lieth from Coscaynos Northnorthwest, and betweene them are eight leagues: and Dogs nose sheweth like a Gurnerds head, if you be inwardly on both sides of it: on the lowe point of Dogs nose there standeth a crosse alone.

---

* This voyage of Burrough's, undertaken at his own instance, to the coast of Russian Lapland, has attracted little notice: we learn from it, however, that the Dutch, even at this time, carried on an extensive trade with Russian Lapland.

Iune.

1 FRom Dogs nose to Foxnose are three leagues, North, and by West.

The 2 day of Iune I went on shoare 2. miles to the Northwards of Dogs nose, and had the latitude of that place in 65. degrees, 47. minutes. It floweth a shoare at this place, at an East moone full sea, and the ship lay thwart to wende a flood, in the off, at a Southsoutheast moone. So that it is to be vnderstoode, that when it is a full sea on the shoare, it is two points to ebbe, before it be a lowe water in the off. The variation of the Compasse at this place is 4. degrees from the North to the East.

This day (3) the Northnorthwest winde put vs backe againe with Dogs nose, where a ship may ride thwart of a salt house, in 4. fadome, or 4. fadome and a halfe of water, and haue Landfange for a North and by West winde: which Salt house is halfe a mile to the Southwards of Dogs nose.

Friday (4) at a Southsouthwest Sunne, wee departed from this Salt house. It is to be noted that foure miles to the Northwards of Dogs nose there growe no trees on the banke by the water side: and the bankes consist of fullers earth. Ouer the cliffes there growe some trees: so that Dogs nose is the better to be knowen because it is fullers earth, and the like I haue not seene in all that Countrey.

A head of Foxe nose a league from the shoare there are 15. fadome: betwixt Foxe nose and Zolatitsa there are 6. leagues, I meane the Southerly part of Foxe nose.

Sunday (6) I sounded the barre of Zolatitsa, which the Russes told me was a good harborow, but in the best of it I found but 4. foote water.

Munday (7) I had the latitude in 66. degrees, and then was point Pentecost sixe leagues south of vs.

Wednesday (9) I went on land at Crosse Island, and tooke the latitude, which was 66. degrees, 24. minutes.

We being one league Northeast of Crosse Island, I sawe the land on the Eastside, which I iudged to be Cape good fortune, and it was then Eastsoutheast of vs 9 leagues.

Cape grace is 7. leagues and a halfe Northeast from Crosse Island.

There are 2. Islands 5. leagues Northnortheast from Cape grace, the Southermost of them is a little long Island almost a mile long, and the Northermost a little round island, and they are both hard aboord the shore.

Cape Race is from the Southermost Island North and by West, betweene them are two leagues, and from that and halfe a league Northnorthwest, there is another poynt. Betweene which poynt and Cape Race, the Russes haue a Stanauish or harborow for their Lodias: and to the Westwards of the sayd poynt, there is a shoale bay.

Three leagues and a halfe to Northwards of Cape Race, we had the latitude on the 10. day of this moneth in 67. degrees 10. minutes. Riding within half a league of the shoare in this latitude I found it to be a full sea at a North and by East moone. I had where we roade, two and twentie fadoome, and the tallow which is taken vp is full of great broken shels, and some stones withal like vnto small sand congealed together.

Frost in Iune

From a South sunne that wee weyed, the winde being at North and by East, wee driued to the windwards halfe the ebbe, with the ships head to the Eastwards. And then when we cast her head to the Westwards, we sounded, and had 22. fadome broken shels, and gray sand; this present day was very mistie, with frost on the shrowds as the mist fell.

Friday (11) in the morning at an East sunne, the mist brake up a little, the winde being at North and by West a stiffe gale, our shrowdes and roapes ouer head being couered with frost, and likely to be a storme: I thought it good to seeke an harborow, and so plied roome with the Islands which are two leagues to the Southwards of Cape Race, and within these Islands (thankes bee to God) we found harborow for vs. It higheth at these Islands two fadome water: it floweth in the harborow at this place at a Southsoutheast moone ful sea: and a sea boord it floweth at a Southsouthwest moone a full sea. The Russes call this Island, Tri Ostroue.

You may come in betweene the little Island and the great Island, and keepe you in the mids of the Sound, and if you borrowe on any side, let it bee on the greatest Island, and you shall haue at a low water, foure fadome, and three fadome and a halfe, and three fadome, vntill that you be shot so farre in as the narrowest, which is between the Northermost point of the greatest Island, and the Southerne point of the maine which is right against it, and then hale to the Northwards with the crosse which standeth in the maine, and you shall haue at a lowe water 10. foote water, and faire sand. And if you be disposed to goe through the Sound to the Southwards, keepe the Northwest shoare aboorde, for on the Island side after you be shotte so far in as the crosse, it is a shoale of rockes halfe the sound ouer: which rockes do last vnto the Southerly part of the great Island, and rather to the Southwards. And if you be constrained to seeke a harbor for Northerly windes, when you come out of the sea hale in with the Southerly part of the great Island, giuing the Island a faire birth, and as you shoote towards the maine, you shall finde roade for all Northerly windes, in foure fadome, fiue, sixe, and seuen fadome, at a lowe water.

Also within this great Island (if neede bee) you may haue a good place to ground a ship in: the great Island is almost a mile long and a quarter of a mile ouer.

This storm of Northerly winde lasted vntill the 16. of this moneth and then the winde came Southerly, but we could not get out for ice. I went on shore at the crosse, and tooke the latitude, which is 66. degrees, 58. minutes, 30. seconds: the variation of the Compasse 3. degrees and a halfe from the North to the East.

Thursday (17) being faire weather, and the winde at North we plied to the winde-wards with sailes and oares: wee stopped the flood this day three leagues to the Northwards of Cape Race, two miles from the shore, and had twentie fadome water, faire gray and blacke sand, and broken shels. And when the slake came wee wayed and made aboord to the shoare-wards, and had within two cables length of the shoare, eighteene fadomes faire gray and blacke sand: a man may finde roade there for a North winde, and so to the Westwards.

Two leagues to the Southward of Corpus Christi poynt, you may haue Landfang for a North and by East winde, and from that to the Westwards in 23. fadome almost a mile from shoare, and faire sand, and amongst the sand little yong small limpets, or such like as growe vpon muscles: and within two cables length and lesse of the shoare are eighteene fadomes, and the sounding aforesayd, but the yong limpets more plentifull. It was a full sea where we roade, almost a mile from shoare, at a South and by West moone: two leagues to the Southwards of Corpus Christi point is the vttermost land, which land and Cape Race lyeth South and halfe a point to Westwards, and North and halfe a point to the Eastwards, and betweene them are sixe leagues. Riding this day (19) sixe leagues to the Northwards of Cape Race, the winde at Northnorthwest, with mist and frost, at noone the sunne appeared through the mist, so that I had the latitude in 67. degrees, 29. minutes.

Munday (21) we were thwart of Corpus Christi point, two leagues and a halfe from shoare, or rather more, where we sounded, and had 36. fadoms, and broken cocle shels, with brannie sand, but the broken shels very thicke.

Tuesday (22) in the morning we were shotte a head of Cape gallant, which the Russes call Sotinoz. And as were shot almost halfe a league betwixt it, and Cape comfort, the wind came vp at the Northwest, and after to the Northwards, so that we were faine to beare roome to seeke a harbour, where we found good harbour for all windes, and the least 7. fadome water betweene S. Iohns Islands and the maine.

After that we came to an ancre, we tooke the latitude, which was 68. degrees, 1 minute, after noone, the winde at North with plentie of snowe.

At a West Sunne there came aboord us certaine Lappians in a boate, to the number of sixeteene persons, and amongst them there were two wenches, and some of them could speake the Russe tongue: I asked them where their abiding was, and they tolde mee that there was a companie or heard of them, to the number of 100. men, besides women and children, but a little from vs in the riuer Iekonga.

They tolde me that they had bene to seeke meate among the rockes, saying, If wee get no meate, wee eate none. I sawe them eate rocke weedes as hungerly, as a cowe doeth grasse when shee is hungrie. I sawe them also eate foules egges rawe, and the yong birdes also that were in the egges.

I obserued certaine wordes of their language, which I thought good to set downe for their vse, that hereafter shall haue occasion to continue this voyage.

COWGHTIE COTEAT,	what call you this.
PODDYTHECKE,	come hither.
AUANCHYTHOCKE,	get the hence.
ANNA,	farewell.
TEYRUE,	good morrowe.
IOMME LEMAUFES,	I thanke you.
PASSEUELLIE,	a friend.
OLMUELKE,	a man.
CAPTELLA,	a woman.

Alke,	a sonne.
Neit,	a daughter, or yong wench.
Oyuie,	a head.
Cyelme,	an eye.
Nenna,	a nose.
Nealma,	a mouth.
Pannea,	teeth.
Neughtema,	a tongue.
Seaman,	a beard.
Peallee,	an eare.
Teappat,	the necke.
Voapt,	the haire.
Keat,	a hand.
Soarme,	fingers.
Iowlkie,	a legge.
Peelkie,	the thombe, or great toe.
Sarke,	wollen cloth.
Lein,	linnen cloth.
Payte,	a shirt.
Tol,	fire.
Keatse,	water.
Murr,	wood.
Vannace,	a boate.
Arica,	an oare.
Nurr,	a roape.
Peyue,	a day.
Hyr,	a night.
Peyuezea,	the Sunne.
Manna,	the Moone.
Laste,	starres.
Cosam volka,	whither goe you.
Ottapp,	sleepe.
Tallye,	that.
Keiedde pieue,	a weeke.
Isckie,	a yeere.
Kesse,	Sommer.
Talue,	Winter.
Iowksam,	colde.
Parox,	warme.
Abrye,	raine.
Youghang,	yce.

KEATYKYE,	a stone.
SELLOWPE,	siluer.
SOLDA,	golde.
TENNAE,	tinne.
VESKUE,	copper.
ROWADT,	yron.
NEYBX,	a knife.
AXSHE,	a hatchet.
LEABEE,	bread.
IEAUEGOAT,	meale.
PENCKA,	the winde.
IOWTE,	A platter.
KEMNIE,	a kettle.
KEESTES,	gloues.
SAPEGE,	shoes.
CONDE,	a wilde Deare.
POATSA,	the labouring Deare.

Their wordes of number are these as followeth.

OFTE,	One.
NOUMPTE,	Two.
COLME,	Three.
NELLYE,	Four.
VITTE,	Five.
COWTE,	Six.
KEYDEEM,	Seven.
KAFFTS,	Eight.
OWGHCHTE,	Nine.
LOCKE,	Ten.
OSTRETUMBELOCKE,	Eleven.
COWGHTNUMBELOCKE,	Twelve.
COLMENONBELOCKE,	Thirteen.
NELLYNOMBELOCKE,	Fourteen.
VITTIENOMBELOCKE,	Fifteen.
COWTENOMBELOCKE,	Sixteen.
KEYDEMNOMBELOCKE,	Seventeen.
KAFTSNOMBELOCKE,	Eighteen.
OWGHTNOMBELOCKE,	Nineteen.
COFFTEYLOCKE,	Twenty.
COLMELOCKE,	Thirty.
NELLY LOCKE,	Forty.

VITTELOCKE, ...	Fifty.
COWTELOCKE, ...	Sixty.
KEYDEMLOCKE, . . .	Seventy.
KAFFTSELOCKE, . . .	Eighty.
OUGHCHETELOKE, . . .	Ninety.
TEWET, ...	One hundred.

Friday (25) in the morning we departed from Saint Iohns Island: to the Westwards thereof, a mile from the shoare, we sounded, and had 36. fadoms, and oazie sand.

Iuana Creos is from Cape gallant Westnorthwest, and halfe a point to the Northwards, and betweene them is 7. leagues. The point of the Island, which is Cape comfort, lyeth from Iuana Creos, Northwest and by North, and almost the 3. part of a point to the Westwards, and betweene them are 3. leagues.

The Eastermost of S. Georges Islands, or the 7. Islands, lyeth from Iuana Creos Northwest, and halfe a point to the Northwards, and betweene them are 14. leagues and a halfe. The vttermost of the 7. Islands, and Cape Comfort lieth Northwest, and by North, Southeast, and by South.

Vnder the Southermost Island you shall finde good roade for all Northerly windes from the Northwest to the Northeast. From the Southeast part of the 7. Islands, vnto the Northwest part of them, are 3. leagues and a halfe.

From the Northwest part of the Islands aforesaid, vnto S. Peters Islands, are 11. leagues Northwest.

(26). S. Peters Islands rise an indifferent low point, not seeming to be an Island, and as if it had a castle vpon it.

S. Pauls Islands lie from S. Peters Islands Northwest and to the Westwards, and betweene them are 6. leagues. Within these Islands there is a faire sandy bay, and there may be found a good roade for Northerly windes.

Cape Sower beere lyeth from S. Pauls Islands Northwest and by West, and betweene them are 5. leagues.

Cape comfort, which is the Island of Kildina, lieth from Cape Sower beere, 6. leagues West Northwest, and it is altogether a bay betweene them seeming many Islands in it.

From Cape Bonauenture, to Chebe Nauoloche are 10. leagues Northwest, and a litle to the Westwards. Chebe Nauoloche is a faire point, whereon standeth a certaine blacke, like an emptie butte standing a head.

From Chebe Nauoloch to Kegor, is 9. leagues and a halfe Northwest, and halfe a poynt to the Westwards. Kegor riseth as you come from the Eastwards like 2. round homocks standing together, and a faire saddle betweene them.

It floweth where we road this Sunday (27) to the Eastwards of Kegor, at a Southeast and by East moone, a full sea: we roade in 15. fadome water within halfe a mile of the shoare: at a Northwest Sunne the mist came downe so thicke, that we were faine to come to an ancre within lesse then a mile of the point that turneth to Doms haff, where we had 33. fadome, and the sounding like to the skurfe of a skalde head.

Munday (28) at afternoone, wee came into the Sound of Wardhouse, although it were very mistie. Then I sent a man a shoare to know some newes, and to see whether they would heare any thing of our ships.*

Tuesday (29) I went on shoare, and dined with the Captaines deputie, who made mee great cheere: the Captaine himselfe was not as yet come from Bergen: they looked for him euery houre, and they said that he would bring newes with him.

At a Northwest and by North sunne we departed from Wardhouse, toward Colmogro.

Wednesday (30) we came to Kegor, where we met with the winde at East Southeast, so that we were faine to go in to a bay to the Westwards of the point Kegor, where a man may moare 2. or 3. small ships, that shall not draw past 11. or 12. foote water, for all windes, an East Northeast winde is the worst. It is a ledge of rocks, that defendeth the Northerly winds from the place where they moare. When we came into the bay we saw there a barke which was of || Dronton, and three or foure Norway yeaghes, belonging to Northberne: so when I came a shoare, I met first with the Dutchmen, amongst whom was the Borrowmasters sonne of Dronton, who tolde me that the Philip and Mary wintered at Dronton, and departed from thence for England in March: and withall he shewed me that the Confidence was lost, and that he had bought her sailes for his ship. Then the Dutchmen caried me to their Boothe, and made me good cheere, where I sawe the Lappians chepen of the said Dutchmen, both siluer platters and dishes, spoones, gilt rings, ornaments for girdles of

||Or, Trondon.

---

* *Marginal Note:* Which were the Bona Esperanza, the Bona confidentia and the Philip and Marie. Whereof the two first were lost.

siluer and gilt, and certaine things made to hang about the necke, with siluer chaines belonging to them.

The Dutchmen bring hither mightie strong beere, I am certains that our English double beere would not be liked of the Kerile and Lappians, as long as that would last.

Here I sawe the Dutchmen also haue course cloth, both blew, greene, and redde, and sad horseflesh colour. And hither they bring also Ottars cases and foxe cases, both blacke and redde: our English foxe cases are but counterfaits vnto them.

They would not let me vnderstand any of their prises, but as I otherwise vnderstood they bartered 2. load of siluer for 100 of stockfish, and 2. loade is a doller. And the Dutchmen told me, and they had made a notable good yeere this present yeere 1557. They tolde me that they should be faine to goe to Wardhouse with one lading, and lay it on land there, and so come againe and fetch another. The Borrowmasters sonne told me, that he would go to Amsterdam with his lading of stockfish, who gaue me a barrell of strong beere, and brought it in aboord our ship himseelf.

After this I went among the Russes and Kerils, who offered me fish to sell, and likewise the Lappians desired me to look vpon their fish. I made them answere, that I had nowe no wares nor money to barter with them, and said that I came only to see if I might meete with our English ships. Then they desired me that I would come thither the next yeere: I said to them, If I should come the next yeere, I think here would not be fish ynough to serue the Dutch and vs also. They answered me, that if more ships did resort thither, there would more people labour to kill and make fish: and further they said, that some of them came thither a fishing 8 weekes iourney with Deere, which Deere will trauaile more speedily then horses will.

As I was thus in talke with the Kerils and Lappians, the Emperour of Russia his deputie (who was there to gather the tribute of the Lappians) sent for me to come to his tent, who after familiar salutations, made me good cheere. He demanded of me why none of our ships came thither. I answered him, because we knew not the place before now, neither yet heard of any faire that was kept there. Then said he, If you will come hither, here would more people resort to kill fish, I think it good (said he) that you make a beginning. I tolde him, that by the grace of God the next yeere, one English ship should come thither.

Because I sawe the seruants of the King of Denmarke there also gathering the tribute, I asked Vasilie Pheodoruich the Russie deputie, whether the Denmarks would not be a let to vs, if we should come to this Kegor. And he said no, they should not: for this land is my kings, and therefore be bolde to come hither.

The Kerils and the Lappians solde no fish, vntil the said deputie had looked vpon it, and giuen them leaue to sell. I asked him what wares were best for vs to bring thither, and he said, siluer, pearles, cloth, blewe, red, and greene, meale, strong beere, wine, pewter, foxe cases, and gold.

The Lappians pay tribute to the Emperour of Russia, to the king of Denmarke, and to the king of Sweden. He told me that the Riuer Cola is little more then 20. leagues to the Southwards of Kegor, where we should haue great plentie of salmon, if corne were any thing cheape in Russia: for then poore men would resort thither to kill salmon.

The Dutchmen tolde me that they had made a good yeere of this, but the Kerils complained of it because they could not sell all their fish, and that which they sold was as pleased the Dutchmen, and at their own price. I asked the Kerils at what price they sold their fish to the Russes, and they said good cheape: wee sell 24. fishes for 4. altines. I thinke they solde little aboue 20. pence, the 25. fishes this yeere.

The Dutchmen tolde me that the best stockfish is made at Kegor. I sawe at Vasilies tent 7. or 8. iauelins, and halfe a dozen of bowes bent, with their budgets of arrowes, and likewise swords with other weapons: Otherwise I sawe no weapons there.

I was also conueyed to their lodgings, which gathered tribute for the king of Denmarke, where I sawe a pair of bilbowes: and I asked whether they were for the Lappians (if neede were,) and they said no, but onely for their owne company if they should chance to be vnruly.

The Kerils and the Lappians are not to be trusted, for they will steale as well as the Russes, if they may conueniently come by any thing.

Concerning my voyage, because the winde was scant to goe backe againe to Colmogro, I tarried to the Eastwards of the poynt Kegor, and sent to land, and baked two batches of bread in the ouens that the Kerils haue for their prouision.

Instructions giuen to the Masters and Mariners to be obserued in and about this Fleete, passing this yeere 1577, toward the Bay of S. Nicolas in Russia, for this present Race to be made and returne of the same by Gods grace to the port of London, the place of their right discharge, as in the Articles ensuing is deduced.

FIrst, it is accorded and agreed betweene the seuerall proprietaries and owners, masters and companies of the foure ships, surnamed the Primrose, the Iohn Euangelist, the Anne and the Trinitie, and the Lieutenant, Consuls, assistants and companie of the Marchant aduenturers, that the aboue named foure ships shall in good order and conduct, saile, passe, and trauaile together in one flote, ging, and conserue of societie, to be kept indissolubly and not to be seuered, but vnited within continuall sight, so farre foorth as (by winde and weather) by possibilitie shall or may be without any separation or departure of one from the other.

2 Item, it is agreed that the good ship named the Primerose, shalbe Admirall of this flote, and that Anthonie Ienkinson Gentleman, shalbe captaine thereof: and that all the other 3. ships shall ensue and folow her in all courses, and that no course or waying (in harborough especially) shall be made without aduice, consent and agreement of the sayd Captaine, the Master, his mate, and two other officers of the said ship, or of three of them at the least

3 Item, that the said Anthonie is and shalbe reputed and taken for Captaine general of the said flote together with all such orders, preeminences, priuiledges and preferments as by the order of seas is due and accustomed to a Captaine during his abode and exercise of the same.

4 It is also ordeined, that if any one or moe of the said 3. ships shalbe out of sight either before or behinde the Admirall, that then the rest of the ships shall tacke or take off their sailes in such sort as they may meete and come together, in as good order as may be, to the intent to keepe the consortment exactly in all poynts.

5 It is constituted, that if any ships shalbe seuered by mist or darke weather, in such sort as the one cannot haue sight of the other, then and in such case the Admiral shall make sound and noise by drumme, trumpet, horne, gunne or otherwise or meanes,

that the ships may come as nigh together, as by safetie and good order they may.

6 It is also to be obserued, that euery day once the other three shippes shall send and come aboord the Admirall, and there consult and determine of such matter and things as shall be for the assurance of their Nauigation, and most expedition of the same.

7 Item, that notes and entries be daily made of their Nauigations put in writing and memory, and that the yong Mariners and apprentices may be taught and caused to learne and obserue the same.

8 It is accorded that the said Captaine shall haue the principall rule and gouernement of the apprentices: And that not onely they, but also all the other sailers, shalbe attendant and obedient to him, as of duetie and reason appertaineth.

9 Also that no beere nor broth, or other liquor be spilt vpon the balast, or other place of the ship, whereby any anoyance, stinke, or other vnsauorinesse shall growe in the shippe to the infection or hurt of the persons in the same.

10 Item,.that the Captaine by discretion shall from time to time disship any artificer or English seruingman or apprentice out of the Primrose into any other of the three ships, and in lieu of him or them, take any such apprentice as he shall thinke conuenient and most meete to serue the benefite of the companie.

11 Item, that great respect be had to the Gunners and Cookes roomes, that all danger and perill of powder and fire may be eschewed and auoyded.

12 Item, that singular care and respect be had to the ports of the ship, aswell in Nauigation as in harborow, and especially in lading and vnlading of the shippes, that nothing be lacking or surcharged: and that the bookes may oftentimes be conferred and made to agree in eschuement of such losses, as may ensue.

13 Special foresight is to be had, that at the Wardhouse no trecherie, inuasion, or other peril of molestation be done or procured to be attempted to our ships by any kings, princes, or companies, that do mislike this new found trade by seas to Russia, or would let and hinder the same; where of no small boast hath bene made: which giueth occasion of more circumspection and diligence.

14 If the winde and weather will serue, it is thought good rather to goe by the Wardhouse then to come in and ancre there, lest any male engine, or danger may be the rather attempted against vs, our goods and ships as aboue.

15 It is thought good that Richard Iohnson, late seruant to M. Chanceler, shall be sent home in this next returne, to instruct the company of the state of the Countrey, and of such questions as may be demanded of him, for our better aduertisements and resolutions, in such doubts as shall arise here: and that he shall haue the roome of the Captaine in such sort as Master Ienkinson is in this present cocket assigned vnto. And if Iohnson can not, may not, nor will not returne and occupie the said place, then any other person to be preferred thereunto, as by the discretion of our said Captaine, with consent of our Agents, shall be thought meete and apt to supply the same.

16 Prouided alway, that the ships returning be not disfurnished of one such able man, as shall occupie the Captainship in like order, as is, and hath bene in such case appoynted, as reason and good order requireth.

17 Item that all other former orders, rules, and deuises, made and prouided for the good order of our ships, wares, and goods, being not repugnant, contrary or diuerse, to these articles, and the contents of the same, shall be, and stand in full force and effect, to be in all respects obserued and kept of all and euery person and persons, whom the same doth or shall touch or concerne.

In witnesse of the premisses faithfully to be obserued and kept, the owners and Masters of the said foure ships, together with the said Captaine, to these seuenteene articles, contained in two sheetes of paper, haue subscribed their hands. Giuen in London, the third of May, in the yeere of our Lord God 1557.

¶ Owners of the Primerose.
Andrewe Iudde.
William Chester.
Anthony Hickman.
Edward Casteline.
¶ Owners of the Iohn Euangelist.
Andrew Iudde.
William Chester.
¶ Owner of the Anne.
Iohn Dimocke.
¶ Owner of the Trinitie.
R. T.

A letter of the Company of the Marchants aduenturers to Russia vnto George Killingworth, Richard Gray, and Henry Lane their Agents there, to be deliuered in Colmogro or els where: sent in the Iohn Euangelist.

AFter our heartie commendations vnto you and to either of you: your generall letter and other particular letters with two bookes of the sale and remainders of our goods, and the buying of wares there with you, we receiued about the ende of Nouember out of the Edward, with heauie newes of the losse of the sayde good shippe and goods at Petslego in Scotland, with the death of Richard Chanceler and his Boy, with certaine of the Embassadours seruants, and he himselfe with nine of his seruants escaped very hardly onely by the power of God: but all his goods and ours in maner were lost and pilfred away by the Scots, and that that is saued is not yet come to our hands, but we looke for it daily, and it will skant pay the charges for the recouering of it. No remedy but patience: and to pray to God to send vs better fortune hereafter. As touching the receiuing and entertaining of the Embassadour and his retinewe since his comming to England at the king and Queenes Maiesties hands, with the Counsell and Lords of this Realme, and the Marchants that be free in Russia with feasting and beneuolence giuen him, wee referre it to his report and others. The like we thinke haue not bene seene nor shewed here of a long time to any Ambassadour. The Philip and Marie arriued here tenne dayes past: she wintered in Norway. The Confidence is lost there. And as for the Bona Esperanza, as yet we haue no newes of her. We feare it is wrong with her. By your billes of lading receiued in your generall letters we perceiue what wares are laden in them both. Your letters haue no date nor mention where they were made, which were written by Henry Lane, and firmed by you George Killingworth, and Richard Gray: both it and the other Letters and Bookes came so sore spoyled and broken with water that we cannot make our reckoning by them. You shall vnderstand we haue fraighted for the parts of Russia foure good shippes to be laden by you and your order: That is to say, The Primerose of the burthen of 240. Tunnes, Master vnder God Iohn Buckland: The Iohn Euangelist of 170. Tunnes, Master vnder God Laurence Roundal: The Anne of London of the burthen of 160. tunnes, Master vnder God Dauid

Philly, and the Trinitie of London of the burthen of 140. Tunnes, Master vnder God Iohn Robins, as by their Charter parties may appeare: which you may require to see for diuers causes. You shall receiue, God willing, out of the said good ships, God sending them in safety for the vse of the Company, these kinds of wares following, all marked with the general marke of the Company as followeth. 25. fardels containing 207. sorting clothes, one fine violet in graine, and one skarlet, and 40. cottons for wrappers, beginning with number 1. and ending with number 52. The sorting clothes may cost the first peny 5. li. 9. s. the cloth, one with the other. The fine violet 18. li. 6. s. 6. d. The skarlet 17. li. 13. s. 6. d. the cottons at 9. li. 10. s. the packe, accompting 7. cottons for a packe, more 500. pieces of Hampshire kersies, that is 400. watchets, 43. blewes, 53. reds, 15. greenes, 5. ginger colours, and 2. yelowes which cost the first penny 4. li. 6. s. the piece, and 3. packes containing 21. cottons at 9. li. 10. s. the packe: and part of the clothes is measured by Arshines. More 9. barrels of Pewter of Thomas Hasels making, &c. Also the wares bee packed and laden as is aforesayde, as by an Inuoyce in euery Shippe more plainely may appeare. So that when it shall please God to send the said good ships to you in safetie, you are to receiue our said goods, and to procure the sales to our most aduantage either for ready money, time or barter: hauing consideration that you doe make good debts, and giue such time, if you giue any, as you may employ and returne the same against the next voyage; and also foreseeing that you barter to a profit, and for such wares as be here most vendible, as wexe, tallowe, traine oyle, hempe and flaxe. Of furres we desire no great plentie, because they be dead wares. And as for Felts, we will in no wise you send any. And whereas you haue prouided tarre, and as we suppose, some hempe ready bought, our aduise is, that in no wise you send any of them hither vnwrought, because our fraight is 4. li. a tunne or little lesse: which is so deare as it would not beare the charges: and therefore we haue sent you 7. ropemakers, as by the copies of their couenants here inclosed shall appeare. Whom we wil you set to worke with al expedition in making of cables and ropes of al sorts, from the smallest rope to xii. inches: And that such tarre and hempe as is already brought to the water side, they may there make it out, and after that you settle their worke in Vologhda or Colmogro as you shall thinke good, where their stuffe may be neerest to them: at which place and places you doe assigne them a principall ouerseer aswell to see the deliuerie of the stuffe vnwrought, as also to take charge of the stuffe wrought, and to foresee that neither the yarne be burnt in tarring, nor the hempe rotted in the watering: and also to fnrnish them so with labourers, workemen and stuffe, as hereafter when these workmen shall come away, we be not destitute of good workmen, and that these may dispatch as much as possibly they may, doing it substancially: for we esteme it a principal commoditie, and that the Counsel of England doth well allowe. Let all diligence be vsed, that at the returne of these shippes we may see samples of all ropes and cables if it be possible, and so after to continue in worke, that we may haue good store against the next yeere. Therefore they haue neede to haue a place to worke in, in the winter: and at any hand let them haue helpe ynough to spinne their stuffe: for seeing you haue great plentie of hempe there, and at a reasonable price, we trust we shalbe able to bring as good stuffe from thence, and better cheape then out of Danske: if it be diligently vsed, and haue a good ouerseer.

Danske the old chiefe place for Cables.

Let the chiefest lading of these foure shippes be principally in wexe, flaxe, tallowe, and traine oyle. And if there be any more wares than these ships be able to take in, then leaue that which is least in valew and grossest in stouage vntill the next shipping: for wee doe purpose to ground our selues chiefly vpon these commodities, as wexe, cables and ropes, traine oyle, flaxe and some linen yarne. As for Masts, Tarre, Hempe, Feathers, or any such other like, they would not beare the charges to haue any, considering our deere fraight. We haue sent you a Skinner to be there at our charges for meate, drinke, and lodging, to viewe and see such furres as you shall cheape or buye, not minding neuerthelesse, that you shall charge your selues with many, except those which bee most vendible, as good marterns, miniuers, otherwise called Lettis and Mynkes. Of these you may send vs plentie, finding them good and at a reasonable price. As for Sables and other rich Furres, they bee not euery mans money: therefore you may send the fewer, vsing partly the discretion of the skinner in that behalfe.

Commodities not bearing the charges of long fraight.

Wee heare that there is great plentie of steele in Russia and Tartarie, whereof wee would you sent vs part for an example, and to write your mindes in it what store is to be had: for we heare say there is great plentie, and that the Tartars steele is better then that in Russia. And likewise we be informed that there is great plentie of Copper in the Emperours Dominions: we would be certified of it what plentie there is, and whether it be in plates or in round flat cakes, and send vs some for an example. Also we would haue you to certifie vs what kinde of wollen cloth the men of Rie and Reuel, and the Poles and Lettoes doe bring to Russia, and send the skantlings of them with part of the lists, and a full aduise of the lengths and breadths, colours and prices, and whether they be strained or not: and what number of them may be vttered in a yeere, to the intent we may make prouision for them for the like sortes, and all other Flemish wares which they bring thither and be most vendible there. And to certifie vs whether our set clothes be vendible there or not: and whether they be rowed and shorne: because ofttimes they goe vndrest. Moreouer, we will you send vs of euery commoditie in that Countrey part, but no great quantitie other then such as is before declared. And likewise euery kinde of Lether, whereof wee bee informed there is great store bought yeerely by the Esterlings and Duches for hie Almaigne and Germaine.

More, that you doe send vs for proofe a quantity of such earth, hearbes, or what thing soeuer it be, that the Russes do die and colour any kinde of cloth linen or wollen, Lether or any other thing withall: and also part of that which the Tartars and Turkes doe bring thither, and how it must be vsed in dying and colouring. Moreouer, that you haue a speciall foresight in the chusing of your Tallowe, and that it may be well purified and tried, or els it will in one yeere putrifie and consume.

Also that you certifie vs the trueth of the waights and measures, and howe they doe answere with ours, and to send vs 3. robles in money, that we may trie the iust value of them.

Also we doe send you in these ships ten young men that be bound Prentises to the Companie, whom we will you to appoynt euery of them as you shall there finde most apt and meete, some to keepe accompts, some to buy and sell by your order and Commission, and some to send abroad into the notable Cities of the Countrey for vnderstanding and knowledge. And we will you send vs aduertisement from time to time as well as of the demeanours of our Prentises which we doe send now, as also of such other as bee already there with you. And if you finde any of them remisse, negligent, or otherwise misuse themselues and will not be ruled, and then you doe send him home, and the cause why.

And because we doe perceiue the Countrey to be large, and that you haue three housholds, we doe appoynt Henry Lane to be one of our Agents, and to ioin with you in all your doings, and to haue like authoritie and power as you George Killingworth and Richard Gray haue: not doubting but you three will so conferre together, as both our Prentises and others may be appoynted and diuided euery of them to his office, and to that he can best skill of: and you also so diuide your selues euery of you to an house, as by aduertisement one from another, our businesse and trafficke may take good successe. And for diuers considerations, to auoyde many troubles and businesse that might happen, wee haue appoynted that hee which shall abide at Colmogro (which we doe think to bee most meetest Henry Lane) shall haue with him there such of our young men, as can best skill in keeping of accompts after the maner of Marchants, that is, by Debitor and Creditor: And that there shall be the place, where our bookes shalbe kept: because it is nearer the sea side, where our goods shalbe discharged and our ships laden. And the said Henry Lane to be charged with all such goods as we shall discharge there out of our ships, according to our Inuoyces. Which goods are to be sent from Colmogro to Vologhda or to Mosco, or to any other place where you three or two of you do appoynt them to be sold, so that Henry Lane be one. And so from time to time immediately as any thing is sold, doe you certifie the same to Henry Lane, that he may enter it into the Bookes as appertaineth: otherwise he should be too farre behinde in his Bookes at the comming of our ships, when he should send vs the accompt of the whole yeere passed. And we will also that you George Killingworth and Richard Gray doe in the fine of April next send either of you vnto Henry Lane a whole, perfit, and iust accompt firmed with your owne hands of all the goods you haue solde and bought vntill that time, and what remaineth vnsolde: and also the accompt of all maner costs of wares, and charges of you and the yong men vnder you particularly in such sort as the said accompt may bee with him in Colmogro at the fine of May at the furthest: to the intent that hee may make all our accompts perfite against the comming of our ships: and in any wise to keepe accompt of euery voyage by it selfe, and not mingle one voyage with another at no hand. And as we will haue you to keepe accompt of euery voyage by it selfe, euen so wee would haue all the whole costes and charges of euery yeere put into the voyage of that yeere. As the charges of all the last yeere must be put to the accompt of the third voyage: and the charges of this yeere present, must in the fine of April next, be put to the fourth voyage. Not doubting but your wisedome is such, that you will not take it in euill part, that wee doe appoynt Henry Lane to take the accompt of the rest. For we doe it for none other cause, but to keepe a good order in our bookes, that his bookes and ours may by this meanes agree: and hee being the yonger man, may best take paines: and that you doe keepe accompt of euery kinde of wares by it selfe, to the intent wee may perceiue wherein is our most gaine. And also in the making of your returne, in any wise name in your billes of lading, letters, and accompts, what wares doe appertaine to the first, second, and third voyage: and that wee may knowe the same by the numbers or otherwise as you shall thinke good by your wisedomes, putting the charges of the said wares vnto them, as nigh as you can. And all such money as shall bee made of your goods in any place, wee referre that to your discretion, where it shall remaine vntill it bee employed, either at Vologhda, Mosco, or els where. And likewise wee will that Henry Lane doe make in a readinesse about the beginning of Iune euery yeere our whole accompt of the voyage in that yeere passed: in such sort that wee may receiue the same by our shippes: and that wee may plainely perceiue what sales are made, and what remaineth of the first, second, third, and fourth voyage, and what charges haue bene layde out for the sayd voyages, and what wares bee bought, and laden, and what they cost, and for what voyage euery parcell thereof is: and to send vs a copie of the same accompt in euery shippe. And also forasmuch as at this time we haue sent you but small store of wares in comparison of that we haue hope will bee vttered in short space, and yet neuerthelesse much more then you wrote for, whereby there shall not be sufficient to make any ample returne: and vnderstanding that there is great quantitie of goods stayed for our trade there by the Emperour, wee haue mooued the Embassador that you may haue credite for such quantitie as shall seeme good to you to prouide for our benefite. Which credite if you may by his meanes obtaine, or otherwise haue, we would you bought as much Wexe principally as you may get. For if there be in that countrey so great quantitie, as we be informed there is, it will be the best commoditie we may haue: for hauing that wholly in our hands, we may serue our owne countrey and others. Therefore seeing the

Emperour doth minde, that such commodities as bee in his dominions shall not passe to Rie and Reuel and Poland as they haue done, but bee reserued for vs: therefore we must so lay for it, that it may not ly vpon their hands that haue it to sell, alwayes hauing consideration in the price and time as our next dispatch may correspond. Whereof you may send a certaine aduise, as well what you shall receiue of credit, and to what quantitie, as also what wares are remaining in your hands: which together well considered, you may aduertise vs as well for how many hundreth tonnes we must prouide fraight against the next yeere, as also what sortes, quantities and qualities of wares we shall send you, as well to pay your credite, as also to furnish the next aduenture after. Of this we would be answered largely. For we trust by this time you are able to giue full instructions of the state of the countrey: according to the articles of your first Commissions, and what commodities doe principally abound there with their prices: and likewise what of our commodities haue most vtterance there, and what prices will be giuen for them there: and all other things requisite and necessary to be knowen.

Leonard Brian sent to search out Yewe in the North parts of Russia.

Also we doe vnderstand that in the Countrey of Permia or about the riuer of Pechora is great quantitie of Yewe, and likewise in the Countrey of Vgory, which we be desirous to haue knowledge of, because it is a speciall commoditie for our Realme. Therefore wee haue sent you a yong man, whose name is Leonard Brian, that hath some knowledge in the wood, to shew you in what sorte it must be cut and clouen. So our minde is if there be any store, and that it bee found to be good, that there you doe prouide a good quantitie against the next yeere for the comming of our shippes: and if there can bee found none that will serue for our purpose, then you may set the sayd Leonard Brian to any other businesse that you shall finde most fittest for him, vntill the returne of our ships the next yeere. For he is hired by the yeere onely for that purpose. We doubt not but that hee shall doe you good seruice there. For hee hath good knowledge of wares of that Countrey: for his bringing vp hath bene most in Danske, and hath good vnderstanding in making of Ropes and Cables. Also we doe send you two Coopers to remaine there with you at our finding for meate and drinke and lodging to make in a readinesse all such caske as shalbe needfull for traine oyle, tallowe, or any thing else. One of them may goe with Leonard Brian to cut and cleue such

Yewe as he shall like there. And because we be not sure what timber they shall finde there to make Caske, we haue laden in these ships 140. tunnes emptie Caske, that is 94. tunnes shaken Caske and 46. tunnes whole, and ten thousand hoopes, and 480. wrethes of twigs: they may be doing with that till they can prouide other timber, which we would be glad to heare of. They haue an example with them of the bignesse of the Caske they shall make. Neuerthelesse, all such Buttes and Hoggesheads as may be found to serue we will shalbe filled with Traine Oyle.

Also we charge you that you suffer no goods nor marchandies of any persons being not free of the Company, and of the accompt of the Company to be laden in any wise in our ships either now or at any time hereafter: except the Emperour or Ambassadour minde to send any thing to the King and Queenes Maiesties, or to any noble man, or to the Marchants of the Companie: Nor likewise that you suffer any goods that goe in these ships to be brought on land there, except the Ambassadours goods, and the Physitions and Apothecaries, and others that hee hath with him, who carie no Marchandise. And because our ships be fteighted by the great, it shalbe very needeful that you do appoynt certaine to see the romaging of the ships, and to giue the master or Boatswaine, or him that will take vpon him to romage, a good reward for his labour to see the goods well romaged. If it be iii d. or iiii d. the tunne, it shall not be amisse. For if it be not substantially well looked vnto, it may bee a great deale of money out of our wayes.

Also because we reckon that from the Mosco will bee alwayes better conueyance of letters to vs by land: our minde is that from time to time as occasion shall serue, our Agents shall write to him that shall lie at Mosco of all things that shall passe, that hee may giue vs large instructions, as well what is solde and bought, as also what lading we shall take, and what quantitie and kinde of goods we shall send. For hitherto we haue had but a slender aduise, more like a bill to serue a Chapman, then for quantitie of wares to serue a kingdome. For we must procure to vtter good quantitie of wares, especially the commodities of our Realme, although we affoord a good penyworth, to the intent to make other that haue traded thither, wearie, and so to bring our selues and our commodities in estimation, and likewise to procure to haue the chiefe commodities of that countrey in our hands, as waxe and such others, that other nations may bee serued by vs and at our hands.

For wee doe vnderstand that the greatest quantitie of waxe that commeth to Danske, Lubeck, and Hambourgh, commeth out of Russia. Therefore if wee should buy part, and they also buy, it would raise the price there, and would bee little woorth here. And all such letters of importance and secrecie as you doe send by land for any wares or otherwise, you must write them in Cyphers, after the order of a booke sent you in the shippes: always taking good heede in placing of your letters and cyphers, that wee may vnderstand them by the same booke heere, and to send them in such sort, that we may haue them here by Christmas or Candlemas, if it be possible. And because you cannot so certainly aduertise vs by letters of your doings, but some doubt may arise, whereof we would most gladly be certified: our mind is therefore that with these ships you send vs home one such yong man as is most expert in knowledge of that countrey, and can best certifie vs in such questions as may be demanded, whome we will remit vnto you againe in the next ships. We thinke Arthur Edwards wilbe fittest for that purpose: neuerthelesse vse your discretion in that matter.

As touching our goods that were robbed and pilfred out of our ships at Colmogro and Vologda we trust by this time they are restored againe, and the malefactors so punished that other may take example for doing the like, otherwise it will be an euil president. Moreouer, we doe perceiue that Richard Gray doeth buy mastes to send into England, they will not quit the costes, except we had a ship of purpose for them. And likewise that Steuen Burrow is returned from his discouerie with the Serchthrift, and wintereth at Colmogro, and is minded to set forth in the beginning of Iune next to seeke the riuer of Ob. We pray God to speede him well, and trust to haue him here in England this yeere to bring vs good newes.

M. Anthonie Ienkinson his first trauaile intended for Cathay by the Caspian sea and Beghar.

We doe perceiue there is a riuer found about the mouth of S. Nicholas Bay that hath thirteen foot vpon the barre at a lowe water, and is as neere Colmogro as S. Nicholas: which will be a a great pleasure vnto vs. We will that Steuen Burrowe doe proceed on his voiage to discouer. Also we haue sent you one Anthonie Ienkinson Gentleman, a man well trauelled, whom we mind to vse in further travelling, according to a Commission deliuered him, subscribed by master Anthonie Huse and others. Wherefore we will you deliuer him one or more of such painfull young men as he shal thinke meetest for his purpose: and likewise such money and wares as he shal think best to take with him. He must haue fourty pounds a yeere for foure yeeres, to be paid him by the halfe yeere, or as he wil demaund it of you, so let him haue it from Easter last. Also the prices of wares here at this present are, bale flaxe twenty pound the packe and better, towe flaxe twentie eight pound the hnndred, traine oyle at nine pound the tunne, waxe at foure pound the hundred, tallow at sixteene shillings the hundred, cables and ropes very deare: as yet there are no shippes come out of Danske.

Kept vntill the tenth day of this present. As this day came the goods out of Scotland that were recouered out of the Edward Bonauenture: and nowe we doe perceiue that the caske that the trayne oyle came in, is verie good, and much better then ours. Therefore our minde is, that you shall lade it all in such barrels of the bigger sort as you laded in the Edward, and no long barrels nor small. And that caske that wee haue sent may serue for the Tallowe or anie other ware that is not leakage. Neuerthelesse, this voyage you must take such as you can get.

Also if the Emperour bee minded to deliuer you any summe of money, or good Waxe, at as reasonable a price as you may buye for readie money, wee will that you shall take it and lade it for our accomptes, and to come at our aduenture, and hee to bee payed at the returne of the Shippes in Veluets, Sattens, or any other kinde of silke, or cloth of golde, cloth of tissue, or according as his Commission shall bee that hee shall sende vs in the shippes, and according to such paternes as hee shall send. Wee doe not finde the Ambassadour nowe at the last so conformable to reason as wee had thought wee shoulde. Hee is very mistrustfull, and thinketh euery man will beguile him. Therefore you had neede to take heede howe you haue to doe with him or with any such, and to make your bargaines plaine, and to set them downe in writing. For they bee subtill people, and doen ot alwaies speake the trueth, and thinke other men to bee like themselues· Therefore we would haue none of them to send any goods in our shippes at any time, nor none to come for passengers, vnlesse the Emperour doe make a bargaine with you, as is aforesaid, for his owne person.

Also we charge you not to suffer any of our nation to send any wares to their wiues or friends in any of our ships; but to take their money there to be paied heere by the companie and not otherwise: and to haue consideration how you doe take the roble. For although we doe rate it after sixteene shillings eight pence of our money, yet it is not worth past 12. or 13. shillings sterling. Moreouer, you had neede to sende newe accomptes, for them that came in the Edward bee marred and torne, so that we can make no reckoning by them: and likewise to write vs a perfect note of all the goodes which you receiued the last voyage out of the Edward, and heerein not to faile.

Andrew Iudde.
George Barne.
Anthonie Huse.
William Garrard.
William Chester.

A Letter of Master Thomas Hawtrey to the worshipfull Master Henrie Lane Agent at Colmogro, written in Vologda the 31. of Ianuarie 1557.

WOrshipfull Sir, heartie commendations premised. These may bee to aduertise you, that yesterday the thirtieth of this present came hither Robert Best, and brought with him two hundred robles, that is, one hundred for this place, and one hundred for you at Colmogro. As for hempe which is here at two robles and a halfe the bercouite, Master Gray hath written to buy no more at that price: for Iohn Sedgewicke hath bought for sixe or seuen hundred robles worth at Nouogrode for one roble and a halfe the bercouite, and better cheape: and white Nouogrode flaxe is there at three robles the bercouite. I trust hee will doe much good by his going thither. As I doe vnderstand, Richard Iohnson is gone to Nouogrode with money to him, I doubt not but Master Gray hath aduertised you of all their doings, both at the Mosco and the Nouogrod. And touching our doings heere, you shall perceiue that wee haue solde wares of this fourth voyage for one hundred and fourtie robles, besides fiftie robles of the second and third voyage since the giuing vp of my last account, and for wares of the Countrey, you shall vnderstand that I haue bought tried and vntried for 77. robles foure hundred podes of tried tallowe, besides foure hundred podes that I haue giuen out money for, whereof God graunt good receipt when the time commeth, which is in lent. And in browne flaxe and hempe I haue bought seuenteene bercouites, sixe podes and sixteene pound, which cost 28. robles, eleuen altines two pence. And as for other kindes of wares I haue bought none as yet. And for mastes to bee prouided, you shall vnderstand that I wrote a letter to Totma the 28. of this present for fiftie mastes to wit, for 25. of fifteene fathoms, and 25. of foureteene fathoms, to be an arshine and a halfe at the small ende. And more, I haue written for 30. great trees to be two arshines and a halfe at the small ende, and for the other that were prouided the last yeere, I trust they will be sent downe in the spring of the yeere. And as concerning the Ropemakers, you shall vnderstand that their abiding place shall bee with you at Colmogro, as I doe thinke Master Gray has aduertised you. For, as Roger Bontigne Master of the woorkes doeth say, there is no place more meete for their purpose then with you: and there it will be made with lesser cost, considering that the pale is the one halfe of it: which is to set one pale more to that, and so for to couer it ouer, which as they say, will be but little cost. They doe pray that it may bee made sixteene foote broade, and one hundred and eightie fathoms long: and that in the midde way twentie foote from the pale towarde the water side there may be a house made to tarre in, standing alone by it selfe for danger of fire. The Tarre house that they woulde haue made, is to bee fifteene fathoms long, and ten fathoms broade, and they would that house should be made first: for I thinke they will not tarre before they come there. And farther they desire that you will prouide for as much tarre as you may, for heere wee haue small store, but when the time commeth that it shoulde be made, I will prouide as much as I can here, that it may bee sent downe when the Nasade commeth. The stuffe that they haue readie spunne is about fiue thousand waight, and they say that they trust to haue by that time they come downe yarne ynough to make 20. cables. As concerning a copie of the Alphabet in ciphers Master Gray hath written hither that Robert Austen had one, which he willed that he shoulde deliuer to you. Thus I surcease, beseeching God to preserue you in health, and to send you your hearts desire.

An Arshine is 3. quarters of a yard or more.

A rope house erected at Colmogro.

By yours to command to his power,
Thomas Hawtrey.

A letter of master Richard Gray one of the first Agents of the Moscouie companie to Master Henrie Lane at Mosco, written in Colmogro the 19. of Februarie 1558.

Lampas a great mart for the Samoeds in the North.

WOrshipfull Sir, after heartie commendations &c. You shall vnderstand that this Lent commeth to Lampas such a number of men of diuers nations with wares, as hath not bene seene these ten yeeres. Thither came many out of Vgori: therefore I would haue bene there my selfe, and also haue receiued such money as is owning vs in wares by Kerill his brother and Osep Boscouo. For as you well know, thence they will go with their wares to the Mosco, and make vs payment with delayes, as they haue done these other yeeres past. Colobone and his partner be departed towards Lampas with seuen sleddes laden with victuals. Others also are gone to that Mart. As touching the bringing of money with you, it will bee good, for I assure you since our comming to this countrey haue not so many persons gone to the Sea, as will doe this yeere. Trusting that God will send good store of traine oyle, I will cause as much caske to bee in a readinesse as I can, if you shall think it meete to send some money before. All our old hempe is spunne and wrought in tenne cables from fifteene ynches to ten the least, and thirteene Hausers from six ynches to three ynches: and all may weigh white eight and twenty thousand pound weight and vpwarde. There is in hempe ockam fiue thousand pound two hundred weight in twelue sackes at the least: the flaxe that came downe in the Nassadaes with those seuen podes that came last is all spunne with a good part of that hempe that came last. God send more shortly, for all that is here and that is comming in the three other sleddes, will bee dispatched by the fourth weeke in Lent. Within these few dayes I bought thirteen podes, seuen pound of hempe that cost two robles, twenty eight altines, foure pence, which together with that that was bought before, shall bee laide in dipping and sounding lines, for it is very good. There are spent aboue fiftie barrels of tarre alreadie: you shall vnderstand that these eight workemen will spinne and lay aboue fourescore and tenne thousand pound of hempe, so it bee dressed readie to their hands, hauing two to turne the wheeles, and two to winde vp. Therefore I haue agreed with these two boyes to serue the worshipfull companie foure yeeres a piece. One of them windeth vp and is very apt to spinne: therefore I will haue two other young men Russes to spinne, if they can finde good sureties for their trueth. I haue bene in hand with these two yong men that came out of the Trinitie, and they with me, but vnder seuen pound a year they will not serue, nor Thomas Bunting that was Roger Bunting his seruant. Therefore I would haue three Russes at the least to spinne, fiue of them will be as good as these three, and will not be so chargeable all, as one of these would be. I thinke it were good that our Nassada were somewhat strengthened in her floore on both sides with plankes of fiue or sixe ynches thicke, from the stemme to the sterne, as I haue written to Thomas Hawtrey at Vologda. Also if you shall so thinke meet, your waxe and tallowe shall be laden in two Dosnickes, for they bee meete to goe aboord the shippes: I doe intend to set vp an house at Boroseua ouer against the place whereat the shippes shall ride, your aduise therein I expect, it shall not cost aboue three robles, and yet if we will, there shall be two warme roomes in it. As for other matter at this present I haue not to trouble you withall, and if it would please you I would be glad to heare some good newes of Master Ienkinson. Thus Iesus be with you and be his guide.

Postscriptum.

As for these our Hawkes they bee not white, but white and mayled, but indeede are Iarfawkons. These dayes past our Olen died. So this yeere our Masters of the companie are like to haue none, nor any white beares. Neither may any passe out of the realme without a special licence from the Emperour.

White hawks and white beares prohibited without licence.

I intend God willing to goe to Lampas, if I doe I will take foure or fiue kerseys with me, but as for money there is small store here to carie.

Yours, Richard Gray.

A letter of Thomas Alcocke to the worshipfull Richard Gray, and Henrie Lane Agents in Moscouia from Tirwill in Polonia, written in Tirwill the 26. of Aprill 1558.

MY duety premised vnto your worships, with commendations &c. It may please you to be aduertised, yᵗ my last I sent from Smolensco, which I trust you haue receiued wᵗ other letters to diuers of our Englishmen, wherein I certified you of my long retayning there, as also of my departure from thence, and howe that I had hired a Totar to bring mee to Danske. We came to a certaine village on Satterday the sixe and twentieth of Februarie, and there remained that night and Sunday to refresh our horses, intending to haue gone away on Munday earely. But on Saterday at night one of his neighbours departed to Tirwill, and there declared to the Captaine howe that at such a place there was a Dutch man that was come from the Mosco, and woulde ride to Danske, saying, for the one, I cannot tell what he is. The Captaine incontinent ridde to the King to shewe him thereof, so that without any delay there was sent out for mee one of the Gentlemen of the Kings house, and one of the Mesnickes of the Towne with sixe Officers to take mee. They came thither in the night about midnight, and there apprehended mee and tooke all that I had from me: they left me nothing but my clothes to put on my backe, and so brought mee to Tirwill to the Captaines house, where before I dyned, I had a payre of fetters clapped on my legges, wherewithall I sate vntill it was Munday in the Easter-weeke. On which day, after long and earnest calling to the Captaine as he ridde by the windowe, he commaunded the Marshall that mine yrons shoulde be taken off, but no worde I could heare when I should be deliuered out of captiuitie till it was Saint George his day: on which day I was had before the Marshall, who declared vnto me that the Kings Maiestie had shewed his mercie and goodnesse towardes mee: for his pleasure was that I should be deliuered out of prison to depart into England, but no way else. So after I had giuen thankes for the Kings Maiesties goodnesse shewed vnto me, I desired him that he woulde be a meane that I might haue the remaynder of such thinges as were taken from me restored vnto me againe. Hee made me answere, that I might thanke God that I escaped with my head, and that if euer there came any more of vs through the land, they should not so doe. The weeke before Easter they deliuered mee my Corobia againe with all thinges that were therein. They tooke from mee in money nine Hungers gylderns in golde, fiue shillings foure pence in Lettoes money, fourtie Altines in Russe money, whereof twentie and more were for tokens, halfe an angell and a quarter of Master Doctour Standishes, with his golde ring. Your two pieces of money (Master Gray) that you sent to your wife and daughter, with my two pieces of Boghary money. Of all this I had eight Hungers gilderns deliuered mee the thirde weeke of mine imprisonment to paye for

Doctor Standish the Emperours Phisition.

my charges, which stoode mee in a Doller a weeke. So that at the day of my deliuerie I had but three gyldernes left me. For the rest I made a supplication to the Captaine and had the like answere giuen mee as the Marshall gaue me. So that all the rest of the thinges before written are lost, and no recouerie to bee had, which grieueth me more for the tokens sake then doeth mine eight weeks imprisonment. They haue also my sword, my bootes, my bowe and arrowes that I bought at Smolensco, which cost me foure marks, my sled, my felt, the comhold, a booke of the Flowres of godly prayers, and my booke wherein my charges were written. Of all these I can get nothing againe, not so much as my two bookes.

After I had remayned there fiue and thirtie dayes, I was had before the Captaine vp into a great chamber to bee examined for letters and of the cause of my comming through the Countrey. In the Captaines companie was one of the Lordes of Danske. They demaunded of mee where my letters were, I declared vnto them that I had none: your Officers (sayd I) tooke me when I was in my bedde, they searched mee and tooke all that I had from mee, if there be any they shall finde them among my stuffe which they haue. They asked mee then, for what cause I went home ouer lande? I declared vnto them, that the Winter beeing a warme season, and hauing intelligence that the frozen Sea was not much frozen, and supposing this Sommer it would be nauigable, I was onely sent to prouide a Shippe to be sent to passe the sayde Seas to discouer Cataia: which if God graunted wee might doe, it woulde not onely bee a commoditie to the Realme of Englande, but vnto all Christian landes, by the riches that might be brought from thence, if the histories bee true that are written thereof. Much other communication I had with them concerning the same voyage. Then he demaunded of mee what wares wee brought into Russia, and what we carried from thence. I declared the same vnto them. Then they burdened mee, that wee brought thither thousandes of ordinance, as also of harneis, swordes, with other munitions of warre, artificers, copper, with many other things: I made them answere, that wee had brought thither about one hundred shirtes of mayle, such olde thinges newe scowred as no man in Englande woulde weare. Other talke they had with mee concerning the trade of Moscouia too long to commit to writing.

At my comming hither heere were Ambassadours from the townes of Danske, Lubeck, and Hamburgh, as also out of Liefland to desire this King to bee their Captaine and head in their intended voyage, which was to stoppe all such shippes as shoulde goe out of England for Moscouia. Whereunto the King graunted, and immediately they departed to prepare their shippes. So that I am afraide that either these our enemies, or the great warres that we haue with France and Scotland will be an occasion that you shall haue no shippes at Colmogro this yeere.

An attempt to hinder our trade to Moscouia by the Hans townes and Easterlings.

To conclude, although I haue no tokens to deliuer them, that the tokens taken from me were sent vnto, yet I will declare vnto them that I had tokens for them, with the mischance. And thus I commit you to Almightie God with the rest of the companie, who keepe you in health to his holy will and pleasure.

By yours to commaund
THOMAS ALCOCKE.

A Letter of Master Anthonie Ienkinson vpon his returne from Boghar to the worshipful Master Henrie Lane Agent for the Moscouie companie resident in Vologda, written in the Mosco the 18. of September, 1559.

WOrshipfull Sir, after my heartie commendations premised with most desire to God of your welfare and prosperous successe in all your affaires. It may please you to bee aduertised that the fourth of this present I arriued with Richard Iohnson and Robert Iohnson all in health, thankes bee to God. Wee haue bene as farre as Boghar,* and had proceeded farther on our voyage toward the lande of Cathay, had it not bene for the vncessant any continuall warres, which are in all these brutall and wilde countreys, that it is at this present impossible to passe, neither went there any Carauan of people from Boghar that way these three yeeres. And although our iourney hath bene so miserable, dangerous, and chargeable with losses, charges and expenses, as my penne is not able to expresse the same: yet shall wee bee able to satisfie the woorshipfull Companies mindes, as touching the discouerie of The Caspian Sea, with the trade of merchandise to bee had in such landes and countreyes as bee thereabout adiacent, and haue brought of the wares and commodities of those Countries able to answere the principall with profite: wishing that there were vtterance for as great a quantitie of kersies and other wares as there is profite to bee had in the sales of a small quantitie, (all such euill fortunes beeing escaped as to vs haue chaunced this present voyage,) for then it woulde be a trade woorthie to bee followed. Sir, for that I trust you will be here shortly (which I much desire) I will deferre the discourse with you at large vntill your comming, as well touching my trauel, as of other things. Sir, Iohn Lucke departed from hence toward England the seuenth of this present, and intendeth to passe by the way of Sweden, by whom I sent a letter to the worshipfull Companie, and haue written that I intend to come downe vnto Colmogro to be readie there at the next shipping to imbarke my selfe for England, declaring that my seruice shal not be needful here, for that you are a man able to serue their worships in greater affaires then they haue heere to doe, so farre as I perceiue. As touching the Companies affaires heere, I referre you to Christopher Hudsons letters, for that I am but newly arriued. Hauing heere but litle businesse to doe, I send you Richard Iohnson to helpe you there in your affaires. Thus giuing you most heartie thanks for my wench Aura Soltana, I commend you to the tuition of God, who send you health with hearts desire.

---

* Bokhara.

This was a yong Tartar girle which he gaue to the Queene afterwards.

Your assured to command,
Anthonie Ienkinson.

A Letter of the Moscouie companie to their Agents in Russia, Master Henrie Lane, Christopher Hudson, and Thomas Glouer sent in their seuenth voyage to Saint Nicholas with three ships, the Swallowe, the Philip and Marie, and the Iesus the fifth of May, 1560.

AFter our heartie commendations to you. The twelfth day of the last moneth here arriued in safety, thanks be to God, our two ships, and by them we receiued your letters and inuoices very well perceiuing what you haue laden in them. The tallowe came euill conditioned and broken, by reason it came in Corrobias, wee lose and spoyle more then the Caske will cost, and much of this tallowe is verie euill, blacke, soft and putrified. Touching the Waxe, as yet wee knowe not howe the weight will rise, by reason that some of it was lost in the barkes. The weight of the last yeeres waxe did not rise so well as the other yeeres before it did. There had neede good heede bee taken in the weighing. Also much of this Waxe had a great foote, and is not so faire waxe as in times past wee haue had. You must cause the foote to bee taken off before you doe weigh it, or else you must seeke to haue a good allowance for it. The traine Oyles which you laded this yeere came well conditioned, and the caske was good and of a good sise. But if they were made a little bigger, it were the better, for they be not hogsheads. You haue written to vs to send you caske which is not heere to be had, neither doe wee thinke it so best if it were heere, considering it must goe either shaken and bounde vp, or else emptie, which will bee pesterable, and likewise will shrinke and drie, and not be fitte to lade oyles in. Therefore our minde is, you shall cause so much caske to bee made there of the sise of hogsheads as will serue both for your oyles and tallowe, and let them be well trimmed with pitch on the heads and seames, and stand full of water three or foure dayes before you put Oyles in them. Your Cowper may bee ouerseer to them that make them, that they be well hooped and cleere tymber without knottes, the woorst caske you may put the tallowe in. Hee that seeth the filling of the oyles had neede to looke well to it, for there was much water in this that came nowe. Wee perceiue you haue bought and haue in a readinesse one hundred and fourtie tunnes of oyles, and that if neede bee you may haue more store. Wherefore we doe minde to send you shipping for three hundred tunnes and vpwards, because we would haue this next Summer as great a returne as you can of the commodities of that Countrey, as also such of our wares as you haue that are not vendible, or will not be solde or bartered, because we would haue a ful knowledge and state of our accounts. The Sables which you sent this yeere be very base, among them all we could not make one principall timber: wee haue alwayes written vnto you to send them that bee good or else none. The Woluerings were indiffereut, and some of the wolues, the rest verie base, the Lusernes but meane, the Lettes not so large skinnes as we hane had: the best is, they were of a new death. As for the Ermines, they cost more there with you, then we can sell them for here. Therefore buy no more of them, nor of Squirels, for wee lost the one halfe in the other. The wares that we would haue you prouide against the comming of the shippes are, Waxe, Tallowe, trayne Oyles, Flaxe, Cables and Ropes, and Furres, such as we haue written to you for in our last letters by the shippes: and from hencefoorth not to make any great prouision of any rich

Furres except principall Sables and Lettes: for now there is a Proclamation made that no furres shall be worne here, but such as the like is growing here within this our Realme. Also we perceiue that there might be a great deale of tallowe more prouided in a yeere than you send. Therefore our minde is, you should enlarge somewhat more in the price, and to send vs if you can three thousand podes a yeere: for we doe most good in it. And likewise the Russes, if you would giue them a reasonable price for their wares, woulde be the willinger to buy and sell with you, and not to carie so much to Nouogrode as they doe, but woulde rather bring it to Vologda to you, both Waxe, Tallowe, Flaxe, Hempe, and all kinde of other wares fitte for our Countrey. Our minde is you should prouide for the next ships fiue hundred Losh hides, of them that be large and faire, and thickest in hand, and to be circumspect in the choosing, that you buy them that bee killed in season and well dryed and whole. If they be good we may sell them here for sixteene shillings and better the piece, wee would haue the whole skinnes that is, the necke and legges withal, for these that you sent now lacke their neckes and legges. Neuerthelesse for this time you must sende them as you may get them: if you coulde finde the meanes that the haire might bee clipped off them, they woulde .not take so much roome in the shippes as they doe. We perceiue by your letters that the prices of Waxe doe rise there with you, by reason that the Poles and Lifelanders doe trade into Russia by licence: which, if there shoulde bee peace betweene them, would be an occasion that all other commodities in Russia woulde rise to a bigger price, and not be sufficient to serue them and vs too, and likewise woulde bring downe there the price of our commodities. Therefore we thinke it good you shoulde make a supplication to the Emperour in the name of The Companie to returne the trade from Rye and Reuel to vs, especially for such wares as wee doe buy: promising that wee will bee bounde to take them at a reasonable price, as wee haue bought them in times past: and likewise that wee will bring to them such wares of ours, as are thought fitte for the Countrey, and so sell them at such reasonable prices as wee haue done. If this shoulde not come to passe, wee might be out of hope of doing any good by the trade there: but that we haue a further hope of some good trade to be found out by Master Antonie Ienkinson: by reason we doe perceiue by your letters, that raw silke is as plentifull in Persia, as flaxe is in Russia: beside other commodities that may come from thence. Wee vnderstand by your letters that you be at a point with the Russe for the Waxe, Tallow, and traine oyles that he shipped the last yere for 311 robles 20 altines, which is well: although much be not gotten by it, but because they should not vnderstand our reckonings. We much maruel what you mean to buy Seale skins and tanne them. All that you haue sent in times past lie here vnsold, and will yeelde no money. If you send 100 of them tawed with the haire on, they will bee solde, or else not. In our shippe we will send you such things as you write to haue for the ropers: and wee would they should make more store of small cables and ropes, as cables of 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. inches. For these great cables be not for euery man; and the greatest cables bee not best laded: and likewise small ropes for shroudes, sholes, and other small tackeling: and that you looke better to the spinning of their yarne that it be euen and well tarred. The sables that you doe mind to send vs let them be principall and fayre, and not past foure or fiue timbars. For they will not be so commonly worne here as they haue bin with noble men: and likewise of Luserns send fewe and principal good. We mind to send you in our shippes 100 tunnes of salte. And because we perceiue that balast is hardly to be had at our lading place there with you, we would you shoulde haue in a readinesse 100 tunnes of the white stones whereof you sent vs home an example two yeres past. And likewise to haue in a readinesse mastes of all sortes for our shippes: for we know not what neede wee shall haue of them. The bringer hereof is Thomas Alcock, he could not be suffered the last yeare to passe through Poland. And as we wrote vnto you in our shippes, hee is our seruant for yeares: And for that we know him to be honest, true and painefull, our mind is he shalbe placed where he may do best seruice. He doth know the commodities and discommodities of all kinde of wares which you doe send vs. Therefore we would you should credite his sayings both in quantitie of wares and goodnes, as also wherin is most our profit. We see by your letters that your opinion is that the ropemakers should remaine there two yeres more; and that you haue prouided great plentie of hempe, which we are content withall. But as yet we haue solde none of our cables or halsers, neither is the proofe of them knowen; because the first you sent vs were made of flaxe, which are worth no money: for after they be once wet they will rotte and moulder away like mosse. And those which you sent vs now last, by misfortune there with you at the lading were wette and fretted in many places, and haue lost their colour: by meanes whereof they be not so vendible as if they had come well conditioned. Of an hard beginning we trust God will send vs a good ending. We hope in your next letters to heare good newes of the proceedings of Master Antonie Ienkinson. We perceiue by his letters that Astracan is not so good a Mart towne as the fame hath gone of it: and maruell much that round pewter should be so good, and good chepe there, and from whence it should come. And whereas you write that you wil come for England in our next shippes, we would gladly haue you to remaine there vntill the next yere following, for the better instruction of our seruants there; who have not had so long time of continuance for the language, and knowledge of the people, countrey, and wares as you haue had. Neuerthelesse if you will needs come away, we haue no doubt, but that you will leaue good order with our seruants there, namely with Christopher Hodson and Thomas Glouer, whom we appoint to remaine there as Agents in your roome, till further order bee taken: not doubting but that they will vse themselues so discreetely and wisely in all their doings, as shall be to the worship and benefite of this company. And as we haue a good hope in them that they will be carefull, diligent and true in all their doings: so haue we no lesse hope in all the rest of our seruants there, that they will bee not onely obedient to them (considering what roome they be in) but also will be carefull, diligent and true euery one in his roome and place for the benefite and profite of the company: That hereafter in the absence of others they may be called and placed in the like roome there or elsewhere. And if you find any to be disobedient and stubborne, and will not be ruled; wee will you shall send him home in our shippes: who shall find such small fauour and friendship during the time that he hath to serue, as by his disobedience and euill seruice hee hath deserued. And whereas Christopher Hodson hath written to come home, as partly he hath good cause, considering the death of his father and mother: yet in regard that Sir George Barne and the Ladie his wife were his special friends in his absence, we doubt not but that he wil remain in the roome, which we haue appointed him, if you doe not tarie and remaine there, till farther order be taken: and for his seruice and paines hee shall be considered, as reason is, as friendly as if his friends

Christopher Hodson and Thomas Glouer appointed Agents 1560.

were liuing. Thus we trust you will take such order the one to remaine at the Mosco, and the other at Colmogro, or elsewhere, as most neede is. Thomas Alcocke is desirous to be in the Mosco: neuerthelesse you shall find him reasonable to serue where he may doe most good. The 62 robles which you receiued of Iohn Boucher we haue payed him here, and also the 8 robles, which you receiued the yere before of Christopher Rose, and the money which you receiued more of George Burton, for the which we haue you our debtors. Thus we rest, referring that which is here omitted to the report of the bringer: and so God haue you in his keeping. Also we would that you should send vs in our shippes 200 horse-clothes more. The things before written wee would that you should let our seruants see and reade, to the intent they may perceiue our mindes.

Another letter to the foresaid parties. 1560.

This letter before written is the copie of one sent you by Thomas Alcock, trusting that hee was with you long since. The 26 day of the last moneth we receiued a letter from him, dated in Stockholme in Sweden the 14 day of January, and we perceiue by his letter that hee had talked with a Dutch man that came lately from the Mosco, who informed him that our friend Master Antony Ienkinson was returned to the Mosco in September last past, but how farre he had beene, or what he had done, he could not tell. Also he wrote that one Iohn Lucke a Ioyner was taken by the Liefelanders, and put in prison. As yet wee haue not heard from the sayd Iohn Lucke, nor know not whether he be released out of prison or not. We suppose that by him you wrote some letter which as yet is not come to our hands: so that we thinke hee is yet in prison, or otherwise dispatched out of the way. The fifteenth day of December wee receiued a letter from Christopher Hodson, dated in the Mosco the 29 of Iuly, by the way of Danske: which is in effect a copie of such another receiued from him in our shippes. You shal vnderstand that we haue laden in three good shippes of ours these kind of wares following: to wit, in the Swallowe of London, Master vnder God Steuen Burrow, 34 fardels N° 136 broad short clothes, and foure fardels N° 58 Hampshire Kersies: and 23 pipes of bastards and seckes, and 263 pieces of raisins and 4 hogsheds N° 154 pieces of round pewter, and ten hogsheds and poncheons of

Stockholme.

Iohn Luck taken prisoner in Lieflande.

The Swallow.

prunes, and one dryfatte with Almonds. And in the Philip and Marie, Master vnder God Thomas Wade, 25 fardels N° 100 broad clothes, and three fardels N° 42 Hampshire Kersies and thirtie pipes of seckes and bastards, and 100 pieces of raisins. And in the Iesus of London, Master vnder God Arthur Pette, 10 fardels N° 40 broade shorte clothes, and twenty seuen pipes of bastards and seckes, as by the Inuoices herewith inclosed may appeare: Also you shall receiue such necessaries as you did write to bee sent for the rope makers: trusting that you shall haue better successe with them which you shall send vs in these ships, then with the rest which you haue sent vs yet: for we as yet haue sold none of them. And whereas we wrote vnto you in our former letter, that we would send you a hundred tunnes of salte, by reason it is so deare here we doe send you but nine tunnes and a halfe, for it cost here tenpence the bushell the first penie: namely in the Swallow 6 tunnes and a halfe, in the Philip and Marie one tunne and a halfe, and in the Iesus one tunne and a halfe. The 4 hogsheads of round pewter goe in the Swallow and in the Philip and Marie N° 154 pieces, as is aforesaid. We send you three ships, trusting that you haue prouided according to our former writing good store of lading for them. If yee haue more wares then will lade the ships, let it be Traine oyles that you leaue behinde: the price is not here so good as it was: it is worth here 9 pound the tunne. We thinke it good you should let the smaller ship bring as much of the traine as she can cary: And that the masters of the ships do looke wel to the romaging, for they might bring away a great deale more than they doe, if they would take paine in the romaging: and bestowe the traine by it selfe, and the waxe and tallowe by it selfe: for the leakage of the traine doth fowle the other wares much. As for Allard the skinner, if you thinke good he may come home in these shippes. We haue no doubt but that you Henrie Lane, if you minde to come home now in these ships as you requested, will leaue such good order there with our seruants as shall bee for our most profite and their preferment, if they doe their dueties diligently and truely. If our friend Master Antonie Ienkinson bee returned, and meane to come away in these ships to declare his mind and opinion of his trauaile, if need require and he be so minded he may returne thither by land and be there by the fine of Ianuarie or before. But as we be vncertaine whether he be returned or not: so we know not what he hath

The Philip and Marie.

The Iesus.

done, nor what benefite may arise hereafter of his trauaile. Therefore in this wee remit it to his and your good discretions. Wee sendyou Thomas Hawtrey which is our seruant for yeeres: our minde is he should be placed, where he may doe best seruice.

Also we send you Nicholas Chancelour to remaine there, who is our apprentice for yeeres: our minde is hee should be set about such businesse as he is most fit for: he hath been kept at writing schoole along: he hath his Algorisme, and hath vnderstanding of keeping of bookes of reckonings. We send you now but 100 Kersies: but against the next yeere, if occasion serue, wee will send you a greater quantitie, according as you shall aduise vs: One of the pipes of seckes that is in the Swallow, which hath 2 round compasses upon the bung, is to be presented to the Emperour: for it is special good. The nete waight of the 10 puncheons of prunes is 4300. 2 thirds 1 pound. It is written particularly vpon the head of euery puncheon: and the nete weight of the fatte of almonds is 500 li. two quarters. The raisins, prunes, and almonds you were best to dispatch away at a reasonable price, and principally the raisins, for in keeping of them will be great losse in the waight, and the fruit will decay. We thinke it good that you prouide against the next yeere for the comming of our shippes 20 or 30 bullockes killed and salted, for beefe is very deare here. Therefore you were best to saue some of this salt that we doe send you in these ships for the purpose. The salte of that countrey is not so good. In this you may take the opinion of the masters of the shippes. Foxe skins, white, blacke, and russet will be vendible here. The last yere you sent none: but there were mariners that bought many. If any of the mariners doe buy any trifling furres or other commodities, we will they shall be registred in our pursers bookes, to the intent we may know what they be. We desire to know how the Emperour tooke the letter which we sent in our ships, as an answere to the letter that came in his name and vnder his seale for the sixe thousand dallers. Thus wee rest, committing you to God, from London the fift day of May 1560.

The salt of Russia is not so good as Bay salte.

Foxe skinnes white, blacke and russet vendible in England.

May 5. 1560.

For lacke of time the gouernours haue not firmed this letter: which is the copie of the other two letters firmed by them.

Yours, William Mericke.
Yours, Blase Sanders.

The maner of Iustice by lots in Russia, written by Master Henrie Lane, and executed in a controuersie betweene him and one Sheray Costromitskey in Mosco. 1560.

AFter the comming home into Russia of Ioseph Napea the first ambassadour to Queene Marie, I remaining the Agent there, sundrie Russian marchants by Iosephs procurement obtained letters from the Emperour to freight goods and passe in our ships for England: which thing vpon good consideration I answered and refused. They were then driuen to credite vs and compound in value vntill the next returne. At which time, notwithstanding good accompt in the value of 600 robles, there grewe question by their double demand. So in April Anno 1560. before my comming from Moscouia, they obtained trial by combat or letter to haue their summe double, or as I proffered 600 robles. For combatte I was prouided of a strong willing Englishman, Robert Best, one of the companies seruants: whome the Russes with their Champion refused. So that we had the words of our priuiledge put in effect, which were to draw lots. The day and maner of triall appointed by the Emperour at his castle in his palace and high Court of Moscouia was thus. The Emperours two Treasurers, being also Chancelours and chiefe Iudges, sate in court. They appointed officers to bring me, mine interpreter, and the other, through the great presse within the rayle or barre, and permitted me to sit downe some distance from them: the aduerse parties being without at the barre. Both parties were first perswaded with great curtesie, to wit, I to enlarge mine offer, and the Russes to mitigate their challenge. Notwithstanding that I protested my conscience to be cleere, and their gaine by accompt to bee sufficient, yet of gentlenes at the magistrates request, I made proffer of 100 robles more: which was openly commended, but of the plaintifes not accepted. Then sentence passed with our names in two equall balles of waxe made and holden vp by the Iudges, their sleeues stripped vp. Then with standing vp and wishing well to the trueth attributed to him that should be first drawen, by both consents among the multitude they called a tall gentleman, saying: Thou with such a coate or cap, come vp: where roome with speede was made. He was commanded to holde his cappe, wherein they put the balles, by the crowne vpright in sight, his arme not abasing. With like

Triall by combat or lot.

circumspection, they called at aduenture another tall gentleman, commanding him to strip vp his right sleeue, and willed him with his bare arme to reach vp, and in Gods name seuerally to take out the two balles: which he did, deliuering to either Iudge one. Then with great admiration the lotte in ball first taken out was mine: which was by open sentence so pronounced before all the people, and to be the right and true parte. The chiefe plaintifes name was Sheray Costromitsky. I was willed forthwith to pay the plaintifes the summe by me appointed. Out of which for their wrong or sinne, as it was termed, they payd tenne in the hundred to the Emperor. Many dayes after, as their maner is, the people took our nation to be true and vpright dealers, and talked of this iudgement to our great credite.

The former letters dated 1558, 1559, and 1560, should all followe M. Ienkinsons voyage to Boghar.

The first voyage made by Master Anthonie Ienkinson, from the Citie of London toward the land of Russia, begun the twelfth of May, in the yeere 1557.

FIrst by the grace of God, the day and yeere aboue mentioned, I departed from the sayd Citie, and the same day at Grauesend embarked my selfe in a good shippe, named the Primerose, being appointed, although vnworthy, chiefe captaine of the same, and also of the other 3 good ships, to say, the Iohn Euangelist, the Anne, and the Trinitie, hauing also the conduct of the Emperour of Russia his ambassadour named Osep Nepea Gregoriwich, who passed with his company in the sayde Primerose. And thus our foure tall shippes being well appointed, aswell for men as victuals as other necessarie furniture, the saide twelfth day of the moneth of May, we weyed our ankers, and departed from the saide Grauesend, in the after noone, and plying down the Thames, the wind being Easterly, and fayre weather, the 13 day we came a ground with the Primerose, upon a sand called the blacke taile, where we sate fast vntill the 14 day in the morning, and then God be praysed, she came off: and that day we plyed downe as farre as our Ladie of Holland, and there came to an anker, the wind being Easterly, and there remayned vntill the 20 day: then we weyed and went out at Goldmore gate, and from thence in at Balsey slade, and so into Orwel wands, where we came to an anker: but as we came out at the sayd Goldemore gate, the Trinitie came on ground on certaine rockes, that lye to the Northward of the said gate, and was like to be bilged and lost. But by the aide of God, at the last she came off againe, being very leake: and the 21 day the Primerose remaining at an anker in the wands, the other three shippes bare into Orwel hauen where I caused the sayd Trinitie to be grounded, searched, and repaired. So we remayned in the said hauen, vntill the 28. day: and then the winde being Westerly, the three shippes that were in the hauen, weyed and came forth, and in comming forth the Iohn Euangelist came on ground vpon a sand, called the Andros, where she remained one tide, and the next full sea she came off againe without any great hurt, God be praised.

The 29 day in the morning all foure ships weied in the Wands, and that tide went as farre as Orfordnesse, where we came an anker, because the wind was Northerly: And about sixe of the clocke at night, the wind vered to the Southwest and we weyed anker, and bare cleere of the nesse, and then set our course Northeast and by North vntill midnight, being then cleare of Yarmouth sands. Then we winded North and by West, and Northnorthwest, vntill the first of Iune at noone, then it waxed calme, and continued so vntill the second day at noone: then the winde came at Northwest, with a tempest, and much raine, and we lay close by, and caped Northnortheast, and Northeast and by North, as the winde shifted, and so continued vntill the third day at noone: then the wind vered Westerly againe, and we went North our right course, and so continued our way vntill the fourth day, at three of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time the wind vered to the Northwest againe and blew a fresh gale, and so continued vntill the seuenth day in the morning, we lying with all our shippes close by, and caping to the Northwards: and then the wind vering more Northerly, we were forced to put roomer with the coast of England againe, and fell ouerthwart Newcastle, but went not into the hauen, and so plied vpon the coast the eighth day and the ninth.

Iune.

The tenth day the winde came to the Northnorthwest, and we were forced to beare roomer with Flamborow head, where we came to an anker, and there remained vntil the seuenteenth day. Then the winde came faire, and we weyed, and set our course North and by East, and so continued the same with a mery winde vntill the 21 at noone, at which time we tooke the sunne, and had the latitude in sixty degrees. Then we shifted our course, and went Northnortheast, and Northeast and by North, vntill the 25. day. Then we discouered certaine Islands, called Heilick Islands, lying from vs Northeast, being in the latitude of sixtie sixe degrees, 40 minutes. Then we went north and by West, because we would not come too nigh the land, and running that course foure houres, we discouered, and had sight of Rost Islands, ioining to the main land of Finmarke. Thus continuing our course along the coast of Norway and Finmark, the 27 day we tooke the Sunne, being as farre shot as Lofoot, and had the latitude in 69 degrees. And the same day in the afternoone appeared ouer our heads a rainebow, like a semicircle, with both ends vpwarde. Note that there is between the said Rost Islands and Lofoot, a whirle poole called Malestrand,* which from halfe ebbe vntill halfe flood, maketh such a terrible noise, that it shaketh the ringes in the doores of the inhabitants houses of the sayd Islands tenne miles off. Also if there commeth any Whale within the current of the same, they make a pitifull crie. Moreouer, if great trees be caried into it by force of streams, and after with the ebbe be cast out againe, the ends and boughs of them haue bene so beaten, that they are like the stalkes of hempe that is bruised. Note, that all the coaste of Finmarke is high mountaines and hils, being couered all the yere with snow. And hard aboord the shoare of this coast, there is 100 or 150 fadomes of water in depth. Thus proceeding and sailing forward, we fell with an Island called Zenam, being in the latitude of 70 degrees. About this Island we saw many Whales, very monstrous, about our ships, some by estimation of 60 foot long: and being the ingendring time they roared and cried terriblie. From thence we fell with an Island, called Kettelwicke.

Heilick Islands in 66 degrees 40 minutes.

Rost Islands.

Malestrand a strange whirle poole.

Zenam Island.

Kettelwike Island.

This coast from Rost vnto Lofoot lieth North and south, and from Lofoot to Zenam Northeast and southwest, and from Zenam to Kettelwike Eastnortheast and Westsouthwest. From the said Kettelwike we sailed East and by North 10 leagues, and fell with a land called Inger sound, where we fished, being becalmed, and tooke great plenty of Cods. Thus plying along the coast, we fell with a Cape, called the North Cape, which is the Northermost land that wee passe in our voyage to S. Nicholas, and is in the

Inger sound.

The North Cape.

---

* Maelström.

latitude of 71 degrees and ten minutes, and is from Inger sound East, and to the Northwards 15 leagues. And being at this North Cape the second day of Iuly, we had the sunne at North 4 degrees aboue the Horizon. The third day wee came to Wardhouse, hauing such mists that we could not see the land. This Wardhouse is a Castle standing in an Island 2 miles from the maine of Finland, subiect to the king of Denmarke, and the Eastermost land that he hath. There are two other Islands neere adioining vnto that, whereon the Castle of Wardhouse standeth. The inhabitants of those three Islands liue onely by fishing, and make much stockefish, which they dry with frost: their most feeding is fish; bread and drinke they haue none, but such as is brought them from other places. They haue small store of cattell, which are also fed with fish. From Wardhouse we sailed Southsoutheast ten leagues, and fell with a Cape of land called Kegor,* the Northermost part of the land of Lappia. And betweene Wardhouse, and the said Cape is a great Bay, called Dommeshaff,† in the South part whereof is a Monasterie of Monkes of the Russes religion, called Pechinchow. Thus proceeding forward and sayling along the coast of the said land of Lappia, winding Southeast, the fourth day through great mists and darkenes we lost the company of the other three ships, and met not with them againe, vntill the seuenth day, when we fell with a Cape or head land called Swetinoz,‡ which is the entring into the Bay of S. Nicholas. At this Cape lieth a great stone, to the which the barkes that passed thereby, were wont to make offrings of butter, meale, and other victuals, thinking that vnlesse they did so, their barkes or vessels should there perish, as it hath bene oftentimes seene: and there it is very darke and mistie. Note that the sixt day we passed by the place where Sir Hugh Willoughbie, with all his company perished, which is called Arzina reca, that is to say, the riuer Arzina.§

Wardhouse.

Cattell fed with fish.

The Monastery of Pechinchow.

Arzina reca the riuer where sir Hugh Willoughbie was frozen.

The land of Lappia is an high land, hauing snow lying on it commonly all the yere. The people of the Countrey are halfe Gentiles: they liue in the summer time neere the sea side, and vse to take fish, of the which they make bread, and in the winter they remoue vp into the countrey into the woods, where they vse hunting, and kill Deere, Beares, Woolues, Foxes, and other beasts, with whose flesh they be nourished, and with their skinnes apparelled in such strange fashion, that there is nothing seene of them bare but their eies. They haue none other habitation, but onely in tents, remouing from place to place, according to the season of the yeere. They know no arte nor facultie, but onely shooting, which they exercise dayly, as well men as women, and kill such beasts as serue them for their foode. Thus proceeding along the coast from Swetinoz aforesaid, the ninth day of Iuly wee came to Cape Grace,* being in the latitude of 66 degrees and 45 minutes, and is at the entring in of the Bay of S. Nicholas. Aboord this land there is 20 or 30 fadoms water, and sundry grounds good to anker in. The current at this Cape runneth Southwest and Northeast. From this Cape wee proceeded along vntill we came to Crosse Island, which is seuen leagues from the sayd Cape Southwest: and from this Island, wee set ouer to the other side of the Bay, and went Southwest, and fell with an head land called Foxenose, which is from the sayd Island 25 leagues. The entring of this Bay from Crosse Island to the neerest land on the other side is seuen leagues ouer. From Foxenose proceeding forward the twelfth day of the sayd moneth of Iuly, all our foure ships arriued in safetie at the road of Saint Nicholas in the land of Russia, where we ankered, and had sailed from London vnto the said roade seuen hundred and fifty leagues. The Russian ambassadour and his company with great ioy got to shore, and our ships here forthwith discharged themselues: and being laden againe, and hauing a faire winde, departed toward England the first of August. The third of the sayd moneth I with other of my company came vnto the citie of Colmogro, being an hundred verstes from the Bay of Saint Nicholas, and in the latitude of 64 degrees 25 minutes. I taried at the said Colmogro vntill the fifteenth day: and then I departed in a little boate vp the great riuer of Dwina, which runneth very swiftly, and the selfe same day passed by the mouth of a riuer called Pinego, leauing it on our lefte hand fifteene verstes from Colmogro. On both sides of the mouth of this riuer Pinego is high land, great rockes of Alablaster,

---

* Cape Njemetsky.

† Varanger fjord.

‡ Cape Swjatojnos.

§ Varzina.

The Lappians couered all sauing their eies.

The current at Cape grace.

The entering of the Bay of S. Nicholas is seuen leagues broad at the least.

August.

Pinego river.

---

* Cape Krasnoj.

great woods, and Pineapple trees lying along within the ground, which by report haue lien there since Noes flood. And thus proceeding forward the nineteenth day in the morning, I came into a town called Yemps, an hundred verstes from Colmogro. All this way along they make much tarre, pitch and ashes of Aspen trees. From thence I came to a place called Vstiug, an ancient citie the last day of August. At this citie meete two riuers: the one called Iug, and the other Sucana, both which fall into the aforesaid riuer of Dwina. The riuer Iug hath his spring in the land of the Tartars called Cheremizzi, ioining to the countrey of Permia: and Succana hath his head from a lake not farre from the citie of Vologda. Thus departing from Vstiug, and passing by the riuer Succana, we came to a towne called Totma. About this place the water is verie shallow, and stonie, and troublesome for Barkes and boats of that countrey, which they call Nassades, and Dosneckes, to passe that way: wherein marchandise are transported from the aforesayd Colmogro to the citie of Vologhda. These vessels called Nassades, are very long builded, broade made, and close aboue, flatte bottomed, and draw not aboue foure foote water, and will carrie two hundred tunnes: they haue none iron appertaining to them but all of timber, and when the winde serueth, they are made to sayle. Otherwise they haue many men, some to hale and drawe by the neckes with long small ropes made fast to the sayd boats, and some set with long poles. There are many of these barks vpon the riuer of Dwina: And the most part of them belongeth vnto the citie of Vologhda: for there dwell many marchants, and they occupie the said boates with carying of salte from the sea side vnto the sayd Vologhda. The twentieth of September I came vnto Vologhda, which is a great citie, and the riuer passeth through the midst of the same. The houses are builded with wood of Firre trees, ioyned one with another, and round without: the houses are foure square without any iron or stone worke, couered with birch barkes, and wood ouer the same: Their Churches are all of wood, two for euery parish, one to be heated for Winter, and the other for Summer.

The towne of Yemps.

Vstiug.

The description of their Nassades.

On the toppes of their houses they laye much earth, for feare of burning: for they are sore plagued with fire. This Vologhda is in 59 degrees, eleuen minutes, and is from Colmogro, 1000 verstes.

All the way I neuer came in house, but lodged in the wildernesse, by the riuers side, and caried prouision for the way. And he that will trauell those wayes, must carie with him an hatchet, a tinder boxe, and a kettle, to make fire and seethe meate, when he hath it: for there is small succour in those parts, vnlesse it be in townes.

Good counsell for trauellers.

The first day of December, I departed from Vologhda in poste in a sled, as the maner is in Winter. And the way to Moscua is as followeth. From Vologda to Commelski, 27 verstes, so to Olmor 25 verstes, so to Teloytske 20 verstes, so to Vre 30 verstes, so to Voshansko 30 verstes, then to Yeraslaue 30 verstes, which standeth vpon the great riuer Volga, so to Rostoue, 50 verstes, then to Rogarin 30 verstes, so to Peraslaue 10 verstes, which is a great town, standing hard by a faire lake. From thence to Dowbnay 30 verstes, so to Godoroke 30 verstes, so to Owchay 30 verstes, and last to the Mosco 25 verstes, where I arriued the sixt day of December.

December.

There are 14 postes called Yannes betweene Vologhda and Mosco, which are accompted 500 verstes asunder.

The 10 day of December I was sent for to the Emperors Castle by the sayd Emperour, and deliuered my letters vnto the Secretary, who talked with me of diuers matters, by the commandement of the Emperour. And after that my letters were translated, I was answered that I was welcome, and that the Emperour would giue me that I desired.

The 25 day, being the day of the natiuitie, I came into the Emperours presence, and kissed his hand, who sate aloft in a goodly chaire of estate, hauing on his heade a crowne most richly decked, and a staffe of gold in his hand, all apparelled with golde, and garnished with precious stones.

There sate distant from him about two yardes his brother, and next vnto him a boy of twelue yeares of age, who was inheritor to ye Emperor of Casan, conquered by this Emperor 8 yeares past. Then sate his nobilitie round about him, richly apparelled with gold and stone. And after I had done obeisance to the Emperour, he with his own mouth calling me by my name, bade me to dinner, and so I departed to my lodging till dinner time, which was at sixe of the clocke, by candle light.

The Emperour dined in a fayre great hall, in the midst whereof was a pillar foure square, very artificially made, about which were diuers tables set, and at the vppermost part of the hall, sate the Emperour himselfe, and at his table sate his brother, his Vncles sonne, the Metropolitane, the young Emperour of Casan, and diuers of his noble men, all of one side. There were diuers Ambassadors, and other strangers, as well Christians as heathens, diuersly apparelled, to the number of 600 men, which dined in the sayd hall, besides 2000 Tartars, men of warre, which were newly come to render themselues to the Emperour, and were appointed to serue him in his wars against the Lieflanders, but they dined in other hals. I was set at a litle table, hauing no stranger with me, directly before the Emperors face. Being thus set and placed, the Emperour sent me diuers bowles of wine, and meade, and many dishes of meat from his own hand, which were brought me by a Duke, and my table serued all in gold and siluer, and so likewise on other tables, there were set bowles of gold, set with stone, worth by estimation 400 pounds sterling one cup, besides the plate which serued the tables.

There was also a cupbord of plate, most sumptuous and rich, which was not vsed : among the which, was a piece of golde of two yardes long, wrought in the toppe with towers, and dragons heads, also diuers barrels of gold and siluer, with Castles on the bungs, richly and artificially made. The Emperour and all the hall throughout was serued with Dukes: and when dinner was ended, the Emperour called me by name, and gaue me drinke with his own hand, and so I departed to my lodging.

Note, that when the Emperour drinketh, all the company stand vp, and at euery time he drinketh or tasteth of a dish of meate he blesseth himselfe. Many other things I sawe that day, not here noted.

The 4 of Ianuary, which was Twelftide with them, the Emperour, with his brother and all his nobles, all most richly appareled with gold, pearles, precious stones, and costly furres, with a crowne vpon his head, of the Tartarian fashion, went to the Church in procession, with the Metropolitan, and diuers bishops and priests. That day I was before the Emperour again in Russe apparell, and the Emperour asked if that were not I, and his Chancelor answered yea. Then he bad me to dinner : then came he out of the church, and went with the procession vpon the riuer, being all frozen, and there standing bare headed, with all his Nobles, there was a hole made in the ice, and the Metropolitan hallowed the water with great solemnitie and seruice, and did cast of the sayd water vpon the Emperors sonne and the Nobility. That done, the people with great thronging filled pots of the said water to carie home to their houses, and diuers children were throwen in, and sicke people, and plucked out quickly againe, and diuers Tartars christened: all which the Emperour beheld. Also there were brought the Emperours best horses, to drink at the sayd hallowed water. All this being ended, he returned to his palace againe, and went to dinner by candle light, and sate in a woodden house, very fairely gilt. There dined in the place, about 300 strangers, and I sate alone as I did before, directly before the Emperour, and had my meat, bread and drinke sent me from the Emperour.

The citie of Mosco is great, the houses for the most part of wood, and some of stone, with windowes of yron, which serue for summer time. There are many faire Churches of stone, but more of wood, which are made hot in the winter time. The Emperors lodging is in a faire and large castle, walled foure square of bricke, high, and thicke, situated vpon a hill, 2 miles about, and the riuer on the Southwest side of it, and it hath 16 gates in the walles, and as many bulwarks.* His palace is separated from the rest of the Castle, by a long wall going north and south, to the riuer side. In his palace are Churches, some of stone and some of wood, with round towers fairely gilded. In the Church doores and within the Churches are images of golde: the chiefe markets for all things, are within the sayd Castle, and for sundry things sundry markets, and euery science by it selfe. And in the winter there is a great market without the castle, vpon the riuer being frozen, and there is sold corne, earthen pots, tubs, sleds, &c. The castle is in circuit 2900 pases.

The countrey is ful of marish ground, and plaine, in woods and riuers abundant, but it bringeth forth good plenty of corne. This Emperour is of great power: for he hath conquered much, as wel of the Lieflanders, Poles, Lettoes, and Swethens, as also of the Tartars, and Gentiles, called Samoeds, hauing thereby much inlarged his dominions. He keepeth his people in great subiection: all matters passe his iudgement, be they neuer so small. The law is sharpe for all offenders.

The Metropolitan dealeth in matters of religion, as himselfe listeth, whome the Emperour greatly honoreth. They vse the ceremonies, and orders of the Greeke Church. They worship many images painted on tables, and specially the image of S. Nicholas. Their Priests be maried, but their wiues being dead, they may not marie the second time, and so become Monkes, whereof there are a great number in the land.

---

* The Kremlin Palace.

They haue foure Lents in the yeere, and the weeke before Shrofetide, they call the Butter weeke, &c.

They haue many sortes of meats and drinkes, when they banket and delight in eating of grosse meates, and stinking fishe. Before they drinke they vse to blowe in the cup: their greatest friendship is in drinking: they are great talkers and lyers, without any faith or trust in their words, flatterers and dissemblers. The women be there very obedient to their husbands, and are kept straightly from going abroad, but at some seasons.

At my being there, I heard of men and women that drunke away their children, and all their goods at the Emperors tauerne, and not being able to pay, hauing impauned himselfe, the Tauerner bringeth him out to the highway, and beates him vpon the legges: then they that passe by, knowing the cause, and hauing peraduenture compassion vpon him, giue the money, and so he is ransomed.

In euery good towne there is a drunken Tauerne called a Cursemay, which the Emperour sometime letteth out to farme, and sometimes bestoweth for a yeare or two on some duke or gentleman, in recompense of his seruice: and for that time he is Lord of all the towne, robbing and spoiling, and doing what pleaseth him: and then he be growen rich, is taken by the Emperor, and sent to the warres againe, where he shall spend all that which he hath gotten by ill meanes: so that the Emperour in his warres is little charged, but all the burden lieth vpon the poore people.

They vse sadles made of wood and sinewes, with the tree gilded with damaske worke, and the seat couered with cloth, sometimes of golde, and the rest Saphian leather, well stitched. They vse little drummes at their sadle bowes, by the sound whereof their horses vse to runne more swiftly.

The Russe is appareled in this manner: his vpper garment is of golde, silke, or cloth, long, downe to the foot, and buttoned with great buttons of siluer, or els laces of silke, set on with brooches, the sleeues thereof very long, which he weareth on his arme, ruffed vp. Vnder that he hath another long garment, buttoned with silke buttons, with a high coller standing vp of some colour and that garment is made straight. Then his shirt is very fine, and wrought with red silk, or some gold, with a coller of pearle. Vnder his shirt he hath linnen breeches, vpon his legs, a paire of hose without feete, and his bootes of red or yellow leather. On his head hee weareth a white Colepecke, with buttons of siluer, gold, pearle, or stone, and vnder it a black Foxe cap, turned vp very broad.

When he rideth on horsebacke to the warres, or any iourney, he hath a sword of the Turkish fashion, and his bowe and arrowes of the same maner.. In the towne he weareth no weapon, but onely two or three paire of kniues, hauing the hafts of the tooth of a fish, called the Morse.

In the Winter time, the people trauell with sleds, in towne and countrey, the way being hard, and smooth with snow: the waters and riuers are all frozen, and one horse with a sled, will draw a man vpon it 400 miles, in three daies: but in the Summer time, the way is deepe with mire, and trauelling is very ill.

The Russe, if he be a man of any abilitie, neuer goeth out of his house in the winter, but vpon his sled, and in Summer vpon his horse: and in his sled he sits vpon a carpet, or a white Beares skinne: the sled is drawen with a horse well decked, with many Foxes and Woolues tailes at his necke, and is conducted by a little boy vpon his backe: his seruants stand vpon the taile of the sled &c.

The voyage, wherein Osep Napea the Moscouite Ambassadour returned home into his countrey, with his entertainement at his arriuall, at Colmogro: and a large description of the maners of the Countrey.

THe twelfth of Maye, in the yeare of our Lorde 1557 there departed from Grauesend, foure good shippes well appointed for Marchants, which were presently bound into the Baye of S. Nicholas in Russia: with which shippes was transported, or caried home, one Osep Gregoriwich Napea, who was sent Messenger from the Emperour and great Duke of Moscouia. The foure ships were these, whose names follow, viz.

The Primerose Admirall.
The Iohn Euangelist Viceadmirall.
The Anne and the Trinitie Attendants.

The 13 of July, the foresayd foure shippes came to an anker in the Baye of S. Nicholas, befor an Abbey, called the Abbey of S. Nicholas, whereas the sayde Messenger, Osep Gregoriwich Napea went a shoare, and as many English men as came to serue the Emperour remained with him at the Abbey for the space of sixe daies, vntill he had gotten all his things a shoare, and laden the same in the barkes, to goe vp the riuer Dwina, vnto Vologhda, which is by water 1000 verstes, and euery verste is about three quarters of an English mile.

The 20 of July, we departed from S. Nicholas, and the 24 of the same, we came to Colmogro, where we remained eight daies: and the sayd Messenger was there of all his acquaintance welcommed home, and had presents innumerable sent vnto him, but it was nothing but meate, and drinke. Some sent white bread, some rie bread, and some buttered bread and pancakes, beefe, mutton, bacon, egges, butter, fishes, swannes, geese, duckes, hennes, and all maner of victuals, both fish and flesh, in the best maner, that the rude people could deuise: for among them, these presents are highly esteemed.

Presents vsed in Russia are all for the most part of victuals.

The 29 of July, we departed from Colmogro, and the 14 of August we came to Vstiug, where we remained one day, and changed our barkes or boates.

The 27 of August, we came to Vologhda, where we remained 4 dayes vnlading the barkes, and lading our chestes and things in small waggons, with one horse in a piece, which in their tongue are called Telegos, and with these Telegoes they caried our stuffe from Vologhda vnto the Mosco, which is 500 verstes: and we were vpon the same way 14 daies: for we went no faster then the Telegoes.

There are three great townes betweene the Mosco and Vologhda, that is to say, Yeraslaue, Rostaue, and Pereslaue. Vpon one side of Yeraslaue runneth a famous riuer, which is called Volga. It runneth into the Caspian sea, and it diuideth it selfe before it come into the Mare Caspium, in 50 parts or more, and neere vnto the same sea there stands a great Citie, called Boghar, the inhabitants of which are called by the same name.

The citie of Boghar.

The people of the said Citie doe traffique vnto the Citie of Mosco: their commodities are spices, muske, ambergreese, rubarbe, with other drugs. They bring also many furres, which they buy in Siberia coming towards the Mosco: the sayd people are of the sect of Mahomet.

They arriued at Mosco.

The 12 of September we came vnto the citie of Mosco, where we were brought by Napea, and two of the Emperours gentlemen vnto a large house, where euery one of vs had his chamber appointed.

The 14 of September we were commanded to come vnto the Emperour, and immediately after our coming we were brought into his presence, vnto whom each of vs did his duetie accordingly, and kissed his right hand, his maiestie sitting in his chaire of estate, with his crowne on his head, and a staffe of goldsmiths worke in his left hand well garnished with rich and costly stones: and when we had all kissed his hand and done our dueties, his maiestie did declare by his interpreter that we were all welcome vnto him, and into his countrey, and thereupon willed vs to dine with him: that day we gaue thanks vnto his maiestie, and so departed vntil the dinner was readie.

When dinner time approached, we were brought againe into the Emperour's dining chamber, where we were set on one side of a table that stoode ouer against the Emperours table, to the end that he might wel behold vs al: and when we came into the foresayd chamber, we found there readie set these tables following.

First at the vpper end of one table were set the Emperour his maiestie, his brother, and the Emperour of Cazan, which is prisoner. About two yardes lower sate the Emperour of Cazan his sonne, being a child of fiue yeeres of age, and beneath him sate the most part of the Emperors noble men.

And at another table neere vnto the Emperours table, there was set a Monke all alone, which was in all points as well serued as the Emperour. At another table sate another kinde of people called Chirkasses,* which the Emperour entertaineth for men of warre to serue against his enemies. Of which people and of their countrey, I will hereafter make mention.

All the tables aforesayde were couered onely with salt and bread, and after that we had sitten a while, the Emperour sent vnto euery one of vs a piece of bread, which were given and deliuered vnto euery man seuerally by these words: The Emperour and great Duke giueth the bread this day, and in like manner three or foure times before dinner was ended, he sent vnto euery man drinke, which was giuen by these words, The Emperour and great Duke giueth thee to drinke. All the tables aforesayd were serued in vessels of pure and fine golde, as well basons and ewers, platters, dishes and sawcers, as also of great pots, with an innumerable sorte of small drinking pottes of diuers fashions, whereof a great number were set with stone. As for costly meates I haue many times seene better: but for change of wines, and diuers sorts of meads, it was wonderfull: for there was not left at any time so much void roome on the table, that one cuppe more might haue bin set, and as far as I could perceiue, all the rest were in the like maner serued.

---

* Kirghis.

In the dinner time there came in sixe singers which stood in the midst of the chamber, and their faces towards the Emperour, who sang there before dinner was ended three seuerall times, whose songs or voyces delighted our eares little or nothing.

The Emperour neuer putteth morsell of meate in his mouth, but he first blesseth it himselfe, and in like maner as often as he drinketh: for after his maner he is very religious, and he esteemeth his religious men aboue his noble men.

This dinner continued about the space of fiue houres, which being ended, and the tables taken vp, we came into the midst of the chamber, where we did reuerence vnto the Emperors maiestie, and then he deliuered vnto euery one of vs with his own hands a cup of mead, which when euery man had receiued and drunke a quantity thereof, we were licensed to depart, and so ended that dinner. And because the Emperour would haue vs to be mery' he sent to our lodging the same Euening three barrels of meade of sundry sortes, of the quantitie in all of one hogshed.

The 16 day of September the Emperour sent home vnto our lodging for euery of vs a Tartarie horse to ride from place to place as we had occasion, for that the streetes of Mosco are very fowle and mirie in the Summer.

The 18 of September there were giuen vnto master Standish doctor in Physick, and the rest of our men of our occupations, certaine furred gownes of branched veluet and gold, and some of red damaske, of which master Doctors gowne was furred with Sables, and the rest were furred some with white Ermine, and some with gray Squirel, and all faced and edged round about with blacke beauer.

M. Standish doctor of Phisicke.

The 1 of October in the morning we were commanded to come vnto the Emperors court, and when we came thither, we were brought vnto the Emperor vnto whom we did our duties accordingly: whereupon he willed vs to dine with him that day, and so with thanks vnto his maiestie, we departed vntill dinner time, at which time we came and found the tables couered with bread and salt as at the first: and after that we were all set vpon one side of the table, the Emperors maiestie according to his accustomed maner sent vnto euery man a piece of bread by some of the Dukes which attended on his highnesse.

And whereas the 14 of September we were serued in vessels of gold, we were now serued in vessels of siluer, and yet not so abundantly as was the first of gold: they brought drinke vnto the table in siluer boles which conteined at the least sixe gallons a piece, and euerie man had a smal siluer cuppe to drinke in, and another to dip or to take his drinke out of the great boll withall: the dinner being ended, the Emperour gaue vnto euery one of vs a cup with meade, which when we had receiued, we gaue thanks and departed.

Moreouer, whensoeuer the Emperors pleasure is that any stranger shall dine with him, he doth send for them in the morning, and when they come before him, he with his owne mouth biddeth them to dinner, and this order he alwaies obserueth.

The 10 of October the Emperour gaue vnto M. Standish 70 rubles in money, and to the rest of our men of occupations 30 rubles apiece.

The 3 of Nouember we dined againe with the Emperour, where we were serued as before.

Long dinners.

The 6 of December being S. Nicholas day, we dined againe at the Emperours, for that is one of the principall feasts which the Moscouites hold: we were serued in siluer vessels and ordered in all points as before, and it was past 7 of the clocke at night before dinner was ended.

Ordinance in Russia.

The Emperour's maiestie vseth euery yeare in the moneth of December, to haue all his ordinance that is in the citie of Mosco caried into the field which is without the Suburbs of the citie, and there to haue it planted and bent vpon two houses of Wood filled within with earth: against which two houses there were two faire white markes set vp, at which markes they discharge all their ordinance, to the ende the Emperour may see what his Gunners can doe. They haue faire ordinance of brasse of all sortes, bases, faulcons, minions, sakers, culuerings, cannons double and royall, basiliskes long and large, they haue sixe great pieces whose shot is a yard of height, which shot a man may easily discerne as they flee: they haue also a great many of morter pieces or potguns, out of which pieces they shoote wild fire.*

A yerely triumph.

The 12 of December the Emperours Maiestie and all his nobility came into the field on horsebacke, in most goodly order, hauing very fine Iennets and Turkie horses garnished with gold and siluer abundantly. The Emperors maiestie hauing on him a gowne of rich tissue, and a cap of skarlet on his head, set not only with pearles, but also with a great number of rich and costly stones: his noble men were all in gownes of cloth of gold, which did ride before him in good order by 3. and 3. and before them there went 5000 harquebusiers, which went by 5 and 5 in a rank in very good order, euery of them carying his gun vpon his left shoulder, and his match in his right hand, and in this order they marched into the field whereas the foresayd ordinance was planted.

And before the Emperors maiestie came into the field, there was a certaine stage made of small poles which was a quarter of a mile long, and about threescore yardes off from the stage of poles were certaine pieces of ice of two foot thicke, and six foote high set vp, which ranke of ice was as long as the stage of poles, and as soone as the Emperors maiestie came into the field, the harquebusiers went vpon the stage of poles where they settled themselues in order. And when the Emperors maiestie was setled where he would be, and where he might see all the ordinance discharged and shot off, the harquebusiers began to shoote off at the banke of ice, as though it had bin in any skirmish or battel, who ceased not shooting vntill they had beaten all the ice flat on the ground.

After the handguns, they shot off their wild fire vp into the aire, which was a goodly sight to behold. And after this, they began to discharge the smal pieces of brasse, beginning with the smallest and so orderly bigger and bigger, vntill the last and biggest. When they had shot them all off, they began to charge them againe, and so shot them al off 3 times after the first order, beginning with the smallest and ending with the greatest. And note that before they had ended their shooting, the 2 houses that they shot vnto were beaten in pieces, and yet they were strongly made of Wood and filled with earth, being at the least 30 foote thicke. This triumph being ended, the Emperour departed and rode home in the same order that he came foorth into the field. The ordinance is discharged euery yeare in the moneth of December, according to the order before mentioned.

---

* The cannon in use in the 16th century were all cast, and in England font metal or bronze was mostly employed. The falcon seems to have been of 2½ inches bore; thc minion 3½ inches; the saker about the same; the culverin 5½ inches—the weight of the shot not being proportionate to the bore. The falconet, minion, falcon, saker, and demi-culverin were known respectively as 2, 3, 4, 6, and 9-pounders; while the heavier pieces, or culverins, ranged from 15-pounders up to the "cannon-royall," or 63-pounders. Mortars were first introduced in the reign of Henry VIII. According to Stowe, those made for this monarch in 1543 were "at the mouth from 11 to 19 inches wide," and were employed to throw hollow shot of cast-iron, filled like modern bombs with combustibles, and furnished with a fuse. Some of these 16th century guns may still be seen at the Tower of London.

On Christmas day we were all willed to dine with the Emperors Maiestie, where for bread, meat and drinke, we were serued as at other times before: but for goodly and rich plate, we neuer saw the like or so much before. There dined that day in the Emperors presence aboue 500 strangers, and two hundred Russes, and all they were serued in vessels of gold, and that as much as could stand one by another vpon the tables. Besides this there were foure cupbords garnished with goodly plate both of gold and siluer. Among the which there were 12 barrels of siluer, conteining aboue 12 gallons a piece, and at each end of euery barrell were 6 hoopes of fine gold: this dinner continued about sixe houres.

The hallowing of the riuer of Mosco.

Euery yeare vpon the 12 day they vse to blesse or sanctifie the riuer Moscua, which runneth through the citie of Mosco, after this maner.

First they make a square hole in the ice about 3 fadoms large euery way, which is trimmed about the sides and edges with white boords. Then about 9 of the clocke they come out of the church with procession towards the riuer in this wise.

First and foremost there goe certaine young men with waxe tapers burning, and one carying a great lanterne: then follow certaine banners, then the crosse, then the images of our Lady, of S. Nicholas, and of other Saints, which images men carie vpon their shoulders: after the images follow certaine priests to the number of 100 or more: after them the Metropolitane who is led betweene two priests, and after the Metropolitan came the Emperour with his crowne vpon his head, and after his maiestie all his noble men orderly. Thus they followed the proeession vnto the water, and when they came vnto the hole that was made, the priests set themselues in order round about it. And at one side of the same poole there was a scaffold of boords made, vpon which stood a faire chaire in which the Metropolitan was set, but the Emperours maiestie stood vpon the ice.

After this the priests began to sing, to blesse and to sense, and did their seruice, and so by that time that they had done, the water was holy, which being sanctified, the Metropolitane tooke a litle thereof in his hands, and cast it on the Emperour, likewise vpon certaine of the Dukes, and then they returned againe to the church with the priests that sate about the water: but that pressse that there was about the water when the Emperor was gone, was wonderful to behold, for there came aboue 5000 pots to be filled of that water: for that Moscouite which hath no part of that water, thinks himselfe vnhappy.

And very many went naked into the water, both men and women and children: after the presse was a litle gone, the Emperours Iennets and horses were brought to drinke of the same water, and likewise many other men brought their horses thither to drinke, and by that means they make their horses as holy as themselues.

All these ceremonies being ended, we went to the Emperour to dinner, where we were serued in vessels of siluer, and in all other points as we had bene beforetime.

The Russes Lent.

The Russes begin their Lent alwaies 8 weekes before Easter: the first weeke they eate egs, milke, cheese and butter, and make great cheare with pancakes and such other things, one friend visiting another, and from the same Sunday vntil our Shrofesunday there are but few Russes sober, but they are drunke day by day, and it is accompted for no reproch or shame among them.

The next weeke being our first weeke of Lent, or our clensing weeke, beginning our Shrofesunday, they make and keepe a great fast. It is reported, and the people do verily beleeue that the Metropolitan neither eateth nor drinketh any maner of thing for the space of seuen dayes, and they say that there are many religious men which doe the like.

The Emperors Maiestie eateth but one morsel of bread, and drinketh but one draught of drinke once in the day during that weeke, and all men that are of any reputation come not out of their houses during that time, so that the streetes are almost void of company, sauing a few poore folkes which wander to and fro.

The other sixe weeks they keepe as we do ours, but not one of them will eate either butter, cheese, egs or milke.

On Palme sunday they haue a very solemne procession in this maner following.

First, they haue a tree of a good bignesse which is made fast vpon two sleds, as though it were growing there, and it is hanged with apples, raisins, figs and dates, and with many other fruits abundantly. In the midst of ye same tree stand 5 boyes in white vestures, which sing in the tree before the procession: after this there followed certaine yong men with waxe tapers in their hands burning, and a great lanterne that al the light should not go out: after them followed two with long banners, and sixe with round plates set vpon long staues: the plates were of copper very ful of holes and thin: then followed 6 carying painted images vpon their shoulders, after the images followed certaine priests to the number of 100 or more, with goodly vestures, whereof 10 or 12 are of white damaske set and imbrodered round about with faire and orient pearles, as great as pease, and among them certaine Sapphires and other stones. After them followed the one halfe of the Emperours noble men: then cometh the Emperors maiestie and the Metropolitane, after this maner.

First, there is a horse couered with white linen cloth down to ye ground, his eares being made long with the same cloth like to an asses ears. Vpon this horse the Metropolitane sitteth sidelong like a woman: in his lappe lieth a faire booke, with a crucifix of Goldsmiths worke vpon the couer which he holdeth fast with his left hand, and in his right hand he hath a crosse of gold, with which crosse he ceaseth not to blesse the people as he rideth.

There are to the number of 30 men which spread abroad their garments before the horse, and as soone as the horse is past ouer any of them, they take them vp againe and run before, and spread them againe, so that the horse doth alway go on some of them. They which spread the garments are all priests sonnes, and for their labours the Emperour giueth vnto them new garments.

The Emperor leadeth ye Metropolitans horse in procession.

One of the Emperors noble men leadeth the horse by the head, but the Emperour himselfe going on foote leadeth the horse by the ende of the reine of his bridle with one of his hands, and in the other of his hands he had a branch of a Palme tree: after this followed the rest of the Emperors Noble men and Gentlemen, with a great number of other people. In this order they went from one church to another within the castle, about the distance of two flights shot: and so returned againe to the Emperours Church, where they made an end of their seruice. Which being done, the Emperours maiestie and certaine of his noble men went to the Metropolitane his house to dinner, where of delicate fishes and good drinks there was no lacke.

The rest of this weeke vntil Easter day they kept very solemnely, continuing in their houses for the most part, and vpon Munday or Thursday the Emperour doth alwayes vse to receiue the Sacrament, and so doe most of his nobles.

Vpon good Friday they continue all the day in contemplation and prayers, and they vse euery yere on good Friday to let loose a prisoner in the stead of Barrabas. The night following they go to the Church where they sleepe vntil the next morning, and at Easter they haue the resurrection, and after euery of the Lents they eat flesh the next weeke following, Friday, Saturday and all.

They haue an order at Easter which they alwaies obserue, and that is this: euery yere against Easter to die or colour red with Brazell a great number of egs, of which euery man and woman giueth one vnto the priest of their Parish vpon Easter day in the morning. And moreouer the common people vse to carie in their hands one of their red egs, not onely vpon Easter day, but also three or foure dayes after, and gentlemen and gentlewomen haue egs gilded which they cary in like maner. They vse it as they say for a great loue, and in token of the resurrection, whereof they reioyce. For when two friends meete during the Easter holy dayes, they come and take one another by the hand: the one of them sayth, the Lord or Christ is risen, the other answereth, it is so of a truth, and then they kisse and exchange their egs both men and women, continuing in kissing 4 dayes together.

Kissing vsed in the Greeke church.

The 12 of Aprill being Tuesday in the Easter weeke, Master Ienkinson and Master Graie, and certayne other of vs English men dined with the Emperor, where we were serued as we had bin before time. And after diner the Emperours maiestie gave vnto master Ienkinson and vnto M. Gray, and so orderly vnto euery one of vs a cup of Mead, according to his accustomed maner which when euery man had received and giuen thanks, M. Ienkinson stepped into the midst of the chamber before the Emperours maiestie, and gaue thankes to his highnesse for his goodnesse vnto him extended, desiring his grace to licence him to depart, and in like maner did Master Gray. His maiestie did not onely licence them to depart, but also graunted vnto Master Ienkinson his letters vnder his great seale, vnto all princes through whose dominions master Ienkinson should haue occasion to passe, that he might the sooner and quietlier passe by meanes thereof. Which being granted, master Ienkinson and Gray lowly submitted themselues, thanking his maiestie. So the Emperour gaue vnto either of them a cuppe of mead to drinke, and willed them to depart at their pleasure in Gods peace.

With these letters M. Ienkinson tooke his voyage the same April to Boghar.

The 14. of Aprill in the morning when M. Gray and I were ready to depart towards England, the Chancellors sent vnto vs and willed vs to come to their office in the Chancerie, where at our comming they shewed vs a great number of the Emperors iewels, and rich robes, willing vs to marke and beholde them well, to the end that at our arriuall into England, we might make report what we had seene there.

The chiefest was his maiesties crowne, being close vnder the top very faire wrought: in mine opinion, the workmanship of so much gold few men can amend. It was adorned and decked with rich and precious stones abundantly, among the which one was a rubie, which stood a handfull higher then the top of the crown vpon a small wier, it was as big as a good beane: the same crown was lined with a faire blacke Sable, worth by report 40. robles.

The Emperours wardrobe.

Wee sawe all his maiesties robes which were very richly set with stones, they shewed vs manie other great stones of diuers kindes, but the most part of them were vneuen, in maner as they came out of the worke, for they doe more esteeme the greatnesse of stones, then the proportion of them.

We saw two goodlie gownes which were as heauie as a man could easily carrie, all set with pearles ouer and ouer: the gards or borders round about them were garnished with saphires and other good stones abundantly. One of the same gownes was very rich, for the pearles were very large, round and orient: as for the rest of his gownes and garments, they were of rich tissue and cloth of gold and all furred with very blacke Sables.

When we had sufficiently perused all these things, they willed master Gray at his arriuall in England, to prouide if he could, such iewels and rich clothes as he had seene there, and better if he could, declaring that the Emperour would gladly bestow his money vpon such things.

So we tooke our leaue the same time, and departed towards Vologda immediatly.

The maners, vsages, and ceremonies of the Russes.

Of the Emperour.

THe Emperours name in their tongue is Iuan Vasiliuich, that is as much to say, as Iohn the sonne of Vasilie || and by his princely state hee is called Otesara,* as his predecessors haue bene before, which to interprete, is a king, that giueth not tribute to any man. And this word Otesara his maiesties interpreters haue of late dayes interpreted to be Emperour, so that now hee is called Emperour and great Duke of all Russia, &c. Before his father they were neither called Emperours nor kings but onely Ruese Velike, that is to say, great Duke. And as this Emperor which now is Iuan Vasiliuich, doeth exceede his predecessors in name, that is, from a Duke to an Emperour, euen so much by report he doeth exceede them in stoutnesse of courage and valiantnesse, and a great deale more: for he is no more afraid of his enemies which are not few, then the Hobbie of the larks.

|| Or, Basilius.

His enemies with whom he hath warres for the most part are these: Litto, Poland, Sweden, Denmarke, Lifland, the Crimmes, Nagaians, and the whole nation of the Tartarians, which are a stoute and a hardie people as any vnder the Sunne.

This Emperour vseth great familiaritie, as wel vnto all his nobles and subiects, as also vnto strangers which serue him either in his warres, or in occupations: for his pleasure is that they shall dine oftentimes in the yeere in his presence, and besides that he is oftentimes abroad, either at one Church or another, and walking with his noble men abroad. And by this meanes he is not onely beloued of his nobles and commons, but also had in great dread and feare through all his dominions, so that I thinke no prince in Christendome is more feared of his owne then he is, nor yet better beloued. For if he bid any of his Dukes goe, they will runne, if he giue any euil or angrie worde to any of them, the partie will not come into his maiesties presence againe of a long time if he be not sent for, but will faine him to be very sicke, and will let the haire of his head grow very long, without either cutting or shauing, which is an euident token that hee is in the Emperors displeasure: for when they be in their prosperity, they account it a shame to weare long haire, in consideration whereof, they vse to haue their heads shauen.

---

* Czar.

Note.

His maiesty heareth all complaints himselfe, and with his owne mouth giueth sentence, and iudgement of all matters, and that with expedition: but religious matters he medleth not withall, but referreth them wholly vnto the Metropolitane.

His maiestie retaineth and well rewardeth all strangers that come to serue him, and especially men of warre.

Hee delighteth not greatly in hawking, hunting, or any other pastime, nor in hearing instruments or musicke, but setteth all his whole delight vpon two things: First, to serue God, as vndoubtedly he is very deuoute in his religion, and the second, howe to subdue and conquere his enemies.

He hath abundance of gold and siluer in his owne handes or treasurie: but the most part of his subiects know not a crowne from a counter, nor gold from copper, they are so much cumbred there-withall, and he that is worth 2. 3. or 4. grotes, is a rich man.

Of their religious men.

THe Metropolitane is next vnto God, our Lady and S. Nicholas excepted: for the Emperors maiestie iudgeth and affirmeth him to be of higher dignitie then himselfe; for that, saith he, he is Gods spiritual officer, and I the Emperour am his temporall officer, and therefore his maiestie submitteth himselfe vnto him in many things concerning religious matters, as in leading the Metropolitans horse vpon Palme sunday, and giuing him leaue to sitte on a chaire vpon the 12. day, when the riuer Mosco was in blessing, his maiestie standing on the yce.

All matters of religion are reformed by the Metropolitane, he heareth the causes and giueth sentence as himselfe listeth, and is authorized so to doe, whether it be to whip, hang or burne, his will must needs be fulfilled.

They haue both monks, friers and nunnes, with a great number of great and rich monasteries: they keepe great hospitalitie, and doe relieue much poore people day by day. I haue bene in one of the monasteries called Troietes,* which is walled about with bricke very strongly like a castle, and much ordinance of brasse vpon the walles of the same. They told me themselues that there are seuen hundred brethren of them which belong vnto that house. The most part of the lands, towns, and villages which are within 40. miles of it, belong vnto the same. They shewed me the church, wherein were as many images as could hang about, or vpon the wals of the Church round about, and euen the roofe of the church was painted ful of images. The chiefe image was of our Ladie, which was garnished with gold, rubies, saphirs and other rich stones abundantly. In the midst of the church stood 12. waxe tapers of two yards long, and a fathom about in bignesse, and there stands a kettle full of waxe with about 100. weight, wherein there is alwayes the wicke of a candle burning, as it were a lampe which goeth not out day nor night.

They shewed me a coffin couered with cloth of gold which stoode vpon one side within their church, in which they told me lay a holy man, who neuer eate or dranke, and yet that he liueth. And they told me (supposing that I had beleeued them) that he healeth many diseases, and giueth the blind their sight, with many other miracles, but I was hard of belief because I saw him worke no miracle whilest I was there.

After this they brought me into their sellers, and made me taste of diuers kinds of drinks, both wine and beere, mead and quassie, of sundry colours and kinds. Such abundance of drink as they haue in their sellers, I doe suppose few princes haue more, or so much at once.

Their barrels or vessels are of an vnmeasurable bignes and sise: some of them are 3. yards long and more, and 2. yards and more broad in their heads: they conteine 6. or 7. tunnes a piece: they haue none in their sellers of their owne making that are lesse then a tunne. They haue 9. or 10. great vautes which are full of those barrels which are seldome remooued: for they haue trunks which come downe through the roofe of the vautes in sundry places, through which they powre drinke downe, hauing the caske right vnder it to receiue the same, for it should be a great trouble to bring it all downe the stayres.

---

* There was a monastery answering this description, but its name was Trajetski.

The hospitalitie of their monasteries.

They giue bread, meat and drinke vnto all men that come to them, not onely while they are at their abbey, but also when they depart, to serue them by the way.

There are a great number of such monasteries in the Realm, and the Emperors maiesty rideth oftentimes from one to another of them, and lieth at them 3. or 4. daies together.

The same monkes are as great merchants as any in the land of Russia, and doe occupy buying and selling as much as any other men, and haue boats which passe too and fro in the riuers with merchandize from place to place where any of their countrey do traffike.

They eate no flesh during their liues as it is reported: but vpon Sunday, Munday, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday it is lawfull for them to eate egges, butter, cheese, and milke, and at all times to eate fish, and after this sort they lead their liues.

They weare all blacke garments, and so doe none other in all the lande, but at that abbey onely.

Want of preachers cause of great ignorance and idolatry.

They haue no preachers no not one in al the land to instruct the people, so that there are many, and the most part of the poore in the countrey, who if one aske them how many gods there be, they wil say a great many, meaning that euery image which they haue is a god: for all the countrey and the Emperours maiesty himselfe wil blesse and bowe, and knocke their heads before their images, in so much that they will crie earnestly vnto their images to helpe them to the things which they need. Al men are bound by their law to haue those images in their houses, and ouer euery gate in all their townes and cities are images set vp, vnto which the people bow and bend, and knocke their heads against the ground before them: as often as they come by any church or crosse they do in like maner. And when they come to any house, they blesse themselues 3. or 4. times before they will salute any man in the house.

They reckon and hold it for great sinne to touch or handle any of their images within the circle of the boord where the painting is, but they keep them very daintily, and rich men deck them ouer and about with gold, siluer and stones, and hang them ouer and about with cloth of gold.

The priestes are married as other men are, and weare all their garments as other men doe, except their nightcaps, which is cloth of some sad colour, being round, and reacheth vnto the eares: their crownes are shauen, but the rest of their haire they let grow, as long as nature will permit, so that it hangeth beneath their eares vpon their shoulders: their beards they neuer shaue: if his wife happen to die, it is not lawfull for him to mary againe during his life.

They minister the Communion with bread and wine after our order, but he breaketh the bread and putteth it into the cup vnto the wine, and commonly some are partakers with them: and they take the bread out againe with a spoon together with part of the wine, and so take it themselues, and giue it to others that receiue with them after the same maner.

Their ceremonies are al as they say, according to the Greeke Church vsed at this present day, and they allow no other religion but the Greeks, and their owne: and will not permit any nation but the Greeks to be buried in their sacred burials, or churchyards.

All their churches are full of images, vnto the which the people when they assemble, doe bowe and knocke their heads, as I haue before said, that some will haue knobbes vpon their foreheads with knocking, as great as egges.

Al their seruice is in their mother tongue.

All their seruice is in the Russe tongue, and they and the common people haue no other praiers but this, *Ghospodi Iesus Christos esine voze ponuloi nashe.* That is to say, O Lorde Iesus Christ, sonne of God haue mercy upon vs: and this is their prayer, so that the most part of the vnlearned know neither Pater noster, nor the Beliefe, nor Ten commandements, nor scarcely vnderstand the one halfe of their seruice which is read in their Churches.

Of their Baptisme.

WHen any child is borne, it is not baptised vntil the next Sunday, and if it chance that it be not baptized then, it must tary vntil the next Sunday after the birth, and it is lawfull for them to take as manie Godfathers and Godmothers as they will, the more the better.

When they go to the Church, the midwife goeth foremost, carrying the childe, and the Godfathers and Godmothers follow into the midst of the Church, where there is a small table ready set, and on it an earthen pot ful of warme water, about the which the Godfathers and Godmothers, with the childe, settle themselues: then the clerke giueth vnto euery of them a smal waxe candle burning, then commeth the priest, and beginneth to say certaine words, which the Godfathers and Godmothers must answere word for word, among which one is, that the childe shal forsake the deuill, and as that name is pronounced, they must all spit at the word as often as it is repeated. Then he blesseth the water which is in the pot, and doth breathe ouer it: then he taketh al the candles which the gosseps haue, and holding them all in one hand letteth part of them drop into the water, and then giueth euery one his candle againe, and when the water is sanctified, he taketh the childe and holdeth it in a small tubbe, and one of the Godfathers taketh the pot with warme water, and powreth it all vpon the childs head.

After this he hath many more ceremonies, as anoynting eares and eyes with spittle, and making certaine crosses with oyle vpon the backe, head, and brest of the childe: then taking the childe in his armes, carieth it to the images of S. Nicholas, and our Ladie, &c. and speaketh vnto the images, desiring them to take charge of the childe, that he may liue, and beleeue as a Christian man or woman ought to doe, with many other words. Then comming backe from the images, he taketh a paire of sheares and clippeth the yong and tender haires of the childes head, in three or foure places, and then deliuereth the childe, whereunto euery of the Godfathers and Godmothers lay a hand: then the priest chargeth them, that the childe be brought vp in the faith and feare of God or Christ, and that it be instructed to clinege and bow to the images, end so they make an end: then one of the Godfathers must hang a crosse about the necke of the childe, which he must alwayes weare, for that Russe which hath not a crosse about his necke they esteeme as no Christian man, and thereupon they say that we are no Christians, because we do not weare crosses as they do.

Of their Matrimonie.

THeir matrimonie is nothing solemnized, but rather in most points abominable, and as neere as I can learne, in this wise following.

First, when there is loue betweene the parties, the man sendeth vnto the woman a small chest or boxe, wherein is a whip, needles, threed, silke, linnen cloth, sheares, and such necessaries as shee shall occupie when she is a wife, and perhaps sendeth therewithall raisins, figs or some such things, giuing her to vnderstand, that if she doe offend she must be beaten with the whip, and by the needles, threed, cloth, &c. that she should apply her selfe diligently to sowe, and do such things as shee could best doe, and by the raisins or fruites he meaneth if she doe well, no good thing shalbe withdrawn from her, nor be too deare for her: and she sendeth vnto him a shirt, handkerchers, and some such things of her owne making. And now to the effect.

When they are agreed, and the day of marriage appointed, when they shall goe towardes the Church, the bride will in no wise consent to go out of the house, but resisteth and striueth with them that would haue her out, and faineth her selfe to weepe, yet in the end, two women get her out, and lead her towards the church, her face being couered close, because of her dissimulation, that it should not be openly perceiued: for she maketh a great noise, as though she were sobbing and weeping, vntil she come at the Church, and then her face is vncouered. The man commeth after among other of his friends, and they cary with them to the church a great pot of wine or mead: then the priest coupleth them together much after our order, one promising to loue and serue the other during their liues together, &c. which being done, they begin to drinke, and first the woman drinketh to the man, and when he hath drunke he letteth the cuppe fall to the ground, hasting immediately to tread vpon it, and so doth she, and whether of them tread first vpon it must haue the victorie and be master at all times after, which commonly happeneth to the man, for he is readiest to set his foot on it, because he letteth it fall himselfe, then they goe home againe, the womans face beeing vncouered. The boyes in the streetes crie out and make a noyse in the meane time, with very dishonest wordes.

When they come home, the wife is set at the vpper end of the table, and the husband next vnto her: they fall then to drinking till they bee all drunke, they perchance haue a minstrell or two, and two naked men, which led her from the Church daunce naked a long time before all the companie. When they are wearie of drinking, the bride and the bridegrome get them to bed, for it is in the euening alwayes when any of them are married: and when they are going to bedde, the bridegrome putteth certain money both golde and siluer, if he haue it, into one of his boots, and then sitteth down in the chamber, crossing his legges, and then the bride must plucke off one of his boots, which she will, and if she happen on the boote wherein the money is, she hath not onely the money for her labor, but is also at such choyse, as she need not euer from that day forth to pul off his boots, but if she misse the boot wherin the money is, she doth not onely loose the money, but is also bound from that day forwards to pull off his boots continually.

Then they continue in drinking and making good cheere three daies following, being accompanied with certaine of their friends, and during the same three daies he is called a Duke, and shee a dutches, although they be very poore persons, and this is as much as I haue learned of their matrimony: but one common rule is amongst them, if the woman be not beaten with the whip once a weeke, she will not be good, and therefore they looke for it orderly, and the women say, that if their husbands did not beate them, they should not loue them.

They vse to marry there very yong, their sonnes at 16. and 18. yeeres old, and the daughters at 12. or 13. yeeres or yonger: they vse to keepe their wiues very closely, I meane those that be of any reputation, so that a man shall not see one of them but at a chance, when she goeth to church at Christmas or at Easter, or els going to visite some of her friends.

The most part of the women vse to ride a stride in saddles with styropes, as men do, and some of them on sleds, which in summer is not commendable.

The women of Russia paint their faces.

The husband is bound to finde the wife colours to paint her withall, for they vse ordinarily to paynt themselues: it is such a common practise among them, that it is counted for no shame: they grease their faces with such colours, that a man may discerne them hanging on their faces almost a flight shoote off: I cannot so well liken them as to a millers wife, for they looke as though they were beaten about the face with a bagge of meale, but their eye browes they colour as blacke as ieat.

The best propertie that the women haue, is that they can sowe well, and imbroder with silke and golde excellently.

Of their buriall.

WHen any man or woman dieth, they stretch him out, and put a new paire of shooes on his feete, because he hath a great iourney to goe: then doe they winde him in a sheet, as we doe, but they forget not to put a testimonie in his right hand, which the priest giueth him, to testifie vnto S. Nicholas that he died a Christian man or woman. And they put the coarse alwayes in a coffin of wood, although the partie be very poore: and when they goe towards the Church, the friends and kinsemen of the partie departed carrie in their hands small waxe candles, and they weepe and howle, and make much lamentation.

They that be hanged or beheaded, or such like, haue no testimonie with them: how they are receiued into heauen, it is a wonder, without their passport.

There are a great number of poore people among them which die daily for lacke of sustenance, which is a pitifull case to beholde: for there hath beene buried in a small time, within these two yeeres, aboue 80. persons young and old, which haue died onely for lacke of sustenance: for if they had had straw and water enough, they would make shift to liue: for a great many are forced in the winter to drie straw and stampe it, and to make bread thereof, or at the least they eate it in stead of bread. In the summer they make good shift with grasse, herbes and rootes: barks of trees are good meat with them at all times. There is no people in the world, as I suppose, that liue so miserably as do the pouerty in those parts, and the most part of them that haue sufficient for themselues, and also to relieue others that need, are so vnmerciful that they care not how many they see die of famine or hunger in the streets.

Bread made of straw.

The vnmercifulnesse of the Russes toward the poore.

It is a countrey full of diseases, diuers, and euill, and the best remedy is for anie of them, as they holde opinion, to goe often vnto the hote houses, as in a maner euery man hath one of his owne, which hee heateth commonly twise euery weeke, and all the householde sweate, and wash themselues therein.

Stooues or baths vsuall with the Moscouites.

The names of certaine sortes of drinkes vsed in Russia, and commonly drunke in the Emperours Court.

THe first and principall meade is made of the iuice or liccour taken from a berrie called in Russia, Malieno, which is of a marueilous sweete taste, and of a carmosant colour, which berry I haue seene in Paris.

Reported by Thomas Bulley.

The second meade is called Visnoua, because it is made of a berry so called, and is like a black gooseberrie: but it is like in colour and taste to the red wine of France.

The third meade is called Amarodina or Smorodina, short, of a small berry much like to the small rezin, and groweth in great plentie in Russia.

The fourth meade is called Chereunikyna, which is made of the wilde blacke cherry.

The fift meade is made of hony and water, with other mixtures.

There is also a delicate drinke drawn from the root of the birch tree, called in the Russe tongue Berozeuites, which drinke the noble men and others vse in Aprill, May, and Iune, which are the three moneths of the spring time: for after those moneths, the sappe of the tree dryeth, and then they cannot haue it.

The voyage of Master Anthony Ienkinson, made from the citie of Mosco in Russia, to the citie of Boghar in Bactria, in the yeere 1558: written by himselfe to the Merchants of London of the Moscouie company.

THe 23. day of April, in the yeere 1558. (hauing obtained the Emperor of Russia his letters, directed vnto sundry kings and princes, by whose dominions I should passe) I departed from Mosco by water, hauing with mee two of your seruants, namely, Richard Iohnson, and Robert Iohnson, and a Tartar Tolmach, with diuers parcels of wares, as by the inuentory appeareth: and the 28. day we came to a town called Collom, distant from the Mosco 20. leagues, and passing one league beyond the saide Collom, we came vnto a riuer called Occa, into the which the riuer Mosco falleth, and looseth his name: and passing downe the said riuer Occa 8. leagues, we came vnto a castle called Terreuettisko, which we left vpon our right hand, and proceeding forward, the second day of May, we came vnto another castie called Peroslaue, distant 8. leagues, leauing it also on our right hand. The third day we came vnto the place where olde Rezan was situate, beeing now most of it ruined and ouergrowen, and distant from the said Peroslaue, 6. leagues: the 4. day we passed by a castle called Terrecouia, from Rezan 12. leagues, and the 6. day we came to another castle called Cassim, vnder the gouernment of a Tartar prince named Vtzar Zegoline, sometime Emperour of the worthy citie of Cazan, and now subiect vnto the Emperour of Russia. But leauing Cassim on our left hand, the 8. day we came vnto a faire town called Morom, from Cassim 20. leagues, where we took the sonne, and found the lattitude 56 degrees: and proceeding forward the 11. day, we came vnto another faire town and castle called Nyse Nouogrode, situated at the falling of the foresaid riuer Occa into the worthie riuer of Volga, distant from the saide Moron 25. leagues, in the latitude of 56. degrees 18. minutes. From Rezan to this Nyse Nouogrod, on both sides the said riuer of Occa, is raised the greatest store of waxe and hony in all the land of Russia. We tarried at the foresaid Nyse Nouogrode vntil the 19. day, for the comming of a captain which was sent by the Emperour to rule at Astracan, who beeing arriued, and hauing the number of 500. great boates vnder his conduct, some laden with victuals, souldiers, and munition: and other some with merchandise, departed altogether the said 19. day from the said Nyse Nouogrode, and the 22. we came vnto a castle called Vasiliagorod, distant 25. leagues, which we left vpon our right hand. This towne or castle had his name of this Emperors father, who was called Vasilius, and gorod in the Russe tongue is as much as to say as a castle, so that Vasiliagorod is to say, Vasilius castle: and it was the furthest place that the said Emperour conquered from the Tartars. But this present Emperour his sonne, called Iuan Vasiliwich, hath had great good successe in his warres, both against the Christians and also the Mahometists and Gentiles, but especially against the Tartars, inlarging his Empire euen to the Caspian sea, hauing conquered the famous riuer of Volga, with all the countries there about adiacent. Thus proceeding on our iourney the 25. day of May aforesaide, wee came to another castle called Sabowshare, which wee left on our right hand, distant from Vasiliagorod 16. leagues. The countrey heereabout is called Mordouits, and the habttants did professe the law of the Gentiles: but nowe beeing conquered by this Emperour of Russia, most of them are christened, but lie in the woods and wildernesse, without towne or habitation.

The 27. day we passed by another castle called Swyasko, distant from Shabowshare aforesaid 25. leagues: we left it on our right hand, and the 29. came vnto an Island one league from the citie of Cazan, from which falleth downe a riuer called Cazanka reca, and entreth into the foresaide Volga. Cazan.

Cazan is a faire town after the Russe or Tartar fashion, with a strong castle, situated vpon a high hill, and was walled round about with timber and earth, but now the Emperour of Russia hath giuen order to plucke downe the old walles, and to builde them againe of free stone. It hath bene a citie of great wealth and riches, and being in the hands of the Tartars it was a kingdome of it selfe, and did more vexe the Russes in their warres, then any other nation: but 9 yeres past, this Emperour of Russia conquered it, and tooke the king captiue, who being but young is nowe baptised, and brought vp in his court with two other princes, which were also kings of the said Cazan, and being ech of them in time of their raignes in danger of their subiects through ciuil discord, came and rendred themselues at seueral times vnto the said Emperor, so that at this present there are three princes in the court of Russia, which had bene Emperours of the said Cazan, whom the Emperour vseth with great honour.

The Island of marchants.

We remained at Cazan till the 13. day of Iune, and then departed from thence: and the same day passed by an Island called the Island of merchants, because it was woont be a place where all merchants, as well Russes and Cazanites, as Nagayans and Crimmes, and diuers other nations did resort to keepe mart for buying and selling, but nowe it is forsaken, and standeth without any such resort thither, or at Cazan, or at any place about it, from Mosco vnto Mare Caspium.

The riuer of Cama.

Thus proceeding forward the 14. day, we passed by a goodly riuer called Cama, which we left on our left hand. The riuer falleth out of the countrey of Permia into the riuer of Volga, and is from Cazan 15. leagues: and the countrey lying betwixt the said Cazan and the said riuer Cama on the left hand of Volga is called Vachen, and the inhabitants be Gentiles, and liue in the wildernesse without house or habitation: and the countrey on the other side of Volga ouer against the said riuer Cama is called the land of Cheremizes, halfe Gentiles, halfe Tartars, and all the land on the left hand of the said Volga from the said riuer vnto Astracan, and so following the North and Northeast side of the Caspian sea, to a land of the Tartars called Turkemen, is called the countrey of Magnat or Nagay, whose inhabitants are of the law of Mahomet, and were all destroyed in the yeere 1558, at my being at Astracan, through ciuill warres among them, accompanied with famine, pestilence, and such plagues, in such sort that in the said yeere there were consumed of the people, in one sort and another, aboue one hundred thousand: the like plague was neuer seen in those parts, so that the said countrey of

Nagay Tartars.

Nagay being a countrey of great pasture, remaineth now vnreplenished to the great contentation of the Russes, who haue had cruel warres a long time together.

The Nagayans when they flourished, liued in this maner: they were diuided into diuers companies called Hords, and euery hord had a ruler, whom they obeyed as their king, and was called a Murse. Towne or house they had none, but liued in the open fields, euery Murse or King hauing hauing his Hords or people about him, with their wiues, children and cattell, who hauing consumed the pasture in one place, remooued vnto another: and when they remooue they haue houses like tents set vpon wagons or carts, which are drawen from place to place with camels, and therin their wiues, children, and all their riches, which is very litle, is caried about, and euery man hath at the least foure or fiue wiues besides concubines. Vse of money they haue none, but doe barter their cattell for apparell and other necessaries. They delight in no arte nor science, except the warres, wherein they are expert, but for the most part they be pasturing people, and haue great store of cattell, which is all their riches. They eate much flesh, and especially the horse, and they drinke mares milk, wherewith they be oftentimes drunke: they are seditious and inclined to theft and murther. Corne they sowe not, neither do eate any bread, mocking the Christians for the same, and disabling our strengths, saying we liue by eating the top of a weede, and drinke a drinke made out of the same, allowing their great deuouring of flesh, and drinking of milke to be the increase of their strength. But now to proceed forward to my iourney.

Hords.

All the countrey vpon our right hand the riuer Volga, from ouer against the riuer Cama, vnto the towne of Astracan, is the land of Crimme, whose inhabitants be also of the lawe of Mahomet, and liue for the most part according to the fashions of the Nagayes, hauing continuall wars with the Emperour of Russia, and are valiant in the fielde, hauing countenanee, and support from the great Turke.

The Crimme Tartars.

The 16. day of Iune we passed by certaine fishermens houses called Petowse twenty leagues from the riuer Cama, where is great fishing for sturgeon, so continning our way vntill the 22. day, and passing by another great riuer called Samar, which falleth out of the aforesaide countrey, and runneth through Negay, and entreth into the saide

The riuer of Samar.

riuer of Volga. The 28. day wee came vnto a great hill, where was in times past a castle made by the Crimmes, but now it is ruined, being the iust midway betweene the said Cazan and Astrachan, which is 200. leagues or thereabout, in the latitude of 51. degrees 47. minutes. Vpon all this shore groweth abundance of Licoris, whose root runneth within the ground like a vine.

Licoris in great plentie.

Thus going forward the sixt day of Iuly we came to a place called Perouolog, so named because in times past the Tartars caried their bortes from Volga vnto the riuer Tanais, otherwise called Don, by land, when they would robbe such as passed downe the said Volga to Astracan, and also such as passed downe by the riuer Tanais, to Asou, Caffa, or any other towne situated vpon Mare Euxinum, into which sea Tanais falleth, who hath his springs in the countrey of Rezan, out of a plaine ground. It is at this streight of Perouolog from the one riuer to the other two leagues by land, and is a dangerous place for theeues and robbers, but now it is not so euill as it hath bene, by reason of the Emperour of Russia his conquests.

Departing from Perouolog, hauing the wildernesse on both sides, wee sawe a great heard of Nagayans, pasturing, as is abouesaid, by estimation aboue a thousand camels drawing of cartes with houses vpon them like tents, of a strange fashion, seeming to bee a farre off a towne: that Hord was belonging to a great Murse called Smille, the greatest prince in all Nagay, who had slaine and driuen away all the rest, not sparing his owne brethren and children, and hauing peace wiih this Emperour of Russia he hath what he needeth, and ruleth alone: so that now the Russes liue in peace with the Nagayans, who were wont to haue mortall warres together.

The 14. day of Iuly passing by an old castle, which was Old Astracan, and leauing it vpon our right hand, we arriued at New Astracan, which this Emperour of Russia conquered sixe yeeres past, in the yeere 1552. It is from the Mosco vnto Astracan sixe hundred leagues, or thereabout. The towne of Astracan is situated in an Island vpon a hill side, hauing a castle within the same, walled about with earth and timber, neither faire nor strong: The towne is also walled about with earth: the buildings and houses (except it be the captaines lodging, and certaine other gentlemens) most base and simple. The Island is most destitute and barren of wood and pasture, and the

Astracan.

ground will beare no corne: the aire is there most infected, by reason (as I suppose) of much fish, and specially Sturgion, by which onely the inhabitants liue, hauing great scarsitie of flesh and bread. They hang vp their fish in their streets and houses to dry for their prouision, which causeth such abundance of flies to increase there, as the like was neuer seene in any land, to their great plague. And at my being at the sayd Astracan, there was a great famine and plague among the people, and specially among the Tartars called Nagayans, who the same time came thither in great numbers to render themselues to the Russes their enemies, and to seeke succour at their hands, their countrey being destroyed, as I said before: but they were but ill entertained or relieued, for there died a great number of them for hunger, which lay all the Island through in heapes dead and like to beasts vnburied, very pitifull to behold: many of them were also sold by the Russes, and the rest were banished from the Island. At that time it had bene an easie thing to haue conuerted that wicked Nation to the Christian faith, if the Russes themselues had bene good Christians: but how should they shew compassion vnto other Nations, when they are not mercifull vnto their owne? At my being there I could haue bought many goodly Tartars children, if I would haue had a thousand, of their owne fathers and mothers, to say, a boy or a wench for a loafe of bread woorth sixe pence in England, but we had more need of victuals at that time then of any such merchandise. This Astracan is the furthest hold that that this Emperour of Russia has conquered of the Tartars towards the Caspian sea, which he keepeth very strong, sending thither euery yere prouision of men and victuals, and timber to build the castle.

Store of Sturgions.

There is a certaine trade of merchandise there vsed, but as yet so small and beggerly, that it is not woorth the making mention, and yet there come merchants thither from diuers places. The chiefest commodities that the Russes bring thither are redde hides, redde sheepes skinnes, woodden vessels, bridles, and saddles, kniues, and other trifles, with corne, bacon, and other victuals. The Tartars bring thither diuers kindes of wares made of cotten wooll, with diuers kindes of wrought silkes: and they that come out of Persia, namely from Shamacki doe bring sowing silke, which is the coursest that they vse in Russeland, Crasco, diuers kinds of pide silkes for girdles, shirts of male, bowes, swords, and such like things: and some yeeres corne, and wallnuts, but all such things in such small quantitie, the merchants being so beggerly and poore that bring the same, that it is not worth the writing, neither is there any hope of trade in all those parts woorth the folowing.

The length of the Island of Astracan.

This foresaid Island of Astracan is in length twelue leagues, and in bredth three, and lieth East and West in the latitude of fortie seuen degrees, nine minutes: we taried there vntil the sixt day of August, and hauing bought and prouided a boate in company with certaine Tartars and Persians, we laded our goods and imbarked our selues, and the same day departed I, with the said two Iohnsons hauing the whole charge of the Nauigation downe the sayd riuer Volga, being very crooked, and full of flats towards the mouth thereof. We entred into the Caspian sea the tenth day of August at the Easterly side of the sayd riuer, being twentie leagues from Astracan aforesayd, in the latitude of fortie six degrees, twentie seuen minutes.

They enter into the Caspian sea.

Volga hath seuentie mouthes or fals into the sea: and we hauing a large wind, kept the Northeast shore, and the eleuenth day we sailed seuen leagues Eastnortheast, and came vnto an Island hauing an high hill therein, called Accurgar, a good marke in the sea. From thence East tenne leagues, we fell with another Island called Bawhiata, much higher then the other. Within these two Islands to the Northwards, is a great Baie called the Blew sea. From thence wee sailed East and by North ten leagues, and hauing a contrary wind, we came to an anker in a fadome water, and so rid vntill the fifteenth day, hauing a great storme at Southeast, being a most contrary wind, which we rid out. Then the wind came to the North, and we weyed, and set our course Southeast, and that day sailed eight leagues.

The Blew sea.

Thus proceeding forwards, the 17. day wee lost sight of land, and the same day sailed thirtie leagues, and the 18. day twentie leagues winding East, and fell with a land called Baughleata, being 74. leagues from the mouth of the said Volga, in the latitude of 46. degrees 54. minutes, the coast lying neerest East and by South, and West and by North. At the point of this land lieth buried a holy Prophet, as the Tartars call him, of their law, where great deuotion is vsed of all such Mahometists as doe passe that way.

Baughleata being 74 leagues from Volga.

The nineteenth day the winde being West, and we winding

Eastsoutheast, we sailed tenne leagues, and passed by a great riuer called Iaic, which hath his spring in the lande of Siberia, nigh vnto the foresaid riuer Cama, and runneth through the lande of Nagay, falling into this Mare Caspium. And vp this riuer one dayes iourney is a Towne called Serachick, subiect to the aforesaid Tartar prince called Murse Smille, which is nowe in friendship with the Emperour of Russia. Here is no trade of merchandize vsed, for that the people haue no vse of money, and are all men of warre, and pasturers of cattel, and giuen much to theft and murther. Thus being at an anker against this riuer Iaic, and all our men being on land, sauing I, who lay sore sicke, and fiue Tartars whereof one was reputed a holy man, because he came from Mecka, there came vnto vs a boate with thirtie men well armed and appointed, who boorded vs, and began to enter into our barke, and our holy Tartar called Azy, perceiuing that, asked them what they would haue, and withall made a prayer: with that these rouers staied, declaring that they were Gentlemen, banished from their countrey, and out of liuing, and came to see if there were any Russes or other Christians (which they call Caphars) in our barke: To whom this Azi most stoutly answered, that there were none, auowing the same by great othes of their lawe, (which lightly they will not breake) whom the rouers beleeued, and vpon his words departed. And so through the fidelitie of that Tartar, I with all my company and goods were saued, and our men being come on boord, and the wind faire, we departed from that place, and winding East and Southeast, that day being the 20. of August sailed 16. leagues.

Iaic riuer.

Serachick.

The 21. day we passed ouer a Bay of 6. leagues broad, and fell with a Cape of land, hauing two Islands at the Southeast part thereof, being a good marke in the sea: and doubling that Cape the land trended Northeast, and maketh another Bay, into which falleth the great riuer Yem, springing out of the land of Colmack.

The Countrie of Colmack.

The 22. 23. and 24. dayes, we were at an anker.

The 25. the winde came faire, and wee sailed that day 20. leagues, and passed by an Island of lowe land, and thereabout are many flats and sands: and to the Northward of this Island there goeth in a great Bay, but we set off from this Island, and winded South to come into deepe water, being much troubled with shoalds and flats, and ran that course 10. leagues, then East

Southeast 20. leagues, and fel with the maine land, being full of copped hils, and passing along the coast 20. leagues, the further we sailed, the higher was the land.

The 27. day we crossed ouer a Bay, the South shore being the higher land, and fel·with a high point of land: and being ouerthwart the Cape, there rose such a storme at the East, that we thought verily we should haue perished: this storme continued 3. dayes.

The port of Manguslaue.

From this Cape we passed to a port called Manguslaue. The place where we should haue arriued at the Southermost part of the Caspian sea, is 12. leagues within a Bay: but we being sore tormented and tossed with this foresaid storme, were driuen vnto another land on ye other side the Bay, ouerthwart the sayd Manguslaue being very lowe land, and a place as well for the ill commoditie of the hauen, as of those brute field people, where neuer barke nor boate had before arriued, not liked of vs.

But yet here we sent certaine of our men to land to talke with the gouernour and people, as well for our good vsage at their handes, as also for prouision of camels to carry our goods from the sayd sea side to a place called Sellyzure, being from the place of our landing fiue and twentie dayes iourney. Our messengers returned with comfortable wordes and faire promises of all things.

They goe on land.

Wherefore the 3. day of September 1558. we discharged our barke, and I with my companie were gently entertained of the Prince and of his people. But before our departure from thence, we found them to be very bad and brutish people, for they ceased not daily to molest vs, either by fighting, stealing or begging, raising the prise of horse and camels, and victuals, dooble that it was woont there to be, and forced vs to buy the water that we did drinke: which caused vs to hasten away, and to conclude with them as well for the hire of camels, as for the prise of such as wee bought, with other prouision, according to their owne demaund: So that for euery camels lading, being but 400. waight of ours, we agreed to giue three hides of Russia, and foure woodden dishes, and to the Prince or gouernour of the sayd people, one ninth, and two seuenths: Namely, nine seuerall things, and twise seuen seuerall things: for money they vse none.

And thus being ready, the foureteenth of September we departed from that place, being a Carauan of a thousand camels. And hauing trauailed fiue dayes iourney, we came to another

Princes Dominion, and vpon the way there came vnto vs certaine Tartars on horseback, being well armed, and seruants vnto the saide Prince called Timor Soltan, gouernour of the said countrey of Manguslaue, where wee meant to haue arriued and discharged our barke, if the great storm aforesayd had not disappointed. These aforesaid Tartars stayd our Carauan in the name of their Prince, and opened our wares, and tooke such things as they thought best for their saide prince without money, but for such things as they tooke from me, which was a ninth (after much dissension) I ridde vnto the same Prince, and presented my selfe before him, requesting his fauour, and pasport to trauaile through his countrey, and not to be robbed nor spoiled of his people: which request he graunted me, and intertained me very gently, commaunding me to be well feasted with flesh and mares milke: for bread they vse none, nor other drinke except water: but money he had none to giue mee for such thinges as he tooke of mee, which might be of value in Russe money, fifteene rubbles, but he gaue me his letter, and a horse woorth seuen rubbles. And so I departed from him being glad that I was gone: for he was reported to be a very tyrant, and if I had not gone vnto him, I vnderstoode his commaundement was, that I should haue beene robbed and destroyed.

The countrey of Manguslaue.

This Soltan liued in the fields without Castle or towne, and sate, at my being with him, in a little rounde house made of reedes couered without with felt, and within with Carpets. There was with him the great Metropolitan of that wilde Country, esteemed of the people, as the Bishop of Rome is in most parts of Europe, with diuers other of his chiefe men. The Soltan with this Metropolitan demanded of me many questions, as wel touching our kingdoms, lawes, and Religion, as also the cause of my coming into those parts, with my further pretence. To whom I answered concerning all things, as vnto me seemed best, which they tooke in good part. So hauing leaue I departed and ouertooke our Carauan, and proceeded on our iourney, and trauailed 20. dayes in the wildernes from the sea side without seeing towne or habitation, carying prouision of victuals with vs for the same time, and were driuen by necessity to eate one of my camels and a horse for our part, as other did the like: and during the said 20. daies we found no water, but such as we drew out of old deepe welles, being very brackish and salt, and yet sometimes passed two or three dayes

20. dayes trauaile in the wildernese, with scarcite of water.

without the same. And the 5. day of October ensuing, we came gulfe of the Caspian sea againe, where we found the vnto a water very fresh and sweete : at this gulfe the customers of the king of Turkeman met vs, who tooke custome of euery 25. one, and 7. ninthes for the saide king and his brethren, which being receiued they departed, and we remained there a day after to refresh our selues.

Another gulfe of the Caspian sea.

Note that in times past there did fal into this gulf the great riuer Oxus, which hath his springs in the mountains of Paraponisus in India, and now commeth not so far, but falleth into another riuer called Ardock, which runneth toward the North, and consumeth himself in the ground passing vnder ground aboue 500. miles, and then issueth out againe and falleth into the lake of Kithay.*

Will. de Rubricis describeth this riuer of Ardok, cap. 4.

We hauing refreshed our selues at the foresaide gulfe, departed thence the 4. day of October, and the seuenth day arriued at a castle called Sellizure, where ye king called Azim Can, remained with 3. other of his brethren, and the 9. day I was commaunded to come before his presence, to

Sellizure, or Shayzure.

---

* Ox'us, the Jihun of the Arabs, the Amu-darya of the Persians, and the Vak-shu of the Hindus, is a river of Central Asia, in Turkestan, draining the Great Pamir through two head streams—the Panja or southern, rising in Lake Victoria, 13,900 feet above the sea-level, and the Ak-su or Murghah, or northern, said to flow from Lake Barkal Yasin, 13,000 feet above the sea-level, and receiving the outflow of Lake Kara-kul above the junction. The united stream flows westwards towards Balkh, before reaching which it gradually trends to the northwest until, after a course of about 1300 miles, it reaches the south coast of the Aral Sea. In parts the stream has a breadth of 800 yards, with a depth of 20 feet, and a very rapid current ; but the vast quantity of sedimentary matter which it brings down to the mouth, forming shifting sands and banks, renders it difficult to navigate. A great portion of the volume of the stream is absorbed in the irrigation of the Khivan Oasis. The tendency of the Oxus, like that of the great Siberian rivers, is to press continually on its right or east bank, and twice within historic times it has oscillated between the Caspian and Aral Seas. In the fourteenth century it is supposed to have entered the Caspian by the Uzboi channel, near Mikhailovsk. It was proposed at one time to attempt to reopen this bed, but the scheme has been abandoned in favour of the steppe river, Chagan. Herodotus seems to refer to the Oxus under the name of Araxes, but his description is confused, and many of his commentators suppose that the Araxes of Herodotus is the river of the same name in Armenia ; while others suppose that it is either the Volga or the Jaxartes. Strabo says that the Oxus rose in the Indian mountains and flowed into the Caspian, which is also the opinion of Mela and Ptolemy. Pliny makes it rise in a lake called Oxus, and the truth of his statement is now confirmed.

whom I deliuered the Emporors letters of Russia: and I also gaue him a present of a ninth, who entertained me very well, and caused me to eate in his presence as his brethren did, feasting me with flesh of a wilde horse, and mares milk without bread. And the next day he sent for me again, and asked of me diuers questions, as wel touching the affaires of the Emperour of Russia, as of our countrey and lawes, to which I answered as I thought good: so that at my departure he gaue me his letters of safe conduct.

Letters of safeconduct.

This Castle of Sellizure is situated vpon an high hill, where the King called the Can lyeth, whose palace is built of earth very basely, and not strong: the people are but poore, and haue litle trade of merchandise among them. The South part of this Castle is lowe lande, but very fruitfull, where grow many good fruites, among which there is one* called a Dynie, of a great bignesse and full of moysture, which the people do eate after meate in steade of drinke. Also there growes another fruite called a Carbuse of the bignesse of a great cucumber, yellow and sweete as sugar: also a certaine corne called Iegur, whose stalke is much like a sugar cane, and as high, and the graine like rice, which groweth at the toppe of the cane like a cluster of grapes; the water that serueth all that countrey is drawen by ditches out of the riuer Oxus, vnto the great destruction of the said riuer, for which cause it falleth not into the Caspian sea as it hath done in times past, and in short time all that land is like to be destroied, and to become a wildernes for want of water, when the riuer of Oxus shal faile.

The 14. day of the moneth we departed from this Castle of Sellizure, and the 16. of the same we arriued at a citie called Vrgence, where we paid custome as wel for our own heads, as for our camels and horses. And hauing there soiourned one moneth, attending the time of our further trauaile, the king of that countrey called Aly Soltan, brother to the forenamed Azym Can, returned from a towne called Corasan, within the borders of Persia, which he lately had conquered from the Persians, with whom he and the rest of the kings of Tartaria haue continuall warres. Before this king also I was commanded to come, to whom I likewise presented the Emperors letters of Russia, and he intertained me wel, and demanded of me diuers questions, and at my departure gaue me his letters of safe conduct.

Vrgence.

This city or towne of Vrgence standeth in a plaine ground, with walles of the earth, by estimation 4. miles about it. The buildings within it are also of earth, but ruined and out of good order: it hath one long street that is couered aboue, which is the place of their market. It hath bene wonne and lost 4. times within 7. yeeres by ciuill warres, by meanes whereof there are but few merchants in it, and they very poore, and in all that towne I could not sell about 4. kerseis. The chiefest commodities there sold are such wares as come from Boghar, and out of Persia, but in most smal quantity not worth the writing. All the land from the Caspian sea to this Citie of Vrgence is called the land of Turkeman, and is subiect to the said Azim Can, and his brethren which be fiue in number, and one of them hath the name of the chiefe king called Can, but he is little obeyed sauing in his owne Dominion, and where he dwelleth: for euery one will be King of his owne portion, and one brother seeketh alwayes to destroy another, hauing no natural loue among them, by reason that they are begotten of diuers women, and commonly they are the children of slaues, either Christians or Gentiles, which the father doeth keepe as concubines, and euery Can or Sultan hath at least 4. or 5. wiues, besides young maidens and boyes, liuing most viciously: and when there are warres betwixt these brethren, (as they are seldome without) he that is ouercome if he be not slaine, flieth to the field with such companie of men as will followe him, and there liueth in the wildernesse resorting to watering places, and so robbeth and spoileth as many Carauans of Marchants and others as they be able to ouercome, continuing in this sort his wicked life, vntil such time as he may get power and aide to inuade some of his brethren againe. From the Caspian sea vnto the Castle of Sellizure aforesaid, and all the Countreis about the said Sea, the people liue without towne or habitation in the wilde fields, remouing from one place to another in great companies with their cattel, whereof they haue great store, as camels, horses, and sheepe both tame and wilde. Their sheepe are of great stature with great buttocks, weighing 60. or 80. pound in weight. There are many wild horses which the Tartars doe many times kil with their hawkes, and that in this order. The hawkes are lured to sease vpon the beasts neckes or heads, which with chafing of themselues and sore beating of the hawkes are tired: then the hunter following his game doeth slay the horse with his arrow or sword. In all this lande there groweth no

The countrey of Turkeman.

grasse, but a certaine brush or heath, whereon the cattell feeding become very fat.

The Tartars neuer ride without their bow, arrowes, and sword, although it be on hawking, or at any other pleasure, and they are good archers both on horsebacke, and on foote also. These people haue not the vse of golde, siluer, or any other coyne, but when they lacke apparell or other necessaries, they barter their cattell for the same. Bread they haue none, for they neither till nor sow: they be great deuourers of flesh, which they cut in smal pieces, and eat it by handfuls most greedily, and especially the horseflesh. Their chiefest drink is mares milke sowred, as I haue said before of the Nagayans, and they wilbe drunk with the same. They haue no riuers nor places of water in this countrey, vntil you come to the foresaid gulf, distant from the place of our landing 20. dayes iourney, except it be in wels, the water whereof is saltish, and yet distant the one from the other two daies iourney and more. They eate their meate vpon the ground, sitting with their legs double vnder them, and so also when they pray. Art or science they haue none, but liue most idlely, sitting round in great companies in the fields, deuising, and talking most vainely.

The 26. day of Nouember, we departed from the towne of Vrgence, and hauing trauailed by the riuer Oxus, 100. miles, we passed ouer another great riuer called Ardock, where we paid a certaine pety custome. This riuer Ardock is great, and very swift, falling out of the foresaid Oxus, and passing about 1000. mile to the Northward, it then consumeth it selfe in the ground, and passing vnder the same about 500. mile, issueth out againe, and falleth into the lake of Kitay, as I haue before declared.

The riuer of Ardock falleth into the lake of Kitay.

The 7. of December following, we arriued at a Castle called Kait, subject to a Soltan called Saramet Soltan, who meant to haue robbed all the Christians in the Carauan, had it not bene for feare of his brother the king of Vrgence, as we were informed by one of his chiefest counsellers, who willed vs to make him a present, which he tooke, and deliuered: besides, we paid at the said castle for custome, of euery camel one red hide of Russia, besides pety gifts to his officers.

The castle of Kait.

Thus proceeding in our iourney, the tenth day at night being at rest, and our watch set, there came vnto vs foure horsemen, which wee tooke as spies, from whom wee tooke their weapons and bound them, and hauing well examined them, they confessed that they had seene the tract of many horsemen, and no footing of camels, and gaue vs to vnderstand, that there were rouers and theeues abroade: for there trauaile few people that are true and peaceable in that Countrey, but in companie of Carauan, where there be many camels: and horsefeeting new without camels were to be doubted. Whereupon we consulted and determined amongst our selues, and sent a poste to the said Soltan of Kayte, who immediatly came himselfe with 300. men, and mette these foure suspected men which we sent vnto him, and examined them so streightly, and threatned them in such sort, that they confessed, there was a banished Prince with 40. men 3. daies iourney forward, who lay in wait to destroy vs, if he could, and that they themselues were of his companie.

The Soltan therefore vnderstanding, that the theeues were not many, appointed vs 80. men well armed with a Captaine to goe with vs, and conduct vs in our way. And the Soltan himselfe returned backe againe, taking the foure theeues with him. These souldiers trauailed with vs two dayes, consuming much of our victuals. And the 3. day in the morning very earely they set out before our Carauan, and hauing ranged the wildernes for the space of foure houres, they mette vs, comming towards vs as fast as their horse could runne, and declared that they had founde the tract of horses not farre from vs, perceiuing well that we shoulde meete with enemies, and therefore willed vs to appoint our selues for them, and asked vs what we would giue them to conduct vs further, or else they would returne. To whom we offered as we thought good, but they refused our offer, and would haue more, and so we not agreeing they departed from vs, and went back to their Soltan, who (as wee coniectured) was priuie to the conspiracie. But they being gone, certaine Tartars of our companie called holy men, (because they had bene at Mecha) caused the whole Carauan to stay, and would make their prayers, and deuine how wee should prosper in our iourney and whether we should meet with any ill company or no? To which, our whole Carauan did agree. And they tooke certaine sheepe and killed them, and tooke the blade bones of the same, and first sodde them and then burnt them, and tooke of the blood of the said sheepe, and mingled it with the powder of the saide bones, and wrote certaine Characters with the saide blood, vsing many other ceremonies and wordes, and by the same deuined and found, that wee shoulde meete with enemies and theeues (to our

Diuination by sorcerie.

great trouble) but should ouercome them, to which sorcerie, I and my companie gaue no credit, but we found it true: for within 3. houres after that the souldiers departed from vs, which was the 15. day of December, in the morning, we escried farre off diuers horsemen which made towards vs, and we (perceiuing them to be rouers) gathered ourselues together, being 40. of vs wel appointed, and able to fight, and we made our prayers together euery one after his lawe, professing to liue and die one with another, and so prepared our selues. When the theeues were nigh vnto vs, we perceiued them to be in number 37. men well armed, and appointed with bowes, arrowes and swords, and the captaine a prince banished from his Countrey. They willed vs to yeelde our selues, or els to be slaine, but wee defied them, wherewith they shotte at vs all at once, and wee at them very hotly, and so continued our fight from morning vntil two houres within night, diuers men, horses and camels being wounded and slaine on both partes: and had it not bene for 4. handgunnes which I and my companie had and vsed, we had bene ouercome and destroyed: for the theeues were better armed, and were also better archers than we; But after wee had slaine diuers of their men and horses with our gunnes, they durst not approch so nigh, which caused them to come to a truce with vs vntill the next morning, which we accepted, and encamped our selues vpon a hill, and made the fashion of a Castle, walling it about with packes of wares, and laide our horses and camels within the same to saue them from the shotte of arrowes: and the theeues also incamped within an arrowe shotte of vs, but they were betwixt vs and the water, which was to our great discomfort, because neither we nor our camels had drunke in 2. dayes before.

Handguns very profitable.

Thus keeping good watch, when halfe the night was spent, the Prince of the theeues sent a messenger halfe way vnto vs, requiring to talke with our Captaine, in their tongue, the Carauan Basha, who answered the messenger, I will not depart from my companie to goe into the halfe way to talke with thee: but if that thy Prince with all his companie will sweare by our Lawe to keepe the truce, then will I send a man to talke with thee, or els not. Which the Prince vnderstanding as well himselfe as his company, swore so loude that we might all heare. And then we sent one of our company (reputed a holy man) to talke with the same messenger. The message was pronounced aloude in this order, our Prince demaundeth of the Carauan Basha, and of all you that be

Bussarmans. Bussarmans, (that is to say circumcised) not desiring your bloods, that you deliuer into his hands as many Caphar. Caphars, that is, unbeleeuers (meaning vs the Christians) as are among you with their goods, and in so doing, hee will suffer you to depart with your goods in quietnesse, and on the contrary, you shall be handled with no lesse cruelty then the Caphars, if hee ouercome you, as he doubteth not. To the which our Carauan Basha answered, that he had no Christians in his company, nor other strangers, but two Turkes which were of their Law, and although hee had, hee would rather die then deliuer them, and that we were not afraide of his threatnings, and that should he know when day appeared. And so passing in talke, the theeues (contrary to their othe) caried our holy man away to their Prince, crying with a lowde voyce in token of victory, Ollo, ollo. Wherewith we were much discomforted, fearing that that holy man would betray vs: but he being cruelly handled and much examined, would not to death confesse any thing which was to vs preiudiciall, neither touching vs, nor yet what men they had slaine and wounded of ours the day before. When the night was spent, in the morning we prepared our selues to battel againe: which the theeues perceiuing, required to fall to agreement and asked much of vs: And to be briefe, the most part of our companie being loth to go to battel againe, and hauing litle to loose, and safeconduct to passe, we were compelled to agree, and to giue the theeues 20 ninths (that is to say) 20 times 9 seuerall things, and a camell to cary away the same, which being receiued, the theeues departed into the wildernes to their old habitation, and we went on our way forward. And that night came to the riuer Oxus, where we refreshed our selues, The riuer of Oxus. hauing bene 3. dayes without water and drinke, and tarried there all the next day, making mery with our slaine horses and camels, and then departed from that place, and for feare of meeting with the said theeues againe or such like, we left the high way which went along the said riuer, and passed through a wildernes of sand, and trauelled 4 dayes in A wildernes of sande. the same before we came to water: and then came to a wel, the water being very brackish, and we then as before were in neede of water, and of other victuals, being forced to kill our horses and camels to eate.

In this wildernes also we had almost fallen into the hands of theeues: for one night being at rest, there came certaine scouts, and caried away certaine of our men which lay a litle separated from the Carauan, wherewith there was a great shoute and crie, and we immedately laded our camels, and departed being about midnight and very darke, and droue sore till we came to the riuer Oxus againe, and then we feared nothing being walled with the said riuer: and whether it was for that we had gotten the water, or for that the same theeues were far from vs when the scouts discouered vs, we knowe not, but we escaped that danger.

So vpon the 23 day of December we arriued at the citie of Boghar in the lande of Bactria. This Boghar is situated in the lowest part of all the land, walled about with a high wall of earth, with diuers gates into the same: it is diuided into 3 partitions, whereof two parts are the kings, and the 3 part is for Marchants and markets, and euery science hath their dwelling and market by themselues. The Citie is very great, and the houses for the most part of earth, but there are also many houses, temples and monuments of stone sumptuously builded, and gilt, and especially bathstoues so artificially built, that the like thereof is not in the world: the maner whereof is too long to rehearse. There is a little riuer running through the middest of the said Citie, but the water there of is most vnholsome, for it breedeth sometimes in men that drinke thereof, and especially in them that be not there borne, a worme of an ell long, which lyeth commonly in the legge betwixt the flesh and the skinne, and is pluckt out about the ancle with great art and cunning, the Surgeons being much practised therein, and if shee breake in plucking out, the partie dieth, and euery day she commeth out about an inch, which is rolled vp, and so worketh till she be all out. And yet it is there forbidden to drinke any other thing then water, and mares milke, and whosoeuer is found to breake that law is whipped and beaten most cruelly through the open markets, and there are officers appointed for the same, who haue authoritie to goe into any mans house, to search if he haue either Aquauitæ, wine, or brage, and finding the same, doe breake the vessels, spoile the drinke, and punish the masters of the house most cruelly, yea, and many times if they perceiue but by the breath of a man that he hath drunke, without further examination he shall not escape their hands.

Boghar a citie of Bactria.

A strange worme in mens legs.

There is a Metropolitane in this Boghar, who causeth this to bee so streightly kept: and he is more obeyed then the king, and will depose the king, and place another at his will and pleasure, as he did by this king that raigned at our being there, and his predecessour, by the meanes of the said Metropolitan: for he betrayed him, and in the night slewe him in his chamber, who was a Prince who loued all Christians well.

This Countrey of Boghar was sometime subiect to the Persians, and do now speake the Persian tongue, but yet now it is a kingdome of it selfe, and hath most cruell warres continually with the sayd Persians about their religion, although they be all Mahometists. One occasion of their wars is, for that the Persians will not cut the haire of their vpper lips, as the Bogharians and all other Tartars doe, which they accompt great sinne, and cal them Caphars, that is, vnbeleeuers, as they doe the Christians.

The king of Boghar hath no great power or riches, his reuenues are but small, and he is most meinteined by the Citie: for he taketh the tenth penie of all things that are there solde, as well by the craftsmen as by the marchants, to the great impouerishment of the people, whom he keepeth in great subiection, and when he lacketh money, he sendeth his officers to the shops of the sayd Marchants to take their wares to pay his debts, and will haue credite of force, as the like he did to pay me certaine money that he owed me for 19 pieces of Kersey. Their money is siluer and copper, for gold there is none current: they haue but one piece of siluer, and that is worth 12. pence English, and the copper money are called Pooles, and 120 of them goeth the value of the said 12. pence, and is more common paiment then the siluer, which the king causeth to rise and fall to his most aduantage euery other moneth, and sometimes twise a moneth, not caring to oppresse his people, for that he loketh not to reigne aboue 2 or 3 yeres before he be either slaine, or driuen away, to the great destruction of the countrey and merchants.

The coyne of Boghar.

The 26 day of the moneth I was commanded to come before the said king, to whom I presented the Emperour of Russia his letters, who interteined vs most gently, and caused vs to eate in his presence, and diuers times he sent for me, and deuised with me familiarly in his secret chamber, as well of the power of the Emperour, and the great Turke as also of our countries, lawes, and religion, and caused vs to shoote in handguns before him, and did himselfe practise the vse thereof. But after all this great intertainement before my departure he shewed himselfe a very Tartar: for he went to the wars owing me money, and saw me not payd before his departure. And although indeede he gaue order for the same, yet was I verie ill satisfied, and forced to rebate part, and to take wares as payment for the rest contrary to my expectation: but of a begger better paiment I could not haue, and glad I was so to be paid and dispatched.

But yet I must needs praise and commend this barbarous king who immediately after my arriual at Boghar, hauing vnderstoode our trouble with the theeues, sent 100 men well armed, and gaue them great charge not to returne before they had either slaine or taken the sayd theeues. Who according to their commission ranged the wildernes in such sort, that they met with the said company of theeues, and slew part, and part fledde, and foure they tooke and brought vnto the king, and two of them were sore wounded in our skirmish with our gunnes: And after the king had sent for me to come to see them, he caused them all 4 to be hanged at his palace gate, because they were Gentlemen, to the example of others. And of such goods as were gotten againe, I had part restored me, and this good iustice I found at his hands.

There is yeerely great resort of Marchants to this Citie of Boghar, which trauaile in great Carauans from the countries thereabout adioining, as India, Persia, Balgh, Russia, with diuers others, and in times past from Cathay, when there was passage: but these Marchants are so beggerly and poore, and bring so little quantitie of wares, lying two or 3 yeeres to sell the same, that there is no hope of any good trade there to be had worthy the following.

The chiefe commodities that are brought thither out of these foresayd Countreys, are these following.

Marchandise of India.

The Indians doe bring fine whites, which the Tartars do all roll about their heads, and al other kinds of whites, which serue for apparell made of cotton wooll and crasko, but golde, siluer, precious stones, and spices they bring none. I enquired and perceiued that all such trade passeth to the Ocean sea, and the vaines where all such things are gotten are in the subiection of the Portingals. The Indians carie them from Boghar againe wrought silkes, red hides, slaues, and horses, with such like, but of Kerseis and other cloth, they make little accompt. I offered to barter with Marchants of those Countreis, which came from the furthest parts of India, euen from the countrey of Bengala, and the riuer Ganges, to giue them Kersies for their commodities, but they would not barter for such commoditie as cloth.

Marchandise of Persia.

The Persians do bring thither Craska, wollen cloth, linnen cloth, diuers kindes of wrought pide silkes, Argomacks, with such like, and doe carie from thence redde hides with other Russe warres, and slaues, which are of diuers countreies, but cloth they will by none, for that they bring themselues, and is brought vnto them as I haue inquired from Allepo in Syria, and the parts of Turkie. The Russes doe carie vnto Boghar, redde hides, sheepe skinnes, wollen cloth of diuers sorts, woodden vessels, bridles, saddles, with such like, and doe carie away from thence diuers kindes of wares made of cotton wooll, diuers kinds of silkes, Crasca, with other things, but there is but smal vtterance. From the Countreis of Cathay are brought thither in time of peace, and when the way is open, musk, rubarbe, satten, damaske, with diuers other things. At my being at Boghar, there came Carauans out of all these foresaid Countries, except from Cathay: and the cause why there came none from thence was the great warres that had dured 3 yeeres before my comming thither, and yet dured betwixt 2 great Countries and cities of Tartars, that are directly in the way betwixt the said Boghar and the said Cathay, and certaine barbarous field people, as well Gentiles as Mahometists bordering to the said Cities. The cities are called Taskent and Caskar, and the people that warre against Taskent are called Cassaks of the law of Mahomet: and they which warre with the sayd countrey of Caskar are called Kings, Gentiles and idolaters. These 2 barbarous nations are of great force liuing in the fields without house or towne, and haue almost subdued the foresaid cities, and so stopped vp the way, that it is impossible for any Carauan to passe vnspoiled: so that 3 yeeres before our being there, no Carauan had gone, or vsed trade betwixt the countries of Cathay and Boghar, and when the way is cleare, it is 9 moneths iourney.

Marchandise of Russia.

Marchandise of Cathay.

Taskent and Cascar.

To speake of the said countrey of Cathay, and of such newes as I haue heard thereof, I haue thought it best to reserue it to our meeting. I hauing made my solace at Boghar in the Winter time, and hauing learned by much inquisition, the trade thereof, as also of all the other countries thereto adioyning, and the time of the yeere being come, for all Carauans to depart, and also the king being gone to the warres, and newes come that he was fled, and I aduertised by the Metropolitan himselfe, that I should depart, because the towne was like to bee besieged: I thought it good and meete, to take my iourney some way, and determined to haue gone from thence into Persia, and to haue seene the trade of that countrey, although I had enformed my selfe sufficiently thereof, as well at Astracan, as at Boghar: and perceiued well the trades not to be much vnlike the trades of Tartaria: but when I should haue taken my iourney that way, it was let by diuers occasions: the one was, the great wars that did newly begin betwixt the Sophie, and the kings of Tartaria, whereby the waies were destroyed: and there was a Carauan destroied with rouers and theeues, which came out of India and Persia, by safe conduct: and about ten daies iourney from Boghar, they were robbed, and a great part slaine. Also the Metropolitan of Boghar, who is greater then the king, tooke the Emperors letters of Russia from me, without which I should haue bene taken slaue in euery place: also all such wares as I had receiued in barter for cloth, and as I tooke perforce of the king, and other his Nobles, in paiment of money due vnto me, were not vendible in Persia: for which causes and diuers others, I was constrained to come backe againe to Mare Caspium, the same way I went: so that the eight of March 1559, we departed out of the said Citie of Boghar, being a Carauan of 600 Camels: and if we had not departed when we did, I and my company had bene in danger to haue lost life and goods. For ten daies after our departure, the king of Samarcand came with an armie, and besieged the said Citie of Boghar, the king being absent, and gone to the wars against another prince, his kinsman, as the like chanceth in those Countries once in two or three yeres. For it is maruell, if a King reigne there aboue three or foure yeres, to the great destruction of the Countrey, and marchants.

He returneth the eight of March 1559.

The 25 of March, we came to the foresayd towne of Vrgence, and escaped the danger of 400 rouers, which lay in waite for vs backe againe, being the most of them of kindred to that company of theeues, which we met with going foorth, as we perceiued by foure spies, which were taken. There were in my company, and committed to my charge, two ambaassadors, the one from the king of Boghar, the other from the king of Balke, and were sent vnto the Emperor of Russia. And after having taried at Vrgence, and the Castle of Sellysure, eight daies for the assembling, and making ready of our Carauan, the second of Aprill we departed from

Vrgence.

The king of Balke, or Balgh.

thence, hauing foure more Ambassadors in our companie, sent from the king of Vrgence, and other Soltans, his brethren, vnto the Emperor of Russia, with answere of such letters as I brought them: and the same Ambassadors were also committed vnto my charge by the sayde Kings and princes: to whome I promised most faithfully, and swore by our law, that they should be well vsed in Rusland, and suffered to depart from thence againe in safetie, according as the Emperor had written also in his letters: for they somewhat doubted, because there had none gone out of Tartaria into Russia, of long time before.

The 23 of Aprill, we arriued at the Mare Caspium againe, where we found our barke which we came in, but neither anker, cable, cocke, nor saile: neuerthelesse wee brought hempe with vs, and spunne a cable our selues, with the rest of our tackling, and made vs a saile of cloth of cotton wooll, and rigged our barke as well as we could, but boate or anker we had none. In the meane time being deuising to make an anker of wood of a cart wheele, there arriued a barke, which came from Astracan, with Tartars and Russes, which had 2 ankers, with whom I agreed for the one: and thus being in a readinesse, we set saile and departed, I, and the two Iohnsons being Master and Mariners ourselues, hauing in our barke the said sixe ambassadors, and 25 Russes which had bene slaues a long time in Tartaria, nor euer had before my comming, libertie, or meanes to get home, and these slaues serued to rowe, when neede was. Thus sailing sometimes along the coast, and sometimes out of sight of lande, the 13. day of May, hauing a contrary winde, wee came to an anker, being three leagues from the shoare, and there rose a sore storme, which continued 44. houres, and our cable being of our owne spinning, brake, and lost our anker, and being off a lee shoare, and hauing no boate to helpe vs, we hoysed our saile, and bare roomer with the said shoare, looking for present death: but as God prouided vs, we ranne into a creeke ful of oze, and so saued our selues with our barke, and liued in great discomfort for a time. For although we should haue escaped with our liues the danger of the sea, yet if our barke had perished, we knew we should haue bene, either destroyed, or taken slaues by the people of that Countrey, who liue wildly in the field, like beasts, without house or habitation. Thus when the storme was seazed, we went out of the creeke againe: and hauing set the land with our Compasse, and taken certaine markes of the same, during the time of the tempest, whilest we ridde at our anker, we went directly to the place where we ridde, with our barke againe, and found our anker which we lost: whereat the Tartars much marueiled howe we did it. While we were in the creeke, we made an anker of wood of cart wheeles, which we had in our barke, which we threw away, when wee had found our yron anker againe. Within two days after, there arose another great storme, at the Northeast, and we lay a trie, being driuen far into the sea, and had much ado to keepe our barke from sinking, the billowe was so great: but at the last, hauing faire weather, we tooke the Sunne, and knowing howe the land lay from vs, we fel with the Riuer Yaik, according to our desire, wherof the Tartars were very glad, fearing that wee should haue bene driuen to the coast of Persia, whose people were vnto them great enemies.

Note, that during the time of our Nauigation, wee set vp the redde crosse of S. George in our flagges, for honour of the Christians, which I suppose was neuer seene in the Caspian sea before. We passed in this voyage diuers fortunes: notwithstanding the 28. of May we arriued in safetie at Astracan, and there remained till the tenth of Iune following, as well to prepare vs small boates, to goe vp against the streame of Volga, with our goods, as also for the companie of the Ambassadours of Tartarie, committed vnto me, to bee brought to the presence of the Emperour of Russia.

The English flag in the Caspian sea.

This Caspian sea (to say some thing of it) is in length about two hundred leagues, and in breadth 160. without any issue to other seas: to the East part whereof, ioyneth the great desert countrey of the Tartars, called Turkemen: to the West, the countreyes of the Chyrcasses, the mountaines of Caucasus, and the Mare Euxinum, which is from the said Caspian Sea a hundred leagues. To the North is the riuer Volga, and the land of Nagay, and to the South parte ioyne the countreys of Media and Persia. This sea is fresh water in many places, and in other places as salt as our great Ocean. It hath many goodly Riuers falling into it, and it auoideth not it selfe except it be vnder ground. The notable riuers that fall into it, are first the great riuer of Volga, called in the Tartar tongue Edell, which springeth out of a lake in a marrish or plaine ground, not farre from the Citie of Nouogrode in Russia, and it is from the spring to the Sea, aboue two thousande English miles. It hath diuers other goodly Riuers falling into it, as out of Siberia, Yaic, and Yem: Also out of

A notable description of the Caspian sea.

the mountaines of Caucasus, the Riuers of Cyrus and Arash, and diuers others.

As touching the trade of Shamaky in Media and Tebris, with other townes in Persia, I haue enquired, and do well vnderstand, that it is euen like to the trades of Tartaria, that is little vtterance, and small profite: and I haue bene aduertised that the chiefe trade of Persia is into Syria, and so transported into the Leuant sea. The fewe shippes vpon the Caspian Seas, the want of Mart and port Townes, the pouertie of the people, and the ice, maketh that trade naught.

At Astracan there were merchants of Shamaky, with whom I offered to barter, and to giue them kersies for their wares, but they would not, saying, they had them as good cheape in their countrey, as I offred them, which was sixe rubbles for a kersie, that I asked: and while I was at Boghar, there were brought thither out of Persia, Cloth, and diuers commodities of our countries, which were sold as good cheape, as I might sell ours.

The tenth day of Iune we departed from Astracan towards the Mosco, hauing an hundred gunners in our company at the Emperors charges, for the safe conduct of the Tartar Ambassadors and me. And the eight and twentieth day of Iuly folowing, wee arriued at the citie of Cazan, hauing bene vpon the way from Astracan thither, sixe weekes and more, without any refreshing of victuals: for in all that way there is no habitation.

His arriual at Mosco the 2. of September.

The seuenth of August folowing, wee departed from Cazan, and transported our goods by water, as farre as the citie of Morum, and then by land: so that the second of September, we arriued at the citie of Mosco, and the fourth day I came before the Emperours Maiestie, kissed his hand, and presented him a white Cowes taile of Cathay, and a drumme of Tartaria, which he well accepted. Also I brought before him all the Ambassadors that were committed to my charge, with all the Russe slaues: and that day I dined in his Maiesties presence, and at dinner his Grace sent me meate by a Duke, and asked me diuers questions touching the lands and countreis where I had bene. And thus I remained at the Mosco about your affaires, vntil the 17. day of February that your wares were sent downe: and then hauing license of the Emperors Maiestie to depart, the 21. day I came to your house at Vologhda, and there remained vntil the breaking vp of the yere: and then hauing seene all your goods laden into your boates, I departed, with the same, and arriued withall in safetie at Colmogro the 9. of May 1560. And here I cease for this time, intreating you to beare with this my large discourse, which by reason of the varietie of matter, I could make no shorter, and I beseech God to prosper all your attempts.

The latitudes of certaine principall places in Russia, and other Regions.

	Deg.	Min.
Mosco in	55	10
Nouogrod the great	58	26
Nouogrod the lesse	56	33
Colmogro	64	10
Vologhda	59	11
Cazan	55	33
Oweke	51	40
Astracan	47	9
At the entrance into the Caspian sea.	46	42
Manguslaue beyond the Caspian sea.	45	00
Vrgence in Tartary 20. dayes iourney from the Caspian sea.	42	18
Boghar a citie in Tartary 20. dayes iourney from Vrgence.	39	10

Certaine notes gathered by Richard Iohnson (which was at Boghar with M. Anthony Ienkinson) of the reports of Russes and other strangers, of the wayes of Russia to Cathaya, and of diuers and strange people.

The first note giuen by one named Sarnichoke a Tartarian subiect to the Prince of Boghar, which are also Tartars bordering vpon Kizilbash or Persia, declaring the way from Astracan, being the furthest part of Russia, to Cathaya as foloweth.

FIrst from Astracan to Serachick by land, trauailing by leysure as Merchants vse with wares, is 10. dayes iourney.

From Serachick to a towne named* Vrgenshe, 15. dayes.

*Or, Vrgema.

From Vrgenshe to Boghar, 15. dayes.
From Boghar to Cascar, 30. dayes.
From Cascar to Cathaya, 30. dayes journey.

By the same partie a note of another way more sure to traueile, as he reporteth.

FRom Astracan to Turkemen by the Caspian sea, 10. dayes, with barkes.

From Turkemen by lande specially with Camels, bearing the weight of 15. poodes for their common burthens, is 10. dayes to Vrgenshe.

From Vrgenshe to Boghar, 15. dayes.

Note. At this Citie of Boghar is the marte or meeting place betweene the Turkes and nations of those parts and the Cathayans.

Also the toll there is the 40. part to be payed of Merchandizes or goods.

From thence to Cascar is one moneths iourney, and from Cascar (being the frontier of the great Can, hauing many townes and fortes by the way) is also a moneths trauel for merchants by land to Cathay.

Further, as he hath heard (not hauing bene in those parts himselfe) ships may saile from the dominions of Cathaia vnto India. But of other waies, or how the seas lie by any coast hee knoweth not.

The instruction of another Tartarian merchant dwelling in the citie of Boghar, as he hath learned by other his countreymen which haue bene there.

First from Astracan by sea to Serachick is 15 dayes: affirming also that a man may trauell the other way before written by Turkemen.

From Serachick to Vrgence is 15 dayes.

From Vrgence to Boghar also 15 dayes.

Note. These last 30 daies iourney is without habitation of houses: therefore trauellers lodge in their own tents, carying with them to eate, their seuerall prouisions: and for drinesse there bee many wels of faire water at equall baiting places not farre distant dayly to be had.

From Boghar to Taskent easie travelling with goods, is 14 dayes by land.

From Taskent to Occient 7 dayes.

From Occient to Cascar 20 daies. This Cascar is the head towne or citie of another prince, lying betweene Boghar and Cathaia, called Reshit can.

From Cascar to Sowchick 30 daies iourney, which Sowchick is the first border of Kathay.

From Sowchick to Camchick 5 dayes iourney, and from Camchick to Cathay is 2 moneths iourney, all the way being inhabited, temperate, and wel replenished with innumerable fruits, and the chiefe citie in that whole land is called Cambalu, which is yet 10 dayes iourney from Cathay.

Beyond this land of Cathay, which they praise to be ciuill and vnspeakeably rich, is the countrey named in the Tartarian tongue Cara-calmack inhabited with blacke people: but in Cathay the most part thereof stretching to the sunne rising, are people white and of faire complexion. Their religion also, as the Tartars report, is christian, or after the maner of Christians, and their language peculiar, differing from the Tartarian tongue.

There are no great and furious Beares in trauelling through the waies aforesaid, but wolues white and blacke. And because that woods are not of such quantitie there, as in these parts of Russia, but in maner rather scant then plentiful, as is reported, the Beares breed not that way, but some other beasts (as namely one in Russe called Barse) are in those coasts. This Barse appeareth by a skinne of one seene here to sell, to be nere so great as a big lion spotted very faire and therefore we here take it to be a Leopard or Tiger.

Note that 20 daies iourney from Cathay is a country named Angrim, where liueth the beast that beareth the best Muske, and the principal thereof is cut out of the knee of the male. The people are taunie, and for that the men are not bearded nor differ in complexion from women, they have certaine tokens of iron, that is to say: the men weare the sunne round like a bosse vpon their shoulders, and women on their priuie parts. Their feeding is raw flesh in the same land, and in another called ||Titay: the Duke there is called Can. They worship the fire, and it is 34 dayes iourney from great Cathay, and in the way lyeth the beautifull people, eating with kniues of golde, and are called Comorom, and the land of small people is neerer the Mosko then Cathay.

Angrim.

Mandeuille speaketh hereof.

||Or Kitay.

Small people.

The instructions of one of Permia, who reporteth he had bene at Cathay the way before written, and also another way neere the sea coast, as foloweth, which note was sent out of Russia from Giles Holmes.

Pechora but sixe dayes iourney by land or water from Ob.

FIrst from the prouince of Dwina is knowen the way to Pechora, and from Pechora traueiling with Olens or harts, is sixe dayes iourney by land, and in the Sommer as much by water to the riuer of Ob.

The Ob is a riuer full of flats, the mouth of it is 70. Russe miles ouer. And from thence three dayes iourney on the right hand is a place called Chorno-lese, to say in English, blacke woods, and from thence neere hand is a people called Pechey-cony, wearing their haire by his description after the Irish fashion.

From Pechey-cony to Ioult Calmachey three dayes iourney, and from thence to Chorno Callachay three dayes tending to the Southeast.

These two people are of the Tartarian faith, and tributaries to the great Can.

Here follow certaine countreys of the Samoeds which dwell vpon the riuer Ob, and vpon the sea coasts beyond the same, taken out of the Russe tongue word by word, and trauailed by a Russe born in Colmogro, whose name was Pheodor Towtigin, who by report, was slaine in his second voyage in one of the said countreys.

VPon the East part beyond the countrey of Vgori, the riuer Ob is the most Westermost part thereof. Vpon the sea coast dwell Samoeds, and their countrey is called Molgomsey, whose meate is flesh of Olens, or Harts, and Fish, and doe eate one another sometimes among themselues. And if any Marchants come vnto them, then they kill one of their children for their sakes to feast them withall. And if a Marchant chance to die with them, they burie him not, but eate him, and so doe they eate them of their owne countrey likewise. They be euill of sight, and haue small noses, but they be swift and shoote very well, and they trauaile on Harts and on dogges, and their apparell is Sables and Harts skinnes. They haue no Marchandise but Sables onely.

Trauelling on dogs and harts.

2 Item, on the same coast or quarter beyond those people, and

by the sea side also doth dwell another kinde of Samoeds in like maner, hauing another language. One moneth in the yeere they liue in the sea, and doe not come or dwell on the dry land for that moneth.

3 Item beyond these people, on the sea coast, there is another kinde of Samoeds, their meate is flesh and fish, and their merchandise are Sables, white and blacke Foxes (which the Russes call Pselts) and Harts skinnes, and Fawnes skinnes.

The relation of Chaggi Memet a Persian Marchant, to Baptista Ramusius, and other notable citizens of Venice, touching the way from Tauris the chiefe city of Persia, to Campion a citie of Cathay ouer land: in which voyage he himselfe had passed before with the Carauans.

FRom Tauris to Soltania.	6	dayes iourney.	From Acsu to Cuchi.	20	dayes iourney.
From Soltania to Casbin	4		From Cuchi to Chialis.	10	
From Casbin to Veremi.	6		From Chialis to Turfon.	10	
From Veremi to Eri.	15		From Turfon to Camul.	13	
From Eri to Boghara.	20		From Camul to Succuir.	15	
From Boghara to Samarchand.	5		From Succuir to Gauta.	5	
From Samarchand to Cascar.	25		From Gauta to Campion.	6	
From Cascar to Acsu.	20				

Which Campion is a citie of the Empire of Cathay in the prouince of Tangut, from whence the greatest quantitie of Rubarbe commeth.

A letter of Sigismond king of Polonia, written in the 39. yeere of his reigne to Elizabeth the Queenes most excellent Maiestie of England, &c.

SIgismundus Augustus by the grace of God king of Polonia, great Duke of Lituania, Russia, Prussia, Massouia, and Samogetia, &c. Lord and heire &c. to the most Noble Princesse Ladie Elizabeth by the same grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, &c. our deare sister and kinsewoman, greeting and increase of all felicitie. Whereas your Maiestie writeth to vs that you haue receiued two of our letters, wee haue looked that you should haue answered to them both. First to the one, in which we intreated more at large in forbidding the voyage to Narue, which if it had bene done, we had bene vnburdened of so often writing of one matter: and might haue answered your Maiestie

The trade to Narue forbidden by the K. of Poland.

much better to the purpose. Now we thus answere to your Maiestie to those matters of the which you writte to vs the 3 of October from Windsore. First, forasmuch as your Maiestie at the request of our letters hath discharged the arrest of Marchants goods, and of the names of the men of Danske our subiects, which was set vpon them by the commandement of your Maiestie: and also haue restored the olde and ancient libertie of traffique, we acknowlege great pleasure done vnto vs in the same: and also thinke it to bee done according to common agreement made in times past. Neither were we euer at any time of any other opinion touching your Maiestie, but that wee should obtaine right and reason at your hands. Forasmuch as we likewise shall at all times be ready to grant to your Maiestie, making any request for your subiects, so farre as shall stand with iustice, yet neither will we yeeld any thing to your Maiestie in contention of loue, beneuolence, and mutuall office, but that we iudge euery good turne of yours to be recompensed by vs to the vttermost: and that shall we prooue as occasion shall serue. Therefore we shall commaund the arrests, if any be made by our subiects (as it is vnknowen to vs) of merchants goods and English names to be discharged: and shall conserue the olde libertie of trafficke, and all other things which shall seeme to apperteine to neighbourhood betweene vs and your Maiestie: so that none of the subiects of your Maiestie hereafter presume to vse the nauigation to the Narue forbidden by vs, and full of danger not onely to our parts, but also to the open destruction of all Christians and liberall nations. The which as we haue written afore, so now we write againe to your Maiesty that we know and feele of a surety, the Moscouite, enemy to all liberty vnder the heauens, dayly to grow mightier by the increase of such things as he brought to the Naure, while not onely wares but also weapons heretofore vnknowen to him, and artificers and arts he brought vnto him: by meane whereof he maketh himselfe strong to vanquish all others. Which things, as long as this voyage to Narue is vsed, can not be stopped. And we perfectly know your Maiesty can not be ignorant how great the cruelty is of the said enemy, of what force he is, what tyranny he vseth on his subiects, and in what seruile sort they be vnder him. We seemed

The ancient couenants of trafficke betweene England and Prussia.

The olde libertie of trafficke.

The meanes of increase of the power of the Moscouite.

hitherto to vanquish him onely in this, that he was rude of arts, and ignorant of policies. If so be that this nauigation to the Naure continue, what shall be vnknowen to him? Therefore we that know best, and border vpon him, do admonish other Christian princes in time, that they do not betray their dignity, liberty and life of them and their subiects to a most barbarous and cruell enemy, as we can no lesse do by the duty of a Christian prince. For now we do foresee, except other princes take this admonition, the Moscuite puffed vp in pride with those things that be brought to the Narue, and made more perfect in warlike affaires with engines of warre and shippes, will make assault this way on Christendome, to slay or make bound all that shall withstand him: which God defend. With which our admonition diuers princes already content themselues, and abstaine from the Narue. The others that will not abstaine from the sayd voyage shalbe impeached by our nauie, and incurre the danger of losse of life, liberty, wife and children. Now therefore if the subiects of your Maiesty will forbeare this voyage to Narue, there shalbe nothing denied to them of vs. Let your Maiesty well weigh and consider the reasons and occasions of our stopping of ships going to the Narue. In which stopping, our subiects of Danske be in no fault, as we haue already written to your Maiesty, neither vse we their counsell in the same. In any other matter, if there be any fault in them against your Maiesty or your subiects, we will gladly do iustice vpon them, that your Maiesty may well vnderstand that we be carefull of you and your subiects. Neither thinke we it meet to take Hamburgh, or any other place to iudge the matter: for we have our councell and iudgement seat at Rie, where your Maiesty and your subiects, or any other shal haue iustice administred vnto them, with whom we haue had ancient league and amity. And thus much we haue thought good to let your Maiesty vnderstand. Fare ye well. Dated the sixt of December the 39 of our reigne.*

Sigismundus Augustus Rex.

The Queenes Maiesties Letters to the Emperour of Russia, requesting licence, and safe conduct for M. Anthony Ienkinson to passe thorow his kingdome of Russia, into Persia, to the Great Sophie, 1561.

ELIZABETHA Dei gratia, Angliæ, &c. Regina, serenissimo et

---

* A.D. 1559.

potentissimo principi, D. Ioanni Basiliuich, Imperatori totius Russiæ, Magno Duci, &c. Salutem, et omnium rerum prosperarum fœlicissimum incrementum. Potentissime Princeps, res est nobis ad memorandum longè gratissima, illa vestræ Maiestatis erga nos et nostros amicitia. Quæ tempore fœlicissimæ memoriæ Regis Edwardi sexti, fratris nostri charissimi, Dei benignitate incepta, deinceps verò vestra non solùm singulari humanitate alta atque fota, sed incredibili etiam bonitate aucta atque cumulata, nunc autem omnibus beneuolentiæ vestræ officijs sic firmata est atque constabilita, vt iam minimè dubitemus, quin ea ad laudem Dei, ad gloriam vtriusque nostrum, ad publicam nostrorum vtrobique regnorum immensam commoditatem, ad priuatam singulorum vtrinque subditorum optatam spem, certàmque fœlicitatem multis sit deinceps seculis duratura. Et quanquam hæc vestra bonitas, plenissimè sese effudit in omnes nostros subditos, qui sese in ullas imperij vestri partes vnquam receperunt, (pro qua ingentes nostras, vt par est, gratias vestræ Maiestati habemus, vestrísque vicissim in omni opportunitatis loco libentissimè feremus) tamen abundantia benignitatis vestræ, in accipiendo, támque humanitèr tractando nostrum fidelem et perdilectum famulum Antonium Ienkinson, qui has perfert literas, seorsim nobis gratissima existit. Nam præterquam quòd nullis non locis vestri Imperij et magna libertate, et summa humanitate vestræ serenitatis non permissu solùm, sed iussu etiam frueretur, vestra bonitas tamen non in hac domestica benignè faciendi ratione conquieuit, sed perlibentèr et vltrò eundum nostrum hunc perdilectum famulum, varijs exteris principibus, quoquouersus ipse iter suum instituerat, literis suis, suo magno Imperiali sigillo consignatis commendauit. Quod beneficium illi vbiuis gentium, et viam sine vllo periculo, propter publicam vestram fidem, et aduentum cum magno fauore, propter vestram commendationem, optatè quidem et fœliciter communiuit. Itaq; quemadmodum gemina hæc vestra beneuolentia, cum illa generalis exhibita in vestro regno negotiantibus subditis nostris vniuersis, tum ista seorsim præstita huic Antonio Ienkinson, perfideli nostro famulo, nobis in mente non solùm ad gratam perpetuamque memoriam, verùm etiam ad mutuam, vel opportunam compensationem, firmissimè defixa est: ita, petimus à vestra Maiestate vt vtramque beneuolentiæ vestræ rationem et communem nostris vniuersis, et priuatam huic nostro dilecto famulo, vtrisque deinceps dignetur tueri, atq; conseruare. Neque nos quidem diffidemus, quin quem fauorem vestra Maiestas anteà sua sponte Antonio Ienkinson, tum quidem priuato ostendit, eundem nunc nostra rogatu eidem Antonio in nostrum iam famulatum cooptato benignè velit denuò declarere. Et propterea petimus à vestra Maiestate, vt dignetur iterum concedere eidem nostro famulo literas suas commeatus, publicæ fidei, ac saluiconductus, quarum tenore, authoritate, atque præsidio, sit illi, familiaribus suis, et seruis, tutum, liberumque, cum mercibus, sarcinis, equis, et bonis suis vniuersis, inuehendis euehendísque, per vestra regna, domicilia, atque prouincias, proficisci, ire, transire, redire, abire, et istic morari, quandiu placuerit, et inde recedere quandocunque illi aut suis libitum fuerit. Et sicut non dubitamus, quin vestra Maiestas hæc omnia humanitatis grata officia, pro immensa bonitate suæ naturæ benignè et largiter huic famulo nostro sit concessura, ita valdè optamus, adeóque petimus, vt vestra Maiestas eodem nostrum famulum, vnà cum omnibus suis familiaribus, ac bonis, exteris alijs principibus literis suis dignetur commendare, presertim verò atque seorsim Magno Sophi, Persarum Imperatori, in cuius etiam imperia et ditiones idem noster famulus gratia potissimè experiundi peregrina, commercia, proficisci vnà cum suis constituit.

Confidimus igitur hæc omnia nostra postulata pro famuli spe, pro nostra expectatione, pro vestra bonitate, pro nostrorum vtrinque subditorum commoditate, fausta illi, grata nobis, accepta etiam vestræ Maiestati, et nostris vtrobíque perquam vtilia euasura. Deus vestræ Maiestatis, &c. Datum in celeberrima nostra Ciuitate Londini, anno mundi 5523. Domini ac Dei nostri Iesu Christi 1561. regnorum verò nostrorum tertio.

The same in English.

ELizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, &c. to the right excellent, and right mightie Prince, Lord Iohn Basiliwich, Emperour of all Russia, &c. greeting, and most happie increase in all prosperitie. Right mightie Prince, the amitie of your Maiestie towards vs and our subiects is very pleasant to vs to be remembred, which being begun by the goodnesse of God in the reigne of our most deare brother of happie memorie, King Edward the sixt, and afterwards, through your not onely singular humanitie, fed, and nourished, but also through your incredible goodnesse increased, and augmented, is now firmed and established, with all maner of tokens of your beneuolence, that now we doubt not, but that from hencefoorth, during many ages, the same shall

endure to the praise of God, to both our glories, to the publike great commoditie of our Realmes on either part, and to the priuate desired hope, and certeine felicitie of all our subiects. And although that this your goodnesse hath bene abundantly extended to all our subiects, that haue at any time repaired into any part of your Empire, for the which wee giue (as reason is) your Maiestie right heartie thanks, and will againe shew the like vnto yours, right willingly, whensoeuer opportunitie shall require: yet the abundance of your benignitie both in receiuing, and also in enterteining our faithfull and beloued seruant, Anthonie Ienkinson, the bringer of these our letters, is vnto vs for him priuately very thankefull. For besides this, that in all places of your Empire, he not onely by your Maiesties sufferance, but also by your commandement, enioyed much libertie, and great friendship, your goodnesse not ceasing in this your domesticall disposition of clemencie, did right willingly, and of your owne abundant grace, commend the same our well-beloued seruant, by your letters sealed with your Imperiall seale, to sundrie forren Princes, vnto whom he was minded to iourney: which your magnificence did purchase vnto him happily, according to his desire, both passage without all perill, through your notable credit, and also atchieuing of his iourney through your commendation. Therefore like as these your duplicated beneuolences, both that one generally exhibited to all our subiects frequenting that your Realme, and also this the other extended apart to this our right faithfull seruant Anthonie Ienkinson, is right assuredly fastened in our remembrance, not onely for a perpetuall and gratefull memoriall, but also for a mutuall and meet compensation: so we desire of your Maiestie, to vouchsafe from hencefoorth to conserue and continue the geminate disposition of your beneuolences, both generally to all our subiects, and also priuately to this our beloued seruant. And we doubt not, but that at our request, you will againe graciously shew vnto the same Anthony, now admitted into our seruice, the like fauor as heretofore your Maiesty of your meere motion did exhibite vnto him, being then a priuate person. And therefore we desire your Maiesty eftsones to grant to the same our seruant, your letters of licence, pasport, and safe conduct, through the tenour, authority, and helpe whereof, he, his seruants, together with their merchandises, baggages, horses, and goods whatsoeuer, that shall be brought in, or carried out, by or thorow all your empire, kingdome, dominions, and prouinces, may surely and freely iourney, go, passe, repasse, depart, and there tary so long as it shall please him: and from thence returne whensoeuer it shall seeme good to him or his: and as we doubt not, but that your Maiesty in the goodnesse of your nature will graciously and abundantly grant all these good offices of humanity, so we do heartily desire that your Maiesty wil likewise vouchsafe to commend the same our seruant; together with all his goods, by your letters to other forren Princes, and especially to the great Sophy, and Emperour of Persia, into whose empire and iurisdictions the same our seruant purposeth with his for to iourney, chiefly for triall of forren merchandises.

We therefore doe trust that all these our demands shall tend, and haue effect, according to the hope of our seruant, and to our expectation, for your wealth, for the commodity of both our subiects, lucky to him, thankefull to vs, acceptable to your Maiesty, and very profitable to our subiects on either part. God grant vnto your Maiesty long and happy felicity in earth, and euerlasting in heauen. Dated in our famous city of London the 25 day of the moneth of April, in the yeere of the creation of the world 5523, and of our Lord God Iesus Christ 1561, and of our reigne the third.

The Queenes Maiesties Letters to the great Sophy of Persia, sent by M. Anthonie Ienkinson. 1561.

ELizabetha Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regina, &c. Potentissimo, et inuictissimo Principi, Magno Sophi Persarum, Medorum, Parthorum, Hircanorum, Carmanorum, Margianorum, populorum cis et vltrà Tygrim fluuium, et omnium intra Mare Caspium, et Persicum sinum nationum atque Gentium Imperatori salutem, et rerum prosperarum fœlicissimum incrementum. Summi Dei benignitate factum est, vt quas gentes, non solum immensa terrarum spacia, et insuperabiles marium vastitates, sed et ipsi etiam cælorum cardines longissimè disiunxerunt, ipsæ tamen literarum bono et mentis certa cogitata, et humanitatis grata officia, et intelligentiæ mutuæ multa commoda facilè inter se et opportunè possint communicare. Itaque cùm perdilectus, et fidelis noster famulus Antonius Ienkinson, qui has literas nostras perfert, cum bona venia, fauore, et gratia nostra hoc Angliæ nostræ regnum excedere, et in Persiam vsque, vestrásque alias ditiones Dei benignitate penetrare constituerit, hoc illius insti-

tutum perlaudabile quidem grato nostro fauore prosequi, et promouere studuimus: id quod eo nos libentiùs facimus, quoniam hoc eius propositum ex honesto studio commercij constituendi potissimum cùm vestris subditis, alijsque peregrinis hominibus, ad vestra regna confluentibus, omninò exortum sit. Proptereà nobis et scribendum ad vestram Maiestatem, ab eaque petendum esse duximus, vt nostro rogatu dignetur concedere huic famulo nostro Antonio Ienkinson literas publicæ fidei, et salui conductus, quarum authoritate atque præsidio, licitum, liberúmque sit illi, vnà cum suis familiaribus, seruis, sarcinis, mercibus et bonis vniuersis, per vestra regna, domicilia, ditiones, atque prouincias liberè, et sine impedimento proficisci, ire, transire, redire, abire, et istic morari, quamdiu placuerit, et inde recedere, quandocunque illi vel suis lubitum fuerit. Si hæc sancta hospitalitatis iura et dulcia communis humanitatis officia, inter nos, nostra regna nostrósque subditos libentèr constitui, sincerè coli, et constanter conseruari queant, speramus nos, Deum Optimum Maximum effecturum, vt ab hijs paruis initijs, grandiora rerum momenta, nobis ad magna ornamenta atque decus, nostris ad summa commoda atque vsus, aliquando sint oritura: siquidem, vt non terra, non mare, non cœlum, ad nos longissimè seperandos, quàm diuina ratio communis humanitatis, et mutuæ beneuolentiæ ad nos firmissimè coniungendos plus virium habuisse videatur. Deus salutem omnem, et fœlicem in terris, et perpetuam in cœlis, vestræ concedat Maiestati. Datum in Anglia, in celebri nostra vrbe Londino, 25 die mensis Aprilis, anno mundi, 5523, Domini ac Dei nostri Iesu Christi, 1561, regnorum verò nostrorum tertio.

The same in English.

This letter was also written in Hebrew and Italian.

ELizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, &c. To the right mightie, and right victorious Prince, the great Sophie, Emperour of the Persians, Medes, Parthians, Hircans, Carmanians, Margians, of the people on this side, and beyond the river of Tygris, and of all men, and nations, betweene the Caspian sea, and the gulfe of Persia, greeting, and most happie increase in all prosperitie. By the goodnesse of the Almightie God it is ordeined, that those people, which not onely the huge distance of the lands, and the inuincible widenesse of the seas, but also the very quarters of the heauens do most farre separate, and set sunder, may neuerthelesse

through good commendation by writing, both ease, and also communicate betweene them, not onely the conceiued thoughts, or deliberations, and gratefull offices of humanitie, but also many commodities of mutuall intelligence. Therefore whereas our faithfull, and right wellbeloued seruant Anthonie Ienkinson, bearer of these our letters, is determined with our licence, fauour, and grace, to passe out of this our Realme, and by Gods sufferance to trauell euen into Persia, and other your iurisdictions: we minde truely with our good favour, to set forward, and aduance that his right laudable purpose: and that the more willingly, for that this his enterprise is only grounded upon an honest intent, to establish trade of merchandise with your subiects, and with other strangers traffiking in your realmes. Wherfore we haue thought good, both to write to your Maiestie, and also to desire the same, to vouchsafe at our request, to grant to our sayd seruant, Anthonie Ienkinson, good passports, and safe conducts, by meanes, and authoritie wherof, it may be free and lawfull for him, together with his familiars, seruants, cariages, merchandise, and goods whatsoeuer, thorow your Realmes, Dominions, Iurisdictions, and Prouinces, freely, and without impeachment, to iourney, go, passe, repasse, and tarry so long as he shall please, and from thence to retourne whensoeuer he or they shall thinke good. If these holy dueties of entertainment, and sweet offices of naturall humanitie may be willingly concluded, sincerely embraced, and firmely obserued between vs, and our Realmes, and subiects, then we do hope that the Almightie God will bring it to passe, that of these small beginnings, greater moments of things shall hereafter spring, both to our furniture and honours, and also to the great commodities, and vse of our peoples: so it will be knowen that neither the earth, the seas, nor the heauens, haue so much force to separate vs, as the godly disposition of naturall humanity, and mutual beneuolence haue to ioyne vs strongly together. God grant vnto your Maiestie long and happy felicity in earth, and perpetuall in heauen. Dated in England, in our famous citie of London, the 25 day of the moneth of April, in the yere of the creation of the world 5523, and of our Lord and God Iesus Christ, 1561, and of our reigne the third.

◆

A remembrance giuen by vs the Gouernours, Consuls, and Assistants of the company of Merchants trading into Russia, the eight day of May 1561, to our trustie friend Anthonie Ienkinson, at his departure towards Russia, and so to Persia, in this our eight iourney.

FIrst you shall vnderstand that we haue laden in our good ship, called the Swallow, one Chest, the keyes whereof we doe heere deliuer you, and also a bill, wherein are written particularly the contents in the sayd Chest, and what euery thing did cost: and because, as you know, the sayd Chest is of charge, we desire you to haue a speciall regard vnto it, and when God shall send you vnto Mosco, our mindes and will is, that you, with the aduise of our Agents there, doe appoint some such presents for the Emperour and his sonne, either wine, cloth of golde, scarlet, or plate, as to your good discretion shall be thought meet, and when you haue deliuered vnto him the Queenes Maiesties Letters and our sayd present in the name of the Company, we thinke it good that you make your humble sute vnto his Highnesse in our name, to get his licence or safe conduct for you and all other our seruants or Agents at all times hereafter with such wares and merchandise as you at this time, or they hereafter at all other times shall thinke good to passe out of his dominions towards Tartaria, Persia, or other places, and also to retourne vnto Mosco with such wares and merchandises as you shall bring or send from any land or countrey that is not in his dominions, and if it be thought good by you and our Agents there to make composition with the emperor or his officers for some certeine custome or tole vpon such goods as we shall passe that way, to the intent we might be the better fauored, we refer it to your discretion, foreseeing that ye opening of this matter be not preiudiciall vnto our former priuileges.

And for the sale of our cloth of gold, plate, pearles, saphyres, and other iewels, we put our trust and confidence in you principally to sell them for ready money, time to good debters, or in barter for good wares, so that you make our other Agents priuy how and for what price you sell any of the premisses, and also deliver such sums of money, billes or wares, as you shall receiue, vnto our said Agents: thinking good further, that if you perceiue that the plate or other iewels, or any part thereof will not be sold for profit before your departure from the Mosco, that then you cause them to be safe-packed, and set order they may be sent hither againe in our shippes the next yere, except you perceiue that there may be some profit in carrying some part of them into Persia, which we would not to be of any great value.

We have also laden in the sayd Swallow and the other two ships 80 fardles, conteining 400 kersies, as by ye inuoice doth appeare, which fardles be packed, and appointed to be caried into Persia: neuerthelesse, if you chance to finde good sales for them in the Mosco, we thinke it were good to sell part of them there, and to cary the lesse quantity with you, because we be vncertaine what vent or sale you shall find in Persia or other places where you shall come.

If you obtaine the Emperours licence to passe out of his dominions, and to returne, as aforesaid, and that you perceiue you may safely do the same, our minde is, that at such time as you thinke best and most conuenient for that purpose, you do appoint so many, and such of our hired seruants or apprentises as you thinke necessary and meet for our affaires, and may best be spared, to go with you in your said voyage, whereof we would one to be such as you might make priuy of all your doings for diuers considerations and causes that may happen: which seruants and apprentises, we will and command, by this our remembrance, to be obedient vnto you as vnto vs, not onely to goe with you and to doe such things as you command them in your presence, but also to goe vnto such countreys or places as you shall appoint them vnto, either with wares or without wares, and there to remaine and continue so long as you shall thinke good, and if they or any of them will refuse to do such things as you do appoint them, as aforesaid, or that any of them (be he hired seruant or apprentise) do misuse himselfe by any maner of disobedience or disorder, and will not by gentle and faire meanes be reformed, we will that you send him backe to the Mosco, with straight order that he may be sent from thence hither, aad let vs haue knowledge of his euill behauior, to the intent that if he be a hired seruant we may pay him his wages according to his seruice, and if he be an apprentise we may vse him according to his deserts.

We will also that you take with you such kersies, scarlet, and other clothes, or any other such wares of ours, as you shall thinke good, and so in the name of God to take your iourney towards Persia, either by the way of Astracan and Mare Caspium, or otherwise as you shall see cause: and when God sendeth you into Persia, our minde is, that you repaire vnto the great Sophy with the Queenes Maiesties letters, if he be not too farre from the Caspian sea for you to trauell, and that you make him such a present as you shall thinke meet, and if you passe by any other kings, princes, or gouernors, before or after you come to the presence of the Sophy, likewise to make them some present, as you see cause, according to their estate and dignitie, and withall to procure letters of priuilege or safeconduct of the sayd Sophy or other princes in as large and ample maner as you can, for the sure establishing of further trade in merchandise by vs heereafter to be made, frequented and continued in those parts, not onely that we may freely sell in all places within his dominions such wares as we cary thither, but also buy and bring away any maner of wares or merchandise whatsoeuer it be, that is for our purpose and commoditie within his dominions, with free passage also for vs at all times, to passe as often as we will with our goods and merchandise into any part of India or other countreys thereunto adioyning, and in like maner to returne thorow his dominions into Russia or elswhere.

And for the sale of our kersies or other wares that you shall haue with you, as our trust is that you will doe for our most profit and commoditie: euen so we referre all vnto your good discretion, as well in the sale of our sayd goods, as to make our returne in such things as you shall finde there, and thinke best for our profit. But if passage cannot be had into Persia by Astracan, or otherwise, the next Summer, which shalbe in the yere 1562, then our minde is, that you procure to sell our kersies, and other such wares as are appointed for Persia, in the Mosco, or other the Emperours dominions, if you may sell them for any reasonable price, and then to employ your selfe with such other of your seruants, as you shall thinke meet for the search of the passage by Noua Zembla, or els you to returne for England as you thinke good. Prouided alwayes, that if you do perceiue or vnderstand, that passage is like to be had into Persia the Summer folowing, which shalbe in the yeere 1563, and that you can not sell our kersies in the Emperours dominions, as aforesayd, at a reasonable price: then we will rather they may be kept till the said Summer in the yeere 1563, and then you to proceed forwards vpon your iourney towards Persia as aforesayd. If passage into Persia cannot be obteined the next yeere, neither

The passage of Noua Zembla.

good hope of passage in the yeere 1563, neither yet in the meane time good sale of our kersies in the Emperours dominions, then we thinke good for you to see if you can practise to carry your said wares by safe conduct thorow Polonia, or any other wayes vnto Constantinople, or els where you thinke beter sale may be had, then in Russia.

Thus haue we giuen you to vnderstand our meanings in this intended aduenture; but forasmuch as we do consider and know, that if we should prescribe vnto you any certeine way, or direct order what you should doe, we might so worke cleane contrary to our purpose and intent: therefore knowing your approued wisedome with your experience, and also your carefull and diligent minde in the atchieuing and bringing to good successe (by the helpe of almighty God) all things that you take in hand, we doe commit our whole affaires concerning the said aduenture wholly vnto your good discretion, praying God so to prosper you, as may be first for his glory, secondly for the honour and commoditie of this realme, and next for our profit, with the increase of your good name for euer.

And yet further desiring, and also most earnestly requiring you, as you tender the state of our company, that you will haue a speciall regard vnto the order of our houses and our seruants, aswell at Colmogro and Vologda, as at Mosco, and to see and consider if any misorder be amongst our seruants or apprentises, wherby you thinke we might hereafter be put to hinderance or losse of any part of our goods or priuilege there, that you doe not onely see the same reformed, but also to certifie vs thereof by your letter at large, as our trust is in you.

And for the better knowledge to be had in the prices and goodnes of such things as we do partly suppose you shall finde in the partes of Russia, we doe heerewith deliuer you a quantitie of certeine drugges, wherby you may perceiue how to know the best, and also there are noted the prices of such wares and drugges as be heere most vendible: also we deliuer you herewith one pound and one ounce weight in brasse, to the end, that you may therby, and with the bill of prices of wares, know what things be worth here. As for the knowledge of silks, we need not to giue you any instructions thereof, other than you know.

Waights and drugs deliuered to M. Ienkinson.

And if you vnderstand that any commoditie in Russia be profitable for vs to haue with you in Persia or other places, our minde is that our Agents shall either prouide it for you, or deliuer you money to make prouision your selfe. And because the Russes say that in traueiling Eastwardes from Colmogro thirty or forty dayes iourney, there is the maine sea to be found, we thinke that Richard Iohnson might imploy his time that way by land, and to be at Mosco time enough to goe with you into Persia: for if it be true that he may trauell to the sea that way, and that he may know how many miles it is towards the East from Colmogro, it will be a great helpe for vs to finde out the straight and passage that way, if any be there to be had.

The maine sea within thirtie dayes Eastward of Colmogro.

William Gerard. Thomas Lodge.	Gouernors.	William Merike. Blase Sanders.

A compendious and briefe declaration of the iourney of M. Anth. Ienkinson, from the famous citie of London into the land of Persia, passing in this same iourney thorow Russia, Moscouia, and Mare Caspium, alias Hircanum, sent and imployed therein by the right worshipfull Societie of the Merchants Aduenturers, for discouerie of Lands, Islands, &c. Being begun the fourteenth day of May, Anno 1561, and in the third yere of the reigne of the Queenes Maiestie that now is: this present declaration being directed and written to the foresayd Societie.

FIrst imbarking my selfe in a good shippe of yours, named the Swallow, at Grauesend, hauing a faire and good winde, our anker then weyed, and committing all to the protection of our God, hauing in our sailing diuersitie of windes, and thereby forced to direct and obserue sundry courses (not here rehearsed, because you haue bene thereof heretofore amply informed) on the fourteenth day of Iuly, the yere aforesayd I arriued in the bay of S. Nicholas in Russia: and the sixe and twentieth day of the same moneth, after conference then had with your Agents there, concerning your worships affaires, I departed from thence, passing thorow the countrey of Vago, and on the eight day of August then following, I came to Vologda, which is distant from Colmogro, seuen hundred miles, where I remained foure dayes, attending the arriuall of one of your boats, wherein was laden a chest of iewels with the present, by your worships appointed for the Emperors Maiesty: which being arriued, and the chest receiued, I therewith departed toward the city of Mosco, and came thither the twentieth day of the same moneth, where I immediately caused my comming to be signified vnto the Secretary of the Imperiall Maiesty, with the Queenes Highnesse letters addressed vnto the same his Maiestie, who informed the Emperour thereof. But his Highnesse hauing great affaires, and being at that present ready to be married vnto a Ladie of Chircassi, of the Mahometicall law, commanded that no stranger, Ambassadour, nor other, should come before him for a time, with further streight charge, that during the space of three dayes that the same solemne feast was celebrating, the gates of the citie should be shut, and that no person, stranger or natiue (certeine of his houshold reserued) should come out of their said houses during the said triumph, the cause thereof vnto this day not being knowen.

The Queenes letters to the Emperour of Russia.

The sixt of September following, the Emperour made a great feast, whereunto were called all Ambassadours and strangers being of reputation, and hauing affaires: amongst whom I was one, but being willed by the Secretary first to come, and to shew him the Queenes Maiesties letters, I refused so to doe, saying I would deliuer the same vnto the Emperours owne hands: and not otherwise: which heard the Secretarie answered, that vnlesse he might first peruse the sayd letters, I should not come into the Emperors presence, so that I was not at the feast. Neuerthelesse, I was aduertised by a noble man that I was inquired for by the Emperours Maiestie, although the cause of my absence was to his Maiestie vnknowen. The next day following, I caused a supplication to be made, and presented it to his Highnesse owne hands, and thereby declared the cause of my comming, signified by the Queenes Maiesties letters, and the answere of his sayd Secretary, most humbly beseeching his Grace that he would receiue and accept the same her Highnesse letters, with such honour and friendship, as his letters sent by Osep Napea were receiued by the hands of our late Soueraigne Lady Queene Mary, or els that it would please his Highnes to dismisse me, saying that I would not deliuer the said letters but vnto his owne hands, for that it is so vsed in our countrey. Thus the matter being pondered, and the effect of my supplication well digested, I was foorthwith commaunded to come with the said letters before his Maiestie, and so deliuered the same into his owne hands (with such presents as by you were appointed) according to my request, which were gratefully accepted, and the same day I dined in his Graces presence, with great entertainment. Shortly after, I desired to know whether I should be licenced to passe thorow his Highnesse dominions into the land of Persia, according to the Queenes Maiesties request: hereunto it was answered, that I should not passe thither, for that his Maiestie meant to send an armie of men that way into the land of Chircassi, whereby my iourney should be both dangerous and troublesome, and that if I should perish therein, it would be much to his Graces dishonour, but he doubted other matters, although they were not expressed. Thus hauing receiued his answere, neither to my expectation, nor yet contentation, and there remaining a good part of the yere, hauing in that time solde the most part of your kerses and other wares appointed for Persia, when the time of the yeere required to returne for England, I desired passport, and post horses for money, which was granted: but hauing receiued my passport, ready to depart, there came vnto our house there Osep Napea, who perswaded me that I should not depart that day, saying that the Emperor was not truely informed, imputing great fault to the frowardnesse of the Secretary, who was not my friend: before whom comming againe the next day, and finding the same Secretary and Osep Napea together, after many allegations and obiections of things, and perceiuing that I would depart, I was willed to remaine vntill the Emperours Maiestie were spoken with againe touching my passage: wherewith I was content, and within three dayes after sending for me, he declared that the Emperours pleasure was, that I should not onely passe thorow his dominions into Persia, but also haue his Graces letters of commendations to forren princes, with certaine his affaires committed to my charge, too long here to rehearse: whereupon I appointed my selfe for the voyage, and the 15 day of March, the yeere aforesaid, I dined againe in his Maiesties presence in company of an Ambassadour of Persia and others, and receiuing a cup of drinke at his Maiesties hands, I tooke my leaue of his Highnesse, who did not onely giue me letters, as aforesayd, but also committed matter of importance and charge vnto me, to be done when I should arriue in those countreys whither I intended to go, and hauing all things in readinesse for the same voyage, I departed from the city of

Request to passe into Persia thorow Moscouie.

Osep Napea Ambassadour from the Emperor of Russia to Q. Mary.

An ambassador of Persia.

Mosco the 27 day of April 1562, downe by the great riuer of Volga, in company of the said Ambassadour of Persia, with whom I had great friendship and conference all the way downe the same riuer vnto Astracan, where we arriued all in health the 10 day of June.

Astracan.

And as touching the situations of the cities, townes, castles and countreys, aswell of Mahometans as also of Gentils adioyning to the same, whereby I passed from Mosco vnto Astracan, I omit in this breuiat to rehearse, for that I heretofore haue declared the same most amply vnto you in my voyage to Boghar. Thus being arriued at Astracan, as is aforesayd, I repaired vnto the captaine there, vnto whom I was commended from the Emperours Maiesty, with great charge that he not only should ayd and succor me with all things needfull during my abode there, but also to safeconduct me with 50 gunners well appointed in two stroogs or brigantines into the Caspian sea, vntill I had passed certaine dangerous places which pirats and rouers do accustome to haunt, and hauing prepared my barke for the sea, the Ambassador of Persia being before departed in a barke of his owne the 15 day of Iuly, the yeere aforesayd, I and my company tooke our voyage from the sayd Astracan, and the next day at a West sunne, passed the mouth of the said riuer being twenty miles distant, lying next Southeast. The 18 at a Southwest Sunne, we passed by three Islands being distant nine miles from the said mouth of Volga, and Southsouthwest from thence, sailing Southsouthwest the next day, at a West and by North sun we fel with the land called Challica Ostriua, being foure round Islands together, distant from the said three Islands forty miles. From thence sailing the said course the next day, we had sight of a land called Tuke, in the countrey of Tumen, where pirats and rouers do vse: for feare of whom we haled off into the sea due East forty miles, and fell vpon shallowes out of the sight of land, and there were like to haue perished, escaping most hardly: then the 22 day we had sight of a goodly Island called Chatalet, distant from the said Challica Ostriua an hundred miles, the winde being contrary, and a stiffe gale, we were not able to seize it: but were forced to come to an anker to the leeward of the same sixe miles off in three or foure fathom water, being distant from the maine land to the Westward of vs, which was

M. Ienkinsons voyage to Boghar.

He passeth the Caspian sea.

The countrey of Tumen.

The Island of Chatalet.

called Skafcayl or Connyk a countrey of Mahometans, about * miles, and so riding at two ankers a head, hauing no other prouision, we lost one of them, the storme and sea being growen very sore, and thereby our barke was so full of leaks, that with continuall pumping we had much adoe to keepe her aboue water, although we threw much of our goods ouerboord, with losse of our boat, and our selues thereby in great danger like to haue perished either in the sea or els vpon the lee shore, where we should haue fallen into the hands of those wicked infidels, who attended our shipwracke: and surely it was very vnlike that we should haue escaped both the extremities, but onely by the power and mercy of God, for the storme continued seuen dayes, to wit, vntill the thirtieth day of the same moneth: and then the winde comming vp at the West with faire weather, our anker weyed, and our saile displayed, lying South, the next day haling to the shore with a West sunne, we were nie a land called by the inhabitants Shryuansha, and there we came againe to an anker, hauing the winde contrary, being distant from the said Chatalet 150 miles, and there we continued vntill the third day of August, then hauing a faire winde, winding Southsoutheast, and sailing threescore miles, the next day at a Southeast sunne we arriued at a city called Derbent in the king of Hircans dominion, where comming to land, and saluting the captaine there with a present, he made to me and my company a dinner, and there taking fresh water I departed.

The land of Shiruansha.

Derbent.

This city of Derbent is an ancient towne hauing an olde castle therein, being situated vpon an hill called Castow, builded all of free stone much after our building, the walles very high and thicke, and was first erected by king Alexander the great, when he warred against the Persians and Medians, and then hee made a wall of a woonderfull height and thicknesse, extending from the same city to the Georgians, yea vnto the principall city thereof named Tewflish, which wall though it be now rased, or otherwise decayed, yet the foundation remaineth, and the wall was made to the intent that the inhabitants of that countrey then newly conquered by the said Alexander should not lightly flee, nor his enemies easily inuade. This city of Derbent being now vnder the power of the

A mighty wall.

Or, Tiphlis.

---

* Blank in original.

Sophy of Persia, bordereth vpon the sea, adioyning to the foresaid land of Shalfcall, in the latitude of 41 degrees. From thence sailing Southeast and Southsoutheast about 80 miles, the sixt day of August, the yere aforesaid, we arriued at our landing place called Shabran, where my barke discharged: the goods layd on shore, and there being in my tent keeping great watch for feare of rouers, whereof there is great plenty, being field people, the gouernor of the said countrey named Alcan Murcy, comming vnto me, entertained me very gently, vnto whom giuing a present, he appointed for my safegard forty armed men to watch and ward me, vntill he might haue newes from the king of Shiruan. The 12 day of the same moneth newes did come from the king, with order that I should repaire vnto him with all speed: and for expedition, aswell camels to the number of fiue and forty to cary my goods, as also horses for me and my company were in readinesse, so that the goods laden, and taking my iourney from thence the said twelft day, on the 18 of the same moneth I came to a city called Shamaky, in the said countrey of Hircan, otherwise called Shiruan, and there the king hath a faire place, where my lodging being appointed, the goods were discharged: the next day being the 19 day, I was sent for to come to the king, named Obdolowcan, who kept his court at that time in the high mountaines in tents, distant from the said Shamaki twentie miles, to auoyd the iniury of the heat: and the 20 day I came before his presence, who gently interteined me, and hauing kissed his hands, he bad me to dinner, and commanded me to sit downe not farre from him. This king did sit in a very rich pauillion, wrought with silke and golde, placed very pleasantly, vpon a hill side, of sixteene fathom long, and sixe fathom broad, hauing before him a goodly fountaine of faire water: whereof he and his nobility did drinke, he being a prince of a meane stature, and of a fierce countenance, richly apparrelled with long garments of silke, and cloth of gold, imbrodred with pearles and stone: vpon his head was a tolipane with a sharpe ende standing vpwards halfe a yard long, of rich cloth of golde, wrapped about with a piece of India silke of twentie yards long, wrought with golde, and on the left side of his tolipane stood a plume of fethers, set in a trunke of golde richly inameled, and set with precious

Fortie one degrees.

Shabran.

Alcan Murcy the gouernour.

King Obdolowcan.

The maiesty and attire of king Obdolowcan.

stones: his earerings had pendants of golde a handfull long, with two great rubies of great value, set in the ends thereof: all the ground within his pauilion was couered with rich carpets, and vnder himselfe was spred a square carpet wrought with siluer and golde, and thereupon was layd two suitable cushions. Thus the king with his nobility sitting in his pauilion with his legs acrosse, and perceiuing that it was painfull for me so to sit, his highnesse caused a stoole to be brought in, and did will me to sit thereupon, after my fashion. Dinner time then approching, diuers clothes were spred upon the ground, and sundry dishes serued, and set in a ranke with diuers kindes of meats, to the number of 140 dishes, as I numbred them, which being taken away with the table clothes, and others spred, a banket of fruits of sundry kindes, with other banketting meates, to the number of 150 dishes, were brought in: so that two seruices occupied 290 dishes, and at the end of the sayd dinner and banket, the king said vnto me, Quoshe quelde, that is to say, Welcome: and called for a cup of water to be drawen at a fountaine, and tasting thereof, did deliuer me the rest, demanding how I did like the same, and whether there were so good in onr countrey or not: vnto whom I answered in such sort, that he was therewith contented: then he proponed vnto me sundry questions, both touching religion, and also the state of our countreys, and further questioned whether the Emperor of Almaine, the Emperor of Russia, or the great Turke, were of most power, with many other things too long here to rehearse, to whom I answered as I thought most meet. Then he demanded whether I intended to goe any further, and the cause of my comming: vnto that I answered, that I was sent with letters from the Queenes most excellent Maiesty of England vnto the great Sophy, to intreat friendship and free passage, and for his safeconduct to be granted vnto English merchants to trade into his Segniories, with the like also to be granted to his subiects, when they should come into our countreys, to the honour and wealth of both realmes, and commodity of both their subiects, with diuers other words, which I omit to rehearse. This sayd king much allowing this declaration sayd, that he would not onely giue me passage, but also men to safeconduct me vnto the sayd Sophy, lying from the foresayd citie of Shamaki thirty dayes iourney, vp into the land of Persia, at a castle called Casbin: so departing from the king at that time, within three dayes after, being the foure and twentieth day of

The Queenes letters to the Sophy.

Casbin.

August the yere aforesayd, he sent for me againe: vnto whom I repaired in the morning, and the king not being risen out of his bed (for his maner is, that watching in the night, and then banketting with his women, being an hundred and forty in number, he sleepeth most in the day) did giue one commandement that I should ride on hawking with many Gentlemen of his Court, and that they should shew me so much game and pastime as might be: which was done, and many cranes killed. We returned from hawking about three of the clocke at the afternoone: the king then risen, and ready to dinner, I was inuited thereunto, and approaching nigh to the entring in of his tent, and being in his sight, two gentlemen incountered me with two garments of that countrey fashion, side, downe to the ground, the one of silke, and the other of silke and golde, sent vnto me from the king, and after that they caused me to put off my vpper garment, being a gowne of blacke veluet furred with Sables, they put the sayd two garments vpon my backe, and so conducted me vnto the king, before whom doing reuerence, and kissing his hand, he commanded me to sit not farre from him, and so I dined in his presence, he at the time being very mery, and demanding of me many questions, and amongst other, how I like the maner of their hawking. Dinner so ended, I required his highnesse safeconduct for to depart towards the Sophy, who dismissing me with great fauour, and appointing his Ambassadour (which returned out of Russia) and others, to safeconduct me, he gaue me at my departure a faire horse with all furniture, and custome free from thence with all my goods. So I returned to Shamaki againe, where I remained vntill the sixt of October, to prouide camels, horses, and other necessaries for my sayd intended iourney.

Multitude of concubines.

But now before I proceed further, I purpose to write something of this countrey of Hircan, now called Shiruan, with the townes and commodities of the same. This countrey of Hircan in times past was of great renowne, hauing many cities, townes, and castles in it: and the kings thereof in time of antiquity were of great power, able to make wars with the Sophies of Persia: but now it is not onely otherwise (for that the cities, townes, and castles be decayed) but also the king is subiect to the sayd Sophie (although they haue their proper king) and be at the commandement of the sayd Sophy, who conquered them not many yeres passed, for their diuersity in reli-

The description of Hircania.

Diuersitie in religion.

gion, and caused not onely all the nobility and gentlemen of that countrey to be put to death, but also ouer and besides, rased the walles of the cities, townes, and castles of the said realme, to the intent that there should be no rebellion, and for their great terror, caused a turret of free stone and flints to be erected in the sayd city called Shamaki, and in a ranke of flints of the sayd turret, did set the heads of the sayd nobility and gentlemen, then executed. This city is distant from the sea side, with camels, seuen dayes iourney, but now the same being much decayed, and chiefly inhabited with Armenians, another city called Arrash, bordering vpon the Georgians, is the chiefest and most opulent in the trade of merchandise, and thereabouts is nourished the most abundant growth of raw silke, and thither the Turks, Syrians, and other strangers do resort and trafficke. There be also diuers good and necessary commodities to be prouided and had in this sayd realme: viz. galles rough and smooth, cotton wooll, allome, and raw silke of the naturall growth of that countrey: besides, nere all kinde of spices and drugges, and some other commodities, which are brought thither from out of East India, but in the lesse quantity, for that they be not assured to haue vent or vtterance of the same: but the chiefest commodities be there, raw silks of all sorts, whereof there is great plenty. Not farre from the sayd city of Shamaki, there was an olde castle called Gullistone, now beaten downe by this Sophy, which was esteemed to be one of the strongest castles in the world, and was besieged by Alexander the great, long time before he could win it. And not farre from the sayd castle was a Nunry of sumptuous building, wherein was buried a kings daughter, named Ameleck Channa, who slew herselfe with a knife, for that her father would haue forced her (she professing chastity) to haue married with a king of Tartarie: vpon which occasion the maidens of that countrey do resort thither once euery yere to lament her death.

Barbarous crueltie.

The citie of Arrash or Erex.

The commodities of this countrey.

The strong castle of Gullistone defaced.

Also in the sayd countrey there is an high hill called Quiquifs, vpon the toppe whereof (as it is commonly reported) did dwell a great Giant, named Arneoste, hauing vpon his head two great hornes, and eares, and eyes like a Horse, and a taile like a Cow. It is further sayd that this monster kept a passage thereby, vntill there came an holy man, termed Haucoir Hamshe, a kinseman to one of the Sophies, who mounted the sayd hill, and combating with the sayd Giant, did binde not onely him in chaines, but also his woman called Lamisache with his sonne named After: for which victory they of that countrey haue this holy man in great reputation, and the hill at this day (as it is bruited) sauoureth so ill, that no person may come nigh vnto it: but whether it be true or not, I referre it to further knowledge.

Now to returne to the discourse of the proceeding in my voyage towards the great Sophie. The 6 of October in the yeere aforesayd, I with my company departed from Shamachi aforesaid, and hauing iourneyed threescore miles, came to a towne called Yauate, wherein the king hath a faire house, with orchards and gardens well replenished with fruits of all sorts. By this towne passeth a great riuer called Cor, which springeth in the mountaines of the Georgians, and passing thorow the countrey of Hircania aforesayd, falleth into the Caspian or Hircan sea, at a place betweene two ancient townes called Shabran and Bachu, situate within the realme of Hircane, and from thence issueth further, passing thorow a fruitful countrey, inhabited with pasturing people, which dwell in the Summer season vpon mountaines, and in Winter they remooue into the valleyes without resorting to townes or any other habitation: and when they remooue, they doe iourney in carrauans or troops of people and cattell, carrying all their wiues, children and baggage vpon bullocks. Now passing this wilde people ten dayes iourney, comming into no towne or house, the sixteenth day of October we arriued at a citie called Ardouill, where we were lodged in an hospitall builded with faire stone, and erected by this Sophies father named Ismael, onely for the succour and lodging of strangers and other trauellers, wherein all men haue victuals and féeding for man and horse, for three dayes and no longer. This foresayd late prince Ismael lieth buried in a faire Meskit, with a sumptuous sepulchre in the same, which he caused to be made in his life time. This towne Ardouill is in the latitude of eight and thirtie degrees, an ancient citie in the prouince of Aderraugan, wherein the Princes of Persia are commonly buried: and there Alexander the great did keepe his Court when he inuaded the Persians. Foure dayes iourney to the Westward is the citie Tebris in olde time called Tauris, the greatest citie in Persia, but not of such trade of merchandise as it hath bene, or as others be at

The towne of Yauate.

The city of Ardouil.

The citie Tebris or Tauris.

this time, by meane of the great inuasion of the Turke, who hath conquered from the Sophie almost to the sayd citie of Tauris, which the said Turke once sacked, and thereby caused the Sophie to forsake the same, and to keepe his court ten dayes iourney from thence, at the sayd citie of Casbin.

M. Ienkinsons arriuall at the Sophies court 2. Nouember, 1562.

The 21 day we departed from Ordowil aforesayd, trauelling for the most part ouer mountaines all in the night season, and resting in the day, being destitute of wood, and therefore were forced to vse for fewell the dung of horses and camels, which we bought deare of the pasturing people. Thus passing ten dayes iourney the yere aforesayd, the second day of Nouember we arriued at the foresaid citie of Casbin, where the saide Sophie keepeth his court, and were appointed to a lodging not farre from the kings pallace, and within two dayes after the Sophie commanded a prince called Shalli Murzy, sonne to Obdolowcan king of Shiruan aforesayd, to send for me to his house, who asked me in the name of the said Sophy how I did, and whether I were in health, and after did welcome me, and inuited me to dinner, whereat I had great enterteinment, and so from thence I returned to my lodging. The next day after I sent my interpreter vnto the Sophies Secretarie, declaring that I had letters directed from our most gracious Souereigne ladie the Queenes most excellent Maiestie of the Realme of England, vnto the sayd Sophy, and that the cause of my comming was expressed in the same letters, desiring that at conuenient time I might come into his Maiesties presence, who aduertising the Sophy thereof, shortly after answered me that there were great affaires in hand: which being finished, I should come before his presence, willing me in the meane time to make ready my present if I had any to deliuer.

The Turkes Ambassadour to the Sophie.

At this time the great Turkes Ambassadour arriued foure dayes before my comming, who was sent thither to conclude a perpetuall peace betwixt the same great Turke and the Sophie, and brought with him a present in golde, and faire horses with rich furnitures, and other gifts, esteemed to bee woorth forty thousand pound. And thereupon a peace was concluded with ioyfull feasts, triumphs and solemnities, corroborated with strong othes, by their law of Alkaron, for either to obserue the same, and to liue alwayes after as sworne brethren, ayding the one the other against all princes that should warre against them, or either of them. And upon this conclusion the

Sophy caused the great Turkes sonne named Baiset Soltan, a valiant Prince (who being fled from his father vnto the Sophie, had remained in his Court the space of foure yeeres) to be put to death. In which time the said Turkes sonne had caused mortall warres betwixt the sayd Princes, and much preuailed therein: the Turke demanded therefore his sonne to be sent vnto him, and the Sophy refused thereunto to consent. But now being slaine according to the Turks will, the Sophy sent him his head for a present, not a little desired, and acceptable to the vnnaturall father. Discoursing at my first arriuall with the king of Shiruan of sundry matters, and being interteined as hath bene before declared, the sayd King named Obdolocan, demaunding whether we of England had friendship with the Turks or not: I answered, that we neuer had friendship with them, and that therefore they would not suffer vs to passe thorow their countrey into the Sophy his dominions, and that there is a nation named the Venetians, not farre distant from vs, which are in great league with the sayd Turks, who trade into his dominions with our commodities, chiefly to barter the same for raw silks, which (as we vnderstand) come from thence: and that if it would please the said Sophy and other Princes of that countrey, to suffer our merchants to trade into those dominions, and to give vs pasport and safe conduct for the same, as the said Turke hath granted to the sayd Venetians, I doubted not but that it should grow to such a trade to the profit of them as neuer before had beene the like, and that they should be both furnished with our commodities, and also haue vtterance of theirs, although there neuer came Turke into their land, perswading with many other words for a trade to be had. This king vnderstanding the matter liked it marueilously, saying, that he would write vnto the Sophy concerning the same: as he did in very deed, assuring me that the Sophy would graunt my request, and that at my returne vnto him he would giue me letters of safe conduct, and priuiledges. The Turkes Ambassadour was not then come into the land, neither any peace hoped to be concluded, but great preparation was made for warre, which was like much to have furthered my purpose, but it chanced otherwise. For the Turks Ambassadour being arriued, and the peace concluded, the Turkish merchants there at that time present, declared to the same Ambassadour, that my comming thither (naming me by the name of Franke) would in great part destroy their trade, and that

The Turkes merchaunts withstand M. Ienkinson.

it should be good for him to perswade the Sophy not to fauour me, as his Highnesse meant to obserue the league and friendship with the great Turke his master, which request of the Turkish merchants the same Ambassadour earnestly preferred, and being afterwards dismissed with great honour, he departed out of the Realme with the Turks sonnes head as aforesayd, and other presents.

Shaw Thomas the Sophies name.

The 20 day of Nouember aforesayd, I was sent for to come before the said Sophy, otherwise called Shaw Thomas, and about three of the clocke at afternoone I came to the Court, and in lighting from my horse at the Court gate, before my feet touched the ground, a paire of the Sophies owne shoes termed in the Persian tongue Basmackes, such as hee himselfe weareth when he ariseth in the night to pray (as his maner is) were put vpon my feet, for without the same shoes I might not not be suffred to tread vpon his holy ground, being a Christian, and called amongst them Gower, that is, vnbeleeuer, and vncleane: esteeming all to be infidels and Pagans which do not beleeue as they do, in their false filthie prophets, Mahomet and Murtezalli. At the sayd Court gate the things that I brought to present his Maiestie with, were deuided by sundry parcels to sundry seruitors of the Court, to cary before me, for none of my company or seruants might be suffered to enter into the Court with me, my interpreter onely excepted. Thus comming before his Maiestie with such reuerence as I thought meete to be vsed, I deliuered the Queenes Maiesties letters with my present, which hee accepting, demaunded of mee of what countrey of Franks I was, and what affaires I had there to doe: Vnto whom I answered that I was of the famous Citie of London within the noble Realme of England, and that I was sent thither from the most excellent and gracious soueraigne Lady Elizabeth Queene of the saide Realme for to treate of friendship, and free passage of our Merchants and people, to repaire and traffique within his dominions, for to bring in our commodities, and to carry away theirs, to the honour of both princes, the mutuall commoditie of both Realmes, and wealth of the Subiects, with other wordes here omitted. He then demaunded me in what language the letters were written, I answered, in the Latine, Italian and Hebrew: well said he, we haue none within our Realme that vnderstand those tongues. Whereupon I answered that such a famous and worthy prince (as hee was) wanted not people of all nations within his large dominions to interprete the

The Queenes letters deliuered.

same. Then he questioned with me of the state of our Countreys, and of the power of the Emperour of Almaine, king Philip, and the great Turke, and which of them was of most power: whom I answered to his contentation, not dispraysing the great Turke, their late concluded friendship considered. Then he reasoned with mee much of Religion, demaunding whether I were a Gower, that is to say, an vnbeleeuer, or a Muselman, that is, of Mahomets lawe. Vnto whom I answered, that I was neither vnbeleeuer nor Mahometan, but a Christian. What is that, said he vnto the king of the Georgians sonne, who being a Christian was fled vnto the said Sophie, and he answered that a Christian was he that beleeueth in Iesus Christus, affirming him to be the Sonne of God, and the greatest Prophet. Doest thou beleeue so, said the Sophie vnto me: Yea that I do, said I: Oh thou vnbeleeuer, said he, we haue no neede to haue friendship with the vnbeleeuers, and so willed me to depart. I being glad thereof did reuerence and went my way, being accompanied with many of his gentlemen and others, and after me followed a man with a Basinet of sand, sifting all the way that I had gone within the said pallace, euen from the said Sophies sight vnto the court gate.

The Sophies questions.

Thus I repaired againe vnto my lodging, and the said night Shally Murzey sonne to the king of Hircan aforesaid, who fauoured me very much for that I was commended unto him from his father, willed mee not to doubt of any thing, putting mee in hope that I should haue good successe with the Sophie, and good intertainment.

The curtesie of Shally Murzey.

Thus I continued for a time, dayly resorting vnto me diuers gentlemen sent by the Sophie to conferre with me, especially touching the affaires of the Emperour of Russia, and to know by what way I intended to returne into my countrey, either by the way that I came, or by the way of Ormus, and so with the Portingals ships. Vnto whom I answered, that I durst not returne by the way of Ormus, the Portingals and wee not being friendes, fully perceiuing their meaning: for I was aduertised that the saide Sophie meant to haue warres with the Portingals, and would haue charged mee that I had bene come for a spie to passe through his dominions unto the saide Portingals, thinking them and us to be all one people, and calling all by the name of Franks, but by the prouidence of God this was preuented.

Warres intended against the Portingals.

After this the saide Sophie conferred with his nobilitie and counsel concerning me, who perswaded that he should not enterteine me wel, neither dismisse me with letters or gifts, considering that I was a Franke, and of that nation that was an enemie to the great Turke his brother, perswading that if he did otherwise, and that the newes thereof should come to the knowledge of the Turke, it should be a meane to breake their new league and friendship lately concluded: disswading further because he had no neede, neither that it was requisite for him to haue friendship with vnbeleeuers, whose Countreys lay farre from him, and that it was best for him to send me with my letters vnto the said great Turke for a present, which he was fully determined to haue done at some meet time, meaning to send his Ambassadour vnto the said great Turke very shortly after.

The king of Hircans second letters in M. Ienkinson's behalfe.

But the king of Hircanes sonne aforesaide, vnderstanding this deliberation, sent a man in post vnto his father, for to declare and impart the purpose vnto him, who as a gracious prince, considering that I had passed through his dominions, and that I had iourneyed for a good intent, did write to the Sophie al that which he vnderstood of his said determination, and that it should not stand with his Maiesties honour to doe mee any harme or displeasure, but rather to giue mee good entertainment, seeing I was come into his land of my free will, and not by constraint, and that if hee vsed me euill, there would few strangers resort into his country, which would bee greatly vnto his hinderance, with many other perswasions: which after that the saide Sophie had well and throughly pondered and digested (much esteeming the same king of Hircane, being one of the valiantest princes vnder him and his nigh kinseman) changed his determined purpose, and the twentieth of March 1562. he sent to me a rich garment of cloth of golde, and so dismissed me without any harme.

Conference with Indian Merchants.

During the time that I soiourned at the sayde City of Casbin, diuers merchants out of India came thither vnto mee, with whom I conferred for a trade of spices: whereunto they answered that they would bring of all sorts so much as we would haue, if they were sure of vent, whereof I did promise to assure them, so that I doubt not but that great abundance thereof may from time to time be there prouided and had.

M. Ienkinsons returne.

The same twentieth day of March I returned from the saide Citie of Casbin where I remayned all the

Winter, hauing sent away all my Camels before, and the thirtieth day I came to the saide Citie of Ardouil, and the fifteenth of April vnto Zauat aforesayd, where king Obdolowcan was at that present, who immediately sent for me, and demaunding of me many questions, declared that if it had not bene for him, I had bene vtterly cast away, and sent to the great Turke for a present by the Sophie, through the euill perswasion of his wicked counsell, that the Zieties and holy men were the chiefe and principal procurers and moouers thereof: but the Sophie himselfe ment mee much good at the first, and thought to haue giuen me good entertainement, and so had done, had not the peace and league fortuned to haue bene concluded betweene them and the great Turke. Neuerthelesse, sayd he, the Sophie hath written vnto me to enterteine you well, and you are welcome into my Countrey, and so he intreated me very gently, in whose Court I remained seuen dayes, and obteined of him letters of safe conductes and priuiledges in your names to bee free from paying custome, which I deliuered vnto your seruants Thomas Alcocke and George Wrenne, at their departure towards Persia for your affaires: and his highnesse did giue mee two garments of silke, and so dismissed me with great fauour, sending with me his Ambassadour againe vnto the Emperour of Russia, and committed the chiefest secret of his affaires vnto me, to declare the same vnto the Emperours Maiestie at my returne: and thus departing the tenth day of April, I came to the City of Shamachi, and there remayning certeine dayes for prouision of Camels downe to the Sea side, I sent from thence before men to repaire my Barke, and to make her in a readinesse. And during my abode in Shammachi, there came vnto me an Armenian sent from the king of Georgia, who declared the lamentable estate of the same king, that being enclosed betwixt those two cruell tyrants and mightie princes, the said great Turke and the Sophie, hee had continuall warres with them, requiring for the loue of Christ and as I was a Christian, that I would send him comfort by the said Armenian, and aduise how he might send his Ambassadour to the sayd Emperour of Russia, and whether I thought that he would support him or no: and with many other wordes required me to declare his necessitie vnto the same Emperour at my returne: adding further that the said king would haue written vnto me his minde, but that hee doubted

Priuiledges obtained of Obdowlocan, which are hereafter annexed.

An Armenian sent to M. Ienkinson from the king of Georgia.

the safe passage of his messenger. Vnto whom I did likewise answere by word of mouth, not onely perswading him to send his Ambassadour to Russia, not doubting but that hee should finde him most honourable and inclined to helpe him, but also I directed him his way how the sayde king might send by the Countrey of Chircassi, through the fauour of Teneruk king of the said country, whose daughter the said king had lately married. And thus dismissing the saide Armenian, within two dayes after I sent Edward Cleark your seruaunt vnto the Citie of Arrash, where the most store of Silkes is to be had, giuing him Commission to haue passed further into the saide Countrey of Georgia, and there to haue repaired vnto the sayde king. And after my commendations premised, and my minde declared to haue pursued for safeconduct of the same Prince for our Merchants to trade into his dominions, and that obtained to haue returned againe with speede. The same your seruaunt iourneying to the sayd Citie of Arrash, and there finding certaine Merchants Armenians, which promised to goe to the sayd City of Georgia, comming to the borders thereof, was perceiued by a Captaine there, that he was a Christian, and thereupon demaunded whither he went, and vnderstanding that he could not passe further without great suspition, answered that he came thither to buy Silkes, and shewed the king of Hircanes letters which he had with him, and so returned backe againe, and the fifteenth of April came to Shamachi: from whence I departed the sixteene of the same moneth, and the one and twentie therof comming to the Sea side, and finding my barke in a readinesse, I caused your goods to be laden, and there attended a faire winde.

Teneruk king of Chircassi.

But before I proceede any further to speake of my returne, I intend with your fauours somewhat to treate of the countrey of Persia, of the great Sophie, and of his countrey, lawes and religion.

This land of Persia is great and ample, deuided into many kingdomes and prouinces, as Gillan, Corasan, Shiruan, and many others hauing diuers Cities, townes and castles in the same. Euery prouince hath his seuerall King, or Sultan, all in obedience to the great Sophie. The names of the chiefest Cities be these: Teueris, Casbin, Keshan, Yesse, Meskit, Heirin, Ardouill, Shamachi, Arrash with many others. The countrey for the most part toward the sea side is plaine and full of pasture, but into the

The description of Persia.

The chiefe Cities of Persia.

land, high, full of mountaines, and sharpe. To the South it bordereth vpon Arabia and the East Ocean. To the North vpon the Caspian sea and the lands of Tartaria. To the East vpon the prouinces of India, and to the West vpon the confines of Chaldea, Syria, and other the Turkes lands. All within these dominions be of the Sophies, named Shaw Thamas, sonne to Ismael Sophie. This Sophie that now raigneth is nothing valiant, although his power be great, and his people martiall: and through his pusillanimitie the Turke hath much inuaded his countreys, euen nigh vnto the Citie of Teueris, wherein hee was wont to keepe his chiefe court. And now hauing forsaken the same, is chiefly resident at Casbin aforesaide, and alwayes as the said Turke pursueth him, he not being able to withstand the Turke in the fielde, trusting rather to the mountaines for his safegard, then to his fortes and castles, hath caused the same to bee rased within his dominions, and his ordinance to be molten, to the intent that his enemies pursuing him, they should not strengthen themselues with the same.

This prince is of the age of fiftie yeeres, and of a reasonable stature, hauing fiue children. His eldest sonne he keepeth captiue in prison, for that he feareth him for his valiantnesse and actiuitie: he professeth a kinde of holynesse, and saith that hee is descended of the blood of Mahomet and Murtezalli: and although these Persians bee Mahometans, as the Turkes and Tartars bee, yet honour they this false fained Murtezalli, saying that hee was the chiefest disciple that Mahomet had, cursing and chiding dayly three other disciples that Mahomet had called Ouear, Vsiran, and Abebeck, and these three did slay the saide Murtezalli, for which cause and other differences of holy men and lawes, they haue had and haue with the Turkes and Tartars mortall warres. To intreat of their religion at large, being more or lesse Mahomets lawe and Alkaron, I shall not need at this present. These persons are comely and of good complexion, proude and of good courage, esteeming themselues to bee best of all nations, both for their religion and holinesse, which is most erroneous, and also for all other their fashions. They be martial, delighting in faire horses and good harnesse, soone angrie, craftie and hard people. Thus much I haue thought good to treate of this nation, and nowe I returne to discourse the proceeding of the rest of my voyage.

The difference of religion.

My barke being ready at the Caspian sea as aforesaide, hauing

The 30. of May 1563.

a faire winde, and committing our selues vnto God the 30. day of May 1563. we arriued at Astracan, hauing passed no lesse dangers vpon the Sea in our returne, then wee sustained in our going foorth, and remayning at the said Astracan, vntill the tenth day of Iune, one hundred gunners being there admitted vnto mee for my safegard vp the riuer Volga, the fifteenth of Iuly I arriued at the Citie of Cazan, where the Captaine entertained me well, and so dismissing mee, I was conducted from place to place vnto the Citie of Mosco, where I arriued the twentieth day of August 1563. in safetie, thankes bee to God, with all such goods, merchandizes, and iewels, as I had prouided as well for the Emperours stocke and accompt, as also of yours, all which goods I was commaunded to bring into the Emperours treasurie before it was opened, which I did, and deliuered those parcels of wares which were for his Maiesties accompt, videlicit, precious stones, and wrought silkes of sundry colours and sortes, much to his Highnesse contentation, and the residue belonging to you, viz. Crasko, and rawe silkes, with other merchandizes, (as by accompt appeareth) were brought vnto your house, whereof part there remained, and the rest was laden in your shippes lately returned.

Shortly after my comming to the Mosco, I came before the Emperours Maiestie, and presented vnto him the apparell giuen vnto me by the Sophie, whose highnesse conferred with mee touching the princes affaires which he had committed to my charge: and my proceedings therein it pleased him so to accept, that they were much to his contentation, saying vnto mee, I haue perceiued your good seruice, for the which I doe thanke you, and will recompence you for the same, wishing that I would trauell againe in such his other affaires, wherein hee was minded to employ mee: to whom I answered, that it was to my heartie reioycing that my seruice was so acceptable vnto his highnesse, acknowledging all that I had done to bee but of duetie, humbly beseeching his grace to continue his goodnesse vnto your worships, and euen at that instant I humbly requested his Maiestie to vouchsafe to graunt vnto you a new priuiledge more ample then the first, which immediately was graunted, and so I departed. And afterwards hauing penned a briefe note howe I meant to haue the same priuiledges made, I repaired dayly to the Secretary for the perfecting of the same, and obtained it vnder his Maiesties broade seale, which at

New priuileges obtained hereafter following.

my departure from thence, I deliuered vnto the custody of Thomas Glouer your Agent there. The copy whereof, and also of the other priuiledges graunted and giuen by the king of Hircan, I haue already deliuered vnto you. Soiourning all that winter at Mosco, and in the meane time hauing bargained with the Emperours Maiestie, I sent away your seruant Edward Clarke hither ouerland with aduise, and also made preparation for sending againe into Persia in meete time of the yeere. And committing the charge thereof vnto your seruants Thomas Alcocke, George Wrenne, and Richard Cheinie, the 28. of Iune last, I departed in poste from the said Mosco, and comming to Colmogro and so downe to the Sea Side, I found your ships laden and ready to depart, where I embarked my selfe in your good ship called the Swallow, the 9. of Iuly, one thousand fiue hundred sixtie foure, and hauing passed the Seas with great and extreme dangers of losse of shippe, goods and life, the 28. of September last (God be praised) we arriued here at London in safetie.

28 Septemb. 1564.

Thus knowing that the couragious and valiant souldier, which aduentureth both fame, member and life, to serue faithfully his soueraigne, esteemeth not the perils and dangers passed (the victorie once obtained) neither for his guerdon desireth any thing more, then that his seruice bee well taken of him for whom he enterprised it: So I perceiuing your fauourable beneuolence to me extended in accepting my trauels in good part to your contentations, do thinke my selfe therewith in great part recompensed: beseeching Almightie God so to prosper your aduentures, from time to time hereafter to be made for reaping the fruits of my trauels (at your great charges, and to my no small dangers) that ye may plentifully gather in and enioy the same, to the illustrating of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, the honour and commoditie of this her highnesse Realme, and to the ample benefit and abundant enriching of you and your succession, and posteritie for euer.

A copie of the priviledges giuen by Obdolowcan King of Hircania, to the company of English merchants Aduenturers for Russia, Persia, and Mare Caspium, with all the lands and countreys adioyning to the same, obtained by M. Anthonie Ienkinson at his being there about the affaires of the said company, April 14. Anno 1563.

WE Obdolowcan by the mightie power of God maker of heauen and of earth, appointed and now raigning king of Shiruan and Hircan, of our meere motion and great goodnes, at the earnest sute and request of our fauoured and welbeloued Anthonie Ienkinson Ambassadour, haue giuen and graunted vnto the right worshipfull Sir William Garret, sir William Chester, sir Thomas Lodge, M. Richard Mallarie, and M. Richard Chamberlaine, with all their company of merchants Aduenturers of the Citie of London in England, free libertie, safe conduct, and licence to come or sende their factors in trade of merchandize into our countreys, and to buy and sell with our merchants and others, either for ready money or barter, and to tary and abide in our countrey, so long as they will, and to goe away when they list, without impediment, let, or hinderance, either of body or goods.

And further our commaundement and pleasure is, that the said English merchants with their company, shall pay no maner of custome for wares, which they or their factors shal buy or sel within our dominions. And if at any time our customers or other officers, or any of them, doe disturbe, misuse, force or constraine the said English merchants or any of them, or their factors, to pay any maner of custome or duetie for any wares they bring in or cary out of our dominions contrary to this our commandement, and the same be knowen vnto vs, then we will that the saide customers and officers shall loose and be put out of their said offices, with our further displeasure, and the saide English merchants to haue restored all such money and wares as our customers haue taken of them for our said custome. And whensoeuer the saide English merchants or their factors shall bring any maner of wares meete for our treasurie, then our treasurer shall take the said wares into our treasurie, and shall giue vnto the said English merchants, either ready money or raw silkes, to the value of their saide wares. And wheresoeuer this our letter of priuiledges shall bee seene and read within our dominion, we straightly wil and command that it take effect, and be obeyed in al points.

Dated at our place of Iauat, the day and yere aboue written, and sealed with our princely seale, and firmed by our Secretarie in the 12. yere of our raigne.

◆

The second voiage into Persia made by Tho. Alcock, who was slaine there, and by George Wrenne, and Ric. Cheinie seruants to the worshipfull companie of Moscouie merchants in Anno 1563. written by the said Richard Cheinie.

IT may please your worships to vnderstand, that in the yere 1563. I was appointed by M. Antho. Ienkinson, and M. Thomas Glouer your Agent in Russia, to goe for Persia in your worships affaires, one Thomas Alcock hauing the charge of the voyage committed to him, and I one of your worships seruants being ioyned with him in your busines, hauing with vs, as they said 1500. rubbles. And if it shall please you I cannot tell certainly what summe of money we had then of the Emperors: for I receiued none, nor disbursed any of it in wares for the voyage. Also, God I take to record, I could not tell what stocke your worships had there, for the bookes were kept so priuily that a man could neuer see them. The 10. of May anno 1563, we departed from a towne called Yeraslaue vpon our voyage toward Persia. The 24. of Iuly we arriued at Astracan: and the second of August wee departed from Astracan, and the 4. of the same moneth we came to the Caspian sea, and the 11. day of the said moneth we arriued at our port in Media: and the 21. of the said August wee arriued at Shammaki, whereas the king Obdolocan lay in the fielde. We were wel entertained of heathen people, for the thirde day after our arriuall at Shammaki we were called before the king: we gaue him a present, and he entertained vs very well.

A rubble is a marke English.

At our comming to the Court wee were commaunded to come before the king, who sate in his tent vpon the ground with his legs a crosse, and all his dukes round about his tent, the ground being couered with carpets: wee were commaunded to sit downe, the King appointing euery man his place to sit. And the king commaunded the Emperour of Russelands Merchants to rise vp, and to giue vs the vpper hande. The 20. of October Thomas Alcock departed from Shammaki towards Casbin, leauing mee at Shammaki to recouer such debts as the dukes of Shammaki ought for wares which thay tooke of him at his going to Casbin. In the time I lay there I could recouer but little. And at Thomas Alcocks comming from Casbin, who arriued at a towne called Leuuacta, whereas the king Obdolocan lay, a day and a halfes iourney from the

Casbin.

Leuuacta.

towne whereas I lay, I hearing of his arriuing there, departed from Shammaki, finding him there in safetie with all such goods as he had with him. During his abode there for seuen dayes he made suite to the king for such money as the dukes ought him. But the king was displeased for that the Emperour of Russelands merchants had slaine a Boserman at his going to Casbin. Thomas Alcocke seeing the King would shewe vs no fauour, and also hearing from Shammaki, that the Russes sent their goods to the sea side, for that they feared that the king of Persia should haue knowledge of the death of the Boserman, willed mee to depart to Shammaki with all such goods as he had brought with him from Casbin, I leauing him at the Court.

A Boserman is a Renegado.

The thirde day after mine arriuall at Shammaki, I had newes that Thomas Alcocke was slaine comming on his way towards me. Then the king Obdolocan vnderstanding of his death, demaunded whether he had euer a brother. Some said I was, some saide I was not his brother. When this fell out, your worships had no other seruant there but mee among those heathen people. Who hauing such a summe of goods lying vnder my handes, and seeing howe the Russes sent their goods with as much hast as they might to the sea side, and hauing but foure men to sende our wares to the sea side, I vsed such diligence, that within two dayes after Thomas Alcocke was slaine, I sent in company with the Russes goods, all your worships goods with a Mariner, William August, and a Swethen, for that they might the safer arriue at the seaside, being safely layd in. All which goods afterwards arriued in Russeland in good condition, Master Glouer hauing the receipt of all things which I sent then out of those parties into Russeland. Concerning my selfe, I remained after I had sent the goods into Russeland sixe weekes in Shammaki, for the recouery of such debts as were owing, and at last with much trouble recouered to the summe of fiftene hundreth rubbles or there about, which M. Glouer receiued of me at my comming to Mosco, and all such goods as I brought with me out of Keselbash, as by a note of my hand that hee hath shall appeare. Also he hauing the receipt of all such goods as I sent into Russeland by these two aboue named, he then had that voyage in venter of his owne better then an hundreth rubbles, one Richard Iohnson twentie rubles, one Thomas Pette fiftie rubles,

Thomas Alcocke slaine in the way betweene Leuuacta and Shammaki.

Keselbash, or Ieselbash.

one Euan Chermisin a Tartar seuentie rubles. All these had their returne: M. Glouer allowed himselfe God knoweth howe, I then being in Persia in your worships affaires.

And whereas he saith, the Emperour had but for his part a dobble, as farre as I can see, knowing what the wares cost in those partes, hee had treble. If they gaue him so much wares, all charges turned to your worships, as well of the Emperours as of their owne returnes. I haue sowen the seede, and other men haue gathered the haruest: I haue trauailed both by lande and by water full many a time with a sorrowfull heart, aswell for the safegarde of their goods as yours, how to frame all things to the best, and they haue reaped the fruites of my trauaile. But euer my prayer was to God, to deliuer mee out of those miseries which I suffered for your seruice among those heathen people. Therefore knowing my duetie which I haue done, as a true seruant ought to do, I beseech your worships (although I haue but small recompence for my seruice,) yet let me haue no wrong, and God will prosper you the better.

Gillan in Persia.

Also, to informe your worships of your Persian voyage what I iudge: it is a voyage to bee followed. The king of Gillan, whereas yet you haue had no traffique, liueth al by marchandise: and it is neere Casbin, and not past six weekes trauaile from Ormus, whither all the spices be brought: and here, (I meane at Gillan) a trade may be established: But your worships must send such men as are no riotous liuers, nor drunkards. For if such men goe, it wil be to your dishonour and great hinderance, as appeared by experience the yeere 1565. when as Richard Iohnson went to Persia, whose iourney had bene better stayed then set forward. For whereas before wee had the name among those heathen people to be such marchants as they thought none like in all respects, his vicious liuing there hath made vs to be compted worse then the Russes.

Againe, if such men trauaile in your affaires in such a voyage, you shall neuer know what gaine is to be gotten. For how can such men imploy themselues to seeke the trade, that are inclined to such vices? or howe can God prosper them in your affaires? But when a trade is established by wise and discreet men, then wil it be for your worships to traffique there, and not before: for a voiage or market made euil at the first, is the occasion that your worships shal neuer vnderstand what gaine is to be gotten thereby hereafter.

The thirde voyage into Persia, begun in the yeere 1565. by Richard Iohnson, Alexander Kitchin, and Arthur Edwards.

A letter of Arthur Edwards to M. Thomas Nicols, Secretarie to the worshipful company trading into Russia and other the North parts, concerning the preparation of their voyage into Persia.

MAster Nicols, my bounden duetie remembred, with desire of God for the preseruation of you and yours: you shall vnderstand that the second of March I was sent by M. Thomas Glouer (your Agent) vnto Ieraslaue, appointed to receiue such goods as should come from Vologhda, as also such kinde of wares as should be bought and sent from Mosco by your Agent, and M. Edward Clarke, thought meete for your voyage of Persia. And further, I was to prouide for biscuit, beere, and beefe, and other victuals, and things otherwayes needful according to aduise. Thus I remained here vntil the comming of your Agent, which was the 12. of May, who taried here three dayes, to see vs set forwards on our voyage, and then he departed towards Colmogro, hauing appointed (as chiefe for your voyage of Persia) Richard Iohnson. For my part I am willing, as also haue bene and shalbe content to submit my selfe vnder him, whom the Agent shall appoint, although he were such a one as you should thinke in some respects vnmeete. Thirtie two packes of carseis are all of that kinde of cloth that we shall haue with vs. The other 18. packs that should haue gone, were sold in Mosco. What other goods are shipped for our voyage, you shall vnderstand by your Agents letters. Whereas Edward Clarke (being an honest man) was appointed Agent for Persia, as one for those parts more fit then any I do know here, God hath taken him vnto his mercie, who departed this present life the 16. of March last past. I wished for God for my part he had liued: for my desire was in his company to haue traueiled into Persia. Your barke or craer made here for the riuer of Volga and the Caspian sea is very litle, of the burthen of 30. tunnes at the most. It is handsomly made after the English fashion: but I thinke it too litle for your goods and prouision of victuals. If the worshipful company would send hither a Shipwright, being skilfull to make one of the

Ieraslaue a towne vpon the riuer of Volga.

Richard Iohnson chiefe of the third voyage into Persia.

A barke of 30. tunnes made at Ieraslaue 1564. to passe the Caspian seas.

burden of 60. tunnes or more, drawing but sixe foote water at the most when it is laden, I thinke it should be profitable. For if your owne goods would not lade the same, here be Marchants that would bee glad and faine to giue great fraight to lade their goods with vs, whereby your charges would be much lessened: And so it may happen, the wages of your men hired here may be saued, and your seruants and goods in farre greater assurance: for their boates here are dangerous to saile with and to passe the Caspian sea. There be Carpenters here that will doe well ynough hauing one to instruct them. Your wares bought here, and orders taken for those that goe for your voyage of Persia are yet vnknowen vnto me: wherefore I cannot (as I would at this present) write to you thereof. Yet, (as you do know) it was the Gouernors mind I should be acquainted with greater affaires then these. Howbeit I doubt not but I shall be informed of them that are appointed, and all things shall be bought when they shall see time and haue more laisure. Thus in hast (as appeareth) I commit you and yours into the hands of almightie God; who preserue you in perfect health with increase of worship.

From Ieraslaue the 15. of May 1565.

By yours to command here or elsewhere
during life. Arthur Edwards.

Another letter of the said M. Arthur Edwards, written the 26. of April 1566. in Shamaki in Media, to the right worshipful Sir Thomas Lodge Knight and Alderman: and in his absence to M. Thomas Nicols, Secretarie to the right worshipfull companie trading into Russia, Persia, and other the North and East partes, touching the successe of Richard Iohnson in the third voiage into Persia.

WOrshipfull Sir, my bounden duetie remembred, with heartie prayer vnto God for the preseruation of you and yours in perfect health with increase of worship. It may please you that my last letter I sent you was from Astracan the 26 of Iuly 1565. From whence Richard Iohnson, my selfe, and Alexander Kitchin, departed as the 30 of the same. And by meanes of contrary windes, it was the 23 of August before we came to our desired port named Nazauoe. There, after we had gotten your goods on land, with much labour and strength of men, as also windlesses deuised and

They departed from Astracan the 30. of July 1565.

made, we haled your barke ouer a barre of beach or peeble stones into a small Riuer, sending your ships apparell with other things to an house hired in a village thereby. And as soone as we might get camels, being the fift of September we departed thence, and came to this towne of Shamaki the 11. of the same: and the 17. day following, we presented vnto Abdollocan the king of this countrey, one timber of Sables, one tunne or nest of siluer cups parsill gilt, three Morses teeth, 4. Arshines of scarlet, 3. pieces of karseis, with 40. red foxes.

Presents to the King Obdolowcan.

He receiued our presents with giuing vs thanks for our good wils, demanding if M. Ienkinson were in good health, and whether he would returne into these parts againe. He willed vs also himselfe to sit downe before him the distance of a quoits cast from his tent, where he sate with diuers of his counsaile and nobilitie, sending vs from his table such meate as was before him: And after certaine talke had with vs, he sayd, if he might perceiue or know any maner of person to doe vs any wrong, he would punish them in example of others, whereby we should liue in quietnesse, and haue no cause to complaine, giuing vs a litle house for the time, vntill a better might be prouided in such place as we should thinke most meete, neuer willing vs to rise or depart, vntill such time as we of our selues thought it conuenient. At the taking of our leaue, hee willed vs to put our whole minds and requests in writing, that he might further vnderstand our desires. But while we were about to doe so, God tooke this good king our friend out of this present life the 2. of October past. The want of him hath bene the cause that as yet wee cannot receiue certaine debts. Howbeit, we doubt not but we shall recouer all such summes of money as are owing vs for this voyage. As for Thomas Alcocks debts they are past hope of recouerie, which had not bene lost if the king had liued. We trust in the place of him, God will send as friendly a king towardswvsoh : by report (and as we be credibly informed,) shall bee his sonne named the Mursay: who since the death of his father, at our being with him, promised to shew vs more friendship then ever we found: God grant the same.

A house giuen our men in Shamaki by the king.

The death of Abdollocan the 2. of October 1565.

Mursay the new king of Media.

Great troubles haue chanced in these parts. Of those which were of the old kings counsell or bare any rule about him in these quarters, some are in prison, some are pinched by the purse, and other sent for vnto the Shaugh. These troubles haue partly bene the let that wares were not sold as they might, to more profite. Your Agent Richard Iohnson bought foure horses, minding to haue sent to Casbin Alexander Kitchin, whom God tooke to his mercy the 23. of October last: and before him departed Richard Dauis one of your Mariners, whose soules I trust the Lord hath receiued to his mercy. We are now destitute of others to supply their roumes. Foure Mariners were few enough to saile your barke, whereof at this present we haue but one, whose name is William Smith, an honest yong man, and one that doeth good seruice here. For want and lacke of Mariners that should know their labours, we all were like to be cast away in a storme. For all the broad side of our barke lay in the water, and we had much adoe to recouer it, but God of his mercy deliuered vs. Mariners here may doe you good seruice all the winter otherwayes: and merchants here will be gladder to ship their goods in vs giuing good fraight. One merchant at this present is content to pay 20. rubbles for twentie camels lading fraight to Astracan. Such barkes as must passe these seas, may not draw aboue fiue foote of water, because that in many places are very shallow waters. Wee mind hereafter to make the Russian boates more strong, and they shall serue our turnes very well.

The death of Alexander Kitchin the 23. of October 1565.

The Caspian sea very shoald in diuers places.

And whereas some in time past tooke great paines, trauell and care, and could not haue their desire in the getting of the Shaughs letters or priuiledge: Now, I trust (with Gods helpe) they may be obtained: which being had, will be beneficiall to the company, and great quietnes to those that shal remaine here, although heretofore things haue chanced ill, as the like in other countries hath bene. But I doubt not, this priuiledge once gotten and obtained, we shall liue in quietnesse and rest, and shall shortly grow into a great trade for silkes both raw and wrought, with all kind of spices and drugs, and other commodities here, as to M. Anthonie Ienkinson is well knowen, who (I doubt not) hath long agoe throughly aduertised the Companie thereof.

The trueth of the slaughter of Thomas Alcock your seruant, is not certainly knowen. Some thinke it was by the meanes of a noble man, with whom your sayd seruant was earnest in demanding of your debts: vpon whose words he was so offended, that he procured his death.

The murthering of Thomas Alcock.

But other doe thinke verily, that in riding from the Court without companie, false knaues lay in waite, thinking he had much about him, and so slew him. I doubt not though this misfortune hath chanced, that things shall come well to passe, and that we shall be better beloued when we shall be more knowen.

Honest merchants are glad of our being here, and seeke to grow in acquaintance with vs, being glad to further vs in that they may, and haue spoken in our fauours to the chiefest of this Countrey: one being a noble man, with whom your Agent and I are entred into friendship, who is at this time in great fauour with the Shaugh. He hath here and in other places of these parts set a good stay in things since the kings death: he is well knowen to M. Ienkinson, his name is Cozamomet. Also another Duke named Ameddin-beck is our great friend: And his sister is the Shaughes wife. These two haue promised your Agent by their lawe, not onely to procure to get the Shaughes priuiledge, but also that I shall haue the debts paied me of those that went from hence to Casbin, if we would send one with them. In consideration whereof, I was vpon short warning (for want of a better) appointed by your agent, M. Richard Iohnson, all excuses laied apart, presently to put my selfe in readinesse, and to depart in company with these noblemen: with charge, when God should send me to Casbin, to vse my discretion with their aduise, for the recouering of your debts and priuiledge. I shall haue with mee one interpreter and two bought seruants: one of which partly vnderstandeth this tongue, and may be put in trust whatsoeuer should become of me. I haue receiued 6. tumens in ready money, 200. shaughs is a tumen, reckoning euery shaugh for sixe pence Russe. I haue further receiued two timbers of Sables, one to be sold, the other to bee giuen to Thomas the Shaugh: and haue order further to giue as I shall see good to those that shall further my suite, and as occasion serueth. And forasmuch as I am commanded to go, I shall willingly do my best, putting my trust in God that he will send me well to speed in this iourney.

Cozamomet a noble man that fauoured our nation.

The value of a tumen.

For all kind of wares bought or sold, you shal throughly be aduertised by your Agent Richard Iohnson, whose reckonings or accompts at no hands I might see or be priuie vnto. Your karseis were good and well sorted, they are and will be sold from 150. shaughs, to 160. the piece. Two hundred pieces were sold vnder, that needed not: one 100. pieces at 146. and 147. the piece but more would haue bene giuen, if circumspection had bene vsed. They were sold to those noble men aforesayd, when as yet it was not knowen that I should haue gone with them. They may stand vs much in stead, as they haue promised vs their good wils in that they may doe. Here is at this time bought for England 11. packes of rawe silke, 25. and 26. batmans being in euery packe: The batman being 7. pound, which may be 6. pound and a halfe of English waight, being bought here from 66. to 70. shaughes the batman. It is fine and good, litle course at this time was to be had. And where course silke might be had being at Grosin, we could not send thither: for that time was neglected at the first. When wee shall haue lidgers here to remaine in Sommer, we may buy it at the first hand of the countrey people that bring it to sell hither, and to other places. I would to God the Companie could find the meanes to haue a vent to make sales for the one halfe that we may buy here. The Companie may haue for 30. or 40. thousand pounds yeerely. And as appeareth by your Agents wordes being at Varas, he and others sawe there so great abundance, that by report of diuers, you may bestow (if it were not for the Turkes) for a two hundred thousand pounds: besides silke of all colours died in graine, bound vp in pound waights, I thinke 15. of our ounces to their pound waight, and here sold for 23. shaughs, at 6. d. the shaugh, may be 11. s. 6. pence.

What a batman is.

Varas a great mart for silke.

From Astracan in 7. or 8. dayes, wee may saile with our barke to a place named Gilan: the which place in time to come, (I thinke) shall serue our purpose best to goe vnto. Alom is there good cheape, being brought from thence hither to Shamaki, and sold here for two bists their batman, which may be 5. pence in our money: and so I haue bought to bee sent home 223. batmans for example. And at Gilan there is rawe silke enough for the companies stocke. I beleeue, if any great store of wares be sent from you, that must be the place: and from thence a man may trauell in 4. dayes to Casbin, and there make quicke and better sales, at which place your commodities are to be sold. For there be the chiefe and best merchants, and diuers other cities round about, to wit, Teueris, Ardouil, and Caishan, being the heart of the countrey, where there is more ciuilitie and merchants are better vsed. Concerning this point I haue inquired

Gilan 7. dayes sailing from Astracan.

Gilan 4. dayes iourney from Casbin.

of diuers merchants both Russes and others that haue bene in those parts, and found them all agreeing in one tale, and perceiue the same to be true, and that all kind of wares come from thence into these parts. And from Casbin to Ormus, is about 30. daies trauelling with camels. I haue written the prices of wares in my letter to the gouernour both for spices and some drugs which I do know.

From Casbin to Ormus a moneths trauel with camels.

Also you shall vnderstand here is plentie of yew for bowstaues. I caused three horse loades to be bought vs for to know the trueth: but they were cut out of season this moneth of April, the sap being in them. Three moneths I neuer left speaking to the Countrey men to bring some. Your Agent will send some home for example.

This day being the 26. of Aprill I departed towards Casbin: God giue me a good houre and well to speed, with a mery heart in returning againe, as my hope is I shall. I haue written my mind to M. Glouer your Agent, what Russian wares I thinke best to be bought for this Countrey, and to send some one hither that hath the Russe tongue, for we haue need. And the companie shall do well hereafter in taking of seruants to be sent hither, to see that they be such as haue discretion, and be something broken in the world, and seene in the trade of merchandise, and one (if they can get some such) as can speake the Portingall tongue, may do them as good seruice, as those that shall be here two yeeres before him: for then we may buy a slaue that can speake this language and the Portingal tongue also, which shall then interprete vnto vs in all your secret doings, not making the Russes priuy: for they are sory that we doe trade into these partes, for we are better beloued then they are: because they are giuen to be drunkards, they are much hated of these people. It is to be wished that none should serue your worships in these parts that be giuen to that kind of vice: And that your chiefe Agent and Factor should be able to rule and gouerne himselfe, that no dishonestie should be imputed to him and vs. By his euill vsage he paied here 24 rubbles, being in this Countrey 4. tumens for a boy, that he was charged to haue conueied away from a Tesicke one of this countrey men, who willed him to sweare that he knew not where the boy was become, and he should not pay it. If he were honest he might do your worships good seruice because of his Russian tongue.

The secret doings of the Moscouie company.

Your London reds are not to be sent hither, for they will not giue aboue 18. shaughes their arshine. Here be reds of more orient colour, being Venice die. The people are giuen much to weare cloth: the common peoples pecially weare karseis, and the merchants of more wealth weare broad cloth. You shall doe well to send fiue or sixe broad clothes, some blackes, pukes, or other sad colours, that may be affoorded at 20. shaughes the arshine, and not aboue. It is here reported that King Philip hath giuen the Turkes a great ouerthrow at Malta, and taken 70. or 80. of his chiefe captains.

Orient reds of Venice die.

Thus wishing I had more time to write, I pray you to beare with this my scribled letter, and after you haue red it, that M. Nicols may haue a sight thereof.

By your seruant to command,
Arthur Edwards.

Commodities to be caried out of England into Persia, with their prizes there.

1 KArseis are sold there for 180. Shaughes: so that a karsey is sold there in Persia for foure pound ten shillings: for euery shaugh is sixe pence English, and euery Bist is two pence halfepeny English, and in Russe money three pence.
2 Tinne is sold in Persia for 14. and 18. shaughes the batman. The batman containing as I haue mentioned before.
3 Brasil is at 10. and 12. shaughes the batman.
4 Red cloth fine, at 25. and 30. shaughes the yard.
5 Copper at 20. and 25. shaughes the batman.

A shaugh is 6d. English.

Commodities to be brought out of Persia for England.

1 RAw silke at 60 shaughs yᵉ batman.
2 Pepper at 32. shaughs yᵉ batman.
3 Ginger at 18. and 20. shaughs yᵉ batman.
4 Nutmegs at 30. shaughs the batman.
5 Brimstone at 4. shaughs the great batman.

The great batman is 12. li. English.
6 Allom at 2. bists and a halfe the batman and lesse.
7 Rice at halfe a bist the batman.
8 Gals at halfe a bist the batman.
9 Cloues at 40. shaughs the batman.
10 Yew for bow staues, at

A letter of M. Arthur Edwards, waitten the 8. of August 1566. from the towne of Shamaki in Media, to the right worshipfull the Gouernours, Consuls, Assistants and generalitie of the Companie of Russia, &c. Shewing his accesse vnto the Emperour of Persia, his conference with him, his obtaining of a priuiledge, with diuers other good obseruations.

Right worshipfull Sirs, my bounden dutie remembred, with most humble commendations and like request to God for the preseruation of your good healths, with the rest of the companie, &c. It may please you to vnderstand, that the last letter which I sent you from hence was of the 26. of April of this present yeere by Richard Iohnson at my departure towards Casbin: to which citie I came the 25. of May folowing, not slacking any day, houre, nor moment, to procure and make friends for the speedie bringing me before the presence of the Shaugh, being the 29. day of the same moneth brought before him, with whose maiestie I was in talke (as I thinke) two houres. He willed me twise to come neerer him, demanding what were my requests: and hauing heard them, he promised me his gracious letters. Afterwards he called me twise againe to come neerer him, and talked with me of our Queenes maiestie and Countrey, and what commodities we had, and what other commodities we desired: and then of other countries adioining to vs and their commodities, as also of king Philip, what ouerthrow he gaue the Turks at the siege of Malta. And how long we had traded into Russeland and Moscouia, and in what space we might saile out of England into Russeland, and how many weekes trauell it is from Colmogro to Astracan: and then came to discourse of Russeland, and what townes the Emperour had wonne, declaring vnto me himselfe most of our commodities. In the end he willed that your worships should send him of all sorts of clothes, but of one especially which maidens do make (as he sayd:) He named it Karengi, I thinke it is Westerne dozens died into scarlets. Time will not permit mee to write at large the conference which I had with his maiesty. It was strange to his people (knowing our religion) to see me so long in talke with him, willing his Secretarie before mee to write what he was desirous of: to wit, of London clothes, three or foure of all sorts for example, being well shorne and drest.

His arriuall at Casbin the 25. of May.

Conference and demands of the Shaugh.

All sorts of cloth to be spent, specially Westerne dozens died into skarlet.

Violets in graine and fine reds be most worne, but other good colours will away, when they shall see them. I wore a garment of London russet, being much esteemed. You shall doe well to send such sorts as be liuely to the sight, and some blacks for womens garments, with some Orenge colours and tawneis. Here is much broad cloth worne. They talke much of London clothes, and they that know the wearing, are desirous of them before the cloth of the womens making, for they find it nothing durable. For when it commeth to weare on the threed, it renteth like paper. Here is much Venice cloth worne, being cromplisted a yard and a halfe broad, and sold here from 24. to 30. shaughes their arshine, being longer by two inches then the Russe arshine is. I wish also that you send some good chamlets and veluets died in graine, with purple colours and fine reds: because these are most worne. Also some blacks with other colours: some cloth of gold, tissue and bocky, some veluets wrought with gold, with sattins and damaskes, most purple, and reds of all sorts. You may not forget to send some Western karseis, to wit, dozens, which be thicked well, and close shut in the weauing, being died into fine reds, and some skarlets: for I thinke there is no such cloth for their caps.

London clothes much talked of in Persia.

Much Venice cloth worne in Persia.

Your worships shall vnderstand, that after my first departure from the presence of the Prince, I neglected no time in daily attendance on them, who had my priuiledge in writing, that I might haue it in readinesse at such time as I should againe bee called before the presence of the Shaugh, which was the 29. of Iune last. I was in apparell that he gaue vnto me, with other garments to mine interpreter, and one of your seruants, and then I receiued your letters or priuilege, according to my desire, sealed and firmed with the Shaughs owne hand. Praysed bee God who hath wrought with me, and for me, in all my doings.

The second admission to the Shaughs presence, the 29. of Iune 1566. at which time he receiued the priuiledge.

The 29. of Iune is one of their chiefe festiuall daies, so that all his nobilitie was there present, with two Ambassadors in companie with his maiestie, who sayd vnto me that if my letters were not to my mind, in time to come they should be mended. Whereupon I made my reuerence, and gaue his highnesse most humble and heartie thanks, saying, that with as much speed as might bee, our Queenes Maiestie should vnderstand of his goodnesse towardes

The Shaughs promise to increase the priuiledge.

her Merchants, which I thought would write their letters of request vnto his Highnes, in such forme and order as by them should be thought meete and requisite for their good assurance in the trade of merchandizes: who replied with these wordes: when wee shall see their reasonable requests, we will shew them our farther good will, and so I departed.

Since the receiuing of the Shaughs letters, I haue eaten in company of good Dukes and others, who before would not come neere me. And euery day some would come to my Shop, and eate and drinke with me out of mine owne dish. Likewise in riding from Casbin hither, on the way when I sate downe to dinner, they would come and eate with mee vnbidden, when I wished them further off: for I spared them that, which gladly I would haue eaten my selfe. I doubt not but we shall liue here from hencefoorth in quietnes: for now in all places where I come, I am friendly vsed with the best.

I was asked by the Shaugh if you were able to bring him yeerly one hundred thousand pieces of kersies, and clothes. And I answered him, saying, your worships were able to furnish his countrey with two hundred thousand. Whereat his Highnesse reioyced: for the Turkes Ambassador the last yere, as diuers haue told me, did put the Shaugh in despaire, saying, that the Turke would not permit any cloth to be brought into his countrey.

Aleppo a citie of great trade.

There is a citie in Syria named Aleppo, wherein continually are many Venetians dwelling, besides other that come yeerely and there buy wools, gals, tallow, saffron, skins, cotton wooll, and other wares, and great store of spices. Also the Armenians yeerly receiue at the Venetians hands, karsies in barter for rawe silks, giuing sometimes 60. pieces of karsies for 70. batmans of silke of this countrey, and 40. pieces for Grosin silke. And karsies sold commonly for ready money in Aleppo, at 11. and 12. duckets the piece, (the ducket being here woorth 12. shillings) may cost the first peny 132. and 144. Shaughs a karsie. By report it is one moneths trauel from this towne of Shamaky to Aleppo, and from thence to Tripolis, six dayes iourney: and from Tripolis to Venice by water, a moneth or fiue weekes sailing. As I learne, from hence to Venice may easily be trauelled in lesse then three moneths. Therefore I wish your worships to procure some trustie and assured friend there, to whom from hence letters may

Armenians barter with the Venetians.

The distance from Shamaky to Aleppo.

be sent. For I can haue them here to put in suerties to deliuer my letters, and to bring answere. If I had any other here with me, I would nothing haue doubted to haue brought you the Shaughs letters that way.

Armenians and other, desirous to barter silke and spices for karsies.

The Armenians and other are desirous to barter with vs, giuing silke for karsies, and also will serue vs of all kind of Spices, we giuing them sufficient warning to fetch it in the Indies, and will deliuer it vs in Shamaky at these prizes.

Pepper this townes batman for 18. Shaughs, euery Shaugh is sixepence.

Maces large for 40. Shaughs, and 45. the batman.

Cloues for 40. Shaughs the batman.

Nutmegs for 16. and 18. Shaughs the batman.

Sinamon for 40. Shaughs the batman. I doubt not but there will be profite and good done in spices, with drugs and other like in time.

From Casbin to Ormus is six weeks trauel, and from hence to Casbin is 16. dayes with camels laden: but if one trauell with a good Mule vnladen, it may be gone in seuen or eight dayes. And I thinke to Ormus and other places, may be trauelled in like order and proportion, with cattel vnladen. But here in all places as men may trauel, they must carie their owne prouision on horses, which they are to buy, and thus they trauel but a footepasse.

The Shaugh desirous to bargaine for our commodities.

The Shaugh himselfe is desirous to bargaine with you who will giue money, silke, and other wares as we will, and take our wares as we may affoord them, willing me himselfe to bring such wares as we might gaine by him. The Armenians by report, and as I perceiue, bring from Aleppo yeerely, foure, fiue, and six thousand pieces of karsies, and clothes, besides those which other men bring. If your Worships might procure and find vent or sales for rawe silke, and silke died in graine, besides other silkes wrought and made here, by which, profite may be made: then you might send a great substance of wares hither. But I feare you shall be hindered by the Venetians if they may: for I know it will grieue them that you doe trade into these partes: for in short time it shall cleane alter their trade, and hinder the sales of their clothes in Aleppo and other places adioyning. You shall vnderstand that 60. batmans of silke is a Mules lading: and as it is reported, one village of the Armenians yerely carieth 400. and 500. Mules lading of silke to Aleppo, and bringeth thence 800. or a thousand Mules laden with karsies and Venice clothes. And 18. pieces of karsies are a Mules lading. But I wish you not to send aboue 2000. pieces of karseis, although I haue bene willed to write for more. If I might haue had any vnderstanding what your Worships had written for in your letters sent this yeere, I should in this my letter haue bene better able to haue answered you. They which be now in Astracan, might haue written some thing vnto me hither, if it had pleased them, or else haue sent me such letters of mine, as I hope some of my friends haue written to me: for here are arriued eight weekes past, two boates with wares and Russes, by whom they might haue written, had it bene but 3. or 4. lines. They promised the Russes to write, but promise was not kept. I would be sory that any boat should depart out of these partes, and not write vnto them, waying how all things stand. I heare they haue bought a boat, which coast 40. rubbles, and shipped certaine wares to come hither. God send them in safetie. I do tarie their comming, or els I had thought to haue come to Astracan in those boates which departed hence lately.

2000. pieces of karsies to be sent into Persia.

The fifteenth of Iuly last, I departed from Casbin, and came to this towne the 29. of ye same. And the fourth of August I found meanes to arrest the falsest knaue in this countrey, to wit, the Customer for 22. tumens, and 100. shaughs, (200. shaughs is a tumen.) I haue caused him to put in suerties for his foorth comming at all times, what ende I shall haue with him, God knoweth, the debt will be recouered, but not yet, for he must pay the Shaugh 1000. rubbles. These partes as yet are in no stay for lacke of a Gouernour or head to rule, which I thinke shall bee the Mursey. Within 5. or 6. dayes we shall know, for it is time, because men are in feare to trauell for being robbed. If there were a prince placed, I should soone get in your debts, for they dare not disobey the Shaughs letters or priuiledge: wherein he hath not onely written that our debts shall be paied, but also that we shall be taken heed to, so as we need not to doubt (God willing) in time to come, to be here as wel vsed as we are in Russeland. The bils of debt that Rich. Iohnson left with me, had neither the parties name nor summe of money in two of them, and in other bils but his owne name. If I had not vsed

He departed from Casbin the 15 of Iuly.

Rich. Iohnsons great negligence.

discretion in causing to be written in our priuiledge, that such debtes as are owing, should be paied any of vs in the absence of the other, some men would not haue paied one penie, but onely to Richard Iohnson, who hath written but his owne name onely in the bils. I receiued in Casbin of Forackan in part of 29. tumens, 300. shaughs in money: the rest he will deliuer me here in silke, and this is all that I haue receiued to this day. And as for Hawrambecks twelue tumens, I make accompt, that if I could ride to speake with him, I should be paid in money and wares. Touching Ackons money, by meanes of Duke Ameddinbeck, who first owed the debt, because they meant not to pay a penie, he did rather seeke to hinder my sute then to further mee, but I found out a present remedie: for God sent me friends that were alwayes about the Shaugh, and daily put on his apparell, who opened all my sute, and brought mee to the presence of the Shaugh before that Cozomomet sawe the Shaughs eyes. But Cozomomet in the end was my friend: for he was sent for, and declared vnto the Shaugh what good merchants we were, vsing trueth in all our doings, and how we were in great fauour with the Emperour of Russia, and what good commodities wee might bring into his Countrey, with other talke. And daily he was sent for to the Shaugh about the affaires in those partes, for no man was able to aduise the Shaugh of the state and affaires of those Countreys so much as hee was. He owed your Worships seuen tumens and 48. shaughs, which was not all this time to be gotten at his hands: for hee was at great charges in riding to Casbin, and giuing great gifts since his comming, which he twise declared vnto mee. I feeling his griefe became Physicion to ease his pain, and forgaue him his debt abouesayd, in recompence of ten pieces of karsies, that were promised him by Richard Iohnson and me, to giue him at the comming of our goods, in consideration that he should with speed doe what lay in him, to dispatch me away: for I perceiue hee procured other that did helpe me in my sute to delay me of, till time he had his purpose. I neuer was in quiet, till I had the Princes priuiledge, and had got mee out of Casbin: for victuals, and all other things are very deare there, because they are brought thither from farre off. As for all other smal debts (which may be about 7. tumens) when our Merchants are come hither, we shall seeke to get them in as we may. I wish your Worships to send some

Cozomomet was Arthur Edwards friend to the Shaugh.

Victuals and all things dear at Casbin.

bullion to bee coyned here, it will please the prince there, and be profitable to you. Silke is better cheape by two or three shaughs the batman, then it was the last yeere. You shall vnderstand that I haue written two letters of all my proceedings, which I sent from Casbin long since: to wit, the 24. and 29. of Iune last, by one of your seruants to Gilan, there to take ship and to goe to Astracan, and to deliuer the same vnto your Factors, which might haue bene to their quietnes and mine, long agoe. But I am right sorie to heare since my comming hither, that he hath plaied the loitering merchant in Gilan, not going in those boats that went first, but taried for the last boats. But I will teach him, to the example of other, how he shall make haste hereafter in such affaires. The karsies which you sent last, being bought of M. Quarles, were good and full lengths and well sorted. The Princes Ambassador of Gilan was in Casbin, at my being there. I hope in God, if I remaine here, and may goe to Gilan, to obtaine for your worships the like priuiledge at the kings hand there also. For I haue something moued the matter, being put in such comfort, that I doubt not the getting thereof with small charges, which I had done at this time if I had had other here with me to put in trust: for from Casbin to Gilan is but 5. dayes riding, which Countrey may be profitable to your Worships. There is in that Prouince good store of silke, better cheape, and better in goodnesse then this countrey silke is. Also great store of Alom, being there sold this townes batman, for one bist and a halfe. I haue made reckoning, al charges borne from hence to Colmogro, and from thence fraight into England at three pounds the tunne, al charges accounted, will not stand you in aboue 18. and 20. shillings the hundreth. You haue yeerly by report two or three hundred tunnes lading. Other commodities there for England I heare not of. As for gals here to bee bought, there is no profit to be done by them. They be brought from Aleppo, and sold here not vnder 3. or 4. shaughs their batman, being six pounds English waight. Graine that you die scarlet withall is worth the batman ready mony, 200 shaughs, reckoning the shaugh for 6. pence Russe, it may be 6. rubbles their batman. Your worships may send some portion of mony, if you may buy, as I thinke you may, for 12. and 13. s. a pound the berries, so you shall gaine both in the price and waight. If one

The Ambassador of ye prince of Gilan.

Gilan but fiue dayes riding from Casbin.

Gals.

Graine.

Englishman more had bene here with me, to whom I might haue deliuered our bils of debts and other things, whatsoeuer should haue chanced of me, I would then haue become seruant to mine Interpreter, and so haue gone to Ormus and Aleppo, which both ioyne on the borders of this countrey, being the chiefe Marte townes, whereunto from all places merchants resort. And thus would I haue spent 4. or 5. months in trauelling for further knowledge of things for to haue certified your worships of. I hope in God to vse things in such order, that yeerly you shall haue returne of your goods from hence, as you haue forth of Russeland, and in those ships. For if we may, as I doubt not with diligence, prouide to make sales in time, and with speed receiue silke at the Shaughs hand, and other mens, that it may be sent from hence to be in Astracan at the beginning of Aprill, from whence it may be sent to Colmogro in three moneths and lesse, and there to be ready with the rest of your goods by the end of Iune for your ships to receiue, that will be time inough. This I doubt not to bring to passe within a yeere or two, when we are throughly setled in these parts, and better knowen. Moreouer you shall vnderstand, that at my last being in the presence of the Shaugh, it was sayd to mee that M. Anthonie Ienkinson did proffer to take all the rawe silke in those parties, deliuering cloth and other commodities for the same. I assure you there is in those parts to be had three or foure thousand horses, lading, euery horse load being 50 or 60. batmans, beside silke of Grosin. Great abundance of silke at times is sent out of these parts, to wit. 4. or 5. hundred horse lodes at a time by the Turkes, who bring great store of siluer to be coined, to wit, Dollars at ten shaughs the piece. The Hungarie Ducket is at 12. shaughs. And hauing money in readines at the time of the yeere, they buy silke the better cheape, when the countrey men bring it first to be sold. If your worships may bargaine with the Venetians to take silke at your hands, or otherwise deale with them, I doe not mistrust but to haue at the Shaughs hand sixe batmans of silke for two pieces and a halfe of karsies. Your good aduise herein, and in other matters, I trust you will write with conuenient speed. Master Anthonie Ienkinson hath deserued great commendation at all your worships hands: for the good report of his well and wise doings in those parts, was oftentimes a comfort to me to heare thereof, and some good helpe

Ormus.
Aleppo.

M. Anthonie Ienkinsons offer to the Persain.

M. Anthonie Ienkinson commended.

to me in my proceedings. To this day I neuer heard from any of our merchants. God graunt me in health to see your worships, for I haue had a carefull trauell, with many a sorowfull day and vnquiet sleepes. Neither had I the company of one English person, to whom sometimes I might haue eased my pensiue heart, as God well knoweth, who hath deliuered me from mine enemies. Thus almightie God graunt you in health and wealth long to liue.

Your humble seruant

at commandement during life,

Arthur Edwards.

Another letter of Arthur Edwards written in Astracan the 16. of Iune 1567. at his returne in his first voiage out of Persia, to the right worshipfull Companie trading into Russia, Persia, and other the North and Northeast partes.

The Shaughs letters to the Moscouy companie.

IT may please your Worships that herein I haue written not onely certaine articles of your priuiledge, but also the Gouernours names, with the Consuls, Assistants and generalitie. Also such commodities as the Prince or Emperour of the Countrey hath written in one of his letters directed to your Worships to be sent him, with other notes which I thought good to be remembered, as may appeare hereafter following. Your priuiledge is written, graunted, and giuen in the names of these sixe persons following: to wit, sir William Garrard, sir William Chester, gouernours, sir Thomas Lodge, master Anthony Ienkinson, master Thomas Nicols and Arthur Edwards.

1 First, it is granted that you shall pay no maner of customes or tols, any kinde of wayes now, nor in time comming, vnto his heires after him. And that all English merchants, such as you shall appoint now and hereafter, shall and may passe and repasse into all places of his dominions and other countries adioining in the trade of merchandise, to buy and sell all maner of commodities, with all maner of persons.

2 Item, that in all places where any of our merchants shall haue their resort, or abiding, his chiefe Gouernours, Rulers and Iustices shall take heed vnto vs, being our aide and defence against all euil persons, punishing those that shall do vs any wrong.

3 Item, that for all such debts as shall be owing by any maner of person, iustice shal be done on the partie, and we paid at the day.

4 Item, that no maner of persons whatsoeuer estate or degree they be of, shall be so hardie as to take any kind of wares, or any gifts, without any leaue and good will.

5 Item, if by chance medley any of our merchants or seruants, as God forbid, should kill any of his subiects, that no part of your goods shall be touched or medled withall, neither any partie but the offendour, and true iustice to bee ministred, and being any of vs, not to suffer without the Princes knowledge and aduise.

6 Item, that all such debts as are now owing, or hereafter shall be, are to be paied vnto any of vs, in the absence of the other, be the partie dead or aliue.

7 Item, that no person returne any kind of wares backe againe, being once bought or sold.

8 Item, that when God shall send your goods to shore, presently his people shall helpe vs on land with them.

These articles before written, I trust in God wil content your minds, vntil your farther letters be hitherto written vnto the Prince, who I am assured will graunt your farther reasonable requests, which his maiestie hath promised. For I moued the question, declaring vnto him that I thought your worships would write your letters of requests, to craue his farther good will, as should be thought meet for your better assurance in the trade of merchandise: you will hardly beleeue what long and gracious talke he had with mee, which I assure you continued two houres, which was strange vnto the people and other merchant strangers. For betwixt euery question that his maiestie moued, when I had answered him, hee would talke with his Nobles and other his seruants hauing some knowledge of our Westerne parts and commodities, and then againe would demaund other questions. He caused his Secretarie to write the articles before named, in all of his foure letters giuen me (whereof two as I required, are in the Turkish tongue to be sent you.) On the backe side of the one, hee hath written what wares his Maiestie would haue you to send him. He held me one houre within night before I departed from him.

These bee the names of the wares or commodities, which on the backe side of one of his letters the Shaugh hath written to you to be sent him.

FIrst, some cloth of Gold, with cloth of Tissue, and cloth of Botky, as Veluets wrought with gold.

Item, good veluets, to wit, crimosins, purples, reds, greenes and blackes. These colours his maiestie requireth, for they are most worne. And though there be some of these wares made in his citie of Cassan, yet nothing like in goodnes, to those that you may procure for him. Small profite I thinke will be in these wares: yet for diuers considerations, as also to satisfie the Princes mind, I wish you to send some, and those that be especiall good.

Item, good damasks and sattins of all sortes, with an hundred pieces of good chamlets, which are woorth here 80. shaughs the piece, at sixe pence the shaugh, and those silkes to bee of those colours aboue written, to wit, crimosins, purples, reds, greenes, blackes, with some light watchet colours.

Item, three or foure complete harnesses that wil abide the shot of a handgun with 10. or 12. targets of steele, being good.

Item, ten or twelue good shirts of male being very good or els none, that may abide the shot of an arrow, and two buffe ierkins.

Item, ten or twelue pieces of Westerne karsies, being thicked well and close shut in the weauing, and died into scarlets and fine reds. I thinke there wil be no such cloth for noblemens caps. The prince named them * karangies, saying, that maidens did make them, and is desirous of them.

* By the word Karangies, I thinke they meane Karsies.

Item, six pieces of fine Holland cloth for the Prince, with some other for Noblemen, of a lower price.

Item, twentie handguns being good, some of them with fire locks, and also six good dags, with locks to trauell withall.

Item 100. brusshes for garments (none made of swines haire,) for gifts, and otherwise to be sold.

Item, six stone bowes that shoot lead pellets.

Item, a mill to grind corne in the field as they goe, finely deuised: for Cozomomet willed me to write for one to be sent, to giue the Prince.

Item, the Prince requireth of all sortes and colours of London clothes. I wish you to send no lesse then 40. or 50. for I know they will be sold to profit, especially such cloth as may be affoorded for 20. shaughs the arshine, which is longer by two of mine inches then Russia arshine is. Let there be fine skarlets, violets in graine, fine reds, blacks, browne blewes, foure or fiue of euery sort, for the Prince and other lords: the rest of other colours liuely to the sight, as London russets, tawnies, lion colours, good liuely greenes, with other, as you shall thinke good: for the prince desireth to see of all sorts, which will be an occasion that the Venetians and Turkes shall bee in lesse estimation then they are: for they themselues do feare, and secretly say the same. And truely the Princes subiects intend to enter into trade with vs for spices and other commodities that they were woont to sell vnto the Venetians and Turkes.

Thus I commit you all to God, who send you health with increase of worship. Written in Astracan the 16. of Iune, 1567.

By your seruant during life to command,

Arthur Edwards.

Distances of certaine places in Russia.

The way from Saint Nicholas Baie to Mosco.

	versts
To Colmogro	100
To Vstiug	500
To Totma	250
To Vologhda	250
All by the riuer of Dwina	1100
To Yeraslaue	180
To Rostoue	60
To Peraslaue	60
To Mosko	120
By land East and West	440

The way from Mosko to Smolensko.

To Moram	300
To Smolensko	200

The way from Mosko to Nouogrod.

	versts
To Ottuer	180
To Torzhoke	60
To Wisnouolloko	60
To Nouogrod	150
Southeast and Northwest	450

The way from Nouogrod to Narue.

To Teseua	50
To the Friers	60
To Yria Niagorod	40
To Narue	15
Southwest and Northeast	165

From Nouogrod to Vobsky, is 180. versts by East.

The way from Vobski to Ry in Liefland.

	versts
To Newhouse	50

To Gouen on ye borders
To Wenden
To Trecado
To Newslot
To Rie
Al is 200 versts.

The way from Mosco to Astracan.

To Costrom
To Nisnouogrod
To Cazan
To Astracan in all is 2800 versts

The way from Vologhda to Narue.

To Belozerco	140
To Batag	80
To Witergen	40
To Ladiski	60
To Onega lake	80
To Oher	90
To Narue	180
Southwest and Northeast	770 versts

To go with a small boat within the land from S. Nicholas to Wardhouse.

To Newnox riuer
To Ousca Gouba
To Lobshanga
To Oust Nauelocki
To Orlouanos
To Solusca Monasterie
To Candelox
To Oust Colla
To Zhemaker
To Poganna Volocki
To Chibe Nauolocke
To Kegor
To Wardhouse in all 800. versts North-west and Southeast

The way from Colmogro to Mixemske Sloboda, where the Samoeds keep their Mart.

To Vst Pinnego
To Palango
To Leunona
To Vescom
To Soyaua
To Coula
To Nendega
To Lampas
To Sloboda
Al is 230 versts

The way to Vromo from Mezemske Sloboda, where the Losh hides are gotten.

To Lampas
To Pogorel
To Zapolle
To Vromo
All is 115. versts Northeast and Southwest.

The way and distances from Saint Nicholas, to the Caspian Sea.

If you goe straight from Saint Nicholas to the Caspian Sea, you must goe to Vologhda by water, as by the easiest passage, and that is accomplished, passing day and night, in foureteene dayes and foureteene nights, in boates cut out of a tree: (the boates are called Stroogs) 1100. versts it is.

By horse and sleds in 8. dayes you may passe it in Winter. In Summer the way is dangerous by meanes of marishes and bogs, and not safely then to be passed. Then from Vologhda to

Yeraslaue 180. versts ouer land. This Yeraslaue standeth vpon the riuer of Volga, 180. versts I say distant from Vologhda.

To the Caspian sea are 2700. versts from Yeraslaue.

So from S. Nicholas to the Caspian sea, are 3800. 80. versts.

The iourney from S. Nicholas to Yeraslaue is accomplished in foureteene dayes by water, and two dayes by land. 16. dayes.

From thence to Astracan men trauell by water in 30. dayes and 30. nights.

So between S. Nicholas and the Caspian sea, are 46. dayes iourney.

There passe downe Volga euery Summer, 500. boats great and smal, from all the vpper parts of the riuer, whereof some be of 500. tunne. They go for Minerall salt and for Sturgeon.

The salt lieth in rocks (and is whitish red, and in fine sand) as it were 30. miles from Astracan toward the Caspian sea. They dig it themselues and pay nothing for it, but to the prince a peny a pood, viz. 40. pound waight.

Fishing for Sturgeon for 3. moneths.

The Sturgeon which they call Ocetera is taken fiftie miles on this side Astracan. Along the riuer the space of 20. miles, they make their booties in plaine grounds, and fish for the space of three moneths, viz. from the end of May till the end of August, and hauing salt they vse to salt them.

The riuer is there 5. or 6. miles broad, but with some Islands.

The riuer below Yeraslaue, where it is most narrow, is a mile broad from side to side.

The riuer runneth vpon red clay, all woods of birch and oke on the riuer sides, saue about the townes of the fishing places.

Dwina from S. Nicholas to Vstiug runneth all on chalke and sand: the fish are sweete and fat. The Mene a fish with a great head a foot long breedeth about Vologda, and is fat and delicate.

Between Vobsko and Nouogrod, the space of an 180. miles, growēth flaxe: the whole soile in length is so imploied, and as much in breadth: this is vpon a flat soile.

The hempe groweth about Smolensko vpon the Polish border, 300. miles in compasse: much of the soile is so imploied.

The English-men in making of cables, set on worke 100. men in Russia.

Of this hempe they bring in Winter to Vologda and Colmogro, and we set in worke in making of cables aboue 100 men.

The Russians do spin and hachell it, and the English tarre it in threed and lay the cable. And one cable of those is woorth two of Danzick, because the Danzickers put in old cable and rotten stuffe, which in fowle weather is found of no strength.

Sosnoua tree excellent for the cure of the wolfe.

Sosnoua, a tree that cureth the wolfe with the shauings of the wood, groweth in these parts, and of the barks they make ropes as big as a mans arme for their boats.

The Samoeds lacking linnen make handkerchiefs and towels of the very wood of this tree. The wood of this tree is as heauie as hollie, and the shauings tough.

The description of Rose Island.

Rose Island in S. Nicholas Baie is full of Roses damaske and red, of violets and wild Rosemarie: This Island is neere 7. or 8. miles about, and good pasture, and hath the name of the roses.

The snow here about the midst of May is cleared, hauing bin two moneths in melting, then the ground is made dry within 14. dayes after, and then the grasse is knee high within a moneth. Then after September the frost commeth in, the snow is a yard deepe vpon plaine ground. The Island hath Firre and Birch, and a faire fresh spring neere the house built there by the English.

The way discouered by water by vs Thomas Southam and Iohn Sparke, from the towne of Colmogro, by the Westerne bottome of the Baie of S. Nicholas, vnto the citie of Nouogrod in Russia, containing many particulars of the way, and distance of miles, as hereafter foloweth. Anno 1566.

WE departed from Colmogro about 10. of the clocke afore noone in a Lodia or Barke, which we hired to bring vs along the coast to a place called Soroka, and in the sayd barke we hired 6. mariners, and a boy to conduct vs to the place before rehearsed.

The Lodia or barke was of the burden of 25. tunnes or thereabout, wherewith we valed downe the riuer of Dwina, the winde being then calme, vnto a monasterie, called S. Michael where we were constrained to anker because of a contrary wind which there met vs.

A verst is but 3 quarters of an english mile.

From Colmogro to this monasterie are 50. versts or miles of Russia, at which place we taried till the 21. day in the morning, and then hauing the wind somewhat faire, we set saile and departed thence.

21 We departed from the monasterie of S. Michael, hauing the wind somewhat faire, and arriued at Rose Island, ouer and against the monasterie of S. Nicholas, the 22. day at 2. of the clocke in the morning, which is 35. miles distant from the monasterie of S. Michael. By reason of contrary wind and tide we were constrained to tary there all that day.

23 We departed from the monasterie of S. Nicholas at 7. of the clocke in the euening, and came to an anker at the Beacons, and continued there vntil halfe an houre past 10. of the clocke, and then set from thence, the wind being South: our course was West vntil 5. of the clock in the morning, when as we came to an anker against Newnox towne, where we continued vntil the 25. day.

At this towne Newnox Richard Chanceller in his first voyage, with his companie ashipboard were relieued.

The sayd towne of Newnox is from the monasterie of S. Nicholas 35. miles.

25 We departed from Newnox hauen at one of the clocke in the after noone, the wind at South and Southeast, and our course Northwest and by West.

The point of Tolstick which is the headland before the entrance of Newnox hauen, and the headland of Seusemski lie next Southeast and by South, Northwest and by North. We came to an anker there this day at 4. of the clock in ye afternoone, being from Newnox hauen 15. miles, where we continued in harbour til the 27. day of the moneth, by reason of contrary winds.

27 We departed from Seusemski in the morning at 5. of the clocke, the wind next at East and by North, and our course Northwest and by West.

The said land of Seusemski and the headland going into Owna riuer lieth East and by South, west and by North, and between them is 25. miles.

This day at Sunne set we came to an Island called Sogisney passing betwixt it and the maine, with the wind at South and by East, our course was West and by South, being 85. miles from Owna riuer.

Being past the said Island 10. miles, the wind came contrary, whereupon we returned to the Island of Sogisney, where we remained vntil the 29. day.

29 The 29. day we departed from Sogisney aforesayd, at 5. of the clocke in the afternoone, the wind at East northeast, and our course was Southwest and by west, passing by an Island called

Anger, being 30. miles from Sogisney, and keeping on our course, we came by the headland of an Island called Abdon, being from the Island of Anger 15. miles, where we found many rocks: and if the great prouidence of God had not preserued vs, wee had there perished, being fallen amongst them in the night time, and our pilot none of the perfectest, which was contrary to his profession as we found it.

But whosoeuer will trauell that way must either keepe hard aboord the shore, for that there is a chanell which goeth along the coast within the rocks, or els giue the headland a birth of 6. miles at the least, and so goe a seaboord all: for there are ledges of rocks that lie fiue miles from the headland.

We gaue the headland a birth of 3. miles, notwithstanding there lay two rockes two miles to sea boord of vs, so that we were inclosed with them, and sate vpon the highest of them: but it pleased God to make it calme, and giue vs the day also, or els we had miscaried.

30 We departed from the headland of the Island of Abdon, at 4. of the clocke in the morning, directing our course West, and at 10. of the clocke before noone, we arriued at a monasterie named Solofky, which is 15. miles from Abdon.

At this monasterie we continued vntill the 31. day of this moneth. We had here deliuered vs by the chiefe monkes of the monasterie, their letter and house seale, and a seruant of theirs to conduct vs safely through the dangerous riuer of Owiga.

The people of all those parts are wild, and speake another kind of language, and are for the most part all tenants to the monasterie. The effect of the letter was, that they should be ready to helpe and assist vs in all dangerous places, and carie our boats and goods ouer land in places needfull, as in deed they did, as hereafter shall appeare.

Note, that at our being at the monasterie, there was no Abbot for the place as then chosen: for 15. dayes before our arriual there, the Abbot was sent for by the Emperour, and made Metropolitane of the realme, as he now is. The number of monkes belonging to the monasterie are at the least 200.

31 Wee departed from the monasterie of Solofky, as is aforesayde, to a faire stone house of theirs, which is 5. miles from the monasterie, lying from it South and by West.

August. 1 We departed from the Stone house at 3. of the clocke in the morning: our course was West for 60.

versts, and then passing betwixt diuers and sundry rocks, with many small Islands round about vs for the space of 20 miles, keeping most commonly the same course still, we then shaped a new course, and yet sundry times shifting, but we alwayes kept the Southwest, and neerest of all South southwest vntill we came within two miles of the entrance of the riuer Owiga where we were to beare in, West and by North.

The riuer Owiga.

From the riuer Owiga, to the Islands and rocks before mentioned, are 20. miles.

We arriued about 4. of the clocke in the after noone within the riuer of Owiga, at a place named Soroka, at which place we forsooke our barke or Lodia, and continued there in making prouision for small boates to carie vs vp the riuer vntill the 3. day of the same.

3 We departed from Soroka at two of the clocke in the afternoone, with 3. boats and 12. men to rowe, and set the foresaid boates vp the riuer of Owiga, which we hired.

We went this day 7. miles to a place called Ostroue, where we lay all night, but in the way 4. miles from Soroka, at a place where the water falleth from the rocks, as if it came steepe downe from a mountain, we were constrained to take out our goods and wares out of the said boats, and caused them to be caried a mile ouer land, and afterwards also had our boates in like sort caried or drawen ouer land by force of men which there dwelled, being tenants to the monasterie aforesaid.

The fall of a riuer.

And when our boats were come to the place where our wares were laid, we lanched our boats and laded our wares againe, and went to the place before named, where we continued and remained that night.

We departed from Ostroue in the morning before Sunne rising, rowing and setting vp the riuer 5. miles, where we came to a place whereas we were againe constrained to take out our wares, and to carie them and our boats three miles ouer land, so that with rowing, drawing and setting, we went this day 7. miles more to a place called Sloboday, where we lay all night.

5 We departed from Sloboday in the morning at Sunne rising, and at sixe of the clocke in the afternoone, we came to a village called Paranda, which is from Sloboday 30. miles, where wee remained all that night.

6 We departed from Paranda at 6. of the clocke in the morn-

ing, and all that day what with setting and drawing our boats, we went but 11. miles, for we twise vnladed our wares, and drew our boats ouerland, in one place a mile and an halfe, in another place as it were the eight part of a mile, and so we came to a place called Voyets, where we taried all that night.

7 We departed from Voyets at 4. of the clocke in the morning, and so came to an Ozera or lake, called after the name of the riuer, and vnto a place called Quequenich, wee rowed all this day, and came thither by one of the clock in the afternoone, which is 25. miles from Voyets, and there we remained all night to hire men and boats to carie vs forward on our iourney.

Here departed backe from vs the seruant which we had at the Monasterie, being sent by the monkes to go thus far with vs. And after that he had hired the boats and taken the mens names that should conduct vs, and giuen them charge to deliuer vs with all things in safetie, at a place being a litle towne called Pouensa, then hee departed from vs without taking any reward for his paines, for so he was charged and commanded by the monkes.

A lake very full of Islands.

8 We departed from Quequenich at sunne rising, and all that day rowed vpon the lake amongst many Islands. The inhabitants doe there report that there are as many Islands in their lake, as there are dayes in the yeere. In the euening we came to a village named Tellekina, which is 60. miles from Quequenich.

9 We departed from Tellekina in the morning at 5. of the clocke, and so entring into a riuer, we went that day 13. miles. In one place we caried our boates and goods ouerland 3. miles. At euening we came to a place called Oreiche na maelay, where we lay all night.

10 Wee departed thence at 5. of the clocke in the morning, and so rowing, came to a place where the riuer ended, being 20 miles distant from the place where wee lay all night, at which place wee forsooke our boates and vnladed our wares, and sent a man to the towne of Pouensa, which was seuen mile off, for horses to cary vs and our wares to the said place. The horses came, and we laded our goods, and at sixe of the clocke in the afternoone wee arriued at the towne of Pouensa, with all things in safetie.

The famous lake of Onega.

This towne of Pouensa standeth within one mile of the famous lake or Ozera of Onega, which is 320. miles long, and in some places 70. miles ouer. But where it is narrowest it is 25. miles ouer, being fed with many goodly riuers which fall into it. Hard aboord the shore within 6. miles, you shall haue 40. and 45. fathoms of depth.

Here it is to bee noted that from this place of Pouensa vnto the village of Soroka downe those dangerous riuers which wee came through, at no time of the yeere can or may any man cary or transport any goods that come from Nouogrod, or the Narue, and such other places: for in the Sommer it is impossible to cary downe any wares by reason of the great fals of water that doe descend from the rockes. Likewise in the Winter by reason of the great force and fall of waters which make so terrible raises, that in those places it neuer freezeth, but all such wares as come from Nouogrod to Pouensa, are transported by land to a place called Some in the Winter, which Some standeth on the sea side, as doth Soroka. The ready way from Pouensa by land to this place of Some, with the distance of miles I will shew hereafter.

12 We departed from Pouensa at 9. of the clocke in the morning, with 2. smal boats which we hired to cary vs to a place called Toluo vpon the lake of Onega, being 50 miles from Pouensa, where we arriued the 13. day in the morning, where wee bought a boate that caried vs and all our wares from thence to the Citie of Nouogrod.

14 We departed from Toluo at 3. of the clocke in the afternoone, and at the euening arriued at a certaine Island named Salasalma, vpon the said lake 7. miles from Toluo, and by reason of contrary windes we there taried vntill the 16. day of this moneth.

16 We departed from Salasalma, at 8. of the clocke in the morning, and came to an Island the 17. day in the morning, named Vorronia, where wee continued by reason of contrary winds, vntill the 21. day of the said moneth, and it is 60. miles from Salasalma.

21 We departed from Vorronia Island two houres before day, and arriued at S. Clements Monasterie at 2. of the clocke in the after noone, being from Vorronia 48. miles.

S. Clement his Monasterie.

22 We departed from S. Clements Monasterie at the breake of the day, hauing a faire wind all a long the lake: we sailed without striking of saile vntil two houres within night, and then entred into a riuer called Swire, at a Monasterie called Vosnessino Christo, fiue miles from the entrance of the riuer, where we taried

al night. It is from S. Clements Monastery 160. miles: the streame of that riuer went with vs.

23 Wee departed from Vosnessino Christo before Sunne rising, and valed downe the riuer sometime sailing, and sometime rowing, so that this day wee went 90. miles and lay at night at a place called Vassian.

24 Wee departed from Vassian at the breake of the day, and came to a place called ||Selucax, where we lay all night, and is 10. miles from Vassian.

|| Or Sermaxe.

25 We departed from Selucaxe at 4 of the clocke in the morning, and entred vpon the Lake of Ladiskaie, the winde being calme al that day sauing 3. houres, and then it was with vs, so that we sailed and rowed that day 10. miles, along vpon the said lake, and entred into the riuer of Volhuski, which riuer hath his beginning 20. miles aboue Nouogrod, and runneth through the midst of the Citie, and so falleth into this lake, which is farre longer then the lake of Onega, but it is not so broad. This lake falleth into the sea that commeth from the Sound: where any vessel or boat, hauing a good pilot, may goe through the Sound into England.

The riuer of Volhuski.

The lake of Ladeskai.

As soone as we were entred into the riuer, we came to a Monasterie called S. Nicholas Medued, where we lay all that night.

26 Wee departed from S. Nicholas Medued, at fiue of the clocke in the morning, rowing and drawing our boates all day, and came at night to another Monasterie called Gosnopoli, which is 30 miles from S. Nicholas Medued, where we lay all that night.

The Monasterie of Gosnopoli.

27 We departed from Gosnopoli at 6. of the clocke in the morning, and at euening came to a place called Moislaue, where we lay all night, being 46. miles from the Monasterie of Gosnopoli.

28 We departed from Moislaue, and the saide day at night came to a place called Grussina, 35. miles from Moislaue where we lodged.

29 Wee departed from Grussina in the morning, and the same day at euening came to a place called Petroe Suetoe, where we lay all night, being 40 miles from Grussina.

30 We departed from Petroe Suetoe in the morning, and at two of the clock in the afternoone we arriued at the Citie of Nouogrod, being twentie miles from Petroe Suetoe. Here we found William Rowlie Agent to

The citie of Nouogrod.

the company, who was there stayed with all his company, and was not licenced to depart thence for the Mosco, by reason that the plague was then in the Citie of Nouogrod. Vnto him we deliuered all the wares that wee brought from Colmogro, for by the way we sold not a peny worth, the people of the countrey euery where be so miserable.

The right way to bring and transport wares from Nouogrod to Rose Island into S. Nicholas bay, where our Ships yeerely lade, with the distance of miles from place to place, is as followeth :

20 Miles from Nouogrod to Petroe Suetoe.

40 Miles from thence to Grusina.

35 Miles from thence to Moislaue.

46 Miles from thence to the Monasterie Gosnopoli.

15 Miles from thence to Ladega towne.

15 Miles from thence to Selunaz ouer the lake of Ladega, albeit there be many villages all along the lake.

180 Miles from Ladega towne vp the riuer of Swire, vnto the Monasterie of Vosnessino Christo, albeit there are many villages vpon the riuer : for within euery fiue or sixe miles you shall haue villages or small townes.

160 Miles from Vosnessino Christo to S. Clements Monastery, albeit there be many villages all along the lake of Onega.

48 Miles from thence to Voronia.

67 Miles from thence to Toluo towne : and there are diuers villages al along the lake where the carriers may lie, and haue meate for man and horse.

50 Miles from thence to Pouensa, where Onega lake endeth.

The way from Pouensa to Some towne is this :

30 Miles from Pouensa to Mastelina.
10 Miles from thence to Tellekina.
30 Miles from thence to Toluich.
35 Miles from thence to Carraich.
20 Miles from thence to Varnich.
10 Miles from thence to Ostrouo.
15 Miles from thence to Lapina.
20 Miles from thence to Some it selfe.

Note, that from the Citie of Nouogrod vnto the towne of Some is 936. miles, and from the towne of Some vnto the Monasterie of S. Nicholas or Rose Island, ouer and against where our Ships do ride, is iust as many miles as is Soroka village from S. Nicholas, as the Russes doe accompt it, as also we do iudge it, namely 325. miles. So that from Nouogrod to S. Nicholas road, is by our accompt 1261. miles or versts.

Trauel by Sleds.

Furthermore it is to be noted that all such wares as shall be bought at Nouogrod, and sent to Some towne, must be sent by sled way in the Winter: for if any ware should be sent from Nouogrod by water in the spring of the yeere after the yce is gone, then must the said wares remaine at Pouensa towne al that Summer, by reason that in the Summer there is no way to goe from Pouensa vnto Some towne.

2000. Sleds belonging to one towne.

At Pouensa there are many warehouses to be hired, so that if there were as much goods as ten ships could cary away, you might haue warehouses to put it in: but if there should remaine much ware all the Summer, to be caried in the Winter to Some towne, then horses are not easily to be gotten at that place to cary it thither: so that your wares once bought at Nouogrod, you must haue cariers there to cary it to the towne of Some by Sleds, whereof you may there haue 2000. if you will, by the report of the Russes.

For from Nouogrod yerely there go many Sleds in the Winter to fetche salt from Some, with carriers and emptie Sleds there to buy it, and to bring it to Nouogrod to sell it in the market or otherwise.

A good caueat for seasonable trauell.

From Nouogrod vnto Some towne you may haue a pood of wares caried for eight pence or nine pence: but in any wise your wares must bee sent from Nouogrod by the sixt of Ianuary, so that the wares may bee at Some by Candlemas, or soone after: for if your wares should tary by the way vntill the 15. of February, when the Sunne is of some power, then is it dangerous: for the heate of the Sunne in the day causeth the deepe lakes of Ladega, and specially of Onega to cleaue: and if there should come then a sudden thaw, as oftentimes in that time of the yeere doeth, then doe these lakes open and breake, whereby many men are lost, and both men and horse drowned, although other riuers do remaine frozen a long time after.

In the towne of Some also there are many warehouses, whereof we cannot be destitute for the reposing of our wares, as also as many barkes as you wil to transport your wares from thence to S. Nicholas road, and that for three pence a poods caryage: so that from the Citie of Nouogrod vnto S. Nicholas road you may haue wares caried for two altines. The pood commeth vnto 23. altines the tunne.

Prouided alwayes, that you buy your wares there your selfe, and send it thence: for there is no hope that the natiues will bring their wares from Nouogrod to Some, in hope to sell vnto vs, considering the great trade that they haue at the Narue, which is within 180. miles off them.

Nouogrod within 180 miles of the Narue.

Written by Thomas Southam a seruant
to the company.

An Act for the corporation of Merchants aduenturers for the discouering of new trades, made in the eight yere of Queene Elizabeth. Anno 1566.

WHereas diuers very good Subiects of this Realme of England in the latter end of the reigne of the late right high and mightie prince our Soueraigne Lord king Edward the sixt, at the gracious incouragement, and right good liking of the said king, and by his Maiesties liberall example, did at their aduenture, and to their exceeding great charges, for the glory of God, the honor and increase of the reuenues of the Crowne, and the common vtilitie of the whole Realme of England, set forth three ships for the discouery by Sea, of Isles, lands, territories, dominions, and Seigniories vnknowen, and by the Subiects of the sayd late king not commonly by seas frequented: and after that Almightie God had called to his mercie the said king, who died before the finishing and sealing of his most ample and gracious letters of priuiledges promised to the said Subiects, as wel in consideration of the said enterprise, as for diuers other respects it pleased our late soueraigne Q. Mary, at the humble suites of the same subiects, to graunt by her letters Patents vnder the great Seale of England, bearing date at Westminster the 26. day of February, in the second yeere of her raigne, for the considerations mentioned in the said letters Patents, to the saide subiects being specially named in the saide letters Patents, and to their successors, that they by the name of Merchants aduenturers of England, for the discouerie of lands, territories, Isles, dominions, and Seigniores vnknowen, and not before their late aduenture or enterprise, by seas or Nauigations commonly frequented, shonld be from thenceforth one body, and perpetual felowship and communalitie of themselues, both in deed and in name, and that same felowship and communaltie from thenceforth should and might haue one or two gouernours, foure

Consuls, and 24. assistants, of the said felowship and comminaltie of Merchants aduenturers, and that they by the name of the Gouernour, Consuls, assistants, felowship, and comminaltie of Merchants aduenturers, for the discouery of lands, territories, Isles, dominions, and Seigniories vnknowen by the seas and Nauigations, and not before their said late aduenture or enterprise, by Seas frequented, should or might be able in the lawe to implead and to be impleaded, to answere and to be answered, to defend and to be defended, before whatsoeuer Iudge or Iustice temporall or spiritual, or other persons whatsoeuer, in whatsoeuer court or courts, and in all actions, real, personal, and mixt, and in euery of them, and in all plaints of Nouel deseision, and also in all plaints, suites, quarrels, affaires, businesse, and demaunds whatsoeuer they be, touching and concerning the said felowship and comminaltie, and the affaires and businesse of the same only in as ample maner and forme, as any other corporation of this Realme might doe, giuing also, and granting vnto them by the said letters Patents, diuers authorities, powers, iurisdictions, preheminences, franchises, liberties and priuiledges, as by the same letters Patents more at large will appeare. And among other things mentioned in the said letters Patents, whereas one of the three ships, by the said fellowship before that time set foorth for the voyage of discouery aforesaid, named the Edward Bonauenture, had arriued within the Empire and dominion of the high and mightie Prince Lord Iohn Vasiliwich, Emperour of all Russia, Vlodimersky, great duke of Musky, &c. who receiued the Captaine and Merchants of the saide shippe very graciously, granting vnto them freely to traffique with his subiects in all kinde of Merchandizes, with diuers other gracious priuiledges and liberties: therefore the said late Queene by the same letters Patents, for her, her heires and successors, did graunt that all the maine lands, Isles, ports, hauens, creeks, and riuers of the said mighty Emperour of all Russia, and great duke of Mosco, &c. and all and singular other lands, dominions, territories, Isles, ports, hauens, creeks, riuers, armes of the seas, of al and euery other Emperour, king, prince, ruler, or gouernour whatsoeuer he or they be, before the said late aduenture or enterprise not knowen, or by the aforesaid merchants and subiects of the said king and Queene, by the seas not commonly frequented, nor any part or parcel thereof, and lying Northwards, Northeastwards, or Northwestwards, as in the said letters patents is mentioned, should not be visited, frequented nor haunted by any the subiects of the said late Queene, other then of the said company and fellowship, and their successors, without expresse licence, agreement, and consent of the Gouerner, Consuls, and Assistants of the said felowship, and communaltie or the more part of them, in maner and forme, as is expressed in the saide letters patents, vpon paine of forfeiture and losse aswell of the ship and ships, with the appurtenances, as also of the goods, merchandizes, and things whatsoeuer they be, of those the subiects of the said late Queene not being of the saide fellowship and communaltie, which should attempt or presume to saile to any of those places, which then were, or after should happen to be found and traffiqued vnto, the one halfe of the same forfeiture to be to the vse of the said late Queene, her heires and successors, and the other halfe to be to the vse of the said felowship and communaltie, as by the same letters patents more plainly will appeare.

Since the making of which letters patents, the said fellowship haue, to their exceeding great costes, losses and expences, not onely by their trading into the said dominions of the saide mightie prince of Russia, &c. found out conuenient way to saile into the saide dominions: but also passing thorow the same, and ouer the Caspian sea, haue discouered very commodious trades into Armenia, Media, Hyrcania, Persia, and other dominions in Asia minor, hoping by Gods grace to discouer also the countrey of Cathaia, and other regions very conuenient to be traded into by merchants of this realme, for the great benefite and commodities of the same.

And forasmuch as diuers subiects of this realme, vnderstanding the premises, and perceiuing that now after the charge and trauel aforesaid, diuers wares and merchandizes are brought by the saide fellowship into this Realme, out of the dominions already discouered, which bee within this realme of good estimation, minding for their peculiar gaine, vtterly to decay the trade of the sayde fellowship, haue contrary to the tenor of the same letters patents, in great disorder traded into the dominions of the said mightie prince of Russia, &c. to the great detriment of this common wealth: And for that the name by which the saide felowship is incorporated by the letters patents aforesaid, is long, and consisteth of very many words: Therfore be it enacted by the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in

This is meant for Alderman Bond the elder.

this present parliament assembled, and by authoritie of the same, that the said felowship, company, society and corporation made or created by the said letters patents, shal at al time and times from henceforth be incorporated, named and called only by the name of the fellowship of English merchants, for discouery of new trades, and by the same name for euer shall and may continue a perpetuall body incorporate in deede and name, and onely by the same name from henceforth, shall implead, and be impleaded, answere and be answered, defend and be defended, sue and bee sued, in whatsoeuer courts and places, and shall and may by the same name bee inabled to purchase, haue, holde, possesse, reteine, and enioy whatsoeuer manors, landes, tenements, rents, reuersions, seruices, and hereditaments not exceeding a hundred marks yeerly, not being holden of the Queenes maiestie, her heires, or successors by knights seruice in Capite, and all goods, merchandizes, chattels, and other things whatsoeuer, and shall and may by the same name make and do all things as any other corporation may do, and also shall haue and enioy all and singular the liberties, priuiledges, iurisdictions, franchises, preheminences, powers, authorities, and things, and may doe and execute all other matters and things in the sayd letters patents mentioned, or in any wise conteined. And that no part nor parcell of the maine lands, Isles, ports, hauens, roades, creekes, riuers, armes of the seas of any Emperour, king, prince, ruler or gouernor whatsoeuer he or they be, before the said first enterprise made by the merchants, of the saide corporation, not knowen by the merchants and subiects of this Realme, or by them not commonly by seas frequented, and lying from the City of London Northwards, Northwestwards, or Northeastwards, nor any part or parcel of the maine lands, dominions, isles, ports, roades, hauens, creeks, armes of the Seas, that now be subiect to the said high and mightie prince Lord Iohn Vasiliwich, his heires, or successours, or to the Emperour, chiefe gouernour or ruler of the said country of Russia for the time being, his heires or successors, nor the countries of Armenia maior or minor, Media, Hyrcania, Persia, or the Caspian sea, nor any part of them shall be sailed or traffiqued vnto, visited, frequented, or haunted by any person being or that shalbe a subiect or denizen of this realme, by themselues, their factor or factors, or any other to their vse or commoditie, by any wayes or meanes, directly or indirectly,

English Merchants for discouery of new trades.

other then by the order, agreement, consent, or ratification of the gouernour, Consuls and assistants of the saide fellowship and comminaltie, or the more part of them, and their successors for the time being: vpon paine that euery person and persons offending in this behalfe, shall forfeit and loose, Ipso facto, euery such ship and ships, with the appurtenances, and all such goods, Merchandizes, and things whatsoeuer, as by any such person or persons shalbe by any wayes or meanes, directly or indirectly, prouided, caried, conducted, brought, or exchanged, in, at, to, through or from any of the places prohibited, as is aforesaide, contrary to the true intent of this statute: the one moietie of all which forfeitures to bee to our said souereigne Lady the Queenes Maiestie, her heires and successors, and the other moietie thereof to the sayde fellowship of English Merchants for discouery of newe trades, and their successors, to be seized and taken wheresoeuer they may be found, by any person or persons, to the vse of our said Souereigne Lady, her heires and successors, and of the said fellowship of English Merchants for discouery of newe trades, and of their successors, or the same or the value thereof to bee demaunded or sued for by the Queenes highnesse, her heires and successors, or by the saide fellowship of English Merchants for the discouery of newe trades, or their successors, or their atturney or atturneis, or by any person or persons being of the same fellowship of English Merchants for discouery of newe trades, or their successors in any court of Record, or in any other Court or courtes within this Realme, or els where, by Action of debt, action of detinue, bill, plaint, information, or otherwise: in which suite no essoine, protection, wager of lawe, or iniunction shal be allowed, for, or on the behalfe of the partie or parties defendant.

Prouided alwayes, that whereas diuers Subiects of this Realme being not of the fellowship aforesaid, haue heretofore made aduentures to and from some of the places prohibited by the said letters patents, that the said subiects, their heires, executors, administrators and assignees, or any of them shall not be impeached, impleaded, troubled, sued, nor molested for the same in their goods or persons in any maner of wise, either by our saide soueraigne Lady, her heires or successors, or the said fellowship, or their successors.

Prouided also, that it shall be lawfull for any subiect of this Realme, hauing presently any shipping, goods, wares, or ready money, remayning at or in any place, of or within the dominion of the said mighty prince of Russia, or in any other of the places prohibited to be visited or traffiqued vnto by this statute or the said letters Patent, to fetch, bring, and conuey the same, or cause the same to be brought or conueyed from thence by sea or otherwise, before the feast of S. Iohn Baptist, which shalbe in the yeere of our Lord God 1568. any thing conteined in this statute, or in the said letters Patents to the contrary notwithstanding.

Prouided also, that it shall be lawfull for any of the subiects of this Realme, to saile to the port, towne, territorie, or castle of Wardhouse, or to any of the coastes, townes, hauens, creekes, riuers, Islands, and land of Norway for trade of fishing or any other trade there vsed by the subiects of this Realme, any thing in this statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

And for the better maintenance of the Nauie and Mariners of this Realme, be it prouided and inacted, that it shall not be lawfull to the saide fellowship and company, nor to any of them to cary and transport, or cause to be caried any commodie of this Realme to their newe trade, but onely in English ships, and to be sailed for the most part with English Mariners, nor also to bring into this Realme nor into Flanders from their saide new trade, any merchandizes, or other commodities but in English ships, and sailed for the most part by the English Mariners, on paine to forfeit for euery such offence two hundred pounds, whereof the one moietie shall be to the Queenes Maiestie, her heires and successors, the other moietie to the head officers of any port towne, hauing any hauen or harborough decayed, by what name soeuer they bee incorporate, to the reparation of such harborough, that will sue for the same in any Court of Record, by action, bill, plaint or information, wherein no essoine, protection, wager of lawe for the defendant shall be admitted or allowed.

Prouided also, and be it enacted, that no maner of person or persons shall from henceforth carrie or transport, or cause to be carried or transported out of this Realme of England, any maner of clothes or karsies into any of the partes where the said fellowship and societie is priuiledged to trade by this Act, before the same clothes and karsies shall be all dressed, and for the most part died within this Realme vpon paine of forfeiture for euery such cloth and karsie, otherwise caried and transported, fiue pounds: the one halfe thereof to the Queenes Maiestie, her heires and successors, the other halfe to the Master and Wardens of the

Cloth-workers in the Citie of London for the time being, by what name soeuer they be incorporate that will sue for the same.

Prouided also that whensoeuer the said societie or company shall willingly withdraw, and discontinue wholy by the space of three yeeres in time of peace, the discharging of their merchandizes at the road of S. Nicholas bay in Russia, and doe not discharge their said merchandizes at some other port or roade lying on that North coast of Russia, or other territorie nowe subiect to the saide mightie prince of Russia, &c. hitherto by the subiects of this realme not commonly frequented, that then during the time of any such discontinuance and withdrawing, as is aforesaid, it shalbe lawful to all the subiects of this realme to trade to the Narue onely in English bottoms, any thing in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

Prouided also, that euery of the Queenes Maiesties Subiects inhabiting within the Citie of Yorke, the townes of Newcastle vpon Tine, Hull and of Boston, hauing continually traded the course of merchandize by the space of ten yeeres, and which before the 25. of December that shalbe in Anno D. 1567. shal contribute, ioyne, and put in stocke, to, with, and amongst the said company, such summe and summes of money, as any of the said company, which hath throughly continued and contributed to the saide newe trade, from the yeere 1552. hath done, and before the saide 25. of December 1567. shall do for the furniture of one ordinary, full and intire portion, or share, and do in all things behaue himselfe as others of the said societie be bound to doe, and hereafter shall bee bound to do by the priuiledges, ordinances and statutes of the saide company, shall from the same 25. day of December 1567. be, and be accompted free, and as one of the said societie and company, and subiect to the priuiledges, ordinances and statutes of the saide company, reasonably made and to be made, any thing in this present Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

◆

59

A very briefe remembrance of a voyage made by M. Anthony Ienkinson, from London in Moscouia, sent from the Queenes Maiestie to the Emperour, in the yeere 1566.

THe fourth day of May in the yere aforesaid, I imbarked my selfe at Grauesend in the good ship called the Harry of London, and hauing had a prosperous voyage arriued at the bay of S. Nicholas in Russia the 10. day of Iuly following, and immediately I sent in post to the Emperor to aduertise of my comming, and traueiling then thorowe the countrey, I with my company came to the Mosco where the Emperour kept his court, the 23. of August and foorthwith gaue the Secretarie to vnderstand of my arriuall, who aduertised the Emperours Maiestie of it, and the first day of September, being a solemne feast among the Russes, I came before the Emperours Maiestie, sitting in his seate of honour, and hauing kissed his hand and done the Queenes Maiesties commendations, and deliuered her graces letters and present, he bad me to dinner, which I accepted, and had much honour done vnto me both then and all the time of my abode in Russia.

Printed by E. & G. Goldsmid, Granton, Edinburgh.

11

The Priuiledges graunted by the Emperour of Russia to the English merchants of that company: obteined the 22. of September, Anno 1567. by M. Anthony Ienkinson.

One onely strengthener of all things, and God without beginning, which was before the world, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, our onely God in Trinitie, and maker of all things whom we worship in all things, and in all places, the doer and fulfiller of all things, which is the perfect knowledge giuer of the true God, our Lorde Iesus Christ, with the comforter the holy Spirit, and thou which art the strengthener of our faith, keepe vs together, and giue vs health to preserue our kingdome, thou giuer of all good fruites, and helper of all Christian beleeuers.

We great lord by the grace of God, and great duke Iohn Vasiliwich of all Russia, Volodimer, Mosco, Nouogrod, Cazan, Astracan, Plesco, Smolensko, Tweria, Yougorie, Fadika, Bulgar, Sybier and others, Emperour and great duke of Nouogrod of the lower land of Chernygo, Rezan, Polotski, Rostoue, Yereslaue, Bealozera, Oudoria, Obdorio, Condensa, and lord of many other lands, and of all the North parts, commander and lord of Liffeland.

Whereas our sister Queene Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, hath written to vs her letters, that wee would graunt her merchants, William Garrard, William Chester, Rowland Heyward, Lawrence Hussie, Iohn Marsh, Anthony Ienkinson, William Rowly, and their company of England, to come in ships into this kingdome, and those merchants, William Garrard and his company haue required of vs that we would graunt and licence them to come into our countrey of Dwina, with all kind of wares at wil, to our City of Mosco, and to all our castles in our kingdomes, we for our sisters sake Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, haue licenced her merchants, William Garrard and his company to passe in ships to our kingdome of Colmogro, and to the land of Dwina, and to all other our inheritances in the North parts, with all kind of wares to our city of Mosco, and to all castles and townes in our kingdome. And sir William Garrard and his company desired of vs, that we would graunt them licence to passe to our inheritance of Cazan and Astracan, and into our inheritance of Nouogrod the great, and to our inheritance of Lifland to Narue and Dorpe, and to other our castles and townes of Lifland, with all kinde of wares, and the trade to be without custome, which request we haue graunted to sir William Garrard and his company, and haue giuen them licence to passe to our inheritance of Cazan and Astracan, and Nouogrod the great, and into our inheritance of Lifland, Narue and Dorpe, and other places of our inheritance in Lifland with all kinde of wares, to buy, barter and sell at will, without custome: and what wares soeuer they bring out of England, or out of any other countrey, needfull or necessary, that they shall bring all those wares needfull or necessary to our treasury, and those wares there to be opened, and then to take out of the same such wares as shalbe needful for our treasury, and the rest being deliuered againe, to sell and barter at their pleasure, and to sell none of the fine wares before they be seene of our chancellers, except sorting clothes, and other wares not meat for our treasury: and when our chanceller will send our treasure out of our treasury with them, they shall take it with them, and so sell and barter it for wares meet for our treasury, and bring it to our treasury, and they to take no other mens wares to barter or sell with them, nor yet our people to buy or sell for them their wares: and if those English merchants do desire to passe out of our kingdome of Astracan to Boghar, Shamaky, Chaday, or into any other countreys, or els to go into their owne countrey, then they to take their treasure with them, and to barter and sell it for wares necessary for our treasury, and to bring it and deliuer it to our chanceller, and when they come backe againe to our inheritance of Cazan and Astracan, or to any other of our castles and townes, that then our captaine of Cazan and Astracan, and all other our people of charge shall not holde them, but with speed let them passe without taking custome of them or their wares, and without opening or looking vpon them in any wise: and when they haue not our treasure with them, that then likewise no custome shalbe taken of them nor their wares to be seene of any man.

And likewise we haue granted them to buy and sell in all our kingdomes and castles, with all kinde of wares: and we haue also licenced them, that when those English merchants do desire to buy and sell with our merchants wholly together, that they shall haue liberty so to do wholly together: and they that do desire to sell their owne wares by retaile in their owne house, that then they sell it in their own house by retaile to our people and other strangers, as they can agree: and weights and arshnids to be kept in their house with our seale, and they themselues to barter and sell their owne wares: and no Russe merchant in Mosco, or any other place in our kingdome to sell for them any wares, nor to buy or barter any wares for them, nor couler any strangers goods. And whereas those merchants of England, sir William Garrard and his company do desire to sell their wares at Colmogro, Dwina, Vologda, Yeraslaue, Costrum, and in Nouogrod the lower, Cazan, Astracan, great Nouogrod, Plesko, Narue, Dorpe, and in other our townes and castles, they shall haue their will to sell it: and of their wares of England and Russeland no custome shalbe taken, neither they nor their wares shalbe stayed in any place: and when they depart out of Mosco, to aduertise our chancellor thereof, and not to giue any note or inuentory of any kinde of their wares they cary away: and when the English merchants, sir William Garrard and his company do come vpon the sea, and by misfortune haue their ships cast away vpon those coasts of the North parts, then we will their goods to be sought out with trueth, and to be deliuered to sir William Garrard and his company, which as then shall be found in our countrey: and if that sir William Garrards company be not in the Mosco nor in our countrey: then we will and command that those goods of theirs shall be layd vp in a place of safegard vntil such time as the said sir William Garrard or his company come to demand the same: and then at their comming we will that it shall be deliuered. And whereas heretofore we haue giuen sir William Garrard and his company in this our kingdome of Mosco the new castle by the church of S. Maxim behinde the market, they shal there stil holde their house as heretofore we haue giuen them, paying no custome for the same: and we also do licence them to keepe one Russe porter or two or els of their owne countrey, and those porters shall dwell with them, and not sell for them, nor barter, nor buy for them: And also I haue granted them to buy a house at Volodga and at Colmogro, or in any other place where they can chuse for them selues any good harbour, and there they to set vp those houses in those places at their owne charges: and in Vologda or the other houses to keepe two or three porters of their owne, or else two or three Russes, and their wares to be layed vp in those houses, and to sell their owne wares at will: and the porters without them to sell none of their wares, neither yet to buy any for them. And our officers of Colmogro and Dwina, and of other our castles and townes shall not looke ouer their wares, nor take any custome thereof: neither shall those English merchants sir William Garrard and his company be iudged by any of them. And when the English merchants shall send from our kingdome their owne people into their owne countrey by land ouer other kingdomes whatsoeuer they be, they may without ware send their owne people at their pleasure. And when any matter of law doth fall out in their trade of merchandise, then they shall be iudged by our chancellers, and law shalbe done with equitie betwixt our people and them: and when they cannot be iudged by law, they then shalbe tried by lots, and whose lot is first taken out, he shall haue the right. And if it happen any of those merchants to haue any matter of law in any other part of our dominions for trade of merchants, then our captaines, iudges, and chiefe officers shall heare the matter, and administer iustice with equity and trueth, and where law can take no place, to be tried by lots, and his lot that is first taken out to haue the right, and for their matters of law no custome to be payed.

Triall by lots.

Furthermore, we for our sisters sake Elizabeth haue granted, that none beside sir William Garrard and his company, out of what kingdome soeuer it be, England or other, shall come in trade of merchandise nor otherwise to Colmogro, nor to the riuer Ob, nor within Wardhouse, nor to Petzora, nor Cola, nor Mezen, nor to the abbey of Petchingo, nor to the island of Shallawy, nor to any mouth of the riuer of Dwina, nor to any part of the North countrey of our coast. And if any merchant, out of what countrey soeuer it be, doe come with ship or shippes, busses, or any other kinde of vessell to any of our harbours, within all our North parts, we will that then the people and goods, ship or ships, shalbe confiscate, and forfeited to vs the Emperour and great Duke.

The riuer of Ob traffikable.

Giuen in our kingdome and house of Mosco, the yeere from the beginning of the world 7076, in the moneth of September, and in the 34 yeere of our reigne, and in our conquest of Cazan 16, and in our conquest of Astracan 15.

Perused and allowed by vs:
Anthonie Ienkinson.
William Rowly.
Thomas Hawtry.
Thomas Sowtham.
Rafe Rutter, our translatour hereof of the Russe tongue.

A letter of M. Henrie Lane to M. Richard Hakluit, concerning the first ambassage to our most gracious Queene Elizabeth from the Russian Emperour anno 1567, and other notable matters incident to those places and times.

WOrshipfull sir, because I finde you haue the successe and proceedings of Osep Napea the first ambassadour of the Russian Emperour to the Maiesties of King Philip and Queene Marie, at what time and at his returne I was remaining in Russia, and do not finde that the perfect knowledge of the first ambassage from thence to this our Soueraigne Ladie Queene Elizabeth is come to your hands, betweene whose Highnesse and the ambassadours I was interpretour, I thinke good to expresse it. In August Anno 1567 arriued at London with their retinue two especiall authorised messengers, named Stephen Twerdico, and Theodore Pogorella, with letters and presents to her Maiesty, at that time being at Otelands, where diuers of the chiefe merchants of the Russian company did associate them, and I there doing my duetie and office of interpretour, her Maiestie gaue them audience. First they rehearsed the long stile and Maiesty of their Master, with his most friendly and hearty commendations to her Highnesse, and then they testified the singuler great ioy and pleasure that he conceiued to heare of her most princely estate, dignitie and health: and lastly, they deliuered their letters and presents. The presents sent vnto her Maiesty were Sables, both in paires for tippets, and two timbars, to wit, two times fortie, with Luserns and other rich furres. For at that time that princely ancient ornament of furres was yet in vse. And great pitie but that it might be renewed, especiall in Court, and among Magistrates, not onely for the restoring of an olde worshipfull Art and Companie, but also because they be for our climate wholesome, delicate, graue and comely: expressing dignitie, comforting age, and of longer continuance, and better with small cost to be preserued, then these new silks, shagges, and ragges, wherein a great part of the wealth of the land is hastily consumed.

The vse of furres wholesome, delicate, graue and comely.

These ambassadours were appointed lodging and enterteinement by the Moscouie company at their house then in Seething Lane, and were sundrie times after permitted to be in presence. And in May 1568 tooke their leaue at Greenwich, where they vnderstood and had the Queenes Maiesties minde, letters and reward. At the latter part of her talke, her Highnesse considering that our trade to Saint Nicholas since the beginning had bene offensiue to diuers princes, states, and merchants Eastward, vsed these speeches or the like: Who is or shall be more touched by detractours, with flying tales and vntrue reports, then Princes and Rulers, to the breach of loue and vnitie? your Master and I in things that passe by word and writing, I doubt not will keepe and performe promises. If he heare the contrary of me, let him suspend his iudgement, and not be light of credit, and so will I. These words they termed her Maiesties golden speech: and kneeling downe, kissed her hand, and departed.

The trade to S. Nicholas offensiue to diuers princes and states Eastward.

The letters that these two messengers brought, were deliuered to me by my Lord Treasurour, being then Secretarie, to be translated, the copies whereof I had, but now cannot finde. The copie of the Queenes Maiesties letter I send inclosed herewith vnto your worship. I also haue sent you a copy of a letter written from the king of Polonia to the Queenes Maiestie, with other letters from some of our nation and factours, declaring the displeasure for our trafficke to the Russes from Anno 1558 to the yere 1566, especially by the way of the Narue: in which yere of 1566, hauing generall procuration and commission from the Company, I was in the Low countrey at Antwerpe and Amsterdam, and sometimes in company with Polacks, Danskers, and Easterlings: and by reason I had bene a lidger in Russia, I could the better reply and proue, that their owne nations and the Italians were most guiltie of the accusations written by the king of Poland.

This king Sigismundus[*] (whose ambassadours very sumptuous I haue seene at Mosco) was reported to be too milde in suffering the Moscouites. Before our trafficke they ouerranne his great dukedome of Lituania, and tooke Smolensco, carrying the people captiues to Mosco. And in the yere 1563, as appeareth by Thomas Alcocks letter, they suffered the Russe likewise in that Duchy to take a principall city called Polotzko, with the lord and people thereof. Likewise the said Sigismundus and the king of Sweden did not looke to the protection of Liuonia, but lost all, except Rie and Reuel, and the Russe made the Narue his port to trafficke, not onely to vs, but to Lubec and others, generall. And still from those parts the Moscouites were furnished out of Dutchland by enterlopers with all arts and artificers, and had few or none by vs. The Italians also furnished them with engines of warre, and taught them warrelike stratagemes, and the arte of fortification. In the dayes of Sigismund, the Russe would tant the Polacks, that they loued their ease at home with their wiues, and to drinke, and were not at commandement of their king. This Sigismund had to wife the daughter of Ferdinando, Charles the fifts brother, and he died without issue. Since which time their late elected king Stephanus Batore[†] kept the Russe in better order, and recouered Polotzko againe in the yere 1579. Thus with my hearty farewell I take my leaue of your worship.

Smolensko won by the Russe.

Polotzko taken.

Polotzko recouered by Stephanus Batore.

Your assured friend Henrie Lane.

---

[*] Sigismund II. the last of the Jagellon race, added Livonia to his kingdom. He reigned from 1548 to 1572. It was after his death that the King of Poland became an elective instead of an hereditary sovereign.

[†] Stephen Bathore, the second Elected-King, established the Cossacks as a militia. He died in 1586.

A Letter of the most excellent Maiestie of Queene Elizabeth, sent by Stephen Twerdico and Pheodata Pogorella, messengers of the Emperour of Russia, vnto their Master the 9th of May 1568.

Imperatori Moscouitarum, &c.

ELIZABETHA &c. Literas vestræ Maiestatis superiori anno 1567, decimo die mensis Aprilis datas, vestri mercatores Stephanus Twerdico, et Pheodata Pogorella, qui has nostras perferunt, nobis tradidêre. Quos vestros mercatores in omni suo apud nos et nostros obeundo negotio, ita tractari, et libenti voluntate, et expresso nostro mandato curauimus, vt non solum vestræ Maiestatis pro illis postulationi, sed eorundem etiam hominum expectationi plenè satisfactum esse confidamus. Id quod eò fecimus studiosiùs, quod plane perspectum, probéque cognitum habeamus, nostros omnes, qui bona cum gratia nostra, nostrarúmque literarum commendatione, istuc, sub vestro imperio negotiaturi veniunt, pari, cum vestræ Maiestatis fauore, tum vestrorum subditorum humanitate, vbiuis acceptos esse. Quæ nostra vtrobíque, et mutuæ inter nos amicitiæ, et gratæ inter nostros beneuolentiæ officia, vt crebra et perpetua existant, nos admodum postulamus. Quem animi nostri sensum fusius hi vestri, et opportunius suo sermone coram declarabunt: Quibus non dubitamus, quin vestra Maiestas amplam fidem sit tributura. Deus &c. Grenouici nono die Maij 1567.

The ambassage of the right worshipfull Master Thomas Randolfe, Esquire, to the Emperour of Russia, in the yeere 1568, briefly written by himselfe.

In this voyage went Thomas Bannister, and Geofrey Ducket, for their voyage into Persia.

THe 22 day of Iune, in the yere of our Lord 1568, I went aboord the Harry, lying in the road at Harwich with my company, being to the number of fortie persons or thereabout: of which the one halfe were gentlemen, desirous to see the world.

Within one dayes sailing, we were out of the sight of land, and following our course directly North, till we came to the North Cape, we sailed for the space of twelue dayes with a prosperous winde, without tempest or outrage of sea: hauing compassed the North Cape we directed our course flat

Southeast, hauing vpon our right hand Norway, Wardhouse, Lapland, all out of sight till we came to Cape Gallant: and so sailing betweene two bayes, the two and thirtieth day after our departure from Harwich, we cast ancre at Saint Nicholas road. In all the time of our voyage, more then the great number of Whales ingendering together, which we might plainly beholde, and the Sperma Cetæ, which we might see swimming vpon the sea, there was no great thing to be woondered at. Sometimes we had calmes, wherein our Mariners fished, and tooke good store of diuers sorts. At S. Nicholas we landed the 23 of Iuly, where there standeth an abbey of Monks (to the number of twentie) built all of wood: the apparell of the Monks is superstitious, in blacke hoods, as ours haue bene. Their Church is faire, but full of painted images, tapers, and candles. Their owne houses are low, and small roomes. They lie apart, they eat together, and are much giuen to drunkennesse, vnlearned, write they can, preach they doe neuer, ceremonious in their Church, and long in their prayers.

The abbey of S. Nicholas of 20 Monks.

At my first arriuall I was presented from their Prior with two great rie loaues, fish both salt and fresh of diuers sorts, both sea fish and fresh water, one sheepe aliue, blacke, with a white face, to be the more gratefull vnto me, and so with many solemne words inuiting me to see their house, they tooke their leaue.

Towne or habitation at S. Nicholas there is none more then about foure houses neere the abbey, and another built by the English Company for their owne vse.

The English house at S. Nicholas.

This part of the countrey is most part wood, sauing here and there pasture and arable ground, many riuers and diuers Islands vnhabited, as the most part of the countrey is, for the coldnesse in Winter.

S. Nicholas standeth Northeast: the eleuation of the pole 64 degrees. The riuer that runneth there into the sea is called Dwina, very large, but shallow. This riuer taketh his beginning about 700 miles within the countrey, and vpon the riuer standeth Colmogro, and many prety villages, well situated for pasture, arable land, wood, and water. The riuer pleasant betweene hie hils of either side inwardly inhabited, and in a maner a wildernesse of hie firre trees, and other wood.

The riuer of Dwina.

Colmogro.

At Colmogro being 100 versts, which we account for three quarters of a mile euery verst, we taried three weeks, not being suffered to depart before the Emperour had word of our comming, who sent to meet vs a gentleman of his house, to conuey vs, and to see vs furnished of victuals, and all things needfull, vpon his owne charge.

The allowance of meat and drinke was for euery day two rubbles, besides the charge of boats by water, and foure score post horses by land, with aboue 100 carts to cary my wines, and other cariage.

Colmogro is a great towne builded all of wood, not walled, but scattered house from house. The people are rude in maners, and in apparell homely, sauing vpon their festiuall, and marriage dayes.

The people of this town finding commodity by the English mens traffike with them are much at their commandement, giuen much to drunkenesse, and all other kind of abominable vices.

An English house with lands at Colmogro.

In this towne the English men haue lands of their owne, giuen them by the Emperour, and faire houses, with offices for their commodity, very many.

Of other townes vntill I come to Vologda, I write not, because they are much like to this, and the inhabitants not differing from them.

I was fiue whole weeks vpon the riuer of Dwina till I came to Vologda, being drawen with men against the streame, for other passage there is none.

Vologda standeth vpon the riuer of Vologda, which commeth into Dwina. The towne is great and long, built all of wood, as all their townes are.

In this towne the Emperour hath built a castle inuironed with a wall of stone, and bricke, the walles faire and hie, round about. Here (as in all other their townes) are many Churches, some built of bricke, the rest of wood, many Monks and Nunnes in it: a towne also of great traffike, and many rich merchants there dwelling.

From hence we passed by land towards Mosco in poste, being 500 versts great, which are equall with our miles. In their townes we baited or lay, being post townes.

The description of the inland of Moscouie.

The countrey is very faire, plaine and pleasant, well inhabited, corne, pasture, medowes enough, riuers, and woods, faire and goodly.

At Yeraslaue we passed the riuer of Volga, more than a mile ouer. This riuer taketh his beginning at Beal Ozera, and descendeth into Mare Caspium, portable thorow of very great vessels with flat bottomes, which farre passe any that our countrey vseth.

To saile by this riuer into Mare Caspium the English company caused a barke to be built of 27 tunns, which there was neuer seene before: This barke built and ready rigged to the sea with her whole furniture cost not the company aboue one hundreth marks there.

His arriual at Mosco.

To Mosco we came about the end of September, receiued by no man, not so much as our owne countreymen suffered to meet vs, which bred suspition n me of some other course intended, then we had hitherto found.

A special house at Mosco, built for Ambassadours.

We were brought to a house built of purpose by the Emperour for Ambassadours, faire and large, after the fashion of that countrey.

Two gentlemen were appointed to attend vpon me, the one to see vs furnished of victuals, and that we lacked nothing of the Emperors allowance: the other to see that we should not goe out of the house, nor suffer any man to come vnto vs, in which they left nothing vndone that belonged to their charge. But specially he that looked to our persons so straightly handled vs, that we had no small cause to doubt that some euill had bene intended vnto vs. No supplication, sute, or request could take place for our liberty, nor yet to come to his presence.

Hauing passed ouer 17 weeks in this sort, the Emperour sendeth word that we should be ready against Tuesday the 20 of Februarie, at eight a clocke in the morning.

Two Pristaues.

The houre being come that I should go to the Court, the two gentlemen Pristaues (as they call them) came vnto me apparelled more princely then before I had euer seene them. They presse vs to depart, and mounted vpon their owne horses, and the Ambassador vpon such a one as he had borrowed, his men marching on foot, to their great griefe.

The Ambassadour (being my selfe) was conueyed into an office where one of the chancellors doeth vse to sit, being there accompanied with the two foresayd gentlemen: I taried two long houres before I was sent for to the Emperor. In the end message being brought that the Emperour was set, I was conueyed by my gentlemen vp a paire of staires thorow a large roome, where sate by my estimation 300 persons, all in rich attire, taken out of the Emperors wardrobe for that day, vpon three ranks of benches, set round about the place, rather to present a maiestie, then that they were either of quality or honor.

At the first entry into the chamber I with my cap gaue them the reuerence, such as I iudged, their stately sitting, graue countenances and sumptuous apparell required, and seeing that it was not answered againe of any of them I couered my head, and so passing to a chamber where the Emperor was, there receiued me at the doore from my two gentlemen or gouernors, two of the Emperors counsellors, and shewed me to the Emperor, and brought me to the middle of the chamber, where I was willed to stand still, and to say that which I had to say. I by my Interpretor opened my message as I receiued it from the Queene my Mistresse, from whom I came, at whose name the Emperor stood vp, and demanded diuers questions of her health and state: whereunto answere being made, he gaue me his hand in token of my welcome, and caused me to sit downe, and further asked me diuers questions.

Hi sadmission to the Emperors presence.

This done, I deliuered her Maiesties present, which was a notable great Cup of siluer curiously wrought, with verses grauen in it, expressing the histories workmanly set out in the same.

The Queenes present.

All being sayd and done (as appeared) to his contentment, he licenced me and my whole company to depart, who were all in his presence, and were saluted by him with a nod of his head, and sayd vnto me: I dine not this day openly for great affaires I haue, but I will send thee my dinner, and giue leaue to thee and thine to go at liberty, and augment our allowance to thee, in token of our loue and fauor to our sister the Queene of England.

The Emperors speech to the Ambassadour.

I with reuerence tooke my leaue, being conueyed by two other of greater calling then those that brought me to the Emperors sight, who deliuered me to the two first gentlemen, who conducted me to the office where I first was, where came vnto me one called the Long duke, with whom I conferred a while, and so returned to my lodging.

Within one houre after in comes to my lodging a duke richly apparelled, accompanied with fiftie persons, ech of them carying a siluer dish with meat, and couered with siluer. The duke first deliuered twenty loaues of bread of the Emperors owne eating, hauing tasted the same, and deliuered euery dish into my hands, and tasted of euery kinde of drinke that he brought.

This being done, the duke and his company sate downe with me, and tooke part of the Emperors meat, and filled themselues well of all sorts, and went not away from me vnrewarded.

Within few nights after the Emperour had will to speake secretly with me, and sent for me in the night by the Long duke: the place was farre off, and the night colde, and I hauing changed my apparell into such as the Russes do weare, found great incommoditie thereby.

A second conference with the Emperor.

Hauing talked with him aboue three houres, towards the morning I was dismissed, and so came home to my lodging, where I remained aboue six weeks after, before I heard againe from the Emperour, who went the next day to Slouoda, the house of his solace. After the end of which sixe weeks, which was about the beginning of April, the Emperour returned from Slouoda aforesayd, and sent for me againe to make repaire vnto him. And being come, I dealt effectually with him in the behalfe of our English merchants, and found him so graciously inclined towards them, that I obtained at his hands my whole demands for large priuileges in generall, together with all the rest my particular requests. And then he commended to my conduct into England, a noble man of his, called Andrew Sauin, as his Ambassadour, for the better confirmation of his priuileges granted, and other negotiations with her Maiesty. And thus being dispatched with full contentment, the sayd Ambassadour and my selfe departed, and imbarked at S. Nicholas about the end of Iuly, and arriued safely at London in the moneth of September following.

Andrew Sauin Ambassadour to the Queene.

A copie of the priuiledges granted by the right high and mightie Prince, the Emperour of Russia, &c. vnto the right worshipfull fellowship of English merchants, for the discouerie of new trades: and hither sent by Thomas Randolfe esquire, her Maiesties Ambassadour to the sayd Emperour, and by Andrew Sauin his Ambassadour in the yere of our Lord God. 1569.

One God euerlasting and without and before the beginning, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, the blessed Trinitie, our onely God, maker and preseruer of all things, replenisher of all things euery where, who by thy goodnesse doest cause all men to loue the giuer of wisedome our onely Mediatour, and leader of vs all vnto blessed knowledge by the onely Sonne his word, our Lord Iesus Christ, holy and euerlasting Spirit, and now in these our dayes teachest vs to keepe Christianitie, and sufferest vs to enjoy our kingdome to the happy commodity of our land, and wealth of our people, in despight of our enemies, and to our fame with our friends.

We Iohn Vasiliwich by the grace of God, great lord, Emperour, and great duke of all Russia, Volodemer, Moscouia, Nouogrod, Emperour of Cazan, Tuersky, Vgorsky, Permisky, Vadsky, Bulgaria, and many others, lord and great duke of the Low countreys of Nouogrod, Chernigosky, Resansky, Polotsky, Rastow, Yeraslaue, Bealosera, Owdorsky, Condinsky, and all Siberland, great commander of all the North parts, lord of Leifland, and many other Northward, Southward, and Westward.

Whereas our sister Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, hath written vnto vs her letters for her merchants, who hath made sute that we should grant our goodnesse to the merchants which are of one company, and giue them free leaue to come to traffike in our kingdome to Colmogro, and to the countrey of Dwina, and to our great citie of Moscouia, and to all the cities in our dominions, and thorow our countrey to Boghar, to Persia, Casbin, and Chardy, and to all other countreys.

1 We Iohn Vasiliwich Emperour and great duke of all Russia (for our sister Elizabeths sake, Queene of England) haue giuen and granted to the English merchants, the Gouernors, Cousuls, Assistants and fellowship, sir Wil. Garrard Knight, Rowland Haiward Alderman, Ioh. Thamworth Esquire, Iohn Riuers Alderman, Henry Beecher Alderman, Consuls: Sir Wil. Chester Knight, Edward Iackman Alderman, Lionel Ducket Alderman, Edward Gilbert, Laurence Huse, Francis Walsingham, Clement Throgmorton, Iohn Quarles, Nicholas Wheeler, Thomas Banister, Iohn Harrison, Francis Burnham, Anthony Gamage, Iohn Somers, Richard Wilkinson, Ioh. Sparke, Richard Barne, Robert Woolman, Thomas Browne, Thomas Smith, Thomas Allen, Thomas More, William Bully, Richard Yong, Thomas Atkinson, Assistants: Iohn Mersh Esquire, Geofrey Ducket, Francis Robinson, Matthew Field, and all the rest of their company and fellowship, and to their successours and deputies, to come with ships and

other vessels into our countrey, at Colmogorod, and Dwina, and to all the North parts now being ours, or that hereafter shall at any time be in our possession, by sea, riuer or land, euen to our great Citie of Mosco, in all the townes of our Countrey, to Cazan and Astracan, to Nouogorod the great, to Plesko and Leifland, Vriagorod, to Narue, and all other townes of Leifland. 2 And to passe through our land to Boghar, Persia, Casbin, Charday, and other Countreyes: And wheresoeuer they come there to be and abide freely, and to barter and bargaine freely all wares of sale, without custome of all people, and Marchants strangers whatsoeuer.

And if so be they bring any fine wares out of Englande, or any other Countrey from Boghar, Persia, Casbin, or from any other place, and those their wares that come by the way of Narue, or any other part into our Dominion, to bring the same wares into our treasure, and our Treasurers to view the same wares, and to take into our Treasurie of the same such as shalbe needful for vs. And all such wares as we shal not need, our Chancellour to redeliuer ye same: And after the view of our Chancellours, to barter it freely to whom they will, not selling any of their wares needful for vs, before our Chancellour haue seene the same. And all other grosse and heauy wares that shall be needful to our vse, not being brought to Mosco, to declare and tell our Chancellour of the same wares: And to giue a note thereof by name, and how much they leaue there, not brought to Mosco; and then if we neede not the said wares, the English Marchants, their seruants and Factors, to conuey their wares the neerest way to Vstiug the great, and so to Colmogorod, or elsewhere at their pleasure, there to barter and sell the same. But those wares that shalbe needfull for our Treasurie, they shall not hide from vs in any case.

And when our Chancellours shall send our aduenture, with the said Marchants or their Factors, they to take our aduentures with them, and to sell, and to barter for such wares as shalbe meete for our Treasurie, and to returne it into our Treasurie.

And when we shall sende any aduenture into England then our Chancellour to giue them a yeeres warning, that their ships may be prouided thereafter, that by taking in of our wares, they leaue not their owne behind them.

And to take our aduenture yeerely when they goe into Persia.

Neither shall the English marchants receiue or colour any of our peoples goods, nor barter nor sell it in any wise: likewise our people not to barter for the sayd English merchants or occupy for them.

3 And when they shall come into our Empire of Casan and Astracan, and other places of our Dominions, then our Captaines of Casan and Astracan, and our authorised people, quietly to let them passe, not taking any toll or custome of their wares, nor once to make search thereof.

And when we shal send no aduenture with them, yet to suffer them freely to passe, not viewing their wares, nor taking any kinde of custome. And whatsoeuer English marchant will bargaine with our Marchants or Factors ware for ware to barter the same at their pleasure.

And whatsoeuer their Marchant or Factors will sell their wares at their house at Mosco, which house I granted them at S. Maxims at the Mosco, they to sell the ware to our people, either strangers as they may best vtter it, keeping within their house, arshines, measures, and waights vnder seales.

4 We haue granted them the saide house at S. Maxims in the halfe free, and without standing rent, as heretofore we did grant it the said English Marchants, sir Wil. Garrard, and the Company, maintayning in the said house one housekeeper a Russe, and two Russe seruants, or some of their owne countrey men, and none other Russes besides the aforesayde. And the said housekeepers that shall liue at their house with the English marchants, neither to buy nor sel any wares for them, but that the said marchants themselues or their factors, shall buy, sell, and barter their owne wares: and our Moscouie marchants not to take the said Englishmens wares to sell them in our townes, nor to buy any wares for them, neither the English marchant to colour any Russe wares at any towne.

5 And whatsoeuer English marchant will sell his wares at Colmogorod, Dwyna, Vologda, Yeraslaue, Castran, Nouogorod the lower, Casan, Astracan, Nouogrod the great, Vopsko, the Narue, Vriagorod, or at any other townes, they to sel their wares there at their pleasure: And of all wares aswell of other countreis as of Russia, no officer or other to take any custome, neither in any place to stay them in any wise, neither take any kinde of toll of them for their wares whatsoeuer.

6 And whatsoeuer marchant shall bargaine or buy any wares of English marchants: The said Russe not to returne those wares vpon the marchants hands againe, but to giue ready money for the said wares, otherwise they to craue the Iustice to giue right, and to execute the lawe vpon the same with all expedition. And

when the English marchants or factors shal trauaile from Moscouie after the dispatch of their wares and businesse, then to shew themselues vnto our Chancellours, whatsoeuer wares of theirs shall goe from Mosco, they not to shew the same wares to any our officers, nor pay no custome nor toll in any place.

7 If it so happen the English marchants haue any wracke, and the shippes be brought to any port of our Dominions, we to command the said goods to be enquired and sought out, and to be giuen to the English marchants, being here abiding at that time in our Countrey, the factors, seruants, or deputies, of the Company aforesayd, to whom we haue granted this our gratious letter.

And if there happen none of the English merchants, factors, seruants, or deputies to be in our Countreis at such time, then we wil all the said goods to be sought out and bestowed in some conuenient place, and when any of the Company aforewritten, bringing these our letters, shall come for their goods, we to command their goods to be restored vnto them.

8 Likewise wee haue graunted leaue to the English merchants, their Gouernours, Consuls, and assistants, namely, sir William Garrard knight, Rowland Haward, and to the Companie, to builde houses at Vologda, Colmogro, and the seaside, at Iuangorod, at Cherell, and in all other places of our Dominions, as shall be needeful for their trade. And they to keepe at the said house one housekeeper, a Russe, and two or three men to keepe their wares at the said houses, making sale thereof to whom they will, they, their Factors or deputies: the said housekeeper not to buy or sell for them.

9 Also we haue giuen and graunted to the English Marchants, their house which they haue by your goodnesse at S. Maximes in the Zenopski, and other their houses in the towne of Zenopski, made for the better assurance of their goods, and all such as they shall set vp hereafter shal be of the ||Opressini, and will make them knowen to all them of Opressini.

||Or chosen side.

10 And whereas by our goodnes we haue graunted them a Ropehouse at Vologda, being farre from the English Merchants house, now we haue giuen them to build a house for that vse by the said English house, and haue giuen and graunted them (of our goodnesse) ground, one hundreth and fourescore fadome long, and fiftie fadomes in breadth, according to their owne request.

11 Also we haue of our goodnesse giuen and graunted to the English Merchants, leaue to buy them a house at Wichida, and there to search our mines of yron. And where they shal happily find it, there to set vp houses for the making of the same yron: and to make the same, of our goodnesse haue graunted them woods, fiue or sixe miles compasse about the sayd houses, to the making of the sayd yron, and not to exceede these bounds and limits: And where they shall cut the sayde wood, not to set vp any village or farme there, bringing the artificers for making of their yron, out of their owne Countrey, and to learne our people that arte, and so freely occupying the said yron in these our Dominions, transporting also of the same home into Englande, allowing for euery pound one dingo, or halfe penie.

12 And if any of the said yron shalbe needfull for our workes, then we to take of the said yron to our worke, vpon agreement of price, paying money out of our Treasurie for the same: And when the said English Merchants or Factors shal send their owne people out of our Realme into their Countrey, ouer land through any Countrey whatsoeuer, freely to send the same with our words.

13 Also we of our goodnesse haue graunted, that if any man misuse the said English, the Factors or seruants, or the saide English Merchants, their Factors or seruants abuse any other at Moscouie, or any other out townes whatsoeuer within our Dominions in trade of Marchandise or otherwise, then they to haue vpright iustice in all such matters of our counsaile the Opressini without all let or delay: But if our Iustice may not agree the parties, then lots to be made, and to whose lotte it shall fall, to him the right to be giuen, and that only our counsaile at Moscouie, and none of our Captaines, or authorised people, or officers in any other our townes, giue iudgement vpon the said English Merchants for any thing.

14 Also, if any stranger shall haue matter of controuersie with any English Merchant, Factor or seruant, abiding within these our Realmes, or contrariwise any English Merchant, Factor or seruant, against any other stranger, in all those causes our Counsaile of the Opressini, to giue them Iustice, and to make an agreement and end betweene the parties, without all delay: And none to deale therein, saue our Counsaile of the Opressini.

15 And if any man haue action against any English Merchant being absent, that then in his absence it shalbe lawfull for any other Englishman at his assignation to answere his cause,

16 If any Englishman happen to be wounded or beaten to death, or any Russe or stranger slaine or beaten. 17 Or any stollen goods to be found in the said English houses, then our Counsellers to cause the guiltie persons to be sought out, and to doe right and Iustice in the cause, and the partie that is guiltie, if he deserue punishment, to be corrected accordingly after his offence: That the said English Merchants, factors and seruant, sustaine thereby no hinderance or damage.

18 And whatsoeuer English Marchant, Factor, seruant, or deputie, shalbe guilty of any fault, deseruing our displeasure, then our Counsellers to cause the guiltie partie to goe vnder suerties, and their goods to be sealed and kept, vntill our pleasure be further knowen, and our Counsaile to examine their offence, and so to report it vnto vs, that we may command what shall be done therein, and none other to be arrested or haue their goods sealed, which are not guiltie of that offence, nor to stay or apprehend them in any of our Dominions for the same.

19 If any English Marchant, Factor or seruant shall offend, it shalbe lawfull for their Agent to doe iustice vpon the said partie, or to send him home into England at his pleasure.

20 If any English Marchant, Factor or seruant, haue lent or hereafter shall lende money to any of our people, or credite them with wares, and so depart into any forreigne Countrey, or die before the debt be due to be payde, then our people and Marchants to paye the sayde debt, to whom soeuer shall be appointed to the sayd roome or charge, and the saide English Marchant, factor, or seruant, to bring his bill of debt to our Counsell, to shewe them what is due, and what money is owing them for any wares: and thus to doe truly, not adding any whit to the debt, and our Counsel to command the debt to be discharged vnto the English Marchant, factor, or seruant, without delay.

21 And whatsoeuer English Marchant shall be arrested for debt, then our Counsell to command the partie vnder arrest to be deliuered to the Agent: and if he haue no suertie, to binde the Agent with him, for the better force of the bond.

And if any Englishman be endebted, we will the Creditor not to cast him in prison, or to deliuer him to the Sergeant, lest the officer lose him, but to take ware in pawne of the debt.

22 Also of our goodnes, we haue granted the English Marchants to send our Commission to all our Townes, Captaines, and

authorised men, to defende and garde the said Marchants from all theeues, robbers, and euill disposed persons.

23 If in comming or going to and fro our dominions, the Marchants, the factors, or seruants be spoyled on the sea, our Counsell shall send our letters, and will them to be sought out, and where they shall finde the goods, cause it to be restored againe, and the offender to be punished, according to our commandement.

24 Also of our goodnes, we haue granted the saide Merchants to take vp Brokers, Packers, Wayers, and such like labourers, as shall be needefull for them, paying for their hier as the labourers and they shall agree.

25 We likewise of our goodnes, haue licensed the English Marchants in our Townes of Mosco, Nouogorod the great, and Plesko, that the Coiners of the said Townes shall melt Dollers, and coine money for them, without custome, allowing for coales, and other necessaries, with the workemanship.

26 Also of our goodnes, we haue granted to the sayd English Merchants, to take poste horse at needfull times, leauing with our officers a note how many they take, and not else, in no case hindering or diminishing our treasurie.

27 Also for our sister Queene Elizabeths sake, we of our goodnes haue granted to the merchants within written, this our letter, and to their successors, that no Englishman, nor any other stranger, come without the Queenes leaue to Colmogorode, the riuer of Vob, Vasiagy, Pechora, Cola, Mezena, Pechingo, Zeleuetskyes Island, the riuer of Shame, nor to no other hauen of Dwina, nor to any part of the northside of Dwina, by hetherward of Wardhouse, to any hauen, with shippe, Busse, or any other vessell, nor to occupie in any kind of waies, but only the said English Companie, and their successors, to whom we of our goodnes haue granted this priuiledge.

28 Also that no English Merchant, without the Queenes leaue, shall come with any wares, to the Narue, or Vriogorod.

29 And whatsoeuer English Merchant, stranger, or other, of whatsoeuer countrey he be, shall come with any shippe, Busse, or any other vessel, to any of the said hauens, of the north side, to any part of Dwina, by North the Narue, or Vriogorod, without the Queenes leaue or knowledge, not being of the company aboue written, we to apprehende and take the same vessell from those strangers and Merchants, the one halfe to vs the Emperour, and

great Duke, and the other halfe to the company of English Merchants.

30 Also of our goodnes we haue granted the said company of English merchants, that no English merchants or strangers shall passe through our dominions, to Boghar, Persia, Casbin, Charday, or other Countreys, saue onely the company of English merchants, and our owne messengers.

31 Also whatsoeuer Englishman, comming out of England or any other Countrey, into our dominions, without the Queenes leaue, and knowledge, not being of the sayd company, written within those our letters, mind, and purpose, to abide in our realme, contrary to the Queenes will and pleasure, or any way abuse himselfe, the Agent shall freely send him home, to the Queene his Soueraigne: which if the Agent of himselfe be vnable to do, let him pray for ayd of the captaines and officers of our townes there being, and so send him to prison, and will the sayd captaines not to hinder the sayd Agent from sending home such euill persons into England.

32 And if any man within our countrey runne away to any other towne or place, the English merchants and factours, to haue free libertie to apprehend him, and take their goods from him againe.

33 And as for our priuilege giuen to Thomas Glouer, Ralfe Rutter, Christopher Bennet, Iohn Chappell, and their adherents, we haue commanded the same priuileges to be taken from them.

34 Also we of our goodnesse haue granted the sayd company of English merchants, their successours, seruants and deputies, that doe or shall remaine at Mosco, or elsewhere within our dominions freely to keepe their owne law: and in any wise none of ours to force them to our law or faith against their will.

Moreouer, besides and with the company of English merchants, we permit all strangers, to trade to our towne of Narue, Iuanogorod, and other our townes of Liefland, as they haue done beforetime. Giuen from the beginning of the world 7077, in the moneth of Iune 20, Indiction 12, the yere of our lordship and reign 35, and of our Empire of Rusland 23, Cazan 17, Astracan 15.

Other speciall grants by his Maiesties priuate letters at the sute of M. Randolfe Ambassadour.

REleasement out of prison of Fitzherbert, that was accused for writing of letters against the Emperour.

Liberty giuen to Thomas Greene that was accused and troubled vpon suspition of his dealing with the Ambassadour, and licence giuen to him to trafficke as he was accustomed.

Andrew Atherton and his sureties released at the Narue and his seruant at the Mosco, that were in trouble for sending the merchants letters into England.

A letter granted to Thomas Southam to the Councell, for iustice against them that stole the pearles.

His Maiesties fauor promised to the Artificers, and liuings to be appointed them as they can best deserue.

A letter to the merchants that went into Persia, to passe freely without impeachment in his dominions, as also letters of fauour to the great Shaugh of Persia.

A grant vnto the company that at what time soeuer they send to the discouery of Cataya, they shalbe licenced to repaire vnto this countrey, and haue such conducts and guides, mariners, vessels, men and victuals as they shall stand in need of.

It is also promised by Knez Alfanas, and Peter Gregoriwich in the Emperours name, that if Benet Butler or any English man complaine, deface, hinder in way of traffike or otherwise go about to discredit the worshipfull company, and their doings, that therein they shall not be heard, and the doers to be punished, as in such cases they shalbe iudged to haue deserued.

Certaine persons granted to be sent home into England that serued the company, and were practisers against them in that countrey.

A Commission giuen by vs Thomas Randolfe Ambassadour for the Queenes Maiestie in Russia, and Thomas Bannister, &c. vnto Iames Bassendine, Iames Woodcocke and Richard Browne, the which Bassendine, Woodcocke, and Browne we appoint ioyntly together, and aiders, the one of them to the other, in a voyage of discouery to be made (by the grace of God) by them, for searching of the sea, and border

of the coast, from the riuer Pechora, to the Eastwards, as hereafter followeth Anno 1588. The first of August.

INprimis, when your barke with all furniture is ready, you shall at the beginning of the yere (assoone as you possibly may) make your repaire to the Easterne part of the riuer Pechora, where is an Island called Dolgoieue, and from thence you shall passe to the Eastwards alongst by the Sea coast of Hugorie, or the maine land of Pechora, and sailing alongst by the same coast, you shall passe within seuen leagues of the Island Vaigats, which is in the straight, almost halfe way from the coast of Hugorie, vnto the cast of Noua Zembla, which Island Vaigats and Noua Zembla you shall finde noted in your plat,* therefore you shall not need to discouer it: but proceed on alongst the coast of Hugory, towards the riuer Obba.

Cara Reca.
Naramsi Reca.

There is a Bay† betweene the sayd Vaigats, and the riuer Obba, that doth bite to the Southwards, into the land of Hugory, in which Bay are two small riuers, the one called Cara Reca,‡ the other Naramsy,|| as in the paper of notes which are giuen to you herewith may appeare: in the which Bay you shall not need to spend any time for searching of it, but to direct your course to the riuer Ob (if otherwise you be not constrained to keepe alongst the shore) and when you come to the riuer Ob you shall not enter into it, but passe ouer vnto the Easterne part of the mouth of the sayd riuer.

And when you are at the Easterne part of Obba Reca, you shall from thence passe to the Eastwards, alongst by the border of the sayd coast, describing the same in such perfect order as you can best do it. You shall not leaue the sayd coast or border of the land, but pass alongst by it, at least in sight of the same, vntil you haue sailed by it so farre to the Eastwards and the time of the yeere so farre spent, that you doe thinke it time for you to returne with your barke to Winter, which trauell may well be 300 or 400 leagues to the Eastwards of the Ob, if the Sea doe reach so farre as our hope is it doth: but and if you finde not the said coast and sea to trend so farre to the Eastwards, yet you shall not leaue the coast at any time, but proceed alongst by it, as it doth lie, leauing no part of it vnsearched, or seene, vnlesse it be some bay, or riuer, that you doe certeinly know by the report of the

---

* Map. † Gulf of Kara. ‡ River Kara.

|| Probably the River Juribei.

people, that you shall finde in those borders, or els some certeine tokens whereby you of your selues may iudge it to be so. For our hope is that the said border of land and sea doth in short space after you passe the Ob, incline East, and so the Southwards. And therefore we would haue no part of the land of your starreboord side, as you proceed in your discouery, to be left vndiscouered.

But and if the said Border of land do not incline so to the Eastwards as we presuppose it, but that it doe proue to incline and trend to the Northwards, and so ioyne with Noua Zembla, making the sea from Vaigats to the Eastwards but a bay: yet we will that you do keepe alongst by the said coast, and so bring vs certaine report of that forme and maner of the same bay.

And if it doe so proue to be a bay, and that you haue passed round about the same, and so by the trending of the land come backe vnto that part of Noua Zembla that is against Vaigats whereas you may from that see the said Island Vaigats, if the time of the yeere will permit you, you shall from thence passe alongst by the said border and coast of Noua Zembla to the Westwards, and so to search whether that part of Noua Zembla doe ioyne with the land that Sir Hugh Willoughbie discouered in anno 53,* and is in 72 degrees, and from that part of Noua Zembla 120 leagues to the Westwards, as your plat doeth shew it vnto you: and if you doe finde that land to ioyne with Noua Zembla, when you come to it, you shall proceed further along the same coast, if the time of the yere will permit it, and that you doe think there will be sufficient time for you to returne backe with your barke to Winter either at Pechora or in Russia, at your discretion: for we refer the same to your good iudgements, trusting that you will lose no time, that may further your knowledge in this voyage.

Note you, it was the 20 of August, 56 yer the Serchthrift began to returne backe from her discouerie, to Winter in Russia, and then she came from the Island Vaigats, being forcibly driuen from thence with an Easterly winde and yce, and so she came into the riuer Dwina, and arriued at Colmogro the 11 of September, 56. If the yce had not bene so much that yere as it was in the Streights, on both sides of the Island Vaigats, they in the said pinnesse would that yere haue discouered the parts that you are now sent to seek: which thing (if it had pleased God) might haue bene done then: but God hath reserued it for some other. Which discouerie, if it may be made by you, it shall not only proue profitable vnto you, but it will also purchase perpetuall fame and renowme both to you and our country. And thus not doubting of your willing desires, and forwardnesse towards the same, we pray God to blesse you with a lucky beginning, fortunate successe, and happily to end the same. Amen.

---

* There is, of course, no such land.

Necessarie notes to be obserued, and followed in your discouerie, as hereafter followeth.

WHen your barke with all furniture and necessaries shall be in readinesse for you to depart to the sea (if it be that you take your barke at S. Nicholas, or any part of Dwina Reca) you shall from thence, euen as timely in the spring as the yce will permit you, saile, and make all expedition that may be, vnto the mouth of the riuer Pechora (as your commission doth leade you) and as you passe by the coast all alongst (notwithstanding the plat that sheweth you the description of the said coast, from Dwina vnto Vaigats) yet you shall seeke by all the meanes that you can, to amend the same plat, vsing as many obseruations, as you possibly can do: and these notes following are to be obserued by you principally.

1 First, that you do obserue the latitude as often, and in as many places as you may possibly do it, noting diligently the place where you do so obserue the same.

2 Also that you doe diligently set with your compasse, how the land doth lie from point to point, all alongst as you goe, and to vse your iudgements how farre there may be betweene ech of them.

3 Item, that you do alwayes vse to draw the proportion and biting of the land, aswell the lying out of the points, and headlands, vnto the which you shall giue some apt names (at your discretion) as also the forme of the Bayes, and to make some marke in drawing the forme, and border of the same, where the high cliffes are, and where low land is, whether sandy hilles, or whatsoeuer: omit not to note any thing that may be sensible and apparant to you, which may serue to any purpose.

4 In passing along by any coast, that you keepe your lead going often times, and sound at the least once euery glasse, and oftener if you thinke good as occasion doth serue, and note diligently the depth with the maner of the ground, and at euery time, how farre the same sounding may be from the next shore to

it: and how the next point or headland doth beare from you. And in the sea after you set off from your port, you shall orderly at the end of euery foure glasses sound, and if you finde ground, note the depth and what ground, but if you can finde no ground, you shall also note in what depth you could find no ground.

5 Also that you do diligently obserue the flowing, and ebbing in euery place, and how the tides do set, which way the flood doth come, and how much water it doth high in euery place, and what force the same tide hath to driue a ship in an houre, as neere as you can iudge it

6 Also that you doe seeke to obserue with the instrument which I deliuer you herewith, according as I taught you at Rose Island, the true platformes, and distances, in as many places as conueniently you may, for it serueth very aptly your purpose.

7 Also that you take with you paper and ynke, and keepe a continuall iournall or remembrance day by day, of all such things as shall fall out worth the knowledge, not forgetting or omitting to write it, and note it, that it may be shewed and read at your returne.

8 These orders if you shall diligently obserue, it will be easie for you to make a plat and perfect description of your discouery, and so shall your notes be sufficient to answere that which is looked for at your hands. But withall you may not forget to note as many things as you can learne and vnderstand by the report of any people whatsoeuer they be, so that it appertaine any way to our desires. And thus the Lord God prosper your voyage. Amen.*

Certaine letters in verse, written by Master George Turberuile† out of Moscouia, which went as Secretarie thither with Master Tho. Randolph, her Maiesties Ambassadour to the

---

* Though dated 1588, this journey took place in 1578. Nothing is really known of the result of the expedition, but it has been supposed that the English vessel, which was wrecked at the mouth of the Ob about 1580, and whose crew was massacred by Samoyeds (*Purchas*, iii. p. 546; *Hamel*, p. 238), was the one bearing Bassendine and his companions.

† Born at Whitchurch about 1530; educated at New College, Oxford; supposed to have died about 1600. "Occasional felicity of diction, a display of classical allusion, and imagery taken from the customs and amusements of the age are not wanting; but the warmth, the energy, and the enthusiasm of poetry are sought for in vain." (*Drake*, Shakespeare and his Times, p. 456).

Emperour 1568, to certeine friends of his in London, describing the maners of the Countrey and people.

To his especiall friend Master Edward Dancie*

My Dancie deare, when I recount within my brest,
My London friends, and wonted mates, and thee aboue the rest:
I feele a thousand fits of deepe and deadly woe,
To thinke that I from land to sea, from blisse to bale did go.
I left my natiue soile, full like a retchlesse man,
And vnacquainted of the coast, among the Russes ran:
A people passing rude, to vices vile inclinde,
Folke fit to be of Bacchus traine, so quaffing is the kinde.
Drinke is their whole desire, the pot is all their pride,
The sobrest head doth once a day stand needfull of a guide.
If he to banket bid his friends, he will not shrinke
On them at dinner to bestow a douzen kindes of drinke:
Such licour as they haue, and as the countrey giues,
But chiefly two, one called Kuas, whereby the Mousike† liues.
Small ware and waterlike, but somewhat tart in taste,
The rest is Mead of honie made, wherewith their lips they baste.
And if he goe vnto his neighbour as a guest,
He cares for litle meate, if so his drinke be of the best.
No wonder though they vse such vile and beastly trade,
Sith with the hatchet and the hand, their chiefest gods be made.
Their Idoles haue their hearts, on God they neuer call,
Vnlesse it be (Nichola Bough)‡ that hangs against the wall.
The house that hath no god, or painted Saint within,
Is not to be resorted to, that roofe is full of sinne.
Besides their priuate gods, in open places stand
Their crosses vnto which they crooche, and blesse themselues
with hand.
Deuoutly downe they ducke, with forehead to the ground,
Was neuer more deceit in ragges, and greasie garments found.
Almost the meanest man in all the countrey rides,
The woman eke, against our vse, her trotting horse bestrides.
In sundry colours they both men and women goe,
In buskins all, that money haue on buskins to bestoe.

---

* Probably the grandson of Sir Thomas Moore, and son of his second daughter, Elizabeth Dancy.

† Moudjick, a servant.

‡ St. Nicholas.

Each woman hanging hath a ring within her eare,
Which all of ancient vse, and some of very pride doe weare.
Their gate is very braue, their countenance wise and sadde.
And yet they follow fleshy lustes, their trade of liuing badde.
It is no shame at all accompted to defile
Anothers bedde, they make no care their follies to concile,
Is not the meanest man in all the land but hee,
To buy her painted colours doeth allow his wife a fee,
Wherewith she deckes her selfe, and dies her tawnie skinne,
She pranks and paints her smoakie face, both brow, lip, cheeke, and chinne.
Yea those that honest are, if any such there bee
Within the land, doe vse the like: a man may plainely see
Vpon some womens cheekes the painting how it lies,
In plaister sort, for that too thicke her face the harlot dies.
But such as skilfull are, and cunning Dames indeede,
By dayly practise doe it well, yea sure they doe exceede.
They lay their colours so, as he that is full wise,
May easly be deceiu'd therein, if he doe trust his eyes.
I not a little muse, what madnesse makes them paint
Their faces, waying how they keepe the stooue by meere constraint.
For seldome when, vnlesse on Church or marriage day
A man shall see the Dames abroade, that are of best aray.
The Russie meanes to reape the profit of her pride,
And so he mewes her to be sure, she lye by no mans side.
Thus much, friend Dancie, I did meane to write to thee,
To let thee weete in Russia land, what men and women bee.
Hereafter I perhaps of other things will write
To thee and other of my friends, which I shall see with sight:
And other stuffe besides, which true report shall tell,
Meane while I end my louing lines, and bid thee now farewell.

To Spencer.

IF I should now forget, or not remember thee,
Thou Spencer might'st a foule rebuke, and shame impute to mee.
For I to open shew did loue thee passing well,
And thou wert he at parture, whom I loathde to bid farewell.
And as I went thy friend, so I continue still,
No better proofe thou canst then this desire of true good will.
I doe remember well when needes I should away,
And that the Poste would licence vs, no longer time to stay:

Thou wrongst me by the fist, and holding fast my hand,
Didst craue of me to send thee newes, and how I liked the land.
It is a sandie soile, no very fruitful vaine,
More waste and wooddie grounds there are, then closes fit for graine.
Yet graine there growing is, which they vntimely take,
And cut or eare the corne be ripe, they mowe it on a stacke.
And laying sheafe by sheafe, their haruest so they dry,
They make the greater haste, for feare the frost the corne destroy.
For in the winter time, so glarie is the ground,
As neither grasse, nor other graine, in pastures may be found.
In coms the cattell then, the sheepe, the colt, the cowe,
Fast by his bed the Mowsike then* a lodging doth allowe,
Whom he with fodder feeds, and holds as deere as life:
And thus they weare the winter with the Mowsike and his wife.
Seuen months the Winter dures, the glare it is so great,
As it is May before he turne his ground to sowe his wheate.
The bodies eke that die vnburied lie they then,
Laid vp in coffins made of firre, as well the poorest men,
As those of greater state: the cause is lightly found,
For that in Winter time, they cannot come to breake the ground.
And wood so plenteous is, quite throughout all the land,
As rich, and poore, at time of death assurd of coffins stand.
Perhaps thou musest much, how this may stand with reason,
That bodies dead can vncorrupt abide so long a season.
Take this for certaine trothe, as soone as heate is gone,
The force of cold the body binds as hard as any stone,
Without offence at all to any liuing thing:
And so they lye in perfect state, till next returne of Spring.
Their beasts be like to ours, as farre as I can see
For shape, and shewe, but somewhat lesse of bulke, and bone they be.
Of watrish taste, the flesh not firme, like English beefe,
And yet it seru's them very well, and is a good releefe:
Their sheep are very small, sharpe singled, handfull long,
Great store of fowle on sea and land, the moorish reedes among.
The greatnes of the store doeth make the prices lesse,
Besides in all the land they know not how good meate to dresse.
They vse neither broach norspit, but when the stoue they heate,
They put their victuals in a pan, and so they bake their meate.

---

* *Suggested emendation:* Them.

No pewter to be had, no dishes but of wood,
No vse of trenchers, cups cut out of birche are very good.
They vse but wooden spoones, which hanging in a case
Eache Mowsike at his girdle ties, and thinkes it no disgrace.
With whitles two or three, the better man the moe,
The chiefest Russies in the land, with spoone and kniues doe goe.
Their houses are not huge of building, but they say,
They plant them in the loftiest ground, to shift the snow away,
Which in the Winter time, eache where full thicke doth lie:
Which makes them haue the more desire, to set their houses hie.
No stone work is in vse, their roofes of rafters bee,
One linked in another fast, their wals are all of tree.
Of masts both long, and large, with mosse put in betweene,
To keepe the force of weather out, I never earst haue seene
A grosse deuise so good, and on the roofe they lay
The burthen barke, to rid the raine, and sudden showres away.
In euery roome a stoue, to serue the Winter turne,
Of wood they haue sufficient store, as much as they can burne.
They haue no English glasse, of slices of a rocke
Hight Sluda they their windowes make, that English glasse doth mocke.
They cut it very thinne, and sow it with a thred
In pretie order like to panes, to serue their present need.
No other glasse, good faith doth giue a better light:
And sure the rocke is nothing rich, the cost is very slight.
The chiefest place is that, where hangs the god by it,
The owner of the house himselfe doth neuer sit,
Unlesse his better come, to whom he yealds the seat:
The stranger bending to the god, the ground with brow must beat.
And in that very place which they most sacred deeme,
The stranger lies: a token that his guest he doth esteeme.
Where he is wont to haue a beares skinne for his bed,
And must, in stead of pillow, clap his saddle to his head.
In Russia other shift there is not to be had,
For where the bedding is not good, the boalsters are but bad
I mused very much, what made them so to lie,
Sith in their countrey Downe is rife, and feathers out of crie:
Vnlesse it be because the countrey is so hard,
They feare by nicenesse of a bed their bodies would be mard,
I wisht thee oft with vs, saue that I stood in feare
Thou wouldst haue loathed to haue layd thy limmes vpon a beare,

As I and Stafford did, that was my mate in bed :
And yet (we thanke the God of heauen) we both right well haue sped.
Loe thus I make an ende : none other newes to thee,
But that the countrey is too colde, the people beastly bee.
I write not all I know, I touch but here and there,
For if I should, my penne would pinch, and eke offend I feare.
Who so shall read this verse, coniecture of the rest,
And thinke by reason of our trade, that I do thinke the best.
But if no traffique were, then could I boldly pen
The hardnesse of the soile, and eke the maners of the men.
They say the Lions paw giues iudgement of the beast :
And so may you deeme of the great, by reading of the least.

To Parker.*

MY Parker, paper, pen, and inke were made to write,
And idle heads, that little do, haue leisure to indite :
Wherefore, respecting these, and thine assured loue,
If I would write no newes to thee, thou might'st my pen reproue.
And sithence fortune thus hath shou'd my shippe on shore :
And made me seeke another Realme vnseene of me before :
The maners of the men I purpose to declare.
And other priuate points besides, which strange and geazon are.
The Russie men are round of bodies, fully fac'd,
The greatest part with bellies bigge that ouerhang the waste,
Flat headed for the most, with faces nothing faire,
But browne, by reason of the stoue, and closenesse of the aire :
It is their common vse to shaue or els to sheare
Their heads, for none in all the land long lolling locks doth weare,
Vnlesse perhaps he haue his souereigne prince displeas'd,
For then he neuer cuts his haire, vntil he be appeas'd,
A certaine signe to know who in displeasure be,
For euery man that viewes his head, will say, Loe this is he.
And during all the time he lets his locks to grow,
Dares no man for his life to him a face of friendship show.
Their garments be not gay, nor handsome to the eye,
A cap aloft their heads they haue, that standeth very hie,

---

* Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury. See an excellent account of him and his writings in Allibone's Dictionary.

Which Colpack they do terme. They weare no ruffes at all;
The best haue collers set with pearle, which they Rubasca call.
Their shirts in Russie long, they worke them downe before,
And on the sleeues with coloured Silks, two inches good and more.
Aloft their shirts they weare a garment iacket wise
Hight Onoriadka, and about his burlie waste he tyes
His portkies, which in stead of better breeches be:
Of linnen cloth that garment is, no codpiece is to see.
A paire of yarnen stocks to keepe the colde away,
Within his boots the Russie weares, the heeles they vnderlay
With clouting clamps of steele, sharpe pointed at the toes,
And ouer all a Shuba furd, and thus the Russe goes.
Well butned is the Shube, according to his state,
Some Silke, of Siluer other some: but those of poorest rate
Do weare no Shubs at all, but grosser gownes to sight,
That reacheth downe beneath the calfe, and that Armacha hight:
These are the Russies robes. The richest vse to ride
From place to place, his seruant runnes, and followes by his side.
The Cassacke beares his felt, to force away the raine:
Their bridles are not very braue, their saddles are but plaine.
No bits but snaffles all, of birch their saddles be,
Much fashioned like the Scottish seates, broad flakes to keepe the knee
From sweating of the horse, the pannels larger farre
And broader be then ours, they vse short stirrups for the warre:
For when the Russie is pursued by cruel foe,
He rides away, and suddenly betakes him to his boe,
And bends me but about in saddle as he sits,
And therewithall amids his race his following foe he hits.
Their bowes are very short, like Turkie bowes outright,
Of sinowes made with birchen barke, in cunning maner dight.
Small arrowes, cruell heads, that fell and forked bee,
Which being shot from out those bowes, a cruel way will flee.
They seldome vse to shoo their horse, vnlesse they ride
In post vpon the frozen flouds, then cause they shall not slide,
He sets a slender calke, and so he rides his way.
The horses of the countrey go good fourescore versts a day,
And all without the spurre, once pricke them and they skippe,
But goe not forward on their way, the Russie hath his whippe
To rappe him on the ribbes, for though all booted bee,
Yet shall you not a paire of spurres in all the countrey see.

The common game is chesse, almost the simplest will
Both giue a checke and eke a mate, by practise comes their skill.
Againe they dice as fast, the poorest rogues of all
Will sit them downe in open field, and there to gaming fall
Their dice are very small, in fashion like to those.
Which we doe vse, he takes them vp, and ouer thumbe he throwes
Not shaking them a whit, they cast suspiciously,
And yet I deeme them voyd ot art that dicing most apply.
At play when Siluer lacks, goes saddle, horse and all,
And eche thing els worth Siluer walkes, although the price be small.
Because thou louest to play friend Parker other while,
I wish thee there the weary day with dicing to beguile.
But thou weart better farre at home, I wist it well,
And wouldest be loath among such lowts so long a time to dwell.
Then iudge of vs thy friends, what kinde of life we had,
That neere the frozen pole to waste our weary dayes were glad.
In such a sauage soile, weere lawes do beare no sway,
But all is at the king his will, to saue or else to slay.
And that sans cause, God wot, if so his minde be such.
But what meane I with Kings to deale? we ought no Saints to touch.
Conceiue the rest your selfe, and deeme what liues they lead,
Where lust is Lawe, and Subjects liue continually in dread.
And where the best estates haue none assurance good
Of lands, of liues, nor nothing falles vnto the next of blood.
But all of custome doeth vnto the prince redowne,
And all the whole reuenue comes vnto the King his crowne.
Good faith I see thee muse at what I tell thee now,
But true it is, no choice, but all at princes pleasure bow.
So Tarquine ruled Rome as thou remembrest well,
And what his fortune was at last, I know thy selfe canst tell.
Where will in Common weale doth beare the onely sway,
And lust is Lawe, the prince and Realme must needs in time decay.
The strangenesse of the place is such for sundry things I see,
As if I woulde I cannot write ech priuate point to thee.
The colde is rare, the people rude, the prince so full of pride,
The Realme so stored with Monks and nunnes, and priests on euery side:
The maners are so Turkie like, the men so full of guile,
The women wanton, Temples stuft with idols that defile

The Seats that sacred ought to be, the customes are so quaint,
As if I would describe the whole, I feare my pen would faint.
In summe, I say I neuer saw a prince that so did raigne,
Nor people so beset with Saints, yet all but vile and vaine.
Wilde Irish are as ciuill as the Russies in their kinde,
Hard choice which is the best of both, ech bloody, rude and blinde.
If thou bee wise, as wise thou art, and wilt be ruld by me,
Liue still at home, and couet not those barbarous coasts to see.
No good befalles a man that seeks, and findes no better place,
No ciuill customes to be learned, where God bestowes no grace.
And truely ill they do deserue to be belou'd of God,
That neither loue nor stand in awe of his assured rod:
Which though be long, yet plagues at last the vile and beastly sort
Of sinfull wights, that all in vice do place their chiefest sport.
A dieu friend Parker, if thou list, to know the Russes well,
To Sigismundus booke repaire, who all the trueth can tell:
For he long earst in message went vnto that sauage King.
Sent by the Pole, and true report in ech respect did bring,
To him I recommend my selfe, to ease my penne of paine,
And now at last do wish thee well, and bid farewell againe.

The fourth voyage into Persia, made by M. Arthur Edwards Agent, Iohn Sparke, Laurence Chapman, Christopher Faucet, and Richard Pingle, in the yeere 1568. declared in this letter written from Casbin in Persia by the foresaide Laurence Chapman to a worshipfull merchant of the companie of Russia in London. Anno Domini 1569. Aprill 28.

WOrshipfull sir, my duetie alwayes remembred, and your prosperous health, and good successe in all your affaires wished, to the glory of God, and your owne hearts desire, &c. May it please you to vnderstand that your Agent M. Arthur Edwards and we departed from Yeraslaue in Iuly 1568. and the 14. of August arriued at our port called Bilbil, with your ship the Grace of God, and the goods in her in good safetie, God bee thanked for it, finding there neither the people so ready to ayd vs for the bringing of her in, and vnlading of the goods, nor yet so obedient to the Shaughs priuilege, as the

Their arriuall at Bilbil the 14. of August 1568.

worshipfull company haue bene informed. Our goods brought vpon land, we were compelled to open and sel as they would set the price, or otherwise it would haue bene worse for vs. Being so satisfied to their contentment, we were speedily aided with camels by the prince Erasbec Sultan his appointment, to carry our goods to Shamaki, to which place we attained the first of September, finding it so throughly furnished with maner of commodities by occasion of our late comming, and by such as came before vs, that no man would aske to buy any one piece of karsie of vs, and lying then the space of one whole moneth before your Agent Arthur Edwards would disperse vs abroade with the goods, such as came out of Russia afterwardes, had brought their goods to that and other places, and spoyled those sayles wee might haue made, being sent abroad in time conuenient, being no little hinderance to the worshipfull, as also great griefe vnto vs to see. To conclude, through our dayly calling vpon him, he bent himselfe for Casbin, taking with him the greatest summe of the goods, and two of the worshipfuls seruants, to witte, Iohn Sparke and my selfe, to helpe and procure the better sale for the same: and leauing at Shamaki Christopher Faucet and Richard Pingle with three hundred and fiftie pieces of karsies in their handes, supposed to be solde there or in Arrash before hee should be able to make his return from Casbin, which, so farre foorth as I can vnderstand, lie for the greatest part vnsolde. And being vpon our way, at a certaine towne called Ardouil, we chanced to barter nine pieces of karsies with those merchants for fourescore and foure batemans of cynamom, selling the karsies at one hundred and fiftie shawghs the piece.

Prince Erasbec.

Christopher Faucet and Richard Pingle.

And being at that present not farre from Teueris, called the principal place in this countrey for vttering of cloth or karsies, by much intreatie I perswaded your Agent to send thither to prooue what might be done, and receiuing from him foure and fiftie pieces of karsies, as also his commission for the sale of the same, I proceeded on that voyage my selfe, and one Tolmach in company with me, finding in that place great store of broad cloth and karsies brought thither, some part by the Turkes who be resident there, some by the Armenians, who fetch them at Aleppo, and some by the townesmen, who trauell vnto Venice and there buy them, so that no man offered me one penie more then a hundred and fourtie shawghs for a karsie: and hauing special commission and charge from your Agent not to stay there aboue the space of seuen dayes after my arriuall there, but to repaire to Casbin with all speed, and furthermore, hauing regard to keepe vp the price of the worshipfuls commodities, according to their desire, I found meanes to barter them away for spices, such as were there to be had, neither in goodnesse nor yet in price to my content: neuerthelesse, considering the colde sales which were there, as well for your karsies, as also the hot newes, that Ormuz way was shut up by occasion that the Indians do warre against them, which is true in deed: and againe the desire that the worshipfull hath to haue such commopities bought, I thought it necessary to buy them, the prices and weight whereof appeareth at large by my accompt sent to the worshipfull, and is, as I thinke, the whole summe of spices bought at this time.

Warre against the Portingals at Ormuz.

The gouernour of Grozin his Merchant.

It chanced me in that place to meet with the gouernours merchant of Grozin, who was not a litle desirous to bargen with me for a hundred pieces of karsies for his master called Leuontie, and offering me so good bands for the paiment of the money or silke to the merchants contentment vpon the deliuery of them, as in any place within all this countrey is to be had: and offering me besides his owne letter in the behalfe of his master, that no custome should be demanded for the same, and the obtaining also at his masters hand as large a priuilege for the worshipful to trauel into all parts of his dominion, as the Shaugh had giuen them, and hearing good report made of him by the Armenians also, and that he was a Christian, I was much more the willing to bargen with him, and sold him a hundred pieces for a hundred and threescore shawghs a piece, to be paid to the merchant in Grozin either in money or silke to his contentment, within three dayes after the deliuerie of the karsies there, hauing a band of him made by the Metropolitanes owne hand, for the performance of the same, which is as sure as any here is to be deuised: and vpon the same I sent my Tolmach from me backe to Shamaki, with such goods as I bought at Teueris, and to the end hee might cause the worshipfuls seruants there to see this bargen accomplished. At whose arriuall there, as I do perceiue, the Captaine would not accomplish his bargen to take them, but saith, hee hath no need of them; such is the constancie of all men in the countrey, with whomsoeuer

The generall inconstancie in the merchants and dealers of those parts.

you shal bargen. If the ware be bought, and they doe mislike it afterwards, they will bring it againe, and compel you to deliuer the money for it againe, regarding the Shawghs letters, which manifesteth the contrary, as a straw in the winde: by meanes whereof the worshipfull may know whether all be true that hath bene written of this countrey people or not.

I am informed by all the brokers in Teueris, that the way once open to Ormuz, from whence commeth no such store of spices as the worshipfull doeth looke for, that here will bee put a way in Teueris, some for money, and other some for barter, to the number of three hundred or foure hundred pieces of karsies, being in coulers and goodnesse to the examples here sent you, the rest of the karsies to make them vp a thousand, and broad clothes to the summe of a hundred, bee as many as will be put away yeerely in this countrey, so farre as yet I can perceiue.

To breake the trade betwixt the Venetians and the whole company of the Armenians it is not possible, vnlesse the worshipful will finde some meanes to receiue of them yerely to the number of 100. catters or mules lading, and deliuer them for the same one third part money, the rest cloth and karsies fitted in coulers meete for this countrey: the examples, as abouesaid, are sent vnto you.

The trade betweene the Venetians and the Armenians not easily to be broken.

At Amadia sixe dayes iourney from Teueris, grow abundance of galles, which are brought vp yerely by the Venetians, and be solde there for two bistes the Teueris bateman, which as your Agent here saith, maketh sixe pound English weight, but I doubt it wil not so be proued. Neuerthelesse it is supposed much good will bee done by buying of them: which might at this present haue partly bene proued, if so be that some could do but halfe that which hath bene written.

Touching drugges, I finde many as well at Teueris, as also in Casbin, but the goodnesse nothing like to such as be brought into England out of other places: and the price is so high that smal gaine will be had in buying of them: albeit, if I had bene furnished with money, as I might haue bene, if some would, I would have bought some, to the ende the goodnesse of them might haue bene seene in England. At my comming to Casbin I found no maner of sales of any commoditie made, but all lying there whole, and newes giuen out (as your Agent saith) that ye Shaugh would buy all such commodities as he had, and giue him silke and spices for the same: but by report the Shaugh neuer tooke cloth into his treasurie all the dayes of his life, and will not now begin: his whole trade is in raw silke, which he selleth alwayes for money to the Armenians and Turkes, and such other as vse to buy it: thus hoping of that which is not like to be had, hee hath driuen off the time, not sending to any other places: by means whereof the worshipfuls goods lie vnsold to this day to their great hinderance, which I for my part am not a litle sory to see.

Babylon 15 dayes iourney from Casbin.

Babylon is from hence fifteene dayes iourney, whereas by true report be great store of Dates, and sold for a bisse the batman, the commoditie fit for England, and the place so neere vnto vs might easily haue bene knowen, if hee, whose deeds and sayings differ much, had bene willing to the same. Casan also is but seuen dayes iourney from hence, and a place by report where most store of spices be at all times to be had, ouer and aboue any place in this countrey: it could not be granted by him to be seen and proued at this time: if this be losse to the worshipfull, referre it to the want of one which can do that which he speaketh in words.

To trauell in this countrey is not onely miserable and vncomfortable for lacke of townes and villages to harbour in when night commeth, and to refresh men with wholesome victuals in time of need, but also such scarsitie of water, that sometime in three dayes iourney together, is not to be found any drop fit for man or beast to drinke, besides the great danger we stand in for robbing by these infidels, who doe account it remission of sinnes to wash their hands in the blood of one of vs. Better it is therefore in mine opinion to continue a beggar in England during life, then to remaine a rich Merchant seuen yeeres in this Countrey, as some shall well find at their comming hither.

His voyage to Gilan.

By commandement of the Agent also I went to Gilan, as well to see what harbor was there for your ship, as also to vnderstand what commoditie is there best sold, and for what quantitie. I found the way from hence so dangerous and troublesome, that with my pen I am not able to note it vnto you: no man trauelleth from hence thither, but such poore people as need constraineth to buy Rice for their reliefe to liue vpon, and they lay not aboue twentie batmans vpon a catter, and it lieth no lower then the skirts of the saddle, and he escapeth very hardly that commeth there with the same.

The towne of Laighon, which was the chiefest place in all that land, haue I seen, and Langro and Rosar also, which be now ouerrun by the Shaugh and his power, and be so spoiled, and the people so robbed, that not one of them is able to buy one karsie. The best commoditie there to bee bought, is raw silke, and is sold in the Summer time for 38. shaughs the Laighon batman, which is litle aboue 40. li. waight, and for ready money: also there is to bee had what store of Alom you will, and sold there for one bisse the Teueris batman.

The malice of the Turkish merchants.

In these partes be many Turkie merchants resident, which giue an outward shew, as though they were glad of our comming hither, but secretly they be our mortall enemies, searching by all meanes to hinder our sales, because we should the sooner giue ouer our trade thither, which in processe of time I hope will growe to better perfection. They wish vs to go to Hallape with the rest of our commodities vnsold, where they say we shall haue good intertainment in spight of the great number of Venetians which be there resident, and the custome but two in the hundred, and our karsies to be sold presently, had we neuer so many, for twelue duckets, which maketh of this money 165. shaughs: but by such as know the place, market and custome, it is reported to vs credibly to the contrary, and that such karsies as ours be, are not sold for aboue 8. duckets there: the custome thirtie in the hundred and more, that no place in the world so well furnished with good cloth and karsies, and of so braue colour as that place is, supposing it to bee craftily purposed of them, to bring vs into trouble, which God defend vs from.

The price of spices.

The price of spices be these, at this present enhansed by reason ye way is shut to Ormus, which when God shall send open, I purpose (God willing) to see, and at my returne to aduertise the worshipfull what benefit is there to be had in all points, so neere as I can learne: Pepper 25. shaughs the Teueris batman: Cloues 50. shaughs, Long pepper 25. shaughs, Maces large 50. shaughs, Ginger 24. shaughs, ready money all, or els looke not vpon them. And the best sort of rawe silke is sold for 60. shaughs the Teueris batman. Thus for want of further matter to inlarge, I ende for this time, beseeching God to preserue you in continuall health.

By your obedient seruant,

Lawrence Chapman.

Notes concerning this fourth voyage into Persia, begun in the moneth of Iuly 1568. gathered by M. Richard Willes from the mouth of Master Arthur Edwards which was Agent in the same.

WHen he came first to the Sophies presence, at his court in Casbin, bringing his interpreter with him, and standing farre off, the Sophie (sitting in a seat roiall with a great number of his noble men about him) bad him come neere, and that thrise, vntill he came so neere him that he might haue touched him with his hand. Then the first demand that he asked him was, from what countrey he came: he answered, that he came from England. Then asked hee of his noble men, who knew any such countrey? But when Edwards saw that none of them had any intelligence of that name, he named it Inghilterra, as the Italians call England. Then one of the noble men said Londro, meaning thereby London, which name is better knowen in far countries out of Christendom, then is the name of England. When Edwards heard him name Londro, he said that that was the name of the chiefe citie of England, as was Teueris of the chiefe city of Persia. He asked him many things more, as of the realme of England, maruelling that it should be an Island of so great riches and power, as Edwards declared vnto him: of the riches and abundance of our merchandize he further vnderstood by our traffike in Moscouia and other countreis. He demanded also many thinges of the Queenes maiestie, and of the customes and lawes of the realme: saying oftentimes in his owne language, Bara colla, (that is to say) Well sayd. He asked also many things of King Philip, and of his wars against the Turke at Malta. Then he demanded of him what was the chiefe cause of his resort into his realme. And being certified that it was for the trade of merchandize he asked what kind of merchandize he could bring thither. Such (sayd hee) as the Venetian merchants do, which dwelling in our country in the city of Londro send to Venice, and from thence into Turkie by Halepo and Tripoli in Syria, from whence, as by the second and third hands, with great charges of many customs and other things thereunto pertaining, they are at the length brought into your countrey and cities of Persia. What merchandize are those? sayd the Sophie. Edwards answered, that they were great abundance of fine karsies, of broad clothes of all sorts and colours, as skariets, violets, and other of the finest cloth

Londro, London.

The Venetians traffike in England.

of all the world. Also that the Venetians brought out of England not onely such clothes ready made, but furthermore great plenty of fine wooll to mingle with their wools, of which they could not otherwise make fine cloth: affirming that there went out of England yeerly that waies, aboue two hundredth thousand karsies, and as many broad clothes, beside fine wooll and other merchandize, beside also the great abundance of like clothes, the which were caried into Spaine, Barbarie, and diuers other countries. The Sophie then asked him by what means such merchandize might be brought into Persia. Right wel sir (said he) by the way of Moscouia, with more safetie and in much shorter time then the Venetians can bring them: first from England to Venice, and from thence into Persia by the way of Turkie. And therefore if it shall please your maiestie to grant vs free passage into all your dominions, with such priuiledges as may appertaine to the safegard of our liues, goods and merchandize, we will furnish your countries with all such merchandize and other commodities, in shorter time, and better cheape then you may haue the same at the Turks hands. This talke and much more was between the Sophie and Edwards for the space of two houres: all which things liked him so well, that shortly after he granted to the sayd Arthur Edwards other priuiledges for the trade of merchandize into Persia, all written in Azure and gold letters, and deliuered vnto the lord keeper of the Sophie his great seale. The lord keeper was named Coche Califay, who sayd that when the Shaugh (that is the king or prince) did sit to seale any letters, that last priuiledge should be sealed and deliuered to Laurence Chapman. In this priuiledge is one principall article for seruants or merchants: That if the Agent do perceiue that vpon their naughtie doings, they would become Bursormen, that then the Agent wheresoeuer he shall find any such seruant or seruants, to take them and put them in prison, and no person to keepe them or maintaine them. This article was granted in respect of a custome among the Persians, being Mahumetans, whose maner is friendly to receiue and wel entertaine, both with gifts and liuing, all such Christians, as forsaking their religion, wil become of the religion of the Persians. Insomuch that before this priuiledge was granted, there was great occasion of naughty seruants to deceiue and rob their masters, that vnder the colour of professing that religion, they might liue among them in such safetie, that you might haue no lawe agaynst them, either to punish them or to recouer your goods at their hands, or elsewhere. For before the Sophie (whom they say to be a maruelous wise and gracious prince) seemed to fauour our nation, and to grant them such priuiledges, the people abused them very much, and so hated them, that they would not touch them, but reuiled them, calling them Cafars and Gawars, which is, infidels or misbeleeuers. But after they saw how greatly the prince fauoured them, they had them afterward in great reuerence, and would kisse their hands and vse them very friendly. For before they tooke it for no wrong to rob them, defraud them, beare false witnesse against them, and such merchandizes as they had bought or sold, make them take it againe, and change it as often as them listed. And if any stranger by chance had killed one of them, they would haue the life of two for one slaine, and for the debts of any stranger would take the goods of any other of the same nation, with many other such like abuses, in maner vnknowen to the prince, before the complaints of our men made vnto him for reformation of such abuses: which were the cause that no merchant strangers of contrary religion durst come into his dominions with their commodities, which might be greatly to the profite of him and his subiects.

The Articles of the second priuiledge deliuered to Laurence Chapman, which are to be annexed vnto the former priuiledge.

10 Item, that the merchants haue free libertie, as in their first priuiledge, to goe vnto Gilan, and al lother places of his dominions, now or hereafter when occasion shall be giuen.

11 Item, if by misfortune any of their ships should breake, or fall vpon any part of his dominions on the sea coast, his subiects to helpe with all speed to saue the goods and to be deliuered to any of the sayd merchants that liueth: or otherwise to be kept in safetie vntil any of them come to demaund them.

12 Item, if any of the said merchants depart this life in any citie or towne, or on the high way, his gouernours there to see their goods safely kept, and to be deliuered to any other of them that shall demand them.

13 Item, the said merchants to take such camel-men as they themselues wil, being countrey people, and that no Kissell Bash do let or hinder them. And the said owners of the camels

to bee bound to answere them such goods as they shal receiue at their hands, and the camel-men to stand to the losses of their camels or horses.

14 Item more, that the sayd Cariers do demaund no more of them, then their agreement was to pay them.

15 Item more, if they be at a price with any Cariers, and haue giuen earnest, the camel-men to see they keepe their promise.

16 Item, if any of the said merchants be in feare to trauel to giue them one or more to go with them and see them in safetie with their goods, to the place they will goe vnto.

17 Item, in all places, to say, in all cities, townes or villages on the high way, his subiects to give them honest roume, and victuals for their money.

18 Item, the sayd merchants may in any place, where they shall thinke best, build or buy any house or houses to their owne vses. And no person to molest or trouble them, and to stand in any Carauan where they will, or shal thinke good.

THe commodities which the merchants may haue by this trade into Persia are thought to bee great, and may in time perhaps be greater then the Portugals trade into ye East Indies, forasmuch as by the way of Persia into England, the returne may be made euery yeere once: whereas the Portugals make the returne from Calecut but once in two yeers, by a long and dangerous voiage all by sea: for where as the citie and Island of Ormus, lying in the gulfe of Persia, is the most famous Mart towne of all East India, whither all ye merchandises of India are brought, the same may in shorter time and more safelie be brought by land and riuers through Persia, euen vnto the Caspian sea, and from thence by the countreis of Russia or Moscouia by riuers, euen vnto the citie of Yeraslaue, and from thence by land 180. miles to Vologda, and from thence againe all by water euen vnto England.

The merchandises which he had out of Persia for the returne of wares are silke of all sortes of colours, both raw and wrought. Also all maner of spices and drugs, pearles and precious stones, likewise carpets of diuers sortes, with diuers other rich merchandises. It was told me of them that came last from Persia, that here is more silke brought into some one city of Persia, then is of cloth brought into the city of London. Also that one village of Armenia named Gilgat doeth carie yeerely fiue hundred, and sometime a thousand mules laden with silke to Halepo in

Soria of Turkie, being 4. dayes iourney from Tripoli, where the Venetians haue their continuall abiding, and send from thence silks which they returne for English karsies and other clothes into all partes of Christendome.

The maner how the Christians become Busormen, and forsake their religion.

I Haue here noted before that if any Christian wil become a Busorman, that is, one that hath forsaken his faith, and be a Mahumetan of their religion, they giue him many gifts and sometimes also a liuing. The maner is, that when the deuill is entred into his heart to forsake his faith, he resorteth to the Soltan or gouernour of the towne, to whom hee maketh protestation of his diuelish purpose. The gouernour appointeth him a horse, and one to ride before him on another horse, bearing a sword in his hand, and the Busorman bearing an arrow in his hand, and rideth in the citie, cursing his father and mother: and if euer after he returne to his owne religion, he is guiltie of death, as is signified by the sword borne before him. A yong man, a seruant of one of our merchants, because he would not abide the correction of his master for his faults, was minded to forsake his faith. But (as God would) he fell suddenly sicke and died, before he gaue himself to the deuill. If he had become a Busorman, he had greatly troubled the merchants: for if he then would haue said that halfe their goods had bene his, they would haue giuen credite vnto him. For the auoiding of which inconuenience, it was granted in the priuiledges, that no Busorman, &c. as there appeareth.

In Persia in diuers places oxen and kine beare the tents and houshold stuffe of the poore men of the countrey, which haue neither camels nor horses.

Of the tree which beareth Bombasin cotton, or Gossampine.

IN Persia is great abundance of Bombasin cotton, and very fine: this groweth on a certaine litle tree or brier, not past the height of a mans waste or litle more: the tree hath a slender stalke like vnto a brier, or to a carnation gillifloure, with very many branches, bearing on euery branch a fruit or rather a cod, growing in round forme, containing in it the cotton: and when this bud or cod commeth to the bignes of a walnut, it openeth and sheweth foorth the cotton, which groweth still in bignes vntill it be like a fleece of wooll as big as a mans fist, and beginneth to be loose, and then they gather it as it were the ripe fruite. The seeds of these trees are as big as peason, and are blacke, and somewhat flat, and not round; they sowe them in plowed ground, where they grow in the fields in great abundance in many countries in Persia, and diuers other regions.

The writing of the Persians.

ARthur Edwards shewed me a letter of the Sophie, written in their letters backward, subsigned with the hands both of the Sophy and his Secretarie. The Sophies subscription was onely one word (his name I suppose was Shaugh) written in golden letters vpon red paper. The whole letter was also written on the same piece of red paper, being long and narow, about ye length of a foote, and not past three inches broad. The priuate signet of the Sophie was a round printed marke about the bignes of a roial, onely printed vpon the same paper without any waxe or other seale, the letters seem so mishapen and disordered, that a man would thinke it were somewhat scribled in maner at aduentures. Yet they say that almost euery letter with his pricke or circumflexe signifieth a whole word. Insomuch that in a piece of paper as big as a mans hand their writing doeth containe as much as doeth ours almost in a sheet of paper.

The fift voiage into Persia made by M. Thomas Banister, and master Geofrey Ducket, Agents for the Moscouie companie, begun from England in the yeere 1568, and continuing to the yeere 1574. following. Written by P. I. from the mouth of M. Lionel Plumtree.

Vpon the 3. day of Iuly 1568, they embarked themselues at Yeraslaue, being accompanied with Lionel Plumtree, and some 12. English men more, in a Barke called the Thomas Bonauenture of the burden of 70. tunnes, taking also along with them of Russes to the number of 40. for their vse and imploiments. It fell out in the way, before they came to Astracan by 40. miles, that the Nagaian Tartars, being a kind of thieuish and cruel people, made an assault vpon them with 18. boates of theirs, each of them being armed, some with swords, some with speares, and some others with bowes and arrowes, and the whole number of them they discouered to be about 300. men. They for their

The English Barke assaulted neere Astracan by the Nagaian Tartars.

parts, although they could haue wished a quiet voyage and iourney without blowes and violence, yet not willing to be spoiled with such Barbarians as they were, began to defend themselues against their assault, by meanes whereof a very terrible and fierce fight folowed and continued hot and sharpe for two houres, wherein our men so wel plaied their parts with their caliuers, that they forced the Tartars to flee with the losse of 120. of them, as they were afterwards enformed by a Russe prisoner, which escaped from the Nagaians, and came to them to Astracan, at which towne they arriued the 20. of August.

Astracan besieged by 70000. Turks and Tartars.

In this towne of Astracan they were somewhat hindered of their iourney, and staied the space of sixe weekes by reason of a great army of 70000. Turkes and Tartars which came thither vpon the instigation of the great Turke, hoping either to haue surprised it suddenly or by continuance of siege to win the same. But in the end by reason that the winter approched, as also, because they had receiued newes of a great expedition, which the Emperour of Russia was in prouiding for the defence of the said place, they were constrained to raise their siege, and to leaue the town as they found it.

Vpon their departure our men had opportunitie to proceed on their voyage, and vsing the occasion, they left Astracan, and came to Bilbil towards the end of October: from whence they went to Shauaran, where (as they lodged in their tentes) they were greatly molested with strange troopes of sholcaues or foxes, which were so busie with them that they tooke their meate and victuals out of their lodgings, and deuoured to the bare bones in one night a mighty wilde Bore that was sent vnto them for a present from the gouernour of the countrey.

Hauing staied here some three or foure daies in prouiding of cariages and other necessaries for their iourney, they departed thence and came to Shamaky, which is foure dayes iourney from the aforesayd Shauaran. In this towne of Shamaky their whole company spent out the Winter, and from thence in April folowing they tooke their iourney towards Ardouil a place of great account and much esteemed, by reason of the sepulchres of the Emperours of Persia, which for the most part lie there buried, and so is growen to bee a place of their superstitious deuotion. In this towne of Ardouil they soiourned the space of 5. or 6. moneths, finding some traffiques and sales, but to no purpose, the towne being more inhabited and frequented with gentlemen and noblemen then merchants.

The difference of religion bred great broiles in this towne whiles they remained there: for the brother sought the destruction of the brother, and the neerest kinsmen rose vp one against another, insomuch that one of their company Lionel Plumtree hath seene in one day sometimes 14. slaine in a garboile. And he being further desirous to see their maner of fight, or rather somewhat more curious to behold, then mistrustful of their blowes, was like to haue borne a share in their bloodie tragedie, being twise wounded with their shot and arrowes, although not to the death.

At this towne the Shah Thomas sent a messenger for our men to come to his presence at Casbin, to whom Thomas Banister failed not to goe, although master Ducket lay very sicke at Ardouil, and in such case that they almost despaired of his recouerie. Hee being come to the Shaugh was receiued and entertained of him with great fauour and speciall countenance, and had the most part of all his requests granted him, this onely excepted, that whereas he entreated a priuiledge or sufferance to transport and cary through his dominions certaine horses into India, the Shaugh seemed loth to yeeld thereunto, and yet did not altogether denie it, but referred it to some further time. As for the point of traffique, he could not make that motion or request that was not so soone granted as it was preferred: and the Shaugh himselfe bought there of him many karsies, and made him as good paiment as any man could wish, and oftentimes would send his mony for the wares before the wares were deliuered, that he might be the surer of this honourable intended dealing.

One thing somewhat strange I thought good in this place to remember, that whereas hee purposed to send a great summe of money to Mecca in Arabia, for an offering to Mahomet their prophet, hee would not send any money or coyne of his owne, but sent to the English merchants to exchange his coyne for theirs, according to the value of it, yeelding this reason for the same, that the money of the merchants was gotten by good meanes, and with good consciences, and was therefore woorthie to be made for an oblation to their holy prophet, but his owne money was rather gotten by fraud, oppression and vnhonest meanes, and therefore was not fit to serue for so holie a vse.

After sixe moneths spent in Casbin the sayde Thomas Banister departed towards the great citie of Taruis, where being arriued, he found M. Ducket well recouered of his sicknesse, whom he had left ill at Ardouil.

At this Citie the foresayd Master Ducket made sales of the English commodities, remaining there to that purpose the space of two yeeres and a halfe. And besides other kindes of merchandises of that countrey, he bought great stores of gals which grow in great abundance at a place within one dayes iourney of the aforesayd Taruis.

After this Thomas Banister departed from Taruis, and went to Shamaky to giue order for the transporting of those commodities which were bought for England. And hauing dispatched them away, he went there hence to Arrash, a towne foure dayes iourney with camels from Shamaky for the buying of rawe silke. But there by reason of the vnwholesomnesse of the aire, and corruption of the waters in the hote time of the yeere, he with Lawrence Chapman and some other English men vnhappily died: which being knowen of M. Ducket, he immediately came from Taruis to Arrash, to take possession of the goods, for otherwise by the custome of the countrey, if there had bene no merchant or other friend of his to enter vpon that which he left, all had fallen into the Shaughs hands, which goods notwithstanding could not bee recouered from the officers, which had seized and sealed vp the same, vntill M. Ducket had bene in person with the Shaugh, and had procured his order for the deliuerie thereof.

The death of Thomas Banister and Laurence Chapman.

Lionel Plumtree, in the meane time that M. Ducket was at Casbin in sute for goods, vpon the perswasion of certaine Bogharians, made prouision for a iourney to Cathaia, with cariages and commodities, and hauing all things ready, departed secretly with a Carauan: but being gone forwards on his way sixe dayes iourny, some fifty horsemen by the procurement of Humfrey Greensell (who afterwards being at Ormus in the East Indies, was there cruelly burnt in the Inquisition by the Portingals) were sent after him in poste from Soltan Erasbec, the Shaughs lieutenant, to fetch him backe againe, not suffering him to passe on so perillous and dangerous a iourney for feare of diuers inconueinces that might follow.

Humfrey Greensell burnt at Ormus.

After this M. Ducket returned from Casbin to Shamaky againe, and immediately made preparation for a iourney to Cassan, being about foure dayes iourney from Shamaky, and caried with him foure mules laden with mony.

In the way of his trauel he passed through Persepolis, sometime the roiall seate of the Emperors of Persia, but now altogether ruined and defaced, whereof remaine to be seene at this day two gates onely that are distant one from the other the space of 12. miles, and some few pinnacles in the mountains and conueiances for fresh water.

The foresaid Cassan is a towne that consisteth altogether of merchandise, and the best trade of all the land is there, being greatly frequented by the merchants of India.

Here our men bought great store of al maner of wrought silkes, and some spices, and good store of Turkie stones.

The towne is much to be commended for the ciuil and good gouernment that is there vsed. An idle person is not suffred to liue amongst them.

The child that is but fiue yeeres old is set to some labour. No ill rule, disorder or riote by gaming or otherwise, is there permitted. Playing at Dice or Cards is by the law present death.

At this Cashan they remained about the space of tenne weekes, and then came down againe to Shamaky, and after some time spent in diuers places of the countrey for buying of rawe silke and other commodities, they came at last to Shauaran againe, where their ship was in harbour, and then they shipt all their goods and embarked themselues also, setting sayle the eight day of May, in the yeere 1573. intending to fetch Astracan. By reason of the varietie of the windes and dangerous flats of the Caspian sea, they beat it vp and downe some 20. dayes. And the 28. day riding at anker vpon the flats, certaine Russe Cassaks, which are outlawes or banished men, hauing intelligence of their being there, and of the great wealth that they had with them, came to them with diuers boates vnder the colour of friendship, and entred their ship, but immediately they tooke their hatchets and slew diuers of the Russes that were of the ship vpon the hatches: Whereupon master Ducket, Lionell Plumtree, William Smith, the master, a man of singular valure, and Amos Riall being vnder the Spardecke, did so well behaue themselues, that they skowred the hatches, and slew 14. of the Cassaks gunners, and hurt and wounded about 30. more, being of them al in number 150. at the least, armed with caliuers and other weapons fitfor so villanous a purpose.

The English ship taken by the Cassaks.

M. Ducket notwithstanding and the rest aforesaid receiued diuers wounds from the enemie, and were so hurt, and withall so oppressed with the multitude and force of them, that they were at last constrained to make an agreement with the Cassaks by rendring the ship into their hands, hauing receiued first their othes sworne by their crucifixes, not to do any further harme to their persons.

Thus the shippe being taken, and all the English grieuously hurt, the Cassaks immediately discharged the ship of them, putting them all into the ship boate with two or three Persian targets full of horse flesh and swines flesh, without further victuals or reliefe: they being in that case, made the best hast they could to get to Astracan: and being come to the towne, master Ducket made great sute to the captaine to haue men and boates set out for the rescuing and recouering of the ship if it were possible: who immediately sent out his sonne with fortie boates and fiue hundred men to pursue the Pirats, and by good hap came to the place where they rid at anker with the ship, but by reason of their foolishnes in striking vp their drums before they were come neere them, the Cassaks discouering the boats, cut their gables and put out to sea, whereupon the boats not being able to folow them, returned againe to Astracan. After which, 60. boats more were sent out to pursue them againe the second time: and that second army came to a place where they found many of these Cassaks and slew them, and found out the places where they had hid certaine parcels of their goods in the earth in the chests of the ship: all which they recouered againe for the English merchants, to the value of 5000. li. of 30. or 40. thousand pound, but all the rest the Cassaks in the ship had caried away.

In the same place they found further diuers of the Cassaks which the Englishmen had slaine, buried in the earth, and wrapt some in fortie or fiftie yards of Sattin and Taffataes, and some in Turkie carpets cut and spoiled by those villanous Pirats, of whom afterwards as many as could be taken by the Persians who entirely loued the English merchants, were put to most cruell torments in all places according to their deserts.

But our men being thus spoyled of their goods, and wounded in their bodies, remained about two moneths at Astracan for their better recouerie: and hauing gotten some reasonable strength, they then prouided boates and went vp the riuer of Volga to

Cazan, with such goods as they had recouered from the Cassaks. From Cazan they went towards Yeraslaue, but in the way the ice intercepted them about the beginning of October, where suddenly in the night they were taken with a cruell and vehement frost, and therewithall the waters so congeled, that their boates were crushed and cut in sunder with the ice, whereby they sustained both a further danger of life and losse of goods: but as much as they could preserue with much adoe, they conueyed ouer land in sleds to Vologda, and from thence sent much of it to Saint Nicholas to be laden in the ships for England.

Ice in the beginning of October.

But Master Ducket, Lionel Plumtree and Amos Riall went with some parcels to the Mosko, and there sold certaine quantities of it to the Emperour, who pitying the mightie losse that they had sustained by his owne rebellious people and subiects, bought himselfe as much as hee liked, and payed present money for the same. So that Winter being spent out in Mosko, and such wares prouided by them as serued for England, they departed to Saint Nicholas, and there embarked in the moneth of August: and hauing endured a very terrible passage in nine weekes and three dayes, with some hardnesse of victuals, contrary and furious windes, and other sea accidents, they arriued at London in the moneth of October, one thousand fiue hundred seuentie and foure, and so make an ende of an vnfortunate voyage: which if it had pleased God to prosper, that all things had come home as safely as they were carefully prouided, and painfully laboured for, it had proued the richest voiage and most profitable returne of commoditie, that had euer bene vndertaken by English merchants, who, notwithstanding all misfortunes, lost nothing of their principall aduenture, but onely the interest and gaine that might haue risen by the vse of their stocke in the meane time.

1574.

Further obseruations concerning the state of Persia, taken in the foresayd fift voyage into those partes, and written by M. Geffery Ducket, one of the Agents emploied in the same.

SHamaky is the fairest towne in all Media, and the chiefest commoditie of that countrey is rawe silke, and the greatest plentie thereof is at a towne three dayes iourney from Shamaky called

Grosin or Georgia.

Arash: and within 3. dayes iourney of Arash is a countrey named Grosin, whose inhabitants are Christians, and are thought to be they which are otherwise called Georgians: there is also much silke to be sold. The chief towne of that countrey is called Zegham, from whence is caried yeerely into Persia, an incredible quantitie of Hasell nuts, all of one sort and goodnesse, and as good and thin shaled as are our Filberds. Of these are caried yeerely the quantitie of 4000. Camels laden.

Of the name of the Sophy of Persia, and why he is called the Shaugh, and of other customes.

THe king of Persia (whom here we call the great Sophy) is not there so called, but is called the Shaugh. It were there dangerous to cal him by the name of Sophy, because that Sophy in the Persian tongue, is a begger, and it were as much as to call him. The great begger. He lieth at a towne called Casbin, which is situate in a goodly fertile valley of 3. or 4. daies iourney in length. The towne is but euil builded, and for the most part all of bricke, not hardened with fire, but only dried at the sunne, as is the most part of the building of all Persia. The king hath not come out of the compasse of his owne house in 33. or 34. yeeres, whereof the cause is not knowen, but as they say, it is vpon a superstition of certaine prophesies to which they are greatly addicted: he is now about 80. yeeres of age, and very lusty. And to keepe him the more lusty, he hath 4. wiues alwayes, and about 300. concubines, and once in the yeere he hath all the faire maidens and wiues that may be found a great way about brought vnto him, whom he diligently peruseth, feeling them in all parts, taking such as he liketh, and putting away some of them which he hath kept before, and with them that he putteth away, he gratifieth some such as hath done him the best seruice. And if hee chance to take any mans wife, her husband is very glad thereof, and in recompense of her, oftentimes he giueth the husband one of his old store, whom he thankfully receiueth.

How strangers are vsed.

If any stranger being a Christian shall come before him, he must put on a new paire of shooes made in that countrey, and from the place where he entreth, there is digged as it were a causey all the way, vntil he come to the place where he shal talke with the king, who standeth alwayes aboue in a gallerie, when he talketh with any strangers: and when the stranger is departed, then is the causey cast downe, and the ground made euen againe.

Of the religion of the Persians.

A goodly and well grounded religion.

THeir religion is all one with the Turkes, sauing that they differ who was the right successor of Mahumet. The Turkes say that it was one Homer and his sonne Vsman. But the Persians say that it was one Mortus Ali, which they would prooue in this maner. They say there was a counsell called to decide the matter who should be the successor: and after they had called vpon Mahumet to reueale vnto them his will and pleasure therein, there came among them a little Lizard, who declared that it was Mahumets pleasure that Mortus Ali should be his successor. This Mortus Ali was a valiant man and slew Homer the Turkes prophet. He had a sword that hee fought withall, with the which hee conquered all his enemies, and killed as many as he stroke. When Mortus Ali died, there came a holy prophet, who gaue them warning that shortly there would come a white Camell, vpon the which he charged them to lay the body and sword of Mortus Ali, and to suffer the Camel to cary it whither he would. The which being performed, the said white camell caried the sword and body of Mortus Ali taken vp into heauen, for whose return they haue long looked in Persia. And for this cause the king alwayes keepeth a horse ready sadled for him, and also of late kept for him one of his owne daughters to be his wife, but she died in the yere of our Lord, 1573. And they say furthermore, y^t if he come not shortly, they shalbe of our beliefe: much like the Iewes, looking for their Messias to come and reigne among them like a worldly king for euer, and deliuer them from the captiuitie which they are now in among the Christians, Turkes, and Gentiles.

The Shaugh or king of Persia is nothing in strength and power comparable vnto the Turke: for although he hath a great Dominion, yet is it nothing to be compared with the Turks: neither hath he any great Ordinance or gunnes, or harquebusses. Notwithstanding his eldest sonne Ismael about 25. yeeres past, fought a great battell with the Turke, and slew of his armie about an hundred thousand men: who after his returne, was by his father cast into prison, and there continueth vntil this day: for his father the Shaugh had him in suspicion that he would haue put him downe, and haue taken the regiment vnto himselfe.

Their opinion of Christ.

Their opinion of Christ is, that he was an holy man and a great Prophet, but not like vnto Mahumet: saying, that Mahumet was the last prophet by whom all things were finished, and was therefore the greatest. To prooue that Christ was not Gods sonne, they say that God had neuer wife, and therefore could haue no sonne or children. They go on pilgrimage from the furthest part of Persia vnto Mecha in Arabia, and by the way they visite also the sepulchre of Christ at Ierusalem, which they now call Couch Kaly.

The most part of spices which commeth into Persia is brought from the Island of Ormus, situate in the gulfe of Persia called Sinus Persicus, betweene the maine land of Persia and Arabia, &c. The Portingals touch at Ormus both in their voyage to East India and homeward againe, and from thence bring all such spices as are occupied in Persia and the regions thereabout: for of pepper they bring very small quantitie, and that at a very deare price.

The Turkes oftentimes bring pepper from Mecha in Arabia, which they sell as good cheape as that which is brought from Ormus. Silkes are brought from no place, but are wrought all in their owne countrey. Ormus is within two miles of the maine land of Persia, and the Portingals fetch their fresh water there, for the which they pay tribute to the Shaugh or king of Persia.

Their money.

Within Persia they haue neither gold nor siluer mines, yet haue they coined money both of gold and siluer, and also other small moneys of copper. There is brought into Persia an incredible summe of Dutch dollars, which for the most part are there imploied in raw silke.

Their bookes and learning.

They haue few bookes and lesse learning, and are for the most part very brutish in al kind of good sciences, sauing in some kind of silke works, and in such things as pertaine to the furniture of horses, in the which they are passing good.

Such was the law of the Macedonians for treason.

Their lawes are as in their religion, wicked and detestable. And if any man offend the prince, he punisheth it extremely, not onely in the person that offendeth, but also in his children, and in as many as are of his kin. Theft and murther are often punished, yet none otherwise then pleaseth him that is ruler in the place where the offence is committed, and as the partie offending is able to make friends, or with money to redeeme his offence.

Dissention for religion.

There is oftentimes great mutinie among the people in great Townes which of Mortus Ali his sonnes was greatest: insomuch that sometimes in the towne two or three thousand people are together by the eares for the same, as I haue seene in the towne of Shamaky and Ardouil, and also in the great City of Tiueris, where I haue seene a man comming from fighting, in a brauerie bringing in his hand foure or fiue mens heads, carying them by the haire of the head: for although they shaue their heads most commonly twise a weeke, yet leaue they a tuft of haire vpon their heads about 2. foote long. I haue enquired why they leaue the tuft of haire vpon their heads. They answered that thereby they may easiler be carried vp into heauen when they are dead.

Their priests and preaching. Their Lent.

For their religion they haue certaine priests who are apparelled like vnto other men. They vse euery morning and afternoone to go vp to the tops of their churches, and tell there a great tale of Mahumet and Mortus Ali: and other preaching haue they none. Their Lent is after Christmas, not in abstinence from flesh onely, but from all meats and drinks, vntill the day be off the skie, but then they eate somtimes the whole night. And although it be against their religion to drinke wine, yet at night they will take great excesses thereof and be drunken. Their Lent beginneth at the new Moone, and they do not enter into it vntill they haue seene the same: neither yet doeth their Lent end, vntill they haue seen the next new Moone, although the same (through close weather) should not be seen in long time.

Their saints and holy men.

They haue among them certaine holy men whom they call Setes, counted holy for that they or any of their ancestors haue been on pilgrimage at Mecha in Arabia, for whosoeuer goeth thither on pilgrimage to visite the sepulchre of Mahumet, both he and all his posteritie are euer after called Setes, and counted for holy men, and haue no lesse opinion of themselues. And if a man contrary one of these, he will say that he is a Saint, and therefore ought to be beleeued, and that hee cannot lie, although he lie neuer so shamefully. Thus a man may be too holy, and no pride is greater then spirituall pride of a mind puffed vp with his own opinion of holinesse. These Setes do vse to shaue their heads all ouer,

Pilgrimage.

sauing on the sides a litle aboue the temples, the which they leaue vnshauen, and vse to braid the same as women do their haire, and to weare it as long as it will grow.

Their praier and worshipping of God and Mahumet.

Euery morning they vse to worship God, Mahumet, and Mortus Ali, and in praying turne themselues toward the South, because Mecha lieth that way from them. When they be in trauell on the way, many of them will (as soone as the Sunne riseth) light from their horses, turning themselues to the South, and will lay their gownes before them, with their swords and beads, and so standing vpright worship to the South: and many times in their prayers kneele downe, and kisse their beads, or somwhat els that lieth before them.

Washing and outward clenlinesse.

The men or women doe neuer goe to make water, but they vse to take with them a pot with a spout, and after they haue made water, they flash some water vpon their priuy parts, and thus doe the women as well as the men: and this is a matter of great religion among them, and in making of water the men do cowre downe as well as the women.

Their swearing.

When they earnestly affirme a matter, they will sweare by God, Mahumet, or Mortus Ali, and sometimes by all at ones: as thus in their owne language, saying, Olla, Mahumet, Ali. But if he will sweare by the Shaughs head, in saying Shaugham basshe, you may then beleeue him if you will.

The king's magnificence.

The Shaugh keepeth a great magnificence in his court: and although sometimes in a moneth or six weekes none of his nobilitie or counsaile can see him, yet goe they daily to the court, and tary there a certaine time vntil they haue knowen his pleasure whether hee will commaund them any thing or not. Hee is watched euery night with a thousand of his men, which are called his Curshes, who are they that hee vseth to send into the Countreis about his greatest affaires. When he sendeth any of them (if it be to the greatest of any of his nobilitie) he will obey them, although the messenger should beat any of them to death.

Pursuiuants.

The kings company with his wiues and concubines.

The Shaugh occupieth himselfe alwayes two dayes in the weeke in his Bathstoue, and when he is disposed to goe thither, he taketh with him fiue or sixe of his concubines, more or lesse, and one day they consume in washing, rubbing, and bathing him, and the other day in paring his nailes, and other matters. The greatest part of his life hee spendeth amongst his wiues and concubines. Hee hath now reigned about fiftie and foure yeeres, and is therefore counted a very holy man, as they euer esteeme their kings, if they haue reigned fiftie yeeres or more: for they measure the fauour of God by a mans prosperitie, or his displeasure by a mans misfortune or aduersitie. The great Turk hath this Shaugh in great reuerence, because he hath reigned king so long time.

The succession of ye kingdom.

I haue sayd before that hee hath foure wiues, and as many concubines as him listeth: and if he chance to haue any children by any of his concubines, and be minded that any of those children shall inherite after him, then when one of his wiues dieth, the concubine whom hee so favoureth, hee maketh one of his wiues, and the childe whom he so loueth best, he ordaineth to bee king after him.

Circumcison.

What I heard of the maner of their mariages, for offending of honest consciences and chaste ears, I may not commit to writing: their fasting I haue declared before. They vse circumcision vnto children of seuen yeeres of age, as do the Turkes.

Their houses, and maner of eating.

Their houses (as I haue sayd) are for the most part made of bricke, not burned but only dried in the Sunne: In their houses they haue but litle furniture of houshold stuffe, except it be their carpets and some copper worke: for all their kettles and dishes wherein they eate, are of copper. They eate on the ground, sitting on carpets crosse legged as do Tailors. There is no man so simple but he sitteth on a carpet better or worse, and the whole house or roume wherein he sitteth is wholy couered with carpets. Their houses are all with flat roofes couered with earth: and in the Sommer time they lie vpon them all night.

Bondmen and bondwomen.

They haue many bond seruants both men and women. Bondmen and bondwomen, is one of the best kind of merchandise that any man may bring. When they buy any maydes or yong women, they vse to feele them in all partes, as with vs men doe horses: when one hath bought a yong woman, if he like her, he will keepe her for his owne vse as long as him listeth, and then selleth her to an other, who doeth the like with her. So that one woman is sometimes sold in the space of foure or fiue yeeres, twelue, or twentie times. If a man keepe a bondwoman for his owne vse, and if hee find her to be false to him, and giue her body to any other, he may kill her if he will.

Women bought and sold, and let to hire.

When a merchant or traueller commeth to any towne where he entendeth to tary any time, he hireth a woman, or sometimes 2. or 3. during his abode there. And when he commeth to an other towne, he doeth the like in the same also: for there they vse to put out their women to hire, as wee do here hackney horses.

There is a very great riuer which runneth through the plaine of Iauat, which falleth into the Caspian sea, by a towne called Bachu, neere vnto which towne is a strange thing to behold. For there issueth out of the ground a marueilous quantitie of oile, which oile they fetch from the vttermost bounds of all Persia: it serueth all the countrey to burne in their houses.

Abundance of oile issuing out of the ground.

This oyle is blacke, and is called Nefte:* they vse to cary it throughout all the Countrey vpon kine and asses, of which you shall oftentimes meet with foure or fiue hundred in a company. There is also by the said towne of Bachu another kind of oyle which is white and very precious: and is supposed to be the same that here is called Petroleum. There is also not far from Shamaky, a thing like vnto tarre, and issueth out of the ground, whereof we haue made the proofe, that in our ships it serueth well in the stead of tarre.

Oleum Petroleum.

Two sorts of kine.

In Persia are kine of two sorts: the one like vnto ours in these partes: the other are marueilous euill fauoured, with great bones and very leane, and but litle haire vpon them: their milke is walowish sweete: they are like vnto them which are spoken of in the Scripture, which in the dreame of Pharao signified the seuen deare yeeres: for a leaner or more euill fauoured beast can no man see.

In the countrey of Shiruan (sometime called Media) if you chance to lie in the fields neere vnto any village, as the twilight beginneth, you shall haue about you two or three hundred foxes, which make a marueilous wawling or howling: and if you looke not well to your victuals, it shal scape them hardly but they will haue part with you.

Foxes in great plenty.

The Caspian sea doeth neither ebbe nor flowe, except sometimes by rages of wind it swelleth vp very high: the water is very salt. Howbeit, the quantitie of water that falleth out of the great riuer of Volga maketh the water fresh at the least twentie leagues into the sea. The Caspian sea is marueilous full of fish, but no kind of monstrous fish, as farre as I could vnderstand, yet hath it sundry sortes of fishes which are not in these parts of the world.

---

* These springs are still in existence.

The mutton there is good, and the sheepe great, hauing very great rumpes with much fat vpon them.

Rice and mutton is their chiefe victuall.

The copy of a letter sent to the Emperour of Moscouie, by Christopher Hodsdon and William Burrough, Anno 1570.

MOst mightie Emperour, &c. Whereas Sir William Garrard and his felowship the company of English merchants, this last Winter sent hither to the Narue three ships laden with merchandise, which was left here, and with it Christopher Hodsdon one of the sayd felowship, and their chiefe doer in this place, who when hee came first hither, and vntil such time as hee had dispatched those ships from hence, was in hope of goods to lade twelue or thirteene sailes of good ships, against this shipping, wherefore he wrote vnto the sayd Sir William Garrard and his companie to send hither this spring the sayd number of thirteene ships. And because that in their comming hither wee found the Freebooters on the sea, and supposing this yeere that they would be very strong, he therefore gaue the said sir William and his companie aduise to furnish the sayd number of ships so strongly, as they should bee able to withstand the force of the Freebooters: whereupon they haue according to his aduice sent this yeere thirteene good ships together well furnished with men and munition, and all other necessaries for the warres, of which 13. ships William Burrough one of the said felowship is captaine generall, vnto whom there was giuen in charge, that if hee met with any the Danske Freebooters, or whatsoeuer robbers and theeues that are enimies to your highnesse, he should doe his best to apprehend and take them. It so hapned that the tenth day of this moneth the sayd William with his fleete, met with sixe ships of the Freebooters neere vnto an Island called Tuttee, which is about 50. versts from Narue, vnto which Freebooters he with his fleete gaue chase, and took of them the Admirall, wherein were left but three men, the rest were fled to shore in their boats amongst the woods vpon Tuttee, on which he set fire and burned her. He also tooke foure more of those ships which are now here, and one ship escaped him: out of which foure ships some of the men fled in their boates and so escaped, others were slaine in fight, and some of them when they

Fiue ships of Freebooters taken.

saw they could not escape. cast themselues willingly into the Sea and were drowned. So that in these fiue ships were left but 83. men.

The said Wil. Borough when he came hither to Narue, finding here Chistopher Hodsdon aforenamed, both the said Christopher and William together, in the name of sir William Garrard and the rest of their whole companie and felowship, did present vnto your highnesse of those Freebooters taken by our ships 82. men, which we deliuered here vnto Knez Voiuoda, the 13. of this moneth. One man of those Freebooters we haue kept by vs, whose name is Haunce Snarke a captaine. And the cause why we haue done it is this: When wee should haue deliuered him with the rest of his felowes vnto the Voiuodaes officers, there were of our Englishmen more then 50. which fell on their knees vnto vs, requesting that he might be reserued in the ship, and caried back into England: and the cause why they so earnestly intreated for him, is, that some of those our Englishmen had bene taken with Freebooters, and by his meanes had their liues saued, with great fauour besides, which they found at his hands. Wherefore if it please your highnesse to permit it, we will cary him home with vs into England, wherin we request your maiesties fauour: notwithstanding what you command of him shalbe obserued.

Wee have also sent our seruant to your highnesse with such bestellings and writings as wee found in those shippes: whereby your Maiestie may see by whom, and in what order they were set out, and what they pretended, which writings wee haue commended vnto Knez Yoriue your Maiesties Voiuoda at Plesco, by our seruant. And haue requested his futherance for the safe deliuerie of them to your maiesties hands: which writings when you haue perused we desire that they may be returned vnto vs by this our seruant, as speedily as may bee: for these ships which we now haue here will be soone dispatched from hence, for that we haue not goods to lade aboue the halfe of them. And the cause is, we haue this winter (by your maiesties order) bene kept from traffiquing to the companies great losse. But hoping your maiestie will hereafter haue consideration thereof, and that we may haue free libertie to trafique in all partes of your maiesties Countries, according to the priuiledge giuen vnto vs, we pray for your maiesties health, with prosperous successe to the pleasure of God. From Narue the 15 of Iuly, Anno 1570.

Your Maiesties most humble and obedient,
Christopher Hodsdon. William Borough.

A letter of Richard Vscombe to M. Henrie Lane, touching the burning of the Citie of Mosco by the Crimme Tartar, written in Rose Island the 5. day of August, 1571.

MAster Lane I haue me commended vnto you. The 27. of Iuly I arriued here with the Magdalene, and the same day and houre did the Swalow and Harry arriue here also. At our comming I found Master Proctor here, by whom we vnderstand very heauie newes. The Mosco is burnt euerie sticke by the Crimme the 24. day of May last, and an innumerable number of people: and in the English house was smothered Thomas Southam, Tofild, Wauerly, Greenes wife and children, two children of Rafe, and more to the number of 25. persons were stifeled in our Beere seller: and yet in the same seller was Rafe, his wife, Iohn Browne, and Iohn Clarke preserued, which was wonderfull. And there went into that seller master Glouer and master Rowley also: but because the heate was so great, they came foorth againe with much perill, so that a boy at their heeles was taken with the fire, yet they escaped blindfold into another seller, and there, as Gods will was, they were preserued. The Emperour fled out of the field, and many of his people were caried away by the Crimme Tartar: to wit, all the yong people, the old they would not meddle with, but let them alone, and so with exceeding much spoile and infinite prisoners, they returned home againe. What with the Crimme on the one side, and his crueltie on the other, he hath but few people left. Commend me to mistresse Lane your wife, and to M. Locke, and to all friends.

The citie of Mosco burnt by ye Crimme.

Englishmen smothered at the burning of Mosco.

M. Glouer and M. Rowley preserued.

Yours to command, Richard Vscombe.

A note of the proceeding of M. Anthonie Ienkinson, Ambassadour from the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, to the Emperour of Russia, from the time of his ariuall there, being the 26. of Iuly 1571, vntill his departure from thence the 23. of Iuly 1572.

The said 26. day I arriued with the two good ships called the Swalow and the Harry in safetie, at the Baie of S. Nicholas in Russia aforesayd, and landed at Rose Island, from whence immediately I sent away my interpreter Daniel Siluester in post towards the Court, being then at the Mosco, whereby his maiestie might as well bee aduertised of my arriual in his Dominions, as also to knowe his highnesse pleasure for my further accesse. And remaining at the sayd Island two or three dayes, to haue conference with your Agent about your affaires, I did well perceiue by the wordes of the sayd Agent and others your seruants, that I was entred into great perill and danger of my life: for they reported to mee that they heard said at the Mosco, that the princes displeasure was such against me, that if euer I came into his countrey againe, I should loose my head, with other words of discouragement. Whereat I was not a little dismaid, not knowing whether it were best for me to proceed forwards, or to returne home againe with the ships for the safeguard of my life. But calling to mind mine innocencie and good meaning, and knowing my selfe not to haue offended his Maiestie any maner of wayes either in word or deed, or by making former promises not performed, heretofore by mine enemies falsely surmised: and being desirous to come to the triall thereof, whereby to iustifie my true dealings, and to reprooue my sayd enemies, as well here as there, who haue not ceased of late by vntrue reports to impute the cause of the sayd Emperours displeasure towards you to proceed of my dealings, and promises made to him at my last being with him (although by his letters to the Queenes Maiestie, and by his owne words to me the contrary doeth appeare) I determined with my selfe rather to put my life into his hands, and by the prouidence of God to prosecute the charge committed vnto me, then to returne home in vaine, discouraged with the words of such, who had rather that I had taried at home, then to be sent ouer with such credite, whereby I might sift out their euil doings, the onely cause of your losse.

Wherefore, leauing the said ships the nine and twentieth day of the month, I departed from the seaside, and the first of August arriued at Colmogro, where I remaided attending the returne of my said messenger with order from his Maiestie.

But all the Countrey being sore visited by the hand of God with the plague, passage in euery place was shut vp, that none might passe in paine of death: My Messenger being eight hundreth miles vpon his way, was stayed, and kept at a towne called Shasco, and might not bee suffered to goe any further, neither yet to returne backe againe, or sende vnto me: by meanes whereof in the space of foure moneths, I could neither heare nor know what was become of him, in which time my said messenger found meanes to aduertise the Gouernour of the Citie of Vologda, as well of his stay, as of the cause of his comming thither, who sent him word that it was not possible to passe any neerer the Prince without further order from his Maiestie, who was gone to the warres against the Swethens, and that he would aduertise his highnesse so soone as he might conueniently: And so my said messenger was forced to remaine there still without answere. During which time of his stay through the great death (as aforesaid,) I found meanes to send another messenger, with a guide by an vnknowen way through wildernesse, a thousand miles about, thinking that way he should passe without let: but it prooued contrary, for likewise hee being passed a great part of his iourney, fell into the handes of a watch, and escaped very hardly, that hee and his guide with their horses had not bene burnt, according to the lawe prouided for such as would seeke to passe by indirect wayes, and many haue felt the smart thereof which had not wherewith to buy out the paine: neither could that messenger returne backe vnto me.

And thus was I kept without answere or order from his Maiestie, and remained at the saide Colmogro, vntil the 18. of Ianuary following, neither hauing a gentleman to safegard me, nor lodging appointed me, nor allowance of victuals according to the Countrey fashion for Ambassadours, which argued his grieuous displeasure towards our nation. And the people of the Countrey perceiuing the same, vsed towards mee and my company some discourtesies: but about the 28. day aforesaid, the plague ceased, and the passages being opened, there came order from his Maiestie that I should haue poste horses, and bee suffered to depart from Colmogro to goe to a Citie called Peraslaue neere to the Court, his Maiestie being newly returned from the said warres. And I arriued at the said Peraslaue the 3. of February, where I remained vnder the charge of a gentleman, hauing then a house appointed me, and allowance of victuals, but so straightly kept, that none of our nation or other might come or sende vnto me, nor I to them. And the 14. of March folowing, I was sent for to the Court, and being within three miles of the same, a poste was sent to the Gentleman which had charge of me, to returne backe againe with me to the said Peraslaue, and to remaine there vntil his Maiesties further pleasure, wherewith I was much dismayed, and marueiled what that sudden change ment, and the rather, because it was a troublesome time, and his Maiestie much disquieted through the ill success of his affaires, (as I did vnderstand.) And the twentieth of the same, I was sent for again to the Court, and the

23. I came before his Maiestie, who caused mee to kisse his hand, and gaue gratious audience vnto my Oration, gratefully receiuing and accepting the Queenes Maiesties princely letters, and her present, in the presence of all this nobilitie. After I had finished my Oration, too long here to rehearse, and delivered her highnesse letters, and present (as aforesaid) the Emperour sitting in royall estate stood vp and said, How doth Queene Elizabeth my sister, is she in health? to whom I answered, God doth bless her Maiestie with health, and peace, and doeth wish the like vnto thee Lord, her louing brother. Then his Maiestie sitting downe againe, commanded all his nobilitie and others to depart, and auoyde the chamber, sauing the chiefe Secretarie, and one of the Counsell, and willing me to approach neere vnto him with my Interpretor, said vnto me these words.

Anthony, the last time thou wast with vs heere, wee did commit vnto thee our trustie and secret Message, to be declared vnto the Queenes Maiesties herselfe thy Mistresse at thy comming home, and did expect thy comming vnto vs againe at the time we appointed, with a full answere of the same from her highnesse. And in the meane time there came vnto vs at seuerall times three messengers, the one called Manly, the other George Middleton, and Edward Goodman, by the way of the Narue about the Merchants affaires: to whom wee sent our messengers to know whether thou Anthony, were returned home in safetie, and when thou shouldest returne vnto vs againe: but those messengers could tell vs nothing, and did miscall, and abuse with euil words, both our messenger and thee, wherewith wee were much offended. And vnderstanding that the said Goodman had letters about him, we caused him to be searched, with whom were found many letters, wherein was written much against our Princely estate, and that in our Empire were many vnlawfull things done, whereat we were much grieued, and would suffer none of those rude messengers to haue accesse vnto vs: and shortly after wee were infourmed that one Thomas Randolfe was come into our Dominions by the way of Dwina, Ambassadour from the Queene, and we sent a Gentleman to meete and conduct him to our Citie of Mosco, at which time wee looked that thou shouldest haue returned vnto vs againe. And the said Thomas being arriued at our said Citie, wee sent vnto him diuers times, that hee should come and conferre with our Counsell: whereby we might vnderstand the cause of his comming, looking for answere of those our princely affaires committed vnto thee. But hee refused to come to our said Counsell: wherefore, and for that our saide Citie was visited with plague, the saide Thomas was the longer kept from our presence. Which being ceased, foorthwith wee gaue him accesse and audience, but all his talke with vs was about Merchants affaires, and nothing touching ours. Wee knowe that Merchants matters are to bee heard, for that they are the stay of our Princely treasures: But first Princes affaires are to be established, and then Merchants. After this the said Thomas Randolfe was with vs at our Citie of Vologda, and wee dealt with him about our Princely affaires, whereby amitie betwixt the Queenes Maiestie and vs might bee established for euer, and matters were agreed and concluded betwixt your Ambassadour and vs, and thereupon wee sent our Ambassadour into England with him to ende the same: but our Ambassadour returned vnto vs againe, without finishing our said affaires, contrary to our expectation, and the Agreement betwixt vs, and your said Ambassadour.

Thus when his Maiestie had made a long discourse, I humbly beseeched his highnesse to heare me graciously, and to giue me leaue to speake without offence, and to beleeue those wordes to be true which I should speake. Which he graunted, and these were my words.

Most noble and famous Prince, the message which thy highnesse did sende by me vnto the Queene her most excellent Maiestie touching thy Princely and secret affaires, immediately, and so soone as I came home, I did declare both secretly and truely vnto the Queenes Maiestie her selfe, word for word, as thou Lord diddest commaund mee. Which her highnesse did willingly heare and accept, and being mindefull thereof, and willing to answere the same, the next shipping after, her Maiestie did sende vnto thee, Lord, her highnesse Ambassadour Thomas Randolfe, whose approoued wisedome and fidelitie was vnto her Maiestie well knowen, and therefore thought meete to bee sent to so worthy a Prince, who had Commission not onely to treate with thy Maiestie of Merchants affaires, but also of those thy Princely and secret affaires committed vnto me. And the cause (most gracious Prince) that I was not sent againe, was, for that I was imployed in seruice vpon the Seas against the Queenes Maiesties enemies, and was not returned home at such time as Master Thomas Randolfe departed with the Shippes, to come into thy Maiesties

Countrey, otherwise I had bene sent. And whereas thy Maiestie saith, that Thomas Randolfe would not treate with thy Counsell of the matters of his Legation, hee did (Lord) therein according to his Commission: which was: First to deale with thy Maiestie thy selfe, which order is commonly vsed among all Princes, when they send their Ambassadours about matters of great waight. And whereas the saide Thomas is charged that hee agreed and concluded vpon matters at the same time, and promised the same should be perfourmed by the Queene her Maiestie: Whereupon (Lord) thou diddest send thy Ambassadour with him into England, for answere thereof: It may please thy Maiestie to vnderstand, that as the saide Thomas Randolfe doeth confesse, that in deede hee had talke with thy Highnesse, and Counsell diuers times about princely affaires: euen so hee denieth that euer hee did agree, conclude, or make any promise in any condition or order, as is alleaged, otherwise then it should please the Queene her Maiestie to like of at his returne home, which hee did iustifie to thy Highnes Ambassador his face in England. Wherefore. most mighty Prince, it doth well appeare, that either thy Ambassador did vntruly enforme thy Maiestie or els thy princely minde, and the true meaning of the Queenes highnes her Ambassador, for want of a good Interpretor, was not well vnderstood: and how thankefully the Queene her Maiestie did receiue thy highnes commendations, and letters sent by thy Maiesties Ambassador, and how gratiously shee gaue him audience sundry times, vsing him with such honour in all points for thy sake, Lord, her louing brother, as the like was neuer shewed to any Ambassador in our Realme, and how honourably with full answere in all things, her Maiestie dismissed him, when hee had finished all thy princely affaires (as it seemed) to his owne contentation, it may well appeare by a true certificate lately sent with her highnes letter vnto thee Lord, by her messenger Robert Beast, and her Maiestie did suppose that thy Ambassador would haue made report accordingly, and that by him thy highnes would haue bene satisfied in all things: otherwise she would haue sent her Maiesties Ambassador with him vnto thee Lord againe. But now her highnes perceiuing that thy Maiestie is not fully satisfied in thy Princely affaires, neither by Thomas Randolfe, her highnes Ambassador, nor by thine owne Ambassador Andrea Sauin, nor yet by her Maiesties letter sent by the said Andrea: and also vnderstanding thy great

Andrea Sauin Ambassadour from the Emperour.

griefe and displeasure towards Sir William Garrard, and his company, merchants traffiking in thy Maiesties dominions, hath thought good to send mee at this present vnto thee Lord Emperor, and great duke, as wel with her highnes ful mind, touching thy princely affaires, as also to know the iust cause of thy Maiesties said displeasure towards the said company of merchants: and hath commanded me to answere to all things in their behalfe, and according to their true meanings. For her highnes doth suppose thy Maiesties indignation to proceede rather vpon the euill, and vntrue reports of thy late Ambassador in England, and of such wicked persons of our nation resident here in thy highnes dominions, rebels to her Maiestie, and their Countrey, then of any iust deserts of the said merchants, who neuer willingly deserued thy highnesse displeasure, but rather fauour in all their doings and meanings. And since the first time of their traffiking in thy Maiesties dominions, which is now nineteene yeres, the said merchants haue bene, and are alwayes ready and willing truely to serue thy highnesse of all things meete for thy Treasurie, in time of peace and of warre in despite of all thy enemies: although the Princes of the East Seas were agreed to stoppe the sound, and the way to the Narue, and haue brought, and do bring from time to time such commoditie to thee, Lord, as her Maiestie doeth not suffer to be transported foorth of her Realme to no other prince of the world. And what great losses the said sir William Garrard, with his company hath sustained of late yeeres in this trade, as well by shipwracke, as by false seruants it is manifestly knowen: and what seruice the said companies Ships did vnto thy Maiestie against thy enemies, two yeeres past in going to the Narue, when they fought with the King of Poles shippes Freebooters, and burnt the same and slew the people, and as many as were taken aliue deliuered vnto thy Captaine at the Narue, I trust thy highnesse doth not forget. Wherefore most mighty prince, the premises considered, the Queene her most excellent Maiestie thy louing sister, doeth request thy highnes to restore the said sir William Garrard with his company into thy princely fauour againe, with their priuiledges for free traffique with thy accustomed goodnes and iustice, to be ministred vnto them throughout all thy Maiesties dominions, as aforetime: and that the same may be signified by thy Princely letters, directed to thy officers in all places, and thy highnesse commaundement or restraint to the contrary notwithstanding. And further that it will please thy Maiestie, not to giue credite to false reports, and vntrue suggestions of such as are enemies, and such as neither would haue mutuall amitie to continue betwixt your Maiesties, nor yet entercourse betwixt your countries. And such rebels of our nation, as Ralfe Rutter, and others which lye lurking here in thy highnes dominions, seeking to sowe dissentions betwixt your Maiesties by false surmises, spending away their masters goods riotously, and will not come home to giue vp their accompts, aduancing themselues to be merchants, and able to serue the highnes of all things fit for thy treasurie, whereas indeed they by of no credite, nor able of themselues to do thy Maiestie any seruice at all: the Queenes highnes request is, that it would please thy Maiestie to commaund that such persons may be deliuered vnto me to be caried home, least by their remayning here, and hauing practises and friendship with such as be not thy highnesse friendes, their euil doing might be a cause hereafter to withdraw thy goodnes from sir William Garrard and his company, who haue true meaning in all their doings, and are ready to serue thy highnesse at all times, vsing many other words to the aduancement of your credits, and the disgracing of your enemies, and so I ended for that time.

Then sayd his Maiestie, We haue heard you, and will consider of all things further when wee haue read the Queene our sisters letters: to whom I answered, that I supposed his Maiestie should by those letters vnderstand her highnesse full minde to his contentation, and what wanted in writing I had credite to accomplish in word. Wherewith his maiestie seemed to be wel pleased, and commaunded me to sit downe. And after pawsing a while, his maiestie said these words vnto me, It is now a time which we spend in fasting, and praying, being the weeke before Easter, and for that we will shortly depart from hence, towards our borders of Nouogrod, wee can not giue you answere, nor your dispatch here, but you shall goe from hence, and tary vs vpon the way, where wee will shortly come, and then you shall knowe our pleasure, and haue your dispatch. And so I was dismissed to my lodging, and the same day I had a dinner ready drest sent me from his Maiestie, with great store of drinkes, of diuers sorts, and the next day following, being the foure and twentieth of March aforesayde, the chiefe Secretary to his Maiesty, sent vnto mee a Gentleman, to signifie vnto mee, that the Emperours Maiesties pleasure was, I should immediately depart towards a Citie, called Otwer, three hundred miles from the aforesaid Sloboda, and there to tary his highnes comming vnto a place called Staryts, threescore miles from the sayd Otwer.

Then I sent my Interpretor to the chiefe Secretary, requesting him to further, and shew his fauour vnto our saide merchants in their sutes, which they should haue occasion to moue in my absence: who sent me word againe, that they should be wel assured of his friendship, and furtherance in all their sutes. And forthwith post horses were sent me, with a Gentleman to conduct me. And so departing from the said Sloboda, I arriued at the said Otwer, the 28. of March aforesaid, where I remained til the eight of May folowing. Then I was sent for to come vnto his Maiestie, to the sayd Staryts, where I arriued the tenth of the same, and the twelfth of the same I was appointed to come to the chiefe Secretary, who at our meeting said vnto me these words.

Our Lord Emperor, and great Duke, hath not onely perused the Queene her highnes letters sent by you, and thereby doeth perceiue her minde, as well touching their princely affaires, as also her earnest request in the merchants behalfe, but also hath well pondered your words. And therefore his Maiesties pleasure is, that you let me vnderstand what sutes you haue to moue in the merchants behalfe, or otherwise, for that tomorrowe you shall haue accesse againe vnto his highnes, and shall haue full answere in all things, with your dispatch away.

Then after long conference had with him of diuers matters I gaue him in writing certaine briefe articles of requests, which I had drawen out ready, as foloweth:

1 First the Queenes Maiestie her request is, that it would please the Emperors highnesse to let me know the iust cause of his great displeasure fallen vpon Sir William Garrard, and his company, who never deserued the same to their knowledge.

2 Also that it would please his highnes not to giue credite vnto false and vntrue reports, by such as seeke to sowe dissension, and breake friendship betwixt the Queenes highnesse, and his Maiestie.

3 Also that it would please his Maiestie to receiue the said sir William Garrard, with his company into his fauour againe, and to restore them to their former priuiledges and liberties, for free traffike in, and through, and out of al his Maiesties dominions, in as ample maner as aforetime, according to his princely letters of priuiledge, and accustomed goodnes.

4 Also it would please his highnes to graunt, that the said company of merchants may have iustice of all his subiects, as well for money owing vnto them, as other their griefes and iniuries, throughout al his dominions suffred since the time of his displeasure, during which time, the merchants were forced by seuere iustice to answer to al mens demands, but theirs could not be heard.

5 Also that his Maiestie would vnderstand, that much debts are owing to the said merchants, by diuers of his Nobilitie, whereof part are in durance, and some executed, and the said merchants know not howe to be paide, and answered the same, except his highnes pitie their case, and commaund some order to be taken therein.

6 Also it would please his highnes to commaund that the saide merchants may be payde all such summe or summes of money as are owing, and due vnto them by his Maiestie, for wares, as well English as Shamaki, taken into his highnes treasury by his officers in sundry places, the long forbearing whereof hath bene, and is great hinderance to the said company of merchants.

7 Also it would please his Maiestie to vnderstand, that at this present time there are in Persia of English Merchants, Thomas Banister, and Geffrey Ducket, with their company, and goods, ready to come into his Maiesties countrey of Astracan, and would haue come the last yeere, but that the ship, with our merchants and mariners appointed to goe for them, were stayed at Astracan by his highnes Captaine there, to the great hinderance of the said merchants. Wherefore it may now please his Maiestie to direct his princely letters vnto his Captaines, and rulers, both at Astracan and Cazan, not onely to suffer our people, as well merchants as mariners, quietly and freely to passe and repasse with their shippes, barkes, or other vessels downe the riuer Volga, and ouer the Mare Caspium, to fetch the sayd English merchants, with their company and goods, out of the sayd Persia, into his Maiesties dominions, but also that it would please his highnes streightly to command, that when the sayd Thomas Banister, and Geffrey Ducket, with their charge, shal arriue at the sayd Astracan, his Maiesties Captaine there, and in all other places vpon the riuer Volga, shall so ayde and assist the sayd merchants, as they may be safely conducted out of the danger of the Crimmes, and other their enemies.

8 Also it may please his highnes to vnderstand, that lately our merchants comming from Shamaki, haue bene ill vsed by his

Maiesties Customers, both at Astracan and Cazan, at both which places they were forced to pay custome for their wares, although they solde no part thereof, but brought the same into his highnesse treasury at Sloboda: and the sayd Customers did not only exact, and take much more custome than was due by his Maiesties lawes, but also for want of present money, tooke wares much exceeding their exacted custome, and doe keepe the same as a pawne. It may therefore please his highnes to direct his princely letters to the said Customers, to signifie vnto them his great goodnes againe restored vnto the said English merchants, as also to command them to send the said merchants their said goods so detained, vp to the Mosco, they paying such custome for the same as shall be by his Maiestie appointed.

9 Also that it would please his highnesse to grant, that sir William Garrard with his companie may establish their trade for merchandise at Colmogro in Dwina, and that such wares as shal be brought out of our Countrey fit for his treasurie might be looked vpon, and receiued by his officers there: and that his Maiesties people traffiking with our merchants may bring downe their commodities to the saide Colmogro, by meanes whereof the saide English merchants auoyding great troubles and charges, in transporting their goods so farre, and into so many places of his dominions, may sell the same better cheape, to the benefite of his Maiesties subjects.

10 Also if it seemed good to his highnes, that the whole trade likewise from Persia, Boghar, and all other those Countreys beyond the Mare Caspium, might be established at Astracan, the ancient marte towne in times past, which would be both for the great honour and profite of his Maiesty, and subiects, as I am well able to prooue, if it will please his highnesse to appoint any of his counsell to talke with me therein.

11 Also forasmuch as it pleased his Maiestie, immediatly after the burning of the mosco, to command that the said English merchants should giue in a note into his Treasury, for their losses sustained by the said fire, which was done by William Rowly, then chiefe Agent for sir William Garrard and his company, and the particulars in the same note consumed with the said fire did amount to the summe of 10000. rubbles and aboue: It may please his highnes of his accustomed goodnes and great clem[illegible]ie to consider of the same, and to giue the said company so much as shal seeme good vnto his Maiestie, towards their said losses.

12 Also that it will please his highnesse to vnderstand that the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, at the earnest sute and request of Andrea Sauin his Maiesties Ambassadour, did not onely pardon and forgiue Thomas Glouer his great and grieuous offences towards her highnesse committed, onely for his Maiesties sake, but also commanded sir William Garrard with his company, to deale fauourably with the said Glouer in his accompts, to whom he was indebted greatly, and being their seruant, detained their goods in his hands a long time: whereupon the said sir William Garrard witn his company counted with the said Glouer, and ended all things euen to his saide contentation, and was found to bee debter to the said company 4000. rubbles and aboue, and bound himselfe both by his solemne othe, and his hand-writing, to pay the same immediately after his returne into Russia with the said Andrea Sauin, vnto Nicholas Proctor chiefe Agent there, for the said company of merchants. But although it is now two yeeres past, since the said agreement, and that the said Nicholas hath diuers and sundry times requested the said money of the said Thomas, yet will he not pay the same debt, but maketh delay from time to time, alleadging that his Maiestie oweth him a great summe of money, without the payment whereof he cannot be able to pay the said merchants his due debt long forborne, to their great hinderance. In consideration of the premisses, It may please his highnesse to giue order that the said Glouer may be payd, and that he may discharge his debt to the said company of merchants, and the rather for that hee found such mercie and fauour in England, onely for his Maiesties sake.

13 Also forasmuch as Ralfe Rutter a rebell to the Queenes Maiestie, and an enemie to his Countrey, and to sir William Garrard and his company, hath of long time remained here, liuing of the spoyles and goods of the said merchants, which he wrongfully detained in his handes, riotously spending the same, during the time that he was their seruant, and would not come home when he was sent for, and also for that the Queenes Maiestie doth vnderstand, that the saide Ralfe, with other his adherents, doe seeke by all false meanes to sowe dissension, and breake amitie betwixt their Maiesties, and to ouerthrowe the trade of the said merchants: Her highnes request is, that the said Ralfe with his complices may be deliuered vnto me, to be caried home, and none other of her Maiesties subjects, not being of the socitie of the said sir William Garrard and his company, to be suffered to

traffike within his hignnes dominions, but to be deliuered to their Agent to bee sent home : for that the said merchants with great charges and losses, both by shipwracke, and riotous seruants, did first finde out this trade, and haue continued the same these 19. yeeres, to their great hinderance.

14 Also whereas diuers masters and artificers of our Nation are here in his Maiesties seruice, and do finde themselues grieued that they cannot haue licence to depart home into their natiue Countrey at their will and pleasure : the Queenes Maiesties request is, according to her highnes writing in that behalfe, that not onely it will please his Maiestie to permit and suffer such artificers here resident in the service of his highnes, to haue free libertie to depart, and go home with me, if they request the same, but also all other the like, which shall come hereafter to serue his Maiesty, to haue free libertie to depart likewise, without any let or stay.

15 Also it may please his Maiesty to vnderstand that during the time of my long being at Colmogro, attending his highnesse pleasure for my further accesse, I with my company haue not onely bene ill vsed and intreated there, and likewise the merchants there, by one Besson Myssereuy his Maiesties chiefe officer, who hath dishonoured me, and smitten my people, and oweth the saide merchants much money, and will not pay them : but also the saide Besson hath spoken wordes of dishonour against the Queenes Maiestie. Wherefore it may please his highnesse to send downe with me to Colmogro, a Gentleman, as well chiefly to search foorth his euill behauiour towards her Maiestie, as towards me her highnesse Ambassador, and to punish him accordingly : and also that it would please his Maiestie to sende downe his letter of iustice, by vertue whereof the said Besson may be forced to pay all such money as he oweth to the sayd merchants, without delay.

16 Also that it would please his highnesse to vnderstand, that sir William Garrard with his company vnderstanding of the great dearth in his Maiesties dominions, by licence of the Queens Maiestie, (not otherwise permitted) hath sent certaine ships laden with corne into his highnesse Countrey of Dwyna, rather for the reliefe of his Maiesties subiects then for any gaine : yet the good will of the said merchants lightly regarded, they were forbidden to sel the said corne, to their great discouragement hereafter to send any more. Wherefore it may please his highnesse, to tender the good will of the said merchants, as well in sending the saide

corne, as in all other things, ready to serue his Maiestie, and to direct his letters to his officers of Dwina, to suffer the saide merchants with their company, to sell the said corne by measure, great or small at their pleasure, without paying custome.

These articles being deliuered to the chiefe Secretary, as aforesayde, and our talke ended for that time, I departed to my lodging, accompanied with certaine Gentlemen. The next day being the 13. of May aforesaid, I had warning earely in the morning, to prepare my selfe to be at the Court, betwixt the houres of 10. and 11. of the clocke, where I should haue accesse vnto the presence of the Prince, as well to receiue answere of all things, as to bee dismissed to goe home. At which houres I was sent for to the Court, and brought into the Chamber of presence, where his Maiestie did sit apparelled most sumptuously, with a riche Crowne vpon his head, garnished with many pretious stones, his eldest sonne sitting by him, and many of his Nobilitie about him: and after my duetie done, his highnesse commanded me to approach very neere vnto him, and sayde vnto me these words.

Anthony, the Queen our louing sister her letters wee have caused to be translated, and doe well vnderstand the same, and of all things as well therein contained, as by worde of mouth by you to vs declared wee haue well considered, and doe perceive that our secret message vnto you committed, was done truely according to our minde (although wec were aduertised to the contrary) and nowe wee are by you fully satisfied. And when wee did sende our Ambassadour into England, about those our great and waightie affaires, to conclude the same with the Queene our sister, our Ambassadour coulde ende nothing for want of such assurance as was requisite in princely affaires, according to the maner of all Countreys, but was dismissed vnto vs againe, with letters of small effect, touching the same, and no Ambassadour sent with him from the Queene: which caused vs to thinke, that our princely affaires were set aside, and little regarded, wherewith we were at that time much grieued: for the which cause, and for the euil behauiour of your merchants, resident in our dominions (who haue diuers wayes transgressed and broken our laws, liuing wilfully in all their doings) we did lay our heauie displeasure vpon them, and did take away from them their priuiledge, commaunding that the same throughout all our dominions, should be voyd, and of none effect: and thereupon did write to the Queene our sister touching our griefes.

The causes of the Emperors displeasure.

And nowe her highnesse hath sent vnto vs againe, you her Ambassadour, with her louing letters, and full minde, which we doe thankefully receiue, and are thereby fully satisfied. And for that our princely, and secret affaires were not finished to our contentation at our time appointed, according to our expectation, we doe now leaue of all these matters, and set them aside for the time, because our minde is nowe otherwise changed, but hereafter when occasion shall mooue vs to the like, wee will then talke of those matters againe. And for that it hath pleased the Queene our louing sister to send vnto vs at this present, and doeth desire to continue in friendship with vs for ever (which we doe gratefully accept, and willingly agree to the same) wee of our goodnesse for her highnesse sake, will not onely from hencefoorth put away, and forget all our displeasure towards the same Sir William Garrard and his company (as though they had neuer offended vs) but also will restore them to their priuiledges, and liberties, in, and throughout all our dominions, and will signifie the same by our letter, in all Townes and Cities, where the said merchants do traffique, and we will shewe them fauor as aforetime, if they do not deserue the contrary. And if the Queene our sister had not sent thee Anthony vnto vs at this present, God knoweth what we should haue done to the said merchants, or whether we would haue called back our indignation.

Then I humbly beseeched his Maiestie, to let me know the particular offences committed by the said merchants, and the offendors names, to the intent I might make report thereof, vnto the Queenes Maiestie, my mistres, accordingly, that the said offendors might receiue iust punishment for their deserts: but he said, I should not know them, because he had cleerely remitted al offences: and further, that it was not princely to forgiue, and after to accuse the parties, whereby her Maiesties displeasure might fall vpon them at home. Notwithstanding I did after vnderstand some part thereof, by other means.

Then his Maiestie proceeding in talke said: As touching the articles of request, concerning the merchants affaires, which you did yesterday deliuer vnto our Secretary, we haue not onely read the same our selfe, but also haue appointed our said Secretary to declare vnto you our minde, and answere to the same. And for that we are now vpon our iourney towards our borders, and will depart from hence shortly, we will dismisse you to ye Queene our louing sister, your mistres, with our letters, & full mind by word of mouth, touching all your requests, & will send a gentleman one of our houshold with you to safe conduct you to your ships; and of our goodnes will giue you victuals, boates, men, and post horses, so many as you shall neede. And therewith his Maiestie standing vp, and putting off his cappe, said vnto me these words, Doe our hearty commendations vnto our louing sister, Queene Elizabeth, vnto whom we wish long life, with happie successe: and therewith his highnes extended his hand to me to kisse, and commanded his sonne, sitting by him, to send the like commendations, which he did, whose hand likewise I kissed. And then his Maiestie caused me to sit downe, and commaunded wine and drinkes of diuers sorts to be brought, whereof he gaue me to drinke with his owne hand, and so after I departed.

Then the next day, being the 14 of May aforesaid, I was sent for to come to the chief Secretary, & one other of the counsel with him, who at our meeting said vnto me these words: We are appointed by the Emperor his maiesty, to giue you answere from his Highness, touching your requests deliuered in writing, which his Maiestie himselfe hath perused, & answered as followeth.

1 To the first request it is answered, that all his Maiesties griefes and displeasure (now put away from the merchants) did grow, because the Queenes Maiestie did not accomplish and ende with his Ambassador, his secrete and waighty affaires, according to his expectation, and the promise made by Thomas Randolph, at his being here: and also of the ill behauiour of your merchants resident here in our Countrey, as his Maiestie did himselfe yesterday declare vnto you.

2 To the second, his Maiesty willeth you to vnderstand, that he hath not, nor will not hereafter be moued to breake friendship with the Queenes Maiesty, without good and iust cause.

3 To the third, you are answered by the Emperors Maiestie himselfe, that his great goodnes and fauour againe vnto the merchants shall be restored, and the same to be knowen by his gratious letters of priuilege now againe granted.

4 To the fourth, his Maiesty hath commanded, that your merchants here resident shall exhibite, and put in writing vnto me his Maiesties Secretarie, all their griefes, and complaints, as well for debts, as other injuries offred them since the time of his Highnes displeasure, and they shall haue iustice truly ministred throughout all his Maiesties Dominions without delay.

5 To the fifth, his maiesty doth not know of any debts due

vnto the merchants, by any of his Noblemen, as is alleaged: and whether it be true or no, he knoweth not: the trueth whereof must be tried out, and thereupon answere to be giuen: and hereafter his maiestie would not haue the merchants to trust his people with too much.

6 To the sixth, it is answered, that his maiesty hath commanded search to be made what money is owing to the marchants, for wares receiued into his treasury, as in the article: (the most of the bookes of accompt being burnt in the Mosco) and such as is due, and found meete to be paid, shall be paid forthwith to the marchants, their factors or seruants, which shall come for the same. And for paiment of the rest, his maiesties further pleasure shall be signified hereafter.

7 To the 7 his Maiesties answere is, that letters shall be written forthwith to his captaines of Astracan, and Cazan, and other his officers, vpon the riuer Volga, to whom it appertaineth, not onely to suffer your people, both marchants, and mariners, to passe with their ships, or barkes, from Astracan, ouer the Mare Caspium, to fetche Thomas Banister and Geofry Ducket, with their company, and goods out of Persia, but also when they shall arriue within his Maiesties dominions, to aide and assist them, and see them safely conducted vp the riuer Volga, from danger of enemies.

8 To the eight, his maiestie hath commanded letters to be written to the Customers, both of Astracan and Cazan, to make restitution to the English merchants of their goods so deteined by them for custome, and to take custome for the same, according to his maiesties letters of priuilege.

9 10 To the ninth and tenth articles, his Maiestie will consider of those matters, and hereafter will signifie his princely pleasure therein.

11 To the eleuenth, as touching an inuentorie giuen into the treasury, what goods the merchants had burnt in the Mosco, in their houses there, his Maiesties pleasure was to vnderstand the same, to the intent he might know the losses of all strangers at that present, but not to make restitution, for that it was Gods doing, and not the Emperours.

12 To the twelfth, concerning Thomas Glouer, his Maiestie was enformed by his Ambassador of the Queenes great mercy and clemencie towards the said Thomas, for his sake, which his Highnes receiued in good part, but what agreement or dealings was betwixt the said sir William Garrard, and his company, and the

said Glouer, or what he doth owe vnto the said merchants, his Maiestie doth not know. And as for the money which the said Thomas saith is owing vnto him by the Emperour, his Maiesties pleasure is, that so much as shall be found due, and growing vpon wares deliuered vnto the treasurie, out of the time of his Maiesties displeasure, shall be paid forthwith to the said Thomas, and the rest is forfeited vnto his Maiestie, and taken for a fine, as appertaining to Rutter and Bennet, accompted traitors vnto his Highnes, during the time of his displeasure.

13 To the thirteenth article, concerning Rutter to be deliuered vnto you, to be caried home, the answere was, that as his Maiestie will not detaine any English man in his countrey, that is willing to go home, according to the Queenes request: euen so will he not force any to depart, that is willing to tary with him. Yet his Highnes, to satisfie the Queenes Maiesties request, is contented at this present to send the said Ralfe Rutter home with you, and hath commanded that a letter shall be written vnto his chiefe officer at the Mosco, to send the said Rutter away with speed, that he may be with you at Vologda, by the fine of May, without faile: and touching the rest of your request in the said article, his Maiesties pleasure shall be signified in the letters of priuilege, granted to the said merchants.

14 To the fourteenth, touching artificers, his Maiestie will accomplish all the Queenes Highnes request in that behalfe, and now at this present doth licence such and so many to depart to their natiue countrey as are willing to goe.

15 To the 15, touching Besson Messeriuey, the Emperors maiestie is much offended with him, and will send down a gentleman with you to inquire of his ill behauior, as wel for speaking of vndecent words against the Queens maiestie as you haue alleaged, as also against you, and the merchants for his outrages mentioned in the article, and the said Besson being found guilty, to be imprisoned and punished by seuere iustice accordingly, and after to put in sureties to answere the Emperors high displeasure, or els to be brought vp like a prisoner by the said gentleman to answere his offences before his Maiestie. And his highnes doth request that the Queenes highnes would doe the like vpon Middleton and Manlie her messengers sent thither two yeeres past, and of all others for their ill behauiour towards his maiestie, as may appeare by letters sent by Daniel Siluester from his highnes, least by the bad demeanor of such lewd persons, the amity and friendship betwixt their maiesties might be diminished.

16 To the 16 and last article, touching the corne brought into the Emperors dominions by the merchants, his maiestie doth greatly commend them for so wel doing, and hath commanded to giue you a letter forthwith in their behalf, directed to his officers of Duina, to suffer the said merchants to selle their corne, by measure great or small at their pleasure without custome.

Thus I receiued a full answere from his Maiestie by his chiefe Secretarie and one other of his counsel, to the 16 articles afore rehearsed, by me exhibited in writing touching your affaires, with his letter also sent by me to the Queenes maiesty. Which being done, I requested that the new letters of priuilege granted by his highnes vnto you might be forthwith dispatched, to the intent I might carie the same with me. Also I requested that such money due to you, which it had pleased his maiesty to command to be payd, might be deliuered to me in your behalfe.

Touching the letters of priuilege, the Secretary answered me, it is not possible you can haue them with you, for they must be first written and shewed vnto the Emperor, and then three to be written of one tenour according to your request, which cannot bee done with speede, for that his maiesties pleasure is, you shall depart this night before him, who remooueth himselfe to morrow towards Nouogrod: but without faile the sayd letters shall be dispatched vpon the way, and sent after you with speede to Colmogro. And as touching the money which you require, it cannot be paid here because we haue not the bookes of accounts, for want whereof we know not what to paie: wherefore the best is that you send one of the merchants after the Emperor to Nouogrod, and let him repaire vnto me there, and without faile I will paie all such money as shall be appointed by his maiestie to be paid after the bookes seene.

But forasmuch as there was none of your seruants with me at that present (although I had earnestly written vnto your Agent Nicholas Proctor by Richard Pringle one of your owne seruants, one moneth before my comming to Starites, where I had my dispatch, that he should not faile to come himselfe, or send one of your seruants to mee hither, to follow all such sutes as I should commence in your behalfs, which he neglected to doe to your great hinderance) I requested the said Secretarie that I might leaue Daniel my interpreter with him, aswell for the receipt of money, as for the speedy dispatch of the letters of priuiledge, but it would not be granted in any wise that I should leaue any of mine owne companie behind me, and thereupon I did take my leaue with full dispatch, and departed to my lodging, and foorthwith there came vnto me a gentleman who had charge as wel to conduct me, and prouide boates, men, post horses and victuals all the way to the sea side, being a thousand and three hundred miles, as also to doe iustice of the sayd Besson, as aforesaid. And he said vnto me, the Emperours pleasure is, that you shall presently depart from hence, and I am appointed to goe with you. And that night I departed from the said Starites, being the fourteenth of May aforesayd. And passing a great part of my iourney, I arrived at the citie of Vologda the last of the sayd May, where I remained fiue daies as well expecting a messenger to bring vnto me the new letters of priuiledge, as the comming of Rutter, whom the Emperours Maiestie himselfe commanded before my face should bee sent vnto me without faile, and I did see the letters written to the chiefe officers at the Mosco for the same. Neuerthe lesse the said Rutter did not come, neither could I heare of him after, nor know the sudden cause of his stay contrary to the princes owne word and meaning, as I suppose. But I could not help the matter being farre from the prince, neither could I tell how to haue redresse, because by absence I could not complaine. Notwithstanding I vsed my indeuour, and sent a messenger Iohn Norton one of your seruants from Vologda to Nouogrod, where the court then lay, expressely with letters, as well to aduertise his maiestie that the sayd Rutter was not sent vnto me according to his highnes commandement and order, as also about the dispatch of the said letters of priuiledge and receit of your money, with straight charge that he should in any wise returne vnto me againe before the departing of the ships. And the first day of Iune I departed from the said Vologda by water towards Colmogro, where I arriued the 21 of Iune aforesaid, and remained there vntil the 23 of Iuly, looking for the said Iohn Norton to haue returned vnto me in al that time, which had respite fully enough in that space both to go to the court to dispatch his busines, and to haue returned againe vnto me, but he came not, for it was otherwise determined before his going, as I did after vnderstand, and can more at large by worde of mouth declare vnto your worships the occasion thereof.

Neuerthelesse, I am well assured before this time your Agent hath receiued into his hands the sayd letters of priuiledges, and shall haue dispatch with expedition in all things touching your affaires, according to his maiesties grant by me obtained, and as he hath written to the Queenes maiestie at this present, wishing that as now by my going the Emperour hath withdrawen his grieuous displeasure from you, and restored you againe into his fauour, so your Agent and others your seruants there resident may behaue, and endeuour themselues to keepe and augment the same, whose euill doings haue bene the onely occasion of his indignation now remitted.

The names of such countries as I Anthony Ienkinson haue trauelled vnto, from the second of October 1546, at which time I made my first voyage out of England, vntill the yeere of our Lord 1572, when I returned last out of Russia.

FIrst, I passed into Flanders, and trauelled through all the base countries, and from thence through Germanie, passing ouer the Alpes I trauelled into Italy, and from thence made my iourney through the Piemont into France, throughout all which realme I haue throughly iournied.

I haue also trauelled through the kingdomes of Spaine and Portingal, I haue sailed through the Leuant seas euery way, and haue bene in all the chiefe Islands within the same sea, as Rhodes, Malta, Sicilia, Cyprus, Candie, and diuers others.

I haue bene in many partes of Grecia, Morea, Archaia, and where the olde citie of Corinth stoode.

I haue trauelled through a great part of Turkie, Syria, and diuers others countries in Asia minor.

I haue passed ouer the mountaines of Libanus to Damasco, and trauelled through Samaria, Galile, Philistine or Palestine, vnto Ierusalem, and so through all the Holy land.

I haue bene in diuers places of Affrica, as Algiers, Cola, Bona, Tripolis, the gollet within the gulfe of Tunis.

I haue sailed farre Northward within the Mare glaciale, where we haue had continuall day, and sight of the Sunne ten weekes together, and that nauigation was in Norway, Lapland, Samogitia, and other very strange places.

I haue trauelled through all the ample dominions of the Emperour of Russia and Moscouia, which extende from the North sea, and the confines of Norway, and Lapland, euen to the Mare Caspium.

I haue bene in diuers countries neere about the Caspian sea, Gentiles, and Mahometans, as Cazan, Cremia, Rezan, Cheremisi, Mordouiti, Vachin, Nagaia, with diuers others of strange customes and religions.

I haue sailed ouer the Caspian sea, and discouered all the regions thereabout adiacent, as Chircassi, Comul, Shascal, Shiruan, with many others.

I have trauelled 40 daies iourney beyond the said sea, towards the Oriental India, and Cathaia, through diuers deserts and wildernesses, and passed through 5 kingdomes of the Tartars, and all the land of Turkeman and Zagatay, and so to the great citie of Boghar in Bactria, not without great perils and dangers sundry times.

After all this, in An. 1562, I passed againe ouer the Caspian sea another way, and landed in Armenia, at a citie called Derbent, built by Alexander the great, and from thence trauelled through Media, Parthia, Hircania, into Persia to the court of the great Sophie called Shaw Tamasso, vnto whom I deliuered letters from the Queenes Maiestie, and remained in his court 8 moneths, and returning homeward, passed through diuers other countries. Finally I made two voyages more after that out of England into Russia, the one in the yeere 1566, and the other in the yeere 1571. And thus being weary and growing old, I am content to take my rest in mine owne house, chiefly comforting my selfe, in that my seruice hath been honourably accepted and rewarded of her maiestie and the rest by whom I haue bene imploied.

A letter of Iames Alday to the Worshipfull M. Michael Lock, Agent in London for the Moscouie company, touching a trade to be established in Lappia, written 1575.

He marueileth the company do not conferre with him of Lappia.

I Haue in remembrance (worshipful Sir) the talke we had when I was with you, as touching the trade in Lappia: And certeinly I haue something marueiled that in all this time the right wor. your societie haue not giuen order that some little conference (by you, or with some other) might haue bin had with me touching those parts, considering they know (as I thinke) that I remained there one whole yere and more, by which meanes reason would that I should haue learned something. But the cause why they haue not desired to conferre with me (as I iudge) resteth onely in one of these 4 cases, that is to say, either they thinke themselues so throughly certified of that trade, as more neede not be spoken thereof, or that they haue no lust more to deale that waies, or that they hold mee so vntrusty to them that they dare not open their minds, for feare or doubt, I should beare more affection to others then to them, and so discouer their secrets: or els they think me of so simple vnderstanding, that I am not worthy to be spoken with in these matters. To which 4 cases I answere as followeth: First, if they think themselues so throughly certified as more need not to be spoken: certeinly I something maruel by whom it should be: for in yᵉ winter past there lay but 5 English persons there, viz. Christopher Colt, Roger Leche, Adam Tunstal cooper, one lad, and I: for Henry Cocknedge was the whole winter at Mosco. And of these persons, as touching Colt, I think him (if I may without offence speake my conscience) the most simple person that was there, (as touching the vnderstanding of a marchant) although indeed he tooke vpon him very much to his owne harme and others I doubt, for he vsed himselfe not like a marchant, neither shewed diligence like a worthy seruant or factor, but lay still in a den al yᵉ whole winter, hauing wares lying vpon his hand, which he would not imploy to any vse: although sundry waies there were that he might haue put his wares in ready money with gaine, and no great aduenture, which money would haue bin more acceptable to the poore Lappes and fishermen at the spring, than any kind of wares: but his fond head did as he that had the talent in the Gospel, and yet he had counsel to the contrary which he disdained, so that men perceiuing his captious head, left not only to counsell him, but also some, in as much as they might, kept him from knowledge of the trade that might be in that countrey, the winter time, which is better peraduenture then most men think of. Wherefore if Colt haue written or said any thing touching those countries, it is doubtful whether it toucheth the effect or not, considering he lay still all the winter without trial of any matter. And for Henry Cocknedge assuredly speaking so much as I do perfectly know, I must needs say, that he is a very honest young man, and right careful of his business, and in that respect worthy to be praised. But yet he being absent in the winter other then by hearesay he could not learne, so that his instructions may be something doubtful. And like as of the lad nothing can be learned, so am

5 English men wintered in Lappia.

Christopher Colt a simple marchant.

Good trade in winter in Lappia.

Henry Cocknedge, honest but ignorant.

I sure that Tunstal the Cooper hath not yet beene spoken with, so that those of parts certeine knowledge cannot as yet be learned, except by Roger Leche, of whom I confesse knowledge may be had, for indeed there is no English man liuing that hath like knowledge in those countries as he hath, nor that is able to do so much with the people as he may: he in the winter trauailed one waies and other nere 300 miles: he of a litle made somthing, and learned not only the maners, conditions and customs of the people, but also he learned of al kind of commodities in those regions how they may be bought at the most aduantage, that gaine may be made of them: So that I confesse, if he hath giuen intelligence to the right Wor. company, then haue they no neede to speake with me or any other for to learne of those countries (except it be to heare mine opinion) which in truth I wil alwaies open unto them. But the effect of ye beneficial secrets of that countrey is to be inquired of him, & in mine opinion worthy to be learned, except, as in the second case, they list no more to deale that waies. To which I answere, that if they deal not that waies, & that with speede they seeke not to preuent others y^t^ mean to deale there, although not English men, let them then not thinke long to haue any profitable trade in Russia: for the greater part of that benefit wil be wiped from them, or 5 yeere to an end, as I will shew good reason, if I be demanded the question. Therefore if they will maintaine the Russia trade with aduantage, then ought they to looke to this in time, so may they keepe the Russia trade as it is, and likewise make a trade in Lappia more profitable then that, and therefore this is to bee considered, rather then to prohibite Englishmen from the trade of Vedagoba. For if they looke not to this, and that in time, they may be likened (if it might be without offence spoken) to two dogs that striue for the bone whiles the third run away with it: and yet mean I not otherwise, but in such order, as not Englishmen only, but also Hollanders, Brabanders, & others may be iustly and vtterly put from the trade in Lappia, and the company to keepe the whole trades to themselues without interruption of any, to their great benefit, which I wish from the bottome of my heart, as euer I wished wealth to mine owne person: And thereby hold me excused in the third case I write of. And for the fourth as touching my iudgment, as

Roger Leche expert of Lappia.

If the companie do not enter into the trade of Lappia, others will preuent them.

The trade of Vedagoba.

He can say somewhat though not much.

I confesse it is not very deepe, so I thanke God I am not vtterly without vnderstanding (although I be poore) and therefore peraduenture holden out of reputation, yet God doth distribute his gifts as it pleaseth him. I haue seen wise men poore in my time, & foolish men rich, and some men haue more knowledge then they can vtter by speech, which fault was once obiected against me by a learned man of this realme: but surely how weak soeuer my vtterance is, my meaning is faithful and true, and I wish in my heart to your laudable company al the gaine that may be, or els I pray God to confound me as a false dissembler. It greeueth me to see how of late they haue bin brought to great charges, beating the bush, as the old terme is, & other men taking the birds: this last yere hauing in Lappia 2 ships, as I am partly informed, they both brought not much aboue 300 barrels of traine oile, yet am I sure there was bought besides them of the Russes, Corels, & Lappes, 1183 barrels, besides 27 barrels Colt sold to Iacob the Hollander, at two barrels for one Northerne dozen. And yet there is a greater inconuenience springing, which if it take a little deeper roote it will be (I feare) too hard to be pulled up, which for loue & good will (God is my witnes) I write of, wishing as to my deare friends that they should looke to it in time, if they meane to keepe the trade of Russia or Lappia. And thus loue hath compelled me to write this aduertisement, which I wish to be accepted in as good part, as I with good will haue written it.

1183 barrels of oyle bought by others. Colt sold 27 barrels to a Hollander.

The request of an honest merchant to a friend of his, to be aduised and directed in the course of killing the Whale, as followeth. An. 1575.

I pray you pleasure me in getting me perfect information of the matter hereunder specified.

FOr the prouision and furniture for a shippe of 200 tunnes, to catch the Whale fish in Russia, passing from England. How many men to furnish the ship.

How many fishermen skilful to catch the Whale, & how many other officers and Coopers.

How many boats, and what fashion, and how many men in each boate.

What wages of such skilful men and other officers, as we shall neede out of Biskay.

How many harping irons, speares, cordes, axes, hatchets, kniues, and other implements for the fishing, and what sort and greatnes of them.

How many kettles, the greatnesse and maner of them, and what mettall, and whether they bee set on triuets or on furnaces for boiling of the traine oyle, and others.

What quantitie of caske, and what sort of caske, and what number of hoopes and twigges, and how much thereof to be staued for the traine.

What quantitie of victuals, and what kinde of victuals for the men in all the ship for 4 moneths time.

For the common mariners and officers to gouerne the ship, we shall not need any out of Biskaie, but onely men skilful in the catching of the Whale, and ordering of the oile, and one Cooper skilful to set vp the staued caske.

Also what other matters are requisite to be knowen, and done for the said voyage to catch the Whale, not here noted nor remembred.

These requests were thus answered, which may serue as directions for all such as shall intend the same voyage, or the like for the Whale.

A proportion for the setting forth of a ship of 200. tunne, for the killing of the Whale.

THere must be 55 men who departing for Wardhouse in the moneth of April, must bee furnished with 4 kintals and a halfe of bread for every man.
250 hogsheds to put the bread in.
150 hogsheds of Cidar.
6 kintals of oile.
8 kintals of bacon.
6 hogsheds of beefe.
10 quarters of salt.
150 pound of candles.
8 quarters of beanes and pease.
Saltfish & herring, a quantitie conuenient.
4 tunnes of wines.
Half a quarter of mustard seed, and a querne.
A grindstone.
800 empty shaken hogsheds.
350 bundles of hoopes, and 6 quintalines.
800 paire of heds for the hogsheds.
10 Estachas called roxes for harping irons.
10 pieces of Arporieras.
3 pieces of Baibens for the Iauelines small.
2 tackles to turne the Whales.
A halser of 27 fadom long to turne ye Whales.
15 great Iauelines.
18 small Iauelins.

50 harping irons.
9 machicos to cut the Whale withal.
2 doozen of machetos to minch the Whale.
2 great hookes to turne the Whale.
3 paire of Can hookes.
6 hookes for staues.
3 dozen of staues for the harping irons.
6 pullies to turne the Whale with.
10 great baskets.
10 lampes of iron to carie light.
5 kettles of 150 li. the piece, and 6 ladles.
1000 of nailes for the pinnases.
500 of nailes of Carabelie for the houses, and the Wharfe.
18 axes and hatchets to cleaue wood.
12 pieces of lines, and 6 dozen of hookes.
2 beetles of Rosemarie.
4 dozen of oares for the pinnases.
6 lanternes.
500 of Tesia.
Item, gunpouder & matches for harque-bushes as shalbe needfull.
Item, there must be carried from hence 5 pinnases, fiue men to strike with harping irons, two cuttters of Whale, 5 coopers, & a purser or two.

A note of certaine other necessarie things belonging to the Whalefishing, receiued of master W. Burrough.

A sufficient number of pullies for tackle for the Whale.
A dozen of great baskets.
4 furnaces to melt the Whale in.
6 ladles of copper.
A thousand of nailes to mend the pinnases.
500 great nailes of spikes to make their house.
3 paire of bootes great and strong, for them that shall cut the Whale.
8 calue skins to make aprons or barbecans.

The deposition of M. William Burrough to certaine Interrogatories ministred vnto him concerning the Narue, Kegor, &c. to what king or prince they doe appertaine and are subiect, made the 23 of Iune, 1576.

These articles seeme to haue bene ministred vpon the quarel between Alderman Bond the elder, and the Moscouie company, for his trade to the Narue without their consent.

The first Interrogatorie.

FIrst, whether the villages or townes vulgarely called the Narue, Kegor, Pechingo and Cola, and the portes of the same townes, as well at the time of the grant of the letters of priuilege by the Emperour to our merchants, as also in the yeeres of our Lord, 1566, 1567, 1568, 1569, 1570, 1571, 1572, 1573, 1574, and 1575. respectiuely were (as presently they be) of the iurisdicition, and subiect to the mightie prince the Emperour of Russia: and whether the saide Emperour of Russia, by all the time aforesaide, was chiefe lord and gouernour respectiuely of the said places, and so vulgarly knowen, had, and reputed: and whether the said townes and places, and either of them be situated towards the North and Northeast or Northwest, and between the North and the East point: and be the same places whereunto by force of the said priuilege, it is forbidden to any other subiect to haue traffike, sauing to the societie aforesaid.

The deponents answer.

To this Interrogatorie the deponent saith, that it is true that the villages, townes and places vulgarly called the Narue, Kegor. Peshingo and Cola, and the portes thereof, at the time of the grant of the said priuilege (as he iudgeth) were reputed respectiuely to be vnder the iurisdiction, and subiect to the Emperour of Russia, and so from the time of the said grant, vnto the yeere, 1566, and that in the yeeres of our

Lord, 1566, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, and 1575. respectiuely they were (as presently they be) of the iurisdiction, and subiect vnto the mighty prince the Emperour of Russia, and the same Emperour of Russia, by all the time aforesaide, was chiefe gouernour respectively of the said places, and so vulgarly knowen, had and reputed. And that all the said places are situated from London Northwards, between the East and the North, and within the grant of the letters patents, and priuileges of the said companie of merchants for the discovery of new trades, and the same places whereunto by force of the said letters patents, it is forbidden to any other subiect to haue traffike sauing to the societie aforesaid.

Notwithstanding the Deponent saith, that he hath heard it credibly reported by diuers, that the king of Denmarke of late yeeres, or euery yeere once, hath had one of his subiects or more by him selfe, or with his guide a Lappian, that hath at the places Cola, Kegor, and diuers other places in Lappia, taken of the Lappies certain tribute or head pence, which the said Lappie haue willingly giuen to winne favour of the saide prince, and to liue quietly by his subiects, the people of Finmarke which border vpon their covntrey whereof, Wardhouse is the strongest hold, and bordereth neere vnto them. Hee hath also hearde that in the time of peace betweene the saide Emperour of Russia, and the kings of Sweden, there was yeerely for the king of Sweden one or more that came into Lappia vnto diuers places, in maner as the king of Denmarkes seruant vseth to doe, and did demaund of them some tribute or duetie which they willingly paide : but since the late warres betweene the saide Emperour and king of Sweden, hee hath not heard of any thing that hath bene paide by them to the king of Sweden: such is the simplicitie of this people the Lappies, that they would rather giue tribute to all those that border vpon their countrey, then by denying it haue their ill willes.

But the trueth is, as this Deponent saith, that the saide mightie prince the Emperour of Russia is the chiefe lord and gouernour of the saide countrey of Lappia, his lawes and orders are obserued by them, hee takes toll and custome &c. of them. They are infidels, but if any of them become Christians it is after the Russe law. If there happen any controuersie betweene those people, such as cannot be ended amongst themselues, or by the Emperours deputies in that countrey, they repaire to the Mosko as their highest Court, and there haue it ended. Betweene the place specified Kegor, and the confines of Finmarke aforesaide in Lappia, is the monasterie Pechingo, which are monkes, and vse the Russe lawe, the chiefe or head of that abbey is alwayes appointed by the cleargie in Mosko.

Pechingo abbey.

Also in the yeere of our Lord 1557, the said Deponent was at the place Kegor, in the moneth of Iune, the 29 day being S. Peters day, at which time was a great assembly of people at a mart there, the Russes, Kerils and Lappians on the one side subiects to the said mighty prince the Emperour of Russia, and the Norwegians or Norses and people of Finmarke subiects to the King of Denmarke on the other part, they did barter and exchange fish for other commodities. The deputie for the Russe had the chief gouernment of the said Mart, and tooke toll of those people y^{t} were subiect to his master, and the captaine of Wardhouse had then the gouernment of the people subiect to his master the king of Denmark. He saith also, that betweene the abbey Pechingo, and the abbey of S. Nicholas in Russia, vpon the border of the said coast of Lappia, he hath bene vpon the shore at diuers places, where fresh riuers fall inao the Sea, where are commonly taken fresh salmon, all which places he doth know for certaine, that they were farmed out to the subiects of the said Emperour, and he the said Emperour receiued yeerely the rent for them. And further he saith that it hath bene further credibly reported vnto him, that there is not any such riuer or creek of fresh water which falleth out of the said countrey of Lappia into the sea, between the said abbey Pechingo, and the bay of S. Nicholas, bnt they are all and euery of them farmed out, and the Emperour receiueth the rent for them.

The second Interrogatorie.

Item, whether as well before, as also within the memorie of men, till the time of the graunt of the said letters patents any of the English merchants (sauing the merchants of the said societie) subiects of this realme of England, haue commonly exercised or frequented businesse or trade in the said villages or townes called the Narue, Kegor, Pechingo, and Cola, or in any of them, or in any ports or territories of the said Emperour of Russia.

The deponents answer.

To this Interrogatorie the Deponent answereth, that the subiects of this realme before the graunt of the said letters patent did not commonly exercise, neither frequent or trade to any of the said places called the Narue, Kegor, Pechingo or Cola, or to any of them.

Certaine reasons to disswade the vse of a trade to the Narue aforesaide, by way through Sweden.

THe merchandise of the Narue are gross wares, viz. flaxe, hempe, waxe, tallow and hides.

The traffique at that place standeth vpon the agreement and liking of the Emperour of Russia, with the king of Sweden: for all these merchandises that are brought thither come from Plescoue, Nouogrod, and other parts of the Emperours dominions.

For transporting those merchandises from Narue to Stockholm, or what other place shall be thought conuenient in Sweden, it must be in vessels of those countries, which wilbe of smal force to resist Freebooters, or any other that shall make quarrel or offer violence against them.

When the goods are brought into Sweden, they must be discharged, and new laden into smaller vessels, to cary the same by riuer or lake a part of the way, and againe to be vnladen and transported by land to Newles.

So as the ordinary charges for transporting of goods from Narue to Newles by way as aforesaid, besides the spoile by so often lading and vnlading, cariage by land, and the dangers of the seas, pirats, &c. will be such as when it shalbe so brought to Newles it wil be as deare to the merchants in that place as it shall be worth to be sold in London, wherefore the trade that wayes cannot be profitable to our nation.

Moreouer, when the goods shall be in Newles, it may bee thought doubtfull to bring it thence quietly without disliking or forcible resistance of the king of Denmarke, forasmuch as he maketh quarrell, and alleageth damage vnto him in his tolles of the Sound by our trade to S. Nicholas, how much more will he now doe by this way, and with how much greater aduantage may he performe it? The danger that may grow in our trade to Russia by way of S. Nicholas, through the displeasure that the Emperour may conceiue by our trade with the Sweden to Narue is also to be considered.

A remembrance of aduise giuen to the merchants, touching a voyage for Cola abouesaid. 1578.

WHereas you require my counsell after what order the voyage for Cola is to be set forth, I answere that I know no better way then hath bene heretofore vsed, which is after this maner. First of all we haue hired the ship by the great, giuing so much for the wearing of the tackle and the hull of the shippe, as the ship may be in bignesse : and if shee bee about the burden of a hundred tunnes, we pay fourescore pound, and so after that rate: and thereunto we doe vicual the ship our selues, and doe ship all our men our selues, shipping no more men, nor giuing them more wages then we should doe if they went of a merchants voyage, for it hath bene a great helpe to our voiage hitherto, to haue our men to fish with one boate, & costing vs no more charges then it should do, if our men should lie and doe nothing sauing the charges of salt, & of lines, which is treble paid for againe. For this last yere past our men killed with one boat betwixt 9. or 10. thousand fish, which yeelded to vs in money with the oile that came of it, about 15. or 16. score pounds, which is a great helpe to a voyage. And besides all this, our ship did take in so much oile and other commodities as we bestowed 100. whole clothes in. But because, as I doe suppose, it is not the vse of London to take ships to fraight after that order before prescribed, neither I think that the mariners wil take such paines as our men will : Therefore my counsell is, if you thinke good, to freight some ship of Hul or Newcastle, for I am sure that you may haue them there better cheap to freight, then here at London. Besides al this, one may haue such men as will take paines for their merchants. And furthermore when it shal please God that the ship shal returne to come to discharge at Hull, which will be the most for your profit for the sales of all such like commoditie as comes from that place, as for fish, oyle, and Salmon chiefly, hee that will seeke a better market for the sales then at Hull, he must seeke it out of England, for the like is not in England. This is the best way that I can deuise, and most for your profite, and if you will, I will also set you downe all the commodities that are necessarie for such a voyage, and which way also that the Hollanders may within two or three yeeres be forced to leaue off the trade of Cola which may easily be done. For if my abilitie were to my will, I would vse the matter so that they should either leave off the trade, or els cary light ships with them home againe.

Hull the best market of England for for sale of fish.

◆

A dedicatorie Epistle vnto the Queenes most excellent Maiestic, written by Master William Burrough late Comptroller of her Highnesse nauie, and annexed vnto his exact and notable mappe of Russia, briefly containing (amongst other matters) his great trauailes, obseruations, and experiments both by sea and land, especially in those Northeastern parts.

To the most high and renowmed Princesse ELIZABETH by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, &c.

MY minde earnestly bent to the knowledge of nauigation and, Hydrographie from my youth (most excellent my dread Soueraigne) hath eftsoones beene moued by diligent studie to search out the chiefest points to them belonging : and not therewith sufficed hath also sought by experience in diuers discoueries and other voyages and trauailes to practise the same. I was in the first voyage for discouerie of the partes of Russia, which begun in anno 1553. (being then sixteene yeeres of age) also in the yeere 1556. in the voyage when the coastes of Samoed and Noua Zemble, with the straightes of Vaigatz were found out : and in the yeere 1557, when the coast of Lappia, and the bay of S. Nicholas were more perfectly discouered. Since which time, by my continuall practise in the voyages made yeerely to S. Nicholas in Russia, or to the Narue, and to some other countreys also by Sea : as likewise in passing from S. Nicholas to Mosco, and from Mosco to Narue, and from thence backe againe to S. Nicholas by land, in the yeeres 1574. and 1575. (being then Agent in those countries for the companie of English merchants for discoueries of new trades) setting downe alwayes with great care and diligence, true obseruations and notes of al those countreys, Islands, coasts of the sea, and other things requisite to the arts of Nauigation and Hydrographie : and with like diligence gathering exact notes and descriptions of the wayes, riuers, cities, townes, &c. as I passed by land : I finde my selfe sufficiently furnished to giue report vnto your Maiesty, and to make description of those North parts of the world in forme and maner of euery leagues distance that I haue passed and seene in al those my trauels. The places herein described, which I haue not seene and tried my selfe, I haue set downe by the best authorities that I could finde, and therein may erre with the learned Gerardus Mercator, Abraham Ortelius, and the rest: but for the maine part which is from Rochel in France hither to London, and from hence Eastward to Narue by sea, and from thence to Mosco and to S. Nicholas by land: also from hence Northwards and Northeastwards by Sea to Saint Nicholas, and to the straight of Vaigatz (first crauing humbly your highnesse pardon) I dare boldly affirme (and that I trust without suspect of arrogancie, since truely I may say it) I haue here set it open to the view, with such exactnesse and trueth, and so placed euery thing aright in true latitude and longitude, (accompting the longitudes from the Meridian of London, which I place in 21 degrees) as till this time no man hath done the like: neither is any man able by learning onely, except he trauaileth as I haue done. For as it may be truely saide of Nauigation and Hydrographie, that no man can be cunning in the one which wanteth conuenient knowledge in the other: and as neither of them can be had without the helpes of Astronomie and Cosmographie, much lesse without these two grounds of all artes, Arithmetike and Geometrie: so none of the best learned in those sciences Mathematicall, without conuenient practise at the sea can make iust proofe of the profite in them: so necessarily dependeth art and reason vpon practise and experience. Albeit there are diuers both learned and vnlearned, litle or nothing experienced, which in talke of nauigation will enter deeply and speake much of and against errours vsed therein, when they cannot reforme them. Such also haue written thereof, pretending singular great knowledge therein, and would so be accompted of, though in very deede not worthy the name of good and sufficient pilots. To whom I thinke it shall not be amisse in defence of rules builded vpon reason, and in practise allowed, thus much to say for answere. It is so, that there are rules vsed in nauigation which are not perfectly true: among which the streight lines in sea-cardes, representing the 32. points of the compasse or windes. are not holden to be the least, but noted of such talkers for principall, to condemne the occupiers thereof for ignorant: yet hath the famous and learned Gerardus Mercator vsed them in his uniuersal mappe. But such as condemne them for false, and speake most against their vse cannot giue other that should serue for nauigation to better purpose and effect. Experience (one of the keyes of knowledge) hath taught mee to say it. Wherein with my abilitie, together with some part of my studie, I am rather moued (in this my plot) to make some triall vnto your maiestie: for that I perceiue that such attempts of newwe discoueries (whereunto this noble Island is most aptly situated) are by your royall maintenance so willingly furthered: beseeching your highnesse so to accept of these my trauailes, as a pledge of my well willing to my countrey, and of my loyall seruice to your maiestie, whose healthfull happie life and reigne God continue which is Almightie. Amen.

Your Maiesties most humble subiect
William Burrough.

The Queenes Maiesties letters to Shaugh Thamas the great Sophi of Persia, sent by Arthur Edwards, William Turnbull, Matthew Tailbois, and Peter Gerard appointed Agents for the Moscouie companie, in their sixt voyage to Persia, begun in the yeere 1579.

To the most noble and inuincible Emperour of Persia, King of Shiruan, Gilan, Grosin, Corassan, and great Gouernour of the Indies.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith &c. To the most noble and inuincible Emperour of Persia, King of Shiruan, Gilan, Grosin, Corassan, and great gouernour euen vnto the Indies, sendeth greeting. Most noble and inuincible Prince, it is now tenne yeeres since,* or thereabouts, wherein (after the honourable ambassade of the noble man Anthony Ienkinson our well beloued subiect, to your most noble and inuincible father performed) we laboured to bring to passe by Thomas Bannister and Gefferey Ducket merchants our subiects, that throughout all the kingdomes subiect to his empire, free power might be giuen to Will. Garrard, Thomas Ofley, William Chester, knights, Rowland Haiward, Lionel Ducket, William Allen, Thomas Bannister, Gefferey Ducket, Lawrence Chapman, Merchants, and vnto their societie, to enter into his lands and countreys at al times when they would and could, there to exercise and vse their trade of merchandise, and from thence likewise after exchange or sale made of those wares, which they should bring with them with his like good leaue and fauour, to carie from thence those things wherwith his dominions do abound and with vs be scant. Which our petition the most noble prince your father took so thankfully and in such good part, that he not onely graunted franke and commodious leaue, as was desired : but the same he would to bee vnto them most free and beneficiall, and to haue continuance for many yeeres and times. The benefite of the which his wonderfull liberality, our subiects did enioy with such humanitie and freedome as there could be no greater, till the time that by reason of wars more and more increasing in those parts, by the which our subiects were to make their iourney into Persia, they were debarred and shut from that voyage and traffique. The which traffique the said societie being eftsoones desirous to renew to the weale and commoditie of both our dominions they haue now sent into Persia their factors and Agents Arthur Edwards, William Turnbull, Matthew Tailbois, Peter Gerrard merchants, with their associats, whom we beseech your inuincible maiesty to entertaine with that favour wherewith your father did imbrace Tho. Bannister & Geffrey Ducket, and to enfranchise their whole societie with that freedome, that neither they through any their misdemeanours towards your subiects, may thereof seeme vnworthy (as we hope they will not) neither we our selues otherwise enioy them, then with the perpetuall remembrance of your good affection towards vs, and with the like favourable inclination of our part towards you. The matter itself and tract of time shall sufficiently proue the foresaid maner of traffike vnprofitable to neither of vs. For so hath one God the chiefe gouernour of all things disposed of our affaires on earth, that ech one should need other. And as for our people and subiects of the English nation, in verie deed your maiesty shal find them made and fashioned so pliant to the perfourmance of all dueties of humanity, that it can neuer repent you to haue graunted them this franke traffic, nor shame vs to haue obteined it for them at your hands. That therefore it may please your maiesty to yeeld vnto them this at our request, most earnestly we beseech you. And we (as it wel beseemeth a prince) if euer hereafter we may, wil show our selfe not to bee vnmindful of so great a benefit. We wish your maiesty wel and prosperously to fare. Giuen at our palace of Westminster the 10. day of Iune, in the yere of our Lord 1579. and of our reigne the 21.

---

*1568.

* * *

Aduertisements and reports of the 6. voyage into the parts of Persia and Media, for the companie of English merchants for the discouerie of new trades, in the yeeres 1579. 1580. and 1581. gathered out of sundrie letters written by Christopher Burrough, seruant to the saide companie, and sent to his vncle Master William Burrough.

FIrst it is to be vnderstood, that the ships for the voiage to S. Nicholas in Russia, in which the factors and merchandise for the Persian voiage were transported, departed from Grauesend the 19. of Iune, 1579. which arriued at S. Nicholas in Russia the 22. of Iuly, where the factors and merchants landed, and the merchandise were discharged and laden into doshnikes, that is, barkes of the countrey, to be caried from thence vp by riuer vnto Vologda. And the 25. day of ye said Iulie, the doshnikes departed from Rose Island by S. Nicholas vp the riuer Dwina, Peremene, that is to say, in poste, by continual sailing, rowing, setting with poles, or drawing of men, which came to Colmogro the 27. day, and departed the 29. of Iulie vp the said riuer Dwyna, and came to Vstyoug (which is at the head of the riuer Dwina, and mouth of Sughano) the 9. of August, where they stayed but a small time, prouiding some victuals, and shifting certaine of their cassacks or barkmen, and so departed thence the same day vp the riuer Sughano, and came to Totma (which is counted somewhat more then halfe the way from Vstioug) the 15. day, where they shifted some of their cassaks, and departed thence the same day, and came to the citie Vologda the 19. of August, where they landed their goods, and staied at that place till the 30. of the same. Hauing prouided at Vologda, Telegas, or wagons, whereupon they laded their goods, they departed thence with the same by land towards Yeraslaue the said 30. of August at eight of the clocke in the morning, and came to the East side of the riuer Volga ouer against Yeraslaue, with 25. Telegas laden with the said goods the seuenth of September at fiue of the clocke afternoone. Then the three stroogs or barks prouided to transport the saide goods to Astracan (where they should meete the ship that should carie the same from thence into Persia) came ouer from Yeraslaue vnto the same side of the riuer Volga, and there tooke in the said goods. And hauing prepared the said barks ready with all necessary furniture they departed with them from Yeraslaue downe the riuer of Volga on the 14. day of September

Yeraslaue.

at nine of the clocke in the morning, and they arrived at Niznouogrod the 17. day at three of the clocke afternoone, where they shewed the Emperors letters to passe free without paying any custome, and taried there about three houres to prouide necessaries, and then departing, arriued at Cazan (or neere the same towne) on the 22. of September at five of the clocke afternoone, where (through contrary windes, and for providing new cassaks in the places of some that there went from them) they remained till the 26. day, at what time they departed thence about two of the clocke after noone, and arriued at Tetushagorod, which is on the Crim side of Volga, and in latitude 55. degrees 22. minutes, the 28. day at ten in the forenoone, where they ankered, and remained about 3. houres, and departing thence came to Oueak, which is on the Crim side (on the Westerne side of Volga) the fift of October about fiue of the clocke in the morning. This is accounted halfe the way between Cazan and Astracan: and heere there groweth great store of Licoris: the soile is very fruitfull; they found there apple trees, and cherrie trees. The latitude of Oueak is 51. degrees 30. minutes. At this place had bene a very faire stone castle called by the name Oueak, and adioining to the same was a towne called by ye Russes, Sodom: this towne and part of the castle (by report of the Russes) was swalowed into the earth by the iustice of God, for the wickednesse of the people that inhabited the same. There remaineth at this day to be seen a part of the ruines of the castle, and certaine tombs, wherein as it seemeth haue bin laid noble personages: for vpon a tombe stone might be perceiued the forme of a horse and a man sitting on it with a bow in his hand, and arrowes girt to his side: there was a piece of a scutchion also vpon one of the stones, which had characters grauen on it, whereof some part had beene consumed with the weather, and the rest left vnperfect: by the forme of them that remained, we iudged them to be characters of Armenia: and other characters were grauen also vpon another tombe stone. Nowe they departed from Oueak the said fift of October at fiue of the clocke after noone, and came to Perauolok the 10. day about eleuen or twelue of the clocke that night, making no abode at that place, but passed alongst by it. This worde Perauolok in the Russe tongue doeth signifie a narrow straight or necke of land betweene two waters, and it is so called by them, because from the riuer Volga, at that place, to the riuer Don or Tanais, is

Great store of Licoris.

Perauolok.

counted thirty versts, or as much as a man may well trauell on foote in one day. And seuen versts beneath, vpon an Island called Tsaritsna the Emperour of Russe hath fiftie gunners all the summer time to keepe watch, called by the Tartar name Carawool. Between this place and Astracan are five other Carawools or watches.

1 The first is named Kameni Carawool, and is distant from Perauolok 120. versts.

2 The second named Stupino Carowool, distant from the first 50. versts.

3 The third called Polooy Carowool, is 120 versts distant from the second.

4 The fourth named Keezeyur Carawool, is 50. versts distant from the third.

5 The fift named Ichkebre, is 30. versts distant from the fourth, and from Ichkebre to Astracan is 30. versts.

Astracan.

The 16. of October they arriued at Astracan, with their three stroogs in saftie about nine of the clock in the morning, where they found the ship prouided for the Persia voyage in good order and readinesse. The 17. day the foure principal factors of the company, Arthur Edwards, William Turnbull, Matthew Talbois, and Peter Garrard, were inuited to dine with the chiefe diake or secretary of Astracan (Vasili Pheodorouich Shelepin) who declared vnto them the troubles that were in Media and Persia: and how the Turke with helpe of the Crims had conquered, and did possesse the greatest part of Media: also he laid before them that Winter was at hand, and if they should put out with their ship to the sea, they should bee constrained to take what hazards might happen them by wintring in the parts of Media, or els where, for backe againe to that place there was no hope for them to returne: whereupon the said factors determined to stay there all Winter to learne further of the state of those countreis.

Peter Garrard.

Ice at Astracan for foure moneths.

The 19. of Nouember the winde being Northerly, there was a great frost, and much ice in the river: the next day being the 20. of Nouember the ice stood in the riuer, and so continued vntill Easter day.

The 22. December departed this life Iohn Moore the gunner of the ship.

Anno 1580.

Thursday the 7. of Ianuary betweene 8. and 9. of the clocke at night there appeared a crosse proceeding from the moone, with two galles at the South and North end thereof.

The 6. of Ianuary being Twelfe day (which they call Chreshenia) the Russes of Astracan brake a hole in the ice vpon the riuer Volga, and hallowed the water with great solemnity according to the maner of their countrey, at which time all the souldiers of the towne shot off their smal pieces vpon the ice, and likewise to gratifie the captaine of the castel being a Duke, whose name is Pheodor Michalouich Troiocouria, who stood hard by the ship, beholding them as they were on the riuer, was shot off all the ordinance of our ship being 15. pieces, viz. 2. faulcons, 2. faulconers, 4. fowlers, 4. fowlers chambers, and 3. other small pieces made for the stroogs to shoote hailestones, and afterwards the great ordinance of the castle was shot off.

On the 31. of Ianuary there happened a great eclipse of the moone, which began about 12. of the clock at night, and continued before she was cleare an houre and a halfe by estimation, which ended the first of February about halfe an houre past one in the morning: she was wholly darkned by the space of halfe an houre.

The 26. of February the towne of Nagay Tartars, called the Yourt, which is within 3. quarters of a mile of the castle of Astracan, by casualty was set on fire about 10. of the clock at night, and continued burning til midnight, whereby one halfe of it was burnt, and much cattell destroyed. The Nagayes that inhabite that towne, are the Emperour of Russia his vassals : It is supposed there are of them inhabiting that place of men, women, and children, the number of seuen thousand. That night the Allarum was made in the castle and towne of Astracan. The captaine thereof had all his souldiers in very good order and readinesse, being of them in number two thousand gunners and cassaks, that is to say, a thousand gunners which are accounted meere souldiers, and are not put to any other seruice then the vse of their pieces, watch, &c. as souldiers which alwaies keepe the castle, and the cassaks also vsing their pieces, do keepe the towne, and are commonly set to all kind of labours.

The 7. of March 1580. the Nagayes and Crims came before Astracan to the number of one thousand foure hundred horsemen, which incamped round about, but the neerest of them were two Russe versts and a halfe off from the castle and town : some of them lay on the Crims side of Volga, and some on the Nagay side, but none of them came vpon the Island that Astracan standeth on. It was said that two of the prince of the Crims his sonnes were amongst them. They sent a messenger on the eight day to the captain of Astracan, to signifie that they would come and visit him: who answered, he was ready to receiue them: and taking a great shot or bullet in his hand, willed the messenger to tel them that they should not want of that geare, so long as it would last. The ninth day newes was brought that the Crims determined to assault the towne or castle, and were making of fagots of reede, to bring with them for that purpose. The tenth day two Russes that were captiues, and two of the Tartars bondmen ranne away from the Nagayes, and came into Astracan. The same day word was brought to the Duke of two Nagayes which were seene at Gostine house, supposed to be spies, but were gone againe from thence before they were suspected. This Gostine house is a place a little without the towne where the Tisiks (or Persian merchants) do vsually remaine with their merchandize. The 11. day the said Nagayes, and one more with them, came againe to that house earely in the morning, where they were taken by the Russes, and brought to the captaine of the castle, and being examined, confessed that their coming was onely to seeke two of their bondmen that were runne from them: whereupon their bondmen were deliuered to them: which fauour the said captaine comonly sheweth if they be not Russies, and they were set at libertie. The 13. day they brake vp their camps, and marched to the Northwards into the countrey of Nagay.

Astracan situate vpon an Island.

The 16. of April the variation of the compasse obserued in Astracan was 13. deg. 40. min. from North to West. This spring there came newes to Astracan that the queene of Persia (the king being blind) had bene with a great army against the Turks that were left to possesse Media, and had giuen them a great ouerthrow: yet notwithstanding Derbent, and the greatest part of Media were still possessed and kept by the Turks. The factors of the company consulting vpon their affayres, determined to leaue at Astracan the one halfe of their goods with Arthur Edwards, and with the other halfe the other three factors would proceed in the ship on their proposed voyage to the coast of Media, to see what might be done there: where, if they could not find safe traffike, they determined to proceed to the coast of Gilan, which is a pro-

The variation of the compass in Astracan was 13. deg. 40. minutes.

uince nere the Caspian sea bordering vponPersia: and thereupon appointed the said goods to be laden aboord the ship, and tooke into her also some merchandize of Tisiks or Persian.

The 29. of April Amos Rial, and Anthony Marsh, the companies' seruants were sent from Astracan by the said factors, vp the riuer Volga to Yeraslaue, with letters of aduise to be sent for England, and had order for staying the goods in Russia that should come that yeere out of England for mainteining the trade purposed for Persia, vntill further triall were made what might be done in those parts.

May.

The first day of May in the morning, hauing the shippe in readinesse to depart, the factors inuited the duke Pheodor Micalouich Proiocoorow, and the principall secretary Vasili Pheodorouich Shelepin, with other of the chiefes about the duke to a banket aboord the ship, where they were interteined to their good liking, and at their departure was shot off all the ordinance of the ship, and about nine of the clocke at night the same day they weyed anker, and departed with their ship from Astracan, and being but little winde, towed her with the boat about three versts, and then ankered, hauing with them a pauos or lighter to helpe them at the flats. The second day at foure of the clocke in ye morning they weyed and plyed downe the riuer Volga toward the Caspian sea. The seuenth of May in the morning they passed by a tree that standeth on the left hand of the riuer as they went downe, which is called Mahomet Agatch, or Mahomets tree, and about three versts further, that is to say, to the Southwards of the said tree is a place called Vchoog, that is to say, the Russe weare: (but Ochoog is the name of a weare in the Tartar tongue) where are certain cotages, and the Emperour hath lying at that place certaine gunners to gard his fishermen that keepe the weare. This Vchoog is counted from Astracan 60. versts: they proceeded downe the said riuer without staying at the Vchoog. The ninth and tenth dayes they met with shoald water, and were forced to lighten their ship by the pauos: the 11. day they sent backe to the Vchoog for an other pauos: This day by mischance the shippe was bilged on the grapnell of the pauos, whereby the company had sustained great losses, if the chiefest part of their goods had not bene layde into the pauos: for notwithstanding their pumping with 3. pumps, heauing out water with buckets, and all the best shifts they could make, the shippe was halfe full

Vchoog.

Shoald water.

of water ere the leake could be found and stopt. The 12. day the pauos came to them from the Vchoog, whereby they lighted the shippe of all the goods. The 13. day in the morning there came to them a small boat, sent by the captaine of Astracan, to learne whether the shippe were at sea cleare of the flats. The 15. day by great industry and trauell they got their ship cleere off the shoals and flats, wherewith they had beene troubled from the ninth day vntill then: they were forced to passe their shippe in three foot water or lesse. The 16. day they came to the Chetera Bougori, or Island of Foure Hillocks, which are counted forty versts from Vchoog, and are the furthest land towards the sea. The 17. day they bare off into the sea, and being about twelue versts from the Foure hillocks, riding in fiue foot and a halfe water about eleuen of the clocke in the forenoone, they tooke their goods out of the pauoses into the shippe, and filled their shippe with all things necessary. The 18. day in the morning about seuen of the clock, the pauoses being discharged departed away towards Astracan, the winde then at Southeast, they rode still with the shippe, and obseruing the eleuation of the pole at that place, found it to be 45. degrees 20. minutes. The 19. day, the wind Southeast, they rode still. The 20. day the winde at Northwest they set saile about one of the clocke in the morning, and stered thence South by West, and Southsouthwest about 3. leagues, and then ankered in 6. foot and a halfe water, about nine of ye clocke before noone, at which time it fell calme: the eleuation of the pole at that place 45. degrees 13. minuts. The 21. hauing the winde at Northwest, they set saile, and stered thence South by West, and South vntil eleuen of the clocke, and had then nine foote water: and at noone they obserued the latitude, and found it to be 44. degrees 47. minuts: then had they three fathoms and a halfe water, being cleare of the flats. It is counted from the Foure hillocks to the sea about fiftie versts. From the said noonetide vntil foure of the clocke they sayled South by East fiue leagues and a halfe: then had they fiue fathoms and a halfe and brackish water: from that till twelue at night they sayled South by East halfe a league, East tenne leagues: then had they eleuen fathome, and the water salter. From that till the 22. day three of the clocke in the morning

Flats.

Chetera Bougori.

The Caspian Sea.

45. degrees 20. minutes. The first obseruation in the Caspian Sea.

Brackish water farre within the sea.

they sayled three and fifty leagues, then had they sixtene fathome water: from thence they sayled vntil noone South and by West seuen leagues and a halfe, the latitude then obserued 43. degrees 15. minuts, the depth then eight and twentie fathoms, and shallow ground: from that vntill eight of the clocke at night, they sayled South by East fiue leagues and a halfe, then had they three and fortie fathoms shallow ground. From thence till the 23, foure a clocke in the morning, they sayled Southsouthwest three leagues and a halfe: then could they get no ground in two and fiftie fathoms deepe. From thence vntil noone they sayled South nine leagues, then the latitude obserued was 42 degrees 20 minuts. From that till the 24. day at noone they sayled South by West seuenteene leagues and a halfe, then the latitude obserued was 41. degrees 32 minuts. From noone till seuen of the clocke at night, they sailed Southsouthwest foure leagues, then had they perfect sight of high land or hilles, which were almost couered with snow, and the mids of them were West from the ship, being then about twelue leagues from the nearest land: they sounded but could finde no ground in two hundred fathoms. From thence they sayled Southwest vntil midnight: about three leagues from thence till the 25. day foure of the clocke in the morning, they sayled West three leagues, being then litle winde, and neere the land, they tooke in their sayles, and lay hulling: at noone the latitude obserued, was 40. degrees 54. minuts: they sounded but could get no ground in two hundred fathoms. At four of the clocke in the afternoone, the winde Northwest, they set their sailes, and from thence till the 26. day at noone they sailed East southeast foure leagues. From thence they sailed till eight of the clocke at night Southwest three leagues, the winde then at North. From thence they sailed vntill the 27. day two of the clocke in the morning, Westsouthwest eight leagues, the winde blowing at North very much. From the sayd two til foure of the clocke they sailed South by West one league: then being day light, they saw the land plaine, which was not past three leagues from them, being very high ragged land. There were certaine rocks that lay farre off into the sea, about fiue leagues from the same land, (which are called Barmake Tash) they sayled betweene those rocks, and the land, and about fiue of the clocke they passed by the port Bil-

43. degrees 15. minuts.

41. degrees 32. minuts.

40. degrees 54. minuts.

bill, where they should haue put in but could not: and bearing longst the shoare about two of the clocke afternoone, they came to Bildih in the countrey of Media or Sheruan, against which place they ankered in 9. foot water. Presently after they were at anker, there came aboord of them a boat, wherein were seuen or eight persons, two Turks, the rest Persians, the Turkes vassals, which bade them welcome, and seemed to be glad of their arriuall, who told the factors that the Turke had conquered all Media, or the countrey Sheruan, and how that the Turks Basha remained in Derbent with a garrison of Turkes, and that Shamaky was wholly spoyled, and had few or no inhabitants left in it. The factours then being desirous to come to the speech of the Basha, sent one of the Tisikes (or merchants that went ouer with them from Astracan, passingers) and one of the companies seruants Robert Golding, with those souldiours, to the captaine of Bachu, which place standeth hard by the sea, to certifie him of their arriuall, and what commodities they had brought, and to desire friendshippe to haue quiet and safe traffike for the same. Bachu is from Bildih, the place where they road, about a dayes journey, on foote easily to be trauelled, which may be sixe leagues the next way ouer land: it is a walled towne, and strongly fortified. When the sayd messenger came to the captaine of Bachu, the said captaine gaue him very friendly entertainment, and after he vnderstood what they were that were come in the shippe, and what they had brought, he seemed to reioyce much thereat: who gaue the said Golding liccence to depart backe the next day, being the eight and twentieth day: and promised that he would himselfe come to the shippe the next day following: with which answere the said Golding returned and came to the ship the sayd eight and twentieth day about nine of the clocke at night. The nine and twentieth day in the morning the factours caused a tent to be set vp at shoare neare the shippe, against the comming of the sayd captaine: who came thither about three of the clock after noone, and brought about thirtie souldiers, that attended on him in shirts of male, and some of them had gauntlets of siluer, others of steele, and very faire. The factors met him at their tent, and after very friendly salutations passed betweene them, they gaue him for a present a garment of cloth of veluet, and another of scarlet, who accepted the offer gratefully. After they had talked together by their interpretors, as well of the state of the voyage and cause

Bilbill.

Bachu port.

of their coming thither, as also learned of the sayde captaine the state of that countrey, the factours made request vnto him, that he would helpe them to the speech of the Basha, who answered that their demand was reasonable, and that he would willingly shew them therein what pleasure he could, and sayd, because the way to Derbent, where the Basha remayned, was dangerous, he would send thither and certifie him of their arriuall, and what commodities they had brought, and such commodities as they would desire to exchange or barter the same for he would procure the said Basha to prouide for them: and therefore willed the factors to consult together, and certifie him what they most desired, and what quantity they would haue prouided: so whilest the factors were consulting together thereupon the captaine talked with a Tisike merchant that came ouer in the ship with them from Astracan, which Tisike, among other matters in talke, certified the captaine, that the night before, the factors and their company were determined to have returned backe againe to Astracan, and that they were about to wey their ankers, which indeed was true, but the maister of the barke Thomas Hudson of Limehouse perswaded them that the wind was not good for them to depart, &c. When the factors came againe to talke with the captaine, they desired to goe to the Basha, and that he would safely conduct them thither: he granted their requests willingly, desiring them to goe with him to a village hard by, and there to abide with him that night, and the next day they should go to Bachu, and from thence to proceede on their iourney to Derbent. They were vnwilling to go that night with him, because their prouision for the way was not in readinesse, but requested that they might stay til the morning. Thereupon the captaine sayd it was reported vnto him, that they ment the night before to haue gone away: and if it should so happen, he were in great danger of losing his head: for which cause he requested to haue some one for a pledge: wherefore M. Garrard one of the factors offered himselfe to go, who, because he could not speake the Russe tongue tooke with him Christopher Burrough, and a Russe interpretour: that night they road from the seaside, to a village about ten miles off, where at supper time the captaine had much talke with M. Garrard of our countrey, demanding where about it did lie, what countreys were neare vnto it, and with whom we had traffike, for by the Russe

Thomas Hudson of Limehouse, maister of the English barke.

M. Christopher Burrough.

name of our countrey he could not coniecture who we should be: but when by the situation he perceiued we were Englishmen, he demanded if our prince were a mayden Queene: which when he was certified of, then (quoth he) your land is called Enghilterra, is it not? answere was made, it was so: whereof he was very glad when he knew the certainety. He made very much of them, placing M. Garrard next to himselfe, and Christopher Burrough, with the Russie interpretour for the Turkie tongue hard by. There was a Gillan merchant with him at that present, of whom he seemed to make great account: him he placed next to himselfe on the other side, and his gentlemen sate round about him talking together. Their sitting is vpon the heeles, or crosse legged.

Supper being brought in, he requested them to eate. After their potage (which was made of rice) was done, and likewise their boyled meat, there came in platters of rice sodden thicke, and hony mingled with all: after all which, came a sheepe roasted whole, which was brought in a tray, and set before the captaine: he called one of his seruitors, who cut it in pieces, and laying thereof vpon diuers platters, set the same before the captaine: then the captaine gaue to M. Garrard and his company one platter, and to his gentlemen another, and to them which could not well reach he cast meat from the platters which were before him. Diuers questions he had with M. Garrard and Christopher Burrough at supper time, about their diet, inquiring whether they eat fish or flesh voluntarily or by order. Their drinke in those partes is nothing but water. After supper (walking in the garden) the captaine demanded of M. Garrard, whether the vse was in England to lie in the house or in the garden, and which he had best liking of: he answered, where it pleased him, but their vse was to lie in houses: whereupon the captaine caused beds to be sent into the house for them, and caused his kinsman to attend on them in the night, if they chanced to want anything: he hinselfe with his gentlemen and souldiers lying in the garden.

In the morning very early he sent horse for the rest of the company which should go to Derbent, sending by them that went tenne sheepe for the shippe. In that village there was a stoue, into which the captaine went in the morning, requesting M. Garrard to go also to the same to wash himselfe, which he did. Shortly after their comming out of the Stoue, whilest they were at breakfast, M. Turnbull, M. Tailboyes, and Thomas Hudson the

M. of the shippe, came thither, and when they had all broken their fasts, they went to Bachu: but Christopher Burrough returned to the ship, for that he had hurt his leg, and could not well endure that trauell. And from Bachu they proceeded towards Derbent, as it was by the captaine promised, being accompanied on their way for their safe conduct, with a gentleman, and certaine souldiers, which had the captaine of Bachu his letters to the Basha of Derbent, very friendly written in their behalfe. In their iourney to Derbent they forsooke the ordinarie wayes, being very dangerous, and trauelled thorow woods till they came almost to the towne of Derbent: and then the gentleman road before with the captaines letters to the Basha, to certifie him of the English merchants comming, who receiuing the letters and vnderstanding the matter, was very glad of the newes, and sent forth to receiue them certaine souldiours gunners, who met them about two miles out of the towne, saluting them with great reuerence, and afterwardes road before them: then againe met them other souldiours, somewhat neerer the castle, which likewise hauing done their salutations road before them, and then came foorth noble men, captaines, and gentlemen, to receiue them into the castle and towne. As they entered the castle, there was a shot of twentie pieces of great ordinance, and the Basha sent M. Turnbull a very faire horse with furniture to mount on, esteemed to be worth an hundred markes, and so they were conueyed to his presence: who after he had talked with them, sent for a coate of cloth of golde, and caused it to be put on M. Turnbulles backe and then willed them all to depart, and take their ease, for that they were wearie of their iourney, and on the morrow he would talke further with them. The next day when ye factors came againe to the presence of the Basha according to his appointment, they requested him that he would grant them his priuilege, whereby they might traffike safely in any part and place of his countrey, offering him, that if it pleased his Maiestie to haue any of the commodities that they had brought, and to write his mind thereof to the captaine of Bachu, it should be deliuered him accordingly. The Bashaes answer was, that he would willingly giue them his priuilege: yet for that he regarded their safetie, hauing come so farre, and knowing the state of his countrey to be troublesome, he would haue them to bring their commodity thither, and there to make sale of it, promising he would prouide such commodities as they needed, and that he

The receiuing of the English into Derbent.

would be a defence vnto them, so that, they should not be iniured by any: wherupon the factors sent Thomas Hudson backe for ye ship to bring her to Derbent, and the Basha sent a gentleman with him to the captaine of Bachu, to certifie him what was determined, which message being done, the captaine of Bachu, and the Bashaes messenger, accompanied with a doozen souldiours, went from Bachu with Thomas Hudson, and came to the ship at Bildih the 11 day of Iune. After the captaine and his men had beene aboord and seene the ship, they all departed presently, but the gentleman, messenger from ye Basha, with three other Turks, remained aboord, and continued in the ship till she came to Derbent: the latitude of Bildih by diuers obseruations is 40. degrees 25 minuts: the variation of the compasse 10. degrees 40 minuts from North to West. After the returne of Thomas Hudson backe to Bildih, they were constrayned to remaine there with the shippe through contrary windes vntill the 16. day of Iune foure of the clocke in the morning, at which time they weyed anker, set saile and departed thence towards Derbent. and arriued at anker against Derbent East and by South from the sayd castle in foure fathome and a halfe water, the 22. day of Iune at ten of the clocke in the morning: then they tooke vp their ordinance, which before they had stowed in hold for easing the shippe in her rowling. In the afternoone the Basha came downe to the waterside against the shippe, and hauing the said ordinance placed, and charged, it was all shotte off to gratifie him: and presently after his departure backe, he permitted the factors to come aboord the shippe. The 29. day their goodes were vnladen and carried to the Bashaes garden, where he made choyce of such things as he liked, taking for custome of euery fiue and twenty karsies, or whatsoever, one, or after the rate of foure for the hundred. The factors after his choyce made, determined to send a part of the rest of the goods to Bachu, for the speedier making sale thereof, for which cause they obteyned the Bashaes letter to the captaine of Bachu, written very fauourably in their behoofe: and thereupon was laden and sent in a small boat of that countrey in merchandize, to the value (very neere) of one thousand pound sterling: videlicet, one hundred pieces of karsies, seuen broad clothes, two barrels of cochenelio, two barrels of tinne, foure barrels of shaffe. There went with the same of the companies seruants William Wincle, Robert Golding, and Richard Relfe, with two Russies, whereof

The latitude of Bildih 40. deg. 25. min. The variation of the compas 10. deg. 40. min.

one was an interpretor, besides foure barkemen. They departed from Derbent with the saide barke the 19. of Iuly, and arriued at Bildih the 25. day: their passage and carriage of their goods to Bachu was chargeable, although their sales when they came thither were small: they had great friendship shewed them of the captaine of Bachu, as well for the Bashaes letter, as also for the factors sakes, who had dealt friendly with him, as before is declared. Robert Golding desirous to vnderstand what might be done at Shamaky, which is a dayes iourney from Bachu, went thither, from whence returning, he was set on by theeues, and was shot into the knee with an arrow, who had very hardly escaped with his life and goods, but that by good hap he killed one of the theeues horses with his caliuer, and shot a Turke thorow both cheeks with a dag. On the sixt day of August the factors being aduertised at Derbent that their ship was so rotten and weake, that it was doubtfull she would not cary them backe to Astracan, did thereupon agree and bargen at that place with an Armenian, whose name was Iacob, for a barke called a Busse, being of burden about 35. tunnes which came that yere from Astracan, and was at that instant riding at an island called Zere, about three or foure leagues beyond or to the Eastwardes of Bildih, which barke for their more safety, they ment to haue with them in their return to Astracan, and thereupon wrote vnto Wincoll and the rest at Bachu, that they should receiue the same Busse, and lade in her their goods at Bildih to be returned to Derbent, and to discharge their first boate, which was obserued by them accordingly. When all their goods were laden aboord the sayd Busse at Bildih, and being ready to haue departed thence for Derbent, there arose a great storme with the winde out of the sea, by force whereof the cables and halsers were broken, and their vessell put a shoare, and broken to pieces against the rockes: euery of them that were in her saued their liues, and part of the goods. But there was a Carobia or cheste, wherein were dollars, and golde, which they had receiued for the commodities of the company, which they sold at Bachu, which at the taking out of the Busse, fell by the barkes side into the water amongst the rockes, and so was lost. The packes of cloth which they could not well take out of the Busse were also lost, other things that were more profitable they saued.

Zere Island.

The English suffer shipwracke.

The 18. of August, the Factors receiued from the Basha 500.

Batmans of raw silke, parcell of the bargaine made with him, who bade them come the next day for the rest of the bargaine.

The 19. day the Factors went to the Basha according to his appointment, but that day they could not speake with him, but it was deliuered them as from him, that they should looke and consider whether any thing were due vnto him or not, which grieued the Factors: and thereupon M. Turnebull answered, that their heads and all that they had were at the Bashaes pleasure: But then it was answered there was no such matter in it: but that they should cast vp their reckonings, to see how it stood betweene them. The 20. day they cast vp their reckonings. The 21. they went to haue spoken with the Basha, but were denied audience.

Arthur Edwards died at Astracan.

The 22. day they heard newes by a Busse that came from Astracan, that Arthur Edwards (whom the Factors left at Astracan with the moietie of the goods) was dead, who departed this life* of

September.

The 23. day the Factors receiued more from the Bacha 500. Batmans of silke. The 4. of September newes was brought to Derbent, that Golding comming from Shamaky was set on by theeues (Turkes) and had hurt one of them.

The 5. Tobias Atkins the gunners boy died of the fluxe, who was buried the 6. day 2. miles to the Southward of the Castle of Derbent, where the Armenian Christians do vsually bury their dead. About the 20 of September newes came to Derbent, that the Busse which they had bought of Iacob the Armenian as before, was cast away at Bildih, but they received no certaine newes in writing from any of our people.

The 26. of September was laden aboord the ship 40. bales of silke. From the 26. til the 2. of October, they tooke into the ship, bread, water, and other necessary prouision for their sea store: the said 2. day of October, the Factors were commanded vpon the suddaine to auoide their house, and get them with their prouision out of the towne: Whereupon they were constrained to remoue and carry their things to the sea side against the ship, and remained there all the night. The cause of this sudden auoyding them out of the towne (as afterwards they perceiued) was for that the Basha had receiued newes of a supplie with treasure that the

---

* Left blank in Original.

Turke had sent, which was then neare at hand comming toward him.

The 3. day of October all things were brought from the shoare aboord the ship: and that day the Factors went to the Basha to take their leaue of him, vnto whom they recommended those the Companies seruants, &c. which they had sent to Bachu, making accompt to leaue them behinde in the Countrey: who caused their names to be written, and promised they should want nothing, nor be iniured of any. After this leaue taken, ths Factors went aboord purposing presently to haue set saile and departed towards Astracan, the winde seruing well for that purpose at South Southeast: And as they were readie to set saile, there came against the ship a man, who weued: whereupon the boate was sent a shoare to him, who was an Armenian sent from William Wincoll, with his writing tables, wherein the said Wincoll had written briefly, the mishap of the losse of the Busse, and that they were comming from Bildih towardes Derbent, they, and such things as they saued with a small boate, forced to put a shoare in a place by the sea side called the Armenian village: Whereupon the Factors caused the shippe to stay, hoping that with the Southerly winde that then blew, they would come from the place they were at to the ship, but if they could not come with that winde, they ment to saile with the shippe, with the next wind that would serue them, against the place where they were, and take them in, if they could: which stay and losse of those Southerly windes, was a cause of great troubles, that they afterwardes sustained through yce, &c. entering the Volga as shalbe declared.

The Armenian Village.

The 4. day the winde South Southeast, the shippe rode still: This day Christopher Burrow was sent to shore to Derbent to prouide some necessaries for the voyage, and with him a Tisike or two, which should goe in the shippe passengers to Astracan. And being on shoare he saw there the comming in of the Turkes treasure, being accompanied with 200. souldiers, and one hundreth pioners, besides Captaines and Gentlemen: the Basha with his captaines and souldiers very gallantly apparelled and furnished went out from Derbent about three or foure miles, to meete the said treasure, and receiued the same with great ioy and triumph. Treasure was the chiefe thing they needed, for not long before the souldiers were readie to breake into the Court against the Basha for their pay: there was a great mutinie amongst them, because hee had long

The Turke his treasure sent to Derbent.

differed and not payed them their due. The treasure came in seuen wagons, and with it were brought tenne pieces of brasse.

In the parts of Media where they were, there was no commoditie to be bought of any value, but raw silke, neither was that to be had but at the Bashaes hands: who shortly after their comming thither taxed the Countrey for that commoditie. His dealing with our Merchants as it was not with equitie in all points according to his bargaine, so it was not extreme ill. Of the commodities they carried hee tooke the chiefest part, for which he gaue but a small price in respect of the value it was there worth, and because he had prouided such quantitie of commoditie for them, which otherwise they could not haue had, the Countrey being so troublesome, and trauaile by land so dangerous, he vsed them at his pleasure.

The newes that was reported vnto them at Astracan touching the warres betweene the Turkes and Persians differed litle from the truth: for the Turkes armie with the aide of the Crims, (being in number by ye information of two Spaniards that serued in those wars, about 200000) inuaded and conquered the Countrey of Media in Anno 1577. When the great Turke vnderstood of the conquest, he appointed Osman Basha (the said Basha, and now Captaine of Derbent) gouernour of the whole Countrey, who settled himselfe in Shamaky the chiefe Citie of Media, and principall place of traffike, vnto whom was sent from the great Turke, in signification of the grateful acceptation of his seruice and the great conquest, a sword of great value.

Osman Basha.

After the said Basha had brought the Countrey in order to his liking, and placed garrisons where he thought conuenient, the armie was dissolued and sent backe; when the Persians vnderstood that the Turkes armie was dissolued and returned, they gathered a power together, and with the Queene of their Countrey as chiefe, they entred the Countrey of Media, and ouerranne the same with fire and sword, destroying whatsoeuer they found, as well people, cattell, as whatsoeuer els, that might be commodious to the Turkes. And after they had so ouerrunne the Countrey, they came to Shamaky, where the said Basha Lieutenant generall of the great Turke was settled, and besieged it: whereupon the Basha seeing hee could not long indure to withstande them, fled thence to Derbent where he now remaineth.

Derbent built by Alexander the great.

Derbent is a strong Castle which was built by Alexander the great, the situation whereof is such that the Persians being without ordinance, are not able to winne it but by famine. When the Turkes were fled from Shamaky, the Persians entred the same and spoyled it, leauing therein neither liuing creature nor any commoditie, and so returned backe into Persia, and setled themselues about Teueris, where there grewe some question among them for the kingdome. Afterwards the Persians hauing intelligence of an armie from the Turke comming into Media, gathered themselues together in a great armie and encountring the said Turkes, set vpon them on the sudden, and vanquished them, putting them all to the sword. This ouerthrow of the Turkes grieued the Basha of Derbent, and made him to haue the more care for his own safetie. Moreouer, newes was brought vnto him that the Kisel Bashaes, (that is to say the nobles and Gentlemen of Persia) were minded to set vpon him, and that neere vnto Bachu there lay an army ready to besiege it. Whereupon the Basha oftentimes would ride about the Castle of Derbent viewing the same, and the springs that did come to it, and where he saw any cause of reformation it was amended.

The latitude of Derbent 41. deg. 52. min. The variation of the compasse.

The latitude of Derbent (by diuers obseruations exactly there made) is 41. deg 52. min. The variation of the Compasse at that place about 11. degrees from North to West. From Derbent to Bildih by land 46. leagues. From Shamaky to Bachu about 10. leagues which may be 30. miles. From Bachu to Bildih fiue or sixe leagues by land, but by water about 12. leagues. From the Castle Derbent Eastwards, there reach two stone wals to the border of the Caspian sea, which is distant one English mile. Those walls are 9. foote thicke, and 28. or 30. foote high, and the space betweene them is 160. Geometricall paces, that is 800. foot. There are yet to be perceiued of the ruine of those wals, which do now extend into the sea about halfe a mile: also from the castle Westward into the land, they did perceiue the ruines of a stone wall to extend, which wal, as it is reported, did passe from thence to Pontus Euxinus, and was built by Alexander the great when the Castle Derbent was made.

The 5 of October about noone the winde Northnortheast they wayed ancre, and set saile from Derbent, being alongst the coast to the Southwards to seeke their men: but as they had sailed about foure leagues the winde scanted Easterly, so that they were forced to ancre in three fathom water.

The 6 day they wayed ancre, and bare further off into the sea, where they ancred in seuen fathom water, the ship being very leake, and so rotten abaft the maine mast, that a man with his nailes might scrape thorow her side.

The 7 day about 7 of the clocke in the morning, they set saile, the winde Southwest. They considered the time of the yere was far spent, the ship weake, leake and rotten, and therefore determining not to tarry any longer for Wincoll and his fellowes, but to leaue them behinde, bent themselues directly towards Astracan: and sailing Northnortheast vntill midnight about 16 leagues, the winde then came to the Northnorthwest, and blew much, a very storme, which caused them to take in their sailes, sauing the fore corse, with which they were forced to steere before the sea, South by West, and Southsouthwest. And on the 8 day about two of the clocke in the morning their great boat sunke at the ships sterne, which they were forced to cut from the ship to their great griefe and discomfort: for in her they hoped to saue their liues if the ship should haue miscaried. About 10 of the clocke before noone they had sight of the land about 5 leagues to the South of Derbent, and bare longst the coast to the Southeastwards vnto Nezauoo, where they came at ancre in three fathoms, and black oze, good ancre holde, whereof they were glad, as also that the winde was shifted to the Northwest, and but a meane gale. Wincoll and the rest of his fellowes being in the Armenian village, which is about 18 versts to the Westwards of Nezauoo, the place where against they rode at ancre, saw the ship as she passed by that place, and sent a man in the night following alongst the coast after her, who came against the ship where she rode, and with a firebrand in the top of a tree made signes, which was perceiued by them in the shippe, wherenpon they hoisted out their skiffe, and sent her ashore to learne what was meant by the fire: which returned a letter from Wincoll, wherein he wrote that they were with such goods as they had at the Armenian village, and prayed that there they might with the samè goods be taken into the ships. The 9 day it was litle winde, they wayed and bare a little further off into the sea towards the said village, and ancred. The 10 day they sent their skiffe to the Armenian village to fetch those men and the goods they had, with order that if the winde serued, that

Nezauoo.

they could not returne to fetch the ship, they of the ship promised to come for them, against the said village. This day it was calme.

Two Spaniards deliuered by our English men.

The 11 day the winde Northwest they rode still. The 12 day the winde Southeast they wayed ancre, and bare against and nere to the Armenian village where they ancred, and then the skiffe came aboord and tolde them that our people at shore were like to be spoiled of the Tartars, were it not that the gunners defended them : then was the skiffe sent backe againe to charge them at any hand they should hasten aboord the ship whatsoeuer it cost them. Whereupon, all the company came aboord the same day sauing Richard Relfe and two Russes, but as soone as the skiffe was returned aboord the ship, the winde blew at Southeast, and the sea was growen, so as they were forced to take in their skiffe into the ship, and rode stil till the 13 day, and then being faire weather, early in the morning the skiffe was hoisted out of the ship, and sent to shore to fetch the said Relfe and the two Russes, which were ready at the shore side, and with them two Spaniards that were taken captiues at the Goletta in Barbary, which serued the Turke as souldiers. Those Spaniards (of Christian charity) they brought also aboord the ship to redeeme them from their captiuity, which were brought ouer into England, and set free and at liberty here in London, in September 1581. The winde this day at Northnortheast, faire weather. The 14 day they sent the skiffe to shore, and filled fresh water. The 15 day they rode still, being litle winde and fog. The 16 day the winde Eastsoutheast, they wayed ancre and set saile, bearing Northwards towards Astracan, and the same night they ancred in ten fathoms water, about fiue miles from the shore of the Shalkaules countrey, which place is eight leagues Northnorthwest from Derbent. The 17 day the winde at North very stormy, they rode still all that day and night. The 18 the winde all Southeast about one of the clocke afternoone, they wayed ancre, and sailed thence till foure of the clocke Northnortheast sixe leagues, then they might see the land Northwest about tenne leagues from the winde Southeast: from thence they sailed til midnight Northnortheast twelue leagues. From thence till the 19 day seuen a clocke in the morning they sailed Northnortheast eight leagues: the winde then Eastsoutheast, a faire gale, they sounded and had 17 fathoms, and sand, being (as the Master iudged) about the head of Shetly: from thence till 12 of the clocke at noone they sailed North 5 leagues, the winde then at East a faire gale, they sounded and had 5 fathoms. From thence till eight of the clocke at night, they sailed North 7 leagues, the winde then at Northeast with small raine, they tooke in their sailes, and ancred in 3 fathoms water and soft oze, where they rode still all night, and the 20 day and night the winde Northeast, as before with small raine.

The 21 day the winde Northwest, they likewise rode still. The 22 day about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, they wayed ancre, the winde Westnorthwest, and sailed from thence till sixe of the clocke at night North 4 leagues, then they ancred in 2 fathoms and a halfe soft oze, the winde at West a small breath.

The 23 day about 7 of the clocke in the morning, they wayed ancre, and set saile, being litle winde Easterly, and sailed till 2 of the clocke after noone Northwest in with the shore about sixe leagues, and then ancred in 6 foot water, hauing perfect sight of the low land (sand hilles) being about 3 miles from the nerest land. This place of the land that they were against, they perceiued to be to the Westwards of the 4 Islands (called in the Russe tongue Chetera Bougori) and they found it afterwards by due proofe, to be about 50 versts, or 30 English miles to the Southwest, or Southwest by South, from the sayd Chetera Bougori.

The 24 day the winde at East, and by South, a Sea winde called Gillauar, caused them to ride still. The 25 day they thought good to send in their skiffe Robert Golding, and certaine Russes, to row him alongst Northwards by the shore, to seeke the foure Islands, and so to passe vnto the Vchooge, and there to land the sayd Robert Golding to proceed to Astracan, to deliuer Amos Riall a letter, wherein he was required to prouide Pauoses to meet the shippe at the sayd Islands, and the skiffe with the Russes were appointed to returne from the Vchooge with victuals to the shippe, which skiffe departed from the shippe about nine of the clocke in the forenoone. The 26, 27, 28, and 29 dayes, the windes Easterly and Northeast, they rode still with their ship. The 30 day the winde Southeast, they wayed, and set saile to the Northeastwards: but the ship fell so on the side to the shorewards, that they were forced eftsoones to take in their saile, and ancre againe, from whence they neuer remoued her. That day they shared their bread: but in their want God sent them two couies

A strange accident of prouision for their reliefe.

of partridges, that came from the shore, and lighted in and about their ships, whereby they were comforted, and one that lay sicke, of whose life was small hope, recouered his health.

Nouember.

The 4 of Nouember the skiffe returned to the ship with some victuals, and certified that the foure Islands were about 60 versts from them to the Northeastwards. When Robert Golding came to Astracan, and deliuered there the Factors letters to Amos Rial, the duke, captaine of that place, was done to vnderstand of the ships arriuall, and of the state they were in, and their request for Pauoses, who was very glad to heare of their safe returne, and appointed to be sent with all speed two Pauoses and a Stroog, with gunners to gard and defend them. With the which Stroog and Pauoses, Amos Riall went downe to the Chetera Bougori, or 4. Islands aforesayd, where he stayed with those barks, according to the Factors appointment. The 5 day they purposed to send from the ship their skiffe with the carpenter, and 4 Russes to row him to the 4 Bougories, to request Amos Riall to come from thence with the Pauoses to the shippe with all possible speed. The skiffe with those men departed from the ship in the morning, and within one houre they met with a small boat with Russes rowing towards the ship, which came from the Ouchooge with a wilde swine and other victuals to sell: with the same boat the skiffe returned backe to the ship after the Russes had receiued and were satisfied for the victuals they brought: the same day they returned with their boat backe toward the Ouchooge, and with them in the same boat was sent the Carpenter of the shippe to the Chetera Bougori, which were in their way, to declare vnto Amos Riall the message before appointed him. From the 5 vntill the 9 day the ship rode still with contrary winds Easterly. The same 9 day came to the shippe certaine Russes in a small boat, which brought with them some victuals sent by Amos Riall, and declared that he with the Pauoses and Stroog had remained at the Chetera Bougori fiue dayes, expecting the comming thither of the ship. The 10 day being doubtfull of the Pauoses comming, they sent Thomas Hudson Master of the ship in the skiffe (and with her went the foresayd skiffe boat) towards the Chetera Bougori to the Pauoses to bring word whether they would come to the ship or not, the wind then at Northeast with fogge. The 11 day the winde Northerly with fogge, the ship rode still. The 12 day Amos Riall, Christopher Fawcet, and a new gunner came to the ship, and with them the M. Thomas Hudson returned; but the Stroog with the gunners remained at the Chetera Bougori; and from thence (when it begun to freese) returned to Astracan. Amos Riall declared that he sent the carpenter backe from the Chetera Bougori in a small boat on the 10 day, and marueiled that he was not come to the shippe (but in the fogge the day before as afterwards they learned) missed the shippe, and ouershot her, and afterwards returning backe, he found the ship at ancre, and nothing in her but the Russes that were left to keepe her, and then he departed thence, and went to the Vchooge, and there stayed. Presently vpon the comming of the Pauoses to the ship they vsed as much speed as might be, to get the goods out of the shippe into them, and after the goods were laden in, they tooke in also of the shippes ordinance, furniture and prouision, as much as they could.

Ice the 13 of Nouember in the mouth of the riuer of Volga.

The 13 day in the morning Amos Riall was sent away in a small boat towards Astracan, to prouide victuals and cariages to relieue and helpe them, who could passe no further then the foure Islands, but was there ouertaken with yce, and forced to leaue his boat, and from thence passed poste to Astracan, finding at the Vchooge the Carpenter returned from his ill iourney, very ill handled with the extremitie of the colde. The same day they departed also in those lighters with the goods towards the Chetera Bougori, leauing the ship at once, and in her two Russes, which with three more that went in the Pauoses, to prouide victuals for themselues and the rest, and therewith promised to returne backe to the ship with all speed, had offered to undertake for twenty rubbles in money to cary the ship into some harborow, where she might safely winter, or els to keepe her where she rode all winter, which was promised to be giuen them if they did it: and the same day when with those lighters they had gotten sight of the foure Islands being about eight versts Southwest from them, the winde then at Northeast, did freese the sea so as they could not row, guide, stirre or remoue the saide lighters, but as the wind and yce did force them. And so they continued driuing with the yce, Southeast into the sea by the space of forty houres, and then being the sixteenth day the yce stood. Whiles they drove with the yce, the dangers which they incurred were great: for oftentimes when the yce with the force of winde did breake, pieces of it were tossed and driuen one vpon another,

The 16 day.

with great force, terrible to beholde, and the same happened at sometimes so neere vnto the lighters, that they expected it would haue ouerwhelmed them to their vtter destruction: but God who had preserued them from many perils before, did also saue and deliuer them then.

Within three or foure dayes after the first standing of the yce, when it was firme and strong, they tooke out all their goods, being fourty and eight bales or packes of raw silke, &c. layde it on the yce, and couered the same with such prouisions as they had. Then for want of victuals, &c. they agreed to leaue all the goods there vpon the yce, and to go to the shore: and thereupon brake vp their Chests and Carobias, wherewith, and with such other things as they could get, they made sleddes for euery of them to draw vpon the yce, whereon they layed their clothes to keepe them warme, and such victuals as they had, and such other things as they might conueniently cary, and so they departed from the sayd goods and Pauoses very earely about one of the clocke in the morning, and trauailing on the yce, directed their way North, as neere as they could iudge, and the same day about two of the clocke in the afternoone, they had sight of the Chetera Babbas (foure hillocks of Islands so called) vnto the same they directed themselues, and there remained that night.

Trauaile vpon the yce.

Chetera Babbas.

The goods and Pauoses which they left on the yce they iudged to be from those Chetera Babbas about 20 versts.

And the next morning departed thence Eastwards, and came to the Chetera Bougories (or foure Islands before spoken of) before noone (the distance betweene those places is about 15 versts) where they remained all that night, departing thence towards Astracan: the next morning very early they lost their way through the perswasion of the Russes which were with them, taking too much towards the left hand (contrary to the opinion of M. Hudson) whereby wandering upon the yce foure dayes, not knowing whether they were entred into the Crimme Tartars land or not, at length it fortuned they met with a way that had bene trauailed, which crost backwards towards the sea: that way they tooke, and following the same, within two dayes trauaile it brought them to a place called Crasnoyare (that is to say in the English tongue) Red cliffe, which diuers of the company knew.

There they remained that night, hauing nothing to eat but one loafe of bread, which they happened to finde with the two Russes that were left in the ship to keepe her all the Winter (as is aforesaid) whom they chanced to meet going towards Astracan, about fiue miles before they came to the sayd Crasnoyare, who certified them that the ship was cut in pieces with the yce, and that they had hard scaping with their liues.

The English ship cut in pieces with yce.

In the morning they departed early from Crasnoyare towards the Ouchooge, and about nine of the clocke before noone, being within 10 versts of the Vchooge, they met Amos Riall, with the carpenter, which he found at Ouchooge, and a gunner newly come out of England, and also 65 horses with so many Cassaks to guide them, and 50 gunners for gard, which brought prouision of vituals, &c. and were sent by the Duke to fetch the goods to Astracan. The meeting of that company was much joy vnto them.

The Factors sent backe with Amos Riall and the sayd company to fetch the goods, Thomas Hudson the Master, Tobias Paris his Mate, and so they the sayd Factors and their company marched on to the Vchooge, where they refreshed themselues that day, and the night following. And from thence proceeded on towards Astracan, where they arriued the last day of Nouember. These that went for the goods after their departure from the Factors trauelled the same day vntil they came within 10 versts of the Chetera Babbas, where they rested that night. The next morning by the breake of day they departed thence, and before noone were at the Chetera Babas, where they stayed all night; but presently departed thence Thomas Hudson with the Carpenter and gunner to seeke where the goods lay: who found the same, and the next day they returned backe to their company at the Chetera Babbas, and declared vnto them in what sort they had found the sayd goods.

December.

The 3 day early in the morning they departed all from the 4 Babbas towards the said goods, and the same day did lade all the goods they could find vpon the said sleds, and with all conuenient speed returned backe towards Astracan. And when they came to the Chetera Bougori, where they rested the night, in the morning very early before the breake of day, they were assaulted by a great company of the Nagays Tartars horsemen, which came showting and hallowing with a great noise, but our people were so inuironed with the sleds, that they durst not enter vpon them, but ranne by, and shot their arrows amongst them, and hurt but one man in the head, who was a Russe, and so departed presently.

Their returne to Astracan.

Yet when it was day, they shewed themselues a good distance oft from our men, being a very great troop of them, but did not assault them any more. The same day our men with those cariages, departed from thence towards Astracan, where they arriued in safety the 4 December, about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, where our people greatly reioyced of their great good happe to haue escaped so many hard euents, troubles and miseries, as they did in that voyage, and had great cause therefore to praise the Almighty, who had so mercifully preserued and deliuered them. They remained the winter at Astracan, where they found great fauour and friendship of the duke, captaine, and other chiefe officers of that place: but that Winter there happened no great matter worth the noting.

The breaking vp of the yce.

Morgan Hubblethorne dier sent into Persia.

May.

In the spring of the yeere 1581, about the mids of March, the yce was broken vp, and cleare gone before Astracan, and the ninth of Aprill, hauing all the goods that were returned from the parts of Media, laden into a Stroog, the Factors, William Turnebull, Matthew Tailboyes, Giles Crow, Christopher Burrough, Michael Lane, Laurence Prouse gunner, Randolfe Foxe, Tho. Hudson, Tobias Parris, Morgan Hubblethorne, the dier, Rich, the Surgean, Rob. Golding, Ioh. Smith, Edw. Reding carpenter, and William Perrin gunner, hauing also 40 Russes, whereof 36 were Cassacks to row, the rest merchants passengers, departed from Astracan with the sayd Stroog and goods vp the Volga towards Yeraslaue. They left behinde them at Astracan, with the English goods and merchandise there remaining, Amos Riall, W. Wincoll, and Richard Relfe, and appointed them to sell and barter the same, or so much thereof as they could to the Tisiks, if there came any thither that spring, and to others as they might, and the rest with such as they should take in exchange to returne vp to Yeraslaue that Summer, when the Emperors carriage should passe vp the Volga. The 21 day they came with their Stroog to the Perauolok, but made no stay at that place: for they had beene much troubled with yce in their comming from Astracan. The 3 of May about noone they came to Oueak, and from thence proceeding vp the river, on the 17 day William Turnebull departed from the Stroog in a small boat, and went before towards Tetusha to prouide victuals, and send downe to the Stroog, from which place they were then about 230 versts. The 23 day they met a boat with victuals, which William Turnebull sent from

Tetusha, and the same day they arriued with their Stroog at Tetusha, where they stayed all night, and the next morning betimes departed thence, but W. Turnebull was gone in the small boat before to Cazan, to prouide necessaries from thence, and to make way for their dispatch. The 26 day they arriued with their Stroog at Cazan, where they remained till the fourth of Iune: the Factors sent Giles Crow from Cazan to the Mosco, with their letters the 30 of May. The 4 day of Iune they departed from Cazan with their Stroog, and arriued at Yeraslaue the 22 day about 5 of the clocke in the morning.

The 23. day they prouided Telegos, to carry the goods to Vologda. The 24. day hauing the goods laden vpon Telegos, they departed with the same towards Vologda, and remained there fiue versts from Yeraslaue.

The 29 day they came to Vologda, with all their goods in safety, and good order. The same 29, William Turnbull and Peter Garrard departed from Vologda post by water towards Colmogro, the third of Iuly, hauing their goods laden in a small doshnik, they departed with the same from Vologda towards Rose Island by S. Nicholas, where they arriued in safety the 16 of Iuly, and found there the Agents of Russia, and in the rode the ships sent out from England, almost laden ready to depart.

The 25 day departed for England (out of the rode of S. Nicholas) the ship Elizabeth.

The 26 day departed thence the Thomas Allen and Mary Susan, and in the Thomas Allen went William Turnbul, Matthew Tailboys, Thomas Hudson, and others. The goods returned of the Persia voyage were laden into the ship, William and Iohn, whereof was Master, William Bigat, and in her with the same goods came Peter Garrard and Tobias Parris.

The 11 of August, the same ship being laden and despatched departed from the rode of S. Nicholas, and with her in company another of the companies fraighted ships, called the Tomasin, whereof was M. Christopher Hall. In their returne homewards they had some foule weather, and were separated at the sea, the William and Iohn put into Newcastle the 24 of September: from whence the sayd Peter Garrard and Tobias Parris came to London by land, and brought newes of the arriual of the ship.

The 25 of September both the sayd ships arriued at the port of London in safety, and ankered before Limehouse and Wapping, where they were discharged, 1581.

Obseruations of the latitudes and meridian altitudes of diuers places in Russia, from the North to the South: Anno 1581.

Michael Archangel.	Meridian altitude obserued at Michael the Archangel, 42. degrees, 30. minuts. The true latitude, 64. degrees, 54. minuts.	
The English house in Colmogro.	The English house in Colmogro, in latitude, 64. d. 25. m. The meridian altitude there obserued, the 29. of Iuly, 42. d. 15. m.	
Recola.	Meridian altitude the 30 of Iuly, 41. d. 40. m. Declination, 16. d. 6. m.	64. d. 20. m.
Yeegris.	Meridian, 4 of August, 41. d. 50. m. Declination Northerly, 14. d. 49. m.	62. d. 59. m.
Towlma.	Meridian altitude, the 15 of August, 40. d. 45. m. Declination Northerly, 11. d. 2. m.	60. d. 17. m.
Vologda.	Meridian altitude, the 20 of August, 40. d. Declination Northerly, 9. d. 17. m.	59. d. 17. m.
Vologda.	Meridian altitude, 21 of August, 39. d. 36. m. Declination, 8. d. 56. m.	59. d. 20. m.
Yeraslaue.	Latitude by gesse, 57. d. 50. m.	
Swyoskagorod.	Meridian altitude, 21. September, 31. d. Declination, 2. d. 56. m.	56. d. 4. m.
Ouslona Monastery.	Meridian altitude, 23. September, 30. d. 26. m. Declination, 2. d. 56. m.	55. d. 51. m.

Tetuskagorod.	Meridian altitude, 28. September, 28. d. 28. m. Declination, 5. d. 35. m.	55. d. 22. m.
Oueek.	Meridian altitude, 5. October, 30. d. 12. m. Declination, 8. d. 18. m.	51. d. 30. m.
Astracan.	Astracan meridian altitude, 22. October, 29. d. 36. m. Declination, 14. d. 16. m.	46. d. 10. m.
Astracan.	Meridian altitude, 1 of Nouember, 26. d. 35. m. Declination, 17. d. 16. m.	46. d. 9. m.

Certaine directions giuen by M. Richard Hackluit of the Middle Temple, to M. Morgan Hubblethorne,* Dier, sent into Persia, 1579.

1 FOr that England hath the best cloth and wool in the world, and for that the clothes of the realme haue no good vent, if good dying be not added: therfore it is much to be wished that the dying of forren countreyes were seene, to the end that the arte of dying may be brought into the Realme in greatest excellency: for thereof will follow honour to the Realme, and great and ample vent of our clothes: and of the vent of clothes, will follow the setting of our poore on worke, in all degrees of labour in clothing and dying: for which cause most principally you are sent ouer at the charge of the city: and therfore for the satisfying the lords, and of the expectation of the merchants and of your company, it behooues you to haue care to returne home with more knowledge then you caried out.

2 The great dearth of clothes is a great let in the ample vent of clothes, and the price of a cloth, for a fifth, sixth and seuenth part riseth by the colour and dying: and therefore to deuise to die as good colours with the one halfe of the present price were to the great commodity of the Realme, by sauing of great treasure in time to come. And therefore you must haue great care to haue knowledge of the materials of all the countreys that you

---

* Page 126.

shall passe thorow, that they may be vsed in dying, be they hearbs, weeds, barks, gummes, earths, or what els soeuer.

3 In Persia you shall finde carpets of course thrummed wooll, the best of the world, and excellently coloured: those cities and townes you must repaire to, and you must vse meanes to learne all the order of the dying of those thrummes, which are so died as neither raine, wine, nor yet vineger can staine: and if you may attaine to that cunning, you shall not need to feare dying of cloth: For if the colour holde in yarne and thrumme, it will holde much better in cloth.

4 For that in Persia they haue great colouring of silks, it behooves you to learne that also, for that cloth dying and silke dying haue a certaine affinity, and your merchants mind to bring much raw silke into the Realme, and therefore it is more requisit you learne the same.

5 In Persia there are that staine linnen cloth: it is not amisse you learne it if you can: it hath bene an olde trade in England, whereof some excellenl clothes yet remaine: but the arte is now lost, and not to be found in the Realme.

6 They haue a cunning in Persia to make in buskins of Spanish leather flowers of many kindes, in most liuely colours, and these the Courtiers do weare there: to learne which arte were no harme.

7 If any Dier of China, or of the East parts of the world, be to be found in Persia, acquaint yourselfe with him, and learne what you may of him.

8 You shall finde Anile there, if you can procure the herbe that it is made of, either by seed or by plant, to cary into England, you may doe well to endeuour to enrich your countrey with the same: but withall learne you the making of the Anile, and if you can get the herbe, you may send the same dry into England, for possibly it groweth here already.

9 Returne home with you all the materials and substances that they die withall in Russia, and also in Persia, that your company may see all.

10 In some litle pot in your lodging, I wish you to make daily trials in your arte, as you shall from time to time learne ought among them.

11 Set downe in writing whatsoeuer you shall learne from day to day, lest you should forget, or lest God should call you to his mercy: and by ech returne I wish you to send in writing whatsoeuer you haue learned, or at the least keepe the same safe in your

coffer, that come death or life your countrey may ioyne the thing that you goe for, and not lose the charge, and trauell bestowed in this case.

12 Learne you there to fixe and make sure the colour to be giuen by logge wood: so shall we not need to buy woad so deare, to the enriching of our enemies.

13 Enquire of the price of leckar, and all other things belonging to dying.

14 In any wise set downe in writing a true note from whence euery of them doe come, and where, and in what countrey ech of them doth grow, I meane where the naturall place of ech of them is, as how neere to such a city, or to such a sea, or to such a portable riuer in Russia, Persia, or elsewhere.

15 If before you returne you could procure a singular good workeman in the arte of Turkish carpet making, you should bring the arte into this Realme, and also thereby increase worke to your company.

Commission giuen by sir Rowland Hayward knight, and George Barne, Aldermen and gouernours of the company of English Merchants, for discouery of new trades, vnto Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackman, for a voyage by them to be made, for discouery of Cathay, 1580. in forme following.

IN the name of God Almightie, and euerlasting, Amen. This writing for commission Tripartite, made the twentieth day of May Anno Dom. 1580. and in the 22. yeere of the reigne of our Souereigne Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. Betweene sir Rowland Hayward knight, and George Barne, Aldermen of the Citie of London, and Gouernours of the company of English Merchants, for discouery of new trades, for the behoofe, and in the name of the said company, on the first partie, and Arthur Pet of Ratcliffe, in the Countie Middlesex, Captaine, Master, and chiefe ruler of the good barke, called the George of London, of the burthen of 40. tunnes, or thereabouts, on the second partie, and Charles Iackman of the Popler, in the said Countie of Middlesex, Captaine, Master and ruler of the good barke, called the William of London, of the burthen of 20. tunnes, or thereabouts, (which barkes are now riding at anker in the riuer of Thames against Limehouse) on the third partie: witnesseth, that the said Gouernours, and company haue hired the saide Arthur Pet, to serue in the said barke, called the George, with nine men and a boy: And likewise the said Charles Iackman, to serue in the said barke, called the William, with fiue men and a boy, for a voyage by them to be made by Gods grace, for search and discoueries of a passage by sea from hence by Boroughs streights, and the Island Vaigats, Eastwards to the countreis or dominions of the mightie Prince, the Emperour of Cathay, and in the same vnto the Cities of Cambalu and Quinsay, or to either of them.

Burroughs streits.

The which passage (vpon authoritie of writers, and great reason) is conceiued to bee from the Vaigats Eastwards, according to the description in plat of spirall lines, made by master William Burrough, whereof either of the saide Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackman, haue one deliuered vnto them, and also one other sailing carde, and a blanke plat for either of them. But if it should not be in all points, according to that description, yet we hope that the continent or firme land of Asia doth not stretch it selfe so farre Northwards, but that there may be found a sea passeable by it, betweene the latitude of 70. and 80. degrees. And therefore we haue appointed you with these two barkes to make triall of the same: wishing you both to ioyne in friendship together, as most deere friends and brothers, to all purposes and effects, to the furtherance and orderly performing of the same voyage. And likewise order your companies, that they of the one barke may haue such loue and care, to helpe and succour them of the other, as most deere friends and brothers would doe: so as it may appeare, that though they be two barkes, and two companies, (which is so appointed for your greater comfort and assurance) yet that you are wholy of one minde, and bend your selues to the vttermost of your powers, to performe the thing that you are both employed for.

Doe you obserue good order in your dayly seruice, and pray vnto God, so shall you prosper the better.

We would haue you to meete often together, to talke, conferre, consult, and agree how, and by what meanes you may best performe this purposed voyage, according to our intents. And at such meeting we thinke it requisite, that you call vnto you your mates, and also Nicholas Chanceler, (whom wee doe appoint as merchant, to keepe accompt of the merchandise you shall buy or sell, barter or change) to the ende that whatsoeuer God should dispose of either of you, yet they may haue some instructions and knowledge howe to deale in your place, or places. And of all your assemblies and consultations together, and the substance of matter you shal at euery time agree vpon, we would haue you to note them in the paper bookes that wee giue you for that purpose, vnto each barke one. We do appoint Arthur Pet in the George, as Admiral, to weare the flagge in the maine top, and Charles Iackman in the William, as Viceadmirall. For good orders to be taken for your good and orderly keeping of company together, which we wish may be such, as you should neuer lose sight the one of the other, except by both your consents, to discouer about an Island, or in some riuer, when and where you may certainly appoint to meete together againe, we referre the same to your discretions.

And now for your good direction in this voyage, we would haue you with the next good winde and weather, that God shall send thereunto meete and conuenient, after the 22. day of this present moneth of May, saile from this riuer of Thames, to the coast of Finmarke, to the North Cape there, or to the Wardhouse, and from thence direct your course to haue sight of Willoughbies land, and from it passe alongst to the Noua Zembla, keeping the same landes alwayes in your sight on your larboordsides (if conueniently you may) to the ende you may discouer, whether the same Willoughbies land be continent and firme land with Noua Zembla, or not: notwithstanding we would not haue you to entangle your selues in any Bay, or otherwise, so that it might hinder your speedy proceeding to the Island Vaigats.

The land of Samoeda.

And when you come to Vaigats, we would haue you to get sight of the maine land of Samoeda, which is ouer against the South part of the same Island, and from thence with Gods permission, to passe Eastwards alongst the same coast, keeping it alwayes in your sight (if conueniently you may) vntill you come to the mouth of the riuer Ob, and when you come vnto it, passe ouer the said riuers mouth vnto the border land, on the Eastside of the same (without any stay to bee made for searching inwardly in the same riuer) and being in sight of the same Easterly land, doe you in Gods name proceed alongst by it, from thence Eastwards, keeping the same alwayes on your starboord side in sight, if you may, and follow the tract of it, whether it incline Southerly or Northerly (as at times it may do both) vntill you come to the Countrey of Cathay, or the dominion of that mightie Emperour.

And if God prosper your voyage with such good successe, that you may attaine to the same, doe you seeke by all meanes you can to arriue to the Cities Cambalu, and Quinsay, or to the one of them. But if it happen that you cannot conueniently come to either of those places, or shalbe driuen to remaine and winter in some other port or place of his dominion, do you seeke by all meanes possible to winne fauour and liking of the people, by gifts and friendly demeanes towards them, and not to offer violence, or do wrong to any people or nation whatsoeuer, but therein to be innocent as doues, yet wilie as serpents, to auoid mischiefe, and defend you from hurt. And when you shall haue gotten friendship through your discreete ordering of your selues, towards the people, doe you learne of them what you can of their Prince, and shewe them one of the Queenes Maiesties letters, which she sendeth with you (by either of you one, made of one substance and effect, for ech of you particularly) written in Latine, whereunto her Maiestie hath subscribed, and caused her signet seale to be set, the effect of the same letters you haue also written in English, for your own vnderstanding thereof.

The Queenes letters.

The same her Maiesties letters you shall procure to deliuer vnto the same mightie Prince, or Gouernour, with some present to be giuen, such as you shall thinke meete and conuenient, vsing your selues in all points according to the effect of the same letters, and procure againe from the same Prince, his letters accordingly.

And if God so prosper your voyage, that you may this Summer passe the Streights, and compasse about the Northermost land of Asia, vnto the country of Cathay, or dominion of that mightie Prince, and wintering in it, may obtaine from him his letters of priuiledge against the next yeeres spring, you may then after your first setting foorth, search and discouer somewhat further then you had discouered before your wintering, so farre as you shall thinke conuenient, with regard had, and alwayes prouided, that you may returne home hither, to giue vs aduise of your proceedings the same Summer, or before the sharpenes or extremitie of winter ouertake you.

And if it happen you cannot this summer attaine to the border of Cathay, and yet find the land beyond the Ob, to stretch it selfe Easterly, with the sea adioyning vnto it nauigable, doe you then proceed on your discouery (as before said) alongst the same continent, so farre as you can this summer, hauing care in the trauel to finde out some conuenient harborow and place, where you may winter: and when you thinke it conuenient, put your selfe to wintering, where if you happen to finde people, you shall deale with them, as we haue before aduised you to do with the people of Cathay, &c. And if you can learne that they haue a prince or chiefe gouernour, do you procure to deliuer vnto the same Prince or gouernour one of the Queenes Maiesties letters, as before said, and seeke to obtaine againe his letters accordingly. If you so happen to winter and obtaine letters of priuiledge, finding the countrey and people, with the commodities to bee such, that by vsing trade thither with the people, and for the commodities, it may be beneficial vnto vs (as we hope you may) the same wil be some good liking vnto vs: notwithstanding we would haue you the next summer (by the grace of God) at your first setting out of your wintering harborough, proceed alongest that tract of land to Cathay, if you see likelihood to passe it (for that is the Countrey that we chiefly desire to discouer) and seeing you are fully victualed for two yeres and vpwards, which you may very wel make to serue you for two yeres and a halfe, though you finde no other help, you may therefore be the bolder to aduenture in proceeding vpon your discouery: which if you do, we doubt not, but you shall atchieue the Countrey of Cathay, and deliuer to the prince there, one of her Maiesties letters, bringing from thence the same princes letters answerable: and so in the yeere of our Lord 1582. returne home with good newes, and glad tidings, not onely vnto vs the aduenturers in this voyage, but also to our whole Countrey and nation, which God graunt you do, Amen.

But if it happen that the land of Asia, from beyond the riuer Ob, extend it selfe Northwards to 80. degrees, or neerer the poole, whereby you find it to leade you into that extremitie, that small or no hope may be looked for, to saile that way to Cathay, doe you notwithstanding followe the tract of the same land, as farre as you can discouer this Summer, hauing care to finde out by the way a conuenient place for you to Winter in, the which (if you may discouer the same lande of Asia this Summer to extend it selfe to 80. degrees of latitude, and vpwards or to 85. degrees) we wish then that the same your wintering place may be in the riuer of Ob, or as neere the same riuer as you can, and finding in such wintering place, people, be they Samoeds, Yowgorians, or Molgomzes, &c. doe you gently entreat with them as aforesaide, and if you can learne that they haue a prince or chiefe gouernour amongst them, doe you deliuer him one of her Maiesties letters, and procure thereof an answere accordingly: do you procure to barter and exchange with the people, of the merchandise and commodities that you shall cary with you, for such commodities as you shall finde them to haue, &c.

The Queenes letters.

If you so happen to winter, we would haue you the next Summer to discouer into the riuer Ob, so farre as conueniently you may: And if you shall finde the same riuer (which is reported to be wide or broad) to be also nauigable and pleasant for you, to trauell farre into, happely you may come to the citie Siberia, or to some other towne or place habited vpon or neere the border of it, and thereby haue liking to winter out the second winter: vse you therein your discretions.

The Citie of Siberia.

But if you finde the said riuer Ob to be sholde, or not such as you may conueniently trauell in with your barkes, do you then the next summer returne backe through Buroughs streights: And from that part of Noua Zembla, adioyning to the same streights, doe you come alongst the tract of that coast Westwards, keeping it on the starbord side, and the same alwayes in sight, if conueniently you may, vntil you come to Willoughbies land, if outwards bound you shall not happen to discouer and trie whether the said Willoughbies land ioyne continent with the same Noua Zembla, or not. But if you shall then proue them to be one firme and continent, you may from Noua Zembla direct your course vnto the said Willoughbies land, as you shall thinke good, and as you may most conueniently: and from Willoughbies land you shall proceed Westwards alongst the tract of it, (though it incline Northerly) euen so farre as you may or can trauell, hauing regard that in conuenient time you may returne home hither to London for wintering.

Willoughbies land.

And for your orderly passing in this voyage, and making obseruations in the same, we referre you to the instructions giuen by M. William Burrough, whereof one copie is annexed vnto the first part of this Indenture, vnder our seale, for you Arthur Pet, another copie of it is annexed to the second part of this Indenture, vnder our seale also, for you Charles Iackman, and a third copy thereof is annexed vnto the third part of this Indenture, remaining with vs the saide companie, sealed and subscribed by you the said Arthur Pet and Charles Iackman.

And to the obseruing of all things contained in this Commission (so neere as God will permit me grace thereunto) I the said Arthur Pet doe couenant by these presents to performe them, and euery part and parcell thereof. And I the said Charles Iackman doe for my part likewise couenant by these presents to performe the same, and euery part thereof, so neere as God will giue me grace thereunto.

And in witnes thereof these Indentures were sealed and deliuered accordingly, the day and yeere first aboue written. Thus the Lorde God Almightie sende you a prosperous voyage, with happie successe and safe returne, Amen.

Instructions and notes very necessary and needfull to be obserued in the purposed voyage for discouery of Cathay Eastwards, by Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackman: giuen by M. William Burrough. 1580.

WHen you come to Orfordnesse, if the winde doe serue you to goe a seabord the sands, doe you set off from thence, and note the time diligently of your being against the said Nesse, turning then your glasse, whereby you intende to keepe your continuall watch, and apoint such course as you shal thinke good, according as the wind serueth you: and from that time forwards continually (if your ship be lose, vnder saile, a hull or trie) do you at the end of euery 4 glasses at the least (except calme) sound with your dipsin lead, and note diligently what depth you finde, and also the ground. But if it happen by swiftnes of the shippes way, or otherwise, that you cannot get ground, yet note what depth you did proue, and could finde no ground (this note is to be obserued all your voyage, as well outwards as homewards.) But when you come vpon any coast, or doe finde any sholde banke in the sea, you are then to vse your leade oftener, as you shal thinke it requisite, noting diligently the order of your depth, and the deeping and sholding. And so likewise doe you note the depth into harboroughs, riuers, &c.

How to note downe in his Iornall of the voyage, his dead reckoning, and other obseruations.

And in keeping your dead reckoning, it is very necessary that you doe note at the ende of euery foure glasses, what way the shippe hath made (by your best proofes to be vsed) and howe her way hath bene through the water, considering withall for the sagge* of the sea, to leewards, accordingly as you shall finde it growen: and also to note the depth, and what things worth the noting happened in that time, with also the winde vpon what point you finde it then, and of what force or strength it is, and what sailes you beare.

---

* *i.e.*, Current.

But if you should omit to note those things at the end of euery foure glasses, I would not haue you to let it slip any longer time, then to note it diligently at the end of euery watch, or eight glasses at the farthest.

Doe you diligently obserue the latitude as often, and in as many places as you may possible, and also the variation of the Compasse (especially when you may bee at shoare vpon any land) noting the same obseruations truely, and the place and places where, and the time and times when you do the same.

When you come to haue sight of any coast or land whatsoeuer, doe you presently set the same with your sailing Compasse, howe it beares off you, noting your iudgement how farre you thinke it from you, drawing also the forme of it in your booke, howe it appeares vnto you, noting diligently how the highest or notablest part thereof beareth off you, and the extreames also in sight of the same land at both ends, distinguishing them by letters, A. B. C. &c. Afterwards when you haue sailed 1. 2. 3. or 4. glasses (at the most) noting diligently what way your barke hath made, and vpon what point of the Compasse, do you againe set that first land seene, or the parts thereof, that you first obserued, if you can well perceiue or discerne them, and likewise such other notable points or signes, vpon the land that you may then see, and could not perceiue at the first time, distinguishing it also by letters from the other, and drawing in your booke the shape of the same land, as it appeareth vnto you, and so the third time, &c.

For noting the shape and view of the land at first discouery, &c.

And also in passing alongst by any and euery coast, doe you drawe the maner of biting in of euery Bay, and entrance of euery harborow or riuers mouth, with the lying out of euery point, or headland, (vnto the which you may giue apt names at your pleasure) and make some marke in drawing the forme and border of the same, where the high cliffs are, and where lowe land is, whether sande, hils, or woods, or whatsoeuer, not omitting to note any thing that may be sensible and apparant to you, which may serue to any good purpose. If you carefully with great heede and diligence, note the obseruations in your booke, as aforesaid, and afterwards make demonstration thereof in your plat, you shall thereby perceiue howe farre the land you first sawe, or the parts thereof obserued, was then from you, and consequently of all the rest: and also how farre the one part was from the other, and vpon what course or point of the Compasse the one lieth from the other.

For obseruing of tides and curants.

And when you come vpon any coast where you find floods and ebs, doe you diligently note the time of the highest and lowest water in euery place, and the slake or still water of full sea, and lowe water, and also which way the flood doeth runne, how the tides doe set, how much water it hieth, and what force the tide hath to driue a ship in one houre, or in the whole tide, as neere as you can iudge it, and what difference in time you finde betwene the running of the flood, and the ebbe. And if you finde vpon any coast the currant to runne alwayes one way, doe you also note the same duely, how it setteth in euery place, and obserue what force it hath to driue a ship in one houre, &c.

To take the platformes of places within compasse of view vpon land.

Item, as often, and when as you may conueniently come vpon any land, to make obseruation for the latitude and variation, &c. doe you also (if you may) with your instrument, for trying of distances, obserue the platforme* of the place, and of as many things (worth the noting) as you may then conueniently see from time to time. These orders if you diligently obserue, you may thereby perfectly set downe in the plats, that I haue giuen you your whole trauell, and description of your discouery, which is a thing that will be chiefly expected at your hands. But withall you may not forget to note as much as you can learne, vnderstand or perceiue of the maner of the soile, or fruitfulnesse of euery place and countrey you shall come in, and of the maner, shape, attire and disposition of the people, and of the commodities they haue, and what they most couet and desire of the commodities you see, and to offer them all courtesie and friendship you may or can, to winne their loue and fauour towardes you, not doing or offering them any wrong or hurt. And though you should be offered wrong at their handes, yet not to reuenge the same lightly, but by all meanes possible seeke to winne them, yet alwayes dealing wisely and with such circumspection that you keepe your selues out of their dangers.

Thus I beseeeh God almightie to blesse you, and prosper your voyage with good and happie successe, and send you safely to returne home againe, to the great ioy and reioycing of the aduenturers with you, and all your friends, and our whole countrey, Amen.

---

* *i.e.*, survey the place.

Certaine briefe aduises giuen by Master Dee, to Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackman, to bee obserued in their Northeasterne discouerie, Anno 1580.

IF we reckon from Wardhouse to Colgoieue Island 400. miles for almost 20. degrees difference onely of longitude very neere East and West, and about the latitude of 70. degrees and two thirde parts: From Colgoieue to Vaigats 200. miles for 10. degrees difference onely in longitude, at 70. degrees of latitude also: From Vaigats to the promontorie Tabin 60. degrees difference of longitude (the whole course, or shortest distance being East and West) in the latitude likewise of 70. degrees, maketh 1200. miles: then is summa totalis from Wardhouse to Tabin 600. leagues, or 1800. English miles. Therefore allowing in a discouery voiage for one day with another but 50. English miles, it is euident that from Wardhouse to Tabin, the course may bee sailed easily in sixe and thirtie dayes: but by Gods helpe it may be finished in much shorter time, both by helpe of winde prosperous, and light continuall for the time requisit thereunto.

M. Dee gaue them a Chart of his owne making, which here refers them vnto.

When you are past Tabin, or come to the longitude of 142. degrees, as your chart sheweth, or two, three, foure, or fiue degrees further Easterly, it is probable you shall finde the land on your right hand runne much Southerly and Eastward,* in which course you are like either to fall into the mouth of the famous riuer Oechardes,† or some other, which yet I coniecture to passe by the renowmed Citie of Cambalu, and the mouth to be in latitude about 50. or 52. degrees, and within 300. or 400. miles of Cambalu it selfe, being in the latitude of 45. degrees Southerly of the saide riuers mouth, or els that you shal trend about the very Northerne and most Easterly point of all Asia, passing by the prouince Ania, and then to the latitude of 46. degrees, keeping still the land in view on your right hand (as neere as you may with safetie) you may enter into Quinsay* hauen, being the chiefe citie in the Northern China, as I terme it for distinctions sake, from the other better knowen.

---

* Had he said forty degrees, he would have made a remarkable guess.

† The Oechardes is probably the Hoang Ho, and Cambalu may then be Pekin.

And in or about either or both of these two warme places, you may to great good purpose bee occupied the whole winter, after your arriuall in those quarters, as sometime by sea, sometime in notable fresh riuers, sometime in discreet view and noting downe the situation of the Cities within land, &c. and euer assaying to come by some charts or maps of the countrey, made and printed in Cathay or China, and by some of their bookes likewise for language, &c. You may also haue opportunitie to saile ouer to to Iapan Island, where you shall finde Christian men, Iesuits of many countreys of Christendome some, and perhaps some Englishmen, at whose handes you may haue great instruction and aduise for your affaires in hand.

Notes in writing, besides more priuie by mouth, that were giuen by M. Richard Hakluyt of Eiton in the Countie of Hereford, Esquire, Anno 1580: to M. Arthur Pet, and to M. Charles Iackman, sent by the Merchants of the Moscouie companie for the discouery of the Northeast straight, not altogether vnfit for some other enterprise of discouery, hereafter to be taken in hand.

What respect of Islands is to be had, and why.

WHereas the Portingals haue in their course to their Indies in the Southeast certaine ports and fortifications to thrust into by the way, to diuers great purposes: so you are to see what Islands, and what ports you had neede to haue by the way in your course to the Northeast. For which cause I wish you to enter into consideration of the matter, and to note all the Islands, and to set them downe in plat, to two ends: that is to say, That we may deuise to take the benefit by them, And also foresee how by them the Sauages or ciuill Princes may in any sort annoy vs in our purposed trade that way.

And for that the people to the which we purpose in this voyage to go, be no Christians, it were good that the masse of our commodities were alwayes in our owne disposition, and not at the will of others. Therefore it were good that we did seeke out some small Island in the Scithian sea, where we might plant, fortefie, and staple safely, from whence (as time should serue) wee might feed those heathen nations with our commodities without cloying them, or without venturing our whole masse in the bowels of their countrey.

---

* Query, Canton?

And to which Island (if neede were, and if wee should thinke so good) wee might allure the Northeast nauie, the nauie of Cambalu to resort with their commodities to vs there planted, and stapling there.

And if such an Island might be found so standing as might shorten our course, and so standing, as that the nauie of Cambalu, or other those parties might conueniently saile vnto without their dislike in respect of distance, then would it fal out well. For so, besides lesse danger and more safetie, our ships might there vnlade and lade againe, and returne the selfe same summer to the ports of England or of Norway.

And if such an Island may be for the stapling of our commodities, to the which they of Cambalu would not saile, yet we might hauing ships there, imploy them in passing betweene Cambalu and that stapling place.

Respect of hauens and harborowes.

ANd if no such Islands may bee found in the Scithian sea toward the firme of Asia, then are you to search out the ports that be about Noua Zembla, all along the tract of that land, to the end you may winter there the first yeere, if you be let by contrary winds, and to the end that if we may in short time come vnto Cambalu, and vnlade and set saile againe for returne without venturing there at Cambalu, that you may on your way come as farre in returne as a port about Noua Zembla: that the summer following, you may the sooner be in England for the more speedy vent of your East commodities, and for the speedier discharge of your Mariners: if you cannot goe forward and backe in one selfe same Summer.

And touching the tract of the land of Noua Zembla, toward the East out of the circle Arcticke in the more temperate Zone, you are to haue regard: for if you finde the soyle planted with people, it is like that in time an ample vent of our warme woollen clothes may be found. And if there be no people at all there to be found, then you shall specially note

A good consideration.

what plentie of whales, and of other fish is to be found there, to the ende we may turne our newe found land fishing or Island fishing, or our whalefishing that way, for the ayde and comfort of our newe trades to the Northeast to the coasts of Asia.

Respect of fish and certaine other things.

ANd if the aire may be found vpon that tract temperate, and the soile yeelding wood, water, land and grasse, and the seas fish then we may plant on that maine the offals of our people, as the Portingals do in Brasill, and so they may in our fishing in our passage, and diuers wayes yeelde commoditie to England by harbouring and victualling vs.

And it may be, that the inland there may yeeld masts, pitch, tarre, hempe, and all things for the Nauie, as plentifully as Eastland doth.

The Islands to be noted with their commodities and wants.

TO note the Islands, whether they be hie land or low land, mountaine, or flat, grauelly, clay, chalkie, or of what soile, woody or not woody, with springs and riuers or not, and what wilde beastes they haue in the same.

And whether there seeme to be in the same apt matter to build withall, as stone free or rough, and stone to make lime withall, and wood or coale to burne the same withall.

To note the goodnesse or badnesse of the hauens and harborowes in the Islands.

If a straight be found, what is to be done, and what great importance it may be of.

ANd if there be a straight in the passage into the Scithian seas, the same is specially and with great regard to be noted, especially if the same straight be narrow and to be kept. I say it is to be noted as a thing that doeth much import: for what prince soeuer shall be Lorde of the same, and shall possesse the same, as the king of Denmarke doeth possesse the straight of Denmarke, he onely shall haue the trade out of these regions into the Northeast parts of the world for himselfe, and for his priuate profit, or for his subiects onely, or to enioy wonderfull benefit of the toll of the same, like as the king of Denmarke doth enioy of his straights by suffring the merchants of other Princes to passe that way. If any such straight be found, the eleuation, the high or lowe land, the hauens neere, the length of the straights, and all other such circumstances are to be set downe for many purposes: and al the Mariners in the voyage are to be sworne to keepe close all such things, that other Princes preuent vs not of the same, after our returne vpon the disclosing of the Mariners, if any such thing should hap.

Which way the Sauage may bee made able to purchase our cloth and other their wants.

IF you find any Island or maine land populous, and that the same people hath need of cloth, then are you to deuise what commodities they haue to purchase the same withall.

If they be poore, then are you to consider of the soile, and how by any possibilitie the same may be made to inrich them, that hereafter they may haue something to purchase the cloth withall.

If you enter into any maine by portable riuer, and shall find any great woods, you are to note what kind of timber they be of, that we may know whether they are for pitch, tarre, mastes, dealeboord, clapboord, or for building of ships or houses, for so, if the people haue no vse of them, they may be brought perhaps to vse.

Not to venture the losse of any one man.

YOu must haue great care to preserue your people, since your number is so small, and not to venture any one man in any wise.

To bring home besides merchandize certaine trifles.

BRing home with you (if you may) from Cambalu or other ciuil place, one or other yong man, although you leaue one for him.

Also the fruites of the Countreys if they will not of themselues dure, drie them and so preserue them.

And bring with you the kernels of peares and apples, and the stones of such stonefruits as you shall find there.

Also the seeds of all strange herbs and flowers, for such seeds of fruits and herbs comming from another part of the world, and so far off, will delight the fansie of many for the strangenesse, and for that the same may grow, and continue the delight long time.

If you arriue at Cambalu or Quinsay, to bring thence the mappe of that countrey, for so shall you haue the perfect description, which is to great purpose.

To bring thence some old printed booke, to see whether they haue had print there before it was deuised in Europe as some write.

To note their force by sea and by land.

IF you arriue in Cambalu or Quinsay, to take a speciall view of their Nauie, and to note the force, greatnesse, maner of building of them, the sailes, the tackles, the ankers, the furniture of them, with ordinance, armour, and munition.

Also, to note the force of the wals and bulwarks of their cities, their ordonance, and whether they haue any caliuers, and what powder and shot.

To note what armour they haue.

What swords.

What pikes, halberds and bils.

What horses of force, and what light horses they haue.

And so throughout to note the force of the Countrey both by sea and by land.

Things to be marked to make coniectures by.

TO take speciall note of their buildings, and of the ornaments of their houses within.

Take a speciall note of their apparell and furniture, and of the substance that the same is made of, of which a Merchant may make a gesse as well of their commoditie, as also of their wants.

To note their Shoppes and Warehouses, and with what commodities they abound, the price also.

To see their Shambles, and to view all such things as are brought into the Markets, for so you shall soone see the commodities, and the maner of the people of the inland, and so giue a gesse of many things.

To note their fields of graine, and their trees of fruite, and how they abound or not abound in one and other, and what plenty or scarsitie of fish they haue.

Things to be caried with you, whereof more or lesse is to bee caried for a shew of our commodities to be made.

KArsies of all orient colours, specially of stamell, broadcloth of orient colours also.

Frizadoes, Motlies, Bristow friezes, Spanish blankets, Baies of al colours, specially with Stamel, Worsteds, Carels, Saies, Woadmols, Flanels, Rash, &c.

Felts of diuers colours.

Taffeta hats.

Deepe caps for Mariners coloured in Stamel, whereof if ample bent may be found, it would turne to an infinite commoditie of the common poore people by knitting.

Quilted caps of Leuant taffeta of diuers colours, for the night.

Knit stocks of silke of orient colours.

Knit stocks of Iersie yarne of orient colours, whereof if ample vent might folow the poore multitude should be set in worke.

Stocks of karsie of diuers colours for men and for women.

Garters of silke of seuerall kinds, and of colours diuers.

Girdles of Buffe and all other leather, with gilt and vngilt buckles, specially waste girdles, waste girdles of veluet.

Gloues of all sorts knit, and of leather.

Gloues perfumed.

Points of all sorts of silke, threed, and leather, of all maner of colours.

Shooes of Spanish leather of diuers colours, of diuers length, cut and vncut.

Shooes of other leather.

Veluet shooes and pantophles.

These shooes and pantophles to be sent this time, rather for a shew then for any other cause.

Purses knit, and of leather.

Nightcaps knit, and other.

A garnish of pewter for a shew of a vent of that English commoditie, bottles, flagons, spoones, &c. of that mettall.

Glasses of English making.

Venice glasses.

Looking glasses for women, great and faire.

Small dials, a few for proofe, although there they will not hold the order they do here.

Spectacles of the common sort.

Others of Christall trimmed with siluer, and otherwise.

Hower glasses.

Combes of Iuorie

Combes of boxe.

Combes of horne.

Linnen of diuers sorts.

Handkerchiefs with silke of seuerall colours wrought.

Glazen eyes to ride with against dust.

Kniues in sheaths both single and double, of good edge.

Needles great and small of euery kind.

Buttons greater and smaller, with moulds of leather and not of wood, and such as be durable of double silke, and that of sundry colours.

Boxes with weights for gold, and of euery kind of the coine of gold, good and bad, to shew that the people here vse weight and measure, which is a certaine shew of wisedom, and of certaine gouernment setled here.

All the seuerall siluer coynes of our English monies, to be caried with you to be shewed to the gouernours at Cambalu, which is a thing that shall in silence speake to wise men more then you imagine.

Locks and keyes, hinges, bolts, haspes, &c. great and small of excellent workemanship, whereof if vent may be, hereafter we shall set our subiects in worke, which you must haue in great regard. For in finding ample vent of any thing that is to be wrought in this realme, is more woorth to our people besides the gaine of the merchant, then Christchurch, Bridewell, the Sauoy, and all the Hospitals of England.

For banketting on shipboord persons of credite.

FIrst, the sweetest perfumes to set vnder hatches to make ye place sweet against their comming aboord, if you arriue at Cambalu, Quinsey, or in any such great citie, and not among Sauages.

Marmelade.

Figs barrelled.

Sucket.

Raisins of the sunne.

Comfets of diuers kinds made of pnrpose by him that is most excellent, that shal not dissolue.

Prunes damaske.
Dried Peares.
Walnuts.
Almonds.
Smalnuts.

Oliues to make them taste their wine.

The apple Iohn that dureth two yeres to make shew of our fruits.

Hullocke.
Sacke.

Vials of good sweet waters, and casting bottels of glasses to besprinkle the ghests withall, after their comming aboord.

Suger to vse with their wine if they will.

The sweet oyle of Zante, and excellent French vineger, and a fine kind of Bisket stieped in the same do make a banketting dish, and a little Sugar cast in it cooleth and comforteth, and refresheth the spirits of man.

Cynamon water } is to be had with you to make a shew of by taste,
Imperiall water } and also to comfort your sicke in the voyage.

With these and such like, you may banket where you arriue the greater and best persons.

Or with the gift of these Marmelades in small boxes, or small vials of sweet waters you may gratifie by way of gift, or you may make a merchandize of them.

The Mappe of England and of London.

Take with you the mappe of England set out in faire colours, one of the biggest sort I meane, to make shew of your countrey from whence you come.

And also the large Mappe of London to make shew of your Citie. And let the riuer be drawen full of Ships of all sorts, to make the more shew of your great trade and traffike in trade of merchandize.

Ortelius booke of Mappes.

If you take Ortelius booke of Mappes with you to marke all these Regions, it were not amisse: and if need were to present the same to the great Can, for it would be to a Prince of marueilous account.

The booke of the attire of all Nations.

Such a booke caried with you and bestowed in gift would be much esteemed, as I perswade my selfe.

Bookes.

If any man will lend you the new Herball and such Bookes as make shew of herbes, plants, trees, fishes, foules and beasts of these regions, it may much delight the great Can, and the nobilitie, and also their merchants to have the view of them: for all things in these partes so much differing from the things of those regions, since they may not be here to see them, by meane of the distance, yet to see those things in a shadow, by this meane will delight them.

The booke of Rates.

TAke with you the booke of Rates, to the end you may pricke all those commodities there specified, that you shall chance to find in Cambalu, in Quinsey, or in any part of the East, where you shall chance to be.

Parchment.

Rowles of Parchment, for that we may vent much without hurt to the Realme, and it lieth in small roume.

Glew.

To carie Glew, for that we haue plenty and want vent.

RedOker for Painters.

To seeke vent because we haue great mines of it, and haue no vent.

Sope of both kindes.

To try what vent it may haue, for that we make of both kinds, and may perhaps make more.

Saffron.

To try what vent you may have of Saffron, because this realme yeelds the best of the world, and for the tillage and other labours may set the poore greatly in worke to their reliefe.

Aquauitæ.

By new deuises wonderful quantities may be made here, and therefore to seeke the vent.

Blacke Conies skins.

To try the vent at Cambalu, for that it lieth towards the North, and for that we abound with the commoditie, and may spare it.

Threed of all colours.

The vent may set our people in worke.

Copper Spurres and Hawkes bels.

To see the vent for it may set our people in worke.

A note and Caueat for the Merchant.

That before you offer your commodities to sale, you indeuour to learne what commodities the countrey there hath. For if you bring thither veluet, taffeta, spice, or any such commoditie that you your selfe desire to lade your selfe home with, you must not sell yours deare, least hereafter you purchase theirs not so cheape as you would.

Seeds for sale.

Carie with you for that purpose all sorts of garden seeds, as wel of sweete strawing herbs and of flowers, as also of pot herbes and all sorts for roots, &c.

Lead of the first melting.
Lead of the second melting of the slags.

To make triall of the vent of Lead of all kinds.

English iron, and wier of iron and copper.

To try the sale of the same.

Brimstone.

To try the vent of the same, because we abound with it made in the Realme.

Antimonie a Minerall.

To see whether they haue any ample vse there for it, for that we may lade whole nauies of it, and haue no vse of it vnlesse it be for some small portion in founding of bels, or a litle that the Alcumists vse: of this you may haue two sortes at the Apothecaries.

Tinder boxes with Steele, Flint & Matches and Tinder, the Matches to be made of Iuniper to auoid the offence of Brimstone.

To trie and make the better sale of Brimstone by shewing the vse.

Candles of Waxe to light.

A painted Bellowes.

For that perhaps they haue not the vse of them.

A pot of cast iron.

To try the sale, for that it is a naturall commoditie of this Realme.

All maner of edge tools.

To be sold there or to the lesse ciuil people by the way where you shall touch.

What I would haue you there to remember.

To note specially what excellent dying they vse in these regions, and therefore to note their garments and ornaments of houses: and to see their Die houses and the Materials & Simples that they vse about the same, and to bring musters and shewes of the colours and of the materials, for that it may serue this clothing realme to great purpose.

To take with you for your owne vse.

All maner of engines to take fish and foule.

To take with you those things that be in perfection of goodnesse.

For as the goodnesse now at the first may make your commodities in credite in time to come: so false and Sophisticate commodities shall draw you and all your commodities into contempt and ill opinion.

A letter of Gerardus Mercator, written to M. Richard Hakluyt of Oxford, touching the intended discouery of the North-east passage, An. 1580.

LIteræ tuæ (vir humanissime) 19. Iunij demùm mihi redditæ fuerunt: vehementer dolui visis illis tantam, non modo temporis, sed multò magis tempestiuæ instructionis iacturam factam esse. Optassem Arthurum Pet de quibusdam non leuibus ante suum discessum præmonitum fuisse. Expeditissima sanè per Orientem in Cathaium est nauigatio: et sæpè miratus sum, eam fœliciter inchoatam, desertam fuisse, velis in occidentem translatis, postquam plus quàm dimidium itineris vestri iam notum haberent. Nam post Insulam Vaigats et Noua Zembla continuò ingens sequitur Sinus, quem ab ortu Tabin immane promontorium complectitur. In hunc medium maxima illabuntur flumina, quæ vniuersam Regionem Sericam perluentia vtq; existimo in intima continentis vsq; magnis nauigijs peruia, facillimam rationem exhibent quaslibet merces ex Cataio, Mangi, Mien, cæterísque circumfusis regnis contrahendi, atque in Angliam deportandi. Cæterùm cùm non temerè eam nauigationem intermissam crederem, opinabar ab Imperatore Russorum et Moscouiæ obstaculum aliquod interiectum fuisse. Quod si verò cum illius gratia vlterior illac nauigatio detur, suaderem profecto non primùm Tabin promontorium quærere, atque explorare, sed Sinum hunc atque flumina, in ijsq; portum aliquem commodissimum, stationémq; Anglicis Mercatoribus deligere, ex quo deinceps maiore opportunitate, minoribúsque periculis Tabin promontorium, et totius Cathai circumnauigatio indagari posset. Esse autem ingens in Septentrionem excurrens promontorium Tabin, non ex Plinio tantùm, verùm et alijs scriptoribus, et tabulis aliquot (licèt rudius depictis) certum habeo. Polum etiam Magnetis haud longè vltra Tabin situm esse, certis Magnetis obseruationibus didici: circa quem et Tabin plurimos esse scopulos, difficilémp; et periculosam nauigationibus existimo: difficiliorem tamen ad Cathaium accessum fore opinor, ea pua nunc via in Occidentem tentatur. Propinquior enim fiet hæc nauigatio polo Magnetis quàm altera, ad quem propiùs accedere

Ingens sinus post Insulam Vaigats et Nouam Zemblam.

Tabin promontorium ingens.

non puto tutum esse. Quia verò Magnes alium quam Mundi polum habet, quo ex omni parte, respicit: quò propiùs ad eum acceditur, eò directorium illud Nauticum magnetis virtute imbutum, magis à Septentrione deuiat, nunc in Occidentem, nunc in Orientem, prout quis vel orientalior, vel occidentalior est illo Meridiano qui per vtrumq; polum Magnetis, et Mundi ducitur. Mirabilis est hæc varietas, et quæ nauigantem plurimùm fallere potest, nisi hanc Magnetis inconstantiam nôrit, et ad poli, eleuationem per instrumenta subinde respiciat. In hac re si non sit instructus D. Arthurus, aut ea sit dexteritate, vt deprehenso errore eum inuenire et castigare possit timeo ne deuias faciat ambages, tempus illum fallat, et semiperacto negotio, à gelu præoccupetur: Aiunt enim Sinum illum fortiùs quotannis congelari. Quod si contingat: hoc quod consultius mihi visum fuit, proximum illi erit refugium, vt in eo sinu, ijsq; fluminibus quæ dixi, portum quærat et per Legatum aliquem, cum magno Cham nomine Serenissimæ Reginæ notitiam, amicitiámque contrahat: quam opinor Maximo orbis Imperatori gratam, imo gratissimam fore propter remotissima commercia. Opinor ab ostijs Bautisi et Oechardi fluminum maximorum, vsque ad Cambalu Regiam summam Chami, non vltra 300. milliaria Germanica esse, et iter sumendum per Ezinam vrbem regni Tangut, quæ 100. tantùm milliarijs Germanicis ab ostijs distare videtur, et paret Magno Cham.

Quo propius ad polum acceditur, eò directorium Nauticum magis a Septentrione deuiat.

Bautisus et Oechardus maxima flumina in hunc Sinum illabuntur.

Valde optarem cognoscere, quàm altè communiter exurgat æstus maris in eo Moscouiæ portu quem vestri pro statione habent, et in alijs versùs orientem locis vsque ad Tabin. Item, an mare in hoc districtu semper in vnam partem, videlicet Orientem, aut Occidentem fluat, an verò pro ratione æstuum fluat et refluat, in medio inquam canali, hoc est, an ibi, sex horis in occasum, et iterum sex in ortum fluat, an verò semper in eandem partem: aliæ enim speculationes non parum vtiles hinc dependent. Idem optarem à D. Frobiscero in occidentem obseruari. Quod ad sinum Merosro, et Canadam, ac Nouam Franciam attinet, ea in meis tabulis desumpta sunt ex quadam Tabula marina, quæ à quodam sacerdote ex earum ditionum Naucleri peritissimi Galli descriptione excerpta fuit, et illustrissimo Principi Georgio ab Austria episcopo Leodiensi oblata. Non dubito, quin quantum

Postulata Mercatoris de quibus certior fieri cupit.

ad littorum situm attinet et poli eleuationem, ad veritatem ea quàm proximè accedant. Habebat enim ea tabula præter scalam graduum latitudinis per medium sui extensam, aliam præterea praticularem Nouæ Franciæ littoribus adiunctam, qua deprauatæ latitudines, occasione, erroris Magnetis ibi commissæ, castigarentur. Iacobi Cnoyen Buscoducensis itinerarium per omnem Asiam, Affricam, et Septentrionem, olim mihi Amicus Antuerpiæ ab alio mutuò acceptum communicauit, eo vsus sum, et reddidi: post multos annos eundem ab amico repetij, et reminisci ille non potuit à quo accepisset. Gulielmi Tripolitani et Ioannis de plano Carpini scripta non vidi, tantùm excerpta ex illis quædam in alijs scriptis libris inueni. Abilfadæ Epitome gaudeo verti, vtinam citò habeamus.

Hæc (mi Domine) tuis respondenda putaui: si quid est aliud quod à me desideres, libentissimè tibi communicabo: hoc vicissim amanter à tua humanitate petens, vt quæ ex vtriusq; nauigationis cursu obseruata nancisci poteris, mihi communices, penes me pro tuo arbitrio manebunt omnia, et quæcunque inde collegero, fideliter ad te perscribam, si forte ad pulcherrimum, vtilissimúmq; orbi Christiano hoc nauigationis institutum aliquid opis et consilij adferre possint. Bene vale, vir doctissime. Duisburgi in Cliuia, 28. Iulij 1580.

Dulce mare inter Nouam Zemblam et Tabin suspicatur.

Redeunte Arthuro, quæso discas ab illo quæ optaui, et num alicubi in suo itinere, dulce mare, aut parum salsum inuenerit: suspicor enim mare inter Noua Zembla, et Tabin dulce esse.

T. H. paratissimus quantus quantus sum,

Gerardus Mercator.

The same in English.

SIr I receiued your letters the 19. of Iune: it grieued me much that vpon the sight of them the time being spent, I could not giue any conuenient instructions: I wish Arthur Pet had bene informed before his departure of some speciall points. The voyage to Cathaio by the East, is doutlesse very easie and short, and I haue oftentimes marueiled, that being so happily begun, it hath bene left of, and the course changed into the West, after that more then halfe of your voiage was discouered. For beyond

A great gulfe is beyond Vaigats, whereinto mighty riuers descend.

the Island of Vaigats and Noua Zembla, there foloweth presently a great Baie, which on the left side is inclosed with the mightie promontorie Tabin. Into the mids hereof there fall great riuers, which passing through the whole countrey of Serica, and being as I thinke nauigable with great vessels into yͤ heart of the continent, may be an easie means whereby to traffique for all maner of merchandize, and transport them out of Cathaio, Mangi, Mien, and other kingdoms thereabouts into England. But considering with my selfe that that nauigation was not intermitted, but vpon great occasion, I thought that the Emperor of Russia and Moscouie had hindered the proceeding thereof. If so be that with his grace and fauour a furthur nauigation may be made, I would counsell them certainly not first to seeke out the promontorie Tabin, but to search this baie and riuers aforesayd, and in them to picke and chuse out some conuenient port and harborough for the English merchants, from whence afterward with more opportunitie and lesse perill, the promontorie Tabin and all the coast of Cathaio may bee discouered. And that there is such a huge promontorie called Tabin, I am certainly perswaded not onely out of Plinie, but also other writers, and some Maps (though somewhat rudely drawen:) and that the Pole of the Loadstone is not farre beyond Tabin, I haue learned by the certaine obseruations of the Loadstone: about which pole and Tabin I thinke there are very many rockes, and very hard and dangerous sailing: and yet a more hard and difficile passage I think it to bee this way which is now attempted by the West, for it is neerer to the pole of the Loadstone, to the which I thinke it not safe to approach. And because the Loadstone hath another pole then that of the world, to the which from all parts it hath a respect, the neerer you come vnto it, the more the needle of the Compasse doeth varie from the North, sometimes to the West, and sometimes to the East, according as a man is to the Eastward or to the Westward of that Meridian, that passeth by both the poles of the Magnes and the World.

The best course to be taken in discoueries.

This is a strange alteration and very apt to deceiue the Sailer, vnlesse hee know the vnconstancie and variation of the Compasse, and take the eleuation of the pole sometimes with his instruments. If master Arthur be not well prouided in this behalfe, or of such dexteritie, that perceiuing the errour he be not able to correct the same, I feare lest in wandering vp and downe he lose his time, and be ouertaken with the ice in the midst of the enterprise. For that gulfe, as they say, is frozen euery yere very hard. Which if it be so, the best counsel I could giue for their best safetie, were to seeke some harborough in that baie, and those rivers whereof I haue spoken, and by some Ambassador to make friendship and acquaintance with the great Can, in name of the Queenes maiestie, which I beleeve will be gratefull to the mightiest Emperour in the world, yea most excellent for the length of the traffique, and great distance of the places. I thinke from the mouthes of the mighty riuers Bautisus and Oechardus to Cambalu the chiefest seat of the prince the Can, there are not past 300. Germaine miles, and to passe by Ezina a citie of the kingdom of Tangut, which seemeth to be but 100. Germaine miles from the mouthes of the sayd riuers, and is subiect to the great Can.

The mouthes of Bautisus and Oechardus 300. leagues from Cambalu.

I would gladly know how high the sea doeth flowe commonly in the port of Moscouia where your men do harborow, and in other Easterly places vnto Tabin. And also whether the sea in this streight do flow alwaies one way to the East or to the West, or whether it do ebbe and flow according to the maner of the tides in the middle of the chanel, that is to say, whether it flow there sixe houres into the West, and as many backe againe to the East, for hereupon depend other speculations of importance. I would wish M. Frobisher to obserue the same Westwards. Concerning the gulfe of Merosro and Canada, and new France which are in my mappes, they were taken out of a certaine sea card drawn by a certaine priest out of the description of a Frenchman, a Pilot very skilfull in those partes, and presented to the worthy Prince George of Austria, bishop of Liege: for the trending of the coast, and the eleuation of the pole, I doubt not but they are very neere the trueth: For the Charte had beside a scale of degrees of latitude passing through the middest of it, another particularly annexed to the coast of New France, wherewith the errour of the latitudes committed by reason of the variation of the compasse might be corrected. The historie of the voyage of Iacobus Cnoyen Buschoducensis throughout al Asia, Affrica, and the North, was lent me in time past by a friend of mine at Antwerpe. After I had vsed it, I restored it againe: after many yeeres I required it againe of my friend, but hee had forgotten of whom hee had borrowed it.

Vpon the obseruations of the tides depend great speculations.

The writings of Gulielmus Tripolitanus, and Ioannes de Plano Carpini I neuer saw: onely I found certaine pieces of them in other written hand bookes. I am glad the Epitomie of Abilfada is translated, I would we might haue it shortly.

Thus much Sir I thought good to answere your letters: if there bee anything els that you would require of me, I will most willingly communicate it with you, crauing this likewise of your curtesie, that whatsoeuer obseruations of both these voyages shall come to your hands, you would impart them to me, they shall all remaine with mee according to your discretion and pleasure, and whatsoeuer I gather of them, I will faithfully signifie vnto you by letters, if happily they may yeeld any helpe or light vnto this most excellent enterprise of nauigation, and most profitable to our christian common wealth. Fare you well most learned friend. At Duisburg in Cliueland, 28. of Iulie, the yeere, 1580.

At Arthur his returne I pray you learne of him the things I haue requested, and whether any where in his voiage, he found the sea fresh, or not very salt: for I suppose the Sea betweene Noua Zembla and Tabin to be fresh.

Yours wholly to my power to be commanded,
Gerardus Mercator.

The discouerie made by M. Arthur Pet, and M. Charles Iackman, of the Northeast parts, beyond the Island of Vaigatz, with two Barkes: the one called the George, the other the William, in the yeere 1580. Written by Hugh Smith.

May.

VPon Munday the 30. of May, we departed from Harwich in the afternoone, the winde being at South, and to the Eastward. The ebbe being spent we could not double the pole, and therefore were constrained to put in againe vntill next day in the morning, being the last of May: which day wee wayed our ankers about 3. a clocke in the morning, the wind being West southwest. The same day we passed Orfordnesse at an East Sunne, and Stamford at a West Sunne, and Yarmouth at a West northwest sunne, and so to Winterton, where we did anker al night: it was then calme, and the flood was come.

Iune.

The next day being the first of Iune, we set saile at 3. a clocke in the morning, and set our course North, the wind at the Southwest, and at Southsouthwest.

The 10. day about one of the clocke in the afternoone, wee put into Norway to a place where one of the headlands of the sound is called Bottel: the other headland is called Moile. There is also an Island called Kene. Here I did find the pole to be eleuated 62. deg. it doeth flowe there South, and it hieth 7. or 8. foote, not aboue.

Kene an Island of Norway.

The 11. day in the morning the winde came to the South and to the Southeast: the same daye at sixe in the afternoone we set saile, and bare along the coast: it was very foule weather with raine and fogge.

The 22. day the wind being at West, we did hal! the coast East northeast, and East. The same day at 6. in the morning we did double the north cape. About 3. in the afternoone wee past Skites bearenesse, and hald along the coast East, and East southeast, and all the same night wee halled Southeast, and Southeast by East.

The North cape doubled.

The 23. day about 3. in the morning we came to Wardhouse, the wind at the Northwest. The cause of our comming in was to seeke the William, whose companie we lost the 6. day of this moneth, and to send letters into England. About one of the clock in the after noone the William also came into Wardhouse to vs in good safetie, and all her company in good health.

Wardhouse.

The 24. the wind came to the East Northeast. This day the William was hald a ground, because she was somewhat leake, and to mend her steerage. This night about 12. of the clocke she did hale a flote againe.

The 25. day the wind was at East northeast.

The 26. day the Toby of Harwich departed from Wardhouse for London, Thomas Greene being master, to whom we deliuered our letters.

The 27. day the wind was at South southeast, and the 28. also.

The 29. day about 6. in the afternoone, the wind came to the West northwest for the space of one houre, and presently to the East againe, and so was variable all the same night.

The 30. about sixe in the morning, the winde came to East southeast, and continued so all the same day.

Iuly.

The first of Iuly about 5. in the afternoone, the wind was at Northnorthwest: and about 7. of the clocke we set saile from Wardhouse East and by South.

The second day about 5. in the morning, the wind was East, and East Southeast, and we did lie to the shorewards. And about 10. in the morning the wind came to South southeast, and we laid it to the Eastward: sometime we lay East by South, sometime East southeast, and sometimes East by North. About 5. in the afternoone we bare with the William, who was willing to goe with Kegor, because we thought her to be out of trie, and sailed very ill, where we might mend her steerage: whereupon Master Pet not willing to go into harborough said to Master Iackman, that if he thought himselfe not able to keepe the sea, he should doe as he thought best, and that he in the meane time would beare with Willoughbies land, for that it was a parcel of our direction, and would meete him at Veroue Ostroue, or Vaigats, and so we set our course East northeast, the winde being at Southeast.

Willoughbies land.

The 3 day the winde at Southeast we found the pole to be eleuated 70. degrees 46. minuts. The same night at 12. of the clocke we sounded, but had no ground, in 120. fathoms, being fifty leagues from the one side by our reckoning East northeast from Kegor.

50. leagues from Kegor.

The 4. day all the morning was calme. This day we found the pole to be eleuated 71. degrees 38. minutes. This day at 9. in the afternoone the wind at Northeast with a gentle gale, we hald along Southeast by East.

The 5. day the wind at Northwest, we hald East and East by South: this day we saw land, but we could not make it, the wind being Northerly, so that we could not come neere to it.

The 6. day about 2. in the afternoone, the wind at North northwest, we halde East southeast with a faire and gentle gale: this day we met with ice. About 6. in the afternoone it became calme: we with saile and oares laide it to the Northeast part, hoping that way to cleare vs of it: for that way we did see the head part of it, as we thought. Which done, about 12. of the clocke at night we gate cleere of it. We did think it to be ice of the bay of Saint Nicholas, but it was not as we found afterwards.

The seuenth day we met with more yce, at the East part of the other yce: we halde along a weather the yce to finde some ende thereof by east northeast. This day there appeared more land North from vs being perfect land: the ice was betweene vs and it, so that we could not come neerer to it.

A sight of perfect land.

The same morning at sixe of the clocke wee put into the ice to finde some way through it, wee continued in it all the same day and all the night following, the winde by the North and Northwest. Wee were constrained to goe many pointes of our compasse, but we went most an Easterly course.

The eight day the winde at North northwest, we continued our course, and at fiue in the morning we sounded, and had 90. fadoms red oze. This day at foure in the afternoone we sounded againe, and had 84. fadoms oze, as before. At sixe in the after noone we cleared our selues of the ice, and hald along Southeast by South: we sounded againe at 10. a clocke at night, and had 43. fathom sandy oze.

The 9. day at 2. in the morning, we sounded againe, and had 45. fadoms, then there appeared a shadow of land to vs East Northeast, and so we ran with it the space of 2. houres, and then perceiuing it was but fogge, we hald along Southeast.

70. deg. 3. min.

This day at 2 in the afternoone we sounded and had fiftie fadoms black oze. Our latitude was 70. degrees three minutes. At 10. a clocke at night we sounded againe, and had fiftie fadoms black oze.

The tenth day the wind being at North northwest, we haled East and by North, which course we set, because at ten of the clocke afore noone wee did see land, and then wee sounded hauing 35. fadoms blacke oze. All this day there was a great fogge, so that wee durst not beare with the land to make it, and so we kept an outwardly course. This day at 6. in the afternoone we espied land, wherewith we halled, and then it grew calme: we sounded and had 120. fadoms blacke oze: and then we sent our boat a land to sound and proue the land. The same night we came with our ship within an Island, where we rode all the same night. The same night wee went into a bay to ride neere the land for wood and water.

An Island.

The maine land.

The 11. day the wind came to the East southeast: this day about a league from vs to the Eastwards, we saw a very faire sound or riuer that past very farre into the countrey with 2. or 3. branches with an Island in the midst.

The 12. of Iuly the wind was East Southeast. This day about 11. a clocke in the morning, there came a great white beare down to the water side, and tooke the water of his owne accord, we chased him with our boate, but for all that we could doe, he gote to land and escaped from vs, where we named the bay Barebay. This day at 7. in the after noone we

Barebay.

set saile, for we had good hope that the winde would come Westerly, and with saile and oares we gate the sea. All the night it was calme with fogge.

The 13. day in the morning the wind was very variable with fog, and as it cleared vp wee met with great store of ice, which at the first shewed like land. This ice did vs much trouble, and the more because of the fog, which continued vntill the 14. day 12. of the clocke.

The 14. day in the morning we were so imbayed with ice, yt we were constrained to come out as we went in, which was by great good fortune, or rather by the goodnesse of God, otherwise it had bene impossible, and at 12. of the clock we were cleere of it, the wind being at South and South by West. The same day we found the pole to be eleuated 70. degrees 26. minutes: we lay along the coast Northwest, thinking it to be an Island, but finding no end in rowing so long, we supposed it to be the maine of Noua Zembla.* About 2. in the afternoone we laide it to the Southward to double the ice, which wee could not doe vpon that boorde, so that we cast about againe and lay West along vnder the ice. About seuen in the afternoone we gote about the greatest part thereof. About 11. a clock at night we brought the ice Southeast of us, and thus we were ridde of this trouble at this time.

70. deg. 26. min.

The supposed maine of Noua Zembla.

The 15. day about 3. in the morning, the winde was at South southwest: wee cast about and lay to the Eastwards: the winde did Wester, so that wee lay South southwest with a flawne sheete, and so we ranne all the same day. About 8. in the after noone we sounded, and had 23. fadoms small grey sand. This night at twelue of the clocke we sounded againe, and had 29. fadoms sand, as afore.

The 16. day vnto 3. in the morning we hald along East Southeast, where we found 18. fadoms red sand, then we hald along Northeast. In these soundings wee had many ouerfals. This day at 10. of the clocke we met with more ice, which was very great, so that we coulde not tell which way to get cleere of it. Then the winde came to the South Southeast, so that we lay to the Northwards. We thought that way to cleere our selues of it, but that way we had more ice.

Many ouerfals.

---

* They were really in the Gulf of Petchora.

About 6. in the afternoone, the wind came to the East. Then we lay to the Southwards that wee had 30 fadoms black oze. This day we found the pole to bee eleuated 69. deg. 40. minutes, and this night at 12. a clocke we had 41. fadoms red sand.

The 17. day at 3. in the morning, we had 12. fadoms. At 9. we had 8. and 7. all this day we ran South and South by West, at the depth aforesaid, red sand, being but shallow water. At eight in the afternoone, the winde with a showre and thunder came to the Southwest, and then we ranne East Northeast. At 12. at night it came to the South and by East, and all this was in the bay of Pechora.

The bay of Pechora.

The 18. day at 7. in the morning we bare with the headland of the bay, where wee founde two Islands. There are also ouerfals of water or tides. We went betweene the maine and the Island, next to the head, where we had about 2. fadoms and a halfe. We found the pole eleuated 69. deg. 13. minutes. This day we had sight of Vaigatz: the land of the maine of Pechora did trend Southeast, we hald East southeast, and had 10. fadoms oze all the same day vntill 4. in the after noone, then being calme, we ankered in 10. fadoms all the same night.

They had sight of Vaigatz.

The 19. day at two in the morning we set saile, and ran South and South southwest all the same day at 8. 7. and 6. fadoms, this was off the South part of Vaigatz, this part of the land lieth North and South. This day at 4. in the afternoone we found shallow water sometime 4. fadoms, sometime 3. and 2. and a halfe, and one fadome and a halfe: there we ankered and sent our boate away to sound, and all to leeward we had 4. foote and 3. foote, and 2. foot, there was not water for the boate betweene Vaigatz and the other side: finding no more water, there was no other way but to goe backe as we came in, hauing the wind Northwest, so at twelue at night we set saile.

The 20. day we plied to the Northwards, and got deepe water againe 6. and 7. fadoms.

The 21. day the winde by the Northwest, we hald along the coast North and North northwest, we had 8. and 9. and 10. fadoms.

The 22. day the winde came to the Southwest, we bare along the coast of Vaygatz, as we found it to lie North and by West, and North northwest, and North. The winde blewe very much with great fogge, we lacking water and wood bare within an Island where wee founde great store of wood and water, there were three or foure goodly sounds. Vnder two points there was a crosse set vp, and a man buried at the foote of it. Vpon the said crosse Master Pet did grave his name with the date of our Lorde, and likewise vpon a stone at the foote of the crosse, and so did I also, to the end that if the William did chaunce to come thither, they might haue knowledge that wee had bene there. At eight in the afternoone the winde came to the North northwest, we set saile and turned out of the Bay. The same night the winde came to the West, so that wee lay North along the land.

An Island hauing store of wood and water.

The 23. day at fiue in the morning, the wind came to the Southwest, a Sea boord we sawe a great number of faire Islands, to the number of sixe: a sea boord of these Islands, there are many great ouerfals, as great streames or tides: we halde Northeast and East northeast as the land did trend. At eight aforenoone the winde came to the Southeast with very much wind, raine and fogge, and very great store of ice a sea boorde: so we lay to the Southwest to attaine to one of the Islands to harbour vs if the weather did so extremely continue, and to take in our boate, thinking it meete so to doe, and not to towe her in such weather. About twelve of the clocke it became very calme vpon the sudden, and came vp to the West Northwest, and Northwest by West, and then we tooke in our boate, and this done, there came downe so much winde, as we were not able to steere afore it, with corse and bonnets of each, we hald South with the land, for so the land did trend. This day all the afternoone we sailed vnder a great land of ice, we sailed betweene the land and it, being not able to crosse it. About twelue at night we found the ice to stretch into the land, that we could not get cleare to the Eastward, so we laide it to the shore, and there we founde it cleare hard aboord the shore, and we found also a very faire Island which makes a very good harbour, and within are 12. fadoms.

6. faire islands.

This Island is to ye Eastwards of Vaigatz 4 or 5. leagues. This land of the maine doth trend Southeast, and Southeast by East. It is a very faire coast, and euen and plaine, and not full of mountaines nor rocks: you haue but shallow water of 6. or 7. fadoms, about a league from the shore, all this morning we halled East southeast.

An Island to the East of Vaigatz 4. or 4. leagues.

This day we found the pole to be eleuated 69. degrees 14. minutes. About 12. a clocke we were constrained to put into the ice to seeke some way to get to the Northwards of it, hoping to haue some cleare passage that way, but there was nothing but whole ice. About nine in the afternoone we had sight of the William, and when wee sawe her, there was a great land of ice betweene her and vs, so that we could not come one to the other, but as we came neere to her, we sounded our trumpet and shot off two muskets, and she put out her flag vpon her foretopmaste in token that she did see vs: all this time wee did shorten our sailes, and went with our foresaile and mainetopsaile, seeking the best way through the broken ice, she making away the best that she could to follow vs, we put out our flagge to answere her again with the like: thus we continued all the afternoone till about 12. a clocke at night, and then we moared our ship to a piece of ice to tarie for the William.

The William and the George meete againe.

The 25. day about fiue in the morning, the William came to vs, being both glad of our meeting. The William had her sterne post broken, that the rudder did hang clean besides the sterne, so that she could in no wise port her helme, with all hands she did lighten her sterne, and trimme her head, and when we had brought her forward all that we could, wee brought a cable vnder her sterne, and with our capstaine did wind vp her sterne, and so we made it as wel as the place would giue vs leaue, and in the ende wee brought her to steere againe. Wee acknowledge this our meeting to be a great benefite of God for our mutuall comfort and so gaue his Maiestie thanks for it. All the night after we tooke our rest being made fast vpon a piece of ice: the wind was at the West Northwest, but we were so inclosed with ice that we coulde not tell which way to passe. Windes wee haue had at will, but ice and fogge too much against our willes, if it had pleased the Lord God otherwise.

The 26. day the wind was at West Northwest: we set saile to the Northwardes, to seeke if we could finde any way cleare to passe to the Eastward, but the further we went that way, the more and thicker was the ice, so that we coulde goe no further. So about foure in the afternoon we were constrained to moare vpon another piece of ice. I thinke we sailed in all a league this day, here we had 15. fadoms oze, and this oze is all the chanell ouer. All the same day after foure of the clocke, and all the night we tarried there, being without all good hope, but rather in despaire. This day Master Iugman did see land East Northeast from vs, as he did thinke, whether it were land or no, I cannot tell well, but it was very like land; but the fogges haue many times deceiued vs.*

The 27. day the winde was at Northwest. This day at nine in the morning we set saile to seeke the shore. Further into the ice we could not goe, and at seuen in the afternoone we moared to a piece of ice, and the William with vs, here we had 14. fathoms oze. At three in the afternoone we warpt from one ice to another. At nine in the afternoone we moared againe to a piece of ice vntill the next day. All this night it did snow with much wind, being at West Northwest, and at Northwest, and by West.

The 28. day the winde came to the Southwest, and Southsouthwest: this day was a very faire day. At one in the afternoone master Pet and master Iackman did conferre together what was best to be done considering that the windes were good for vs, and we not able to passe for ice, they did agree to seeke to the land againe, and so to Vaygatz, and there to conferre further. At 3. in the afternoone we did warpe from one piece of ice to another to get from them if it were possible: here were pieces of ice so great, that we could not see beyond them out of the toppe. Thus we warped vntil 9. in the afternoone, and then we moared both our shippes to a great and high piece of ice, vntil the next morning.

Their returne.

The nine and twenty day the winde came to the Southwest, wee set saile at fiue in the morning to plie into the shore if it were possible, we made many turnes among the ice to small purpose, for with the winde doeth the currant runne. This day by misfortune a piece of ice stroke of our greepe afore at two afternoone, yet for all this we turned to doe our best. The William beeing incumbred with ice, and perceiuing that shee did litle good, tooke in all her sailes, and made her selfe fast to a piece of ice, and about foure in the afternoone she set saile to followe vs. We were afraide that shee had taken some hurt, but she was well. At seuen afore noone we tooke in all our sailes to tarie for the William, and made our shippe fast to a piece of ice: the William before she came to vs tooke in all her sailes, and moared to another piece of ice, and thus we continued vntill the next morning.

The currant runneth with the winde.

---

* **And did so again in this instance.**

The 30. day the winde at Southeast, and by South, and at 9. in the morning we set saile, and sooner would haue done if ye William had bene by vs, but we did tary for her to know whether all was well with her: But as soone as we made saile, she did the like. All this day we did our best to seeke our way as the ice would giue vs leaue, sometime we lay South, sometime West, and sometime East, and thus we continued vntill eight at night, and then being calme, wee made our ship fast to a piece of ice, and went to supper. In the meane time the wind with a faire gentle gale came vp to the East, and East and by South, but there came downe a showre of raine with it, which continued the space of one houre: Which being done, it became calme againe, so that wee could doe no good all that night, but tooke our rest vntill the next day.

The 31. the winde being at Southwest, we set saile to turne to windeward at three a clock in the morning. In this turning we did litle good, for the currant would not giue vs leaue. For as the winde is, so is the currant. We did our best vntill ten of the clock, and then perceiuing that we did no good, and being inclosed with ice, wee made our ships fast to a piece of ice: All this day the William lay still, and did as much good as we that did labour all the forenoone. Thus we took our rest all the same day.

In the afternoone we set saile, the winde being at South and by East, we lay to the Westwards, as Southwest and Southwest and by South, and sometime to the Westward as wee might. Thus we continued vntil 9. at night, and then we could go no further for ice: so we with the William were constrained to make our ship fast to a piece of ice al the same night. This day we found the pole eleuated 69. degrees 20. minutes, and here we had 17. fathoms oze.

August.

The first day of August was verie calme in the morning, the winde beeing at West Northwest. About twelue the winde came to the West, and continued so all the same night with great fogge.

The second day the winde was at Southwest all day with rayne and fogge. All this day wee were inclosed with ice, so that we were forced to lye still. Here we had one and twentie fathoms oze. At sixe in the afternoone the winde was at West with very much foule weather, and so continued all the same night.

The third day the winde was at West, and West by North, and West Northwest, this day we lay still inclosed with yce, the weather beeing darke with fogge: thus abiding the Lords leasure, we continued with patience. And sounding we found 21. fathoms.

The fourth day we lay still inclosed with ice, the winde being at West Northwest, this ice did euery day increase vpon vs, yet putting our trust in God, we hoped to be deliuered out of it in good time.

The fift day all the morning it rained with very much wind, being at South Southeast: about 3. in the afternoone we set sayle, and presently it became calme for the space of one houre, then the wind came to the North Northeast, and here we had 33. fathoms: thus we made way among the yce Southwest, and Southsouthwest, and West, as we might finde our way for the space of 3. houres: then we met with a whole land of yce, so that we could go no further: here we moared our ship to tarie for a further opening. Here we found 45. fathoms oze, and all the night was very darke with fogge.

A whole land of yce.

The sixt day hauing no opening of the yce wee lay still, the winde being at West, and West by South: here we had sixty three fathoms oze: all the same night the winde was at the West Northwest.

The 7. day the winde was at West, and West and by North all day. And all this day we lay still being inclosed with yce, that we could not stirre, labouring onely to defend the yce as it came vpon vs. Here we had 68. fathoms oze.

The 8. day was very faire and calme but foggy. This day towards night there was litle winde by the South Southwest: then the yce began a litle to open, and here we had 70. fathoms oze: all the night was foggy.

The 9. day the winde was at Northwest, and by West, all the afternoone we lay still because of the yce, which did still inclose vs. This day we found the pole eleuated seuenty degrees, 4. minutes, we had 63. fathoms oze: this night was a very fayre night, but it freezed: in the morning we had much adoe to goe through the same: and we were in doubt that if it should haue freezed so much the night following, we should hardly haue passed out of it. This night there was one star that appeared to vs.

70. degr. 4. min.

Frost.

The tenth day the winde was at East Northeast with very small gale. Wee with saile and oares made way through the yce: about fiue in the morning we set saile: sometime we laye Southwest, and sometime South, and sometime West, as wee might best finde the way. About three in the afternoone the gale began to fresh: about six in the afternoone the winde was at Northeast with fogge. Here we had eighty eight fathoms: we bare saile all the same night, and it snowed very much.

Much snow.

The eleuenth day we were much troubled with yce, and by great force we made our way through it, which we thought a thing impossible: but extremity doth cause men to doe much, and in the weaknesse of man Gods strength most appeareth. This day we had 95. fathoms. At three in the afternoone the winde came to the Southwest, we were forced to make our shippe faste to a piece of yce, for we were inclosed with it, and taried the Lordes leasure. This night we had 97. fathoms.

The 12. day the wind was at the Southeast not very much but in a maner calme: at a 11. of the clocke the winde came to the West Southwest: all the day was very darke with snowe and fogge. At 6. in the afternoone we set saile the winde being at the North Northeast: all this night we bare away Southwest, and Southsouthwest, as well and as neere as the yce would giue vs leaue: all this night we found the yce somewhat fauourable to vs, more then it was before, wherupon we stood in good hope to get out of it.

The 13. day at 7. in the morning, the winde was at the Northeast, and Northeast and by East: all this day we were much troubled with the yce, for with a blow against a piece of yce we brake the stocke of our ancre, and many other great blowes we had against the yce, that it was marueilous that the ship was able to abide them: the side of our boate was broken with our ship which did recule back, the boate being betwixt a great piece of yce, and the ship, and it perished the head of our rudder. This day was a very hard day with vs: at night we found much broken yce, and all this night it blewe very much winde, so that we lay in drift with the yce, and our drift was South, for the winde was at North all this night, and we had great store of snowe.

Great store of snowe.

The 14. day in the morning wee made our shippe fast to a piece of yce, and let her driue with it. In the meane time wee mended our boate and our steerage: all this day the winde continued

---

* *Marginal Note:* The appearing of the starres, signe of Winter.

Northerly, and here wee had threescore and two fathoms. Thus we lay a drift all the same night.

The 15. day we set saile at 6. in the morning, the winde being at Northeast. At 9. aforenoon we entred into a cleare Sea without yce, whereof wee were most glad, and not without great cause, and gaue God the praise. We had 19. fathoms water, and ranne in Southwest all the morning vntill we came to 14. fathoms, and thence we halled West, til we came to 10. fathoms, and then we went Northwest, for so the land doeth trend. At 12. of the clocke we had sight of the land, which we might haue had sooner, but it was darke and foggie all the same day: for when wee had sight of the lande, wee were not passing three leagues from it. This day we had the pole eleuated 69 degrees 49 minutes. All day we ran along the coast in ten and nine fadoms, pepered sand. It is a very goodly coast and a bolde, and faire soundings off it, without sandes or rocks.

69 degrees 49 minutes.

The 16 day the winde was at East: this day we were troubled againe with ice, but we made great shift with it: for we gotte betweene the shoare and it. This day at twelue of the clocke we were thwart of the Southeast part of Vaigats, all along which part there was great store of yce, so that we stood in doubt of passage, yet by much adoe we got betwixt the shoare and it: abont 6 in the afternoone was found a great white beare vpon a piece of ice: all this day in the afternoone it was darke with fogge. And all the night we haled North and North by West, and sometime North and by East, for so doth the land trend.

They are thwart against Vaigatz.

The 17 day in the morning we haled West, for so doth the land lie. The wind was at Southeast, and it was very darke with fogge, and in running along the shoare we fell a ground, but God be praised without hurt, for wee came presently off againe. The William came to an anker to stay for vs, and sent some of their men to help vs, but before they came we were vnder saile, and as we came to the William we did stowe our boates, and made saile, we went within some of the Islands, and haled Westsouthwest.

Sands.

The Islands.

About two of the clocke in the afternoone, we set our course Southwest and by South: so we ranne Southwest vntill twelue at night, the wind came to the Northnortheast, and then we haled West.

The 18 day at 6 in the morning we had 16 fadoms red sand: at 6 in the morning 13 fadoms. At 10, 14 fadoms, and we haled Westnorthwest. At 12 a clock the winde came to the East, and East by South, we haled West and by North all the same day and night. At 6 in the afternoone we had 17 fadoms red sand.

The 19 day the wind was at Eastnortheast: at 6 in the morning wee had 19 fadoms red sand: at 12 of the clock the wind blew North and North by East, we had 17 fadoms of water, at 3 in the afternoone 15.

The 20 day the wind was at Northeast, and Northnortheast: at 7 in the morning we had 30 fadomes blacke oze: at twelue of the clocke we were vpon the suddaine in shoale water, among great sands, and could find no way out. By sounding and seeking about, we came aground, and so did the William, but we had no hurt, for the wind was off the shoare, and the same night it was calme: all night we did our best, but we could not haue her afloat. These shoales doe lie off Colgoyeue: it is very flat a great way off, and it doth not high aboue 2 or 3 foote water: it floweth Northeast and Southwest.

Shoales off Colgoyeue.

The 21 day the wind was at Southwest, and being very faire weather we did lighten our ships as much as was possible for vs to doe, by reason of the place. The same high water, by the helpe of God, we got both a floate, and the wind being at the Southwest did help vs, for it caused it to flow the more water.

This day we found the pole to be eleuated 68 degrees 40 min. In the afternoone we both set saile to seeke way to get out of these sands, our boate a head sounding, hauing 6, 7, and 8 fadomes all within the sand which was without vs. We bare to the Southward, and the William bare more to the Eastwards, and night being at hand the wind came to the Southeast, whereupon we layd it to the Southwards, lying Southwest, and South and by West, and ran to 19, and 12 and 14 fadoms, and presently we had sixe fadoms, which was off the sands head, which we were a ground vpon the day before. Then we cast about to the Eastwards for deepe water, which we presently had, as 10, 15, and 20 and so to 23 fadoms.

The 22 day at eight in the morning, we cast about to the Southward, and this day in the morning we saw the William vnder our lee as far as we could see her, and with a great fogge we lost the sight of her, and since we haue not seene her. Thus we ranne til we came to thirtie

They lost the William here.

fadomes black oze, which we had at twelue of the clocke, and at three in the afternoone we had twenty and three fadoms, and then we ranne Westnorthwest, and West by North, all the same night following.

The 23 day we had at 6 in the morning 27 fadoms, at 8 a clocke 28 fadoms: at 9 the winde being at East Southeast, we haled Westnorthwest: this day we had sight of the land of Hugri side. At twelue of the clocke we had two fadoms sand. This day we ranne West and by North, and came to fiue fadoms off the bay of Morzouets. Then we layd it to the Northwards, so that we lay Northnortheast off. The wind after came to the North, and North by East, and we lay East and East by North, then we layd it to the Westward againe: and thus we lay till we came to fortie fadoms, and then we went Northwest till wee came to fourteene fadoms, and so to tenne fadoms. Then we cast about to the Eastwards and lay East, and East by North all the same night.

The land of Hungry.

The bay of Morzouets.

The 24 day at 8 in the morning we had 32 fadoms. We ran Northwest till we came to 11 fadoms, then we lay to the Northwards till 12 at night, and then we came to forty fadoms, then the wind at Northeast we lay to the Westwards, and haled Northeast along.

The 25 at 4 in the morning we had 37 fadoms, wee ranne Northwest, the winde at Northnortheast very much.

The 26 day we ran with the same winde, and found the pole to be eleuated 70 deg. 40 min.

The 27 at 7 in the morning we saw land, which we made to be Kegor, then we haled Northwest, and North by West to double the North Cape.

The 28 day at 3 in the morning we ran Northwest, and so all day. At night the wind came to the Southwest, and we ran Northwest all that night.

The 29 day we put into a sound called Tane, and the towne is called Hungon: we came to an ancre at 5 in the afternoone, at 25 fadoms very faire sand. This sound is very large and good, and the same night we got water aboord.

The towne of Hungon.

The 30 day in the morning the winde at Northeast, and but litle, we set saile, and with our boate on head we got the sea about 12 of the clocke: the wind with a faire gale came to the

East Southeast, and all this day and night we ran West Northwest.

They double the North Cape in their return.

The 31 day at 12 of the clocke we doubled the North Cape, the wind being at Eastsoutheast, we haled West all the same day, and at night we ran Westsouthwest.

The 1 day of September the wind was at Northeast with very much fogge: all this day we ran Westsouthwest: at 2 in the afternoone the wind came North.

The second day at 3 in the morning we doubled Fowlnesse, and the wind was this day variable at all parts of the Compasse. In the afternoone we made but little way: at 6 a clocke the wind came to the Southwest, and we went Northwest. At 9 in the night there came downe so much winde by the Westsouthwest, that we were faine to lay it a hull, we haled it to Northwards for the space of 2 houres, and then we layd her head to the Southwards, and at the breake of day we saw land, which is very high, and is called by the men of the countrey Foulenesse. It is within ful of small Islands, and without full of rocks very farre out, and within the rockes you haue fayre sand at 20 fadoms.

Fowlenesse.

The 3 day in the morning we bare with the sound aforesaid: Within it is but shoale water, 4 5 and 3 fadoms, sandie ground, the land is very high, and the Church that is seene is called Helike Kirke. It doeth high here not aboue 8 or 9 foote.

Lowfoote.

The 12 day at 3 in the afternoone, we put into a sound by Lowfoote, where it doeth flowe Southwest, and by South, and doth high 7 or 8 foote water.

The 13 day much wind at West: we had a ledge of rocks in the wind of vs, but the road was reasonable good for all Southerly and Westerly winds. We had the maine land in the winde of vs: this day was stormie with raine.

The sound of Romesal.

The 23 day at foure of the clocke in the afternoone we put into Norway, into a sound called Romesal, where it floweth Southsoutheast, and doth high 8 foote water: this place is full of low Islands, and many good sounds without the high mountaine land. Here is great store of wood growing, as firre, birch, oke, and hasell: all this night the wind was at the South, very much winde, with raine and fogge.

The 28 day in the morning the wind being at Eastnortheast we set saile at 8 of the clocke, and haled out of the bay Westsouthwest, and Southwest, hauing a goodly gale vntill one of the clocke, and then the wind came to Southeast, and to the South with raine and fogge, and very much winde: at sixe of the clocke we came into a very good rode, where we did ride all the same night in good safetie.

The 29 day we put into a good sound, the wind by the Southwest: at three in the afternoone there came downe very much wind by the South, and all night with vehement blastes, and raine.

The 30 day all day the wind was at Westsouthwest. And in this sound the pole is eleuated 63 deg. 10 min.

The first day of October the winde was at South with very much winde, and vehement blastes.

The 7 day we set saile: for from the first of this moneth vntill this 7 day, we had very foule weather, but specailly the fourth day when the wind was so great, that our cables brake with the very storme, and I do not think that it is possible that any more wind then that was should blow: for after the breaking of our cable, we did driue a league, before our ankers would take any hold: but God be thanked the storme began to slacke, otherwise we had bene in ill case.

The 7. at night we came to an anker vntil the next day, which was the 8. day of the moneth, when as the winde grew great againe, with raine, whereupon we set saile and returned into the sound againe: and at our first comming to an anker, presently there blew so much winde, that although our best anker was out, yet the extremitie of the storm droue vs vpon a ledge of rocks, and did bruse our ship in such sort, that we were constrained to lighten her to saue her, and by this meanes (by the helpe of God) we got off our ship and stopped our leakes, and moared her in good safetie abiding for a wind. We rid from this day by reason of contrary winds, with fogge and raine vntill the 24 day, which day in the morning the winde came to the Northeast, and at 8 of the clocke we set saile. This sound is called Moore sound, where it higheth about 5 foote water, and floweth Southsoutheast. The next day being the 25 day we put into a sound which is called Vlta sound, where was a ship of the king of Denmark put into another sound there by, being 2 leagues to the southwards of vs, that came out of Island: ye wind was contrary for vs at Southsouthwest.

Moore sound.

The 12 day of Nouember we set saile the wind being at the East Southeast, and past through the sound where the kings ship did lie: which sound is called Sloure sound. But as we did open the sound, we found the wind at the Southwest, so that we could doe no good, so that we moared our ship betweene 2. Islands vntil the 18 day, and then the weather being faire and calme, we set saile, and went to sea hoping to find a faire wind, but in the sea we found the wind at the Southwest, and Southsouthwest, so that we were constrained to returne into the same sound.

The next day being the 19 the kings ship came out also, because she saw vs put to sea, and came as farre out as we, and moared where we did moare afore: And at our returne backe againe, we moared our ship in an vtter sound called Scorpe sound, because the kings ship was without victuals, and we did not greatly desire her company, although they desired ours. In this sound the pole is eleuated 62 deg. 47 min. Thus we lay stil for a wind vntil the 1 of December, which day we set saile at 6 a clocke in the morning, and at four in the afternoone we laid it to the inwards.

The 9 day we had sight of the coast of Scotland which was Buquhamnesse.

The 10 day we were open off the Frith.

The 11 day at 4 in the morning we were thwart of Barwike: at 6 we were thwart of Bamburch: the same day at 10 at night we were shot as farre as Hollyfoote. Then the wind came to the South and Southeast, so that we lay vntill the next day in the morning, and then we were constrained to put with Tinmouth. The same day at night wee haled aground to stoppe a leake, which we found to be in the skarfe afore. The wind continued by the Southeast and Southsoutheast vntill the 20 day, and then we set saile about 12 at night, bearing along the coast.

The 22 day by reason of a Southeast wind, we thought we should haue bene put into Humber, but the wind came to the West, so that we haled Southeast: and at 3 in the afternoone we haled a sea boord the sands, and had shoale water off Lymery and Owry, and were in 4 fadomes off them. The next day we haled as we might to sease Orfordnesse.

The 24 day we came thwart of the Nase, about 8 in the morning.

The 25 day being the Natiuity of Christ, we came to an anker betweene Old hauen and Tilberie hope. The same day we turned as high as Porshet.

The 26 day we turned as high as Ratcliffe, and praised God for our safe returne. And thus I ende, 1580.

[The William with Charles Iackman arriued at a port in Norway betweene Tronden and Rostock in October 1580, and there did winter: And from thence departed againe in February following, and went in company of a ship of the King of Denmarke toward Island: and since that time he was neuer heard of.]

Instructions made by the company of English merchants for discouery of new trades, vnto Richard Gibs, William Biggat, Iohn Backhouse, William Freeman, Iohn Haly, and Iames Woodcock, &c. masters of the 9. ships and one barke that we had freighted for a voiage with them to be made (by the grace of God) from hence to S. Nicholas in Russia, and backe againe: which ships being now in the riuer of Thames are presently ready to depart vpon the said voyage, with the next apt winds that may serue thereunto: and with this Fleet afterwards was ioned M. Christopher Carlisle with the Tyger. The 1 of June 1582.

FOrasmuch as the number of shippes which we purpose to send in this Fleete together for Saint Nicholas in Russia is greater then at any time heretofore wee haue sent thither, as also for that some speeches are giuen out that you shall be met withall by such as with force and violence will assault you as enemies, to the end that good order may be established among you for keeping together in company, and vniting your forces, as well for the better direction to be had in your nauigation, as also for your more safety and strength against the enemie, we haue thought good to appoint among you an Admirall and Viceadmirall, and that all of you and euery one particularly shall be bound in the summe of one hundred pounds to keepe company together.

2 Because the Salomon is the biggest ship, best appointed, and of greatest force to defend or offend the enemie, we doe therefore appoint that ship Admirall, which shall weare the flag in the maine top.

3 The Thomas Allen being a good ship and well appointed, and for that the master of her is the ancientest master of the Fleete that hath taken charge that way, we doe appoint the same ship to be Viceadmirall, and to weare the flag in the foretop.

4 And for that the master of the Prudence is of great experience and knowledge in that voyage, we doe appoint that he with the master of the Admirall and Viceadmirall shall conferre, consult

and agree vpon the courses and directions that shall be vsed in this voyage, and it shall be lawfull vnto the master of the Admirall, with the consent of M. Gibs, and M. Biggat, or one of them to make his courses and directions from time to time during the whole voyage, and all the fleete are to follow and obserue the same without straying or breaking of company at any time vpon the penaltie before specified.

5 The appointing of the ships for Admiral and Viceadmiral, and those men to consult and agree vpon the courses and directions of the voyage, as aforesaid, hath bene done by the consents and with the liking of you all, and therefore doubt not but that you will all carefully and willingly obserue the premisses.

6 Item, we haue thought good to put in mind, that at such times as you may conueniently from time to time, you do assemble and meete together, to consider, consult, and determine vpon such articles as you shall think necessary to be propounded touching your best safetie and defence against all forces that may be offered you in this voyage, as well outwards bound, and while you shall remaine in the roade and bay of S. Nicholas, as also homewardes bound, and that which you shall agree vpon, or that which most of you shal consent vnto, cause it to be set down in writing for record, which may serue for an acte amongst your selues to binde you all to obserue the same.

7 We haue appointed Iames Woodcock in the smal barke to attend vpon you, and to receiue his directions from you. You are therefore to remember well what conference and talke hath bene had with you here before your going touching ye sayd barke, to what purposes she may best serue, and the maner how to imploy her, and thereupon to giue your order and direction vnto him, as the time and place shall require.

Berozoua Vstia.

8 Item, if you shall vnderstand as you are outwards bound, that the enemie is gone before you to S. Nicholas, remember what aduice hath bene giuen you for your stay at Berozoua Vstia, till you haue by espials viewed and vnderstood the forces, and the maner of their abode at that place.

9 And if in the sea either outwards or homewards, or in the time of your abode at anker at Saint Nicholas, you shall be assaulted by force of any, as enemie whatsoeuer, you are to defend your selues with such forces as you may or can: trust not too farre, neither giue place to inconuenience

10 You will not forget what conference we had touching your passing outwards bound by Wardhouse, to view and vnderstand what you can at that place, and to shew your selues, to see if there be any there that haue a mind to speake with you, for that we thinke it better then, and thereabout, then afterwards or els where.

11 While you shall remaine in the road at S. Nicholas, be circumspect and carefull to haue your ships in readinesse, and in good order alwaies, and vpon all suddens. The greatest danger vnto you in that place will be while you shall shift your ships: therefore you are to consider of it, but the fittest time for you to doe the same, will bee when the winde is Southerly off the shore, or calme, and at such time you may the better doe it without danger. You must take such order among you, that your companies may be alwaies willing and ready to helpe one the other, and appoint among your selues such ships to shift first, and such after, in such sort and forme as you shall thinke best and most conuenient. And while they shall be in discharging, shifting, and lading, let the rest of your companies which haue not then to doe in lading or discharging, helpe those ships that shall haue labour to doe, as well for carying the barkes from ships to the shoare, or from shore to the shippe: with your boates, as also for any other helpe that they shall haue need of.

12 Remember what hath bene said vnto you touching the moring of your ships, &c. for vsing aduantage against the enemie, if you shall be assaulted in that place.

13 See that you serue God, abolish swearing and gaming, be carefull of fire and candles, &c.

14 You are to consult and agree among your selues vpon signes, tokens, and good orders for the better keeping of company together, and also the maner how and by what meanes, rescue, ayde, or helpe may be giuen by one to the other in fight, if you happen to come to it.

Thus we pray God to send you a prosperous voyage and safe returne.

The opinion of Master William Burrough sent to a friend, requiring his iudgment for the fittest time of the departure of our ships towards S. Nicholas in Russia.

WHereas you request me to perswade the company not to send their shippes from hence before the fine of May, I do not thinke the same so good a course for them to obserue: for you know that the sooner wee sende them hence, the sooner we may looke for their returne. If wee sende them in the beginning of May, then may they be at Saint Nicholas by the fine of the same moneth: and by that time the greatest parte of your lading of necessitie must bee downe, especially the flaxe: but if it should fall out so lateward a breaking vp of the riuer of Duyna, that by the ende of May the goods cannot be brought to Saint Nicholas, yet this is alwayes to be accounted for certaine, that before our ships can come thither, the goods may be brought downe to that place: and if through ice the shippes be kept backe any time, the losse and charge of that time toucheth not the companie at all, but the owners of the shippes, and yet will the Owners put that in aduenture, rather than tarie longer time before their going hence.

The Russian fleet best to be set forth in the beginning of May.

Now seeing by sending our shippes hence in the beginning of May, their arriuall at S. Nicholas may be at the ende of the same moneth, and remaining thirtie dayes there, they may bee laden and come thence by the last of Iune, and returne home hither by the 10 of August with commodities to serue the market then, it cannot bee denied but we should reape thereby great commoditie.

But it may be obiected, that if all our shippes be sent then to returne as aforesaid, you shall not be able to send vs in so much cordage, Waxe and Oyles, as otherwise you should doe if they remained a moneth longer, neither could you by that time perfect your accounts to be sent in them as you would doe.

For answere thereunto this is my meaning: though I wish the greatest part of our shipping to go as aforesaid, yet would I haue one good ship or two at the most well furnished in al points that should depart alwaies from hence, betweene the beginning and the 10 day of Iune: and the same to be conditioned withall to remaine at S. Nicholas from the first arriuall there vntill the middest of August, or to be despatched thence sooner, at the will and liking of our factors for the same: by this order these commodities following may ensue.

1 You may haue our commodities there timely to send vp the riuer before it waxe shallow, to be dispersed in the countrey at your pleasure.

2 The greatest part of our goods may be returned thither timely to serue the first markets.

3 Our late ships remaining so long here may serue to good

purpose, for returning answere of such letters as may be sent ouer land, and received here before their departure.

4. Their remaining so late with you shal satisfie your desire for perfecting your accounts, and may bring such cordage, Waxe, Oile, and other commodities, as you can prouide before that time: and chiefly may serue vs in stead to bring home our goods that may be sent vs from Persia.

Now seeing it may be so many wayes commodious to the commpany to obserue this order, without any charge vnto them, I wish that you put to your helping hand to further the same.

A copie of the Commission giuen to Sir Ierome Bowes, authorizing him her Maiesties Ambassadour vnto the Emperour of Russia, Anno 1583.

ELIZABETHA, Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hyberniæ Regina, fidei defensatrix, &c. Vniuersis et singulis præsentes literas visuris et inspecturis, salutem. Cùm Serenissimus Princeps, Ioannes Basilius, Rex, et magnus Dux Russiæ, Volodimeræ, Moscouiæ, et Nouogrodiæ, Rex Cazani, et Astracani, Dominus Plescoæ, et magnus Dux Smolenscoæ, Tueri, Vgori, Permiæ, Valeæ, Bolharæ, et aliarum ditionum: Dominus et magnus Dux Nouogrodiæ in inferiori regione Chernigæ, Rezanæ, Polotscoæ, Ratsauie, Yeraslaue, Bealozeri, Liflandiæ, Oudori, et Condensæ, et gubernator in tota prouincia Siberiæ, et partium Septentrionalium, et aliarum, frater, et Amicus charissimus, Nobilem virum, Feodor Andrewich Spisemski, nuper ad nos ablegauerit, ad certa quædam negotia nobiscum agenda, quæ honerem vtrinque nostrum quàm proximè attingunt, quæque rectè definiri concludìque nequeunt, nisi Ambassiatorem aliquem et oratorem ad præfatum serenissimum principem amandauerimus: Hinc est, quòd nos de fidelitate, industria, prouida circumspectione, et satis magno rerum vsu, prædilecti nobis famuli nostri, Hieronimi Bowes Militis, ex nobilibus domesticis nostris vnius, plurimùm confidentes, præfatum Hieronimum Bowes Militem, nostrum verum et indubitatum Ambassiatorem, Oratorem, et Commissarium specialem facimus, et constituimus per præsentes. Dantes, et concedentes eidem Hieronimo Bowes Militi oratori nostro tenore præsentium, authoritatem, et mandatum, tam generale, quàm speciale, ita quòd specialitas non deroget generalitati, nec è contrà generalitas specialitati, nomine nostro, et pro nobis, cum præfato serenissimo

principe, eiusque consiliarijs, et deputatis quibuscunque de præfatis negotijs et eorum singulis, tractandi, conferendi, concludendi appunctuandíq;, prout præfato Oratori nostro æquum, et ex honore nostro videbitur: Nec non de, et super huiusmodi tractatis, conclusis, appunctuatísq;, cæterísque omnibus et singulis, præmissa quouismodo concernentibus, literas, et instrumenta valida et efficacia, nomine nostro, et pro nobis tradendi, literasq; et instrumenta consimilis vigoris et effectus, ex altera parte petendi, et confici, et sigillari debitè procurandi, et recipiendi, et generaliter omnia, et singula præmissa qualitercunq; concernentia, faciendi, exercendi, et expediendi, in, et eodem modo, sicut nos ipsi faceremus, et facere possemus, si essemus præsentes, etiamsi talia sint, quæ de se mandatum exigant magis speciale; promittentes bona fide, et in verbo Regio, omnia et singula, quæ per prædictum Ambassiatorem, et oratorem nostrum appunctuata, promissa, conuenta, concordata, et conclusa fuerint in hac parte, nos rata et grata, et firma habituras et obseruaturas, et superinde literas nostras patentes confirmatorias, et approbatorias in forma valida, et autentica, prout opus fuerit, daturas. In cuius rei testimonium, his præsentibus manu nostra signatis, magnum sigillum nostrum regni nostri Angleiæ apponi fecimus. Datæ è Regia nostra Grenwici quinto die mensis Iunij, Anno Dom. 1583. Regni verò nostri vicessimo quinto.

The same in English.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to al and singular, to whom these presents shal come to be seen and red, greeting. Whereas the most excellent prince Iohn Basiliwich king, and great duke of all Russia, Volodomer, Moscouie, and Nouogrod, king of Cazan and Astracan, lord of Plesco, and great duke of Smolensco, of Tuer, Vgor, and Permia, Valca, Bolhar and others, lord great duke of Nouogrod in the low country, of Cherniga, Rezan, Polotsco, Rostoue, Yeraslaue, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudor, and Condensa, and gouernour of al the land of Siberia, and of the North parts and other, our most deare brother and friend, did of late send vnto vs one Feodor Andrewich Spisemsky, a noble man of his, to deale with vs in certaine speciall businesses, respecting very neerely the honour of either of vs, and being such as without the speeding of some Ambassadour of ours to the

aforesaid most excellent prince, cannot be sufficiently determined and concluded: For this cause we hauing great confidence in the fidelitie, industrie, prouident circumspection and conuenient experience of our welbeloued seruant Ierome Bowes knight, a gentleman of qualitie of our householde, do by these presents make and constitute the foresaid Ierome Bowes knight our true and vndoubted Ambassadour, Orator and special commissioner, giuing and graunting to the same Ierome Bowes knight, our Orator, by the vertue of these presents authoritie and commandement, as wel general as special, so that the special shall not preiudice the generall, nor on the other side the general the special to, intreat, conferre, conclude, and appoint in our name, and for vs with the foresaid most excellent prince and his counsellers and deputies whatsoeuer, concerning the foresaid businesses, and ech of them, according as it shall seeme good, and for our honour to our foresaid Orator, as also of and vpon such things intreated, concluded and appointed, as in all and singular other things, any maner of way concerning the premisses, to deliuer in our name and for vs, sufficient and effectual letters and instruments, and to require letters and instruments, of the like validitie and effect of the other part, and to procure them lawfully to bee made and sealed, and then to receiue them, and generally to doe, execute, and dispatch al and singular other things concerning the premisses, in, and after the same maner, as we our selues would and might do if we were present, although they be such things as may seeme of themselues to require a more speciall commandement: promising in good faith and in the word of a prince, that we will hold and obserue all and singular the things which by our Ambassador aforesayd shall be appointed, promised, agreed, accorded and concluded in this behalfe, as lawfull, gratefull, and firme, and thereupon as need shall require, will giue our letters patents, confirmatory and approbatory, in forme effectuall and autenticall. In witnesse whereof, we haue caused our great seale of our kingdome of England to be put to these presents, and signed them with our owne hand.

Giuen at our pallace of Greenewich the fourth day of Iune, in the yeere of our Lord 1583, and of our reigne the fiue and twentieth.

A Letter sent from her Highnesse to the sayd great Duke of Russia, by sir Hierome Bowes aforesayd, her Maiesties Ambassadour.

Serenissimo Principo ac Domino, Ioanni Basilio, Dei gratia Regi et magno Duci totius Russiæ, Volodomeræ, &c. Regi Cazani, &c. Domino Plescoæ, &c. Domino et magno Duci Nouogrodiæ, &c. et Gubernatori in tota Prouincia Siberiæ, &c. Fratri et amico nostro charissimo.

ELIZABETHA, Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regina, fidei defensatrix, &c. Serenissimo Principi ac Domino, Ioanni Basilio, eadem Dei gratia Regi et magno Duci totius Russiæ, Volodomeræ, Moscouiæ, et Nouogrodiæ, Regi Cazani et Astracani, Domino Plescoæ, et magno Duci Smolenscoæ, Tueri, Vgori, Permiæ, Viatskæ, Bolharæ, et aliarum ditionum, Domino et magno Duci Nouogrodiæ in inferiori regione, Chernigæ, Rezanæ, Polotscoæ, Rostouæ, Iaroslauæ, Bealozeri, Liflandiæ, Oudori et Condensæ, et Gubernatori in tota prouincia Siberiæ, et partium Septentrionalium, et aliarum, fratri et amico suo charissimo, Salutem.

Serenissime princeps, frater et amice charissime, ex ijs quæ nobiscum egit S. V. illustris legatus, intelleximus, quàm gratè vobis faceremus satis, si legatum aliquem cum mandatis instructum, ad S. V. ablegaremus. In quo certè quidem instituto adeò nobis ex animo placuit, quod est honestè postulatum, vt non nisi præstita re, possemus nobis quoquo modo satisfacere. Atq; cum id haberemus apud nos decretum, nobis non incommodè incurrit in mentem et oculos Hieronimus Bowes miles, ex nobilibus nostris Domesticis, plurimùm nobis dilectus, quem, inpræsentiarum ad S. V. ablegamus, cuius prudentiæ et fidei, totum hoc quicquid est, quod ad Serenitatum mutuò nostrarum dignitatem ornandam pertinere posse arbitramur, commisimus. In quo munere perfungendo, quin omnem curam et diligentiam sit collaturus, neutiquam dubitamus: à S. autem V. rogamus, velit ei eam fidem habere in ijs persequendis quæ habet à nobis in mandatis, quam nobis habendam putaret, si essemus præsentes. Prætereà, cùm nobis multum charus sit Robertus Iacobus medicus, quem superiori || anno, ad S. V. misimus, rogamus vt eum eo loco S. V. habeat, quo virum probatissimum, et

1582.

singulari quàm plurimarum virtutum laude ornatum habendum esse, boni principes censent. Quem à nobis neutiquam ablegauissemus, nisi amicitiæ nostræ, et studio gratificandi S. V. plurimùm tribuissemus. In qua dum voluntate manemus erga S. V. non nisi optimè de bonis vestris meritis in præfatum Iacobum nobis pollicemur. Et Deum Opt. Max. precamur, vt S. V. saluam conseruet, et incolumem. Datæ è Regia nostra Grenouici 19 die mensis Iunij, Anno Domini 1583, regni verò nostri vicessimo quinto.

S. vestra bona soror.

The same in English.

ELizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith &c. to the most excellent Prince and Lord, Iohn Basiliwich, by the same grace of God, King and great Duke of all Russia, Volodomer, Moscouie, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan and Astracan, Lord of Plesco, and great Duke of Smolensco, of Tuer, Vgor, and Permie, Viatsca, Bolhar, and others, Lord and great Duke of Nouogrod in the lowe countrey, of Cherniga, Rezan, Polotsko, Rostoue, Iaroslaue, Bealozera, Lifland, Oudor, Obdor, and Condensa, and Gouernour of all the land of Siberia, and of the North parts and others, her dearest brother and friend, Salutations.

Most excellent Prince, most deare brother and friend, by those things which the worthy ambassador of your excellency declared vnto vs, we haue vnderstood how kindly it would be taken, if we should send to your excellency an ambassador from vs, with commandement and instructions. In which matter your honourable request hath so much pleased vs, that we could not any maner of way satisfie our selues, except we performed the same. And hauing purposed with our selfe so to doe, we thought of, and remembred Ierome Bowes Knight, a gentleman of qualitie of our householde, a man very much beloued of vs, whom at this present we send vnto your Maiesty, and to whose wisdome and faithfulnesse we haue committed all, whatsoeuer we take to apperteine to the aduancement of both our honors indifferently. In the discharge of which seruice, we doubt not but that all care and diligence shall be vsed on his part, so that we intreat your Maiesty to giue him credence in the prosecuting of those things which he hath from vs in commandement, no lesse then to our

Doctor Iacob.

selfe, if we were present. And whereas Robert Iacob doctor of physicke is a man very deare vuto vs, whom the last yere we sent vnto your excellency, we desire that he may haue that fauor and estimation with you, which good princes thinke a most honest and vertuous man woorthy of: for had we not caried great respect to our mutual friendship, and indeuour to gratifie your Maiestie, we should in no case haue parted with him. And seeing we continue still the same good will towards your excellency, we doe euen promise to our selfe your honourable kindnesses towards him: and we pray the almightie God to preserve your Maiesty in good safetie and health. Giuen at our pallace of Greenewich the 19 day of Iune, in the yere of our Lord 1583, and of our reigne, the fiue and twentieth.

Your Maiesties good sister.

A briefe discourse of the voyage of Sir Ierome Bowes knight, her Maiesties ambassadour to Iuan Vasiliuich the Emperour of Moscouia, in the yeere 1583.

THe Emperour of Russia that then liued, by name Iuan Vasiliwich, hauing deliberately considered how necessary it were for the strengthening of his estate, and that a sure commerce and entercourse of merchants should be againe renued betweene him and her sacred Maiesty of England, with such further immunities and priuileges for the honor and vtility of both their dominions, and subiects of the same, as vpon mutuall treatie of persons interposed on both sides, might be assented vnto: sent ouer into this realme, in the yeere of our Lord 1582, as his ambassadour for that purpose, an ancient discreet gentleman of his householde called Pheodor Andreuich Phisemsky, accompanied with one of his Secretaries, for his better assistance in that expedition: and besides his many other directions, whereof part were to be deliuered by word of mouth and the rest set downe in a letter vnder the Emperours signature, addressed to her Maiesty: he had in speciall charge to sollicit her Maiesty to send ouer with him to his maister an ambassador from her, to treat and contract of such affaires of importance as concerned both the realmes, which was the principall end of his imployments hither. Whereupon her Maiesty very graciously inclining to the Emperors motion, and at the humble sute of the English merchants trading those countreys being caried

Pheodor Andreuich Phisemsky the Emperors ambassadour.

with the same princely respects, to satisfie his demands in that behalfe, made choice of sir Ierome Bowes, a gentleman of her Court, ordinarily attending vpon her Maiesties person, towards whom was apparantly expressed her princely opinion and fauor by the credit of this negociation.

After he had receiued his commission, with other speciall letters to the Emperor, with all other instructions apperteining to his charge, and that the sayd Russe ambassadour was licenced to returne home to his maister, being honorably entertained and rewarded, the English ambassador being attended upon with forty persons at the least, very honourably furnished, whereof many were gentlemen, and one M. Humfrey Cole a learned preacher, tooke his leaue of her Maiesty at the Court at Greenwich the eighteenth of Iune, and with the other ambassadour, with their seuerall companies, embarked themselues at Harwich the two and twentieth of the same, and after a stormy voyage at the Sea, they arriued both in safety in the road of S. Nicholas the three and twentieth of Iuly next following.

The Russe ambassador lodged himselfe at the abbey of S. Nicholas: and the English ambassador was lodged and well intertained by the English merchants, at their house at S. Nicholas, standing in an Island called Rose Island.

The Russe ambassador hauing reposed himselfe one whole day, took his leaue of the English ambassador, and departed towards Mosco.

The English ambassadour abode yet at S. Nicholas four or fiue dayes, when hauing made prouision of boats, and meanes to that purpose, he went forward vpon his iourney towards Mosco, to a towne called Colmogro, about foure score miles distant from S. Nicholas.

The Hollanders intrude into our trade.

You must here vnderstand that before the English ambassadors going into Russia, there were diuers strangers, but especially certaine Dutch merchants, who had intruded themselues to trade into those countreys. Notwithstanding a priuilege of the sole trade thither was long before granted to the English merchants. These Dutch men had already so handled the matter, as they had by chargeable meanes woone three of the chiefest counsellors to the Emperour to be their assured friends, namely, Mekita Romanouich, Bodan Belskoy, and Andrew Shalkan the chancellor: for besides dayly gifts that they bestowed vpon them all, they tooke so much money of theirs at interest at fiue and twenty vpon the hundred, as they payed to some one of them fiue thousand marks yeerely for the vse of his money, and the English merchants at that time had not one friend in Court.

The ambassador hauing now spent fiue weeks at S. Nicholas and at Colmogro, there came to him then a gentleman sent from the Emperor to enterteine him, and had in charge to conduct him vp the riuers towards Mosco, and to deliuer him prouision of all kinde of victuals necessary.

This gentleman being a follower of Shalkan the chancellor, was by him (as it seemed) foisted into that seruice of purpose, as afterward appeared by the course he tooke, to offer discourtesies, and occasions of mislike to the ambassador: for you must vnderstand that the chancellor and the other two great counsellors (spoken of as friends to the Dutchmen) had a purpose to oppose themselues directly against her Maiesties ambassage, especially in that point, for the barring of all strangers from trading into the Emperors countrey.

This gentleman conducted the English ambassador a thousand miles vp the riuers of Dwina and Soughana, to a citie called Vologda, where receiued him another gentleman sent from the Emperor, a man of better countenance then the other, who presented the ambassador from the Emperor with two faire geldings well furnished after their maner.

At a citie called Yeraslaue vpon the riuer Volga there met the ambassador a duke well accompanied, sent from the Emperor, who presented him from the Emperor a coach and ten geldings for the more easie conueying of him to Mosco, from whence this citie was distant fiue hundred miles.

Two miles on this side Mosco there met the ambassador foure gentlemen of good account, accompanied with two hundred horse: who after a little salutation, not familiar, without imbracing, tolde him that they had to say to him from the Emperor, and would haue had him light on foot to haue heard it, notwithstanding themselues would still haue sit on horsebacke: which the ambassador soone refused to doe, and so they stood long vpon termes, whether both parties should light or not: which afterwards agreed vpon, there was yet great nicenesse whose foot should not be first on ground.

Their message being deliuered, and after hauing embraced ech other, they conducted the sayd ambassador to his lodging at

Mosco, a house builded of purpose for him, them selues being placed in the next house to it, as appointed to furnish him of all prouisions, and to be vsed by him vpon all other occasions.

The ambassador hauing beene some dayes in Mosco, and hauing in all that time bene very honorably vsed from the Emperor (for such was his will) though some of his chiefest counsellors (as is sayd) had another purpose, and did often times cunningly put it in vse: He was sent for to Court, and was accompanied thither with about forty gentlemen honorably mounted, and sumptuously arayed, and in his passage from his lodging to the court, were set in a ward fiue or sixe thousand shot, that were of the Emperors gard. At the entry into the court there met him four noble men apparelled in cloth of gold and rich furres, their caps embroidred with pearle and stone, who conducted him towards the Emperor, till he was met with foure others of greater degree then they, who guided him yet further towards the Emperor, in which passage there stood along the walles, and sate vpon benches and formes in row, seuen or eight hundred persons, said to be noblemen and gentlemen, all apparelled in garments of coloured satins and cloth of golde.

These foure noblemen accompanied him to the Emperors chamber doore, where met him the Emperors herald, whose office is there held great: and with him all the great officers of the Emperors chamber, who all conducted him to the place where the Emperor sate in his state, hauing three crownes standing by him, viz. of Moscouia, Cazan, and Astrakan, and also by him 4 yoong noblemen of about twenty yeres of age, of ech side twaine, costly apparelled in white, holding vpon their shoulders ech of them a brode axe, much like to a Galloglas axe of Ireland, thin and very sharpe, the steale or handle not past halfe a yard long, and there sate about the chamber vpon benches and other low seats, aboue an hundred noblemen richly apparrelled in cloth of golde.

The ambassador being thus brought to the Emperor to kisse his hand, after some complements and inquirie of her Maiesties health, he willed him goe sit downe in a place prouided for that purpose, nigh ten pases distant from him, from whence he would haue had him to haue sent him her Maiesties letters and present, which the ambassadour thinking not reasonable stept forward towards the Emperor: in which passage the chancellor came to meet him, and would haue taken his letters: to whom the ambassador sayd, that her Maiesty had directed no letters to him, and so went on, and deliuered them himselfe to the Emperors owne hands.

And after hauing thus deliuered her Maiesties letters and what he had els to say at that time, he was conducted to the Councell chamber, where hauing had conference with the councell of matters of his ambassage, he was soone after sent for againe to the Emperour, where he dined in his presence at a side table, nere vnto him, and all his company at another boord, where also dined at other tables in the same place, all the chiefe noble men that were about the Court, to the number of an hundred. And in the time of this dinner, the Emperor vsed many fauors to the ambassadour and about the midst of dinner (standing vp) dranke a great carouse to the health of the Queene his good sister, and sent him a great bowle full of Rhenish wine and sugar to pledge him.

The ambassadour after this, was often called to Court, where he had conference both with the Emperour and his councell of the matters in question, touching both ambassages, which diuers times raised many iarres: and in the end, after sundry meetings, the Emperour finding himself not satisfied to his liking, for that the ambassadour had not power by his commission to yeeld to euery thing that he thought fit, as a man whose will was seldom wonted to be gainsayd, let loose his passion, and with a sterne and angry countenance tolde him that he did not reckon the Queene of England to be his fellow: for there are (quoth he) that are her betters.

The ambassadour greatly misliking these speeches, and being very vnwilling (how dangerous soeuer it might prooue to his owne person) to giue way to the Emperor, to derogate ought from the honour and greatness of her Maiesty: and finding also that to subiect himselfe to the angrie humour and disposition of the Emperour was not the means to winne ought at his hands, with like courage and countenance to answere his, tolde him that the Queene his Mistresse was as great a prince as any was in Christendome, equall to him that thought himselfe the greatest, well able to defend herselfe against his malice whosoeuer, and wanted no means to offend any that either shee had, or should haue cause to be enemy vnto. Yea (quoth he) How sayest thou to the French king, and the king of Spaine? Mary (quoth the ambassadour) I holde the Queene my Mistresse as great as any of them both. Then what sayest thou (quoth hee) to the Emperour of Germany?

Such is the greatnesse of the Queene my Mistresse (quoth the Ambassadour) as the King her father had (not long since) the Emperor in his pay, in his warres against France.

This answer misliked the Emperor yet so much more, as that he tolde the Ambassadour, that were he not an ambassador, he would throw him out of the doores. Whereunto he answered that he might doe his will, for he was now fast within his countrey: but he had a Mistresse who (he doubted not) would be reuenged of any iniury that should be done vnto him. Whereupon the Emperour in great sudden bade him get him home. And he with no more reuerence then such vsage required, saluted the Emperor and went his way.

All this notwithstanding, the ambassadour was not much sooner out of the chamber, and the Emperours cholar somewhat setled, but he deliuered to his councell that stood about him many commendations in the fauor of the Ambassador, for that he would not indure one ill word to be spoken against his mistresse, and therewithall wished himselfe to haue such a seruant.

The Ambassadour had not beene much more then one houre in his lodgings, but the Emperour imagining (as it seemed) by the extraordinary behauiour of the ambassador (for he wanted not wit to iudge) that he had found what was the Emperors case, sent his principall secretary vnto him, to tell him, that notwithstanding what had past, yet for the great loue that he bare to the Queene his sister, he should very shortly be called againe to Court, and haue a resolution of all the matters in question: and this secretary was now further content to impart, and sayd to the ambassadour that the Emperour was fully resolued to send a greater noble man vnto him in ambassage to the Queene his sister, then euer he yet at any time sent out of his countrey: and that he determined also to send to the Queene a present woorth three thousand pounds, and to gratifie himselfe at his departure with a gift that should be woorth a thousand pounds: and tolde him also that the next day the Emperour would send a great noble man vnto him, to conferre with him of certaine abuses done him by Shalkan the chancellor, and his ministers.

And so the day following he sent Bodan Belskoy the chiefest counceller that he had, a man most in credit with him: this man examined all matters wherewith the ambassador had found himselfe grieued, and supplied him with what hee wanted, and righted him in all things wherein hee had beene wronged.

Not long after the returne of this noble man, the Emperor caused to be set downe in his owne presence, a new and much larger allowance of diet for the ambassador then he had had before, and shortly after sent the same to the ambassadour by his principall Secretarie Sauio Frollo. This diet was so great, as the ambassadour oftentimes sought to haue it lessened, but the Emperour would not by any means.

The scroule of the new diet was this:

One bushel of fine meale for three dayes.
One bushel of wheate meale for a day and a halfe.
Two liue geese for one day.
Twenty hennes for the day.
Seuen sheepe for a day.
One oxe for three dayes.
One side of pork for a day.
Seuentie egges for a day.
Ten pound of butter.
Seuenty peny white loaues of bread.
Twelue peny loaues of bread.
One veather or gallon of vinegar.
Two veathers of salt cabiges.
One pecke of onions.
Ten pound of salt.
On altine, or sixe peny woorth of waxe candles.
Two altines of tallow candles.
One fourth part of a veather of cherrie mead.
As much of Malynouomead.
Halfe a veather of burnt wine.
One veather of sodden mead called Obarni.
Three veathers of sweet mead.
Ten veathers of white mead.
Fifteene veathers of ordinary mead.
Foure veathers of sweet beere.
Fiftene veathers of beere.
Halfe a pound of pepper.
Three sollitincks or ounces of saffron.
One sollitincke of mase.
One sollitincke of nutmegs.

Two sollitincks of cloues.
Three sollitincks of sinamon.

Prouender.

One bushell of oats.
One load of hay.
One load of straw.

Now he began so much to discouer his purpose and affections towards her Maiesty and her countrey, as he sent to the ambassador, intreating him that his || preacher, and doctor Iacob his English physician, might set downe the points of the religion in vse in England, which the Ambassadour caused to be done accordingly, and sent them vnto him, who seemed so well to like them, as he caused them (with much good allowance) to be publikely read before diuers of his councell, and many others of his nobility.

M. Cole.

Now he drew hotly againe in question to marry some kinsewoman of her Maiesties, and that he would send againe into Englaud, to haue some one of them to wife, and if her Maiestie would not vpon his next Ambassage send him such a one as he required, himselfe would then goe into England, and cary his treasure with him, and marry one of them there.

Here you must vnderstand that the yeere before this ambassage, he had sent to her Maiesty by his ambassador to haue had the lady Mary Hastings in marriage, which intreaty by meanes of her inability of body, by occasion of much sicknesse, or perhaps, of no great liking either of herselfe or friends, or both, tooke no place.

The ambassador was now so farre growen into the Emperors fauor, and his affection so great to England, as those great councellors that were the Ambassadors great enemies before, were now desirous of some publike courtesies at his hands for their aduantage to the Emperour: neither durst they now any more interpose themselues twixt the Emperour and him: for not long before this, the Emperor for abusing the ambassador, had (to shew his fauour towards him) beaten Shalkan the chanceller very grieuously, and had sent him word, that he would not leaue one of his race aliue.

Now whilest the ambassador was thus strongly possest of the

Emperors fauor, he imployed himselfe in all he might, not onely for the speedy dispatch of the negociation he had in hand, but laboured also by all the good means he might, further to benefit his countrey and countreymen, and so not long after wanne at the Emperours hands not onely all those things he had in commission to treat for by his instructions, but also some other of good and great importance, for the benefit of the merchants.

Priuate sutes obteined of the Emperor by the ambassador.

LEaue for Richard Fransham an English man and apothecary to the Emperour, his wife, and children to come home into England, and to bring with him all such goods as he had gotten there.

He obteined like leaue for Richard Elmes an English man one of the Emperours surgions.

He also got leaue for Iane Ricards the widow of Doctor Bomelius a Dutchman, and physician to the Emperour, who for treason practised with the king of Pole against the sayd Emperour, was rosted to death at the city of Mosco, in the yere 1579.

These following he obteined for the behoofe of the merchants.

HE procured for the merchants promise of recompence for certaine goods taken from their factors by robbery vpon the Volga.

He obtained likewise the payment of fiue hundred marks, which was payd for ten yeeres before his going into Russia (into the Emperors receit) for a rent of a house that they had at Vologda.

He also got granted for them the repayment of fifteene hundred marks, which had bene exacted of them the two last yeres before his comming thither.

He got also for them order for the repayment of an olde and desperate debt of three thousand marks, a debt so desperate, as foure yeeres left out of their accounts, and by the opinion of them all, not thought fit to be dealt with, for too much offending the Emperour, or impeaching his other businesse, which was thought at least otherwise sufficient, and was therefore left out of his instructions from her Maiesty.

He obteined that all strangers were forbidden to trade any more into Russia, and that the passage and trade to all the Emperors Northern coasts and countries, from the Wardhouse to the riuer of Ob should be onely free to the English nation.

Lastly, of a great desire he had to do the merchants good, without motion either of themselues here, or their Agents there, or any other of them, he obteined of the Emperour the abatement of all their custome which they had long before payd, and agreed still to continue, which custome the Dutchmen and strangers being remooued, as now it was agreed, amounted to two thousand pounds yerely.

All these were granted, some already payd before his comming from Mosco, the olde priuilege ratified, newly written, signed and sealed, and was to be deliuered to the ambassadour at his next comming to Court, before when the Emperor fell sicke of a surfet, and so died.

After whose death the case was woondrously altered with the ambassador: for whereas both in his owne conceit, and in all mens opinion els, he was in great forwardnes to haue growen a great man with the Emperor, what for the loue he bare to her Maiesty, and the particular liking he had of himselfe, he now fell into the hands of his great enemies, Mekita Romanouich and Andre Shalkan the chanceller, who, after the death of the Emperour, tooke the speciall gouernment upon themselues, and so presently caused the Ambassadour to be shut vp a close prisoner in his owne house, for the space of nine weeks, and was so straightly guarded and badly vsed by those that attended him, as he dayly suspected some further mischiefe to haue followed: for in this time there grew a great vprore in Mosco of nigh twenty thousand persons, which remembring that his enemies reigned, somewhat amazed the ambassadour, but yet afterwards the matter fell out against that great counsellor Bodan Belskoy, whom I noted before to be a speciall man in the old Emperors fauor: who was now notwithstanding so outragiously assaulted, as that he was forced to seeke the Emperors chamber for his safety, and was afterwards sent away to Cazan, a place he had in gouernment, fiue hundred miles from Mosco, where he hath remained euer since, and neuer as yet called againe to court, at which time the ambassador expected some such like measure, and prepared himselfe aswell as he could, for his defence: yet happily after this, was sent for to court, to haue his dispatch, and to take his leaue of the Emperor: whither being conducted (not after the woonted maner) and brought to the councell chamber, came to him onely Shalkan the chanceller and a brother of his, who without more adoe, tolde him for the summe of his dispatch, that this Emperour would not treat of further amity with the Queene his mistresse, then such as was betweene his late father and her, before his comming thither: and would not heare any reply to be made by the ambassadour, but presently caused both himselfe and all his company to be disarmed of their weapons, and go towards the Emperor. In which passage there were such outrages offered him as had he not vsed more patience then his disposition afforded him, or the occasion required, he had not in likelihood escaped with life, but yet at length was brought to the presence of the Emperour, who sayd nothing to him, but what the chancellor had already done, but offered him a letter to carry to her Maiesty, which the ambassadour (for that he knew it conteined nothing that did concerne his ambassage) refused till he saw his danger grow too great: neither would the Emperour suffer the ambassadour to reply ought, nor well he could, for they had now of purpose taken away his interpretor, being yet vnwilling (as it seemed, and suspecting the ambassadours purpose) that the Emperor and other should know how dishonourably he had beene handled: for there was at that time, in that presence a noble braue gentleman, one Boris Pheodorouich Godenoe, brother to the Emperor that now is, who yet after the death of the Emperour did alwayes vse the ambassadour most honorably, and would very willingly haue done him much more kindenesse, but his authority was not yet, till the coronation of the Emperor: but notwithstanding he sent often vnto him, not long before his departure, and accompanied his many honourable fauours with a present of two faire pieces of cloth of golde, and a tymber of very good sables: and desired that as there was kindnesse and brotherhood twixt the Emperor and her Maiesty, so there might be loue and brotherhood twixt him and the Ambassadour. Sauing from this man, there was now no more fauour left for the ambassadour in Moscouia: for the chanceller Shalkan had now sent him word that the English Emperor was dead: he had now nothing offered him but dangers and disgraces too many, and a hasty dispatch from the Mosco, that he might not tary the coronation of the new Emperour: offences many in his preparation for his long iourney, onely one meane gentleman

The great friendship of L. Boris Pheodorouich.

appointed to accompany him to the sea side, expecting daily in his passage some sudden reuenge to be done vpon him, for so he understood it was threatned before his comming from the Mosco, and therefore with resolution prouided by all the meanes he might, by himselfe and his seruants for his defence (for now was his danger knowen such, as the English merchants did altogether leaue him, although he commanded them in her Maiesties name to accompany him) that if any such thing should happen to be offered him, as many of them as he could that should offer to execute it, should die with him for company: which being perceiued was thought to make his passage the safer. So afterward being driuen to disgest many iniuries by the way, at length he recouered S. Nicholas, where remembring his vnfortunate losse of the old Emperor, and his ill vsage since then at the Mosco, he being forced to take a bare letter for the summe of his dispatch, conteyning nothing of that he came for, and the poore and disgraceful present sent him (in the name of the Emperour) in respect of that that was meant him by the old Emperor, knowing all these to be done in disgrace of her Maiestie and himselfe, determined now to be discharged of some part of them in such sort as he could, and so prouiding as he might to preuent his danger, in getting to his shippe, furnishing and placing his men to answere any assault that should be offered him, after he had bidden farewell to the vncourteous gentleman that brought him thither, by three or foure of the valiantest and discreetest men he had, he sent to be deliuered him or left at his lodging, his maisters weake letter, and worsse present, and so afterwards happily (though hardly) recouered his ship in safetie, although presently afterwards, there was great hurly burly after him, to force him to receiue the same againe, but failed of their purpose. So came the ambassadour from S. Nicholas the twelfth day of August, and arriued at Grauesend the twelfth of September following, and attended her Maiestie at the court at Otelands, where, after hauing kist her Maiesties hands, and deliuered some part of the successe of his ambassage, he presented her an Elke or Loshe, the Red deere of the countrey, and also a brace of Raine deare, Buck and Doe, both bearing very huge hornes: they in her Maiesties presence drew a sled and a man vpon it, after the maner of the Samoeds, a people that inhabite in the Northeast from Russia, and were that yeere come ouer the sea in the winter season vpon the yce, in their sleds, drawen with these deere into Russia, where the ambassadour bought of them seuenteene, whereof he brought nine aliue into Kent.

The maner of the preferring of sutes in Russia, by the example of our English merchants bill, exhibited to the Emperour.

John Basiliwich, Lord, King, and great Duke of all Russia, the English merchants, William sonne of Thomas, with his company sue vnto.

Lord, in the 7082. yeere of the worlds creation, thy Maiesties treasurer, named Gregorie Mekitowich Borozden, tooke of vs for thy vse 12. poods of loafe sugar, prised at 8. robles the pood, which sugar was sent to the || Sloboda. More, the sayd Gregorie treasurer, tooke of vs for thy Maiestie 200. reames of paper, prised at 20. altines the reame, for all which the money hath not bene payd which amounteth to 216. robles.

|| The Emperours house of recreation.

And in the 84. yeere thy diake Stephan Lighachdo tooke of vs for thy Maiesty copper plates, for the summe of 1032. robles and one fourth part vnpayd for.

Also in the said 84. yeere thy Maiesties diakes called Iuan Blasghoy, and Iuan Sobakin tooke of us for thy vse, sundry commodities, and haue not payd 630. robles, the rest of the money due for the said goods.

In the 85. yeere thy Maiesties treasurer Peter Gholauen tooke of vs for thy Maiestie, cloth of sundry sorts, and hath not payd of the money due therefore 538 robles.

In the 88. yere, thy diakes Andrea Shalkan, and Istomay Yeuskoy tooke of vs lead for thy Maiestie, to the value of 267. robles and a halfe not payd.

And in the same yeere thy Maiesties diak Boris Gregoriwich had for thy vse 15. broad cloths of diuerse sorts, prised at 210. robles, whereof 90. robles are vnpayd.

Also in the said 88. yere thy diak Andrea Shalkan tooke from vs 1000. robles for thee (Lord) in ready money, yet we know not whether by thy Maiesties appointment.

And also in the 89. yeere (Lord) thy diak Andrea Shalkan tooke from vs for thy Maiesty 500. robles, we know not whether by thy Maiesties order or no, because that thy authorized people do yeerely take away from vs, neither do they giue vs right in any cause.

All the mony (Lord) which is not payd vs out of thy Maiesties treasury for our commodities or wares, with the money taken from vs by Andrea Shalkan, is 4273. robles 25. altines.

Right noble king and Lord, shew thy mercy, and cause the money to be payd vs which is owing for our goods, as also that which has beene taken from vs: extend thy fauor, King and Lord.

A letter of M. Henrie Lane to the worshipfull M. William Sanderson, conteining a briefe discourse of that which passed in the Northeast discouery for the space of three and thirtie yeres.

MAster Sanderson, as you lately requested mee, so have I sought, and though I cannot finde things that heretofore I kept in writing, and lent out to others, yet perusing at London copies of mine old letters to content one that meaneth to pleasure many, I haue briefly and as truely as I may, drawen out as foloweth: the rough hewing may be planed at your leasure, or as pleaseth him that shall take the paines.

First the honorable attempt to discouer by sea Northeast and Northwest named for Cathay, being chiefly procured by priuiledge from king Edward the sixt, and other his nobilitie, by and at the cost and sute of M. Sebastian Cabota, then gouernor for discoueries with sir Andrew Iudde, sir George Barnes, sir William Garrard, M. Anthonie Hussie, and a companie of merchants, was in the last yeere of his Maiesties reigne 1553. The generall charge whereof was committed to one sir Hugh Willoughbie knight, a goodly Gentleman, accompanied with sufficient number of Pilots, Maisters, Merchants and Mariners, hauing three shippes well furnished, to wit, The Bona Sperança, the Edward Bonaduenture, and the Confidentia. The Edward Bonaduenture, Richard Chanceller being Pilot, and Steuen Burrough Maister, hauing discouered Wardhouse vpon the coast of Finmark, by storme or fogge departed from the rest, found the bay of S. Nicholas now the chiefe port for Russia, there wintred in safetie, and had ayde of the people at a village called Newnox.

Anno 1553. M. William Burrough was then yong, and with his brother in this first voyage.

Newnox is from the road of S. Nicholas Westward 35. miles.

The other two shippes attempting further Northwards (as appeared by pamphlets found after written by Sir Hugh Willoughbie) were in September encountered with such extreame colde, that they put backe to seeke a wintring place: and missing the saide baye fell vpon a desert coast in Lappia, entring into a Riuer immediately frozen vp, since discouered, named Arzina Reca, distant East from a Russian Monastery of Monkes called Pechingho, from whence they neuer returned, but all to the number of 70. persons perished, which was for want of experience to haue made caues and stoues. These were found with the shippes the next Summer Anno 1554. by Russe fishermen: and in Anno 1555. the place sent vnto by English merchants as hereafter appeareth.

Note.

Anno 1554.

Anno 1554. the sayd shippe Edward Bonaduenture (although robbed homewards by Flemings) returned with her company to London, shewing and setting foorth their entertainments and discouery of the countreys euen to the citie of Mosco, from whence they brought a priuilege written in Russe with the Kings or great Dukes seale, the other two shippes looked for and vnknowen to them where they were.

Anno 1555.

The King and Queenes letters.

An. 1555. the said company of Merchants for discouerie vpon a new supply, sent thither againe with two ships, to wit, the Edward Bonaduenture, and another bearing the name of the King and Queene, Philip and Marie, whose Maiesties by their letters to the said Moscouite, recommended sundry their subiects then passing, whereof certaine, to wit, Richard Chanceller, George Killingworth, Henry Lane, and Arthur Edwards, after their arriuall at the Bay, and passing vp Dwina to Vologda went first to Mosco, where, vpon knowledge of the said letters, they with their traine had speciall entertainment, with houses and diet appointed, and shortly permitted to the princes presence, they were with gentlemen brought through the citie of Mosco, to the castle and palace, replenished with numbers of people, and some gunners. They entred sundry roomes, furnished in shew with ancient graue personages, all in long garments of sundry colours, golde, tissue, baldekin, and violet, as our vestments and copes haue bene in England, sutable with caps, iewels, and chaines. These were found to be no countries, but ancient Moscouites, inhabitants, and other their merchants of credite, as the maner is, furnished thus from the Wardrobe and Treasurie, waiting and wearing this apparell for the time, and so to restore it.

Then entring into the presence, being a large roome floored with carpets, were men of more estate, and richer shew, in number aboue an hundred set square: who after the said English men came in, doing reuerence, they all stood vp, the prince onely sitting, and yet rising at any occasion, when our King and Queenes names were read or spoken. Then after speeches by interpretation, our men kissing his hande, and bidden to dinner, were stayed in another roome, and at dinner brought through, where might be seene massie siluer and gilt plate, some like and as bigge as kilderkins, and washbowles, and entring the dining place, being the greater roome, the prince was set bare headed, his crowne and and rich cappe standing vpon a pinnacle by. Not farre distant sate his Metropolitane, with diuers other of his kindred, and chiefe Tartarian Captaines: none sate ouer against him, or any, at other tables, their backes towards him: which tables all furnished with ghests set, there was for the Englishmen, named by the Russes, Ghosti Carabelski, to wit, strangers or merchants by ship, a table in the middest of the roome, where they were set direct against the prince: and then began the seruice, brought in by a number of his yoong Lordes and Gentlemen, in such rich attire, as is aboue specified: and still from the Princes table (notwithstanding their owne furniture) they had his whole messes set ouer all in massie fine golde, deliuered euery time from him by name to them, by their seuerall Christian names, as they sate, viz. Richard, George, Henry, Arthur. Likewise bread and sundry drinkes of purified mead, made of fine white and clarified honie. At their rising, the prince called them to his table, to receiue each one a cup from his hand to drinke, and tooke in his hand Master George Killingworths beard, which reached ouer the table, and pleasantly deliuered it the Metropolitane, who seeming to blesse it, sayd in Russe, this is Gods gift. As in deede at that time it was not onely thicke, broad, and yellow coloured, but in length fiue foot and two inches of assize. Then taking leaue, being night, they were accompanied and followed with a number, carying pots of drinke, and dishes of meat dressed, to our lodging.

M. Killingworths beard of a marueilous length.

This yeere the two shippes, with the dead bodies of Sir Hugh Willoughbie, and his people, were sent vnto by Master Killingworth, (which remained there in Mosco Agent almost two yeeres) and much of the goods and victuals were recouered and saued.

Anno 1556. Anno 1556. The company sent two ships for Russia, with extraordinary masters and saylers to bring home the two ships, which were frozen in Lappia, in the riuer of Arzina aforesaid. The two ships sent this yeere from England sailing from Lapland to the Bay of S. Nicholas, tooke in lading with passengers, to wit, a Russe ambassador, named Ioseph Napea, and some of his men shipped with Richard Chanceller in the Edward. But so it fell out that the two which came from Lappia, with all their new Masters and Mariners, neuer were heard of, but in foule weather, and wrought seas, after their two yeeres wintring in Lapland, became, as is supposed, vnstanch, and sunke, wherein were drowned also diuers Russes merchants, and seruants of the ambassadour. A third shippe the Edward aforesayd, falling on the North part of Scotland, vpon a rocke was also lost, and Master Chanceller, with diuers other, drowned. The sayd Russe ambassadour hardly escaping, with other his men, mariners, and some goods saued, were sent for into Scotland, from the King, Queene, and Merchants (the messenger being M. Doctor Laurence Hussie, and others:) And then, as in the chronicles appeareth, honorably enterteined and receiued at London.

This yeere also the company furnished and sent out a pinnesse, named the Serchthrift, to discouer the harborowes in the North coast from Norway to Wardhouse, and so to the Bay of S. Nicholas. There was in her Master and Pilot, Stephen Burrough, with his brother William, and eight other. Their discouery was beyond the Bay, towarde the Samoeds, people dwelling neare the riuer of Ob, and found a sound or sea with an Island called Vaigats, first by them put into the Carde or Mappe. In that place they threw snowe out of their said pinnesse, with shouels in August, by which extremitie, and lacke of time, they came backe to Russia, and wintred at Colmogro.

Anno 1557. Anno 1557. The company with foure good ships, sent backe the said Russe ambassadour, and in company with him, sent as an Agent, for further discouery, Master Anthony Ienkinson, who afterward anno 1558, with great fauour of the prince of Moscouia, and his letters passed the riuer Volga to Cazan, and meaning to seeke Cathay by land, was by many troupes and companies of vnciuil Tartarians encountred, and in danger: but keeping company with merchants of Bactria, o Boghar, and Vrgeme, trauelling with camels, he with his company, Boghar voyage. 1560.

The first trade to the Narue. 1560.

went to Boghar, and no further: whose entertainment of the king is to be had of master Ienkinson, which returned anno 1559. to Moscouie. And in anno 1560. he with Henry Lane, came home into England: which yeere was the first safe returne, without losse or shipwracke, or dead fraight, and burnings. And at this time was the first traffike to the Narue in Livonia, which confines with Lituania, and all the dominions of Russia: and the markets, faires, commodities, great townes and riuers, were sent vnto by dyuers seruants: the reports were taken by Henry Lane, Agent, and deliuered to the companie, 1561. The trade to Rie, and Reuel, of old time hath bene long since frequented by our English nation, but this trade to the Narue was hitherto concealed from vs by the Danskers and Lubeckers.

Anno 1561. the said Master Anthony Ienkinson went Agent into Russia, who the next yeere after, passing all the riuer of Volga to Astracan, and ouer the Caspian sea, arriued in Persia, and opened the trade thither.

Alcock slaine in Persia.
Bannister died in Media.
Edwards died at Astracan.

Also betweene the yeeres 1568. and 1573. sundry voyages after Master Ienkinsons, were made by Thomas Alcock, Arthur Edwards, Master Thomas Banister, and Master Geffrey Ducket, whose returne (if spoyle neere Volga had not preuented by rouing theeues) had altogether salued and recouered the companies (called the olde companies) great losse, charges, and damages: but the saying is true, By vnitie small things grow great, and by contention great things become small. This may be vnderstood best by the company. The forwardnesse of some few, euill doing of some vniust factors, was cause of muche of the euill successe.

Arthur Edwards was sent againe 1579. and died in the voyage at Astracan. About which matters, are to be remembred the voyages of Master Thomas Randolph Esquire, Ambassador, anno 1567. And late of Sir Ierome Bowes, anno 1583. both tending and treating for further discoueries, freedomes, and priuileges, wherewith I meddle not. But in conclusion, for their paines and aduentures this way (as diuers do now adayes other wayes) as worthy Gentlemen sent from princes, to doe their countrey good, I put them in your memorie, with my hearty farewell. From S. Margarets neere Dartforth in Kent.

Yours Henry Lane.

|| Or Theodor.

The most solemne, and magnificent coronation of || Pheodor Iuanowich, Emperour of Russia &c. the tenth of Iune, in the yeere 1584. seene and obserued by Master Ierome Horsey gentleman, and seruant to her Maiesty, a man of great trauell, and long experience in those parts: wherewith is also ioyned the course of his iourney ouer land from Mosco to Emden.

The death of Iuan Vasiliwich, 1584. Apr. 18.

When the old Emperour Iuan Vasiliwich died, (being about the eighteenth of Aprill, 1584. after our computation) in the citie of Mosco, hauing raigned 54 yeeres, there was some tumult and vprore among some of the nobilitie, and cominaltie, which notwithstanding was quickly pacified. Immediately the same night, the Prince Boris Pheodorowich Godonoua, Knez Iuan Pheodorowich, Mesthis Slafsky, Knez Iuan Petrowich Susky, Mekita Romanowich and Bodan Iacoulewich Belskoy, being all noble men, and chiefest in the Emperors Will, especially the Lord Boris, whom he adopted as his third sonne, and was brother to the Empresse, who was a man very wel liked of al estates, as no lesse worthy for his valure and wisdome: all these were appointed to dispose, and settle his sonne Pheodor Iuanowich, hauing one sworne another, and all the nobilitie, and officers whosoeuer. In the morning ye dead Emperor was layd into the Church of Michael the Archangel, into a hewen sepulcre, very richly decked with vestures fit for such a purpose: and present Proclamation was made, (Emperor Pheodor Iuanowich of all Russia, &c.) Throughout all the citie of Mosco was great watch and ward, with souldiers, and gunners, good orders established, and officers placed to subdue the tumulters, and mainteine quietnes: to see what speede and policie was in this case vsed was a thing worth the beholding. This being done in Mosco, great men of birth and accompt were also presently sent to the bordering Townes, as Smolensko, Vobsko, Kasan, Nouogorod &c. with fresh garrison, and the old sent vp. As vpon the 4. of May a parliament was held, wherein were assembled, the Metropolitane, Archbishops, Bishops, Priors, and chiefe clergie men, and all the nobility whatsoeuer: where many matters were determined not pertinent to my purpose, yet all tended to a new reformation in the gouernment: but especially the terme, and time was agreed

L. Boris adopted as the Emperors third sonne.

vpon for the solempnizing of the new Emperors coronation. In the meane time ye Empresse, wife to the old Emperor, was with her child the Emperors sonne, Charlewich Demetrie Iuanowich, of one yeres age or there abouts, sent with her father Pheodor Pheodorowich Nagay, and that kindred, being 5. Brothers, to a towne called Ouglets, which was giuen vnto her, and the young Prince her sonne, with all the lands belonging to it in the shire, with officers of all sortes appointed, hauing allowance of apparell, iewels, diet, horse &c. in ample maner belonging to the estate of a princesse. The time of mourning after their vse being expired, called Sorachyn, or fortie orderlie dayes, the day of the solemnizing of this coronation, with great preparations, was come, being vpon the 10. day of Iune, 1584: and that day then Sunday, he being of the age of 25. yeres: at which time, Master Ierome Horsey was orderly sent for, and placed in a fit roome to see all the solemnitie. The Emperor comming out of his Pallace, there went before him, the Metropolitan, Archbishops, Bishops, and chiefest Monkes, and Clergie men, with very rich Copes, and Priestes garments vpon them, carying pictures of our Ladie &c. with the Emperours Angell, banners, censers, and many other such ceremonious things, singing all the way. The Emperour with his nobilitie in order entred the Church named Blaueshina, or Blessednes, where prayers, and seruice were vsed, according to the maner of their Church: that done, they went thence to the Church, called Michael the Archangell, and there also vsed the like prayers, and seruice: and from thence to our Lady Church, Prechista, being their Cathedrall Church. In the middest thereof was a chaire of maiestie placed, wherein his Auncestors vsed to sit at such extraordinarie times: his robes were then changed, and most rich and vnualuable garments put on him: being placed in this Princely seate, his nobility standing round about him in their degres, his imperiall Crowne was set vpon his head by the Metropolitane, his Scepter globe in his right hand, his sword of Iustice in his left of great riches: his 6. Crownes also, by which he holdeth his kingdomes were set before him, and the Lord Boris Pheodorowich was placed at his right hand: then the Metropolitan read openly a booke of a small volume, with exhortations to the Emperour to minister true iustice, to inioy with tranquilitie the Crowne of his auncestors, which God had giuen him, and vsed these words following.

The old Empresse, her father, and her yong sonne sent to Ouglets.

The day of Pheodor his coronation.

Through the will of the almighty and without beginning God which was before this world, whom we glorifie in the Trinitie, one onely God, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, maker of all things, worker of all in all euery where, fulfiller of all things, by which will, and working, he both liueth, and giueth life to man: that our only God which enspireth euery one of vs his only children with his word to discerne God through our Lord Iesus Christ, and the holy quickning spirit of life, now in these perilous times establish vs to keep the right Scepter, and suffer vs to raigne of our selues to the good profit of the land, to the subduing of the people, together with the enemies, and the maintenance of vertue. And so the Metropolitan blessed and layd his crosse vpon him. After this, he was taken out of his chaire of Maiestie, hauing vpon him an vpper robe adorned with precious stones of all sorts, orient pearles of great quantitie, but alwayes augmented in riches: it was in waight two hundred pounds, the traine, and parts thereof borne vp by 6. Dukes, his chiefe imperiall Crowne vpon his head very precious: his staffe imperiall in his right hand of an vnicornes horne of three foot and a halfe in length beset with rich stones, bought of Merchants of Ausburge by the old Emperour in An. 1581, and cost him 7000. Markes sterling. This Iewel M. Horsey kept sometimes, before the Emperor had it. His scepter globe was caried before him by the prince Boris Pheodorowich, his rich cap beset with rich stones and pearles was caried before him by a Duke: his 6. Crownes also were caried by Demetrius Iuanowich Godonoua, the Emperors vncle, Mekita Romanowich the Emperors vncle, Stephan Vasiliwich, Gregory Vasiliwich, Iuan Vasiliwich brothers of the blood royal. Thus at last the Emperor came to the great Church doore, and the people cried, God saue our Emperour Pheodor Iuanowich of al Russia. His horse was there ready most richly adorned, with a couering of imbrodered pearle, and precious stones, saddle, and all furniture agreeable to it, reported to be worth 300000. markes sterling.

There was a bridge made of 150. fadome in length, three maner of waies, three foote aboue ground and two fadome broad, for him to goe from one Church to the other with his Princes and nobles from the presse of the people, which were in number infinite, and some at that time pressed to death with the throng. As the Emperour returned out of the Churches, they were spred vnder foot with cloth of gold, the porches of the Church with red velvet, the bridges with scarlet, and stammell cloth from one church to another: and as soone as the Emperor was passed by, the cloth of gold, veluet and scarlet was cut, and taken of those that could come by it, euery man desirous to haue a piece, to reserue it for a monument: siluer and gold coyne, then mynted of purpose was cast among the people in great quantitie. The lord Boris Pheodorowich was sumptuously, and richly attired, with his garments decked with great orient pearle, beset with al sorts of precious stones. In like rich maner were appareled all the family of the Godonouaes in their degrees, with the rest of the princes, and nobilitie, whereof one named Knez Iuan Michalowich Glynsky, whose robe, horse, and furniture, was in register found worth one hundred thousand markes sterling, being of great antiquitie. The Empresse being in her pallace, was placed in her chaire of Maiesty also before a great open window: most precious, and rich were her robes, and shining to behold, with rich stones, and orient pearle beset, her crowne was placed vpon her head, accompanied with her Princesses, and Ladies of estate: then cried out the people, God preserue our noble Empresse Irenia. After all this the Emperour came into the Parliament house which was richly decked: there he was placed in his royall seat adorned as before: his 6. crownes were set before him vpon a table: the basin, and ewer royall of gold held by his knight of gard with his men standing two on each side in white apparell of cloth of siluer, called Kindry, with scepters, and battle axes of gold in their hands: the Princes, and nobilitie were all placed according to their degrees all in their rich roabs.

The Emperour after a short oration, permitted euery man in order to kisse his hande: which being done, he remoued to a princely seate prepared for him at the table: where he was serued by his nobles in very princely order. The three out roomes being very great, and large were beset with plate of golde, and siluer round, from the ground vp to the vaults one vpon the other: among which plate were many barrels of siluer, and golde: this solemnitie, and triumph lasted a whole weeke, wherein many royall pastimes were shewed and vsed: after which the chiefest men of the nobilitie were elected to their places of office, and dignitie, as the Prince Boris Pheodorowich was made chiefe Counseller to the Emperor, Master of the horse, had the charge of his person, Liuetenant of the Empire, and Warlike engins, Gouernor or Liuetenant of the Empire of Cazan, and Astracan and others: to this dignitie were by Parliament, and gift of the

Emperor giuen him many reuenues, and rich lands, as there was giuen him, and his for euer to inherite a prouince called Vaga, of 300. English miles in length, and 250. in bredth, with many townes and great villages populous and wealthy, his yeerely revenue out of that prouince, is 35. thousand markes sterling, being not the 5. part of his yerely reuenue. Further, he and his house be of such authoritie, and power, that in 40. days warning they are able to bring into the fielde 100. thousand Souldiers well furnished.

The conclusion of the Emperors Coronation was a peale of ordinance, called a peale royall two miles without the citie, being 170. great pieces of brasse of all sorts, as faire as any can be made, these pieces were all discharged with shot against bulwarkes made of purpose: 20. thousand hargubusers standing in 8. rankes two miles in length, appareled all in veluet, coloured silke and stammels, discharged their shot also twise ouer in good order: and so the Emperor accompanied with all his princes and nobles, at the least 50. thousand horse departed through the City to his pallace. This royall coronation would aske much time, and many leaues of paper to be described particularly as it was performed: it shal suffice, to vnderstand that the like magnificence was neuer seen in Russia.

The coronation, and other triumphes ended, al the nobilitie, officers, and merchants according to an accustomed order euery one in his place, and degree brought rich presents vnto the Emperor, wishing him long life, and ioy in his kingdome.

The same time also Master Ierom Horsey aforesaid, remayning as seruant in Russia for the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, was called for to the Emperor, as he sate in his imperiall seat, and then also a famous Merchant of Netherland being newly come to Mosco, (who gaue him selfe out to be the king of Spaines subiect) called Iohn de Wale, was in like sort called for. Some of the nobilitie would haue preferred this subiect of the Spaniard before Master Horsey seruant to the Queene of England, whereunto Master Horsey would in no case agree, saying, he would haue his legges cut off by the knees, before he would yeeld to such an indignitie offered to his Soueraigne the Queenes Maiesty of England, to bring the Emperor a present, in course after the King of Spaines subiect, or any other whatsoeuer. The Emperor, and the Prince Boris Pheodorowich perceiuing the controuersie, sent the Lord Treasorer Peter Iuanowich Galauyn, and

Iohn de Wale.

Vasili Shalkan, both of the Counsell, to them, who deliuered the Emperor backe, Master Horseys speech: whereupon he was first in order (as good reason) admitted and presented the Emperor in the behalfe of the English merchants trading thither, a present wishing him ioy, and long to raigne in tranquilitie, and so kissed the Emperors hand, he accepting the present with good liking, and auouching, that for his sisters sake Queene Elizabeth of England, he would be a gracious Lord to her Merchants, in as ample maner as euer his father had ben: and being dismissed, he had the same day sent him 70. dishes of sundry kinds of meats, with 3. carts laden with al sorts of drinks very bountifully. After him was the foresayd subiect of the Spanish king admitted with his present, whom the Emperor willed to be no lesse faithfull and seruiceable vnto him, then the Queene of Englands subiects were and had bene, and then the king of Spaines subiects should receiue fauour accordingly.

All these things thus in order performed, praises were sung in all the churches. The Emperor and Empresse very deuoutly resorted on foote to many principal Churches in the Citie, and vpon Trinitie Sunday betooke themselues to a progresse in order of procession, to a famous monasterie called Sergius and the Trinitie 60. miles distant from the Citie of Mosco, accompanied with a huge armie of Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, mounted vpon goodly horses with furniture accordingly.

The Empresse of deuotion tooke this iourney on foot all the way, accompanied with her princesses and ladies, no small number: her guard and gunners were in number 20000, her chiefe counseller or attendant, was a noble man of the blood Roial her vncle of great authoritie called Demetri Iuanowich Godonoua. All this progresse ended, both the Emperor and Empresse returned to Mosco: shortly after the Emperor by the direction of the prince Boris Pheodorowich, sent a power into the land of Siberia, where all the rich Sables and Furres are gotten. This power conquered in one yeere and a halfe, 1000. miles. In the performance of this warre, there was taken prisoner the Emperor of the countrey called Chare Sibersky, and with him many other dukes and noble men, which were brought to Mosko with a guard of souldiers and gunners, who were receiued into the citie in very honorable maner, and do there remaine to this day.

Chare Siberski prince of Siberia taken prisoner and brought to Mosco.

Hereupon the corrupt officers, Iudges, Iustices, captains and lieutenants through the whole kingdom were remooued, and more honest men substituted in their places, with expresse commandement, vnder seuere punishment to surcease their old bribing and extortion which they had vsed in the old Emperors time, and now to execute true iustice without respect of persons: and to the end that this might be the better done, their lands and yeerly stipends were augmented: the great taskes, customes, and duties, which were before layd vpon the people in the old Emperors time, were now abated, and some wholy remitted, and no punishments commanded to be vsed, without sufficient and due proofe, although the crime were capitall, deseruing death: many Dukes and noble men of great houses, that were vnder displeasure, and imprisoned 20. yeeres by the old Emperor, were now set at libertie and restored to their lands: all prisoners were set at libertie and their trespasses forgiuen. In summe, a great alteration vniuersally in the gouernment folowed, and yet all was done quietly, ciuilly, peaceably, without trouble to the Prince, or offence to the Subiect: and this bred great assurance and honour to the kingdom, and all was accomplished by the wisedom especially of Irenia the Empresse.

These things being reported and caried to the eares of the kings and princes that were borderers vpon Russia, they grew so fearefull and terrible to them, that the Monarch of all the Scythians called the Crimme Tartar or great Can himselfe, named Sophet Keri Alli, came out of his owne countrey to the Emperor of Russia, accompanied with a great number of his nobilitie well horsed, although to them that were Christians they seemed rude, yet they were personable men, and valiant: their comming was gratefull to the Emperor, and their entertainment was honourable, the Tartar prince having brought with him his wiues also, receiued of the Russe Emperor entertainment, and princely welcome according to their estates.

Sophet Keri Alli king of the Crimmes arriual at Mosco.

Not long after, 1200. Polish gentlemen, valiant Souldiors, and proper men came to Mosko offring their seruice to the Emperor, who were all entertained: and in like sort many Chirkasses, and people of other nations came and offred seruice. And assoone as the report of this new created Emperor was spred ouer other kingdoms of Europe, there were sent to him sundry Ambassadors to wish him ioy and prosperitie in his kingdom: thither came Ambassadors from the Turke, from the Persian, the Bogharian, the Crimme, the Georgian, and many other Tartar princes. There came also Ambassadors from the Emperor of Almaine, the Pole, the Swethen, the Dane, &c. And since his coronation no enemie of his hath preuailed in his attempts.

The new Emperor Pheodore Iuanowich his letters and requests to the Queene.

It fell out not long after, that the Emperor was desirous to send a message to the most excellent Queene of England, for which seruice he thought no man fitter then M. Ierome Horsey, supposing that one of the Queenes owne men and subiects would be the more acceptable to her. The summe of which message was, that the Emperor desired a continuance of that league, friendship, amitie and intercourse of traffique which was betweene his father and the Queens maiestie and her subiects, with other priuate affaires besides, which are not to be made common.

M. Horseis voiage from Mosco to England ouerland.

Master Horsey hauing receiued the letters and requests of the Emperor, prouided for his iourney ouer land, and departed from Mosco the fift day of September, thence vnto Otuer, to Torshook, to great Nouogrod, to Vobsky, and thence to Nyhouse in Liuonia, to Wenden, and so to Riga: (where he was beset, an brought foorthwith before a Cardinall called Rageuil, but yet suffred to passe in the end:) From thence to Mito, to Golden, and Libou in Curland, to Memel, to Koningsburgh in Prussia, to Elbing, to Dantzike, to Stetine in Pomerland, to Rostock, to Lubeck, to Hamborough, to Breme, to Emden, and by sea to London. Being arriued at her maiesties roiall court, and hauing deliuered the Emperors letters with good fauour, and gracious acceptance, he was foorthwith againe commaunded to repasse into Russia, with other letters from her maiestie to the Emperor, and prince Boris Pheodorowich, answering the Emperors letters, and withall requesting the fauour and friendship, which his father had yeelded to the English merchants: and hereunto was he earnestly also solicited by the merchants of London themselues of that company, to deale in their behalfe. Being thus dispatched from London by sea, he arriued in Mosco, the 20. of April 1586. and was very honourably welcommed. And for yᵉ merchants behoofe, obtained all his requests, being therein specially fauoured by yᵉ noble prince Boris Pheodorowich, who alwayes affected M. Horsey with speciall liking. And hauing obtained priuiledges for the merchants, he was recommended from the Emperor againe, to the Queene of England his mistresse,

1586.

by whom the prince Boris, in token of his honorable and good opinion of the Queens maiestie, sent her highnesse a roiall present of Sables, Luzarns, cloth of gold and other rich things. So that the companie of English merchants, next to their thankfulnes to her maiestie, are to account M. Horseis paines their speciall benefit, who obtained for them those priuileges, which in twentie yeeres before would not be granted.

The maner of M. Horseis last dispatch from the Emperor, because it was very honorable, I thought good to record. He was freely allowed post horses for him and his seruants, victuals and all other necessaries for his long iourney; at euery towne that he came vnto from Mosco to Vologda, which is by land fiue hundred miles, he receiued the like free and bountifull allowances, at the Emperors charge. New victuall and prouision were giuen him vpon the riuer Dwina at euery towne by the Kings officers, being one thousand miles in length. When he came to the new castle called Archangel, he was receiued of the Duke Knez Vasili Andrewich Isuenogorodsky by the Emperors commission into the Castle, gunners being set in rankes after their vse, where he was sumptuously feasted: from thence hee was dispatched with bountifull prouision and allowance in the Dukes boat, with one hundred men to rowe him, and one hundred Gunners in other boats to conduct him, with a gentleman captaine of the Gunners. Comming to the road where the English, Dutch, and French ships rode, the gunners discharged, and the ships shot in like maner 46. pieces of their ordinance, and so he was brought to his lodging at the English house vpon Rose Island.

And that which was the full and complete conclusion of the fauour of the Emperor and Boris Pheodorowich toward M. Horsey, there were the next day sent him for his further prouision vpon the sea by a gentleman and a captaine the things following.

16. liue oxen.
70. sheepe.
600. hens.
25. flitches of Bacon.
80. bushels of meale.
600. loaues of bread.
2000. egs.
10. geese.
2. cranes.

2. swans.
65. gallons of mead.
40. gallons of Aquauitæ.
60. gallons of beere.
3. yong beares.
4. hawkes.
Store of onions and garlike.
10. fresh salmons.
A wild bore.

All these things were brought him downe by a Gentleman of the Emperors, and another of prince Boris Pheodorowich, and were receiued in order by Iohn Frese seruant to M. Horsey, together with an honorable present and reward from the prince Boris, sent him by M. Francis Cherry an Englishman: which present was a whole very rich piece of cloth of gold, and a faire paire of Sables. This gentleman hath obserued many other rare things concerning those partes, which hereafter (God willing) at more conuenient time and laisure shall come to light.

Pheodor Iuanowich the new Emperors gracious letter of priuilege to the English Merchants word for word, obtained by M. Ierome Horsey. 1586.

THrough the wil of the almightie, and without beginning God, which was before this world, whom we glorifie in ye Trinitie, one only God the father, the sonne, and the holy ghost, maker of all things, worker of all in all euery where, fulfiller of all things, by which will and working, he both loueth and giueth life to man, That our onely God, which inspireth euery one of vs his onely children with his word, to descerne God through our Lord Iesus Christ, and the holy quickning spirit of life now in these perilous times, Establish vs to keep the right Scepter, and suffer vs of our selues to raigne to the good profite of the land, and to the subduing of the people, together with the enemies, and to the maintenance of virtue.

We Pheodor the ofspring of Iohn, the great Lord, Emperor, king and great prince of all Russia, of Volodemeria, Moscouia and Nouogrod, king of Cazan, king of Astracan, Lord of Plesko, and great prince of Smolensko, of Tuer, Yougoria, Permia, Viatsko, of Bolghar and others, lord and great prince of the land of the lower Nouogrod, Chernigo, Rezan, Polotsko, Rostow.

Yeraslaue, the White lake, Liefland, Oudor, Condensa, and Ruler of all Siberia, and all the Northside, and lord of many other countries.

I haue gratified the merchants of England, to wit, sir Rowland Haiward, and Richard Martin Aldermen, sir George Barnes, Thomas Smith, esquire, Ierome Horsey, Richard Saltonstall, with their fellowes.

I haue licensed them to saile with their shippes into our dominion the land of Dwina, with all kind of commodities to trade freely, and vnto our kingdom and the citie of Mosco, and to all the cities of our empire of Moscouia.

And the English merchants sir Rowland Haiward and his societie desired vs, that we would gratifie them to trade into our kingdom of Moscouia, and into our heritage of great Nouogrod and Plesko, and into all parts of our kingdom, to buy and sell with their wares without custome.

Therefore we for our sisters sake Queene Elizabeth, and also because that they allege that they had great losse and hinderance by the venture of the sea, and otherwise, haue gratified the said English merchants sir Rowland Haiward and his societie, freely to come into our kingdom of Moscouia, and into al our dominions with al kind of commodities, to trade, and traffique freely, and at their pleasure with al kind of their commodities : also I haue commanded not to take any maner of custome for their goods, nor other customs whatsoeuer : That is to say, neither for passing by any place by water, nor for lanching, neither for passing through any place by land, neither for the vessels or boats, nor for their heads, nor for passing ouer bridges, nor for ferying ouer at any place, neither for acknowledgment at any place where they shall come, nor any maner of custome or dutie, by what name soeuer.

Only they shall not bring with them into our dominions, neither recarie out of our dominions, or father any other mens goods but their owne, neither sell them nor barter them away for them.

Also our natural people shall not buy and sell for them, or from them, neither shal they retaine or keepe any of our naturall subiects goods, or pawnes by them to colour them.

Also they shall not send any of their Russe seruants about into any citie to ingrosse, or buy vp commodities, but into what citie they themselues shal come, they shal buy and sel, and shal sel their owne commodities and not ours.

And when they shal come into our inheritance of great Nonogrod and Plesko, and through all our dominions with their commodities, then our noblemen, and captains, and euery one of our officers shall suffer them to depart according to this our letter, and shall take no custom at all of them, for any of their commodities, neither for passing through or passing by, nor for passage ouer any bridges, nor shall take of them any other dutie whatsoeuer name they haue.

Also into what places of our dominion, or when they shal happen to come, and to proceed to buy or sell, and wheresoeuer they shall passe through with goods not buying of any commodities, neither will sell their owne, then in those cities and townes they shall take no maner of custome or dutie of them accordingly as before.

And I haue gratified them and giuen them free leaue to traffique throughout all the dominions of our kingdom in all cities with their goods, to buy and sell all maner of commodities, without any dutie or custome whatsoeuer.

And the English merchants where they are desirous to buy or sell, or barter their wares with our merchants, whole wares for wares, they shall sell their commodies whole, and not by retaile: That is to say, neither by small weight nor by the yard, to sell or barter in their owne houses, and they shal sel and barter their wares wholly, Cloth by the packe, and by the whole Cloth, and Damaske and veluet by the piece and not by the yard, and al maner of commodities that are to be sold by weight, not to sell by the small weights, as by the pound and ounce, but by whole sale: also they shall sel wines by the pipe: and by the gallon, quart or stoope they shal not sell.

And they shall buy, sell and exchange their owne commodities themselues, and the Russe merchants shall not make sales or exchange for them or from them any of their commodities, neither shal they themselues conuey or cary through any other mans goods at no place instead of their owne: and which of the English merchants will at any time sell his commodities at Colmogro or Vologda or Yeraslaue, they may, and of their commodities throughout all our cities and dominions, our noblemen, captains, and euery of our officers shall take no maner of custome, according as it is written in this our gracious letter: and throughout all our dominions and cities they shal hire carriers and vessels with men to labour, at their owne charge, to transport their goods.

So likewise, whensoeuer the English merchants are disposed to depart out of our kingdom into any other countrey or into their owne land, if our pleasure be, they shall take our goods with them from our Treasurie, and shall sell them, and exchange them for such commoditie as is commodious for our kingdom, and shall deliuer it into our Treasurie, and with those our commodities, our Noblemen and captains, and euery of our officers shall let them passe through all our cities also without custome according to these our letters.

Also whensoever the English merchants shall haue sold their own goods and bought themselues commodities, and wil depart out of Mosco, then they shal manifest themselues to our chiefe Secretarie Andrew Sholkaloue, in the office where the Ambassadors are alwayes dispatched.

And if the English merchants comming, haue had any mischance by the sea, insomuch that the ship be broken, or if that ship do come to any part of our country: then we will cause the goods to be sought out in true Iustice, and to be giuen to the English people, which at that time shall bee here resident in our countrey: and if so be that it so fall out that at that time there be no Englishmen within our realme: then wil we cause these goods to be laid vp in a place together, and when the people of England shall come into our realme, then we will command all those goods to be deliuered to the sayd English people.

Also we haue gratified all the English merchants with the house of one Vrie here in the Mosco right ouer against S. Maximes church behind the market, and they shal dwel in the same house according as before time, and they shall keepe one alwayes in the house to keepe it, either a Russe, or one of their owne people.

Also the English merchants shal possesse their houses, to wit, at Yeraslaue, Vologda, Colmogro, and the house at the hauen of the sea, and they shal dwel in those houses, according as our goodnes hath bene to them heretofore: and we haue commanded, that there shall not be taken of them no yeerely rent, nor no maner of custome, taxe, rent or any other dutie whatsoeuer for those houses, neither shal they pay any dutie or taxe with any of the townsmen of those places, and in euery one of those houses, to wit, at Yeraslaue, Vologda, and Colmogro, they shall haue men to keepe their houses, two or three of their owne countrey people, strangers or els Russes, men of the meanest sort, which shall be no merchants, that they may lay their goods in those houses, and they may sell the commodities out of those their houses to whom they please, according to this our gracious letter: and those that keepe their houses shall not sell or buy no part of their commoditie, except they be there or giue order, whereby they be not deceiued by them.

So likewise I haue gratified them with their house at the sea hauen, at the mouth of Podezemsky, and we haue commanded that they shal not cary their goods from thence to the new castle S. Michael the archangel, but shall arriue, and doe as they haue done heretofore with their wares at that their house, and shall vnlade their commodities out of their ships, and shal lade them againe with Russe commodities, euen there at that their house without interruption: onely they shal permit our officers of Colmogro and sworn men to write vp those commodities, both the commodities of England, and those of Russeland, what the merchants shal declare themselues, and no otherwise, but they shal not ouerlooke their commodities, neither shal they vnbind any of their packs.

And when the English merchants are disposed to send into their owne countrey, to wit, any of their owne people on land through any other kingdom whatsoeuer, they shall not send their people without our kingly knowledge and commandement, and which of their people so euer they do meane to send out of our kingdom into their owne countrey, then they shal send those their people, not without our kingly maiesties knowledge, to wit, those that go of pleasure without carying any commodities with them, and they shal haue a letter of passe giuen vnto them, out of the office where the Ambassadors haue alwayes their dispatch.

And whosoeuer hath anything to doe with them in matters of controuersie, either concerning merchandize or iniuries, then they are to be iudged by our treasurers and Secretarie of the Ambassadors office to do iustice between both parties, and to seek out the trueth of matters in al things, and whatsoeuer cannot be found out by the Law, shalbe tried by othe and lots: whose lot soeuer is taken foorth, him to haue right.

And in what place of all our kingdom, in what citie soeuer they or their people shall bee, and that there happen any matter of controuersie, either concerning merchandise, iniuries or otherwise, that they haue occasion to set vpon any man by lawe, or that any seeke vpon them, concerning what matter soeuer in all our kingdom and cities, then our lieutenants, captains, and our officers shall giue them Iustice, and shall minister all true iustice betweene them, seeking out the trueth: and what cannot be truly sought by law, shalbe sought out by othe and lot: whose lot soeuer is taken out, him to haue right accordingly as before, and the Iudges or Iustices shall take of them no kind of dutie, for matters of law no where throughout all our realmes. This letter is giuen in our princely palace within the citie of Mosco, in the yeere from the foundation of the world, seuen thousand fourescore and fifteene in the moneth of February.

The Ambassage of M. Giles Fletcher, Doctor of the Ciuil Law, sent from her Maiestie to Theodor the Emperor of Russia. Anno 1588.

IN the yeere 1588. was sent Ambassador from her highnesse into the countrey of Russia, Giles Fletcher Doctor of the Ciuil Lawe, as well to treat with the new Emperor Pheodor Iuanowich, about league and amitie, in like maner as was before with his father Iuan Vasilowich, as also for the reestablishing and reducing into order the deciad trade of our Englishmen there. Who notwithstanding at his first arriuall at the Mosco, found some parts of hard entertainment, by meanes of certaine rumors concerning the late nauall victory which was there reported to haue fallen on the Spanish side, as also for some dislike conceiued against the priuileged trade of our English merchants. Yet in the end he obtained of the Emperour many good and equall conditions, and was curteously and honourably dismissed by him. The principall points which he entreated of, and were granted vnto him by the said Emperor were these:

1 A continuation of league and amitie betweene her Highnesse and the sayd Emperour Pheodor Iuanowich, in like maner as was before with his father Iuan Vasilowich.

2 A confirmation and reestablishment of the former priuileges of the Companie of our English merchants, which were infringed and annulled in the principal points, with diuers necessary additions to the same, for the better ordering of their trade in those countreys hereafter, viz. That the state of the priuilege granted before in the names of some priuate and particular men, be altered in that point, and the same granted by the name and stile of their incorporation, viz. To the felowship of English merchants for the discouerie of new trades.

3 That vpon euery surmise and light quarel, the said priuilege be not reuoked and annulled, as before time it hath bene.

4 That iustice shall be administred to the said Companie and their Agent without delay, vpon such as shal offer them any despite or iniurie, or shal exact or impose vpon them any paiment, taxation or imposition whatsoeuer, contrary to the freedome of the said grant.

5 That the goods and commodities of the said Companie, be not forcibly taken as before time they had bene by the Emperors officers or people of authoritie, either for the vse of the said Emperor or of his officers. But in case they haue need of the said commodities, the same to be taken at reasonable prices, and for ready money.

6 That the said Companie be not charged hereafter with the answering of such debts as are made by any Englishman not being of the societie.

7 That the Emperors authorized people shall not hereafter repute any Englishman residant in that countrey, to be any factor, seruant, or dealer, in the said Companies affaires, but such as the Agents shall inregister by name, within the offices where custome is entered in all such places of the land where the sayd Companie haue residences to traffike.

8 That the names of such as shall so be inregistred be no longer continued in record, nor themselues reputed as factors or dealers for the said Companie, then the Agent shall thinke good. But in case the said Agent in his discretion shall thinke meete to strike out of the Register any name of such as haue bene employed in the Companies seruice, the said person to be held as priuate, and whose acte in bargaining or otherwise, shall not charge the said Companie.

9 That if any English man within the countrey of Russia be suspected for any notorious crime, as felony, treason, &c. the same be not straightwaies set vpon the * Pudkey, nor otherwise tormented, till such time as he shall be conuicted by plaine and euident proofes: which being done, the whole proceeding to be sent ouer to the Queene of England.

* It is rosting to death.

10 That the said priuilege with the additions, shall be published in all townes and partes of the Emperors dominions, where the said Companie haue traffike.

11 That the said Companie shall be permitted to vse a sole

trade through the Emperours countries, by the riuer Volga into Media, Persia, Bogharia, and the other the East countries.

12 Whereas there was claimed of the said Companie the summe of 23553. markes of debt, made by certaine of their factors for the said company, for paiment whereof, their whole stocke was in danger of arrest, by publike authoritie: Futher also 2140. rubbles for custome and houserent, he obtained a rebatement of eighteene thousand, one hundred fiftie and three marks of the sayd debt.

The sayd Ambassador M. Giles Fletcher, as I vnderstand, hath drawen a booke intituled, Of the Russe Common wealth, containing:

First, a Cosmographicall description of the countrey, which hath these chapters.

1 Of the length and bredth of the countrey of Russia, with the names of the shires.
2 Of the soile and climate.
3 Of the natiue commodities of the countrey.

Secondly, a description of their policie contained in these Chapters, viz.

1 Of the constitution or state of the Russe Common wealth.
2 Of their Parliaments, and maner of holding them.
3 Of the Russe Nobilitie and meanes whereby it is kept in an vnder proportion agreeable to that state.
4 Of the maner of gouerning their prouinces or shires.
5 Of the Emperours priuie counsell.
6 Of the Emperors customs and their reuenues, with the practises for the increase of them.
7 Of the Russe communaltie and their condition.
8 Of their publike iustice and maner of proceeding therein.
9 Of the Emperors forces for his warres, with the chiefe officers, and their salarie or pay.
10 Of their maner of mustering, armour, and prouision for victuall.
11 Of their ordering, marching, charging, and their martiall discipline.
12 Of their colonies and policie in maintaining their purchases by conquest.

13 Of their borderers with whom they haue most to doe in warre and peace.
14 Of their church officers and degrees.
15 Of their liturgie or forme of Church seruice.
16 Of their maner of administring the Sacraments.
17 Of the doctrine of the Russe church.
18 Of the maner of solemnizing their marriages.
19 Of the other ceremonies of the Russe church.

Thirdly, the Oeconomie or priuate behauiour of the Russe containing these chapters.

1 Of the Emperors houshold officers, and order of his house.
2 Of the priuate behauiour and maner of the Russe people.

The description of the countrey of Russia, with the bredth, length, and names of the Shires.

THe countrey of Russia was sometimes called Sarmatia. It changed the name (as some do suppose) for that it was parted into diuers smal, and yet absolute gouernments, not depending, nor being subiect the one to the other. For Russe in that tongue doeth signifie as much as to part, or diuide. The Russe reporteth that foure brethren, Trubor, Rurico, Sinees, and Variuus deuided among them the North parts of the country. Likewise that the South parts were possessed by 4. other, Kio, Scieko, Choranus, and their sister Libeda: each calling his territorie after his owne name. Of this partition it was called Russia, about the yere from Christ 860. As for the coniecture which I find in some Cosmographers, that the Russe nation borowed the name of the people called Roxellani, and were the very same nation with them, it is without all good probabilitie, both in respect of the etymologie of the word (which is very far fet) and especially for the seat and dwelling of that people, which was betwixt the two riuers of Tanais and Boristhenes, (as Strabo reporteth) quite another way from the countrey of Russia.

Strabo in his 7. booke of Geogr.

When it bare the name of Sarmatia, it was diuided into two chiefe parts: the White and the Black. The white Sarmatia was all that part that lieth towards the North, and on the side of Liefland: as the prouinces now called Dwina, Vagha, Vstiug, Vologda, Cargapolia, Nouogrodia, &c whereof Nouogrod velica was the Metropolite or chiefe citie. Black Sarmatia was al that countrey that lieth Southward towards the Euxin or Black sea: as the dukedome of Volodemer, of Mosco, Rezan, &c. Some haue thought that the name of Sarmatia was first taken from one Sarmates, whom Moses and Iosephus cal Asarmathes sonne to Ioktan, and nephew to Heber, of the posteritie of Sem. But this seemeth to be nothing but a coniecture taken out of the likenes of the name Asarmathes. For the dwelling of all Ioktans posteritie is described by Moses to haue bene betwixt Mescha or Masius (an hil of the Ammonites) and Sephace, nere to the riuer Euphrates: which maketh it very vnlikely that Asarmathes should plant any colonies so far off in ye North and Northwest countries.

Gen. 10. Joseph. l. 1. ca. 14.

The borders of Russia.

It is bounded northward by the Lappes and the North Ocean. On the Southside by the Tartars called Crimmes. Eastward they haue the Nagaian Tartar, that possesseth all the countrey on the East side of Volga towards the Caspian sea. On the West and Southwest border lieth Lituania, Liuonia and Polonia.

The Shires of Russia.

The whole Countrey being nowe reduced vnder the gouernment of one, conteineth these chiefe Prouinces or Shires. Volodemer, (which beareth the first place in the Emperours stile, becauce their house came of the Dukes of that Countrey) Mosco, Nisnouogrod, Plesko, Smolensko, Nouogrod velica (or Nouogrod of the low Countrey) Rostoue, Yeraslaue, Bealozera, Rezan, Duyna, Cargapolia, Meschora, Vagha, Vstuga, Ghaletsa. These are the naturall shires perteyning to Russia, but farre greater and larger then the shires of England, though not so well peopled. The other Countreys or prouinces which the Russe Emperours haue gotten perforce added of late to their other dominion, are these which followe, Twerra, Youghoria, Permia, Vadska, Boulghoria, Chernigo, Oudoria, Obdoria, Condora, with a great part of Siberia: where the people though they be not naturall Russes, yet obey the Emperour of Russia, and are ruled by the Lawes of his Countrey, paying customes and taxes, as his owne people doe. Besides these he hath vnder him the kingdomes of Cazan and Astracan, gotten by conquest not long since. As for all his possession in Lituania (to the number of 30. great Townes and more,) with Narue and Dorp in Liuonia, they are quite gone, being surprised of late yeeres by the Kings of Poland and

The Prouinces or Countries got by conquest.

Sweden. These Shires and Prouinces are reduced all into foure Iurisdictions, which they call Chetfyrds (that is) Tetrarchies, or Fourth parts.

The breadth and length of the Countrey.

The whole Countrey is of great length and breadth. From the North to the South (if you measure from Cola to Astracan which bendeth somewhat Eastward) it reacheth in length about 4260. verst, or miles. Notwithstanding the Emperour of Russia hath more territorie Northward, farre beyond Cola vnto the Riuer of Tromschua, that runneth a hundred verst, welnigh beyond Pechinga, neere to Wardhouse, but not intire nor clearely limited, by reason of the kings of Sweden and Denmarke, that haue diuers townes there, aswell as the Russe, plotted together the one with the other: euery one of them clayming the whole of those North parts as his owne right. The breadth (if you go from that part of his territorie that lyeth farthest Westward on the Narue side, to the parts of Siberia Eastward, where the Emperour hath his garrisons) is 4400. verst or thereabouts. A verst (by their reckoning) is a 1000. pases, yet lesse by one quarter then an English mile. If the whole dominion of the Russe Emperour were all habitable, and peopled in all places, as it is in some, he would either hardly holde it all within one regiment, or be ouer mightie for all his neighbour Princes.

Pechinga.

Of the Soile and Climate.

THe soyle of the Countrey for the most part is of a sleight sandie moulde, yet very much different one place from another, for the yeeld of such things as grow out of the earth. The Countrey Northwards towards the parts of S. Nicholas and Cola, and Northeast towards Siberia, is all very barren, and full of desert woods by reason of the Climate, and extremitie of the colde in Winter time. So likewise along the Riuer Volgha betwixt the countreys of Cazan, and Astracan: where (notwithstanding the soyle is very fruitfull) it is all vnhabited, sauing that vpon the riuer Volgha on the Westside, the Emperour hath some fewe Castels with garisons in them. This happeneth by meanes of the Crimme Tartar, that will neither himselfe plant Townes to dwel there, (liuing a wild and vagrant life) nor suffer the Russe (that is farre off with the strength of his Countrey) to people those parts. From Vologda (which lieth almost 1700. verst from the port of S. Nicholas) downe towards Mosco, and so towards the

South part that bordereth vpon the Crimme, (which conteineth the like space of 1700. verst or there abouts) is a very fruitfull and pleasant countrey, yeelding pasture, and corne, with woods and waters in very great plentie. The like is betwixt Rezan (that lieth Southeast from Mosco) to Nouogrod and Vobsko, that reach farthest towards the Northwest. So betwixt Mosco, and Smolensko (that lyeth Southwest towards Lituania) is a very fruitfull and pleasant soile.

The colde of Russia.

The whole countrey differeth very much from it selfe, by reason of the yeere: so that a man would marueile to see the great alteration and difference betwixt the Winter, and the Summer Russia. The whole Countrey in the Winter lieth vnder snow, which falleth continually, and is sometime of a yard or two thicke, but greater towards the North. The riuers and other waters are all frosen vp a yard or more thicke, how swift or broade soeuer they bee. And this continueth commonly fiue moneths, viz. from the beginning of Nouember till towardes the ende of March, what time the snow beginneth to melt. So that it would breede a frost in a man to looke abroad at that time, and see the Winter face of that Countrey. The sharpenesse of the aire you may iudge of by this: for that water dropped downe or cast vp into the aire congealeth into yce before it come to the ground. In the extremitie of Winter, if you holde a pewter dish or pot in your hand, or any other metall (except in some chamber where their warme stoaues bee) your fingers will friese fast vnto it, and drawe off the skinne at the parting. When you passe out of a warme roome into a colde, you shall sensibly feele your breath to waxe starke, and euen stifeling with the colde, as you drawe it in and out. Diuers not onely that trauell abroad, but in the very markets and streetes of their Townes, are mortally pinched and killed withall: so that you shall see many drop downe in the streetes; many trauellers brought into the Townes sitting dead and stiffe in their Sleds. Diuers lose their noses, the tips of their eares, and the bals of their cheeks, their toes, feete, &c. Many times (when the Winter is very hard and extreeme) the beares and woolfes issue by troopes out of the woods driuen by hunger, and enter the villages, tearing and rauening all they can finde: so that the inhabitants are faine to flie for safegard of their liues. And yet in the Sommer time you shal see such a new hiew and face of a Countrey, the woods (for the most part which are all of firre and birch) so fresh and so sweete, the pastures and medowes so greene and well growen, (and that vpon the sudden) such varietie of flowers, such noyse of birdes (specially of Nightingales, that seeme to be more lowde and of a more variable note then in other Countreys) that a man shall not lightly trauell in a more pleasant Countrey.

And this fresh and speedy growth of the spring there seemeth to proceede from the benefite of the snow: which all the Winter time being spread ouer the whole Countrey as a white robe, and keeping it warme from the rigour of the frost, in the Spring time (when the Sunne waxeth warme, and dissolueth it into water) doeth so throughly drench and soake the ground, that is somewhat of a sleight and sandie mould, and then shineth so hotely vpon it againe, that it draweth the hearbes and plants foorth in great plentie and varietie, in a very short time. As the Winter exceedeth in colde, so the Sommer inclineth to ouer much heat, specially in the moneths of Iune, Iuly and August, being much warmer then the Sommer aire in England.

The countrey throughout is very well watered with springs, riuers, and Ozeraes, or lakes. Wherein the prouidence of God is to be noted, for that much of the Countrey being so farre inland, as that some part lieth a thousand miles and more euery way from any sea, yet it is serued with faire Riuers, and that in very great number, that emptying themselues one into another, runne all into the Sea. Their lakes are many and large, some of 60. 80. 100. and 200. miles long with breadth proportionate.

The chiefe Riuers of Russia.

The chiefe Riuers are these, First, Volgha, that hath his head or spring at the roote of an Aldertree, about 200. verst aboue Yaruslaue, and groweth so bigge by the encrease of other Riuers by that time it commeth thither, that it is broad an English mile and more, and so runneth into the Caspian sea, about 2800. verst or miles of length.

The next is Boristhenes (now called Neper) that diuideth the Countrey from Lituania, and falleth into the Euxin sea.

The third Tanais or Don, (the ancient bounder betwixt Europe and Asia) that taketh his head out of Rezan Ozera, and so running through the Countrey of the Chrim Tartar, falleth into the great Sea, lake, or meare, (called Mæotis) by the citie of Azou. By this Riuer (as the Russe reporteth) you may passe from their Citie Mosco to Constantinople, and so into all those parts of the world by water, drawing your boate (as their maner is) ouer a little Isthmus or narrowe slip of land, a few versts ouerthwart. Which was proued not long since by an Ambassadour sent to Constantinople, who passed the riuer of Moscua, and so into another called Ocka, whence hee drew his boat ouer into Tanais, and thence passed the whole way by water.

The fourth is called Duyna, many hundred miles long, that falleth Northward into the bay of S. Nicholas, and hath great Alabaster rockes on the bankes towards the sea side.

The fifth Duna, that emptieth into the Baltick sea by the towne Riga.

The sixt Onega, that falleth into the Bay at Solouetsko 90. verst from the port of S. Nicholas. This riuer below the towne Cargapolia, meeteth with the Riuer Volock, that falleth into the Finland Sea by the towne Yama. So that from the port of S. Nicholas into the Finland sea, and so into the Sound, you may passe all by water, as hath bene tried by the Russe.

The seuenth Suchana, that floweth into Duyna, and so into the North Sea.

The eight Ocka, that fetcheth his head from the borders of the Chrim, and streameth into Volgha.

The ninth Moscua, that runneth thorough the Citie Mosco, and giueth it the name.

There is Wichida also a very large and long riuer that riseth out of Permia, and falleth into Volgha. All these are riuers of very large streames, the least to be compared to the Thames in bignesse, and in length farre more, besides diuers other. The Pole at Mosco is 55. degrees 10. minutes. At the port of S. Nicholas towards the North 63. degrees and 50. minutes.

The natiue commodities of the Countrey.

The fruits and graine of Russia.

FOr kindes of fruites, they haue Apples, peares, plummes, cherries, red and blacke, (but the blacke wilde) a deene like a muske millian, but more sweete and pleasant, cucumbers and goords (which they call Arbouse) rasps, strawberies, and hurtilberies, with many other beries in great quantitie in euery wood and hedge. Their kindes of graine are wheat, rie, barley, oates, pease, buckway, psnytha, that in taste is somewhat like to rice. Of all these graines the Countrey yeeldeth very sufficient with an ouerplus quantitie, so that wheate is solde sometime for two alteens or ten pence starling the Chetfird, which maketh almost three English bushels, Their rie is sowed before the Winter, all their other graine in the Spring time, and for the most part in May. The Permians and some other that dwell farre North, and in desert places, are serued from the parts that lye more Southward, and are forced to make bread sometimes of a kinde of roote (called Vaghnoy) and of the middle rine of the firre tree. If there be any dearth (as they accompted this last yeere Anno 1588. wheat and rie being 13. alteens, or 5. shillings fiue pence starling the Chetfird) the fault is rather in the practise of their Nobilitie that vse to engrosse, it, then in the Countrey it selfe.

The chiefe commodities of the countrey.
1 Furres.

These rats are in Canada.

Momgosorskoy perhaps Molgomzaia.

The natiue commodities of the Countrey (wherewith they serue both their owne turnes, and send much abroad to the great enriching of the Emperor, and his people) are many and substantiall. First, furres of all sorts. Wherein the prouidence of God is to be noted, that prouideth a naturall remedie for them, to helpe the naturall inconuenience of their Countrey by the cold of the Climat. Their chiefe furres are these, Blacke fox, Sables, Lusernes, dun fox, Martrones, Gurnestalles or Armins, Lasets or Miniuer, Beuer, Wuluerins, the skin of a great water Rat that smelleth naturally like muske, Calaber or gray squirel, red squirel, red and white fox. Besides the great quantitie spent within ye Countrey (the people being clad al in furres the whole winter) there are transported out of the Countrey some yeeres by the merchants of Turkie, Persia, Bougharia, Georgia, Armenia, and some other of Christendom, to the value of foure or fiue hundred thousand rubbles, as I haue heard of the merchants. The best Sable furre groweth in the countrey of Pechora, Momgosorskoy and Obdorskoy, the worser sort in Siberia, Perm, and other places. The blacke foxe and red come out of Siberia, white and dunne from Pechora, whence also come the white wolfe, and white Beare skin. The best Wuluerin also thence and from Perm. The best Martrons are from Siberia, Cadam, Morum, Perm, and Cazan. Lyserns, Mincuer, and Armins, the best are out of Gallets, and Ouglits, many from Nouogrod and Perm. The Beauer of the best sort breedeth in Murmonskey by Cola. Other common furres and most of these kindes grow in many, and some in all parts of the Countrey.

2. Waxe.

The second commoditie is of Waxe, whereof hath bene shipped into forreigne countreys (as I haue heard it reported by those that best know it) the summe of 50000. pood yeerely, euery pood conteyneth 40. pound, but now about 10000. pood a yeere.

3. Hony. The third is their Honie, whereof besides an exceeding great quantitie spent in their ordinary drinkes (which is Mead of all sorts) and their other vses, some good quantitie is caried out of the countrey. The chiefe encrease of hony is in Mordua and Cadam neere to the Cheremissen Tartar: much out of Seuerskoy, Rezan, Morum, Cazan, Dorogobose, and Vasma.

4. Tallow. Fourthly, of Tallow they afoord a great waight for transportation: not onely for that their countrey hath very much good ground apt for pasturage of cattell, but also by reason of their many Lents and other fastes: and partly because their greater men vse much waxe for their lights, the poorer and meaner sort birch dried in their stoaues, and cut into long shiuers, which they call Luchineos. Of tallow there hath bene shipped out of the Realme a few yeeres since about 100000. pood yerely, now not past 30000. or thereabouts. The best yeeld of tallow is in the parts and territories of Smolensko, Yaruslaue, Ouglits, Nouogrod, and Vologda, Otfer, and Gorodetskey.

5. Hide. An other principall commoditie is their Losh and Cow hide. Their Losh or Buffe hide is very faire and large. Their bull and cowe hide (for oxen they make none, neither yet weather) is of a small sise. There hath bene transported by merchants strangers some yeres 100000. hides. Now it is decreased to 30000. or thereabouts. Besides great store of goates skinnes, whereof great numbers are shipped out of the countrey. The largest kinde of Losh or Buffe breedeth about Rostoue, Wichida, Nouogrod, Morum, and Perm. The lesser sort within the kingdome of Cazan.

6. Trane oyle. Another very great and principall commoditie is their Trane oyle, drawen out of the Seal fish. Where it will not be impertinent to shewe the maner of their hunting the Seal, which they make this oyle of: which is in this sort.

The maner of hunting the Seale fish. Towards the ende of Sommer (before the frost beginne) they goe downe with their boates into the bay of S. Nicholas, to a cape called Cusconesse or Foxnose, where they leaue their boats till the next spring tide. When the Sunne waxeth warme toward the spring, and yet the yce not melted within the Bay, they returne thither againe. Then drawing their boates ouer the sea yce, they vse them for houses to rest and lodge in. There are commonly about 17. or 18. fleete of them, of great large boates, which diuide themselues into diuers companies, fiue or sixe boats in a consort.

They that first finde the haunt, fire a beacon, which they carry with them for the nonce. Which being espied by the other companies, by such among them as are appointed of purpose, they come altogether and compasse the Seales round about in a ring, that lie sunning themselues together vpon the yce, commonly foure or fiue thousand in a shoale, and so they inuade them euery man with his club in his hand. If they hit them on the nose, they are soone killed. If on the sides or backe they beare out the blow, and many times so catch and holde downe the clubbe with their teeth by maine force, that the partie is forced to call for helpe to his fellowes.

The maner of the Seals is when they see themselues beset, to gather all close together in a throng or plumpe, to sway downe the yce, and to breake it (if they can) which so bendeth the yce that many times it taketh the sea water vpon it, and maketh the hunters to wade a foote or more deepe. After the slaughter when they haue killed what they can, they fall to sharing euery boate his part in equall portions: and so they flay them, taking from the body the skin, and the lard or fat with all that cleaueth to the skin. This they take with them, leauing the bodies behind, and so go to shore. Where they digge pits in the grounde of a fadome and an halfe deepe, or thereabout, and so taking the fat or lard off from the skinne, they throw it into the pit, and cast in among it hoat burning stones to melt it withall. The vppermost and purest is sold, and vsed to oile wool for cloth, the grosser (that is of a red colour) they sell to make sope.

7. Ickary.

Likewise of Ickary or Cauery, a great quantitie is made vpon the riuer of Volgha out of the fish called Bellougina, the Sturgeon, the Seueriga and the Sterledey. Whereof the most part is shipped by French and Netherlandish merchants for Italy and Spaine, some by English merchants.

8. Hempe and Flaxe.

The next is of Flax and Hempe, whereof there hath bene shipped (as I haue heard merchants say) at the port of Narue a great part of 100. ships small and great yerely. Now, not past fiue. The reason of this abating and decrease of this and other commodities, that were wont to be transported in a greater quantitie, is the shutting vp of the port of ye Narue towards the Finland sea, which now is in the handes and possession of the Sweden. Likewise the stopping of the passage ouerland by the way of Smolensko, and Plotsko, by reason of their warres with the Polonian, which causeth the people to be lesse prouident in mainteining and gathering these and like commodities, for that they lacke sales. For the growth of flaxe the prouince of Vobsko, and the countrey about is the chiefe and onely place. For Hempe Smolensko, Dorogobose and Vasma.

9. Salt. The countrey besides maketh great store of salt. Their best salt is made at Stararouse in very great quantitie, where they haue great store of salt wels, about 250. verst from the sea. At Astracan salt is made naturally by the sea water, that casteth it vp into great hils, and so it is digged downe, and caried away by the merchants and other that wil fetch it from thence. They pay to the Emperor for acknowledgement or custome 3. d. Russe vpon euery hundred weight. Besides these two, they make salt in many other places of the Realme, as in Perm, Wichida, Totma, Kenitsma, Solouetsky, Ocona, Bombasey, and Nonocks, all out of salt pits, saue at Solouetsky, which lieth neere to the sea. Nonocks.

10. Tarre. Likewise of Tarre they make a great quantitie out of their firre trees in the countrey of Duyna and Smolensko, whereof much is sent abroad. Besides these (which are all good and substantiall commodities) they haue diuers other of smaller accompt, that are naturall and proper to that countrey: 11. Ribazuba. as the fish tooth (which they call Ribazuba) which is vsed both among themselues, and the Persians and Bougharians that fetch it from thence for beads, kniues, and sword hafts of Noblemen and gentlemen, and for diuers other vses. Some vse the powder of it against poison, as the Vnicornes horne. The fish that weareth it is called a Morse, and is caught about Pechora. These fish teeth some of them are almost 2. foote of length, and weigh 11. or 12. pound apiece.

12. Slude. In the prouince of Corelia, and about the riuer Duyna towards the North sea, there groweth a soft rocke which they call Slude. This they cut into pieces, and so teare it into thin flakes, which naturally it is apt for, and so vse it for glasse-lanthorns and such like. It giueth both inwards and outwards a clearer light then glasse, and for this respect is better then either glasse or horne: for that it neither breaketh like glasse, noryet will burne like the lanthorne. Saltpeter in many places, as at Ouglits, Yaruslaue, and Vstiug, 13. Saltpeter and brimstone.

they make and some smal store of brimstone vpon the riuer Yolgha, but want skil to refine it. Their iron is somewhat brittle, but a great weight of it is made in Corelia, Cargapolia, and Vstiug Thelesna. Other mine they haue none gowing within yͤ realme.

14. Iron.

The strange beastes, fish, foule, &c., that breed in Russia.

Their beasts of strange kinds are the Losh, the Ollen, the wild horse, the beare, the woluering, or wood dog, the Lyserne, the Beauer, the Sable, the Martron, the black and dunne fox, the white Beare towards the sea coast of Pechora, the Gurnstale, the Laset or Mineuer. They haue a kinde of Squirrell that hath growing on the pinion of the shoulder bone a long tuft of haire, much like vnto feathers with a far broader taile than haue any other squirrels, which they moue and shake as they leape from tree to tree, much like vnto a wing. They skise a large space, and seeme for to flie withal, and therefore they cal them Letach Vechshe, that is, the flying squirrels. Their hares and squirrels in sommer are of the same colour with ours, in Winter the hare changeth her coate into milke white, the squirrel into gray, whereof cometh the Calaber.

They haue fallow deere, the roe bucke, and goats very great store. Their horses are but smal, but very swift and hard, they trauell them vnshod both winter and Sommer, without all regard of pace. Their sheepe are but smal and beare course and harsh wool. Of foule they haue diuers of the principal kinds: First, great store of hawks, the eagle, the gerfaulcon, the slightfaulcon, the goshawk, the tassel, the sparhawk, &c. But the principal hawke yͭ that breedeth in the country, is counted yͤ gerfaulcon. Of other fowles their principal kinds are the swan tame and wilde, (whereof they haue great store) the storke, the crane, the tedder of the colour of a feasant, but far bigger and liueth in the firre woods. Of feasant and partridge they haue very great plentie. An owle there is of very a great bignesse more vgly to behold then yͤ owles of this country, with a broad face, and eares much like vnto a man.

For fresh water fish, besides the common sorts (as carpe, pikes, pearch, tench, roach, &c.) they haue diuers kinds very good and delicate: as the Bellouga or Bellougina of 4. or 5. elnes long, the Ositrina or Sturgion, the Seueriga and Sterledy somewhat in fashion and taste like to the Sturgion, but not so thick nor long. These 4. kindes of fish breed in the Volgha, and are catched in great plenty, and serued thence into the whole Realme for a great food. Of the Roes of these foure kinds they make very great store of Icary or Caueary as was said before.

They haue besides these that breed in the Volgha a fish called the Riba bela, or white salmon, which they account more delicate then they do the red salmon, whereof also they haue exceeding great plentie in the Riuers Northward, as in Duyna, the riuer of Cola, &c. In the Ozera or lake neere a towne called Perislaue, not far from the Mosco, they haue a smal fish which they cal the fresh herring, of the fashion, and somewhat of the taste of a sea-herring. Their chiefe townes for fish are, Yaruslaue, Bealozera, Nouogrod, Astracan, and Cazan: which all yeeld a large custome to the Emperour euery yeere for their trades of fishing, which they practise in Sommer, but sende if frozen in the Winter time into all parts of the Realme.

The chiefe Cities of Russia.

THe chiefe cities of Russia are Mosco, Nouogrod, Rostoue, Volodomer, Plesko, Smolensko, Iaruslaue, Perislaue, Nisnouogrod, Vologda, Vstiug, Colmogro, Cazan, Astracan, Cargapolia, Columna. The city of Mosco is supposed to be of great antiquitie, though the first founder be vnknowen to the Russe. It seemeth to haue taken the name from the riuer that runneth on the one side of the towne. Berosus the Chaldean in his 5. booke telleth that Nimrod (whom other profane stories cal Saturne) sent Assyrius, Medus, Moscus, and Magog into Asia to plant colonies there, and that Moscus planted both in Asia and Europe. Which may make some probabilitie, that the citie, or rather the riuer whereon it is built, tooke the denomination from this Moscus: the rather because of the climate or situation, which is in the very farthest part and list of Europe, bordering vpon Asia. The Citie was much enlarged by one Iuan or Iohn, sonne to Daniel, that first changed his title of duke into King: though that honour continued not to his posterity: the rather because he was inuested into it by the Popes Legate, who at that time was Innocentius the 4. about the yeere 1246. which was very much misliked by the Russe people, being then a part of the Easterne or Greeke Church. Since that time the name of this city hath growen more famous, and better knowen to the world: insomuch that not only the prouince, but the whole countrey of Russia is termed by some by the name of Moscouia the

Mosco.

Metropolite city. The forme of this city is in maner round with 3. strong wals, circuling the one within the other, and streets lying betwene, whereof the inmost wall, and the buildings closed within it (lying safest as the heart within the body, fenced and watred with the riuer Moscoua, that runneth close by it) is all accompted the Emperors castle. The number of houses (as I haue heard) through the whole Citie (being reckoned by the Emperor a little before it was fired by the Crim) was 41500. in all. Since the Tartar besieged and fired the towne (which was in the yere 1571.) there lieth waste of it a great breadth of ground, which before was wel set and planted with buildings, specially that part on the South side of Moscua, built not long before by Basilius the Emperor for his garison of souldiers, to whom he gaue priuiledge to drinke Mead, and beere at the dry or prohibited times, when other Russes may drinke nothing but water, and for that cause called this new city by the name of Naloi, that is skinck[*] or poure in. So that now the city of Mosco is not much bigger then the city of London. The next in greatnes, and in a maner as large, is the citie Nouograd: where was committed (as the Russe saith) the memorable warre so much spoke of in stories of the Scythians seruants, that tooke armes against their Masters: which they report in this sort: viz. That the Boiarens or gentlemen of Nouograd and the territory about (which only are souldiers after the discipline of those countreis) had war with the Tartars. Which being wel performed and ended by them, they returned homewards. Where they vnderstood by the way that their Cholopey or bondslaues whom they left at home, had in their absence possessed their townes, lands, houses, wiues and all. At which newes being somewhat amased, and yet disdeining the villany of their seruants, they made the more speed home: and so not far from Nouograd met them in warlike maner marching against them. Whereupon aduising what was best to be done, they agreed all to set vpon them with no other shew of weapon but with their horse whips (which as their maner is euery man rideth withal) to put them in remembrance of their seruile condition, thereby to terrffie them, and abate their courage.

Nouograd.

---

[*] From *Scenc*—drink, SAX.
Where every jovial tinker for his chink,
May cry, mine host, to crambe giue us drink,
And do not slink, but skink, or else you stink.
(B. JONSON, *New Inn*, I. 3.)

And so marching on and lashing al together with their whips in their hands they gaue the onset. Which seemed so terrible in the eares of their villaines, and stroke such a sense into them of the smart of the whip which they had felt before, that they fled altogether like sheepe before the driuers. In memory of this victory the Nouogradians euer since haue stamped their coine (which they cal a dingoe Nouogrodskoy currant through al Russia) with the figure of a horsman shaking a whip aloft in his hand. These 2. cities exceed ye rest in greatnes. For strength their chiefe townes are Vobsko, Smolensko, Cazan and Astracan, as lying vpon the borders. But for situation Iaruslaue far exceedeth the rest. For besides the commodities that the soile yeeldeth of pasture and corne, it lieth vpon the famous riuer of Volgha, and looketh ouer it from a high banke very faire and stately to behold: whereof the towne taketh the name. For Iaraslaue in that tongue signifieth as much as a faire or famous banke. In this towne (as may be ghessed by the name) dwelt the Russe king Vladimer sirnamed Iaruslaue, that maried the Daughter of Harald king of England, by mediation of Sweno the Dane, as is noted in the Danish story about the yere 1067.

Iaruslaue.

Saxo Grammaticus lib. 11. pag. 187.

The other townes haue nothing y^t is greatly memorable, saue many ruines within their wals. The streets of their cities and townes in stead of pauing are planked with fir trees, plained and layd euen close the one to the other. Their houses are of wood without any lime or stone, built very close and warme with firre trees plained and piled one vpon another. They are fastened together with dents or notches at euery corner, and so clasped fast together. Betwixt the trees or timber they thrust in mosse (whereof they gather plenty in their woods) to keep out the aire. Euery house hath a paire of staires that lead vp into the chambers out of the yard or streat after the Scottish maner. This building seemeth far better for their countrey, then that of stone or bricke; as being colder and more dampish then their wooden houses, specially of firre, that is a dry and warme wood. Whereof the prouidence of God hath giuen them such store, as that you may build a faire house for 20. or 30. rubbles or litle more, where wood is most scant. The greatest inconuenience of their wodden building is the aptnesse for firing, which happeneth very oft and in very fearful sort, by reason of the drinesse and fatnes of the fir, that being once

The manner of Russe building.

fired, burneth like a torch, and is hardly quenched til all be burnt vp.

Of the maner of Crowning or Inauguration of the Russe Emperours.

THe solemnities vsed at ye Russe Emperors coronation, are on this maner. In the great church of Precheste (or our Lady) within the Emperors castle is erected a stage whereon standeth a scrine that beareth vpon it the Imperial cap and robe of very rich stuffe. When the day of the Inauguration is come, there resort thither, first the Patriarch w^t^ the Metropolitanes, archbishops, bishops, abbots and priors, al richly clad in their pontificalibus. Then enter the Deacons with the quier of singers. Who so soone as the Emperor setteth foot into ye church, begin to sing: Many yeres may liue noble Theodore Iuanowich, &c: Wereunto the patriarch and Metropolite with the rest of the cleargy answere with a certaine hymne, in forme of a praier, singing it altogether with a great noise. The hymne being ended, the patriarch with the Emperor mount vp the stage, where standeth a seat ready for the Emperor. Whereupon the patriarch willeth him to sit downe, and then placing himself by him vpon another seat prouided for y^t^ purpose, boweth downe his head towards ye ground, and saith this prayer: O Lord God king of kings, Lord of Lords, which by thy prophet Samuel didst chose thy seruant Dauid, and annoynt him for King ouer thy people Israel, heare now our prayer, and looke from thy sanctuary vpon this thy seruant Theodore, whom thou hast chosen and exalted for king ouer these thy holy nations anoint him with the oile of gladnes, protect by thy power, put vpon his head a crowne of gold and precious stones, giue him length of dayes, place him in the seat of Iustice, strengthen his arme, make subiect vnto him all the barbarous nations. Let thy feare be in his whole heart, turne him from an euill faith, and all errour, and shewe him the saluation of thy holy and vniuersal Church, that he may iudge thy people with iustice, and protect the children of the poore, and finally atteine euerlasting life. This prayer he speaketh with a low voice, and then pronounceth aloud: Al praise and power to God the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost. The prayer being ended, he commandeth certaine Abbots to reach the imperiall roabe and cap: which is done very decently, and with great solemnitie, the Patriarch withal pronouncing aloud: Peace be vnto all. And so he beginneth another prayer to this effect: Bow your selues together with vs, and pray to him that reigneth ouer all. Preserue him (oh Lord) vnder thy holy protection, keepe him that hee may doe good and holy things, let Iustice shine forth in his dayes, that we may liue quietly without strife and malice. This is pronounced somewhat softly by the Patriarch, whereto hee addeth againe aloud: Thou art the king of the whole world and the sauiour of our soules, to thee the Father, sonne and Holy ghost be al praise for euer and euer. Amen. Then putting on the roabe and the cap, he blesseth the Emperour with the signe of the crosse, saying withall: In the name of the Father, the Sonne and the Holy ghost. The like is done by the Metropolites, Archbishops, and Bishops: who all in their order come to the chaire, and one after another blesse the Emperour with their two forefingers. Then is sayd by the Patriarch another prayer, that beginneth: Oh most holy virgin, mother of God &c. After which a Deacon pronounceth with a loude voice: Many yeres to noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloued of God, great Duke of Volodemer, of Mosco, Emperour, and Monarch of all Russia, &c. Whereto the other Priests and Deacons that stand somewhat farre of by the altar or table, answere singing: Many yeres, many yeres to the noble Theodore. The same note is taken vp by the Priests and Deacons, that are placed at the right and left side of the Church, and then altogether, they chaunt and thunder out, singing: Many yeres to the noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloued of God, great Duke of Volodomer, Mosco, Emperour of all Russia, &c. These solemnities being ended, first commeth the Patriarch with the Metropolites, Archbishops, and Bishops, then the Nobility, and the whole company in their order, to doe homage to the Emperour, bending downe their heads, and knocking them at his feete to the very ground.

The stile wherewith he is inuested at his Coronation, runneth after this maner.

THeodore Iuanowich, by the grace of God great Lord and Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodomer, Mosco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan, King of Astracan, Lord of Plesco, and great Duke of Smolensco, of Twerria, Ioughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others, Lord and great Duke of Nouogrod of the

Low countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskoy, Rostoue, Yaruslaueley, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condensa, Commander of all Siberia, and of the North parts, and Lord of many other Countreis, &c.

This stile conteineth in it all the Emperours Prouinces, and setteth foorth his greatnesse. And therefore they haue a great delight and pride in it, forcing not onely their owne people but also strangers (that haue any matter to deliuer to the Emperour by speech or writing) to repeate the whole forme from the beginning to the end. Which breedeth much cauill, and sometimes quarell betwixt them and the Tartar, and Poland Ambassadours: who refuse to call him Czar, that is Emperor, and to repeate the other parts of his long stile. My selfe when I had audience of the Emperour, thought good to salute him only with thus much viz. Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodomer, Mosco and Nouogrod, King of Cazan, King of Astracan. The rest I omitted of purpose, because I knew they gloried, to haue their stile appeare to be of a larger volume then the Queenes of England. But this was taken in so ill part, that the Chancelour (who then attended the Emperour, with the rest of the nobility) with a loude chafing voice, called still vpon me to say out the rest. Whereto I answered, that the Emperors stile was very long, and could not so well be remembred by strangers, that I had repeated so much of it, as might shew that I gaue honour to the rest &c. But all would not serue till I commanded my interpreter to say it all out.

Their forces for the wars, with the chief officers and their salaries.

Souldiers by birth and inheritance.

THe Souldiers of Russia are called Sinaboyarskey, or the sons of Gentlemen: because they are all out of that degree, by vertue of their military profession. For euery souldier in Russia is a gentleman, and none are gentlemen, but only the souldiers, that take it by discent from their ancestors: so that the sonne of a gentleman (which is borne a souldier) is euer a gentleman, and a souldier withall, and professeth nothing els but military matters. When they are of yeres able to beare armes, they come to the office of Roserade, or great Constable, and there present themselues: who entreth their names, and allotteth them certaine lands to maintaine their charges, for the most part the same that their fathers enioyed. For the lands assigned to maintaine the army, are euer certain, annexed to this office without improuing, or detracting one foot. But that if the Emperor haue sufficient in wages, the roomes being full so farre as the land doeth extend already, they are many times deferred, and haue nothing allowed them, except some one portion of the land be deuided into two. The whole number of his souldiers in continuall pay, is this. First he hath his Dworaney, that is, Pensioners, or Gard of his person, to the number of 15000 horsemen, with their captaines and other officers, that are alwaies in a readines.

Degrees of horsemen. 1. Prætoriani or such as attend the Emperors person 15000.

Of these 15000 horsemen, there are three sorts or degrees, which differ as well in estimation as in wages, one degree from another. The first sort of them is called Dworaney Bulshey, or the company of head Pensioners, that haue some an hundred, some fourescore rubbles a yeare, and none vnder 70. The second sort are called Seredney Dworaney, or the middle rank of Pensioners. These haue sixty or fifty rubbles by the yeare, none vnder fortie. The third and lowest sort, are the Dyta Boiarskey, that is the low Pensioners. Their salary is thirty rubbles a yere for him that hath most, some haue but 25, some 20, none vnder 12. Whereof the halfe part is paid them at the Mosco, the other halfe in the field by the general, when they haue any wars, and are imploied in seruice. When they receiue their whole pay, it amounteth to 55000 rubbles by the yere.

And this is their wages, besides lands allotted to euery one of them, both to the greater and the lesse, according to their degrees. Whereof he that hath least, hath to yeelde him twentie rubbles or markes by the yeare. Besides these 15000 horsemen, that are of better choyce (as being the Emperors owne gard when himselfe goeth to the wars, not vnlike the Romane souldiers called Prætoriani) are a hundred and ten men of speciall account for their Nobilitie, and trust, which are chosen by the Emperor, and haue their names registred, that find among them for the Emperors wars, to the number of 65000. horsemen, with all necessaries meet for the wars after the Russe maner.

Two other troupes to the number of 65000.

To this end they haue yerely allowance made by the Emperor for themselues, and their companies, to the summe of 40000 rubbles. And these 65000 are to repayre to the field euery yeare on the borders towards the Crim Tartar, (except they be appointed for some other seruice) whether there be wars with the Tartars, or not. This might seeme peraduenture somewhat dangerous for some state, to haue so great forces vnder the command of Noblemen to assemble euery yere to one certain place. But the matter is so vsed, as that no danger can growe to the Emperor, or his state by this means. First, because these noblemen are many, to wit, an 110. in al, and changed by the Emperor so oft as he thinketh good. Secondly, because they haue their liuings of the Emperor, being otherwise but of very small revenue, and receiue this yerely pay of 40000 rubbles, when it is presently to be payd forth againe to the souldiers that are vnder them. Thirdly, because for the most part they are about the Emperors person being of his Counsel, either speciall, or at large. Fourthly, they are rather as paymasters, then Captaines to their companies, themselues not going forth ordinarily to the wars, saue when some of them are appointed by speciall order from the Emperor himselfe. So the whole number of horsemen that are euer in a readinesse, and in continuall pay, are 80000, a few more or lesse.

Horsemen in continuall pay 80000.

If he haue neede of a greater number (which seldome falleth out) then he enterteineth of those Sinaboiarskey, that are out of pay, so many as he needeth : and if yet he want of his number, he giueth charge to his Noblemen, that hold lands of him to bring into the field euery man a proportionable number of his seruants (called Kolophey, such as till his lands) with their furniture, according to the iust number that he intendeth to make. Which the seruice being done, presently lay in their weapons, and returne to their seruile occupations againe.

Of footemen that are in continuall pay, he hath to the number of 12000 all gunners, called Strelsey: Whereof 5000 are to attend about the citie of Mosco, or any other place where the Emperor shall abide, and 2000 (which are called Stremaney Strelsey, or gunners at the stirrop) about his owne person at the very Court or house where himselfe lodgeth. The rest are placed in his garison townes, till there be occasion to haue them in the field, and receiue for their salarie or stipend euery man seuen rubbles a yeare, besides twelue measures a piece of Rye, and Oates. Of mercenary Souldiers, that are strangers (whom they call Nimschoy) they haue at this time 4300 of Polonians :

Footmen in continuall pay 12000.

Strangers mercenaries in pay 4300.

of Chirchasses (that are vnder the Polonians) about 4000, whereof 3500 are abroad in his garisons: of Doutches and Scots about 150: of Greekes, Turks, Danes and Swedens, all in one band, an 100 or thereabouts. But these they vse onely vpon the Tartar side, and against the Siberians: as they doe the Tartar souldiers (whom they hire sometimes, but only for the present) on the other side against the Polonian and Sweden: thinking it best policie to vse their seruice vpon the contrary border.

The chief captains or leaders.

1. The Voiauod or general.

2. Lieutenant general.

3. Marshals of the field foure.

The chiefe Captaines or leaders of these forces, according to their names and degrees, are these which follow. First, the Voyauoda Bulshaia, that is, the Great Captaine, or Lieutenant general vnder the Emperor. This commonly is one of the foure houses of the chiefe Nobility of the land. Their great Voiauod or general at this present in their wars, is commonly one of these foure: Knez Feodor Iuanowich Methisloskey, Knez Iuan Michalowich Glinskoy, Cherechaskoy, and Trowbetskoy, all of great nobilitie. Next vnto the Voiauod or general there is some other placed as Lieutenant general, being a man of great valour and experience in the wars, who ordereth all things that the other countenanceth. At this time their principal man, and most vsed in their wars, is one Knez Demetrie Iuanowich Forestine, an ancient and expert captaine, and one that hath done great seruice (as they say) against the Tartar and Polonian. Next vnder the Voiauod and his Lieutenant general are foure other that haue the marshalling of the whole army deuided among them, and may be called the marshals of the field.

Foure marshals: deputies eight.

Euery man hath his quarter, or fourth part vnder him. Whereof the first is called the Praua Polskoy, or right wing. The second is the Leuoy Polskoy, or left wing. The third is Rusnoy Polskoy, or the broken band, because out of this there are chosen to send abroad vpon any sodaine exploit, or to make a rescue or supplie, as occasion doth require. The fourth Storoshouoy Polskoy, or the warding band. Euery one of these foure Marshals haue two other vnder them (eight in all) that twise euery weeke at the least must muster and traine their seueral wings or bands, and hold and giue iustice for all faults, and disorders committed in the campe.

And these eight are commonly chosen out of the 110. (which I spake of before) that receiue and deliuer the pay to the souldiers.

Vnder these eight are diuers other Captaines, as the Gulauoy, Captaines of thousands fiue hundreds and 100. The Petyde Setskoy or Captains of fifties, and the Decetskies or Captains of tennes.

Fiue Coronels vnder Captains.

Besides the Voiauoda or general of the armie (spoken of before) they haue two other that beare the name of Voiauoda, whereof one is the master of the great Ordinance (called Naradna voiauoda) who hath diuers vnder officers, necessary for that seruice. The other is called the Voiauoda gulauoy, or the walking Captaine, that hath allowed him 1000 good horsemen of principall choyce, to range and spie abroad, and hath the charge of the running Castle, which we are to speake of in the Chapter following. Al these Captains, and men of charge must once euery day resort to the Bulsha voiauoda, or General of the armie, to know his pleasure, and to informe him, if there be any requisite matter pertaining to their office.

Sixe Masters of the Artillery.

The walking Captaine.

Of their mustering, and leuying of forces, maner of armour, and prouision of victuall for the warres.

When wars are towards (which they faile not of lightly euery yere with the Tartar, and many times with the Polonian and Sweden) the foure Lords of the Chetfirds send forth their summons in the Emperors name, to all the Dukes and Dyacks of the Prouinces, to be proclaimed in the head townes of euery Shire: that al the Sinaboiarskey, or sonnes of gentlemen make their repaire to such a border where the seruice is to be done, at such a place, and by such a day, and there present themselues to such, and such Captaines. When they come to the place assigned them in the summons or proclamation, their names are taken by certaine officers that haue commission for that purpose from the Roserade, or high Constable, as Clarkes of the bands. If any make default or faile at the day, he is mulcted, and punished very seuerely. As for the General and other chief Captaines, they are sent thither from the Emperors owne hand, with such Commission and charge as he thinketh behoofull for the present seruice. When the souldiers are assembled, they are reduced into their bands, and companies, vnder their seueral Captaines of tennes, fifties, hundreds, thousands, &c. and these Bands into 4 Polskeis, or Legions (but of farre greater numbers

Their order of mustering.

then the Romane Legions were) vnder their foure great Leaders, which also haue the authoritie of Marshals of the field (as was sayd before.)

The horsemans furniture.

Concerning their armour they are but slightly appointed. The common horseman hath nothing els but his bow in his case vnder his right arme, and his quiuer and sword hanging on the left side: except some fewe that beare a case of dagges, or a Iauelin, or short staffe along their horse side. The vnder captains wil haue commonly some piece of armour besides, as a shirt of male, or such like. The General with the other chiefe captaines and men of Nobilitie wil haue their horse very richly furnished, their saddles of cloth of gold, their bridles fair bossed and tasselled with gold, and silk fringe, bestudded with pearle and precious stones, themselues in very faire armor, which they cal Bullatnoy, made of faire shining steele, yet couered commonly with cloth of golde, and edged round with armin furre, his steele helmet on his head of a very great price, his sword bow and arrowes at his side, his speare in his hand, with another faire helmet, and Shesta pera, or horsemans scepter carried before him. Their swords, bowes, and arrowes are of the Turkish fashion. They practise like the Tartar to shoote forwards and backwards, as they flie and retire.

The footmans furniture.

The Strelsey or footeman hath nothing but his piece in his hand, his striking hatchet at his back, and his sword by his side. The stock of his piece is not made calieuerwise, but with a plaine and straite stocke (somewhat like a fouling piece) the barrel is rudely and vnartificially made, very heauie, yet shooteth but a very small bullet.

Prouision of victual.

As for their prouision of victual, the Emperor alloweth none, either for Captaine or souldiour, neither prouideth any for them except peraduenture some corne for their money. Euery man is to bring sufficient for himselfe, to serue his turne for foure moneths, and if neede require to giue order for more to be brought vnto him to the Campe from his tenant that tilleth his land, or some other place. One great helpe they haue, that for lodging and diet euery Russe is prepared to be a souldier beforehand. Though the chiefe Captains and other of account cary tents with them after the fashion of ours, with some better prouision of victual then the rest. They bring with them commonly into the Campe for victuall a kind of dried bread, (which they call Suchary) with some store of meale, which they

temper with water, and so make it into a ball, or small lumpe of dowe, called Tollockno. And this they eate rawe in stead of bread. Their meat is bacon, or some other flesh or fish dryed, after the Dutch maner. If the Russe souldier were as hardy to execute an enterprise, as he is hard to beare out toyle and trauell, or were otherwise as apt and well trained for the warres, as he is indifferent for his lodging and diet, hee would farre exceede the souldiers of our parts.

Of their marching, charging, and other Martial discipline.

THe Russe trusteth rather to his number, then to the valure of his souldiers, or good ordering of his forces. Their marching or leading is without al order, saue that the foure Polskey or Legions, (whereinto their armie is deuided) keepe themselues seuerall vnder their ensignes, and so thrust all on together in a hurrey, as they are directed by their Generall. Their Ensigne is the image of S. George. The Bulsha Dworaney or chiefe horsemen, haue euery man a small drum of brasse at his saddle bowe, which he striketh when he giueth the charge, or onset.

Horsemens drummes.

They haue drummes besides of a huge bignes, which they cary with them vpon a boord layde on foure horses, that are sparred together with chaines, euery drumme hauing eight strikers, or drummers, besides trumpets and shawmes, which they sound after a wilde maner, much different from ours. When they giue any charge, or make any inuasion, they make a great hallow or shoute altogether, as lowd as they can, which with the sound of their trumpets, shawmes, and drummes, maketh a confused and horrible noyse. So they set on first discharging their arrowes, then dealing with their swordes, which they vse in a brauerie to shake, and brandish ouer their heads, before they come to strokes.

The horse-mans maner of charging.

Their footmen (because otherwise they want order in leading) are commonly placed in some ambush or place of aduantage, where they most annoy the enemie, with least hurt to themselues. It it be a set battell, or if any great inuasion be made vpon the Russe borders by the Tartar, they are set within ye running or mouing Castle (called Beza, or Gulaygorod) which is caried about with them by the Voiauoda gulauoy (or the walking General)

The foot-mans charge.

The walking Castle.

yeerely, euery pood conteyneth 40. pound, but now about 10000. pood a yeere.

3. Hony.

The third is their Honie, whereof besides an exceeding great quantitie spent in their ordinary drinkes (which is Mead of all sorts) and their other vses, some good quantitie is caried out of the countrey. The chiefe encrease of hony is in Mordua and Cadam neere to the Cheremissen Tartar: much out of Seuerskoy, Rezan, Morum, Cazan, Dorogobose, and Vasma.

4. Tallow.

Fourthly, of Tallow they afoord a great waight for transportation: not onely for that their countrey hath very much good ground apt for pasturage of cattell, but also by reason of their many Lents and other fastes: and partly because their greater men vse much waxe for their lights, the poorer and meaner sort birch dried in their stoaues, and cut into long shiuers, which they call Luchineos. Of tallow there hath bene shipped out of the Realme a few yeeres since about 100000. pood yerely, now not past 30000. or thereabouts. The best yeeld of tallow is in the parts and territories of Smolensko, Yaruslaue, Ouglits, Nouogrod, and Vologda, Otfer, and Gorodetskey.

5. Hide.

An other principall commoditie is their Losh and Cow hide. Their Losh or Buffe hide is very faire and large. Their bull and cowe hide (for oxen they make none, neither yet weather) is of a small sise. There hath bene transported by merchants strangers some yeres 100000. hides. Now it is decreased to 30000. or thereabouts. Besides great store of goates skinnes, whereof great numbers are shipped out of the countrey. The largest kinde of Losh or Buffe breedeth about Rostoue, Wichida, Nouogrod, Morum, and Perm. The lesser sort within the kingdome of Cazan.

6. Trane oyle.

Another very great and principall commoditie is their Trane oyle, drawen out of the Seal fish. Where it will not be impertinent to shewe the maner of their hunting the Seal, which they make this oyle of: which is in this sort.

The maner of hunting the Seale fish.

Towards the ende of Sommer (before the frost beginne) they goe downe with their boates into the bay of S. Nicholas, to a cape called Cusconesse or Foxnose, where they leaue their boats till the next spring tide. When the Sunne waxeth warme toward the spring, and yet the yce not melted within the Bay, they returne thither againe. Then drawing their boates ouer the sea yce, they vse them for houses to rest and lodge in. There are commonly about 17. or 18. fleete of them, of great large boates, which diuide themselues into diuers companies, fiue or sixe boats in a consort.

They that first finde the haunt, fire a beacon, which they carry with them for the nonce. Which being espied by the other companies, by such among them as are appointed of purpose, they come altogether and compasse the Seales round about in a ring, that lie sunning themselues together vpon the yce, commonly foure or fiue thousand in a shoale, and so they inuade them euery man with his club in his hand. If they hit them on the nose, they are soone killed. If on the sides or backe they beare out the blow, and many times so catch and holde downe the clubbe with their teeth by maine force, that the partie is forced to call for helpe to his fellowes.

The maner of the Seals is when they see themselues beset, to gather all close together in a throng or plumpe, to sway downe the yce, and to breake it (if they can) which so bendeth the yce that many times it taketh the sea water vpon it, and maketh the hunters to wade a foote or more deepe. After the slaughter when they haue killed what they can, they fall to sharing euery boate his part in equall portions: and so they flay them, taking from the body the skin, and the lard or fat with all that cleaueth to the skin. This they take with them, leauing the bodies behind, and so go to shore. Where they digge pits in the grounde of a fadome and an halfe deepe, or thereabout, and so taking the fat or lard off from the skinne, they throw it into the pit, and cast in among it hoat burning stones to melt it withall. The vppermost and purest is sold, and vsed to oile wool for cloth, the grosser (that is of a red colour) they sell to make sope.

7. Ickary.

Likewise of Ickary or Cauery, a great quantitie is made vpon the riuer of Volgha out of the fish called Bellougina, the Sturgeon, the Seueriga and the Sterledey. Whereof the most part is shipped by French and Netherlandish merchants for Italy and Spaine, some by English merchants.

8. Hempe and Flaxe.

The next is of Flax and Hempe, whereof there hath bene shipped (as I haue heard merchants say) at the port of Narue a great part of 100. ships small and great yerely. Now, not past fiue. The reason of this abating and decrease of this and other commodities, that were wont to be transported in a greater quantitie, is the shutting vp of the port of ye Narue towards the Finland sea, which now is in the handes and possession of the Sweden. Likewise the stopping of the passage ouerland by the way of Smolensko, and Plotsko, by reason of their warres with the Polonian, which causeth the people to be lesse prouident in mainteining and gathering these and like commodities, for that they lacke sales. For the growth of flaxe the prouince of Vobsko, and the countrey about is the chiefe and onely place. For Hempe Smolensko, Dorogobose and Vasma.

9. Salt.

The countrey besides maketh great store of salt. Their best salt is made at Stararouse in very great quantitie, where they haue great store of salt wels, about 250. verst from the sea. At Astracan salt is made naturally by the sea water, that casteth it vp into great hils, and so it is digged downe, and caried away by the merchants and other that wil fetch it from thence. They pay to the Emperor for acknowledgement or custome 3. d. Russe vpon euery hundred weight. Besides these two, they make salt in many other places of the Realme, as in Perm, Wichida, Totma, Kenitsma, Solouetsky, Ocona, Bombasey, and Nonocks, all out of salt pits, saue at Solouetsky, which lieth neere to the sea.

Nonocks.

10. Tarre.

Likewise of Tarre they make a great quantitie out of their firre trees in the countrey of Duyna and Smolensko, whereof much is sent abroad. Besides these (which are all good and substantiall commodities) they haue diuers other of smaller accompt, that are naturall and proper to that countrey: as the fish tooth (which they call Ribazuba) which is vsed both among themselues, and the Persians and Bougharians that fetch it from thence for beads, kniues, and sword hafts of Noblemen and gentlemen, and for diuers other vses. Some vse the powder of it against poison, as the Vnicornes horne. The fish that weareth it is called a Morse, and is caught about Pechora. These fish teeth some of them are almost 2. foote of length, and weigh 11. or 12. pound apiece.

11. Ribazuba.

12. Slude.

In the prouince of Corelia, and about the riuer Duyna towards the North sea, there groweth a soft rocke which they call Slude. This they cut into pieces, and so teare it into thin flakes, which naturally it is apt for, and so vse it for glasse-lanthorns and such like. It giueth both inwards and outwards a clearer light then glasse, and for this respect is better then either glasse or horne: for that it neither breaketh like glasse, noryet will burne like the lanthorne. Saltpeter in many places, as at Ouglits, Yaruslaue, and Vstiug,

13. Saltpeter and brimstone.

they make and some smal store of brimstone vpon the riuer Yolgha, but want skil to refine it. Their iron is somewhat brittle, but a great weight of it is made in Corelia, Cargapolia, and Vstiug Thelesna. Other mine they haue none gowing within ye realme.

14. Iron.

The strange beastes, fish, foule, &c., that breed in Russia.

Their beasts of strange kinds are the Losh, the Ollen, the wild horse, the beare, the woluering, or wood dog, the Lyserne, the Beauer, the Sable, the Martron, the black and dunne fox, the white Beare towards the sea coast of Pechora, the Gurnstale, the Laset or Mineuer. They haue a kinde of Squirrell that hath growing on the pinion of the shoulder bone a long tuft of haire, much like vnto feathers with a far broader taile than haue any other squirrels, which they moue and shake as they leape from tree to tree, much like vnto a wing. They skise a large space, and seeme for to flie withal, and therefore they cal them Letach Vechshe, that is, the flying squirrels. Their hares and squirrels in sommer are of the same colour with ours, in Winter the hare changeth her coate into milke white, the squirrel into gray, whereof cometh the Calaber.

They haue fallow deere, the roe bucke, and goats very great store. Their horses are but smal, but very swift and hard, they trauell them vnshod both winter and Sommer, without all regard of pace. Their sheepe are but smal and beare course and harsh wool. Of foule they haue diuers of the principal kinds: First, great store of hawks, the eagle, the gerfaulcon, the slightfaulcon, the goshawk, the tassel, the sparhawk, &c. But the principal hawke y^t that breedeth in the country, is counted ye gerfaulcon. Of other fowles their principal kinds are the swan tame and wilde, (whereof they haue great store) the storke, the crane, the tedder of the colour of a feasant, but far bigger and liueth in the firre woods. Of feasant and partridge they haue very great plentie. An owle there is of very a great bignesse more vgly to behold then ye owles of this country, with a broad face, and eares much like vnto a man.

For fresh water fish, besides the common sorts (as carpe, pikes, pearch, tench, roach, &c.) they haue diuers kinds very good and delicate: as the Bellouga or Bellougina of 4. or 5. elnes long, the Ositrina or Sturgion, the Seueriga and Sterledy somewhat in fashion and taste like to the Sturgion, but not so thick nor long. These 4. kindes of fish breed in the Volgha, and are catched in great plenty, and serued thence into the whole Realme for a great food. Of the Roes of these foure kinds they make very great store of Icary or Caueary as was said before.

They haue besides these that breed in the Volgha a fish called the Riba bela, or white salmon, which they account more delicate then they do the red salmon, whereof also they haue exceeding great plentie in the Riuers Northward, as in Duyna, the riuer of Cola, &c. In the Ozera or lake neere a towne called Perislaue, not far from the Mosco, they haue a smal fish which they cal the fresh herring, of the fashion, and somewhat of the taste of a sea-herring. Their chiefe townes for fish are, Yaruslaue, Bealozera, Nouogrod, Astracan, and Cazan: which all yeeld a large custome to the Emperour euery yeere for their trades of fishing, which they practise in Sommer, but sende if frozen in the Winter time into all parts of the Realme.

The chiefe Cities of Russia.

THe chiefe cities of Russia are Mosco, Nouogrod, Rostoue, Volodomer, Plesko, Smolensko, Iaruslaue, Perislaue, Nisnouogrod, Vologda, Vstiug, Colmogro, Cazan, Astracan, Cargapolia, Columna. The city of Mosco is supposed to be of great antiquitie, though the first founder be vnknowen to the Russe. It seemeth to haue taken the name from the riuer that runneth on the one side of the towne. Berosus the Chaldean in his 5. booke telleth that Nimrod (whom other profane stories cal Saturne) sent Assyrius, Medus, Moscus, and Magog into Asia to plant colonies there, and that Moscus planted both in Asia and Europe. Which may make some probabilitie, that the citie, or rather the riuer whereon it is built, tooke the denomination from this Moscus: the rather because of the climate or situation, which is in the very farthest part and list of Europe, bordering vpon Asia. The Citie was much enlarged by one Iuan or Iohn, sonne to Daniel, that first changed his title of duke into King: though that honour continued not to his posterity: the rather because he was inuested into it by the Popes Legate, who at that time was Innocentius the 4. about the yeere 1246. which was very much misliked by the Russe people, being then a part of the Easterne or Greeke Church. Since that time the name of this city hath growen more famous, and better knowen to the world: insomuch that not only the prouince, but the whole countrey of Russia is termed by some by the name of Moscouia the

Mosco.

Metropolite city. The forme of this city is in maner round with 3. strong wals, circuling the one within the other, and streets lying betwene, whereof the inmost wall, and the buildings closed within it (lying safest as the heart within the body, fenced and watred with the riuer Moscoua, that runneth close by it) is all accompted the Emperors castle. The number of houses (as I haue heard) through the whole Citie (being reckoned by the Emperor a little before it was fired by the Crim) was 41500. in all. Since the Tartar besieged and fired the towne (which was in the yere 1571.) there lieth waste of it a great breadth of ground, which before was wel set and planted with buildings, specially that part on the South side of Moscua, built not long before by Basilius the Emperor for his garison of souldiers, to whom he gaue priuiledge to drinke Mead, and beere at the dry or prohibited times, when other Russes may drinke nothing but water, and for that cause called this new city by the name of Naloi, that is skinck * or poure in. So that now the city of Mosco is not much bigger then the city of London. The next in greatnes, and in a maner as large, is the citie Nouograd: where was committed (as the Russe saith) the memorable warre so much spoke of in stories of the Scythians seruants, that tooke armes against their Masters: which they report in this sort: viz. That the Boiarens or gentlemen of Nouograd and the territory about (which only are souldiers after the discipline of those countreis) had war with the Tartars. Which being wel performed and ended by them, they returned homewards. Where they vnderstood by the way that their Cholopey or bondslaues whom they left at home, had in their absence possessed their townes, lands, houses, wiues and all. At which newes being somewhat amased, and yet disdeining the villany of their seruants, they made the more speed home: and so not far from Nouograd met them in warlike maner marching against them. Whereupon aduising what was best to be done, they agreed all to set vpon them with no other shew of weapon but with their horse whips (which as their maner is euery man rideth withal) to put them in remembrance of their seruile condition, thereby to terrffie them, and abate their courage.

Nouograd.

---

*From *Scenc*—drink, SAX.
Where every jovial tinker for his chink,
May cry, mine host, to crambe giue us drink,
And do not slink, but skink, or else you stink.
(B. JONSON, *New Inn*, I. 3.)

And so marching on and lashing al together with their whips in their hands they gaue the onset. Which seemed so terrible in the eares of their villaines, and stroke such a sense into them of the smart of the whip which they had felt before, that they fled altogether like sheepe before the driuers. In memory of this victory the Nouogradians euer since haue stamped their coine (which they cal a dingoe Nouogrodskoy currant through al Russia) with the figure of a horsman shaking a whip aloft in his hand. These 2. cities exceed ye rest in greatnes. For strength their chiefe townes are Vobsko, Smolensko, Cazan and Astracan, as lying vpon the borders. But for situation Iaruslaue far exceedeth the rest. For besides the commodities that the soile yeeldeth of pasture and corne, it lieth vpon the famous riuer of Volgha, and looketh ouer it from a high banke very faire and stately to behold: whereof the towne taketh the name. For Iaraslaue in that tongue signifieth as much as a faire or famous banke. In this towne (as may be ghessed by the name) dwelt the Russe king Vladimer sirnamed Iaruslaue, that maried the Daughter of Harald king of England, by mediation of Sweno the Dane, as is noted in the Danish story about the yere 1067.

Iaruslaue.

Saxo Grammaticus lib. 11. pag. 187.

The other townes haue nothing y^t^ is greatly memorable, saue many ruines within their wals. The streets of their cities and townes in stead of pauing are planked with fir trees, plained and layd euen close the one to the other. Their houses are of wood without any lime or stone, built very close and warme with firre trees plained and piled one vpon another. They are fastened together with dents or notches at euery corner, and so clasped fast together. Betwixt the trees or timber they thrust in mosse (whereof they gather plenty in their woods) to keep out the aire. Euery house hath a paire of staires that lead vp into the chambers out of the yard or streat after the Scottish maner. This building seemeth far better for their countrey, then that of stone or bricke; as being colder and more dampish then their wooden houses, specially of firre, that is a dry and warme wood. Whereof the prouidence of God hath giuen them such store, as that you may build a faire house for 20. or 30. rubbles or litle more, where wood is most scant. The greatest inconuenience of their wodden building is the aptnesse for firing, which happeneth very oft and in very fearful sort, by reason of the drinesse and fatnes of the fir, that being once

The manner of Russe building.

fired, burneth like a torch, and is hardly quenched til all be burnt vp.

Of the maner of Crowning or Inauguration of the Russe Emperours.

THe solemnities vsed at yͤ Russe Emperors coronation, are on this maner. In the great church of Precheste (or our Lady) within the Emperors castle is erected a stage whereon standeth a scrine that beareth vpon it the Imperial cap and robe of very rich stuffe. When the day of the Inauguration is come, there resort thither, first the Patriarch wᵗ the Metropolitanes, archbishops, bishops, abbots and priors, al richly clad in their pontificalibus. Then enter the Deacons with the quier of singers. Who so soone as the Emperor setteth foot into yͤ church, begin to sing: Many yeres may liue noble Theodore Iuanowich, &c: Wereunto the patriarch and Metropolite with the rest of the cleargy answere with a certaine hymne, in forme of a praier, singing it altogether with a great noise. The hymne being ended, the patriarch with the Emperor mount vp the stage, where standeth a seat ready for the Emperor. Whereupon the patriarch willeth him to sit downe, and then placing himself by him vpon another seat prouided for yᵗ purpose, boweth downe his head towards yͤ ground, and saith this prayer: O Lord God king of kings, Lord of Lords, which by thy prophet Samuel didst chose thy seruant Dauid, and annoynt him for King ouer thy people Israel, heare now our prayer, and looke from thy sanctuary vpon this thy seruant Theodore, whom thou hast chosen and exalted for king ouer these thy holy nations anoint him with the oile of gladnes, protect by thy power, put vpon his head a crowne of gold and precious stones, giue him length of dayes, place him in the seat of Iustice, strengthen his arme, make subiect vnto him all the barbarous nations. Let thy feare be in his whole heart, turne him from an euill faith, and all errour, and shewe him the saluation of thy holy and vniuersal Church, that he may iudge thy people with iustice, and protect the children of the poore, and finally atteine euerlasting life. This prayer he speaketh with a low voice, and then pronounceth aloud: Al praise and power to God the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost. The prayer being ended, he commandeth certaine Abbots to reach the imperiall roabe and cap: which is done very decently, and with great solemnitie, the Patriarch withal pronouncing aloud: Peace be vnto all. And so he beginneth another prayer to this effect: Bow your selues together with vs, and pray to him that reigneth ouer all. Preserue him (oh Lord) vnder thy holy protection, keepe him that hee may doe good and holy things, let Iustice shine forth in his dayes, that we may liue quietly without strife and malice. This is pronounced somewhat softly by the Patriarch, whereto hee addeth againe aloud: Thou art the king of the whole world and the sauiour of our soules, to thee the Father, sonne and Holy ghost be al praise for euer and euer. Amen. Then putting on the roabe and the cap, he blesseth the Emperour with the signe of the crosse, saying withall: In the name of the Father, the Sonne and the Holy ghost. The like is done by the Metropolites, Archbishops, and Bishops: who all in their order come to the chaire, and one after another blesse the Emperour with their two forefingers. Then is sayd by the Patriarch another prayer, that beginneth: Oh most holy virgin, mother of God &c. After which a Deacon pronounceth with a loude voice: Many yeres to noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloued of God, great Duke of Volodemer, of Mosco, Emperour, and Monarch of all Russia, &c. Whereto the other Priests and Deacons that stand somewhat farre of by the altar or table, answere singing: Many yeres, many yeres to the noble Theodore. The same note is taken vp by the Priests and Deacons, that are placed at the right and left side of the Church, and then altogether, they chaunt and thunder out, singing: Many yeres to the noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloued of God, great Duke of Volodomer, Mosco, Emperour of all Russia, &c. These solemnities being ended, first commeth the Patriarch with the Metropolites, Archbishops, and Bishops, then the Nobility, and the whole company in their order, to doe homage to the Emperour, bending downe their heads, and knocking them at his feete to the very ground.

The stile wherewith he is inuested at his Coronation, runneth after this maner.

THeodore Iuanowich, by the grace of God great Lord and Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodomer, Mosco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan, King of Astracan, Lord of Plesco, and great Duke of Smolensco, of Twerria, Ioughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others, Lord and great Duke of Nouogrod of the

Low countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskoy, Rostoue, Yaruslaueley, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condensa, Commander of all Siberia, and of the North parts, and Lord of many other Countreis, &c.

This stile conteineth in it all the Emperours Prouinces, and setteth foorth his greatnesse. And therefore they haue a great delight and pride in it, forcing not onely their owne people but also strangers (that haue any matter to deliuer to the Emperour by speech or writing) to repeate the whole forme from the beginning to the end. Which breedeth much cauill, and sometimes quarell betwixt them and the Tartar, and Poland Ambassadours: who refuse to call him Czar, that is Emperor, and to repeate the other parts of his long stile. My selfe when I had audience of the Emperour, thought good to salute him only with thus much viz. Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodomer, Mosco and Nouogrod, King of Cazan, King of Astracan. The rest I omitted of purpose, because I knew they gloried, to haue their stile appeare to be of a larger volume then the Queenes of England. But this was taken in so ill part, that the Chancelour (who then attended the Emperour, with the rest of the nobility) with a loude chafing voice, called still vpon me to say out the rest. Whereto I answered, that the Emperors stile was very long, and could not so well be remembred by strangers, that I had repeated so much of it, as might shew that I gaue honour to the rest &c. But all would not serue till I commanded my interpreter to say it all out.

Their forces for the wars, with the chief officers and their salaries.

Souldiers by birth and inheritance.

THe Souldiers of Russia are called Sinaboyarskey, or the sons of Gentlemen: because they are all out of that degree, by vertue of their military profession. For euery souldier in Russia is a gentleman, and none are gentlemen, but only the souldiers, that take it by discent from their ancestors: so that the sonne of a gentleman (which is borne a souldier) is euer a gentleman, and a souldier withall, and professeth nothing els but military matters. When they are of yeres able to beare armes, they come to the office of Roserade, or great Constable, and there present themselues: who entreth their names, and allotteth them certaine lands to maintaine their charges, for the most part the same that their fathers enioyed. For the lands assigned to maintaine the army, are euer certain, annexed to this office without improuing, or detracting one foot. But that if the Emperor haue sufficient in wages, the roomes being full so farre as the land doeth extend already, they are many times deferred, and haue nothing allowed them, except some one portion of the land be deuided into two. The whole number of his souldiers in continuall pay, is this. First he hath his Dworaney, that is, Pensioners, or Gard of his person, to the number of 15000 horsemen, with their captaines and other officers, that are alwaies in a readines.

Degrees of horsemen. 1. Prætoriani or such as attend the Emperors person 15000.

Of these 15000 horsemen, there are three sorts or degrees, which differ as well in estimation as in wages, one degree from another. The first sort of them is called Dworaney Bulshey, or the company of head Pensioners, that haue some an hundred, some fourescore rubbles a yeare, and none vnder 70. The second sort are called Seredney Dworaney, or the middle rank of Pensioners. These haue sixty or fifty rubbles by the yeare, none vnder fortie. The third and lowest sort, are the Dyta Boiarskey, that is the low Pensioners. Their salary is thirty rubbles a yere for him that hath most, some haue but 25, some 20, none vnder 12. Whereof the halfe part is paid them at the Mosco, the other halfe in the field by the general, when they haue any wars, and are imploied in seruice. When they receiue their whole pay, it amounteth to 55000 rubbles by the yere.

And this is their wages, besides lands allotted to euery one of them, both to the greater and the lesse, according to their degrees. Whereof he that hath least, hath to yeelde him twentie rubbles or markes by the yeare. Besides these 15000 horsemen, that are of better choyce (as being the Emperors owne gard when himselfe goeth to the wars, not vnlike the Romane souldiers called Prætoriani) are a hundred and ten men of speciall account for their Nobilitie, and trust, which are chosen by the Emperor, and haue their names registred, that find among them for the Emperors wars, to the number of 65000. horsemen, with all necessaries meet for the wars after the Russe maner.

Two other troupes to the number of 65000.

To this end they haue yerely allowance made by the Emperor for themselues, and their companies, to the summe of 40000 rubbles. And these 65000 are to repayre to the field euery yeare on the borders towards the Crim Tartar, (except they be appointed for some other seruice) whether there be wars with the Tartars, or not. This might seeme peraduenture somewhat dangerous for some state, to haue so great forces vnder the command of Noblemen to assemble euery yere to one certain place. But the matter is so vsed, as that no danger can growe to the Emperor, or his state by this means. First, because these noblemen are many, to wit, an 110. in al, and changed by the Emperor so oft as he thinketh good. Secondly, because they haue their liuings of the Emperor, being otherwise but of very small revenue, and receiue this yerely pay of 40000 rubbles, when it is presently to be payd forth againe to the souldiers that are vnder them. Thirdly, because for the most part they are about the Emperors person being of his Counsel, either speciall, or at large. Fourthly, they are rather as paymasters, then Captaines to their companies, themselues not going forth ordinarily to the wars, saue when some of them are appointed by speciall order from the Emperor himselfe. So the whole number of horsemen that are euer in a readinesse, and in continuall pay, are 80000, a few more or lesse.

Horsemen in continuall pay 80000.

If he haue neede of a greater number (which seldome falleth out) then he enterteineth of those Sinaboiarskey, that are out of pay, so many as he needeth: and if yet he want of his number, he giueth charge to his Noblemen, that hold lands of him to bring into the field euery man a proportionable number of his seruants (called Kolophey, such as till his lands) with their furniture, according to the iust number that he intendeth to make. Which the seruice being done, presently lay in their weapons, and returne to their seruile occupations againe.

Footmen in continuall pay 12000.

Of footemen that are in continuall pay, he hath to the number of 12000 all gunners, called Strelsey: Whereof 5000 are to attend about the citie of Mosco, or any other place where the Emperor shall abide, and 2000 (which are called Stremaney Strelsey, or gunners at the stirrop) about his owne person at the very Court or house where himselfe lodgeth. The rest are placed in his garison townes, till there be occasion to haue them in the field, and receiue for their salarie or stipend euery man seuen rubbles a yeare, besides twelue measures a piece of Rye, and Oates. Of mercenary Souldiers, that are strangers (whom they call Nimschoy) they haue at this time 4300 of Polonians:

Strangers mercenaries in pay 4300.

of Chirchasses (that are vnder the Polonians) about 4000, whereof 3500 are abroad in his garisons: of Doutches and Scots about 150: of Greekes, Turks, Danes and Swedens, all in one band, an 100 or thereabouts. But these they vse onely vpon the Tartar side, and against the Siberians: as they doe the Tartar souldiers (whom they hire sometimes, but only for the present) on the other side against the Polonian and Sweden: thinking it best policie to vse their seruice vpon the contrary border.

The chief captains or leaders.

The chiefe Captaines or leaders of these forces, according to their names and degrees, are these which follow. First, the Voyauoda Bulshaia, that is, the Great Captaine, or Lieutenant general vnder the Emperor. This commonly is one of the foure houses of the chiefe Nobility of the land. Their great Voiauod or general at this present in their wars, is commonly one of these foure: Knez Feodor Iuanowich Methisloskey, Knez Iuan Michalowich Glinskoy, Cherechaskoy, and Trowbetskoy, all of great nobilitie. Next vnto the Voiauod or general there is some other placed as Lieutenant general, being a man of great valour and experience in the wars, who ordereth all things that the other countenanceth. At this time their principal man, and most vsed in their wars, is one Knez Demetrie Iuanowich Forestine, an ancient and expert captaine, and one that hath done great seruice (as they say) against the Tartar and Polonian. Next vnder the Voiauod and his Lieutenant general are foure other that haue the marshalling of the whole army deuided among them, and may be called the marshals of the field.

1. The Voiauod or general.

2. Lieutenant general.

3. Marshals of the field foure.

Euery man hath his quarter, or fourth part vnder him. Whereof the first is called the Praua Polskoy, or right wing. The second is the Leuoy Polskoy, or left wing. The third is Rusnoy Polskoy, or the broken band, because out of this there are chosen to send abroad vpon any sodaine exploit, or to make a rescue or supplie, as occasion doth require. The fourth Storoshouoy Polskoy, or the warding band. Euery one of these foure Marshals haue two other vnder them (eight in all) that twise euery weeke at the least must muster and traine their seueral wings or bands, and hold and giue iustice for all faults, and disorders committed in the campe.

Foure marshals: deputies eight.

And these eight are commonly chosen out of the 110. (which I spake of before) that receiue and deliuer the pay to the souldiers.

Vnder these eight are diuers other Captaines, as the Gulauoy, Captaines of thousands fiue hundreds and 100. The Petyde Setskoy or Captains of fifties, and the Decetskies or Captains of tennes.

Fiue Coronels vnder Captains.

Besides the Voiauoda or general of the armie (spoken of before) they haue two other that beare the name of Voiauoda, whereof one is the master of the great Ordinance (called Naradna voiauoda) who hath diuers vnder officers, necessary for that seruice. The other is called the Voiauoda gulauoy, or the walking Captaine, that hath allowed him 1000 good horsemen of principall choyce, to range and spie abroad, and hath the charge of the running Castle, which we are to speake of in the Chapter following. Al these Captains, and men of charge must once euery day resort to the Bulsha voiauoda, or General of the armie, to know his pleasure, and to informe him, if there be any requisite matter pertaining to their office.

Sixe Masters of the Artillery.

The walking Captaine.

Of their mustering, and leuying of forces, maner of armour, and prouision of victuall for the warres.

When wars are towards (which they faile not of lightly euery yere with the Tartar, and many times with the Polonian and Sweden) the foure Lords of the Chetfirds send forth their summons in the Emperors name, to all the Dukes and Dyacks of the Prouinces, to be proclaimed in the head townes of euery Shire: that al the Sinaboiarskey, or sonnes of gentlemen make their repaire to such a border where the seruice is to be done, at such a place, and by such a day, and there present themselues to such, and such Captaines. When they come to the place assigned them in the summons or proclamation, their names are taken by certaine officers that haue commission for that purpose from the Roserade, or high Constable, as Clarkes of the bands. If any make default or faile at the day, he is mulcted, and punished very seuerely. As for the General and other chief Captaines, they are sent thither from the Emperors owne hand, with such Commission and charge as he thinketh behoofull for the present seruice. When the souldiers are assembled, they are reduced into their bands, and companies, vnder their seueral Captaines of tennes, fifties, hundreds, thousands, &c. and these Bands into 4 Polskeis, or Legions (but of farre greater numbers

Their order of mustering.

then the Romane Legions were) vnder their foure great Leaders, which also haue the authoritie of Marshals of the field (as was sayd before.)

The horsemans furniture.

Concerning their armour they are but slightly appointed. The common horseman hath nothing els but his bow in his case vnder his right arme, and his quiuer and sword hanging on the left side: except some fewe that beare a case of dagges, or a Iauelin, or short staffe along their horse side. The vnder captains wil haue commonly some piece of armour besides, as a shirt of male, or such like. The General with the other chiefe captaines and men of Nobilitie wil haue their horse very richly furnished, their saddles of cloth of gold, their bridles fair bossed and tasselled with gold, and silk fringe, bestudded with pearle and precious stones, themselues in very faire armor, which they cal Bullatnoy, made of faire shining steele, yet couered commonly with cloth of golde, and edged round with armin furre, his steele helmet on his head of a very great price, his sword bow and arrowes at his side, his speare in his hand, with another faire helmet, and Shesta pera, or horsemans scepter carried before him. Their swords, bowes, and arrowes are of the Turkish fashion. They practise like the Tartar to shoote forwards and backwards, as they flie and retire.

The footmans furniture.

The Strelsey or footeman hath nothing but his piece in his hand, his striking hatchet at his back, and his sword by his side. The stock of his piece is not made calieuerwise, but with a plaine and straite stocke (somewhat like a fouling piece) the barrel is rudely and vnartificially made, very heauie, yet shooteth but a very small bullet.

Prouision of victual.

As for their prouision of victual, the Emperor alloweth none, either for Captaine or souldiour, neither prouideth any for them except peraduenture some corne for their money. Euery man is to bring sufficient for himselfe, to serue his turne for foure moneths, and if neede require to giue order for more to be brought vnto him to the Campe from his tenant that tilleth his land, or some other place. One great helpe they haue, that for lodging and diet euery Russe is prepared to be a souldier beforehand. Though the chiefe Captains and other of account cary tents with them after the fashion of ours, with some better prouision of victual then the rest. They bring with them commonly into the Campe for victuall a kind of dried bread, (which they call Suchary) with some store of meale, which they

to giue ouer his siege, with the losse of many of his best Captaines and souldiers. But in a set field the Russe is noted to haue euer the worse of the Polonian and Sweden.

Reward for valure.

If any behaue himselfe more valiantly then the rest, or do any special piece of seruice, the Emperor sendeth him a piece of golde, stamped with the Image of Saint George on horsebacke. Which they hang on their sleeues, and set in their caps. And this is accounted the greatest honour they can receiue, for any seruice they doe.

Of their Colonies, and maintaining of their conquests, or purchases by force.

THe Russe Emperors of late yeres haue very much enlarged their dominions, and territories. Their first conquest after the Dukedome of Mosco, (for before that time they were but Dukes of Volodomer, as before was said) was the citie, and Dukedome of Nouogrod on ye West, and Northwest side: which was no smal enlargement of their dominion, and strengthening to them for the winning of the rest. This was done by Iuan great grandfather to Theodor now Emperor, about the yere 1480. The same began likewise to encroach vpon the countries of Lituania and Liuonia, but the conquest only intended, and attempted by him, vpon some part of those countries, was pursued and performed by his sonne Basileus, who first wan the citie and dukedom of Plesko, afterwards the citie and dukedome of Smolensco, and many other faire towns, with a large territory belonging vnto them, about the yere 1514. These victories against the Lettoes or Lituanians, in the time of Alexander their duke, he atchieued rather by aduantage of ciuil dissentions, and treasons among themselues, then by any great policie, or force of his own. But al this was lost againe by his son Iuan Vasiliwich about 8 or 9 yeres past, vpon composition with ye Polonian king Stephan Batore: whereunto he was forced by the aduantages which the Pole had then of him, by reason of the foile he had giuen him before, and the disquietnes of his own state at home. Onely the Russe Emperor, at this time hath left him on that side his countery, the cities of Smolensco, Vobsco, Chernigo, and Bealagorod in Lituania. In Liuonia, not a towne nor one foot of ground.

1580.

Lituania.

When Basilius first conquered those countries, he suffered then the natiues to keepe their possessions,

then the Romane Legions were) vnder their foure great Leaders, which also haue the authoritie of Marshals of the field (as was sayd before.)

The horsemans furniture.

Concerning their armour they are but slightly appointed. The common horseman hath nothing els but his bow in his case vnder his right arme, and his quiuer and sword hanging on the left side: except some fewe that beare a case of dagges, or a Iauelin, or short staffe along their horse side. The vnder captains wil haue commonly some piece of armour besides, as a shirt of male, or such like. The General with the other chiefe captaines and men of Nobilitie wil haue their horse very richly furnished, their saddles of cloth of gold, their bridles fair bossed and tasselled with gold, and silk fringe, bestudded with pearle and precious stones, themselues in very faire armor, which they cal Bullatnoy, made of faire shining steele, yet couered commonly with cloth of golde, and edged round with armin furre, his steele helmet on his head of a very great price, his sword bow and arrowes at his side, his speare in his hand, with another faire helmet, and Shesta pera, or horsemans scepter carried before him. Their swords, bowes, and arrowes are of the Turkish fashion. They practise like the Tartar to shoote forwards and backwards, as they flie and retire.

The footmans furniture.

The Strelsey or footeman hath nothing but his piece in his hand, his striking hatchet at his back, and his sword by his side. The stock of his piece is not made calieuerwise, but with a plaine and straite stocke (somewhat like a fouling piece) the barrel is rudely and vnartificially made, very heauie, yet shooteth but a very small bullet.

Prouision of victual.

As for their prouision of victual, the Emperor alloweth none, either for Captaine or souldiour, neither prouideth any for them except peraduenture some corne for their money. Euery man is to bring sufficient for himselfe, to serue his turne for foure moneths, and if neede require to giue order for more to be brought vnto him to the Campe from his tenant that tilleth his land, or some other place. One great helpe they haue, that for lodging and diet euery Russe is prepared to be a souldier beforehand. Though the chiefe Captains and other of account cary tents with them after the fashion of ours, with some better prouision of victual then the rest. They bring with them commonly into the Campe for victuall a kind of dried bread, (which they call Suchary) with some store of meale, which they

to giue ouer his siege, with the losse of many of his best Captaines and souldiers. But in a set field the Russe is noted to haue euer the worse of the Polonian and Sweden.

Reward for valure.

If any behaue himselfe more valiantly then the rest, or do any special piece of seruice, the Emperor sendeth him a piece of golde, stamped with the Image of Saint George on horsebacke. Which they hang on their sleeues, and set in their caps. And this is accounted the greatest honour they can receiue, for any seruice they doe.

Of their Colonies, and maintaining of their conquests, or purchases by force.

THe Russe Emperors of late yeres haue very much enlarged their dominions, and territories. Their first conquest after the Dukedome of Mosco, (for before that time they were but Dukes of Volodomer, as before was said) was the citie, and Dukedome of Nouogrod on ye West, and Northwest side: which was no smal enlargement of their dominion, and strengthening to them for the winning of the rest. This was done by Iuan great grandfather to Theodor now Emperor, about the yere 1480. The same began likewise to encroach vpon the countries of Lituania and Liuonia, but the conquest only intended, and attempted by him, vpon some part of those countries, was pursued and performed by his sonne Basileus, who first wan the citie and dukedom of Plesko, afterwards the citie and dukedome of Smolensco, and many other faire towns, with a large territory belonging vnto them, about the yere 1514. These victories against the Lettoes or Lituanians, in the time of Alexander their duke, he atchieued rather by aduantage of ciuil dissentions, and treasons among themselues, then by any great policie, or force of his own. But al this was lost againe by his son Iuan Vasiliwich about 8 or 9 yeres past, vpon composition with ye Polonian king Stephan Batore: whereunto he was forced by the aduantages which the Pole had then of him, by reason of the foile he had giuen him before, and the disquietnes of his own state at home. Onely the Russe Emperor, at this time hath left him on that side his countery, the cities of Smolensco, Vobsco, Chernigo, and Bealagorod in Lituania. In Liuonia, not a towne nor one foot of ground.

1580.

Lituania.

When Basilius first conquered those countries, he suffered then the natiues to keepe their possessions, and to inhabite all their townes, onely paying him a tribute, vnder the gouernment of his Russe Captaines. But by their conspiracies and attempts not long after, he was taught to deale more surely with them. And so comming vpon them the second time, he killed and caried away with him, three parts of foure, which he gaue or sold to the Tartars that serued him in those wars, and in stead of them placed there his Russes, so many as might ouermatch the rest, with certaine garisons of strength besides. Wherein notwithstanding this ouersight was committed, for that (taking away with him the vpland, or countrey people that should haue tilled the ground, and might easily haue bene kept in order without any danger, by other good policies) he was driuen afterwards many yeres together, to vitaile the countrey (specially the great townes) out of his owne countrey of Russia, the soile lying there in the meane while wast, and vntilled.

Narue.

The like fell out at the port of Narue in Liefland, where his sonne Iuan Vasiliwich deuised to build a towne, and a castle on the other side the riuer, (called Iuanogrod) to keepe the towne and countrey in subiection. The castle he caused to be so built and fortified, that it was thought to be inuincible. And when it was furnished, for reward to the Architect (that was a Polonian) he put out both his eyes, to make him vnable to build the like againe. But hauing left the natiues all within their owne countrey, without abating their number or strength, the towne and castle not long after was betraied, and surrendred againe to the king of Sweden.

Siberia and Ob.

Conquest of a 1000 miles.

On the Southeast side, they haue got the kingdomes of Cazan, and Astracan. These were wonne from the Tartar, by the late Emperour Iuan Vasiliwich, the one about thirtie fiue, the other about thirtie and three yeares agoe. Northward our of the countrey of Siberia, he hath layed vnto his realme a great breadth and length of ground, from Wichida to the riuer of Obba, about a thousand miles space: so that he is bolde to write himselfe now, The great Commander of Siberia. The countries likewise of Permia, and Pechora are a diuers people and language from the Russe, ouercome not long since, and that rather by threatning, and shaking of the sword, then by any actuall force: as being a weake and naked people, without meanes to resist.

Permia and Pechora.

That which the Russe hath in his present possession, he keepeth

Means of holding chieftownes.

on this sort. In his foure chief border townes of Vobsko, Smolensko, Astracan, and Cazan, he hath certaine of his counsel not of the greatest nobility, but of greatest trust, which haue more authoritie within their precincts, (for the countenancing and strengthening of their gouernment there) then the other Dukes that are set to gouerne in other places, as was noted before, in the maner of ordering their Prouinces. These he changeth sometimes euery second or third yere, but exceedeth not that time, except vpon very speciall trust, and good liking of the party, and his seruice: least by enlarging of their time, they might grow into some familiaritie with the enemie (as some haue done) being so farre out of sight.

The townes besides are very strongly fenced with trenches, castles, and store of munition, and haue garisons within them, to the number of two or three thousand a piece. They are stored with victual if any seige should come vpon them, for the space of two or three yeres before hand. The foure castles of Smolensko, Vobsko, Cazan and Astracan, he hath made very strong to beare out any siege: so that it is thought that those townes are impregnable.

Meanes of holding the countries of Pechora, Permia, and Siberia.

As for the countries of Pechora and Permia, and that part of of Siberia, which he hath now vnder him, they are kept by as easie meanes, as they were first got. viz. rather by shewing, then by vsing of armes. First, he hath stored the countrie with as many Russes as there are natiues, and hath there some few souldiers in garison, inough to keepe them vnder. Secondly, his officers and Magistrates there are of his own Russe people, and he changeth them very often, viz. euery yere twise or thrise: notwithstanding there be no great feare of any innouation. Thirdly, he deuideth them into many smal gouernments, like a staffe broke in many small pieces: so y^{t} they haue no strength being seuered, which was but litle neither when they were al in one. Fourthly, he prouideth that the people of the countrie haue neither armor nor money, being taxed and pilled so often as he thinketh good: without any meanes to shake off that yoke, or to relieue themselues.

Siberia.

In Siberia (where he goeth on in pursuing his conquest) he hath diuers castles and garisons to the number of 6000 souldiers of Russes and Polonians, and sendeth many new supplies thither, to plant and inhabite, as he winneth

The kings brother of Siberia.

ground. At this time besides he hath gotten the kings brother of Siberia, allured by certaine of his captaines, to leaue his own country by offers of great entertainment, and pleasanter life with the Russe Emperor, then he had in Siberia. He was brought in this last yere, and is now with the Emperor at Mosco well enterteined.

1588.

Of the Tartars, and other borderers to the country of Russia, with whom they haue most to doe in warre, and peace.

The Polonians called Laches by the Russe.

THeir neighbors with whom they haue greatest dealings and intercourse, both in peace and war, are first the Tartar. Secondly the Polonian whom the Russe calleth Laches, noting the first author or founder of the nation, who was called Laches or Leches, whereunto is added Po, which signifieth People, and is so made Polaches, that is, the People or posterity of Laches: which the Latins after their maner of writing cal Polonos. The third are the Swedens. The Polonians and Swedens are better knowen to these parts of Europe then are the Tartars, that are farther off from vs (as being of Asia) and diuided into many tribes, different in name, and gouernment one from another. The greatest and mightiest of them is the Chrim Tartar, (whom some call the Great Can) that lieth South, and Southeastward from Russia, and doth most annoy the country by often inuasions, commonly once euery yere, sometimes entring very farre within the inland parts. In the yere 1571 he came as farre as the citie of Mosco, with an armie of 200000 men, without any battel, or resistance at al, for that the Russe Emperor (then Iuan Vasiliwich) leading forth his armie to encounter with him, marched a wrong way. The citie he tooke not, but fired the suburbs, which by reason of the buildings (which are all of wood without any stone, brick, or lime, saue certaine out roomes) kindled so quickly, and went on with such rage, as that it consumed the greatest part of the citie almost within the space of foure houres, being of 30 miles or more of compasse. Then might you haue seene a lamentable spectacle: besides the huge and mighty flame of the citie all on light fire, the people burning in their houses and streetes, but most of all of such as laboured

The Chrim Tartar.

The firing of Mosco by the Chrim Tartar in the yere 1571.

to passe out of the gates farthest from the enemie, where meeting together in a mightie throng, and so pressing euery man to preuent another, wedged themselues so fast within the gate, and streetes neere vnto it, as that three rankes walked one vpon the others head, the vppermost treading downe those that were lower: so that there perished at that time (as was said) by the fire and the presse, the number of 800000 people or more.

The principall cause of this continual quarell betwixt the Russe and the Chrim is for the right of certaine border partes claimed by the Tartar, but possessed by the Russe. The Tartar alleageth that besides Astracan and Cazan (that are the ancient possession of the East Tartar) the whole countrey from his bounds North and Westward so farre as the citie of Mosko, and Mosko it selfe perteineth to his right. Which seemeth to haue bene true by the report of the Russes them selues, that tell of a certaine homage that was done by the Russe Emperour euery yeere to the great Chrim or Can, the Russe Emperour standing on foot and feeding the Chrims horse, (himselfe sitting on his backe) with oates out of his owne cappe, in stead of a bowle or manger, and that within the castle of Mosko. And this homage (they say) was done till the time of Basileus grandfather to this man. Who surprising the Chrim Emperour by a stratageme done by one of his nobilitie (called Iuan Demetrowich Belschey) was content with this raunsome, viz. with the changing of this homage into a tribute of furrres: which afterwards also was denied to be paide by this Emperors father.

Homage done by the Russe to the Chrim Tartar.

Hereupon they continue ye quarrel, the Russe defending his countrey, and that which he hath won, ye Chrim Tartar inuading him once or twise euery yere, sometime about Whitsontide, but oftner in haruest. What time if the great Can or Chrim come in his owne person, he bringeth with him a great armie of 100000. or 200000. men. Otherwise they make short and sudden rodes into the countrey with lesser numbers, running about the list of the border as wild geese flie, inuading and retiring where they see aduantage.

Their common practise (being very populous) is to make diuers armies, and so drawing the Russe to one or two places of the frontiers, to inuade at some other place, that is left without defence. Their maner of fight, or ordering of their forces is much after the Russe maner

The maner of the Tartars fight and armour.

(spoken of before) saue that they are all horsemen, and carie nothing els but a bowe, a sheafe of arrowes, and a falcon sword after the Turkish fashion. They are very expert horsemen, and vse to shoote as readily backward, as forward. Some will haue a horsemans staffe like to a bore speare, besides their other weapons. The common souldier hath no other armour than his ordinary apparell, viz. a blacke sheeps skin with the wool side outward in the day time, and inwarde in the night time, with a cap of the same. But their Morseys or noblemen imitate the Turk both in apparel and armour. When they are to passe ouer a riuer with their armie, they tie three or four horses together, and taking long poles or pieces of wood, bind them fast to the tailes of their horse: so sitting on the poles they drive their horse ouer. At handie strokes (when they ioyne battell) they are accounted farre better men then the Russe people, fierce by nature, but more hardy and bloody by continuall practise of warre: as men knowing no artes of peace, nor any ciuil practise.

The subtilitie of the Tartar.

Yet their subtility is more than may seeme to agree with their barbarous condition. By reason they are practised to inuade continually, and to robbe their neighbours that border about them, they are very pregnant, and ready witted to deuise stratagems vpon the sudden for their better aduantage. As in their warre against Beala the fourth, king of Hungarie, whome they inuaded with 500000. men, and obtained against him a great victorie. Where, among other, hauing slaine his Chancelor called Nicholas Schinick, they found about him the kings priuy seale. Whereupon they deuised presently to counterfeit letters in the kings name, to the cities and townes next about the place, where the field was fought: with charge that in no case they should conuey themselues, and their goods out of their dwellings, where they might abide safely without all feare of danger, and not leaue the countrey desolate to the possession of so vile and barbarous an enemie, as was the Tartar nation, terming themselues in all reproachful maner. For notwithstanding he had lost his carriages, with some few straglers that had marched disorderly, yet he doubted not but to recouer that losse, with the accesse of a notable victorie, if the sauage Tartar durst abide him in the field. To this purpose hauing written their letters in the Polish character, by certain yong men whom they tooke in the field, and signed them with the Kings seale, they dispatched them forth to all the quarters of Hungaria, that lay neere about the place. Wherevpon the Vngarians that were now flying away with their goods, wiues, and children, vpon the rumour of the kings ouerthrow, taking comfort of these counterfeit letters, staid at home. And so were made a pray. being surprised on the sudden by this huge number of these Tartars, that had compassed them about before they were aware.

When they besiege a towne or fort, they offer much parle, and send many flattering messages to perswade a surrendry: promising all things that the inhabitants will require: but being once possessed of the place, they vse all maner of hostilitie, and crueltie, This they doe vpon a rule they haue, viz. that iustice is to bee practised but towards their owne. They encounter not lightly, but they haue some ambush, whereunto (hauing once shewed themselues, and made some short conflict) they retire as repulsed for feare, and so draw the enemie into it if they can. But the Russe beeing well acquainted with their practise is more warie of them. When they come a rouing with some small number, they set on horsebacke counterfaite shapes of men, that their number may seeme greater.

When they make any onset, their maner is to make a great shoute, crying out altogether Olla Billa, Olla Billa, God helpe vs, God help vs. They contemne death so much, as that they chuse rather to die, then to yeeld to their enemie, and are seene when they are slain to bite the very weapon, when they are past striking or helping of themselues. Wherein appeareth how different the Tartar is in his desperate courage from the Russe and Turke. For the Russe souldier, if he begin once to retire, putteth all his safetie in his speedy flight. And if once he be taken by his enemy, he neither defendeth himselfe, nor intreateth for his life, as reckoning straight to die. The Turk commonly, when he is past hope of escaping, falleth to intreatie, and casteth away his weapon, offereth both his hands, and holdeth them, as it were to be tied: hoping to saue his life, by offering himselfe bondslaue.

The chiefe bootie the Tartars seeke for in all their warres is to get store of captiues, specially young boyes, and girles, whome they sell to the Turkes, or other their neighbours. To this purpose they take with them great baskets make like bakers panniers, to carry them tenderly, and if any of them happen to tire, or to be sicke by the way, they dash him against the ground, or some tree, and so leaue him dead. The Souldiers are not troubled with keeping the captiues and the other bootie, for hindering the execution of their warres, but they haue certaine bandes that intend nothing else, appoynted of purpose to receiue and keepe the captiues and the other praye.

The Tartar religion.

The Russe borderers (being vsed to their inuasions lightly euery yeere in the Sommer) keepe fewe other cattell on the border partes, saue swine onely which the Tartar will not touch, nor driue away with him: for that he is of the Turkish religion, and will eate no swines flesh. Of Christ our Sauiour they confesse as much as doeth the Turke in his Alkaron, viz. that he came of the Angel Gabriel and the Virgin Marie, that he was a great Prophet, and shall be the Iudge of the worlde at the last day. In other matter likewise, they are much ordered after the manner and direction of the Turke: hauing felt the Turkish forces when hee wonne from them Azou and Caffa, with some other townes about the Euxine or blacke Sea, that were before tributaries to the Crim Tartar. So that now the Emperor of the Crims for the most part is chosen one of the Nobility whom the Turke doeth commend: whereby it is brought nowe to passe, that the Crim Tartar giueth to the Turke the tenth part of the spoyle which hee getteth in his warres against the Christians.

Herein they differ from the Turkish religion, for that they haue certaine idole puppets made of silke, or like stuffe, of the fashion of a man, which they fasten to the doore of their walking houses, to be as Ianusses or keepers of their house. And these idoles are made not by all, but by certaine religious women which they haue among them for that and like vses. They haue besides the image of their King or great Can, of an huge bignesse, which they erect at euery stage when the army marcheth: and this euery one must bend and bowe vnto as he passeth by it, be he Tartar or stranger. They are much giuen to witchcraft, and ominous coniectures vpon euery accident which they heare or see.

In making of mariages they haue no regard of alliance or consanguinitie. Onely with his mother, sister, and daughter a man may not marrie, and though he take the woman into his house, and accompany with her, yet he accounteth her not for his wife till he haue a childe by her. Then hee beginneth to take a dowry of her friends, or horse, sheepe, kine, &c. If she be barren after a certaine time, he turneth her home againe.

The Tartar nobilitie.

Vnder the Emperour they haue certaine Dukes, whome they call Morseis or Diuoymorseis, that rule ouer a certaine number of 10000, 20000, or 40000, a piece, which they call Hoords. When the Emperour hath any vse of them to serue in his warres, they are bound to come, and to bring with them in their Souldiers to a certain number, euery man with his two horse at the least, the one to ride on, the other to kill, when it commmeth to his turne to haue his horse eaten. For their chiefe vitaile is horse flesh, which they eate without bread, or any other thing with it. So that if a Tartar be taken by a Russe, he shall be sure lightly to finde a horse-legge, or some other part of him at his saddle bowe.

The Tartar diet.

This last yeere when I was at the Mosco, came in one Kiriach Morsey, nephew to the Emperour of the Crims that nowe is (whose father was Emperour before) accompanied with 300. Tartars, and his two wiues, whereof one was his brothers widow. Where being intertained in very good sort after the Russe maner, hee had sent vnto his lodging for his welcome, to bee made ready for his supper and his companies, two very large and fat horses, ready flayed in a sled. They prefer it before other flesh, because the meate is stronger (as they say) then Beefe, Mutton, and such like. And yet (which is marueile) though they serue all as horsemen in the warres, and eate all of horse flesh, there are brought yeerely to the Mosco to bee exchanged for other commodities 30. or 40. thousand Tartar horse, which they call Cones. They keepe also great heards of kine, and flocks of blacke sheepe, rather for the skins and milke (which they carie with them in great bottels) then for the vse of the flesh, though sometimes they eate of it. Some vse they haue of ryse, figs, and other fruits. They drinke milke or warme blood, and for the most part card them both together. They vse sometime as they trauel by the way to let their horse blood in a vaine, and to drinke it warme, as it commeth from his bodie.

1588.

Townes they plant none, nor other standing buildings, but haue walking houses, which the latines call Veij, built vpon wheeles like a shepheards cottage. These they drawe with them whithersoeuer they goe, driuing their cattell with them. And when they come to their stage, or standing place, they plant their carte houses verie orderly in a ranke: and so make the forme of streetes, and of a large towne. And this is the manner of the Emperor himselfe, who hath no other seat of Empire but an Agora, or towne of wood, that moueth with him whithersoeuer he goeth. As for the fixed and standing buildings

The Tartars dwelling.

vsed in other countreyes, they say they are vnwholesome and unpleasant.

They begin to mooue their houses and cattell in the Spring time from the South part of their countrey towards the North partes. And so driuing on till they haue grased all vp to the first farthest part Northward, they returne backe againe towards their South countrey (where they continue all the Winter) by 10. or 12. miles a stage: in the meane while the grasse being sprung vp againe, to serue for their cattell as they returne. From the border of the Shelcan towards the Caspian sea, to the Russe frontiers, they haue a goodly Countrey, specially on the South and Southeast parts, but lost for lack of tillage.

Of money they haue no vse at all, and therefore prefer brasse and steele before other metals, specially bullate, which they vse for swordes, kniues, and other necessaries. As for golde and siluer they neglect it of very purpose, (as they doe all tillage of their ground) to bee more free for their wandering kinde of life, and to keepe their Countrey lesse subiect to inuasions. Which giueth them great aduantage against all their neighbors, euer inuading and neuer being inuaded. Such as haue taken vpon them to inuade their Countrey (as of olde time Cyrus and Darius Hystaspis, on the East and Southeast side) haue done it with very ill successe: as wee finde in the stories written of those times. For their manner is when any will inuade them, to allure and drawe them on by flying and reculing (as if they were afraide) till they haue drawen them some good way within their countrey. Then when they begin to want victuall and other necessaries (as needes they must where nothing is to be had) to stoppe vp the passages, and inclose them with multitudes. By which stratagem (as we reade in Laonicus Chalcacondylas in his Turkish storie) they had welnigh surprised the great and huge armie of Tamerlan, but that hee retired with all speede hee could towardes the riuer Tanais or Don, not without great losse of his men, and cariages.

In the storie of Pachymerius the Greek (which he wrote of the the elder) I remember he telleth to the same purpose of one Nogas a Tartarian captaine vnder Cazan the Emperor of the East Tartars (of whom the citie and kingdome of Cazan may seeme to Emperors of Constantinople from the beginning of the reigne of Michael Palæologus to the time of Andronicus haue taken the denomination) who refused a present of Pearle and other iewels sent vnto him from Michael Palæologus: asking

Pachymerius.

withall, for what vse they serued, and whether they were good to keepe away sicknesse, death, or other misfortunes of this life, or no. So that it seemeth they haue euer, or long time bene of that minde to value things no further, then by the vse and necessitie for which they serue.

For person and complexion they haue broade and flatte visages,
of a tanned colour into yellowe and blacke, fierce and cruell
lookes, thinne haired vpon the upper lippe, and pitte of the
chinne, light and nimble bodied, with short legges, as if they were
made naturally for horsemen : whereto they practise themselues
from their childhood, seldome going afoot about anie businesse.
Their speech is verie sudden and loude, speaking as it were out
of a deepe hollowe throate. When they sing you would thinke a
kowe lowed, or some great bandogge howled. Their greatest
exercise is shooting, wherein they traine vp their children from
their verie infancie, not suffering them to eate till they haue shot
neere the marke within a certaine scantling. They are the very
same that sometimes were called Scythæ Nomades, or the
Scythian shepheards, by the Greekes and Latines. Some thinke
that the Turks took their beginning from the nation
of the Crim Tartars. Of which opinion is Laonicus Laonicus Calcocondylas.
Calcocondylas the Greek Historiographer, in his first
booke of his Turkish storie. Wherein hee followeth diuers verie
probable coniectures. The first taken from the verie 1
name it selfe, for that the worde Turke signifieth a
Shepheard or one that followeth a vagrant and wilde kinde of
life. By which name these Scythian Tartars haue euer beene
noted, being called by the Greekes σκύθαι νόμαδες or the Scythian
shepheards. His second reason because the Turkes 2
(in his time) that dwelt in Asia the lesse, to wit, in
Lydia, Caria, Phrygia and Cappadocia, spake the very same
language that these Tartars did, that dwelt betwixt the riuer
Tanais or Don, and the countrey of Sarmatia, which (as is knowen)
are these Tartars called Crims. At this time also the whole
nation of the Turkes differ not much in their common speech
from the Tartar language. Thirdly because the Turke 3
and the Crim Tartar agree so well together, as well in
religion, as in matter of Traffique neuer inuading, or iniurying
one another: saue that the Turke (since Laonicus his time) hath
encroached vpon some Townes vpon the Euxin Sea,
that before perteined to the Crim Tartar. Fourthly, 4

because Ortogules sonne to Oguzalpes, and father to Ottoman the first of name of the Turkish nation made his first roads out of those parts of Asia, vpon the next borderers, till hee came towardes the countreys about the hill Taurus where he ouercame the Greekes that inhabited there: and so enlarged the name and territorie of the Turkish nation, till hee came to Eubæa and Attica and other partes of Greece. This is the opinion of Laonicus, who liued among the Turkes in the time of Amurat the sixt Turkish Emperour, about the yeere 1400. when the memorie of their originall was more fresh: and therefore the likelier hee was to hit the trueth.

1400.

There are diuers other Tartars that border vpon Russia, as the Nayages, the Cheremissens, the Mordwites, the Chircasses, and the Shalcans, which all differ in name more then in regiment, or other condition, from the Crim Tartar, except the Chircasses that border Southwest, towardes Lituania, and are farre more ciuill than the rest of the Tartars, of a comely person, and of a stately behauiour, as applying themselues to the fashion of the Polonian. Some of them haue subiected themselues to the Kings of Poland, and professe Christianitie. The Nagay lieth Eastwarde, and is reckoned for the best man of warre among all the Tartars, but verie sauage, and cruell aboue all the rest. The Cheremessen Tartar, that lieth betwixt the Russe and the Nagay, are of two sorts, the Lugauoy (that is of the valley) and the Nagornay, or of the hilly countrey. These haue much troubled the Emperours of Russia. And therefore they are content now to buy peace of them, vnder pretence of giuing a yeerely pension of Russe commodities to their Morseys, or Diuoymorseis, that are chiefe of their tribes. For which also they are bound to serue them in their wars, vnder certaine conditions. They are said to be iust and true in their dealings: and for that cause they hate the Russe people, whom they account to be double, and false in al their dealing. And therefore the common sort are very vnwilling to keepe agreement with them, but that they are kept in by their pensions sake.

The Nagay Tartar the cruellest.

The Chircase the ciuillest Tartar.

The Cheremissen Tartar of two sorts: the Lugauoy and the Nagornay.

The most rude and barbarous is counted the Mordwit Tartar, that hath many selfe-fashions and strange kinds of behauiour, differing from the rest. For his religion, though he acknowledge one God, yet

The Mordwit Tartar ye most barbarous of the rest.

his maner is to worship for God, that liuing thing y^t he first meeteth in the morning, and to sweare by it all that whole day, whether it be horse, dog, cat, or whatsoeuer els it bee. When his friend dieth, he killeth his best horse, and hauing flayed off the skinne hee carieth it on high vpon a long pole before the corpes to the place of buriall. This hee doeth (as the Russe saieth) that his friend may haue a good horse to carie him to heauen: but it is likelier to declare his loue towards his dead friend, in that he will haue to die with him the best thing that he hath.

Next to the kingdome of Astracan, that is the farthest part Southeastward of the Russe dominion, lyeth the Shalcan, and the countrey of Media: whither the Russe marchants trade for rawe silkes, syndon, saphion, skinnes, and other commodities. The chiefe Townes of Media where the Russe tradeth, are Derbent (built by Alexander the great, as the inhabitants say) and Zamachi where the staple is kept for rawe silkes. Their maner is in the Spring time to reuiue the silke-wormes (that lie dead all the Winter) by laying them in the warme sunne, and (to hasten their quickening that they may the sooner goe to worke) to put them into bags, and so to hang them vnder their childrens armes. As for the woorme called Chrinisin (as wee call it Chrymson) that maketh coloured silke, it is bred not in Media, but in Assyria. This trade to Derbent and Samachi for rawe silkes, and other commodities of that Countrey, as also into Persia, and Bougharia downe the riuer of Volga, and through the Caspian sea, is permitted aswell to the English as to the Russe merchants, by the Emperours last grant at my being there. Which he accounteth for a very speciall fauour, and might proue indeede very beneficiall to our English merchants, if the trade were wel and orderly vsed.

The reuiuing of silkwormes.

Chrinisin a kind of silkworme.

Liberty to trade downe the Caspian sea.

The whole nation of the Tartars are vtterly voide of all learning, and without written Law: yet certaine rules they haue which they hold by tradition, common to all the Hoords for the practise of
their life. Which are of this sort. First, To obey 1
their Emperour and other Magistrates, whatsoeuer
they commaund about the publike seruice. 2 Except 2
for the publike behoofe, euery man to be free and out
of controlment. 3 No priuate man to possesse any 3
lands, but the whole countrey to be as common.
4 To neglect all daintinesse and varietie of meates, 4

and to content themselues with that which commeth next to hand, for more hardnesse, and readines in the executing of their affaires. 5 To weare any base attire, and to patch their clothes whether there be any neede or not: that when there is neede, it be no shame to weare a patcht coate. 6 To take or steale from any stranger whatsoeuer they can get, as beeing enemies of all men, saue to such as will subiect themselues to them. 7 Towards their owne hoorde and nation to be true in worde and deede. 8 To suffer no stranger to come within the Realme. If any doe, the same to be bondslaue to him that first taketh him, except such merchants and other as haue the Tartar Bull, or passport about them.

5

6

7

8

No stranger without passport admitted.

Of the Permians, Samoites, and Lappes.

The Permians and Samoites that lye from Russia, North and Northeast, are thought likewise to haue taken their beginning from the Tartar kinde. And it may partly bee gessed by the fashion of their countenance, as hauing all broade and flat faces as the Tartars haue, except the Chircasses. The Permians are accounted for a very ancient people. They are nowe subiect to the Russe. They liue by hunting, and trading with their furres, as also doeth the Samoit, that dwelleth more towardes the North Sea. The Samoit hath his name (as the Russe saith) of eating himselfe: as if in times past, they liued as yᵉ Cannibals, eating one another.* Which they make more probable, because at this time they eate all kind of raw flesh, whatsoeuer it be, euen the very carion that lieth in the ditch. But as the Samoits themselues will say, they were called Samoie, that is, of themselues, as though they were Indigenæ, or people bred vpon that very soyle, that neuer changed their seate from one place to another, as most nations haue done. They are subiect at this time to the Emperour of Russia.

The Permians.

The Samoits.

---

* *Samoyed* means "self-eater," while *Samodin* denotes "an individual." Nordenskiöld considers it probable, however, that the old tradition of man-eaters *(androphagi)*, living in the north, which orginated with Herodotus, reappears in a Russianised form in the name "Samoyed."

I talked with certaine of them, and finde that they acknowledge one God: but represent him by such things as they haue most vse and good by. And therefore they worship the Sunne, the Ollen, the Losh, and such like. As for the story of Slata Baba, or the Golden hagge, which I haue read in some mappes, and descriptions of these countries, to be an idole after the forme of an old woman) that being demanded by the Priest, giueth them certaine Oracles, concerning the successe, and euent of things, I found it to be a very fable. Onely in the Prouince of Obdoria vpon the sea side, neare to the mouth of the great riuer Obba, there is a rocke, which naturally (being somewhat helped by imagination) may seeme to beare the shape of a ragged woman, with a child in her armes (as the rocke by the North Cape the shape of a Frier) where the Obdorian Samoites vse much to resort, by reason of the commoditie of the place for fishing: and there sometime (as their manner is) conceiue, and practise their sorceries, and ominous coniecturings about the good or bad speede of their iourneies, fishings, huntings and such like.

The Samoits religion.

Slata Baba or the golden Hag.

A fable.

The Sea.

Fishing or sea.

They are clad in Seale skins, with the hairie side outwards downe as low as the knees, with their breeches and netherstockes of the same, both men and women. They are all blacke haired, naturally beardlesse. And therefore the men are hardly discerned from the women by their lookes: saue that the women weare a locke of haire downe along both their eares. They liue in a manner a wilde and sauage life, rouing still from one place of the countrey to another, without any property of house or land more to one then to another. Their leader or directer in euery companie, is their Papa or Priest.

The Samoits habit and behauiour.

The people of Meta Incognita such.

On the North side of Russia next to Corelia, lieth the countrey of Lappia, which reacheth in length from the farthest point Northward, (towards the Northcape) to the farthest part Southeast (which the Russe calleth Sweetnesse or Holy nose, the English men Capegrace) about 345. verst or miles. From Sweetnesse to Candelox by the way of Versega (which measureth the breadth of that countrey) is 90. miles or thereabouts. The whole countrey in a maner is either lakes, or mountaines, which towardes the Sea side are called Tondro, because they are

The Lappes.

all of harde and craggy rocke, but the inland partes are well furnished with woods that growe on the hilles sides, the lakes lying betweene. Their diet is very bare and simple. Bread they haue none, but feede onely vpon fish and foule. They are subiect to the Emperor of Russia, and the two kings of Sweden and Denmarke: which all exact tribute and custome of them (as was saide before) but the Emperor of Russia beareth the greatest hand ouer them, and exacteth of them farre more then the rest. The opinion is that they were first termed Lappes of their briefe and short speech. The Russe diuideth the whole nation of the Lappes into two sortes. The one they call Nowremanskoy Lapary, that is, the Noruegian Lappes because they be of the Danish religion. For the Danes and Noruegians they account for one people. The other that haue no religion at all but liue as bruite and heathenish people, without God in the worlde, they cal Dikoy Lapary, or the wilde Lappes.

The whole nation is vtterly vnlearned, hauing not so much as the vse of any Alphabet, or letter among them. For practise of witchcraft and sorcerie they passe all nations in the worlde. Though for enchanting of ships that saile along their coast, (as I haue heard it reported) and their giuing of winds good to their friends, and contrary to other, whom they meane to hurt by tying of certaine knots vpon a rope (somewhat like to the tale of Æolus his windbag) is a very fable, deuised (as may seeme) by themselues, to terrifie sailers for comming neere their coast. Their weapons are the long bow, and handgunne, wherein they excell, aswell for quicknesse to charge and discharge, as for neerenesse at the marke by reason of their continuall practise (whereto they are forced) of shooting at wild fowle. Their maner is in Sommer time to come downe in great companies to the sea side, to Wardhuyse, Cola, Kegor, and the bay of Vedagoba, and there to fish for Codde, Salmon, and But-fish, which they sel to the Russes, Danes, and Noruegians, and nowe of late to the English men that trade thither with cloth, which they exchange with the Laps and Corelians for their fish, oyle, and furres, whereof also they haue some store. They hold their mart at Cola on S. Peters day: what time the captaine of Wardhuyse (that is residant there for the king of Denmark) must be present, or at least send his deputie to set prices vpon their stockfish, train oile, furres, and other commodities: as also the Russe Emperors customer, or tribute taker, to receiue his custome,

The mart at Cola.

which is euer paide before any thing can bee bought or solde. When their fishing is done, their manner is to drawe their carbasses or boates on shore, and there to leaue them with the keele turned vpwardes, till the next spring tide. Their trauaile to and fro is vpon sleddes drawen by the Olen Deere: which they vse to turne a grasing all the Sommer time in an Island called Kildyn, (of a verie good soyle compared with other partes of that Countrey) and towards the Winter time, when the snowe beginneth to fall they fetch them home againe for the vse of their sledde.

Sleds drawen with Deere.

The description of the regions, people, and riuers lying North and East from Moscouia: as the way from Moscouia to the riuer Petzora, and the Prouince Iugaria or Iuhra, and from thence to the riuer Obi. Likewise the description of other countreys and regions, euen vnto the Empire of the great Can of Cathay, taken out of Sigismundus ab Herberstein.

THe dominion of the Prince of Moscouia, reacheth farre toward the East and North, vnto the places which we will now describe. As concerning which thing, I translated a book y^t^ was presented vnto me in the Moscouites tongue, and haue here made a briefe rehearsall of the same. I will first therefore describe the iourney from Moscouia to Petzora, and so to Iugaria and Obi. From Moscouia to the citie of Vologda, are numbered fiue hundred versts, one verst, conteyning almost the space of an Italian myle. From Vologda to Vstiug toward the right hand, descending with the course of the riuer of Vologda and Suchana with whom it ioyneth, are counted fiue hundred verstes, where within two versts of the towne called Strelze, and hard by the citie of Vstiug, Suchana ioyneth vnto Iug which runneth from the South: from whose mouth vnto the springs of the same, are numbred fiue hundred versts.

The dominion of the Duke of Moscouia.

But Suchana and Iug, after they ioyne together, lose their first names, and make but one riuer named Dwina, by the which the passage to the citie of Colmogro conteineth fiue hundred versts, from whence, in the space of sixe dayes iourney, Dwina entreth into the North Ocean at sixe mouthes. And the greatest part of this iourney consisteth by Nauigation. For by lande from Vologda

Iug. So called of his swift and pleasant streame.

vnto Colmogro, passing ouer the riuer Vuaga, are a thousand verstes. Not farre from Colmogro, the riuer Pinega running from the East on the right hand for the space of seuen hundred versts, falleth into Dwina. From Dwina by the riuer Pienega, by the space of two hundred versts, they come to a place called Nicholai, from whence within halfe a verst ships haue passage into the riuer Kuluio, which hath his originall from a lake of the same name towarde the North, from whose springs is eight daies viage to the mouth of the same, where it entreth into the Ocean.

The regions by the North sea.

Sayling by the coasts of the right hand of the sea, they passe by the regions of Stanuwische, Calunczcho, and Apnu: And sayling about the promontorie or cape of Chorogoski Nosz, Stanuwische, Camenckh, and Tolstickh, they come at length into the riuer Mezen, and from thence in the space of sixe dayes, to a village of the same name, standing in the mouth of the riuer Pieza, by the which againe ascending toward the left hand and sommer East, they come to the riuer Piescoia: from whence sayling for the space of fiue versts, they come into two lakes, in the which are seene two wayes: whereof one on the right side, goeth to the riuer Rubicho, by the which they passe to the riuer Czircho. Other, by an other and shorter way, bring their ships from the lake directly into Czircho: from whence, except they be hindered by tempest, they come in the space of three weekes to the riuer and mouth of Czilma, flowing into the great riuer Petzora, which in that place is two versts in breadth. Sayling from thence, they come in the space of sixe dayes to the Towne and castle of Pustosero, neare vnto the which, Petzora entreth into the North Ocean at sixe mouthes. The inhabitants of this place, are men of simple wit: they receiued the faith of Christ, and were baptised in the yeare M. D. xviii.

* Cingulus mundi.

From the mouth of Czilma vnto the mouth of the river Vssa, going by Petzora, is one moneths viage. Vssa hath his springs in the mountaine * Poyas Semnoi, being on the left hand toward the sommer East, and springeth out of a great stone of the same mountaine, called Camen Bolschoi. From the springs of Vssa to the mouthes of the same, are numbered more then a thousand versts. Furthermore, Petzora runneth from this south winter part, from whence ascending from the mouthes of Vssa, vnto the mouthes of the riuer Stzuchogora, is three weekes viage. They that described this vyage sayd that they rested betweene the mouthes of the rivers Stzuchogora and Potzscheriema, and left their victuals there which they brought with them from Russia. Beyond the rivers of Petzora and Stzuchogora toward the mountaine Camenipoias, and the sea with the Ilands thereabout, and the Castle of Pustosero, are diuers and innumerable nations, which by one common name are called Samoged (that is) such as eate themselues. They haue great increase of foules, birdes, and diuers kindes of beastes: as Sables, Marternes, Beuers, Otters, Hermelines, Squirrels: and in the Ocean the beast called a Morse: Also Vesse, white Beares, Wolues, Hares, Equiwoduani, great Whales, and a fish called Semfi, with diuers other. The people of these nations come not to Moscouia: For they are wilde, and flee the company and society of other men.

Wilde people.

From the mouthes of Stzuchogora, sayling vp the riuer vnto Poiassa, Artawische, Cameni, and Poiassa the greater, is three weekes vyage. Furthermore, the ascending to the mount Camen, is three dayes iourney: from the which descending they come to the riuer Artawischa, and from thence to the riuer Sibut, from whence they passe to the Castle of Lepin, and from Lepin to the riuer Sossa. The people that inhabite the region by this riuer, are called Vuogolici. Leauing Sossa on the right hande, they come to the great riuer Obi, that springeth out of the lake Kitaisko, the which, with all the haste they could make, they could scarcely passe ouer in one day, the riuer being of such breadth that it reacheth fourescore versts. The people also that dwell about the riuer, are called Vuogolici and Vgritzschi. From the Castle of Obea, ascending by the riuer of Oby, vnto the riuer Irtische, into the which Sossa entereth, is three moneths iourney. In these places are two Castles named Ierom and Tumen, kept by certaine Lords called Knesi Iuhorski, being tributaries to the great Duke of Moscouia, as they say. Here are diuers kinds of beasts and furres.

From the mouth of the riuer Irtische to the Castle of Grustina, is two moneths iourney: from whence to the lake Kitai, by the riuer Oby (which I said to haue his springs in this lake) is more then three moneths iourney. From this lake come many blacke men, lacking the vse of common speech. They bring with them diuers wares, and especially pearles and precious stones, which they sell to the people called Grustintzi and Serponowtzi. These haue their name of the Castle Serponow, situate in the mountaines of Lucomoria, beyond the

Blacke men without speech.

riuer Obi. They say that to the men of Lucomoria chauncheth a marueilous thing and incredible: For they affirme, that they, die yeerely at the xxvii. day of Nouember, being the feast of S. George among the Moscouites: and that the next spring about the xxiii. day of Aprill, they reuiue as doe Frogges.

Men that yeerely die and reuiue.

With these also, the people of Grustintzi and Serponowtzi exercise a new and strange kinde of trade. For when the accustomed time of their dying, or rather of sleeping, approcheth, they leaue their wares in certaine places appointed, which the Grustintzi and Serponowtzi carry away, leauing other wares of equall value in their places: which if the dead men at the time of their reuiuing perceiue to be of vnequal price, they require their owne againe: by reason whereof, much strife and fighting is betweene them.

A strange trade of merchandise.

From the riuer of Obi descending toward the left hand, are the people called Calami, which came thither from Obiowa and Pogosa. Beneath Obi, about Aurea Anus (that is the golden old wife) are the riuers Sossa, Berezuua, and Danadim, all which spring out of the mountaines Camen, Bolschega, Poiassa, and the rockes ioyning to the same. All the nations that inhabite from these riuers to Aurea Anus, are subiect to the prince of Moscouia.

Aurea Anus, called in the Moscouites tongue, Slata Baba, is an Idol at the mouthe of Obi in the prouince of Obdora, standing on the furthest banke toward the sea. Along by the bankes of Obi, and the riuers neare there about, are here and there many castles and fortresses: all the lordes whereof are subiect to the prince of Moscouia, as they say. They say also, or rather fable, that the idol called Aurea anus, is an image like vnto an old wife, hauing a child in her lap, and that there is now seene another infant, which they say to be her nephew: Also that there are certaine instruments that make a continuall sound like the noyse of Trumpets, the which, if it so be, I thinke it to be by reason of the winde, blowing continually into the holow places of those instruments.

The riuer Cossin falleth out of the mountaines of Lucomoria: In the mouth of this is a castle, whither from the springs of the great riuer Cossin, is two moneths viage. Furthermore, from the springs of the same riuer, the riuer Cassima hath his originall, which running through Lucomoria, falleth into the great riuer Tachnin, beyond the which (as is said) dwell men of prodigious shape, of whom some are ouergrowen with haire like wilde beastes, other haue heads like dogges, and their faces in their breasts, without neckes, and with long hands also, and without feete. There is likewise in the riuer Tachnin a certaine fish, with head, eyes, nose, mouth, hands, feete, and other members vtterly of humane shape, and yet, without any voyce, and pleasant to be eaten, as are other fishes.

Tachnin a great riuer.

People of monstrous shape.

A fish like a man. Plinie writeth of the like fish.

All that I haue hitherto rehearsed, I haue translated out of the saide iourney which was deliuered me in the Moscouites tongue: In the which, perhaps some things may seeme fabulous, and in maner incredible, as of the double men, and the dead reuiuing, the Aurea Anus also, and the monstrous shapes of men, with the fish of humane fourme: whereof although I haue made diligent inquisition, yet could I knowe nothing certaine of any that had seene the same with their eyes: neuerthelesse, to giue further occasion to other to search the trueth of these things, I haue thought good to make mention hereof.

The end of the iournall.

Noss in the Moscouites tongue signifieth a nose, and therefore they call all capes or points that reach into the sea by the same name.

The mountaines about the riuer of Petzora are called Semnoy Poyas, or Cingulus mundi, that is, the girdle of the world, or of the earth.

Kithai is a lake, of which the great Can of Cathay, whom the Moscouians cal Czar Kithaiski, hath his name: For Can in the Tartars language signifieth, A King.

The places of Lucomoria, neare vnto the sea, are saluage full of woods, and inhabited without any houses. And albeit, that the author of this iourney, said, that many nations of Lucomoria are subiect to the prince of Moscouia, yet for asmuch as the kingdome of Tumen is neare thereunto, whose prince is a Tartar, and named in their Tongue, Tumenski Czar, that is, a king in Tumen, and hath of late done great domage to the prince of Moscouia: It is most like that these nations should be rather subiect vnto him.

Moria is the sea.

Neare vnto the riuer Petzora (whereof mention is made in this iourney) is the citie and castle of Papin or Papinowgorod, whose

High mountaines, supposed to be Hyperborei, and Rhiphei.

inhabitants are named Papini, and haue a priuate language, differing from the Moscouites. Beyond this riuer are exceeding high mountaines, reaching euen vnto the bankes, whose ridges or tops, by reason of continuall windes, are in maner vtterly barren without grasse or fruits. And although in diuers places they have diuers names, yet are they commonly called Cingulus mundi, that is, the girdle of the world. In these mountaines doe Ierfalcons breede, whereof I haue spoken before. There growe also Cedar trees, among the which are found the best aud blackest kinde of Sables: and onely these mountaines are seene in all the dominions of the prince of Moscouia which perhaps are the same that the old writers call Rhipheos or Hyperboreos, so named of the Greeke word, Hyper, that is, Aboue, and Boreas, that is, the North: for by reason they are couered with continuall snow and frost, they can not without great difficultie be trauayled, and reach so farre into the North, that they make the vnknown land of Engronland. The Duke of Moscouia, Basilius the sonne of Iohn, sent on a time two of his Captaines, named Simeon Pheodorowich Kurbski, & Knes Peter Vschatoi, to search the places beyond these mountaines, and to subdue the nations thereabout. Kurbski was yet aliue at my being in Moscouia, & declared vnto me that he spent xvii. daies in ascending the mountaine, & yet could not come to the top thereof, which in their tongue is called Stolp, that is, a piller. This mountaine is extended into the Ocean vnto the mouthes of the riuers of Dwina and Petzora.

But now hauing spoken thus much of the said iourney, I will returne to the dominions of Moscouia, with other regions lying Eastward and South from the same, toward the mighty Empire of Cathay. But I will first speake somewhat briefly of the prouince of Rezan, and the famous riuer of Tanais.

The fruitfull prouince of Rezan.

The prouince of Rezan, situate betweene the riuers of Occa and Tanais, hath a citie builded of wood, not far from the bank of Occa: there was in it a castle named Iaroslaue, whereof there now remaineth nothing but tokens of the old ruine. Not farre from that citie the riuer Occa maketh an Iland named Strub, which was sometime a great Dukedome, whose prince was subiect to none other. This prouince of Rezan is more fruitful then any other of the prouinces of Moscouia: Insomuch that in this (as they say) euery graine of wheat bringeth forth two, and sometimes more eares: whose stalkes or strawes grow so thicke that horses can scarsely go through them, or Quayles flie out of them. There is great plenty of hony, fishes, foules, birdes, and wilde beasts. The fruits also doe farre exceede the fruits of Moscouia. The people are bolde and warlike men.

A speciall note gathered by the excellent Venetian Cosmographer M. Iohn Baptista Ramusius out of the Arabian Geographie of Abilfada Ismael, concerning the trending of the Ocean sea from China Northward, along the coast of Tartarie and other vnknowen lands, and then running Westwards vpon the Northerne coasts of Russia, and so farther to the Northwest.

DEscriuendo poi il predetto Abilfadai Ismael luoghi della terra habitabile, che circuendo il mar Oceano tocca, dice cosi.

Riuoltasi l'Oceano da leuante verso la regione delle Cine, et và alla volta di Tramontana, et passata finalmente la detta regione, se ne giunge a Gogi et Magogi, cio è alli confini de gli Vltimi Tartari, et di quivi ad Alcune Terre che sono Incognite: Et correndo sempre per Ponente, passa sopra li confini Settentrionali della Rossia, et và alla volta di Maestro.

La regione delle Cine.

Confini delli vltimi Tartari.

Alcune Terre Incognite.

Confini Settentrionali della Rosia.

The same in English.

THe aforesaid Abilfada Ismael describing afterward the habitable places of the earth, which the Ocean sea in his circuit toucheth, sayth in this manner following.

The Ocean sea turneth from the East toward the Countrey of the Chinaes, and stretcheth toward the North, and at length hauing passed the sayd Countrey, it reacheth vnto the Gogi and Magogi, that is, to the confines of The vttermost Tartars, and from thence vnto certaine vnknowen Countreys: and running still Westward it passeth vpon the Northerne coasts of Russia, and from thence it runneth toward Northwest. (which it doth indeede vpon the coast of Lappia.) By this most notable testimony it appeareth, that the Ocean sea compasseth and enuironeth all the East, Northeast, and North parts of Asia and Europe.

The Countrey of China.

The coasts of the vttermost Tartars.

Certaine vnknowne Countreys.

The Northern coasts of Russia.

The Northwest.

The Emperors priuate or houshold Officers.

THe chiefe Officers of the Emperors houshold are these which follow. The first is the office of the Boiaren Conesheua, or master of the Horse. Which conteineth no more then is expressed by the name, that is to be ouerseer of the Horse, and not Magister equitum, or Master of the Horsemen. For he appointeth other for that seruice, as occasion doth require, as before was sayd. He that beareth that office at this time, is Boris Pheodorowich Godonoe, brother to the Empresse. Of Horse for seruice in his warres (besides other for his ordinary vses) he hath to the number of ten thousand which are kept about Mosco.

Master of the Horse.

The next is the Lord Steward of his houshold at this time, one Gregory Vasilowich Godonoe. The third is his Treasurer, that keepeth all his monies, iewels, plate, &c. now called Stephan Vasilowich Godonoe. The fourth his Controller, now Andreas Petrowich Clesinine. The fift his Chamberlaine. He that attendeth that office at this time, is called Estoma Bisabroza Pastelnischay. The sixt his Tasters, now Theodor Alexandrowich, and Iuan Vasilowich Godonoe. The seuenth his Harbingers, which are three Noble men, and diuers other Gentlemen that do the office vnder them. These are his ordinary officers and offices of the chiefest account.

Of Gentlemen besides them that waite about his chamber, and person (called Shilsey Strapsey) there are two hundred, all Noblemens sonnes. His ordinary Garde is two thousand Hagbutters readie with their pieces charged, and their match lighted, with other necessarie furniture continually day and night: which come not within the house, but waite without in the court or yard, where the Emperour is abiding. In the night time there lodgeth next to his bedchamber the chiefe Chamberlaine with one or two more of best trust about him. A second chamber off there lodge sixe other of like account for trust and faithfulnesse. In the thirde chamber lie certaine young Gentlemen, of these two hundred, called Shilsey Strapsey that take their turnes by forties euery night. There are groomes besides that watch in their course, and lie at euery gate and doore of the Court, called Estopnick.

The Hagbutters or Gunners, whereof there are two thousand (as was sayd before) watch about the Emperours lodgings, or bedchamber by course 250. euery night, and 250. more in the Courtyarde, and about the Treasure house. His Court or house at the Mosco is made castle wise, walled about, with great store of faire ordinance planted vpon the wall, and conteyneth a great breadth of ground within it, with many dwelling houses: Which are appointed for such as are knowen to be sure, and trustie to the Emperor.

Of the priuate behauiour, or qualitie of the Russe people.

Constitution of their bodies.

THE priuate behauiour and qualitie of the Russe people, may partly be vnderstood by that which hath beene sayd concerning the publique state and vsage of the Countrey. As touching the naturall habite of their bodies, they are for the most part of a large size, and of very fleshly bodies: accounting it a grace to be somewhat grosse and burley, and therefore they nourish and spread their beards, to haue them long and broad. But for the most part they are very vnwieldy and vnactiue withall. Which may be thought to come partly of the climate, and the numbnesse which they get by the cold in winter, and partly of their diet that standeth most of rootes, onions, garlike, cabbage, and such like things that breede grosse humors, which they vse to eate alone, and with their other meates.

Their diet.

Their diet is rather much then curious. At their meales they beginne commonly with a Charke or small cuppe of Aqua vitæ, (which they call Russe wine) and then drinke not till towardes the end of their meales, taking it in largely, and all together, with kissing one another at euery pledge. And therefore after dinner there is no talking with them, but euery man goeth to his bench to take his afternoones sleepe, which is as ordinary with them as their nights rest. When they exceede, and haue varietie of dishes, the first are their baked meates (for roste meates they vse little) and then their broathes or pottage. Their common drinke is Mead, the poorer sort vse water, and a third drinke called Quasse, which is nothing else (as we say) but water turned out of his wits, with a litle branne meashed with it.

This diet would breed in them many diseases, but that they vse bathstoues, or hote houses in steade of all Phisicke, commonly twise or thrise euery weeke. All the winter time, and almost the whole Sommer, they heat their Peaches, which are made like the Germane bathstoues, and their Poclads like ouens, that so warme the house that a stranger at the first shall hardly like of it. These two extremities, specially in the winter of heat within their houses, and of extreame colde without, together with their diet, make them of a darke, and sallow complexion, their skinnes being tanned and parched both with cold and with heate: specially the women, that for the greater part are of farre worse complexions, then the men. Whereof the cause I take to be their keeping within the hote houses, and busying themselues about the heating, and vsing of their bathstoues, and peaches.

An admirable induring of extreme heat, and colde at one and the same time.

The Russe because that he is vsed to both these extremities of heat and of cold, can beare them both a great deale more patiently, then strangers can doe. You shall see them sometimes (to season their bodies) come out of their bathstoues all on a froth, and fuming as hoat almost as a pigge at a spit, and presently to leape into the riuer starke naked, or to powre colde water all ouer their bodies, and that in the coldest of all the winter time. The women to mende the bad hue of their skinnes, vse to paint their faces with white and red colours, so visibly, that euery man may perceiue it. Which is made no matter because it is common and liked well by their husbands: who make their wiues and daughters an ordinarie allowance to buy them colours to paint their faces withall, and delight themselues much to see them of fowle women to become such faire images. This parcheth the skinne, and helpeth to deforme them when their painting is of.

The Noblemans attire.

They apparell themselues after the Greeke manner. The Noblemans attire is on this fashion. First a Taffia, or little nightcappe on his head, that couereth litle more then his crowne, commonly verie rich wrought of silke and golde threede, and set with pearle and precious stone. His head he keepeth shauen close to the very skinne, except he be in some displeasure with the Emperour. Then hee suffereth his haire to growe and hang downe vpon his shoulders, couering his face as vgly and deformedly as he can. Ouer the Taffia hee weareth a wide cappe of blacke Foxe (which they account for the best furre) with a Tiara or long bonnet put within it, standing vp like a Persian or Babilonian hatte. About his necke (which is seene all bare) is a coller set with pearle and precious stone, about three or foure fingers broad. Next ouer his shirt, (which is curiously wrought, because he strippeth himselfe into it in the Sommer time, while he is within the house) is a Shepon, or light garment of silke, made downe to the knees, buttoned before: and then a Caftan or a close coat buttoned, and girt to him with a Persian girdle, whereat he hangs his kniues and spoone. This commonly is of cloth of gold, and hangeth downe as low as his ankles. Ouer that he weareth a lose garment of some rich silke, furred and faced about with some golde lace, called a Ferris. An other ouer that of chamlet, or like stuffe called an Alkaben, sleeued and hanging lowe, and the cape commonly brooched, and set all with pearle. When hee goeth abroad, he casteth ouer all these (which are but sleight, though they seeme to be many) an other garment called an Honoratkey, like to the Alkaben, saue that it is made without a coller for the necke. And this is commonly of fine cloth or Camels haire. His buskins (which he weareth in stead of hose, with linnen folles vnder them in stead of boot hose) are made of a Persian leather called Saphian, embrodered with pearle. His vpper stockes commonly are of cloth of golde. When he goeth abroad, hee mounteth on horsebacke, though it be but to the next doore: which is the maner also of the Boiarskey, or Gentlemen.

The Gentlemans apparel.

The Boiarskey or Gentlemans attire is of the same fashion, but differeth in stuffe: and yet he will haue his Caftan or vndercoat sometimes of cloth of golde, the rest of cloth, or silke.

The Noble womans attire.

The Noble woman (called Chyna Boiarshena) weareth on her head, first a caull of some soft silke (which is commonly redde) and ouer it a fruntlet called Obrosa, of white colour. Ouer that her cappe (made after the coife fashion of cloth of gold) called Shapka Zempska, edged with some rich furre, and set with pearle and stone. Though they haue of late begunne to disdaine embrodering with pearle aboue their cappes, because the Diacks, and some Marchants wiues haue taken vp the fashion. In their ears they weare earerings (which they call Sargee) of two inches or more compasse, the matter of gold set with Rubies, or Saphires, or some like precious stone. In Sommer they goe often with kerchieffes of fine white lawne, or cambricke, fastned vnder the chinne, with two long tassels pendent. The kerchiefe spotted and set thicke with rich pearle. When they ride or goe abroad in raynie weather, they weare white hattes with coloured bandes, called Stapa Zemskoy. About their neckes they weare collers of three or foure fingers broad, set with rich pearle and precious stone. Their vpper garment is a loose gowne called Oposhen commonly of scarlet, with wide loose sleeues, hanging downe to the ground buttened before with great golde buttons or at least siluer and guilt nigh as bigge as a walnut. Which hath hanging ouer it fastned vnder the cappe, a large broad cape of some rich furre, that hangeth downe almost to the middes of their backes. Next vnder the Oposken or vpper garment, they weare another called a Leitnich that is made close before with great wide sleeues, the cuffe or halfe sleeue vp to the elbowes, commonly of cloth of golde: and vnder that a Ferris Zemskoy, which hangeth loose buttoned throughout to the very foote. On the hande wrests they weare very faire braselets, about two fingers broad of pearle and precious stone. They goe all in buskins of white, yellow, blew, or some other coloured leather, embrodered with pearle. This is the attire of the Noblewoman of Russia, when she maketh the best shewe of herselfe. The Gentlewomans apparell may differ in the stuffe, but is all one for the making or fashion.

The Mousicks or common mans attire.

As for the poore Mousick and his wife they goe poorely cladde. The man with his Honoratkey, or loose gowne to the small of the legge, tyed together with a lace before, of course white or blew cloth, with some Shube or long wastcoate of furre, or of sheepeskinne vnder it, and his furred cappe, and buskins. The poorer sort of them haue their Honoratkey, or vpper garment, made of Kowes haire. This is their winter habite. In the sommer time, commonly they weare nothing but their shirts on their backes, and buskins on their legges. The woman goeth in a red or blewe gowne, when she maketh the best shewe, and with some warme Shube of furre vnder it in the winter time. But in the sommer, nothing but her two shirts (for so they call them) one ouer the other, whether they be within doores, or without. On their heads, they weare caps of some coloured stuffe, many of veluet, or of cloth of gold: but for the most part kerchiefs. Without earings of siluer or some other mettall, and her crosse about her necke, you shall see no Russe woman, be she wife or maide.

◆

The Lord Boris Pheodorowich his letter to the Right Honorable William Burghley Lord high Treasurer of England, &c.

By the grace of God the great Lord Emperor, and great Duke Theodore Iuanowich, great Lord, King, and great Duke of all Russia, of Volodemer, Mosco, and Nouogorod, king of Cazan, and Astracan, Lord of Vobsko, and great Duke of Smolensco, Tuer, Vghori, Permi, Viatsko, Bolgorie, and other places, Lorde and great Duke of Nouogrod in the Lowe Countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotsky, Rostoue, Yeroslaue, Bealozera, and Liefland, of Oudorski, Obdorski, Condinski, and commander of all Sibierland, and the North coasts, great Lorde ouer the Countrey of Iuerski, Grisinski, Emperor of Kabardinski, and of the Countrey Charchaski, and the Countrey of Gorsky, and Lord of many other regions.

The Emperors stile increased.

From Boris Pheodorowich his Maiesties brother in law, master of his horses, gouernour of the territories of Cazan and Astracan, to William Lord Burghley, Lord high Treasurer to the most vertuous Ladie Elizabeth, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, and other dominions: I receiued your Lordships letters, wherein you write that you haue receiued very ioyfully my letters sent vnto you, and aduisedly read them, and imparted the same vnto her Maiestie: and that your Merchants finde themselues agreeued, that when they approch these parts, and are arriued here, they are not permitted to enter into a free and liberall course of barter, traffike, and exchange of their commodities, as heretofore they haue done, but are compelled before they can enter into any traffike to accept the Emperours waxe, and other goods, at high rates farre aboue their value, to their great losse: and that they are by reason of this restraint long holden vpon these coasts to the danger of wintering by the way. Hereafter there shalbe no cause of offence giuen to the Marchants of the Queenes Maiestie Queene Elizabeth: they shall not be forced to any thing, neither are there or shall be any demands made of custome or debts. Such things as haue beene heretofore demaunded, all such things haue beene already vpon their petition and supplication commaunded to be discharged. I haue sollicited his Maiestie for them, that they be not troubled hereafter for those

The English Marchants complaints.

matters, and that a fauourable hand be caried ouer them. And according to your request I will be a meane to the Emperour for them in all their occasions, and will my selfe shew them my fauorable countenance. And I pray you (William Burghley) to signifie to her Maiesties Merchants that I promise to haue a care of them, and for the Queenes Maiestie of Englands sake, I will take her Merchants into my protection, and will defend them as the Emperours selected people vnder the Emperors commission: and by mine appointment all his Maiesties officers and authorized people shall be careful ouer them. The Emperors gracious fauor towards them was neuer such as it is now. And where you write that at the port the Emperors officers sell their waxe by commission at a set rate giuen them, farre aboue the value, and that they enforce your Marchants to accept it, they deny that they take any such course, but say they barter their waxe for other wares, and also put their waxe to sale for readie money to your Merchants, according to the worth thereof, and as the price goeth in the custome house here. It hath beene heretofore deare, and now is sold as good cheape as in any other place, and as they can best agree: they enforce no man to buy it, but rather kepe it: therefore your Marchants haue no iust cause to make any such report. I haue expressely giuen order, that there shall be no such course vsed to enforce them, but to buy according to their owne willes, and to tarrie at the port or to depart at their pleasure. And as touching the customes alreadie past, and debts demanded at your Merchants hands, whereof you write: Our Lord great Emperour and great Duke Theodore Iuanowich of all Russia of famous memory hath shewed his Maiesties especial fauour and loue, for the great loue of his welbeloued sister Queene of England, and by my peticion and mediation, whereas there was commandement giuen to take Marshes whole debt of your Merchants and factors, it is moderated to the halfe, and for the other halfe, commandement giuen it should not be taken, and the Merchants billes to be deliuered them. And to the end hereafter that her Maiesties Merchants moue no contention betwixt our Lord the Emperor and great Duke of Russia, and his welbeloued sister Queene Elizabeth, his Maiestie desireth order to be giuen, that your Marchants doe deale iustly in their traffike, and plainely without fraud or guile. And I will be a fauourer of them aboue all others, vuder his Maiesties

English Marchants in great fauour with the Emperor.

Halfe the debt of Antony Marsh remitted.

authoritie: themselues shall see it. Written in our great Lorde the Emperours citie of Mosco in the moneth of Iuly, 7099 Ann. Dom. 1590.

The Queenes Maiesties letter to Theodore Iuanouich Emperour of Russia, 1591.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to the right high, mighty, and right noble prince Theodore Iuanouich great Lord, King, and great Duke of all Russia, Volodemer, Mosco, Nouogrod, King of Cazan, and Astracan, Lord of Vobsko, and great Duke of Smolensko, Otuer, Vghory, Perme, Viatski, Bolgory, and other places: Lord and great Duke of Nouogrod in the low countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotsky, Rostoue, Yeraslaue, Bealozero, and Lifland, of Oudorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and commander of all Sibierland and the North coasts, great Lord ouer the country of Iuersky, Grisinsky, Emperor of Kabardinsky, and of the countrey of Charkasky, and of the countrey of Gorsky, and Lord of many other countreys, our most deare and louing brother, greeting. Right noble and excellent prince, we haue receiued your Maiesties letters brought ouer by our merchants in their returne of their || last voyage from your port of S. Nicholas: which letters we haue aduisedly read and 1590. considered, and thereby perceiue that your Maiesty doth greatly mislike of our late employment of Ierome Horsey into your dominions as our messenger with our Highnesse letters, and also that your Maiesty doth thinke that we in our letters sent by the sayd messenger haue not obserued that due order or respect which apperteined to your princely maiesty, in the forme of the said letter, aswel touching the inlargement of your Maiesties stile and titles of honor which your Maiesty expected to haue bene therein more particularly expressed, as also in the adding of our greatest seale or signet of armes to the letters which we send to so great a Prince as your Maiesty is: in any of which points we would haue bene very loth willingly to haue giuen iust cause of offence thereby to our most deare and louing brother. And as touching the sayd messenger Ierome Horsey we are sory that contrary to our expectation he is fallen into your Maiesties displeasure, whom we minde not to mainteine in any his actions by which he hath so incurred your Maiesties mislike: yet that we had reason at such time as we sent him to your Maiesty to vse his seruice as our messenger, we referre our selues to your princely iudgement, praying your Maiesty to reduce into your minde the especiall commendation, which in your letters written vnto vs in the yeere 1585, you made of the sayd Ierome Horsey his behaviour in your dominions: at which time your Maiesty was pleased to vse his seruice as your messenger to vs, requiring our answere of your letters to be returned by him and by none other. That imployment, with other occasions taken by your Maiesty to vse the seruice of the sayd Ierome Horsey (as namely in the yeere 1587) when your Maiesty sent him to vs againe with your letters, and your liberall and princely priuiledge at our request granted to our merchants (for which we haue heretofore giuen thanks to your Maiesty, so doe we hereby reiterate our thankfulnesse for the same) mooued vs to be of minde, that we could not make choise of any of our subiects so fit a messenger to your Maiesty as he, whom your Maiesty had at seuerall times vsed vpon your owne occasions into this our Realme. But least your highnesse should continue of the minde that the letters which you sent by our ambassador Giles Fletcher (wherein some mention was made of your conceiued displeasure against the sayd Horsey) came not to our hands, and that wee were kept ignorant of the complaint which your Maiesty made therein against the sayd Horsey, we do not deny but that we were acquainted aswell by our ambassadour as by those letters of some displeasure conceiued against him by your Maiesty: but your sayd letters giuing onely a short generall mention of some misdemeanour committed by him, expressing no particulars, we were of opinion that this offence was not so hainous, as that it might vtterly extinguish all your former princely fauour towards him, but that vpon his humble submission to your Maiesty, or vpon better examination of the matter of the displeasure conceiued against him, the offence might haue beene either remitted, or he thereof might haue cleared himselfe. And to that end we were not onely by his great importunity long sollicited, but by the intercession of some of our Nobility giuing credit to his owne defence, we were intreated on his behalfe to vse his seruice once againe into Russia as our messenger to your Maiestie, whereby he might haue opportunity to cleare himselfe, aud either by his answere or by his submission recouer your Maiesties former fauour: whereunto our princely nature was mooued to yeeld, wishing the good of our subiect so farre foorth as his desert might carry him, or his innocencie cleare him.

Thus noble Prince, our most louing and dearest brother, it may appeare vnto your Maiesty how we were induced to vse the seruice of the sayd messenger, aswell for the recouery of your Maiesties fauour towards him (if he had beene found woorthy of it) as for experience of the maners and fashions of your countrey, where he hath bene much conuersant. But sith by your Maiesties letters it appeareth that he hath not cleared himselfe in your Maiesties sight, we meane not to vse him in any such price hereafter.

And as touching your Maiesties conceit of the breuitie which we vsed in the setting downe of your Maiesties stile and titles of honour : as nothing is further from vs, then to abridge so great and mighty a Prince of the honour due vnto him (whom we holde for his greatnesse to deserue more honour then we are able to giue him) so shall we need no further nor surer argument to cleare vs of the suspicion of the detracting from your Maiesty any part of your iust and princely honor and greatnesse, then the consideration of our owne stile, which is thus contracted, videlicet, Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith &c. which kingdomes and dominions of ours are expressed by these generall words, videlicet, England, France, and Ireland : in euery of which there are seuerall principalities, dukedomes, earledomes, prouinces and countreys : which being seuerally expressed would enlarge much our stile, and make it of great length : which by our progenitours hath not bene vsed : notwithstanding, we thinke it no dishonour to vs, compendiously to abridge the same in all our writings and letters written to what Prince, King, or Potentate soeuer. Whereupon we inferre, that holding your Maiesties generall stile, we offer your Highnesse no dishonour in not expressing all the particular prouinces : albeit we can willingly content our selfe, vpon the knowledge of your vsages and customes, to obserue that course, which your selfe shall thinke most honourable. And for the sealing vp of our letters which we write to all our allies, kinsemen, and friends, Kings and Princes, we haue in vse two seuerall seales: both which we esteeme alike honourable, being our princely seales. And as the volume of our letters falleth out to be great or small, so accordingly is our greater or lesser seale annexed to the sayd letters, without esteeming either of them more or lesse honourable then the other. So as, our most louing and dearest brother, in the said letters there was nothing done of purpose to detract from your Maiesty any thing of the vsuall regard, which our Highnesse was woont to yeeld vnto your most noble father of famous memory Iuan Basiliuich Emperor of al Russia, or to your selfe, our dearest brother. For the residue of the points of your Maiesties letters concerning the entertainement of our ambassadour, and proceeding in the cause of Anthonie Marsh we holde our selfe satisfied with your princely answere, and doe therein note an honourable and princely care in your Maiestie to preuent the like troubles, controuersies and sutes, that Marshes cause stirred vp betweene our merchants and your subiects, which is, that your Maiestie doeth purpose from time to time to purge your Countrey of such straglers of our subiects, as doe or shall hereafter abide there, and are not of the Company of our merchants, but contemptuously depart out of our land without our Highnesse licence: of which sort there are presented vnto vs from our merchants the names of these seuerall persons, videlicet, Richard Cocks, Bennet Iackman, Rainold Kitchin, Simon Rogers, Michael Lane, Thomas Worsenham: whom it may please your Maiesty by your princely order to dismisse out of your land, that they may be sent home in the next shippes, to auoid the mislike which their residence in those parts might breed to the disturbance of our brotherly league, and the impeaching of the entercourse.

And whereas, most louing and dearest brother, one William Turnebull a subiect of ours is lately deceased in your kingdome, one with whom our merchants haue had much controuersie for great summes of money due vnto them by him while he was their Agent in their affayres of merchandises: which differences by arbitrable order were reduced to the summe of 3000 rubbles, and so much should haue beene payed by him as may appeare by your Maiesties councell or magistrates of iustice by very credible information and testimony: and whereas also the sayd Turnbull was further indebted by billes of his own hand to diuers of our subiects, amounting in the whole, to the summe of 1326 pounds, which billes are exemplified vnder our great seale of England, and to be sent ouer with this bearer: of which summes he hath often promised payment: it may please your most excellent Maiestie in your approoued loue to iustice, to giue order to your fauourable councell and magistrates, that those seuerall debts may be satisfied to our merchants and subiects out of the goods, merchandise, and debts which are due to the state of the sayd Turnbull: whereof your Maiesties councell shalbe informed by the Agent of our merchants.

We trust we shall not need to make any new request by motion to your Maiesty that some order might be taken for the finding out of the rest of our merchants goods seised to your maiesties vse in the hands and possession of Iohn Chappel their seruant, being a thing granted, and no doubt already performed by your Maiesties order. We therfore intreat your Maiesty, that as conueniently as may be, satisfaction or recompense be giuen to our said merchants towards the repairing of their sundry great losses aswell therein as otherwise by them of late sundry wayes sustained. And lastly, our most deare and louing brother, as nothing in all these our occasions is to be preferred before our entire league and amitie, descending vpon vs as an inheritance, in succession from both our ancestours and noble progenitours: so let us be carefull on both sides by all good meanes to holde and continue the same to our posterity for euer. And if any mistaking or errour of either side do rise, in not accomplishing of circumstances agreeable to the fashion of either of our countreys and kingdomes, let the same vpon our enterchangeable letters be reconciled, that our league and amitie be no way impeached for any particular occasion whatsoeuer. And thus we recommend your Maiesty to the tuition of the most High. From our royall Palace of Whitehall the 14 of Ianuary, anno Domini 1591.

The Emperor seised our merchants goods.

The Queenes Maiesties letters to the Lord Boris Pheodorowich.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defendour of the faith, &c. to the right honourable and noble prince Lord Boris Pheodorowich Godonoua, Master of the horses to the great and mightie Emperour of Russia, his highnesse lieutenant of Cazan and Astracan, our most deare and louing cousin, greeting. Right honourable, it hath appeared vnto vs vpon the reading and perusing of the Letters lately sent vnto our Highnesse from our deare and louing brother the Emperour, in what part his Maiestie tooke the late employment of our messenger Ierome Horsey in our affaires into Russia: wherein we doe also finde the honourable endeuour vsed by your Lordship to appease his Highnesse mislike and exception taken aswell to the person of our Messenger, as to our princely letters sent by him:

both of which points we haue answered in our letters sent by this bearer directed to our sayd louing brother the Emperour: vpon perusing whereof we doubt not but his Maiestie will be well satisfied touching our sayd Messenger and former letters. And for the honourable course holden by your Lordship in the interposing of your opinion and fauourable construction in a thing which might grow to the offence of the league and amitie standing betweene your Soueraigne Lord and vs (wherein your Lordship performed the office of an honourable and graue Councellour) we take our selfe beholding to your Lordship for your readinesse in that behalfe, and doe assure our selfe that the same did proceed of the especiall loue and kinde affection that your Lordship hath euer borne and continued towards vs, whereof our princely nature will neuer be vnmindfull. We haue bene also from time to time made acquainted by our chiefe and principall Councellour William Lord Burghley, Lord high Treasurour of our Highnesse Realme of England, of your letters which haue passed betweene your Lordship and him, concerning the entercourse of our Merchants trafficke in your Countreys, and of the honourable offices done by your Lordship with the Emperour in fauour of our sayd Marchants. And lastly (which wee take a most assured argument of your vndoubted loue and affection towards vs) that your Lordship hath vouchsafed, and of purpose taken into your hands the protection of our sayd Merchants, and the hearing and determining of all their causes and occasions whatsoeuer, which shall concerne them or their trade. All which wee conceiue to be done for our sake, and therefore do acknowledge ourselues to be, and still will continue beholding vnto you for the same.

And whereas we haue made mention in our sayd letters written to our louing brother the Emperour of certeine debts due aswell to our merchants, as to other of our subiects by one William Turnebull a subiect of ours late deceased in Russia, wee pray you to be referred to the sayd letter. And forasmuch as the sayd cause will fall vnder your Lordships iurisdiction by reason of your acceptation of all their causes into your patronage and protection: we are so well assured of your honourable inclination to iustice, and your good affection towards our merchants for our sake, that we shall not need to intreat your honourable furtherance either of iustice or expedition in the sayd cause. And lastly considering that your noble linage together with your great wisedome and desert hath made you a principall Councellour and directour of the state of so great a Monarchie, whereby your aduice and direction is followed in all things that doe concerne the same, we haue giuen order to our sayd principall Counsellour William Lord Burghley, treasurour of our Realme of England, that as any occasion shall arise to the hinderance of the entercourse betweene these Countreyes, or of the priuiledges graunted by his Maiestie to our merchants, that he may by aduertisement treat with your Lordshippe thereupon: which we by reason of our great princely affayres can not so conueniently at all times doe with such expedition as the cause may require. And thus with our princely commendations we bidde you farewell. From our royall Pallace of Whitehall the foureteenth day of Ianuarie, Anno Domini 1591.

To the right honourable my very good Lord, the Lord Boris Pheodorowich, Master of the horses to the great and mighty Emperour of Russia, his Highnesse Lieutenant of Cazan and Astracan, William Cecil Lord Burghley, Knight of the noble Order of the Garter, and Lord high Treasurer of England sendeth greeting.

RIght honourable my very good Lord, vpon the last returne of our merchants shippes out of Russia, there was brought vnto my handes, by one Francis Cherrie an English merchant, a letter directed to the Queenes Maiestie, from the great and mightie Emperour of Russia, and another letter from your Lordship directed to me: which sayd letter written from the Emperor to her Maiesty hath beene considerately and aduisedly by her Highnesse read and perused, and the matter of complaint against Ierome Horsey therein comprised thorowly examined: which hath turned the same Horsey to some great displeasure. I did also acquaint our Maiesty with the contents of your Lordships letters written to mee, and enformed her of your Lordships honourable fauour shewed to her Highnesse merchants from time to time: who tooke the same in most gracious part, and confessed her selfe infinitly beholding vnto your Lordship for many honourable offices done for her sake, the which she meant to acknowledge by her letters to be written to your Lordship vnder her princely hand and seale. And forasmuch as it hath pleased your good Lordshippe to take into your handes the protection of her Maiesties merchants, and the redresse of such iniuries as are, or shall be offered vnto them contrary to the meaning of the priuiledges and the free liberty of the entercourse, wherein some points your Lordship hath already vsed a reformation, as appeareth by your sayd letters: yet the continuance of traffique moouing new occasions and other accidents tending to the losse of the sayd merchants, whereof some particulars haue beene offered vnto me to treat with your Lordship vpon: I thought it good to referre them to your honourable consideration, that order might be taken in the same, for that they are apparantly repugnant to the Emperours letters written to her Maiestie, and doe much restraine the liberty of the trade: one is, that at the last comming of our merchants to the port of Saint Michael the Archangel, where the mart is holden, their goods were taken by the Emperours officers for his Highnesse seruice at such rates, as the sayd officers were disposed to set vpon them, so farre vnder their value, that the merchants could not assent to accept of those prices: which being denied, the sayd officers restrained them of all further traffique for the space of three weekes, by which meanes they were compelled to yeeld vnto their demaund how vnwillingly soeuer. Another is, that our sayd merchants are driuen to pay the Emperours officers custome for all such Russe money as they bring downe from the Mosco to the Sea side to employ there at the Mart within the Emperours owne land; which seemeth strange vnto me, considering the same money is brought from one place of the Countrey to an other, and there imployed without any transport ouer the borders * of the sayd country. These interruptions and impositions seeme not to stand with the liberties of the Emperours priuileges and freedome of the entercourse, which should be restrained neither to times or conditions, but to be free and absolute: whereof it may please your Lordship to be aduised, and to continue your honourable course holden betweene the Emperour and her Maiesty, to reconcile such differences as any occasion doth offer to their league or trafficke. Thus not doubting of your Lordships furtherance herein, I humbly take my leaue of your good Lordship. From her Maiesties royall palace of Whitehall this 15 of Ianuary 1591.

This is a new port.

The English merchants 3 weeks restrained from their Mart.

---

* The original reads: *ouer the sayd of money.* As this is unintelligible, I have ventured to insert a new reading.

A letter from the Emperour of Russia, Theodore Iuanouich to the Queenes Maiestie.

Through the tender mercie of our God, whereby the day-spring from on high hath visited vs, thereby to guide our feet into the way of peace. Euen this our God by mercy we glorifie in Trinitie.

We the great Lord, King and great Duke Theodore Iuanowich, gouernour of all Russia, of Volodimer, Mosco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan and Astracan, Lord of Vobsco, and great Duke of Smolensco, Otuer, Vghori, Perme, Viatsky, Bulgary, and other regions, Lord and great Duke also of Nouogrod in the low countrey, of Chernigo, of Rezan, Polotsko, Rostoue, Yeroslaue, Bealozera, and of Lifland, of Vdorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and all the countrey of Siberia, and commander of all the North parts, and Lord ouer the countrey of Iuersky, and King of Grusinsky, and of the countrey of Kabardinsky, Cherchasky, and Duke of Igorsky, Lord and ruler of many countreys more etc. To our louing sister Elizabeth Queene of England, France, and Ireland, &c. Louing sister, your letters sent by your seruant Thomas Lind, we haue receiued, and read what you haue written in the same touching our title, and touching your order holden in your letters heretofore sent vs by your seruant Ierome Horsey: wherein you haue answered vs sufficiently and most graciously.

The Emperors stile lately enlarged.

And whereas your Maiestie hath written in your letter concerning the goods of William Turnebull late deceased in our kingdome, that your subiects, for whom he was factour, should haue debts growing vnto them from him by account: we at your Maiesties request haue caused not onely order to be taken, but for your Highnesse sake, louing sister, we haue caused the goods to be sought out and deliuered to your merchants Agent and his company, together with his stuffe, bookes, billes and writings, as also money to the value of sixe hundred rubbles, which Christopher Holmes and Francis Cherry are to pay for || ycarie †: and we haue set at libertie the said Turnebulles kinseman Raynold Kitchin and his fellowes, and deliuered them to your merchants Agent.

This is a dainty meat made of the roas of Sturgeons.

And further, where you write vnto vs for such your subiects as haue departed out of your maiesties Realme secretly without licence, that we should giue order to send them home: concerning such your subiects for which you haue written vnto our Maiestie by letters, we will cause search to be made, and such as are willing to goe home into your kingdome, we will command forthwith to be deliuered vnto your merchants Agent, and so to passe. And such of your Maiesties people as haue giuen themselues vnder our gouernment as subiects, we thinke it not requisite to grant to let them passe.

---

† Caviare.

And further, where you haue written vnto vs concerning the goods of Iohn Chappell, we haue written heretofore the whole discourse thereof, not once, but sundry times, and therefore it is not needful to write any more thereof. And such goods as were found out of the goods of the sayd Chappell, the money thereof was restored to your Maiesties people William Turnbull and his fellowes. Your Maiesties seruant Thomas Lind we haue sent with our letters the same way whereby he came into our kingdome. The long abiding heere of your Maiesties seruant in our kingdome, was for the comming of your people from the Sea port. Written in our princely court and royall seat in the city of Mosco in the yeere from the beginning of the world 7101, in the moneth of Ianuary.

M. Thomas Lind.

1592.

To the Queenes most excellent Maiestie from the Lord Boris Pheodorouich Godonoua.

BY the grace of God great Lord and great Duke Theodore Iuanouich gouernour of Russia, Volodimer, Mosco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan and Astracan, Lord of Vobsko, and great Duke of Smolensco, Otuer, Vghori, Perme, Viatsky, Bulgary, and other regions, Lord and great Duke of Nouogrod in the low countrey, of Chernigo, of Rezan, Polotsko, Rostoue, Ieroslaue, Bealozera, and of Lifland, of Vdorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and all the countrey of Sibery, and commander of all the North parts, and Lord ouer the countrey of Iuersky, and King of Grusinsky, and of the countrey of Kabardinsky, Cherchasky, and duke of Igorsky, Lord and ruler of many countreys more, &c.

Most resplendent Queene Elizabeth of England, France, and Ireland, &c. his princely Maiesties seruant, Lord and Master of his horses, and high Steward of his house, and President of the territories of Cazan and Astracan, Boris Pheodorouich Godonoua, vnto your most excellent Maiesty, great Ladie Queene Elizabeth, send my humble commendations. It hath pleased your Maiestie to write vnto me your gracious and princely letter by your seruant Thomas Lind: which letter I received with all humblenesse. During the time of the abode of your Messenger Thomas Lind here in the Mosco, it pleased God of his mercifulnesse, and our Lady the mother of God, and holy Saints, by the prayers of our lord and king his Maiestie Theodore Iuanouich ouer all Russia gouernour, the right beleeuer and louer of Christ, to send our Queene and gracious Lady Irene a yoong Princesse, to the great ioy and comfort of our kingdome, named Pheodocine. Wherefore we giue all honour and glory to the almightie God vnspeakable, whose giftes had beene manifolde with mercie vnto vs: for which all wee Christians laud and praise God.

The Empresse Irene deliuered of a daughter.

After all this your seruant was occasioned to stay vntill the comming of your merchants from the sea port.

Touching the letters which you haue receiued from your louing brother our Lord and Master by your ambassadour, therein you perceiue sufficiently my good meaning, in trauailing for the continuance of amitie and friendship betwixt you mighty great princes, in the which I will continue mine endeauour. Also your merchants I haue taken into my protection for to defend them for the loue I beare to your Maiestie. As heeretofore I haue done it willingly, and with great care of their good, so I meane to continue so farre as God will giue me leaue: to the end that brotherly loue be holden betweene you princes without disturbance.

As I haue beene to your merchants in times past, so now by the permission and commandement of our Lord and Master, I will be their defendour in all causes: and will cause all our authorised people to fauour them and to defend them, and to giue them free liberty to buy and sell at their pleasure. The merchants doe not certifie your princely Maiestie of all our friendship and fauour shewed vnto them from time to time. And whereas your Maiestie hath now written to our Lord and Master for the debts which your merchants ought to haue of William Turnebull lately disceased, I hauing perused your Maiesties letter, whereby I am requested to be a meane for the recouerie and obtaining of their sayd debts, I haue moued it to our Lord and King his Maiestie, that order may be giuen therein: and that his kinseman Rainold Kitchin with three persons more may be sent ouer together with the sayd Turnebulles stuffe and other things, as billes, books and writings. All which shall be deliuered to your merchants Agent and his fellowes, and in money 600 rubbles of the sayd Turnebulles.

And touching your merchants, I will haue a great care ouer them, and protect them, whereby they shall suffer no damages in their trade: and all kinde of trafficke in merchandise shall be at their libertie.

Written in our Lord and Kings Maiesties royall citie of Mosco, in the yeere from the beginning of the world 7101, in the moneth of Ianuarie.

A letter from the Lord Boris Pheodorowich to the right honourable Lord William Burghley, Lord high Treasurer of England.

BY the grace of God great Lord, King, and great Duke Theodor Iuanowich, gouernour of Russia, Volodimer, Mosco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan and Astracan, Lord of Vobsco, and great Duke of Smolensco, Otuer, Vghory, Perme, Viatsky, Bulgary, and other regions, Lord and great Duke of all Nouogrod in the low countreys, of Chernigo, of Liffeland, of Vdorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and all the countrey of Sibery, and commaunder of all the North parts, and Lord ouer the countrey of Iuersky, and King of Grusinsky, and of the countreys of Kabardinsky, Cherchasky, and Duke of Igorsky, Lord and ruler of many Countreys more &c. His princely Maiesties seruant, Lord and Master of his horses, and high Steward of his house, President of the territories of Cazan and Astracan, Boris Pheodorowich Godonoua, to the most honourable Counsellor of the most resplendent mightie great Lady Elizabeth Queene of England, France, and Ireland, William Burghley, Lord, and Knight of the Garter, high Treasurour of England, sendeth greeting.

M. Francis Cherie.

I perceiue by your letter that your merchants last shippes came home in saftie, and that you haue receiued the letters sent by them, by the hands of Francis Cherie, one from our Lord and great King of all Russia his Maiesty, vnto your Queenes most excellent Maiesty, and one from me to her Highnesse, and one from my selfe to you: and the contents thereof you haue caused to be read and well vnderstood at large. And whatsoeuer is therein written concerning Ierome Horsey, you haue sought out the ground thereof, and that he is in great displeasure. And her Highnesse hath written in her letter concerning her Maiesties merchants, that whereas I haue taken them into protection, she taketh it very louingly and kindely, that for her sake they haue receiued so great kindnesse.

And touching the damages and hinderances which your merchaunts haue sustained by meanes of the Emperours authorised people and officers, and that they were not permitted to traffike at libertie at the Sea port in the yeere 1589, for the space of three weekes, it hath beene against the Emperours Maiesties will and pleasure, as also against mine. Where you desire and wish that betweene our Emperours Maiestie, and your Queenes Maiestie, their loue and amitie may not bee seperated at any time, but to continue: and you request mee that I should be good vnto the English Merchants, and to defend them from all such domages hereafter: your honours louing letter I haue therein throughly considered: and as I haue bene heretofore, so I will still continue to be a meane betwixt our Lorde and kings Maiestie, and your great Lady the Queene her hignesse, for the mainteyning of brotherly loue and amitie, most joyfully and willingly, as God knoweth, aswel hereafter as I haue been heretofore: praying you to doe the like also. Mine onely desire is for your most excellent Princesse sake, to do all that lyeth in mee for the ayding, helping and protecting of her Maiesties merchants, by the order and commaundement of our Lord and king his Maiestie.

And to that ende I haue giuen order to all our authorised people to bee careful ouer them, and to defende them in all causes, and to giue them free libertie to trafficke at their owne willes and pleasures. It may bee that your merchants doe not certifie you the trueth of all things, nor make knowen vnto your honour my readinesse to protect them: And howe my Letters and Commissions are sent to all authorised people for them, that they shoulde ayde and assist them according to the tenour of my Letters, to all others that bee in authoritie vnder the said Officers or otherwise.

Also your honour writeth of the debarring of your merchants at the sea port from their accustomed libertie of enterchangeable trafficke and bartar. Touching which complaint search and inquisition hath bene made, and commaundement giuen, that your Queenes Maiesties merchants at the Sea-side, and in all places where the trade is, doe not sustaine any domage or hinderance hereafter, but that they shalbe at libertie without any hindering or letting, either in the Mosco, the Treasurehouse, or else where by any of our authorised people, but absolutely to bee at free libertie at their owne will and pleasure. And also I will continue to be their protectour and defendour in all causes, by our Lorde and kings Maiesties order and commaundement: as it shall be knowen and certified you by your people resident here in the Mosco.

Anno Domini 1592. Written in our kings Maiesties royall citie of Mosco from the beginning of the world, 7101. yeere, in the moneth of Ianuary.

A most gracious Letter giuen to the English Merchants Sir John Hart and his company, by Theodore Iuanowich, the King, Lord, and great duke of all Russia, the onely vpholder thereof.

THe onely God omnipotent before all eternitie, his will be done without ende: the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost we glorifie in Trinitie. Our onely God the maker of all things and worker of all in all euery where with plentifull increase: for which cause he hath giuen life to man to loue him, and to trust in him: Our onely God which inspireth euery one of vs his holy children with his word to discerne good through our Lord Iesus Christ, and the holy quickning spirit of life now in these perilous times establish vs to keepe the right scepter, and suffer vs to reigne of our selues to the good profit of the land, and to the subduing of the people together with the enemies, and to the mainteinance of vertue.

We the great Lord, king and great duke Theodore Iuanowich, of all Russia the onely vpholder, of Volodimer, Mosco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan, and king of Astracan, Lord of Vobsco, and great duke of Smolensko, of Otuer, Vghorie, Permia, Viatski, Bulgari, and other regions, great duke also of Nouogrod in the lowe Countrey, of Chernigo, of Rezan, Polotski, Rostoue, Yaruslaue, Bealozero, and of Liefland, of Vdorski, Obdorski, Condenski, and commaunder of all the Countrey of Siberi and of the North parts, and Lord ouer the Countrey of Iuerski, Grusinski, and King ouer the Countrey of Igorski, and ruler ouer many other kiugdomes and Lordships more.

Our princely Maiestie at the request of our brother in lawe Boris Feodorowich Godenoua our seruant, and Master of our horses, generall Comptroller of our house, and gouernour of the Lordships and kingdomes of Casan and Astracan: vnto the

English merchants Sir Iohn Hart knight, sir William Webbe knight, Richard Salkenstow Alderman, Nicholas Mosely alderman, Robert Doue, Wil. Garrowe, Iohn Harbey, Robert Chamberlaine, Henry Anderson, Iohn Woodworth, Francis Cherry, Iohn Merrick, and Cristopher Holmes; hath gratiously giuen leaue to come and go with their ships into our kingdome and territories of Duina with all kind of commodities at their pleasures to trafficke from the seaside to our roial city of Mosco, and in all other cities, townes, countries and territories of our whole kingdom of Mosco: vpon the humble petition and sute of the saide English merchants sir Iohn Hart and his company, wee haue giuen them leaue to passe and trafficke into all parts of our dominions and territories of Mosco, and to our inheritance of Nougrod and Plesco with their wares and commodities without paying any custome or dueties.

We the great Lord, king, and great Duke Theodore Iuanowich of all Russia, haue firmely giuen and graunted vnto the aforesaide English merchants Sir Iohn Hart and his company, for the loue we beare to our deare sister Queene Elizabeth, we I say of our gracious goodnes haue giuen leaue to trauel and passe to our royall seat of Mosco, and to all the parts of our kingdome with all kinde of commodities, and to trafficke with all kinde of wares at their owne pleasure, without paying any custome of their said wares.

To you our Customers we wil and command not to take any maner of custome of the said merchants and their company, neither for entering, weying nor passing by or through any place of our territories, nor for custome, of iudgement by Lawe, or for their person or persons: nor any duties ouer bridges, or for certificats or processes, or for conducting ouer any streames or waters, or for any other customes or dueties that may be named: we wil and straitly commaund you not to take any of them in any wise.

Prouided alwayes, that the saide merchants shall not colour any strangers wares, nor bring them into our countrey, nor fauour them colourably, nor sel for any stranger. To you our subiects also we command, not to meddle or deale with any wares of strangers colourably, nor to haue them by you in keeping, nor to offer to sel their commodities: but themselues to sel their owne commodities in change or otherwise as they may or can. And in al townes, cities, countreys, or any part of our dominions and territories it shalbe lawful for the foresaid merchants and their company to sell or barter away their owne commodities in change or otherwise, for or at their pleasure as they will. And whensoeuer the said merchants or any of them come into our territories of great Nouogrod or Plesco, or to any other parts of our kingdome with their wares, by virtue of these our maiesties letters we straitly charge and command you our Captaines, generals, and all other that be authorised or in office, to suffer the aforesaid merchants to passe and repasse, and to take no kinde of custome or dutie of them, or any of their goods, howsoeuer it may haue name: nor in no place else where they shall come in all our kingdome. Likewise if they sell not nor buy no wares, you shall take no custome, but suffer them quietly to passe where they will with their goods. Of our gratious goodness and meere goodwill haue giuen the said merchants leaue to trafficke, throughout all our kingdomes, and in all townes and cities with all maner of wares and commodities without paying any custome or dutie. Wheresoeuer they shal happen to sel or barter away any of their commodities to our subiects, they are to barter or sell by whole sale, and not by retaile, as by the yard or by the ounce in their houses or elsewhere: but by the packe or whole clothes, veluets, damasks, taffaties by the piece, and not by the yard: and al other wares that are to be sold by weight, they are to be sold not by the ounce, but by great sale. Your wines shalbe solde by hogs heads, pip.s or buttes, but not by quartes nor pintes.

The said English merchants are to sel or barter away their owne commodities themselues, and not to suffer any Russes to buy or sell for them: nor to cary or transport any wares of strangers in stead of their owne in no wise. And if the saide English merchants shall be desirous to sell any of their commodities at Colmogro, or vpon the Riuer of Duina, or at Vologhda or at Yeraslaue: when as the saide merchants haue solde in any of the saide Townes, Cities or territories, then you our officers and authorised people by vertue of this our gratious letter wee will and straitly commaund not to take any custome of the aforesaid merchants, howsoeuer it may be named.

Also whensoeuer the saide English merchants or any of their factours shalbe desirous to hire carriers to carry their wares to any place of our dominions or Cities, it shalbe at their choyse and pleasure to hier them the best they can, and where they will, either watermen to rowe, or vessels.

Also when any of the said merchants themselues, or any of theirs are desirous to trauel into any part of our dominions, or into any other kingdomes, or into their owne kingdome if any of our treasure be deliuered to them, they to take it with them, and to sel it in bartar or otherwise for such wares as are most requisit and necessary to be brought into our kingdome and to be deliuered into our treasury. You our nobilitie, generals & al others in authority suffer them to passe through al our cities, towns & countries without taking any custome of them. And when the said merchants haue done their traffick in any place & come to the Mosco, they shal make it knowen at their arriual at the house of Chancery and Secretariship to Vasili Shalcan. And further when there come any English Merchants with their ships or vessels by sea, that by mishap shalbe cast away vpon any of our shoars or costes, we wil and command you to ayde & helpe them, and to seeke for their goods so perished by any casualtie, and to be restored againe to the saide English merchants or their assignes without any prolonging or detayning. As also if any of the aforesaide merchants goods be found in any part of our coastes or streames and they not present themselues, let the sayd goods be taken and layd vp in safetie in some place or other, and be deliuered to the aforesaid merchants or their factors vnder penaltie of our displeasure.

Furthermore we King, Lord and great duke of all Russia, of our gracious goodnesse giue vnto the English merchants and their company, their house in the Citie of Mosco lying hard by the Church of S. Marke behinde the market place: which they shall keepe and remaine therein after their old accustomed vse. Prouided alwayes that they shall keepe one Russe porter or one of their owne people, & may keepe any other Russe seruant at their discretion. Also their houses in sundry places, as at Ieraslaue, Vologhda, Colmogro, and at S. Michael Archangel, all these houses they shall keepe and vse at their owne pleasure, according to our former letters patents without paying any dutie, rent, or custome. Nor you the communaltie of the said townes shal take any thing of them or theirs for any duetie that should belong to you, especially of the houses aforesaid: but the said English merchants shal enioy them peaceably for themselues and their families, but shall not suffer any other strangers Russes or others to vse the aforesaid houses: Also you shall suffer them to lay their wares and commodities in their warehouses, and to sell their commodities to whom they please without let or hindrance, by vertue of this our gratious letter.

Their housekeeper being a Russe shall not vndertake to meddle, or sell any of their wares without they themselues be present, nor to buy any thing for them.

Also it shalbe lawfull for the said merchants when they shal arriue at their port to lade and vnlade their merchandises as in times past they haue done at their pleasure. And when they lade their ships with Russe commodities or vnlade them, it shalbe lawfull for them to hire any of our subiects to helpe them for the present time, and for them to carry their goods to and fro with their owne vessels to S. Michael Archangel, or elsewhere.

Also we command you our authorised people at the sea side as wel Customers as others to take of the foresaid merchants a note, or remembrance, what goods they bring in and ship out: whereby it may be knowen what goods come in and go out. But in no wise shall you open or vnpacke any of their wares or merchandises.

In like maner when as they ship or sende away any of their countrey commodities from S. Michael Archangel to any other place, or to our royall Citie of Mosco yee shall not hinder nor let them any maner of wise for the shipping of their merchandises in or out by virtue of these our gratious letters of priuiledge giuen them.

And whensoeuer any of the said English merchants haue any occasion to send ouer land out of our dominions into their own countrey any of their seruants or factors, by vertue of this our gratious letter we command you to giue them their passeport out of the office of our Secretariship.

And whensoeuer any of our subiects hath any thing to do with any of the foresaid merchants by way of contentions: or that they be damnified or hindered by any of our subiects: then we appoint and ordeine our Chanceller and Secretary Vasili Shalcan to heare their causes, and finally to determine on both sides according to equitie and iustice: and that he shall search the trueth betweene both parties.

And when the trueth cannot be proued or found out, then to cast lots by order of the foresaide Judge, and he to whom the lot shall fall to take his othe.

Furthermore whensoeuer any of the English merchants or their factors shall come into any parts of our dominions or Cities, and shalbe wronged any kinde of wayes in trading, or otherwise by any abused, or haue any occasion of contention with any by way of trade in merchandise or otherwayes: we straightly charge and commaund you our gouernours, and authorised subiects within all our realme and territories of the same, to minister iustice vnto the aforesaid merchants, or to their deputies, and to search the trueth of the contention: and for want of sufficient proofe cast lots who shall take his oath for the more ready triall of the cause: And in no wise to take any fee or duetie of the aforesaid English merchants for the said iudgement in Lawe.

We wil and commaund all this to be obserued and kept in all parts of our dominions by all our subiects and authorised people by vertue of these our royal letters patents: And the said letters not to be diminished in any part or parsell thereof by any persons howsoeuer they be named. And whosoeuer shall withstand and not regard these our gracious letters shalbe in our high displeasure, and shal incurre the losse of his life. This our gracious letter was giuen in our kingdom and royal City of Mosco, in the yere from the beginning of the world 7104. in the moneth of May.

After our accompt 1596.

Subscribed by the Emperours Chancellour
and Secretarie Vasili Shalcan.

The contents of M. Garlands Commission vnto Thomas Simkinson for the bringing of M. Iohn Dee to the Emperour of Russia his Court.

FRiend Thomas Simkinson I pray you goe to Brounswik or Cassil and inquire if Master Iohn Dee be there or where he is, and when you finde him, certifie him howe that I haue sent you purposely to knowe where hee doeth remaine, and at your returne I will come and speake with him my selfe. Also you may certefie him that the Emperour of Russeland hauing certaine knowledge of his great learning and wisdome is marueilous desirous of him to come into his Countrey. And hath giuen me his letter with his hand and golden seale at it for to bring him into the Countrey with mee if it be possible, and for his liuing shewe him that he shall be sure of 2000 pound yeerely, and also all prouision for his table out of the Emperours kitching free: and if he thinke this too little, I will assure him that if he aske asmuch more hee shall haue it, and for his charges into the Countrey, I haue sufficient of the Emperours allowance to bring him and all his royally into the

Countrey. And because hee may doubt of these proffers, he shall remaine at the borders vntill the Emperour be certified of him, and of his requests, which he would haue. And I am sure he shall be conueyed through the land with fiue hundred horses, and he shallbe accompted as one of the chiefest in the land next the Emperour. Also shew him howe that my Lord Protectour at my comming away did take me in his armes, and desired me as hee should be my friend to bring him with me, and he would giue him of his owne purse yeerely 1000. rubbles besides the Emperours allowance. All these foresaide grauntes and demaunds doe I Thomas Simkinson acknowledge to be spoken by Edward Garland to mee, and to be sent to declare the same vnto Master Iohn Dee. And in witnesse that this is of a trueth I haue written the same with my owne hand, and thereunto set my name, in Wittingaw, otherwise called Trebona, the 18. of September, Anno 1586.

By me Thomas Simkinson of Hull.

A letter to the right worshipfull M. Iohn Dee Esquire, conteyning the summe and effect of M. Edward Garland his message, deliuered to Master Dee himselfe, (Letterwise) for a more perfect memoriall thereof. Anno 1586.

RIght worshipfull, it may please you to vnderstand, that I was sent vnto you from the most mightie Prince Feodor Iuanowich, Lord, Emperour and great duke of Russia, &c. As also from the most excellent prince Boris Feodorowich, Lord Protector of Russia: to giue your worship to vnderstand the great good will and heartie desire they beare vnto you; for that of long time they haue had a great good report of your learning and wisedom, as also of your good counsel vnto Princes: whereupon his Maiesties most earnest desire and request is vnto you; that you would take the paines to come vnto his Citie of Mosco, to visite his Maiesties Court: for that hee is desirous of your company, and also of your good counsell in diuers matters that his Maiestie shall thinke needfull. And for the great goodwill that his Maiestie beareth vnto you, he will giue you yeerely toward your mainteinance 2000. pound starling; and the Lord Protectour will giue you a thousand rubbles, as also your prouision for your table you shall haue free out of his Maiesties kitchin: And further whatsoeuer you shall thinke needefull or conuenient for you, in any part or parts of his dominion, it shall be at your worships commaundement. And this is the summe and effect of my message and commandement giuen me by his Maiestie and the Lord Protectour.

In witnesse whereof I haue written this with my owne hand, the 17. of December 1586.

By me Edward Garland.

In Trebona Castell otherwise called Wittingaw in Boëmia to which place this M. Edward Garland, came to M. Dee with two Moscouites to serue him, &c. He had sixe more which by M. Dees counsell were sent backe.

Witnesse M. Edward Kelley, and M. Francis
Garland, brother to foresaid Edward,
and diuers others.

IT seemeth that this princely offer of the Emperour Pheodor Iuanowich, and of the L. Boris Pheodorowich Protectour to his Maiestie, was made vnto the learned and famous Mathematitian M. Iohn Dee, partly to vse his counsell and direction about certaine discoueries to the Northeast; and partly for some other weighty occasions: but because their conquest to Siberia was not as then fully settled, and for diuers other secret reasons, it was for y^t time with al thankfulness refused.

A branch of a letter from M. Iohn Merick, Agent vnto the Moscouie company in Russia, closed vp in the Mosco the 14. of March, Anno 1597. touching the death of Pheodor Iuanowich late Emperour of all Russia, &c.

HAuing thus farre proceeded with this my answere vnto the chiefest points of your worships letters receiued, my desire was to haue sent one vnto you long since, as you may perceiue by || the first date: but by reason I could not get leaue, I haue deferred it of till this instant, for that there was none suffered to passe out of the land. The causes may be iudged, for that it pleased God to call out of this world, the Emperour his Maiestie, who departed about the 7. of Ianuary: and euer since hath bene a mourning time, and no suites for any matter could be heard. But it hath bene a very dead season. Yet (thankes be to God) through the wise government of Lord Boris Pheodorowich the Lord Protector vnto the saide late Emperour, since his death all things haue bene very quiet without any dissention; as the

|| Febr. 1597.

like in such a great kingdome I haue not heard of. And now through the prouidence of Almightie God, and by surrender of the late Empresse Irenia Feodoruna, and the common consent of the Patriarch, Nobles, Bishops, and the whole Cleargie, with the whole Commons besides, choise is made of none other but of the said Lord Protector, L. Boris Pheodorowich to be Emperour, and great duke of all Russia, who was most vnwilling to receiue the kingdome, but the people would make no other choise, nor haue any other. So that with much adoe and entreatie, it hath pleased his Maiestie to take vpon him the kingdome, and he is absolute Emperor to him and his heires. And certainly God hath done much for this Countrey, and hath made the people greatly happy, in that he hath prouided and appointed so famous and worthy a Prince: whose excellent gouernment and experience these foureteene yeeres hath bene manifest to all Russia. God graunt his highnesse a most prosperous and long raine, with his Lady the Empresse, the Prince his sonne, and the Princesse his daughter. All men do reioyce both Russe and strangers for this most famous Emperour. The Coronation is thought shalbe on the Assension day next, til which time I cannot depart from Mosco: which is a litle before the time that ordinarily I doe take my iourney from hence. And touching his Maiesties fauour towards me on your behalfe, especially for her Maiesties sake, as in foretime it was extraordinary, and so specially shewed to mee, as to none the like: so hath his highnesse promised the continuance thereof, with further fauour as shalbe desired. Whereof I haue no doubt: for dayly I do finde the same.

Prince Boris Pheodorowich by generall consent chosen Emperour of Russia.

A learned Epistle written 1581. vnto the famous Cosmographer M. Gerardus Mercator concerning the riuer Pechora, Naramsay, Cara reca, the mighty riuer of Ob, the place of Yaks Olgush in Siberia, the great riuer Ardoh, the lake of Kittay called of the borderers Paraha, the Countrey of Carrah Colmak, giuing good light to the discouery of the Northeast passage to Cathay, China and the Malucaes.

¶ Inclyto et celebri Gerardo Mercatori, domino et amico singulari in manus proprias Duisburgi in Cliuia.

CVm meminissem, amice optime, quanta, cum vnam ageremus, delectatione afficerere in legendis Geographicis scriptis Homeri,

Strabonis, Aristotelis, Plinij, Dionis et reliquorum, lætatus sum eo quod incidissem in hunc nuncium, qui tibi has literas tradit, quem tibi commendatum esse valde cupio, quique dudum Arusburgi hîc ad Ossellam fluuium appulit. Hominis experientia, vt mihi quidem videtur, multum te adiuuerit in re vna, eaque summis à te votis expetita, et magnopere elaborata, de qua tam varie inter se dissentiunt Cosmographi recentiores; patefactione nimirum ingentis illius Promontorij Tabin, celebrisque illius et opulentæ regionis sub Cathayorum rege per Oceanum ad Orientem brumalem. Alferius is est natione Belga, qui captiuus aliquot annos vixit in Moscouitarum ditione, apud viros illic celeberrimos Yacouium et Vnekium; à quibus Antuerpiam missus est accersitum homines rei nauticæ peritos, qui satis amplo proposito præmio ad illos viros se recipiant; qui Sueuo artifice duas ad eam patefactionem naues ædificarunt in Duina fluuio. Vt ille rem proponit, quamquam sine arte, apposite tamen, et vt satis intelligas, quod quæso diligenter perpendas, aditus ad Cathayam per Orientem proculdubio breuissimus est et almodum expeditus. Adijt ipse fluuium Obam tum terra per Samoedorum et Sibericorum regionem, tum mari per littus Pechoræ fluminis ad Orientem. Hac experientia confirmatus certò apud se statuit nauim mercibus onustam, cuius carinam non nimium profundè demissam esse vult, in Sinum S. Nicolai conducere in regione Moscouitarum, instructam illam quidem rebus omnibus ad eam patefactionem necessarijs, atque illic redintegrato commeatu, Moscouiticæ nationis notissimos iusta mercede asciscere: qui et Samoedicam linguam pulchre teneant, et fluuium Ob exploratum habeant, vt qui quotannis ea loca ventitant. Vnde Maio exeunte constituit pergere ad Orientem per continentem Vgoriæ ad Orientales partes Pechoræ, Insulamque cui nomen est Dolgoia. Hîc latitudines obseruare, terram describere, bolidem demittere, locorumque ac punctorum distantias annotare, vbi et quoties licebit. Et quoniam Pechoræ Sinus vel euntibus vel redeuntibus commodissimus est tum subsidij tum diuersorij locus propter glaciem et tempestates, diem impendere decreuit cognoscendis vadis, facillimoque nauium aditu inueniendo: quo loco antehac aquarum altitudinem duntaxat ad quinque pedes inuenit, sed profundiores canales esse non dubitat: deinde per eos fines pergere ad tria quatuorve milliaria nautica, relicta Insula quam Vaigats vocant, media ferè via

Duæ naues ædificatæ in Duina fluuio ad patefactionem Orientalem.

Dolgoia Insula.

Insula Vaigats.

Sinus inter Vaigats et Obam vergens per meridiem.

|| Vel Naramsey et Cara reca.

Littus Obæ incolitubar Ostijs trium dierum itinere.

inter Vgoriam et Nouam Zemblam: tum Sinum quendam præterire inter Vaigats atque Obam, qui per Meridiem vergens pertingit ad terram Vgoriæ, in quem confluunt exigui duo amnes || Marmesia atque Karah, ad quos amnes gens alia Samoedorum accolit immanis et efferata. Multa in eo tractu loca vadosa, multas cataractas inuenit; sed tamen per quas possit Nauigari. Vbi ad fluuium Obam peruentum fuerit, qui quidem fluuius (vt referunt Samoedi) septuaginta habet ostia, quæ propter ingentem latitudinem multas magnasque concludentem Insulas, quas varij incolunt populi, vix quisquam animaduertat, ne temporis nimium impendat, constituit ad summum tria quatuorve tentare ora, ea præsertim quæ ex consilio Incolarum, quos in itinere aliquot habiturus est, commodissima videbuntur, triaque quatuorve eius regionis nauigiola tentandis Ostijs adhibere, quàm fieri potest ad littus proxime, (quod quidem sub itinere trium dierum incolitur) vt quo loco tutissime nauigari possit, intelligat.

Yaks Olgush locus super Obam fluuium duodecim dierum itinere à mari.

Ardoh flumen influens in lacum Kitthaym: de quo in itinere ad Boghariam scribit Antonius Ienkinsonus.

Quod si nauim per fluuium Obam aduerso amne possit impellere, prima si poterit cataracta, eaque, vt verisimile est, commodissima, ad eumque locum appellere, quem aliquando ipse cum suis aliquot per Sibericorum regionem terra adijt, qui duodecim iuxta dierum itinere distat à Mari, quà influit in mare flumen Ob, qui locus est in continente, propè fluuium Ob cui nomen est Yaks Olgush, nomine mutuato ab illo magno Profluente flumini Ob illabente, tum certè speraret maximas se difficultates superasse. Referunt enim illic populares, qui trium duntaxat dierum nauigatione ab eo loco abfuerunt (quòd illic rarum est, eo quòd multi ad vnum duntaxat diem cymbas pelliceas à littore propellentes oborta tempestate perierunt, cùm neque à sole neque à syderibus rectionem scirent petere) per transuersum fluminis Ob, vnde spaciosum esse illius latitudinem constat, grandes se carinas præciosis onustas mercibus magno fluuio delatas vidisse per Nigros, puta Æthiopes. Eum fluuium Ardoh illi vocant, qui influit in lacum Kittayum, quem Paraha illi nominant, cui contermina est gens illa latissimè fusa, quàm Carrah Colmak appellant, non alia certè quàm Cathaya. Illic, si necessitas postulabit, opportunum erit hybernare, se suosque reficere, resque omnes necessarias conquirere. Quòd si acciderit, non dubitat interim plurimùm se adiutum iri, plura illic quærentem atque ediscentem. Veruntamen sperat æstate eadem ad Cathayorum fines se peruenturum, nisi ingenti glaciei mole ad os fluuij Obæ impediatur, quæ maior interdum, interdum minor est. Tum per Pechoram redire statuit, atque illic hybernare: vel si id non poterit, in flumen Duinæ, quo mature satis pertinget, atque ita primo vere proximo in itinere progredi. Vnum est quòd suo loco oblitus sum. Qui locum illum Yaks Olgush incolunt, à maioribus suis olim prædicatum asserunt, se in lacu Kitthayo dulcissimam campanarum harmoniam audiuisse, atque ampla ædificia conspexisse: Et cùm gentis Carrah Colmak mentionem faciunt (Cathaya illa est) ab imo pectore suspiria repetunt, manibusque proiectis suspiciunt in cœlum, velut insignem illius splendorem innuentes atque admirantes. Vtinam Alferius hîc Cosmographiam melius saperet, multum ad illius vsum adiungeret, qui sanè plurimus est. Multa prætereo, vir amicissime, ipsumque hominem te audire cupio, qui mihi spospondit se in itinere Duisburgi te visurum. Auet enim tecum conferre sermones, et procul dubio hominem multum adiuueris. Satis instructus videtur pecunia et gratia, in quibus alijsque officijs amicitiæ feci illi, si vellet, mei copiam. Deus Optimus maximus hominis votis atque alacritati faueat, initia secundet, successus fortunet, exitum fœlicissimum concedat. Vale amice ac Domine singularis.

Carrah Colmakest Cathaya.

Arusburgi ad Ossellam fluuium 20. Februarij 1581.

Tuus quantus quantus sum
Ioannes Balakus.

The same in English.

To the famous and renowned Gerardus Mercator, his Reuerend and singular friend at Duisburgh in Clieueland, these be deliuered.

CAlling to remembrance (most deare Friend) what exceeding delight you tooke at our being together, in reading the Geographicall writings of Homer, Strabo, Aristotle, Plinie, Dion, and the rest, I reioyced not a little that I happened vpon such a messenger as the bearer of these presents, (whom I do especially recommend vnto you) who arrived lately here at Arusburg vpon the riuer of Osella. This mans experience (as I am of opinion) will greatly

auaile you to the knowledge of a certaine matter which hath bene by you so vehemently desired, and so curiously laboured for, and concerning the which the late Cosmographers do hold such varietie of opinions: namely, of the discouerie of the huge promontorie of Tabin, and of the famous and rich countreys subiect vnto the Emperor of Cathay, and that by the Northeast Ocean sea. The man is called * Alferius being by birth a Netherlander, who for certaine yeeres liued captiue in the dominions of Russia vnder two famous men Yacouius and Vnekius, by whom he was sent to Antwerp to procure skilfull Pilots and Mariners, (by propounding liberall rewards) to go vnto the two famous personages aforesayd, which two had set a Sweden Shipwright on worke to build two ships for the same discouerie vpon the riuer of Dwina. The passage vnto Cathay by the Northeast (as he declareth the matter, albeit without arte, yet very aptly, as you may well perceiue, which I request you diligently to consider) is without doubt very short and easie. This very man himselfe hath trauelled to the riuer of Ob, both by land, through the countreys of the Samoeds, and of Sibier, and also by Sea, along the coast of the riuer Pechora Eastward. Being encouraged by this his experience he is fully resolued with himselfe to conduct a Barke laden with merchandize (the keele whereof hee will not haue to drawe ouer much water) to the Baie of Saint Nicholas in Russia, being furnished with all things expedient for such a discouerie, and with a new supply of victuals at his arriuall there, and also to hire into his companie certaine Russes best knowen vnto himselfe, who can perfectly speake the Samoeds language, and are acquainted with the riuer of Ob, as hauing frequented those places yeere by yeere.

*Or Oliuer.

Two ships built vpon the riuer of Dwina for the Northeast discouerie.

Whereupon about the ende of May hee is determined to saile from the Baie of S. Nicholas Eastward, by the maine of Ioughoria, and so to the Easterly parts of Pechora, and to the Island which is called Dolgoia. And here also hee is purposed to obserue the latitudes, to suruey and describe the countrey, to sound the depth of the Sea, and to note the distances of places, where, and so oft as occasion shall be offered. And forasmuch as the Baie of Pechora is a most conuenient place both for harbour and victuall, as well in their going foorth as in their returne home in regard of Ice and tempest, he is determined to bestow a day in sounding the Flats, and in

The Island of Dolgoia.

searching out the best entrance for ships: in which place heretofore he found the water to be but fiue foote deepe, howbeit he doubteth not but that there are deeper chanels: and then hee intendeth to proceed on along those coasts for the space of three or foure leagues, leaving the Island called Vaigats almost in the middle way betweene Vgoria and Noua Zembla: then also to passe by a certaine Baie betweene Vaigats and Ob, trending Southerly into the land of Vgoria, whereinto fall two small riuers called *Marmesia and Carah, vpon the which riuers doe inhabite an other barbarous and sauage nation of the Samoeds. He found many Flats in that tract of land, and many cataracts or ouerfals of water, yet such as hee was able to saile by. When hee shall come to the riuer of Ob, which riuer (as the Samoeds report) hath seuentie mouthes, which by reason of the huge breadth thereof containing many and great Islands, which are inhabited with sundry sortes of people, no man scarcely can well discouer, because he will not spend too much time, he purposeth to search three or foure at the most of the mouthes thereof, those chiefly which shall be thought most commodious by the aduise of the inhabitants, of whom hee meaneth to haue certaine with him in his voyage, and meaneth to employ three or foure boates of that Countrey in search of these mouthes, as neere as possibly he can to the shore, which within three dayes iourney of the Sea is inhabited, that he may learne where the riuer is best nauigable. If it so fall out that he may sayle vp the riuer Ob against the stream, and mount vp to that place which heretofore accompanied with certaine of his friends, he passed vnto by land through the countrey of Siberia which is about twelue dayes iourney from the Sea, where the riuer Ob falleth into the Sea, which place is in the Continent neere the riuer Ob, and is called Yaks Olgush, borowing his name from that mightie riuer which falleth into the riuer Ob, then doubtlesse hee would conceiue full hope that hee had passed the greatest difficulties: for the people dwelling thereabout report, which were three dayes sayling onely from that place beyond the riuer Ob, whereby the bredth thereof may be gathered (which is a rare matter there, because that many rowing with their boates of leather one dayes iourney onely from the shore, haue bene cast away in tempest, hauing no skill to guide themselues neither by Sunne

The Island of Vaigats.

A Baie betweene Vaigats and Ob trending Southerly.

*Or, Naramsey and Cara Reca.

The place vpon the riuer Ob, where he was but 12. dayes iourney from ye mouthes thereof, and is called Yaks Olgush.

nor Starre) that they haue seene great vessels laden with rich and precious merchandize brought downe that great riuer by blacke or swart people. They call that riuer *Ardoh, which falleth into the lake of Kittay, which they call Paraha, whereupon bordereth that mighty and large nation which they call Carrah Colmak, which is none other then the nation of Cathay. There, if neede require, he may fitly Winter and refresh himselfe and his, and seeke all things which he shall stand in need of: which if it so fall out, he doubteth not but in the meane while he shall be much furthered in searching and learning out many things in that place. Howbeit, he hopeth that hee shall reach to Cathaya that very Sommer, vnlesse he be hindered by great abundance of Ice at the mouth of the riuer of Ob, which is sometimes more, and sometimes lesse. If it so fall out, he then purposeth to returne to Pechora, and there to Winter: or if he cannot doe so neither, then hee meaneth to returne to the riuer of Dwina, whither he will reach in good time enough, and so the next Spring following to proceed on his voyage. One thing in due place I forgate before.

* M. Ienkinson in his voyage to Boghar speaketh of the riuer Ardok.

The people which dwell at that place called Yaks Olgush, affirme that they haue heard their forefathers say, that they haue heard most sweete harmonie of bels in the lake of Kitthay, and that they haue seene therein stately and large buildings: and when they make mention of the people named Currah Colmak (this countrey is Cathay) they fetch deepe sighes, and holding vp their hands, they looke vp to heauen, signifiying as it were, and declaring the notable glory and magnificence of that nation. I would this Oliuer were better seene in Cosmographie, it would greatly further his experience, which doubtlesse is very great. Most deare friend, I omit many things, and I wish you should heare the man himselfe which promised mee faithfully that he would visite you in this way at Duisburg, for he desireth to conferre with you, and doubtlesse you shall very much further the man. He seemeth sufficiently furnished with money and friends, wherein and in other offices of curtesie I offered him my furtherance if it had pleased him to haue vsed me. The Lord prosper the mans desires and forwardnesse, blesse his good beginnings, further his proceedings, and grant vnto him most happy issue. Fare you well good sir and my singular friend. From Arusburg vpon the riuer of Ossella, the 20. of February, 1581.

Yours wholly at commandement,

Iohn Balak.

MAster Anthonie Ienkinson in a disputation before her Maiestie with sir Humfrey Gilbert for proofe of a passage by the Northeast to Cathaya, among other things alleageth this: videlicet, that there came a continuall streame or currant through Mare glaciale, of such swiftnesse as a Colmak told him, that if you cast any thing therein, it would presently be caried out of sight towards the West, &c.

A testimonie of the Northeasterne Discouerie made by the English, and of the profite that may arise by pursuing the same: taken out of the second volume of Nauigations and Voyages, fol. 17. of the notable Cosmographer M. Iohn Baptista Ramusius, Secretarie to the State of Venice: Written in Italian in the yeere, 1557.

DAlla parte poi di sotto la nostra Tramontana, che chiascuno scrittore et Cosmographo di questi et de passati tempi fin'hora vi ha messo e mette mare congelato, et che la terra corra continuamente fino a 90. gradi verso il Polo: sopro questa mappa-mondo all' incontro si vede che la terra và solamente vn poco sopra la Noruega et Suetia, e voltando corre poi Greco e Leuante nel paese della Moscouia et Rossia, et và diritto al Cataio. Et che cio sia la verità, le nauigationi che hanno fatte gl' Inglesi con le loro naui, volendo andare à scoprire il Cataio al tempo del Re Odoardo Sesto d'Inghilterra, questi anni passati, ne possono far vera testimonianza: perche nel mezzo del loro viaggio, capitate per fortuna a i liti di Moscouia doue trouarano all' hora regnare Giouanni Vasiliuich Imperatore della Rossia e gran Duca di Moscouia, il quale con molto piacere e marauiglia vedutogli, fece grandissime carezze, hanno trouato quel mare essere nauigabile, e non agghiacciato. La qual nauigatione (ancor che con l'esito fin hora non sia stata bene intesa) se col spesso frequentarla et col lungo vso et cognitione de que' mari si continuerà, è per fare grandissima mutatione et riuolgimento nelle cose di questa nostra parte del mondo.

The same in English.

MOreouer (hauing before spoken of diuers particularities, in an excellent Map of Paulus Venetus) on that part subiect to our North pole, where euery writer and Cosmographer of these and of former times hitherto, haue, and doe place the frozen Sea, and that the land stretcheth continually to 90. degress, towards the pole: contrarywise, in this mappe is to bee seene, that the land extendeth onely a litle aboue Norway and Swethland, and then turning it selfe trendeth afterwards towards the Southeast and by East, vnto the countrey of Moscouie and Russia, and stretcheth directly vnto Cathay. And that this is true, the nauigations which the English men haue of late made, intending to discouer Cathay, in the time of Edward the sixt, king of England, are very sufficient witnesses. For in the mids of their voiage, lighting by chance vpon the coast of Moscouie (where they found then reigning Iohn Vasiliwich Emperor of Russia, and great Duke of Moscouia, who after he had, to his great delight and admiration, seene the English men, entertained them with exceeding great curtesies) found this sea to be nauigable, and not frozen.

The great hope of the Northeasterne discouerie.

Which nauigation to Cathay, although it be not as yet throughly knowen, yet if with often frequenting the same, and by long vse and knowledge of those seas it bee continued, it is like to make a wonderfull change and reuolution in the state of this our part of the world.

The testimonie of Gerardus Mercator in his last large Mappe of Europe, touching the notable discoueries of the English, made of Moscouie by the Northeast.

MAgnam occasionem certámque rationem emendandæ Europæ nobis attulit celeberrima Anglorum per Cronium mare nauigatio: quæ littora Septentrionalia Finlappiæ Moscouiæque iuxta cœli situm, mundíque plagas digesta habet. Exacta etiam vrbis Moscuæ latitudo ab Anglis obseruata, interiorum Regionum emendatiùs describendarum infallibilem legem præscripsit: Quibus oblatis adminiculis pulcherrimis, iniquum putaui tabulam hanc castigatiorem non reddere.

The same in English.

THe most famous nauigation of the English men by the Northeast sea hath offered vnto me a great occasion, and certaine direction for the reformation of the mappe of Europe: which discouerie hath the Northerne parts of Finmarke, Lapland, and Moscouie, laied out according to the iust eleuation and the quarters of the world. And further, the true obseruation of the latitude of the city of Mosco, made by the foresaid Englishmen, hath yeelded me an infallible rule, for the correcting of the situation of the inland countries: which notable helps being ministred vnto me, I thought it my duetie to exhibite to the world this Mappe, more exact and perfect then hitherto it hath bene published.

Another testimonie of Ioannes Metellus Sequanus concerning the same Nauigation and Discouerie in his Preface prefixed before Osorius de rebus gestis Emanuelis Regis Portugalliæ, written about the yeere, 1574.

AT ne omnis, vnis Hispanis, Oceani maris gloria totáque concederetur, Britanni Septentriones noua in Moscouiam nauigatione, ab hinc annis viginti plus minùs illustrarunt. Nam bellis Sueticis à Moscouitarum, Naruæque Liuoniæ exclusi commercio, iter ad illos Oceano, hinc Noruegiæ, Finmarchiæ, Lappiæ, Scricfinniæ, Biarmiæque; illinc Groenlandiæ littora præteruecti, vltrà Septuagesimum latitudinis Aquilonaris gradum sibi patefaciunt. Quam nauigationem Belgæ posteà, non sine tamen cum ijsdem Britannis velitatione, sunt secuti. Eò vehunt argenti veteris fragmenta, lineásque vestes propè detritas, omnísque generis minutiores merces, ad vsum, cultúmque corporis hominum vtriusque sexus, veluti lintea et byssea cingula, periscelides, crumenas, cultros, et id genus sexcenta. A Moschis autem pelles omnis generis pretiosas adferunt, et salmones salitos, fumóque duratos.

The same in English.

BVt least all and the whole glory of discouering the Ocean sea should be ascribed to the Spaniards, the Englishmen about twentie yeeres past, by a new nauigation into Moscouie, discouered the Northeast partes. For they by reason of the warres of Swethland being hindered from the traffique of the Moscouites and of the Narue in Liefland, opened a passage for themselues by the Ocean sea, beyond the Northerne latitude of 70. degrees: hauing in their course on the one side the coastes of Norway, Finmark, Lapland, Scrickfin and Biarmia: On the other side the coast of Gronland. Which voyage the Hollanders afterwarde entred into, but not without some conflict with the English. They cary thither old plate and course linnen cloth, and all kind of small Mercerie wares, seruing for the apparelling of men and women, as linnen, and silke girdles, garters, purses, kniues, and many such like things. And they bring away from the Moscouites, all kinde of precious Furres, and Salmons salted and dried in the smoke.

CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN EUROPE.

A Catalogue of the great Masters of the Order of the Dutch knights, commonly called the Hospitalaries of Ierusalem: and what great exploites euery of the saide Masters hath atchieued, either in conquering the land of Prussia, or in taming and subduing the Infidels, or els in keeping them vnder their obedience and subiection, taken out of Munster.

THe order of the Dutch knights had their first original at Ierusalem in the yere of our Lorde 1190. within the Hospitall of the blessed Virgine: and the first Master of the saide order was called Henrie of Walpot, vnder whome many good things, and much wealth and riches were throughout all Germanie and Italie procured vnto the order: and the saide Hospitall was remoued from Ierusalem vnto Ptolemais, otherwise called Acon, and the foresaid Order grew and mightily increased, whereof I will hereafter discourse more at large in my Treatise of Syria. Henrie of Walpot deceased in the yeere of Christ 1200. The 2. Master was Otto of Kerpen, and he continued Master of the Order for the space of sixe yeeres. The 3. was Hermannus Bart a godly and deuout person, who deceased in the yeere 1210. being interred at Acon, as his predecessors were. The 4. was Hermannus de Saltza, who thirtie yeeres together gouerned the saide Order, and managed the first expedition of warre against the Infidels of Prussia, and ordained another Master also in Prussia to bee his Deputie in the same region. In the yeere 1239. the knights of the sword, who trauailed into Liuonia to conuert the inhabitants thereof vnto Christ, seeing they were not of sufficient force to performe that enterprise, and that their enemies increased on all sides, they vnited themselues vnto the famous Order of the Dutch knights in Prussia, that their worthie attempt might bee defended and promoted by the aide and assistance of the saide Dutch knights. At the very same time the ensigne of the crosse was exalted throughout all Germanie against the Prussians, and a great armie of souldiers was gathered together, the Burgraue of Meidenburg being generall of the armie, who combining themselues vnto the Dutch knights, ioyned battell with the Infidels, and slew about fiue hundred Gentiles, who beforetime had made horrible inuasions and in-roades into the dominions of Christians, wasting all with fire and sword, but especially the land of Colm, and Lubonia, which were the Prouinces of Conradus Duke of Massouia. Nowe, the foresaide knights hauing made so huge a slaughter, built the castle of Reden, betweene Pomerania and the land of Colm, and so by degrees they gotte footing in the lande, and daylie erected more castles, as namely, Crutzburg, Wissenburg, Resil, Bartenstein, Brunsburg, and Heilsburg, and furnished them all with garrisons. The fift Master of the Order was Conradus Landgrauius, the brother of Lodouick, which was husband vnto Ladie Elizabeth. This Conradus, by his fathers inheritance, gaue great riches and possessions vnto the Order, and caused Ladie Elizabeth to be interred at Marpurg, within the religious house of his saide Order. Vnder the gouernment of this Master, Acon in the lande of Palestina was subdued vnto the Saracens. Moreouer, in the yeere 1254. there was another great armie of Souldiers prepared against Prussia, by the Princes of Germanie. For Octacer, aliàs Odoacer king of Bohemia, Otto Marques of Brandeburg, the Duke of Austria, the Marques of Morauia, the Bishops of Colen and of Olmutz came marching on with great strength of their Nobles and common Souldiers, and inuading the laden of Prussia in the

Ensiferi fratres.

The first war moued against the Prussian infidels, anno dom. 1239.

Winter season, they constrained the inhabitants thereof to receiue the Christian faith, and to become obedient vnto the knights. After which exploite, by the aduise and assistance of king Odoacer, there was a castle built vpon a certaine hill of Samogitia, which immediately after grewe to be a great citie, being at this day the seate of the Prince of Prussia: and it was called by Odoacer Kunigsburg, that is to say, Kings Mount, or Mount royall, being finished in the yeere 1255. Out of this fort the knights did bridle and restraine the furie of the Infidels on all sides, and compelled them to obedience. The sixt Master was called Boppo ab Osterna, vnder whom the citie of Kunigsberg was built. At the very same instant the knights beeing occupied about the warre of Curland, the Prussians conspiring together, and abandoning the Christian faith, in furious maner armed themselues against ye Christian, defaced and burnt down Churches, slew Priests, and to the vtmost of their abilitie, banished all faithful people. The report of which misdemeanour being published throughout all Germanie, an huge armie was leuied and sent forthe defence and succour of the knights, which marching into the land of Natan, made many slaughters, and through the inconstancie of fortune sometimes woonne, andsometimes lost the victorie. Also the Infidels besieged these three castles, namely, Barstenstein, Crutzberg and Kunigsberg, and brought extreame famine vpon the Christians contained within the saide fortes. Againe, in the yeere of our Lord 1262. the Earle of Iuliers, with other Princes and great chiualrie came downe, and giuing charge vpon the Prussians, put three thousand of them to the edge of the sworde. Afterward the Prussians banding themselues together, were determined to spoile the castle of Kunigsberg, but their confederacie being disclosed, they had the repulse. And when the knightes had preuailed against them, they laide in pledges, and yet for all that were not afraid to breake their fidelitie. For vpon a certaine time, after they had giuen diuers pledges, they slewe two noble knights of the Order, and so by that meanes incensed the principall of the saide order, insomuch that they caused two paire of gallons to be set vp besides the castle, and thirtie of the Prussians pledges to be hanged therupon. Which seueritie so vexed and prouoked the Prussians, that in reuenge of the said iniury, they renewed bloody and cruel warres, slew many Christians, yea, and put 40. knights with the master of the Order, and the

The Prussians abandon Christianitie.

Marshal, vnto the edge of the sword. There was at the same instant in Pomerania a Duke called Suandepolcus, professing the Christian faith, but being ioyned in league with the Prussians, he indeuoured for many yeeres, not onely to expell the knights, but all Christians whatsoeuer out of the lande of Prussia, in which warre the foresaide knights of the Order suffered many abuses. For they lost almost all their castles, and a great number of themselves also were slaine. This Suandepolcus put in practise many lewde attempts against religion. For albeit he was baptised, he did more mischiefe then the very Infidels themselues, vntill such time as the knights being assisted by the Princes of Germanie, brought the saide Duke and the Prussians also into such straights, that (maugre their heads) they were constrained to sue for peace. Afterward Swandepolcus lying at the point of death, admonished his sonnes that they should not doe any iniurie vnto the knights of the order, affirming that himselfe neuer prospered so long as he vrged warre against them. Howbeit his sonnes for a certaine time obserued not their fathers counsel, vntill at length one of them named Warteslaus, was created one the Order, and the other called Samborus bestowed by legacie his goods and possessions vpon the saide Order, receiving maintenance and exhibition from the saide Order, during the terme of his life. It fortuned also vnder the gouernment of the foresayde Master Boppo, that one Syr Martine a Golin beeing accompanied with another knight, went into the countrey to see howe the Prussians were imployed. And meeting with three Prussians, they slew two, and the thirde they reserued to guide them the directest way. But this guide betrayed them into their enemies handes. Which when they perceived, they slewe the Traytour. Then fiue Prussian horsemen came riding and tooke them, deliuering them bounde to the custodie of two. And the other three pursued the horses of the two, which broke loose in the time of the fraye. And they tarying somewhat long, the other two woulde haue beheaded the two Knightes in the meane season. And as one of them was striking with his drawen sworde, at the neck of Sir Martine, hee said vnto them: Sirs, you doe vnwisely in that you take not off my garment before it bee defiled with blood. They therefore loosing the cordes wherewith hee was bounde, to take off his garment, set his armes more at libertie. Which Syr Martine well perceiuing reached his keeper such a boxe, that his sworde fell to the grounde. Which hee with all speede taking

A memorable stratageme.

vp, slewe both the keepers and vnbounde his fellowe Knight. Moreouer, seeing the other three Prussians comming furiously vpon them, with stoute couragious hearts they made towarde the saide Prussians, and slew them, and so escaped the danger of death. The seuenth great Master was Hanno de Sangershusen, who deceased in the yeere one thousand two hundreth seuentie fiue. The eight was Hartmannus ab Heldringen who deceased in the yeere 1282. The ninth was Burckardus a Schuuenden beeing afterwarde made knight of the order of Saint Iohns. The tenth was Conradus a Feuchtuuang: vnder this man the Citie of Acon in Palestina was sacked by the Soldan, and manie people were slayne. The Templars which were therein returned home out of Fraunce, where they had great reuenewes. The Knightes of Saint Iohn, who also had an Hospitall at Acon, changed their place, and went into the Isle of Cyprus, and from thence departing vnto Rhodes, they subdued that Islande vnto themselues. Nowe the Dutch Knights abounded with wealth and possessions throughout all Germanie, beeing Lordes of a good part of Prussia, Liuonia, and Curland, whose chiefe house was then at Marpurg, til such time as it was remooued vnto Marieburg, a Towne of Prussia. The eleuenth great Master was Godfrey Earle of Hohenloe. Vnder this man the knights sustained a great ouerthrow in Liuonia : but hauing strengthned their armie, they slewe neere vnto Rye foure thousande of their enemies. The twelfth Master was Sifridus a Feuchtuuang. Vnder this man, the principall house of the Order was translated from Marpurg to Marieburg, which in the beginning was established at Acon, and from thence was remooued vnto Venice, and from Venice vnto Marpurg. This Sifridus deceased in the yeere 1341. The thirteenth Master was called Charles Beffart of Triers. This man built a fort vpon the riuer of Mimmel, and it was named Christmimmel. The foureteenth was Warnerus ab Orsele, whome a certaine knight of the Order slewe with his sworde. The 15. was Ludolphus Duke of Brunswick, who built the Towne of Ylgenburg, and deceased 1352. The sixteenth was Theodoricus Earle of Aldenborg, and hee built the Towne of Bartenstein. The seuenteenth was Ludolphus sirnamed King. The eighteenth was Henrie a Tusimer. The nineteenth Winricus a Knoppenrodt. In this mans time the knights took the king of the Lithuanians named Kinstut captiue, and kept him prisoner in Marieburg halfe a yeere, but by the helpe of a seruaunt, hauing broken out of the Castle, hee escaped away by night. But fearing that hee was layde waite for in all places, hee left his horse, and went on foote through vnknowen pathes. In the day time hee hidde himselfe in secrete places, and in the night hee continued his iourney vntil hee came vnto Massouia. But all the Knightes ioye was turned into sorrowe, after they had lost so great an enemie. The twentieth grand Master was Conradus Zolner of Rotenstein. The one and twentieth Conradus Walenrod. The two and twentieth Conradus a Iungingen, who deceased in the yeere one thousand foure hundreth and seuen. The three and twentieth Vlricus a Iungingen. This man dyed in battell in the yeere one thousand foure hundreth and tenne: which battell was fought against Vladislaus Father of Casimire. Both partes had leuied mightie and huge forces: vnto the Polonians the Lithuanians and the Tartars had ioyned themselues, ouer whome one Vitoldus was captaine: the Dutch Knights had taken vp Souldiers out of all Germanie. And when eache armie had encamped themselues one within twentie furlongs of another, (hoping for victorie and impatient of delay) the great Master of the Prussians sent an Herault to denounce warre vnto the King, and immediately (alarme beeing giuen) it is reported that there were in both armies fourtie thousand horsemen in a readinesse. Vladislaus commaunded the Lithuanians and the Tartars to giue the first onsette, and placed the Polonians in the rerewarde of the battell: on the contrarie side, the Prussians regarded least of all to reserue any strong troupes behinde, which might rescue such as were wearie, and renewe the fight, if neede shoulde require, but set forwarde the flower and chiualrie of all his Souldiers in the verie forefront of the battell. The charge beeing giuen certaine vnarmed Tartars and Lithuanians were slaine handsmooth: howbeit the multitude pressed on, neither durst the fearefull Polonians turne their backes, and so a cruell battell was fought vpon the heapes of dead carkases. The combate continued a long time, terrible slaughters were committed, and the Lithuanians and Tartars were slaine like sheepe. But when newe and fresh enemies continually issued foorth, the Dutch knights being wearied, began to fight more faintly. Which Vladislaus no sooner perceiued, but in all haste hee sends forwarde his mightie and well armed bande of Polonians, who suddenly breaking in renewed the skirmish. The Dutch were

This man sent an ambassage to Richard the Second.

not able to withstand the furie of the fresh troupes (great oddes there is betweene the wearied Souldier and him that comes in a fresh) insomuch that the knights with their people were constrained to flee. The master of the Order seeing his souldiers giue way vnto the enemie, gathered a companie together, and withstoode him in the face, howbeit himselfe was slaine for his labour, the flight of his people proued greater and more dishonourable, neither did the Dutch cease to flee, so long as the Polonian continued the chase. There fell on the Knights partie manie thousands of men, and the Polonians gotte not the victorie without great spoile and damage. This battell was foughten in regard of the bounds of regions in the yeere 1410. All Prussia following the happie successe of the Polonian king (except Marieburg onely) yeelded themselues vnto him being Conquerour. Howbeit the Emperour Sigismund taking vp the quarell, peace was ordained between the knights and Polonia, and a league concluded, certaine summes of money also were paide vnto the Polonian, Prussia was restored vnto the knights, neither was the saide order disturbed in the possession of their lands vntill the time of Friderick. The 24. Master was Henrie Earle of Plaen. This man being deposed by the Chapter, was 7. yeres holden prisoner at Dantzik. The 25. Master was Michael Kuchenmeister, that is, master of the Cookes of Sternberg. The 26. was Paulus a Russdorff. The 27. Conradus ab Ellerichshausen. This man, after diuers and sundry conflicts betweene the Dutch knights, and the king of Polonia, concluded a perpetuall league with the saide king. Howbeit the citizens of Dantzig secretely going about to obteyne their freedome, that the foresaide Order might haue no dominion ouer them, made sute vnto the Polonian king to be their Protector. This Conradus died in the yeere1450. The 28. was Lewis ab Ellerichshausen. Vnder this man there arose a dangerous sedition in Prussia betweene the chiefe cities and the knights of the Order. The citizens demanded libertie, complaining that they were oppressed with diuers molestations. Whereupon they priuily made sute vnto Casimir then king of Polonia. The Master of the Order seeing what would come to passe began to expostulate with the king, that he kept not the peace which had bene concluded betweene them to last for euer. Also Frederick the Emperour commaunded the Prussians to returne vnto the obedience of the knights, who by the dint of their swordes had released that prouince out of the hands of Infidels, and had bought it with the shedding of much blood.

Notwithstanding the popular sort persisting stil in their stubborne determination, proceeded at length to open warre. The cities adhearing vnto the king vsurped diuers Castles belonging to the Master, tooke certain Commanders and knights, yea, and some they slewe also. Fiftie and fiue townes conspired together in that rebellion: but thinking their estate and strength not sure enough against their own gouernors without forrein aide, they chose king Casimir to be their lord. Heereupon the Polonian king marched into Prussia with a great armie, taking possession of such cities as yeelded themselues vnto him, and proceeding forward against Marieburg, besieged the castle and the towne. In the meane season the Master hauing hired an armie of Germane souldiers, suddenly surprised the king at vnawares in his tents, and slewe about 300. Polonians, tooke prisoners 136. noblemen, spoiled their tents, tooke away their horses, victuals, and armour, insomuch that the king himselfe hardly escaped vpon one horse. These things came to passe in the yeere 1455. The Master hauing thus obtained the victorie, sent his armie into the countrey, and recouered the castles and cities which he had lost, to the number of 80. putting many of his enemies also vnto the sword. Moreouer, he recouered Kunigsberg being one of the foure principall cities, which are by name Thorne, Elburg, Kunigsberg, and Gdanum, that is to say, Dantzig. And when the warre was longer protracted then the Master could well beare, and a whole yeres wages was vnpaid vnto his captains, those captaines which were in the garrison of Marieburg conspired against the Master, and for a great summe of money betrayed the castle of Marieburg vnto the king. Which practise beeing knowen, the Master fled to Kunigsberg, and newe warre was begunne, and great spoile and desolation was wrought on both sides: vntill at length, after composition made, the king retayned Pomerella, and all the castles and townes therein, together with Marieburg and Elburg: and the master inioyed Samaitia, Kunigsberg, &c. This composition was concluded in the yere 1466. The 29. Master was Henrie Reuss, first being deputie, and afterwarde Master of Prussia. The 30. was Henrie a Richtenberg, who deceased in the yeere 1477. The 31. called Martine Truchses died in the yeere 1489. The 32. Iohn a Tieflen died in the yeere 1500. The 33. being Duke of Saxonie, and marques of Misn, deceased in the yeere 1510. This

The great master ouercommeth the king of Polonia.

The king by treason ouerthroweth the Master.

man began to call in question, whether the foresaid composition concluded betweene the king of Polonia, and the Order, were to bee obserued or no? especially sithence [*] it conteined certaine articles against equitie and reason. Whereupon he appealed vnto the Bishop of Rome, vnto the Emperor, vnto the princes and electors of Germany, and preuailed with them so farre forth, that there was a day of hearing appointed at Posna in Polonia. And the Legates of both parts meeting heard complaints and excuses, and dispatched no other businesse. In the meane time Prince Frederick deceased in the tenth yeere of his gouernment. The 34. Master was Albertus marques of Brandenburg, [†] whom the King of Polonia did so grieuously molest with war, and oppressed all Prussia with such extreme rigour, that the Prince of the countrey was constrained to make a league of foure yeeres with him, and to yeeld vnto such conditions, as turned to the vtter ouerthrowe of the whole Order. And amongst other conditions are these which follow. Sithence that the originall of all discorde betweene Polonia and the order doeth from hence arise, for that hitherto in Prussia, no lawfull heyre and successor hath borne rule and authority, but diuers and sundry haue had the gouernment thereof, by whose meanes the nations haue bene prouoked one against another, much Christian blood hath bin shed, the lands and inhabitants grieuously spoiled, and many widowes and Orphans made: the Popes, Emperors, and Princes being often solicited for the establishing of that perpetual league, which Casimir hath heretofore concluded &c. Sithence also that the truce which hath bene agreed vpon of both parties is in short time to be expired, and that it is to bee feared, that bloody warres will then be renewed, and that all things will proue worse and worse, vnlesse some lawfull composition be made, and some good and wholesome deuise be put in practise, as well for the benefit of the King and of his posteritie, as for the commoditie ot the whole common weale of Prussia, especially considering that Albertus the Marques refuseth not to submitte himselfe to the Councell of the King, &c.

---

[*] Since, from *siththan*, SAX.

> But, fair Fidessa, *sithens* fortune's guile,
> Or enimies power hath now captiv'd thee.
>
> SPENS. *Fairie Queene*, I., IV., 57.

[†] Albrecht of Anspach and Baireuth, a scion of the Hohenzollerns. He was a man of will and capacity, who reinvigorated the order of the Teuton knights by renouncing Roman Catholicism and embracing Lutheranism, while he consolidated its influence by erecting Prussia into a Duchy, whose crown he placed on his own brow in 1525. After a prosperous reign he died in 1550, and his son, having lost his reason, the elector John Sigismund of Hohenzollern obtained the ducal crown in right of his wife Anna, daughter of Duke Albert.

The Oration or speech of the Ambassadours sent from Conradus de Zolner Master generall of the land of Prussia, vnto Richard the second, King of England, and France, &c.

The messengers which are sent from the Master generall of the land of Prussia, doe propound and declare the affaires and negotiations vnderwritten.

The ancient assistance of the kings of England againstinfidels.

WHereas it is apparant, that diuers and sundrie times heeretofore, your famous progenitours and predecessours the kings of England haue alwaies bene gratious promoters and speciall friends vnto the generall Masters of the land of Prussia, and of the whole order: whereas also they haue vouchsafed, by their Barons, Knights, and other their nobles of the kingdome of England, vnto the Masters and order aforesaide, sundry and manifolde fauourable assistance in the conquest of the Infidels (in whose steppes your excellent Maiestie insisting, haue, in these your dayes shewed your selfe in like sort right graciously affected vnto the Master generall which nowe is, and vnto his famous Predecessour) in due consideration of the premisses, and in regard also of diuers other affaires, which are at this present to be propounded vnto your Highnes, the foresaid Master general which now is hath caused vs his messengers to be sent with letters of credence vnto your Maiestie: humbly praying, and earnestly beseeching your roial clemency, that in times to come, the said Master general, his successors, and our whole Order may of your bounty most graciously obtaine the same fauour, beneuolence, and stedfast amity and friendship, which hath bin continued from the times of your foresaid predecessors: in regard whereof we do offer the said Master of ours, and our whole company, vnto your highnes, as your perpetual and deuote friends. Notwithstanding (most souereigne Prince) certaine other things we haue to propound vnto your Grace, in the name and behalfe of our saide Master and Order, by way of complaint, namely, that at certaine times past, and especially within the space of x. yeeres last expired, his subiects and marchants haue sustained sundry damages and ablations of their goods, by diuers subiects and inhabitants of your realme of England, and that very often both by sea and land: the which, for the behalf, and by the appointment of the Master general aforesaid, and of his predecessor, are put downe in registers, and recorded in the writings of his cities in the land of Prussia. Of which parties damnified, some haue obtained letters from the Master general that now is, and also from his predecessor, vnto your renoumed grandfather K. Edward of famous memory, and sundry times vnto your highnes also, to haue restitution made for their goods taken from them: whereby they haue nothing at al preuailed, but heaping losse vpon losse haue misspent their time and their charges: both because they were not permitted to propound and exhibit their complaints and letters before your maiesty, and also for diuers other impediments. Certain of them also considering how others of their countriemen had laboured in vain, and fearing the like successe, haue troubled the Master general very often with grieuous and sundry complaints, crauing and humbly beseeching at his hands, that he would vouchsafe graciously to prouide for them as his faithful and loial subiects, as touching the restitution of their losses: especially seeing y^t so much wealth of the English marchants was euery yeere to be found in Prussia, as being arrested, they might obtaine some reasonable satisfaction for their losses. Which thing the Master general aforesaid and his predecessor also haue deferred vnto this present (albeit to ye great losse of their subiects) therby hauing meere and principal respect vnto those special curtesies and fauours which your excellent Maiesty and your worthy progenitors haue right gratiously vouchsafed vpon our Masters and Order: neither yet for the iniuries aforesaid, was there euer any maner of offence, or molestation offered vnto any of your subiects noble or ignoble whatsoeuer. Moreouer, in the name and behalfe of our foresaid Ma. general we do propound vnto your excellency by way of complaint, that in the yere last past, 6 dayes after ye feast of the Ascension, certain persons of your realm of England, with their ships and captains comming vnto the port of Flanders, named Swen, and finding there, amongst sundry other, 6. ships of Prussia resident, which had there arriued w^t diuers goods and marchandises: and

Edward the 3.

being informed that they were of Prussia, and their friends, they caused them and their ships to remain next vnto their owne ships, protesting vnto them, that they should in no sort be molested or damnified by themselues or by any other of their company, and that they would faithfully defend them, as if they were their own people, from ye hands of their aduersaries: and for their farther security and trust, they deliuered some of their own men and their standerds into our mens ships: howbeit a while after being stirred vp, and bent far otherwise, they took out of ye foresaid ships al kind of armors, wherwith they were to gard and defend themselues from pirats, and they deteined the masters of those ships, not suffring them to return vnto their own ships and companies, one also of ye said ships (hauing taken al the goods out of her) they consumed with fire. And within 3. daies after they came with one accord vnto ye abouenamed ships, and tooke away from them all goods and marchandises which they could find, and all the armour and weapons of the said ships, the chestes also of the marchants, of the ship-masters, and of other persons they brake open, taking out money, iewels, garments, and diuers other commodities: and so they inflicted vpon them irrecouerable losses and vnkind grieuances. And departing out of the foresaid hauen, they caried 2. of the Prussian ship-masters with them, as their captiues vnto an hauen of England called Sandwich. Who, being afterward released were compelled to sweare, that they should not declare ye iniuries offred vnto them, either before your roiall maiesty, or your hon. Councell, or your chancelor: neither were they permitted to come on shore. And being offred such hard measure, when they made pitiful mones and complaints vnto your foresaide subiects, amongst other matters they spake on this wise vnto them: Do you complain of iniuries and losses offered vnto you? Loe, in your own countrey of Prussia there are English marchants, and goods sufficient, go your waies home therfore, and recouer your losses, taking two for one: and in this maner they were left, and so departed. Afterward returning vnto ye land of Prussia, they and their friends repaired vnto the Mast. general, iointly and w^t^ one consent making their complaint vnto him of the losses which had bin inflicted vpon them by your subiects. And prostrating themselues at his feet, they all and euery of them made their humble sutes, y^t^ he would haue compassion on them, as vpon his poore subiects, regarding themselues, their wiues, and children, and pitying their distres, and penury, and that he would graciously procure some redresse for them. And when he offred his letters vnto them, wishing them to prosecute their cause before your highnes, they answered that they were no way able to defray the expenses, and that others, who were in like sort damnified, had laboured that way altogether in vain and to no purpose: beseeching him again and again, that he would by another kind of means, namely by arresting of your marchants and their goods procure them restitution of their losses. At length the Master general being moued by so many and so great complaints, and by the molestation of his subiects, caused (albeeit full sore against his will) a certaine portion of English marchants goods to be laid hold on, and to be arrested, in his cities of Elburg and Dantzik, and to be bestowed in sure places, vntil such time as he might conueniently by his messengers propound and exhibit all and singular the premisses vnto your highnes. And forasmuch as the foresaid Master general and our Order do know no iust occasion, wherby they haue deserued your maiesties indignation, but are firmely and most vndoubtedly perswaded, to finde all curtesie, fauour, and friendship at your Highnesse, according to your wonted clemencie: the said Master generall therefore maketh no doubt, that al the aboue written damages and molestations, being in such sort, against God and iustice, offred vnto his subiects by yours, be altogether vnknown vnto your magnificence, and committed against your mind: wherfore presently vpon the foresaid arrest of your marchants goods, he dispatched his messengers vnto your roial maiesty. Wherof one deceased by the way, namely, in the territory of Holland: and the other remained sick in those parts for a long season: and so that ambassage took none effect. Wherefore the said master general was desirous to send vs now ye second time also vnto your Highnes. We do make our humble sute therfore, in the name and behalf of our master and Order aforesaid, vnto your kingly supremacy, that, hauing God and iustice before your eies, and also the dutifull and obsequious demeanor of the said master, and order towards you, you would vouchsafe to extend your gracious clemency, for the redresse of the premisses: wherby the foresaid losses may be restored and repaied vnto our subiects. All which notwithstanding, that it would please you of your wisedome and prouidence to procure so absolute a remedy, by meanes whereof, in time to come, such dealings and incon-

The arresting of the English goods and marchants.

ueniences may be auoided on both parts, and finally that your marchants may quietly be possessed of their goods arrested in Prussia, and our marchants may be admitted vnto the possession of their commodities attached in England, to conuert and apply them vnto such vses, as to themselues shal seem most conuenient. Howbeit (most gracious prince and lord) we are to sollicite your Highnesse, not onely about the articles to be propounded concerning the losses aforesaide, but more principally, for certain sinister reports and superstituous slanders, wherwith certaine of your subiects, not seeking for peace, haue falsly informed your maiesty, and your most honorable and discreete Councel: affirming that at the time of ye aforesaid arrest your marchants were barbarously intreated, that they were cast into lothsom prisons, drenched in myre and water vp to ye neck, restrained from al conference and company of men, and also that their meat was thrown vnto them, as a bone to a dog, with many other enormities, which they haue most slanderously deuised concerning the master general aforesaid, and his people, and haue published them in these dominions: vpon the occasion of which falshoods certain marchants of our parts, and of other regions of Alemain (who, of your special beneuolence, were indued with certaine priuileges and fauours in your citie of London, and in other places) were, as malefactors, apprehended and caried to prison, vntil such time as the trueth was more apparant. Whereupon, the foresaide master generall propoundeth his humble sute vnto your maiestie, that such enemies of trueth and concord, your Maiesty woulde vouchsafe in such sort to chastise, that they may be an example vnto others presuming to doe the like.

Moreouer, (high and mighty Prince and lord) it was reported vnto our Master general, that his former Legats required of your maiesty safe conduct freely to come into your highnesse Realme. Which when hee heard, he was exceedingly offended therat, sithence vndoubtedly they did not this at his commaundement or direction. We therefore humbly beseech your Grace, as touching this ouersight, to holde the Master generall excused, because there is no need of safeconduct, between so speciall friends.

Furthermore, sundry damages and complaints of the foresaid general Master, and his subiects are briefly exhibited, and put downe in the billes following. Also all and singular damnified persons, besides other proofes, were compelled to verifie their losses by their formall othes, taken vpon the holy Bible.

Lastly, we doe make our humble suite and petition vnto the prouidence and discretion of your Highnes, and of your honorable Councell, that concerning the premisses, and all other matters propounded, or to be propounded vnto your Maiesty, we may obtaine a speedy answere, and an effectuall end. For it would redound vnto our great charges and losse to make any long delayes.

An agreement made by the Ambassadors of England and Prussia, confirmed by king Richard the second.

RIchard by the grace of God, king of England, and France, and lorde of Ireland, To all, vnto whom these present letters shall come, greeting. We haue seene and considered the composition, ordination, concord, and treatie, betweene our welbeloued clearke, master Nicholas Stocket, licentiat in both lawes, Walter Sibel, and Thomas Graa, citizens of our cities of London and York, our messengers and ambassadors on the one part: and the honourable and religious personages, Conradus de Walrode, great commander, Sifridus Walpode de Bassenheim, chiefe hospitalary commander in Elburg, and Vlricus Hachenberg Treasurer, the messengers and ambassadors of the right reuerend and religious lord, lord Conradus Zolner de Rothenstein, master generall of the knightly order of the Dutch hospital of Saint Mary at Ierusalem on the other part, lately concluded and agreed vpon in these words. In the name of the supreame and indiuisible Trinitie, the Father, the Sonne, and holy Ghost, Amen. Forasmuch as the author of peace will haue peacemakers to be the sons of blessednes, and the execrable enemie of peace to be expelled out of the dominions of Christians: therefore for the perpetuall memorie of the thing, be it knowen vnto all men who shall see or heare the tenour of these presents: that there being matter of dissension and discord bred betweene the most renowmed prince and king, Richard by the grace of God king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, and his subiects on the one part: and the right reuerend and religious lord, lord Conradus Zolner de Rothinstein, Master generall of the knightly order of the Dutch hospitall of S. Marie at Ierusalem, and his land of Prussia, and his subiects also, on the other part: the foresaid lord and generall master, vpon mature counsell and deliberation had, sent his honourable ambassadours towards England vnto the forenamed most soueraigne prince and king, to propound and make their complaint vnto him of violence and iniuries offered (as it is sayd) by the English vnto the Prussians: in consideration whereof certaine goods of the marchants of England were arrested in the land of Prussia. Whose complaint the foresayd most gracious prince did courteously and friendly admit, receiue, and accept, and after many speeches vttered in this treaty, louingly dismissed them vnto their owne countrey againe, promising by his letters vnto the foresayd reuerend Master generall, that hee would dispatch his ambassadours vnto the land of Prussia. Whereupon, in the yeere 1388. he sent the hono: and reuerend 1388. personages Master Nicholas Stocket licentiate of both lawes, Thomas Graa, and Walter Sibill, citizens of London and Yorke, with sufficient authority and full commandement, to handle, discusse, and finally to determine the foresaid busines, and with letters of credence vnto the right reuerend lord and master generall aforesayd. Which ambassadours, together with Iohn Beuis of London their informer, and the letters aforesaid, and their ambassage, the said right reuerend lord and Master generall, at his castle of Marienburgh, the 28. of Iuly, in the yeare aforesaid, reuerently and honourably receiued and enterteined: and in his minde esteemed them worthy to treate and decide the causes aforesayd: and so vnto the sayd ambassadours he ioyned in commission on his behalfe, three of his owne counsellers, namely the honourable and religious personages Conradus de Walrode great commander, Seiffridus Walpode de Bassenheim chiefe hospitalary and commander in Elburg, Wolricus Hachenberger treasurer, being all of the order aforesaid. Which ambassadors so entreating about the premisses, and sundry conferences and consultations hauing passed between them, friendly and with one consent, concluded an agreement and concord in manner following: That is to say:

1. First, that all arrestments, reprisals, and impignorations of whatsoeuer goods and marchandises in England and Prussia, made before the date of these presents, are from henceforth quiet, free, and released, without all fraud and dissimulation: insomuch that the damages, charges and expenses occasioned on both parts by reason of the foresayd goods arrested, are in no case hereafter to be required or chalenged by any man: but the demaunds of any man whatsoeuer propounded in this regard, are and ought to be altogether frustrate and voide, and all

actions which may or shall be commenced by occasion of the sayd goods arrested, are to be extinct and of none effect.

Moreouer, it is secondly concluded and agreed, that all and singuler Prussians pretending themselues to be 2. iniuried by the English at the Porte of Swen, or elsewhere, howsoeuer, and whensoeuer, before the date of these presents, hauing receiued the letters of the foresaide right reuerende lord and Master generall, and of the cities of their abode, are to repayre towards England, vnto the sayd hon: embassadours, who are to assist them, and to propound and exhibite their complaintes, vnto the forenamed lord and king. The most gracious prince is bounde to doe his indeuor, that the parties damnified may haue restitution of their goods made vnto them, or at least complete iustice and iudgement without delay. Also in like manner all English men affirming themselues to haue bene endamaged by Prussians, wheresoeuer, howsoeuer, and whensoeuer, are to haue recourse vnto the often forenamed right reuerend lorde the Master generall, with the letters of their king and of the cities of their aboad, propounding their complaints and causes vnto him. Who likewise is bound to doe his indeuour that the sayd losses and damages may be restored, or at the least that speedie iudgement may be, without all delayes, executed. This caueat being premised in each clause, that it may and shall be freely granted and permitted vnto euery man that will ciuilly make his suite and complaint, to doe it either by himselfe, or by his procurator or procurators.

Also thirdly it is agreed, that whosoeuer of Prussia is determined criminally to propound his criminal 3. complaints in England: namely that his brother or kinseman hath beene slaine, wounded, or maimed, by English men, the same partie is to repayre vnto the citie of London in England, and vnto the sayd ambassadors, bringing with him the letters of the sayd right reuerend lord and master generall, and of the cities of their abode: which ambassadors are to haue free and full authority, according to the complaints of the men of Prussia, and the answers of the English men, to make and ordaine a friendly reconciliation or honest recompence betweene such parties: which reconciliation the sayd parties reconciled are bound vndoubtedly and without delay to obserue. But if there be any English man found, who shall rashly contradict or contemne the composition of the foresayd ambassadors: then the sayd ambassadours are to bring the forenamed Prussian plaintifes before the presence of the kings

Maiestie: and also to make supplication on the behalfe of such plaintifes, that complete iustice and iudgment may without delayes bee administred, according as those suites are commenced. Moreouer whatsoeuer English man, against whom anie one of Prussia would enter his action, shall absent himselfe at the terme, the sayd ambassadours are to summon and ascite the foresayd English man to appeare at the terme next insuing, that the plaintifes of Prussia may in no wise seeme to depart or to returne home, without iudgement or the assistance of lawe. Nowe if the sayd English man being summoned shall be found stubborne or disobedient, the forenamed ambassadours are to make their appeale and supplication in manner aforesayd. And in like sorte in all respects shall the English plaintifes be dealt withall in Prussia, namely in the citie of Dantzik, where the deputies of the sayd citie and of the citie of Elburg shal take vnto themselues two other head boroughs, one of Dantzik, and the other of Elburg: which foure commissioners are to haue in al respects, the very like authority of deciding, discussing, and determining all criminall complaints propounded criminally, by English men against any Prussian or Prussians, by friendly reconciliation, or honest recompense, if it be possible. But if it cannot friendly be determined, or if anie Prussian shall not yeeld obedience vnto any such order or composition, but shalbe found to contradict and to contemne the same: from thenceforth the said foure deputies and headboroughs are to make their appeale and supplication vnto the Master generall of the land aforesayd, that vnto the sayd English plaintifes speedy iudgement and complete iustice may be administred. But if it shall so fall out that any of the principall offenders shall decease, or already are deceased in either of the sayd countries, that then it shall bee free and lawfull for the plaintife to prosecute his right against the goods or heires of the party deceased. Also, for the executing of the premisses the termes vnder written are appointed: namely the first, from the Sunday whereupon Quasi modo geniti is to be sung next ensuing, vntill the seuenth day following: The second vpon the feast of the holy Trinitie next to come, and for seuen dayes following: The third vpon the eight day after Saint Iohn Baptist next to come, and for seuen daies following: The fourth, last, and peremptory terme shall be vpon the feast of S. Michael next to come, and vpon seuen dayes next following. And from thenceforth all causes which concerne death, or the mayming of a member, with all actions proceeding from them, are to remaine altogether voide and extinct. And if peraduenture any one of the foresayd ambassadours, shall in the meane season dye, then the other two shall haue authoritie to chuse a third vnto them. And if after the date of these presents any cause great or small doth rise or spring forth, it must bee decided in England and in Prussia, as it hath beene accustomed in times past and from ancient times.

An ancient custome.

4. Also, it is farther concluded and agreed vpon, that all lawfull marchants of England whosoeuer shall haue free licence and authority, with all kindes of shippes, goods, and marchandises, to resorte vnto euery port of the land of Prussia, and also to transport all such goods and marchandises vp farther vnto any other place in the sayde land of Prussia, and there with all kindes of persons freely to bargaine and make sale, as heretofore it hath from auncient times bene accustomed. Which priuiledge is granted in all things and by all circumstances vnto the Prussians in England. And if after the date of these presents betweene the sayd kingdome of England, and land of Prussia any dissension or discorde (which God forefend) should arise: then the foresayd souereigne prince and king of England, and the sayd right reuerend lord the Master generall are mutually by their letters and messengers to giue certificate and intimation one vnto another, concerning the matter and cause of such dissension and discord: which intimation, on the behalfe of the foresaid souereigne prince and king of England, shall be deliuered in the forenamed castle of Marienburg: but on the behalfe of the sayd right reuerend lord the Master generall, such intimation shall be giuen in the citie of London aforesayd, vnto the Maior of the said city: that then such a denuntiation or intimation being made, the marchants of England and the subiects of the land of Prussia may, within the space of one yeere next following, freely and safely returne home with al their goods and marchandises: if at the least, in the mean while, some composition, and friendly league betweene the two foresayd countreis be not in some sorte concluded. And that all the premisses may more firmely and faithfully be put in due practise and execution on both partes, for the strong and inuiolable keeping of peace and tranquillity: and also for the full confirmation and strengthening of all the sayde premisses, the three foresayd honourable and religious personages

The priuiledges of the English marchants in Prussia.

being by the said right reuerend lord the Master general appointed as commissioners to deale in the aboue written ordination and composition, haue caused their seales vnto these presents to be put: and the sayd ordination also, and letter in the same tenour word for word, and in all points euen as it is inserted into these presents, they haue mutually receiued from the abouenamed three ambassadours of the right soueraigne king of England vnder their seales. Giuen at the castle of Marienburg in the yeare of our lord aforesayd, vpon the twentieth day of the moneth of August. And we therefore doe accept, approue, ratifie, and by the tenour of these presents doe confirme, the composition, ordination, concorde, and treaty aforesayd. In testimony whereof we haue caused these our letters to be made patents. Witnesse our selues at Westminster the 22. of October, in the thirteenth yeare of our reigne.

By the king and his counsell.

Lincolne.

The letters of Conradus de Iungingen, Master generall of Prussia, written vnto Richard the second, king of England, in the yeere 1398, for the renouncing of a league and composition concluded betweene England and Prussia, in regard of manifold iniuries offered vnto the Prussians.

OVr humble commendations, with our earnest prayers vnto God for your Maiestie, premised. Most renowned prince and mighty lord, it is not (we hope) out of your Maiesties remembrance, how our famous predecessour going immediately before vs sent certaine letters of his vnto your highnesse, effectually contayning sundry complaints of grieuances, iniuries and losses, wherewith the marchants of his lande and Order being woont in times past to visite your kingdome with their goods and marchandises, haue bene contrary to their liberties and priuiledges annoyed with manifold iniuries and wrongs. Especially sithens they haue beene molested in your realme, being contrary to the friendly composition made and celebrated by the hono: personages, master Nicholas Stocket, Thomas Graa and Walter Sibil, in the yeare 1388, with the assistance of their coarbiters on our part, and contrary to God and all iustice, oppressed with manifold damages, losses, and grieuances: as in certaine articles exhibited vnto our predecessors aforesayd it doeth more manifestly appeare. In consideration whereof being vehemently moued by the damnified parties, he humbly besought your highnesse by his messengers and letters, for complement and execution of iustice. About the which affayres your Maiestie returned your letters of answere vnto our sayd predecessor, signifying that the sayd businesse of articles concerned al the communalty of your realme, and that your highnesse purposed, after consultation had in your parliament, to send a more deliberate answere concerning the premisses, vnto our predecessour aforesayd. Howbeit he being by death translated out of this present world, and our selues by the prouidence of God succeeding in his roome, and also long time expecting an effectuall answere from your highnesse, are not yet informed as we looked for: albeit the complaints of iniuries and losses offered vnto our subiects doe continually increase. But from hencefoorth to prouide a remedie and a caueat for the time to come, the sayd complaynt doeth vpon great reasons mooue and inuite me. Sithens therefore in regard of the sayd composition, neither you nor your subiects may be iudged in the empire : and sithens plaine reason requireth that the one be not inriched by the others losse: as vndoubtedly our subiects should sustaine great damage by the composition aforesayd, by vertue whereof your subiects doe enioy all commodities in our lande, and contrariwise our subiects in your realme haue suffered, and as yet sundrie wayes do suffer manifold discommodities, losses and iniuries. Wherefore (most soueraigne prince and mighty lord) being reasonably mooued vpon the causes aforesayd, we doe, by the aduise of our counsellers, reuoke and repeale the sayd composition concluded as is aboue written, together with the effect thereof, purely and simply renouncing the same by these presents: refusing hereafter to haue either our selues or our subiects in any respect to stand bound by the vertue of the sayd composition : but from henceforth, and for the times heretofore also, bee it altogether voide and of none effect.

Prouided notwithstanding, that from the time of the notice of this denunciation giuen vnto the hono : Maior of your citie of London, for the space of a yeare next ensuing, it shall be lawfull for all marchants of your kingdome whatsoeuer, with their goods and marchandises to returne home, according to the forme in the foresayd composition expressed: conditionaly that our subiects may euen so in all respects be permitted to depart, with the safety of their goods and liues out of your dominions : this present renuntiation, reuocation, and retractation of the order and composition aforesayd, notwithstanding. Howbeit in any other affayres whatsoeuer, deuoutly to submit our selues vnto your highnesse pleasure and command, both our selues, and our whole order are right willing and desirous: and also to benefite and promote your subiects we wil indeuour to the vtmost of our ability, Giuen in our castle of Marienburgh in the yeare of our Lord 1398. and vpon the 22. day of February.

Frater Conradus de Iungingen, master generall
of the Order of the Dutch knights of S.
Maries hospital at Ierusalem.

A briefe relation of William Esturmy, and Iohn Kington concerning their ambassages into Prussia, and the Hans-townes.

INprimis, that in the moneth of Iuly, and in the yeare of our Lord 1403, and the fift yeare of the reigne of our souereigne Lord the king that nowe is, there came into England the ambassadours of the mighty lord Fr: Conradus de Iungingen, being then Master general of Prussia, with his letters directed vnto our foresayd souereigne lord the king, requiring amends and recompense for certaine iniuries vniustly offered by English men vnto the subiects of the sayd Master generall, written in 20. articles, which amounted vnto the summe of 19120. nobles and a halfe &c. 1403.

Item, that the third day of the moneth of October, in the yeare of our Lord abouewritten, and in the fift yere of the reigne of our soueraigne lord the king, between the reuerend father in God, Henrie then bishop of Lincolne lord chancelor, and William lord de Roos high treasurer of England, on the one party and the sayd ambassadours on the other party, it was (according to their petition) amongst other things ordayned: namely that the liege people of our soueraigne lord the king should freely be permitted, vntill the feast of Easter then next after ensuing to remaine in the land of Prussia, and from thence with their goods and marchandises to returne vnto their own homes and also, that the subiects of the sayd Master generall in the kingdome of England should haue licence and liberty to doe the like. Prouided alwayes, that after the time aboue limitted, neither the English marchants in the land of Prussia, nor the Prussian marchants in the realme of England should vse any traffique of marchandise at all, vnlesse in the meane space it were otherwise agreed and concluded by the sayd king and the sayd Master general.

Item, immediately after our sayd soueraigne lord the king sent his letters by Iohn Browne marchant of Lin vnto the aforesayd Master generall, for to haue mutuall conuersation and intercourse of dealing to continue some certain space, betweene the marchants of England and of Prussia: promising in the same letters, that he would in the meane season send vnto the foresayd Master his ambassadors to intreat about the pretended iniuries aforesaide: which letters the foresayd Master, for diuers causes, refused to yeelde vnto, as in his letters sent vnto our lord the king, bearing date the 16. day of the moneth of Iuly, in the yeare of our lord 1404. more plainely appeareth.

Item, that after the receit of the letters of the Master aforesaid, which are next aboue mentioned, our sayd king, according to his promise, sent William Esturmy knight, M. Iohn Kington clerke, and William Brampton citizen of London, from his court of parliament holden at Couentrie, very slightly informed, as his ambassadours into Prussia.

Item, before the arriuall of the sayd ambassadours in Prussia, all intercourse of traffique betweene the English and the Prussians, in the realme of England, and in the land of Prussia was altogether restrained and prohibited: and in the same land it was ordayned and put in practise, that in whatsoever porte of the land of Prussia any English marchant had arriued with his goods, he was not permitted to conueigh the sayd goods, out of that porte, vnto any other place of the land of Prussia, either by water, or by lande, vnder the payne of the forfeiting of the same: but was enioyned to sell them in the very same porte, vnto the Prussians onely and to none other, to the great preiudice of our English marchants.

Item, that after the arriuall of the sayd English ambassadours in the land of Prussia, it was ordayned, that from the eight day of the moneth of October, in the yeare of our lord 1405, all English marchants whatsoeuer should haue free liberty to arriue with all kindes of their marchandise in whatsoeuer port of the land of Prussia, and to make sale of them in the said land, as hath heretofore from auncient times bene accustomed. Also sundry other commodious priuiledges vnto the realme of England were then ordayned and established: as in the indentures made for this purpose it doth more manifestly appeare. 1405.

Item, the said English ambassadours being arriued in the land of Prussia, demanded of the said Master generall, a reformation and amends, for the damages and iniuries offered by the Prussians vnto the liege people of our souereigne lord and king, written in fifteene articles, which losses amounted vnto summe of 4535. nobles.

Item, the said Master generall, besides the articles exhibited vnto our soueraigne lord the king (as it is aboue mentioned) deliuered vnto the sayd ambassadours diuers other articles of certaine iniuries offered (as he sayth) vniustly by English men, vnto his subiects, which amounted vnto the summe of 5200. nobles.

Item, it was afterward concluded, that vpon the first of May next then insuing, namely in the yeere of our Lord 1406, or within the space of one yeare immediately following there should bee made a conuenient, iust, and reasonable satisfaction, for all molestations vniustly offered on both partes, as well on the behalfe, of our soueraigne lord the king, as of the foresayd Master general. Which satisfaction not being performed, the Prussians with their goods and merchandises, within three moneths after the end of the sayd yere next following, were without molestation or impediment, enioined to depart out of the realme of England with their ships and goods, and the English men likewise, out of the territories and dominions of the said Master general, and both of them, without any further admonition, to abstaine and separate themselues, from both the countreis aforesayd. For the performance of which premisses, the ambassadors on both parts being sufficiently instructed, were appointed to meete the first day of May, at the towne of Dordract in Holland. 1406.

Item, that the sayd William Esturmy and Iohn Kington in their returne homewards from Prussia towards England passed through the chiefe cities of the Hans, and treated in such sorte with the Burgomasters of them, that there were sent messengers and agents, in the behalfe of the common society of the Hans marchants, vnto the towne of Dordract, to conferre with the ambassadors of England, about the redressing of iniuries attempted on both parts: where diuers agreements were set downe betweene the sayd ambassadors, and messengers, as in the indentures made for the same purpose it doth more manifestly appeare.

Item, that the meeting appointed at the towne of Dordract, vpon the first of May, was by the letters of the foresayd ambassadors, proroged vnto the first of August then next ensuing, and afterward by vertue of the kings letters vnto the first day of March next following: and there was another day of prorogation also.

Item, that after the prorogations aforesayd, the ambassadors of England, and the messengers and commissioners of Prussia met together at the towne of Hage in Holland, the 28. day of August, in the yere of our lord 1407. And there was a treaty between them concerning the summe 25934. nobles and an halfe, demanded on the behalfe of the sayd Master generall for amends and recompence in consideration of wrongs offered vnto himselfe and vnto his subiects of Prussia, as is aforesayd. Also the sayd Master and his Prussians, besides the summe not yet declared in the articles, which is very small, are to rest contented and satisfied with the summe of 8957. nobles, in lieu of al the damages aforesaid: no times of paiment being then assigned or limited, but afterward to be reasonably limited and assigned, by our sayd soueraigne lord the king. Insomuch, that our said soueraigne lord the king is to write his ful intention and determination concerning this matter, in his letters to be delivered the 16. day of March, vnto the aldermen of the marchants of the Hans residing at Bruges. Otherwise, that from thenceforth all league of friendship shall bee dissolued betweene the realme of England and the land of Prussia.

Also it is farther to be noted, that in the appointment of the summe next before written to be disbursed out of England, this condition was added in writing, namely, that if by lawful testimonies it may sufficiently and effectually be prooued, concerning the chiefe articles aboue-written, or any part of them, that satisfaction was made vnto any of those parties, to whom it was due: or that the goods, of and for the which complaint was made on the behalfe of Prussia, in the sayd articles, did or doe pertayne vnto others, or that any other iust, true, or reasonable cause may lawfully be proued and alledged, why the foresaid sums or any of them ought not to be payed: that then in the summes contained in the articles abouementioned, so much only must be cut off, or stopped, as shalbe found, either to haue bene payd already, or to appertaine vnto others, or by any true, iust, and reasonable cause alleaged, not to be due. Neither is it to be doubted, but for the greater part of the summe due vnto the Prussians, that not our lord the king, but others (which will in time be nominated) are, by all equity and iustice, to be compelled to make satisfaction.

Also, at the day and place aboue mentioned it was appointed and agreed vpon, that our lord the king and his liege subiects, for the said 4535. nobles demanded of the English in consideration of recompence to be made for iniuries offered vnto the Prussians, are to discharge and pay the summe of 764. nobles, which are not as yet disbursed: but they haue reserued a petition to them, vnto whom the sayd summe is due, or if they please, there shalbe made satisfaction: which will be very hard and extreme dealing.

Item, that in the last assembly of the sayd ambassadors of England and messengers of Prussia, holden at Hage, made as is aforesayd, for the behalfe of England, there were exhibited anew certaine articles of iniuries against the Prussians. The value of which losses amounted vnto the summe of 1825. nobles and three shillings.

Item, on the contrary part for the behalfe of the Prussians the summe of 1355. nobles, eight shillings and sixe pence.

Item, forasmuch as diuers articles propounded, as well on the behalfe of England, as of Prussia, and of the cities of the Hans, both heretofore and also at the last conuention holden at Hage, were so obscure, that in regard of their obscurity, there could no resolute answere bee made vnto them: and other of the sayd articles exhibited, for want of sufficient proofes, could not clearely be determined vpon: it was appointed and concluded, that all obscure articles giuen vp by any of the foresayd parties whatsoeuer, ought before the end of Easter then next ensuing, and within one whole yeare after, to be declared before the Chancelour of England, for the time being: and other articles euidently exhibited, but not sufficiently proued, to be proued, vnder paine of perpetuall exclusion. Which being done accordingly, complete iustice shall be administred on both parts.

Item, as concerning the eleuenth article, for the behalfe of the Prussians, first exhibited, which conteined losses amounting vnto the summe of 2445. nobles: as touching the first article on the behalfe of England exhibited in the land of Prussia, conteining losses which amounted to the summe of 900. nobles: after many things alleadged on both parts, relation thereof shall be made in the audience of the king and of the master generall: so that they shall set downe, ordaine, and determine such an ende and conclusion of those matters, as shall seeme most expedient vnto them.

Now concerning the Liuonians who are subiect vnto the great Master of Prussia.

INprimis, that the Master of Prussia demaunded of the sayd English ambassadours, at their being in Prussia, on the behalfe of them of Liuonia, who are the sayd Master his liege people, to haue restitution of their losses, vniustly (as he sayth) offered vnto them by the English, namely, for the robbing and rifling of three ships. The value of which ships and of the goods contained in them, according to the computation of the Liuonian marchants, doeth amount vnto the summe of 8037. pound, 12. shillings 7. pence.

These ships were taken by the English ye 20. of Iuly 1404.

Howbeit afterward the trueth being inquired by the sayd ambassadors of England, the losse of the Liuonians exceedeth not the summe of 7498. pound, 13. shillings, 10. pence halfepeny farthing.

Item, forasmuch as in the sayd ships, on the behalfe of the sayd Master, and of certaine cities of the Hans, there are alleadged aboue 250. men very barbarously to be drowned, of whome some were noble, and others honourable personages, and the rest common marchants and mariners, there was demaunded, in the first dyet or conuention holden at Dordract, a recompense at the handes of the sayd English ambassadors: albeit this complaint was exhibited in the very latter end of al the negotiations, in forme of a scedule, the tenor whereof is in writing at this present, and beginneth in maner following: Cum vita hominum &c. Howbeit in the last conuention holden at Hage, as is aforesaid, it was concluded betweene the ambassadours of England, and the messengers and commissioners of the land of Prussia, and of the cities of the Hans; that our sayd soueraigne lord the king, should, of his great pietie, vouchsafe effectually to deuise some conuenient and wholesome remedie for the soules of such persons as were drowned.

Item, that our sayd soueraigne lord the king will signifie in writing his full purpose and intention as touching this matter, vnto the aldermen of the Hans marchants residing at Bruges, vpon the sixtenth day of March next following. Otherwise, that from hencefoorth all amity and friendship, betweene the realme of England and the land of Prussia shall be dissolued.

Neither is it to be doubted, but that a great part of the sayd goods, for the which they of Liuonia doe demaund restitution, namely waxe and furres, redounded vnto the vse and commoditie of our soueraigne lord the king. And also our said soueraigne lord the king gaue commandement by his letters, that some of the sayd goods should be delivered vnto others. And a great part of them is as yet reserued in the towne of Newcastle. One Benteld also hath the best of the sayd three ships in possession. Also it is reported and thought to be true, that certaine Furriers of London, which will be detected in the end, haue had a great part of the sayd goods, namely of the Furres.

Now as concerning the cities of the Hans.

Hamburgh.

INprimis the Hamburgers exhibited nine articles, wherein they demaunded restitution for certaine damages offered, as they sayd, by the English men, the value of which losses amounted vnto the summe of 9117. nobles, 20 pence. For the which, after due examination, there was promised restitution to the summe of 416. nobles, 5. shillings. Besides the two articles propounded against them of Scardeburg, the summe whereof was 231. pounds, 15s. 8d. concerning the which there was sentence giuen in England by the commissioners of our lord the king, the execution whereof was promised vnto the said Hamburgers by the ambassadors of England: leaue and licence being reserued vnto the sayd Hamburgers, of declaring or explaining certaine obscure articles by them exhibited, which declaration was to be made at the feast of Easter then next to come, or within one yeare next ensuing the said feast, vnto the chancelor of England for the time being, and of proouing the sayd articles and others also, which haue not as yet sufficiently bene proued. Which being done they are to haue full complement and execution of iustice.

Also by the Hamburgers there are demaunded 445. nobles from certaine of the inhabitants of Linne in England. Which summe, if it shalbe prooued to be due vnto any English men, the Hamburgers are to rest contented with those goods, which they haue already in their possessions.

Breme.

Item, they of Breme propounded sixe articles, wherein the summe conteined amounteth vnto 4414. nobles. And there was no satisfaction promised vnto them. But the same libertie and licence was reserued vnto them, in like maner as before vnto the Hamburgers.

Stralessund.

Item, they of Stralessund propounded 23. articles, whereof the summe amounted vnto 7415. nobles, 20. d. for the which there was promised satisfaction of 253. nobles, 3. d. Also here is a caueat to be obserued: that they of Stralessund had of English mens goods a great summe particularly to be declared, which will peraduenture suffice for a recompense. And some of their articles are concerning iniuries offered before 20, 22, 23, 24. yeres past. Also their articles are so obscure that they will neuer, or very hardly be able to declare or proue them. Howbeit there is reserued the very same liberty vnto them, that was before vnto the Hamburgers.

Lubec.

Item, they of Lubec propounded 23. articles, the summe whereof extended vnto 8690. nobles and an halfe: whereupon it was agreed, that they should haue paied vnto them 550. nobles. There was reserued the same libertie vnto them, which was vnto the men of Stralessund.

Gripeswold.

Item, they of Gripeswold exhibited 5. articles, the summe whereof amounted vnto 2092. nobles and an halfe. For the which there was promised satisfaction of 153. nobles and an half. And the said men of Gripeswold haue of the goods of English men in possession, to the value of 22015. nobles, 18. s. as it is reported by them of Linne. And the same libertie is reserued vnto them that was vnto the Hamburgers.

Campen.

Item, they of Campen propounded ten articles, the summe whereof extended vnto 1405. nobles. There is no satisfaction promised vnto them: but the same liberty is reserued vnto them, which was vnto the other aboue mentioned.

Item, the ambassadors of England demanded of the citizens of Rostok and Wismer, for damages and iniuries by them committed against the subiects of the foresayd souereigne king 32407. nobles. 2. s. 10. d. And albeit euery of the foresayd cities sent one of their burgomasters vnto the towne of Hage in Holland, to treat with the English ambassadours, it was in the end found out, that they had not any authority of negociating or concluding ought at al. And therefore they made their faithfull promises, that euery of the said cities should send vnto our soueraigne Lord the king one or two procurator or procurators sufficiently instructed to treat and conclude with our said soueraigne lord the king about the damages and iniuries aforesaid at the feast of the natiuitie of Saint Iohn the Baptist.

Compositions and ordinances concluded between the messengers of Frater Conradus de Iungingen master generall of Prussia: and the chancelor and treasurer of the realme of England 1403.

IN the yere of our Lord 1403, vpon the feast of S. Michael the Archangel, the right hono: Henrie bishop of Lincoln, chancelor of England, and the lord de Roos high treasurer of England, and the ambassadors of Prussia, Iohn Godek of Dantzik, and Henry Monek of Elbing, masters of the same cities haue at Westminster treated in maner of composition about the articles vnderwritten: between the most souereigne lord the king of England, and the right reuerend and honorable Conradus de Iungingen Master general of Prussia as concerning the iniuries offered vnto the people of Prussia and Liuonia vpon the sea by the English.

First, that all ships with their appurtenances, and the commodities of the mariners, according vnto the condition of the things, and all other goods taken away by the English, which are actually vndiuided and whole, are incontinently and with al speed to bee restored. And if there bee any defect in ought, the value of the said defect is to be accounted, and with other losses of goods to be restored, at the terme of the restitution to be made and deliuered.

Item, that all ships, damages, and goods (as they are conteined in our bill of accusation) which are not now immediately restored, are to be restored and payd in the land of Prussia, between this and the terme appointed, with full execution and complement of iustice.

Item, concerning the persons throwen ouer boord or slaine in the sea: it shall remayne to bee determined at the will and pleasure of the most mighty prince the king of England, and of the right reuerend the Master of Prussia.

Item, betweene this and the terme appointed for the restoring of the goods taken away, and vntill there be due payment and restitution of the said goods performed, the marchants of England and of Prussia are in no wise to exercise any traffique of marchandise at all in the foresaid lands.

Memorandum, that the third day of the moneth of October, in the yere of our Lord 1403. and in the fift yere of the reigne of the most mighty prince and lord, king Henrie the fourth, by the grace of God king of England and France &c. betweene the reuerend father Henrie bishop of Lincoln, chancelor, and the right honorable William lord de Roos, high treasurer of England, both of them counsellers vnto the sayd soueraigne king on the one party, and the right worshipfull Iohn Godeke, and Henrie Moneke, sent as messengers by the right reuerend and religious personage, Frater Conradus de Iungingen Master generall of the Dutch knights of the Order of S. Mary on the other party: it was, at the request and instancie of the sayd messengers, appoynted, and mutually agreed vpon, that all the liege people and subiects of the sayd soueraigne lord and king shall haue free licence and liberty vntill the feast of Easter next ensuing, safely to trauel vnto the land of Prussia aforesayd, there to remaine, and thence, with their ships, marchandises, and other their goods whatsoeuer, to returne vnto their owne home: which on the other side, all the subjects of the sayd Master general may, within the terme prefixed, likewise doe, in the foresaid realme of England. Prouided alwaies, that after the time aboue limited, neither the sayd marchants of the realme of England may in the land of Prussia, nor the marchants of that land, in the realme of England, exercise any traffique at al: vnles it be otherwise ordained by some composition, betweene the foresaid king of England, and the said Master general in the meane time concluded. In witnesse wherof, one part of this present Indenture is to remaine in the custodie of the foresaid messengers. Giuen in the Chapter-house of the Church of S. Paul at London, the day and yere aboue written. 1403.

The letters of the chancelor and treasurer of England, vnto Frater Conradus de Iungingen, master generall of Prussia 1403.

RIght reuerend and mighty lord, your honorable messengers Iohn Godeke, and Henry Moneke, the bearers hereof comming of late before the presence of our most souereigne lord the king of England and of France, and being welcomed by our said lord with a chearefull and fauourable countenance, they presented certaine letters on your behalfe vnto the kings Maiestie, with that reuerence which beseemed them: expounding vnto his highnes, sundry piracies and molestations offered of late vpon the sea, by his liege people and subiects vnto yours, contrary to the leagues of peace and amitie, which hitherto (by Gods grace) haue bene maintained and continued on both parts. In consideration of which piracies and molestations, your messengers demanded full restitution and recompense to be made, either vnto the damnified parties, or vnto their procurators. We therefore at that time, especially being in the presence of our soueraigne (who with his puissant army tooke his progresse towards the remote part of Wales being subiect vnto his dominion, to see iustice executed vpon his people of those parts, who very rashly haue presumed to rebell against him their souereigne, contrary to their allegeance) right well perceiued that it was his highnesse intention, that euery one should haue due iustice faithfully administred unto him, especially your subiects, and that with all favour, whom he hath alwayes in times past right graciously intreated, as if they had bene his owne liege subiects and natiue countrey men, whome also hee purposeth hereafter friendly to protect: insomuch that betweene him and his subjects on the one party, and betweene you and yours on the other party, great abundance and perfection of mutuall amity may increase. And therefore we offered vnto your foresayd messengers, after they had particularly declared vnto vs such piracies and wrongs, to sende the kings letters vnto them of whom complaint was made, firmely inioyning them, vnder grieuous penalties, that without delay they restore or cause to bee restored vnto the parties damnified, or vnto their procuratours, all ships, marchandises, wares, and goods, by them taken or violently stolne from your subiects. And that your said messengers may partly attaine their desire, we haue commaunded certaine ‡ ships, marchandises, wares and goods, found in certaine hauens, to be deliuered vnto them. Howbeit, as touching other goods, which are perhaps perished or wanting by infortunate dissipation or destruction, and for the which the said messengers of yours demand satisfaction to be made vnto them within a certain time by vs limited: may it please your honor to vnderstand, that in the absence of our sayd souereigne lord the king, being as yet farre distant from vs, wee can in no wise limit or set downe any such terme of time. Notwithstanding, at the prosperous returne of our soueraigne, we are determined to commune with him about this

‡ Namely the ship of Edgard Scof at Caleis. The ship of Tidman Dordewant and Tidman Warowen, at Orwel and Zepiswich.

matter. Of whose answere so soone as we be certified, we purpose to signifie his intention vnto you by our letters. Sithens also (right reuerend and mighty lord) your sayd messengers are contented, for the present, to accept of our offer aforesayde, as indeede by all reason they ought thereat to rest content, especially whereas by this meanes they shall the more speedily attaine vnto the effect of their purposes (to the shorte aud wished execution and performance of which offer, we will, by Gods helpe, endeuour, to the vtmost of our ability) may it be your will and pleasure, that as in the kingdome of England, your marchants and subiects are courteously intreated: euen so the marchants and liege people of our soueraigne lord the king and of his kingdomes peaceably frequenting your parts, either in regard of traffique or of any other iust occasion, may there in like manner friendly bee vsed, and with your marchants and subiects suffered to communicate, and to haue intercourse of traffique, inioying the commodities of the ancient league. By this also the feruent zeale and affection which you beare vnto the royall crowne of England shall vndoubtedly appeare: albeit betweene the famous houses of England and of Prussia, the bandes of vnfained loue and friendship haue bin successiuely confirmed and kept inuiolable in times past. And thus (right reuerend and mighty lord) wishing vnto you increase of honour and prosperity, wee take our leaues. Written at London the fift of October, in the yeare of our lord 1403.

Note well. 1403.

By the chancelor, the treasurer, and other lords of the hono: counsell of the king of England and France, being personally present at London.

The letters of king Henry the 4. vnto Conradus de Iungingen the master general of Prussia, for mutual conuersation and intercourse of traffique to continue between the marchants of England and of Prussia, for a certaine terme of time.

HEnry by the grace of God, king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, to the noble and mighty personage of sacred religion, Frater Conradus de Iungingen Master generall of the Order of the Dutch knights of S. Marie &c. our most deare and welbeloued friend, greeting, and continuall increase of our auncient and sincere amity. By the grieuous complaynts of our liege subiects concerning traffique, as it were circularwise too and fro both our dominions, we haue often bene aduertised that in regard of diuers iniuries and damages, which as well our as your marchants (who by their dealings in marchandise were woont peaceably to vse mutual conuersation together, whereupon very many commodities are knowen to haue proceeded) haue, by occasion of pirates, rouing vp and down the sea, sometimes heretofore sustayned: both the sayd marchants of our and of your dominions do abstaine themselues from their wonted mutual conuersation and traffique, as they haue likewise carefully abstained at sometimes heretofore, and especially from that time, wherein at the instant request of your messengers, being of late before our presence, the free accesse of our marchants vnto your territories and dominions, and of your marchants vnto our realmes hath bene forbidden. Sithens therefore (our most deare friend) such iniuries (if any) as haue bene attempted against your subiects, were neuer committed by our will and consent, as we thinke that your selfe on the other side haue done the like: sithens also, so much as in vs lieth, wee are ready to exhibit full iustice with fauour vnto any of your people being desirous to make complaint, so that accordingly iustice may equally be done vnto our marchants by you and your subiects, which marchants haue in like sort bene iniuried, wishing with all our heart, that the ancient friendship and loue, which hath continued a long time between our realme and your territories and dominions, may perseuere in time to come, and that sweet and acceptable peace, which is to be embraced of al Christians, may according to the good pleasure of the author of peace, be nourished and mayntained: we do most heartily require the sayd friendship, exhorting you in the Lord that you would on your behalf consent and ordain (euen as, if you shall so do, we for our part wil consent likewise) that from this present vntil the feast of Easter next insuing (al molestations and iniuries which may be offred ceasing on both parts) our subiects by your territories and dominions, and your subiects by our realms, may peaceably and securely trauel, and that according to their wonted maner, they may friendly conuerse and exercise mutual traffick together: because we are determined to send vnto you and your counsel in the mean time some of our ambassadors, friendly to intreat about the foresaid pretended iniuries, so far forth as they shal concerne our subiects. At whose arriual we stand in good hope that by the

The auncient friendship beweene England and Prussia.

due administration of iustice on both parts, such order (by Gods assistance) shalbe taken, that mutual peace and tranquility may be established between vs in times to come. Also our desire is in particular, that our marchants and liege subiects may haue more free passage granted them vnto the parts of Sconia, for the prouiding of herrings and of other fishes there, that they may there remayne, and from thence also may more securely returne vnto their owne home: and we beseech you in consideration of our owne selues, that you would haue our marchants and liege subiects especially recommended vnto you, safely protecting them (if need shall require) vnder the shadow of your defence: euen as you would haue vs to deale in the like case with your own subiects. Moreouer, whatsoeuer you shall thinke good to put in practise in this behalfe, may it please you of your friendship, by our faythfull subiect Iohn Browne the bearer hereof to giue vs to vnderstand. In the sonne of the glorious virgine fare ye well, with continuall prosperity and felicity according to your owne hearts desire. Giuen vnder our priuie seale, at our palace of Westminster, the fift day of Iune, and in the fift yere of our reigne.

Postscriptum.

RIght reuerend and our most deare friend: albeit our welbeloued Arnold de Dassele the procurator of your foresaid messengers, being desirous at this time to make his final returne vnto your parts, by reason of the affayres, for which he hath remained in our realme of England, cannot as yet obtaine his wished expedition: notwithstanding you of your sincere affection ought not to maruel or any whit to be grieued thereat: because troubles of wars arising, which in some sort concerned our selues, and especially in regard of the continuall assaults of the French men and Britons against vs and our kingdome, for the offence of whom, and our owne defence, our liege subiects (especially they, of whom your subiects damnified haue made their complaints) haue armed themselues to combate vpon the sea: we could not grant vnto the foresayd Arnold such and so speedy an expedition, as he earnestly desired to haue. Vnto the which Arnold your procurator we haue offered in as short time as may be, to administer complete iustice with fauour, to ye end that for this cause he might dispose himselfe to remaine in our realme of England: and yet notwithstanding wee would do the very same euen in the absence of the sayd procurator. Giuen as aboue.

To the most renowmed prince and mighty Lord, Henrie king of England &c. our gracious Lord.

OVr humble recommendations, with our most instant and continuall prayers for you being graciously by your Maiestie taken in good part &c. Most soueraigne king, mighty prince, gratious lord, and vnto vs most vnfaynedly beloued, we receiued of late your gracious letters by your Maiesties liege subiect Iohn Brown, the contents wherof seemed to be these following: first that of long time heretofore, there haue bene between the marchants of your realm and of our lands, not only quiet and peaceable accesse one vnto another, but also mutual participation, and common traffique of their wares, being right commodious and auaileable for them both: howbeit, that now the foresaid profitable conuersation, by reason of certain notorious robberies, committed vpon the sea by pyrates against both parts, and the wonted accesse also of your subiects vnto our dominions, were altogether forbidden. Moreouer, you call to remembrance the ancient amity and friendship betweene both our lands, with the inualuable commodity of sweet amiable peace, which are by al faithful Christians, to the vtmost of their endeuour to be imbraced. Wherupon you of your exceeding clemency, do offer your Maiesties ful consent, that the foresaid prohibition being released vntil the feast of Easter next ensuing, the said marchants of your dominions may in our territories, and our marchants likewise may in your realms (al molestations ceasing) exercise their woonted traffique: especially sithens in the mean season your royall wisdome hath determined to direct vnto vs your hono: ambassadors in friendly sort to treat and parle with vs as touching the pretended iniuries, so far forth as they may concerne your subiects. Adding moreouer in particular that when your people shall repayre vnto the parts of Sconia to fish for herrings, hauing consideration and regard vnto your maiestie, we would haue them especially recommended vnto our protection &c. Most soueraigne lord and king, and gracious prince, wee doe with vnfained and heartyaffection embrace the oracles of your maiesties most courteous and acceptable offer: wherein you haue vsed most diligent and effectuall perswasions, that complement of iustice should be done vnto the parties iniuried, and that peace and friendship should take place, making no doubt of your own royall person, nor of our selues or of any appertayning vnto vs, but that our inclinations and desires in this regarde are all one and the same: neither would we lightly transgresse the limits of your perswasions without some iust, weighty, and reasonable cause, forasmuch as the matters perswaded are in very deede most happy preseruatiues of a common weale, yea, and of nature it selfe. Moreouer whereas your highnes hath farther requested vs, that the prohibition of your subiects accesse vnto our dominions might, vntill the feast of Easter next ensuing, be released: we answere (vnder correction of your maiesties more deliberate counsell) that it is farre more expedient for both parts to haue the sayd prohibition continued then released, vntil such time as satisfaction be performed on both sides vnto the parties endamaged, not in words only, but actually and really in deeds, or by some course of law or friendly composition. For there is no equall nor indifferent kinde of consort or trade between the impouerished party and him that is inriched, betweene the partie which hath obtayned iustice and him that hath obtayned none between the offender and the party offended: because they are not mooued with like affections. For the remembrance of iniuries easily stirreth vp inconsiderate motions of anger. Also, such a kind of temperature or permixtion, as it were, by way of contrariety breedeth more bitternes then sweetnes, more hate then loue: whereupon more grieuous complaints aswel vnto your highnes as vnto our selues, might be occasioned. The lord knoweth, that euen now we are too much wearied and disquieted with the importunate and instant complaints of our subiects, insomuch that wee cannot at this present by any conuenient meanes release or dissolue the sayd prohibition, before wee be sufficiently informed by your maiesties ambassadors, of the satisfaction of our endamaged subiects. Furthermore, whereas your maiesties request, concerning your subiects that shal come vnto the parts of Sconia, is that we would defend them vnder our protection: be it knowen vnto your highnes, that for diuers considerations vs reasonably mouing, being prouoked by the queene of Denmarke and her people, being also vrged thereunto full sore against our wils, for the repelling and auoiding of iniuries, we haue sent forth our armie against them. Howbeit for a certaine time a truce is concluded on both parts, so that our people are actually returned home. Farre be it from vs also, that our subiects being occupied in warres, should in any sort willingly molest or reproach any strangers, of what landes or nations

Margaret queen of Denmarke.

soeuer, not being our professed enemies. For this should be to oppresse the innocent in stead of the guilty, to condemne the iust for the uniust: then which nothing can be more cruel, nor a reuenge of greater impietie. In very deede (most gracious prince and lorde) we are moued with right hearty sympathy and compassion for any inconuenience which might happen in your regiment: wishing from the bottome of our hearts, that all affayres may right prosperously and happily succeede, about the royall person and regiment of your most excellent Maiestie, and that continually. The like whereof wee hope from you: most humbly commending our selues, and our whole Order vnto your highnes. Giuen at our castle of Marienburgh, the 16. day, the moneth of July, in the yere of our Lord 1404.

An agreement made betweene king Henry the fourth and Conradus de Iungingen Master generall of the land of Prussia.

THis Indenture made between Sir William Esturmy knight, Iohn Kington clerke, and William Brampton citizen of London the ambassadors, commissioners, and messengers of the most mighty prince and lord, our souereigne lord Henrie by the grace of God king of England and France, and lorde of Ireland, for the repayring, reformation, and amends of whatsoeuer damages, grieuances, excesses, violences, and iniuries in any sort vniustly attempted, done, or offered, by our sayd soueraigne lord the king and his liege people and subiects, vnto the great and mighty lord Conradus de Iungingen Master general of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hospitall of Ierusalem, or his subiects: and for the requiring, demanding, and receiuing of such like reparations, reformations and amends, by the foresayd lord the Master generall, for the behalfe of himselfe or any of his subiects whatsoeuer, from and in the name of our soueraign lord the king and his subiects, vnto the sayd Master general, into his land of Prussia, by our souereigne lord the king, and appointed as ambassadors on the one party: And betweene the hono: Lords and religious personages Conradus de Lichtenstein great commander, Warnherus de Tettingen chiefe hospitalary and commander in Elbing, and Arnold de Hacken treasurer, the procurators and commissioners of the great and mighty lord the Master general, being in like and equal sort and in all respects, as the ambassadours of England are, authorized on the contrary side by the authoritie and power of the sayd Master general on the other part, witnesseth: That diuers treaties and conferences being holden between the said ambassadors, messengers, and procurators or commissioners, of and concerning the reparations, reformations and amends of certaine damages, grieuances, excesses, violences and iniuries offered and attempted, as wel by the Prussians against the English as by the English against the Prussians, and of other actes vniustly committed on both parts: in conclusion, after the sayd treatise, the foresayd ambassadours, procurators and commissioners by vertue of the authority committed vnto them appoynted, and with one consent agreed vnto the articles vnder written.

Inprimis, that for the consideration of mutuall loue and woonted friendship, and of peace and tranquillity hereafter to be continued and maintained, and also that the articles vnder written may more prosperously be brought vnto a wished effect, between our said soueraign lord the king and his liege people and subiects, and the subiects, people, and inhabitants of the territories and dominions of the foresayd lord the Master generall, it is agreed and concluded, that all liege marchants of England whatsoeuer, shall haue free licence and libertie to arriue with their shippes, goods and marchandises whatsoeuer, at any porte of the land of Prussia, and also the sayd goods and marchandises farther vnto any place of the sayd land of Prussia to transport, and there with any person or persons freely to contract and bargaine, euen as heretofore, and from auncient times it hath bene accustomed. Which liberty in all respects is granted vnto the Prussians in England.

Item it is further agreed betweene the sayd ambassadours, procurators, and commissioners, that whereas of late, namely in the yeare of our lord 1403, the sayd Master general by his discreet subiects Iohn Godek of Dantzik, and Henry Monek of Elbing, his ambassadors and messengers, for this purpose hath caused certain articles, (namely 20, in number) containing in them matters of damages, molestations, violences, and iniuries committed and offered against the said Master generall and his subiects, by our sayd soueraigne lord the king his subiects and liege people, to be exhibited, giuen vp and deliuered vnto our lord the king aforesaid in his kingdome of England: it is concluded and agreed about the sayd 20, articles, by the aforesaid ambassadors, commissioners, and procurators, as in the acts and pleas had and made before the sayd ambassadors, 1403.

commissioners and procurators, and in the records made and written of and about the examination of such articles, it is more at large contayned (vnto the which the sayd ambassadors, commissioners, and messengers doe here in this place referre themselues) of the which articles also some are receiued by the commissioners aforesayd, and others are proroged vnto a certaine time vnder written, euen as in the foresayd registers it is more fully contayned and put downe in writing.

As touching certaine other articles also exhibited a newe vnto the sayd English ambassadors, in the land of Prussia being 16 in number (whereof one is admitted, and the rest are proroged vntil a terme vnder written) the same course is to be taken and obserued, which was before appoynted and agreed vpon, about the articles deliuered and exhibited vnto our foresayd souraigne lorde the king, as is aforesayd.

Moreouer, as touching the articles exhibited by the English ambassadours in the name and behalfe of their sayd soueraigne lord the king of England, vnto the procuratours and commissioners of the foresayd lord the Master generall (of the which some are declared already, and the declaration of the rest is proroged vntill a certayne terme vndernamed, euen as in the registers made of and vpon the examination of the sayd articles, it is more manifestly prouided) the same course is to be taken, which must be obserued about the articles of the sayd lord the Master generall, exhibited, as well vnto the foresayd soueraigne prince in England, as vnto his ambassadors in the land of Prussia, euen as about the sayd articles it is before concluded.

The complaints of the Liuonians.

And whereas on the behalfe of the citizens and marchants of the cities of Rij and Dorp,* and of other townes in the land of Liuonia, many and great complaints haue bene by way of articles exhibited and deliuered vnto the sayd English ambassadours in the land of Prussia, which for diuers causes, could not as then be ended: therefore it is concluded and agreed vpon betweene the ambassadours, and the commissioners aforesayd, that the saide citizens and marchants may in the towne of Dordract in Holland, vpon the first day of the moneth of May next ensuing (at the which time and place, the continuation and prorogation of all other articles not fully declared in the partes of Prussia, shall be put in vre)* by themselues or their lawfull procurators, make their appearance, for the obtayning of a conuenient, iust, and reasonable reformation of all iniuries attempted against them, then, or at some other times within one whole yere next following, and not afterward, being effectually set downe and limited, at the place aforesaid, by the consent of the ambassadours and commissioners of either parte, all lawfull impediments ceasing.

---

* These cities seem to have been large commercial centres.

Provided alwayes, that the value and price of all wares, goods, and marchandises, whereof the said citizens and marchants of Liuonia, in their articles receiued by the sayde English ambassadours, as is aforesayd, doe make mention, shall be iustly esteemed, prized, and approoued, not by any of England, or of Prussia, or of Liuonia, but by some other indifferent marchants of good credite, valuing them at the true rate of marchants, which such like marchandise would haue amounted vnto, if, at the time when they were taken, they had bene to be solde at the town of Bruges in Flanders.

Forasmuch also, as diuers and sundry Prussians (who exhibited manifolde Articles of complaints, being receiued by the said English Ambassadours, at their abode in Prussia) made not their personall appearance, before the saide English Ambassadours, in the lande of Prussia aforesaide: The prorogation aboue-mentioned was made vnto the first day of the moneth of May: and also it was agreed vpon by the saide Ambassadours, Procurators, and Commissioners, that the saide parties which had not appeared before shall haue libertie graunted them, lawfully to make their appearance, vpon the first of May aforesaide, at the towne of Dordract, either by themselues or by their Procurators, and also to bring with them the letters testimonial, and patents, sealed with the seale of the saide Lord the master generall, (he hauing first of all receiued sound and sufficient information from the cities whereof the parties plaintife are citizens, of the damages and grieuances any way vniustly inflicted vpon them or any of them by the English) to the end that they may there by articles conueniently declare and proue, before the Ambassadours, Procurators, messengers, and Commissioners of both partes, the rate and value of their said goods : and that in so doing they may obtaine conuenient, iust, and reasonable restitution, for all acts vniustly attempted against them, then, or at some other times effectually to bee set downe and limited at the foresaid place by the consent of the Ambassadors and Commissioners of both parts, euen as it was aboue promised vnto the marchants of Liuonia.

---

* *Ure* i.e., use. Norman or law French (see Kelham's Norman dict.)

This vickering will but keep our arms in *ure*,
The holy battles better to endure.

—*Four Prentices of London*, VI., 493.

In Chaucer's time it also meant fortune, like the French Neure.

(NARES' *Glossary*.)

But if they of Prussia last aboue-mentioned, shall not vpon the first of May, and at the place appointed, for some cause, make their appearance, that then it shalbe lawfull for them, at any time within one whole yeere next following, to repaire vnto the lord Chancelor of England, at the citie of London, and to insinuate and declare vnto him their complaints before exhibited vnto the saide English Ambassadours in the land of Prussia, or which complaints should haue bene deliuered at the foresaid terme and place, or els, the which were not then and there fully finished and dispatched : and also by articles as is aforesaide, to declare gnd proue the true worth and estimation of all damages and orieuances any wayes vniustly offered by the English vnto them er any of them : to the ende that they may (as it is aboue mentioned) uffectually receiue, and also speedily and easily obtaine conaenient, iust, and reasonable reformation and satisfaction, for al acts vniustly attempted against them, which are contained in the complaints not as yet fully declared and finished.

Moreouer, it is appointed and agreed vpon betweene the foresaide Ambassadours and Commissioners : that the forenamed souereign Lord and the said lord the Master general are to send and set forward their Ambassadours, messengers, and Commissioners, vpon the first of May vnto the place appointed, to treate, parle, agree, and conclude about those affaires, which shal then and there happen to be treated of and handled among them.

Furthermore, betweene the often mentioned Ambassadours, Procurators, and Commissioners, it is enacted and concluded : Note well. that vnto all and singular lawfull statutes, ordinations, and prohibitions framed, made, and ordained, by the saide lorde the Master generall, in his land of Prussia, or by his Proconsuls and Consuls, and his gouernours of cities, townes, villages, and of other places in the land of Prussia, vnto the obseruation whereof, aswell the subiectes of the said Master general, as foreners and strangers, are tyed and bound : vnto the very same statutes, ordinations, and prohibitions, al English marchants whatsoeuer resorting vnto the land of Prussia, must be firmely bounden and subiect.

Also it is ordained, that whatsoeuer sale-clothes are already transported, or at any time hereafter to bee transported out of England into Prussia by the English marchants, and shall there be offered to bee solde, whether they be whole cloathes or halfe cloathes, they must containe both their endes.

Lastly, that the matters aboue-mentioned fall not short and voyde of their wished effect; the treaty and conference about all and singular damages and grieuances (whereof there is not as yet done, but there must be, by the vertue of these presents, performed, a reformation and amendment) must be continued and proroged vntill the first of May next ensuing: as by these presents they are continued and proroged with the continuation of the dayes then immediately following, at the towne of Dordract aforesaide: at the which time and place, or at other times and places, in the meane space, as occasion shall serue, by both parties to be limited and assigned, or else within one yeere after the said first day of the moneth of May next ensuing bee expired: the hurt and damaged parties generally before-mentioned, shall haue performed vnto them a conuenient, iust, and reasonable reformation on both partes. Prouided alwayes, if within the terme of the saide yeere, some conuenient, iust, and reasonable reformation bee not performed vnto the parties iniuried, and endamaged, which are generally aboue mentioned: that then, within three whole moneths after the foresaid yere shall have expired, the Prussians shall depart out of the realmes and dominions of the saide Soueraigne Lord the king of England, together with their marchandize, and with other goods which they shal haue gotten or bought, within the space of the foresaid three moneths: and that the English men also are likewise, in all respects bounden to auoid and (no lawfull impediment hindering them) to withdrawe themselues and to depart out of the territories and dominions of the saide Master generall, without all molestation, perturbation, and impediment whatsoeuer, none other intimation or admonition being necessarie in this regard.

Howbeit least that by the robberies and piracies of some insolent and peruerse people, matter should be ministred vnto the said lord the Master generall, of swaruing from the faithfull obseruation of the foresaide agreements, or (which God forbid) any occasion bee giuen him of not obseruing them; it is also decreed by the often aboue mentioned Ambassadours and messengers, that if the goods and marchandize of any of the saide lorde Master generall his subiectes whatsoeuer shall be from henceforth vniustly taken vpon the Sea, by any English Pirates, and shalbe caried into the realme of England, and there receiued, that the Gouernours and keepers of portes, and of other places (with whatsoeuer names they be called) at the which portes and places such marchandises and goods shall chaunce to arriue, beeing onely informed of the saide goods and marchandises, by sole report, or (other proofes wanting) by probable suspition are bound to arrest and to keep them in safe custodie, fauourably to be restored vnto the owners thereof, whensoeuer they shall be lawfully demaunded: which if they shall omit or deny to performe, from thenceforth the saide gouernours and keepers are bound to make vnto the parties endamaged, a recompense of their losses.

And for fault of iustice to be executed, by the said gouernours and keepers, our soueraign lord the king aboue named, after he shall conueniently be requested by the parties damnified, is bound within three moneths next ensuing (all lawfull impediments being excepted) to make correspondent, iust, and reasonable satisfaction, vnto the saide partes endamaged. Otherwise, that it shal be right lawfull for the saide lorde the Master generall, to arrest, and after the arrest to keepe in safe custodie the goods of the English marchants being in the land of Prussia, to the condigne satisfaction of such iniuries, as haue bene offered vnto his subiects, vntill his said subiects be iustly and reasonably contented.

Likewise also in all respects, the same iustice is to be done vnto the English by the said Lord the Master generall and his subiects in Prussia, euen as it hath bene enacted and decreed in the aboue written clause, beginning, Cæterum ne per &c. In English. Howbeit least that &c. for the said Master general, and his subiects by the foresaide ambassadors of England, and the commissioners of the said lord the Master generall, that in like cases iustice ought to be administred on the behalfe of himselfe, and of his subiects in the realme of England.

And that all and singular the couenants aboue written, may in time to come, by the parties whom they concerne, firmly and inuiolably be obserued; the forenamed ambassadors, messengers, and commissioners, all and euery of them, for the full credite, probation, and testimonie of all the premisses, haue vnto these present Indentures, made for the same purpose, caused euerie one of their seales with their owne hands to be put. One part of the which indentures remaineth in the custodie of the English ambassadors, and the other part in the hands of the commissioners of Prussia. Giuen at the castle of Marienburgh in Prussia, in the yeere of our Lorde 1405. vpon the 8. day of the moneth of October.

An agreement made betweene King Henrie the fourth and the common societie of the Marchants of the Hans.

THis Indenture made betweene the honourable Sir William Esturmy knight, and Iohn Kington clearke, procurators, messengers, and commissioners sufficiently deputed and authorized by the most mighty Prince, Lord Henry, by the grace of God king of England, and France, and lord of Ireland, for the performation of ye things vnderwritten, on the one part: and the hon. personages M. Henry Vredeland, M. Riman Salum chief notaries, Thederic Knesuolt secretary, M. Simon Clouesten chief notary, and Iohn Zotebotter citizen, being sufficiently made and ordained procurators and messengers, on the behalfe of the cities of Lubec, Bremen, Hamburg, Sund, and Gripeswold, for the demanding and obtaining seuerally, of due reformation, and recompense at the hands of our saide souereigne lord the king, and of his messengers and commissioners aforesayde, for all iniuries, damages, grieuances, and manslaughters, any wayes vniustly done, and offred seuerally by the liege people and subiects of our soueraigne lord the king, vnto the common societie of the marchants of the Hans, and vnto any of the Citizens, people and inhabitants of the cities aforesaide whatsoeuer on the other part, Witnesseth: That betweene all and euery of the saide Procurators, messengers, and Commissioners, by vertue of the authoritie committed vnto them, it hath bene and is appointed, concluded, and decreed: that the liege marchants and subiects of our said soueraigne lord the king, and the marchants of the common societie of the Dutch Hans aforesaide, from hencefoorth for one whole yeere and seuen moneths immediately next ensuing and following, shalbe permitted and licenced friendly, freely, and securely, to exercise mutual traffike, and like marchants to buy and sell together, one of, and vnto another, euen as in times past, namely, in the yeere 1400. and before that time also, they haue bin 1400.

accustomed to exercise mutuall traffike and marchandise, and to buy and sell.

Also the saide William and Iohn agreed and consented, that they themselues, or some other perhaps to be appointed in this behalfe by their saide lord the king in their stead, shall vpon the first day of the moneth of May next to come, with the continuation of the dayes following, at the towne of Dordract in Holland, or vpon any other terme or termes, then perhaps to bee limited, competently satisfie, and performe conuenient recompence vnto the saide common societie, citizens, people, and inhabitants of the cities aforesaide, and also of other cities, townes and villages of the Hans, of and for all iniuries, damages, grieuances, and drownings, or manslaughters done and committed, as they alleage, against them, deliuered and exhibited in written articles, vnto the aboue named William and Iohn, or els heereafter to bee deliuered and exhibited, either by the same procurators or by some others, which shall perhaps be authorized in their stead, or by the messengers procurators and commissioners of other cities, townes, and places of the Hans, in equall and like maner and forme, euen as at the saide terme limited, or then perhaps to be proroged, there is appointed by the said William and Iohn, reparation, reformation, and recompence vnto the inhabitants of Prussia, and Liuonia, for the iniuries, damages, and grieuances vniustly done and committed against them by the liege people and subiects of the saide soueraigne lord the king, in the presence of the mightie lord the Master general of Prussia, in his land of Prussia, as in certain letters indented, bearing date in the castle of Marienburgh in Prussia the eight day of the moneth of October, in the yeere of our lord 1405. and being made and written about the reparation, reformation, and recompence of such like iniuries &c. (the tenour whereof ought here to be vnderstood as if it were inserted) it is more manifestly contained.

It was furthermore promised by the said William and Iohn, that they should uot inforce nor compell the citizens, people, or inhabitants of the common society of the Hans, or of the aboue named cities, or of any other cities of the Hans aforesaid (hauing receiued sufficient information of their dwelling and place of abode) to more difficult or district proofes of their Articles of complaints alreadie exhibited, and in the foresaide termes to come, to bee exhibited, then vnto the inhabitants of the lands of Prussia and Liuonia, according to the forme of the Indentures aboue mentioned.

Moreouer the saide William and Iohn doe promise, that so soone as they shall come into the kingdome of England, and before the presence of their king, they shal prouide, that all and singular the priuiledges graunted vnto the marchants of the saide Hans by the renowmed kings of England, and confirmed by the said Soueraigne lord the king that now is, must, according to al their contents, be inuiolably obserued by the said soueraigne king and his subiects: and also, that from henceforth nothing is vniustly to be attempted, vpon any occasion, pretense, or colour, by the saide Soueraigne Prince, and the inhabitants of the realme of England, to the preiudice of the sayde priuiledges. They shall prouide also, that all things heretofore attempted and practised against the saide priuiledges, shall, by reasonable amendement and iust reformation, vtterly be abolished.

But if after the date of these presents (which God forfend) within the space of the said one yere and seuen moneths prescribed any damages, iniuries or grieuances, in ships, goods, or persons, should, either by the English and the inhabitants of England be vniustly inflicted vpon the cities, and marchants of the cities, townes, and places of the Hans aforesaid, or by any marchants or others of the cities or townes of the saide Hans, either vnto the English, or vnto any of the inhabitants of that Realme, vpon any fained pretense whatsoeuer, all and singular the foresaid messengers, commissioners, ambassadours, and procurators haue promised, that all such damages, iniuries and molestations so inflicted by them who shall offer and commit them, must bee reformed and amended, after the very same forme and manner, that in the like case reformation, reparation and amends of iniuries, damages, and molestations committed by the English against them of Prussia is to be performed, according vnto a certaine clause contained in the letters aboue mentioned, which beginneth: Cæterum ne per &c. In English: Howbeit least that &c. continuing vnto that clause: Et vt præscripta omnia &c. In English: And that all the couenants aboue written &c.

It was also concluded betweene the foresaide messengers, commissioners, and procurators, and with one generall consent agreed vpon, that if from the first day of the moneth of May next to come, within one whole yeere following, some conuenient, iust, and reasonable reformation be not performed vnto the parties iniured and damnified generally aboue mentioned, in regard of their damages, molestations, and iniuries: then, within three moneths after the saide yeere bee expired, the marchants of the Hans cities aforesaid are bound, without any molestation, perturbation, and impediment whatsoeuer (none other intimation or admonition being necessarie in this behalfe) to auoyde (and if no lawfull impediment shall hinder them) to abstaine and depart from the Realmes and Dominions of the said Soueraigne king of England, with their marchandize and other goods bought or gotten within the space of the saide three moneths: and also the English likewise in all respects shall auoide, abstaine, and depart from the territories and dominions of the Hans cities aforesaide.

Also it was promised by the saide William and Iohn, that at the terme appointed, namely vpon the first of May next following, or at some other terme or termes then limited or to bee limited, there must be made a due recompense, and a proportionall satisfaction, for all those persons of the land of Prussia, Liuonia, and of the cities, townes, and other places of the Hans, who haue uniustly bene drowned, and slaine by the English: and that according to the tenour of a certain schedule written concerning a recompense to be had in regarde of the saide persons drowned and slaine, and presented unto them by Albertus Rode consul of the citie of Thoren, and by the forenamed procurators and messengers of the cities aforesaid, they must faithfully and effectually, to the vtmost of their abilitie indeuour, for the obtaining of the saide recompense and amends. In witnesse whereof (these letters of indenture remaining in the possession of the saide William and Iohn the messengers, procurators, and commissioners of England aforesaid, and left in their custodie, by the aboue named procurotors and messengers Henrie Rimarus, Thedericus, Simon, and Iohn Sotebotter, of their certaine knowledge and assurance) and for the full confirmation and testimonie of al the premisses, the foresaid procurators and messengers haue put to their seales. Giuen in the towne of Dordract the 15. day of December in the yere of our Lord 1405.

William Esturmy knight, and Iohn Kington canon of Lincolne (being in this behalfe sufficiently authorized and deputed as Ambassadours, procurators, messengers and commissioners, by our said soueraigne lord the king, namely in regard of the molestations, iniuries and damages vniustly done and committed against the liege people and subiects of the foresaide most excellent Prince and lord, Lord Henry by the grace of God king of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, by the communalties of the cities of Wismer and Rostok vnderwritten, their common counsel being assembled for the same purpose, and authorized also, and as well closely as expresly maintained and ratified, by the whole companie of the common society of the marchants of the Dutch Hans) doe, in this present diet at the towne of Hage situate in the countrey of Holland, being appointed for the very same occasion, demaund of you Syr Iohn de Aa knight, and Hermannus Meyer deputies for the cities of Wismer and Rostok, and sufficientiy ordeined by authority requisite in this behalfe, to be the procurators and messengers of the said cities, that conuenient, iust, and reasonable satisfaction and recompense may certainely and effectually be done vnto the iniured and endamaged parties, who are specified in the articles vnder written.

Newcastle.

Imprimis, that about the feast of Easter, in the yeere of our Lord 1394. Henry van Pomeren, Godekin Michael, Clays Sheld, Hans Howfoote, Peter Hawfoote, Clays Boniface, Rainbek, and many others, with them of Wismer and of Rostok, being of the societie of the Hans, tooke, by maine force, a ship of Newcastle vpon Tine, called Godezere sailing vpon the sea towards Prussia, being of the burthen of two hundred tunnes, and belonging vnto Roger de Thorneton, Robert Gabiford, Iohn Paulin, and Thomas de Chester : which ship, together with the furniture thereof amounteth vnto the value of foure hundred pounds : also the woollen cloth, the red wine, the golde, and the summes of money contained in the said ship amounted vnto the value of 200. marks of English money : moreouer they vniustly slew Iohn Patanson and Iohn Russell in the surprising of the shippe and goods aforesaide, and there they imprisoned the sayde parties taken, and, to their vtter vndoing, detayned them in prison for the space of three whole yeeres.

An English ship of 200. tunnes.

Hull.

Item, that in the yeere of our Lord 1394. certaine persons of Wismer and Rostok, with others of the Hans their confederates robbed one Richard Horuse of Hull of diuers goods and marchandizes in a ship called the Shipper Berline of Prussia, beeing then valued at 160. nobles.

Item, that in the yeere of our Lorde 1395. Hans van Wethemonkule, Clays Scheld, Godekin Mighel, and one called Strotbeker, by force of armes, and by the assistance of the men of Wismer and Rostok, and others of the Hans, did vpon the Sea neere vnto Norway, wickedly and vniustly take from Iohn

Tutteburie, fiue pieces of waxe, foure hundred of werke, and halfe a last of osmundes, and other goods, to the value of foure hundred seuentie sixe nobles.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1396. one Iohn van Derlowe, Hans van Gelder, and other their complices of the Hans villainously and vniustly tooke a shippe of William Terry of Hul called the Cogge, with thirtie wollen broad clothes, and a thousand narrow clothes, to the value of 200. pounds.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1398. one Iohn van Derlowe, Wilmer, Hans van Gelder, Clays Scheld, Euerade Pilgrimson, and diuers others of the Hans, did vpon the Sea neere vnto Norway villainously and vniustly take a shippe of Iohn Wisedome of Hull called the Trinitie, with diuers goods and marchandizes, namely oyle, waxe, and werke, to the value of 300. pounds.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1399. one Clays Scheld, and others aboue written of Wismer and Rostok, with certaine others of the Hans, their confederates, wickedly and vniustly tooke from one William Pound marchant of Hull, two cakes of waxe, to the value of 18. poundes, out of the ship called the Hawkin Derlin of Dantzik.

Yorke.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1394. one Goddekin Mighel, Clays Scheld, Storbiker, and diuers others of Wismer and Rostok, and of the Hans, wickedly and vniustly tooke out of a ship of Elbing (the master whereof was called Henry Puys) of the goods and marchandizes of Henrie Wyman, Iohn Topcliffe, and Henry Lakenswither of Yorke, namely in werke, waxe, osmunds, and bowstaues, to the value of 1060. nobles.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1394. certaine malefactors of Wismer and Rostok, with others of the Hans, their confederats, wickedly and vniustly took out of a ship of Holland (the master whereof was called Hinkensman) 140. woollen clothes (the price of one of the which clothes was eight nobles) from Thomas Thester of Yorke, and a chest, with armour, siluer and Golde of the foresaid Thomas, to the value of 9. pounds.

London.

Item, in the yere of our Lord 1393. certaine malefactors of Wismer and Rostok, and others their complices of the Hans, wickedly and vniustly tooke from one Richard Abel of London woollen cloth, greene cloth, meale and fishes, to the value of 133. li. 6. s.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1405. about the feast of S. Michael, one Nicholas Femeer of Wismer marchant of the Hans, with the assistance of other his complices of the Hans aforesaide, wickedly and vniustly tooke from one Richard Morley citizen of London fiue lasts of herrings, besides 32. pounds, in the sea called Northsound.

Colchester.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1398. about the moneth of September, one Godekin Wisle, and Gerard Sleyre of Wismer and Rostok, with others of the Hans, their confederats wickedly and vniustly took out of a ship of Prussia (wherof the master was named Rorebek) from Iohn Seburgh marchant of Colchester two packs of woollen cloth, to the value of 100. markes: from Stephan Flispe, and Iohn Plumer marchants of the same town two packs of woollen cloth, to the value of 60. pounds: from Robert Wight marchant of the same towne, two packs of woollen cloth to the value of an 100. marks: from William Munde marchant of the same town, two fardels of woollen cloth, worth 40. li. and from Iohn Dawe, and Thomas Cornwaile marchants of the same towne, three packs of woollen cloth, worth 200. marks. Moreouer they tooke and imprisoned certain English men, which were in the said ship, namely William Fubborne seruant vnto Iohn Diere, Thomas Mersh seruant vnto Robert Wight, which Thomas paid for his ransome 20. nobles of English money, William Munde marchant of the towne aforesaide, which William, by reason of the extremity of that imprisonment, lost the sight of his eyes, and Thomas Cornwaile, marchant of the foresaide Towne, which Thomas paide for his raunsome twentie nobles.

Yermouth.

Norwich.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1394. certaine malefactors of Wismer and Rostok, vpon the coastes of Denmark and Norway, beneath Scawe, and at Anold, tooke Thomas Adams and Iohn Walters marchants of Yermouth: and Robert Caumbrigge and Reginald Leman marchants of Norwich, in a certaine shippe of Elbing in Prussia (whereof one Clays Goldesmith was master) with diuers woollen clothes of the saide Thomas, Iohn, Robert, and Reginald, to the value of one thousande marks English, and carried the persons and goods aforesaide, away with them: and the said Thomas, Iohn, Robert, and Reginald they imprisoned at Courtbuttressow, and there detained them, vntill they paide an hundred markes for their redemption.

Yermouth.

Item in the yeere of our Lorde 1401. some of the inhabitants of Wismer and of Rostok wickedly tooke at Longsound in Norway, a certaine shippe of West-Stowe in Zealand (the Master whereof was one Gerard Dedissen) laden with diuerse goods and marchandises of Iohn Hughson of Yermouth, namely with the hides of oxen and of sheepe, with butter, masts, sparres, boordes, questingstones and wilde werke, to the value of an hundred marks, and do as yet detaine the said things in their possession, some of the Hans being their assistants in the premisses.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1402. certaine of the Hans, of Rostok, and of Wismer, tooke vpon the coast of England, neere vnto Plimmouth a certaine barge called the Michael of Yarmouth (whereof Hugh ap Fen was the owner, and Robert Rigweys the master) laden with bay salt, to the quantitie of 130. wayes, and with a thousand canuasse clothes of Britaine, and doe as yet detaine the saide goods in their possession, the said Hugh being endamaged, by the losse of his ship, and of his goods aforesaid 800. nobles and the foresaid Master and the mariners loosing, in regard of their wages, canuas, and armour, 200. nobles.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1405. certain malefactors of Wismer wickedly and vniustly tooke, in a certaine port of Norway called Selaw, a ship of Yarmouth (the owner whereof was William Oxney and the master Thomas Smith) laden with salt, cloth, and salmon, to the value of 40. pound, and doe as yet detaine the said ship and goods in their possession, some of the Hans their confederates ayding and assisting them at the same time.

Cleye.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. one Godekin Mighel, Clays Scheld, Stertebeker, and other their accomplices of the Hans, vnlawfully tooke vpon the sea a certaine ship of one Iohn Dulwer of Cley, called the Friday (whereof Laurence Tuk of Cleywas master) and conueyed the ship it self vnto Maustrond in Norway, and the saide Master and mariners they robbed of diuers commodities, namely of artillery, furniture, and salt fishes being in the same ship, to the value of 500. nobles.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. Godekin Mighel, Clays Scheld, Stertebeker, and other their accomplices of the Hans vnlawfully tooke vpon the sea a certaine ship of one William Bets of Cleys called the Margaret (wherein Robert Robines was master) and conueyed the ship it self vnto Mawstrond in Norway, and there robbed the master and his partners of diuers commodities, namely of artillerie, furniture, and salt fishes, to the value of 400. nobles, and one of the said masters mates they maliciously drowned.

Item, in the yeeere of our Lord 1395. about the feast of the natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptist, the forenamed Godekin and Stertebeker, with others their accomplices of the Hans, vnlawfully took vpon the sea a certain ship of Nicholas Steyhard and Iohn Letis of Cley called the Nicholas (whereof Iohn Prest was master) and conueyed the said ship vnto Mawstrond, and there robbed the said master and his companie of diuers commodities, namely of furniture and salt fishes, being in the said ship, to the value of 320. nobles.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. about the feast aforesaid, the said Godekins and Stertebeker, and their companions of the Hans vniustly took vpon the sea a certaine ship of Thomas Peirs of Cley called the Isabel (whereof William Noie was master) and conueyed it vnto Mawstrond, and there robbed the said master and his company of diuers commidities, as namely of furniture, and salt fishes, being in the said ship, to the value of 406. nobles.

Item, in the yeere next aboue mentioned, vpon the Saterday, about the foresaid feast, the forenamed Godekins and Stertebeker, and other their accomplices of the Hans unlawfully took vpon the sea, a certain ship of one Thomas Lyderpole of Cley, called the Helena, wherein Robert Alwey was master, and also wickedly and vniustly drowned in the bottom of the sea diuers commodities, as namely salt fishes, together with the ship it selfe.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1398. about the feast of S. Michael the archangel, the foresaid Godekin and Stertebeker, with other their confederats of the Hans, took at Langsound in Norway a certain crayer of one Thomas Motte of Cley, called the Peter, (wherein Thomas Smith was master) and the foresaid crayer they wickedly and vniustly caried away, being worth 280. nobles.

Wiueton.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. about the feast of the natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptist, the forenamed Godekins and Stertebeker, and others of the Hans vniustly tooke a certain ship of Simon Durham, called the Dogger-ship, and the Peter of Wiueton, laden with salt fishes (whereof Iohn Austen was master) vpon the coast of Denmarke. And they caried away the saide Dogger, with the furniture thereof, and the foresaid salt fishes, to the value of 170. pound. Moreouer, the master, and 25. mariners in the same ship they maliciously slewe, and a certaine ladde of the saide Dogger they caried with them vnto Wismer.

Item, in the foresaid yeere, and about the feast aforesaid, the forenamed Godekins and Stertebeker, with other their complices, vniustly tooke vpon the sea a certain ship of Thomas Lyderpole, and Iohn Coote of Wiueton: and the master and mariners which were in the saide shippe, they villanously slue, among whom they put to death one Simon Andrew, the godsonne, nephew, and seruant of the foresaid Simon Durham. Which ship, with the goods and furniture that were therein was worth 410. nobles.

Item, in the very same yeere, about the feast aforesaid, the forenamed Godekins and Stertebeker and other their complices wickedly spoiled a certaine ship of the foresaid Simon Durham called the Dogger, wherein Geruase Cat was master, lying at an anker, while the companie were occupied about fishing, and likewise vniustly tooke away with them the salt fishes, and furniture of the said ship. Moreouer, the master and his company that were in the said Dogger they beate and wounded, so that they vtterly lost their fishing for that yeere, the master and his said companie being endamaged thereby, to the summe of 200. nobles.

Item, in the yere of our Lord 1396. the foresaid Godekins and Stertebeker, and other their complices vniustly tooke vpon the sea a certain crayer, called the Buss of Zeland, which one Iohn Ligate marchant, and seruant vnto the forenamed Simon Durham had laden in Prussia, on the behalfe of the said Simon, to saile for England, and spoiled the said craier, and also tooke and caried away with them the goods and marchandises of the said Simon, being in the foresaid ship, to the value of 66. pounds.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1397. certaine malefactors of Wismer and Rostok, with certaine others of the Hans, tooke a crayer of one Peter Cole of Zeland, called the Bussship, which Alan Barret the seruant and factor of the foresaid Simon Durham had laden with mastes, sparres, and other marchandize, for the behalfe of the said Simon, and vniustly tooke from thence the goods of the said Simon, to the value of 24. pounds, and caried the same away.

Lenne.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1394. certaine malefactors of Wismer and others of the Hans vniustly tooke vpon the sea, and caried away with them a packe of woollen cloth of the foresaid Simon, worth 42. pounds, out of a certain crayer of one Thomas Fowler of Lenne being laden and bound for Dantzik in Prussia.

Item, pitifully complaining the marchants of Lenne doe auouch, verifie, and affirme, that about the feast of S. George the martyr, in the yeere of our Lord 1394. sundry malefactors and robbers of Wismer and Rostok, and others of the Hans, with a great multitude of ships, arriued at the towne of Norbern in Norway, and tooke the said town by strong assault, and also wickedly and vniustly took al the marchants of Lenne there residing with their goods and cattels, and burnt their houses and mansions in the same place, and put their persons vnto great ransoms: euen as by the letters of safeconduct deliuered vnto the said marchants it may more euidently appeare, to the great damage and impouerishment of the marchants of Lenne: namely, Inprimis they burnt there 21. houses belonging vnto the said marchants, to the value of 440. nobles. Item, they tooke from Edmund Belyetere, Thomas Hunt, Iohn Brandon, and from other marchants of Lenne, to the value of 1815. pounds.

21. houses of English marchants burnt at Norbern in Norway.

[Concerning this surprise Albertus Krantzius in the sixt book of his history of Norway,* and the 8. Chapter writeth in maner following.

IN the meane while Norway enioyed peace vnder the gouernment of a woman: vntil Albertus king of Suecia, who had now seuen yeeres continued in captiuity vnder Queen Margaret, was to be set at liberty. Which, when the common souldiers of Rostok and Wismer, called the Vitalians perceiued, (who, whilest their king was holden captiue, in the right of the forenamed cities, for the behalfe of their lord the king being prince of Mekleburg by birth, vndertooke and waged warre al the time of his captiuitie) banding their forces together, they resolued, at their own costs and charges, but in the right of the said cities, to saile into the 3. kingdoms, and to take such spoiles as they could lay hold on. These common souldiers therfore, seeing an end of their tyrannical and violent dealing to approach, sailed into Norway, vnto the towne of Norbern, being a mart town for al the marchants of Germanie: who transporting fishes from thence, doe bring thither marchandises of all kinds, especially corne, vnto the scarcitie whereof, vnlesse it be brought out of other countreys, that kingdome (as we haue said) is very much subiect. Departing out of their ships and going on shore, they set vpon the towne, and by fire and sword they easily compelled the inhabitants

The Vitalians.

---

* *Chronica regnorum Aquiloniorum Daniæ, Sueciæ, Norwegiæ, Argentorati,* 1546. Folio.

dwelling in weake wodden houses, to giue place. Thus these Vitalians entring and surprising the towne conueyed such spoiles vnto their ships as them pleased, and hauing laden their ships with those booties, they returned home frolike vnto the ports of their own cities. Without all respect, they robbed and rifled the goods, aswel of the Germanes, as of the Noruagians: and like lewde companions, wasting and making hauock of all things, prooued themselues neuer the wealthier. For it is not the guise of such good fellowes to store vp or to preserue ought. The citizens, at the first, seemed to be inriched: howbeit afterward, (no man misdoubting any such calamitie) goods ill gotten were worse spent. Thus farre Krantzius.]

Item, pitifully complaining, the foresaide marchants auouch, verifie, and affirme, that vpon the 14. day after the feast of S. George, in the yeere of our Lord next aboue written, as 4. ships of Lenne, laden with cloth, wine, and other marchandises, were sailing vpon the maine sea, with all the goods and wares conteined in them, for Prussia, sundry malefactors of Wismer and Rostok, with others of the Hans, being in diuers ships, came vpon them, and by force of armes and strong hand tooke the said ships, with the goods and marchandises contained in them: and some of the people which were in the saide foure ships, they slew, some they spoyled, and others they put vnto extreame ransomes. And carying away with them those foure ships with the commodities and marchandise therin, they parted stakes therwith, as them listed, to the great impouerishment and losse of the said marchants of Lenne, namely in cloth of William Silesden, Tho. Waterden, Ioh. Brandon, Ioh. Wesenham, and other marchants of Lenne, to the value of 3623. li. 5. s. 11. d.

Item, pitifully complaining, the foresaid marchants doe affirme, that one Henry Lambolt and other his adherents, in the yeere of our Lord 1396. tooke vpon the maine sea betweene Norway and Scaw, one crayer laden with osmunds, and with diuers other marchandises, perteining vnto Iohn Brandon of Lenne, to the summe and value of 443. li. 4. s. 2. d. Moreouer, they tooke from Iohn Lakingay 4. lasts and an halfe of osmunds, to the value of 220. lib. 10. s.

Item, the foresaid marchants complaine, that certain malefactors of Wismer, with other their complices of the Hans, in the yeere of our Lord 1396. tooke from Thomas Ploket of Lenne, out of a certaine ship sailing vpon the maine sea towards Sconeland (whereof Iames Snycop was master) cloth and other marchandise, to the summe and value of 13. lib. 13. s. 4. d.

Item, the aboue-named marchants complaine saying, that certaine malefactors of Wismer, with others of the Hans society, in the yere of our Lord 1397. wickedly and vniustly took out of a certaine ship of Dantzik (whereof Laurence van Russe was master) from Ralph Bedingam of Lenne, one fardel* of cloth worth 52. li. 7. s. 6. d. Also, for the ransome of his seruant, 8. li. 6. s. 8. d. Item, they tooke from Thomas Earle diuers goods, to the value of 24. pounds.

Item, the foresaid marchants complaine, that certaine malefactors of Wismer of Rostok, with others of the Hans, in the yeere of our Lord 1399, wickedly and vniustly tooke one crayer pertayning vnto Iohn Lakinglich of Lenne, laden with diuers goods and marchandise pertaining vnto sundry marchants of Lenne, namely from the forenamed Iohn one fardel of cloth, and one chest full of harneis, and other things, to the value of 90. lib. Item, they took out of the foresaid ship from Roger Hood, one fardel of cloth, and one chest with diuers goods, to the value of 58. lib. Item, from Iohn Pikeron, one fardell of cloth, and one chest with diuers goods, to the value of 440. lib. Item, from Andrew Purser one fardell of cloth, and one chest with diuers commodities therein, to the value of ten pounds.

Item, the aboue named marchants complaine saying, that certaine malefactors of Wismer and Rostok, and others of the Hans, namely, Godekin Mighel, Henrie van Hall de Stertebeker, with other of their confederates, in the yeere of our Lord 1399. wickedly and vniustly took from Iohn Priour of Lenne, out of the ship of Michael van Burgh, namely 160. nests of masers, worth 100. lib. 13. s. 4. d. Item, 30. furres rigges of Kaleber woorth 13. s. 4. d. a piece, the summe totall amounting to 20. li. Item, 20. furres wombys of Kalebre worth &c. Item, one girdle of siluer, and one dagger adorned with silver worth 30. s. Item, two coates, and one long iacket, and other goods, to the value of 30. s. Item, he paide for his ransome 4. lib. 13. s. 4. d.

Vnto all and singular the articles aboue-written, the ambassadors of England aforesaid do further adde, that the doers and authors

---

* *Fardel*, a burden. (French, *Fardeau.*)

Note the secret treasons of the Hans.

of the damages, iniuries, and robberies set down in the articles aboue written, (of whom some are named in particular, and others in general) performed and committed all those outrages, being hired thereunto at the expenses and charges of the common societies of the cities aforesaid. And that the inhabitants of euery houshold in the foresaide cities (ech man according to his ability) wittingly and purposely set foorth one, two, or more men, for the very same expedition, wherein all and singular the foresaid trespasses were committed.

The foresaid English ambassadors doe exhibite the articles aboue-written vnto the procurators of the cities of Wismer and Rostok aforesaid: leaue and libertie being alwayes reserued vnto the said ambassadors, to enlarge, or to diminish or to expound all, or euery, or any of the said Articles whatsoeuer, so often as it shall seeme expedient vnto them.

These be the grieuances and offences, whereat the marchants of the Hans of Almaine, comming vnto, and residing in the Realme of England, doe finde themselues aggrieued, contrarie to the Articles and priuileges of the Charter graunted vnto them by the worthy Progenitors of the king of England that now is, and also by the saide soueraigne Lord the King, ratified, and confirmed.

IMprimis, whereas the oresaide marchants haue a priuilege graunted vnto them by Charter, that they may, in cities, boroughs, and in other towns and villages throughout the whole realme of England, exercise traffique in grosse, as wel with the natural inhabitants of the kingdome, as with strangers, and priuate persons: of late, those that are free denizens in the cities, boroughs, and villages within the foresaid kingdome, do hinder and restrain all others that be strangers, foreners, and aliens, that they neither can, not dare buy and sel with the marchants of the Hans aforesaid, to their great hinderance and losse.

Item, the foresaid by vertue of their charter were wont to haue and to hold Innes and mansions, for the reposing of themselues and of their goods, wheresoever they pleased in any cities, boroughs, or villages, throughout the whole kingdome: howbeit of late the foresaide marchants are not suffered to take vp their mansions, contrary to the tenour of their charter.

Item, the foresaid marchants are priuileged not to vndergoe any other burthens or impositions, but onely to pay certaine customs, as it doeth by their charter manifestly appeare. Notwithstanding at ye same time when Simon de Moreden was maior of London, the foresaid marchants were constrained, in the ward of Doue-gate at London, to pay fifteenths, tallages, and other subsidies contrary to the liberties of their charter. Whereupon the saide marchants prosecuted the matter before the Councel of our soueraign lord the king, insomuch that they were released from paying afterward any such tallages, fifteenths, and subsidies. Which marchants, a while after, of their owne accord and free will, gaue vnto the gild-hall of London an hundreth markes sterling, conditionally, that they of the citie aforesaid shoulde not at any time after exact or demaund of the said marchants, or of their successors, any tallages, fifteenths, or subsidies, contrary to the tenor of their charter, as by records in the foresaid gild-hall, it doth more plainly appeare. Howbeit of late the officers of our lord the king, in the foresaid ward of Doue-gate, constrained the marchants aforesaid to pay tallages, fifteenths, and other subsidies. And because the saide marchants murmured and refused to pay any such contributions, alleaging their priuileges, the foresaid officers arrested the goods of those said marchants (which are as yet detained vpon the arrest) notwithstanding that they were released before the councel of our soueraigne lord the king, and also that they gaue vnto the said gild-hall one hundreth marks to be released, as it is aforesaid. And also the foresaid marchants were constrained to pay 12. d. in the pound, and of late 6. d. and other subsidies, more then their ancient customes, to the great damage of those marchants.

The ancient customes of wools.

Item, the foresaid marchants are priuileged as touching customs of wols by them bought within the realm of England, y^t they are not bound to pay, ouer and besides their ancient customs, but onely xl. d. more then the homeborn marchants of England were wont to pay. But now ye foresaid marchants are compelled to pay for euery sack of wool (besides ye ancient custom and the 40. d. aforesaid) a certain imposition called Pence for the town of Cales, namely for euery sack of wool 19. d. more then the marchants of England doe pay, to their great losse, and against the liberty of their charter.

Pence for the towne of Cales.

Item, the foresaid marchants are priuileged by their charter, that concerning the quantity of their merchandize brought into the realme of England (in regard whereof they are bound to pay 3. d. for the worth of euery pound of siluer) credit is to be giuen vnto them for the letters of their masters and of their companies, if they were able to shew them. And if so be they had no letters in this behalfe to shew, that then credite should bee giuen vnto themselues, and that their othe, or the othe of their atturney should be taken, without any other proof, as touching the value of their merchandize so brought in, and that thereupon they should be bound to pay customs, namely the customes of 3. d. iustly for that cause to be paid. But nowe the customers of our soueraigne lorde the king put their goods to an higher rate then they ought or were woont to be: and heereupon they compell them to pay custome for their goods, at their pleasure, scanning about their fraight and expenses particularly disbursed in regard of the said goods and marchandize, to the great hinderance of the said marchants, and against the tenor of their charter.

The great charter of marchants.

Item, the foresaid marchants by way of pitiful complaint do alleage, that whereas the worthy progenitors of our Lord the king that now is, by vertue of the saide great charter, graunted liberty vnto them to pay the customes of certain clothes, namely of skarlet, and cloth died in grayne, and of other clothes of assise, which were by them to be caried out of the realme of England, euen as by their foresaid Charter it doeth more plainly appeare: and whereas our soueraigne lord the king that now is (ratifying and confirming the saide charter, and being willing that they shoulde haue more especiall fauour shewed vnto them) granted vnto them by their Charter, that the said marchants should be exempted and freed from all custome and imposition of small clothes, as in pieces and in narrow clothes which were not of assise, and in such other clothes of like qualitie: yet of late the Customers of our Lorde the King that nowe is, not allowing their saide speciall Charter so graunted vnto the marchants aforesaid, do compel them to pay for straight clothes and for pieces of clothes which are not of assise, (together with other demands particularly and seuerally made) as great custome as if the clothes were full out of assise. Moreouer also of late, the customers of the smal or pety custome and of the subsidie doe demand of them custome for kersey-clothes equal vnto the custome of those clothes, that be of ful assise, whereas

A speciall Charter.

The customers of the pety custome.

the foresaid marchants were not wont to pay for those kerseys by vertue of their Charter, but onely according to the worth of ech pound of siluer, as namely for other goods which are of golde weight: to the great hindèrance of the foresaid parties, and against the manifest graunt of our soueraigne Lord the king, as it appeareth in the said speciall Charter.

Item, the said marchants alleage, that they are priuiledged by their Charter, if they pay custome and subsidy for their goods in the behalfe of our lord the king, at any port of England where those goods haue arriued, and afterward would transport the saide goods or any part of them vnto any other port within the realme aforesaid: that then they should be quite released from paying of any other custome for the same goods, if they bring a warrant that they haue paide the saide custome, as is aforesaide. Of late it fortuned, that a certaine man of their societie named Nicholas Crossebaire, being a marchant of the lande of Prussia, immediately after the concord was concluded betwene the English and the Prussians, brought vnto the towne of Sandwich a shippe laden with bowe-staues and other marchandize, and there well and truely paide the custome of our lord the king for all his ware: and selling there part of the same goods, he afterward transported parcel thereof in a small barke vnto London, there to be solde, and caried a warrant also with him, that he had at Sandwich paid the custome due vnto our lord the king: and yet (the said warrant notwithstanding) the customers of the pety custome and subsidy of London came and demanded custome of him at another time contrary to reason, and against the tenor of their charter: and the said Nicholas offred pledges vnto them, yea, euen ready money downe into their hands, vntil the question were discussed and determined, whether he should pay new custome or no: but this they would not doe. Then the said Nicholas brought a brief from our lord the king, to get himselfe discharged from paying the said custome: and for all that, the foresaid customers would not as yet haue regard vnto him, but kept the said goods within shipboord, vpon the riuer of Thames, for the space of 15. dayes, vntil he had paid another custome, to the great losse of the said Nicholas, for that which he sold first at Sandwich to be deliuered at London for seuen nobles, he could not afterward haue for it aboue foure nobles, and yet so was it solde, by reason of the harme which his wares had taken by lying so long vpon the water, contrary to the tenor of their Charter.

1405.

Item, the said marchants do alleage, that another of their company called Peter Hertson bought at Bristow certain clothes, and laded the same in a ship, to be transported for Prussia, for the which he truely paide at Bristowe, the customs and subsidies due vnto our soueraign lord the king: which ship with the foresaid goods arriuing at London: the customers of the pety-custome and of the subsidie there would not permit the said ship with the goods to passe vnto the parts aforesaid, vntil the said Peter had paid another custome for the same goods (the warrant, which he brought with him notwithstanding) to his great hindrance, and contrary to the tenour of their Charter.

Item, pitifully complaining the foresaid marchants alleage, that wheras euery marchant, bringing wares into the realm, was wont to haue a schedule wherein his name was written, for a specification and certificat of the quantity of his goods in the said schedule to be found at the arriual of the ship, without paying therfore ought at all, of late the customers of the pety custome do compel them to pay for ech mans name written a peny, at ye arriual of their goods out of euery ship wherin the said goods are found, what commodities and marchandize soeuer they be: whenas notwithstanding, if there be a chest or any other smal matter, there should not therfore be any custome due vnto our lord the king, nor any receiued vnto his Maiesties vse. In like maner do the customers of the subsidy deale. Whereas also the foresaid marchants were not wont to pay for a cocket for the conueyance and transportation of their goods out of the realme (albeit many names were written theirne) more then 4. d. of late the customers of the pety custom do compel them to pay for euery name contained in the same cocket 4. d. and in like sort do the customers of the saide subsidy deale. Which contribution in a yere extendeth it self vnto a great summe, to the vnknown prejudice of our lord the king, more then any man could suppose, (for the customers enioy their fees and commodities from his Maiestie that they may doe him faithfull seruice) and likewise to the great damage of the said marchants.

The customers of the subsidie.

Item, pitifully complaining the said marchants do alleage that they are constrained to pay for subsidy, sometime 12. d. and somtime 6. d. in the pound, contrary to the tenor of their charter: and yet notwithstanding when their marchandize commeth to the wharf, the customers prolong and delay the time 3. or 4. weeks before they wil take custome for their goods, in the which space other marchants sel their goods, the customers not regarding whether the goods aforesaid take wet or no; to the great damage aswel of our lord the king, as of the said marchants: because, if they had quicke dispatch, they might pay custome vnto his Maiestie oftner then they doe.

Item, the said marchants doe farther alleage, that the customers of the petie custome, and of the subsidie in the port of London haue appointed among themselues certaine men to seale vp the goods of the saide marchants, so soon as they are arriued at the port of safetie, vntil the said goods be customed. By meanes of the which sealing, the foresaide parties doe compell the marchants aboue-named, (vpon an vse and custome whereof themselues haue bene the authors) to paye a certaine summe of money, to the great hinderance of the sayde marchants, and contrarie to iustice and to their charter. Moreouer, the saide customers haue ordained betweene themselues, that the saide marchants shall put or make vp no cloth into fardels, to transport out of the realme, vnlesse certaine men appointed by them for the same purpose bee there present, to see what maner of clothes they bee, vnder paine of the forfeiture of the saide goods. Also of late, when the sayde marchants would haue made up such fardels, the foresayde parties assigned to be ouerseers refused to come, vnlesse they might haue for their comming some certain summe of money, delaying and procrastinating from day to day, so long as themselues listed, to the great losse and vndoing of the foresaide marchants, and contrarie to their liberties: because the foresaide customers are bound by their office to doe this, without any contribution therefore to bee paide vnto them by the saide marchants: for that they doe enioy from our soueraigne Lord the King their fees and commodities, to the ende that they may serue him and euery marchant iustly and faithfully, without any contribution by them to be imposed anewe vpon the sayde marchants, of custome.

Item, the said marchants doe alleage, that the customers and balifs of the town of Southampton do compel them to pay for euery last of herrings, pitch, and sope ashes brought thither by them 2. s. more then the kings custome: and for ech hundreth of bowstaues and boords called Waghenscot, 2. d. for euery hundreth of boords called Richolt, 4. d. and for al other marchandize brought by the foresaid marchants vnto the same towne: which contributions they never paid at any time heretofore, being greatly to their hinderance, and contrary to the tenour of their Charter.

Item, the foresaid marchants do alleage, that one of their company, called Albert Redewish of Prussia, bringing diuers goods and marchandizes vnto Newcastle vpon Tine, and there paying the vsual custom of 3. d. in the pound for al his wares, the bailifs of the saide towne, against all reason, exacted 7. pound sterling at his hands more then the custome: whereupon the foresaide marchant got a briefe from the kings maiesty, for the recouery of the saide 7. li. according to equity and reason: howbeit, that at the comming of the said briefe the foresaid balifes would do nothing on his behalfe, but would haue slaine their foresaid associate, contrary to their charter and priuiledges.

William Esturmy knight, and Iohn Kington canon of Lincolne, being by ye most mighty prince and lord, L. Henry by Gods grace K. of England and France and lord of Ireland, sufficiently deputed and appointed to parle, treate, and agree w^t the common society of ye marchants of the Hans of Dutchland or Almain, concerning and about the redressing and reformation of vniust attempts happening between our said soueraign L. the king his liege people and subiects on the one part, and between the common society aforesaid, the cities, towns, and particular persons thereof on the other part: do (for the behalf of our said soueraign L. the King, with a mind and intention to haue al and singular ye things vnderwritten to come to the knowledge of the said common society) intimate, declare, and make known vnto you (hono. sirs) Henr. Westhoff citizen and deputy of the city of Lubec, Henry Fredelaw, Ioh. van Berk citizen of Colen, Mainard Buxtehude citizen, and deputy of the city of Hamburgh, M. Simon Clawstern clerk, sir Iohn de Aa knight deputie of the citie of Rostok, Herman Meyer deputy of the citie of Wismar, being, as the procurators, messengers, and commissioners of the foresaid cities, assembled together at the town of Hage in Holland, with ye forenamed Will. and Iohn in regard of the foresaid redres and reformation: that, euen as our said soueraign L. the king his meaning is not to disturb or hinder such priuiledges as haue bin heretofore granted and vouchsafed vnto the common society of the marchants aforesaid, by the renoumed kings of England, and the worthy progenitors of our L. the K. that now is, and by himself also vnder a certain form confirmed: euen so he is determined (without ye preiudice of forren lawes) vpon iust, mature, and sober deliberation, by his royall authoritie to withstand such priuiledges, as by reason of the abuse thereof, haue bene infinitely preiudiciall vnto himselfe and his subiects.

Inprimis the said ambassadours doe affirme as afore, that whereas all and euery the Marchants of the said company, as often as they would, were, both in the Realme of England, and in other territories and dominions subiect vnto our soueraigne lord the king, admitted and suffered (according to the tenor of the fore-named priuiledges granted vnto them) freely, friendly and securely to traffique and conuerse with any of his Maiesties liege people and subiects whatsoeuer, or with other people of whatsoeuer nation liuing in the realme of England, or in the dominions aforesaid: the said common society of marchants by their publike and deliberate common counsel did appoint and ordain, y^t no society in any cities, townes, or places, neither yet any particular man of any such society (there being no lawfull or reasonable cause why) shoulde in any wise admit any marchants of the realm of England resorting vnto their cities or other places for marchandise, to enioy intercourse of traffike: but that the saide English marchants should bee altogether excluded from all traffike and mutuall conuersation among them, by denouncing and inflicting grieuous penalties of money as well vpon cities as other places, and vpon particular marchants also of the foresaid societie practising the contrary.

Item, that immediately after, the foresaid parties enacting and ordaining published their sayde statute and ordinance, in all kingdomes, prouinces, partes, cities, and townes, wherin any marchants of the said societie were conuersant.

Item, that after that publication, the statute and ordinance aforesaid by euery of the marchants of the forenamed society were inuiolably obserued.

Item, that the said statute and ordinance hath bene so rigorously put in execution, that whereas immediately after certaine English marchants with their ships, mariners, and marchandize beeing in a certaine part of one of the principall cities of the foresaide societie, vtterly destitute of meate, drinke, and money, publikely offred to sell their wollen clothes of England, onely to prouide themselues of necessary victuals: yet the marchants of the saide citie, stoutely persisting in their statute and ordinance aforesaid, straightly prohibited the buying of such clothes, vnchristianly denying meate and drinke vnto the said English marchants.

Item, the foresaid society decreed and ordained, that no marchant of the saide company should in any place or countrey whatsoeuer, buy any woollen clothes of the realme or dominion of England (albeit offered by others and not by English men) or, hauing bought any, should, after the terme prefixed, sel them, imposing grieuous pecuniary mulcts, besides the forfeiture of the clothes so bought or sold, vpon them that would attempt the contrary.

Item, that after the said statute and ordinance, the foresaide societie decreed, that all marchants of the said companie, hauing among their wares and marchandise any woollen clothes made in England, should either sell the saide clothes, or within a short space then limited should, vnder penaltie of forfeiting the said clothes, vtterly renounce the vse and commoditie thereof: Notwithstanding a grieuous penaltie of money being imposed vpon the violaters of the same statute.

The Hans societie determineth the ouerthrow of English marchants.

Item, that the statutes and ordinances aforesaid might with more speed and celerity be put in execution, the said authors and publishers thereof imagining, according to their desire, that by this meanes an vtter extirpation and ouerthrow of English marchants might, yea and of necessity must ensue: upon their serious and long premeditated deliberation, straitely commanded and inioyned, vnder pain of losing the benefit of all privileges, wheresoeuer, or by the princes of what lands, or the Magistrates of what Cities or townes soeuer vouchsafed vnto the said common societie, that not only the aldermen of that society in al places throughout the realme of England, but also al other marchants of the said company, after the maner of marchants conuersing in the said Realme, should, without exception of persons, vtterly abstein from all intercourse of traffike with the marchants of the realme aforesaid: yea, and that they shoulde depart out of the said kingdome within a very short space limited. For the dispatching of al which premisses without delay, it was according to their commandement effectually prouided.

Statutes against yͤ English marchants in Norway and in Suedland.

Item, that the society aforesaid hath approued diuers very vnreasonable statutes and ordinances, made and published by the marchants of the same society residing in the kingdoms of Norway and Swedland, to the great preiudice of the kingdome of England, and the marchants thereof: and as yet both couertly and expresly do approue the same, vniustly putting them in daily execution.

Item, wheras in the priuileges and indulgences granted by ye renoumed princes somtimes kings of England, ye worthy progenitors of our souereign lord the king y^t^ now is, vnto the society aforesaid, it is prouided, y^t^ the said marchants shal not auow any man which is not of their company, nor shal not colour his goods and marchandize vnder their company; whereas also in the confirmation of the sayd priuiledges made up by our soueraigne lord that nowe is, it is manifestly prouided, that the marchants of the Hans towns, vnder the colour of their priuiledges in England, shall not vpon paine of the perpetuall frustration and reuocation of the foresayd priuiledges, receiue any stranger of any other towne in their liberties, by whom the kings custome may in any sort be withholden or diminished: and yet the contrary vnto al these prouisoes hath bin euery yere, for these 20. yeres or thereabout notoriously practised and committed, as well ioyntly by the generall counsell, and toleration of the foresayd society, as also seuerally by the aduise and permission of diuers particular cities of the foresayd Hans company to the great diminution of his maiesties custome, the estimation whereof the foresayd ambassadors are not able at this present fully to declare. But that all occasions of the last aboue mentioned diminution may bee preuented for the time to come, the sayd ambassadors doe demand to haue from the foresayd societie a declaration in writing, what and what maner of territories, cities, townes, villages or companies they be, for which the sayd society challengeth and pretendeth, that they ought to enioy the priuiledges granted vnto their marchants, as is aboue mentioned.

How many and which be the Hans townes.

Moreouer, it is required by the foresaid ambassadors, if the societie aforesayd hath not decreed nor ordayned the things aboue written, that the names of the cities and places decreeing and ordaining such statutes and ordinances, may by the sayd common society either now or at some other times and places conuenient for the same purpose, be expressed and set downe in writing.

A letter of Henry the fourth king of England &c. unto Frater Conradus de Iungingen the Master generall of Prussia.

HEnrie &c. to the most noble and mighty personage of sacred religion F: Conradus de Iungingen Master general of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Marie, our most deare friend, greeting, and continual perfection of amity.

When as your messengers and ambassadors were of late personally present in Holland, and there expected the arriual of our ambassadors vntill the first day of the moneth of Nouember last expired, that there might bee by way of friendly conference a remedie prouided in regard of certaine iniuries pretended to be offered, by both our subiects one against another, for the publique commoditie of both parts, we were determined to haue sent vnto Dordract, at the foresaid daye, our welbeloued and faithfull knight William Sturmy, and our welbeloued clerke Iohn Kington, vpon our ambassage-affayres : hauing as yet in our desires, for a peaceable ending of the matter, (which, our foresayd ambassadors, by reason of the shortnes of time, or the finding out of some other remedie and happy conclusion of all and singular the foresaid attempts concerning the principall busines, could by no meanes at that instant attaine vnto) that vpon some other more conuenient day (to the end your ambassadors might not returne home altogether frustrate of their expectation) there might be, after the wonted friendly maner, a conference and agreement with your foresaid ambassadors, euen as by other letters of ours directed vnto your sayd ambassadors the second day of the moneth of Nouember aforesayd wee haue deliuered our mind vnto them. But it fortuned not long before the departure of your ambassadors into their owne countrey, that no sufficient shipping could be found wherein our sayd ambassadors might haue secure and safe passage vnto Dordract, or Middleburgh, neither was it thought that they should get any passage at all, till the ships at Middleborough were returned into our kingdome, by the force whereof they might be the more strongly wafted ouer. And so by reason of the departure of your ambassadours, all matters remaine in suspense till such time as the sayd ambassadors shall againe meete with ours to adde perfection vnto the busines as yet imperfect. Wherefore (our friend unfainedly beloued) desiring from the bottome of our heart that the integritie of loue, which hath from auncient times taken place betweene our and your subiects, may in time to come also be kept inuiolable, we have thought good once again to send one of our foresaid ambassadors, namely William Esturmy knight to Dordract, giuing him charge thither to make haste, and there to stay, till some of your messengers, at your commandement doe in time conuenient repayre vnto that place, there (by Gods assistance) to bring the matter vnto an happy conclusion. May it please you therefore of your vnfayned friendship, without all inconuenience of delay, to returne, not vnto vs, but vnto our forenamed knight an answere in writing, what your will and determination is. Neither let it seeme strange vnto you, that we haue not at this present sent our forenamed Iohn Kington clerke together with the sayd William: for the cause of his abode with vs is, that he may in the meane season employ his care and diligence about those matters which must be preparatiues for the finall conclusion of the foresayd busines. Honorable sir, and most deare friend, we doe most heartily wish increase of prosperity and ioy vnto your person. Given in our palace of Westminster the 14. day of Feb. in the yeare of our Lord 1407. 1407.

To the right noble and valiant knight Sir William Sturmy sent at this present by the most souereigne King of England &c. as his ambassadour vnto Dordract, his most sincere friend.

HOnorable sir, our most entier friend, wee receiued the royall letters of the most mighty prince and lord, our lord the king of England and France and lord of Ireland, sent vnto vs vnder the date of the 14. day of February (which we receiued at our castle of Marienburgh the 11. of April) containing, amongst other matters, that his Maiesties purpose was once againe to sende one of his ambassadors, namely your selfe our very sincere friend vnto Dordract, giuing you in charge that you would make haste thither and there stay, vntill some of our subiects might at our commandement, in conuenient time repaire vnto the same place, there (by God's assistance) to bring our matters vnto a happy conclusion. And then he requested that wee should without delay write our determination vnto you, as the conclusion of the said letter importeth. Howbeit (our most deare friend) the treaties and conferences about the redresse or reformation of uniust attempts committed by the subiects of our sayd lord and king and our subiects, one against another, are both on our behalfe, and on the behalfe of the common societie of the Hans marchants, hitherto had, made, and continued common. And so our commissioners vpon our full and absolute commandement, shal, for the managing of these and of other affaires of the foresaid societie, many waies vrgent and difficult, vpon the feast of our Lords

Ascension next to come, meet with the said societie at Lubec, there to giue notice what they haue determined to conclude in this present busines and in others for their owne behalfe. For we will giue our ambassadours, which are there to appeare, streightly in charge that according to the kings request aforesayde they doe without delay procure an answere to be written vnto your honour concerning the determination of the foresayd societie. Giuen at the place and vpon the day aboue named, in the yeare of our Lord 1407.

Fr. Wernherus de Tettingen, commander in Elbing, general vice-master and lieutenant in the roome of the master generall of the Dutch knights of the Order of S. Marie &c. of late deceased.

The letters of Henry the 4. king of England &c. vnto Vlricus de Iungingen Master generall of Prussia, 1408. wherein he doth ratifie and accept the last agreement made at Hage in Holland.

HEnry &c. vnto the honourable and religious personage Fr. Vlricus de Iungingen Master generall of the Dutch knights of S. Marie &c. our most deare friend, greeting and dayly increase of our accustomed amity and friendship. We doe by these presents giue your honour to vnderstand, that our faithfull and welbeloued William Esturmy knight, and Master Iohn Kington clerke, our ambassadours and messengers sent of late on our behalfe, vnto the presence of your predecessour for the redressing of certaine grieuances and damages being contrary to iustice offered against vs and our liege subiects by the people and subiects of your predecessors, and against them also by our subiects as it is aforesayd, in friendly maner to be procured, of late returning out of the parts of Alemain made relation vnto vs and to our counsell, that hauing conferred with your forenamed predecessour about the foresayd affayres, the particulars following were at length concluded: namely first of all, that at a certaine day and place they should meete in Holland with his ambassadors and messengers, to hold a friendly conference betweene them about the redressing and reformation of the grieuances and damages aforesayd: and that they should by equall waight of diligent examination ponder, and in the balance of iustice discusse and define al and singular the foresaid grieuances and damages inflicted on both parts. Howbeit at length after sundry prorogations then made and continued on this behalfe, our ambassadors and messengers aforesaid vpon the 28. of August last past, assembling themselues for our part at the towne of Hage in Holland, the hon. and discreete personages Arnold Heket burgomaster of the towne of Dantzik, and Iohn Crolowe, for the behalf of your subiects of Prussia, and Tidman de Meule, and Iohn Epenscheid for the behalfe of Liuonia, being assembled as messengers and commissioners about the redresse and reformation aforesayd, did then and there demaund in certaine articles, of our ambassadours and messengers abouenamed 25034. nobles and half a noble, for the grieuances and damages offered (as it was then said) to your subiects of Prussia, and 24082. nobles 12. s. 8. d. in recompense of the damages offered vnto those your subiects of Liuonia. And when the substance of those articles about the grieuances and losses aforesayd was by the sayd ambassadours and messengers abouenamed 25034. nobles and half a noble, for the grieuances and damages offered (as it was then said) to your subiects of Prussia, and 24082. nobles, 12. s. 8. d. in recompence of the damages offered vnto those your subiects of Liuonia. And when the substance of those articles about the grieuances and losses aforesayd was by the sayd ambassadours and messengers throughly examined and discussed, by their generall consent it was finally agreed, that your subiects, in consideration of all and singular the foresayd grieuances and damages offered vnto them by our people, should within three yeares after the feast of Easter next ensuing, at three equall payments receiue from vs, namely they of Prussia, 8957. nobles, and they of Liuonia 22496. nobles, sixe pence, halfepeny, farthing, and no more, so that we our selues thought good to condescend thereunto. Howbeit, forasmuch as certaine other goods of your subiects of Prussia, and also certaine articles in the behalfe of our subiects containing grieuous complaints in them, being propounded before the ambassadors and messengers aforesaid, for the attaining of reformation in regard of the damages and grieuances offered on both parts, could not as then, for the great obscurity of diuers of the sayd articles, and also for want of sufficient proofe at the last meeting appointed and held by the foresayd ambassadors at the towne of Hage in Holland, sufficiently to be examined, discussed, and defined, it

A meeting at Hage the 28. of August 1407.

was agreed vpon by the ambassadors and messengers of both partes, that from the 15. day of October then last expired vnto the feast of Easter now next ensuing, and from thenceforth within one whole yere immediately following, the plaintifes of both parts should throughly declare before our chancelour of England for the time being, the foresayd obscurities concerning the substance of their articles, and that they should, for the obtaining of execution, and complement of iustice at our sayd chancelours hands, peremtorily minister necessary probations, vnder paine of perpetuall exclusion from the petition of those things which are contayned in the articles aboue mentioned.

Prouided alwayes, that if at the last it shall be by lawfull proofes made manifest concerning the summes aboue written or any part or parcell thereof, that due satifaction hath beene made to him or them vnto whom it was due, or that those goods of and for the which complaint hath bene made on the behalfe of your subiects haue pertained or doe appertaine vnto others, or any other iust, true, and reasonable cause may lawfully bee alleaged, why the payment of all the foresayd summes or any of them ought not to be performed: that then so much only is to be cut off or deducted from the sayd summes as shall be found to be already payd or to pertaine vnto others, or else vpon some true, iust, and reasonable cause (as is aforesayd) not to be due. We therefore considering that the sayd friendly conference, and the finall agreement ensuing thereupon are agreeable vnto reason and equitie, doe, for our part ratifie and willingly accept the very same conference and agreement. And forasmuch as it hath bene alwayes our desire, and is as yet our intention, that the league of amity and the integritie of loue, which hath of olde time bene obserued betweene our and your subiects, may in times to come perpetually remaine inuiolable, and that your and our people may hereafter, not onely for the good of our common weale but also for the commodity and peace of both parts, according to their woonted maner, assemble themselves and enioy the faithfull and mutuall conuersation one of another: we will cause in our citie of London, with the summe of 8957. nobles satisfaction to bee made vnto the Prussians, and with the summe of 22496. nobles, sixe pence, halfe peny, farthing, recompense to be performed vnto the Liuonians, in regard of the damages and iniuries (which in very deede proceeded not of our consent) by our subiects offered vnto them, as it is afore sayd, and within three yeares after the feast of Easter next ensuing the sayd summes of money to bee payed at three payments, and by three equal portions. Conditionally that vnto our subiects which be endamaged correspondent satisfaction be likewise on your part within the terme of the foresayd three yeres performed, with paying the summes of 766. nobles and of 4535. nobles, demaunded on our behalfe, and also with the payment of such summes as within one yeere immediately ensuing the feast of Easter aforesayd, shalbe found by sufficient declarations and proofes to be made on the behalfe of our subiects (as is aforesayd) to be due. Euen as we in like maner will make satisfaction vnto your subiects within our citie aforesayd. Now as touching the request of your ambassadors and of the Liuonians, whereby we were required to procure some holesome remedy for the soules of certaine drowned persons, as conscience and religion seemeth to chalenge (in regard of whom we are moued with compassion, and do for their sakes heartily condole their mishaps) you are (our entier friend) of a certaintie to vnderstand, that after we shall be by your letters aduertized of the number, state, and condition of the sayd parties drowned, we will cause suffrages of prayers and diuers other holesome remedies profitable for the soules of the deceased and acceptable to God and men, religiously to be ordained and prouided: vpon condition, that for the soules of our drowned countrey men there be the like remedie prouided by you. The almighty grant vnto your selfe and vnto your whole Order, that you may prosperously triumph ouer the enemies of Christ his crosse. Giuen vnder our priuie seale at our palace of Westminster the 26. of March, in the yeere of our lord 1408. and in the ninth yere of our reigne.

The letters of Fr: Vlricus Master of Prussia directed vnto the king of England, signifying that he is contented with the agreements concluded by his messengers at Hage.

To the most renowmed prince and mighty lord L. Henrie king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, our most gracious lord.

VNto your highnes pleasure at all assaies humbly recommending my voluntarie seruice &c. Most renowmed king, mighty prince, and gracious Lord, we receiued of late with great reuerence as it becommeth vs, by our wellbeloued Arnold de Dassel the bearer of these presents, your Maiesties letters of late directed vnto vs, making mention amongst other matters of certaine appointments first made and concluded between the noble and worthy personages William Esturmy knight, Iohn Kington clerke, and William Brampton citizen of London your ambassadours and messengers on the one parte, and our honorable and religious brethren, namely Conradus Lichtensten great commander, Warnherus de Tettingen chiefe hospitalary and commander in Elbing, and Arnold de Hacken treasurer, being the procuratours and commissioners of Fra. Conradus de Iungingen our last predecessour of famous memory on the other parte, concerning the redressing, reformation, and amendement of vniust attempts committed on both sides, at our castle of Marienburgh, and also very lately at the towne of Hage in Holland, namely the twenty eight of the moneth August in the yeare immediately past, betweene your foresayde ambassadours William Esturmy knight, and Iohn Kington clerke, for your part, and our trusty and welbeloued commissioners and procurators, namely Arnold Hecht burgomaster of our citie of Dantzik, and Iohn Crolow citizen of the same citie, for our parte. And for our more perfect knowledge in this behalfe, our sayd commissioners made relation vnto vs and vnto our whole counsell, that associating vnto themselues our messengers of Liuonia, namely, Tidman Myeul, and Iohn Epensheid, together with your foresaid ambassadours and messengers, they there finally appoynted and concluded, of and about the aboue mentioned summes of money due on both partes, of the which mention is made in your letters aforesayd. With this special prouiso, that in like manner satisfaction be made in all points, both vnto other of our damnified subiects of Prussia, namely such whose goods or the true value thereof haue bene finally adiudged by the iudges or professors of our lawes, and vnto such who hauing brought their articles of complaints vnto the audience of the most dread and mighty prince and lorde, our Lord Rupertus king of the Romans alwayes most soueraigne, were in conclusion to haue the estimations of their goods to be adiudged by the sentence of the sayd lord, with the aduise of two of his counsellors, and also vnto other of our subiects who haue brought in sufficient proofe of damages uniustly inflicted vpon them by your subiects, ouer and besides the premisses. So that in like maner satisfaction be made vnto the common societie of

Here relation is had vnto yͤ king of the Romans.

the Hans marchants: and by the arbitrament set downe in the conferences had at Marienburgh, of the which it was aboue prouided and enacted on their behalfe, namely if they will rest contented with our subiects in the courses and meanes then concluded. If not, we intend not at all to adhere vnto them in this behalfe. Afterward our messengers aforesayd, both they of Prussia and of Liuonia demanded conuenient, iust, and speedy satisfaction, with the payment of all and singular the summes aboue mentioned, due vnto both parts (so farre foorth as equity and reason would yeeld vnto, for the recompense of the parties iniuried and endamaged on both sides) to be made within one whole yere accompting from the feast of Easter now last expired vnto the very same feast next to come in the yere immediatly following, and that in three seueral termes of payment, by three portions of the said summes equally to be diuided, at the towne of Bruges in Flanders as being a place indifferent for all parties, in maner and forme as it was before at Marienburgh required and stoode vpon: namely that reformation, reparation, and amendement of all uniust attempts committed on both parts ought to bee performed within one yere. Howbeit contrariwise your ambassadors aforesayd decreed that the sayd satisfaction should be performed vnto the parties iniuried of both parts within three yeeres, beginning to accompt from the feast of Easter last past. And when your ambassadours were not contented with the maner of satisfaction set downe by our men, nor our commissioners were willing in any sort to consent vnto that course which was thought conuenient by your ambassadors, the honorable messengers of the sea-townes of the Hans being there at that time present, made a motion that the foresayd satisfaction might be performed within two yeeres and a halfe, accompting from the feast of Easter last past, often before mentioned: yet vnder a certaine protestation, namely if both parties should agree vnto that forme of satisfaction, and if they should thinke good finally and conclusiuely to yeeld their consent vnto it. Which kind of satisfaction also conceiued by the messengers, your sayd ambassadours without giuing notice thereof vnto your royall Maiestie, refused finally to approue; being rather desirous to make a true and faithfull report of the sayd forme of satisfaction last aboue mentioned vnto your kingly highnesse, and that in such sorte, that (as they hoped) effectuall satisfaction and payment of all and singuler the summes due and to bee due on both partes should more conueniently and speedily bee performed. Whereupon we might be put in good hope, that more speedy and conuenient appointments of termes, for the sayd satisfaction friendly on both parts to be performed in, would haue proceeded from your bountifull and gracious clemencie. And in very deede (most mighty prince) albeit it was neuer the meaning of our foresayd predecessor, so far foorth as these affayres concerned him, to protract and delay the execution of the sayd busines so many and such long distances of time, and that for diuers respects, both because restitution vnto the parties robbed consisted herein, and also because the sayd restitutions and satisfactions are to be made vnto poore people, widowes, orphanes, and other miserable creatures, diuersly and miserably slaine and oppressed: notwithstanding we being moued with hearty and feruent zeale and speciall affection vnto your royall crowne of England, and hauing due regard and consideration of your most excellent Maiestie, vpon the aduise of our honourable brethren our counsellers, doe thankfully receiue, and by the tenour of these presents totally ratifie and approue such satisfactions of the foresayd summes howsoeuer due vnto our subiects both Prussians and Liuonians, in friendly sorte to be performed at such times and seasons limited and prefixed by your highnes as are expressed in your maiesties letters, and also of other summes which within one yeare immediately ensuing after the feast of Easter last past, by sufficient proofes to be made on their part before your chancelour at your citie of London shall be found due vnto them. Conditionally that without inconuenience of delay and impediment they be performed as they ought to be, according to the premisses. In like maner also we our selues within the termes of payment aboue mentioned will procure satisfaction to be without fayle perfourmed vnto your subiects endamaged, with the summe of 766. nobles, being in regard of their losses, of the which they haue giuen vp sufficient informations, due vnto them: and with other like summes also which are by sufficient proofes, within the yeare aforesayd, and in maner and forme prescribed to be exhibited before our treasurer at our citie of Dantzik. The almighty vouchsafe prosperously and long time to preserue your maiesties royal person. Giuen at our castle of Marienburgh the 27. of September, in the yeare of our Lord 1408.

Septem. 27. 1408.

Fr. Vlricus de Iungingen master generall of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hospital of Ierusalem.

The letters of king Henry the 4. sent vnto F. Vlricus master general of Prussia, wherein he doth absolutely approue the foresaid conference holden at Hage, and treateth about a perpetual league and amitie to be concluded betweene England and Prussia.

HEnry by the grace of God king of England and France and lord of Ireland, vnto the noble and mighty personage of sacred religion Vlricus de Iungingen master generall of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hospitall of Ierusalem, our entirely beloued friend, greeting and increase of vnfained friendship. After diuers conferences had in sundry places beyond the seas, betweene the ambassadours and messengers of your late predecessor and of your selfe also, on the one parte, and betweene our especiall ambassadors and messengers on the other parte, concerning reformations, reparations, and restitutions in certaine maner and forme to be performed vnto our subiects of both parts, in regard of manifold iniuries practised against them both, and after that, in the last conference holden by the ambassadours of vs both at the towne of Hage at Holland, there was a motion made concerning a certaine forme of satisfaction, by way of finall conclusion in that behalfe: but not being as then by our ambassadours condescended vnto, because they durst not proceede vnto the same conclusion without our priuitie, relation thereof at length being by them made before vs and our counsel: we returned vnto your honour an answere in writing by our letters vnder our priuie seale, of our full purpose and intention (vnto the which letters we doe at this present referre our selues, as if they were here againe expresly written) what we thought good to haue done in this behalfe: so that wee also might by your friendly letters be certaynly informed of your will and expresse consent, being likewise conformable vnto your foresayd intention. Nowe whereas since that time we haue of late receiued the certaintie of the matter by your letters written vnto vs from your castle of Marienburgh, bearing date the 27. of September last past, contayning in effect amongst other matters, that you beeing mooued with a feruent zeale and speciall affection (as you write) vnto the royall crowne of our realme, and hauing due regard and consideration of our royall maiestie, vpon the aduise of your honourable brethren your counsellers, doe with a thankfull mind accept, and by the tenour of the said letters of yours totally approue the concord of a certaine satisfaction to be performed with the payment of certaine summes of money howsoeuer due vnto your subiects as well of Prussia as of Liuonia, expressed in our former letters, within the termes prefixed by our consent and limited in our said letters, and also of other summes which within one whole yeare immediately following the feast of Easter last past, by sufficient proofes on their part to bee made before our chauncelour at our citie of London, shall be found due vnto them: conditionally, that without inconuenience of delay and impediments, the premisses be performed as they ought to be. And that your selfe also will without fayle, vpon the termes appoynted for the said payments, procure satisfaction to be made accordingly vnto our endamaged subiects with the summes due vnto them by reason of their losses, whereof they haue sufficient information. Wherefore in regard of those your friendly letters, and your courteous answere returned by them vnto vs, as is aforesaid, wee doe yeelde vnto you right vnfained thanks. But because it will vndoubtedly be most acceptable and pleasing both vnto vs and vnto our people, and vnto you and your subiects, that the zeale and feruencie of loue which hath from auncient times growen and increased betweene our progenitours for them and their subiects, and your predecessors and their subiects, and which by the insolencie of certayne lewde persons, without any consent of the principall lords, hath often bene violated betweene vs and you and mutually betweene the subiects of vs both, may be put in perpetuall vre and obtaine full strength in time to come, sithens hereupon (by Gods assistance) it is to be hoped, that vnspeakable commodity and quiet will redound vnto both parts: may it seeme good vnto your discretion, as it seemeth expedient vnto vs, that some messengers of yours sufficiently authorised to parle, agree, and conclude with our deputy, about the mutuall contraction of a perpetuall league and confirmation of friendship, may with all conuenient speede be sent vnto our presence. At whose arriuall, not onely in this busines so profitable and behoouefull, but also in certaine other affaires concerning the former treaties and conclusions, they may, yea and of necessitie must greatly auayle. Wherefore (our entirely beloued friend) euen as vpon confidence of the premisses we haue thought good to grant vnto the marchants and subiects of our realme full

A motion for a perpetuall league.

authority to resort vnto your dominions, so we doe in like maner graunt vnto your marcnants and subiects free licence and liberty with their marchandises and goods securely to come into our realmes and dominions, there to stay, and at their pleasures thence to returne home. Moreouer, if Arnold Dassel, who last of all presented your foresayd letters vnto vs, shal thinke good in the meane season to make his abode here in our dominions (as in very deede it is expedient) he may both by serious consideration and deliberate consulting with our commissioners more conueniently and prosperously finde out wayes and meanes, for the more speedy expedition of all the premisses. Fare ye well in Christ. Giuen vnder our priuie seale at our palace of Westminster, the seuenth of March, in the yere of our lord 1408. according to the computation of the church of England, and in the tenth yere of our reigne.

A new concord concluded between king Henry the 4. and Vlricus de Iungingen Master generall of Prussia, in the yeare of our Lord 1409.

BY this indenture or letters indented be it euidently knowen (for the perpetual memory of the matter) vnto all faithfull Christians, that the noble and honourable personages Richard Merlowe Maior and citizen of London, Master Iohn Kington clerke, and William Askham citizen and Alderman of the same citie, the commissioners of the most soueraigne prince and lord, L. Henrie by the grace of God king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, and Tidericus de Longenthorpe knight, Lefardus de Hereford burgomaster of Elbing, and Iohn Crolowe citizen of the citie of Dantzik, the procurators, commissioners, deputies, and messengers of the right noble and religious personage Fr. Vlricus de Iungingen Master general of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hospital of Ierusalem, hauing in the names of the sayd king and Master by vertue of the power on both parts committed vnto them, sufficient authority, haue appointed and with one consent agreed vpon all and singular the things vnder written.

1. Imprimis for the conseruation of mutuall loue and wonted amitie, and for the tranquilitie of sweete amiable peace, it is decreed and ordained, that all and singular the liege people and subiects of the Realme of England and the marchants of the

territories and dominions of the said Realme and all other persons of what state or condition soeuer, shall and may safely and securely, as well by land as by water enter into the parts of Prussia, and there mutually conuerse, and freely after the Maner of marchants exercise traffique aswell with the Prussians as with others, of what nation or qualitie soeuer, there also make their abode, and thence vnto their owne homes and dwelling places returne, and depart vnto any place whither and so often as they shall thinke good, as well by land as by water, with their goods, marchandize, and wares whatsoeuer; faithfully paying in the meane time all rights and customes due in regard of their said wares and marchandize. Reserued alwaies vnto the said Master and his successours all right and remedie ordained, granted, and vouchsafed in certaine obligations by our Lord the king, whereof mention shall be made in the articles following.

2. It is ordained, that all and singular the subiects of the said Master generall and of his order, of what state and condition soeuer, shall and may, as well by water as by land enter into the kingdome of England and into the territories and dominions thereof, and there mutually conuerse, and freely after the maner of Marchants exercise traffique as well with all English people as with others of what nation or qualitie soeuer, and there also make their abode, and thence returne vnto their owne habitations and dwelling places, and to depart whither they will and as oft as they shall thinke good, as well by land as by water, with their goods, marchandize and wares whatsoeuer: truely paying in the meane time all rights and customes due in regard of their said wares and Marchandize. Reserued alwayes vnto the said soueraigne king, his heires and successours, all rights and remedies ordained and graunted vnto them in certaine obligations, by the commissioners and procurators of the said Master generall aboue-named, and in the name of the said Master generall.

3. Item it is with one consent agreed vpon, promised, and granted that for all and singular damages, grieuances, and robberies howsoeuer done and committed before the date of these presents against the foresaid soueraigne Prince and his subiects whatsoeuer, and all others which at the time of the grieuances, damages, and robberies aforesaid, were, or at this present are the said soueraigne king his subiects; there are due to be payed vnto the said king or his successours by the said Master generall or his successours, in full satisfaction and recompence of the damages, grieuances,

and robberies aboue-written, certaine summes of English money: euen as in the letters obligatorie made by the said Master generall his procurators, and messengers aboue-named in this behalfe, and sealed with their seales, and deliuered vnto the forenamed procurators and commissioners of our said Lord the king it is expressed more at large.

4. Item it is couenanted, graunted, and promised, that no subiect of the said Master generall or of his successours, by reason or occasion of the damages, grieuances, and robberies aforesaid, shall, by the said soueraigne king or his successours, or by their authoritie or commandement, or by another person whatsoeuer who in regard of the foresaid losses, grieuances and robberies hath bene molested and damnified, or at the procurement or instant suite of any, be attached, arrested, imprisoned, or detained; nor that the goods of the said Master generall, or of his successors, or of any of them, shal be laid hold on, arrested, or detained.

5. Item it is couenanted and ordained, that if any of the liege people and subiects of the sayde Master generall or of his successors shall, contrary to the forme of the concord and graunt next aboue-written, chance to be molested or endamaged: that then the foresaid soueraigne Lord the King and his successors the kings of England are bound to make full satisfaction for all such losses as the subiects of the said Master generall or of his successours or any of them shall for that cause haue vniustly sustained, vnto the parties endamaged. Which thing, if the foresaid soueraigne Prince, or his successours in the Realme of England, being conueniently requested by the letters of the said Master generall or of his successours, shall refuse to doe, that then after the terme of sixe moneths immediately following the said deniall or refusall, it shalbe right lawfull for the Master generall that now is and for any of his successors in time to come (hauing first made conuenient proofe that the foresaid request was by him or them exhibited) to arrest so many goods of the foresaid king his subiects found in the land of Prussia, as may suffice for the reasonable satisfaction and recompense of any person or persons whatsoeuer vniustly molested in this behalfe; and also to detaine the said goods vnder arrestes, vntil condigne satisfaction and amends be made vnto the party or parties molested.

6. Item by the commissioners and procuratours often aboue-named it is couenanted, promised, and graunted, that for all and singular the damages, molestations, and robberies by the foresayde

soueraigne king his liege people and subiects howsoeuer before the date of these presents committed and offred against the said Master general or against any of his subiects whether Prussians or Liuonians, and against all others who at the time of the damages, grieuances and robberies aforesaid were, or at this present are the subiects of the Master generall aforesaid (except notwithstanding certaine damages and grieuances hereafter to be mentioned, whereof also some prouisoes shalbe had in the articles following, which damages were before ye date of these presents by ye said soueraigne king his liege people and subiects inflicted vpon certaine subiects of the foresaid general Master, especially them of Prussia which hereafter shalbe named) there are certaine summes of money due to be payed vnto the said Master generall or vnto his successors by the said soueraigne Prince or his successours for the full satisfaction of the foresaid damages, molestations and robberies inflicted vpon the Prussians and Liuonians, and the others aboue mentioned, euen as in the leters obligatorie of the said soueraigne Lord the king made in this behalfe, being giuen and deliuered vnto the said Master generall his procuratours and messengers, it is declared more at large.

7. Item, it is couenanted, granted and promised, that none of the liege people or subiects of the foresaid soueraigne prince or of his heires shall, by reason or occasion of the damages, grieuances, and robberies aforesaid, by the sayd Master generall or his successours or by their authoritie and commandement, or by any other who in respect of the said damages, grieuances and robberies aboue mentioned, hath beene molested or damnified, or by any of their procurements or instant suites shalbe attached, arrested, imprisoned or detained; nor that any goods of the subiects of the said soueraigne king or his heires or any of them, shall bee attached, arrested, or detained. Reserued alwayes vnto the forenamed Master generall and his subiects all right and remedie any way requisite or competent vnto them by meanes of the obligations aforesaid.

8. Item it is couenanted and agreed that if any of the liege people or subiects of the sayde soueraigne prince or of his heires and successours shall (contrary to the forme of concord and graunt next aboue-written) chaunce to bee molested or endamaged; that then the saide Master generall and his successours, for all losses and hindrances which the liege people and subiects of the foresayde soueraigne prince or of his heires or successours, shall

by that meanes haue vniustly sustained, are bound to make full satisfaction vnto the partie endamaged. Which if the Master generall aforesaid or his successours being conueniently requested by the letters of the sayde soueraigne prince or of his heires, shall refuse to doe; that then, after the space of sixe moneths next ensuing the time of the foresayde request, it may bee right lawfull for the forenamed soueraigne prince that nowe is, or that then for that time shall be (conuenient proofe being first brought, that the foresayd request had conueniently beene exhibited) to arrest so many goods of the sayde Master generall his subiects founde in the Realme of England, as may suffice for the reasonable satisfaction and amends of any person or persons vniustly molested in this behalfe; and also to detaine the sayde goods vnder safe custodie, vntill condigne satisfaction and amends be made vnto the partie or parties aggrieued.

9. Item it is conenanted, that besides the summes due vnto the sayde Master generall and his successours in the behalfe of his subiects both of Prussia and of Liuonia (whereof mention is made in the former articles) there are due to bee payed vnto the sayde Master generall and his successours, for sundry other damages, grieuances, and robberies against himselfe and diuers other of his subiects of Prussia, namely Matthewe Ludekensson, Arnold Ashen, Henri Culeman, Iohn Vnkeltop, Iohn Halewater, Egghard Scoffe of Dantzik, and Nicolas Wolmerstene of Elbing, done and committed by the sayde soueraigne king his liege people and subiects vnder-written, euen before the date of these presents, for the full satisfaction of the sayde damages, grieuances and robberies, certaine summes of nobles hereafter following. Namely Imprimis by Tutburie, and Terry of Hull, 82. nobles, which are due vnto ye foresaid Matthew Ludekinson. Item by Nicholas Scot of Caleis the sonne of Tutbury, and Hilg of Hull, 256. nobles, which are due vnto the foresayd Arnold de Aschen. Item by the inhabitants of Scardeburgh, Blakeney, and Crowmer (who had one Iohn Iolly of Blakeney for their captaine) 156. nobles, which are due vnto Henrie Culeman aforesayd. Item by the inhabitants of Bayon (Whose Capitaine was one Pideuille) 125. nobles which are due vnto the said Iohn Vnkeltop. Item by the inhabitants of Plymmouth and Dertmouth (whose Captaines were Henrie Pay, and William Gadeling) 600. nobles which are due vnto the foresayde Iohn Halewater, in respect of his goods by them violently taken away. Item 334. nobles to be payed by the selfe

same parties, being due vnto the sayde Iohn Halewater by reason that they detained his ship from him three moneths and more, which ship was of the burthen of three hundreth tonnes of wine, and had in it all the foresayde time fiue and fourtie seruants maintained at the expenses of the sayde Iohn Halewater. Item that Sir William de Ethingham knight, who was Vice-admirall for the sea, must bee summoned to alleage a reasonable cause (for that the sayd Sir William with his seruants expelled the said Iohn Halewater out of his ship for the space of fifteene dayes together, and tooke of the goods and victuals of the said Iohn to the summe of 114. nobles) why he ought not to pay the said summe of 114. nobles vnto Iohn Halewater aforesaid: which if hee shall not bee willing nor able to alleage before the first of April next ensuing, that then by the kings authoritie hee must be compelled to pay unto the foresaid Iohn the said 114 nobles. Item by the inhabitants of Caleis (whose captaines were Michael Scot, Bishop, and William Horneby) 1900. nobles, which are due vnto the foresayde Eggard Scoff, because the saide soueraigne king hath giuen them in charge by the said Michael Scot and the rest concerning the payment of rhe summe aforesaid. Item by Iohn Bilis neere vnto Crowmer, 68. nobles, which are due vnto Nicholas Wolmersten of Elbing. Which summes of nobles must by the kings authority be leuied at the hands of his subiects aboue-mentioned betweene the time that nowe is and the feast of the Purification of the blessed virgine which shall fall in the yeere of our Lord 1411. effectually to bee deliuered and payed unto the sayd Master generall or his lawfull procurator, or vnto his successours or their lawfull procuratours, at the Citie of London, vpon the feast aforesaid.

A ship of the burthen of 300. Tonnes.

Item it is couenanted that besides the summes specified in the foresayde letters obligatorie, made in the behalfe of the said soueraigne prince, there are due to be paied vnto one Iohn Marion of Wersingham lately deceased being in his life-time the liege subiect of the foresaid soueraigne prince 200. nobles of English money in regard of certaine iniuries and robberies done and committed before the date of these presents against the foresayde Iohn, by one Eghard Scoff, subiect vnto the said deceased Iohn, his wife, children, heires, or executors by the said Egghard, his heires or by the administrators of his goods at the time and place aboue mentioned.

10 Item, it is couenanted, confirmed, and promised, that for all the iniuries and robberies done and committed against one Iohn Dordewant of Elbing, being in his life time subiect vnto the sayd Master generall, by the liege people and subiects of the said soueraigne king the inhabitants of the Scardeburgh before the date of these presents; for the full recompense of all such iniuries and robberies, there must bee payed vnto one Iohn Gruk of Dantzik eight hundred nobles of English money, vpon the feast of Easter next following in the Citie of London by them of Scardeburgh being guilty and culpable in this behalfe; who are by definitiue sentence condemned vnto the said Iohn in the summe of 800. nobles by reason of the iniuries and robberies aforesaid, except the lawfull expenses in this behalfe layed out: they are also taxed in due time for the issue. And therefore the foresayde condemned parties (whose names are in the sentence against them pronounced in this behalfe, more expresly conteined) must in the meane season by the kings authority be compelled and constrained really and actually to obey the foresayd sentence, namely by deliuering and paying vnto Iohn Gruk the summe of 800. nobles at the time and place aboue mentioned, with reasonable expences, wherein also the said parties stand condemned, their lawfull taxation being reserued.

Item it is couenanted and granted, that the heires of Lord Henrie de Percy the younger after they shall come vnto lawfull age, and shall haue attained vnto the possession and goods of their inheritance, must be compelled by the kings authoritie (iustice going before) to make satisfaction vnto the great procurator of Marienburgh with the summe of 838. nobles in lieu of certaine corne and graine which the foresaid Lord Henrie, in the yeere 1403, bought and receiued of the said great procuratour, for the vse of the castle of Zutberwik. In testimonie and confirmation of all the which premisses, the said Tedericus, Lefardus, and Iohn Crolow, of their certaine knowledges haue put their seales vnto these present letters indented, in the presence of the aboue-named Richard Merlow, Iohn Kington, and William Askam, commissioners for the behalfe of England giuen at the Citie of London in England the fourth day of December, in the yeere of our Lord 1409.

◆

That the Brittons were in Italie and Greece with the Cimbrians and Gaules, before the incarnation of Christ. M. Wil. Camden, pag. 33.

BRitannos autem cum Cimbris et Gallis permistos fuisse in expeditionibus illis in Italiam et Græciam videtur. Nam præter nomen commune in Britannico Triadum libro vetustissimo, vbi tres maximi exercitus, qui è Britannis conscripti erant, memorantur, proditum est, exterum quendam ducem longè maximum exercitum hinc contraxisse, qui, populata magna Europæ parte, tandem ad Græcum mare (forsitan Galatiam innuit) consederit.

Triadum Liber.

Britomarum item ducem inter illos militarem, cuius meminit Florus et Appianus, Britonem fuisse nomem euincit, quod Britonem magnum significat. Nec torquebo illud Strabonis, qui Brennum natione Prausum fuisse scribit vt natione Britonem faciam.

The same in English.

IT is not vnlike that the Britons accompanied the Cimbrians and Gaules in those expeditions to Italy and Greece. For besides the common name, it is recorded in that most ancient British booke called Liber Triadum, (wherein also mention is made of three huge armies that were leuied out of Britaine) that a certaine outlandish captaine gathered from hence a mightie armie; who hauing wasted a great part of Europe, at length tooke vp his abode (perhaps the Author meaneth in Gallatia) neere vnto the sea of Greece.

Likewise that the warrelike captaine Britomarus (of whom Florus and Appian doe make report) was himselfe a Briton, his very name doeth testifie, which signifieth A great Briton. Neither will I wrest that testimony of Strabo (who reporteth Brennus to haue bene a Prause by birth) that I may prooue him also to haue bene a Briton borne.

The trauaile of Helena.

HElena, Flauia Augusta serenissimi Coeli Britannici Regis Hæres, et vnica filia, Magni Constantini Cæsaris mater, incomparabili decôre, fide, religione, bonitate, ac magnificentiâ piâ, Eusebio etiam teste, per totum resplenduit orbem: Inter omnes ætatis suæ fœminas, nulla inueniebatur eâ in liberalibus artibus doctior, nulla in instrumentis musicis peritior, aut in linguis nationum copiosior. Innatam habebat ingenij claritudinem, oris facundiam, ac morum ornatissimam compositionem: Hebraicè, Græcè, et Latinè erudita. Caruerat pater alia sobole (inquit Virumnius) quæ Regni solio potiretur. Illam propterea his instrui fecit per optimos præceptores, vt eò commodius Regni tractaret negotia. Vnde ob incredibilem eius pulchritudinem, atque alias eximias animi et corporis dotes, Constantius Chlorus Cæsar illam duxit in vxorem, atque ex eâ filium in Britanniâ genuit Constantinum Magnum. Sed eo tandem Eboraci defuncto, cum Annâ illâ Euangelicâ, in sanctâ viduitate perdurauit ad vltimum vitæ diem, tota Christianæ religioni dedita. Sunt enim authores, qui narrent per instam, cessante persecutione, pacem Ecclesijs datam: Ad tantam cœlestis Philosophiæ cognitionem eam ferunt post agnitum Euangelium peruenisse, vt olim multos ediderit libros, et carmina quædam Græca, quæ hucúsque à Pontico superesse perhibentur. Visionibus admonita Hierosolymam petijt, et omnia saluatoris loca perlustrauit. Romæ tandem octogenaria fœliciter in Christo quieuit. 15. Kalendas Septembris, filio adhuc superstite, anno salutis humanæ 337. Regnante apud Britannos Octauio. Huius corpus non minimâ nunc curâ Venetijs seruatur.

The same in English.

HElena Flauia Augusta, the heire and onely daughter of Coelus sometime the most excellent King of Britaine, the mother of the Emperour Constantine the great, by reasòn of her singular beautie, faith, religion, goodnesse and godly Maiestie (according to the testimonie of Eusebius) was famous in all the world. Amongst all the women of her time, there was none either in the liberall arts more learned, or in instruments of musike more skilfull, or in the diuers languages of nations more abundant than herselfe. She had a naturall quicknesse or excellency of wit, eloquence of speech, and a most notable grace in all her behauiour. She was seene in the Hebrew, Greeke and Latine tongues.

Her father (as Virumnius reporteth) had no other childe to succeed in the kingdome after him but her, and therefore caused

her to be instructed in these things by the best teachers, that thereby she might the better in time gouerne the Realme: so that by reason of her passing beautie, and other her excellent giftes of body and minde, Constantius Chlorus the Emperour married her, and had by her a sonne called Constantine the great, while hee remained in Britaine. Who at length deceasing at Yorke, this Helena (no otherwise then Anna of whom mention is made in the new Testament) continued a vertuous and holy widow to the end of her life.

There are some writers which doe affirme, that persecution ceased, and peace was granted to the Christian Churches by her good meanes.

After the light and knowledge of the Gospel, she grewe so skilfull in diuinitie, that shee wrote and composed diuers bookes and certaine Greeke verses also, which (as Ponticus reporteth) are yet extant. Being warned by some visions she went to Ierusalem, and visited all the places there, which Christ had frequented. She liued to the age of fourescore yeeres, and then died at Rome the 15 day of August in the yeere of oure redemption 337. Octauius being then king of Britaine, and her sonne Constantine the Emperour then also liuing, and her body is to this day very carefully preserved at Venice.

The life and trauels of Constantine the great, Emperour and king of Britaine.

FLauius Constantinus cognomento Magnus post Genitorum Constantium Britannorum Rex, ac Romanorum Cæsar Augustus, ex Britannica matre in Britannia natus, et in Britannia creatus Imperator, patriam natalem magnificè suæ gloriæ participem fecit. Profligatis Alemanis, Hispanis, et Francis, eorúmque Regibus pro spectaculo bestijs obiectis, Galliam subiectam tenuit: Tres Helenæ matris auunculos Brittanos, Leolinum, Traherum, et Marium, quos cæteris semper fidentiores habuerat in suis fortunis, Italis à Maxentij tyrannide fœlicitèr liberatis, in Senatorum ordinem Romæ promouit. Innumeræ in eo (vt Eutropius habet) claruêre tam animi, quàm corporis virtutes, dum appetentissimus esset gloriæ militaris, successu semper in bellis prospero. Inter literas tam Græcas quàm Latinas, à Christianissima matre Helena Christi fidem edoctus, eos honorabat præciqué qui in Philosophia Christiana vitam reclinassent. Vnde ab oceani finibus nempe

Britannis incipiens, ope fretus diuina, religionis curam in medijs superstitionum tenebris cepit, ab Occiduis ad Indos, innumeras ad æternæ spem vitæ erigens gentes. Animum diuinis exercendo studijs, noctes trahebat insomnes, et quæsita scribendi diuerticula per otium frequentabat: Imperium oratione, ac Sanctis operationibus continendum ratus, Egregius Christianæ disciplinæ præco, filios ac proceres docuit, pietatem diuitijs omnibus, atque adeò ipsi anteferre totius mundi Monarchiæ. Falsorum deorum euersor, Imaginum cultus per Græciam, Ægyptum, Persiam, Asiam, et vniuersam ditionem Romanam, repetitis abrogat legibus, iubens per edicta Christum coli, Euangelium prædicari sacrum, Ministris honores, et alimenta dari, atq; idolorum vbíque destrui templa. Et vt fidei forma cunctis videretur, Euangelium Iesu Christi ante se semper ferri fecit, et Biblia sacra ad omnes prouincias destinari, diademáque Monarchicum primus Britannis regibus dedit: Ecclesijs infinita præstitit, agros, annonam, stipem egenis, ægris, viduis, ac orphanis, pro quibusque vt pater sollicitus. Eusebium, Lactantium, et similes, familiarissimos habuit, et hanc ad Deum orationem indiès ipsis in eius vita testibus fudit. Vnum et Deum esse nouimus, vnum te Regem intelligimus, appellamus adiutorem, nobis abs te victoria cecidit, ex te Aduersarium fudimus, &c. Pro delicijs habuit, vt Sextus Aurelianus tradit, literarum studia colere, bonos artes fouere, legere, scribere, meditari: composuit Græcè et Latinè multos libros et Epistolas. E vita Nicomediæ discessit Senex, ætatis suæ Anno 66. et Imperij 32. à Christi verò incarnatione 339. Constantinopoli sepultus, Octauio in Britannijs regnante. Eius vitam in quatuor libris Eusebius Cæsariensis Græcè scripsit, et Ioannes Portesius Gallus in Latinum transtulit sermonem.

The same in English.

FLauius Constantine, surnamed the great, king of the Britaines after his father, and Emperor of the Romanes, borne in Britanie of Helena his mother, and there created Emperour, made his natiue countrey partaker of his singular glory and renoume.

Hauing conquered and put to flight the Almanes, Spaniards, Frenchmen, and their Kings for a spectacle throwen out to wild beasts, he held France it selfe as subiect vnto him: and hauing happily deliuered the Italians from the tyrannie of Maxentius, he preferred three of his mothers vncles, all Britaines, namely,

Leoline, Trahere, and Marius, whom in all his actions he had found more faithfull vnto him then any others, to be of the order of the Romane Senators.

Eutropius reporteth, that he infinitely excelled in the vertues both of the mind and body also, and that hauing a pleasure in the practise of warre, and in the iust commendation of Martiall prowesse, he neuer pitched his field but his successe in the battel was alwayes victorious. His mother Helena hauing instructed him in the faith of Christ, although hee made much of all men that were learned in the Greeke and Latine tongues, yet he yeelded speciall honor to those that spent their time in the studie of Diuinitie, which he called Christian Philosophie: so that beginning at the furthest part of the Ocean sea, which then was taken to be his owne natiue soyle of Britaine, and trusting in the assistance of God, when the darkenes of superstition was most thicke, then hee vndertooke a care of Religion, stirring vp innumerable nations from the West as farre as India it selfe, to the hope of eternall life.

Hee passed many nightes without sleepe, hauing his minde occupied in diuine studies: and whensoeuer his laisure from greater affaires did permit him, his vacant times should be spent in the vse of writing and other good exercises, assuring himselfe that his kingdomes and Empire were to be continued and strengthened to him by prayer and holy workes: and oftentimes taking vpon him as it were the person of a notable preacher of Christian discipline, he would teach his children and nobilitie, that godlinesse was to be preferred before riches, yea, before the Monarchie of all the world.

He ouerthrew the false gods of the heathens, and by many lawes often reuiued, he abrogated the worshipping of Images in all the countries of Greece, Egypt, Persia, Asia, and the whole Romane Empire, commanding Christ onely by his Edicts to be worshipped, the sacred Gospell to be preached, the Ministers thereof to be honored and relieued, and the temples of Idoles euery where to be destroyed.

Whithersoeuer he went hee caused the booke of the Gospell of Christ to be still caried before him, that thereby it might appeare to be a forme of faith to all men, and to appertaine generally to all nations.

He was the first that appointed an Imperiall Diademe, or Crowne to the Kings of Britaine.

He was most beneficiall to all Churches, bestowing vpon them lands and fields, and vpon the poore, sicke persons, widowes and orphanes, corne and wood, being as carefull of them as if he had beene their naturall father.

He vsed learned men most familiarly, as Eusebius, Lactantius and others, and they are witnesses that this was his usuall prayer to God. O Lord we know thee to be the onely God, we are sure that thou art the onely King, and wee call vpon thee as our helper: through thee we haue gotten the victorie, and by thee we haue ouerthrowen the enemie.

Sextus Aurelius reporteth, that it was his greatest delight to imbrace the studie of learning, to fauour good Arts, to read, write and meditate, and that he composed many bookes and Epistles both in the Greeke and Latine tongues.

He died at Nicomedia, being then 66. yeres of age, in the 32. yere of his reigne, and in the 339. yeere after the Incarnation of Christ, and was buried at Constantinople, Octauius being then King of Britaine: whose life Eusebius bishop of Cæsarea hath written in Greeke in 4 bookes, which afterwards were translated into the Latine tongue by Iohn Portes a Frenchman.

Certaine Englishmen sent to Constantinople by the French King to Iustinian the Emperour, about the yeere of Christ, 500. out of the fourth booke of Procopius de Bello Gothico.

BRitanniam insulam tres numerosissimæ gentes incolunt: Quorum vnicuique suus Rex imperat. Nominantur hæ gentes Angili, Frisones, et qui eiusdem sunt cum insula cognominis Britones. Tanta vero hominum multitudo esse videtur, vt singulis annis inde magno numero cum vxoribus et liberis ad Francos emigrent. Illi autem in eorum terram, quæ maximè deserta videtur, excipiunt. Vnde insulam sibi vendicare ferunt. Vtique non ita pridem, cum Francorum Rex quosdam è suis Constantinopolim ad Iustinianum legaret, Anglos etiam misit, ambitiosius vendicans, quasi hæc insula suo subesset imperio.

The same in English.

THe Isle of Britaine is inhabited by three most populous nations, euery of which is gouerned by a seuerall king. The sayd nations are named Angili, Frisones, and Britones, which last are called after the name of the Island. In this Isle there are such swarmes of people, that euery yeere they goe foorth in great numbers with their wiues and children into France. And the Frenchmen right willingly receiue them into their lande, which seemeth very desolate for want of inhabitants. Whereupon it is sayd that the French doe challenge the foresayde Island vnto themselues. For not long since, when the king of the Frankes sent certaine of his subiects ambassadours to Constantinople vnto Iustinian the Emperour, he sent English men also, ambitiously boasting, as though the sayd Isle had bene vnder his iurisdiction.

The life and trauailes of Iohn Erigena.

IOannes Erigena Britannus natione, in Meneuia vrbe, seu ad fanum Dauidis, et patricio genitore natus, dum Anglos Daci crudeles bellis ac rapinis molestarent, ac omnia illic essent tumultibus plena, longam ipse peregrinationem Athenas vsque suscepit, annósq; quamplures literis Græcis, Chaldaicis, et Arabicis insudauit: omnia illic inuisit Philosophorum loca, ac studia, imo et ipsum oraculum Solis, quod Aesculapius sibi construxerat. Inueniens tandem quod longo quæsierat labore, in Italiam et Galliam est reuersus vbi ob insignem eruditionem, Carolo Caluo, et postea Ludouico Balbo acceptus, Dionysij Areopagitæ libros de cœlesti Hierarchia, ex Constantinopoli tunc missos Latinos fecit, Anna Dom. 858. Profectus postea in Britanniam, Alphredi Anglorum Regis, et suorum liberorum factus est præceptor, atque ipso mox adhortante, inter ocia literaria è Græco transtulit in tres linguas, scilicet Chaldaicam, Arabicam, et Latinam, Aristotelis moralia, de secretis secretorum, seu recto regimine Principum, opus certe exquisitum. In Malmsburiensi cænobio tandem, quo recreationis gratia se contulerat, inter legendum a quibusdam discipulis maleuolis interimebatur, Anno Christi, 884.

The same in English.

IOhn Erigene a Britane, descended of honourable parents, and borne in the Towne of S. Dauid in Wales, seeing the Englishmen to be oppressed with the warres and rapines of the cruell Danes, and all the land in a hurlie burlie, he in the meane time vndertooke a long iourney, euen as farre as Athens, and there spent many yeres in the studie of the Greeke, Chaldie, and Arabian tongues: he there frequented all the places and schooles of the Philosophers, and the oracle also of the Sunne, which Aesculapius had built vnto himselfe. And hauing found at length that which he had with long trauell searched, he returned againe into Italie, and France, where for his singular learning, he was much fauoured of the two Kings Charles and Lewes, and in his being there, he translated into Latine the bookes of Dionysius Areopagita concerning the Heauenly Hierarchie, which were sent from Constantinople in the yeere 858. After this hee came backe againe into his owne Countrey, and was schoolemaster vnto Alphred then King of England, and his sonnes: and vpon his request, at his times of leasure, he translated Aristotles Morals, of the Secrets of Secrets, or of the right gouernement of Princes, out of Greeke into these three tongues, Chaldie, Arabian, and Latine, which he did very exquisitely. At the last, being in the Abbie of Malmesburie, whither he went for his recreation, and there according to his manner disputing, and reading to the Students, some of them misliking and hating him, rose against him, and slue him in the yeere of Christ, 884.

English men were the guard of the Emperours of Constantinople in the reigne of Iohn the sonne of Alexius Comnenus. Malmesburiensis, Curopolata and Camden, pag. 96.

IAm inde Anglia non minus belli gloria, quàm humanitatis cultu inter Florentissimas orbis Christiani gentes imprimis floruit. Adeo vt ad custodiam corporis Constantinopolitanorum Imperatorum euocati fuerint Angli. Ioannes enim Alexij Comneni filius, vt refert noster Malmesburiensis, eorum fidem suspiciens præcipue familiaritati suæ applicabat, amorem eorum filio transcribens: Adeo vt iam inde longo tempore fuerint imperatorum illorum satellites, Inglini Bipenniferi Nicetæ Choniatæ, Barangi Curopoatæ dicti. Qui vbiq; Imperatorem prosequebantur ferentes humeris secures, quas tollebant, cum Imperator ex oratorio spectandum se exhibebat, Anglicè vitam diuturnam secures suas collidentes vt sonitum ederent, comprecabantur.

The same in English.

FRom this time forward the kingdome of England was reputed among the most flourishing estates of Christendome, no less in chiualrie then humanitie. So farforth that the English men were sent for to be the guarders of the persons of the Emperours of Constantinople. For Iohn the sonne of Alexius Comnenus, as our countreyman William of Malmesburie reporteth, highly esteeming their fidelity, vsed them very nere about him, recommending them ouer to his sonne: so that long time afterwards the guard of those Emperours were English halberdiers, called by Nicetas Choniata, Inglini Bipeniferi, and by Curopolata, Barangi, which alwayes accompanied the Emperour with their halberds on their shoulders, which they held vp when the Emperour comming from his Oratorie shewed himselfe to the people; and clashing their halberds together to make a terrible sound, they in the English tongue wished vnto him long life.

The woorthy voiage of Richard the first, K. of England into Asia, for the recouerie of Ierusalem out of the hands of the Saracens, drawen out of the booke of Acts and Monuments of the Church of England, written by M. Iohn Foxe.

KIng Richard the first of that name, for his great valure surnamed Ceur de Lion, the sonne of Henry the second, after the death of his father remembring the rebellions that he had vndutifully raised against him, sought for absolution of his trespasse, and in part of satisfaction for the same, agreed with Philip the French king to take his voiage with him for the recouerie of Christes patrimonie, which they called the Holy land, whereupon the sayd King Richard immediately after his Coronation, to prepare himselfe the better towards his iourney, vsed diuers meanes to take vp summes of money, and exacted a tenth of the whole Realme, the Christians to make three score and ten thousand pounds, and the Iewes which then dwelt in the Realme threescore thousand.

Hauing thus gotten sufficient money for the exploite, he sent certaine Earles and Barons to Philip the French king in the time of his Parliament at S. Denis, to put him in mind of his promise made for the recouerie of Christs holy patrimonie out of the Saracens hands: To whom he sent againe in the moneth of December, that he had bound himselfe by solemne othe, deposing vpon the Euangelists, that he the yeere next following, about the time of Easter, had certainly prefixed to addresse himselfe toward that iourney, requiring him likewise not to faile, but to bee ready at the terme aboue limited, appointing also the place where both the Kings should meete together.

In the yere therfore 1190. King Richard hauing committed the gouernment of this realme in his absence to the bishop of Ely then Chancellor of England, aduanced forward his iourney, and came to Turon to meet with Philip the French king, and after that went to Vizeliac, where the French king and he ioyning together, for the more continuance of their iourney, assured themselues by solemne othe, swearing fidelitie one to the other: the forme of whose oth was this.

¶ The oth of fidelity betwixt King Richard and the French King.

That either of them should defend and maintaine the honour of the other, and beare true fidelitie vnto him, of life, members and worldly honor, and that neither of them should faile one the other in their affaires: but the French King should aide the King of England in defending his land and dominions, as he would himselfe defend his owne Citie of Paris if it were besieged: and that Richard King of England likewise should aide the French king in defending his land and Dominions, no otherwise then he would defend his own Citie of Roan if it were besieged, &c.

Concerning the lawes and ordinances appointed by K. Richard for his Nauie, the forme thereof was this.

The discipline and orders of the King.

1. That who so killed any person on shipboord, hould be tied with him that was slaine, and throwen into the sea.

2. And if he killed him on the land, he should in like manner be tied with the partie slaine, and be buried with him in the earth.

3. He that shalbe conuicted by lawfull witnes to draw out his knife or weapon to the intent to strike any man, or that hath striken any to the drawing of blood, shall loose his hand.

4. Also he that striketh any person with his hand without effusion of blood, shall be plunged three times in the sea.

5. Item, who so speaketh any opprobrious or contumelious wordes in reuiling or cursing one another, for so oftentimes as he hath reuiled, shall pay so many ounces of siluer.

6. Item, a thiefe or felon that hath stollen being lawfully conuicted, shall haue his head shorne, and boyling pitch powred vpon

his head, and feathers or downe strawed vpon the same, whereby he may be knowen, and so at the first landing place they shall come to, there to be cast vp.

These things thus ordered, king Richard sending his Nauie by the Spanish seas, and by the streights of Gibraltar, betweene Spaine and Africa, to meete him at Marsilia, hee himselfe went as is said to Vizeliac to the French king. Which two kings from thence went to Lions, where the bridge ouer the flood Rhodanus with preasse of people brake, and many both men and women were drowned: by occasion whereof the two kings for the combrance of their traines, were constrained to disseuer themselues for time of their iourney, appointing both to meet together in Sicily: and so Philip the French king tooke his way to Genua, and king Richard to Marsilia, where he remained 8. dayes, appointing there his Nauie to meete him. From thence crossing ouer to Genua where the French king was, he passed forward by the coasts of Italy, and entred into Tiber not farre from Rome.

King Richard staying in Marsilia 8. dayes for his Nauie which came not, he there hired 20. Gallies, and ten great barkes to ship ouer his men, and so came to Naples, and so partly by horse and wagon, and partly by the sea, passing to Falernum, came to Calabria, where after that he had heard that his ships were arriued at Messana in Sicilie, he made the more speed, and so the 23. of September entred Messana with such a noyse of Trumpets and Shalmes, with such a rout and shew, that it was to the great wonderment and terror both of the Frenchmen, and of all other that did heare and behold the sight.

To the said towne of Messana the French king was come before the 16. of the same moneth of September, and had taken vp the pallace of Tancredus king of Sicilly for his lodging: to whom king Richard after his arriuall eftsoones resorted, and when the two kings had communed together, immediately the French king tooke shipping and entred the seas, thinking to saile towards the land of Ierusalem: but after he was out of the hauen, the winde rising contrary against him, returned him backe againe to Messana. Then king Richard (whose lodging was prepared in the suburbs without the Citie) after he had resorted againe and talked with the French king, and also had sent to Tancredus king of Sicily, for deliuerance of Ioane his sister (who had beene somtimes Queene of Sicily) and had obtained her to be sent vnto him, the last day of September passed ouer the streight del Fare, and there getting a strong hold called de la Baguare, or le Bamare, and there placing his sister with a sufficient garrison, he returned againe to Messana.

The 2. of October king Richard wan another strong hold, called Monasterium Griffonum, situated in ye midst of the streight del Fare, betweene Messana and Calabria, from whence ye Monks being expulsed, he reposed there all his store and prouision of victuals, which came from England or other places.

The Citizens of Messana seeing that the king of England had wonne the castle and Island de la Baguare, and also the Monasterie of the Griffons, and doubting least the king would extend his power further to inuade their Citie, and get if he could the whole Isle of Sicilie, began to stirre against the Kings armie, and to shut the Englishmen out of the gates, and kept their walles against them. The Englishmen seeing that, made to the gates, and by force would have broken them open, insomuch that the King riding amongst them with his staffe, and breaking diuers of their heads, could not asswage their fierceness, such was the rage of the Englishmen agaynst the citizens of Messana. The King seeing the furie of his people to be such that hee could not stay them, tooke boate, and went to the pallace of king Tancred, to talke of the matter with the French king, in which meane time the matter was so taken vp by the wise handling of the ancients of the citie, that both parts laying downe their armour, went home in peace.

The fourth day of the sayd moneth of October, came to king Richard the Archbishop of Messana with two other Archbishops also with the French king, and sundry other Earles, Barons, and Bishops, to intreat of peace, who as they were together consulting, and had almost concluded vpon the peace, the Citizens of Messana issuing out of the towne, some went vp vpon the mountains, some with open force inuaded the mansion or lodging of Hugh Brune an English captaine. The noyse whereof comming to the eares of the King, hee suddenly breaking off talke with the French king and the rest, departed from them, and comming to his men, commanded them forthwith to arme themselues. Who then with certaine of his souldiours making vp to the top of the mountaine (which seemed to passe their power to climbe) there put the Citizens to flight, chasing them downe the mountaines, vnto the very gates of the citie, whom also certaine of the kings seruants pursued into the citie, of whom fiue valiant souldiers and twentie of the kings seruants were slaine, the French King looking vpon, and not once willing to rescue them, contrary to his othe, and league before made with the king of England: for the French king with his men being there present, rode in the midst of them safely, and without any harme too and fro, and might well haue eased the Kings partie, more then he, if it had so liked him.

Messana won by the English.

This being knowen to the English hoste how their fellowes were slaine, and the Frenchmen permitted in the citie, and that they were excluded and the gates barred against them, being also stopped from buying of victuall, and other things, they vpon great indignation gathered themselues in armes, brast open the gates, and scaled the wals, and so winning the citie, set up their flags with the English armes vpon the wals: which when the French King did see, he was mightily offended, requiring the King of England that the Armes of France might also be set vp, and ioyned with his: but King Richard to that would in no case agree, notwithstanding to satisfie his minde, he was contented to take downe his Armes, and to commit the custodie of the citie to the Hospitaleries and Templaries of Ierusalem, till the time that Tancred king of Sicily and he should agree together vpon conditions.

These things being done the fift and sixt day of October, it followed then vpon the eight day of the same, that peace was concluded among the kings. In which peace, first King Richard, and Philip the French king renewed againe their oth and league before made, concerning their mutual aide and societie, during the time of that peregrination.

Secondly, peace also was concluded betweene king Richard and Tancred king of Sicily aforesaide, with conditions, that the daughter of Tancrede in case king Richard should die without issue, should be married to Arthur Duke of Britaine the kings Nephew and next heire to his crowne, whereof a formall charte was drawen, and letters sent thereof to Pope Clement being dated the ninth of Nouember.

From this time vntill Februarie the next yeere these two kings kept still at Messana, either for lacke of winde and weather, or for the repairing of their shippes. And in the aforesayde Februarie, in the yeere 1191. King Richard sent ouer his gallies to Naples, there to meete his mother Elinore, and Berengaria the daughter of Zanctius king of Nauarre, whom he was purposed to marry, who by that time were come to Brundusium, vnder the conduct of Philip Earle of Flanders, and so proceeding vnto

Naples, they found the kings shippes wherein they sayled to Messana.

In this meane space, king Richard shewed himselfe exceeding bounteous and liberall to all men: to the French king first he gaue diuers shippes, vpon others likewise he bestowed riche rewardes, and of his treasure and goods he destributed largely to his souldiers and seruants about him, of whom it was reported, that he distributed more in one moneth, than any of his predecessors did in a whole yeere: by reason whereof he purchased great loue and fauour, which not onely redounded to the aduancements of his fame, but also to his singular vse and profite, as the sequele afterwards prooued.

The first day of March following, he left the citie of Messana, where the French King was, and went to Cathneia, a citie where Tancredus king of Sicily then lay, where he was honorably receiued, and there remained with king Tancredus three dayes and three nights. On the fourth day when he should depart, the aforesaid Tancredus offred him many rich presents in gold and siluer, and precious silkes, whereof king Richard would receiue nothing, but one little ring for a token of his good will: for the which king Richard gaue againe vnto him a riche sworde. At length when king Richard should take his leaue, king Tancred would not let him so depart, but needes would giue 4. great shippes, and 15. gallies, and furthermore hee himselfe would needes accompanie him the space of two dayes iourney, to a place called Tauernium.

Then the next morning when they should take their leaue, Tancredus declared vnto him the message, which the French King a little before had sent vnto him by the Duke of Burgundie, the contents whereof were these: That the King of England was a false Traytour, and would neuer keepe the peace that was betweene them: and if the sayd Tancredus would warre against him, or secretly by night would inuade him, he with all his power would assist him, to the destruction of him and all his armie. To whom Richard the King protested againe, that he was no traytour, nor neuer had bene: and as touching the peace begun betwixt them, the same should neuer be broken through him; neither could he beleeue that the French King being his good lord, and his sworne Compartner in that voyage, would vtter any such wordes by him. Which when Tancredus heard, he bringeth foorth the letters of the French King, sent to him by the Duke of Burgundie, affirming moreouer, that if the Duke of Burgundie would denie the bringing of the said letters, he was readie to trie it with him by any of his Dukes. King Richard receiuing the letters, and musing not a little vpon the same, returneth againe to Messana. The same day that King Richard departed, the French king came to Tauernium to speake with Tancred, and there abode with him that night, and on the morrowe returned to Messana againe.

From that time King Richard mooued in stomacke against King Philip, neuer shewed any gentle countenance of peace and amitie, as he before was woont: whereat the French king greatly marueiling, and enquiring earnestly what should be the cause thereof, word was sent him againe by Philip earle of Flanders from king Richard, what words he had sent to the King of Sicily, and for testimony thereof the letters were shewed, which he wrote by the duke of Burgundie to the king of Sicily: which when the French king vnderstood, first he held his peace as guilty in his conscience, not knowing well what to answere. At length turning his tale to another matter, he began to quarrell with king Richard, pretending as though he sought causes to breake with him, and to maligne him: and therefore he forged (sayd he) these lies vpon him, and all because he by that meanes would auoid to marry with Alise his sister, according as he had promised. Adding moreouer that if he would so do, and would not marry the said Alise his sister according to his oth, he would be an enemy to him, and to his, while he liued.

To this king Richard sayd againe, that he could by no meanes marry that woman, forsomuch as his father had carnal copulation with her, and also had by her a sonne: for proofe whereof he had there presently to bring forth diuers and sundry witnesses to the kings face, to testifie with him.

In conclusion, through counsell and perswasion of diuers about the French king, agreement at last was made, so that king Philip did acquite king Richard from this bond of marrying his sister, and king Richard againe should be bound to pay to him euery yeere for the space of fiue yeeres, two thousand markes, with certaine other conditions besides, not greatly materiall for this place. And thus peace being betweene them concluded the 28 day of the sayd moneth of March, the French king launching out of the hauen of Messana, the 22 day after in the Easter weeke, came with his armie to the siege of Achon.

After the departure of the French king from Messana, king Richard with his armie yet remaining behinde, arriued Queene Alinor the kings mother, bringing with her Berengaria the king of Nauars daughter, to be espoused to king Richard: which being done, king Richard in April following, about the 20 day of the sayd moneth, departed from the hauen Messana with 150 great ships, and 53 great gallies well manned and appointed, and tooke his iourney toward Achon: who being vpon the Seas on Good friday about the ninth houre, rose a mighty South winde, with a tempest, which disseuered and scattered all his Nauie, some to one place and some to another. The king with a few ships was driuen to the Ile of Creta, and there before the hauen of Rhodes cast anker. The ships that caried the kings sister, queene of Sicily, and Berengaria the king of Nauars daughter, with two ships were driuen to the Ile of Cyprus.

The Nauie of King Richard.

The king making great mone for the ships of his sister, and Berengaria his wife that should be, not knowing where they were become, after the tempest was ouerblowen, sent forth his gallies diligently to seeke the rest of his Nauie dispersed, but especially the shippe wherein his sister was, and the maiden whom he should marry, who at length were found safe and merry at the port of Lymszem* in the Ile of Cyprus, notwithstanding the two other ships, which were in their company before in the same hauen, were drowned with diuers of the kings seruants and men of worship, among whom was M. Roger, called Malus Catulus, the kings Vicechancellour, who was found with the kings seale hanging about his necke.

The king of Cyprus was then Isakius† (called also the Emperour of the Gryffons) who tooke and imprisoned all Englishmen, which by shipwracke were cast vpon his land, also inuegled into his hands the goods and prises of them which were found drowned about his coastes, neither would suffer the ships wherein the two ladies were to enter within the port.

The tidings of this being brought to king Richard, he in great wrath gathering his gallies and ships together, boordeth the land of Cyprus, where he first in gentle wise signifieth to king Isakius, how he with his English men, comming as strangers to the supportation of the holy land, were by distresse of weather driuen vpon his bounds, and therefore with all humble petition besought him in Gods behalfe, and for reuerence of the holy crosse, to let go such prisoners of his as he had in captiuitie, and to restore againe the goods of them that were drowned, which he deteined in his hands, to be employed for the behoofe of their soules. And this the king once, twise, and thrise desired of the Emperour: but he proudly answering againe, sent the king word, that he neither would let the captiues go, nor render the goods of them which were drowned.

---

* Lymasol.

† Isaac Comnenus who became King in 1184.

When king Richard heard this, how light the emperour Isakius made of his so humble and honest petition, and how that nothing could be gotten without violent force, eftsoones* giueth commandement thorowout all his hoste to put themselues in armour and follow him, to reuenge the iniuries receiued of that proud and cruell king of Cyprus, willling them to put their trust in God, and not to misdoubt but that the Lord would stand with them, and giue them the victory. The Emperour in the meane time with his people stood warding the Sea coasts, where the English men should arriue, with swords, billes, and lances, and such other weapons as they had, setting boordes, stooles, and chestes, before them as a wall: few of them were harnessed,† and for the most part all vnexpert and vnskilfull in the feates of warre.

Then king Richard with his souldiers issuing out of ships, first set his bowemen before, who with their shot made a way for others to folowe. The Englishmen thus winning the land vpon them, so fiercely pressed upon the Gryffons, that after long fighting and many blowes, at last the Emperour was put to flight, whom king Richard valiantly pursued, and slue many, and diuers he tooke aliue, and had gone neere also to take the Emperour, had not the night come on and parted the battell. And thus king Richard with much spoyle, and great victory, returning to the port Towne of Lymszem, which the Townesmen had left for feare, found there great abundance of corne, wine, oyle, and victuals.

The day after the victory gotten, Ioanna the Kings sister, and

---

* The Saxon *Eft* properly means *after*. It was beginning to be obsolete in 1400 but Spencer frequently uses it. It occurs rarely after his time.

† Clad in armour.

> This apish and unmannerly approach,
> This *harness'd* masque and unadvised revel.
>
> KING JOHN V. 2.

Berengaria the mayden, entred the Porte and Towne of Lymszem, with 50. great ships, and 14. galliots: so that all the whole Nauie there meeting together, were 254. tall shippes, and aboue threescore galliots. Then Isakius the Emperour, seeing no way for him to escape by Sea, the same night pitched his tentes fiue miles off from the English army, swearing that the third day after, he would surely giue battell to king Richard: but he preuenting him before, suddenly the same morning before the day of battell should be, setteth vpon the tentes of the Gryffons early in the morning, they being vnawares and asleepe, and made of them a great slaughter, insomuch that the Emperour was faine to runne away naked, leauing his tentes and pauilions to the Englishmen, full of horses and rich treasure, also with the Imperial standerd, the lower part whereof with a costly streamer was couered, and wrought all with golde.

King Richard returning with victorie and triumph to his sister and Berengaria, shortly after in the moneth of May next following, and the 12. day of the said moneth, married the said Berengaria daughter of Zanctius, king of Nauarre, in the yle of Cyprus at Lymszem.

The king of Cyprus seeing himselfe ouermatched, was driuen at length to yeelde himselfe with conditions to giue king Richard 20000. markes in golde for amends of such spoyles as he had gotten of them that were drowned, also to restore all the captiues againe to the king: and furthermore, he in his owne person, to attend vpon the king to the lande of Ierusalem, in Gods seruice and his, with 400. horsemen, and 500. footemen: in pledge whereof he would giue to his hands his castles, and his onely daughter, and would hold his kingdome of him.

This done, and the Emperour swearing fidelitie to king Richard before Guido king of Ierusalem, and the prince of Antioche (who were come thither to king Richard a little before) peace was taken, and Isakius committed to the warde of certaine keepers. Notwithstanding shortly after he breaking from his keepers, was againe at defiance with the King: whereupon king Richard besetting the Iland of Cyprus round about with shippes and gallies, did in such sort preuaile, that the subiects of the land were constrained to yeelde themselues to the King, and at last the daughter of the Emperour, and the Emperour himselfe, whom king Richard caused to be kept in fetters of gold and siluer, and to be sent to the citie of Tripolis.

These things thus done, and all set in order touching the possession of the Ile of Cyprus, the keeping whereof he committed to Radulphe sonne of Godfrey Lord Chamberlaine, being then the first day of Iune vpon the fift of the saide moneth, king Richard departed from the Ile of Cyprus,* with his shippes and gallies to-

The Lord Chamberlaine of King Richard left gouernour of Cyprus.

---

* Cyprus, the third largest island of the Mediterranean, situated in the N.E. angle, equidistant about 60 miles from the coasts of Syria and Asia Minor. Its form was compared in ancient times to the skin of a deer. Its length, from Cape Andrea to Cape Epiphanias, the ancient Acamas, is 140 miles. Its greatest breadth, from Cape Gatto on the south coast to Cape Kormakiti on the north, is about 50 miles, but it gradually narrows towards the east, being no more than 5 miles wide near Cape Andrea.

The coast of the island consists of a succession of gulfs and bays, many of which, though not sufficiently land-locked to form natural harbours, would be capable, with the addition of some artificial works, such as breakwaters, &c., of affording safe anchorage in all the prevailing winds. On the north-west and north the principal harbours or roadsteads affording shelter from certain winds are the Bay of Chrysochon and the roads of Pyros and Morpha, the harbour of Kyrenia, and the Bay of Exarkos; on the east and south, the bays and harbours of Salamis and Famagusta, the bay and roads of Larnaka, the roads of Limasol, which latter were greatly improved by the opening of an iron pier in 1882, and the small harbour of Paphos (Kuklia). The great disadvantage of all these harbours and roadsteads is the shallowness of the water for some distance from the land; this has the effect of raising a great deal of surf when the wind blows on shore, and also of compelling vessels of any size to anchor at a considerable distance out, thus making the operations of landing and embarking cargo both tedious and expensive. It would not, however, be a matter of great expense to construct breakwaters and deepen the old harbours, especially that of Famagusta, which, at the end of the sixteenth century, was sufficiently deep and large to afford safe anchorage to the whole fleet of the Venetian Republic, and when in the outer harbour there is now shelter for about twelve ironclads. Larnaka is the port at present most frequented by trading vessels.

The ancient Olympus, now called Santa Croce, rises in the centre of the island, and two principal ranges of mountains runs in the direction of its length, keeping closer to the north than to the south coast. The highest summit of the range of Santa Croce is mount Troödos, with an elevation of 6590 feet above the sea-level. Here, on the south-east slopes, are the summer quarters of ward the seige of Achon, and on the next morrowe came to Tyrus, where by procurement of the French king he was restrained by the Citizens to enter. The next day after, which was the first day of Iune, crossing the seas, he met with a great carak fraught with souldiers and men of warre to the number of a thousand and fiue hundred, which pretended to be Frenchmen, and setting foorth their flagge with the French armes, were indeede Saracens,

---

the troops and the summer residence of the high commissioner. The most extensive plain, called Messarea, is in the south-east part of the island, and is watered by the river Pedæus. The south of the island is watered by several streams, the principal of which is the river Kuris, or Lico, which falls into the sea at Episkopi, the ancient *Curium.* But these streams, which were once rivers of some importance, had very much decreased, owing to the almost complete denudation, in the plains and lower slopes of the mountains, of the forests which anciently covered them. Since the British occupation greater attention has been paid to the forests, and the beneficial results are already apparent. The Pedæus is the chief river. This and the other streams generally overflow their banks in the rainy season, and flood the land; as the waters subside they leave behind a fertilizing mud, in the same manner as the Nile, but during the rest of the year they give but little if any help in the way of irrigation. The rainy season, although generally occurring from October to February, is not, however, to be absolutely depended upon; thus it is recorded that in 1330, during the reign of Hugo of Lusignan, the rainfall was so heavy and the rivers flooded to such an extent as to spread desolation far and near; and under Constantine there was no rain for thirty-six years, so that most of the inhabitants left the island. Again, in modern times, there was a disastrously small rainfall in 1869.

The soil is naturally fertile, and formerly maintained a population of nearly 1,000,000 but the number of inhabitants in 1881 was only 185,906, of whom the bulk were Greek Christians. Cotton of the finest quality has been raised from American seed; excellent wine and all kinds of fruit are produced, but agriculture is in a most backward state. Besides the productions already named, madder, opium, oranges, lemons, pomegranates, &c., are grown. The carob-tree abounds in some districts; its succulent pods are exported to Egypt and Syria, while the fruit called St. John's Bread is used as an article of food. Of all the agricultural products, cereals hold the most important place. Wheat was largely grown until recently, but of late years it has been in great measure replaced by barley and oats, which ripen earlier, and are not subject to the attacks of locusts, secretly sent with wilde fire* and certaine barrels of vnknowen serpents to the defence of the towne of Achon, which king Richard at length perceiuing, eftsoones set vpon them and so vanquished them, of whom the most were drowned and some taken aliue: which being once knowen in the citie of Achon, as it was a great discomfort to them, so it was a great helpe to the Christians for winning the citie.

A great ship of Saracens taken by king Richard.

King Richard arriued at Achon.

The next day after which was the seuenth of Iune, king Richard came to Achon, which at that time had bene long besieged by the Christians. After whose comming it was not long, but the Pagans within the citie, seeing their wals to be vndermined and towers ouerthrowen, were driuen by composition to escape with life and limme, to surrender the citie to the two kings.

Another great helpe to the Christians in winning the citie, was this. In the said city of Achon there was a secret Christian among the Saracens, who in time of the siege thereof vsed at sundry times to cast ouer the wals into the campe of the Christians, certaine bils written in Hebrue, Greeke, and Latine, wherein he disclosed to the Christians from time to time, the doings and counsels of the enemies, aduertising them how and what way they should worke, and what to beware, and alwayes his letters began thus. In nomine Patris, et Filij, et Spiritus sancti Amen. By reason whereof the Christians were much aduantaged in their proceedings : but this was a great heauines vnto them, that neither he would vtter his name, nor when the citie was got did they euer vnderstand who he was.

---

*Greek Fire was the name given to a composition which was largely used by the Greeks of the Byzantine Empire in their wars with the Mohammedans, Its nature was kept a profound secret for centuries, but the material is now believed to have been a mixture of nitre, sulphur, and naphtha. It burned with terrible fury wherever it fell, and it possessed the property of being inextinguishable by water. Even when poured upon the sea it would float upon the surface and still burn. It was used in warfare for a considerable time after the discovery of gunpowder, but gradually fell into the disuse as artillery became more effective. The name is still sometimes used to designate the inflammable compounds known to modern chemists which have been designed for use in incendiary shells, and for a composition which has been used by the Fenians to set fire to public buildings, To make of a long siege a short narration. Vpon the twelfth day of Iuly the yeere aforesaid, the Princes and Captaines of the Pagans, vpon agreement resorted to the tent of the Templaries to commune with the two kings touching peace, and giuing vp of their citie: the forme of which peace was thus.

The forme of peace concluded betweene the Kings and Princes of Achon.

1 That the Kings should haue the citie of Achon freely and fully deliuered vnto them, with all which was therein.

2 That 500. captiues of the Christians should be restored to them, which were in Achon.

3 That the holy crosse should be to them rendred, and a thousand Christian captiues with two hundreth horsemen, whosoeuer they themselues would chose out of all them which were in the power of the Saladine.

4 That they would giue vnto the Kings two hundreth thousand Bysants, so that they themselues should remaine as pledges in the Kings hands, for the performance hereof, that if in fortie daies, the aforesayd couenants were not accomplished, they should abide the Kings mercie touching life and limme.

These couenants being agreed vpon, the Kings sent their souldiers and seruants into the citie, to take a hundreth of the richest and best of the citie, to close them vp in towers vnder strong keeping, and the residue, they committed to be kept in houses and in streetes, ministring vnto them according to their necessities: to whom notwithstanding this they permitted, that so many of them as would be baptized and receiue the faith of Christ, should be free to goe whither they would: wherupon many there were of the Pagans, which for feare of death pretended to be baptized, but afterward so soone as they could, reuolted againe to the Saladine: for the which it was afterward commanded by the Kings, that none of them should be baptized against their wils.

The thirteenth day of the said moneth of Iuly, King Philip of France, and King Richard, after they had obteined the possession of Achon,* deuided betweene them all things therein conteined as well the people as golde and siluer, with all other furniture whatsoeuer was remaining in the citie: who in diuiding the spoyle, were so good caruers to themselues that the Knights and Barons had but litle to their share, whereupon they began to shew themselues somewhat discontented, which being knowen of the kings, they sent them answere that their wils should be satisfied.

---

* Acre, acca, anciently Ptolemais, in Syria, was taken by the Saracens in 638; by the Crusaders under Baldwin I. in 1104; by Saladin in 1187; and again by Richard I. and other Crusaders 12 July 1191, after a siege of 2 years, with a loss of 6 archbishops, 12 bishops, 40 earls, 500 barons, 300,000 soldiers. It was then named *St. Jean d'Acre.* It was retaken by the Saracens in 1291, when 60,000 Christians perished, and the nuns, who had mangled their faces to preserve their chastity, were put to death.

The twentieth day of Iuly, king Richard speaking with the French king, desired him that they two with their armies, would binde themselues by othe to remaine there stil in the land of Ierusalem the space of 3 yeeres, for the winning and recouering againe of those countreys: but he sayd he would sweare no such othe, and so the next day after king Richard with his wife and sister entred into the citie of Achon, and there placed himselfe in the kings pallace: The French king remayning in the houses of the Templaries, where he continued till the end of the moneth.

The French kings shamefull returne home.

About the beginning of the moneth of August, Philip the French king after that he and King Richard had made agreement betweene Guido and Conradus the Marques, about the kingdome of Ierusalem, went from Achon to Tyrus, notwithstanding king Richard and all the Princes of the Christian armie with great intreatie desired him to tary, shewing what a shame it were for him to come so farre, and now to leaue vndone that for which he came, and on the 3. day of August departed from Tyrus, leauing the halfe part of the Citie of Achon in the hands of the aforesayd Conradus Marques.

After his departure the Pagans refused to keepe their couenants made, who neither would restore the holy Crosse nor the money, nor their captiues, sending word to king Richard, that if he beheaded the pledges left with him at Achon, they would choppe off the heads of such captiues of the Christians, as were in their hands.

The captiues of the Saracens slaine by King Richard.

Shortly after this the Saladine sending great gifts to king Richard, requested the time limited for beheading of the captiues to be proroged, but the king refused to take his gifts, and to graunt his request, whereupon the Saldine caused all the Christian captiues within his possession forthwith to be beheaded, which was the 28. of August: which albeit king Richard vnderstood, yet would not he preuent the time before limitted for the execution of his prisoners, being the 20. day of August: vpon which day he caused the prisoners of the Saracens openly in the sight of the Saladines armie to loose their heads: the number of whom came to two thousand and fiue hundreth, saue onely that certaine of the principal of them he reserued for purposes and considerations, especially to make exchange for the holy Crosse, and certaine other of the Christian captiues.

After this king Richard purposed to besiege the Citie of Ioppe, where by the way betweene Achon and Ioppe, neere to a towne called Assur, Saladine with a great multitude of his Saracens came fiercely against the kings rereward, but through Gods mercifull grace in the same battell, the kings warriers acquited themselues so well, that the Saladine was put to flight, whom the Christians pursued the space of 3 miles, and he lost that same day many of his Nobles and Captaines, in such sort (as it was thought) that the Saladine was not put to such confusion 40 yeres before, and but one Christian Captaine called James Auernus in that conflict was ouerthrowen.

A notable victorie against the Saladine.

From thence king Richard proceeding further went to Ioppe, and then to Ascalon, where he found first the citie of Ioppe forsaken of the Saracens, who durst not abide the kings comming: Ascalon the Saladine threw downe to the ground, and likewise forsooke the whole land of Syria, through all which land the king had free passage without resistance: neither durst the Saracene Prince encounter after that with K. Richard. Of all which his atcheuances the sayd K. Richard sent his letters of certificate as well into England, as also to the Abbot of Clara valle * in France, well hoping y^t he God willing should be able to make his repaire againe to them by Easter next.

King Richard in possession of Syria.

Many other famous acts were done in this voyage by these two Kings, and moe should haue bene, had not they falling into discorde disseuered themselues, by reason whereof Philip the French king returned home againe within short space: who being returned againe eftsoones inuaded the countrey of Normandy, exciting also Iohn the brother of king Richard, to take on him

---

* Clairvaux, a famous Cistercian abbey, founded in 1114 by the celebrated Bernard. It increased so rapidly that before his death, in 1153, it contained 700 monks, and had connected with it seventy-six monasteries in various parts of Europe, partly founded by Bernard and partly induced to join the brotherhood. All sorts of handicraft and agricultural operations were carried on by the brethren. After supplying the wants of their community the surplus was disposed of in the nearest markets. It was suppressed at the Revolution.

1193. the kingdome of Englande in his brothers absence: who then made league vpon the same with the French king, and did homage vnto him, which was about the fourth yeere of king Richard. Who then being in Syria, and hearing thereof, made peace with the Turkes for three yeeres: and not long after, king Richard the next spring following returned also, who in his returne driuen by distresse of weather about the parts of Histria, in a towne called Synaca, was there taken by Lympold, Duke of the same countrey, and so solde to the Emperour for sixtie thousand Markes: who for no small ioy thereof, writeth to Philip the French king, these letters here following.

King Richard returneth from Palæstina.

The letter of the Emperour to Philip the French king, concerning the taking of King Richard.

HEnricus Dei gratia Romanorum Imperator, et semper Augustus, Dilecto et speciali amico suo, Philippo illustri Francorum Regi salutem, et sinceræ dilectionis affectum. Quoniam Imperatoria Celsitudo non dubitat Regalem Magnificentiam tuam lætiorem effici, de vniuersis quibus omnipotentia creatoris nostri nos ipsos, et Romanum Imperium honorauerit et exaltauerit, nobilitati tuæ tenore præsentium declarare duximus, quod inimicus Imperij nostri, et turbator Regni tui Rex Angliæ, quum esset in transeundo mare ad partes suas reuersurus, accidit vt ventus rupta naui sua, in qua ipse erat, induceret eum in partes Histriæ ad locum qui est inter Aquileiam, et Venetias. Vbi Rex, Dei permissione passus naufragium cum paucis euasit.

Quidam itaq; fidelis noster Comes, Maynardus de Grooxce, et populus regionis illius, audito quod in terra erat, et considerato diligentiùs, qualem nominatus Rex in terra promissionis proditionem et traditionem, et perditionis suæ cumulum exercuerat, insecuti sunt, intendentes eum captiuare. Ipso autem Rege in fugam conuerso, ceperunt de suis octo milites: Postmodum processit Rex ad Burgum in Archiepiscopatu Salseburgensi, qui vocatur Frisorum, vbi Fridericus de Betesow, Rege cum tribus tantum versus Austriam properante, noctu sex milites de suis cœpit: Dilectus autem Consanguineus noster Lympoldus Dux Austriæ, obseruata strata sæpé, dictum Regem iuxta Denam in villa viciniori in domo despecta captiuauit.

Cum itáq; in nostra nunc habeatur Potestate, et ipse semper tua molestauit, et turbationis operam præstiterit, ea quæ præmissimus, nobilitati tuæ insinuare curauimus: scientes ea dilectioni tuæ bene placita existere, animo tuo vberrimam importare lætitiam. Datum apud Ritheountum 5. Kalendas Ianua.

King Richard being thus traiterously taken, and solde to the Emperour by the Duke of Austridge for 60000. markes, was there kept in custodie a yeere and 3. moneths.

In some stories it is affirmed, that King Richard returning out of Asia, came to Italy with prosperous winde, where he desired of the Pope to be absolued of an othe made against his will and could not obteine it: and so setting out from thence towards England, passing by the Countrey of Conradus the Marques, whose death (he being slaine a litle before) was falsly imputed by the French king to the king of England, there traiterously was taken (as is aforesayde) by Limpoldus duke of Austridge.

Albeit in another storie I finde the matter more credibly set forth: which saith thus. That king Richard slewe the brother of this Limpoldus, playing with him at Chesse in the French Kings Court: and Limpoldus taking his vantage, was more cruel against him and deliuered him (as is sayde) to the Emperour. In whose custodie he was deteined during the time aboue mentioned, a yeere and 3. moneths. During which time of the kings endurance, the French king in the meane season stirred warre in Normandie: and Earle Iohn the Kings brother, made stirre and inuaded England, but the Barons and Bishops of the land mightily withstood him.

At length it was agreed and concluded with the Emperour, that king Richard should be released for a hundreth and foure thousand pound: of which money part should remaine to the Duke of Austridge, the rest should be the Emperours. The summe of which money was here gathered and made in England of chalices, crosses, shrines, candlestickes and other Church place, also with publike contribution of Friers, Abbots, and other subiects of the Realme: whereof part was presently paid, and for the residue remaining, hostages and pledges were taken, which was about the fift yeere of his reigne: and then it was obteined of the Pope, that Priestes might celebrate with Chalices of latten and tinne.

The iust iudgment of God vpon the Duke of Austria.

At what time this aforesaide money was payde, and the hostages giuen for the ransome of the King, I haue an olde historie which saith, that the aforesaid Duke of Austridge was shortly after plagued by God, with 5. sundry plagues.

First, with the burning of his chiefe Townes.

2. With drowning of tenne thousand of his men in a flood happening no man can tell how.

3. By turning all the eares of his corne fieldes into wormes.

4. By taking away almost all the Nobles of his land by death.

5. By breaking his owne leg falling from his horse, which leg he was compelled to cut off with his owne hands, and afterwards died of the same: who then at his death is reported to forgiue K. Richard 50000. marks, and sent home the hostages that were with him. And further a certaine booke intituled Eulogium declareth, that the sayd Limpoldus duke of Austrich fell in displeasure with the bishop of Rome, and died excommunicate the next yeere after, Anno 1196.

But thus, as you haue heard, Richard the King was ransomed and deliuered from the couetuous captiuitie of the Emperor, and returning home made an ende of his voyage for Asia, which was both honourable to himselfe and to all Christian states, but to the Saracens the enemies of Christianitie, terrible and dishonourable.

[This historie of King Richards voiage to Ierusalem is very excellently and largely written in Latine by Guilielmus Neobrigensis,* and Roger Houeden.†]

---

* William Little, died between 1208 and 1220. The best edition of his history is Mr Howlett's, 1884, published in the Rolls Series. It extends from the Conquest to 1197.

† Roger of Hoveden, a fine old English chronicler attached to the household of Henry II. in some capacity of treasurer connected with minor abbeys and their royal dues, was also professor of theology at Oxford. His chronicle was chiefly written under Richard of the Lion Heart, and breaks off at the third year of John, 1201. It is in Latin, and is easily accessible—the *Chronica Rogeri de Hovedene* forming part of the magnificent Rolls Series. It is in four vols. 8vo, edited by Professor Stubbs (London, 1871). The first part of Roger's chronicle, beginning with the year 732, is really due to Benedict of Peterborough, under which name the king's treasurer, Bishop Richard Fitz Neal, wrote. It professes to continue and complete Bede's History. Roger of Hoveden is of high value for Henry II.'s time, but for that of Richard and the first year of John he is really admirable. No circumstance is too trivial for his pen, and in this garrulous diffuseness many touches are preserved of priceless worth to us, with which better authors would have disdained to cumber their work.

Epitaphium Richardi primi regis Anglorum apud fontem Ebraldi.

SCribitur hoc auro, rex auree, laus tua tota
aurea, materiæ conueniente nota.
Laus tua prima fuit Siculi, Cyprus altera, Dromo
tertia, Caruanna quarta, suprema * Iope.
Retrusi Siculi, Cyprus pessundata, Dromo
mersus, Caruanna capta, retenta Iope.

* Ciuitas Ioppe.

Epitaphium eiusdem vbi viscera eius requiescunt.

VIscera Kareolum, corpus fons seruat Ebraldi,
et cor Rothomagus, magne Richarde, tuum.

The trauailes of Gulielmus Peregrinus.

GVlielmus Peregrinus, Poeta quidem per eam ætatem excellens, genere Anglus florebat, literarum, vt multi tunc erant, amator maximus, et qui bona tempora melioribus impenderat studijs. Hic cum accepisset, expeditionem in Saracenos per Regem Richardum parari, accinxit se ad iter illud, non tantum vt miles, sed etiam peregrinus. Vidit ea quæ in Mari Hispanico fiebant, vidit quæ in Syria et Palæstina commissa fuerunt, in Sultanum Babyloniæ Regem, ac perfidos Sarracenos. Omnia hæc scripsit, et viuis depinxit coloribus, ita vt quasi præ oculis, totum poneret negotium, idémque Argumentum cum Richardo Canonico non infœliciter, Heroico pertractauit carmine, opúsq; iam absolutum Huberto Cantuariorum Archiepiscopo, et Stephano Turnhamo Capitaneo rerum bellicarum expertissimo dedicauit, addito hoc titulo, Odeporicon Richardi Regis. Multáque alia edidisse Poetam talem non dubito, sed num extent illa eius scripta, mihi non constat. Hoc tamen satis constat, eum fuisse in pretio, Anno à saluitfero virginis partu 1200. sub Anglorum Rege Ioanne.

The same in English.

WIlliam the Pilgrime, a very excellent Poet in those dayes and an Englishman borne, was of great fame, being much giuen to good letters, (as many then were) and bestowed his good time in the best kinde of studies. Hee vnderstanding of the prepara-

tion of king Richard against the Saracens, prepared himselfe also for the same voyage, not onely as a Souldiour, but as a Pilgrime also. He sawe those things which happened in the Spanish Seas, and which were done in Syria and Palestina, against the Sultan the King of Babylon, and the trecherous Saracens. All which things he wrote and expressed them as it were in liuely colours, as if they had bene still in doing before his eyes, and handled the same Argument in Heroicall verse which the forenamed Richard Canonicus did. And hauing finished his worke he dedicated it to Hubert Archbishop of Canterburie, and to Stephen Turneham a most expert Captaine of warres, giuing it this Title, The expedition of King Richard. And I doubt not but that so good a Poet as hee has published many other things, but whether they be extant yea or no, I know not: but this I know, that he was a man well accounted of, and flourished in the yeere after the birth of Christ 1200. vnder king Iohn.

The comming of the Emperour of Constantinople called Baldwine into England in the yere 1247, out of Matth. Paris, and Holensh. pag. 239. vol. 2.

ABout the same time, Baldwine naming himselfe emperour of Constantinople, came againe into England, to procure some new ayd of the king towards the recouery of his empire, out of the which he was expelled by the Greeks.

Confirmatio treugarum inter Regem Angliæ Eduardum quartum, et Ioannem secundum Regem Portugalliæ, datarum in oppido montis Maioris 8. Februarij, et apud Westmonasterium 13, Septembris, 1482. anno regni 22. Regis Eduardi quarti, lingua Lusitanica ex opere sequenti excerpta.

Libro das obras de Garcia de Resende, que tracta da vida è feitos del Rey dom Ioham secundo. Embaxada que el Rey mandou à el Rey D'Inglaterra. Cap. 33.

EDaqui de Monte Mor mandou el Rey por embaixadores, à el rey dom Duarte de Inglaterra Ruy de Sousa-pessoa principal è de muyto bon saber é credito, de que el Rey muyto confiaua: é ho doutor Ioam d'Eluas, é fernam de Pina por secretario. E foram por mar muy honradamente cum muy boa companhia: hos quaes foram en nome del rey confirmar as ligas antiquas com Inglaterra, que polla-condiçan dellas ho nouo Rey de hum reyno é do outro era obrigado à mandar confirmar: é tambien pera monstrarem ho titolo que el rey tinha no senhorio de Guinee, pera que depois de visto el rey D'Inglaterra defendesse em todos seus reynos, que ninguen armasse nem podesse mandar à Guinee: é assi mandasse desfazer huna armada que pera laa faziam, per mandado do Duque de Medina Sidonia, hum Ioam Tintam é hum Guilherme fabiam Ingleses. Com ha qual embaixada e, rey D'Inglaterra mostrou receber grande contentamento: é foy delle commuyta honra recebida, é em tudo fez inteiramente ho que pellos embaixadores lhe foy requerido: de que elles trouxeran‖ autenticas escrituras das diligencias que con pubricos pregones fizeram: é assi as prouisones das aprouaçones que eran necessarias: è com tudo muyto ben acabado, é ha vontade del rey se vieram.

‖These writings are in the Towre.

The voyage of Matthew Gourney, a most valiant English Knight against the Moores of Algier in Barbarie and Spaine. M. Camden pag. 159.

NEc tacendum Matthæum Gourney in oppido quodam, vulgari lingua Stoke vnder Hamden in comitatu Somersetensi appellato, sepultum esse, virum bellicosissimum regnante Edwardo tertio: qui 96. ætatis anno diem obiuit, cum (vt ex inscriptione videre licuit) obsidioni d'Algizer contra Saracenos, prælijs Benamazin, Sclusensi, Cressiaco, Ingenos, Pictauiensi, et Nazarano in Hispania dimicasset.

The same in English.

IT is by no means to be passed ouer in silence, that Matthew Gourney, being a most valiant warriour in the reigne of Edward the third, lyeth buried at a certaine towne, in the countie of Somerset, commonly called Stoke vnder Hamden: who deceased in the 96. yeare of his age: and that (as it is manifest by the inscription of his monument) after he had valiantly behaued himselfe at the siege of Algizer against the Sarazens, and at the battailes of Benamazin, of Sluce, of Cressie, of Ingenos, of Poictou, and of Nazaran in Spaine.

In the reigne of Edward the third.

The comming of Lyon King of Armenia into England, in the yeere 1386, and in the ninth yeere of Richard the second, in trust to finde some meanes of peace or good agreement betweene the King of England and the French king. Iohn Froyssart lib. 3. cap. 56.

THus in abiding for the Duke of Berrie, and for the Constable, who were behind, then king Lyon of Armenia, who was in France, and had assigned him by the king, sixe thousande frankes by the yeare to maintaine his estate, tooke vpon him for a good intent to goe into England to speake with the king there and his Councell, to see if he might finde any matter of peace to be had, betweene the two Realmes, England and France: And so he departed from his lodging of Saint Albeyne beside Saint Denice, alonely* with his owne company, and with no great apparell. So he rode to Boloine, and there he tooke a shippe, and so sayled foorth till he came to Douer; and there he found the Earle of Cambridge, and the Earle of Buckingham, and moe then a hundreth men of armes, and a two thousand Archers, who lay there to keepe that passage, for the brute† ran, that the Frenchmen should lande there or at Sandwich, and the king lay at London, and part of his Councell with him, and daily heard tydings from all the Portes of England. When the king of Armenia was arriued at Douer, he had there good cheere, because he was a stranger, and so he came to the kings vncles there, who sweetly receiued him, and at a time conuenient, they demaunded of him from whence he came and whither he would. The king answered and sayd, that in trust of goodnesse he was come thither to see the king of England, and his Councell, to treate of peace betweene England and France, for he saide that he thought the warre was not meete: for he sayd, by reason of warre betweene these two Realmes, which hath indured so long, the Saracens, Iewes and Turkes are waxed proude, for there is none that make them any warre, and by occasion thereof I haue lost my land and Realme, and am not like to recouer them againe without there were firme peace in all

---

* "Merely" "only." (Nare's *Glossary.*)
"I speak not this *alonly* for mine owne."
MIR. FOR MAGIST., p. 367.

† Report, *French* BRUIT. (Nare's *Glossary*). Compare 3 Hen. vi., iv., 7.

Christendome: and I would gladly shew the matter that toucheth all Christendome to the king of England, and to his Councell, as I haue done to the French king. Then the kings Vncles demaunded of him if the French king sent him thither or no; he answered and sayd, no: there is no man that sent mee, but I am come hither by mine owne motion to see if the king of England and his Councel would any thing leane to any treaty of peace, then was he demaunded where the French king was, he answered I beleeue he be at Sluce, I sawe not him sithence I tooke my leaue of him at Senlize. Then he was demaunded, howe he could make any treatie of peace, and had no charge so to doe, and Sir, if yee be conueyed to the King our Nephew and to his Counsell, and the French king in the meane season enter with his puissance into England; yee may happe thereby to receiue great blame, and your person to be in great ieoperdy with them of the Countrey. Then the King answered and said, I am in suretie of the French king, for I haue sent to him, desiring him till I returne againe, not to remoue from Sluce, and I repute him so noble and so well aduised, that he will graunt my desire, and that hee will not enter into the sea, till I come againe to him. Wherefore, sirs, I pray you in the instance of loue and peace, to conuey me to speake with the King, for I desire greatly to see him: or else yee that be his Vncles, if ye haue authoritie, to giue me answere to all my demaunds. Then the Earle of Buckingham sayd, syr king of Armenia, we be ordayned here to keepe and defend this passage, and the frontiers of England, by the King and his Counsell, and wee haue no charge to meddle any further with the businesse of the Realme, without we be otherwise commanded by the King. But sith ye be come for a good intent into this Countrey, ye be right welcome; but sir, as for any firme answere ye can haue none of vs, for as now we be not of the Councell, but we shall conuey you to the king without perill or danger. The king thanked them, and said: I desire nothing else but to see the king and to speake with him.

How the King of Armenia returned out of England, and of the answere that was made to him.

WHen the king of Armenia was refreshed at Douer a day, and had spoken with the kings Vncles at good leasure, then he departed towards London, with a good conduct that the Lords appointed to him, for feare of any recounters: so long he rode that he came to London, and in his ryding through London he was well regarded, because he was a stranger, and he had good cheare made him, and so was brought to the king, who lay at the Royall at the Queenes wardrobe, and his Councell were in London at their lodgings: The Londoners were sore fortefying of their citie. When the comming of the king of Armenia was knowen, the kings Councell drew to the King to heare what tydings the King brought in that troublous season: When the king of Armenia was come into the kings presence, he made his salutation and then beganne his processe to the states, how he was come out of France principally to see the king of England whom he had neuer seene before, and said, how he was right ioyous to be in his presence, trusting that some goodnesse might come thereby. And there he shewed by his words, that to withstande the great pestilence that was likely to be in England; therefore he was come of his owne good will to doe good therein if he might, not sent from the French king, willing to set some accorde and peace betweene the two Realmes England and France. Many faire pleasant words the king of Armenia spake to the king of England, and to his Counsell, then he was shortly answered thus: Syr king, ye be welcome into this Realme, for the king our soueraigne lord, and all we are glad to see you here, but sir, we say that the king hath not here all his Councell, but shortly they shall be here, and then ye shall be answered. The king of Armenia was content therewith, and so returned to his lodging. Within foure dayes after the king was counselled (and I thinke he had sent to his Vncles to know their intents, but they were not present at the answere giuing) to goe to the pallace at Westminster and his Councell with him, such as were about him, and to send for the king of Armenia to come thither. And when he was come into the presence of the king of England and his Councell, the king sate downe, and the king of Armenia by him, and then the Prelates and other of his Councell. There the king of Armenia rehearsed againe his requestes that he made, and also shewed wisely how all Christendome was sore decayed and feeblished by occasion of the warres betweene England and France. And how that all the knights and Squires of both Realmes entended* nothing else, but alwayes to be on the one part or of the other: whereby the Empire of Constantinople leeseth,[*] and is like to leese; for before this warre the Knights and Squires were wont to aduenture themselues. And also the king of Armenia shewed that by occasion of this warre he had lost his Realme of Armenia, therefore he desired for Gods sake that there might be some treaty of peace had betweene the two Realmes England and France. To these wordes answered the Archbishop of Canterburie, for he had charge so to doe; And he sayd, Sir king of Armenia, it is not the manner nor neuer was seene betweene two such enemies as the king of England and the French king, that the King my Souereigne lorde should be required of peace, and he to enter his land with a puissant army, wherefore sir, we say to you, that if it please you, ye may returne to the French king, and cause him and all his puissance to returne backe into their owne countreys. And when euery man be at home, then if it please you ye may returne againe hither, and then we shall gladly intende to your treatie.

---

* Attend to. It is used in the same sense in the Alleyn papers. "Loe that I will now after Munday, intend your busines carefully." And in *Timon of Athens* ii., 2.

This was all the answere the king of Armenia could get there, and so he dined with the king of England, and had as great honour as could bee deuised, and the king offered him many great gifts of golde and siluer, but he would take none though he had neede thereof, but alonely a ring to the value of a hundreth Frankes. After dinner he tooke his leaue and returned vnto his lodging, and the next day departed, and was two days at Douer, and there he tooke his leaue of such lords as were there, and so tooke the sea in a passager,[†] and arriued at Calais and from thence went to Sluce, and there he spake with the French king and with his Vncles, and shewed them how he had bene in England, and what answere he had: the French king and his Vncles tooke no regard of his saying, but sent him backe againe into France, for their full intention was to enter into England as soone as they might haue winde and weather, and the Duke of Berrie and the Constable came to them: The winde was sore contrary to them, for therewith they could neuer enter into England but the winde was good to goe into Scotland.[†]

---

[*] Diminisheth, dwindleth. Nares does not give this meaning, nor have I ever come across a precisely similar instance of its use.

[*] Generally spelt *passenger*, as in the letter of the Earl of Leicester 1585. Quoted by Nares.

[‡] The King of Armenia here referred to was Leon VI., the last of the Cilicio Armenian dynasty founded by Rupen, a relative of Gagik, the last of the

The memorable victories in diuers parts of Italie of Iohn Hawkwood English man in the reigne of Richard the second, briefly recorded by M. Camden, pag. 339.

AD alteram ripam fluuij Colne oppositus est Sibble Heningham, locus natalis, vt accepi, Ioannis Hawkwoodi (Itali Aucuthum corruptè vocant) quem illi tantopere ob virtutem militarem suspexerunt, vt Senatus Florentinus propter insignia merita equestri statua et tumuli honore in eximiæ fortitudinis, fideſque testimonium ornauit. Res eius gestas Itali pleno ore prædicant; Et Paulus Iouius in elogijs celebrat: sat mihi sit Iulij Feroldi tetrastichon adijcere.

Hawkwoode Anglorum decus, et decus addite genti
Italicæ, Italico presidiúmq; solo,
Vt tumuli quondam Florentia, sic simulachri
Virtutem Iouius donat honore tuam.

William Thomas in his Historie of the common wealthes of Italy, maketh honorable mention of him twise, to wit, in the commonwealth of Florentia and Ferrara.

The comming of the Emperor of Constantinople into England, to desire the aide of Henry the 4. against the Turkes, 1400.

Thomas Walsingham.

SVb eodem tempore Imperator Constantinopolitanus venit in Angliam, postulaturus subsidium contra Turcas. Cui occurrit rex cum apparatu nobili ad le Blackheath, die sancti Thomæ Apostilo, suscepítque, prout decuit, tantum Heroem, duxítq; Londonias, et per multos dies exhibuit gloriosè, pro expensis hospitij sui soluens, et eum respiciens tanto fastigio donatiuis. Et paulò post: His auditis rumoribus, Imperator lætior recessit ab Anglis, honoratus à rege donarijs preciosis.

The same in English.

ABout the same time the Emperour of Constantinople came into England, to seek ayde against the Turkes: whom ye king

---

Bagratide Kings. He was taken prisoner by the Mamelukes of Egypt in 1375, and after a long captivity wandered as an exile through Europe, dying at Paris in 1393.

accompanied with his nobilitie, met withall vpon Blackheath vpon the day of saint Thomas the Apostle, and receiued him as beseemed so great a prince, and brought him to London, and roially entertained him for a long season, defraying the charges of his diet, and giuing him many honorable presents. And a litle afterward: Vpon the hearing of these newes, the emperor departed with great ioy out of England, whom the king honoured with many precious gifts.

A briefe relation of the siege and taking of the Citie of Rhodes, by Sultan Soliman the great Turke, translated out of French into English at the motion of the Reuerend Lord Thomas Dockwray, great Prior of the order of Ierusalem in England, in the yeere, 1524.

WIllingly faithfully to write and reduce in veritie Historiall, the great siege, cruel oppugnation, and piteous taking of the noble and renowmed citie of Rhodes, the key of Christendome, the hope of many poore Christian men, withholden in Turkie to saue and keepe them in their faith: the rest and yeerely solace of noble pilgrimes of the holy sepulchre of Iesu Christ and other holy places: the refuge and refreshing of all Christian people: hauing course of marchandise in the parties of Leuant, I promise to all estates that shall see this present booke, that I haue left nothing for feare of any person, nor preferred it for fauour. And first I shall shewe the occasions that moued this cruell bloodshedder, enemie of our holy Christian faith, Sultan Soliman, now being great Turke, to come with a great hoste by sea and by lande, to besiege and assayle the space of sixe moneths, night and day, the noble and mightie citie of Rhodes, the yere of the incarnation of our Lord Iesu Christ, 1522.

The occasions why the great Turke came to besiege the Citie of Rhodes.

THe first and principall cause was that he did consider and sawe by experience, that there was none other Towne nor place in Leuant that warred against him nor kept him in doubt, but this poore rocke of Rhodes. And hearing that continuall complaintes of his subiectes as well of Syria, as of Turkie, for the domages and prises dayly done of their bodies and goods by

Christian men of warre receiued into Rhodes: And also of the shippes and gallies of the religion, he tooke conclusion in himselfe, that if he might put the sayde Towne in his power and subiection, that then he should be peaceable lord of all the parties of Leuant, and that his subiects should complaine no more to him.

The second, that he might followe the doings of his noble predecessours, and shewe himselfe very heire of the mightie and victorious lord Sultan Selim his father, willing to put in execution the enterprise by him left the yeere one thousand fiue hundred twentie and one. The which Selim the great Turke put in all redinesse his armie to the number of three hundreth sayles purposing for to send them against Rhodes, if mortalitie had not happened in his host, and he afterwarde by the will of our lorde was surprised and taken with death: wherefore he being in the latter ende of his dayes, (as some Turkes and false christian men that were at this siege shewed me) did charge by his testament, or caused to charge his sonne now being great Turke, that after his death hee should make his two first enterprises, the one against Bellegrado in Hungarie, and the other against Rhodes, for to get him honour, and to set his Countries and subiectes in rest and suretie. The which fatherly motion easilie entered into him and was imprinted in the heart and yoong will of the sayde Solyman, his sonne, the which soone after the death of his father put in effect the first enterprise, and raised an huge hoste both by water and by land, and went himselfe in person against Bellegrado, a right strong place in Hungarie. And after that hee had besieged it the space of two moneths or thereabout, for fault of ordinance and vitailes, it was yeelded to him by composition the eight day of September, in the yeere of our lord, one thousand fiue hundred twentie and one. The sayd Solyman hauing this victory, being swollen and raised in pride and vaineglory, turned his heart agaynst Rhodes. Neuerthelesse, he not ignorant of the strength of it, and considering the qualities of the people that were within it, of whom he should be well receiued as his predecessours had bene aforetimes, doubted much, and knew not how to furnish his enterprise. For his capitaines and Bashas turned him from it as much as they might by many reasons, they knowing the force of it, saue onely Mustofa Basha his brother in lawe, the which councelled and put him in minde to goe thither. Finally, hee purposed entirely to haue it by reason or by force. And also for the same cause and purpose,

The taking of Belgrade.

Forren physicians become spies oftentimes.

A Portingale traitor.

his father in his dayes had sent a Iewe physician into Rhodes as a spie, to haue the better knowledge of it: the sayd Solyman was informed that he was there yet, wherefore he sent him worde that he should abide there still for the same cause. And gaue in charge to one of the chiefe men in Sio, to send vnto the sayd Iewe all things needefull to maintaine him. And the same Iewe wrote to him of Sio, vnder priuie wordes, all that was done in Rhodes to giue knowledge thereof to the great Turke: and the better to hide his treason, the sayde Iewe made himselfe to bee baptised. And to bee the more named to be expert in Physike, he did some faire cures to such as were diseased, whereby he began to bee well trusted, and came in fauour with many substantiall folkes of the towne. Among all other things whereof hee aduertised the great Turke, one was of a wall that was taken downe for to be new builded at the bulwarke of Auuergne, certifying him that if hee came hastely with his hoste, hee might easilie and at vnawares surprise the towne in such estate as it was at that time. Many other aduertisements and warnings hee shewed the Turke, which shall bee declared hereafter. But beside his aduertisement, the sayd great Turke stirred and prouoked by a false traitour, a Portingale knight of ours, that time Chanceller of the sayd holy Religion, a man of great authoritie, dignitie, and vnderstanding, and one of the principall lordes of the counsell of the same, named Sir Andrew de Merall, by little and little was mooued and kindled to the sayd enterprise of treason, whereof was no maruell, for it was a great hope and comfort to haue such a person for him, that knew all the estate and rule of the religion and of the towne. And for to declare the occasions of the cursed and vnhappy will of the said traitor that had bene occasion of so great losse and damage, and shall be more at the length, if the diuine power set not to his hand.

Philip de Villiers great master.

And here it is manifestly to bee vnderstood of all men, that after the death of the noble and right prudent lord, Fabrice of Cacetto, great master of Rhodes, the sayd Sir Andrew enflamed with ambition and couetousnesse to bee great master, and seeing himselfe deceiued of his hope, by the election made the two and twentieth day of Ianuary, of the right reuerend and illustrate lord, Philip de Villiers Lisleadam, before him: from that time hee tooke so great enuie and desperation, enmitie and euil will, not onely against the sayde lord, but against all the holy religion, that hee set all his studie and purpose, to betray and sell his religion and the citie of Rhodes to the cursed misbeleeuers, forgetting the great honours and goodnesse that hee hath had of the religion, and hoped to receiue, with many other particuler pleasures that the sayd lord master had done to him. But the deuill, vnkindnesse, and wickednesse had so blinded the eyes of his thought, that hee in no wise could refraine him, but at euery purpose that was spoken afore him, hee was short and might not dissemble. And one day among other hee sayde before many knights, that hee would that his soule were at the deuill, and that Rhodes and the religion were lost. And many other foolish and dishonest purposes and wordes hee vttered, whereat none tooke heed, nor thought that hee had the courage to doe that thing that hee hath done. Howbeit, obstinate as Iudas, hee put in execution his cursed will: for soone after that the tidings of the election was sent Westward to the sayde noble lord, the sayd de Merall did send a Turke prisoner of his to Constantinople, vnder shadowe to fetch his ransome. By whom he aduertised the great Turke and his counsell, of the maner and degree of Rhodes, and in what state and condicion the towne was in of all maner of things at that time, and what might happen of it, prouoking and stirring him to come with a great hoste to besiege the towne. And after the comming of the sayd reuerend lord great master, he gaue other aduise to the great Turke, shewing him that hee could neuer haue better time to come, seeing that the great master was new come, and part of the wall taken downe, and that all Rhodes was in trouble by occasion of some Italian knights, rebels agaynst the lord great master: of the which rebellion he was causer, the better to bring his cursed mind to passe: and also gaue the sayde great Turke knowledge that all Christian princes were busie, warring each vpon other, and that he should not doubt but if the rebellion lasted among them, the towne should be his without faile, as it is seene by experience. And for lacke of succours of euery part, and especially of such as might easily haue holpen vs beyng our neighbours, with their gallies and men of warre, wherefore it is now in the handes of the enemies of the christian faith. The which monitions and reasons of the false traitor being vnderstood and pondered by the great Turke and his counsell, it was considered of them not to loose so good occasion and time. Wherefore hee made most extreme diligence to rigge and apparell many ships and vessels of diuers sorts, as galliasses, gallies, pallandres, fustes, and brigantines, to the number of 350. sailes and moe.*

When the prisoner that the sayd de Merall did send into Turkie had done his commission, hee returned into Rhodes, whereof euery man had maruell. And many folkes deemed euil of his comming againe, as of a thing vnaccustomed, but none durst say any thing, seeing the sayd de Merall of so great authoritie and dignitie, and he cherished the sayd prisoner more than he was woont to doe. Therefore belike hee had well done his message, and had brought good tidings to the damnable and shamefull mind of the sayd traitor de Merall.

How the great Turke caused the passages to be kept, that none should beare tidings of his hoste to Rhodes.

THe great Turke intending with great diligence to make readie his hoste both by sea and by land, the better to come to his purpose, and to take the towne vnwarily as hee was aduertised, thought to keepe his doings as secret as hee might, and commaunded that none of his subiects should goe to Rhodes for any maner of thing. And likewise he tooke all the barkes and brigantines out of the hauens and portes in those coastes, because they should giue no knowledge of his armie. And also hee made the passages by land to bee kept, that none should passe. Howbeit, so great apparell of an armie could not bee long kept close: for the spies which the lord great master had sent into Turkie, brought tidings to the castle of saint Peter, and to Rhodes, of all that was said and done in Turkie. Neuerthelesse, the sayd lord gaue no great credence to all that was brought and told, because that many yeeres before, the predecessours of the great Turke had made great armies: and alway it was sayd that they went to Rhodes, the which came to none effect. And it was holden for a mocke and a by-word in many places, that the Turke would goe to besiege Rhodes. And for this reason doubt was had of this last armie, and some thought that it should haue gone into Cyprus or to Cataro, a land of the lordship of Venice. Howbeit the great master not willing to bee taken vnwarily, but the meane while as carefull and diligent for the wealth of his towne, and his people, vnderstanding these tidings of the Turkes armie, did all his diligence to repaire and strengthen the towne. Amongst all other things to build vp, and raise the bulwarke of Auuergne, and to cleanse and make deeper the ditches. And the more to cause the workemen to haste them in their businesse, the sayd lord ouersawe them twise or thrise euery day.

---

* A Galliasse was a 3 masted galley; Pallandres were manned by 20 men and Fustes by 12 to 15.

How the lord great master counselled with the lordes for prouision of the towne.

THen the sayd reuerend lord thought to furnish and store the towne with more vitailes for the sustenance thereof, and for the same many times hee spake with the lordes that had the handling and rule of the treasurie, and of the expenses thereof in his absence, and since his comming: That is to wit, with the great Commander Gabriel de pommerolles, lieutenant of the sayd lord: The Turcoplier Sir Iohn Bourgh of the English nation: and the Chanceller Sir Andrew de Meral, of whom is spoken afore, and of his vntruth agaynst his religion. The which three lordes sayd, that hee should take no thought for it, for the towne was well stored with vitailes for a great while, and that there was wheate ynough till new came in: Notwithstanding it were good to haue more, or the siege were laied afore the towne, and therefore it were behoouefull to send for wheate and other necessaries into the West for succours of the towne, and at that time to puruey for euery thing.

Sir Ioh. Bourgh the English Turcoplier.

Of the prouision for vitailes and ordinance of warre.

AS touching the store and ordinance of warre, the sayd lordes affirmed that there was ynough for a yeere and more, whereof the contrary was found, for it failed a moneth or the citie was yeelded. It is of trueth that there was great store, and to haue lasted longer then it did. But it was needful to spend largely at the first comming of the enemies to keepe them from comming neere, and from bringing earth to the ditches sides as they did. And moreouer you are to consider the great number of them, and their power that was spred round about the towne, giuing vs so many assaults and skirmishes in so many places as they did, and by the space of sixe whole moneths day and night assailing vs, that much ordinance and store was wasted to withstand them in all points. And if it failed, it was no maruell. Howbeit the noble lord great master prouided speedily for it, and sent Brigantines to Lango, to the castle of saint Peter, and to the castels of his isle Feraclous and Lyndo, for to bring powder and saltpeter to strength the towne, but it suffised not.

And for to speake of the purueiance of vitailes, it was aduised by the lord great master and his three lords, that it was time to send some ships for wheat to places thereabout, before the Turks hoste were come thither. And for this purpose was appointed a ship named the Gallienge, whose captaine hight* Brambois, otherwise called Wolfe, of the Almaine nation, an expert man of the sea, the which made so good diligence, that within a moneth he performed his voiage, and brought good store of wheat from Naples and Romania,† which did vs great comfort.

How a Brigantine was sent to Candie for wine, and of diuers ships that came to helpe the towne.

AFter this, a motion was made to make prouision of wine for the towne, for the men of Candie durst not saile for to bring wine to Rhodes as they were woont to doe for feare of the Turkes hoste : and also they of the towne would send no ship into Candie, fearing to be taken and enclosed with the sayd hoste by the way. Howbeit some merchants of the towne, were willing to haue aduentured themselues in a good ship of the religion, named the Mary, for to haue laden her with wine in Candie. But they could not agree with the three lordes of the treasure, and their let was but for a little thing: and all the cause came of the sayd traitour de Merall, faining the wealth of the treasure: for he intended another thing, and brake this good and profitable enterprise and will of the sayd merchants, seeing that it was hurtfull to the Turke, whose part the said traitour held in his diuelish heart: that notwithstanding, the reuerend lord great master, that in all things from the beginning to the ende, hath alway shewed his good will, and with all diligence and right that might bee requisite to a soueraigne captaine and head of warre, found other expedience, and sent a Brigantine into Candie, in the which he sent a brother sergeant named Anthonie of Bosus, a well sprighted* man and wise, that by his wisedome wrought so well, that within a small time he brought fifteene vessels called Gripes, laden with wine, and with them men of warre the which came vnder shadow of those wines, because the gouernours of Candie durst let none of their men goe to the succour of Rhodes for feare of the Turke. And beside those fifteene Gripes came a good ship whose capitaine and owner was a rich yong gentleman Venetian, Messire Iohn Antonio de Bonaldi, which of his good will came with his ship laden with 700. buts of wine to succour the towne with his person and folkes, whose good and lowable will I leaue to the consideration of the readers of this present booke. For hee being purposed to haue had his wines to Constantinople, or he was enformed of the busines of Rhodes, and was in the porte du Castell in Candie, would not beare his vitailes to the enemies of the faith, but came out and returned his way toward Rhodes, forgetting all particular profite and aduantage. He being arriued at Rhodes, dispatched and sold his wine, which was a great encrease and comfort for the towne. And when he had so done, he presented his person, his ship, and his folke, to the reuerend great master, the which retained him, and set him in wages of the Religion. And during the siege, the sayd capitaine behaued him woorthily in his person, and put himselfe in such places as woorthy men ought to be, spending his goods largely without demanding any paiment or recompense for his doing, of the Religion.

---

* The participle of the Anglo-Saxon verb *Hatan*, to call.

> "Full carefully he kept them day and night,
> In fairest fields, and Astrophel he *hight*."
>
> SPENSER *Astrophel* i., 6.

† The territory around Rome, *not* Roumania.

‡ Loyal.

How the corne was shorne downe halfe ripe and brought into the towne for feare of the Turkes hoste.

DVring these things, the reuerend lord great master carefull and busie to haue euerything necessary, as men and other strengths, sent vessels called brigantines, for to cause the wafters of the sea to come vnto Rhodes for the keeping and fortifying of the towne, the which at the first sending came and presented their persons and ships to the seruice of the religion.

Haruest in April and May.

After that the sayd lord caused to shere downe the Rie of his isle, and caused it to bee brought into the towne, which was done in Aprill: and then in May in some places, he made to shere the wheate halfe ripe, howbeit the most part was left in the fields, because the Turkes hoste was come out of the streights of Constantinople. And doubting that any number of ships should come before to take the people of the sayd Isle vnawares, the sayd lord made them to leaue shering of wheate, and caused the people of the furthest part of the Isle to come into the towne.

While that the great master prouided for all things after the course of time and tidings that hee had, there arriued a Carak of Genoa laden with spicerie from Alexandria, the which passed before the port of Rhodes the eight day of Aprill, and rid at anker at the Fosse, 7. or 8. miles from the towne, for to know and heare tidings of the Turkish hoste. Then the lord willing to furnish him with people as most behoouefull for the towne, sent a knight of Prouence named sir Anastase de sancta Camilla, commander de la Tronquiere to the captaine of the Carak, praying him to come into the hauen with his ship for the defence of the towne, profering him what he would, assuring him ship. The captaine excused him, saying, that the merchandise was not his owne, but belonged to diuers merchants to whom he must yeeld account. Howbeit at the last after many words and promises to him made, hee came into the hauen, the which captaine was named messire Domingo de Fournati, and hee in his person behaued him valiauntly in the time of the sayd siege.

How the great master caused generall musters to be made, and sent a vessell to the Turkes nauie, of whom he receiued a letter.

AFter the moneth of April the lord master seeing that the Turkes hoste drew neere, and that he had the most part of the wafters within the towne, he caused generall musters of men of armes to be made. And began at the knights, the which vpon holy Rood day in May made their musters before the Commissioners ordained by the sayd lord in places deputed to each of them called Aulberge. The which Commissioners made report to the lordes that they had found the knights in good order of harnesse and other things necessary for warre, and their araie faire and proper, with crosses on them. When the muster of the knights was done, the lord master thought to make the musters of them of the towne, and strangers together: but his wisedome perceiued that harme should come thereby, rather then good, doubting that the number of people should not bee so great as he would, or needed to haue, whereof the great Turke might haue knowledge by goers and commers into Rhodes, and therefore he caused them of the towne to make their musters seuerall by bandes and companies, and the strangers also by themselues, to the end that the number should not bee knowen, notwithstanding that there was good quantitie of good men and well willing to defend themselues. And the more to hearten and giue them courage and good will, some knights of the Crosse, decked their men with colours and deuises, and tooke with them men of the towne and strangers, and with great noyse of trumpets and timbrels, they made many musters, as enuying each other which should keepe best aray and order, and haue the fairest company. It was a great pleasure to see them all so well agree, and so well willing.

The number of the men of the towne amounted and were esteemed, three or foure thousand, beside men of the villages that might be 1500. or 2000.

The eight day of the same moneth, the Turkes hearing of those tidings, made a fire for a token in a place called le Fisco, in the maine land right against Rhodes. And certaine dayes afore they had made another, that is to weet, when the ship of a knight named Menetow went thither, and had with him the clarke of the gallies named Iaques truchman, the which vnder shadow to speake with him, was withholden of the Turkes. For the great Turke had commanded to take him or some other man of the Rhodes to haue perfect knowledge in what estate the towne was then in euery thing. And they of the towne weening that the second fire was for to deliuer Iaques, the reuerend lord great master sent one of his galliasses, whose patron was called messire Boniface of Prouence, to know the cause thereof. And when hee arriued at the sayd place of le Fisco, he demaunded of the Turkes wherefore they had made the token of fire. And they said that it was because their lord had sent a letter to the great master, but as yet it was not come, and desired him to tary till it were brought. The patron as warie and wise in the businesse of the sea, thought in himselfe that the Turkes made such prolonging to some euill intent, or to surprise his vessell being alone, wherefore hee bade them giue him the letter speedily, or els he would goe his way, and neither tary for letter nor other thing: and told them of the euill and dishonest deed that they had done the dayes afore, to withhold the clarke vnder their words and safeconduct: and therewith he turned his galliasse to haue gone away. The Turkes seeing that, gaue him the letter, the which he tooke, and when he was arriued at Rhodes, he presented it to the lord great master, which assembled the lordes of his counsell, and made it to be red. The tenor whereof was such as foloweth.

The copie of the letter that the great Turke sent to the lord great master, and to the people of the Rhodes.

SVltan Solyman Basha by the grace of God, right mightie emperor of Constantinople, and of himselfe holding both the lands of Persia, Arabia, Syria, Mecha, and Ierusalem; of Asia, Europe, Ægypt, and of all the Sea, lord and possessor: To the reuerend father lord Philip, great master of Rhodes, to his counsailors, and to all the other citizens great and small, greeting. Sending conuenient and worthy salutations to your reuerances, wee giue you to weet, that we haue receiued your letters sent vnto our imperiall maiestie by George your seruant, the tenor whereof we doe well vnderstand: and for this occasion we send vnto you this our present commaundement, to the end that we will that ye know surely how by our sentence we will haue that Isle of Rhodes for many damages and euill deeds which we haue, and heare from day to day of the sayd place done to vs and our subiects, and ye with your good will shall hold it of vs and doe vs obeisance, and giue the citie to mine imperiall maiestie. And we sweare by God that made heauen and earth, and by 26000. of our prophets, and by the 4. Misafi that fell from the skies, and by our first prophet Mahomet, that if ye doe vs homage, and yeeld you with good will vpon these othes, all you that will abide in the sayd place, great and small, shall not need to feare perill nor damage of mine imperiall maiestie, neither you, your goods, nor your men: and who so will goe to any other place with his goods and houshold, may so doe, and who so will dwell and inhabite inany other places vnder mine Imperiall maiestie, may remaine where they like best, without feare of any person. And if there bee any of the principals and woorthy men among you that is so disposed, wee shall giue him wages and prouision greater then hee hath had. And if any of you will abide in the sayd isle, yee may so doe after your auncient vsages and customes, and much better. And therefore if that Imperiall maiestie, or els know yee that wee will come vpon you with all prouisions of warre, and thereof shall come as it pleaseth God. And this wee doe, to the end that ye may know, and that ye may not say, but we haue giuen you warning. And if ye doe not thus with your good will, wee shall vault and vndermine your foundations in such maner, that they shalbe torne vpside downe, and shal make you slaues, and cause you to die, by the grace of God, as we haue done many, and hereof haue ye no doubt. Written in our court at Constantinople the first day of the moneth of Iune.

How the Turkes came to land in the Isle of Lango, and were driuen to their ships againe by the Prior of S. Giles.

WHen the lord great master and his counsell had heard the tenor of the letter, they would giue none answere to the great Turke, but that he should be receiued with good strokes of artillerie. So that to a foolish demaund behooued none answere. And it was very like that he would haue nothing. For sixe dayes after, that was the 14. day of the said moneth of Iune, the Brigantines that went toward Sio to know of the said armie, came againe and sayd, that of a trueth the said armie was comming, and that nigh to Lango an Isle of the religion, and 100. mile from Rhodes, they had seene and told 30. sailes that were most part gallies and fustes: the which vessels set men on land in ye isle of Lango. Then the prior of S. Giles, Messire pre Iohn de Bidoux commander of the said place, taried not long from horsebacke with his knights and people of the isle, and he met so well with the Turkes, that he droue them to their ships, and slew a certaine number of them: and of the side of Pre Iohn some were hurt, and his horse was slaine. When the enemies were entered into their gallies, they went to a place called castle Iudeo on the maine land, betweene the sayd isle of Lango and the castle of S. Peter.

How part of the nauie and armie of the great Turke came before the citie of Rhodes.

The 18. day of the said moneth of Iune, these 30. gallies went from the sayd place, and passed by the Cape of Crion, entering the gulfe of Epimes beside Rhodes, and were discouered from the shade of the hill of Salaco, a castle in the isle of Rhodes. On the morrow they came out of the gulfe by plaine day, and sailing along by the coasts, they entered into a hauen on maine land called Malfata, where they abode three dayes. Then they went from thence, and returned to the gulfe of Epimes, where they abode two dayes and two nights.

The 24 day of the same moneth they issued out of Epimes, and trauersing the chanell, they came to the yle of Rhodes in a place before a castle called Faues, and they went to land, and burnt a great field of corne the same day, which was the feast of S. Iohn Baptist our patron. The guard of a castle named Absito in the yle of Rhodes discouered and spied the great hoste, and in great haste brought word to the lord master, and sayd that the sayd hoste, that was in so great number of sailes that they might not be numbred, was entered into the gulfe of Epimes. The 30 sailes that lay in the yle arose in the night, and went to the sayd hoste in the gulfe.

The 26 day of Iune the sayd great hoste arose and went out of Epimes an houre after the sun rising, and trauersing the chanell, they came to a place called the Fosse, eight miles from the towne. And the 30 first sailes turned backe toward the cape of S. Martin and other places to watch for ships of Christian men, if any passed by to Rhodes. The great hoste abode still till noone or one of the clocke, and then arose, not all, but about 80 or 100 ships, as gallies, galliasses, and fusts: and passed one after another before the towne and hauen of Rhodes three miles off, and came to shore in a place nigh to land, called Perambolin, sixe miles from the towne. In the which place the sayd hoste abode from that time to the end of that vnhappy siege.

The number and names of the vessels that came to besiege Rhodes.

THe number of the ships were these: 30 galliasses, 103 gallies, aswell bastards as subtill mahonnets, 15 taffours, 20 fusts, 64 great ships, sixe or seuen gallions, and 30 galleres, besides the nauy that waited for Christain men, if any came to succour vs. These were the vessels that came at the first to lay the siege. And sith that sayd host came out of Perambolin, there came from Syria 20 other sailes, aswell gallies as fusts. And many other ships came sith, and ioyned with the sayd army in the time of the sayd siege. And it was sayd that there were 400 sailes and moe.

The same day that part of the host came to the sayd place, the reuerend lord great master ordeined a great brigandine to send into the West, to certifie our holy father the pope, and the Christian princes how the Turks army was afore Rhodes. And in the sayd vessel he sent two knights, one a French man named

Sir Claude Dansoyuille called Villiers, and Sir Loys de Sidonia a Spaniard: and they went to the pope and to the emperour.

After the comming of the Turks nauy into the sayd place, it was 14 or 15 dayes or they set any ordinance on land, great or small, or any quantity of men came on shore, whereof we marueiled. And it was tolde vs by some that came out of the campe, and also by the spies that the lord great master had sent abroad arayed as Turks, that they abode the commandement of their great lord, vntill the hoste by land were come into the campe. Howbeit there came some number for to view the towne, but they went priuily, for the ordinance of the towne shot without cease.

All this while the gallies and galliasses went and came to land, bringing vitaile and people. At the which ships passing nigh the town, were shot many strokes with bombards, which made some slaughter of our enemies: and when the most part of them was past, they began to set ordinance on the land with great diligence. Then the lord great master departed from his palace, and lodged him nigh a church called The victory, because that place was most to be doubted: and also that at the other siege* the great businesse and assault was there.

How the lord great master made his petition before the image of S. Iohn, and offered him the keyes of the towne.

The day before were made many predications and sermons, and the last was in the church of S. Iohn Baptist. When the sermon was done, a pontificall Masse was celebrate with all solemnities, and all the reliques taken downe, and the lord great master and all his knights with great deuotions and reuerence heard it. And when the Masse was ended, the lord great master made a pitious oration or prayer before Saint Iohn Baptist his protectour: and aboue all other words, which were too long to tell, he besought him meekly that it would please him to take the keyes of that miserable city. The which keyes he presented and layed vpon the altar before the image, beseeching S. Iohn to take the keeping and protection thereof, and of all the religion, as by his grace he had giuen to him vnworthy, the gouerning vnto that day: and by his holy grace to defend them from the great power of the enemies that had besieged them.

---

* This refers to the siege of Rhodes in 1480, by Mohammed II., the conqueror of Constantinople.

How the women slaues would haue set fire in the towne.

THe eight day of Iuly it was knowen that the Turkish women being slaues and seruaunts in many houses of the towne, had appointed to set fire in their masters houses at the first assault that should be made, to the end that the men should leaue their posterns and defenses to go and saue their houses and goods. And it was found that a woman of Marchopota being a slaue, was first moouer thereof, the which was taken and put to execution.

The same day some of our men went out for to skirmish with the Turkes, and many of them were slaine with shot of our artillerie, and of our men but one.

How the Turkes layd their artillerie about the towne, and of the maner and quantitie of their pieces and gunshot.

THe 18. day of Iuly, for the beginning and first day they set vp a mantellet, vnder the which they put three or foure meane pieces, as sacres, wherewith they shot against the posterns of England and Prouence. But the mantellet was soone broken and cast downe, and their pieces destroyed with the shot of the wall, and they that shot them were most part slaine. As this first mantellet was broken, by the great and innumerable people that they had they set all their ordinance on land, and caried it to the places where it should be bent, or nigh thereby.

And the 29. day of the same moneth, they set vp two other mantellets. One beside a church of saint Cosme and Damian, and another toward the West. And from these mantellets they shot great pieces, as Culuerings, double gunnes, and great bombards* agaynst the wals of England and Spaine, to the which mantellets the ordinance of the towne gaue many great strokes, and often brake them. And the more to grieue the towne and to feare vs, they set vp many other mantellets in diuers places, almost round about the towne, and they were reckoned foure score: the which number was well lessened by the great quantitie of strokes of artillerie shot out of the towne from many places.

---

* For particulars of the artillery used from the 14th to the 16th Centuries, see Vol. iii., page 207, note.

The artillerie of the Turkes was such as followeth.

FIrst there were sixe great gunnes, cannons perriers of brasse, that shot a stone of three foote and a halfe: also there were 15. pieces of iron that shot stones of fiue or sixe spannes about. Also there were 14. great bombards that shot stones of eleuen spans about. Also there were twelue basiliskes, whereof they shot but with 8. that is to weet, foure shot agaynst the posterns of England and Spaine, and two against the gate of Italy: the other two shot sometime against Saint Nicholas tower. Also there were 15. double gunnes casting bullets as basiliskes. The meane shot, as sacres and pasuolans, were in great number. The handgunshot was innumerable and incredible. Also there were twelue potgunnes of brasse that shot vpward, whereof eight were set behind the church of S. Cosme and Damian, and two at saint Iohn de la Fontaine toward the port of Italy, and the other two afore the gate of Auuergne, the which were shot night and day: and there were three sorts of them, whereof the greatest were of sixe or seuen spannes about. And the sayd stones were cast into the towne to make murder of people, which is a thing very inhumane and fearefull, which maner of shooting is little vsed amongst christian men. Howbeit by euident myracle, thanked be God, the sayd pieces did no great harme, and slew not past 24. or 25. persons, and the most part women and children, and they begań to shoot with the said pieces from the 19. day of the same moneth, vnto the end of August, and it was accounted that they shot 2000. times more or lesse.

Then the enemies were warned by the Iewe that wrote letters to them of all that was done and sayd in the towne, that the sayd potgunnes did no harme: wherefore they were angry, for they thought that they had slaine the third part of our people: and they were counselled by him to leaue that shooting, for it was but time lost, and pouder wasted, and then they shot no more with them. It is of a trueth that they shot with the sayd potgunnes 12. or 15. times with bullets of brasse or copper, full of wild fire, and when they were in the ayre, they flamed foorth, and in falling on the ground, they brake, and the fire came out and did some harme. But at the last wee knew the malice thereof, and the people was warie from comming neere to them, and therefore they did hurt no more folke.

How the captaine Gabriel Martiningo came to the succor of Rhodes, and all the slaues were in danger to be slaine.

THe 24. day of the same moneth a brigantine arriued that was sent afore into Candie, wherein came a worthy captaine named Gabriel Martiningo with two other captains. And there went to receiue him messieur prou Iohn prior of S. Giles, and the prior of Nauarre. Then after his honourable receiuing as to him well apperteined, they brought him before the lord great master, that louingly receiued him, and he was gladly seene and welcommed of the people, as a man that was named very wise and ingenious in feats of warre. Then came a Spaniard renegado from the host, that gaue vs warning of all that was done in the field, and of the approaching by the trenches that our enemies made.

And in likewise there arose a great noise in the towne, that the slaues Turks that wrought for vs in the diches had slaine their keepers, and would haue fled, which was not so. Neuerthelesse, the rumour was great, and they rang alarme: wherefore the sayd slaues comming to prison, as it was ordeined in al the alarmes, were met of the people, which in great anger put them to death: so that there were slaine an hundred and moe the same day. And if the lord great master had not commanded that none should hurt them, they had bene all slaine, and there were fifteene hundredth of them: which slaues did great seruice in time of the siege: for they laboured dayly to make our defences, and to cast earth out of the ditches, and in all works they were necessary at our needs.

How the great Turke arriued in person before Rhodes.

THe 25 day of the sayd moneth many of our men went out for to skirmish in the field and made great murder of Turks, and in likewise did our artillery. And it is to be noted that the 28 day of the same moneth the great Turke in person passed le Fisco a hauen in the maine land with a galley and a fust, and arriued about noone, where his army lay, the which day may be called vnhappie for Rhodes. For his comming, his presence and continuall abiding in the fielde is and hath beene cause of the victorie that he hath had. When the gallie that he came in was arriued, all the other shippes of the hoste hanged banners aloft in their toppes and on their sayle yerdes.

Soone after that the Turke was arriued, he went to land, and mounted on his horse, and rode to his pauilion which was in a high place called Megalandra, foure or fiue miles fro the towne out of the danger of the gunne shot. And on the morrow, as it was reported to vs, hee came to a Church nigh the towne called Saint Steuen, for to viewe the Towne and fortresses, whereas they had set vp mantellets for to lay their ordinance.

THe last day of Iuly, one of our brigandines went out with a good company of men arrayed as Turkes, and some of them could speake Turkish, and went by night to lande through the Turkes hoste, and demaunded if there were any that would passe ouer into Turkie, that they should haste them to come. The Turkes weening that they had beene of Turkie, there entred a 12. persons, the which were carried to Rhodes, by whom we knew what they did in the campe.

The first day of August the Captaine Gabriel Martiningo was made knight of the order of the religion by the lord great Master, and was made the first auncient of the Italian nation, of the first baliage or priorie that should be vacant. And in the meane season the religion should giue him twelue hundred ducates for pension euery yeere, and the same day he was receiued to the Councell in the roome of a baylife.

The fift day of the sayd moneth our master gunner was slaine with a gunne, which was great losse for vs at that time.

The 15. day of the sayd moneth was knowen and taken for a traitor, Messire Iohn Baptista, the physicion aforesayd, which confessed his euill and diuelish doings, and had his head striken of.

Of the marueilous mounts that the Turks made afore the towne, and how the capitaines were ordered in the trenches.

AFter the comming of the great Turke, the enemies began to shoote with ordinance of another sort then they did before, and specially with harquebushes and handguns, and also to make their trenches and approches. And also they did more diligence then afore, to bring yͤ earth nigh the towne with spades and pickaxes

And it is to weet, that they mooued the earth from halfe a mile off, and there were shot out of the towne innumerable strokes with ordinance against the sayd earth, and innumerable quantitie of people hid behind the sayd earth, were slaine. Neuerthelesse they neuer left working till they had brought it to the brimmes of the ditches: and when it was there, they raised it higher and higher in strengthning it behind. And in conclusion the sayd earth was higher then the wals of the towne by 10. or 12. foote, and it seemed a hill. And it was agaynst the gate of Auuergne and Spaine, and beat our men that were at the gates and bulwarks, in such wise, that none durst be seene till certaine defences and repaires were made of plankes and boards to couer our people and keepe them from the shot. And at the gate of Italy was made such another heape, and in none other part.

When the trenches were thus made to the ditches, the enemies made holes in the wals of the ditch outward: wherethorow they shot infinitely with handgunnes at our men aswell on the walles as on the bulwarks, and slew many of them. Then the bashas and captaines entred into the trenches, ech to his place after their order and dignity: that is to wit, Mustafa Basha as chiefe captaine entred the trench direct to the bulwarke of England with his people and captaines vnder him. Pery Bassha went to the trenches against the gate of Italy with his folkes and captaines vnder him. Acmek Bassha was in the trenches of Auuergne and Spaine with the Aga of the Ianizaires and the Beglarby of Romany with him. The Beglarby of Natolia was in the trenches of Prouence. Allibey was with his company against the gardins of saint Anthony on the North side, and diuers other captaines with him, and set his ordinance against the wall of the gate of Almaine, which was but weake, and set vp seuen mantellets by the milles toward the West: and by the space of eight or nine dayes they beat vpon the same wall; which put vs in great feare, if they had continued. Howbeit the noble lord great master forthwith caused repairs to be made within, and planks and tables to be set to fortifie the sayde weake wall: and abode there from the morning til night, to cause it to be the more hasted. The artillery of the gate of Almaine, and the Massif of the gate of the campe and of the palais beat so sore and so often vpon the sayd mantellets that it wearied the enemies to make and repaire them so often: and they tooke vp the pieces, and bare them away. And also they could not well beat the sayd wall because the brimmes of the ditch without were almost as hie as the wall that they beat. But or they bare the artillery away, they beat the steeple of S. Iohns church so, that the most part was broken and cast downe. The foresayd mantellets were appointed to beat S. Nicholas tower, and by the space of ten or twelve dayes they shot sore against it: but they had so sharpe and vigorous answere, that there was not one mantellet that abode whole an houre. The captaine of the sayd tower and his folke did such diligence and businesse in shooting off their pieces, that the enemies durst set vp no more mantellets by day, nor shoot no more but onely by night, while the Moone did shine, which is a thing worthy of memory, of maruaile, and of praise. At the last when they had beaten against the sayd tower a certaine time, seeing that it furthered nothing, they tooke their ordinance from thence, and bare it where they thought best.

During the shot in the sayd place, the other captaines were not idle nor in a sleepe, but without cease night and day they beat the wall of England and Spaine, and set foureteene mantellets against it, shooting great bombards, whereof some of the stones were fiue or sixe spannes about, and some other of nine or ten: and within a moneth and lesse they cast downe the wall almost euen smooth with the Barbican. And when the sayd wall was so beaten, they set to beat the bulwarke of Spaine for to raise the defences: and in their trenches they set three great bombards, which shot stones of eleuen spannes in compasse, and with the sayd pieces they beat the sayd bulwarke and wall in such wise, that they made great bracks, and the stones and earth that fell, serued the enemies for ladders, so that they might come vpon the plaine ground. In like sort they raised the defences from the height of the bulwarke at the posterne of Prouence, and set three great pieces on the brimme of the ditch, which shot stones of eleuen spannes against the wall, and within a while they made a breach as at the posterne of Spaine. The artillery of the towne did shoot without cease against the mantellets, and brake many of them, but they made other as it is said in the nights. For they had all things that belonged to them, and needed. And out of the posterne of England was shot a gunne that brake downe one of the sayde mantellets, and hit vpon one of the pieces, and slew foure or fiue men, and bare away both the legs of the master of the ordinance, which died soone after: whereof the great Turke was very ill content, and sayd that he had rather haue lost one of his basshas or captaines then the sayd master. Also it is to be knowen that there were three or foure mantellets addressed against the plain ground of Italy, and by continuall beating of shot that they made, there was also a breach, and by the earth and stones that were fallen, they might come vp to it.

Of the politike repaires and defences that the ingenious captaine Gabriel Martiningo, made within the towne against the breaches in the walles.

THe captaine Gabriel Martiningo, prompt, diligent, and expert to giue remedies to the needful places, foorthwith caused to make the trauerses vpon the wall whereas the breach was, with good repaires, and gunnes small and great which were set in the sayd trauerses, the which shot not onely at the breaches but to the trenches, and made great murder of enemies aswell at the assaults that they made as otherwhiles. And beside the trauerses, the sayd captaine planted small artillery, as harquebushes, and handgunnes vpon certaine houses within the towne, that stood open against the breach, with good repaires: and from that place great slaughter of Turks was made at the assaults. Also it is of trueth that beside the sayd mantellets that shot against the wall of England and Spaine with great bombards, were two mantellets in an hie place toward the way to the gardin of Maupas, in the which were certaine double gunnes, as basilisks with holow stones and wild fire in them, which shot against the wall into the towne at all auentures for to make murder of people: howbeit, thanked be God, they did no great harme but to the houses.

After these great and terrible beatings, and that the enemies had way to mount vpon the towne walles, and come to hand with vs by trauersing of their trenches to the fallen earth within the breach more surely, and without hurt of our gunshot, shooting thorow holes that they made in the walles of the ditch without, they cast vp much stone and earth, because it should couer them from the shot of the bulwarke of Auuergne. And also they shot feruently against the bulwarke of Spaine, for to raise the defences, of the which at the last they raised the most part, reseruing only a few gunners below in the mine of the sayd bulwarke, which litle or nothing damaged them. And this is touching the gunshot, whereof I say not the third part, because it is a thing incredible to them that haue not seene it. For some dayes they shot with those great bombards that were on the brimme of the ditch, and from the mantellets bent against the wall of England and Spaine 20 or 30 times and more. And I beleeue verily that since the creation of the world such artillery, and so great quantity was neuer bent and layed before any towne as hath bene against Rhodes at this siege. Wherefore it is no maruell if the walles be and haue bene beaten downe, and if there be breaches and clifts in many places.

Of the mines that the Turks made: and how they ouerthrew part of the bulwarke of England.

ANd because as it is sayd before, that the greatest hope that the enemies had to get the towne of Rhodes, was by mining, therefore now after that I haue spoken of the gunshot and beatings, I shall shew of the mines that the Turks made, the which were in so great quantity, and in so many places, that I beleeue the third part of the towne was mined: and it is found by account made, that there were about 60 mines, howbeit, thanked be God, many of them came not to effect, by occasion of the countermines that they within made, and also trenches that the right prudent lord the great master caused to be made deepe within the ditches, vnto two or three foot of water. The which trenches and certaine pits that he had caused in the sayd ditches to be wrought, or the host arriued, serued right well since: for night and day there were men in them to watch and hearken when the enemies mined, for to meet them and cut their way, as was done many times.

And for to speake of the mines that had effect, and damaged vs, it is to wit, that the fourth day of September, about foure houres after noone, the enemies put fire in two mines, one was betweene the posterne of Spaine and Auuergne, which did no hurt but to the Barbican. The other was at the bulwarke of England, which was so fell and strong, that it caused most part of the town to shake, and cast down a great part of the sayd bulwarke at the spring of the day: and by the earth and stones that fell into the ditches, the enemies came vpon the bulwarke with their banners, and fought sore and mightily with our men, not with hands, but with shot of handgunnes. The lord great master that was come 15 dayes or more with his succours to the sayd bulwarke, went with his company to helpe them that fought. After that they had fought the space of two or three houres, the enemies repelled and driuen backe by our men from the sayd bulwarke, and beaten with ordinance on euery side, withdrew them with their losse, shame, and damage. And this was the first victory that our lord gaue vs, and there abode of our enemies a thousand and more.

A thousand and more Turkes slaine before the English bulwarke.

When this assault was done, they made another at the breach in the wall of Spaine, and mounted vpon it, but the ordinance of the trauerses of the walles and of the houses made so faire a riddance, that they were very willing to withdraw themselues: for at the retreat, and also at their comming the sayd ordinance of the bulwarke did them great damage, albeit that they had made some repaire of earth. Of our men died that day 25 or thereabout, as well knights as other. And the same day in the morning departed out of this world Gabriel de Pomerolles lieutenant to the lord master, which on a certaine day before fell from the wall as he went to see the trenches in the ditches, and hurt his breast, and for fault of good attendance he fell into a feuer, whereof he died.

How the Turks assailed the bulwarke of England, and how they were driuen away.

THe ninth day of the sayd moneth, at seuen in the morning the enemies put fire in two mines; one at the posterne of Prouence, which had none effect: the other was at the bulwarke of England, which felled another piece nigh to that that was cast downe afore. And the sayd mine was as fierce as the other, or more, for it seemed that all the bulwarke went downe, and almost all they that were in it ranne away. And when the standerd of the religion came into the sayd bulwarke, the enemies were at the breach ready to haue entered: but when they saw the sayd standerd, as people lost and ouercome, they went downe againe. Then the artillery of the bulwarke of Quosquino, and of other places, found them well enough, and slew many of them. Howbeit, their captaines made them to returne with great strokes of swordes and other weapons, and to remount vpon the earth fallen from the sayd bulwarke, and pight seuen banners nigh to our repaire. Then our men fought with morispikes and fixed speares against them the space of three whole houres, till at the last they being well beaten with great ordinance and small on euery side, withdrew themselues. And of their banners our men gate one, for it was not possible to get any more: for assoone as any of our men went vp on our repaires, he was slaine with small gunnes of the trenches, and holes made in the walles of our ditches. And there was slaine of our enemies that day at the assault 2000 of meane men, and three persons of estate, which lay dead along in the ditch, with faire and rich harnesse. And it was reported to vs from the campe, they were three saniacbeis, that is to say, great seneshalles or stuards. And of Christian men of our part abode about thirty persons. And this was the second victory giuen to us by the grace diuine.

Two thousand Turks slaine at the English bulwarke.

How Sir Iohn Bourgh Turcoplier of England was slaine at an assault of the English bulwarke.

THe 17 day of the same moneth, about midday, the enemy came againe to giue another assault to the sayd bulwarke, at the same place aforesayd, without setting of fire in mines, and brought fiue banners with them, nigh to the repaires. Then was there strong fighting on both parts, and there were gotten two of their banners, of the which sir Christopher Valdenare, that time Castelaine of Rhodes, gate one: the other was in the hands of Sir Iohn Bourgh Turcoplier of England, chiefe captaine of the succours of the sayd posterne of England, a valiant man and hardy: and in holding of it he was slaine with the stroke of a hand-gunne, which was great damage. The sayd banner was recouered by one of our men. And after long fighting on both sides, the enemies seeing that they got nothing but stripes, returned into their trenches. At the sayd fray the lord prior of S. Giles pre Iohn was hurt thorow the necke with a handgun, and was in great danger of death, but he escaped and was made whole. The same day, and the same houre of the sayd assault, the enemies mounted to the breach in the wall of Spaine, and came to the repaires to the handes of our men, and fought a great while: but the great quantity of artillery that was shot so busily and so sharply from our trauerses on ech side, and out of the bulwarks of Auuergne and Spaine, skirmished them so well, that there abode as many at that assault as at the other of England, well neere to the number of 5000. And they withdrew themselues with their great losse and confusion, which was the third time that they were chased and ouercome: thanked be our Lord, which gaue vs the force and power so to doe, for they were by estimation a hundred against one.

Also the 22 day of the same moneth of September they fired a mine betweene Italy and Prouence, which did no harme.

Of the terrible mine at the posterne of Auuergne.

ANd the 23 day of the same moneth they fired two mines, one at the posterne of Spaine, and the other by the bulwarke of Auuergne, the which mine by Auuergne was so terrible, that it made all the towne to shake, and made the wall to open from aboue to beneath vnto the plaine ground; howbeit, it fell not, for the mine had vent or breath in two places, by one of the countermines, and by a rocke vnder the Barbican, the which did cleaue, and by that cleft the fury and might of the mine had issue. And if the sayd two vents had not bene, the wall had bene turned vpside downe. And for truth, as it was reported to vs out of the campe, the enemies had great hope in the sayd mine, thinking that the wall should haue bene ouerthrowen, and then they might haue entered into the towne at their pleasures: but when they saw the contrary, they were very ill pleased. And the captaines determined to giue assault at foure places at once, to make vs the more adoo, and to haue an entrance into the towne by one of the foure. And the sayd day and night they ceased not to shoot artillery: and there came in hope of the mine threescore thousand men and moe into the trenches.

How the bulwarke of Spaine was lost, and woone againe.

THe 24 day of the same moneth, a little before day, they gaue assault at the breach of Spaine, to the bulwarke of England, to the posterne of Prouence, and at the plaine ground of Italy, all at one houre and one time. The first that mounted to the breach of Spaine, was the Aga of the Ianissaries, a valiant man, and of great courage with his company, and bare three score or three score and tenne banners and signes, and pight them in the earth of the breach, and then fought with our men, and mounted on our repaires, making other maner of fray and more rigorous then the other that were passed, and the sayd skirmish lasted about sixe houres. And forthwith, as the assault was giuen, a great sort of Turks entred into the bulwarke of Spaine, and set vp eight or nine signes or banners vpon it, and droue our men out, I can not tell how, vnwares or otherwise. And they were lords of it three houres and more. Howbeit there were of our men beneath in the mine of the sayd bulwarke, the which bulwarke so lost, gaue vs euill hope. But incontinently the lord great master being at the defence of the posterne of England, hauing knowledge of the sayd losse, and that there was great fighting and resistance on both sides at the breach of Spaine, marched thither with the banner of the crucifix, leauing the charge of the sayd bulwarke in the hands of the bailife de la Moree messieur Mery Combant. And the lord mounted on the wall of Spaine, whereas then began a great skirmish, and euery man layed his handes to worke, as well to put the enemies out of the breach, as to recouer the bulwarke that was lost. And the sayde lord sent a company of men into the bulwarke by the gate of the mine, or by the Barbican, the which entred at the sayd gate, and went vp, where they found but few Turkes. For the artillery of the posterne of England, right against the bulwarke of Spaine, had so well met and scattered them, that within a while our men had slaine all them that were left. And thus the sayde bulwarke was gotten and recouered againe, and with all diligence were made new repaires and strengths to the sayd place. And in like sort, the enemies were put from the breach, and few of them escaped, and all their banners and signes were left with vs. Surely it may be sayd, that after the grace of God (the trauerses of Spaine and Auuergne, and the small artillery set on the houses right against the sayd breaches, as it is sayd, with the comming and presence of the lord great master) hath giuen vs this dayes victory.

As touching the murder of the people, done by the artillery of the bulwarkes of England and Spaine, the quantity was such that a man could not perceiue nor see any ground of the ditches. And the stench of the mastifs carions was so grieuous, that we might not suffer it seuen or eight dayes after. And at the last, they that might saue themselues did so, and withdrew themselues to the trenches: and the reuerend lord great master abode victorious of the sayd place, and in like sort of the other three assaults, the which were but little lesse then that of Spaine, for they fought long. But in conclusion, the enemies beaten on all sides, and in so many sorts, with artillery were put backe, and vanquished, that there died that day at all the foure places fifteene or sixteene thousand. And the slaughter was so great at the plaine Italy, of the cursed enemies, that the sea was made redde with their blood. And on our side also died to the number of an hundred men or more. And of men of dignity in the towne, hauing charge, died Sir Francis de Fernolz, commander of Romania, which Sir Francis was chiefe captaine of the great ship of Rhodes, and he was slaine at the plaine of Italy, wounded with two strokes of harquebushes: it was great dammage of his death, for he was a worthy man, perfect, and full of vertues. There died also messieur Nastasy de Sancta Camilla aforenamed, hauing two hundred men vnder him of the lord great masters succours. There died also diuers other worthy men that day, and many were maimed. Among all other that lost any member, messier Iohn de le Touz called Pradines, being at the sayd bulwarke, with a stroke of artillery had his arme smitten away, in great danger to haue lost his life; howbeit by the helpe of God he died not. In like sort the same day was hurt Sir William Weston abouesayd, captaine of the posterne of England, and had one of his fingers stricken away with an harquebush: which knight behaued himselfe right woorthily at all the assaults. Of the Turkes part, of great men, were two principall captaines slaine vnder the Aga of the Ianissaries, and another captaine that was come out of Surey to the campe certeine dayes before, with sixe hundred Mamelukes, and two or three thousand Moores. And of them that were hurt of great men the Beglarby of Natolia had a stroke with an arrow as he was in the trench of Prouence. And many other were wounded, whose names be not rehearsed here, because of shortnesse.

Sir Will. Weston captaine of the English posterne hurt.

How the great Turke for anger that he could not get the towne, would haue put his chiefe captaine to death, and how they made 11 mines vnder the bulwarke of England.

DVring this assault, the great Turke was by his pauillion in a place that he had caused to be made, and saw all the businesse, and how his people were so sharpely put backe, and the victory lost on his side, and was very sore displeased, and halfe in despaire: and he sent for Mustafa Basha with whom he was angry, and chid him bitterly, saying that he had caused him to come thither, and had made him to beleeue that he should take the towne in fifteene dayes, or a moneth at the furthest; and he had beene there already three moneths with his army, and yet they had done nothing. And after these wordes he was purposed to put him to death in the campe: but the other Bashas shewed him that he ought not to do iustice in the land of his enemies, for it would comfort them and giue them courage. Whereby he did moderate his anger, and left him for that time, and thought to send him to Cairo, least the people there would rebell, by occasion of the captain of Cairo which died a few dayes before. Howbeit he departed not so suddenly, and or he went he thought to assay if he might do some thing for to please the Turke, aswell for his honour as to saue his person, and was maruellous diligent to make mines at the bulwarke of England for to ouerthrow it. And by account were made 11 mines aswell to the sayd bulwarke as elsewhere, beside them spoken of before, and that they had fired. But the most part of the sayd mines came to no proofe though they put fire in them, and many were met with countermines, and broken by our men by the good diligence and sollicitude of sir Gabriel Du-chef, steward of the house of the lord great master, which had the charge of the sayd countermines at the same bulwarke. In the which businesse he behaued himselfe well and worthily, and spared not his goods to cause the people to worke and trauell, but spent thereof largely.

How the Turks were minded to haue gone their way, and of the traitours within the towne, and of many great assaults.

THe Turks seeing that by mining they were nothing furthered, nor might not come to their intentions, and hauing but small store of gunpowder, were in deliberation and minde to haue raised the siege, and gone their way. And in deed some of them bare their cariages toward the shippes: and also certaine number of people went out of the trenches with their standards straight to the ships. And it was written vnto vs from the campe how the Ianissaries and other of the host would fight no more: and that they were almost all of one opinion for to go away, saue some of the captaines of the foresayd Mustafa Bassha or Acmek Bassha. And in the meane season the false traitours that were in the towne wrote letters to the campe, giuing them knowledge of all that was sayd and done among vs. And also an Albanese fled to the enemies campe, and warned them not to go, for the gunshot was nigh wasted, and that the most part of the knights and people should be theirs shortly.

In like sort then wrote the abouesayd Chanceller Sir Andrew de Merall, whose treason as then was not knowen: but when it commeth to the effect of his treason, I shall shew the knowledge that he gaue to the enemies at diuers times.

When the bashas and captaines of the hoste vnderstood the sayd warnings, they all purposed for to tary, and caused those tidings of the towne to be knowen ouer all the army. And beganne againe to shoot artillery faster then euer they did, for new shot was come into the campe. Then Mustafa Bassha being in despaire that he could do nothing by mines, by gunshot, nor by assaults, he being ready to depart for to goe into Surey by the great Turkes commandement, before his departing hee thought once againe to assay his aduenture, and made three assaults three dayes together. The first was on a Saturday the fourth day of October an houre before night. The other on Sunday in the morning. And the third on Munday after dinner. And the sayd three assaults were made to the bulwarke of England. And it was assailed but with stones and bagges full of artificiall fire. And at these three assaults many of our men were hurt with the sayd fire, and with the stones that came as thicke as raine or haile. But in the end the enemies got nothing but strokes, and returned into their trenches euill contented, and murmuring, and sware by their Mahomet that Mustafa Bassha shoulde not make them to mount any more to the sayd bulwarke. And that it was great folly for them to cause them to be slaine at the will and fantasie of one man. These wordes sayd in Greeke by some of the enemies were heard of our men as they went downe from the bulwarke. And because (as it is sayd) that the enemies at the assaults that were made, came vp by the earth and stones that fell from the breaches, some of our men aduised to clense the barbican, and take the earth out of the ditch, to the end that the enemies should not easily come vpon the wall. And in effect weening that it were well and behoouefull to be done, by great diligence night and day by mines they voided the barbican, and the most part of the earth that lay in the ditch was brought into the towne, the which was hurtfull afterward, and was cause that the enemies got the foot of the wall. Notwithstanding, they had it but scarsely. But this cleansing furthered the time, and caused them to get it sooner then they should haue done if the earth had lien still: but their finall intent was to raise the defence of the bulwarks, and then passe at their pleasure, and enter into the barbican, as they haue done: for the enemies seeing that the barbican was clensed, thought to get into it by trenches, and so they did, howbeit they were certaine dayes letted by our handgun shot. The enemies seeing that they might not come neere it, couered their trenches with tables to saue themselues: and then they made a mine whereby they might goe to the barbican. So by these two meanes, afterward they were repaired with earth and with a certaine wall that they made for to eschew the shot of the bulwarks of Auuergne and Spaine: and in the mine they found but two gunners, which they slew by force of men. By this maner they being couered on all parts and without any danger, passed thorow and lept into the barbican, and got the foot of the wall; which was the 17 day of October, an vnhappy day for the poore towne, and occasion of the ruine thereof, and winning of the same.

At this point they slept not, but lightly and with great delight they began to picke and hew the wall. And weening to make remedy therefore, and to finde meanes to driue them from the sayde barbican with engines of fire and barrels of gunpowder, wee slew many of them, but it auailed nothing: for the quantitie and multitude of people that trauelled there was so great, that they cared not for losse of them. And if we had had men enow within the towne, there might haue bene remedy to haue raised them from thence: but considering that our force and totall hope was in people, wee left to doe many things that might haue beene done, and that should haue bene good then and other times also, for fault of men of warre. At the last it was pondred by Sir Gabriel Martiningo, that there was no remedy but to hew the wall for to meet them, and beat them with ordinance and with engins of fire to burne and vndoe them. Then our men began to hew the wall, and made some holes to shoot at the enemies that slept not, but did as wee did, and shot at vs, and indeed they slew and hurt many of our men. Then Sir Gabriel Martiningo ordeined to make repaires within the towne at the front where they did cut the wall, to the end that after the walles were cut, the enemies should know with whom to meet. The trauerses were made on ech side with good artillery great and small: and the sayd trauerses and repaires were of the length that the enemies had cut the wall, and beganne at the massife of Spaine made by the reuerend lord great master Mery d'Amboise, and ended at the church of S. Saluador. The which trauerses and repaires the vulgar people call the Mandra, that is to say, the field.

The meane time that the repaires and trauerses were made with all diligence, Sir Gabriel Martiningo neuer ceased going to euery place to puruey for all things: and he being on the bulwarke of Spaine to ordeine all things that were needfull, there came a stroke of a handgun from the trenches that smote out his eye, and put him in danger of his life, but thanked be God, he recouered his health within a moneth and a halfe. His hurt came ill to passe, for the need that we had of him that time in all things, and specially to the repaires of the breaches. Neuertheles the lord priour of S. Giles (not ignorant in all such things) with other men expert in warre, attended to the sayd repaires and trauerses, there and elswhere. The enemies on the other side night and day without rest (for the great number of labourers that they had hourely and newly ready) hewed and vndermined the sayd wall.

And the 20 day of October they put fire in the vndermines, weening to haue cast downe the wall, but they could not: then they would haue pulled it downe with great ropes and ancres, but the artillery of the bulwarke of Auuergne brake their ropes, and sent them away lightly.

At the last they made a mine vnder the sayd wall and breach: and the 26 day of the same moneth they did put fire to the same mine, weening to haue ouerthrowen the wall, which it did not, but raised it, and made it to fall almost straight vpright, which was more disaduantage to the enemies then profit. Then they shot artillery at it, which in fewe dayes beat it downe, and they had opening and way to come into the Towne. Neuerthelesse it was not necessary for them as then to enter: for the artillery of our repaires beat them in the forepart, and the artillery lying at the two milles at the posterne of Quosquino, and in that of England, whereas was a basiliske that beat right vpon the breach with other pieces: and therefore the enemies sought other meanes, and beganne to raise the earth betweene our two walles, drawing toward the bulwarke of England on the one side, and toward Auuergne on the other side, and would haue cut the wall further then our trauerses were for to come in vnbeaten of our artillery. Then were the repaires inlarged and made greater with the wall that was cut, of the height of twelue, and 16 foot in bredth: and so the enemies might goe no further forward, but shot great artillery against our repaires, for to breake and cast them downe, and also they made trenches for to come right to the breach, and vnto the repaires: and certeinly we looked day by day, and houre by houre for to haue some assault. The reuerend lord great master, the which, as it is sayd, had left the bulwarke of England the day that the great assault was made, and since that time he moued not from thence while they hewed the wall, and where as the breach was, because that they were most dangerous and most vnquiet places. And continually the sayd lord kept him behinde the sayd repaires with his knights and men of succours, intentiuely ready and prepared to liue and die, and to receiue his enemies as they ought to bee receiued. And he abode three or foure dayes at the sayd breach, continuing since it was made, vnto the end, fighting with his enemies euery day in great perill of his body: for oftentimes hee put himselfe further in the prease then needed for the danger of his person, but he did it for to hearten and strengthen the courage of his people, being so well willing to defend and die for the faith.

How the enemies assailed the posternes of Prouence and Italy, and how they were driuen away.

BY the will of our Lord, the enemies alway in feare and dread, would giue none assault, but continually shot against our repaires, and made trenches for to passe forward into the towne: by the which trenches they shot infinitely with harquebushes and handgunnes, and slew many of our folke, and specially of them that wrought and made the repaires that were broken and crased. And they put vs in such extremity, that we had almost no more slaues nor other labouring people for to repaire that which they brake night and day, which was a great hindrance for us, and the beginning of our perdition. And if we had much to doe in that place, there was not lesse at the gate of Prouence, and at the plaine of Italy: for dayly they were doing either with assault or skirmish, and most at the plaine of Italy. Howbeit by the helpe of our Lorde with the good conducting of the captaine of succours of the same place, the priour of Nauarre, that was prompt and intentiue, and could well incourage his men, the enemies had alway the woorst, and were driuen from the sayde plaine, and from the breach of Prouence.

How the treason of Sir Andrew de Merall was knowen, and of the maruellous assaults that the Turks made.

VPon these termes and assaults, the treason of the chancellour Sir Andrew de Merall, of whom I spake before, was perceiued: for a seruaunt of his, named Blasie, was found shooting a quarrell of a crossebow with a letter, whereof he was accused to the lord great master, which commanded to take him and examine him by iustice, and he confessed the shot of that letter and of other before, at the commandement of his master: and sayd that he had great acquaintance with the Turks bashas, and that it was not long since he had written a letter to them, warning them that they should not go, for gunshot began to faile, and the men were wasted by slaying and hurting at the assaults in great quantity: and if they abode still and gaue no more assaults, at the last the towne should be theirs. And diuers other things the seruant sayd of his master, of the which I haue spoken part before at the beginning, and of the warning that he gaue to the great Tnrke for to come.

But to returne to the plaine of Italy. After many battels and assaults done in the said place, by continuall shot of seuenteene great gunnes that beat the sayde plaine, the repaires and trauerses were almost broken and lost. And by trenches the enemies were come ioining to the breach, and neuer ceased to grate the earth and scrape the earth to cause the repaires and trauerses to fall: and at the last the most part fell downe, and our men were constrained to leaue the sayd plaine, saue a cantell that was toward the sea, as it were the third part thereof. Certaine dayes afore the enemies came to the foot of the plaine, and did cut it and rased the earth, and at the last they passed thorow vnto the towne wall: and anon began to hew and cut as they did at that of Spaine. The lord great master seeing that, anon cast down a part of the church of our Lady de la Victoria, and of an other church of S. Panthalion. And within they began to make the repaires and trauerses as at the place of Spaine, whereto was made extreme diligence, but not such as the lord would, and as was needfull, because there were no labourers for to helpe. After that the enemies had woon the most part of the bulwarke of England and the plaine of Italy, they purposed to make assault to the sayde plaine, and to the breach of Spaine, and to enter into our repaires to winne them for to make an end of vs. And for euer to affeeble the repaires and for to abash vs, the 28. day of Nouember all along the day and night they ceased not to shoot great artillery both from the brimmes of the ditches with those great pieces, casting stones of nine and eleuen foot about, and from the mantellets without. And as it was reckoned, they shot the same day and night 150 times or more against our repaires and trauerses of the wall.

And in the morning the 29 day of the same moneth, the vigill of S. Andrew at the spring of the day, the enemies went thorow the breach with their banners, and entred into the repaires with greater number of people then they did at the great battell in September, hardily and furiously for to fight with vs. But at their comming in, the artillery of the trauerses, and the handgunnes, and the gunshot of the milles found them so well and so sharply, that he that came in, was anon dispatched and ouerthrowen, and there abode aboue 2000 of the Turks slaine. The other that came after seeing their fellowes so euill welcomed, as people that were astonied and lost, they turned againe to their trenches: at whome the artillery of the milles shot victoriously, and hasted them to go apace: and by report from the campe there died sixe thousand or mo that day: the which day might be called very happy, and well fortunate for vs, thanked be God, for there was none that thought to escape that day, but to haue died all, and lost the towne: howbeit, the pleasure of our Lord was by euident miracle to haue it otherwise, and the enemies were chased and ouercome. And it is to be noted that the same day the raine was so great and so strong, that it made the earth to sincke a great deal that they had cast into the ditches, for to couer them from the shot of Auuergne. And the sayd earth being so suncken, the artillery of the sayde bulwarke (vnwares to them) smote them going and comming, and made great murder of the sayd dogges. The sayd day also the enemies came to the plaine of Italy for to assault it; but when they vnderstood that their fellowes had bene put backe so rudely, and with so great slaughter, they were afrayd, and so they returned againe to their trenches.

How the Turks got the plaine ground of Spaine.

And that done, Acmek Basha seeing their businesse euery day goe from woorse to woorse, and that at the assaults were but losse of people, without doing of any good, and that there was no man that willingly would go to it any more, he intended to giue no more assaults but to follow his trenches, and by them enter couertly without losse of a man from the breach to the other end of the towne. Semblably he intended for to winne the plaine earth beside Spaine: the which to get, he came at pleasure to the foot of the wall, and began to beat downe the plaine ground, and to giue many skirmishes and conflicts to our folke that kept it. And there were slaine many good men. And at the last, for default of more helpe and of gunshot, it was left and giuen vp of our men, and so lost. That done, the enemies came thither as in other places. And this is the third place where they came nere to the foot of the wall. And whoso wel considereth in what estate the poore towne was at that time, seeing their enemies haue so great aduantage, might well say, and iudge, that at length it should be taken, and a lost towne.

How a Genouois came to the gate of the towne for to speake for a treaty and deliuerance of the same.

A Few dayes after the saide iourney a Christian man that was in the campe, the which by his speech was a Genouois or Siotis, came to the gate of Auuergne, and demanded to parle, and after that he was demanded what he would haue, he sayd that he had maruell of vs why we would not yeeld our selues, seeing the pitious estate the towne was in: and he as a Christian man counselled vs to yeeld our selues with some agreement; and that if we would looke thereto, that some should be found expedient to do somewhat for our safeguard. And it is very like that he sayd not such words, nor spake so farforth in the matter, without commission from some of the chiefe of the campe, or of the great Turke himselfe. To the which Siotis was answered, that he should go away with an euill hap, and that it needed not to speake of appointment: and that though the enemies had great aduantage, there was yet enough wherewith to receiue and feast them, if they made any assault. These words heard, he went away: and two days after he came again, and demanded to speak with a marchant Genouois of the towne named Mathew de Vra, and he was answered that he which he demanded was sicke, and might not come, but that he should deliver the letter, and it should be giuen to him. The sayd Siotis sayd nay, and that he would giue it himselfe, and speake with him: and sayd that he had also a letter of the Grand signior, for the lord master. Vpon this he was bidden to go his way: and to set him packing, they shot after him a piece of artillery. The next day after Ballantis Albanese that was fled thorow the breach of Spaine to the campe, came from the sayd Genouois proposing such words, or like as the other had sayd, saying likewise that the Grand signior had sent a letter to the lord master. To whom no words were spoken nor answere made, for the lord great master as wise and prudent considering that a towne that will heare intreatings is halfe lost, defended vpon the paine of death sith that Siotis had spoken these two times, that none should be so hardy to speak nor answere them of the campe, without his knowledge and commandement: but seeing they were such ambassadors, they reported the words of the sayd Albanese, or euer the sayd lord had knowledge of the words of the Siotis. The which words spread thorow the towne put many folke in thought, and would haue vndone that that the Siotis said the which is no maruell whereas is much people, for with good will and most often they regard sooner to saue the liues of them and their children, then they doe to the honour of the residue. Howbeit not one durst speake a word openly of that businesse, but all secretly: and some came and spake to certaine lords of the great crosse for to speake to ye lord great master. And in effect some lords spake thereof to him, persuading him that it should be good to thinke thereon, seeing that the towne went to losse. To whom the sayd lord shewed many things for his honour and the Religion: and that no such things ought to be done or thought for any thing in the world, but rather he and they to die. The lords hearing this answere, went their wayes and then returned againe to the sayd lord, aduising him more to thinke well on all things, and to the saluation of his towne and of his religion. And they said moreouer, that they doubted that the people would rather haue a peace then to die themselues, their wiues and children. The lord seeing that such words were as things inforced, as who should say, if thou do it not, we shall do it as wise men and prudent, willing to make remedies of needfull things by counsell, called the lords of his Councell for to haue aduise in these doings, and other. And when they were assembled, the lord proposed the words that were to him denounced, and sayd: With these terms and wordes came two or three marchants and citizens of the towne that knocked at the doore of the Councell, and presented a supplication to the great master, and lords of the Councel, whereby they required and besought meekely the sayd reuerend lord to haue respect to them and their poore housholds, and to make some appointment with the great Turke, seeing that the sayd matter was already forward in purpose, that he would do it; and that it would please him to consider the pitious and sorrrowful estate that the towne was in; and that there was no remedy to saue it: and at the lest way, if the lord would not make appointment, to giue them leaue (of his goodnesse) to haue their wiues and their children out of the Rodes to saue them, for they would not haue them slaine nor made slaues to the enemies. And the conclusion was, that if the sayd lord would not puruey therefore, they would puruey for it themselues. And there was written in the sayd request the names of eight or ten of the richest of the towne. Which words of the sayd supplication being heard, the sayd lord and his councell were abashed and ill content as reason would, seeing that it was but a course game, and thought on many things to make answere to the sayd citizens, for to content and appease them: and also to see if they should intend to the appointment, as they required, and after as the Genouoy had reported: and the better to make the sayd answere, and to know more plainly in what estate the towne was in all things: that is to wit, first of gunpowder, and then of men of warre, and of the batteries. Also were demanded and asked the lord S. Giles pre Iohn, which had the charge of the gunpowder, and then the captaine Sir Gabriel Martiningo, for being ouer their men of warre (as it is said) as to him that knew the truth; if the towne might holde or not, or there were any meanes to saue it. The sayd lord of S. Giles arose, saying and affirming vpon his honour and his conscience that almost all the slaues and labourers were dead and hurt, and that scantly there were folke enow to remoue a piece of artillery from one place to another, and that it was vnpossible without folke any more to make or set vp the repaires the which euery day were broken and crushed by the great, furious, and continuall shot of the enemies artillery. As for gunpowder the sayd lord sayd, that all that was for store in the towne, was spent long agone, and that which was newly brought, was not to serue and furnish two assaults. And he seeing the great aduantage of the enemies being so farre within the towne, without powder to put or chase them away, for default of men, was of opinion that the towne would be lost, and that there was no meanes to saue it. The words of the sayd lord finished, the captaine Gabriel Martiningo for his discharge sayd and declared to the reuerend lord and them of the Councell, that seeing and considering the great beatings of the shot that the towne had suffered, and after seeing the entring which the enemies had so large, and that they were within the towne by their trenches both endlong and ouerthwart; seeing also that in two other places they were at the foot of the wall, and that the most part of our knights and men of warre and other were slaine and hurt, and the gunpowder wasted, and that it was vnpossible for them to resist their enemies any more, that without doubt the towne was lost if there came no succors for to helpe and resist the siege. The which opinions and reasons of these two woorthy men and expert in such feats, vnderstood and pondered by the lord great master and the lords of the Councell, they were most part aduised for to accept and take treaty if it were offered, for the saueguard of the common people, and of the holy reliques of the church, as part of the holy crosse, the holy throne, the hand of S. John, and part of his head, and diuers other reliques. Howbeit the lord great master to whom the businesse belonged very neere, and that tooke it most heauily, and was more sorrowfull then any of the other, as reason required, was alway stedfast in his first purpose, rather willing to die then to consent to such a thing, and sayd againe to the lordes of the Councell: Aduise you, and thinke well on euery thing, and of the end that may happen, and he proposed to them two points: that is to wit, Whether it is better for vs to die all, or to saue the people and the holy reliques. The which two points and doubts were long time disputed, and there were diuers opinions: neuerthelesse, at the last they sayd all, that howbeit that it were well and safely done to die for the faith, and most honor for vs, notwithstanding seeing and considering that there is no remedy to resist against our enemies, and meanes to saue the towne; and on the other part, that the great Turke would not oppresse vs to forsake our faith, but only would haue the towne, it were much better then, and tending to greater wealth to saue all the iewels abouesayde, that should be defiled and lost if they came in the handes of the enemies of the faith. And also to keepe so much small people, as women and children, that they would torment and cut some in pieces, other take, and perforce cause them to forsake their faith, with innumerable violences, and shamefull sinnes that should be committed and done, if the towne were put to the sword, as was done at Modon, and lately at Bellegrado. Whereby they did conclude, that it were better, and more agreeable to God, for to take the treaty, if it were proffered, then for to die as people desperate, and without hope.

How the great Turke sent two of his men to the towne, to haue it by intreating. And how the lord great master sent two knights to him, to know his assurance.

VPon these consultations and words almighty God that saueth them which trust in him, and that would not that so many euils and cruelties should come to the poore city and inhabitants of it, and also that the great Turke might not arise in ouer great pride and vaineglory, put him in minde to seeke to haue the sayd towne by treaty, which he ought not to haue done for his honour, nor by reason, for the towne was in a maner his. And in like sort he ought not to haue let vs goe as he did, seeing that we were his mortall enemies euer, and shall be still in the time comming, considering the great slaughter of his people that we haue made in this siege. Howbeit, the eternall goodnesse hath blinded him, and hath pleased that these things should be thus, for some cause vnknowen of vs. And for conclusion, the great Turke sent to haue a communication and parle in following the words of the Genouese aforesayd. Then was a signe set vpon the churche of the abbey without the towne, to the which was made answere with another at the milles of Quosquino. And forthwith came two Turks to speake with them of the towne. Then the lord great master sent the Priour of S. Giles pre Iohn, and the captaine Gabriel Martiningo to know the cause of their comming. And when they came to them, without holding of long speech, the two Turkes deliuered them a letter for to beare to the lord great master from the great Turke, and then returned safely into their tents. When the two lords had receiued it, they bare and presented it to the reuerend lord great master, which caused it to be read. By the which the great Turke demanded of the lord great master to yeeld the towne to him, and in so doing he was content to let him go and all his knights, and all the other people of what condition soeuer they were, with all their goods and iewels safe without feare of any harme or displeasure of his folks. And also he sware and promised on his faith so to do. The sayd letter was sealed with his signet that he vseth, that is as it were gilded. And he sayde afterward, that if the lord great master would not accept the sayde treaty, that none of the city, of what estate souer he were, should thinke to escape, but that they all vnto the cats should passe by the edge of the sword, and that they should send him an answere forthwith, either yea or nay. After the sight of the contents of the sayd letter of so great weight, and the time so short for to giue so great an answere, and with demand, the sayd lord great master and all the lords of the Councell were in great thought, howbeit they determined to giue an answere, seeing the estate of the towne so ill that it could be no woorse. Hearing the report and opinions a day or two before of the two lords ordeined to view the defects of the towne, saying that the towne was lost without remedy: considering also that the principalles of the towne would haue appointment. And in likewise, at the other counsell all the lords had already willed and declared, that it were better to saue the towne for respect of the poore people, then to put it all whole to the furie of the enemies, whereupon they agreed and concluded for to take the foresayd treatie. After the conclusion taken, answere was made readily for a good respect; that is to weet, to take the Turke at his worde, to the ende that he should not repent him of it, nor change his opinion. For euery houre his people wanne and entered further and further into the towne. And for to goe vnto the great Turke were ordeined these two knights, Sir Passin afore named, and he bare the token of the White crosse: and another of the towne named Robert de Perruse iudge Ordinarie.

When these two ambassadours had made them readie, they went out at the gate of Quosquino, and went to the tent of Acmek basha, capitaine generall. And because it was late, and that they might not goe that day to the great Turke, on the next day in the morning the foresaid captaine Acmek led and conueied our sayd ambassadours to the great Turkes pauillion, that they might haue the more knowledge plainely, and for to heare his will as touching the wordes which were reported to the reuerend lord great master, and after, the contents of his letter and writings.

When the sayd two ambassadours were departed out of the towne, there did enter two men of authoritie of the campe; one was nephew or kinsman of the sayd Acmek, the other was the great Turkes truchman, which the lord master caused to be well receiued, and they were lodged nigh the sayd gate of Quosquino. And then truce was taken for 3. dayes, and the enemies came to our repaires, and spake with our folke and dranke one with another.

How the ambassadours of Rhodes spake with the great Turke, and what answere they had.

WHen our ambassadours had made reuerence to the great Turke, they sayd that the lord great master of Rhodes had sent them to his Imperiall maiestie to know what he requested, and desired that they might talke together, and how the great master had receiued his letter. The great Turke answered them by his truchman, that of demanding to speake together, nor writing of letter to the great master he knew nothing. Howbeit, sith the great master had sent to him for to know his will, he bade say to them that the great master should yeeld him the towne. And in so doing he promised by his faith for to let him goe with all his knights, and all other that would goe with their goods, without receiuing any displeasure of his people of the campe. And if he accepted not the sayd treatie, to certifie him that he would neuer depart from Rhodes till he had taken it, and that all his might of Turkie should die there, rather then hee would faile of it, and that there should neither great nor litle escape, but vnto the cats they should be all cut in pieces, and sayd that within 3. dayes they should giue him an answere, for hee would not that his people should loose time, and that during the sayd truce they should make no repaires nor defences within the towne.

When the great Turke had ended his wordes, our ambassadours tooke their leaue of him, and returned to the towne, and there was giuen to each of them a rich garment of branched veluet, with cloth of gold of the Turkish fashion. Then Acmek basha tooke sir Passin, and led him to his pauillion, and intreating him right well, caused him to abide all that day and night: and in eating and drinking they had many discourses of things done at the siege, questioning each with other. And among all other things our ambassadour demaunded of Acmek, and prayed him to tell for

64000. Turks slaine at the siege of Rhodes.

trueth how many men died of the campe while the siege was laied. The said Basha sware vpon his faith and certified, that there were dead of the campe of violent death, that is to say, of gunshot and other wayes, 64000. men or more, beside them that died of sicknesse, which were about 40. or 50. thousand.

How one of the ambassadours made answere of his message, and how the Commons would not agree to yeeld the towne.

REturne we now to our purpose and to the answere that our ambassadours brought to the lord great master. The sayd Robert Perruse made the answere, and told what the great Turke had sayd, certifying that he would haue an answere quickly yea or nay. The which answere after the demaund of the great Turke hath bene purposed and concluded by the whole counsel, and his offer and treatie accepted, howbeit the sayd ambassadours had it not to do so soone nor the first time that they went for good reasons, but yet they would not deferre it, for feare lest he should repent him. And vpon these determinations that they would haue sent the sayd Peruse to beare the answere, came some of the common people of the towne to the lord great master, that was with the lordes of the counsell, and sayd that they were aduertised of the appointment that he had made with the great Turke, and that he would yeeld the towne with couenaunts by him taken, which, they supposed ought not to be done without calling of them. And because they were not called to it, they sayd that they would not agree thereto, and that it were better for them to die, for the great Turke by some way would put them all to death, as was done in Bellegrado in Hungarie.

How the lord great master sent two ambassadors for the Commons to the great Turke.

WHen the reuerend lord great master had heard their wordes, he sayd graciously to them, that as touching the acceptation of the great Turks offer, it was needful so to do in the degree that the towne was, and the causes wherefore he had done it the counsell had seene and discussed, and that it was a thing that might not, nor ought not to be sayd nor published in common, for reporting of it to the enemies by traitours, but be kept still and secret. And moreouer, that it was concluded to make an answere shortly, for to take the great Turke at his word, lest he repented him. For if they had bene called, or the answere had bene giuen, it had bene ouerlong businesse, and in the meane time the Turke might haue changed his mind, and that that he had done and concluded with the great Turke, the lordes of the counsell had well regarded and considered in all things, and for their profite and aduantage, as much or more as for that of the Religion. And that they would send to the great Turke againe other ambassadours, the better to know his will, and to be surer of his promise. Then the lord great master ordained two other ambassadours for to goe to the great Turke, which were two Spaniardes, the one named sir Raimon Market, and the other messire Lopez, at whose issuing entered Sir Passin the first ambassadour, and the other two went to the tent of Acmek basha, for to leade them to the great Turke. And when they were within the Turkes pauillion, and had done him reuerence as appertained, our ambassadours sayd that the great master had heard and seen his demaund to yeeld the towne. And for y^t it is a thing of great weight, and that he had to doe and say with many men of diuers nations, and because the time of answere was so short, hee might not doe that that hee demaunded so soone. Howbeit hee would speake with his people, and then hee would giue him no answere.

How the Turke began the assault, and how the Commons agreed to yeeld the towne.

WHen the great Turke heard the answere of our ambassadours, he sayd nothing, but commaunded his Bashas that they should begin the battell againe to the towne, the which was done, and then the truce was broken, and the shot of the enemies was sharper then it was afore. And on the other side nothing, or very litle for fault of pouder: for that that there was left, was kept for some great assault or neede. Howbeit the sayd Acmek Basha kept one of the ambassadours, and messire Lopez onely entered. The great master seeing the warre begun, and the shot thicker then it was afore, and the enemies entred hourely by their trenches further into the towne, called them that before had sayde to him, that they would not the towne should be yeelded, but had rather for to die. And therefore the sayd lord sayd that he was content for to die with them, and that they should dispose them to defend thenselues well, or to doe their endeuour better then they had done in times past. And to the ende that each one of them should haue knowledge of his will (for as then he spake but to foure or fiue of them that gainesayd him) he made a cry through all the towne, that all they that were holden to be at the posternes or gates should giue attendance, and not to come away day nor night on payne of death: for afore, the Rhodians came but litle there. And that the other that were not of the posternes, or that were of his succours, should goe to the breach of Spaine where the sayd lord was continually, and not to goe away day nor night on the aboue sayd payne. The sayd cry made, each one were obedient for a day or twaine, howbeit a yoong Rhodian left his posterne and went to his house, which on the next day was hanged for breaking of the lordes commaundement. Notwithstanding that, by litle and litle the people annoyed them, and their heartes failed, and left the posternes and breaches: in such wise, that the enemies might come in without finding great resistaunce, but of a fewe that the lord master caused to abide there (that is to weet) knightes of his succours. And in the night he sought out more people for to keep ye watch at the said breach, and paied to them as much as they would. The sayd lord seeing himself thus abandoned and left of his people, he sent to aske them againe wherefore they did not their endeuour, and why they came not to day, as they sayd before. Which made answere that they sawe and knew well that the towne was lost for certaine reasons that were told them: by occasion whereof they had gainesaid the ordinance of the sayd lord, and sayd that they had bene wrong enformed of diuers things: and on the other side, that they feared that the Turke would not hold his word. But sithens they sawe that there was none other remedie but to abide the aduenture and fortune, they sayd that they put all to the sayd lord to doe what he thought good, and that hee would see what were best for them. And required the lord to doe them so much fauour as to let them choose one or two among them for to goe to the great Turke with his ambassadours for to haue suretie of him. The which was granted, and two ordinarie ambassadours were chosen for them; one Nicholas Vergotie, and the other Piero of saint Cretice, and the foresayd Passin should returne with them for to make the sayd answere. Then the great master or they departed (prolonging the time as much as he might) aduised to send a letter to the great Turke, the which his grandfather had written or caused to be written. In the which letter he gaue his malediction or curse to his children and successours, if they enterprised to besiege Rhodes. The sayd Robert Perruse bare the sayd letter, and as he was accustomed, he went to Acmek Basha for to cause him to haue audience, and to present the sayd letter. And the Basha sayd hee would see the letter: for it is the guise in the great Turkes court, that none may speake to him nor giue him a letter, but he be aduertised first what shall be said, or what shall be written. When the Basha had seene the wordes written in the said letter, he brake it and cast it on the ground, and did tread vpon it, saying many iniurious and villanous wordes to the sayd iudge. And bade him returne apace to his great master, and bid him to thinke on his businesse, and to make answere to the great lord (as he had sent and commaunded) or els it should not be long or he sawe his dolorous and wofull ende. And that same day were taken two men of ours that bare earth toward the bulwarke of England. Of whom the sayd Acmek caused an officer to cut off their noses, fingers, and eares, and gaue them a letter to beare to the lord great master, wherein were great wordes and threatnings. After the sayd Perruse was returned, messire Passin was sent againe to the sayde Basha, for to know of him if the great Turke would be content with any summe of money for his costes and expenses, that he had made for his armie. The which answered that such wordes or offers of siluer were not to bee sayd nor presented to the great lord on paine of life, and that hee set more by honour then by siluer. And therefore hee bade him returne and say to the great master that hee should make answere to the great lord after his demaund, to yeeld or not yeeld the towne. The sayd Passin made relation of the wordes of the Basha to the great master: the which for the great sorrow that hee had deferred alwayes, saw himselfe in such pitious estate. Notwithstanding, the sayd lord putting all to the wil of our lord, and considering that there was no remedie to do otherwise, nor to resist any more his enemies: and being constrained on all sides to make the appointment, with great heauinesse, inestimable dolours and bewailings, at the last gaue his voyce to yeeld the towne (with the treatise or offers to him presented) which was the 20. day of December, the yeere of our lord a thousand fiue hundreth and two and twentie.

An answere to such as will make question for the deliuerance of the citie of Rhodes.

ANd if by any it were demaunded wherefore the sayde lord great master hath yeelded the towne to the great Turke, requesting it with treatie and couenaunts, which was a signe that he feared and would no more fight, but goe his way. To this I answere: Notwithstanding that the great Turke was aduertised by some traitours, and by other that fled into the campe, that the powder almost failed, and that there were but fewe men of warre within the towne, yet he beleeued not, nor gaue credence of all that was reported to him, but thought verily that wee had ynough for a great while, and considered that hee must tary till they were wasted and spent, whereto behooued time. And seeing all his estate entered into strange places, and into the lands of his enemies, and had bene there already sixe moneths, (and not without great danger of his owne person) thinking on the other side, that taking the towne by assault, he should lose many of his folke; and yet when hee had ouercome and wonne the towne, they should fall each vpon other in departing of the bootie or pillage, doubting finally the hazard of warre. For these reasons and other that may be alleaged, the great Turke had much rather to haue the towne by composition and treaty then otherwise. And it suffised him to driue his olde enemies out of the countreys of Leuant, and set the subiects of his countreys in rest and suretie. And we of the towne that knew our weaknesse, and that we might do no more, it seemed better to saue so much small people, then we and they to fall into the furie of our enemies, for otherwise could we not haue done, but tempt God, and died as in dispaire.

How the citie of Rhodes was yeelded to the great Turke, and of the euill behauiour of certaine Turkes.

BVt to returne to our principall: After that the reuerend great master had giuen his voyce to the yeelding of the towne, he sent the said Passin againe for to beare it to the great Turke. And with him went the two men that were chosen of the Commons, and they went all three together to the tent of Acmek Basha.

To whom the sayd Passin first made this pitious answere and conclusion to yeeld the towne. Notwithstanding, he sayd the people had ordained two men among them for to goe to the great Turke, to speake of their particular doings, and to haue some suretie of their persons, wiues, and children, to the ende that it were not done to them, as to those of Bellegrado. The sayd Acmek led the three ambassadours toward the great Turke. And when they were entered into the pauilion, the sayde messire Passin made the report of his ambassade to the sayd lord, and sayd that the great master yeelded him the towne vnder the promise made by his Imperiall maiestie, with the treatie promised. Of the which promise hee held him sure and certaine, and that hee would doe no lesse: howbeit, the people had required him to giue them licence to go to his maiestie for to aske some request of him. Then the two citizens besought the great Turke that he would for suretie remooue his campe from the towne, to the ende that they should haue no maner of harme to their bodies nor goods, and that they that would goe, should goe, and that they that would abide still, might be well entreated. The great Turke answered by his interpreter to messire Passin, that hee accepted the towne, and promised agayne vpon his faith, and on his honour to the lord great master, that he would performe that he had promised, and sent to him by the same Passin that he should not doubt of the contrary: and if he had not ships ynough for to carie his people and their goods, that hee would let them haue of his, and that he would deliuer the artillerie that was woont to be in the ships of ye Religion. And as touching the request of the people, he sayd that he would remooue the campe, and that they that would abide, might abide, and they should bee well entreated, and should pay no tribute in fiue yeeres, and their children should not bee touched, and who so would goe within the sayd space of fiue yeeres, they should goe in good time. These wordes ended, our ambassadours tooke leaue of him, and when they were departed, they spake againe with the saide Acmed Basha for to haue a letter of the contents of the promise of the sayd lord. And by his commandement the sayd letter was made, whereby he promised to let go the great master with all his knights, strangers and men of the towne that would go with their goods, without hauing displeasure of any of his people of the campe, or by the wayes. When the letter was made, it was deliuered to messire Passin. And as touching withdrawing of the campe, the sayd Basha promised againe that he would do it, since the great lord would so: howbeit he remooued but from the trenches, and some of his people went a litle way off. And the sayd Basha demaunded in the Turkes behalfe, that they should send to him in hostage foure and twentie knights, whereof two should bee of the great Crosse, and two and twentie citizens. And the sayd lord should send onely a captaine with three or foure hundred Ianissaries, for to keepe the towne when the campe were withdrawen. And so it was done; and beside this he gaue twelue dayes respite to the lord great master, to prepare him and depart out of Rhodes. And in conclusion all this done, our ambassadours returned and made the report to the reuerend great master of all that they had done and practised with the great Turke, and the sayd Basha, and gaue him the letter for to goe surely. Then the great master with his counsell ordained the foure and twentie persons, and other of the towne. When they were readie, they went to the campe, where they were well intreated foure dayes. During this time, Ferra Basha passed from the maine land to the campe, with foure and twentie or fiue and twentie thousand Ianissaries, which by the commaundement of the great Turke was gone vpon the borders of the countreis of the Sophie. For the Turke seeing the people of the campe discouraged and willing no more to goe to the assaults, sent to the sayde Basha to come to Rhodes with his people, which would haue withstood vs sore, as fresh men. And it was the worke of God and a wonderfull myracle, that they came after that the appointment was made: for if they had come afore, it is to be supposed that the deed had gone otherwise, and there had bene many strokes giuen: but I beleeue that the ende should haue bene pitious for vs, but God would not that the Turke should haue victory vpon vs as hee might haue had, seeing the great aduantage that he had in all things, but he blinded him and would not that he should know his might. And on the other part it may be sayd and marueiled how it was possible alway to haue ouercome our enemies in all assaults and skirmishes, and at the end to loose the towne, it was the will of God that so hath pleased for some cause to vs vnknowen. It is to bee thought, that lacke of men and gunshot, and the enemies so farre within the towne, and ready to enter at other places, with the treasons haue caused the towne to be lost. Two or three dayes after the comming of the sayd Basha, his Ianissaries and other of the campe entred into the Towne, which was on Christmas day, within the time giuen to vs, and then the Turkes word was broken, if it were his will or not, I cannot tell. Neuerthelesse there was no sword drawen, and in that respect promise was kept. But they made pillage, and entered by force into the houses of the castle, and tooke all that they might and would. After that they had ransacked the houses, they entered into the churches, and pilled all that they found, and brake the images. And there was no crucifix, nor figure of our lady, nor of other saints, that were left whole. Then with great inhumanitie they went into the hospitall of poore and sicke folke, called the Fermorie, and tooke all the siluer vessell that the sicke folke were serued with, and raised them out of their beds, and droue them away, some with great strokes and staues, and some were cast down from the galleries. When these hounds had done that acte, they went to the church of saint Iohn and tooke downe the tombes of the great masters, and sought if there were any treasure hid in them, and they forced certaine women and maidens. And all they that were christened and had bene Turkes afore, were they men, women or children, and children, that the sayd men had made christians, they led into Turkie, which thing is of greater importance then any of the other. The morrow after Christmas day, the reuerend lord great master went to the great Turkes pauillion for to visite him, and to be better assured of his promise, the which lord he made to be wel and graciously receiued. And he signified vnto him by his intrepreter, that the case so happened to him was a thing vsuall and common; as to loose townes and lordships, and that hee should not take ouermuch thought for it: and as for his promise, he bade that he should not doubt in any thing, and that he should not feare any displeasure to his person, and that he should goe with his people without feare. With these wordes the sayd lord thanked him, and tooke his leaue and departed.

FINIS.

¶ Lenuoy of the Translator.

GOe little booke, and woefull Tragedie,
Of the Rhodian feareful oppugnation,
To all estates complaining ruthfully
Of thine estate, and sudden transmutation:

Excusing me if in thy translation
Ought be amisse in language or in werke,
I me submit with their supportation,
To be correct, that am so small a clerke.

An ambassage from Don Ferdinando, brother to the emperor Charles 5. vnto king Henry the 8. in the yeere 1527 desiring his aide against Solyman the great Turke. Holinshed. pag. 894.

ON the 14. day of March, 1527. were conueied from London to Greenwich by the earle of Rutland and others, the lord Gabriel de Salamanca, earle of Ottonburge, John Burgraue of Sayluerberge, and Iohn Faber a famous clerke, after bishop of Vien, as ambassadours from Don Ferdinando, brother to Charles the emperor, newly elected king of Hungarie and Beame, after the death of his brother in law king Lewes, which was slaine by Solyman the Turke the last Sommer. This company was welcommed of the high officers, and after brought into the kings presence, all the nobilitie being present; and there after great reuerence made, M. Faber made a notable oration, taking his ground out of the Gospell, Exijt seminator seminare semen suum: and of that hee declared how Christ and his disciples went foorth to sowe, and how their seed was good that fel into the good ground, and brought foorth good fruite, which was the Christian faith. And then he declared how contrary to that sowing, Mahomet had sowen seed, which brought foorth euill fruit. He also shewed from the beginning, how the Turkes haue increased in power, what realmes they had conquered, what people they had subdued euen to that day. He declared further what actes the great Turke then liuing had done; and in especiall, he noted the getting of Belgrade and of the Rhodes, and the slaying of the king of Hungarie, to the great rebuke (as he sayd) of all the kings christened. Hee set foorth also what power the Turke had, what diuersities of companies, what captaines he had, so that he thought, that without a marueilous great number of people, he could not be ouerthrowen. Wherefore he most humbly besought the king as S. Georges knight, and defender of the faith, to assist the king his master in that godly warre and vertuous purpose.

To this oration the king by the mouth of Sir Thomas Moore answered; that much hee lamented the losse that happened in

Hungarie, and if it were not for the warres which were betweene the two great princes, he thought that the Turke would not haue enterprised that acte: wherefore he with all his studie would take paine, first, to set an vnitie and peace throughout all Christendome, and after that, both with money and men he would be readie to helpe toward that glorious warre, as much as any other prince in Christendome. After this done, the ambassadours were well cherished, and diuers times resorted to the court, and had great cheere and good rewards, and so the third day of May next following, they tooke their leaue and departed homeward.

He meaneth the Emperor and the French King.

The antiquitie of the trade with English ships into the Leuant.

IN the yeeres of our Lord, 1511. 1512. &c. till the yeere 1534. diuers tall ships of London, namely, The Christopher Campion, wherein was Factor one Roger Whitcome; the Mary George, wherein was Factor William Gresham; the great Mary Grace, the Owner whereof, was William Gunson, and the master one Iohn Hely: the Trinitie Fitz-williams, whereof was master Laurence Arkey; the Mathew of London, whereof was master William Capling, with certaine other ships of Southampton and Bristow, had an ordinarie and vsuall trade to Sicilia, Candie, Chio, and somewhiles to Cyprus, as also to Tripolis and Barutti in Syria. The commodities which they caried thither were fine Kersies of diuers colours, course Kersies, white Westerne dozens, Cottons, certaine clothes called Statutes, and others called Cardinalwhites, and Cauleskins which were well sold in Sicilie, &c. The commodities which they returned backe were Silks, Chamlets, Rubarbe, Malmesies, Muskadels and other wines, sweete oyles, cotten wool, Turkie carpets, Galles, Pepper, Cinamon, and some other spices, &c. Besides the naturall inhabitants of the foresayd places, they had, euen in those dayes, traffique with Iewes, Turkes, and other forreiners. Neither did our merchants onely employ their owne English shipping before mentioned, but sundry strangers also: as namely Candiots, Raguseans, Sicilians, Genouezes, Venetian galliases, Spanish and Portugale ships. All which particulars doe most euidently appeare out of certaine auncient Ligier Bookes of the R. W. Sir William Locke Mercer of London, of Sir William Bowyer Alderman of London, of master Iohn Gresham, and of others; which I Richard Hakluyt haue diligently perused and copied out. And here for authorities sake I doe annexe, as a thing not impertinent to this purpose, a letter of King Henry the eight, vnto Don Iohn the third, king of Portugale.

A letter of the king of England Henry the eight, to Iohn king of Portugale, for a Portingale ship with the goods of Iohn Gresham and Wil. Locke with others, vnladen in Portugale from Chio.

SErenissimo Principi, domino Ioanni Dei gratia Regi Portugalliæ, et Algarbiorum citra et vltra mare in Africa, ac domino Guineæ, et conquistæ, nauigationis, et commercij Æthiopiæ, Arabiæ, Persiæ, atque Indiæ, etc. Fratri, et amico nostro charissimo.

Henricus Dei gratia, Rex Angliæ, et Franciæ, fidei defensor, ac dominus Hiberniæ, Serenissimo Principi; domino Ioanni eadem gratia Regi Portugalliæ et Algarbiorum citra et vltra mare in Africa, ac domino Guineæ, et conquistæ nauigationis, et commercij Æthiopiæ, Arabiæ, Persiæ, atq; Indiæ etc. Fratri, et amico nostro charissimo, salutem. Tanto libentiùs, promptiúsq; iustas omnes causas vestræ Serenitati commendandas suscipimus, quanto apertiori indiès nostrorum, qui in eiusdem vestræ Serenitatis regno ac ditione negotiantur, subditorum testimonio cognoscimus, ipsam ex optimi principis officio ita accuratè, exactéq; ius suum cuſq; præbere, vt ad eam nemo iustitiæ consequendæ gratia frustrà vnquam confugiat. Cùm itaque dilectus ac fidelis subditus noster Ioannes Gresham mercator Londoniensis nuper nobis humiliter exposuerit, quod quidam Willielmus Heith ipsius Factor, et negotiorum gestor nauim quandam Portugallensem, cui nomen erat Sancto Antonio, præerátque Diego Peres Portugallensis superioribus mensibus in Candia conduxerit, cum nauſq; præfecto conuenerit, vt in insulam Chium ad quasdam diuersi generis merces onerandas primò nauigaret, in Candiámque mox aliarum mercium onerandarum gratia rediret, omnes quidem in hoc nostrum regnum postmodùm aduecturus ad valorem circiter duodecim millium ducatorum, quemadmodum ex pactionis, conuentionſque instrumento apertiùs constat, accidit, vt præfatus Diego vestræ Serenitatus subditus, dictis susceptis mercibus, et iam in itinere parùm fidelitèr, et longè præter initas conuentiones,

grauissimo certe nostrorum subditorum detrimento, vbi in Portugalliæ portum diuertisset, sententiæ huc nauigandi mutata, in eodem portu commoretur, nostrorúmque etiam subditorum merces detineat: quam iniuriam (quum subditis nostris in vestræ Serenitatis regno, et ab eius subdito illata sit) ex æquitate, ac iustitia ab ipsa corrigi, emendarísque confidimus, nostro quoque potissimùm intuitu, qui vestræ Serenitatis ipsiúsque subditorum causas, mercésque, si quando in hoc nostrum regnum appulerint, semper commendatissimas habemus, id quod superiori anno testati sumus: proinde ipsam vehementer rogamus, vt Ioannem Ratliffe præsentium latorem, et dicti Ioannis Gresham nouum constitutum procuratorem, huius rei causa istuc venientem, velit in suis agendis, in dictísque bonis recuperandis, impunéque asportandis remittendísque vectigalibus (quod nos in vestros subditos fecimus) quum per nauis præfectum fraude, ac dolo istuc merces fuerint aduectæ, nisi istic vendantur, ac toto denique ex æquitate conficiendo negotio, sic commendatum suscipere, sicque ad suos, quos opus fore intellexerit magistratus missis literis rem omnem iuuare, et expedire, vi perspiciamus ex hac nostra commendatione fuisse nostrorum subditorum iuri, et indemnitati quàm maximè consultum. Quod nobis gratissimum est futurum, et in re consimili, aut grauiori vestra Serenitas nos sibi gratificandi cupidissimos experietur, quæ fœliciter valeat. Ex Regia nostra de Waltham, Die 15. Octobr. 1531.

The same in English.

To the high and mighty prince, Iohn by the grace of God, king of Portugale, and of Algarue on this side and beyond the sea in Africa, lord of Ghinea, and of the conquest, nauigation, and traffique of Æthiopia, Arabia, Persia, India, &c. our most deere and welbeloued brother.

Henry by the grace of God, king of England and of France, defender of the faith, and lord of Ireland: to Iohn by the same grace, king of Portugale and Algarue, on this side and beyond the sea in Africa, and lord of Ghinea, and of the conquest, nauigation, and traffique of Aethiopia, Arabia, Persia, India, &c. our most deare and welbeloued brother, sendeth greeting. So much ye more willingly and readily we vndertake the recommending of all iust causes vnto your highnesse, because by the daily

testimonie of our subiects which traffike in your kingdoms and dominions, we are informed, that according to the dutie of a most worthy prince, so carefully and exactly you minister iustice vnto euery man, that all men most willingly repaire vnto your highnesse, with full trust to obtaine the same. Whereas therefore our welbeloued and trustie subiect Iohn Gresham merchant of London, of late in humble maner hath signified vnto vs, that one William Heith his Factor and Agent, certaine moneths agoe had hired in Candie a certaine Portugale ship called Santo Antonio, (the patrone whereof is Diego Perez) and couenanted with the patrone of the sayd ship, that he should first saile to the Isle of Sio, to take in merchandize of sundry sortes, and then eftsoones returne to Candie, to be fraighted with other goods, all which he was to bring into our kingdome of England, to the value of 12000 ducats, as by their billes of couenant and agreement more plainly appeareth: it so fel out, that ye aforesaid Diego your highnes subiect hauing receiued the said goods, very trecherously and much contrary to his couenant, to the exceeding great losse of our subiects, putting in by the way into an hauen of Portugale, and altering his purpose of comming into England, he remaineth still in that hauen, and likewise detaineth our subiects goods. Which iniury (seeing it is done in your Highnes kingdome) we hope your Highnes will see reformed according to equity and right, the rather at our request, which alwayes haue had a speciall care of the causes and goods of your Highnes, and of your subiects whensoeuer they come into our kingdome; whereof we made proofe the last yeere. Wherefore wee instantly request your Highnes, y^{t} you would so receiue Iohn Ratcliffe the bearer of these present letters, and the new appointed agent of Iohn Gresham, which commeth into your dominions about this busines, being thus commended vnto you in this busines, and recouering and freely bringing home of the said goods, and in remitting of the customs, vnlesse they were sold there (the like whereof we did towards your subiects) seeing by the fraud and deceit of the patron of the ship, the wares were brought thither, and finally in dispatching ye whole matter, according to iustice, and so further the same by directing your highnes letters to your officers whom it may concerne, that we may perceiue, that our subiects right and liberty hath especially bene maintained vpon this our commendation. Which we will take in most thankful part, and your highnes shal find vs in the like or a greater matter most readie to gratifie you, whom we wish most heartily well to fare. From our court at Waltham the 15. of October 1531.

A voyage made with the shippes called the Holy Crosse, and the Mathew Gonson, to the Iles of Candia and Chio, about the yeere 1534, according to a relation made to Master Richard Hackluit, by Iohn Williamson, Cooper and citizen of London, who liued in the yeere 1592, and went as cooper in the Mathew Gonson the next voyage after.

The Holy Crosse and the Mathew Gonson depart for Turkie.

THe shippes called the Holy Crosse, and the Mathew Gonson, made a voyage to the Islandes of Candia and Chio in Turkie, about the yeere 1534. And in the Mathew went as Captaine M. Richard Gonson, sonne of old Master William Gonson, paymaster of the kings nauie. In this first voyage went William Holstocke (who afterwards was Controuller of her Maiesties Nauie, lately deceased) as page to M. Richard Gonson aforesaid, which M. Gonson died in Chio in this his first voyage. The ship called the Holy Crosse was a short shippe, and of burden 160 tunnes. And hauing beene a full yeere at the sea in performance of this voyage, with great danger she returned home, where, vpon her arriuall at Blackwall, in the riuer of Thames, her wine and oyle caske was found so weake, that they were not able to hoyse them out of the ship, but were constrayned to draw them as they lay, and put their wine and oyle into new vessels, and so to vnlade the shippe. Their chiefe fraight, was very excellent Muscatels and red Malmesie, the like whereof were seeldome seene before in England. They brought home also good quantitie of sweete oyles, cotton woolles, Turkie Carpets, Galles, Cynamon, and some other spices. The saide shippe called the Holy Crosse was so shaken in this voyage, and so weakened, that she was layd vp in the docke, and neuer made voyage after.

◆

Another voyage to the Iles of Candia and Chio made by the shippe the Mathew Gonson, about the yeere 1535, according to the relation of Iohn Williamson, then Cooper in the same ship, made to M. Richard Hackluit in the yeere 1592.

The Mathew Gonson goeth into Turkie.

THe good shippe called the Mathew Gonson, of burden 300 tunnes, whereof was owner old M. William Gonson, pay-master of the kings Nauie, made her voyage in the yeere 1535. In this ship went as Captaine Richard Gray, who long after died in Russia. Master William Holstocke afterward Controuller of the Queenes Nauie went then as purser in the same voyage. The Master was one Iohn Pichet, seruant to old M. William Gonson, Iames Rumnie was Masters mate. The master Cooper was Iohn Williamson citizen of London, liuing in the yeere 1592, and dwelling in Sant Dunstons parish in the East. The M. Gunner was Iohn Godfrey of Bristoll. In this ship were 6 gunners and 4 trumpetters, all which foure trumpetters at our returne homewards went on land at Messina in the Iland of Sicilia, as our ship road there at anker, and gat them into the Gallies that lay neere vnto vs, and in them went to Rome. The whole number of our companie in this ship were about 100. men, we were also furnished with a great bote, which was able to cary 10 tunnes of water, which at our returne homewards we towed all the way from Chio vntill we came through the straight of Gibraltar into the maine Ocean. We had also a great long boat and a skiff. We were out vpon this voyage eleuen moneths, yet in all this time there died of sicknesse but one man, whose name was George Forrest, being seruant to our Carpenter called Thomas Plummer.

In a great lygier booke of one William Eyms, seruant vnto Sir William Bowyer Alderman of London, bearing date the 15 of Nouember 1533, and continued vntill the 4. of Iuly 1544. I find that the said William Eyms was factor in Chio, not only for his Master, but also for the duke of Norfolkes grace and for many other worshipful marchants of London, among whom I find the accompts of these especially, to wit, of his said Master, sir William Bowyer, of William and Nicholas Wilford Marchant-taylors of London, of Thomas Curtis pewterer, of Iohn Starkey Mercer, of William Ostrige Marchant, and of Richard Field Draper. And further I find in the said ligier booke, a note of the said Eyms, of all such goods as he left in the hands of Robert Bye in Chio, who became his Masters factor in his roome, and another like note of particulers of goods that he left in the hands of Oliuer Lesson, seruant to William and Nicholas Wilford. And for proofe of the continuance of this trade vntill the end of the yeere 1552. I found annexed vnto the former note of the goods left with Robert Bye in Chio, a letter being dated the 27 of Nouember 1552 in London.

The Epitaph of the valiant Esquire M. Peter Read in the south Ile of Saint Peters Church in the citie of Norwich, which was knighted by Charles the fift at the winning of Tunis in the yeere of our Lord 1538.

HEre vnder lieth the corpes of Peter Reade Esquire, who hath worthily serued, not onely his Prince and Countrey, but also the Emperour Charles the fift, both at his conquest of Barbarie, and at his siege at Tunis, as also in other places. Who had giuen him by the said Emperour for his valiant deedes the order of Barbary. Who dyed the 29 day of December, in the yeere of our Lord God 1566.

A discourse of the trade to Chio, in the yeere 1569. made by Gaspar Campion, vnto master Michael Locke, and vnto master William Winter, as by his letters vnto them both shall appeare. Written the 14. of February.

WOrshipfull Sir, &c. As these dayes past I spake vnto you about the procurement of a safeconduct from the great Turke, for a trade to Chio: The way and maner how it may be obtained with great ease shall plainly appeare vnto you in the lines following. Sir, you shall vnderstand that the Island of Chio in time past hath bene a Signiorie or lordship of it selfe, and did belong vnto the Genowaies. There were 24. of them that gouerned the island which were called Mauneses. But in continuance of time the Turke waxed so strong and mightie, that they, considering they were not able to keepe it, vnlesse they should become his tributaries, because the Island had no corne, nor any kind of vitailes to sustaine themselues, but onely that which must of necessitie come out of the Turkes dominions, and the sayd island being inclosed with the Turks round about, and but 12. miles from the Turks Continent, therefore the said Genowaies did compound and agree to be the Turkes tributaries, and to pay him 14000. thousand ducates yeerely. Alwayes prouided, that they should keep their lawes both spirituall and temporall, as they did when the Iland was in their owne hands. Thus he granted them their priuiledge, which they inioyed for many yeeres, so that all strangers, and also many Englishmen did trade thither of long continuance, and went and came in safety. In this meane time, the prince Pedro Doria (being a Genouois) became a captaine to serue the Emperour with 30 or 40 gallies against the Turke. And since that time diuers other captaines belonging to Genoa haue bene in the seruice of king Philip against the Turke. Moreouer, whensoeuer the Turke made out any army, he perceiued that no nation did him more hurt then those Genouois, who were his tributaries. Likewise at the Turkes siege of Malta, before which place he lay a great while, with losse of his men, and also of his gallies, he found none so troublesome vnto his force, as one Iuanette Doria a Genouois, and diuers others of the Iland of Chio, who were his tributaries. At which sight, he tooke such displeasure against them of Chio, that he sent certaine of his gallies to the Iland, for to seise vpon all the goods of the 24 Mauneses, and to turne them with their wiues and children out of the Iland, but they would let none other depart, because the Iland should not be vnpeopled. So that now the Turke hath sent one of his chiefe men to rule there: whereby now it will be more easie for vs to obtaine our safeconduct then euer it was before. For if the townesmen of Chio did know that we would trade thither (as we did in times past) they themselues, and also the customer (for the Turke in all his dominions doth rent his customes) would be the chiefest procurer of this our safeconduct for his owne gaine: which is no small matter: for we can pay no lesse than ten in the hundred thorowout the Turks whole dominion. Insomuch, that if one of our shippes should go thither, it would be for the customers profit 4000 ducats at least, whereas if we should not trade thither, he should lose so much. Also the burgesses, and the common people would be very glad

The Prince Pedro Doria is captaine of 40 gallies vnder the Emperor.

The Mauneses put out of the Iland of Chio by the Turke.

The custome thorowout all Turkie is ten in euery hundreth.

English men do buy more commodities of Chio then any other nation.

of our trade there, for the Communalty do get more by our countreymen then they do any nation whatsoeuer: for we do vse to buy many of their silke quilts, and of their Scamato and Dimite, that the poore people make in that towne, more then any other nation, so that we would not so gladly trade, but the people of the countrey would be twise so willing. Wherefore they themselues would be a meanes vnto their gouernour, by their petition to bring this trade to passe: giuing him to vnderstand that of all nations in the world we do him least hurt, and that we may do his countrey great good in consuming those commodities which his countrey people make. Furthermore, it were farre more requisite that we should cary our owne commodities, then to suffer a stranger to cary them thither, for that we can affoord them better cheape then a stranger can. I write not this by hearsay of other men, but of mine own experience, for I haue traded in the countrey aboue this 30 yeres, and haue bene maried in the towne of Chio full 24 yeres, so that you may assure yourselfe that I will write nothing but truth. Now I will declare vnto you the wares and commodities that are in the countreys neere about Chio. There are very good galles, the best sort whereof are sold in England fiue shillings deerer then any other countrey galles. There is also cotton wooll, tanned hides, hides in the haire, waxe, chamlets, mocayares, grogerams, silke of diuers countreys, cordouan skinnes, tanned white, to be made blacke, of them great quantity, and also course wooll to make beds. The naturall commodities growing in the Iland it selfe are silke rawe, and masticke. Of these commodities there are laden yeerely ten or twelue great ships of Genoa, besides fiue or sixe that do belong to the towne of Chio, which ships are fraughted for Genoa, Messina, and Ancona. And now that the Mauneses and the chiefe merchants of Genoa are banished, the trade is cleane lost, by reason whereof merchandise must now of necessity be better cheape then they haue bene in times past. But yet when all those ships did trade to the countrey, and also our ships, we neuer had lesse then three kintals of galles for a carsie, and in England we sold them for 35 and 36 shillings the hundred. And whereas now they are brought by the Venetians, they sell them vnto vs for three pound tenne shillings, and foure pound the hundred. Also we had three kintals of cotten wooll for a carsie, and solde the wooll in England

Great store of sundry commodities to be had in Chio.

for 50 shillings or 3 pound at the most, whereas now the Italians sell the some to vs for 4 pound 10 shillings and 5 pound the hundred. In like maner chamlets, whereas we had three pieces, and of the best sort two and a halfe for a carsie, and could not sell them aboue 20 shillings and 22 shillings the piece, they sell them for 30 and 35 shillings the piece. Also grogerams, where we had of the best, two pieces and a halfe for a carsie, they sell them for foure shillings and foure shillings and sixe pence the yard. Carpets the smaller sort which serue for cupboords, we had three for a carsie: whereas we at the most could not sell them but for 20 shillings the piece, they sell them for 35 shillings the piece. And so all other commodities that the Venetians do bring, they sell them to vs for the third part more gaines then we our selues in those dayes that we traded in those parts. Likewise the barrels of oile that they bring from Candia, we neuer could sell them aboue foure nobles the barrell, where they sell them alwayes for 50 shillings and 3 pound the barrell. What great pity is this, that we should loose so good a trade, and may haue it in our owne hands, and be better welcome to that countrey then the Venetians. Moreouer, the Venetians come very little to Chio, for their trade is into Alexandria. And for to assure you that we had these commodities in barter of our carsies, looke into your fathers books, and the books of Sir Iohn Gresham, and his brethren, and you shall finde what I haue sayd to be true.

Diuers places where we may haue sweete oiles for our clothing farre cheaper then out of Spaine.

Also you know, that we are forced to seeke oiles out of Spaine, and that for these many yeeres they haue bene solde for 25 pound and 30 pound the tunne: whereas, if we can obtaine the foresayd safeconduct from the Turke, there are diuers places in his dominions, where we may lade 500 tunnes, at 5 pound sterling the tunne. The places are Modon, and Coron, which are but twelue miles distant the one from the other, and do stand in our way to Chio, as you may plainly see by the Card. Also these are places where we may vtter our owne commodities, and not onely these two places, but many others, where we may haue oiles, and be better vsed then we are in Spaine, where we pay very deare, and also are very euill intreated many wayes, as to you is not vnknowen. So that by these meanes (if the marchants will) we may be eased, and haue such a trade as the like is not in Christendome. Now, as for getting the safeconduct, if I were but able to spend one hundred pounds by the yeere, I would be bound to lose it, if that I did not obtaine the foresayd safeconduct. For I know that if the inhabitants of Chio did but thinke that wee would trade thither againe, they at their owne cost would procure to vs a safeconduct, without any peny of charges to the marchants. So that if the marchants will but beare my charges to solicit the cause, I will vndertake it my selfe. Wherefore I pray you speake to M. Winter and the other marchants, that this matter may take effect. And let me haue your answere herein assoone as conueniently you may, for that the time of the yeere draweth nigh that this businesse must be done. Thus I commit you to God, and rest alwayes yours to command.

Yours as your seruant Gaspar Campion.

The first voyage of Robert Baker (to Guinie), with the Minion, and Primrose, set out in October, 1562. by Sir William Garrard, Sir William Chester, M. Thomas Lodge, Anthony Hickman, and Edward Castelin.

AS men whose heads be fraught
with care, haue seldom rest:
(For through the head the body strait
with sorowes is opprest:)
So I that late on bed
lay wake, for that the watch
Pursued mine eye, and causde my hed
no sleepe at all to catch:
To thinke vpon my chaunce
which hath me now betide:
To lie a prisoner here in France,
for raunsome where I bide:
And feeling still such thoughts
so thicke in head to runne,
As in the sommer day the moats
doe fall into the Sunne,
To walke then vp I rose,
fansie to put to flight:
And thus a while I doe purpose
to passe away the night.
* Morpheus I perceiu'd
had small regarde of me,

---

*The God of sleepe.

Therefore I should be but deceiu'd
on bed longer to lie.
And thus without delay
rising as voide of sleepe,
I horned Cynthia sawe streight way
in at my grate to peepe:
Who passing on her way,
eke knowing well my case,
How I in darke dungeon there lay
alwayes looking for grace:
To me then walking tho
in darke withouten light,
She wipte her face, and straight did show
the best countnance she might:
Astonneth eke my head
and senses for a space,
And olde fansies away now fled
she putteth new in place.
Then leaning in my grate
wherein full bright she shinde,
And viewing her thus on her gate
she mazeth streight my minde:
And makes me thinke anon
how oft in Ginnie lande
She was my friend, when I haue gone
all night vpon the sande,
Walking and watching efte
least any boate or ship
At any time, while we had slept
perhaps by vs might slip.
And streight with ardent fire
my head inflameth shee,
Eke me inspires with whole desire
to put in memorie,
Those daungers I haue bid
and Laberinth that I
Haue past without the clue of threede,
eke harder ieopardie.
I then gin take in hand

---

* The Moone.

straight way to put in rime,
Such trauell, as in Ginnie lande
I haue past in my time.
But hauing writte a while
I fall faint by the way,
And eke at night I lothe that stile
which I haue writte that day.
And thinke my doings then
vnworthy sure, to be
Set forth in print before all men,
for euery one to see.
Eke with dispaire therefore
my pen I cast away,
And did intende this neuer more
hereafter to assay.
My fellow prisoner then
* sir Edward Gages sonne
Willes me to take againe my pen
and ende that I begonne.
By this our friends (sayth he)
shall right well vnderstande
And knowe the great trauels that we
haue past in Heathen lande.
Take pen therefore againe
in hande, I you require,
And thinke (saith he) thereof no paine
to graunt this my desire.
Then once againe my hed
my hande a worke doth sette:
But first I fall vpon my bed
and there deepe sighes I fette,
To see that this to taske
is giuen me silly wight:
And of Minerua helpe I aske
that she me teach aright.
Helpe now without delay,
helpe, helpe, ye Muses nine,
O Cleo, and Calliope,
shew me how to define

---

* Sir Edward Gages sonne, whose name was George Gage.

In condigne stile and phrase
eche thing in euery line,
To you I giue loe all the praise
the trauell only mine.
Giue eare then ye that long
to know of my estate,
Which am in France in prison strong
as I wrote home of late:
Against all lawe or right
as I doe thinke in deede,
* Sith that the warre is ended quite,
and pease is well agreed
Yet least perchaunce you might
much maruell, how that I
Into a Frenchmans powre should light
In prison here to lie:
Giue now attentiue heede,
a straunge tale gin I tell,
How I this yeare haue bene besteede,
scaping the gates of hell,
More harde I thinke truly,
in more daunger of life,
Than olde Orpheus did when he
through hell did seeke his wife,
Whose musike so did sounde
in pleasant play of string,
That Cerberus that hellish hounde
(who as the poets sing
Hauing three huge heads great,
which doe continually
Still breath out firy flames of heate
most horrible to see)
Did giue him leaue to passe
in at the gates of Hell:
Of which gate he chiefe porter was
the Poets thus me tell.
And how he past alone
through great king Plutos Court
† Yea ferried ouer with Charon

---

* The warre at Newe hauen.
† Caron passenger of Hell.

and yet he did no hurt.
Well to my purpose now,
in Hell what hurt had hee ?
Perchance he might strange sights inow
and vgly spirits there see :
Perhaps eke Tantalus,
there making of his mone,
Who staru'd always : and Sysiphus
still rolling vp the stone.
Yet Orpheus passed by,
and went still on his way,
There was no torment came him nigh
or heate to make him stay.
And I a Gods name woulde
at hazarde play my life
In Guinie lande, to seeke for golde,
as Orpheus sought his wife.
At which saide lande of Guinie *
I was eke once before,
And scapt the death as narrowly
As Orpheus did and more.
Which first ill lucke will I
recite, then iudge you plaine,
If loue plagued me not now rightly
this yeare to goe againe.
The other yeere before
when Neptune vs had brought
Safely vnto that burning shore,
for which so long we sought,
One day when shippe was fast
in sea at anker holde,
The sailes vpfirll'd, all businesse past
the boteswaine then I tolde,
That he forthwith shoulde see
the small pinnesse well mande,
Eke all things therin prest to be
that we shoulde haue a lande,
And gunner see that ye
want not bowe, pike, or bill.

---

* His first voyage 1562.

Your ordinance well primed be
with lintstocks burning still.
With merchandize a shore,
we hied to traffike then,
Making the sea fome vs before,
by force of nine good men.
And rowing long, at last
a riuer we espie,
In at the which we bare full fast
to see what there might be.
And entring in, we see
a number of blacke soules,
Whose likelinesse seem'd men to be,
but as blacke as coles.
Their Captaine comes to me
as naked as my naile,
Not hauing witte or honestie
to couer once his taile.
By which I doe here gesse
and gather by the way,
That he from man and manlinesse
was voide and cleane astray.
And sitting in a trough,
a boate made of a logge,
The very same wherein you know
we vse to serue a hogge,
Aloofe he staide at first,
put water to his cheeke,
A signe that he would not vs trust
vnlesse we did the like.
That signe we did likewise,
to put him out of feare,
And shewd him much braue marchandise
to make him come vs neare.
The wilde man then did come,
by signes nowe crieth the fiend
Of those gay things to giue him some
and I should be his friend.
I traffikt there that time
for such things as they had,
At night to ship I caried him,

where I with clothes him clad,
Yea, made him there good cheere,
and he by signes againe
Tolde vs that he would fraight vs then
after a day or twaine.
And eene thus as we were
in talke, looking about,
Our boate he sawe with wares that there
was tied at sterne without :
Which boate he viewing still,
as then well stuft with ware.
We thinking he had ment no ill,
had thereof little care.
And the next morne, againe
we caried him a shore,
Eke bartred there that day with them
as we had done before.
But when Phœbus began
somewhat for to draw neare
To Icarus his Court, the sonne
of Dedalus most deare,
(Whose chaunce it is to dwell
amids the Ocean flood,
Because that he obseru'd not well
his fathers counsell good)
We then with saile and ore
to ship began to hie,
That we might fetch aboorde, before
the day had lost his eye.
To ship we come at last,
which rid foure leagues from shore
Refresht vs after trauaile past
taken that day before.
Then, as it was our guise,
our boate at sterne we tie,
Eke therin leaue our marchandise,
as they were wont to be.
With troughes then two or three *
this Captaine comes by night

---

* The theft of the Negroes.

Aboord our boate, where he with wares
 himselfe now fraighteth quight.
The watch now hearing this,
 the boate they hal'd vp fast:
But gone was all the marchandise,
 and they escapte and past.
The next morne then by day
 againe we went to shore,
Amends to haue for that which they
 had stolne the night before.
But all in vaine was it,
 our signes were now too bad,
They would not vnderstand a whit
 of any thing they had.
But as though they had wrong *
 for to reuenged be,
As we row'd downe the streame along
 after comes hee and hee.
A hundred boats come fro
 the steremost towne I say,
At least meets vs as many mo
 before, to make vs stay.
In euery boat two men,
 and great long targets twaine:
Most of their darts had long strings then
 to picke and pull againe.
Now gunners to your charge,
 giue fier all arow,
Ech slaue for feare forsakes his barge,
 and ducks in water low.
We downe the streame amaine
 do row to get the sea,
They ouertake vs soone againe,
 and let vs of our way.
Then did the slaues draw neere,
 with dart and target thicke,
With diuelish fixed eyes they peere
 where they their darts may sticke.
Now Mariners do push
 with right good will the pike,

---

* A conflict betweene the Negros and our men.

The haileshot of the harquebush
  The naked slaue doth strike.
Through targe and body right
  that downe he falleth dead
His fellow then in heauie plight,
  doth swimme away afraid.
To bathe in brutish bloud,
  then fleeth the graygoose wing,
The halberders at hand be good,
  and hew that all doth ring.
Yet gunner play thy part,
  make haileshot walke againe,
And fellowes row with like good heart
  that we may get the maine.
Our arrowes all now spent,
  the Negroes gan approach :
But pikes in hand already hent
  the blacke beast fast doth broch.
Their captaine being wood,
  a villaine long and large,
With pois'ned dart in hand doth shroud
  himselfe vnder his targe.
And hard aboord he comes
  to enter in our boat,
Our maisters mate, his pike eftsoones
  strikes through his targe and throat.
The capteine now past charge
  of this brutish blacke gard,
His pike he halde backe which in targe
  alas was fixed hard :
And wresting it with might,
  to pull it forth in hast,
A deadly dart strikes him too right
  and in his flesh sticks fast,
He stands still like a man,
  and shrinkes not once therefore,
But strikes him with his owne dart then
  which shot at him before.
Then presse they on, and shake
  their darts on euery side,
Which in our flesh doth light, and make

both deadly wounds and wide.
The gunner in that stound
with two darts strooke at last,
Shrinks not yet though the double wound
with streames of bloud out brast.
And eke the maisters mate,
of stomacke bolde and stout,
For all his wound receiu'd of late,
yet stirred not a foot.
But kept his standing still,
till that a deathful dart
Did strike him through the ribs so ill
that scarce it mist his hart.
The dart out hal'd quickly,
his guts came out withall,
And so great streames of bloud that he
for faintnesse downe gan fall.
The Negros seeing this,
how he for dead doth lie,
Who erst so valiant prou'd iwis,
they gladly shout and crie :
And then do minde as there
to enter in his place,
They thinke so many wounded were
the rest would yeld for grace.
We then stand by the pike,
and foure row on our boat,
Their darts among vs fast they strike
that few were free I wot.
In legge and eke in thigh,
some wounded eke in th'arme,
Yea many darts stucke vs hard by,
that mist and did no harme.
By little thus at last,
in great danger of life
We got the sea, and almost past
the danger erst so rife.
Then gin they all retire
sith all their darts were spent
They had nought to reuenge their ire,
and thus away they went.

Our boat to ship doth roe,
where two ores make soft way
Sixe of vs nine were wounded so,*
the seuenth for dead there lay.
Lo, heare how cruelly
the fiends ment vs to kill,
Causelesse you see, if they truly
on vs might had their will.
And yet we gaue before
much merchandize away,
Among those slaues, thinking therefore
to haue friendship for aye.
And Orpheus past I wot
the passage quietly,
Among the soules in Charons boat,
and yet to say truly
I neuer read that he
paid for his passage there,
Who past and repast for to see
if that his wife there were.
Nor yet that he paid ought,
or any bribe there gaue
To any office, while he sought
his wife againe to haue.
Whereby I surely gesse
these men with whom that we
Haue had to do, are fiends more fierce
then those in hell that be.
Well we now scaping thus
the danger I haue tolde,
Aboord we come, where few of vs
could stand now being colde.
Our wounds now being drest,
to meat went they that list,
But I desired rather rest,
for this in minde I wist.
That if I might get once
a sleepe that were full sound,
I should not feele my weary bones
nor yet my smarting wound.

---

* Sixe of our men wounded.

And lying long aloft
  vpon my bed in paine,
Vnto Morpheus call'd I oft
  that he would not disdaine
To heare me then poore wight,
  but sende me helpe with speed
That I might haue good rest this night
  of which I had great need.
Me thought then by and by,
  there hung a heauie waight,
At ech eye lid, which clos'd mine eye
  and eke my head was fraight.
And being streight a sleepe,
  I fell into a sweauen,
That of my wound I tooke no keepe
  I dream'd I was in heauen.
Where as me thought I see
  god Mars in armor bright,
His arming sword naked holdes he
  in hand, ready to fight.
Castor and Pollux there
  all complet stand him by,
Least if that Mars conuinced were
  they might reuenged be.
Then came marching along
  the great blacke smith Vulcan,
Hauing a staffe of yron strong,
  and thus at last began :
O Mars, thou God of might,
  what is the cause that thou
Hast chaleng'd me with thee to fight?
  lo present am I now.
Wherefore if that thou hast
  any great grudge to me,
Before this day be spent and past
  it shall reuenged be.
Then spake god Mars and said,
  for that thou churlish wight,
Thy brutish blacke people hast made
  with those white men to fight
Which cal'd on me for aid,

I bid thee warre for this.
Then answered Vulcan straight and said
that that coast sure was his.
And therefore he would still
his blacke burnt men defend,
And if he might, all other kill
which to that coast did wend,
Yea thus (said he) in boast
that we his men had slaine,
And ere that we should passe this coast
he would vs kill againe.
Now marcheth Mars amaine
and fiercely gins to fight,
The sturdie smith strikes free againe
whose blowes dint where they light.
But Iupiter that sat
in his great royall throne
Hearing this noise maruell'd thereat,
and streightway sendeth one
To know the cause thereof:
but hearing them in fight,
Commandeth them for to leaue off
by vertue of his might,
And of Vulcan demands
the cause: then answered he,
O mightie Ioue whose power commands
and rules all things that be,
Who at a word hast power
all things to destroy cleane,
And in the moment of an houre,
canst them restore againe,
The same God licence me
to speake now here my minde:
It is not, Ioue, vnknowne to thee,
how that I was assign'd,
And pointed king of most
of all the Ginnie land,
A people lo is on my coast
which doth me now withstand.
They do my people strike,
they do this day them kill,

To whom I minde to do the like
 if I may haue my will.
Then Iupiter bespake :
 O Vulcan then said he,
Let this thy rage and anger slake
 for this time presently,
But if at any time
 these men chance there againe,
Doe as thou list, the charge is thine
 I will not meddle then.
I know them well (said he)
 these men need not to seeke,
They haue so fruitfull a countrey
 that there is none the like.
But if they can not be
 therewith content, but still
Will seeke for golde so couetously
 worke then with them thy will.
And therewith straight doth send
 a pursuiuant in post,
To whom (saith he) see that thou wend
 vnto the windie coast,
To Eolus, the king
 command him thus from me,
That he straight way without lingring
 do set at libertie,
His seruant Zephirus,
 which now is lockt so low,
Eke that he do command him thus,
 that he straight way do go
To Vulcans coast in hast,
 a ship where he shall finde,
Which ship he must with gentle blast
 and eke with moderate winde,
Conduct safe to that coast
 which Albion was hight,
And that no stormes do them withstand
 by day or eke by night.
I sleeping all this space,
 as it were in a trance,
The noise of them that hail'd apace

did waken me by chance.
Then looking out to know
what winde did blow in skie,
The maister straight came to me tho
and thus said by and by.
All our ill lucke is past,
we haue a merie winde,
I hope England, if this winde last,
yet once againe to finde.
When this I vnderstand,
to loue I vowed then,
Forswearing cleane the Ginnie land
for comming there againe.
And passing on in post
with fauourable windes,
We all arriu'd on Englands coast
with passing cheerefull mindes.

The second voyage to Guinie, and the riuer of Sesto, set out in the Moneth of Nouember 1563, by Sir William Gerrard, Sir William Chester, Sir Thomas Lodge, Maister Beniamin Gonston, Maister William Winter, Maister Lionel Ducket, Anthonie Hickman, and Edward Castelin, with two ships, the one called the Iohn Baptist, wherein went for Maister, Laurence Rondell: and the other the Marlin, wherein went also for Maister, Robert Reuell, hauing for Factors, Robert Baker, Iustinian Goodwine, Iames Gleidell, and George Gage: and written in verse by the foresaid Robert Baker.

YOu heard before, that home I got
from Ginnie at the last,
But by and by, I quite forgot
the sorrowes I had past.
And ships rigged also,
with speed to ship againe,
I being then requir'd to go,
did not denie them plaine,
But granted them to go,
vnhappie foolish wight,
When they command, eke there to do
the best seruice I might.

In fine, to go our way
now serueth time and tide,
We hauing nothing vs to stay,
what should we longer bide?
The hempen band with helpe
of Mariners doth threat
To wey and reare that slouthfull whelpe*
vp from his mothers teat.
The Maister then gan cheere
with siluer whistle blast
His Mariners, which at the Ieere
are laboring wondrous fast.
Some other then againe,
the maineyard vp to hoise,
The hard haler doth hale a maine,
while other at a trice
Cut saile without delay:
the rest that be below,
Both sheats abaft do hale straitway
and boleins all let go.
The Helme a Mariner
in hand then strait way tooke,
The Pilot eke what course to stir
within his care did looke.
Againe with siluer blast,
the Maister doth not faile,
To cause his mates fortwith in hast
abroad to put more saile.
We then lanch from the shore,
sith warre we knew it right,
And kept in sea aloofe therefore
two dayes and eke a night.
And, as it is the guise,
to toppe a man we send,
Who straight a saile or two espies,
with whom we then do wend.
Aloofe would some with one,
and roomeward would the rest:
But with the tallest ship we gone,
whom we thinke to be best.

---

* The anker.

At last, in comming neere
  as captaines vse to do,
I hale them, and of whence they were
  I did desire to know :
Of France when they had said,
  we weaued them a maine,
But they nothing therewith dismaid
  did like to vs againe.
We then our selues aduant
  through hope of purchase here,
Amaine say we, ye iolly gallant
  or you shall buie it deere.
To arme the maine top tho
  the boatswaine goeth eke,
His mate to the foretop also
  makes hast to do the like.
To top both stones and darts
  good fellowes hoise apace :
The quarter maisters with glad hearts
  do know ech one his place.
Our topsailes strike we tho
  and fit our sailes to fight,
Our bulwarke at maine mast also
  is made likewise aright.
Vpon our poope eke then
  right subtilly we lay
Pouder, to blow vp all such men,
  as enter theraway.
Our Trumpetter aloft
  now sounds the feats of war,
The brasen pieces roring oft
  fling forth both chain and bar.
Some of the yardes againe
  do weaue with naked swoord,
And crying loud to them amaine
  they bid vs come aboord.
To bath hir feet in bloud
  the graigoose fleeth in hast :
And Mariners as Lions wood,
  do crie abrood as fast.
Now firie Faulkons flie

right greedie of their pray,
And kils at first stone dead truely
ech thing within their way.
Alarme ye now my mates I say,
see that ye nothing lacke,
At euery loope then gins straightway
a harquebush to cracke.
Their saile to burne, we shoot
our arrowes of wilde fire,
And pikes burning therewith about
lads tosse with like desire.
Eke straightway forth for wine
the steward call I then,
With fiery spice enough therein
I drinke vnto my men,
And then euen with a woord
our lime pot prest to fall,
This iolly gallant we clap aboord
and enter him withall.
Their nettings now gan teare
with dint of heauie stone,
And some mens heads witnesse did beare
who neuer could make mone.
The harquebush acroke
which hie on top doth lie,
Discharg'd full of haileshot doth smoke
to kill his enemie.
Which in his enemies top
doth fight, there it to keepe,
Yet he at last a deadly lope
is made from thence to lepe.
Then entreth one withall
into this Frenchman's top,
Who cuts ech rope, and makes to fall
his yard, withouten stop.
Then Mariners belowe,
as carelesse of the pike,
Do hew, and kill still as they goe,
and force not where they strike.
And still the trumpets sound
with pleasant blast doth cheare

Ech Mariner, so in that stound
  that they nothing did feare.
The Maister then also,
  his mates to cheare in fight,
His Whistle chearefully doth blow,
  whereby strait euery wight
So fierce begins to be,
  that Frenchmen gin to stoe,
And English men as right worthy
  do catch for pillage tho.
What would you more I say
  but tell the truth alway :
We vsde our matters so this day
  we caried him away,
Vnto a port in Spaine,
  which sure is call'd the Groine,
Whereas we for French lading plaine
  receiued readie coine.
Well thus this good lucke past,
  we through salt Seas did scoure,
To Ginney coast eke come at last,
  O that vnhappie houre.
My hand alas for feare
  now shakes, of this to write,
Mine eye almost full fraught with teare,
  eke lets me to indite.
What should I here recite
  the miserie I had,
When none of you will scarce credit
  that ere it was so bad ?
Well, yet I would assay
  to let it, if I might,
But O Minerua, helpe me aye,
  my wits astond be quite.
Yea helpe, ye muses nine,
  lot no thought me withstand,
Aid me this thing well to define,
  which here I take in hand.
Well, thus it fortuned tho,
  in Ginney now arriu'd,
Nine men in boat to shoe we go,

where we traffike espide,
And parting at midday
from ship, on good intent
In hope of traffike there I say
to shore away we went.
Our ships then riding fast
in sea at anker bight,
We minded to dispatch in hast,
eke to returne that night.
But being hard by land,
there suddenly doth rise
A mightie winde, wherewith it raind
and thundred, in such wise,
That we by shore did ride,
where we best Port might finde,
Our ships we thinke from anker slide,
a trice before the winde.
This night Vulcan begins
on vs reueng'd to be,
And thunderbolts about he flings
most terrible to see,
Admixt with fierie flame
which cracks about our eares.
And thus gins he to play his game,
as now to him appeares.
He Eolus hath feed
herein to be his friend,
And all the whirling windes with speed
among vs doth he send.
Thus hard by shore we lay,
this wet and weary night,
But on next morne and all the day
of ship we had no sight.
For Vulcan all this night
from fierie forge so fast
Sent thunder bolts with such great light,
that when the night was passed,
The next day there remaind
so great smoke all about,
Much like a mist, eke therewith raine,
that we were wet throughout.

And thus in smoke mindes he
to part vs from our ship :
Thus nere a one ech other see,
and so haue we the slip.
Our ships then backe againe,
thinking we were behinde,
Do saile by shore a day or twaine
in hope there vs to finde.
And we the contrary,
do row along the shore
Forward thinking our ships to be
still sailing vs before.
They sailing thus two dayes or three,
and could not finde vs than
Do thinke in that foule night we
were drowned euery man.
Our ship then newes doth beare.
when she to England wends
That we nine surely drowned were,
and thus doth tell our friends :
While we thus being lost,
aliue in miserie
Do row in hope yet on this coast,
our ships to finde truly.
Well thus one day we spent,
the next and third likewise,
But all in vaine was our intent,
no man a saile espies :
Three dayes be now cleane past
since any of vs nine,
Of any kinde of food hath tast,
and thus gan we to pine,
Till at the last bare need
bids vs hale in with land,
That we might get some root or weed
our hunger to withstand :
And being come to shore,
with Negros we intreat,
That for our wares which we had there
they would giue vs to eat.
Then fetch they vs of roots,

and such things as they had,
We gaue to them our wares to boote
and were thereof right glad.
To sea go we againe,
in hope along the shore,
To finde our ships, yet thinking plaine
that they had beene before.
And thus with saile and ore
twelue dayes we went hard by
The strange vncomfortable shore
where we nothing espie,
But all thicke woods and bush
and mightie wildernesse,
Out of the which oft times do rush
strange beasts both wilde and fierse,
Whereof oft times we see,
at going downe of Sunne,
Diuers descend in companie,
and to the sea they come.
Where as vpon the sand
they lie, and chew the cud:
Sometime in water eke they stand
and wallow in the floud.
The Elephant we see,
a great vnweldie beast,
With water fils his troonke right hie
and blowes it on the rest.
The Hart I saw likewise
delighted in the soile,
The wilde Boare eke after his guise
with snout in earth doth moile.
A great strange beast also,
the Antelope I weene
I there did see, and many mo,
which erst I haue not seene.
And oftentimes we see
a man a shore or twaine,
Who strait brings out his Almadie
and rowes to vs a maine.
Here let we anker fall,
of wares a shew we make,

We bid him choose among them all,
what wares that he will take
To bring to vs some fish,
and fresh water therefore,
Or else of meat some daintie dish,
which their cookes dresse ashore.
They bring vs by and by
great roots and beries eke,
Which grow vpon the high palme tree,
such meat as they do like.
We drinke eke of their wine
much like our whey to see :
Which is the sappe as I haue seene
that runnes out of a tree.
Thus do they bring ech thing
which they thinke to be good,
Sometime wilde hony combes they bring
Which they finde in the wood,
With roots and baggage eke
our corps we thus sustaine
From famine though it be so weake,
that death was figured plaine
In euery ioynt for lacke
of sustenance and rest.
That still we thinke our hearts would breake
with sorrowes so opprest.
We now alongst the coast
haue saild so many a mile,
That sure we be our ships be lost,
what should we do this while?
In Heathen land we be,
impossible it is
That we should fetch our owne countrey
in such a boat as this.
We now gan to perceiue
that wee had ouerpast
The Melegate coast so much,
that we were come at last
Vnto the coast of Myne,
for Niegros came aboord
With weights to poise their golde so fine,

yea speaking euery word
In Portugesse right well
demanding traffike there ?
If we had any wares to sell,
and where our ships then were ?
We answered them againe,
we had two ships at sea,
The which would come trafike with them
we thought within a day.
The cause why we thus said,
was hope to be well vsde :
But seeing this, as men dismaid
away we went and musde
Whither our ships were gone,
what way were best for vs :
Shall we here perish now saith one ?
no, let vs not do thus :
We see all hope is past
our ships to finde againe,
And here our liues do shorten fast
in miserie and paine :
For why the raging heat
of Sunne, being so extreme,
Consumes our flesh away in sweat,
as dayly it is seene.
The Ternados againe
so often in a weeke,
With great lightnings, thunder and raine
with such abundance eke,
Doe so beat vs by night,
that we sleepe not at all,
Whereby our strength is vaded quite.
no man an ore can hale.
How hard liue we, alas ?
three whole dayes oft be past,
Ere we poore men (a heauie case)
of any thing doe tast.
These twentie dayes ye see,
we haue sit still ech one,
Which we do of necessitie,
for place to walke is none.

Our legs now vs deceiue,
  swolne euery ioint withall,
With this disease, which, by your leaue,
  the Scuruie men doe call.
We cannot long endure
  in this case as we be,
To leaue our boat I am right sure,
  compeld we must agree.
Three wayes for vs there is,
  and this is my request,
That we may of these three deuise,
  to choose thereof the best.
The Castle of the Mine
  is not farre hence, we know,
To morrow morne we there may be,
  if thither you will goe.
There Portingals do lie,
  are christened men they be :
If we dare trust their curtesie,
  the worst is hanging glee.
Our miserie may make
  them pitie vs the more,
Nine such yong men great pains would take
  for life to hale an ore.
Their Gallies may perhaps
  lacke such yong men as we,
And thus it may fall in our laps,
  all Galeyslaues to be,
During our life, and this,
  we shall be sure to haue,
Although we row, such meate as is
  the allowance of a slaue.
But here we rowe and sterue,
  our misery is so sore :
The slaue with meat inough they serue,
  that he may teare his ore.
If this you will not like.
  the next way is to goe :
Vnto the Negros, and to seeke
  what friendship they will shew.
But what fauour would ye

of these men looke to haue:
Who beastly sauage people be,
farre worse then any slaue?
If Cannibals they be
in kind, we doe not know,
But if they be, then welcome we,
to pot straight way we goe.
They naked goe likewise,
for shame we cannot so:
We cannot liue after their guise,
thus naked for to go.
By rootes and leaues they liue,
as beasts doe in the wood:
Among these heathen who can thriue,
with this so wilde a food?
The piercing heate againe,
that scorcheth with such strength,
Piercing our naked flesh with paine,
will vs consume at length.
The third and last is this,
(if those two you refuse)
To die in miserable wise,
here in the boate you chuse.
And this iudge by the way,
more trust is to be giuen,
Vnto the Portingals alway,
sith they be christned men,
Then to these brutish sort,
which beastly are ye see:
Who of our death will make a sport,
if Canibals they be.
We all with one consent,
now death despising plaine:
(Sith if we die as innocent,
the more it is our gaine)
Our sayle we hoyse in hast,
wih speed we mind to go
Vnto the castell, now not past
a twentie leagues vs fro.
And sayling all this day,
we spied late in the night,

And we past by thus on our way,
vpon the shore a light.
Then sayd our Boateswaine thus,
by this great light a shore,
Trafique there seemes, will you let vs
anker this night therefore,
And trie if we may get,
this next morning by day,
Some kind of food for vs to eate,
and then to goe our way?
We anker there that night,
the next morning to shore:
And in the place, where we the light
did see the night before,
A watch house now there stood,
vpon a rocke without:
Hard by a great blacke crosse of wood,
which putteth vs in doubt,
What place that this should be,
and looking to the shore,
A Castell there we gan espie,
this made vs doubt the more.
Wherein we saw did stand
a Portingall or twaine:
Who held a white flag in his hand,
and waued vs amaine.
Our flesh as fraile now shakes,
whereby we gan retire,
And he at vs a shot then makes,
a Negro giuing fire.
A piece discharged thus,
the hissing pellet lights,
I thinke within a yard of vs,
but none of vs it hits.
We wisht then we had there
a good ship, eke or twaine,
But helpelesse now, we rowe a shore
to know th' end of our paine.
The neerer that we went
to them vnto the shore,
To yeld our selues, as first we ment

they still did shoot the more.
Now Canons loud gan rore,
and Culuerins now crackt,
The Castell eke it thundred sore,
as though the wals were sackt.
Some shot doth light hard by,
some ouer vs againe :
But though the shot so thicke doth flie,
yet rowe we in a maine,
That now so neere we be
vnto the castell wall,
That none of them at vs we see,
can make a shot at all.
We ment a land to goe,
their curtesie to trie :
But from the wall great stones they throw,
and therewith by and by,
The Negros marching downe,
in battell ray do come,
With dart and target from the towne,
and follow all a dromme.
A bowe in hand some hent,
with poisn'd arrow prest,
To strike therewith they be full bent,
a pined English brest.
But stones come downe so fast
on vs on euery side,
We thinke our boats bottom would brast
if long we thus abide.
And arrowes flie so thicke,
hissing at euery eare,
Which both in clothes and flesh do sticke,
that we, as men past feare,
Cry now, Launch, launch in hast,
hale of the boate amaine :
Foure men in banke let them sit fast
and rowe to sea againe.
The other fiue like men,
do manfully in hand,
Take vp each kind of weapon then,
these wolues here to withstand.

A harquebush takes one,
another bends his bowe,
Among the slaues then downe fals one
and other hurt I trowe.
At those Portingals then shoot we,
vpon the Fort which stand,
In long fine white shirts as we see,
and lintstocks in their hand.
And of these shirts so white
we painted some full red,
Striking their open corps in sight,
with dint of arrow head.
For we sawe they had there
no Gallies vs to take,
Where threatnings them could vs not feare
or make vs once to shake.
Then Canons loud gan rore,
and pellets flie about,
And each man haleth his ore
and mooued not a foote.
Yea, though the poulder sent
the pellets thicke away,
Yet spite of them cleane through we went
at last, and got the sea,
And pieces charging fast,
they shot after vs so,
That wonder was it how we past
the furie of our foe,
The pinned arme felt not
as now, the heauie ore :
With foure such ores was neuer boat,
I thinke, row'd so before.
To seaward scaping so,
three Negroes we see there,
Came rowing after vs to know,
what countrey men we were ?
We answered Englishmen,
and that thither we came,
With wares to trafique there with them,
if they had meant the same.
They Portuguse doe speake

right naturall iwis :
And of our ship to know they seeke,
how big and where she is.
We answered them again,
we had two ships at sea,
Right well appointed full of men,
that streight would take their way
Along the coast for gold,
they tarry but for vs,
Which came with wares there to haue sold
but that they vs'd vs thus.
Then gan they vs to pray,
if we lackt any thing,
To anker there all that whole day,
and they to vs would bring
All things that we doe want,
they sory say they be :
But we their words yet trusting scant,
refuse their curtesie.
We aske them of this hold
what place that it should be,
Then they againe thus straight vs told
that Portingals there lie.
And how that point they sayd,
which there hard by we see,
Was one of Cape three points that lay
the Westernmost of three.
Withouten further speech,
we hoise our saile to sea :
Minding a friendlier place to seech,
and thus we part our way.
We mind truly to prooue
the Portingals no more :
But now t'assay rather what loue
Negroes will shew a shore.
We then with saile and ore,
went backe againe in hast :
A thirtie leagues I thinke, and more
from thence where we were chast.
And here we anker fall,
aboord the Negros come :

We gaue gay things vnto them all,
  and thus their hearts we wonne.
At last aboord comes one,
  that was the kings chiefe sonne :
To whom by signes I made great mone,
  how that I was vndone,
Had lost our ships, and eke
  were almost staru'd for meate,
And knew not where our ships to seeke,
  or any thing to eate.
I offred him our wares,
  and bid him take them all :
But he perceiuing now the teares,
  which from our eyes did fall,
Had great pitie on vs,
  and sayd he would haue nought,
But streight by signes he will'd vs then,
  that we should take no thought.
As one whom God has sent,
  and kept for vs in store,
To know in hast away he went,
  the Kings pleasure on shore.
And came foorthwith againe,
  yea, bade vs come a land :
Whereof God knowes we were ful faine,
  when this we vnderstand.
Each man bankes to his ore,
  to hale the boate a land :
Where as we see vpon the shore,
  fiue hundred Negros stand.
Our men rowing in a maine,
  the billow went so hie,
That straight a waue ouerwhelms vs cleane
  and there in sea we lie.
The Negros by and by,
  came swimming vs to saue :
And brought vs all to land quickly,
  not one durst play the knaue.
The Kings sonne after this,
  a stout and valiant man,
In whom I thinke Nature iwis,

hath wrought all that she can,
He then I say commaunds
them straight to saue our boate,
To worke forthwith goe many hands,
and bring the same a floate.
Some swimme to saue an ore,
some diue for things be lost:
I thinke there helpe to hale a shore
fiue hundred men almost.
Our boate thus halde vp drie,
all things streight way were brought
The which we mist or could espie,
no man that durst keepe ought.
Then vs they led away,
knowing we wanted meate,
And gaue to us, euen such as they
themselues do daily eate.
Was neuer Owle in wood
halfe so much wondered at,
As we were then poore men, alas,
which there among them sat.
We feared yet our part,
and wisht a moneth were past,
For each man there went with his dart,
which made vs oft agast.
We lay vpon the ground,
with them there all that night:
But fearing still a deadly wound,
we could not sleepe a whit.
Two dayes thus past we well,
no man vs offred wrong:
The cause thereof I gin you tell,
they thought this them among:
Our ships had bene at sea,
and would come there before
Two dayes, to fetch vs thence away,
and giue them wares good store.
But when they thus heare tell
how that our ships be lost,
And that we know not very well,
when ships will come to coast:

They then waxe wearie streight,
and they which did before
At sundry times giue vs to eate,
did giue vs now no more.
Our lowance waxt so small,
that neuer nine gesse,
Were seru'd the like, yet still withall,
it waxed lesse and lesse.
Some run now in the wood,
and there for rootes do seeke,
Base meat would here be counted good
too bad that we mislike
Our clothes now rot with sweat,
and from our backs do fall,
Saue that whom nature wils for shame,
we couer nought at all.
One runs to seeke for clay
to fashion straight a pot,
And hardens it in Sunne all day:
another faileth not
To fetch home wood for night,
and eke for fire sought,
That we our roots and things seeth might
if any home were brought.
The rest the wood doth seeke,
eke euery bush and tree
For berries and such baggage like,
which should seeme meate to bee.
Our fingers serue in steed,
both of pickaxe and spade,
To dig and pull vp euery weed,
that grew within the shade.
Eke diged for rootes the ground,
and searcht on euery brier
For berries, which if we had found,
then streight way to the fire:
Where we rost some of those,
the rest seeth in a pot,
And of this banket nought we lose,
nor fragment resteth not.
The night as beasts we lie

the bare hard earth vpon,
And round by vs a great fire light
to keepe wilde beasts vs from.
But what should I recite,
or couet to declare
My sorrowes past, or eke t'endite
of my hard Ginnie fare?
I cease here to enlarge
my miserie in that land,
A toy in head doth now me charge,
as here to hold my hand.
In fine, what would ye more,
the heat did so exceed,
That wanting cloths it scorcht so sore
no man could it abide.
The countrey eke so wilde,
and vnhealthfull withall,
That hungry stomacks neuer fill'd,
doth cause faint bodies fall.
Our men fall sicke apace,
and cherishing haue none:
That now of nine, within short space
we be left three alone,
Alas, what great agast
to vs three liuing yet,
Was it to see, that death so fast
away our fellowes fet?
And then to Ioue on hie
we call for helpe and grace,
And him beseech vnfainedly,
to fetch vs from this place.
From this wild heathen land,
to Christendome againe,
Or else to lay on vs his hand,
and rid vs from our paine.
Lest that we ouerprest
with too much miserie,
Perhaps as weake breake our behest
which we owe God on high.
And least we liuing here
among this heathen, might

Perchance for need do that which were
right hainous in his sight.
Well, to my purpose then,
when we to Ioue thus crie,
To helpe vs hence poore silly men
from this our miserie.
He hearing vs at length,
how we to him doe call,
He helps vs with his wonted strength,
and straight thither withall,
A French ship sends at last,
with whom we three go hence:
But six in earth there lie full fast,
and neuer like come thence.
This Frenchman as I say,
through salt and surging seas,
Vs brought from Ginnie land, away
to France, the Lord we praise.
And warre he proues it plaine
when we entered his ship,
A prisner therefore I remaine,
and hence I cannot slip
Till that my ramsome be
agreed vpon, and paid,
Which being leuied yet so hie,
no agreement cant be made.
And such is lo my chance,
the meane time to abide
A prisner for ransome in France,
till God send time and tide.
From whence this idle rime
to England I doe send:
And thus till I haue further time,
this Tragedie I end.

R. Baker.

◆

The voyage of M. Roger Bodenham with the great Barke Aucher to Candia and Chio, in the yeere 1550.

IN the yeere 1550. the 13 of Nouember I Roger Bodenham Captaine of the Barke Aucher entered the said ship at Grauesend, for my voiage to the Ilands of Candia and Chio in the Leuant. The master of my ship was one William Sherwood. From thence we departed to Tilbery hope, and there remained with contrarie windes vntill the 6. of Ianuarie, 1551. The 6 of Ianuary, the M. came to Tilbery, and I had prouided a skilfull pylot to cary me ouer the lands end, whose name was M. Wood, and with all speede I valed downe that night 10 miles to take the tide in the morning, which happily I did, and that night came to Douer, and there came to an anker, and there remained vntill Tuesday, meeting with the worthy knight sir Anthony Aucher owner of the saide ship.

The Barke Aucher goeth for Leuant.

The 11 day we arriued in Plimoth, and the 13 in the morning we set forward on our voyage with a prosperous winde, and the 16 we had sight of Cape Finister on the coast of Spaine.

The 30 we arriued at Cades, and there discharged certaine marchandise, and tooke others aboord.

The 20 of February we departed from Cades, and passed the straights of Gibraltar that night, and the 25 we came to the Ile of Mallorca, and staied there fiue daies with contrary windes.

Mallorca.

The first of March, we had sight of Sardenna, and the fift of the said month wee arriued at Messina in Sicilia, and there discharged much goods, and remained there vntill good Fryday in Lent.

The chiefe marchant that landed the sayd Barke Aucher was a marchant stranger called Anselm Saluago, and because the time was then very dangerous, and on going into Leuant, especially to Chio, without a safe conduct from the Turke, the said Anselm promised the owner Sir Anthony Aucher, that we should receiue the same at Messina. But I was posted from thence to Candia, and there I was answered that I should send to Chio, and there I should haue my safe conduct. I was forced to send one, and hee had his answere that the Turke would giue none, willing me to looke what was best for me to doe, which was no small trouble to me, considering I was bound to deliuer the goods that were in the ship at Chio, or send them at mine aduenture. The marchants without care of the losse of the ship would haue compelled me to goe, or send their goods at mine aduenture, the which I denied, and sayd plainely I would not goe, because the Turkes gallies were come foorth to go against Malta, but by the French kings means, he was perswaded to leaue Malta, and to goe to Tripoly in Barbary, which by the French he wan. In this time there were in Candia certaine Turkes vessels called Skyrasas, which had brought wheat thither to sell, and were ready to depart for Turkie. And they departed in the morning be times, carying newes that I would not goe foorth: the same night I prepared beforehande what I thought good, without making any man priuie, vntill I sawe time. Then I had no small businesse to cause my mariners to venture with the ship in such a manifest danger. Neuerthelesse I wan them to goe all with me, except three which I set on land, and with all diligence I was readie to set foorth about eight of the clocke at night, being a faire moone shine night, and went out. Then my 3 marriners made such requests vnto the rest of my men to come aborde, as I was constrained to take them in. And so with good wind we put into the Archipelago, and being among the Ilands the winde scanted, and I was forced to anker at an Iland called Micone, where I taried 10 or 12 daies, hauing a Greeke Pilot to carrie the ship to Chio. In this meane season, there came many small botes with mysson sayles to go for Chio, with diuerse goods to sell, and the Pilot requested me that I would let them goe in my company, to which I yeelded. After the sayd dayes expired, I wayed and set saile for the Iland of Chio, with which place I fel in the after noone, whereupon I cast to seaward againe to come with the Iland in the morning betimes. The foresaid smal vessels which came in my company, departed from me to win the shore, to get in y^t^ night, but vpon a sudden they espied 3 foystes of Turkes comming vpon them to spoyle them. My Pilot, hauing a sonne in one of those small vessels, entreted me to cast about towards them, which at his request I did, and being something farre from them, I caused my Gunner to shoot a demycoluering at a foyst that was readie to enter one of the botes. That was so happy a shot, that it made the Turke to fall a sterne of the bote and to leaue him, by the which meanes hee escaped. Then they all came to me, and requested that they might hang at my sterne vntill day light, by which time I came before the Mole of Chio, and sent

The Turke prepareth an army to besiege Malta

The Barke Aucher at Milcone.

my bote on land to the marchants of that place to send for their goods out of hand, or else I would returne back with all to Candia, and they should fetch their goods there. But in fine, what by perswasion of my merchant English men, and those of Chio, I was entreated to come into the harbour, and had a safe assurance for 20 dayes against the Turkes army, with a bond of the citie in the summe of 12000 ducats. So I made hast and solde such goods as I had to Turkes that came thither, and put all in order, with as much speede as I could, fearing the comming of the Turkes nauie, of the which, the chiefe of the citie knew right wel. So vpon the sudden they called me of great friendship, and in secret told me, I had no way to saue my selfe but to be gone, for said they, we be not able to defend you, that are not able to help our selues, for the Turke where he commeth, taketh what he will, and leaueth what he list, but the chiefe of the Turkes set order yͭ none shal do any harme to the people or to their goods. This was such news to me, that indeed I was at my wits end, and was brought into many imaginations how to do, for that the winde was contrarie. In fine, I determined to goe foorth. But the marchants English men and other regarding more their gaines then the ship, hindred me very much in my purpose of going foorth, and made the marriners to come to me to demaund their wages to be payed them out of hande, and to haue a time to employ the same there. But God prouided so for me, that I paied them their money that night, and then charged them, that if they would not set the ship fooorth, I would make them to answere the same in England, with danger of their heads. Many were married in England, and had somewhat to loose, those did sticke to me. I had twelue gunners: the Master gunner who was a madde brayned fellow, and the owners seruant had a parlament betweene themselues, and he vpon the same came vp to me with his sword drawen, swearing that hee had promised the owner Sir Anthony Aucher, to liue and die in the sayde shippe against all that should offer any harme to the shippe, and that he would fight with the whole armie of the Turkes, and neuer yeelde: with this fellow I had much to doe, but at the last I made him confesse his fault and followe mine aduise. Thus with much labour I gat out of the Mole of Chio, into the sea by warping foorth, with the helpe of Genoueses botes, and a French bote that was in the Mole, and

The towne of Chio is bound in 12000 ducats for the safegard of the Barke Aucher.

The companie do murmure against their Captaine.

being out God sent mee a speciall gale of winde to goe my way. Then I caused a peece to be shotte off for some of my men that were yet in the towne, and with much a doe they came aboord, and then I set sayle a little before one of the clocke, and I made all the sayle I could, and about halfe an houre past two of the clocke there came seuen gallies into Chio to stay the shippe: and the admirall of them was in a great rage because she was gone. Whereupon they put some of the best in prison, and tooke all the men of the three ships which I left in the port, and put them into the Gallies. They would haue followed after mee, but that the townes men found meanes they did not. The next day came thither a hundred more of Gallies, and there taried for their whole companie, which being together were about two hundred and 50 sayle, taking their voyage for to surprise the Iland of Malta. The next day after I departed, I had the sight of Candia, but I was two dayes after or euer I could get in, where I thought my selfe out of their daunger. There I continued vntill the Turkes armie was past, who came within the sight of the towne. There was preparation made as though the Turks had come thither. There be in that Iland of Candia many banished men, that liue continually in the mountaines, they came down to serue, to the number of foure or fiue thousand, they are good archers, euery one with his bowe and arrowes, a sword and a dagger, with long haire, and bootes that reach vp to their grine, and a shirt of male, hanging the one halfe before, and the other halfe behinde, these were sent away againe assoon as the armie was past. They would drinke wine out of all measure. Then the armie being past, I laded my shippe with wines and other things; and so after I had that which I left in Chio, I departed for Messina. In the way I found about Zante, certaine Galliots of Turkes, laying abord of certaine vessels of Venice laden with Muscatels: I rescued them, and had but a barrell of wine for my powder and shot: and within a few dayes after I came to Messina. I had in my shippe a Spanish pilot called Noblezia, which I tooke in at Cades at my comming foorth: he went with me all this voyage into the Leuant without wages, of good will that he bare me and the shippe, he stoode me in good steede vntill I came backe againe to Cades, and then I needed no Pilot. And so from thence I came to London with the shippe and goods in safetie, God be praysed.

The Turkes Gallies come to seeke the Barke Aucher.

Fiue thousand banished men in Candia.

Master Richard Chancellour.

Master Mathew Baker.

And all those Mariners that were in my sayd shippe, which were, besides boyes, three score and tenne, for the most part were within fiue or sixe yeeres after, able to take charge, and did. Richard Chanceller, who first discouered Russia, was with me in that voyage, and Mathew Baker, who afterward became the Queenes Maiesties chiefe ship-wright.

Another discourse of the trade to Chio in the yeere 1569, made by Gaspar Campion, vnto master M. William Winter.

IT may please your worship to vnderstand, that as concerning the voyage to Chio, what great profit would be gotten, both for marchants, and also for owners of shippes (as it was well knowen in those dayes when the Matthew Gonson, the Trinitie Fitzwilliams, and the Sauiour of Bristow, with diuers other ships which traded thither yerely, and made their voyage in ten or twelue moneths, and the longest in a yeere) M. Francis Lambert, M. Iohn Brooke, and M. Drauer can truely informe you heereof at large. And by reason that wee haue not traded into those parts these many yeeres, and the Turke is growen mighty, whereby our ships doe not trade as they were woont, I finde that the Venetians doe bring those commodities hither, and doe sell them for double the value that we our selues were accustomed to fetch them. Wherefore, as I am informed by the aboue named men, that there is none so fit to furnish this voyage as your selfe: my request is that there may be a shippe of conuenient burthen prepared for this voyage, and then I will satisfie you at large what is to be done therein. And because the Turke, as I sayd before, is waxen strong, and hath put out the Christian rulers, and placed his owne subjects, we may doubt whether we may so peaceably trade thither as we were woont: therefore I dare vndertake to obtaine a safe-conduct, if my charges may be borne to goe and come. Of the way how this may be done, M. Locke can satisfie you at large. Moreouer, I can informe you more of the trade of that countrey, then any other, for that I haue bene in those parts these thirty yeeres, and haue bene married in the very towne of Chio full foure and twenty yeres. Furthermore, when one of our ships commeth thither, they bring at the least sixe or eight thousand carsies, so that the custome thereof is profitable for the prince, and the returne

Gaspar Campion maried in Chio 24 yeeres.

of them is profitable to the common people: for in barter of our wares, we tooke the commodities which the poore of that towne made in their houses: so that one of our shippes brought the prince and countrey more gaines than sixe ships of other nations. The want of this our trade thither was the onely cause why the Christian rulers were displaced: for when they payd not their yerely tribute, they were put out by force. Touching the ship that must go, she must obserue this order, she must be a ship of countenance, and she must not touch in any part of Spaine, for the times are dangerous, nor take in any lading there: but she must lade in England, either goods of our owne, or els of strangers, and go to Genoa or Legorno, where we may be wel intreated, and from thence she must make her money to buy wines, by exchange to Candia, for there both custome and exchange are reasonable: and not do as the Math. Gonson and other ships did in time past, who made sale of their wares at Messina for the lading of their wines, and payed for turning their white money into golde after foure and fiue in the hundredth, and also did hazzard the losse of shippe and goods by carrying away their money. Thus by the aforesayd course we shall trade quietly, and not be subiect to these dangers. Also from Legorno to Castilla de la mar, which is but 16 miles from Naples, and the ready way to Candia, you may lade hoopes, which will cost carolins of Naples 27 and a halfe the thousand, which is ducats two and a halfe of Spaine. And in Candia for euery thousand of hoops you shall haue a but of Malmesey cleare of all charges. Insomuch that a ship of the burden of the Mathew Gonson will cary foure hundredth thousand hoops, so that one thousand ducats will lade her, and this is an vsual trade to Candia, as M. Michael Locke can testifie. Furthermore, it is not vnknowen to you, that the oiles which we do spend in England for our cloth, are brought out of Spaine, and that very deare, and in England we cannot sell them vnder 28 pound and 30 pound the tunne: I say we may haue good oile, and better cheape in divers places within the streights. Wherefore if you thinke good to take this voyage in hand, I will informe you more particularly when you please. In the meane time I rest your worships to command.

Store of hoops laden at Castilla de la mare for Candia.

Yours at your pleasure Iasper Campion.

The true report of the siege and taking of Famagusta, of the antique writers called Tamassus, a city in Cyprus 1571. In the which the whole order of all the skirmishes, batteries, mines, and assaults giuen to the sayd fortresse, may plainly appeare. Englished out of Italian by William Malim.

To the right honourable and his singular good Lord, and onely Patron the Earle of Leicester, Baron of Denbigh, Knight of the honourable order of the Garter, one of the Queenes Maiesties most honourable priuy Councell &c. William Malim wisheth long health with increase of honour.

IT hath bene a naturall instinct (right honourable and mine especiall good lord (ingraffed in noble personages hearts, much approued and confirmed also by custome, for them to seeke from time to time, by some meanes in their life, by the which they after their death might deliuer ouer their name to their posteritie: least otherwise with their body, their fame also altogether might perchance be buried. Vpon the which consideration we reade many notable and famous things to haue bene erected in time past of noble personages (hauing had wealth at will) in such sort, that not onely certaine ruines of the same sumptuous works, builded so many hundred yeres past, do still remaine, but also the most part of those princes, the authours of them, do continually by them dwell in our memories. As the Pyramides made at Memphis, or neere the famous riuer of Nilus, by the great expenses of the kings of Egypt: the tower called Pharia, made in the Iland of Pharos by king Ptolomee: the walles of Babylon, made or at least reedified by queene Semiramis; Dianas church at Ephesus builded by all the noble persons of Asia; Mausolus toome or sepulchre, made by his wife queene of Caria: Colossus Solis placed at Rhodes, I remember not by what Princes charge, but made by the hands of Cares Lindius scholar to Lysippus: and the image of Iupiter, made of Yuory by the hands of the skilful workman Phydias. The which monuments made of barbarous and heathen Princes to redeeme themselues from oblivion deserued both for the magnificence, and perfect workmanship of the same, to be accounted in those dayes as the seuen woonders of the world. Since the which time, an easier, readier, and lighter way, being also of more continuance then the former, hath bene found out, namely, Letters, which were first inuented by the Caldies and Egyptians, as we reade, and augmented since by others, to our great benefit, and now last of all (no long time past) the same to haue bene committed to Printers presses, to the greatest perfection of the same; men being first inforced to write their actes and monuments in beasts skinnes dried, in barkes of trees, or otherwise perchance as vnreadily. By the which benefit of letters (now reduced into print) we see how easie a thing it is, and hath bene for noble persons, to liue for euer by the helpe of learned men. For the memory of those two woorthy and valiant captaines Scipio and Hannibal had bene long before this present quite forgotten, except Titus Liuius, or some such learned Historiographer had written of them in time. And Alexander Magnus himselfe that great conquerour had nothing beene spoken of, had not Q. Curtius, or some other like by his learned stile reuiued the remembrance of him, and called backe his doings to his posteritie. For the which cause we see commonly in all ages learned men to be much made of by noble personages, as that rare paterne of learning Aristotle to haue bene greatly honoured of that former renowmed Monarch Alexander: who affirmed openly, that he was more bound to his Master Aristotle, then to king Philip his father, because the one had well framed his minde, the other onely his body. Many other like examples I could alledge at this present, if I knew not vnto whom I now wrote, or in what: for your honour being skilfull in histories, and so familiarly acquainted with the matter it selfe, that is in still entertaining learned men with all curtesie, I should seeme to light a candle at noone tide, to put you in remembrance of the one, or to exhort you to doe the other, dayly being accustomed to performe the same. Crassus sayth in Tullies first booke, De Oratore: that a Lawyer's house is the oracle of the whole citie. But I can iustly witnesse, that for these fiue yeeres last past, since my returne from my trauell beyond the seas, that your lodging in the Court (where I through your vndeserued goodnesse to my great comfort do dayly frequent) hath bene a continuall receptacle or harbour for all learned men comming from both the eyes of the realme, Cambridge, and Oxford (of the which Vniversity your lordship is Chanceller) to their great satisfaction of minde, and ready dispatch of their sutes. Especially for Preachers and Ministers of true religion: of the which you haue beene from time to time not onely a great fauourer, but an earnest furtherer, and protectour:

so that these two nurseries of learning (in one of the which I haue before this spent part of my time, that I may speake boldly what I thinke) should wrong your honour greatly, and much forget themselues, if by all meanes possible they should not heerafter (as at this present to their smal powers many well learned gentlemen of them do) labour and trauell in shewing of themselues thankefull, to reuerence and honour your lordship, and honest their owne names: whose studies certeinly would suddenly decay and fall flat, if they were not held vp by such noble proppes, and had not some sure ankerholds in their distresse to leane vnto. How ready dayly your trauell is, and hath long beene besides to benefit all other persons, in whom any sparke of vertue or honesty remaineth, I need not labour to expresse, the world knowing already the same. But whosoeuer they be, that in all their life time haue an especiall care by all meanes to profit as many as they be able, and hurt none, do not onely a laudable act, but leade a perfect and very godly life. Whereupon Strabo affirmeth this most truely to be spoken of them: Mortales tum demum Deum imitari, cum benefici fuerint. That is, Mortall men then specially to follow the nature of God, when they are beneficiall and bountifull to others. Great commendation vndoubtedly it bringeth to any noble personage, that as the Moone, that light and brightnesse which she receiueth of the Sun, is wont presently to spread abroad upon the face of the earth, to the refreshing and comforting all inferiour and naturall things bearing life: so for him, to bestow all that fauour and credit, which he hath gotten at the princes handes, to the helpe and reliefe of the woorthy and needy. Great is the force (my right honourable lord) of true vertue, which causeth men, as Tully writeth in his booke De Amicitia, to be loued and honoured oft of those persons, which neuer saw them. Whereof I neuer had better proofe (I take God and mine one conscience to witnesse, the which I declared also to certaine of my friends assone as I returned) then at my last being at Constantinople, in the yere of our Lord 1564, whereas I oft resorting (as occasion serued) to the right honorable Christian ambassadors, while I made my abode there (namely vnto Monsieur Antonio Petrimol, lieger there for the French king, Sig. M. Victor Bragadino, for the segniory of Venice, Sig. Lorenzo Giustiniano, for the state of Scio, or Chios, and Sig. Albertacio delli Alberti, for the duke of Florence) heard them often report and speake very honourably of your lordship, partly for your other good

Master Malim at Constantinople 1564.

inclinations of nature, but especially for your liberality, and courteous intreating of diuers of their friends and countrymen, which vpon sundry occasions had bene here in this our realme. So that to conclude, all men iustly fauour your honourable dealings and deserts: and I for my part haue reuerenced and honoured the same euermore both here at home, and elswhere abroad, wishing often to haue had some iust occasion to pay part of that in good will, which my slender abilitie will neuer suffer me fully to discharge. For vnto whom should I sooner present any thing any way, especially concerning matters done abroad, then vnto your lordship, by whom I was much cherished abroad in my trauell, and mainteined since my returne here at home? For the which cause I haue enterprised (hoping greatly of your lordships fauour herein) to clothe and set forth a few Italian newes in our English attire, being first mooued thereunto by the right worshipfull M. D. Wilson Master of her Maiesties Requests, your honours assured trusty friend, a great and painfull furtherer of learning, whom I, and many other for diuers respects ought to reuerence: who remembring that I had bene at Cyprus, was willing that my pen should trauell about the Christian and Turkish affaires, which there lately haue happened: perswading himselfe, that somewhat thereby I might benefit this our natiue countrey. Against whose reasonable motion I could not greatly wrestle, hazzarding rather my slender skill in attempting and performing this his requested taske, then he through my refusall should seeme to want any iot of my good will. In offering vp the which newes, although I shall present no new thing to your honour, because you are so well acquainted with the Italian copy, as I know: yet I trust your lordship will not mislike, that the same which is both pleasant to reade, and so necessary to be knowen for diuers of our captaines and other our countreymen, which are ignorant in the Italian tongue, may thus now shew it selfe abroad, couered vnder the wing of your lordships protection. Certeinly it mooueth me much to remember the losse of those three notable Ilands, to the great discomfort of all Christendome, to those hellish Turkes, horseleeches of Christian blood: namely Rhodes besieged on S. Iohn Baptists day, and taken on Iohns day the Euangelist, being the 27 of December 1522. Scio or Chios being lost since my being there, taken of Piali Basha with 80 gallies, the 17 of April 1566. And now last of

Rhodes lost.

Scio lost.

Cyprus lost.

all not only Famagusta the chiefe holde and fortresse in Cyprus to haue bene lost of the Venetians the 15 of August last past 1571 (the chiefe gouernors and captaines of them being hewen in sunder by the commandement of that tyrant Mustafa Basha) but all the whole Iland also to be conquered by those cruell Turks, ancient professed enemies to all Christian religion. In the which euill successe (comming to vs as I take it for our offences) as I lament the generall losse: so I am surely pensiue to vnderstand by this too true a report of the vile death of two particular noble gentlemen of Venice, Sig. M. Lorenzo Tiepolo, and Sig. M. Giouanni Antonio Querini: of both the which I in my trauaile was very courteously vsed, the former of them being then (as now also he was in this ouerthrow) gouernour of Baffo in Cyprus, the other captaine of one of the castels at Corcyra in Greece, now called Corfu. But things past are past amendment, and they could neuer die more honourably, then in the defence of their countrey. Besides that the late blowes, which the Turks haue receiued since this their fury, in token of Gods wrath against them, do much comfort euery Christian heart. Moreouer this uniforme preparation which is certainly concluded, and forthwith looked for, by very many Christian Princes (would God by all generally) against these barbarous Mahometists: whose cruelty and beastly behauiour I partly know, and am able to iudge of, hauing bene in Turky amongst them more than eight moneths together. Whose vnfaithfulnesse also and breach of promise, as the Venetians manly courage in defence of themselues, and their fortresse, your honour may easily reade in this short treatise and small handfull of leaues, I hauing set downe also a short description of the Iland of Cyprus, for the better vnderstanding of the whole matter. The which I not onely must humbly beseech your honour now fauourably to accept as an earnest peny of more to come, and of my present good will: but with your accustomed goodnesse toward me, to defend the same against such persons, whose tongues too readily roule sometime against other mens painfull trauells, perswading themselues to purchase the sooner some credit of learning with the ruder sort, by controlling and ouerdaintie sifting of other mens laboured tasks, for I know in all ages to be found as well Basilisks as Elephants. Thus nothing doubting of your ready ayd herein, as I assuredly trust of your honours fauourable acceptation of this my poore present, wishing long life with the increase of Gods holy spirit to your lordship and to all your most honourable familie (vnto whom I haue wholly dedicated my selfe by mine owne choise and election for euer) I, crauing pardon for my former boldnesse, most humbly thus take my leaue. From Lambhith the 23 of March. Ann. 1572.

Your honours most humble and faithfull seruant
for euer, William Malim.

A briefe description of the Iland of Cyprus: by the which not onely the Venetians title why they haue so long enioyed it, but also the Turks, whereby now he claimeth it, may plainly appeare.

The Iland of Cyprus is inuironed with diuers seas: for Westward it is washed with the sea called Pamphilium: Southward, with the sea Ægyptium: on the East part, with the sea Syrium: and Northward, with the sea called Cilicium. The which Iland in time past had diuers names: called once Acamantis, as Sabellicus witnesseth. Philonides maketh mention, that it was called sometime Cerasis. Xenogoras writeth, that it was named Aspelia, Amathusa, and Macaria. There were in times past fifteene cities or famous townes in it, but now very few, amongst the which Famagusta is the chiefest and strongest, situated by the sea side. There is also Nicosia, which was woont, by the traffike of marchants, to be very wealthy: besides the city of Baffo, Arnica, Saline, Limisso, Melipotamo, and Episcopia. Timosthenes affirmeth, that this Iland is in compasse 429 miles: and Arthemidorus writeth the length of the same to be 162 miles, measuring of it from the East to the West, betwixt two promontories named Dinaretta and Acamanta. This Iland is thought to be very rich, abundant of Wine, Oile, Graine, Pitch, Rozin, Allum, Salt, and of diuers precious stones, pleasant, profitable, and necessary for mans vse, and much frequented of Marchants of Syria, vnto the which it lieth very nere. It hath bene, as Plinie writeth, ioyned sometime with Syria, as Sicilia hath beene also with Italy. It was a long time subiect vnto the Romans, after to the Persians, and to the Soldan of Ægypt. The selfe same Iland was sometime also English, being conquered by king Richard the first, in his voyage to Hierusalem in the yeere of our Lord 1192. Who (as Polydore writeth in his fourteenth booke of our English historie) being prohibited by the Cypriottes from arriual there, inuaded and conquered the same soone after by force: and hauing left behinde him sufficient garrisons to keepe the same, departed from thence to Ptolemayda: who afterward exchanged the same with Guy of Lusignan, that was the last christened king of Hierusalem, for the same kingdome. For the which cause the kings of England were long time after called kings of Hierusalem. And last of all, the Venetians haue enioyed it of late a long time, in this order following. In the yeere of our Lord 1470, Iohn king of the said Iland, sonne to Ianus of Lusignan, had by Helen his wife, which was of the Emperiall house of Paleologus, one daughter only called Charlotta, and a bastard called Iames: the which Iames was afterward consecrated Bishop of Nicosia. This Charlotta was married first to the king of Portingall, of whom he had no issue, so that he being dead, Lewes Duke of Sauoy (to whom shee was the second time married) sonne to Lewes the second of that name (vnto whom the said Iland by the right of this his wife Charlotta did appertaine) had the possession of the same. Iames the bastard assoone as his father was dead, of a bishop became a souldiour, and with an army wanne the Iland, making it his owne by force. This Duke of Sauoy hearing these newes, with a number of well appointed souldiers, arriued shortly after in Cyprus, and recouering againe the Iland, compelled the bastard to flie forthwith ouer to the Soldan of Ægypt. Who making himselfe his subiect, in time so wrought and tempered the matter, that the Soldan in person at his request passed ouer into Cyprus, besieged Duke Lewes in the castle of Nicosia, and at length compelled him to depart, leauing his kingdome. So that this Bishop became againe King of this Iland: who shortly after cleauing to the Venetians hauing made a league of friendship with them, married by their consent one Catherina the daughter of Marco Cornaro, which Catherin the Senate of Venice adopted vnto them soone after as their daughter. This Bishop not long after sickened, and died, leauing this his wife with child, who liued not long after his fathers death. By the which meanes the Venetians making themselues the next heires to Catherina by the law of adoption, tooke vnto them the possession of this kingdome, and haue kept and enjoyed the same almost this hundred yeeres. Now this great Turke called Sultan Selim in the right of the Soldan of Ægypt, whom his grandfather (called also Sultan Selim) conquered, pretendeth a right title vnto it, and now, as you may vnderstand by reading of this short Treatise, hath by conquest obtained the same. Whom I pray the euerliuing God, if it be his holy will, shortly to root out from thence.

To the Reader.

I Am not ignorant (gentle Reader) how hard a matter it is for any one man to write that, which should please and satisfie all persons, we being commonly of so diuers opinions and contrary iudgements: againe Tully affirmeth it to be a very difficult thing, to finde out any matter which in his owne kinde may be in all respects perfect. Wherefore I trust by your owne iudgement I ought of reason to be the sooner pardoned (my translation being precisely tied to mine authours meaning) if anything herein besides be thought to be wanting: I haue learned by the way how comberous a thing it is to turne the selfe same matter out of the Italian language into our countrey speech. But who so doeth what he possibly can is bound to no more. And I now at the request of others (who put me in minde, that I was not onely borne vnto my selfe) haue accomplished that in the ende, which I promised and was required. With what paine and diligence, I referre me to them which are skilfull in the Italian tongue, or may the better iudge, if it please them to trie the same, casting aside this exampler. I speake it not arrogantly, I take God to witnesse: but mens painefull trauels ought not lightly to be condemned: nor surely at any time are woont to be of the learned, or discreet. By whose gentle acceptation if these my present doings be now supported, I will perswade my selfe that I haue reaped sufficient fruit of my trauell. Vnto whome with all my heart I wish prosperous successe in all their affaires.

Ann. Dom. 1572. W. M.

In Turchas precatio.

SVmme Deus, succurre tuis, miseresce tuorum,
  Et subeat gentis te noua cura tuæ.
Quem das tantorum finem, Rex magne, laborum?
  In nos vibrabit tela quoúsque Sathan?
Antè Rhodum, mox indè Chium, nunc denique Cyprum,
  Turcharum cepit sanguinolenta manus.
Mustafa fœdifragus partes grassatur in omnes,
  Et Veneta Cypriam strage cruentat humum.

Nec finem imponit sceleri, mollituè furorem,
  Nec nisi potato sanguine pastus abit.
Qualis, quæ nunquam nisi plena tuménsque cruore
  Sanguisuga obsessam mittit hirudo cutem.
Torturam sequitur tortura, cruorque cruorem,
  Et cædem admissam cædis alius amor.
Sæuit incps animi, nec vel se temperat ipse,
  Vel manus indomitum nostra domare potest.
At tu, magne Pater, tumidum disperde Tyrannum,
  Nec sine mactari semper ouile tuum.
Exulet hoc monstrum, ne sanguine terra redundet.
  Excutiántque nouum Cypria regna iugum.
Et quod Christicolæ fœdus pepigere Monarchæ,
  Id faustum nobis omnibus esse velis.
Tu pagna illorum pugnas, et bella secundes.
  Captiuósque tibi subde per arma Scythas.
Sic tua per totum fundetur gloria mundum,
  Vnus sic Christus fiet, et vna fides.

Gulielmus Malim.

The true report of all the successe of Famagusta, made by the Earle Nestor Martiningo, vnto the renowmed Prince the Duke of Venice.

THe sixteenth day of February,* 1571, the fleet which had brought the ayde vnto Famagusta, departed from thence, whereas were found in all the army, but foure thousand footmen, eight hundred of them chosen souldiers, and three thousand (accounting the Citizens and other of the Villages) the rest two hundred in number were souldiers of Albania. After the arriuall of the which succour, the fortification of the City went more diligently forward of all hands, then it did before, the whole garison, the Grecian Citizens inhabiting the Towne, the Gouernours and Captaines not withdrawing themselves from any kinde of labour, for the better incouragement and good example of others, both night and day searching the watch, to the intent with more carefull heed taking they might beware of their enemies, against whom they made no sally out of the City to skirmish but very seldome, especially to vnderstand when they might learne the intent of the enemies. Whilest we made this diligent prouision within the Citie, the Turks without made no lesse preparation of all things necessary, fit to batter the fortresse withall, as in bringing out of Caramania and Syria with all speed by the Sea, many woolpacks, a great quantitie of wood and timber, diuers pieces of artillery, engins, and other things expedient for their purpose.

---

* In Italy and other places the date of the yere of ye Lord is alwayes changed the first of Ianuary, or on New yeres day, and from that day reckoned vpon : although wee heere in England, especially the temporall lawyers for certaine causes are not woont to alter the same vntill the Annunciation of our Ladie.

At the beginning of April Halli Basha landed there with fourscore gallies or thereabout in his company, who brought thither that, which of our enemies was desired, who soone after departing from thence, and leauing behinde him thirty gallies, which continually transported souldiers, munition, fresh victuals, and necessaries, besides a great number of Caramusalins,* or Brigandines, great Hulkes called Maones,† and large broad vessels termed of them Palandrie,‡ which continually passed to and fro between Cyprus and Syria, and other places thereabout, which they did with great speed, standing in feare of the Christian army. And about the middest of the same moneth the Turkes caused to be brought out of the Citie of Nicosia, which they had wonne a little before, fifteene pieces of artillery, and raising their army from whence they were before, making ditches and trenches necessary, incamped themselues in gardens, and towards the West part of Famagusta neere a place called Precipola.

The fiue and twentieth day of the same moneth they raised vp mounts to plant their artillery vpon, and caused trenches to be made for harquebuzers, one very nigh another, approaching still very neere the Citie, in such order, as was almost impossible to stay the same, fortie thousand of their Pioners continually labouring there the most part of all the night. The intent of the enemie being then knowen, and in what part of the Citie he minded most to plant his battery, we tooke diligent heed on the other part, to repaire and fortifie all places necessary within. For the which cause wee placed a great watch in that way, which was couered with a counterscharfe, and in the sallies of their priuy Posternes, for the defence of the said counterscharfe, there were new flanckers made, also Trauerses called Butterisses made vpon the Cortaine, with one trench of Turues two foot high and broad, the which was made on that side of the wall of the Citie, which was already battered with the shot of the Turkes, with certaine loopes holes for our Harquebuzers, by the which they defended the counterscharfe. Two noble personages Bragadino and Baglione personally tooke this charge on them, by the which meanes the Christian affaires passed in very good order. All the bread for our Souldiours was made in one storehouse, of the which noble gentleman Lorenzo Tiepolo captaine of Baffo* had charge, who refused no paine, where thought his trauell might preuaile. In the castle was placed that famous gentleman Andrea Bragadino, who with a diligent gard had charge on that part of the castle principally, next vnto the sea side, trimming and digging out new flanckers for the better defence of the Arsenall.*

---

* Carumusalini be vessels like vnto ye French Gabards, sailing dayly vpon the riuer of Bordeaux, which saile wt a mizen or triangle saile.

† Maone be vessels like vnto ye great hulks, which come hither from Denmarke, some of the which cary 7 or 8 hundred tunnes a piece, flat and broad, which saile some of them with seuen misens a piece.

‡ Palandrie be great flat vessels made like Feriboats to transport horse.

* Nicosia, otherwise called Licosia.

A valiant knight named Foito was appointed Master of the Ordinance, who was slain within few dayes after in a skirmish, whose garrison the noble Bragadino Proueditore before named presently deliuered ouer to me. Three other captaines were appointed ouer the wilde-fire with twentie footmen for euery one of them, chosen out of the armie, to vse and execute the same as occasion should serue. The best pieces of Ordinance were brought foorth vnto that side of the towne, where the battery was looked for to be made: and they made priuy fences to couer the better their cannon shot withall. There was no want in the Christians to annoy their enemies in issuing often out of euery side against them, aswell to hinder their determinations, as to hurt them otherwise at diuers times. They also rendered to vs the like. For three hundred of the inhabitants of Famagusta one time issuing out of the citie, armed onely with their swords and targets, with so many Italian Harquebuzers also in their company, receiued great dammage, because the trenches of the enemies were made about so thicke, although at the same present wee compelled them to flie, and slew also many of them: yet they increased to such number, that they killed presently thirty, and hurt there threescore of our company. For the which cause order was taken, that our men should no more come forth of their holde, committing themselues to manifest perill to bid their enemies the base.

---

* Sig. Bragadino was Proueditore, that is, Gouernour, and Sig. Baglione Generall of the Christian armie.

‡ Baffo of the ancient writers named Paphos, in the which Citie there was a sumptuous Church dedicated to Venus.

‡ Arsenall in Constantinople and Venice is the place for munition and artillery to lie in.

The Turkes in processe of time by little and little with their trenches, came at length to the toppe of the counterscharfe, and hauing furnished their forts the nineteenth day of May, began their battery with ten forts, hauing threescore and foureteene pieces of great artillery within their custody, amongst the which there were four Basilikes (for so they terme them) of an immeasurable greatnesse, and began to batter from the gate Limisso vnto the Arsenall, and layed fiue batteries against the towne, the one against the great high Turret of the Arsenall, which was battered with fiue pieces of Ordinance mounted vpon that fort of the rocke, the other against the Cortaine it selfe of the Arsenall, battered by one fort with eleuen pieces: another against the Keepe of Andruzzi with two commanders, or caualiers, which were aboue with one fort of eleuen other pieces: another battery against the Turret of S. Nappa, the which was battered with foure Basilisks. The gate of Limisso, which had one high commander or caualier alone, and a Brey and Cortaine without was battered by the forts with three and thirty pieces of artillery, whereas Mustafa himselfe Generall of the Turkes army tooke the charge in person. At the first they seemed not to care much to spoile the walles, but shot still into the city, and against our Ordinance, which greatly galled them. Whereupon they, who were within the city, as well our souldiers as the Grecians, assoone as the battery began, withdrawing themselues, came and dwelt by the walles of the citie, whereas they continued from that time to the end of the siege. The noble Bragadino lodged in the Keepe of Andruzzi, Baglioni in that ward of S. Nappa. The honourable Tiepolo in that which was called Campo Santo. Wherefore they being present at all that was done, both encouraged, and punished the souldiers according to their deserts. The right worshipfull Luigi Martiningo was appointed chiefe ouer the Ordinance, who answering all mens expectation of him, with great courage diuided the charge thereof vnto sixe other inferiour captaines, who tooke order and care for that company, and for the prouision of things necessary for the gunners: one company of the Grecians being appointed to euery gate of the

Citie for to attend vpon the seruice of the artillery. The valiant captaine Francesco Bagone warded at the Keepe, and at the great Commander of the Arsenall. Captaine Pietro Conte attended the Cortaine, at the Commander of the Volti, and at the Keepe of Campo Santo. I for my part attended vpon the Commander of Campo Santo, and vpon the Commander of Andruzzi, and of the Cortaine, vnto the Turret of Santa Nappa. The Earle Hercole Martiningo attended vpon the Commander of Santa Nappa, and to the whole Cortaine, vnto the gate of Limisso. Horatio Captaine of Veletri attended vpon the Brey and Cortaine, toward the Bulwarke. Vpon the high Commander of Limisso, which was more troubled then all the rest, attended the Captaine Roberto Maluezzi. At the same time, when the battery began (by the commission of the honourable Bragadino) victuals were appointed, and giuen to all the souldiers, as well Grecians, as Italians, and Gunners: namely Wine, Pottage, Cheese, and Bakon: all the which things were brought to the walles as need did require in very good order, so that no souldier there spent any more in bread than two souses a day. They were payed at the end of euery thirty dayes with the great trauell of that right worshipfull Venetian gentleman M. Giouanni Antonio Querini, who besides this his ordinary charge was found present in all weighty and dangerous affaires to the great incouragement of our souldiers. And wee make a counterbattery against our enemies for ten dayes space, with so great rage, that we choked and destroyed fifteene of their best pieces, also we killed and dispatched of them about thirty thousand at that season, so that they were disappointed at that time of their battery in that place, and were greatly dismayed. But we forseeing that we had no great store of powder left, there was made a restraint, and such order taken, that thirty pieces should not shoot off but thirty shot a piece euery day, and that in the presence of the Captaines, who were still present, because the Souldiers and Gunners should not shoot off in vaine.

Two Venetian souses or Soldi amount but to one peny English.

The nine and twentieth day of May there came towards vs from Candia a Fregat or Pinnace, the which giuing vs great hope and lightening of ayde, encreased maruellously euery mans courage. The Turks with great trauell and slaughter of both sides, had woone at the last the counterscharfe from vs, with great resistance and mortalitie on both parts. Whereupon they began on the other side of the fift battery to fill vp the ditch, with the earth that they threw downe, which was taken neere the wall of the counterscharfe. But all that earth and falling downe of the wall made by the shot of their artillery, was carried away of vs within the city, all our company labouring continually as well by night as day, vntil our enemies had made certaine loope-holes in the wall, thorow the which they flancking and scouring all the ditch with their harquebussie, stopped our former course of carying, or going that way any more, without certaine and expresse danger. But M. Gioanni Marmori, a fortifier, had deuised a certaine kinde of ioyned boords, the which being caried of the souldiers, defended them from the shot of the harquebuzers, so that some other quantity of earth, but no great store, was caried also away: in the which place this foresayd fortifier was slaine, who had done especiall good seruice in all our necessary affaires. And our enemies hauing cast so much earth into the ditch, as filled it vp againe, and made it a firme way to the wall of the counterscharfe, and casting before them the earth by little and little, they made one trauerse euen vnto the wall on two sides in all their batteries, the which they made thicke and strong with woolpacks, and other fagots, to assure themselues the better of our flanckers.

When they had once possessed the ditch, that they could not be hurt of vs but by chance, they began foorthwith to cast and digge out vndermines to vndermine the Brey, the Turret of Santa Nappa, the Commander of Andruzzi, the Keepe of Campo Santo, the Cortaine, and the Turrion of the Arsenall: so that being able no longer to serue our turne and inioy those fewe flanckers, we threw downe wilde-fire into our enemies campe, the which annoyed them very sore, because it fired their woolpacks, and also their fagots. And for the better encouragement of the souldiers, the right honorable Bragadino gaue to euery souldier one duckat, ye which could gaine or recouer any of the former woolpackes, making countermines in all places. To the which charge Maggio the fortifier knight was appointed, who in all our businesse serued with such diligence and courage, as he was able, or was requisite. But the countermines met not, sauing those of the Commander of S. Nappa, of Andruzzi, and that of Campo Santo, because they were open, and our men sallied out often both by day and night into the ditch to perceiue better the way of the mines, and to fire the fagots and wooll. Nor we ceassed at any time through the vnspeakable trauell of the Lord Baglione (who had the ouersight of all these matters) to trouble our enemies intents, by all maner of wit and policie, diuiding the companies for the batteries, ioyning and planting in all places a garrison of the Albanois * souldiers, who as well on foot as on horsebacke, shewed always notable courage and manhood.

The first assault.

THe one and twentieth day of Iune they put fire to the mine of the Turret of the Arsenall, whereas Giambelat Bey took charge, who with great ruine rent in sunder a most great and thicke wall, and so opened the same, that he threw downe more then halfe thereof, breaking also one part of the vaimure, made before to vpholde the assault. And suddenly a great number of the Turkes skipping vpon the ruines thereof, displayed their Ensignes, euen to the toppe of the same. Captain Pietro Conte with his company was in that ward, the which was much shaken and terrified by that sudden ruine. I with my company came first thither, so that they shortly tooke the repulse, and although they refreshed themselues with new supplies fiue or sixe times, yet they failed of their purpose. There fought personally the Lord Baglione: Bragadino and Querini † being armed stood not farre off to refresh and comfort our Souldiours, and the Captaine of the Castell with the Ordinance, that was planted vpon the Butteries, destroyed many of our enemies, when they gave ye assault, the which endured fiue houres together: so that of Turkes were slaine very many, and of our side betweene them that were slaine and hurt one hundred: most part of the which number were cast away by a mischance of our wilde-fire, the which being vnaduisedly and negligently handled, burnt vp many of our owne company. There died at that present the Earle Gio. Francesco Goro, the Captaine Barnardino Agubio: and by the throwing of stones Hercole Malatesta, Captaine Pietro Conte, with other Captaines and Standerd-bearers, were very sore hurt.

The night following arriued in Cyprus a Pinasse from Candia,

---

* Albanois souldiers, souldiers of Albania, otherwise called Epirus, who commonly serue the Venetians both on horsebacke and foot, very skilfull and painfull.

† Of this noble and painfull Venetian gentleman M. Gio. Antonio Querini (who was afterwardes hewed in sunder by the commandement of Mustafa) I was entertained very courteously in my trauell at Corcyra, now called Corfu, he being then there Mag. Castellano or Captaine of one of the Castles.

which bringing newes of most certaine ayde, greatly increased both the mirth and courage of vs all, so that we made soone after, with the helpe of the Captaine Marco Criuellatore, and Maggio the knight, certain retreats flancked to all the places beaten downe, and whereas they suspected that the enemy had digged up any mines, with hogheads, Chests, Tikes, and Sacks stuffed full of moist earth (the Grecians with all speed hauing already brought almost all that which they had) because their hauing dispatched their Canueis about necessary vses, they brought their hangings, cortaines, carpets, euen to their very sheets, to make and stuffe vp their foresayd sacks, a very good and ready way to make vp againe their vaimures, the which were throwen downe with the fury of the artillery, which neuer stinted, so that we made vp againe still that in the night, the which was throwen downe and broken in the day, sleeping very seldome:* all the souldiers standing alwayes vpon the walles, visited continually of the Gouernors of the Citie, which slept at no time, but in the extreame heat of the day, hauing no other time to take their rest, because the enemie was at hand, giuing vs continually alarmes, not suffering vs long to breath.

In extremities men haue no regard to spare trifles.

The second assault.

The nine and twentieth day of the same moneth they set the mine made towards the Brey on fire, the which mine was digged in stone, which brake and cleft all things in pieces, and caused great ruine, making an easie way for the enemy to assault vs, who with an outragious fury came to the toppe, whereas Mustafa their General was altogether present, which assault was receiued, and stayed at the beginning† of the Earle Hercole Martiningo with his garrison, and so were repulsed by our company, who fought without any aduantage of couert, the vaimure being throwen downe by the mine. There were slaine of our company Captaine Meani the Serjeant Maior of our armie, Captaine Celio de Fuochi, Captaine Erasmo da Fermo: and Captaine Soldatello, Antonio d'Ascoli, Captain Gio. d'Istria, Standerd bearers, with many other officers, were sore wounded, there died also 30 other of our common souldiers. At the Arsenall they were beaten backe with greater dammage of our enemies, and small hurt to vs. Fiue onely of our part being slaine there, whereas Captaine Giacomo de Fabriano also was killed, and I was wounded in my left legge with an harquebush shot. The which assault continued sixe houres, the Bishop of Limisso standing vp there, incouraging the Souldiours. Where also were found present stout women,* who came thither with weapons, stones, and water, to help the Souldiours. Our enemies vnderstanding how great hinderance they had receiued at these two assaults, changed their mindes, and began againe with greater fury than euer they had before accustomed to lay battery to all places, and into our retreats, so that they labouring more speedily then euer they did, made seuen other forts more, vnder the castle, and taking away the artillery from them which was farther off, planting of it somewhat neerer, to the number of fourescore, they battered the holde with so great rage, that on the eighth day of Iuly, with the same night also were numbred fiue thousand Canon shot, and after that sort they ouerthrew to the ground the vaimures, that scarsely with great trauell and paine we could repaire them againe, because our men that laboured about them were continually slaine by their Ordinance, and by reason of the endlesse tempest of the shot of their Harquebuzers. And our men beganne to decrease. For the Turkes caused vs to retire from our Breyes, by the violence of their artillery and mining, in such sort, that there being no more standing left for our Souldiours, because we making our vaimures more thicke, our standing began to waxe narrower, the which presently we of necessitie enlarged with boords as a scaffolde to the vaimure, whereby we might haue more elbow room to fight. Captain Maggio also made one mine vnder the sayd Brey, to the intent, that we being not able any longer to keepe it, the same might be left to our enemies to their great hinderance.†

---

* Prouident and carefull gouernours or magistrates seldome sleepe all the night at any time, much lesse in dangerous seasons.

† A small thing at the beginning, or in due time done, helpeth much.

The third assault.

TO the sayd Brey the ninth day of Iuly they gaue the third assault to the Turrion of Santa Nappa, to that of Andruzzi, to the

---

* That certaine women inhabiting this Iland be viragos, or mankind, I saw sufficient triall at my last being there, in a city called Saline.

† It is accounted a good warlike shift, to leaue that to our enemies with hinderance, which we can not any longer keepe, and vse to our owne commodity.

Cortaine, to the Keepe of the Arsenall: the which assault hauing continued more then sixe houres, they were beaten backe in foure places, but we left the Brey to their great losse, and ours also: because we being assaulted, our company being not able to mannage their pikes in good order, by reason of the narrownesse of the standing where they were, being willing to retire in that order, as the L. Baglione had prescribed vnto them, and could not, cast themselues at the last into a confuse order, and retired, they being mingled amongst the Turks: so that fire being giuen to our mine, the same (with a terrible sight to beholde) slew presently of our enemies more then one thousand, and aboue one hundred of vs. There was slaine Roberto Maluezzi, and Captaine Marchetto de Fermo was grieuously wounded. At the assault of the Arsenall was slaine Captaine Dauid Noce master of the campe, and I myself was hurt by the racing of a cannon shot. This assault continued fiue houres, and the Citizens of Famagusta shewed great courage in euery place, with their women also, and yoong striplings. The Brey was so defaced by reason of this mine set on fire, that no body any more attempted to recouer the same, because there was no apt place remaining to stay vpon. The left flancker onely remained still, whereas another mine was made. The gate of Limisso was ouer against this foresayd Brey, and somewhat lower, which was alwayes open, hauing made to the same a Portall, with a Percollois annexed to it, the which Percollois by the cutting of a small cord, was a present defence to the gate, and our Souldiours gaue their attendance by that gate to bring in the battered earth, which fell in the ditches from the rampaire: and when they saw that their enemies in foure dayes came not thither, they beganne to entrench aboue the Brey, and by the flanckers aboue they suffered no person to passe out of the gate, the which thing brought great suspition vnto our enemies, because they were often times assailed of our company.

The fourth assault.

WHerefore they came to the foureteenth day of Iuly to assault the gate of Limisso, and laying their battery to all other places, they came and planted their Ensignes euen before the gate, whereas the L. Baglione, and Sig. Luigi were in readinesse, who had taken vpon them to defend that gate of the Citie. Who assoone as they had encouraged their Souldiours,* sallying swiftly foorth, killed, and put to flight the greater part of them, and at the last giuing fire to the mine of the flancker slew foure hundred Turkes, and Sig. Baglione at the same time woon an Ensigne of our enemies, wrasting it violently out of one of the Ensigne bearers hands. The day following they gaue fire to the mine of the cortaine, the which thing not falling out greatly to their purpose, they followed not their prepared assault. Wherefore they beganne to fortifie, and aduance higher their trauerses in the ditches, for their better assurance against they should giue the assault: and they had emptied and carried away all the earth neere vnto the counterskarfe, where they lodged in their pauillions, so that we could not descrie them. They shot seuen pieces of artillery vpon the wall of the counterscharfe so couertly, that they were not seene: two from the Brey of the Turrion of Santa Nappa, one from Andruzzi, and two other all along the battery of the Cortaine. And they came with certaine boordes couered with rawe and greene hides, vnder which they brought their men to digge in the vaimures, we being nothing behinde or forgetfull to cast wilde-fire amongst them, and sometime to issue foorth of our sallies called Posternes, to offend their Pioners, although to our great hindrance. And we still repaired the vaimures by all meanes possible, with Buffe skins, being moist and wet, throwing in also earth, shreads, and cotton with water, being well bound together with cordes: all the women of Famagusta gathering themselues together into companies in euery street (being guided of one of their Monkes called Caloiero) resorted daily to a certaine place appointed to labour, gathering and prouiding for the souldiers, stones and water, the which was kept for all assaults in halfe buts to quench the fire, which the Turks threw amongst them.

Hauing had no great successe in taking of the gate, they found out a newe way, neuer heard of before, in gathering together a great quantity of certaine wood called Teglia,† which easily burned, and smelt very euill, the which they throwing before the former gate of the Citie, and fagots fastened to the same, with certaine beames besmeered with Pitch, kindled suddenly so great a fire, as was not possible for vs to quench the same, although we threw vpon it whole Buts of water, which were throwen downe from an high Commander, which Buts presently brake in sunder.

---

* The forwardnes of the captaine at dangerous times not only much comforteth the common souldier, but also increaseth greatly his credit and commendation w^t all men.

† Teglia in Latine called Teda is a certaine wood which burneth easily, and sauoreth vnpleasantly, of the which there is great store in Sicilia : sometime it is vsed for a torch.

No necessarie thing to bee done was left vnattempted on either part.

This fire continued foure dayes, wherefore we were inforced by reason of the extreame heat and stinch, to withdraw our selues further inward, and they descended towardes their lower flanckers, beganne other mines, so that the gate was shut vp, because it would be no longer kept open and suddenly (a thing maruellous to be spoken) the standing of the Brey being repaired, and made vp againe, they planted one piece ouer against the gate, the which of vs with stones, earth and other things, was suddenly buried vp. By this time we were driuen to an exigent, all our prouision within the citie stooping very lowe, sauing onely hope, the noble courage of the Gouernours and Captaines, and the stout readinesse of the Souldiours: our wine, and flesh as well powdered as vnpowdered was spent, nor there was any Cheese to be gotten, but vpon an vnreasonable price, our company hauing eating vp their Horses, Asses, and Cats, for lacke of other victualls: there was nothing left to be eaten, but a small quantitie of Bread, and Beanes, and we dranke water and Vinegar together, whereof was not much left. When that we perceiued that our enemies had digged and cast vp three mines in the Commander of the gate, they labouring in all places more diligently then euer they did before, bringing into the ditch, ouer against the battery of the Cortaine, a hill of earth, as high as the wall: and already they came to the wall aboue the counterscharfe ouer against the Turrion of the Arsenall, and had made one Commander complete, fenced with shares, like unto plough shares, in proportion and height correspondent to ours.

Mans courage oft abateth, but hope seldome forsaketh.

Within the Citie were remaining but fiue hundreth Italian Souldiers, who were not hurt, yet very faint and weary by their long watching and paines in fighting in those feruent and burning heates, which are in those parts.* And the greater and better part also of the Grecians were by this time slaine, whenas the

---

* In Iuly the heat is so extreme in this Iland, that the inhabitants thereof are not woont to trauell, but by night onley.

A letter or supplication exhibited by the Cypriotes vnto Sig. Bragadino.

chiefe of those Citizens remaining did fully resolue themselues (the which was about the twentieth day of Iuly) to present a supplication in writing to that noble gentleman Bragadino Proueditore, desiring and beseeching him, that seeing their Citie and Fortresse was thus battered and brought to extremitie, without sufficient ayde to defend the same, without substance or sustenance, hauing no hope of succour, or any newe supply, they hauing spent and consumed not onely their goods, but also their liues for the defence of them, and in testifying of their dutifull seruice towardes the noble and royall state of the Segniorie of Venice, that it might nowe please him, and the rest of the honourable Gouernours, that were present, and put in trust, hauing a carefull eye vnto some honourable conditions, to haue now at the last a respect to the credit and honour of their long trauelled wiues, and the safegard of their poore children, which otherwise were shortly very like to be a pray to their bloodthirsting and rauening enemies. To the which letter or supplication speedy answere was made by the forenamed honourable Bragadino, comforting them, that they should by no meanes abate their courage, and that shortly he looked for succour from the Segniorie, diminishing as much as hee might, the feare which they had conceiued in their hearts, dispatching and sending away suddenly from Cyprus into Candia, a Pinnesse to certifie the duke and gouernours there, in what extremitie they were. The Turkes by this time had ended their mines, and set them on fire, the 29. of Iuly: in the which space our men, according as they were woont to doe, renued and made vp againe the vaimures ruined before by the Ordinance, and hauing no other stuffe left to aduance them with, made sackes of Kersie, vnto the which the noble Tiepolo diligently looked. The three mines of the Commander did great damage to vs, hauing throwen downe the greater part of the earth, whereas the gouernour Randacchi was slaine. The mine of the Arsenall ouerthrew all the rest of the Turrion, hauing smoldered and choked one whole garrison of our souldiers, the two flanckers onely still remaining.

The answere of the former letter.

It standeth with reason, in hope of sauing the greater, to let the lesser go.

The fift assault.

THe enemies trauelled much to become masters of those foresayd flankers, and to sally foorth by the other batteries, and this assault lasted from three of the clocke in the after noone vntil night, where, and at what time were slaine very many of our enemies. In this assault Sig. Giacomo Strambali, amongst the rest, shewed much worthinesse, as hee had done before in other conflicts.

The sixt and last assault.

THe next morning following, at the breake of the day, they assailed all places, the which assault continued more then sixe houres, with very little hurt on our side, because our enemies fought more coldly then they were wont to doe, annoying of vs continually on the Sea side with their Gallies, shooting in all their assaults and batteries continually Cannon shot in all parts of the Citie, as neere as they might. After we had defended and repulsed this assault, and perceiued things brought to a narrower straite then they were wont to be at, wee hauing left in all the whole Citie but seuen barrels of pouder, the gouernours of the Citie fully determined to yeelde vp themselues and the Citie, with honourable conditions.* Wherefore the first of August in the after noone, they tooke a truce, one being come for that purpose from Mustafa the Generall, with whom they concluded the next morning following to giue two hostages a piece, vntill such time as both armies were agreed. For our hostages (by the appointment of the right honourable Bragadino) were sent foorth the earle Hercole Martinengo, and Signior Matteo Colsi a Citizen of Famagusta, and from our enemies came into the Citie the Lieutenant of Mustafa, and the Aga of the Gianizzers,† the which were met, euen vnto the gate of the Citie of Signiour Baglione with two hundreth harquebusers: ours also were met in like maner with great pompe with horsemen and harquebusers, with the sonne also of Mustafa in person, who made very much of them.

---

* Necessitie oft times presseth vs in the end to that, which our will continually spurneth against.

† Giannezeri be the gard of the great Turke, so that Aga de Giannizeri is the captaine of the Turkes gard.

The Lord Baglione imparld with these hostages, which were then come for that purpose of the articles of peace, requiring by them of their Generall, their liues, armour, and goods, fiue peeces of Ordinance, three of the best horses, and safe passage from thence vnto Candia accompanied with their Gallies, and last of all, that the Grecians inhabiting the Island, might dwell there still quietly, and enioy peaceably their owne goods and possessions, liuing still Christians hereafter, as they had done before. All the which requests and articles were agreed vpon, granted, and subscribed vnto by the hand of Mustafa.* Foorthwith were sent Gallies, and other vessels into the hauen, so that our souldiers immediately began to imbarke themselues, of the which the greater part were already gone aboorde, the Nobilitie and our chiefe Captaines also being likewise very desirous to depart.

The 15. of August in the morning, the worthy Bragadino sent me with a letter vnto Mustafa, by the which hee signified, that the same night hee would come vnto him to deliuer vp the keyes of the Citie, and that he would leaue in the holde the honourable gentleman Tiepolo, praying him therefore, that whilest hee should haue iust cause thus to bee abroad, that there might be no harme done at home, and in the Citie. The Turkes from our truce taking vntill that time, practised with vs all familiarly, and without any suspition of sinister or double dealing, they hauing shewed vs much courtesie both in word and deede. Mustafa himselfe by worde of mouth presently answered me to this letter, in this sort, that I should returne, and make relation to this noble man Bragadino, who had sent mee, that he should come ouer to him at his owne pleasure, for hee was very desirous both to see and know him, for his great worthinesse and prowesse, that hee had tried to be in him, and in the other of his Captaines and Souldiers, of whose manhood and courage he would honourably report, where soeuer he came, as occasion should serue thereunto: and to conclude, that hee should nothing doubt of any thing: because in no maner of condition hee would suffer any violence to be done to those, which remained behind within the Citie. So I speedily returning made true report of the same: and towards night about foure of the clocke, the right honourable Bragadino accompanied with the L. Baglione, with Signior Aluigi Martinengo, with the right worshipfull Signior Gio. Antonio Querini, with the right worshipfull Signior Andrea Bragadino, with the knight of Haste, with the captaine Carlo Ragonasco, with captaine Francesco Straco, with captaine Hector of Brescia, with captaine Girolomo di Sacile, and with other gentlemen and fiftie souldiours, the Gouernours and Noble men with their swordes, and the souldiours with their harquebuzes came foorth of their hold, and went vnto the pauillion of Mustafa, of whom, all they at the beginning were curteously receiued, and caused to sit downe by him, he reasoning and discoursing with them of diuers things, a certaine time, and drawing them from one matter to another, at the last vpon a sudden picked a quarell vnto them, especially burdening that noble Bragadino with an vntrueth, laying to his charge y^t^ he had caused certaine of his slaues in the time that the truce continued between them, to be put to death. The which thing was most false. So that hee being angry therewith, suddenly stept foorth, and commaunded them to bee bound. Thus they being vnarmed (not suffered at that time to enter into his pauillion, with their former weapons) and bound, were led one by one into the market place, before his pauillion, being presently cut and hewen in sunder in his presence, and last of all from that woorthy and noble Bragadino (who being bound as the rest, and being commaunded twise or thrise to stretch foorth his necke, as though hee should haue bene beheaded, the which most boldly hee did without any sparke of feare) his eares were cut off, and causing him to bee stretched out most vilely vpon the ground, Mustafa talked with him, and blasphemed the holy name of our Sauiour, demaunding him, where is now thy Christ, that hee helpeth thee not?"* To all the which no answere at all was giuen of that honourable gentleman. The earle Hercole Martinengo, which was sent for one of the hostages, who was also bound, was hidden by one of Mustafas eunuches vntill such time as his furie was past, afterward his life being graunted him, hee was made the eunuches slaue. Three Grecians which were vnder his pauillion were left vntouched. All the souldiers which were found in the campe, and all sortes of Christians to the number of three hundred, were suddenly slaine, they nothing mistrusting any such treason, or tirannie. The Christian souldiers which were embarked a litlê before, were linked and fettered with iron chaines, made slaues, all things being taken from them, and stripped into their shirtes.

---

* Iust Turkish dealing, to speake and not to meane: sodainly to promise, and neuer to perform the same.

---

* The propertie of true fortitude is, not to be broken with sudden terrors. Mustafa, cosin germaine to ye thiefe, which hong on the left side of our Sauiour at his Passion.

The second day after this murther was committed, which was the 17. of August, Mustafa entred the first time into the Citie, and caused the valiant and wise gouernour Tiepolo to bee hanged, who remained behind, waiting the returne of Signior Bragadino. I being in the citie at that present, when other of my countreymen were thus miserably slaine and made slaues, hid my selfe in certaine of the Grecians houses the space of fiue dayes, and they not being able to keepe mee in couert any longer for feare of the great penaltie, which was proclaimed agaynst such transgressors and concealers, I offred, and gaue my selfe slaue to one Sangiaccho del Bir, promising him fiue hundred Zechins * for my ransome, with whom I remained in the Campe. The Friday folowing (being the Turkes sabboth day) this woorthy and patient gentlemen Bragadino was led still in the presence of that vnfaithfull tirant Mustafa, to the batteries made vnto the Citie, whereas he being compelled to cary two baskets of earth, the one vpon his backe, the other in his hand slaue-like, to euery sundry battrie, being enforced also to kisse the ground as oft as he passed by him, was afterward brought vnto the sea side, where he being placed in a chaire to leane and stay vpon, was winched vp in that chaire, and fastened vnto the maineyard of a galley, and hoisted vp with a crane, to shew him to all the Christian souldiers and slaues (which were in the hauen already shipped) hee being afterward let downe, and brought to the market place, the tormentors tooke of his clothes from him, and tacked him vnto the pillorie, whereas he was most cruelly flaied quicke; with so great constancie and faith on his part, that he neuer lost or abated any iot of his stedfast courage, being so farre from any fainting, that hee at that present with most stout heart reproched them, and spake much shame of his most traiterous dealing in breaking of his faithfull promise. At the last without any kind of alteration of his constancie, he recommending his soule vnto almightie God, gaue vp the ghost. When hee had thus ended his life (thanks be to God) his skin being taken and filled with strawe, was com-

---

* Zechini, be certaine pieces of fine gold coined in Venice, euery one of the which is in value sixe shillings eight pence of our mony, and somewhat better : and equal altogether to a Turkish Byraltom.

manded foorthwith to be hanged vpon the bowsprit of a Foist,[*] and to be caried alongst the coast of Syria by the sea side, that all the port townes might see, and vnderstand who he was.

This is now so much as I am able to declare to your highnesse by that I sawe my selfe, and can remember whilest that I was in the Fortresse: that also which by true relation of others I could understand, and sawe also my selfe in the campe, whilest I was slaue, I will likewise briefly vtter vnto you. The enemies armie was in number two hundred thousand persons of all sortes and qualities. Of souldiers which tooke pay there were 80. thousand, besides the which number, there were 14. thousand of Giannizzers taken out from all the holdes of Syria, Caramania, Natolia, and part of them also which came from the gate [†] of the great Turke. The venturers with the sword were 60. thousand in number. The reason, why there were so many of this sort, was because Mustafa had dispersed a rumour through the Turkes dominion, that Famagusta was much more wealthy and rich, then the citie of Nicosia was: so for that cause, and by the commodious and easie passage from Syria ouer into Cyprus, these venturers were easily induced to come thither.[‡] In 75. dayes (all the which time the batterie still continued) 140. thousand iron pellets were shot of, numbred, and seene. The chiefe personages which were in their armie neere vnto Mustafa, were these following; the Bassa of Aleppo,[§] the Bassa of Natolia, Musafer Bassa of Nicosia, the Bassa of Caramania, the Aga of the Giannizzers, Giambelat Bey,[¶] the Sangiaccho of Tripolis, the Begliarbei of Greece,[**] the Bassa of Sciuassi and of Marasco, Ferca Framburaro, the Sangiaccho of Antipo,[||] Soliman Bey, three Sangiacchos of Arabia, Mustafa Bey generall of the Venturers, Fergat gouernour of Malathia, the Framburaro of Diuerie, the Sangiaccho of Arabia and other Sangiacchos of lesser credite, with the number of fourescore thousand persons beside, as by the muster made by his Commission might well appeare.

---

[*] A Foist as it were a Brigandine, being somewhat larger then halfe a galley, much vsed of the Turkish Cursaros, or as we call them Pirates or Rouers.

[†] The gate of the great Turke, is as much to say, as Constantinople: the which they call in the Turkish language Stanboll.

[‡] Gli Venturieri da spada, are a kind of venturing souldiers, who commonly are wont to follow the army in hope of the spoile.

[§] Aleppo, a famous citie neere vnto Antiochia, otherwise called in Greeke, *ἡλιόπολις*, the city of the Sunne.

[¶] Bey in ye Turkish language, signifieth knight with vs.

[**] Begliarbei signifieth lord Admirall.

[||] Sangiaccho, is that person w^t the Turkes, that gouerneth a prouince or countrey.

The Framburaro which was at Rhodes, was appointed and left gouernour at Famagusta, and the report was that there should bee left in all the Island of Cyprus, twentie thousand persons, with two thousand horses, many of the which I saw, being very leane and euill appoynted for seruice. It seemeth also a thing not impertinent to the matter, to signifie to you, how I, by the especiall grace of God, was deliuered out of their cruell hands,* I hauing paied within two and fortie dayes (all the which time I was slaue) fiue hundred Zechins for my ransome to him, whose prisoner I was, by the meanes of the Consul for the French merchants, a ligier then at Tripolis, who a litle before came from Tripolis in Syria vnto Cyprus, into the Turkes campe. Yet for all that I had paied this summe of money to him, hee would not so set me at libertie, but fed mee vp still with faire wordes, and promised mee that hee would first bring mee vnto his gouernment, which abutted vpon a piece of the famous riuer of Euphrates, and dismisse me. The which malice and falsehood of his I perceiuing, determined with my selfe to giue him the slip,† and to flie; so I waiting my time, and repairing often to the Citie, at length met with a small Fisher boate, of the which a small saile made of two shirts, I passed ouer from Cyprus vnto Tripolis, being in very great danger of drowning, whereas I remained in couert in the house of certaine Christians, vntill the fiue and twentie of September, at what time I departed from thence in a little French shippe called Santa Vittor, which came into these partes, and as wee rode, wee touched at a part of Cyprus Westward, called Capo delle Gatte, where as I came on land, and talking with certaine of the inhabitants of the Villages, who were then by chaunce a Hauking, demaunded of them, how they were intreated of the Turkes, and after what sort the Island was tilled: to the which they answered, that they could not possiblie bee in worse pickle then they were at that present, not enioying that quietly which was their owne, being made villains and slaues, and almost alwayes carying away the Bastonados, so that now (they sayd) they knew by triall too perfectly the pleasant and peaceable gouernment of the Christians, wishing and praying God that they might shortly returne.* And concerning the tillage of the Island they made answere moreouer, that no part of it was plowed or laboured, sauing onely that mountaine which was towards the West, and that because they were litle troubled wtth the crueltie of the Turkes, but as for the plaine and east part of the Island, there was small seede sowen therein, but became in a maner desert, there being left but few inhabitants, and lesse store of cattell there. Afterward wee departing from thence we arriued in Candia,|| I for my part being clothed in sackecloth, whereas soone after by the great curtesie of the right honourable Signior Latino Orsino, I was new apparelled accordingly, friendly welcommed, and my necessitie relieued. From whence I shortly after sayling in a Cypriettes ship (thankes be to almightie God) arriued in this Citie in health, and am safely come home now at the honorable feete of your highnesse.

---

* God suffereth much to be done to his seruants, but neuer forsaketh them.

† Necessitie oft times sharpeneth mens wits, and causeth boldnes.

The Captains of the Christians slaine in Famagusta.

THe lord Estor Baglione.
The lord Aluigi Martinengo.
The lord Federico Baglione.
The knight of Asta Vicegouernor.
The Capitaine Dauid Noce Master of the Campe.
The capitaine Meani of Perugia Serieant Maior.
The earle Sigismond of Casoldo.
The earle Francesco of Lobi of Cremona.
The captaine Francesco Troncauilla.
The captaine Hannibal Adama of Fermo.
The captaine Scipio of the citie of Castello.
The captaine Charles Ragonasco of Cremona.
The captaine Francesco Siraco.
The captaine Robeto Maluezzo.
The captaine Cæsar of Aduersa.
The captaine Bernardin of Agubio.
The captaine Francesco Bugon of Verona.
The captaine Iames of Fabiana.

---

* The nature of euery commoditie is sooner vnderstood by lacking, then by continuall enioying of the same.

|| Candia of the old writers called Creta in Latin, Εκατόμπολις in Greek, because it had once a 100. Cities in it, now there remaining but onely 4. thus commonly named, Candia, la Cania, Retima, and Scythia.

The captaine Sebastian del Sole of Florence.

The captaine Hector of Brescia, the successour to the captaine Cæsar of Aduersa.

The captaine Flaminio of Florence, successor vnto Sebastian del Sole.

The captaine Erasmus of Fermo, successor to the captaine of Cernole.

The captaine Bartholomew of Cernole.

The captaine Iohn Battista of Riuarole.

The captaine Iohn Francesco of Venice.

The names of Christians made slaues.

THe Earle Herocles Martinengo, with Iulius Cæsar Ghelfo a Souldiour of Bressa.

The earle Nestor Martinengo, which fled.

The captaine Marco Criuellatore.

The lord Herocles Malatesta.

The captaine Peter Conte of Montalberto.

The captaine Horatio of Veletri.

The captaine Aluigi Pezano.

The Conte Iames of Corbara.

The captaine Iohn of Istria.

The captaine Soldatelli of Agubio.

The captaine Iohn of Ascoli.

The captaine Antonie of the same towne.

The captaine Sebastian of the same towne.

The captaine Salgano of the citie of Castello.

The captaine Marcheso of Fermo.

The captaine Iohn Antonio of Piacenza.

The captaine Carletto Naldo.

The captaine Lorenzo Fornaretti.

The captaine Barnardo of Brescia.

The captaine Barnardino Coco.

The captaine Simon Bagnese, successour to the captaine Dauid Noce.

The captaine Tiberio Ceruto, successor vnto Conte Sigismond.

The captaine Ioseph of Lanciano, successour vnto captaine Francesco Troncauilla.

The captaine Morgante, successor to captain Hannibal.

The Lieutenant, successour vnto the captaine Scipio.

The Standerd bearer, successour to captaine Roberto.

The captaine Ottauio of Rimini, successour to the captaine Francesco Bugon.

The captaine Mario de Fabiano, successour to captaine Iacomo.

The captaine Francesco of Venice, successour vnto captaine Antonio.

The captaine Matteo of Capua.

The captaine Iohn Maria of Verona.

The captaine Mancino.

The Fortifiers.

Iohn Marmori, slaine.
The knight Maggio, slaue.

Turkish Captaines at Famagusta.

MVstafa Generall.
The Bassa of Aleppo.
The Bassa of Natolia, slaine.
Musafer Bassa of Nicosia.
The Bassa of Caramania.
The Aga of the Giannizers.
Giambelat Bey.
The Sangiaccho of Tripolis, slaine.
The Begliarbei of Greece.
The Bassa of Sciuassi and Marasco.
Ferca Framburaro.
The Sangiaccho of Antipo, slaine.
Soliman Bey, slaine.
Three Sangiacchos of Arabia slaine.
Mustafa Bey, General of the Venturers, slain.
Fergat, ruler of Malathia, slaine.
The Framburaro of Diuerie, slaine.

◆

The renuing and increasing of an ancient and commodious trade vnto diuerse places in the Leuant seas, and to the chiefest partes of all the great Turks dominions, by the meanes of the Right worsh. citizens Sir Edward Osburne Alderman, and M. Richard Staper marchant of London.

THis trade into the Leuant (as is elsewhere mentioned) was very vsuall and much frequented from the yeere of our Lord 1511, till the yeere 1534, and afterwards also, though not so commonly, vntill the yeere 1550, when as the barke Aucher vnder the conduct of M. Roger Bodenham made a prosperous voyage vnto Sicilia, Candia, Sio, and other places within the Leuant. Since which time the foresaid trade (notwithstanding the Grand Signiors ample priuilege granted to M. Anthony Ienkenson 1553, and the strong and weighty reasons of Gaspar Campion for that purpose) was vtterly discontinued, and in maner quite forgotten, as if it had neuer bene, for the space of 20 years and more. Howbeit the discreete and worthy citizens Sir Edward Osborne and M. Richard Staper seriously considering what benefite might grow to the common wealth by renuing of the foresaid discontinued trade, to the inlarging of her Maiesties customes, the furthering of nauigation, the venting of diuerse generall commodities of this Realme, and the inriching of the citie of London, determined to vse some effectuall meanes for the reestablishing and augmenting thereof.

The voyage of Iohn Wight, and Ioseph Clements to Constantinople.

Wherefore about the yeere 1575 the foresaid R.W. marchants at their charges and expenses sent Iohn Wight and Ioseph Clements by the way of Poland to Constantinople, where the said Ioseph remained 18 monethes to procure a safe conduct from the grand Signior, for M. William Harborne, then factor for Sir Edward Osborne, to haue free accesse into his Highnes dominions, and obtained the same.

The first voyage of M. William Harborne to Constantinople.

Which businesse after two yeres chargeable trauell and suit being accomplished, the sayd M. Harborne the first of Iuly 1578 departed from London by the sea to Hamburgh, and thence accompanied with Ioseph Clements his guide and a seruant, he trauelled to Leopolis in Poland, and then apparelling himselfe, his guide, and his seruant after the Turkish fashion (hauing first obteyned the king of Poland his safe conduct to passe at Camienijecz the frontier towne of his dominions next vnto Turky) by good means he obteined fauour of one Acmet Chaus the Turks ambassadour then in Poland, and readie to returne to Constantinople, to bee receiued into his companie and carouan. And so the fourth of September 1578 he departed with the said Acmet from Leopolis in Poland, and trauelling through Moldauia, Valachia, Bulgaria, and Romania, gratifying the Voiauodes with certaine courtesies, he arriued at Constantinople the 28 of October next insuing. Where he behaued himselfe so wisely and discreetly, that within few moneths after he obtained not onely the great Turkes large and ample priuiledge for himselfe, and the two worshipfull persons aforesaid, but also procured his honourable and friendly letters vnto her Maiestie in maner following.

The letters sent from the Imperiall Musulmanlike highnesse of Zuldan Murad Can, to the sacred regall Maiestie of Elizabeth Queene of England, the fifteenth of March 1579, conteyning the grant of the first priuileges.

IN greatness and glory most renowmed Elizabeth, most sacred Queene, and noble prince of the most mightie worshippers of Iesus, most wise gouernour of the causes and affaires of the people and family of Nazareth, cloud of most pleasant raine, and sweetest fountaine of noblenesse and vertue, ladie and heire of the perpetuall happinesse and glory of the noble Realme of England (whom all sorts seeke vnto and submit themselues) we wish most prosperous successe and happie ends to all your actions, and do offer vnto you such pleasures and curtesies as are worthy of our mutuall and eternall familiaritie: thus ending (as best beseemeth vs) our former salutations.

In most friendly maner we giue you to vnderstand, that a certaine man hath come vnto vs in the name of your most excellent Regall Maiestie, commending vnto vs from you all kindnesse, curtesie and friendly offices on your part, and did humbly require that our Imperiall highnesse would vouchsafe to giue leaue and libertie to him and vnto two other merchants of your kingdome, to resort hither and returne againe, and that by way of traffike they might be suffered to trade hither with their goods and merchandizes to our Imperiall dominions, and in like sort to make their returne.

These two were Sir Edward Osborne and M. Richard Staper.

Our stately Court and Countrey hath beene euer open for the accesse both of our enemies and friends. But because we are informed that your most excellent Regall Maiesty doth abound with good will, humanitie, and all kind of louing affection towards vs, so much the rather shall the same our Countrey be alwayes open to such of your subiects, as by way of merchandize shall trade hither: and we will neuer faile to aide and succor any of them that are or shal be willing to esteeme of our friendship, fauour, and assistance: but will reckon it some part of our dutie to gratifie them by all good meanes. And forasmuch as our Imperiall highnesse is giuen to vnderstand that your most excellent Regall Maiestie doth excell in bountie and curtesie, we therfore haue sent out our Imperiall commandement to all our kings, iudges, and trauellers by sea, to all our Captaines and voluntarie seafaring men, all condemned persons, and officers of Ports and customes, straightly charging and commanding them, that such foresaid persons as shall resort hither by sea from the Realme of England, either with great or small vessels to trade by way of marchandize, may lawfully come to our imperiall Dominions, and freely returne home againe, and that no man shall dare to molest or trouble them. And if in like sort they shall come into our dominions by land, either on foote or on horsebacke, no man shall at any time withstand or hinder them: but as our familiars and confederates, the French, Venetians, Polonians, and the king of Germany, with diuers other our neighbours about vs, haue libertie to come hither, and to returne againe into their owne countreys, in like sort the marchants of your most excellent Regall Maiesties kingdome shall haue safe conduct and leaue to repayre hither to our Imperiall dominions, and so to returne againe into their owne Country: straightly charging that they be suffered to vse and trade all kind of marchandize as any other Christians doe, without let or disturbance of any.

He calleth the Germaine emperor but king of Germanie.

Therefore when these our Imperiall letters shall be brought to your most excellent Maiestie, it shall be meet, according to our beneuolence, humanity, and familiarity toards your most excellent Maiesty, that you likewise bethinke your selfe of your like beneuolence, humanitie and friendshippe towards vs, to open the gate thereof vnto vs, and to nourish by all good meanes this kindnesse and friendship: and that like libertie may be granted

The Turke demandeth like priuiledges for his subiects in the Queenes dominions.

by your Highnesse to oursubiects and merchants to come with their merchandizes to your dominions, either by sea with their ships, or by land with their wagons or horses, and to returne home againe: and that your most excellent Regall Maiestie do alwayes declare your humanitie, good will, and friendship towards vs, and alwayes keepe open the dore thereof vnto vs.

Giuen at our citie of Constantinople the fifteenth day of March, and in the yeere of our most holy Prophet Mahomet‖ 987. With vs the yeere 1579.

The answere of her Maiestie to the aforesaid Letters of the Great Turke, sent the 25 of October 1579, in the Prudence of London by Master Richard Stanley.

ELIZABETHA Dei ter maximi, et vnici cœli terræq; Conditoris gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ regina, fidei Christianæ contra omnes omnium inter Christianos degentium, et Christi nomen falsò profitentium Idololatrias inuictissima et potentissima Defensatrix, augustissimo, inuictissimóque principi Sultan Murad Can, Turcici regni dominatori potentissimo, Imperíjq; orientis, Monarchæ supra omnes soli et supremo, salutem, et multos cum rerum optimarum affluentia fœlices, et fortunatos annos. Augustissime et inuictissime Cæsar, accepimus inuictissimæ Cæsareæ vestræ celsitudinis literas, die decimoquinto Martij currentis anni ad nos scriptas Constantinopoli, ex quibus intelligimus quàm benignè quámq; clementer, literæ supplices quæ Cæsareæ vestræ celsitudini a quodam subdito nostro Guilielmo Hareborno in Imperiali Celsitudinis vestræ ciuitate Constantinopoli commorante offerebantur, literæ profectionis pro se et socijs eius duobus hominibus mercatoribus subditis nostris cum mercibus suis ad terras ditionésq; Imperio vestro subiectas tam per mare quàm per terras, indéq: reuersionis veniæ potestatísq; humillimam complexæ petitionem, ab inuictissima vestra Cæsarea celsitudine, acceptæ fuerunt. Neq; id solùm, sed quàm mira cum facilitate, dignáq; augustissima Cæsarea clementia, quod erat in dictis literis supplicibus positum, ei socíjsq; suis donatum et concessum fuit, pro ea, vti videtur, solùm opinione, quam de nobis, et nostra amicitia vestra celsitudo concepit. Quod singulare beneficium in dictos subditos nostros collatum tam gratè tamq; beneuolè

accepimus (maximas celsitudini vestræ propterea et agentes, et habentes gratias) nullo vt vnquam patiemur tempore, pro facultatum nostrarum ratione, proq; ea quam nobis inseuit ter maximus mundi monarcha Deus (per quem et cuius auspicijs regnamus) naturæ bonitate, qua remotissimas nos esse voluit, et abhorrentes ab ingratitudinis omni vel minima suspitione, docuitq; nullorum vnquam vt principum, vllis in nos meritis nos sineremus vinci, aut superari, vt apud ingratam principem tantum beneficium deposuisse, se vestra Celsitudo existimet. Proptereaq; animum nostrum inpræsentiarum vestræ celsitudini emetimur, benè sentiendo et prædicando, quantopere nos obstrictas beneficij huius in subditos nostros collati putemus memoriâ sempiternâ : longè vberiorem, et ampliorem gratitudinis erga vestram celsitudinem nostræ testificationem daturæ, cum tempora incident, vt possimus et à nobis desiderabitur. Quoniam autem quæ nostris paucis subditis, eáq; suis ipsorum precibus, sine vlla intercessione nostra concessa donatio est, in æquè libera potestate sita est ad omnes terras ditionesq; Imperio vestro subiectas, cum mercibus suis tam per mare quàm per terras eundi et redeundi, atq; inuictissimæ Cæsareæ vestræ celsitudinis confœderatis, Gallis, Polonis, Venetis, atq; adeo regis Romanorum subditis largita vnquam aut donata fuit, celsitudinem vestram rogamus ne tam singularis beneficentiæ laus in tam angustis terminis duorum aut trium hominum concludatur, sed ad vniversos subditos nostros diffusa, propagatáque, celsitudinis vestræ beneficium eò reddat augustius, quò eiusdem donatio latiùs patebit, et ad plures pertinebit. Cuius tam singularis in nos beneficij meritum, eò erit celsitudini vestræ minùs pœnitendum, quò sunt merces illæ, quibus regna nostra abundant, et aliorum principum ditiones egent, tam humanis vsibus commodæ támq: necessariæ, nulla gens vt sit, quæ eis carere queat, propter eáq; longissimis, difficillimísq; itineribus conquisitis non vehementer gaudeat. Cariùs autem distrahunt alijs, quo ex labore suo quísq; victum et quæstum quæritat, adeo vt in earum acquisitione vtilitas, in emptione autem ab alijs onus sit. Vtilitas celsitudinis vestræ subditis augebitur liberâ hac paucorum nostrorum hominum ad terras vestras perfectione: onus minuetur, profectionis, quorumcúnque subditorum nostrorum donatione. Accedet præterea quæ à nobis in celsitudinis vestræ subditos proficiscetur, par, æquáque mercium exercendarum libertas, quoties et quando voluerint ad regna dominiáq; nostra mercaturæ gratia accedere. Quam celsitudini vestræ pollicemur tam amplam latéque patentem fore, quàm est vlla à confœderatorum vestrorum vllis principibus antedictis, regibus videlicet Romanorum, Gallorum, Polonorum, ac republica Veneta, celsitudinis vestræ subditis vllo vnquam tempore concessa et donata. Qua in re si honestæ petitioni nostræ inuictissima Cæsarea vestra celsitudo dignabitur auscultare, faciétque vt acceptis nostris literis intelligamus gratum nè habitura sit quod ab ea contendibus et rogamus, ea proposita præstitáque securitate, quæ subditos nostros quoscúnque ad dominia sua, terra, maríque proficiscentes, indéq; reuerentes tutos et securos reddat ab omni quorumcúnque subditorum suorum iniuria, efficiemus, vt quæ Deus opt. max. in regna dominiáq; nostra contulit commoda (quæ tam singularia sunt, omnium vt principum animos pelliceant ad amicitiam, summæq; necessitudinis coniunctionem nobiscum contrahendam, stabiliendámque quo liberius tantis summi Dei beneficijs fruantur, quibus carere nequeunt) nostri subditi ad regna dominiáque Celsitudinis vestræ aduehunt tam affluenter támque cumulate, vt vtríque incommodo prædicto necessitatis et oneris plenissimè succurratur. Facit præthereà singularis ista Celsitudinis vestræ in nos Gentémque nostram summæ beneuolentiæ significatio ac fides, vt eandem, in causam quorundam subditorum nostrorum, qui captiui triremibus vestris detinentur, interpellemus, rogemúsque, vt quoniam nullo in celsitudinem vestram peccato suo, siuè arma in eam ferendo, siuè iniquiùs præter fas et ius gentium se gerendo in suos subditos, in hanc calamitatem inciderint, soluti vinculis, et libertate donati, nobis pro sua fide et obsequio inseruientes, causam vberiorem præbeant vestræ Celsitudinis in nos humanitatem prædicandi: et Deum illum, qui solus, et supra omnia et omnes est acerrimus idololatriæ vindicator, suíque honoris contra Gentium et aliorum falsos Deos Zelotes, præcabimur, vt vestram inuictissimam Cæsaream Celsitudinem omni beatitate eorum donorum fortunet, quæ sola et summè iure merito habentur desideratissima.

Datæ è Regia nostra Grenouici, prope ciuitatem nostram Londinum, quintodecimo Mensis Octobris, Anno Iesu Christi Saluatoris nostri 1579, Regni verò nostri vicessimo primo.

The same in English.

ELizabeth by the grace of the most mightie God, aud onely Creatour of heauen and earth, of England, France and Ireland Queene, the most inuincible and most mighty defender of the

Christian faith against all kinde of idolatries, of all that liue among the Christians, and fully professe the Name of Christ, vnto the most Imperiall and most inuincible prince, Zuldan Murad Can, the most mightie ruler of the kingdome of Turkie, sole and aboue all, and most souereigne Monarch of the East Empire, greeting, and many happy and fortunate yeeres, with abundance of the best things.

Most Imperiall and most inuincible Emperour, wee haue receiued the letters of your mightie highnesse written to vs from Constantinople the fifteenth day of March this present yere, whereby we vnderstand how gratiously, and how fauourably the humble petitions of one William Hareborne a subiect of ours, resident in the Imperiall citie of your highnes presented vnto your Maiestie for the obteining of accesse for him and two other Marchants more of his company our subiects also, to come with marchandizes both by sea and land, to the countries and territories subiect to your gouernment, and from thence againe to returne home with good leaue and libertie, were accepted of your most inuincible Imperiall highnesse, and not that onely, but with an extraordinarie speed and worthy your Imperiall grace, that which was craued by petition was granted to him, and his company in regard onely (as it seemeth) of the opinion which your highnesse conceiued of vs and our amitie: which singular benefit done to our aforesaid subiects, wee take so thankefully, and so good part (yeelding for the same our greatest thanks to your highnesse) that we will neuer giue occasion to your said highnesse (according as time, and the respect of our affaires will permit) once to thinke so great a pleasure bestowed vpon an vngratefull Prince. For the Almighty God, by whom, and by whose grace we reigne, hath planted in vs this goodnesse of nature, that wee detest and abhorre the least suspition of ingratitude, and hath taught vs not to suffer our selues to bee ouermatched with the good demerits of other Princes. And therefore at this time wee doe extende our good minde vnto your highnesse, by well conceiuing, and publishing also abroad, how much we repute our selfe bound in an euerlasting remembrance for this good pleasure to our Subiects, meaning to yeelde a much more large and plentifull testification of our thankefulnesse, when time conuenient shall fall out, and the same shall bee looked for at our handes.

But whereas that graunt which was giuen to a fewe of our

Subiects, at their onely request without any intercession of ours, standeth in as free a libertie of comming and going to and from all the lands and kingdoms subiect to your Maiestie, both by land and sea with marchandizes, as euer was granted to any of your Imperiall highnesse confederates, as namely to the French, the Polonians, the Venetians, as also to the subiects of the king of the Romanes, wee desire of your highnesse that the commendation of such singular courtesie may not bee so narrowly restrained to two or three men onely, but may be inlarged to all our subiects in generall, that thereby your highnesse goodnesse may appeare the more notable, by reason of the graunting of the same to a greater number of persons. The bestowing of which so singular a benefit your highnesse shall so much the lesse repent you of, by howe much the more fit and necessary for the vse of man those commodities are, wherewith our kingdomes doe abound, and the kingdomes of other princes doe want, so y^t^ there is no nation that can be without them, but are glad to come by them, although by very long and difficult trauels: and when they haue them, they sell them much deerer to others, because euery man seeketh to make profite by his labour: so that in the getting of them there is profit, but in the buying of them from others there is losse. But this profite will be increased to the subiects of your highnesse by this free accesse of a few of our subiects to your dominions, as also the losse and burden wilbe eased, by the permission of generall accesse to all our people. And furthermore we will graunt as equall and as free a libertie to the subiects of your highnesse with vs for the vse of traffique, when they wil and as often as they wil, to come, and go to and from vs and our kingdomes. Which libertie wee promise to your highnesse shalbe as ample, and as large as any was euer giuen or granted to your subiects by the aforesaide princes your confederats, as namely the king of the Romanes, of France, of Poland, and the common wealth of Venice. In which matter, if your most inuincible Imperiall highnesse shall vouchsafe to incline to our reasonable request, and shall giue order vpon these our letters, that wee may haue knowledge how the same is accepted of you, and whether it wilbe granted, with sufficient securitie for our subiects to go, and returne safe and secure from all violences and inuiries of your people, we on the other side wil giue order, that those commodities which Almighty God hath bestowed vpon our kingdomes (which are in deed so excellent, that by reason of them all princes are drawen to enter, and confirme leagues of amitie and good neighborhood with vs, by that meanes to enioy these so great blessings of God, which we haue, and they can in no case want) our subiects shall bring them so abundantly and plentifully to the kingdomes and dominions of your highnesse, that both the former inconueniences of necessitie, and losse, shall most sufficiently be taken away.

Moreouer the signification and assurance of your highnesse great affection to vs and our nation, doeth cause vs also to intreat and vse mediation on the behalfe of certain of our subiects, who are deteined as slaues and captiues in your Gallies, for whom we craue, that forasmuch as they are fallen into that misery, not by any offence of theirs, by bearing of armes against your highnesse, or in behauing of themselues contrarie to honestie, and to the law of nations, they may be deliuered from their bondage, and restored to libertie, for their seruice towardes vs, according to their dutie : which thing shall yeeld much more abundant cause to vs of commending your clemencie, and of beseeching that God (who onely is aboue all things, and all men, and is a most seuere reuenger of all idolatrie, and is ielous of his honour against the false gods of the nations) to adorne your most inuincible Imperiall highnesse with all the blessings of those gifts, which onely and deseruedly are accounted most worthy of asking.

Giuen at our palace of Greenwich, neere to our Citie of London, the fiue and twentieth day of October, in the yeere of Iesus Christ our Sauiour one thousand, fiue hundreth, seuentie and nine, and of our reigne the one and twentieth.

The charter of the priuileges granted to the English, and the league of the great Turke with the Queenes Maiestie in respect of traffique, dated in Iune 1580.

IMmensa et maxima ex potestate potentissimi, terribilibúsque verbis et nunquam finienda innumerabiliue clementia et ineffabili auxilio sanctissimi et pura mente colendissimi tremendissimſq; vniuersitatum creatoris, princeps temporum præsentium, vnicus modernæ ætatis monarcha, totius orbis terrarum potentibus sceptra diuidere potens, clementiæ, gratiæq; diuinæ vmbra, regnorum prouinciarumue, et vrbium ciuitatumue distributor permultarum :

Nos sacratissimus Cæsar Muzulmanicus, Mecchæ, id est domus diuinæ, Medinæ, gloriosissimæ et beatissimæ Ierusalem, Aegypti fertilissimæ, Iemen, et Zouan, Eden et Canan, Sami paciferæ et Hebes, Iabza et Pazra, Zeruzub et Halepiæ, Caramariæ et Diabekiruan, et Dulkadiriæ, Babyloniæ, et totius triplicis Arabiæ, Euzorum et Georgianorum, Cypri diuitis, et regnorum Asiæ Ozakior, Camporum Maris albi et nigri, Græciæ et Mesopotamiæ, Africæ et Goletæ, Algeris et Tripolis occidentalis, selectissimæq; Europæ, Budæ, et Temeswar, et regnorum transalpinorum, et his similium permultorum princeps Cæsarué sacerrimus, potentissimus Murad Can, filius principis Zelim Can, qui fuit Zoleiman Can, qui fuit Zelim Can, qui fuit Paiezid Can, qui fuit Mehemed Can, &c.

Nos princeps potentissimus Murad Can hoc in signum nostræ Cæsareæ amicitiæ significamus, manifestamus, quòd in temporibus modernis Regina Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Elizabetha in Christianitate honoratissima Regina (cuius mercatorum exitus sit fœlicissimus) ad nostram excelsam, et iustitiæ plenam, fulgidissimámue portam, quæ omnibus principibus mundi est refugium et requies, per egregium Gulielmum Harebornum literas misit suas, quibus sua maiestas significauit, quod tempore præterito quidam subditi sui venissent ad nostram portam excelsam, et suam obedientiam erga eam demonstrauissent, et ob eam causam illis quoque ad nostras ditiones mercandi gratia venire et redire poscerent, venia et potestas fuisset data: et quòd in locis et hospitijs eorum per mare et terram nemo auderet impedire et illis damnum facere, mandatum Cæsareum fuisset datum: et quòd hanc nostram gratiam, quam paucis hominibus suæ maiestatis demonstrauissemus, vniuersis suis subditis concederemus, petebat. Quare, quemadmodum cum serenissimis beneuolentiam et obedientiam, seruitiáue sua demonstrantibus erga nostram portam excelsam regibus et principibus confœderatis (vt sunt rex Gallorum, Veneti, et rex Polonorum, et cæteri) pacem et fœdus sanctissimum pepigimus: sic etiam cum præfata Regina amicitiam custodiendam, pacem et fœdus coniunximus. Illius igitur homines, et vniuersi mercatores, sine aliquo impedimento cum suis mercibus et oneribus cunctis ad nostras ditionis Cæsareas pacificè et securè veniant, et suam exerceant mercaturam, maneant in suis statibus, et secundum suos mores negocientur. Et adhæc, sua maiestas significabat ex hominibus suis aliquos iamdudum captos fuisse, et in captiuitate detineri, et quòd hi dimitterentur petebat, et quòd sicut alijs

Fœdus Turcici Imperatoris cum Regina initum.

principibus nobiscum confœderatis priuilegia et mandata Cæsarea super fœdus sanctissimum dedissemus, sic præfatæ quoque Reginæ priuilegium et mandata Cæsareæ vt daremus, nostræ Cæsareæ celsitudini placeret. Quare secundùm nostram beneuolentiam et gratiam innatam, optata suæ maiestatis apud nos grata fuere: Et hoc nostrum priuilegium iustitijs plenum dedimus maiestata suæ: Et Beglerbegis, Zanziacbegis famulis nostris, et Kazijs, id est, iudicibus, et omnibus teloniatoribus omnium locorum, portuum, et vadorum firmiter mandamus, vt donec ex parte præfatæ reginæ fœdus, et pax, et eorum conditiones articulíque (vt conuenit) custodiuntur et seruantur, nostræ quóque Cæsareæ celsitudinis mandata sunt:

Articuli huius priuilegij.

1 Vt præfatæ Reginæ homines, et subditi eius quibusuis rebus et mercibus, oneribus et suppellectilibus per mare in magnis et paruis nauibus, per terram autem homines cum oneribus et pecoribus, securè et pacificè ad nostras ditiones Cæsareas veniant, et nemo iliis noceat, sed securè et sine aliquo impedimento negocientur, et in suis statibus et conditionibus permaneant.

2 Item, si præfati homines et mercatores in suis rectis vijs et negociationibus aliquo modo caperentur, sine aliqua tergiuersatione dimittantur liberentúrque.

3 Item, si naues eorum ad aliquos portus et loca venire voluerint, pacificè omni in tempore, et sine impedimento veniant, et discedant in sua loca.

4 Item, si in tempestatibus maris naues eorum essent in periculo et auxilio opus esset illis, naues nostræ Cæsareæ celsitudinis, earúmque homines, et aliornm naues hominésque statim auxilium et opem ferant illis, mandamus.

5 Item, si edulia suis pecunijs emere voluerint, nemo resistat illis, sed sine impedimento edulia emant.

6 Item, si infortunium maris naues eorum in terram proiecerit, Begi et iudices, et cæteri nostri subditi sint auxilio illis, merces et res eorum quæ remanserint iterum reddantur illis, et nemo impediat illos.

7 Item, si præfatæ reginæ homines, eorum interpretes, et mercatores, siue per terram, siue per mare mercandi gratiâ ad nostras ditiones venire velint, legitimo telonio, et vectigali reddito, pacificè vagentur, capitanei et reges maris et nauium, et aliud genus hominum per mare vagantium in personis, et rebus eorum, pecoribúsque, ne noceant illis.

8 Item, si aliquis ex Anglis debitor, aut ære alieno esset obstrictus, inueniríque non possit, ratione debitorum alterius nullus nisi esset fideiussor capiatur aut impediatur.

9 Item, si Anglus testamentum fecerit, et sua bona cuicúnque legauerit, illi dentur bona illius, et si sine testamento moreretur, consul eorum cuicúnque sociorum mortui hominis dixerit debere dari, illi dentur bona mortui hominis.

10 Item, si Angli, et ad Angliam pertinentium locorum mercatores et interpretes, in vendendis et emendis mercibus fideiussionibus et rebus aliquid negocij habuerint, ad iudicem veniant, et in librum inscribi faciant negotium, et si voluerint, literas quóque accepiant à iudice, propterea quòd si aliquid inciderit, videant librum et literas, et secundùm tenorem eorum perficiantur negocia eorum suspecta: si autem néque in librum inscriberentur, néque literas haberent, iudex falsa testimonia non admittat, sed secundúm iustitiam legem administrans non sinat illos impediri.

11 Item, si aliquis disceret, quod isti Christiani nostræ fidei Muzulmanicæ male dixerint, et eam vituperijs affecerint, in hoc negocio etiam et alijs, testes falsi minimè admittantur.

12 Item, si aliquis eorum aliquod facinus patraret, et fugiens non possit inueniri, nullus nisi esset fideiussor pro alterius facto retineatur.

13 Item, si aliquod mancipium Anglicum inueniretur, et consul eorum peteret illud, examinetur diligenter mancipium, et si inuentum fuerit Anglicum, accipiatur, et reddatur Anglis.

14 Item, si aliquis ex Anglis huc venerit habitandi aut mercandi gratiâ, siue sit vxoratus, siue sit sine vxore, non saluat censum.

15 Item, si in Alexandria, in Damasco, in Samia, in Tunis, in Tripoli occidentali, in Aegypti portubus et in alijs omnibus locis, vbicúnq; voluerint facere Consules, faciant: Et iterum si voluerint eos mutare, et in loco priorum consulum alios locare, liberè faciant, et nemo illis resistat.

16 Item, si illorum interpres in arduis negotijs occupatis abesset, donec veniret interpres, expectetur, et interem nemo illos impediat.

17 Item, si Angli inter se aliquam litem haberent et vellent ad suos consules ire, nemo resistat illis, sed liberè veniant ad Consules suos, vt secundùm mores eorum finiatur lis orta.

18 Item, si post tempus aut datum huius priuilegij, piratæ, aut alij aliqui liberi gubernatores nauium per mare vagantes, aliquem ex Anglis ceperint, et trans mare vel cis mare venderint, secundùm

iustitiam examinetur: et si Anglus inuentus fuerit, et religionem Muzulmanicam assumpserit, liberè dimittatur: si autem adhuc esset Christianus, Anglis reddatur, et emptores suam pecuniam ab illo petant, à quo emerant.

19 Item, si nostræ Cæsareæ Celsitudinis naues armatæ exiuerint ad mare, et ibi inuenerint naues Anglicas merces portantes, nemo impediat illas, imò amicè tractentur, et nullum damnum faciant illis: Quemadmodum Gallis, Venetis, et cæteris nobiscum confœderatis regibus, et principibus priuilegium, et articulos priuilegijs dedimus, et concessimus, simili modo his quóque Anglis priuilegium et articulos priuilegijs dedimus et concessimus, et contra legem diuinam, et hoc priuilegium, nemo vnquam aliquid audeat facere.

20 Item, si naues magnæ, et paruæ in itinere et loco vbi stant detinebuntur, nemo illos audeat impedire, sed potiús auxilio sint illis.

21 Item, si latrones et fures vi raperent naues illorum nauiúmque merces, magna diligentia quærantur latrones et fures, et seuerissimè puniantur.

22 Ad extremum, Beglerbegij, et Zanziacbegi, Capitanei nostri, Mancipia, et per mare nauigantes serui Capitaneorum, et Iudices, et Teloniatores nauium Reiz dicti, et liberi Rez, omnes isti præfati, secundùm tenorem huius priuilegij, tenorémue articulorum eius, omnia facere teneantur, et debeaet. Et donec hoc in priuilegio descriptum fœdus, et pax illius Maiestatis ex parte sanctè seruabitur, et custodietur, ex parte etiam nostra Cæsarea custodiri, et obseruari mandamus.

Datum Constantinopoli, anno nostri prophetæ Sanctissimi 988, in principio mensis Iunij, anno autem Iesu 1580.

The interpretation of the letters, or priuilege of the most mightie and Musumanlike Emperour Zuldan Murad Can, granted at the request of Elizabeth by the grace of the most mightie God, and only Creator of heauen and earth, of England, France and Ireland Queene, confirming a peace and league betwixt both the said Princes and their subiects.

WE most sacred Musolmanlike Emperor, by the infinite and exceeding great power, by the euerlasting and wonderfull clemencie, and by the vnspeakable helpe of the most mighty and

most holy God, creator of all things, to be worshipped and feared with all purenesse of minde, and reuerence of speech, The prince of these present times the onely Monarch of this age, able to giue scepters to the potentates of the whole world, the shadow of the diuine mercy and grace, the distributer of many kingdoms, prouinces, townes and cities, Prince, and most sacred Emperour of Mecca, that is to say, of Gods house, of Medina, of the most glorious and blessed Ierusalem, of the most fertile Egypt, Iemen and Iouan, Eden and Canaan, of Samos the peaceable, and of Hebes, of Iabza, and Pazra, of Zeruzub and Halepia, of Caramaria and Diabekiruan, of Dulkadiria, of Babylon, and of all the three Arabias, of the Euzians and Georgians, of Cyprus the rich, and of the kingdomes of Asia, of Ozakior, of the tracts of the white and blacke Sea, of Grecia and Mesopotamia, of Africa and Goleta, of Alger, and of Tripolis in the West, of the most choise and principall Europe, of Buda and Temeswar, and of the kingdomes beyond the Alpes, and many other such like, most mightie Murad Can, the sonne of the Emperour Zelim Can, which was the sonne of Zoleiman Can, which was the sonne of Zelim Can, which was the sonne of Paiizid Can, which was the sonne of Mehemed Can, &c.

We most mightie prince Murad Can, in token of our Imperiall friendship, doe signifie and declare, that now of late Elizabeth Queene of England, France and Ireland, the most honourable Queene of Christendom (to whose marchants we wish happy successe) sent her letters by her worthy seruant William Hareborne vnto our stately and most magnificent Porch replenished with iustice, which is a refuge and Sanctuary to all the princes of the world, by which letters her Maiestie signified, that whereas heretofore certaine of her subiects had repaired to our saide stately Porche, and had shewed their obedience to the same, and for that cause had desired that leaue and libertie might also be granted vnto them, to come and goe for traffiques sake too and from our dominions, and that our Imperial commandement might be giuen, that no man should presume to hurt or hinder them, in any of their abodes or passages by sea or land, and whereas shee requested that we would graunt to all her subiects in generall, this our fauour, which before wee had extended onely to a fewe of her people: therefore as we haue entred into amitie, and most holy league with the most excellent kings and princes our confederates, shewing their deuotion, and obedience or seruices towards our stately Porch (as namely the French king, the Venetians, the king of Polonia and others) so also we haue contracted an inuiolable amitie, peace and league with the aforesaid Queene. Therefore wee giue licence to all her people, and marchants, peaceably and safely to come vnto our Imperiall dominions, with all their marchandise and goods without any impeachment, to exercise their traffique, to vse their owne customes, and to buy and sell according to the fashions of their owne countrey.

And further her Maiestie signified vnto vs, that certaine of her people had heretofore bene taken prisoners, and were detained in captiuitie, and required that they might bee set at libertie, and that as we had graunted vnto other Princes our confederats, priuiledges, and Imperiall decrees, concerning our most inuiolable league with them, so it would please our Imperial Maiesty to graunt and confirme the like priuiledges, and princely decrees to the aforesaid Queene.

Wherefore according to our humanitie and gracious ingraffed disposition, the requests of her Maiestie we accepted of vs, and we haue granted vnto her Maiestie the priuilege of ours agreeable to reason and equitie. And we straightly command all our Beglerbegs, and Zanziacbegs our seruants, and our Reyz, that is to say, our Iudges, and all our customers in all places, hauens and passages, that as long as this league and amitie with the conditions, and articles thereof, are kept and obserued on the behalfe of the aforesaid Queene. 1 Our Imperiall commandement and pleasure is, that the people and subiects of the same Queene, may safely and securely come to our princely dominions, with their goods and marchandise, and ladings, and other commodities by sea, in great and smal vessels, and by land with their carriages and cattels, and that no man shall hurt them, but they may buy and sell without any hinderance, and obserue the customes and orders of their owne countrey.

2 Item, if the aforesaid people and marchants shalbe at any time in the course of their iourneis and dealings by any meanes taken, they shall be deliuered and inlarged, without any excuse or cauillation.

3 Item, if their ships purpose to arriue in any of our ports and hauens, it shalbe lawfull for them so to do in peace, and from thence againe to depart, without any let or impediment.

4 Item, if it shall happen that any of their ships in tempestuous weather shall bee in danger of losse and perishing, and thereupon shall stand in need of our helpe, we will, and

commaund that our men and ships be ready to helpe and succour them.

5 Item, if they shalbe willing to buy any victuals for their money, no person shall withstande them, but they shall buy the same without any disturbance to the contrary.

6 Item, if by any casualtie their shippes shall bee driuen on shoare in perill of shipwracke, our Begs and Iudges, and other our Subiects shall succour them, and such wares, and goods of theirs as shall bee recouered from the losse, shall bee restored to them, and no man shall wrong them.

7 Item, if the people of the aforesayd Queene, their interpreters and marchants, shall for trafique sake, either by lande or Sea repaire to our dominions paying our lawfull toll and custome, they shall haue quiet passage, and none of our Captaines or gouernours of the Sea, and shippes, nor any kinde of persons, shall either in their bodies, or in their goods and cattells, any way molest them.

8 Item, if any Englishman shall grow in debt, and so owe money to any other man, and thereupon doth absent himselfe that he can not be found, let no man be arrested or apprehended for any other mans debt, except he be surety.

9 Item, if any Englishman shall make his will and testament, to whom soeuer by the same hee shall giue his goods, the partie shall haue them accordingly, and if hee die intestate, hee to whom the Consull or gouernour of the societie shall say the goods of the dead are to bee giuen, hee shall haue the same.

10 Item, if the Englishmen or the marchants and interpreters of any places vnder the iurisdiction of England shall happen in the buying and selling of wares, by promises or otherwise to come in controuersie, let him go to the Iudge, and cause the matter to be entred into a booke, and if they wil, let them also take letters of the Iudge testifying the same, that men may see the booke and letters, whatsoeuer thing shall happen, and that according to the tenour thereof the matter in controuersie and in doubt may be ended: but if such things be neither entred in booke, nor yet the persons haue taken letters of the Iudge, yet he shall admit no false witnesse, but shall execute the Law according to iustice, and shall not suffer them to be abused.

11 Item, if any man shall say, that these being Christians haue spoken any thing to the derogation of our holy faith and religion, and haue slandered the same, in this matter as in all others, let no false witnesses in any case be admitted.

12 Item, if any one of them shall commit any great crime, and flying thereupon cannot bee found, let no man be arrested, or detained for another mans fact, except he be his suretie.

13 Item, if any slaue shall be found to be an Englishmen, and their Consull or gouernour shall sue for his libertie, let the same slaue be diligently examined, and if hee be found in deed to be English, let him be discharged and restored to the Englishmen.

14 Item, if any Englishman shall come hither either to dwel or trafique, whether hee be married or vnmarried, he shall pay no polle or head money.

15 Item, if either in Alexandria, Damasco, Samos, Tunis, Tripolis, in ye west, the port townes of Ægypt, or in any other places, they purpose to choose to themselues Consuls or gouernours, let them doe so, and if they will alter them at any time, and in the roome of the former Consuls place others, and let them do so also, and no man shall restraine them.

16 Item, if their interpreter shalbe at any time absent, being occupied in other serious matters, let the thing then in question bee stayed and differed till his comming, and in the meane time no man shall trouble them.

17 Item, if any variance or controuersie shall arise among the Englishmen, and thereupon they shall appeale to their Counsuls or gouernours, let no man molest them, but let them freely doe so, that the controuersie begunne may be finished according to their owne customes.

18 Item, if after the time and date of this priuilege, any pirats or other free gouernours of ships trading the Sea shall take any Englishman, and shall make sale of him, either beyonde the Sea or on the side of the Sea, the matter shalbe examined to iustice, and if the partie shalbe found to be English, and shall receiue the holy religion, then let him freely be discharged, but if he wil still remaine a Christian, let him then be restored to the Englishmen, and the buyers shall demaund their money againe of them who solde the man.

19 Item, if the ships of warre of our Imperiall highnesse shal at any time goe forth to Sea, and shall finde any English ships laden with marchandise, no man shall hidder them, but rather shall vse them friendly, and doe them no wrong, euen as wee haue giuen and granted articles, and priuileges to the French, Venetians, and other Kings and princes our confederates, so also wee haue giuen

the like to the English: and contrary to this our diuine lawe and priuilege, let no man presume to doe any thing.

20 Item, if either their great or small ships shall in the course of their voyage, or in any place to which they come, bee stayed or arrested, let no man continue the same arrest, but rather helpe and assist them.

21 Item, if any theeues and robbers shall by force take away any of their ships, and marchandise, let the same theeues and robbers be sought and searched for with all diligence, and let them be punished most seuerely.

22 Last of all the Beglerbegs, and Zanziacbegs, our Captaines, our slaues and seruants of Captaines vsing the sea, and our Iudges, customers and gouernours of ships called Reiz, and free Reiz, all these, according to the tenor of this priuilege and articles, shalbe bound to doe accordingly: and, as long as the Queene of England on her part shall duely keepe and obserue this league and holy peace, expressed in this priuilege, we also for our Imperial part, do charge and commaund the same so long to be straightly kept and obserued.

Giuen at Constantinople, in the 988. yeere of our most holy prophet, in the beginning of the moneth of Iune, And in the yeere of Iesvs 1580.

Her Maiesties letter to the Turke or Grand Signior 1581. promising redresse of the disorders of Peter Baker of Ratcliffe, committed in the Leuant.

ELizabeth by the diuine grace of the eternall God, of England, France and Ireland most sacred Queene, and of the most Christian faith, against all the prophaners of his most holy Name the zealous and mightie defendour, &c. To the most renowned and emperious Cæsar, Sultan Murad Can, Emperour of all the dominions of Turkie, and of all the East Monarchie chiefe aboue all others whosoeuer, most fortunate yeeres with the successe of al true happinesse. As with very great desire we wish and embrace the loue and amitie of forreine Princes, and in the same by al good dueties and meanes we seeke to bee confirmed: so to vs there may bee nothing more grieuous and disliking, then that any thing should happen through the default of our Subiects, which any way might bring our faith and fidelitie into suspition Although wee are not ignorant how many good princes by the like misaduenture be abused, where the doings of the Subiects are imputed to the want of good gouernment. But such matters of importance and so well approued we may not omit: such is to vs the sacred estimation of our honour, and of our Christian profession, as we would the same should appeare as well in the concluding of our promises and agreements, as in the faithfull performing of the same.

The matter which by these our letters wee specially beholde, is a most iniurious and grieuous wrong which of late came vnto our vnderstanding, that should be done vnto certaine of your subiects by certaine of our Subiects, at yet not apprehended: but with all seueretie vpon their apprehension they are to be awarded for the same.* And as the deede in it selfe is most wicked, so it is much more intollerable, by how much it doeth infringe the credit of our faith, violate the force of our authoritie, and impeach the estimation of our word faithfully giuen vnto your Imperiall dignitie. In which so great a disorder if wee should not manifest our hatred towardes so wicked and euill disposed persons, we might not onely most iustly be reproued in the iudgement of all such as truely fauour Iustice, but also of all Princes the patrones of right and equitie, might no lesse be condemned. That therefore considered, which of our parts is ordained in this cause which may be to the good liking of your highnesse, we are most especially to request of your Imperiall Maiestie, that through the default and disorder of a sort of euill and wicked disposed persons, you wil not withdraw your gratious fauour from vs, neither to hinder the traffique of our Subiects, which by virtue of your highnesse sufferance, and power of your licence are permitted to trade into your dominion and countreys, or that either in their persons or goods they be preiudiced in their traueyling by land or by water, promising vnto your greatnesse most faithfully, that the goods whereof your subiects by great wrong and violence haue bene spoyled, shall wholly againe be restored, if either by the liues or possessions of the robbers it may any way be brought to passe: And that hereafter (as now being taught by this euill example) wee will haue speciall care that none vnder the title of our authoritie shall be suffered to commit any the like wrongs or iniuries.

---

* This was Baker of Ratcliffe, who with the barke called the Roe, robbed certaine Grecians in the Leuant.

Neither they which haue committed these euil parts had any power vnder your highnesse safeconduct graunted vnto our subiects, but from some other safeconduct whether it were true or fained, we knowe not, or whether they bought it of any person within the gouernment of Marseils: but vnder the colour thereof they haue done that, which the trueth of our dealing doeth vtterly abhorre. Notwithstanding howsoeuer it be, wee will surely measure their euill proceedings with most sharpe and iust correction, and that it shall repent them of the impeachment of our honours, as also it shalbe an example of our indignation, that others may dread at all times to commit the like offence. Wherefore that our amitie might be continued, as if this vnfortunate hap had neuer chanced, and that the singuler affection of our Subiects towardes your Imperiall Maiestie vowed, and dayly more and more desired, might be conserued and defended, we thereunto do make our humble suite vnto your greatnesse: And for so great goodnesse towardes vs and our people granted, doe most humbly pray vnto the Almightie creatour of heauen and earth, euer to maintaine and keepe your most renowmed Maiestie in all happinesse and prosperitie.

Dated at our palace of Greenewich the 26. of Iune, Anno 1581.

The letters patents, or priuileges graunted by her Maiestie to Sir Edward Osborne, Master Richard Staper, and certaine other Marchants of London for their trade into the dominions of the great Turke, in the yeere 1581.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all our Officers, ministers, and Subiects, and to all other people as well within this our Realme of England, as else where vnder our obeysance, iurisdiction, or otherwise, vnto whom these our letters shall be seene, shewed or read, greeting. Where our welbeloued Subiects Edward Osborne Alderman of our Citie of London, and Richard Staper of our sayde City Merchant, haue by great aduenture and industrie, with their great costes and charges, by the space of sundry late yeeres, trauailed, and caused trauaile to bee taken, as well by secret and good meanes, as by dangerous wayes and passages both by lande and Sea, to finde out and set open a trade of Marchandize and traffique into the Lands, Islands, dominions, and territories of the great Turke, commonly called the Grand Signior, not heretofore in the memory of any man nowe liuing knowen to be commonly vsed and frequented by way of marchandise, by any the Marchants or any Subiects of vs, or our progenitours; and also haue by their like good meanes and industrie, and great charges procured of the sayde Grand Signior (in our name), amitie, safetie, and freedome, for trade and traffique of Marchandise to bee vsed, and continued by our Subiects within his sayde Dominions, whereby there is good and apparant hope and likelyhoode both that many good offices may bee done for the peace of Christendome, and reliefe of many Christians that bee or may happen to bee in thraldome or necessitie vnder the sayde Grand Signior, his vassals or Subiects, and also good and profitable vent and vtterance may be had of the commodities of our Realme, and sundry other great benefites to the aduancement of our honour, and dignitie Royall, the increase of the reuenues of our Crowne, and generall wealth of our Realme: Knowe ye, that hereupon wee greatly tendering the wealth of our people, and the incouragement of our Subiects in their good enterprises for the aduancement of the Common weale, haue of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, giuen and graunted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successours, doe giue and graunt vnto our sayd trustie, and welbeloued Subiects Edward Osborne, and vnto Thomas Smith of London Esquier, Richard Staper, and William Garret of London Marchants, their executors, and administrators, and to the executours and administratours of them, and of euery of them, that they, and euery of them, and such other person and persons Englishmen borne, not exceeding the number of twelue, as they the sayde Edward, and Richard shall appoint, nominate, or admit to be parteners, aduenturers, or doers with them the sayde Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, in their societie by themselues, their seruants, Factours or deputies, and to such others as shall bee nominated according to the tenour of these our letters Patents, shall and may during the terme of seuen yeeres from the date of these Patents, freely trade, traffique, and vse feates of Marchandise into, and from the dominions of the sayde Grand Signior, and euery of them, in such order, and maner, forme, liberties and condition to all intents and purposes as shalbe betweene them limitted, and agreed, and not otherwise, without any molestation, impeachment, or disturbance, any Lawe, statute, vsage, diuersitie of religion or faith, or other cause or matter whatsoeuer to the contrary notwithstanding.

And that it shalbe lawful to the said Edward and Richard their executors and administrators, (during the said terme) to appoint or admit to be parteners and aduenturers with them the sayde Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, such persons not exceeding the number of twelue (as afore is said) to trafique and vse the said trade and feat of marchandise according to our saide graunt. And that all and euery such person and persons, as shall hereafter fortune to bee appointed or admitted as parteners in the saide trade or trafique according to these our letters patents, shall and may from the time of such appointment or admittance, haue and enioy the freedome and libertie of the said trade and trafique, during the residue of the said terme of seuen yeeres, according to such limitation and agreement as is aforesaide, and that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executours and administratours, seruants factours and deputies, and all such as shall be so appointed, nominated or admitted, to be parteners or aduenturers in the saide trade, or so many of them as can and will, to assemble themselues for or about any the matters, causes, affaires or businesse of the saide trade, in any place or places for the same conuenient, from time to time during the said terme of 7. yeeres, within our dominions or elsewhere, and to make, ordeine, and constitute reasonable lawes and ordinances, for the good gouernment of the said Company, and for the better aduancement and continuance of the said trade and trafique, not being contrary or repugnant to the lawes, estatutes or customes of our Realme, and the same lawes or ordinances so made to put in vse, and execute accordingly, and at their pleasures to reuoke the same lawes and ordinances, or any of them, as occasion shall require.

And in consideration that the said Edward Osborne hath bene the principall setter foorth and doer in the opening, and putting in vre of the said trade, we do therefore especially ordeine, constitute, and prouide by these patents, that the saide Edward Osborne shall be gouernour of all such as by vertue of these our letters patents, shall be parteners, aduenturers, or trafiquers in the said trade, during the said terme of seuen yeeres, if he so long liue: And that if the saide Edward shall happen to decease during the saide terme, the saide Richard Staper then liuing, then the said Richard Staper shall likewise be gouernour during the residue of the said terme (if he so long liue) and that if the said Edward and Richard shall both happen to decease during the said terme, then the partners or aduenturers for the time being, or the greatest part of them, shall from time to time as necessitie shall require, choose and elect a gouernour of the said Company.

Prouided alwayes, that if there shall happen any great or vrgent occasion to remoue or displace any person that shall be gouernour of the saide fellowship, that then it shall, and may be lawfull for vs, our heires and successours, to remooue, and displace euery such gouernour, and to place another of the said fellowship in the same office, during such time as such person should haue enioyed the same, according to this our graunt, if there had bene no cause to the contrary.

And we further for vs, our heires, and successors, of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, do graunt to the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors and administrators, that nothing shall bee done to be of force or validitie touching the sayde trade or trafique, or the exercise thereof, without or against the consent of the saide Edward, during such time as hee shall bee Gouernour as afore is saide. And after that time without the consent of the Gouernour for the time being, and the more part of the said Company.

And further, wee of our more ample and abundant grace, meere motion and certaine knowledge, haue graunted, and by these patents for vs, our heires and successors, doe graunt to the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors and administrators, that they, the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors and administrators, and the said person and persons, by them the said Edward and Richard to be nominated, or appointed as afore is said, together, with such two other persons, as wee our heires or successors from time to time during the sayd terme shall nominate, shall haue the whole trade and trafique, and the whole entire onely libertie, vse and priuilege of trading, and trafiquing, and vsing feate of marchandise, into, and from the said dominions of the said Grand Signior, and euery of them. And when there shall be no such persons so nominated or appointed by vs, our heires or successors, that then the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors and administrators, and such persons by them so to be appointed, shall haue the saide whole trade and trafique, and the whole entire, and onely libertie, vse, and priuilege of trading and trafiquing aforesaid. And that they the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors and administrators, and also al such as shal so be nominated or appointed to be partners or aduenturers in the said trade, according to such agreement as is abouesaid, and euery of them, their seruants, factors and deputies, shal haue ful and free authoritie, libertie, facultie, licence and power to trade and trafique into and from all and euery of the saide dominions of the saide Grand Signior, and into, and from all places where, by occasion of the said trade, they shall happen to arriue or come, whether they be Christians, Turkes, Gentiles or other, and into, and from all Seas riuers, ports, regions, territories, dominions, coastes, and places with their ships, barks, pinnesses and other vessels, and with such mariners and men, as they will lead with them or send for the said trade, as they shall thinke good at their owne proper cost and expenses, any law, statute, vsage, or matter whatsoeuer to the contrary notwistanding. And that it shalbe lawful for the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, and to the persons aforesaid, and to and for the mariners and seamen to bee vsed and employed in the said trade and voyage to set and place in the tops of their ships and other vessels the armes of England with the red crosse ouer the same, as heretofore they haue vsed the red crosse, any matter or thing to the contrary notwithstanding.

And we of our further royall fauor, and of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion haue graunted, and by these presents doe graunt to the said Edward Osburne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors and administrators by these presents, that the said lands, territories, and dominions of the said Grand Signior, or any other of them, shall not be visited, frequented, nor haunted by way of marchandise by any other our subiects during the said terme, contrary to the true meaning of these patents.

And by vertue of our high prerogatiue royall (which wee will not haue argued or brought in question) we straightly charge and commaund, and prohibite for vs, our heires, and successours, all our subiects (of what degree or qualitie soeuer they be) that none of them directly, or indirectly, do visite, haunt, frequent or trade, trafique, or aduenture by way of marchandise into, or from any of the Dominions of the saide Grand Signior, or other places abouesayde by water or by lande (other then the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executours or administrators, or such as shalbe admitted, and nominated as is aforesaide) without expresse licence, agreement, and consent of the saide Gouernour, and company or the more part of them, whereof the said Gouernour alwayes to be one, vpon paine of our high indignation, and of forfeiture and losse, as well of the ship and shippes, with the furniture thereof, as also of the goods, marchandizes, and things whatsoeuer they be of those our Subiects which shall attempt, or presume to saile, trafique, or aduenture, to or from any the dominions, or places abouesaid, contrary to the prohibition aforesaid: the one halfe of the same forfeiture to be to the vse of vs, our heires and successors, and the other halfe to the vse of the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, and the said companie, and further to suffer imprisonment during our pleasure, and such other punishment as to vs, for so high contempt, shal seeme meete and conuenient.

And further of our grace speciall, certaine knowledge, and meere motion we haue condescended and graunted, and by these patents for vs, our heires and successors, doe condescend and graunt to the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors and administrators, that we our heires and successors during the said terme, will not graunt liberty, licence or power to any person or persons whatsoeuer, contrary to the tenor of these our letters patents, to saile, passe, trade or trafique into or from the said dominions of the said Grand Signior or any of them, without the consent of the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, and such as shalbe named or appointed as a fore is said, or the most of them. And that if at any time hereafter during the said terme, ye said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or the suruiuors of them, shal admit or nominate any of our subiects to be partners and aduenturers in the said trade to the number of 12. or vnder as afore is said, that then we our heires and successors at the instance and petition of the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or the suruiuors of them in our Chauncerie to be made, and vpon the sight of these presents, will grant and make to the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or to the suruiuors of them, and to such persons as so shall be nominated or appointed by their speciall names, surnames, and additions as is aforesaid, new letters patents vnder the great seale of England in due forme of law with like agreements, clauses, prohibitions, prouisoes and articles (mutatis mutandis) as in these our letters patents are conteined, for, and during the residue of the said terme of seuen yeres then remaining vnexpired. And that the sight of these presents shalbe sufficient warrant to the Lord Chancellour, or Lord keeper of the great seale for the time being, for the making, sealing and passing of such new letters patents, without further writ or warrant for the same to be required, had, or obtained.

And the said Edward Osburne, Thomas Smith, and Richard Staper, and William Garret and such others as shalbe so nominated or appointed, as is aforesaid, to be of their trade or companie, shall yeerely during 6. of the last yeres of the said 7. yeres, lade out of this our Realme, and bring home yeerely, for, and in the feate and trade of marchandizing aforesaid, so much goods and marchandizes, as the custome, and subsidie inwards and outwards, shall amount in the whole to the summe of 500. li. yeerely. So that the said Edward Osburne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret and the said persons so to be nominated as is aforesaid, or any of them, or their ship or shippes be not barred, stayed, restrained or let by any reasonable occasion from the saide trade or trafique, and so that the said ship or ships do not perish by any misfortune, or bee spoyled by the way in their voyage.

And further, the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, and such others as shall be appointed as aforesaide to be of their said trade or Company, shall giue notice vnto the Lord Admirall of England, or to some of the principall officers of the Admiraltie for the time being, of such ship or shippes as they shall set foorth in the same voyage, and of the number of Mariners appointed to goe in the same ship or shippes, by the space of fifteene dayes before the setting or going foorth of the same ship or shippes. And also the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper and William Garret, and such other as shall be by them the saide Edward and Richard, nominated to be of the said trade, shall and will at the setting foorth of their ship, or shippes, for the same voyage, permit and suffer the Master of the Ordinance of vs, our heires and successors, or some others, our or their principall officers of the Ordinance, to take a view of the number and quantitie of such Ordinance, power, and munition as shall be caried in the said ship, or shippes, and shall also at the returne of the same ship, or shippes, suffer a view to be taken, and vpon request made, make an accompt to the saide officers of our Ordinance, of the expenses, and wastes of the said Ordinance, power, and munition, so to bee caried in the same ship, or shippes.

Prouided alwayes, that if any of the said trade or Company, or their seruants, factors, or sailers, in any ship by them laden, shall commit any piracie or outrage vpon the seas, and that, if the said Company or societie shall not, or do not, within reasonable time, after complaint made, or notice giuen to the said Company, or to any of them, either satisfie or recompense the parties that so shall fortune to be robbed, or spoiled by any of the said Company, or sailers, in the said ships, or else shall not do their endeuour to the vttermost of their reasonable power, to haue the parties so offending punished for the same their offences, that then, and from thencefoorth, these present letters patents shall be vtterly voyd, cease, and determine.

Prouided likewise, that if it shall hereafter appeare vnto vs, our heires, or successors that this grant, or the continuance thereof in the whole, or in any part thereof, shall not be profitable to vs, our heires, our successors, or to this our Realme, that then, and from thencefoorth, vpon, and after one full yeeres warning, to be giuen vnto the said Company, or to the Gouernour thereof, by vs, our heires or successors, this present grant shall cease, be voyd, and determine, to all intents, constructions, and purposes.

Prouided also, that we, our heires and successors, from time to time, during the said 7. yeeres, may lawfully nominate, appoint, and authorise two persons, being fit men, to be of the saide company, and for want or lacke of them, two others to be aduenturers in the said trade, for such stocke and summe of money, as they shall put in, so that the said persons to bee nominated, or authorised, shall be contributorie to all charges of the said trade and aduenture indifferently, according to their stockes: and as other aduenturers of the said trade shall doe for their stockes, and so that likewise they doe obserue the orders of the said Company, allowable by this our graunt, and that such persons so to be appointed by vs, our heires or successors, shall and may, with the saide Company, and fellowship, vse the trade and feate of marchandise aforesaide, and all the liberties and priuileges herein before granted, according to the meaning of these our letters patents, any thing in these our letters patents contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

And further of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, we haue condescended and granted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successors, doe condescend, and grant to the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard

Staper, and William Garret, their executors, and administrators, that if at the ende of the said terme of seuen yeeres, it shall seeme meete, and conuenient vnto the saide Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, or the suruiuer of them, that this present grant shall be continued: and if that also it shall appeare vnto vs, our heires, or successors, that the continuance thereof shall not be preiudiciall, or hurtfull to this our Realme, that then we, our heires, or successors, at the instance and petition of the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, or the suruiuor of them, to be made to vs, our heires, or successors, wil grant and make to the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or the suruiuor of them, and to such other persons, as so shall be by the said Edward and Richard nominated and appointed, new letters patents, vnder the great seale of England, in due forme of lawe, with like couenants, grants, clauses, and articles, as in these presents are contained, or with addition of other necessary articles, or change of these, in some part, for and during the full terme of seuen yeeres then next following. Willing, and straightly commanding, and charging all and singuler our Admirals, Viceadmirals, Justices, Maiors, Sheriffes Escheaters, Constables, Bailiffes, and all and singuler our other officers, ministers, liege men, and subiects whatsoeuer, to be aiding, fauouring, helping, and assisting vnto the said Gouernour, and company, and their successors, and to their Deputies, officers, seruants, assignes, and ministers, and euery of them, in executing and enioying the premisses, as well on land as on sea, from time to time, and at all times when you, or any of you, shall be thereunto required, any statute, act, ordinance, prouiso, proclamation, or restraint heretofore had, made, set forth, ordained, or prouided, or any other matter, cause or thing to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding.

In witnesse whereof we haue caused these our letters to be made patents, witnesse our selfe, at Westminster, the 11. day of September, in the 23. yeere of our raigne.

The Queenes Commission vnder the great seale, to her seruant master William Hareborne, to be her maiesties Ambassadour or Agent, in the partes of Turkie. 1582.

ELIZABETHA, Dei optimi Maximi, conditoris, et rectoris vnici clementia, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regina, veræ fidei

contra Idololatras falsò Christi nomen profitentes inuicta et potentissima propugnatrix, vniuersis, et singulis præsentes has literas visuris, et inspecturis, salutem. Cùm augustissimus, et inuictissimus princeps, Zuldan Murad Can, Turcici regni Dominator potentissimus, imperiíque Orientis Monarcha, fœdus, amicitiámque nobiscum percusserit, iurauerítque, (quam nos perpetuis futuris temporibus, quantum in nobis erit, inuiolatè seruare destinamus) ad eámque magis ornandam, illustrandámque concesserit idem augustissimus Imperator subditis nostris liberam suas merces excercendi rationem in omnibus Musulmanici imperij sui partibus, cum tam ampla priuilegorum concessione, quàm alijs bonis principibus, socijs, et fœderatis nostris largitus est, quorum priuilegiorum donationem nos gratam, acceptámque habentes, pari cum animi gratitudine colere certum habemus deliberatúmque, nihil, in votis, habentes potiùs, quàm bonorum erga nos principum animos beneuolos honoratissima mente fouere, promererísque: Sciatis, nos de singulari erga nos, obsequiúmque nostrum, fide, obseruantia, prudentia, et dexteritate multùm nobis chari Guilielmi Hareborne, è custodibus corporis nostri vnius, plurimùm confidentes, eum Oratorem, Nuntium, Procuratorem, et Agentem nostrum certum et indubitatum ordinamus, facimus, et constituimus, per præsentes: dantes ei, et concedentes potestatem, et authoritatem, nomine nostro, et pro nobis prædictum amicitiæ fœdus confirmandi, priuilegiorum concessionem in manus suas capiendi, ratámque habendi, omnibus et singulis subditis nostris, Musulmanicis oris terrísque negotiantibus, pro Maiestatis nostræ authoritate præcipiendi, mandaníque, vt sint in suis commercijs, quamdiu, quotiésque cum Mansulmanicis versantur, dictorum priuilegiorum præscripto obtemperantes in omnibus, ac per omnia, ad obsequia tanta amicitia digna se componentes, ac in delinquentes in fœdus nostrum iustitiam exequatur. Potestatem, et authoritatem ei damus in omnes, et singulos subditos nostros in quibuscunque et locis, et partibus Musulmanici Imperij dominationi subiectis negotiantes, constituendi emporiorum suorum sedes in quibus voluerit portubus, et ciuitatibus, in alijs vetandi, in constitutis autem emporiorum sedibus, consules curandi, leges præceptionésque ferendi, condendíque, quarum ex præscripto dicti nostri subditi, et eorum quilibet sese publicè, et priuatim gerant, eorum violatores corrigendi, castigandíq; omnia denique et singula faciendi, perimplendíque, quæ ad dictorum subditorum nostrorum honestam gubernationem, et commercij exercendi in

illis partibus rationem pertinent: promittentes bona fide, et in verbo Regio, nos ratum, gratum, et firmum habituas, quæcunque dictus Orator, et Agens noster, à legibus nostris non abhorrentia in præmissis aut præmissorum aliquo fecerit. In cuius rei testimonium, has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes, et sigilli nostri impressione iussimus muniri. Datum è castro nostro Windesoriæ, 20. die Mensis Nouembris, Anno Iesu Christi 1582. regni verò nostri, vicesimo quarto.

The same in English.

Elizabeth, by the clemencie of the most good and most great God, the only creator and gouernour of all things, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, inuincible, and most mightie defender of the true faith, against all Idolaters falsly professing the name of Christ, to all and singuler persons, to whose sight and view these our present letters may come, greeting. Whereas the most renowmed, and most inuincible Prince Zuldan Marad Can, the most mighty gouernour of the kingdom of Turkie, and Monarch of the East Empire, hath entered into league and friendship with vs, (which we for our part, as much as lieth in vs, doe purpose solemnly, and inuiolablie to keepe in all times to come) and whereas for the better countenancing and authorizing of the same, the foresayd renowmed Emperour hath graunted vnto our subiects free libertie of traffique, in all the partes of his sacred Empire, with as ample and large a grant of priuileges, as is giuen to other good Princes our neighbours and confederates, the grant of which priuileges, we taking very thankfully, and acceptably, are certainely, and throughly determined to keepe and mainetaine, with the like goodnesse and curtesie of minde, desiring nothing more, then with an honourable respect to nourish, and deserue the beneuolent affections of good Princes toward vs: Know ye, that wee thinking well, and hauing good confidence in the singular trustinesse, obedience, wisedome, and disposition of our welbeloued seruant William Hareborne, one of the Esquiers of our body, towards vs, and our seruice, doe by these presents, make, ordaine and constitute him our true and vndoubted Orator, Messenger, Deputie, and Agent. Giuing and granting vnto him power and authoritie, in our name, and for vs, to confirme the foresaid league of friendship, to take into his hands, and to ratifie the grant of the priuileges, and to command, and enioyne by the authoritie of our Maiestie, all and singular our Subiects trading and dealing in any of the coastes and kingdomes of that Empire, that as long as they remaine in traffique with his subiects, they be obedient to the prescription and order of the foresayd priuileges, applying themselues in all things, and through all things, to such duties and seruices as appertaine to so great a league and friendship, and the offenders agaynst this our league to receiue iustice, and punishment accordingly. We further giue unto him power and authoritie ouer all and singuler our Subiects, dealing, and vsing traffique in any place or part whatsoeuer, subiect to the gouernment of that Empire, to appoint the places of their traffiques, in what Hauen or Citie it shall please him, and to prohibite them from all other places, and wheresoeuer their traffiques are appointed to bee kept, there to make and create Consuls or Gouernors, to enact lawes and statutes, by the vertue and tenor whereof all our foresayd subiects, and euery one of them, shall both publikely and priuately vse and behaue themselues, to correct and punish the breakers of those lawes: and last of all, to doe and fulfill all and singular things whatsoeuer, which shall seeme requisite and conuenient for the honest and orderly gouernment of our said subiects, and of the maner of their trafique in those parts. Promising assuredly, and in the word of a Prince, that whatsoeuer shall be done of our sayd Orator and Agent, in all, or in any of the premisses, not repugnant and contrary to our lawes, shall be accepted, ratified, and confirmed by vs. In witnesse whereof, we haue caused these our letters to be made patents, and our seale thereunto to be appensed. Giuen at our Castle of Windsore, the 20. day of Nouember, in the yeere of Christ 1582. and of our raigne the 24.

The Queenes Letter to the great Turke 1582. written in commendation of Master Hareborne, when he was sent Ambassadour.

ELIZABETH &c. Augustissimo inuictissimóque principi, etc. Cùm ad postulatum nostrum Cæsarea vestra Maiestas, anno saluatoris nostri Iesu 1580. pacis fœdus nobiscum pepigerit, coniunctum cum liberalissima priuilegiorum quorundam concessione, quorum beneficio subditi nostri cum omni securitate

tutissimè liberriméque ad vniuersas et singulas Musulmanici imperij vestri partes terra marſque proficisci, in iisque commercij exercendi gratia, negotiari, habitare, manere, exindéque ire et redire cum volent queant, ab ijs qui sub Cæsarea vestra Maiestate in magistratu sunt vbibue locorum protegendi defendendíque sine vlla vel corporum, vel bonorum læsione: nos tantæ concessionis beneficium gratum acceptúmque habentes, quantum in nobis est, approbamus confirmamúsque: pollicentes in verbo regio, quod nos eandem pacem sine vlla violatione sartam tectámq; conseruabimus: faciemúsq; vt subditi nostri priuilegiorum sibi indultorum concessione ita vtantur, vt Cæsaream vestram Maiestatem magnificentissimæ suæ liberalitatis nunquam pœnitere queat. Quoniam autem concessionis huius virtus in vsu potiùs quàm verbis, Maiestatis vtriúsq; nostrum sententiâ, ponenda videtur, voluimus hunc mandatarium virum Guilielmum Hareborne, ex satellitibus quibus ad corporis nostri tutelam vtimur vnum, virum compluribus virtutibus ornatum, ad Cæsaream vestram Maiestatem ablegare, qui tum nomine nostro vobis gratias ageret, tum vt eius opera vteremur ad eam subditorum nostrorum mercimoniorum rationem stabiliendam, tam in Imperiali vestra ciuitate Constantinopoli, quàm alijs imperij vestri Musulmanici locis, quæ ex præscripto priuilegiorum, Cæsareæ vestræ Maiestatis benignitate, conceditur, et ex vsu subditorum vtriúsq; nostrum erit. Ad quam rem quoniam opus illi erit Cæsareæ vestræ Maiestatis authoritate, summa contentione ab eadem rogamus, velit id agere apud omnes qui sub se in magistratu sunt, vt quibuscunq; poterunt melioribus modis huic nostro mandatario in Cæsarcæ vestræ Maiestatis placito exequendo, adiutores sint et esse velint. Ei enim hanc curam demandauimus, in qua quàm fidem suam sit honestè liberaturus erga Maiestatem vtriusq; nostrum neutiquam dubitamus: cui etiam, vt in omnibus sint obtemperantes nostri subditi, quantum Cæsareæ vestræ Maiestatis concessio patitur, volumus. Præterea, cum præclarus vir Mustafa sacræ Cæsareæ vestræ Maiestatis Musulmanorum interpres egregiam nauarit operam vt hoc inter nos fœdus fieret, rogamus summoperè vt in nostram gratiam eum in Mustafaracarum ordinem Cæsarea vestra Maiestas recipere dignetur. Si in his aliisque omnibus honestis causis hic noster agens subitíq; nostri Imperatoriæ vestræ sublimitatis æquanimitatem senserint, florebit inter has gentes nobile commercium, et nos omnibus officijs huic vestræ Maiestatis fauori et beneuolentiæ (si vlla ratione rebus vestris

Mustafa interpres.

commodare poterimus) respondere libentissimè semper paratæ erimus. Deus optimus maximus mundi opifex, etc.

The same in English.

ELizabeth by the grace of the most mightie God and only creator of heauen and earth, of England, France, and Ireland Queene, the most inuincible and most mightie defender of the Christian faith against all kind of idolatries of all that liue among the Christians and falsly professe the name of Christ, vnto the most Imperiall and most inuincible prince, Sultan Murad Can, the most mighty ruler of the kingdom of Turkie, sole aboue all, and most soueraigne Monarch of the East Empire, greeting.

Whereas at our request your Imperiall Maiestie in the yeere of our Sauiour Iesus 1580. hath entered into a league of peace with vs, whereunto was vnited a most large and bountifull grant of certaine priuileges, by benefite whereof our subiects may with all securitie most safely and freely trauell by Sea and land into all and singular parts of your Musulmanlike Empire, and in the same exercising the trade of marchandise, may traffique, dwell, remaine, depart from thence, and returne thither at their pleasure, and in places be maintained and defended from all damage of bodies and goods, by such as are in authoritie vnder your Imperiall Maiestie: we thankfully and gratefully receiuing the benefite of so great a priuilege, as much as in vs lieth doe approue and confirme the same, promising in the worde of a Prince, that we will keepe the saide league perfect and inuiolable, and will cause our subiects so to vse the grant of the priuileges giuen vnto them, as your Imperiall Maiestie shall neuer haue occasion to repent you of your most princely liberalitie. And because the force of this grant, in the iudgement of both our maiesties, seemeth rather to consist in the vse thereof then in the wordes, we thought good to send vnto your Imperiall maiestie this our ambassadour William Hareborne, one of the Esquiers of our body, which both on our behalfe should yeeld thanks vnto your maiestie, and also that we might vse his good indeauour for the establishing of such order in our subiects trade of merchandise, as well in your Imperiall citie of Constantinople, as in other places of your Musulmanlike Empire, as according to the prescript of the priuileges is granted by your princely maiesties goodnesse, and

M. Wil. Hareborne sent ambassador to the Turke.

shall be for the benefite of both our subiects. For performance whereof, because hee standeth in neede of your Imperiall Maiesties authoritie, wee earnestly beseech the same, that you would cause all those which bee in authoritie vnder your Highnesse, by all their best meanes to aide and assist this our Ambassadour in executing this your Imperiall Maiesties pleasure, for vnto him wee haue committed this charge: wherein how honestly hee will discharge his credite toward both our Maiesties, I no whit stand in doubt: to whom also our pleasure is, that all our subiects shall bee obedient, as farre as the grant of your Imperiall maiestie doeth permit. Moreouer, whereas that woorthie personage Mustafa, your Imperiall maiesties Interpretor, hath taken speciall paines for the procuring of this league betweene vs, wee earnestly beseech you that for our sakes your Imperiall Maiestie would vouchsafe to aduance him vnto the degree of the Mustafaraks or chiefe pensioners. If in these and in all other honest causes, our aforesayde Agent and our subiectes shall finde your Imperiall Highnesses fauour, a noble traffique will flourish betweene these nations, and wee (if by any way wee may stand your State in steade) will alwayes most willingly be readie to requite this your Maiesties fauour and good will with all kinde of good offices. Almightie God the maker of the world preserue and keepe your Imperiall Maiestie, &c.

A request for the preferring of Mustafa Beg.

A Letter of the Queenes Maiestie to Alli Bassa the Turkes high Admirall, sent by her ambassadour M. William Hareborne, and deliuered vnto him aboord his gallie in the Arsenal.

ELIZABETHA, &c. Illustrissimo viro Alli Bassa, magni Musulmanici Cæsaris Admiralio, salutem et successus fortunatos. Non ignotum esse Excellentiæ vestræ arbitramur, priuilegia quædam à potentissimo Cæsare Musulmanico domino vestro clementissimo subditis nostris Anglicis concessa esse, vt illis liceat in omnibus imperij Musulmanici prouincijs tutò et securé manere ac negotiari: non aliter quàm hoc ipsum Francis, Polonis, Venetis Germanis antea indultum est. Qua ex causa nos Gulielmum Hareborne nobis dilectum, è corporis custodibus vnum, ac multis nominibus ornatum ad inclytam Constantinoplis ciuitatem pro agente misimus: qui, ex priuilegiorum prædictorum præscripto nostras et subditorum nostrorum res in illis locis constitueret. Facere igitur non potimus, quin Excellentiæ vestræ Guilielmum hunc, pro ea qua apud magnum Cæsarem polles authoritate, commendaremus: petentes summopere vt tutò in mari sine Classiariorum vestrorum violentia, et securè in portibus absque ministrorum rapinis et iniuria, tam ipse quàm omnes Angli subditi nostri possint versori: vti pro tenore literarum patentium à magno Cæsare concessarum illis licere ex illarum conspectione perspicuum esse potest. Gratissimum ergo nobis excellentia vestra facerit, si portuum omnium, aliorúmque locorum, qui vestræ iurisdictioni parent, custodibus, item classium et nauium præfectis omnibus mandare velit, vt Guilielmus iste, aliíque Angli subditi nostri cum in illorum erunt potestate, amicè et humaniter tractarentur. Quemadmodum nos vicissim omnes magni Cæsaris subditos omni humanitatis genere tractabimus, si in Oceani maria, aliáue loca venerint, quæ nostro parent imperio. Postremo excellentiam vestram pro eo quem in nostros extendet fauore ijs omnibus officijs prosequemur, quæ à gratissima principe in optime de se merentes debent proficisci. Benè et fœliciter valeas. Datum è castro nostro Windesorij die vicessimo mensis Nouembris, Anno Iesu Christi saluatoris nostri 1582. Regni verò nostri vicessimo quarto.

A briefe Remembrance of things to be indeuoured at Constantinople, and in other places in Turkie, touching our Clothing and our Dying, and things that bee incident to the same, and touching ample vent of our naturall commodities, and of the labour of our poore people withall, and of the generall enriching of this Realme: drawen by M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple, and giuen to a friend that was sent into Turkie 1582.

1 ANile wherewith we colour Blew to be brought into this realme by seed or roote.

2 And the Arte of compounding of the same.

3 And also all other herbes vsed in dying in like maner to bee brought in.

4 And all Trees whose Leaues, Seedes, or Barkes, or Wood doe serue to that vse, to be brought into this realme by Seed or Roote.

5 All little Plants and Buskes seruing to that vse to be brought in.

6 To learne to know all earths and minerals forren vsed in

dying, and their naturall places, for possible the like may here be found vpon sight.

7 Also with the materials vsed in dying to bring in the excellencie of the arte of dying.

8 To procure from Muhaisira a citie in Ægypt to Constantinople, the seed of Sesamum the herbe, and the same into this realme. Common trade is betweene Alexandria and Constantinople, and therefore you may easily procure the seeds. Of this seed much oyle is made, and many mils set on worke about the same in the sayde Muhaisira, and if this seede may prosper in England, infinite benefite to our Clothing trade may rise by the same. This citie is situate vpon Nilus the riuer, and thence this is brought to Venice and to diuers other Cities of Italie, and to Antwerpe.

9 To note all kindes of clothing in Turkie, and all degrees of their labour in the same.

10 To endeauour rather the vent of Kersies, then of other Clothes as a thing more beneficiall to our people.

11 To endeauour the sale of such our clothes as bee coloured with our owne naturall colours as much as you can, rather then such as be coloured with forren colours.

12 To seeke out a vent for our Bonettos, a cap made for Barbarie, for that the poore people may reape great profite by the trade.

13 To endeuour vent of knit Stocks made of Norwich yarne, and of other yarne, which brought to great trade, may turne our poore people to great benefite, besides the vent of the substance, of our colours, and of our diuers labour.

14 To endeuor a vent of our Saffron for the benefit of our poore people: for a large vent found, it setteth many on worke.

Remembrances for master S. to giue him the better occasion to informe himselfe of some things in England, and after of some other things in Turkie, to the great profite of the Common weale of this Countrey. Written by the foresayd master Richard Hakluyt, for a principall English Factor at Constantinople 1582.

SInce all men confesse (that be not barbarously bred) that men are borne as well to seeke the common commoditie of their Countrey, as their owne priuate benefite, it may seeme follie to perswade that point, for each man meaneth so to doe. But wherein men should seeke the common commoditie, and what way, and by what meane that is to bee brought about, is the point or summe of the matter, since euery good man is ready to imploy his labour. This is to bee done by an infinite sort of meanes, as the number of things bee infinite that may be done for common benefite of the Realme. And as the chiefe things so to bee done be diuers, so are they to be done by diuers men, as they bee by wit and maner of education more fit, or lesse fit, for this and for that. And for that of many things that tend to the common benefite of the State, some tend more, and some lesse, I finde that no one thing, after one other, is greater then Clothing, and the things incident to the same. And vnderstanding that you are of right good capacitie, and become a Factor at Constantinople, and in other partes in Turkie, I finde no man fitter of all the English Factors there, then you. And therefore I am so bold to put you in minde, and to tell you wherein with some indeuour you may chaunce to doe your Countrey much good, and giue an infinite sorte of the poore people occasion to pray for you here throughout the Realme: this that I meane is in matter of Cloth, &c.

1 FIrst, you cannot denie but that this Realme yeeldeth the most fine Wooll, the most soft, the most strong Wooll, the most durable in Cloth, and most apte of nature of all other to receiue Die, and that no Island or any one kingdome so small doeth yeeld so great abundance of the same: and that no Wooll is lesse subiect to mothes, or to fretting in presse, then this, as the old Parliament robes of Kings, and of many noble Peeres to be shewed may plainly testifie.

2 There is no commoditie of this Realme that may set so many poore subiects on worke, as this doeth, that doeth bring in so much treasure, and so much enrich the merchant, and so much employ the Nauie of this Realme, as this commoditie of our Wooll doeth.

Ample and full Vent of this noble and rich commoditie is it that the common weale of this realme doeth require.

Spaine nowe aboundeth with Wools, and the same are Clothed. Turkie hath Wools, and so haue diuers prouinces of Christendome and of Heathenesse, and cloth is made of the same in diuers places.

1 But if England haue the most fine, and the most excellent Wools of the world in all respects (as it cannot bee denied, but it hath) 2 If there may bee added to the same, excellent artificiall, and true making, and excellent dying, 3 Then no doubt but that we shall haue vent for our Clothes, although the rest of the world did abound much more with Wool then it doeth, and although their workemanship and their dying were in euery degree equal with ours of England, vnlesse the labour of our people imployed that way, and the materials vsed in dying should be the cause of the contrary by dearth.

But if Forren nations turne their Wools, inferiour to ours, into truer and more excellent made cloth, and shall die the same in truer, surer, and more excellent and more delectable colours, then shall they sell and make ample vent of their Clothes, when the English cloth of better wooll shall rest vnsold, to the spoyle of the Merchant, of the Clothier, and of the breeder of the wooll, and to the turning to bag and wallet of the infinite number of the poore people imploied in clothing in seuerall degrees of labour here in England.

Which things wayed, I am to tell you what things I wish you in this Realme, and after in Turkie, to indeuour from time to time, as your laisure may permit the same.

Before you goe out of the Realme, that you learne:

1 TO know wooll, all kind of clothes made in this realme, and all other employments of wooll, home or forren, be ye same in Felt clokes, felt hats, in the red knit cap for Barbarie, called Bonettos rugios colorados, or whatsoeuer, &c.

All the deceits in Clothmaking; as the sorting together of Wools of seuerall natures, some of nature to shrink, some to hold out, which causeth cloth to cockle and lie vneuen.

The euill sorting of threed of good or bad wooll, some tootoo * hard spun, some tootoo soft spun deliuered to be wouen.

The faults in Weauing.

---

* Tootoo. The duplication is often used for the sake of emphasis.

"A lesson tootoo hard for living clay."

Spenser, *Faerie Queen*, iii., iv., 26.

The faults in Walking,† Rowing, and Burling, and in Racking‡ the Clothes aboue measure vpon the Teintors: all which faults may be learned of honest men, which faults are to be knowen to the merchant, to be shunned and not to be vsed.

2 Then to learne of the Diers to discerne all kind of colours; as which be good and sure, and which will not hold: which be faire, which not; which colours by the dearth of the substances bee deare, and which by reason of the cheapenesse of the Materials with which they be died, be cheape colours.

3 Then to take the names of all the materials and substaunces vsed in this Citie or in the realme, in dying of cloth or silke.

To learne to know them, as which be good, which bad.

And what colours they die.

And what prices they be of.

And of them which bee the Naturals of this Realme, and in what part of the Realme they are to be had.

And of all the forren materials vsed in dying to know the very naturall places of them, and the plentie or the scarcenesse of each of them.

These things superficially learned in the realme before you goe, you are the fitter in forren parts to serue your Countrey, for by this meanes you haue an enterie into the thing that I wish you to trauell in.

What you shall doe in Turkie, besides the businesse of your Factorship.

1 FOrasmuch as it is reported that the Woollen clothes died in Turkie bee most excellently died, you shall send home into this realme certaine Mowsters or pieces of Shew to be brought to the diers hall, there to be shewed, partly to remooue out of their heads, the tootoo great opinion they haue conceiued of their owne cunning, and partly to mooue them for shame to endeuour to learne more knowledge to the honour of their countrey of England, and to the vniuersall benefit of the realme.

2 You shall deuise to amend the Dying of England, by carying

---

† A "Walker" is a fuller of cloth.

"She curst the weaver and the walker."

Boy and Mantle, *Percy Rel.*, iii., 5.

‡ Stretching.

"Two lutes rack's up
To the same pitch."

The Slighted Maid, p. 53.

hence an apte yoong man brought vp in the Arte, or by bringing one or other from thence of skill, or rather to deuise to bring one for Silkes, and another for Wooll and for Woollen cloth, and if you cannot worke this by ordinarie meanes, then to worke it by some great Bassas meane, or if your owne credite there be not sufficient by meane of your small abode in those parties, to worke it by the helpe of the French ambassador there resident, for which purpose you may insinuate your selfe into his acquaintance, and otherwise to leaue no meane vnsought that tendeth to this end, wherein you are to doe as circumstances may permit.

3 Then to learne to know all the materials and substances that the Turkes vse in dying, be they of Herbes, simple or compound, be they Plants, Barkes, Wood, Berries, Seedes, Graines, or Minerall matter, or what els soeuer. But before all other, such things as yeeld those famous colours that carrie such speciall report of excellencie, that our Merchaunts may bring them to this realme by ordinarie trade, as a light meane for the better vent of our clothes.

4 To know the vse of those, and where the naturall place of them and of ech of them is, I meane the place where ech of them groweth or is bred.

5 And in any wise, if Anile that coloureth blew be a naturall commodity of those parts, and if it be compounded of an herbe, to send the same into this realme by seed or by root in barrell of earth, with all the whole order of sowing, setting, planting, replanting, and with the compounding of the same, that it may become a naturall commodity in this realme as Woad is, to this end that the high price of forreine Woad (which deuoureth yeerely great treasure) may be brought downe. So shall the marchant buy his cloth lesse deare, and so he shalbe able to occupy with lesse stocke, be able to afoord cloth cheaper, make more ample vent, and also become a greater gainer himselfe, and all this to the benefit of this realme.

6 To do the like with herbe and plant, or tree that in dying is of any excellent vse, as to send the same by seed, berry, root, &c: for by such meanes Saffron was brought first into this realme, which hath sent many poore on worke, and brought great wealth into this realme. Thus may Sumack, the plant wherewith the most excellent blacks be died in Spaine, be brought out of Spaine, and out of the Ilands of the same, if it will grow in this more colde climat. For thus was Woad brought into this realme, and came

to good perfection, to the great losse of the French our olde enemies. And it doth maruellously import this realme to make naturall in this realme such things as be special in the dying of our clothes. And to speake of such things as colour blew, they are of greatest vse, and are grounds of the most excellent colours, and therefore of all other to be brought into this realme, be it Anile or any other materiall of that quality.

7 And because yellowes and greenes are colours of small prices in this realme, by reason that Olde and Greenweed wherewith they be died be naturall here, and in great plenty, therefore to bring our clothes so died to common sale in Turkie were to the great benefit of the marchant, and other poore subiects of this realme, for in sale of such our owne naturall colours we consume not our treasure in forren colours, and yet we sell our owne trifles dearely perhaps.

8 The woolles being naturall, and excellent colours for dying becomming by this meanes here also naturall, in all the arte of Clothing then we want but one onely speciall thing. For in this so temperate a climat our people may labor the yere thorowout, whereas in some regions of the world they cannot worke for extreme heat, as in some other regions they cannot worke for extreme colde a good part of the yere. And the people of this realme by the great and blessed abundance of victuall are cheaply fed, and therefore may afoord their labour cheape. And where the Clothiers in Flanders by the Flatnesse of their riuers cannot make Walkmilles* for their clothes, but are forced to thicken and dresse all their clothes by the foot and by the labour of men, whereby their clothes are raised to an higher price, we of England haue in all Shires store of milles vpon falling riuers. And these riuers being in temperate zones are not dried vp in Summer with drought and heat as the riuers be in Spaine and in hotter regions, nor frozen vp in Winter as all the riuers be in all the North regions of the world: so as our milles may go and worke at all times, and dresse clothes cheaply. Then we haue also for scowring our clothes earths and claies, as Walkers clay,† and the clay of Oborne little inferior to Sope in scowring and in thicking. Then also haue we some reasonable store of Alum and Copporas here

---

* Fulling, or the art of scouring, cleansing, and thickening cloth, &c., in a mill, makes the material more compact and durable. Walkmill is the old name for a fullingmill.

† Fuller's earth, which attains a thickness of 150 feet near Bath.

made for dying, and are like to haue increase of the same. Then we haue many good waters apt for dying, and people to spin and to doe the rest of all the labours we want not. So as there wanteth, if colours might be brought in and made naturall, but onely Oile: the want whereof if any man could deuise to supply at the full with any thing that might become naturall in this realme, he whatsoeuer he were that could bring it about, might deserue immortall fame in this our Common wealth, and such a deuise was offered to the Parliament and refused, because they denied to endow him with a certaine liberty, some others hauing obtained the same before, that practised to worke that effect by Radish seed, which onely made a triall of small quantity, and that went no further, to make that Oile in plenty: and now he that offered this deuise was a marchant, and is dead, and withall the deuise is dead with him.

Supply of the want of oile.

It is written by one that wrote of Afrike, that in Egypt in a city called Muhaisira there be many milles imployed in making of Oile of the seed of an herbe called Sesamum. Pena and Lobell, Physicians, write in our time, that this herbe is a codded herbe full of oily seed, and that there is plenty of this seede brought out of Egypt to diuers Cities in Italy. If this herbe will prosper in this realme, our marchants may easily bring of it, &c.

Leo Africanus lib. 8.

9 Hauing heerein thus troubled you by raising to your minde the consideration of certaine things, it shall not be impertinent to tell you that it shall not be amisse that you note all the order of the degrees of labour vsed in Turky, in the arte of Clothing, and to see if any way they excell in that profession our people of these parts, and to bring notice of the same into this realme.

10 And if you shall finde that they make any cloth of any kind not made in this realme, that is there of great vse, then to bring of the same into this realme some Mowsters, that our people may fall into the trade, and prepare the same for Turkie: for the more kinds of cloth we can deuise to make, the more ample vent of our commoditie we shall haue, and the more sale of the labour of our poore subiects that els for lacke of labour become idle and burdenous to the common weale, and hurtfull to many: and in England we are in our clothing trade to frame our selues according to the desires of forren nations, be it that they desire thicke or thinne, broad or narrowe, long or short, white or blacke.

11 But with this prouiso alwayes, that our cloth passe out

with as much labour of our people as may be, wherein great consideration ought to be had: for (if vent might so admit it) as it were the greatest madnesse in the world for vs to vent our wooll not clothed, so were it madnesse to vent our wooll in part or in the whole turned into broad cloth, if we might vent the same in Kersies: for there is great difference in profit to our people betweene the clothing of a sacke of wooll in the one, and the like sacke of wooll in the other, of which I wish the marchant of England to haue as great care as he may for the vniuersall benefit of the poore: and the turning of a sacke of wooll into Bonets is better then both &c. And also not to cary out of the realme any cloth white, but died if it may be, that the subiects of this realme may take as much benefit as is possible, and rather to seeke the vent ot the clothes died with the naturall colours of England, then such as be died with forren colours.

12 And if of necessity we must be forced to receiue certaine colours from forren parts, for that this climat will not breed them, I wish that our marchants procure Anile and such other things to be planted in like climats where now it growes, in diuers others places, that this realme may haue that brought in for as base prices as is possible, and that falling out with one place we may receiue the same from another, and not buy the same at the second or the third hand &c. For if a commodity that is to be had of meere necessity, be in one hand, it is dearely purchased.

1. How many seuerall colours be died is to be learned of our Diers before you depart.

2 Then how many of those colours England doth die of her owne naturall home materials and substances, and how many not.

3 Then to bring into this realme herbs and plants to become naturall in our soiles, that may die the rest of the colours, that presently of our owne things here growing we can not yet die, and this from all forren places.

4 There is a wood called Logwood or Palo Campechio, it is cheape and yeeldeth a glorious blew, but our workmen can not make it sure. This wood you must take with you, and see whether the Silke diers or Wooll diers in Turky can doe it, with this one you may inrich your selfe very much, and therefore it is to be endeuoured earnestly by you. It may bring downe the price of Woad and of Anile.

Other some things to be remembred.

IF you can finde out at Tripoly in Syria or elsewhere a vent for the Cappes called in Barbarie, Bonettos colorados rugios, which is a red Scottish cap as it were without brims, you should do your countrey much good: for as a sacke of wooll turned into fine Deuonshire kersies doth set many more people on worke then a sacke spunne for broad cloth in a grosser threed, so a sacke of wool turned into those Bonets doth set many more poore people on worke, then a sacke turned into Kersies, by reason of the knitting. And therefore if you can indeuour that, you worke great effect. And no doubt that a maruellous vent may be found out of them into Afrike by the way of Alexandria, and by Alcayer[*] Southeast and Southwest thence.

2 And by the vent of our knit hose of Woollen yarne, Woorsted yarne, and of Linnen thred, great benefit to our people may arise, and a great value in fine Kersies and in those knit wares may be couched in a small roome in the ship. And for these things our people are growen apt, and by indeuour may be drawen to great trade.

3 Saffron the best of the vniuersall world groweth in this realme, and forasmuch as it is a thing that requireth much labour in diuers sorts, and setteth the people on worke so plentifully, I wish you to see whether you can finde out ample vent for the same, since it is gone out of great vse in those parts. It is a spice that is cordiall, and may be vsed in meats, and that is excellent in dying of yellow silks. This commodity of Saffron groweth fifty miles from Tripoli in Syria, on an high hill called in those parts Garian, so as there you may learne at that port of Tripoli the value of the pound, the goodnesse of it, and the places of the vent. But it is sayd that from that hill there passeth yeerly of that commodity fifteene moiles[†] laden, and that those regions notwithstanding lacke sufficiencie of that commodity. But if a vent might be found, men would in Essex about Saffronwalden[‡] and in Cambridge shire reuiue the trade for the benefit of the setting of the poore on worke. So would they doe in Hereford shire by Wales, where

---

[*] Cairo.

[†] A Mule. "Well, make much of him; I see he was never born to ride upon a moyle."—*Every man out of his humour*, ii., 3.

[‡] Saffron Walden—*Saffron Weal-den.* The woody Saffron Hill.

the best of all England is, in which place the soile yeelds the wilde Saffron commonly, which sheweth the naturall inclination of the same soile to the bearing of the right Saffron, if the soile be manured and that way employed.

Leo Africanus lib. 4.

4. There is a walled towne not farre from Barbarie, called Hubbed, toward the South from the famous towne Telensin,* about six miles: the inhabitants of which towne in effect be all Diers. And it is sayd that thereabout they haue plenty of Anile, and that they occupy that, and also that they vse there in their dyings, of the Saffron aforesayd. The trueth whereof, in the Southerly ports of the Mediteran sea, is easily learned in your passage to Tripoli, or in returne from thence homeward you may vnderstand it. It is reported at Saffronwalden that a Pilgrim purposing to do good to his countrey, stole an head of Saffron, and hid the same in his Palmers staffe, which he had made hollow before of purpose, and so he brought this root into this realme, with venture of his life: for if he had bene taken, by the law of the countrey from whence it came, he had died for the fact. If the like loue in this our age were in our people that now become great trauellers, many knowledges, and many trades, and many herbes and plants might be brought into this realme that might doe the realme good. And the Romans hauing that care, brought from all coasts of the world into Italie all arts and sciences, and all kinds of beasts and fowles, and all herbs, trees, busks and plants that might yeeld profit or pleasure to their countrey of Italie. And if this care had not bene heretofore in our ancesters, then, had our life bene sauage now, for then we had not had Wheat nor Rie, Peaze nor Beanes, Barley nor Oats, Peare nor Apple, Vine nor many other profitable and pleasant plants, Bull nor Cow, Sheepe nor Swine, Horse nor Mare, Cocke nor Hen, nor a number of other things that we inioy, without which our life were to be sayd barbarous: for these things and a thousand that we vse more the first inhabitors of this Iland found not here. And in time of memory things haue bene brought in that were not here before, as the Damaske rose by Doctour Linaker king Henry the seuenth and king Henry the eights Physician, the Turky cocks and hennes about fifty yeres past, the Artichowe in time of king Henry the eight, and of later time was procured out of Italy the Muske rose plant, the plumme called the Perdigwena,

This may be learned at Alger.

---

* Tlemcen, on a tributary of the Tafna, in Algeria.

and two kindes more by the Lord Cromwell after his trauell, and the Abricot by a French Priest one Wolfe Gardiner to king Henry the eight: and now within these foure yeeres there haue bene brought into England from Vienna in Austria diuers kinds of flowers called Tulipas, and those and other procured thither a little before from Constantinople by an excellent man called M. Carolus Clusius. And it is sayd that since we traded to Zante that the plant that beareth the Coren is also brought into this realme from thence; and although it bring not fruit to perfection, yet it may serue for pleasure and for some vse, like as our vines doe, which we cannot well spare, although the climat so colde will not permit vs to haue good wines of them. And many other things haue bene brought in, that haue degenerated by reason of the colde climat, some other things brought in haue by negligence bene lost. The Archbishop of Canterburie Edmund Grindall, after he returned out of Germany, brought into this realme the plant of Tamariske from thence, and this plant he hath so increased that there be here thousands of them; and many people haue receiued great health by this plant: and if of things brought in such care were had, then could not the first labour be lost. The seed of Tobacco hath bene brought hither out of the West Indies,* it groweth heere, and with the herbe many haue bene eased of the reumes, &c. Each one of a great number of things were woorthy of a iourney to be made into Spaine, Italy, Barbarie, Egypt, Zante, Constantinople, the West Indies, and to diuers other places neerer and further off then any of these, yet forasmuch as the poore are not able, and for that the rich setled at home in quiet will not, therefore we are to make sute to such as repaire to forren kingdomes, for other businesses, to haue some care heerein, and to set before their eyes the examples of these good men, and to endeuour to do for their parts the like, as their speciall businesses may permit the same. Thus giuing you occasion by way of a little remembrance, to haue a desire to doe your countrey good, you shall, if you haue any inclination to such good, do more good to the poore ready to starue for reliefe, then euer any subiect did in this realme by building of Almes-houses, and by giuing of lands and goods to the reliefe of the poore. Thus may you helpe to driue idlenesse the mother of most mischiefs out of the realme, and winne you perpetuall fame, and the prayer of the poore, which is more woorth then all the golde of Peru, and of all the West Indies.

---

* As these instructions were written in 1582, how can Tobacco have been introduced by Raleigh in 1586, as generally asserted? It is not more probable that it dates from Sir John Hawkin's voyage in 1565?

The voyage of the Susan of London to Constantinople, wherein the worshipfull M. William Harborne was sent first Ambassadour vnto Sultan Murad Can, the great Turke, with whom he continued as her Maiesties Ligier almost sixe yeeres.

THe 14 of Nouember 1582, we departed from Blackewall, bound for the Citie of Constantinople, in the tall shippe called the Susan of London: the Master whereof was Richard Parsons, a very excellent and skilfull man in his facultie. But by occasion of contrary weather we spent two moneths before we could recouer the Kowes[*] in the Isle of Wight. Where the 14 of Ianuary following we tooke in the worshipfull M. William Hareborne her Maiesties Ambassadour to the Turke, and his company, and sailed thence to Yarmouth in the foresayd Isle of Wight. The 19 we put from Wight. The 26 we did see Capo de Sant Vincente. The same day we were thwart of Capo Santo Maria. The 27 we passed by Tariffa, and Gibraltar. The 28 in the morning we passed by Velez Malaga: and that night were thwart of Capo de Gates. The 29 at night we had sight of Capo de Palos. The 30 in the morning we did see the high land of Denia,[†] in the kingdome of Valentia, and that night we had sight of the Iland Formentera. The 31 in the morning appeared the Iland of Cabrera.[‡] The first of February we put into a Port in Mallorca,[§] called Porto de Sant Pedro: where they would haue euill intreated vs for comming into the Harbour: we thought we might haue bene as bolde there as in other places of Christendome, but it proued farre otherwise. The first man we met on land was a simple Shepheard, of whom we demanded whether wee might haue a sheepe or such like to refresh our selues, who tolde vs yea. And by such conference had with him, at the last he came aboord once or twise, and had the best cheare that we could make him: and our Ambassadour himselfe talked with him, and still he made vs

Ianuary the foureteenth.

February the first.

The shippes men goe on land at Porto de Sant Pedro.

---

[*] Cowes.

[†] Near Cape Antonio.

[‡] A small island south of Majorca.

[§] Majorca.

faire promises, but nothing at all meant to performe the same, as the end shewed. In the meane time came in a shippe of Marseils, the Master whereof did know our Ambassadour very well, with whom our Ambassadour had conference, and with his Marchants also. They came from Alger in Barbarie, which is vnder the gouernement of the Great Turke. They did present our Ambassadour with an Ape, wherefore he made very much of them, and had them often aboord. By them I suppose, he was bewrayed of his purpose as touching his message, but yet still we had faire words of the Shepheard aforesayd, and others. So that vpon their words, our Purser and another man went to a Towne which was three or foure miles from the port, and there were well entertained, and had of the people very faire speeches, and such small things as could be gotten vpon the sudden, and so returned to the shippe that day. Then wee were emboldened, and thought all had bene well, according to their talke. The next day, being the sixth day of Februarie, two of our Gentlemen, with one of our Marchants, and the Purser, and one of the Ambassadours men went to the Towne aforesayd, thinking to doe as the Purser and the other had done before, but it prooued contrary: for at their comming thither they had faire wordes a while, and had bread and wine, and such necessaries for their money, vntill such time as they were beset with men, and the Maiorcans neuer shewed in their countenance any such matter, but as the manner of all the people in the dominions of Spaine is, for the most part to be trecherous to vs, if they thinke they haue any aduantage. For vpon the sudden they layed handes on them, and put them in holde, as sure as might be in such a simple Towne. Then were they well guarded with men both day and night, and still deluded with faire words, and they sayd to our men it was for no hurt, but that the Viceroy of the Iland would come aboard to see the shippe. But they presently sent the Purser to the Towne of Maiorca, where he was examined by the Viceroy very straightly, what their shippe and captaine were, and what voyage they intended, but he confessed nothing at all. In the meane time they in the Towne were likewise straightly examined by a Priest and other officers vpon their othes: who for their othes sake declared the whole estate of their voyage. The Ambassadours man was a French man, and therefore was suffered to goe to the shippe on a message, but he could tell the Ambas-

The Ambassadour betrayed.

February the sixth.

The English men are surprised.

sadour none other newes, but that the Viceroy would come aboord the shippe, and that our men should come with him, but they had another meaning. For the Marseilian Marchants were stayed in like maner in the Towne, onely to make a better shew vnto vs. But in the meane time, being there three or foure dayes, there came men vnto vs euery day, more or lesse, but one day especially there came two men on horsebacke, whom we tooke to be officers, being lusty men, and very well horsed. These men desired to speake with our Captaine (for all things that passed there were done in the name of our Captaine Iohn Gray) for it was sayd by vs there, that he was Captaine of one of her Maiesties shippes: wherefore all things passed in his name: and the Ambassadour not seene in any thing but rather concealed, and yet did all, because of his tongue and good inditing in that language. For he himselfe went on land clothed in Veluet, and talked with these men, and with him ten or twelue lusty fellowes well weaponed, ech one hauing a Boarespeare or a Caliuer, the Captaine Iohn Gray being one of them, and our boat lying by very warely kept and ready. For then wee began to suspect, because the place was more frequented with men than it was woont. The men on horsebacke were in doubt to come neere, because hee came so well weaponed. But they bade him welcome, and gaue him great salutations in words as their maner is: and demanded why he came so strong, for they sayd he needed not to feare any man in the Iland. Answere was made, that it was the maner of English Captaines to goe with their guard in strange places. Then they tolde our Ambassador (thinking him to be the Captaine) that they were sent from the Viceroy to know what they did lacke, for they promised him beefe or mutton, or any thing that was in the Iland to be had, but their purpose was to haue gotten more of our men if they could, and they sayde that wee should haue our men againe the next day: with such prety delusions they fed vs still. Then our Ambassadour did write a letter to the Viceroy in her Maiesties name, and in our Captaine Iohn Grayes name, and not in his owne, and sent it by them, desiring him to send his men, and not to trouble him in his voyage, for he had giuen him no such cause, nor any of his. So these men departed with great courtesie in words on both parts. And in all this time we did see men on horsebacke and on foot in the woods and trees more then they were accustomed to be, but we could perceiue nothing

The Spaniards come to the sea side to speake with the captaine.

thereby. The next day, or the second, came either foure or sixe of the best of them as wee thought (the Viceroy excepted) and very many men besides in the fieldes, both on foot and on horse, but came not neere the water side. And those in like order desired to speake with the Captaine, and that when he came on land the trumpets might sound: but then the Ambassadour, whom they thought to be Captaine, would not goe, nor suffer the trumpets to be sounded, for that he thought it was a trappe to take himselfe, and more of his company. But did send one of the principall of the Marchants to talke with them. And the Captaine Iohn Gray went also with him, not being knowen of the Spaniards, for he went as a souldiour. Thus they receiued of those men the like wordes as they had of the other before mentioned, who sayd we should haue our men againe, for they meant vs no hurt. Then our Ambassadour did write another letter, and sent it by them to the Viceroy, in like order as he did before, but he receiued no answere of any of them. In all this time they had priuily gathered together the principall men of the Iland, and had laboured day and night to bring downe ordinance, not making any shew of their trecherie towards vs. But the same night following, we saw very many lights passe in the woods among the trees. And in the morning when the watch was broken vp, being Saturday the ninth of Februarie, at faire day light, one of our men looked foorth, and saw standing on land the cariage of a piece: then was one commanded to goe into the toppe, and there he did descrie two or three pieces, and also many men on the shore, with diuers weapons that they brought. Then they suddenly tooke foure or fiue brasse pieces, and placed them on either side of the harborough where we should go out, and hid them with stones and bushes that we should not see them. Now I think the harborough not to be aboue the eight part of a mile ouer. Thus perceiuing their meaning which was most plaine: wee agreed to take vp our anker and goe out, and leaue our men there, hauing none other way to take. Then our Ambassadour intreated the Master of the Marseilian, his friend, to goe on land with his boat, and to know the trueth: who satisfied his request. And at his returne he tolde vs that it was very true, that they would lay holde of vs if they could. Then we weighed our ankers: but hauing little winde, we towed the ship forward with the boat. The

The Spaniards come againe to parle.

The Ambassadour writeth to the Viceroy.

The ninth of February.

Viceroy himselfe was at the water side with more then fiue hundred men on both sides of the harbour as we thought. And when we came out with our shippe as far as their ordinance, our Ambassadour and the Captaine being in their armour, the Master commanding of the company, and trimming of the sailes, the Pilot standing on the poope, attending to his charge, with other very well furnished, and euery man in order about their businesse very ready, they on land on the contrary part hauing a very faire piece mounted on the North side openly in all our sights, as the shippe passed by, they trauersed that piece right with the maine mast or after-quarter of the shippe, and a Gunner standing by, with a lint-stocke in his hand, about foureteene or fifteene foot long, being (as we thought) ready to giue fire. Our whole noise of trumpets were sounding on the poope with drumme and flute, and a Minion of brasse on the summer decke, with two or three other pieces, alwayes by our Gunners trauersed mouth to mouth with theirs on land, still looking when they on land should shoot, for to answere them againe. The Pilot standing on the poope, seeing this readinesse, and the shippe going very softly, because of the calmenesse of the winde, he called to them on the South side, where the Viceroy was, and sayd vnto him: Haue you warres with vs? If you haue, it is more then we know; but by your prouision it seemeth so: if you haue, shoot in Gods name, and spare not, but they held all fast and shot not. Then the Viceroy himselfe held vp a paper, and sayd he had a letter for our Captaine, and desired vs to stay for it. Then we answered and sayd we would not, but willed him to send it by the Marseilians boat, and our men also. All this while, our trumpets, drum and flute sounded, and so we passed out in the face of them all. When they perceiued that they could lay no holde on vs, they presently sent to the Towne for our men, whom within lesse then three houres after they sent aboord with the sayd letter, wherein he desired our Captaine and his company not to take it in ill part, for he meant them no harme, but would haue seene our shippe. His letter did import these and such like faire speeches: for it altogether contained courteous salutations, saying that he might boldly come into any port within his Iland, and that he and his would shew him what friendship they might: and that the iniury that was offered was done at the requst of the Shepheards and poore people of the countrey, for the more safegard of their flockes, and because it was not a thing vsuall to haue

The ship Susan prepareth to defend herselfe.

any such shippe to come into that port, with many other deceitfull words in the sayd letter. Then our Ambassadour wrote vnto him another letter to answer that, and gaue him thanks for his men that he had sent him, and also for his good will, and sent him a present. This done, we shot off halfe a dozen pieces, hoised our sailes, and departed on our voyage. Then the Purser and the rest of our men that had beene in holde, tolde vs that they did see the Captaine, and other gentlemen of the Iland, hauing their buskins and stockings torne from their legges, with labouring in the bushes day and night to make that sudden prouision. The 12 of February we saw an Iland of Africa side called Galata,* where they vse to drag out of the Sea much Corall, and we saw likewise Sardinia, which is an Iland subiect to Spaine. The 13 in the morning we were hard by Sardinia. The 15 we did see an Iland neere Sicilia, and an Iland on Africa side called Cysimbre.† The same day likewise we saw an Iland called Pantalaria, and that night we were thwart the middle of Sicilia. The 16 at night we were as farre as Capo Passaro, which is the Southeast part of Sicilia. The 24 we were put into a port called Porte de Conte, in an Iland called Cephalonia: it is an out Iland in the dominions of Grecia, and now at this present gouerned by the Signory of Venice, as the rest of Grecia is vnder the Turke, for the most part. The 27 we came from thence, and that day arriued at Zante which is also in Grecia: for at this present wee entred the parts of Grecia. The second of March we came from Zante; and the same day were thwart of an Iland called Prodeno :‡ and the 4 we were thwart of an Iland called Sapientia‖ againe. There standeth a faire Towne and a Castle on the maine ouer against it, called Modon. The same day by reason of contrary windes we put backe againe to Prodeno, because we could not fetch Sapientia. The ninth we came from thence, and were as farre as Sapientia againe. The tenth we were as farre shot as Capo Matapan; and that day we entred the Archipelago, and passed thorow betweene Cerigo and Capo Malio.§ This Cerigo is an Iland where one Menelaus did sometimes reigne, from whome was stollen by Paris faire Helena, and carried to Troy, as ancient Recordes doe declare. The same day we had sight of a little Iland called Bellapola, and did likewise see both

The effect of the Ambassadours answere.

---

* Galita, off Cape Serrat, in Tunis.
† Zembra, off Cape Bon.
‡ Probably Strivali.
‖ Off Cape Gallo.
§ Cape Malea.

the Milos,[1] being Ilands in the Archipelago. The 11 in the morning we were hard by an Iland called Falconara,[2] and the Iland of the Antemila.[3] The 12 in the morning we were betweene Fermenia[4] and Zea, being both Ilands. That night wee were betweene Negroponte and Andri, being likewise Ilands. The 13 in the morning we were hard by Parsa[5] and Sarafo, being Ilands nine or tenne miles from Chio, and could not fetch Chio. So we put roome with a port in Metelin[6] called Sigra, and about nine of the clocke at night we ankered there. The 15 we came from thence, the sixteenth we put into Porto Delfi. This port is 9 English miles to the Northward of the City of Chio, (and it may be twelue of their miles) this night we stayed in the sayd port, being in the Iland of Chio. Then went our Marchant and one or two with him to the City of Chio. And when the By, who is the gouernour of the Iland (and is in their language a Duke) had communed with the Marchant, and those that were with him, and vnderstood of our arriuall within his dominion, the day following he armed his gallies, and came to welcome our Ambassadour, accompanied with the Ermine, that is, the Kings Customer, and also the French Consull, with diuers of the chiefe of the City, and offered him as much friendship as he could or would desire: for he did offer to attend vpon vs, and towe vs if need were to the Castles. The 21 we departed from thence, and that day passed by port Sigra againe. This Iland of Metelin is part of Asia, and is neere to Natolia. The 22 we passed by a head land called Baberno,[7] and is also in Asia. And that day at night we passed by the Isle of Tenedo, part of Asia, and by another Iland callled Maure. And the same day we passed thorow the straights of Galipoli, and by the Castles, and also by the Towne of Galipoli it selfe, which standeth in Europa. And that night we were in sight of Marmora which is neere Natolia, and part of Asia. The 23 in the morning we were thwart of Araclia,[8] and that night we ankered in Silauria.[9] The 24 in the morning the Marchant and the Pilot were set on land to goe to the City about the Ambassadours

Sigra, a port in Metelin.

Ermin, or Customer.

---

[1] Milo and Anti-Milo, the latter a rocky islet, six miles north-west of Milo.

[2] Falconers.

[3] Ante-Milo.

[4] Thermia, so called from the warm springs at the foot of Santa Irene.

[5] Probably Psara.

[6] Mitylene, the ancient Lesbos.

[7] Cape Baba.

[8] Erekli.

[9] Silivri.

businesse, but there they could not land because we had the winde faire. That place of some is called Ponte grande, and is foure and twenty miles on this side of Constantinople, and because of the winde, they followed in the skiffe vntill they came to a place called Ponte picola, and there is a little bridge, it standeth eight Turkish miles from Constantinople, there the Marchant and the Pilot landed. At this bridge is an house of the great Turkes with a faire Garden belonging vnto it, neere the which is a point called Ponte S. Stephano, and there the shippe ankered that day. The 26 day the ship came to the seuen Towers, and the 27 we came neerer. The 29 there came three gallies to bring vs vp further: and when the shippe came against the great Turks palace, we shot off all our ordinance to the number of foure and thirty pieces. Then landed our Ambassadour, and then we discharged foure and twentie pieces, who was receiued with more then fifty or threescore men on horsebacke. The ninth of April he presented the great bassa with sixe clothes, foure canes of siluer double gilt, and one piece of fine holland, and to three other Bassas, that is to say, the second Bassa, which is a gelded man, and his name is Mahomet Bassa, to the third who maried the great Turks sister, and to the fourth whom they call Abraham Bassa, to euery one of these he gaue foure clothes. Now, before the great Bassa, and Abraham Bassa, at their returne from the Court (and as we thinke at other times, but at that time for a certaine) there came a man in maner of a foole, who gaue a great shout three or foure times, crying very hollowly, the place rebounded with the sound, and this man, say they, is a prophet of Mahomet, his armes and legges naked, on his feet he did weare woodden pattens of two sorts, in his hand, a flagge, or streamer set on a short speare painted, he carried a mat and bottels, and other trumpery at his backe, and sometimes vnder his arme, on his head he had a cappe of white Camels haire, flat like an helmet, written about with letters, and about his head a linnen rowle. Other seruingmen there were with the sayd Bassas, with red attire on their heads, much like French hoods, but the long flappe somewhat smaller towardes the end, with scuffes or plates of mettall, like vnto the chape of an ancient arming sword, standing on their foreheads like other Ianisaries. These Bassas

The arriuall of the Susan at Constantinople.

The Ambassadour giueth a present to the great Bassa.

A man halfe naked goeth before ye great Bassa.

The Ambassadours entertainment with the Bassas.

entertained vs as followeth: First, they brought vs into a hall, there to stand on one side, and our Ambassadour and gentlemen on the other side, who sate them downe on a bench couered with carpets, the Ambassadour in the midst; on his left hand sate our gentlemen, and on his right hand the Turkes, next to the doore where their master goeth in and out: the common sort of Turkes stayed in the Court yard, not suffered to come neere vs. When our Ambassadour had sitten halfe an houre, the Bassas (who sate by themselues in an inner small roome) sent for him; to whom the Ambassadour and his gentlemen went: they all kissed his hand, and presently returned (the Ambassadour only excepted, who stayed there, and a Turks chaus* with him) with the Ambassadour and his gentlemen went in also so many of our men as there were presents to cary in, but these neither kissed his hand nor taried. After this I went to visit the church of Santa Sophia, which was the chiefe church when it was the Christians, and now is the chiefe see and church of primacie of this Turke present: before I entred I was willed to put off my shoes, to the end I should not prophane their church, I being a Christian. The pillers on both sides of the church are very costly and rich, their Pulpets seemely and handsome, two are common to preach in, the third reserued onely for their Paschall. The ground is couered with Mats, and the walles hanged with Tapistry. They haue also Lamps in their churches, one in the middle of the church of exceeding greatnesse, and another in another part of the church of cleane golde, or double gilded, full as bigge as a barrel. Round about the church there is a gallery builded vpon rich and stately pillers. That day I was in both the chappels, in one of the which lieth the Turkes father, and fiue of his sonnes in tombes right costly, with their turbents very white and cleane, shifted (as they say) euery Friday, they be not on their heads, but stand on mouldes made for that purpose. At the endes, ouer, and about their tombes are belts, like girdles, beset with iewels. In the other chappell are foure other of his sonnes, and one daughter, in like order. In the first chappell is a thing foure foot high, couered with greene, beset with mother of pearle very richly. This is a relique of Mahomet, and standeth on the left side of the head of the great Turks tombe. These

A description of their church.

---

* Interpreter.

chappels haue their floores couered, and their walles hanged with Tapistrie of great price, I could value the couering and hangings of one of the chappels, at no lesse then fiue hundred poundes, besides their lamps hanging richly gilded. These chappels haue their roofes curiously wrought with rich stone, and gilded. And there lie the bookes of their Lawes for euery man to reade. The 11 day of April the shippe came to the Key of the Custome house. The 16 the Ambassadour and we his men went to the Captaine Bassa, who is Admirall of the seas, his name is Vchali, he would not receiue vs into his house, but into his gallie, to deliuer our present, which was as followeth: Foure pieces of cloth, and two siluer pots gilt and grauen. The poope or sterne of his gally was gilded both within and without, and vnder his feet, and where he sate was all couered with very rich Tapistry. Our Ambassadour and his gentlemen kissed his hand, and then the gentlemen were commanded out, and our Ambassadour sate downe by him on his left hand, and the chaus stood before him. Our men might walke in the gally fore and after, some of vs taried, and some went out againe. The gally had seuen pieces of brasse in her prowe, small and great, she had thirty bankes or oares on either side, and at euery banke or oare seuen men to rowe. The 18 day the shippe went from the Key. And 21 the Admirall tooke his leaue of the great Turke, being bound to the Sea with sixe and thirty gallies, very fairely beautified with gilding and painting, and beset with flags and streamers, all the which gallies discharged their ordinance: and we for his farewell gaue him one and twentie pieces. Then he went to his house with his gallies, and the 22 he went to the Sea, and the Castle that standeth in the water gaue him foureteene or sixteene pieces: and when he came against the Turks Seraglio he shot off all his caliuers and his great pieces, and so hee went his way. The 24 our Ambassadour went to the Court, whose entertainement with the order therof followeth. When wee came first on land there was way made for vs by two or three Bassaes and diuers chauses on horsebacke with their men on foot, to accompany our Ambassadour to the Court. Also they brought horses for him and his gentlemen for to ride, which were very richly furnished: and by the way there met with vs other chauses to accompany vs

The ship commeth to the custome house.

The Ambassadour presenteth the Admirall Vchali.

The Susan goeth from the Custome house.

The Admirall departeth to the sea.

The Ambassadour repaireth to the great Turks court.

to the Court. When we came there wee passed thorow two gates, at the second gate there stood very many men with horses attending on their masters. When we came within that gate we were within a very faire Court yard, in compasse twise so bigge as Pauls Church-yard. On the right hand of the sayd Court was a faire gallerie like an Alley, and within it were placed railes and such other prouision. On the left side was the like, halfe the Court ouer: it was diuided into two parts, the innermost fairer then the other. The other part of that side is the place where the Councell doe vsually sit, and at the inner end of that is a faire place to sit in, much like vnto that place in Pauls Churchyard, where the Maior and his brethren vse to sit, thither was our Ambassadour brought, and set in that place. Within that sayde place is another like open roome, where hee did eate. Assoone as wee came in, wee were placed in the innermost alley of the second roome, on the left side of the Court, which was spread with carpets on the ground fourescore or fourescore and tenne foot long, with an hundred and fiftie seuerall dishes set thereon, that is to say, Mutton boiled and rosted, Rice diuersly dressed, Fritters of the finest fashion, and dishes daintily dight with pritty pappe, with infinite others, I know not how to expresse them. We had also rosted Hennes with sundry sorts of fowles to me vnknowen. The gentlemen and we sate downe on the ground, for it is their maner so to feede. There were also Greekes and others set to furnish out the roome. Our drinke was made with Rose water and Sugar and spices brewed together. Those that did serue vs with it had a great bagge tied ouer their showlders, with a broad belt like an arming belt full of plates of copper and gilt, with part of the sayd bagge vnder his arme, and the mouth in his hand: then he had a deuise to let it out when he would into cuppes, when we called for drinke. The Ambassadour when hee had eaten, passed by vs, with the chauses aforesayd, and sate him downe in an inner roome. This place where he sate was against the gate where we came in, and hard by the Councell chamber end, somewhat on the left side of the Court, this was at the East end of the Court, for we came in at the West. All this time our presents stood by vs vntill we had dined, and diner once ended, this was their order of taking vp the dishes. Certaine were called in, like those of the Blacke gard in the Court of England, the Turks call them Moglans. These came in like rude and rauening Mastifs, without

The entertainment at dinner of the Ambassadours men.

order or fashion, and made cleane riddance: for he whose hungry eye one dish could not fill turned two, one into the other, and thus euen on the sudden was made a cleane riddance of all. Then came certaine chauses and brought our gentlemen to sit with the Ambassadour. Immediately came officers and appointed Ianisers to beare from vs our presents, who caried them on the right side of the Court, and set them hard by the doore of the Priuy chamber, as we call it: there all things stoode for the space of an houre. Thus the Ambassadour and his gentlemen sate still, and to the Southward of them was a doore whereas the great Turke himselfe went in and out at, and on the South side of that doore sate on a bench all his chiefe lordes and gentlemen, and on the North side of the West gate stood his gard, in number as I gesse them a thousand men. These men haue on their heads round cappes of mettall like sculles, but sharpe in the toppe, in this they haue a bunch of Ostridge feathers, as bigge as a brush, with the corner or edge forward: at the lower end of these feathers was there a smaller feather, like those that are commonly worn here. Some of his gard had smal staues, and most of them were weaponed with bowes and arrowes. Here they waited, during our abode at the Court, to gard their Lord. After the Ambassadour with his gentlemen had sitten an houre and more, there came three or foure chauses, and brought them into the great Turkes presence. At the Priuy chamber doore two noble men tooke the Ambassadour by ech arme one, and put their fingers within his sleeues, and so brought him to the great Turke where he sumptuously sate alone. He kissed his hand and stood by vntill all the gentlemen were brought before him in like maner, one by one, and ledde backewards againe his face towards the Turke; for they might neither tarry nor turne their backs, and in like maner returned the Ambassadour. The salutation that the Noble men did, was taking them by the hands. All this time they trode on cloth of golde, most of the Noble men that sate on the South side of the Priuy chamber sate likewise on cloth of golde. Many officers or Ianisaries there were with staues, who kept very good order, for no Turke whatsoeuer might goe any further than they willed him. At our Ambassadours entring they followed that bare his presents, to say, twelue fine broad clothes, two pieces of fine holland, tenne pieces of plate double gilt, one case of candlesticks, the case whereof was very large, and three foot high and more, two very

The Turke is presented with a rich present.

great cannes or pots, and one lesser, one basin and ewer, two poppiniayes of siluer, the one with two heads: they were to drinke in: two bottles with chaines, three faire mastifs in coats of redde cloth, three spaniels, two bloodhounds, one common hunting hound, two greyhounds, two little dogges in coats of silke: one clocke valued at fiue hundred pounds sterling: ouer it was a forrest with trees of siluer, among the which were deere chased with dogs, and men on horsebacke following, men drawing of water, others carrying mine oare on barrowes: on the toppe of the clocke stood a castle, and on the castle a mill. All these were of siluer. And the clocke was round beset with iewels. All the time that we stayed at the Councell chamber doore they were telling or weighing of money to send into Persia for his Souldiours pay. There were carried out an hundred and three and thirty bags, and in euery bagge, as it was tolde vs, one thousand ducats, which amounteth to three hundred and thirty thousand,* and in sterling English money to fourescore and nineteene thousand pounds. The Captaine of the guard in the meane time went to the great Turke, and returned againe, then they of the Court made obeisance to him, bowing downe their heads, and their hands on their breasts, and he in like order resaluted them: he was in cloth of siluer, he went and came with two or three with him and no more. Then wee went out at the first gate, and there we were commanded to stay vntill the Captaine of the guard was passed by and all his guard with him, part before him and part behinde him, some on horsebacke and some on foot, but the most part on foot carrying on their shoulders the money before mentioned, and so we passed home. There was in the Court during our abode there, for the most part a foole resembling the first, but not naked as was the other at the Bassas: but he turned him continually, and cried Hough very hollowly. The third of May I saw the Turke go to the church: he had more then two hundred and fifty horses before and behinde him, but most before him. There were many empty horses that came in no order. Many of his Nobilitie were in cloth of golde, but himselfe in white sattin. There did ride behinde him sixe or seuen youthes, one or two whereof carried water for him to drinke as they sayd. There were many of his guard running before him and behinde him, and when he alighted, they cried Hough very hollowly, as the aforesayd fooles.

---

* Blank in original.

A letter of Mustapha Chaus to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie.

SErenissima, prudentissima, et sacra Regia Maiestas, domina mihi semper clementissima, meorum fidelium officiorum promptam paratissimámque commendationem. Generosus et virtuosus Gulielmus Hareborne legatus vestræ sacræ Maiestatis venit ad portam excelsissimam potentissimi et inuictissimi, et semper Augustissimi Cæsaris Sultan Murad Can, cui Deus omnipotens benedicat. Et quanto honore, quanta dignitate, quantáque humanitate aliorum confœderatorum legati accipiuntur, præfatus quoque legatus vester tanta reuerentia, tantáque amplitudine acceptus et collocatus est in porta excelsissima. Et posthac subditi et homines vestræ sacræ Maiestatis ad ditiones omnes Cæsareas venire, et sua negocia tractare, et ad suam patriam redire sine impedimento, vt in literis excelsissimi, potentissimi, et inuictissimi et semper Augustissimi Cæsaris ad vestram sacram Regiam Maiestatem datis facile patet, tranquillè et pacificè possunt. Ego autem imprimis diligentem operam et fidele studium et nunc eodem confirmando nauaui, et in futurum quoque vsque in vltimum vitæ spiritum in negotijs potentissimi et inuictissimi Cæsaris, et vestræ sacræ Regiæ Maiestatis egregiam nauabo operam. Quod Deus omnipotens ad emolumentum et vtilitatem vtriúsque Reipublicæ secundet. Amen. Sacram Regiam Maiestatem fœlicissimè valere exopto. Datum Constantinopoli anno 1583, die octauo Maij.

A letter of M. Harborne to Mustapha, challenging him for his dishonest dealing in translating of three of the Grand Signior his commandements.

DOmine Mustapha, nescimus quid sibi velit, cum nobis mandata ad finem vtilem concessa perperàm reddas, quæ male scripta, plus damni, quàm vtilitatis adferant: quemadmodum constat ex tribus receptis mandatis, in quibus summum aut principale deest aut aufertur. In posterum noli ita nobiscum agere. Ita enim ludibrio erimus omnibus in nostrum et tuum dedecus. Cum nos multarum actionum spem Turcicè scriptarum in tua prudentia reponimus, ita prouidere debes, vt non eueniant huiusmodi mala. Quocirca deinceps cum mandatum aut scriptum

aliquod accipias, verbum ad verbum conuertatur in Latinum sermonem, ne damnum insequatur. Nosti multos habere nos inimicos conatibus nostris invidentes, quorum malitiæ vestræ est prudentiæ aduersari. Hi nostri, Secretarius et minimus interpres ex nostra parte dicent in tribus illis receptis mandatis errata. Vt deinceps similes errores non eueniant precamur. Ista emendes, et cætera Serenissimæ regiæ Maiestatis negocia, vti decet vestræ conditionis hominem, meliùs cures. Nam vnicuique suo officio strenuè est laborandum vt debito tramite omnia succedant: quod spero te facturum. Bene vale.

A petition exhibited to the viceroy for reformation of sundry iniuries offered our nation in Morea, as also for sundry demaundes needefull for the establishing of the traffike in those parts.

1 FIrst that our people may be freed of such wonted molestation, as the Ianisers of Patrasso haue alwayes from time to time offered them, not regarding the kings commandements to the contrary. That they be remoued and called away from thence, and none other remaine in their place.

2 That where heretofore the kings commandements haue beene graunted to ours, that no person whatsoeuer shall forceably take from them any of their commodities, otherwise then paying them before the deliuerie thereof, for the same in readie money, at such price as they themselues will, and sell ordinarily to others, as also that no officer whatsoeuer, of the kings or any other, shall force them to buy any commodities of that countrey, otherwise then the needfull, at their owne will and pleasure, that the said commandements not heretofore obeyed may be renued with such straight charge for the execution of the same, as is requisite for their due effect.

3 That whereas sundry exactions and oppressions be offered ours by such Byes, Sanjacbies, iustices and Cadies, Ianizaries, Capagies, and others, officers of the kings comming downe into those parts, who finding there resident no other nation but only ours, will vnder the name of presents forceable take from them what they please: We do require to obuent these harmes, it may be specified by a commandement from the king to which of such his officers, presents may be giuen, and their sundry values, whereby both they and ours may rest contented, seuerely pro-

hibiting in the said commandement, that they take no more then that appointed them, and that no other officers but those onely specified in that commaundement, doe forcibly require of them any thing whatsoeuer.

4. That the Nadir and Customer of the port, hauing permitted our ship to lade, doe not after demand of the marchants any other then the outward custome due to the king for the same goods. And being so laden, may by them and the Cadie with other their inferiour officers be visited, requiring for the visiting no more then formerly they were accustomed to pay at their first comming. After which the said ship to depart at the Consul's pleasure, without any molestation of them, or any other officer whatsoeuer.

5. That Mahomet Chaus, sometime Nadir of Lepanto, and Azon Agon his substitute being with him may be seuerely punished to the example of others, for often and vniustly molesting our nation, contrarie to the kings commandement, which they disdainefully contemned, as also that the said Mahomet restore and pay vnto ours thirtie* for 300 sackes of currants nowe taken forcibly out of a barke, comming thither from the hither partes of Morea, to pay the king his custome, and that from hence forth, neither the said Mahomet, Azon Agon, nor any other officer or person whatsoeuer doe hinder or trouble any of ours going thither or to any other place about their affaires.

6. That whereas certaine Iews of Lepanto owing money to our marchants for commodities solde them, haue not hitherto satisfied them, notwithstanding ours had from the king a commandement for the recouery of the same debts, but fled and absented themselues out of the Towne at the comming of the same, another more forcible commaundement may be graunted ours, that for nonpaiement, whatsoeuer may be found of theirs in goods, houses, vineyards, or any other thing, may be sold, and ours satisfied of their said debt, according to equitie and reason.

A commandement to Patrasso in Morea.

WHen this commandement shall come vnto you, know you, that the Consull of the English Nation in our port of Patrasso, hath giuen vs to vnderstand, that formerly we granted him a commandement that hauing paied once custome for the currants bought to

---

*** Blank in original.**

lade in their ships, they shall not pay it againe: according to which they bringing it to the port of Patrasso, informing thereof Mahomet the Nadir of Lepanto, he contrary to the tenor thereof and former order, doth againe take another custome of him, and requiring him to know why he so did contrary to our commandement, he answered vs, he tooke it not for custome, but for a present. Moreouer the sayd Consull certified vs how that the said Nadir contrary to ancient custome doth not take for the kings right as he ought currents, but will haue of the poore men money at his pleasure, and therewith buyeth currents at a very low price, which after he doth forcibly sell to vs at a much higher price, saying it is remainder of the goods of the king, and by this meanes doth hurt the poore men and do them wrong. Wherefore I command you by this my commandement, that you looke to this matter betweene this Consull, the Nadir, and this people, and do therein equally according to right. And see that our commandement in this matter be obserued in such sort, as they hauing once in the port paied full custome, do not pay it againe, neither that this Nadir do take any more money of them by the way of present, for that therein it is most certaine he doth them iniurie contrarie to the Canon. And if with you shall be found to the value of one Asper taken heretofore wrongfully of them, see it presently restored to them, without any default. And from hencefoorth see that he doe neither him nor his people wrong, but that he deale with them in all things according to our Canon, that the Consull and his hereafter haue no occasion any more to complaine here in our Court, and that the Nadir proceed in gathering corants of the people after the old order and not otherwise. This know you for certaine, and giue credit to this my commaundement, which hauing read deliuer againe into the Consuls handes. From Constantinople the yeere of Mahomet 993.

A commandement for Chio.

VObis, Beg et Cadi et Ermini, qui estis in Chio, significamus: quòd serenissimæ Reginæ Maiestatis Angliæ orator, qui est in excelsa porta per literas significauit nobis, quod ex nauibus Anglicis vna nauis venisset ad portum Chio, et illinc Constantinopolim recto cursu voluisset venire, et contra priuilegium detinuistis, et non siuistis venire. Hæc prædictus orator signifi-

cauit nobis: et petiuit a nobis in hoc negocio hoc mandatum, vt naues Anglicæ veniant et redeant in nostras ditiones Cæsareas. Priuilegium datum et concessum est ex parte Serenitatis Cæsareæ nostræ: et huius priuilegij copia data est sub insigni nostro: Et contra nostrum priuilegium Cæsareum quod ita agitur, quæ est causa? Quando cum hoc mandato nostro homines illorum ad vos venerint ex prædicta Anglia, si nauis venerit ad portum vestrum, et si res et merces ex naue exemerint, et vendiderint, et tricessimam secumdam partem rediderint, et res quæ manserint Constantinopolim auferre velint, patiantur: Et si aliquis contra priuilegium et articulos eius aliquid ageret, non sinatis, nec vos facite: et impediri non sinatis eos, vt rectà Constantinopolim venientes in suis negotiationibus sine molestia esse possint. Et quicunque contra hoc mandatum et priuilegium nostrum aliquid fecerit, nobis significate. Huic mandato nostro et insigni fidem adhibete. In principio mensis Decembris.

A commandement for Baliabadram.

SErenissimæ Reginæ Angliæ orator literis supplicatorijs in porta nostra fulgida significauit, quod Baliabadram venientes mercatores, naues et homines eorum, contra priuilegium impedirentur et molestarentur. Inter nos enim et Reginam cum fœdus sit, vt mercatores, homines et naues eorum contra priuilegium impediantur aut molestentur, nullo vnquam pacto concedimus. Mandamus igitur, vt literæ nostræ Cæsareæ, quàm primum tibi exhibitæ fuerint, has in persona propria cures, secundum quod conuenit, videasq; ex Anglia Baliabadram cum mercibus venientibus mercatoribus, et alias ob causas venientibus hominibus, in summa Angliensibus et nauibus eorum, et in nauibus existentibus mercibus et rebus contra fœdus et priuilegium, iniuria, vis aut damnum non inferatur: sed, vt conuenit, defendas, vt naues, mercatores, et homines, nostri velut proprij subditi, liberi ab omni vi et iniuria permaneant, et negotijs suis incumbant. Et quod ilius loci Ianisseri illos impedirent, significatum est: vt illi illis nocumento sint nullo modo concedimus. Iuxta tenorem mandata huius illos commonefacias, vt nihil quicquam contra fœdas faciant, ita vt nunquam huiusmodi querela huc veniat, quia quicquid acciderit, a te expostulabimus. Negligentiam postponito, et insigni Cæsareo fidem adhibeto.

A commaundement for Egypt.

SCito quod orator Reginæ Angliæ in porta mea existens libellum supplicem ad portam nostram mittens significauit, quod cum ex Ægypto Consul eorum abesset, Consul illic Gallicus existens, Vento nuncupatus, quamuis ante hæc tempora ne manus in Anglos mitteret mandatum nostrum fuerit datum, Angli sub vexillo et tutela nostra sunt inquiens, mandatum Cæsareum vili existimans, non cessauit perturbare Anglos. Quare scito quod Reginæ Angliæ priuilegium nostrum est datum. Iuxta illud priuilegium Anglis nulla ratione Consul Gallicus Consulatum agat, neue manus immittat, mandatum nostrum postulauit eius legatus. Quare mando, vt contra priuilegium nostrum Consul Gallicus Anglis iniuriam non inferat, neue Consulatum agat. Iudici Ægypti literæ nostræ sunt datæ: hanc ob causam mando tibi quoque, vt iuxta illud mandatum nostrum, contra priuilegium nostrum Anglis Gallum Consulatum agere nunquam patiare. Sic scito, et insigni meo fidem adhibeto.

A commaundement of the Grand Signior to the Cadie or Iudge of Alexandria.

The Embassadour for the Queenes most excellent Maiestie of England certified vs howe that at the death of one of their marchants in Alexandria called Edward Chamberlaine, the French Consul Vento sealing vp his fondego and chamber, tooke vnder his seale al his goods and marchandise into his power, and required our commandement that all the goods might be restored againe according to iustice vnto the Englishmen: wherefore we commaund you that hauing receiued this our commandement, you assemble those of the one part and of the other together, and if it be not passed fiue yeeres, if you haue not looked to it heretofore, now carefully looke to it, and if it be according to their Arz or certificate presented vnto vs, that the foresaid French Consull Vento hath wrongfully taken into his power the goods of the deceased English marchant vnder his seale, that then you cause him to restore all the said goods and marchandise sealed by him, and make good that which is thereof wanting vnto the English marchants: doe in this matter according to iustice, and credite this our seale.

A commandement to the Bassa of Alexandria.

THe Embassadour for the Queenes most excellent Maiesty of England by supplication certified vs, how that notwithstanding our priuilege granted them to make Consuls in al parts of our dominions to gouerne their nation according to their owne custome and law, to defend them against all wrongs and iniuries whatsoeuer: yet that the French Consull affirming to thee that art Bassa, that they were vnder his banner, and that he should gouerne them, and ouersee their businesse, and hauing got a new priuilege, mentioning therein the English men to be vnder his banner, did by all meanes molest and trouble them, insomuch that their Consull oppressed with many iniuries fled away, and that thou which art Beglerbie didst maintaine the French Consul herein: whereupon the Embassadour required our commandement, that they might haue iustice for these iniuries: wherefore we commaunde thee that hauing receiued this our commandement, you examine diligently that this priuilege, and send the copie thereof hither, and if it be found that the French Consull Vento hath by subtilitie got the aforesaid priuilege written, that you then see him punished, and suffer not hereafter the French or Venetian Consuls to intermeddle with their businesse. Obey this our commaundement, and giue credit to the seale.

A commaundement to the Byes, and Cadies of Metelin and Rhodes, and to all the Cadies and Byes in the way to Constantinople.

TO the Saniakbies of Rhodes and Metelin, to the Saniacbies bordering on the sea-coast, and to the Cadies in Rhodes and Metelin, and to the Ermins in the other ports and coastes. This commaundement comming to you, know that the Embassadour of England required of vs our commaundement that their ships comming to Chio, and from thence to Constantinople, no man should hurt them or offer any violence, either in the way on the sea or on the land, or in the portes. I haue commaunded, that their ships comming to any of the said places or ports with marchandise, if they themselues will, they may sell their commodities, and as much, and as little as they will, and if it be in a place where custome was not woont to be taken, hauing taken the custome due by the olde Canon you suffer them not to bee iniuried, either in the way, portes, or other places, but that they may come in quietnesse to Constantinople, and certifie vs of those that be disobedient to our commaundement, and giue credite to our seale. And hauing read this our commandement, giue it to them againe.

A commaundement for Aleppo.

WHen my letters shal come vnto you, know that the Queene of England her Embassador by supplication certified how that before this time we had giuen our commaundement that the summe of 70 ducats, and other marchandize belonging to one William Barret in Aleppo, now dead, saying he was a Venetian, should be giuen to the Venetians. And if they did find that he was not a Venetian, my will was that they should send all his goods and marchandize to our port into my treasurie. But because that man was an Englishman, the Embassadour required that the sayde goods might not be diminished, but that they might be restored to one of their Englishmen. This businesse was signified vnto vs in the nine hnndred ninety and fourth yere of Mahomet, and in the moneth of May the 10 day. This businesse pertaineth to the Englishmen, who haue in their handes our priuilege, according to which priuilege being in their hands let this matter be done. Against this priuilege do nothing, aske nothing of them, but restore to euery one his goods. And I command that when my commandement shall come vnto you, you doe according to it. And if it be according as the Ambassadour certified, that they haue the priuilege, peruse the same, looke that nothing be committed against it and our league, and let none trouble them contrarie to it, restore them their goods according to iustice, and take heede diligently in this businesse: if another strange marchant be dead, and his goods and marchandize be taken, if he be neither Venetian, nor Englishman, let not his goods perish among you. Before this time one of our Chauses called Cerkes Mahomet chaus was sent with our commaundement to sende the money and marchandize of a dead marchant to our port, and hitherto no letters or newes is come of this matter, for which you shall be punished. Wherefore beware, and if he that is dead be neither Venetian nor Englishman in veritie, doe not loose the goods of the said dead marchant, vnder the name of a Venetian or Englishman, doe not to the discommoditie of my treasurie, for after it will be hard to recouer it.

The voyage of Master Henry Austell by Venice and thence to Ragusa ouer land, and so to Constantinople: and from thence by Moldauia, Polonia, Silesia and Germanie to Hamburg, &c.

THe 9. of Iune we tooke shipping at Harewich and the next day landed at the Ramekins in the Isle of Walcheren with very stormy weather, and that night went to Middleburch in the same Island.

The twelft we tooke shipping for Holland, and the 13. we landed at Schiedam: and the same day went to Delft by boat, and so that night to the Hage.

The 17. we tooke shipping at Amsterdam, and the 18. we landed at Enckhuysen.

The 19. we tooke shipping and by the Zuydersee we passed that day the Vlie, and so into the maine sea; And the next day we entred into the riuer of Hamburg called the Elbe.

The 21. we came to anker in the same riuer before a towne of the bishop of Breme called Staden, where they pay a certaine toll, and specially for wine, and so that night wee landed at Hamburg, where we stayde three dayes.

The 24. wee departed from Hamburg in the company of Edward Parish Marchant, and that day wee baited at Wyntson, and so ouer the heathes we left Lunenburg on the left hand, and trauailed all that night.

The 25. we met with Master Sanders vpon the heathes, and passed by a towne of the duke of Lunenburg called Gefthorne,[1] and from thence through many waters, wee lay that night within an English mile of Brunswig.

The 27. we lay at Halberstat, which is a great towne subiect to the bishop of that towne.

The 28. we baited at Erinsleiben: and there wee entred into the duke of Saxon his countrey: and the same night we lay at a town called Eisleben, where Martine Luther was borne.[2]

The 29. we passed by Mansfield, where there are many Copper mines: and so that night went to Neuburg vpon the riuer of Sala;[1] and at that time there was a great faire.

---

[1] Gifhorn, on the river Aller.

[2] 10th November, 1483.

30. we baited at a proper towne called Iena vpon the same riuer and the same night wee lay at Cone vpon that riuer.

The first of Iuly we baited at Salfeld: and the same day we entred first into the great woods of firre trees, and that night to Greuandal.

The second to dinner to Neustat.

The 3. day to dinner at Bamberg: and before wee came to the towne wee passed the riuer of Mayne that runneth towards Arnfurt, and that night to Forchaim.

The 4. we came to Nurenberg, and there stayed two dayes.

The 6. to bed to Blayfield.[2]

The 7. we passed without Weissenburg to dinner at Monhaim, and that night we passed the riuer of Danubius at Tonewertd,[3] and so to be to Nurendof.

The 8. we came to Augspurg, otherwise called Augusta, vpon the riuer of Lech.

The 9. we lay at Landsberg vpon the said riuer, in the duke of Bauars countrey.

The 10. to dinner at Suanego,[4] and that night to Hamber[5] against the mountains, where the small toyes be made.

The 11. to dinner to Parcberk,[6] and that night to Sefelt in the Archduke of Austria his countrey.

The 12. to dinner at Inspruck, and that night to bed at Landeck, where there is a toll, and it is the place where Charles the fift and his brother Ferdinand did meet. And there is a table of brasse with Latine letters in memorie thereof.

The 13. we passed by Stizen, and dined at Prisena, and so that night to Clusen.[7]

The 14. to dinner at Bolsan and to bed at Neumark, and by the way we passed the dangerous place, where so many murthers haue bene committed.

The 15. to dinner at Trent: That day we entred the borders of Italy, that night to Lenigo.[8]

The 16. to dinner at Grigno, where the last toll of the Emperour is: and so we came by Chursa, which is a streight passage. And the keeper thereof is drawne vp by a cord into his holde. And that night we went to Capana to bed in the countrey of the Venetians.

---

[1] Saale. [2] Pleinfeld. [3] Donauwerth. [4] Schongau.
[5] Amergau. [6] Partenkirch.

[7] Austell thus crossed the Alps by Trent and not by the Brenner, which would seem the most direct route to Venice.

[8] Probably a misprint for Levigo.

The 17. to dinner at castle Franco: by the way we stayed at Taruiso, and there tooke coche, and that night came to Mestre to bed.

The 18. in the morning we came to Venice, and there we stayed 15. dayes. In which time the duke of Venice called Nicholas de Ponte died, and we saw his burial. The Senators were continually shut vp together, as the maner is, to chuse a new duke, which was not yet chosen when we departed from thence.

The 2. of August at night wee did embarke our selues vpon the Frigate of Cattaro, an hauen neere Ragusa.

The 3. we came to a towne in Istria called Citta noua.

The 4. we came to Parenzo, and so that night to Forcera of the bishop.

The 5. we passed by Rouigno: and a litle beyond we met with 3. Galies of the Venetians: we passed in the sight of Pola; and the same day passed the gulfe that parteth Istria from Dalmatia.[1]

The 6. of August we came to Zara in Dalmatia, a strong towne of the Venetians: and so that night to Sebenico, which standeth in a marueilous goodly hauen, with a strong castle at the entrie thereof.

The 7. we came to Lezina, and went not on shoore, but traueiled all night.

The 8. we passed by a very well seated towne called Curzola, which standeth in an island of that name.

The 9. in the morning betimes we landed at Ragusa, and there stayed three daies, where we found many friendly gentlemen.

The 11. being prouided of a Ianizarie we departed from Ragusa in the company of halfe a dosen Marchants of that towne: and within 6 miles we entred into the countrey of Seruia. So trauailing in barren and craggie mountaines for the space of foure dayes, wee came by a small Towne of the Turkes called Chiernisa, being the 14. of the moneth; and there wee parted from the Marchants.

The 16. we dined in a Cauarsara in a Towne called Focea,[2] being then greatly infected with the plague.

Or, *Fochia.

The 17. we lay by a Towne called Taslızea.[3]

---

[1] Gulf of Quarnero. [2] Fotcha. [3] Tachlidcha,

The 20. we came to Nouibazar.

The 21. we parted from thence, trauailing stil in a countrey very ill inhabited, and lying in yᵉ fields.

Or, Nissa.

The 22. we passed within sight of Nicea.

The 23. we passed in sight of another towne called Circui:[1] and about those places wee began to leaue the mountaines, and to enter into a very faire and fertile countrey, but as euill inhabited as the other, or worse.

The 27. we came to Sophia, where wee stayed three dayes, being our Ianizaries home: and by good chance we lay in a Marchants house of Ragusa, that came in company with vs from Nouibazar; and also wee had in company, euer since wee came from Focea, a Turke which was a very good fellow, and he kept with vs till we came very neere Constantinople.

The first of September we came to Philippopoli, which seemeth to be an ancient towne, and standeth vpon the riuer of Stanuch.[2]

The 4. we came to Andrinopoli, a very great and ancient towne, which standeth in a very large and champion[3] countrey, and there the great Turks mother doth lye, being a place, where the Emperours of the Turkes were wont to lye very much.

The 5. we lay in one of the great Cauarzaras that were built by Mahomet Bassha with so many goodly commodities.

The 6. we lay in another of them.

The 8. we came to Siliueri,[4] which by report was the last towne that remained Christian.

The 9. of September wee arriued at the great and most stately Citie of Constantinople, which for the situation and proude seate thereof, for the beautifull and commodious hauens, and for the great and sumptuous buildings of their Temples, which they call Moschea, is to be preferred before all the Cities of Europe. And there the Emperour of the Turkes then liuing, whose uame was Amurat, kept his Court and residence, in a marueilous goodly place, with diuers gardens and houses of pleasure, which is at the least two English miles in compasse, and the three parts thereof ioyne vpon the sea: and on the Northeast part of the Citie on the other side of the water ouer against the Citie is the Towne of Pera, where the most part of the Christians do lye. And there also wee did lye. And on the North part of the saide Towne is the

---

[1] Sharkei.

[2] The Maritza

[3] Flat—"the Champion fields with corn are seen," (Poor Robin, 1694).

[4] Silivri.

Arsenal, where the Galies are built and doe remaine: And on the Southside is all the Ordinance, artilerie, and houses of munition. Note that by the way as wee came from Ragusa to Constantinople, wee left on our right hand the Countreys of Albania, and Macedonia, and on the left hande the countreys of Bosnia, Bulgaria, and the riuer of Danubius.

The 14. of September was the Turkes Beyram,[1] that is, one of their chiefest feastes.

The 16. we went to the blacke Sea called Pontus Euxinus, and there vpon a rocke we sawe a piller of white Marble that was set vp by Pompeius: and from thence we passed to the other side of the water, vpon the shore of Asia and there we dined.

The 25. we departed from Constantinople.

The 29. we came to an ancient Towne called Cherchisea, that is to say, fourtie Churches, which in the olde time was a very great City, now full of scattered buildiugs.

The 4. of October wee came to Prouaz, one dayes iourney distant from Varna vpon the Blacke Sea.

The 9. we came to Saxi[2] vpon the riuer of Danubius.

The 10. we passed the said riuer which in that place is about a mile ouer, and then we entered into the countrey of Bogdania: they are Christians but subiects to the Turkes.

Or, Moldauia.

The 12. we came to Palsin vpon the riuer Prut.[3]

The 14. wee came to Yas[4] the principall Towne of Bogdania, where Peter the Vayuoda prince of that Countrey keepeth his residence, of whom wee receiued great courtesie, and of the gentlemen of his Court: And he caused vs to be safe conducted through his said Countrey, and conueyed without coste.

---

[1] Bairam is the designation of the only two festivals annually celebrated by the Turks and other Mohammedan nations. The first is also called *Id-al-Fitr*, "the festival of the interruption," alluding to the breaking of the universal fast which is rigorously observed during the month Ramazan. It commences from the moment when the new moon of the month Shewel becomes visible, the appearance of which, as marking the termination of four weeks of abstinence and restraint is looked for and watched with great eagerness. The second festival, denominated *Id-al-Azha* or *Kurban Bairam*, "the festival of the sacrifices," is instituted in commemoration of Abraham offeringhis son Isaac and is celebrated seventy days after the former, on the 10th of Zulhijjah, the day appointed for slaying the vicitms by the pilgrims at Mecca. The festival lasts four days. At Constantinople the two bairams are celebrated with much pomp. Amurath III., son of Selim II.

[2] Tsakchi, S.E. of Galatz.

[3] Faltsi.

[4] Jassy.

The 17. we came to Stepanitze.[1]

The 19. we came to Zotschen,[2] which is the last towne of Bogdania vpon the riuer of Neister, that parteth the said countrey from Podolia.

The 20. we passed the riuer of Nyester and came to Camyenetz[3] in the countrey of Podolia, subiect to the king of Poland: this is one of the strongest Townes by nature and situation that can be seene.

The 21. we came to Skala.[4]

The 22. to Slothone, or Scloczow.[5]

The 24. to Leopolis[6] which is in Russia alba, and so is the most part of the countrey betwixt Camyenetz and it. And it is a towne very well built, well gouerned, full of trafique and plentifull: and there we stayed fiue dayes.

The 30. we baited at Grodecz, and that night at Vilna.[7]

The 31. we dined at Mostiska,[8] and that night at Rodmena.[9]

The first of Nouember in the morning before day wee passed without the Towne of Iaroslaw, where they say is one of the greatest faires in all Poland, and chiefly of horses, and that night to Rosdnoska.[10]

The second to diner at Lanczut,[11] at night to Retsbou.[12]

The thirde to Sendxizow,[13] at night to Tarnow, and that night wee mette with the Palatine Laski.

The fourth to Vonuez,[14] and that night to Brytska.[15]

The fift to Kuhena.[16]

The 6. to Cracouia the principall Citie of all Poland: at which time the King was gone to Lituania: for he doeth make his residence one yeere in Poland, and the other in Lituania Cracouia standeth on the riuer of Vistula.

The 9. wee departed from Cracouia, and that night wee came to a village hard by a Towne called Ilkusch,[17] where the leade Mines are.

The 10. wee passed by a Towne called Slawkow: where there are also leade Mines, and baited that day at Bendzin,[1] which is the last towne of Poland towards Silesia; and there is a toll.

---

[1] Chotin.

[2] on the river Smokriz.

[3] Stephanesti, on the frontier between Moldavia and Bessarabia.

[4] A market town on the Podhoree, S. of Zcryz.

[5] Czorkorw, on the Sered.

[6] Lemberg, also called Leopol.

[7] Probably Sandova—Wisznia.

[8] Mosciska.

[9] Radymno.

[10] Rosnialov.

[11] Lanaif.

[12] Rzeszow.

[13] Sedziszow.

[14] Woinicz.

[15] Brzesko.

[16] Perhaps, Kozmice.

[17] Olkusz.

Salt digged out of mountaines in Poland.

Note that all the Countreys of Poland, Russia alba, Podolia, Bogdania, and diuers other Countreys adioyning vnto them, doe consume no other salt but such as is digged in Sorstyn mountaine neere to Cracouia which is as hard as any stone; it is very good, and goeth further then any other salt. That night we lay at Bitom,[2] which is the first Towne of Silesia.

The 12. we passed by a great towne called Strelitz, and that night we lay at Oppelen vpon the riuer of Odera.

The 13. we passed by Schurgasse,[3] and that night wee lay without the towne of Brigk :[4] for wee coulde not bee suffered to come in by reason of the plague which was in those partes in diuers Townes.

The 14. we passed by Olaw,[5] and that night we came to the Citie of Breslaw, which is a faire towne, great, well built and well seated vpon the riuer of Odera.

The 16. we baited at Neumargt.[6]

The 17. wee passed by Lignizt and by Hayn,[7] and that night to Bu ntzel.

The 18. we passed by Naumburg through Gorlitz vpon the riuer of Neiss, and that night lay without Reichenbach.

The 19. wee passed by Baudzen and Cannitz,[9] and that night to Rensperg.

The 20. we passed by Hayn, by Strelen, were we should haue passed the riuer of Elbe, but the boate was not there, so that night we lay at a towne called Mulberg.

The 21. we passed the said riuer, wee went by Belgern, by Torga, by Dumitch: and at night to Bretch.

The 22. wee passed the Elbe againe at Wittenberg, which is a very strong towne, with a good Vniuersitie: and that day we passed by Coswig.

The 23. wee passed through Zerbst in the morning, and that nightto Magdeburg, a very strong Towne, and well gouerned as wee did heare. The most part of the Countrey, after wee were come one dayes iourney on this side Breslawe to this place, belongeth to the Duke of Saxon.

---

[1] Bedzin. [2] Beuthen [3] Schurgast. [4] Brieg.
[5] Ohlau. [6] Neumark. [7] Hainau. [8] Buntzlau. [9] Camenz.

The 24. wee passed by a castle of the Marques of Brandenburg called Wolmerstat, and that night we lay at Garleben.

The 25. wee lay at Soltwedel.

The 26. at Berg.

The 27. we baited at Lunenborg, and that night we lay at Winson.

The 28. we came to Homborg, and there stayed one weeke.

The 5. of December wee departed from Hamborg, and passed the Elbe by boate being much frosen, and from the riuer went on foote to Boxtchoede, being a long Dutch mile off, and there we lay; and from thence passed ouer land to Emden.

Thence hauing passed through Friseland and Holland, the 25. being Christmas day in the morning we came to Delft: where wee found the right honourable the Earle of Leicester with a goodly company of Lords, knights, gentlemen, and souldiers.

The 28. at night to Roterodam.

The 29. to the Briel, and there stayed eight dayes for passage.

The fift of Ianuary we tooke shipping.

The 7. we landed at Grauesend, and so that night at London with the helpe of almightie God.

The Turkes passeport or safeconduct for Captaine Austell, and Iacomo Manuchio.

KNow thou which art Voyuoda of Bogdania, and Valachia, and other our officers abiding and dwelling on the way by which men commonly passe into Bogdania, and Valachia, that the Embassador of England hauing two English gentlemen desirous to depart for England, the one named Henry Austel, and the other Iacomo de Manuchio, requested our hignesse letters of Safeconduct to passe through our dominions with one seruant to attende on them. Wherefore wee straightly charge you and all other our seruants by whom they shall passe, that hauing receiued this our commandement, you haue diligent care and regard that they may haue prouided for them in this their iourney (for their money) all such necessary prouision as shalbe necessary for themselues and their horses, in such sort as they may haue no cause hereafter to complaine of you. And if by chaunce they come vnto any place, where they shal stand in feare either of their persons or goods, that then you carefully cause them to bee guarded with your men, and to be conducted through all suspected places, with sufficient company; But haue great regard that they conuey not out of our countrey any of our seruiceable horses. Obey our commandement, and giue credite to this our Seale.

A Passeport of the Earle of Leicester for Thomas Foster gentleman trauailing to Constantinople.

RObertus Comes Leicestriæ, baro de Denbigh, ordinum Garterij et Sancti Michaelis eques auratus, Serenissimæ Reginæ Angliæ a Secretioribus consilijs, et magister equorum, dux et capitaneus generalis exercitus eiusdem Regiæ maiestatis in Belgio, et gubernator generalis Hollandiæ, Zelandiæ, et prouinciarum vnitarum et associatarum, omnibus ad quos præsentes literæ peruenerint, salutem. Cùm lator præsentium Thomas Foster nobilis Anglus necessarijs de causis hinc Constantinopolim profecturus sit, et inde ad nos quanta potest celeritate reuersurus: petimus ab omnibus et singulis Regibus, principibus, nobilibus, magistratibus, et alijs, mandent et permittant dicto Thomæ cum duobus famulis liberum transitum per eorum ditiones et territoria sine detentione aut impedimento iniusto, et prouideri sibi de necessarijs iustum precium reddenti, ac aliter conuenienter et humaniter tractari, vt occasiones eius eundi et redeundi requirent: Sicut nos Maiestates, Serenitates, Celsitudines, et dominationes vestræ paratos inuenietis, vt vestratibus in similibus casibus gratum similiter faciamus.

Datum in castris nostris Duisburgi, decimo die Septembris, anno 1586. stylo veteri.

The returne of Master William Harborne from Constantinople ouer land to London 1588.

I departed from Constantinople with 30. persons of my suit and family the 3. of August. Passing through the Countries of Thracia, now called Romania the great, Valachia and Moldauia, where ariuing the 5. of September I was according to the Grand Signior his commandement very courteously interteined by Peter his positiue prince, a Greeke by profession, with whom was concluded that her Maiesties subiects there trafiquing should pay

The letters of the Prince of Moldauia to the Queene.

Letters of the Chanceler of Poland to the Queene.

but three vpon the hundreth, which as well his owne Subiects as all other nations answere: whose letters to her Maiestie be extant. Whence I proceeded into Poland, where the high Chanceler sent for mee the 27. of the same moneth. And after most honorable intertainment imparted with me in secret maner the late passed and present occurrents of that kingdome, and also he writ to her Maiestie.

Thence I hasted vnto Elbing, where the 12. of October I was most friendly welcomed by the Senate of that City, whom I finde and iudge to be faithfully deuoted to her Maiesties seruice, whose letters likewise vnto the same were presented me. No lesse at Dantzik the 27. of that moneth I was courteously receiued by one o the Buroughmasters accompanied with two others of the Senate, and a Ciuil doctor their Secretarie. After going through the land of Pomer I rested one day at Stetin, where, for that yᵉ duke was absent, nothing ensued. At Rostoke I passed through the Citie without any stay, and at Wismar receiued like friendly greeting as in the other places: but at Lubeck, for that I came late and departed early in the morning, I was not visited. At Hamburg the 19. of Nouember, and at Stoad the ninth of December in like maner I was saluted by a Boroughmaster and the Secretarie, and in all these places they presented mee sundry sorts of their best wine and fresh fish, euery of them with a long discourse, congratulating, in the names of their whole Senate, her Maiesties victory ouer the Spaniard, and my safe returne, concluding with offer of their ready seruice to her future disposing. Yet the Dantziks after my departure thence caused the Marchants to pay custome for the goods they brought with them in my company, which none other towne neither Infidels nor Christians on yᵉ way euer demanded. And notwithstanding the premisses, I was most certainly informed of sundry of our nation there resident that most of the Hansetowns vpon the sea coasts, especially Dantzik, Lubeck, and Hamborough haue laden and were shipping for Spaine, great prouision of corne, cables, ropes, powder, saltpeter, hargubusses, armour, iron, leade, copper, and all other munition seruing for the warre. Whereupon I gather their fained courtesie proceeded rather for feare then of any good affection vnto her Maiesties seruice, Elbing and Stoad onely excepted, which of duetie for their commoditie I esteemed well affected.

The priuilege of Peter the Prince of Moldauia graunted to the English Marchants.

PEtrus Dei gratia princeps Valachiæ et Moldauiæ; significamus præsentibus, vniuersis et singulis quorum interest ac intererit, quòd cum magnifico domino Guilielmo Hareborne oratore Serenissimæ ac potentissimæ dominæ, dominæ Elizabethæ Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, ac Hiberniæ Reginæ apud Serenissimum ac potentissimum Turcarum Imperatorem hanc constitutionem fecerimus: Nimirùm vt dehinc suæ Serenitatis subditis, omnibúsque mercatoribus integrum sit hîc in prouincia nostra commorandi, conuersandi, mercandi, vendendi, contrahendíqne, imo omnia exercendi, quæ mercaturæ ac vitæ humanæ societas vsúsque requirit, sine vlla alicuius contradictione, aut inhibitione: saluo ac integro tamen iure Telonij nostri: hoc est, vt a singulis rebus centum ducatorum pretij, tres numerent. Quod ratum ac firmum constitutione nostra haberi volumus. In cuius rei firmius testimonium, sigillum nostrum appressum est. Actum in castris nostris die 27. mensis Augusti, anno Domini 1588.

The same in English.

PEter by the grace of God prince of Valachia and Moldauia; we signifie by these presents to all and singuler persons, whom it doth or shall concerne, that we haue made this agreement with the worthy gentleman William Hareborne Ambassador of the right high and mighty prince, the Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, with the most puissant and mightie Emperour of the Turkes: To witte, that from hencefoorth it shalbe lawfull for her highnesse subiects and all her Marchants, to remaine, conuerse, buy, sel, bargaine and exercise all such things, as the trade of marchandise, and humane societie and vse requireth, without any hinderance or let: the right of our Custome alwayes reserued; That is, that they pay three ducats vpon all such things as amount to the price of one hundred ducats. Which by this our ordinance we command to be surely and firmely obserued; For the more assured testimony whereof, our seale is hereunto annexed. Giuen in our Campe the 27. of the moneth of August in the yeere of our Lord 1588.

The letters of Sinan Bassa chiefe counsellour to Sultan Murad Can the Grand Signior, to the sacred Maiestie of Elizabeth Queene of England, shewing that vpon her request, and for her sake especially, hee graunted peace vnto the King and kingdome of Poland.

GLoriosissima et splendore fulgidissima fœminarum, selectíssima Princeps magnanimorum IESVM sectantium, regni inclyti Angliæ Regina Serenissima Elizabetha, moderatrix rerum et negotiorum omnium plebis et familiæ Nazarenorum sapientissima; Origo splendoris et gloriæ dulcissima; nebes pluuiarum gratissima, heres et domina beatitudinis et gloriæ regni inclyti Angliæ; ad quam omnes supplices confugiunt, incrementum omnium rerum et actionum Serenitatis vestræ beatissimum, exitusque fœlicissimos à Creatore omnipotente optantes, mutuáque et perpetua familiaritate nostra digna vota et laudes sempiternas offerentes: Significamus Ser. vestræ amicissimè; Quia sunt anni aliquot, à quibus annis potentissima Cæsarea celsitudo bella ineffabilia cum Casul-bas, Principe nempe Persarum gessit; ratione quorum bellorum in partes alias bellum mouere noluit, ob eamque causam in partibus Poloniæ latrones quidam Cosaci nuncupati, et alij facinorosi in partibus illis existentes, subditos Cæsaris potentissimi turbare et infestare non desierunt. Nunc autem partibus Persicis compositis et absolutis, in partibus Poloniæ et alijs partibus exurgentes facinorosos punire constituens, Beglerbego Græciæ exercitu aliquo adiuncto, et Principi Tartarorum madato Cæsaris misso, anno proximè præterito pars aliqua Regni Poloniæ infestata, turbata et deuastata fuit, et Cosaci alijq; facinorosi iuxta merita sua puniti fuerunt. Quo rex Poloniæ viso duos legatos ad Cæsaream celsitudinem mittens, quòd facinorosos exquirere, et pœna perfecta punire, et ab annis multis ad portam Cæsareæ celsitudinis missum munus augere vellet, significauit. Cæsarea autem celsitudo (cui Creator omnipotens tantam suppeditauit potentiam, et quæ omnes supplices exaudire dignata est) supplicatione Regis Poloniæ non accepta, iterùm in regem Poloniæ exercitum suum mittere, et Creatoris omnipotentis auxilio regnum eius subuertere constituerat. Verum Legato Serenitatis vestræ in porta beata et fulgida Cæsareæ celsitudinis residente sese interponente. Et quòd Serenitati vestræ ex partibus Poloniæ, fruges, puluis, arbores nauium, tormenta, et alia necessaria suppediterantur significante, et pacem pro regno et rege Poloniæ petente, neuè regnum Poloniæ ex parte Cæsareæ celsitudinis turbaretur vel infestaretur intercedente, Serenitatisque vestræ hanc singularem esse voluntatem exponente, Legati serenitatis vestræ significatio et intercessio cùm Cæsareæ celsitudini significata fuisset, In fauorem serenitatis vestræ, cui omnis honos et gratia debetur, iuxta modum prædictum, vt Cosaci facinoros-exquirantur et pœna perfecta puniantur, aut ratione muneris aliquantuli eorum delicta condonentur, hac inquam conditione literæ Cæsareæ celsitudinis ad Regem Poloniæ sunt datæ. Si autem ex parte Serenitatis vestræ fœdus et pax sollicitata non fuisset, nulla ratione Cæsara celsitudo fœdus cum regno Poloniæ inijsset. In fauorem autem Serenitatis vestræ regno et Regi Poloniæ singularem gratiam Cæsarea celsitudo exhibuit. Quod tàm Serenitas vestra, quàm etiam Rex et regnum Poloniæ sibi certò persuadere debent. Serenitatem vestram benè fœlicissiméque valere cupimus. Datum Constantinopoli in fine mensis Sabaum nuncupati, Anno prophetæ nostri sacrati Mahumeddi nongentesimo, nonagesimo, octauo. IESV vero Anno millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo, die duodecimo mensis·Iunij.

The same in English.

MOst glorious, and the most resplendent of women, most select Princesse, most gratious Elizabeth Queene of the valiant followers of Iesus in the famous kingdom of England, most wise gouernesse of all the affaires and bussinesses of the people and family of the Nazarens, most sweet fountaine of brightnesse and glory, most acceptable cloud of raine, inheritresse and Ladie of the blessednesse and glory of the renowmed kingdome of England, to whom in humble wise all men offer their petitions: wishing of the almightie Creator most happie increase and prosperous successe vnto all your Maiesties affaires and actions, and offering vp mutuall and perpetuall vowes worthy of our familiarity, with eternall prayses: In most friendly manner we signifie vnto your princely Highnesse, that certaine yeeres past the most mightie Cesarlike maiestie of the Grand Signor waged vnspeakeable warres with Casul-bas the Prince of the Persians, in regarde of which warres he would not goe in battell against any other places; and for that cause certaine theeues in the partes of Polonia called Cosacks, and other notorious persons

liuing in the same partes ceased not to trouble and molest the subiects of our most mightie Emperour. But now hauing finished and brought to some good issue his affaires in Persia, determining to punish the saide malefactors of Poland, and for that purpose committing an army vnto the Beglerbeg of Grecia, and the yeere last past, sending his imperiall commaundement vnto the Prince of the Tartars, he hath forraged, molested, and layed waste some part of the kingdome of Poland, and the Cosacks and other notorious offenders haue receiued condigne punishment. Which the king of Poland perceiuing sent two Embassadours to his imperiall Highnesse signifying, that he would hunt out the said malefactors, and inflict most seuere punishments vpon them, and also that he would better his gift, which he hath for many yeeres heretofore ordinarily sent vnto the porch of his imperiall Highnesse. Howbeit his imperiall maiestie (vpon whom the almightie creator hath bestowed so great power, and who vouchsafeth to giue eare vnto all humble suppliants) reiecting the supplication of the King of Poland, determined againe to send his armie against the said king, and by the helpe of the Almightie creator, vtterly to subuert and ouerthrowe his kingdome. But your Maiesties Embassadour resident in the blessed and glorious porch of his imperiall Highnesse interposing himselfe as a mediatour, signifying that from the partes of Poland you were furnished with corne, gun-powder, mastes of ships, guns, and other necessaries, and crauing peace on the behalfe of the kingdome and king of Poland, and making intercession, that the said king might not be molested nor troubled by the meanes of the Grand Signior, and declaring that this was your Maiesties most earnest desire; so soone as the report and intercession of your Maiesties Embassadour was signified vnto the Grand Signor, for your sake, vnto whom all honour and fauourable regard is due, vpon the condition aforesaid, namely, that the wicked Cosacks might be sought out and grieuously punished, or that their offences might be remitted for the value of some small gift, vpon this condition (I say) the letters of his imperiall Highnesse were sent vnto the king of Poland. Howbeit had not this conclusion of league and amitie beene sollicited on the behalfe of your Maiestie, his imperiall Highnesse would neuer haue vouchsafed the same vnto the kingdome of Poland. But for your Maiesties sake his imperiall Highnesse hath exhibited this so singular a fauour vnto the said king and kingdome of

Poland. And hereof your Maiestie and the king of Poland ought certainely to be perswaded. We wish your Maiestie most happily and well to fare. Giuen at Constantinople in the ende of the moneth called Sabaum, in the yeere of our sacred prophet Mahomet 998, and in the yeere of Iesus 1590, the 12 of Iune.

A letter written by the most high and mighty Empresse the wife of the Grand Signior Sultan Murad Can to the Queenes Maiesty of England, in the yeere of our Lord, 1594.

IL principio del ragionamento nostro sia scrittura perfetta nelle quatro parte del mondo, in nome di quello che ha creato indifferentemente tante infinite creature, che non haueuano anima ni persona, e di quello che fa girar gli noue cieli, e che la terra sette volte vna sopra l'altra fa firmar; Signor e Re senza vicere, e che non ha comparacion alla sua creatione ne opera, e vno senza precio, adorato incomparabilmente, l'altissimo Dio creatore; che non ha similitudine, si come è descrito dalli propheti: a la cui grandessa non si àrriue, e alla perfettione sua compiuta non si oppone, e quel omnipotente creatore e cooperatore; alla grandessa del quale inchinano tutti li propheti; fra quali il maggior e che ha ottenuto gracia, horto del paradiso, ragi dal sole, amato del altissimo Dio e Mahomet Mustaffa, al qual e suoi adherenti e imitatori sia perpetua pace: alla cui sepultura odorifera si fa ogni honore. Quello che è imperator de sette climati, e delle quatro parti del mondo, inuincibile Re di Græcia, Agiamia, Vngeria, Tartaria, Valachia, Rossia, Turchia, Arabia, Bagdet, Caramania, Abessis, Giouasir, Siruan, Barbaria, Algieri, Franchia, Coruacia, Belgrado, &c. sempre felicissimo e de dodeci Auoli possessor della corona, e della stirpe di Adam, fin hora Imperator, figliolo del'Imperatore, conseruato de la diuina prouidenza, Re di ogni dignita e honore, Sultan Murat, che Il Signor Dio sempre augmenti le sue forzze, e padre di quello a cui aspetta la corona imperiale, horto e cypresso mirabile, degno della sedia regale, e vero herede del commando imperiale, dignissimo Mehemet Can, filiol de Sultan Murat Can, che dio compisca li suoi dissegni, e alunga li suoi giorni felici: Dalla parte della madre del qual si scriue la presente alla serenissima e gloriosissima fra le prudentissime Donne, e eletta fra li triomfanti sotto il standardo di Iesu Christo, potentissima e ricchissima regitrice, e al mondo singularissima fra il feminil sesso, la serenissima Regina d'Ingilterra, che

segue le vestigie de Maria virgine, il fine della quale sia con bene e perfettione, secondo il suo desiderio. Le mando vna salutacion di pace, cosi honorata, che non basta tutta la copia di rosignoli con le loro musiche ariuare, non che con questa carta: l'amore singulare che e conciputo fra noi, e simile a vn'horto di Vccelli vagi; che il Signor Dio la faci degna di saluacione, e il fine suo sia tale, che in questo mondo e nel' futuro sia con pace. Doppo comparsi li suoi honorati presenti da la sedia de la Serenita vostra, sapera che sono capitati in vna hora che ogni punto e stato vna consolation di lungo tempo, per occasione del Ambassadore di vostra serenita venuto alla felice porta del Imperatore, con tanto nostro contento, quanto si posso desiderare, e con quello vna lettera di vostra serenetà, che ci estata presentata dalli nostri Eunuchi con gran honore; liccarta de la quale odoraua di camfora e ambracano, et l'inchiostro di musco perfetto, et quella peruenuta in nostro mano tutta la continenza di essa a parte ho ascoltato intentamente. Quello che hora si conuiene e, che correspondente alla nostra affecione, in tutto quello che si aspetta allie cose attenente alli paesi che sono sotto il commando di vostra serenità, lei non manchi di sempre tenermi, dato noticia, che in tutto quello che li occorerà, Io possi compiacerla; de quello che fra le nostre serenità e conueniente, accioche quelle cose che si interprenderano, habino il desiderato buon fine; perche Io saro sempre ricordeuole al altissimo Imperatore delle occorenze di vostra serenita, per che sia in ogni occasione compiaciuta. La pace sia con vostra serenita, e con quelli che seguitano dretamente la via di Dio. Scritta al primi dell luna di Rabie Liuol, anno del profeta 1002, et di Iesu 1594.

The same in English.

LEt the beginning of our discourse be a perfect writing in the foure parts of the world, in the name of him which hath indifferently created such infinite numbers of creatures, which had neither soule nor body, and of him which mooueth the nine heauens, and stablisheth the earth seuen times one aboue another, which is Lord and king without any deputy, who hath no comparison to his creation and worke, and is one inestimable, worshipped without all comparison, the most high God, the creator, which hath nothing like vnto him, according as he is described by the Prophets, to whose power no man can attaine, and whose absolute

perfection no man may controll; and that omnipotent creatour and fellow-worker, to whose Maiesty all the Prophets submit themselues, among whom the greatest, and which hath obtained greatest fauour, the garden of Paradise, the beame of the Sunne, the beloued of the most high God is Mahomet Mustafa, to whom and to his adherents and followers be perpetuall peace, to whose fragrant sepulture all honour is performed. He which is emperour of the seuen climats and of the foure parts of the world, the inuincible king of Græcia, Agiamia, Hungaria, Tartaria, Valachia, Rossia, Turchia, Arabia, Bagdet, Caramania, Abessis, Giouasir, Siruan, Barbaria, Alger, Franchia, Coruacia, Belgrade, &c. alwayes most happy, and possessour of the crowne from twelue of his ancestours; and of the seed of Adam, at this present emperour, the sonne of an emperour, preserued by the diuine prouidence, a king woorthy of all glory and honour, Sultan Murad, whose forces the Lord God alwayes increase, and father of him to whom the imperiall crowne is to descend, the paradise and woonderfull tall cypresse, worthy of the royall throne, and true heire of the imperiall authority, most woorthy Mehemet Can, the sonne of Sultan Murad Can, whose enterprise God vouchsafe to accomplish, and to prolong his happy dayes: on the behalfe of whose mother* this present letter is written to the most gracious and most glorious, the wisest among women, and chosen among those which triumph vnder the standard of Iesus Christ, the most mighty and most rich gouernour, and most rare among womankinde in the world, the most gracious Queene of England, which follow the steps of the virgine Mary, whose end be prosperous and perfect, according to your hearts desire. I send your Maiesty so honorable and sweet a salutation of peace, that al the flocke of Nightingales with their melody cannot attaine to ye like, much lesse this simple letter of mine. | The singular loue which we haue conceiued one toward the other is like to a garden of pleasant birds: and the Lord God vouchsafe to saue and keepe you, and send your Maiesty an happy end both in this world and in the world to come. After the arriuall of your honourable presents from the Court of your Maiesty, your Highnesse shall vnderstand that they came in such a season that euery minute ministred occasion of long consolation by reason of the comming of your Maiesties Ambassadour to the triumphant Court of the Emperour, to our so great contentment as we could possibly wish, who brought a letter from your Maiestie, which with great honour was presented vnto vs by our eunuks, the paper whereof did smell most fragrantly of camfor and ambargriese, and the incke of perfect muske; the contents whereof we haue heard very attentiuely from point to point. I thinke it therefore expedient, that, according to our mutuall affection, in any thing whatsoeuer may concerne the countreys which are subiect to your Maiesty, I neuer faile, hauing information giuen vnto me, in whatsoeuer occasion shall be ministred, to gratifie your Maiesty to my power in any reesonable and conuenient matter, that all your subiects businesses and affaires may haue a wished and happy end. For I will alwayes be a sollicitour to the most mighty Emperour for your Maiesties affaires, that your Maiesty at all times may be fully satisfied. Peace be to your Maiesty, and to all such as follow rightly the way of God. Written the first day of the Moone of Rabie Liuol in the yere of the Prophet, 1002.

Marginal Note*: **This Sultana is mother to Mahumet which now reigneth a Emperour.

Ann. Dom. 1594.

G
240
H2
1881
V.6

THE SECOND VOLVME
OF THE PRINCIPAL
NAVIGATIONS, VOYAGES, TRAFFIQVES,
AND
DISCOUERIES
OF THE
ENGLISH NATION,
MADE BY SEA OR OUER-LAND,
TO THE
SOUTH & SOUTH-EAST PARTS OF THE WORLD.
AT ANY TIME WITHIN THE COMPASSE OF THESE 1600. YERES:
DIUIDED INTO TWO SEUERALL PARTS:
WHEREOF THE FIRST CONTAINETH
THE PERSONALL TRAUELS, &c. OF THE ENGLISH,
THROUGH AND WITHIN THE STREIGHT OF GIBRALTAR,
TO
Alger, Tunis, and Tripolis in Barbary, to Alexandria and Cairo in Aegypt, to
the Isles of Sicilia, Zante, Candia, Rhodus, Cyprus, and Chio, to the
Citie of Constantinople, to diuers parts of Asia Minor, to
Syria and Armenia, to Ierusalem, and other
Places in Iudæa;
AS ALSO TO
Arabia, downe the Riuer of Euphrates, to Babylon and Balsara, and so
through the Persian Gulph to Ormutz, Chaul, Goa, and to many Islands
adioyning vpon the South Parts of Asia;
AND LIKEWISE FROM
Goa to Cambaia, and to all the Dominions of Zelabdim Echebar The Great
Mogor, to the Mighty Riuer of Ganges, to Bengala, Aracan, Bacola, and
Chonderi, to Pegu, to Iamahai in the Kingdome of Siam, and
almost to the very Frontiers of China.
THE SECOND COMPREHENDETH
THE VOYAGES, TRAFFICKS, &c. OF THE ENGLISH NATION,
MADE WITHOUT THE STREIGHT OF GIBRALTAR,
TO THE
ISLANDS OF THE ACORES, OF PORTO SANTO, MADERA, AND THE CANARIES,
TO THE KINGDOMES OF BARBARY, TO THE ISLES OF CAPO VERDE,
To the Riuers of Senega, Gambra, Madrabumba, and Sierra Leona, to the Coast
of Guinea and Benin, to the Isles of S. Thome and Santa Helena, to the
Parts about the Cape of Buona Esperanza, to Quitangone,
neere Mozambique, to the Isles of Comoro and Zanzibar, To the Citie of Goa,
Beyond Cape Comori, to the Isles of Nicubar, Gomes Polo, and
Pulo Pinaom, to the maine Land of Malacca, and
to the Kingdome of Iunsalaon.

BY RICHARD HAKLUYT PREACHER,
AND SOMETIME STUDENT OF CHRIST CHVRCH IN OXFORD.

IMPRINTED AT LONDON BY GEORGE BISHOP, RALPH NEWBERY,
AND ROBERT BARKER.
ANNO 1599.

DEDICATION TO THE FIRST EDITION.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR ROBERT CECIL KNIGHT,

PRINCIPALL SECRETARIE TO HER MAIESTIE, MASTER OF THE COURT OF WARDES AND LIUERIES, AND ONE OF HER MAIESTIES MOST HONOURABLE PRIUIE COUNSELL.

RIGHT Honorable, hauing newly finished a Treatise of the long Voyages of our Nation made into the Leuant within the Streight of Gibraltar, and from thence ouer-land to the South and Southeast parts of the world, all circumstances considered, I found none to whom I thought it fitter to bee presented then to your selfe: wherein hauing begun at the highest Antiquities of this realme vnder the gouerment of the Romans; next vnder the Saxons; and thirdly since the conquest vnder the Normans, I haue continued the histories vnto these our dayes. The time of the Romans affoordeth small matter. But after that they were called hence by forren inuasions of their Empire, and the Saxons by degrees became lords in this Iland, and shortly after receiued the Christian faith, they did not onely trauell to Rome, but passed further vnto Ierusalem, and therewith not contented, Sigelmus bishop of Shireburne in Dorcetshire caried the almes of king Alfred euen to the Sepulcher of S. Thomas in India, (which place at this day is called Maliapor) and brought from thence most fragrant spices, and rich iewels into England: which iewels, as

William of Malmesburie in two sundry treatises writeth, were remaining in the aforesayd Cathedrall Church to be seene euen in his time. And this most memorable voyage into India is not onely mentioned by the aforesayd Malmesburie, but also by Florentius Wigorniensis, a graue and woorthy Author which liued before him, and by many others since, and euen by M. Foxe in his first volume of his acts and Monuments in the life of king Alfred. To omit diuers other of the Saxon nation, the trauels of Alured bishop of Worcester through Hungarie to Constantinople, and so by Asia the lesse into Phœnicia and Syria, and the like course of Ingulphus, not long afterward Abbot of Croiland, set downe particularly by himselfe, are things in mine opinion right worthy of memorie. After the comming in of the Normans, in the yeere 1096, in the reigne of William Rufus, and so downward for the space of aboue 300 yeeres, such was the ardent desire of our nation to visite the Holy land, and to expell the Saracens and Mahumetans, that not only great numbers of Erles, Bishops, Barons, and Knights, but euen Kings, Princes, and Peeres of the blood Roiall, with incredible deuotion, courage and alacritie intruded themselues into this glorious expedition. A sufficient proofe hereof are the voiages of prince Edgar the nephew of Edmund Ironside, of Robert Curtois brother of William Rufus, the great beneuolence of king Henry the 2. and his vowe to haue gone in person to the succour of Ierusalem, the personall going into Palestina of his sonne king Richard the first, with the chiualrie, wealth, and shipping of this realme; the large contritribution of king Iohn, and the trauels of Oliuer Fitz-Roy his sonne, as is supposed, with Ranulph Glanuile Erle of Chester to the siege of Damiata in Egypt: the prosperous voyage of Richard Erle of Cornwall, elected afterward king of the Romans, and brother to Henry the 3, the famous expedition of Prince Edward, the first king of the Norman race of that name; the iourney of Henry Erle of Derbie, duke of Hereford, and afterward King of this realme, by the name of Henry the 4 against the citie of Tunis in Africa, and his preparation of ships and gallies to go himselfe into the Holy land, if he had not on the sudden bene preuented by death; the trauel of Iohn of Holland brother by the mothers side to king Richard the 2 into those parts. All these, either Kings, Kings sonnes, or Kings brothers, exposed themselues with inuincible courages to the manifest hazard of their persons, liues and liuings, leauing their ease, their countries, wiues and children, induced with a Zelous deuotion and ardent desire to protect and dilate the Christian faith. These memorable enterprises in part concealed, in part scattered, and for the most part vnlooked after, I haue brought together in the best Method and breuitie that I could deuise. Whereunto I haue annexed the losse of Rhodes, which although it were originally written in French, yet maketh it as honourable and often mention of the English nation, as of any other Christians that serued in that most violent siege. After which ensueth the princely promise of the bountiful aide of king Henry the 8 to Ferdinando newly elected king of Hungarie, against Solyman the mortall enemie of Christendome. These and the like Heroicall intents and attempts of our Princes, our Nobilitie, our Clergie, and our Chiualry, I haue in the first place exposed and set foorth to the view of this age, with the same intention that the old Romans set vp in wax in their palaces the Statuas or images of their worthy ancestors; whereof Salust in his treatise of the warre of Iugurtha, writeth in this maner: Sæpe audiui ego Quintum maximum, Publium Scipionem, præterea ciuitatis nostræ præclaros viros solitos ita dicere, cum maiorum imagines intuerentur, vehementissimè animum sibi ad virtutem accendi. Scilicet non ceram illam, neq; figuram, tantam vim in sese habere, sed memoria rerum gestarum flammam eam egregijs viris in pectore crescere, neq; prius sedari, quàm virtus eorum famam et gloriam adæquauerit. I haue often heard (quoth he) how Quintus maximus, Publius Scipio, and many other worthy men of our citie were woont to say, when they beheld the images and portraitures of their ancestors, that they were most vehemently inflamed vnto vertue. Not that the sayd wax or portraiture had any such force at all in it selfe, but that by the remembring of their woorthy actes, that flame was kindled in their noble breasts, and could neuer be quenched, vntill such time as their owne value had equalled the fame and glory of their progenitors. So, though not in wax, yet in record of writing haue I presented to the noble courages of this English Monarchie, the like images of their famous predecessors, with hope of like effect in their posteritie. And here by the way if any man shall think, that an vniuersall peace with our Christian neighbours will cut off the emploiment of the couragious increasing youth of this realme, he is much deceiued. For there are other most conuenient emploiments for all the superfluitie of euery profession in this realme. For, not to meddle with the state of Ireland, nor that of Guiana, there is vnder our noses the great and ample countrey of Virginia; the In-land whereof is found of late to bee so sweete and holesome a climate, so rich and abundant in siluer mines, so apt and capable of all commodities, which Italy, Spaine, and France can affoord, that the Spaniards themselues in their owne writings printed in Madrid 1586, and within few moneths afterward reprinted by me in Paris,* and in a secret mappe of those partes made in Mexico the yeere before for the king of Spaine, (which originall with many others is in the custodie of the excellent Mathematician M. Thomas Hariot) as also in their intercepted letters come vnto my hand, bearing date 1595. they acknowledge the In-land to be a better and richer countrey then Mexico and Nueua Spania itselfe. And on the other side their chiefest writers, as Peter Martyr ab Angleria, and Francis Lopez de Gomara, the most learned Venetian Iohn Baptista Ramusius, and the French Geographers, as namely, Popiliniere and the rest, acknowledge with one consent, that all that mightie tract of land from 67. degrees Northward to the latitude almost of Florida was first discouered out of England, by the commaundement of king Henry the seuenth, and the South part thereof before any other Christian people of late hath bene planted with diuers English colonies by the royal consent of her sacred Maiestie vnder the broad seale of England, whereof one as yet remaineth, for ought we know, aliue in the countrey. Which action, if vpon a good and godly peace obtained, it shal please the Almighty to stirre vp her Maiesties heart to continue with her fauourable countenance (as vpon the ceasing of the warres of Granada, hee stirred vp the spirite of Isabella Queene of Castile, to aduance the enterprise of Columbus) with transporting of one or two thousand of her people, and such others as upon mine owne knowledge will most willingly at their owne charges become Aduenturers in good numbers with their bodies and goods; she shall by Gods assistance, in short space, worke many great and vnlooked for effects, increase her dominions, enrich her cofers, and reduce many Pagans to the faith of Christ. The neglecting hitherto of which last point our aduersaries daily in many of their bookes full bitterly lay vnto the charge of the professors of the Gospell. No sooner should we set footing in that pleasant and good land, and erect one or two conuenient

---

* This no doubt refers to the "History of the West Indies," which appears further on in this edition.

Fortes in the Continent, or in some Iland neere the maine, but euery step we tread would yeeld vs new occasion of action, which I wish the Gentrie of our nation rather to regard, then to follow those soft vnprofitable pleasures wherein they now too much consume their time and patrimonie, and hereafter will doe much more, when as our neighbour warres being appeased, they are like to haue lesse emploiment then nowe they haue, vnlesse they bee occupied in this or some other the like expedition. And to this ende and purpose giue me leaue (I beseech you) to impart this occurrent to your honourable and prouident consideration: that in the yere one thousand fiue hundred eighty and seuen, when I had caused the foure voyages of Ribault, Laudonniere, and Gourges to Florida, at mine owne charges to bee printed in Paris, which by the malice of some too much affectioned to the Spanish faction, had bene aboue twentie yeeres suppressed, assoone as that booke came to the view of that reuerend and prudent Counseller Monsieur Harlac the lord chiefe Iustice of France, and certaine other of the wisest Iudges, in great choler they asked, who had done such intollerable wrong to their whole kingdome, as to haue concealed that woorthie worke so long? Protesting further, that if their Kings and the Estate had throughly followed that action, France had bene freed of their long ciuill warres, and the variable humours of all sortes of people might haue had very ample and manifold occasions of good and honest emploiment abroad in that large and fruitfull Continent of the West Indies. The application of which sentence vnto our selues I here omit, hastening vnto the summarie recapitulation of other matters contained in this worke. It may please your Honour therefore to vnderstand, that the second part of this first Treatise containeth our auncient trade and traffique with English shipping to the Ilands of Sicilie, Candie, and Sio, which, by good warrant herein alleaged, I find to haue bene begun in the yeere 1511. and to haue continued vntill the yeere 1552. and somewhat longer. But shortly after (as it seemeth) it was intermitted, or rather giuen ouer (as is noted in master Gaspar Campions discreet letters to Master Michael Lock and Master William Winter inserted in this booke) first by occasion of the Turkes expelling of the foure and twentie Mauneses or gouernours of the Genouois out of the Ile of Sio, and by taking of the sayd Iland wholie into his owne hand in Aprill, 1566. sending thither Piali Basha with fourescore gallies for that purpose; and afterward by his growing ouer mightie and troublesome in those Seas, by the cruell inuasion of Nicosia and Famagusta, and the whole Ile of Cyprus by his lieutenant Generall Mustapha Basha. Which lamentable Tragedie I haue here againe reuiued, that the posteritie may neuer forget what trust may bee giuen to the oath of a Mahumetan, when hee hath aduauntage and is in his choler.

Lastly, I haue here put downe at large the happie renuing and much increasing of our interrupted trade in all the Leuant, accomplished by the great charges and speciall industrie of the worshipfull and worthy Citizens, Sir Edward Osborne Knight, M. Richard Staper, and M. William Hareborne, together with the league for traffike onely betweene her Maiestie and the Grand Signior, with the great priuileges, immunities, and fauours obteyned of his imperiall Highnesse in that behalfe, the admissions and residencies of our Ambassadours in his stately Porch, and the great good and Christian offices which her Sacred Maiestie by her extraordinary fauour in that Court hath done for the king and kingdome of Poland, and other Christian Princes: the traffike of our Nation in all the chiefe Hauens of Africa and Egypt: the searching and haunting the very bottome of the Mediterran Sea to the ports of Tripoli and Alexandretta, of the Archipelagus, by the Turkes now called The white sea, euen to the walles of Constantinople: the voyages ouer land, and by riuer through Aleppo, Birrha, Babylon and Balsara, and downe the Persian gulfe to Ormuz, and thence by the Ocean sea to Goa, and againe ouer-land to Bisnagar, Cambaia, Orixa, Bengala, Aracan, Pegu, Malacca, Siam, the Iangomes, Quicheu, and euen to the Frontiers of the Empire of China: the former performed diuerse times by sundry of our nation, and the last great voyage by M. Ralph Fitch, who with M. Iohn Newbery and two other consorts departed from London with her Maiesties letters written effectually in their fauour to the kings of Cambaia and China in the yere 1583, who in the yeere 1591. like another Paulus Venetus returned home to the place of his departure, with ample relation of his wonderfull trauailes, which he presented in writing to my Lord your father of honourable memorie.

Now here if any man shall take exception against this our new trade with Turkes and misbeleeuers, he shall shew himselfe a man of small experience in old and new Histories, or wilfully lead with partialitie, or some worse humour. *For who knoweth not, that king Solomon of old, entred into league vpon necessitie with Hiram the king of

1. King. cap. 5. 2. Chron. cap. 2.

Tyrus, a gentile? Or who is ignorant that the French, the Genouois, Florentines, Raguseans, Venetians, and Polonians are at this day in league with the Grand Signior, and haue beene these many yeeres, and haue vsed trade and traffike in his dominions? Who can deny that the Emperor of Christendome hath had league with the Turke, and payd him a long while a pension for a part of Hungarie? And who doth not acknowledge, that either hath traueiled the remote parts of the world, or read the Histories of this latter age, that the Spaniards and Portugales in Barbarie, in the Indies, and elsewhere, haue ordinarie confederacie and traffike with the Moores, and many kindes of Gentiles and Pagans, and that which is more, doe pay them pensions, and vse them in their seruice and warres? Why then should that be blamed in vs, which is vsuall and common to the most part of other Christian nations? Therefore let our neighbours, which haue found most fault with this new league and traffike, thanke themselues and their owne foolish pride, whereby we were vrged to seeke further to prouide vent for our naturall commodities. And herein the old Greeke prouerbe was most truely verified, That euill counsaille prooueth worst to the author and deuiser of the same.

Hauing thus farre intreated of the chiefe contents of the first part of this second Volume, it remayneth that I briefly acquaint your Honor with the chiefe contents of the second part. It may therefore please you to vnderstand, that herein I haue likewise preserued, disposed, and set in order such Voyages, Nauigations, Traffikes, and Discoueries, as our Nation, and especially the worthy inhabitants of this citie of London, haue painefully performed to the South and Southeast parts of the world, without the Streight of Gibraltar, vpon the coasts of Africa, about the Cape of Buona Sperança, to and beyonde the East India. To come more neere vnto particulars, I haue here set downe the very originals and infancie of our trades to the Canarian Ilands, to the kingdomes of Barbarie, to the mightie riuers of Senega and Gambra, to those of Madrabumba, and Sierra Leona, and the Isles of Cape Verde, with twelue sundry voyages to the sultry kingdomes of Guinea and Benin, to the Ile of San Thomé, with a late and true report of the weake estate of the Portugales in Angola, as also the whole course of the Portugale Caracks from Lisbon to the barre of Goa in India, with the disposition and qualitie of the climate neere and vnder the Equinoctiall line, the sundry infallible markes and tokens of approaching vnto, and doubling of The Cape of good Hope, the great variation of the compasse for three or foure pointes towards the East between the Meridian of S. Michael one of the Islands of the Azores, and the aforesaid Cape, with the returne of the needle againe due North at the Cape Das Agulias, and that place being passed outward bound, the swaruing backe againe thereof towards the West, proportionally as it did before, the two wayes, the one within and the other without the Isle of S. Laurence, the dangers of priuie rockes and quicksands, the running seas, and the perils thereof, with the certaine and vndoubted signes of land. All these and other particularities are plainly and truely here deliuered by one Thomas Steuens a learned Englishman, who in the yeere 1579 going as a passenger in the Portugale Fleete from Lisbon into India, wrote the same from Goa to his father in England: Whereunto I haue added the memorable voyage of M. Iames Lancaster, who doth not onely recount and confirme most of the things aboue mentioned, but also doth acquaint vs with the state of the voyage beyond Cape Comori, and the Isle of Ceilon, with the Isles of Nicubar and Gomes Polo lying within two leagues of the rich Island Sumatra, and those of Pulo Pinaom, with the maine land of Iunçalaon and the streight of Malacca. I haue likewise added a late intercepted letter of a Portugall reuealing the secret and most gainefull trade of Pegu, which is also confirmed by Cesar Fredericke a Venetian, and M. Ralph Fitch now liuing here in London.

And because our chiefe desire is to find out ample vent of our wollen cloth, the naturall commoditie of this our Realme, the fittest places, which in al my readings and obseruations I find for that purpose, are the manifold Islands of Iapan, and the Northern parts of China, and the regions of the Tartars next adioyning (whereof I read, that the countrey in winter is Assi fria como Flandes, that is to say, as cold as Flanders, and that the riuers be strongly ouer frozen) and therefore I haue here inserted two speciall Treatises of the sayd Countries, the last discourse I hold to be the most exact of those parts that is yet come to light, which was printed in Latine in Macao a citie of China, in China-paper, in the yeere a thousand fiue hundred and ninetie, and was intercepted in the great Carack called Madre de Dios two yeeres after, inclosed in a case of sweete Cedar wood, and lapped vp almost an hundred fold in fine calicut-cloth, as though it had bene some incomparable iewel.

But leauing abruptly this discourse, I thinke it not impertinent, before I make an end, to deliuer some of the reasons, that moued me to present this part of my trauailes vnto your Honour. The reuerend antiquitie in the dedication of their workes made choyse of such patrons, as eyther with their reputation and credite were able to countenance the same, or by their wisedome and vnderstanding were able to censure and approue them, or with their abilitie were likely to stand them or theirs in steade in the ordinarie necessities and accidents of their life. Touching the first, your descent from a father, that was accounted Pater patriæ, your owne place and credite in execution of her Maiesties inward counsailes and publike seruices, added to your well discharging your forren imployment (when the greatest cause in Christendome was handled) haue not onely drawen mens eyes vpon you, but also forcibly haue moued many, and my selfe among the rest to haue our labours protected by your authoritie. For the second point, when it pleased your Honour in sommer was two yeeres to haue some conference with me, and to demaund mine opinion touching the state of the Country of Guiana, and whether it were fit to be planted by the English: I then (to my no small ioy) did admire the exact knowledge which you had gotten of those matters of Indian Nauigations: and how carefull you were, not to be ouertaken with any partiall affection to the Action, appeared also, by the sound arguments which you made pro and contra, of the likelihood and reason of good or ill successe of the same, before the State and common wealth (wherein you haue an extraordinarie voyce) should be farther engaged. In consideration whereof I thinke myselfe thrise happie to haue these my trauailes censured by your Honours so well approued iudgement. Touching the third and last motiue I cannot but acknowledge my selfe much indebted for your fauourable letters heretofore written in my behalfe in mine honest causes. Whereunto I may adde, that when this worke was to passe vnto the presse, your Honour did not onely intreate a worthy knight, a person of speciall experience, as in many others so in marine causes, to ouersee and peruse the same, but also vpon his good report with your most fauourable letters did warrant, and with extraordinarie commendation did approue and allow my labours, and desire to publish the same. Wherefore to conclude, seeing they take their life and light from the most cheerefull and benigne aspect of your favour, I thinke it my bounden dutie in all humilitie and with much bashfulnesse to recommend my selfe and them vnto your right Honorable and fauourable protection, and your Honour to the merciful tuition of the most High. From London this 24. of October. 1599.

Your Honours most humble
to be commanded,
Richard Hakluyt preacher.

Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoueries

OF THE

ENGLISH NATION,

MADE TO

THE ILANDS OF MADERA AND OF THE CANARIES.

The voyage of Macham an English man, wherein he first of any man discouered the Iland of Madera, recorded verbatim in the Portugall history, written by Antonio Galuano.

In the yeere 1344, King Peter the fourth of that name reigning in Aragon, the Chronicles of his age write that about this time the Iland of Madera, standing in 32 degrees, was discouered by an English man, which was named Macham, who sailing out of England into Spaine, with a woman that he had stollen, arriued by tempest in that Iland, and did cast anker in that hauen or bay, which now is called Machico after the name of Macham.

Madera first discouered by one Macham an Englishman.

And because his louer was sea-sicke, he went on land with some of his company, and the shippe with a good winde made saile away, and the woman died for thought. Macham, which loued her dearely, built a chapell, or hermitage, to bury her in, calling it by the name of Iesus, and caused his name and hers to be written or grauen vpon the stone of her tombe, and the occasion of their arriuall there. And afterward he ordeined a boat made of one tree (for there be trees of a great compasse about) and went to sea in it, with those men that he had, and were left behinde with him, and came vpon the coast of Afrike, without saile or oare. And the Moores which saw it tooke it to be a maruellous thing, and presented him vnto the king of that countrey for a woonder, and that king also sent him and his companions for a miracle vnto the king of Castile.

Macham made there a chapel, naming it Iesus chapell.

In the yeere 1395, King Henry the third of that name reigning in Castile, the information which Macham gaue of this Iland, and also the ship of his company, mooued many of France and Castile to go and discouer it, and also the great Canaria, &c.

In the yeere 1417, King Iohn the second reigning in Castile, and his mother Lady Katherine being Regent, one Monsieur Ruben of Bracamont, which was Admirall of France, demanding the conquest of the Ilands of the Canaries, with the title of King, for a kinsman of his named Monsieur Iohn Betancourt, after that the Queene hath giuen him them, and holpen him, he departed from Siuil with a good army. And they affirme also, that the principall cause which moued him to this, was to discouer the the Iland of Madera, which Macham had found, &c. ibidem pag. 2. of Anthonio Galuano.*

---

* The romantic story of Machin or Macham has been recently confirmed by authentic documents discovered in Lisbon. The lady eloped with him from near Bristol. The name of Madeira is derived from its thick woods, the word being the same as the Latin Materies.

A briefe note concerning an ancient trade of the English Marchants to the Canarie-ilands, gathered out of an olde ligier booke of M. Nicolas Thorne the elder a worshipfull marchant of the city of Bristoll.

IT appeareth euidently out of a certaine note or letter of remembrance, in the custody of me Richard Hakluyt, written by M. Nicolas Thorne the elder a principall marchant of Bristoll, to his friend and factour Thomas Midnall and his owne seruant William Ballard at that time resident at S. Lucar in Andaluzia; that in the yeere of our Lord 1526 (and by all circumstances and probabilities long before) certaine English marchants, and among the rest himselfe with one Thomas Spacheford exercised vsuall and ordinary trade of marchandise vnto the Canarie Ilands. For by the sayd letter notice was giuen to Thomas Midnall and William Ballard aforesayd, that a certaine ship called The Christopher of Cadiz bound for the West Indies had taken in certaine fardels of cloth both course and fine, broad and narrow of diuers sorts and colours, some arouas of packthreed, sixe cerons or bagges of sope with other goods of M. Nicolas Thorne, to be deliuered at Santa Cruz the chiefe towne in Tenerifa one of the seuen Canary-ilands. All which commodities the sayd Thomas and William were authorised by the owner in the letter before mentioned to barter and sell away at Santa Cruz. And in lieu of such mony as should arise of the sale of those goods they were appointed to returne backe into England good store of Orchell (which is a certaine kinde of mosse growing vpon high rocks, in those dayes much vsed to die withall) some quantity of sugar, and certaine hundreds, of kid-skinnes. For the procuring of which and of other commodities at the best and first hand the sayd Thomas and William were to make their abode at Santa Cruz, and to remaine there as factours for the abouesayd M. Nicolas Thorne.

The English had an ordinary trade to the Canaries 1526.

And here also I thought good to signifie, that in the sayd letters mention is made of one Thomas Tison an English man, who before the foresayd yere 1526 had found the way to the West Indies, and was there resident, vnto whom the sayd M. Nicolas Thorne sent certaine armour and other commodities specified in the letter aforesayd.

A description of the fortunate Ilands, otherwise called the Ilands of Canaria, with their strange fruits and commodities: composed by Thomas Nicols English man, who remained there the space of seuen yeeres together.

MIne intent is particularly to speake of the Canaria Ilands, which are seuen in number, wherein I dwelt the space of seuen yeres and more, because I finde such variety in sundry writers, and especially great vntruths, in a booke called The New found world Antarctike, set out by a French man called Andrew Theuet, the which his booke he dedicated to the Cardinall of Sens, keeper of the great seale of France.

It appeareth by the sayd booke that he had read the works of sundry Phylosophers, Astronomers, and Cosmographers, whose opinions he gathered together. But touching his owne trauell, which he affirmeth, I refer to the iudgement of the expert in our dayes, and therefore for mine owne part I write of these Canaria Ilands, as time hath taught me in many yeres.

The Iland of Canaria.

THe Iland of Canaria is almost equal in length and bredth, containing 12 leagues in length, touching the which as principall and the residue, the Spanyards holde opinion, that they discouered the same in their nauigation toward America, but the Portugals say, that their nation first found the sayd Ilands in their nauigation toward Aethiopia and the East Indies.

English men at the first conquest of the Canaries.

But truth it is that the Spanyards first conquered these Ilands, with diuers English gentlemen in their company, whose posterity this present day inioyeth them. Some write that this Iland was named Canaria by meane of the number of dogs which there were found: as for example, Andrew Theuet sayth, that one Iuba carried two dogs from thence: but that opinion could I neuer learne by any of the naturall people of the countrey, although I haue talked with many in my time and with many of their children. For trueth it is, that there were dogs, but such as are in all the Northwest lands, and some part of the West India, which serued the people in stead of sheepe for victual.

But of some of the conquerors of those Ilands I haue heard say that the reason why they were called the Canaria Islands is, because there grow generally in them all fouresquare canes in great multitude together, which being touched will cast out a liquor as white as milke, which liquor is ranke poison, and at the first entry into these Ilands some of the discouerers were therewith poisoned: for many yeeres after that conquest the inhabitants began to plant both wine and sugar, so that Canaria was not so called by sugar canes.

The people which first inhabited this land were called Canaries by the conquerors, they were clothed in goat skinnes made like vnto a loose cassocke, they dwelt in caues in the rocks,* in great amity and brotherly love. They spake all one language: their chiefe feeding was gelt dogges, goates, and goates milke, their bread was made of barley meale and goates milke, called Gofia, which they vse at this day, and thereof I haue eaten diuers times, for it is accounted exceeding holesome.

Touching the originall of these people some holde opinion, that the Romans which dwelt in Africa exiled them thither, aswell men as women, their tongues being cut out of their heads, for blasphemy against the Romane gods. But howsoeuer it were, their language was speciall, and not mixed with Romane speech or Arabian.

This Iland is now the principallest of all the rest, not in fertility, but by reason it is the seat of iustice and gouernment of all the residue. This Iland hath a speciall Gouernour for the Iland onely, yet notwithstanding there are three Iudges called Auditours, who are superiour Iudges, and all in one ioyntly proceed as the Lord Chanceller of any realme.

Ciuitas Palmarum.

To this city from all the other Ilands come all such by appeale, as haue sustained any wrong, and these good Iudges do remedy the same. The city is called Ciuitas Palmarum, it hath a beautifull Cathedrall church, with all dignities thereunto pertaining. For the publike weale of the Iland there are sundry Aldermen of great authority, who haue a councell house by themselues. The city is not onely beautifull, but the citizens curious and gallant in apparell. And after any raine or foule weather a man may goe cleane in Veluet slippers, because the ground is sandy, the aire very temperate, without extreame heat or colde.

---

* Many thousand persons, including a colony of free negroes, still reside in cave dwellings in the hill side.

They reape wheat in February, and againe in May, which is excellent good, and maketh bread as white as snow. This Iland hath in it other three townes, the one called Telde, the second Galder, and the third Guia. It hath also twelue sugar houses called Ingenios, in which they make great quantity of good sugar.

The planting and growth of sugar canes.

The maner of the growth of sugar is in this sort, a good ground giueth foorth fruit nine times in 18 yere: that is to say, the first is called Planta, which is layd along in a furrow, so that the water of a sluce may come ouer euery roote being couered with earth: this root bringeth foorth sundry canes, and so consequently all the rest. It groweth two yeeres before the yeelding of profit, and not sixe moneths, as Andrew Theuet the French man writeth.

The making of sugar.

Then are they cut euen with the ground, and the tops and leaues called Coholia cut off, and the canes bound into bundels like faggots, and so are caried to the sugar house called Ingenio, where they are ground in a mill, and the iuyce thereof conueyed by a conduct to a great vessell made for the purpose, where it is boiled till it waxe thicke, and then is it put into a fornace of earthen pots of the molde of a sugar loafe, and then is it carried to another house, called a purging house where it is placed to purge the blacknesse with a certaine clay that is layd thereon. Of the remainder in the cauldron is made a second sort called Escumas, and of the purging liquor that droppeth from the white sugar is made a third sort, and the remainder is called Panela or Netas, the refuse of all the purging is called Remiel or Malasses: and thereof is made another sort called Refinado.

When this first fruit is in this sort gathered, called Planta, then the Cane-field where it grew is burned ouer with sugar straw to the stumps of the first canes, and being husbanded, watred and trimmed, at the end of other two yeeres it yeeldeth the second fruit called Zoca. The third fruit is called Tertia Zoca, the fourth Quarta Zoca, and so orderly the rest, til age causeth the olde Canes to be planted againe.

Wine.

This Iland hath singular good wine, especially in the towne of Telde, and sundry sorts of good fruits, as Batatas, Mellons, Peares, Apples, Orenges, Limons, Pomgranats, Figs Peaches of diuers sorts, and many other fruits: but

Plantano.

especially the Plantano which groweth neere brooke sides, it is a tree that hath no timber in it, but groweth directly vpward with the body, hauing maruelous thicke leaues, and euery leafe at the toppe of two yards long and almost halfe a yard broad. The tree neuer yeeldeth fruit but once, and then is cut downe; in whose place springeth another, and so still continueth. The fruit groweth on a branch, and euery tree yeeldeth two or three of those branches, which beare some more and some lesse, as some forty and some thirty, the fruit is like a Cucumber, and when it is ripe it is blacke, and in eating more delicate then any conserue.

This Iland is sufficiently prouided of Oxen, Kine, Camels, Goats, Sheepe, Capons, Hens, Ducks, and Pidgeons, and great Partridges. Wood is the thing that most wanteth: and because I haue particularly to intreat of the other sixe Ilands, I leaue further inlarging of Canaria, which standeth in 27 degrees distant from the Equator.

The Ile of Tenerif.

THe Iland of Tenerif standeth in 27 degrees and a halfe from the equator, and is distant from Canaria 12 leagues Northward. This Iland containeth 17 leagues in length, and the land lieth high in forme of a ridge of sowen lande in some part of England, and in the midst of the sayd place standeth a round hill called Pico Deteithe, situated in this sort. The top of this pike conteineth of heigth directly vpward 15 leagues and more, which is 45 English miles, out of the which often times proceedeth fire and brimstone, and it may be about halfe a mile in compasse: the sayd top is in forme or likenesse of a caldron.* But within two miles of the top is nothing but ashes and pumish stones: yet beneath that two miles is the colde region couered all the yere with snow, and somewhat lower are mighty huge trees growing called Vinatico, which are exceeding heauy and will not rot in any water although they lie a thousand yeeres therein. Also there is a wood called Barbusano, of like vertue, with many Sauine trees and Pine trees. And beneath these sorts of trees are woods of Bay trees of ten and 12 miles long, which is a pleasant thing to trauell thorow, among the which are great numbers of small birds, which sing exceeding sweet, but especially one sort that are very litle, and of colour in all respects like a Swallow, sauing that he hath a little blacke spot on his breast as broad as a peny. He singeth more sweetly than all the rest, but if he be taken and imprisoned in a cage, he liueth but a small while. This Iland bringeth foorth all sorts of fruits, as Canaria doth: and also all the other Ilands in generall bring foorth shrubs or bushes, out of the which issueth a iuice as white as milke, which after a while that it hath come out waxeth thicke, and is exceeding good birdlime, the bush is called Taybayba. This Iland also bringeth foorth another tree called Drago, which groweth on high among rocks, and by incision at the foot of the tree issueth out a liquor like blood, which is a common drug among Apothecaries. Of the wood of this tree are made targets greatly esteemed, because if any sword or dagger hit thereon, they sticke so fast that it is hard plucking them out.

---

* The Peak of Teneriffe is 12,182 feet high.

Lime.

This is the most fruitfull Iland of all the rest for corne, and in that respect is a mother or nurse to all the others in time of need. There groweth also a certaine mosse vpon the high rocks called Orchel, which is bought for Diars to die withall. There are 12 sugar houses called Ingenios, which make great quantity of sugar. There is also one league of ground which standeth between two townes, the one called Larotaua, and the other Rialeio, and it is thought that the like plot of ground is not in all the world. The reason is, that this one league of ground produceth sweet water out of the cliffes or rocky mountaines, corne of all sortes, fruites of all sortes, and excellent good silke, flaxe, waxe, and hony, and very good wines in abundance, with great store of sugar and fire-wood. Out of this Iland is laden great quantities of wines for the West India, and other countreys. The best groweth on a hill side called the Ramble.

Orchel good for dying.

There is in that Iland a faire citie, standing three leagues from the sea, nere vnto a lake called Laguna, wherein are two faire parish churches, there dwelleth the gouernour who ruleth all that Iland with iustice. There are also aldermen for the publike weale, who buy their offices of the king: the most of the whole inhabitants of this city are gentlemen, merchants, and husband men.

There are foure other townes called Santa Cruz, Larotaua, Rialeio, and Garachico.

Santa Cruz.

In this Iland before the conquest dwelt seuen kings, who with all their people dwelt in caues, and were clothed in goat skinnes, as the Canaria people were, and vsed such like order of diet as they had. Their order of buriall was, that when any died, he was carried naked to a great caue, where he was propped vp against the wall standing on his feet But if he were of any authority among them, then had he a staffe in his hand, and a vessell of milke standing by him. I haue seene caues of 300 of these corpses together, the flesh being dried vp, the body remained as light as parchment. These people were called Guanches, naturally they spake another language cleane contrary to the Canarians, and so consequently euery Iland spake a seuerall language.

Note (gentle reader) that the Iland of Canaria, the Ile of Tenerif, and the Ile of Palma appertaine to the king of Spaine, vnto whom they pay fifty thousand duckats yeerely for custome and other profits. All these Ilands ioyntly are one bishopricke, which pay to the bishop twelue thousand duckats yeerely. And thus I conclude of the Ile of Tenerif, which standeth in 27 degrees and a halfe, as I haue before declared.

Gomera.

The Iland of Gomera standeth Westward from Tenerif, in distance sixe leagues: this is but a small Iland conteining eight leagues in length. It is an Earledome, and the Lord thereof is called the earle of Gomera. But in case of any controuersie the vassals may appeale to the kings superior Iudges which reside in Canaria.

This Iland hath one proper towne called Gomera, which hath an excellent good port or harbour for ships, where often times the Indian fleet takes refreshing for their voyage.

There is also sufficient graine and fruit for the maintenance of themselues.

There is one Ingenio or Sugar-house, with great plenty of wine and other sorts of fruits, as Canaria and Tenerif hath.

This Iland yeeldeth no other commodity but onely orchell; it standeth in 27 degrees distant from the Equator toward the pole Arcticke.

The Ile of Palma.

THe Ile of Palma standeth twelue leagues distant from the Ile of Gomera Northwestward. This Iland is fruitfull of wine and sugar: it hath a proper city called the city of Palma, where is great contraction for wines, which are laden for the West India and other places. This city hath one faire church, and a gouernour, and aldermen to maintaine and execute iustice. It hath also another prety towne, called S. Andrewes. It hath also foure Ingenios which make excellent sugar, two of the which are called Zauzes, and the other two, Tassacort.

This Iland yeeldeth but little bread-corne; but rather is thereof prouided from Tenerif and other places.

Their best wines grow in a soile called the Brenia, where yeerely is gathered twelue thousand buts of wine like vnto Malmsies. This Iland standeth round, and containeth in circuit neere fiue and twenty leagues. It hath plenty of all sorts of fruits, as Canaria and Tenerif haue, it standeth in twenty seuen degrees and a halfe.

The Iland of Yron, called Hierro.

THis Iland standeth ten leagues distant from the Iland of Palma Westward: it is but a little Iland, which containeth sixe leagues in circuit, and hath but small extension. It appertaineth to the earle of Gomera. The chiefest commodity of this Iland is goats flesh and orchell. There is no wine in all that Iland, but onely one vineyard that an English man of Taunton in the West countrey planted among rocks, his name was Iohn Hill.

The onely vineyard in Hierro planted by Ioh. Hill of Taunton.

This Iland hath no kind of fresh water, but onely in the middle of the Iland groweth a great tree with leaues like an Oliue tree which hath a great cisterne at the foot of the sayd tree. This tree continually is couered with clouds, and by meanes thereof the leaues of the said tree continually drop water, very sweet, into the sayd cisterne, which commeth to the sayd tree from the clouds by attraction. And this water sufficeth the Iland for all necessities, as well for the cattell, as for the inhabitants.* It standeth in 27 degrees.

---

* In connection with this fable, it is interesting to see what is said by Le

The Iland of Lanzarota.

THe Iland of Lanzarota standeth eighteene leagues distant rom grand Canaria Southeastward. The onely commodity of this Iland is goats flesh and orchell. It is an earldome, and doth appertaine to Don Augustine de Herrerra, with title of earle of Fortauentura and Lanzarota. But the vassals of these earledomes may in any cause of wrong appeale to the Kings Iudges, which reside in Canaria, as I haue sayd before: because although the king hath reserued to himselfe but onely the three fruitful Ilands, called Canaria, Tenerif, and Palma, yet he also reserued the rod of iustice to himselfe, because otherwise the vassals might be euil intreated of their Lords.

From this Iland do weekly resort to Canaria, Tenerif, and Palma, boats laden with dried goats flesh, called Tussmetta, which serueth in stead of bacon, and is very good meat. This Iland standeth in 26 degrees, and is in length twelue leagues.

The Ile of Forteuentura.

THe Ile of Forteuentura standeth fifty leagues from the promontory of Cabo de Guer, in the firme land of Africa, and foure and twenty leagues distant from Canaria Eastward. This Iland doth appertaine to the lord of Lanzarota. It is reasonable fruitfull of wheat and barley, and also of kine, goats, and orchel: this Ile is fifteene leagues long and ten leagues broad. On the North side it hath a little Iland about one league distant from the maine Iland, betweene both of the which it is nauigable for any ships, and is called Graciosa.

Maire, who visited these Islands in 1682. "As I had been told of a wonderful tree in Ferro, whose long and narrow leaves were always green, and furnished all the inhabitants with water, I wished to find out if it were true. I asked if, as I had heard, such a heavy dew fell on this tree that it dropped clear water into stone basins placed expressly to receive it. There was enough of it for the islanders and their cattle, Nature repairing by this miracle the defect of not providing pure water for this isle. The inhabitants confirmed my belief that this was a pure fable. There were some, however, who said that there might have been such a tree, but it could never have furnished the quantity attributed to it." [See VOYAGE TO THE CANARIES, etc., page 21, reprinted in *Bibliotheca Curiosa.*]

Both Forteuentura and Lanzarota haue very little wine of the growth of those Ilands. It standeth in 27 degrees.

Thus much haue I written of these seuen Ilands by experience, because I was a dweller there, as I haue sayd before, the space of seuen yeeres in the affaires of master Thomas Locke, master Anthonie Hickman, and master Edward Caselin, who in those dayes were worthy merchants, and of great credite in the citie of London.

A description of the Iland of Madera.

THe Iland of Madera standeth in 32 degrees distant from the equinoctinall line, and seuentie leagues from the Ile of Tenerif Northeastward and Southwest from Hercules pillars. This Iland was first discouered by one Macham an Englishman, and was after conquered and inhabited by the Portugall nation. It was first called the Iland of Madera, by reason of the great wildernesse of sundry sortes of trees that there did growe, and yet doe, as Cedars, Cypres, Vinatico, Barbuzano, Pine trees, and diuers others, and therefore the sayd Iland continueth still with the same name. Howbeit they hold opinion, that betweene the sayd Iland and the Ile of Palma is an Iland not yet discouered, which is the true Iland Madera called saint Brandon. This Iland yeeldeth a great summe of money to the king of Portugall yeerely: it hath one faire citie called Fouchall, which hath one faire port or harbour for shippes, and a strong bulwarke, and a faire Cathedrall church, with a bishop and other dignities thereunto appertaining. There is also iustice and gouernment according to the Portugall vse. But causes of appellation are remitted to the citie of Lisbone in Portugall to the kings superior iudges there. This Iland hath another towne called Machico, which hath likewise a good road for ships, which towne and road were so called after the name of Macham the Englishman, who first discouered the same. There are also sixteene sugar houses called Ingenios, which make excellent good sugar.

There is besides the goodly timber before declared, great store of diuers sortes of fruites, as Peares, Apples, Plummes, wild Dates, Peaches of diuers sortes, Mellons, Batatas, Orenges, Lemmons, Pomgranates, Citrons, Figges, and all maner of garden herbes. There are many Dragon trees, such as grow in the Canarie Ilands, but chiefly this land produceth great quantitie of singular good wines which are laden for many places. On the North side of this land three leagues distant from the maine Iland standeth another litle Iland called Porto santo: the people thereof liueth by husbandrie, for the Iland of Madera yeeldeth but litle corne, but rather is thereof prouided out of France and from the Iland of Tenerif. On the East side of the Ile of Madera sixe leagues distant standeth another litle Iland called the Desert, which produceth onely Orchell, and nourisheth a great number of Goates, for the prouision of the maine Iland, which may be thirtie leagues in circuit: and the land is of great heighth where the foresayd trees growe. It is woonder to see the conueyance of the water to the Ingenios by Mines through the monntaines.

In the mid way betweene Tenerif and the Iland of Madera standeth a litle solitarie Iland called the Saluages, which may bee about one league in compasse, which hath neither tree nor fruit, but is onely food for Goates.

THE

FARDLE OF FACIONS

CONTEINING

THE AUNCIENTE MANERS, CUSTOMES, AND
LAWES,

c/

OF THE

PEOPLES ENHABITING THE TWO PARTES OF
THE EARTH,

CALLED

AFFRICKE AND ASIE.

Printed at London:
BY IHON KINGSTONE, AND HENRY SUTTON.
1555.

[*This work was not included in the* 1598-1600 *edition of*
Hakluyt's Voyages. It, however, formed
part of the supplement issued in 1812.]

TO THE
RIGHTE HONOURABLE
THE ERLE OF ARUNDEL,
KNIGHT OF THE ORDRE,
AND
LORDE STEWARDE OF THE QUIENES MAIESTIES MOST HONOURABLE HOUSEHOLDE.

AFtre what time the barrein traueiles of longe seruice, had driuen me to thinke libertie the best rewarde of my simple life, right honorable Erle and that I had determined to leaue wrastlyng with fortune, and to giue my self wholie to liue vpon my studie, and the labours of my hand: I thought it moste fitting with the dutie that I owe to God and manne, to bestowe my time (if I could) as well to the profite of other, as of myself. Not coueting to make of my floudde, a nother mannes ebbe (the Cancre of all commune wealthes) but rather to sette other a flote, where I my self strake on ground. Tourning me therefore, to the searche of wisedome and vertue, for whose sake either we tosse, or oughte to tosse so many papers and tongues: although I founde aboute my self, verie litle of that Threasure, yet remembred I that a fewe yeres paste, at the instaunce of a good Citezein, (who might at those daies, by aucthoritie commaunde me) I had begonne to translate, a litle booke named in the Latine, Omnium gentium mores, gathered longe sence by one Iohannes Boemus, a manne as it appereth, of good iudgemente and diligence. But so corrupted in the Printing, that after I had wrasteled a space, with sondrie Printes, I rather determined to lose my labour of the quartre tanslacion, then to be shamed with the haulf. And throwing it a side, entended no further to wearie my self therwithall, at the leaste vntill I mighte finde a booke of a bettre impression. In searching whereof at this my retourne to my studie, although I found not at the full that, that I sought for: yet vndrestanding emong the booke sellers (as one talke bringes in another) that men of good learning and eloquence, bothe in the Frenche and Italien tonge, had not thought skorne to bestowe their time aboute the translacion therof, and that the Emperours Maiestie that now is, vouchedsaulfe to receiue the presentacion therof, at the Frenche translatours hande, as well appereth in his booke: it kindled me againe, vpon regard of mine owne profite, and other mennes moe, to bring that to some good pointe, that earst I had begonne. For (thought I) seing the booke hath in it, much pleasant varietie of thinges, and yet more profite in the pitthe: if it faile to bee otherwise rewarded, yet shal it thankefully of the good be regarded. Wherefore setting vpon it a fresshe, where the booke is deuided acording to thaunciente diuision of the earth into thre partes, Affrique, Asie, and Europe: hauing brought to an ende the two firste partes, I found no persone in mine opinion so fitte as your honour, to present theim vnto. For seing the whole processe ronneth vpon gouernaunce and Lawes, for thadministracion of commune wealthes, in peace and in warre, of aunciente times tofore our greate graundfathers daies: to whom mighte I bettre presente it, then to a Lorde of verie nobilitie and wisedome, that hath bene highe Mareshalle in the fielde abrode, deputie of the locke and keie of this realme, and a counsailour at home, of thre worthie princes. Exercised so many waies in the waues of a fickle Commune wealthe: troubled sometime, but neuer disapoincted of honourable successe. To your good Lordeshippe then I yelde and committe, the firste fruictes of my libertie, the firste croppe of my labours, this first daie of the Newe yere: beseching the same in as good parte to receiue it, as I humblie offre it, and at your pleasure to vnfolde the Fardle, and considre the stuffe. Whiche euer the farder in, shall sieme I truste the more pleasaunte and fruictefulle. And to conclude, if I shall vndrestande, that your honour delighteth in this, it shal be a cause sufficiente, to make me go in hande with Europe, that yet remaineth vntouched. Almightie God giue vnto your Lordeshippe prosperous fortune, in sounde honour and healthe.

Your Lordshippes moste humblie at commaundemente,
WILLIAM WATREMAN.

The Preface of the Authour.

I HAVE sought out at times, as laisure hath serued me, Good reader, the maners and facions the Lawes, Customes and Rites, of all suche peoples, as semed notable, and worthy to be put in remembrance, together with the situation and description of their habitations: which the father of Stories Herodotus the Greke, Diodorus, the Siciliane, Berosus, Strabo, Solinus, Trogus Pompeius, Ptolomeus, Plinius, Cornelius the still, Dionysius the Africane, Pomponius Mela, Cæsar, Iosephus, and certein of the later writers, as Vincentius, and Aeneas Siluius (which aftreward made Pope, had to name Pius the seconde) Anthonie Sabellicus, Ihon Nauclerus, Ambrose Calepine, Nicholas Perotte, in his cornu copiæ, and many other famous writers eche one for their parte, as it were skatered, and by piece meale, set furthe to posteritie. Those I saie haue I sought out, gathered together, and acordyng to the ordre of the storie and tyme, digested into this litle packe. Not for the hongre of gaine, or the ticklyng desire of the peoples vaine brute, and vnskilfulle commendacion: but partly moued with the oportunitie of my laisure, and the wondrefull profite and pleasure, that I conceiued in this kinde of studie my self, and partly that other also delightyng in stories, might with litle labour, finde easely when thei would, the somme of thynges compiled in one Booke, that thei ware wonte with tediousnes to sieke in many. And I haue shocked theim vp together, as well those of aunciente tyme, as of later yeres, the lewde, as well as the vertuous indifferentlie, that vsing them as present examples, and paternes of life, thou maiest with all thine endeuour folowe the vertuous and godlie, and with asmuche warenes eschewe the vicious and vngodly. Yea, that thou maiest further, my (reader) learne to discerne, how men haue in these daies amended the rude simplicitie of the first worlde, from Adam to the floud and many yeres after, when men liued skateryng on the earthe, without knowlege of Money, or what coigne ment, or Merchauntes trade: no maner of exchaunge, but one good tourne for another. When no man claimed aught for his seueralle, but lande and water ware as commune to al, as Ayer and Skie. When thei gaped not for honour, ne hunted after richesse, but eche man contented with a litle, passed his daies in the wilde fielde, vnder the open heauen, the couerte of some shadowie Tree, or slendre houelle, with suche companion or companions as siemed them good, their diere babes and children aboute them. Sounde without carcke and in rest full quietnesse, eatyng the fruictes of the fielde, and the milke of the cattle, and drinking the waters of the christalline springes. First clad with the softe barcke of trees, or the faire broade leaues, and in processe with rawe felle and hide full vnworkemanly patched together. Not then enuironed with walles, ne pente vp with rampers, and diches of deapthe, but walking at free scope emong the wanderyng beastes of the fielde, and where the night came vpon theim, there takyng their lodgyng without feare of murtherer or thief. Mery at the fulle, as without knowledge of the euilles y^t^ aftre ensued as ye worlde waxed elder, through diuers desires, and contrarie endeuours of menne. Who in processe for the insufficiencie of the fruictes of the earthe, (whiche she tho gaue vntilled) and for default of other thynges, ganne falle at disquiete and debate emong themselues, and to auoied the inuasion of beastes, and menne of straunge borders, (whom by themselues thei could not repelle) gathered into companies, with commune aide to withstande suche encursions and violence of wrong. And so ioyning in confederacie, planted themselues together in a plotte, assigned their boundes, framed vp cotages, one by anothers chieque, diked in themselues, chose officers and gouernours and deuised lawes, that thei also emong theimselues might liue in quiete. So beginning a rough paterne of tounes and of Cities, that aftre ware laboured to more curious finesse.

AND now ware thei not contented, with the commodities of the fieldes and cattle alone, but by diuers inuencions of handecraftes and sciences, and by sondrie labours of this life, thei sought how to winne. Now gan thei tattempte the sease with many deuices, to transplante their progenie and ofspring into places vnenhabited, and to enioye the commodities of eche others countrie, by mutuall traffique. Now came the Oxe to the yoke, the Horse to the draught, the Metalle to the stampe, the Apparel to handsomenes, the Speache to more finesse, the Behauiour of menne to a more calmenesse, the Fare more deintie, the Buildyng more gorgeous, thenhabitours ouer all became milder and wittier, shaking of (euen of their owne accorde) the bruteshe outrages and stearne dealinges, y^t^ shamefully mought be spoken of. Nowe refrained thei from sleayng one of a nother, from eatyng of ech others flesh, from rape and open defiling of mother, sister, and daughter indifferently, and fro many like abominacions to nature and honestie. Thei now marieng reason, with strength: and pollicie, with might: where the earthe was before forgrowen with bushes and wooddes, stuffed with many noisome beastes, drouned with meares, and with marshe, vnfitte to be enhabited, waast and vnhandsome in euery condition: by wittie diligence, and labour, ridde it from encombraunce, planed the roughes, digged vp trees by the rootes, dried away the superfluous waters, brought all into leauelle, banished barreinesse, and vncouered the face of the earth, that it might fully be sene, conuerted the champeine to tillage, the plaines to pasture, the valley to meadow, the hilles thei shadowed with wooddes and with Vines. Then thruste thei in cultre and share, and with wide woundes of the earthe, wan wine and corne plenteously of the grounde, that afore scarcely gaue them Akornes and Crabbes. Then enhabited thei more thicke, and spred themselues ouer all, and buylte euery where. Of Tounes, thei made cities, and of villages, Tounes, Castles vpon the rockes, and in the valleis made thei the temples of the goddes. The golden graueled springes, thei encurbed with Marble, and with trees right pleasauntlie shadowed them aboute. From them they deriued into cities and Tounes, the pure freshe waters, a great distaunce of, by conduicte of pipes and troughes, and suche other conueyance. Where nature had hidden the waters, out of sighte, thei sancke welles of greate deapth, to supplie their lackes. Riuers, and maigne floudes, whiche afore with vnbrideled violence, oftymes ouerflowed the neighboured aboute, to the destruction of their cattle, their houses, and themselues: thei restrained with bancques, and kept them in a course. And to the ende thei might not onely be vadable, but passed also with drie foote, thei deuised meanes with piles of Timbre, and arches of stone, maulgre the rage of their violent streames, to grounde bridges vpon them. Yea, the rockes of the sea whiche for the daungier of the accesse, thoughte themselues exempte from the dinte of their hande, when thei perceiued by experience, thei ware noyous to sailers, with vnspeakeable labour did thei ouerthrowe and breake into gobettes. Hewed out hauens on euery strond, enlarged crieques, opened rodes, and digged out herborowes, where their shippes mighte ride saulfe fro the storme. Finally thei so laboured, beautified, and perfeighted the earthe, that at this daie compared with the former naturalle forgrowen wastenesse, it might well sieme not to be that, but rather the Paradise of pleasure, out of the whiche, the first paternes of mankinde (Adam and Eue) for the transgression of Goddes precept, ware driuen.

MEN also inuented and founde many wittie sciences, and artes, many wondrefull workes whiche when by practice of lettres, thei had committed to bookes, and laied vp for posteritie, their successours so woundered at their wisedomes, and so reuerenced their loue and endeuours (whiche thei spied to be meant toward them, and the wealth of those that shuld folow of them) that thei thought them not blessed enough, with the estate of men mortalle, but so aduaunced their fame, and wondered at their worthinesse, that thei wan theim the honour and name of Goddes immortall.

THO gan the Prince of the worlde, when men so gan to delight in thadournyng of the worlde, to sowe vpon the good siede, the pestilente Dernell, that as thei multiplied in nombre, so iniquitie might encrease, to disturbe and confounde this blessed state.

FIRST, therefore when he had with all kinde of wickedness belimed ye world, he put into their heades, a curious searche of the highest knowledge, and suche as depended vpon destenie of thynges. And so practised his pageauntes, by obscure and doubtfully attempred Responcions, and voices of spirites, that after he had fettred the worlde in the trauers of his toies, and launced into their hartes a blinde supersticion, and feare: he trained it whole to a wicked worship of many goddes and Goddesses, that when he ones had wiped cleane out of mynde the knowledge and honour of one God euerlastyng, he might practise vpon manne, some notable mischief. Then sette he vp pilgrimages to deuilles, foreshewers of thynges, that gaue aduerisemente and answere to demaundes in sondrie wise. In the Isle of Delphos one, in Euboea another, at Nasamone a thirde, and emong the Dodonians, the famous okes, whose bowes by the blastes of the winde resounded to the eare, a maner of aduertisemente of deuellishe delusion. To the whiche Idolles and Images of deuelles he stirred vp men to do the honour (Helas) due onely to God. As to Saturne in Italie, to Iupiter in Candie, to Iuno in Samos, to Bacchus in India, and at Thebes: to Isis, and Osiris in Egypte: in old Troie to Vesta: aboute Tritona in Aphrique to Pallas, in Germanie and Fraunce to Mercurie, vnder the name of Theuthe: to Minerua at Athenes and Himetto, to Apollo in Delphos, Rhodes, Chio, Patara, Troade and Tymbra. To Diane in Delos and in Scythia, to Venus in Paphos, Ciprus, Gnydon, and Cithera. To Mars in Thracia, to Priapus in Lampsacho of Hellespontus, to Vulcane in Lypara and Lennos, and in diuers other places to sondrie other, whose remembraunce was then moste freshe in the memorie of their people, for the benefaictes and merueilous inuencions bestowed emong them.

AFTERWARD, also when Iesus Christe the verie sonne of the almightie father, shewyng hymself in the fleshe of our mortalitie, was conuersaunte in the worlde, pointyng to the same, as with his fingre, the waie to immortalitie, and endelesse blessednesse, and bothe with woorde and example, exhorted and allured them to vprightnes of life, to the glorie of his father, sendyng his disciples and scolers into the vniuersall worlde, to condemne Superstition and all errour of wickednes, with the moste healthsome woorde: to plante true Religion, and geue newe preceptes, and directions of the life, and had now set the matier in suche forwardnesse and poincte, that the Gospell beyng generally of all nacions receiued, there lacked but continuaunce to perfeicte felicitie: The deuell eftesones retournyng to his naturall malice, desirous to repossesse that, that constrainedly he forsooke, betrappyng again the curious conceipte of man, some he reuersed into their former abuses and errours, and some with newe Heresies he so corrupted, snarled, and blynded, that it had bene muche bettre for them, neuer almoste to haue knowen the waie of truthe, then after their entraunce, so rashely and maliciously to haue forsaken it.

AT this daie in Asia the lesse, the Armenianes, Arabians, Persians, Sirians, Assirians and Meades: in Aphrique, the Egipcians, Numidians, Libiens, and Moores. In Europe, the whole countrie of Grecia, Misia, Thracia, and all Turquie throwyng awaie Christe, are become the folowers and worshippers of Mahomet and his erronious doctrine. The people of Scithia, whom we now cal Tartares (a greate people and wide spread) parte of them worshippe the Idolle of their Emperour Kamme, parte the Sonne, the Moone, and other Starres, and part according to the Apostles doctrine, one onely God. The people of Inde, and Ethiope, vnder the gouernaunce of Presbiter Ihon perseauer in Christiane godlinesse, howbeit after a sort, muche different from ours.

The sincere and true faithe of Christ, wherewith in time it pleased God to illumine the worlde, remaineth in Germanie, Italy, Fraunce, Spaine, Englande, Scotland, Ireland, Denmarke, Liuon, Pruse, Pole, Hungarie, and the Isles of Rhodes, Sicilie, Corsica, Sardinia, with a fewe other. This bytter enemie of mankinde hauyng thus with his subtilties, inueiled our mindes, and disseuered the christian vnion, by diuersitie of maners and facions of belief, hath brought to passe thorough this damnable wyckednes of Sacrifices, and Rites, that whilest euery people (vndoubtedly with religious entent) endeuour theim selues to the worshippe of God, and echeone taketh vpon him to be the true and best worshipper of him, and whilest echone thinke theim selues to treade the streight pathe of euerlastyng blessednes, and contendeth with eigre mode and bitter dispute, that all other erre and be ledde farre a wrie: and whilest euery man strugglethe and striueth to spread and enlarge his owne secte, and to ouerthrowe others, thei doe so hate and enuie, so persecute and annoy echone an other, that at this daie a man cannot safely trauaill from one countrie to another: yea, thei that would aduenture saufely or vnsaufely, be almost euery where holden out. Wherof me thinkes I see it is like to come to passe, that whilest one people scant knoweth the name of another, (and yet almost neighbours) all that shall this daie be written or reported of theim, shalbe compted and refused as lyes. And yeat this maner of knowledge and experience, is of it self so pleasant, so profitable and so praise worthy, that sundrie (as it is well knowen) for the onely loue and desire thereof, leauing their natiue countrie, their father, their mother, their wiues and their children, yea, throwyng at their heles their sauftie and welfare, haue with greate troubles, vexations, and turmoilynges taken vpon theim for experience sake, to cutte through the wallowying seas, and many thousande miles, to estraunge theimselues fro their home, yea, and those men not in this age alone, but euen from the firste hatchyng of the worlde haue been reputed and founde of moste wisedome, authoritie, and good facion, sonest chosen with all mennes consent, bothe in peace and warre, to administre the commune wealth as maisters and counsaillours, Iudges and Capitaines. Suche ware thancient sages of Grece and of Italy, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Antisthenes, Aristippus, Zeno, and Pythagoras, who through their wisedomes and estimacion for trauailes wan them greate nombres of folowers, and brought furthe in ordre the sectes named Socratici, Academici, Peripateci, Cynici, Cyrenaici, Stoici, and Pythagorici, echone chosyng name to glorie in his maister. Suche ware the prudente lawemakers of famous memorie, Minois and Rhadamanthus emong the Cretenses, Orpheus emong the Thraciens, Draco and Solon emong the Athenienses, Licurgus emong the Lacedemonians, Moses emong the Iewes, and Zamolxis emong the Scythians, and many other in other stedes whiche dreamed not their knowledge in the benchehole at home, but learned of the men in the worlde moste wise, the Chaldeies, the Brachmanni, the Gymnosophites and the priestes of Egipte, with whom thei had for a space bene conuersant. Like glorie, by like trauaill happened to the worthies of the worlde, as to Iupiter of Crete (reported fiue times to haue surueied the whole worlde) and to his twoo sonnes Dionisius (otherwise called Bacchus) and Hercules the mightie. Likewise to Theseus and Iason, and the rest of that voiage. To the vnlucky sailer Vlisses, and to the banished Eneas, to Cyrus, Xerxes, and Alexander the Greate, to Hanniballe and Mithridate, kyng of Pontus, reported able to speake fiftie sondrie languages, to Antiochus, the greate and innumerable Princes of Roome, bothe of the Scipioes, Marii, and Lentuli. To Pompeius the greate, to Iulius Cesar, Octauian, and Augustus, to the Constantines, Charles, Conrades, Henrickes, and Fredericks. Whiche all by their exploictes vpon straunge nacions, haue gotten their immortall and euerlastyng renoume. Wherefore, seyng there is in the knowledge of peoples, and of their maners and facions, so greate pleasure and profite, and euery man cannot, yea, fewe men will, go traueile the countries themselues: me thinkes gentill reader, thou oughtest with muche thanke to receyue at my hande these bookes of the maners and facions of peoples most notable and famous, togyther with the places whiche thei enhabite: And with no lesse cherefulnes to embrase theim, then if beyng ledde on my hande from countrey to countrey, I should poynct the at eye, how euery people liueth, and where they haue dwelte, and at this daye doe. Let it not moue the, let it not withdrawe the, if any cankered reprehendour of other mens doynges shall saie vnto the: It is a thyng hath bene written of, many yeares agone, and that by a thousand sondry menne, and yet he but borowyng their woordes, bryngeth it foorthe for a mayden booke, and nameth it his owne. For if thou well considre my trade, thou shalt fynd, that I haue not only brought thee other mennes olde store, but opened thee also the treasury of myne owne witte and bokes, not euery where to be found, and like a liberall feaster haue set before thee much of myne owne, and many thynges newe. Farewell and thankefully take that, that with labour is brought thee.

The Fardle of Facions, conteining the aunciente maners, customes and lawes, of the peoples enhabiting the two partes of the earth, called Affricke and Asie.

Affrike.

¶ The first Chapiter.

¶ The true opinion of the deuine, concernyng the beginnyng of man.

WHen God had in. V. daies made perfecte the heauens and the earth, and the furniture of bothe: whiche the Latines for the goodlinesse and beautie thereof, call Mundus, and we (I knowe not for what reason) haue named the worlde: the sixth daie, to the entent there mighte be one to enioye, and be Lorde ooer all, he made the moste notable creature Man. One that of all earthly creatures alone, is endowed with a mynde, and spirit from aboue. And he gaue him to name, Adam: accordyng to the colour of the molde he was made of. Then drawing out of his side the woman, whilest he slept, to thende he should not be alone, knitte her vnto hym, as an vnseparable compaignion, and therwith placed them in the moste pleasaunt plot of the earth, fostered to flourishe with the moisture of floudes on euery parte. The place for the fresshe grienesse and merie shewe, the Greques name Paradisos. There lyued they a whyle a moste blessed life without bleamishe of wo, the earth of the own accorde bringing forth all thing. But when they ones had transgressed the precepte, they ware banysshed that enhabitaunce of pleasure and driuen to shift the world. And fro thenceforth the graciousnes of the earth was also abated, and the francke fertilitie therof so withdrawen, that labour and swette, now wan *

---

* *Wan* and won were used indifferently. Thus in Drayton's *Polyolbion*, xi., p. 864 we find—

> "These with tha Saxons went, and fortunately *wan*,
> Whose Captain Hengist first a Kingdom here began."

And in the same page:

> "As mighty Hengist here, by force of arms had done,
> So Ella coming in, soon from the Romans *won*
> The counties neighb'ring Kent."

lesse a great deale, then ydle lokyng on before tyme had done. Shortly crepte in sickenes, and diseases, and the broyling heate and the nipping cold began to assaile their bodyes. Their first sonne was Cayin, and the seconde Abell, and then many other. And as the world grewe into yeares, and the earth began to waxe thicke peopled, loke as the nombre did encreace, so vices grew on, and their lyuing decaied euer into woors. For giltelesse dealyng, wrong came in place, for deuoutnesse, contempte of the Goddes, and so farre outraged their wickednes, that God skarcely fyndyng one iuste Noha on the earth (whom he saued, with his housholde, to repayre the losse of mankind and replenysshe the worlde) sente a floude vniversall, which couering all vnder water, killed all fleshe that bare lyfe vppon earth, excepte a fewe beastes, birdes, and wormes that ware preserued in the misticall arke. In the ende of fiue Monethes aftre the floude began, the Arque touched on the mounteines of Armenia. And within foure Monethes aftre, Noas and all his beyng restored to the earth, with Goddes furtheraunce in shorte space repeopled the worlde. And to thende the same myghte euery wheare again be enhabited, he dispersed his yssue and kyndredes into sondrie coastes. After Berosus opynion he sent Cham otherwyse, named Cameses and Chamesenuus with his ofspring, into Egipte. Into Lybia and Cirene, Triton. And into the whole residewe of Affrike the ancient Iapetus called Attalus Priscus, Ganges he sent into Easte Asia with certeine of the sonnes of Comerus Gallus. And into Arabia the fertile, one Sabus, sirnamed Thurifer. Ouer Arabia the Waste he made Arabus gouernour, and Petreius ouer Petrea. He gaue vnto Canaan, all that lyeth from Damasco to the outemost bordre of Palestine. In Europe he made Tuisco king of Sarmatia, from the floude of Tanais vnto the Rhene. And there were ioyned vnto him all the sonnes of Istrus, and Mesa, with their brethren, fro the mounteyne of Adula to Mesemberia pontica. Archadius and Emathius gouerned the Tirianes, Comerus Gallus, had Italie and Fraunce, Samothes, Briteigne and Normandie, and Iubal, Spayne. That spiedie and vnripe puttyng forthe of the children from their progenitours, before they had throughly learned and enured them selues with their facions and maners, was the cause of all the diuersitie that after ensued. For Cham, by the reason of his naughty demeanour towarde his father, beyng constrayned to departe with his wyfe and hys chyldren, planted him selfe in that parte of Arabia, that after was called by his name. And lefte no trade of religion to his posteritie, because he none had learned of his father. Whereof it came to passe, that when in processe of tyme they ware encreased to to many for that londe: beyng sent out as it ware, swarme aftre swarme into other habitations and skatered at length into sondrie partes of the worlde (for this banysshed progeny grewe aboue measure) some fel into errours wherout thei could neuer vnsnarle* themselues. The tongue gan to altre and the knowledge of the true God and all godlie worsshippe vanished out of mind. Inso muche that some liued so wildely (as aftre thou shalt here) that it ware harde to discene a difference betwixte them and the beastes of the felde. Thei that flieted into Egipt, wonderyng at the beautie and course of the Sonne, and the Moone, as though there had been in them a power diuine, began to worship them as Goddes: callyng the lesse, Isis and the bigger Osiris. To Iupiter also thei Sacrificed, and did honour as to ye principall of life. To Vulcan for fire, to Pallas, as Lady of the skie, to Ceres as gouerneresse of the arth, and to sondry other for other sondry considerations. Neyther staied that darkenesse of iniquitie in Egipte alone, but where so euer the progeny of Cham stepte in from the begynnyng, there fell true godlines, all oute of minde and abondage to the deuell entred his place. And there neuer was countrie, mother of moe swarmes of people, then that part of Arabia, that he, and his, chase to be theirs. So greate a mischief did the vntymely banishemente of one manne, bring to the whole. Contrarily the progenie of Iapheth, and Sem, brought vp to full yeres vndre their elders, and rightly enstructed: contentyng them selues with a litle circuite, straied not so wide as this brother had doen. Whereby it chaunced that the zeale of the truthe, (I meane of good liuyng and true worshippe of one onely God) remained as hidden in one onely people, vntill the tyme of Messias.

---

* *To snarle*, to entangle; hence, *to unsnarle*—to disentangle.

"And from her head ofte rente her snarled heare."

Spencer, *Faerie Queene*, iii., xii., 17.

"You snarle yourself into so many and heynouse absurdities, as you shall never be able to wynde yourself oute."—*Cranmer's Answer to Bp. Gardiner*, p. 168.

"Supposed to be formed from *snare*." [Nares].

¶ The seconde Chapitre.

¶ The false opinion of the Philosophre concernyng the begynnyng of man.

BVt the aunciente Philosophers, whiche without knowledge of God, and his truthe, many yeres ago, wrate vpon the natures of thinges, and thistories of times had another opinion of the originall of man. For certain of them, belieued the worlde euer to haue been, and that euer it should be, and man together with it to haue had no beginnyng. Certaine did holde that it had a beginnyng, and an ende it should haue, and a time to haue been, when man was not. For saie thei, the begynner of thynges visible, wrapped vp bothe heauen and earth at one instant, togither in one paterne, and so a distinction growing on betwixte these meynte bodies, the worlde to haue begon in suche ordre as we see. The aire by nature to be continually mouyng, and the moste firie parte of thesame, for the lightenesse thereof, moste highe to haue climbed. So that sonne and Moone, and the planetes all, participatyng of the nature of that lighter substaunce: moue so muche the faster, in how muche thei are of the more subtile parte. But that whiche was mixed with waterie moisture, to haue rested in the place, for the heauinesse thereof, and of the watery partes, the sea to haue comen: and the matier more compacte to haue passed into a clamminesse firste, and so into earth. This earth then brought by ye heate of the sonne into a more fastenesse. And after by the same power puffed and swollen in the vppermoste parte, there gathered manye humours in sondry places, which drawing to ripenesse enclosed them selues in slymes and in filmes, as in the maresses of Egipt, and other stondynge waters we often se happen. And seynge the heate of thaier sokynly warmeth the cold ground and heate meint* with moisture is apt to engendre: it came to passe by the gentle moisture of the night aire, and the comforting heate of the daie sonne, that those humours so riped, drawyng vp to the rinde of thearth, as though their tyme of childbirthe ware come, brake out of their filmes, and deliuered vpon the earth all maner of liuing thinges. Emong whiche those that had in them moste heate, became foules into the aire: those that ware of nature more earthie, became wormes and beastes of sondrie kindes: and where water surmounted, thei drewe to the elemente of their kinde, and had to name fishes. But afterwarde the earth beyng more parched by the heate of the Sonne, and the drouthe of the windes, ceased to bring furthe any mo greate beastes: and those that ware already brought furthe, (saie thei) mainteined, and encreased by mutualle engendrure, the varietie, and nombre. And they are of opinion that in the same wise, men ware engendred in the beginning. And as nature putte them forth emong other beastes, so liued they at the first an vnknowen lyfe wyldely emong them, vpon the fruictes, and the herbes of the fieldes. But the beastes aftre a while waxing noysome vnto them, they ware forced in commune for eche others sauftie to drawe into companies to resiste their anoyaunce, one helping another, and to sieke places to make their abiding in. And where at the firste their speache was confuse, by litle and litle they sayed it drewe to a distinctenesse, and perfeigthe difference: in sorte that they ware able to gyue name to all thinges. But for that they ware diuersely sparckled in diuers partes of the worlde, they holde also that their speache was as diuers and different. And herof to haue aftreward risen the diuersitie of lettres. And as they firste assembled into bandes, so euery bande to haue broughte forthe his nacion. But these men at the firste voide of all helpe and experience of liuyng, ware bittrely pinched with hongre and colde, before thei could learne to reserue the superfluous plenty of the Somer, to supply the lacke of Winters barreinesse, whose bitter blastes, and hongrie pinynges, consumed many of them. Whiche thing when by experience dere bought, thei had learned: thei soughte bothe for Caues to defende them fro colde, and began to hourde fruictes. Then happe found out fire, and reason gaue rule of profite, and disprofite, and necessitie toke in hand to sette witte to schoole. Who gatheryng knowledge, and perceiuyng hymself to haue a helpe of his sences, more skilful then he thought, set hande a woorke, and practised connyng, to supplie all defaultes, whiche tongue and lettres did enlarge and distribute abrode.

---

* Mingled.—A word of Chaucer's time.

"And in one vessel both together meint."

Fletcher's Purple Island, iv., st. 21.

THEI that had this opinion of the originall of manne, and acribed not the same to the prouidence of God, affirmed the Etopiens to haue bene the firste of all menne. For thei coniectured that the ground of that countrie lyng nierest the heates of the Sonne must needes first of all other waxe warme. And the earth at that tyme beyng but clammie and softe, through the attemperaunce of that moysture and heate, man there first to haue bene fourmed, and there to haue gladlier enhabited (as natiue and naturall vnto him) then in any other place, when all places ware as yet straunge, and vnknowen, whiche aftre men soughte. Beginnyng therfore at them, after I haue shewed how the worlde is deuided into thre partes (as also this treatise of myne) and haue spoken a litle of Aphrique, I wyll shewe the situacion of Aethiope, and the maners of that people, and so forthe of al other regions and peoples, with suche diligence as we can.

¶ The thirde Chapitre.

¶ The deuision and limites of the Earthe.

THose that haue bene before our daies, (as Orosius writeth) are of opinion, that the circuite of the earth, bordered about with the Occean Sea: disroundyng hym self, shooteth out thre corner wise, and is also deuided into thre seuerall partes, Afrike, Asie, and Europe. Afrike is parted from Aise with the floude of Nilus, whiche comyng fro the Southe, ronneth through Ethiope into Egipte, where gently sheadyng hymself ouer his bancques, he leaueth in the countrie a marueilous fertilitie, and passeth into the middle earth sea, with seuen armes. From Europe it is separate with the middle earth sea, whiche beginnyng fro the Occean aforesaied: at the Islande of Gades, and the pileurs of Hercules, passeth not tenne miles ouer. But further entryng in, semeth to haue shooued of the maigne lande on bothe sides, and so to haue won a more largenesse. Asie is deuided from Europe, with Tanais the floude, whiche comyng fro the North, ronneth into the marshe of Meotis almoste midwaie, and there sincking himself, leaueth the marshe and Pontus Euxinus, for the rest of the bounde. And to retourne to Afrike again, the same hauyng Nilus as I saied on the Easte, and on all other partes, bounded with the sea, is shorter then Europe, but broader towarde the Occean, where it riseth into mounteigne. And shoryng towarde the Weste, by litle and litle waxeth more streighte, and cometh at thende to a narowe poincte. Asmuche as is enhabited therof, is a plentuous soile, but the great parte of it lieth waste, voide of enhabitauntes, either to whote* for menne to abide, or full of noisome and venemous vermine, and beastes, or elles so whelmed in sande and grauell, that there is nothing but mere barreinesse. The sea that lieth on the Northe parte, is called Libicum, that on the Southe Aethiopicum, and the other on the West Atlanticum.

AT the first the whole was possest by fower sondrie peoples. Of the whiche, twaine (as Herodotus writeth) ware founde there, tyme out of minde, and the other twaine ware alienes and incommes. The two of continuance, ware the Pœnj, and Ethiopes, whiche dwelte, the one at the Northe of the lande, the other at the South. The Alienes, the Phœnices, the Grekes, the old Ethiopians, and the Aegipcienes, if it be true that thei report of themselues. At the beginnyng thei were sterne, and vnruly, and bruteshely liued, with herbes and with fleshe of wilde beastes, without lawe or rule, or facion of life, roilyng and rowmyng vpon heade, heather and thether without place of abode, where night came vpon them, there laiyng their bodies to reste. Afterwarde (as thei saie) Hercules passyng the seas out of Spaine, into Libie (a countrie on the Northe shore of Afrike) and bringyng an ouerplus of people thence with hym, somewhat bettre facioned and manered then thei, trained them to muche more humanitie. And of ye troughes† thei came ouer in, made themselues cotages, and began to plante in plompes‡ one by another. But of these thinges we shall speake here aftre more at large.

Afrike is not euery place a like enhabited. For toward the Southe it lieth for the moste part waste, and vnpeopled, for the broilyng heate of that quatre. But the part that lieth ouer against Europe, is verie well enhabited. The frutefulnesse of the soile is excedyng, and to muche merueillous: as in some places bringyng the siede with a hundred folde encrease. It is straunge to beleue, that is saied of the goodnesse of the soile of the Moores. The stocke of their vines to be more then two menne can fadome, and their clousters of Grapes to be a cubite long. The coronettes of their Pasnepes, and Gardein Thistles (whiche we calle Hortichokes) as also of their Fenelle, to be twelue Cubites compasse. Their haue Cannes like vnto those of India, whiche may contein in the compasse of the knot, or iointe, the measure of ij. bushelles. Ther be sene also Sparagi, of no lesse notable bigguenesse.

---

* Too hot. † Ships. ‡ Clumps, bodies.

Toward the mounte Atlas trees bee founde of a wondrefull heigth, smothe, and without knaggue or knotte, vp to the hard toppe, hauyng leaues like the Cypres, but of all other the moste noble Citrus, wherof the Romaines made great deintie. Affrike hath also many sondrie beastes, and Dragones that lye in awaite for the beastes, and when thei se time, so bewrappe and wreathe them aboute, that takyng fro theim the vse of their ioynctes, thei wearie them and kille theim. There are Elephantes, Lyons, Bugles, Pardales, Roes, and Apes, in some places beyonde nombre. There are also Chamelopardales and Rhizes, like unto Bulles. Herodote writeth, that there be founde Asses with hornes, Hienas Porpentines, wilde Rambes, a beast engendered of the Hiene and the Woulfe named Thoas, Pantheres, Storckes, Oistruthes, and many kindes of serpentes, as Cerastes, and Aspides, against whom nature hath matched the Ichneumon (a verie little beast) as a mortall enemie.

¶ The. iiij. Chapitre.

¶ Of Ethiope, and the auncient maners of that nation.

TWo countreies there ware of that name Ouerlanders, and Netherlanders. The one pertaynyng to Aphrique, the other to Asie. The one whiche at this daie is called Inde, hath on the east the redde sea, and the sea named Barbaricum, on the northe it toucheth vpon Egypte, and vpon that Libie that standeth on the vtter border of Afrike toward the sea. On the west it is bounded with the other Libie that standeth more into the mayne londe. The residue that runneth toward the south, ioyneth vpon the netherland Ethiope, whiche lyeth more southerly, and is muche greater. It is thought that these Ethiopes toke name of Ethiopus Vulcanes sonne, that (as Plinie saieth) was gouernour there. Or els of the Greke wordes aythoo and ops, whereof the former signifieth to broyle, or to bourne vp with heate, and the other, in the eye or sight. Whiche sheweth in effecte, that the countreie lyeng in the eye of theSonne, it must nedes be of heate almost importable. As in diede it lyeth in the full course of the sonne, and is in continuall heate. Toward the weast it is hilly, in the middes grauell and sande, and on the easte waste and deserte. There be in it dyuers peoples of sondry phisonomy and shape, monstruous and of hugly shewe. They are thought (as I saied) to haue bene the fyrst of all men, and those whiche of all other maye truelyest be called an homeborne people. Neuer under the bondage of any: but euer a free nacion. The first wae of worshippyng God (say thei) was deuised and taught emonge theim: with the maners and ceremonies there to appertinent. They had two kyndes of letters, one, whiche ware knowen onely to their priestes for matters of Religion, whiche they called misticall, and another for the vse of the people hidden from none. Yeat ware not their Letters facioned to ioyne together in sillables like ours, but Ziphres, and shapes of men and of beastes, of heades, and of armes, and artificers tooles, which signified in sondrie wise echone accordyng to his propertie. As by the picture of an hauke swiftenes and spiede, by the shape of a crocoiled displeasure or misfortune, by the figure of an eye, good watche or regarde, and so forthe of other. Emong their priestes, loke whome they sawe startle aboute as haulfe wood,* him did iudge of all othermooste holy, and making him their king, they fall downe and worship him, as thoughe there ware in him a Godhead, or as thoughe at the least he ware by goddes prouidence giuen them. This king for al that, must be gouerned by the lawe, and is bounde to all thinges after thorde of the contry. He his selfe maye neither punishe or guerdon any manne. But loke vpon whome he wyl haue execucion done, he sendeth the minister appoincted for the purpose, to the person with a token of deathe: whiche when he hath shewed, the officier retourneth, and the persone what soeuer he be, incontinent fordoeth him self. So greatly ware they giuen to thee honour of their kynges, suche a feruencie had they towarde them, that if it fortuned the king through any mishap, to be maymed or hurte in any parte of his bodye, as many as ware towarde him, namely of householde, voluntarily woulde giue them selues the lyke hurt, thincking it an vnsitting thing the kynge to lacke an eye or the vse of a legge, and his frindes neither to halt, ne yet to lacke parte of their sight. Thei say it is the manier also, that when the king dieth, his friendes should wilfully dispatche theim selues and die with hym, for this compte they glorious and a testimony of very friendship. The moste part of them, for that they lye so vnder the Sonne, go naked: couering their priuities with shiepes tayles. But a feawe of them are clad with the rawe felles* of beastes. Some make them brieches of the heares of their heades vp to the waeste. They are comonly brieders and grasiers in commune together. Their shepe be ofvery small body, and of a harde and roughe coate. Their dogges also are neuer a whitte bigger, but thei are fierce and hardie. They haue good store of gromel and barly, wherof they vse to make drincke. All other graine and fruictes thei lacke, excepte it be dates whiche also are verye skante. Some of them lyue with herbes and the tender rootes of cannes or Riedes. Other eate flesshe, milke, and chese. Meroe, was in time past the heade citie of the kyngdome, whiche stondeth in an Isle of the same name facioned like a shielde, stretching it self thre thousand furlong alongest by Nilus. Aboute that Islande do the cattle masters dwelle, and are muche giuen to hunting, and those that be occupied with tilthe of the grounde haue also mines of gold. Herodotus writeth that thethiopians named Macrobij, do more estieme latten then thei do golde whiche thei put to nothyng that thei compt of any price. In so muche that the Ambassadours of Cambises, when thei came thether, found the prisoners in the gaole fettred and tied with Chaines of golde. Some of theim sowe a kinde of graine called Sesamus, and other the delicate Lothom. Thei haue greate plenty of Hebenum, a woode muche like Guaiacum, and of Siliquastrum. Thei hunte Elephantes and kyll them to eate. There be Lions, Rhinocerotes, Basiliskes, Pardales, and Dragones, whiche I said enwrappe thelephauntes, and sucke them to death, for their bloude. There befound the precious stones called the Iacinthe, and the Prasne. There is also cinamome gathered. Thei occupie bowes of woode seasoned in the fire, of foure cubites long. Women be trayned also to the warres, and haue for the moste parte a ring of latton hanging throughe their lippe. Certeine of theim worshippe the Sonne at his vprijste, and curse him moste bitterly at his doune gate. Diuers of them throwe their dead into Riuers, other cofer them vp in earthen cofres, some enclose them in glasse, and kepe them in their houses a yeare, and in the meane season worship them deuoutly, and offre vnto them the first of all their encreace. In the naming of a newe king, they giue their voice chiefly to him that is moste goodly of stature, moste conning in brieding of cattle, and of strength and substance passing the reast. The lawe hath bene, that the priestes of Memphis shoulde haue the aucthoritie to sende the Kinge the token of deathe, and to set vp another in the place of thedeade, whom they thoughte good. They haue an opinion that ther are two Goddes, one immortall, by whome all thinges haue their beginning, and continuance vnder his gouernement, and another mortall, and he is vncerteine. Their king, and him that best deserueth of the city next vnto him, they honour as Goddes. This was the state of Ethiope from the beginning, and many yeares sence.

---

* **Mad, from the Saxon wod. See "Two Gentlemen of Verona," ii., 3, and "Mids. N. Dr.," ii., 3.**

---

* Skin.

"To feed on bones, when flesh and fell is gone."
Gasc. Steel Glass (Chalm. Poet.), ii., 556, etc.

BVT at this daye as myne Authour Sabellicus saieth y^t^ he learned of those that are enhabitantes in y^t^ countrey: The King of Ethiope (whom we commonly calle Pretoianes or Presbiter Ihon) is a man of suche power, that he is reported to haue vndre him thre skore and two other kinges. If the heade Bysshoppess of the Realme desire to do, or to haue aughte done, al is referred vnto him. Of him be giuen al benefices, and spiritual promocions, which prerogatiue the Pope hath giuen, to the maiestie of kinges. Yet is he him selfe no priest, he hath any maner of ordres. There is of Archebisshoppes (that is to say of superiour and head bisshoppes) a great nombre, whiche haue euery one vndre them at the least twenty other. The Princes, Dukes, Earles, and head Bishoppes, and suche other of like dignitie, when they come abrode, haue a crosse, and a basine of golde filled ful of earthe caried before them: that thone* maye put them in remembraunce that earth into earth must again be resolued, and ye other renewe the memory of Christes suffering. Their priestes to haue yssue, mary one wyfe, but she ones beyng dead, it is vnlawfull to mary another. The temples and churches ther, are muche larger, much richer, and more gorgeous then ours, for the moste part voulted from the floore to the toppe. They haue many ordres of deuout men, moche like to our ordres of Religious: as the ordre of S. Anthony, Dominique, Calaguritani, Augustines, and Machareanes, whiche are bound to no colour but weare some suche one as Tharchebysshoppe shall allowe.

---

* The on .

Next vnto the supreame and soueraigne GOD, and Mary the virgin his mother, they haue moste in honour Thomas sirnamed Didimus. This King, of all other the worthiest, whome they call Gias (a name giuen him of his mightinesse and power) is of the bloud of Dauid, continued from one generation to another (as they are perswaded) by so many yeres of succession. And he is not as the moste of the Ethiopians are, blacke, but white. Gamma the chiefe citie, and as we terme it the chambre of the king, stondeth not by building of masonrie, and carpentrie as ours, but strieted with tentes and pauilions placed in good ordre, of veluet and saten, embrauded with silkes and purples of many diuers sortes. By an auncient ordre of the realme, the king liueth euer in presence and sighte of his people, and neuer soiourneth within the walles aboue two daies. Either for that they iudge it an vncomely thing, and a token of delicate slouthfulnes, or elles for that some law doth forbid it. His army in the warres is ten hundred thousande men, fiue hundred Elephantes, and horses, and Cameles, a wonderfull nomber, and this is but a meane preparacion. Ther are througheout the whole nacion certeine houses and stockes, that are pencionaries at armes, whose issue is as it ware branded with the marcke of the crosse, ye skinne beyng pretely slitte. Thei vse in the warres, Bowe, Pique, Habregeon, and helmette. Their highest dignitie is priesthode, ye next, thordre of the Sages, whiche thei cal Balsamates, and Tamquates. They attribute moche also to the giltelesse and vprighte dealing man, whiche vertue they estieme as the firste staier toclimbe to ye dignitie of the sages. The nobilitie hath the thirde place of dignitie, and the pencionaries aforesaid, the fourthe. When the iudges haue giuen sentence of life, or of deathe, the sentence is brought to the headborough of the Citie (whom we call the Mayour) and they Licomegia: he supplieth the place of the King. Lawes written thei occupy none, but iudge accordyng to reason and conscience. If any man be conuict of adulterie he forfeicteth the fourtieth parte of his goodes, but thadulteresse is punished at home, accordyng to the discretion of the partie offended. The men giue dowrie to those whom thei mary withal, but not to those y^t^ thei purchase besides. Their womens attire is of Golde, (whereof that country hathe plentie) of pearle, and of Sarsenette. Bothe men and women are apparelled in long garmentes downe to the foote, slieued, and close rounde aboute of al maner of colours, sauing only blacke for that in that contry is proper for morning. They bewaile their dead. xl. daies space. In bancquettes of honour, in the place of our fruicte (which the latine calleth the seconde boorde) they serue in rawe flesshe very finely minced and spiced, whervpon the gestes fiede very licouricely.* They haue no maner of wollen webbe, but are eyther cladde in sarsenettes, or in linnen. One maner of speache serueth not througheout the whole contry, but sondry and diuerse, aswel in phrase as in naming of thinges. Thei haue twise in the yere haruest, and twise in the yere somer. These Ethiopians or Indianes excepted, al the reste of the people of Libia Westward, are worshippers of Mahomet, and liue aftre the same sorte in maner, that ye Barbariens do in Egipte at this present, and are called Maures, or Moores, as I thincke of their outleapes and wilde rowming. For that people was no lesse noysome to Lybie in those cursed tymes (when so greate mutacion of thinges happened, when peoples ware so chaunged, suche alteration of seruice, and religion broughte in, and so many newe names giuen vnto contries) then the Sarasens ware.

¶ The v. Chapiter.

¶ Of Aegipte, and the auncient maners of that people.

AEgipte is a Countrie lying in Affrike, or as some hold opinion, borderyng thervpon, so named of Aegiptus, Danaus brother, where afore it was called Aeria. This Aegipte (as Plinie recordeth in his fiueth boke) toucheth on the East, vppon the redde Sea, and the land of Palestine. On the West fronteth vpon Cirene, and the residue of Afrike. On the South it stretcheth to Aethiope: And on the Northe is ended with the sea, to whom it giueth name.

The notable Cities of that Countrie, were in tyme past, Thebes, Abydos, Alexandrie, Babilon, and Memphis, at this daie called Damiate, alias Chairus or Alkair, and the seate of the Soldan, a citie of notable largenesse. In Aegipt as Plato affirmeth, it was neuer sene rain. But Nilus suppliyng that defaulte, yerely about saincte Barnabies tide, with his ouerflowynges maketh the soile fertile. It is nombred of the moste parte of writers, emong the Islandes: For that Nilus so parteth hymself aboute it, that he facioneth it triangle wise.

---

* Gluttonously, daintily. (N. Bailey's Dictionary, 1737).

The Aegiptians firste of all other, deuised the names of the twelue Goddes, builte vp Altares, and Images, erected Chappelles and Temples, and graued in stone the similitude of many sondrie beastes. All whiche their doynges, dooe manifestly make, that thei came of the Aethiopes, who (as Diodore the Sicilian saieth) ware the firste inuentours of all these. Their women in old tyme, had all the trade of occupiyng, and brokage* abrode, and reuelled at the Tauerne, and kepte lustie chiere: And the men satte at home spinnyng, and woorkyng of Lace, and suche other thynges as women are wonte. The men bare their burdeins on the heade, the women on the shulder. In the easemente of vrine, the men rowked† doune, the women stoode vprighte. The easemente of ordure thei vsed at home, but commonly feasted abrode in the stretes. No woman tooke ordres, either of God or Goddesse. Their maner of ordres, is not to make seuerally for euery Goddesse and God, a seuerall priest, but al at a shuffe, in generall for all. Emong the whiche, one is an heade, whose sonne enheriteth his roume by succession. The men children, euen of a custome of that people, did with good wil kepe their fathers and mothers, but the women children (yf they refused it) ware compelled. The moste part of men in solempne burialles, shaue their heades, and let theyr beardes growe, but The giptians shaued their beardes and let their heades grow. They wrought their doughe with their fiete, and their claye with their handes. As the Grecians do beleue, this people, and their ofspring, are they that vsed circumcision. Thei ordre their writyng from their right hande towarde their left, contrary to vs. It was the maner emong them, that the menne should weare two garmentes at ones, the women but one. As the Aethiopes had, so learned they of them, two maner of lettres; the one seuerall to the priestes thother vsed in commune. Their priestes, euery thirde daye shaued their bodies, that there might be none occasion of filthinesse when they shold ministre or sacrifie. Thei did were garmentes of linnen, euer cleane wasshed, and white: and shoes of a certeine kinde of russhes, named Papyrus, whiche aftre became stuffe, to geue name to our paper. They neither sette beane their selues, ne eate them where soeuer they grewe: ne the priest may not loke vpon a beane, for that it is iudged an vncleane puls. They are wasshed euery daye in colde water thrise, and euery nighte twise. The heades of their sacrifices (for that they vsed to curse them with many terrible woordes) did they not eate, but either the priestes solde them to such strangiers as had trade emonge them, or if there ware no suche ready in time, they threwe them in to Nilus.

---

* To *broke*, i,e,, to deal, or transact business, particularly of an amorous character. (See Fansh. Lusiad, ix., 44; and Daniel, "Queen's Arcadia, iii., 3.)

† To bend.

All the Egiptians offer in sacrifice, neither cowe, ne cowe calfe, because they are hallowed to Isis their goddesse, but bulles and bulle calues, or oxen, andstieres. For their meate they vse, moche a kynde of pancake, made of rye meale. For lacke of grapes they vse wyne made of Barly. They liue also with fisshe, either dried in the Sonne and so eaten rawe, or elles kept in pikle. They fiede also vpon birdes, and foules, firste salted, and then eaten rawe. Quaile, and mallard, are not but for the richer sorte. At all solempne suppers, when a nomber is gathered, and the tables withdrawen, some one of the company carieth aboute in an open case, the image of death, caruen out of woode, or drawen with the pencille as niere to the vine as is possible, of a cubite, or two cubites long at the moste. Who shewyng it aboute to euery of the gestes, saieth, loke here: drinke and be mery, for aftre thy death, suche shalt thou be. The yonger yf they miete their auncient, or bettre vpon the way, giue them lace, going somewhat aside: or yf the aunciente fortune to come in place where they are sitting, they arise out of their seate, wherein they agre with the Lacedemoniens. When they miete in the waye, they do reuerence to eche other, bowing their bodies, and letting fall their handes on their knees. They weare long garments of lynnen, hemmed about the skirtes beneth, which the call Casiliras: ouer the which they throwe on another white garment also. Wollen apparelle thei neither weare to the churche, ne bewry any man in.

Nowe for asmoche as they afore time that euer excelled in anye kinde of learning, or durste take vppon them to prescribe lawe, and rule of life vnto other, as Orpheus, Homere, Museus, Melampode, Dedalus, Licurgus, Solon, Plato, Pithagoras, Samolxis, Eudoxus, Democritus, Inopides, and Moses the Hebrue, with manye other, whose names the Egiptians glorie to be cronicled with theim: trauelled first to the Egiptians, to learne emongest them bothe wisedome, and politique ordre (wherein at those daies they passed all other) me thinketh it pleasaunte and necessarie also, to stande somewhat vpon their maners, ceremonies and Lawes, that it may be knowen what they, and sondry more haue borowed of them, and translated vnto other. For (as Philip Beroalde writeth in his commentary vpon Apuleius booke, entituled the Golden Asse) the moste parte of the deuices that we vse in our Christian religion, ware borowed out of the maner of Thegiptians. As surpluis and rochet, and suche linnen garmentes: shauen crownes, tourninges at the altare, our masse solempnities, our organes, our knielinges, crouchinges, praiers, and other of that kinde. The kinges of Egipte (saieth Diodore the Sicilian in his seconde booke) liued not at rouers* as other kinges doe, as thoughe me lusteth ware lawe, but bothe in their monie collections, and daily fare and apparell, folowed the bridle of the lawe. They had neither slaue that was homeborne, ne slaue that was forein bought, appointed to attende or awaite vpon them. But the sonnes of those that ware priestes of honour, bothe aboue thage of twenty yeres, and also singulerly learned. That the king hauing these attendant for the body both by daie and by night, restrained by the reuerence of the company about hym might commit nothing that was vicious, or dishonourable. For men of power are seldome euil, where they lacke ministres for their vnlawfull lustes. There ware appoincted houres, both of the daie and the night, in the whiche the kinge mighte lawfully doe, what the Lawe did permit. In the morning, assone as he was ready, it behoved him to peruse al lettres, supplicacions, and billes: that knowing what was to be done, he might giue aunswer in tyme: that all thinges might rightlie, and ordrely be done. These being dispatched, when he had washed his bodie emong the Pieres of ye Realme, he put on some robe of estate, and Sacrificed to the goddes. The maner was, that the Primate, or head of the spiritualty (the beastes appoincted for the sacrifices being brought harde to the altare, and the Kyng standing by) should with a loude voyce, in the hearing of the people, wysshe to the king (that bare him selfe iustely towarde his subiectes) prosperous healthe, and good fortune in all. And should further particulerly recite the vertues of the king, his deuoutnes and reuerence towarde God, and clemency towarde men. Commende him as chaste, iuste, and vpright: of noble and great courage, sothfaste, liberal, and one that well brideled al his desires. Punisshing thoffendour vnder his desertes, and rewarding the well doer aboue his merites. Making a processe of these, and such other like: in the ende with the rehersalle of the contrary vices, he cursed the wicked and euil. Then absoluing the King of his offences, he laied all the faulte vpon the ministres, and attendauntes, y^t should at any time moue the king to any thing vnright, or vnlawfull. These thinges beinge done, he preached vnto the King the blessednes of the life, led accordyng to the pleasure of the goddes, and exhorted him thervnto: as also to frame his maners and doinges vnto vertue, and not to giue eare to that, that leude men should counsaile him, but to followe those thynges that led vnto honour and vertue. In thende, whan the King had sacrificed a bulle, the priest declared certain preceptes and examples of excellente, and moste worthy men: written in their holy scripture. To thende that the Kynge admonisshed by the example of theim, might ordre his gouernaunce iustlye, and godly, and not geue hym selfe to couetous cloinyng,* and hourdyng of tresure. He neither satte to iudge, ne toke his vocacion, ne walked abrode, ne washed at home, ne laye with his Quiene, ne finally did any maner of thing, but vpon the prescripte of the lawe.

---

* From the expression *to shoot at rovers*, i.e., at a mark, but with an elevation, not point blank.

Their fare was but simple, nothing but veale, and goose, and their wine by measure appoincted. So that thone should nether ouerlade the bealy, ne the other the heade. To conclude, their whole life so bounde vpon temperaunce, that it might be thoughte raither to have bene prescribed them by a discrete Phisicen to preserue helthe, then by a politique Lawyer. It siemeth wondrefull that the Egiptians mighte not rule their owne priuate life, but by the Lawes. But it semeth more wonderfull that their King had no liberty of him selfe, either to sitte in iudgement, to make collections of money, or topunishe any man, vpon wilfulnes, stoute stomacke, angre, displeasure, or anye vniuste cause: But to be holden vnder lawe as a commune subiecte, and yet not to be agreued therwith, but to thincke them selues moste blessed in obeyeng and folowyng the lawe, and other in folowing their lustes most vnhappy, as being led by them into many daungiers, and damages. For suche oftentimes, euen when they know them selues to do euill, either ouercome with malice, and hatred, or some other mischiefe of the minde, are not able to witholde theim selues from the euille. But they which by wisedome and discrecion, gouerne their liues, offende in fewe thinges. The kinges vsing suche an equitie, and vprightnes towarde their subdites, are so tendred againe of them, that not onely the priestes, but all the Egiptians in generall, haue more care for the health and the welfare of the King, then for their wiues, their children, or any other princes.

---

* Probably from the old French, *encloyer*, to glut, or surfeit.

He that to his death continueth in this goodnesse, him being dead, do they in general lamente. They teare their clothes, they shut up ye churche dores, they haunte no place of wonte commune concourse, they omytte all solempne holy daies: and girding them selues vnder the pappes with brode Ribbond of Sarsenet, two or thre hundred on a company, men and women together, renewe euery daye twise, thre skore and xii. daies together, the buriall bewailing, casting dirte on their heades, and singing in rithme the vertue of the Kinge. They absteine from al flesshe of beastes, all meates y^t^ touche fire, all wine and all preparation of seruice at the table. They bathe not, thei smel of no swietes, they go to no beddes, they pleasure not in women: but as folkes that had buried their beste beloued childe, all that continuance of time they lamente. During these seuenty and two daies (hauyng prepared all thinges necessarie for the funerall pompe): the laste daye of all, the bodie beyng enbaulmed and cofred, is sette before the entrie of the Toombe. Thereaftre the custome, one redeth an abridgemente of all the thinges done by the king in his life. And if there be any man disposed to accuse the deade, libertie is giuen him. The priestes are present, and euer giue praise to his well doings, as they be recited. There stondeth also rounde about the Toombe a multitude of the communes, which with their voices allowe asmuche as is trew, and crie out vpon that, that is false, with vehement gainsaienges. Wherby it hath happened, that sondry kynges by the repugnynges of the people haue lien vntoombed: and haue lacked the honoure of bewrialle, that the good are wonte to haue. That feare, hath driuen the kynges of Aegipte, to liue iustly, and vprightly, lesse the people aftre their deathes, might shewe them suche dishonour, and beare them perpetuall hatred. This was the maner specially, of the aunciente kynges there.

The whole realme of Egipte was diuided into Shieres: and to euery Shiere was appoincted a Presidente, whiche had the gouernaunce of the whole Shiere. The reuenewes of the realme ware diuided into iii. partes: whereof the companie of the priestes had the first parte, which ware in greate estimacion emong them, both for the administracion of Goddes Seruice, and also for the good learnyng, wherin thei brought vp many. And this porcion was giuen theim, partely for the administracion of the Sacrifices, and partely for the vse and commoditie of their priuate life. For thei neither thincke it mete, that any parte of the honour of the Goddes should bee omitted, or that thei, whiche are Ministres of the commune counsaill and profecte, should be destitute of necessary commodities of the life. For these menne are alwaie in matters of weighte, called vpon by the nobles, for their wisedome and counsaille: And to shewe (as thei can by their connyng in the Planettes, and Starres, and by the maner of their Sacrifices) the happe of thinges to come. Thei also declare vnto them, the stories of men of olde tyme, regested in their holy Scripture, to the ende that accordyng to them the kynges maie learne what shall profighte, or disprofighte. For the maner is not emong them, as it is emong the Grecians, that one manne, or one woman, shoulde attende vpon the sacrifices and Ceremonies alone: but thei are many at ones aboute the honour of their Goddes, and teache the same ordre to their children. This sorte of menne is priuileged, and exempte from all maner of charges, and hath next vnto the kyng, the second place of dignitie and honour.

The second porcion cometh to the king to maintein his owne state, and the charges of the warres: and to shewe liberalitie to men of prowesse according to their worthinesse. So that the Communes are neither burdoned withtaxes nor tributes.

The thirde parte do the pencionaries of the warres receiue, and suche other as vpon occasions are moustered to the warres: that vpon the regard of the stipende, thei maie haue the better good wille and courage, to hasarde their bodies in battaile. Their communaltie is deuided into thre sortes of people. Husbande men, Brieders of cattle, and men of occupacion. The Husbandmen buyeng for a litle money a piece of grounde of the Priestes, the king, or the warriour: al the daies of their life, euen from their childhode, continually applie that care. Whereby it cometh to passe, that bothe for the skoolyng that thei haue therin at their fathers handes, and the continuall practisyng fro their youthe, that thei passe all other in Husbandrie.

The Brieders, aftre like maner, learnyng the trade of their fathers, occupie their whole life therabout. We see also that al maner of Sciences haue bene much bettred, yea, brought to the toppe of perfection, emong the Egiptians. For the craftes men there, not medlyng with any commune matiers that mighte hindre theim, emploie them selues onely to suche sciences as the lawe doeth permit them, or their father hath taught them. So that thei neither disdaine to be taughte, nor the hatred of eche other, ne any thing elles withdraweth them from their crafte.

Their Iudgementes and Sentences of lawe, are not there at giuen aduenture, but vpon reason: for thei surely thought that all thinges well done, muste niedes be profitable to mannes life. To punishe the offendours, and to helpe the oppressed, thoughte thei the best waie to auoide mischiefes. But to buye of the punishmente for money or fauour, that thought thei to be the very confusion of the commune welfare. Wherefore thei chase out of the chief cities (as Heliopole, Memphis, and Thebes) the worthiest men, to be as Lordes chief Iustice, or Presidentes of Iudgementes, so that their Iustice benche did sieme to giue place, neither to the Areopagites of the Athenienses, ne yet to the Senate of the Lacedemonians that many a daie after theim ware instituted. Aftre what tyme these chief Iustices ware assembled (thirtie in nombre) thei chase out one that was Chauncellour of the whole: and when he failed, the citie appoincted another in his place. All these had their liuynges of the kyng: but the Chauncellour more honorably then the rest. He bare alwaie about his necke a tablette, hangyng on a chaine of golde, and sette full of sundrie precious stones, whiche thei called Veritie and Truthe. The courte beyng set and begunne, and the tablet of Truthe by the Chauncellour laied furthe, and theight bookes of their lawes (for so many had thei) brought furth into the middes emong them: it was the maner for the plaintife to putte into writyng the whole circumstance of his case, and the maner of the wrong doone vnto him, or how muche he estemed himself to be endamaged thereby. And a time was giuen to the defendant to write answere again to euery poinct, and either to deny that he did it, or elles to alledge that he rightfully did it, or elles to abate the estimate of the damage or wrong. Then had thei another daie appointed, to saie finally for them selues. At the whiche daie when the parties on bothe sides ware herd, and the iudges had conferred their opinions, the Chauncellour of the Iudges gaue sentence by pointyng with the tablet of Veritie, toward the parte y^t semed to be true. This was ye maner of their iudgementes.

And forasmuche as we are fallen into mencion of their iudgementes, it shall not be vnfyttyng with myne enterprise, to write also the aunciente Lawes of the Egiptians, that it maie be knowen how muche they passe, bothe in ordre of thynges, and profite.

Fyrst to be periured was headyng: for they thought it a double offence. One in regarde of conscience not kept toward God, and an other in gyuynge occasion to destroy credite among men, whiche is the chiefest bonde of their felowship. If any wayfarying man shuld espy a man sette vppon with thieues, or otherwyse to be wronged, and dyd not to his power succour and ayde hym, he was gyltie of death. If he ware not able to succour and to reskewe hym, then was he bounde to vtter the thieues, and to prosecute the matter to enditement. And he that so dyd not, was punyshed with a certayne nombre of stripes, and was kept thre days without meate. He that shuld accuse any man wrongfully, if he fortuned afterward to be broughte into iudgement, he suffered the punishement ordeyned for false accusers. All the Egyptians ware compelled to brynge euery man their names to the chiefe Iustices, and the facultie or science wherby they liued. In the which behalfe if any man lyed, or lyued with vnlaufull meanes, he felle into penaltie of death. If any man willyngly had slaine any man free or bond, the lawes condemned hym to die, not regardynge the state of the man, but the malicious pourpose of the diede. Wherby they made men afrayd to doe mischief, and death beynge executed for the death of a bondman, the free myght goe in more sauftie. For the fathers that slewe their chyldren, there was no punyshement of death appoynted, but an iniunction that they shoulde stande thre daies and thre nyghtes togither at the graue of the deade, accompanied with a common warde of the people to see the thyng done. Neyther dyd it sieme them iuste, that he that gaue life to the childe, should lose his life for the childes death, but rather be put to continual sorowe, and to be pyned with the repentance of the diede, that other myght ther by the withdrawen from the like wyckednes. But for the chyld that kylled either father or mother, they deuised this kynd of synguler torment. They thruste hym through with riedes sharpned for the nones, in euery ioynt all ouer his body, and caused hym quicke to be throwen vpon a heape of Thornes, and so to bee burned. Iudgyng that there could not be a greater wickednes emong men, then to take awaie the life, from one that had giuen life vnto hym. If any woman with child ware condempned to dye, thei abode the tyme of her deliueraunce notwithstandyng: for that thei iudged it farre from all equitie, that the gilteles should dye together with the giltie. Or that ii. should be punished, where but one had offended. Who so had in battaille or warre, withdrawen hymself from his bande, forsaken his place in the arraie, or not obeied his capitaigne: was not condempned to dye, but suffred for his punishemente a notable reproche, of all punishementes the woorste, and more greuous then death. Who so had disclosed any secret to the ennemie, the Lawe commaunded his tongue to be cutte out of his heade. And who so clipped the coigne or countrefacted it, or chaunged the stampe or diminisshed the weighte: or in lettres and writinges, shoulde adde any thing, by entrelinyng, or otherwise: or should guelde out any thyng, or bryng a forged euidence, Obligacion or Bille, bothe his handes ware cutte of. That suche parte of the bodie as had offended, mighte for euer beare the punishemente therof: and the residue takyng warnyng by his ensample, might shonne the like.

There ware also sharpe punishementes constitute, in offences concernyng women. For he that had defloured a free woman, had his membres cutte of, because in one offence, he had committed thre no small wickednesses. That is to saie, wrong, made the woman an whore, and broughte in a doubte the laufulnes of her issue. But thei that ware taken in adulterie, bothe partes byeng agreed, the man was whipped with a thousand stripes by tale: and the woman had her nose cut of, wherwith beside ye shame she had, the whole beautie of her face was disgraced, and disfigured.

The Lawes that apperteigned to the trade and occupieng of men, one with another: ware made (as thei saie) by one Bocchorides. It is commaunded in them, that if money haue bene lent any manne without writyng, vppon credite of his woorde: if the borrower deny it, he should be put to his othe, to the whiche the creditour muste stande. For thei so muche estiemed an othe, that thei thoughte no man so wicked, as wilfully to abuse it. And again, because he that was noted to sweare very often, lost vtterly his credite, and name: many menne affirme, that for the regard of their honesties, it happened very seldome, that any man came to his othe. Their Lawe maker also, iudging that vertue was the engendrer of credite, thought it good by good ordres to accustome men to good liuyng and honestie, vpon feare to sieme vnworthie of all reputacion. He thought it also to be against conscience, that he that without an othe had borowed, should not nowe for his own, be beleued with an othe. The forfect for non paiment of the lone, mought not bee aboue the double of the somme that was borowed. And paiement was made onely of the goodes of the borower, the body was not arrestable. For the Lawemaker thought it conueniente, that onely the gooddes should bee subdite to the debte, and the bodies (whose seruice was required bothe in peace and in warre) subiecte to the citie. It was not thoughte to bee Iustice, that the manne of warre, whiche hasardeth his bodie for the sauftie of his countrie, should for an enterest of lone, bee throwen into prisone. The whiche lawe, Solon siemeth to haue translated to the Athenienses, vndre the name of the lawe Sisarea, decreyng that the body of no citezein, should for any maner of enterest be emprisoned.*

---

* It may interest readers to see how much the knowledge of Africa had extended in 150 years. Cluverius, in his "Introductio in Geographiam," 1659, says :—

Summa Africæ descriptio.

Asiæ exiguo Isthmo annectitur maxima Orbis terrarum peninsula Africa, tria millia et triginta circiter mill German. ambitu complectens. Isthmi intercapedo est mill. xxv. Pleraque Africæ inculta, et aut arenis sterilibus obducta, aut ob sitim cœli terrarumque deserta sunt, aut infestantur multo ac malefico genere animalium; in universum vasta est magis quam frequens. Quædam tamen partes eximie fertiles. Græcis Libya dicitur, à Libya Epaphi filii Iovis filia : Africam autem ab Afro Libys Herculis filio dictam volunt. Maria eam cingunt, qua Sol oritur Rubrum, qua medius dies Æthiopicum, qua occidit Sol Atlanticum ; ab Septemtrionibus Internum, Africum seu Libycum dictum, qua eam alluit. Longitudo summa computatur ab Herculis freto ad promontorium Bonæ Spei mill. Iɔcc. Latitudo inter duo promontoria, Hesperium, vulgo *C. Verde*, et Aromata, quod est juxta fauces Arabici sinus, vulgo nunc *Coarda fui*, mill. IɔL. Terra ipsa, nisi qua interno mari accedit, obscure veteribus nota. Vltra autem Nili fontes ac montes Lunæ prorsus incognita.

Regiones atque gentes in quas divisa fuit quondam, sunt, Ægyptus, Cyrenaïca, Africa Minor, seu proprie dicta, Troglo-

Thegiptians also for thieues, had this lawe alone, and no people els. The lawe commaunded that as many as would steale, should entre their names with the chief Prieste: and what so euer was

---

dytæ, Garamantes, Numidia, Mauritania, Gætulia, Libya interior, Arabia Troglodytica et Æthiopia.

CAP. II.

Ægyptus.

Prima Africæ Asiæque proxima est Ægyptus, quam veteres Geographi in Asiæ regionibus computarunt. At posteriores, Arabico sinu, ut ante dictum, inter Asiam Africamque termino constituto, Africæ eam contribuerunt.

Nomen traxit ab Ægypto Danai fratre; ante Aëria dicta. Terminatur à Septemtrione suo mari, id est, Ægyptio, ab Ortu Arabia Petræa et dicto sinu; a Meridie Æthiopia, ab Occasu Cyrenaïca. Longa est a Pelusiaco Nili ostio ad Catabathmum opidum milliar. C L. Lata à Nili ostiis, ad opidum Metacompsum Nilo adpositum, nunc *Conzo*, mill. c.

Divisa fuit generatim in Superiorem, quæ in Meridiem vergit, et Inferiorem, quæ mari interno alluitur. Superiorem rursus Nilus dividebat in Libycam, qua Occidentem, et Arabicam, qua Orientem spectat. Hinc populi Arabægyptii, illinc Libyægyptii, dicti. Inferioris pars est Mareotis, sive Marmarica, ultima versus Occidentem Cyrenaïcæ contermina. Speciatim vero universa Ægyptus in complures præfecturas descripta erat, quas Græco vocabulo Nomos vocarunt.

De urbibus Ægypti.

Ægyptus super ceteram antiquitatis gloriam, viginti millia urbium sibi Amase regnante habitata quondam prætulit; postea quoque sub Romano imperio multis, etiamsi ignobilibus, frequens.

Clarissima omnium fuit Alexandria, caput Ægypti totiusque Africæ, post deletam Carthaginem prima; ab Alexandro Magno condita; postea in tantam aucta multitudinem atque frequentiam, uti uni tantum Romæ cederet. Secunda ab hac Diospolis, sive Thebae cognomine Ægyptiæ; quas centum portas habuisse ferunt; sive, ut alii ajunt, centum aulas, totidem olim Principum domos; solitasque singulas, ubi negotium exegerat, ducenos armatos milites effundere. Deinde Memphis, regia quondam: juxta quam pyramides, regum sepulchra. Turres sunt fastigiatæ, ultra celsitudinem

stollen, incontinente to cary the same vnto hym. Likewise, he that was robbed was bounde to entre with the saied Chiefe Priest, the daie, time and houre, when he was robbed. By this meanes

---

omnem, quæ fieri manu possit; itaque mensuram umbrarum egressæ, nullas habent umbras, regum pecuniæ otiosa ac stulta ostentatio. Reliquæ urbes sunt, Syene, Sais, Bubastis, Elephantis, Tentyris, Arsinoe et Abydus, Memnonis olim regia; postea Osiris fano inclyta: et Arabiæ contermina, claritatis magnæ Heliopolis, id est, Solis urbs. In Marmarica vicus fuit Apis, nobilis religione Ægypti locus. Fuit et Labyrinthus nullo addito ligno exædificatus, domos mille et regias duodecim perpetuo parietis ambitu amplexus, marmore exstructus et tectus, unum in se descensum habens, intus pene innumerabiles vias, multis ambagibus huc et illuc remeantibus.

Cap. III.

De incolis Ægypti ac Nilo flumine; item de Libya exteriore.

Ipsi Ægyptii, hominum vetustissimos se prædicantes, cum Scythis de gentis antiquitate olim contenderunt. Antiquissimos esse post Syros, vel ipsa sacra Scriptura attestatur. Disciplinarum complurium inventores rerumque divinarum ac siderum peritissimi dicti sunt, quare ad eos Dædalus, Melampus, Pythagoras, Homerus et alii complures eruditionis causa profecti.

Sub regibus esse jam inde ab initio rerum consueverunt, modo suis, modo Æthiopibus; dein Persis ac Macedonibus; moxque iterum suis, donec Romani, Augusto debellante, in provinciam redegerunt Ægyptum. Post hoc Saraceni eam occuparunt: quibus successit Sultanorum inclytum nomen, ex Circassis Tartarorum gente ortum. Postremi Turcæ ann. cIɔ Iɔxvi invaserunt, qui etiam nunc tenent.

Nilus.

Sed de Nilo hoc loco pauca quædam retulisse haud abs re fuerit. Terra ipsa Ægyptus expers imbrium mire tamen fertilis, et hominum aliorumque perfœcunda generatrix. Nilus id efficit, amnium in internum mare permeantium maximus. Hic in Africæ desertis, montibus Lunæ ortus, haud statim Nilus est, et primum ingentem lacum Nilidem, qui nunc *Zaire* et *Zembre* dicitur, cxx. milliar. German. permeans, cum diu simplex sævusque receptis dextera magnis aquis descendit, Astapus cognominatus, quod Æthiopum lingua significat aquam è tenebris profluentem, circa Meroen,

the thefte being easely founde out, he that was robbed, loste the fourthe parte and receiued the residue, the whiche fourthe was given to the thiefe. For the Lawe maker (seeing it was impossible

---

Insularum, quas innumeras lateque patentes spargit, clarissimam, lævo alveo Astabores dictus est, hoc est, ramus aquæ venientis è tenebris; dextero vero Astusapes, quod latentis significationem adjicit, nec ante, quam ubi rursum coit, Nilus dictus est. Inde partim asper, partimnavigia patiens; mox præcipiti cursu progressus, inter occursantes scopulos non fluere immenso fragore creditur, sed ruere. Postea lenis, et fractis aquis domitaque violentia, et spatio fessus, tandem ad Δέλτα opidum per omnem Ægyptum vagus et dispersus, septem ingentibus ostiis in mare Ægyptium se evomit. Bis in anno, certis diebus auctu magno per totam spatiatus Ægyptum, fœcundus innatat terris. Causas hujus incrementi varias prodidere; sed maxime probabiles duas: Etefiarum eo tempore ex adverso flantium repercussum, ultro in ora acto mari: aut imbres Æthiopiæ aestivos, iisdem Etesiis nubila illò ferentibus ex reliquo orbe. Idem amnis unus omnium nullas expirat auras.

Libya exterior.

Cæterum à tergo Ægypti versus Meridiem, juxta sinistram Nili ripam, Libya est exterior ad Æthiopiam extensa: nunc est *Elfocat* desertum et *Gaoga.*

CAP. IV.

Cyrenaïca, Africa Minor, Libyæ deserta, Troglodytæ et Garamantes.

Ægypto annexa est Cyrenaïca regio, Ammonis oraculo maxime clara, nunc Barchanæ provinciæ dimidia pars Orientalis, eadem Pentapolitana dicta, à quinque insignium urbium numero, quæ Beræniee, Arsinoe, Ptolemais, Apollonia, et ipsa Cyrene, unde regioni nomen. Græci hanc condiderunt, ex Thera insula Ægæi maris profecti. Ipsi Cyrenenses privata sorte inter Ægyptios ac Pœnos diu egerunt; dein cum Carthaginiensibus de agrorum finibus magnum ac diuturnum bellum gesserunt. Mox Carthagine deleta, et ipsi cum reliqua Africa Romano Imperio cesserunt. Posthinc solum eorum Sultanis, tandem Turcis.

vtterly to be withoute thieues) thought it moche bettre by this meanes that men bare the losse of a piece then to be spoiled of the whole.

The ordre of Mariage emong the Egiptians is not vniforme, for

---

Africa Minor.

Sequitur Africa Minor sive proprie dicta. **Terminatur** à Septemtrione Africo pelago, ab Ortu sinu magnæ Syrtis, à Meridie montium perpetuis jugis; quibus à Libyæ desertis et Gætulis discernitur; ab Occasu Tusca amne. Continet hodie Tunetanum regnum.

Fluvii in ea clari Cinyphus, Triton, Tritonidem paludem trahens: Catada, ad Carthaginem se devolvens, et Bagradas omnium maximus ad Vticam, ac Tuscaterminus Africæ Minoris.

Populorum varia nomina. Clarissimi Nasamones, extra Africam propriam etiam Cyrenaïcæ et Marmaricæ contermini; quos antea Mesammones Græci adpellaverunt, ab argumento loci, medios inter arenas sitos, et ab his sublati Psylli, quorum corpori ingenitum fuit virus exitiale serpentibus, ut cujus odore vel fugarent vel sopirent eas: et supra Carthaginem Libyphœnices, iidem et Pœni à Phœnice Tyro profecti, Duce Eliza sive Didone, quæ Carthaginem condidit.

Vrbium celeberrimæ Leptis magna, quæ et Neapolis, Abrotonum, Taphræ, Capsa, Thysdrus, Thapsus, Leptis parva, Rhuspina, Adrumetum, Clupea, Turres, Vthina et Carthago, Romæ æmula, terrarum cupida, opulentissima quondam totius Africæ, antequam Romani tribus bellis devictam deleverunt. Vtica Catonis, qui inde Vticensis, morte nobilis.

Libya deserta, Troglodytæ et Garamantes.

Ab Africæ minoris tergo versus Austrum Libyæ deserta fuerunt; ultraque Troglodytæ, nunc *Berdoa* desertum. Hos tegit ab Austro Ater mons, et trans eum Garamantes populi clari, nunc *Borno* regnum. Caput gentis fuit Garama, quam hodieque eodem nomine exstare tradunt. Debris inclyta affuso fonte, cujus aquae ex cœlesti quidem vertigine mutant qualitatem, at controversa siderum disciplina; quidpe qui friget calore, calet frigore; à medio scilicet die ad noctem mediam aquis ferventibus, totidemque horis ad medium diem rigentibus.

Caeterum et Troglodytas et Garmantas olim Romanorum arma superaverunt.

the priest might marry but one onely wife. All other haue as many as they wille, acordyng to their substaunce. Ther is no child emong them, though it be borne of a bought woman slaue,

---

CAP. V.

Numidia et Mauritania.

Numidia.

A Tusca amne usque ad Ampsagam fluvium litori Africo praetenditur Numidia, Masinissæ Regis nomine maxime clara, nunc Tremisenum regnum eodem porrigitur situ. Gens ipsa Numidae, ante Nomades à Græcis adpellati, à permutandis pabulis, mapalia sua plaustris circumferentes, ut nunc Tattarorum fert mos.

Fluviorum celeberrimus est Rubricatus. Vrbes quam plurimæ nobilesque ; sed Cirtha eminens ; Sittianorum, postquam Romani tenuere, colonia dicta : quondam Iubæ et Syphacis domus, cum foret opulentissima. Dein sequuntur Cullu, Ruscicade, Bulla regia, Tacatua, Hippo regius, Sicca, Tabrachæ : Hanc quoque regionem debellatam in provinciæ formam redegerunt Romani.

Mauritania.

Vltima ad Occasum est Mauritania, in qua praecipua gens Maurorum, unde nomen regioni. Hos Graeci Maurusios dixerunt. Terminantur à Meridie Atlante minori, quo submoventur à Gaetulis: qui et ipsi postea oppressis et exstinctis Maurusiis Mauritaniae majorem partem occuparunt : ab Occasu est Oceanus Atlanticus, à Septemtrione fretum Herculis et mare internum ; Ab Ortu primo Mulucham habuit flumen, quod Mauros à Numidis discernebat ; at quum ea Numidiae pars, quae est inter Ampsagam et Mulucham, Mauritaniae adjiceretur, finis huic constitutus est Ampsaga. Continet hodie tria regna : Darense, Fezense et Maurocitanum. Dividebatur autem olim Malva flumine in Caesariensem quae Numidiam contingit, et Tingitanam quae Oceano perfunditur. Regna fuere ad C. Caesarem usque Imperatorem, qui in duas divisit provincias.

Cæsariensis.

Caesariensis provincia, quam nunc totam *Dara* regnum obsidet, antea Bocchi regnum adpellata fuit. Partem tamen inter Malvam et Mulucham Massaesylorum gens tenuit. Caput provinciae Iulia Caesarea, aliquando ignobilis, cum Iol esset ; postea quia Iubae

that is compted illegitimate. For they onely compte the father to be the authour of his kynde, and the mother onely but to geue place and nourishement to the childe. When their children be

---

regia, illustris facta. Reliqua opida sunt Cartenna, Saldae, Opidum novum, Rusazus, Ruscurium, Rusconia, Tipasa, Tubusuptus et Tucca, impositum mari ac flumini Ampsagae.

Tingitana.

Tingitana provincia, quam nunc duo regna *Fez* et *Marocco* occupant, ab urbe Tingi, quae nunc vulgo *Tanger*, cognomen accepit, ante Bogudiana dicta à Rege Bogud. Opida in ea, Tingi modo dictum, caput provinciae, ab Anteeo conditum; Iulia Constantia, Zilis, Volubilis et Lixus, vel fabulosissime ab antiquis narrata. Ibi quidqe regia Antaei, certamenque cum Hercule, et Hesperidum horti.

CAP. VI.

Gætuli, Atlas mons, Libya interior et Æthiopia.

Gætuli.

A tergo Mauritaniarum Afticaeque Minoris Gaetulorum gens, et ipsa quoque Romanorum armis debellata, longe lateque incoluit, quidpe quae hodie occupat quicquid terrarum à *Lempta* opido ad Oceanum usque, spatio mill. Germanicorum CCCL protenditur. Hoc spatio nunc est *Biledulgerit* provinciae major pars, ubi *Targa* regnum, et quatuor deserta, *Lempta*, *Zuenziga*, *Zanhaga*, *Hair*.

Atlas Mons.

Gaetulos à Meridie claudit mons Atlas, totius Africae vel fabulosissimus. E mediis hunc arenis in cœlum usque attolli prodiderunt celebrati auctores, asperum, squalentem, qua vergat ad litora Oceani, cui cognomen imposuit: eundem opacum nemorosumque, et scatebris fontium riguum; qua spectat Africam, fructibus omnium generum sponte ita subnascentibus, ut nunquam satietas voluptatibus desit. Incolarum neminem interdiu cerni: silere omnia haud alio quam solitudinum horrore. Eundemque noctibus micare crebris ignibus, Ægipanum Satyrorumque lascivia impleri, tibiarum ac fistulae cantu tympanorumque et cymbalorum sonitu strepere.

borne they bring them vp with so lytle coste, as a man would skantly belieue. They fiede them with the rootes of mererushes, and other rootes, rosted in the embries, and with marshe Caubois,

---

Libya interior.

Vltra Atlantem Libya est interior ad Nigrum usque flumen, vastarum solitudinum, nunc desertum *Sarra* dicta.

Æthiopia et Troglodytica.

Iam vero quicquid ultra Nigrum flumen est et Ægyptum, versus utrumque mare Atlanticum Rubrumque, Æthiopes tenuerunt, gens omnium Africae terrae amplissima, extra Africam à vetustissimis Geographorum posita. Ab Æthiope Vulcani filio cognominati; vel, ut alii, ab nigro vultus corporisque colore; *αἴθοψ* quidpe significat nigrum.

Divisa fuit Æthiopia in varia Æthiopum genera; quorum Ptolemaeus innumera tradit nomina. At clarissimi omnium fuere Nigritae; à Nigro flumine dicti; et Nubiorum gens magna, unde hodieque vastissima regio dicitur *Nubia.* Ea autem Æthiopiae pars quae Nilo utrimque adjacet, Æthiopia dicitur sub Ægypto; atque in ea ad Nili paludes seu lacus Cinnamomifera regio. At totum sinus Arabici laevum latus Arabes tenuere Troglodytae, unde regio ipsa Troglodytica.

CAP. VII.

De incolis universæ Africæ novaque ejus descriptione; ac primum de Ægypto.

Qvinam mortales Ægyptum antiquitus incoluerint, ante dictum set. Reliqua Africae versus Occasum mari adjacentia tenuerunt populi commemorati. Advenae autem primi fuere Phœnicum coloni aliique ex Asia atque Ægypto profecti. Postea paruit Romanis; mox Græcis Imperatoribus totum hoc terrarum spatium. Deinde Vandalis, Saracenis, Arabibus. Nunc partem tenet Turca, partem Serifus, quem vocant; partem reges alii, partem denique Hispaniarum Rex.

At Æthiopes à suo solo neque recesserunt, neque in id alios colonos receperunt; id longinquitas effecit regionis immensaeque intercedentium desertorum vastitates.

Sed enarrata Africae antiquitate, res postulat, uti novam etiam ejus descriptionem subjiciamus.

and colewortes which partly they seathe, and partly they roste, and parte giue them rawe. They go for the moste parte withoute hosen or shoes, all naked, the contry is so temperate. All the

---

Dividitur nunc universa in septem potissimum partes sive regiones, quarum nomina sunt haec : Ægyptus, *Barbaria*, *Biledulgerid*, *Sarra* desertum, Nigritæ, Æthiopia Interior, sive Superior, quod Abissinorum imperium, et Æthiopia Exterior sive Inferior.

Ægyptus.

Ægypti (quam Turca obtinet) caput nunc est Cairum, vulgo *Alcair*, Chaldaeis Alchabyr, urbs magnitudine stupenda, Emporium celeberrimum, Circassiorum Ægypti Sultanorum quondam regia. Prope est *Materea* hortus balsami fructibus consitus, quod uni terrae Iudaeae quondam concessum, hodie nisi in hoc loco, nusquam colitur.

Vltra Nilum pyramides visuntur stupendae altitudinis, ut ante memoravimus.

Secunda claritate à Cairo est Alexandria, splendida quondam atque opulentissima civitas, nunc crebris bellis destructa atque concisa, celeberrimum Christianis mercatoribus praebet emporium. Nobile exinde est cum arce opidum *Raschitt*, quod Europaei *Rosettam* vocant. *Damiata*, olim Pelusium, Ptolemaei Geographi incunabulis insigne est.

CAP. VIII.

Barbaria.

Ægypto continuatur nobilissima totius Africae regio Barbaria ; in sex partes divisa, quarum una est provincia Barcana, quinque reliquae sunt regna, Tunetanum, Tremisenum, Fessanum, Maurocanum et Darense.

Barcana regio.

Inter Ægyptum et Tunetanum regnum litori praetenditur Barcana regio, à Barce antiqua urbe cognominata, soli asperitate pariter ac siccitate sterilis.

Regnum Tunetanum.

Tunetanum regnum veterem Africam minorem ferme totam occupat. Caput est Tunetum, sive Tunisa, vulgo *Tunisi;* insignis, vetus ac satis ampla urbs, quae ex Carthaginis ruinis crevit ;

coste that the Parentes bestowe on their children til they be of age to shift for themselues, surmounteth not the somme of a noble.*

emporium Venetis et Genuensibus aliisque mercatoribus celebre. Secunda est Tripolis nova, quae Tripolis Barbariae dicitur, ad differentiam Tripolis Syriæ : emporium est Europaeis mercatoribus celeberrimum. *Bona* etiam, quae olim Hippo, D. Augustina Episcopatu nota, nunc emporium haud postremum. Intus vero est Constantina Romanarum antiquitatum reliquiis conspicua.

Regnum Tremisenum.

Caput regni est *Tremisen*, amplissima quondam, bellis gravissimis postea tenuata. In litore est *Algier*, emporium satis nobile, at piratica infame, Christianis mancipiis refertissimum ; urbs ipsa mœnibus, arcibus ac tormentis bellicis adeo munita, ut inexpugnabilis credatur.

Regnum Fessanum.

Ad ipsum fretum Herculis Hispaniae objacet Fessanum regnum, cujus caput *Fez*, urbs totius Barbariae princeps, ingens, opulenta, frequens, splendida ac magnificis superbisque aedificiis miranda.

Tanger, *Sebta*, *Arzilla*, amplae ad fretum urbes, Hispanicae sunt ditionis.

Regnum Maurocanum.

Caput est Maurocum, vulgo *Maroc*, amplissima ac celeberrima olim, inter maximas universi orbis memorata : at postea ab Arabibus divexata, nunc maligne colitur. Secunda est *Taradante.*

Darense Regnum.

Intus Maurocano, Fessano ac Tremiseno regnis confine est regnum Darense amplissimum, olim Caesariensis Mauritania dictum. Caput est *Dara*, unde regioni nomen, tenuibus, ut totum regnum, atque egenis incolis habitata. *Melilla* ad mare internum conspicua urbs Hispano paret.

CAP. IX.

Biledulgerit, *Sarra desertum*, *Nigritæ*, *Abissini.*

A Tergo dictarum regionum est *Biledulgerit* regio, longissimo tractu ab Ægypti confinibus ad Oceanum Atlanticum porrecta.

---

* Equal to six shillings and eightpence.

The priestes bring vp the children, both in the doctrine of their holye scriptures, and also in the other kindes of learning necessary for the commune life, and chiefly in Geometry and

---

Nomen ei à dactylorum proventu inditum. Deserta in ea sunt, *Lempta*, *Hair*, *Zuenziga*, *Zanhaga* à singulis opidis cognominibus, adpellata. Regna *Targa*, *Bardoa* et *Gaoga*, itidem ab opidis dicta.

Sarra desertum.

Continuatur huic regioni versus Meridiem *Sarra*, cujus longitudo à regno *Gaoga* ad regnum *Gualata* extenditur.

Nigritæ.

Inde Nigritarum ampla est regio, ad utramque Nigri amnis ripam : longitudo ejus porrigitur à Nilo et Meroe insula, usque ad Nigri ostia et Oceanum. Regna in ea sunt haec, ab urbibus denominata : *Gualata*, *Hoden*, *Genocha*, *Senega*, *Tombuti*, *Melli*, *Bitonin*, *Guinea*, *Temian*, *Dauma*, *Cano*, *Cassena*, *Benin*, *Zanfara*, *Guangara*, *Borno*, *Nubia*, *Biafra*, *Medra*.

Æthiopia Interior quæ est Abissinorum.

Interiori Æthiopiae imperat Abissinorum Rex, qui Presbyter sive Pretiosus Ioannes, vulgo *Prete Gianni*, vocatur ; magno, recepto tamen errore ; cum is quondam in Asiae, ut relatum est, regno *Tenduc* regnaverit. Abasenos populos recenset Stephanus in Arabia ; unde verisimile est, eos in Africam trajecto sinu Arabico commigrasse. Aut sane in ipsa Africa fuerunt ad sinistrum Arabici sinus latus, ubi Arabiam Troglodyticam supra memoravimus. Haec quidpe nunc sub Abissinorum imperio est. Alii tamen ab Arabico vocabulo *Elhabaschi* (sic enim Mauri Principem Abissinorum adpellant) vulgo factum opinantur Abassi, ac deinde Abasseni ; quod denique commutatione vocalium in Abissinorum nomen evasit.

Clauditur regnum ab Ortu Arabico sinu et regionibus *Ajana* ac *Zangebara;* à Meridie *Monomotapa;* ab Occasu *Congo* et *Medar* regnis ; à Septemtrione *Nubia* et Ægypto. Longum est ab Ægypto ad *Monomotapa* usque mill. IↃLXXX. Latum inter fauces Arabici sinus et Nigrum fluvium mill. CCCCL.

Dividitur in compluria regna sive provincias : quarum nomina sunt, *Dasila*, *Barnagasso*, *Dangali*, *Dobas*, *Trigemahon*, *Ambiancantiva*, *Vangue*, *Bagamidri*, *Beleguanze*, *Angote*, *Balli*, *Fatigar*, *Olabi*, *Baru*, Arithmetique. As for the roughe exercises of wrasteling, ronning, daunsing, playeng at weapons, throwyng ye barre or suche like, they train not their youth in, supposyng that the daily exercise of

---

Gemen, *Fungi*, *Tirut*, *Esabela*, *Malemba*. Vrbes in universo imperio paucae sunt: vicis plurimum habitatur, domibus ex creta et stramine constructis. Rex ipse (qui albo esse colore fertur) sub tentoriis degit, quorum sex millia eum sequuntur. *Amara* arx est munitissima, in monte *Amara* condita; in qua regis filii sub validissimo praesidio educantur, donec patre defuncto heres producatur.

Cap. X.

Æthiopia Exterior sive Inferior; item Insulæ Africæ adjacentes.

Reliquum Africae Æthiopia perhibetur exterior sive inferior; ab Oriente, Meridie et Occidente Oceano perfusa; à Septemtrione quasi duobus brachiis Abissinorum imperium hinc inde complectitur.

Regiones, in quas dividitur, sunt *Congi*, *Monomotapa*, *Zangibar* et *Ajan*. Pleraque maritimorum à Portugalensibus tenentur firmissimis munimentis ac praesidiis.

Congi Regnum.

Congi regnum (quod alliis *Manicongo*) Oceano Æthiopico perfusum, nomen habet à capite suo urbe *Congi*. Incolae sunt Christiani. Terra ipsa fluminum aquis maxime rigua. Dividitur in provincias sex; quas illi *Mani*, id est, Praefecturas, vocant. Sunt autem *Bamba*, *Songo*, *Sundi*, *Pango*, *Batta* et *Pemba*. Regia est, civitas S. Salvatoris, quae ante *Banza*.

Monomotapa Regnum.

Monomotapa vocabulum significat Imperatorem; unde ipsi terrae, cui hic imperat, nomen inditum. Solum est fertile atque amœnum; amnes aurum, silvae elephantos magna copia producunt:

Clauditur regnum ab Ortu, Meridie et Occasu Oceano; à Septemtrione regno *Congi*, Abissinorum imperio et regione *Zangibar*. Longitudo ejus est inter duo maria Rubrum Æthiopicumque juxta Lunae montes milliar. German. cccc. Latitudo inter Nili fontes et promontorium Bonae Spei mill. ccc.

Caput regni ac sedes regum est *Monomotapa*, ad flumen S. Spiritus. Hinc versus Septemtrionem mill. circiter L. distat nobile aedificium, suche, shoulde be to roughe, and daungerous for them, and that they should be an empeiryng of strength. Musique they doe not onely compte vnprofitable, but also hurteful: as making mens courages altogether womanlyke. When they are sicke, they heale themselues, eyther with fasting or vomiting: and that either euery eche other daye, or euery third daye, or fourthe. For they are of opinion that all diseases growe of superfluite of meate, and that kinde of cure therfore to be beste, that riddeth the grounde of the griefe. Men goyng to the warres, or traueil, lyng the countrie, are healed of free cost. For the Phisicens and Chirurgiens, haue a stipende allowed them of ordenary at the charge of the communes.

In curing, they are bounde to folowe the preceptes of the auncient and allowed writers, regestred in their holy scripture.

amplum atque antiquum, quadra forma ex ingentibus saxis constructum.

Zangibar et Ajan.

Monomotapae, qua Rubro mari perfunditur, continuatur *Zangibar* regio; cujus partes, *Cafares* populi, Monomotapae proximi, et regna *Mozambike*, *Kiloa*, *Mombaza* ac *Melinde*, ab urbibus singulis denominata; quarum *Mozambike* in insula condita, celeberrimum est Europaeis mercatoribus emporium. Sequitur versus Septemtrionem juxta litus maris Rubri *Ajan* regio, cujus partes duo regna *Del* et *Adea Magaduzzo.*

Insulæ ad Africam.

Insularum ad Africam terram maxima est in Rubro mari Menuthias Cerne Plinio dicta; nunc vulgo insula Divi Laurentii, et incolis *Madagascar*, id est, Lunae insula, felici aromatum proventu dives, longitudine mill. German. CCL, lat. LXXX occupans.

At in Atlantico Oceano contra Hesperium promontorium, quod nunc est *Cabo Verde*, Hesperides sunt insulae duae; ultraque Gorgades, Gorgonum quondam domus: nunc in universam *Islas de C. Verde* Hispanis dicuntur, hoc est insulae promontorii Viridis. Contra Mauritanium sunt Fortunatae, VII numero, quarum una Canaria vocitata, à multitudine canum ingentis magnitudinis, ut auctor est Plinius. Vnde universae Fortunatae, nunc Canariae dicuntur, Hispaniarum Regi subjectae. Vltra versus Septemtrionem est Cerne, nunc *Madera* dicta.

Atque haec est totius Africae brevis descriptio.

Yf a man folowing the prescripte of the scriptures can not so heale ye sicke, he is not blamed for that: But yf he fortune to heale him by any other meanes then is in the scripture appoincted, he dieth for it. For the lawe giuer thoughte that it was harde to finde a bettre waye of curyng, then that ye which of suche antiquitie was by longe practise founde oute and allowed, and deliuered vnto them by suche a continuaunce. The Egiptians do worship aboue measure certeine beastes, not onely whilest they be onliue,[*] but also when they are dead. As the Catte, the Icneumon the dogge, the hauke, the woulfe, the Cocodrille, and many other like. They are not onely not ashamed to professe the worship of these openly, but setting them selues out in the honouring of them to the vttermoste: they compte it asmuch praise and glory to them selues, as yf they bestowed the like on the Goddes. And they go about on procession with the propre Images of them, from citie, to citie, and from place, to place; holding them vp and shewing them a farre of vnto other, which fall on their knees, and euery one worship them. When any one of them dieth, they couer it with Sarcenet, and houling, and crieng, and beating of their breastes they all to bestrawe the carckesse with salte. And after they haue embalmed it with the licour of the Cedre and other fragraunt oyntmentes, and oyles, to preserue it the longer: thei bewrye it in holy sepulture. If a man haue slayne any of these beastes willingly: he is codempned to death. But yf he haue slaine an catte or a snyte,[†] willingly or vnwillingly: the people ronneth vpon him vppon heapes, and withoute all ordre of Iustice or lawe, in moste miserable wise torment him to death. Vpon feare of the which daungier who soeuer espieth one of those lyeng dead: standing a farre, he howleth and crieth professing that he is not giltie of ye death. These beastes with great attendaunce and chardge are kept vp aboute the cloistres of the Temple, by men of no meane reputation: whiche fiede them with floure and otemeale, and diuers deinties, sopped and stieped in milke. And they set euery daie before them goose, bothe sodden and rosted. And before those that delight al in raw meate they sette birdes and rawe foules.

---

[*] I have never met with this form of the word.

[†] A snipe, from the Saxon **snyta**,

> "Greene-plover, snyte,
> Partridge, larke, cocke, and phessant."
>
> *Heyw. Engl. Trav.*, Act i., Scene ii.

Finally as I said they kiepe them all with great diligence and coste. They lament their death asmoche as the death of their owne children, and bury them more sumptuously then their substance doth stretch. In so moche that Ptolomeus Lagus reigning in Egipt, when there chaunced a cowe to die in Memphis for very age: he that had taken charge of the kepyng of her, bestowed vpon the buriall of her (beside a greate some of mony that was giuen him for the keping) fiftie talentes of siluer, that he borowed of Ptolome. Peraduenture these thynges will seme vnto some men to wondreful: but he wil wondre asmoche yf he considre what communely is done emonge euery of the Egiptians in the funeralle of their deade.

When any man is departed his lyfe, all his niere friendes and kindesfolke, throwing dirte vpon their heades, go wieping and wailing rounde about the citie vntle the Corps be buried. And in the meane season they neyther bathe, ne drincke wine, or eate any meate, but that that is most base and vile, ne weare any apparell that is gorgeous or faire. They haue thre sortes of Sepulchres, Sumptuous, meane, and basse. In the firste sorte they bestowe a talente of siluer. Aboute the seconde, twenty Markes, and aboute the thirde litle or nothing. There be certaine Pheretrers,* whose facultie it is to sette forthe burialles, whiche learne it of their fathers and teache it their children. These when a funeral happeneth, make vnto him that is doer for the deade, an estimate of the exequies in writing, whiche the doer may at his pleasure enlarge or make lesse. When thei are ones fallen at appoyncte, the bodye is deliuered to the Pheretrer to bee enterred accordyng to the rate that they agreed vpon. Then the bodie beyng laied foorthe, commeth the Phereters chiefe cutter, and he appoincteth his vndrecutter a place on the side haulfe of the paunche, wher to make incision, and how large. Then he with a sharpe stone (whiche of the country fro whence it commeth, they call Ethiopicus) openeth the left side as farre as the lawe permitteth. And streight with all spiede ronneth his way from the company standing by, which curse him and reuile him and throwe many stones aftre him. For they thincke there yet remaineth a certeine hatred due vnto him that woundeth the body of their frinde. Those that are the seasoners and embalmers of the body (whome they calle poulderers) they haue in greate honour and estimacion, for that they haue familiarite with the priestes, and entre the temples together with them. The bodye nowe commen to their handes, one emong all (the reste standing by) vnlaceth the entrailes, and draweth them out at the foresaid incision, all sauing the kidneis, and the harte These entrailes are taken by another at his hande, and wasshed in wine of the country Phenicea, wherin are enfused many soote* odours and drugges. Then enoincte they the whole bodye ouer, firste with Cedre, and then with other oynctementes. xxx. daies and aboue. Then do thei ceare it ouer with Mirrhe and Cinamome and suche other thinges as wil not onely preserue it to continuaunce, but also make it soote smelling. The Corps thus being trimmed, is deliuered to ye kindesfolke of ye deade, euery parte of it kepte so whole (not an heare of his browes or eye liddes being hurte) y^t^ it raither lieth like one being in sliepe then like a dead corpse. Before ye body be enterred, ye kindesfolke of the deade signifie to the iudges, and the friendes of this passed, ye day of ye burial. Whiche (according to the maner then vsed) thei terme the deades passaige ouer the mere. The maner wherof is this.

---

* Query, *ferretrers*, carriers.

The iudges, aboue. xl. in nomber, sittinge on the farther side of the mere, on a compassed benche wheling haulfe rounde and ye people standing about them: The bodie is put into a litle boate made for the nones, and drawen ouer to the iudges by a chorde. The body then standing before the iudges in the sight of the people, before it be cofred, if ther be any manne that haue aught to saye against the dead, he is permitted by the lawe. Yf any be proued to haue liued euyll, the iudges geue sentence that the bodye shall not be buried. And who so is founde vniustelye to haue accused, suffreth greate punyshemente therfore. When no manne wyll accuse, or he that accused is knowen to haue slaunderously done it, the kinsfolke endyng their mournyng: tourne them selues now to the prayse of ye dead, nothing aftre the maner of the Grecians, for that the Egiptians thinke themselues all to be gentlemen alike. But beginnyng at his childehode, in the whiche thei reherse his bringing vp, nourtering and scholyng, thei passe to his mannes age, their commending his godlines, his iustice, his temperaunce, and the residewe of his vertues. And calling vpon the vndre earthe, goddes, they beseche them to place him emonge the godlye and good. To the which wordes all the whole multitude crieth Amen: showtyng oute, and magnifieng the glorye of the deade, as thoughe they shoulde be with the vnder earth goddes, among ye blessed for euer. This done euery man burieth his dead, some in Sepulchres made for the purpose, and other that haue no suche preparacion, in their strongest wall at home in their house, setting vp ye cofre ther tabernacle wyse. But they that for some offence, or debte of enterest, or suche like, are denied their bewriall, are sette vp at home without any cofre, vntle their successours growyng to abilite canne dischardge their debtes and offences, and honourably bewrie them.

---

* Sweet.

"They dauncen deftly, and singen soote,
In their merriment."
Spenser's Hobbinol's Dittie, Sheph. Kal,. Apr. iii.

There is a maner emong them, sometyme to borowe money vpon their parentes corpses, deliueryng the bodies to the creditours in pledge. And who so redemeth theim not, ronneth into vtter infamie, and is at his death, denied his bewriall. A manne (not altogether causeles) mighte merueile, that thei could not be contente to constitute lawes for the framyng of the maners of those that are onliue, but also put ordre for the exequies, and Hearses of the deade. But the cause why thei bent them selues so much hervnto, was for that thei thought ther was no better waie possible, to driue men to honestie of life. The Grekes, which haue set furthe so many thynges in fained tales, and fables of Poetes (farre aboue credite) concernyng the rewarde of the good, and punishment of the euill: could not with all their deuices, drawe men to vertue, and withdrawe them from vices. But rather contrariwise, haue with them that be leudely disposed: broughte all together in contempte and derision. But emong the Egiptians, the punishemente due vnto the wicked and lewed, and the praise of the godlie and good, not heard by tales of a tubbe,* but sene daiely at the eye: putteth both partes in remembraunce what behoueth in this life, and what fame and opinion thei shall leaue of them selues, to their posteritie. And hervppon it riseth, that euery man gladly emong them, ensueth good ordre of life. And to make an ende of Thegiptians, me siemeth those Lawes are of very righte to be compted the beste, whiche regarde not so muche to make the people riche, as to aduance them to honestie and wisedome, where riches of necessitie must folowe.

---

* Swift took the title of his well-known book from this old expression. It appears in Bale's "Comedye Concerning Three Laws," compiled in 1538:

> "Ye say they follow your law,
> And vary not a shaw,
> Which is a tale of a tub."

¶ The vj. Chapitre.

¶ Of the Poeni, and thother peoples of Aphrique.

OF the Penois there are many and sondrie nacions. Adrimachidæ lieng toward Egipte, are like of maners to Thegiptians, but their apparell is like to the other Penois. Their wiues haue vpon eche legge, a Lat houpe ofton. Thei delight in long heare, and looke what lyce it fortuneth any of them to take aboute them: thei bite theim, and throwe them awaie, the whiche propretie, thei onely of all the Poeni haue. As also to present their maidens that are vpon mariage, to the kyng, whiche choosyng emong them the maiden that liketh hym beste, sieketh in her lappe, that aftre can neuer bee founde. The Nasamones (a greate and a terrible nacion, spoilers of suche Shippes as fortune to be throwen vpon the Sandes in the streightes) owarde Sommer, leauyng their cattle vpon the Sea coaste, goe doune into the plaine countrie to gather Dates, whiche are there very faire, and in greate plentie. Thei gather the boughes with the fruicte, not yet perfectely ripe, and laie them a Sonnyng to ripe. Afterward thei stiepe theim in Milke, and make soupinges and potages of theim. It is the maner emong theim, for euery man to haue many wiues: and the felowship of their wiues, that other vse in secrete : thei vse in open sighte, in maner aftre the facion that the Massagetes vse. It is also the maner of the Nasamones, when any man marieth his first wife, to sende her about to euery one of the ghestes, to offer hym her body. And asmany as receiue her into armes, and shewe her the curtesie she comes for, must giue her some gifte, whiche she hath borne with her, home to her house. Their maner of takyng an othe, and foreshewyng of thinges to come, is thus.

Thei sweare by the menne that ware (by reporte) the best and moste iuste men emong them, layeng their handes on their Graues, or Tumbes. But for the fore knowledge of thynges, thei come to the Graues of their kyndreade, and there when thei haue praied their stinte, laye them doune vpon them to slepe: and loke what thei dreame, that doe thei folowe. Where in confirmyng of our promise, we vse to strike handes (as we calle it) thei vse to drincke one to another: or elles if thei lacke liquour, to take duste fro the earth, and one to licke part of that to another. The Garamantes shonne the felowship and the sighte of all other peoples, and neither vse any kinde of weapon, or armour, ne yet dare defende them selues against other that vsed them. They dwell somwhat aboue the Nasamones, more vp londe. Aboute the sea coaste towarde the weste, ther bordereth vpon them the Maces: whiche shaue their heades in the crowne, and clyppe them rounde by the sides. The Gnidanes (nexte neighbours to the Maces) when they giue battaylle to the ostruthes, their brieding vnder the grounde, are armed with rawe felles of beastes. Their women ware prety wealtes of leather, euery one a greate manye whiche (as it is sayde) they begge of suche menne as haue lien with them. So that the moe she hath, the more she is estemed, as a deinty derling beloued of many. The Machlies dwelling aboute the mershe of Tritonides, vse to shaue their fore parte of their heade, and the Anses their hindre parte. The maydens of the Anses, at the yerely feastes of Minerua, in the honoure of the goddesse their country woman: deuiding them selues into two companies, vse to giue battaile, one parte to another with staues, and with stones: sayeng that thei obserue the maner of their country in the honour of her that we calle Minerua. And the maiden that departeth the battayle without wounde, thei holde her for no maide. But before ther battayle be fought, they determine that what mayden so euer beareth her selfe mooste valeaunte in the fielde, all the other maydens with commune consente shall garnishe her, and arme her, both with the armour of Grecia, and the helmet of Corinthe. And shal sette her in a chariot, and carye her rounde about the mershe. The same menne vsen their women as indifferently commune, as kyen to the bulle. The children remaine with the women vntil they be of some strengthe. Ones in a quartre the men do assemble wholy together, and then looke with whome the childe fantasieth mooste to abide, him do they cōpte for his father.

There is a people named Atlantes, of the mounte Athlas, by the whiche they dwell. These giue no names one to another as other peoples do, but echeman is namelesse. When the sonne passeth ouer their heades, they curse him, and reuyle him with all woordes of mischiefe: for that he is so broiling hote, that he destroieth bothe them and ther countrye.

They eate of no kinde of beaste, neither dreame in their sliepe. The Aphres (whice are all brieders of catteile) liue with flesshe and milke, and yet absteine they fro cowes milke, and all cowe fleshe, according to the maner of the Egiptians, and therefore kepe they none vp. The women of Cyrene thincke it not lawfull to strike a cowe, for Isis sake that is honoured in Egipt, to whome also they appoincte fasting, and feastefull daies, and obserue them solempnly. But the women of Barcea absteine bothe from cowe fleshe and sowe flesh. When their children are iiii. yeare olde they vse to cauterise them on the coron* vaine (and some on the temple also with a medecine for that purpose, made of woolle as it is plucked fro the shiepe: because thie should not at any time be troubled with rheumes or poses,† and by that meanes they say they liue in very good health. Thei sacrifie after this maner. When in the name of their firste frutes they haue cutte of the eare of the beaste, they throwe it ouer the house. That done, they wring the necke on the one side. Of all the goddes they offre sacrifice to no more but Sonne and Mone. All the Aphres burye their deade as the Grecians doe, sauing the Nasamones, which bury them as thoughe they ware sitting: wayting well when any man lieth in drawing on, to set him on his taile, leaste he should giue vp the ghoste lieng vpright. Their houses are made of wickers, and withes, wrought aboute trees, moch like vnto those that we calle frankencence trees, and in suche sorte that they may tourne them rounde euery waye. The Maries, shaue the lefte side of their heade, and lette the heare growe on the right. They die their bodie in redde, and vaunte that they come of the Troianes. The women of the Zabiques (which are the next neighbours to the Maries) driue the cartes in the warres, in the which the men fight. Ther are a people called Zigantes, wher beside the great plentye of hony that they gather fro the Bies, they haue also certeine men that are makers of honye. They all die them selues with red, and eate apes fleshe, wherof thei that dwel in the mounteines haue great plentye. These al being of the part called Libye, liue for the moste parte a wilde lyfe abrode in the fieldes like beastes, making no household prouision of meate, ne wearing any maner of appareil but gotes felles. The gentlemen, and men of honour emong them, haue neither cities nor townes, but Turrettes builte vpon the waters side, in the which they laye vp the ouerplus of that that they occupy. They sweare their people euery yere to obeye their Prince, and that they that 'obey in diede, shoulde loue together as felowes and companions: but that the disobediente shoulde be pursued like felons and traitours. Their armour and weapon, are bothe acording to the nature of the country and contrimen: for wher thei of themselues are very quicke, and deliure* of bodye, and the country champaigne, and playne, they neither vse swearde, dagger, ne harneis, but onely cary thre Iauelines in their hande, and a nombre of piked and chosen stones, in a case of stiffe leather hanging aboute them. With these they vse bothe to fight and to skirmishe. In his coming towarde the ennemy, he throweth his stone, fetching his ronne, and maketh lightlye a narowe mysse, thoughe it be a good waye of: suche continuall practise they haue of it. They kiepe neither lawe ne faithe.

---

* Query, frontal.

† A local name for a cold in the head. (See N. Bailey's Dict., vol. i.)

The Troglodites (whiche are also named of the Grecians pastours, for their fieding and brieding of catteille) a people of Ethiope, do lyue in companies, and haue their heade ouer them, whome they call Tiraunte. But not meaninge in him so much tirany in diede, as some time some of our gouernours vnder a fayrer name do execute. None of them hathe any seuerall wife, and therfore no seueral children, but bothe those in commune, the tiraunte excepted: Who hathe but one wyfe onely. To the which yf any manne do but approach or drawe nighe: he is condempned in a certeine nombre of cattaile to be paied to the Tiraunte. From ye beginning of Iuly vntle about middle August (at ye which time thei haue great plenty of raine) thei nourishe them selues with milke, and bloude, sodden a litle together. The pasture vplond being, dried away with the heate of the Sonne: They sieke downe to the marshe, and lowe groundes, for the whiche onely they be often at debate. When their catteil waxeth olde or sicke, they kyll them, and eate them, and altogether liue vpon such. They do not giue the childe the name of the father, but name him aftre a bull, a rambe or an eawe. And those call thei father (the beastes I meane of the masle kinde) and thother of the femel kynde, they call mother, because their daily fode is giuen by them. The people called Idiote, vse foɹ their drincke the iuyce of a whinne named Paliurus. But the men of worshyp and gentlemen vse the iuce of a certeine floure they haue emonge them, whiche maketh drincke moche like the worste of ye Renishe muste. And because thei cary great droues of catteile with them, theychaunge their soile often. Their bodies are all naked, sauing their priuities, whiche they hide with felles of beastes. All the Troglodites are circumcised aftre the maner of the Egiptians, sauing only the Claudians: whiche they so terme of claudicacion or limping. They onely, dwellinge from their childe hode within the country of the Hesternes, are not touched with rasour or knife. The Troglodites that are called Magaueres, carye for theyr armour and weapon, a rounde buckler of a rawe oxe hide, and a clubbe shodde with yron. Other haue bowes, and Iauelines. As for graues or places of buriall, they passe not. For they binde the heade, and the fiete of the dead together with witthes of Paliurus, and then setting it vp vpon some hilly place, haue a good sporte to all to bethwacke it with stones, vntle they lie heaped ouer the corps. Then laye they a goates horne on the toppe and departe, biddinge sorrowe go plaie him. They warre one with another, not as the Griekes vpon rancour and Ambicion, but onely for foode sake. In their skirmishes, firste they go to it with stones, as afore ye haue hearde, vntle it fortune some nombre to be hurte. Then occupieng the bowe (wherin they are very sure handed) thei kille one another vpon hepes. Those battayles are attoned by the women of mooste auncient age. For when they be ones comen into the middle emong them (as they maye do withoute harme, for that is compted abhominacion in any wise to hurte one of them) the battaille sodenly ceaseth. They that are nowe so fiebled with age, that they can no longer followe the heard: winding the tayle of an oxe aboute their throte choke vp and die. But he that differreth to rydde him selfe in this sorte: It is laweful for another (aftre a warninge) to doe it. And it is there compted a friendly benefaicte. Men also diseased of feures, oranye other incurable malady, they doe in lyke maner dispatche: iudginge it of all griefes the woorste, for that manne to liue, that canne nowe nothinge doe, why he shoulde desyre to lyue. Herodote writeth, that the Troglodites myne them selues caues in the grounde, wherin to dwell. Men not troubled with anye desire of riches, but raither giuing them selues to wilfull pouertie. They glory in nothing but in one litle stone, wherin appere thre skore sondry colours: which we therfore calle Exaconthalitus. They eate sondry kindes of venemous vermyne. And speake any distincte worde they cannot, but sieme rather to busse or thurre betwene thetiethe, then to speake.

---

* Nimble.

"All of them being tall, quicke, and deliver persons."
Hollinshed, vol. ii., ccc. 5.

There is another people dwelling in that Ethiope that lyeth aboue Egipte, called Ryzophagi, whiche bestowe muche time in digging vp of the rootes of Riedes growing niere aboute them, and in wasshing and clensing of the same, whiche afterward they bruse betwixt stones till thei become clammie, and so makes wiete cakes of them, muche facioned like a brick a hande broade. Those bake thei by the Sonne, and so eate them. And this kinde of meate onely, serueth them all their life tyme plentifully and enough, and neuer waxeth fulsome vnto theim. Thei neuer haue warre one with another, but with Lions, whiche comyng out of the deserte there, partly for shadowe, and partly for to praie vpon smaller beastes, doe oftymes wourie diuers of the Aethiopes, comyng out of the Fennes. In so muche that that nation had long sences bene vttrely destroied by the Lions, excepte nature of purpose, had shewed them her aide. For toward the dogge daies, there come into that coaste, infinite swarmes of Gnattes, without any drifte of winde to enforce them. The men then flieng to the fennes, are not harmed by them. But thei driue the Lions with their stingyng and terrible buszyng, cleane out of that quartre. Next vpon these, bordre the Ilophagi and Spermatophagi, the one iuynge by suche fruicte as falleth from the trees, in Sommer, and the residew of the yere by suche herbes as thei picke vp in the shadowed groundes. The other, the Ilophagi, siekynge to the plaines with their wiues and their children, climbe trees, and gather, eate, and cary home: the tendre croppes and buddes of the boughes. And thei haue by continualle practise, suche a nimblenes in climbyng, that (a wondrefull thynge to be spoken) thei wille leape from boughe to boughe, and tree to tree like Cattes or Squirelles, and by reason of their slendrenes and lightenes, wille mounte vp on braunches and twigges, without daunger or hurte. For thoughe their fiete slippe, yet hange thei faste by the handes: and if thei bothe faile theim, yet falle thei so light, that thei be harmelesse.

These folkes go naked, and hold their wiues and children in commune. Emong them selues they fighte for their places without weapon: but against foreiners with staues. And wheare thei ouercome, there chalenge thei Lordeshippe. Thei communely dye for hongre, when their sight faileth them: whiche was their onely instrumente to finde their foode. The residewe of the countrie there aboute, do those Aethiopians holde, which are named Cynecy, not very many in nombre, but muche differing in life from the rest. For their Countrie beyng wooddie, and wilde, fulle of thicquettes, and skante of watre, thei are forced by night, for feare of wilde beastes, to slepe in trees: and toward the mornyng, all weaponed together, to drawe doune to the waters, wher thei shroude them selues into couert, and so abide close till the heate of the daie. At the whiche tyme the Bugles, Pardales, and other greate beastes, what for the heate, and what for thriste, flocke toguether to the watres. Assone as thei haue druncken, and haue well laden their beallies with watre, the Ethiopes startynge out vpon them with stakes, sharpened and hardened in the fire, and with stones, and with arrowes, and suche like weapon, at this aduauntage, slea them vpon heapes, and deuide the carkesses by compaignies to be eaten. And sometyme it happeneth that thei theim selues are slaine by some beast of force, howbeit very seldome. For thei euer by their pollicies and traines, doe more damage to the beastes, then the beastes can doe vnto them. If at any time thei lacke the bodies of the beastes, then take thei the rawe hides of suche as thei lateliest before had slaine, and clensyng them cleane fro the heare, thei sokynglie laie them to a softe fire, and when thei be throughly hette, deuide them emong the compaignie, whiche very griedely fille themselues of them.

They exercise their children whilest thei be boies, to throw the darte at a sette marke, and he that hitteth not the marke receiueth no meate. By the whiche maner of trainyng, hongre so worketh in the boies that thei become excellente darters.

The Acridophagie (a people borderyng vpon the deaserte) are somewhat lower of stature then the residewe, leane, and exceding blacke. In the Spring time, the Weste, and Southwest winde, bringeth vnto them out of the Deaserte, an houge nombre of Locustes, whiche are of verie greate bodie, and of wynge very filthily coloured. The Ethiopians well accustomed with their maner of flighte and trade, gather together into a long slade betwixte two hilles, a great deale of rubbeshe and mullocke, from places nighe hande, apte for fingry, and the grasse and all wiedes there aboute. And laieng it ready in heapes aforehande, a long the slade, when thei see the Locustes come with the winde like cloudes in the aire, thei set al on fire, and so swelte theim in the passing ouer, that thei bee skante full out of the slade, but thei fall to the grounde in suche plentie, that thei be to all the Acridophagi, a sufficient victuallyng. For thei poudre them with salte (wherof the countrie hath plentie) and so continually from yere to yere, liue by none other foode. For thei neither haue any kinde of catteille, ne fisshe can haue, beyng so farre fro the sea. And this maner of meate siemeth to theim, verie pleasaunte and fine.

Of bodie thei are very lighte, swifte of foote, and shorte liued as not passyng xl. yeres, he that liueth longest. Their ende is not more incredible, then it is miserable. For when their drawe into age, their briedeth a kinde of winghed lice in their bodies, of diuers colours, and very horrible, and filthie to beholde: whiche firste eate out their bealies, and then their brest, and so the whole body in a litle space. He that hath this disease, first as thoughe he had on hym some tickelyng ytche, all to beskratcheth his bodie with suche pleasure, as is also mingled with some smart, And within a litle while aftre, when the lyce beginne to craule, and the bodie beginneth to mattre, enraged with the bittrenes and grief of the disease, he teareth and mangleth his whole bodie with his nailes, putting furth in the mean while many a greuous grone. Then gussheth there out of hym, suche aboundaunce of lice, that a manne would thinke they had bene barelled in his body: and that the barel now broken, the swarme plomped out. And by this meanes, whether throughe the enfectious aire, or the corrupcion of their fieding, thei make a miserable ende.

Vpon the Southe border of Affrike, dwell there menne called of the Grekes Cynnamie, and of their neighbours Sauluages: Bearded, and that with aboundaunce of heare. Thei kiepe for the saufegarde of their liues, greate compaignies of wilde Mastiues: for that from midde Iune, till midde Winter, there entreth into their countrie, an innumerable sorte of Kine of Inde. Whether thei flie thether to saue them selues from other beastes, or come to sieke pasture, or by some instincte of nature vnknowen to manne, it is vncertaine. Against these, when the menne of their owne force, are not able to resist: thei defende themelues by the helpe of their dogges, and take many of htem. Whereof thei eate parte whilest thei are freshe, and parte reserue thei in pouldre, for their aftre niede. Thei eate also many other kindes of beastes, whiche thei hunt with their dogges.

The laste of all the Affriens Southewarde, are the Ichthiophagi. A people borderyng vpon the Troglodities, in the Goulfe called Sinus Arabicus: whiche vnder the shape of man, liue the life of beastes. Thei goe naked all their life time, and make compte of their wiues and their children in commune. Thei knowe none other kindes of pleasure or displeasure, but like vnto beastes, suche as thei fiele: neither haue thei any respecte to vertue, or vice, or any discernyng betwixte goode or badde. Thei haue litle Cabanes not farre from the Sea, vpon the clieues sides: where nature hath made greate carfes, diepe into the grounde, and hollowe Guttres, and Criekes into the maigne lande, bowting and compayng in and out, to and fro, many sondrie waies. Whose entringes thenhabitauntes vse to stoppe vp with great heapes of calion and stones, whereby the criekes serue them now in the steade of nettes. For when the sea floweth (which happeneth there twise in the daye, aboute the houres of thre, and of nyne) the water swelleth so highe, that it ouerfloweth into the maygne shore, and filleth those crieques with the sea. And the fisshe folowing the tide, and dispersinge them selues abrode in ye maigne londe to seeke their foode: at the ebbe when the water withdraweth, retiring together with it alway to the dieper places, and at laste remaining in these gutters and crieques, they are stopped in with the stone heapes, and at the lowe water lye drie. Then come the enhabitauntes with wyfe and children, take them, and laye them oute vpon the rocques against the midday sonne, wher, with ye broiling heate of the same, they be within a while skorches and parched. Then do they remoue them, and with a litle beating separate the fysshe fro the bones. Then put they the fisshe into the hollowes of the rocques, and beat it to pomois, minglinge therewith the side of the whynne Paliurus. And so facion it into lumpes muche like a bricke, but somewhat longer. And when they haue taken them againe a litle by the sonne, they sitte them downe together, and eate by the bealy.

Of this haue thei alway in store, accordinge to the plenty that Neptune gyueth them. But when by the reason of tempest the sea ouerfloweth these places aboue his naturall course, and tarieth longer then his wonte, so that they can not haue this benefight of fisshing, and their store is all spent: they gather a kynde of great shelle fysshe, whose shelles they grate open with stones, and eate the fisshe rawe, in taste muche like to an oyster. If it fortune this ouerflowing by the reason of the winde, to continue longe, and their shellefysshe to fayle them: then haue they recours to the fysshebones (which they do of purpose reserue together in heapes) and when thei haue gnabeled of the softest and gristely partes with their tiethe, of those that are newest and beste, they beate the harder with stones into pieces, and eate them. Thei eate as I haue said in the wilde field together abrode, reioicing with a semblaunte of merinesse, and a maner of singyng full vntuned. That done they falle vppon their women, euen as they come to hande withoute any choyse: vtterly voide of care, by reason they are alwaye sure of meate in good plentye.

Thus foure daies euer continual, busied with this bealy bownsing chiere, the v. daie thei flocke together to go drincke, al on a droue, not vnlike to a heard of kiene to the waters, shouting as they go with an Yrishe whobub. And when they haue dronke till their bealies stonde a strutte, so that they are skant able to retourne: euerye bodie layes him downe dronckardelike to reste his water bolne bealy, and that daye eateth nothing. The next daye agayne they fall to their fyshing: And so passe they their lyfe continually.

Thei seldome falle into any diseases, for that they are alway of so vniforme diete. Neuerthelesse they are shorter lyued then we are. Theyr nature not corrupted by any perswasion taken of other, compteth the satisfieng of hongre, the greatest pleasure in the world. As for other extraordenary pleasures, they seke them not. This is the maner of liuing propre vnto them that lye within the bosome of the sayde Arabique sea. But the maner of them that dwell without the bosome, is moche more merueilous. For thei neuer drinke ne neuer are moued with any passion of the mynde. These beynge as it ware by fortune throwen oute into the desertes, farre from the partes miete to be enhabited, giue them selues altogether to fyshing, which they eate haulfe rawe. Not for to auoyde thirste (for they desire no moyste thynges) but rather of a nature sauluage and wilde, contented with such victualle as commeth to hande. They compte it a principall blessednes to be withoute hose thinges what so euer they be, that bringe sorowe or griefe to their hauers. Thei are reported to be of such patience, that though a manne strike them with a naked sweard, thei will not shonne him, or flye from him. Beate them, or do theim wronge, and they onely wil looke vppon you, neither shewinge token of wrathe, nor countenaunce of pitie. Thei haue no maner of speache emong them: But onely shewe by signes of the hande, and nodding with the heade, what they lacke, and what they would haue. These people with a whole consent, are mayntayners of peace towarde all men, straunger and other. The whiche maner althoughe it be wondrefull, they haue kept time oute of mynde. Whether throughe longe continuance of custome, or driuen by necessitie, or elles of nature: I cannot saye. They dwell not as the other Icthiophagi doe, all in one maner of cabanes, but sondry in diuers. Some haue their dennes, and their cabanes in them opening to the North: to the ende they might by that meanes be the bettre shadowed fro the sonne, and haue the colder ayre. For those that are open toward the Southe, by the reason of the greate heate of the sonne, caste forthe such a breathe, fornais like, that a manne can not come niere them. They that open towarde the Northe, builde them preaty Cabanes of the ribbes of whales (whiche in those seas they plentuously find) compassing them aboute by the sides, accordynge to their naturall bendinge, and fasteninge them together at bothe endes with some maner of tyenge. Those do they couer with the woose and the wiedes of the sea tempered together. And in these they shroude them selues fro the sonne: nature by necessitie diuising a way how to helpe and defende her selfe.

Thus haue ye hearde the lyfe of the Icthiopagi, and now remaineth there for Aprique onely the Amazones to be spoken of, which menne saye in the olde tyme dwelte in Libye. A kinde of warlike women, of greate force, and hardinesse, nothing lyke in lyfe vnto our women. The maner amonge them was to appointe to their maidens a certein space of yeres to be trayned, and exercysed in the feictes of warre. Those beynge expired, they ware ioyned to menne for yssues sake. The women bare all the rule of the commune wealthe. The women ware princes, lordes, and officiers, capiteines, and chiefteines of the warres. The menne had noughte to doe, but the drudgery at home, and as the women woulde appoincte them. The children assone as thei ware borne, were deliuered to the men to nouryshe vp with milke, and suche other thinges as their tendrenes required. If it ware a boye, they eyther brake the right arme assone as it was borne, that it mighte neuer be fytte for the warres, or slue it, or sente it oute of the countrye. If a wenche, they streighte ceared ye pappes, that thei might not growe to hindre them in the warres. Therefore the Grecians called theim Amazones, as ye woulde saie, pappelesse. The opinion is, that thei dwelt in the Ilonde named Hespera, which lieth in the marsshe, named (of a riuer that ronneth into it) Tritonis, ioyning vpon Ethiope, and the mounte Atlas, the greatest of all that lande. This Ilonde is very large and greate, hauyng plentie of diuers sortes of fruictes, whereby the enhabitauntes liue. Thei haue many flockes of shiepe, and goates, and other small catteile, whose milke and flesshe they eate. They haue no maner of graine, ne knowe what to doe therwith.

OF ASIE.

THE SECONDE PARTE.

¶ The first Chapitre.

¶ Of Asie and the peoples moste famous therin.

Asie, the seconde part of the thre wherin to we haue said that the whole erth is diuided: tooke name as some hold opinion, of the doughter of Oceanus, and Tethis, named Asia, the wife of Iaphetus, and the mother of Prometheus. Or as other affirme, of Asius, the sonne of Maneye the Lidian. And it stretcheth it self from the South, bowtyng* by the Easte into the Northe: hauyng on the West parte the two flouddes, Nilus and Tanais, and the whole Sea Euxinum, and parte of the middle earth sea. Vpon the other thre quarters, it is lysted in with the Occean, whiche where he cometh by Easte Asie, is called Eous (as ye would saie toward the dawnyng) by the South, Indicus (of the countrie named India) and aftre the name of the stoure Scithiane, vpon the northe Scythicus. The greate mounteine Taurus ronnyng East and West, and in a maner equally partyng the lande in twaine: leaueth one parte on the Northe side, called by the Grekes the outer Asie: and another on the South, named the inner Asie. This mounteine in many places is founde thre hundred lxxv. miles broade: and of length equalle with the whole countrie. About a fiue hundred thre skore and thre miles. From the coast of the Rhodes, vnto the farthest part of Inde, and Scythia Eastwarde. And it is deuided into many sondrie partes, in sondrie wise named, whereof some are larger, some lesse. This Asie is of suche a sise, as aucthorus holde opinion, that Affrike and Europe ioyned together: are scante able to matche it in greatnes. It is of a temperate heate and a fertile soile, and therefore full of all kindes of beaste, foule, and worme, and it hath in it many countries and Seignouries.

---

* Bending.

On the other side cf the redde Sea, ouer against Egipte in Affrike: lieth the tripartite region, named Arabia, whose partes are, Petrea: boundyng West and Northe vpon Siria: and right at fronte before hym Eastwarde, Deserta: and Arabia Felix by Southe. Certein writers also adioyne to Arabia: Pancheia, and Sabea. It is iudged to haue the name of Arabus, the sonne of Apollo and Babilone.

The Arabiens beyng a greate people, and dwellyng very widn and brode: are in their liuyng very diuers, and as sondrie ie religion. Thei vse to go with long heare vnrounded and forked cappes, somewhat mitre like, all aftre one sorte, and their beardes partie shauen. Thei vse not as we doe, to learne faculties and sciences one of another by apprenticehode, but looke what trade the father occupied, the same doeth the sonne generally applie himself to, and continue in. The mooste aunciente and eldest father that can be founde in the whole Countrie, is made their Lorde and Kyng. Looke what possessions any one kindrede hath, the same be commune to all those of that bloude: Yea one wife serueth theim all. Wherefore he that cometh firste into the house, laieth doune his falchion before the dore, as a token that the place is occupied. The seniour of the stocke enioieth her alnight. Thus be thei all brethren and sistren one to another, throughout the whole people. Thei absteine fro the embrasinges neither of sister ne mother, but all degrees are in that poinct as indifferent to them, as to beastes of the fieldes. Yet is adulterie death emong them. And this is adulterie there: to abandon the bodie to one of another kindred. And who so is by suche an ouerthwarte begotten: is iudged a bastard, and otherwise not. Thei bancquet not lightly together, vndre the nombre of thirtie persones. Alwaie foresene that, two of the same nombre at the leaste, be Musicens. Waiters haue thei none, but one kinsman to minister to another, and one to helpe another. Their tounes and cities are wallesse, for thei liue quietly and in peace one with another. Thei haue no kinde of oyle, but that whiche is made of Sesama, but for all other thynges, thei are most blessed with plentie. They haue Shiepe greater than Kien, and verie white of woulle. Horses haue thei none, ne none desire, for that their Chamelles in al niedes serue them as well. Thei haue siluer and golde plentie, and diuerse kindes of spices, whiche other countries haue not. Laton, Brasse, Iron, Purple, Safron, the precious rote costus, and all coruen woorkes, are brought into theim by other. Thei bewrie their kyng in a donghille, for other thei wille skante take so muche laboure. There is no people that better kiepeth their promise and couenaunt, then thei doe, and thus thei behight it.

When thei wille make any solempne promise, couenaunte, or league, the two parties commyng together, bryng with them a thirde, who standyng in the middes betwixte theim bothe, draweth bloude of eche of them, in the palme of the hande, along vndre the rote of the fingres, with a sharpe stone: and then pluckyng from eche of their garmentes a little iaggue,* he ennoyncteth with that bloude seuen other stones, lyeng ready betwixte theim for that purpose. And whilest he so doeth, he calleth vpon the name of Dionisius and Vrania, whom thei accompte emong the nombre of goddes, reuengers of faithelesse faithes. This done, he that was the sequestrer of the couenaunte become thsuretie for the parties. And this maner of contracte, he that standeth moste at libertie, thinketh miete to be kepte.

Thei haue no firynge but broken endes and chippes of Myrrhe, whose smoke is so vnwholsome, that excepte thei withstode the malice therof with the perfume of Styrax, it would briede in them vncurable diseases. The Cinamome whiche groweth emong theim, none gather but the priestes. And not thei neither, before thei haue sacrificed vnto the goddes. And yet further thei obserue, that the gatheryng neither beginne before the Sonne risyng, ne continue aftre the goyng doune. He that is lorde and gouernour emong them, when the whole gather is brought together, deuideth out vnto euery man his heape with a Iauelines ende, whiche thei haue ordinarily consecrate for that purpose. And emongest other, the Sonne also hath a heape deuided out for hym, whiche (if the deuision be iuste) he kindeleth immediatly with his owne beames, and brenneth into asshes. Some of the Arabiens that are pinched with penurie, without all regard of body, life, or helth, doe eate Snakes, and Addres, and suche like vermine, and therefore are called of the Grekes Ophyophagi.

---

* A small piece.

The Arabiens named Nomades, occupie much Chamelles, bothe in warre and burden, and all maner cariage, farre and nighe. The floude that ronneth alonge their bordes, hathe in it as it ware limall of golde in great plentie. Whiche they neuertheles for lacke of knowledge do neuer fine into masse.

Another people of Arabia named Deboe, are for the great parte shepemasters, and brieders. Parte of them notwithstanding, occupie husbandrie, and tilthe. These haue suche plentie of gold, that oftetimes emong the cloddes in the fieldes thei finde litle peables of golde as bigge as akecornes, whiche thei vse to set finely with stones, and weare for owches aboute their necke and armes, with a very good grace. They sell their golde vnto their borderers for the thirde parte of Laton, or for the halfe parte of siluer. Partly for that they nothing estieme it, and specially for the desire of the thinges that foreiners haue. Nexte vnto them lie the Sabeis, whose riches chiefely consisteth in encence, Myrrhe and Cinamome, howbeit some holde opinion also that Baulme groweth in some places of their borders. Thei haue also many date trees very redolente of smelle, and the roote called Calamus.

There is in that contry a kinde of serpentes lurking in the rootes of trees, of haulfe a foote lengthe, whose bitinge is for the moste parte death. The plenty of swiete odours, and sauours in those quarters, doeth verely stuffe ye smelling. And to avoyde that incommoditie, they oftentimes vse the fume of astincking gomme, and gotes heare chopped together. Ther is no man that hath to do to giue sentence vpon any case but the king. The mooste parte of the Sabeis apply husbandrie. The residewe gatheringe of spices and drugges. They sayle into Ethiope for trade of marchaundise, in barkes couered with leather. The refuse of their cinamome and Cassian they occupy for firing. Their chiefe citie is called Saba, and stondeth vpon a hyll. Their kynges succed by discente of bloude, not any one of the kindred certeine, but suche as the people haue in moste honour, be he good or be he badde. The king neuer dare be sene oute of his

Palace, for that there goeth an olde prophecie emong them of a king that shoulde be stoned to deathe of the people. And euery one feareth it shoulde lighte on him selfe. They that are about the king of the Sabeis: haue plate bothe of siluer and golde of all sortes, curiously wrought and entallied. Tables, fourmes, trestles of siluer, and all furniture of household sumptuous aboue measure. They haue also Galeries buylte vppon great pillours, whose coronettes are of golde and of siluer. Cielinges voultinges, dores and gates couered with siluer and golde, and set with precious stones: garnisshinges of yuorye, and other rare thinges whiche emong men are of price. And in this bounteous magnificence haue thei continued many yeres. For why the gredy compasse how to atteyne honoure with the vniuste rapine of other mennes goodes, that hath tombled downe headeling so many commune wealthes, neuer had place emong them. In richesse equal vnto them, are the Garrei, whose implementes of household are all of golde and siluer, and of those and yuorie together, are their portalles, their cielinges, and rophes, made. The Nabatheens of all other Arabiens are the beste husbandes, and thriftiest sparers. Their caste is wittye in winning of substaunce, but greater in kepinge it. He that appaireth the substaunce that was lefte him, is by a commune lawe punished: and contrariwise that encreaseth it, muche praysed and honoured.

The Arabiens vse in their warres swerde, bowe, launce, slinge, and battle ax. The rable of helhoundes (whom we calle Sarasines) that pestilent murreine of mankinde, came of this people. And as it is to be thoughte, at this daye the great parte of Arabia is degenerate into that name. But thei that dwell towarde Egipte, kepe yet their olde name, and lyue by butin,* like prickers of ye bordrè, wherin, the swiftenes of their camelles doeth them good seruice.

¶ The seconde Chapitre.

¶ Of Panchaia, and the maners of the Panqueis.

PAnchaia (a countrie of Arabia) is iudged of Diodore the Sicilian to be an islonde of xxv. miles brode. It hath in it thre noble cities Dalida, Hyracida, and Oceanida. The whole contrie (excepte a litle vaine of sandie grauelle) is fertile and plenteous: chiefely

---

*** Booty, from the French "Butin."**

of wine and encence. Whiche groweth ther in suche aboundaunce, that it sufficeth the whole worlde for the francke fume offeringe. There groweth also good store of Myrrhe, and diuers other redolente thinges, whiche the Panqueis gather, and selle to the merchauntes of Arabia. At whose hande other buienge them againe, transporte them into Egipte, and Sirie. And fro thence they are spred abrode to all other peoples. The Panqueis in their warres vse wagons aftre the maner of menne in olde time.

Their commune wealth is deuided into thre sondry degrees. The firste place haue the priestes, to whomeare ioyned the artificers. The seconde the houseband men. And the thirde the menne of warre: with whom the catteile maisters or brieders be coupled. The priestes are ye heades, and chiefe of all the residewe, and haue aucthoritie aswell in sentence of lawe, as to put ordre in al ciuile affaires: the sentence of deathe onely excepted.

The housebandemen, tille the grounde, and attende vpon the fruictes, and bring all into the commune store. And thei that shalbe founde moste diligente in that laboure and occupation: are chosen by the priestes (but not aboue the nombre of ten at one time) to be iudges ouer the distribucion of the fruictes. Vpon consideracion that other by their aduancement might be stirred to like diligence. The catteile maisters, yf ther be any thing either apperteining to the sacrifices, or commune affaires, touching nombre, or weight, do it with all diligence.

No man amonge the Panchais hath any thinge that he can call proprely his owne: his house, and his gardein excepted. For bothe the customes, and reuenewes, and all other profectes, are deliuered in to the priestes handes. Who acordinge as they finde necessarie and expediente, iustely distribute them. But they themselues are graunted double share. Their garmentes by the reason of the finesse of the wolle of their shiepe, especially aboue other, are verye softe and gentle clothe. Bothe menne and women vse ther, to sette oute them selues with Iuelles of golde, as cheines, braselettes, eareringes, tablettes, owches, ringes, Annuletes, buttons, broches, and shoes embraudered, and spangled with golde, of diuers colours. The menne of warre serue onely for the defence of their countrey.

The priestes aboue all other, giue them selues vnto pleasaunte life, fine, nette and sumptuous. Their garmentes are rochettes of fine linnen, and sometime of the deintiest wollen. Vpon their heades thei weare mitres embraudred, and garnisshed with golde.

They vse a kinde of voided shoes (whiche aftrewarde the Grieques toke vp, and called sandalium) very finely made, and of sondry colours. And as the women weare, so do they, all maner of Iuelles sauing earinges. Their chiefe occupation is to attende vpon goddes seruice, settinge forthe the worthie diedes of the goddes, with himpnes,* and many kindes of commendacion. Yf thei be founde withoute the halowed grounde, it is lawfull for any manne to slea them. They saye that they came of the bloude of Iupiter Manasses, at suche time as he came firste into Panchaia, hauinge the whole worlde vndre his dominion. This countrie is full of golde, siluer, latton, tinne, and yron, of the whiche it is not laweful to cary any one out of ye realme. The giftes both of siluer and golde, whiche in greate nombre of longe time, have bene offred to their goddes, are kepte in the temple: whose dores are by excellent workemanship garnished with golde, siluer and yuorie. The couche of their God is vi. cubites longe, and foure cubites brode, all of golde, gorgeous of worcke, and goodly to beholde. And by that, is there sette a table of like sorte in euery poincte: for sise, stuffe, and gorgeousnes. They haue but one temple, all of white stone, builte vpon pilours, grauen, and embossed, thre hundred and xxxviii. taylours yardes square, that is to saye, euen of lengthe and bredthe, euery waye so muche. And somewhat acordinge to the syse of the temple, it is sette full of highe ymages very precious: coruen and grauen. Rounde about the temple haue the priestes their habitacion. And all the grounde aboute them xxv. myle compasse: is halowed to their goddes. The yerely rente of that grounde is bestowed vpon sacrifice.

¶ The iii. Chapitre.

¶ Of Assiria and Babilonia, and the maners of those peoples.

AS saieth sainct Augustine, the countrie called Assiria, was so named of Assur, the sonne of Sem. And at this daie, to the ende that time might be founde an appairer, of al thinges, with the losse of a sillabe is becomen Siria: Hauyng for his bounde, on the East, the countrie called Inde, and part of Media. On the West the floude Tygris, on the Southe Susiana, and on the

---

* Hymns.

Northe the maigne mounteigne Caucasus. It is a deintie to haue in Assiria a showre of raine: and therefore are thei constreined for the due moistyng of their lande, to tolle in the riuers by pollicie of trenching and damming: wherwith thei so plentifie their grounde, that thei communely receiue two hundred busshelles for a busshell, and in some speciall veine, three hundred for one. Their blades of their Wheate and Barlie are fowre fingers brode. Their Sesamum, and Milium (Somer cornes) are in groweth like vnto trees. All the whiche thinges Herodotus the historien, thoughe he knoweth them (as he writeth) to be vndoubtedly true, yet would he that men toke aduisemente in the reportyng of theim: for that thei mighte sieme vnto suche as neuer sawe the like, incredible. Thei haue a tree called Palma, that beareth a kinde of small Dates. This fruicte thei fiede muche vppon, and out of the bodie of the tree, thei draw at one time of the yere a liquor or sappe, wherof thei make bothe wine and hony. In their fresh waters thei vse boates facioned round like a buckler, which the Armenians that dwelle aboue them, do make of salowe wikers wrought one within an other, and couered with rawe leather. The appareile of the Assyrians is a shirte downe to the foote, and ouer that a short garment of wollen, and last of al a faire white pleicted cassaque doun to the foote agayne. Their shoes are not fastened on with lachettes, but lyke a poumpe close about the foote. Which also the Thebans dydde vse, and but they twayne, no moe. They suffre theyr heares to growe and couer them with prety forked cappes somwhat mytrelyke. And when they goe abroade, they besprinkle them selues with fragraunt oyles, to be swete at the smelle. They haue euery man a rynge with a signet, and also a sceptre finely wrought: vppon whose toppe thei vse to sticke either an apple, or a rose, or a lillye, or some lyke thynge. For it is a dishonour to beare it bare.

Emongest all the lawes of that people I note this chiefly as worthie memorie. When their maidens came to be mariageable, thei ware from yere to yere, brought foorthe into the Marquette, for suche as would buye them to be their wiues. And because there ware some so hard fauoured, that menne would not onely be loth to giue money for them, but some menne also for a litle money to take theim: the fairest ware first solde, and with the prices of theim brought into the commune Treasourie, ware the fowler bestowed. Herodote writeth that he heard by reaporte, that the Heneti (a people on the bordre of Italie towarde Illiria) ware wonte to vse this maner. Whervpon Sabellicus takyng an occasion, writeth in this maner. Whether there ware suche a maner vsed emong that people (saieth he) or not, I haue litle more certaintie to laie for my self then Herodote had. But thus muche am I able to saie: that in Venice (a citie of famous worthines, and whose power is well knowen at this daie, to be greate, bothe by Sea and by lande) suche maner as I shall saie, was sometyme vsed. There was in the Citie of Venice, a place dedicate, as ye would saie to our Ladie of Pietie. Before whose doores it happened a child or twaine, begotten by a skape (whiche either for shame or necessitie could finde no mother, or for the nombre ofparteners, no one propre father) to bee laide. And when by the good Citezeins suche tendrenes had been shewed to two or thre, as the mothers loked for, and manhode (to saie the truthe) doth require: the dore of pitie became so fruictfull a mother, that she had not now one or twoo in a yere, but three or fower in a quarter. Whiche thyng when the gouernours of the citie perceiued, thei toke ordre by commune consente, that from thens foorthe suche women children onely, as should fortune so to bee offred to Pietie, should bee nourisshed at the commune charge of the citie, and none other. And for those accordyngly, thei ordained a place wher thei ware brought vp, hardly kepte in, and diuersely enstructed accordyng to their giftes of witte and capacitie, vntill thei ware mariage able. At the whiche tyme, she that had beautie and good qualities bothe, found those a sufficient dowrie to purchase her choyse of husbandes. And she that hadde but beautie alone, thoughe her qualities ware not so excellente, yet for her honestie that beside forth was singuler in theim all, founde that beautie and honestie could not be vnmaried. These therefore ware not permitted to euery mannes choise, but graunted to suche as ware thoughte menne worthie of suche women. If there ware any that lacked the grace of beautie, yet if she ware wittie, and endewed with qualities (together with her honestie) a small dowrie purchased her a husband in good time. But if there ware any in whom there happened neither commendacion of beautie nor wit, but onely bare honestie: for her bestowyng was there a meane found, by waie of deuocion, as we terme it when we signifie a respecte of holines in the diede.

Menne vnmarried beyng in daungier vpon Sea or on Lande, or beyng sore distressed with sickenes, makyng a vowe for the recouerie of healthe, where vnto thei holde them selues bounden in conscience (if it fortuned theim at that tyme to be deliuered) for satisfaction of their vowe in that case not vprightly perfourmed, vsed to take for their wiues, suche of the simplest as other had left. So that in processe thei alwaie founde husbandes, and the commune wealthe a diminishyng of charge.

Another Lawe of the Babilonians there was, more worthie of memorie a greate deale, for that it imported more weight. And that was this. Thei had from their beginnyng no Phisicens emong theim, but it was enacted by the consente of the Realme, that who so was diseased of any malady, should comon with other that had bene healed of the like afore. And acordyng to their counsaile, practise vpon himself. But he that vsed or attempted any other waie, to be punished for it. Other write that the sicke ware brought out into the Marquet place, where suche as had bene deliuered of the like grief afore: ware bounde by the lawe, to go fro persone to persone, and shewe theim by what meanes thei had bene remedied.

Thei bewrie their dead in Honie, and obserue the same maner of mournyng that the Egiptians do. If any man haue medled with his wife in the nighte, neither of theim bothe toucheth any thyng the next mornyng, before thei be washed:

There was in Babilon a Temple dedicate to Venus, and it hath bene the maner in tyme paste, that when their came any straunger to visite this Temple, all the women of Babilon should come vnto him or them, with greate solempnitie and fresshely appareiled, euery one hauing a garlande on her heade, with some seueralle knowledge of distinction one from another, and offre their seruice to the straungier. And looke whom he liked, he must laie doune in her lappe, suche somme of money as pleased him. That done thei bothe withdrew themselues fro the temple a greate distaunce, and laie together. That money was consecrate to Venus.

There were certein kindredes emong theim, that liued with none other thyng but fisshe dried against the Sonne, and brused in a Mortare, and so laied vp till niede ware. And then did thei mingle it, and kneade it with water into a maner of paaste, and so baked it, and eate it. There ware thre sortes of menne that bare rule and office emong them. The king, the nobles with the Seniours, and those that had serued in the warres and ware now exempte. Thei had also menne skilfull in the secretes of nature, whiche thei calle Magi, and Chaldei, suche as ware the priestes of Egipte, institute to attende vpon the seruice of their Goddes. These men all their life daies, liued in the loue of wisedome, and were connyng in the cours of the Sterres. And sometyme by foretokenyng of birdes flight, and somtyme by power of holy verses and nombres, tourned awaie the euilles fro menne, and benefitted them with thinges that ware good. Thei could expounde Dreames, and declare the significacions of vncouth wondres. So that men ware certein of suche successe, as thei had foreshewed. Thei wente not into straunge scholes to learne their knowledge, as the Grecians doe, but learned the science of these thynges at their fathers handes, as heirtage from one generacion to another, euen from their childhode at home in their houses. Whereby it came to passe that beyng sokingly learned, it was bothe the more groundedly learned, and also without tediousnes. Thei had one vniforme and constaunt waie of teaching, and one constantnes of doctrine, not waueryng and almoste contrary to it self, as the doctrine of the Greekes: where eche Philosopher almoste had his waie, and iudgemente, of the principles and causes of thynges. But these menne agre al in one, that the worlde is eternall and euerlastyng, with out begynnyng and without ende. And that the ordre of the whole, was disposed by the prouidence of the highest. The bodies aboue to haue their course, not at all aduentures and without rule, but by an inuiolable lawe of God, acordyng to his ordenaunce and will moste certein. Thei haue learned by long markyng and notyng of thynges tyme out of mynde, one aftre another: how by the course of the Starres, to prognostique, that is to foreshewe vnto men, many thynges to come. Thei holde that of all other Sterres, the planetes are strongest of Influence, namely Saturnus. To the sonne thei attribute brightnes and vertue of life. Mars, Iupiter, Mercurie, and Venus, thei obserue moste (for that thei haue a course propre by themselues) as interpretours of the mindes of the goddes to foresignifie thinges vnto men. Which opinion is so grounded in them, that they haue called all those foure planetes, by the one name of Mercurius. as ye woulde saye commune currours or messengers. Thei also do warne menne of many thinges, bothe hurtefull and availeable: by the marking, and knowledge of winde and weather, of raine and droughte, of blasing sterres, of the eclipses of the Sonne and Mone, of earthquakes, and manye suche like.

Furthermore thei ymagine in the firmament other sterres, subiecte in influence vnto these former, wherof some are in the haulfe heauen continually in our sighte, and some in the other haulfe continually oute of our sight. And as the Egiptiens haue feigned them selues xii. goddes, so likewyse haue thei. To euerie of the whiche they referre one moneth, and one signe of the Zodiaque. Thei haue prophecied vnto kinges, many aduentures. As vnto Alexandre victory, when he made his exploicte towarde Darius. Likewise to Hirchanour and Seleucus, and other the successours of Alexandre, prophecied thei many thinges: As also to the Romaines, which had most sure successe. Thei make compte also of. xxiiij. other starres: without, and beside the waie of the zodiaque, xii. towarde the Northe, and the residewe towarde the Southe. Of the whiche, so many as appiere in sight, they iudge to apperteigne to the quicke, and the other to the dead. These troublesome mases haue thei broughte into the worlde more then enoughe, beside the accompte that thei make of their obseruacions, and deuinacions from their beginninge to Alexandres time: nombringe them thre thousande and fourty yeres (a shamefull lie) excepte thei will entreprete their yeres by the Mone, as the Egiptians doe, comptinge euery monethe for a yere.

¶ The iiii. Chapiter.

¶ Of Iewry, and of the life, maners, and Lawes of the Iewes.

PAlestina, whiche also is named Iudea, beinge a seueralle prouince of Siria, lieth betwixte Arabia Petrea, and the countrie Cœlosiria. So bordering vpon the Egiptian sea on the West, and vpon the floude Iordon on the Easte, that the one with his waues wassheth his clieues, and the other sometime with his streame ouerfloweth his banckes.

The Bible, and Iosephus by ensample therof calleth this londe Cananea: a countrie renoumed for manifolde substaunce. Fertile of soyle, well watered with riuers, and springes, and rich with precious balme. Lienge in the nauelle of the world, that it neither might be broyled with heate, ne frosen with colde. By the reason of the which mildenes of aier, it was iudged by the Israelites or Hebrues, (and rightlye so iudged) to be the country that God promised vnto Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob, flowinge in aboundaunce of milke and honie. Vpon the hope of enioyinge of this londe, folowed they Moses oute of Egipte fortye yeres wandering in Campe. And before thei ware broughte into Cananea by Iosua, his substitute, ouercame with strong hande, one and thirty kinges.

This is the people that onely of all other may chalenge the honour of auncientie. This is the people alone ye mighte haue glorified in the wisedome, and vnmedled puritie of Language, as beinge of all other the firste. This is the people that was mother of lettres, and sciences. Amonge these remained the knowledge of the onely and euerliuinge God, and the certeintie of the religion that was pleasaunte in his eies. Among these was the knowledge, and foreknowledge of al, sauinge that Helas, they knewe not the visitour of their wealthe, and the ende of their wo, Iesus the sauioure of all that woulde knowe him, and sieke life in his deathe. But him whome thei knew not, when by reason thei should: him shal thei yet ones knowe in time when the father woulde.

The Israelites, the Hebrues or the Iewes (for all in effecte soundeth one people) liue aftre the rule of the lawes, whiche Moses their worthy duke, and deuine chiefteine, declared vnto theim. Withoute the whiche also or anye other written, thei liued holily, hundred of yeares before: atteininge to the truthes hidden from other, by a singuler gifte aboue other. That Philosophre of Philosophers, and deuine of deuines, Moses the marueilous, waienge in his insight, y^t^ no multitude assembled, coulde be gouerned to continuaunce without ordres of equitie and lawes: when with rewardes to the good, and reuenge vpon the euill, he had sufficiently exhorted, and trained his people to the desire of vertue, and ye hate of the contrarie: at the last beside the two tables receiued in the mounte Sinah, added ordres of discipline, and ciuile gouernaunce, full of all goodlines and equitie. Whiche Iosephus, the Iewe, (a manne of greate knowledge, and eloquence, aswel in the Hebrewe, his natural tongue, as in the Grieke, amonge whome he liued in notable fame not a fewe yeres) hath gathered, and framed into one seuerall treatise. Out of the which, because I rather fansie, if I maye with like commoditie, to folowe the founteines of the first Authours, then the brokes * of abredgers, which often bring with them much puddle: I haue here translated, and annexed to the ende of this booke, those

---

* *Broke*, literally, broken meat. It here means "disconnected passages."

ordres of the Iewes commune welthe, sendyng the for the reste to the Bible. And yet notwithstanding, loke what I founde in this Abredger, neither mencioned in the bible, nor in that treatise, the same thus ordrely foloweth.

The heathen writers, and the Christianes, do muche diffre concerninge the Iewes, and Moyses their chiefteine. For Cornelius the stylle,* in his firste booke of his yerely exploictes, called in Latine Annales, dothe not ascribe their departure oute of Egipte to the power and commaundement of God: but vnto necessitie, and constrainte, with these wordes:

A great skuruines, and an yche saieth he, beinge risen throughe oute Egipte, Bocchoris, the king sekynge remedye in the Temple of Iupiter Hammon, was willed by responcion to clense his kingdome: And to sende awaye that kinde of people whom the goddes hated (he meaneth the Iewes) into some other contrey. The whiche when he had done, and they (as the poompe of al skuruines, not knowing wher to become) laye cowring vndre hedges, and busshes, in places desert, and many of them dropped away, for sorowe and disease: Moyses (whiche also was one of the outecastes, saieth he) counseiled them not to sitte ther, awayting aftre the helpe of God or of man, whiche thei ware not like to haue: but to folowe him as their capteine, and lodesman, and committe them selues vnto his gouernaunce. And that hervnto thei all agreinge, at wilde aduentures, withoute knowingwhat thei did, tooke their iorney. In the which thei ware sore troubled, and harde bestadde,† for lacke of water. In this distresse, when thei ware now ready to lye them downe, and die for thirst, Moyses espienge a great heard of wilde Chamelles comming fro their fiedinge, and going into woddie place ther beside, folowed them. And iudginge the place not to be without watre, for that he sawe it fresshe and grene, digged and founde plenty of watre. Wherwith when thei had releued themselues, thei passed on. vi. daies iourney: and so exployted that the seuenth daye thei where thei builte their Citie, and their temple. Moyses had beaten out all the enhabitauntes of the contry, then to the entent he might satle the peoples hartes towarde him for euer: deuised them newe ordres, and ceremonies cleane contrary to all other nacions. For (saieth Cornelius) Looke what so euer is holy amonge vs, the same is amonge them the contrary. And what so euer to vs is vnlawfulle, that same is compted lawefull amonge theim. The ymage of the beaste tha shewed them the waye to the waters, and the ende of their wanderinge: did thei set vp in their chambres, and offre vnto it a rambe, in the despight of Iupiter Hammon, whom we worship in the fourme of a Rambe. And because the Egiptians worshippe their goddesse Apis in the fourme of a cowe, therforethei vse to slea also in sacrifice a cowe. Swines flesshe thei eate none, for that thei holde opinion that this kynde of beaste, of it selfe beinge disposed to be skoruie, mighte be occasion againe to enfecte them of newe. The seuenth daye thei make holy day. That is to say spende awaie in ydlenes and rest: for that on the seuenth daye, they founde reste of theyr wandering, and misery. And when they had caughte a sauour in this holye daye loytering: it came to passein processe of tyme, that thei made a longe holydaye also of the whole seuenth yere: But other holde opinion that thei do obserue suche maner of holyedaies, in the houour of Saturne the god of fasting and famine: with whose whippe thei are lothe againe to be punisshed. Their breade is vnleauened. These ceremonies and deuises, by what meanes so euer thei ware brought in amonge them, thei do stiffely defende. As thei are naturally giuen, to be stiffe in beliefe, and depe in loue with their owne althoughe towarde alother thei be most hatefull enemies. So that theineither will eate ne drincke with them: no nor lye in the chambre that a straunger of a nother nacion lyeth in. A people altogether giuen vnto leachery, and yet absteining from the enbrasinges of the straunger. Emong them selues thei iudge nothinge vnlawfull. Thei deuised to rounde of the foreskinne of their yarde (whiche we call circumcision) because thei would haue a notable knowledge betwene them, and other nacions. And the firste lesson thei teache vnto their children, is to despise the goddes. The soules of those yᵗ die in tormentes, or in warre, thei iudge to be immortall. A continuall feare haue thei, and a regard of heauen and helle. And where the Egiptians honour many similitudes and Images of beastes, and other creatures, whiche thei make themselues: the Iewes onely doe honour with their spirite and minde, and conceiue in their vndrestandyng, but one onely Godheade. Iudging all other that worshippe the

---

* Cornelius Tacitus. The reference, however, is wrong. The passage quoted does not appear in the Annals: it is from Book v., § 5. of the History.

† Beset.

"What then behoveth so bestad to done."
Gascoigne's Works, 1587.

Images of creatures, or of manne: to bee vngodlie and wicked. These and many other thinges doth Cornelius write, and Trogus also in his xxxvi. booke.

There ware amonge the Iewes thre seueralle sectes, differyng in life from the reast of the people. The Phariseis, the Sadduceis, and the Esseis. The Phariseis vsed a certeine rough solempnesse of appareille, and a very skante fare: determinyng the Tradicions of Moyses, by certein ordenaunces and decrees, whiche thei themselues sette vp. Thei caried vpon their foreheades, and on their lefte armes pretie billettes of Paper, facioned for the place, wherein ware written the tenne preceptes of ye two Tables. And this did thei for that the Lorde saieth: And these shall thou haue (meanyng the commaundements) as a remembraunce hanging before thine eyes, and alwaie ready at thine hande. These were called their Philacteries, of these two woordes Phylexi and Thorat, wherof the former signifieth to Kiepe, and the other, the Lawe. These menne also hauyng vppon their skirtes muche broder gardes then other, stacke them full of Thornes, whiche beatyng and prickyng them on the hieles as thei wente, might putte them in remembraunce of the commaundementes of God. Thei attributed all thynges vnto God, and destenie, which they call Emarmeni. Neuertheles thei graunted, that it laie muche in the free choise of manne: either to doe, or not to doe the thinges that are iust and godlie, but yet destenie to helpe in al cases. Whiche destenie thei thought to depende of the influence of the bodies aboue. Looke what their superiors and Elders had saied, or answered to any demaunde, thei neuer would contrarie it. Thei belieued that GOD should come to Iudge the worlde, and that all soules ware euerlastyng. And as for the soules of the good, thei helde opinion, that thei passed from one bodie to another, vntill the daie of the generall resurrection. But the soules of the wicked, to be plonged into euerlasting prison and dongeon. The name of Pharisei was giuen vnto them for that thei ware disguised fro ye commune maner of other, as ye would saie, Sequestred.

The Sadduceis denied that there was any destenie, but that God was the beholder of all, and that it laie in the choise of manne, to do well or euill. And as for ioye or sorowe that the soule should suffre aftre this life, thei denied. Neither belieued thei any resurrection: because thei thoughte the soule died with the bodie. Thei would not belieue that there ware any spirites, good or bad. Neither would thei receiue more of the Bible, then the fiue bookes of Moses. Thei ware sterne men, and vncompaignable: not so muche as ones kepyng felowshippe one with another. For the whiche sternesse, thei named theim selues Sadduceis, that is to saie iuste menne.

The Esseis ware in all pointes verie like vnto our cloisterers, abhorryng mariage and the companie of women. Not for that thei condempned Mariage, or the procreation of issue, but for that thei iudged a manne ought to be ware of the intemperauncie of women. And that no woman kept herself true to her husbande. Oh shameful opinion, and muche better to be reported by the dead, then to be credited of the quicke, bee it neuer so true. Thei possessed all thinges in commune. As for checkes or reuilings, was to them muske and honie, and slouenly vndaftinesse, a great comelinesse. So that thei ware alwaie in a white surcote, all was well. Thei had no certein abiding in any one citie: but Celles ouer all, where so euer thei became. Before the risyng of the Sonne, thei spake nothyng that touched any worldly affair: but praied the Sonne to rise. After whose vprijste thei laboured vntill eleuen of the clocke. And then, washyng firste their whole bodie in water: thei satte doune together to meate, in solempne silence euery manne. Swearing they compted forswearyng. Thei admitted no manne to their secte, vndre a yere of probation. And aftre what time thei had receiued him: yet had thei two yeres more to proue his maners and condicions. Suche as thei tooke with a faulte, thei draue fro their compaignie. Enioyned by the waie of penaunce, to go a grasing like a beast, vntill his dieng daie. When tenne ware sette in a companie together, no one of them spake without the consente of the other nyne. Thei woulde not spitte within the precincte of the compaignie emong theim, ne yeat on their righte side. They kept the Sabboth with suche a precisenesse, that thei would not that daie, ease nature of the belie burden. And when vpon other daies, nature forced theim to that easemente, thei caried with theim a litle spade of woode, wherewith in place most secreate, thei vsed to digge a litle pit, to laie their bealie in. And in the time of doyng, thei also vsed a very greate circumspection, that their clothes laie close to the grounde rounde aboute theim, for offending (saied thei) of the Maiestie of God. Vpon whiche respecte, thei also couered and bewried it, assone as thei had done that nature required. Thei ware of verie long life, by the reason of the vnifourme diete that thei vsed, alwaie aftre one rate of fare: whiche was onely the fruicte of their countrie Balme. Thei occupied no money. If any manne suffered for wel doyng, or as wrongfully condempned, that thoughte thei the beste kinde of death. Thei helde opinion that all soules ware made in the beginnyng, and put in to bodies from tyme to tyme, as bodies did niede them. And for the good soules beyng ridde of their bodies againe, thei saied there was a place appointed beyond the Weast Occean, where thei take repose. But for the euill, thei appoincted places toward the East, as more stormie colde and vnpleasante. Ther ware amonge them that prophecied thinges. Some of them gaue themselues to wedlocke: least if they shoulde be of the oppinion that men oughte to absteine vttrely from women, mankinde shoulde fade, and in processe be extincte, yeat vsed thei the compaignie of their wiues nothing at riote.

The lande of Siria (whereof we haue named Iewrie a parte) is at this daie enhabited of the Grekes, called Griphones, of the Iacobites, Nestorians, Sarracenes, and of two Christian nations, the Sirians and Marouines. The Sirians vse the saie Masse, aftre the maner of the Grekes: and for a space ware subiecte to the churche of Rome.

The Marouines agree in opinion with the Iacobites. Their lettres and tongue are al one with the Arabique. These Christianes dwelle at the Mounte Libanus. The Sarracenes, whiche dwelle aboute Ierusalem (a people valeaunt in warre) delight muche in housbondrie and tilthe. But contrary wise, thei that enhabite Siria, in that poincte are nothing worth. The Marouines are fewe in nombre, but of all other thei are the hardieste.

¶ The v. Chapitre.

¶ Of Media, and the maners of the Medes.

MEdia (a countrie of Asia) as Solinus writeth, toke the name of one Medus, the sonne of Medea and Egeus, kyng of Athenes. Of whom the people ware also called Medes. But Iosephus affirmeth that it was so named of Medius the sonne of Iapheth. This countrie, as it is sene in Ptolomie, hath on the Northe, the sea named Hircanum, on the West Armenia, and Assiria, on the Southe Persie, and on theast Hircania and Parthia. Sauing that betwixte Parthia and it, there ronneth a mounteigne, that separateth their frontiers. The feactes that thei mooste exercise, are shooting and ridyng. Wherein thei be righte experte, and almoste (for those quartres) without matche or felowe. It hathe bene there a longe continued and aunciente custome, to honour their kynges like goddes. The rounde cappe, whiche thei cal Tiara: and their long slieued garmentes, passed from them to the Persians, together with the Empire. It was a peculier maner vsed of the Kynges of the Medes, to haue many wiues. Which thyng was aftrewarde also taken by of the communes: so that at lengthe it was thought vnmiete to haue feawer wiues then seuen. It was also a goodlie thyng for a woman to haue many husbandes: and to be without fiue at ones, was compted a miserable state. The Medes entre leagues and couenauntes, both aftre the maner of the Grekes, and also with drawing bloud vpon some parte of the arme aboute he tshouldre, one of another, whiche thei vse to licke eche of others body. All that parte of the countrey that lieth towarde the Northe, is barrein and vnfruictefulle. Wherefore thei vse to make store of their fruicte, and to drie them, and so to worke them into a masse or lumpe for their foode. Of rosted Almondes thei make their breade: and their wine of the rootes of certein herbes. Thei eate great plentie of the fleshe of wilde beastes.

¶ The. vi. Chapitre.

¶ Of Parthia, and the maner of the Parthians.

A Certeine nombre of Outlawes and Banisshed menne, called Parthie, gaue name to this Countrie: Aftre suche time as by train, and stealth thei had gotten it. On the Southe it hath Carmania, on the North Hircanum, on the Weast the Meades, and on the Easte the country of Arabia. The countrie is hilly, and full of woddes, and of a barreine soyle. And a people which in the time of the Assiriens, and Medes, were scante known and litle estiemed. In so moche that when ye highe gouernaunce of the whole(whiche the Grekes call the Monarchie) was yelde into the handes of the Persians: thei ware made a butin, as a nombre of raskalles without name. Laste of all thei ware slaues to the Macedonies. But afterward in processe of time, suche was the valeauntenes of this people and suche successe had thei: that thei became lordes, not ouer their neighbours onely rounde boute theim, but also helde the Romaines (the conquerours of the worlde) suche tacke, that in sondriewarres they gaue them great ouerthrowes, and notablye endamaged their power. Pliny reherseth. xiiii. kingdomes of the Parthians. Trogus calleth them Emperors of the East part of the worlde. Asthoughe they, and the Romaines holding the Weste, had deuided the whole betwixte them.

Aftre the decay of the Monarchie of the Macedonians, this people was ruled by kinges. Whomegenerally by the name of the first king, thei termed Arsaces. Nexte vnto the kinges maiestie, the communaltie bare the swaye. Oute of whome they chase bothe their Capteignes for the warres, and their gouernours for the peace time. Their language is a speache mixte of the Scithians, and Medes. Their appareil at the firste, was aftre their facion vnlike to all other. But when thei grewe vnto power, louse and large, and so thinne: that a man mighte see thoroughe it, aftre the facion of the Medes. Their maner of weapon, and armour, was the same that the Scithians vsed. But their armies ware altogether almoste of slaues and bondemen, contrary to the maner of other peoples. And for that no manne hath aucthoritie amonge them to giue fredome vnto anye of this bonde ofspring: The nombre of them by continuance, came vnto a greate multitude. These do thei bringe vp, and make of as deerly, as thei do of their owne children: teachinge them to ride, to shote, to throwe the darte, and suche like feates, with great diligence and handsomenes. Eche communerther, acording to his substaunce, findeth a greate nombre of these to serve the kinge on horsebacke, in all warres. So that at what time Anthonie the Romaine made warre vpon the Parthians, wher thei mette him with fyftie thousande horsemen: there wareof the whole nombre but eyghte hundred fre borne. They are not skylfull to fighte it oute at hande stripes, ne yeat in the maner of besieging or assaulting: but all together aftre the maner of skirmisshe, as they spie their aduantage. Thei vse no trompet for their warninges or onsettes but a dromme: neither are thei able to endure long in their fighte. For yf they ware so good in continuaunce, as thei be violente at a brunte: ther ware no multitude able to susteine their force. For the moste parte thei breake of, when the skirmishe is euen at the whottest. And within a while aftre thei feigne a flight, wher with thei beginne againe a newe onsette. So when thou thinckest thy selfe mooste sure of the honour of the fielde, then arte thou at the poinct of the hardest hazarde. Their horsmen vse armour of mayle entrelaced with fethers: bothe for their owne defence, and the defence also of their horses. In times passed thei occupied no golde ne siluer, but only in their armour. Vpon regarde of chaunge in their luste, thei mary echeone many wiues, and yet punishe thei none offence so greuously as adultery. For the auoyding whereof, thei doe not onely forbidde their women by generall restrainte from all feastes, and banckettinges of men : but also from the sighte of them. Some neuerthelesse do wrighte, amonge the whiche Strabo is one, that thei vse to giue their wiues sometime to their friendes, as in ye wayeof mariage, that thei maye so haue issue. Thei eate none other fleshe but suche as thei kylle at the chace. Thei be euer on horsebacke, whether thei go to the fielde or the banket, to bye, to selle, to commune of aughte with their friende, or to do any thing that is to be done. Yea thei dispatche al commune and priuate affaires, sittinge on horsebacke. And this is to be vnderstonden of the fre borne: for the slaues are alwaies on foote. Their buriall for all menne (sauinge the kinge) is the dogges bealy, and the kytes. But when thei or suche like haue eaten of, the fleshe, then couer thei the bare bones with earth. Thei haue great regarde vnto their goddes, and the worship due vnto them. Thei are men of a proude nature, busie medlers, and sedicious, craftie, deceiptfull, malaparte, and vnshamefaced : for thei holde opinion that it becometh the man aswell to be sterne, as the woman to be milde. Thei be euer in some stirre, either with their neighbours, or elles amonge themselues. Men of fewe wordes, and readier to doe, then to saye. And therefore whether it go with them or against them, thei lappe it vp in scilence. Thei obey not their superiours for any reuerence, but for feare. Altogether giuen to lechery, and yet skante in fiedinge. No farther trewe of worde or promesse, then semeth them expediente for their owne behoue.

¶ The. vii. Chapiter.

¶ Of Persia, and the maners and ordinaunces of the Persians.

PErsia (a countrie of the Easte) was so called of Persius the Sonne of Jupiter and Danae. Of whome the chiefe citie of the kingdome also, was named Persepolis, whiche in Englishe soundeth

Perseboroughe (or as we corruptly terme it) Perseburie, and the whole nacion Persiens. This countrie as Ptolemie writeth in his fiueth booke, hath on the Northe, Media: on the West, Susiana: on the Easte, the two Carmaniaes: and on the Southe, an inshot of the Sea, called the Bosome of Parthia. The famous cities thereof, were Axiama Persepolis and Diospolis. By the name of Iupiter thei vnderstode the whole heauen. Thei chiefely honour the Sonne, whom the calle Mitra. Thei worship also the Mone, the planet Venus, the fyre, the earthe, the water, and the windes. Thei neither haue aultare nor temple, nor ymage, but celebrate their deuine seruice vndre the open heauen vpon some highe place for that purpose appoincted. In doinge sacrifice thei haue no farther respecte, but to take awaye the life from the beaste. As hauing opinion, that forasmuche as the goddes be spirites, thei delighte in nothinge but the spiritual parte, the soule. Before thei slea it, thei set it aparte by them, with a corone vpon the heade, and heape vppon it many bittre banninges and curses. Some of the nacion notwithstandinge, when thei haue slaine the beaste: vse to lay parte of the offalle in the fire.

When thei sacrifie vnto the fire, they timbre vp drie stickes together, cleane without pille or barcke. And after what time they haue powred on neates tallowe, and oyle, thei kindle it. Not blowing with blaste of blowesse or mouthe: but makinge winde as it ware with a ventile, or trenchour, or suche like thinge. For yf any manne either blow into it, or caste in any deade thing, or any durte, or puddle, it is deathe to the doer. The Persians beare suche reuerence to their floudes, that thei neither wasshe, pysse, nor throwedeade carcase into them. No not so moche as spitte into them: But very reuerentlye honour their water after this maner. Comminge to lake, mere, floude, ponde, or springe: thei trenche out a litle diche, and ther cut thei the throte of the sacryfice. Being well ware, that no droppe of blode sprinckle into the water by. As thoughe all water ware polluted and vnhalowed ouer all: yf that should happen. That done their Magi (that is to say men skylful in ye secretes of nature) layeng the flesh vppon a heape of Myrtus, or Laurelle, and tymbryng smalle wandes about, sette fyre thereon and brenne yt. And pronouncyng certein curses, they myngle oyle, mylke, and hony together, and sprinkle into the fyre. But these cursinges make they not against the fyre ne water. But against the earthe, a greate whyle toguether: holding in their hande a boundle of smalle myrte wandes. Their kinges reigne by succession of one kindred or stocke. To whom who so obeyeth not, hath his heade and armes striken of: and so wythout buriall is throwen out for karreine. Policritus sheweth that euery king of the Persians, buyldeth his howse vpon a greate hille: and ther hourdeth vp all the threasure, tribute, and taxe that he receyueth of the people: to be a recorde aftre his deathe how good a husbonde he hath bene for y^{t} commune wealthe. Suche of the subiectes as dwelle vpon the sea coast, are taxed to paie money. But those that inhabite toward the mydde londe: suche commodities as the quarter beareth or hath wher they dwelle. As apothecary druggues, woolle, coulours, and suche like and cateille accordingly. He is not permitted any one cause, to putte any man to death. Neither is it lawfull for any other of the Persians to execute any thyng against any of his house or stock, that maie sieme in any wyse cruelle. Euery one of them marie many wiues: and holde many concubines also beside, for the encrease of issue.

The king Proclaimeth rewarde vnto him, that within one yere begetteth most children. Fiue yere aftre thei are begotten, thei come not in the fathers sight, by a certein ordenaunce vsed emong theim: but are broughte vp continually emong the women. To the ende that if the childe fortune to dye in the time of his infancie, their fathers grief maie be the lesse. Thei vse not to marie but in one tyme of the yere: toward midde Marche. The bridegrome eateth to his supper, an apple of that countrey, or a litle of the maribone of a Chamel: and so without any farther banquetting goeth to bedde. From fiue yeres olde, to twentie and fowre, thei learne to ride, to throwe the Darte, to shoote, and chiefly to haue a tongue voide of all vntruthe. For their nourituryng and trainyng in good maners, thei haue appoincted theim Masters of greate sobrenes and vertue, that teache them dieties, and pretie songes, conteinyng either the praises of their Goddes, or of some worthy Princes. Whiche sometime thei sing, and sometyme recite without note: that so they mighte learne to confourme their liues vnto theirs, whose praises thei sieme themselues to allowe. To this lesson assemble thei alwaie together, at the calle of a Trompette. And as thei growe into yeres, an accompt is required of them how well thei haue borne awaie the lessons of their childhode. Thei vse to ronne the race, and to course, bothe on horsebacke and on foote: at the leadyng of some noble mannes sonne, chosen for the nones. The field for the race, is at least thre mile aud thre quarters longe. And to the ende that heate or colde should the lesse trouble them, thei vse to wade ouer brookes, and swimme ouer riuers, and so to rowme and to hunte the fieldes, and to eate and drinke in their armour, and wette clothes. The fruyctes that eate are akecornes, wild Peares, and the fruicte of the Terebinthine tree. But their daiely foode aftre their ronnyng, and other exercises of the bodie : is hard Bisquette, or a like crustie breade, Hortechocques, Gromelle sede, a litle roste flesshe or soden, whether thei lust: and faire water their drincke. Their maner of Huntyng, is with the bowe, or the Darte on horse backe. Thei are good also in the slynge. In theforenoone thei plante and graffe, digge vp settes, stubbe vp rootes, make their owne armour, or fisshe and foule, with the Angle or nette. Their children are decked with garnishynges of golde. And their chief iuelle is the precious stone Piropus, whiche thei haue in suche price, that it maie come vppon no deade corps. And that honour giue thei also to the fire, for the reuerence thei beare there vnto. From twentie, till fiuetie: thei folowe the warres. As for byeng and sellyng, or any kinde of Lawe prattle, thei vse not. Thei cary in their warres, a kind of shieldes facioned like a losenge, a quiure with shaftes, and a curtilace. On their heades a copintanke, embatled aboute like a turrette, and a brestplate emboussed, of skaled woorke. The princes and menne of honour did weare a treble Anaxirides, facioned muche like a coate armour, and a long coate doune to the knees, with hangyng slieues acordyng. The outside colours, but the lining white. In Somer thei weare purple, and in Wintre Medleis. The abillementes of their heades, are muche like the frontlettes that their Magj doe weare. The commune people are double coated doune to the midde Leggue, and haue about their heade a great rolle of Sendalle. Their beddes and their drinking vessell, are garnished with gold. When they haue matier of moste importaunce to common of, thei debate and conclude in the middes of their cuppes: thinkyng it muche surer that is so determined, then aftre any other sobrer sorte. Acqueintaunce mieting of equall degre, griete one another with a kisse. But the inferiour mietyng with his bettre, enclineth his bodie foreward with lowe reuerence. Thei bewrie their corpses in the grounde, cearyng them all ouer with waxe. Their Magicens thei leaue vnbewried, for the foules to disspetche. The children there, by an ordenaunce no where elles vsed: doe carnally knowe their mothers. Thus have ye heard what the maners of the Persians ware sometyme.

Herodotus reherseth certeine other, their facions not vtterly vnworthe the tellynge. That thei compted it vilanie to laughe, or to spitte before the kyng. Thei thought it fondenes in the Grekes worthie to be laughed at, to imagine goddes to be sprong vp of menne. What so euer was dishoneste to be done, that thoughte thei not honeste to be spoken. To be in debte was muche dishonour, but of all thinges moste vile for to lie. Thei vse not to bewrie their deade bodies, vntill thei haue bene torne with dogges, or with fowles. And the parentes brought to niedinesses vse there to make cheuisaunce of their doughters bodies, which emong no nation elles was euer allowed. Howbeit some holde opinion, that it was also the propretie of the Babilonians. The Persians at this daie, beynge subdued of the Saracenes, and bewitched with Mahometes brainsicke wickednesse, are cleane out of memorie. A people in those daies, whiche through their greate hardinesse and force, ware of long tyme Lordes of the Easte parte of the worlde. But now tombled cleane from their aunciente renowne, and bewried in dishonour.

¶ The. viij. Chapitre.

¶ Of Ynde, and the vncouthe trades and maners of life of the people therein.

YNde, a Countrie also of the Easte, and the closyng vp of Asia toward that quartre: is saied to be of suche a maigne syse, that it maie be compared with the thirde parte of the whole earth. Pomponius writeth, that alonge the shore, it is fowrtie daies sailyng the nighte also comprised therein.

It tooke the name of the floude called Indus, whiche closeth vp the lande on the Weste side. Beginnyng at the Southe sea, it stretcheth to ye Sonnerisynge: And Northward to the mount Caucasus. There are in it many greate peoples: and Tounes and Cities so thicke, that some haue reported them in nombre fiue thousande. And to saie truthe, it oughte not to sieme greatly straunge vnto folkes, though the countrie be reported to haue suche a nombre of Tounes, or to be so populous: consideryng that of all other, the Yndiens alone, neuer discharged theim selues of any ouerplus of issue, as other haue done: but alwaie kepte their owne offspryng at home in their owne countrie. Their principall floudes are Ganges, Indus, and Hypanis. But Ganges farre passeth in greatnes the other twaine. This lande by the benefite of the battling breathe of the gentle Weast winde, reapeth corne twise in the yere. And other Wintre hath it none, but the bittre blastes of Theasterly windes called Etesiæ. Thei lacke wine, and yet some men reporte, that in the quartre called Musica, there groweth a good wine grape. In the Southe parte thereof, groweth Nardus, Cinnamome, Peper and Calamus aromaticus: as doeth in Arabia and Aethiope. The woode Ebenum (which some suppose to be our Guayacum) groweth there, and not elles where. Likewise of the Popiniaye and the Vnicorne. As for precious stones, Beralle, Prasnes, Diamantes, firie Carbuncles and Pearles of all sortes, be founde there in greate plentie. Thei haue twoo Sommers, softe pimpelyng windes, a milde aier, a rancke soile, and abundaunce of watre. Diuerse of them therefore liue an hundred and thirtie yeres. Namely emong the Musicanes. And emong the Serites, yet somewhat longer.

All the Yndians generally, weare long heare: died either aftre a bright asshe coulour, or elles an Orenge tawnie. Their chief ieuelles, are of Pearle and precious stones. Their appareille is verie diuers: and in fewe, one like another. Some go in Mantles of Wollen, some of Linnen some naked, some onely brieched to couuer the priuities, and some wrapped aboute with pilles, and lithe barckes of trees. Thei are all by nature blacke of hewe: euen so died in their mothers wombe acordyng to the disposicion of the fathers nature, whose siede also is blacke: as like wise in the Aethiopians. Talle men and strongly made. Thei are very spare fieders, namely when thei are in Campe. Neither delighte thei in muche preasse. Thei are as I saied, greate deckers and trimmers of them selues, haters of theft. Thei liue by lawe, but not written. They haue no knowledge of lettres, but administer altogether without booke. And for y^t^ they are voide of guile, and of very sobre diete: all thing prospereth well with them. Thei drinke no wine, but when thei Sacrifie to their goddes. But their drincke is a bruage that thei make sometyme of Rize, sometime of Barlie. Their meate for the mooste parte is soupynges made also of Rize.

In their lawes, bargaines, and couenauntes, their simplicitie and true meanyng well appeareth: for that thei neuer are muche contencious aboute them. Thei haue no Lawes concernyng pledges or thynges committed to another mannes kiepyng. No witnessynges, no handwritynges, no sealynges, ne suche like tokens of trecherie and vntrust: but without all these, thei trust and be trusted, thei belieue and are belieued, yea, thei oftentymes leaue their houses wide open without keper. Whiche truely are all great signes of a iuste and vprighte dealyng emong them. But this peraduenture can not seatle well with euery mannes fantasie: that thei should liue eche manne aparte by himself, and euery body to dine and to suppe when he lust, and not all at an howre determined. For in dede for the felowshippe and ciuilitie, the contrary is more allowable. Thei commende and occupie muche as a commune exercise, to rubbe their bodies: specially with skrapers made for the nones. Aftre whiche, thei smothe them selues again with Ebenum, whereof I spake afore.

In their Toumbes, and Bewrialles, very plaine and nothyng costlie: But in trimming and arraieng of their bodies, to, to, gaude glorious. For there aboute thei neither spare gold, ne precious stone ne any kinde of silke that thei haue. Thei delighte muche in garmentes of white Sarcenet. And for that thei sette muche by beautie, thei cary aboute with theim phanelles to defende them from the sonne, and leaue nothyng vndone, that maketh for the bettre grace of their faces. Thei sette asmuche by truthe alone, as by all other vertues together.

Age hath there no prerogatiue, except thei winne it with their wisedome, and knowledge. Thei haue many wiues, whiche thei vse to buye of their parentes for a yoke of Oxen. Some to serve them as their vndrelynges, and some for pleasure, and issue. Whiche maie neuerthelesse vse buttoke banquetyng abrode (for any lawe or custome there is to restreine theim) excepte their housebandes by fine force, can compelle them to kepe close.

No one emong the Yndians either sacrifieth coroned, ne offreth odours, ne liquours. Thei wounde not their Sacrifice in no maner of wise: but smore* hym by stopping the breath. Least thei should offre any mangled thing vnto God, but that that ware in euery parte whole. He that is conuicte of false witnessyng, hath his fingres cutte of by the toppe ioynctes. He that hath taken a limme from any manne, suffreth not onely the like losse, but loseth also his hande. But if any man haue taken from an artificer, his hande, or his eye, it lyeth hym vpon his heade.

---

* To smother, from the Dutch *smooren*.

The kyng hath a garde of bought women: who take chardge of his bodie, and haue the trimmyng and orderyng thereof, the residue of the armie, remainyng without the gates. If the Kyng fortune to be droncken, it is not onely lawfull for any one of these women to slea hym: but she shall also as in the waie of rewarde, be coupled in mariage to the nexte king. Whiche (as is saied) is one of his sonnes, that afore enioied the Croune. It is not lawfull for the king to slepe by daie time: and yet in the night tyme to auoide trecherie, he is forced euery houre to chaunge his chambre. When he is not in campe, he ofte tymes cometh abroade: bothe to giue sentence, and to heare matiers dependyng in question. And if it be time of daie to trimme his bodie: he bothe heareth the pleaes, and is rubbed in the meane season with the skrapers afore mencioned, by thre of his women. He cometh furthe also to Sacrifices, and to hunting: Where he is accompaignied with a rable of women, in as good ordre as ours ware wonte to be vpon Hocke Mondaie.* His waie is ranged with ropes, and his garde of menne abideth without. But if it fortune any to steale in, to the women (whiche is contrary to their ordre and duetie) he loseth his heade for it. There go afore hym Tabours and Belles. When he hunteth in places fensed aboute, two or thre armed women stande preste,† for his aide, and defence. But when he hunteth in open place, he is caried vppon an Eliphante: and euen so sittyng on his backe shooteth, or throweth the darte at his game. Some of his women ride vppon Horses, some vpon Elephantes. As likewise in the warres, where thei fight with all kinde of weapons skilfully.

Suche menne also as haue gathered thinges into writynges, recorde: that the Yndians worshippe as their goddes the father of raine Iupiter: Ganges their floude, and the familiar spirites of their countrie. And when their kyng washeth his heade, thei make solempne feast, and sende his highnes greate giftes, eche man enuyenge other, who maye shewe hym self most riche, and magnificent.

---

* Hock-Monday fell eight days after Easter. Hock-tide was a festival instituted in memory of King Hardicanute's death in 1042. Hock-Tuesday-money was a duty paid to the landlord in ancient times.

† Preste—*ready.*

The commune wealthe of the Yndians, was sometyme deuided into seuen states or degrees. The Sages (whiche other calle Philosophers) ware of the first ordre, or state: the whiche although thei ware in nombre feawer then any of the rest: yet ware thei in honour and dignitie aboute the kyng, farre aboue all other. These menne (priuiledged from all busines) neither be troubled with office, ne be at any mannes commaundemente: But receiue of the communes suche thinges as serue for the Sacrifices of their goddes, and are requisite for bewrialles. As though thei ware bothe well acqueinted, and beloued in heauen, and knewe muche of the trade in helle. For this cause haue thei bothe giftes and honour largely giuen them. And in very diede thei do muche good among the people. For in the beginning of ye yere, assemblyng together, thei foreshewe of raine, of drouthe of winde and of sickenesse: and of suche like thynges as maie to profeight be foreknowen. For aswell the kynge as the people, ones vndrestandyng their foresawes, and knowyng the certeintie of their iudgementes by former experience: shone the euilles, and are preste to attende vpon that, that is good. But if any of their said Sages shall fortune to erre in his foresighte: other punishmente hath he none, then for euer after to holde his peace.

The seconde ordre is of housebande menne, whiche beyng more in nombre then any of the other states, and exempte fro the warres, and all other labour: bestowe their tyme onely in housebandrie. No enemie spoileth them, none troubleth them: but refraineth fro doing them any hurte or hinderaunce, vpon respect of the profighte that redoundeth to the whole, throughe their trauailles. So that thei, hauyng libertie without all feare to followe their business, are instrumentes and meanes of a blessed plenteousnesse. Thei with their wiues and children, dwell alwaie in the countrie, withoute resortyng to the tounes or citie. Thei paie rente to the Kyng (for all the whole Countrie is subiecte to their kyng) neither is it lawfull for any of the communes to occupie and possesse any grounde, without paieynge rente. And the housebande men beside this rente, yelde vnto the Kynges maiestie, a fiueth of their fruictes yerely.

The thirde ordre standeth all by brieders and fieders, of all sortes, whiche like wise neither enhabite toune ne village: but with tentes, in the wilde fieldes. And these with huntyng and foulyng in sondrie wise, so kiepe vndre the beastes and hurtefull foules: that whear other wise the housebande menne should in siede tyme, and towarde harueste, be muche acloyed* and hyndered by the fowles, and theim selues alwaie by the beastes, the countrie is quiete from al suche annoyance.

In the fowrthe ordre are Artificers, and handicraftesmen. Whiche are deuided, some into Smithes, some into Armourers, some for one purpose, some for another, as is expediente. These doe not onely liue rente free, but also haue a certaine of graine allowed them at the kinges allowaunce.

In the fiueth ordre are the menne of warre, a greate nombre daiely exercised in armes, bothe on Horsebacke, on Elephantes, and on foote. And all their Elephantes, and horses miete for their warres, are found of the kinges allowaunce.

The sixteth ordre is of Surueiours or Maisters of reporte, whiche haue the ouer sighte of all thynges that are done in the realme, and the charge to bryng reaporte vnto the kyng.

In the seuenth place, are thei that be Presidentes, and heades of the commune counsailles, very fewe in nombre, but worthy men for their nobilitie and wisedome. Oute of these are chosen counsailours for the kynges Courtes, and officers to administre the commune wealth, and to determine controuersies : yea, capitaines for the warres, and Princes of the realme.

The whole state of Ynde beyng deuided into these ordres or degrees: it is also ordeined, that a man shall not marie out of the ordre, wherin his callyng lieth, ne chaunge his trade. For neither maie the souldiour occupie housebandrie thoughe he woulde: ne the artificers entremedle with the doctrine of the Sages.

There are also amonge the Yndians, persons of honour appointed to be as it ware Tutours of straungiers, to see that no wronge be done them, to put ordre for their kepyng, and Phisicke, if any falle sicke. As also (if it fortune any of them to die) for the bewrieng of theim, and to deliuer their goodes, and money to their nexte friendes.

All causes are brought afore the iudges, who heare the parties, and punysshe the offenders diligently. Ther is no slauery amonge them. Yea, thei haue a certaine ordinaunce, that none shalbe slaue or bonde amonge them, but all fre, and of equalle aucthoritie and honour. For thei holde opinion that who so accustometh his selfe neither to be Lorde ouer other, ne to wronge any bodie: y^{t} man hath prepared him selfe sauftie and ease what so euer

---

[*] This word, meaning overburthened, is frequently met with in Chaucer.

shall happen hym by any aduenture. And a fonde thing ware it to make the lawes indifferente for all, and not to make the states of the men indifferente.

But because ther are in Inde manye sondrie contries, diuerse bothe in people and tongue (as in so large a thing muste nedes happen) ye shall vnderstond) that thei do not all alike vse suche trade as I haue described, but in some places somewhat worse.

Of those that lie towarde the Easte, some occupie brieding, and some do not. Other dwellinge in them ershe and fennes vpon the riuers side: occupie fisshing, and liue by the same all rawe. And thebettre to worcke their feate, thei make them selues boates, of suche canes as growe ther, of a wonderfull biggenes, So, that so muche of the cane as is betwixte ioyncte. and ioyncte, is a iuste proportion of timbre for one of their boates.

These of all the other Indians, are appareilled in matte, made of a certayne softe kinde of mere rushes. Which when they haue gathered out of the floude, and sliced out in maner of lace: they brayde together muche like oure figge fraile, or suche like kinde of mattinge, and make them selues ierkins therof.

Those that be yet by Easte of them, are brieders of cataille: and liue altogether with rawe fleshe, and haue to name Padians. Whose condicions are sayde to be suche.

As often as it fortuneth any of their citezeins to besicke, yf it be a manne: his nierest friendes, and those that are moste aboute him, kylle him by and by, leaste (saye thei) his fleshe shoulde waxe worse. Yea, thoughe he woulde dissemble the matier, and denie him self to be sicke, it boteth not. For withoute pardon, they kille him, and make a feaste with him. If it be a woman, looke how the menne did by the manne, so do the women by a woman, Likewise do thei with bothe sortes, when thei waxe croked for age, or become impotente: where broughte, what by the one meanes and the other, none of them die for age.

Ther is another sorte of the Indians that kille no liuinge thing, ne plante, nor sowe, nor builde house: but liue with herbes, and a certeine sede whiche groweth there of the owne accorde, muche like vnto gromelle, whiche thei gather with the cuppe or shelle that it groweth in, and so seeth it, and eate it. If any of these falle sicke, he wandereth forthe into some deserte place, and ther laieth him downe: no manne taking hede either to his lieng or to his dienge.

All these Yndians that I nowe haue spoken of, in quenching of natures heate, vse their women as secretly as beastes do their females.

These Yndians haue a kinde of sages, that the Griekes calle Gimnosophistæ, whiche as the worde Sophista soundeth now, might merily be interpreted briechelesse bablers. But as Sophista did signifie then, naked Sages: or to giue one Grieke worde for a nother, naked Philosophres. These (as Petrarche writeth) haunte the outemoste borders, and shadowie partes of that countrie, wandering naked accordinge to their name, vp and downe, heather and theather studienge, and searching the natures of thinges, the course of the heauens, and the secretes of knowledge. Thei continue sometime al the whole daye from the sonne rising, till his downe goinge: beholdinge the same with stedfaste eye, neuer tourning away the heade (althoughe it be ther moste feruently hote) searching and spienge aftre certaine secretes in the body thereof.

At another time thei passe the daye likewyse, standing one while on one legge, another while on another in ye broilinge sande of that contrie. Froste nor snowe, nor firie heate greued not them.

Amonge these, is ther a people called Brachmanes, whiche (as Didimus their king wrate vnto Alexandre when he went aboute to subdue them) liue a pure and simple life, led with no likerous lustes of other mennes vanities. This people longeth for no more then nature requyreth naturallye. Thei are content with suche foode as commeth to hande, desiryng no suche as other menne tourne the worlde almoste vpside downe to haue, leauing no element vnransaked to gette a gowbin * for their glotenous gorge: but suche as the earth vnploughed, or vndoluen, yeldeth of her self. And because thei acqueinte not their table with surfet, in dede thei know not so many kindes of sickenesses, ne so many names of diseases as we doe: but thei bettre knowe what sounde healthe meaneth, and staied continuaunce of the same then euer we are like.

Thei haue no neide to craue one anothers helpe and reliefe, wher no manne maketh clayme by (thine) and by (myne) but euery manne taketh what he lusteth and lusteth no more then he niedeth. Enuie cannot dwelle ther, ne none of her impes, wher all be equalle, and none aboue other, and all alike poore, maketh

---

* A large mouthful. From the old French, *Gobeau.*

all alike riche. Thei haue no officers of Iustice among them, because thei do nothing that ought to be punisshed. Ther can no lawe appiere, because none offence appeareth.

The whole people hath one onely lawe, to do nothinge against lawe that nature prescribeth. To cherishe labour, to barre out ydlenes, and banis colle couetyse. That lecherylicke not away the vigour of their spirites, and strength: nor lacke throwe menne in desperate doompes. That euery manne hath enoughe, wher no manne couettes more. That neuer content, is of all other the moste cruell restles plague. For whome she catcheth, she throweth a foote beneth beggery, whilest thei canne finde none ende of their scrattinge, but the more thei haue, the fellier gnaweth their longing.

Thei warme by the Sonne, the deawe is their moisture, ye riuer is their drinke, the faire grounde their bedde. Care breaketh not their sleape, Compassing of vanities wearieth not their minde. Pride hath no stroke ouer them, among whom ther is no diuersite. Neither is their any kinde of bonde knowen amonge them: but the bondage of the body to the minde whiche they onely allowe to be iuste.

For the building of their houses, they sende not ouer sea for stone, thei burne no Calion to make lime to tempre their mortre, thei bake no brickes, nor digge no sande. But either make them caues in the earthe, or take suche as they finde ready made in the sides of mounteines and hilles. Ther dwel thei without feare of rage or ruine, of weather or of winde. He thincketh him self saeflier fenced from showres with his caue, then with a fewe tiles: and yet hath by it a double commoditie. A house while he liueth, and a graue ready made when he dyeth. Ther is no glittering apparell, no rattelinge in sylkes, no sylkes, no rusteling in veluettes, but a litle brieche of brawded russhes, or rather a couering of honeste shamefacednesse.

The women are not sette oute to allure, ne pinched in to please, ne garnisshed to gase at. No heare died, no lockes outelaied, no face painted, no skinne sliicked, no countrefeicte countenaunce, nor mynsing of passe. No poticary practise, no ynckhorne termes, nor pithlesse pratling. Finally no colours of hipocrisie, no meanes to set out more beautie then nature hathe giuen them. They ioyne not in engendrure for likerous luste, but for the loue of yssewe and succession. Thei kepe no warres, but mainteine peace: not with force, but with peaceable behauour and maners. The father and the mother folowe not the child to ye bewrialle. Thei builde no toumbes for the deade: more like vnto chirches then graues. They bewry not vp their asshes in pottes dasshed full of pearle and precious stone. For why they estieme in these, neither the honour of the quicke, ne the pleasure of the deade: but raither the trouble and paine of bothe. Pestilence or other diseases (as I haue sayd) the Abrahmanes are not annoyed with, for they enfecte not the ayer with any filthe doinges. But nature alwaye with them, keapeth accorde with the season: and euery elemente his tourne with oute stoppe or barre. Their Phisicque is abstinence, which is able not only to cure the maladie already crepte in: but also to holde oute suche as otherwise mighte entre. Thei couette no sightes, nor shewes of misrule: no disguisinges nor entreludes. Bvt when thei be disposed to haue the pleasure of the stage, thei entre into the regestre of their stories, and what thei finde theremoste fit to belaughed at, that do thei lamente and bewaile. They delight not as many do, to heare olde wiues tales, and fantasies of Robin Hoode: but in studious consideracion of the wondreful workemanship of the worlde, and the disposinge of thinges in suche ordre of course and degree. Thei crosse no sease for merchaundise, ne learne no colours of Rethoricque. Thei haue one kinde of plaine eloquence commune to them all: tongue, and harte agreinge in truthe. Thei haue neither moote halles, ne vniuersities, whose disagreable doctrine more leaning to apisshe arte, then natural reason and experience, neuer bringeth anye staye, or certeinte of thinges. One part of this people iudgeth mannes perfeteste blessednes to stande in honestie. And a nother in pleasure. Not in the tickelinges of the taile, or pamperinges of the bealy, more bittre then pleasaunte as thou maye vse them: but to lacke nothing that perfecte nature desireth, ne nothing to do that perfecte nature misliketh. Thei thincke it no honour to God, to slea for him an innocente beaste; yea thei say he accepteth not the sacrifice of men polluted with bloode, but rather loueth a worship voide of all bloodsheade. That is to saye, the humble entreatie of woorde, because that proprety only (to be entreated with woordes) is commune to God and to manne. With this therefore saye they he is pleased, because we somewhat resemble him self therin. And this was the life of ye vnchristened Brahmanes, wher with we Christianes are so farre out of loue, that we are afraid leaste any man should beleue it to be true.

The Yndians called Çatheis, haue eche man many wiues. And assone as any one husbande fortuneth to die, his whole number of wiues assemble before the chiefest iudges of the citie, and there eche for her self, sheweth and alledgeth her welle deseruinges towarde her housebande: how derely she loued him, howe muche she tendered and honoured him. And she that is by them iudged to hane borne her self beste in that behaulfe, and to haue bene dierest to her husbonde: she in the beste maner and moste gorgeous that she can deuise, triumphing and reioysinge, getteth her vp vpon the funeralle pyle wher her housebandes corps lieth ready to be brente, and ther kissinge and embrasinge the deade body, is burned together with her housebande. So gladde is she to haue the victorie in the contencion of wiuely chastitie, and honeste behauiour toward her husbande. And the other that lyue, thincke them selues dishonoured: and escape not without spotte of reproche as longe as thei liue. Their children in their infancie, are not nourished vp at the libertie and will of the parentes: but certeine there are appointed to viewe the children: whiche yf thei spie vntowardnes in the infante, deformitie, or lacke of lymmes, commande it to be slayne.

Thei ioyne not mariages for nobilitie of birthe, or aboundaunce of substaunce, but for beaultie, and rather vpon regarde of frute, then of luste.

Certaine also among the Yndians haue this custome, that yf thei be of suche pouertie that thei be not able to marye oute their doughters: euen in the floure of her age thei bringe her, or them, furthe into the marcate with trompet and dromme, or suche other their noyses of warre: And their, after the multitude is comen together, the maiden first vncouereth her self wholie vp to the harde shoulders, on the backe haulfe, to be sene starke naked, and aftre that likewise on the bealy. Yf the multitude finde no faulte, but allowe her as worthye to please for her bodye, then marieth she to some one ther, whome she beste liketh.

Megasthenes writeth that vpon diuerse mounteines in Ynde, are people with dogges heades, and longe clawes, cladde in hydes of beastes, speakinge with no voyce like vnto manne, but barking onlye, muche like vnto dogges, with mouthes roughe like a grater.

Thei that dwelle aboute the heade of Ganges, haue no nede of anye kinde of meate: for they liue by the sauour of their frutes. And yf thei fortune to iorney, so that they thincke to fayle of the sauour when thei would haue it, they cary with theim to smell to, at times as thei fainte. But if it fortune those to smelle any horrible stincke, it is as present deathe vnto theim, as poyson to vs. It is recorded in writyng, that certaine of those were in Alexandres campe.

We rede also that there are in Inde men with one eye and no mo. And certein so notably eared that thei hange downe to their hieles, with suche a largenesse that thei may lye in either of them as vpon apallet: and soharde, that thei may rende vp trees with them. Some othera also hauing but one legge, but vpon the same such a foote, that when the sonne is hote, and he lacketh shadowe, lyenge downe vpon his backe, and holdinge vp his fote, he largely shadoweth his whole bodie.

It is redde that in Clesia certein women haue but ones childe in all their life time: and the children as sone as thei areborne, immediatly to become horeheded. Againe, that there is another nacion, much longer lived than we are, whiche in their youth are horeheared: and in their age, their heare waxeth blacke. They affirme alsot hat there is another sorte of women that conceiue at fyue yeres olde, and liue not aboue the age of viii. yeres. There are also that lacke neckes, and haue their eyes in their shoulders. Ther are also beside these, certeine saluages with dogges heades, and shacke heared on their bodies, that make a very terrible charringe with their mouthes. But in these and suche like tales of the Indians, and their countrie: for that a manne had nede of a redie beliefe that should take theim fort ruthes, one had not niede to bee to large: considerynge specially that menne nowe a daies, will skante beleue the reporte of other mens writinges, in the thinges that almost lye vndre their noses.

Ther is a place betwixt Gedrosia and the floude Yndus which is called Cathainus of the Cathaiens that enhabyte it. This people ware an ofspring of ye Scithians, muche altered from their naturall condi- cions, and wonted maners, if that that Aritone the Arminiane writeth of them in his storie, be true.

Thei passe (saieth he) all other men in quicke smelling. And thei saye of them selues, that though all other menne haue two instrumentes of sight, yet do none se with both two in dede, but thei: all other men in comparison either to haue no sight, or elles as it ware but with one eye. Their wittinesse is greate, but their boastinge greater. The whole nacion of them is perswaded, that thei muche passe all other men in knowledge, and the subtilties of sciences. Thei are all of colour shining white, small eyed, beardelesse by nature. Their lettres are aftre the facion of the Romaine, all in squares. Thei are diuersely ledde with fonde supersticions, some aftre one sorte, and some aftre another. But thei are all voyde of the true knowledge which is in Iesus Christe. Some worship the sonne, some ye moone. Other, ymages of yoten metalle, manie of them an oxe. And thus to sondry suche other monsters, hath this people in sondry wyse diuided it selfe in supersticion. Thei haue do maner of written lawes, nor knowe not what we meane when we speake of faithfulnesse or trustiness. And wher (as I said afore) thei haue in all handi worckes a passing subtiltie of witte, yet in the knowledge of heauenly thinges, thei are altogether to learne: that is to saie, the are vtterly ignoraunt. A cowardly people and very feareful of death. Yet exercise thei a maner of warre, but that thei handle rather by witte, and pollicie, then by strength and hardinesse. In their fighte thei use a kinde of shaftes, and certaine other weapons of flight, vnknowen to other countries.

Their money is a piece of square paper, with their Kynges Image vpon it. And because it cannot be durable: ordre is taken, that when it is soiled or dusked muche, with passyng from man to man, thei shall bring it to the coignyng house, and make exchaunge for newe. All their vtensiles and necessaries of house, are of golde, siluer, and other metalles. Oile is so deintie emong theim, that the kyng onely vseth it, as it ware for a precious ointement. Thus haue we treated of the Yndians, and now to their borderers, the Scithians.

¶ The ix. Chapitre.

¶ Of Scithia and their sterne maners.

SCithia (a countrie lieng by North) is said of Herodotus, to take the name of Scitha Hercules sonne. Or as Berosus Iudgeth, of an other Scitha, borne of our greate graundame Araxe, Noahes wife, that dwelt first in that countrie. This people in the beginnyng, pente within narowe boundes, so in processe by litle and litle, through their valeauntnes and force enlarged their limites: that thei became lordes of many countries aboute, and grewe into a great gouernaunce and renoume. Thei nestled first vpon the floude Araxis so fewe in nombre and so base: that no manne thought theim worthie the troublyng or talkyng of. But gettyng vnto them a certein king, hardie, of great courage, and notable experience in the warres: thei enlarged their land so, that thei made it stretche on the one parte (whiche is altogether Hille, and Mounteigne) vnto Caucasus, and ouer al the plain vnto the Occean, and vnto the greate marshe of Meotis, and Tanais the floude. From whence the countrie of Scithia now stretcheth all along toward the East. And because the mounteigne Imaus, ronnyng along as the countrie coasteth, deuides it in the middes into two haulues: the one haulfe is called Scithia within Imaus, and the other without (as ye would saie) on this side the Mounte, and beyonde. There neuer medled any power with theim, that was able to conquere theim: or muche to endamage them. Thei forced Darius, the Kyng of the Persians, with greate dishonour to flie their countrie. Thei slue Cirus with all his armie. Thei made an ende of Alexandre with al his power. The Romaines sente theim threates thei would warre with theim, but they proued in fine but wordes. Thei are a people not tameable with any toile, bittre warriours, and of great strength of bodie. At the first very rawe, and with out any ordinarie trade of life: neither knowyng what tillage meant, ne yet hauyng any houses or cotages to dwell in. But wandryng vp and doune the wilde fieldes and driuyng their catteile afore theim, their wiues and their children ridyng in wagons by them. Thei obserued iustice, without constraint of lawe. Thei compted none offence more heinous, then thefte. As folke that had nothyng vndre locke nor keye, barre, nor bolte: but altogether in the open fielde. Thei nether occupied golde ne siluer. Their chief foode was milke and Hony. Against colde and other stormes, thei wrapped their bodies in felles, and hides of beastes, and Mice skinnes. Thei knewe not what Wollen meante, ne any facion of garmente.

This maner of life was in many of the Scithians, but not in all. A greate nombre of theim, as thei muche differed in distaunce of place from other, so differed thei also from other in maners: and vsed a certeine trade of liuyng emong them selues, wherof we aftreward will entreate, when we haue saied somewhat more of their facions in generall.

Many of the Scithians delight in manslaughter. And the firste man that he taketh in fight, his bloud drincketh he: and offreth vnto his Kynge the heades of all those y^t he ther sleaeth. For when he hath so done, he is admitted to be partaker of the butine what so euer it be, whereof he should be otherwise partles. He cutteth of the heade aftre this sorte. Firste, with his knife he maketh in it a gashe rounde aboute like a circle, vndre the eares: then taketh he it by the heare of the croune, and striketh it of. That done, he fleaeth it, and taweth the skinne betwixte his handes, vntill it become very souple and soft and kiepeth it for a hande kercher. This wille he hange vpon the reine of his horse, and glorieth not a litle in it. And he that hath moste of suche handkerchers, is compted the valeauntest manne. There are many also that sowe together these skinnes of menne, as other doe the skinnes of beastes, and weare theim for their clothyng. Some of them flea the right hand of their enemies beyng slaine, so that the nailes also remain vpon the fingres, and make couers of theim for their quiuers.

Many of them flea the whole bodie, and stretche out the skinne vpon certaine stickes fitted for the nones, and so sprede them vpon their Horse. Of the Skulles of the heades thus slaine, thei make measures to drincke in: coueryng them on the outside with rawe Neates leather, and gilding them on the inside, if he be of habilitie. And when any gheste of estimacion commeth vnto theim, thei offre them to drincke in asmany as they haue, and declare for a greate braggue of their valeauntnesse, that so many they haue slaine with their owne hande.

Ones euery yere, all the chief heades of the Scitians, kepe a solempne drinckyng. At the whiche the maner is, out of one of these Skulles, as out of a was sailing boule, to giue all those the wine that haue slaine an enemie. But he that hath done no such notable acte, tasteth not therof, but sitteth aparte in a corner with out honour: which is iudged among them a greate reproche. But thei that haue achieued many slaughters, thei drancke of two Goblettes together, which thei haue for that purpose.

The goddes whom thei worshippe and doe Sacrifice vnto, are these: Firste and chiefly vnto Vesta, then to Iupiter, and the goddesse of the grounde: for that thei take her to be Iupiters wife. Nexte vnto Apollo and Venus, Mars and Hercules. Yet erecte thei no Chapelle, Altare, nor Image to any of these: but onely to Mars: to whom thei offre of euery hundred prisoners that thei take, one for a sacrifice. To the other thei offre bothe horses and other beastes, but specially horses. Swine thei so little estieme, that thei neither offre them to any of their goddes ne vouchesauf to kiepe theim in their Countrie. Looke whom the kyng punissheth with death, his children he also commaundeth to be slain, as many as be males, but the women are pardoned.

With whom the Scithians couenaunt or make League: after this maner thei doe it. They fille an earthen panne with wine, and of the parties that shall strike the League or couenaunte, thei drawe a quantitie of bloude, whiche thei mingle therwith. Then diepe thei into the panne their Curtilasse, their shaftes, their axe, and their darte. That done thei wishe vnto them selues many terrible curses and mischiefes, if thei holde not the league or couenaunte. And then drincke thei the wine. And not thei onely that strike the couenantes, but also those that are moste honourable in their compaignie.

The bewriall of their kyngesis aftre this maner: where the Kyng dieth, those that are of his bloude, rounde his heare, cutte of one of his eares, slice his armes rounde aboute, all to begasshe his foreheade and his nose, and shoote him through the lifte hande, in thre or fowre places. Then laie thei the corps in a Carte, and cary it to the Gerrites, where the Sepulchres of all their Kynges are. And thei dwell vpon the floude Boristhenes, about the place wher it becometh first saileable. This people when thei haue receiued it, trenche out a square plotte in the ground very wide and large. And then rippe the bealy of the corps, and bowelle it cleane: clensyng it and drieng it from all filthe, and fille it vp with Siler Montanum, Frankencense, Smallache siede, and Anise siede, beaten together in a Mortre. And when thei haue sowed it vp againe close, thei ceare the whole bodie, and conueighe the same in a Carte, to the nexte people vndre the gouernaunce of the Scithians, whiche with honour receiue it, and conueigh it vnto the nexte of their dominion: and so from one to another, vntle it haue passed rounde aboute, to as many peoples as are of their dominion, and be comen againe to the place of bewriall emong the Gerrites, whether it is accompanied with a certain of all the peoples, to whom it hath comen, as thei gathered encreace from place to place. Thei, aftre what tyme thei haue laied the corps, cophine and all, vpon a bedde of state, amid the square afore mentioned: sticke doune their iauelines and speares aboute him, and with stickes laied ouer from one to another, frame as it ware a Cielyng, whiche thei couer with a funeralle palle. Then in the reste of the voide space, that yet remaines in the Cophine made for the nones: thei bewrie one of his dierest lemmans, a waityng manne, a Cooke, a Horsekeper, a Lacquie, a

Butler, and a Horse. Whiche thei al first strangle, and thruste in, together with a portion of all sortes of plate, and of euery suche thyng as apperteined to his housholde, or body. And when the yere comes about, then do thei thus. Thei take of those that ware nerest about the Kyng (now there are none aboute the king, but thei be Scithians free borne, and suche as his self doth commaunde: for he maie be serued with no bought slaue) of those take thei fiuetie and as many of his best horses. And when thei haue strangeled bothe the men and the horses, they bowell the Horses, stuffe their bealies againe with Chaffe, and sowe theim vp close, and sette the menne vppon their backes. Then make thei a voulte ouer round about the bordre of the greate square, and so dispose these Horse menne enuiron the same, that thei sieme a farre of, a troupe of liuyng horsemen gardyng the kyng.

The communes haue also a maner of bewrialle aftre a like sorte. When one of theim dieth, his nexte neighbours and kindsfolke laie hym in a Carte, and cary hym aboute to euery of his frindes: whiche at the receipte of hym make a feaste, as well to the kindsmen, as to all the residewe that accompaignie the corps. And when thei haue thus caried hym aboute by the space of fowretene daies, he is bewried. All the braine of his heade beyng first piked out, and the skulle rinsed with water cleane. Aboute the bodie thei sette vp three sparres of woodde slopyng, and restyng one vpon another at the toppes. Rounde about these sparres, thei straine cappyng woollen, packyng theim as close as thei can. And within betwixt the sparres, as it ware in the middest ouer the deade, thei set a traie or shallowe trough, where in to thei caste a kinde of stones, that glistereth by fire light.

The menne emong the Scithians do not vse to washe them selues. But the women vse to powre water vpon their own bodies, and to rubbe themselues against some roughe stone: and then with a piece of a Cipresse, Ceadre, or Encence tree, to grate their whole bodie, vntill it be some what bollen or swollen. And then enoint thei bothe that and their face, with certeine medicines for the nones: whereby thei become the nexte daie of a very good smell, and (when the medicine is washed awaie) slicke and smothe.

Their commune othe, and the othe of charge in matiers of controuersie, or iudgemente, is by the kynges clothe of estate: by the whiche if a man shalbe tried to haue forsworne hymself (as their enchauntours haue a maner to trie with salowe roddes whether thei haue or not) by and by without respighte, he loseth his heade, and all his goodes, whiche tourne̅ to the vse of them that haue proued him periured.

The Massagetes, a people of Scithia in Asie, beyond the sea called Caspium mare in appareille and liuyng, muche like to the Scithians, and therefore of some so called: vse to fighte bothe on horsebacke and on fote, with suche actiuitie and force, that thei are almoste inuincible in bothe. Their weapons are bowe and arrowes, Launces and Armynge swordes. Their beltes aboute their waste, the ornament of their heades, and their pollerone, are garnished with golde. Their Horses are barbed on the brest, with barbes of gold. Their reines, bridles, and trappour are all of golde. The heades of their Launces are of Brasse, and their Quiuers armed with Brasse. As for Siluer and Iron thei occupie none. Eche manne marieth one wife, and yet are the wiues of them all, commune one to another, whiche thyng is not vsed emong any of the other Scythians. When so euer any man lusteth for the compaignie of his woman, he hangeth vp his quiuer vpon the carte wherein his wife is caryed by him, and there openly without shame coupleth.

When any one of this people waxeth very aged, his friendes, acquaintaunce, and kindesfolke assembled together, make a bealy Sacrifice of hym: sleayng as many shiepe besides, as will serue for the fulnesse of the nombre. And when thei haue dressed theim, eate parte and parte like, the one with the other. And this kinde of departynge is compted emong theim, of all other moste blessed. If any fortune to pine awaie of sickenesse, hym eate thei not: but put in a hole, and throwe earthe vpon him. Sory for the losse, that he came not to the feaste.

Thei neither sowe nor mowe, but liue by flesshe of suche beastes as thei haue, and suche fisshe as Araxe the floude doeth plenteously minister vnto them: and with drinckynge of Milke, wherof thei make no spare. Thei knowe no goddes but the Sonne: In whose honour thei offre vp Horses in Sacrifice, as beyng in swiftenesse moste like vnto the Sonne.

The Seretines are a debonaire people, and suche louers of quietnesse, that they shonne to entremedle with any other people. Merchauntes passe their outmost floude toward them, but thei maie come no nigher. Along the banques there, thei sette oute suche thynges, as thei are disposed to selle. Not the Merchauntes, but the indwellers of the Countrie. For thei selle to other, and buie of none. And thei sette them in ordre as thei iudge them in price. The buyer cometh, and as he iudgeth theim by his eye to be worthe, without further trade or feloweshippe betwixte theim, so laieth he doune. And if thei receiue it, he departeth with ye ware. Emong them is there neither whore nor thiefe, nor adulteresse broughte to iudgemente. Neither was it euer hearde, that there was a manne slaine emong theim. For the feare of their Lawes woorketh more strongly with theim, then the influences of the Starres. Thei dwelle as it ware in the beginnyng or entryng of the worlde. And for that thei liue aftre a chast sort: thei are neither skourged with Blastynges, ne Haile, ne Pestilence, ne suche other euilles. No manne toucheth a woman there, aftre she hath conceiued, ne yet in the time of her flowres. Thei eate none vncleane beastes, ne knowe what Sacrifisyng meaneth. Euery man there is his owne Iudge, acordyng to Iustice. Therefore are thei not chastised with suche corrections as happen vnto other for synne, but bothe continue long in life, and die without grief.

The Tauroschithians (so called for that thei dwell aboute the mounteigne Taurus) offre as many as fortune to make Shipwracke vpon their shore: to the virgine, whose name ye shall aftre heare. And if it fortune any Greke or Grekes, to be driuen thether, him doe thei sacrifice after this maner.

Aftre what tyme thei haue made prayer after their maner, thei strike of his heade with an hatchet. And (as some saie) tomble doune the carkesse into the Sea, (for this Virgine hath a Chapelle vpon the toppe of a high clieue, hangyng ouer the Sea, where this feate is doone) and naile vp the heade vpon a Gibet. In this poincte of nailyng vp the heade, all the writers agre, but in tomblyng doune the body, not so, for some affirme, that the body is bewried. The Virgine Deuille, to whom thei Sacrifice: is saith to be Iphigenia Agamemnons doughter. Their enemies as many as thei take, thus thei handle. Euery manne cutteth of his prisoners head, and carieth it home: and fasteneth it vpon the ende of a long pole, and setteth it vp: some vpon their house toppe some vpon their chimneis as high as thei can. And no merueile though thei set them so that thei might well see rounde about theim: for thei saie: they are the wardens and kepers of al their whole house. They liue by spoile, and by warre.

The Agathirsians are menne verie neate and fine, and greate wəarers of golde in their appareill. Thei occupie their women in commune, so that thei seme all of one kindred, and one householde: neuer striuyng nor grudgyng one with another, muche like in body vnto the Thracians.

The Neuriens vse the maners of the Sithians. This people the somer before that Darius set furthe, ware constrained for the greate multitude of Serpentes y^t^ ware bredde in their quartres, to chaunge their dwellyng place. Thei verily doe belieue, and wille sweare it: that euery yere ones for a certaine daies, thei become Woulues, and retourne againe into their former shape and state.

The Antropophagites (so called for that thei liue by mannes fleshe) of all menne, are the worste condicioned, without lawe, or officer, appareilled like the Scithiens: but in language like vnto no bodye but them selues.

The Melanchleni do all weare blacke, as their name dothe signifie. And of these also are eaters of mannes fleshe: so manye as folowe the trade of the Scithians.

The Budines are a great nacion, and a populous, graye eyed, and redde headed al. Their heade citie is Gelone, wherof thei are also called Gelonites. Thei kepe euery thirde yere a reuelle in the honour of Bacchus: whereat thei make reuelle in dede, yea, reuell route. Thei ware sometime Griekes, whiche put of fro their countrie, seatled them selues there. And by processe, losing the proprietie of their owne tongue, became in language haulfe Grekes, and haulfe Scithians. Yet are the Gelonites bothe in language and liuinge, different from the Budines. For the Budines being natiue of the place, are brieders of Catteile: The Gelonites, occupienge tilthe: liue by corne, and haue their frute yardes. Neyther lyke in colour ne countenaunce to the other. All their quartres are verye full, and thicke of trees. It hathe also many meres and greate. In and aboute the whiche thei take Ottres, and Beauers, and many other beastes: of whose skinnes they make them pilches, and Ierkins.

The Lirceis liue by woodmanshippe, and huntinge, and aftre this maner. Their countrie beinge also very thicke of trees, thei vse to climbe suche as siemeth them beste: and there awaite their game. At the foote of euery mannes tree lieth a dogge, and a horse well taughte to couche flatte on the bealy, as lowe as can bee. When the beast cometh within daungier, he shoteth. And yf he hitte, he streighte commeth downe, taketh his horse backe, and foloweth with his hounde.

The Argippians dwell vndre the foote of the highe mountaines. Men whiche fro their birthe are balde, bothe the males and the females. Their noses tourne vp like a shoinge horne, and their chinnes be great out of measure. The sounde of their voice vnlike to all other: ther apparell aftre the sorte of the Scithians. Thei haue small regarde to brieding: by the reason wherof thei haue smalle store of cattaile. Thei lie vndre trees, whiche in the wintre thei couer ouer with a white kinde of felte, and in the somer take the same awaye, and lie vndre the open tree. Ther is no manne that will harme them for that thei are compted holy halowed: neither haue thei anye kinde of armour, or weapon of warre. These men haue the arbitrement of their neighbours controuersies rounde aboute. And as thei determine so are thei ended. Who so flieth vnto them, is saufe as in sanctuary.

The Issedonnes haue this propertie. When so euer any mannes father ther, dieth: all his kinsfolke bringe euery man one beast or other to the house of ye sonne that kepeth the funeral. Which when they haue killed and minsed: they minse also the body of the deade. And bothe the flesshes beinge mingled together, thei fall to the banket. Then take thei the dead mannes heade, and pike the braine cleane, and all other moistures and ragges, and when thei haue guilte it, thei vse it for a representacion of the partie departed. Solempnisinge euery yere furthe, the memoriall, with newe ceremonies, and mo. This dothe the sonne for the father, and the father for the sonne, as the Grekes kepe their birthe daies.

These are also sayde to be verye iuste dealers, and their wiues to be as valeaunt and hardie as the husbandes. Suche haue the maners of the Scithians bene. But afterwarde being subdued by the Tartares, and wearing by processe into their maners and ordinaunces: thei nowe liue all aftre one sorte, and vndre one name.

¶ The x. Chapiter.

¶ Of Tartarie, and the maners and power of the Tartarians.

TArtaria, otherwyse called Mongal: As Vincentius wryteth, is in that parte of the earthe where the Easte and the Northe ioyne together. It had vpon the Easte, the londe of the Katheorines and Solangores, on the South, the Saracenes: on the Weste the Naymaniens, and on the Northe is enclosed with the occean. It hath the name of the floude Tartar that ronneth by it. A country very hilly, and full of mountaines. And where it is champe in, myngled with sande and grauelle. Barreine, except it be in places where it is moysted with floudes, which are very fewe. And therfore it is muche waaste, and thinly enhabited. Ther is not in it one Citie, ne one village beside Cracuris. And wood in the moste parte of the country so skante, that the enhabitauntes are faine to make their fyre, and dresse their meate with the drie donge of neate and horses. The ayer intemperate and wonderfulle. Thondre, and lightening in somer so terrible, that sondry do presently die for very feare. Nowe is it broiling hote, and by and by bittre colde, and plenty of snowe. Suche stronge windes sometime, that it staieth horse and man, and bloweth of the rider: teareth vp trees by the rootes, and doeth muche harme. In wintre it neuer raineth ther, and in Somer very often. But so slendrely, that the earthe is skante wette with al. And yet is ther great store of Cattaile: as Camelles, neate. &c. And horses and mares, in suche plentie, as I beleue no parte of the earth hath againe. It was first enhabited of foure peoples. Of the Ieccha Mongalles that is to saye, the greate Mongalles. The Sumongalles, that is to say the watre Mongalles, whiche called them selues Tartares, of the floude Tartar whose neighbours thei are.

The thirde people ware called Merchates, and the fourthe Metrites. There was no difference betwixte them eyther in body or language, but al aftre one sorte and facion. Their behauour was in the beginning very brute, and farre oute of ordre, without lawe or discipline, or any good facion. Thei liued amonge the Scithians, and kept herdes of cattalle in very base state and condition: and ware tributaries to all their neighbours. But within a while aftre, thei deuided them selues as it ware into wardes, to euery of the which was appointed a capitaine: in whose deuises and consentes consisted thordre of the whole. Yet ware thei tributaries to the Naimannes (their next neighbours) vntyll Canguista by a certaine prophecie was chosen their kynge. He assone as he had receiued the gouernaunce, abolished all worshippe of deuilles, and commaunded by commune decree that all the whole nacion should honour the highe God euerlasting: by whose prouidence he would seme to haue receiued the kingdome. It was further decreed that as manye as ware of age to beare armour, should be preste, and ready with the king at a certeyne daye. The multitude that serued for their warres, was thus distributed. Their capitaines ouer ten (which by a terme borowed of the Frenche, we calle Diseners, are at the commaundemente of the Centurians. And the Centuriane obeied the Millenarie, that had charge of a thousande. And he againe was subiecte to the grande Coronelle that had charge ouer ten thousande: aboue the whiche nombre thei mounted no degree of captaines.

This done, to proue the obedience of his subiectes, he commaunded seuen sonnes of the Princes or Dukes whiche before had gouerned the people: to be slaine by the handes of their owne fathers, and mothers. Whiche thinge althoughe it ware muche againste their hartes, and an horrible diede, yet did thei it. Partely vppon the feare of the residew of the people: and partly vpon conscience of their obedience. For why, the people thoughte when thei sawe him begyn aftre this sorte: thei had had a god amongest them. So that in disobeyinge of his commaundemente, thei thoughte thei should not haue disobeied a king but God him selfe.

Canguista takinge stomake with this power, firste subdued those Scithians that bordred vpon him, and made them tributaries. And where other afore had bene tributaries also vnto them: now receiued he in that one peoples righte, tribute of many. Then settinge vpon those that ware further off, he had suche prosperous successe that from Scithia to the sonne risinge, and fro thence to the middle earthe sea, and beyonde: he broughte all together vndre his subiection. So that he moughte nowe worthely wryte him selfe highe Gouernour, and Emperour of the Easte.

The Tartares are very deformed, litle of bodie for the moste parte, hauyng great stiepe eyes: and yet so heary on the eye liddes, that there sheweth but litle in open sight. Platter faced and beardlesse, sauyng vpon the vpper lippe, and a litle about the poincte of the chinne thei haue a feawe heares as it were pricked in with Bodkins. Thei be communely all slendre in the waste. Thei shaue the hindre haulfe of the heade, rounde aboute by the croune, from one eare to another: compassyng towarde the nape of the necke after suche a facion, that the polle behind sheweth muche like the face of a bearded manne. On the other parte, thei suffre their heare to growe at lengthe like our women:

whiche thei deuide into two tresses, or braudes, and bryng aboute to fasten behinde their eares. And this maner of shauyng, do thei vse also that dwelle among theim, of what nacion so euer thei be. Thei theim selues are very light and nimble: good on Horse, but naughte on foote. All from the moste to the leaste, as well the women as the menne: doe ride either vpon Geldynges, or Kien, where so euer thei become. For stoned Horses thei occupie none, ne yet Gelding that is a striker, and lighte of his heles. Their bridelles are trimmed with muche gold, siluer, and precious stones. And it is compted a ioly thyng among theim: to haue a great sort of siluer sounded belles, gynglyng aboute their horse neckes. Their speache is very chourlishe and loude. Their singyng is like the bawlynge of Woulues. When thei drinke, thei shake the heade: and drincke thei do very often euen vnto dronckennesse, wherein thei glorie muche. Their dwellyng is neither in tounes ne Bouroughes. But in the fieldes abrode, aftre the maner of thauncient Scithians in tentes. And the ratherso, for that thei are all moste generally catteill mastres. In the wintre time thei are wont to drawe to the plaines, and in the Somer season, to the mounteignes and hillie places for the better pasture. Thei make theim Tentes, or elles rounde cotages of wickres, or of Felte vndersette with smothe poles. In the middes thei make a round windowe that giueth them lighte, and letteth out the smoke. In the middes of the Tent, is their fire, aboute the whiche their wife and their children doe sitte. The menne delight muche in dartyng, shootyng, and wrastelyng. Thei are merueilous good hunters, to the whiche thei go armed at all pieces. And assone as thei espie the beaste, thei come costing together rounde aboute and enclose her. And when euery manne hath throwen his darte, or shotte his arrowe: whilest the beast is troubled and amased with the stripes, thei steppe in to her and slea her. Thei neither vse breade ne bakyng: table clothe ne napkin.

Thei belieue that there is one GOD that made all thynges, bodily and ghostly, sene or vnsene, and hym thei honour: but not with any maner of Sacrifice or ceremonie. Thei make theim selues litle pupettes of silke or of felte, or of thrumme, like vnto menne: whiche thei sette vp vpon eche side of their Tentes, and do them muche reuerence, beseching them to take hede to their catteille. To these thei offre the first milke of all their milche catteill, of what kinde so euer thei be. And before thei begin either to eate or drinke aught, thei sette a porcion thereof before theim. Looke what beaste thei kille to be eaten, thei reserue the harte all nighte in some couered cuppe, and the nexte mornynge seath it and eate it.

Thei worshippe also and Sacrifice to the Sonne, Moone, and elementes fowre. To Cham also their Lorde and Kyng, thei do very deuoute honour and Sacrifice: supposyng him to be the sonne of God, and to haue no piere in the whole worlde: neither can thei abide to heare any other manne name hym.

This people so despiseth al other men, and thincke theim selues so farre to surmount them in wisedome and goodnes: that thei abhorre to speake to theim, or to compaignie with them. Thei calle the Pope and all Christen menne, Doggues and Idolatres: because thei honour stones and blocques. And thei theim selues (beyng giuen to deuelishe supersticions) are markers of dreames, and haue dreame readers emong theim: as well to enterpreate their sweuens,* as to aske knoweledge of Idolles. In whom thei are perswaded that God speaketh: and therefore acordyng to their answeres, frame them selues to do. Thei marke many seasons, and specially haue regarde to the chaunges of the Moone. Yet make thei for no season, ne chaunge, any singular holidaie or obseruance: but ilike for them all indifferently. Thei are of so gredie a coueitousenesse, and desire, that if any of them se aughte, that he coueiteth to haue, and cannot obtein with the good wille of the owner: if it apperteigne to no Tartarre, he will haue it by force. And thei thincke (through a certein ordenaunce that their Kyng made) thei offende not therein. For suche a commaundemente had thei of Canguista, and Cham, their firste Kynges: That if it fortune any Tartarre, or Tartarres seruaunt, to finde in his waie, horse, man, or woman, without the kinges lettres or his saulfconduite: he should take it, him, her, or them as his owne for euer.

To suche as lacke money thei lende, but for shamefull gaines: that is to saie, two shillynges of the pounde for euery Monethe. And if it fortune ye to faile to make paiemente at the daie: ye shall also be forced to paie the enterest, acording to the rate of the Vsurie. That is to saie, of euery tenth penie, one.

Thei do so polle and oppresse their tributaries, with subsidies, taxes and tallages, as neuer did people but thei, that euer manne redde of. It is beyonde belief to saie. Thei euer coueite, and as Lordes of all, do rape, and rende from other, and neuer recompence aught. No, the begger that liueth on almose, getteth not an aguelette of hym. Yet haue thei this one praise worthie propretie, that if he fortune to finde them at meate: thei neither shutte the doore against hym, ne thruste him out, if he be disposed to eate, but charitably bidde them, and parte with them suche as thei haue. But thei fiede the vnclenliest in the worlde, as I haue saied, without tableclothe, napkinne, or towell to couer the borde, or to wipe at meate, or aftre. For thei neither washe hande, face, ne body, ne any garmente that thei weare. Thei nether eate bread, nor make bread, nor sallottes nor potage, nor any kinde of Pultz. But no maner of flesshe cometh to them amisse. Dogges, Cattes, Horses and rattes. Yea, sometime to shewe their crueltie, and to satisfie their vengeaunce, the bodies of suche their enemies, as thei haue taken, thei vse to roste by a greate fire: and when thei bee asembled a good nombre together, thei teare theim of the spittes like Wolues, with their tiethe, and deuoure them. And aftreward drincke vp the bloude, whiche thei reserue afore hande for the nones. Otherwise thei vse to drincke Milke. Thei haue no wine of the countrie it self, but suche as is brought into them thei drincke very gredilie. Thei vse to Lowse one anothers heade, and euer as thei take a Lowce to eate her, saieng: thus wille I doe to our enemies. It is compted a greate offence emong them to suffre drincke, or a piece of meate to be loste. Thei neuer therfore giue the bone to the Dogge, till thei haue eaten out the marrowe. Thei neuer eate beaste (suche vile niggardes thei are) as long as the same is sounde and in good likyng: but when it fortuneth to be hurte, sicke, or febled by age, then bewrie they it in their bealies. Thei are greate sparers, and contente with smalle chaunge, and litle foode. Thei drincke in the mornyng, a goblet full of Milke or twaine, whiche serueth theim sometyme for their whole daies foode.

---

* From the Saxon, meaning a dream. See Bailey's *Dict.*, London, 1737.

The menne and the women moste communely are appareilled ylike. The men weare vpon their heades shallowe copin tackes, comming out behinde with a taile of a handefull and a haulfe long, and as muche in breadth: whiche thei fasten vnder their chinnes, for falling or blowing of, with a couple of strynges of ribbande lace, as we doe our nighte cappes. Their married women wear on their heades, fine wickre Basquettes of a foote and a haulf long: rounde, and flatte on the toppe like a barrelle. Whiche are either garnished with chaungeable silkes, or the gaiest parte of the Pecockes feathers, and sette with golde and stones of sondrie sortes. Asfor the residue of their bodie, thei wear acording to their abilitie, bothe men and women, Skarlet or Veluet, or other silkes. Thei weare coates of a straunge facion, open on the left side, whiche thei put on acordingly, and fasten with fowre or five Buttons. Their Somer wiedes are all communely blacke: and those that thei weare in Winter and foule weather, white: and neuer lower then the knee. Wearing furres (wherein thei muche delight) thei weare not the furre inwarde, as we communely doe: but contrariwise the heare outwarde, that thei maie enioie the pleasure of the shewe.

It is harde to discerne by the appareile the maide, fro the wife, or the woman fro the manne: so like araied do the menne and the women go. Thei weare brieches, the one and the other. When they shal go to the skirmishe, or to battaille, some couer their armes (whiche at all other tymes are naked) with plates of iron, buckeled together alonge, in many pieces, that thei may the easelier sturre their armes. Some doe thesame with many foldes of Leather: wherwith thei also arme their head. Thei cannot handle a target: nor but fewe of theim a launce or a long sweard. Thei haue curtilasses of. iii. quarters longe: not double edged but backed. Thei fighte all with a quarter blowe, and neither right downe, ne foyning. Thei be very redy on horsebacke, and very skilful archers. He is counted moste valeaunte, that best obserueth the commaundement and the obedience dewe to his capitaine. Thei haue no wages for their souldie, yet are they prest and ready in all affaires, and all commaundementes. In battayle, and otherwise wher oughte is to be done, very politike and experte. The princes and capitaines entre not the battle, but standyng aloofe, crye vnto their men, and harten them on: lookinge diligently aboute on euery side what is nedefull to be done. Sometime to make the armye sieme the greater, and the more terrible to the ennemy: thei set vpon horsebacke their wiues and their children, yea and men made of cloutes. It is no vilany amonge them to flye: if any thinge maye eyther be saued or wonne by it. When thei will shoote, thei vnarme their righte arme, and then let thei flye with suche violence, that it pearceth all kinde of armour. Thei giue the onset flockinge in plumpes, and likewise in plompes they flie. And in the flighte thei so shoote backe warde behinde them, that thei slea many of their ennemies pursuinge the chase. And when thei perceiue their ennemies dispersed by pursuinge the chase, or not to fighte any thing wholie together: soudeinly retourninge, the beginne a newe onset with a hayle of shotte, neither sparing horse ne man. So that oftetimes thei ouercome when thei are thoughte to be vanquisshed. When thei come to enuade any quartre or countrie, thei deuide their armie, and sette vpon it on euery parte: so that the inhabitours can neither haue laisure to assemble and resiste, ne waye to escape. Thus are thei alway sure of the victory, whiche thei knytte vp with moste proude crueltie. Neither sparinge manne woman ne childe, olde ne younge sauing the artificer onely, whom thei reserue for their own vses. And this slaughter make thei aftre this maner. When thei haue all taken them, thei distribute them to their Centurians: who committe them againe to the slaues: to euery one fewer or more acordinge to the multitude. And when the slaues haue all slayne them as bouchers kylle hogges: then for a terrour to al other ther about: of euery thousande of ye dead thei take one, and hange him vp by the hieles vpon a stake, amydde these deade bodies: and so ordre his heade as though it appiered by his facion or maner of hanginge, that he yet bothe harkened the complainte of his felowes, and lessened them againe. Many of the Tartarres when the bodies lie freshe bliedinge on the grounde, laye them downe alonge, and sucke of ye bloud a full gloute.

Thei kepe faithe to no manne, howe depely so euer thei binde them selues thervnto. Thei deale yet wourse with those that thei ouer come with force. The maidens and younge women thei deflowre, and defile as thei come to hande, neither do thei iudge it any dishonestie. The beautifuller sorte thei lead away with them: and in extreame misery, constraine them to be their slaues all their lyfe longe. Of all other thei are moste vnbrideled in leachery. For althoughe thei marye as many wiues as they luste, and are able to kepe: no degre prohibited, but mother, doughter, and sister: yet are thei as rancke bouguers with mankinde, and with beastes, as the Saracenes are, and no punishmente, for it amonge them. The woman that thei marie, thei neuer take as wife, ne receiue any dowrie with her, vntill she haue borne a childe. So that if she be barren he maye caste her vp, and mary another.

This is a notable meruaile, that though amonge theim manye women haue but one manne: yet thei neuer lightely falle out, ne brawle one with another for him. And yet are the menne parcialle in theyr loue: shewing muche more fauour to one then another, and goynge fro the bedde of the one, streighte to the bedde of an other. The women haue their seuerall tentes and householdes: And yet liue verye chastely, and true to their housebandes. For bothe the manne and the women taken in adultery, suffre death by the lawe.

Those that are not occupied for ye warres, driue the catteile a fielde, and there kepe them. Thei hunte, and exercise themselues in wrastlinge, other thing doe thei not. The care of prouision for meate and drincke, appareille and householde, they betake to the women. This people hath many superstitious toyes. It is a heinous matier with them, to touche ye fier, or take fleshe out of a potte with a knife. Thei hewe or choppe no maner of thing by the fire, leasse by any maner of meanes, thei might fortune to hurte the thing which alway they haue in reuerence, and iudge to be the clenser, and purifier of al thinges. To laye them downe to reste vppon the whippe that thei stirre theyr horse with (for spurres thei vse none) or to touche their shaftes therewith, in no wise thei wylle not. Thei neither kille younge birdes, ne take them in the neste or other waies. Thei beate not the horse with the bridle. Thei breake not one bone with another. Thei are ware, not to spill any spone meate, or drincke, specially milke. No manne pisseth within the compasse of their soiourning place. And if any one of self willed stubbornesse should do it, he ware sure withoute all mercy to die for it. But if necessitie constraine them to do it (as it often happeneth) then the tente of hym that did it, with all that is in it, muste be clensed and purified after this maner. They make two fires, thre strides one from another. And by eche fire thei pitche downe a Iaueline. Vpon them is tied a lyne stretching fro the one to the other, and couered ouer with buckerame. Betwene these ii. Iauelins, as throughe a gate, muste all thinges passe that are to be purified. Two women (to whome this office belongeth) stande, on either side one, sprinckelinge on watre, and mumblinge certaine verses. No straungier, of what dignitie so euer he be, or of howe greate importance so euer the cause of his comming be: is admitted to the kinges sighte before he be purified. He that treadeth vppon the thressholde of the tente wherein their kinge, or anye of his chiefteines lyeth, dieth for it in the place. If any manne bite a gobet, greater than he is able to swallowe, so that he be constrained to put it out of his mouth againe: thei by and by make a hole vndre the tent, and ther drawe him out, and cruelly slea him. Many other thinges ther are which thei compte for faultes beyonde all forgiuenesse. But to slea a man, to enuade a nother mannes country, contrary to all righte and reason, to bereue them of their goodes and possessions, to breake the preceptes of God, thei estieme as nothinge. Thei haue a beliefe that aftre this life thei shal liue for euer in another worlde (but what maner of worlde thei cannot telle) and ther receiue rewarde for their well doinges. When any of them falleth sicke, and lieth at the pointe of deathe, thei sticke vp a Iaueline with a piece of blacke clothe at the dore of the tente wher he lieth, that none come in as they passe by. For no manne when he seeth this, dare entre thether vncalled.

Aftre what time the sicke is dead, his whole house gather together, and priuely conueighe the corps into some place withoute the tente, chosen for ye purpose. Ther cut they out a trenche, broade and diepe enoughe to sette vp another lytle tent in: so that the toppe of the tent maye be well within the grounde. In that thei prepare a table with a banket: at the whiche thei sette the deade bodye in his beste appareille. And so together, as it ware with one hande, couer all with earth againe. Thei bewry with him also some beaste of bourden, and a horse ready sadled and appointed to ride. The gentlemen by their life time, appointe out a slaue (whome thei marke with their brande) to be specially bewried with him when he dieth. And this do thei vpon perswasion of a life in a nother worlde, wher thei woulde be loth to lacke these necessaries. Then doe the deades friendes take another horse, and slea him. And when they haue eaten the fleshe, thei stuffe the hide full of haye, and sowe it againe together and sette it vp ouer the graue vpon foure poles, in remembraunce of the deade. The bones do the two ordenarie women burne, for the clensinge and purifienge of the soule. But the gentlemen, and thei of higher degree, handle the hide aftre another maner. Thei cut it out into very fine thonges, to asmuche lengthe as thei can, and measure oute asmuche grounde about the Sepulchre as the thonge wille stretche vnto. For so muche ground thincke thei shall the deade haue in a nother worlde. At the thirtieth daye thei ende their mourning.

Certaine of the Tartarres, professing the name of Christe, yet farre from his righteousnes: when their parentes waxe aged, to haste their death, crame them with gobins of fatte. When thei die thei burne them to pouldre, whiche thei reserue as a precious

Iewelle, to strawe vppon their meate euery daie. But to declare with what solempnitie and ioifulnes thei sette vp their newe Kynge, aftre the death of tholde: because it ware to longe a thyng, bothe for the reader and writer to set out at length, I will shewe you in brief theffecte.

Abrode in the fieldes, in a faire plaine ordenary for the purpose: all the Dukes, Erles, Barons, Lordes, and the reste of the nobilitie, together with the people of the whole kyngdome, do assemble. Then take thei hym, to whom the croune is due, either by succession, or by election. And when thei haue set hym vp in a throne of Golde: thei all fall doune on their knees, and together with one voice crie out a loude, aftre this maner. We require the, yea, we will and commaunde the, to take the rule and gouernaunce of vs. He answereth, if ye will haue me doe so, then must ye of necessitie be redy to do whatsoeuer I commaunde ye. To come when I calle ye, to go whether so euer I sende ye, to slea whom so euer I commaunde ye, without staieng or stackering. And to put the whole kingdome and rule in my handes, when thei haue aunswered, we are content: Saieth he againe, from hencefurthe then the speache of my mouth, shalbe my swearde. To this the people yealde with greate shoutes, and reioisynges. In the meane while the princes and the nobles, taking the king out of his throne, spread abrode on the grounde a piece of felte: vpon the whiche, thei cause hym in simple sorte to sitte doune, and thus saie to hym. Looke vp, and remembre GOD aboue the. And now looke doune also, and behold this felt vndre the. If thou gouerne welle, thou shalte haue all euen as thou wouldest wisshe it. But if contrary wise, thou shalt so be broughte doune againe, and so nighe be bereued of all: that thou shalte not haue so muche, as this poore felte left the, wherypon thou sittest. This ones saied, thei sette in to hym, of all his wiues the dierest derlyng. And liftyng vp the felte alofte, haile hym by the name of Emperour, and her by the name of Empresse. Then come there presentes streight from al countries, and peoples of his dominion: and all the Threasoures that the kyng, his predecessour lefte, are brought him. Of the whiche he giueth giftes to al the princes and high estates: commaundyng the reste to be kepte for himself, and so dissolueth the Parlament as it ware.

In his hande and power is then altogether, no manne can: or though he can, he dare not saie this is myne, or this is his. No man maie dwelle in any part of the lande, but in that wherevnto he is appoincted. The Emperour hymself appoincteth the Dukes: the Dukes, the Millenaries: the Millenaries, the Centurianes: and thei the Disniers: and the Disniers the residewe. The seale that he vseth hath this superscripcion. GOD in heauen, and Chutchuth Cham in earth, the force of God, and Emperour of all menne. He hath fiue armies of greate multitude and force: and fiue chiefteines, by whom he subdueth all that stande against hym. He hymself neuer speaketh to any foreine ambassadours, nor admitteth them to his presence, as is aboue saied: excepte bothe thei and their giftes (without the whiche specially thei maie not come) bee purified by the ordenarie women. The Kyng aunswereth by another mannes mouthe. And the persone by whome he aunswereth, be he neuer so honourable, for the tyme that he becommeth the kynges mouthe, kneleth on his knees and giueth so diligent eare, that he swarueth not from the Kyng in one woorde. For it is not lawefull for any manne, to chaunge the kynges woordes: ne for any man in any wise, to replie against suche sentence as he giueth. He neuer drincketh in open presence, but some body first sing to hym, or plaie vpon some instrumente of Musicque.

The gentlemen and menne of honour when thei ride, haue a phannell borne afore them, on a Iauelines ende, to kiepe awaie the Sonne. And as it is saied, the women likewise. These ware the maners and facions of the Tartarres, for a two hundred yeres paste.

The Georgians, whom the Tartarres aboute the same tyme did subdue: ware Christians, aftre the fourme of the Greke Churche. Thei ware neighbours to the Persians. Their dominions stretched out a great length, from Palestine in Iewrie to the mounteignes called Caspij. Thei had eightene Bishopries: and one Catholicque: that is to saie, one generall bishoppe, whiche was to them, as our Metropolitane to vs. At the firste thei ware subiecte to the Patriarche of Antioche. Menne of greate courage and hardinesse. Thei all ſhaued their crounes: the Laietie square, the Clercques rounde. Their women (certeine of theim) had the ordre of Knighthode, and ware trained to the warres. The Georgianes when thei ware sette, ordered, and raunged in the fielde, and ware at poinct to ioyne the batteill: vsed to drincke of a gourdfull of strong wine, aboute the bigguenes of a mannes fiste. And to sette vpon their ennemies: muche amended in courage.

Their Clercques, whiche we calle the Spiritualtie, mighte vse bothe Simonie and vsurie at their wille. There was continuall hatred betwixte Tharmenians and them. For the Armenians ware also Christians, before the Tartarres had subdued the Georgianes and them. But thei differed in many thinges, from the belief and facions of the true Churche. Thei knewe no Christemas daie, no vigilles, nor the fowre quartre fastes, whiche we call Embryng daies. Thei fasted not on Easter euen, because (saie thei) that Christ rose that daie aboute euen tide. Vpon euerie Saturdaie, betwixte Easter and Whitsontide, thei did eate flesshe. Thei ware greate fasters, and beganne their Lente thre wekes afore vs: and so streightly fasted it, that vpon the Wednesdaie and Fridaie, thei neither eate any kinde of fisshe, ne aughte wherin was wine, or oile. Belieuing that he that drancke wine on those twoo daies: synned more then if he had bene at the stewes with a whore. On the Monedaie thei absteined from all maner of meate. On Tewsdaie and Thursdaie, thei did eate but one meale. Wedensdaie and Fridaie, nothyng at al. Saturdaie and Sondaie, thei eate flesshe and made lustie chiere. Throughe their whole Lente, no manne said Masse but on Saturdaies and Sondaies. Nor yet on the Fridaies throughout the whole yere: for thei thought then, that thei brake their fast. Thei admitted to the houseale, aswell children of two monethes olde, as all other indifferently. When thei went to Masse, thei vsed to put no watre in the wine. Thei absteined from Hares flesshe, Beaws flesshe, Crowes, and suche other as the Grekes did, and Iewes do. Their Chalices ware of Glasse, and of Tree. Some said Masse without either albe or vestement, or any maner suche ornament. Some onely with thornamentes of Deacon or Subdeacon. Thei ware all busie vsurers, and Simonites: bothe spirituall and Temporall, as the Georgianes ware. Their priestes studied Sothesaieng and Nigromancie. Their Spiritualtie vsed Iunckettyng oftener then the Laietie.

Thei maried, but aftre the death of the wife, it was not lawefull for the housebande to marie againe, nor for the wife, aftre the death of the housebande. If the wife ware a whore, the Bisshoppe gaue hym leaue to put her awaie, and marie another. As for the fire of Purgatorie thei knewe nothing of it. Thei denied also verie stifly, that there ware two natures in Christe. The Georgianes saied that thei swarued from the truthe of Christes Religion, in thirtie poinctes or articles.

¶ The xi. Chapitre.

¶ Of Turcquie, and of the maners, Lawes, and Ordenaunces of the Turcques.

THe lande, whiche now is called Turcquie: hath on Theaste Armenia the more, and ronneth endelong to the Sea of the Cilicians: hauyng on the Northe, the Sea named Euxinus. There are in it many countries conteined. As Lichaonia, whose heade citie is Iconium. Cappadocia with her heade citie, named Cesarea. Isauria, whiche hath for the chief citie Seleucia. Licia, whiche now is called Briquia. Ionia: now called Quisquoun, in the whiche standeth Ephesus. Paphlagonia, and in it Germanopolis. And Leuech: that hath for the heade Citie Trapezus. All this countrie that now is called Turcquie, is not enhabited by one seuerall nacion, but there be in it Turcques, Grekes, Armenians, Saracenes, Iacobites, Nestorians, Iewes and Christians. Whiche liue for the moste parte, acording to the Tradicions and Ordenaunces, that Mahomet the counterfeict Prophete, gaue vnto the Saracenes (a people of Arabie) the yere of our Lorde and Sauiour Iesus Christe. vi. hundred and. xxix. A manne whome I can not telle whether I maye calle an Arabiane or a Persian. For ther be aucthorities of writers on either behaulfe. His father was an idolastre aftre the maner of the heathen. His mother an Ismalite leaning to the lawe of the Iewes. And whilest in his childehode, his mother taught him aftre one sorte, and his father aftre another: thei printed in hym suche a doubtfull belief, y^t^ when he came to age he cleaued to neither. But as a manne of subtyle and guilefull witte, aftre what time he had bene longe conuersaunte amongest menne of the Christian religion: he draue a drifte, deuised out of both lawes (the olde and the newe) how he mighte notably enfecte the worlde.

He said the Iewes did wickedly to denie Christe to be borne of the virgine Mary, seinge the prophetes (men of great holinesse, and enspired with the holy ghost) had foreshewed the same, and warned men of many yeres passed to looke for him. Contrariwyse he said to the Christians thei ware very fonde to beleue that Iesus, so dierly beloued of God, and borne of a virgine, would suffre those vilanies and tormentes of the Iewes.

Martinus Segonius Nouomontanus, in his booke of the Sepulchre of Christe our king, writeth that the Turkes, and Saracenes by an auncient opinion receiued from Machomet: do laughe Christian menne to skorne, that seke thether with so greate reuerence. Sayeng that Christ yͤ prophet of all prophetes endewed with the spirite of God, and voyde of all earthly corruption: had there no sepulchre in very diede, for that he being a spirituall body conceiued by the breathe of yͤ holy ghost coulde not suffre, but should come againe to be iudge of the Gentiles. This saieth Segonius, and many other thinges sounding to like effecte: whiche the Mahometeines are wonte to throwe out against the Christians, bothe foolisshely and wickedly. When this counterfeicte prophet had saused his secte with these wicked opinions: he gaue them his lawe, and sorte of religion. Against the whiche lesse any man of righte iudgemente should aftrewarde write or dispute (as against a pestilent and filthie perswasion) he wrote a lawe in his Alcorane that it shoulde be deathe to as many as should reason or dispute vppon it. Wherby he euidentlie declared, that ther was nothing godly or goodly therin. For why shoulde he elles haue so raked it vp in the ashes, and forbidden it to be examined: so that the people coulde neuer come to knowledge what maner of thinge it is that thei beleue in. In the giuing of his lawe, he vsed muche the counselle and helpe of the moncke Sergius: of the wicked secte of the Nestorianes. And to the ende it might please the more vniuersally: he patched it vp together with peces of all maner of sectes. He thoughte it good to sette out Christe with the beste, affirminge that he was a manne excelling in all holinesse and vertue. Yea he extolled him to a more heigth then was appliable to the nature of man, calling him the woorde, the spirite, the soule of GOD, borne out of a virgines wombe, whome he also with many wondrefull praises magnified. He confirmed with his consente, the miracles, and story of the gospel, as farre as it varieth not from his Alcorane.

The Godspelles said he ware corrupte by the disciples of the Apostles. And ther fore it behoued his Alcorane to be made, for to correcte and amende them. Thus fauning into fauour with the Christians, he would haue bene christened of Sergius. Then to procure, and moue other also to fauour his procedinges: he denied with the Sabellians the Trinitie. With yͤ Manicheis he made two goddes. With Eunomius, he denied that the father and the sonne ware equal. With Macedonius he said that the holy ghoste was a creature, or substaunce created. With the Nicholaites he allowed the hauinge of many wiues at ones. He allowed also the olde testament. Althoughe sayd he, it were in certain places faultie. And these fondenesses did he beswiete with a wondrefull lure of the thinges that menne in this lyfe mooste desire. Lettinge louse to as many as helde of him, the bridle of al lechery and luste. And for that cause doth this contagious euil sprede it self so wide into innumerable contries. So y^t^ if a man at this day compare the nombre of them that are by him seduced, with the other that remaine in the doctrine of faithe: he shal easeli perceiue the great oddes, ware it but herin. That wher Europe alone, (and not al that by a great deale) standeth in the belief of Christe: almoste all Asie, and Aphrique, yea and a greate pece of Europe standeth in the Turkisshe belief of Mahomete.

The Saracenes that firste receiued the brainesicke wickednesse of this countrefeicte prophete, dwelte in that parte of Arabia, that is called Petrea: wher it entrecommuneth with Iewry on the one side, and with Egipt on the other. So named of Serracum, a place nere vnto the Nabatheis, or rather as thei woulde haue it them selues, of Sara, Abrahams wife.

Wherupon thei yet sticke faste in this opinion, y^t^ thei onely of al men are the lawfull heires of Goddes beheste. Thei gaue themselues to tilthe, to cattle, and to the warres. But the greater parte to the warres. And therefore at what time they ware hired of Heraclius in the warres againste the Persians: when he had gotten the victory, and thei perceiued them selues to be defrauded by him: kindled with the angre of the villanye thei had done vnto them, by the counsell and persuasion of Mahomet (who tooke vppon him to be their captaine) thei forsoke Heraclius. And going into Siria, enuaded Damasco. Wher when thei had encreased them selues bothe in nombre, and purueiaunce necessary for them, thei entred into Egipte. And subdued firste that: then Persis, then Antioche, and then Ierusalem. Thus their power and fame daily so encreaced, and grewe: that men muche feared, that any thing afterwarde shoulde be able to resiste them. In the meane season, the Turkes: a ferce and a cruell people, of the nacion of the Scithiens, driuen out by their neighbours fro the mountaines called Caspij, came downe by the passage of the mounte Caucasus, firste into Asia the lesse, then into Armenia, Media, and Persis. And by stronge hande wanne all as they came. Against these the Saracenes went forth as to defende the bordres of their gouernaunce. But forasmuche as this newecome power was to harde for them, the Saracenes within a while felle into such despaire of their state: that vppon condicion that the other would receiue Mahometes belief: thei ware content thei shold reigne felowlike together with them, in Persis. Wherto when thei had agreed, it was harde to saye whether of the peoples had receiued the greater dammage. The Saracenes, in yelding to them the haulf right of their kingdome: or the other, whiche for coueteousnes thereof yelded them selues to so rancke, and wicked a poyson of all vertue and godlynes.

One bonde of belief then so coupled and ioyned them: that for a space it made to them no matier whether ye called them all by one name, Saracenes, or Turkes. But nowe as ye se, the name of the Turkes hath gotten the bettre hande, and the other is out of remembraunce. This people vseth moe kindes of horsemen then one. Thei haue Thimarceni, that is to saye Pencioners, aboute a foure skore thousande. These haue giuen vnto them by the kinge, houses, villages, and Castles euery one as he deserueth, in the steade of his wages or pencion. And thei attende vppon the Sensacho, or capitaine of that quarter, wher their possessions lye. At this daye the Turkes are deuided into two armies: the one for Asie, and the other for Europe. And either hath a chiefteine, at whose leading thei are. These chiefteines in their tongue be called Bassay. Ther are also another sorte muche lyke to our aduenturers, that serue withoute wages, called Aconizie. And these euer are spoiling afore when the campe is yet behynde. The fiueth parte of their butine is due vnto ye king. And these are aboute a fourty thousande. Their thirde sorte of horsemen is deuided into Charippos Spahiglauos, and Soluphtaros. The beste, and worthiest of these, are ye Charippie: of an honourable ordre of knighthode, as it ware for the kinges body. And those be euer about him, to the nombre of eyghte hundred, all Scythians and Persians, and elles of none other kinde of menne. These, when niede is, being in the sighte of the kinge: fight notably, and do wondrefull feates on horsebacke. Spahy, and Soluphtary be those whiche haue bene at the kinges bringing vp from their childehode, to serue his filthy abhominacion. And when thei are come to mannes state, thei marye at the kynges pleasure: And be enriched both with dowery of their wife, and a stipende. These for the moste parte serue for embassadours, deputies, lieutenauntes and suche other dignities, and are nexte vnto the kinge on bothe sides of him, when he goeth any whether as a garde. Thei are in nombre a thousande and thre hundred.

Among the footemen are tree sortes, Ianizarie, these be chosen all the Empire ouer, of xii. yeres of age, or there aboute, by certein that haue Commission for the purpose: And are for a space enstructed in the feactes of warre, in commune schooles. And then aftrewarde are thei chosen into souldie, and haue giuen them a shorter garmente, and a white cappe, with a tarfe tourned vpwarde. Their weapon is a Targette, a Curtilase, and a Bowe. Their office is to fortifie the campe, and to assaulte cities. Thei are in nombre aboue twentie thousande.

The seconde sorte are called Asappi, and are all footemen of light harnesse, weaponed with swearde, target, and a kinde of long Iauelines, wherewith thei slea the horses of their enemies, in the skirmishe and battaile. These, to be knowen fro the Ianizaries, weare redde cappes. These are appoincted in nombre, accordyng as the case shall require. But thei are euer at the leaste fouretie thousande. When the warres are finished, for the whiche thei ware hired: these are no longer in wages. Tharmie roialle hath about two hundred thousande armed menne, beside a greate rable of footemen aduenturers, that take no wages, and suche other as be called out of Garrisons. And amonge these, Pioners and Cookes, Carpenters, Armourers, and suche other as thei must niedes haue to make the waye, wher the place is combresome: to dresse victualles, to amende harnesse, to make bredges ouer floudes, to trenche aboute their ennemies, to plante battries, make Ladders, and suche other thinges necessarie for the siege. Ther foloweth the armie also, sondrye sortes of money Masters: some for lone, some for exchaunge, some to buy thinges. And sondrie sortes of occupiers, such as be thought nedeful in such cases.

But there is nothing in all that nacion more to be marueiled at, then their spiedinesse in doeyng of thinges: their constantnes in perilles, and their obedience and precise obseruinge of all commaundementes. For the least fault, of goeth the heade. Thei passe ouer raginge floudes, mounteignes and rockes: roughes and plaines, thicke and thinne, if thei be commaunded. Not hauing respecte to their lyfe, but to their rulers. No men maie awaie with more watche, no men with more hongre. Among them is no mutinyng, no vproures, no sturres. In theyr fyght thei vse no cries, nor shoutes, but a certeine fiercenes of brayeng.

Thei kepe suche precise scilence in the night, through out their campe: that thei wil rather suffre such as they haue taken prisoners, to run their waie, then to make any sturre. Of all the peoples at this daie, thei onely doe warre, acording to the ordre of armies. So that no manne niedeth to meruayle how it cometh that no people this two hundred yeare and aboue, haue had like successe vnto them. Yea, it may truely be sayd, that excepte it be by some plague or murreyn, or discorde among them selues, they can not be subdued. The apparail that the souldiours do vse, is most comely and honeste. In their sadles and bridles, there is neither curiositie, ne yet superfluitie. No man emong them weareth his Armour, but when niede is to fight. They carry their harnesse behynde theim, at their backes. They vse neither banner, standerde, ne flaggue: but certein Iauelins that haue streamynge out fro the toppe, diuers coloured thriedes, by the whiche euery hande knoweth his capiteine. Thei vse a dromme and a fiphe, to assemble their Bandes, and to sturre them to the batteile. When the batteile is done, all the armie is presented to the Regestour (whiche is some one of the nobles) bothe that it maye bee knowen who is slain, and what nombre: and that newe may be entred in their places. In all assemblies and mietinges, feaste, or other: thei praie for their souldiours, and menne of warre. But specially aboue all other, for those that haue suffred death for the commune quarelle of their countrie: calling them happie, fortunate, and blessed, that thei yelded not vp their liues at home, amidde the lamentacions and bewailynges, of their wiues and children, but loste them abrode, amonge the shoutes of their enemies, and the ratling of the Harneis, and Launces. The victories of their forefathers and eldres, thei put into Balade, and sing theim with greate honour and praises: for that thei thinke the courages of the souldiours and menne of warre be muche quickened, and kindled thereby.

Their dwelling houses are communely of timbre and claie, very fewe of stone: for of them are the noble mennes houses their temples, and Batthes. And yet are there amonge the communes, men able of them self alone, to set furthe an whole armie, furnisshed at all poinctes. But because thei are naturally giuen to sparing and to abhorre all sumptuousenesse, embrasing a lowe and simple state: thei wel beare this voluntarie pouertie, and rude homelinesse. For this cause also, doe thei not set by any kinde of Painters Imagerie. As for the other imagerie of coruen grauen, or molten worke, thei do so hate and abhorre: that thei call vs Christians for delighting so muche in them, verie Idolatours and Image worshippers. And do not onely so calle vs, but wil earnestly argue, that we are so in dede. Thei vse no Seales to their Lettres, of what sorte so euer thei be, the kynges or other. But they credite the matier, assone as thei haue red the superscription, or heard the name of the sender. Thei occupie no belles, nor suffre not the Christianes that dwelle among them to do. Thei game not for money, or any valewe elles. And if it fortune that any manne be founde to do, in many sundrie wise thei reuile him, and baite him with shames and reproche.

No man among them, of what degree or dignitie so euer he be: requireth forme chaire, stoole, or other kinde of seate to sitte vpon. But foldinge bothe him selfe and his clothes, aftre a mooste comely sorte: rucketh downe vpon the grounde, not muche vnlike to the sitting of our gentlewomen ofte times here in Englande. The table wherupon thei eate, is for the mooste parte of a Bullockes hide, or a Hartes skinne. Not dressed, but in the heare, facioned rounde, beyng a fowre or fiue spanne ouer, and so set rounde about on the bordre, or verge, with ringlettes of iron: that putting a couple of stringes throughe the ringes, it maye be drawen together, and shutte and opened like a purse. House, or Churche, or any other place wher they entende to sitte, no man entreth with his shoes on. For it is compted a very dishonest and vnmanerly facion, to sitte shoed. Wherfore they vse a maner of slippe shooes, that may lightly be putte of and on. The place where thei sitte, either at home, or at Churche, is in some place matted, and in some place ouerspred with course woollen Carpette. And some places also, either for the lowenes, moistenes, or vncleanelinesse therof are plancked with boorde.

The garmentes aswell of the menne, as the women, are large and longe, and open afore: that thei may the more honestlie and couertly hide all, when nature craveth to be eased. And in doeyng those niedes, thei take greate hiede, that their face be not into the Southe, as it is when thei praye. As also that thei discouer no priuie parte, that any myghte fortune to see. The menne make water sitting, aswell as the women. For if a man amonges them, ware sene to make water standing: he should be iudged of all, a foole, or an hertique.

From wine (as from a prouoker of al sinne and vnclennesse) thei absteine by their lawe. And yet eate they the Grapes, and drincke muste. Thei also forbeare to eate any thinge, that commeth of the Hogge: or any thinge elles that dieth of sickenesse, or by aduenture vnslain. But any other thinges, being mannes meate, thei refuse not to eate. Thei worshippe the Fridaie, laieng all labour and businesse aparte, with as greate solempnitie and deuocion, as we doe the Sondaie, or as the Iewes doe the Sabboth daie. In euery citie there is one principall or head Churche. In the whiche vppon the Fridaie at aftre Noone, thei all assemble together. And aftre solempne praiers, heare a sermone. Thei acknowledge one God, to whome thei make no like, nor equalle: and Mahomet to be his trustie and welbeloued, Prophete. All the Saracenes are bound to praie fiue times on the daie, with their faces toward the South. And before thei so do, to the ende thei maie be cleane from all filthe of bodie: to wasshe them selues toppe and taile, heade, eares, eyes, nose, mouthe, armes, handes, bealy, colions, legges and fiete. Specially, if he haue bene late at the soile with a woman or stouped on his taile to vnburden his bealie. Except he haue some lette of iournie, or sickenesse. But if he lacke watre to doe this withall (as that sieldome or neuer can happen, for that thei haue in all cities, bathes, ordenarie for the purpose) thei supplie the defaulte with the moulde of fresshe cleane earthe, wherewith thei rubbe ouer their whole bodies. Who is so polluted in any maner wise: suffreth no man before this clensing, to speake with hym, or to see him, if it be possible. Euery yere for the space of fiue wiekes continually together, thei faste al daie as presicely as is possible, bothe from meate, drincke and women. But aftre the sonne is ones doune, till the next daie he riseth, thei neither spare eatyng ne drinckyng, ne pressyng of pappes. In thende of their lente, and againe the sixtieth daie aftre: Thei kiepe their passeouer or Easter, in remembraunce of the Rambe shewed vnto Abraham, to be Sacrificed in the steade of his sonne, and of a certaine nighte in the whiche thei doe beleue that the Alcorane was giuen them from heauen.

Euery yere ones, the Saracenes also are bound of duetie to visite the house of God, in the citie of Mecha: bothe to acknowledge their homage, and to yelde vnto Mohomete his yerely honour at his Sepulchre there. The Saracenes compelle no man te forsake his opinion or belief: ne yet labour so to perswade any countrie to do. Although their Alcorane commaunde theim to treade doune and destroie all menne of the contrary beliue yea them and their prophetes. But through this sufferaunce, ther are to be founde enhabiting in Turkie, peoples of all opinions, and beleue: euery man vsinge suche kinde of worshippe to his God, as to his religion apperteineth. Their priestes do not muche diffre from the commune people, nor yet their churches from their dwelling houses. Yf thei knowe the Alcorane, and the praiours and ceremonies or their lawe, it suffiseth. Thei are neither giuen to contemplacion ne yet schole study. For why thei are not occupied with any churche seruice or cure of soules. Sacramentes haue thei none, nor reliques, nor halowinges of foutes, Aulters, and other necessaries. But prouidinge for their wiues, their children, and housholdes, thei occupie their time in husbondrie, marchaundise, huntinge, or some other meane to get the penie, and mainteyne their liuing, euen as the temporall men doe. Ther is nothing forbidden them, nothing is for them vnlawfull. Thei be neither burdoned with tillage, ne bondage. Thei be muche honoured of al men, for that thei are skilfull in the ceremonies of the lawe, teache them to other, and be the gouernours of the churches.

They haue many schooles and large, In the which great nombres are taught the lawes there giuen by kinges, for the ciuile gouernance and defence of the Realme. Of the whiche some are afterwarde sette fourth to be men of the churche, and some to be temporalle officers. Their spiritualtie is deuided into many and sondry sortes of religions. Of the whiche some liue in the wooddes and wyldernes shonnyng all companye. Some kiepe open hospitalitie in cities, and yet liue by almose them selues. These if they lacke meate to refreshe the niedy straunger and pelligrine, yet at the least waie they giue him herbour and lodgyng. Other, roumyng the cities vp and downe and caryeng alway in bottles faire watre and fresshe, if any man be disposed to drinke, vnasked they willingly proffre it him, and refuse not to take, if he for their gentlenesse offre aught vnto them agayn. Otherwisè they craue nothyng, but in al their woordes, gesture, behauour, and diedes: shewe theim selues aungelles raither then menne. And euery one of these hath one knowledge or other, of difference from the reaste. The Saracenes or Turkes are very precise executours of Iustice. Who so committeth bloudshed: hath in like sorte his owne shedde againe. Taken in adultery, both parties are streight without mercy stoned to deathe. Thei haue also a punisshement for fornication, whiche is to the manne taken with the diede, foure score ierkes or lasshes with a skourge. A thief for the first and the seconde time, escapeth with so many stripes. But at the thirde time, hathe his hande cut of, and at the fourthe his foote. He that endamageth any manne: as the losse or hinderaunce shalbe valewed, so muste he of force recompence. In claiming of goodes, or possessions, the claimer muste proue by witnesse that the thing claimed is his: and the denier shalbe tried by his othe. Witnesses thei admitte none, but persones of knowen honestie, and suche as mighte be belieued withoute an othe. Thei haue also certeine spiefaultes ordinarilye appoincted (muche like to our Sompnours) that spie in euery shiere for suche as be necligent, and let slippe suche oraisons and seruice as thei be bounde to. Those if thei fortune to finde them: do thei punishe aftre this maner. Thei hange a borde about their neckes, with a great many of foxe tailes, and togginge them vp and downe the stretes: all ouer the citie, thei neuer lette them go vntyll they haue compounded by the purse. And in this also nothing vnlike to our Sompnours. It is lawfull for no manne, beinge come to mannes state, to liue vnmaried. It is compted amonge them as lawfull to haue. iiii. wiues, as it is amonge vs to haue one. Marie what soeuer is aboue this nombre (as thei may if thei liste, and be able to kepe them, (no degree excepted, but mother and sister, marie a hundred) thei are not iudged so lawfulle. The children that thei haue bothe by the one, and the other haue equalle porcion in the fathers enheritaunce. Sauing that. ii. women children are compted in porcion but for one man childe. Thei haue not. ii. of their wiues together in one house, ne yet in one citie. For the busines, and disquietinges that might happen therby, but euery wife in a seuerall towne. The housebandes haue libertye to put them away thrise, and thrise to take them againe. But yet when he hath ones putte her awaie, if any manne haue taken her, and she lust to abide with hym, she maie.

Their women are moste honestlie appareiled. And vpon their heades doe vse a certeine attire, not muche vnlike the veluet bonette of olde Englande: wherof the one lappe so hangeth vppon whiche side semeth her good: that when she is disposed to go out of the doores, or to come amongest menne within the house, she maie hide therwith by and by her whole face, sauyng her eyes.

The Saracenes woman, neuer dare shewe her self wher there is a company of menne. To go to the marchate to occupy byeng or sellyng in any wise: is not syttyng for their women. In the head church they haue a place farre a part fro ye men: so close that no manne canne looke into them. Into the which notwithstandyng it is not laufuil for euery mans wyfe to entre: but for the nobilitie onely. Ne yet for them neyther, but on Friday, at the onely houre of noone praier: whiche as I haue aforesayd, is kept amonge them high and holy.

To see a man and a woman talke together ther, in the open strete or abrode: is so straunge, and so vnwonte a thing, that in a whole yere it skante happeneth ones. For a man to sitte with his wyfe in open sighte, or to ride with any woman behinde him: amongest them ware a wondre. Maried couples neuer dally together in the sighte of other, nor chide or falle out. But the menne beare alwaies towarde the women a manly discrete sobrenes, and the women, towarde them a demure womanlie reuerence. Greate menne, that cannot alwaie haue their wiues in their owne eye, appoincte redgelinges, or guelte menne to awaite vppon them. Whiche waite them in diede so narrowlye, that it ware impossible for any man beside the housebande to speake with the wyfe vnsene: or the wyfe by any stealthe to false her trouth and honestie. Finally the Saracenes do so full and whole beleue their Mahomete and his lawes: that thei doubte no whitte, but the kepers of them shall haue euerlasting blessednesse. That is to saye, after their opinion, a paradise of pleasure, a gardein plotte of delighte, full of swiete rindles of Christalline watre. In whose botomes ye grauelle, popleth like glisteryng golde. The ayre alwaie so attempre and pure, that nothyng can be more swiete, more pleasaunte nor healthsome. The grounde couered and garnisshed with natures Tapesserie, neither lacking any colour that pleasaunte is to the eye, or sauour that maie delight the nose. Birdes syngyng with suche armonie, as neuer mortalle eare heard. Briefly flowyng in all pleasure that any harte can aftre thincke. Disshes for the mouthe, of all deinties. All maner of Silkes, Veluettes, Purples, Skarlettes, and other precious apparelle. Godly younge damoselles, with graie rowlyng eyes, and skinne as white as Whales bone, softe as the Silke, and breathed like the Rose, and all at their becke. Vesselles of siluer and golde. Angelles for their Butlers that shall bryng theim Milke in Goblettes of golde, and redde wine in siluer. But contrariewise, thei threaten vnto the breakers of them, helle, and euerlastyng destruccion. This thei also beleue, that be a manne wrapped in neuer so many synnes, yet if at his death, he beleue vpon God, and Machomete, he shalbe saued.

¶ The xii. Chapitre.

¶ Of the Christians, of their firste commyng vp, their Ceremonies, and ordenaunces.

CHriste Iesu, the eternalle and verie sonne of thalmightie father, the seconde persone in the holie inseparable, equalle, and eueralstyng Trinitie: Of a sette purpose, and spiritualle secrete, not reuealed from the beginnyng of tyme, and aboue mannes capacitie: was by the meane of the holy ghost, conceiued and borne manne. In Iewrie, of a Virgine, of the stocke of Dauid, a thousande fiue hundred, and twentie yeres* gone. To sette vs miserable, and vnhappie menne on foote againe, whiche ware in Adam and Eue, by the sinne of disobedience ouerthrowen. And to bryng vs againe, vnto our heauenlie natiue countrie, from the whiche we haue by so many ages, for that presumpcion bene banished. Finally, to repaire and supplie in heauen againe ones, the ruine and fal of those spirites, whiche a space afore our creacion, ware thurste doune fro thence. For the whiche purpose, we chiefly ware made. This Iesus, from thirtie yeres of age, vntill thirtie and fowre (in the whiche, throughe the maliciousnes of the Iewes, he suffred on the galowe tree) traueillyng all Iewrie ouer: first moued and exhorted the Iewes, and then other peoples, from the olde Lawe of Moses, and their wicked Image worshippe, to his newe ordenaunce and trade. And as many as would folowe, and doe aftre hym, he called theim his scholers or disciples. Out of the whiche, he gaue vnto. xij. that he had specially chosen, Commission aftre his death (when he had appered to them on liue again, as he had forwarned them y^t he would) to go as Legates, or Embassatours tnto ye whole world, and to preache vnto all creatures, what so euer thei had sene or learned of him. Simon Petre (to whom longe afore he had surrendred the gouernaunce and chiefteinshippe of his Church, as in reuercion aftre him) when aftre the comyng of the holy ghoste some wente into one coste, and some into another, euery

---

*** It appereth by this place that this was written. xxxv. yeres gone.**

manne his waie, as thei ware allotted and commaunded: came first vnto Antioche. And there setting vp the first and chief chaire of the Churche, kepte a counsaille with the other Apostles, whiche often tymes came to hym. In this Counsaille among other thinges it was decreed, that asmany as should receiue, and cleaue vnto the doctrine, and righte perswasion of Christes godlines: should fro thence furthe be called Christianes. This Seate of superioritie, beyng afterwarde translated to Rome: bothe he and his Successours, tooke it for their chief charge and businesse, to put the rude and rawe secte of their Christe, and the folowers of the same, in some good ordre and trade of gouernaunce. Bothe aftre the maner of Moses Lawe (whiche Christe came not to breake, but to consummate and finishe) and the state of the Romain gouernaunce, the Greke, and Egipcian: and also by paterne of the Ceremonies, obseruances, lawes, and ordenaunces Ecclesiasticalle and Temporalle, of many other peoples: But specially aftre the doctrine, of Christe Iesu, and the woorkyng of the holy ghoste, to bring them in to frame and facion. When thei ware entred in the mattier: As thei sawe that men not emong the Hebrues alone, but emong other peoples also, ware diuided into Ecclesiasticalle and Temporalle, Spiritualtie and Laietie: and eche of them in mooste goodly wise, into their dignities and degrees (The Romain Emperour then being gouernour of the whole worlde alone) to haue Consulles, Fathers or Senatours: at whose becke all thinges ware deuised and doone: And in the residewe of the earthe to bee many Kynges, many Dukes, Erles, Presidentes, and Deputies of countries, and their Lieutenauntes: Maresshalles of the fielde, and highe Conestables for the communes, Pretours or Prouostes, Standerdbearers roialle, Centurianes, and Disners, Seriauntes, Conestables, Collectours, Serueiours, Porters, Scribes, Listers, and many other persones without office, bothe menne and women. And in the Temples of their Goddes, a Sacrificer roialle, whiche is to saie in effecte, a highe Prieste of the dignitie of a kyng. Archeflamines, Flamines of honour, and other Flamines inferiour and laste in degree their Priestes. And by like ordre emong the Hebrues: an highe Bisshoppe, and inferiour Priestes, Leuites, Nazareis, candle quenchers, commaunders of Spirites, Churche Wardeines, and Syngers, whiche wee calle Chantours aftre the Frenche. And among the Grekes: Capiteines, or heades ouer a thousande, ouer an hundred, ouer fiuetie, ouer tenne, and ouer fiue. And that there ware yet beside these, bothe emong the Hebrues, and the Romaines, many couentes, or compaignies of menne and women religious. As Sadduceis, Esseis, and Phariseis emong the Hebrues: Salios, Diales, and Vestalles, emong the Romaines: The moste holy Apostles did all consente, that Petre, and thei that should folowe him in the seate of Rome, should for euermore be called Papa. As who would saie, father of fathers, the vniuersalle, Apostollicalle, moste holy, and moste highe bisshoppe. And that he should at Rome be Presidente ouer the vniuersalle Churche, as the Emperour there, was ruler of the vniuersall worlde. And to matche the Consulles (which ware euer twaine) thei appoincted fowre head Fathers, in the Greke named Patriarches, one at Constantinople, another at Antioche, a thirde at Alexandrie, and the fowrthe at Hierusalem. In the place of the Senatours, thei took the Cardinalles. To matche their kynges, whiche had three Dukes at commaundemente, thei deuised Primates: To whom ware subiecte thre Archebishoppes. So that the Archebishoppe or Metropolitane, standeth in the place of a Duke. For as the Duke had certein Erles or Barones at his commaundemente: so haue the Archbisshoppes, other inferiour Bisshopes at theirs, which also by reason muste countreuaile an Erle. The Bisshoppes coadiutor or Suffragane, came into the Presidentes place. Thordenarie into the Deputies, then did the Officialle matche with the Mareshalle. And with the high conestable for the communes, the Bisshoppes Chauncelour. And for the Pretour or Prouoste, thei sette vp an Archedeacon. In stede of the Centuriane, was a Deane appoincted. And for the Disnere, the Persone or Vicare. For the Aduocates, crepte in the Parisshe Prieste, Soule Prieste, Chaunterie Prieste, Morowe Masse Prieste, and suche other. The Deacon standeth for the Surueiour. The Subdeacon for the Serieaunte. For the two Conestables, came in the two Commaunders of Spirites, called Exorcistæ in the Greke. The Collectours office, was matched with the Churche wardeines. The Porter became the Sexteine. The Chauntour, scribe, and Lister, kiepe stille their name. The Acholite, whiche we calle Benet and Cholet, occupieth the roume of Candlebearer.

All these by one commune name, thei called Clerj, of the Greke woorde Cleros, that is to saie, a Lotte. For that thei ware firste from among the people, so alloted vnto God. Thereof cometh our terme Clerque, and his cosine Clergie. Neuerthelesse, this name Clergie, was not so commune vnto all: but that it siemed moste proprely to reste in the seuen degrees, that the Pope of Rome vsed for his Ministres, when he saied Masse in persone him self. That is to saie, the Bishoppe, the Priest, the Deacon, and subdeacon, ye Acholite, and the Chauntour. Vnto euery of these gaue thei in ye churche their seueralle dignities officies, and appareile.

To the Bishoppe was giuen aucthoritie, to ordeine and make other Clerckes. To enueile virgines, and to hallow them. To consecrate their likes, and their superiours also. To laie handes vpon them. To confirme and Bisshoppe children. To hallowe Churches. To put Priestes from their Priesthode: and to degrade theim, when thei deserue it. To kiepe Conuocacions and Sinodes. To make holy oile: to hallowe the ornamentes and vess
And to do also other thinges, that the inferiour Priestes doe. To enstructe those that be newly come to the faithe. To Christiane, to make the Sacramente of the Altare, and to giue it to other. To absolue the repentaunte of their sinnes, and to fettre the stubberne more streighte. To shewe furthe the Gospelle. To enioyne all Priestes to shaue their heades in the croune, like a circle of. iiij. fingres brode, after the maner of ye Nazareis. To kepe their heare shorte, to weare no bearde. And to liue chaste for euer.

That is to saie, to make Nunnes.

Their liuyng onely to rise of the firste fruictes, tenthes, and offringes: and vttrely to be voide of all temporalle and Laiemennes cares and businesse. To be honestlie appareiled, and accordyngly to vse their passe and conuersacion. Onely to serue God and the churche. Diligently to plye the reading of holy scripture, y^t they themselues mighte perfectly knowe all thinges perteining to Christian religion, wherin thei are bound to enstructe other. The companies or couentes of religious, aswel men as women: are Benedictines, Preachers, Franciscanes, Augustines, Barnardines, Anthonines, Iohannites, Cisternois, and innumerable other. Whiche al haue their habite, and maner of liuing by them selfe: acordinge to the rule that echeone priuately prescribed to them selues. And liued for the moste parte a solitary life, professing chastitie, pouretie, and perpetualle obedience. And for their solitarines the Greke called them Monarchi. Some of these haue for the heades Abbotes, some Priours: whiche are either subiecte to the Pope onely, or to the bishoppes. Al these vsed coules, much aftre one facion, but in colour diuers, and abstained fro fleshe. The bisshoppes when thei say masse, haue xv. holy garmentes, aftre ye maner of Moyses lawe, for ye perfection of them. His boatewes, his Amice, an Albe, a Girdle, a Stole, a Maniple, a Tunicle of violette in graine fringed, his gloues, ringe, and chesible or vestimente, a Sudari, a cope, a mitre and a crosse staffe.[*] And a chaire at the Aultares ende, wherein he sitteth. Of the whiche. vi. are commune to euery inferiour prieste: the Amice, the Albe, the girdle, the stole, the Maniple, and the vestiment. But ouer, and aboue all these the Pope, by the gifte of Constantine the greate, hath libertie to weare al the ornamentes Imperialle. That is to saye a kirtle of skarlet, a robe of Purple, a sceptre, and a close corone. With the whiche aftre he hath rauisshed him selfe in the vestrie, vppon solempne feastes, when he entendeth to do masse: he commeth forth to the aultare, hauing on the right side a prieste, on the lefte side a Deacon, a Subdeacon going before him with a booke faste shutte, two candle bearers, and an encensour with the censoure in his hande smoking. When he is comen to the griessinges, the stayers, or foote of the aultare: putting of his mitre, he maketh open confession[†] of his sinnes together with his company.

[*] The Latine calleth it a shiepe hooke.

[†] That is, he saieth confiteor.

That done he goeth vp to the aultare, openeth the booke, lieng vpon the lefte corner of the same, kysseth it, and so procedeth in the Solempnisacion of ye Masse. The subdeacon readeth the epistle, and the Deacon the godspelle. Priestes of al degrees, are charged to prayse God seuen times a daie, and to praye with ordenarie oraisons. Towarde the eueninge, euensonge: and compline more late. Matines in the morninge, and incontinente prime, and howres, in ordre of tyme, as thei stande in ordre[‡] of name. And this humbly before the aultare, if he maye conueniently, with his face towarde the Easte. The pater nostre and the Crede, said thei, onely at the beginnyng of their seruice, as the commune people do nowe a daies also. Saincte Ierome, at the vrgent request of Pope Damasus, parted out the Psalmes acording to the daies of the wieke. And appoincted for euery houre a porcion of propre psalmes. For the nighte houres on the holy daye. ix. and on the working daye. xii. For laudes in the morning. v. for euensonge as many, and for eche other houre but thre. He also ordeined the Epistles, Godspelles, and other seruice, vsed to be red out of the olde or newe testament, in maner altogether, sauing ye note. The Anthemes (which Ambrose, Bysshoppe of Millayne wrate, and endited) Damasus put ordre that the quiere should sing side aftre side, and added to euery psalmes ende. Gloria patri, &c. The lessons and Himpnes that go before eche one of the howres did ye counceiles of Thoulouse and Agathone aucthorise. The orisons, the grailes, the tractes, the Alleluya, thoffertorie, the Communions in the Masse, the Anthemes, Versicles, repitions, and other thinges, either songe or redde by nyghte or by daye, to the beautifieng, and praysing of God: did Gregory, Gelasius, Ambrose, and many other holy fathers, deuise, and put furthe, not at one time but at sondry. The Masse (so terme thei the sacrifice) was firste vsed to be done in suche simple sorte, as yet is accustomed, vppon good Friday, and Easter euen, with certeine lessons before it. But then Pope Celestinus put to the office of the Masse. Thelesphorus, Gloria in excelsis: But Hilarius of Pictauia made the Et in terra. Simachus ordeined it to be songue. The Salutacions, which by ye terme of Dominus vobiscum, be made seuen tymes in a Masse, ware taken out of the booke of Ruthe, by Clemente and Anaclete, and put in, in their places. Gelasius made vp all the reste to the Offertory, in the same ordre thei be vsed. Excepte the Sequences and the Crede: wherof Nicolas put in the firste, and Damasus the nexte: acordinge to the Sinode of Constantinople. The bidding of the beades, with the collacion that was wonte to be made in the pulpite on Sondaies, and halydaies: raither grewe to a custome by the example of Nehemias, and Esdras, then was by any aucthorised. In this collation at the firste comming vp therof, when so many as ware presente at the Masse did receiue the communion, acording as was ordeyned by a decree: thei that ware at any discorde ware exhorted to concorde, and agremente. And that thei should receiue the sacrament of the aulter cleane from the filthe of sinne, vppon the whiche consideracion at this daye it endeth with confiteor, or an open confession. There ware thei wonte to teache the instrumentes of the olde lawe, and the newe. The ten commaundementes. The xii. articles of our beleue. The seuen sacramentes, holy folkes liues, and Martirdomes, holy dayes, doctrines, and disciplines: vertues, and vices, and what soeuer are necessary beside forthe, for a Christiane to knowe. Gregory linked on the offertorie. Leo the prefaces. Gelasius the greate Canon, and the lesse. The Sanctus blessed Sixtus. And Gregory ye Pater noster out of the Gospelle of sainte Mathewe. Martialle the scholer of blessed Peter, deuised that Bysshoppes should gyue their benediction at the Agnus. And as for other inferiour priestes, Innocentius commaunded them to giue the paxe, that is to saye peace. Sergius tacked on the Agnus, and Gregory the poste communion. The closing vp of all with Ite missa est, Benedicamus, Deos gratias: was Leoes inuencion.

[‡] Hora prima, tertia, sexta, nona,

The xii. articles of our beleue, whiche the blessed Apostles would euery manne not onely to confesse with mouthe, but to beleue also in harte, are these.

Firste, that ther is one God in Trinitie, the father almighty maker of heauen and earthe. The seconde, Iesus Christe, his onely sonne our Lorde. The thirde, the same beinge conceiued of the holye ghoste, to haue bene borne of ye Virgine Marie. The fourthe, to haue suffred vndre Ponce Pilate, to haue bene crucified, deade, bewried, and to haue descended in to helle. The fiueth, to haue risen agayne the thirde daye fro the deade. The sixteth, to haue ascended vp into the heauens, and to sitte on the right hande of God the father almighty. The seuenth, that he shall come fro thence like a triumpher, to iudge the quicke and the deade. The eight, that ther is an holy ghoste. The nineth, y^t^ there is an holy churche vniuersalle, the communion of the godly and good. The tenthe, forgiuenesse of sinnes. The eleuenth, the rising againe of the flesshe. The twelueth, aftre our departing, life in another worlde euerlasting.

The tenne commaundementes, which God wrate with his owne finger, and gaue vnto the Israelites by Moses, whiche thapostles willed vs also to kiepe. The firste, thou shalte haue none other Goddes but me. The seconde, thou shalte not make any grauen Image, or likenesse of any thing that is in heauen aboue, in the earthe benethe, or in the water vnder the earthe, thou shalt not bowe doune to them, nor worshippe them. The third, thou shalt not take the name of thy lorde God in vaine. The fowrthe, remembre that thou kiepe holie thy Sabboth daie. The fiueth, honour thy father and mother. The sixteth, thou shalte doe no murdre. The seuenth, thou shalte not commit adulterie. The eight, thou shalte not steale. The nineth, thou shalt beare no false witnesse against thy neighbour. The tenthe, thou shalte not desyre thy neighbours house, his wife, his seruaunte, his maide, his Oxe, nor his Asse, nor any thing that is thy neighbours.

The seuen Sacramentes of the churche, which are conteined in the fiue laste Articles of our beleue, and commaunded vs by the holie fathers to be beleued.

The firste, diepyng into the water, called Baptisyng, aftre the Greke. This, by canonicalle decree, in time paste was not wonte to be giuen (excepte greate necessitie soner required it) but to those that had bene scholers a space afore, to learne the thinges appertinent to Christendome. Yea, and that aftre thei had bene exceadingly welle enstructed in the faithe: and proufe taken of their profityng, by seuen examinations, which ware made vpon seuen seueralle daies in the Lente, and so ware thei Baptissed vpon Easter euen, and Whitesondaie euen. Vpon whiche daies, thei ware accustomed to hallowe the christening watre, in euery Paroche. But because this specially of all other, is chiefly necessarie vnto euerlasting saluation: leasse any bodie should die without it, thei decreed that assone as the childe was borne, godfathers should be sought for it, as it ware for witnesses or sureties whiche should bryng the childe vnto the Churche doore, and there to stande without. And then the Priest should enquire, before the childe be dieped in the Fonte, whether it haue renounced Sathan and all his pompe and pride. If it beleue certeinely and wholie, all the Articles of the Christiane faithe. And the Godfathers answering, yea: for it, the Prieste breathyng thrise vpon his face, exorciseth it, and catechiseth it. Aftre that, doeth he seuen thinges to the childe in ordre. Firste, he putteth into the mouth hallowed salt. Secondely, he mingleth earthe and his spattle toguether, and smereth the eyes, eares, and nosethrilles of the childe. Thirdly, giuyng it suche name as it shall euer aftre bee called by: he marketh it on the breaste and backe with holie oile, aftre the facion of a crosse. Fourthly, he diepeth it thrise in the Watre, or besprinkleth it with watre thrise, in maner of a crosse, in the name of the holie Trinitie, the father, the sonne, and holie ghoste. In the whiche, name also, all thother Sacramentes are ministred. Fiuethly, weting his thumbe in the holie ointement he maketh therewith a Crosse on the childes foreheade. Sixthly, he putteth a white garment vppon it. Seuenthly, he taketh it in the hande a Candle brennyng. The Iewes before thei be Christened (by the determinacion of the counsaile holden at Agathone, are cathechised, that is to saie, are scholers at the enstruction of our beleue nine monethes. And are bound to fast fourtie daies: to dispossesse them selues of all that euer thei haue, and to make free their bonde men. And looke whiche of their children thei haue Circumcised, acording to Moses lawe: hym are thei bounde to banishe their companie. No merueile therefore if thei come so vnwillingly to christendome.

Bishopping, whiche the Latines calle Confirmacion, a confirming, a ratifieng, establishyng, aucthorisyng, or allowyng of that went before: is the second Sacramente. And is giuen of the Bishoppe onely, before the Aultare in the Churche, to suche as are of growen yeres, and fastyng (if it maie be) aftre this maner. As many as shalbe Confirmed, come all together with euery one a godfather. And the Bishoppe aftre he hath saied one orasion ouer them all, wetyng his thumbe in the holie oile, maketh a crosse vpon eche of their foreheades: In the name of the father, sonne, and holie ghoste. And giueth hym a blowe on the lefte chieke, for a remembraunce of the Sacrament, that he come not for it againe. The godfathers, to the ende the enoilyng should not droppe awaie, or by negligence bee wiped awaie, clappe on a faire filette on the foreheade, whiche thei iudge to be unlawfully taken awaie, before the seuenth daie. The holie fathers estemed this Sacrament so highly, that if the name giuen to the childe at his Christendome, siemed not good: the Bishoppe at the giuyng hereof mighte chaunge it.

The thirde Sacramente is holie Ordres, whiche in the firste Churche, was giuen likewise of the Bishoppe, onely in the monethe of Decembre. But now at sixe seueralle tymes of the yere: that is to saie, the fowre Saturdaies in the embre wekes (whiche ware purposely ordeined therefore) vpon the Saturdaie, whiche the Churche menne calle Sitientes, because the office of the Masse for that daie appoincted, beginneth with that woorde, and vpon Easter euen. This Sacrament was giuen onely to menne: and but to those neither, whose demeanour and life, disposition of bodie, and qualitie of minde, ware sufficiently tried and knowen. Aftre the opinion of some, there were seuen ordres, or degrees, wherby the holy fathers would vs to beleue that there ware seuen speciall influences, as it ware printed in the soule of the receiuer, wherby eche one for eche ordre, was to be compted an hallowed manne. Aftre the mindes of other there ware nine. That is to saie, Musicens (whiche encludeth singing and plaieng) Doore kiepers, Reders Exorcistes, Acholites, Subdeacon, Deacon, Prieste and Bishop. And for all this, it is compted but one Sacramente, by the reason that all these tende to one ende, that is to saie, to consecrate the Lordes bodie. To euery one of these did the Counsaile of Toledo in Spaine, appoincte their seueralle liueries, and offices in the Churche. The Dorekepers had the office of our Common Sexteine, to open the churche dores, to take hede to the churche, and to shutte the dores. And had therfore a keie giuen vnto theim, when thei ware admitted to this ordre. The Reader, in signe and token of libertie to reade the Bible, and holie stories, had a greate booke giuen him. The Exorcistes, serued to commaunde euille sprites oute of menne, and in token therof, had a lesse booke giuen them. The Acholite, had the bearyng and the orderyng of the Tapers, Candelstickes, and Cruettes at the Altare: and therfore had a Candelsticke, a Taper, and two emptie Cruorettes deliuered hym. The Subdeacon, mighte take the offring, and handle the Chalice, and the Patine, carie theim to the Altare, and fro the Altare, and giue the Deacon Wine and water, out of the Cruettes. And therfore the Bishoppe deliuereth hym an emptie Chalice with a Patine, and the Archdeacon one Cruet full of wine, and another full of watre, and a Towelle. To the Deacons, is the preachyng of Goddes Gospelle to the people committed, and to helpe the priest in al holy ministracion. He hath the Gospelle booke deliuered hym, and a towell hanged vppon his one shouldre, like a yoke. The Prieste hath power to consecrate the Lordes bodie, to praie for sinners, and to reconcile them againe to God by Penaunce enioined them. He hath deliuered hym a Chalice with Wine, the Patine, with a singyng cake, a stole vpon bothe shouldres, and a Chesible. What Ornamentes the Bisshoppe hath giuen vnto hym, ye haue heard afore. He maie not be made Bisshoppe, but on the Sondaie about the iii. houre aftre Prime, betwene thoffice of the Masse and the Gospelle: at the whiche tyme twoo Bisshoppes, and a Metropolitane, laie their handes vpon his heade and a booke. The Bisshoppes in the firste Churche, did litle or nothyng diffre from other Priestes, and ware ruled by the commune Counsailes of the Churche, before that dissencion and deuision entred emong the people, causing theim in sondrie sortes, to cleaue vnto sondrie names, euery sorte as thei fortuned to be conuerted and Christened of a sondrie persone. As whom Paule Baptised, thei would be called Paulines. Whom Appollo, Appollonians.

Whom Cephas, Cephites, and so of other. To auoide therefore these breaches of concorde, and for an vniformitie, the holy fathers ware driuen to decree and stablish that asmany as should aftreward be baptised, should be called Christianes of Christe. And that ouer euery Countie or Shiere, there should be sette one Prieste or moe, acordyng to the greatnesse of the same, suche as ware best tried. Whiche should haue to name, Ouersears in Englishe: in Greke, Episcopj. Whom we cal Bishopes, by chaungyng of P. into B. and leauing out the E. for shortnes, acordyng to the nature of our tongue. These mighte not then gouerne their Clergie, and other their Diocesans, at their owne pleasure, as thei did before: but acording to the decrees of the Churche of Rome, and the holie Counsailes of the fathers assembled. Then began thei firste (by the suffraunce and helpe of deuoute princes) to deuide all Christendome into Dioceses, and the Diocesse into Conuocacions or Chaptres, and those againe into Paroches, and to set that goodly ordre, that yet continueth, aswell emong the clergie as the laietie. That the parishe should obeie their lawfull Persone, the Persone the Deane: the Deane the Bishoppe: the Bishoppe, the Archebishoppe. The Archebishoppe, the Primate or Patriarche: the Primate or Patriarche, the Legate: the Legate, the Pope: the Pope the generalle Counsaille: the generalle Counsaile, God alone.

For the fourthe Sacramente it is holden, that euery prieste rightly priested, acordyng to the keies of the Churche, hauing an entente to consecrate, and obseruynge the fourme of the woordes: hathe power, of wheaten breade to make the very bodie of Christe, and of wine to make his very bloude.

Christe our Lorde hym selfe, the daye before he suffred, kepte it solemply with his disciples, and consecrated, and ordeined it continually to be celebrated, and eaten in the remembraunce of him selfe. And about this mattier a man had nede of a great faythe. Firste to beleue the breade to be chaunged into the body, and the wine into the bloude of Christe. Againe thoughe this be done euery daye that yet Christ for all that should growe neuer a whitte the bigger for ye making, nor the lesse for the eatinge. Thirdely that the Sacrament being deuyded into many partes, Christ should yet remaine whole in euery cromme. Fourthly that thoughe the wicked eate it, yet should not it be defiled. Fiuethly, that it bringeth to as many euyll as receiue it, death; and to the good euerlasting life. Sixthly that it tourneth not into the nature of the eater to his nourisshemente as other meate dothe: but turneth the eater contrariwise into the nature of it selfe. And yet being eaten, that it is rapte into heauen, vnhurte or vntouched. Seuenthly that in so smalle a syse of breade and wine, the infinite, and incomprehensible Christe, God and manne shoulde be comprehended. Then, that one, and the self same bodye of Christe, at one very instaunte, shoulde be in many places, and of many menne receiued at ones, and in sondrye parcelles. Ninethly y^t thoughe the bread it selfe be chaunged into the very flesshe of Christe, and the wine into his bloude, that yet to all the sences thei remaine breade and wine, and neither flesshe ne bloud. Further that all these commodities conteined in these verses folowing should happen vnto those that worthely eate it.

It putteth in mynde and kindleth, encreaseth hope, and strengtheneth. Mainteineth, clenseth, restoreth, giues life, and vniteth. Stablissheth beliefe, abates the foode of sinne, and all vnclennes quencheth.

Finally, to be very profitable for the saluacion aswell of those liuyng as deade, for whom it is specially offred by the priest in the Masse. And therefore to haue to name Eucharistia communio.

In the beginning of the Christianne faithe (and yet amonge certeine schismatiques as thei saye) one whole lofe was consecrated, of suche bigguenesse, as when the Priest had broken it in a platter into smalle pieces, it mighte suffise the whole multitude that ware at the masse to participate of. For in time paste the Christianes came euery day to communicate by a speciall commaundemente, and ordenaunce. Aftrewarde but ones in a wieke and that on the Sonday. But whan it began to be skant well kepte vppon the Sonday neither: then was it commaunded that euery manne should receiue it thrise in the yere, or ones at the leaste, at euery Easter. And that euery christian manne, when he stode in any daungier of death, beyng whole of minde, should receiue it as a waifaring viande, to staye him by the waye: with as good preparation of bodye and soule, as he possibly mighte.

Matrimonie (whiche is the lawefulle coupling of the manne and the woman) broughte in by the lawe of nature, the lawe of God, the lawe of all peoples, and the lawe ciuille, is the fiueth Sacrament. The holy fathers woulde haue but one mariage at ones, and that not in secrete but with open solemnitie eyther in ye churche, or in the churche porche, and so that the priest be called to the matier. Who shold firste examine the man, and then the womanne, whether thei bothe consent to be maried together. Yf thei be agreed (whiche is chiefely in this case requisite) he taking them bothe by the right handes: coupleth them together in the name of the holy and vnseperable trinitie, the father, the sonne, and the holy ghoste. And commaundeth, and exhorteth them that thei alwaye remembring this their coupling of their owne free wille and consent: as longe as thei liue, neuer forsake one another but loue and honour one another, be debonaire and buxome one to another, giuing them selues to procreacion, and not to lecherous luste. And that thei honestly and diligently bringe vp, suche children as God sendeth them of theyr bodies. Aftre that he affiaunceth them both with one ringe. And sprinckling holy water vpon them, reacheth them a stole, and leadeth them into the churche, where (yf thei ware not blessed afore) he blesseth them knieling before the altare. The woman hath on a redde fillet or frontelette, and ouer that a white veile, withoute the whiche it is not lawfulle for her fro that daye forwarde, to go oute of doores abrode, or to sitte by any manne. Twelue thinges ther be, whiche the holy fathers woulde haue to barre persons from contracting of matrimonie, and to disseuer them againe, yf thei be contracted. Errour of person, that is to saye, mistaking one for another. A betrowthing vpon a condicion, Consanguinitie or kindred, An open crime, Diuersitie of secte, Force, or constrainte. Holy ordres, a Bonde or former contracte, Commune or open honestie, Affinitie, and Disshabilitie of engendrure.

The sixteth Sacramente is penaunce or repentaunce, giuen of Christe as it ware for a wracke boorde, wherby men are preserued fro drowninge. Eche Christian oughte vndoubtedly to beleue that this consisteth in foure poinctes. To saie, in Repentaunce of our sinnes, Canonicalle confession, Absolucion, and Satisfaction, or amendes. Firste let him sorowe, not with a lighte forthinckinge, but with a moste earneste and bittre repentaunce in the botome of his conscience: for the puritie and innocencie that he had gotten eyther by baptisme or ye benefite of former repentaunce, and nowe hathe eftsones loste, and forgone throughe sinne. And let him hope with this repentaunce, to be reconciled to the fauour of God againe. And let him humbly, and truly with his owne mouthe, confesse to a wise prieste, in the steade of God: all those offences wherwith he knoweth him selfe to haue loste his innocencie and clennesse, and to haue prouoked the wrathe of GOD againste him selfe. And let him assuredly beleue that the same prieste, hath power giuen him of Christe (as beinge his vicare, or deputie on earthe) to absolue him of all his sinnes. Finally for satisfaction or amendes making for the faulte: lette him not with grudginge, but chierfully, and gladly doe, what so euer he shalbe commaunded. Beleuing with vndoubted faith, that he is absolued, and quyte of all, assone as the priest in dewe forme of wordes, hath pronounced the absolucion.

The seuenth, and the laste Sacrament is the laste enoynting, by an oyle that is made to this vse, by the bishope in euery diocesse, by an yerely custome vpon Maundy Thursdaie, like as the chrismatory oyle is. And this by the precepte of sainte Iames the Apostle, and by the ordinaunce of Felix the fourthe Pope after Sainte Peter: was giuen only to them that laie in dyeng, being of full age, and requyring it. Thei vse to enoynte with a prescripte fourme of wordes, and with often inuocacion of sainctes: those partes of the bodie, wher our fiue wittes or senses: the hearing, seyng, smelling, tasting and touching, beare moste stroke, and with whiche man is iudged chiefely to sinne. That is, the eares, the eyes, the nosthrilles, the mouthe, the handes, and the fete. Whereby the holy fathers would vs to beleue, that there was not onely purchased cleane forgiuenesse of all smaller offences, or venialle sinnes: but also either presente recouerie, or a riper and gentler deathe. All the feastes and holydaies, throughout the yere, which the churche hath commaunded to be obserued and kept: beginne at the Aduente, or approache of Christe our Lorde. Whiche Peter the Apostle instituted to be obserued in Decembre, with fasting and praier, thre wiekes and a haulfe before Christemas, when we close vp the last. viii. daies of that moneth, with greate ioye and feaste. Thei deuided the yere into two and fiuetie wekes, and. xii. seueral monthes. The monethes commonly into. xxx. daies. The firste daye of Ianuary the churche recordeth how Christe was circumcised acordinge to Moyses lawe. The. iii. daye aftre, howe he was worshipped of the thre Sages, with thre sondry presentes: and howe beinge baptissed of Iohn in Iordaine the floude, he laide the foundacion of the newe Lawe. The seconde of Februarie, how his mother vnspotted, obeyeng the maner of her country: brought hym into the temple, and suffred her self to be purified or clensed, whiche we calle churching of childe. In memorie wherof the churche vseth that daye, solempne procession, and halowing of candles, The fiue and twentieth of Marche, how ye aungel brought woorde to the virgin Marie, that Christ shoulde be borne of her, being conceyued in her wombe, by the ouershadowing of the holy ghoste. At the whiche time they willed vs to faste the fourtie daies that he fasted him selfe, being with vs vppon earth, and to renewe the remembraunce of his passion, and deathe, which he willingly susteined to deliuer vs fro ye yoke and bondage of the deuell. The laste day of that faste, which oftentimes falleth in Aprille, to celebrate the highest featte in al the yere: in remembraunce howe he ouer came deathe, descended into helle, vanquisshed the deuell, and retourned againe on liue, and appeared in glorious wyse vnto his scholers, or disciples. In Maye, how all those his scholers loking vpon him, he by his owne vertue and mighte, stied vp into the heauens. At the whiche time, by thordenaunce of saincte Mamerte, bishoppe of Vienne: there be made ganginges with the lesse Letanies from one Churche to another, all Christendome ouer. In Iune, and somtime in Maie, how the holy ghoste, promised to the disciples, giuen from aboue, appered to them like glowing tongues: and gaue them to vndrestande, and to speake the tonges of al nacions. Theight daie folowing, Trinitie Sondaie. The fiueth daie aftre that, how Christe in his laste supper, for a continualle remembraunce of himself, instituted the moste holsome Sacramente of his bodie and bloud, vndre the fourme of breade and wine, leauyng it to be sene and eaten of his. The fiuetenth of Iuly, how the blessed Apostles, acordyng as thei ware commaunded, the twelueth yere aftre the Ascension of their Master into heauen: wente their waies into the vniuersalle worlde, to Preache vnto all people. The departyng of Christes mother out of this life, the fiuetenth daie of Auguste. And her Natiuitie, theight of Septembre. And thone and twentie of Nouembre, how she from thre yeres of age (at the whiche tyme she was presented to the temple) vntill she was mariage able, remained there seruing God stil a peace. And theight of Decembre, how she was of her parentes begotten, that longe afore had bene barreine. The second daie of Iulie, how Elisabethe passyng the Mounteines, visited her kindeswoman.

There ware also certeine holie daies appoincted to the. xii. Apostles. To certeine Martyres, Confessours, and Virgines. As the fowre and twentieth of Februarie to saincte Matthie. To saincte Marke the Euangeliste, the xxv. of Aprille. Vpon the whiche daie, Gregorie ordeined the greate Letanies to be songe. The firste of Maie is hallowed for Philippe and Iames the more. The. xxix. of Iune, for Petre and Paule: and the. xxiiii. of thesame, for the Natiuitie of. S. Ihon Baptiste. The. xxv. of Iuly, for Iames the lesse. For Bartholomewe the fowre and twentie of August. For Mathewe, the one and twentie of Septembre. And the eight and twentie of Octobre, for Simon and Iude. The last of Nouembre, for. S. Andrewe. The one and twentie of Decembre, for saincte Thomas. And the. vii. and twentie of thesame moneth for Ihon the Euangeliste. The daie before, for Stephin the firste Martire. And the daie aftre for the Innocentes. The tenth of August for sainct Laurence. And the thre and twentie of Aprille, for saincte George. Of all the Confessours, there are no moe that haue holidaies appoincted, but S. Martine and saincte Nicholas. The firste, on the eleuenth of Nouembre: and the other the sixteth of Decembre. Katherine the virgine, the fiue and twentie of Nouembre, and Marie Magdalene the twentie and two of Iuly. There is also vndre the name of saincte Michael alone, the xxix. of Septembre: a holy daie for all blessed Angelles. And one other in commune for all the sainctes, and chosen of GOD, the firste of Nouembre.

Thei would also that euery seuenthe daie, should be hallowed of the Christianes, by the name of Sondaie, as the Iewes doe their Sabboth: restyng from all worldly woorke, and beyng onely occupied with praising of GOD, and the deuine Seruice in the Churche. To learne by the Priestes preachyng, the Gospelle and the commaundementes of our faith. And by what meanes so euer we thinke in our conscience we haue prouoked the wrathe of God against us all the wieke afore: that, this daie to amende, to sette cliere, and aske pardone for. In time past euery Thursdaie also was kepte as the Sondaie. But because we might sieme therein, somewhat to gratifie the Heathen (whiche that daie kepte solempne holie daie, to Iupiter their Idolle) it was laied doune againe. More ouer the clerkes and the people, vsed bothe Thursdaie and Sondaie before Masse, to go rounde aboute the Churche a Procession, and the Prieste, to sprinckle the people with holy watre. Agapitus instituted the one, and the other. The Thursdaie, in remembraunce of Christes Ascencion, and the Sondaie, of his glorious Resurrection: which we celebrate fro Sondaie to

Sondaie continually, ones euery eight daies. The night afore euery ordenary holidaie or feastefull daie: the whole clergie, and the people, ware bounde to kiepe Vigile in euery churche. That is to saie, to wake all nighte, in deuine seruice and praier. But vpon consideracion of many slaunderous crimes and offences, that ware by diuers naughtie and malicious persones committed, by the oportunitie of the darke: this maner was taken awaie, and ordeined that the daie before the feaste, should be fasted, whiche yet kiepeth stille the name of Vigile. The fathers decreed that the churche in the whole yere should renue the memorie of fiue thynges.

Fro the Sondaie called Septuagesima (because there are seuentie daies, betwiene that and the octaues of Easter) thei would vs to renue the memorie of Christes Fasting, Passion, Death and Bewrialle. The miserable falle also of our first parentes, and those extreme errours of mankinde, by the whiche thei ware ledde awaie fro the knowledge and worshippe of one verie GOD: to the wicked supersticion and honour of Idolles and deuelles. And further, the greuous and intollerable bondage that the people of Israell suffred vndre the Pharao of Egipte. Vpon whiche consideracion, the bookes of Genesis and Exodus be redde in the seruice of the churche. Whiche sheweth then in all her demeanour, and appareilyng, heauinesse and sorowe.

From the octaues of Easter, to the octaues of Whitsontide, Christes Resurrection, and Ascencion, with the commyng of the holy Ghoste. And together with that, the redempcion, reconciliacion, and atonement of mankinde with God the father, throughe Iesus Christe: and the restoryng againe of the children of Israell, to the lande of beheste. Wherein was prefigured our reconciliacion and redempcion aforesaid. For that cause is all the seruice out of the newe Testament, and al thinges done with ioie and gladnes.

From the octaues of Whitsontide, till Aduente, xx. wiekes space, and more, thei would haue to bee celebrated the conuersation of Christ here in the worlde, with his miracles and woorkes of wondre. And ouer and beside that, the longe pilgrimage, that mankinde, by longe reuolucion maketh, from one generacion to another, from the tyme of our redempcion, saluacion, and sauing, vntill the laste daie of time. Wherefore duryng this while, vpon consideracion of the diverse happe and hasarde, wherwith the Churche is tossed, like a Shippe in the troubled Seas, she neither greatly reioiceth, ne sorroweth, but redeth greate chaunge of bookes, oute of the olde and newe Testamente: to the ende she maie walke the warelier, and the bettre wijnde her self out of the stormes, that are ready to assaile her.

From Aduente to Christemas, to remembre the tyme from Moses, to the commyng of Messias. In the whiche mankinde certefied of saluacion, bothe by the lawe and the Prophetes, awaited with moste earneste desires for his comming, and the kingdome that he shold haue. Wherefore thei ordeined that the Prophecies should be redde, and fasting exercised. That the churche the bettre enstructed, and abled by these, mighte the worthelier receiue the Birthe daie of Christ her Lorde (whiche euer falleth the fowerth wieke aftre) and from thens holde on with feaste, and continuall gladnesse vntill Septuagessima. Reioisyng that he was now come: whiche should bee the sauluiour of the worlde. Their oratories Temples, or places of praier (whiche we calle Churches) might not be built without the good will of the Bisshoppe of the Diocese. And when the Timbre was redy to be framed, and the foundacion digged: it behoued them to send for the Bishoppe, to hallowe the firste corner stone of the foundacion, and to make the signe of the crosse thervpon, and to laie it, and directe it iuste Easte and Weste. And then might the Masons sette vpon the reste, but not afore. This Churche did thei vse to builde, aftre the facion of a crosse, and not vnlike the shape of a manne. The Chauncelle (in the whiche is conteined the highe Altare and the Quiere) directe full into the East, representeth the heade. And therefore ought to be made somwhat rounde, and muche shorter then the body of the churche. And yet vpon respecte that the heade is the place for the eyes, it ought to be of more lighte, and to bee separate with a particion, in the steade of a necke, from the body of the Churche. This particion the Latine calleth Cancelli: and out of that cometh our terme, Chauncelle. On eche side of this chauncelle peraduenture (for so fitteth it beste) should stand a Turret, as it ware for two eares. And in these the Belles to be hanged, to calle the people to Seruice, by daie and by night. Vndre one of these Turretes, is there commonly a voulte, whose doore openeth into the quiere. And in this are laid vp, the hallowed vesselles and ornamentes, and other vtensiles of the church. We calle it a vestrie. The other parte oughte so to be fitted, that hauing as it ware on eche side an arme, the reste maye resemble the bodye with the fete stretched in breadthe, and in lengthe. On eche side of the bodye the pillers to stonde. Vpon whose coronettes or heades the vaulte or rophe of the churche maye reste. And to the foote beneth, aulters to be ioyned.

Those aulters to be ordrely alway couered with two aulter clothes, and garnisshed with the crosse of Christe, or some little cofre of reliques. At eche ende a canlesticke: and a booke towarde the myddes. The walles to be parieted without, and within, and diuersly paincted. That thei also should haue in euery parisshe a faire sounde stone, made holowe and fitte to holde water: in the whiche the water consecrate for baptisme, may be kept for the christening of children. Vpon the right hande of the highe aulter, that ther should be an almorie, either cutte into the walle, or framed vpon it: in the whiche thei woulde haue the Sacrament of the Lordes bodye, the holy oyle for the sicke, and the Chrismatorie, alwaie to be locked. Furthermore thei woulde that ther should be a pulpite in the middes of the churche, wherein the prieste maye stonde vpon Sondaies and holidayes, to teache the people those thinges that it behoueth them to knowe. The chauncelle to serue onely for the priestes, and clerkes. The rest of the temporalle multitude to be in the body of the church. Separate notwithstonding, the men on the ryghte side, and the women, on the lefte. And eche of them to be sobre and honest in apparelle and behauour. Whatsoeuer is contrary to good facion or Christiane religion, with greate dilligence to shonne it. It was the maner in the first churche, both among men and women, to lette their heare growe, to shewe out their naked skinne, and very litle or nothing to diffre in apparelle. Sainct Peter put first ordre, that women should couer their heades, and menne rounde their heare, and either of them to go in seueralle and sondrye apparelle. Moreouer that to euery churche, shold be laid out a churchyarde, of the grounde adioyning, in the whiche all Christen mennes bodies mighte indifferently be bewried. The same to be consecrate, or halowed by the bishoppe, and to enioye all the priuilegies that the churche may enioye.

The funeralle for the deade, thei kepe not in euery place ylike. Some mourne and kiepe dirige and Masse seuen daies continualle together, some ix. some xxx. or fourtye some, fiuetie, and a hundred, and other a whole yere, wrapped vp in blacke. The counseile of Toledo ordeined that the corps beinge firste wasshed, and then wrapped vp in a shiete, shoulde be caried forthe with singing by menne of his owne condicion or sorte, clerkes by clerkes, and laye menne of laye menne. And aftre what time the priest hath sensed the corps, throwen holy water vppon it, and said certeine prayers, to laye it into the graue with the face vpwarde, and the heade into the Weaste. Then to throwe in the earth again, and in token that ther is a Christian ther bewried, to sette vp a crosse of wodde, garnisshed with yvie, cipres, or laurelle. These be the ordres and facions of the Christiane religion.

FINIS.

Imprinted at London
by
John Kyngston and Henrie Sutton.
The xxii daye of December
MDLV

THE CONQUEST
OF THE
GRAND CANARIES,
MADE
THIS LAST SUMMER BY THREESCORE AND
THIRTEENE SAILE OF SHIPPES,

c/

SENT FORTH AT THE
*COMMAND AND DIRECTION OF THE GENERALL OF THE VNITED
PROUINCES,*
TO THE
COAST OF SPAINE
AND THE
CANARIE-ISLES:
WITH THE
TAKING OF A TOWNE IN THE ILE OF GOMERA,
AND THE
SUCCESSE OF PART OF THE SAIDE FLEETE IN THEIR
RETURNE HOMEWARD.
WHICH
SET SAILE FOR SPAINE THE 25 OF MAIE, AND RETURNED
HOME THE 10 OF SEPTEMB. 1599.

At London:
PRINTED BY P. S. FOR W. ASPLEY, DWELLING IN PAULES CHURCH-
YARD AT THE SIGNE OF THE TYGERS HEAD.
1599.

NOTE.

The following very curious and interesting pamphlet was not included in the edition of 1598-1600. It was, however, inserted in the fifth volume of the small edition, 4to., of 1812, and is here transposed to that part of the Voyages relating to the Canaries, etc. Originally printed for "W. Apsley, dwelling in Paules Church-Yard, at the signe of the Tygers Head" in 1599, it is of the utmost rarity, and for that reason I have thought it right to give the original title-page.—*E. G.*

A TRUE REPORT

OF

A VOYAGE MADE THIS LAST SUMMER, BY A FLEETE OF 73. SHIPPES,

SENT FORTH AT THE

COMMANDE AND DIRECTION OF THE STATES GENERALL OF THE VNITED PROUINCES,

TO THE

COAST OF SPAINE AND THE CANARIE-ISLES.

TVesday the 25. daie of Maie the wind being Northe and Northe-east, we in the fleete of Roterdam, being 20. saile of ships, the sunne beeing Southe-west and by West, came before Flushing, and ankered neere vnto Cleiburch; our generall at his comming found the fleetes of North-Holland, and Zealand ready.

Wednesday, the 26. daie wee remained there at anchor.

Thursday the 27. daie of Maie, we tooke into our ships (by the Generals commandement) two gentlemen and foure souldiours.

Friday the 28. of May 1599, the wind being northerly, we waied our anchors, and sailed from the Weelings with 73. ships, hauing faire weather, setting our course West, Southwest. Wee had 3. Admirals in this fleete, whereof the chiefe Admirall was the ship of William Derickson Cloper, wherein was embarked the honourable gentleman Peter Van Doest being generall of the fleete. This ship was called the Orange, carying in her top a flag of Orange colour, vnder whose squadron was certaine Zelanders, with some South and North Hollanders; Ian Geerbranston caried the white flag, vnder whom the Zelanders and ships of the Maze were appointed. And Cornelius Gheleinson of Vlyshing wore in his maine top the blew flag, vnder whom were appointed certaine ships of the Maze with some North Hollanders. Thus were wee deuided into sondry squadrons, but to what ende it was so done, it is to me, and many others vnknowne.

Saturday the 29. of Maie, hauing sight of Callis, ye ships lay to the lee ward, and staied for the rereward. The Lord generall shot off a peece, and afterward hung out the princes flag, in signe that the captains shold come aboord him, presently al the captains entred into their boates, and rowed aboord the General, at which time were two pinnaces sent out of the fleet, whereof one was the Generals Pinnace, but vnto what place they sailed, wee were altogether ignorant. And when the boates rowed from the Generall, some of them went aboord the victualers, and tooke out of them certaine fire-workes. The sunne Southwest, the Generall discharged an other peece of ordinance, and put out the Princes flag, wherevpon presently the captaines went aboord him, and when our captaine returned, he had in his hande a letter closed vp, which hee brought from the Generall, and wee imagined that euery captaine had receiued the like, and then wee sailed altogether toward the higth of Blacknesse, where wee anchored, (which caused vs greatly to wonder, seeing we had so faire a wind,) but we perceiued afterwards, that this was done, to the ende we should there abide the coming of the great new ship of Amsterdam: for the soldiours which were appointed for her, were all with vs in a ship of our company.

Sunday, the 30. of Maie, where lying at anchor al that night, the next morning we set saile altogether hauing the winde at North East, wee set our course West Northwest, the weather being faire. The same morning our captain read vnto vs those very articles which before had bin read vnto vs in the prince Mauritz his Court, and afterwards we altogether, and with one accord were sworne to the keeping of them: At noone we were neere vnto Beuersier hauing a fine gale out of the East Northeast, the euening was calme, the foremost shippes slacked their sailes, attending the comming in of the hindermost.

Wednesday the ninth of Iune by the breake of daie we were hard vnder the coast of Spaine neere to Viuero, the winde being westerly, we sailed North West and by North, and North Northwest, the sunne Southwest and by West, we were ouer against the cape Ortegael, we sailed North West and by North, to fetch the wind: we were in 44. degrees 20. minuts, at twilight, we had the foresaid Cape of vs about 5. miles South West and by West.

Thursday the 10. of Iune, the winde being at East South East, wee directed our course towardes the shore, and might certainly discerne that it was the coast of Ortegall, we bore in West Southwest directly with the land, and ordered all thinges as if we presently should haue had battell, and about noone wee had sight of the Groyne, namely the tower which standeth neere the Groine.

Friday, the 11. of Iune, at the breake of day the winde being at North East and by East, sixe of our ships sailed forwarde South Southwest, meaning to enter the Groine, and there to learne how al things stood. The sunne being Southeast, Cape Prior was East from vs, wee bare South, presently after we spied two boates comming out of Veroll to learn what ships we were, the rather because that the day before they had seene our fleete at sea: we sailed by the wind, and lay in the wind to stay for their comming. The one doubting vs woulde not come neere vs, the other boat also durst not approch neere vs: wee called to one of the Spaniardes, saying wee came from Hamborch laden with cordage and other goods, desiring and praying him to let vs haue a Pilot to bring vs into the Groine, wherewith the boate came aboord vs, so that by our great haste, and policie we got one Spaniard, the other which remained in the boate would not come into our ship, but presently thrust off their boate, making all possible speede to get from vs. Hauing nowe gotten this Spaniarde, hee was presently deliuered into the handes of the Generall, who confessed that there were about 4000. souldiours come into the towne, with certaine horsemen, 36. waggons with money, and 300. pipes of wine, to furnish the Spanish fleet, that he lay the night past in the Groine, and was the Kings seruant. The sun South South-West, we came with our whole fleete before the Groine, where wee found the great newe ship of Amsterdam vnder the Towne.

The whole fleet commeth before the Groine.

At 12. 13. and 10. fadome we cast anchor, so that wee might behold much people both on the shoare and vpon the wals of the town: from the castle and town both, they shot mightely with their great ordinance into our fleet, so that there were aboue 200. cannon shot discharged, wherewith some of our ships were hit, but not one man lost, and little hurt done otherwise. There lay an other castle East ward from the towne, which shot also most terribly, but altogether vncertainly, for we know not that they touched any one ship more then Moy Lambert, which was greatly to bee wondered at, seeing our fleete lay so thicke together, and so neere vnder the castle. There laie hard vnder the castle 12. great Gallions, with some French ships, which also nowe and then shot among our fleete, but they lay so neere the walles that wee could do them no harme at all. The Lord Generall worthy of al praise, wisely be thinking himselfe, caused all his captaines and counsell to come aboorde him, that they might together conferre vpon this busines, and what meanes might best bee found, to inuade the towne and the enemy, but they concluded not to meddle with the land there: seeing the enemy was there, strong vpon his guard, and that 5. weekes past both from Amsterdam, and by a French man, they had knowledge of our comming; by reason of the calme, wee were constrained to towe out our ships with the boates in dispite of al their shot, thus we parted from the Groyne without profit, or effecting of any thing, leauing the Papists of Groyne as wee founde them, from thence (the winde being at South Southwest) wee bent our course towarde Cape Saint Vincent, meaning to goe to Saint Lucars, hoping to fal vpon them at vnawares, and ere they looked for vs.

Saturday the 12. of Iune, hauing got a fine gale we ran along the coast of Galicia, at noone wee were before the Iland of Cesarian, and set our course towards Cape Finister.

Sunday the 13. of Iune, the lorde Generall gaue sharpe commandement by his letters, forbidding al men aboorde the ships to vse any play, with tables, cards, or dice, either for money, or for pastime, or vpon credit.

Munday the 14. of Iune, the wind blew so harde out of the North, that wee could not beare our topsailes with our forecourse which sailed South, the sunne was southward we had Port a Porte of vs, being in 41. degrees and 20 minuts.

Tuesday the 15. of Iune, as soone as day appeared, we had sight of Cape Roxent, and then we sailed making small way, staying for the comming together of the fleete: the wind as before we sailed South Southwest, and were in 36 degrees.

Wednesday the 16. of Iune, towardes the euening we had sight of two strange ships eastward of our fleete, certain of our ships made towards them and tooke them, the one was an English man of war; the other was a Spanish barke with three missens: at his comming before the Generall, he said, he had already sent 2. prises into Englande, and woulde now with this prise returne home: for his victuals were almost spent.

Thursday the 10. of Iune, the winde being at East South East, wee directed our course towardes the shore, and might certainly discerne that it was the coast of Ortegall, we bore in West Southwest directly with the land, and ordered all thinges as if we presently should haue had battell, and about noone wee had sight of the Groyne, namely the tower which standeth neere the Groine.

Friday, the 11. of Iune, at the breake of day the winde being at North East and by East, sixe of our ships sailed forwarde South Southwest, meaning to enter the Groine, and there to learne how al things stood. The sunne being Southeast, Cape Prior was East from vs, wee bare South, presently after we spied two boates comming out of Veroll to learn what ships we were, the rather because that the day before they had seene our fleete at sea: we sailed by the wind, and lay in the wind to stay for their comming. The one doubting vs woulde not come neere vs, the other boat also durst not approch neere vs: wee called to one of the Spaniardes, saying wee came from Hamborch laden with cordage and other goods, desiring and praying him to let vs haue a Pilot to bring vs into the Groine, wherewith the boate came aboord vs, so that by our great haste, and policie we got one Spaniard, the other which remained in the boate would not come into our ship, but presently thrust off their boate, making all possible speede to get from vs. Hauing nowe gotten this Spaniarde, hee was presently deliuered into the handes of the Generall, who confessed that there were about 4000. souldiours cǒme into the towne, with certaine horsemen, 36. waggons with money, and 300. pipes of wine, to furnish the Spanish fleet, that he lay the night past in the Groine, and was the Kings seruant. The sun South South-West, we came with our whole fleete before the Groine, where wee found the great newe ship of Amsterdam vnder the Towne.

The whole fleet commeth before the Groine.

At 12. 13. and 10. fadome we cast anchor, so that wee might behold much people both on the shoare and vpon the wals of the town: from the castle and town both, they shot mightely with their great ordinance into our fleet, so that there were aboue 200. cannon shot discharged, wherewith some of our ships were hit, but not one man lost, and little hurt done otherwise. There lay an other castle East ward from the towne, which shot also most terribly, but altogether vncertainly, for we know not that they touched any one ship more then Moy Lambert, which was greatly to bee wondered at, seeing our fleete lay so thicke together, and so neere vnder the castle. There laie hard vnder the castle 12. great Gallions, with some French ships, which also nowe and then shot among our fleete, but they lay so neere the walles that wee could do them no harme at all. The Lord Generall worthy of al praise, wisely be thinking himselfe, caused all his captaines and counsell to come aboorde him, that they might together conferre vpon this busines, and what meanes might best bee found, to inuade the towne and the enemy, but they concluded not to meddle with the land there: seeing the enemy was there, strong vpon his guard, and that 5. weekes past both from Amsterdam, and by a French man, they had knowledge of our comming; by reason of the calme, wee were constrained to towe out our ships with the boates in dispite of al their shot, thus we parted from the Groyne without profit, or effecting of any thing, leauing the Papists of Groyne as wee founde them, from thence (the winde being at South Southwest) wee bent our course towarde Cape Saint Vincent, meaning to goe to Saint Lucars, hoping to fal vpon them at vnawares, and ere they looked for vs.

Saturday the 12. of Iune, hauing got a fine gale we ran along the coast of Galicia, at noone wee were before the Iland of Cesarian, and set our course towards Cape Finister.

Sunday the 13. of Iune, the lorde Generall gaue sharpe commandement by his letters, forbidding al men aboorde the ships to vse any play, with tables, cards, or dice, either for money, or for pastime, or vpon credit.

Munday the 14. of Iune, the wind blew so harde out of the North, that wee could not beare our topsailes with our forecourse which sailed South, the sunne was southward we had Port a Porte of vs, being in 41. degrees and 20 minuts.

Tuesday the 15. of Iune, as soone as day appeared, we had sight of Cape Roxent, and then we sailed making small way, staying for the comming together of the fleete: the wind as before we sailed South Southwest, and were in 36 degrees.

Wednesday the 16. of Iune, towardes the euening we had sight of two strange ships eastward of our fleete, certain of our ships made towards them and tooke them, the one was an English man of war; the other was a Spanish barke with three missens: at his comming before the Generall, he said, he had already sent 2. prises into Englande, and woulde now with this prise returne home: for his victuals were almost spent.

Thursday the 17. of Iune, it was very still and calme weather.

Friday the 18. of Iune, the wind being at North Northeast, we sailed South Southwest. The Lord Generall caused all the Captaines with the Pilots to come aboord him: demanding of them which of them was best acquainted in the Isles of Canaria: and further, by what meanes, they might conquer and force the said Ilands, and land their people. And about noone the captaines were chosen and appointed which shoulde commande on lande. The Generall gaue out newe ensignes, to the number of 9. or 10. according to the number of the ships. The Lord Generall appointed to each new captaine, an Ancient bearer, a Lieutenant, and other officers, with 130. souldiers and mariners, and instructions how euery one of them should gouerne himself on the land.

Saturday the 19. of Iune, the Generall commanded that the captaines should deliuer out victuals but twice a day, to wit, 6. and 6. to a messe: for 6. men, 5. cans of beere of Roterdams measure euery day, 5. pounde of breade and no more, a cheese of 6. l. euery weeke, one pound of butter weekely, likewise pease, beanes, or Otemeale twise a day, according to the order. Captaine Harman, and captaine Pije, had each of them commission to commande on the land as captaines ouer two companies of saylers, each company containing 130. men. Harman Thunesson was appointed Ancient to captaine Henricke Pije, and de Blomme Ancient to captaine Hendricke Hertman. The ancients were deliuered the same day.

The 20. 21. 22. daies, wee sailed South Southwest, the wind being northerly.

Wednesday the 23. of Iune, the wind was North Northeast. The Generall commaunded all the captaines both for the sea and land to come aboord him, where it was ordained and determined how the battell should be ordered, after they were landed. According to the altitude, we found our selues to be 36. miles from great Canaria.

Thursday the 24. of Iune, we ranne our foresaid course. The sun being West Northwest, we sawe the land East and by South off vs: wee sailed East and by South, and with great labour and diligence bore all that might with the land.

Friday the 25. of June, we continued our course to the land for our assured knowledge thereof, and perceiued it to be Lancerot; we saw also a small land (which lay between both) called Allegrania, and also ye Iland Forteuentura, which is 24. miles great, afterward we sailed Southwest along the coast of Forteuentura, which is a lande that hath very high hils. The sun Southwest, we were past the Iland Forteuentura, and were sailed out of sight thereof, running as yet Southwest: about ii. a clocke in the afternoone wee had sight of the Iland of great Canaria, for a while wee kept our way; but when the Generall was assured that it was the grand Canaria, wee all tooke in our sailes, and lay to the lee ward, and so remained vntill it was past midnight, then wee set saile againe and made to the lande, our course westwarde.

The whole Netherlandish fleet commeth before the Island and town of Grand Canaria.

Saturday the 26. of Iune, in the morning the whole fleet sailed West directly to the land the winde North and by East, and made all thinges ready to land; being now neere the shore, the whole fleete let fall their anchors harde by the great castle, which lieth North Northwest from the town, from whence they began to shoot mightily against the ships. The lord Generall and the vize Admirall with the other ships that had the greatest ordenance, anchored close vnder the castle, and for a certain time they plied each other with their great shot; ye Generals main mast, and his missen mast were shot thorow, and his vize Admirall, namely the great new ship of Amsterdam was shot thorow 6. or 7. times; so that some of the souldiours and maryners also were slaine before they entered their long boates to rowe to the shore: But the ships for their parts, had so well bestowed their shot on the castle, that they of the castle began to faint, wherby they discharged not so thicke and often as before. Our men rowed to the land in the long boates, euery one full of souldiours, and the ships which could not discharge their ordenance against the castle, bent them against the shore, (for the enemy had three brasse peeces lying vpon the strand) and many people were there gathered together where our souldiours shoulde land. Nowe as soone as the Generall with the most parte of the long boates were come together, they all at one instant rowed toward the shore, maintaining for a while the fight on both sides with their shot. But the General perceiuing that the enemie woulde not abandon the place, with a valiant courage made to the shore, and altogether leaping into the water vp to the middle, maintained the fight with the enemy. Notwithstanding the enemy no lesse couragious, would not yet leaue the strond, so that some of our souldiours

Thursday the 17. of Iune, it was very still and calme weather.

Friday the 18. of Iune, the wind being at North Northeast, we sailed South Southwest. The Lord Generall caused all the Captaines with the Pilots to come aboord him: demanding of them which of them was best acquainted in the Isles of Canaria: and further, by what meanes, they might conquer and force the said Ilands, and land their people. And about noone the captaines were chosen and appointed which shoulde commande on lande. The Generall gaue out newe ensignes, to the number of 9. or 10. according to the number of the ships. The Lord Generall appointed to each new captaine, an Ancient bearer, a Lieutenant, and other officers, with 130. souldiers and mariners, and instructions how euery one of them should gouerne himself on the land.

Saturday the 19. of Iune, the Generall commanded that the captaines should deliuer out victuals but twice a day, to wit, 6. and 6. to a messe: for 6. men, 5. cans of beere of Roterdams measure euery day, 5. pounde of breade and no more, a cheese of 6. l. euery weeke, one pound of butter weekely, likewise pease, beanes, or Otemeale twise a day, according to the order. Captaine Harman, and captaine Pije, had each of them commission to commande on the land as captaines ouer two companies of saylers, each company containing 130. men. Harman Thunesson was appointed Ancient to captaine Henricke Pije, and de Blomme Ancient to captaine Hendricke Hertman. The ancients were deliuered the same day.

The 20. 21. 22. daies, wee sailed South Southwest, the wind being northerly.

Wednesday the 23. of Iune, the wind was North Northeast. The Generall commaunded all the captaines both for the sea and land to come aboord him, where it was ordained and determined how the battell should be ordered, after they were landed. According to the altitude, we found our selues to be 36. miles from great Canaria.

Thursday the 24. of Iune, we ranne our foresaid course. The sun being West Northwest, we sawe the land East and by South off vs: wee sailed East and by South, and with great labour and diligence bore all that might with the land.

Friday the 25. of June, we continued our course to the land for our assured knowledge thereof, and perceiued it to be Lancerot; we saw also a small land (which lay between both) called Allegrania, and also yͤ Iland Forteuentura, which is 24. miles great, afterward we sailed Southwest along the coast of Forteuentura, which is a lande that hath very high hils. The sun Southwest, we were past the Iland Forteuentura, and were sailed out of sight thereof, running as yet Southwest: about ii. a clocke in the afternoone wee had sight of the Iland of great Canaria, for a while wee kept our way; but when the Generall was assured that it was the grand Canaria, wee all tooke in our sailes, and lay to the lee ward, and so remained vntill it was past midnight, then wee set saile againe and made to the lande, our course westwarde.

The whole Netherlandish fleet commeth before the Island and town of Grand Canaria.

Saturday the 26. of Iune, in the morning the whole fleet sailed West directly to the land the winde North and by East, and made all thinges ready to land; being now neere the shore, the whole fleete let fall their anchors harde by the great castle, which lieth North Northwest from the town, from whence they began to shoot mightily against the ships. The lord Generall and the vize Admirall with the other ships that had the greatest ordenance, anchored close vnder the castle, and for a certain time they plied each other with their great shot; yͤ Generals main mast, and his missen mast were shot thorow, and his vize Admirall, namely the great new ship of Amsterdam was shot thorow 6. or 7. times; so that some of the souldiours and maryners also were slaine before they entered their long boates to rowe to the shore: But the ships for their parts, had so well bestowed their shot on the castle, that they of the castle began to faint, wherby they discharged not so thicke and often as before. Our men rowed to the land in the long boates, euery one full of souldiours, and the ships which could not discharge their ordenance against the castle, bent them against the shore, (for the enemy had three brasse peeces lying vpon the strand) and many people were there gathered together where our souldiours shoulde land. Nowe as soone as the Generall with the most parte of the long boates were come together, they all at one instant rowed toward the shore, maintaining for a while the fight on both sides with their shot. But the General perceiuing that the enemie woulde not abandon the place, with a valiant courage made to the shore, and altogether leaping into the water vp to the middle, maintained the fight with the enemy. Notwithstanding the enemy no lesse couragious, would not yet leaue the strond, so that some of our souldiours and mariners lost their liues before the enemy would retire: for the place was discommodious, and hard to lande, but most of the enemy were slaine, to the number of 30. or 36. and the Gouernor his right leg was shot off, sitting on his horse. The lord General Peter von der Doest leaping first on land, was thrust in his leg with a pike, and had in his body 4. wounds more, and was in great danger to haue lost his life but that one of the souldiours slewe the Spaniarde which meant to haue don it; but his wounds were of small moment, and his ancient bearer was slain with a shot, the Lieutenant Generall was shot in his throte, captaine Kruyc in the heade, 4. soldiours were slain, and 15. hurt in the generals pinnace before they could come to land: But when our people now with one courage all together rushed vpon the enemie, (leauing their ordenance behinde them,) they forsooke the strond, and ran together into the town, carying with them their Gouernour, whose leg was shot off, and he was a knight of the order of the crosse, and leauing behind them 36. deade carcases on the strond, were presently by our people ransacked, and our dead people buried. Our men now hauing won the strond, put themselues presently in battell ray; the empty boates returned to the ships, but after our people had taken the strond, the castle did neuer shoot shot. After the boates were returned aboord, presently they rowed againe to the shore full of soldiours; our people being all landed, they which for the first time had commandement, set vs in 7. troupes, or battalions, being xxiiii. companies strong, of soldiours and Mariners, with twentie foure Auncientes. At which time we marched a little forward twenty one a brest, and standing altogether in battell; suddainly three mariners came running to the Generall, (which had bin at the castle) telling him that the Spaniards desired to deliuer him the castle, so their liues and goods might be saued: the generall with some of the captaines and souldiours went first thither, and presently the castle was deliuered into his possession, hoping on his pitty and mercy, and leauing behind them all the great ordenance, namely 9. peeces of brasse, and 6. Iron peeces, and also al their weapons. In the castle were about 80. Spaniards, some cannoniers, some soldiors, and some people of the countrey, for the defence thereof: beside powder, shot and match accordingly, for the artillery, and also thirty small peeces or caliuers. Also wee founde 58. prisoners,

Twenty foure companies strong of the Netherlanders.

The first castle taken.

the rest were slaine with shot in the fury, and some were run away. The prisoners (which our people had taken in the road with two Barkes, and a ship sunke with our ordenance, as they lay all 3. hard before the castle) were sent altogether aboorde the ships except 3. of the principals which the lord General reserued by him, to the end he might the better knowe the state of all things. Presently 80. soldiours were sent into the castle, who tooke down the kings flag, and set vp the princes colours. At the same instant two Negros were brought to ye General, which were fetched out of the mountains, they said that they had lien there a sleepe, and knew nothing of any matter. But now when it began to wax dark, we marched altogether a great way towards the town, 4. companies of soldiors approached hard vnder the towne, and other 4. companies had the rereward: those of the Maze, with the Amsterdammers remained a pretty way from the town, vnder the hils; and the Zealanders, with the North Hollanders lay neere the waters side, so wee remained al that night in order of battell.

Sunday the 27. of Iune, after we had now stood al night in battel order, early in the morning we marched w^{t} al our 7. troupes hard vnder the town of Canarie, where we remained a while in that order: but because they of the castle (which lieth to the towne) shot so mightily among vs; 2. of the troupes retired vnder a hill, where we were a little freede from the castle: for while our people stood imbattailed before the town, the castle did vs great hurt, for sometimes they shot fiue or sixe men with one shot, ere we could entrench our selues before the castle: but after they perceiued that our people had made a small trench against the shot of the castle, they placed on the hill fiue or sixe small peeces of brasse called falconets (which shoote about a pounde of pouder) and sometimes they shot boules of wood, wherewith in the beginning they slew manie of our people: so aduantagiouslie had they placed their ordenaunce to shoot among vs. Ten or twelue of our Souldiours ranne vp the hill, whereof the enemy tooke one, and presently cut him in foure peeces. Our people seeing that they so tyranouslie dealte with them, about the euening tooke a Spaniarde prisoner, and vsed him after the same maner. The lorde Generall perceiuing that many men were slaine with the ordenance, caused fiue peeces of brasse to bee brought from the castle which we had taken the daie before, and towarde the euening we beganne to make a battery, and the same and mariners lost their liues before the enemy would retire: for the place was discommodious, and hard to lande, but most of the enemy were slaine, to the number of 30. or 36. and the Gouernor his right leg was shot off, sitting on his horse. The lord General Peter von der Doest leaping first on land, was thrust in his leg with a pike, and had in his body 4. wounds more, and was in great danger to haue lost his life but that one of the souldiours slewe the Spaniarde which meant to haue don it; but his wounds were of small moment, and his ancient bearer was slain with a shot, the Lieutenant Generall was shot in his throte, captaine Kruyc in the heade, 4. soldiours were slain, and 15. hurt in the generals pinnace before they could come to land: But when our people now with one courage all together rushed vpon the enemie, (leauing their ordenance behinde them,) they forsooke the strond, and ran together into the town, carying with them their Gouernour, whose leg was shot off, and he was a knight of the order of the crosse, and leauing behind them 36. deade carcases on the strond, were presently by our people ransacked, and our dead people buried. Our men now hauing won the strond, put themselues presently in battell ray; the empty boates returned to the ships, but after our people had taken the strond, the castle did neuer shoot shot. After the boates were returned aboord, presently they rowed againe to the shore full of soldiours; our people being all landed, they which for the first time had commandement, set vs in 7. troupes, or battalions, being xxiiii. companies strong, of soldiours and Mariners, with twentie foure Auncientes. At which time we marched a little forward twenty one a brest, and standing altogether in battell; suddainly three mariners came running to the Generall, (which had bin at the castle) telling him that the Spaniards desired to deliuer him the castle, so their liues and goods might be saued: the generall with some of the captaines and souldiours went first thither, and presently the castle was deliuered into his possession, hoping on his pitty and mercy, and leauing behind them all the great ordenance, namely 9. peeces of brasse, and 6. Iron peeces, and also al their weapons. In the castle were about 80. Spaniards, some cannoniers, some soldiors, and some people of the countrey, for the defence thereof: beside powder, shot and match accordingly, for the artillery, and also thirty small peeces or caliuers. Also wee founde 58. prisoners,

Twenty foure companies strong of the Netherlanders.

The first castle taken.

the rest were slaine with shot in the fury, and some were run away. The prisoners (which our people had taken in the road with two Barkes, and a ship sunke with our ordenance, as they lay all 3. hard before the castle) were sent altogether aboorde the ships except 3. of the principals which the lord General reserued by him, to the end he might the better knowe the state of all things. Presently 80. soldiours were sent into the castle, who tooke down the kings flag, and set vp the princes colours. At the same instant two Negros were brought to ye General, which were fetched out of the mountains, they said that they had lien there a sleepe, and knew nothing of any matter. But now when it began to wax dark, we marched altogether a great way towards the town, 4. companies of soldiors approached hard vnder the towne, and other 4. companies had the rereward: those of the Maze, with the Amsterdammers remained a pretty way from the town, vnder the hils; and the Zealanders, with the North Hollanders lay neere the waters side, so wee remained al that night in order of battell.

Sunday the 27. of Iune, after we had now stood al night in battel order, early in the morning we marched w^t^ al our 7. troupes hard vnder the town of Canarie, where we remained a while in that order: but because they of the castle (which lieth to the towne) shot so mightily among vs; 2. of the troupes retired vnder a hill, where we were a little freede from the castle: for while our people stood imbattailed before the town, the castle did vs great hurt, for sometimes they shot fiue or sixe men with one shot, ere we could entrench our selues before the castle: but after they perceiued that our people had made a small trench against the shot of the castle, they placed on the hill fiue or sixe small peeces of brasse called falconets (which shoote about a pounde of pouder) and sometimes they shot boules of wood, wherewith in the beginning they slew manie of our people: so aduantagiouslie had they placed their ordenaunce to shoot among vs. Ten or twelue of our Souldiours ranne vp the hill, whereof the enemy tooke one, and presently cut him in foure peeces. Our people seeing that they so tyranouslie dealte with them, about the euening tooke a Spaniarde prisoner, and vsed him after the same maner. The lorde Generall perceiuing that many men were slaine with the ordenance, caused fiue peeces of brasse to bee brought from the castle which we had taken the daie before, and towarde the euening we beganne to make a battery, and the same euening brought into it three peeces, whereof two were placed presentlie to play vppon the Castle and the hill; but that euening were but fiue or sixe shotte made. While that our men made the batterie, and planted or placed the ordenaunce, the enemy placed his ordenance in counter-battery: and before our battery could be finished, and the ordenance placed, many of our men were shot, among whom Peter vanden Eynde commissioner, had his leg shot off, whereof he died within three daies after. After that it was dark, al they which lay there before the towne were againe set in order of battel, 15. on a ranke, and so remained all that night.

The 28. of Iune, early in the morning euery man retired to his quarter, and then were two peeces more brought to the battery, which also were presently placed on the Rampire, and so wee began to shoot against the castle with 4. peeces, and with the fifth we plaied vpon the small ordenance which lay vpon the hils. The enemie in the castle laid many sackes of wooll, and placed many tonnes or barrels filled with stones vpon the castle walles supposing thereby to make some little defence from our ordenance; but when an Iron bullet chanced to hit the barrels so filled with stones, it did them mightie hurt, for the stones would scatter maruailouslie abroad, whereby many of them that were in the castle were slaine. Our men hauing now with their shot almost abated the force of the castle, 4. companies marched vp the hils, intending to beate the enemy from thence, which lay there with the ordenance. But the enemy perceiuing himselfe to bee assaulted on all partes, (for most of the ordenance of the castle were dismounted and made vnprofitable, the gate of the towne set one fire by the Generals commandement) about noone they forsooke both the castle, hill, and town, and with all their wiues, children, money and Iewels, and all other things that they coulde carry with them, fled into the mountaines. Which when our men perceiued, they put themselues in order of battle xv. in a ranke. The lord Generall seeing the Spaniards shamefullie to flie, caused 2. ladders belonging to the enemies, to be brought out of a church which stood without the towne, whereof the one was too shorte, notwithstanding himselfe with one of the ladders climed vp the walles, one man at once followed, and by this meanes entered the towne ouer the wals. About noone some of our men ran into the castle without any reencounter: the enemy had vndermined the gate, but as we approched the wall, it tooke fire,

The second castle and town of Grand Canaria taken.

but not one of our people was therewith hurt. They had also skattered powder in sundrie places, but our men themselues did fire the same: and as soone as our people were entred the castle, the kinges colours were taken downe, and the prince of Oranges set vp, and we found fiue peeces of brasse therein. When wee were all entered into the towne, we put our selues againe into order of battell 15. in a ranke in a low ground within the towne: and the souldiours which entered the towne by the hils side, brought to the Generall a man of Flushing, which they had taken out of prison: as soone as the Generall sawe him, he went presently with him to the prison, accompanied with some of our captaines, where they found 36. prisoners, which presently were discharged. And further they declared, that the Spaniards had taken with them 2. prisoners into the mountaines, which were condemned to be burnt, the one was an English man, the other a Dutchman, which had lien in the holy house. Thus with the helpe of God about noone, wee won the great Iland of Canaria, and the town of Allegona, battered with their owne artillery, and skaled with their owne ladders. Towards the euening wee were quartered in the housen, those wherein the Generall was, were by writing freed, that no man might take out any goods, in the rest euery one might go, and take what pillage he could find: but the Spaniards had caried all the best things with them into the mountaines, and in the euening all our people entered the town. Euery captaine with his company were seuerallie lodged, but yet we appointed watch on the hils, as well as in the towne, for the enemy shewed himselfe often vpon the hils, whereby we were forced to keep very good watch.

The 29. of Iune, this morning some of the mariners climed vp the hils, but the enemy (to whom the passage were better known, then to our people) suddainly set vpon them, and killed 20. of them. Towards the euening some 300. of our Soldiours marched towardes a small castle which lay halfe an houres iourney from the towne: but the enemy seeing our people to approch, forsooke the place and fled into the mountaines, our men being ascended, they founde in the castle three brasse peeces: and after they had appointed a Corporall with certaine soldiours to keepe the watch, the rest returned to the citty. The same night the Spaniards tooke one of our soldiors appointed for a forlorne Sentinel, whom they presently put to the sword.

The last of Iune, as soone as day appeared, wee began to cary euening brought into it three peeces, whereof two were placed presentlie to play vppon the Castle and the hill; but that euening were but fiue or sixe shotte made. While that our men made the batterie, and planted or placed the ordenaunce, the enemy placed his ordenance in counter-battery: and before our battery could be finished, and the ordenance placed, many of our men were shot, among whom Peter vanden Eynde commissioner, had his leg shot off, whereof he died within three daies after. After that it was dark, al they which lay there before the towne were againe set in order of battel, 15. on a ranke, and so remained all that night.

The 28. of Iune, early in the morning euery man retired to his quarter, and then were two peeces more brought to the battery, which also were presently placed on the Rampire, and so wee began to shoot against the castle with 4. peeces, and with the fifth we plaied vpon the small ordenance which lay vpon the hils. The enemie in the castle laid many sackes of wooll, and placed many tonnes or barrels filled with stones vpon the castle walles supposing thereby to make some little defence from our ordenance; but when an Iron bullet chanced to hit the barrels so filled with stones, it did them mightie hurt, for the stones would scatter maruailouslie abroad, whereby many of them that were in the castle were slaine. Our men hauing now with their shot almost abated the force of the castle, 4. companies marched vp the hils, intending to beate the enemy from thence, which lay there with the ordenance. But the enemy perceiuing himselfe to bee assaulted on all partes, (for most of the ordenance of the castle were dismounted and made vnprofitable, the gate of the towne set one fire by the Generals commandement) about noone they forsooke both the castle, hill, and town, and with all their wiues, children, money and Iewels, and all other things that they coulde carry with them, fled into the mountaines. Which when our men perceiued, they put themselues in order of battle xv. in a ranke. The lord Generall seeing the Spaniards shamefullie to flie, caused 2. ladders belonging to the enemies, to be brought out of a church which stood without the towne, whereof the one was too shorte, notwithstanding himselfe with one of the ladders climed vp the walles, one man at once followed, and by this meanes entered the towne ouer the wals. About noone some of our men ran into the castle without any reencounter: the enemy had vndermined the gate, but as we approched the wall, it tooke fire,

The second castle and town of Grand Canaria taken.

but not one of our people was therewith hurt. They had also skattered powder in sundrie places, but our men themselues did fire the same: and as soone as our people were entred the castle, the kinges colours were taken downe, and the prince of Oranges set vp, and we found fiue peeces of brasse therein. When wee were all entered into the towne, we put our selues againe into order of battell 15. in a ranke in a low ground within the towne: and the souldiours which entered the towne by the hils side, brought to the Generall a man of Flushing, which they had taken out of prison: as soone as the Generall sawe him, he went presently with him to the prison, accompanied with some of our captaines, where they found 36. prisoners, which presently were discharged. And further they declared, that the Spaniards had taken with them 2. prisoners into the mountaines, which were condemned to be burnt, the one was an English man, the other a Dutchman, which had lien in the holy house. Thus with the helpe of God about noone, wee won the great Iland of Canaria, and the town of Allegona, battered with their owne artillery, and skaled with their owne ladders. Towards the euening wee were quartered in the housen, those wherein the Generall was, were by writing freed, that no man might take out any goods, in the rest euery one might go, and take what pillage he could find: but the Spaniards had caried all the best things with them into the mountaines, and in the euening all our people entered the town. Euery captaine with his company were seuerallie lodged, but yet we appointed watch on the hils, as well as in the towne, for the enemy shewed himselfe often vpon the hils, whereby we were forced to keep very good watch.

The 29. of Iune, this morning some of the mariners climed vp the hils, but the enemy (to whom the passage were better known, then to our people) suddainly set vpon them, and killed 20. of them. Towards the euening some 300. of our Soldiours marched towardes a small castle which lay halfe an houres iourney from the towne: but the enemy seeing our people to approch, forsooke the place and fled into the mountaines, our men being ascended, they founde in the castle three brasse peeces: and after they had appointed a Corporall with certaine soldiours to keepe the watch, the rest returned to the citty. The same night the Spaniards tooke one of our soldiors appointed for a forlorne Sentinel, whom they presently put to the sword.

The last of Iune, as soone as day appeared, wee began to cary the pillage aboorde belonging to the General, and captaines, as wines and other goods. About noone 3. cheefe men of the Spaniards came to our people, which kept watch on the hils with a flag of truce in their handes, which were straight brought before the Generall, and within a while after, there were 2. more brought vnto him; but after they had bin a while with him they departed again towards the mountaines: and in the euening came other 7. Spaniardes to our watch with a flag of truce, desired to speake with the Generall: but they were sente backe againe into the Mountaynes.

The first day of Iuly, 1599. in the morning (our people being on the hils) 2. friers with three other Spaniards came vnto vs, desiring to be brought to the Generall, which our men accomplished: but the General denied to talke with them, wherefore they were presently sent backe againe from whence they came, for we were then labouring to send the goods a shipboord. Also at that instant was a sermon in the great church of great Canaria, made by the preacher of Ysilmond with great deuotion, and giuing thanks vnto God for our great victory, desiring him that it would please him daily to increase the same, to the honour of his name: at which Sermon the Lorde Generall was present with foure hundred persons.

The second of Iuly 1599. wee were forbidden by sounde of the drum that no man should go beyond the forelorne sentenell placed on the Mountaines: and to sende backe againe into the hilles all such Spaniardes which came with a flag of truce, to speake with the Generall, and to put all such to the sworde as came with weapons. One of our Pinnaces tooke a fisherman fishing vnder the Ilande Forteauentura, wherin were 7. Spaniardes, which were brought before the General, and prently committed to prison.

The 3. of Iuly in the morning we began to sende aboord our ships all the bels, ordenance and munition which the enemies had left behinde them, at which time 2000. soldiors were appointed to march to the hils, to seeke the enemy, which lay hid there with their wiues, children and goods, as they were fled out of the towne: and as soone as they approched each other, they began the fight on both sides with great courage, but the enemy was forced to flie, beeing better acquainted with the passages of the mountains then our people were. Our men returned with the losse of some 70. persons: among whom captain Iacques

Dierickson with his boatson were slaine: the rest came into the towne againe into their appointed quarters.

The 4. of Iuly, in the morning we began to burn the towne, and with pouder blewe vp the castle which lay by the towne, and we burned likewise all the cloisters and churches which were without the towne, lying neere the water side. The town burning, our people were set in battell, and in that order marched out of the towne, vntill they came to Gratiosa, the castle, which we first tooke, lying about halfe an houres iourney from the towne, where the long boates receiued our men, and caried them againe aboorde. Presently after wee were departed out of the towne, the enemy entered, endeuoring by all meanes possible to quench the fire. And while we were shipping our people, the enemy shewed him selfe sometimes 5. or 6. in a company, but they durst not approch vs. The rereward of our men being shipped, we put fire to the castle which we tooke first, and blew it vp: This done, captaine Quit imbarked himselfe also with his soldiours and pillage, which he had taken in the rode, for his ship wherein he was before was ready to sincke.

The 5. of Iuly, lying in the roade, in the morning the Generall discharged two peeces of ordenance, and afterward put out 2. flags of the princes colours, thereby giuing to vnderstand, that all land captaines, and sea captaines also with one of their Pilots should resort to him, whereupon presentlie they all rowed aboorde the Generall; the Pilots which were best acquainted with the coast, were demanded by the Generall which were the weakest Ilands, and where they might most commodiouslie land: Towards the euening captaine Quyt his ship was fired, and suffered to driue towarde the strond. At which time a newe captaine was appointed to captaine Iaques Dirriksons ship aforesaide, who was slaine in the mountaines, namely captaine Kloyers Lieutenant. And the Generals Clarke of the band was appointed Lieuetenant to captain Kloyer.

The 6. of Iuly, by reason of the contrary winds, and other inconueniences which happened at this present, and also because such ships, which before were sent to sea, and could not returne by reason of the contrary windes; we remained in the road, vnder the castle of Graciosa. About noone 4. Spaniards came out of the towne with a flag of truce to the strond, directly ouer against our ships, whereof 2. were brought aboorde the Generall in one of our long boates, (the other two with their flag of truce were left behinde on the stronde) which remained with the Generall vntil the euening, and then were set on shore, and so the 4. Spaniardes returned to the towne.

The 7. day riding in the roade, in the morning 4. Spaniards with a flag of peace, came to the shore from the towne, directly ouer against our ships: the fleet seeing them, sent a long boate to the shore, and brought the said 4. Spaniards aboord the General, these men brought with them the ransome of certaine Spaniards, which had deliuered vp the castle of Graciosa at the Generals pleasure, which were set to ransome, euery one according to his habilitie and office: and thus all the Spaniardes which were ransomed, together with the 4. Spaniardes which brought the ransoms, were set on shore with a long boat, and departed to the towne.

The 8. day of Iuly, two howers after sun rising, the Generall with all the ships set saile, carying with him all the Spaniardes that were not ransomed, sailing along the coast of great Canaria; in which time Ian Cornelesson Zwartekeys departed this worlde, whose leg was shot off at the taking of the Iland of great Canaria. Hauing nowe sailed from ye hight of the said Iland, which lay southerly from vs, we had sight of captaine Hertmans ship, and of 3. others which rode there at anchor: who, so soone as they perceiued our fleete, waied their anchors, and sailed along the coast with vs, which were the ships that the Generall had sent to sea. Sailing thus together vntill the sun was in the West, the wind began to rise more and more, so that we coulde not keep our direct course, but were forced to put to the Southwest of the great Iland of Canaria, where we anchored: wee had sight of the Iland Teneriffe, and of an other of the Ilands of Canaria, wherein is the hie mountaine called the Pyck. This hil was from vs 14. miles, but by the great hight thereof it seemed to bee within foure or fiue miles off vs, but in the daie time when the sun shined wee could not see it.

The 9. of Iuly, lying thus at anchor, in the morning most of the long boates went a shore to fetch fresh water, such as they could there find and caried with them the deade corps of Ian Cornelesson aforesaid, the Constables son of the Admiralty of Roterdam, called Zwertkeys, which was there honorably buried on the high and drie land. This done, we set on fire the woode which lay on the shore piled and heaped in the woods, but in this place we found not any Spaniards.

The tenth of Iuly, the boates being all returned to their ships with their people, euery one wayed their anchors and hoised their sailes, the winde at Northwest; but being vnder saile together, the wind slacked and by reason of the great calme the ships lay a drift for want of wind.

The 11. of Iuly, in the morning it blewe a stout gale in our topsailes out of the Northeast, but as we approched the Iland of Teneriffa, the winde altered often; sixe or seuen of our shippes, and the rest which were next vnto the shore, had sometimes a gale in their topsailes, and sometimes againe without wind: so that we lay a drift, and could keepe no reckoning either of the wind or course, and were forced to alter our course more than 12. times a day.

A declaration of the taking of Gomera one of the Ilands in Canaria, and how we afterwardes left it.

THe 12. day of Iuly sailing thus with great variety of wind, vnder the great Iland Teneriffa, the day appearing, we had the wind more certain, filling our topsailes with a full gale from the Northwest: And when it was faire day light we saw our fleet scattered far one from another, by meanes of the foresaid mutable windes. Some ships lay driuing by reason of the calme, and other some had a little gale, but the most part of our fleet were West of vs, towards whom with all speed, we with the rest of the ships made. Being al come together, wee endeuored to reach the Ilande Gomera, wherein is a little towne: towardes the euening many of our ships were neere the Iland, but the most part were to ye lee ward; so that before it grew toward the euening none of vs could come neere the towne. Notwithstanding in the twilight and shutting vp of the euening: Ian Garbrantson Admirall of the white flag, his vize Admirall, and a Pinnace following, were come neere the town. Thus the Admirall sayling so neere to the Iland, they of Gomera discharged 2. pieces at him, but touched him not. The saide Admirall seeing this, passed on a little farther with the other ships which were neere him, and then tooke in their sailes, and cast their anchors. The other ships which were behinde, laboured all they might to come also vnder the Iland to them.

The 13. of Iuly, the Admirall of the white flag lying thus at anchor neere to Gomera, the greatest part of the fleete were yet in the morning betweene the Iland of Teneriffa and Gomera, so that parte of the ships were beyonde the towne, and must sometimes cast about to conducte the others in, which were in the lee of vs. When wee had nowe for the most part passed the hight of the Iland, the Generall gaue a signe to all captaines to come aboorde him, being vnder saile, directing his course to the Iland of Gomera, and the other ships did their endeuour to follow him, and anchored about the necke of the valley, lying North North East off the towne. The ships being all come to anchor, the captaines entered presently into the long boates, and rowed aboorde the Generall to know his minde; and after they had beene a while in the Generals ship, they returned to their ships, and 4. companies of souldiours were chosen out, and landed in the valley. Which done, al the ships waied their anchors, and sailed directly toward the towne, and then came to anchor againe. After that all our ships lay thus together in the road neere the valley, before the town: we discharged certaine peeces against the town, but they made no shewe at all of resistaunce, for they had buried foure brasse peeces as soone as they had sight of vs, which lay on the strond neere vnto a small castle; the other sixe companies were also set on land in the long boates, without any resistance: for the Spaniardes with their wiues, children, and all their goods whiche they coulde carry with them were fled into the mountains. The first 4. companies that were landed, as they marched along the hils side towards the towne, perceiuing that the enemy fled with all his goods towards the hils, sent out a certaine number of soldiours to intercept them, and to take from them the goods which they caried away. And to accomplish this enterprise, our souldiours descended the hill into the valley, meaning suddainly to set vpon the Spaniardes; but the enemie perceiuing their intent, hid themselues in caues which were neere vnto them, vntill our souldiours were in the valley. The Spaniardes perceiuing that they were strong enough to encounter with our people, suddainly leapt out of their dens, and beset our souldiours on both sides. Our people seeing themselues thus compassed with their enemies, behaued themselues most valiantly, so that

The towne of Gomera abandoned by the Spaniards.

Eighty Netherlanders and diuers Spaniards slaine.

many of the Spaniards lost their liues, and 80. of ours were slaine in this valley: among whom were 2. Lieutenants (the one was Meerbecks sonne, and the other was Lieutenant to captaine Bynon) which had receiued aboue 50. wounds in their bodies, so pittifullie were they massacred, thus were these worthie champions intercepted. The rest of those 4. companies, which were not present at this fury of the Spaniardes, towardes the euening, descended the hils, and marched into the towne. Presently after this, watch was appointed in al places of ye towne, and some of the soldiours began to dig the ground, to seeke for such goods as the Spaniardes had buried, but at that instant they founde nothing, except only certain pipes of wine.

About the sunne setting was brought in a Spanish prisoner, which was deliuered to the Prouest marshal, by the Generals commandement, to the end he might bring them to all such places in the Ilande, whereas the Spaniardes had hidden their goods. But because nothing could then be effected by reason that the euening approched, and it began to bee too dark, the Spaniard was committed to a keeper vntil the next morning for the purpose aforesaide. But the night being far spent, and the keeper taking small regard to his charge, the Spaniard secretlie stole awaie and ran to the mountaines.

The 14. of July, in the morning the long boates rowed againe to the shore, and caried aboorde such goods as the enemy had left behind them, which for the most part were wines, for they had caried clean awaie all other things into the mountains, and had left almost nothing in the towne, but only the wines which they had buried in the earth: In the afternoone our people found 3. bels, which they had buried in the fields, where corne had growne.

The 15. of Iuly in the morning our people running vp to the hils 10. or 12. in a company to hunt and seeke for pillage were suddainly inuironed by the enemy, and 6. or 8. of them slaine; the rest saued themselues by flight. About noone there was a generall muster taken of all the soldiours, to see how many wee had lost: and such ships as were appointed to returne home, began to deliuer out the victuals. The same day were two copper peeces founde: whereof the one was 16. foot and halfe long, and the other about 14. foot.

The 16. day in the morning the Lord Generall gaue notice to all captaines to resort to him aboord his ship, because some of the captaines had not sent victuals vnto the soldiors that were on land, whereby they suffered hunger, and sundry of the soldiours had complained to the General thereof: At afternoone, the enemy came to the hill which lieth ouer the towne, crying and calling vnto our men to come and fetch againe their muskets, and towards the euening many marriners with their weapons landed, and at that instant also all things were ordered to march very early the next morning vp the hils to fetch againe our muskets, caliuers, and other weapons, which the Spaniards before had in mockery, and gibing wise willed vs to fetch from them. But now when all things were ordered for this seruice: the same night arose a strong gale of winde, encreasing more and more, that in the ende it grewe to a mightie tempest, that notwithstanding our fleet did ride vnder the Iland Gomera in the road before the towne, some were forced to way their anchors and to put to sea, to preuent the mischiefe like to happen to the ships, by reason they lay so neere one another. And when those shipps were a little way in the Sea, they cast their anchors, and there remained. By this occasion the generals aforesaid enterprise was kept backe: we iudging it as a warning, that the Generall should spare and preserue his people from the bloud-thirsty Spaniards, which had their holes and dens in the hils, and perhaps might haue taken away many of our liues. And heere by the way; by the name of the Iland Canaria, the Spaniards may rightly bee called Canarians or Canes, for Canaria is by interpretation, dogs kinde, for they ran as swift as dogs, and were as tyrannicall and bloud-thirsty as the rauening Wolfe, or any other wild beast, which they sufficiently manifested, for as soon as they could lay handes on any of our people (like vnto mad curs, agreeing with their name Canarians) they would presently woary them.

The 17. this hurtfull night ended, and the tempest ouer passed, and alaid, the couragious soldiors were all in redines, desirous to execute this peece of seruice, exspecting and desiring nothing more, then to march vp the hils, and to incounter their idolotrous enemies. But vpon good consideration, this enterprise was staied, and some 300. soldiours sent into the same valley, where 3. daies before our people had beene suddainly compassed, intrapped, and slaine by the Spaniards. Our soldiours being come to the valley aforesaid found no resistance, neither could once see a

Spaniard; but found a smal peece of brasse about a fadome long, and two barrels of gunpowder; and when our souldiours perceiued that there was no good to bee done (forbearing to mount the hils, because they had no commission so to do) with such thinges as they had they returned to the towne. The euening now approaching, the Generall commanded to carry aboord the ships, such goods as they had there found, and digged out of the ground, which was accordingly done and accomplished, among which things were three brasse peeces, some bels and other goods.

Sunday the 18. of Iuly, we remained at anchor in the road of the Iland Gomera.

Munday the 19. of Iuly, remaining yet in the Iland Gomera, and seeing that the Spaniardes continued in their secret holes, and dens of the mountaines, wee set fire on the towne, and as neere as we could burnt down all places, as Cloisters churches, hermitages and houses, remaining yet in the towne vntill it was noone. After that all this was accomplished: we the vnited soldiours forsooke the towne, and presently the Lord General, with al his company, went aboord the ships. Thus we left the Iland Gomera burning, which was neuer before done by any nation. The Spaniardes seeing that the soldiours were departed out of the Iland, with all speed possible, in great heapes came running out of their secret caues and holes, to quench the fire, like as they of Allegona in the Iland of great Canaria before had done.

Wednesday the 20. of Iuly, we lay stil in the road before Gomera, in this time 2. of our soldiours were put into captain Cloiers ship, and in lew of them, we receiued out of his ship 2. others, which were hurt, with two Spaniards.

The summary or briefe declaration of the Admirals departing towardes the West Indies.

Aftre that the Generall had left the Ilands, he giueth order to the fleete, taketh his leaue of all the Captaines and officers in most honorable sort: he aduanceth the voyage to the West Indies with his Nauy: the rest of the ships returne into the low Countries, euery one from whence he came.

After that the Iland of great Canaria was by the vnited soldiours taken, and won by force of armes, and the Iland Gomera conquered, for sundry reasons they were forsaken, after they had caried to their ships such things as they found, fired the townes, churches, cloisters, and houses, and rased their Castles. The Lord Generall commanded all Captaines and officers of the fleete to resorte vnto him aboord his ship. The same principals being come accordingly, he welcommed them and shewed them al friendship he could, thanking them for their good and faithfull endeuours which they had shewed in this seruice, which he performed with a singular oration, praying Almighty God that he woulde vouchsafe to be his only loadsman and merciful defender, in all his enterprises, to the honor of his name, and happy successe of the vnited Netherlandish prouinces. After this, the lorde Generall againe in most friendly sort, and kind speeches, perswaded and desired all the saide captaines and officers, (alleadging many reasons and examples) to perseuer in their good beginning of true and faithfull seruice for God, and for their good Lords and principall magistrates, the honorable gentlemen and states of the vnited Netherland; and to the good liking of their valiant and high borne gentleman, and gouernour General prince Mauritz, their principal lorde and commander, &c. with these and such like matters the daie was spent.

Wednesday the 21. of Iuly, the wind was northerly: The lord Generall commanded all the captaines and officers to resort vnto him: and in most curteous maner againe the second time, tooke leaue of them all, ordaining and appointing in his place as Admirall Generall ouer all those shippes which were to returne home, the valiant captaine Ian Gerbrantson, desiring and straightly charging them al there present, to shew all obedience and duty vnto him, as to his owne person, and that they should make his minde knowne to all others which had not beene there present. After these speeches, and leaue taken,* the Admirall Ian Gerbrantson put out the princes colours in the maine top: and the honorable gentleman Peter von der Doest presentlie caused the princes flag also to be spread; and as soone as the sunne was Southwest, all the ships at one instant waied their anchors, and hoised their sailes, taking leaue nowe the third time one of another, in most braue and triumphant sort, and in this maner departed the one from the other. The lord General with his fleet, set this course South Southwest, with 36. ships, and the Admirall Ian Gerbrantson ran East by the wind, with 35. ships with intent to returne home.

Two Spanish prizes taken.

Wednesday the 18. of August, sixteene ships of our fleet which were sent to returne home, being in company together in the latitude of 36. degrees and 10. minutes, the wind Southwest sailing Northeast, before it was noone, we perceiued 2. strange ships vnder saile comming out of the Northwest, towards whom we made, and at afternoone we ouertooke them, and made them our prises: they were both Spaniardes, the one was a small Barke, and came from Cape de Blanco in 21. degrees, loaden for Woluis in the Condate where they dwelled. In the same ships was a marchant of Cyuill with 47. men, each of their ships hauing two cast peeces, and euery man his musket, but they made no shewe of defence, or offending. There was also found laden in the same ships, sixty thousand drie hides or skins, esteemed to bee worth 6000. duckets as they reported, there were also found two bags with mony, in the one was 11. hundred single rials, and in the other 10. hundred and forty single rials, with two Buts of traine oile and two barrels of gum Arabique.

Thursday the 19. day, we the abouesaid 16. ships were together, beside the two Spanish ships, 4 ships of war of North Holland, 4 ships of Warres of Zeland and one ship of war of the Maze: the captain wherof was Antony Leonardson, al the rest were victualers. The wind West Northwest, we sailed Northeast, and by North in 36. degrees and 45. minutes. The captaines had beene all aboord the Admirall in councell aduising what were best to bee done in this matter of the Spaniards prises.

---

* *Marginal Note.*—The Netherlandish fleet diuide themselues into two companies, whereof the one returneth homewardes, and the other proceedeth for the West Indians.

Saturday, Sunday, the 21. and 22. of August, our said fleet of 18. ships kept yet together, we found our selues to bee in 39. degrees, 6. minuts. The sun South and by West, the winde blew vp at West Northwest, wee sailed North Northeast, and North and by East, Lysborne was East of vs.

Munday the sixt of September, the winde westerly, we ran East, at noone wee sounded, the depth was 50. fadome water, we found small white shels with needles therein, in the hight of 49. degrees 20. minuts, the sun Southwest, wee had sight of Vshant, we ran Northeast and by North.

Tuesday the 7. of September, the sun East South East, wee saw England, a mighty blustering gale of winde from the South Southwest, wee sailed North Northeast. The sunne Southwest, came to land at Gawstert. Afterwarde wee turned and sailed East Southeast: In the euening it blewe so much winde, that wee were forced to strike our maine top mast, and we ranne the whole night with two courses by the wind.

Wednesday the 8. of September, the foule weather continued, the sunne East and by South, we had sight of the Ile of Wight North Northwest of vs, and ranne the whole day, East Northeast with the foresaile by the wind: as the evening approached we saw Beuersier, in the night and second quarter we passed by Douer.

Thursday the 9. of September, as soone as the daie began to appeare it was calme weather, and darke, the sun Southeast, we lay still before Newport all the ebbe. The wind easterly, in the after noone the wind came Northwest, we set saile againe, running al night by the wind with our foresaile.

Friday the 10. of September 1599, by the break of day wee were before the Maze, the sun Southwest, we arriued by the helpe of God's mercy and grace before the Brill.

Since then, there is arriued at Texell another ship of war, whereof one Cater of Amsterdam was captain, the wich was seuered from the fleet in this voiage by tempest, and thought to be lost. The said captaine met with some prises, and in company of two English shippes tooke a Caruell of Aduiso, verie richly laden comming out of India, and hauing more men then the English, shared halfe of the goods with them, and so came home this present month of Octob.

FINIS.

THE
Worldes Hydrographical Discription.

WHEREIN IS PROUED

NOT ONELY BY AUCTHORITIE OF WRITERS,

BUT ALSO

BY LATE EXPERIENCE OF TRAUELLERS,

AND

REASONS OF SUBSTANTIALL PROBABILITIE,

THAT

THE WORLDE IN ALL HIS ZONES, CLYMATS AND PLACES,
IS HABITABLE AND INHABITED AND THE SEAS LIKEWISE
VNIUERSALLY NAUIGABLE WITHOUT ANY NATURALL
ANOYANCE TO HINDER THE SAME

WHEREBY APPEARES

THAT FROM ENGLAND THERE IS A SHORT AND SPEEDIE
PASSAGE INTO THE SOUTH SEAS, TO CHINA, MALUCCA,
PHILIPPINA, AND INDIA, BY NORTHERLY NAUIGATION
TO THE RENOWNE, HONOR AND BENIFIT
OF HER MAIESTIES STATE, AND
COMMUNALTY.

PUBLISHED BY

J. DAUIS OF SANDRUDG BY DARTMOUTH
IN THE COUNTIE OF DEUON. GENTLEMAN.
ANNO 1595. MAY 27.

IMPRINTED AT LONDON
BY THOMAS DAWSON
DWELLING AT THE THREE CRANES IN THE VINETREE.
AND ARE THERE TO BE SOLD.

1595.

TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE

LORDES OF HER MAIESTIES MOST HONORABLE PRIUIE COUNSAYLE.

MY most honorable good Lords for as much as it hath pleased God, not only to bestow vpon your Lordships, the excellent gifts of natures benefite, but hath also beautified the same with such speciall ornamentes of perfection: As that thereby the mindes and attentiue industrie of all, haue no small regard vnto your honorable proceedings. And so much the rather, because to the great content of all her maiesties most louing subiectes, it hath pleased her highnes in her stately regard of gouernment, to make choise of your honours as speciall members in the regall disposition of the mightinesse of her imperiall command: Emboldeneth me among the rest to humble myself at your honorable feete, in presenting vnto the fauour of your excellent iudgementes this short treatise of the Worldes Hydrographicall bands. And knowing that not onely your renowned places, but also the singularitie of your education, by the prudent care of your noble progenitors hath and still doth induce and drawe you to fauour and imbrace whatsoeuer beareth but a seeming of the commonweales good: Much more then that which in substantiall truth shal be most beneficiall to the same. I am therefore the more encouraged not to slacke this my enterprise, because that through your honorable assistance when in the ballance of your wisedomes this discouery shall haue indifferent consideration, I knowe it will be ordered by you to bee a matter of no small moment to the good of our countrie. For thereby wee shall not onely haue a copious and rich vent for al our naturall and artificiall comodities of England, in short time by safe passage, and without offence of any, but also shall by the first imployment retourne into our countrey by spedie passage, all Indian commodities in the ripenes of their perfection, whereby her Maiesties dominions should bee the storehouse of Europe, the nurse of the world and the glory of nations, in yielding all forrayne naturall benefites by an easie rate: In communicating vnto all whatsoeuer God hath vnto any one assigned: And by the increase of all nations through the mightinesse of trade. Then should the merchant, tradesman, and poore artificer, haue imployment equall to their power and expedition, whereby what notable benefites would growe to her Maiestie, the state, and communaltie, I refer to your perfect iudgementes. And for that I am desirous to auoyde the contradiction of vulgar conceipts, I haue thought it my best course, before I make profe of the certaintie of this discouerie, to lay downe whatsoeuer may against the same be obiected, and in the ouerthrowe of those conceipted hinderances the safenes of the passage shall most manifestly appeare, which when your wisdomes, shall with your patience peruse, I doe in no sort distruct your fauorable acceptance and honorable assistance of the same. And although for diuers considerations I doe not in this treatis discouer my full knowledge for the place and altitude of this passage, yet whensoeuer it shall so please your honours to commaund I will in few wordes make the full certainty thereof knowne vnto your honours being alwaies redie with my person and poore habilitie to prosecute this action as your honours shall direct, beseeching God so to support you with all happines of this life, fauour of her Maiestie, loue of her highnes subiectes, and increase of honour as may be to your best content.

I most humbly take my leaue from Sandrudg by Dartmouth
this 27. of May 1595.

Your Honors in all dutifull seruice to command
I. D.

THE

WORLDS HYDROGRAPHICALL OBIECTIONS

AGAINST

AL NORTHERLY DISCOUERIES.

ALL* impediments in nature, and circumstances of former practises duly considered. The Northerly passage to China seme very improbable. For first it is a matter very doubtfull whether there bee any such passage or no, sith it hath beene so often attempted and neuer performed, as by historical relation appeareth, whereby wee may fully perswade our selues that America and Asia, or some other continent are so conioyned togeather as that it is impossible for any such passage to be, the certaintie whereof is substantially proued vnto vs by the experience of Sebastian Gabota an expert Pylot, and a man reported of especiall iudgement, who being that wayes imployed returned without successe. Iasper Corteriallis a man of no meane practise did likewise put the same in execution, with diuers others, all which in the best parte haue concluded ignorance. If not a full consent of such matter. And therfore sith practise hath reproued the same, there is no reason why men should dote vpon so great an incertayntie, but if a passage may bee prooued and that the contenentes are disioyned whereof there is small hope, yet the impedimentes of the clymate (wherein the same is supposed to lie) are such, and so offensiue as that all hope is thereby likewise vtterly secluded, for with the frozen zone no reasonable creature will deny, but that the extremitie of colde is of such forceable action, (being the lest in the fulnes of his owne nature without mitigation,) as that it is impossible for any mortall creature to indure the same, by the vertue of whose working power, those Northerly Seas are wholly congealed, making but one mas or contenent of yse, which is the more credible because the ordenary experience of our fishermen geueth vs sufficient notice thereof, by reason of the great quantitie of yse which they find to be brought vpon the cost of newefound land from those Northerne regions. By the aboundance whereof they are so noysomly pestred, as that in many weekes they haue not beene able to recouer the shore, yea and many times recouer it not vntill the season of fishing bee ouer passed. This then being so in the Septentrionall latitude of 46, 47 and 48 degrees, which by natures benifit are latitudes of better temperature than ours of England, what hope should there remayne for a nauegable passing to be by the norwest, in the altitude of 60, 70 or 80 degres, as it may bee more Northerly, when in these temperate partes of the world the shod of that frozen sea breadeth such noysome pester: as the pore fishermen doe continually sustain. And therefore it seemeth to be more then ignorance that men should attempt Nauigation in desperate clymates and through seas congeled that neuer dissolue, where the stiffnes of the colde maketh the ayre palpably grosse without certainty that the landes are disioyned.

---

* Hakluyt has published an extract from this treatise in his Collection of Yoyages; but the original work is so very rare and occupies so small a space that it has been deemed eligible to reprint it entire. EDIT.

All which impediments if they were not, yet in that part of the world, Nauigation cannot be performed as ordenarily as it vsed, for no ordenarie sea chart can describe those regions either in the partes Geographicall or Hydrographicall, where the Meridians doe so spedily gather themselues togeather, the parallels beeing a verye small proportion to a great circle, where quicke and vncertayne variation of the Compasse may greatly hinder or vtterly ouerthrow the attempt. So that for lack of Curious lyned globes to the right vse of Nauigation; with many other instruments either vnknowne or out of vse, and yet of necessitie for that voyage, it should with great difficultie be attayned. All which the premises considered I refer the conclusion of these obiections and certainty of this passage to the generall opinion of my louing countrymen, whose dangerous attemptes in those desperate uncertainties I wish to be altered, and better imployed in matters of great probabilitie.

To prove a passage by the Norwest, without any land impedimentes to hinder the same, by aucthoritie of writters, and experience of trauellers, contrary to the former obiections.

HOmer an ancient writer affirmeth that the world being diuided into Asia, Africa, and Europe is an Iland, which is likewise so reported by Strabo in his first book of Cosmographie, Pomponius Mela in his third booke, Higinius, Solinus, with others. Whereby it is manifest that America was then vndiscovered and to them vnknowne, otherwise they would haue made relation of it as of the rest. Neither could they in reason haue reported Asia, Africa and Europa to bee an Iland vnles they had knowne the same to be conioyned and and in all his partes to be inuironed with the seas. And further America being very neere of equall quantitie with all the rest could not be reported as a parte either of Africa, Asia, or Europa in the ordenarie lymites of discretion. And therefore of necessitie it must be concluded that Asia, Africa and Europa the first reueiled world being knowne to bee an Iland, America must likewise be in the same nature because in no parte it conioyneth with the first.

By experience of Trauellers to proue this passage.

ANd that wee neede not to range after forrayne and ancient authorities, wherat curious wittes may take many exceptions, let vs consider the late discoueryes performed, within the space of two ages not yet passed, whereby it shall so manifestly appeare that Asia, Africa, and Europa are knit togeather, making one continent, and are wholy inuironed with the seas, as that no reasonable creature shall haue occasion thereof to doubt. And first beginning at the north of Europe, from the north cape in 71 degrees, whereby our merchantes passe in their trade to S. Nicholas in Rouscia descending towardes the South, the Nauigation is without impediment to the cape of Bona Esperanca, ordenarilie traded and daily practised. And therefore not to be gaynesayd: which two capes are distant more then 2000 leagues by the neerest tract, in all which distaunces America is not founde to bee any thing neere the coastes either of Europe or Afric, for from England the chefest of the partes of Europa to Newfoundland being parte of America it is 600. leagues the neerest distance that any part thereof beareth vnto Europa. And from cape Verde in Gynny being parte of Africa, vnto cape Saint Augustine in Brasill beeing parte of America, it wanteth but little of 500-leagues, the neerest distance betweene Africa and America. Likewise from the sayd North Cape to Noua Zemla by the course of East and West neerest, there is passable sayling, and the North partes of Tartaria are well knowne to be banded with the Scithian Seas to the promontory Tabin so that truely it is apparant that America is farre remooued and by a great sea diuided from any parte of Africa or Europa. And for the Southerne partes of the firste reueiled worlde it is most manifest that from the cape of Bona Esperanca towardes the east, the costes of Safallà, Mosombique, Melinde, Arabia, and Persia, whose gulfes lye open to the mayne occian: And all the coastes of East India to the capes of Callacut and Malacca, are banded with a mightie sea vpon the South whose lymmates are yet vndiscouered. And from the cape of Malacca towardes the North so high as the Ile of Iapan, and from thence the cost of China being part of Asia continueth stiil North to the promontory Tabin, where the Scithian sea and this Indian sea haue recourse togeather, no part of America being neere the same by many 100 leages to hinder this passage.

For from the Callafornia beeing parte of America, to the yles of Philippina bordering vpon the coastes of China being parte of Asia is 2100 leages and therefore America is farther separated from Asia, then from any the sea coastes either of Europe or Africa. Whereby it is most manifest that Asia, Africa and Europa are conioyned in an Iland. And therefore of necessity followeth that America is contained vnder one or many ylands, for from the septentrionall lat. of 75 deg. vnto the straights of Magilan it is knowne to be nauigable and hath our west occian to lymet the borders thereof, and through the straightes of Magillane no man doubteth but there is Nauigable passage, from which straightes, vpon all the Westerne borders of America, the costs of Chili, Chuli, Rocha, Baldiuia, Peru to the ystmos of Dariena and so the whole West shores of Noua Hispania are banded out by a long and mightie sea, not hauing any shore neere vnto it by one thousand leagues towardes the West, howe then may it be possible that Asia and America should make one contenent:

To proue the premisses by the attemptes of our owne Countreymen, besides others.

BUt lest it should be obiected that the premises are conceites, the acting aucthors not nominated, I will vse some boldnes to recyte our owne countreymen by whose paynefull trauells these truthes are made manifest vnto vs. Hoping and intreting that it may not bee offensiue, though in this sorte I make relation of their actions. And firste to begin with the North partes of Europe, it is not vnknowne to all our countrymen that from the famous citie of London Syr Huge Willobie, knight, gaue the first attempt for the North estren discoueries, which were afterward most notably accomplished by master Borrowes, a Pylot of excellent iudgemente and fortunate in his actions, so farre as Golgoua Vaygats and Noua Zemla, with trade thereby procured to S. Nicholas in Rouscia. Then succeded master Ginkinson who by his land trauell discouered the Scithian sea to lymit the North coastes of Tartaria, so farre as the riuer Ob. So that by our countrymen the North partes of Europe are at full made knowne vnto vs: and prooued to ioyne with no other continent to hinder this passage. The common and ordenary trade of the Spanyard and Portingall from Lysbome to the coasts of Guyny, Bynny, Mina, Angola, Manicongo, and the cost of Ethiopia to the cape of Bona Esperanca, and all the cost of Est India and Illes of Molucca, (by which wonderfull and copious trade, they are so mightily inriched, as that now they challeng a monarchy vnto themselues vpon the whole face of the earth) that their trade I say, prooueth that America is farre seperated from any parte of Africa or the South of Asia. And the same Spaniard trading in the Citye of Canton within the kingdome of China, hauing layd his storehouse of aboundance in Manellia a Citye by him erected in Luzon one of the Illes of Philippa bordring vpon the cost of China, doth by his common and ordenarie passages to Iapan and other the borders of the coast, knowe that the Est continent of Asia lieth due North and South so high as the promontory Tabin, wher the Scithian sea and his maine occian of China are conioyned. But with what care they labour to conceale that matter of Hydrographie for the better preseruation of their fortunate estate, I refer to the excellent iudgement of statesmen, that painefully labour in the glorious administration of a well gouerned Common weale, so that by them Africa and Asia are proued in no parte to ioyne with America, thereby to hinder this passage.

By late experience to proue that America is an Iland, and may be sayled round about contrary to the former obiection.

ASia, Africa and Europa being prooued to be conioyned and an Iland, it now resteth to bee knowne by what authoritie America is proued to be likewise an Iland, so that thereby all land impedimentes are remoued, which might brede the dread or vncertaynty of this passage. The first Englishman that gaue any attempt vpon the coastes of West India being parte of America was syr Iohn Hawkins knight: who there and in that attempt as in many others sithins, did and hath prooued himselfe to be a man of excellent capacity, great gouernment, and perfect resolution. For before he attempted the same it was a matter doubtfull and reported the extremest lymit of danger to sayle vpon those coastes. So that it was generally in dread among vs, such is the slownes of our nation, for the most part of vs rather ioy at home like Epicures to sit and carpe at other mens hassardes, our selues not daring to giue any attempt. (I meane such as are at leisure to seeke the good of their countrie not being any wayes imployed as paynefull members of a common weale,) then either to further or giue due commendations to the deseruers, howe then may Syr Iohn Hawkins bee esteemed, who being a man of good account in his Country, of wealth and great imployment, did notwithstanding for the good of his Countrey, to procure trade, giue that notable and resolute attempt. Whose steps many hundreds following sithins haue made themselues men of good esteeme, and fit for the seruice of her sacrid maiestie.

And by that his attempt of America (wherof West India is a parte) is well prooued to be many hundred leagues distant from any part of Afric or Europe.

Then succeeded Syr Francis Drake in his famous and euer renowned voyage about the world, who departing from Plimouth directed his course for the straightes of Magillane, which place was also reported to be most dangerous by reason of the continuall violent and vnresistable current that was reported to haue continuall passage into the straightes, so that once entring therein there was no more hope remayning of returne, besides the perill of shelues, straightness of the passage and vncertayne wyndinges of the same, all which bread dread in the highest degree, the distance and dangers considered. So that before his revealing of the same the matter was in question, whether there were such a passage or no, or whether Magillane did passe the same, if there was such a man so named, but Syr Frauncis Drake, considering the great benefit that might arise by his voyage through that passage, and the notable discoueries, that might be thereby performed, regarded not these dastardly affections of the idle multitude, but considering with iudgement that in nature there cold be no such perpetuitie of violence where the occian is in no sorte straighted, proceeded with discreet prouision and so departing from England arriued vnto the same, and with good sucesse (through Gods most fauorable mercy passed through) wherein his resolution hath deserued euerlasting commendations. For the place in viewe is dangerous and verye vnpleasing, and in the execution to passe Nothing may seeme more doubtful, for 14 leagues west within the cape of Saint Maria lyeth the first straight, where it floweth and ebbeth with violent swiftnes, the straight not half a mile broad, the first fall into which straight is verye dangerous and doubtfull. This straight lasteth in his narrownes, 3 leages, then falling into another sea 8 leages broad and 8 leages through there lyeth the second straight due west South West from the firste, which course being vnknowne it is no small perill in finding this second straightes, and that agayne is not a myle broad and continueth the bredth 3 or 4 leages South-west, with violent swiftnes of flowing and reflowing, and there agayne he falleth into another Sea, through which due, South South West, lyeth the cape Froward, and his straight (so rightly named in the true nature of his peruersnes, for be the wind neuer so fauorable, at that cape it will be directly agaynst you with violent and daungerous flaughes) where there are three places probable to continue the passage. But the true straight lyeth from this cape West Nor West, where the land is very high all couered with snowe, and full of dangerous counter-windes, that beate with violence from those huge mountaines, from which cape the straight is neuer broder then 2 leages and in many places not halfe a mile, without hope of ancorage, the channell beeing shore deepe more then tow hundreth fadomes, and so continueth to the South sea forty leages only to bee releued in little dangerous coues, with many turnings and chang of courses; how perilous then was this passage to Syr Frauncis Drake, to whom at that time no parte thereof was knowne. And being without reliefe of ancorage was inforced to follow his course in the hell darke nights, and in all the fury of tempestious stormes. I am the bolder to make this particuler relation in the praise of his perfect constancy and magnanemitye of spirite, because I haue thrise passed the same straights and haue felt the most bitter and mercyles fury thereof. But now knowing the place as I doe (for I haue described euery creke therein) I know it to be a voiage of as great certaynty, pleasure and ease, as any whatsoeuer that beareth but ¼ the distaunce from England that these straightes doe. And this straight is founde to be 1200 leages from any parte of Africa so that truely it is manifest that these two landes are by no small distance seperated.

And after that Syr Frauncis was entred into the South Seas he coasted all the Westerne shores of America vntill he came into the Septentrionall latitude of forty eight degrees being on the backe syde of Newfound land. And from thence shaping his course towardes Asia found by his trauells that the Ills of Molucca are distant from America more then two hundreth leages, howe then can Asia and Africa be conioyned and made one continent to hinder the passage, the men yet liuing that can reproue the same, but this conceipt is the bastard of ignorance borne through the fornication of the malitious multitude that onely desire to hinder when themselues can doe no good.

Now their onely resteth the North parts of America, vpon which coast my selfe haue had most experience of any in our age: for thrise I was that waye imployed for the discouery of this notable passage, by the honourable care and some charge of Syr Francis Walsingham knight, principall secretary to her Maiestie, with whom diuers noble men and worshipfull marchants of London ioyned in purse and willingnesse for the furtherance of that attempt, but when his honour dyed the voyage was friendlesse, and mens mindes alienated from aduenturing therein.

The 1 voyage.

In my first voyage not experienced of the nature of those climates, and hauing no direction either by Chart, Globe, or other certaine relation in what altitude that passage was to be searched, I shaped a Northerly course and so sought the same toward the South, and in that my Northerly course I fell vpon the shore which in ancient time was called Groenland, fiue hundred leagues distant from the Durseys Westnorthwest Northerly, the land being very high and full of mightie mountaines all couered with snow, no viewe of wood, grass or earth to be seene, and the shore two leagues off into the sea so full of yce that no shipping could by any meanes come neere the same. The lothsome view of the shore, and irksome noyse of the yce was such, as that it bred strange conceites among vs, so that we supposed the place to be wast and voyd of any sensible or vegitable creatures, whereupon I called the same Desolation: so coasting this shore towards the South in the latitude of sixtie degrees, I found it to trend towards the West, I still followed the leading therof in the same height, and after fifty or sixtie leagues it fayled and lay directly North, which I still followed, and in thirtie leagues sayling vpon the West side of this coast by me named Desolation, we were past al the yce and found many greene and pleasant Isles bordering vpon the shore, but the mountaines of the maine were still couered with great quantities of snow, I brought my ship among those Isles and there mored to refresh ourselues in our weary trauell, in the latitude of sixtie foure degrees or there about. The people of the countrey hauing espyed our shippes came downe vnto vs in their Canoas, and holding vp their right hand to the Sunne and crying Yliaout, would strike their breasts: we doing the like the people came aboard our shippes, men of good stature, vnbearded, small eyed and of tractable conditions, by whome as signes would permit, we vnderstood that towards the North and West there was a great sea, and vsing the people with kindenes in giuing them nayles and kniues which of all things they most desired, we departed, and finding the sea free from yce supposing our selues to be past al daunger we shaped our course Westnorthwest thinking thereby to passe for China, but in the latitude of sixtie sixe degrees we fell with another shore, and there found another passage of twenty leagues broad directly West into the same, which we supposed to be our hoped straight, we entered into the same thirty or fortie leagues, finding it neither to wyden nor streighten, then considering that the yeere was spent (for this was in the fine of August) not knowing the length of the straight and dangers thereof, we tooke it our best course to returne with notice of our good successe for this small time of search. And so returning in a sharpe fret of Westerly windes the 29. of September we arriued at Dartmouth. And acquainting master Secretary with the rest of the honourable and worshipfull aduenturers of all our proceedings, I was appointed againe the second yere to search the bottome of this straight, because by all likelihood it was the place and passage by vs

The 2 voyage.

laboured for. In this second attempt the marchants of Exeter, and other places of the West became aduenturers in the action, so that being sufficiently furnished for sixe moneths, and hauing direction to search these straights, vntill we found the same to fall into another sea vpon the West side of this part of America, we should againe returne: for then it was not to be doubted, but shipping with trade might safely be conueied to China and the parts of Asia. We departed from Dartmouth, and arriuing vnto the South part of the coast of Desolation coasted the same vpon his West shore to the latitude of sixetie sixe degrees, and there ancored among the Isles bordering vpon the same, where we refreshed our selues, the people of this place came likewise vnto vs, by whom I vnderstood through their signes that towards the North the sea was large. At this place the chiefe ship whereupon I trusted, called the Mermayd of Dartmouth, found many occasions of discontentment, and being vnwilling to proceed, shee there forsook me. Then considering how I had giuen my faith and most constant promise to my worshipfull good friend master William Sanderson, who of all men was the greatest aduenturer in that action, and tooke such care for the performance thereof that he hath to my knowledge at one time disbursed as much money as any fiue others whatsoeuer out of his owne purse, when some of the companie haue bene slacke in giuing in their aduenture: And also knowing that I should loose the fauour of M. Secretary Walsingham, if I should shrink from his direction; in one small barke of 30 Tunnes, whereof M. Sanderson was owner, alone without farther comfort or company I proceeded on my voyage, and arriuing at these straights followed the same 80 leagues, vntill I came among many Islands, where the water did ebbe and flow sixe fadome vpright, and where there had bene great trade of people to make traine. But by such things as there we found, wee knew that they were not Christians of Europe that had vsed that trade: in fine by searching with our boat, we found small hope to passe any farther that way, and therefore retourning agayne recouered the sea and coasted the shore towards the South, and in so doing (for it was too late to search towards the North) we found another great inlet neere 40 leagues broad, where the water entered in with violent swiftnesse, this we also thought might be a passage: for no doubt the North partes of America are all Islands by ought that I could perceiue therein: but because I was alone

The North parts of America all Islands.

in a small barque of thirtie tunnes, and the yeere spent, I entred not into the same, for it was now the seuenth of September, but coasting the shore towardes the South wee saw an incredible number of birds: hauing diuers fishermen aboord our barke they all concluded that there was a great skull of fish, we being vnprouided of fishing furniture with a long spike nayle made a hooke, and fastening the same to one of our sounding lines, before the bait was changed we tooke more than fortie great Cods, the fish swimming so abundantly thicke about our barke as is incredible to bee reported, of which with a small portion of salt that we had, we preserued some thirtie couple, or thereaboutes, and so returned for England. And hauing reported to M. Secretarie Walsingham the whole successe of this attempt, he commanded me to present vnto the most honourable Lord high Treasurour of England, some part of that fish: which when his Lordship saw, and heard at large the relation of this second attempt, I receiued fauourable countenance from his honour, aduising me to prosecute the action, of which his Lordship conceiued a very good opinion. The next yere, although diuers of the aduenturers fell from the Action, as all the Westerne marchants, and most of those in London: yet some of the aduenturers both honorable and worshipfull continued their willing fauour and charge, so that by this meanes the next yere two shippes were appointed for the fishing and one pinnesse for the discouerie.

The 3 voyage.

Departing from Dartmouth, through Gods mercifull fauour, I arrived at the place of fishing, and there according to my direction I left the two ships to follow that busines, taking their faithful promise not to depart vntill my returne vnto them, which should be in the fine of August, and so in the barke I proceeded for the discouerie: but after my departure, in sixteene dayes the two shippes had finished their voyage, but so presently departed for England, without regard of their promise: my selfe not distrusting any such hard measure proceeded for the discouerie, and followed my course in the free and open sea betweene North and Northwest to the latitude of 67 degrees, and there I might see America West from me, and Desolation, East: then when I saw the land of both sides I began to distrust it would prooue but a gulfe: notwithstanding desirous to know the full certainty I proceeded, and in 68 degrees the passage enlarged, so that I could not see the Westerne shore: thus I continued to the latitude of 73 degrees, in a great sea, free from yce, coasting the Westerne shore of Desolation: the people came continually rowing out vnto me in their Canoas, twenty, forty, and one hundred at a time, and would giue me fishes dryed, Salmon, Salmon peale, Cod, Caplin, Lumpe, Stonebase and such like, besides diuers kinds of birds, as Partrige, Fesant, Guls, Sea birds and other kindes of flesh: I still laboured by signes to know from them what they knew of any sea toward the North, they still made signes of a great sea as we vnderstood them, then I departed from that coast, thinking to discouer the North parts of America: and after I had sailed towards the West 40 leagues, I fel vpon a great banke of yce: the winde being North and blew much, I was constrained to coast the same toward the South, not seeing any shore West from me, neither was there any yce towards the North, but a great sea, free, large very salt and blew, and of an vnsearcheable depth: So coasting towards the South I came to the place where I left the ships to fish, but found them not. Then being forsaken and left in this distresse referring my self to the mercifull prouidence of God, I shaped my course for England, and vnhoped for of any, God alone releeuing me, I arriued at Dartmouth. By this last discouery it seemed most manifest that the passage was free and without impediment toward the North: but by reason of the Spanish fleet and vnfortunate time of M. Secretaries death, the voyage was omitted and neuer sithens attempted. The cause why I vse this particular relation of all my proceedings for this discouery, is to stay this obiection, why hath not Dauis discouered this passage being thrise that wayes imployed? How far I proceeded and in what form this discouery lieth, doth appeare vpon the Globe which M. Sanderson to his very great charge hath published, for the which he deserueth great fauor and commendations. Made by master Emery Mullineux a man well qualited of a good iudgment and very experte in many excellente practises, in myselfe being the onely meane with master Sanderson to imploy master Mulineux therein, whereby he is now growne to a most exquisite perfection.

Anthony de Mendoza viceroy of Mexico, sent certayne of his captaynes by land and also a nauy of ships by sea to search out the Norwest passage, who affirmed by his letters dated from Mexico in anno 1541 vnto the Emperour being then in Flaunders, that towardes the Norwest hee had founde the Kingdome of Cette, Citta, Alls, Ceuera, seuen cities and howe beyond the sayd

Kingdome farther towardes the Norwest, Francisco Vasques of Coronado hauing passed great desarts came to the sea side, where he found certayne shippes which sayled by that sea with merchandize, and had in their banners vpon the prows of their shippes, certayne fowles made of golde and siluer, named Alcatrazzi, and that the mariners signified vnto him by signes that they were thirtie dayes comming to the hauen, whereby he vnderstoode that those could be of no other country but of Asia, the next knowne continent towardes the West. And farther the sayd Anthony affirmed that by men wel practised hee vnderstoode that 950 leages of that country was discouered vpon the same Sea, now if the cost in that distance of leages should lye to the West, it would then adioyne with the Northe partes of Asia, and then it would be a far shorter voyage then thirtie dayes sayling, but that it is nothing neere Asia by former authoritie is sufficiently expressed, then if it should lie towardes the North, it would extend itself almost vnto the pole, a voiage ouer tedious to be perfourmed by land trauell. Therefore of necessity this distance of 950 leages must lie betweene the North and East, which by Anthony de Especio in his late trauells vpon the North of America is sufficiently discouered, then this beeing so, the distance is very small betweene the East parte of this discouered Sea and the passage wherein I haue so painefully laboured, what doth then hinder vs of England vnto whom of all nations this discouery would be most beneficiall to be incredulous slow of vnderstanding, and negligent in the highest degree, for the search of this passage which is most apparently prooued and of wonderfull benefit to the vniversal state of our countrey. Why should we be thus blinded seeing our enemies to possess the fruites of our blessednes and yet will not perceiue the same. But I hope the eternall maiestie of God the sole disposer of all thinges will also make this to appeare in his good time.

Cornelius Nepos recyteth that when Quintus Metellus Cæsar was proconsull for the Romanes in Fraunce, the King of Sueuia gaue him certayne Indians, which sayling out of India for merchandize were by tempest driuen vpon the coastes of Germany, a matter very strange that Indians in the fury of stormes should ariue vpon that coast, it resteth now carefully to consider by what winde, they were so driuen, if they had beene of any parte of Africa how could they escape the ylls of Cape Verd, or the ylles of Canaria, the coastes of Spayne, Fraunce, Ireland or England to arriue as they, but it was neuer knowne that any the natyues of Afric or Ethiopia haue vsed shippings. Therefore they could not bee of that parte of the worlde, for in that distance sayling they would haue been starued if no other shore had giuen them relefe. And that they were not of America is verye manifest, for vpon all the Est parte of that continent, beeing now thereby discouered, it hath not at any time beene perceiued that those people were euer accustomed to any order of shipping, which appeareth by the arriual of Colon vpon those coastes, for they had his shipping in such wonderfull admiration that they supposed him and his companie to haue descended from heauen, so rare and strange a thing was shipping in their eyes. Therefore those Indians could not bee of America safely to bee driuen vpon the coastes of Germany, the distance and impedimentes well considered.

Then comming neither from Afric nor America, they must of necessitie come from Asia by the Noreast or Norwest passages. But it should seme that they came not by the Noreast to double the promontory Tabin, to bee forced through the Scithian Sea, and to haue good passage through the narrow straight of Noua Zemla and neuer to recouer any shore is a matter of great impossibilitie. Therefore it must needes be concluded that they came by the North partes of America through that discouered sea of 950 leages, and that they were of those people which Francisco Vasques of Coronado discouered, all which premises considered there remaineth no more doubting but that the landes are disioyned and that there is a Nauigable passage by the Norwest, of God for vs alone ordained to our infinite happines and for the euer being glory of her maiestie, for then her stately seate of London should be the storehouse of Europe: the nurse of the world: and the renowne of Nations, in yielding all forraine naturall benifits, by an easie rate, in short time returned vnto vs, and in the fulnes of their natural perfection: by natural participation through the world of all naturall and artificiall benefites, for want whereof at this present the most part liue distressed: and by the excellent comoditie of her seate, the mightines of her trade, with force of shipping thereby arising, and most aboundant accesse and intercourse from all the Kingdomes of the worlde, then should the ydle hand bee scorned and plenty by industry in all this land should be proclamed.

And therefore the passage prooued and the benefites to all most apparant, let vs no longer neglect our happines, but like

Christians with willing and voluntary spirits labour without fainting for this so excellent a benefit.

To prooue by experience that the sea fryseth not.

HAuing sufficiensly prooued that there is a passage without a land impediments to hinder the same, contrary to the first obiection, it nowe resteth that the other supposed impediments bee likewise answered. And firste as touching the frost and fresing of the seas, it is supposed that the frozen zone is not habitable, and seas innauigable by reason of the vehemencie of cold, by the diuine creator allotted to that part of the world, and we are drawn into that absurdity of this opinion by a coniectural reason of the sunnes far distance and long absence vnder the horizon of the greatest parte of that zone, whereby the working power of colde perfourmeth the fulnesse of his nature, not hauing any contrary disposition to hinder the same and when the Sunne by his presence should comfort that parte of the worid, his beames are so far remoued from perpendicularitie by reason of his continuall neerenes to the horizon, as that the effectes thereof answere not the violence of the winters cold. And therefore those seas remayne for euer vndissolued. Which if it be so, that the nature of cold can congeale the seas, it is very likely that his first working power, beginneth vpon the vpper face of the waters, and so descending worketh his effect, which if it were, howe then commeth it to passe that shippes sayle by the North cape, to Saint Nicholas fiue degrees or more within the frozen zone, and finde the seas from pester of yse, the farther from the shore the clearer from yse. And myselfe likewise howe coulde I haue sayled to the septentrionall latitude of seuentie fiue degrees, being nine degrees within the frozen zone, betweene two lands where the sea was straightened not fortie leages broade in some places, and thereby restrained from the violent motion and set of the maine occian and yet founde the same Nauigable and free from yse not onely in the midst of the chanell, but also close aborde the estern shore by me name Desolation, and therefore what neede the repetition of authorities from writers, or wrested philosophical reasons, when playne experience maketh the matter so manifest, and yet I deny not but that I haue seene in some part of those seas, tow sortes of yse, in very great quantity, as a kind of yse by seamen name ylands of yse, being very high aboue the water, fortie and fiftie fadomes by estimation and higher, and euery of those haue beene seuen times as much vnder the water, which I haue proued by taking a peece of yse and haue put the same in a vessell of salt water, and still haue found the seuenth part thereof to bee aboue the water, into what forme soeuer I haue reduced the same, and this kind of yse is nothing but snow, which falleth in those great peeces, from the high mountains bordering close vpon the shore depe seas. (For all the sea coastes of Desolation are mountains of equall height with the pike of Tenerif with verye great vallies betweene them) which I haue seene incredible to bee reported, that vpon the toppe of some of these ylls of yse, there haue beene stones of more then one hundreth tonnes wayght, which in his fall, that snowe hath torne from the clyffs, and in falling maketh such an horible noyse as if there were one hundreth canons shot of at one instant, and this kind of yse is verye white, and freshe, and with shore winds is many times beaten far of into the seas, perhaps twentie leages and that is the farthest distance that they haue euer bin seene from the shore. The other kind is called flake yse, blue, very hard and thinne not aboue three fadomes thick at the farthest, and this kinde of yse bordreth close vpon the shore. And as the nature of heate with apt vessels diuideth the pure spirit from his grosse partes by the coning practice of distillation: so doth the colde in these regions deuide and congeale the fresh water from the salt, nere such shores where by the aboundance of freshe rivers, the saltnes of the sea is mittigated, and not else where, for all yse in general beeing dissolued is very fresh water, so that by the experience of all that haue euer trauelled towardes the North it is well knowne that the sea neuer fryseth, but wee know that the sea dissolueth this yse with great speede, for in twentie foure houres I haue seen an ylande of yse turne vp and downe, as the common phrase is, because it hath melted so fast vnder water that the heauier parte hathe beene vpwarde, which hath beene the cause of his so turning, for the heuiest part of all things swiming is by nature downwards, and therefore sith the sea is by his heate of power to dissolue yse, it is greatly against reason that the same should be frozen, so that the congealation of the seas can bee no hinderance to the execution of this passage, contrary to the former obiection, by late experience reproued, yet if experience wanted in ordenary reason men should not suppose nature to bee monstrous, for if all such yse and snowe as congealeth and descendeth in the winter did not by natures benefit dissolue in the sommer, but that the cold were more actual then the heate, that difference of inequalitie bee it neuer so little would by time bread natures ouerthrowe, for if the one thousand parte of the yse which in winter is congealed, did the next sommer remayne vndissolued, that continual difference sithins the worldes creation, would not onely haue conuerted all those North Seas into yse, but would also by continuall accesse of snow haue extended himselfe aboue all the ayers regions by which reason all such exalations as should be drawn from the earth and seas within the temperate zones and by windes driuen into these stiffe regions, that moysture was no more to bee hoped for that by dissolution it should haue any returne, so that by time the world should be left waterlesse. And therefore how ridiculous this imagination of the seas frysing is, I refer to the worlds generall opinion.

That the ayre in colde regions is tollerable.

ANd now for a full answer of all obiections, if the ayre bee proued tollerable then this most excellent and commodious passage is without al contradiction to be perfourmed. And that the ayre is tollerable as well in the winter as in the Sommer is thus proued. The inhabitantes of Moscouia, Lapland, Swethland, Norway and Tartaria omit not to trauel for their commodity: in the deepest of winter, passing by sleades ouer the yse and congealed snowe being made very slipperie and compact like yse by reason of much wearing and trading, hauing the vse of a kind of stag by them called Reen to drawe those their sleades.

Groynland (by me lately named Desolation) is likewise inhabited by a people of good stature and tractable conditions, it also mayntayneth diuers kinde of foules and beastes which I haue their seene, but know not their names, and these must trauell for their food in winter, and therefore the ayre is not intollerable in the extremest nature of coldnes: and for the quality thereof in Sommer by my owne experience I knowe that vpon the shore it is as hot there as it is at the ylls of cape de Verde in which place there is such aboundance of moskeetes, (a kind of gnat that is in India very offensiue and in great quantitie) as that we were stong with them like lepers, not beeing able to haue quiet being vpon the shore.

And vnder the clyfe in the pooles vnto which the streames aryse not, I haue found salt in great plenty as whyte as the salt of Mayo congeled from the salt water which the spryng tyds bring into those poles, which could not be but by the benefit of a noble heat, of which salt I brought with me and gaue to master Secretory Walsingham and to master Sanderson, as a rare thing to be found in those parts and farther the same was of an extraordenary saltnes. And therefore it is an idle dreame that the ayre should there be insufferable, for ourselues haue with the water of those seas made salt, because we desired to know whether the benefit of the sunne were the cause of this cogulation, what better confirmation then can there be then this.

Island is likewise inhabited and yeldeth haukes in great store, as falcons, Ierfalcons, lanardes and sparrow haukes, rauens, crowes, beares, hares and foxes, with horses and other kinde of cattell, vpon which coast in August and September the yse is vtterly dissolued, all which the premises are certainly verified by such as trade thither from Lubec, Hambro, Amsterdam and England yerely, then why should wee dread this fayned distemperature: from cold regions come our most costly furres as sables beeing esteemed for a principall ornament and the beastes that yeld us those furres are chiefly hunted in the winter, how grieuous then shall we thinke the winter to be, or howe insuffer able the ayre, where this little tender beast liueth so well, and where the hunters may search the dennes and hauntes of such beastes through the woods and snow.

Vpsaliensis affirmeth that he hath felt the Sommer nights in Gotland scarcely tollerable for heate, whereas in Rome he hath felt them cold.

The Mountaynes of Norway and Swethland are fruitefull of mettalls in which siluer and copper are concoct and molten in veines, which may scarcely bee done with fornaces, by which reason also the vapors and hot exhalations pearcing the earth and the waters and through both those natures breathing forth into the ayre, tempereth the quantitie thereof making it tollerable, as wyttnes the huge bignes of whales in those seas, with the strength of body and long life of such beastes as liue on the land, which thing could not bee except all thinges were there comodiously nourished, by the benefit of the heauen and the ayre, for nothing that in time of increase is hindred by any iniury or that is euill seed all the time it liueth can prosper well.

Also it is a thing vndoubtedly knowne by experience that vpon the coastes of newfounde land, (as such as the yse remayneth vndissolued vpon those shores,) the wind being esterly, comming from the seas, causeth very sharpe colde, and yet the same is sufferable, but comming from the shore, yt presently yeldeth heat aboundantly according to the true nature of the scituation of the place, whereby it plainly appeareth that the very breth of the yse is rather the cause of this cold, then the distempreture of the ayre.

Wherefore if in winter where is aboundance of yse and snowe the ayre is so sufferable, as that traueling and hunting may be exercised how much rather may wee iudge the seas to be Nauigable, and that in the deepest of winter, where there is neither yse nor snow that may yeld any such damps or cold breathings to the anoiance of such as shall take these interprises in hand. And therefore the Sommer in no sort to be feared, but some curious witt may obiect that the naturall anoyance of cold is preuented by reason of the trauell of the body with other artificiall prouisions to defend the fury thereof, as also the whot vapors which the earth may yeld, whereof experience vrgeth confession, but vpon the seas it cannot be sith it is a cold body subiect to yeld great dampes and cold brethinges most offensiue to nature. To the which I answere in the vniuersall knowledge of all creatures that God the most glorious incomprehensible and euer being sole creatour of all thinges visible, invisible, rationall, irrationall, momentory and eternall in his diuine prouidence hath made nothing vncommunicable, but hath giuen such order vnto all things, whereby euery thing may be tollerable to the next, the extremities of ellements consent with their next the ayre is grosse about the earth and water, but thinn and hot about the fyer, by this prouidence in nature the sea is very salt, and salt (sayth Plinie) yeldeth the fatnes of oyle, but oyle by a certayne natiue heate is of propertie agreeable to fire, then being all of such qualitie by reason of the saltnes thereof moueth and stirreth vp generatiue heate, &c. Whereby the sea hath a working force in the dissolution of yse for things of so great contrariety as heate and cold haue togeather no affinitye in coniunction, but the one must of necessitye auoyde, the seas not being able by the bandes of nature to step backe, doth therefore cause the coldnesse of the ayre (by reason of his naturall heate) to giue place, whereby extremities being auoyded, the ayre must of necessitie remayne temperate, for in nature the ayre is hote and moyst, the colde then being but accidentall is the soner auoided, and natures wrongs with ease redressed.

That vnder the Pole is the place of greatest dignitie.

REason teacheth vs and experience confirmeth the same, that the Sun is the onely sufficient cause of heat through the whole world and therefore in such places where the Sunne hath longest continuance, the ayre there receueth the greatest impression of heat, as also in his absence it is in like sort afflicted with colde. And as the heate in all clymates is indurable, by the eternall ordinance of the creator, so likewise the cold is sufferable by his euerlasting decree, for otherwise nature should bee monstrous and his creation wast, as it hath beene ydly affirmed by the most Cosmographicall writers, distinguishing the sphere into fiue Zones haue concluded three of them to be wast, as vaynely created, the burning zone betweene the two tropikes, and the two frozen Zones, but experience hauing reprooued the grosenes of that errour it shall be needlesse to say further therein. For although in the burning Zone the sun beames are at such right angles as that by the actuall reuerberation thereof the lower region of the ayre is greatly by that reflexion warmed, yet his equall absence breadeth such mitigation as that there we find the ayre tollerable, and the countries pleasant and fruitfull, being populus and well inhabited: so likewise vnder the pole being the center of the supposed frozen Zone, during the time that the Sunne is in the South signes, which is from the thirteenth of September vnto the 10 of March, it is there more cold then in any place of the world, because the Sunne in all that time doth neuer appeare aboue the Horyzon, but during the time that the Sunne is in the North signes which is from the tenth of March vnto the thirteenth of September he is in continuall view to all such as posses that place, by which his continuall presence, he worketh that notable effect, as that therby all the force of frysing is wholy redressed and vtterly taken away, working then and there more actuall then in any other part of the world. In which place there continuall day from the Sunne rising to the sunne setting is equall with twenty sixe weekes and fiue dayes, after our rate: and their night is equall with twenty fiue weekes and three dayes such as we haue, so that our whole yeere is with them but one night and one day, a wonderfull difference from al the rest of the world, and therefore no doubt but those people haue a wonderfull excellencie and an exceeding prorogatiue aboue all nations of the earth and this which is more to be noted. In all other places of the world the absence and presence of the Sun is in equall proportion of time, hauing as much night as day, but vnder the Pole their artificiall day (that is the continuall presence of the Sunne before he sett) is nine of our naturall dayes or two hundreth 16 houres longer then is their night, whereby it appeareth that they haue the life, light and comfort of nature in a higher measure then all the nations of the earth. How blessed then may we thinke this nation to be: for they are in perpetuall light, and neuer know what darknesse meaneth, by the benefit of twylight and full moones, as the learned in Astronomie doe very well knowe, which people if they haue the notice of their eternitie by the comfortable light of the Gospel, then are they blessed and of all nations most blessed. Why then doe we neglect the search of this excellent discouery, agaynst which there can be nothing sayd to hinder the same. Why doe we refuse to see the dignity of Gods Creation, sith it hath pleased his diuine Maiestie to place vs the nerest neighbor therevnto. I know there is no true Englishman that can in conscience refuse to be a contributer to procure this so great a happines to his country, whereby not onely the Prince and mightie men of the land shall be highly renowned, but also the Merchant, tradesman and artificer mightily inriched.

And now as touching the last obiection that the want of skill in Nauigation with curious instrumentes, should be the hinderance or ouerthrow of this action. I holde that to bee so friuolous as not worth the answering, for it is wel knowne that we haue globes in the most excellent perfection of arte, and haue the vse of them in as exquisite sort, as master Robert Hues in his book of the globes vse, lately published hath at large made knowne, and for Horizontall paradox and great circle sayling I am myself a witnesse in the behalfe of many, that we are not ignorant of them, as lately I haue made knowne in a briefe treatis of Nauigation naming it the Seamans Secreats. And therfore this as the rest breadeth no hinderance to this most commodious discouery.

What benefits would growe vnto Englande by this passage being discouered.

THe benefits which may growe by this discouery, are copious and of two sorts, a benifit spirituall and a benifit corporall. Both which sith by the awes of God and nature we are bound to regard, yet principally we are admonished first to seeke the

Kingdome of God and the righteousnes thereof and all thinges shall be giuen vnto vs. And therfore in seeking the Kingdome of God we are not onely tied to the depe search of Gods sacred word and to liue within the perfect lymits of Christianity, but also by al meanes we are bound to multiply, and increase the flocke of the faithfull. Which by this discouery wil be most aboundantly perfourmed to the preseruation of many thousands which now most miserably are couered vnder the lothsome vayle of ignorance, neither can we in any sort doubt of their recouery by this passage discouered, Gods prouidence therein being considered who most mercifully sayth by the mouth of his prophet Esaias 66 I will come to gather all people and tongues, then shall they come and see my glory, of them that shall be saued. I will send some to the Gentils in the sea and the yls far of that haue not heard speak of me, and haue not sene my glory, shall preach my peace among the Gentiles.

And in this 65 Chapter he farther sayth, They seeke me that hitherto haue not asked for me, they find me that hitherto haue not sought me.

And againe chapter 49 I wil make waies vpon al my mountains and my footpathes shall be exalted, and behold these shall come from farre, some from the North and West, some from the land of Symis which is in the South. Then sith it is so appointed that there shal be one shepheard and one flocke, what hindreth vs of England, (being by Gods mercy for the same purpose at this present most aptly prepared,) not to attempt that which God himselfe hath appointed to be performed, there is no doubt but that wee of England are this saued people by the eternal and infallible presence of the Lord predestinated to be sent vnto these Gentiles in the sea, to those ylls and famous Kingdoms ther to preach the peace of the Lorde, for are not we onely set vpon Mount Sion to giue light to all the rest of the world, haue not we the true handmayd of the Lord to rule vs, vnto whom the eternall maiestie of God hath reueled his truth and supreme power of excellencye, by whom then shall the truth be preached, but by them vnto whom the truth shall be reueled, it is onely we therefore that must be these shining messengers of the Lord and none but we for as the prophet sayth, O how beautifull are the feet of the messenger that bringeth the message from the mountain, that proclameth peace, that bringeth the good tidings and preacheth health and sayth to Sion thy God is King, so that hereby the spirituall benefit arising by this discouery is most apparant, for which if there were no other cause wee are all bound to labour with purse and minde for the discouery of this notable passage. And nowe as touching the corporall and worldly benefits which will thereby arise, our owne late experience leadeth vs to the full knowledge thereof, as by the communitie of trade groweth the mightines of riches, so by the kinde and guide of such tradinges may grow the multiplication of such benifits, with assurance how the same may in the best sort be continued. In the consideration whereof it is first to bee regarded with what commodities our owne country aboundeth either naturall or artificiall, what quantity may be spared, and wher the same may with the easiest rate be gained, and how in his best nature vnto vs returned, all which by this passage shall be vnto vs most plentifully effected, and not onely that, but this also which is most to be regarded that in our thus trading wee shall by no meanes inrich the next adioyning states vnto vs, for riches bread dread, and pouertie increaseth feare, but here I cease fering to offend, yet it is a question whether it were better by an easy rate to vent our commodities far of or by a more plentifull gayne to passe them to our neerer neighbours, and those therby more inriched then our selues, the premises considered wee finde our country to abound with woll, and wollen cloth, with lead, tin, copper and yron, matters of great moment, wee also knowe our soyle to be fertill, and would if trad did so permit haue equal imploiment with any of our neighbours, in linnen cloth, fustians, seys, grograms or any other forraine artificiall commodities, besides the excellent labours of the artsman, either in metallyne mechanicall faculties, or other artificiall ornaments, whereof India is well knowne to receiue all that Europe can afford, rating our commodities in the highest esteeme of valewe, which by this passage is speedily perfourmed, and then none of these should lie dead vpon our handes as now they doe, neither should we bee then ignorant as now we are in many excellent practises into which by trade wee shoulde bee drawne. And by the same passage in this ample vent, we should also at the first hand receiue all Indian commodities both naturall and artificial in a far greter measure by an easier rate and in better condition, then nowe they are by many exchaunges brought vnto vs, then would all nations of Europe repayre vnto England not only for these forraine merchandizes by reason of their plenty, perfection and easy rates, but also to passe away that which God in nature hath bestowed vpon them and their countrie, wherby her maiestie and her highnes successors for euer, should be monarks of the earth and commaunders of the Seas, through the aboundance of trade her coustomes would be mightily augmented, her state highly inriched, and her force of shipping greatly aduanced, as that thereby shee should be to all nations moste dredful, and we her subiects through imploiment should imbrace aboundance and be clothed with plenty. The glory whereof would be a deadly horrer to her aduersaries, increase friendly loue with al and procure her maiestie stately and perpetuall peace, for it is no small aduantage that ariseth to a state by the mightines of trade: being by necessity linked to no other nation, the same also beeing in commodities of the highest esteeme, as gold, siluer, stones of price, iuels, pearls, spice, drugs, silkes raw and wrought veluetts, cloth of gold, besides many other commodities with vs of rare and high esteeme, whereof as yet our countrie is by nature depriued, al which India doth yeld at reasonable rates in great aboundance receiuing ours in the highest esteeme, so that hereby plenty retourning by trade abroade, and no smale quantity prouided by industry at home, all want then banished in the aboundance of her maiesties royalty, so through dred in glory, peace and loue, her maiesty should be the commaunding light of the world, and we her subiects the stars of wonder to al nations of the earth. Al which the premises considered it is impossible that any true English hart should be staied from willing contribution to the performance of this so excellent a discouery, the Lords and subiectes spirituall for the sole publication of Gods glorious gospell. And the Lords and subiectes temporal for the renowne of their prince and glory of their nation should be thervnto most vehemently effected. Which when it shall so please God in the mightines of his mercy, I beseech him to effect. Amen.

England's Naval Exploits against Spain.

A voyage to the Azores with two pinases, the one called the Serpent, and the other the Mary Sparke of Plimouth, both of them belonging to Sir Walter Raleigh, written by Iohn Euesham Gentleman, wherein were taken the gouernour, of the Isle of Sainct Michael, and Pedro Sarmiento gouernour of the Straits of Magalanes, in the yeere 1586.

THe 10. of Iune 1586. we departed from Plimouth with two Pinases, the one named the Serpent, of the burden of 35. Tunnes and the other the Mary Sparke of Plimouth of the burthen of 50. Tuns, both of them belonging to sir Walter Raleigh knight; and directing our course towards the coast of Spaine, and from thence towards the Isles of the Azores, we tooke a small barke laden with Sumacke and other commodities, wherein was the gouernour of S. Michaels Island, being a Portugal, hauing other Portugals and Spaniards with him. And from thence we sailed to the Island of Graciosa, to the Westward of the Island of Tercera, where we discried a saile, and bearing with her wee found her to be a Spaniard: But at the first not greatly respecting whom we tooke, so that we might haue enriched ourselues, which was the cause of this our trauaile, and for that we would not bee knowen of what nation we were, wee displayed a white silke ensigne in our maine toppe, which they seeing, made accompt that we had bene some of the king of Spaines Armadas, lying in wait for

The gouernour of S. Michael taken prisoner.

English men of war: but when we came within shot of her, we tooke downe our white flagge, and spread abroad the Crosse of S. George, which when they saw, it made them to flie as fast as they might, but all their haste was in vaine, for our shippes were swifter of saile then they, which they fearing, did presently cast their ordinance and small shot with many letters, and the draft of the Straights of Magelan into the Sea, and therevpon immediately we tooke her, wherein wee also tooke a gentleman of Spaine, named Pedro Sarmiento, gouernour of the Straights of Magelan, which saide Pedro we brought into England with vs, and presented him to our soueraigne Lady the Queene.

Pedro Sarmiento the gouernour of the Straights of Magelan tken prisoner.

After this, lying off and about the Islands, wee descried another saile, and bearing after her, we spent the maine maste of our Admirall, but yet in the night our Viceadmirall tooke her, being laden with fish from Cape Blanke, the which shippe wee let goe againe for want of men to bring her home. The next day we descried two other sailes, the one a shippe and the other a Carauel, to whom we gaue chase, which they seeing, with all speede made in vnder the Isle of Graciosa, to a certaine Fort there for their succour, where they came to an anker, and hauing the winde of vs, we could not hurt them with our ships, but we hauing a small boate which we called a light horseman, wherein my selfe was, being a Musqueter, and foure more with Caliuers, and foure that rowed, came neere vnto the shore against the winde, which when they saw vs come towards them they carried a great part of their marchandize on land, whither also the men of both vessels went and landed, and as soon as we came within Musquet shot, they began to shoote at vs with great ordinance and small shot, and we likewise at them, and in the ende we boorded one shippe wherein was no man left, so we cut her cables, hoysed her sailes, and sent her away with two of our men, and the other 7. of vs passed more neere vnto the shoare, and boorded the Carauel, which did ride within a stones cast from the shoare, and so neere the land that the people did cast stones at vs, but yet in despight of them all we tooke her, and one onely Negro therein: and cutting her cables in the hawse, we hoysed her sailes and being becalmed vnder the land we were constrained to rowe her out with our boate, the Fort still shooting

A ship laden with fish taken and released againe.

One of the ships taken, and sent away with 2. persons.

The Caravel is taken.

at vs, and the people on land with Musquets and caliuers, to the number of 150. or thereabout: and we answered them with the small force wee had; in the time of which our shooting, the shot of my Musquet being a crossebarre-shot happened to strike the gunner of the fort to death, euen as he was giuing leuell to one of his great pieces, and thus we parted from them without any losse or hurt on our side. And now, hauing taken these fiue sailes of shippes, we did as before, turne away the shippe with the fish, without hurting them, and from one of the other shippes we tooke her maine Maste to serue our Admirals turne, and so sent her away putting into her all the Spaniards and Portugals (sauing that gentleman Pedro Sarmiento, with three other of the principal men and two Negroes) leauing them all within sight of land, with bread and water sufficient for 10. dayes if neede were.

The prises sent home.

Thus setting our course for England, being off the Islands in the height of 41 degrees, or there about, one of our men being in the toppe discried a saile, then 10. saile, then 15. whereupon it was concluded to sende home those prizes we had, and so left in both our Pinasses not aboue 60. men. Thus wee returned againe to the Fleete we had discried, where wee found 24. saile of shippes, whereof two of them were Caracks, the one of 1200. and the other of a 1000. tunnes, and 10. Gallions, the rest were small shippes and Carauels all laden with Treasure, spices, and sugars with which 24. shippes we with two small Pinasses did fight, and kept company the space of 32. houres, continually fighting with them and they with vs, but the two Caracks kept still betwixt the Fleete and vs, that wee could not take any one of them, so wanting powder, wee were forced to giue them ouer against our willes, for that wee were all wholly bent to the gaining of some of them, but necessitie compelling vs, and that onely for want of powder, without losse of any of our men, (which was a thing to be wondered at considering the inequalitie of number) at length we gaue them ouer. Thus we againe set our course for England, and so came to Plimouth within 6. houres after our prizes, which we sent away 40. houres before vs, where wee were receiued with triumphant ioy, not onely with great Ordinance then shot off, but with the willing hearts of all the people of the Towne, and of the Countrey thereabout; and we not sparing our Ordinance (with the powder

Two Caracks, 10. Gallions, 12. small ships.

The 2. pinasses returne for England.

wee had left) to requite and answere them againe. And from thence wee brought our prizes to Southampton, where sir Walter Ralegh being our owner, rewarded vs with our shares.

Our prizes were laden with sugars, Elephants teeth, waxe, hides, rice, brasill, and Cuser, as by the testimonie of Iohn Euesham himselfe, Captaine Whiddon, Thomas Rainford, Beniamin Wood, William Cooper Master, William Cornish Master, Thomas Drake Corporall, Iohn Ladd gunner, William Warefield gunner, Richard Moone, Iohn Drew, Richard Cooper of Harwich, William Beares of Ratcliffe, Iohn Row ot Saltash, and many others, may appeare.

A briefe relation of the notable seruice performed by Sir Francis Drake vpon the Spanish Fleete prepared in the Road of Cadiz: and of his destroying of 100. saile of barks; Passing from thence all along the coast to Cape Sacre, where also hee tooke certaine Forts: and so to the mouth of the Riuer of Lisbon, and thence crossing ouer to the Isle of Sant Michael, supprized a mighty Carack called the Sant Philip comming out of the East India, which was the first of that kinde that euer was seene in England: Performed in the yeere 1587.

HEr Maiestie being informed of a mightie preparation by Sea begunne in Spaine for the inuasion of England, by good aduise of her graue and prudent Counsell thought it expedient to preuent the same. Whereupon she caused a Fleete of some 30. sailes to be rigged and furnished with all things necessary. Ouer that Fleete she appointed Generall sir Francis Drake (of whose manifold former good seruices she had sufficient proofe) to whom she caused 4. ships of her Nauie royall to be deliuered, to wit, The Bonauenture wherein himselfe went as Generall; the Lion vnder the conduct of Master William Borough Controller of the Nauie; the Dread-nought vnder the command of M. Thomas Venner; and the Rainebow, captaine whereof was M. Henry Bellingham: vnto which 4 ships two of her pinasses were appointed as hand-maids. There were also added vnto this Fleet certaine tall ships of the Citie of London, of whose especiall good seruice the General made particular mention in his priuate Letters directed to her Maiestie. This Fleete set saile from the sound of Plimouth in the moneth of April towards the coast of Spaine.

The 16. of the said moneth we mette in the latitude of 40. degrees with two ships of Middleborough, which came from Cadiz; by which we vnderstood that there was great store of warlike prouision at Cadiz and thereabout ready to come for Lisbon. Vpon this information our Generall with al speed possible, bending himselfe thither to cut off their said forces and prouisions, vpon the 19. of April entered with his Fleet into the Harbor of Cadiz: where at our first entring we were assailed ouer against the Towne by sixe Gallies, which notwithstanding in short time retired vnder their fortresse.

There were in the Road 60. ships and diuers other small vessels vnder the fortresse: there fled about 20. French ships to Port Real, and some small Spanish vessels that might passe the sholdes. At our first comming in we sunke with our shot a ship of Raguza of a 1000. tunnes, furnished with 40. pieces of brasse and very richly laden. There came two Gallies more from S. Mary port, and two from Porto Reale, which shot freely at vs, but altogether in vaine: for they went away with the blowes well beaten for their paines.

Before night we had taken 30. of the said ships, and became Masters of the Road, in despight of the Gallies, which were glad to retire them vnder the Fort: in the number of which ships there was one new ship of an extraordinary hugenesse in burthen aboue 1200. tunnes, belonging to the Marquesse of Santa Cruz being at that instant high Admirall of Spaine. Fiue of them were great ships of Biskay, whereof 4. we fired, as they were taking in the Kings prouision of victuals for the furnishing of his Fleet at Lisbon: the fift being a ship about 1000. tunnes in burthen, laden with Iron spikes, nailes, yron hoopes, horse-shooes, and other like necessaries bound for the West Indies we fired in like maner. Also we tooke a ship of 250. tunnes laden with wines for the Kings prouision, which wee caried out to the Sea with vs, and there discharged the said wines for our owne store, and afterward set her on fire. Moreouer we tooke 3. Flyboats of 300. tunnes a piece laden with biscuit, whereof one was halfe vnladen by vs in the Harborow, and there fired, and the other two we tooke in our company to the Sea. Likewise there were fired by vs ten other ships which were laden with wine, raisins, figs, oiles, wheat, and such like. To conclude, the whole number of ships and barkes (as we suppose) then burnt, suncke, and brought away with vs, amounted to 30. at the least, being (in our iudgement) about 10000. tunnes of shipping.

There were in sight of vs at Porto Real about 40. ships, besides those that fled from Cadiz.

We found little ease during our aboad there, by reason of their continuall shooting from the Gallies, the fortresses, and from the shoare: where continually at places conuenient they planted new ordinance to offend vs with: besides the inconuenience which wee suffered from their ships, which, when they could defend no longer, they set on fire to come among vs. Whereupon when the flood came wee were not a little troubled to defend vs from their terrible fire, which neuerthelesse was a pleasant sight for vs to beholde, because we were thereby eased of a great labour, which lay vpon vs day and night, in discharging the victuals, and other prouisions of the enemie. Thus by the assistance of the almightie, and the inuincible courage and industrie of our Generall, this strange and happy enterprize was atchieued in one day and two nights, to the great astonishment of the King of Spaine, which bread such a corrasiue in the heart of the Marques of Santa Cruz high Admiral of Spaine, that he neuer enioyed good day after, but within fewe moneths (as may iustly be supposed) died of extreame griefe and sorrow.

Thus hauing performed this notable seruice, we came out of the Road of Cadiz on the Friday morning the 21. of the said moneth of April, with very small losse not worth the mentioning.

After our departure ten of the Gallies that were in the Road came out, as it were in disdaine of vs, to make some pastime with their ordinance, at which time the wind skanted vpon vs, whereupon we cast about againe, and stood in with the shoare, and came to an anker within a league of the towne: where the said Gallies, for all their former bragging, at length suffred vs to ride quietly.

We now haue had experience of Gally-fight: wherein I can assure you, that onely these 4. of her Maiesties ships will make no accompt of 20. Gallies, if they may be alone, and not busied to guard others. There were neuer Gallies that had better place and fitter opportunitie for their aduantage to fight with ships: but they were still forced to retire, wee riding in a narrow gut, the place yeelding no better, and driuen to maintaine the same, vntill wee had discharged and fired the shippes, which could not conueniently be done but vpon the flood, at which time they might driue cleare off vs. Thus being victualed with bread and wine at the enemies cost for diuers moneths (besides the prouisions that we brougbt from home) our Generall dispatched Captaine Crosse into England with his letters, giuing him further in charge to declare vnto her Maiestie all the particularities of this our first enterprize.

After whose departure wee shaped our course toward Cape Sacre, and in the way thither wee tooke at seuerall times of ships, barkes, and Carauels well neere an hundred, laden with hoopes, gally-oares, pipe-staues, and other prouisions of the king of Spaine, for the furnishing of his forces intended against England, al which we burned, hauing dealt fauourably with the men and sent them on shoare. We also spoiled and consumed all the fisher-boats and nets thereabouts, to their great hinderance: and (as we suppose) to the vtter ouerthrow of the rich fishing of their Tunies for the same yere. At length we came to the aforesaid Cape Sacre, where we went on land; and the better to enioy the benefite of the place, and to ride in the harborow at our pleasure, we assailed the same castle, and three other strong holds, which we tooke some by force and some by surrender.

Thence we came before the hauen of Lisbon ankering nere vnto Cascais, where the Marques of Santa Cruz was with his Gallies, who seeing vs chase his ships a shoare, and take and cary away his barks and Carauels, was content to suffer vs there quietly to tary, and likewise to depart, and neuer charged vs with one canon-shot. And when our Generall sent him worde that hee was there ready to exchange certaine bullets with him, the marques refused his chalenge, sending him word, that he was not then ready for him, nor had any such Commission from his King.

Our Generall thus refused by the Marques, and seeing no more good to be done in this place, thought it conuenient to spend no longer time vpon this coast: and therefore with consent of the chiefe of his Company he shaped his course toward the Isles of the Açores, and passing towards the Isle of Saint Michael, within 20. or 30. leagues thereof, it was his good fortune to meete with a Portugale Carak called Sant Philip, being the same shippe which in the voyage outward had carried the 3. Princes of Iapan, that were in Europe, into the Indies. This Carak without any

The Carack called the Sanct Philip taken.

great resistance he tooke, bestowing the people thereof in certaine vessels well furnished with victuals, and sending them courteously home into their Countrey: and this was the first Carak that euer was then comming foorth of the East Indies; which the Portugals tooke for an euil signe, because the ship bare the Kings owne name.

The riches of this prize seemed so great vnto the whole Company (as in trueth it was) that they assured themselues euery man to haue a sufficient reward for his trauel: and thereupon they all resolued to returne home for England: which they happily did, and arriued in Plimouth the same Sommer with their whole Fleete and this rich booty, to their owne profite and due commendation, and to the great admiration of the whole kingdome.

And here by the way it is to be noted, that the taking of this Carak wrought two extraordinary effects in England: first, that it taught others, that Caracks were no such bugs but that they might be taken (as since indeed it hath fallen out in the taking of the Madre de Dios, and fyreing and sinking of others) and secondly in acquainting the English Nation more generally with the particularities of the exceeding riches and wealth of the East Indies: whereby themselues and their neighbours of Holland haue bene incouraged, being men as skilfull in Nauigation and of no lesse courage then the Portugals to share with them in the East Indies: where their strength is nothing so great as heretofore hath bene supposed.

A true discourse written (as is thought) by Colonel Antonie Winkfield emploied in the voiage to Spaine and Portugall, 1589. sent to his particular friend, and by him published for the better satisfaction of all such as hauing bene seduced by particular report, haue entred into conceits tending to the discredite of the enterprise and Actors of the same.

ALthough the desire of aduancing my reputation caused me to withstand the many perswasions you vsed to hold me at home, and the pursuite of honorable actions drew me (contrary to your expectation) to neglect that aduise, which in loue I know you gaue me: yet in respect of the many assurances you haue yeelded mee of your kindest friendship, I cannot suspect that you will either loue or esteeme me the lesse, at this my returne: and therefore I wil not omit any occasion which may make me appeare thankfull, or discharge any part of that duetie I owe you; which now is none other then to offer you a true discourse how these warres of Spaine and Portugall haue passed since our going out of England the 18 of Aprill, till our returne which was the first of Iuly. Wherein I wil (vnder your fauourable pardon) for your further satisfaction, as well make relation of those reasons which confirmed me in my purpose of going abroad, as of these accidents which haue happened during our aboad there; thereby hoping to perswade you that no light fansie did drawe me from the fruition of your dearest friendship, but an earnest desire by following the warres to make my selfe more woorthy of the same.

Hauing therefore determinately purposed to put on this habite of a souldier, I grew doubtfull whether to employ my time in yᵉ wars of the low Countries, which are in auxiliarie maner maintained by her maiestie, or to folow the fortune of this voiage, which was an aduenture of her and many honorable personages, in reuenge of vnsupportable wrongs offered vnto the estate of our countrey by the Castilian king: in arguing whereof, I find that by how much the chalenger is reputed before the defendant, by so much is the iourney to be preferred before those defensiue wars. For had the duke of Parma his turne bene to defend, as it was his good fortune to inuade: from whence could haue proceeded that glorious honor which these late warres haue laid vpon him, or what could haue bene said more of him, then of a Respondent (though neuer so valiant) in a priuate Duell: Euen, that he hath done no more then by his honor he was tied vnto. For the gaine of one towne or any small defeat giueth more renoume to the Assailant, then the defence of a countrey, or the withstanding of twentie encounters can yeeld any man who is bound by his place to guard the same: whereof as well the particulars of our age, especially in the Spaniard, as the reports of former histories may assure us, which haue still laied the fame of all warres vpon the Inuader. And do not ours in these dayes liue obscured in Flanders, either not hauing wherewithall to manage any warre, or not putting on armes, but to defend themselues when the enemie shall procure them? Whereas in this short time of our aduenture, we haue won a towne by escalade, battered and assaulted another, ouerthrowen a mightie princes power in the field, landed our armie in 3 seueral places of his kingdom, marched 7 dayes in the heart of his country, lien three nights in the suburbs of his principall citie, beaten his forces into the gates thereof, and possessed two of his frontier forts, as shall in discourse thereof more particularly appeare: whereby I conclude, that going with an Inuader, and in such an action as euery day giueth new experience, I haue much to vaunt of, that my fortune did rather cary me thither then into the wars of Flanders. Notwithstanding the vehement perswasions you vsed with me to the contrary, the grounds whereof sithence you receiued them from others, you must giue me leaue to acquaint you with the error you were led into by them, who labouring to bring the world into an opinion that it stood more with the safetie of our estate to bend all our forces against the prince of Parma, then to folow this action by looking into the true effects of this iourney, will iudicially conuince themselues of mistaking the matter. For, may the conquest of these countries against the prince of Parma be thought more easie for vs alone now, then the defence of them was 11 yeeres ago, with the men and money of the Queene of England? the power of the Monsieur of France? the assistance of the principal states of Germanie? and the nobilitie of their owne country? Could not an armie of more then 20000 horse, and almost 30000 foot, beat Don Iohn de Austria out of the countrey, who was possessed of a very few frontier townes? and shall it now be laid vpon her maiesties shoulders to remoue so mightie an enemie, who hath left vs but 3 whole parts of 17 vnconquered? It is not a iourney of a few moneths, nor an auxiliarie warre of fewe yeeres that can damnifie the king of Spaine in those places where we shall meet at euery 8 or 10 miles end with a towne, which will cost more the winning then will yeerely pay 4 or 5 thousand mens wages, where all the countrey is quartered by riuers which haue no passage vnfortified, and where most of the best souldiers of Christendom that be on our aduerse party be in pension. But our armie, which hath not cost her maiestie much aboue the third part of one yeres expenses in the Low countries, hath already spoiled a great part of the prouision he had made at the Groine of all sortes, for a new voyage into England; burnt 3 of his ships, whereof one was ye second in the last yeres expedition called S. Iuan de Colorado, taken from him aboue 150 pieces of good artillerie; cut off more then 60 hulks and 20 French ships wel manned fit and readie to serue him for men of war against vs, laden for his store with corne, victuals, masts, cables, and other marchandizes; slaine and taken the principal men of war he had in Galitia; made Don Pedro Enriques de Gusman, Conde de Fuentes, Generall of his forces in Portugall, shamefully run at Peniche; laid along of his best Commanders in Lisbon; and by these few aduentures discouered how easily her maiestie may without any great aduenture in short time pull the Tirant of the world vpon his knees, as wel by the disquieting his vsurpation of Portugall as without difficultie in keeping the commoditie of his Indies from him, by sending an army so accomplished, as may not be subiect to those extremities which we haue endured: except he draw, for those defences, his forces out of the Low countries and disfurnish his garisons of Naples and Milan, which with safetie of those places he may not do. And yet by this meane he shall rather be enforced thereunto, then by any force that can be vsed there against him: wherefore I directly conclude that this proceeding is the most safe and necessary way to be held against him, and therefore more importing then the war in the Low countries. Yet hath the iourney (I know) bene much misliked by some, who either thinking too worthily of the Spaniards valure, too indifferently of his purposes against vs, or too vnworthily of them that vndertooke this iourney against him, did thinke it a thing dangerous to encounter the Spaniard at his owne home, a thing needlesse to proceed by inuasion against him, a thing of too great moment for two subiects of their qualitie to vndertake: And therefore did not so aduance the beginnings as though they hoped for any good successe therof.

The chances of wars be things most vncertaine: for what people soeuer vndertake them, they are in deed as chastisements appointed by God for the one side or the other. For which purpose it hath pleased him to giue some victories to the Spaniards of late yeeres against some whom he had in purpose to ruine. But if we consider what wars they be that haue made their name so terrible, we shal find them to haue bin none other then against the barbarous Moores, the naked Indians, and the vnarmed Netherlanders, whose yeelding rather to the name then act of the Spaniards, hath put them into such a conceit of their mightines, as they haue considerately vndertaken the conquest of our monarchie, consisting of a people vnited and always held sufficiently warlike: against whom what successe their inuincible army had the last yeere, as our very children can witness, so I doubt not but this voiage hath sufficiently made knowen what they are euen vpon their owne dunghill, which, had it bene set out in such sort as it was agreed vpon by their first demaund, it might haue made our nation the most glorious people of the world. For hath not the want of 8 of the 12 pieces of artillerie, which were promised vnto the Aduenture, lost her maiestie the possession of the Groine and many other places, as hereafter shall appeare, whose defensible rampires were greater then our batterie (such as it was) cold force: and therefore were left vnattempted?

It was also resolued to haue sent 600 English horses of the Low countries, whereof we had not one, notwithstanding the great charges expended in their transportation hither: and that may the army assembled at Puente de Burgos thanke God of, as well as the forces of Portugall, who foreran vs 6 daies together: Did we not want 7 of the 13 old Companies, which we should haue had from thence; foure of the 10 Dutch Companies; and 6 of their men of war for the sea, from the Hollanders: which I may iustly say we wanted, in that we might haue had so many good souldiers, so many good ships, and so many able bodies more then we had?

Did there not vpon the first thinking of the iourney diuers gallant Courtiers put in their names for aduenturers to the summe of 10000 li. who seeing it went forward in good earnest, aduised themselues better, and laid the want of so much money vpon the iourney?

Was there not moreouer a rounde summe of the aduenture spent in leuying, furnishing, and maintaining 3 moneths 1500 men for the seruice of Berghen, with which Companies the Mutinies of Ostend were suppressed, a seruice of no smal moment?

What misery the detracting of the time of our setting out, which should haue bene the 1 of February, did lay vpon vs, too many can witnes: and what extremitie the want of that moneths victuals which we did eat, during the moneth we lay at Plimouth for a wind, might haue driuen vs vnto, no man can doubt of, that knoweth what men do liue by, had not God giuen vs in the ende a more prosperous wind and shorter passage into Galitia then hath bene often seen, where our owne force and fortune reuictualled vs largely: of which crosse windes, that held vs two dayes after our going out, the Generals being wearie, thrust to Sea in the same, wisely chusing rather to attend the change thereof there, then by being in harborough to lose any part of the better, when it should come by hauing their men on shore: in which two dayes 25 of our companies shipped in part of the fleet were scattered from vs, either not being able or willing to double Vshant.

These burdens layed vpon our Generals before their going out, they haue patiently endured, and I thinke they haue thereby much enlarged their honour: for hauing done thus much with the want of our artillery, 600 horse, 3000 foot, and 20000 li. of their aduenture, and one moneths victuals of their proportion, what may be coniectured they would haue done with their ful complement?

For the losse of our men at sea, since we can lay it on none but the will of God, what can be said more, then that it is his pleasure to turne all those impediments to the honor of them against whom they were intended: and he will still shew himselfe the Lord of hosts in doing great things by them, whom many haue sought to obscure: who if they had let the action fall at the height thereof in respect of those defects, which were such especially for the seruice at land, as would haue made a mighty subiect stoope vnder them, I do not see how any man could iustly haue layd any reproch vpon him who commanded the same, but rather haue lamented the iniquity of this time, wherein men whom forren countries haue for their conduct in seruice worthily esteemed of, should not only in their owne countrey not be seconded in their honorable endeuors, but mightily hindred, euen to ye impairing of their owne estates, which most willingly they haue aduentured for the good of their countries: whose worth I will not value by my report, lest I should seem guiltie of flattery (which my soule abhorreth) and yet come short in the true measure of their praise. Onely for your instruction against them who had almost seduced you from the true opinion you hold of such men, you shall vnderstand that Generall Norris from his booke was trained vp in the wars of the Admiral of France, and in very yong yeeres had charge of men vnder the erle of Essex in Ireland: which with what commendations he then discharged, I leaue to the report of them who obserued those seruices. Vpon the breach betwixt Don Iohn and the States, he was made Colonel generall of all ye English forces there present, or to come, which he continued 2 yeeres: he was then made Marshal of the field vnder Conte Hohenlo: and after that, General of the army in Frisland: at his comming home in the time of Monsieurs gouernment in Flanders, he was made lord President of Munster in Ireland, which he yet holdeth, from whence within one yere he was sent for, and sent Generall of the English forces which her maiestie then lent to the Low countries, which he held til the erle of Leicesters going ouer. And he was made Marshall of the field in England, the enemy being vpon our coast, and when it was expected the crowne of England should haue bene tried by battel. Al which places of commandement which neuer any Englishman successiuely attained vnto in forren wars, and the high places her maiestie had thought him woorthy of, may suffice to perswade you, that he was not altogether vnlikely to discharge that which he vndertooke.

What fame general Drake hath gotten by his iourney about the world, by his aduentures to the west Indies, and the scourges he hath laid vpon the Spanish nation, I leaue to the Southerne parts to speake of, and refer you to The Booke extant in our own language treating of ye same, and beseech you considering the waighty matters they haue in all the course of their liues with wonderfull reputation managed, that you wil esteeme them not wel informed of their proceedings, that thinke them insufficient to passe through that which they vndertooke, especially hauing gone thus far in the view of the world, through so many incombrances, and disappointed of those agreements which led them ye rather to vndertake the seruice. But it may be you wil thinke me herein either to much opinionated of the voiage, or conceited of the Commanders, y^t^ labouring thus earnestly to aduance the opinion of them both, haue not so much as touched any part of the misorders, weaknes and wants that haue bene amongst vs, whereof they that returned did plentifully report. True it is, I haue conceiued a great opinion of the iourney, and do thinke honorably of the Commanders: for we find in greatest antiquities, that many Commanders haue bene receiued home with triumph for lesse merite, and that our owne countrey hath honored men heretofore with admiration for aduentures vnequal to this: it might therefore in those daies haue seemed superfluous to extend any mans commendations by particular remembrances, for that then all men were ready to giue euery man his due. But I hold it most necessary in these daies, sithence euery vertue findeth her direct opposite, and actions woorthy of all memory are in danger to be enuiously obscured, to denounce the prayses of the action, and actors to the ful, but yet no further then with sinceritie of trueth, and not without grieuing at the iniury of this time, wherein is enforced a necessitie of Apologies for those men and matters, which all former times were accustomed to entertaine with the greatest applause that might be. But to answere the reports which haue bene giuen out in reproach of the actors and action by such as were in the same: let no man thinke otherwise, but that they, who fearing the casuall accidents of war had any purpose of returning, did first aduise of some occasion that should moue them thereunto: and hauing found any whatsoeuer did thinke it sufficiently iust, in respect of the earnest desire they had to seeke out matter that might colour their coming home.

Of these there were some, who hauing noted the late Flemish warres did finde that many yong men haue gone ouer and safely returned souldiers within fewe moneths, in hauing learned some wordes of Arte vsed in the warres, and thought after that good example to spend like time amongst vs: which being expired they beganne to quarrell at the great mortalitie that was amongst vs.

The neglect of discipline in the Armie, for that men were suffered to be drunke with the plentie of wines.

The scarsitie of Surgions.

The want of carriages for the hurt and sicke: and the penurie of victuals in the Campe:

Thereupon diuining that there would be no good done: And that therefore they could be content to lose their time, and aduenture to returne home againe.

These men haue either conceiued well of their owne wits (who by obseruing the passages of the warre were become sufficient souldiers in these fewe weeks, and did long to be at home, where their discourses might be wondred at) or missing of their Portegues and Milrayes * which they dreamed on in Portugall, would rather returne to their former maner of life, then attend the ende of the iourney. For seeing that one hazard brought another; and that though one escaped the bullet this day it might light vpon him to morow, the next day, or any day; and that the warre was not confined to any one place, but y^{t} euery place brought foorth new enemies, they were glad to see some of the poore souldiers fal sicke, y^{t} fearing to be infected by them they might iustly desire to go home.

---

* Coins current in Spain and Portugal.

Answere to the first.

The sicknesse I confesse was great, because any is too much. But hath it bene greater then is ordinary among Englishmen at their first entrance into the warres, whithersoeuer they goe to want the fulnesse of their flesh pots? Haue not ours decayed at all times in France, with eating yong fruits and drinking newe wines? haue they not abundantly perished in the Low countreys with cold, and rawnesse of the aire, euen in their garrisons? Haue there not more died in London in sixe moneths of the plague, then double our Armie being at the strongest? And could the Spanish armie the last yeere (who had all prouisions that could be thought on for an Armie, and tooke the fittest season in the yeere for our Climate) auoyd sicknes among their souldiers? May it then be thought that ours could escape there, where they found inordinate heat of weather, and hot wines to distemper them withall?

But can it be, that we haue lost so many as the common sort perswade themselues wee haue? It hath bene prooued by strickt examinations of our musters, that we were neuer in our fulnesse before our going from Plimouth 11000. souldiers, nor aboue 2500. Marriners. It is also euident that there returned aboue 6000. of all sorts, as appeareth by the seuerall paiments made to them since our comming home. And I haue truely shewed you that of these numbers very neere 3000. forsooke the Armie at the Sea, whereof some passed into France and the rest returned home. So as we neuer being 13000. in all, and hauing brought home aboue 6000. with vs, you may see how the world hath bene seduced, in belieuing that we haue lost 16000. men by sicknes.

Answere to the second.

To them that haue made question of the gouernment of the warres (little knowing what appertaineth thereunto in that there were so many drunkards amongst vs) I answere that in their gouernment of shires and parishes, yea in their very housholdes, themselues can hardly bridle their vassals from that vice. For we see it is a thing almost impossible, at any your Faires or publique assemblies to finde any quarter thereof sober, or in your Townes any Ale-poles vnfrequented: And we obserue that though any man hauing any disordered persons in their houses, do locke vp their drincke and set Butlers vpon it, that they will yet either by indirect meanes steale themselues drunke from their Masters tables, or runne abroad to seeke it. If then at home in the eyes of your Iustices, Maiors, Preachers, and Masters, and where they pay for euery pot they take, they cannot be kept from their liquor: doe they thinke that those base disordered persons whom themselues sent vnto vs, as liuing at home without rule, who hearing of wine doe long for it as a daintie that their purses could neuer reach to in England, and hauing it there without mony euen in their houses where they lie and hold their guard, can be kept from being drunk; and once drunke, held in any order or tune, except we had for euery drunkard an officer to attend him? But who be they that haue runne into these disorders? Euen our newest men, our yongest men, and our idelest men, and for the most part our slouenly prest men, whom the Iustices, (who haue alwayes thought vnwoorthily of any warre) haue sent out as the scumme and dregs of their countrey. And those were they, who distempering themselues with these hote wines, haue brought in that sicknesse, which hath infected honester men then themselues. But I hope, as in other places the recouerie of their diseases doeth acquaint their bodies with the aire of the countries where they be, so the remainder of these which haue either recouered, or past without sicknesse will proue most fit for Martiall seruices.

Answere to the third.

If we haue wanted Surgeons, may not this rather be laid vpon the captaines (who are to prouide for their seuerall Companies) then vpon the Generals, whose care hath bene more generall. And how may it be thought that euery captaine, vpon whom most of the charges of raising their Companies was laid as an aduenture, could prouide themselues of all things expedient for a war, which was alwaies wont to be maintained by the purse of the prince. But admit euery Captaine had his Surgeon: yet were the want of curing neuer the lesse: for our English Surgeons (for the most part) be vnexperienced in hurts that come by shot; because England hath not knowen wars but of late, from whose ignorance proceeded this discomfort, which I hope wil warne those y^{t} hereafter go to the wars to make preparation of such as may better preserue mens liues by their skill.

Answere to the fourth.

From whence the want of cariages did proceed, you may coniecture in y^{t} we marched through a countrey neither plentifull of such prouisions, nor wiliing to part from any thing: yet this I can assure you, that no man of worth was left either hurt or sicke in any place vnprouided for. And that the General commanded all the mules and asses that were laden with any baggage to be vnburdened and taken to that vse: and the earle of Essex and he for money hired men to cary men vpon pikes. And the earle (whose true vertue and nobilitie, as it doeth in all other his actions appeare, so did it very much in this) threw down his own stuffe, I meane apparel and necessaries which he had there, from his owne cariages, and let them be left by the way, to put hurt and sicke men vpon them. Of whose honourable deseruings I shall not need here to make any particular discourse, for that many of his actions do hereafter giue me occasion to obserue the same.

Answere to the fift.

And the great complaint that these men make for the want of victuals may well proceed from their not knowing the wants of the war; for if to feed vpon good bieues, muttons and goats, be to want, they haue endured great scarcitie at land, wherunto they neuer wanted, two daies together, wine to mixe with their water, nor bread to eat with their meat (in some quantitie) except it were such as had vowed rather to starue then to stir out of their places for food: of whom we had too many, who if their time had serued for it, might haue seen in many campes in the most plentifull countries of the world for victuals, men daily die with want of bread and drinke in not hauing money to buy, nor the countrey yeelding any good or healthful water in any place; whereas both Spaine and Portugall do in euery place affoord the best water that may be, and much more healthful then any wine for our drinking.

And although some haue most iniuriously exclaimed against the smal prouisions of victuals for the sea, rather grounding the same vpon an euill that might haue fallen, then any that did light vpon vs: yet know you this, that there is no man so forgetfull, that will say they wanted before they came to the Groine, that whosoeuer made not very large prouisions for himselfe and his company at the Groine, was very improuident, where was plentiful store of wine, biefe, and fish, and no man of place prohibited to lay in the same into their ships, wherewith some did so furnish themselues, as they did not onely in the iourney supplie the wants of such as were lesse provident then they, but in their returne home made a round commoditie of the remainder thereof. And that at Cascais there came in such store of prouisions into the Fleet out of England, as no man that would haue vsed his diligence could haue wanted his due proportion thereof, as might appeare by the remainder that was returned to Plimmouth, and the plentifull sale thereof made out of the marchants ships after their comming into the Thames.

But least I should seeme vnto you too studious in confuting idle opinions, or answering friuolous questions, I wil adresse me to the true report of those actions that haue passed therein: wherein I protest, I will neither hide any thing that hath hapned against vs, nor attribute more to any man or matter, then the iust occasions thereof lead me vnto: wherein it shall appeare that there hath bene nothing left vndone by the Generals which was before our going out vndertaken by them, but that there hath bene much more done then was at the first required by Don Antonio, who should haue reaped the fruit of our aduenture.

Our men land within a mile of the Groine the 20 of April.

After 6 daies sailing from the coast of England, and the 5 after we had the wind good being the 20 of April in the euening, we landed in a baie more then an English mile from the Groine, in our long boats and pinnasses without any impeachment: from whence we presently marched toward the towne, within one halfe mile we were encountred by the enemie who being charged by ours, retired into their gates. For that night our armie lay in the villages, houses and mils next adioining, and very neere round about the towne, into the which the Galeon named S. Iohn (which was the second of the last yeeres Fleet agaynst England) one hulke, two smaller ships and two Gallies which were found in the road, did beate vpon vs and vpon our Companies as they passed too and fro that night and the next morning. Generall Norris hauing that morning before day viewed the Towne, found the same defended on the land side (for it standeth vpon the necke of an Iland) with a wall vpon a dry ditch; whereupon he resolued to trie in two places what might bee done against it by escalade, and in the meane time aduised for the landing of some artillery to beat vpon the ships and gallies, that they might not annoy vs: which being put in execution, vpon the planting of the first piece the gallies abandoned the road, and betooke them to Feroll, not farre from thence: and the Armada being beaten with the artillery and musketers that were placed vpon the next shore, left her playing vpon vs. The rest of the day was spent in preparing the companies, and other prouisions ready for the surprise of the base towne which was effected in this sort.

There were appointed to be landed 1200 men vnder the conduct of Colonell Huntley, and Captaine Fenner the Viceadmirall, on that side next fronting vs by water in long boats and pinnesses, wherein were placed many pieces of artillery to beat vpon the towne in their aproch: at the corner of the wall which defended the other water side, were appointed Captaine Richard Wingfield Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Norris, and Captaine Sampson Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Drake to enter at low water with 500 men if they. found it passable, but if not, to betake them to the escalade, for they had also ladders with them: at the other corner of the wall which ioyned to that side that was attempted by water, were appointed Colonell Vmpton, and Colonell Bret with 300 men to enter by escalade. All the companies which should enter by boat being imbarked before the low water, and hauing giuen the alarme, Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Sampson betooke them to the escalade, for they had in commandement to charge all at one instant. The boats landed without any great difficulty: yet had they some men hurt in the landing. Colonell Bret and Colonell Vmpton entred their quarter without encounter, not finding any defence made against them: for Captaine Hinder being one of them that entred by water, at his first entry, with some of his owne company whom he trusted well, betooke himselfe to that part of the wall, which he cleared before that they offered to enter, and so still scoured the wall till hee came on the backe of them who mainteined the fight against Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Sampson; who were twise beaten from their ladders, and found very good resistance, till the enemies perceiuing ours entred in two places at their backs, were driuen to abandon the same. The reason why that place was longer defended then the other, is (as Don Iuan de Luna who commanded the same affirmeth) that the enemy that day had resolued in councell how to make their defences, if they were approched: and therein concluded, that, if we attempted it by water, it was not able to be held, and therefore vpon the discouery of our boats, they of the high towne should make a signall by fire from thence, that all the lowe towne might make their retreat thither: but they (whether troubled with the sudden terror we brought vpon them, or forgetting their decree) omitted the fire, which made them guard that place til we were entred on euery side.

Then the towne being entred in three seuerall places with an huge cry, the inhabitants betooke them to the high towne: which they might with lesse perill doe, for that ours being strangers there, knew not the way to cut them off. The rest that were not put to the sword in fury, fled to the rocks in the Iland, and others hid themselues in chambers and sellers, which were euery day found out in great numbers.

Amongst those Don Iuan de Luna, a man of very good commandement, hauing hidden himselfe in a house, did the next morning yeeld himselfe.

There was also taken that night a commissary of victuals called Iuan de Vera, who confessed that there were in the Groine at our entry 500 souldiours being in seuen companies which returned very weake (as appeareth by the small numbers of them) from the iourney of England, namely:

Vnder Don Iuan de Luna.

Don Diego Barran, a bastard sonne of the Marques of Santa Cruz; his company was that night in the Galeon.
Don Antonio de Herera then at Madrid.
Don Pedro de Manriques brother to the Earle of Paxides.
Don Ieronimo de Mourray of the Order of S. Iuan, with some of the towne were in the fort.
Don Gomez de Caramasal then at Madrid.
Captaine Manço Caucaso de Socas.

Also there came in that day of our landing from Retanzas the companies of Don Iohn de Mosalle, and Don Pedro Poure de Leon.
Also he saith that there was order giuen for baking of 300000 of biscuit, some in Batansas, some in Ribadeo, and the rest there.
There were then in the towne 2000 pipes of wine, and 150 in the ships.
That there were lately come vnto the Marques of Seralba 300000 ducats.
That there were 1000 iarres of oile.
A great quantity of beanes, peaze, wheat, and fish.
That there were 3000 quintals of beefe.
And that not twenty dayes before, there came in three barks laden with match and harquebuzes.

Some others also found fauour to be taken prisoners, but the rest falling into the hands of the common souldiers, had their throats cut, to the number of 500, as I coniecture, first and last, after we had entred the towne; and in the entry thereof there was found euery celler full of wine, whereon our men, by inordinate drinking, both grew themselues for the present senselesse of the danger of the shot of the towne, which hurt many of them being drunke, and tooke the first ground of their sicknesse; for of such was our first and chiefest mortality. There was also abundant store of victuals, salt, and all kinde of prouision for shipping and the warre: which was confessed by the sayd Commissary of victuals there, to be the beginning of a magasin of all sorts of prouision for a new voyage into England: whereby you may coniecture what the spoile thereof hath aduantaged vs, and preiudiced the king of Spaine.

The next morning about eight of the clocke the enemies abandoned their ships. And hauing ouercharged the artillery of ye gallion, left her on fire, which burnt in terrible sort two dayes together, the fire and ouercharging of the pieces being so great, as of fifty that were in her, there were not aboue sixteene taken out whole; the rest with ouercharge of the powder being broken, and molten with heat of the fire, were taken out in broken pieces into diuers shippes. The same day was the cloister on the South side of the towne entred by vs, which ioyned very neere to the wall of the towne, out of the chambers and other places whereof we beat into the same with our musquetiers.

The next day in the afternoone there came downe some 2000 men, gathered together out of the countrey, euen to the gates of the towne, as resolutely (ledde by what spirit I know not) as though they would haue entred the same: but at the first defence made by ours that had the guard there, wherein were slaine about eighteene of theirs, they tooke them to their heeles in the same disorder they made their approch, and with greater speed then ours were able to follow: notwithstanding we followed after them more then a mile. The second day Colonell Huntley was sent into the countrey with three or foure hundred men, who brought home very great store of kine and sheepe for our reliefe.

The third day in the night the Generall had in purpose to take a long munition-house builded vpon their wall, opening towards vs, which would haue giuen vs great aduantage against them; but they knowing the commodity thereof for vs, burnt it in the beginning of the euening; which put him to a new councell: for he had likewise brought some artillery to that side of the towne. During this time there happened a very great fire in the lower end of the towne; which, had it not bene by the care of the Generals heedily sene vnto, and the fury thereof preuented by pulling downe many houses which were most in danger, as next vnto them, had burnt all the prouisions we found there, to our woonderfull hinderance.

The fourth day were planted vnder the gard of the cloister two demy-canons, and two coluerings against the towne, defended or gabbioned with a crosse wall, thorow the which our battery lay; the first and second fire whereof shooke all the wall downe, so as all the ordinance lay open to the enemy, by reason whereof some of the Canoniers were shot and some slaine. The Lieutenant also of the ordinance, M. Spencer, was slaine fast by Sir Edward Norris, Master thereof: whose valour being accompanied with an honourable care of defending that trust committed vnto him, neuer left that place, till he receiued direction from the Generall his brother to cease the battery, which he presently did, leauing a gard vpon the same for that day; and in the night following made so good defence for the place of the battery, as after there were very few or none annoyed therein. That day Captaine Goodwin had in commandement from the Generall, that when the assault should be giuen to the towne, he should make a proffer of an escalade on the other side, where he held his guard: but he (mistaking the signall that should haue bene giuen) attempted the same long before the assault, and was shot in the mouth. The same day the Generall hauing planted his ordinance ready to batter, caused the towne to be summoned; in which summons they of the towne shot at our Drum: immediatly after that there was one hanged ouer the wall, and a parle desired; wherein they gaue vs to vnderstand, that the man hanged was he that shot at the Drum before: wherein also they intreated to haue faire warres, with promise of the same on their parts. The rest of the parle was spent in talking of Don Iuan de Luna, and some other prisoners, and somewhat of the rendring of the towne, but not much, for they listened not greatly thereunto.

Generall Norris hauing by his skilfull view of the towne (which is almost all seated vpon a rocke) found one place thereof mineable, did presently set workemen in hand withall; who after three dayes labour (and the seuenth after we were entred the base towne) had bedded their powder, but indeede not farre enough into the wall. Against which time the breach made by the canon being thought assaultable, and companies appointed as well to enter the same, as that which was expected should be blowen vp by the mine: namely, to that of the canon, Captaine Richard Wingfield, and Captaine Philpot who lead the Generals foot-companie, with whom also Captaine Yorke went, whose principall commandment was ouer the horsemen. And to that of the Myne, Captaine Iohn Sampson, and Captaine Anthonie Wingfield Lieutenant Colonell to the Master of the Ordinance, with certaine selected out of diuers Regiments. All these companies being in armes, and the assault intended to be giuen in al places at an instant, fire was put to the traine of the mine; but by reason the powder brake out backewards in a place where the caue was made too high, there could be nothing done in either place for that day. During this time Captaine Hinder was sent with some chosen out of euery company into the countrey for prouisions, whereof he brought in good store, and returned without losse.

The next day Captaine Anthony Sampson was sent out with some 500 to fetch in prouisions for the army, who was encountred by them of the countrey, but he put them to flight, and returned with good spoile. The same night the miners were set to worke againe, who by the second day after had wrought very well into the foundation of the wall. Against which time the companies aforesayd being in readinesse for both places (Generall Drake on the other side, with two or three hundred men in pinnesses, making proffer to attempt a strong fort vpon an Iland before the towne, where he left more then thirty men) fire was giuen to the traine of the mine, which blew vp halfe the tower vnder which the powder was planted. The assailants hauing in charge vpon the effecting of the mine presently to giue the assault, performed it accordingly; but too soone: for hauing entred the top of the breach, the other halfe of the tower, which with the first force of the powder was onely shaken and made loose, fell vpon our men: vnder which were buried about twenty or thirty, then being vnder that part of the tower. This so amazed our men that stood in the breach, not knowing from whence that terror came, as they forsooke their Commanders, and left them among the ruines of the mine. The two Ensignes of Generall Drake and Captaine Anthony Wingfield were shot in the breach, but their colours were rescued: the Generals by Captaine Sampsons Lieutenant, and Captaine Wingfields by himselfe. Amongst them that the wall fell vpon, was Captaine Sydenham pitifully lost; who hauing three or foure great stones vpon his lower parts, was held so fast, as neither himselfe could stirre, nor any reasonable company recouer him. Notwithstanding the next day being found to be aliue, there was ten or twelue lost in attempting to relieue him.

The breach made by the canon was woonderfully well assaulted by them that had the charge thereof, who brought their men to the push of the pike at the top of the breach. And being ready to enter, the loose earth (which was indeed but the rubbish of the outside of the wall) with the weight of them that were thereon slipped outwards from vnder their feet. Whereby did appeare halfe the wall vnbattered. For let no man thinke that culuerin or demy-canon can sufficiently batter a defensible rampire: and of those pieces which we had; the better of the demy-canons at the second shot brake in her carriages, so as the battery was of lesse force, being but of three pieces.

In our retreat (which was from both breaches thorow a narrow lane) were many of our men hurt: and Captaine Dolphin, who serued very well that day, was hurt in the very breach. The failing of this attempt, in the opinion of all the beholders, and of such as were of best iudgement, was the fall of the mine; which had doubtlesse succeeded, the rather, because the approch was vnlooked for by the enemy in that place, and therefore not so much defence made there as in the other; which made the Generall grow to a new resolution: for finding that two dayes battery had so little beaten their wall, and that he had no better preparation to batter withall: he knew in his experience, there was no good to be done that way; which I thinke he first put in proofe, to trie if by that terror he could get the vpper towne, hauing no other way to put it in hazzard so speedily, and which in my conscience had obtained the towne, had not the defendants bene in as great perill of their liues by the displeasure of their king in giuing it vp, as by the bullet or sword in defending the same. For that day before the assault, in the view of our army, they burnt a cloister within the towne, and many other houses adioyning to the castle, to make it more defensible: whereby it appeared how little opinion themselues had of holding it against vs, had not God (who would not haue vs suddenly made proud) layed that misfortune vpon vs.

Hereby it may appeare, that the foure canons, and other pieces of battery promised to the iourney, and not performed, might haue made her Maiesty mistresse of the Groine: for though the mine were infortunate, yet if the other breach had bene such as the earth would haue held our men thereon, I doe not thinke but they had entred it thorowly at the first assault giuen: which had bene more then I haue heard of in our age. And being as it was, is no more then the Prince of Parma hath in winning of all his townes endured, who neuer entred any place at the first assault, nor aboue three by assault.

The next day the Generall hearing by a prisoner that was brought in, that the Conde de Andrada had assembled an armie of eight thousand at Puente de Burgos, sixe miles from thence in the way to Petance, which was but the beginning of an armie: in that there was a greater leauie readie to come thither vnder the Conde de Altemira, either in purpose to relieue the Groine, or to encampe themselues neere the place of our embarking, there to hinder the same; for to that purpose had the marquesse of Seralba written to them both the first night of our landing, as the Commissarie taken then confessed, or at the least to stop our further entrance into the countrey, (for during this time, there were many incursions made of three or foure hundred at a time, who burnt, spoyled, and brought in victuals plentifully) the General, I say, hearing of this armie, had in purpose the next day following to visite them, agaynst whom hee caried but nine Regiments: in the vantgard were the Regiment of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Edward Norris, and Colonell Sidney: in the Battaile, that of the Generall, of Colonell Lane, and Colonel Medkerk: and in the Rereward, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonell Huntley, and Colonell Brets Regiments; leauing the other fiue Regiments with Generall Drake, for the guard of the Cloister and Artillerie. About ten of the clocke the next day, being the sixt of May, halfe a mile from the campe, we discouering the enemy, Sir Edward Norris, who commanded the vantgard in chiefe, appointed his Lieutenant Colonell Captaine Anthonie Wingfield to command the shot of the same, who diuided them into three troups; the one he appointed to Captaine Middleton to be conducted in a way on the left hand: another to Captaine Erington to take the way on the right hand, and the body of them (which were Musquetiers) Captaine Wingfield tooke himselfe, keeping the direct way of the march. But the way taken by Captaine Middleton met a little before with the way held by Captaine Wingfield, so as he giuing the first charge vpon the enemy, was in the instant seconded by Captaine Wingfield, who beat them from place to place (they hauing very good places of defence, and crosse walles which they might haue held long) till they betooke them to their bridge, which is ouer a creeke comming out of the Sea, builded of stone vpon arches. On the foot of the further side whereof, lay the Campe of the enemy very strongly entrenched, who with our shot beaten to the further end of the bridge, Sir Edward Norris marching in the point of the pikes, without stay passed to the bridge, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, Captaine Hinder, Captaine Fulford, and diuers others, who found the way cleare ouer the same, but through an incredible volley of shot; for that the shot of their army flanked vpon both sides of the bridge, the further end whereof was barricaded with barrels: but they who should haue guarded the same, seeing the proud approch we made, forsooke the defence of the barricade, where Sir Edward entred, and charging the first defendant with his pike, with very earnestnesse in ouerthrusting, fell, and was grieuously hurt at the sword in the head, but was most honourably rescued by the Generall his brother, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, and some other gentlemen: Captaine Hinder also hauing his Caske shot off, had fiue wounds in the head and face at the sword: and Captaine Fulford was shot into the left arme at the same encounter: yet were they so thorowly seconded by the Generall, who thrust himselfe so neere to giue encouragement to the attempt (which was of woonderfull difficulty) as their brauest men that defended that place being ouerthrowen, their whole army fell presently into rout, of whom our men had the chase three miles in foure sundry wayes, which they betooke themselues vnto. There was taken the Standard with the Kings armes, and borne before the Generall. How many two thousand men (for of so many consisted our vantgard) might kill in pursuit of foure sundry parties, so many you may imagine fell before vs that day. And to make the number more great, our men hauing giuen ouer the execution, and returning to their standes, found many hidden in the Vineyards and hedges, which they dispatched. Also Colonell Medkerk was sent with his regiment three miles further to a Cloister, which he burnt and spoiled, wherein he found two hundred more, and put them to the sword. There were slaine in this fight on our side onely Captaine Cooper and one priuate souldier; Captaine Barton was also hurt vpon the bridge in the eye. But had you seene the

The notable ouerthrow giuen to the Spaniards at Puente de Burgos.

strong baricades they had made on either side of the bridge, and how strongly they lay encamped thereabouts, you would haue thought it a rare resolution of ours to giue so braue a charge vpon an army so strongly lodged. After the furie of the execution, the Generall sent the vantgard one way, and the battell another, to burne and spoile; so as you might haue seene the countrey more then three miles compasse on fire. There was found very good store of munition and victuals in the Campe, some plate and rich apparell, which the better sort left behinde, they were so hotly pursued. Our sailers also landed in an Iland next adioyning to our ships, where they burnt and spoiled all they found. Thus we returned to the Groine, bringing small comfort to the enemy within the same, who shot many times at vs as we marched out; but not once in our comming backe againe.

The next day was spent in shipping our artillery landed for the battery, and of the rest taken at the Groine, which had it bene such as might haue giuen vs any assurance of a better battery, or had there bene no other purpose of our iourney but that, I thinke the Generall would haue spent some more time in the siege of the place.

The last two nights, there were that vndertooke to fire the higher towne in one place, where the houses were builded vpon the wall by the water side: but they within suspecting as much, made so good defence against vs, as they preuented the same. In our departure there was fire put into euery house of the low towne, insomuch as I may iustly say, there was not one house left standing in the base towne, or the cloister.

The next day being the eight of May, we embarked our army without losse of a man, which (had we not beaten the enemy at Puente de Burgos) had bene impossible to haue done; for that without doubt they would haue attempted something against vs in our imbarking: as appeared by the report of the Commissary aforesayd, who confessed, that the first night of our landing the Marques of Seralba writ to the Conde de Altemira, the Conde de Andrada, and to Terneis de Santisso, to bring all the forces against vs that they could possible raise, thinking no way so good to assure that place, as to bring an army thither, where withall they might either besiege vs in their base towne, if we should get it, or to lie betweene vs and our place of imbarking, to fight with us vpon the aduantage; for they had aboue 15000 souldiers vnder their commandements.

After we had put from thence, we had the winde so contrary, as we could not vnder nine dayes recouer the Burlings: in which passage on the thirteenth day the Earle of Essex, and with him M. Walter Deuereux his brother (a Gentleman of woonderfull great hope) Sir Roger Williams Colonell generall of the footmen, Sir Philip Butler, who hath alwayes bene most inward with him, and Sir Edward Wingfield, came into the fleet. The Earle hauing put himselfe into the iourney against the opinion of the world, and as it seemed to the hazzard of his great fortune, though to the great aduancement of his reputation, (for as the honourable cariage of himselfe towards all men doth make him highly esteemed at home; so did his exceeding forwardnesse in all seruices make him to bee woondered at amongst vs) who, I say, put off in the same winde from Falmouth, that we left Plimmouth in, where he lay, because he would auoid the importunity of messengers that were dayly sent for his returne, and some other causes more secret to himselfe, not knowing (as it seemed) what place the Generals purposed to land in, had bene as farre as Cadiz in Andaluzia, and lay vp and downe about the South Cape, where he tooke some ships laden with corne, and brought them vnto the fleet. Also in his returne from thence to meet with our fleet, he fell with the Ilands of Bayon; and on that side of the riuer which Cannas standeth vpon, he, with Sir Roger Williams, and those Gentlemen that were with him went on shore, with some men out of the ship he was in, whom the enemy, that held guard vpon that coast, would not abide, but fled vp into the countrey.

The 16 day we landed at Peniche in Portugall, vnder the shot of the castle, and aboue the waste in water, more then a mile from the towne, wherein many were in perill of drowning, by reason the winde was great, and the sea went high, which ouerthrew one boat, wherein fiue and twenty of Captaine Dolphins men perished. The enemy being fiue companies of Spaniards vnder the commandement of the Conde de Fuentes, sallied out of the towne against vs, and in our landing made their approch close by the water side. But the Earle of Essex with Sir Roger Williams, and his brother, hauing landed sufficient number to make two troups, left one to holde the way by the water side, and led the other ouer the Sandhils; which the enemy seeing, drew theirs likewise further into the land; not, as we coniectured, to encounter vs, but indeed to make their speedy passage away: notwithstanding, they did it in such sort, as being charged by ours which were sent out by the Colonell generall vnder Captaine Iackson, they stood the same euen to the push of the pike: in which charge and at the push, Captaine Robert Piew was slaine. The enemy being fled further then we had reason to follow them, all our companies were drawen to the towne; which being vnfortified in any place, we found vndefended by any man against vs. And therefore the Generall caused the castle to be summoned that night; which being abandoned by him that commanded it, a Portugall named Antonio de Aurid, being possessed thereof, desired but to be assured that Don Antonio was landed, whereupon he would deliuer the same; which he honestly performed.

Peniche taken.

There was taken out of the castle some hundred shot and pikes, which Don Emanuel furnished his Portugals withall, and twenty barrels of powder: so as possessing both the towne and the castle, we rested there one day: wherein some Friers and other poore men came vnto their new king, promising in the name of their countrey next adioyning, that within two dayes he should haue a good supply of horse and foote for his assistance. That day we remained there, the Generals company of horses were vnshipped.

The Generals there fully resolued, that the armie should march ouer land to Lisbone vnder the conduct of Generall Norris; and that Generall Drake should meete him in the riuer therof with the Fleete; and there should be one Company of foote left in the garde of the Castle, and sixe in the ships: also that the sicke and hurt should remaine there with prouisions for their cures. The Generall, to trie the euent of the matter by expedition, the next day beganne to march in this sort: his owne Regiment, and the Regiment of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonell Lane, and Colonell Medkerk, in the vantgard: Generall Drake, Colonell Deuereux, Sir Edward Norris, and Colonell Sidneis in the battel: Sir Iames Hales, Sir Edward Wingfield, Colonell Vmptons, Colonell Huntlies, and Colonell Brets in the arrereward. By that time our army was thus marshalled, Generall Drake, although hee were to passe by Sea, yet to make knowen the honourable desire he had of taking equall part of all fortunes with vs, stood vpon the ascent of an hill, by the which our battalions must of necessity march, and with a pleasing kindnesse tooke his leaue seuerally of the Commanders of euery regiment, wishing vs all most happy successe in our iourney ouer the land, with a constant promise that he would, if the iniury of the weather did not hinder him, meet vs in the riuer of Lisbon with our fleet. The want of cariages the first day was such, as they were enforced to cary their munition vpon mens backs, which was the next day remedied.

In this march captaine Crispe the Prouost Marshall caused one who (contrary to the Proclamation published at our arriuall in Portugall) had broken vp an house for pillage, to be hanged, with the cause of his death vpon his brest, in the place where the act was committed: which good example prouidently giuen in the beginning of our march, caused the commandement to be more respectiuely regarded all the iourney after, by them whom feare of punishment doeth onely holde within compasse. The campe lodged that night at Lorinha: the next day we had intelligence all the way, that the enemy had made head of horse and foot against vs at Torres Vedras, which we thought they would haue held: but comming thither the second day of our march, not two houres before our vantgard came in, they left the towne and the castle to the possession of Don Antonio.

There began the greatest want we had of victuals, especially of bread, vpon a commandement giuen from the Generall, that no man should spoile the countrey, or take any thing from any Portugall: which was more respectiuely obserued, then I thinke would haue bene in our owne countrey, amongst our owne friends and kindred: but the countrey (contrary to promise) wholly neglected the prouision of victuals for vs, whereby we were driuen for that time into a great scarsity. Which mooued the Colonell generall to call all the Colonels together, and with them to aduise for some better course for our people: who thought it best, first to aduertise the king what necessity we were in, before we should of our selues alter the first institution of abstinence. The Colonell generall hauing acquainted the Generall herewith, with his very good allowance thereof, went to the king: who after some expostulations vsed, tooke the more carefull order for our men, and after that our army was more plentifully relieued.

The third day we lodged our army in three sundry villages, the one battalion lying in Exarama de los Caualleros, another in Exarama do Obispo, and the third in San Sebastian.

Captaine Yorke who commanded the Generals horse company, in this march made triall of the valour of the horsemen of the enemy; who by one of his Corporals charged with eight horses thorow 40 of them, and himselfe thorow more than 200 with forty horses: who would abide him no longer then they could make way from him.

The next day we marched to Lores, and had diuers intelligences that the enemy would tary vs there: for the Cardinall had made publique promise to them of Lisbon, that he would fight with vs in that place, which he might haue done aduantageously; for we had a bridge to passe ouer in the same place: but before our comming he dislodged, notwithstanding it appeared vnto vs that he had in purpose to encampe there; for we found the ground staked out where their trenches should haue bene made: and their horsemen with some few shot shewed themselues vpon an hill at our comming into that village; whom Sir Henry Norris (whose regiment had the point of the vantgard) thought to draw vnto some fight, and therefore marched without sound of drumme, and somewhat faster then ordinary, thereby to get neere them before he were discouered, for he was shadowed from them by an hil that was betweene him and them: but before he could draw his companies any thing neere, they retired.

General Drakes regiment that night, for the commodity of good lodging, drew themselues into a village, more than one English mile from thence, and neere the enemy: who not daring to do any thing against vs in foure dayes before, tooke that occasion, and in the next morning fell downe vpon that regiment, crying, Viua el Rey Don Antonio, which was a generall salutation thorow all the Countrey, as they came: whom our yoong shouldiers (though it were vpon their guard, and before the watch was discharged) began to entertaine kindly, but hauing got within their guard, they fell to cut their throats: but the alarme being taken inwards, the officers of the two next Companies, whose Captaines (Captaine Sydnam and Captaine Young) were lately dead at the Groine, brought downe their colours and pikes vpon them in so resolute manner, as they presently draue them to retire with losse: they killed of ours at their first entrance fourteene, and hurt sixe or seuen.

The next day we lodged at Aluelana within three miles of Lisbon, where many of our souldiers drinking in two places of standing waters by the way were poisoned, and thereon presently died. Some do think it came rather by eating hony, which they found in the houses plentifully. But whether it were by water or by hony, the poor men were poisoned.

That night the Earle of Essex, and Sir Rodger Williams went out about eleuen of the clock with 1000 men to lie in ambuscade neere the town, and hauing layed the same very neere, sent some to giue the alarme vnto the enemy: which was well performed by them that had the charge thereof, but the enemy refused to issue after them, so as the Earle returned assone as it was light without doing any thing, though he had in purpose, and was ready to haue giuen an honourable charge on them.

The 25 of May in the euening we came to the suburbs of Lisbon: at the very entrance whereof Sir Rodger Williams calling Captaine Anthony Wingfield with him, tooke thirty shot or thereabouts, and first scowred all the streets till they came very neere the town; where they found none but old folks and beggars, crying, Viua el Rey Don Antonio, and the houses shut vp: for they had caried much of their wealth into the towne, and had fired some houses by the water side, full of corne and other prouisions of victuals, least we should be benefited thereby, but yet left behinde them great riches in many houses.

The foure regiments that had the vantgard that day, which were Colonell Deuereux, Sir Edward Norris, Colonell Sidneys, and Generall Drakes (whom I name as they marched) the Colonell generall caused to hold guard in the neerest street of the Suburbs: the battell and arreward stood in armes all the night in the field neere to Alcantara. Before morning Captaine Wingfield, by direction from the Colonell generall Sir Roger Williams, held guard with Sir Edward Norris his regiment in three places very neere the town wall, and so held the same till the other regiments came in the morning. About midnight they within the towne burnt all their houses that stood upon their wall either within or without, least we possessing them, might thereby greatly haue annoyed the towne.

The next morning Sir Roger Williams attempted (but not without peril) to take a church called S. Antonio, which ioyned to the wall of the towne, and would haue bene a very euill neighbor to the towne: but the enemy hauing more easie entry into it then we gained it before vs. The rest of that morning was spent in quartering the battell and arrereward in the Suburbs called Bona Vista, and in placing Musquetiers in houses, to front their shot vpon the wall, who from the same scowred the great streets very dangerously.

By this time our men being thorowly weary with our six days march, and the last nights watch, were desirous of rest; whereof the enemy being aduertised, about one or two of the clocke sallied out of the towne, and made their approach in three seuerall streets vpon vs, but chiefly in Colonell Brets quarter: who (as most of the army was) being at rest, with as much speed as he could, drew his men to armes, and made head against them so thorowly, as himselfe was slaine in the place, Captaine Carsey shot thorow the thigh, of which hurt he died within foure dayes after, Captaine Carre slaine presently, and Captaine Caue hurt (but not mortally) who were all of his regiment.

This resistance made aswell here, as in other quarters where Colonell Lane and Colonell Medkerk commanded, put them to a sudden foule retreat; insomuch, as the Earle of Essex had the chase of them euen to the gates of the towne, wherein they left behinde them many of their best Commanders: their troupe of horsemen also came out, but being charged by Captaine Yorke, withdrew themselues again. Many of them also left the streets, and betooke them to houses which they found open: for the Sergeant maior Captaine Wilson slew with his owne hands three or foure, and caused them that were with him to kill many others. Their losse I can assure you did triple ours, as well in quality as in quantity

During our march to this place, Generall Drake with the whole fleet was come into Cascais, and possessed the towne without any resistance: many of the inhabitants at their discouery of our nauy, fledde with their baggage into the mountaines, and left the towne for any man that would possesse it, till Generall Drake sent vnto them by a Portugall Pilot which he had on boord, to offer them all peaceable kindnesse, so farre foorth as they would accept of their King, and minister necessaries to all the army he had brought; which offer they ioyfully imbraced, and presently sent two chiefe men of their towne, to signifie their loyalty to Don Antonio, and their honest affections to our people. Whereupon the Generall landed his companies not farre from the Cloister called San Domingo, but not without perill of the shot of the castle, which being guarded by 65 Spaniards, held still against him.

As our fleet were casting ancre when the came first into that road, there was a small ship of Brasil that came from thence, which bare with them, and seemed by striking her sailes, as though she would also haue ancred: but taking her fittest occasion hoised againe, and would haue passed vp the riuer, but the Generall presently discerning her purpose, sent out a pinnesse or two after her, which forced her in such sort, as she ran herselfe upon the Rocks: all the men escaped out of her, and the lading (being many chests of sugar) was made nothing woorth, by the salt water. In his going thither also, he tooke ships of the port of Portugall, which were sent from thence, with fifteene other from Pedro Vermendes Xantes Sergeant maior of the same place, laden with men and victuals to Lisbon: the rest that escaped put into Setuuel.

The next day it pleased Generall Norris to call all the Colonels together, and to aduise with them, whether it were more expedient to tary there to attend the forces of the Portugall-horse and foot, whereof the King had made promise, and to march some conueuient number to Cascais to fetch our artillery and munition, which was all at our ships, sauing that which for the necessity of the seruice was brought along with vs: whereunto, some caried away with the vaine hope of Don Antonio, that most part of the towne stood for vs, held it best to make our abode there, and to send some 3000 for our artillery; promising to themselues, that the enemy being wel beaten the day before, would make no more sallies: some others (whose vnbeliefe was very strong of any hope from the Portugall) perswaded rather to march wholly away, then to be any longer carried away with the opinion of things, whereof there was so little appearance. The Generall not willing to leaue any occasion of blotte to be layed vpon him for his speedy going from thence, nor to lose any more time by attending the hopes of Don Antonio; tolde them, that though the expedition of Portugall were not the onely purpose of their iourney, but an aduenture therein (which if it succeeded prosperously, might make them sufficiently rich, and woonderfull honourable) and that they had done so much already in triall thereof, as what end soeuer happened, could nothing impaire their credits: yet in regard of the Kings last promise, that he should haue that night 3000 men armed of his owne Countrey, he would not for that night dislodge. And if they came thereby to make him so strong, that he might send the like number for his munition, he would resolue to trie his fortune for the towne. But if they came not, he found it not conuenient to diuide his forces, by sending any to Cascais, and keeping a remainder behinde, sithence he saw them the day before so boldly sally vpon his whole army, and knew that they were stronger of Souldiours armed within the towne, then he was without: and that before our returne could be from Cascais, they expected more supplies from all places, of Souldiours: for the Duke of Bragança, and Don Francisco de Toledo were looked for with great reliefe. Whereupon his conclusion was, that if the 3000 promised came not that night, to march wholly away the next morning.

It may be here demanded, why a matter of so great moment should be so slenderly regarded, as that the Generall should march with such an army against such an enemy, before he knew either the fulnesse of his owne strength, or certaine meanes how he should abide the place when he should come to it. Wherein I pray you remember the Decrees made in the Councell at Peniche, and confirmed by publique protestation the first day of our march, that our nauy should meet vs in the riuer of Lisbon, in the which was the store of all our prouisions, and so the meane of our tariance in that place, which came not, though we continued till we had no munition left to entertaine a very small fight. We are also to consider, that the King of Portugall (whether carried away with imagination by the aduertisements he receiued from the Portugals, or willing by any promise to bring such an army into his Countrey, thereby to put his fortune once more in triall) assured the Generall, that vpon his first landing, there would be a reuolt of his subiects: whereof there was some hope giuen at our first entry to Peniche, by the maner of the yeelding of that towne and fort, which made the Generall thinke it most conuenient speedily to march to the principall place, thereby to giue courage to the rest of the Countrey. The Friers also and the poore people that came vnto him, promised, that within two dayes the gentlemen and others of the Countrey would come plentifully in: within which two dayes came many more Priests, and some very few gentlemen on horsebacke; but not til we came to Torres Vedras: where they that noted the course of things how they passed, might somewhat discouer the weaknesse of that people. There they tooke two dayes more: and at the end thereof referred him till our comming to Lisbon, with assurance, that so soone as our army should be seene there, all the inhabitants would be for the King and fall vpon the Spaniards.

After two nights tariance at Lisbon, the King, as you haue heard, promised a supply of 3000 foot, and some horse: but all his appointments being expired, euen to the last of a night, all his horse could not make a cornet of 40, nor his foot furnish two ensignes fully, although they caried three or foure colours: and these were altogether such as thought to inrich themselues by the ruine of their neighbours: for they committed more disorders in euery place where we came by spoile, then any of our owne.

The Generall, as you see, hauing done more then before his comming out of England was required by the King, and giuen credit to his many promises, euen to the breach of the last, he desisted not to perswade him to stay yet nine dayes longer: in which time he might haue engaged himselfe further, then with any honour he could come out of againe, by attempting a towne fortified, wherein were more men armed against vs, then we had to oppugne them withall, our artillery and munition being fifteene miles from vs, and our men then declining; for there was the first shew of any great sickenesse amongst them. Whereby it seemeth, that either his prelacy did much abuse him in perswading him to hopes, whereof after two or three dayes he saw no semblance: or he like a silly louer, who promiseth himselfe fauor by importuning a coy mistresse, thought by our long being before his towne, that in the end taking pity on him, they would let him in.

What end the Friers had by following him with such deuotion, I know not, but sure I am, the Laity did respite their homage till they might see which way the victory would sway; fearing to shew themselues apparently vnto him, least the Spaniard should after our departure (if we preuailed not) call them to account: yet sent they vnder hand messages to him of obedience, thereby to saue their owne, if he became King; but indeed very well contented to see the Spaniards and vs try by blowes, who should carry away the crowne. For they be of so base a mould, as they can very wel subiect themselues to any gouernment, where they may liue free from blowes, and haue liberty to become rich, being loth to endure hazzard either of life or goods. For durst they haue put on any minds thorowly to reuolt, they had three woonderfull good occasions offered them during our being there.

Themselues did in generall confesse, that there were not aboue 5000 Spaniards in that part of the Countrey, of which number the halfe were out of the towne till the last day of our march: during which time, how easily they might haue preuailed against the rest, any man may conceiue. But vpon our approch they tooke them all in, and combined themselues in generall to the Cardinall.

The next day after our comming thither, when the sally was made vpon vs by their most resolute Spaniards, how easily might they haue kept them out, or haue giuen vs the gate which was held for their retreat, if they had had any thought thereof?

And two dayes after our comming to Cascais, when 6000 Spaniards and Portugals came against vs as farre as S. Iulians by land, as you shal presently heare (all which time I thinke there were not many Spaniards left in the towne) they had a more fit occasion to shew their deuotion to the King, then any could be offered by our tarying there. And they could not doubt, that if they had shut them out, but that we would haue fought with them vpon that aduantage, hauing sought them in Galitia vpon disaduantage to beat them: and hauing taken so much paines to seeke them at their owne houses, whereof we gaue sufficient testimony in the same accident. But I thinke the feare of the Spaniard had taken so deepe impression within them, as they durst not attempt any thing against them vpon any hazzard.

For, what ciuill countrey hath euer suffered themselues to be conquered so few men as they were; to be depriued of their naturall King, and to be tyrannized ouer thus long, but they? And what countrey, liuing in slauery vnder a stranger whom they naturally hate, hauing an army in the field to fight for them and their liberty, would lie still with the yoke vpon their necks, attending if any strangers would vnburthen them, without so much as rousing themselues vnder it, but they? They will promise much in speeches, for they be great talkers, whom the Generall had no reason to distrust without triall, and therefore marched on into their countrey: but they performed little in action, whereof we could haue had no proofe without this thorow triall. Wherein he hath discouered their weaknesse, and honorably performed more then could be in reason expected of him: which had he not done, would not these maligners, who seeke occasions of slander, haue reported him to be suspicious of a people, of whose infidelity he had no testimony: and to be fearefull without cause, if he had refused to giue credit to their promises without any aduenture? Let no friuolous questionist therefore further enquire why he marched so many dayes to Lisbon, and taried there so small a while.

The next morning, seeing no performance of promise kept, he gaue order for our marching away; himselfe, the Earle of Essex, and Sir Roger Williams remaining with the stand that was made in the high street, till the whole army was drawen into the field, and marched out of the towne, appointing Captaine Richard Wingfield, and Captaine Anthony Wingfield in the arrereward of them with the shot; thinking that the enemy (as it was most likely) would haue issued out vpon our rising; but they were otherwise aduised. When we were come into the field, euery battalion fell into that order which by course appertained vnto them, and so marched that night vnto Cascais. Had we marched thorow this Countrey as enemies, our Souldiours had beene well supplied in all their wants: but had we made enemies of the Suburbs of Lisbon, we had beene the richest army that euer went out of England: for besides the particular wealth of euery house, there were many Warehouses by the water side full of all sorts of rich marchandizes.

In our march that day the gallies which had somewhat, but not much, annoyed vs at Lisbon, (for that our way lay along the riuer) attended vs till we were past S. Iulians, bestowing many shot amongst vs, but did no harme at all, sauing that they strooke off a gentlemans leg, and killed the Sergeant maiors moile vnder him. The horsemen also followed vs afarre off, and cut off as many sicke men as were not able to holde in marche, nor we had cariage for.

After we had bene two dayes at Cascais, we had intelligence by a Frier, that the enemy was marching strongly towards vs, and then came as farre as S. Iulian: which newes was so welcome to the Earle of Essex and the Generals, as they offered euery one of them to giue the messenger an hundred crownes if they found them in the place; for the Generall desiring nothing more then to fight with them in field roome, dispatched that night a messenger with a trumpet, by whom he writ a cartell to the Generall of their army, wherein he gaue them the lie, in that it was by them reported that we dislodged from Lisbon in disorder and feare of them (which indeed was most false) for that it was fiue of the clocke in the morning before we fell into armes, and then went in such sort, as they had no courage to follow out vpon vs. Also he challenged him therein, to meet him the next morning with his whole army, if he durst attend his comming, and there to try out the iustnesse of their quarrel by battell: by whom also the Earle of Essex (who preferring the honor of the cause, which was his countreys, before his owne safety) sent a particular cartel, offering himselfe against any of theirs, if they had any of his quality; or if they would not admit of that; sixe, eight, or tenne, or as many as they would appoint, should meet so many of theirs in the head of our battell to trie their fortunes with them; and that they should haue assurance of their returne and honourable intreaty.

The Generall accordingly made all his army ready by three of the clocke in the morning and marched euen to the place where they had encamped, but they were dislodged in the night in great disorder, being taken with a sudden feare that we had bene come vpon them, as the Generall was the next day certainely informed: so as the Trumpet followed them to Lisbon, but could not get other answere to either of his letters, but threatening to be hanged, for daring to bring such a message. Howbeit the Generall had caused to be written vpon the backside of their passport, that if they did offer any violence vnto the messengers, he would hang the best prisoners he had of theirs: which made them to aduise better of the matter, and to returne them home; but without answere.

After our army came to Cascais, and the castle summoned, the Castellan thereof granted, that vpon fiue or sixe shot of the canon he would deliuer the same, but not without sight thereof. The Generall thinking that his distresse within had bene such for want of men or victuals as he could not holde it many dayes, because he saw it otherwise defensible enough, determined rather to make him yeeld to that necessity then to bring the cannon, and therefore onely set a gard vpon the same, lest any supply of those things which he wanted should be brought vnto them. But he still standing vpon those conditions, the Generall about two dayes before he determined to goe to Sea, brought three or foure pieces of battery against it: vpon the first fire whereof he surrendered, and compounded to go away with his baggage and armies; he had one canon, two culuerings, one basiliske, and three or foure other field pieces, threescore and fiue Souldiours, very good store of munition and victualles enough in the Castle: insomuch as he might haue held the same longer then the Generall had in purpose to tarry there. One company of footmen was put into the guard thereof, till the artillery was taken out, and our army embarked; which without hauing that fort, we could not without great perill haue done. When we were ready to set saile (one halfe of the fort being by order from the Generall blowen vp by mine) the company was drawne away.

During the time we lay in the road, our fleet began the second of Iune, and so continued sixe dayes after to fetch in some hulks to the number of threescore, of Dansik, Stetin, Rostock, Lubeck and Hamburgh, laden with Spanish goods, and as it seemed for the kings prouision, and going for Lisbon: their principall lading was Corne, Masts, Cables, Copper, and waxe: amongst which were some of great burthen woonderful well builded for sailing, which had no great lading in them, and therefore it was thought that they were brought for the kings prouision, to reinforce his decayed nauy: whereof there was the greater likelyhood, in that the owner of the greatest of them which caried two misnes, was knowen to be very inward with the Cardinall, who rather then he would be taken with his ships, committed himself vnto his small boat, wherein he recouered S. Sebastians: into the which our men, that before were in flieboats, were shipped, and the flieboats sent home with an offer of corne, to the value of their hire. But the winde being good for them for Rochel, they chuse rather to lose their corne then the winde, and so departed. The Generall also sent his horses with them, and from thence shipped them into England.

The third of Iune, Colonell Deuereux and Colonell Sidney, being both very sicke, departed for England, who in the whole iourney had shewed themselues very forward to all seruices, and in their departure very vnwilling to leave vs: that day we imbarked all our army, but lay in the road vntill the eight thereof.

The sixt day the Earle of Essex, vpon receit of letters from her Maiesty, by them that brought in the victuals, presently departed towards England, with whom Sir Roger Williams was very desirous to go, but found the Generalls very vnwilling he should do so, in that he bare the next place vnto them, and if they should miscarry, was to command the army. And the same day there came vnto vs two small barks that brought tidings of some other shippes come out of England with victuals, which were passed vpwards to the Cape: for meeting with whom, the second day after we set saile for that place, in purpose after our meeting with them to go with the Iles of Açores, the second day, which was the ninth, we met with them comming backe againe towards vs, whose prouision little answered our expectation. Notwithstanding we resolued to continue our course for the Ilands.

About this time was the Marchant Royall, with three or foure other ships, sent to Peniche, to fetch away the companies that were left there; but Captaine Barton hauing receiued letters from the Generals that were sent ouerland, was departed before not being able by reason of the enemies speedy marching thither either to bring away the artillery, or all his men, according to the direction those letters gaue him; for he was no sooner gone than the enemy possessed both town and castle, and shot at our ships as they came into the road.

At this time also was the Ambassador from the Emperor of Marocco, called Reys Hamet Bencasamp, returned, and with him M. Ciprian, a gentleman of good place and desert, was sent from Don Antonio, and Captaine Ousley from the Generals to the Emperor.

The next morning the nine gallies which were sent not fiue dayes before out of Andaluzia for the strengthening of the riuer of Lisbon (which being ioyned with the other twelue that were there before, though we lay hard by them at S. Iulians, durst neuer make any attempt against vs) vpon our departure from thence returning home, and in the morning being a very dead calme, in the dawning thereof, fell in the winde of our fleet, in the vttermost part whereof they assailed one stragling barke of Plimmouth, of the which Captaine Cauerly being Captaine of the land company, with his Lieutenant, the Master and some of the Mariners abandoned the ship, and betooke them to ship-boats, whereof one, in which the Master and Captaine were, was ouerrunne with the gallies, and they drowned. There were also two hulks stragled farre from the strength of the other ships, which were so calmed, as neither they could get to vs, or we to them, though all the great shippes towed with their boats to haue releiued them, but could not be recouered; in one of which was Captaine Minshaw with his company, who fought with them to the last, yea after his ship was on fire, which whether it was fired by himselfe or by them we could not wel discerne, but might easily iudge by his long and good fight, that the enemy could not but sustaine much loose: who setting also vpon one other hulke wherein was but a Lieutenant, were by the valour of the Lieutenant put off although they had first beaten her with their artillery, and attempted to boord her. And seeing also another hulke a league off, a sterne off vs, they made towards her; but finding that she made ready to fight with them, they durst not further attempt her: whereby it seemed, their losse being great in other fights, they were loth to proceed any further.

From that day till the 19 of Iune, our direction from the

Generall was, that if the wind were Northerly, we should plie for the Açores; but if Southerly, for the Iles of Bayon. We lay with contrary windes, about that place and the Rocke, till the Southerly winde preuailing carried vs to Bayon: part of our ships to the number of 25, in a great winde which was two dayes before, hauing lost the Admirals and the fleet, according to their direction, fell in the morning of that day with Bayon, among whom was Sir Henry Norris in the Ayde; who had in purpose (if the Admirals had not come in) with some 500 men out of them all to haue landed, and attempted the taking of Vigo. The rest of the fleet held with Generall Drake, who though he were two dayes before put vpon those Ilands, cast off againe to sea for the Açores: but remembering how vnprouided he was for iourney and seeing that he had lost company of his great ships, returned for Bayon, and came in there that night in the euening where he passed vp the riuer more than a mile aboue Vigo.

The next morning we landed as many as were able to fight, which were not in the whole aboue 2000 men (for in the 17 dayes we continued on boord we had cast many of our men ouerboord) with which number the Colonell generall marched to the towne of Vigo, neere the which when he approched, he sent Captaine Anthony Wingfield with a troupe of shot to enter one side of the same, who found vpon euery streets end a strong barricade, but altogether abandoned; for hauing entered the towne, he found but one man therein, but might see them making way before him to Bayon. On the other side of the towne entred Generall Drake with Captaine Richard Wingfield, whose approch on that side (I thinke) made them leaue the places they had so artificially made for defence: there were also certaine shippes sent with the Vice-admirall to lie close before the towne to beat vpon the same with their artillery.

Vigo taken.

In the afternoone were sent 300 vnder the conduct of Captaine Petuin and Captaine Henry Poure, to burne another village betwixt that and Bayon, called Borsis, and as much of the country as the day would giue them leaue to do; which was a very pleasant rich valley: but they burnt it all, houses and corne, as did others on the other side of the towne, both that and the next day, so as the countrey was spoiled seuen or eight miles in length. There was found great store of wine in the towne, but not any thing els: for the other dayes warning of the shippes that came first in, gaue them a respit to cary all away.

The next morning by breake of the day the Colonell generall (who in the absence of the Generalls that were on boord their ships, commanded that night on shore) caused all our companies to be drawen out of the towne, and sent in two troups to put fire in euery house of the same: which done, we imbarked againe.

Vigo burned.

This day there were certaine Mariners which (without any direction) put themselues on shore, on the contrary side of the riuer from vs for pillage; who were beaten by the enemy from their boats, and punished by the Generals for their offer, in going without allowance.

The reasons why we attempted nothing against Bayon were before shewed to be want of artillery, and may now be alledged to be the small number of our men: who should haue gone against so strong a plade, manned with very good souldiers, as was shewed by Iuan de Vera taken at the Groine, who confessed that there were sixe hundred olde Souldiers in garrison there of Flanders, and the Tercios of Naples, lately also returned out of the iourney of England,

Vnder the leading of

Capitan Puebla,
Christofero Vasques de Viralta a souldier of Flanders.
Don Pedro Camascho, del tercio de Napoles.
Don Francisco de Cespedes.
Cap. Iuan de Solo, del tercio de Naples.
Don Diego de Cassaua.
Cap. Sauban.

Also he sayth there be 18 pieces of brasse, and foure of yron, lately layed vpon the walles of the towne, besides them that were there before.

The same day the Generals seeing what weake estate our army was drawn into by sicknesse, determined to man and victuall twenty of the best ships for the Ilands of Açores with Generall Drake, to see if he could meet with the Indian fleet, and Generall Norris to returne home with the rest: And for the shifting of men and victualles accordingly, purposed the next morning to fall downe to the Ilands of Bayon againe, and to remaine there that day. But Generall Drake, according to their apointment, being vnder saile neuer strooke at the Ilands, but put straight to sea; whom all the fleet followed sauing three and thirty, which being in the riuer further then he, and at the entrance out of the same, finding the winde and tide too hard against them, were inforced to cast ancre there for that night; amongst whom, by good fortune, was the Foresight, and in her Sir Edward Norris. And the night folowing, Generall Norris being driuen from the rest of the Fleet by a great storme, (for all that day was the greatest storme we had all the time we were out) came againe into the Ilands, but not without great perill, he being forced to trust to a Spanish Fisherman (who was taken two dayes before at sea) to bring him in.

The next morning he called a council of as many as he found there, holding the purpose he had concluded with sir Francis Drake the day before, and directed all their courses for England, tarrying there all that day to water and helpe such with victuall, as were left in wonderfull distresse by hauing the victuals that came last, caried away the day before to sea.

Their returne to Plimmouth.

The next day he set saile, and the 10 day after, which was the 2 of Iuly came into Plimmouth, where he found sir Francis Drake and all the Queens ships, with many of the others but not all: for the Fleet was dispersed into other harbors, some led by a desire of returning from whence they came, and some being possessed of the hulks sought other Ports from their Generals eie, where they might make their priuate commoditie of them, as they haue done to their great aduantage.

Presently vpon their arriual there, the Generals dissolued all the armie sauing 8 companies which are yet held together, giuing euery souldier fiue shillings in money, and the armies hee bare to make money of, which was more then could by any means be due vnto them: for they were not in seruice three moneths, in which time they had their victuals, which no man would value at lesse then halfe their pay, for such is the allowance in her maiesties ships to her mariners, so as there remained but 10 shillings a moneth more to be paid, for which there was not any priuate man but had apparel and furniture to his owne vse, so as euery common souldier discharged, receiued more in money, victuals, apparel and furniture, then his pay did amount vnto.

Notwithstanding, there be euen in the same place where those things haue passed, that either do not or will not conceiue the souldiers estate, by comparing their pouertie and the shortness of the time together, but lay some iniuries vpon the Generals and the action. Where, and by the way, but especially here in London, I find there haue bene some false prophets gone before vs, telling strange tales. For as our countrey doeth bring foorth many gallant men, who desirous of honour doe put themselues into the actions thereof, so doeth it many more dull spirited, who though their thoughts reach not so high as others, yet doe they listen how other mens acts doe passe, and either beleeuing what any man will report vnto them, are willingly caried away into errors, or tied to some greater mans faith, become secretaries against a noted trueth. The one sort of these doe take their opinions from the high way side, or at the furthest go no further then Pauls to enquire what hath bene done in this voiage; where if they meet with any, whose capacitie before their going out could not make them liue, nor their valour maintaine their reputation, and who went onely for spoile, complaining on the hardnesse and misery thereof, they thinke they are bound to giue credite to these honest men who were parties therein, and in very charitie become of their opinions. The others to make good the faction they had entred into, if they see any of those malecontents (as euery iourney yeeldeth some) doe runne vnto them like tempting spirits to confirme them in their humour, with assurance that they foresaw before our going out what would become thereof.

Be ye not therefore too credulous in beleeuing euery report: for you see there haue bene many more beholders of these things that haue passed, then actors in the same; who by their experience, not hauing the knowledge of the ordinary wants of the warre, haue thought, that to lie hard, not to haue their meat well dressed, to drinke sometimes water, to watch much, or to see men die and be slaine, was a miserable thing; and not hauing so giuen their mindes to the seruice, as they are any thing instructed thereby, doe for want of better matter discourse ordinarily of these things: whereas the iourney (if they had with that iudgement seene into it, which their places required) hath giuen them far more honorable purpose and argument of discourse.

These mens discontentments and mislikings before our comming home haue made mee labour thus much to instruct you in the certaintie of euery thing, because I would not willingly haue you miscaried in the indgements of them, wherein you shall giue me leaue somewhat to dilate vpon a question, which I onely touched in the beginning of my letter, namely, whether it bee more expedient for our estate to maintain an offensiue war against the king of Spaine in the Low countries, or as in this iourney, to offend him in his neerer

A worthy question dilated.

territories, seeing the grounds of arguing thereof are taken from the experience which the actions of this iourney haue giuen vs.

There is no good subiect that will make question, whether it be behoofeful for vs to hold friendship with these neighbours of ours or no, as well in respect of the infinite proportion of their shipping, which must stand either with vs or against vs; as of the commoditie of their harbors, especially that of Vlishing, by the fauour whereof our Nauie may continually keepe the Narrow seas, and which would harbour a greater Fleete agaynst vs, then the Spaniard shall need to annoy vs withall, who being now distressed by our common enemie, I thinke it most expedient for our safetie to defend them, and if it may be, to giue them a reentrie into that they haue of late yeeres lost vnto him. The one without doubt her maiestie may do without difficultie, and in so honorable sort as he shal neuer be able to dispossesse her or them of any the townes they now hold. But if any man thinke that the Spaniard may be expelled from thence more speedily or conueniently by keeping an armie there, then by sending one against him into his owne countrey: let him foresee of how many men and continuall supplies that armie must consist, and what intollerable expenses it requireth. And let him thinke by the example of the duke of Alua, when the prince of Orenge had his great armie agaynst him; and of Don Iuan, when the States had their mightie assembly against him; how this wise enemie, with whom we are to deale, may but by prolonging to fight with vs, leaue vs occasions enough for our armie within few moneths to mutine and breake; or by keeping him in his townes leaue vs a spoyled field: where though our prouision may bee such of our owne as we staure not, yet is our weaknesse in any strange country such, as with sicknes and miserie we shal be dissolued. And let him not forget what a continual burthen we hereby lay vpon vs, in that to repossesse those countreys which have been lately lost, wil be a warre of longer continuance then we shall be able to endure.

In the very action whereof, what should hinder the king of Spaine to bring his forces home vnto vs? For it is certaine he hath long since set downe in councell, that there is no way for him wholy to recouer those Low countries, but by bringing the warre vpon England it selfe, which hath alwayes assisted them against him: and that being determined, and whereunto he hath bene vehemently urged by the last yeeres losse he sustained vpon our coasts, and the great dishonor this iourney hath laid vpon him; no doubt if we shall giue him respite to doe it, but he will mightily advance his purpose, for he is richly able thereunto, and wonderfull desirous of reuenge.

To encounter wherewith, I wish euen in true and honest zeale to my Countrey, that we were all perswaded that there is no such assured meanes for the safetie of our estate, as to busy him with a well furnished armie in Spaine, which hath so many goodly Bayes open, as we may land without impeachment as many men as shall be needfull for such an inuasion. And hauing an armie of 20000 roially furnished there, we shall not need to take much care for their payment: for shal not Lisbon be thought able to make so few men rich, when the Suburbs thereof were found so abounding in riches, as had we made enemie of them, they had largely enriched vs all? Which with what small losse it may be won, is not here to shew; but why it was not won by vs, I haue herein shewed you. Or is not the spoyle of Siuil sufficient to pay more then shall bee needful to bee sent against it, whose defence (as that of Lisbone) is onely force of men, of whom how many may for the present be raised, is not to be esteemed, because wee haue discouered what kind of men they be, euen such as will neuer abide ours in field, nor dare withstand any resolute attempt of ours agaynst them: for during the time we were in many places of their countrey, they cannot say that euer they made 20 of our men turne their faces from them. And be there not many other places of lesse difficultie to spoyle, able to satisfie our forces?

But admit, that if vpon this alarme that we haue giuen him, he tendering his naturall and neerest soile before his further remooued off gouernments, do draw his forces of old souldiers out of the Low countreys for his owne defence, is not the victory then won by drawing and holding them from thence, for the which we should haue kept an armie there at a charge by many partes greater then this, and not stirred them?

Admit further our armie be impeached from landing there, yet by keeping the Sea and possessing his principall roades, are we not in possibilitie to meet with his Indian marchants, and very like to preuent him of his prouisions comming out of the East countreys; without the which, neither the subiect of Lisbon is long able to liue, nor the king able to maintaine his Nauie? For though the countrey of Portugall doe some yeeres find themselues corne, yet are they neuer able to victuall the least part of that Citie. And albeit the king of Spaine be the richest prince in Christendome, yet can he neither draw cables, hewe masts, nor make pouder out of his mettals, but is to be supplied of them all from thence. Of whom (some will hold opinion) it is no reason to make prize, because they bee not our enemies: and that our disagreeance with them will impeach the trade of our marchants, and so impouerish our countrey, of whose mind I can hardly be drawen to be: For if my enemie fighting with me doe breake his sword, so as I thereby haue the aduantage against him; what shall I thinke of him that putteth a new sword into his hand to kill me withall? And may it not bee thought more fitting for vs in these times to loose our trades of Cloth, then by suffering these mischiefes, to put in hazard whether we shall haue a countrey left to make cloth in or no? And yet though neither Hamburgh, Embden, nor Stode doe receiue our cloth, the necessary vse thereof in all places is such, as they will find means to take it from vs with our sufficient commoditie.

And admit (which were impossible) that we damnifie him neither at sea nor land (for vnlesse it be with a much more mightie armie then ours, he shall neuer be able to withstand vs) yet shall we by holding him at his home, free our selues from the warre at our owne wals: the benefit whereof let them consider that best can iudge, and haue obserued the difference of inuading, and being inuaded; the one giuing courage to the souldier, in that it doeth set before him commoditie and reputation; the other a fearefull terror to the countrey-man, who if by chance he play the man yet is he neuer the richer: and who knowing many holes to hide himselfe in, will trie them all before he put his life in perill by fighting: whereas the Inuader casteth vp his account before hee goeth out, and being abroad must fight to make himselfe way, as not knowing what place or strength to trust vnto. I will not say what I obserued in our countrey-men when the enemy offred to assaile vs here: but I wish that all England knew what terror we gaue to the same people that frighted vs, by visiting them at their owne houses.

Were not Alexanders fortunes great against the mightie Darius, onely in that his Macedonians thirsted after the wealth of Persia, and were bound to fight it out to the last man, because the last man knew no safer way to saue himselfe then by fighting? Whereas the Persians either trusting to continue stil masters of their wealth by yeelding to the Inuader, began to practise against their owne king: or hauing more inward hopes, did hide themselues euen to the last, to see what course the Conquerour would take in his Conquest. And did not the aduise of Scipio, though mightily impugned at the first, prooue very sound and honourable to his countrey? Who seeing the Romans wonderfully amazed at the neerenesse of their enemies Forces, and the losses they daily sustained by them, gaue counsell rather by way of diuersion to cary an army into Afrike, and there to assaile, then by a defensiue warre at home to remaine subiect to the common spoiles of an assailing enemie. Which being put in execution drew the enemie from the gates of Rome, and Scipio returned home with triumph: albeit his beginnings at the first were not so fortunate against them, as ours haue bene in this smal time against the Spaniard. The good successe whereof may encourage vs to take armes resolutely against him. And I beseech God it may stirre vp all men that are particularly interested therein, to bethinke themselues how small a matter will assure them of their safetie, by holding the Spaniard at a Baie, so farre off: whereas, if we giue him leaue quietly to hatch and bring foorth his preparations, it will be with danger to vs all.

He taketh not armes against vs by any pretense of title to the crowne of this realme, nor led altogether with an ambicious desire to command our countrey, but with hatred towrrds our whole Nation and religion. Her maiesties Scepter is already giuen by Bull to another, the honours of our Nobilitie are bestowed for rewards vpon his attendants, our Clergie, our Gentlemen, our Lawyers, yea all the men of what conditon soeuer are offered for spoyle vnto the common souldier. Let euery man therefore, in defence of the liberty and plentie he hath of long enioyed, offer a voluntarie contribution of the smallest part of their store for the assurance of the rest. It were not much for euery Iustice of peace, who by his blew coat proteceth the properest and most seuiceable men at euery muster from the warres, to contribute the charge that one of these idle men doe put him to for one yeere: nor for the Lawyer, who riseth by the dissensions of his neighbours, to take but one yeeres gifts (which they call fees) out of his coffers. What would it hinder euery officer of the Exchequer, and other of her Maiesties courts, who without checke doe suddenly grow to great wealth, honestly to bring foorth the mysticall commoditie of one yeeres profits? Or the Clergie, who looke precisely for the

Tenths of euery mans increase, simply to bring forth the Tenth of one yeeres gathering, and in thankfulnesse to her Maiestie (who hath continued for all our safeties a most chargeable warre both at land & sea) bestow the same for her honor & their own assurance, vpon an army which may make this bloody enemy so to know himselfe and her Maiesties power, as he shall bethinke him what it is to mooue a stirring people? Who, though they haue receiued some small checke by the sicknesse of this last iourney, yet doubt I not, but if it were knowen, that the like voyage were to bee supported by a generalitie, (that might and would beare the charge of a more ample prouision) but there would of all sortes most willingly put themselues into the same: some caried with an honourable desire to be in action, and some in loue of such would affectionately folow their fortunes; some in thirsting to reuenge the death and hurts of their brethren, kinred, and friends: and some in hope of the plentifull spoyles to be found in those countreys, hauing bene there already and returned poore, would desire to goe againe, with an expectation to make amends for the last: and all, in hatred of that cowardly proud Nation, and in contemplation of the true honour of our owne, would with courage take armes to hazard their liues agaynst them, whom euery good Englishman is in nature bound to hate as an implacable enemie to England, thirsting after our blood, and labouring to ruine our land, with hope to bring vs vnder the yoke of perpetuall slauerie.

Against them is true honour to be gotten, for that we shall no sooner set foot in their land, but that euery step we tread will yeeld vs new occasion of action, which I wish the gallantrie of our Countrey rather to regard then to folow those soft vnprofitable pleasures wherein they now consume their time and patrimonie. And in two or three townes of Spaine is the wealth of all Europe gathered together, which are the Magasins of the fruits and profits of the East and West Indies, whereunto I wish our yong able men, who (against the libertie they are borne vnto) terme themselues seruing men, rather to bend their desires and affections, then to attend their double liuerie and 40 shillings by the yeere wages, and the reuersion of the old Copy-hold, for carying a dish to their masters table. But let me here reprehend my selfe and craue pardon for entring into a matter of such state and consequence, the care whereof is already laid vpon a most graue and honorable counsell, who will in their wisdoms foresee the dangers that may be threatned agaynst vs. And why do I labour to disquiet the securitie of these happy gentlemen, and the trade of those honest seruing men, by perswading them to the warres when I see the profession thereof so slenderly esteemed? For though all our hope of peace be frustrate, and our quarels determinable by the sword: though our enemie hath by his owne forces, and his pensionaries industry, confined the united Prouinces into a narow roume, and almost disunited the same: if he be now in a good way to harbor himselfe, in the principall hauens of France, from whence he may front vs at pleasure: yea though we are to hope for nothing but a bloodie warre, nor can trust to any helpe but Armes; yet how far the common sort are from reuerencing or regarding any persons of condition, was too apparant in the returne of this our iourney, wherein the base and common souldier hath bene tollerated to speake against the Captaine, and the souldier and Captaine against the Generals, and wherein mechanicall and men of base condicion doe dare to censure the doings of them, of whose acts they are not woorthy to talke.

The ancient graue degree of the Prelacie is vpheld, though Martin raile neuer so much, and the Lawyer is after the old maner worshipped, whosoeuer inueigh against him. But the ancient English honour is taken from our men of war, and their profession in disgrace, though neuer so necessary. Either we commit idolatry to Neptune, and will put him alone stil to fight for vs as he did the last yeere, or we be inchanted with some diuelish opinions, that trauell nothing more then to diminish the reputation of them, vpon whose shoulders the burden of our defence against the enemie must lie when occasion shall be offred. For whensoeuer he shall set foote vpon our land, it is neither the preaching of the Clergie that can turne him out againe, nor the pleading of any Lawyers that can remoue him out of possession: no, then they will honour them whom now they thinke not on, and then must those men stand betweene them and their perils, who are now thought vnwoorthy of any estimation.

May the burning of one towne (which cost the king then being six times as much as this hath done her maiestie, wherein were lost seuen times as many men as in any one seruice of this iourney, and taried not the tenth part of our time in the enemies Countrey) be by our elders so highly reputed and sounded out by the historie of the Realme: and can our voyage be so meanly esteemed, wherein we burned both townes and Countreys without the losse of fortie men in any such attempt?

Did our kings in former times reward some with the greatest titles of honour for ouerthrowing a number of poore Scots, who, after one battell lost, were neuer able to reenforce themselues against him; and shall they in this time who have ouerthrowen our mightie enemie in battell, and taken his roiall Standerd in the field, besieged the marquesse of Saralba 15 dayes together, that should haue bene the Generall of the Armie against vs, brought away so much of his artillerie (as I haue before declared) be vnwoorthily esteemed of?

It is possible that some in some times should receiue their reward for looking vpon an enemie, and ours in this time not receiue so much as thanks for hauing beaten an enemie at handie strokes?

But is it true that no man shall bee a prophet in his Countrey: and for my owne part I will lay aside my Armes till that profession shal haue more reputation, and liue with my friends in the countrey, attending either some more fortunate time to vse them, or some other good occasion to make me forget them.

But what? shall the blind opinion of this monster, a beast of many heads, (for so hath the generaltie of old bene termed) cause me to neglect the profession from whence I chalenge some reputation, or diminish my loue to my countrey, which hitherto hath nourished me? No, it was for her sake I first tooke armes, and for her sake I will handle them so long as I shall be able to vse them: not regarding how some men in private conuenticles do measure mens estimations by their owne humors; nor how euery popular person doeth giue sentence on euery mans actions by the worst accidents. But attending the gracious aspect of our dread Soueraigne, who neuer yet left vertue vnrewarded: and depending vpon the iustice of her most rare and graue aduisors, who by their heedie looking into euery mans worth, do giue encouragement to the vertuous to exceed others in vertue: and assuring you that there shall neuer any thing happen more pleasing vnto me, then that I may once againe bee a partie in some honorable iourney against the Spaniard in his owne countrey, I will cease my complaint: and with them that deserue beyond me, patiently endure the vnaduised censure of our malicious reproouers.

If I haue seemed in the beginning hereof troublesome vnto you, in the discouering of those impediments, and answering the slanders which by the vulgar malicious and mutinous sort are laid as blemishes vpon the iourney, and reproches vpon the Generals (hauing indeed proceeded from other heads:) let the necessitie of conseruing the reputation of the action in generall, and the honors of our Generals in particular, bee my sufficient excuse: the one hauing by the vertue of the other made our countrey more dreaded and renowmed, then any act that euer England vndertooke before. Or if you haue thought my perswasible discourse long in the latter end; let the affectionate desire of my countreys good be therein answerable for me. And such as it is I pray you accept it, as only recommended to your selfe, and not to be deliuered to the publique view of the world, lest any man take offence thereat: which some particular men may seeme iustly to do, in that hauing deserued very well, I should not herein giue them their due considerations: whereas my purpose in this priuate discourse hath bene onely to gratifie you with a touch of those principall matters that haue passed, wherein I haue onely taken notes of those men who either commaunded euery seruice, or were of chiefest marke: if therefore you shall impart the same to one, and he to another, and so it passe through my hands, I know not what constructions would be made thereof to my preiudice; for that the Hares eares may happily be taken for hornes. Howbeit I hold it very necessary (I must confesse) that there should be some true manifestation made of these things: but be it far from me to be the author thereof, as very vnfit to deliuer my censure of any matter in publique, and most vnwilling to haue my weaknesse discouered in priuate. And so I doe leaue you to the happy successe of your accustomed good exercises, earnestly wishing that there may be some better acceptance made of the fruits of your studies, then there hath bene of our hazards in the wars. From London the 30 of August 1589.

The escape of the Primrose a tall ship of London, from before the towne of Bilbao in Biscay: which ship the Corrigidor of the same Prouince, accompanied with 97 Spaniards, offered violently to arrest, and was defeated of his purpose, and brought prisoner into England.

Whereunto is added the Kings Commission for a generall imbargment or arrest of all English, Netherlandish, and Easterlings ships, written in Barcelona the 19 of May 1585.

IT is not vnknowen vnto the world what danger our English shippes haue lately escaped, how sharpely they haue beene intreated, and howe hardly they haue beene assaulted: so that the valiancie of those that mannaged them is worthy remembrance. And therefore in respect of the couragious attempt and valiant enterprise of the ship called the Primrose of London, which hath obteined renowne, I haue taken in hande to publish the trueth thereof, to the intent that it may be generally knowen to the rest of the English ships, that by the good example of this the rest may in time of extremitie aduenture to doe the like: to the honor of the Realme, and the perpetuall remembrance of themselues: The maner whereof was at followeth.

VPpon Wednesday being the sixe and twentieth day of May 1585, the shippe called the Primrose being of one hundred and fiftie tunnes, lying without the bay of Bilbao, hauing beene there two dayes, there came a Spanish pinnesse to them, wherein was the Corrigidor and sixe others with him: these came aboord the Primrose, seeming to be Marchantes of Biscay, or such like, bringing Cherries with them, and spake very friendly to the Maister of the ship, whose name was Foster, and he in courteous wise, bad them welcome, making them the best cheere that he could with beere, beefe, and bisket, wherewith that ship was well furnished: and while they were thus in banquetting with the Maister, foure of the seuen departed in the sayd Pinnesse, and went backe againe to Bilbao: the other three stayed, and were very pleasant for the time. But Master Foster misdoubting some danger secretly gaue speech that he was doubtfull of these men what their intent was; neuerthelesse he sayd nothing, nor seemed in any outward wise to mistrust them at all. Foorthwith there came a ship-boate wherein were seuentie persons being Marchants and such like of Biscay: and besides this boate, there came also the Pinnesse which before had brought the other three, in which Pinnesse there came foure and twentie, as the Spaniards themselues since confessed. These made towards the Primrose, and being come thither, there came aboord the Corrigidor with three or foure of his men: but Master Foster seeing this great multitude desired that there might no more come aboord, but that the rest should stay in their boates, which was granted: neuerthelesse they tooke small heede of these wordes; for on a suddaine they came foorth of the boate, entring the shippe, euery Spaniarde taking him to his Rapier which they brought in the boate, with other weapons, and a drumme wherewith to triumph ouer them. Thus did the Spaniards enter the shippe, plunging in fiercely vpon them, some planting themselues vnder the decke, some entring the Cabbens, and the multitude attending their pray. Then the Corrigidor hauing an officer with him which bare a white wand in his hand, sayd to the master of the ship: Yeeld your selfe, for you are the kings prisoner: whereat the Maister sayd to his men, We are betrayed. Then some of them set daggers to his breast, and seemed in furious manner as though they would haue slaine him, meaning nothing lesse then to doe any such act, for all that they sought was to bring him and his men safe aliue to shore. Whereat the Maister was amazed, and his men greatly discomfited to see themselues readie to be conueyed euen to the slaughter: notwithstanding some of them respecting the daunger of the Maister, and seeing how with themselues there was no way but present death if they were once landed among the Spaniards, they resolued themselues eyther to defend the Maister, and generally to shunne that daunger, or else to die and be buried in the middest of the sea, rather then to suffer themselues to come into the tormentors hands: and therefore in very bold and manly sort some tooke them to their iauelings, lances, bore-speares, and shot, which they had set in readinesse before, and hauing fiue Calieuers readie charged, which was all the small shot they had, those that were vnder the hatches or the grate did shoote vp at the Spaniards that were ouer their heads, which shot so amazed the Spaniards on the suddaine, as they could hardly tell which way to escape the daunger, fearing this their small shot to be of greater number then it was: others in very manlike sort dealt about among them, shewing themselues of that courage with bore-speares and lances, that they dismayed at euery stroke two or three Spaniards. Then some of them desired the Maister to commaund his men to cease and holde their handes, but hee answered that such was the courage of the English Nation in defence of their owne liues, that they would slay them and him also: and therefore it lay not in him to doe it. Now did their blood runne about the ship in great quantitie, some of them being shot in betweene the legges, the bullets issuing foorth at their breasts, some cut in the head, some thrust into the bodie, and many of them very sore wounded, so that they came not so fast in on the one side, but now they tumbled as fast ouer boord on both sides with their weapons in their handes, some falling into the sea, and some getting into their boates, making haste towardes the Citie. And this is to be noted, that although they came very thicke thither, there returned but a small companie of them, neither is it knowen as yet how many of them were slaine or drowned, onely one English man was then slaine, whose name was Iohn Tristram, and sixe other hurt. It was great pitie to behold how the Spaniards lay swimming in the sea, and were not able to saue their liues. Foure of them taking hold of the shippe were for pities sake taken vp againe by Maister Foster and his men, not knowing what they were: all the Spaniards bosomes were stuft with paper, to defend them from the shot, and these foure hauing some wounds were dressed by the surgion of the shippe. One of them was the Corrigidor himselfe, who is gouernour of a hundred Townes and Cities in Spaine, his liuing by his office being better then sixe hundred pound yerely. This skirmish happened in the euening about sixe of the clocke, after they had laden twenty Tunne of goods and better out of the sayd ship: which goods were deliuered by two of the same ship, whose names were Iohn Burrell and Iohn Brodbanke, who being on shore were apprehended and stayed.

After this valiant enterprise of eight and twentie English men against 97 Spaniards, they saw it was in vaine for them to stay, and therefore set vp sayles, and by Gods prouidence auoyded all daunger, brought home the rest of their goods, and came thence with all expedition: and (God be thanked) arriued safely in England neere London on Wednesday being the 8 day of Iune 1585. In which their returne to England the Spaniards that they brought with them offered fiue hundred crownes to be set on shore in any place: which, seeing the Maister would not doe, they were con-

The Corrigidor of Bilbao taken and brought to London.

tent to be ruled by him and his companie, and craued mercie at their hands. And after Master Foster demaunded why they came in such sort to betray and destroy them, the Corrigidor answered, that it was not done onely of themselues, but by the commandement of the king himselfe; and calling for his hose which were wet, did plucke foorth the kings Commission, by which he was authorized to doe all that he did: the Copie whereof followeth, being translated out of Spanish.

The Spanish kings commision for the generall imbargment or arrest of the English, &c.

LIcentiat de Escober, my Corigidor of my Signorie of Biskay, I haue caused a great fleete to be put in readinesse in the hauen of Lisbone, and the riuer of Siuill. There is required for the Souldiers, armour, victuals, and munition, that are to be imployed in the same great store of shipping of all sortes against the time of seruice, and to the end there may be choise made of the best, vpon knowledge of their burden and goodnesse; I doe therefore require of you, that presently vpon the arriuall of this carrier, and with as much dissimulation as may be (that the matter may not be knowen vntill it be put into execution) you take order for the staying and arresting (with great foresight) of all the shipping that may be found vpon the coast, and in the portes of the sayd Signorie, excepting none of Holand, Zeland, Easterland, Germanie, England, and other Prouinces that are in rebellion against mee, sauing those of France which being litle, and of small burden and weake, are thought vnfit to serue the turne. And the stay being thus made, you shall haue a speciall care that such marchandize as the sayd shippes or hulkes haue brought, whether they be all or part vnladen, may bee taken out, and that the armour, munition, tackels, sayles, and victuals may be safely bestowed, as also that it may be well foreseene, that none of the shippes or men escape away. Which things being thus executed, you shall aduertise me by an expresse messenger, of your proceeding therein: And send me a plaine and distinct declaration of the number of shippes that you shall haue so stayed in that coast and partes, whence euery one of them is, which belong to my Rebels, what burden and goods there are, and what number of men is in euery of them, and what quantitie they haue of armour, ordinance, munition, victuals, tacklings and other necessaries, to the end that vpon sight hereof, hauing made choise of such as shall be fit for the seruice, we may further direct you what ye shall do. In the meane time you shall presently see this my commandment put in execution, and if there come thither any more ships, you shall also cause them to be stayed and arrested after the same order, vsing therein such care and diligence, as may answere the trust that I repose in you, wherein you shall doe me great seruice. Dated at Barcelona the 29 of May. 1585.

And thus haue you heard the trueth and manner thereof, wherein is to be noted the great courage of the maister, and the louing hearts of the seruants to saue their master from the daunger of death: yea, and the care which the master had to saue so much of the owners goods as hee might, although by the same the greatest is his owne losse in that he may neuer trauell to those parts any more without the losse of his owne life, nor yet any of his seruantes: for if hereafter they should, being knowen they are like to taste of the sharpe torments which are there accustomed in their Holy-house. And as for their terming English shippes to be in rebellion against them, it is sufficiently knowen by themselues, and their owne consciences can not denie it, but that with loue, vnitie, and concord, our shippes haue euer beene fauoruable vnto them, and as willing to pleasure their King, as his subiectes any way willing to pleasure English passengers.

The voiage of the right honorable George Erle of Cumberland to the Azores, &c. Written by the excellent Mathematician and Enginier master Edward Wright.

THe right honorable the Erle of Cumberland hauing at his owne charges prepared his small Fleet of foure Sailes onely, viz. The Victorie one of the Queenes ships royall; the Meg and Margaret small ships, (one of which also he was forced soone after to send home againe, finding her not able to endure the Sea) and a small Carauell, and hauing assembled together about 400 men (or fewer) of gentlemen, souldiers, and saylers, embarked himself and them, and set saile from the Sound of Plimmouth in Deuonshire, the 18 day of Iune 1589. being accompanied with these captaines and gentlemen which hereafter folow.

Captaine Christopher Lister a man of great resolution, captaine Edward Carelesse, *aliàs* Wright, who in sir Francis Drakes Wes

Indian voyage to S. Domingo and Carthagena, was captaine of the Hope. Captaine Boswell, M. Meruin, M. Henry Long, M. Partridge, M. Norton, M. William Mounson captaine of the Meg, and his viceadmirall, now sir William Mounson, M. Pigeon captaine of the Carauell.

About 3 dayes after our departure from Plimmouth we met with 3 French ships, whereof one was of Newhauen, another of S. Malos, and so finding them to be Leaguers and lawful Prises, we tooke them and sent two of them for England with all their loding, which was fish for the most part from New-found-land, sauing that there was part thereof distributed amongst our small Fleet, as we could find Stowage for the same : and in the third, all their men were sent home into France. The same day and the day folowing we met with some other ships, whom (when after some conference had with them, we perceiued plainly to bee of Roterodam and Emden, bound for Rochell) we dismissed.

The 28 and 29 dayes we met diuers of our English ships, returning from the Portugall voiage which my lord relieued with victuals. The 13 day of Iuly being Sonday in the morning, we espied 11 ships without sight of ye coast of Spaine, in the height of 39 degrees, whom wee presently prepared for, and prouided to meet them, hauing first set forth Captaine Mounson in the Meg, before vs, to descry whence they were. The Meg approching neere, there passed some shot betwixt them, whereby, as also by their Admiral and Vice-admirall putting foorth their flags, we perceiued that some fight was likely to follow. Having therefore fitted our selues for them, we made what hast we could towards them with regard alwayes to get the wind of them, and about 10 or 11 of the clocke, we came vp to them with the Victory. But after some few shot and some litle fight passed betwixt vs, they yeelded themselues, and the masters of them all came aboord vs, shewing their seueral Pasports from the cities of Hamburg and Lubeck, from Breme, Pomerania and Calice.

They had in them certaine bags of Pepper and Synamon, which they confessed to be the goods of the Iew in Lisbon, which should haue bene carried by them into their countrey to his Factor there, and so finding it by their owne confession to be lawful Prise, the same was soone after taken and diuided amongst our whole company, the value wherof was esteemed to be about 4500 pounds, at two shillings the pound.

The 17 day the foresaid ships were dismissed, but 7 of their men that were willing to go along with vs for sailers, we tooke to help vs, and so held on our course for the Azores.

The 1 of August being Friday in the morning, we had sight of the Iland of S. Michael, being one of the Eastermost of the Azores toward which we sailed all that day, and at night hauing put foorth a Spanish flag in our main-top, that so they might the lesse suspect vs, we approched neere to the chiefe towne and road of that Iland, where we espied 3 ships riding at anker and some other vessels: all which we determined to take in the darke of the night, and accordingly attempted about 10 or 11 of the clocke, sending our boats well manned to cut their cables and hausers, and let them driue into the sea. Our men comming to them, found y^t one of those greatest ships was the Falcon of London being there vnder a Scottish Pilot who bare the name of her as his own. But 3 other smal ships that lay neere vnder the castle there, our men let loose and towed them away vnto vs, most of the Spaniards that were in them leaping ouer-boord and swimming to shore with lowd and lamentable outcries, which they of the towne hearing were in an vprore, and answered with the like crying. The castle discharged some great shot at our boats, but shooting without marke by reason of the darknesse they did vs no hurt. The Scots likewise discharged 3 great pieces into the aire to make the Spaniards thinke they were their friends and our enemies, and shortly after the Scottish master, and some other with him, came aboord to my lord doing their dutie, and offering their seruice, &c. These 3 ships were fraught with wine and Sallet-oile from Siuil.

3 ships forcibly towed out of harbour.

The same day our Carauel chased a Spanish Carauel to shore at S. Michael, which caried letters thither, by which we learned that the Caraks were departed from Tercera 8 dayes before.

The 7 of August we had sight of a litle ship which wee chased towards Tercera with our pinasse (the weather being calme) and towards euening we ouertooke her, there were in her 30 tunnes of good Madera wine, certaine woollen cloth, silke, taffata, &c. The 14 of August we came to the Iland of Flores, where we determined to take in some fresh water and fresh victuals, such as the Iland did affoord. So we manned our boats with some 120 men and rowed towards the shore; whereto when we approched the inhabitants that were assembled at the landing place, put foorth a flag of truce, whereupon we also did the like.

When we came to them, my Lord gaue them to vnderstand by his Portugall interpreter, that he was a friend to their king Don Antonio, and came not any way to iniury them, but that he meant onely to haue some fresh water and fresh victuals of them, by way of exchange for some prouision that he had, as oile, wine, or pepper, to which they presently agreed willingly, and sent some of their company for beeues and sheepe, and we in the meane season marched Southward about a mile to Villa de Santa Cruz, from whence all the inhabitants yong and old were departed, and not any thing of value left. We demanding of them what was the cause hereof, they answered, Feare; as their vsuall maner was when any ships came neere their coast.

We found that part of the Iland to be full of great rockie barren hils and mountains, litle inhabited by reason that it is molested with ships of war which might partly appeare by this towne of Santa Cruz (being one of their chiefe townes) which was all ruinous, and (as it were) but the reliques of the ancient towne which had bene burnt about two yeeres before by certaine English ships of war, as the inhabitants there reported.

At euening as we were in rowing towards the Victory, an huge fish pursued vs for the space of well nigh of two miles together, distant for the most part from the boats sterne not a speares length, and sometimes so neere that the boat stroke vpon him, the tips of whose finnes about the ghils (appearing oft times aboue the water) were by estimation 4 or 5 yards asunder, and his iawes gaping a yard and a halfe wide, which put vs in feare of ouerturning the pinnasse, but God be thanked (rowing as hard as we could) we escaped.

When we were about Flores a litle ship called the Drake, brought vs word that the Caraks were at Tercera, of which newes we were very glad, and sped vs thitherward with all the speed we could: and by the way we came to Fayal road the seuen and twentieth day of August after sunne set, where we espied certaine shippes ryding at anker, to whom we sent in our Skiffe with Captaine Lister and Captaine Monson in her to discouer the roaders: and least any daunger should happen to our boate, we sent in likewise the Sawsie Iack and the small Carauell; but the wind being off the shoare, the shippes were not able to fet it so nigh as the Spaniards ride, which neuerthelesse the boate did, and clapped a shippe aboord of two hundred and fiftie tunnes, which caried in her fourteene cast peeces, and continued fight alone with her for the space of one houre vntill the comming vp of other boates to the reskue of her, which were sent from the shippes, and then a fresh boording her againe one boate in the quarter, another in the hause, we entred her on the one side, and all the Spaniards lept ouerboord on the other, saue Iuan de Palma the Captaine of her and two or three more, and thus we became possessors of her. This shippe was mored to the Castle which shot at vs all this while: the onely hurt which we receiued of all this shot was this, that the master of our Carauell had the calfe of his legge shot away. This shippe was laden with Sugar, Ginger, and hides lately come from S. Iuan de Puerto Rico; after we had towed her cleare off the castle, we rowed in againe with our boats, and fetched out fiue small ships more, one laden with hides, another with Elephants teeth, graines, coco-nuts, and goates skins come from Guinie, another with woad, and two with dogge-fish, which two last we let driue into the sea making none account of them. The other foure we sent for England the 30 of August.

At the taking of these Prizes were consorted with vs some other small men of warre, as Maister Iohn Dauis with his shippe, Pinnesse, and Boate, Captaine Markesburie with his ship, whose owner was Sir Walter Ralegh, the Barke of Lime, which was also consorted with vs before.

The last of August in the morning we came in sight of Tercera, being about some nine or ten leagues from shoare, where we espied comming toward vs, a small boat vnder saile, which seemed somewhat strange vnto vs, being so farre from lande, and no shippe in sight, to which they might belong; but comming neere, they put vs out of doubt, shewing they were English men (eight in number) that had lately bene prisoners in Tercera, and finding opportunitie to escape at that time, with that small boat committed themselues to the sea, vnder Gods prouidence, hauing no other yard for their maine saile, but two pipe staues tyed together by the endes, and no more prouision of victuals, then they could bring in their pockets and bosomes. Hauing taken them all into the Victorie, they gaue vs certaine intelligence, that the Carackes were departed from thence about a weeke before.

An escape of 8. English-men from Tercera.

Thus beeing without any further hope of those Caraks, we resolued to returne for Fayall, with intent to surprize the towne, but vntill the ninth of September, we had either the winde so contrary, or the weather so calme, that in all that time, we made scarce nine or ten leagues way, lingring vp and downe not farre from Pico.

The tenth of September being Wednesday in the afternoone, wee came again to Fayal roade. Whereupon immediatly my Lord sent Captaine Lister, with one of Graciosa (whom Capatine Munson had before taken) and some others, towards Fayal, whom certaine of the Inhabitants met in a boat, and came with Captaine Lister to my Lord, to whom hee gaue this choice: either to suffer him quietly to enter into the platforme there without resistance, where he and his companie would remaine a space without offering any iniurie to them, that they (the Inhabitants) might come vnto him and compound for the ransome of the Towne; or else to stand to the hazard of the warre.

With these words they returned to the towne: but the keepers of the platforme answered, that it was against their oath and allegeance to king Philip to giue ouer without fight. Whereupon my Lord commanded the boates of euery ship, to be presently manned, and soone after landed his men on the sandie shoare, vnder the side of an hill, about halfe a league to the Northwards from the platforme: vpon the toppe of which hill certaine horsemen and footmen shewed themselues, and other two companies also appeared, with ensignes displayed, the one before the towne vpon the shore by the sea side, which marched towards our landing place, as though they would encounter vs; the other in a valley to the Southwards of the platforme, as if they would haue come to helpe the Townesmen: during which time they in the platforme also played vpon vs with great Ordinance. Notwithstanding my L. (hauing set his men in order) marched along the sea shore, vpon the sands, betwixt the sea and the towne towards the platforme for the space of a mile or more, and then the shore growing rockie, and permitting no further progresse without much difficultie, he entred into the towne and passed through the street without resistance, vnto the platforme; for those companies before mentioned at my Lo. approching, were soone dispersed, and suddenly vanished.

The taking of the towne and platforme of Fayal.

Likewise they of the platforme, being all fled at my Lordes comming thither, left him and his company to scale the walles, to enter and take possession without resistance.

In the meane time our shippes ceased not to batter the foresaid

Towne and Platforme with great shotte, till such time as we saw the Red-Crosse of England flourishing vpon the Forefront thereof.

A description of the towne of Faial.

This Fayal is the principal towne in all that is land, and is situate directly ouer against the high and mighty mountaine Pico, lying towards the West Northwest from that mountaine, being deuided therefrom by a narrow Sea, which at that place is by estimation about some two or three leagues in bredth betweene the Isles of Fayal and Pico.

The towne conteyned some three hundred housholds, their houses were faire and strongly builded of lime and stone, and double couered with hollow tyles much like our roofe tyles, but that they are lesse at the one end then at the other.

Euery house almost had a cisterne or well in a garden on the backe side: in which gardens grew vines (with ripe clusters of grapes) making pleasant shadowes, and Tabacco nowe commonly knowen and vsed in England, wherewith their women there dye their faces reddish, to make them seeme fresh and young: Pepper Indian and common; figge-trees bearing both white and red figges: Peach trees not growing very tall: Orenges, Limons, Quinces, Potato-roots, &c. Sweete wood (Cedar I thinke) is there very common, euen for building and firing.

My Lord hauing possessed himselfe of the towne and platforme, and being carefull of the preseruation of the towne, gaue commandement, that no mariner or souldier should enter into any house, to make any spoyle thereof. But especially he was carefull that the Churches and houses of religion there should be kept inuiolate, which was accordingly performed, through his appointment of guarders and keepers for those places: but the rest of the towne eyther for want of the former inhibition, or for desire of spoyle and prey, was rifled, and ransacked by the souldiers and mariners, who scarcely left any house vnsearched, out of which they tooke such things as liked them, as chestes of sweete wood, chaires, cloth, couerlets, hangings, bedding, apparell: and further ranged into the countrey, where some of them also were hurt by the inhabitants. The Friery there conteyning and maintayning thirty Franciscan Friars (among whom we could not finde any one able to speake true Latine) was builded by a Fryer of Angra in Tercera of the same order, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred and sixe. The tables in the hall had seates for the one side onely, and were alwayes couered, as readie at all times for dinner or supper.

From Wednesday in the afternoone, at which time we entred the towne, til Saturday night, we continued there, vntill the Inhabitants had agreed and payed for the ransome of the towne, two thousand duckats, most part whereof was Church-plate.

We found in the platforme eight and fiftie yron peeces of Ordinance, whereof three and twentie (as I remember) or more were readie mounted vpon their carriages, betweene Barricadoes, vpon a platforme towardes the sea-side, all which Ordinance we tooke, and set the platforme on fire, and so departed: My Lord hauing inuited to dinner in the Victorie, on the Sunday following, so many of the Inhabitants as would willingly come (saue onely Diego Gomes the Gouernour, who came but once onely to parle about the ransome) onely foure came and were well entertained, and solemnely dismissed with sound of drumme and trumpets, and a peale of Ordinance: to whom my Lord deliuered his letter subscribed with his owne hand, importing a repuest to all other Englishmen to abstaine from any further molesting them, saue onely for fresh water, and victuals necessary for their intended voyage. During our abode here (viz. the 11 of September) two men came out of Pico which had beene prisoners there: Also at Fayal we set at libertie a prisoner translated from S. Iago who was cousin to a seruant of Don Anthonio king of Portugall in England: These prisoners we deteyned with vs.

On Munday we sent our boates ashore for fresh water, which (by reason of the raine that fell the former night) came plentifully running downe the hilles, and would otherwise haue beene hard to be gotten there. On Tuesday likewise hauing not yet suffiently serued our turnes, we sent againe for fresh water, which was then not so easie to be gotten as the day before, by reason of a great winde: which in the afternoone increased also in such sort, that we thought it not safe to ride so neere the land; whereupon we weyed anker and so departed Northwest and by west, alongst the coast of Fayal Island. Some of the Inhabitants comming aboord to vs this day, tolde vs that always about that time of the yeere such windes West Southwest blew on that coast.

This day, as we sayled neere Saint Georges Island, a huge fish lying still a litle vnder water, or rather euen therewith, appeared hard by a head of vs, the sea breaking vpon his backe, which was blacke coloured, in such sort as deeming at the first it had beene a rocke, and the ship stemming directly with him, we were put in a sudden feare for the time: till soone after we saw him moue out of the way.

The 16 of September in the nigh it lightened much, whereupon there followed great winds and raine which continued the 17 18 19 20 and 21 of the same. The 23 of September we came againe into Faial road to weigh an anker which (for haste and feare of foule weather) wee had left there before, where we went on shore to see the towne, the people (as we thought) hauing now setled themselues there againe, but notwithstanding many of them through too much distrustfulnesse, departed and prepared to depart with their packets at the first sight of vs: vntill such time as they were assured by my Lord, that our comming was not any way to iniury them, but especially to haue fresh water, and some other things needeful for vs, contenting them for the same.

So then we viewed the Towne quietly, and bought such things as we desired for our money as if we had bene in England. And they helped to fill vs in fresh water, receiuing for their paines such satisfaction as contented them.

The 25 day we were forced againe to depart from thence, before we had sufficiently watered, by reason of a great tempest that suddenly arose in the night, in so much, that my Lord himselfe soone after midnight raysed our men out of their Cabines to wey anker, himselfe also together with them haling at the Capsten, and after chearing them vp with wine.

The next day we sent our Carauel and the Sawsie-Iack to the road of Saint Michael, to see what they could espie: we following after them vpon the 27 day, plying to and fro, came within sight of S. Michael, but by contrary windes the 28 29 and 30 dayes wee were driuen to leewarde, and could not get neere the Island.

The first of October wee sayled alongst Tercera, and euen against Brasill (a promontorie neere to Angra the strongest Towne in that Island) wee espied some boates comming to the Towne, and made out towardes them: but being neere to the lande they ranne to shoare and escaped vs.

In the afternoone we came neere to Graciosa, whereupon my Lord foorthwith sent Captain Lister to the Ilanders, to let them vnderstand that his desire was onely to haue water and wine of them, and some fresh victuals, and not any further to trouble them. They answered they could giue no resolute answere to this demande, vntill the Gouernors of the Iland had consulted therevpon, and therefore desired him to send againe to them the next day.

Vpon the second day of October early in the morning, we sent forth our long boat and Pinnesse, with emptie Caske, and about some fiftie or sixty men together with the Margaret, and Captaine Dauis his shippe: for we now wanted all the rest of our consortes. But when our men would haue landed, thẽ Ilanders shot at them, and would not suffer them. And troupes of men appeared vpon land, with ensignes displayed to resist vs: So our boates rowed alongst the shoare, to finde some place where they might land, not with too much disaduantage: our shippes and they still shooting at the Ilanders: but no place could be founde where they might land without great perill of loosing many of their liues, and so were constrayned to retire without receiuing any answere, as was promised the day before. We had three men hurt in this conflict, whilest our boates were together in consulting what was best to be done: two of them were stroken with a great shot (which the Ilanders drew from place to place with Oxen) wherewith the one lost his hand, and the other his life within two or three dayes after: the third was shot inro his necke with a small shot, without any great hurt.

With these newes our company returned backe againe at night, whereupon preparation was made to goe to them againe the next day: but the daye was farre spent before we could come neere them with our ship: neither could we finde any good ground to anker in, where we might lye to batter the Towne, and further we could finde no landing place, without great danger to loose many men: which might turne not only to the ouerthrow of our voiage, but also put the Queenes ship in great perill for want of men to bring her home. Therefore my Lord thought it best to write to them to this effect: That he could not a litle maruell at their inhumanitie and crueltie which they had shewed towards his men, seeing they were sent by him vnto them in peaceable manner to receiue their answere which they had promised to giue the day before: and that were it not for Don Antonio their lawful king his sake, he could not put vp so great iniury at their hands, without iust reuengement vpon them: notwithstanding for Don Antonio his sake, whose friend he was, he was yet content to send to them once againe for their answere: At night Captaine Lister returned with this answere from them. That their Gunner shot off one of their pieces, which was charged with pouder onely, and was stopped; which our men thinking it had bin shot at them, shot againe, and so beganne the fight: and that the next morning they would send my Lord a resolute answere to his demaunde, for as yet they could not knowe their Gouernours minde herein. The next morning there came vnto vs a boate from the shoare with a flagge of truce, wherein were three of the chiefe men of the Island, who agreed with my Lorde that hee should haue of them sixtie buttes of wine, and fresh victuals to refresh himselfe and his companie withall: but as for fresh water, they could not satisfie our neede therein, hauing themselues little or none, sauing such as they saued in vessels or cisternes when it rayned, and that they had rather giue vs two tunnes of wine then one of water: but they requested that our souldiers might not come on shoare, for they themselues would bring all they had promised to the water-side, which request was graunted, we keeping one of them aboord with vs, untill their promise was performed, and the other we sent to shoare with our emptie Caske, and some of our men to helpe to fill, and bring them away with such other prouision as was promised: so the Margaret, Captaine Dauis his shippe, and another of Weymouth stayed ryding at anker before the Towne, to take in our prouision. This shippe of Weymouth came to vs the day before, and had taken a rich Prize (as it was reported) worth sixteene thousand pound, which brought vs newes that the West-Indian Fleete was not yet come, but would come very shortly. But we with the Victorie put off to sea, and vpon Saturday the fourth of October, we tooke a French shippe of Saint Malo (a citie of the vnholy league) loden with fish from Newfoundland: which had beene in so great a tempest, that she was constrayned to cut her mayne mast ouerboord for her safetie, and was now comming to Graciosa, to repaire her selfe. But so hardly it befell her, that she did not onely not repaire her former losses, but lost all that remayned vnto vs. The chiefe of our men we tooke into our ship, and sent some of our men, mariners, and souldiers into her to bring her into England.

Vpon the Sunday following at night, all our promised prouision was brought vnto vs from Gratiosa: and we friendly dismissed the Ilanders with a peale of Ordinance.

Vpon Munday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, we plyed to and fro about those Islandes, being very rough weather. And vpon Thursday at night, being driuen some three or foure leagues from Tercera, we saw fifteene saile of the West-Indian Fleete comming into the Hauen at Angra in Tercera. But the winde was such, that for the space of foure dayes after, though wee lay as close by the winde as was possible, yet we could not come neere them. In this time we lost our late French Prize, not being able to lie so neere the winde as we, and heard no more of her till we came to England where shee safely arriued. Vpon Munday we came very neere the Hauens mouth, being minded to haue runne in amongst them, and to haue fetched out some of them if it had beene possible: But in the end this enterprise was deemed too daungerous, considering the strength of the place where they rode, being haled and towed in neerer the towne, at the first sight of our approching, and lying vnder the protection of the Castle of Brasil, on the one side (hauing in it fiue and twentie peeces of Ordinance) and a fort on the other side wherein were 13 or 14 great brasse pieces. Besides, when we came neere land the winde prooued too scant for vs to attempt any such enterprise.

Vpon Tuesday the fourteenth of October we sent our boate to the roade to sound the depth, to see if there were any ankoring place for vs, where we might lie without shot of the Castle and Fort, and within shot of some of those shippes, that we might either make them come out to vs, or sinke them where they lay. Our boate returned hauing found out such a place as we desired, but the winde would not suffer vs to come neere it, and againe if we could haue ankered there, it was thought likely that they would rather runne themselues a ground to saue their liues and liberties, and some of their goods, then come foorth to loose their liberties and goods to vs their enemies. So we shot at them to see if we could reach them, but it fell farre short. And thus we departed, thinking it not probable that they would come foorth so long as we watched for them before the hauens mouth, or within sight of them. For the space of fiue dayes after we put off to sea, and lay without sight of them, and sent a pinnesse to lie out of sight close by the shore, to bring vs word if they should come foorth. After a while the Pinnesse returned and told vs that those shippes in the Hauen had taken downe their sayles, and let downe their toppe mastes: so that wee supposed they would neuer come foorth, till they perceiued vs to bee quite gone.

Wherefore vpon the 20 of October, hearing that there were certaine Scottish ships at Saint Michael, we sayled thither, and found there one Scottish roader, and two or three more at Villa Franca, the next road a league or two from the towne of S. Michael, to the Eastwards: of whom we had for our reliefe some small quantitie of wine (viz. some fiue or sixe buttes of them all) and some fresh water, but nothing sufficient to serue our turne, Vpon Tuesday the one and twentieth of October, we sent our long boate to shore for fresh water at a brooke a little to the Westwards from Villa Franca.

But the Inhabitants espying vs came downe with two Ensignes displayed, and about some hundred and fiftie men armed, to withstand our landing. So our men hauing spent all their pouder vpon them in attempting to land, and not being able to preuaile at so great oddes, returned frustrate.

From thence we departed towards Saint Maries Iland, minding to water there, and then to goe for the coast of Spaine. For we had intelligence that it was a place of no great force, and that we might water there very well: therefore vpon Friday following, my Lord sent Captaine Lister, and Captaine Amias Preston now Sir Amias Preston (who not long before came to vs out of his owne shippe, and she loosing vs in the night, hee was forced to tarry still with vs) with our long boate and Pinnesse, and some sixtie or seuentie shotte in them, with a friendly letter to the Ilanders, that they would grant vs leaue to water, and we would no further trouble them.

So we departed from the Victorie for the Iland, about nine of the clocke in the afternoone, and rowed freshly vntill about 3 a clocke afternoone. At which time our men being something weary with rowing, and being within a league or two of the shore, and 4 or 5 leagues from the Victorie, they espied (to their refreshing) two shippes ryding at anker hard vnder the the towne, whereupon hauing shifted some 6 or 7 of our men into Captaine Dauis his boate, being too much pestered in our owne, and retayning with vs some 20 shot in the pinnesse, we made way towardes them with all the speede we could.

By the way as we rowed we saw boates passing betwixt the roaders and the shore, and men in their shirtes swimming and wading to shoare, who as we perceiued afterwardes, were labouring to set those shippes fast on ground, and the Inhabitants as busily preparing themselues for the defence of those roaders, their Iland, and themselues. When we came neere them, Captaine Lister commaunded the Trumpets to be sounded, but prohibited any shot to be discharged at them, vntill they had direction from him: But some of the companie, either not well perceiuing or regarding what he sayd, immediately vpon the sound of the Trumpets discharged their pieces at the Islanders, which for the most part lay in trenches and fortefied places vnseene, to their owne best aduantage: who immediatly shot likewise at vs, both with small and great shot, without danger to themselues: Notwithstanding Captaine Lister earnestly hastened forward the Saylers that rowed, who beganne to shrinke at that shot, flying so fast about their eares, and himselfe first entring one of the shippes that lay a litle further from shoare then the other, we spedily followed after him into her, still plying them with our shot. And hauing cut in sunder her Cables and Hausers, towed her away with our Pinnesse. In the meane time Captaine Dauis his boate ouertooke vs and entred into the other shippe, which also (as the former) was forsaken by all her men: but they were constrayned to leaue her and to come againe into their boate (whilest shot and stones from shoare flew fast amongst them) finding her to sticke so fast a grounde, that they could not stire her: which the Townesmen also perceiuing, and seeing that they were fewe in number, and vs (busied about the other ship) not comming to ayde them, were preparing to haue come and taken them. But they returned vnto vs, and so together we came away towards the Victory, towing after vs the Prize that we had now taken, which was lately come from Brasil, loden with Sugar.

In this fight we had two men slaine and 16 wounded: and as for them, it is like they had little hurt, lying for the most part behind stone walles, which were builded one aboue another hard by the sea side, vpon the end of the hill whereupon the Towne stoode betwixt two vallies. Vpon the toppe of the hill lay their great Ordinance (such as they had) wherewith they shot leaden bullets, whereof one pierced through our Prizes side, and lay still in the shippe without doing any more harme.

The next day we went againe for water to the same Iland, but not knowing before the inconuenience and disuaduantage of the place where we attempted to land, we returned frustrate.

The same night the 25 of October we departed for S. Georges Iland for fresh water, whither we came on Munday following October 27, and hauing espied where a spout of water came running downe: the pinnesse and long boate were presently manned and sent vnder the conduct of Captaine Preston, and Captaine Munson, by whom my Lord sent a letter to the Ilanders as before, to grant vs leaue to water onely, and we would no further trouble them: notwithstanding our men comming on shoare found some of the poore Ilanders, which for feare of vs hid themselues amongst the rockes.

And on Wednesday following our boats returned with fresh water, whereof they brought only sixe tunnes for the Victorie, alleaging they could get no more, thinking (as it was supposed) that my Lord hauing no more prouision of water and wine, but onely 12 tunnes, would not goe for the coast of Spaine, but straight for the coast of England, as many of our men greatly desired: notwithstanding my Lord was vnwilling so to doe, and was minded the next day to haue taken in more water: but through roughnesse of the seas and winde, and vnwillingnesse of his men it was not done. Yet his Hon. purposed not to returne with so much prouision vnspent, and his voyage (as he thought) not yet performed in such sort as mought giue some reasonable contentment or satisfaction to himselfe and others.

Therefore because no more water could now conueniently be gotten, and being vncertaine when it could be gotten, and the time of our staying aboord also vncertaine, the matter being referred to the choyse of the whole companie, whither they would tarrie longer, till wee might be more sufficiently prouided of fresh water, or goe by the coast of Spaine for England, with halfe so much allowance of drinke as before, they willingly agreed that euery mease should bee allowed at one meale but halfe so much drinke as they were accustomed (except them that were sicke or wounded) and so to goe for England, taking the coast of Spaine in our way, to see if we could that way make vp our voyage.

Vpon Saturday Octob. 31 we sent the Margaret (because she leaked much) directly for England, together with the Prize of Brasile which we tooke at S. Marie, and in them some of our hurt and wounded men or otherwise sicke were sent home as they desired, for England: but Captaine Monson was taken out of the Megge into the Victorie.

So we held on our course for the coast of Spaine with a faire winde and a large which before we seldome had. And vpon Twesday following being the 4 of Nouemb. we espied a saile right before vs, which we chased till about three a clocke in the afternoone, at which time we ouertaking her, she stroke sayle, and being demaunded who was her owner and from whence she was, they answered, a Portugall, and from Pernanbucke in Brasile. She was a ship of some 110 tuns burden, fraighted with 410 chestes of Sugar, and 50 Kintals of Brasill-wood, euery Kintall contayning one hundred pound weight: we tooke her in latitude nine and twentie degrees, about two hundred leagues from

Lisbone westwards: Captaine Preston was presently sent vnto her, who brought the principall of her men aboord the Victorie, and certaine of our men, mariners and souldiers were sent aboord her. The Portugals of this Prize told vs that they saw another ship before them that day about noone. Hauing therefore dispatched all things about the Prize aforesaid and left our long boat with Captaine Dauis, taking his lesser boat with vs, we made way after this other ship with all the sayles we could beare, holding on our course due East, and giuing order to Captaine Dauis his ship and the Prize that they should follow vs due East, and that if they had sight of vs the morning following they should follow vs still: if not they should goe for England.

The next morning we espied not the sayle which we chased, and Captaine Dauis his ship and the Prize were behinde vs out of sight: but the next Thursday the sixt of Nouember (being in latitude 38 degrees 30 minutes, and about sixtie leagues from Lisbone westwards) early in the morning Captaine Preston descried a sayle some two or three leagues a head of vs, after which we presently hastened our chase, and ouertooke her about eight or nine of the clocke before noone. She came lately from Saint Michaels roade, hauing beene before at Brasill loden with Sugar and Brasile. Hauing sent our boat to them to bring some of the chiefe of their men aboord the Victorie, in the meane time whilest they were in comming to vs one out of the maine toppe espied another saile a head some three or foure leagues from vs. So immediately vpon the returne of our boate, hauing sent her backe againe with some of our men aboord the prize, we pursued speedily this new chase, with all the sayles we could packe on, and about two a clocke in the afternoone ouertooke her: she had made prouision to fight with vs, hauing hanged the sides of the shippe so thicke with hides (wherewith especially she was loden) that musket shot could not haue pearced them: but yer we had discharged two great peeces of our Ordinance at her, she stroke sayle, and approching neerer, we asking of whence they were, they answered from the West-Indies, from Mexico, and Saint Iohn de Lowe (truely called Vlhua.) This ship was of some three or foure hundred tunnes, and had in her seuen hundred hides worth tenne shillings a peece: sixe chests of Cochinell, euery chest houlding one hundred pound weight, and euery pound worth sixe and twenty shillings and eight pence, and certaine chests of Sugar and China dishes, with some plate and siluer.

The Captaine of her was an Italian, and by his behauiour seemed to be a graue, wise, and ciuill man: he had put an aduenture in this shippe fiue and twentie thousand Duckats. Wee tooke him with certaine other of her chiefest men (which were Spaniards) into the Victorie: and Captaine Lister with so manie other of the chiefest of our Mariners, souldiers, and saylers as were thought sufficient, to the number of 20. or thereabouts, were sent into her. In the meane time (we staying) our other prizes which followed after, came vp to vs. And nowe wee had our hands full and with ioy shaped our course for England, for so it was thought meetest, hauing now so many Portugals, Spaniards and Frenchmen amongst vs, that if we should haue taken any more prizes afterwards, wee had not bene well able to haue manned them without endangering our selues. So about six of the clocke in the afternoone (when our other prize had ouertaken vs) wee set saile for England. But our prizes not being able to beare vs company without sparing them many of our sailes, which caused our ship to roule and wallow, in such sort that it was not onely very troublesome to vs, but, as it was thought, would also haue put the maine Maste in danger of falling ouerboord: hauing acquainted them with these inconueniences, we gaue them direction to keepe their courses together, folowing vs, and so to come to Portsmouth. We tooke this last prize in the latitude of 39. degrees, and about 46. leagues to the Westwards from the Rocke.

She was one of those 16. ships which we saw going into the hauen at Angra in Terçera, October 8. Some of the men that we tooke out of her tolde vs, that whilest wee were plying vp and downe before that hauen, as before was shewed, expecting the comming foorth of those shippes, three of the greatest and best of them, at the appointment of the Gouernour of Terçera were vnloden of their treasure and marchandize. And in euery of them were put three hundred Souldiers, which were appointed to haue come to lay the Victory aboord in the night, and take her: but when this should haue bene done the Victory was gone out of their sight.

Now we went meerily before the winde with all the sailes we could beare, insomuch that in the space of 24. houres, we sailed neere 47. leagues, that is seuenscore English miles, betwixt Friday at noone and Saturday at noone (notwithstanding the shippe was very foule, and much growne with long being at Sea) which caused some of our company to make accompt they would see what running at Tilt there should bee at Whitehall vpon the Queenes day. Others were imagining what a Christmas they would keepe in England with their shares of the prizes we had taken. But so it befell, that we kept a colde Christmas with the Bishop and his clearks (rockes that lye to the Westwards from Sylly, and the Westerne parts of England:) For soone after the wind scanting came about to the Eastwards (the worst part of the heauens for vs, from which the winde could blow) in such sort, that we could not fetch any part of England. And hereupon also our allowance of drinke, which was scant ynough before, was yet more scanted, because of the scarcitie thereof in the shippe. So that now a man was allowed but halfe a pinte at a meale, and that many times colde water, and scarce sweete. Notwithstanding this was an happie estate in comparison of that which followed: For from halfe a pinte we came to a quarter, and that lasted not long either, so that by reason of this great scarsitie of drinke, and contrarietie of winde, we thought to put into Ireland, there to relieue our wants. But when wee came neere thither, lying at hull all night (tarrying for the daylight of the next morning, whereby we might the safelyer bring our ship into some conuenient harbour there) we were driuen so farre to lee-ward, that we could fetch no part of Ireland, so as with heauie hearts and sad cheare, wee were constreined to returne backe againe, and expect till it should please God to send vs a faire winde either for England or Ireland. In the meane time, we were allowed euery man three or foure spoones full of vineger to drinke at a meale: for other drinke we had none, sauing onely at two or three meales, when we had in stead hereof as much wine, which was wringed out of Wine-lees that remained. With this hard fare (for by reason of our great want of drinke, wee durst eate but very litle) wee continued for the space of a fortnight or thereabouts: Sauing that now and then wee feasted for it in the meane time: And that was when there fell any haile or raine: the haile-stones wee gathered vp and did eate them more pleasantly then if they had bene the sweetest Comfits in the world; The raine drops were so carefully saued, that so neere as wee coulde, not one was lost in all our shippe. Some hanged vp sheetes tied with cordes by the foure corners, and a weight in the midst that the water might runne downe thither, and so be receiued into some vessel set or hanged vnderneth: Some that wanted sheetes, hanged vp napkins, and cloutes, and watched them till they were thorow wet, then wringing and sucking out the water. And that water which fell downe and washed away the filth and soyling of the shippe, trod vnder foote, as bad as running downe the kennell many times when it raineth, was not lost I warrant you, but watched and attended carefully (yea sometimes with strife and contention) at euery scupper hole, and other place where it ranne downe, with dishes, pots, cannes, and Iarres, whereof some drunke hearty draughts, euen as it was, mud and all, without tarrying to clense or settle it: Others cleansed it first but not often, for it was so thicke and went so slowly thorow, that they might ill endure to tary so long, and were loth to loose too much of such precious stuffe: some licked with their tongues (like dogges) the boards vnder feete, the sides, railes, and Masts of the shippe: others that were more ingenious, fastened girdles or ropes about the Mastes, dawbing tallow betwixt them and the Maste (that the raine might not runne downe betweene) in such sort, that those ropes or girdles hanging lower on the one side then on the other, a spout of leather was fastened to the lowest part of them, that all the raine drops that came running downe the Maste, might meete together at that place, and there be receiued.

Hee that got a canne of water by these meanes was spoken of, sued to, and enuied as a rich man. Quàm pulchrum digito monstrari et dicier hic est? Some of the poore Spaniards that we had taken (who notwithstanding had the same allowance that our owne men had) would come and craue of vs, for the loue of God, but so much water as they could holde in the hollow of their hand: and they had it, notwithstanding our great extremitie, to teach them some humanitie instead of their accustomed barbaritie, both to vs and other nations heretofore. They put also bullets of lead into their mouthes to slake their thirst.

Now in euery corner of the shippe were heard the lamentable cries of sicke and wounded men sounding wofully in our eares, crying out and pitifully complaining for want of drinke, being ready to die, yea many dying for lacke thereof, so as by reason of this great extremite we lost many more men, then wee had done all the voyage before: hauing before this time bene so well and suffiiciently prouided for, that we liued in maner as well and healthfully, and died as few as if we had bene in England, whereas now lightly euery day some were cast ouerboord.

But the second day of December 1589. was a festiuall day with vs, for then it rained a good pace, and wee saued some pretie store of raine water (though we were well wet for it, and that at midnight) and filled our skins full besides: notwithstanding it were muddie and bitter with washing the shippe, but (with some sugar which we had to sweeten it withall) it went merrily downe, yet remembred we and wished for with all our hearts, many a Conduit, pumpe, spring, and streame of cleare sweete running water in England: And how miserable wee had accompted some poore soules whom we had seene driuen for thirst to drinke thereof, and how happy we would now haue thought our selues if we might haue had our fills of the same: yet should we haue fared the better with this our poore feasting, if we might haue had our meat and drinke (such and so much as it was) stand quietly before vs: but beside all the former extremities, wee were so tossed and turmoiled with such horrible stormie and tempestuous weather, that euery man had best holde fast his Canne, cup, and dish in his hands, yea and himselfe too, many times, by the ropes, railes, or sides of the ship or else he should soone finde all vnder feet.

Herewith our maine saile was torne from the yarde and blowne ouerboord quite away into the sea without recouery, and our other sailes so rent and torne (from side to side some of them) that hardly any of them escaped hole. The raging waues and foming surges of the sea came rowling like mountaines one after another, and ouerraked the waste of the shippe like a mightie riuer running ouer it, whereas in faire weather it was neere 20. foote aboue the water, that nowe wee might cry out with the princely Prophet Psalme 107. vers. 26. They mount vp to heauen, and descend to the deepe, so that their soule melteth away for trouble: they reele too and fro, and stagger like a drunken man, and all their cunning is gone. With this extremitie of foule weather the ship was so tossed and skaken, that by the craking noise it made, and by the leaking which was now much more than ordinary, wee were in great feare it would haue shaken in sunder, so that now also we had iust cause to pray a litle otherwise than the Poet, though marring the verse, yet mending the meaning.

Deus maris et Cœli, quid enim nisi vota supersunt,
 Soluere quassatæ parcito membra ratis.

Notwithstanding it pleased God of his great goodnesse to deliuer vs out of this great danger. Then forthwith a new maine saile was made and fastened to the yard, and the rest repaired as time and place would suffer: which we had no sooner done, but yet againe wee were troubled with as great an extremitie as before so that againe we were like to haue lost our new maine saile, had not Master William Antony the Master of the ship himselfe (when none else would or durst) ventured with danger of drowning by creeping along vpon the maine yarde (which was let downe close to the railes) to gather it up out of the sea, and to fasten it thereto, being in the meane while oft-times ducked ouer head and eares into the sea.

These stormes were so terrible, that there were some in our company which confessed they had gone to seas for the space of 20. yeeres, and had neuer seene the like, and vowed that if euer they returned safe home, they would neuer come to sea againe.

The last of Nouember at night we met with an English ship, out of which (because it was too late that night) it was agreed that we should haue had the next morning two or three Tunnes of wine, which, as they said, was al the prouision of drink they had, saue only a But or two, which they must needs reserue for their owne vse: but after that, we heard of them no more, till they were set on ground vpon the coast of Ireland, where it appeared that they might haue spared vs much more then they pretended they could, so as they might wel haue relieued our great necessities, and haue had sufficient for themselues besides, to bring them into England.

The first of December at night we spake with another English ship, and had some beere out of her, but not sufficient to cary vs into England, so that wee were constrained to put into Ireland, the winde so seruing.

The next day we came to an anker, not far from the S. Kelmes vnder the land and winde, where we were somewhat more quiet, but (that being no safe harbour to ride in) the next morning wee went about to weigh anker, but hauing some of our men hurt at the Capsten, wee were faine to giue ouer and leaue it behinde, holding on our course to Ventrie hauen, where wee safely arriued the same day, that place being a very safe and conuenient harbor for vs, that now wee might sing as we had iust cause, They that go downe to the sea, &c.

So soone as we had ankered here my Lord went foorthwith to shoare, and brought presently fresh water and fresh victuals, as Muttons, pigges, hennes, &c. to refresh his company withall. Notwithstanding himselfe had lately bene very weake, and tasted of the same extremitie that his Company did: For in the time of our former want, hauing a little fresh water left him remaining in a pot, in the night it was broken, and the water drunke and dried vp. Soone after the sicke and wounded men were carried to the next principall Towne, called Dingenacush, being about three miles distant from the foresaide hauen, where our shippe roade, to the Eastwards, that there they might be the better refreshed, and had the Chirurgians dayly to attend vpon them. Here we wel refreshed our selues whilest the Irish harpe sounded sweetely in our eares, and here we, who for the former extremities were in maner halfe dead, had our liues (as it were) restored vnto vs againe.

This Dingenacush is the chiefe Towne in al that part of Ireland, it consisteth but of one maine streete, from whence some smaller doe proceede on either side. It hath had gates (as it seemeth) in times past at either ende to open and shut as a Towne of warre, and a Castle also. The houses are very strongly built with thicke stone walles, and narrow windowes like vnto Castles: for as they confessed, in time of trouble, by reason of the wilde Irish or otherwise, they vsed their houses for their defence as Castles. The castle and all the houses in the Towne, saue foure, were won, burnt, and ruinated by the Erle of Desmond.

These foure houses fortified themselues against him, and withstood him and all his power perforce, so as he could not winne them.

There remaineth yet a thicke stone wall that passeth ouerthwart the midst of the streete which was a part of their fortification. Notwithstanding whilest they thus defended themselues, as some of them yet aliue confessed, they were driuen to as great extremities as the Iewes, besieged by Titus the Romane Emperour, insomuch that they were constrained to eat dead mens carcases for hunger. The towne is nowe againe somewhat repaired, but in effect there remaine but the ruines of the former Towne. Commonly they haue no chimnies in their houses, excepting them of the better sort, so that the smoake was very troublsom to vs, while we continued there. Their fewell is turfes, which they haue very good, and whinnes or furres. There groweth little wood thereabouts, which maketh building chargeable there: as also want of lime (as they reported) which they are faine to fetch from farre, when they haue neede thereof. But of stones there is store ynough, so that with them they commonly make their hedges to part ech mans ground from other; and the ground seemeth to be nothing else within but rockes and stones; Yet it is very fruitfull and plentifull of grasse and graine, as may appeare by the abundance of kine and cattell there: insomuch that we had good muttons (though somewhat lesse then ours in England) for two shillings or fiue groates a piece, good pigges and hennes for 3 pence a piece.

The greatest want is industrious, painefull, and husbandly inhabitants to till and trimme the ground: for the common sort, if they can prouide sufficient to serue from hand to mouth, take no further care.

Of money (as it seemeth) there is very store amongst them, which perhaps was the cause that made them double and triple the prizes of many things we bought of them, more then they were before our comming thither.

Good land was here to be had for foure pence the Acre yeerely rent. There are Mines of Alome, Tinne, brasse, and yron. Stones wee sawe there as cleare as Christall, naturally squared like Diamonds.

Mines in Ireland.

That part of the Countrey is al full of great mountaines and hills, from whence came running downe the pleasant streames of sweete fresh running water. The natural hardnesse of the Nation appeareth in this, that their small children runne vsually in the middest of Winter vp and downe the streetes bare-foote and bare-legged, with no other apparell (many times) saue onely a mantle to couer their nakednesse.

The chiefe Officer of their Towne they call their Soueraigne, who hath the same office and authoritie among them that our Maiors haue with vs in England, and hath his Sergeants to attend vpon him, and beare the Mace before him as our Maiors.

We were first intertained at the Soueraignes house, which was one of those 4. that withstood the Erle of Desmond in his rebellion. They haue the same forme of Common prayer word for word in Latin, that we haue here in England. Vpon the Sunday the Soueraigne commeth into the Church with his Sergeant before him, and the Sheriffe and others of the Towne accompany him, and there they kneele downe euery man by himselfe priuately to make his prayers. After this they rise and go out of the Church againe to drinke, which being done, they returne againe into the Church, and then the Minister beginneth prayers.

Their maner of baptizing differeth something from ours: part of the seruice belonging therto is repeated in Latin, and part in Irish. The minister taketh the child in his hands, and first dippeth it backwards, and then forwards, ouer heads and eares into the cold water in the midst of Winter, whereby also may appeare their naturall hardnesse, (as before was specified.) They had neither Bell, drum, nor trumpet, to call the Parishioners together, but they expect till their Soueraigne come, and then they that haue any deuotion follow him.

They make their bread all in cakes, and, for the tenth part, the bakers bake for all the towne.

We had of them some 10. or 11. Tunnes of beere for the Victory, but it proued like a present purgation to them that tooke it, so that we chose rather to drinke water then it.

The 20 of December we loosed from hence, hauing well prouided ourselues of fresh water, and other things necessary, being accompanied with sir Edw. Dennie, his Lady, and two yong sonnes.

This day in the morning my Lord going ashoare to dispatch away speedily some fresh water that remained for the Victory, the winde being very faire for vs, brought vs newes that their were 60. Spanish prizes taken and brought to England. For two or three dayes wee had a faire winde, but afterwards it scanted so, that (as I said before) we were faine to keepe a cold Christmas with The Bishop and his clearkes.

After this we met with an English ship, that brought vs ioyful newes of 91. Spanish prizes that were come to England: and sorrowfull newes withall, that the last and best prize we tooke, had suffered shipwracke at a place vpon the coast of Cornwal which the Cornish men cals Als Efferne, that is, Hel-cliffe, and that Captaine Lister and all the men in the ship were drowned, saue 5. or 6. the one halfe English, the other Spanish that saued themselues with swimming: but notwithstanding much of the goods were saued, and reserued for vs, by sir Francis Godolphin, and the worshipful gentlemen of the Countrey there. My Lord was very sorry for Captaine Listers death, wishing that he had lost his voyage to haue saued his life.

Captaine Lister drowned.

The 29. of December we met with another shippe, that tolde vs the same newes, and that sir Martin Frobisher, and Captaine Reymond had taken the Admirall and Vice-Admirall of the Fleet that we espied going to Terçera hauen. But the Admirall was sunke with much leaking, neere to the Idy Stone, a rocke that lieth ouer against Plimouth sound, and the men were saued.

This ship also certified vs that Captaine Prestons ship had taken a prize loden with siluer. My Lord entred presently into this ship, and went to Falmouth, and we held on our course for Plimouth At night we came neere to the Ram-head (the next Cape Westwards from Plimouth sound) but we were afraid to double it in the night, misdoubting the scantnesse of the winde. So we stood off to Sea halfe the night, and towards morning had the winde more large, and made too little spare thereof, that partly for this cause, and partly through mistaking of the land, wee were driuen so much to lee-wards, that we could not double that Cape: Therefore we returned backe againe, and came into Falmouth hauen, where wee strucke on ground in 17. foote water: but it was a low ebbe, and ready againe to flowe, and the ground soft, so as no hurt was done. Here with gladnesse wee set foote againe vpon the English ground (long desired) and refreshed ourselues with keeping part of Christmas vpon our natiue soile.

The valiant fight performed by 10. Merchants ships of London, against 12. Spanish gallies in the Straights of Gibraltar, the 24. of April 1590.

IT is not long since sundry valiant ships appertaining to the Marchants of London, were fraighted and rigged forth, some for Venice, some for Constantinople, and some to sundry other places of trafique, among whom these ensuing met within the Straights of Gibraltar, as they were taking their course homewards, hauing before escaped all other danger. The first whereof was the Salomon appertaining to M. Alderman Barnam of London, and M. Bond, and M. Twyd of Harwich; which went foorth the first day of February last. The second was the Margaret and Iohn belonging to M. Wats of London: The thirde was the Minion: The fourth was the Ascension. The fifth was the Centurion of Master Cordal: the sixt the Violet: the seuenth the Samuel; the eight the Crescent: the ninth the Elizabeth: and the 10. was the Richard belonging to M. Duffield,

February 1590

All these ships being of notable and approued seruice comming neere to the mouth of the Straights hard by the coast of Barbary, descried twelue tall Gallies brauely furnished and strongly prouided with men and munition, ready to seaze vpon these English ships: which being perceiued by the Captaines and Masters thereof, wee made speedy preparation for the defence of our selues, still waiting all the night long for the approching of the enemie. In the morning early being the Tuesday in Easter weeke, and the 24 of April 1590 according to our vsual customes, we said Seruice and made our prayers vnto Almightie God, beseeching him to saue vs from the hands of such tyrants as the Spaniards, whom we iustly imagined to be, and whom we knew and had found to be our most mortall enemies vpon the Sea. And hauing finished our prayers, and set ourselues in a readinesse, we perceiued them to come towards vs, and that they were indeede the Spanish Gallies that lay vnder the conduct of Andre Doria, who is Vice-roy for the King of Spaine in the Straights of Gibraltar, and a notable knowne enemie to all Englishmen. So when they came somewhat neerer vnto vs, they waued vs a maine for the King of Spaine, and wee waued them a maine for the Queene of England, at which time it pleased Almightie God greatly to encourage vs all in such sort, as that the neerer they came the lesse we feared their great multitudes and huge number of men, which were planted in those Gallies to the number of two or three hundred men in ech Gallie. And it was thus concluded among vs, that the foure first and tallest ships should be placed hindmost, and the weaker and smallest ships formost, and so it was performed, every man being ready to take part of such successe as it should please God to send.

And the first encounter the Gallies came vpon vs very fiercely, yet God so strengthened vs, that if they had bene ten times more, we had not feared them at all. Whereupon the Salomon being a hot shippe, and hauing sundry cast pieces in her, gaue the first shotte in such a sowre sort, as that it shared away so many men as sate on the one side of a Gallie, and pierced her through in such maner, as that she was readie to sinke, which made them to assault vs the more fiercely. Whereupon the rest of our shippes, especially the foure chiefest, namely, the Margaret and Iohn, the Minion, and the Ascension followed, and gaue a hot charge vpon them, and they at vs, where began a hot and fierce battaile with great valiancie the one against the other, and so continued for the space of sixe houres. About the beginning of this our fight there came two Flemings to our Fleet, who seeing the force of the Gallies to be so great, the one of them presently yeelded, strooke his sailes, and was taken by the Gallies, whereas if they would haue offered themselues to haue fought in our behalfe and their owne defence, they needed not to haue bene taken so cowardly as they were to their cost. The other Fleming being also ready to performe the like piece of seruice began to vaile his sailes, and intended to haue yeelded immediatly. But the Trumpetter in that shippe plucked foorth his faulchion and stepped to the Pilote at the helme, and vowed that if he did not speedily put off to the English Fleete, and so take part with them, he would presently kill him: which the Pilote for feare of death did, and so by that meanes they were defended from present death, and from the tyrannie of those Spaniards, which doubtlesse they should haue found at their handes.

A fight of sixe houres long.

A faint hearted Fleming.

Thus we continued in fight sixe houres and somewhat more, wherein God gaue vs the vpper hand, and we escaped the hands of so many enemies, who were constrained to flie into harbour and shroude themselues from vs, and with speed to seeke for their owne safetie. This was the handie worke of God, who defended vs all from danger in such sort, as that there was not one man of vs slaine. And in all this fierce assault made vpon vs by the Spanish power, wee sustained no hurt or damage at all more then this, that the shrouds and backe-stay of the Salomon, who gaue the first and last shot, and galled the enemie shrewdly all the time of the battell, were cleane stricken off.

The battel being ceased, we were constrained for want of wind to stay and waft vp and downe, and then went backe againe to Tition in Barbary, which is sixe leagues off from Gibraltar, and when we came thither we found the people wonderous fauourable to vs, who being but Moores and heathen people shewed vs where to haue fresh water and al other necessaries for vs. And there we had such good intertainment, as if we had bene in any place of England.

The gouernour was one that fauoured vs greatly, whom wee in respect of his great friendship presented with giftes and such commodities as we had in our custodie, which he wonderfully wel accepted of: and here we stayed foure dayes.

After the battell was ceased, which was on Easter Tuesday, we stayed for want of winde before Gibraltar, vntill the next morning, where we were becalmed, and therefore looked euery houre when they would haue sent foorth some fresh supply against vs, but they were farre vnable to doe it, for all their Gallies were so sore battered, that they durst not come foorth of the harbour, by reason of our hot resistance which they so lately before had receiued. Yet were they greatly vrged thereunto by the Gouernour of the said Towne of Gibraltar.

At our being at Tition in Barbary, there we heard report of the hurt that wee had done to the Gallies, for at our comming from them wee could not well discerne any thing at all by reason of the smoake which the powder had made: there we heard that we had almost spoiled those twelue Gallies by shooting them cleane through, that two of them were ready to sinke, and that wee had slaine of their men such great abundance, as that they were not able to furnish forth any more Gallies at all for that yeere.

Thus after we came from Tition, we assayed to depart the Straight three seuerall times, but could not passe, yet, God be thanked, the fourth time wee came safely away, and so sailed with a pleasant winde vntil wee came vpon the coast of England, which was in the beginning of the moneth of Iuly 1590.

The valiant fight performed in the Straight of Gibraltar, by the Centurion of London, against the fiue Spanish Gallies, in the moneth of April 1591.

IN the moneth of Nouember 1590, there were sundry shippes appertaining to seuerall Marchants of London, which were rigged and fraught foorth with marchandize, for sundry places within the Straight of Gibraltar: who, together hauing winde and weather, which ofttime fell out very vncertaine, arriued safely in short space, at such places as they desired. Among whom was the Centurion of London, a very tall shippe of burden, yet but weakely manned, as appeareth by this discourse following.

This aforesaid shippe called The Centurion safely arriued at Marseils, where after they had deliuered their goods, they stayed about the space of fiue weekes, and better, and then tooke in lading, intending to returne to England.

Now when the Centurion was ready to come away from Marseils, there were sundry other shippes of smaller burden which entreated the Master thereof, (whose name is Robert Bradshaw, dwelling at Lime-house) to stay a day or two for them, vntill they were in a readinesse to depart with them, thereby perswading them, that it would be farre better for them to stay and goe together in respect of their assistance, then to depart of themselues without company, and so happily for want of aide fall into the hands of their enemies in the Spanish Gallies. Vpon which reasonable perswasion, notwithstanding that this shippe was of such sufficiencie as they might hazard her in the danger of the Sea, yet they stayed for those litle shippes, according to their request, who together did put to Sea from Marseils, and vowed in generall not to flie one from another, if they should happen to meete with any Spanish Gallies.

These small shippes, accompanied with the Centurion, sayling along the coast of Spaine, were vpon Easter day in the Straight of Gibraltar suddenly becalmed, where immediatly they saw sundry Gallies make towards them, in very valiant and couragious sort: the chiefe Leaders and souldiers in those Gallies brauely apparelled in silke coates, with their siluer whistles about their neckes, and great plumes of feathers in their hattes, who with their Caliuers shot at the Centurion so fast as they might: so that by 10. of the clocke and somewhat before, they had boorded the Centurion, who before their comming had prepared for them, and intended to giue them so soure a welcome as they might. And thereupon hauing prepared their close fights, and all things in a readinesse, they called vpon God, on whom onely they trusted: and hauing made their prayers, and cheered vp one another to fight so long as life endured, they beganne to discharge their great Ordinance vpon the Gallies, but the little shippes durst not come forward, but lay aloofe, while fiue Gallies had boorded them, yea and with their grapling irons made their Gallies fast to the said shippe called the Centurion.

The Gallies were grapled to the Centurion in this maner, two lay on one side and two on another, and the Admirall lay full in the sterne, which galled and battered the Centurion so sore, that her maine Maste was greatly weakened, her sailes filled with many holes, and the Mizzen and sterne made almost vnseruiceable.

During which time there was a sore and deadly fight on both sides, in which the Trumpet of the Centurion sounded foorth the deadly points of warre, and encouraged them to fight manfully against their aduersaries: on the contrary part, there was no warlike Musicke in the Spanish Gallies, but onely their whistles of siluer, which they sounded foorth to their owne contentment: in which fight many a Spaniard was turned into the Sea, and they in multitudes came crauling and hung vpon the side of the shippe, intending to haue entred into the same, but such was the courage of the Englishmen, that so fast as the Spaniards did come to enter, they gaue them such entertainment, that some of them were glad to tumble aliue into the Sea, being remedilesse for euer to get vp aliue. In the Centurion there were in all, of men and boyes, fourtie and eight, who together fought most valiantly, and so galled the enemie, that many a braue and lustie Spaniard lost his life in that place.

The Centurion was fired seuerall times, with wilde fire and other prouision, which the Spaniards threw in for that purpose: yet, God be thanked, by the great and diligent foresight of the Master it did no harme at all.

In euery of the Gallies there were about 200. souldiers: who together with the shot, spoiled, rent, and battered the Centurion very sore, shot through her maine Maste, and slew 4. of the men in the said shippe, the one of them being the Masters mate.

Ten other persons were hurt, by meanes of splinters which the Spaniards shotte: yea, in the ende when their prouision was almost spent, they were constrained to shoote at them hammers, and the chaines from their slaues, and yet God bee thanked, they receiued no more domage: but by spoyling and ouer-wearying of the Spaniards, the Englishmen constrained them to vngrapple themselues, and get them going: and sure if there had bene any other fresh shippe or succour to haue relieued and assisted the Centurion, they had slaine, suncke, or taken all those Gallies and their Souldiers.

The Dolphin lay a loofe off and durst not come neere, while the other two small shippes fledde away, so that one of the Gallies went from the Centurion and set vpon the Dolphin, which shippe immediatly was set on fire with their owne powder, whereby both men and shippe perished: but whether it was with their good wills or no, that was not knowen vnto the Centurion, but sure, if it had come forward, and bene an aide vnto the Centurion, it is to bee supposed that it had not perished.

Fiue houres and a halfe this fight continued, in which time both were glad to depart onely to breath themselues, but when the Spaniards were gone, they neuer durst returne to fight, yet the next day sixe other Gallies came and looked at them, but durst not at any hand meddle with them.

Thus God deliuered them from the handes of their enemies, and gaue them the victorie: for which they heartily praised him, and not long after safely arriued in London.

☞ There were present at this fight Master Iohn Hawes Marchant, and sundry other of good accompt.

A report of the trueth of the fight about the Iles of Açores, the last of August 1591, betwixt the Reuenge, one of her Maiesties shippes, and an Armada of the king of Spaine; penned by the honourable Sir Walter Ralegh knight.

BEcause the rumours are diuersely spred, as well in England as in the Lowe countries and elsewhere, of this late encounter betweene her Maiesties ships and the Armada of Spaine; and that the Spaniards according to their vsuall maner fill the world with their vaine-glorious vaunts, making great apparance of victories, when on the contrary, themselues are most commonly and shamefully beaten and dishonoured; thereby hoping to possesse the ignorant multitude by anticipating and forerunning false reports: It is agreeable with all good reason, for manifestation of the truth, to ouercome falshood and vntrueth; that the beginning, continuance and successe of this late honourable encounter of Sir Richard Greenuil, and other her Maiesties Captaines, with the Armada of Spaine; should be truely set downe and published without partialitie or false imaginations. And it is no marueile that the Spaniard should seeke by false and slanderous pamphlets, aduisoes and Letters, to couer their owne losse, and to derogate from others their due honors, especially in this fight being performed far off: seeing they were not ashamed in the yeere 1588. when they purposed the inuasion of this land, to publish in sundry languages in print, great victories in wordes, which they pleaded to haue obteined against this Realme; and spred the same in a most false sort ouer all parts of France, Italy, and elsewhere. When shortly after it was happily manifested in very deed to al Nations, how their Nauy which they termed inuincible, consisting of 140. saile of shippes, not onely of their owne kingdome, but strengthened with the greatest Argosies, Portugal Caracks, Florentines, and huge hulks of other Countreis, were by 30. of her Maiesties owne ships of war, and a few of our owne Marchants, by the wise, valiant, and aduantagious conduct of the L. Charles Howard high Admirall of England, beaten and shuffled together; euen from the Lizard in Cornwall first to Portland, where they shamefully left Don Pedro de Valdes, with his mighty ship; from Portland to Cales, where they lost Hugo de Moncado, with the Gallies of which he was Captaine, and from Cales, driuen with squibs from their anchors, were chased out of the sight of England, round about Scotland and Ireland. Where for the sympathie of their barbarous religion, hoping to finde succour and assistance, a great part of them were crusht against the rocks, and those other that landed, being very many in number, were notwithstanding broken, slaine, and taken, and so sent from village to village coupled in halters, to be shipped into England. Where her Maiestie of her Princely and inuincible disposition, disdaining to put them to death, and scorning either to retaine or entertaine them: they were all sent backe againe to their countreys, to witnes and recount the worthy achieuements of their inuincible and dreadfull Nauy: Of which the number of Souldiers, the fearefull burthen of their shippes, the commanders names of euery squadron, with all other their magasines of prouisions, were put in print, as an Army and Nauy vnresistable, and disdaining preuention. With all which so great and terrible an ostentation, they did not in all their sailing round about England, so much as sinke or take one shippe, Barke, Pinnesse, or Cockbote of ours: or euer burnt so much as one sheepecote of this land. When as on the contrarie, Sir Francis Drake, with onely 800. souldiers not long before, landed in their Indies, and forced Sant-Iago, Santo Domingo, Cartagena, and the forts of Florida.

And after that, Sir Iohn Norris marched from Peniche in Portugall, with a handfull of souldiers, to the gates of Lisbone, being aboue 40 English miles. Where the Earle of Essex himselfe and other valiant Gentlemen braued the Citie of Lisbone, encamped at the very gates; from whence, after many dayes abode, finding neither promised partie, nor prouision to batter; they made retrait by land, in despight of all their Garrisons, both of horse and foote. In this sort I haue a little digressed from my first purpose, onely by the necessarie comparison of theirs and our actions: the one couetous of honour without vaunt of ostentation; the other so greedy to purchase the opinion of their owne affaires, and by false rumors to resist the blasts of their owne dishonours, as they will not onely not blush to spread all manner of vntruthes: but euen for the least aduantage, be it but for the taking of one poore aduenturer of the English, will celebrate the victory with bonefires in euery towne, alwayes spending more in faggots, then the purchase was worth they obtained. When as we neuer thought it worth the consumption of two billets, when we haue taken eight or ten of their Indian shippes at one time, and twentie of the Brasill fleete. Such is the difference betweene true valure, and ostentation: and betweene honorable actions, and friuolous vaineglorious vaunts. But now to returne to my purpose.

The L. Thomas Howard with sixe of her Maiesties shippes, sixe victuallers of London, the Barke Ralegh, and two or three other Pinnases riding at anker neere vnto Flores, one of the Westerly Ilands of the Azores, the last of August in the afternoone, had intelligence by one Captaine Middleton of the approch of the Spanish Armada. Which Middleton being in a very good sailer had kept them company three dayes before, of good purpose, both to discouer their forces the more, as also to giue aduise to my L. Thomas of their approch. Hee had no sooner deliuered the newes but the fleete was in sight: many of our shippes companies were on shore in the Ilande; some prouiding ballast for their ships; others filling of water and refreshing themselues from the land with such things as they could either for money, or by force recouer. By reason whereof our ships being all pestered and romaging euery thing out of order, very light for want of balast, and that which was most to our disaduantage, the one halfe part of the men of euery shippe sicke, and vtterly vnseruiceable: for in the Reuenge there were ninety diseased: in the Bonauenture not so many in health as could handle her maine saile. For had not twenty men beene taken out of a Barque of sir George Careys, his being commaunded to be sunke, and those appointed to her, she had hardly euer recouered England. The rest, for the most parte, were in little better state. The names of her Maiesties shippes were these as followeth, the Defiance, which was Admiral, the Reuenge Vice-admirall, the Bonauenture commaunded by Captaine Crosse, the Lion by George Fenner, the Foresight by M. Thomas Vauasour, and the Crane by Duffild. The Foresight and the Crane being but smal ships; only the other were of the middle size; the rest, besides the Barke Ralegh, commanded by Captaine Thin, were victuallers, and of small force or none. The Spanish Fleet hauing shrouded their approch by reason of the Island; were now so soone at hand, as our shippes had scarce time to way their anchors, but some of them were driuen to let slippe their Cables and set saile. Sir Richard Grinuile was the last that wayed, to recouer the men that were vpon the Island, which otherwise had bene lost. The L. Thomas with the rest very hardly recouered the winde, which Sir Richard Grinuile not being able to doe, was perswaded by the Master and others to cut his maine sayle, and cast about, and to trust to the sayling of the ship; for the squadron of Siuil were on his weather bow. But Sir Richard vtterly refused to turne from the enemie, alleaging that hee would rather choose to die, then to dishonour himselfe, his countrey, and her Maiesties shippe, perswading his companie that hee would passe through the two squadrons, in despight of them, and enforce those of Siuil to giue him way. Which hee performed vpon divers of the formost, who, as the Mariners terme it, sprang their luffe, and fell vnder the lee of the Reuenge. But the other course had beene the better, and might right well haue bene answered in so great an impossibility of preuailing. Notwithstanding out of the greatnesse of his minde, he could not be perswaded. In the meane while as hee attended those which were nearest him, the great San Philip being in the winde of him, and comming towards him, becalmed his sailes in such sort, as the shippe could neither make way, nor feele the helme: so huge and high carged* was the Spanish ship, being of a thousand and fiue hundreth tuns. Who after layd the Reuenge aboord. When he was thus bereft of his sailes, the ships that were vnder his lee luffing vp, also layd him aboord: of which the next was the Admiral of the Biscaines, a very mighty and puissant shippe commanded by Brittandona. The sayd Philip carried three tire of ordinance on a side, and eleuen pieces in euery tire. She shot eight forth right out of her chase, besides those of her sterne ports.

After the Reuenge was entangled with this Philp, foure other boorded her: two on her larbood, and two on her starboord. The fight thus beginning at three of the clock in the afternoone, continued very terrible all that euening. But the great San Philip hauing receiued the lower tire of the Reuenge, discharged with crosse bar-shot, shifted her selfe with all diligence from her sides, vtterly misliking her first entertainement. Some say that the shippe foundred, but we cannot report it for truth, vnlesse we were assured. The Spanish ships were filled with companies of souldiers, in some two hundred besides the mariners; in some fiue, in others eight hundreth. In ours there were none at all besides the mariners; but the seruants of the commanders and some few voluntary gentlemen onely. After many interchanged volies of great ordinance and small shot, the Spaniards deliberated to enter the Reuenge, and made diuers attempts, hoping to force her by the multitudes of her armed souldiers and Musketters, but were still repulsed againe and againe, and at all times beaten backe into their owne ships, or into the seas. In the beginning of the fight, the George Noble of London hauing receiued some shot thorow her by the Armadas, fell vnder the lee of the Reuenge, and asked Sir Richard what he would command him, being but one of the victuallers, and of small force: Sir Richard bid him saue himselfe, and leaue him to his fortune. After the fight had thus, without intermission, continued while the day lasted and some houres of the night, many of our men slaine and hurte, and one of the great Gallions of the Armada, and the Admirall of the Hulkes both sunke, and in many other of the Spanish shippes great slaughter was made. Some write that Sir Richard was very dangerously hurt almost in the beginning of the fight, and lay speechlesse for a time ere hee recouered. But two of the Reuenges owne company, brought home in a ship of Lime from the Ilandes, examined by some of the Lordes, and others, affirmed that hee was neuer so wounded as that hee forsooke the vpper decke, till an houre before midnight; and then being shot into the bodie with a Musket as hee was a dressing, was againe shot into the head, and withall his Chirurgion wounded to death. This agreeth also with an examination taken by sir Francis Godolphin, of foure other mariners of the same shippe being returned, which examination, the said sir Francis sent vnto master William Killegrue, of her Maiesties priuy Chamber.

---

* From the French, *carguer*, to furl.

But to returne to the fight, the Spanish ships which attempted to bord the Reuenge, as they were wounded and beaten off, so alwayes others came in their places, she hauing neuer lesse then two mighty Gallions by her sides, and aboard her: So that ere the morning, from three of the clocke the day before, there had fifteene seuerall Armadas assayled her; and all so ill approued their entertainment, as they were by the breake of day, far more willing to harken to a composition, then hastily to make any more assaults or entries. But as the day encreased, so our men decreased: and as the light grew more and more, by so much more grewe our discomforts. For none appeared in sight but enemies, sauing one small ship called the Pilgrim, commaunded by Iacob Whiddon, who houered all night to see the successe: but in the morning bearing with the Reuenge, was hunted like a hare amongst many rauenous houndes, but escaped.

All the] powder of the Reuenge to the last barrell was now spent, all her pikes broken, fortie of her best men slaine, and the most part of the rest hurt. In the beginning of the fight shee had but one hundreth free from sicknes, and fourescore and ten sicke, laid in hold vpon the Ballast. A small troup to man such a ship, and a weake garrison to resist so mighty an army. By those hundred al was susteined, the voleis, boordings, and entrings of fifteen ships of warre, besides those which beat her at large. On the contrary, the Spanish were always supplied with souldiers brought from euery squadron: all maner of Armes and powder at will. Vnto ours there remained no comfort at all, no hope, no supply either of ships, men, or weapons; the Mastes all beaten ouer board, all her tackle cut asunder, her vpper worke altogether rased, and in effect euened shee was with the water, but the very foundation or bottome of a ship, nothing being left ouer head either for flight or defence. Sir Richard finding himselfe in this distresse, and vnable any longer to make resistance, hauing endured in this fifteene houres fight, the assault of fifteene seuerall Armadas, all by turnes aboord him, and by estimation eight hundred shotte of great Artillerie, besides many assaults and entries; and that himselfe and the shippe must needes be possessed by the enemy, who were now all cast in a ring round about him (The Reuenge not able to moue one way or the other, but as she was moued with the waues and billow of the sea) commanded the Master gunner, whom hee knew to be a most resolute man, to split and sinke the shippe; that thereby nothing might remaine of glory or victory to the Spaniards: seeing in so many houres fight, and with so great a Nauie they were not able to take her, hauing had fifteene houres time, aboue ten thousand men, and fiftie and three saile of men of warre to performe it withall: and perswaded the company, or as many as hee could induce, to yeelde themselues

The Spanish 53 saile.

vnto God, and to the mercie of none else; but as they had, like valiant resolute men, repulsed so many enemies, they should not nowe shorten the honour of their Nation, by prolonging their owne liues for a few houres, or a fewe dayes. The Master gunner readily condescended and diuers others; but the Captaine and the Master were of another opinion, and besought Sir Richard to haue care of them: alleaging that the Spaniard would be as ready to entertaine a composition, as they were willing to offer the same: and that there being diuers sufficient and valiant men yet liuing, and whose wounds were not mortal, they might do their Countrey and prince acceptable seruice hereafter. And whereas Sir Richard had alleaged that the Spaniards should neuer glory to haue taken one shippe of her Maiestie, seeing they had so long and so notably defended themselues; they answered, that the shippe had sixe foote water in holde, three shot vnder water, which were so weakely stopped, as with the first working of the sea, she must needs sinke, and was besides so crusht and brused, as shee could neuer be remoued out of the place.

And as the matter was thus in dispute, and Sir Richard refusing to hearken to any of those reasons: the Master of the Reuenge (while the Captaine wanne vnto him the greater party) was conuoyd aboord the Generall Don Alfonso Baçan. Who (finding none ouer hastie to enter the Reuenge againe, doubting least Sir Richard would haue blowne them vp and himselfe, and perceiuing by report of the Master of the Reuenge his dangerous disposition) yeelded that all their liues should be saued, the company sent for England, and the better sort to pay such reasonable ransome as their estate would beare, and in the meane season to be free from Gally or imprisonment. To this he so much the rather condescended as wel, as I haue said, for feare of further losse and mischiefe to themselues, as also for the desire he had to recouer Sir Richard Greenuil; whom for his notable value he seemed greatly to honour and admire.

When this answere was returned, and that safetie of life was promised, the common sort being now at the ende of their perill, the most drew backe from Sir Richard and the Master gunner, being no hard matter to disswade men from death to life. The Master gunner finding himselfe and Sir Richard thus preuented and mastered by the greater number, would haue slaine himselfe with a sword, had he not bene by force with-held and locked into his Cabben. Then the Generall sent many boates aboord the Reuenge, and diuers of our men fearing Sir Richards disposition, stole away aboord the Generall and other shippes. Sir Richard thus ouermatched, was sent vnto by Alfonso Baçan to remooue out of the Reuenge, the shippe being marueilous vnsauorie, filled with blood and bodies of dead, and wounded men like a slaughter house. Sir Richard answered that hee might doe with his body what he list, for hee esteemed it not, and as he was carried out of the shippe hee swounded, and reuiuing againe desired the company to pray for him. The Generall vſed Sir Richard with all humanitie, and left nothing vnattempted that tended to his recouery, highly commending his valour and worthinesse, and greatly bewailing the danger wherein he was, being vnto them a rare spectacle, and a resolution seldome approoued, to see one shippe turne toward so many enemies, to endure the charge and boording of so many huge Armadas, and to resist and repell the assaults and entries of so many souldiers. All which and more is confirmed by a Spanish Captaine of the same Armada, and a present actor in the fight, who being seuered from the rest in a storme, was by the Lion of London a small ship taken, and is now prisoner in London.

The generall commander of the Armada, was Don Alphonso Baçan, brother to the Marques of Santa Cruz. The admiral of the Biscaine squadron, was Britandona. Of the squadron of Siuil, the Marques of Arumburch. The Hulkes and Flybotes were commanded by Luis Coutinho. There were slaine and drowned in this fight, well neere one thousand of the enemies, and two speciall commanders Don Luis de sant Iohn, and Don George de Prunaria de Mallaga, as the Spanish captaine confesseth, besides diuers others of speciall account, whereof as yet report is not made.

The Admirall of the Hulkes and the Ascension ot Siuil were both sunke by the side ot the Reuenge; one other recouered the rode ot Saint Michael, and sunke also there; a fourth ranne her selfe with the shore to saue her men. Sir Richard died as it is sayd, the second or third day aboord the Generall, and was by them greatly bewailed. What became of his body, whether it were buried in the sea or on the land we know not: the comfort that remayneth to his friends is, that hee hath ended his life honourably in respect of the reputation wonne to his nation and countrey, and of the same to his posteritie, and that being dead, he hath not outliued his owne honour.

For the rest of her Maiesties ships that entred not so farre into the fight as the Reuenge, the reasons and causes were these. There were of them but sixe in all, whereof two but small ships; the Reuenge ingaged past recouery: The Iland of Flores was on the one side, 53 saile of the Spanish, diuided into squadrons on the other, all as full filled with souldiers as they could containe: Almost the one halfe of our men sicke and not able to serue: the ships growne foule, vnroomaged, and scarcely able to beare any saile for want of ballast, hauing bene sixe moneths at the sea before. If all the rest had entred, all had bene lost: for the very hugenes of the Spanish fleete, if no other violence had beene offered, would haue crusht them betweene them into shiuers. Of which the dishonour and losse to the Queene had bene farre greater then the spoyle or harme that the enemie could any way haue receiued. Notwithstanding it is very true, that the Lord Thomas would haue entred betweene the squadrons, but the rest would not condescend; and the master of his owne ship offred to leape into the sea, rather then to conduct that her Maiesties ship and the rest to bee a pray to the enemie, where there was no hope nor possibilitie either of defence or victory. Which also in my opinion had ill sorted or answered the discretion and trust of a Generall, to commit himselfe and his charge to an assured destruction, without hope or any likelyhood of preuailing: thereby to diminish the strength of her Maiesties Nauy, and to enrich the pride and glory of the enemie. The Foresight of the Queenes commaunded by M. Thomas Vauisor performed a very great fight, and stayed two houres as neere the Reuenge as the weather would permit him, not forsaking the fight, till he was like to be encompassed by the squadrons, and with great difficultie cleared himselfe. The rest gaue diuers voleis of shot, and entred as farre as the place permitted, and their owne necessities, to keepe the weather gage of the enemie, vntill they were parted by night. A fewe dayes after the fight was ended, and the English prisoners dispersed into the Spanish and Indie ships, there arose so great a storme from the West and Northwest, that all the fleete was dispersed, as well the Indian fleete which were then come vnto them, as the rest of the Armada that attended their arriual, of which 14. saile together with the Reuenge, and in her 200 Spaniards, were cast away vpon the Isle of S. Michael. So it pleased them to honor the buriall of that renowmed ship the Reuenge, not suffering her to perish alone, for the great honour she atchieued in her life time. On the rest of the Ilandes there were cast away in this storme, 15 or 16 more of the ships of warre: and of an hundred and odde saile of the Indie fleete, expected this yeere in Spaine, what in this tempest, and what before in the bay of Mexico, and about the Bermudas, there were 70 and odde consumed and lost, with those taken by our shippes of London, besides one very rich Indian ship, which set herselfe on fire, beeing boorded by the Pilgrim, and fiue other taken by master Wats his ships of London, between the Hauana and Cape S. Antonio. The fourth of this moneth of Nouember we receiued letters from the Tercera, affirming that there are 3000 bodies of men remaining in that Iland, saued out of the perished ships: and that by the Spaniards owne confession, there are 10000 cast away in this storme, besides those that are perished betweene the Ilands and the maine. Thus it hath pleased God to fight for vs, and to defend the iustice of our cause, against the ambicious and bloody pretenses of the Spaniard, who seeking to deuoure all nations, are themselues deuoured. A manifest testimony how iniust and displeasing, their attempts are in the sight of God, who hath pleased to witnes by the successe of their affaires, his mislike of their bloody and iniurious designes, purposed and practised against all Christian princes, ouer whom they seeke vnlawfull and vngodly rule and Empery.

One day or two before this wracke happened to the Spanish fleete, when as some of our prisoners desired to be set on shore vpon the Ilandes, hoping to be from thence transported into England, which libertie was formerly by the Generall promised: One Morice Fitz Iohn, sonne of olde John of Desmond, a notable traytour, cousin german to the late Earle of Desmond, was sent to the English from shippe to shippe, to perswade them to serue the King of Spaine. The arguments hee vsed to induce them were these. The increase of pay which he promised to be trebled: aduancement to the better sort: and the exercise of the true Catholique Religion, and safetie of their soules to all. For the first, euen the beggerly and vnnaturall behauiour of those English and Irish rebels, that serued the King in that present action, was sufficient to answere that first argument of rich pay. For so poore and beggerly they were, as for want of apparell they stripped their poore Countrey men prisoners out of their ragged garments, worne to nothing by sixe months seruice, and spared not to despoyle them euen of their bloody shirtes, from their wounded bodies, and the very shooes from their feete; A notable testimonie of their rich entertainment and great wages. The second reason was hope of aduancement if they serued well, and would continue faithfull to the King. But what man can be so blockishly ignorant euer to expect place or honour from a forraine King, hauing no other argument or perswasion then his owne disloyaltie; to be vnnatural to his owne Countrey that bred him; to his parents that begat him, and rebellious to his true Prince, to whose obedience he is bound by oath, by nature, and by Religion? No, they are onely assured to be employed in all desperate enterprises, to bee helde in scorne and disdaine euer among those whom they serue. And that euer traitour was either trusted or aduanced I could neuer yet reade, neither can I at this time remember any example. And no man coulde haue lesse becommed the place of an Orator for such a purpose, then this Morice of Desmond. For the Erle his cosen being one of the greatest subiects in that kingdom of Ireland, hauing almost whole Countreis in his possession; so many goodly Mannors, castles, and lordships; the Count Palatine of Kerry, fiue hundred gentlemen of his owne name and family to follow him, besides others (all which he possessed in peace for three or foure hundred yeeres) was in lesse then three yeeres after his adhering to the Spaniards and rebellion, beaten from all his holdes, not so many as ten gentlemen of his name left liuing, himselfe taken and beheaded by a souldier of his owne nation, and his land giuen by a Parliament to her Maiestie, and possessed by the English: His other cosen Sir Iohn of Desmond taken by Master Iohn Zouch, and his body hanged ouer the gates of his natiue Citie to be deuoured by rauens: the thirde brother Sir Iames hanged, drawne, and quartered in the same place. If hee had withall vaunted of his successe of his owne house, no doubt the argument would haue mooued much, and wrought great effect: which because, hee for that present forgot, I thought it good to remember in his behalfe. For matter of Religion it would require a particular volume, if I should set downe how irreligiously they couer their greedy and ambicious pretenses, with that veile of pietie. But sure I am, that there is no kingdome or commonwealth in all Europe, but if they be reformed, they then inuade it for religion sake: if it bee, as they terme Catholique, they pretend title; as if the Kings of Castile were the naturall heires of all the world: and so betweene both, no kingdome is vnsought.

Where they dare not with their owne forces to inuade, they basely entertaine the traitours and vagabonds of all Nations: seeking by those and by their runnagate Iesuits to winne parts, and haue by that meane ruined many Noble houses and others in this lande, and haue extinguished both their liues and families. What good, honour, or fortune euer man yet by them atchieued, is yet vnheard of, or vnwritten. And if our English Papists doe but looke into Portugall, against which they haue no pretense of Religion, how the Nobilitie are put to death, imprisoned, their rich men made a praye, and all sorts of people captiued; they shall finde that the obedience euen of the Turke is easie and a libertie, in respect o the slauerie and tyrannie of Spaine. What haue they done in Sicill, in Naples, Millaine, and in the Low countreis; who hath there bene spared for Religion at all: And it commeth to my remembrance of a certaine Burger of Antwerpe, whose house being entred by a company of Spanish souldiers, when they first sacked the Citie, hee besought them to spare him and his goods, being a good Catholique, and one of their owne partie and faction. The Spaniards answered, that they knew him to be of a good conscience for himselfe, but his money, plate, iewels, and goods were all hereticall, and therefore good prize. So they abused and tormented the foolish Fleming, who hoped that an Agnus Dei had bene a sufficient target against all force of that holy and charitable nation. Neither haue they at any time as they protest inuaded the kingdomes of the Indies and Peru, and elsewhere, but onely led thereunto, rather to reduce the people to Christianitie, then for either gold or Emperie. When as in one onely Island called Hispaniola, they haue wasted thirtie hundred thousand of the naturall people, besides many millions else in other places of the Indies: a poore and harmelesse people created of God, and might haue bene wonne to his knowledge, as many of them were, and almost as many as euer were perswaded thereunto. The storie whereof is at large written by a Bishop of their owne nation called Bartholomew de las Casas, and translated into English and many other languages, intituled The Spanish cruelties. Who would therefore repose trust in such a nation of ravenous strangers, and especially in those Spaniards which more greedily thirst after English blood, then after the liues of any other people of Europe, for the many ouerthrowes and dishonours they haue receiued at our hands, whose weakeness wee haue discouered to the world, and whose forces at home, abroad, in Europe, in India, by sea and land, wee haue euen with handfulles of men and shippes, ouerthrowen and dishonoured. Let not therefore any English man, of what religion soeuer, haue other opinion of the Spaniards, but that those whom hee seeketh to winne of our Nation, he esteemeth base and trayterous, vnworthy persons, or vnconstant fooles: and that he vseth his pretense of religion, for no other purpose but to bewitch vs from the obedience of our naturall Prince, thereby hoping in time to bring vs to slauery and subiection, and then none shall be vnto them so odious, and disdayned as the traitours themselues, who haue solde their Countrey to a stranger, and forsaken their faith and obedience contrarie to nature and religion; and contrarie to that humane and generall honour, not onely of Christians, but of heathen and irreligious nations, who haue alwayes sustayned what labour soeuer, and embraced euen death it selfe, for their countrey, Prince, or common wealth. To conclude, it hath euer to this day pleased God to prosper and defend her Maiestie, to breake the purposes of malicious enemies, of forsworne traytors, and of iniust practises and inuasions. She hath euer beene honoured of the worthiest kings, serued by faithfull subiects, and shall by the fauour of God, resist, repell, and confound all whatsoeuer attempts against her sacred person or kingdome. In the meane time let the Spaniard and traytour vaunt of their successe, and wee her true and obedient vassals guided by the shining light of her virtues, shall alwayes loue her, serue her, and obey her to the end of our liues.*

A particular note of the Indian fleet, expected to haue come into Spaine this present yeere of 1591. with the number of shippes that are perished of the same: according to the examination of certaine Spaniards lately taken and brought into England by the ships of London.

The fleete of Noua Hispania, at their first gathering together and setting foorth, were two and fiftie sailes. The Admirall was of sixe hundred tunnes, and the Vice Admirall of the same burthen. Foure or fiue of the shippes were of nine hundred and 1000 tunnes a piece, some fiue hundred, and some foure hundred and the least of two hundred tuns. Of this fleet 19 were cast away, and in them 2600 men by estimation, which was done along the coast of Noua Hispania, so that of the same fleet there came to the Hauana but 33 sailes.

---

* The most complete collection of contemporary documents relating to this interesting episode, is to be found in "*The Last Fight of the Revenge*," privately printed, Edinburgh, 1886. (GOLDSMID'S BIBLIOTHECA CURIOSA.)

The fleete of Terra Firma were, at their first departure from Spaine, fiftie sailes, which were bound for Nombre de Dios, where they did discharge their lading, and thence returned to Cartagena, for their healths sake, vntill the time the treasure was readie they should take in, at the said Nombre de Dios. But before this fleete departed, some were gone by one or two at a time, so that onely 23 sayles of this fleete arriued in the Hauana.

At the Hauana there met
33 sailes of Noua Hispania.
23 sailes of Terra Firma.
12 sailes of San Domingo.
9 sailes of the Hunduras.

The whole 77 shippes, ioyned and set sailes all together at the Hauana, the 17 of Iuly, according to our account, and kept together vntill they came into the height of thirtie fiue degrees, which was about the tenth of August, where they found the winde at Southwest chaunged suddenly to the North, so that the sea comming out of the Southwest, and the wind very violent at North, they were put all into great extremitie, and then first lost the Generall of their fleete, with 500 men in her; and within three or foure dayes after, an other storme rising, there were fiue or sixe other of the biggest shippes cast away with all their men, together with their Vice-Admirall.

And in the height of 38. degrees, about the end of August, grew another great storme, in which all the fleet sauing 48. sailes were cast away: which 48. sailes kept together, vntill they came in sight of the Ilands of Coruo and Flores, about the fift or sixt of September, at which time a great storme separated them: of which number fifteene or sixteene were after seene by these Spanyards to ride at anchor vnder the Tercera; and twelue or foureteene more to beare with the Island of S. Michael; what became of them after that these Spaniards were taken cannot yet be certified; their opinion is, that very few of thee fleet are escaped, but are either drowned or taken. And it is other waies of late certified, that of this whole fleete that should haue come into Spaine this yeere, being one hundred twentie and three sayle, there are arriued as yet but fiue and twentie. This note was taken out of the examination of certaine Spaniardes, that were brought into England by sixe of the ships of London, which tooke seuen of the aboue named Indian Fleete, neere the Islands of the Açores.

A report of Master Robert Flicke directed to Master Thomas Bromley, Master Richard Staper, and Master Cordall concerning the successe of a part of the London supplies sent to my Lord Thomas Howard to the Isles of the Azores, 1591.

WOrshipfull, my heartie commendations vnto you premised: By my last of the twelfth of August from this place I aduertised you particularly of the accidents of our Fleete vntill then. It remayneth now to relate our endeuours in accomplishing the order receiued for the ioyning with my Lorde Thomas Howard, together with the successe wee haue had. Our departure from hence was the seuenteenth of August, the winde not seruing before. The next day following I caused a Flagge of Counsell to be put foorth, whereupon the Captaines and Masters of euery shippe came aboord, and I acquainted them with my Commission, firmed by the Right honourable the Lordes of her Maiesties Counsell, and with all the aduertisements of Sir Edward Denny, of my Lordes determination to remaine threescore leagues to the West of Fayal, spreading North and South betwixt thirtie seuen and a halfe or thirty eight and a halfe degrees. And not finding him in this heighth to repaire to the Isles of Flores and Coruo, where a Pinnesse of purpose should stay our comming vntill the last of August, with intent after that day to repaire to ye coast of Spaine, about the heigth of The Rocke, some twentie or thirtie leagues off the shoare. The which being aduisedly considered of, hauing regard vnto the shortnesse of time, by reason of cur long abode in this place, and the vncertainety of the weather to fauour vs, it was generally holden for the best and securest way to meete with my Lorde, to beare with the heigth of The Rocke, without making any stay vpon the coast, and so directly for the Islands which, was accordingly fully agreed and performed. The 28 day wee had sight of the Burlings, and the 29 being thwart of Peniche, the winde seruing vs, without any stay we directed our course West for the Islands. The 30 day we met with Captaine Royden in the Red-Rose, sometime called the Golden Dragon, separated from my Lorde of Cumberland in a storme: who certified vs of 50 sayles of the Spanish kings Armadas to be gone for the Ilands, but could not informe vs any newes of my Lord Thomas Howard, otherwise then vpon presumption to remaine about the Islandes, and so wee continued our course the winde standing with vs.

The 4 of September we recouered Tercera, and ranged along all the Islands, both on the South and North sides the space of foure dayes: during which time it was not our hap to meete with any shipping, whereby either to vnderstand of my Lord, or of the Indian Fleete: hereupon we directed our course to the West from Fayal, according to the instructions of Sir Edward Denny. The 11 day in the plying to the Westwards we descried a sayle out of our maine toppe, and in the afternoone betweene two and three of the clocke hauing raysed her hull, the weather became calme, so that the ship could not fetch her. I sent off my Skiffe throughly manned, furnished with shot and swords, The Cherubin, and the Margaret and Iohn doing the like. Vpon this the sayle stood off againe, and the night approching, our boates lost her and so returned. In this our pursute after the sayle the Centurion being left a sterne, the next morning wee missed her, and spent that day in plying vp and down seeking her. And for as much as euery of the ships had receiued order, that, if by extremity of weather or any other mischance they should be seuered from our Fleete, they should meete and ioyne at Flores, we, according to the instructions of Sir Edward Denny, proceeded to the finding of my Lord Thomas Howard, being in the heigth appointed and not able to holde the same by reason of extreme tempestes which forced vs to the Isles of Flores and Coruo, which we made the 14 day in the morning, and there also ioyned againe with the Centurion, whose company before we had lost: who declared vnto vs that the 12 day, being the same day they lost vs, they met with fiue and forty sailes of the Indian Fleete. The same night, vpon these newes we came to an anker betweene Flores and Coruo, and the morow following at the breake of day, a flagge of Counsell being put out, the Captaines and Masters came abord me: where, for the desire to vnderstand some tidings of my Lord, as also the supplying of our want of water, it was thought good to send our boats furnished on shore, vnder the conduct of Captaine Brothus, and then it was also ordered after our departure thence to range along the South-sides of the Islands to the end we might either vnderstand of my Lord, or else light on the Indian fleete; and in the missing of our purpose to direct our course for Cape Sant Vincente.

The boates, according to the foresayd determination, being sent on shoare, it chaunced that the Costely ryding vttermost in the roade, did weigh to bring her selfe more neere among vs for the succour of the boates sent off, and in opening the land discouered two sayles, which we in the roade could not perceiue: whereupon shee gaue vs a warning piece, which caused vs to waue off our boates backe, and before they could recouer our shippes, the discryed ships appeared vnto vs, towardes the which we made with all haste, and in a very happie hour, as it pleased God. In that wee had not so soone cleared the lande, and spoken with one of them, which was a Barke of Bristoll, who had also sought my Lorde in the heigths appointed and could not finde him, but a violent storme arose, in such manner, as if we had remained in the roade, we had beene in daunger of perishing: and the same extremely continued during the space of threescore houres. In which storme I was separated from our Fleete, except the Cherubin and the Costely, which kept company with mee. And so sayling among the Ilands, I viewed the roade of Fayal, and finding no Roaders there, went directly for the Isle Tercera.

A violent storme.

The nineteenth day in the morning comming vnto ye same with intent to edge into the Road, a tempest arose and scanted the winde, that we could not sease it: from the which being driuen we fell among certaine of the Indian Fleete, which the sayde storme dispersed, and put them from the road: whereupon my selfe with the other two ships in companie gaue seuerall chases, and thereby lost the company each of other.

In following our chase aboue noone we made her to strike and yeelde, being a Portugall, laden with hides, salsa-perilla and Anile. At this very instant we espied another, and taking our Prise with vs followed her, and somewhat before night obtayned her, named the Conception, Francisco Spinola being Captaine, which was laden with hides, Cochonillio, and certaine raw silke. And for that the seas were so growen, as neither with boate nor shippe they were to bee boorded, we kept them till fit opportunitie. The same night a litle before day there happened another into our company, supposing vs by our two prizes to be of their Fleete, which we vntill the morning dissembled.

A Portugall Prize taken.

A rich West-Indian Prize taken.

The 20 day in the morning, the sayle being shot somewhat a head of vs, hauing a speciall care for the safe keeping of the two former, we purposed to cause our Prizes to put out more sayle thereby to keepe them neere in giuing chase to the other: vnto the which the Master would not hearken nor be perswaded, but that they would follow vs: by the which his wilfulnesse by such time as we had caused the other to yeelde, and sent men aboord, the Conception, Francisco Spinola Captaine being brought a sterne, and hauing gotten the winde of vs, stood off with all her sayles bearing, so as we were forced to make a new chase of her: and had not the winde enlarged vpon vs we had lost her. In the pursute before we recouered her and brought our selues againe in company of our other Prizes, the whole day was spent, and by this meanes we lost the oportunitie of that day, the weather fitly seruing to boord the Portugall Prize, which was in great distresse, and made request to take them being readie to sinke, and, as we well perceiued, they ceased not to pumpe day and night: the which ship to all our iudgements the same night perished in the sea.

The one and twentie day the Conception, whereof Francisco Spinola was Captaine, being also in a leake, and the same still increasing notwithstanding the continuall pumping, in such sort as not to be kept along aboue water, I tooke and discharged out of her two and forty chestes of Cochonillio and silkes, and so left her with 11 foote water in holde, and her furniture and 4700 hides, vnto the seas.

The other prize which we haue brought into the harborough is named Nostra Sennora de los remedios, whereof Francisco Aluares is Captaine, laden with 16 chests of Cochonillio, certaine fardels of raw silke, and about 4000 hides. Vpon the discharge of the goods your worships shall be particularly aduertised thereof.

In the boording of the prizes the disorder of the company was such, as that they letted not presently besides the rifling of the Spaniards to breake open the chests and to purloyne such money as was in them: notwithstanding that it was ordered at convenient leasure to haue gone on boord my selfe, and there in the presence of three or foure witnesses to haue taken a iust account thereof, and the same to haue put in safe keeping, according to the effects of articles receiued in this behalfe.

And whereas there were also certaine summes of money taken from the company which they had thus purloyned and embeseled, and the same with some other parcels brought aboord my ship, amounting vnto 2129 pezoes and a halfe, the company as pillage due vnto them demanded to haue the same shared, which I refused, and openly at the maine maste read the articles firmed by my Lord Treasurer and my Lord Admirall, whereby we ought to be directed, and that it was not in mee any way to dispose thereof, vntill the same were finally determined at home. Hereupon they mutinied and at last grew into such furie, as that they would haue it or els breake downe the cabbine, which they were also readie to put into practise, whereby I was forced to yeeld, least the Spaniards which we had abord being many perceiuing the same, might haue had fit opportunitie to rise against vs, which, after their brawles were appeased, they sought to haue put into execution.

By the last aduise from Castile the Generall of the kings Armada which is lately come to sea hath receiued commaundement to ioyne his Fleete with those of the Indies, and for to stay altogether at Tercera vntill the 15 of October: for that 6 pataches with 7 or 8 millions of the kings treasure will come by that time, or els they stay their comming from Hauana vntill Ianuary next, or the kings further pleasure therein to be knowen. These pataches are said to be of 300 tuns the piece, and to cary 30 pieces of brasse, and also of saile reported to haue the aduantage of any shipping.

There perished of the Indies Fleete sunke in the sea before there comming to Flores 11 sailes, whereof the General was one, and not one man saued. And it is by the Spaniards themselues presupposed that the stormes which we had at Flores and at Tercera haue deuoured many more of them, whereof in part we were eye witnesses. And so what by the seas and our men of warre I presume that of 75 sailes that came from Hauana, halfe of them will neuer arriue in Spaine.

The 11 day of October at night we came to anker in the sound of Plimouth, and the next morning with our Prize came into Cattewater: for which God be thanked: for that a vehement storme arose, and with such fury increased, as that the Prize was forced to cut ouer her maine maste: otherwise with the violence of the storme, her ground tackle being bad, she had driuen on shore: which was the most cause that moued me to put in here; intending now here to discharge the goods without further aduenture, and haue certified thus much vnto my Lord Admirall, and therewith also desired to vnderstande the direction of the Lords of the Counsell together with yours, insomuch as my Lord Thomas Howard is not returned. How the rest of our consorts which were seperated from vs by weather haue sped, or what Prizes they haue taken, whereof there is much hope by reason of the scattering of the West Indian Fleete, as yet we are able to say nothing. And thus expecting your answere, and for all other matters referring me vnto the bearer Captaine Furtho, I end. Plymouth the 24 of October 1591.

Your worships louing friend
Robert Flicke.

A large testimony of Iohn Huighen van Linschoten Hollander, concerning the worthy exploits atchieued by the right honourable the Earle of Cumberland, By Sir Martine Frobisher, Sir Richard Greenuile, and diuers other English Captaines, about the Isles of the Açores, and vpon the coasts of Spaine and Portugall, in the yeeres 1589, 1590, 1591, &c. recorded in his excellent discourse of voiages to the East and West Indies. cap. 96. 97. and 99.

THe 22 of Iuly 1589 about Euening, being by the Ilands of Flores and Coruo, we perceiued 3 ships that made towards vs, which came from vnder the land, which put vs in great feare: for they came close by our Admirall, and shot diuers times at him, and at another ship of our companie, whereby we perceiued them to be Englishmen, for they bare an English flagge vpon their maine tops, but none of them shewed to be aboue 60 tunnes in greatnes. About Euening they followed after vs, and all night bore lanternes with candles burning in them at their sternes, although the Moone shined. The same night passing hard by the Island of Fayal, the next day being betweene the Island of S. George that lay on our right hand, and the small Island called Graciosa on our left hand, we espied the 3 English ships still following vs yᵗ tooke counsell together, whereof one sailed backwards, thinking that some other ship had come after vs without company, and for a time was out of sight, but it was not long before it came again to yᵉ other two, wherwith they tooke counsel and came all 3 together against our ship, because we lay in the lee of al our ships, and had yᵉ Island of S. George on the one side in stead of a sconce, thinking to deale so with vs, that in yᵉ end we should be constrained to run vpon the shore, whereof we wanted not much, and in that manner with their flagges openly displayed, came lustily towardes vs, sounding their Trumpets, and sayled at the least three times about vs, beating vs with Musket and Caliuer, and some great pieces, and did vs no hurt in the body of our shippe, but spoyled all our sayles and ropes, and to conclude, wee were so plagued by them, that no man durst put foorth his head, and when wee shot off a peece, wee had at the least an houres worke to lade it againe, whereby we had so great a noise and crie in the shippe, as if we had all bene cast away, whereat the English men themselues beganne to mocke vs, and with a thousand iesting words called vnto vs. In the meane time the other shippes hoised all their sayles, and did the best they could to saile to the Island of Tercera, not looking once behinde them to helpe vs, doubting they should come too late thither, not caring for vs, but thinking themselues to haue done sufficiently so they saued their owne stakes, whereby it may easily be seene what company they keepe one with the other, and what order is among them. In the ende the English men perceiuing small aduantage against vs, (little knowing in what case and feare we were, as also because wee were not farre from Tercera) left vs, which made vs not a litle to reioyce, as thinking our selues to bee risen from death to life, although wee were not well assured, neyther yet voyde of feare till we lay in the road before Tercera, and vnder the safetie of the Portingales fort, and that we might get thither in good time wee made all the sailes we could: on the other side we were in great doubt, because we knew not what they did in the Island, nor whether they were our friends or enemies, and we doubted so much the more, because we found no men of warre nor any Caruels of aduise from Portingal, as wee made our accounts to doe, that might conuoy vs from thence, or giue vs aduise, as in that countrey ordinarily they vse to do: and because the English men had bene so victorious in those parts, it made vs suspect that it went not well with Spaine: they of the Island of Tercera were in no lesse fear then we, for seeing our fleete, they thought vs to bee Englishmen, and that wee came to ouerrun the Island, because the 3. Englishmen had bound vp their flags, and came in company with vs: for the which cause the Iland sent out two Caruels that lay there with aduise from the king, for the Indians ships that should come thither. Those Caruels came to view vs, and perceiuing what we were, made after vs, whereupon the English ships left vs, and made towardes them, because the Caruels thought them to be friends, and shunned them not, as supposing them to bee of our company, but we shot foure or fiue times and made signes vnto them that they should make towards the Island, which they presently did. The Englishmen perceiuing that, did put forwards into the sea, and so the Caruels borded vs telling vs that the men of the Island were all in armes, as hauing receiued aduise from Portugall, that Sir Frances Drake was in readinesse, and would come vnto those Islands. They likewise brought vs newes of the ouerthrow of the Spanish fleet before England, and that the English men had bene before the gates of Lisbon; wereupon the king gaue vs commandement that we should put into the Island of Tercera, and there lie vnder the safety of the Castle vntill we receiued further aduise what we should do, or whether we should saile: for that they thought it too dangerous for vs to go to Lisbon. Those newes put our fleet in great feare, and made vs looke vpon eche other not knowing what to say, as being dangerous for them to put into the road, because it lieth open to the sea: so that the Indian ships, although they had expresse commandement from the king, yet they durst not anker there, but onely vsed to come thither, and to lie to and fro, sending their boates on land to fetch such necessaries as they wanted, without ankering: but being by necessitie compelled thereunto, as also by the kings commandement, and for that we vnderstood the Erle of Cumberland not to bee farre from those Islands with certaine ships of warre, we made necessitie a vertue, and entring the road, ankered close vnder the Castle, staying for aduise and order from the king, to performe our voyage, it being then the 24. of Iuly, and S. Iames day.

The day before the Erle of Cumberland with 6. or 7. ships of war, sailed by the Island of Tercera, and to their great good fortune passed out of sight, so that they dispatched themselues in all haste, and for the more securitie, tooke with them 4. hundred Spaniards of those that lay in Garrison in the Island, and with them they sayled towards Lisbon, hauing a good wind: so that within 11 daies after they arriued in the riuer of Lisbon with great gladnes and triumph: for if they had stayed but one day longer before they had entred the riuer, they had all beene taken by Captaine Drake, who with 40 ships came before Cascais at the same time that the Indian ships cast anker in the riuer of Lisbon, being garded thither by diuers Gallies.

While I remained in Tercera, the Erle of Cumb. came to S. Marie, to take in fresh water, and some other victuals: but the inhabitants would not suffer him to haue it, but wounded both himselfe and diuers of his men, whereby they were forced to depart without hauing any thing there.

The Erle of Cumberland while I lay in Tercera, came vnto the Isle of Graciosa, where himselfe in person, with seuen or eight in his company went on land, asking certaine beasts, hens, and other victuals, with wine and fresh water, which they willingly gaue him, and therewith he departed from thence, without doing them any hurt: for the which the inhabitants thanked him, and commended him for his courtesie, and keeping of his promise.

The same time that the Erle of Cumberland was in the Island of Graciosa, he came likewise to Fayall, where at the first time that he came, they beganne to resist him, but by reason of some controuersie among them, they let him land, where he razed the Castle to the ground, and sunke all their Ordinance in the sea, taking with him certaine Carauels and ships that lay in the road, with prouision of all things that he wanted: and therewith departed againe to sea. Whereupon the king caused the principall actors therein to be punished, and sent a company of souldiers thither againe, which went out of Tercera, with all kinde of warlike munition, and great shot, making the fortresse vp againe, the better to defend the Island, trusting no more in the Portugales.

The 99 Chapter.

THe ninth of October 1589. there arriued in Tercera fourteene ships that came from the Spanish Indies, laden with Cochinile, Hides, Golde, Siluer, Pearles, and other rich wares. They were fiftie in companie, when they departed out of the Hauen of Hauana, whereof, in their comming out of the Channell, eleuen sunke in the same Channell by foule weather, the rest by a storme were scattered and seperated one from the other. The next day there came another ship of the same companie, that sailed close vnder the Island, so to get into the Roade: where she met with an English ship that had not aboue three cast peeces, and the Spaniards 12. They fought a long time together, which we being in the Island might stand and behold: wherevpon the Gouernour of Tercera sent two boates of Musketiers to helpe the shippe: but before they could come at her, the English ship had shot her vnder water, and we saw her sinke into the Sea with all her sayles vp, and not any thing seene of her aboue the water. The

Englishmen with their boate saued the Captaine and about thirtie others with him, but not one penie-worth of the goods, and yet in the shippe there was at the least to the value of two hundred thousand Duckats in Golde, Siluer and Pearles, the rest of the men were drowned which might be about fiftie persons, among the which were some Fryers and women, which the Englishmen would not saue. Those that they had saued they set on land: and then they sayled away. The seuen and twentieth of the same moneth, the sayd foureteene ships hauing refreshed themselues in the Island departed from Tercera toward Siuill, and comming vpon the coast of Spaine they were taken by the English ships that lay there to watch for them, two onely excepted which escaped away, and the rest were wholly caried into England.

About the same time the Erle of Cumberland with one of the Queenes ships, and fiue or sixe more, kept about those Islands and came oftentimes so close vnder the Island, and to the Road of Angra, that the people on land might easily tell all his men that he had aboord, and knewe such as walked on the Hatches: they of the Island not once shooting at them, although they might easily haue done it, for they were within Musket shot both of the towne and fort. In these places he continued for the space of two moneths, and sayled round about the Islands, and landed in Graciosa and Fayal, as in the description of those Islands I haue alreadie declared. Here he tooke diuers ships and Carauels, which he sent into England: so that those of the Island durst not once put foorth their heads. At the same time about three or foure dayes after the Erle of Cumberland had beene in the Island of Fayal, and was departed from thence, there arriued in the said Island of Fayal sixe Indian shippes, whose General was one Iuan Doriues: and there they discharged in the Iland 4 millions of golde and siluer. And hauing with all speede refreshed their ships, fearing the comming of the Englishmen they set sayle, and arriued safely in S. Lucar, not meeting with the enemie, to the great good lucke of the Spaniards and hard fortune of the Englishmen: for that within lesse then two dayes after the golde and siluer was laden againe into the Spanish ships, the Erle of Cumberland sayled againe by that Island: so that it appeared that God would not let them haue it, for if they had once had sight thereof, without doubt it had bene theirs, as the Spaniards themselues confessed.

In the moneth of Nouember there arriued in Tercera two great shippes, which were the Admirall and Viceadmirall of the Fleete laden with siluer, who with stormie weather were separated from the Fleete, and had beene in great torment and distresse, and readie to sinke: for they were forced to vse all their Pumps: so that they wished a thousand times to haue met with the Englishmen to whom they would willingly haue giuen their siluer and all that euer they brought with them onely to saue their liues. And although the Erle of Cumberland lay still about those Islands, yet they met not with him, so that after much paine and labour they got into the Road before Angra, where with all speede they vnladed and discharged aboue fiue millions of siluer, all in pieces of 8 or 10 pound great: so that the whole Kay lay couered with plates and chests of siluer, full of Ryales of eight, most wonderfull to behold, (each million being ten hundred thousand duckats,) besides pearles, gold and other stones, which were not registred. The Admirall and chiefe commander of those ships and Fleete called Aluaro Flores de Quiniones was sicke of the Neapolitan disease, and was brought to land, whereof not long after he died in Siuillia. He brought with him the Kings broad seale and full authoritie to be Generall and chiefe commander vpon the Seas, and of all Fleetes or ships, and of all places and Islands, or lands wheresoeuer he came: wherevpon the Gouernour of Tercera did him great honour, and betweene them it was concluded, perceiuing the weaknesse of their ships, and the danger of the Englishmen, that they would send the shippes, emptie with souldiers to conuey them, either to Siuill or Lisbon, where they could first arriue, with aduise vnto his Maiestie of all that had passed, and that he would giue order to fetch the siluer with good and safe conuoy. Wherevpon the said Aluero Flores stayed there, vnder colour of keeping the siluer, but specially because of his disease, and for that they were affraide of the Englishmen. This Aluaro Flores had alone for his owne part aboue 50000 Duckats in pearles which he shewed vnto vs, and sought to sell them or barter them with vs for spices or bils of exchange. The said two ships set saile with 3 or 4 hundred men, as well souldiers as others that came with them out of India, and being at sea had a storme, wherewith the Admirall burst and sunke in the sea, and not one man saued. The Vice-Admirall cut downe her mast, and ranne the ship on ground hard by Setuuel, where it burst in pieces, some of the men sauing them selues by swimming, that brought the newes, but the rest were drowned.

In the same moneth there came two great ships out of the Spanish Indies, and being within halfe a mile of the Road of Tercera, they met with an English ship, which, after they had fought long together, tooke them both. About 7 or 8 moneths before, there had beene an English shippe in Tercera, that vnder the name of a Frenchman came to traffike in the Island, there to lade woad, and being discouered was both ship and goods confiscated to the kings vse, and all the men kept prisoners: yet went they vp and downe the streetes to get their liuings, by labouring like slaues, being in deede as safe in that Island, as if they had beene in prison. But in the ende vpon a Sunday, all the Saylers went downe behinde the hils called Bresil: where they found a Fisher-boat, whereinto they got and rowed into the sea to the Erle of Cumberlands shippes, which to their great fortune chanced at that time to come by the Island, and ankered with his ships about halfe a mile from the Road of Angra, hard by two small Islands, which lie about a bases shot from the Island and are full of Goats, Deere and Sheepe, belonging to the inhabitants of the Island of Tercera. Those Saylers knew it well, and thereupon they rowed vnto them with their boates, and lying at anker that day, they fetched as many Goates and sheepe as they had neede of: which those of the towne and of the Island well saw and beheld, yet durst not once goe foorth: so there remained no more on land but the Master and the Marchant of the said English ship. This Master had a brother in lawe dwelling in England, who hauing newes of his brothers imprisonment in Tercera, got licence of the Queene of England to set forth a ship, therewith to see if he could recouer his losses of the Spaniards by taking some of them, and so to redeeme his brother that lay prisoner in Tercera, and he it was that tooke the two Spanish ships before the Towne, the Master of the ship aforesaid standing on the shore by me, and looking vpon them, for he was my great acquaintance. The ships being taken that were worth 300 thousand duckats, he sent al the men on land sauing onely two of the principall Gentlemen, which he kept aboord thereby to ransome his brother: and sent the Pilot of one of the Indian ships that were taken, with a letter to the Gouernor of Tercera: wherein he wrote that he should deliuer him his brother, and he would send the 2 Gentlemen on land: if not, he would saile with them into England, as indeed he did, because the Gouernour would not doe it, saying that the Gentlemen might make that suite to the king of Spaine himselfe. This Spanish Pilot we bid to supper with vs, and the Englishmen likewise, where he shewed vs all the manner of their fight, much commending the order and maner of the Englishmens fighting, as also their courteous vsing of him: but in the end the English Pilot likewise stole away in a French ship, without paying any ransome as yet.

In the moneth of Ianuarie 1590 there arriued one ship alone in Tercera, that came from the Spanish Indies, and brought newes that there was a Fleete of a hundred shippes which put out from the Firme land of the Spanish Indies, and by a storme were driuen vpon the coast called Florida, where they were all cast away, she hauing onely escaped, wherein there were great riches, and many men lost, as it may well be thought: so that they made their account, that of 220 ships that for certaine were knowen to haue put out of Noua Spagna, S. Domingo, Hauana, Capo verde, Brasilia, Guinea, &c. in the yeere 1589. to saile for Spaine and Portugall, there were not aboue 14 or 15 of them arriued there in safetie, all the rest being either drowned, burst or taken.

In the same moneth of Ianuarie there arriued in Tercera 15 or 16 ships that came from Siuil, which were most Flieboats of the Low countries, and some Britons that were arrested in Spaine: these came full of souldiers, and well appointed with munition, to lade the siluer that lay in Tercera, and to fetch Aluares de Flores by the kings commandement into Spaine. And because that time of the yeere there are alwayes stormes about those Ilands, therefore they durst not enter into the road of Tercera, for that as then it blew so great a storme that some of their ships that had ankred were forced to cut downe their mastes, and were in danger to be lost: and among the rest a ship of Biscaie ran against the land and was striken in pieces, but all the men saued themselues. The other ships were forced to keepe the sea and seperate themselues one from the other, where wind and weather would driue them vntill the 15 of March for that in all that time they could not haue one day of faire weather to anker in, whereby they endured much miserie, cursing both the siluer and the Iland. This storme being past, they chanced to meet with a small English ship of about 40 tunnes in bignesse, which by reason of the great wind could not beare all her sailes: so they set vpon her and tooke her, and with the English flag in their Admirals sterne, they came as proudly into the hauen as if they had conquered all the realme of England: but as the Admirall that bare the English flag vpon her sterne was entring into the road, there came by chance two English ships by the Iland that paied her so well for her paines, that they were forced to cry Misericordia, and without all doubt had taken her, if she had bene but a mile further in sea: but because she got vnder the Fortresse, which also began to shoot at the Englishmen, they were forced to leaue her, and to put further into the sea, hauing slaine fiue or sixe of the Spaniards. The Englishmen that were taken in the small shippe were put vnder hatches, and coupled in bolts, and after they had bene prisoners 3 or 4 dayes, there was a Spanish Ensigne bearer in the ship that had a brother slaine in the Fleet that came for England, who as then minding to reuenge his death, and withall to shew his manhood on the English captiues that were in the English ship, which they had taken, as is aforesayd, tooke a poiniard in his hand and went downe vnder the hatches, where finding the poore Englishmen sitting in boltes, with the same poiniard he stabbed sixe of them to the heart: which two others of them perceiuing, clasped each other about the middle, because they would not be murthered by him, and threw themselues into the sea and there were drowned. This acte was of all the Spaniards much disliked and very ill taken, so that they caried the Spaniard prisoner vnto Lisbon, where being arriued, the king of Spaine willed he should be sent into England, that the Queene of England might vse him as she thought good: which sentence his friends by intreatie got to be reuersed, notwithstanding he commanded he should without all fauour be beheaded: but vpon a good Friday the Cardinall going to masse, all the captaines and Commanders made so great intreaty for him, that in the end they got his pardon. This I thought, good to note, that men might vnderstand the bloody and dishonest minds of the Spaniards when they haue men vnder their subiection.

The same two English ships which folowed the Spanish Admirall till he had got the Fort of Tercera, as I sayd before, put into the sea, where they met with another Spanish ship being of the same Fleet, that had likewise bene scattred by the storme and was onely missing, for the rest lay in the road. This small ship the Englishmen tooke, and sent all the men on shore, not hurting any of them: but if they had knowen what had bene done vnto the foresayd English captiues I belieue they would soone haue reuenged themselues, as afterward many an innocent soule paied for it. This ship thus taken by the Englishmen, was the same that was taken and confiscated in the Iland of Tercera by the Englishmen that got out of the Iland in a fisher boat (as I said before) and was sold vnto the Spaniards that as then came from the Indies, wherewith they sayled to S. Lucar, where it was also arrested by the duke, and appointed to go in company to fetch the siluer in Tercera, because it was a ship that sailed well, but among the Spaniards Fleet it was the meanest of the company. By this means it was taken from the Spaniards and caried into England, and the owners had it againe when they least thought of it.

The 19 of March the aforesayd ships being 19 in number, set saile, hauing laden the kings siluer, and receiued in Aluaro Flores de Quin:ones, with his company and good prouision of necessaries, munition and souldiers that were fully resolued (as they made shew) to fight valiantly to the last man before they would yeeld or lose their riches: and although they set their course for S. Lucar, the wind draue them vnto Lisbon, which (as it seemed) was willing by his force to helpe them, and to bring them thither in safetie, although Aluaro de Flores, both against the wind and weather would perforce haue sailed to Saint Lucar, but being constrained by the wind and importunitie of the sailers that protested they would require their losses and damages of him, he was content to saile to Lisbon: from whence the siluer was by land caried vnto Siuil. At Cape S. Vincent there lay a Fleet of 20 English ships to watch for the Armada, so that if they had put into S. Lucar, they had fallen right into their hands, which if the wind had serued they had done. And therefore they may say that the wind hath lent them a happy voiage: for if the Englishmen had met with them, they had surely bene in great danger, and possibly but few of them had escaped, by reason of the feare wherewith they were possessed, because fortune or rather God was wholy against them: which is a sufficient cause to make the Spaniards out of heart, and to the contrary to giue the Englishmen more courage, and to make them bolder for that they are victorious, stout and valiant: and seeing all their enterprises do take so good effect, that thereby they are become lords and masters of the sea, and need care for no man, as it wel appeareth by this briefe discourse.

The 7 of August 1590. a nauie of English ships was seene before Tercera, being 20 in number, and 5 of them the Queenes ships: their Generall was one Martin Frobisher, as we after had intelligence. They came purposely to watch for the Fleet of the Spanish Indies, and for the Indian ships, and the ships of the countreys in the West: which put the Ilanders in great feare, specially those of Fayal, for that the Englishmen sent a trumpet to the Gouernour to aske certaine wine, flesh, and other victuals for their money and good friendship. They of Fayal did not onely refuse to giue eare vnto them, but with a shot killed their messenger or trumpeter: which the Englishmen tooke in euil part, sending them word that they were best to looke to themselues and stand vpon their guard, for they ment to come and visite them whether they would or no. The Gouernour made them answere that he was there in the behalfe of his maiestie of Spaine, and that he would doe his best to keepe them out, as he was bound: but nothing was done, although they of Fayal were in no little feare, sending to Tercera for aide, from whence they had certaine barkes with pouder and munition for warre, with some bisket and other necessary prouision.

The 30 of August we receiued very certaine newes out of Portugal, that there were 80 ships put out of the Groine laden with victuals, munition, money and souldiers, to goe for Britaine to aide the Catholiques and Leaguers of France against the king of Nauarre. At the same time two Netherland hulkes comming out of Portugall to Tercera being halfe the Seas ouer, met with 4 of the Queenes ships, their Generall being sir Iohn Hawkins, that staied them, but let them go againe without doing them any harme. The Netherlanders reported, that each of the Queenes ships had 80 pieces of Ordinance, and that captaine Drake lay with 40 ships in the English chanell watching for the armie of the Groine: and likewise that there lay at the Cape S. Vincent ten other English ships, that if any ships escaped from the Ilands, they might take them. These tidings put the Ilanders in great feare, least if they failed of the Spanish fleete and got nothing by them, that then they would fall vpon the Ilands, because they would not returne emptie home, whereupon they held streit watch, sending aduise vnto the king what newes they heard.

The first of September there came to the Iland of S. Michael a Portugall ship out of the hauen of Phernambuck in Brasile, which brought newes that the Admirall of the Portugall Fleet that came from India, hauing missed the Iland of S. Helena, was of necessitie constrained to put into Phernambuck, although the king had expresly vnder a great penaltie forbidden him so to doe, because of the wormes that there doe spoile the ships. The same shippe wherein Bernardin Ribero was Admirall the yeere before 1589. sailed out of Lisbon into the Indies, with 5 ships in her company, whereof but 4 got into India, the 5 was neuer heard of, so that it was thought to be cast away: the other foure returned safe againe into Portugall, though the Admiral was much spoiled, because he met with two English ships that fought long with him, and slew many of his men, but yet he escaped from them.

The 5 of the same moneth there arriued in Tercera a carauel of the Iland of Coruo, and brought with her 50 men that had bin spoiled by the Englishmen who had set them on shore in the Iland of Coruo, being taken out of a ship that came from the Spanish Indies, they brought tidings that the Englishmen had taken 4 more of the Indian ships, and a carauel with the king of Spaines letters of aduise for the ships comming out of the Portugal Indies, and that with those which they had taken, they were at the least 40 English ships together, so yᵗ not one bark escaped them, but fel into their hands, and that therefore the Portugall ships comming out of India durst not put into the Ilands, but tooke their course vnder 40 and 42 degrees, and from thence sailed to Lisbon, shunning likewise the cape S. Vincent, otherwise they could not haue had a prosperous iourney of it, for that as then the sea was ful of English ships. Whereupon the king aduised the fleete lying in Hauana in yᵉ Spanish Indies ready to come for Spaine, that they should stay there all that yeere till the next yeere, because of the great danger they might fal into by yᵉ Englishmen, which was no smal charge, and hinderance to the fleet, for that the ships that lie there do consume themselues, and in a manner eat vp one another, by reason of the great number of people, together with the scarcitie of al things, so that many ships chose rather one by one to aduenture themselues alone to get home, then to stay there: all which fell into the Englishmens hands, whereof diuers of the men were brought into Tercera, for that a whole day we could see nothing els, but spoiled men set on shore, some out of one ship, some out of another, that pitie it was to see all of them cursing the Englishmen and their owne fortunes, with those that had bene the causes to prouoke the Englishmen to fight, and complaining of the small remedie and order taken therein by the king of Spaines officers.

Great hauock of Spaniards.

The 19 of the same moneth there came to Tercera a Carauel of Lisbon, with one of the kings officers, to cause the goods that were saued out of the ship which came from Malacca (for ye which we staied there) to be laden and sent to Lisbon. And at the same time there put out of the Groine one Don Alonso de Baçan, with 40 great ships of warre to come vnto the Ilands, there to watch for the fleet of the Spanish and Portugall Indies, and the goods of the Malacca ship being laden, they were to convoy them all together into the riuer of Lisbon: but being certaine daies at sea, alwaies hauing a contrary wind, they could not get vnto the Ilands, onely two of them that were scattred from the fleet, arriued at Tercera, and not finding the fleet, they presently returned to seeke them: in the meane time the king changed his mind, and caused the fleet to stay in India, as I said before: and therefore hee sent worde vnto Don Alonso de Bassan, that hee should returne againe to the Groine, which he presently did (without doing any thing, nor once approching neer the Ilands, sauing onely the two foresayd ships, for he well knew that the Englishmen lay by the Iland of Coruo, but he would not visit them: and so he returned to the hauen the Groine, whereby our goods that came from Malacca were yet to ship, and trussed vp againe, and forced to stay a more fortunate time with patience perforce.

The 23 of October there arriued in Tercera a Carauel with aduise out of Portugall, that of 5 ships which in the yere 1590 were laden in Lisbon for the Indies, 4 of them were turned againe to Portin. After they had bene 4 moneths abroad, and that the Admirall, wherein the Viceroy called Mathias d'Albukerk sailed, had onely gotten to India, as afterward newes thereof was brought ouer-land, hauing bin at the least 11 moneths at sea and neuer saw land, and came in great misery to Malacca. In this ship there died by the way 280 men, according to a note by himselfe made, and sent to the Cardinal at Lisbon, with the names and surnames of euery man, together with a description of his voiage, and the misery they had endured, which was onely done, because he would not lose the gouernment of India: and for that cause he had sworne either to lose his life, or to arriue in India, as in deed he did afterwards, but to the great danger, losse and hinderance of his companie, that were forced to buy it with their liues, and onely for want of prouision, as it may wel be thought: for he knew full well that if he had returned backe againe into

Portugal as the other ships did, he should haue bin cassiered from his Indian regiment, because the people began already to murmure at him for his proud and lofty mind. And among other things that shewed his pride the more, behind aboue the gallery of his ship he caused Fortune to be painted, and his own picture w^t a staffe standing by her, as it were threatning Fortune, with this posie, Quero que vencas, that is, I wil haue thee to ouercome: which being read by the Cardinal and other gentlemen (that to honor him brought him aboord his ship) it was thought to be a point of exceeding folly: but it is no strange matter among the Portugals: for they aboue all others must of force let the foole peepe out of their sleeues, specially when they are in authority, for that I knew the said Mathias d'Albukerk in India, being a souldier and a captaine, where he was esteemed and accounted for one of the best of them, and much honoured, and beloued of all men, as behauing himselfe curteously to euery man, whereby they all desired that he might be Viceroy. But when he once had receiued his patent with full power and authoritie from the king to be Viceroy, he changed so much from his former behauiour, that by reason of his pride, they all began to feare and curse him, and that before hee departed out of Lisbon, as it is often seene in many men that are aduanced vnto state and dignitie.

The 20 of Ianuarie 1591. there was newes brought out of Portugall into Tercera, that the Englishmen had taken a ship that the king had sent into the Portugall-Indies, w^t aduise to the Viceroy for the returning againe of the 4 ships that should haue gone to India, and because the ships were come backe againe, that ship was stuffed and laded as full of goods as possible it might be, hauing likewise in ready money 500 thousand duckets in roials of 8, besides other wares. It departed from Lisbon in the moneth of Nouember 1590. and met with the Englishmen, with whom for a time it fought, but in the end it was taken and caried into England with men and all, yet when they came there, the men were set at libertie, and returned into Lisbon, where the captaine was committed prisoner; but he excused himselfe and was released, with whom I spake my selfe, and he made this report vnto me. At the same time also they tooke a ship that came from the Mine laden with gold, and 2 ships laden with pepper and spices that were to saile into Italy, the pepper onely that was in them, being worth 170 thousand duckets: all these ships were caried into England, and made good prise.

In the moneth of Iuly 1591. there hapned an earthquake in the Iland of S. Michael, which continued from the 26 of Iuly, to the 12 of August, in which time no man durst stay within his house but fled into the fields, fasting and praying with great sorow, for that many of their houses fel down, and a towne called Villa Franca, was almost cleane razed to the ground, all the cloisters and houses shaken to the earth, and therein some people slaine. The land in some places rose vp, and the cliffs remooued from one place to another, and some hils were defaced and made euen with the ground. The earthquake was so strong, that the ships which lay in the road and on the sea, shaked as if the world would haue turned round: there sprang also a fountaine out of the earth, for whence for the space of 4 daies, there flowed a most cleare water, and after that it ceased. At the same time they heard such thunder and noise vnder the earth, as if all the deuils in hell had bin assembled together in that place, wherewith many died for feare. The Iland of Tercera shooke 4 times together, so that it seemed to turne about, but there hapned no misfortune vnto it. Earthquakes are common in those Ilands, for about 20 yeres past there hapned another earthquake, wherein a high hill that lieth by the same towne of Villa Franca, fell halfe downe, and couered all the towne with earth, and killed many men. The 25 of August the kings Armada comming out of Ferol arriued in Tercera being in all 30 ships, Biskaines, Portugals and Spaniards, and 10 Dutch flteboats that were arrested in Lisbon to serue the king, besides other small ships and pataxos, that came to serue as messengers from place to place, and to discouer the seas. This nauie came to stay for, and conuoy the ships that should come from the Spanish Indies, and the flieboats were appointed in their returne home, to take in the goods that were saued in the lost ship that came from Malacca, and to conuoy them to Lisbon.

The 13 of September the said Armada arriued at the Iland of Coruo, where the Englishmen with about 16 ships as then lay, staying for the Spanish fleet, whereof some or the most part were come, and there the English were in good hope to haue taken them. But when they perceiued the kings army to be strong, the Admiral being the lord Thomas Howard, commanded his Fleet not to fal vpon them, nor any of them once to separate their ships from him, vnlesse he gaue commission so to do: notwithstanding the viceadmirall sir Richard Greenuil being in the ship called the Reuenge, went into the Spanish fleet, and shot among them doing them great hurt, and thinking the rest of the company would haue folowed, which they did not, but left him there, and sailed away: the cause why could not be knowen. Which the Spaniards perceiuing, with 7 or 8 ships they boorded her, but she withstood them all, fighting with them at the least 12 houres together and sunke two of them, one being a new double Flieboat of 600 tunnes, and Admiral of the Flieboats, the other a Biscain: but in the end by reason of the number that came vpon her, she was taken, but to their great losse: for they had lost in fighting and by drowning aboue 400 men, and of the English were slaine about 100, Sir Richard Greenuil himselfe being wounded in his braine, whereof afterwards he died. He was caried into the ship called S. Paul, wherein was the Admirall of the fleet Don Alonso de Baçan: there his wounds were drest by the Spanish surgeons, but Don Alonso himselfe would neither see him nor speake with him: all the rest of the Captaines and gentlemen went to visite him, and to comfort him in his hard fortune wondering at his courage and stout heart, for y^t he shewed not any signe of faintnes nor changing of colour; but feeling the houre of death to approch, he spake these words in Spanish, and said: Here die I Richard Greenuil with a ioyful and quiet mind, for that I haue ended my life as a true souldier ought to do, that hath fought for his countrey, Queene, religion and honor, whereby my soule most ioyfull departeth out of this body, and shal alwayes leaue behind it an euerlasting fame of a valiant and true souldier that hath done his dutie as he was bound to doe. When he had finished these or such other like words, he gaue vp the Ghost, with great and stout courage, and no man could perceiue any true signe of heauines in him.

This sir Rich. Greenuil was a great and a rich gentleman in England, and had great yeerely reuenues of his owne inheritance, but he was a man very vnquiet in his mind, and greatly affected to war; insomuch as of his owne priuate motion he offred his seruice to the Queene: he had performed many valiant acts, and was greatly feared in these Ilands, and knowen of euery man, but of nature very seuere, so that his owne people hated him for his fiercenesse, and spake very hardly of him: for when they first entred into the fleet or Armada, they had their great saile in a readinesse, and might possibly enough haue sailed away, for it was one of the best ships for saile in England, and the master perceiuing that the other ships had left them, and folowed not after, commanded the great saile to be cut that they might make away: but sir Rich. Greenuil threatned both him and al the rest that were in the ship, y^t if any man laid hand vpon it, he would cause him to be hanged, and so by that occasion they were compelled to fight and in the end were taken. He was of so hard a complexion, that as he continued among the Spanish captains while they were at dinner or supper with him, he would carouse 3 or 4 glasses of wine, and in a brauerie take the glasses betweene his teeth and crash them in pieces and swalow them downe, so that oftentimes the blood ran out of his mouth without any harme at all vnto him: and this was told me by diuers credible persons that many times stood and beheld him. The Englishmen that were left in the ship, as the captaine of the souldiers, the master and others were dispersed into diuers of the Spanish ships that had taken them, where there had almost a new fight arisen between the Biscains and the Portugals: while each of them would haue the honour to haue first boorded her, so that there grew a great noise and quarel among them, one taking the chiefe ensigne, and the other the flag, and the captaine and euery one held his owne. The ships that had boorded her were altogether out of order, and broken, and many of their men hurt, whereby they were compelled to come into the Island of Tercera, there to repaire themselues: where being arriued, I and my chamberfelow, to heare some newes, went aboord one of the ships being a great Biscain, and one of the 12 Apostles, whose captaine was called Bartandono, that had bin General of the Biscains in the fleet that went for England. He seeing vs called vs up into the gallery, where with great curtesie he receiued vs, being as then set at dinner with the English captaine that sate by him, and had on a sute of blacke veluet, but he could not tell vs any thing, for that he could speake no other language but English and Latine, which Bartandano also could a litle speake. The English captaine got licence of the gouernour that he might come on land with his weapon by his side, and was in our lodging with the Englishman that was kept prisoner in the Iland, being of that ship whereof the sailers got away, as I said before. The gouernour of Tercera bade him to dinner, and shewed him great curtesie. The master likewise with licence of Bartandono came on land and was in our lodging, and had at the least 10 or 12 wounds, as well in his head as on his body, whereof after that being at sea betweene Lisbon and the Ilands he died. The captaine wrote a letter, wherein he declared all the maner of the fight, and left it with the English marchant that lay in our lodging, to send it to the lord Admiral of England. This English captaine comming vnto Lisbon, was there wel receiued and not any hurt done vnto him, but with good conuoy sent vnto Setuuel, and from thence sailed into England with all the rest of the Englishmen that were taken prisoners.

The Spanish armie staied at the Iland of Coruo til the last of September, to assemble the rest of the fleet together, which in the ende were to the number of 140 sailes of ships partly comming from India, and partly of the army, and being altogether readie to saile to Tercera in good company, there suddenly rose so hard and cruell a storme, that those of the Ilands did affirme, that in mans memorie there was neuer any such seen or heard off before: for it seemed the sea would haue swalowed vp the Ilands, the water mounting higher then the cliffs, which are so high that it amaseth a man to behold them: but the sea reached aboue them, and liuing fishes were throwen vpon the land. This storme continued not only a day or two with one wind, but 7 or 8 dayes continually, the wind turning round about in al places of the compasse, at the lest twise or thrise during that time, and all alike, with a continuall storme and tempest most terrible to behold, euen to vs that were on shore, much more then to such as were at sea: so that onely on the coasts and cliffes of the Iland of Tercera, there were aboue 12 ships cast away, and not onely vpon the one side, but round about it in euery corner, whereby nothing els was heard but complaining, crying, lamenting and telling, here is a ship broken in pieces against the cliffes, and there another, and all the men drowned: so that for the space of 20 dayes after the storme, they did nothing els but fish for dead men that contiuually came driuing on the shore. Among the rest was the English ship called the Reuenge, that was cast away vpon a cliffe neere to the Iland of Tercera, where it brake in an hundred pieces and sunke to the ground, hauing in her 70 men Galegos, Biscains, and others, with some of the captiue Englishmen, whereof but one was saued that got vp vpon the cliffes aliue, and had his body and head all wounded, and he being on shore brought vs the newes desiring to be shriuen, and thereupon presently died. The Reuenge had in her diuers faire brasse pieces that were all sunke in ye sea, which they of the Iland were in good hope to waigh vp againe the next Sommer after. Among these ships that

The wracke of the Reuenge.

were cast away about Tercera, was likewise a Flie-boat, one of those that had bin arrested in Portugall to serue the king, called the white Doue, the master of her was one Cornelius Martenson of Schiedam in Holland, and there were in her 100 souldiers, as in euery one of the rest there were. He being ouer-ruled by the captaine that he could not be master of his owne, sayling here and there at the mercy of God, as the storme droue him, in the end came within the sight of the Iland of Tercera, which the Spaniards perceiuing thought all their safety onely to consist in putting into the road, compelling the Master and the Pilot to make towards the Iland, although the master refused to doe it, saying, that they were most sure there to be cast away and vtterly spoyled: but the captaine called him drunkard and Heretique, and striking him with a staffe, commaunded him to doe as he would haue him. The Master seeing this and being compelled to doe it, sayd: well then my Masters, seeing that it is the desire of you all to bee cast away, I can but lose one life, and therewith desperately he sayled towards the shore, and was on that side of the Iland, where there was nothing els but hard stones and rocks, as high as mountaines, most terrible to beholde, where some of the inhabitants stood with long ropes and corke bound at the ende thereof, to throw them downe, vnto the men, that they might lay holde vpon them and saue their liues: but few of them got so neere, most of them being cast away, and smitten in pieces before they could get to the wall. The ship sailing in this maner (as I sayd before) towards the Iland, and approching to the shore, the master being an olde man, and full of yeeres, called his sonne that was in the ship with him, and hauing imbraced one another, and taken their last farewell, the good olde father willed his sonne not to take care for him, but seeke to saue himselfe; for (sayd he) sonne thou art yong, and mayest haue some hope to saue thy life, but as for me it is no great matter (I am olde) what become of me, and therewith ech of these shedding many teares, as euery louing father and kinde childe may well consider, the ship fell vpon the cliffes, and brake in pieces, the father on the one side, the sonne on the other side falling into the sea, ech laying holde vpon that which came next to hand, but to no purpose; for the sea was so high and furious, that they were all drowned, and onely foureteene or fifteene saued themselues by swimming, with their legs and armes halfe broken and out of ioynt, among which was the Masters sonne, and foure other Dutch boyes: the rest of the Spaniards and Sailers, with the Captaine and Master, were drowned. Whose heart would not melt with teares to beholde so grieuous a sight, specially considering with himselfe that the greatest cause thereof was the beastliness and insolency of the Spaniards, as in this onely example may well be seene? Whereby may be considered how the other shippes sped, as we ourselues did in part beholde, and by the men that were saued did heare more at large, as also some others of our countreymen that as then were in the like danger can well witnesse.

On the other Ilands the losse was no lesse then in Tercera: for on the Iland of Saint George there were two ships cast away: on the Iland of Pico two ships: on the Iland of Gratiosa three ships: and besides those there came euery where round about diuers pieces of broken ships, and other things fleeting towards the Ilands, wherewith the sea was all couered most pitifull to beholde. On the Iland of S. Michael there were foure ships cast away, and betweene Tercera and S. Michael three more were sunke, which were seene and heard to cry out; whereof not one man was saued. The rest put into the sea without masts, all torne and rent: so that of the whole fleet and armada, being 140 ships in all, there were but 32 or 33 arriued in Spaine and Portugall, yea, and those few with so great misery, paine and labour, that not two of them arriued there together, but this day one, and to morrow another, next day the third, and so one after the other to the number aforesayd. All the rest were cast away vpon the Ilands, and ouerwhelmed in the Sea, whereby may be considered what great losse and hindrance they receiued at that time: for by many mens iudgments it was esteemed to be much more then was lost by their army that came for England: and it may well be thought, and presumed, that it was no other but a iust plague purposely sent by God vpon the Spaniards, and that it might truely be sayd, the taking of the Reuenge was iustly reuenged vpon them, and not by the might or force of man, but by the power of God, as some of them openly sayd in the Ile of Tercera, that they beleeued verily God would consume them, and that he tooke part with the Lutherans and heretiks: saying further that so soone as they had throwen the dead body of the Viceadmirall Sir Richard Greenfield ouerboord, they verily thought that as he had a diuellish faith and religion, and therefore the diuels loued him, so he presently sunke into the bottome of the sea, and downe into hell, where he raised

Aboue 100 Spanish and Portugall ships drowned.

vp all the diuels to the reuenge of his death: and that they brought so great stormes and torments vpon the Spaniards, because they onely maintained the Catholike and Romish religion. Such and the like blasphemies against God, they ceased not openly to vtter, without being reprooued of any man therein, nor for their false opinions: but the most part of them rather sayd and affirmed, that of trueth it must needs be so.

As one of those Indian fleets put out of Noua Spagna, there were 35 of them by storme and tempest cast away and drowned in the Sea, being 50 in all; so that but 15 escaped. Of the fleet that came from Santo Domingo there were 14 cast away, comming out of the chanell of Hauana, whereof the Admirall and Viceadmirall were two of them: and from Terra Firma in India there came two ships laden with golde and siluer, that were taken by the Englishmen: and before the Spanish army came to Coruo, the Englishmen at times had taken at the least 20 ships, that came from S. Domingo, India, Brasilia, &c. and were all sent into England.

The miraculous victory atchieued by the English Fleete, under the discreet and happy conduct of the right honourable, right prudent, and valiant lord, the L. Charles Howard, L. high Admirall of England, &c. Vpon the Spanish huge Armada sent in the yeere 1588. for the inuasion of England. together with the wofull and miserable successe of the said Armada afterward, upon the Coasts of Norway, of the Scottish Westerne Isles, of Ireland. Spain, France, and of England, &c. Recorded in Latine by Emanuel van Meteran, in the 15. Booke of his history of the low Countreys.

HAuing in part declared the strange and wonderfull euents of the yeere eightie eight, which hath bene so long time foretold by ancient prophesies; we will now make relation of the most notable and great enterprise of all others which were in the foresaid yeere atchieued, in order as it was done. Which exploit (although in very deed it was not performed in any part of the low Countreys) was intended for their ruine and destruction. And it was the expedition which the Spanish king, hauing a long time determined the same in his minde, and hauing consulted thereabout with the Pope, set foorth and vndertooke against England and the low Countreys. To the end that he might subdue the Realme of England, and reduce it vnto his catholique Religion, and by that meanes might be sufficiently reuenged for the disgrace, contempt and dishonour, which hee (hauing 34. yeeres before enforced them to the Popes obedience) had endured of the English nation, and for diuers other iniuries which had taken deepe impression in his thoughts. And also for that hee deemed this to bee the most readie and direct course, whereby hee might recouer his heredetarie possession of the lowe Countreys, hauing restrained the inhabitants from sayling vpon the coast of England. Which verily, vpon most weighty arguments and euident reasons, was thought would vndoubtedly haue come to passe, considering the great aboundance and store of all things necessary wherewith those men were furnished, which had the managing of that action committed vnto them. But now let vs describe the matter more particularly.

The preparation of the Spanish King to subdue England and the lowe Countreys.

The Spanish King hauing with small fruite and commoditie, for aboue twentie yeeres together, waged warre against the Netherlanders, after deliberation with his counsellers thereabout, thought it most conuenient to assault them once againe by Sea, which had bene attempted sundry times heretofore, but not with forces sufficient. Vnto the which expedition it stoode him nowe in hand to ioyne great puissance, as hauing the English people his professed enemies; whose Island is so situate, that it may either greatly helpe or hinder all such as saile into those parts. For which cause hee thought good first of all to inuade England, being perswaded by his Secretary Escouedo, and by diuers other well experienced Spaniards and Dutchmen, and by many English fugitiues, that the conquest of that Island was lesse difficult then the conquest of Holland and Zeland. Moreouer the Spaniards were of opinion, that it would bee farre more behouefull for their King to conquere England and the lowe Countreys all at once, then to be constrained continnally to maintaine a warlike Nauie to defend his East and West Indie Fleetes, from the English Drake, and from such like valiant enemies.

And for the same purpose the king Catholique had giuen commandement long before in Italie and Spaine, that a great quantitie of timber should be felled for the building of shippes; and had besides made great preparation of things and furniture requisite for such an expedition; as namely in founding of brasen Ordinance, in storing vp of corne and victuals, in trayning of men to vse warlike weapons, in leauying and mustering of souldiers: insomuch that about the beginning of the yeere 1588. he had finished such a mightie Nauie, and brought it into Lisbon hauen, as neuer the like had before that time sailed vpon the Ocean sea.

A very large and particular description of this Nauie was put in print and published by the Spaniards; wherein were set downe the number, names, and burthens of the shippes, the number of Mariners and souldiers throughout the whole Fleete; likewise the quantitie of their Ordinance, of their armour, of bullets, of match, of gun-poulder, of victuals, and of all their Nauall furniture was in the saide description particularized. Vnto all these were added the names of the Gouernours, Captaines, Noblemen and gentlemen voluntaries, of whom there was so great a multitude, that scarce was there any family of accompt, or any one principall man throughout all Spaine, that had not a brother, sonne or kinseman in that Fleete: who all of them were in good hope to purchase vnto themselues in that Nauie (as they termed it) inuincible endlesse glory and renowne, and to possesse themselues of great Seigniories and riches in England, and in the lowe Countreys. But because the said description was translated and published out of Spanish into diuers other languages, we will here onely make an abridgment or briefe rehearsall thereof.

The number and qualitie of the ships in the Spanish Fleete, with the souldiers Mariners, and pieces of Ordinance.

Portugal furnished and set foorth vnder the conduct of the duke of Medina Sidonia generall of the Fleete, ten Galeons, two Zabraes, 1300. Mariners, 3300. souldiers, 300. great pieces, with all requisite furniture.

Biscay, vnder the conduct of Iohn Martines de Ricalde Admiral of the whole Fletee, set forth tenne Galeons, 4. Pataches, 700. mariners, 2000. souldiers, 250. great pieces, &c.

Guipusco, vnder the conduct of Michael de Oquendo, tenne Galeons, 4 Pataches, 700. mariners, 2000. souldiers, 310. great pieces.

Italy with the Leuant Islands, vnder Martine de Vertendona,

10. Galeons, 800. mariners, 2000. souldiers, 310. great pieces, &c.

Castile, vnder Diego Flores de Valdez, 14. Galeons, two Pataches, 1700. mariners, 2400. souldiers, and 380. great pieces, &c.

Andaluzia, vnder the conduct of Petro de Valdez, 10. Galeons, one Patache, 800. mariners, 2400. souldiers, 280. great pieces, &c.

Item, vnder the conduct of Iohn Lopez de Medina, 23. great Flemish hulkes, with 700. mariners, 3200. souldiers, and 400. great pieces.

Item, vnder Hugo de Moncada, foure Galliasses containing 1200. gally-slaues, 460. mariners, 870. souldiers, 200. great pieces, &c.

Item, vnder Diego de Mandrana, foure Gallies of Portugall, with 888. gally-slaues, 360. mariners, 20 great pieces, and other requisite furniture.

Item, vnder Anthonie de Mendoza, 22. Pataches and Zabraes, with 574. mariners, 488. souldiers, and 193. great pieces.

Besides the ships aforementioned there were 20 carauels rowed with oares, being appointed to performe necessary seruices vnto the greater ships: insomuch that all the ships appertayning to this Nauie amounted vnto the summe of 150. eche one being sufficiently prouided of furniture and victuals.

The number of mariners in the saide Fleete were aboue 8000. of slaues 2088. of souldiers 20000. (besides noblemen and gentlemen voluntaries) of great cast pieces 2650. The foresaid ships were of an huge and incredible capacitie and receipt. For the whole Fleete was large ynough to containe the burthen of 60 thousand tunnes.

A description of the Galeons.

The Galeons were 64. in number, being of an huge bignesse, and very stately built, being of marueilous force also, and so high that they resembled great castles, most fit to defend themselues and to withstand any assault, but in giuing any other ships the encounter farre inferiour vnto the English and Dutch ships, which can with great dexteritie wield and turne themselues at all assayes. The vpperworke of the said Galeons was of thicknesse and strength sufficient to beare off musket-shot. The lower worke and the timbers thereof were out of measure strong, being framed of plankes and ribs foure or fiue foote in thicknesse, insomuch that no bullets could pierce them, but such as were discharged hard at hand: which afterward prooued true, for a great number of bullets were founde to sticke fast within the massie substance of those thicke plankes. Great and well pitched Cables were twined about the masts of their shippes, to strengthen them against the battery of shot.

A description of the Galliasses.

The Galliasses were of such bignesse, that they contained within them chambers, chapels, turrets, pulpits, and other commodities of great houses. The Galliasses were rowed with great oares, there being in eche one of them 300. slaues for the same purpose, and were able to do great seruice with the force of their Ordinance. All these together with the residue aforenamed were furnished and beautified with trumpets, streamers, banners, warlike ensignes, and other such like ornaments.

The great Ordinance, bullets, gunpoulder, and other furniture.

Their pieces of brasen ordinance were 1600. and of yron a 1000.

The bullets thereto belonging were 120. thousand.

Item of gun-poulder 5600. quintals. Of matche 1200. quintals.

Of muskets and kaleiuers 7000. Of haleberts and partisans 10000.

Moreouer they had great store of canons, double-canons, culuerings and field-pieces for land seruices.

Their prouision of victuals and other things necessary.

Likewise they were prouided of all instruments necessary on land to conueigh and transport their furniture from place to place; as namely of carts, wheeles, wagons, &c. Also they had spades, mattocks and baskets to set pioners on worke. They had in like sort great store of mules and horses, and whatsoeuer else was requisite for a land-armie. They were so well stored of biscuit, that for the space of halfe a yeere, they might allow eche person in the whole Fleete half a quintall euery moneth; whereof the whole summe amounteth vnto an hundred thousand quintals.

Likewise of wine they had 147. thousand pipes, sufficient also for halfe a yeeres expedition. Of bacon 6500. quintals. Of cheese three thousand quintals. Besides fish, rise, beanes, pease, oile, vineger, &c.

Moreouer they had 12000. pipes of fresh water, and all other necessary prouision, as namely candles, lanternes, lampes, sailes, hempe, ox-hides and lead to stop holes that should be made with the battery of gunshot. To be short, they brought all things expedient either for a Fleete by sea, or for an armie by land.

This Nauie (as Diego Pimentelli afterward confessed) was esteemed by the King himselfe to containe 32000. persons, and to cost him euery day 30. thousand ducates.

A Spanish terza consisteth of 3200. souldiers.

There were in the said Nauie fiue terzaes of Spaniards, (which terzaes the Frenchmen call Regiments) vnder the commaund of fiue gouernours termed by the Spaniards, Masters of the field, and amongst the rest there were many olde and expert souldiers chosen out of the garisons of Sicilie, Naples, and Terçera. Their Captaines or Colonels were Diego Pimentelli, Don Francisco de Toledo, Don Alonço de Luçon, Don Nicolas de Isla, Don Augustin de Mexia; who had eche of them 32. companies vnder their conduct. Besides the which companies there were many bands also of Castilians and Portugals, euery one of which had their peculiar gouernours, captaines, officers, colours and weapons.

It was not lawfull for any man, vnder grieuous penaltie, to cary any women or harlots in the Fleete: for which cause the women hired certaine shippes, wherein they sailed after the Nauie: some of the which being driuen by tempest arriued vpon the coast of France.

The generall of this mightie Nauie, was Don Alonso Perez de Guzman duke of Medina Sidonia, Lord of S. Lucar, and knight of the golden Fleece: by reason that the Marques of santa Cruz appointed for the same dignitie, deceased before the time.

Iohn Martines de Ricalde was Admirall of the Fleete.

Francis Bouadilla was chiefe Marshall: who all of them had their officers fit and requisite for the guiding and managing of such a multitude. Likewise Martin Alorcon was appointed Vicar generall of the Inquisition, being accompanied with more then a hundreth Monkes, to wit, Iesuites, Capuchines, and friers mendicant. Besides whom also there were Phisitians, Chirurgians, Apothecaries, and whatsoeuer else perteined vnto the hospitall.

Ouer and besides the forenamed gouernours and officers being men of chiefe note, there were 124. very noble and worthy Gentlemen, which went voluntarily of their owne costs and charges, to the ende they might see fashions, learne experience, and attaine vnto glory. Amongst whom was the prince of Ascoli, Alonzo de Leiua, the marques de Pennafiel, the marques de Ganes, the marques de Barlango, count de Paredes, count de Yeluas, and diuers other marqueses and earles of the honourable families of Mendoza, of Toledo, of Pachieco, of Cordoua, of Guzman, of Manricques, and a great number of others.

The preparation of the duke of Parma to aide the Spaniards.

While the Spaniards were furnishing this their Nauie, the Duke of Parma, at the direction of king Philip, made great preparation in the low Countreys, to giue ayd and assistance vnto the Spaniards; building ships for the same purpose, and sending for Pilots and shipwrights out of Italy.

In Flanders hee caused certaine deepe chanels to be made, and among the rest the chanell of Yper commonly called Yper-lee, employing some thousands of workemen about that seruice: to the end that by the said chanel he might transport ships from Antwerp and Ghendt to Bruges, where hee had assembled aboue a hundreth small ships called hoyes being well stored with victuals, which hoyes hee was determined to haue brought into the sea by the way of Sluys, or else to haue conueyed them by the saide Yper-lee being now of greater depth, into any port of Flanders whatsoeuer.

In the riuer of Waten he caused 70. ships with flat bottomes to be built, euery one of which should serue to cary 30. horses, hauing eche of them bridges likewise for the horses to come on boord, or to goe foorth on land. Of the same fashion he had prouided 200. other vessels at Nieuport, but not so great. And at Dunkerk hee procured 28. ships of warre, such as were there to be had, and caused a sufficient number of Mariners to be leuied at Hamburgh, Breme, Emden, and at other places. Hee put in the ballast of the said ships, great store of beames of thicke plankes, being hollow and beset with yron pikes beneath, but on eche side full of claspes and hookes, to ioyne them together.

Hee had likewise at Greueling prouided 20. thousand of caske, which in a short space might be compact and ioyned together with nailes and cords, and reduced into the forme of a bridge. To be short, whatsoeuer things were requisite for the making of bridges, and for the barring and stopping vp of hauens mouthes with stakes, posts, and other meanes, he commanded to be made ready. Moreouer not farre from Neiuport hauen, he had caused a great pile of wooden fagots to be layd, and other furniture to be brought for the rearing vp of a mount. The most part of his ships conteined two ouens a piece to bake bread in, with a great number of sadles, bridles, and such other like apparell for horses. They had horses likewise, which after their landing should serue to conuey, and draw engines, field-pieces, and other warlike prouisions.

Neere vnto Neiuport he had assembled an armie, ouer the which he had ordained Camillo de Monte to be Camp-master. This army consisted of 30. bands or ensignes of Italians, of tenne bands of Wallons, eight of Scots, and eight of Burgundians, all which together amount vnto 56. bands, euery band containing a hundreth persons. Neare vnto Dixmund there were mustered 80. bands of Dutch men, sixtie of Spaniards, sixe of high Germans, and seuen bands of English fugitiues, vnder the conduct of sir William Stanley an English knight.

In the suburbes of Cortreight there were 4000. horsemen together with their horses in a readinesse: and at Waten 900. horses, with the troupe of the Marques Del Gwasto Captaine generall of the horsemen.

Vnto this famous expedition and presupposed victorie, many potentates, princes, and honourable personages hied themselues: out of Spaine the prince of Melito called the duke of Pastrana and taken to be the sonne of one Ruygomes de Silua, but in very deed accompted among the number of king Philips base sonnes. Also the Marques of Burgraue, one of the sonnes of Archiduke Ferdinand and Philippa Welsera. Vespasian Gonsaga of the family of Mantua, being for chiualry a man of great renowne, and heretofore Vice-roy in Spaine. Item Iohn Medices base sonne vnto the duke of Florence. And Amadas of Sauoy, the duke of Sauoy his base sonne, with many others of inferiour degrees.

The Popes furtherance to the conquest of England, and of the low Countries.

Likewise Pope Sixtus quintus for the setting forth of the foresaid expedition, as they vse to do against Turkes and infidels, published a Cruzado, with most ample indulgences which were printed in great numbers. These vaine buls the English and Dutchmen deriding, sayd that the deuill at all passages lay in ambush like a thiefe, no whit regarding such letters of safe conduct. Some there be which affirme that the Pope had bestowed the realme of England with the title of Defensor fidei, vpon the king of Spaine, giuing him charge to inuade it vpon this condition, that he should enioy the conquered realm, as a vassal and tributarie, in that regard, vnto the sea of Rome. To this purpose the said Pope proffered a million of gold, the one halfe thereof to be paied in readie money, and the other halfe when the realme of

England or any famous port thereof were subdued. And for the greater furtherance of the whole businesse, he dispatched one D. Allen an English man (whom he had made Cardinall for the same ende and purpose) into the Low countries, vnto whom he committed the administration of all matters ecclesiasticall throughout England. This Allen being enraged against his owne natiue countrey, caused the Popes bull to be translated into English, meaning vpon the arriual of the Spanish fleete to haue it so published in England. By which Bull the excommunications of the two former Popes were confirmed, and the Queenes most sacred Maiestie was by them most vniustly depriued of all princely titles and dignities, her subiects being enioyned to performe obedience vnto the duke of Parma, and vnto the Popes Legate.

But that all matters might be performed with greater secrecie, and that the whole expedition might seeme rather to be intended against the Low countries, then against England, and that the English people might be perswaded that all was but bare words and threatnings, and that nought would come to effect, there was a solemne meeting appointed at Borborch in Flanders for a treatie of peace betweene her maiestie and the Spanish king.

Against which treatie the vnited prouinces making open protestation, vsed all meanes possible to hinder it, alleaging that it was more requisite to consult how the enemie now pressing vpon them might be repelled from off their frontiers. Howbeit some there were in England that greatly vrged and prosecuted this league, saying, that it would be very commodious vnto the state of the realme, as well in regard of traffique and nauigation, as for the auoiding of great expenses to maintaine the warres, affirming also, that at the same time peace might easily and vpon reasonable conditions be obtained of the Spaniard. Others thought by this meanes to diuert some other way, or to keepe backe the nauy now comming vpon them, and so to escape the danger of that tempest. Howsoeuer it was, the duke of Parma by these wiles enchanted and dazeled the eyes of many English and Dutch men that were desirous of peace: whereupon it came to passe, that England and the vnited prouinces prepared in deed some defence to withstand that dreadfull expedition and huge Armada, but nothing in comparison of the great danger which was to be feared, albeit the constant report of the whole expedition had continued rife among them for a long time before.

A treatie of peace, to the end that England and the vnited prouinces might be secure of inuasion.

Howbeit they gaue eare vnto the relation of certaine that sayd, that this nauie was prouided to conduct and waft ouer the Indian Fleets: which seemed the more probable because the Spaniards were deemed not to be men of so small discretion as to aduenture those huge and monstrous ships vpon the shallow and dangerous chanel of England.

Her maiesties warlike preparation by sea.

At length when as the French king about the end of May signified vnto her Maiestie in plaine termes that she should stand vpon her guard, because he was now most certainly enformed, that there was so dangerous an inuasion imminent vpon her realme, that he feared much least all her land and sea-forces would be sufficient to withstand it, &c. then began the Queens Maiestie more carefully to gather her forces together, and to furnish her own ships of warre, and the principall ships of her subiects with souldiers, weapons, and other necessary prouision. The greatest and strongest ships of the whole nauy she sent vnto Plimmouth vnder the conduct of the right honorable Lord Charles Howard, lord high Admirall of England, &c. Vnder whom the renoumed Knight Sir Francis Drake was appointed Vice-admiral. The number of these ships was about an hundreth. The lesser ships being 30. or 40. in number, and vnder the conduct of the lord Henry Seimer were commanded to lie between Douer and Caleis.

Her Maiesties land-forces.

On land likewise throughout the whole realme, souldiers were mustered and trained in all places, and were committed vnto the most resolute and faithfull captaines. And whereas it was commonly giuen out that the Spaniard hauing once vnited himselfe vnto the duke of Parma, meant to inuade by the riuer of Thames, there was at Tilburie in Essex ouer-against Grauesend, a mightie army encamped, and on both sides of the riuer fortifications were erected, according to the prescription of Frederike Genebelli, an Italian enginier. Likewise there were certaine ships brought to make a bridge, though it were very late first. Vnto the sayd army came in proper person the Queens most roiall Maiestie, representing Tomyris that Scythian warlike princesse, or rather diuine Pallas her selfe. Also there were other such armies leuied in England.

The principall catholique Recussants (least they should stirre vp any tumult in the time of the Spanish inuasion) were sent to remaine at certaine conuenient places, as namely in the Isle of Ely and at Wisbich. And some of them were sent vnto other places, to wit, vnto sundry bishops and noblemen, where they were kept from endangering the state of the common wealth, and of her sacred Maiestie, who of her most gracious clemencie gaue expresse commandement that they should be intreated with all humanity and friendship.

The preparation of the united prouinces.

The Prouinces of Holland and Zeland, &c. giuing credite vnto their intelligence out of Spain, made preparation to defend themselues: but because the Spanish ships were described vnto them to be so huge, they relied partly vpon the shallow and dangerous seas all along their costs. Wherfore they stood most in doubt of the duke of Parma his small and flat-bottomed ships. Howbeit they had all their ships of warre to the number of 90. and aboue, in a readinesse for all assayes: the greater part whereof were of a small burthen, as being more meete to saile vpon their riuers and shallow seas: and with these ships they besieged all the hauens in Flanders, beginning at the mouth of Scheld, or from the towne of Lillo, and holding on to Greueling and almost vnto Caleis, and fortified all their sea-townes with strong garrisons.

Against the Spanish fleets arriual, they had prouided 25. or 30. good ships, committing the gouernment of them vnto Admirall Lonck, whom they commanded to ioine himselfe vnto the lord Henry Seymer, lying betweene Douer and Cales. And when as the foresaid ships (whereof the greater part besieged the hauen of Dunkerke) were driuen by tempest into Zeland, Iustin of Nassau the Admiral of Zeland supplied that squadron with 35. ships being of no great burthen, but excellently furnished with gunnes, mariners and souldiers in great abundance, and especially with 1200. braue Musquetiers, hauing bene accustomed vnto sea-fights, and being chosen out of all their companies for the same purpose: and so the said Iustin of Nassau kept such diligent ward in that Station that the duke of Parma could not issue foorth with his nauy into the sea out of any part of Flanders.

The Spanish fleete set saile vpon the 19. of May.

In the meane while the Spanish Armada set saile out of the hauen of Lisbon vpon the 19. of May, An. Dom. 1588. vnder the conduct of the duke of Medina Sidonia, directing their course for the Baie of Corunna, aliàs the Groine in Gallicia, where they tooke in souldiers and warlike prouision, this port being in Spaine the neerest vnto England. As they were sailing along, there arose such a mightie tempest, that the whole Fleete was dispersed, so that when the duke was returned vnto his company, he could not escry aboue 80. ships in all, whereunto the residue by litle and litle ioyned themselues, except eight which had their mastes blowen ouer-boord. One of the foure gallies of Portingal escaped very hardly, retiring her selfe into the hauen. The other three were vpon the coast of Baion in France, by the assistance and courage of one Dauid Gwin an English captiue (whom the French and Turkish slaues aided in the same enterprise) vtterly disabled and vanquished: one of the three being first ouercome, which conquered the two other, with the slaughter of their gouernours and souldiers, and among the rest of Don Diego de Mandrana with sundry others: and so these slaues arriuing in France with the three Gallies, set themselues at liberty.

They set saile from ye Groine vpon the 11. of Iuly.

The Spaniards come within kenning of England.

Captain Fleming.

The nauy hauing refreshed themselues at the Groine, and receiuing daily commandement from the king to hasten their iourney, hoised vp sailes the 11. day of July, and so holding on their course till the 19. of the same moneth, they came then vnto the mouth of the narow seas or English chanel. From whence (striking their sailes in the meane season) they dispatched certaine of their smal ships vnto the duke of Parma. At the same time the Spanish Fleete was escried by an English pinasse, captaine whereof was M. Thomas Fleming, after they had bene aduertised of the Spaniards expedition by their scoutes and espials, which hauing ranged along the coast of Spaine, were lately returned home into Plimmouth for a new supply of victuals and other necessaries, who considering the foresayd tempest, were of opinion that the nauy being of late dispersed and tossed vp and downe the maine Ocean, was by no means able to performe their intended voiage.

Moreouer, the L. Charles Howard L. high admiral of England had receiued letters from the court, signifying vnto him that her Maiestie was aduertised that the Spanish Fleete would not come foorth, nor was to be any longer expected for, and therefore, that vpon her Maiesties commandement he must send backe foure of her tallest and strongest ships vnto Chatham.

The L. Admirals short warning vpon the 19. of Iuly.

The lord high Admiral of England being thus on the sudden, namely vpon the 19. of July about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, enformed by the pinasse of captaine Fleming aforesaid, of the Spaniards approch, with all speed and diligence possible he warped his ships, and caused his mariners and souldiers (the greater part of whom was absent for the cause aforesayd) to come on boord, and that with great trouble and difficultie, insomuch that the lord Admiral himselfe was faine to lie without in the road with sixe ships onely all that night, after the which many others came foorth of the hauen.

The 20. of Iuly.

The very next day being the 20. of Iuly about high noone, was the Spanish Fleete escried by the English, which with a Southwest wind came sailing along, and passed by Plimmouth: in which regard (according to the iudgement of many skilful nauigators) they greatly ouershot themselues, whereas it had bene more commodious for them to haue staied themselues there, considering that the Englishmen being as yet vnprouided, greatly relied vpon their owne forces, and knew not the estate of the Spanish nauy. Moreouer, this was the most conuenient port of all others, where they might with greater securitie haue bene aduertised of the English forces, and how the commons of the land stood affected, and might haue stirred vp some mutinie, so that hither they should haue bent all their puissance, and from hence the duke of Parma might more easily haue conueied his ships.

But this they were prohibited to doe by the king and his counsell, and were expressely commanded to vnite themselues vnto the souldiers and ships of the said duke of Parma, and so to bring their purpose to effect. Which was thought to be the most easie and direct course, for that they imagined that the English and Dutch men would be vtterly daunted and dismaied thereat, and would each man of them retire vnto his owne Prouince and Porte for the defence thereof, and transporting the armie of the duke vnder the protection of their huge nauy, they might inuade England.

It is reported that the chiefe commanders in the nauy, and those which were more skilfull in nauigation, to wit, Iohn Martines de Ricalde, Diego Flores de Valdez, and diuers others found fault that they were bound vnto so strict directions and instructions, because that in such a case many particular accidents ought to concurre and to be respected at one and the same instant, that is to say, the opportunitie of the wind, weather, time, tide, and ebbe, wherein they might saile from Flanders to England. Oftentimes also the darkenesse and light, the situation of places, the depths and shoulds were to be considered: all which especially depended vpon the conuenience of the windes, and were by so much the more dangerous.

But it seemeth that they were enioined by their commission to ancre neere vnto, or about Caleis, whither the duke of Parma with his ships and all his warrelike prouision was to resort, and while the English and Spanish great ships were in the midst of their conflict, to passe by, and to land his souldiers vpon the Downes.

The Spanish captiues reported that they were determined first to haue entred the riuer of Thames, and thereupon to haue passed with small ships vp to London, supposing that they might easily winne that rich and flourishing Citie being but meanely fortified and inhabited with Citizens not accustomed to the warres, who durst not withstand their first encounter, hoping moreouer to finde many rebels against her Maiestie and popish catholiques, or some fauourers of the Scottish queene (which was not long before most iustly beheaded) who might be instruments of sedition.

Thus often aduertising the duke of Parma of their approch, the 20. of Iuly they passed by Plimmouth, which the English ships pursuing and getting the wind of them, gaue them the chase and the encounter, and so both Fleets frankly exchanged their bullets.

The 21. of Iuly.

The day following which was the 21. of Iuly, the English ships approched within musquet shot of the Spanish: at what time the lorde Charles Howard most hotly and valiantly discharged his Ordinance vpon the Spanish Vice-admirall. The Spaniards then well perceiuing the nimblenesse of the English ships in discharging vpon the enimie on all sides, gathered themselues close into the forme of an halfe moone, and slackened their sailes, least they should outgoe any of their companie. And while they were proceeding on in this maner, one of their great Galliasses was so furiously battered with shot, that the whole nauy was faine to come vp rounder together for the safegard thereof: whereby it came to passe that the principall Galleon of Siuill (wherein Don Pedro de Valdez, Vasques de Silua, Alonzo de Sayas, and other noble men were embarqued) falling foule of another shippe, had her fore-mast broken, and by that meanes was not able to keepe way with the Spanish Fleete, neither would the sayde Fleete stay to succour it, but left the distressed Galeon behind. The lord Admirall of England when he saw this ship of Valdez, and thought she had bene voyd of Mariners and Souldiers, taking with him as many shippes as he could, passed by it, that he might not loose sight of the Spanish Fleet that night. For sir Francis Drake (who was notwithstanding appointed to beare out his lanterne that night) was giuing of chase vnto fiue great Hulkes which had separated themselues from the Spanish Fleete: but finding them to be Easterlings, he dismissed them. The lord Admirall all that night following the Spanish lanterne in stead of the English, found himselfe in the morning to be in the midst of his enimies Fleete, but when he perceiued it, he cleanly conueyed himselfe out of that great danger.

The 22. of Iuly.

The day folowing, which was the two and twentie of Iuly, Sir Francis Drake espied Valdez his shippe, whereunto hee sent foorth his pinasse, and being aduertised that Valdez himselfe was there, and 450. persons with him, he sent him word that he should yeeld himselfe. Valdez for his honors sake caused certaine conditions to be propounded vnto Drake: who answered Valdez that he was not now at laisure to make any long parle, but if he would yeeld himselfe, he should find him friendly and tractable: howbeit if he had resolued to die in fight, he should prooue Drake to be no dastard.

Don Pedro de Valdez with his ship and company taken.

Vpon which answere Valdez and his company vnderstanding that they were fallen into the hands of fortunate Drake, being mooued with the renoume and celebritie of his name, with one consent yeelded themselues, and found him very fauourable vnto them. Then Valdez with 40. or 50. noblemen and gentlemen pertaining vnto him, came on boord sir Francis Drakes ship. The residue of his ship were caried vnto Plimmouth, where they were detained a yere and an halfe for their ransome.

Valdez comming vnto Drake and humbly kissing his hand protested vnto him, that he and they had resolued to die in battell, had they not by good fortune fallen into his power, whom they knew to be right curteous and gentle, and whom they had heard by generall report to bee most fauourable vnto his vanquished foe: insomuch that he sayd it was to bee doubted whether his enimies had more cause to admire and loue him for his great, valiant, and prosperous exploites, or to dread him for his singular felicitie and wisedom, which euer attended vpon him in the warres, and by the which hee had attained vnto so great honour. With that Drake embraced him and gaue him very honourable entertainement, feeding him at his owne table, and lodging him in his cabbin.

Here Valdez began to recount vnto Drake the forces of all the Spanish Fleet, and how foure mightie Gallies were separated by tempest from them: and also how they were determined first to haue put into Plimmouth hauen, not expecting to bee repelled thence by the English ships which they thought could by no meanes withstand their impregnable forces, perswading themselues that by means of their huge Fleete, they were become lords and commaunders of the maine Ocean. For which cause they marueled much how the English men in their small ships durst approch within musket shot of the Spaniards mightie wooden castles, gathering the wind of them with many other such like attempts.

Immediately after, Valdez and his company, being a man of principal authoritie in the Spanish Fleete, and being descended of one and the same familie with that Valdez, which in the yeere 1574. besieged Leiden in Holland, were sent captiues into England. There were in the sayd ship 55. thousand duckates in ready money of the Spanish kings gold, which the souldiers merily shared among themselues.

The same day was set on fire one of their greatest shippes, being Admirall of the squadron of Guipusco, and being the shippe of Michael de Oquendo Vice-admirall of the whole Fleete, which contained great store of gunnepowder and other warrelike prouision. The vpper part onely of this shippe was burnt, and all the persons therein contained (except a very few) were consumed with fire. And thereupon it was taken by the English, and brought into England with a number of miserable burnt and skorched Spaniards. Howbeit the gunpowder (to the great admiration of all men) remained whole and vnconsumed.

A great Biscaine ship taken by the English.

In the meane season the lord Admirall of England in his ship called the Arke-royall, all that night pursued the Spaniards so neere, that in the morning hee was almost left alone in the enimies Fleete, and it was foure of the clocke at afternoone before the residue of the English Fleet could ouertake him.

At the same time Hugo de Moncada gouernour of the foure Galliasses, made humble sute vnto the Duke of Medina that he might be licenced to encounter the Admirall of England: which libertie the duke thought not good to permit vnto him, hecause hee was loth to exceed the limites of his commission and charge.

The 23. of Iuly.

Vpon Tuesday which was the three and twentie of Iuly, the nauie being come ouer against Portland, the wind began to turne Northerly, insomuch that the Spaniards had a fortunate and fit gale to inuade the English. But the Englishmen hauing lesser and nimbler Ships, recouered againe the vantage of the winde from the Spaniards, whereat the Spaniards seemed to bee more incensed to fight then before. But when the English Fleete had continually and without intermission from morning to night, beaten and battered them with all their shot both great and small: the Spaniardes vniting themselves, gathered their whole Fleete close together into a roundell, so that it was apparant that they ment not as yet to inuade others, but onely to defend themselues and to make hast vnto the place prescribed vnto them, which was neere vnto Dunkerk, that they might ioine forces with the Duke of Parma, who was determined to haue proceeded secretly with his small shippes vnder the shadow and protection of the great ones, and so had intended circumspectly to performe the whole expedition.

This was the most furious and bloodie skirmish of all, in which the lord Admirall of England continued fighting amidst his enimies Fleete, and seeing one of his Captaines afarre off, hee spake vnto him in these wordes: Oh George what doest thou? Wilt thou nowe frustrate my hope and opinion conceiued of thee? Wilt thou forsake me nowe? With which wordes hee being enflamed, approched foorthwith, encountered the enemie, and did the part of a most valiant Captaine. His name was George Fenner, a man that had bene conuersant in many Sea-fights.

A great Venetian ship and other small ships taken by the English.

In this conflict there was a certaine great Venetian ship with other small ships surprised and taken by the English.

The English nauie in the meane while increased, whereunto out of all Hauens of the Realme resorted ships and men: for they all with one accord came flocking thither as vnto a set field, where immortall fame and glory was to be attained, and faithfull seruice to bee performed vnto their prince and countrey.

In which number there were many great and honourable personages, as namely, the Erles of Oxford, of Northumberland, of Cumberland, &c. with many Knights and Gentlemen: to wit, Sir Thomas Cecill, Sir Robert Cecill, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir William Hatton, Sir Horatio Palauacini, Sir Henry Brooke, Sir Robert Carew, Sir Charles Blunt, Master Ambrose Willoughbie, Master Henry Nowell, Master Thomas Gerard, Master Henry Dudley, Master Edward Darcie, Master Arthur Gorge, Master Thomas Woodhouse, Master William Haruie, &c. And so it came to passe that the number of the English shippes amounted vnto an hundreth: which when they were come before Douer, were increased to an hundred and thirtie, being notwithstanding of no proportionable bignesse to encounter with the Spaniards, except two or three and twentie of the Queenes greater shippes, which onely, by reason of their presence, bred an opinion in the Spaniardes mindes concerning the power of the English Fleet: the mariners and souldiers whereof were esteemed to be twelue thousand.

The 24. of Iuly.

The foure and twentie of Iuly when as the sea was calme, and no winde stirring, the fight was onely betweene the foure great Galleasses and the English shippes, which being rowed with Oares, had great vauntage of the sayde English shippes, which notwithstanding for all that would not bee forced to yeeld, but discharged their chaine-shot to cut assunder the Cables and Cordage of the Galliasses, with many other such Stratagemes. They were nowe constrained to send their men on land for a newe supplie of Gunne-powder, whereof they were in great skarcitie, by reason they had so frankely spent the greater part in the former conflicts.

The same day, a Counsell being assembled, it was decreed that the English Fleete should be diuided into foure squadrons: the principall whereof was committed vnto the lord Admirall: the second to Sir Francis Drake: the third, to Captaine Hawkins: the fourth, to Captaine Frobisher.

The Spaniards in their sailing obserued very diligent and good order, sayling three and foure, and sometimes more ships in a ranke, and folowing close vp one after another, and the stronger and greater ships protecting the lesser.

The 25. of Iuly.

The fiue and twenty of Iuly when the Spaniardes were come ouer-gainst the Isle of Wight, the lord Admirall of England being accompanied with his best ships, (namely the Lion, Captaine whereof was the lord Thomas Howard: The Elizabeth Ionas vnder the commandement of Sir Robert Southwel sonne in lawe vnto the lord Admirall: the Beare vnder the lord Sheffield nephew vnto the lord Admirall: the Victorie vnder Captaine Barker: and the Galeon Leicester vnder the forenamed Captaine George Fenner) with great valour and dreadfull thundering of shot, encountered the Spanish Admirall being in the very midst of all his Fleet. Which when the Spaniard perceiued, being assisted with his strongest ships, he came foorth and entered a terrible combate with the English: for they bestowed each on other the broad sides, and mutually discharged all their Ordinance, being within one hundred, or an hundred and twentie yards one of another.

At length the Spaniardes hoised vp their sayles, and againe gathered themselues vp close into the forme of a roundel. In the meane while Captaine Frobisher had engaged himselfe into a most dangerous conflict. Whereupon the lord Admirall comming to succour him, found that hee had valiantly and discreetly behaued himselfe, and that hee had wisely and in good time giuen ouer the fight, because that after so great a batterie he had sustained no damage.

The 26. of Iuly.

For which cause the day following, being the sixe and twentie of Iuly, the lord Admirall rewarded him with the order of knighthood, together with the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Sheffield, M. Iohn Hawkins and others.

The same day the lord Admirall receiued intelligence from Newhauen in France, by certaine of his Pinasses, that all things were quiet in France, and that there was no preparation of sending aide vnto the Spaniards, which was greatly feared from the Guisian faction, and from the Leaguers: but there was a false rumour spread all about, that the Spaniards had conquered England.

The 27. of Iuly. The Spaniards ancre before Caleis.

The seven and twentie of Iuly, the Spaniards about the sunne-setting were come ouer-against Douer, and rode at ancre within the sight of Caleis, intending to hold on for Dunkerk, expecting there to ioyne with the Duke of Parma his forces, without which they were able to doe litle or nothing.

Likewise the English Fleete following vp hard vpon them, ancred just by them within culuering-shot. And here the lord Henry Seymer vnited himselfe vnto the lord Admiral with his fleete of 30. ships which road before the mouth of Thames.

As the Spanish nauie therefore lay at ancre, the Duke of Medina sent certaine messengers vnto the duke of Parma, with whom vpon that occasion many Noblemen and Gentlemen went to refresh themselues on land: and amongst the rest the prince of Ascoli, being accounted the kings base sonne, and a very proper and towardly yong gentleman, to his great good, went on shore, who was by so much the more fortunate, in that hee had not opportunitie to returne on boord the same ship, out of which he was departed, because that in returning home it was cast away vpon the Irish coast, with all the persons contained therein.

The duke of Parma being aduertised of the Spanish Fleetes arriual vpon the coast of England, made all the haste hee could to bee present himselfe in this expedition for the performance of his charge: vainely perswading himselfe that nowe by the meanes of Cardinall Allen, hee should be crowned king of England, and for that cause hee had resigned the government of the Lowe countries vnto Count Mansfeld the elder. And having made his vowes vnto S. Mary of Hall in Henault (whom he went to visite for his blind deuotions sake) he returned toward Bruges the 28. of Iuly.

The 28. of Iuly.

The next day trauelling to Dunkerk hee heard the thundering Ordinance of either Fleet: and the same euening being come to Dixmud, hee was giuen to vnderstand the hard successe of the Spanish Fleete.

The 29. of Iuly.

Vpon Tuesday which was the thirtieth of Iuly, about high noone, hee came to Dunkerk, when as all the Spanish Fleete was now passed by: neither durst any of his ships in the meane space come foorth to assist the sayd Spanish Fleete for feare of fiue and thirtie warrelike ships of Holland and Zeland, which there kept watch and warde vnder the conduct of the Admirall Iustin of Nassau.

The 30. of Iuly.

The foresayd fiue and thirtie shippes were furnished with most cunning mariners and olde expert souldiers, amongst the which were twelue hundred Musketiers, whom the States had chosen out of all their garisons, and whom they knew to haue bene heretofore experienced in sea-fights.

This nauie was giuen especially in charge not to suffer any shippe to come out of the Hauen, not to permit any Zabraes, Pataches, or other small vessels of the Spanish Fleete (which were more likely to aide the Dunkerkers) to enter thereinto, for the greater ships were not to be feared by reason of the shallow sea in that place. Howbeit the prince of Parma his forces being as yet vnreadie, were not come on boord his shippes, onely the English Fugitiues being seuen hundred in number vnder the conduct of Sir William Stanley, came in fit time to haue bene embarked, because they hoped to giue the first assault against England. The residue shewed themselues vnwilling and loath to depart, because they sawe but a few mariners, who were by constraint drawne into this expedition, and also because they had very bare prouision of bread, drinke, and other necessary victuals.

Moreouer, the shippes of Holland and Zeland stood continually in their sight, threatening shot and powder, and many inconueniences vnto them: for feare of which shippes the Mariners and Sea-men secretly withdrew themselues both day and night, lest that the duke of Parma his souldiers should compell them by maine force to goe on boord, and to breake through the Hollanders Fleete, which all of them iudged to bee impossible by reason of the straightnesse of the Hauen.

The Spaniards vaine opinion concerning their own fleet.

But it seemeth that the Duke of Parma and the Spaniards grounded vpon a vaine and presumptuous expectation, that all the ships of England and of the Low countreys would at the first sight of the Spanish and Dunkerk Nauie haue betaken themselues to flight, yeelding them sea roome, and endeuouring only to defend themselues, their hauens, and sea coasts from inuasion. Wherefore their intent and purpose was, that the Duke of Parma in his small and flat-bottomed shippes, should as it were vnder the shadow and wings of the Spanish fleet, conuey ouer all his troupes, armour, and warlike prouision, and with their forces so vnited, should inuade England; or while the English fleet were busied in fight against the Spanish, should enter vpon any part of the coast, which he thought to be most conuenient. Which inuasiom (as the captiues afterward confessed) the Duke of Parma thought first to haue attempted by the riuer of Thames; vpon the bankes whereof hauing at his first arriuall landed twenty or thirty thousand of his principall souldiers, he supposed that he might easily haue woonne the Citie of London; both because his small shippes should haue followed and assisted his land-forces, and also for that the Citie it-selfe was but meanely fortified and easie to ouercome, by reason of the Citizens delicacie and discontinuance from the warres, who with continuall and constant labour might be vanquished, if they yeelded not at the first assault. They were in good hope also to haue mette with some rebels against her Maiestie, and such as were discontented with the present state, as Papists and others. Likewise they looked for ayde from the fauorers of the Scottish Queene, who was not long before put to death; all which they thought would haue stirred vp seditions and factions.

Whenas therefore the Spanish fleet rode at anker before Caleis, to the end they might consult with the Duke of Parma what was best to be done according to the Kings commandement, and the present estate of their affairs, and had now (as we will afterward declare) purposed vpon the second of August being Friday, with one power and consent to haue put their intended businesse in practise; the L. Admirall of England being admonished by her Maiesties letters from the Court, thought it most expedient either to driue the Spanish fleet from that place, or at leastwise to giue them the encounter: and for that cause (according to her Maiesties prescription) he tooke forthwith eight of his woorst and basest ships which came next to hand, and disburthening them of all things which seemed to be of any value, filled them with gun-powder, pitch, brimstone, and with other combustible and firy matter; and charging all their ordinance with powder, bullets, and stones, he sent the sayd ships vpon the 28 of Iuly being Sunday, about two of the clocke after midnight, with the winde and tide against the Spanish fleet: which when they had proceeded a good space, being forsaken of the Pilots, and set on fire, were directly carried vpon the King of Spaines Nauie: which fire in the dead of the night put the Spaniards into such a perplexity and horrour (for they feared lest they were like vnto those terrible ships, which Frederick Ienebelli three yeeres before, at the siege of Antwerpe, had furnished with gun-powder, stones, and dreadfull engines, for the dissolution of the Duke of Parma his bridge, built vpon the riuer of Scheld) that cutting their cables whereon their ankers were fastened, and hoising vp their sailes, they betooke themselues very confusedly vnto the maine sea.

The 28 of Iuly.

The galliasse of Hugo de Moncado cast vpon the showlds before Caleis.

In this sudden confusion, the principall and greatest of the foure galliasses falling fowle of another ship, lost her rudder: for which cause when she conld not be guided any longer, she was by the force of the tide cast into a certaine showld vpon the shore of Caleis, where she was immediately assaulted by diuers English pinasses, hoyes, and drumblers.

M. Amias Preston valiantly boordeth the galliasse.

And as they lay battering of her with their ordinance, and durst not boord her, the L. Admirall sent thither his long boat with an hundreth choise souldiers vnder the command of Captaine Amias Preston. Vpon whose approch their fellowes being more emboldened, did offer to boord the galliasse: against whom the gouernour thereof and Captaine of all the foure galliasses, Hugo de Moncada, stoutly opposed himselfe, fighting by so much the more valiantly, in that he hoped presently to be succoured by the Duke of Parma. In the meane season, Moncada, after he had endured the conflict a good while, being hitte on the head with a bullet, fell downe starke dead, and a great number of Spaniards also were slaine in his company. The greater part of the residue leaping ouer-boord into the sea, to saue themselues by swimming, were most of them drowned. Howbeit there escaped among others Don Anthonio de Manriques, a principall officer in the Spanish fleet (called by them their Veador generall) together with a few Spaniards besides: which Anthonio was the first man that carried certaine newes of the successe of their fleet into Spaine.

This huge and monstrous galliasse, wherein were contained three hundred slaues to lug at the oares, and foure hundred souldiers, was in the space of three houres rifled in the same place; and there were found amongst diuers other commodities 50000 ducats of the Spanish kings treasure. At length when the slaues were released out of the fetters, the English men would haue set the sayd ship on fire, which Monsieur Gourdon the gouernor of Caleis, for feare of the damage which might thereupon ensue to the Towne and Hauen, would not permit them to do, but draue them from thence with his great ordinance.

The great fight before Greueling the 29 of Iuly.

Vpon the 29 of Iuly in the morning, the Spanish Fleet after the foresayd tumult, hauing arranged themselues againe into order, were, within sight of Greueling, most brauely and furiously encountered by the English; where they once againe got the winde of the Spaniards:

who suffered themselues to be depriued of the commodity of the place in Caleis rode, and of the aduantage of the winde neere vnto Dunkerk, rather then they would change their array or separate their forces now conioyned and vnited together, standing onely vpon their defence.

And albeit there were many excellent and warlike ships in the English fleet, yet scarse were there 22 or 23 among them all which matched 90 of the Spanish ships in bignesse, or could conueniently assault them. Wherefore the English shippes vsing their prerogatiue of nimble stirrage, whereby they could turne and wield themselues with the winde which way they listed, came often times very neere vpon the Spaniards, and charged them so sore, that now and then they were but a pikes length asunder: and so continually giuing them one broad side after another, they discharged all their shot both great and small vpon them, spending one whole day from morning till night in that violent kinde of conflict, vntill such time as powder and bullets failed them. In regard of which want they thought it conuenient not to pursue the Spaniards any longer, because they had many great vantages of the English, namely for the extraordinary bignesse of their ships, and also for that they were so neerely conioyned, and kept in so good array, that they could by no meanes be fought withall one to one. The English thought therefore, that they had right well acquited themselues, in chasing the Spaniards first from Caleis, and then from Dunkerk, and by that meanes to haue hindered them from ioyning with the Duke of Parma his forces, and getting the winde of them, to haue driuen them from their owne coasts.

The Spaniards that day sustained great losse and damage hauing many of their shippes shot thorow and thorow, and they discharged likewise great store of ordinance against the English; who indeed sustained some hinderance, but not comparable to the Spaniards losse: for they lost not any one shippe or person of account. For very diligent inquisition being made, the English men all that time wherein the Spanish Nauie sayled vpon their seas, are not found to haue wanted aboue one hundreth of their people: albeit Sir Francis Drakes shippe was pierced with shot aboue forty times, and his very cabben was twise shot thorow, and about the conclusion of the fight, the bedde of a certaine gentleman lying weary thereupon, was taken quite from vnder him with the force of a bullet. Likewise, as the Earle of Northumberland

and Sir Charles Blunt were at dinner vpon a time, the bullet of a demi-culuering brake thorow the middest of their cabbin, touched their feet, and strooke downe two of the standers by, with many such accidents befalling the English shippes, which it were tedious to rehearse. Whereupon it is most apparant, that God miraculously preserued the English nation. For the L. Admirall wrote vnto her Maiestie that in all humane reason, and according to the iudgement of all men (euery circumstance being duly considered) the English men were not of any such force, whereby they might, without a miracle, dare once to approch within sight of the Spanish Fleet: insomuch that they freely ascribed all the honour of their victory vnto God, who had confounded the enemy, and had brought his counsels to none effect.

Three Spanish shippes suncke in the fight.

The same day the Spanish ships were so battered with English shot, that that very night and the day following, two or three of them suncke right downe: and among the rest a certaine great ship of Biscay, which Captaine Crosse assaulted, which perished euen in the time of the conflict, so that very few therein escaped drowning; who reported that the gouernours of the same shippe slew one another vpon the occasion following: one of them which would haue yeelded the shippe was suddenly slaine; the brother of the slaine party in reuenge of his death slew the murtherer, and in the meane while the ship suncke.

Two galeons taken and caried into Zealand.

The same night two Portugall galeons of the burthen of seuen or eight hundreth tunnes a piece, to wit the Saint Philip and the Saint Matthew, were forsaken of the Spanish Fleet, for they were so torne with shotte that the water entered into them on all sides. In the galeon of Saint Philip was Francis de Toledo, brother vnto the Count de Orgas, being Colonell ouer two and thirty bands: besides other gentlemen; who seeing their mast broken with shotte, they shaped their course, as well as they could, for the coast of Flanders: whither when they could not attaine, the principall men in the ship committing themselues to their skiffe, arriued at the next towne, which was Ostend; and the ship it selfe being left behinde with the residue of their company, was taken by the Vlishingers.

In the other galeon, called the S. Matthew, was embarked Don Diego Pimentelli another camp-master and colonell of 32 bands, being brother vnto the marques of Tamnares, with many other gentlemen and captaines. Their ship was not very great, but exceeding strong, for of a great number of bullets which had batterd her, there were scarse 20 wherewith she was pierced or hurt: her vpper worke was of force sufficient to beare off a musket shot: this shippe was shot thorow and pierced in the fight before Greueling; insomuch that the leakage of the water could not be stopped: whereupon the duke of Medina sent his great skiffe vnto the gouernour thereof, that he might saue himselfe and the principal persons that were in his ship: which he, vpon a hault courage, refused to do: wherefore the Duke charged him to saile next vnto himselfe: which the night following he could not performe, by reason of the great abundance of water which entered his ship on all sides; for the auoiding wherof, and to saue his ship from sincking, he caused 50 men continually to labor at the pumpe, though it were to small purpose. And seeing himselfe thus forsaken and separated from his admirall, he endeuored what he could to attaine vnto the coast of Flanders: where, being espied by 4 or 5 men of warre, which had their station assigned them vpon the same coast, he was admonished to yeeld himselfe vnto them. Which he refusing to do, was strongly assaulted by them altogether, and his ship being pierced with many bullets, was brought into farre worse case then before, and 40 of his souldiers were slaine. By which extremity he was enforced at length to yeeld himselfe vnto Peter Banderduess and other captaines, which brought him and his ship into Zeland; and that other ship also last before mentioned: which both of them, immediatly after the greater and better part of their goods were vnladen, suncke right downe.

For the memory of this exploit, the foresayd captaine Banderduess caused the banner of one of these shippes to be set vp in the great Church of Leiden in Holland, which is of so great a length, that being fastened to the very roofe, it reached downe to the ground.

A small shippe cast away about Blanken-berg.

About the same time another small ship being by necessity driuen vpon the coast of Flanders, about Blankenberg, was cast away vpon the sands, the people therein being saued. Thus almighty God would haue the Spaniards huge ships to be presented, not onely to the view of the English, but also of the Zelanders; that at the sight of them they might acknowledge of what small ability they had beene to resist such impregnable forces, had not

God endued them with courage, prouidence, and fortitude, yea, and fought for them in many places with his owne arme.

The dishonourable flight of the Spanish nauy; and the prudent aduice of the L. Admirall.

The English returne home from the pursute of ye Spaniards the 4 of August.

The 29. of Iuly the Spanish fleet being encountered by the English (as is aforesayd) and lying close together vnder their fighting sailes, with a Southwest winde sailed past Dunkerk, the English ships still following the chase. Of whom the day following when the Spaniards had got sea roome, they cut their maine sailes; whereby they sufficiently declared that they meant no longer to fight but to flie. For which cause the L. Admirall of England dispatched the L. Henrie Seymer with his squadron of small ships vnto the coast of Flanders, where, with the helpe of the Dutch ships, he might stop the prince of Parma his passage, if perhaps he should attempt to issue forth with his army. And he himselfe in the meane space pursued the Spanish fleet vntil the second of August, because he thought they had set saile for Scotland. And albeit he followed them very neere, yet did he not assault them any more, for want of powder and bullets. But vpon the fourth of August, the winde arising, when as the Spaniards had spread all their sailes, betaking themselues wholly to flight, and leauing Scotland on the left hand, trended toward Norway, (whereby they sufficiently declared that their whole intent was to saue themselues by flight, attempting for that purpose, with their battered and crazed ships, the most dangerous nauigation of the Northren seas) the English seeing that they were now proceeded vnto the latitude of 57 degrees, and being vnwilling to participate that danger whereinto the Spaniards plunged themselues, and because they wanted things necessary, and especially powder and shot, returned backe for England; leauing behinde them certaine pinasses onely, which they enioyned to follow the Spaniards aloofe, and to obserue their course. And so it came to passe that the fourth of August with great danger and industry, the English arriued at Harwich: for they had bene tossed vp and downe with a mighty tempest for the space of two or three dayes together, which it is likely did great hurt vnto the Spanish fleet, being (as I sayd before) so maimed and battered. The English now going on shore, prouided themselues foorthwith of victuals, gunnepowder, and other things expedient, that they might be ready at all assayes to entertaine the Spanish fleet, if it chanced any more to returne. But being afterward more certainely informed of the Spaniards course, they thought it best to leaue them vnto those boisterous and vncouth Northren seas, and not there to hunt after them.

The Spaniards seeing now that they wanted foure or fiue thousand of their people and hauing diuers maimed and sicke persons, and likewise hauing lost 10 or 12 of their principall ships, they consulted among themselues, what they were best to doe, being now escaped out of the hands of the English, because their victuals failed them in like sort, that they began also to want cables, cordage, ankers, masts, sailes, and other naual furniture, and vtterly despaired of the Duke of Parma his assistance (who verily hoping and vndoubtedly expecting the returne of the Spanish Fleet, was continually occupied about his great preparation, commanding abundance of ankers to be made, and other necessary furniture for a Nauy to be prouided) they thought it good at length, so soone as the winde should serue them, to fetch a compasse about Scotland and Ireland, and so to returne for Spaine.

The Spaniards consult to saile round about Scotland and Ireland, and so to returne home.

For they well vnderstood, that commandement was giuen thorowout all Scotland, that they should not haue any succour or assistance there. Neither yet could they in Norway supply their wants. Wherefore, hauing taken certaine Scotish and other fisherboats, they brought the men on boord their ships, to the end they might be their guides and Pilots. Fearing also least their fresh water should faile them, they cast all their horses and mules ouerboord: and so touching no where vpon the coast of Scotland, but being carried with a fresh gale betweene the Orcades and Faar-Isles, they proceeded farre North, euen vnto 61 degrees of latitude, being distant from any land at the least 40 leagues. Heere the Duke of Medina generall of the Fleet commanded all his followers to shape their course for Biscay: and he himselfe with twenty or fiue and twenty of his ships which were best prouided of fresh water and other necessaries, holding on his course ouer the maine Ocean, returned safely home. The residue of his ships being about forty in number, and committed vnto his Vice-admirall, fell neerer with the coast of Ireland, intending their course for Cape Clare, because they hoped there to get fresh water, and to refresh themselues on land. But after they were driuen with many contrary windes, at length, vpon the second of

The shippe-wracke of the Spaniardes vpon the Irish coast.

September, they were cast by a tempest arising from the Southwest vpon diuers parts of Ireland, where many of their ships perished. And amongst others, the shippe of Michael de Oquendo, which was one of the great Galliasses: and two great ships of Venice also, namely, la Ratta and Belanzara, with other 36 or 38 ships more, which perished in sundry tempests, together with most of the persons contained in them.

Likewise some of the Spanish ships were the second time carried with a strong West winde into the channell of England, whereof some were taken by the English vpon their coast, and others by the men of Rochel vpon the coast of France.

Of 134 ships of the Spanish fleet, there returned home but 53.

Moreouer, there arriued at Neuhauen, in Normandy, being by tempest inforced so to doe, one of the foure great Galliasses, where they found the ships with the Spanish women which followed the Fleet at their setting forth. Two ships also were cast away vpon the coast of Norway, one of them being of a great burthen; howbeit all the persons in the sayd great ship were saued: insomuch that of 134 ships, which set saile out of Portugall, there returned home 53 onely small and great: namely of the foure galliasses but one, and but one of the foure gallies. Of the 91 great galleons and hulks there were missing 58. and 33 returned: of the pataches and zabraes 17 were missing, and 18 returned home. In briefe, there were missing 81 ships, in which number were galliasses, gallies, galeons, and other vessels, both great and small. And amongst the 53 ships remaining, those also are reckoned which returned home before they came into the English chanell. Two galeons of those which were returned, were by misfortune burnt as they rode in the hauen; and such like mishaps did many others vndergo. Of 30000 persons which went in this expedition, there perished (according to the number and proportion of the ships) the greater and better part; and many of them which came home, by reason of the toiles and inconueniences which they sustained in this voyage, died not long after their arriuall. The Duke of Medina immediatly vpon his returne was deposed from his authority, commanded to his priuate house, and forbidden to repaire vnto the Court; where he could hardly satisfie or yeeld a reason vnto his malicious enemies and backbiters. Many honourable personages and men of great renowne deceased soone after their returne; as namely

Iohn Martines de Ricalde, with diuers others. A great part also of the Spanish Nobility and Gentry employed in this expedition perished either by fight, diseases, or drowning before their arriuall; and among the rest Thomas Perenot of Granduell a Dutchman, being earle of Cantebroi, and sonne vnto Cardinall Granduell his brother.

Vpon the coast of Zeland Don Diego de Pimentell, brother vnto the Marques de Tamnares, and kinseman vnto the earle of Beneuentum and Calua, and Colonell ouer 32 bands with many other in the same ship was taken and detained as prisoner in Zeland.

Into England (as we sayd before) Don Pedro de Valdez, a man of singular experience, and greatly honoured in his countrey, was led captiue, being accompanied with Don Vasquez de Silua, Don Alonzo de Sayas, and others.

Likewise vpon the Scottish Westerne Isles of Lewis, and Ila, and about Cape Cantyre vpon the maine land, there were cast away certaine Spanish shippes, out of which were saued diuers Captaines and Gentlemen, and almost foure hundred souldiers, who for the most part, after their shipwracke, were brought vnto Edenborough in Scotland, and being miserably needy and naked, were there clothed at the liberality of the King and the Marchants, and afterward were secretly shipped for Spaine; but the Scottish fleet wherein they passed touching at Yarmouth on the coast of Norfolke, were there stayed for a time vntill the Councels pleasure was knowen; who in regard of their manifolde miseries, though they were enemies, wincked at their passage.

Vpon the Irish coast many of their Noblemen and Gentlemen were drowned; and diuers slaine by the barbarous and wilde Irish. Howbeit there was brought prisoner out of Ireland, Don Alonzo de Luçon, Colonell of two and thirty bandes, commonly called a terza of Naples; together with Rodorigo de Lasso, and two others of the family of Cordoua, who were committed vnto the custodie of Sir Horatio Palauicini, that Monsieur de Teligny the sonne of Monsieur de Noüe (who being taken in fight neere Antwerpe, was detained prisoner in the Castle of Turney) might be ransomed for them by way of exchange. To conclude, there was no famous nor woorthy family in all Spaine, which in this expedition lost not a sonne, a brother, or a kinseman.

New coines stamped for the memory of the Spaniards ouerthrow.

For the perpetuall memorie of this matter, the Zelanders caused newe coine of Siluer and brasse to be stamped: which on the one side contained the armes of Zeland, with this inscription: GLORY TO GOD ONELY: and on the other side, the pictures of certeine great ships, with these words: THE SPANISH FLEET: and in the circumference about the ships: IT CAME, WENT, AND WAS. Anno 1588. That is to say, the Spanish fleet came, went, and was vanquished this yere; for which, glory be giuen to God onely.

Likewise they coined another kinde of money; vpon the one side whereof was represented a ship fleeing and a ship sincking: on the other side foure men making prayers and giuing thanks vnto God vpon their knees; with this sentence: Man purposeth; God disposeth. 1588. Also, for the lasting memory of the same matter, they haue stamped in Holland diuers such like coines, according to the custome of the ancient Romans.

The people of England and of the vnited prouinces, pray, fast, and giue thanks vnto God.

While this woonderfull and puissant Nauie was sayling along the English coastes, and all men did now plainely see and heare that which before they would not be perswaded of, all people thorowout England prostrated themselues with humble prayers and supplications vnto God: but especially the outlandish Churches (who had greatest cause to feare, and against whom by name, the Spaniards had threatened most grievous torments) enioyned to their people continuall fastings and supplications, that they might turne away Gods wrath and fury now imminent vpon them for their sinnes: knowing right well, that prayer was the onely refuge against all enemies, calamities, and necessities, and that it was the onely solace and reliefe for mankinde, being visited with affliction and misery. Likewise such solemne dayes of supplication were obserued thorowout the vnited Prouinces.

Also a while after the Spanish Fleet was departed, there was in England, by the commandement of her Maiestie, and in the vnited Prouinces, by the direction of the States, a solemne festiuall day publikely appointed, wherein all persons were enioyned to resort vnto the Church, and there to render thanks and praises vnto God: and the Preachers were commanded to exhort the people thereunto. The foresayd solemnity was obserued vpon the 29 of Nouember; which day was wholly spent in fasting, prayer, and giuing of thanks.

Likewise, the Queenes Maiestie herselfe, imitating the ancient Romans, rode into London in triumph, in regard of her owne and her subiects glorious deliuerance. For being attended vpon very solemnely by all the principall estates and officers of her Realme, she was carried thorow her sayd City of London in a tryumphant chariot, and in robes of triumph, from her Palace vnto the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paul, out of the which the ensignes and colours of the vanquished Spaniards hung displayed. And all the Citizens of London in their Liueries stood on either side the street, by their seuerall Companies, with their ensignes and banners: and the streets were hanged on both sides with Blew cloth, which, together with the foresayd banners, yeelded a very stately and gallant prospect. Her Maiestie being entered into the Church, together with her Clergie and Nobles gaue thanks vnto God, and caused a publike Sermon to be preached before her at Pauls crosse; wherein none other argument was handled, but that praise, honour, and glory might be rendered vnto God, and that Gods name might be extolled by thanksgiuing. And with her owne princely voice she most Christianly exhorted the people to doe the same: whereupon the people with a loud acclamation wished her a most long and happy life, to the confusion of her foes.

Thus the magnificent, huge, and mighty fleet of the Spaniards (which themselues termed in all places inuincible) such as sayled not vpon the Ocean sea many hundreth yeeres before, in the yeere 1588 vanished into smoake; to the great confusion and discouragement of the authors thereof. In regard of which her Maiesties happy successe all her neighbours and friends congratulated with her, and many verses were penned to the honour of her Maiesty by learned men, whereof some which came to our hands we will here annexe.

AD SERENISSIMAM ELIZABETHAM ANGLIÆ REGINAM.

THEODOR. BEZA.

STrauerat innumeris Hispanus nauibus æquor,
  Regnis iuncturus sceptra Britanna suis.
Tanti huius, rogitas, quæ motus causa? superbos
  Impulit Ambitio, vexit Auaritia.
Quàm bene te ambitio mersit vanissima ventus?
  Et tumidos tumidæ vos superastis aquæ!
Quàm bene totius raptores orbis auaros,
  Hausit inexhausti iusta vorago maris!
At tu, cui venti, cui totum militat æquor,
  Regina, ô mundi totius vna, decus,
Sic regnare Deo perge, ambitione remota,
  Prodiga sic opibus perge iuuare pios,
Vt te Angli longùm, longùm Anglis ipsa fruaris,
  Quàm dilecta bonis, tam metuenda malis.

The same in English.

THe Spanish Fleet did flote in narrow Seas,
And bend her ships against the English shore,
With so great rage as nothing could appease,
And with such strength as neuer seene before:
    And all to ioyne the kingdome of that land
    Vnto the kingdomes that he had in hand.

Now if you aske what set this king on fire,
To practise warre when he of peace did treat,
It was his Pride, and neuer quencht desire,
To spoile that Islands wealth, by peace made great:
    His Pride which farre aboue the heauens did swell
    And his desire as vnsuffic'd as hell.

But well haue windes his proud blasts ouerblowen,
And swelling waues alayd his swelling heart,
Well hath the Sea with greedie gulfs vnknowen,
Deuoured the deuourer to his smart:
  And made his ships a pray vnto the sand,
  That meant to pray vpon anothers land.

And now, O Queene, aboue all others blest,
For whom both windes and waues are prest to fight,
So rule your owne, so succour friends opprest,
(As farre from pride, so ready to do right)
  That England you, you England long enioy,
  No lesse your friends delight, then foes annoy.

A briefe and true report of the Honorable voyage vnto Cadiz, 1596. of the ouerthrow of the kings Fleet, and of the winning, sacking, and burning of the Citie, with all other accidents of moment, thereunto appertaining.

AFter that the two most Noble and Renowmed Lords Generals: The L. Robert Earle of Essex, and the L. Charles Howard L. High Admirall of England, were come vnto Plymmouth (which was about the beginning of May last, 1596.) being there accompanied with diuers other Noble Peeres, as the Earle of Sussex, the L. Thomas Howard, the L. Harbert, the L. Warden Sir Walter Raleigh: the L. Marshall Sir Francis Vere: the L. Burk, Don Christopher young Prince of Portingall, young Count Lodouick of Nassaw, and the Admirall of the Hollanders, Sir Iohn Vanderfoord: besides many other most worthy Knights and Gentlemen of great woorth attending vpon this most honorable Action: It pleased them, there to make their abode for the time of that moneth, aswell for the new furnishing and reuictualing of her Maiesties Royall Nauie: as also for the expecting of some other ships, which were to come from diuers places of the Realme, and were as yet wanting: making that place as it should seeme the Rendezuous for all the whole Fleete, there to complete the full number of al such companies both for sea and land: as was in their noble and deepe wisedomes thought meete and agreed vpon.

All the time of this their abode there, there was a most zealous and diligent care had for the holy seruice of God, dayly and reuerently to be frequented: and also for other good and ciuill orders of militarie discipline to be obserued, to the exceeding great comfort and reioycing of all the hearts of the godly and well disposed.

And for that it might the better appeare, that there was small hope of pardon to be expected of the offenders, if they did at any time neglect their duties, about due obseruation of matters of importance: Their orders, lawes, and decrees being once published: about the 8. or 9. of the same moneth, there were two offenders executed a little without the towne, in a very fayre pleasant greene, called the Ho: the one for beginning of a muteny in his company, the other for running away from his Colours.

And about the same time in the Dutch Regiment, an other for murthering of one of his companions, about a quarrell betweene themselues, rising as it was supposed, vpon their drinke, was by order of Martiall law, presently tyed to the partie so murthered, and foorthwith both of them so cast into the sea.

Moreouer, about the 28. of the same moneth, a certaine Lieutenant (whose name I will forbeare) was by sound of Drumme publikely in all the streetes disgraced, or rather after a sort disgraded, and cashierd for bearing any farther Office at that time, for the taking of money by way of corruption, of certaine prest souldiers in the Countrey, and for placing of others in their roomes, more vnfit for seruice, and of lesse sufficiency and abilitie. This seuere executing of iustice at the very first did breed such a deepe terror in the hearts of the whole armie, that it seemed to cut off all occasion of the like disorder for euer afterwards to be attempted.

And here before their departure from Plymmouth, it pleased their Lordships to publish in print, and make knowen to all the world, especially to such as whom it concerned, and that both in the Latine, French, Dutch, English and Spanish tongue, what were the true, iust and vrgent causes, that at this time prouoked her Maiestie, to vndertake the preparing and setting forth of this so great a Nauie, annexing thereunto a full declaration, what was good will and pleasure should be done and performed of all them that ment not to incurre their owne priuate present daungers, or else were willing to auoyde her Maiesties future indignation and displeasure.

Likewise now, at the same instant, their owne most prouident and godly decrees, which they had deuised for the honest cariage of euery particular person in their degrees and vocation, were made knowen to all men, and published in sundry writings, with diuers great punishments, set downe and appointed for the wilfull offenders and brekers of the same.

Thus then, all things being in very good order and well appointed, the most holy name of our Omnipotent God being most religiously and deuoutly called vpon, and his blessed and sacred Communion being diuers times most reuerently and publikely celebrated: These two most noble personages, with all their honorable Associats, and most famous worthy Knights, Gentlemen, Captaines, Leaders, and very willing and expert Souldiers, and Mariners, being furnished with 150. good sayle of shippe or thereabout: In the name of the most High and euerliuing God, and with all true and faithful obedience, to her sacred Maiesty, to the infinite good and tranquillitie of our Countrey, and to the perpetuall glory, and triumphant renowme of the eternall memory of their honorable names to all posterity, the first day of Iune embarked themselues, weighed Ancre, and hoysed vp sayle, and put to sea onward their iourney from the Sownds of Plymmouth.

The winde, at the first setting foorth, seemed very fauourable: but yet in the euening growing very scant, and all that night falling more and more against vs, and we hauing sayled no further then to a certaine place called Dodman Head: we were constrained the next day, to make our returne to the road of Plymmouth againe, and there in the Sownds to lie at ancre for that night.

About this time, and in this very place, by good fortune there came to my handes a prayer in English, touching this present Action, and made by her Maiestie, as it was voyced: The prayer seemed to me to be most excellent, aswell for the matter as also for the manner, and therefore for certaine diuers good motiues which then presently came to my minde, and whereof hereafter in his more conuenient time and place, I will make farther mention, I presumed at that very instant to translate it into Latine.

The Prayer is thus.

MOst Omnipotent maker and guide of all our worlds masse, that onely searchest and fadomest the bottome of all our hearts conceits, and in them seest the true originals of all our actions intended: thou that by thy foresight doest truely discerne, how no malice of Reuenge, nor quittance of iniury, nor desire of bloodshed, nor greedinesse of lucre hath bred the resolution of our now set out Army, but a heedfull care, and wary watch, that no neglect of foes, nor ouer-suretie of harme might breed either daunger to vs, or glory to them: these being the grounds wherewith thou doest enspire the mind, we humbly beseech thee with bended knees, prosper the worke, and with best forewindes guide the iourney, speed the victory, and make the returne the aduancement of thy glory, the tryumph of their fame, and surety to the Realme, with the least losse of the English blood. To these deuout petitions Lord giue thou thy blessed grant.

My homely translation is thus.

Svmmè præpotens Deus, immensæ huius totius nostri mundi molis fabricator et Rector, qui solus perscrutaris intimos cordis nostri sensus, et ad fundum vsq; nostrarum cogitationem explorando penetras, ac in eis, quid verè, et ex animo cogitemus, et quæ sint actionum nostrarum rationes, ac fundamenta, cognoscis: Tu, qui ea, quæ in te est, ab omni æternitate præscientia, vides, quòd nec aliqua vlciscendi malitiosa cupiditas, nec iniuriarum referendarum desiderium, nec sanguinis effundendi sitis, nec alicuius lucri, quæstusue auiditas ad istam classem præparandam, et emittendam nos commouerit: sed potiùs, quòd prouida quædam cura, solérsque vigilantia huc nos impulerit: ne vel inimicorum nostrorum neglectus, vel status nostri firmitatis nimium secura cogitatio, aut illis gloriam et honorem, aut nobis damnum et periculum pariat: Cum, inquam, hæc sint nostri, quicquid attentatur, negotii fundamenta: cumque tu hunc nobis animum, mentémq; inieceris, vt istud aggrederemur: curuatis genibus a te humillimè petimus, vt velis hoc nostrum incœptum secundissimè fortunare, totum iter prosperrimis flatibus dirigere, celerem et expeditiam victoriam nobis concedere, reditúmq; talem nostris militibus elargiri, qualis et nomini tuo incrementum gloriæ, et illis famæ, laudisque triumphum, et Regno nostro firmam tranquillitatem possit apportare: idque cum minimo Anglorum sanguinis dispendio. His nostris religiosis petitionibus concede, Domine, sacrosanctum et annuentem voluntatem tuam.

After that we had anchored at Plymmouth that night, as I haue said, the third of Iune very early in the morning, hauing a reasonable fresh gale of winde, we set sayle, and kept our course againe, and the ninth of the same moneth comming something neere to the North cape, in a maner in the same altitude, or not much differing, which was about xliii. degrees, and something more, yet bearing so, as it was impossible to bee descried from the land: There it pleased the Lords to call a select Councell, which was alwayes done by hanging out of a flagge of the armes of England, and shooting off of a great warning peece. On this select or priuie Councell were no moe than these: The two Lords Generall, the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lorde Warden Sir Walter Raleigh, the Lord Martiall Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Cary master of the Ordinance, Sir Coniers Clifford, and Sir Anthony Ashley, Clarke of the sayde Councell. And when it pleased the Lords Generall to call a common Counsell (as often times they did vpon weightie matters best knowen to their honours) then they would cause an other kinde of flagge to be hanged out, which was the Redcrosse of S. George, and was verie easie to be discerned from the other that appertained onely to the select Counsell, and so often as this flagge of Saint George was hanged out, then came all the Masters and Captaines of all the ships, whose opinions were to be demaunded, in such matters as appertayned vnto this sayd select Counsell: It was presently concluded, that our course in sayling should foorthwith be altered, and that we should beare more into the West, for some purposes to them best knowen.

At that very instant many letters of instructions were addressed and sent to euery particular Master and Captaine of the Ships: What the contentes of those letters of instructions were it was not as yet knowne vnto any, neither was it held meet to be enquired or knowen of any of vs. But vnder the titles and superscriptions of euery mans particuler letter these wordes were endorsed. Open not these letters on pain of your liues, vnles we chance to be scattered by tempest, and in that case open them, and execute the contents thereof: but if by mishap you fall into your enemies hand, then in any case cast them into the sea, sealed as they are. It should seeme that these letters did conteine in them the principall place and meaning of this entended action, which was hitherto by their deepe foresights kept so secret, as no man to my knowledge either did, or coulde so much as suspect it, more then themselues, who had the onely managing thereof. A conceite in my iudgement of greatest moment in the world, to effect any matter of importance. I meane, to entertaine those two vertues, Fidem, et Taciturnitatem : so much commended by the old writers. And if there was euer any great designement, in this our age, and memorie, discreetly, faithfully, and closely caried, I assure my selfe it was this, and though it were but in respect to that poynt onely: yet for such faithfull secrecie, it deserueth immortall praise.

All this while, our ships, God be thanked, kept in a most excellent good order, being diuided into fiue squadrons: that is to say, The Earle of Essex, the Lord Admirall; the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord Warden Sir Walter Raleigh, and the Admirall of the Hollanders. All which squadrons, albeit they did euery day separate themselues of purpose, by the distance of certaine leagues, as well to looke out for such shippes as were happily vnder sayle, as also for the better procuring of sea-roome: yet alwayes commonly eyther that day, or the next day, towarde euening, they came all together, with friendly salutations and gratulations one to an other: which they terme by the name of Hayling: a ceremonie done solemnly, and in very good order, with sound of Trumpets and noyse of cheerefull voyces: and in such sort performed as was no small encouragement one to the other, beside a true report of all such accidents, as had happened in their squadrons.

Hitherto, as I sayde, our iourney was most prosperous, and all our shippes in very good plight, more then that the Mary Rose, by some mischance, either sprang or spent her fore-yarde, and two dayes after Sir Robert Crosse had in a maner the like mischance.

Nowe being thus betweene the North cape, and cape S. Vincent, and yet keeping such a course a loofe, that by no meanes, those from the shoare might be able to descrie vs: The tenth of Iune, a French Barke, and a Fleming comming from the coast of Barbarie were brought in by some of our companie: but they were both of them very honourably and well vsed by the Lords Generall: and so after a fewe dayes tarrying, were peaceably sent away, after that they had conferred with them about such matters, as was thought good in their honorable wisedomes.

The twelfth of the same moneth, Sir Richard Leuison Knight, assisted with Sir Christopher Blunt, fought with three Hamburgers, and in that fight slewe two of them, and hurt eleuen, and in the end brought them all three in: and this was the very first hansell and maydenhead (as it were) of any matter of importance, or exployt worthy obseruation that was done in the way outward of this honorable voyage, and was so well perfourmed of those most worthy Gentlemen, as euery man highly commended them for their great valure, and discretion, and no lesse reioyced at this their fortunate successe.

The next day after, Sir Richard Weston meeting with a Flemming, who refused to vale his foretoppe, with the like good courage and resolution, attempted to bring him in. The fight continued very hot betweene them, for a good space: in the end the Swan, wherein the sayd Sir Richard was, had her forebeake strooken off: and having spent before in fight the one side of her tire of Ordinance, while she prepared to cast about, and to bestow on him the other side, in the meane time the Fleming taking this opportunity, did get almost halfe a league from him: and so for that time made his escape. And yet the next day after, the sayd Flemming being in a maner got to the very mouth of the Riuer vp to Lisbone, was taken, and brought in by M. Dorrell, being Captaine of the Iohn and Francis of London. Thus by diuiding their squadrons, and spreading the whole sea ouer a mighty way, there could not so much as the least pinke passe but she was espied and brought in.

The 13. 14. and 15. dayes, certaine little stragling Carauels were taken by certaine of the Fleete, and in one of them a young beggarly Fryer vtterly vnlearned, with a great packet of letters for Lisbon: the poore wretches were maruellously well vsed by the Lords Generall, and that Carauel, and the like still as they were taken were commaunded to giue their attendance, and their Honours did vnderstand what they might of these poore men, of the estate of Spaine for that present.

About this time and in this place it was, that first in all my life time I did see the flying fishes, who when they are hardly pinched and chased by the Bonitoes and other great fishes, then to auoyde the daunger, they presently mount vp, and forsake the water, and betake themselues to the benefite of their winges and make their flight, which commonly is not aboue fiue or sixe score, or there about, and then they are constrayned to fall downe into the water againe, and it is the Mariners opinion that they can fly no longer then their wings be wet. The fish it selfe is about the bignesse of a Mackrell or a great white Hearing, and much of that colour and making, with two large wings shaped of nature very cunningly, and with great delight to behold, in all the world much like to our Gentlewomens dutch Fans, that are made either of paper, or parchment, or silke, or other stuffe, which will with certaine pleights easily runne and fold themselues together. One of these flying fishes was presented to my L. Admirall by a fisher man, and newly taken in his L. returne from Cadiz, and then I good leisure and opportunitie to view it.

The 18. day early in the morning wee tooke an Irish man, and he came directly from Cadiz, hauing beene there but the day before at twelue of the clocke at high noone. This man being examined, told truely that there was now great store of shipping at Cadiz, and with them xviii. or xix. gallies in a readinesse, and that among those ships there were diuers of the kings best: and namely, that the Philip of Spaine was amongst them, but what their intent was, hee could not tell. This man was commanded also to giue his attendance.

The 20. of Iune being Sunday, we came before Cadiz very early in the morning, and in all this time as yet, the whole Nauy had not lost either by sicknesse or by any other maner of wayes sixe men to my knowledge: as for the Dutch company, I am not able precisely to say what happened there, for that they were no part of our charge to be looked vnto, but were a regiment entire of themselues, and by themselues to be prouided for, either for their diet, or for the preseruation of their healths by phisicke.

Thus then I say, being all in good plight and strong, the 20. of Iune wee came to Cadiz, and there very earely in the morning presented our selues before the Towne, ryding about a league or something lesse, from it. The sea at that instant went maruelous high, and the winde was exceeding large. Notwithstanding, a Councell being called, our Lords Generall foorthwith attempted with all expedition to land some certaine companies of their men at the West side of the Towne, by certaine long boats, light horsemen, pynnesses, and barges made for the purpose, but could not compasse it, and in the attempting thereof, they chanced to sinke one of their Barges, with some foure score good souldiers well appointed in her, and yet by good hap and great care the men were all saued excepting viii. And therefore they were constrayned to put off their landing till an other more conuenient time.

That morning very timely, there lighted a very faire doue vpon the maine yard of the L, Admirals ship, and there she sate very quietly for the space of 3. or 4. houres, being nothing dismayed all that while, euery man gazed and looked much vpon her, and spake their minds and opinions, yet all concluding by no meanes to disquiet her: I for my part, tooke it for a very good omen and boading, as in trueth (God be thanked) there fell out nothing in the end to the contrary. And as at our very first comming to Cadiz this chanced, so likewise on the very last day of our departing from the same towne, another Doue presented her selfe in the selfe same order into the same ship, and presently grew wonderfull tame and familiar to vs all, and did so still keepe vs company, euen till our arriuall here in England.

We no sooner presented our selues, but presently a goodly sort of tall Spanish ships came out of the mouth of the Bay of Cadiz, the Gallies accompanying them in such good order, and so placed as all of them might well succour each other, and therewithall kept themselues very close to their towne, the castle, and the forts, for their better guard and defence, abiding there still, and expecting our farther determination. All that day passed, being very rough and boysterous, and litle or nothing could be done, more then that about the euening there passed some friendly and kinde salutations sent one from the other in warlike maner, by discharging certain great peeces, but to my knowledge no hurt done at all, or else very litle.

A carefull and diligent watch was had all that night thoroughout the whole armie, and on monday morning being the 21. day, the winde and weather being become moderate and fauourable, betweene fiue and sixe of the clocke in the morning, our ships in the name of almightie God, and in defence of the honour of England, without any farther delay, with all speed, courage, and alacritie, did set vpon the Spanish ships, being then vnder sayle, and making out of the mouth of the Bay of Cadiz, vp toward Puente de Suaço on Grenada side, being in number lix. tall ships, with xix. or xx. Gallies attending vpon them, sorted in such good order, and reasonable distance as they might still annoy vs, and alwayes relieue themselues interchangeably: hauing likewise the Castle, Forts, and Towne, continually to assist them and theirs, and alwayes readie to play vpon vs and ours.

In most mens opinions it seemed that the enemy had a wonderful aduantage of vs, all circumstances being well weighed, but especially the straightnesse of the place, and the naturall forme and situation of the Bay it selfe, being rightly considered. For albeit the very Bay it selfe is very large and exceeding beautifull, so that from Cadiz to Port S. Mary, is some vi. or vii. English miles ouer or there abouts, yet be there many rockes, shelues, sands and shallowes in it, so that the very chanell and place for sea roome, is not aboue 2. or 3. miles, yea and in some places not so much, for the ships of any great burthen, to make way in, but that they must either be set on ground or else constrained to run fowle one on another. All this notwithstanding, with great and inuincible courage, the Lords generall presently set vpon them, and sorting out some such conuenient ships, as to their honorable wisedomes seemed fittest for that times seruice, they were driuen to take some other course then before had beene by them entended. Wherefore vpon a graue consultation had by a select Counsell, what great dangers might ensue vpon so mightie a disaduantage as appeared in all probability, if it were not by good and sound iudgement preuented, and therewithall in their singular wisedomes foreseeing that some great stratageme might be practised by the enemy, either by fire-worke, or some other subtill politike deuise, for the hazarding of her Maiesties ships of honor in so narrow a place, thus with al expedition they concluded that the Viceadmirall, the L. Thomas Howard, that most noble L. Howard (whose exceeding great magnanimity, courage, and wisedome, ioyned with such an honorable kind of sweet courtesie, bountie, and liberalitie, as is not able by me and my weakenes to be expressed, hath wonne him all the faithfull louing hearts of as many as euer haue had any maner of dealing with him) This L. Thomas, I say, in ye Non Pareille for that time, and the Reare Admirall Sir Walter Raleigh (a man of maruellous worth and regard, for many his exceeding singular great vertues, right fortitude and great resolutenes in all matters of importance) in the Warspight associated with diuers most famous worthy knights, namely, Sir Francis Vere the L. Martiall in the Rainbow, Sir George Cary M. of the Ordinance, in the Mary rose, Sir Robert Southwell in the Lyon, gentlemen for all laudable good vertues, and for perfect courage and discretion in all military actions, of as great praise and good desert as any gentlemen of their degree whosoeuer, hauing with them some of ye shies of London and some of the Dutch squadron of reasonable burthen, should leade the dance, and giue the onset, and that the two most noble Lords generall with some others of their companies, should in their conuenient time and order, second the maine battell. The fight being begunne and growen very hot, the L. Generall the Earle of Essex, (whose infinite princely vertues, with triumphant fame deserue to be immortalized) being on Port S. Mary side, vpon a sudden and vnlooked for of others, thrust himselfe among the formost into the maine battell. The other most honorable L. Generall (whose singular vertues in all respects are of such an excellencie and perfection as neither can my praise in any part increase them, nor any mans enuy any whit blemish or diminish them) vnderstanding, the most noble Earle to be in fight among them, and perceiuing by the M. of his ship, the Arke Royall, that lacke of water, it was not possible, that he might put any neerer, without farther delay, called presently for his Pynnesse, and in the same Pynnesse put himselfe, and his honorable son L. William Howard that now is, aboord the Honor de la mer, and there remained in the fight till the battell was ended. The fight was very terrible, and most hideous to the beholder by the continuall discharging of those roaring thundering great peeces, on all sides, and so continued doubtful till about one or two of the clocke in the afternoone: about which time the Philip, whom in very truth, they had all most fancie vnto, began to yeeld and giue ouer, her men that remained aliue shifting for themselues as they were able, and swimming and running a shoare with all the hast that they could possibly, and therewithall, at the very same instant themselues fired their ship, and so left her, and presently thereupon a great Argosie, with an other mighty great ship, fired themselues in ye like maner. Immediately hereupon, the residue of the ships, ran themselues on ground, as farre from vs as they could, and therby purchased their owne safety, or rather breathing space for the time. Of them all two faire ships only were boorded and taken by our men with most part of their furniture in them, the one called S. Matthy, a ship by estimation of some xii. hundred tunne, and the other S. Andrew, being a shippe of not much lesser burthen. The Gallies, seeing this suddaine great victorious ouerthrow, made all the hast they could toward the Bridge called Puente de Suaço, and there shrowded themselues in such sort as our shippes could not by any meanes possible come nigh them for lacke of water.

The Spanish ships in all were lix. and as is sayd, all tall ships and very richly furnished and well appointed, whereof some of them were bound for the Indies, and other fraighted and furnished for Lisbon, as themselues affirme: and had we not come that very time that we did, (which for my part, I do not attribute so much vnto meere chance, as to some secret deepe insight and foreknowledge of the two most worthy Lords generall, who no doubt spared for no cost or labour for true intelligence) we had certainely mist of them all.

Of what great wealth and riches these ships were, that I leaue to other mens iudgement and report, but sure I am that themselues offered two millions and a halfe of ducats for the redemption of the goods and riches that were in them: which offer of theirs, albeit it was accepted of the Lords Generall, and should haue beene receiued, yet we were defeated of it, as hereafter shall be more at large declared.

What maner of fight this was, and with what courage performed, and with what terror to the beholder continued, where so many thundering tearing peeces were for so long a time discharged, I leaue it to the Reader to thinke and imagine. Yet such was the great mercy and goodnes of our liuing God, that in all this cruell terrible fight, in the end, there were not either slaine or hurt by any maner of meanes (excepting one mischance that happened, wherof I will by and by make mention) many aboue the number of 100. of our men: notwithstanding diuers of our shippes were many times shot thorow and thorow: yea and some of them no lesse then two and twentie times, as I was enformed by credible report of the Captaines and Masters themselues. I knowe not of any other hurt done, sauing onely that Sir Robert Southwell, who alwayes shewed himselfe a most valiant resolute knight in all this action, making a litle too much haste with his Pinnesse to boord the Philip, had there his said Pinnesse burnt with the Philip at the same instant, and yet by good care and diligence his men were saued.

One other mischance (as I said) there happened, and it was thus: One of the Flemings flieboats, who had, in all the conflict before, caried himselfe very well and valiantly, about ten of the clocke while the fight continued sharpest, chanced by great negligence and misfortune, to be fired and blowen vp by his owne powder, who could not haue any fewer in him, then one hundred fighting men by all supposall, and so in the very twinckling of an eye, both shippe and men were all cast away, excepting vii. or viii. which by very good fortune, and great care and diligence of some of the other ships were saued.

Immediatly vpon this notable victory without any farther stay in all the world, the Lord generall the Earle of Essex put to shore and landed about 3000. shot, and pikemen: of the which number the one halfe was presently dispatched to the bridge Puente de Suaço, vnder the conduct of three most famous worthy knights, Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir Coniers Clifford, and Sir Thomas Gerard: with the other halfe, being about fifteene hundred, the most noble Earle of Essex himselfe, being accompanied with diuers other honorable Lords, namely the Earle of Sussex, the Lord Harbert, the Lord Burk, Count Lodouick of Nassaw, the Lord Martiall Sir Francis Vere, with many other worthy Knights, and men of great regard, who all in that dayes seruice did most valiantly behaue themselues, with all expedition possible marched on foote toward the towne of Cadiz, which was about three English miles march. That time of the day was very hot and faint and the way was all of dry deepe slyding sand in a maner, and beside that, very vneuen, and by that meanes so tiresome and painefull as might be. The enemie hauing reasonable companie both of horse and footemen, stoode in a readinesse some good distance without the towne to welcome vs, and to encounter the Lorde Generall. But the most famous Earle with his valiant Troupes, rather running in deede in good order, then marching, hastened on with such vnspeakeable courage and celeritie, as within one houres space and lesse, the horsemen were all discomfited and put to flight, their leader being strooken downe at the very first encounter, whereat the footemen being wonderfully dismayed and astonished at the vnexspected manner of the Englishmens kinde of such fierce and resolute fight retyred themselues with all the speede possible that they could, to recouer themselues into the Towne againe, which being done by them, with farre swifter legges then manly courage, ourmen were enforcd to skale the walles: which thing in very deede, although it was not without great danger and difficulty to be perfourmed: Yet such was the inuincible resolution, and the wonderfull dexterity of the English, that in one halfe houre or thereabout, the enemie was repulsed, and the towne wall possessed, by the noble Earle himselfe, being in all this action, either the uery first man or else in a maner ioyned with the first.

The towne walles being then possessed, and the English Ensigne being there displayed vpon them, with all speede possible they proceeded on to march through the towne, making still their waie with sworde and shot as well as they could, being still fought withall at euery turne.

Immediately vpon this most famous entrie, the noble Earle, (according to their resolutions, as I take it, put downe before) was seconded by the noble L. Admirall in person, who was accompanied, with the noble L. Thomas Howard, the most worthy gentleman his sonne, now L. Howard, Sir Robert Southwell, Sir Richard Leuison, and with diuers other gentlemen, his L. followers of good account: his colours being aduanced by that valiant resolute gentleman, (a man beautified with many excellent rare gifts, of good learning and vnderstanding) S. Edward Hobby Knight. And thus he likewise marching with al possible speede on foote, notwithstanding his L. many yeres, the Intolerable heate, for the time, and the ouertiring tedious deepe sands, with other many impediments: Yet in good time, ioyned himselfe with the Earle and his companies, and gaue them the strongest, and best assistance that he could.

Thus then the two Lords Generall with their companies being ioyned together, and proceeding so farre as the market place, there they were hotly encountered, where and at what time, that worthy famous knight Sir Iohn Winkfield, being sore wounded before on the thigh, at the very entry of the towne, and yet for all that no whit respecting himselfe, being caried away, with the care he had to encourage and direct his company, was with the shot of a musket in the head, most vnfortunately slaine.

And thus before eight of the clocke that night were these two most noble Lords General, Masters of the market place, the forts, and the whole Towne and all, onely the Castle as yet holding out, and from time to time as they could, still annoying them, with seuen battering pieces. By this time night began to grow on, and a kind of peace or intermission was obtained by them of the Castle: to whome the Lords Generall had signified: that vnlesse before the next day in the morning they would absolutely render themselues, they should looke for no mercy, but should euery one be put to the sword: vpon which message they tooke deliberation that night: but in the morning before breake of day, they hanged out their flag of truce, and so without any further composition did yeeld themselues absolutely to their mercy, and deliuered vp the Castle.

And yet notwithstanding all this, in the night time while they had this respite to pause, and deliberate about the peacemaking, there were diuers great and suddaine alarms giuen: which did breed some great outrages and disorder in the towne. At euery which alarme, the two Lordes Generall shewed themselues maruelous ready and forward, insomuch that at the very first alarme, skant wel furnished with any more defence then their shirts, hose, and dublets, and those too altogether in a maner vntied, they were abroad in the streets themselues, to see the vttermost of it. But for that it is not as yet very well knowen (or at the least not well knowen vnto me) either wherfore, or by whom these alarmes were attempted: I am therefore to intreat, that a bare report, that such a thing was done, may suffice.

These things being done, and this surrender being made, present proclamation was published, that the fury now being past, all men should surcease from all maner of blood and cruell dealing, and that there should no kind of violence or hard vsage be offered to any, either man, woman or child, vpon paine of death: And so permitting the spoyle of so much of the towne as was by them thought meete, to the common souldiers for some certaine dayes, they were continually in counsell about other graue directions, best knowen to their honourable wisedomes.

This honourable and mercifull Edict I am sure was streightly and religiously obserued of the English: But how well it was kept by the Dutch, I will nether affirme, nor yet denie. For I perceiue betweene them and the Spaniards, there is an implicable hartburning, and therefore as soone as the Dutch squadron was espied in the fight, immediatly thereupon both they of Siuil and S. Lucar and also some, of some other places, did not onely arrest all such Dutch ships, as delt with them friendly by the way of traffick and Marchandise, and so confiscated their goods, but also imprisoned the Marchants and Owners of the same, and, as the report goeth, did intreat many of them with extreame cruelty thereupon.

In the meane while the very next day being the two and twenty day of Iune, all the Spanish shippes which were left on ground in the Bay of Cadiz, where the great ouerthrowe had beene but the day before, were by the Spaniards themselues there set on fire, and so from that time forward they neuer left burning of them, till euery one of them, goods and all, as farre as wee know were burnt and consumed. This their doing was much maruelled at of vs, and so much the more, for that, as I sayd before, there had bene made some offer for the redemption and sauing of the goods, and it was not to them vnknowen that this their offer was not misliked, but in all probabilitie should haue bene accepted. The common opinion was, that this was done either by the appointment of the Duke de Medina Sidonia, or els by expresse commandement from the higher powers.

Not long after the same time (three dayes as I remember) the gallies that were runne on ground, did quitte themselues also out of that place, and by the bridge of the Iland called Puente de Suaço, made their way round about the same Iland, and so by putting themselues to the maine sea, escaped to a towne called Rotta, not farre off, but something vp towards the Towne of Saint Lucars, and there purchased their safety by that meanes.

Thus was this notable victorie, as well by sea as by land, both begunne and in effect perfourmed, within the compasse, in a maner, of foureteene houres: A thing in trueth so strange and admirable, as in my iudgement will rather bee wondered at then beleeued of posteritie. And if euer any notable exploit in any age was comparable to Cæsars Veni, Vidi, Vici, certainely in my poore opinion it was this.

Here it is to be wished (and perchance of some too it is looked for) that euery mans particular worthy acte in this dayes seruice, with the parties names also, should be put downe, that thereby both they and their good deserts might be registered to all posteritie: and for my part I would it were so, and wish I were able to doe it. But for that I confesse it is a matter that passeth my power, yea, and for that I thinke it also a thing impossible to be precisely perfourmed by any other, I am to craue pardon for that I rather leaue it out altogether, then presume to doe it maymedly: and in this point I referre the Reader onely to the Mappe that is set foorth of this iourney, where it is in some parte conueniently touched and specified.

The Towne of it selfe was a very beautifull towne, and a large, as being the chiefe See of the Bishop there, and hauing a goodly Cathedrall Church in it, with a right goodly Abbey, a Nunnery, and an exceeding fine College of the Jesuites, and was by naturall situation, as also by very good fortification, very strong, and tenable enough in all mens opinions of the better iudgement. Their building was all of a kind of hard stone, euen from the very foundation to the top, and euery house was in a manner a kinde of a fort or Castle, altogether flat-roofed in the toppe, after the Turkish manner, so that many men together, and that at ease, might walke thereon: hauing vpon the house top, great heapes of weighty stoanes piled vp in such good order, as they were ready to be throwen downe by euery woman most easily vpon such as passed by, and the streetes for the most part so exceeding narrow, (I thinke to auoide the intollerable great heat of the Sunne) as but two men or three at the most together, can in any reasonable sorte march thorough them, no streete being broader commonly then I suppose Watling streete in London to be.

The towne is altogether without glasse, excepting the Churches, yet with faire comely windowes, and with faire grates of iron to them, and haue very large folding leaues of wainscot or the like. It hath very fewe Chimnies in it, or almost none at all: it may be some one chimney in some one or other of the lower out roomes of lest account, seruing for some necessary vses, either to wash in, or the like, or els nowe and then perchance for the dressing of a dish of meate, hauing, as it should seeme vnto me, alwayes a greater care and respect how to keepe themselues from all kind of great heat, then how to prouide for any store of great roste. It had in it by report of them that should best know it, some foure thousand and moe, of very good able fighting men, and sixe hundred horsemen at the least. No question but that they were well furnished of all things appertaining thereunto, especially so many good ships lying there, and being so well stored with all manner of munition, shot, and powder, as they were.

Whether they had knowledge of our comming or no, I can say nothing to it: Themselues giue it out that they vnderstood not of it, but onely by a Carauel the Friday at euening before we came. But whether they knew it or no, thus much I dare boldly affirme, that if the English had bene possessed of that or the like Towne, and had bene but halfe so well prouided as they were, they would haue defended it for one two moneths at the least, against any power whatsoeuer in al Christendome. But surely GOD is a mighty GOD, and hath a wonderfull secret stroke in all matters, especially of weight and moment. Whether their hearts were killed at the mighty ouerthrow by sea, or whether they were amased at the inuincible courage of the English, which was more then ordinary, caring no more for either small shot or great, then in a maner for so many hailestones, or whether the remorse of a guilty conscience toward the English nation, for their dishonourable and diuelish practices, against her Sacred Maiestie, and the Realme, (a matter that easily begetteth a faint heart in a guilty minde) or what other thing there was in it I know not, but be it spoken to their perpetuall shame and infamie, there was neuer thing more resolutely perfourmed, of the couragious English, nor more shamefully lost of the bragging Spaniard.

Of what wealth this towne should be, I am not able to resolue the asker: for I confesse that for mine owne part, I had not so much good lucke, as to be partaker so much as of one pennie, or penny worth. Howbeit my ill fortune maketh that towne neuer a whit the poorer. But as it should appear by the great pillage by the common souldiers, and some mariners too, and by the goodly furnitures, that were defaced by the baser people, and thereby vtterly lost and spoyled, as not woorth the carying away, and by the ouer great plenty of Wine, Oyle, Almonds, Oliues, Raisins, Spices, and other rich grocery wares, that by the intemperate disorder of some of the rasher sort were knockt out, and lay trampled vnder feete, in euery common high way, it should appeare that it was of some very mighty great wealth to the first owners, though perchance, not of any such great commoditie to the last subduers, for that I iudge that the better part was most ryotously and intemperately spent and consumed. A disorder in mine opinion very much to be lamented, and if it. might be by any good meanes remedied, in my conceit, it were a most honourable deuice.

The Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday following, the Lords Generall spent in counsell, about the disposing of all matters, aswell touching the towne and prisoners, as also concerning all other matters, thought meete of them in their honourable wisedomes, and in all that meane while did shew such honourable bounty and mercy, as is not able to be expressed. For not onely the liues of euery one were spared, but also there was an especial care had, that al the Religious, as wel men as women, should be well and fauourably intreated, whom freely without any maner of ransome or other molestation, they caused to be safely transported ouer to Port Saint Marie, a towne in a maner as fayre as Cadiz: but at that time, as the case did stand, certainly knowen to be of no wealth in the world, and it was some sixe or seuen miles distant ouer against Cadiz, in a maner as Paules is against Southwarke, on the other side of the Bay, in a part of Andaluzia, subiect to the territory of the Duke de Medina Sidonia.

Moreouer, at the same instant they did appoint that worthy knight Sir Amias Preston, and some others in some conuenient Barkes, to transport ouer to the sayd Towne safely and in good order, a hundred or moe of the better sort of ancient gentlewomen, and marchants wiues, who were suffered to put vpon themselues, some of them two, yea, some three sutes of apparell, with some conuenient quantitie of many Iewels, Chaines, and other ornaments belonging to their estate and degree. Such was the heroicall liberality, and exceeding great clemencie of those most honourable Lords Generall, thereby, as it should seeme vnto mee, beating downe that false surmised opinion, which hath bene hitherto commonly spread abroad, and setled among the Spaniards: which is, That the English doe trouble them and their countries, more for their golde, riches and pearle &c. then for any other iust occasion. Whereas by these their honourable dealings it is manifest to all the world, that it is onely in respect of a iust reuenge for the manifolde iniuries, and most dishonourable practises that haue bene from time to time attempted by them against vs and our nation, and also in the defence of the true honour of England: which they haue sought, and daylie doe seeke, by so many sinister and reprochfull deuices, so much as in them lieth, to deface.

Vpon Saturday being the 26. Sir Iohn Winkfield knight was buried, in honourable and warlike manner, so farre foorth as the circumstances of that time and place could permit. At whose funerals the Nauie discharged a great part of their Ordinance, in such order, as was thought meete and conuenient by the Lords Generals commandement.

The twenty seuenth day being Sunday, in the Abbey the diuine seruice was had, and a learned Sermon was made there by one Master Hopkins, the right honourable Earle of Essex his Preacher, a man of good learning and sweete vtterance, and euen there the same day, something before the sermon was made, these worthie Gentlemen following were knighted by the Lords General. And here I am to signifie by the way that two of these were knighted three or foure dayes before, and some three or foure moe were knighted after that time, vpon certaine occasions: but yet I holde it beste (and I trust without offence) to recite their names in this place altogether.

The names of such noble men and gentlemen, as were knighted at Cadiz in Iune 1596 by the two most honourable Lordes Generall.

June 21. SIr Samuel Bagnol.
22. Sir Arthur Sauage.
27. The Earle of Sussex.
The Lord Harbert.
The Lord Burk.
Count Ludowick.
Sir William Howard.
Sir George D'Eureux.
Sir Henry Neuel.
Sir Edmund Rich.
Sir Richard Leuen.
Sir Peter Egomort.
Sir Anthonie Ashley.
Sir Henry Leonard.
Sir Richard Leuison.
Sir Horatio Vere.
Sir Arthur Throchmorton.
Sir Miles Corbet.
Sir Edward Conway.
Sir Oliuer Lambert.
Sir Anthony Cooke.
Sir Iohn Townesend.
Sir Christopher Heydon.
Sir Francis Popham.
Sir Philip Woodhouse.
Sir Thomas Gates.
Sir Gilly Mericke.
Sir Thomas Smith.
Sir William Pooley.
Sir Thomas Palmer.
Sir Iohn Stafford.
Sir Robert Louel.

Sir Alexander Clifford.
Sir Maurice Barkley.
Sir Charles Blunt.
Sir George Gifford.
Sir Robert Crosse.
Sir Iames Escudamor.
Sir Vrias Leigh.
Sir Iohn Leigh, alias Lee.
Sir Richard Weston.
Sir Richard Wainman.
Sir Iames Wootton.
Sir Richard Ruddal.
Sir Robert Mansfield.
Sir William Mounson.
Sir Iohn Bowles.
Sir Edward Bowes.
Sir Humfrey Druel.
Sir Amias Preston.
Sir Robert Remington.
Sir Iohn Buck.
Sir Iohn Morgan.
Sir Iohn Aldridg.
Sir Iohn Asshindon.
Sir Matthew Browne.
Sir Iohn Acton.
Sir Iohn Gylbert.
Sir William Haruie,
Sir Iohn Gray.
Don Christ. prince of Portingall.
Sir Iohn Vanderfoord, Admirall of the Hollanders.
Sir Robert Dudey. 8. August.

[*In the preceding List, the last name should undoubtedly be Sir Robert Dudley.*]

I am not curious in placing these gentlemen, but put them downe at a venture. Only I haue obserued, as neere as I could, the iust day and time when they were created. And I trust where the place of it selfe is so worthy and equall, there the bare naming and placing of the parties, shal brede no offence, or make a disparity. The two gentlemen that were last knighted receiued their knighthood in the way of our returne from Cadiz: the one of them vpon the sea, not farre from the Bay of the Groyne, at what time our ships stood vpon their staies for a space, while certaine Pinnasses were sent to descrie what shipping was at the Groine: The other at Plimmouth in the open streete, when the Lords Generall came from the Sermon. The one a man of long seruice, and good desert among the Dutch: the other of so many good parts of a worthy gentleman, as the like are seldome seene to concurre in any.

I spake in ye beginning of her Maiesties praier, which I presumed (though vnworthy) to translate into Latine: and nowe at this very time there was some opportunity offered, for to make some vse of that translation. For nowe being in Cadiz, attending vpon my most honourable good Lord, I talked with certaine of the Religious men, such as I found learned, whereof indeed there were some, though not very many. I talked also with the Bishop of Cusco there, a graue aged comely man, and being of late chosen to that Bishopricke, he was as then to haue gone to the Indies, had not we then taken him prisoner, and so stayed his iourney for that time. With these men euer as occasion did serue, I did seeke nowe and then to spende some speech, and to entertaine time withall, I would breake with them of this our victorie, and of the iniuries and bad dealings of their Prince and Countrey offered to her Maiestie, whereby shee was prouoked, and in a manner drawen to this action: though otherwise of her own most excellent princely good nature, she was altogether giuen to peace, and quietnes. And alwayes in some part of our conferences, I would shew them a copie of her Maiesties praier in Latine, which I had alwayes of purpose ready about me, whereby it might the better appeare vnto them, how vnwillingly, and vpon how great and vrgent occasions her Maiesty was, as it were enforced to vndertake this action: and therewithall I did vse now and then to bestow vpon them a copy of the same in writing. They seemed in all outward shew to allow of my speeches, and to praise her Maiesties good inclination; and earnestly to wish that there might be a firme concord and peace againe.

It pleased the Lords general to deale exceeding fauourably with this said Bishop of Cusco: for it was their good pleasure to giue him his free passage without any ransome, and therewithal to let him to vnderstand, that they came not to deale with Church-men, or vnarmed men, or with men of peace, weaklings and children, neither was it any part of their meaning to make such a voyage for gold, siluer, or any other their wealth and riches, &c. But that their only comming was to meet with their dishonorable practises, and manifold iniuries, and to deale with men of warre and valour, for the defence of the true honour of England: and to let them to vnderstand, that whensoeuer they attempted any base-conceited and dishonorable practise to their soueraigne Queene, their Mistresse, that it should be reuenged to the vttermost, &c.

In this meane space, while the Lords general continued at Cadiz, there came to them certain poore wretched Turks, to the number of 38, that had bin a long time gally-slaues, and either at the very time of the fight by sea, or els immediately thereupon, taking the opportunity, did then make their escape, and did swim to land: yeelding themselues to the mercy of their most honorable Lordships. It pleased them with all speed to apparel them, and to furnish them with money, and all other necessaries, and to bestow on them a barke, and a Pilot, to see them freely and safely conueied into Barbary, willing them to let the countrey vnderstand what was done, and what they had seene. Whereby I doubt not, but as her Maiesty is a most admirable Prince already, ouer all Europe, all Africk, and Asia, and throughout Christendome: so the whole worlde hereafter shall haue iust cause to admire her infinitely Princely vertues, and thereby bee prouoked to confesse, that as she hath bin mightily protected from time to time, by the powerful hand of the almighty, so vndoubtedly, that she is to be iudged and accounted of vs, to be his most sacred handmaide, and chosen vessel. And therefore, whatsoeuer wicked designement shalbe conspired and plotted against her Maiesty hereafter, shalbe thought to be conspired, plotted, and intended against the almighty himselfe: and for that cause, as I trust, shalbe by the infinite goodnes and mercy of that almighty, mightily frustrate and ouerthrowen.

The 28. day being Munday, the L. Admiral came aboord the Arke againe, minding there to remaine for a space, as indeed he did, and vpon the aduise of his Physition, to deale something in Physicke, for that his L. found his body something out of frame. At that time it pleased his L. to write certain letters to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, for the deliuerance of English captiues, who were remaining in the gallies. For by this time, it was reported, that the said Duke was come downe in person with some power, and that he was either at Port S. Mary, or els at Rotta, or thereabout. His L. did endite the letters himselfe, but his pleasure was, they should be turned into Latine by another: and so to be sent (as indeed they were) in the latine tongue vnto the Duke.

A copie of the Lord Admirals letters to the Duke of Medina Sidonia.

Illustrissimo Principi Duci de Medina Sidonia.

Illustrissime Princeps, ex nonnullis quibusdam Hispanis intelligimus, Excellentiam vestram iam nunc esse apud portam S. Mariæ. Et quoniam in anno Domini 1588. id nobis tunc muneris assignatum erat à sereniss. nostra Regina domina mea, vt contra vos, vestrásq; copias, Ego solus pro eo tempore Generalis essem constitutus: Idcircò non opinamur vobis ignotum esse, quàm mite quoddam, et humanum bellandi genus, tum hîc iam in hoc ipso tempore, aduersus huius loci populum atq; incolas vsurpauerimus: tum etiam sæpiùs antehac quàm humaniter, benignèq; eos omnes tractauerimus, quos ex vestris iure belli captiuos acceperimus. Ex quorum numero quàm multa milia. etiam gratis, nullo accepto pretio, libertate donauerimus, id putamus omnibus esse testatius, quàm vt à quoquam denegetur. Quocirca, neq; vllo modo nobis in mentem venire potest, vt dubitemus, quin parem etiam in vobis humanitatem aduersus nostros captiuos simus reperturi. Cùm igitur nobis compertum iam sit, habere vos in vestris galeris, ex Reginæ nostræ serenissimæ Dominæ meæ subditis vnum et quinquaginta captiuos: non equidem dubitamus, quin eos omnes sitis relaxaturi, et ad nos missuri: ea lege, ac conditione, vt totidem ex vestris hîc captiuis eiusdem loci atq; ordinis, melioris etiam fortassis notæ, ac con-

ditionis, homuncios, ad vos vicissim remittamus. Id quod nos facturos data fide spondemus, quàm primùm nostros captiuos ex vestris manibus acceperimus. Hac in re si nostro desiderio ac voluntati parùm satisfactum erit, aliud profectò tunc posthac belli genus ingrediemur, aliúmq; bellandi morem cogemur, etiam inuiti, et contra voluntatem prosequi. Ex Regia Anglicana classe apud Cadiz vltimo Iunij, stilo antiquo. 1596.

Carolus Howard.

These letters were sent by a Spaniard, and an answere was brought from the Duke with al conuenient speed, and as it should seeme by the L. Admirals next answere returned to him in writing, which immediately hereafter foloweth, the Duke de Medina Sidonia his letters were honorable, and with good regard.

A Copie of my L. Admirals second letter to the Duke of Medina Sidonia.

Illustrissimo Principi Duci de Medina Sidonia.

ILlustrissime Princeps, literas ab excellentia vestra hodiè accepimus: quæ verò nostra sit ad illas responsio, nobiles isti viri, qui vestras literas ad nos pertulerunt: pleniùs declarabunt. Hoc interim cupimus esse penitùs persuasum Excellentiæ vestræ, nos sedulò operam daturos, vt in omni honorificæ benignitatis humanitatísq; genere, expectationi vestræ omni ex parte respondeamus. Quod ad Anglicos nostros captiuos attinet, quos ab Excellentia vestra huc ad nos crastino die missum iri expectamus, in ea re pollicemur Excellentiæ vestræ, quòd plenius à nobis vestræ voluntati satisfactum erit: et quòd pro illis captiuis tales nos captiuos vobis remittemus, quales tum ab ipso Dom. Mendoza, tum ab alijs illustrib. viris, qui à Dom. Porta Carero in illorum ad nos fauorem mittebantur, communi cum consensu erant ab ipsis approbati. Si verò quis alius iam captiuus est vel posthac futurus erit in nostra potestate, pro cuius redemptione nondum plenè conuentum est et stipulatum de certo pretio persoluendo: concedimus Excellentiæ vestræ, vt in hoc etiam casu vos, vestro pro arbitrio, de illis quicquid velitis, imperetis. Ex Regia classe Anglicana, apud Cadiz, 3. die Iulij stylo antiquo. 1596.

Carolus Howard.

The next day after, being the 4. of Iuly, the L. L. generall caused the towne of Cadiz to be set on fire, and rased and defaced so much as they could, the faire cathedral Church, and the religious houses only being spared, and left vnblemished. And with the town al such prouision for shipping, and other things, as were seruiceable for ye K. vse, and yet were not either so conuenient for vs to be caried away, or els such as we stood no whit at all in need of, were likewise at the same instant consumed with fire. And presently therupon, their Lordships, with as conuenient speed as they could, and the whole army in such good order and leisure, as they thought best, came aboord.

The next day being the 5. of Iuly, the L. L. generall with all the armie being vnder saile, and now making for England, and but as yet passing the very mouth of the bay of Cadiz, a galley full of English prisoners, with a flag of truce, met vs from Rotta, sent by the D. of Medina Sidonia, and sent as it should seeme, one day later then his promise: but yet their flag being either not big enough, or not wel placed in the galley, or not wel discerned of our men, or by what other mischance I know not: but thus it was: by one of our smallest ships y^t sailed formost, assoone as the said galley came within gunshot, there was a great peece discharged vpon her, and at that instant there was one man slaine outright, and 2. other grieuously hurt. The error being espied and perceiued, our ship gaue ouer immediatly from any farther shooting. Assoone as the galley came neere vs, my L. Admirall caused a gracious salutation to be sounded with his trumpets, and willed the captains forthwith to come aboord his ship: which they did, and then he feasted them with a very fine and honorable banket, as the time and place might serve. And then by them vnderstanding of that unfortunate mischance that had hapned by the shot of the said ship, he was very sory for the same, and yet such was the merciful prouidence of almighty God, that euen in this mischance also, he did hold his holy hand ouer the English. And al the harme that was done did light onely vpon the poore Turk, and the Spaniard himselfe. When this Lorde had well banqueted them, hee presently called for his barge, and did accompany the said galley to the Lorde general the Earle of Essex, who then did ride with his ship a good distance off: and there they being in like maner most honorably receiued, and intertained, the Spanish gentlemen deliuered vp their prisoners the English captiues, of whom some had bin there

6 yere, some 8, or ten: yea, and some 22. yeere, and vpward, and some of them but lately taken in S. Francis Drakes last voiage to the Indies. The number of the prisoners deliuered were but 39, and no mo, and were brought in, and deliuered by Don Antonio de Corolla and his brother, and by Don Pedro de Cordua, and certaine others. If you demaund why, of one and fiftie Captiues, there were no moe deliuered then was, I presuppose, (and I thinke it true to) that at that time the residue were farther off in some remote places of Spaine bestowed, and so by that meanes, not able at this time to bee in a readinesse, but yet like enough that there is some good order taken for them hereafter, to be redeemed, and sent ouer into England.

If any man presume here so farre, as to enquire how it chanced, that the Lords generall rested so long at Cadiz, and went no farther, and why Port S. Mary being so faire a towne, and so neere to them, was forborne? and why Sheres alia̍s Xeres? And why Rotta and the like? And why this or that was done? And why that or this left vndone? I will not answere him with our common English prouerbe, as I might, which is: That one foole may aske moe questions in one houre, then ten discrete men can wel answere in fiue dayes.

But that graue auncient writer, Cornelius Tacitus, hath a wise, briefe, pithy saying, and it is this: "Nemo teutauit inquirere in columnas Herculis, sanctiúsq; ac reuerentius habitum est de factis Deorum credere, qua̍m scire." Which saying, in my fancy, fitteth marueilous well for this purpose: and so much the rather, for that this Cadiz is that very place, (at least by the common opinion) where those said pillers of Hercules were thought to be placed: and, as some say, remaine as yet not farre off to be seene. But to let that passe, the saying beareth this discrete meaning in it, albeit in a prety kind of mystical maner vttered: That it befitteth not inferiour persons to be curious, or too inquisitiue after Princes actions, neither yet to be so sawcy and so malapert, as to seeke to diue into their secrets, but rather alwayes to haue a right reuerend conceite and opinion of them, and their doings: and thereon so resting our inward thoughts, to seek to go no further, but so to remaine ready alwaies to arme our selues with dutiful minds, and willing obedience, to perform and put in execution that which in their deepe insight and heroicall designements, they shall for our good, and the care of the common wealth determine vpon.

This, and much lesse to, might suffice to satisfie any honest minded man. But yet if any will needs desire to be a little farther satisfied, albeit it neede not, yet then, this much I dare say and affirme, that vpon my knowledge, the chiefest cause why Port Saint Mary, and the rest were left vntouched, was this: For that it was most certainly knowen, that they were townes not woorth the saluting of such a royal companie, in which there was no maner of wealth in the world left, more then bare houses of stone, and standing walles, and might well haue serued rather as a stale, perchance, to haue entrapped, then as a meanes to haue enriched. And it had bin more then a suspicion of follie, for such an army as this, to haue sought to fight with the aire, and to haue laboured with great paine and charges, yea, and with some euident danger too, to haue ouerthrowen that, which could very litle or nothing haue profited, being destroyed: and yet nowe, can doe as little harme being left, as it is, vntouched.

And thus much for our iourney to Cadiz: for the accidents that happened by the way, for the winning, spoiling, and burning of the saide towne, for the ouerthrowe of the Spanish Fleet there, and for al other by-matters that happened, as appendances to the same, both in the time of our abode there, as also at the very last houre of our comming from thence.

As for our returne home, and our entrance into a part of Portingal by the way, with the taking, spoyling, and burning of the towne of Faraon there, and marching into the Spanish confines therabouts, &c. I minde to leaue it to some other, whose chance was to be present at the action, as myselfe was not, and shalbe of more sufficient ability to performe it.

The Most Honourable Tragedie of Sir Richard Grinuile, Knight. 1595.*

THat time of yeare when the inamored Sunne
Clad in the richest roabes of liuing fiers,
Courted ye Virgin signe, great Naturs Nunne,
Which barrains earth of al what earth desires
Euen in the month that from *Augustus* wonne,
His sacred name which vnto heauen aspires,
And on the last of his ten trebled days,
When wearie labour new refresh assayes.

Then when the earth out-brau'd ye beautious Morne,
Boasting his cornie Mantle stird with aire,
Which like a golden Ocean did adorne,
His cold drie carcasse, featurelesse, vnfaire,
Holding the naked shearers scithe in scorne,
Or ought that might his borrowed pride empaire,
The soule of vertue seeing earth so ritch,
With his deare presence gilds the sea as mitch.

The sea, which then was heauie, sad, and still,
Dull, vnapplyed to sportiue wantonnesse,
As if her first-borne *Venus* had beene ill,
Or *Neptune* seene the *Sonne* his loue possesse,
Or greater cares, that greatest comforts kill,
Had crowned with griefe, the worlds wet wildernesse,
Such was the still-foot *Thetis* silent paine,
Whose flowing teares, ebbing fell backe againe.

Thetis, the mother of the pleasant springs,
Grandam of all the Riuers in the world,
To whom earths veins their moistning tribut brings,
Now with a mad disturbed passion hurld,
About her caue (the worlds great treasure) flings:
And with wreath'd armes, and long wet hairs uncurld,
Within her selfe laments a losse vnlost,
And mones her wrongs, before her ioyes be crost.

---

* At London, printed by I. Roberts, for Richard Smith, 1595.

Thus whilst diuining sorrowe ceaz'd her hart,
Grinuile (ô melt my spyrit in that name,)
As sings the Swan her funerall depart,
And waues her wings the ensignes of her fame,
So he, with vertue sweetning bitter smart,
Which from the seas long toyling seruice came:
    For why, sixe Moones, and so oft times the Sunne
    Was past, and had one halfe the signes ore-runne,

Ere he the earth, our common Mother saw;
Now earlie rgeets black *Flores* banefull Ile,
(*Flores*, from whence afflictions selfe doth draw
The true memorialls of a weeping stile;)
And with *Caisters* Querristers * which straw
Descant, that might Death of his darts beguile,
    He tunes saluting notes, sweeter then long,
    All which are made his last liues funerall song.

Skillesse in deaths great Parliament he cals
His fellow mat's, and minions to his fame,
Shewes them long lookt for land, and how it brauls,
Repulsing backe the billowes as they came,
Much he triumphes, and passed griefe for-stals
With present ioy (sorrow lights pleasures flame:)
    And whilst his hopes of *Happy-Fortune* sings,
    Misfortune by, controls them with her wings.

Desir'd reliefe, and euer welcome rest,
The elements that forme the wearie man,
Began to hold a counsaile in his brest,
Painting his wants by sicknes pale and wan;
With other griefes, that others force opprest,
Aduising stay, (as what is but they can,)
    Whilst he that fate to come, and past, nere feard,
    Concludes to stay till strength decayd repaird.

Then casts he Anchor hulling on the maine,
And all his shyps poore Citizens recounts,
And hundred iust were free from sicknes paine,
Fourscore and ten death their redress accounts,
So that of all both sicke and sound vnslaine,
Vnto two hundred wanting ten amounts.

---

* Choristers.

A slender armie for so great a guide,
But vertue is vnknowne till it be tride.

Those whom their harts enabled to attempt,
He puts a shoare to make supplie for neede;
Those whom long sicknes taught of death contempt,
He visits, and from *Ioues* great Booke doth reede
The balme which mortall poysen doth exempt;
Those whom new breathing health like sucklings feed,
Hie to the sands, and sporting on the same,
Finde libertie, the liues best liuing flame.

Looke how a troope of Winter-prisoned Dames,
Pent in th' inclosure of the walled townes,
Welcoms the Spring, Vsher to Somer flames,
Making their Pastimes in the flowrie downes,
Whose beauteous Arras * wrought in natures frames,
Through eyes admire, the hart with wonder crownes,
So the wood-walled citizens at sea,
Welcome both Spring and Sommer in a day.

The warring byllowes, seas artillerie,
With long held siege, had bruz'd their beaten keele,
Which to repaire the most, most busied be,
Lab'ring to cure, what want in labours feele;
All pleas'd with toyle, clothing extremitie
In Hopes best robes, that hang on Fortunes wheele
But men are men, in ignorance of Fate,
To alter chaunce, exceedeth humaine state.

For when the Sun, towred in heauens head,
Downe from the siluer mountaine of the skye,
Bent his bright Chariot on the glassie bed,
Faire christall, guilded with his glorious eye,
Fearing some usurpation in his stead,
Or least his Loue should too-long daliance spy
Tweene him and *Virgo*, whose attractiue face,
Had newly made him leaue the *Lyons* chase.

In that same myd-daies hower came sayling in,
A thought-swift-flying Pynnase, taught by winde,

---

* Hangings, so called from having first been made at Arras.

T' outstrip in flight Times euer flying wing;
And being come where vertue was inshrinde,
First vaild his plumes, and wheeling in a ring,
With Goat-like dauncing, stays where *Grinuile* shynd,
The whyle his great Commaunder calls the name,
Which is ador'd of all that speakes the same.

The great Commaunder of this little Barke,
Which like an Eglet armes the Eagles side,
Was *Midleton*, the ayme of Honors marke,
That more had prou'd then danger durst haue tride,
Now seeing all good fortunes sun-shine darke,
Thrise calls Sir *Richard*, who as oft replyde,
Bidding him speake, and ring his newes aloude,
Ill, not apald, nor good could make him proude.

O then (quoth Midleton) thou soule of all
What euer boasts in magnanimitie,
Thou, whom pure Vertue her best part doth call,
Better then valure, stronger then dietie,
Whom men adore, and all the gods exhall
Into the bookes of endlesse memorie,
I bring thee tidings of a deadly fray,
Begun in Heauen, to end vpon the Sea.

The glorious Senate of the Skyes was set,
And all the gods were royaliz'd in state,
When *Happy-fortune* and *Ill-fortune* met,
Striuing who first should enter Heauen's gate,
The one made mad the others fame to let,
Neither but stirr'd with rage to wonder at,
Confusedly, as water floods doe passe
Their common bounds, such their rude entrance was.

The gods disturb'd, admire their strange aproch,
Censuring their angers by their gloing eyes,
Ill-fortune was attended by *Reproch*,
Good-fortune, *Fame*, and *Vertue* stellesies;*

---

* Constellations.

One sweares the other doth her right incroch,
Which is the elder house, none can deuise:
The gods diuide, yet in the end agree
The Fates shall iudge each others pedigree.

Good-Fortune, drawes from heauen her hye descent,
Making hie *Ioue* the roote of her large tree;
She showes from him how many god-heads went,
Archangells, *Angells*, heauen's posteritie:
From thence, she shows the glorious thrid she lent,
To *Monarks*, *Emperours*, and *Kyngs* in fee,
Annexing as Colatteralls to her line,
Honour, *Vertue*, *Valure*, and *Endles-time.*

Naithlesse, *Ill-fortune* will be elder borne,
She saith, she springs from *Saturne*, *Ioues* wronged Sier,
And heauen, and earth, and hell her coate haue borne,
Fresh bleeding harts within a field of fier;
All that the world admires, she makes her scorne,
Who farthest seemes, is to *Ill-fortune* nier,
And that iust proofe may her great praise commend,
All that *Best-chaunce* begins, *Ill-chaunce* doth ende.

Thus they dispute, guilding their tongues report
With instances, and argumental sawes,
Ill-fortune, bids let all the worlde resort,
And show within their Chronicles and lawes,
The man whose liue-line neuer did consort,
With sharpe affliction, deaths first grounded cause,
Then will she yeeld, else, is shee victor still.
Worlds good is rare, perpetuall is their ill.

Euen as the racket takes the balls rebound,
So doth *Good-fortune* catch *Ill-fortunes* proofe,
Saying, she wil her in herselfe confound,
Making her darts, Agents for her behoofe;
Bow but thine eies (quoth she) whence ha'ts abound,
And I will show thee vnder heauens roofe
Th' vnconquered man whom no mischance importunes.
Crown of my kingdom, deaths man to misfortune.

At this, the casments of the skye broke ope,
Discouering all what's girdled in her frame,
Whilst *Happy-fortune* through her eyes large scope
Like a Cosmographer comments on the same;
Three parts with praise she past and future hope,
Then to the fourth, the Westerne world she came,
And there, with her eyes festrawe paints a storie,
Stranger than strange, more glorified than glorie.

See (sayd *Faire-fortune*, to her soule shapt *Foe*)
How on the scourge that beates against the Ile
Of *Flores*, whence they curst oblations growe,
A winde-taught capring ship which ayre beguiles,
(Making poore *Cephalus* for-lorne with woe,
Curse arte, which made arte framed saile such smiles)
Richlie imbrodred with the Iems of warre,
In thy dispight commaunds a lucky starre.

In that faire vessel liues my garlands flower,
Grinuile, my harts immortall arterie;
Of him thy deitie had neuer power,
Nor hath hee had of griefe one simpathie;
Successe attends him, all good hap doth shower
A golden raine of perpetuitie
Into his bossome, where mine Empire stands,
Murdring the Agents of thy blacke commands.

Say, and say true, (for what but thou wilt say,)
That euer *Grinuils* fortunes came before thee;
Or euer prostrate at thine Altars lay,
Or with one wreath of Cipresse did adore thee?
Proue one blacke storme in all his Sommers day,
Whose threatening clouds compeld him to implore thee.
Then wil I staine my milkwhite vaile with weeping,
And as thine handmaide dye in sorrowes keeping.

As wounds the lightning, yet preserues the skinne,
So did these words split *Lucklesse-fortunes* hart,
Her smiling *Superficies*, lockt within
A deepe exulcerated festring smart;
Heere shee perceiu'd her first disgrace begin,
And wordlesse from the heauens takes her depart.
Yet as she flewe. her wings in flying cri'd
On *Grinuile* shall my fame and power be tride.

At her departure all the heauens were glad,
Triumphing in *Ill-fortunes* banishment,
Apollo set new *Anthems* as *Ioue* bad,
Which spheare tunes made more then most excellent;
No light in heauen but with new fier was clad,
Making next *Ioue*, *Good-fortune* president,
Enrowling in the Bookes of destenie,
This memorable famous victorie.

Only the *Fat's* su'd for her backe repeale,
(For they *Ill-fortune* lou'd exceeding well)
Many her deedes and Tropheis they reueale,
And all her liues blacke legend, weeping tell;
Yet all they speake, cannot in heauen preuaile,
Which seene, in spight they follow her to hell,
And there inhoused with their mother *Night*,
All foure deuise, how heauen and earth to spight.

Hence sprang the loues of *Ioue*, the *Sonnes* exile,
The shame of *Mars* and *Venus* in a net;
Iunos forsaken bed; Saturns compile
Of frantike discontentment, which beset
All heauen with armes; *Diana* hence had while
To court her sleeping boy; whilst *Thetis* let
Phœbus imbrace her in her *Neptunes* stead,
Who made complaints, breach of his bridall bed.

Yet not content with these disparagments,
Much greater mischiefes issues from their minds,
Grinuile, thy mountaine honour it augments
Within their breasts, a Meteor like the winds,
Which thrall'd in earth, a reeling issue rents
With violent motion; and their wills combinds
To belch their hat's, vow'd murdrers of thy fame,
Which to effect, thus they begin the same.

Fast to *Iberia* flies vntoward chaunce,
Iberia, which we vulgar Christen *Spaine*,
Vpon whose Sunne-burnt continent doth daunce
Westerne *Ducallidon*, the greatest maine,
Thither shee packs, *Error* doth their aduance
Her coale-blacke standerd in the hands of paine;

And as escapt from rauishment or bale,
With false teares, thus shee tunes a falser tale.

Great Empire (said shee) blessed in thy birth,
Beautious created for-head of this round,
That with thy smiles first lent to heauen mirth,
And bout thy temples all perfections woond,
Lodgd in th' immagin'd corners of the earth;
Thou whom our centers Monarchesse art crownd,
Attend my suite, baptisd in mournefull teares,
Who but ere while triumphed on the spheares.

Nor for my selfe more then thine owne decay
Which blindfold pleasure clouds as they arise,
Be gracious, and retort the domefull daye
Which thee and me to shame would sacrifice.
Loe, on the great west-walling boisterous sea,
Which doth imbrace thy gold-enclosing eyes,
Of many sailes one man, of one poor Ile,
That will my fame, and all thy faire defile.

His numberlesse great infinits of fame,
Haue shut against me heauens great christall dore,
The clouds, which once my feets dust had to name,
Hang ore my forhead, threatning euermore
Death to my praise, life to my infant shame,
Whilst I with sighes mediate a new restore.
And in my selfe behold my pleasures past,
Swimming amongst the ioyes I cannot tast.

Th' ambrosian Nectar-filled banqueting,
No more shall I communicate, or see,
Triumphes in heauen, *Ioues* masks, and reuelling,
Are cleene exempt, both from my ioyes and me.
The reason, for my loue to thee I bring,
Trimming the locks with Iems of dietie,
Making the gods a dread a fatall day,
Worse then the Giants warre or Centaurs fray.

Poore goddesse, rob'd of all eternall power,
Whose broken Statues, and down razed Fan's,
Neuer warm'd altars, euer forgotten hower
Where any memorie of praise is tane,

Witnes my fall from great *Olympus* tower;
Prostrate, implore blame for receiued bane,
    And dyre reuenge gainst heauens impietie,
    Which els in shame will make thee follow mee.

Behold these robes, maps of my fortunes world,
Torne, and distaind with eye-scornd beggerie;
These rags deuide the Zones, wherein is hurld
My liues distemprate, hote cold miserie;
These teares are points, the scale these hairs vncurld,
My hands the compasse, woe the emperie:
    And these my plaints, true and auriculer,
    Are to my Globe the perpendiculer.

Looke how I am, such art thou like to be
If armes preuent not heauens intendiment,
Grinuile, which now surfeits with dignitie,
Burd'ning the Sea with my disparagement;
Chiding the wanton winds if greedelie
They kisse his sailes; or els too slowlie vent,
    Like *Ioue*, which bad the day be and it was,
    So bids he Conquest warre; she brings to passe.

The sole incouragement he giues his power,
Is Prophet-like presaging of thy death,
Courage he cries, euen in the dying hower,
And with his words, recalls departing breath;
O (sayes he to his Mat's) you are my glories tower,
Impregnable, wall'd with vnuanquisht faith,
    You are the hands and agents of my trust,
    I but the hart reuoluing what we must.

Liue Saints, til we haue ript the wombe of *Spayne*,
And wounded *Error* in the armes of hell,
Crushing the triple Myter in disdaine,
Which on ye seauenfold mounted Witch doth dwel,
Angells rewards for such dissignes remaine,
And on heauens face men shall your stories tell;
    At this they shoute; as eager of the pray,
    As Ants in winter of a sunne-shine day.

Thus like triumphant *Cæsar* drawne in Rome,
By winged *Valure*, and vnconquered *Chaunce*,
He plowes the Sea (ô were it made his tombe)
Whilst *Happy-fortune* pypes unto his daunce.
Yet may thy power alternat heauens doome,
So pleaseth thee thy forward will t'aduance,
  And cheare ye sinews of thy mighty arme,
  Whose out-strecht force shall quell his proud alarme.

Then giue newe fuell to his honours fier,
Least slight regard wealth-winning *Error* slay,
And so old *Saturns* happie world retyer,
Making *Trueths* dungion brighter than the day;
Was neuer woe could wound thy kingdom nyer,
Or of thy borrowed beautie make display,
  Because this vow in heauens booke doth remaine,
  That *Errors* death shall consumate thy raigne.

Now, for my god-heads remnant liues in thee,
Whose lost successe breeds mine eternall end,
Take for thine ayde, afflicting *Miserie*,
Woe, mine attendant, and *Dispayre* my freend,
All three my greatest great *Triumuerie*,
Blood bath'd *Carnifici*, which will protend
  A murdring desolation to that will,
  Which me in thee, and thee in mee would kill.

Here, with her fixed Comet-blazing eyes,
The damned *Augurs* of vntimely death,
Shee ends her tale, whilst from her harts caue flyes
A storme of winds, no gentle sighing breath,
All which, like euill spirits in disguise,
Enter *Iberias* eares, and to her sayth,
  That all the substance of this damned storie,
  Was zealous true, coyned for her *Spanish* glorie.

Sworne to beleeue, for ill, in ill assies,
Spayne then enamour'd with the *Romane* trull,
Calls all her forces, more then Atomies,
And tells *Ill-fortunes* storie to the full;
Many Parenthises shee doth deuise,
And frost-relenting words doth choycely cull,
  Bewitching those whom oft shee had deceiued,
  With such like Hemlock as her selfe receiued.

The first and greatest one, commaunding all,
The soule of mischiefes old created mother,
Was *Don Alphonso Bassan*, proud in brall,
The Marques *Sancta Cruces* onely brother;
Him shee coniures by typ's emperiall,
And all that falshoods seeming trueth could couer,
To vndertake this hie (she termed it) act,
Which craues a curse of all that reads the fact.

Her selfe (shee said) and all the flowers of *Spayne*,
Should vnder his, as heauens Ensigne warre:
Thus from her harts foule dunghill flyes amaine
Grosse vapours, metamorphosd to a starre;
Her words in fumes like prodogies retaine
His hart, by her tongues witchcraft bound so farre,
And what shee will, that will hee vnder-take,
Be it to warre with heauen for her sake.

The seeming Nectar of her poysoning speech,
So well shee saw surprise his licoras sence,
That for to reare her ill beyonds ills reach,
With selfe-like tropes, decks self-like eloquence,
Making in *Britain Dona* such a breach,
That her arm'd wits, conqu'ring his best wits sence,
He vowes with *Bassan* to defende the broile,
Which men of praise, and earth of fame shal spoile.

To him shee giues the *Biscaynnoys* for guard,
Mechanicall Artificers for death,
And those which of affliction neuer hard,
She tempers with the hammer of her breath:
To euery act shee giues huge lyp-reward,
Lauish of oathes, as falshood of her faith;
And for the ground of her pretended right,
T'is hate, which enuies vertue in a Knight.

These two to her fast bound in vassailage,
Vnto the Marques *Arumburch* shee flyes,
Him shee prouokes, him shee finds apt to rage,
Imprisoning Pitties teares in flintie eyes;
To him the power of *Siuill* for a gage
Shee doth bequeath; bidding his prowesse ryse,
And clense his Countries face from widowes tears,
To which he posts, like lightning from the sphears.

Lastly, to make vp mischiefes perfect square,
To *Luis Cutino* shee takes her flight,
Him shee commaunds, he to her homage sware
To guide a Nauie to this damned fight,
Of Hulks and Fly-boats such as durst to dare.
Shee giues him soueraine rule, and publique right,
And then vniting all foure powers in one,
Sends them to sea, to calme *Misfortunes* mone.

And now behold (diuine for valiancie)
Like flying Castells sayle they to this strand,
Fiftie three saile, strong in artillarie,
Best men of warre knowne in the *Spanish* land;
Fifteene Armados, Kings of soueraigntie,
Which led the lesser with a mightie hand:
And these in foure battalions hither flie,
With whom three dayes I sailed in companie.

Then gentle *Grinuile*, *Thetis* parramoure,
Dearer than *Venus*, Daughter of the flood,
Set sailes to wind, let not neglect deuoure
Thy gracious fortunes and thine Angell goode,
Cut through the maine, compell thy keele to scoure,
No man his ill too timelie hath with-stoode
And when *Best-chaunce* shal haue repaird thy fortune,
Time for this flight may iust reuenge importune.

Here *Midelton* did end the passing peale
Which gaue the warning to a dismall end,
And as his words last knell began to faile,
This damned Nauie did a glimmering send,
By which *Sir Richard* might their power reueale,
Which seeming conquerlesse did conquests lend;
At whose appearance *Midelton* did cry,
See where they come, for fame and pitty flie.

This certaine story, of too certaine ill,
Did not extinguish, but gaue honour fier,
Th' amazing prodigie, (bane of my quill,)
Bred not astonishment, but a strong desier,
By which this heauen-adopted Knights strong will,
Then hiest height of Fame, flew much more hier:
And from the boundlesse greatnes of his minde,
Sends back this answer through his lyps refin'd.

Thanks hardie *Midelton* for thy dilate,
Perswasiue presage to auoyde my death,
But if thou wed my fortunes with my state,
This sauing health shall suffocate my breath,
To flye from them that holds my God in hate,
My Mistres, Countrey, me, and my sworne fayth,
Were to pull of the load from *Typhons* back,
And crush my selfe, with shame and seruille wrack.

Nor if my hart degenerate should yeeld,
To entertaine an amorus thought of life,
And so transport mine honour to the field,
Where seeming value dies by cowards knife,
Yet zeale and conscience shall new forces build,
And others soules, with my soule holdeth strife;
For halfe my men, and all that draw sound breath,
Are gone on shore, for foode to conquer death.

If I forsake them, certaine is their end,
If I obtaine them, doubtfull is our fall,
Vpon my flight, shame and their sacks depend,
Vpon my stay, hope of good hap doth call,
Equall to me, the meanest I commend;
Nor will I loose, but by the losse of all:
They are the sinewes of my life and fame,
Dismembred bodies perish cripple-lame.

This sayd, he sends a cock-boate to the shore,
To summon backe his men vnto their ship,
Who com'd a board, began with some vprore
To way their Anchors, and with care to dip
Their hie reuolues in doubt, and euermore,
To paint deaths visage with a trembling lip,
Till he that was all fearelesse, and feare slew,
With Nectard words from them all dangers drew.

When *Midelton* saw *Grinuills* hie reuolue,
Past hope, past thought, past reach of all aspire,
Once more to moue him flie he doth resolue,
And to that purpose tips his tongue with fier;
Fier of sweete words, that easelie might dissolue
And moisten flint, though steeld in stiffe attire,
Had not desier of wonder praise, and fame,
Extinkt the sparks, and still keepe dead the flame.

Greater, and better then inarked he,
Which in the worlds huge deluge did suruiue,
O let thy wings of magnanimitie,
Not vainlie flatter, *Honour* to acchiue,
Gainst all conceit impossibilitie,
By which thou murderst *Vertue*, keepe aliue,
Nor in thy seeking of diuinitie,
Kill not heauens fame by base mortalitie.

O *Grinuile* thou hast red Philosophy
Nature and Arte hath made thee excellent,
And what thou read'st, hath grafted this in thee,
That to attempt hie dangers euident
Without constraint or neede, is infamie,
And honor turnes to rashnes in th'euent:
And who so darrs, not caring how he darrs,
Sells vertues name, to purchase foolish starrs.

Deere Knight, thou art not forst to hazard fame,
Heauens haue lent thee meanes to scape thine ill,
If thou abide, as true as is thy name,
So truly shall thy fault, thy death fulfill:
And as to loue the life for vertues flame,
Is the iust act of a true noble will,
So to contemne it, and her helps exclude,
Is baseness, rashness, and no *Fortitude.*

He that compard mans bodie to an hoast,
Sayd that ye hands were scouts, discouering harmes,
The feete were horsemen, thundring on the coast,
The brest, and stomacke, footmen, huge in swarmes.
But for the head, in soueraigntie did boast,
It Captayne was, director of alarms,
Whose rashness, if it hazarded an ill,
Not hee alone but all the hoast did spill.

Rash *Isadas*, the *Lacedemon* Lord,
That naked fought against the *Theban* power,
Although they crown'd his value by accord,
Yet was hee find for rashness in that hower:
And those which most his carelesse praise affoard,
Did most condemne what follie did deuoure;
For in attempting, prowesse is not ment,
But wiselie doing what we doe attempt.

Then sith t'is valure to abandon fight,
And base to darre, where no hope is to winne,
(Renowned man, of all renowne the light)
Hoyst vp thy sailes, delay attrackts thy sinne,
Flie from ill-boding starres with all thy might,
Vnto thy hart let praise and pittie in.
　This sayd, and more desirous much to crie,
　Sir *Richard* stayd him, with this rich replie.

Captayne, I praise thy warlike eloquence,
And sober Axioms of Philosophie,
But now's no time for schoole points difference,
When Deaths blacke Ensigne threatens miserie;
Yet for thy words sound of such consequence,
Making flight praise, and fight pale obloquie,
　Once ere I die, Ile clense my wits from rust,
　And proue my flying base, my stay most iust.

Whence shall I flie? from refuge of my fame,
From whom? euen from my Countreis mortall foe,
Whither? but to the dungeon of my shame,
Why shall I flie? for feare of happie woe,
What end of flight? to saue vile life by blame,
Who ist that flies? *Grinuile?* Captayne no,
　T'is *England* flies, faire Ile of happines,
　And true diuine *Elizas* holynes.

Shall then my life regard taynt that choice faire?
First will I perrish in this liquid round,
Neuer shall Sunne-burnt *Spanyards* tongue endeare
Iberian eares with what shall me confound,
The life I haue, I for my Mistris beare,
Curst were that life, should it her scepter wound,
　And trebble cursed be that damned thought,
　Which in my minde hath any fayntnes wrought.

Now, for Philosophie defends thy theame,
Euen selfe Philosophie shall arme my stile,
Rich buskin'd *Seneca*, that did declaime,
And first in *Rome* our tragicke pompe compile,
Saith, *Fortitude* is that which in extreme
And certaine hazard all base feares exile:
　It guides, saith he, the noble minde from farre,
　Through frost, and fier, to conquer honors warre.

Honie-tongd *Tullie*, Mermaid of our eares,
Affirmes no force, can force true *Fortitude*,
It with our bodies, no communion beares,
The soule and spyrit, sole doth it include;
It is that part of honestie which reares
The hart to heauen, and euer doth obtrude
 Faint feare, and doubt, still taking his delight
 In perrills, which exceed all perrills might.

Patience, *Perseuerance*, *Greatnes*, and *Strong Trust*,
These pages are to *Fortitude* their King,
Patience that suffers, and esteemeth iust
What euer woe, for vertue fortunes bring;
Perseuerance, holds constant what we must,
Greatnes, that still effects the greatest thing.
 And armed *Trust*, which neuer can dispaire,
 But hopes good hap; how euer fatall deare.

The Roman *Sergius*, hauing lost his hand,
Slew with one hand foure in a single fight,
A thing all reason euer did with-stand,
But that bright *Fortitude* spred forth her light.
Pompey, by storme held from *th' Italyan* land,
And all his sailors quaking in his sight,
 First hoisted saile, and cry'd amidst the strife,
 There's neede I goe, no neede to saue my life.

Agis that guilt the *Lacedemon* streete,
Intending one day battaile with his foes,
By counsaile was repeld, as thing vnmeete,
The enemie beeing ten to one in shoes;
But he reply'd, Tis needful that his feete
Which many leads, should leade to many bloes:
 And one being good, an Armie is for ten
 Foes to religion, and known naughty men.

To him that told *Dienecus*, his foes
Couer'd the Sun with darts and armed speares,
Hee made reply, Thy newes is ioy in woes,
Wee'le in the shadow fight, and conquer feares.
And from the *Polands* words my humor floes,
I care for naught but falling of the Spheares.
 Thunder affrights the Infants in the schooles,
 And threatnings are the conquerors of fooles.

As these, my case is not so desperate,
And yet, then these, my darre shall be no lesse:
If this in them, for fame was wondred at,
Then this in mee, shall my desiers expresse;
Neuer shall *Greece*, nor *Rome*, nor Heathen state,
With shining honor, *Albions* shine depresse,
 Though their great circuits yeelds their acts large bounds,
 Yet shall they neuer darr for deeper wounds.

And thus resolu'd, deere *Midelton* depart,
Seeke for thy safetie in some better soyle,
Thy stay will be no succour in my smart,
Thy losse will make them boast of better spoyle.
And be assur'd before my last breath part,
Ile make the Sunne, for pittie backe recoyle.
 And clothe the sea within a scarlet pale,
 Iudge of their death which shall my life exhale.

This ship which now intombs my iealous soule,
Honestlie enuious of aspiring laude,
Is cald *Reuenge*, the scourge which doth controule,
The recreants that *Errors* right applaud,
Shall like her selfe, by name and fame enroule
My spyrits acts, by no *Misfortune* aw'd,
 Within eternall Bookes of happie deeds,
 Vpon whose notes, immortall Vertue reeds,

Say, if I perish, t'was mine honours will,
My Countries loue, religion, and my Queene,
And if that enuie glorie in mine ill,
Say that I dyed, conqu'ring, vnconquered seene.
Say fiftie three strong shyps could not fulfill,
Gainst one poore mayden vessell their foule teene,
 But that in spight of death, or miserie,
 She fought, and foyled, and scapt captiuitie.

Replie not *Midelton*, mine eares are clos'd,
Hie in heauen's for-head are my vowes ingrau'd,
I see the banefull Nauie now disclosed,
Begon betime, Fate hath thy fortune sau'd;
To me good starres were neuer yet opposed,
Glorie hath crownd me when I glorie crau'd,
 Farwel, and say how euer be my chaunce,
 My death at honours wedding learnt to daunce.

This sayd, away sailes *Midelton* with speede,
Sad, heauie, dull, and most disconsolate,
Shedding stout manlie teares at valures deed,
Greeuing the ruine of so great estate;
But *Grinuile*, whose hope euer did exceede,
Making all death in daungers fortunate,
Gan to prouide to quell this great vprore,
Then which the like was neuer heard before.

His fights set vp; and all things fit prepard,
Low on the ballast did he couch his sick,
Being fourscoore ten, in Deaths pale mantle snar'd,*
Whose want to war did most their strong harts prick.
The hundred, whose more sounder breaths declard,
Their soules to enter Deaths gates should not stick,
Hee with diuine words of immortall glorie,
Makes them the wondred actors of this storie.

Nothing he left vnsaid that tongue could say,
To breede contempt of death, or hate of thrall,
Honours reward, fame for a famous day,
Wonder of eares, that men halfe gods shall call:
And contrarie, a hopelesse certaine way,
Into a Tyrants damned fists to fall,
Where all defame, base thoughts, and infamie,
Shall crowne with shame their heads eternally.

In this great thunder of his valiant speech,
From whence the eares-eyes honors lightning felt,
The *Spanish* Nauie came within the reach
Of Cannon shot, which equallie was delt
On eyther side, each other to impeach;
Whose volleys made the pittying skyes to melt,
Yet with their noyse, in *Grinuiles* heart did frame,
Greater desier, to conquer greater fame.

And now the sunne was past his middle way,
Leaning more louely to his Lemans bed,

---

* Entangled.

And the noones third hower had attacht the day,
When fiftie three gainst one were basely led;
All harts were fierd; and now the deadlie fray,
Began tumultuouslie to ouer-spread
The sea with fier, the Element with smoake
Which gods, and monsters from their sleepe awoake.

In foure great battailes marcht the *Spanish* hoast,
The first of *Siuill*, led in two great squares,
Both which with courage, more then can be most,
Sir *Richard* forst to giue him way with cares;
And as the Sea-men terme it in our coast,
They sprang their luffe, and vnder lee declares,
Their manie forces feebled by this one,
Whose thoughts, saue him, are rightly due to none.

And now he stands amidst the thickest throngs,
Walld round with wooden Castels on the waue,
Fiftie three Tygers greedie in their wrongs,
Besiedge the princelie Lion in his caue:
Nothing sees *Grinuile* which to hope belongs,
All things are fled that any hap could saue;
Bright day is darkned by incurtaind night,
And nothing visits them but Canons light.

Then vp to heauen he lifts his loftie hart,
And cryes, old *Salon*, I am happy made.
All earthlie thoughts cleane from his spirits part,
Vertue and *Valure* all his sences lade,
His foes too fewe, too strong he holds his part,
Now doth he wish for millions to inuade,
For beeing conqueror he would conquer all,
Or conquered, with immortall honour fall.

Neuer fell hayle thicker then bullets flew,
Neuer show'rd drops faster than showring blowes,
Liu'd all the *Woorthies*, all yet neuer knew
So great resolue in so great certaine woes;
Had *Fame* told *Cæsar* what of this was true,
His Senate-murdred spirite would haue rose,

And with faire honors enuie wondred then,
Cursing mortalitie in mightie men.

Whilst thus affliction turmoyld in this brall,
And *Grinuile* still imployed his Actor death,
The great *San-philip*, which all *Spayne* did call
Th' vnuanquisht ship, *Iberias* soule and faith,
Whose mountaine hugenes more was tearmed then tall,
Being twice a thousand tuns as rumour saith,
Came rushing in, becalming *Grinuiles* sailes,
Whose courage grew, the more his fortunes failes.

Hotlie on eyther side was lightning sent,
And steeled thunder bolts dinge men to hell,
Vnweldie *Phillip*, backt with millions lent,
Worse cracks of thunder then on *Phaeton* fell,
That with the dayes fier fiered the Element;
And why? because within her ribs did dwell,
More store of shot and great artillarie,
Then might haue seru'd the worlds great victorie.

Three tire of Cannon lodg'd on eyther side,
And in each tire, eleuen stronglie lay,
Eyght in her chase, that shot forth right did bide,
And in her sterne, twice eight that howerlie play;
Shee lesse great shot, in infinets did hide,
All which were Agents for a dismall day.
But poore *Reuenge*, lesse rich, and not so great,
Aunswered her cuffe for cuffe, and threat for threat.

Anon they graple eyther to the other,
And doth the ban-dogge with the Martins skinne,
And then the wombe of *Phillip* did vncouer,
Eight hundred Souldiers, which the fight beginne:
These board Sir *Richard*, and with thronging smother
The daye, the ayre, the time, and neuer linne,
But by their entrance did instruct eight more,
To doe the like, on each side foure and foure.

Thus in one moment was our Knight assaild,
With one huge *Argosie*, and eight great ships,

But all in vaine, their powers naught prevaild,
For the *Reuenge*, her Canon loud-dogs slips,
Whose bruzing teeth, so much the *Phillip* quaild,
That foundring in the greedie maine, he dips
His damned bodie in his watrie tombe,
Wrapt with dishonour in the Oceans wombe.

The other eight, fighting, were likewise foild,
And driuen perforce vnto a vile retraite,
None durst abide, but all with shame recoild,
Whilst *Valures* selfe, set *Grinuile* in her seate;
Onely *Don Luis Saint Iohn*, seeing spoild,
His Countries honour by this strange defaite,
Single encountred *Grinuile* in the fight,
Who quicklie sent his soule to endlesse night.

George de Prunaria, a Spanish Knight,
Euer held valiant in dispight of fate,
Seconded *Luis*, and with mortall might,
Writ on Sir *Richards* target souldiers hate,
Till *Grinuile* wakned with his loud rung fight,
Dispatcht his soules course vnto *Plutos* gate:
And after these two, sent in post all those
Which came within his mercie or his blowes.

By this, the sunne had spread his golden locks,
Vpon the pale green carpet of the sea,
And opned wide the scarlet dore which locks
The easefull euening from the labouring day;
Now Night began to leape from iron Rocks,
And whip her rustie wagon through the way,
Whilst all the *Spanish* host stoode maz'd in sight,
None darring to assayle a second fight.

When *Don Alfonso*, Generall of the warre,
Saw all his Nauie with one ship controld,
He toare his hayre, and loudlie cryd from farre,
For honour *Spanyards*, and for shame be bold;
Awaken Vertue, say her slumbers marre
Iberias auncient valure, and infold
Her wondred puissance, and her glorious deeds,
In cowards habit, and ignoble weeds.

Fie, that the spyrit of a single man,
Should contradict innumerable wills,
Fie, that infinitiues of forces can,
Nor may effect what one conceit fulfills;
Woe to the wombe, ceaselesse the teats I ban,
That cherrisht life, which all our liues ioyes kills;
Woe to our selues, our fortunes, and our minds,
Agast and scarrd, with whistling of the winds.

See how he triumphes in dispight of death,
Promethean like, laden with liuing fier,
And in his glorie spits disdainfull breath,
Loathing the baseness of our backe retire;
Euen now me thinke in our disgrace he saith,
Foes to your fames, why make you Fate a lyer,
When heauen and she haue giuen into your hand,
What all the world can neuer back demand?

Say that the God of *Warre;* Father of Chiualrie,
The *Worthies*, *Heroes*, all fam'd Conquerours,
Centaurs, *Gyants*, victorious *Victorie*,
Were all this *Grinuils* hart-sworne paramours,
Yet should we fightlesse let our shyps force flie;
Well might we crush his keele with rocklike powers,
And him with them ore-whelme into the maine,
Courage then harts, fetch honour backe againe.

Heere shame, the fretting canker of the mind,
That fiers the face with fuell from the hart,
Fearing his weapons weakenes, eft assigned
To desperate hardines his confounding dart,
And now the *Spanyards* made through words stone blind,
Desperate by shame, ashamd dispaire should part,
Like damned scritchowles, chimes to dead mens hours,
Make vowes to fight, till fight all liues deuours.

And now the tragicke sceane of death begins,
Acts of the night, deeds of the ouglie darke,
When Furies brands gaue light to furious sins,
And gastlie silence gaping wounds did marke;

Sing sadlie then my Muse (teares pittie wins)
Yet mount thy wings beyond the mornings Larke,
And wanting thunder, with thy lightnings might,
Split eares that heares the dole of this sad night.

The fier of *Spaynes* pride, quencht by *Grinuils* sword,
Alfonso rekindles with his tong,
And sets a batelesse edge, ground by his word
Vpon their blunt harts feebled by the strong,
Loe animated now, they all accord,
To die, or ende deaths conflict held so long;
And thus resolud, too greedelie assay
His death, like hounds that hold the Hart at bay.

Blacker then night, more terrible then hell,
Louder then thunder, sharper then *Phœbus* steele,
Vnder whose wounds the ouglie *Python* fell,
Were bullets mantles, clowding the haplesse keele,
The slaughtered cryes, the words the cannons tell,
And those which make euen rocky Mountaines reele,
And thicker then in sunne are Atomies,
Flew bullets, fier, and slaughtered dead mens cries.

At this remorsles Dirgie for the dead,
The siluer Moone, dread Soueraigne of the Deepe,
That with the floods fills vp her horned head
And by her waine the wayning ebbs doth keepe:
Taught by the Fat's how destenie was led,
Bidds all the starres pull in their beames and weepe:
For twas vnfit, chast hallowed eyes should see
Honour confounded by impietie.

Then to the night she giues all soueraigne power,
Th'eternall mourner for the dayes diuorce,
Who drowned in her owne harts killing shower,
Viewes others torments with a sad remorse.
This flintie Princesse, ayme cryes to the hower,
On which to looke, kinde eies no force could force.
And yet the sight her dull hart so offended,
That from her sight a fogge dewe descended.

Now on our Knight, raines yron, sword, and fiers,
Iron wrapt in smoke, sword bath'd in smoking blood,
Fiers, furies king, in blood and smoke aspires
The consumation of all liuing good,
Yet *Grinuile*, with like Agents like expires
His foemen's darts, and euermore withstood
Th'assaults of death, and ruins of the warre,
Hoping the splendour of some luckie starre.

On eyther side him, still two *Gallions* lay,
Which with continuall boardings nurst the fight,
Two great *Armados*, howrelie ploy'd their way,
And by assaulte, made knowne repellesse might.
Those which could not come neere vnto the fray,
Aloose dicharg'd their volleys gainst our Knight.
And when y^t one shrunk back, beat with disgrace,
An other instantly supply'd the place.

So that their resting, restlesse him containd,
And theyr supplies, deny'd him to supply:
The *Hydra* of their mightines ordaind
New spoile for death, when old did wounded lie:
But hee, *Herculian*-like one state retaind,
One to triumph, or one for all to die.
Heauen had onelie lent him but one hart,
That hart one thought, that thought no feare of smart.

And now the night grew neere her middle line,
Youthfully lustie in her strongest age,
When one of *Spaynes* great *Gallions* did repine,
That one should many vnto death ingage,
And therefore with her force, halfe held diuine,
At once euaporates her mortall rage,
Till powerfull *Grinuille*, yeelding power a toombe
Splyt her, & sunck her in the salt waves wombe.

When *Cutino*, the Hulks great Admirall,
Saw that huge Vessel drencht within the surge,
Enuie and shame tyered vpon his gall,
And for reuenge a thousand meanes doth vrge;

But *Grinuile*, perfect in destructions fall,
His mischiefes with like miseries doth scourge,
And renting with a shot his wooden tower,
Made *Neptunes* liquid armes his all deuouer.

These two ore-whelm'd, *Siuills Ascension* came,
A famous ship, well man'd and strongly drest,
Vindicta from her Cannons mouthes doth flame,
And more then any, our dread Knight oppresst:
Much hurt shee did, many shee wounded lame,
And *Valurs* selfe, her valiant acts confest.
Yet in the end, (for warre of none takes keepe)
Grinuile sunck her within the watry deepe.

An other great *Armado*, brusd and beat,
Sunck neere *S. Michaels* road, with thought to scape,
And one that by her men more choicely set,
Beeing craz'd and widow'd of her comly shape,
Ran gainst the shore, to pay *Ill-chaunce* her debt,
Who desolate for desolations gape:
Yet these confounded, were not mist at all.
For new supplies made new the aged brall.

This while on *Grinuile* ceazed no amaze,
No wonder, dread, nor base astonishment,
But true resolue, and valurs sacred blaze,
The crowne of heauen, and starrie ornament
Deck't his diuine part, and from thence did raze
Affects of earth, or earth's intendiment.
And in this broyle, as cheerefull was his fight,
As *Ioues*, embracing *Danae* by night.

Looke how a wanton Bridegroome in the morne,
Busilie labours to make glad the day,
And at the noone, with wings of courage borne,
Recourts his bride with dauncing and with play,
Vntil the night which holds meane bliss in scorne,
By action kills imaginations sway,
And then, euen then, gluts and confounds his thought,
With all the sweets, conceit or Nature wrought,

Euen so our Knight the bridegroome vnto *Fame*,
Toild in his battailes morning with vnrest,
At noone triumph'd and daunst, and made his game,
That vertue by no death could be deprest;
But when the night of his loues longings came,
Euen then his intellectuall soule confest
All other ioyes imaginarie were
Honour vnconquerd, heauen and earth held deare.

The bellowing shotte which wakened dead mens swounds,
As *Dorian* musick, sweetned his cares,
Ryuers of blood, issuing from fountaine wounds,
Hee pytties, but augments not with his teares,
The flaming fier which mercilesse abounds,
Hee not so much as masking torches feares,
The dolefull Eccho of the soules halfe dying,
Quicken his courage in their banefull crying.

When foule *Misfortune* houering on a Rock,
(The stonie girdle of the *Florean* Ile,)
Had seene this conflict, and the fearfull shock,
Which all the *Spanish* mischiefes did compile,
And saw how conquest licklie was to mock
The hope of *Spayne*, and fauster her exile,
Immortall shee, came downe herselfe to fight,
And doe what else no mortall creature might.

And as she flew the midnights waking starre,
Sad *Cassiopea*, with a heauie cheare,
Pusht forth her forehead, to make known from farre,
What time the dryrie dole of earth drew neare,
But when shee saw *Misfortune* arm'd in warre,
With teares she blinds her eyes, and clouds ye ayre,
And asks the Gods, why *Fortune* fights with man?
They say, to doe, what else no creature can.

O why should such immortall enuie dwell,
In the enclosures of eternall mould?
Let Gods with Gods, and men with men rebell,
Vnequall warres t'vnequall shame is sould;

But for this damned deede came shee from hell,
And *Ioue* is sworne, to doe what dest'nie would,
    Weepe then my pen, the tell-tale of our woe,
    And curse the fount from whence our sorrows flow.

Now, now, *Misfortune* fronts our Knight in armes,
And casts her venome through the *Spanysh* hoast,
Shee salues the dead, and all the lyuing warmes
With vitall enuie, brought from *Plutos* coast;
Yet all in vaine, all works not *Grinuils* harmes;
Which seene, shee smiles, and yet with rage imbost*
    Saith to her selfe, since men are all too weake,
    Behold a goddesse shall thy lifes twine breake.

With that shee takes a Musket in her hand,
Raft from a dying Souldiour newlie slaine,
And ayming where th' vnconquered Knight did stand,
Dischargd it through his bodie, and in twaine
Deuids the euer holie nuptiall band,
Which twixt his soule, and worlds part shold remaine,
    Had not his hart, stronger then *Fortunes* will,
    Held life perforce to scorne *Misfortunes* ill.

The bubling wound from whence his blood distild,
Mourn'd to let fall the hallowed drops to ground,
And like a iealous loue by riuall illd,
Sucks in the sacred moisture through the wound;
But he, which felt deaths fatall doome fulfilld,
Grew fiercer valiant, and did all confound,
    Was not a *Spanyard* durst abord him rest,
    After he felt his deaths wound in his brest.

Hundreds on hundreds, dead on the maymed fall,
Maymed on sounde, sound in them selues lye slaine,
Blest was the first that to his ship could crall,
For wounded, he wounds multituds againe;

—* Blown by being hunted.
"But being then *imbost*, the stately deer
When he hath gotten ground," &c.
—*Drayton's Polyolbion*, xiii., p. 917.

No sacrifice, but sacrifice of all,
Could stay his swords oblations vnto paine,
Nor in *Phillippie*, fell for *Cæsars* death,
Soules thicker then for *Grinuils* wasting breath.

The *Nemian* Lyon, *Aramanthian* Bore,
The *Hircanian* Tyger, nor the *Cholcean* Bulls,
Neuer extended rage with such vprore,
Nor in their brests mad monstrous furie lulls;
Now might they learne, that euer learnt before,
Wrath at our Knight, which all wrath disanulls,
For slauish death, his hands commaunded more,
Then Lyon, Tyger, Bull, or angrie Bore.

Had *Pompey* in *Pharsalia* held his thought,
Cæsar had neuer wept vpon his head,
Had *Anthonie* at *Actiome* like him fought,
Augustus teares had neuer drowned him dead,
Had braue *Renaldo*, *Grinuiles* puissance bought,
Angelica from France had neuer fled,
Nor madded *Rowland* with inconstancie,
But rather slayne him wanting victorie.

Before a storme flewe neuer Doues so fast,
As *Spanyards* from the furie of his fist,
The stout *Reuenge*, about whose forlorne wast,
Whilome so many in their moods persist,
Now all alone, none but the scourge imbrast,
Her foes from handie combats cleane desist;
Yet still incirkling her within their powers,
From farre sent shot, as thick as winters showers.

Anger, and *Enuie*, enemies to *Life*,
Strong smouldering *Heate* and noisom stink of *Smoke*,
With over-labouring *Toyle*, *Deaths* ouglie wife,
These all accord with *Grinuiles* wounded stroke,
To end his liues date by their ciuell strife,
And him vnto a blessed state inyoke,
But he repelld them whilst repell he might,
Till fainting power, was tane from power to fight.

Then downe he sat, and beat his manlie brest,
Not mourning death, but want of meanes to die;
Those which suruiu'd coragiouslie he blest,
Making them gods for god-like victorie;
Not full twice twentie soules aliue did rest,
Of which the most were mangled cruellie,
 Yet still, whilst words could speake, or signes could show,
 From death he maks eternall life to grow.

The Maister-gunner, which beheld his eyes
Dart fier gainst death triumphant in his face,
Came to sustaine him, and with courage cryes,
How fares my Knight? worlds glory, martiall grace?
Thine honour, former honours ouer-flyes,
And vnto *Heauen* and *Vertue* bids the bace;
 Cheere then thy soule, and if deaths wounding pain it,
 Abram's faire bosome lyes to entertaine it.

Maister, he sayes, euen heers the opned dore,
Through which my spirit bridgroome like must ride,
(And then he bar'd his wounded brest all gore)
To court the blessed virgine Lambe his bride,
Whose innocence the worlds afflictions bore,
Streaming diuine blood from his sliced side,
 And to that heauen my soule with courage flyes,
 Because vnconquered, conquering it dyes.

But yet, replyed the Maister once againe,
Great vertue of our vertues, strive with fate,
Yeeld not a minute vnto death, retaine
Life like thy glory, made to wonder at,
This wounds recouerie well may entertaine
A double triumph to thy conquering state,
 And make thee liue immortall Angell blest,
 Pleaseth thee suffer it be searcht and drest.

Descend then gentle *Grinuile* downe below,
Into my Cabin for a breathing space,
In thee there let thy Surgion stanch our woe,
Giuing recuer to thee, our wounded case,

Our breaths, from thy breaths fountaine gently flow,
If it be dried, our currents loose their grace:
Then both for vs, and thee, and for the best,
Descend, to haue thy wound bound vp and drest.

Maister, reply'd the Knight, since last the sunne
Lookt from the hiest period of the sky,
Giuing a signall of the dayes mid noone,
Vnto this hower of midnight, valiantly,
From off this vpper deck I haue not runne,
But fought, and freed, and welcomd victorie,
Then now to giue new couert to mine head,
Were to reuiue our foes halfe conquered.

Thus with contrarie arguments they warre,
Diuers in their opinions and their speech,
One seeking means, th' other a will to darre;
Yet both one end, and one desire reach:
Both to keepe honour liuing, plyant are,
Hee by his fame, and he by skilfull leach,
At length, the Maister winnes, and hath procurd
The Knight discend, to have his woundings curd.

Downe when he was, and had display'd the port
Through which his life was martching vp to heauen,
Albe the mortall taint all cuers retort,
Yet was his Surgion not of hope bereuen,
But giues him valiant speech of lifes resort,
Sayes, longer dayes his longer fame shall euen,
And for the meanes of his recouerie,
He finds both arte and possibilitie.

Misfortune hearing this presage ot life,
(For what but chimes within immortall eares)
Within her selfe kindles a home-bred strife,
And for those words ye Surgions doomes day swears.
With that, her charg'd peece (*Atropos* keene knife,)
Againe she takes, and leueld with dispairs,
Sent a shrill bullet through the Surgions head,
Which thence, through *Grinuils* temples like was led.

Downe fell the Surgion, hope and helpe was reft,
His death gaue manumition to his soule,
Misfortune smyld, and euen then shee left
The mournfull Ocean, mourner for this dole;
Away shee flyes, for all was now bereft,
Both hope and helpe, for life to win deaths gole;
Yet *Grinuile* vnamaz'd with constant faith,
Laughing dispisd the second stroke of death.

What foole (saith he) ads to the Sea a drop,
Lends *Etna* sparks, or angry stormes his wind?
Who burnes the root when lightning fiers the top?
Who vnto hell, can worse then hell combind?
Pale hungry Death, thy greedy longings stop,
Hope of long life is banefull to my mind:
Yet hate not life, but loath captiuitie,
Where rests no trust to purchase victorie.

Then vp he came with feeble pace againe,
Strength from his blood, blood from his wounds descending,
Saies, here I liu'd, and here wil I sustaine,
The worst of Deaths worst, by my fame defending,
And then he fell to warre with might and maine,
Valure on death most valiantly depending,
And thus continued aye coragiously,
Vntil the day chast shadowes from the sky.

But when the mornings dewie locks drunk vp
A mistie moysture from the Oceans face,
Then might he see the source of sorrowes cup,
Plainly prefigur'd in that hatefull place;
And all the miseries that mortals sup
From their great Grandsire *Adams* band, disgrace;
For all that did incircle him, was his foe,
And that incircled, modell of true woe.

His masts were broken, and his tackle torne,
His vpper worke hew'd downe into the Sea,
Naught of his ship aboue the sourge was borne,
But euen leueld with the Ocean lay,

Onely the ships foundation (yet that worne)
Remaind a trophey in that mighty fray;
    Nothing at all aboue the head remained,
    Either for couert, or that force maintained.

Powder for shot, was spent and wasted cleane,
Scarce seene a corne to charge a peece withall,
All her pykes broken, halfe of his best men slaine,
The rest sore wounded, on Deaths Agents call,
On th'other side, her foe in ranks remaine,
Displaying multitudes, and store of all
    What euer might auaile for victorie,
    Had they not wanted harts true valiancie.

When *Grinuile* saw his desperate drierie case,
Meerely dispoyled of all success-full thought,
Hee calls before him all within the place,
The Maister, Maister-gunner, and them taught
Rules of true hardiment to purchase grace;
Showes them the end their trauailes toile had bought,
    How sweet it is, swift *Fame* to ouer-goe,
    How vile to diue in captiue ouerthrow.

Gallants (he saith) since three a clock last noone,
Vntill this morning, fifteene howers by course,
We haue maintaind stoute warre, and still vndoone
Our foes assaults, and driue them to the worse,
Fifteene *Armados* boardings haue not wonne
Content or ease, but beene repeld by force,
    Eight hundred Cannon shot against her side,
    Haue not our harts in coward colours died.

Not fifteene thousand men araungd in fight,
And fifteene howers lent them to atchiue,
With fifty three great ships of boundlesse might,
Haue had or meanes or prowesse to contriue
The fall of one, which mayden vertue dight,
Kept in despight of *Spanish* force aliue.
    Then list to mee you imps of memorie,
    Borne to assume to immortalitie.

Sith loosing, we vnlost keepe strong our praise,
And make our glories, gaynours by our ends,
Let not the hope of howers (for tedious dayes
Vnto our liues no longer circuite lends)
Confound our wondred actions and assayes,
Whereon the sweete of mortall eares depends,
But as we liue by wills victorious,
So let vs die victours of them and vs.

Wee that haue mercilesse cut Mercies wings,
And muffeld pittie in deaths mistie vale,
Let vs implore no mercie; pittyings,
But from our God, deere fauour to exhale
Our soules to heauen, where all the Angells rings
Renowne of vs, and our deepe tragick tale;
Let us that cannot liue, yet liue to dye,
Vnthrald by men, fit tropheys for the skye.

And thus resolu'd since other meane is reft,
Sweet Maister-gunner, split our keele in twaine,
We cannot liue, whom hope of life hath left,
Dying, our deaths more glorious liues retaine,
Let not our ship, of shame and foile bereft,
Vnto our foe-men for a prize remaine;
Sinke her, and sinking with the *Greeke* wee'le cry,
Best not to be, or beeing soone to dye.

Scarce had his words tane wings from his deere tong,
But the stout Maister-gunner, euer rich
In heauenlie valure and repulsing wrong,
Proud that his hands by action might inritch
His name and nation with a worthie song,
Tow'rd his hart higher then Eagles pitch,
And instantlie indeuours to effect
Grinuils desier, by ending Deaths defect.

But th' other Maister, and the other Mat's,
Disented from the honour of their minds,
And humbly praid the Knight to rue their stat's,
Whom miserie to no such mischiefe binds;

To him th' aleadge great reasons, and dilat's
Their foes amazements, whom their valures blinds,
    And maks more eager t'entertaine a truce,
    Then they to offer words for warres excuse.

They show him diuers gallant men of might,
Whose wounds not mortall, hope gaue of recuer,
For their saks sue they to diuorce this night
Of desperate chaunce, calld vnto Deaths black lure,
Their lengthened liues, their countries care might right,
And to their Prince they might good hopes assure.
    Then quod the Captaine, (deare Knight) do not spill,
    The liues whom gods and Fat's seeke not to kill.

And where thou sayst the *Spanyards* shall not braue
T' haue tane one ship due to our virgin Queene,
O knowe, that they, nor all the world can saue,
This wounded Barke, whose like no age hath seene,
Sixe foote shee leaks in hold, three shot beneath the waue,
All whose repaire so insufficient beene,
    That when the Sea shall angrie worke begin,
    She cannot chuse but sinke and dye therein.

Besides, the wounds and brusings which she beares,
Are such, so manie, so incurable,
As to remoue her from this place of feares,
No force, no wit, no meane, nor man is able;
Then since that peace prostrate to vs repaires,
Vnlesse our selues, our selues make miserable,
    Herculeen Knight, for pittie, pittie lend,
    No fame consists in wilfull desperat end.

These words with emphasis and action spent,
Mou'd not Sir *Richard*, but inrag'd him more,
To bow or yeeld, his heart would neare relent,
He still impugns all thought of lifes restore;
The Maister-gunner euer doth consent
To act his wish, swearing in beds of gore
    Death is most louelie, sweete and amiable,
    But captiu'd life for foulenes admirable.

The Captayne, seeing words could take no place,
Turnes backe from them vnto the liuing few,
Expounds what pittie is, what victors grace;
Bids them them selues, them selues in kindnes rew,
Peace if they please, will kindlie them imbrace,
And they may liue, from whom warres glory grew;
    But if they will to desperate end consent,
    Their guilty soules too late shall mourne repent.

The sillie men, who sought but liuing ioyes,
Cryes to the Captaine for an honord truce,
Life they desire, yet no life that destroyes
Their wonne renownes, but such as might excuse
Their woes, their wounds, and al what els anoyes
Beautie of laude, for other they refuse;
    All which the Captaine swears they shal obtaine,
    Because their foes, in doubtfull states remaine.

O when Sir *Richard* saw them start aside,
More chaynd to life then to a glorius graue,
And those whom hee so oft in dangers tryde,
Now trembling seeke their hatefull liues to saue.
Sorrow and rage, shame, and his honors pride,
Choking his soule, madly compeld him raue,
    Vntil his rage with vigor did confound
    His heauie hart, and left him in a swound.

The Maister-gunner, likewise seeing Fate
Bridle his fortune, and his will to die,
With his sharpe sword sought to set ope the gate,
By which his soule might from his bodie flie,
Had not his freends perforce preseru'd his state,
And lockt him in his Cabbin safe to lie,
    Whilst others swarm'd where haplesse *Grinuile* lay,
    By cryes recalling life, late runne away.

In this too restlesse turmoile of vnrest,
The poore *Reuenges* Maister stole awaye,
And to the *Spanish* Admirall adrest
The dolefull tidings of this mournfull day,

(The *Spanish* Admirall who then oprest,
Houering with doubt, not daring t'end the fray,)
And pleads for truce, with souldier-like submission,
Anexing to his words a straight condition.

Alfonso, willing to giue end to armes,
For well he knew *Grinuile* would neuer yeild,
Able his power stoode like vnnumbred swarmes,
Yet daring not on stricter tearmes to build,
He offers all what may alay their harmes
Safetie of liues, nor any thrall to weild,
Free from the Gallie, prisonment, or paine,
And safe returne vnto their soyle againe

To this he yeelds, as well for his own sake,
Whom desperate hazard might indamage sore,
As for desier the famous Knight to take,
Whom in his hart he seemed to deplore,
And for his valure halfe a God did make,
Extolling him all other men before,
Admiring with an honourable hart,
His valure, wisdome, and his Souldiours Art.

With peacefull newes the Maister backe returns,
And rings it in the liuing remnants eares,
They all reioyce, but *Grinuile* deadly mourns,
He frets, he sighs, he sorrowes and despaires,
Hee cryes, this truce, their fame and blisse adiourns,
He rents his locks, and all his garments teares,
He vowes his hands shall rent the ship in twaine
Rather then he will *Spanish* yoke sustaine.

The few reseru'd, that life esteem'd too well,
Knowing his words were warrants for his deede,
Vnkindly left him in that monstrous hell,
And fled vnto *Alfonso* with greate speede,
To him their Chieftaines mightines they tell,
And how much valure on his soule doth feede,
That if preuention, not his actions dim,
Twill be too late to saue the shyp or him.

Bassan made proude, vnconquering t'ouer-come,
Swore the brave Knight nor ship he would not lose,
Should all the world in a petition come:
And therefore of his gallants, fortie chose
To board Sir *Richard*, charging them be dombe
From threatning words, from anger, and from bloes,
But with all kindnes, honor, and admire
To bring him thence, to further *Fames* desire.

Sooner they boarded not the crazed Barke,
But they beheld where speechlesse *Grinuile* lay,
All smeard in blood, and clouded in the darke,
Contagious curtaine of Deaths tragick day;
They wept for pittie, and yet silent marke
Whether his lungs sent liuing breath away,
Which when they sawe in ayrie blasts to flie,
They striu'd who first should stanch his misery.

Anon came life, and lift his eye-lids vp,
Whilst they with teares denounce their Generals wil,
Whose honord mind sought to retort the cup
Of deaths sad poyson, well instruckt to kill;
Tells him what fame and grace his eyes might sup
From *Bassans* kindnes, and his Surgions skill,
Both how he lou'd him, and admir'd his fame,
To which he sought to lend a liuing flame.

Aye mee (quoth *Grinuile*) simple men, I know
My bodie to your Generall is a pray,
Take it, and as you please my lyms bestow,
For I respect it not, tis earth and clay:
But for my minde that mightier much doth grow,
To heauen it shall, despight of *Spanish* sway.
He swounded, and did neuer speake againe.
This said, orecome with anguish and with paine,

They took him vp, and to theyr Generall brought
His mangled carkasse, but vnmaimed minde,
Three dayes hee breath'd, yet neuer spake he ought,
Albe his foes were humble, sad, and kinde;

The fourth came downe the Lambe that all soules bot,
And his pure part, from worser parts refind,
    Bearing his spirite vp to the loftie skyes,
    Leauing his body, wonder to wonders eyes.

When *Bassan* saw the Angell-spirite fled,
Which lent a mortall frame immortall thought,
With pittie, griefe, and admiration led,
He mournfully complaind what Fat's had wrought,
Woe me (he cryes) but now aliue, now dead,
But now inuincible, now captiue brought:
In this, vniust are Fat's, and Death declared,
That mighty ones, no more than meane are spared.
You powers of heauen, rayne honour on his hearse,
And tune the Cherubins to sing his fame,
Let Infants in the last age him rehearse,
And let no more, honour be Honor's name:
Let him that will obtaine immortall vearse,
Conquer the stile of *Grinuile* to the same,
For till that fire shall all the world consume,
Shall neuer name, with *Grinuils* name presume.
Rest then deere soule, in thine all-resting peace,
And take my teares for tropheys to thy tombe,
Let thy lost blood, thy vnlost fame increase,
Make kingly eares thy praises second wombe:
That when all tongues to all reports surcease,
Yet shall thy deeds, out-liue the day of doome,
    For even Angels, in the heauens shall sing,
    Grinuile vnconquered died, still conquering.

O vtinam.

A true report of a worthy fight, performed in the voyage from Turkie, by fiue ships of London, against 11. Gallies, and two frigats of the King of Spaines, at Pantalarea within the Streights. Anno, 1586. Written by Philip Iones.

THe Marchants of London, being of the incorporation of the Turkey trade, hauing receiued intelligencies, and aduertisements, from time to time, that the King of Spaine grudging at the prosperitie of this kingdome, had not onely of late arrested al English ships, bodies, and goods in Spaine, but also maligning the quiet trafique which they vsed to and in the dominions, and prouinces, vnder the obedience of the Great Turke, had giuen order to the Captaines of his gallies in the Leuant, to hinder the passage of all English ships, and to endeuour by their best meanes, to intercept, take, and spoile them, their persons, and goods: they hereupon thought it their best course to set out their flete for Turkie, in such strength and abilitie for their defence, that the purpose of their Spanish enemie might the better be preuented, and the voyage accomplished with greater securitie to the men and shippes. For which cause, fiue tall, and stoute shippes, appertaining to London, and intending onely a Marchants voyage, were prouided and furnished with all things belonging to the Seas; the names whereof were these:

1. The Marchant Royal, a very braue and good shippe, and of great report.
2. The Tobie.
3. The Edward Bonauenture.
4. The William, and Iohn.
5. The Susan.

These fiue departing from the coast of England, in the moneth of Nouember 1585. kept together as one fleete, til they came as high as the Isle of Sicilie, within the Leuant. And there, according to the order and direction of the voyage, each shippe began to take leaue of the rest, and to separate himselfe, setting his course for the particular port, whereunto hee was bounde: one for Tripolie in Syria, another for Constantinople, the chiefe Citie of the Turkes Empire, situated vpon the coast of Romania, called of olde, Thracia, and the rest to those places, whereunto they were priuatly appointed. But before they diuided themselues, they altogether consulted, of and about a certaine and speciall place for their meeting againe after the lading of their goods at their seuerall portes. And in conclusion, the generall agreement was to meet at Zante, an Island neere to the maine continent of the West part of Morea, well knowen of all the Pilots, and thought to be the fittest place of their Rendeuous. Concerning which meeting, it was also couenanted on eche side, and promised, that whatsoeuer ship of these 5. should first arriue at Zante, should there stay and expect the comming of the rest of the fleete, for the space of twentie dayes. This being done, ech man made his best hast according as winde and wether woulde serue him to fiulfill his course, and to dispatch his businesse; and no neede was there to admonish or incourage any man, seeing no time was ill spent, nor opportunitie omitted on any side, in the performance of ech mans duetie, according to his place.

It fell out that the Tobie which was bound for Constantinople had made such good speede, and gotten such good weather, that she first of al the rest came back to the appointed place of Zante, and not forgetting the former conclusion, did there cast ancre, attending the arriuall of the rest of the fleete, which accordingly (their busines first performed) failed not to keepe their promise. The first next after the Tobie was the Royal Marchant, which together with the William and Iohn came from Tripolie in Syria, and arriued at Zante within the compasse of the foresaide time limitted. These ships in token of the ioy on all parts conceiued for their happy meeting, spared not the discharging of their Ordinance, the sounding of drums and trumpets, the spreading of Ensignes with other warlike and ioyfull behaviours, expressing by these outward signes, the inward gladnesse of their mindes, being all as ready to ioyne together in mutuall consent to resist the cruel enemie, as now in sporting maner they made myrth and pastyme among themselues. These three had not bene long in the hauen, but the Edward Bonauenture also, together with the Susan her consort, were come from Venice with their lading, the sight of whom increased the ioy of the rest, and they no lesse glad of the presence of the others, saluted them in most friendly and kinde sort, according to the maner of the Seas: and whereas some of these ships stoode at that instant in some want of victuals, they were all content to stay in the port, till the necessities of ech shippe were supplied, and nothing wanted to set out for their returne.

In this port of Zante, the newes was fresh and currant, of two seuerall armies and fleetes prouided by the king of Spaine, and lying in waite to intercept them: the one consisting of 30. strong Gallies, so well appointed in all respects for the warre, that no necessary thing wanted: and this fleete houered about the Streights of Gibraltar. The other armie had in it 20. Gailies, whereof some were of Sicilie, and some of the island of Malta, vnder the charge and gouernment of Iohn Andrea Dorea, a Captaine of name seruing the king of Spaine. These two diuers and strong fleetes waited and attended in the Seas for none, but the English shippes, and no doubt made their accompt and sure reckoning that not a shippe should escape their furie. And the opinion also of the inhabitants of the Isle of Zante was, that in respect of the number of Gallies in both these armies, hauing receiued such streight commandement from the king, our ships and men being but few, and little in comparison of them, it was a thing in humane reason impossible, that wee should passe either without spoiling, if we resisted, or without composition at the least, and acknowledgement of duetie to the Spanish king.

But it was neither the report of the attendance of these armies, nor the opinions of the people, nor any thing else, that could daunt or dismay the courages of our men, who grounding themselues upon the goodnesse of their cause, and the promise of God, to bee deliuered from such as without reason sought their destruction, carried resolute mindes, notwithstanding all impediments to aduenture through the Seas, and to finish their Nauigations, maugre the beards of the Spanish souldiers. But least they should seeme too carelesse, and too secure of their estate, and by laying the whole and entire burden of their safetie vpon Gods prouidence, should foolishly presume altogether of his helpe, and neglect the meanes which was put into their handes, they failed not to enter into counsell among themselues, and to deliberate aduisedly for their best defence. And in the end with generall consent, the Marchant Royall was appointed Admirall of the fleete, and the Tobie Viceadmiral, by whose orders the rest promised to be directed, and ech shippe vowed not to breake from another, whatsoeuer extremitie should fall out, but to stand to it to the death, for the honour of their Countrey, and the frustrating of the hope of the ambitious and proud enemie.

Thus in good order they left Zante and the Castle of Græcia, and committed themselues againe to the Seas, and proceeded in their course and voyage in quietnes, without sight of any enemie, till they came neere to Pantalarea, an Island so called, betwixt Sicilie, and the coast of Africke: into sight wherof they came the 13. day of Iuly 1586. And the same day in the morning about 7. of the clocke they descried 13. sailes in number, which were of the Gallies, lying in waite of purpose for them, in and about that place. As soone as the English ships had spied them, they by and by according to a common order, made themselues ready for a fight, layd out their Ordinance, scoured, charged, and primed them, displayed their ensignes, and left nothing vndone to arme themselues throughly. In the meane time, the Gallies more and more approched the ships, and in their banners there appeared the armes of the Isles of Sicilia, and Malta, being all as then in the seruice and pay of the Spaniard. Immediatly, both the Admirals of the Gallies sent from ech of them a frigate, to the Admiral of our English ships, which being come neere them, the Sicilian frigat first hailed them, and demanded of them whence they were? They answered that they were of England, the armes whereof appeared in their colours. Whereupon the saide frigat expostulated with them, and asked why they delayed to sende or come with their Captaines and pursers to Don Pedro de Leiua their Generall, to acknowledge their duty and obedience to him in the name of the Spanish king, Lord of those seas? Our men replied and said, that they owed no such duetie nor obedience to him, and therefore would acknowledge none, but commanded the frigat to depart with that answere, and not to stay longer a brabling, vpon her perill. With that away she went, and vp comes towards them the other frigat of Malta, and shee in like sort hailed the Admiral, and would needs know whence they were, and where they had bene. Our Englishmen in the Admirall, not disdaining an answere, tolde them that they were of England, Marchants of London, had bene at Turkie, and were now returning home: and to be requited in this case, they also demaunded of the frigat whence she and the rest of the gallies were: the messenger answered, we are of Malta, and for mine owne part my name is Cauallero. These gallies are in seruice and pay to the king of Spaine, vnder the conduct of Don Pedro de Leiua a noble man of Spaine, who hath bene commanded hither by the King with this present force and armie, of purpose to intercept you. You shall therefore (quoth he) do well to repaire to him to know his pleasure, he is a noble man of good behauiour and courtesie, and meanes you no ill. The Captaine of the English Admiral, whose name was M. Edward Wilkinson, replied and said. We purpose not at this time to make triall of Don Pedro his courtesie, whereof we are suspitious and doubtful, and not without good cause: vsing withall good words to the messenger, and willing him to come aboord him, promising securitie and good vsage, that thereby he might the better knowe the Spaniards minde: whereupon hee in deed left his frigat, and came aboord him, whom hee intertained in friendly sort, and caused a cuppe of wine to be drawne for him, which he tooke and beganne, with his cap in his hand, and with reuerend termes to drinke to the health of the Queene of England, speaking very honourably of her Maiestie, and giving good speeches of the courteous vsage and interteinement that he himselfe had receiued in London, at the time that the duke of Alenson, brother to the late French king was last in England: and after he had well drunke, hee tooke his leaue, speaking well of the sufficiencie and goodnesse of our shippes, and especially of the Marchant Royal, which he confessed to haue seene before, riding in the Thames neere London. He was no sooner come to Don Pedro de Leiua the Spanish general, but he was sent off againe, and returned to the English Admirall, saying that the pleasure of the Generall was this, that either their Captaines, Masters and Pursers should come to him with speed, or else hee would set vpon them, and either take them or sinke them. The reply was made by M. Wilkinson aforesaid, that not a man should come to him; and for the bragge and threat of Don Pedro, it was not that Spanish brauado that should make them yeeld a iot to their hinderance, but they were as ready to make resistance, as he to offer an iniurie. Whereupon Cauallero the messenger left bragging, and began to persuade them in quiet sort and with many wordes, but all his labour was to no purpose, and as his threat did nothing terrifie them, so his perswasion did nothing mooue them to doe that which hee required. At the last he intreated to haue the Marchant of the Admirall caried by him as a messenger to the Generall, so that he might be satisfied, and assured of their mindes by one of their owne company. But M. Wilkinson would agree to no such thing, although Richard Rowit the marchant himselfe seemed willing to bee imployed in that message, and laboured by reasonable perswasions to induce M. Wilkinson to graunt it, as hoping to be an occasion by his presence and discreet answeres to satisfie the Generall, and thereby to saue the effusion of Christian blood, if it should grow to a battel. And he seemed so much the more willing to be sent, by how much deeper the othes and protestations of this Cauallero were, that he would (as hee was a true knight and a souldier) deliuer him backe againe in safetie to his company. Albeit, M. Wilkinson, which by his long experience had receiued sufficient triall of Spanish inconsistencie and periurie, wished him in no case to put his life and libertie in hazard vpon a Spaniards othe. But at last, vpon much intreatie, he yeelded to let him go to the General, thinking in deed, that good speeches and answeres of reason would haue contented him, whereas otherwise refusall to do so, might peraduenture haue prouoked the more discontentment.

M. Rowit therefore passing to the Spanish Generall, the rest of the Gallies hauing espied him, thought in deed that the English were rather determined to yeelde, then to fight, and therefore came flocking about the frigat, euery man crying out, Que nueuas, que nueuas, Haue these Englishmen yeelded? the frigate answered, Not so, they neither haue, nor purpose to yeeld, onely they haue sent a man of their company to speake with our Generall: and being come to the Gallie wherein he was, he shewed himselfe to M. Rowit in his armour, his guard of souldiers attending vpon him in armour also, and began to speake very proudly in this sort: Thou Englishman, from whence is your fleete, why stand ye aloofe off, knowe ye not your duetie to the Catholique King, whose person I here represent? Where are your billes of lading, your letters, pasports, and the chiefe of your men? Thinke ye my attendance in these seas to be in vaine, or my person to no purpose? Let al these things be done out of hand as I command, vpon paine of my further displeasure and the spoyle of you all: These wordes of the Spanish Generall were not so outragiously pronounced as they were mildly answered by M. Rowit, who tolde him that they were al Merchantmen, vsing trafique in honest sort, and seeking to passe quietly, if they were not vrged further then reason. As for the king of Spaine, he thought (for his part) that there was amitie betwixt him and his Souereigne the Queene of England, so that neither he nor his officers should goe about to offer any such iniurie to English Marchants, who as they were farre from giuing offence to any man, so they would be loath to take an abuse at the handes of any, or sit downe to their losse, where their abilitie was able to make defence. And as touching his commandement aforesaide, for the acknowledging of duetie, in such particular sort, he told him, that were there was no duetie owing, there none should be performed, assuring him that their whole company and shippes in generall stood resolutely vpon the negatiue, and would not yeeld to any such vnreasonable demaund, ioyned with such imperious and absolute maner of commanding. Why then, said he, if they wil neither come to yeeld, nor shew obedience to me in the name of my king, I wil either sinke them or bring them to harbor, and so tell them from me. With that the frigat came away with M. Rowit, and brought him aboord the English Admiral againe according to promise: who was no sooner entred in, but by and by defiance was sounded on both sides: the Spaniards hewed off the noses of the Gallies, that nothing might hinder the leuell of the shot, and the English on the other side couragiously prepared themselues to the combat, euery man according to his roome, bent to performe his office with alacritie and diligence. In the meane time a Cannon was discharged from the Admirall of the gallies, which being the onset of the fight, was presently answered by the English Admirall with a Culuering; so the skirmish began, and grew hot and terrible, there was no powder nor shot spared: ech English ship matched it selfe in good order against two Spanish Gallies, besides the inequalitie of the frigats on the Spaniards side: and although our men performed their parts with singular valure according to their strength, insomuch that the enemie as amased therewith would oftentimes pause and stay, and consult what was best to be done, yet they ceased not in the midst of their businesse to make prayer to Almighty God the reuenger of al euils, and the giuer of victories, that it would please him to assist them in that good quarell of theirs, in defending themselues against so proud a tyrant, to teach their handes to warre, and their fingers to fight, that the glory of the victory might redound to his Name, and to the honor of true Religion which the insolent enemie sought so much to ouerthrowe. Contrarily, the foolish Spaniardes cried out according to their maner, not to God, but to our Lady (as they terme the virgin Mary) saying O Lady helpe, O blessed Lady giue vs the victory, and the honour thereof shalbe thine. Thus with blowes and prayers on both sides the fight continued furious and sharpe, and doubtfull a long time to which part the victorie would incline: til at the last the Admiral of the Gallies of Sicilie began to warpe from the fight, and to holde vp her side for feare of sinking, and after her went also two others in like case, whom al the sort of them inclosed, labouring by all their meanes to keepe them aboue water, being ready by the force of English shot which they had receiued to perish in the seas: and what slaughter was done among the Spaniards themselues, the English were vncertaine, but by a probable coniecture apparant afar off, they supposed their losse was so great that they wanted men to continue the charging of their pieces: whereupon with shame and dishonor, after 5. houres spent in the battell, they withdrew themselues: and the English contented in respect of their deepe lading, rather to continue their voyage then to follow the chase, ceased from further blowes: with the losse onely of two men slaine amongst them all, and another hurt in his arme, whom M. Wilkinson with his good words and friendly promises did so comfort, that he nothing esteemed the smart of his wound in respect of the honour of the victory, and the shameful repulse of the enemy.

A fight of fiue houres.

Thus with duetiful thankes to the mercy of God for his gracious assistance in that danger, the English ships proceeded in their Nauigation, and comming as high as Alger, a port towne vpon the coast of Barbary, they fell with it, of purpose to refresh themselues after their wearinesse, and to take in such supply of fresh water and victuals, as they needed: they were no sooner entred into the port, but immediatly the king thereof sent a messenger to the ships to knowe what they were, with which messenger the chiefe master of ech shippe repaired to the king, and acquainted him not onely with the state of their ships in respect of marchandize, but with the late fight which they had passed with the Spanish Gallies, reporting euery particular circumstance in word as it fell out in action: whereof the said king shewed himselfe marueilous glad, interteining them in the best sort, and promising abundant reliefe of all their wants, making generall proclamation in the city vpon paine of death, that no man of what degree or state soeuer he were, should presume either to hinder them in their affaires, or to offer them any maner of inurie in body or goods. By vertue whereof they dispatched al things in excellent good sort, with al fauor and peaceablenesse: only such prisoners and captiues of the Spaniards as were in the Citie, seeing the good vsage which they receiued, and hearing also what seruice they had performed against the foresaide Gallies, grudged exceedingly against them, and sought as much as they could to practise some mischiefe against them: and one amongst the rest seeing an Englishman alone in a certaine lane of the Citie, came vpon him suddenly, and with his knife thrust him in the side, yet made no such great wound, but that it was easily recouered. The English company hearing of it, acquainted the king with the fact, who immediatly sent both for the party that had receiued the wound and the offender also, and caused an executioner in the presence of himselfe and the English, to chastise the slaue euen to death, which was performed to the ende that no man should presume to commit the like part, or to doe any thing in contempt of his royal commandement.

The English hauing receiued this good iustice at the kings hands, and al other things that they wanted, or could craue for the furnishing of their shippes, tooke their leaue of him, and of the rest of their friends, that were resident in Alger, and put out to Sea, looking to meete with the second army of the Spanish king, which waited for them about the mouth of the Straights of Gibraltar, which they were of necessitie to passe. But comming neere to the said Streight, it pleased God to raise at that instant a very darke and mistie fogge, so that one ship could not discerne another, if it were 40. paces off: by meanes whereof, together with the notable faire Easterne winds that then blewe most fit for their course, they passed with great speed through the Streight, and might haue passed with that good gale, had there bene 500. Gallies to withstand them, and the aire neuer so cleare for euery ship to be seene. But yet the Spanish Gallies had a sight of them when they were come within 3. English miles of the towne, and made after them in all possible haste, and although they saw that they were farre out of their reach, yet in a vaine fury and foolish pride, they shot off their Ordinance, and made a stirre in the Sea as if they had bene in the midst of them, which vanitie of theirs ministred to our men notable matter of pleasure and mirth, seeing men to fight with shadowes, and to take so great paines to so small purpose.

The second Spanish fleete lying in waite for the English.

But thus it pleased God to deride, and delude all the forces of that proud Spanish king, which he had prouided of purpose to distresse the English, who notwithstanding passed through both his Armies, in the one, little hurt, and in the other nothing touched, to the glory of his immortall Name, the honour of our Prince and Countrey, and the iust commendation of ech mans seruice performed in that voyage.

ASIA.

The life and trauailes of Pelagius borne in Wales.

PElagius Cambrius ex ea Britanniæ parte oriundus, famati illius Collegij Bannochorensis a Cestria non procul, præpositus erat, in quo Christianorum philosophorum duo millia ac centum, ad plebis in Christo commoditatem militabant, manuum suarum laboribus, iuxta Pauli doctrinam victitantes. Post quam plures exhibitos, pro Christiana Repub. labores, vir eruditione insignis, et tum Græcè, tum Latinè peritus, vt Tertullianus alter, quorundam Clericorum lacessitus iniurijs, grauatim tulit, ac tandem a fide defecit.

Peragratis igitur deinceps Gallijs, in Aegyptum, et Syriam aliásque orientis Regiones demum peruenit. Vbi ex earum partium Monacho præsul ordinatus, sui nominis hæresim fabricabat: asserens hominem sine peccato nasci, ac solo voluntatis imperio sine gratia saluari posse, vt ita nefarius baptismum ac fidem tolleret. Cum his et consimilibus impostricis doctrinæ fæcibus in patriam suam reuersus, omnem illam Regionem, Iuliano et Cælestino Pseudoepiscopis fautoribus, conspurcabat. Verum ante lapsum suum studia tractabat honestissima, vt post Gennadium, Bedam, et Honorium alij ferunt authores, composuítq; multos libros ad Christianam vtilitatem. At postquam

est Hereticus publicatus, multo plures edidit hæresi succurrentes, et ex diametro cum vera pietate pugnantes, vnde erat a suis Britannis in exilium pulsus, vt in Epistola ad Martinum 5. Valdenus habet. Claruit anno post Christum incarnatum, 390. sub Maximo Britannorum Rege.

The same in English.

PElagius, borne in that part of Britaine which is called Wales, was head or gouernour of the famous Colledge of Bangor, not farre from Chester, wherein liued a Societie of 2100. Diuines, or Students of Christian philosophie, applying themselues to the profite of the Christian people, and liuing by the labours of their owne hands, according to Pauls doctrine. He was a man excellently learned, and skilfull both in the Greeke and Latine tongues, and as it were another Tertullian; after his long and great trauailes for the good of the Christian common wealth, seeing himselfe abused, and iniuriously dealt withall by some of the Clergie of that time, he tooke the matter so grieuously, that at the last he relapsed from the faith.

Whereupon he left Wales, and went into France, and hauing gone through France,* hee went therehence into Egypt, Syria, and other Countries of the East, and being made Priest by a certaine Monke of those partes, he there hatched his heresie, which according to his name was called the heresie of the Pelagians: which was, that manne was borne without sinne, and might be saued by the power of his owne will without grace, that so the miserable man might take away faith and baptisme. With this and the like dregges of false doctrine, he returned againe into Wales, and there by the meanes of the two false Prelates Iulian and Celestine, who fauoured his heresie, hee infected the whole Countrey with it. But before his fall and Apostasie from the faith, he exercised himselfe in the best studies, as Gennadius, Beda, Honorius, and other authors doe report of him, and wrote many bookes seruing not a litle to Christian vtilitie: but being once fallen into his heresie, hee wrote many more erroneous bookes, then he did before honest, and sincere: whereupon, at the last his owne Countreymen banished him, as Walden testifieth in his Epistle to Pope Martine the fift. He flourished in the yere after the Incarnation, 390. Maximus being then King of Britaine.

---

* **He is said to have resided long at Rome, only leaving on the capture of that city by the Goths.**

A testimonie of the sending of Sighelmus Bishop of Shirburne, by King Alphred, vnto Saint Thomas of India in the yeare of our Lord 883, recorded by William of Malmesburie, in his second booke and fourth Chapter de gestis regum Anglorum.

ELeemosynis intentus priuilegia ecclesiarum, sicut pater statuerat, roborauit; et trans mare Romam, et ad sanctum Thomam in Indiam multa munera misit. Legatus in hoc missus Sighelmus Shirburnensis Episcopus cum magna prosperitate, quod quiuis hoc seculo miretur, Indiam penetrauit; inde rediens exoticos splendores gemmarum, et liquores aromatum, quorum illa humus ferax est, reportauit.

The same in English.

King Alphred being addicted to giving of almes, confirmed the priuileges of Churches as his father had determined; and sent also many giftes beyond the seas vnto Rome, and vnto S. Thomas of India. His messenger in this businesse was Sighelmus bishop of Schirburne;* who with great prosperitie (which is a matter to be wondered at in this our age) trauailed thorough India, and returning home brought with him many strange and precious vnions and costly spyces, such as that countrey plentifully yeeldeth.

A second testimony of the foresaid Sighelmus his voyage vnto Saint Thomas of India &c. out of William of Malmesburie his second booke de gestis pontificum Anglorum, cap. de episcopis Schireburnensibus, Salisburiensibus, Wiltunensibus.

SIghelmus trans mare, causa eleemosynarum regis, et etiam ad Sanctam Thomam in Indiam missus mira prosperitate, quod quiuis in hoc seculo miretur, Indiam penetrauit; indequè rediens exotici generis gemmas, quarum illa humus ferax est, reportauit. Nonnullæ illarum adhuc in ecclesiæ monumentis visuntur.

---

* Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, where an abbey was founded in 700.

The same in English.

Sighelmus being for the performance of the kings almes sent beyond the seas, and trauailing vnto S. Thomas of India, very prosperously (which a man would woonder at in this age) passed through the sayde countrey of India, and returning home brought with him diuers strange and precious stones, such as that climate affourdeth. Many of which stones are as yet extant in the monuments of the Church.

The trauailes of Andrew Whiteman aliás Leucander, Centur. 11.*

ANdræas Leucander aliás Whiteman (iuxta Lelandum) Monachus, & Abbas Ramesiensis Cœnobij tertius fuit. Hic bonis artibus studio quodam incredibili noctes atque dies inuigilabat, et operæ præcium ingens inde retulit. Accessit præterea et ardens quoddam desiderium, ea proprijs et apertis oculis videndi loca in quibus Seruator Christus redemptionis nostræ mysteria omnia consummauit, quorum prius sola nomina ex scripturarum lectione nouerat: vnde et sacram Hierosolymorum vrbem miraculorum, prædicationis, ac passionis eius testem inuisit, atque domum rediens factus est Abbas. Claruisse fertur anno nati Seruatoris, 1020. sub Canuto Dano.

The same in English.

ANdrew Leucander otherwise called Whiteman (as Leland reporteth) was by profession a Monke, and the third Abbat of the Abbey of Ramsie: he was exceedingly giuen to the studie of good artes, taking paines therein day and night, and profited greatly thereby. And amonst all other things, he had an incredible desire to see those places with his eyes, wherein Christ our Sauiour performed and wrought all the mysteries of our redemption, the names of which places he onely knew before by the reading of the Scriptures. Whereupon he began his iourney, and went to Ierusalem a witnesse of the miracles, preaching, and passion of

---

* This is misprinted "Centur. 2" in the original edition, but as Ramsey Abbey (in Huntingdonshire) was only founded by Ailwin the Saxon, A.D. 969-74, the 11th Century is probably meant, as further on Whiteman is said to have flourished in 1020. Ramsey is so called from *Ram's Ey*, an island in the feus.

Christ, and being againe returned into his countrey, he was made the aforesayd Abbat. He flourished in the yeere of Christ 1020. under Canutus the Dane.

The voyages of Swanus one of the sonnes of Earle Godwin vnto Ierusalem, Anno Dom. 1052, recorded by William of Malmsburie lib. 2. de gestis regum Anglorum, Capite 13.

SWanus peruersi ingenij et infidi in regem, multoties a patre et fratre Haroldo desciuit: et pirata factus, prædis maritimis virtutes maiorum polluit. Postremò pro conscientia Brunonis cognati interempti, et (vt quidam dicunt) fratris Ierosolimam abijt: indeque rediens, a Saracenis circumuentus, et ad mortem cæsus est.

The same in English.

SWanus being of a peruerse disposition, and faithlesse to the king, often times disagreed with his father and his brother Harold: and afterwards proouing a pirate, he stained the vertues of his ancestours with his robberies vpon the seas. Last of all, being guilty vnto himselfe of the murther of his kinseman Bruno, and (as some do report) of his owne brother, he trauailed vnto Ierusalem: and in his returne home, being taken by the Saracens, was beaten, and wounded vnto death.

A voyage of three Ambassadours, who in the time of K. Edward the Confessor, and about the yere of our Lord 1056, were sent vnto Constantinople, and from thence vnto Ephesus, together with the occasion of their sending, &c. recorded by William of Malmesburie, lib. 2. de gestis regum Anglorum, capite 13.

DIe sancti paschatis ad mensam apud Westmonasterium assederat, diademate fastigatus, et optimatum turma circumuallatus. Cùmque alij longam quadragesimæ inediam recentibus cibis compensantes, acriter comederent, ille a terrenis reuocato animo, diuinum quiddam speculatus, mentes conuiuantium permouit ampliorem perfusus in risum: nullóque causam lætitiæ perquirere præsumente, tùnc quidèm ita tacitum, donec edendi satietas obsonijs finem imposuit. Sed remotis mensis, cum in triclinio regalibus exueretur, tres optimates eum prosequuti, quorum vnus

erat comes Haroldus, secundus abbas, tertius episcopus, familiaritatis ausu interrogant quid riserat: mirum omnibus nec immeritò videri, quarè in tanta serenitate diei et negotij, tacentibus cæteris, scurrilem cachinnum ejecerit. Stupenda (inquit) vidi, nec ideo sine causa risi. Tum illi, vt moris est humani ingenij, sciscitari et quærere causam ardentiùs, vt supplicibus dignantèr rem impertiatur. Ille multùm cunctatus tandem instantibus mira respondit: septem dormientes in monte Cælio requiescere iam ducentis annis in dextro iacentes latere: sed tunc in hora ipsa risus sui, latus inuertisse sinistrum: futurum vt septuaginta quatuor annis ita iaceant: dirum nimirum miseris mortalibus omen. Nam omnia ventura in his septuaginta quatuor annis, quæ dominus circa finem mundi prædixit discipulis suis: gentem contra gentem surrecturam, et regnum aduersus regnum, terræmotus per loca, pestilentiam et famem, terrores de cœlo et signa magna, regnorum mutationes, gentilium in Christianos bella, item Christicolarum in paganos victorias. Talia mirantibus inculcans passionem septem dormientium, et habitudines corporum singulorum, quas nulla docet litera, ita promptè disseruit: ac si cum eis quotidiano victitaret contubernio. His auditis, comes militem, episcopus clericum, abbas monachum, ad veritatem verborum exsculpendam, Manicheti Constantinopolitano imperatori misere, adiectis regis sui literis et muneribus. Eos ille benignè secum habitos episcopo Ephesi destinauit, epistola pariter, quam sacram vocant, comitante: vt ostenderentur legatis regis Angliæ septem dormientium marturiales exuuiæ. Factúmq; est vt vaticinium regis Edwardi Græcis omnibus comprobatum, qui se a patribus accepisse iurarent, super dextrum illos latus quiescere: sed post introitum Anglorum in speluncam, veritatem peregrinæ prophetiæ contubernalibus suis prædicarunt. Nec moram festinatio malorum fecit, quin Agareni, et Arabes, et Turci, alienæ scilicèt a Christo gentes, Syriam, et Lyciam, et minorem Asiam omnino, et maioris multas vrbes, inter quas et Ephesum, ipsam etiam Hierosolymam depopulati, super Christianos inuaderent.

The same in English.

VPon Easter day king Edward the Confessor being crowned with his kingly diademe, and accompanied with diuers of his nobles, sate at dinner in his pallace at Westminster. And when others, after their long abstinence in the Lent, refreshed them-

selves with dainty meats, and fed thereupon very earnestly, he lifting vp his mind from earthly matters and meditating on heauenly visions (to the great admiration of those which were present) brake forth into an exceeding laughter: and no man presuming to enquire the cause of his mirth, they all kept silence til dinner was ended. But after dinner as he was in his bedchamber putting off his solemne roabes, three of his Nobles, to wit earle Harold, an Abbot, and a Bishop, being more familiar with him then the residue followed him in and bouldly asked him what was the occasion of his laughter: for it seemed very strange vnto them all, what should moue him at so solemne a time and assembly, while others kept silence, to laugh so excessively. I saw (quoth he) admirable things, and therefore laughed I not without occasion. Then they (as it is the common guise of all men) demaunded and enquired the cause more earnestly, humbly beseeching him that hee would vouchsafe to impart that secret vnto them. Whereupon musing a long while vnto himselfe, at length he told them wonderfull things: namely that seuen Sleepers had rested in mount Cælius two hundred yeeres, lying vpon their right sides; but in the very houre of his laughter, that they turned themselues on their left sides; and that they should continue so lying for the space of 74. yeeres after; being a dismal signe of future calamitie vnto mankinde. For all things should come to passe within these 74. yeeres, which, as our Sauiour Christ foretold vnto his disciples, were to be fulfilled about the ende of the world: namely that nation should rise against nation, and kingdome against kingdome, and that there should bee in many places earthquakes, pestilence, and famine, terrible apparitions in the heauens, and great signes, together with alterations of kingdomes, warres of infidels against the Christians, and victories of the Christians against the infidels. And as they wondered at these relations, he declared vnto them the passion of the seuen Sleepers, with the proportion and shape of eache of their bodies (which things no man liuing had as then committed vnto writing) and that so plainely and distinctly, as if he had conuersed a long time in their company. Hereupon the earle sent a knight, the bishop a clearke, the Abbot a monke vnto Maniches the Emperour of Constantinople, with the letters and gifts of their King. Who giuing them friendly entertainment, sent them ouer vnto the bishop of Ephesus; and wrote his letters vnto him giuing him charge, that the English Ambassadours might be admitted to see the true, and material habiliments of the seuen Sleepers. And it came to passe that King Edwards vision was approued by all the Greeks, who protested they were aduertised by their fathers, that the foresaid seuen Sleepers had alwayes before that time rested vpon their right sides; but after the Englishmen were entered into the caue, those Sleepers confirmed the trueth of the outlandish prophesie, vnto their countreymen. Neither were the calamities foretold, any long time delayed: for the Aragens, Arabians, Turkes and other vnbeleeuing nations inuading the Christians, harried and spoiled Syria, Lycia, the lesser Asia, and many cities of Asia the greater, and amongst the rest Ephesus, yea, and Ierusalem also.

The Voyage of Alured bishop of Worcester vnto Ierusalem, an. 1058. Recorded by Roger Houeden in parte priore Annalium, fol. 255. linea 15.

A.D. 1058.

ALuredus Wigorniensis Episcopus ecclesiam, quam in ciuitate Glauorna à fundamentis construxerat, in honore principis Apostolorum Petri honorificè dedicauit: et posteà regis licentia Wolstanum Wigorniensem Monachum à se ordinatum Abbatum constituit ibidem. Dein præsulatu dimisso Wiltoniensis ecclesiæ, qui sibi ad regendum commissus fuerat, et Hermanno, cujus suprà mentionem fecimus, reddito, mare transijt, et per Hungariam profectus est Hierosolymam, &c.

The same in English.

IN the yere of our Lord 1058. Alured bishop of Worcester, very solemnly dedicated a Church (which himselfe had founded and built in the citie of Gloucester) vnto the honour of S. Peter the chiefe Apostle:* and afterward by the kings permission ordained Wolstan a Monke of Worcester of his owne choice, to be Abbate in the same place. And then having left his Bishopricke which was committed vnto him ouer the Church of Wilton, and hauing resigned the same vnto Hermannus aboue mentioned, passed ouer the seas, and trauailed through Hungarie vnto Ierusalem, &c.

---

*This is Gloucester Cathedral, the crypt, the chapels surrounding the choir, and the lower part of the nave being the portions built by Alured that are still extant.

The voyage of Ingulphus Abbat of Croiland vnto Ierusalem, performed (according to Florentius Wigorniensis) in the yeere of our Lord, 1064, and described by the said Ingulphus himselfe about the conclusion of his briefe Historie.

A.D. 1064.

A.D. 1051.

A.D. 1064. According to Florentius Wigorniensis.

EGo Ingulphus humilis minister Sancti Guthlaci Monasteríjq; sui Croilandensis, natus in Anglia, et a parentibus Anglicis, quippè vrbis pulcherrimæ Londoniarum, pro literis addiscendis in teneriore ætate constitutus, primum Westmonasterio, postmodum Oxoniensi studio traditus eram. Cúmque in Aristotele arripiendo supra multo coætaneos meos profecissem, etiam Rhetoricam Tullij primam et secundam talo tenus induebam. Factus ergo adolescentior, fastidiens parentum meorum exiguitatem, paternos lares relinquere, et palatia regum aut principum affectans, mollibus vestiri, pomposisque lacinijs amiciri indies ardentius appetebam. Et eccè, inclytus nunc rex noster Angliæ, tunc adhunc comes Normanniæ Wilhelmus ad colloquium tunc regis Angliæ Edwardi cognati sui, cum grandi ministrantium comitatu Londonias aduentabat. Quibus citius insertus, ingerens me vbíque ad omnia emergentia negotia peragenda, cum prosperè plurima perfecissem, in breui agnitus llustrissimo comiti et astrictissimè adamatus, cum ipso Normanniam enauigabam. Factus ibidem scriba eius, pro libito totam comitis curiam, ad nonnullorum inuidiam regebam; quosque volui humiliabam, et quos volui exaltabam. Cumque iuuenili calore impulsus in tam celso statu supra meos natales consistere tæderem, quin semper ad altiora conscendere, instabili animo, ac nimium prurienti affectu, ad erubescentiam ambitiosus auidissimè desiderarem: nuntiatur per vniuersam Normanniam plurimos archiepiscopos imperij cum nonnullis alijs terræ principibus velle pro merito animarum suarum more peregrinorum cum debita deuotione Hierosolymam proficisci. De familia ergo comitis domini nostri plurimi tam milites quàm clerici, quorum primus et præcipuus ego eram, cum licentia, et domini nostri comitis beneuolentia, in dictum iter nos omnes accinximus: et Alemanniam petentes, equites triginta numero et ampliùs domino Maguntino coniuncti sumus. Parati namque omnes ad viam, et cum dominis episcopis connumerati septem milia, pertranseuntes prosperè multa terrarum spatia, tandem Constantinopolim peruenimus. Vbi Alexium Imperatorem eius adorantes Agiosophiam vidimus, et infinita sanctuaria osculati sumus. Diuertentes inde per Lyciam, in manus Arabicorum latronum incidimus; euisceratique de infinitis pecunijs, cum mortibus multorum, et maximo vitæ nostræ periculo vix euadentes, tandem desideratissimam ciuitatem Hierosolymam læto introitu tenebamus. Ab ipso tunc patriarcha Sophronio nomine, viro veneranda canitie honestissimo ac sanctissimo, grandi cymbalorum tonitru, et luminarium immenso fulgore suscepti, ad diuinissimam ecclesiam sanctissimi sepulchri, tam Syrorum, quàm Latinorum solenni processione deducti sumus. Ibi quot preces inorauimus, quot lachrymas infleuimus, quot suspiria inspirauimus, solus eius inhabitator nouit D. noster Iesus Christus. Ab ipso itaque gloriosissimo sepulchro Christi ad alia sanctuaria ciuitatis inuisenda circumducti, infinitam summam sanctarum ecclesiarum, et oratoriorum, quæ Achim Soldanus dudum destruxerat, oculis lachrymosis vidimus. Et omnibus ruinis sanctissimæ ciuitatis, tam extra, quàm intra; numerosis lachrymis intimo affectu compassi, ad quorundam restaurationem datis non paucis pecunijs, exire in patriam et sacratissimo Iordane intingi, vniuersáque Christi vestigia osculari, desiderantissima deuotione suspirabamus. Sed Arabum latrunculi qui omnem viam obseruabant, longiùs a ciuitate euagari, sua rabiosa multitudine innumera non sinebant. Vere igitur accidente, stolus nauium Ianuensium in porta Ioppensi applicuit. In quibus, cum sua mercimonia Christiani mercatores per ciuitates maritimas commutassent, et sancta loca similitèr adorassent, ascendentes omnes maria nos commisimus. Et iactati fluctibus et procellis innumeris tandem Brundusium, et prospero itinere per Apulium Romam petentes, sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli limina, et copiosissima sanctorum martyrum monumenta per omnes stationes osculati sumus. Indè archiepiscopi, cæterique principes imperij Alemanniam per dextram repetentes, nos versùs Franciam ad sinistram declinantes cum inenarribilibus et gratijs et osculis ab inuicem discessimus. Et tandem de triginta equitibus, qui de Normannia pingues exiuimus, vix viginti pauperes peregrini, et omnes pedites, macie multa attenuati, reuersi sumus.

The same in English.

I Ingulphus* an humble seruant of reuerend Guthlac and of his

---

* This Abbot, or pretended Abbot of Croyland (whose name is attached to a work once highly valued, professing to be a history of the Abbey of

monastery of Croiland, borne in England, and of English parents, at the beautifull citie of London, was in my youth for the attaining of good letters, placed first at Westminster, and afterward sent to the Vniuersitie of Oxford. And hauing excelled diuers of mine equals in learning of Aristotle, I inured my selfe somewhat vnto the first and second Rhethorique of Tullie. And as I grew in age, disdayning my parents meane estate, and forsaking mine owne natiue soyle, I affected the Courts of kings and princes, and was desirous to be clad in silke, and to weare braue and costly attire. And loe, at the same time William our souereigne king now, but then Erle of Normandie, with a great troup of followers and attendants came vnto London, to conferre with king Edward the Confessour his kinsman. Into whose company intruding my selfe, and proffering my seruice for the performance of any speedy or weightie affayres, in short time, after I had done many things with good successe, I was knowen and most entirely beloued by the victorious Erle himselfe, and with him I sayled into Normandie. And there being made his secretarie, I gouerned the Erles Court (albeit with the enuie of some) as my selfe pleased, yea whom I would I abased, and preferred whom I thought good. When as therefore, being carried with a youthful heat and lustie humour, I began to be wearie euen of this place, wherein I was aduanced so high aboue my parentage, and with an inconstant minde, and affection too too ambitious, most vehemently aspired at all occasions to climbe higher: there went a report throughout all Normandie, that diuers Archbishops of the Empire, and secular princes were desirous for their soules health, and for deuotion sake, to goe on pilgrimage to Ierusalem. Wherefore out of the family of our lorde the Earle, sundry of vs, both gentlemen and clerkes (principall of whom was myselfe) with the licence and good will of our sayd lord the earle, sped vs on that voiage, and trauailing thirtie horses of vs into high Germanie, we ioyned our selues vnto the Archbishop of Mentz. And being with the companies of the Bishop seuen thousand persons sufficiently prouided for such an

A.D. 1051.

Croyland from 626 to 1089, but which is now believed to be a monkish fabrication of a much later age), is said by himself to have been, on his return from the Holy Land, appointed prior of the Abbey of Fontenelle, in Normandy, and on William becoming King of England, Abbot of Croyland He was believed to have died in 1109.

expedition, we passed prosperously through many prouinces, and at length attained vnto Constantinople. Where doing reuerence vnto the Emperor Alexius, we sawe the Church of Sancta Sophia, and kissed diuers sacred reliques. Departing thence through Lycia, we fell into the hands of the Arabian theeues: and after we had beene robbed of infinite summes of money, and had lost many of our people, hardly escaping with extreame danger of our liues, at length wee ioyfully entered into the most wished citie of Ierusalem. Where we were receiued by the most reuerend, aged, and holy patriarke Sophronius, with great melodie of cymbals and with torch-light, and were accompanied vnto the most diuine Church of our Sauiour his sepulchre with a solemne procession aswell of Syrians as of Latines. Here, how many prayers we vttered, what abundance of teares we shed, what deepe sighs we breathed foorth, our Lord Iesus Christ onely knoweth. Wherefore being conducted from the most glorious sepulchre of Christ to visite other sacred monuments of the citie, we saw with weeping eyes a great number of holy Churches and oratories, which Achim the Souldan of Egypt had lately destroyed. And so hauing bewailed with sadde teares, and most sorowful and bleeding affections, all the ruines of that most holy city both within and without, and hauing bestowed money for the reedifying of some, we desired with most ardent deuotion to go forth into the countrey, to wash our selues in the most sacred riuer of Iordan, and to kisse all the steppes of Christ. Howbeit the theeuish Arabians lurking vpon euery way, would not suffer vs to trauell farre from the city, by reason of their huge and furious multitudes. Wherefore about the spring there arriued at the port of Ioppa a fleet of ships from Genoa. In which fleet (when the Christian merchants had exchanged all their wares at the coast townes, and had likewise visited the holy places) wee all of vs embarked, committing ourselues to the seas: and being tossed with many stormes and tempests, at length wee arriued at Brundusium: and so with a prosperous iourney trauelling thorow Apulia towards Rome, we there visited the habitations of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and did reuerence vnto diuers monuments of holy martyrs in all places thorowout the city. From thence the archbishops and other princes of the empire trauelling towards the right hand for Alemain, and we declining towards the left hand for France, departed asunder, taking our leaues with vnspeakable thankes and courtesies. And so at length, of thirty horsemen which went out of Normandie fat, lusty, and frolique, we returned hither skarse twenty poore pilgrims of vs, being all footmen, and consumed with leannesse to the bare bones.

Diuers of the honourable family of the Beauchamps, with Robert Curtoys sonne of William the Conqueror, made a voyage to Ierusalem 1096. Hol. pag. 22. vol. 2.

POpe Vrbane calling a councell at Clermont in Auuergne, exhorted the Christian princes so earnestly to make a iourney in the Holy land, for the recouery thereof out of the Saracens hands, that the saide great and generall iourney was concluded vpon to be taken in hand, wherein many noble men of Christendome went vnder the leading of Godfrey of Bouillon and others, as in the Chronicles of France, of Germanie, and of the Holy land doeth more plainely appeare. There went also among other diuers noble men foorth of this Realme of England, specially that worthily bare the surname of Beauchampe.

The voyage of Gutuere an English Lady maried to Balduine brother of Godfreide duke of Bouillon, toward Ierusalem about 1097. And the 11. yeere of William Rufus King of England.

THe Christian armie of Godfrie of Bouillon passing the citie of Iconium, alias Agogna in the countrey of Licaonia, and from thence by the city of Heraclia, came at length vnto the citie of Marasia, where they encamped, and soiourned there three whole dayes, because of the wife of Balduine brother germane of the duke of Loraigne. Which Lady being long time vexed with a grieuous maladie, was in extremitie, where at length paying the debt due to nature, she changed this transitorie life, for life eternall; Who, in her life time, was a very worthy and vertuous Lady, borne in England, and descended of most noble parentage named Gutuere; Which, according to her degree, was there most honourably enterred, to the great griefe of all the whole armie. As reporteth William Archbishop of Tyre, lib. 3. cap. 17. hist. belli sacri. The same author in the 10. booke and first chapter of the same historie concerning the same English Lady, writeth further as followeth, Baldwine hauing folowed the warres for a time, gaue his minde to marriage, so that being in England he fell in loue with a very honourable and noble Lady named Gutuere, whom he married and caried with him in that first happy expedition, wherin he accompanied his brethren the Lords, duke Godfrey and Eustace, persons very commendable in all vertues and of immortall memorie. But he had hard fortune in his iourney, because his foresaid wife, being wearied with a long sicknes finished her life with a happie end neere the citie of Marasia, before the Christian armie came vnto Antioch, where she was honourably buried, as we haue declared before.

Chronicon Hierosolymitanum in lib. 3. cap. 27. maketh also mention of this English Lady which he calleth Godwera in this maner.

HAc in regione Maresch vxor Baldewini nobilissima, quam de regno Angliæ eduxit, diutina corporis molestia aggrauata, et duci Godefrido commendata, vitam exhalauit, sepulta Catholicis obsequijs; cuius nomen erat Godwera.

The same in English.

In this prouince of Maresch the most noble wife of Baldwine, which he caried with him out of England being visited with dayly sicknesses and infirmities of body, and commended to the custody of duke Godfrey, departed out of this life, and was buried after the Christian maner. Her name was Godwera.

The voyage of Edgar the sonne of Edward which was the sonne of Edmund surnamed Ironside, brother vnto K. Edward the confessor, (being accompanied with valiant Robert the sonne of Godwin) vnto Ierusalem, in the yeere of our Lord 1102. Recorded by William of Malmesburie, lib. 3. histo. fol. 58.

A. D. 1102.

SVbsequenti tempore cum Roberto filio Godwini milite audacissimo Edgarus Hierosolymam pertendit. Illud fuit tempus quo Turci Baldwinum regem apud Ramas obsederunt: qui cum obsidionis iniuriam ferre nequiret, per medias hostium acies effugit, solius Roberti opera liberatus præeuntis, et euaginato gladio dextra leuaque Turcos cædentis. Sed cum successu ipso truculentior, alacritate nimia procurreret,

ensis manu excidit. Ad quem recolligendum cum se inclinasset, omnium incursu oppressus, vinculis palmas dedit. Inde Babyloniam (vt aiunt) ductus, cum Christum abnegare nollet, in medio foro ad signum positus, et sagittis terebratus, martyrium consecrauit. Edgarus amisso milite regressus, multaque beneficia ab Imperatoribus Græcorum, et Alemannorum adeptus (quippè qui etiam eum retinere pro generis amplitudine tentassent) omnia pro natalis soli desiderio spreuit. Quosdam enim profectò fallit amor patriæ, vt nihil eis videatur iucundum, nisi consuetum hauserint cœlum. Vndè Edgarus fatua cupidine illusus Angliam redijt, vbi (vt superius dixi) diuerso fortunæ ludicro rotatus, nunc remotus et tacitus, canos suos in agro consumit.

The same in English.

AFterward Edgar being sonne vnto the nephewe of Edward the confessour, traueiled with Robert the sonne of Godwin a most valiant knight, vnto Ierusalem. And it was at the same time when the Turkes besieged king Baldwin at Rama: who not being able to endure the straight siege, was by the helpe of Robert especially, going before him, and with his drawen sword making a lane, and slaying the Turkes on his right hande and on his left, deliuered out of that danger, and eseaped through the midst of his enemies campe. But vpon his happie successe being more eager and fierce, as he went forward somewhat too hastily, his sworde fell out of his hand. Which as he stouped to take vp, being oppressed with the whole multitude, hee was there taken and bound. From whence (as some say) being carried vnto Babylon or Alcair in Egypt, when he would not renounce Christ, he was tyed vnto a stake in the midst of the market place, and being shot through with arrowes, died a martyr. Edgar hauing lost his knight returned, and being honoured with many rewards both by the Greekish and by the Germaine Emperour (who both of them would right gladly haue entertained him stil for his great nobilitie) contemned all things in respect of his natiue soile. For in very deede some are so inueagled with the loue of their countrey, that nothing can seeme pleasant vnto them, vnlesse they breath in the same aire where they were bred. Wherefore Edgar being misledde with a fond affection, returned into England; and afterward being subiect vnto diuers changes of fortune (as we haue

aboue signified) he spendeth * now his extreeme old age in an obscure and priuate place of the countrey.

Mention made of one Godericus, a valiant Englishman, who was with his ships in the voyage vnto the Holy land in the second yeere of Baldwine King of Ierusalem, in the third yere of Henry the first of England.

[CHronicon Hierosolymitanum lib. 9. cap. 9.] Verùm de hinc septem diebus euolutis rex ab Assur exiens, nauem quæ dicitur Buza ascendit, et cum eo Godericus pirata de regno Angliæ, ac vexillo hastæ præfixo et elato in aëre ad radios solis vsque, Iaphet cum paucis nauigauit, vt hoc eius signo ciues Christiani recognito, fiduciam vitæ regis haberent, et non facile hostium minis pauefacti, turpiter diffugium facerent, aut vrbem reddere cogerentur. Sciebat enim eos multum de vita et salute eius desperare. Saraceni autem viso eius signo, et recognito, ea parte quæ vrbem nauigio cingebat illi in galeis viginti et Carinis tredecim, quas vulgo appelant Cazh, occurrerunt, volentes Buzam regis coronare. Sed Dei auxilio vndis maris illis ex aduerso tumescentibus ac reluctantibus, Buza autem regis facili, et agili cursu inter procellas labente, ac volitante, in portu Ioppæ delusis hostibus subitò affuit, sex ex Saracenis in arcu suo in nauicula percussis, ac vulneratis. Intrans itaque ciuitatem dum incolumis omnium pateret oculis, reuixit spiritus cunctorum gementium et de eius morte hactenus dolentium, eo quòd caput et rex Christianorum et princeps Hierusalem adhuc viuus et incolumis receptus sit.

The same in English.

BVt seuen dayes afterward, the King comming out of the towne of Assur entred into a shippe called a Busse, and one Godericke a pirate of the kingdome of England with him, and fastening his banner on the toppe of a speare, and holding it vp aloft in the aire against the beames of the Sunne, sailed vnto Iaphet with a small company; That the Christian Citizens there seeing this his banner, might conceiue hope that the King was yet liuing, and being not easily terrified with the threates of the enemies might shamefully runne away, or be constrained to yeeld

---

* *Marginal note.*—When the author was writing of this history.

vp the citie. For hee knew that they were very much out of hope of his life and safetie. The Saracens seeing and knowing this his banner, that part of them which enuironed the Citie by water made towards him with twentie Gallies and thirteene shippes, which they commonly cal Cazh, seeking to inclose the Kings shippe. But, by Gods helpe the billowes of the Sea swelling and raging against them, and the Kings shippe gliding and passing through the waues with an easie and nimble course arriued suddenly in the hauen of Ioppa, the enemies frustrated of their purpose; and sixe of the Saracens were hurt and wounded by shot out of the Kings shippe. So that the King entering into the Citie, and nowe appearing in safetie in all their sightes, the spirits of all them that mourned for him, and vntil then lamented as though hee had bene dead, reuiued, because that the head and King of the Christians, and prince of Ierusalem was yet aliue, and come againe vnto them in perfect health.

Mention made of one Hardine of England one of the chiefest personages, and a leader among other of two hundred saile of ships of Christians that landed at Ioppa in the yeere of our Lord God 1102.

[CHronicon Hierosolymitanum libro 9. cap. 11.] Interea dum hæc obsidio ageretur 200. naues Christianorum nauigio Ioppen appulsæ sunt, vt adorarent in Hierusalem. Horum Bernardus Witrazh de terra Galatiæ, Hardinus de Anglia, Otho de Roges, Hadewerck, vnus de præpotentibus Westfalorum, primi et ductores fuisse referuntur, etc. Erat autem tertia feria Iulij mensis, quando hæ Christianorum copiæ, Deo protegente, huc nauigio angustiatis et obsessis ad opem collatæ sunt. Sarracenorum autem turmæ, videntes quia Christianorum virtus audactur facie ad faciem vicini sibi hospitio proximè iungebatur, media nocte orbi incumbente, amotis tentorijs amplius milliari subtractæ consederunt, dum luce exorta consilium inirent, vtrum Ascalonem redirent, aut ciues Iaphet crebris assultibus vexarent.

The same in English.

WHile the Sarazens continued their siege against Ioppa, two hundred saile of Christian ships arriued at Ioppa, that they might performe their deuotions at Hierusalem. The chiefe men and leaders of these Christians are reported to haue bene: Bernard Witrazh of the land of Galatia, Hardine of England, Otho of Roges, Haderwerck one of the chiefe noblemen of Westphalia, &c. This Christian power through Gods speciall prouision, arriued here for the succour and reliefe of the distressed and besieged Christians in Ioppa, the third day of Iuly, 1102. and in the second yeere of Baldwine king of Ierusalem. Whereupon the multitude of the Sarazens, seeing that the Christian power ioyned themselues boldly, close by them euen face to face in a lodging hard by them, the very next night at midnight, remooued their tents, and pitched them more then a mile off, that they might the next morning bee aduised whether they should returne to Ascalon, or by often assaults vexe the citizens of Iaphet.

[Chronicon Hierosolymitanum, eodem libro 9. cap. 12.] continueth this historie of these two hundreth saile of ships, and sheweth how by their prowesse chiefly, the multitude of the Sarazens were in short space vanquished and ouerthrowen: The words are these; Ab ipso verò die tertiæ feriæ dum sic in superbia et elatione suæ multitudinis immobiles Saraceni persisterent, et multis armorum terroribus Christianum populum vexarent, sexta feria appropinquante, Rex Baldwinus in tubis et cornibus a Iaphet egrediens, in manu robusta equitum et peditum virtutem illorum crudeli bello est aggressus, magnis hinc et hinc clamoribus intonantes. Christiani quoque qui nauigio appulsi sunt horribili pariter clamore cum Rege Baldwino, et graui strepitu vociferantes, Babylonios vehementi pugna sunt aggressi, sæuissimis atq; mortiferis plagis eos affligentes, donec bello fatigati, et vntrà vim non sustinentes fugam versus Ascalonea inierunt. Alij verò ab insecutoribus eripi existimantes, et mari se credentes, intolerabili procellarum fluctuatione absorpti sunt. Et sic ciuitas Ioppe cum habitatoribus suis liberata est. Ceciderunt hac die tria millia Saracenorum: Christianorum verò pauci perijsse inuenti sunt.

The same in English.

YEt notwithstanding, after the said third day of Iuly, the Sarazens persisted high minded and insolent, by reason of their great multitude, and much annoied the Christian people with their many forceable and terrible weapons; whereupon, on the sixt day of Iuly early in the morning king Baldwine issued out of

Iaphet, his trumpets and cornets yeelding a great and lowd sound, and with a very strong armie as well of horsemen as footemen, who on euery side making great shoutes and outcries, with fierce and sharpe battell set on the maine power of their enemies. The Christians also who arriued in the nauie, rearing great clamours and noyses, with loud voices and shoutings in horrible wise together, with king Baldwine assaulted likewise with strong battell the Babylonians, and afflicted them with most sore and deadly wounds, vntill the Sarazens being wearied with fighting, nor able longer to endure and hold out against the valure of the Christians, fled towards Ascalon. And other of them hoping to escape from them that pursued them, lept into the sea, and were swalowed vp in the waues thereof. And so the citie of Ioppa with the inhabitants thereof were freed of their enemies. There were slaine this day three thousand Sarazens, and but a few of the Christians perished.

A Fleete of Englishmen, Danes, and Flemmings, arriued at Ioppa in the Holy land, the seuenth yeere of Baldwine the second king of Hierusalem. Written in the beginning of the tenth booke of the Chronicle of Hierusalem, in the 8. yeere of Henry the first of England.

Chap. 1.

AT the same time also in the seuenth yeere of the raigne of Baldwine the Catholike king of Hierusalem, a very great warrelike Fleete of the Catholike nation of England, to the number of about seuen thousand, hauing with them more men of warre of the kingdom of Denmarke, of Flanders and of Antwerpe, arriued with ships which they call Busses, at the hauen of the citie of Iaphet, determining there to make their abode, vntill they hauing obtained the kings licence and safeconduct, might safely worship at Hierusalem. Of which nauie the chiefest and best spoken repairing to the king, spake to him in this maner. Christ preserue the Kings life, and prosper his kingdome from day to day; Wee, being men and souldiours of Christian profession, haue, through the helpe of God, sayled hither through mightie and large seas, from the farre countreys of England, Flanders, and Denmarke, to worship at Ierusalem, and to visit the sepulchre of our Lord. And therefore we are assembled to intreat your clemency touching the matter, that by your fauour and safe conduct we may peaceably goe vp to Ierusalem, and worship there, and so returne.

Chap. 2.

THe king fauourably hearing their whole petition, granted vnto them a strong band of men to conduct them, which brought them safely from all assaults and ambushes of the Gentiles by the knowen wayes vnto Ierusalem and all other places of deuotion. After that these pilgrims, and new Christian strangers were brought thither, they offering vnto our Lord their vowes in the temple of the holy sepulchre, returned with great ioy, and without all let vnto Ioppa; where finding the king, they vowed they would assist him in all things, which should seeme good vnto him: who, greatly commending the men, and commanding them to be well entertained with hospitality, answered that he could not on the sudden answere to this point, vntill that after he had called his nobles together, he had consulted with my lord the Patriarch what was most meet and conuenient to be done, and not to trouble in vaine so willing an army. And therefore after a few dayes, calling vnto him my lord the Patriarch, Hugh of Tabaria, Gunfride the keeper and lieutenant of the tower of Dauid, and the other chiefest men of warre, he determined to haue a meeting in the city of Rames, to consult with them what was best to be done.

Chap. 3.

WHo, being assembled at the day appointed, and proposing their diuers opinions and iudgements, at length it seemed best vnto the whole company to besiege the city Sagitta, which is also called Sidon, if peraduenture, through God's helpe, and by the strength of this new army, by land and sea it might be ouercome. Whereupon all they which were there present, and required that this city should be besieged, because it was one of those cities of the Gentiles which continually rebelled, were commended, and admonished of the king euery one to go home, and to furnish themselues with things necessary, and armour for this expedition. Euery one of them departed home; likewise Hugh of Tabaria departed, being a chiefe man of warre against the inuasions of the enemies, which could neuer be wearied day nor night in the countie of the Pagans, in pursuing them with warre and warlike stratagemes all the dayes of his life. Immediatly after this consultation the king sent ambassadours to all the multitude of the English men, requiring them not to remoue their campe nor fleet from the city of Iaphet, but quietly to attend the kings further commandement. The same embassadours also declared vnto the whole army, that the king and all his nobility had determined to besiege and assault the city Sagitta by sea and by land, and that their helpe and forces would there be needfull; and that for this purpose, the king and the patriarch were comming downe vnto the city of Acres, and that they were in building of engins, and warlike instruments, to inuade the walles and inhabitants thereof: and that in the meane season they were to remaine at Iaphet, vntill the kings further commandement were knowen. Whereupon they all agreed that it should be so done according to the king's commandement; and answered that they would attend his directions in the Hauen of Iaphet, and would in all points be obedient vnto him vnto the death.

Chap. 4.

THe king came downe to Acres with the patriarch, and all his family, building, and making there by the space of fortie dayes engins, and many kindes of warlike instruments: and appointing all things to be made perfectly ready, which seemed to be most conuenient for the assaulting of the city. Assoone as this purpose and intent of the king was come vnto the eares of the inhabitants of Sagitta, and that an inuincible power of men of warre was arriued at Iaphet to helpe the king, they were greatly astonied, fearing that by this meanes, they should be consumed and subdued by the king by dint of sword, as other cities, to wit, Cæsaria, Assur, Acres, Cayphas, and Tabaria were vanquished and subdued. And therefore laying their heads together, they promised to the king by secret mediatours, a mighty masse of money of a coyne called Byzantines: and that further they would yeerely pay a great tribute, vpon condition that ceasing to besiege and inuade their city, he would spare their liues. Whereupon these businesses were handled from day to day betweene the king and the citizens, and they sollicited the king for the ransomming both of their city and of their liues, proffering him from time to time more greater gifts. And the king for his part, being carefull and perplexed for the payment of the wages which he ought vnto his souldiers, harkened wholy vnto this offer of money. Howbeit because he feared the Christians, least they should lay it to his charge as a fault, he durst not as yet meddle with the same.

Chap. 5.

IN the meane space Hugh of Tabaria being sent for, accompanied with the troopes of two hundred horsemen and foure hundred footmen, inuaded the countrey of the Grosse Carle called Suet, very rich in gold and siluer most abundant in cattle frontering vpon the countrie of the Damascenes, where hee tooke a pray of inestimable riches and cattle, which might haue suffised him for the besiege of Sagitta, whereof he ment to impart liberally to the king, and his companie. This pray being gathered out of sundry places thereabout, and being led away as farre as the citie of Belinas, which they call Cæsaria Philippi, the Turkes which dwelt at Damascus, together with the Saracens inhabitants of the countrie perceiuing this, flocking on all partes together by troopes, pursued Hughes companie to rescue the pray, and passed foorth as farre as the mountaines, ouer which Hughes footemen did driue the pray. There beganne a great skirmish of both partes, the one side made resistance to keepe the pray, the other indeuoured with all their might to recouer it, vntill at length the Turkes and Saracens preuailing, the pray was rescued and brought back againe: which Hugh and his troopes of horsemen, suddenly vnderstanding, which were on the side of the mountaines, incontinently rid backe vpon the spurre, among the straight and craggie rockes, skirmishing with the enemies, and succouring their footemen, but as it chanced they fought vnfortunately. For Hugh, being vnarmed, and immediatly rushing into the middest of all dangers, and after his woonted manner inuading and wounding the infidels, being behinde with an arrowe shot through the backe which pierced thorough his liuer and brest, he gaue vp the ghost in the handes of his owne people. Hereupon the troupes of the Gentiles being returned with the recouered pray, and being deuided through the secret and hard passages of the craggie hilles, the souldiers brought the dead bodie of Hugh, which they had put in a litter, into the citie of Nazareth, which is by the mount Thaber, where with great mourning and lamentation, so worthie a prince, and valiant champian was honourably and Catholikely interred. The brother of the said Hugh named Gerrard, the same time lay sicke of a grieuous disease. Which hearing of the death of his brother, his sicknesse of his body increasing more vehemently through griefe, he also deceased within eight dayes after, and was buried by his brother, after Christian maner.

Chap. 6.

After the lamentable burials of these so famous Princes, the King, taking occasion of the death of these principall men of his armie, agreed, making none priuie thereto, to receiue the money which was offered him for his differing off the siege of the citie of Sagitta, yet dissembling to make peace with the Saracens, but that he ment to go through with the worke, that he had begunne. Whereupon sending a message vnto Iaphet, hee aduised the English souldiers to come downe to Acres with their fleete, and to conferre and consult with him touching the besieging and assaulting of the citie of Sagitta, which rising immediatly vpon the kings commaundement, and foorthwith hoysing vp the sayles of their shippes aloft with pendants and stremers of purple, and diuerse other glorious colours, with their flagges of scarlet colour and silke, came thither, and casting their ancres, rode hard by the citie. The king the next day calling vnto him such as were priuie and acquainted with his dealings, opened his griefe vnto the chiefe Captaines of the English men and Danes, touching the slaughter of Hugh, and the death of his brother, and what great confidence he reposed in them concerning these warres: and that nowe therefore they being departed and dead, he must of necessity differre the besieging of Sagitta, and for this time dismisse the armie assembled. This resolution of the king being spred among the people, the armie was dissolued, and the Englishmen, Danes and Flemings, with sailes and oares going aboard their fleete, saulted the king, and returned home vnto their natiue countries.

The trauailes of one Athelard an Englishman, recorded by master Bale Centur. 12.

AThelardus Bathoniensis Cœnobij monachus, naturalium rerum mysteria, et causas omnes, diligentiâ tam vndecunque exquisitâ

perscrutatus est, vt cum aliquibus veteris seculi philosophis non indignè conferri possit. Hic olim spectatæ indolis Adolescens, vt virente adhuc ætate iuuenile ingenium fœcundaret, atque ad res magnas pararet relicta dulci patria longinquas petijt regiones. Cum verò Ægyptum et Arabiam peragrans, plura inuenisset, quæ eius desiderabat animus, cum magno laborum, ac literarum lucro in Angliam tum demùm reuertebatur. Claruit anno virginei partus, 1130. Henrico primo regnante.

The same in English.

AThelard a Monke of the Abbie of Bathe was so diligent a searcher of the secrets, and causes of naturall things, that he deserueth worthely to be compared with some of the auncient Philosophers. This man although young, yet being of a good wit, and being desirous to increase and enrich the same with the best things, and to prepare himselfe as it were for greater matters, left his Countrey for a time, and trauailed into forreine Regions. He went through Egypt, and Arabia, and found out many things which he desired to his owne priuate contentment, and the profite of good letters generally, and so being satisfied, returned againe into his Countrey: he flourished in the yeere 1130. Henry the first being then king of England.

The life and trauailes of one William of Tyre, an Englishman. Centur. 12.

Hic etiam Guilielmus Tyrensis claruit sub Henrico primo.

GVlielmus, Ecclesiæ Dominici sepulchri Hierosolymæ Regularium Canonicorum prior, natione Anglicus vir vita et moribus commendabilis, Anno Dom. 1128. postquam Tyrorum Ciuitas fidei Christianæ restituta est a Guimundo Hierosolymorum patriarcha, eidem vrbi primus Archiepiscopus præficiebatur. Est autem Tyrus ciuitas antiquissima, Phœniciæ vniuersæ Metropolis, quæ inter Syriæ prouincias, et bonorum omnium penè commoditate, et incolarum frequentia primum semper obtinuit locum: post conscripta quædam opuscula, et Epistolas, ad Dominum migrauit, An. Christi 1130. quum duobus tantum sedisset annis, et in Tyrensi Ecclesia sepelitur.

The same in English.

WIlliam the Prior of the Canons Regular in the Church of Ierusalem, called the Lords Sepulchre, was an Englishman borne, and of a vertuous and good behauiour. After that the Citie of Tyre was restored againe to the Christian faith, Guimunde the Patriarke of Ierusalem made him the first Archbishop of Tyre, in the yeere 1128. Which Tyre is a very ancient Citie, the Metropolis of all Phœnicia, and hath bene accompted the chiefest Prouince of Syria, both for fruitful commodities and multitude of inhabitants. This William hauing in his life written many Bookes and Epistles, died at last in the yeere 1130. hauing bene Archbishop the space of two yeeres, and was buried in the Church of Tyre.

The trauailes of Robertus Ketenensis.

RObertus Ketenensis natione et cognomine Anglus, degustatis primùm per Anglorum gymnasia humanarum artium elementis literarijs, vltramarinas statim visitare prouincias in animo constituit: Peragratis ergò Gallijs, Italia, Dalmatia, et Græcia, tum demum peruenit in Asiam, vbi non paruo labore, ac vitæ suæ periculo inter Saracenos truculentissimum hominum genus, Arabicam linguam ad amussim didicit. In Hispaniam postea nauigio traductus, circa fluuium Hiberum Astrologicæ artis studio, cum Hermanno quodam Dalmata, magni sui itineris comite se totum dedit. Claruit anno seruatoris nostri, 1143 Stephano regnante, et Pampilonæ sepelitur.

Claruit sub Stephano.

The same in English.

THis Robert Ketenensis was called an Englishman by surname, as he was by birth: who after some time spent in the foundations of humanitie, and in the elements of good Artes in the Vniuersities of England, determined to trauaile to the partes beyond sea: and so trauailed through France, Italie, Dalmatia, and Greece, and came at last into Asia, where he liued in great danger of his life among the cruell Saracens, but yet learned perfectly the Arabian tongue. Afterwardes he returned by sea into Spaine, and there about the riuer Iberus, gaue him selfe wholy to the studie of Astrologie, with one Hermannus a Dalmatian, who had accompanied him in his long voyage. He flourished in the yeere 1143. Steuen being then King of England, and was buried at Pampilona.

A voyage of certaine English men vnder the conduct of Lewes king of France vnto the Holy land.

1147. Tempore regis Stephani.

TAntæ expeditionis explicito apparatu vterque princeps iter arripuit, et exercitu separtito. Imperator enim Conradus præcedebat itinere aliquot dierum, cum Italorum, Germanorum, aliarúmque gentium amplissimis copijs. Rex vero Lodouicus sequebatur Francorum, Flandrensium, Normannorum, Britonum, Anglorum, Burgundionum, Prouincialium, Aquitanorum, equestri simul et pedestri agmine comitatus. Gulielmus Neobrigensis, fol. 371.

The same in English.

BOth the princes prouision being made for so great an expedition, they seuering their armies, entered on their iourney. For the Emperour Conradus went before, certaine dayes iourney, with very great power of Italians, Germans, and other countreys. And king Lewes followed after accompanied with a band of horsemen and footmen of French men, Flemmings, Normans, Britons, Englishmen, Burgundions, men of Prouence, and Gascoins.

The voyage of Iohn Lacy to Ierusalem.

1173.

ANno Domini 1172 fundata fuit abbatia de Stanlaw per dominum Iohannem Lacy Constabularium Cestriæ et dominum de Halton, qui obijt in Terra sancta anno sequenti: qui fuit vicessimus annus regni regis Henrici secundi.

The same in English.

IN the yere of our Lord 1172 was founded the abbey of Stanlaw by the lord Iohn Lacy Constable of Chester, and lord of Halton, who deceased in the Holy land the yere following: which was in the twentieth yere of king Henry the second.

The voyage of William Mandeuile to Ierusalem.

WIlliam Mandeuile earle of Essex, with diuers English lords and knights, went to the Holy land in the 24 yere of Henry the second. Holinshed pag. 101. 1177.

A great supply of money to the Holy land by Henry the 2.

THe same yeere King Henry the second being at Waltham, assigned an aide to the maintenance of the Christian souldiers in the Holy lande, That is to wit, two and fortie thousand marks of siluer, and fiue hundred marks of golde. Matth. Paris and Holins. pag. 105.

A letter written from Manuel the Emperour of Constantinople, vnto Henrie the second King of England, Anno Dom. 1177. wherein mention is made that certaine of King Henries Noble men and subjects were present with the sayd Emperour in a battell of his against the Soldan of Iconium. Recorded by Roger Houeden, in Annalium parte posteriore, in regno Hen. 2. fol. 316, et 317.

EOdem anno Manuel Constantinopolitanus imperator, habito prælio campestri cum Soltano Iconij et illo deuicto, in hac forma scripsit Domino regi Angliæ.

Manuel in Christo deo Porphyrogenitus, diuinitùs coronatus, sublimis, potens, excelsus, semper Augustus, et moderator Romanorum, Comnenus, Henrico nobilissimo regi Angliæ, charissimo amico suo, salutem et omne bonum. Cum imperium nostrum necessarium reputet notificare tibi, vt dilecto amico suo, de omnibus quæ sibi obueniunt; ideò et de his quæ nunc acciderunt ei, opportunum iudicauit declarare tuæ voluntati. Igitur a principio coronationis nostræ imperium nostrum aduersus dei inimicos Persas nostrum odium in corde nutriuit, dum cerneret illos in Christianos gloriari, eleuaríque in nomen dei, et Christianorum dominari regionibus. Quo circa et alio quidem tempore indifferentèr inuasit eos, et prout deus ei concessit, sic et fecit. Et quæ ab ipso frequenter patrata sunt ad contritionem ipsorum et perditionem, imperinm nostrum credit nobilitatem tuam non latere. Quoniam autem et nunc maximum exercitum contra eos ducere proposuit, et bellum contra omnem Persidem mouere,

quia res cogebat. Et non vt voluit multum aliquem apparatum fecit, sicut ei visum est. Veruntamen prout tempus dabat et rerum status, potentèr eos inuasit. Collegit ergo circa se imperium nostrum potentias suas: sed quia carpenta ducebat armorum, et machinarum, et aliorum instrumentorum conferentium ciuitatem expugnationibus, pondera portantia: idcircò nequaquam cum festinatione iter suum agere poterat. Ampliùs autem dum adhuc propriam regionem peragraret, antequam barbarorum aliquis aduersus nos militaret in bellis aduersarius, ægritudo difficillima fluxus ventris invasit nos, qui diffusus per agmina imperij nostri pertransibat, depopulando et interimendo multos, omni pugnatore grauior. Et hoc malum inualescens maximè nos contriuit. Ex quo verò fines Turcorum inuasimus, bella quidem primum frequentia concrepabant, et agmina Turcorum cum exercitibus imperij nostri vndique dimicabant. Sed Dei gratia ex toto à nostris in fugam vertebantur barbari. Post verò vbi ei qui illic adjacet angustiæ loci, quæ à Persis nominatur Cibrilcimam, propinquauimus, tot Persarum turmæ peditum et equitum, quorum pleræque ab interioribus partibus Persidis occurrerant in adiutorium contribulium suorum, exercitui nostro superuenerunt, quot penè nostrorum excederent numerum. Exercitu itaque imperii nostri propter viæ omnino angustiam et difficultatem, vsq; ad decem milliaria extenso; et cum neque qui præibant possent postremos defendere, neque versa vice rursus postremi possent præeuntes iuuare, non mediocritèr ab inuicem hos distare accidit. Sanè primæ cohortes permultùm ab acie imperij nostri diuidebantur, postremarum oblitæ, illas non præstolantes. Quoniam igitur Turcorum agmina ex iam factis prælijs cognouerant, non conferre sibi à fronte nobis repugnare, loci angustiam bonum subuentorem cum inuenissent, posteriora statuerunt inuadere agmina, quod et fecerunt. Arctissimo igitur vbique loco existente, instabant barbari vndique, à dextris et a sinistris, et aliundè dimicantes, et tela super nos quasi imbres descendentia interimebant viros et equos complures. Ad hæc itaque imperium nostrum vbi malum superabundabat, reputans secum oportunum iudicabat retrò expectare, atque illos qui illic erant adiuuare, expectando vtiquè contra infinita illa Persarum agmina bellum sustinuit. Quanta quidem, dum ab his circundaretur, patrauerit, non opus est ad tempus sermonibus pertexere, ab illis autem qui interfuerunt, forsitan discet de his tua nobilitas. Inter hæc autem existente imperio nostro, et omne belli grauamen in tantum sustinente, postremæ cohortes vniuersæ Græcorum et Latinorum, et reliquorum omnium generum conglobatæ, quæ iaciebantur ab inimicis tela non sustinentes, impactione vtuntur, et ita violentèr ferebantur, dùm ad adiacentem ibi collem quasi ad propugnaculum festinarent: sed precedentes impellunt nolentes. Multo autem eleuato paluere, ac perturbante oculos, et neminem permittente videre quæ circa pedes erant, in præcipitium quod aderat profundissimæ vallis alius super alium homines et equi sic incontinentè portati corruerunt, quòd alij alios conculcantes ab inuicem interemerunt non ex gregarijs tantum, sed ex clarissimis et intimis nostris consanguineis. Quis enim inhibere poterat tantæ multitudinis importabilem impulsum? At verò imperium nostrum tot et tantis confertum barbaris saucians, sauciatúmque, adeò vt non modicam in eos moueret perturbationem, obstupentes perseuerant iam ipsius, et non remittebatur, benè iuuante deo, campum obtinuit. Neque locum illum scandere aduersarios permisit, in quo dimicauit cum barbaris. Nec quidem equum suum illorum timore incitauit, celerius aliquando ponere vestigia. Sed congregando omnia agmina sua, et de morte eripiendo ea, collocauit circa se: et sic primos attigit, et ordinatìm proficiscens ad exercitus suos accessit. Ex tunc igitur videns Soltanus, quòd post tanta quæ acciderant exercitibus nostris, imperium nostrum, sicut oportunum erat, rem huiusmodi dispensauit, vt ipsum rursùm inuaderet: mittens supplicauit imperio nostro, et deprecatorijs vsus est sermonibus, et requisiuit pacem illius, promittens omnem imperij nostri adimplere voluntatem, et seruitium suum contra omnem hominem dare, et omnes qui in regno suo tenebantur captiuos absoluere, et esse ex toto voluntatis nostræ. Ibidem ergo per duos dies integros, in omni potestate morati sumus, et cognito quòd nihil poterat fieri contra ciuitatem Iconij, perditis testudinibus et machinis bellicis, eo quòd boues cecidissent a telis in modo pluuiæ iactis, qui eas trahebant: Simul autem eo quòd et vniuersa animalia nostra irruente in illa difficillima ægritudine laborabant, suscepit Soltani depræcationem et fœdera et iuramenta peracta sub vexillis nostris, et pacem suam ei dedit. Inde ingressum imperium nostrum in regionem suam regreditur, tribulationem habens non mediocrem super his quos perdidit consanguineis, maximas tamen Deo gratias agens, qui per suam bonitatem et nunc Ipsum honorauit: Gratum autem habuimus, quòd quosdam nobilitatis tuæ principes accidit interesse nobiscum, qui narrabunt de omnibus quæ acciderant, tuæ voluntati seriem. Cæterùm

autem, licèt contristati simus propter illos qui ceciderunt: oportunum tamen duximus, de omnibus quæ acciderant, declarare tibi, vt dilecto amico nostro, et vt permultùm coniuncto imperio nostro, per puerorum nostrorum intimam consanguinitatem. Vale. Data mense Nouembris, indictione tertia.

The same in English.

IN the yeere 1177, Manuel the emperour of Constantinople hauing fought a field with the Soldan of Iconium, and vanquished him, wrote vnto Henry the second king of England in maner following.

Manuel Comnenus in Christ the euerliuing God a faithful emperour, descended of the linage of Porphyrie, crowned by Gods grace, high, puissant, mighty, alwayes most souereigne, and gouernour of the Romans; vnto Henry the most famous king of England, his most deare friend, greeting and all good successe. Whereas our imperiall highnesse thinketh it expedient to aduertise you our welbeloued friend of all our affaires: We thought it not amisse to signifie vnto your royal Maiestie certaine exploits at this present atchieued by vs. From the beginning therefore of our inauguration our imperiall highnes hath mainteined most deadly feod and hostility against Gods enemies the Persians, seeing them so to triumph ouer Christians, to exalt themselues against the Name of God, and to vsurpe ouer Christian kingdomes. For which cause our imperial highnesse hath in some sort encountered them heretofore, and did as it pleased God to giue vs grace. And we suppose that your Maiestie is not ignorant, what our imperiall highnesse hath often performed for their ruine and subversion. For euen now, being vrged thereunto, we haue determined to leade a mighty army against them, and to wage warre against all Persia. And albeit our forces be not so great as we could wish they were, yet haue we according to the time, and the present state of things, strongly inuaded them. Wherefore onr Maiestie imperiall hath gathered our armies together: but because we had in our armie sundry carts laden with armour, engines, and other instruments for the assault of cities, to an exceeding weight we could not make any great speed in our iourney. Moreouer while our imperiall highnesse was yet marching in our owne dominions, before any barbarous enemy had fought against vs: our people were visited with the most grieuous disease of the fluxe, which being dispersed in our troups destroyed and slew great numbers, more then the sword of the enemy would haue done, which mischiefe so preuailing, did woonderfully abate our forces. But after we had inuaded the Turkish frontiers, we had at the first very often and hot skirmishes, and the Turks came swarming to fight against our imperiall troups. Howbeit by Gods assistance those miscreants were altogether scattered and put to flight by our souldiers. But as we approched vnto that strait passage which is called by the Persians Cibrilcimam, so many bands of Persian footemen and horsemen (most whereof came from the innermost parts of Persia, to succour their Allies) encountred our army, as were almost superiour vnto vs in number. Wherefore the army of our Imperiall highnesse, by reason of the straightnesse and difficultie of the way, being stretched ten miles in length; and the first not being able to helpe the last, nor yet contrarywise the last to rescue the first, it came to passe that they were very farre distant asunder. And in very deed the foremost troupes were much separated from the guard of our imperiall person, who forgetting their fellowes behind, would not stay any whit for them. Because therefore the Turkish bands knew full well by their former conflicts that it was bootlesse for them to assaile the forefront of our battell, and perceiuing the narownesse of the place to be a great aduantage, they determined to set vpon our rereward, and did so. Wherefore our passage being very straight, and the infidels assayling vs upon the right hand and vpon the left, and on all sides, and discharging their weapons as thicke as hailestones against vs, slew diuers of our men and horses. Hereupon, the slaughter of our people still encreasing, our maiestie imperiall deemed it requisite to stay behind, and to succour our bands in the rereward, and so expecting them we sustained the fierce encounter of many thousand Persians. What exploits our Imperiall person atchieued in the same skirmish, I hold it needlesse at this time to recount: your maiestie may perhaps vnderstand more of this matter by them which were there present. Howbeit our Imperiall highnesse being in the middest of this conflict, and enduring the fight with so great danger, all our hindermost troups, both Greekes, Latines, and other nations, retiring themselues close together, and not being able to suffer the violence of their enemies weapons, pressed on so hard, and were caried with such maine force, that hastening to ascend the next hill for their better safegard, they vrged on them which went before, whether they would or no. Wherevpon, much dust being raised, which stopped our eyes and vtterly depriued vs of sight, and our men and horses pressing so sore one vpon the necke of another, plunged themselues on the sudden into such a steepe and dangerous valley, that treading one vpon another, they quelled to death not onely a multitude of the common souldiours, but diuers most honourable personages, and some of our neere kinsmen. For who could restraine the irresistable throng of so huge a multitude? Howbeit our Imperiall highnesse being enuironed with such swarmes of Infidels, and giuing and receiuing wounds (insomuch that the miscreants were greatly dismaied at our constancie) we gaue not ouer, but by Gods assistance wonne the field. Neither did we permit the enemie to ascend vnto that place, from whence we skirmished with him. Neither yet spurred wee on our horse any faster for all their assaults. But marshalling all our troupes together, and deliuering them out of danger, we disposed them about our Imperial person; and so we ouertooke the foremost, and marched in good order with our whole army. Nowe the Soldan perceiuing that notwithstanding the great damages which we had sustained, our Imperial hignes prouided to giue him a fresh encounter, humbly submitting himselfe vnto vs, and vsing submissive speaches, made suite to haue peace at our hands, and promised to fulfill the pleasure of our maiestie Imperiall, to doe vs seruice against all commers, to release all our subiects which were captiues in his realme, and to rest wholy at our commaund. Here therefore we remained two dayes with great authoritie; and considering that wee could attempt nought against the citie of Iconium, hauing lost all our warrelike engines both for defence and for batterie, for that the oxen which drew them were slaine with the enemies weapons, falling as thicke as hailestones: and also for because all our beasts in a maner were most grieuously diseased; our maiestie Imperial accepted of the Soldans petition, league, and oath being made and taken vnder our ensignes, and granted our peace vnto him. Then returned we into our owne dominions, being greatly grieued for the losse of our deere kinsmen, and yeelding vnto God most humble thanks, who of his goodnesse had euen now giuen vs the victory. We are right glad likewise

The citie of Iconium intended to haue bene besieged.

that some of your maiesties princes and nobles[*] accompanied vs in this action, who are able to report vnto you all things which haue happened. And albeit we were exceedingly grieued for the losse of our people; yet thought it we expedient to signifie vnto you the successe of our affaires, as vnto our welbeloued friend, and one who is very neerely allied vnto our highnesse Imperial, by reason of the consanguitie of our children. Farewell. Giuen in the moneth of Nouember, and vpon the tenth Indiction.

The life and trauailes of Baldwinus Deuonius, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury.

BAldwinus Deuonius, tenui loco Excestriæ natus, vir ore facundus, exactus Philosophus, et d omne studiorum genus per illos dies aptissimus inueniebatur. Scholarum rector primùm erat, tum postea Archidiaconus, eruditione ac sapientia in omni negotio celebris: fuit prætereà Cisterciensis Monachus, et Abbas Fordensis Cœnobij, magnus suorum æstimatione, ac vniuersæ eorum societati quasi Antesignanus: fuit deinde Wigorniensis præsul, fuit et mortuo demùm Richardo Cantuariorum Archiepiscopus, ac totius Angliæ Primas. Cui muneri Baldwinus sollicitè inuigilans, egregium se pastorem exhibuit, dominicum semen, quantum patiebatur eius temporis iniquitas, vbique locorum spargens. Richardus Anglorum rex, acceptis tunc regni insignijs, summo studio classem, ac omnia ad Hierosolymitanum bellum gerendum necessaria parauit. Secutus est illicò regem in Syriam, et Palæstinam vsque Baldwinus, vt esset in tam Sancto (vt ipse putabat) itinere laborum, dolorum, ac periculorum particeps. Præfuit Cantuariensi Ecclesiæ ferè 6. annis, et Richardum regem in Syriam secutus, anno Salutis nostræ 1190. Tyri vitam finiuit, vbi et sepultus est.

The same in English.

BAldwine a Deuonshire man borne in Exceter of mean parentage, was a very eloquent man, an exact Philosopher, and in those dayes very excellent in all kind of studies. He was first of all a Schoolemaster: afterwards he became an Archdeacon, very famous for his learning and wisedom in all his doings. He was also a Cistercian Monke and Abbot of Foord Monasterie, and the chiefe of all those that were of his order: he grew after this to be bishop of Worcester, and at last after the death of Archb. Richard he was promoted and made Archbishop of Canterbury, and Primate of all England. In the discharge of which place he being very vigilant, shewed himselfe a worthy Pastor, sowing the seed of Gods word in euery place as farre foorth as the iniquitie of that time permitted. In his time king Richard with all indeauour prepared a Fleet and all things necessary for waging of warre against the Infidels at Ierusalem, taking with him the standerd and ensignes of the kingdome. This Baldwine eftsoones folowed the king into Syria and Palestina, as one desirous to be partaker of his trauailes, paines, and perils in so holy a voyage. Hee was Archbishop of Canterburie almost sixe yeres: but hauing followed the king into Syria, in the yeere 1190. he died at Tyre, where he was also buried.

---

[*] *Marginal note.*—Certaine noblemen of the king of England were with the Emperor in his battell against the Soldan of Iconium.

An annotation concerning the trauailes of the sayd Baldwine, taken out of Giraldus Cambrensis, in his Itinerarium Cambriæ, lib. 2. Cap. 14. Fol. 229.

INter primos Thomæ Becketi successor hic secundus, audita saluatoris et salutiferæ Crucis iniuria nostris (proh dolor) diebus per Saladinum irrogata, cruce signatus, in eiusdem obsequijs, tam remotis finibus quàm propinquis, prædicationis officium viriliter assumpsit. Et postmodùm iter accipiens, nauigióque fungens apud Marsiliam, transcurso tandem pelagi profundo, in portu Tyrensi incolumis applicuit: et inde ad exercitum nostrum obsidentem pariter et obsessum Aconem transiuit: vbi multos ex nostris inueniens, et ferè cunctos principum defectu, in summa desolatione iam positos, et desperatione, alios quidem longa expectatione fatigatos, alios fame et inopia grauiter afflictos, quosdam verò aëris inclementia distemperatos, diem fœlicitèr in terra sacra clausurus extremum, singulos pro posse vinculo charitatis amplectens, sumptibus et impensis, verbis, et vitæ meritis confirmauit.

The same in English.

THis Baldwine being the second successor vnto Thomas Becket, after he had heard ye wrong which was done to our

Sauiour, and the signe of the Crosse by Saladin the Sultan of Egypt, taking vpon him the Lords Character, he couragiously perfourmed his office of preaching in the obedience thereof, as well in farre distant Countreis as at home. And afterwards taking his iourney and imbarking himselfe at Marseils, hauing at length passed ye Leuant sea, he arriued safely in the Hauen of Tyrus, and from thence went ouer to Achon vnto our armie, besieging the Towne, and yet (as it were) besieged it selfe: where finding many of our Countreymen, and almost all men remaining in wonderfull pensiuenesse and despaire, through the withdrawing of the Princes, some of them tyred with long expectation, others grieuously afflicted with hunger and pouertie, and others distempered with the heate of the weather, being ready happily to ende his dayes in the Holy land, embracing euery one according to his abilitie in the bond of loue, he ayded them at his costes and charges, and strengthened them with his wordes and good examples of life.

A note drawen out of a very ancient booke remaining in the hands of the right worshipfull M. Thomas Tilney Esquire, touching Sir Frederike Tilney his ancestor, knighted at Acon in the Holy land for his valour, by K. Richard the first, as foloweth.

PErtinuit iste liber priùs Frederico Tilney de Boston, in comitatu Lincolniæ militi facto apud Acon in terra Iudeæ anno Regis Richardi primi tertio. Vir erat iste magnæ staturæ et potens in corpore: qui cum partibus suis dormit apud Tirrington iuxta villam sui nominis Tilney in Mershland. Cuius altitudo in salua custodia permanet ibidem vsque in hunc diem. Et post eius obitum sexdecem militibus eius nominis Tilney hæreditas illa successiuè obuenit, quorum vnus post alium semper habitabat apud Boston prædictum: dum fratris senioris hæreditas hæredi generali deuoluta est, quæ nupta est Iohanni duci Norfolciæ. Eorum miles vltimus fuit Philippus Tilney nuper de Shelleigh in Comitatu Suffolciæ, pater et genitor Thomæ Tilney de Hadleigh in Comitatu prædicto Armigeri, cui modò attinet iste liber. Anno ætatis suæ 64. Anno Domini 1556.

The same in English.

THis booke pertained in times past vnto Sir Frederick Tilney of Boston in the Countie of Lincolne, who was knighted at Acon in the land of Iurie, in the third yeere of the reigne of king Richard the first. This knight was of a tall stature, and strong of body, who resteth interred with his forefathers at Tirrington, neere vnto a towne in Marshland called by his owne name Tilney. The iust height of this knight is there kept in safe custody vntill this very day. Also, after this mans decease, the inheritánce of his landes fell successively vnto sixteene sundry knights called all by the name of Tilney, who dwelt alwayes, one after another, at the towne of Boston aforesayd, vntill such time as the possessions of the elder brother fell vnto an heire general, which was maried vnto Iohn duke of Northfolke. The last knight of that name was sir Philip Tilney late of Shelleigh in the Countie of Suffolke, predecessor and father vnto Thomas Tilney of Hadleigh in the Countie aforesayd Esquire, vnto whom the said booke of late appertained. In the yeere of his age 64. and in the yeere of our Lord, 1556.

The trauailes of one Richard surnamed Canonicus.

RIchardus Canonicus ad Trinitatis fanum Londini Regularis, ab ipsa pueritia, bonarum artium literas impensè amauit, excoluit, ac didicit. Qui ex continuo labore atque exercitatione longa, talis tandem euasit orator, et Poeta, quales ea ætas rarissimos nutriebat. Ob id Richardo Anglorum tunc Regi charus, longam cum eo peregrinationem in Palæstinam ac Syriam, dum expugnaret Turcas, suscepit. Vnde in Angliam tum demum reuersus, omnia quæ presens vidit in vrbibus, agris, ac militum castris, fideli narratione, tam carmine quàm prosa descripsit. Neque interim omisit eiusdem Regis mores, et formam, per omnia corporis lineamenta designare, addidítque præclaro suo operi hoc aptissimum pro titulo nomen, scilicet, Itinerarium Regis Richardi. Claruit anno redemptionis nostræ 1200. sub Ioanne Anglorum Rege.

The same in English.

RIchard surnamed Canonicus an obseruant Frier of Trinitie Church in London, was in great loue with the studies of good

Artes, and tooke paines in them and learned them. And at last by his continuall endeauour and long exercise therein, he grewe to bee such an Oratour and Poet, as fewe were in that age liuing, by reason whereof hee grew in fauour with Richard then King of England, and vndertooke that long voyage with him into Palestina and Syria against the Turkes. From whence being returned againe into England, hee faithfully described both in Verse and Prose all such things as hee had seene in the Cities, fieldes and tentes of the souldiours, where hee was present, and omitted not to note the behauiour, forme, and proportion of body in the foresayd king, giving to his notable worke this most apt name for the title, The Iournall of King Richard. He flourished in the yeere of our Redemption 1200. vnder Iohn king of England.

The large contribution to the succour of the Holy land, made by king Iohn king of England, in the third yeere of his reigne 1201. Matth. Paris and Holinsh. pag. 164.

AT the same time also the Kings of France and England gaue large money towards the maintenance of the army which at this present went foorth vnder the leading of the earle of Flanders and other, to warre against the enemies of the Christian faith at the instance of pope Innocent. There was furthermore granted vnto them the fortieth part of all the reuenues belonging vnto ecclesiastical persons, towards the ayd of the Christians then being in the Holy land: and all such aswel of the nobility, as other of the weaker sort, which had taken vpon them the crosse, and secretly layed it downe were compelled eftsoones to receiue it now againe.

The trauailes of Hubert Walter bishop of Sarisburie.

HVbertus Walterus Sarisburiensis Episcopus, vir probus, ingeniốq; ac pietate clarus, inter præcipuos vnus eorum erat, qui post Richardum regem expugnandorum Saracenorum gratia in Syriam proficiscebantur. Cum ex Palæstina rediens, audiret in Sicilia, quod idem Richardus in inimicorum manus incidisset, omisso itinere incœpto, ad eum cursim diuertebat: Quem et ille statim in Angliam misit, vt illic regij Senatus authoritate, indicto pro eius redemptione tributo pecuniam colligeret, quod et industrius fecit ac regem liberauit. Inde Cantuariorum Archiepiscopus factus, post eius mortem Ioanni illius fratri ac successori paria fidelitatis officia præstitit. Longa enim oratione toti Anglorum nationi persuasit, quod vir prouidus, præstans, fortis, genere nobilissimus, et imperio dignissimus esset: quo salutatus a populo fuit, atque in regem coronatus. Composuit quædam opuscula, et ex immenso animi dolore demum obijsse fertur, Anno salutis humanæ 1205. cum sedisset annos 11. Menses octo, et dies sex. Quum vidisset ex intestinis odijs, omnia in transmarinis regionibus pessùm ire, regnante Ioanne.

The same in English.

HVbert Walter bishop of Sarisburie, a vertuous man, and famous for his good wit and piety, was one of the chiefest of them that followed king Richard into Syria going against the Saracens. As he returned from Palæstina and came in his iourney into Sicilia, he there heard of the ill fortune of the king being fallen into his enemies handes, and thereupon leauing his iourney homewards, he went presently and in all haste to the place where the king was captiued, whom the king immediatly vpon his comming sent into England, that by the authority of the councell, a tribute might be collected for his redemption: which this Hubert performed with great diligence, and deliuered the king. After this he was made Archbishop of Canterburie, and after the death of King Richard he shewed the like dueties of fidelitie and trust to his brother Iohn that succeeded him. For by a long oration he perswaded the whole nation of the English men, that he was a very circumspect man, vertuous, valiant, borne of noble parentage, and most woorthy of the crowne. Whereupon he was so receiued of all the people and crowned king. He wrote certaine books, and died at the last with very great griefe of minde, in the yeere 1205, hauing beene archbishop the space of 11 yeres 8 moneths and sixe dayes, by reason of the ciuil discords abroad, whereby all things went topsie turuy, and in the reigne of king Iohn.

The trauailes of Robert Curson.

RObertus Curson ex nobili quodam Anglorum ortus genere, disciplinis tum prophanis, tum sacris studiosus incubuit, idque (quantum ex coniecturis colligo) in celebratissima Oxonij Aca-

demia. Præstantissimis illic institutoribus vsus, ex summa circa ingenuas artes industria, et assiduo literarum labore, famam sibi inter suos celeberrimam comparauit. Ampliora deinde meditatus Parisiorum Lutetiam, atque Romam ipsam petijt, illic Theologus Doctor, hic verò Cardinalis effectus. Vnde vterque Matthæus Parisius, ac Westmonasterius, hoc de ipso testimonium adferunt: hic libro 2. ille 8. suorum Chronicorum. Anno Domini. 1218 (inquiunt) in captione Damiatæ Ægypti vrbis, sub Ioanne Brenno Hierosolymorum rege, fuit cum Pelagio Albanensi Magister Robertus de Curson, Anglus, Clericus celeberrimus, genere nobilis, ac Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalis, etc. Bostonus Buriensis in sua Catalogo Cursonum aliquos libros composuisse narrat. Claruit anno superius numerato per prædictos testes in Anglia regnante Henrico tertio Ioannis regis filio: fuitque hic diebus Honorij tertij Romani pontificis in Angliam, Bostono teste, legatus.

The same in English.

RObert Curson descended of a noble family of England, vsed great diligence aswell in prophane as in diuine studies in the famous Vniuersitie of Oxford (as I coniecture.) He had there the best scholemasters that were to be gotten, and was most industrious in the arts and continual exercises of learning: by meanes whereof he grew to be of great renowne where he liued. Afterward thinking of greater matters he went to Paris, and thence to Rome it selfe, and at Paris he proceeded doctor of Diuinity, at Rome he was made cardinall: whereupon both Matthew Paris and Matthew of Westminster produce this testimony of him, the one in his second booke, the other in his eight booke of Chronicles. In the yere of our Lord (say they) 1218, at the taking of Damiata a city of Egypt vnder Iohn Brenne king of Ierusalem, M. Robert Curson an English man, a most famous clearke of noble parentage, and cardinall of the church of Rome, was there with Pelagius Albanensis, &c. Boston of Burie in Suffolke in his catalogue reporteth, that he wrote diuers books. He flourished in the yeere aforesayd by the witnesses aforesayd. Henry the third sonne of king Iohn being then king of England: and by the further testimony of Boston, this Curson was legate into England in the dayes of Honorius the third, bishop of Rome.

The voyage of Ranulph earle of Chester, of Saer Quincy earle of Winchester, William de Albanie earle of Arundel, with diuers other noble men to the Holy land, in the second yere of K. Henry the third. Matth. Paris. Holensh. pag. 202.

IN the yeere 1218, Ranulph earle of Chester was sent into the Holy land by king Henry the third with a goodly company of souldiers and men of warre, to ayde the Christians there against the Infidels, which at the same time had besieged the city of Damiata in Egypt. In which enterprise the valiancy of the same earle after his comming thither was to his great praise most apparant. There went with him in that iourney Saer de Quincy earle of Winchester, William de Albanie earle of Arundel, besides diuers barons, as the lord Robert fitz Walter, Iohn constable of Chester, William de Harecourt, and Oliuer fitz Roy sonne to the king of England, and diuers others.

The voyage of Henry Bohun and Saer Quincy to the Holy land.

THis yere, being the sixt yere of Henry the third, deceased Henry de Bohun earle of Hereford, and Saer de Quincy earle of Winchester, in their iourney which they made to the Holy land. Matth. Paris. Holensh. pag. 202. col. 2.

The trauailes of Ranulph Glanuile earle of Chester.

RAnulphus Glanuile Cestriæ Comes, vir nobilissimi generis, et vtroque iure eruditus, in albo illustrium virorum à me meritò ponendus venit. Ita probè omnes adolescentiæ suæ annos legibus tum humanis tum diuinis consecrauit, vt non prius in hominem per ætatem euaserit, quàm nomen decúsque ab insigni eruditione sibi comparauerit. Cum profecti essent Francorum Heroes Ptolemaidem, inito cum Ioanne Brenno Hierosolymorum rege concilio, Damiatam Ægypti vrbem obsidendam constituebant, anno salutis humanæ 1218. Misit illùc Henricus rex, ab Honorio 3 Rom. Pontifice rogatus, cum magna armatorum manu Ranulphum, ad rem Christianum iuuandam. Cuius virtus, Polydoro teste, in eo bello miris omnium laudibus celebrata fuit. Quo confecto negotio, Ranulphus in patriam reuersus, scripsit, De legibus Angliæ librum vnum. Fertur præterea, et alia quædam scripsisse, sed tempus edax rerum, ea nobis abstulit. Claruit anno à Seruatoris nostri natiuitate 1230 confectus senio, dum Henricus tertius sub Antichristi tyrannide in Anglia regnaret.

The same in English.

RAnulph Granuile earle of Chester, a man of a very noble house, and learned in both the Lawes, deserues of deutie to be here placed by me in the catalogue of woorthy and notable men. He applied so well all the yeeres of his youth to the study of humane and diuine Lawes, that he came not so soone to the age of a man, as he had purchased to himselfe by reason of his singular learning, renowme and honour. When the noble men of France went to Ptolomais, vpon the counsell of Iohn Brenne king of Ierusalem, they resolued to besiege Damiata a city of Egypt, in the yeere 1218. And then Henry the king vpon the motion of Honorius the third, bishop of Rome, sent thither this earle Ranulph with a great power of armed souldiers, to further the enterprise of the Christians: whose valure in that warre (by the testimonie of Polidor Virgil) was marueilously commended of all men. After the end of which businesse, he being returned into his countrey, wrote a booke of the lawes of England. It is also reported that he wrote other books, but time the destroyer of many memorials, hath taken them from vs. He flourished in the yeere after the natiuity of Christ 1230, being very aged, and in the reigne of K. Henry the third.

The voyage of Petrus de Rupibus bishop of Winchester, to Ierusalem in the yere of grace 1231, and the 15 of Henry the third.

ANno gratiæ 1231, mense verò Iulio, Petrus Wintoniensis episcopus, completo in terra sancta iam fere per quinquennium magnificé peregrinationis voto, reuersus est in Angliam, Kalendis Augusti; et Wintoniam veniens, susceptus est cum processione solenni in sua ecclesia cathedrali.

The same in English.

IN the yere of grace 1231, and in the moneth of Iuly, Peter bishop of Winchester hauing spent almost fiue whole yeres in fulfilling his vow of pilgrimage in the Holy land with great pompe, returned into England, about the Kalends of August, and coming vnto Winchester was receiued with solemne procession into his cathedrall church.

The honourable and prosperous voyage of Richard earle of Cornewall, brother to king Henry the third, accompanied with William Longespee earle of Sarisburie, and many other noble men into Syria.

IN the 24 yere of king Henry the third, Richard earle of Cornwall the kings brother, with a nauy of ships sailed into Syria, where in the warres against the Saracens he greatly aduanced the part of the Christians. There went ouer with him the earle of Sarisburie, William Longspee, and William Basset, Iohn Beauchampe, Geoffrey de Lucie, Iohn Neuel, Geoffrey Beauchampe, Peter de Brense, and William Furniuall.

Simon Montfort earle of Leicester went ouer also the same time; but whereas the earle of Cornwall tooke the sea at Marseils, the earle of Leicester passed thorow Italy, and tooke shipping at Brindize in Apulia: and with him went these persons of name, Thomas de Furniual with his brother Gerard de Furniuall, Hugh Wake, Almerike de S. Aumond, Wiscard Ledet, Punchard de Dewin, and William de Dewin that were brethren, Gerald Pesmes, Fouke de Baugie, and Peter de Chauntenay.

Shortly after also Iohn earle of Albemarle, William Fortis, and Peter de Mallow a Poictouin, men for their valiancy greatly renowmed, went thither, leading with them a great number of Christian souldiors, Matth. Paris. Matth. West. Holensh. pag. 225. col. 2.

The voyage of William Longespee* Earle of Sarisburie into Asia, in the yeere 1248, and in the 32 yeere of the reigne of Henry the third, king of England.

LEwis the French king being recouered of his sicknesse which he fell into, in the yeere 1234, vowed thereupon for a free will sacrifice to God, that he (if the Councell of his realme would suffer him) would in his owne person visit the Holy land: which matter was opened and debated in the Parliament of France held in the yeere 1247. Where at length it was concluded, that the king according to his vow should take his iourney into Asia, and the time thereof was also prefixed, which should be after the feast of S. Iohn Baptist the next yeere ensuing.

---

* *Marginal Note.*—Or, Longsword.

At which time William Longespee a worthie warrior, with the bishop of Worcester and certaine other great men in the Realme of England (mooued with the example of the Frenchmen) prepared themselues likewise to the same iourney.

It fell out in this enterprise, that about the beginning of October, the French king assaulted and tooke Damiata, being the principall fort or hold of the Saracens in all Egypt, Anno 1249. and hauing fortified the Citie with an able garrison left with the Duke of Burgundie, he remooued his tents from thence to goe Eastward. In whose armie followed William Longespee, accompanied with a piked number of English warriors retaining vnto him. But such was the disdaine of the Frenchmen against this William Longespee and the Englishmen that they could not abide them, but flouted them after an opprobrious maner with English tailes, insomuch that the French king himselfe had much adoe to keepe peace betweene them.

A fort won by the Englishmen.

The originall cause of this grudge betweene them began thus. There was not farre from Alexandria in Egypt a strong fort or castle replenished with great Ladies and rich treasure of the Saracens: which hold it chanced the sayd William Longespee with his company of English soldiers to get, more by politique dexteritie then by open force of armes, wherewith he and his retinue were greatly enriched. When the Frenchmen had knowledge hereof (they not being made priuie hereto) began to conceiue an heart burning against the English souldiers, and could not speake well of them after that.

It hapned againe not long after that the sayd William had intelligence of a company of rich merchants among the Saracens going to a certaine Faire about the parts of Alexandria, hauing their camels, asses and mules, richly loden with silkes, precious iewels, spices, gold and siluer, with cart loades of other wares, beside victuall and other furniture, whereof the souldiers then stood in great need: he hauing secret knowledge hereof, gathered all the power of Englishmen vnto him that he could, and so by

A rich bootie also gotten by the Englishmen.

night falling vpon the merchants, some he slew with their guides and conducters, some he tooke, some hee put to flight: the carts with the driuers, and with the oxen, camels, asses and mules, with the whole cariage and victuals he tooke and brought with him, losing in all the skirmish but one souldier, and eight of his seruitors: of whom notwithstanding some he brought home wounded to be cured.

The iniurie of the Frenchmen to our English.

This being knowen in the Campe, foorth came the Frenchmen which all this while loytered in their pauilions, and meeting this cariage by the way, tooke all the foresayd praie whole to themselues, rating the said William and the Englishmen for aduenturing and issuing out of the Campe without leaue or knowledge of their Generall, contrary to the discipline of warre. William said againe he had done nothing but he would answere to it, whose purpose was to haue the spoyle deuided to the behoofe of the whole armie.

Will. Longspee iustly forsaketh ye French king.

When this would not serue, hee being sore grieued in his minde so cowardly to be spoyled of that which he so aduenturously had trauailed for, went to the King to complaine: But when no reason nor complaint would serue by reason of the proude Earle of Artoys the Kings brother, which vpon spight and disdaine stood agaynst him, he bidding the King farewell sayd hee would serue him no longer: and so William de Longespee with the rest of his company breaking from the French hoste went to Achon. Vpon whose departure the earle of Artoys sayd, Now is the army of French men well rid of these tailed people, which words spoken in great despight were ill taken of many good men that heard them.

But not long after, when the keeper of Cayro & Babylonia, bearing a good mind to the Christian religion, and being offended also with the Souldan, promised to deliuer the same to the French king, instructing him what course was best for him to take to accomplish it, the king hereupon in all haste sent for William Longespee, promising him a full redress of all his iniuries before receiued: who at the kings request came to him againe, and so ioyned with the French power.

After this, it happened that the French king passing with his armie towardes Cayro aforesayd, came to the great riuer Nilus, on the further part whereof the Soldan had pitched himselfe to withstand his comming ouer: there was at this time a Saracen lately conuerted to Christ, seruing the earle Robert the French kings brother, who told him of the absence of the Soldan from his tents, and of a shallow foord in the riuer where they might easily passe ouer. Whereupon the sayd earle Robert and the Master of the Temple with a great power, esteemed to the third part of the army issued ouer the riuer, after whom followed W. Longspee with his band of English souldiers. These being ioyned together on the other side of the water, encountred the same day with the Saracens remaining in the tents and put them to the worst. Which victory being gotten, the French earle surprised with pride and triumph, as though hee had conquered the whole earth, would needs forward, diuiding himselfe from the maine hoste, thinking to winne the spurres alone. To whom certain sage men of the Temple, giuing him contrary counsell, aduised him not to do so, but rather to returne and take their whole company with them, and so should they be more sure against all deceits and dangers, which might be layed priuily for them. The maner of that people (they sayd) they better knew, and had more experience thereof then he: alledging moreouer their wearied bodies, their tired horses, their famished souldiers, and the insufficiency also of their number, which was not able to withstand the multitude of the enemies, especially at this present brunt, in which the aduersaries did well see the whole state of their dominion now to consist either in winning all or losing all.

Which when the proud earle did heare, being inflated with no lesse arrogancy then ignorance, with opprobrious taunts reuiled them, calling them cowardly dastards, and betrayers of the whole countrey, obiecting vnto them the common report of many, which sayd, that the land of the holy crosse might soone be woon to Christendome, were it not for rebellious Templaries, with the Hospitalaries, and their followers.

To these contumelious rebukes, when the master of the Temple answered againe for him and his fellowes, bidding him display his ensigne when he would, and where he durst, they were as ready to follow him, as he to goe before them. Then began William de Longespe the worthy knight to speake, desiring the earle to giue eare to those men of experience, who had better knowledge of those countreyes and people then he had, commending also their counsell to be discreet and wholesome, and so turning to the master of the Temple, began with gentle wordes to mittigate him likewise. The knight had not halfe ended his talke, when the Earle taking his wordes out of his mouth, began to fume and sweare, crying out of those cowardly Englishmen with tailes: What a pure armie (sayd he) should we haue here, if these tailes and tailed people were purged from it, with other like words of villany, and much disdaine: whereunto the English knight answering againe, well, Earle Robert (said he) wheresoeuer you dare set your foote, my step shall go as farre as yours, and (as I beleeue) we goe this day where you shall not dare to come neere the taile of my horse, as in deede in the euent it prooued true: for Earle Robert would needes set forward, weening to get all the glory to himselfe before the comming of the hoste, and first inuaded a litle village or castle, which was not farre off, called Mansor. The countrey Boores and Pagans in the villages, seeing the Christians comming, ranne out with such a maine cry and shout, that it came to the Soldans hearing, who was neerer then our men did thinke. In the meane time, the Christians inuading and entring into the munition* incircumspectly, were pelted and pashed† with stones by them which stood aboue, whereby a great number of our men were lost, and the armie sore maymed, and almost in despaire.

The worthy answere of William Longspe to Earle Robert.

Then immediatly vpon the same, commeth the Soldan with all his maine power, which seeing the Christian armie to be deuided, and the brother separated from the brother, had that which he long wished for, and so inclosing them round about, that none should escape, had with them a cruell fight.

Then the earle beganne to repent him of his heady rashnes, but it was too late, who then seeing William the English knight doughtily fighting in the chiefe brunt of the enemies, cried vnto him most cowardly to flie, seeing God (saith he) doth fight against vs: To whom the Knight answering againe, God forbid (sayth he) that my fathers sonne should runne away from the face of a Saracene. The Earle then turning his horse, fled away, thinking to auoid by the swiftnes of his horse, and so taking the riuer Thafnis, oppressed with harnesse, was there sunken and drowned.

The cowardly flight of Earle Robert.

Thus the Earle being gone, the Frenchmen began to dispaire and scatter. Then William de Longespe bearing all the force of the enemies, stoode against them as long as he could, wounding and slaying many a Saracen, till at length his horse being killed, and his legges maymed, he could no longer stande, who yet notwithstanding as he was downe, mangled their feete and legges, and did the Saracens much sorrow, till at last after many blowes and wounds, being stoned of the Saracens, he yeelded his life. And after the death of him, the Saracens setting vpon the residue of the armie, whom they had compassed on euery side, deuoured and destroyed them all, insomuch that scarce one man remained aliue, sauing two Templaries, one Hospitaler, and one poore rascall souldier, which brought tidings hereof to the King.

---

* Fortification.

† "That can be cut with any iron, or pashed with mighty stones."
CHAPMAN. *Iliad*, xiii., 297.

The valiant ende of William Longespe

And thus by the imprudent and foolish hardines of that French Earle, the Frenchmen were discomfited, and that valiant English Knight ouermatched, to the griefe of all Christian people, the glory of the Saracens, and the vtter destruction and ruine of the whole French armie, as afterwards it appeared.

The Voyage of Prince Edward the sonne of king Henry the third into Asia, in the yeere 1270.

ABout the yeere of our Lord, 1267. Octobonus the Popes Legate being in England, prince Edward the sonne of king Henry, and other Noble men of England tooke vpon them the crosse vpon S. Iohn Baptists day, by the sayd Legates hands at Northampton, to the reliefe of the Holy land, and the subuersion of the enemies of the crosse of Christ. For which purpose, and for the better furnishing of the prince towards the iourney, there was granted him a subsidie throughout all the realme, and in the moneth of May, in the yeere of our Lord 1270. he began to set forward.

At Michaelmas following he with his company came to Eguemortes, which is from Marsilia eight leagues Westward, and there taking ship againe (hauing a mery and prosperous wind) within ten dayes arriued at Tunez, where he was with great ioy welcommed, and entertained of the Christian princes that there were to this purpose assembled, as of Philip the French King, whose father Lodouicus died a litle before, of Carolus the king of Sicilia, and the two kings of Nauarre and Arragon, and as this lord Edward came thither for his father the king of England, thither came also Henry the sonne of the king of Almaine for his father, who at his returne from the voyage was slaine in a chappell at Viterbium.

When prince Edward demanded of these kings and princes what was to be done, they answered him againe and sayd, the prince of this citie and the prouince adioyning to the same hath bene accustomed to pay tribute vnto the king of Sicily euery yere: and now for that the same hath bene for the space of seuen yeeres vnpaied and more, therefore we thought good to make inuasion vpon him. But the king knowing the same tribute to be but iustly demaunded, hath now according to our owne desire satisfied for the time past, and also paid his tribute before hand.

Then sayd he, My Lords, what is this to the purpose? are we not here all assembled, and haue taken vpon vs the Lords Character to fight against the infidels and enemies of Christ? What meane you then to conclude a peace with them? God forbid we should do so, for now the land is plaine and hard, so that we may approch to ye holy city of Ierusalem. Then said they, now haue we made a league with them, neither is it lawful for vs to breake the same. But let vs returne againe to Sicilia, and when the winter is past we may well take shipping to Acra. But this counsel nothing at all liked him, neither did he shew himselfe wel pleased therewith: but after hee had made them a princely banket, he went into his closet or priuy chamber from amongst them, neither would be partaker of any of that wicked money which they had taken. They notwithstanding continuing their purpose, at the next mery wind tooke shipping, and for want of ships left 200. of their men a shore, crying out, and pitiously lamenting for the peril and hazard of death that they were in: wherewith prince Edward being somewhat mooued to compassion: came backe againe to the land, and receiued and stowed them in his owne ships, being the last that went aboord.

Within seuen dayes after, they arriued in the kingdom of Sicilia, ouer agaynst the Citie Trapes,* casting their ankers a league from thence within the sea, for that their shippes were of great burden, and throughly fraught: and from the hauen of the city they sent out barges and boates to receiue and bring such of the Nobilitie to land as would, but their horses for the most part, and all their armour they kept still within boord.

---

* Trapani, N.E. of Marsala.

At length towards the euening the sea began to be rough, and increased to a great tempest and a mightie: insomuch that their ships were beaten one against anothers sides, and drowned. There was of them at that tempest lying at anker more then 120. with all their armour and munition, with innumerable soules besides, and that wicked money also which they had taken before, likewise perished, and was lost.

But the tempest hurt not so much as one ship of prince Edwards, who had in number 13. nor yet had one man lost thereby, for that (as it may be presupposed) he consented not to the wicked counsell of the rest.

When in the morning the princes and kings came to the sea side, and saw all their ships drowned, and saw their men and horses in great number cast vpon the land drowned, they had full heauie hearts, as well they might, for of all their ships and mariners, which were in number 1500. besides the common souldiers, there was no more saued then the mariners of one onely ship, and they in this wise.

There was in that ship a good and wise Matrone, a Countesse or an Erles wife, who perceiuing the tempest to grow, and fearing her selfe, called to her the M. of the ship, and asked him whether in attempting to the shoare it were not possible to saue themselues: he answered, that to saue the ship it was impossible: howbeit the men that were therein by Gods helpe he doubted not. Then sayd the countesse, for the ship force no whit, saue the soules therein, and haue to thee double the value of the shippe: who immediatly hoising the sailes with all force, ran the shippe aground so neere the shore as was possible, so that with the vehemency of the weather and force he came withall, he brast the ship and saued all that was within the same, as he had shewed, and sayd before.

Then the kings and princes (altering their purpose after this so great a shipwracke) returned home againe euery one vnto their owne lands: onely Edward the sonne of the king of England, remained behinde with his men and ships, which the Lord had saued and preserued.

Then prince Edward renouating his purpose, tooke shipping

The arriual of prince Edward at Acra.

Nazareth taken by the prince.

againe, and within fifteene daies after Easter arriued he at Acra, and went a land, taking with him a thousand of the best souldiers and most expert, and taried there a whole moneth, refreshing both his men and horses, and that in this space he might learne and know the secrets of the land. After this he tooke with him sixe or seuen thousand souldiers, and marched forward twenty miles from Acra, and tooke Nazareth, and those that he found there he slew, and afterward returned againe to Acra. But their enemies following after them, thinking to haue set vpon them at some streit or other aduantage, were espied by the prince, and returning againe vpon them gaue a charge, and slew many of them, and the rest they put to flight.

A victorie against the Saracens, wherein 1000 of them were slaine.

After this, about Midsummer, when the prince had vnderstanding that the Saracens began to gather at Cakow which was forty miles from Acra, he marching thither, set vpon them very earely in the morning, and slew of them more then a thousand, the rest he put to flight, and tooke rich spoiles, marching forward till they came to a castle named Castrum peregrinorum, situate vpon the sea coast, and taried there that night, and the next day they returned againe toward Acra.

The princes of Cyprus acknowledge obedience to the kings of England.

In the meane season the king of Ierusalem sent vnto the noble men of Cyprus, desiring them to come with speed to ayd the Christians, but they would not come, saying they would keepe their owne land, and go no further. Then prince Edward sent vnto them, desiring that at his request they would come and ioyne in ayd with him: who immediatly thereupon came vnto him with great preparation and furniture for the warres, saying, that at his commandement they were bound to do no lesse, for that his predecessors were sometimes the gouernors of that their land, and that they ought alwayes to shew their fidelity to the kings of England.

Then the Christians being herewith animated, made a third voyage or road, and came as farre as the fort called Vincula sancti Petri, and to S. Georgius, and when they had slain certaine there, not finding any to make resistance against them, they retired againe from whence they came: when thus the fame of prince Edward grew amongst his enemies, and that they began to stand in doubt of him, they deuised among themselues how by some pollicy they might circumuent him, and betray him. Whereupon the prince and admirall of Ioppa sent vnto him, faining himselfe vnder great deceit willing to become a Christian, and that he would draw with him a great number besides, so that they might be honorably entertained and vsed of the Christians. This talke pleased the prince well, and perswaded him to finish the thing he had so well begun by writing againe, who also by the same messenger sent and wrote backe vnto him diuers times about the same matter, whereby no mistrust should spring.

This messenger (sayth mine author) was one ex caute nutritis, one of the stony hearted, that neither feared God nor dreaded death.

The fift time when this messenger came, and was of the princes seruants searched according to the maner and custome what weapon and armour he had about him, as also his purse, that not so much as a knife could be seene about him, he was had vp into the princes chamber, and after his reuerence done, he pulled out certaine letters, which he deliuered the prince from his lord, as he had done others before. This was about eight dayes after Whitsuntide, vpon a Tuesday, somewhat before night, at which time the prince was layed vpon his bed bare headed, in his ierkin, for the great heat and intemperature of the weather.

When the prince had read the letters, it appeared by them, that vpon the Saturday next following, his lord would be there ready to accomplish all that he had written and promised. The report of these newes by the prince to the standers by, liked them well, who drew somewhat backe to consult thereof amongst themselues. In the meane time, the messenger kneeling, and making his obeisance to the prince (questioning further with him) put his hand to his belt, at though he would haue pulled out some secret letters, and suddenly he pulled out an enuenomed knife, thinking to haue stroken the prince in the belly therewith as he lay: but the prince lifting vp his hand to defend the blow, was striken a great wound into the arme, and being about to fetch another stroke at him, the prince againe with his foot tooke him such a blow, that he feld him to the ground: with that the prince gate him by the hand, and with such violence wrasted the knife from him, that he hurt himselfe therewith on the forehead, and immediately thrust the same into belly of the messenger and striker, and slew him.

Prince Edward traiterously wounded.

The princes seruants being in the next chamber not farre off, hearing the busling, came with great haste running in, and finding the messenger lying dead in the floore, one of them tooke vp a stoole, and beat out his brains: whereat the prince was wroth for that he stroke a dead man, and one that was killed before.

But the rumour of this accident, as it was strange, so it went soone thorowout all the Court, and from thence among the common people, for which they were very heauy, and greatly discouraged. To him came also the Captaine of the Temple, and brought him a costly and precious drinke against poison, least the venime of the knife should penetrate the liuely blood, and in blaming wise sayd vnto him: did I not tell your Grace before of the deceit and subtilty of this people? Notwithstanding, said he, let your Grace take a good heart, you shall not die of this wound, my life for yours. But straight way the Surgions and Physicians were sent for, and the prince was dressed, and within few dayes after, the wound began to putrifie, and the flesh to looke dead and blacke: wherupon they that were about the prince began to mutter among themselues, and were very sad and heauy.

Which thing he himself perceiuing, said vnto them: why mutter you thus among your selues? what see you in me, can I not be healed? tell me the trueth, be ye not afrayd. Whereupon one sayd vnto him, and it like your Grace you may be healed, we mistrust not, but yet it will be very painfull for you to suffer. May suffering (sayd he againe) restore health? yea sayth the other, on paine of losing my head. Then sayd the prince, I commit my selfe vnto you, doe with me what you thinke good.

Then sayd one of the Physicians, is there any of your Nobles in whom your Grace reposeth special trust? to whom the prince answered Yea, naming certeine of the Noble men that stood about him. Then sayd the Physician to the two, whom the prince first named, the Lord Edmund, and the lord Iohn Voisie, And doe you also faithfully loue your Lord and Prince? Who answered both, Yea vndoubtedly. Then sayth he, take you away this gentlewoman and lady (meaning his wife) and let her not see her lord and husband, till such time as I will you thereunto. Whereupon they tooke her from the princes presence, crying out, and wringing her hands. Then sayd they vnto her, Be you contented good Lady and Madame, it is better that one woman should weepe a little while, then that all the realme of England should weepe a great season.

The lord Edmond was the prince his brother.

Then on the morrow they cut out all the dead and inuenimed flesh out of the princes arme, and threw it from them, and sayd vnto him: how cheereth your Grace, we promise you within these fifteene dayes you shall shew your selfe abroad (if God permit) vpon your horsebacke, whole and well as euer you were. And according to the promise he made the prince, it came to passe, to the no little comfort and admiration of all his subiects.

When the great Souldan heard hereof, and that the prince was yet aliue, he could scarsely beleeue the same, and sending vnto him three of his Nobles and Princes, excused himselfe by them, calling his God to witnesse that the same was done neither by him nor his consent. Which princes and messengers standing aloofe off from the kings sonne, worshipping him, fell flat vpon the ground: you (sayd the prince) do reuerence me, but yet you loue me not. But they vnderstood him not, because he spake in English vnto them, speaking by an Interpreter: neuerthelesse he honourably entertained them, and sent them away in peace.

Thus when prince Edward had beene eighteene moneths in Acra, he tooke shipping about the Assumption of our Lady, as we call it, returning homeward, and after seuen weekes he arriued in Sicilia at Trapes, and from thence trauailed thorow the middes of Apulia, till he came to Rome, where he was of the Pope honorably entertained.

From thence he came into France, whose fame and noble prowesse was there much bruted among the common people, and enuied of the Nobility, especially of the Earle of Chalons, who thought to haue intrapped him and his company, as may appeare in the story: but Prince Edward continued foorth his iourney to Paris, and was there of the French king honourably entertained: and after certaine dayes he went thence into Gascoine, where he taried till that he heard of the death of the king his father, at which time he came home, and was crowned king of England, in the yere of our Lord 1274.

The trauaile of Robert Turneham.

ROBertus Turneham Franciscanus, Theologiæ professor insignis, Lynnæ celebri Irenorum ad ripas Isidis emporio, collegio suorum fratrum magnificè præfuit. Edwardus Princeps, cognomento Longus, Henrici tertij filius, bellicam expeditionem contra Saracenos Assyriam incolentes, anno Dom. 1268. parabat. Ad

quam profectionem quæsitus quoque Orator vehemens, qui plebis in causa religionis animos excitaret, Turnehamus principi visus vel dignissimus est, qui munus hoc obiret. Sic tanquam signifer constitutus Assyrios vna cum Anglico exercitu petijt, ac suum non sine laude præstitit officium. Claruit anno salutiferi partus, 1280. varia componens, sub eodem Edwardo eius nominis primo post Conquestum.

The same in English.

RObert Turneham Franciscan, a notable professor of Diuinitie, was with great dignitie Prior of the Colledge of his Order in the famous Mart Towne of Lynne, situate vpon the riuer of Isis in Norfolke. Prince Edward surnamed the Long, the sonne of Henrie the third, prepared his warlike voyage against the Saracens dwelling in Syria, in the yeere of our Lord, 1268. For the which expedition some earnest preacher was sought to stirre vp the peoples minds in the cause of religion. And this Turneham seemed to the Prince most worthy to performe that office: so that he being appointed as it were a standard bearer, went into Syria with the English army, and performed his duety with good commendation. He flourished in the yeere of Christ 1280, setting forth diuers workes vnder the same King Edward the first of that name after the Conquest.

The life of Syr Iohn Mandeuill Knight, written by Master Bale.

IOannes Mandeuil, vir equestris ordinis, ex fano Albini oriundus, ita à teneris vt aiunt, vnguiculis literarum studijs assueuerat, vt in illis bonam fœlicitatis suæ partem poneret. Nam generis sui stemmata illustria, nulli vsui futura ducebat, nisi illa clariora doctis artibus redderet. Quare cum animum Euangelica lectione ritè instituisset, transtulit sua studia ad rem Medicam, artem imprimis liberali ingenio dignam. Sed inter alia, ingens quædam cupido videndi Africam, et Asiam, vastioris orbis partes, eius animum inuaserat. Comparato igitur amplo viatico, peregrè profectus est, anno à Christo nato, 1332. et domum tanquam alter Vlysses, post 34. annos rediens, à paucissimis quidem cognitus fuit. Interim Scythiam, Armeniam Maiorem et Minorem, Aegyptum, vtramque Lybiam, Arabiam,

Syriam, Mediam, Mesopotamiam, Persiam, Chaldæam, Græciam, Illyrium, Tartariam, et alia spaciosi orbis regna, laborioso itinere visitauit. Denique linguarum cognitione præditus, ne tot ac tantarum rerum varietates, et miracula quæ oculatus testis viderat, memoriæque mandauerat, obliuione premerentur, in tribus linguis, Anglica, Gallica, et Latina, graphicè scripsit Itinerarium 33. annorum. Reuersus in Angliam, ac visis sui seculi malis, vir pius dicebat, nostris temporibus iam verius quàm olim dici potest, virtus cessat, Ecclesia calcatur, Clerus errat, dæmon regnat, simonia dominatur, etc. Leodij tandem obijt, anno Domini 1372. die 17. Nouembris, apud Guilielmitas sepultus.

The same in English.

IOhn Mandeuil Knight, borne in the towne of S. Albons, was so well giuen to the studie of learning from his childhood, that he seemed to plant a good part of his felicitie in the same: for he supposed that the honour of his birth would nothing auaile him, except he could render the same more honourable by his knowledge in good letters. Hauing therefore well grounded himselfe in religion by reading the Scriptures, he applied his studies to the arte of Physicke, a profession worthy a noble wit: but amongst other things, he was rauished with a mightie desire to see the greater partes of the world, as Asia and Africa. Hauing therefore prouided all things necessarie for his iourney, he departed from his countrey in the yeere of Christ, 1332, and as another Vlysses returned home, after the space of 34. yeeres, and was then knowen to a very fewe. In the time of his trauaile he was in Scythia, the greater and lesse Armenia, Egypt, both Lybias, Arabia, Syria, Media, Mesopotamia, Persia, Chaldæa, Greece, Illyrium, Tartarie, and diuers other kingdomes of the world: and hauing gotten by this meanes the knowledge of the languages, least so many and great varieties, and things miraculous, whereof himselfe had bene an eie witnes, should perish in obliuion, he committed his whole trauell of 33. yeeres to writing in three diuers tongues, English, French and Latine. Being arriued againe in England, and hauing seene the wickednes of that age, he gaue out this speach In our time (sayd he) it may be spoken more truely then of olde, that vertue is gone, the Church is vnder foote, the Clergie is in errour, the deuill raigneth, and Simonie beareth the sway, &c.

He died at Leege, in the yeere 1372. the 17. day of Nouember, being there buried in the Abbie of the Order of the Guilielmites.

The Tombe and Epitaph of Sir Iohn Mandeuil, in the citie of Leege, spoken of by Ortelius, in his booke called Itinerarium Belgiæ, in this sort.

MAgna et populosa Leodij suburbia, ad collium radices, in quorum iugis multa sunt, et pulcherrima monasteria, inter quæ magnificum illud, ac nobile D. Laurentio dicatum, ab Raginardo Episcopo. Est in hac quoque regione, vel suburbijs Leodij, Guilielmitarum Cœnobium, in quo Epitaphium hoc Ioannis à Mandeuille, excepimus.

Fol. 15, 16.

Hîc iacet vir nobilis, D. Ioannes de Mandeuille, aliter dictus ad Barbam, Miles, Dominus de Campdi, natus de Anglia, Medicinæ professor, deuotissimus, orator, et bonorum largissimus pauperibus erogator, qui toto quasi orbe lustrato, Leodij diem vitæ suæ clausit extremum. Anno Dom. 1371. Mensis Nouembris, Die 17.

Epitaphium.

Hæc in lapide: in quo cælata viri armati imago, Leonem calcantis, barba bifurcata, ad caput manus benedicens, et vernacula hæc verba: Vos qui paseis sor mi, pour l'amour deix proïes por mi. Clipeus erat vacuus, in quo olim fuisse dicebant laminam æream, et eius in ea itidem cælata insignia, Leonem videlicet argenteum, cui ad pectus lunula rubea in campo cæruleo, quem Limbus ambiret denticulatus ex auro. Eius nobis ostendebant, et cultros, ephipiáque, et calcaria quibus vsum fuisse asserebant, in peragrando toto ferè terrarum orbe, vt clariùs testatur eius Itinerarium, quod typis etiam excusum passim habetur.

Tabvla Præsentis Libri Ioannes Mandevil, singvla per ordinem capitula, et in eorum quolibet quid agitur, notificat euidenter.

Capvt. 1 COmmendatio breuis terræ Hierosolymltanæ.

2 Iter ab Anglia tam per terras quàm per aquas, vsque in Constantinopolim.

3 De vrbe Constantinopoli, et reliquijs ibidem contentis.

4 Via tam per terras quàm per aquas, à Constantinopoli vsque Acharon, vel Acon.

5 Via à Francia et Flandria, per solas terras vsque in Hierusalem.
6 Via de Cypro vel de Hierusalem, vsque in Babyloniam Egypti.
7 De Pallatio Soldani, et nominibus præteritorum Soldanorum.
8 De Campo Balsami in Egypto.
9 De Nilo fluuio, et Egypti territorio.
10 De conductu Soldani.
11 De Monasterio Sinay.
12 Iter per desertum Sinay, vsque in Iudeam.
13 De ciuitate Bethleem, et semita, vsque in Ierusalem.
14 De Ecclesia gloriosi sepulchri Domini in vrbe Ierusalem.
15 De tribus alijs Ecclesiis, et specialiter de Templo Domini.
16 De pluribus locis sacris extra vrbem.
17 De sacris locis extra muros ciuitatis.
18 De alijs locis notabilibus.
19 De Nazareth et Samaria.
20 De Territorio Galileæ et Samariæ.
21 De secta detestabili Sarracenorum.
22 De vita Mahometi.
23 De colloquio Authoris cum Soldano.
24 Persuasio ad non credentes terrarum diuersitates per orbem terræ.
25 De Armenia, et Persia.
26 De Ethiopia et diamantibus, ac de infima et media India.
27 De foresto piperis.
28 De Ecclesia beati Thomæ Apostoli.
29 De quibusdam meridionalibus insulis, et farina et melle.
30 De Regno Cynocephalorum, et alijs Insulis.
31 De multis alijs insulis Meridionalibus.
32 De bona regione Mangi.
33 De Pygmeis, et itinere vsq; prouinciam Cathay.
34 De pallacio Imperatoris magni Chan.
35 De quatuor solemnitatibus, quas magnus Chan celebrat in Anno.
36 De præstigijs in festo, et de comitatu Imperatoris.
37 Qua de causa dicitur magnus Chan.
38 De territorio Cathay, et moribus Tartarorum.
39 De sepultura Imperatoris magni Chan, et de creatione successoris.
40 De multis regionibus Imperio Tartariæ subiectis.
41 De magnificentia Imperatoris Indiæ.

42 De frequentia Palatij, et comitatu Imperatoris præsbiteri Ioannis.
43 De quisbusdam miris per Regiones Imperij Indiæ.
44 De loco et dispositione Vallis infaustæ.
45 De quibusdam alijs admirandis, per Indorum insulas.
46 De periculis et tormentis in valle infausta.
47 De Bragmannorum insulis, et aliorum.
48 Aliquid de loco Paradisi terrestris per auditum.
49 In reuertendo de Regnis Cassam, et Riboth, de Diuite Epulone, vel consimili.
50 De compositione huius tractatus in Ciuitate Leodiensi.

Liber Præsens, Cvivs Avthor est Ioannes Mandevil militaris ordinis, agit de diuersis patrijs, Regionibus, Prouincijs, et insulis, Turcia, Armenia maiore et minore Ægypto, Lybia bassa et alta, Syria, Arabia, Persia, Chaldæa, Tartaria, India, et de infinitis insulis, Ciuitatibus, villis, castris, et locis, quæ gentes, legum, morum, ac rituum inhabitant diuersorum.

DEDICATIO LIBRI.

PRincipi excellentissimo, præ cunctis mortalibus præcipuè veeeraedo, Domino Edwardo eius nominis tertio, diuina prouidentia, Francorum et Anglorum Regi Serenissimo, Hiberniæ Domino, Aquitaniæ Duci, mari ac eius insulis occidentalibus dominanti, Christianorum encomio et ornatui, vniuersorumque arma gerentium Tutori, ac Probitatis et strenuitatis exemplo, principi quoque inuicto, mirabilis Alexandri Sequaci, ac vniuerso orbi tremendo, cum reuerentia non qua decet, cnm ad talem, et tantam reuerentiam minùs sufficientes extiterint, sed qua paruitas, et possibilitas mittentis ac offerentis se extendunt, contenta tradantur.

Pars prima, continens Capita 23.

CAPVT. I.

Commendatio breuis terræ Hierosolimitanæ.

CVm terra Hierosolimitana, terra promissionis filiorum Dei dignior cunctis mundi terris sit habenda multis ex causis, et præ cipuè illâ, quod Deus conditor cœli et mundi, ipsam tanti dignatus fuit æstimare, vt in eo proprium filium saluatorem mundi, Christum exhibuerit generi humano per incarnationem ex intemerata Virgine, et per eius conuersationem humillimam in eadem, ac per dolorosam mortis suæ consummationem ibidem, átque indè per eius admirandam resurrectionem, ac ascensionem in cœlum, et postremò quia creditur illic in fine seculi reuersurus, et omnia iudicaturus: certum est, quòd ab omnibus qui Christiano nomine à Christo dicuntur, sit tanquam à suis proprijs hæredibus diligenda, et pro cuiúsque potestate ac modulo honoranda. A principibus quidem, et potentibus vt ipsam conentur de infidelium manibus recuperare, qui eam iam pridem à nobis, nostris exigentibus meritis, abstulerunt, et per annos heu plurimos possederunt: a mediocribus autem et valentibus, vt per peregrinationem deuotam loca tam pia, et vestigia Christi ac discipulorum tam Sancta, principaliter in remissionem visitent delictorum. Ab impotentibus verò, et impeditis, quatenus supradictos vel hortentur, vel in aliquo modo iuuent, seu certè fideles fundant orationes. Verum quia iam nostris temporibus verius qùam olim dici potest,

Loquitur secundum tempora in quibus vixit.

Virtus, Ecclesia, Clerus, dæmon, symonia,
Cessat, calcatur, errat, regnat, dominatur,

ecce iusto Dei iudicio, credita est terra tam inclyta, et sacrosancta impiorum manibus Saracenorum, quod non est absq; dolore pijs mentibus audiendum, et recolendum. EGO Ioannes Mandeuill militaris ordinis saltem gerens nomen, natus et educatus in terra Angliæ, in villa sancti Albani, ducebar in Adolescentia mea tali inspiratione, vt quamuis non per potentiam, nec per vires proprias possem præfatam terram suis hæredibus recuperare, irem tamen per aliquod temporis spacium peregrinari ibidem, et salutarem aliquantulum de propinquo. Vnde in anno ab Incarnatione Domini 1322. imposui me nauigationi Marsiliensis maris et vsque in hoc temporis, Anni 1355. scilicet, per 33. annos in transmarinis partibus mansi, peregrinatus sum, ambulaui, et circuiui multas, ac diuersas patrias, regiones, prouincias, et insulas, Turciam, Armeniam maiorem, et minorem, Ægyptum, Lybiam bassam et altam, Syriam, Arabiam, Persiam, Chaldeam, Æthiopiæ partem magnam, Tartariam, Amazoniam, Indiam minorem, et mediam, ac partem magnam de maiori, et in istis, et circum istas regiones, multas insulas, Ciuitates, vrbes, castra, villas, et loca, vbi habitant variæ

Ioannis Mandiuilli peregrinatio, per tres et triginta annos continuata.

gentes, aspectuum, morum, legum, ac rituum, diuersorum: Attamen quia summo desiderio in terra promissionis eram, ipsam diligentius per loca vestigiorum filij Dei perlustrare curaui, et diutius in illa steti. Quapropter et in hac prima parte huius operis iter tam peregrinandi, quam nauigandi, à partibus Angliæ ad ipsam describo, et loca notabiliter sancta, quæ intra eandem sunt breuiter commemoro et diligenter, qnatenus peregrinis tam in itinere quam in prouentione valeat hæc descriptio in aliquo deseruire.

The English Version.*

The Prologue.

FOr als moche as the Lond bezonde the See, that is to seye, the Holy Lond, that men callen the Lond of Promyssioun, or of Beheste, passynge alle othere Londes, is the most worthi Lond, most excellent, and Lady and Sovereyn of alle othere Londes, and is blessed and halewed of the precyous Body and Blood of oure Lord Jesu Crist; in the whiche Lond it lykede him to take Flesche and Blood of the Virgyne Marie, to envyrone that holy Lond with his blessede Feet; and there he wolde of his blessednesse enoumbre him in the seyd blessed and gloriouse Virgine Marie, and become Man, and worche many Myracles, and preche and teche the Feythe and the Lawe of Cristene Men unto his Children; and there it lykede him to suffre many Reprevinges and Scornes for us; and he that was Kyng of Hevene, of Eyr, of Erthe, of See and of alle thinges that ben conteyned in hem, wolde alle only ben cleped Kyng of that Lond, whan he seyde, "*Rex sum Judeorum*," that is to seyne, "I am Kyng of Jewes;" and that Lond he chees before alle other Londes, as the beste and most worthi Lond, and the most vertuouse lond of alle the world: For it is the herte and the myddes of all the world; wytnessynge the philosophere, that seythe thus ; "*Vertus rerum in medio consistit:*" That is to seye, "The vertue of thinges is in the myddes ;" and in that Lond he wolde lede his lyf, and suffre passioun and dethe of Jewes, for us ; for to bye and to delyvere us from peynes of helle, and from dethe withouten ende ; the whiche was ordeyned for us, for the synne of oure formere fader Adam, and for oure owne synnes also: for as for himself, he hadde non evylle deserved : For he thoughte nevere evylle ne dyd evylle : And he that was kyng of glorie and of joye, myghten best in that place suffre dethe ; because he ches in that lond, rathere than in ony othere, there to suffre his passioun and his dethe : For he that wil pupplische ony thing to make it openly knowen, he wil make it to ben cryed and pronounced, in the myddel place of a town ; so that the thing that is proclamed and pronounced, may evenly strecche to alle parties : Righte so, he that was formyour of alle the world, wolde suffre for us at Jerusalem ; that is the myddes of the world ; to that ende and entent, that his passioun and his dethe, that was pupplischt there, myghte ben knowen evenly to alle the parties of the world. See now how dere he boughte man, that he made after his owne ymage, and how dere he azen boghte us, for the grete love that he hadde to us, and we nevere deserved it to him. For more precyous catelle ne gretter ransoum, ne myghte he put for us, than his blessede body, his precyous blood, and his holy lyf, that he thralled for us ; and alle he offred for us, that nevere did synne. A dere God, what love hadde he to his subjettes, whan he that nevere trespaced, wolde for trespassours suffre dethe ! Righte wel oughte us for to love and worschipe, to drede and serven suche a Lord ; and to worschipe and preyse suche an holy lond, that broughte forthe suche fruyt, thorghe the whiche every man is saved, but it be his owne defaute. Wel may that lond be called delytable and a fructuous lond, that was bebledd* and moysted with the precyouse blode of oure Lord Jesu Crist ; the whiche is the same lond, that oure lord behighten us in heritage. And in that lond he wolde dye, as seised, for to leve it to us his children. Wherfore every gode Cristene man, that is of powere, and hathe whereof, scholde peynen him with all his strengthe for to conquere oure righte heritage, and chacen out alle the mysbeleevynge men. For wee ben clept cristene men, aftre Crist our Fadre.

---

* [This English version (for the variations from the Latin are so great that it cannot be called a *translation*) was published in 1725 from a MS. of the end of the 14th or beginning of the 15th century, in the Cottonian Library, marked Titus. C. xvi.

Instead of being divided into 50 chapters like the Latin, it contains only 32, but I have thought it best to make it correspond as nearly with the Latin as possible, merely indicating where the various chapters begin in the English version. From the last paragraph of the introductory chapter, it would seem that the English version was written by Mandeville himself.—E. G.]

---

* Coloured with blood.

And zif wee ben righte children of Crist, we oughte for to chalenge the heritage, that oure Fadre lafte us, and do it out of hethene mennes hondes. But nowe pryde, covetyse and envye han so enflawmed the hertes of lordes of the world, that thei are more besy for to disherite here neyghbores, more than for to chalenge or to conquere here righte heritage before seyd. And the comoun peple, that wolde putte here bodyes and here catelle, for to conquere oure heritage, thei may not don it withouten the lordes. For a semblee of peple withouten a cheventeyn,* or a chief lord, is as a flock of scheep withouten a schepperde; the whiche departeth and desparpleth,† and wyten never whidre to go. But wolde God, that the temporel lordes and alle worldly lordes weren at gode accord, and with the comen peple woulden taken this holy viage over the see. Thanne I trowe wel, that within a lytyl tyme, our righte heritage before seyd scholde be reconsyled and put in the hondes of the right heires of Jesu Crist.

And for als moche as it is longe tyme passed, that there was no generalle passage ne vyage over the see; and many men desiren for to here speke of the holy lond, and han thereof great solace and comfort; I John Maundevylle, Knyght, alle be it I be not worthi, that was born in Englond, in the town of Seynt Albones, passed the see in the zeer of our Lord Jesu Crist MCCCXXII, in the day of Seynt Michelle; and hidre‡ to have ben longe tyme over the see, and have seyn and gon thorghe manye dyverse londes, and many provynces and kingdomes and iles, and have passed thorghe Tartarye, Percye, Ermonye§ the litylle and the grete; thorghe Lybye, Caldee, and a gret partie of Ethiope; thorghe Amazoyne, Inde the lasse and the more, a gret partie; and thorghe out many othere iles, that ben abouten Inde; where dwellen many dyverse folkes, and of dyverse manneres and lawes, and of dyverse schappes of men. Of which londes and iles, I schall speake more pleynly hereaftre. And I schall devise zou sum partie of thinges that there ben, whan time schalle ben, aftre it may best come to my mynde; and specially for hem, that wylle and are in purpos for to visite the holy citee of Jerusalem, and the holy places that are thereaboute. And I schalle telle the weye, that thei schulle holden thidre. For I have often tymes passed and ryden the way, with gode companye of many lordes: God be thonked.

---

* Chieftain.
† Disperseth.
‡ There.
§ Armenia.

And zee schulle undirstonde, that I have put this boke out of Latyn into Frensche, and translated it azen out of Frensche into Englyssche, that every man of my nacioun may undirstonde it. But lordes and knyghtes and othere noble and worthi men, that conne Latyn but litylle, and han ben bezonde the see, knowen and undirstonden, zif I erre in devisynge, for forzetynge,* or elles; that thei mowe redresse it and amende it. For thinges passed out of longe tyme from a mannes mynde or from his syght, turnen sone into forzetynge: Because that mynde of man ne may not ben comprehended ne withholden, for the freeltee of mankynde.

To teche zou the Weye out of Anglond to Constantinoble.

IN the name of God Glorious and Allemyghty. Cap I. He that wil passe over the see, to go to the city of Jerusalem, he may go by many wayes, bothe on see and londe, aftre the contree that hee cometh fro: manye of hem comen to on ende. But troweth not that I wil telle zou alle the townes and cytees and castelles, that men schulle go by; for than scholde I make to longe a tale: but alle only summe contrees and most princypalle stedes, that men schulle gone thorgh, to gon the righte way.

Capvt. 2.

Iter ab Anglia tam per terras quam per aquas vsq; in Constantinopolim.

QVi de Hybernia, Anglia, Scotia, Noruegia, aut Gallia iter arripit ad partes Hierosolymitanas potest saltem vsq; ad Imperialem Greciæ Ciuitatem Constantinopolim eligere sibi modum proficiscendi, siue per terras, siue per aquas. Et si peregrinando eligit transigere viam, tendat per Coloniam Agrippinam, et sic per Almaniam in Hungariam ad Montlusant Ciuitatem, sedem Regni Hungariæ. Et est Rex Hungariæ multum potens istis temporibus. Nam tenet et Sclauoniam, et magnam partem Regni Comannorum, et Hungariam, et partem Regni Russiæ. Oportet vt peregrinus in finibus Hungariæ transeat magnum Danubij flumen, et vadat in

Regis Hungariæ olim potentia.

---

* Forgetting.

Belgradum; Hoc flumen oritur inter Montana Almaniæ, et currens versus Orientem, recipit in se 40. flumina antequam finiatur in mare. De Belgrade intratur terra Bulgariæ, et transitur per Pontem petrinum fluuij Marroy, et per terram Pyncenars, et tunc intratur Græcia, in Ciuitates, Sternes, Asmopape, et Andrinopolis, et sic in Constantinopolim, vbi communiter est sedes Imperatoris Greciæ. Qui autem viam eligit per aquas versus Constantinopolim nauigare, accipiat sibi portum, prout voluerit, propinquum siue remotum, Marsiliæ, Pisi, Ianuæ, Venetijs, Romæ, Neapoli, vel alibi: sicque transeat Tusciam, Campaniam, Italiam, Corsicam, Sardiniam, vsque in Siciliam, quæ diuiditur ab Italia per brachiam maris non magnum. In Sicilia est mons Ætna iugiter ardens, qui ibidem appellatur Mons Gibelle, et præter illum habentur ibi loca Golthan vbi sunt septem leucæ quasi semper ignem spirantes: secundum diuersitatem colorum harum flammarum estimant Incolæ annum fertilem fore, vel sterilem, siccum vel humidum, calidum, vel frigidum: hæc loca vocant caminos Infernales, et à finibus Italiæ vsque ad ista loca sunt 25. miliaria. Sunt autem in Sicilia aliqua Pomeria in quibus inueniuntur frondes, flores, et fructus per totum annum, etiam, in profunda hyeme. Regnum Siciliæ est bona, et grandis insula habens in circuitu ferè leucas 300. Et ne quis erret, vel de facili reprehendat quoties scribo leucam, intelligendum est de leuca Lombardica, quæ aliquantò maior est Geometrica; et quoties pono numerum, sub intelligatur fere, vel circiter, siue citra, et dietam intendo ponere, de 10. Lombardicis leucis: Geometrica autem leuca describitur, vt notum est, per hos versus.

Mons Aetna.

Aeolides insulæ.

Temperies Siciliæ Insulæ.

Leuca Lombardica.

Quid sit dieta.

Quinq; pedes passum faciunt, passus quoq; centum
Viginti quínque stadium, si millia des que
Octo facis stadia, duplicatum dat tibi leuca.

Postquam itáque peregrinus se credidit Deo et mari, si prospera sibi fuerit nauigatio, non ascendet in terram, donec intret aliquem portum Greciæ, scilicet, Myrroyt, Valonæ, Durase, siue alium prout Diuinæ placuerit uoluntati, et exhinc ibit Constantinopolim prædictam, quæ olim Bysantium, vel Vesaton dicebatur. Hic autem notandum est, quòd a portu Venetie, vsq; ad Constantinopolim directè per mare octingentæ leucæ, et 80. communiter computantur ibi contentæ.

Portus Greciæ.

The English Version.

First, zif a man come from the west syde of the world, as Engelond, Irelond, Wales, Skotlond or Norwaye; he may, zif that he wole, go thorge Almayne, and thorge the kyngdom of Hungarye, that marchethe to the lond of Polayne, and to the lond of Pannonye, and so to Slesie. And the Kyng of Hungarye is a gret lord and a myghty, and holdeth grete lordschippes and meche lond in his hond. For he holdeth the kyngdom of Hungarie, Solavonye and of Comanye a gret part, and of Bulgarie, that men clepen the lond of Bougiers, and of the Reme of Roussye a gret partie, whereof he hathe made a Duchee, that lasteth unto the lond of Nyflan, and marchethe to Pruysse. And men gon thorghe the lond of this lord, thorghe a cytee that is clept Cypron, and by the castelle of Neaseburghe, and be the evylle town, that sytt toward the ende of Hungarye. And there passe men the ryvere of Danubee. This ryvere of Danubee is a fulle gret ryvere; and it gothe into Almayne, undre the hilles of Lombardye: and it receiveth into him 40 othere ryveres; and it rennethe thorghe Hungarie and thorghe Greece and thorghe Trachie, and it entreth into the see, toward the est, so rudely and so scharply, that the watre of the see is fressche and holdethe his swetnesse 20 myle within the see.

And aftre gon men to Belgrave, and entren into the lond of Bourgres;* and there passe men a brigge of ston, that is upon the ryver of Marrok.† And men passen thorghe the lond of Pyncemartz, and comen to Greece to the cytee of Nye, and to the cytee of Fynepape, and aftre to the cytee of Dandrenoble,‡ and aftre to Constantynoble, that was wont to be clept Bezanzon.

CAPVT. 3.

De vrbe Constantinopoli, et reliquijs ibidem contentis.

COnstantinopolis pulchra est Ciuitas, et nobilis, triangularis in forma, firmitérque murata, cuius duæ partes includuntur mari Hellesponto, quòd plurimi modò appellant brachium sancti Georgij, et aliqui Buke, Troia vetus. Versus locum vbi hoc

---

* Bulgaria.
† The river Maros.
‡ Adrianople.

brachium exit de mari est lata terræ planities, in quâ antiquitus stetit Troia Ciuitas de qua apud Poetas mira leguntur, sed nunc valdè modica apparent vestigia Ciuitatis. In Constantinopoli habentur multa mirabilia, ac insuper multæ sanctorum venerandæ relliquæi, ac super omnia, preciosissima Crux Christi, seu maior pars illius, et tunica inconsutilis, cum spongia et arundine, et vno clauorum, et dimidia parte coronæ spineæ, cuius altera medietas seruatur in Capella Regis Franciæ, Parisijs. Nam et ego indignus diligenter pluribus vicibus respexi partem vtrámque: dabatur quóque mihi de illa Parisijs vnica spina, quam vsque nunc preciose conseruo, et est ipsa spina non lignea sed uelut de iuncis marinis rigida, et pungitiua. Ecclesia Constantinopolitana in honorem sanctæ Sophiæ, id est, ineffabilis Dei sapientiæ dedicata dicitur, et nobilissima vniuersarum mundi Ecclesiarum, tam in schemate artificiosi operis, quàm in seruatis ibi sacrosanctis Relliquijs: nam et continet corpus sanctæ Annæ matris nostræ Dominæ translatum illuc per Reginam Helenam ab Hierosolymis: et corpus S. Lucæ Euangelistæ translatum de Bethania Iudeæ; Et Corpus beati Ioannis Chrysostomi ipsius Ciuitatis Episcopi, cum multis alijs reliquijs preciosis; quoniam est ibi vas grande cum huiusmodi reliquijs velut marmoreum de Petra Enhydros; quod iugiter de seipso desudans aquam, semel in anno inuenitur suo sudore repletum. Ante hanc Ecclesiam, super columnam marmoream habetur de ære aurato opere fuscrio, magna imago Iustiniani quondam Imperatoris super equum sedentis, fuit autem primitus in manu imaginis fabricata sphæra rotunda, quæ iam diu è manu sua sibi cecidit, in signum quòd Imperator multarum terrarum dominium perdidit. Námque solebat esse Dominus, Romanorum, Græcorum, Asiæ, Syriæ, Iudeæ, Ægypti, Arabiæ, et Persiæ, at nunc solum retinet Greciam, cum aliquibus terris Greciæ adiacentibus, sicut Calistrum, Cholchos, Ortigo, Tylbriam, Minos, Flexon, Melos, Carpates, Lemnon, Thraciam, et Macedoniam totam: Súntq; sub eo Caypoplij, et alti Pyntenardi, ac maxima pars Commannorum. Porrò imago tenet manum eleuatam et extentam in orientem, velut in signum cominationis ad Orientales infideles. De prædicta terra Thraciæ fuit Philosophus Aristoteles oriundus in Ciuitate Stageres, et est ibi in loco tumba eius velut altare, vbi et singulis annis certo die celebratur à populo festum illius, ac si fuisset sanctus. Tem-

Ecclesia sanctæ Sophiæ.

Regina Helena Britanna.

Imago Iustiniani.

poribus ergò magnorum consiliorum conueniunt illuc sapientes terræ, reputantes sibi per inspirationem immitti consilium optimum de agendis. Item ad diuisionem Thraciæ et Macedoniæ sunt duo mirabiliter alti montes, vnus Olympus, alter Athos, cuius vltimi vmbra oriente sole apparet ad 76. miliaria, vsque in insulam Lemnon. In horum cacumine montium ventus non currit, nec aer mouetur, quod frequentèr probatum est per ingenium Astronomorum, qui quandóque ascendentes scripserunt, literas in puluere, quas sequenti anno inuenerunt quasi recentèr scriptas, et quia est ibi purus aer sine mixtione elementi aquæ, necesse est vt ascendentes habeant secum spongias aquæ plenas pro adhelitus respiratione: In prædicta autem sanctæ sophiæ Ecclesia, (sicut ibidem dicitur,) voluit olim quidam Imperator corpus cuiusdam sui defuncti sepelire cognati: cuius cum foderetur sepulchrum, ventum est ad mausoleum antiquum in quo super incineratum corpus iacebat discus auri puri, et erat sculptum in eo literis Græcis, Hebraicis, et Latinis sic. Iesus Christus nascetur de Virgine, et ego credo in eum. Et erat simul inscripta data defuncti secundum modum illius temporis quæ continebat duo millia annorum ante incarnationem ipsius Christi de Maria Virgine. Seruatur quóque hodierno tempore eadem patina in Thesaurario eiusdem Ecclesiæ, et dicitur illud corpus fuisse Hermetis sapientis. Omnes quidem, terrarum, regionum et insularum homines, qui isti Greco obediunt Imperatori sunt Christiani, et baptizati, tamen variant singuli in aliquo articulo fidem suam a nostra vera fide Catholica, et diuersificant in multis suos ritus à ritibus Romanæ Ecclesiæ, quia iamdiu omiserunt obedire Pontifici Romano, dicentes, quoniam beatus Petrus Apostolus habuit sedem in Antiochia, quamuis passus fuit in Roma: Idcirco patriarcha Antiochenus habet in illis Orientalibus partibus similem potestatem, quàm Pontifex Romanus in istis Occidentalibus. Imperator etiam Constantinopolitanus creat eorum patriarcham, et instituit pro sua voluntate Archiepiscopos, et Episcopos, et confert dignitates, et beneficia, similiter inuenta occasione destituit, deponit, et priuat.

Patriarchæ Antiocheni authoritas.

The English Version.

ANd there dwellethe comounly the Emperour of Greece. And there is the most fayr chirche and the most noble of alle the

world: and it is of Seynt Sophie. And before that chirche is the ymage of Justynyan the Emperour, covered with gold, and he sytt upon an hors y crowned. And he was wont to holden a round appelle of gold in his hond: but it is fallen out thereof. And men seyn there, that it is a tokene, that the Emperour hathe y lost a gret partie of his londes, and of his lordschipes: for he was wont to be Emperour of Romayne and of Grece, of alle Asye the lesse, and of the lond of Surrye, of the lond of Judee, in the whiche is Jerusalem, and of the lond of Egypt, of Percye, of Arabye. But he hathe lost alle, but Greee; and that lond he holt alle only. And men wolden many tymes put the appulle into the ymages hond azen, but it wil not holde it. This appulle betokenethe the lordschipe, that he hadde over alle the worlde, that is round. And the tother hond he lifteth up azenst the est, in tokene to manace the mysdoeres. This ymage stont upon a pylere of marble at Constantynoble.

Of the Crosse and the Croune of oure Lord Jesu Crist.

Cap. II.

AT Costantynoble is the cros of our Lord Jesu Crist, and his cote withouten semes, that is clept *tunica inconsutilis*, and the spounge, and the reed, of the whiche the Jewes zaven oure Lord eyselle* and galle, in the cros. And there is on of the nayles, that Crist was naylled with on the cros. And some men trowen, that half the cros, that Crist was don on, be in Cipres, in an abbey of monkes, that men callen the Hille of the Holy Cros; but it is not so: for that cros, that is in Cypre, is the cros, in the whiche Dysmas the gode theef was honged onne. But alle men knowen not that; and that is evylle y don. For profyte of the offrynge, thei seye, that it is the cros of oure Lord Jesu Crist. And zee schulle undrestonde, that the cros of oure Lord was made of 4 manere of trees, as it is conteyned in this vers,

In cruce fit palma, cedrus, cypressus, oliva.

For that pece, that went upright fro the erthe to the heved,† was of cypresse; and the pece, that wente overthwart, to the whiche his honds wern nayled, was of palme; and the stock, that stode within the erthe, in the whiche was made the morteys, was of cedre; and the table aboven his heved, that was a fote and an half long, on the whiche the title was writen, in Ebreu, Grece and Latyn, that was of olyve. And the Jewes maden the cros of theise

---

* Vinegar,

† Head.

4 manere of trees: for thei trowed that oure Lord Jesu Crist scholde han honged on the cros, als longe as the cros myghten laste. And therfore made thei the foot of the cros of cedre. For cedre may not, in erthe ne in watre, rote. And therfore thei wolde, that it scholde have lasted longe. For thei trowed, that the body of Crist scholde have stonken; therfore thei made that pece, that went from the erthe upward, of cypres: for it is welle smellynge; so that the smelle of his body scholde not greve men, that wenten forby. And the overthwart pece was of palme: for in the Olde Testament, it was ordyned, that whan on overcomen, he scholde be crowned with palme: and for thei trowed, that thei hadden the victorye of Crist Jesus, therfore made thei the overthwart pece of palme.* And the table of the tytle, thei maden of olyve; for olyve betokenethe pes. And the storye of Noe wytnessethe, whan that the culvert† broughte the braunche of olyve, that betokened pes made betwene God and man. And so trowed the Jewes for to have pes, when Crist was ded: for thei seyd, that he made discord and strif amonges hem. And zee schulle undirstonde, that oure Lord was y naylled on the cros lyggynge; and therfore he suffred the more peyne. And the Cristene men, that dwellen bezond the see, in Grece, seyn that the tree of the cros, that we callen cypresse, was of that tree, that Adam ete the appulle of: and that fynde thei writen. And thei seyn also, that here Scripture seythe, that Adam was seek,‡ and seyed to his sone Sethe, that he scholde go to the Aungelle, that kepte paradys, that he wolde senden hym oyle of mercy, for to anoynte with his membres, that he myghte have hele. And Sethe wente. But the aungelle wolde not late him come in; but seyd to him, that he myghte not have of the oyle of mercy. But he toke him three greynes of the same tree, that his fadre eet the appelle offe; and bad him, als sone as his fadre was ded, that he scholde putte theise three greynes undre his tonge, and grave him so: and he dide. And of theise three greynes sprong a tree, as the aungelle seyde, that it scholde, and bere a fruyt, thorghe the whiche fruyt Adam scholde be saved. And whan Sethe cam azen, he fonde his fadre nere ded. And whan he was ded, he did with the greynes, as the aungelle bad him; of the whiche sprongen three trees, of the

---

* The reference is to the Olympic Games.

† Dove. Anglo-Saxon, *Cufra.*

‡ Sick.

whiche the cros was made, that bare gode fruyt and blessed, oure Lord Jesu Crist; thorghe whom, Adam and alle that comen of him, scholde be saved and delyvered from drede of dethe withouten ende, but it be here own defaute. This holy cros had the Jewes hydde in the erthe, undre a roche of the Mownt of Calvarie; and it lay there 200 zeer and more, into the tyme that Seynt Elyne, that was modre to Constantyn the Emperour of Rome. And sche was doughtre of Kyng Cool born in Colchestre, that was Kyng of Engelond, that was clept thanne, Brytayne the more; the whiche the Emperour Constance wedded to his wyf, for here bewtee, and gat upon hire Constantyn, that was aftre Emperour of Rome.

And zee schulle undirstonde, that the cros of oure Lord was eyght cubytes long, and the overthwart piece was of lengthe thre cubytes and an half. And a partie of the crowne of oure Lord, wherwith he was crowned, and on of the nayles, and the spere heed, and many other relikes ben in France, in the kinges chapelle. And the crowne lythe in a vesselle of cristalle richely dyghte. For a kyng of Fraunce boughte theise relikes somtyme of the Jewes; to whom the Emperour had leyde hem to wedde, for a gret summe of sylvre. And zif alle it be so, that men seyn, that this croune is of thornes, zee schulle undirstonde, that it was of jonkes of the see, that is to sey, rushes of the see, that prykken als scharpely as thornes. For I have seen and beholden many tymes that of Parys and that of Costantynoble: for thei were bothe on, made of russches of the see. But men han departed hem in two parties: of the whiche, o part is at Parys, and the other part is at Costantynoble. And I have on of tho precyouse thornes, that semethe licke a white thorn; and that was zoven to me for gret specyaltee. For there are many of hem broken and fallen into the vesselle, that the croune lythe in: for thei breken for dryenesse, whan men meven hem, to schewen hem to grete lords, that comen thidre.

And zee schulle undirstonde, that oure Lord Jesu, in that nyghte that he was taken, he was y lad in to a gardyn; and there he was first examyned righte scharply; and there the Jewes scorned him, and maden him a crowne of the braunches of albespyne, that is white thorn, that grew in that same gardyn, and setten it on his heved, so faste and so sore, that the blood ran down be many places of his visage, and of his necke, and of his schuldres. And therfore hathe white thorn many vertues: for he that berethe a braunche on him thereoffe, no thondre ne no maner of tempest may dere him; ne in the hows, that it is inne, may non evylle gost entre ne come unto the place that it is inne. And in that same gardyn, Seynt Petre denyed our Lord thryes. Aftreward was oure Lord lad forthe before the bisschoppes and the maystres of the lawe, in to another gardyn of Anne; and there also he was examyned, repreved, and scorned, and crouned eft with a whyte thorn, that men clepethe barbarynes, that grew in that gardyn, and that hathe also manye vertues. And aftreward he was lad in to a gardyn of Cayphas, and there he was crouned with eglentier. And aftre he was lad in to the chambre of Pylate, and there he was examynd and crouned. And the Jewes setten him in a chayere and cladde him in a mantelle; and there made thei the croune of jonkes of the see; and there thei kneled to him, and skornede him, seyenge, *Ave, Rex Judeorum*, that is to seye, *Heyl, Kyng of Jewes.* And of this croune, half is at Parys, and the other half at Costantynoble. And this croune had Crist on his heved, whan he was don upon the cros: and therfore oughte men to worschipe it and holde it more worthi than ony of the othere.

And the spere schaft hathe the Emperour of Almayne; but the heved is at Parys. And natheles the Emperour of Costantynoble seythe that he hathe the spere heed: and I have often tyme seen it; but it is grettere than that at Parys.

Of the Cytee of Costantynoble, and of the Feithe of Grekis.

Cap. III.

AT Costantynoble lyethe Seynte Anne oure Ladyes modre, whom Seynte Elyne dede brynge fro Jerusalem. And there lyethe also the body of John Crisostome, that was Erchebisschopp of Costantynoble. And there lythe also Seynt Luke the Evaungelist: for his bones werein broughte from Bethanye, where he was beryed. And many other relikes ben there. And there is the vesselle of ston, as it were of marbelle, that men clepen enydros, that evermore droppeth watre, and fillethe himself everiche zeer, til that it go over above, withouten that that men take fro withinne.

Costantynoble is a fulle fayr cytee, and a gode and a wel walled, and it is three cornered. And there is an arm of the see Hellespont: and sum men callen it the mouthe of Costantynoble; and sum men callen it the brace of Seynt George: and that arm closethe the two partes of the cytee. And upward to the see, upon the watre, was wont to be the grete cytee of Troye, in a fulle fayr playn : but that cytee was destroyed by hem of Grece, and lytylle apperethe there of, be cause it so longe sithe it was destroyed.

Abouten Grece there ben many iles, as Calistre,[*] Calcas,[†] Critige,[‡] Tesbria,[§] Mynea,[‖] Flaxon,[¶] Melo,[**] Carpate,[††] and Lempne.[‡‡] And in this ile is the Mount Athos,[§§] that passeth the cloudes. And there ben many dyvers langages and many contreys, that ben obedyent to the Emperour; that is to seyn Turcople, Pyneynard, Cornange, and manye othere, as Trachye,[‖‖] and Macedoigne, of the whiche Alisandre was kyng. In this contree was Aristotle born, in a cytee that men clepen Stragers, a lytil fro the cytee of Trachaye. And at Stragers lythe Aristotle ; and there is an awtier upon his toumbe : and there maken men grete festes of hym every zeer, as thoughe he were a seynt. And at his awtier, thei holden here grete conseilles and here assembleez: and thei hopen, that thorghe inspiracioun of God and of him, thei schulle have the better conseille. In this contree ben righte hyghe hilles, toward the ende of Macedonye. And there is a gret hille, that men clepen Olympus,[¶¶] that departeth Macedonye and Trachye : and it is so highe, that it passeth the cloudes. And there is another hille, that is clept Athos,[***] that is so highe, that the schadewe of hym rechethe to Lempne, that is an ile ; and it is 76 myle betwene. And aboven at the cop of the hille is the eir so cleer, that men may fynde no wynd there. And therefore may no best lyve there ; and so is the eyr drye. And men seye in theise contrees, that philosophres som tyme wenten upon theise hilles, and helden to here nose a spounge moysted with watre, for to have eyr ; for the eyr above was so drye. And aboven, in the dust and in the powder of tho hilles, thei wroot lettres and figures with hire fingres: and at the zeres end thei comen azen, and founden the same lettres and figures, the whiche thei hadde writen the zeer before, withouten ony defaute. And therfore it semethe wel, that theise hilles passen the clowdes and joynen to the pure eyr.

---

[*] Calliste, one of the Cyclades.
[†] Colchos.
[‡] Cerigo.
[§] Resorio.
[‖] Mynia is a town in the Island of Amorgos.
[¶] Flexos.
[**] Milo.
[††] Carpathos, probably.
[‡‡] Lemnos.
[§§] Athos is on the main land, on a promontory S.E. of Solonica.
[‖‖] Thrace.
[¶¶] The altitude is 9753 feet.
[***] It is only 6678 feet. This is the old Greek verse :

Ἄθωος καλύπτει πλευρὰ λεμνίας βοός.

At Constantynoble is the palays of the Emperour, righte fair and wel dyghte: and therein is a fair place for justynges, or for other pleyes and desportes. And it is made with stages and hath degrees aboute, that every man may wel se, and non greve other. And undre theise stages ben stables wel y vowted* for the Emperours hors; and alle the pileres ben of Marbelle. And with in the chirche of Seynt Sophie, an emperour somtyme wolde have biryed the body of his fadre, whan he was ded; and as thei maden the grave, thei founden a body in the erthe, and upon the body lay a fyn plate of gold; and there on was writen, in Ebreu, Grece and Latyn, lettres that seyden thus, *Jesu Cristus nascetur de Virgine Maria, et ego credo in eum:* That is to seyne, *Jesu Crist schalle be born of the Virgyne Marie, and I trowe in hym.* And the date whan it was leyd in the erthe, was 2000 zeer before oure Lord was born. And zet is the plate of gold in the thresorye of the chirche. And men seyn, that it was Hermogene the wise man.

And zif alle it so be, that men of Grece ben Cristene, zit they varien from our feithe. For thei seyn, that the Holy Gost may not come of the Sone; but alle only of the Fadir. And thei are not obedyent to the Chirche of Rome, ne to the Pope. And thei seyn, that here patriark hathe as meche power over the see as the Pope hathe on this syde the see. And therefore Pope Johne the 22^d sende letters to hem, how Christene feithe scholde ben alle on; and that thei scholde ben obedyent to the Pope, that is Goddis vacrie† on erthe; to whom God zaf his pleyn power, for to bynde and to assoille: and therfore thei scholde ben obedyent to him. And thei senten azen dyverse answeres; and amonges other, thei seyden thus: *Potentiam tuam summam, circa tuos subjectos, firmiter credimus. Superbiam tuam summam tolerare non possumus. Avaritiam tuam summam satiare non intendimus. Dominus tecum: quia Dominus nobiscum est.* That is to seye: *We trowe wel, that thi power is gret upon thi subgettes. We mai not suffre thin high pryde. We ben not in purpos to fulfille thi gret covetyse. Lord be with the: for oure Lord*

---

* Baulted.

† Vicar.

is with us. Fare welle. And other answere myghte he not have of hem. And also thei make here sacrement of the awteer of therf[*] bred: for oure Lord made it of suche bred, whan he made his mawndee.[†] And on the Scherethors[‡] day make thei here therf bred, in tokene of the mawndee, and dryen it at the sonne, and kepen it alle the zeer, and zeven it to seke men, in stede of Goddis body. And thei make but on unxioun, whan thei christene children. And thei annoynte not the seke men. And thei saye, that there nys no purgatorie, and the soules schulle not have nouther joye ne peyne, tille the day of doom. And thei seye, that fornicatioun is no synne dedly, but a thing that is kyndely: and the men and women scholde not wedde but ones; and whoso weddethe oftere than ones, here children ben bastardis and geten in synne. And here prestis also ben wedded. And thei saye also, that usure is no dedly synne. And they sellen benefices of Holy Chirche: and so don men in othere places: God amende it, whan his wille is. And that is gret sclaundre.[§] For now is symonye kyng crouned in Holy Chirche: God amende it for his mercy. And thei seyn, that in Lentone, men schulle not faste, ne synge masse; but on the Satreday and on the Sonday. And thei faste not on the Satreday, no tyme of the zeer, but it be Cristemasse even on Estre even. And thei suffre not the Latines to syngen at here awteres: and zif thei done, be ony aventure, anon thei wasschen the awteer with holy watre. And thei seyn, that there scholde be but o masse seyd at on awtier, upon o day. And thei seye also, that oure Lord ne eet nevere mete: but he made tokene of etyng. And also thei seye, that wee synne dedly, in schavynge oure berdes. For the berd is tokene of a man, and zifte of oure Lord. And thei seye, that wee synne dedly, in etynge of bestes, that weren forboden in the Old Testament, and of the olde lawe; as swyn, hares, and othere bestes, that chewen not here code. And thei seyn, that wee synnen, when wee eten flessche on the dayes before Assche Wednesday, and of that wee eten flessche the Wednesday, and egges and chese upon the Frydayes. And thei accursen alle tho, that absteynen hem to eten flessche the Satreday. Also the Emperour of Costantynoble makethe the patriarke, the erchebysschoppes and bisschoppes; and zevethe dygnytees and the benefices of chirches, and deprivethe hem that ben worthy, whan he fyndethe ony cause. And so is the lord bothe temperelle and spirituelle, in his contree, And zif zee wil wite* of here A, B, C, what lettres thei ben, here zee may seen hem, with the names, that thei clepen hem there amonges them.

---

[*] Unleavened. *Anglo-Saxon*, peorf.
[†] Last Supper.
[‡] Shrove. Thursday.
[§] Scandal.

α Alpha, β Betha, γ Gamma, δ Deltha, ε Epsilon, ζ Zeta, η Eta, θ Theta, ι Iota, κ Kappa, λ Lamba, μ My, ν Ny, ξ Xi, ο Omicron, π Pi, ρ Rho, σ Sigma, τ Tau, υ Upsilon φ Phi, χ Chi, ψ Psi, ω Omega.

And alle be it that theise thinges touchen not to o way, nevertheles thei touchen to that, that I have hight zou, to schewe zou a partie of custumes and maneres, and dyversitees of contrees. And for this is the first contree that is discordant in feythe and in beleeve, and variethe from our feythe, on this half the see, therefore I have sett it here, that zee may knowe the dyversitee that is betwene our feythe and theires. For many men han gret lykynge to here speke of straunge thinges of dyverse contreyes.

Capvt 4.

Via tam per terras quam per aquas à Constantinopoli vsque* Acharon.

A Constantinopoli qui voluerit ire pedes, transibit statim nauigio Brachium Sancti Georgij quod satis est strictum, ibſque ad Ruphinal quod est forte castrum, inde ad Puluereal, et hinc ad castrum Synopulum. Ex tunc intrat Cappadociam, terram latam sed plenam altis montibus, deinde Turciam ad portum Theueron, et ad Ciuitatem ita dictam, nunc munitam firmis turribus, ac muris, per quam transit fluuius Reglay. Postea transitur sub Alpibus Noyremont, et per valles de Mallenbrinis in districto Rupium, ac per villam Doronarum, et alias villas adiacentes fluuijs Reglay, et Granconiæ, sícque peruenitur ad Antiochiam minorem super Reglay, quæ vocatur nobilior Ciuitas Syriæ: Notandum autem quòd Regnum olim dictum Syria, modò communiter vocatur Suria. Ista verò Antiochia, est magna, pulchra, ac firma, licet quandóque maior, Antiochia.

---

* Know.
Marginal note.—Vel Achon.

pulchrior, ac firmior fuerit. Tunc autem transitur per Ciuitates Laonsam, Gibellam, Tortusiam, Toruplam, et Berythum super mare vbi sanctus Georgius fertur occidisse Draconem. Hinc pergitur in Ciuitatem nunc dictam Acon, quondam Ptolomaidem, antiquitùs Acharon, quæ tempore quo eam vltimò Christiani tenebant circa annum incarnationis Domini 1280. erat Ciuitas valdè fortis, sed modò apparent eius magnæ ruinæ. Porrò a Constantinopoli poterit peregrinus faciliùs versus Hierosolymorum partes per mare nauigare quam per terras peregrinare prædictas, si deus illi propitius fuerit, et mare fidem conseruauerit.

* Vel Smyrnam.

Sio.

Qui ergò a Constantinopoli iter transire nauigando disponit, tendat ad Ciuitatem* Myrnam vbi nunc ossa Sancti Nicholai venerantur, et sic procedendo per multa maritima loca veniet ad Insulam Sio vbi crescit gummi mastix lucidum: Inde ad Insulam Pathmos Sancti Ioannis Euangelistæ, et ad Ephesum vbi idem noscitur sepultus: hanc totam minorem Asiam tenent nunc pessimi Turci, et eam appellant minorem Turciam. Post Ephesum nauigatur per plures Insulas vsq; Pateram Ciuitatem, vndè oriundus fuit beatus Nicholaus, ac per Myrrheam vbi stetit Ephesus, vbi nascuntur fortia vina valdè, deinde ad Insulam Cretæ, hinc Coos postea Lango, vndè Hypocrates Medicus dicitur natus: tuncq; ad grandem Insulam Rhodum; et sciendum quod a Constantinopoli vsq; Rhodum, per mare dicuntur ducentæ octuaginta leucæ. Hanc insulam totam tenent, et gubernant Christiani Hospitalarij nunc temporis, quæ quondam Colosse dicebatur: nam et multi Saracenorum adhuc eam sic appellant, vnde et Epistola, quam beatus Paulus ad habitatores huius Insulæ scripsit, intitulabatur ad Colossenses. Ab hoc loco nauigando in Cyprum, aspicitur absorptio Ciuitatis Sathaliæ, quæ sicut olim Sodoma dicitur perijsse, propter vnicum crimen contra naturam a quodam Iuuene petulante commissum. Sciendum quod a Rhodo ad Cyprum feruntur plenè quingentæ quinquaginta leucæ: Cyprus magna, et pulchra est Insula habens Archiepiscopatum, cum quinque Episcopatibus suffraganeis: Illuc Famagosta, est vnus de principalibus portibus mundi, in quo ferè omnium mercatores conueniunt nationum, tam Christianorum, quam multorum Paganorum, et similiter apud portum Limechon. Est ibi et Abbatia ordinis sancti Benedicti, in monte sanctæ Crucis, vbi dicitur saluati latronis seruari crux,

Rhodus Insula.

Cyprus Insula.

qui in eadem cruce audiuit à Christo, Hodiè mecum eris in Paradiso. Corpus etiam sancti Hylarionis seruatur ibi, in castro Damers quod Rex Cypri facit diligentissimè custodiri: Vltrà modum fortia vina nascuntur in Cypro, quæ primo rubra, post annum albescunt, et quo vetustiora, eo albiora ac magis odorifera, ac fortia efficiuntur. Vlteriùs paucissimæ villæ, aut Ciuitates sunt Christianorum, sed ferè omnia Saraceni possident infideles: et proh dolor, ab Anno 1200. incarnationis Domini aut circà, pacificè tenuerunt. Qui autem a Cypro prospere legit spacia maris, poterit in duobus naturalibus diebus peruenire in portum Ioppæ, qui Iaffe nunc nuncupatur, et proximus est a Ierusalem, distans 16. tantum leucas, hoc est dieta cum dimidia. Et sciendum quod circa medium, inter Cyprum, et Iaffe est portus Tyri quondam munitissimæ Ciuitatis, hanc dum vltimo Saraceni à Christianis ceperunt turpissimè destruxerunt, custodientes iam curiosè portum, timore Christianorum. Iste portus non vocatur modò Tyrus, sed Sur. Nam et ab illa parte est ibi introitus terræ Suriæ. Ante istam Ciuitatem Tyrum habetur quidam lapis, super quem dominus noster Iesus Christus sedendo suis discipulis vel populis prædicauit. Vnde, et Christiani olim super hunc locum construxerunt Ecclesiam in nomine Saluatoris. Peregrinus vero qui ab hoc loco vult peregrinari, morosè sciat, quod ad octo leucas à Tyro in orientem est Sarepta Sydoniorum, vbi olim Elias Propheta filium viduæ suscitauit a morte. Itemq; sciat, quod a Tyro in vnica dieta pergere potest in Achon, siue Acharon supra scripta. Circa Acon versùs mare, ad 120. stadia, quorum 16. leucam constituunt, est mons Carmeli, vbi morabatur præfatus Elias, et superalium montem Villa Saffra vbi sanctus Iacobus, et Ioannes germani Apostoli nascebantur, et in quorum natiuitatis loco pulchra habetur Ecclesia. Item propè Acon ad ripam dictam Beleon, est fossa multum vtilis, et mirabilis quæ dicitur fossa Mennon, hæc est rotunda circumferentia, cuius diameter continet prope 100. cubitos, plena alba et resplendente arena, et mundi ex qua conficitur mundum et perlucidum vitrum. Pro hac arena venitur per aquas, et per terras, et exportatur manibus et vehiculis propè et procul, et quantumcúnque de die exhauritur, repleta manè altero reperitur: Et est in fossa ventus grandis et iugis, qui mirabiliter arenam

Fortis Cypri vina.

Ioppa, vel Iaffe.

Portus Tyri, aliàs Sur.

Achon, olim Acharon.

Mons Carmeli.

Fossa Beleon.

commouere videtur. Si quis autem vitrum de hac arena factum in fossa reponeret, conuerteretur iterum in arenam, et qui imponeret frustum metalli, verteretur in vitrum: nonnulli reputant hanc fossam esse spiraculum maris arenosi, de quo mari aliquid locuturus sum in sequentibus. Ab Acon via versus Ierusalem bifurcatur: nam qui tenet vnum latus potest ire secus Iordanem fluuium, in Ciuitatem Damascum, qui verò aliud, ibit in tribus aut quatuor dietis Gazam, de qua olim fortis Samson asportauit nocte fores portarum: deinde in Cæsaream Philippi, et Ascalonem, et Ioppam portum supradictum, Hincque in Rama, et Castellum Emaus, et sic in Ierusalem vrbem sacrosanctam.

CAPVT. 5.

Via à Francia aut Flandria per solas terras vsque Ierusalem.

Itineribus, quæ per terras, et per mare a nostris partibus ducunt in terram promissionis descriptis, restat breuiter dicendum de alia via, per quam omnino mare transeundum non est, videlicet per Almaniam, per Bohemiam, per Prussiam, et hinc per terram Paganorum regni Lituaniæ, et sic per longam, et pessimam terram primæ Tartariæ vsque in Indiam: Dico autem Tartariæ primæ, quoniam de hac exijt primus Imperator totius Tartariæ, qui semper vocatur Grand Can, quo vix maiorem mundus habet terrenum Dominum, excepto Imperatore superioris Indiæ, de quibus in secunda et tertia huius tractatus partibus, aliquanto est diffusius narrandum. Cuncti principes huius primæ Tartariæ, quorum summus semper vocatur Bachu, et moratur in Ciuitate Horda, reddunt Imperatore Grand Can, magna tributa. Est autem hæc prima Tartaria terra misera et sabulosa, et infructuosa: hoc enim scio, quòd per aliquod tempus steti in ea, et perambulaui Insulas, regiones, et terras circumiacentes, scilicet, Russiæ, Inflau, Craco, Latton, Restau, et alias nonnullas: crescunt námque in ista Tartaria modica blada, pauca vina, et fructuum, ac frugum parua copia, exceptis herbis pro pastu Bestiarum, quarum ibi est abundantia: nam carnibus illarum vescuntur pro omnibus cibarijs, ius earum sorbentes, et pro potu bibentes lac de omni genere bestiarum. Quin etiam pauperiores manducant canes, lupos, catos, ratos, talpas, ac mures, ac huiusmodi bestiolas

Horda est multitudo viuens in agris.

omnes: sed nec aliquis Princeps aut prælatus comedit vltra semel in die, et hoc parcè, vel parcissimè: et sunt homines valdè immundi, quia non nisi benè diuites vtuntur mappis, linteaminibus, aut lineis indumentis: sed nec habent copiam lignorum, vnde et fimum boum, ac omnium bestiarum desiccatum ad solem accipiunt pro ignis materia, vbi se calefaciunt, et coquendo coquunt. Aestiuo tempore, cadunt ibi frequenter tempestates, tonitruorum, fulminum, et grandinum, quibus domus, arbores, bestiæ, et homines, comburuntur, euelluntur, et occiduntur. Nam et quandoque subrepentè oritur ibi calor immoderatus, et improuiso frigus immoderatum. Deníque cum terra illa, se multum inclinet ad polum Septentrionalem, fortius ibi gelare solet, et frequentius, ac diutius quàm ad partes nostras, vnde et quasi omnes habent ibi stupas, in quibus manducant, et operantur. Nec valet à nostris partibus ingredi ad illam nisi tempore gelicidij, quod ad introitum eius sunt tres dietæ, de via molli, aquatica, et profunda, in qua dum viator putaret se stare securum, profunderetur in lutum ad tibias, ad genua, ad femora vel ad renes: hoc ergo sciendum quòd paucissimi tendunt per hanc viam in terram promissionis: Nam iter est graue, distortum, longum, et periculosum sicut audistis, imò periculosius quàm scribo.

Mores Tartarorum.

Hyeme præcipue iter faciunt per terram.

CAPVT. 6.

Via de Cypro vel Ierusalem vsque in Babyloniam Ægypti.

DEscripto sicut potui triplicitèr itinere in terram sanctam, restat videre de duabus alijs vijs, quæ incidentèr solent contingere peregrinis: Multi námque illorum ex speciali deuotione desiderant visitare ossa beatissimæ Virginis Catharinæ in monte Sinay: Cum igitur ipsis sit necessarius Soldani Babyloniæ conductus eo quod Imperator sit, et dominus omnium illarum terrarum, quidam postquam perueniunt in Cyprum tendunt primò in Babyloniam Ægypti, pro impetrando conductu securo, átque indè pergentes in Sinay vadunt in Ierusalem. Quidam verò postquam perfecerunt peregrinationem Hierosolymitanam, pergunt per terras ad Soldanum pro conductu, et tum in Sinay, propter quòd vtramque viam breuiter describo. De

Babylonia Aegypti.

Cypro in Ægyptum itur per mare relinquendo Hierosolymorum terram ad manum sinistram, et accipitur primus portus Ægypti, dictus Damiata: ibi quondam fuit Ciuitas valdè munita, sed quod Christiani illam, primi et altera vice ceperunt, Sarraceni vltimò destruxerunt, et aliam remotius à mari eiusdem nominis Ciuitatem ædificauerunt: Hinc venitur in portum Alexandriæ Ægypti, quæ est Ciuitas magna, pulchra, et fortis valde, sed ábsq; aquis potabilibus. Adducit tamen sibi per longos ductus aquam Nili fluminis in cisternis ad potandum. Alexandria nobilis 30. stadia habet longitudinis decémque in latum. In ea restant adhuc plures Ecclesiæ à tempore Christianorum, sed Sarraceni non sustinentes picturas Sanctorum omnes parietes albauerunt. De Alexandria per terras venitur in Babyloniam Ægypti, quæ etiam fundata iacet supra prædictum Nilum fluuium: Dicitur autem hæc Babylonia minor ad differentiam magnæ Babyloniæ, siue Babel, vbi Deus linguas confudit olim, quæ tendendo inter Orientem et Septentrionem distat ab ista dietas circiter 40. nec est sub potestate Soldani, sed Imperatoris Persarum, qui illam tenet in homagio ab Imperatore Cathay, dicto, Grand Can. Hæc autem Babylonia Ægypti est Ciuitas grandis et fortis, tamen valdè prope eam est alia maior dicta Cayr, in qua vt sæpiùs residet Soldanus, quanquam Babylonia nomen per seculum diffusius est cognitum. Altera autem via peregrinorum de Hierosolymis pro conducta tendentium ad Soldanum talis esse potest. Primò tendant de Ierusalem in suprà dictam Gazam Palestinorum, inde ad Castellum Dayre, átque ex tunc exitur de terra Syriæ, et intratur à superiori parte in desertum longum arenosum, et sterile, propè ad septem dietas, quod lingua eorum vocatur Abilech; tamen per illud inueniantur plura hospitia, vbi haberi possunt ad victum necessaria. Et qui in eundo rectum iter tenet, veniet in Ciuitatem dictam, Balbes, quæ est ad finem Regni Halapiæ: Sícque expleto Deserto, intratur terra Ægypti, quam ipsi Canopat vocant, et aliqui Mersur, átque ex tunc in Babyloniam, et Cayr, præfatam: In ista verò Babylonia habetur pulchra Ecclesia Mariæ virginis, in loco vbi morabatur cum filio suo, et Ioseph tempore suæ fugæ, et creditur ibi contineri corpus Virginis Barbaræ.

Damiata portus Aegypti.

Alexandria.

Cayr ciuitas.

Abilech desertum.

CAPVT. 7.

De Pallatio Soldani, ac numero, et nominibus præteritorum Soldanorum.

CAyr ciuitas Imperialis et Regalis est valdè munita, et grandis, decorata sede propria Sarracenorum Regni, vbi dominus eorum Soldanus communiter residere solet, in suo Calahelick, id est, castro forti, et lato, ac in euecta rupe statuto. Siquidem Soldanus eorum lingua sonat nomen similis maiestatis, quo nos in Latino dicimus Cæsarem, aut Imperatorem. Pro custodia huius Castri sunt ibidem omni tempore morantes sex millia personarum, et pro seruiendo, dum ibi residet, ipsi Soldano, qui omnes de Curia eadem accipiunt necessaria, et donatiua. Iste Imperator Soldanus, est Rex, Dominúsque quínque Regnorum magnorum: Canopat, hoc est, Ægypti; totius Iudeæ, sicut olim Dauid, et Salomon; Halapiæ, in terra Machsyriæ, cuius ciuitas Damascus olim erat principalis; Arabiæ, quod est regnum valdè protensum, et cum his possidet dominatus omnium Caliphorum: ad quod sciendum, quòd quandóque fuerunt tres Caliphorum dominatus: Ex quibus primus Caliphus qui dicebatur Chaldæorum, et Arabum, cuius erat sedes in Ciuitate Baldac. Alter Barbarorum et Affricorum, cuius erat sedes in Maroco super Mare Hispaniæ. Tertius Aegypti: Est autem Caliphus inter eos, velut inter nos Imperator, et Papa simul, scilicet, Dominus temporalium, et spiritualium. Exactis igitur Caliphis circa annum incarnationis Christi 1150, primus Soldanorum fuit nominatus Saracon: secundus filius eius, Saladin, qui anno 1190. cum Turcis totam ferè terram promissionis abstulit à Christianis. Et sub quo Richardus Rex Angliæ cum alijs principibus Christianis custodiebat passum Rupium, ne ille sicut proposuerat transire, profecisset vltra. Tertius Melachsala, à quo sanctus Ludouicus rex Franciæ captiuabatur in bello. Quartus Turquenna, qui Regem prædictum redemi dimisit pro pecunia. Quintus Meleth. Sextus Melethemes. Septimus Melec dayr, sub quo Edwardus Rex Angliæ intrauit cum nostris Syriam, damnificans plurimum Sarracenos. Octauus Melec salle. Nonus Elphi, qui Anno Incarnationis Domini 1289. destruxit in illis partibus enormiter Christianos, et penitus omnes inde fugauit, átque recepit Tripolim

Caliphus quid sit.

Series Soldanorum Aegypti.

Richardus Rex Angliæ.

Edwardus princeps Angliæ, Regis Hen. 3. filius.

Ciuitatem. Decimus Melethasseras: hic cepit Anno Domini 1291. in octaua paschæ Accharon, fugatis vel occisis ex ea omnibus Christianis. Exinde amissis succedentium nominibus, sextus decimus dicebatur vel dicitur Melec Mandibron: sub isto steti ego per aliquod tempus stipendiarius in guerris suis contra Bedones, qui ei tunc temporis rebellabant. Horum etiam mores, et continentiam populorum, in sequentibus declarabo: sicut veraciter fateri possum, ipse ad filiam cuiusdam sui Principis me obtulit vxorare, et magnis dotari possessionibus, dummodò Christianitati resignassem: Eúmque dimisi Soldanum, quando de partibus illis recessi.

Potentia Soldani Aegypti.

Soldanus præter homines ad sua castra seruanda deputatos, potest educere quoties velit in exercitum de hominibus de ipsius stipendijs viuentibus et ad eius iugitèr mandata paratis, 20. millia armatorum, ex sola Ægypto: Et ex Syria, et Turcia, et alijs terris, 50. millia exceptis ruralibus, et Ciuitatem comitatibus, qui sunt velut innumerabiles. Miles quidem stipendiarius recipit de Curia pro anni Tempore 121. aureos, et sub tali stipendio seruit cum tribus equis et vno Camelo. Quadringenti vel Quingenti horum militum ordinati sunt sub vno rectore, que vocatur Admirabilis: Et ille solus recipit de curia tantum, sicut omnes sibi subditi: Notandum quod nunquam extraneus Nuncius ire permittitur ad Soldanum nisi auratis indutus vestibus, vel panno Tartarico aut camoleoto ad modum nobilium Sarracenorum: et oportet vt vbicunque primum nuncius Soldanum aspiciat, siue ad fenestras, siue alibi, vt cadat ad genua, vel protinus osculetur terram, quia talem reuerentiam facere, signum est quòd ille desiderat ei loqui.

Reuerentia exhibita Soldano.

Quamdiu autem tales loquuntur sibi, aut literas ostendunt, circumstant Apparitores extensis brachijs, leuatos tenentes mucrones, gladios, gezas, et mackas ad feriendum, et occidendum, si quid dictum vel nunciatum fuerit, quod Imperatori displiceat, quàm citò ille signauerit trucidari. Veruntamen sciendum est quòd nullius hominis personaliter ab ipso quidquam petentis consueuit repellere preces rationabiles, et contra eorum leges aut mores non venientes.

Cuius nomen erat M. Ioannes ad Barbam.

Porrò ego in Curia manens, vidi circa Soldanum vnum venerabilem, et expertum medicum, de nostris partibus oriundum: solet namque circa se retinere diuersarum medicos nationum, et quos nominandæ audierit esse famæ: Nos tamen raro inuicem conuenimus ad colloquium, eò quòd meum seruitium cum suo modicum congruebat: longo autem posteà tempore, et ab illo loco remotè, videlicet in Leodij ciuitate, composui hortatu et adiutorio eiusdem venerabilis viri hunc tractatum, sicut in fine operis totius enarrabo. Itémque in Cayr ciuitate ducuntur ad forum communitur tam viri quàm mulieres aliarum legum, et nationum venales, et ad modum bestiarum venduntur pro pecunia ad seruiendum in suis artificijs. Habetur quoque ibi domus plena furnis paruis, in quibus per custodes domus tam hyeme quàm æstate fouentur oua gallinarum, anatum, aucarum, et columbarum, vsque ad procreationem suorum pullorum, et hijs intendunt, pro certo pretio accipiendo à mulierculis illic oua ferentibus.

Mos oua furnis fouendi.

Capvt. 8.

De Campo Balsami in Egypto.

EXtra hanc ciuitatem Cayr, est Campus seu ager Balsami: circa quod sciendum, quòd optimum totius mundi Balsamum in magno crescit Indiæ deserto, vbi Alexander Magnus dicitur quondam locutus fuisse arboribus Solis et Lunæ, de quo in sequentibus aliquid est scribendum. Illo itaque Indiæ Balsamo duntaxat excepto, non est liquor in vniuerso orbe, qui huic creditur comparari. Has arbores seu arbusta Balsami fecit quondam quidam de Caliphis Aegypti de loco Engaddi inter mare mortuum, et Ierico, vbi Domino volente excreuerat, eradicari, et in argo prædicto plantari: est tamen hoc mirandum, quod vbicunque alibi siue propè, siue remotè plantantur, quamuis fortè virent, et exurgant, non tamen fructificant. Et è contrario apparet hoc miraculosum, quod in hoc agro Cayr non se permittant coli per Sarracenos, sed solummodò per Christianos, vel aliter non fructificarent: Et dicunt ipsi Sarraceni hoc sæpiùs se tentasse: sunt autem arbusta trium vel quatuor pedem altitudinis, velut vsque ad renes hominis, et lignum eorum aspiciendum, sicut vitis syluestris. Folia non marcescunt, quin priùs marcescant fructus, cernitur ad formam Cubebæ, et gummi eorum est Balsamum. Ipsi appellant arbores, Enochkalse, fructum Abebifau, et liquorum gribalse. Extrahitur verò gummi de arbusculis per nunc modem: De lapide acuto, vel de osse fracto dant scissuras per cortices in ligno, et ex vulneribus Balsamum lachrymatur, quod in vasculis suscipiunt, cauentes quout possunt,

Balsamum.

Virtutes veri Balsami.

Sophisticationes Balsami.

Probatio veri Balsami.

ne quid de illo labatur in terram: Nam se de ferro, vel alio metallo fieret incissura, liquor Balsami corrumperetur à sua virtute. Veri Balsami virtutes sunt magnæ quidem, et innumerosæ: nam vix aliquis mortalium scire potuit omnes, quamuis inter Physicos quinquaginta scribantur. Rarò vtique Sarraceni vendunt Christianis purum et verum Balsamum, quin priùs commisceant, et falsificant sicut ego ipse frequenter vidi. Nam aliqui tertiam, seu quartam partem immiscent terrebynthinæ. Alii ramusculos arbustarum, et fructus eorum coquunt in oleo, quod vendunt pro Balsamo: et quidam (quod pessimam est) nil Balsami habentes, distillant oleum, per clauos gariophillos, et spicum nardum, et similes odoriferas species, hoc pro Balsamo exponentes, atque aliis pluribus modis deludunt ementes. Sed et Mercatores inuicem nonnunquam sophisticant altera vice: probatio autem veri Balsami potest haberi pluribus modis, quorum aliquos hîc describo. Est enim Citrini coloris, valdè clarum, et purum, et fortissimum in odoris fragrantia: si ergò apparet alterius quàm Citrini coloris sciatur non simplicis, sed cuiuscunque commixtæ substantiæ, vel ita spissum, vt non possit fluere, scitote sophisticatum. Item si posueris modicum veri Balsami in manus palma, non poteris sustinere eam linialiter in feruore splendentis Solis ad spacium recitandæ Dominicæ orationis. Item si in clara flamma ignis vel candelæ cereæ miseris punctum cultelli cum gutta puri Balsami, ipsa gutta de facilè comburetur. Item si in scutella munda cum puro lacte caprino posueris modicum veri Balsami, statim, miscebit se, et vnietur cum lacte, ita vt Balsamum non cognoscetur. Item è contrà, si posueris verum Balsamum cum aqua Lympida, nunquam miscebit se aquæ, etiamsi aquam moueris vehementer, imò Balsamum semper tendit ad fundum vasis, nam est in sui quantitate valdè ponderosam, et iuxta quod minùs ponderosum inueneris, ampliùs falsificatum noueris.

Capvt. 9.

De Nilo fluuio, et Aegypti territorio.

Nilus suprà dictus fluuius Aegypti appellatus est alio nomine Gyon, cuius origo est à Paradiso terrestri. Hic venit currens per deserta Indiæ Maioris, hincque per meatus subterraneos transit plures terras: exiens sub Monte Aloth, inter Indiam, et Aethiopiam, et Mauritaniam intra deserta Aegypti, irrigans totam longitudinem Aegypti vsque ad Alexandriam, ibíque se perdit in mare. Sole intrante signum Cancri omni anno, hoc est, ad quindenam ante Festum Natiuitatis Ioannis Baptistæ incipit paulatim fluuius crescere, et inundare, quousque sol intret Virginem, quod est circa Festum Laurentij, atque ex tunc decrescere, et minui, donec Sole veniente in Lybram intra suos alueos se conseruet: Dúmque per inundationem nimis effluit, damnificat terræ culturas, et fit Charistia in Aegypto. Et similiter dum parùm exundat, ingruit esuries, quoniam in Aegypto rarissimè pluit, aut apparent nubes, quoniam si quandoque pluerit in æstate, terra muribus adimpletur. Terra Aegypti continet in longitudine dietas quindecim, in latitudine ferè tres, et habet triginta dietas deserti: à finibus Aegypti vsque Nubiam, duodecim sunt dietæ. Hi Nubij sunt Christiani, sed nigri, velut Aethiopes, vel Mauri.

Inundatio Nilo.

Raro in Aegypto pluuia.

Nubia.

Phœnix auis, de qua dicitur, quod semper vnica sit in mundo, viuens per annos quingentos, quæ et seipsam comburit, ac de cineribus eius, siue per naturam, siue per miraculum alia creatur, hæc interdum apparet in Aegypto, et sicut mihi monstrabatur, vidi duabus vicibus. Modicùm est maior Aquila, cristam in capite maiorem pauonis, collum habens croceum, dorsum Indicum, alas purpureas, caudam duobus coloribus, per transuersum croceo et rubeo regulatam, qui singuli colores sunt ad splendorem Solis delectabiliter videntibus resplendentes. In Aegypto multæ habentur arbores, sexcies aut septies in anno fructificantes, ibíque frequenter inueniuntur in terra Smaragdi, et circa oram Nili alij lapides pretiosi. A Babylonia Aegypti, vsque ad ciuitatem Meccam, (quam Pagani ibidem appellant Iacrib, et est in magnis desertis Arabiæ) sunt triginta duæ dietæ. In ea veneratur detestandum cadauer Machon siue Machometi honorabiliter et reuerenter in Templo eius, quod ibi vocatur Musket, de cuius vita aliquid infrà narrabo. Per prædicta itaque apparet, quod Imperator Sarracenorum Soldanus Babyloniæ, valdè potens est Dominus.

Phœnix visa a Mandeuillo.

Mecha.

CAPVT. 10.

De couductu Soldani, et via vsque in Sinay.

PRiùs dictum est de reuerentia Soldani, quandò ad ipsum intratur exhibenda. Sciendum ergò, cùm ab eo petitur securus conductus, nemini denegare consueuit, sed datur petentibus communiter sigillum eius, in appenditione absque literis: hoc sigillum, pro vexillo in virga aut hasta dum peregrini ferunt, omnes Sarraceni videntes illud flexis genibus in terram se reuerenter inclinant, et portantibus omnem exhibent humanitatem. Verumtamen satis maior fit reuerentia literis Soldani sigillatis, quod et Admirabiles, et quicunque alij Domini, quando eis monstrantur, antequam recipiant, se multùm inclinant: Deinde ambabus manibus eas capientes ponunt super propria capita, posteà osculantur, et tandem legunt inclinati cum magna veneratione, quibus semel aut bis perlectis, offerunt se promptos ad explendum quicquid ibi iubetur, ac insuper exhibent deferenti, quicquid possint commodi, vel honoris: sed talem conductum per literas Soldani vix quisquam peregrinorum accipit, qui non in Curia illius stetit, vel notitiam apud illum habuerit. Ego autem habui in recessu meo, in quibus etiam continebatur ad omnes sibi subiectos speciale mandatum, vt me permitterent intrare, et respicere singula loca, pro meæ placito voluntatis, et mihi exponerent quorumcunque locorum mysteria distinctè et absque vllo velamine veritatis, ac me cum omni sodalitate mea benignè reciperent, et in cunctis rationalibus audirent, requisiti autem si necesse foret de ciuitate conducerent in ciuitatem. Habito itaque peregrinis conductu, ad Montem Sinay potest à Cayr vnam duarum incipere semitarum, vsque vallem Helim, vbi adhuc sunt duodecim fontes aquarum. Nam vna viarum est, vt pertranseat passagium maris rubri, non longè ab eodem loco, vbi olim populus Israel Duce Mose, Deo iubente, siccis pedibus transiit idem mare. Quod quidem, licèt aqua sit satis clara, dicitur ibi Rubrum propter lapillos, et arenas subrufi coloris: et continet ibi nunc temporis passus maris in latitudine ferè sex leucas. Transmissoque mari, ibit super hanc longè ab oris eiusdem per dietas quatuor, atque ex tunc relinquens mare, tendit per deserta sex aut septem dierum, vsque in vallem præfatam. Alia est autem via, vt de Babylonia intret Dyrcen deserta, tendens

Literæ Soldani in gratiam Mandeuilli concessæ.

Ratio, cur Rubrum mare sic appellatur.

ad quendam fontem, quem dicitur Moses fecisse: et hinc ad riuulum Marach, qui quondam, Mose imponente lignum, ab amaritudine dulcescebat, et sic tandem in premissam vallem perueniant. Et restat via grandis dietæ ad Montem Sinay ab hac valle. Nam à Babylonia vsque in Sinay, æstimatur esse via duodecim dietarum, quamuis nonnulli citiùs perueniunt. Hoc verè sciendum, neminem peregrinorum per hæc deserta sine ductore posse tendere, cui notæ sunt viæ, sed nec equi valent transire, præcipuè quòd non inuenirent in desertis quid bibere. Aliquo tamen modo transitur per Camelos, eò quòd se continere possunt de potu duobus aut tribus diebus: Et oportet vt itinerantes ferant secum per viam necessaria ad victum proprium, et Camelorum, nisi quòd interdum fortè Cameli aliquid sibi abrodere possunt circa cortices arbustorum, et folia ramusculorum.

Vel Massa.

Abstinentia Camelorum ab aquis.

CAPVT. 11.

De Monasterio Sinay, et reliquijs beatæ Catherinæ.

MOns Sinay appellatur ibi desertum Syn: quasi in radice montis istius habetur Cœnobium Monachorum pergrande, cuius clausura in circuitu est firmata muris altis, et portis ferreis, pro metu bestiarum deserti. Hi Monachi sunt Arabes, et Græci, et in magno conuentu, multùm Deo deuoti: viuunt in magna abstinentia, vtentes simplicibus cibariis, de lotis et dactylis, et huiusmodi, nec vinum potantes, festis acceptis. Illic in Ecclesia Beatæ Virginis et matris Catherinæ semper lampades plurimæ sunt ardentes, nam habetur ibi plena copia olei oliuarum. A posteriori parte magni altaris monstratur locus, vbi Moysi apparuit Dominus in rubo ardente, ipsum rubum adhuc seruans, quem dum monachi intrant, semper se discalceant gratia illius verbi, quo Deus iussit Moysi ibidem, Solue calciamentum de pedibus tuis, locus enim in quo stas, terra sancta est: hunc locum appellant Bezeleel, id est, vmbra Dei. Et propè altare tribus gradibus in altitudine, habetur capsa, seu Tumba Alabastri, sanctissima continens ossa Virginis. Christiani qui ibidem morantur, cum magna reuerentia aduenientibus peregrinis, à Monachorum prælato, seu ab alio in hoc instituto, excipiuntur. Is quodam instrumento argenteo consueuit ossa defricare, siue linire, vt ex iis exeat modicum olei, velut parumper sudoris, quod tamen non apparet in colore sui tanquam olei seu Balsami, sed aliquantulum pluris magnitudinis. Et ex isto traditur interdum aliquid petentibus peregrinis, sed parùm, quia nec multùm exudat. Ostendere solent et caput ipsius Catherinæ cum inuolumento sanguinolento, et multas prætereà sanctas, et venerabiles reliquias, quæ omnia intuitus sum diligentur et sæpè, oculis indignis. Habent quoque in ista Ecclesia propriam Lampadem quilibet Monachorum, quæ imminente illius discessu lumen per diuinum miraculum variat vel extinguit. Ego etiam curiosiùs super vno dubio quod priùs audieram, plures interrogationes feci ab aliquibus Monachorum, vtrum scilicet prælato eorum decedente semper successor per diuinum signum eligeretur: et vix tandem ab eis recepi responsum, quòd per vnum istorum miraculorum habetur successor, videlicit in missa sepulturæ defuncti omnibus Monachorum lampadibus extinctis, illius sola Dei nutu reaccenditur, quem fieri vult prælatum, vel de cœlo inuenitur missus breuiculus super altare, inscriptum habens nomen prælati futuri. Intra hanc Ecclesiam nunquam musca, vel aranea, aut huiusmodi immundi vermiculi nascuntur, quod similiter per diuinum accidit miraculum : nam antè replebatur Ecclesia talibus immunditiis, et totus conuentus recederet ad construendum Ecclesiam in alio loco. Et ecce Dei genetrix virgo beata eis visibiliter obuiauit, iubens reuerti, et dicens nunquam Ecclesiam similibus infestari. In cuius obuiationis loco in ascensu procliuo huius montis per multos gradus construxerunt Ecclesiam, ædificium excellens, in honorem eiusdem virginis. Et alibuantò altiùs, per eiusdem montis ascensum est vetus Capella, quam vocant Eliæ Prophetæ, et locum specialiter appellant Horeb. A cuius latere in montis appendentia colitur vinea, quam nominant Iosuæ scophis, de qua quidam putare volunt, quod Sanctus Ioannes Euangelista eam primò plantauit. In superiori verò montis vertice, est Capella, quam dicunt Moysis, et illic rupis seruans adhuc corporis eius formam impressam dum se abscondit, viritus dominum respicere in facie. Locus quoq ; ibi ostenditur, in quo Deus tradidit ei decem mandata, siue legem proprio digito scriptam, et sub rupe cauerna in qua mansit ieiunus diebus 40. Ab hoc monte qui vocatur Mosi, restat via producta ad quartam Leucæ, vsque in montem qui dicitur Sanctæ Catherinæ per vallem speciosam, ac multùm frigidam. Circa eius medium habetur Ecclesia, nomine 40. Martyrum constructa, vbi interdum veniunt Monachi cantare missam. Hic mons est satis altior Monte Moysis, in cuius

Monachorum sophismata.

vertice Angeli Dei piè creduntur attulisse, et sepeliisse corpus sanctissimæ Martyris Catherinæ cum inuolumento capitis suprà dicto. Attamen in ipso certo sepulturæ loco, licèt quandoque stetit Capella, modò non est habitaculum, sed modicus aceruus petrarum. Notandum, quòd vterque horum montium potest vocari mons Sinay, eo quod totus circumiacens locus deserti Sin appellatur. Sur desertum inter mare Rubrum, et solitudinem Sinay. Desertum Sur idem Scriptura quod et Cades. Visitatis igitur à peregrinis his sacrosanctis memorijs, et valefacto Monachis, recommendant se eorum orationibus, et meritis: túncque solet aliquid victualium offerri peregrinis, pro inchoanda via deserti Syriæ versus Ierusalem. Et sicut dixi de priori deserto, sic nec istud securè est peragrandum absque Drogemijs, id est, semitarum ductoribus, propter vastitudinem deserti.

CAPVT. 12.

Iter a deserto Sinay vsque ad Iudæam.

PEr istud latum et longum desertum, moratur vel potiùs vagata maxima multitudo malorum, et incompositorum hominum, qui non manent in domibus, sed sub pellium tabernaculis, quemadmodum et olim filij Israel in eodem deserto ambulauerunt, quoniam aquæ non manent ibi diu in locis certis: et ideò mutant tabernacula sequentes aquas: non colunt terras, rarò manducant panem, sed tantùm carnes bestiarum deserti quas venantur, coquentes super petras calefactas ad Solem: fortes sunt et feroces, et velut desperati de vita propria non curantes, qui licèt non habeant arma præter lanceam, et tarchiam, et caput grandi albo linteolo inuolutum, tamen non verentur exercere guerras, et inire prœlia contra Dominum suum Soldanum: nam et ego stipendiarius in expeditione Soldani contra eos sæpiùs fui. Isti sunt quidem Arabes, sed notiori nomine appellantur Bedoyns et Acopars, et quamuis plurima mala agunt per desertum, rarò tamen nocent peregrinis beatæ Virginis Catharinæ. Itaque peregrinus qui debitum tenuit iter, veniat à finibus deserti in primam ciuitatem Iudeæ, quæ dicitur Berseba: est vicus grandis Hebron inde miliario vergens ad Austrum: Hieronymus. Notandum, Theros Mons Dei in regione Maglaw iuxta Montem. Notandum similiter, Arabiam in deserto esse, cui iungitur Mons

Ioannes Mandeuil militans contra Arabes.

Beersheba.

et desertum Sarracenorum, quod vocatur Phaaran. Mihi autem videtur, quod duplici nomine, nunc Mons Sinay, nunc Oreb vocatur. Hieronymus. Phaaran nunc oppidum trans Oreb, iam iunctum Sarracenis, qui in solitudine vagi pererrant. Hos interfecerunt filij Israel, cùm de Monte Sinay castra mouissent. Est ergo, vt dixi, trans Iordanem contra Australem plagam, et distat ab Helyn, contra Orientem, itinere dierum trium. In deserto autem Phaaran, Scriptura commemorat habitasse Ismaelem, vnde et Ismaelitæ, qui nunc Sarraceni. Legimus quoque Chederlaomer percussisse eos qui erant in deserto Phaaran quod nunc dicitur Ascalon, et circa eam Regio Palestinorum. Hieronymus. Hæc Bersheba erat bona et spectabilis, vltimo tempore Christianorum, et adhuc ibi restant nonnullæ Ecclesiæ.

Ciuitas Hebron.

Hinc ad Leucas duas venitur in ciuitatem Hebron, et Hebron ab Helyn distat ad Meridianam plagam millibus circiter 39. de qua legitur, quòd primis temporibus fuerit habitatio maximorum Gigantium, Regúmque, posteà Dauidis. In hac est illa spelunca duplex, quæ seruat ossa sanctorum Patriarcharum, Abrahæ, Isaac, et Iacob, Saræ, et Rebeccæ, consistítque ad radicem montis, et habetur super istam cum propugnaculis ad modum castri constructa pulchra Ecclesia. Sarraceni appellant istam speluncam Kariackaba, custodientes locum diligenter ac reuerenter propter honorem Patriarcharum, et non permittentes quenquam Christianorum aut Iudæorum ingredi, nisi ostenderit super hæc specialem gratiam à Soldano. Nam ipsi communiter reputant tam Christianos quàm Iudœos pro canibus, et quando despectiuè eos volunt appellare, dicunt Kylp, id est, canis.

Vallis Mambræ. Quercus arida.

Ab Hebron incipit vallis Mambræ, quæ protenditur ferè vsq; Ierusalem: haud remotè ad Hebron est mons Mambre, et in ipso monte arbor quercus aridæ, quæ pro antiquitate sui, speciale sibi nomen meruit in mundo vniuerso, vt vocetur arbor sicca: Sarraceni autem eam dicunt Dirp: hæc creditur stetisse ante tempora Abrahæ, tamen quidam volunt putare à mundi initio, virens donec passionis Christi tempore siccaretur. Hoc autem certum est haberi eam ob omnibus nationibus in venerationem.

Gambil species Aromatis.

In quodam loco præfatæ vallis est planicies, vbi per plures fossas effodiunt homines Gambil, quod comeditur loco specierum aromaticarum, et per villas defertur venale. Sed et hoc audiui, quòd nulla ibi fossa ita valet exhauriri, si dimittatur per annum, quin inueniatur de prædicta Gambil impleta.

Ad duas leucas de Hebron, monstratur sepultura Loth filii fratris Abraham. Item de ciuitate Hebron per quinque leucas amoeni itineris, hoc est, in medio die, venitur in Bethleem Iudeæ. Notandum, Arbe, id est, quatuor, primùm dicum de eo quod ibi tres Patriarchæ Abraham, Isac, et Iacob sepulti sunt, et Adam magnus, vt in Iudæorum libro scriptum est, licèt eum quidam conditum in loco Caluariæ suspicentur. Corruptè in nostris codicibus Arboth scribitur, alibi erat arbor cùm in Hebræis legatur Arbe, hæc est autem eadem Hebron olim Metropolis Philistinorum, ab vno filiorum Caleb sortita vocabulum.

Kiriath-Arbe.

The English Version.

Of the Weye fro Costantynoble to Jerusalem. Of Seynt John the Evaungelist; and of Ypocras Daughter, transformed from a Woman to a Dragoun.

Cap. IV.

NOw returne I azen, for to teche zou the way from Costantynoble to Jerusalem. He that wol thorghe Turkye, he gothe toward the cytee of Nyke, and passethe thorghe the gate of Chienetout, and alle weyes men seen before hem the hille of Chienetout, that is righte highe : and it is a myle and an half from Nyke. And whoso will go be watre, be the brace of Seynt George, and by the see, where Seynt Nycholas lyethe, and toward many other places : first men gothe to an ile, that is clept Sylo.* In that ile growethe mastyck on smale trees : and out of hem comethe gomme, as it were of plombtrees or of cherietrees. And aftre gon men thorghe the ile of Pathmos : and there wrot Seynt John the Evaungelist the Apocalips. And zee schulle undrestonde, that Seynt Johne was of age 32 zeer, whan oure Lord suffred his passioun ; and aftre his passioun, he lyvede 67 zeer, and in the 100th zeer of his age he dyede. From Pathmos men gone unto Ephesim, a fair citee and nyghe to the see. And there dyede Seynte Johne, and was buryed behynde the highe awtiere, in a toumbe. And there is a fair chirche. For Cristene men weren wont to holden that place alweyes. And in the

---

* Chios.

tombe of Seynt John is noughte but manna, that is clept aungeles mete. For his body was translated into paradys. And Turkes holden now alle that place, and the citee and the chirche. And alle Asie the lesse is y cleped Turkye. And zee schulle undrestonde, that Seynt Johne leet* make his grave there in his lyf, and leyd himself there inne alle quyk. And therefore somme men seyn, that he dyed noughte, but that he restethe there till the day of doom. And forsothe there is a great marveyle: for men may see there the erthe of the tombe apertly many tymes steren and meven,† as there wern quykke thinges undre.

And from Ephesim men gon throghe many iles in the see, unto the cytee of Paterane,‡ where Seynt Nicholas was born, and so to Martha,§ where he was chosen to ben bisschoppe; and there growethe right gode wyn and strong; and that men callen wyn of Martha. And from thens gone men to the ile of Crete, that the Emperour zaf somtyme to Janeweys.‖ And thanne passen men thorghe the isles of Colos and of Lango;¶ of the whiche iles Ypocras** was lord offe. And some men seyn, that in the ile of Lango is zit the doughtre of Ypocras, in forme and lykeness of a gret dragoun, that is a hundred fadme of lengthe, as men seyn: for I have not seen hire. And thei of the isles callen hire, lady of the lond. And sche lyethe in an olde castelle, in a cave, and schewethe twyes or thryes in the zeer. And sche dothe none harm to no man, but zif men don hire harm. And sche was thus chaunged and transformed, from a fair damysele, into lyknesse of a dragoun, be a goddesse, that was clept Deane.†† And men seyn, that sche schalle so endure in that forme of a dragoun, unto the tyme that a knyghte come, that is so hardy, that dar come to hire and kiss hire on the mouthe: and then schall sche turne azen to hire own kynde, and ben a woman azen: but aftre that sche schalle not liven longe. And it is not long siththen, that a knyghte of the Rodes, that was hardy and doughty in armes, seyde that he wolde kyssen hire. And whan he was upon his coursere, and wente to the castelle, and entred into the cave, the dragoun lifte up hire hed azenst him. And whan the kngyhte saw hire in that forme so hidous and so horrible, he fleyghe awey. And the dragoun bare the knyghte upon a roche, mawgre his hede; and from that roche, sche caste him in to the see: and so was lost bothe hors and man. And also a zonge man, that wiste not of the dragoun, wente out of a schipp, and wente thorghe the ile, til that he come to the castelle, and cam in to the cave; and wente so longe, til that he fond a chambre, and there he saughe a damysele, that kembed hire hede, and lokede in a myrour: and sche hadde meche tresoure abouten hire: and he trowed, that sche hadde ben a comoun woman, that dwelled there to resceyve men to folye. And he abode, tille the damysele saughe the schadewe of him in the myrour. And sche turned hire toward him, and asked hym, what he wolde. And he seyde, he wolde ben hire limman or paramour. And sche asked him, zif that he were a knyghte. And he seyde, nay. And then sche seyde, that he myghte not ben hire lemman: but sche bad him gon azen unto his fellowes, and make him knyghte, and come azen upon the morwe, and sche scholde come out of the cave before him; and thanne come and kysse hire on the mowthe, and have no drede; for I schalle do the no maner harm, alle be it that thou see me in lyknesse of a dragoun. For thoughe thou see me hidouse and horrible to loken onne, I do the tô wytene,* that it is made be enchauntement. For withouten doubte, I am non other than thou seest now, a woman; and therfore drede the noughte. And zif thou kysse me, thou schalt have alle this tresoure, and be my lord, and lord also of alle that ile. And he departed fro hire and wente to his felowes to schippe, and leet make him knyghte, and cam azen upon the morwe, for to kysse this damysele. And whan he saughe hire comen out of the cave, in forme of a dragoun, so hidouse and so horrible, he hadde so grete drede, that he fleyghe azen to the schippe; and sche folewed him. And whan sche saughe, that he turned not azen, sche began to crye, as a thing that hadde meche sorwe: and thanne sche turned azen, in to hire cave; and anon the knyghte dyede. And siththen hidrewards, myghte no knyghte se hire, but that he dyede anon. But whan a knyghte comethe, that is so hardy to kisse hire, he schalle not dye; but he schalle turne the damysele in to hire righte forme and kyndely schapp, and he schal be lord of alle the contreyes and iles aboveseyd.

---

* Let.
† Stir and move.
‡ Patera.
§ Myra.
‖ The Genoese.
¶ Cos.
** Hippocrates.
†† Diana.

---

* Know.

And from thens men comen to the Ile of Rodes, the whiche ile Hospitaleres holden and governen; and that token thei sumtyme from the Emperour: and it was wont to be clept Collos; and so callen it the Turks zit. And Seynt Poul, in his Epistles, writeth to hem of that Ile, *ad Colossenses*.* This ile is nyghe 800 myle from Costantynoble.

And from this ile of Rodes, men gon to Cipre, where bethe many vynes, that first bene rede, and aftre o zeer, thei becomen white: and theise wynes that ben most white, ben most clere and best of smelle. And men passen be that way, be a place that was wont to ben a gret cytee and a gret lond: and the cytee was clept Cathaillye: the which cytee and lond was lost thorghe folye of a zonge man. For he had a fayr damysele, that he loved wel, to his paramour; and sche dyed sodeynly, and was don in a tombe of marble: and for the grete lust, that he had to hire, he wente in the nyghte unto hire tombe and opened it, and went in and lay be hire, and wente his wey. And whan it came to the ende of nine monethes, there com a voys to him, and seyde, Go to the tombe of that woman, and open it and beholde what thou hast begotten on hire: and if thou lette to go, thou schalt have a gret harm. And he zede† and opened the tombe; and there fleyghe out an eddere righte hidous to see; the whiche als swythe fleighe aboute the cytee and the contree; and sone after the cytee sank downe. And there ben manye perilouse passages.

Fro Rodes to Cypre ben 500 myle and more. But men may gon to Cypre, and come not at Rodes. Cypre is righte a gode ile and a fayr and a gret, and it hathe 4 princypalle cytees within him. And there is an erchebysshoppe at Nichosie, and 4 othere byschoppes in that lond. And at Famagost is on of the princypalle havenes of the see, that is in the world: and there arryven Cristene men and Sarazynes and men of alle naciouns. In Cipre is the hille of the Holy Cros; and there is an abbeye of monkis blake; and there is the cros of Dismas the gode theef, as I have seyd before. And summe men trowen, that there is half the crosse of oure Lord: but it is not so: and thei don evylle, that make men to beleeve so. In Cipre lythe Seynt Zenomyne: of whom men of that contree maken gret solempnytee. And in the

---

* The truth is the Epistle was written to the Church of Collosæ in Phrygia Major.

† Went.

Castelle of Amours lythe the body of Seynt Hyllarie: and men kepen it right worschipfully. And besyde Famagost was Seynt Barnabee the apostle born. In Cipre men hunten with papyonns, that ben lyche lepardes: and thei taken wylde bestes righte welle, and thei ben somdelle* more than lyouns; and thei taken more scharpely the bestes and more delyverly† than don houndes. In Cipre is the manere of lordis and alle othere men, alle to eten on the erthe. For thei make dyches in the erthe alle aboute in the halle, depe to the knee, and thei do pave hem: and whan thei wil ete, thei gon there in and sytten there. And the skylle is, for thei may ben the more fressche: for that lond is meche more hottere than it is here. And at grete festes and for straungeres, thei setten formes and tables, as men don in this contree: but thei had lever sytten in the erthe.

From Cypre, men gon to the lond of Jerusalem be the see: and in a day and in a nyghte, he that hathe gode wynd may come to the haven of Thire,‡ that now is clept Surrye. There was somtyme a gret cytee and a gode, of Crystene men: but Sarazins han destroyed it a gret partye; and thei kepe that havene right welle, for drede of Cristene men. Men myghte go more right to that havene, and come not in Cypre: but thei gon gladly to Cypre, to reste hem on the lond, or elles to bye thingis, that thei have nede to here lyvynge. On the see syde, men may fynde many rubyes. And there is the welle, of the whiche Holy Writt spekethe offe, and seythe, *Fons ortorum, et puteus aquarum viventium:* that is to seye, *The welle of gardyns, and the dyche of lyvynge watres.* In this cytee of Thire, seyde the woman to oure Lord, *Beatus venter qui te portavit, et ubera quæ succisti:* that is to seye, *Blessed be the body that the baar, and the pappes that thou sowkedest.* And there oure Lord forzaf the woman of Chananee hire synnes. And before Tyre was wont to be the ston, on the whiche oure Lord sat and prechede: and on that ston was founded the Chirche of Seynt Savyour.

And 8 myle from Tyre, toward the est, upon the see, is the cytee of Sarphen, in Sarept§ of Sydonyeus. And there was wont for to dwelle Helye the prophete; and there reysed he Jonas the wydwes sone from dethe to lyf. And 5 myle fro Sarphen is the cytee of Sydon: of the whiche cytee, Dydo was lady, that was Eneas wyf aftre the destruccioun of Troye; and that founded the cytee of Cartage in Affrick, and now is cleped Dydon Sayete. And in the cytee of Tyre regned Agenore the fadre of Dydo. And 16 myles from Sydon is Beruthe.* And from Beruthe to Sardenare is 3 journeys. And from Sardenar is 5 myle to Damask.

---

* Somewhat.

† Deliberately.

‡ Tyre.

§ Zarephath.

And whoso wil go longe tyme on the see, and come nerrer to Jerusalem, he schal go fro Cipre, be see, to the port Jaff.† For that is the nexte havene to Jerusalem. For fro that havene is not but o day journeye and an half to Jerusalem. And the town is called Jaff; for on of the sones of Noe, that highte Japhet, founded it; and now it is clept Joppe. And zee schulle undrestonde, that it is on of the oldest townes of the world: for it was founded before Noes flode. And zitt there schewethe in the roche ther, as the irene cheynes were festned, that Andromade, a gret geaunt was bounden with, and put in presoun before Noes flode: of the whiche geaunt is a rib of his syde, that is 40 fote longe.‡

And whoso wil arryve at the firste port of Thire or Surre, that I have spoken of before, may go be londe, zif he wil, to Jerusalem. And men gothe fro Surre unto the citee of Dacoun§ in a day. And it was clept somtyme Tholomayde. And it was somtyme a cytee of Cristenemen, fulle fair; but it is now destroyed: and it stont upon the see. And fro Venyse to Akoun, be see, is 2080 myles of Lombardye. And fro Calabre or fro Cecyle to Akoun, be see, is 1300 myles of Lombardye. And the ile of Crete is right in the myd weye. And besyde the cytee of Akoun, toward the see, 120 furlonges on the right syde, toward the southe, is the hylle of Carmelyn, where Helyas the prophete dwellede: and there was first the ordre of Freres Carmes founded. This hille is not right gret, ne fulle highe. And at the fote of this hille was somtyme a gode cytee of Cristene men, that men cleped Cayphas: For Cayphas first founded it: but it is now alle wasted. And on the lift syde of the hille Carmelyn is a town, that men clepen Saffre: and that is sett on another hille. There Seynt James and Seynt Johne were born : and in the worschipe of hem, there is a fair chirche. And fro Tholomayde, that men clepen now Akoun, unto a gret hille, that is clept Scalle of Thires, is 100 furlonges. And besyde the cytee of Akoun renneth a lytille ryvere, that is clept Belon. And there nyghe is the fosse of Mennon, that is alle round : and it is 100 cubytes of largenesse, and it is alle fulle of gravelle, schynynge brighte, of the whiche men maken fair verres* and clere. And men comen fro fer, by watre in schippes, and be londe with cartes, for to fetten of that gravelle. And thoughe there be nevere so moche taken awey there of, on the day, at Morwe it is as fulle azen as evere it was. And that is a gret mervaille. And there is evermore gret wynd in that fosse, that sterethe everemore the gravelle, and makethe it trouble. And zif ony man do thereinne ony maner metalle, it turnethe anon to glasse. And the glasse, that is made of that grevelle, zif it be don azen in to the gravelle, it turnethe anon in to gravelle as it was first. And therefore somme men seyn, that it was a sweloghe† of the gravely see.

---

* Beyrout.

† Jaffa.

‡ Oor author here takes Andromeda for the monster that would have devoured her.

§ St. Jean d'Acre.

Also for Akoun aboveseyd gon men forthe 4 journees to the citee of Palestyn, that was of the Philistyenes, that now is clept Gaza, that is a gay cytee and a riche ; and it is righte fayr, and fulle of folke, and it is a lytllle fro the see. And from this cytee broughte Sampson the stronge the zates upon an highe lond, whan he was taken in that cytee : and there he slowghe in a paleys the king and hymself, and gret nombre of the beste of the Philistienes, the whiche had put out his eyen, and schaven his hed, and enprisound him, be tresoun of Dalida his paramour. And therefore he made falle upon hem a gret halle, whan thei were at mete. And from thens gon men to the cytee of Cesaire, and so to the Castelle of pylgrymes, and so to Ascolonge, and than to Jaffe, and so to Jerusalem.

Of manye Names of Soudans, and of the Tour of Babiloyn.

Cap. V.

ANd whoso wille go be londe thorghe the lond of Babyloyne, where the Sowdan dwellethe comonly, he moste gete grace of him and leve, to go more sikerly‡ thorghe tho londes and contrees. And for to go to the mount of Synay, before that men gon Jerusalem, thei schalle go fro Gaza to the castelle of Daire. And after that, men comen out of Surrye, and entren in to wyldernesse, and there the weye is sondy. And that wyldernesse and desert lastethe 8 journeyes. But alleweyes men fynden gode innes, and alle that hem nedethe of vytaylle. And men clepen that wyldernesse Achelleke. And whan a man comethe out of that desert, he entrethe in to Egypt, that men clepen Egypt Canopac: and aftre other langage, men clepen it Morsyn. And there first men fynden a gode toun, that is elept Belethe; and it is at the ende of the kyngdom of Halappee. And from thens men gon to Babyloyne and to Cayre.

---

* Glass.
† Whirlpool.
‡ Surely.

At Babyloyne there is a faire chirche of oure lady, where sche dwelled 7 zeer, whan sche fleyghe out of the lond of Judee, for drede of Kyng Heroude. And there lythe the body of Seynt Barbre the Virgine and Martyr. And there duelled Josephe, whan he was sold of his bretheren. And there made Nabugodonozor the kyng putte three children in to the forneys of fuyr; for thei weren in the righte trouthe of beleeve: the whiche children men cleped, Ananya, Azaria, Mizaelle; as the Psalm of Benedicite seythe. But Nabugodonozor cleped hem other wise, Sydrak, Misak, and Abdenago: that is to seye, God glorious, God victorious, and God over alle thinges and remes.[*] And that was for the myracle, that he soughe Goddes sone go with the children thorghe the fuyr, as he seyde. There duellethe the Soudan in his Calahelyke, (for there is comounly his see) in a fayr castelle strong and gret and wel sett upon a roche. In that castelle duellen alle wey, to kepe it and to serve the Sowdan, mo than 6000 persones, that taken alle here necessaries of the Sowdanes court. I oughte right wel to knowen it; for I duelled with him as Soudyour in his werres a gret while, azen the Bedoynes. And he wolde have maryed me fulle highely, to a gret princes daughtre, zif I wolde han forsaken my lawe and my beleve. But I thanke God, I had no wille to don it, for no thing, that he behighten[†] me. And zee schulle undrestonde, that the Soudan is lord of 5 kyngdomes, that he hathe conquered and apropred to him be strengthe: and theise ben the names, the kyngdom of Canapak, that is Egypt; and the kyngdom of Jerusalem, where that David and Salomon were kynges; and the kyngdom of Surrye, of the whiche the cytee of Damasc was chief; and the kyngdom of Alappe,[‡] in the lond of

---

[*] Realms.
[†] Promised.
[‡] Aleppo.

Mathe, and the kyngdom of Arabye, that was to on of the 3 kynges, that made offrying to oure Lord, whan he was born. And many othere londes he holdethe in his hond. And there with alle he holdethe calyffes, that is a fulle gret thing in here langage: and it is als meche to seye as kyng. And there were wont to ben 5 Soudans: but now there is no mo but he of Egypt. And the firste Soudan was Zarocon, that was of Mede, (as was fadre to Sahaladyn) that toke the Califfe of Egypt and sloughe him, and was made Soudan be strengthe. Aftre that was Soudan Sahaladyn, in whoos tyme the Kyng of Englonde, Richarde the firste, with manye othere, kepten the passage, that Sahaladyn ne myghte not passen. Aftre Sahaladyn, regned his sone Boradyn; aftre him his nephewe. Aftre that the Comaynz, that weren in servage in Egypt, felten hem self, that thei weren of gret power, thei chesen hem a Soudain amonges hem: the whiche made him to ben cleped Melethesalan. And in his tyme entred in to the contree, of the kynges of France, Seynt Lowyz, and foughte with him: and the Soudan toke him and enprisound him. And this was slayn of his owne servauntes. And aftre thei chosen an other to be Soudan, that thei cleped Tympieman. And he let delyveren Seynt Lowys out of presoun, for certeyn ransoum. And aftre on theise Comaynz regned, that highte Cachas, and sloughe Tympieman, for to be Soudan: and made him ben cleped Melechemes. And aftre, another that hadde to name Bendochdare, that sloughe Melechemes, for to be Soudan; and cleped himself Melechdare. In his tyme entred the gode Kyng Edward of Englond in Syrye, and dide gret harm to the Sarrazines. And aftre was this Soudan empoysound at Damasce; and his sone thoghte to regne aftre him be heritage, and made him to ben clept Meleschsache. But another, that had to name Elphy, chaced him out of the contree, and made him Soudan. This man toke the cytee of Tripolee and destroyede manye of the Cristene men, the zeer of grace 1289; but he was anon slayn. Aftre that was the sone of Elphy chosen to ben Soldan, and cleped him Mellethasseraff: and he toke the citee of Akoun, and chaced out the Christene men: and this was also empoysond. And than was his brother y made Soudan, and was cleped Melechnasser. And aftre, on that was clept Guytoga, toke him and put him in prisoun, in the Castelle of Mountryvalle; and made him Soudan be strengthe, and cleped him Melechcadelle: and he was of Tartaryne. But the Comaynz chaced him out of the contree, and diden hym meche sorwe; and maden on of hem self Soudan, that hadde to name Lachyn. And he made him to ben clept Melechmanser: the whiche on a day pleyed at the chesse, and his swerd lay besyde him; and so befelle, that on wratthed* him, and with his owne propre swerd he was slayn. And aftre that, thei weren at gret discord, for to make a Soudan. And finally thei accordeden to Melechnasser, that Guytoga had put in prisoun at Mountrivalle. And this regnede longe and governed wisely; so that his eldest sone, was chosen aftre him, Melechemader; the whiche his brother leet sle prevyly, for to have the lordschipe, and made him to ben clept Melechmadabron. And he was Soudan, whan I departed fro the contrees. And wyte zee wel, that the Soudan may lede out of Egipt mo than 20000 men of armes. And out of Surrye, and out of Turkye, and out of other contrees, that he holt, he may arrere† mo than 50000. And alle tho ben at his wages: and thei ben alle weys at him, withouten the folke of his contree, that is withouten nombre. And everyche of hem hath be zere the mountance of 6 score floreynes. But it behovethe, that every of hem holde 3 hors and a cameylle. And be the cytees and be the townes ben amyralles, that han the governance of the peple. On hath to governe 4, and another hath to governe 5, another mo, and another wel mo. And als moche takethe the amyralle be him allone, as alle the other souldyours han undre hym. And therfore whan the Soudan wille avance ony worthi knyghte, he makethe him a amyralle. And whan it is ony derthe, the knyghtes ben right pore, and thanne thei sellen both here hors and here harneys. And the Soudan hath 4 wyfes, on Cristene and 3 Sarazines: of the whiche, on dwellethe at Jerusalem, and another at Damasce, and another at Ascalon. And whan hem lyst, thei remewen to other cytees. And whan the Soudan wille, he may go visite hem. And he hathe as many paramours, as hym lykethe. For he makethe to come before him, the fairest and the nobleste of birthe and the gentylleste damyseles of his contree, and he maketh hem to ben kept and served fulle honourabely, and whan he wole have on to lye withe him, he makethe hem alle to come before him; and he beholdethe in alle, whiche of hem is most to his plesance, and to hire anon he sendethe or castethe a ryng fro his fyngre: And thanne anon sche schalle ben bathed and richely atyred, and anoynted with delicat thinges of swete smelle, and than lad to the Soudanes chambre. And thus he dothe, als often as him list, when he wil have ony of hem. And before the Soudan comethe no strangier, but zif he be clothed in clothe of gold or of Tartarye or of Camaka, in the Sarazines guyse, and as the Sarazines usen. And it behovethe, that anon at the firste sight, that men see the Soudan, be it in wyndowe, or in what place elles, that men knele to him and kysse the erthe : for that is the manere to do reverence to the Soudanne, of hem that speken with him. And whan that messangeres of straunge contrees comen before him, the Meynee of the Soudan, whan the straungeres speken to hym, thei ben aboute the Souldan with swerdes drawen and gysarmez and axes, here armes lift up in highe with the wepenes, for to smyte upon hem, zif thei seye ony woord, that is displeasance to the Soudan. And also, no straungere comethe before him, but that he makethe him sum promys and graunt, of that the straungere asketh resonabely, beso it be not azenst his Lawe. And so don othere prynces bezonden. For thei seyn, that no man schalle come before no prynce, but that he be bettre, and schalle be more gladdere in departynge from his presence, thanne he was at the comynge before hym.

---

† Raise.—Anglo-Saxon, *Aræran.*

* Provoked.

And undirstonde zee, that that Babyloyne that I have spoken offe, where that the Soudan duellethe, is not that gret Babyloyne, where the dyversitee of langages was first made for vengeance, by the myracle of God, when the grete tour of Babel was begonnen to ben made ; of the whiche the walles weren 64 furlonges of heighte ; that is in the grete desertes of Arabye, upon the weye as men gon toward the kyngdom of Caldee. But it is fulle long sithe that ony man durste neyhe to the tour: for it is alle deserte and fulle of dragouns and grete serpentes, and fulle of dyverse venymouse bestes alle abouten. That tour, with the cytee, was of 25 myle in cyrcuyt of the walles; as thei of the contree seyn, and as men may demen* by estymation, aftre that men tellen of the contree. And though it be clept the tour of Babiloyne, zit natheles there were ordeyned with inne many mansiouns and many gret duellynge places, in lengthe and brede : and that tour conteyned gret contree in circuyt : for the tour allone conteyned 10 myle sqware. That tour founded Kyng Nembrothe, that was kyng of that contree: and he was firste kyng of the world. And he leet make an ymage in the lyknesse of his fadre, and constreyned alle his subgettes for to worschipe it. And anon begonnen othere lordes to do the same. And so begonnen the ydoles and symulacres first. The town and the cytee weren fulle wel sett in a fair contree and a playn; that men clepen the contree of Samar: of the whiche the walles of the cytee werein 200 cubytes in heighte, and 50 cubytes in breadthe. And the ryvere of Euphrate ran thorghe out the cytee and aboute the tour also. But Cirus the Kyng of Perse toke from hem the ryvere, and destroyede all the cytee and the tour also. For he departed that ryvere in 360 smale ryveres: because that he had sworn, that he scholde putte the ryvere in suche poynt, that a woman myghte wel passe there, withouten castynge of of hire clothes; for als moche as he hadde lost many worthi men, that trowden to passen that ryvere by swymmynge.

---

* Judge.

And from Babyloyne, where the Soudan dwellethe, to go right betwene the oryent and the Septemtryon, toward the grete Babyloyne, is 40 journeys to passen be desart. But it is not the grete Babiloyne, in the lond and in the powere of the seyd Soudan; but it is in the power and the lordschipe of Persye. But he holdethe it of the grete Cham, that is the gretteste Emperour and the most sovereyn lord of alle the partes bezonde: and he is lord of the iles of Cathay and of many othere iles, and of a gret partie of Inde. And his lond marchethe unto Prestre Johnes lond; and he holt so moche lond, that he knowethe not the ende. And he is more myghty and grettre lord withoute comparisoun, than is the Soudan. Of his ryalle estate and of his myghte, I schalle speke more plenerly, when I schalle speke of the lond and of the contree of Ynde.

Also the cytee of Methone* where Machomet lythe, is of the grete desertes of Arabye. And there lithe the body of hym fulle honourabely in here temple, that the Sarazines clepen Muskethe. And it is fro Babyloyne the lesse, where the Soudan duellethe, unto Methon aboveseyd, in to a 32 journeyes. And wytethe wel, that the rewme of Arabye is a fulle gret contree: but there in is over moche dysert. And no man may dwelle there in that desert, for defaute of watre. For that lond is alle gravelly and fulle of sond. And it is drye and nothing fructuous; because that it hathe no moysture: and therefore is there so meche desart. And ziff it hadde ryveres and welles, and the lond also were, as it is in other parties, it scholde ben als fulle of peple and als fulle enhabyted with folk, as in other places. For there is fulle gret multitude of peple, where as the lond is enhabyted. Arabye durethe fro the endes of the reme of Caldee, unto the laste ende of Affryk, and marchethe to the lond of Ydumee, toward the ende of Botron. And in Caldee, the chief cytee is Baldak.* And of Affryk, the chief cytee is Cartage, that Dydo, that was Eneas wyf, founded. The whiche Eneas was of the cytee of Troye, and aftre was Kyng of Itaylle. Mesopotamye strecchethe also unto the Desertes of Arabye; and it is a gret contree. In this contree is the cytee of Araym, where Abrahames fadree duelled, and from whens Abraham departed, be commandement of the aungelle. And of that cytee was Effraym, that was a gret clerk and a gret doctour. And Theophylus was of that cytee also, that oure ladye savede from oure enemye. And Mesopotame durethe fro the ryvere of Eufrates, unto the ryvere of Tygris. For it is betwene tho 2 ryveres. And bezonde the ryvere of Tygre, is Caldee, that is a fulle gret kyngdom. In that Rewyme, at Baldac aboveseyd, was wont to duelle the Calyffeez, that was wont to ben bothe as Emperour and Pope of the Arabyenez; so that he was lord spirituelle and temporelle. And he was successour to Machomete, and of his generatioun. That cytee of Baldak was wont to ben cleped Sutis:† and Nabugodonozor founded it. And there duelled the holy prophete Daniel; and there he saughe vissiones of Hevene; and there he made the expositioun of dremes. And in old tyme, there wene wont to be 3 Calyffez; and thei dwelleden in the cytee of Baldak aboveseyd.

---

* Mecca.

And at Cayre besides Babyloyne duelled the Calyffee of Egypt. And at Marrok, upon the west see, duelte the Calyffee of Barbaryenes and of Affrycanes. And now is there non of the Calyffeez, ne noughte han ben, sithe the tyme of Sowdan Sahaladyn. For from that tyme hidre, the Sowdan clepethe him self Calyffee. And so han the Calyffeez y lost here name. Also wytethe wel, that Babylone the lesse, where the Soudan duellethe, and at the cytee of Cayr, that is nyghe besyde it, ben grete huge cytees manye and fayr; and that on sytt nyghe that other. Babyloyne sytt upon the ryvere of Gyson, somtyme clept Nyle, that comethe out of Paradys terrestre. That ryvere of Nyle, alle the zeer, whan the sonne entrethe in to the signe of Cancer, it begynnethe to wexe; and it wexethe alle weys, als longe as the sonne is in Cancro, and in the signe of Lyoune. And it wexethe in suche manere, that it is somtyme so gret, that it is 20 cubytes or more of depnesse; and thanne it doth gret harm to the godes, that ben upon the lond. For thanne may no man travaylle to ere* the londes, for the grete moystness: and therefore is there dere tyme in that contree. And also whan it waxethe lytylle, it is dere tyme in that contree: for defaute of moysture. And whan the sonne is in the signe of Virgo, thanne begynnethe the ryvere for to wane and to decrece lytyl and lytylle; so that whan the sonne is entred into the signe of Libra, thanne thei entren betwene theise ryveres. This ryvere comethe rennynge from Paradys terrestre, betwene the desertes of Ynde; and aftre it smytt unto londe, and rennethe longe tyme many grete contrees undre erthe: and aftre it gothe out undre an highe hille, that men clepen Alothe, that is betwene Ynde and Ethiope, the distance of five moneths journeyes fro the entree of Ethiope. And aftre it envyronnethe alle Ethiope and Moreckane, and gothe alle along fro the Lond of Egipte; unto the cytee of Alisandre, to the ende of Egipte; and there it fallethe into the See. Aboute this ryvere, ben manye briddes and foules, as sikonyes, that thei clepen ibes.

---

* Bagdad.

† Susa.

Egypt is a long contree; but it is streyt, that is to seye narow; for thei may not enlargen it toward the desert, for defaute of watre. And the contree is sett along upon the ryvere of Nyle; be als moche as that ryvere may serve be flodes or otherwise, that whanne it flowethe, it may spreden abrood thorghe the contree: so is the contree large of lengthe. For there it reyneth not but litylle in that contree: and for that cause, they have no watre, but zif it be of that flood of that ryvere. And for als moche as it ne reynethe not in that contree, but the eyr is alwey pure and cleer, therfore in that contree ben the gode astronomyeres; for thei fynde there no cloudes, to letten hem. Also the cytee of Cayre is righte gret, and more huge than that of Babyloyne the lesse: and it sytt aboven toward the desert of Syrye, a lytille above the ryvere aboveseyd. In Egipt there ben 2 parties; the Heghte, that is toward Ethiope; and the Lowenesse, that is towardes Arabye. In Egypt is the lond of Ramasses and the lond of Gessen. Egipt is a strong contree: for it hathe manye schrewede havenes, because of the grete Roches, that ben stronge and daungerouse to passe by. And at Egipt, toward the est, is the rede see, that durethe unto the cytee of Coston: and toward the west, is the contree of Lybye, that is a fulle drye lond, and litylle of fruyt: for it is over moche plentee of hete. And that lond is clept Fusthe. And toward the partie Meridionalle is Ethiope. And toward the Northe is the desart, that durethe unto Syrye: and so is the contree strong on alle sydes. And it is wel a 15 journeyes of lengthe, and more than two so moche of desert: and it is but two journeyes in largenesse. And between Egipt and Nubye, it hathe wel a 12 journees of desert. And men of Nubye ben Cristene: but thei ben blake as the Mowres, for grete hete of the sonne.

---

* Plough.

In Egipt there ben 5 provynces; that on highte Sahythe, that other highte Demeseer, another Resithe, that is an ile in Nyle, another Alisandre, and another the lond of Damiete. That cytee was wont to be righte strong; but it was twyes wonnen of the Cristene men: and therfore after that the Sarazines beten down the walles. And with the walles and the tour thereof, the Sarazenes maden another cytee more fer from the see, and clepeden it the newe Damyete. So that now no man duellethe at the rathere toun of Damyete. And that cytee of Damyete is on of the havenes of Egypt: and at Alisandre is that other, that is a fulle strong cytee. But there is no watre to drynke, but zif it come be condyt from Nyle, that entrethe in to here cisternes. And who so stopped that watre from hem, thei myghte not endure there. In Egypt there ben but fewe forcelettes or castelles, be cause that the contree is so strong of him self. At the desertes of Egyptes was a worthi man, that was an holy heremyte; and there mette with hym a monstre, (that is to seyne, a monstre is a thing difformed azen kynde both of man or of best or of ony thing elles: and that is cleped a monstre). And this monstre, that mette with this holy heremyte, was as it hadde ben a man, that hadde 2 hornes trenchant on his forehede; and he hadde a body lyk a man, unto the nabele; and benethe he hadde the body lyche a goot. And the heremyte asked him, what he was. And the monstre answerde him, and seyde, he was a dedly creature, suche as God hadde formed, and duelled in tho desertes in purchasynge his Sustynance; and besoughte the heremyte, that he wolde preye God for him, the whiche that cam from Hevene for to saven alle mankynde, and was born of a Mayden, and suffred passioun and dethe, (as we well knowen) be whom we lyven and ben. And zit is the hede with the 2 hornes of that monstre at Alisandre for a Marveyle.

In Egypt is the cytee of Elyople,[*] that is to seyne, the cytee of the sonne. In that cytee there is a temple made round, aftre the schappe of the temple of Jerusalem. The prestes of that temple han alle here wrytinges, undre the date of the foul that is clept Fenix: and there is non but on in alle the world. And he comethe to brenne him self upon the awtere of the temple, at the ende of 5 hundred zeer: for so longe he lyvethe. And at the 500 zeers ende, the prestes arrayen here awtere honestly, and putten there upon spices and sulphur vif[†] and other thinges, that wolen brenne lightly. And than the brid fenix comethe, and brennethe him self to ashes. And the first day next aftre, men fynden in the ashes a worm; and the secunde day next aftre, men funden a brid quyk and perfyt; and the thridde day next aftre, he fleethe his wey. And so there is no mo briddes of that kynde in alle the world, but it allone. And treuly that is a gret myracle of God. And men may well lykne that bryd unto God; be cause that there nys no God but on; and also, that oure Lord aroos fro dethe to lyve, the thridde day. This bryd men seen often tyme, fleen in tho contrees: and he is not mecheles more than an Egle. And he hathe a crest of fedres upon his hed more gret than the poocok hathe; and his nekke is zalowe, aftre colour of an orielle,[‡] that is a ston well schynynge; and his bek is coloured blew, as ynde;[§] and his wenges ben of purple colour, and the Taylle is zelow and red, castynge his taylle azens in travers. And he is a fulle fair brid to loken upon, azenst the sonne: for he schynethe fully gloriously and nobely.

Also in Egypt ben gardyns, than han trees and herbes, the whiche beren frutes 7 tymes in the zeer. And in that lond men fynden many fayre emeraudes and y nowe. And therefore thei ben there grettere cheep. Also whan it reynethe ones in the somer, in the lond of Egipt, thanne is alle the contree fulle of grete myrs. Also at Cayre, that I spak of before, sellen men comounly bothe men and wommen of other lawe, as we don here bestes in the markat. And there is a comoun hows in that cytee, that is alle fulle of smale furneys; and thidre bryngen wommen of the toun here eyren* of hennes, of gees and of dokes, for to ben put in to tho furneyses. And thei that kepen that hows covern hem with hete of hors dong, with outen henne, goos or doke or ony other foul; and at the ende of 3 wekes or of a monethe, they comen azen and taken here chickenes and norissche hem and bryngen hem forthe: so that alle the contree is fulle of hem. And so men don there bothe wyntre and somer.

---

[*] Heliopolis.

[†] Live.

[‡] Golden. From Latin, *Aurea.* Cf. Oriel College, Golden Hall.

[§] Indigo.

Also in that contree, and in othere also, men fynden longe apples to selle, in hire cesoun: and men clepen hem apples of paradys; and thei ben righte swete and of gode savour.† And thoghe zee kutte hem in never so many gobettes or parties, overthwart or end longes, evermore zee schulle fynden in the myddes the figure of the Holy Cros of oure Lord Jesu. But thei will roten within 8 days: and for that cause men may not carye of the apples to no fer contrees. And thei han grete leves, of a fote and an half of lengthe: and thei ben covenably large. And men fynden there also the appulle tree of Adam, that han a byte at on of the sydes. And there ben also fyge trees, that baren no leves, but fyges upon the smale braunches: and men clepen hem figes of Pharoon. Also besyde Cayre, withouten that cytee, is the feld where bawme growethe: and it cometh out on smale trees, that ben non hyere than a mannes breek girdle: and thei semen as wode that is of the wylde vyne. And in that feld ben 7 welles, that oure Lord Jesu Crist made with on of his feet, whan he wente to pleyen with other children. That feld is not so well closed, but that men may entren at here owne list. But in that cesonne, that the bawme is growynge, men put there to gode kepynge, that no man dar ben hardy to entre. This bawme growethe in no place, but only there. And thoughe that men bryngen of the plauntes, for to planten in other contrees, thei growen wel and fayre, but thei bryngen forthe no fructuous thing: and the leves of bawme ne fallen noughte. And men kutten the braunches with a scharp flynston or with a scherp bon,* whan men will go to kutte hem: For who so kutte hem with iren, it wolde destroye his vertue and his nature. And the Sarazines clepen the wode Enonch balse; and the fruyt, the whiche is as Quybybes, thei clepen Abebissam; and the lycour, that droppethe fro the braunches, thei clepen Guybalse. And men maken alle weys that bawme to ben tyled† of the Cristenemen, or elles it wolde not fructifye; as the Sarazines seyn hem self: for it hathe ben often tyme preved. Men seyn also, that the bawme growethe in Ynde the more, in that desert where the trees of the sonne and of the mone spak to Alisaundre. But I have not seen it. For I have not ben so fer aboven upward: because that there ben to many perilouse passages. And wyte zee wel, that a man oughte to take gode kepe for to bye bawme, but zif he cone knowe it righte wel: for he may righte lyghtely be disceyved. For men sellen a gome, that men clepen turbentyne, in stede of bawme; and thei putten there to a littille bawme for to zeven gode odour. And some putten wax in oyle of the wode of the fruyt of bawme, and seyn that it is bawme: and sume destyllen clowes of gylofre and of spykenard of Spayne and of othere spices, that ben well smellynge; and the lykour that gothe out there of, thei clepe it bawme: and thei wenen, that thei han bawme; and thei have non. For the Sarazines counterfeten it be sotyltee of craft, for to disceyven the Cristene men, as I have sene fulle many a tyme. And after hem, the marchauntis and the apotecaries countrefeten it eftsones, and that it is lasse worthe, and a gret del worse. But zif it lyke zou, I schalle schewe, how zee schulle knowe and preve, to the ende that zee schulle not ben disceyved. First zee schulle wel knowe, that the naturelle bawme is fulle cleer, and of cytrine colour, and stronge smellynge; and zif it be thykke, or reed or blak, it is sophisticate, that is to seyne, contrefeted and made lyke it, for disceyt. And undrestondethe, that zif zee wil putte a lytylle bawme in the pawme of zoure hond, azen the sonne, zif it be fyn and gode, zee ne schulle not suffre zoure hand azenst the hete of the sonne. Also takethe a lytille bawme, with the poynt of a knif, and touche it to the fuyr, and zif it brenne, it is a gode signe. Aftre take also a drope of bawme, and put it in to a dissche or in a cuppe with mylk of a goot; and zif it be naturelle bawme, anon it wole take and beclippe the mylk. Or put a drope of bawme in clere watre, in a cuppe of sylver or in a clere bacyn, and stere it wel with the clere watre ; and zif that the bawme be fyn and of his owne kynde, the watre schalle nevere trouble : and zif the bawme be sophisticate, that is to seyne countrefeted, the watre schalle become anon trouble : And also zif the bawme be fyn, it schalle falle to the botome of the vesselle, as thoughe it were Quyksylver : For the fyn bawme is more hevy twyes, than is the bawme that is sophisticate and countrefeted. Now I have spoken of Bawme : and now also I schalle speke of an other thing, that is bezonde Babyloyne, above the flode of Nyle, toward the desert, betwene Affrik and Egypt : that is to seyn, of the gerneres* of Joseph, that he leet make, for to kepe the greynes for the perile of the dere zeres. And thei ben made of ston, fulle wel made of massones craft : of the whiche two ben merveylouse grete and hye ; and the tothere ne ben not so grete. And every gerner hathe a zate, for to entre with inne, a lytille hyghe fro the erthe. For the lond is wasted and fallen, sithe the gerneres were made. And with inne thei ben alle fulle of serpentes. And aboven the gerneres with outen ben many scriptures of dyverse langages. And sum men seyn, that thei ben sepultures of grete lordes, that weren somtyme ; but that is not trewe : for alle the comoun rymour and speche is of alle the peple there, bothe and nere, that thei ben the garneres of Joseph. And so fynden thei in here scriptures and in here cronycles. On that other partie, zif thei were sepultures, thei scholden not ben voyd with inne. For zee may well knowe, that tombes and sepultures ne ben not made of suche gretnesse, ne of such highnesse. Wherfore it is not to believe, that thei ben tombes or sepultures. In Egypt also there ben dyverse langages and dyverse lettres, and of other manere condicioun, than there ben in other parties. As I schalle devyse zou, suche as thei ben, and the names how thei clepen hem ; to suche entent, that zee mowe knowe the difference of hem and of othere. Athoimis, Bunchi, Chinok, Durain, Eni, Fin, Gomor, Heket, Janny, Karacta, Luzanim, Miche, Naryn, Oldache, Pilon, Quyn, Yron, Sichen, Thola, Urmron, Yph and Yarm, Thoit.

---

* Eggs.
† Melons.

---

* Flintstone and bone.
† Tilled.

Now will I retourne azen, or I procede ony ferthere, for to declare zou the othere weyes, that drawen toward Babiloyne, where the Soudan him self duellethe, that is at the entree of Egypt; for als moche as mony folk gon thidre first, and aftre that to the Mount Synay, and aftre retournen to Jerusalem, as I have seyd zou here beforn. For thei fulfillen first the more long pilgrymage, and aftre retournen azen be the nexte weyes; because that the more nye weye is the more worthi, and that is Jerusalem. For no other pylgrymage is not lyk, in comparsoun to it. But for to fulle fylle here pilgrymages more esily and more sykerly, men gon first the longer weye. But whoso wil go to Babyloyne be another weye, more schort from the contrees of the west, that I have reherced before; or from other contrees next fro hem; than men gon by Fraunce, be Burgoyne and be Lombardye. It nedethe not to telle zou the names of the cytees, ne of the townes that ben in that Weye: for the weye is comoun, and it is knowen of many naciouns. And there ben many havenes, that men taken the see. Sume men taken the see at Gene, some at Venyce, and passen by the see Adryatyk, that is clept the Goulf of Venyse, that departethe* Ytaylle and Greece on that syde. And some gon to Naples, some to Rome, and from Rome to Brandys,† and there thei taken the see: and in many othere places, where that havenes ben. And men gon be Tussye, be Champayne, be Calabre, be Appuille, and be the hilles of Ytaylle, Chorisqe, be Sardyne, and be Cycile, that is a gret ile and a gode. In that ile of Cycile there ys a maner of a gardyn, in the whiche ben many dyverse frutes. And the gardyn is alweys grene and florisshing, alle the cesouns of the zeer, als wel in wyntre es in somer. That yle holt in compas aboute 350 Frensche myles. And betwene Cycele and Itaylle there is not but a lytille arm of the see, that men clepen the farde of Mescyne. And Cycile is betwene the See Adryatyk and the See of Lombardye. And fro Cycyle in to Calabre is but 8 myles of Lombardye. And in Cycile there is a manere of serpentes, be the whiche men asseyen and preven, where here children ben bastardis or none, or of lawefulle mariage. For zif thei ben born in righte mariage, the serpentes gon aboute hem, and don hem non harm: and zif thei ben born in Avowtrie, the serpentes byten hem and envenyme hem. And thus manye wedded men preve, zif the children ben here owne. Also in that ile is the Mount Ethna, that men clepen Mount Gybelle; and the

---

* Granaries.

---

* Separates.

† Brindisi.

Vulcanes that ben evermore brennynge. And ther ben 7 places, that brennen and that casten out dyverse flawmes and dyverse colour. And be the chaungynge of tho flawmes, men of that contree knowen, whanne it schalle be derthe or gode tyme, or cold or hoot, or moyst or drye, or in alle othere maneres, how the tyme schalle be governed. And from Itaille unto the Vulcanes nys but 25 Myle. And men seyn, that the Vulcanes ben weyes of Helle.

Also whoso gothe be Pyse, zif that men list to go that weye, there is an arm of the see, where that men gon to othere havenes in tho marches. And that men passen be the Ile of Greaf, that is at Gene: and aftre arryvethe men in Grece at the havene of the cytee of Myrok, or at the havene of Valone, or at the cytee of Duras: and there is a duk at Duras, or at othere havenes in tho marces: and so men gon to Costantynoble. And aftre gon men be watre to the Ile of Crete, and to the Ile of Rodes, ond so to Cypre, and so to Athens, and fro thens to Costantynoble.

To holde the more righte weye be see, it is wel a 1880 myle of Lombardye. And aftre fro Cipre men gon be see, and leven Jerusalem and alle the contree on the left hond, unto Egypt, and arryven at the cytee of Damyete, that was wont to be fulle strong, and it sytt at the entree of Egypt. And fro Damyete gon men to the cytee of Alizandre, that sytt also upon the see. In that cytee was seynte Kateryne beheded. And there was seynt Mark the Evangelist martyred and buryed. But the Emperour Leoun made his bones to ben broughte to Venyse. And zit there is at Alizandre a faire chirche, alle white withouten peynture: and so ben alle the othere chirches, that weren of the Cristene men, alle white with inne. For the Panemes and the Sarrazynes madem hem white, for to fordon* the ymages of seyntes, that weren peynted on the walles. That cytee of Alizandre is wel 30 furlonges in lengthe: but it is but 10 on largenesse. And it is a full noble cytee and a fayr. At that cytee entrethe the ryvere of Nyle in to the see; as I to zou have seyd before. In that ryvere men fynden many precyouse stones, and meche also of lignum aloes: and it is a manere of wode, that comethe out of Paradys terrestre, the whiche is good for manye dyverse medicynes: and it is righte dereworthe. And fro Alizandre men gon to Babyloyne, where the Soudan dwellethe; that sytt also upon the ryvere of Nyle. And this wey is most schort, for to go streyghte unto Babiloyne.

---

* To destroy.—Anglo-Saxon, *for-dón*.

Now schall I seye zou also the weye, that gothe fro Babiloyne to the Mount of Synay, where Seynte Kateryne lythe. He moste passe be the desertes of Arabye; be the whiche desertes Moyses ladde the peple of Israel: and thanne passe men be the welle, that Moyses made with his hond in the desertes, whan the people grucched,* for thei fownden no thing to drynke. And than passe men be the welle of Marache, of the whiche the watre was first byttre: but the children of Israel putten there inne a tree; and anon the watre was swete and gode for to drynke. And thanne gon men be desart unto the Vale of Elyn; in the whiche vale be 12 welles: and there ben 72 trees of palme, that beren the dates, the whiche Moyses fond with the children of Israel. And fro that valeye is but a gode journeye to the Mount of Synay.

And whoso wil go be another weye fro Babiloyne, than men gothe be the Rede See, that is an arm of the see occean. And there passed Moyses, with the children of Israel, overthwart the see, alle drye, whan Pharao the Kyng of Egypt chaced hem. And that see is wel a 6 myle of largenesse in bredthe. And in that see was Pharao drowned and alle his hoost, that he ladde. That see is not more reed than another see; but in some place thereof is the gravelle reede: and therfore men clepen it the Rede See. That see rennethe to the endes of Arabye and of Palestyne. That see lastethe more than 4 journeyes. And then gon men be desert unto the Vale of Elyn: and fro thens to the Mount of Synay. And zee may wel undirstonde, that be this desert, no man may go on hors back, be cause that there nys nouther mete for hors ne watre to drynke. And for that cause men passen that desert with camelle. For the camaylle fynt alle wey mete in trees and on busshes, that he fedethe him with. And he may well faste fro drynk 2 dayes or 3: and that may non hors don.

And wyte wel, that from Babiloyne to the Mount Synay is wel a 12 gode journeyes: and some men maken hem more: and some men hasten hem and peynen hem; and therefore thei maken hem lesse. And alle weys fynden men latynerest† to go with hem in the contrees, and ferthere bezonde, in to tyme that men conne‡ the langage. And it behovethe men to bere vitaille with hem, that schalle duren hem in tho desertes, and other necessaries for to lyve by.

---

* Grumbled.

† Men who speak Latin.

‡ Know.

And the Mount of Synay is clept the Desert of Syne, that is for to seyne, the bussche brennynge: because there Moyses sawghe oure Lord God many tymes, in forme of fuyr brennynge upon that hille; and also in a bussche brennynge; and spak to him. And that was at the foot of the hille. There is an abbeye of monks, wel bylded and wel closed with zates of iren, for drede of the wylde bestes. And the monkes ben Arrabyenes, or men of Greece: and there is a gret covent; and alle thei ben as heremytes; and thei drynken no wyn, but zif it be on principalle festes: and thei ben fulle devoute men, and lyven porely and sympely, with joutes[*] and with dates: and thei don gret absteynence and penaunce. There is the Chirche of Seynt Kateryne, in the whiche ben manye lampes brennynge. For thei han of oyle of olyves y now, bothe for to brenne in here lampes, and to ete also: and that plentee have thei be the myracle of God. For the ravenes and the crowes and the choughes, and other foules of the contree assemblen hem there every zeer ones, and fleen thider as in pilgrymage: and everyche of hem bringethe a braunche of the bayes or of olyve, in here bekes, in stede of offryng, and leven hem there; of the whiche the monkes maken gret plentee of oyle; and this is a gret marvaylle. And sithe that foules, that han no kyndely wytt ne resoun, gon thidre to seche that gloriouse virgyne; wel more oughten men than to seche hire and to worschipen hire. Also behynde the awtier of that chirche is the place where Moyses saughe oure Lord God in a brennynge bussche. And whanne the monkes entren in to that place, thei don of bothe hosen and schoon or botes alweys; be cause that oure Lord seyde to Moyses, *Do of thin hosen and thi schon: for the place that thou stondest on is lond holy and blessed.* And the monkes clepen that place Bezeleel, that is to seyne, the schadew of God. And besyde the highe awtiere, 3 degrees of heighte, is the fertre[†] of alabastre, where the bones of Seynte Kateryne lyzn. And the prelate of the monkes schewethe the relykes to the pilgrymes. And with an instrument of sylver, he frothethe the bones;[‡] and thanne ther gothe out a lytylle oyle, as thoughe it were a maner swetynge, that is nouther lyche to oyle ne to bawme; but it is fulle swete of smelle: And of that thei zeven a litylle to the pilgrymes; for there gothe out but litylle quantitee of the likour. And aftre that thei schewen the heed of Seynte Kateryne, and the clothe that sche was wrapped inne, that is zit alle blody. And in that same clothe so y wrapped, the aungeles beren hire body to the Mount Synay, and there thei buryed hire with it. And thanne thei schewen the bussche, that brenned and wasted nought, in the whiche oure Lord spak to Moyses, and othere relikes y nowe. Also whan the prelate of the abbeye is ded, I have undirstonden, be informacioun, that his lampe quenchethe. And whan thei chesen another prelate, zif he be a gode man and worthi to be prelate, his lampe schal lighte, with the grace of God, withouten touchinge of ony man. For everyche of hem hathe a lampe be him self. And be here lampes thei knowen wel whan ony of hem schalle dye. For whan ony schalle dye, the lyghte begynnethe to chaunge and to wexe dym. And zif he be chosen to ben prelate, and is not worthi, is lampe quenchethe anon. And other men han told me, that he that syngethe the masse for the prelate that is ded, he schalle fynde upon the awtier the name writen of him that schalle be prelate chosen. And so upon a day I asked of the monkes, bothe on and other, how this befelle. But thei wolde not telle me no thing, in to the tyme that I seyde, that thei scholde not hyde the grace, that God did hem; but that thei scholde publissche it, to make the peple to have the more devocioun; and that thei diden synne, to hide Goddis myracle, as me seemed. For the myracles, that God hathe don, and zit dothe every day, ben the wytnesse of his myghte and of his merveylles; as David sethe in the Psaultere; *Mirabilia testimonia tua, Domine:* that is to seyn, *Lord, thi merveyles ben thi wytnesse.* And thanne thei tolde me, bothe on and other, how it befelle fulle many a tyme: but more I myghte not have of hem. In that abbeye ne entrethe not no flye ne todes ne ewtes, ne suche foule venymouse bestes, ne lyzs ne flees, be the myracle of God and of oure lady. For there were wont to ben many suche manere of filthes, that the monkes werein in wille to leve the place and the Abbeye, and weren gon fro thens, upon the mountayne aboven, for to eschewe that place. And oure lady cam to hem, and bad hem tournen azen: and fro this forewardes nevere entred suche filthe in that place amonges hem, ne nevere schalle entre here aftre. Also before the zate is the welle, where Moyses smot the ston, of the whiche the watre cam out plenteously.

---

[*] Gourds.

[†] Bier.

[‡] Rubbeth.

Fro that abbeye men gon up the mountayne of Moyses, be many degrees: and there men fynden first a Chirche of oure Lady, where that sche mette the monkes, whan thei fledden awey for the vermyn aboveseyd. And more highe upon that mountayne is the chapelle of Helye the prophete. And that place thei clepen Oreb, where of Holy Writt spekethe. *Et ambulavit in fortitudine cibi illius usq; ad Montem Oreb:* that is to seyne, *And he wente in strengthe of that mete, unto the hille of God, Oreb.* And there nyghe is the vyne that Seynt John the Evaungeliste planted, that men clepen reisins, *staphis.* And a lytille aboven is the Chapelle of Moyses, and the roche where Moyses fleghe to, for drede, when he saughe oure Lord face to face. And in that roche is prented the forme of his body; for he smot so strongly and so harde him self in that roche, that alle his body was dolven with inne, thorghe the myracle of God. And there besyde is the place where oure Lorde toke to Moyses the 10 commandementes of the lawe. And there is the cave undre the roche, where Moyses duelte, whan he fasted 40 dayes and 40 nyghtes. And from that mountayne men passen a gret valeye, for to gon to another mountayne, where Seynt Kateryne was buryed of the aungeles of oure Lord. And in that valey is a chirche of 40 martyres; and there singen the monkes of the abbeye often tyme. And that valey is right cold. And aftre men gon up the mountayne of Seynt Kateryne, that is more highe then the mount of Moyses. And there, where Seynt Kateryne was buryed, is nouther chirche ne chapelle, ne other duellynge place: but there is an heep of stones aboute the place, where the body of hire was put of the aungeles. There was wont to ben a chapelle: but it was casten downe, and zit lyggen the stones there. And alle be it that the collect of Seynte Kateryne seye, that it is the place where oure Lord betaughten the Ten Comandementes to Moyses, and there where the blessed virgyne Seynte Kateryne was buryed; that is to undrestonde, in o contree, or in o place berynge o name. For bothe that on and that othre is clept the Mount of Synay. But there is a grete weye from that on to that othre, and a gret deep valeye betwene hem.

Of the desert betwene the chirche of Seynte Kateryne and Jerusalem. Of the drie Tre; and how roses cam first in the world.

Cap. VI.

Now aftre that men had visited tho holy places, thanne will thei turnen toward Jerusalem. And than wil thei take leve of the monkes, and recommenden hem to here preyeres. And than thei zeven the pilgrimes of here vitaylle, for to passe with the desertes, toward Surrye. And tho desertes duren wel a 13 journeyes. In that desert duellyn manye of Arrabyenes, that men clepen Bedoynes and Ascopardes. And thei ben folke fulle of alle evylle condiciouns. And thei have none houses, but tentes, that thei maken of skynnes of bestes, as of camaylles and of othere bestes, that thei eten; and there benethe thei couchen hem and duellen, in place, where thei may fynden watre, as on the Rede See or elles where. For in that desert is fulle gret defaute of watre: and often time it fallethe, that where men fynden watre at o tyme in a place, it faylethe another tyme. And for that skylle, thei make none habitaciouns there. Theise folk, that I speke of, thei tylen not the lond, ne thei laboure noughte; for thei eten no bred, but zif it be ony that dwellen nyghe a gode toun, that gon thidre and eten bred som tyme. And thei rosten here flesche and here fische upon the hote stones azenst the sonne. And thei ben stronge men and wel fyghtynge. And there is so meche multytude of that folk, that thei ben withouten nombre. And thei ne recchen of no thing, ne don not, but chacen aftre bestes, to eten hem. And thei recchen no thing of here lif: and therefore thei dowten not the Sowdan, ne non othre prince; but thei dar wel werre with hem, zif thei don ony thing that is grevance to hem. And thei han often tyme werre with the Soudan; and namely, that tyme that I was with him. And thei beren but o scheld and o spere, with outen other armes. And thei wrappen here hedes and here necke with a gret quantytee of white lynnen clothe. And thei ben righte felonouse and foule, and of cursed kynde.

And whan men passen this desert, in comynge toward Jerusalem, thei comen to Bersabee, that was wont to ben a fulle fair town and a delytable of Cristene men: and zit there ben summe of here chirches. In that town dwelled Abraham the patriark, a long tyme. In that toun of Bersabee, founded Bersabee the wife of Sire Urye, the knyghte; on the whiche Kyng David gatt

Salomon the wyse, that was king aftre David, upon the 12 kynredes of Jerusalem, and regned 40 zeer. And fro thens gon men to the cytee of Ebron, that is the montance* of 2 gode myle. And it was clept somtyme the Vale of Mambree, and sumtyme it was clept the Vale of Teres, because that Adam wepte there, an 100 zeer, for the dethe of Abelle his sone, that Cayn slowghe. Ebron was wont to ben the princypalle cytee of Philistyenes; and there duelleden somtyme the geauntz. And that cytee was also Sacerdotalle, that is to seyne, seyntuarie, of the tribe of Juda: and it was so fre, that men resceyved there alle manere of fugityfes of other places, for here evyl dedis. In Ebron, Josue, Calephe, and here companye comen first to aspyen, how thei myghte wynnen the lond of Beheste. In Ebron regned first Kyng David, 7 zeer and an half: and in Jerusalem he regnede 33 zeer and an half. And in Ebron ben alle the sepultures of the patriarkes, Adam, Abraham, Ysaac, and of Jacob; and of here wyfes, Eve, Sarre, and Rebekke, and of Lya: the whiche sepultures the Sarazines kepen fulle curyously, and han the place in gret reverence, for the holy fadres, the patriarkes, that lyzen there. And thei suffre no Cristene man entre in to that place, but zif it be of specyalle grace of the Soudan. For thei holden Cristen men and Jewes as dogges. And thei seyn, that thei scholde not entre in to so holy place. And men clepen that place, where thei lyzn, double spelunke, or double cave or double dyche; for als meche as that on lyethe above that other. And the Sarazines clepen that place in here langage Karicarba; that is to seyn, the place of patriarkes. And the Jewes clepen that place Arbothe. And in that same place was Abrahames hous: and there he satt and he saughe 3 persones, and worschipte but on; as Holy Writt seyethe, *Tres vidit et unum adoravit:* that is to seyne, *He saughe* 3, *and worschiped on:* and of tho same resceyved Abraham the aungeles in to his hous. And righte faste by that place is a cave in the roche, where Adam and Eve duelleden, whan thei weren putt out of Paradyse; and there goten thei here children. And in that same place was Adam formed and made; aftre that that sum men seyn. For men werein wont for to clepe that place, the feld of Damasce; because that it was in the lordschipe of Damask. And fro thens was he translated in to paradys of delytes, as thei seyn: and aftre that he was dryven out of Paradys, he was there left. And the same day that he was putt in Paradys, the same day he was putt outt: for anon he synned. There begynnethe the Vale of Ebron, that durethe nyghe to Jerusalem. There the Aungelle commaunded Adam, that he scholde duelle with his wyf Eve: of the whiche he gatt Sethe; of whiche tribe, that is to seyn, kynrede, Jesu Crist was born. In that valeye is a feld, where men drawen out of the erthe a thing, that men clepen cambylle: and thei ete it in stede of spice, and thei bere it to selle. And men may not make the hole ne the cave, where it is taken out of the erthe, so depe ne so wyde, but that it is, at the zeres ende, fulle azen up to the sydes, thorgh the grace of God.

---

* Amount.

And 2 myle from Ebron is the grave of Lothe, that was Abrahames brother. And a lytille fro Ebron is the Mount of Mambre, of the whiche the valeye takethe his name. And there is a tree of oke, that the Sarazines clepen dirpe, that is of Abrahames tyme, the whiche men clepen the drye tree. And thei seye, that it hathe ben there sithe the beginnynge of the world; and was sumtyme grene, and bare leves, unto the tyme that oure Lord dyede on the cros; and thanne it dryede; and so dyden alle trees, that weren thanne in the world. And summe seyn, be here prophecyes, that a Lord, a prynce of the west syde of the world shalle wynnen the lond of promyssioun, that is the Holy Lond, withe helpe of Cristene men; and he schalle do synge a masse undir that drye tree, and than the tree schalle wexen grene and bere bothe fruyt and leves. And thorghe that myracle manye Sarazines and Jewes schulle be turned to Cristene feythe. And therfore thei don gret worschipe thereto, and kepen it fulle besyly. And alle be it so, that it be drye, natheles zit he berethe gret vertue: for certeynly he that hathe a litille there of upon him, it helethe him of the fallynge evylle: and his hors schalle not ben a foundred: and manye othere vertues it hathe: where fore men holden it fulle precyous.

From Ebron, men gon to Bethelem, in half a day: for it is but 5 myle; and it is fulle fayre weye, be pleynes and wodes fulle deletable.

CAPVT. 13.

De ciuitate Bethleem, et semita vsque in Ierusalem.

BEthleem Ciuitas longa sed parua, firmata est vndique fossatis fortibus: cuius modò habitatores quasi omnes sunt Christiani.

In illa ad orientem honesta, et placida habetur Ecclesia: (nescio an aliquam eiusdem quantitatis viderim placentiorem,) extrinsecus habens turres saltaturas, pinnacula, et propugnacula nobili artificio fabricata, et intrinsecus 44. de marmore decoro columnas. Ad principalis autem turris dextram in descensu 16. graduum, est diuersorij locus, vbi ex intacta et benedicta Virgine nascebatur Christus homo Deus. Hic locus est multùm artificiosè operatus marmore, et generosè depictus auro et argento, variòque colore, cui propè ad tres passus est præsepe in quo reclinabatur natus Dominus, ibíque videtur puteus quidam, in quo aliqui putare volunt cecidisse stellam ductricem trium Magorum, post eius peractum officium.

Est etiam ante præsepe Domini, tumba beati Interpretis Hieronymi, et extra Ecclesiam monstratur cathedra, in qua residere solebat. Sub clausura huius ecclesiæ ad dextram, per 18. gradus apparet fossa, quæ dicitur ossium innocentium causa Christi ab Herode impio occisorum. Hinc ad quingentos, vel citra pedes habetur alia Ecclesia nomine Sancti Nicholai, in quo scilicet loco, post recessum Magorum beata Virgo tempus sui puerperij obseruauit. Ibíque monstrantur rubra saxa albis respersa maculis, quòd simpliciores narrant saxis euenisse de abundantia lactis virginis ab vberibus eiecti. In via Bethleem ab Helya miliario contra meridianam plagam iuxta viam quæ ducit Ebron, Christiani de Bethleem colunt circa ciuitatem multam copiam vinearum, ad potum sub ipsorum. Nam Sarraceni non colunt vineas, nec vina vendunt neque in manifesto bibunt, eò quòd liber legis Mahomet, facit super hoc prohibitionem, et interpretatur maledictionem.

Taxat simplicitatem vulgi.

Sarraceni non bibunt vinum in manifesto.

De Bethleem in Austrum duabus leucis habetur claustrum Sanctæ Charitatis, ibidem suo tempore Abbatissæ. A Bethleem tendendo Ierusalem inuenitur ad dimidiam leucam Ecclesia, in cuius loco Angelus dixit pastoribus, Annuncio vobis gaudium magnum, quod natus est nobis Saluatur qui est Christus Dominus. Est et tnmba Rachel Patriarchæ, vbi etiam coaceruata iacent 12. saxa magna, quæ quidam autumant illic tumulasse Iacob, eò quòd Beniamin duodecimus sibi filius nascebatur ibidem. Sícque venitur in Sanctam Ciuitatem Ierusalem. Notandum, Bethel vicus est 12. ab Helya ad dextram euntibus Neapoli, quæ primùm Luza vocabatur. Sed ex eo tempore quo ibat ad Ieroboam filium Nebat,

Sanctæ Charitatis.

Bethel. vituli aurei fabricati sunt, et à decem tribubus adorata, vocata est Bethauen, id est, Domus Idoli, quæ antè vocabatur Domus Dei. Ieronymus. Sed et Ecclesia ædificata est vbi dormiuit Iacob, pergens Mesopotamiam, vbi et ipsi loco Bethel, id est, domus Dei nomen imposuit.

CAPVT. 14.

De Ecclesia gloriosi Sepulchri Domini in vrbe Ierusalem.

IErusalem cum tota terra prommissionis, est quasi vna de quinque prouincijs vel pluribus, quibus Regnum Syriæ distinguitur. Iungitur autem Iudæa ad Orientem Regno Arabiæ, ad meridiem Aegypto, ad Occidentem mari mago, et ad Aquilonem Rego Syriæ. Iudeæ terra per diuersa tempora à diuersis possessa fuit nationibus, Cananæorum, Iudæorum, Assyriorum, Persarum Medorum, Macedonum, Græcorum, Romanorum, Christianorum, Sarracenorum, Barbarorum, Turcorum, and Tartarorum. Cuius rei causa meritò potest æstimari, quod non sustinuit Deus magnos peccatores longo tempore permanere in terra sibi tam placita, et tam sancta.

Itaque perigrinus veniens in Ierusalem primo expleat suam peregrinationem, ad reuerendum et sacrosanctum Domini nostri Iesu Christi sepulchrum: cuius Ecclesia est in vltima ciuitatis extremitate, ad partem aquilonarem, cum proprio sui ambitus muro ipsi ciuitati adiuncto. Ipsa verò Ecclesia est pulchra et rotundæ formæ cooperta desuper cum tegulis plumbeis, habens in Occidente turrim altam et firmam, in pauimenti Ecclesiæ medio ad figuram dimidij compassi habetur nobili opere Latonico ædificatum paruum Tabernaculum quasi 15. pedum tam longitudinis quàm latitudinis, et altitudinis miro artificio intus extràque compositum, ac multùm diligenter diuersis coloribus ornatum. Hoc itaque in Tabernaculo seu Capella, ad latus dextrum, continetur incomparabilis thesaurus gloriosissimi sepulchri, habentis octo pedes longitudinis, et quinque latitudinis. Et quoniam in toto habitaculo nulla est apertura præter paruum ostium, illustratur accedentibus peregrinis pluribus lampadibus, (quarum ad minus vna coram sepulchro iugiter ardere solet) ingressus.

Templum Sepulchri.

Sciendum, quòd ante breue tempus solebat sepulchrum esse ingressis peregrinis accessibile, ad tangendum et osculandum, sed quia multi vel effringebant, vel conabantur sibi effringere aliquid de petra sepulchri, iste Soldanus Melech Mandybron fecit illud confabricari, vt nec osculari valeat, nec adiri, sed tantummodo intueri. Et ob illam causam in sinistro pariete in altitudine quinque pedum immurari effracturam petræ sepulchri ad quantitatem capitis humani, quod tanquam pro sepulchro ibi ab omnibus veneratur, tangitur, et osculatur.

Melech Mandybron Soldanus.

Dicitur ibi quoque communiter præfatam lampadem coram sepulchro singulis annis in die Sanctæ Parascheues, hora nona extingui, et in media nocte Paschæ sine humano studio reaccendi. Quod (si ita est) euidens diuini beneficii miraculum est. Et quamis id plurimi Christiani simpliciter in magno pietatis merito credant, plerísque tamen est in suspicione. Fortè talia Sarraceni custodes sepulchre fingentes diuulgauerunt, pro augendo emolumenta tributi, quod inde resultaret, seu oblationum quæ dantur.

Mandeuillus de hoc dubitat.

Singulis autem annis in die cœnæ Domini in Parascheue, et in vigilia Paschæ, tribus his diebus manet Tabernaculum hoc apertum continuè, et patet omnibus Christianis gentibus accessus, aliàs verò non per annum sine redditione tributi. Intra Ecclesiam, propè parietem dextrum, est Caluariæ locus, vbi crucifixus pependit Christus Dominus. Per gradus ascenditur in hunc locum, et est rupis velut albi coloris, cum aliqua rubedine per loca commixta, habens scissuram, quam dicunt Golgotha, in qua maior pars preciosi sanguinis Christi dicitur influxisse: vbi et habetur altare constructum, ante quod consistunt tumbæ Godefridi de Bullion, et aliorum Regum Christianorum, qui circa annum incarnationis Domini, 1100. debellauerunt et obtinuerunt sanctam vrbem cum tota patria ex manibus Sarracenorum, et per hoc conquisierunt sibi magnum nomen, vsque in finem sæculi duraturum. Propè ipsius crucifixionis locum continetur literis Græcis hoc scriptum: *ὁ Θεὸς βασιλεὺς ἡμων πρὸ αἰῶνος εἰργάσατο σωτηρίαν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς.* hoc est dicere, Deus Rex noster ante secula operatus est salutem in medio terræ. Item directè in loco, vbi crux sancta stetit cum Christo rupi infixa, habetur hoc exaratum in saxo rupis: *ὁ ὅρᾷς ἐσὶ βάσις της πίσεως τοῦ κόσμου,* hoc est, quod vides fundamentum est fidei mundi.

Tumba Godefridi de Bollion.

Psal. 74. 12.

Haud remotè ab hoc Caluariæ monte, habetur et aliud altare, Iterum taxit ignorantiam vulgi. Regina Helena Angla.

vbi iacet columna flagellationis Domini, cui stant de propinque et ali coælumnæ quatuor de Marmore aquam iugiter resundantes, et (secundùm opinionem simplicium) passionem innocentem Christie deflentes. Est sub isto altari crypta, 42. granduum profunda, vbi sancta Helena Regina reperit tres cruces, videlicet Christi, et latronum cum eo crucifixorum, ac etiam clauos crucis Domini in cryptæ pariete.

In medio autem chori huius Ecclesiæ, est locus pauimenti stratus mirè et pulchrè, ad integram compassi figuram, vbi depositum corpus Christi de cruce Ioseph ab Aramathia cum suis adiutoribus lauit et condiuit aromatibus. Item infra Ecclesiam à septentrionali parte ostenditur locus, vbi Christus Magdalenæ apparuit post suam resurrectionem, quando eum credidit hortulanum.

A dextro autem latere ad ingressum Ecclesiæ, habentur gradus 18. sub quibus est Capella Indorum, vbi soli peregrini de India per sacerdotes suos cantant iuxta ritum suum Missas, celebràntque diuina. Missam faciunt quidem breuissimam, conficientes in principio verbis debitis sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi de pane et vino, ac posteà paucis orationibus additis, totum oratione Dominica concludunt officium. Hoc autem verum est, quod cum maxima attentione, reuerentia, humilitate, et deuotione se gerunt, et continent diuinis.

Indorum Capella siue subditorum præsbiteri Ioannis.

Porrò illud, quod quidam peruulgauerunt, aut opinati sunt, Iudæam aut Ierusalem, vel Ecclesiam istam consistere in medio totius mundi, propter prædictam scripturam, (in medio terræ) hoc intelligi non potest localiter ad mensuram corporis terræ: Nam si ad terræ latitudinem, quam aestimant inter duos polos, respiciamus, certum est Iudæam non esse in medio, quod tunc esset sub circulo Aequatoris, et esset ibi semper æquinoctium, et vtrumq; polorum staret iis in horizonte. Quod vtiq; non est ita, quod existentibus in Iudæa eleuatur multùm polus arcticus.

An Ierusalem sit in medio mundi.

Rursus si ad terræ longitudinem spectemus, quæ æstimari potest à Paradiso terrestri, scilicet à digniori et latiori terræ loco, versus eius Nadir, scilicet versus locum sibi in Sphæra terræ oppositum, tunc Iudaea esset ad Antipodes paradisi, quod apparet ita non esse, quod tunc esset viatori de Iudaea ad Paradisum tendentis aequa itineris mensura, siue tenderet versus Orientem, siue versus Occidentem. Sed hoc non est verisimile nec verum, sicut probatum constat per experientiam multorum. Mihi autem videtur, quod praefata Prophetae scriptura, potest exponi, in medio terræ, id est, circa medium nostri habitabilis, videlicet vt Iudaea sit circa medium inter Paradisum et Antipodes Paradisi, distans tantum ab ipso Paradiso in oriente 96. gradibus, prout ego ipse per viam orientalem tentaui: quanquam de hoc non videtur de facili plena certitudo haberi; eo quòd in longitudine cœli nullae stellae manent immobiles, sicut in latitudine manent poli sempèr fixi. Vel potest ita exponi, quòd Dauid qui erat Rex Iudaea, dixit in medio terrae, hoc est, in principali ciuitate terrae suae Ierusalem, quae erat ciuitas regalis, siue sacerdotalis terrae Iudeae: vel fortè spiritus sanctus, qui loquebatur per os prophetae in hoc verbo vult intelligi non corporeum aut locale, sed totum spirituale, de quo intuitu nihil ad praesens est scribendum.

CAPVT. 15.

De tribus alijs Ecclesijs, et specialiter de templo Domini.

VLtrà duo stadia ab Ecclesia ad Meridiem sancti sepulchri habetur magnum hospitale sancti Ioannis Hierosolymitani, qui caput et fundamentum esse dignoscitur ordinis hospitaliorum modò tententium Rhodum insulam: in quo recipi possunt omnes Christiani perigrini cuiuscunque sint conditionis, seu status, vel dignitatis. Nam Sarraceni pro leui cura anxij rumoris, prohibent ne apud quenquam suorum Christianus pernoctet. Ad sustentationem aedificij huius hospitalis, habentur in eo 124. columnæ marmoreae, et in parietibus distincti 54. pilarij. Satis propè hunc locum in orientem, est Ecclesia quae dicitur, de Domina nostra magna: et indè non remotè alia, quæ dicitur nostrae Dominæ latinorum, aedificata super locum, vbi Maria Magdalene, et Maria Cleophae cum alijs pluribus, dum Christus cruci affigebatur, flebant et dolores lamentabiles exercebant.

Item ab Ecclesia Sancti Sepulchri in orientem ad stadium cum dimidio habetur aedificium mirabile, ac pulchrum valdè, quod templum Domini nominatur, quod constructum est in forma rotunda, cuius circumferentiae diameter habet 64 cubitos, et altitudo eius 126, et intrinsecus pro sustentatione aedificij, multi pilarij. In medio autem templi est locus altior 14. gradibus, qui et ipse columnis vndiq; est stipatus: et secundum quatuor mundi plagas habet templum quatuor introitus per portas Cypressinas artificiosè compositas, nobiliterq; sculptas, et excisas. Et ante portam aquilonarem intra templum fontem aquæ mundæ, qui quamuis olim exundabat, tamen nunc minimè fluit. In toto circuitu aedificij extrinsecus est valdè pro atrio latum spacium loci, stratum per totum pauimentum marmoribus. Hoc templum non ducitur stare in eodem loco vbi templum Dei stetit in tempore Christi, quo post resurrectionem a Romanis destructo, istud longo post tempore Adrianus Imperator extruxit, sed non ad formam templi prioris: praedictum tamen excelsum in medio templi locum vocant Iudaei sanctum sanctorum.

Literæ Soldani traditæ Mandiuillo.

Sciatis itàq; quòd Sarraceni magnam exhibent huic templo reuerentiam, et honorem, sæpius illud discalceati intrantes, et positis genibus deuotè Deum omnipotentem exorantes, nulla enim ibidem habetur imago, sed multæ lampades relucentes. Neminem Christianorum seu Iudaeorum ingredi sinun, hoc templum, reputantes eos indignos ad hoc, et nimium immundos, vndè nisi virtute literarum quas habui a Soldano, nec ego fuissem ingressus. Ingrediens autem cum meis sodalibus deposuimus calciamenta, recogitantes cum multa cordis deuotione, nos magis id facere debere, quàm incredulos Sarrcenos.

Et verè meritò est iste locus in magna reuerentia habendus: dum enim Rex Salomon primùm in illo templo per Dei iussionem, et Dauidis patris sui commissionem aedificasset, exorauit praesente cuncto populo Israel, vt quicúnque illic Deum pro iusta causa rogaret audiretur; et Dominus monstrauit exauditionis signum per nebulam de cœlo emissam, proùt narrat historia veritatis 3. Regum libro.

Porrò in eo loco vbi statuerat idem Rex ante templum altare holocausti, videlicet extra portam templi occidentalem, habetur et nunc altare, sed non ad instar, nec ad vsum primi: Nam Saraceni, quasi nihil curantes, traxerunt in eo lineos tanquam in astrolabio figentes in linearum centro batellum, ad cuius vmbram per lineas discernuntur diei horae.

Etiam in hac atrij parte apparent adhuc vestigia portæ speciosae, vbi Petrus Apostolus, cum Euangelista Ioanne dixit contracto, In nomine Christi Iesu Nazareni surge, et statim consolidabantur illi plantae.

CAPVT. 16.

De pluribus locis sacris iuxta vrbem.

VIaturo ad dextram satis de propinquo habetur et alia Ecclesia, quae nunc appellatur schola Salomonis: rursusq; ad Meridiem est et aliud templum siue Ecclesia, quae vocatur Templum Salomonis, quòd olim fuit caput, et fundamentum totius ordinis Templariorum.

Templarij à templo Salomonis dicti.

A claustro huius templi extrinsecus in Aquilonem habetur decora Ecclesia beatæ Annæ, in cuius loco creditur virgo Maria in eiusdem matris suæ vtero fuisse genita, et concepta, parentunq; illius, scilicet, Ioachim et Annae, tumba saxea monstratur in descensu Ecclesiæ, per 22. gradus, vbi et adhuc patris eius ossa putantur quiescere, sublato inde per reginam Helenam korpore sanctae Annæ, et recondito (vt praedictum est) in Ecclesia Constantinopoli sanctae Sophiae.

Regina Helena Angla.

Est et intra hanc Ecclesiam probatica piscina, vbi quondam post motionem Angeli, omnes accedentes primi, a quocúnq; languore sanabantur infirmi, quae tamen nunc temporis ita neglecta iacet, et deformata, vt videtur immunda cistrina. Habetur et ante Ecclesiam arbor grandis, et antiqua, de qua nonnulli fabulantur, quod ad beatæ Mariae natiuitatem principium accepit, et ortum.

Probatica piscina.

Mons Sion est excelsior locus in vrbe ad cuius radicem, est castrumspectabileconstructum per aliquem Soldanorum In montis autem cacumine videntur multæ sepulturæ regum Iudeae, videlicet Dauid, Salomonis, et quorundam de successoribus suis. Ad introitum montis habetur capella, et in illa lapis monumenti quem Ioseph de Arimathea obuoluit ad ostium sepulchri est valde magnus, et est ibidem aliqua pars columnæ flagellationis, ac pars mensæ super quam Dominus vltimò cænauit cum Apostolis, et instituit noui Testamenti sacramentum sui venerandi corporis, et sanguinis. Sub hac capella ad aliquos gradus monstratur locus eiusdem caenationis, videlicèt caernaculi magni, et in eo vas, aquarum, in quo Christus lauabat pedes Apostolorum: iuxta quod vas a Gamaliele, et alijs viris timoratis primus sepultus fuit protomartyr Stephanus.

Mons Sion.

In eo quoq; loco intrauit post resurrectionem suam Dominus ianuis clausis ad discipulos dicens pax vobis, et agens alia, quae plenius Euangelica pandit Historia, ac tandem in die Pentecostes ijsdem spiritum sanctum, in linguis igneis misit ibidem. Ab hoc monte Sion versus ciuitatem habetur Ecclesia dedicata sancto saluatori, in quo nunc dicuntur seruari ossa S. Stephani supradicti, et sinistrum brachium S. Ioannis Chrisostomi, cuius corpus vt dictum est requiescit Constantinopoli.

Item ab hoc monte versus Austrum ab opposito plateae, est pulchra Ecclesia nostrae Dominae, in cuius loco diu morabatur post ascensionem filij sui, quamuis pro parte eiusdem temporis in valle Iosaphat manserit: nam in ista defungebatur, et in illo ab Apostolis honorificè sepulta fuit. Itemque ab hoc monte in vico eundi versus vallem Iosaphat inuenitur fons aquae dictus Natatoria Siloe, vbi caecus natus à Christo missus lauabat oculos, et regressus est videns. Et dicunt quidam ibidem sepultrum Isaiam Prophetam.

Natatoria Siloe.

Porro mons olim dictus Moria de quo loquitur Scriptura sacra est rupis haud longè a supradicto templo Domini in ipsius meredie, in cuius rupis loco excelso velut emenenti sed edito Dominus noster Iesus Christus frequentèr instruebat suos discipulos, et populos, magnáque miracula exhibebat, atque deprehensae mulieri in adulterio omnia peccata dimittebat.

Iohan. 8.

Ab opposito autem praedicti fontis natatorij habetur imago lapidea, rudi et vetusto opere sculpta, deformitérque detrita, quae manus Absalon nuncupatur, cuius ratio lib. 2. Regum monstratur. Vbi de propè vidi Arborem Sambucum, ad quam vel citrà cuius locum (vt dicitur) Iudas traditor per se suspensus crepuit medius, et diffusa sunt viscera eius.

Praeterea à monte Sion versus Meridiem vltrà vallem ad iactum lapidis est locus Aceldema, in quo emptus ager 30. denarijs proditionis est, Et in quo sunt plures sepulturae peregrinorum, et vestigia cellularum, de quondam illic commorantibus Heremitis.

CAPVT. 17.

De sacris locis extra muros Ciuitatis.

EXtra muros ciuitatis Ierusalem ad plagam orientalem, est vallis Iosaphat contigua, ac si esset fossata muris ipsius ciuitatis, et Ecclesia vbi sanctus Stephanus lapidabatur, et obdormiuit in Domino. Hinc non longè est porta ciuitatis, quae dicitur aurea, quae nunc sempèr obfirmata seruatur. Per hanc intrauit Christus sedens asino, et adhuc

Vallis Iosaphat.

ostenditur rupis seruare vestigia animalis in tribus aut pluribus sui locis. Statim vltrà vallem Iosaphat aspicitur mons Olivueti, sic dictus à pluribus, quia ibi sunt oliuarum Arbores. In planicie huius vallis decurrit riuulus dictus torrens Cedron, secus quem habetur pulchra, et honorificata Ecclesia sacrosanctæ sepulturæ beatæ, et gloriosæ matris Christi: descenditur autem in Ecclesiam per gradus 44. quòd extrinsecus est vallis inculta per fluxum fortassè torrentis, seu per alios euentus proptèr Antiquitatem temporis. Ibique monstratur sepulchrum eius vacuum. Habentur iuxta sepulchrum duo altaria, sub vno est fons Aquæ quae putatur exire de vno Paradisi flumine.

Mons Oliuarum.

Torrens Cedron.

Satis propè ab hac Ecclesia ad rupem Gethsemane habetur capella, vbi scilicet Iudæis traditus fuit Christus à Iuda. In ipsa quóque rupe ostendebatur mihi figura impressæ manus ad digitorum extensionem, quw artificiosius humano studio sculpi non posset, quam referunt Christum sua venerabili manu inclinando ad rupem efficisse dum Iudæi impuras manus ad capiendum iniecerunt in eum. Hic ad iactum lapidis in meridie oraiit ad suum patrem, et pro vehementi orationis intentione sanguineum exudauit sudorem: atque ibi non remotè videtur tumba regis Iudeæ Iosaphat, á quo et vallis sibi nomen assumpsit: et credimus in hanc vallem Christum venturum ad nouissimum, et generalissimum iudicium, vbi (Iohele propheta testante) disceptabit de omni actione mortalium. Ad tractum sagittæ de hac tumba, est Ecclesia vbi sanctus Iacobus maior Apostolus primo post martyrium fuit sepultus, cuius modo sacrata ossa venerantur Compostellæ in Galizia.

S. Iacobi sepultura.

Vltra vallem in supremo montes Olíueti apice discipulus cernentibus, Dominus noster Iesus Christus eleuatis manibus ascendit in cœlum, et super eundem locum digna habetur Ecclesia, in qua eiusdem Ascensione tale seruatur in rupe pauimenti indicium, quod sinistri pedis Christi videtur vltimum vestigium.

Hinc satis propè habetur et capella medio montis, vbi Christus sedens prædicauit octo beatitudines, vbi et creditur docuisse discipulos orationem Dominicam, scilicet, Pater noster, &c. Ab eo quoq; loco non distat multum Ecclesia beatæ Maaiæ Ægyptiacæ, in qua et eius tumba videtur: et haud procul inde est vicus Bethphage, vbi Christus misit ante passionis suæ tempus duos de dicipulis pro asina et pullo eius. In cliuo vero huius montis Olíueti versus ciuitatem, monstratur locus, de quo videns Dominus Ierusalem, fleuit super illam, dicens, quod si cognouisses et tu, &c. Atq; vltrà montem in discensu eius in orientem est villa siue castellum Bethaniæ, distans quasi ad leucam ab vrbe vbi in domo cuiusdam Symonis inuitatu Christus condonauit omnia peccata Mariæ Magdalenæ. Et in ipso castello, quod erat sororis Marthæ, et Mariæ rescuscitauit fratrem earum Lazarum quatriduanum mortuum.

Bethania.

De Bethania in Ierico sunt 5. leucæ, quæ quondam fuit ciuitas speciosa sed iam est villa modica : ibi Diues Zacchæus ascendit in arborem Sycomorum, vt videret transeuntem Dominum, et restituens fraudata quadruplum, obtinuit peccatorum remissionem omnium.

Ierico.

Item de Bethania ad flumen Iordanis est iter ferè octo leucarum, per montes, ac valles deuios, et desertos. Porrò de Bethania in orientem ad 6 leucas venitur in montem magnum, vbi Christus expleto 40. dierum, ac noctium ieiunio temptatus est à diabolo, fuitq; in eodem loco quandoq; Ecclesia, sed modo habetur ibi quasi cœnobium quorundam Christianorum, qui Georgici vocantur. Sciendum enim est, quod vbiq; intra terram Saracenorum, et similiter multorum Paganorum inueniuntur Christiani dispersi, habitantes sub tributo, qui licet sint baptizati omnes, et beatissimam Trinitatem credentes, diuersificantur tamen nominibus, moribus, ritibus, fide, et opinionibus : ita vt semper vel in multis vel in aliquibus dissentiant à Romanæ Ecclesiæ consuetudinibus.

Christiani Georgici.

Aliqui námque eorum dicuntur Christiani Iacobitæ: hij errant circa peccatorum remissionem, dicentes, non debere confiteri homini sed soli Deo. Alij Syrij, Isti in fermentato pane conficiunt Sacramentum altaris ritu Græcorum. Alij Indi, Nubij, Nestorini, et Arriani.

Iacobitæ.
Syrij.
Georgica.
Cordelarij.
Indi.
Nubij.
Nestorini.
Arriani.

Præfatus autem mons magnus, vocatur hortus Abrahæ, ex eo quod Abraham patriarcha ibi dicitur commoratus, et currit propè montem riuulus, in cuius aqua vel fonte Deus sal per Helizeum prophetam mitti iussit, vt sanaretur sterilitas, id est, amaritudo aquæ. Nec distat hic mons à Ierico vltra grandem leucam.

CAPVT. 18.

De notabilibus alijs locis, et mari mortuo.

RVrsum de ciuitate sanctæ Ierusalem versus Occidentem itinere leucæ, habetur pulchra satis Ecclesia, in loco vbi dicitur creuisse arbor crucis salutiferæ. Arbor excelsa, digno stipite sacra Christi membra tangere. Tenetur istud quidem pro certa veritate: nam et hoc satis testatur constructio tantæ, et talis Ecclesiæ, quamuis multa aliena, et incerta scripta de crucis arbore ferantur per orbem. Hinc ad duas leucas est et alia Ecclesia, vbi obuiauerunt sibi Maria virgo, et Elizabeth eius cognata, et ad saluationem Mariæ Christi baiulæ exultauit Iohannes in vtero Elisabeth grauidæ.

Noia.

De isto quoque ad leucam est Emaus castellum, distans in spacio stadiorum 60. ab Ierusalem, vbi discipuli in cœna die resurrectionis Domini cognouerant eum in fractione panis. Porrò ab Ierusalem ad alium exitum, ad duo stadia videtur spelunca grandis de qua dicitur quod tempore Cosdri Imperatoris Persarum, fuerunt circa Ierusalem 12. mille martyrum occissi, quorum, omnium corpora leo habitans in spelunca congregauit ibidem voluntate diuina, tanquam pro singulorum sepultura obsequiosa.

Emaus Castellum.

Cosdrus Imperator.

Item ab vrbi ad leucas duas habetur in monte tumba sepulturæ sancti Samuelis prophetæ, qui mons nunc vocatur exultationis vel læticiæ, eò quod peregrinis ab illa parte intrantibus reddit primum sanctæ ciuitatis aspectum. Ab oppido autem Ierico in 30. stadiorum spacio venitur ad Iordauis fluuij locum, vbi beatus Iohannes Baptista Christum sacri baptismatis merebatur tingere lymphis. Et in cuius reuerendi mysterij venerationem habetur ad dimidiam leucam à fluuio ædificium honestæ Ecclesiæ consecratum in nomine eiusdem venerabilis baptistæ ministri. Ab hac Ecclesia de propè vidi domum de qua patiebar mihi narrari, quòd in eodem loco olim fuerit Ieremiæ sancti habitatio prophetæ.

Mons exultationis.

Notandum est. Iordanis fluuius quamuis grandis non sit, bonorum tamen piscium copiam nutrit, ortum accipiens sub monte Libanon ex duobus fontibus, scilicet Ior, et Dan, quæ nomina simul mixta nomen Iordanis efficiunt. Decurrit autem per quendam locum dictum Maron, ac secus stagnum quod diciter Mare Tyberiadis, ac subter montes Gylboe per amœnissima loca, atque in subterraneis meatibus per longum spacium se occultans tandem exit in planitie, quæ dicitur Meldam, id est, forum, quod certis temporibus ibi Nundinæ exercentur, et ad extremum se iactat in mare mortuum.

Iordanis descriptio.

Mare mortuum.

Hoc stagnum quod vocatur mare mortuum habet longitudinis 600. ferè stadia, et latitudinis 150. et appropinquat aliqua pars huius maris ad quatuor leucas propè Ierico, videlicet ad latus camporum Engadi, ex quibus (vt supra dictum est) eradicatæ fuerunt abores Balsami, quæ modò sunt in agro Cayr Ægypti. Istud mare dicitur mortuum.

Nota.

Cur mare mortuum dicatur.

Primo quidem quòd non viuidè currit, sed est quasi lacus.

Secundò quod amara est eius aqua, et fœtidum reddit odorem.

Tertio quòd propter eius amaritudinem terra adiacens littori nil viride profert.

Quartò (prout dicitur) si cadat in ea bestia, vel aliud quid viuens, vix poterit plenè mori siue submergi in octo diebus, nec nutrit in se pisces aut quid simile.

Littora quoque sua variant quam sæpè colorem, et sine vlla agitatione ventorum eijcit in quibusdam locis se aqua, extra proprios terminos. Per huiusmodi aquam dicitur Deus pro indicibili vitio Pentapolim submersisse, Sodomam, Gomorram, Adamam, Seboim, et Segor.

Quidam vocant hoc mare lacum Asphaltidis, alij fluiuum Dæmonum, aut flumen Putre. Quod autem olim propheta interpretans dixit, montes Gilboe, nec ros nec pluuia veniat super vos, magis spiritualitèr quàm literalitèr videtur intelligendum. Nam ibi crescunt altissimi cedri, et arbores poma ferentes, ad capitis quantitatem humani, ex quibus valdè saporosus fit potus.

Nota.

Mare istud mortuum determinat fines terræ promissionis, et Arabiæ. Ideoq ; vltra ipsum mare condidit quondam, vnus successorum Godfridi de Bollion forte et spectabile castrum, ponens illic copiosam Christianorum militiam ad terram promissionis custodiendum. Nunc verò temporis, est Soldani, et appellatur Caruth, id est mons Regalis. Sub hoc monte est villa dicta Sobal: habitat in illis partibus magna Christianorum multitudo.

CAPVT. 19.

De Nazareth, et Samaria.

NAzareth in prouincia Galileæ in qua nutritus, et de qua cognominatus est Dominus vniuersorum, distans ab Hierosolymis ad tres circiter dietas, erat quondam ciuitas, quæ nunc est dispersa, et rara domorum, quod vix villæ sibi competit nomen: et in loco Annunciationis, vbi Angelus ad Mariam dixit, Aue gratia plena, Dominus tecum, habebatur olim bona Ecclesia, pro qua paruum Saraceni restituerunt habitaculum, in colligendas peregrinorum offerendas.

A Nazareth redeundo per terram Galileæ, transitur per Ramathaym Sophim, vbi nascebatur fidelis Samuel propheta Domini, et per Sylo, vbi locus orationis erat antequam in Ierusalem: et per Sichem magnæ vbertatis vallem, itur in prouinciam Samariæ, vbi habetur et bona ciuitas nunc dicta Neapolis, distans, à sancta vrbe spacio solius dietæ, ac per fontem Iacob, super quem Iesus fatigatus ab itinere colloquebatur Samaritonæ, vbi et apparet ruina destructæ Ecclesiæ quondam illic habitæ. Et est ibi villa adhuc vocata Sychem, et in eo est mausoleum Ioseph patriarchæ filij Iacob: ad cuius ossa visitanda sub deuotione non minus peregrini Iudæi adueniunt, quàm Christiani.

Hinc satis propè est mons Garizin cum vetusto templo orationis Samaritanorum: ex tunc intratur Samaria, quæ modò appellatur Sebaste, et est illius principalis ciuitas prouinciæ. In qua fuit primum terræ mandatum corpus beati Ioannis Baptistæ, inter sacra corpora Helizæi, et Abdiæ Prophetarum, vt quorum assimilibatur virtutibus in vita, corporibus iungeretur in sepultura. Hæc quoque distat ab Hierosolymis: fortassis 2 dietas.

Samaria, nunc Sebaste.

Habetur et alius puteus aut fons intra illa montana, quem plerique similiter fontem Iacob appellant, cuius aqua secundum quatuor anni tempora variatur à suo colore, vt sit quandòq; clara, quandòque turbida, nunc viridis, et nunc rubra. Certum est autem tempore Apostolorum cum Samaria recepisset verbum Dei, illos fuisse conuersos, et baptizatos, in nomine Domini Iesu, et tamen postea per quendam Caliphorum peruersos, Ogerus dux Danorum per Templariorum virtutem rursum subiugauit Christianitati: sicq; post plures euentus, et variationes, illi qui nunc sunt Samaritæ, finxerunt sibi hæresim propriam, et ritum ab omnibus nationibus singularem.

Nota.

Ogerus Dux Danus.

Fatentur autem se credere in Deum, qui cuncta creauit: recipùntque pentateucum scripturæ, cum Psalterio Dauidis, acerrimè contendentes, se solos dilectissimos Dei filios; qui etiam pro nobili differentia inuoluunt capita linteo rubeo, Saraceni autem albo, Indi croceo, et Christi-

Tegumenti capitis differentia.

ani ibi manentes Indico, hoc est, aereo, seu hiacynthino.

Porro à Nazareth quatuor leucis, est ciuitas olim dicta Naym, in 2. milario Thabor montis contra Meridiem iuxta Endor. Ieronimus. Ante cuius portam resuscitauit Christus defunctum filium vnicum matris suæ, præsentibus duabus turmis hominum copiosorum. Hinc quoque ad leucas duas, est ciuitas Israel, vbi olim morabatur pessima regina Iezabel, quam Dei iudicio equorum vngulis conculcatam, canes ferè vsque ad caluariam comederunt.

CAPVT. 20.

De territorio Gallileæ, et Samariæ, et de villa Sardenay.

ITem à Nazareth ad leucæ dimidum, monstrantur in rupe vestigia pedum, quæ dicuntur esse Domini nostri Iesu Christi vbi de manibus Iudæorum, ipsum de alta rupe præcipitare volentium desiluit in istam. De quo saltu quidam intelligunt illud scriptum Euangelicum, Iesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat.

Ad quatuor autem leucas de Nazareth, est Cana Galileæ, vbi Christus ad vrbanas matris preces, mutauit vndam in vinum optimum.

Mons Thabor.

Ad distantiam quatuor leucarum à Nazareth, venitur in Thabor, montem spectabilem, vbi transfigurabatur Christus, coram quibusdam suis Apostolis, apparentibus ibidem, Mose, et Helia, prophetis, vocéq ; dilapsa à magnifica Patris gloria, et videbatur Petro bonum ibi esse : quondam in hoc monte habebatur ciuitas, cum pluribus Ecclesijs, quarum nunc sola restant vestigia, excepto quod ille locus transfigurationis est inhabitatus, qui est Schola Dei nominatus. Notandum. Thabor est in medio Galileæ, campus mira iucunditate sublimis, distans à Diotesaria 3. milliaribus contra Orientem.

Obseruecretur.

Item de Nazareth in tres leucas est villa, seu castrum Zaffara, de quo recolo me supradixisse capite 4. Et inde venitur in Mare Galileae, quod quamuis dicatur mare, est lacus aquae dulcis longus.

Mare Tyberiadis.

Vltra centum 60. forsitan stadia est lacus, bonorum piscium ferax et vber, qui etiam in alio loco sui vocatur mare Tyberiadis, et in alia mare Genezareth, varians sibi nomen, secundum ciuitas, et terras, propinquas. Circa hoc mare Christus frequentèr, et libentèr ambulasse videtur :

hic vocauit ad sui discipulatum, Petrum, et Andream, Iacobum, et Ioannem: hic super vndam siccis ambulabat vestigijs, et præcipitem Petrum filium tentantem, verbo increpationis releuat ne mergatur, hic denique rediuiuus à morte repleuit discipulorum rete magnis piscibus 153.

Item in ciuitate Tiberiade, quæ est propè hoc mare habetur in veneratione mensa illius cœnæ, quam in Emaus castello Christus cænauit, cum ab oculis commensalium euanuit. Hic de propè monstratur mons ille fertilis, mons ille pinguis, in quo de paucis panibus, et de paucioribus piscibus iussu Christi fuerunt saturati, quinque millia hominum.

Ad initium autem prædicti maris iuxta villam Capernaum habetur fortius castrum totius terræ promissionis, in quo dicitur nata fuisse sancta Anna mater virginis Mariæ.

Prædictis itaq; Christi vestigijs, et terræ sanctæ locis à peregrino cum deuotione cordis et reuerentia debita visitatis, si desiderat reuerti, posit illud facere per Damascum, quæ est ciuitas longa, nobilis, et grandis, ac plena omnium rerum mercimonijs, cum tamen distat à portu maris tribus plenè dietis, per quod spacium itineris, cuncta traijciuntur à suis equis, Dromedarijs, et Camelis: et putatur à plerisque narrantibus fundata in loco vbi Cain protoplaustorum filius Abel fratrem suum occidit.

Damascus.

A Damasco de propinquo est mons Seyr, ciuitas grandis firmata duplicibus muris ac populosa nimis, in qua sunt multi in arte Physica famosi professi. Item à Damasco haud remotè distat castrum satis munitum, et firmum, quod Derces est nominatum. Habent autem in illis, et vlterioribus partibus hunc vsum: si quando castrum ab hostibus fuerit sic obsessum, quòd Dominus eius non possit emittere nuncium amico suo remotè moranti, recipit columbam olim in castro, vel domo amici natam, vel educatam, quam hic sibi per certam prouisionem allatam detinuit incaueatam, et scriptas quas vult literas alligans collo columbæ, dimittit liberam volare, quæ protinus festinat ad locum propriæ natiuitatis. Sicque videtur cognosci in illo castro quid agatur in isto.

Cæterum peregrinus à Damasco reuertendo, in quinque leucis venit Sardenay, quæ est villa in alta rupe, cum multis Ecclesijs religiosorum Monachorum, et sanctarum monialium fidei Christianæ. In quarum vna coram maiori altari in tabula lignea erat olim imago beatissimæ virginis Mariæ non sculpta sed depicta in plano spacio. Ex hoc reditur

Villa Sardenay.

per valles Bokar fertiles et pro pascendis pecorum gregibus exuberantes: et intratur in montana vbi copiositas est fontium qui effluunt impetu de Libano. Ibique decurrit fluuius Sabbatayr, sic dictus quod diebus Sabbatis euidentèr rapidius transit, quàm alijs sex diebus.

Sur, vel Tyrus.

Peruenitur hinc ad satis altum montem, propè Tripolim ciuitatem, in qua ad præsens plures Christiani Catholicæ fidei habitant iugo infidelium nimis oppressi. Ex hoc loco sibi deliberet peregrinus, quem sibi maris portum accipiat ad repatriandum, videlicet Beruth, an Sur vel Tyrum.

Postremò sciendum, quod terra promissionis in totali longitudine sui à Dan qui est sub Libano vsq; ad Berseba in Austrum continet circiter centum, et 80. leucas Lombardicas, et ab Hierico in totali latitudine circiter 60. Notandum, Dan est viculus in quarto à Pennea de Miliario euntibus, contra Septentrionem: vsque hodiè sic vocatur terminus Iudeæ, contra Septentrionem est etiam et fons Ior, de quo et Iordanis fluuius erumpens alterum sortitus nomen Ior. Termini Iudeæ terræ à Bersabe incipiunt vsque ad Dan, qui vsque Peneaden terminatur, Ieronimus.

CAPVT. 21.

De secta detestabili Saracenorum et eorum fide.

Diligentia Mandevillu.

IAm restat vt de secta Saracenorum aliquid scribam vel compendiosè, secundum quòd cum ijs frequentèr colloquendo audiui, et liber Mahometi, quem Alcaron, vel Mesahaf, vel Harmè vocant, ijs præcipit, sicut illum sæpè inspexi, et studiosè perlegi.

Fides Saracenorum.

Credunt itaq; Saraceni in Deum creatorem cœli et terræ, qui fecit omnia in ijs contenta, et sine quo nihil est factum. Et expectant diem nouissimum iudicij, in quo mali cum corpore et anima descensuri sunt in infernum perpetuò cruciandi, et boni equidem cum anima et corpore intraturi Paradisum fœlicitatis æternæ. Et hæc quidem fides pœnè inest omnium mortalium nationibus, lingua et ratione vtentibus. Verumtamen de qualitate Paradisi est magna diuersitas inter credentes.

Nam et Saraceni et Pagani, et omnes sectæ præter Iudæos et baptizatos Christianos sentiunt bonorum Paradisum fore terrestrem illum de quo fuit expulsus Adam propter inobedientiam protoplaustus: qui (vt putant) fluit, vel tunct fluet pluribus riuis lactis et mellis, et vbi in domibus et mansionibus nobiliter iuxta meritum vniuscuiusq ; ædificatur auro, et argento et gemmis, perfruentur omnibus corporalibus delicijs, in oblectatione animæ æternaliter sine fine. Ille ergò qui fide sanctæ Trinitatis carent, et Christum qui est vera lux ignorant, in tenebris ambulant. Iudæi vero et omnes baptizati rectè sentiunt Paradisum cœlestem et spiritualem, vbi quilibet secundum meritum Diuinitati vnietur, per cognitionem, et amorem. Attamen Iudæi quod contra Scripturas suas sanctæ Trinitati contradicunt, et Christo obloquuntur, qui est vera via, nesciunt quo vadunt. De baptizatis autem, qui firmiter fidem Catholicam in humilitate cordis sub Ecclesiæ præceptis seruauerunt, hi soli filij sunt lucis, et in via veniendi ad cœlestem Paradisum quem Christus verbo prædicauit, et ad quem corpore et anima, videntibus discipulis, de facto conscendit.

Credunt etiam Saraceni, omnia esse vera, quæ Deus ore prophetarum est locutus, sed in diuersitate, quia nesciunt specificari, imo specificanti contradicerent defacili, vel negarent. Inter omnes prophetas ponunt quatuor excellentiores, quorum supremum et excellentissimum fatentur Iesum Mariæ Virginis filium, quem et asserunt, sermonem, vel loquelam, vel spiritum Dei, et pronunciatorem sententiarum Dei, in iudicio generali futuro, et missum à Deo ad Christianos docendos.

Secundo loco Abrahamum dicunt fuisse verum Dei cultorem, et amicum.

Tertium dant Mosi locum tanquam prolocutori Dei Misso specialiter, ad instruendos Iudæos.

Quartum volunt esse Mahomet, sanctum, et verum Dei nuncium ad seipsos missum, cum lege diuina in dicto libro plene contenta. Tenent itaq ; indubitate, quod beata Maria Iesum peperit, et concepit virgo manens intacta, ac libentùr loqui audiunt de incarnatione in ipsa facta per annunciationem Gabrielis Archangeli. Nam et Alcharon eorum dicit, ad salutationem Angeli virginem expauisse, quod tunc erat in partibus Galileæ incantator, Turquis nomine, qui per susceptam sibi formam Angeli plures virgines deflorauerat, et beatam Virginem conuenisse Angelum, an esset Turquis. Refert quoq ; eam peperisse sub palma Arbore, vbi habebatur præsepe bouis, et asinæ, et illic præ confusione puerperij, et verecundia ac dolore, fuisse in proximo desperatam, et infantulum in consolationem matris dixisse, mater ne timeas, Deus in te effudit secreta ad saluationem Mundi. Hæc et his similia multa ibi scribuntur figmenta, et isti plura inter se narrando componunt, quæ hoc loco ventilanda non sunt.

Et dicit liber Iesum sanctissimum omnium Prophetarum fuisse veracem in dictis et factis, benignum, pium, iustum, et ab omni vitio penitus alienum: Sanctum quoque Ioannem Euangelistam post prædictos Prophetas fuisse alijs Sanctiorem, cuius et Euangelium fatentur esse plenum salutari, ac veraci doctrina, et ipsum Sanctum Ioannem illuminasse cæcos, leprosos mundasse, suscitasse mortuos, et in cœlum volasse viuentem. Erat enim (prout dicit) plus quàm Propheta, et absque omni peccato, contradicente eodem de seipso, si dixerimus quòd peccatum non habemus, veritas in nobis non est: vnde et si quando Sarraceni tenent scriptum Euangelij Sancti Ioannis, aut illud beati Lucæ, missus est Angelus Gabriel, eleuant ambabus manibus pro reuerentia super caput et super oculos id ponentes, et osculantur quàm sæpè cum summa deuotione. Nonnulli etiam eorum in Græco, aut Latino literati consueuerunt cum deuotione cordis id lectitare.

Idem liber dicit Iudæos perfidos fuisse, quod Iesu eis primùm misso a Deo, et multa miracula facienti credere noluerunt, quodque per ipsum tota gens Iudæorum fuit dignè decepta, et meritò illusa hoc modo. Iesus in hora dum Iudas eum pro signo traditionis osculabatur, posuit per Metamorphosin figuram suam, in ipsum Iudam, sícque Iudæi in ambiguo lumine nocturni temporis, pro Iesu Iudam capientes, ligantes, trahentes, deridentes, in fine crucifixerunt, putantes se omnia facere Iesu, qui protinus capto et ligato Iuda, viuus ascendit in cælum, descensurus iterum viuus ad iudicium in die finali.

Et addit, Iudæos falsissimè vsque hodie nos Christianos suo mendacio decipere, quo dicunt se Iesu crucifixisse, quem non tetegerunt. Hinc errorem tenent Sarraceni obstinati: et quoddam argumentum inire conantur. Nam si Deus (aiunt) permisisset Iesum, innocentem, et iustum ita miserabiliter occidi, censuram suæ summæ iustitiæ minuisset. Sed cùm ipsi, vt supradictum est, in tenebris ambulant, idcircò ignorantes Dei iustitiam, statuere volunt iustitiam, imo iniustitiam quam fabricant in corde suo, quia nos de cruce Christi scriptum nouimus, benedictum est lignum per quod fit iustitia. Isti tamen quod in aliquibus appropinquant veræ fidei, multi quandoque eorum inuenti sunt conuersi, et

Conuersio Saracenorum non desperanda.

plures adhuc de facili conuerterentur, si haberunt prædicatores, sincerè eis verbum tractantes, quippe cùm iam fateantur legum Mahometi quandoque defecturam, sicut nunc perijt lex Iudæorum, et legem Christianorum vsque in finem seculi permansuram.

CAPVT 22.

De vita, et nomine Mahometi.

PRomisi in superioribus aliquid narrare de vita Mahometi legislatoris Sarracenorum, prout vidi in scriptis, vel audiui in partibus illis. Itaque Macho, siue Machon, vtrum in secunda syllaba scribatur N, litera, vel non idem refert: et si tertia syllaba addatur, et dicatur Machomet, vel etiam quarta, Machometus, nihil differt, quòd semper idem nomen representat Ipsi tamen illum sæpiùs nominant Machon. Putatur autem istum Mahomet habuisse generationis ortum de Ismael Abrahæ filio naturali de concubina Agar, vnde et vsque hodie quidam Sarracenorum dicuntur Ismaelitæ, alij Agareni: sed et quidam Moabitæ, et Ammonitæ, à duobus Loth filijs Moab et Amon, genitis per incestum de proprijs filiabus.

Tempus Natiuitatis Mahometi.

Fabulæ Sarracenorum.

Hic verò Machon, circa annum incarnationis Domini sexcentissimum natus, in Arabia pauper erat gratis pascens camelos, et interdum sequens Mercatores in Aegyptum fordellos illorum proprio collo deferens pro mercede. Et quoniam tunc temporis tota Aegyptus erat Christianæ fidei, didicit aliquid de fide nostra, quod diuertere solebat ad cellulam Heremitæ commorantis in deserto. Et quodammodo fabulantur Sarraceni, quod illo quandoque ingrediente cellulam, cellulæ ostium mutatum in ianuam valdè patentem, velut ante palatium, et gloriantur hoc primum miraculum. Qui ex tunc conquerendo sibi pecunias, et discendo seculi actus diues est effectus, et prudens ab omnibus reputatus, in tantum, vt postmodum in terræ gubernatorem Corrozaen, (quæ est vna prouinciarum regni Arabiæ) assumeretur, ac de inde defuncto principe Codige per coniugium illius relictæ in eiusdem prouinciæ principem eleuaretur. Erat autem satis formosus, et valens, et vltra modum in verbis et factis maturus, et principalis, et satis diligebatur à suis, magis tamen metuebatur, et erat epilepticus, nemine tamen sciente. Sed tandem ab vxore comperto contristabatur, se tali morbido nuptam, qui versutus fefellit, et consolabatur mœstam figmento mendacij excogitati, dicens sanctum Dei Archangelum Gabrielem ad colloquendum et inspirandum sibi, quædam arcana et diuina interdum venire, et pro virtute aut claritate veniente se subito cadere et iacere ad intendendum inspirationem.

Incrementum authoritatis Mahometi.

Post hoc autem, mortuo etiam Rege Arabiæ, tanta egit per simulationem sanctitatis, per donorum effusionem, et copiam promissionum, quod electus est et assumptus, in totias Arabiæ Regem.

Tempus promulgationis Alcharani.

Confirmato igitur Mahometo in regnationis suæ maiestate suprema, transactis à conceptione Domini nostri Iesu Christi annis solaribus 612. in die Iouis feria quinta Hebdomadæ promulgauit præfatum detestandæ legis suæ librum, plenum perfidiæ et erroris, et à subditis tempore vitæ suæ seruari coegit, qui et vsque hodie in tanto æuo, et tot populis non sine iusto Dei iudicio colitur et seruatur, quamuis miserabile, et miserandum videtur, quod tot animæ in illo perduntur. Erat quoque tempore regni eius, et alius Heremita in deserto Arabiæ, quem etiam quasi pro deuotione frequentare solebat, ducens secum aliquos de principibus et famlia. Super quo plures eorum attediati tractabant occidere Heremitan. Accedit tandem vna noctium, vt rex Heremitam et seipsum inebriaret, et inter loquendum ambo consopiti dormirent. Et ecce habita occasione comites gladio de latere Regis clam extracto Heremitam interfecerunt, iterum clam condentes cruentum gladium in vagina: ac ille euigilans virum videns occisum, magno furore succensus imposuit familiæ factum, volens omnes per iustitiam condemnari ad mortem. Cumque coram iudicibus et sapientibus ageretur, hi omnes pari concordia, simili voce, et vno ore testabantur tam diuisim quam coniunctim, Regem in ebrietate sua hominem occidisse, quamuis fortassis esset facti oblitus. Et in plenariam rei probationem, dixerunt ipsum reposuisse mucronem in loculo nudum intersum, sed calido cruore madentem. Quo ita inuento, ac tantis rex obrutus testificationibus, nimiùm erubuit, plenè obmutuit, et confusus recessit. Et ob hoc omnibus diebus suis vina bibere renunciauit: et in lege sua à cunctis bibi vetuit, ac vniuersis bibentibus, colentibus, et vendentibus maledixit. Cuius maledictio couertatur in caput eius, et in verticem ipsius iniquitas

Occasio vina. interdicendi Sarracenis

eius descendat, cùm de vino scriptum constet, quòd Deum et homines lætificet. Igitur de eo Sarraceni in sua superstitione deuoti vinum non bibunt, quanquam plures eorum quòd timent in publico non verentur in secreto.

Potus Sarracenorum.

Est autem communis potus eorum dulcis, delectabilis, et nutritiuus de Casaniel confectus, de qua et Saccarum fieri solet.

Mahometus iste post mortem suam pessimam (mors enim peccatorum pessima) conditus fuit honorificè in capsa, ditissimo auro, et argento, et saxis perornata in vna ciuitate regni sui Arabiæ, vbi et pro sancto, et vero Dei nuncio incepit deuotè coli à suis per annos ducentos sexaginta, atque ex tunc circa annum Domini nongentissimum cum veneratione multa cadauer eius translatum est, in digniorem ciuitatem dictam Merchuel Iachrib, vbi iam longè latéque pro maximo sanctorum, à cordibus à diabolica fraude deceptis colitur, requiritur et adoratur.

Alias Mecca.

In ipsius translatione ipsa ciuitas restaurabatur, et firmabatur multò honorificentiùs, et fortiùs destructione sua, quæ per Carolum magnum Regem Franciæ antea fuit plenè annihilata, dum Ogerus dux Danorum præfatus in ea tenebatur captiuus, quem Templarij ad filios Brehir Regis Sarracenorum cum traditione vendiderant, eò quòd ipse Ogerus dictum Brehir in prœlio occiderat, iuxta Lugdunum Franciæ ciuitatem. Et si quando nationis alterius quis ad legem conuertitur Sarracenorum, dum a flamine eorum recipiendus est, dicit et facit eum Dei nuncium, et repetit sic: Laellech ella alla Mahomet zoyzel alla heth: quod valet tantum: Non est Deus nisi vnus, et Mahomet fuit eius nuncius.

Oregus a Templariis proditus.

Capvt. 23.

De colloquio Authoris cum Soldano.

FInaliter Sarraceni ponunt Iudæos malos, eò quod legem Dei violauerunt sibi missam, et commissam per Mosem. Et à simili probant Christianos malos, quod non seruant legem Euangelij Christi, quam seruandam susceperint. Inest enim ijs falsa persuasio ita vt putent vnumquemq; in ea qua natus est secta posse beari, si susceptam seruauerit illibatè: ideoq; probant ab opposito se esse bonos, quia, sicut dicunt, obseruant scripta legis præcepta et ceremonias sancti libri sui à Deo sibi transmissi per

Error eorum qui putant vnumquemque in sua religione posse beari.

beatum nuncium suum Mahomet. Vnde et ego non tacebo quid mihi contigit.

Colloquium Soldani cum Mandeuillo.

Dominus Soldanus quodam die in castro, expulsis omnibus de camera sua, me solùm retinuit secum tanquam pro secreto habendo colloquio. Consuetum enim est ijs eijcere omnes tempore secretorum: qui diligenter à me interrogauit qualis esset gubernatio vitæ in terra nostra, breuiter respondebam, bona, per Dei gratiam, qui recepto hoc verbo dixit ita non esse. Sacerdotes (inquit) vestri, qui seipsos exhibere deberent alijs in exemplum, in malis iacent actibus, parùm curant de Templi seruitio: habitu et studijs se conformant mundo: se inebriant vino, continentiam infringentes, cum fraude negotiantes, ac praua principibus consilia ingerentes. Communis quoq; populus, dum festus diebus intendere deberent deuotioni in templo, currit in hortis, in spectaculis, in tabernis vsq; ad crapulam, et ebrietatem, et pinguia manducans et bibens, ac in bestiarum morem, luxuriam prauam exercens. In vsura, dolo, rapina, furto, detractione, mendacio et periurio viuunt plures eorum euidenter, ac si qui talia non agant, vt fatui reputantur, et pro nimia cordis superbia nesciunt ad libitum excogitare, qualiter se velint habere, mutando sibi indumenta, nunc longa, nunc curta nimis, quandoq; ampla, quandoq; stricta vltra modum, vt in his singulis appareant derisi pótiùs quam vestiti: pileos quoque, calceos, caligas, corrigias sibi fabricante exquisitas, cùm etiam è contra deberent secundùm Christi sui doctrinam simplices, Deo deuoti, humiles, veraces, inuicem diligentes, inuicem concordantes, et inluriam de facili remittentes. Scimus etiam eos propter peccata sua perdidisse hanc terram optimam quam tenemus, nec timemus eam amittere, quamdiu se taliter gubernant. Attamen non dubitamus, quin in futurum per meliorem vitæ conuersatíonem merebuntur de nostris eam manibus recuperare.

Reprehensio Sacerdotum.

Reprehensio vulgi iustissima.

Vestimentorum varietas reprehensa.

Ad hoc ego vltra confusus et stupefactus, nequiui inuenire responsum; verebar enim obloqui veritati, quamuis ab Infidelis ore prolatæ, et vultu præ rubore demisso percunctatus sum, Domine, salua reuerentia, qualiter potestis ita plenè hoc noscere? De hominibus (ait) meis interdum mitto ad modum Mercatorum per terras, et regiones Christianorum, cum Balsamo, gemmis, sericis, ac aromatibus, ac per illos singula exploro, tam de statu Imperatoris, ac Pontificum, Principum, ac Sacerdotum, quàm

Prælatorum, nec non æquora, prouincias, ac distinctiones earum.

Igitur peracta collocutione nostra satis producta, egressos principes in cameram reuocauit, ex quibus quatuor de maioribus iuxta nos aduocans, fecit eos expressè ac debitè, per singulas diuisiones in lingua Gallicana destinguere per partes, et singularum nomina partium, omnem regionem terræ Angliæ, ac alias Christianorum terras multas, acsi inter nostros fuissent nati, vel multo tempore conuersati.

Nam et ipsum Soldanum audiui cum ijs bene et directè loquentem idioma Francorum. Itaque in omnibus his mente consternatus obmutui, cogitans, et dolens de peccatis singulis, rem taliter se habere.

Nunc piè igitur (rogo) consideremus, et corde attendamus, quantæ sit confusionis, et qualis opprobrij, dum Christiani nominis inimici nobis nostra exprobrant crimina. Et studeat quilibet in melius emendare, quatenus (Deo propitio) possit in breui tempore, hæc de qua loquimur, terra Deo delecta, hæc sacrosancta terra, hæc filijs Dei promissa, nobis Dei adoptiuis restitui: vel certè, quod magis exorandum est, ipsi Sarraceni ad fidem Catholicam, et Christianam obedientiam, Ecclesiæ filijs aggregari, vt simul omnes per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum consubstantialem Dei filium perueniamus ad cœlestem Paradisum.

Insignis Mandeuilli peroratio.

Explicit prima pars huius operis.

The English Version.

Betheleem is a litylle cytee, long and narwe and well walled, and in eche syde enclosed with gode dyches; and it was wont to ben cleped Effrata; as Holy Writt seythe, *Ecce audivimus eum in Effrata;* that is to seye, *Lo, we herde him in Effrata.* And toward the est ende of the cytee, is a fulle fair chirche and a gracyouse; and it hathe many toures, pynacles and corneres, fulle stronge and curiously made: and with in that chirche ben 44 pyleres of marble, grete and faire. And betwene the cytee and the chirche is the felde floridus; that is to seyne, the feld florisched: for als moche as a fayre mayden was blamed with wrong, and sclaundred, that sche hadde don fornycacioun; for whiche cause sche was demed to the dethe, and to be brent in that place, to the whiche sche was ladd. And as the fyre began to brenne about hire, sche made hire preyeres to oure Lord, that als wissely as sche was not gylty of that synne, that he wold helpe hire, and make it to be

knowen to alle men, of his mercyfulle grace. And whan sche hadde thus seyd, sche entred in to the fuyer: and anon was the fuyr quenched and oute: and the brondes that weren brennynge, becomen rede roseres; and the brondes that weren not kyndled, becomen white roseres, fulle of roses. And theise weren the first roseres and roses, both white and rede, that evere ony man saughe. And thus was this mayden saved be the grace of God. And therfore is that feld clept the feld of God florysscht: for it was fulle of roses. Also besyde the queer of the chirche, at the right syde, as men comen dounward 16 greces,* is the place where oure Lord was born, that is fulle welle dyghte of marble, and fulle richely peynted with gold, sylver, azure, and other coloures. And 3 paas besyde, is the crybbe of the ox and the asse. And besyde that, is the place where the sterre fell, that ladde the 3 kynges, Jaspar, Melchior and Balthazar: but men of Grece clepen hem thus, Galgalathe, Malgalathe and Saraphie: and the Jewes clepen in this manere, in Ebrew, Appelius, Amerrius and Damasus. Theise 3 kynges offreden to oure Lord, gold, ensence and myrre: and thei metten to gedre, thorghe myracle of God; for thei metten to gedre in a cytee in Ynde, that men clepen Cassak, that is 53 journeyes fro Betheleem; and thei weren at Betheleem the 13 day. And that was the 4 day aftre that thei hadden seyn the sterre, whan they metten in that cytee: and thus thei weren in 9 dayes, fro that cytee at Betheleem; and that was gret myracle. Also undre the cloystre of the chirche, be 18 degrees, at the righte syde, is the charnelle of the innocentes, where here bones lyzn. And before the place where oure Lord was born, is the tombe of Seynt Jerome, that was a preest and a cardynalle, that translatede the Bible and the psaultere from Ebrew in to Latyn: and witheoute the mynstre; is the chayere that he satt in, whan he translated it. And faste besyde that chirche, a 60 fedme,† is a chirche of Seynt Nicholas, where oure Lady rested hire, aftre sche was lyghted of oure Lord. And for as meche as sche had to meche mylk in hire pappes, that greved hire, sche mylked hem on the rede stones of marble; so that the traces may ʒit be sene in the stones alle whyte. And zee schulle undrestonde, that alle that duellen in Betheleem ben Cristene men. And there ben fayre vynes about the cytee, and gret plentee of wyn, that the Cristene men han don let make. But the Sarazines ne tylen not no vynes, ne thei drynken no wyn. For here bokes of here lawe, that Makomete betoke hem, whiche thei clepen here Alkaron, and sume clepen it Mesaphe; and in another langage it is cleped Harme; and the same boke forbedethe hem to drinke wyn. For in that boke, Machomete cursed alle tho that drynken wyn, and alle hem that sellen it. For sum men seye, that he sloughe ones an heremyte in his dronkenesse, that he loved ful wel: and therefore he cursed wyn, and hem that drynken it. But his curs be turned in to his owne hed; as Holy Wrytt seythe; *Et in verticem ipsius iniquitas ejus descendet;* that is for to seye, *His wykkednesse schalle turne and falle in his owne heed.* And also the Sarazines bryngen forthe no pigges, nor thei eten no swynes flessche: for thei seye, it is brother to man, and it was forboden be the olde lawe: and thei holden hem alle accursed that eten there of. Also in the lond of Palestyne and in the lond of Egypt, thei eten but lytille or non of flessche of veel or of beef; but he be so old, that he may no more travayle for elde; for it is forbode: and for because thei have but fewe of hem, therfore thei norisschen hem, for to ere here londes. In this cytee of Betheleem was David the kyng born: and he hadde 60 wyfes; and the firste wyf hihte Michol: and also he hadde 300 lemmannes.

---

* Steps.

† Fathom.

An fro Betheleem unto Jerusalem nys but 2 myle. And in the weye to Jerusalem, half a myle fro Betheleem is a chirche, where the aungel seyde to the scheppardes, of the birthe of Crist. And in that weye is the tombe of Rachelle, that was Josephes modre, the patriarke; and sche dyede anon, aftre that sche was delyvered of hire sone Beniamyn; and there sche was buryed of Jacob hire husbonde: and he leet setten 12 grete stones on here, in tokene that sche had born 12 children.* In the same weye, half myle fro Jerusalem, appered the sterre to the 3 kynges. In that weye also ben manye chirches of Cristen men, be the whiche men gon towardes the cytee of Jerusalem.

Of the Pilgrimages in Jerusalem and of the Holy Places thereaboute.

Cap. VII.

AFter for to speke of Jerusalem, the holy cytee, zee schulle undirstonde, that it stont fulle faire betwene hilles: and there ben no ryveres ne welles; but watre comethe be condyte from Ebron. And zee schulle undirstonde, that Jerusalem of olde tyme, unto the tyme of Melchisedeche, was cleped Jebus; and aftre it was clept Salem, unto the tyme of Kyng David, that putte theise 2 names to gidere, and cleped it Jebusalem; and aftre that Kyng Salomon cleped it Jerosoloyme: and aftre that, men cleped it Jerusalem; and so it is cleped zit. And aboute Jerusalem is the kyngdom of Surrye: and there besyde is the lond of Palestyne: and besyde it is Ascolone: and besyde that is the lond of Maritaine. But Jerusalem is in the lond of Judee; and it is clept Jude, for that Judas Machabeus was kyng of that contree; and it marchethe estward to the kyngdom of Arabye; on the southe syde, to the lond of Egipt; and on the west syde, to the grete see; on the north syde, towarde the kyngdom of Surrye, and to the See of Cypre. In Jerusalem was wont to be a patriark, and erchebysshoppes and bisshoppes abouten in the contree. Abouten Jerusalem ben theise cytees: Ebron, at 7 myle; Jerico, at 6 myle; Bersabee, at 8 myle; Ascalon, at 17 myle; Jaff, at 16 myle; Ramatha, at 3 myle; and Betheleem, at 2 myle. And a 2 myle trom Betheleem, toward the sowthe, is the chirche of Seynt Karitot, that was abbot there; for whom thei maden meche Doel* amonges the monkes, whan he scholde dye; and zit thei ben in moornynge, in the wise that thei maden here lamentacioun for him the firste tyme: and it is fulle gret pytee to beholde.

---

* Rachel had only two children, but twelve grandchildren.

This contree and lond of Jerusalem hathe ben in many dyverse naciounes hondes: and often therfore hathe the contree suffred meche tribulacioun, for the synne of the people, that duellen there. For that contree hathe ben in the hondes of alle nacyouns: that is to seyne, of Jewes, of Chananees, Assiryenes, Perses, Medoynes, Macedoynes, of Grekes, Romaynes, of Cristene men, of Sarazines, Barbaryenes, Turkes, Tartaryenes, and of manye othere dyverse nacyouns. For God wole not, that it be longe in the hondes of trytoures ne of synneres, be thei Cristene or othere. And now have the hethene men holden that lond in here hondes 40 zeere and more: but thei schulle not holde it longe, zif God wole.

And zee schulle undirstond, that whan men comen to Jerusalem, here first pilgrymage is to the Chirche of the Holy Sepulcre, where oure Lord was buryed, that is with oute the cytee, on the northe syde: but it is now enclosed in, with the toun walle. And there is a fulle fayr chirche, alle rownd, and open above, and covered with leed. And on the west syde is a fair tour and an highe, for belles, strongly made. And in the myddes of the chirche is a tabernacle, as it were a lytylle hows, made with a low lytylle dore: and that tabernacle is made in manere of half a compass, righte curiousely and richely made, of gold and azure and othere riche coloures, fulle nobelyche made. And in the righte syde of that tabernacle is the sepulcre of oure Lord. And the tabernacle is 8 fote longe, and 5 fote wyde, and 11 fote in heighte. And it is not longe sithen the sepulcre was alle open, that men myghte kisse it and touche it. But for pilgrymes that comen thidre, peyned hem to breke the ston in peces or in poudre, therfore the Soudan hathe do make a walle aboute the sepulcre, that no man may towche it. But in the left syde of the walle of the tabernacle is well the heighte of a man, a gret ston to the quantytee of a mannes hed, that was of the holy sepulcre: and that ston kissen the pilgrymes, that comen thidre. In that tabernacle ben no wyndowes: but it is alle made lighte with lampes, that hangen before the sepulcre. And there is a lampe, that hongethe before the sepulcre, that brennethe lighte: and on the Gode Fryday it gothe out be him self; and lyghtith azen be him self at that oure, that oure Lorde roos fro dethe to lyve. Also within the chirche, at the righte syde, besyde the queer of the chirche, is the Mount of Calvarye, where oure Lord was don on the Cros: and it is a roche of white colour, and a lytille medled with red: and the Cros was set in a morteys, in the same roche: and on that roche dropped the woundes of our Lord, whan he was payned on the Crosse; and that is cleped Golgatha. And men gon up to that Golgotha be degrees: and in the place of that morteys was Adames hed founden, aftre Noes flode; in tokene that the synnes of Adam scholde ben boughte in that same place. And upon that roche made Abraham sacrifice to oure Lord. And there is an awtere: and before that awtere lyzn Godefray de Boleyne and Bawdewyn, and othere Cristene kynges of Jerusalem. And there nyghe, where our Lord was crucyfied, is this written in Greek, ‘Ο Θεὸς Βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν πρὸ αἰώνων εἰργάσατο αωτηρίαν ἐν μέσω τῆς γῆς· that is to seyne, in Latyn, *Deus Rex noster ante secula operatus est salutem, in medio terræ;* that is to seye, *Gode oure Kyng, before the worldes, hathe wroughte hele in myddis of the erthe.* And also on that roche, where the Cros was sett, is writen with in the roche theise wordes; ῞Ο εἴδεις, ἐστὶ βάσις τῆς πίστεως ὅλης τοῦ κόσμου τούτον· that is to seyne in Latyn, *Quod vides, est fundamentum totius Fidei hujus Mundi;* that is to seyne, *That thou seest, is ground of alle the feythe of this world.* And zee schulle undirstonde, that whan oure Lord was don upon the Cros, he was 33 zere and 3 moneths of elde. And the prophecye of David seythe thus: *Quadraginta annis proximus fui generationi huic;* that is to seye, *fourty zeer was I neighebore to this kynrede.* And thus scholde it seme, that the prophecyes ne were not trewe: but thei ben bothe trewe: for in old tyme men maden a zeer of 10 moneths; of the whiche Marche was the firste, and Decembre was the laste. But Gayus, that was Emperour of Rome, putten theise 2 monethes there to, Janyver and Feverer; and ordeyned the zeer of 12 monethes; that is to seye, 365 dayes, with oute lepe zeer, aftre the propre cours of the sonne. And therfore, aftre cowntynge of 10 monethes of the zeer, de dyede in the 40 zeer; as the prophete seyde; and aftre the zeer of 12 monethes, he was of age 33 zeer and 3 monethes. Also with in the Mount Calvarie, on the right side, is an awtere, where the piler lyzthe, that oure Lord Jesu was bounden to, whan he was scourged. And there besyde ben 4 pileres of ston, that alle weys droppen watre: and sum men seyn, that thei wepen for our Lordes dethe. And nyghe that awtier is a place undre erthe, 42 degrees of depnesse, where the holy croys was founden, be the wytt of Seynte Elyne, undir a roche, where the Jewes had hidde it. And that was the verray croys assayed: for thei founden 3 crosses; on of oure Lord, and 2 of the 2 theves: and Seynte Elyne preved hem on a ded body, that aros from dethe to lyve, whan it was leyed on it that oure Lord dyed on. And there by in the walle is the place where the 4 nayles of oure Lord weren hidd: for he had 2 in his hondes, and 2 in his feet: and of on of theise, the Emperour of Costantynoble made a brydille to his hors, to bere him in bataylle: and thorghe vertue there of, he overcam his enemyes, and wan alle the lond of Asye the lesse; that is to seye, Turkye, Ermonye the lasse and the more; and from Surrye to Jerusalem, from Arabye to Persie, from Mesopotayme to the kyngdom of Halappee, from Egypt the highe and the lowe, and all the othere kyngdomes, unto the Depe of Ethiope, and into Ynde the lesse, that then was Cristene. And there were in that tyme many gode holy men and holy heremytes; of whom the book of fadres lyfes spekethe: and thei ben now in

---

* Mourning.

Paynemes and Sarazines honds. But whan God alle myghty wole, righte als the londes weren lost thorghe synne of Cristene men, so schulle thei ben wonnen azen be Cristen men thorghe help of God. And in myddes of that chirche is a compas, in the whiche Joseph of Aramathie leyde the body of oure Lord, whan he had taken him down of the cross: and there he wassched the woundes of oure Lord: and that compas, seye men, is the myddes of the world. And in the Chirche of the Sepulchre, on the northe syde, is the place where oure Lord was put in presoun; (for he was in presoun in many places) and there is a partye of the Cheyne that he was bounden with: and there he appered first to Marie Magdaleyne, whan he was rysen; and sche wende, that he had ben a gardener. In the chirche of Seynt Sepulchre was wont to ben chanouns of the ordre of Seynt Augustyn, and hadden a priour; but the patriark was here sovereygne. And withe oute the dores of the chirche, on the right syde, as men gon upward 18 Greces, seyde oure Lord to his moder, *Mulier, ecce filius tuus;* that is to seye, *Woman, lo thi Sone.* And aftre that, he seyde to John his disciple, *Ecce mater tua;* that is to seyne, *Lo, behold thi modir:* And these wordes he seyde on the cros. And on theise Greces wente oure Lord, whan he bare the crosse on his schuldir. And undir this grees is a chapelle; and in that chapelle syngen prestes, yndyenes; that is to seye, prestes of ynde; noght aftir oure lawe, but aftir here: and alle wey thei maken here sacrement of the awtier, seyenge, *Pater noster,* and othere preyeres there with: with the which preyeres, thei seye the wordes, that the sacrement is made of. For thei ne knowe not the addiciouns, that many Popes han made: but thei synge with gode devocioun. And there nere, is the place where that oure Lord rested him, whan he was wery, for berynge of the Cros. And zee schulle undirstonde, that before the Chirche of the Sepulcre, is the cytee more feble than in ony othere partie, for the grete playn that is betwene the chirche and the cytee. And toward the est syde, with oute the walles of the cytee, is the Vale of Josaphathe, that touchethe to the walles, as thoughe it were a large dyche. And anen that Vale of Josaphathe, out of the cytee, is the Chirche of Seynt Stevene, where he was stoned to dethe. And there beside, is the gildene zate, that may not ben opened; be the whiche zate, oure Lord entrede on Palmesonday, upon an asse; and the zate opened azenst him, whan he wolde go unto the temple: and zit apperen the steppes of the asses feet, in 3 places of the degrees, that ben of fulle harde ston. And before the chirche of Seynt Sepulcre, toward the southe, a 200 paas, is the gret hospitalle of Seynt John; of the whiche the hospitleres hadde here foundacioun. And with inne the palays of the seke men of that hospitalle ben 124 pileres of ston: and in the walles of the hows, with oute the nombre aboveseyd, there ben 54 pileres, that beren up the hows. And fro that hospitalle, to go toward the est, is a fulle fayr chirche, that is clept *Nostre Dame la Graund.* And than is there another chirche right nyghe, that is clept *Nostre Dame la Latyne.* And there weren Marie Cleophee and Marie Magdaleyne, and teren here heer, whan oure Lord was peyned in the cros.

Of the Temple of oure Lord. Of the Crueltee of Kyng Heroud. Of the Mount Syon. Of Probatica Piscina. And of Natatorium Siloe.

Cap. VIII.

ANd fro the chirche of the sepulcre, toward the est, at 160 paas, is *Templum Domini.* It is right a feir hows, and it is alle round, and highe, and covered with leed, and it is well paved with white marble: but the Sarazine wole not suffre no Cristene manne Jewes to come there in; for thei seyn, that none so foule synfulle men scholde not come in so holy place: but I cam in there, and in othere places, where I wolde; for I hadde lettres of the Soudan, with his grete seel; and comounly other men han but his signett. In the whiche lettres he comanded of his, specyalle grace, to all his subgettes, to lete me seen alle the places, and to enforme me pleynlyalle the mysteries of every place, and to condyte me fro cytee to cytee, zif it were nede, and buxomly to resceyve me and my companye, and for to obeye to alle my requestes resonable, zif thei weren not gretly azen the royalle power, and dignytee of the Soudan or of his lawe. And to othere, that asken him grace, suche as han served him, he ne zevethe not but his signet; the whiche thei make to be born before hem, hangynge on a spere; and the folk of the contree don gret worschipe and reverence to his signett or his seel, and knelen there to, as lowly as wee don to *Corpus Domini.* And zit men don fulle grettere reverence to his lettres. For the admyralle and alle othere lordes, that thei ben schewed to, before or thei resceyve hem, thei knelen doun, and than thei take hem, and putten hem on here hedes, and aftre thei kissen hem, and than thei reden hem, knelynge with gret reverence, and than thei offren hem to do alle, that the berere askethe. And in this *Templum Domini* weren somtyme chanouns reguleres: and thei hadden an abbot, to whom thei weren obedient And in this temple was Charlemayn, when that the aungelle broughte him the prepuce of oure Lord Jesu Crist, of his circumcisioun: and aftre Kyng Charles leet bryngen it to Parys, in to his chapelle : and aftre that to Chartres. And zee schulle undirstonde, that this is not the temple that Salomon made : for that temple dured not, but 1102 zeer. For Tytus, Vespasianes sone, Emperour of Rome, had leyd sege aboute Jerusalem, for to discomfyte the Jewes : for thei putten oure Lord to dethe, with outen leve of the Emperour. And whan he hadde wonnen the cytee, he brente the temple and beet it down, and alle the cytee, and toke the Jewes, and dide hem to Dethe, 1100000 : and the othere he putte in presoun, and solde hem to servage, 30 for o peny : for thei seyde, thei boughte Jesu for 30 penyes : and he made of hem bettre cheep, whan he zaf 30 for o peny. And aftre that tyme, Julianus Apostate, that was Emperour, zaf leve to the Jewes to make the Temple of Jerusalem : for he hated Cristene men ; and zit he was cristned, but he forsoke his law, and becam a renegate. And whan the Jewes hadden made the temple, com an erthe quakeng, and cast it doun (as God wolde) and destroyed alle that thei had made. And aftre that, Adryan, that was Emperour of Rome, and of the lynage of Troye, made Jerusalem azen, and the temple, in the same manere, as Salomon made it. And he wolde not suffre no Jewes to dwelle there, but only Cristene men. For alle thoughe is were so, that hee was not cristned, zet he lovede Cristene men, more than ony other nacioun, saf his owne. This Emperour leet enclose the Chirche of Seynt Sepulcre, and walle it, within the cytee, that before was with oute the cytee, long tyme beforn. And he wolde have chaunged the name of Jerusalem, and have cleped it Elya : but that name lasted not longe. Also zee schulle undirstonde, that the Sarazines don moche reverence to that temple ; and thei seyn, that that place is right holy. And whan thei gon in, thei gon barefote, and knelen many tymes. And whanne my felowes and I seyghe that, whan we comen in, wee diden of oure shoon, and camen in barefote, and thoughten that we scholden don as moche worschipe and reverence there to, as ony of the mysbeleevynge men sholde, and as gret compunction in herte to have. This temple is 64 cubytes of wydenesse, and als manye in lengthe ; and of heighte it is 120 cubites : and it is with inne, alle aboute, made with pyleres of marble : and in the myddel place of the temple ben manye highe stages, of 14 degrees of heighte, made with gode pyleres alle aboute: and this place the Jewes callen *Sancta Sanctorum;* that is to seye, *holy of halewes.* And in that place comethe no man, saf only here prelate, that makethe here sacrifise. And the folk stonden alle aboute, in diverse stages, aftre thei ben of dignytee or of worschipe; so that thei alle may see the sacrifice. And in that temple ben 4 entrees; and the zates ben of cypresse, wel made and curiousely dight. And with in the est zate, oure Lorde seyde, *Here is Jerusalem.* And in the northsyde of that temple with in the zate, there is a welle; but it rennethe noght; of the whiche Holy Writt spekethe, and seythe, *Vidi aquam egredientem de Templo;* that is to seyne, *I saughe watre come out of the Temple.* And on that other syde of the Temple there is a roche, that men clepen Moriache: but aftre it was clept Bethel; where the arke of God, with relykes of Jewes, weren wont to ben put. That arke or hucche, with the relikes, Tytus ledde with hym to Rome, whan he had scomfyted alle the Jewes. In that arke weren the 10 commandementes, and of Arones zerde, and of Moyses zerde, with the whiche he made the Rede See departen, as it had ben a walle, on the righte syde and on the left syde, whils that the peple of Israel passeden the see drye foot: and with that zerde he smoot the roche; and the watre cam out of it: and with that zerde he dide manye wondres. And there in was a vessel of gold, fulle of manna, and clothinges and ournements and the tabernacle of Aaron, and a tabernacle square of gold, with 12 precyous stones, and a boyst of jasper grene, with 4 figures, and 8 names of oure Lord, and 7 candelstykes of gold, and 12 pottes of gold, and 4 censeres of gold, and an awtier of gold, and 4 lyouns of gold, upon the whiche thei bare cherubyn of gold, 12 spannes long, and the cercle of swannes of Hevene, with a tabernacle of gold, and a table of sylver, and 2 trompes of silver, and 7 barly loves, and alle the othere relikes, that weren before the birthe of oure Lord Jesu Crist. And upon that roche, was Jacob slepynge, when he saughe the aungeles gon up and doun, by a laddre, and he seyd, *Vere locus iste sanctus est, et ego ignorabam;* that is to seyne, *Forsothe this place is holy, and I wiste it nought.* And there an aungel helde Jacob stille, and turned his name, and cleped him Israel. And in that same place, David saughe the aungelle, that smot the folk with a swerd, and put it up blody in the schethe. And in that same roche, was Seynt Symeon, whan he resceyved oure Lord into the Temple. And in this roche he sette him, whan the Jewes wolde a stoned him ; and a sterre cam doun, and zaf him light. And upon that roche, prechede our Lord often tyme to the peple ; and out of that seyd temple, oure Lord drof the byggeres and the selleres. And upon that roche, oure Lord sette him, whan the Jewes wolde have stoned him ; and the roche cleef in two, and in that clevynge was oure Lord hidd ; and there cam doun a sterre, and zaf lighte and served him with claretee ; and upon that roche, satt oure lady, and lerned hire sawtere : and there our Lord forzaf the womman hire sinnes, that was founden in Avowtrie : and there was oure Lord circumcyded : and there the aungelle schewede tydynges to Zacharie of the birthe of Seynt Baptyst his sone ; and there offred first Melchisedeche bred and wyn to oure Lord, in tokene of the sacrement that was to comene ; and there felle David preyeng to oure Lord, and to the aungelle, that smot the peple, that he wolde have mercy on him and on the peple ; and oure Lorde herde his preyere ; and therefore wolde he make the temple in that place : but oure Lord forbade him, be an aungelle, for he had don tresoun, whan he leet sle Urie the worthi knyght, for to have Bersabee his wyf ; and therfore all the purveyance, that he hadde ordeyned to make the temple with, he toke it Salomon his sone ; and he made it. And he preyed oure Lord, that alle tho that preyeden to him, in that place, with gode herte, that he wolde heren here preyere and graunten it hem, zif thei asked it rightefullyche : and oure Lord graunted it him : and therfore Salomon cleped that temple, the Temple of Conseille and of Help of God. And with oute the zate of that temple is an awtiere, where Jewes werein wont to offren dowves and turtles. And betwene the temple and that awtiere was Zacharie slayn. And upon the pynacle of that temple was oure Lord brought, for to ben tempted of the enemye, the feend. And on the heighte of that pynacle, the Jewes setten Seynt Jame, and casted him down to the erthe, that first was Bisschopp of Jerusalem. And at the entree of that temple, toward the west, is the zate that is clept *Porta speciosa.* And nyghe besyde that temple, upon the right syde, is a chirche covered with leed, that is clept Salomones Scole. And fro that temple, towardes the southe, right nyghe, is the Temple of Salomon, that is righte fair and wel pollisscht. And in that temple duellen the knyghtes of the temple, that weren wont to be clept templeres : and that was the foundacioun of here ordre ; so that there duelleden knyghtes ; and in *Templo Domini*, chanouns reguleres. Fro that temple toward the est, a 120 paas, in the cornere of the cytee, is the bathe of oure Lord: and in that bathe was wont to come watre fro paradys, and zit it droppethe. And there besyde, is oure ladyes bed. And faste by, is the temple of Seynt Symeon: and with oute the cloyster of the temple, toward the northe, is a fulle faire chirche of Seynte Anne, oure ladyes modre: and there was oure lady conceyved. And before that chirche, is a gret tree, that began to growe the same nyght. And undre that chirche, in goenge doun be 22 degrees, lythe Joachym, oure ladyes fader, in a faire tombe of ston: and there besyde, lay somtyme Seynt Anne his wyf; but Seynt Helyne leet translate hire to Costantynople. And in that chirche is a welle, in manere of a cisterne, that is clept *Probatica Piscina*, that hathe 5 entrees. Into that welle, aungeles weren wont to come from Hevene, and bathen hem with inne: and what man that first bathed him, aftre the mevynge of the watre, was made hool, of what maner sykenes that he hadde: and there oure Lord heled a man of the palasye, that laye 38 zeer: and oure Lord seyde to him, *Tolle Grabatum tuum & ambula;* that is to seye, *Take thi bed, and go.* And there besyde, was Pylates hows. And faste by, is Kyng Heroudes hows, that leet sle the innocentes. This Heroude was over moche cursed and cruelle: for first he leet sle his wif, that he lovede righte welle; and for the passynge love, that he hadde to hire, whan he saughe hire ded, he felle in a rage, and oute of his wytt, a gret while; and sithen he cam azen to his wytt: and aftre he leet sle his two sones, that he hadde of that wyf: and aftre that, he leet sle another of his wyfes, and a sone, that he hadde with hire: and aftre that, he leet sle his owne modre: and he wolde have slayn his brother also, but he dyede sodeynly. And aftre he fell into seknesse, and whan he felte, that he scholde dye, he sente aftre his sustre, and aftre alle the lordes of his lond; and whan thei were comen, he leet commande hem to prisoun, and than he seyde to his sustre, he wiste wel, that men of the contree wolde make no sorwe for his dethe; and therefore he made his sustre swere, that sche scholde lete smyte of alle the heds of the lordes, whan he were ded; and than scholde alle the lond make sorwe for his dethe, and else nought: and thus he made his testement. But his sustre fulfilled not his wille: for als sone as he was ded, sche delyvered alle the lordes out of presoun, and lete hem gon, eche lord to his owne; and tolde hem alle the purpos of hire brothers ordynance: and so was this cursed kyng never made sorwe for, as he supposed for to have ben. And zee schulle undirstonde, that in that tyme there weren 3 Heroudes, of gret name and loos for here crueltee. This Heroude, of whiche I have spoken offe, was Heroude Ascalonite: and he that leet beheden seynt John the Baptist, was Heroude Antypa: and he that leet smyte of Seynt James hed, was Heroude Agrippa; and he putte Seynt Peter in presoun.

Also furthermore, in the cytee, is the Chirche of Seynt Savyour; and there is the left arm of John Crisostom, and the more partye of the hed of Seynt Stevene. And on that other syde of the strete, toward the southe, as men gon to Mount Syon, is a chirche of Seynt James, where he was beheded. And fro that chirche, a 120 paas, is the Mount Syon: and there is a faire chirche of oure Lady, where sche dwelled; and there sche dyed. And there was wont to ben an abbot of Chanouns Reguleres. And fro thens, was sche born of the apostles, unto the Vale of Josaphathe. And there is the ston, that the aungelle broughte to oure Lady, fro the Mount of Synay; and it is of that colour, that the roche is of Seynt Kateryne. And there besyde, is the zate, where thorghe oure Ladye wente, whan sche was with childe, whan sche wente to Betheleem. Also at the entree of the Mount Syon, is a chapelle; and in that chapelle is the ston gret and large, with the whiche the sepulcre was covered with, whan Josephe of Aramathie had put oure Lord thereinne: the whiche ston the 3 Maries sawen turnen upward, whan thei comen to the sepulcre, the day of his resurrexioun; and there founden an aungelle, that tolde hem of oure Lordes uprysynge from dethe to lyve. And there also is a ston, in a walle, besyde the zate, of the pyleer, that oure Lord was scourged ate: and there was Annes hows, that was Bishop of the Jewes, in that tyme. And there was oure Lord examyned in the nyght, and scourged and smytten and vylently entreted. And in that same place, Seynt Peter forsoke oure Lord thries, or the cok creew. And there is a party of the table, that he made his souper onne, whan he made his maundee, with his discyples; whan he zaf hem his flesche and his blode, in forme of bred and wyn. And undre that chapelle, 32 degrees, is the place, where oure Lord wossche his disciples feet: and zit is the vesselle, where the watre was. And there besyde that same vesselle, was Seynt Stevene buryed. And there is the awtier, where oure Lady herde the aungelles synge messe. And there appered first oure Lord to his disciples, after his resurrexioun, the zates enclosed, and seyde to hem, *Pax vobis:* that is to seye, *Pees to zou.* And on that mount, appered Crist to Seynt Thomas the apostle, and bade him assaye his woundes; and there beleeved he first, and seyde, *Dominus meus et Deus meus;* that is to seye, *my Lord and my God.* In the same chirche, besyde the awteer, weren alle the aposteles on Whytsonday, whan the Holy Gost descended on hem, in lyknesse of fuyr. And there made oure Lord his pask,* with his disciples. And there slept Seynt John the Evaungeliste, upon the breeste of oure Lord Jesu Crist, and saughe slepynge many hevenly prevytees.

Mount Syon is with inne the cytee; and it is a lytille hiere than the other syde of the cytee: and the cytee is strongere on that syde, than on that other syde. For at the foot of the Mount Syon, is a faire castelle and a strong, that the Soudan leet make. In the Mount Syon weren buryed Kyng David and Kyng Salomon, and many othere kynges, Jewes of Jerusalem. And there is the place, where the Jewes wolden han cast up the body of oure Lady, whan the apostles beren the body to ben buryed, in the Vale of Josaphathe. And there is the place, where Seynt Petir wepte fulle tenderly, aftre that he hadde forsaken oure Lord. And a stones cast fro that chapelle, is another chapelle, where oure Lord was jugged: for that tyme, was there Cayphases hows. From that chapelle, to go toward the est, at 140 paas, is a deep cave undre the roche, that is clept the Galylee of oure Lord; where Seynt Petre hidde him, whanne he had forsaken oure Lord. Item, betwene the Mount Syon and the Temple of Salomon, is the place, where oure Lord reysed the mayden, in hire fadres hows. Undre the Mount Syon, toward the Vale of Josaphathe, is a welle, that is clept *Natatorium Siloe;* and there was oure Lord wasshen, aftre his bapteme: and there made oure Lord the blynd man to see. And there was y buryed Ysaye the prophete. Also streghte from Natatorie Siloe, is an ymage of ston, and of olde auncyen werk, that Absalon leet make: and because there of, men clepen it the head of Absalon. And faste by, is zit the tree of eldre, that Judas henge him self upon, for despeyr that he hadde, whan he solde and betrayed oure Lord. And there besyde, was the synagoge, where the bysshoppes of Jewes and the pharyses camen to gidere, and helden here conseille. And there caste Judas the 30 pens before hem, and seyde, that he hadde synned, betrayenge oure Lord. And there nyghe was the hows of the apostles Philippe and Jacob Alphei. And on that other syde of Mount Syon, toward the southe, bezonde the Vale, a stones cast, is Acheldamache; that is to seye, the Feld of Blood; that was bought for the 30 pens, that oure Lord was sold fore. And in that feld ben many tombes of Cristene men: for there ben manye pilgrymes graven. And there ben many oratories, chapelles and heremytages, where heremytes weren wont to duelle. And toward the est, an 100 pas, is the charnelle of the hospitalle of seynt John, where men weren wont to putte the bones of dede men.

---

* Pascal feast

Also fro Jerusalem, toward the west, is a fair chirche, where the tree of the cros grew. And 2 myle fro thens, is a faire chirche; where oure lady mette with Elizabethe, whan thei weren bothe with childe; and seynt John stered in his modres wombe, and made reverence to his Creatour, that he saughe not. And undre the awtier of that chirche, is the place where seynt John was born. And fro that chirche, is a myle to the castelle of Emaux: and there also oure Lord schewed him to 2 of his disciples, aftre His resurrexion. Also on that other syde, 200 pas fro Jerusalem, is a chirche, where was wont to be the cave of the lioun: and undre that chirche, at 30 degrees of depnesse, weren entered 12000 martires, in the tyme of Kyng Cosdroe, that the lyoun mette with alle in a nyghte, be the wille of God. Also fro Jerusalem 2 myle, is the Mount Joye, a fulle fair place and a delicyous: and there lythe Samuel the prophete in a faire tombe: and men clepen it Mount Joye; for it zevethe joye to pilgrymes hertes, be cause that there men seen first Jerusalem. Also betwene Jerusalem and the Mount of Olyvete, is the Vale of Josaphathe, undre the walles of the cytee, as I have seyd before: and in the myddes of the vale, is a lytille ryvere, that men clepen Torrens Cedron; and aboven it, over thwart, lay a tre, (that the cros was made offe) that men zeden over onne: and faste by it is a litylle pytt in the erthe, where the foot of the pileer is zit entered; and there was oure Lord first scourged: for he was scourged and vileynsly entreted in many places. Also in the myddel place of the vale of Josaphathe, is the chirche of oure lady: and it is of 43 degrees, undre the erthe, unto the sepulchre oure lady. And oure lady was of age, when sche dyed, 72 zeer. And beside the sepulchre of oure lady, is an awtier, where oure Lord forzaf seynt Petir all his synnes. And fro thens, toward the west, undre an awtere, is a welle, that comethe out of the ryvere of Paradys. And witethe wel, that that chirche is fulle lowe in the erthe; and sum is alle with inne the erthe. But I suppose wel, that it was not so founded: but for because that Jerusalem hathe often tyme ben destroyed, and the walles abated and beten doun and tombled in to the vale, and that thei han ben so filled azen, and the ground enhaunced; and for that skylle, is the chirche so lowe with in the erthe: and natheles men seyn there comounly, that the erthe hathe so ben cloven, sythe the tyme, that oure Lady was there buryed: and zit men seyn there, that it wexethe and growethe every day, with outen dowte. In that chirche were wont to ben blake monkes, that hadden hire abbot. And besyde that chirche, is a chapelle, besyde the roche, that highte Gethesamany: and there was oure Lord kyssed of Judas; and there was he taken of the Jewes; and there laft oure Lord his disciples, whan he wente to preye before his passioun, whan he preyed and seyde, *Pater, si fieri potest, transeat a me calix iste;* that is to seye, *Fadre, zif it may be, do lete this chalys go fro me.* And whan he cam azen to his disciples, he fond hem slepynge. And in the roche, with inne the chapelle, zit apperen the fyngres of oure Lordes hond, whan he putte hem in the roche, whan the Jewes wolden have taken him. And fro thens a stones cast, toward the southe, is anothere chapelle, where oure Lord swette droppes of blood. And there righte nyghe, is the tombe of Kyng Josaphathe; of whom the vale berethe the name. This Josaphathe was kyng of that contree, and was converted by an heremyte, that was a worthi man, and dide moche gode. And fro thens a bowe drawghte, towards the south, is the chirche, where Seynt James and Zacharie the prophete weren buryed. And above the vale, is the Mount of Olyvete: and it is cleped so, for the plentee of olyves, that growen there. That mount is more highe than the cytee of Jerusalem is: and therfore may men, upon that mount, see manye of the stretes of the cytee. And between that mount and the cytee, is not but the vale of Josaphathe, that is not fulle large. And fro that mount, steighe oure Lord Jesu Crist to Hevene, upon ascencioun day: and zit there schewethe the schapp of his left foot, in the ston. And there is a chirche, where was wont to be an abbot and chanouns reguleres. And a lytylle thens, 28 pas, is a chapelle, and there in is the ston, on the whiche oure Lord sat, whan he prechede the 8 blessynges, and seyde thus: *Beati pauperes spiritu:* and there he taughte his disciples the *Pater noster;* and wrote with his finger in a ston. And there nyghe is a chirche of Seynte Marie Egipcyane; and there sche lythe in a tombe. And fro thens toward the est, a 3 bow schote, is Bethfagee; to the whiche oure Lord sente Seynt Peter and Seynt James, for to feche the asse, upon Palme Sonday, and rode upon that asse to Jerusalem. And in comynge doun fro the Mount of Olyvete, toward the est, is a castelle, that is cleped Bethanye: and there dwelte Symon leprous, and there herberwed oure Lord; and aftre, he was baptized of the Apostles, and was clept Julian, and was made bisschoppe: and this is the same Julyan, that men clepe to for gode herberghgage; for oure Lord herberwed with him, in his hows. And in that hous, oure Lord forzaf Marie Magdaleyne hire synnes; there sche whassched his feet with hire teres, and wyped hem with hire heer. And there served seynt Martha, oure Lord. There oure Lord reysed Lazar fro dethe to lyve, that was ded 4 dayes and stank, that was brother to Marie Magdaleyne and to Martha. And there duelte also Marie Cleophe. That castelle is wel a myle long fro Jerusalem. Also in comynge doun fro the Mount of Olyvete, is the place where oure Lord wepte upon Jerusalem. And there besyde is the place, where oure lady appered to seynt Thomas the Apostle, aftre hire assumptioun, and zaf him hire Gyrdylle. And right nyghe is the ston, where oure Lord often tyme sat upon, whan he prechede: and upon that same schalle he sytte, at the day of doom; righte as him self seyde.

Also aftre the Mount of Olyvete, is the Mount of Galilee: there assembleden the apostles, whan Marie Magdaleyne cam, and tolde hem of Cristes uprisynge. And there, betwene the Mount Olyvete and the Mount Galilee, is a chirche, where the aungel seyde to our lady, of hire dethe. Also fro Bethanye to Jerico, was somtyme a lityll Cytee: but it is now alle destroyed; and now is there but a lityll village. That cytee tok Josue, be myracle of God and commandement of the aungel, and destroyed it and cursed it, and alle hem that bylled it azen. Of that citee was Zacheus the dwerf, that clomb up in to the Sycomour Tre, for to see oure Lord; be cause he was so litille, he myghte not seen Him for the peple. And of that cytee was Raab the comoun womman, that ascaped allone, with hem of hire lynage; and sche often tyme refresscheed and fed the messageres of Israel, and kepte

---

* River.—Latin, *flumen*.

hem from many grete periles of dethe : and therfore sche hadde gode reward ; as Holy Writt seythe : *Qui accipit prophetam in nomine meo, mercedem prophetæ accipiet;* that is to seye, *He that takethe a prophete in my name, he schalle take mede of the prophete:* and so had sche ; for sche prophecyed to the messageres, seyenge, *Novi quod Dominus tradet vobis Terram hanc* ; that is to seye, *I wot wel, that oure Lord schal betake zou this Lond:* and so he dide. And after Salomon, Naasones sone, wedded hire ; and fro that tyme was sche a worthi womman, and served God wel. Also from Betanye gon men to flom* Jordan, by a mountayne, and thorghe desert; and it is nyghe a day jorneye fro Bethanye, toward the est, to a gret hille, where oure Lord fasted 40 dayes. Upon that hille, the enemy of helle bare our Lord, and tempted him, and seyde ; *Dic ut lapides isti panes fiant;* that is to seye, *Sey, that theise stones be made loves.* In that place, upon the hille, was wont to ben a faire chirche ; but it is alle destroyed, so that there is now but an hermytage, that a maner of Cristene men holden, that ben cleped Georgyenes : for Seynt George converted hem. Upon that hille duelte Abraham a gret while : and therfore men clepen it, Abrahames gardyn. And betwene the hille and this gardyn rennethe a lytille broke of watre, that was wont to ben byttre ; but be the blessyng of Helisee the prophete, it becam swete and gode to drynke. And at the foot of this hille, toward the playn, is a grete welle, that entrethe in to flom Jordan. Fro that hille to Jerico, that I spak of before, is but a myle, in goynge toward flom Jordan. Also as men gon to Jerico, sat the blynde man, cryenge, *Jesu, fili David, miserere mei;* that is to seye, *Jesu, Davides sone, have mercy on me:* and anon he hadde his sighte. Also 2 myle fro Jerico is flom Jordan : and an half myle more nyghe, is a faire chirche of Seynt John the Baptist; where he baptised oure Lord : and there besyde, is the hous of Jeremye the prophete.

Of the dede See ; and of the Flom Jordan. Of the Hed of Seynt John the Baptist; and of the Usages of the Samaritanes.

Cap. IX.

ANd fro Jerico, a 3 myle, is the dede See. Aboute that See growethe moche alom and of alkatran.* Betwene Jerico and that see is the lond of Dengadde ; and there was wont to growe the bawme : but men make drawe the braunches there of, and beren hem to ben graffed at Babiloyne ;

---

* Brimstone.

and zit men clepen hem vynes of Gaddy. At a cost of that see, as men gon from Arabe, is the mount of the Moabytes; where there is a cave, that men clepen Karua. Upon that hille, ladde Balak the sone of Booz, Balaam the prest, for to curse the peple of Israel. That dede See departethe the lond of Ynde and of Arabye; and that see lastethe from Soara unto Arabye. The watre of that see is fulle bytter and salt: and ziff the erthe were made moyst and weet with that watre, it wolde nevere bere fruyt. And the erthe and the lond chaungeth often his colour. And it castethe out of the watre a thing that men clepen aspalt; also gret peces, as the gretnesse of an hors, every day, and on alle sydes. And fro Jerusalem to that see, is 200 furlonges. That see is in lengthe 580 furlonges, and in brede 150 furlonges: and it is clept the dede see, for it rennethe nought. but is evere unmevable. And nouther manne, best, ne no thing that berethe lif in him, ne may not dyen in that see: and that hathe ben preved manye tymes, be men that han disserved to ben dede, that han ben cast there inne, and left there inne 3 dayes or 4, and thei ne myghte never dye ther inne: for it resceyvethe no thing with inne him, that berethe lif. And no man may drynken of the watre, for bytternesse. And zif a man caste iren there in, it wole flete aboven. And zif men caste a fedre there in, it wole synke to the botme: and theise ben thinges azenst kynde. And also the cytees there weren lost, be cause of synne. And there besyden growen trees, that beren fulle faire apples, and faire of colour to beholde; but whoso brekethe hem or cuttethe hem in two, he schalle fynde with in hem coles and cyndres; in tokene that, be wratthe of God, the cytees and the lond weren brente and sonken into helle. Sum men clepen that see, Lake Dalfetidee; summe, the Flom of Develes; and summe, the flom that is ever stynkynge. And in to that see sonken the 5 cytees, be wratthe of God; that is to seyne, Sodom, Gomorre, Aldama, Seboym and Segor, for the abhomynable synne of sodomye, that regned in hem. But Segor, be the preyer of Lothe, was saved and kept a gret while: for it was sett upon an hille; and zit schewethe therof sum party, above the watre: and men may see the walles, when it is fayr wedre and cleer. In that cytee Lothe dwelte, a lytylle while; and there was he made dronken of his doughtres, and lay with hem, and engendred of hem Moab and Amon. And the cause whi his doughtres made him dronken, and for to ly by him, was this; because thei sawghe no man aboute hem, but only here fadre: and therfore thei trowed, that God had destroyed alle the world, as he hadde don the cytees; as he hadde don before, be Noes flood. And therfore thei wolde lye with here fadre, for to have issue, and for to replenysschen the world azen with peple, to restore the world azen be hem: for thei trowed, that ther had ben no mo men in alle the world. And zif here fadre had not ben dronken, he hadde not y leye with hem. And the hille aboven Segor, men cleped it thanne Edom: and aftre men cleped it Seyr, and aftre Ydumea. Also at the righte syde of that dede See, dwellethe zit the wife of Lothe, in lyknesse of a salt ston; for that schee loked behinde hire, whan the cytees sonken into helle. This Lothe was Araammes sone, that was brother to Abraham. And Sarra Abrahames wife, and Melcha Nachors wif, weren sustren to the seyd Lothe. And the same Sarra was of elde 90 zeer, when Ysaac hire sone was goten on hire. And Abraham hadde another sone Ysmael, that he gat upon Agar his chambrere. And when Ysaac his sone was 8 dayes olde, Abraham his fadre leet him ben circumcyded, and Ysmael with him, that was 14 zeer old: wherfore the Jewes, that comen of Ysaacces lyne, ben circumcyded the 8 day; and the Sarrazines, that comen of Ysmaeles lyne, ben circumcyded whan thei ben 14 zeer of age.

And zee schulle undirstonde, that with in the dede See rennethe the Flom Jordan, and there it dyethe; for it rennethe no furthermore: and that is a place, that is a myle fro the Chirche of seynt John the Baptist, toward the West, a lytille benethe the place, where that christene men bathen hem comounly. And a myle from Flom Jordan, is the Ryvere of Jabothe, the whiche Jacob passed over, whan he cam fro Mesopotayme. This Flom Jordan is no great ryvere; but it is plenteous of gode fissche: and it cometh out of the hille of Lyban be 2 welles, that ben cleped Jor and Dan: and of tho 2 welles hath it the name. And it passethe be a lake, that is clept Maron; and aftre it passethe by the See of Tyberye, and passethe undre the hilles of Gelboe: and there is a full faire vale, bothe on that o syde and on that other of the same ryvere. And men gon the hilles of Lyban, alle in lengthe, unto the desert of Pharan. And tho hilles departen the kyngdom of Surrye and the contree of Phenesie. And upon tho hilles growen trees of cedre, that ben fulle hye, and thei beren longe apples, and als grete as a mannes heved. And also this Flom Jordan departeth the lond of Galilee, and the lond of Ydumye and the lond of Betron : and that rennethe undre erthe a grete weye, unto a fayre playn and a gret, that is clept Meldan, in Sarmoyz ; that is to seye, feyre or markett in here langage ; be cause that there is often feyres in that pleyn. And there becomethe the watre gret and large. And that playn is the tombe of Job. And in that Flom Jordan above-seyd, was oure Lorde baptized of seynt John ; and the voys of God the Fadre was herd seyenge, *Hic est Filius meus dilectus, &c.;* that is to seye, *This is my beloved sone, in the whiche I am well plesed; herethe hym.* And the Holy Gost alyghte upon hym, in lyknesse of a colver : and so at his baptizynge, was alle the hool trynytee. And thorghe that Flom passeden the children of Israel, alle drye feet : and thei putten stones there in the myddel place, in tokene of the myracle, that the watre withdrowghe him so. Also in that Flom Jordan, Naaman of Syrie bathed him ; that was fulle riche, but he was meselle :* and there anon he toke his hele. Abouten the Flom Jordan ben manye chirches, where that manye cristene men dwelleden. And nyghe therto is the cytee of Hay, that Josue assayled and toke. Also bezonde the Flom Jordan, is the Vale of Mambre ; and that is a fulle fair vale. Also upon the hille, that I spak of before, where oure Lord fasted 40 dayes, a 2 myle long from Galilee, is a faire hille and an highe ; where the enemye, the fend, bare oure Lord, the thridde tyme, to tempte him, and achewede him alle the regiouns of the world, and seyde, *Hec omnia tibi dabo, si cadens adoraveris me;* that is to seyne, *All this schalle I zeve the, zif thou falle and worschipe me.*

Also fro the dede See, to gon estward out of the marches of the Holy Lond, that is clept the Lond of Promyssioun, is a strong castelle and a fair, in an hille, that is clept Carak, en Sarmoyz ; that is to seyne, Ryally. That castle let make kyng Baldwyn, (that was Kyng of France) whan he had conquered that lond ; and putte it in to cristene mennes hondes, for to kepe that contree. And for that cause, was it clept the Mownt rialle. And undre it there is a town, that hight Sobachie : and there alle abowte dwellen cristene men, undre trybute. Fro thens gon men to Nazarethe, of the whiche oure Lord berethe the surname. And fro thens, there is 3 journeyes to Jerusalem : and men gon be the provynce of Galylee, be Ramatha, be Sothym and be the highe hille of Effraim ; where Elchana and Anna, the modre of Samuelle the prophete, dwelleden. There was born this prophete: and aftre his dethe, he was buryed at Mount Joye, as I have seyd zou before. And than gon men to Sylo; where the arke of God with the relikes weren kept longe tyme, undre Ely the prophete. There made the peple of Ebron sacrifice to oure Lord: and ther thei zolden up here avowes: and there spak God first to Samuelle, and schewed him the mutacioun of ordre of presthode, and the misterie of the sacrement. And right nyghe, on the left syde, is Gabaon and Rama and Beniamyn; of the whiche holy writt spekethe offe. And aftre men gon to Sychem, sumtyme clept Sychar; and that is in the provynce of Samaritanes; and there is a fulle fair vale and a fructuouse, and there is a fair cytee and a gode, that men clepen Neople. And from thens is a jorneye to Jerusalem. And there is the welle, where oure Lord spak to the woman of Samaritan. And there was wont to ben a chirche; but it is beten doun. Besyde that welle, Kyng Roboas let make 2 calveren of gold, and made hem to ben worschipt, and put that on at Dan, and that other at Betelle. And a myle fro Sychar, is the cytee of Deluze. And in that cytee dwelte Abraham, a certeyn tyme. Sychem is a 10 myle fro Jerusalem, and it is clept Neople; that is for to seyne, the newe cytee. And nyghe besyde is the tombe of Josephe the sone of Jacob, that governed Egypt: for the Jewes baren his bones from Egypt, and buryed hem there. And thidre gon the Jewes oftentyme in pilgrimage, with gret devocioun. In that cytee was Dyne Jacobes doughter ravysscht; for whom hire bretheren slowen many persones, and diden many harmes to the cytee. And there besyde, is the hille of Garasoun, where the Samaritanes maken here sacrifice: in that hille wolde Abraham have sacrificed his sone Ysaac. And there besyde is the vale of Dotaym: and there is the cisterne, where Josephe was cast in of his bretheren, which thei solden; and that is a 2 myle fro Sychar. From thens gon men to Samarye, that men clepen now Sebast; and that is the chief cytee of that contree: and it sytt betwene the hille of Aygnes, as Jerusalem dothe. In that cytee was the syttinges of the 12 tribes of Israel: but the cytee is not now so gret, as it was wont to be. There was buryed seynt John the Baptist, betwene 2 prophetes, Helyseus and Abdyan: but he was beheded in the castelle of Macharyme, besyde the Dede See: and aftre he was translated of his disciples, and buryed at Samarie: and there let Julianus Apostata dyggen him up, and let brennen his bones; (for he was that time Emperour) and let wyndwe* the ashes in the wynd. But the fynger, that schewed oure Lord, seyenge, *Ecce Agnus Dei;* that is to seyne, *Lo the Lamb of God:* that nolde nevere brenne, but is alle hol: that fynger leet seynte Tecle the holy virgyne be born in to the hille of Sebast; and there maken men gret feste. In that place was wont to ben a faire chirche; and many othere there weren; but thei ben alle beten doun. There was wont to ben the heed of seynt John Baptist, enclosed in the walle: but the Emperour Theodosie let drawe it out, and fond it wrapped in a litille clothe, alle blody; and so he leet it to be born to Costantynoble: and zit at Costantynoble is the hyndre partye of the heed: and the for partie of the heed, til undre the chyn, is at Rome, undre the chirche of seynt Silvestre, where ben nonnes of an hundred ordres; and it is zit alle broylly, as thoughe it were half brent: for the Emperour Julianus aboveseyd, of his cursednesse and malice, let brennen that partie with the other bones; and zit it schewethe: and this thing hathe ben preved, both be popes and by emperours. And the Jowes benethe, that holden to the Chyn, and a partie of the assches, and the platere, that the hed was leyd in, whan it was smyten of, is at Gene: and the Geneweyes maken of it gret feste; and so don the Sarazynes also. And sum men seyn, that the heed of seynt John is at Amyas, in Picardye: and other men seyn, that it is the heed of seynt John the Bysschop. I wot nere, but God knowethe: but in what wyse than men worschipen it, the blessed seynt John holt him a payd.

---

* Leprous.

From this cytee of Sebast unto Jerusalem, is 12 myle. And betwene the hilles of that contree, there is a welle, that 4 sithes in the zeer chaungethe his colour; sometyme grene, sometyme reed, sometyme cleer, and sometyme trouble; and men clepen that welle Job. And the folk of that contree, that men clepen Samaritanes, weren converted and baptized by the apostles; but thei holden not wel here doctryne; and alle weys thei holden lawes by hem self, varyenge from cristene men, from Sarrazines, Jewes and Paynemes. And the Samaritanes leeven well in o Godi: and thei seyn wel, that there is but only o God, that alle formed, and alle schalle deme: and thei holden the Bible aftre the lettre: and thei usen the psawtere, as the Jewes don: and thei seyn, that thei ben the righte sones of God: and among alle other folk, thei seyn that thei ben best beloved of God; and that to hem belongethe the heritage, that God behighte to hise beloved children: and thei han also dyverse clothinge and schapp, to loken on, than other folk han; for thei wrappen here hedes in red linnene cloth, in difference from othere. And the Sarazines wrappen here hedes in white lynnene clothe. And the Cristene men, that duellen in the contree, wrappen hem in blew of Ynde; and the Jewes in zelow clothe. In that contree duellen manye of the Jewes, payenge tribute, as Cristene men don. And zif zee wil knowe the lettres, that the Jewes usen, as thei clepem hem, in manner of here *A. B. C. Alephe, Bethe, Gymel, Delethe, He, Vau, Zay, Cy, Thet, Joht, Kapho, Lampd, Mem, Num, Samethe, Ey, Fhee, Sade, Cophe, Resch, Son, Tau.*

---

* Blow away.

Of the Province of Galilee, and where Antecrist schalle be born. Of Nazarethe. Of the Age of oure Lady. Of the Day of Doom; and of the Customes of Jacobites, Surryenes; and of the Usages of Georgyenes.

Chap. IX.

FRom this contree of the Samaritanes, that I have spoken of before, gon men to the playnes of Galilee. And men leven the hilles, on that o partye. And Galilee is on of the provynces of the Holy Lond: and in that provynce is the cytee of Naym and Capharnaum and Chorosaym and Bethsayde. In this Bethseyde was Seynt Petre and Seynt Andrew borne. And thens, a 4 myle, is Chorosaym: and 5 myle fro Chorosaym, is the cytee of Cedar, where of the psautre spekethe: *Et habitavi cum habitantibus Cedar;* that is for to seye, *And I have dwelled with the dwellynge men in Cedar.* In Chorosaym schalle Antecrist be born, as sum men seyn; and other men seyn, he schalle be born in Babyloyne: for the prophete seyth; *De Babilonia Coluber exiet, qui totum mundum devorabit;* that is to seyne, *Out of Babiloyne schal come a worm, that schal devouren alle the world.* This Antecrist schal be norysscht in Bethsayda, and he schal regne in Capharnaum: and therfore seythe Holy Writt: *Ve tibi, Chorasaym: ve tibi, Bethsayda: ve tibi, Capharnaum;* that is to seye, *Wo be to the, Chorosaym; wo to the, Bethsayda: wo to the, Capharnaum.* And alle theise townes ben in the lond of Galilee. And also, the cane of Galilee is 4 myle fro Nazarethe: of that cytee was Simon Chananeus, and his wif Canee; of the whiche the holy evaungelist spekethe off: there dide oure Lord the first myracle at the wedyng, whan he turned water in to wyn. And in the ende of Galilee, at the hilles, was the arke of God taken; and on that other syde is the Mownt Hender or Hermon. And there aboute gothe the Broke of Cison: and there besyde, Barache, that was Abymeleche sone, with Delbore the prophetisse, overcam the Oost of Ydumea, whan Cysera the kyng was slayn of Gebelle, the wif of Aber; and chaced bezonde the Flom Jordan, be strengthe of sword, Zeb and Zebee and Salmana; and there he slowghe him. Also a 5 myle fro Naym, is the cytee of Jezreel, that sometyme was clept Zarym; of the which cytee Jexabel the cursed queen was lady and queen, that toke awey the vyne of Nabaothe, be hire strengthe. Faste by that cytee, is the Feld Magede, in the whiche the Kyng Joras was slayn of the Kyng of Samarie, and aftre was translated and buryed in the Mount Syon. And a myle fro Jezrael ben the Hilles of Gelboe, where Saul and Jonathas that weren so faire, dyeden: wherfore David cursed hem, as holy writt seythe; *Montes Gelboe, nec Ros nec Pluvia, &c.*; that is to seye, *Zee hilles of Gelboe, nouther Dew ne Reyn com upon zou.* And a myle fro the hilles of Gelboe, toward the est, is the cytee of Cyrople, that was clept before Bethsayn. And upon the walles of that cytee was the hed of Saul honged.

After gon men be the hille, besyde the pleynes of Galylee, unto Nazarethe, where was wont to ben a gret cytee and a fair: but now there is not, but a lytille village, and houses a brood here and there. And it is not walled; and it sytt in a litille valeye, and there ben hilles alle aboute. There was our lady born: but sche was goten at Jerusalem. And be cause that oure lady was born at Nazarethe, therefore bare our Lord his surname of that town. There toke Josephe our lady to wyf, when sche was 14 zeere of age: and there Gabrielle grette our lady, seyenge, *Ave Gratia plena, Dominus tecum*; that is to seyne, *Heyl fulle of Grace, oure Lord is with the.* And this Salutacioun was don in a place of a gret awteer of a faire chirche, that was wont to be somtyme: but it is now alle downe: and men han made a litylle resceyt, besyde a pylere of that chirche, for to resceyve the offrynges of Pilgrymes. And the Sarrazines kepen that place fulle derely, for the profyte that thei han there offe: and thei ben fulle wykked Sarrazines and cruelle, and more dispytous than in ony other place, and han destroyed alle the chirches. There nyghe is Gabrielles Welle, where oure Lord was wont to bathe Him, whan He was zong: and fro that welle bare he watre often tyme to his modre: and in that well sche wossche often tyme the clowtes of hire sone Jesu Crist. And fro Jerusalem unto thidre, is 3 journeyes. At Nazarathe was our Lord norisscht. Nazarethe is als meche to seye, as flour of the gardyn: and be gode skylle may it ben clept flour; for there was norisscht the flour of lyf, that was Crist Jesu. And 2 myle fro Nazarethe, is the cytee of Sephor, be the weye, that gothe from Nazerethe to Acon. And an half myle fro Nazarethe, is the lepe of oure Lorde: for the Jewes ladden him upon an highe roche, for to make him lepe doun, and have slayn him: but Jesu passed amonges hem, and lepte upon another roche; and zit ben the steppes of his feet sene in the roche, where he allyghte. And therfore seyn sum men, whan thei dreden hem of thefes, on ony weye, or of enemyes; *Jesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat;* that is to seyne, *Jesus forsothe passynge be the myddss of hem, he wente:* in tokene and mynde, that oure Lord passed thorghe out the Jewes crueltee, and scaped safly fro hem: so surely mowe men passen the perile of thefes. And than sey men 2 vers of the psautre, 3 sithes: *Irruat super eos formido et pavor, in magnitudine Brachii tui, Domine. Fiant inmobiles, quasi Lapis, donec pertranseat populus tuus, Domine; donec pertranseat populus tuus iste, quem possedisti.* And thanne may men passe with outen perile. And zee schulle undirstonde, that oure lady hadde child, whan sche was 15 zeere old: and sche was conversant with hire sone 33 zeer and 3 monethes. And aftre the passioun of oure Lord, sche lyvede 24 zeer.

Also fro Nazarethe, men gon to the Mount Thabor; and that is a 4 myle: and it is a fulle faire hille, and well highe, where was wont to ben a toun and many chirches; but thei ben alle destroyed; but zit there is a place, that men clepen the scole of God, where he was wont to teche his disciples, and tolde hem the prevytees of hevene. And at the foot of that hille, Melchisedeche, that was Kyng of Salem, in the turnynge of that hille, mette Abraham in comynge azen from the bataylle, whan he had slayn Abymeleche: and this Melchisedeche was bothe kyng and prest of Salem, that now is cleped Jerusalem. In that hille Thabor, oure Lord transfigured him before seynt Petre, seynt John and seynt Jame; and there they sawghe gostly Moyses and Elye the prophetes besyde hem: and therefore seyde seynt Petre, *Domine, bonum est nos hic esse; faciamus tria Tabernacula;* that is to seye, *Lorde, it is gode for us to ben here; make we here* 3 *dwellyng places.* And there herd thei a voys of the fadir, that seye, *Hic est filius meus* *dilectus, in quo mihi bene complacui.* And oure Lord defended hem that thei scholde not telle that avisioun, til that he were rysen from dethe to lyf. In that hille and in that same place, at the day of doom, 4 aungeles, with 4 trompes, schulle blowen and reysen alle men, that hadden suffred dethe, sithe that the world was formed, from dethe to lyve; and schulle comen in body and soule in juggement; before the face of oure Lord, in the Vale of Josaphate. And the doom schalle ben on Estre Day, suche tyme as oure Lord aroos: and the dom schalle begynne, suche houre as oure Lord descended to helle and dispoyled it: for at such houre schal he dispoyle the world, and lede his chosene to blisse; and the othere schalle be condempne to perpetuelle peynes: and thanne schalle every man have aftir his dissert, outher gode or evylle; but zif the mercy of God passe his rightewisnesse.

Also a myle from Mount Thabor, is the Mount Heremon; and there was the cytee of Naym. Before the zate of that cytee, reysed oure Lord the wydewes sone, that had no mo children. Also 3 myle fro Nazarethe, is the Castelle Saffra; of the whiche, the sones of Zebedee and the sones of Alphee weren. Also a 7 myle fro Nazarethe, is the Mount Kayn; and undre that is a welle, and besyde that welle, Lameche Noees fadre sloughe Kaym with an arwe. For this Kaym wente thorghe breres and busshes, as a wylde best; and he had lyved fro the tyme of Adam his fadir, unto the tyme of Noe; and so he lyvede nyghe to 2000 zeer. And this Lameche was alle blynd for elde.

Fro Saffra, men gothe to the see of Galylee and to the cytee of Tyberye, that sytt upon the same see. And alle be it, that men clepen it a see, zit is it nouther see ne arm of the see: for it is but a stank of fresche watir, that is in lengthe 100 furlonges; and of brede 40 furlonges; and hathe with in him gret plentee of fissche, and rennethe in to Flom Jordan. The cytee is not fulle gret, but it hathe gode bathes with in him. And there, as the Flom Jordan partethe fro the see of Galilee, is a gret brigge, where men passen from the lond of promyssioun, to the lond of Baazan and the lond of Gerrasentz, that ben about the Flom Jordan, and the begynnynge of the see of Tyberie. And fro thens may men go to Damask, in 3 dayes, be the kyngdom of Traconye; the whiche kyngdom lastethe fro mount Heremon to the see of Galilee, or to the see of Tyberie, or to the see of Jenazarethe; and alle is o see, and this the stank that I have told zou; but it chaungethe thus the name, for the names of the cytees that sytten besyde hem. Upon that see, went oure Lord drye feet; and there he toke up seynt Peter, when he began to drenche with in the see, and seyde to him, *Modice Fidei, quare dubitasti?* And aftre his resurrexioun, oure Lord appered on that see, to his disciples, and bad hem fyssche, and filled alle the nett fulle of gret fisshes. In that see rowed oure Lord often tyme; and there he called to him, seynt Peter, seynt Andrew, seynt James and seynt John, the sones of Zebedee. In that cytee of Tyberie, is the table, upon the whiche oure Lord eete upon, with his disciples, aftre his resurrexioun; and thei knewen him in brekynge of bred, as the gospelle seythe; *Et cognoverunt eum in fractione Panis.* And nyghe that cytee of Tyberie, is the hille, where oure Lord fedde 5 thousand persones, with 5 barly loves and 2 fisshes. In that cytee, a man cast an brennynge dart in wratthe aftir oure Lord, and the hed smot in to the eerthe, and wax grene, and it growed to a gret tree; and zit it growethe, and the bark there of is alle lyk coles. Also in the hed of that See of Galilee, toward the Septemtryon, is a strong castelle and an highe, that highte Saphor: and fast besyde it, is Capharnaum: with in the lond of Promyssioun, is not so strong a castelle: and there is a gode toun benethe, that is clept also Saphor. In that castel, seynt Anne our ladyes modre was born. And there benethe was Centurioes hous. That contree is clept the Galilee of Folk, that weren taken to tribute of Sabulon, and of Neptalym. And in azen comynge fro that castelle, a 30 myle, is the cytee of Dan, that somtyme was clept Belynas, or Cesaire Philippon, that sytt at the foot of the Mount of Lyban, where the Flom Jordan begynnethe. There begynnethe the lond of Promyssioun, and durethe unto Bersabee, in lengthe, in goynge toward the northe in to the southe; and it conteynethe well a 180 myles: and of brede, that is to seye, fro Jericho unto Jaffe, and that conteynethe a 40 myle of Lombardye, or of our contree, that ben also lytylle myles. Theise ben not myles of Gascoyne, ne of the provynce of Almayne, where ben gret myles. And wite zee welle, that the lond of Promyssioun is in Sirye. For the reme of Sirye durethe fro the desertes of Arabye, unto Cecyle, and that is Ermonye the grete, that is to seyne, fro the southe to the northe: and fro the est to the west, it durethe fro the grete desertes of Arabye unto the West See. But in the reme of Syrie, is the kyngdom of Judee, and many other provynces, as Palestyne, Galilee, litylle Cilicye, and many othere. In that contree and other contrees bezonde, thei han a custom, whan thei schulle usen werre, and whan men holden sege abouten cytee or castelle, and thei with innen dur not senden out messagers with lettres, from lord to lord, for to aske sokour, thei maken here letters and bynden hem to the nekke of a colver, and leten the colver flee ; and the colveren ben so taughte, that thei fleen with tho lettres to the verry place, that men wolde sende hem to. For the colveres ben norysscht in tho places, where thei ben sent to ; and thei senden hem thus, for to beren here lettres. And the colveres retournen azen, where as thei ben norisscht ; and so thei don comounly.

MANDEVILLE'S VOYAGES

Secunda pars.

CAPVT 24.

Persuasio ad non credentes terrarum diuersitates per orben terræ.

MIrabilis Deus mirabilia propter semetipsum creauit, vt scilicet ab intellectualibus creaturis suis intelligeretur, et per hoc diligeretur, atque in hoc ipse creator, et creatura se mutuo fruerentur. Mirabilis est ergo Deus maximè in illo, quòd ipse solus sufficit sibi: et mirabilis in altis Dominus, hoc est, in cœlo et in cœlestibus: sed et mirabilis in terris, et in terrestribus: tamen si verum indicauerimus, nihil est mirabile, quod mirum videri non debet, si ille qui omnipotens est, fecit quæcunque voluit in cœlo et in terra. Sed ecce dum nobis contingit videre rem quam priùs non vidimus, miratur noster animus, non quòd simpliciter mirum est, sed quod nobis id mirum et nouum. Deus vnus, simplex quidem est, vt creaturæ cœlestes quò Deo magis de propinquo sunt eò simpliciores existunt. Terrestres autem quòd in situ remotiori sint, idcircò magis diuersæ, magis contrariæ inter se sunt.

Ergo quicunque sapiens est non stupet animo, dum in terrenis respicit res varias, et diuersas, vel dum diuersa contingunt, seu inueniuntur in partibus terræ diuersis: sed qui intellectum super sensum non eleuant, et magis credunt oculo suo corporeo, quàm spirituali, et qui nunquam à natiuitatis suæ loco recesserunt, isti vix volunt credere, seu possunt alijs vera narrantibus de mundi diuersitatibus.

Reprehensio incredulorum qui nihil credunt, nisi quod domi viderint.

Attamen tales, si vellent, de facili videre possint suum errorem. Quia quicunque natus in vna ciuitate, vel patria, si tantummodo moueat se ad proximam ciuitatem, inueniet ibi procul dubio aliquam differentiam, vel diuersitatem in idiomate linguæ, vel in modo loquendi, in moribus hominum, in occupationibus, in legibus, in consuetudinibus, vel etiam in agrorum fructibus, in arborum frugibus, seu in his quae gignuntur in terra, in aere, et in aquis.

Si ergo aliqualiter inueniri possit differentia in proximo, quanto maior sit distantia, tanto maior differentia æstimandi est in remoto, vel in remotiori, seu remotissimo loco. Vnde ego, quia in præcedente parte tractatus narrare cœpi aliqua, quæ in his, et in peregrinatione mea vsque in terram promissionis sanctam vidi, de quibus etiam potest, et poterit constare multis, qui in partibus nostris eadem peregrinatione me præcesserunt, et secuti sunt, procedam in describendo aliqua illorum, quæ vidi et percepi in deambulatione mea, qua peragraui multas alias terras, et perlegi multas vndas, vsque in multorum hoc tempus annorum, et propter insipientes, et discredentes non tacebo. Sed nec propter credentes nec sapientes satis mouebor; tamen vt diuersa Dei opera qui respicere non possunt oculo, saltem legant, vel audiant ex hoc scripto. Pauca vtique vidi horum quæ sunt, sed pauca horum quæ vidi, narrabo.

CAPVT. 25.

De Armenia, Persia, et Amazonia.

DE regionibus quæ Iudeæ contiguantur, scilicet Arabia, Aegypto et Syria, statui modicum vltra narrare, relinquens hunc locum narrandi alijs peregrinis. Et festinans ad terras remotiores, Armeniam minorem, non per singulas ciuitates, sed celeriter transiens, vidi à remotis amplum castrum vocatum Dei espoyer, de quo mihi sustinui dici, quod sit vastum, et à nemine, habitatum, nisi à fantastica quadam Domina, seruante in medio maioris aulæ super perticam, volucrem rapacem, quæ dicitur Latinè accipiter, vel huiusmodi: quam auem, si aliquis hominum ingrediens se custodire peruigil absq; vlla somnolentia per septem continuos dies et noctes posset, ipsa Domina in fine facti apparens concederet illi quantamcunque faceret petitionem terræ, commodi, vel honoris, sed si obdormiret, periret. Huic tamen dicto parùm curaui accommodare aurem, nisi quod communiter dicebatur, in bene transacto tempore prædicta fuisse tentata per duas personas, vnum Regem, et alterum Pastorem. Et Regi quidem quod indebitam fecit petitionem, vile successit negotium, pastori peroptimè successit negotium.

In Armenia maiori, est magna et bona ciuitas Artyron ad dietam prope fluuium Euphratem. Et sunt ibi duo montes euecti valdè, vnus Sabissatele, alter Ararath, quorum vltimus habet per anfractus, et periodos per ascensum viæ, ferè 7. leucas, et quasi omni tempore est plenus niue.

In illo loco fertur quieuisse Arca diluuij, cuius vnicus asser monstratur, in Ecclesia Monachorum ad montis pedem habitantium; attamem nullus hominum pro frigore nimio attentare præsumit ascensum.

Est autem et ibi ciuitas Landania, de qua nonnulli dicunt quòd Noe illam fundauerat, et ciuitas magna Hany, in qua tempore Christianorum mille habebantur Ecclesiæ.

In illa Armenia sub Imperio Persiæ est famosa ciuitas Tauris, vbi de mercimonijs ponderalibus fit inestimabilis mercatura. Hinc ad decem diates ad Orientem habetur ciuitas Zadona, in ea Imperator Persarum moratur, et est in eodem imperio ciuitas valdè magna Cassach, quæ recto itinere dicitur store ab Hierosolymis 55. dietis. Geth ciuitas imperialis, et melior totius Persiæ in hac terra noscitur esse, cùm tamen Carnaa sit satis maior.

Circa fines Persiæ in terra Sennaar, est illa quae olim dicebatur Babylonia, nec apparet ibi aliquid, quàm ruinæ grandis et vetustæ cuitatis, quæ ab hominibus est deserta, sed à Draconibus iuhabitata, et alijs animalibus, et volucribus venenosis. Hanc terram tenet Imperator Persarum, vt suprà dixi. Etiam intra fines Persiæ, est terra, vbi sanctus Iob patiens morabatur, quæ modò dicitur terra Sues, in cuius montanis inuenitur Manna, quod venditur in Apothecis. Hunc terræ Sues contiguatur Chaldæa, quæ non est magna, quamuis nobilis regio habeatur. Et ab ista intratur Amazonia.

Amazonia est modica insula, quam absque viris solæ regunt et inhabitant mulieres; cuius rei prima causa hæc fuit.

Olim cum insula communiter a viris, et mulieribus habitabatur, Rex eius dictus Colopius cum omnibus nobilibus suis in bello contra Regnum Scithiæ occisus fuit. Audientes igitur nobilium vxores ipsius insulæ se viduatas, super his, in doloroso furore animi ad plures congressiones occiderunt et fugauerunt omnes aliarum mulierum maritos, ne scilicet sua ingenuitas subiaceret voluntati, et potestati plebis. Et tandem post reformatam inter se pacem mulieres inito consilio statuerunt se solas absque viris dominari in terra, atque ex tunc sumi sibi regimen per certam electionis formam quæ robusta, agilis, sapiens, iuuenis, ac valens apparet in armis.

Sciendum tamen est, extra hanc insulam flumen esse, et alias modicas insulas, quarum vna dicitur Carmagite, de quibus licitum est ijs accessire viros, et amasios bis in anno, ita vt nulla moram trahat septem dierum naturalium sub pœna indubitata occisionis. Infantem masculum nutrire licet quoadusq; per se comedat et gradiatur, tunc transmittendus est in domum paternam. Generosæ natæ puellæ aufertur ignito cultro vber sinistrum pro scuto gerendo, degeneri dextrum, ad sagittandum de arcu Turco.

Regina cum consiliaribus et officialibus suis regit sapienter et benè terram, et seruat omnes sibi sub districta obedientia, per leges, et pœnas, et amendas conscriptas. Et cùm circumiacentium insularum Reges contra se ad inuicem prœliari solent, tunc Regina Amazoniæ cum suis Nobilibus ab vna parte pro magno stipendio vocari solet in adiutorium, vbi et inuentæ sunt sapientes in consilijs, probæ in armis, acres in conflictibus, et in omnibus Curiæ actibus bene valentes.

CAPVT. 26.

De Aethiopia, et Diamantibus, et de infima India.

Mauritania.

Regnum Saba.

Plinius.

Aethiopia consistit à terra Chaldeorum in Austrum, quæ distinguitur in Orientalem Aethiopiam, and Meridionalem, quarum prima in illis partibus vocatur Cush, propter hominum nigredinem, altera Mauritania. Et est ibi Regnum Saba, de quo legitur, quod Regi Salomoni Regis Arabum, et Saba, dona et tributa adduxerunt. Eòque Regina Saba venit à finibus, hoc est, à longinquis terræ partibus audire sapientiam Salomonis. Omnes in Aethiopia aquæ in fluuijs et riparijs, et fontibus sapiunt Sal, propter nimium calorem. Est ibi vnus aquæ fons ita de nocte calidus, vt nemo in eo sustineat manum, et ita de die frigidus, vt bibi vix possit.

Generaliter isti de Mauritania Aethiopes comedunt parum, de facili inebriantur, fluxum ventris patiuntur nec diu viuunt.

India triplex.

De Aethiopia intratur in Indiam mediam, nam triplex est videlicet infima, quæ in quibusdam suis partibus est nimis frigida ad inhabitandum: Media quæ satis temperata est, et superior, quæ nimis calida. In India infima propter continuum et graue frigus generatur christallum de aqua per gelu, sicut quidam asserunt. Sed certum est ibi haberi rupes christalli, et in illis gigni optimos Diamantes, quos lingua illius vocant Hamefht.

Est autem diamas paruus præciosus lapis, magnæ virtutis, sicut pleniùs describitur in lapidariis. Quidam inueniuntur in magnitudine pisi, vel etiam piso minores: alii ad quantitatem fabæ, sed nullus maior auellana, vel nuce. Et dicitur de eo in partibus illis quod si hic qui portat sit continens, et sobrius reddit illum magnanimum et audacem, et iuuat in causis iustis certantem, conseruat substantias corporales, aufert praua somnia, depellit prauorum spirituum illusiones, sortilegia, et incantationes, ac valet contra lunaticam passionem, et dæmonis obsessionem, et venenosum quod illi appropinquauerit exsudat, et exhumescit.

Optimi Diamantes de India assimulantur in colore multùm christallo, sed sunt aliquantulum magis citrini, et pro sui duritie poliri non possunt. Inueniuntur autem ibi nonnulli subnigri ad colorem violæ: Alii nascuntur in Arabia nigri, et tenuiores prædictis, alii in Macedonia, et quidam in Cypro, sed in mineriis auri, dum prima massa in minutias confringitur, interdum reperiuntur. Sciendum enim est, sæpè plures simul crescere, nec non generant, et concipiunt inuicem de rore cœli, quemadmodum et Margaritæ: quod ego pluries tentans, accepi de rupe cespitem cum diamante masculo, et femella, plantans in pratello, et frequentans, focillans madefeci de rore Maii. Et ecce in breui, paruulus ex iis gignebatur, nascebatur, et adolescebat ad debitam quantitatem: fiunt verò omnes per naturam cum pluribus angulis vt trium vel quatuor, aut quinque laterum, et nonnulli cum lateribus senis. E contra omnes margaritæ nascuntur in forma sphærica, seu rotunda.

Et notandum quòd mercatores, pro diamantibus, frequenter aliud vendunt: Nam solet commixtio fieri de christallo Crochee, de Saphiro, de Lonpes Citrino, de lapide Yri, et de paruis petris ex murium nidis. Probatio veri diamantis haberi potest his modis.

Primò si ita inuenitur tener, vt se poliri dimittat, non est verus.

Item si de eo non potest scindi vitrum cristallum, non est verus.

Item accipe paruum quantitatis lapidem Adamantem, qui solet sibi attrahere acum et ferrum, et pone verum diamantem, super adamantem, túncque si ministraueris adamanti acum, videbis adamantem operari nihil, vero diamante præsente, dum tamen adamas non sit diamante maior.

Item si cultellum laminæ tenuis, habentem in manubrio inclusum vel alligatum verum diamantem in mensa vel assere erexeris, protinus vt ipsi venenum appropinquabit, stabit tremulans atque sudans. Et notandum, quòd per luxuriosum, seu gulosum qui ferret diamantem amitteret virtutem ad tempus.

Terra Indiæ appellatur ab Indo ibi currente fluuio, cuius anguillæ inueniuntur quandoque vltra 20. pedes in longitudine. In media India transitur per multas insulas vsque ad mare Oceanum, in insulam Ormuz, vbi Mercatores Venetiæ sæpè tendunt, sed viri, qui assueti non sunt tantum sustinere calorem, ne exeant perpendicula de corporibus propè ad genua, ibi se contra hoc debitè inuoluunt, et ligant, nec audent ibi transire nauibus ferrum continentibus, ne teneantur de rupibus adamantum.

Hic in aliquibus Aethiopiæ partibus habitant publicè, inhonestorum vtriusque sexus hominum consuetudinem inhonestam gerentes, et in æstu meridiano refrigerandi causa exeunt circa ciuitatem ad riparias iacere, et discurrere nudis prorsus corporibus omni pudore reiecto, ex quo procul dubio inhonesta vitia sequuntur.

Est et non longè ab ista insula regio seu insula Caua vel Chaua, quæ à primo statu multùm est minorata per mare. Hi sunt infidelissimi Paganorum. Nam quidam adorant Solem, alij Lunam, ignem, aquam, et terram, arborem, vel serpentem, vel cui de mane primò obuiant. Ibi magni mures, quos nos dicimus rattas, sunt in quantitate paruorum canum. Et quoniam per cattos capi non possunt, capiuntur per canes maiores.

Corpora mortuorum non sepeliuntur ibi, nec cadauera quælibet bestiarum operiuntur, quòd ad aeris æstum carnes in breui tempore consumuntur, nam et tota insula consistit sub zona torrida. Inde transiri potest per mare in Indiam superiorem, siue maiorem videlicet Imperium Presbyteri Ioannis ad portum ciuitatis Zarke, quæ est elegans et bona satis. In ea habitant plurimi Catholicæ fidei Christiani: et habentur plurimæ Abbatiæ religiosorum, quas olim Dux Danorum Ogerus constituit, vnde et vsque nunc dicuntur Ecclesiæ Dani, atque ex hoc nauigari potest in terram Lombe.

CAPVT. 27.

De foresto Piperis, et fonte iuuentutis.

REgio seu insula dicta Lombe, spatiosa quidem est, continens forestum dictum aliàs Tombar, longum per dietas 18. In orbe vniuerso non noscimus crescere piper, præterquàm in hoc foresto. In quo et habetur duæ ciuitates, vna Flandrina, (et illa ciuitas inhabitata est à Iudæis, et Christianis, inter quos sæpè magna seditio oritur) altera Singlant: quas quondam Danus fertur fundasse Ogerus, vocans vnam Flandrinam, nomine auiæ suæ ex parte patris sui, alteram Florentam nomine auiæ ex parte matris suæ, quae mutato nomine nunc vocatur Singlant.

Sciendum est autem, piper ibi crescere in hunc modum: sicut nos plantamus vites aut quercus arbores robustas, vt vitis cum fructibus se spargat, vt supportetur per ramos, sic coluntur arbusta piperis ad arbores foresti, et sparguntur per ramos, et dependent fructus vt botri. Et venit in eodem arbusto triplex piper in anno.

Primum est quod vocatur longum piper, et venit priusquam nascuntur folia in arbustis, quemadmodùm nos in arbore videmus corylo in hyeme ante folia præcedere quasdam caudulas longas, quo circa initium vindemiato, nascuntur cum folijs botri piperis viridis ad similitudinem paruarum vuarum. Quod quidem circa tempus Iulii in eadem viriditate vindemiatum in æstu feruido siccatur ad Solem, vt accipiat nigredinem, et rugarum contractionem.

Posteà exurgit piper album in granis minoribus, et in abundantia satis minori, quo tanquam preciosiori vtuntur in partibus illis et raròvendunt ad partes istas.

Primum piper appellatur Sorbotyn, secundum Fulful, tertium verò Bauos.

Sunt autem per nemus istud fera animalia, et venenosa, sicut parui serpentes, colubri, et huiusmodi, de quibus nescio quis famam diffundit per nostras partes, quod vindemiatores piperis tales vermes fugant per ignem: sed non est ita, imò vngunt brachia, manus, tibias, et pedes cum quodam succo herbæ dictæ Limonse, à quo cito diffugit omne venenum.

In huius foresti capite sub monte Polembo, est ciuitas dicta Bolemba, et sub eodem monte fons qui dicitur Iuuentutis. Aqua huius fontis reddit odorem, et saporem quasi de omni genere aromatum, nam singulis penè horis immutat odorem, et saporem. Et quisquis per aliquos dies potat ieiuno stomacho sanatur in breui tempore, à quacunque interiori infirmitate, languore duntaxat mortis excepto: et sanè illorum qui propè sunt, et frequenter bibunt apparet per totum vitæ tempus mira iuuentus. Ego autem ter vel quater bibi, quamobrem et vsque hodiè arbitror potius me corporaliter valere. Putatur enim fons ille immediatè per poros subterraneos eliquari de fonte paradisi terrestris, ita quòd nulla via decurrentium super terram fluentium vitietur. In ista etiam regione, et in insulis circumquaque crescit gingiber valdè bonum, vnde et mercatores sæpè ibi tendunt de Venetia pro emendo pipere et gingibere. Gentes verò huius insulæ peruersæ et stollidissimæ sunt superstitionis adorantes bouem tanquam animal beatissimum, propter eius simplicitatem mansuetudinem, patientiam, et vtilitatem.

Multitudo cuiuslibet ciuitatis vel uillæ vnum specialem nutrit bouem, quem postquam laborauit in aratro per sex annos immolant manducantes pariter cum maxima solemnitate, Et quicunque inde minimam minutiam comedit, reputat se sanctificatum totum.

Porro apud Regem tenetur bos singularis, cuius custos diligentissimè vrinam in uase aureo accipit simpliciter, et de fimo in vase consimili: et quotidie venit summus eorum prælatus, quem dicunt Archiprotoplaustum, offert personaliter in prædictis preciosis vasis, Domino Regi de bouis vrina et fimo, atque in vrina, quam appellant Gaul, tingens manus, defricit, et perungit Regis pectus et frontem, deinde similiter de fimo in multa cordis attentione, ad finem vt possint assequi quatuor virtutes bouis præfati.

Post regem cum reuerentia accedunt, et vnguntur Barones, principes, et post ipsos cæteri ordinati quicúnque attingere possint, putantes se sanctificari per rem penitus non valentem, imo nimis fœtidam, et inhostem.

Præterea populi isti colunt Idola facta ad medium in forma humana, et ad medium in forma bouis. In quibus permissione Dei per eorum perfidiam maligni spiritus habitant dantes de interrogatis responsa. Et hijs Idolis offerunt infinita donari aquandoq ;, et sacrificant interdum proprios infantes, ipsorum sanguine Idola respergentes.

Dum hic maritus moritur, vxor comburitur cum marito, nisi de illo habeat sobolem cum quo viuere solet, et vilet. Quæ sibi eligit cum prole superuiuere, non habebitur de cætero fide digna.

Attamen in simili causa, si vir non vult cremari cum vxore mortua, non minuit ei honorem.

Et forte vinum nascitur ibi: quod mulieres bibunt, et non viri, vt sic mulieribus crescant barbæ, sed mulieribus raduntur, et viris minime.

Capvt. 28.

De Ecclesia et corpore Sancti Thomæ Apostoli.

HInc Meridiem pluribus exactis Insulis per viam decem dietarum venitur in Regnum Mabron. Illic in ciuitate Calamiæ, seruatur in magno templo corpus beatissimi Thomæ Apostoli Domini nostri Iesu Christi in capsa honorificata. In quo loco et martirizatus fuit, licet dicunt quidam, quod in Edissa ciuitate. Iste populus non est multum tempus transactum, quin fuit totus in fidei religione, sed nunc est ad pessimos Gentilium ritus peruersus, nec attendit, nec veneratur relliquias sancti corporis Apostoli ibidem contentas, quamuis ijs euidens, ac vtile, et mirificum præstare solebat beneficium, quod infra narrabo.

Per certas historias habetur Ducem Danorum Ogerum conquisiuisse has terras, et in exaltatione sanctarum Apostoli relliquiarum fecisse fieri præfatam spectactilem Ecclesiam, ac intra, eum reponi in nobilissimo loculo gemmis, auro, argentoque decenter ornato Sanctum corpus, ac deinde post annorum tempus trecentorum Assyrios abstulisse feretrum cum ipso corpore sancto in Edissam ciuitatem Mesopotamiæ, in qua et fuit martyrizatus secundum quosdam, rursumq; post sexaginta et tres annos recuperatum corpus in suam fuisse Ecclesiam restitutum, videlicet in Calamia, atque in eiusdem recuperationis signum certum dimiserunt isti, et dimittunt extra feretri loculum dependere brachium dextrum, cum manu quæ tetigisse creditur pia resurgentis vulnera Christi.

Eadem quoque manus solet vsque hodie suæ veræ pœnitentiæ tale manifestere miraculum vt dum partes quælibet litigantes velint vtræqne suas causas iuramento confirmare, conscriptis hinc inde causis ponantur ambæ cartulæ in Apostili manu. Quæ cuntis* exeuntibus Ecclesiam, protinus sub vnius horæ tempore reiecta longius falsitate, veritatem sibi reseruat: sed nunc sicut dicere cœpi isti populi huic beneficio Dei ingrati, et diabolica illusione excæcati mirabiliter paganizant.

Nam et in hac ipsa beati Thomæ Ecclesia statuerunt multa miræ magnitudinis simulachra, ex quibus vnum quod maius est multo alijs apparet sedens homo in alto solio adoperto aureis sericis, et lapidibus præciosis, habensque ad collum suspensa pro ornatu multa cinctoria præciose gemmis, et auro contexta. Ad hoc autem Idolum adorandum confluunt peregrini à remotis partibus, et propinquis, in satis maiori copia, et valdè feruentiori deuotione quàm Christiani, ad sanctum Iacobum in Galizia quia multi eorum per totum peregrinationis iter, non audent erigere palpebras oculorum, ne forte propter hoc deuotio intermittatur.

---

* Interea dum exirent, Monachi suos dolos potuerunt exercere.

Alij de propè venientes superaddunt labori itinerandi, vt ad tertium vel ad quartum passum semper cadant in genibus. Nonnulli quoque demoniaca inspiratione semetipsos per viam peregrinationis lanceolis, et cultellis nunc minoribus, nunc maioribus sauciant vulneribus per singula corporis loca, et dum ante Idolum perueniunt, excisum frustum de carne propria proijciunt ad Idolum pro offerenda, ac plagis durioribus se castigant, et quandoque spontaneè penitus se occidunt: in solemnitatibus verò, sicut in dedicatione, et sicut in thronizatione simulachrorum, fit conuentis populi, quasi totius Regni. Et ducitur cum processione maius Idolum per circuitum ciuitatis, in curru preciosissimo, modis omnibus perornato, et præcedunt in numero magno puellæ cantantes binæ, et binæ ordinatissimè, succeditque pluralitas Musicorum cum instrumentis varijs simphonizantes, quos continuè subsequitur currus, cuius lateribus coniungit se peregrinorum exercitus, qui et venerunt de remotis.

Ibique cernitur miserabilis actus vltra modum. Nam aliqui victi vltrà modum diabolica deuotione proijciunt se sub rotis currus præcedentis, vt frangantur sibi crura, brachia, latera, dorsa, nec non et colla in reuerentiam Dei sui (vt dicunt) a quo remunerationem sperant, venire ad Paradisum terrestrem.

Et post processionem postquam statuerunt Idolum in templo suo loco, multiplicatur coram simulachris numerus sæpè plangentium, et occidenti umvltrà quam credi sit facile. Ita quod quandoque in illa vnica solemnitate inueniuntur ducenta corpora, vel plura occisorum. Et asdtantes propinqui amici talium diaboli martyrum, cum magna musicorum melodia decantantes in sua lingua offerunt Idolis corpora ac demum accenso rogo omnia corpora comburunt in honorem Idolorum, assumentes sibi singuli aliquid de ossibus aut cineribus pro reliquiis, quas putant sibi valituras contra quælibet infortunia, et tempestates. Et habetur ante templum aquæ lacus, velut seruatorium piscium, in quo proijcit populus largissimè suas oblationes, argentum, aurum, gemmas, cyphos, et similia, quibus ministri certis temporibus exhibentes prouident Ecclesiæ, ac simulachro, ac sibi ipsis abundantèr. Quoddam fabulosum scriptum exiuit per partes nostras, quod in prædicta processione circumferatur cumpheretro corpus beati Thomæ, qui et in fine processionis populo com-populo communicaret proprijsmanibus de Eucharistiæ sacramento, sed non est ita, et nunquam fuit.

CAPVT. 29.

De Iaua, et quibusdam alijs meridionalibus Insulis, et de farina, melle et piscibus Ogeri Ducis Danorum.

INde vlterius procedendo in Austrum per multas et mirabiles terras quinquaginta duarum diaetarum spacio, habetur magna Insula Lamori. Illic omnes nudi incedunt, et ferè omnia sunt singulis communia, nec vtuntur priuatis clauibus siue seris, imo et omnes mulieres sunt communes omnibus et singulis viris, dummodo violentia non inferatur: sed et peior est ijs consuetudo, quod libentèr comedunt teneras carnes humanas; vnde et negotiatores adferunt eis crassos infantes venales: quod si non satis pingues afferuntur, eos saginant sicut nos vitulum, siue porcum.

Hic apparet in bona altitudine polus Antarcticus, et incipit modò apparere in alta Lybia, ita quod in alta Æthiopia eleuatur octodecim gradibus, prout ipse probaui Astrolabio.

Ad meridiem terræ Lamori est Insula bona, Sumebor, cuius gentes reputant se nobiliores alijs, signantes se in facie certo caûterio. Isti semper guerras gerunt contra praefatus gentes nudas de Lamory.

Ad modicam inde destantiam habetur Insula Rotonigo abundans in bonis pluribus: sed et in Austrum sequuntur aliæ plures regiones et Insulæ, de quibus prolixum narrare fuisset.

Et est valde grandis regio Iaua, habens in circuitu ambitum leucarum duarum millium. Huius rex est valdè potens, et imperans septem insularum vicinarum regibus. Terra ista est populosa valdè, et crescunt in ea species, et abundantia gingiberis, canella, gariofoli, nuces muscatæ, et mastix, cum aromatibus multis. Sed et quod ibi nascatur vinum, non habent: aurum et argentum est ibi in copia immensa, quòd patet in regis Iauæ palatio, cuius palatij nobilitas non est facilè scribenda.

Cuncti gradus ascendentes ad palatij aulas, et aularum cameras, et ad thalamos Camerarum sunt solidi de argento vel auro, sed et omnis stratura pauimentorum in alijs habetur ad similitudinem scacarij, vnam quadratam argenti, alteram auri, laminis valdè crassis, et in ipsis pauimentis, sunt exsculpta gesta, et historiæ diuersæ. In principali verò aula, est plenariè expressa Dani Ducis Ogeri historia, à natiuitate ipsius, quousque in Franciam fantasticè dicatur reuersus, cum tempore Caroli magni regis Franciæ, ipse Ogerus armata manu conquisiuit Christianitati ferè omnes partes transmarinas à Ierosolymis vsque ad arbores solis et Lunæ, ac propè paradisum terrestrem.

Pro hac Regione Iaua, (quæ tangit fines Imperij Tartariæ) sibi subiuganda, Imperator Grand Can multoties pugnauit, sed nunquam valuit expugnare. Hinc per mare venitur ad regnum Thalamassæ,* quòd et Panchon † dicitur, in quo habetur magnus numerus bonarum ciuitatum. Intra hanc Insulam, quatuor sunt genera arborum, de quarum vna accipitur farina ad panem, de secunda mel, de tertia vinum, et de quarta pessimum venenum. Extrahitur autem farina de suis arboribus isto modo.

Certo tempore anni percutitur stipes arboris vndique propè terram cum securi, et cortex in locis pluribus vulneratur, de quibus recipitur liquor spissus, qui desiccatus ad solis æstum et contritus reddit farinam albam, ac si de frumento esset confectus, attamen hic panis non est triticei saporis, sed alterius valdè boni.

Simili modo de suis arboribus mel elicitur, et vinum liquitur: excepto quod illa non sicut gramina prima desiccantur. Fertur quoque ibidem, extractionem huius farinæ, mellis, et vini, per Angelum primitus fuisse ostensam praedicto Danorum Duci, illic fame cum suo exercitu laboranti. Contra venenum quod de quarto arboris genere stillat, solum est intoxicato remedium, vt de proprio fimo per puram aquam distemperato bibat.

Et est in hac Insula quoddam mare mortuum, velut lacus fœtidus, cuius in plerísq: locis fundus humano ingenio non valet attingi: miræ magnitudinis arundines crescunt super hunc lacum, in altitudine cedrorum aut abietum pedum ducentorum, ita vt viginti socij mecum nequiuimus vnius caput iacentis arundinis subleuare de terra. Minores etiam arundines nascuntur ad fluuii ripam, habentes in terra radices longitudinis trecentorum cubitorum aut plurium, Ad quarum nodos radicum, inueniuntur gemmæ preciosæ, de quibus expertum est, siquis vnam habuerit in pugno suo, ferrum corpori suo non nocebit: vnde si quis ibi pugnans, petat aduersarium, ac inimicum hac gemma munitum aggreditur eum cum fustibus non ferratis.

---

* Vel Tholomassi. † Vel Paten.

De hac intratur in Insulam Calanoch,* magnam et refertam bonorum omnium. Rex eius potens est multum, et licitum est ei, quandocunque, et quibuslibet in regno vti mulieribus, de quibus interdum magnum numerum tenet puerorum. Mille quadringentos habere solet ad praeliandum elephantes, quos sibi nutriunt villani per regnum. Elephantes vocant verkes.

*Vel Alcnak.

In littore maris miraculosè veniunt ibi semel in anno, per tres continuos dies, quasi de omni genere piscium marinorum, in maxima abundantia: et praebent se omnibus liberè capiendos ad manum. Nam et ego ipse cepi quamplures. Vnde notandum, quod eodem tempore anni quo super dicta extrahitur farina, mel, et vinum, conueniunt in hoc isti pisces: qua ambo mirabilia fecit vno tempore Deus olim producere suo Ogero, quæ et in memoria illius, vsque nunc, singulis annis innouantur.

Et sunt in hoc territorio testudines terribilis quantitatis, fitque de maioribus Regi ac nobilibus delicatus ac preciosus cibus: mentior, si non quasdam ibidem viderim testudinum conchas, in quarum vna se tres homines occultarent, suntque omnes multum albi coloris.

Si hic vir vxoratus moritur, sepelitur et vxor vna cum eo, quatenus, sicut ibi credunt, habeant eam statim sociam in seculo altero.

The English version.

And zee schulle undirstonde, that amonges the Sarazines, o part and other, duellen many Cristene men, of many maneres and dyverse names; and alle ben baptized, and han dyverse lawes and dyverse customes: but alle beleven in God the Fadir and the Sone and the Holy Gost: but alle weys fayle thei, in somme articles of oure feythe. Some of theise ben clept Jacobytes: for seynt Jame converted hem, and seynt John baptized hem. They seyn, that a man schal maken his confessioun only to God, and not to a man: for only to Him, scholde man zelden him gylty of alle, that he hathe mys don. Ne God ordeyned not, ne never devysed, ne the prophete nouther, that a man scholde schryven him to another, (as thei seyn) but only to God: as Moyses writethe in the Bible, and as David seythe in the Psawtre boke; *Confitebor tibi, Domine, in toto Corde meo:* and, *Delictum meum tibi*

cognitum feci: and, *Deus meus es tu, et confitebor tibi;* and, *Quoniam cogitatio hominis confitebitur tibi;* &c. For thei knowen alle the bible, and the psautere: and therfore allegge thei so the lettre: but thei alleggen not the aucthoritees thus in Latyn, but in here langage, fulle appertely; and seyn wel, that David and othere prophetes seyn it. Natheles seynt Austyn and seynt Gregory seyn thus: Augustinus; *Qui scelera sua cogitat, et conversus fuerit, veniam sibi credat.* Gregorious; *Dominus potius mentem quam verba respicit.* And seynt Hillary seythe; *Longorum temporum crimina, in ictu Oculi pereunt, si Cordis nata fuerit compunctio.* And for suche auctoritees, thei seyn, that only to God schalle a man knouleche his defautes, zeldynge him self gylty, and cryenge him mercy, and behotynge to him to amende him self. And therfore whan thei wil schryven hem, thei taken fyre, and sette it besyde hem, and casten therin poudre of frank encens; and in the smoke therof, thei schryven hem to God, and cryen him mercy. But sothe it is, that this confessioun was first and kyndely: but seynt Petre the apostle, and thei that camen aftre him, han ordeynd to make here confessioun to man; and be gode resoun: for thei perceyveden wel, that no syknesse was curable, by gode medycyne to leye therto, but zif men knewen the nature of the maladye. And also no man may zeven covenable medicyne, but zif he knowe the qualitee of the dede. For o synne may be grettere in o man than in another, and in o place and in o tyme than in another: and therfore it behovethe him, that he knowe the kynde of the dede, and thereupon to zeven him penance.

There ben othere, that ben clept Surienes; and thei holden the beleeve amonges us, and of hem of Grece. And thei usen alle berdes, as men of Grece don: and thei make the sacrament of therf bred: and in here langage, thei usen lettres of Sarrazines; but aftre the misterie of Holy chirche, thei usen lettres of Grece; and thei maken here confessioun, right as the Jacobytes don.

There ben othere, that men clepen Georgyenes, that seynt George converted; and him thei worschipen, more than ony other seynt; and to him thei cryen for help: and thei camen out of the reme of George. Theise folk usen crounes schaven. The clerkes han rounde crounes, and the lewed men han crownes alle square: and thei holden Cristene lawe, as don thei of Grece; of whom I have spoken of before.

Othere there ben, that men clepen Cristene men of Gyrdynge: for thei ben alle gyrt aboven. And ther ben othere, that men clepen Nestoryenes; and summe Arryenes, sume Nubyenes, sume of Grees, sume of Ynde, and sume of Prestre Johnes Lond. And alle theise han manye articles of oure feythe, and to othere thei ben varyaunt. And of here variance, were to longe to telle; and so I wil leve, as for the tyme, with outen more spekynge of hem.

Of the Cytee of Damasce. Of 3 Weyes to Jerusalem; on be Londe and be See; another more be Londe than be See; and the thridde Weye to Jerusalem, alle be Londe.

Chap. XI.

NOw aftre that I have told zou sum partye of folk, in the contrees before, now wille I turnen azen to my weye, for to turnen azen to this half. Thanne whoso wil go fro the lond of Galilee, of that that I have spoke, for to come azen on this half, men comen azen be Damasce, that is a fulle fayre cytee, and fulle noble, and fulle of alle merchandises, and a 3 journeyes long fro the see, and a 5 journeyes fro Jerusalem. But upon camaylles,mules, hors, dromedaries and other bestes, men caryen here merciandise thidre: and thidre comethe marchauntes with merchandise be see, from Yndee, Persee, Caldee, Ermonye, and of manye othere kyngdomes. This cytee founded Helizeus Damascus, that was Zoman and Despenser of Abraham, before that Ysaac was born: for he thoughte for to have ben Abrahames heir: and he named the toun aftre his surname Damasce. And in that place, where Damasc was founded, Kaym sloughe Abel his brother. And besyde Damasc is the Mount Seyr. In that cytee of Damasce, ther is gret plentee of welles: and with in the cytee and with oute, ben many fayre gardynes, and of dyverse frutes. Non other citee is not lyche in comparisoun to it, of faire gardynes, and of faire desportes. The cytee is gret and fulle of peple, and wel walled with double walles. And there ben manye phisicyens. And seint Poul him self was there a physicyen, for to kepen mennes bodies in hele, before he was converted: and aftre that, he was phisicien of soules. And seynt Luke the Evaungelist was Disciple of seynt Poul, for to lerne phisik; and many othere. For seynt Poul held thanne scole of phisik. And neere besyde Damascee, was he converted: and aftre his conversioun, he duelte in that cytee 3 dayes, with outen sight, and with outen mete or drinke. And in tho 3 dayes he was ravisscht to hevene, and there he saughe many prevytees of oure Lord. And faste besyde Damascee, is the Castelle of Arkes, that is bothe fair and strong. From Damasce, men comen azen, be oure Lady of Sardenak, that is a 5 myle on this half Damasce; and it is sytt upon a roche, and it is a fulle faire place, and it semethe a castelle; for there was wont to ben a castelle; but it is now a fulle faire chirche. And there with inne, ben monkes and nonnes Cristene. And there is a vowt, undre the chirche, where that Cristene men duellen also: and thei han many gode vynes. And in the chirche, behynde the high awtere, in the walle, is a table of black wode, on the whiche somtyme was depeynted an ymage of oure Lady, that turnethe into flesche; but now the ymage schewethe but litille: but evermore thorewe the grace of God that table droppeth as hyt were of olyve. And there is a vessel of marbre, undre the table, to resseyve the oyle, thare of thay yeven unto pylgrymes: for it heleth of many sykenesses. And he that kepeth it clanly a yere, aftre that yere, hyt turneth yn to flesche and bloode.

By twyne the cytee of Darke and the cytee of Raphane, ys a ryvere, that men clepen Sabatorye. For on the Saturday, hyt renneth faste; and alle the wooke elles, hyt stondeth stylle, and renneth nouzt or lytel. And there ys a nother ryvere, that upon the nyzt freseth wondur faste; and uppon the day, ys noon frost sene. And so gon men by a cytee, that men clepen Beruche. And thare men gon un to the see, that schal goon un to Cypre. And thay aryve at Porte de Sure or of Tyrye; and than un to Cypre. Or elles men mowen gon from the Porte of Tyrye ryzt welle, and com not yn to Cypre; and aryve at som haven of Grece; and thanne comen men un to theis countrees, by weyes, that I have spoken of by fore.

Now have I tolde you of wayes, by the whyche men gon ferrest and longest; as by Babyloyne and Mounte Synay and other places many, thorewe the whyche londes, men turne azen to the lande of promyssyoun. Now wul y telle the ryzt way to Jerusalem. For som men wyl nouzt passe hyt, som for thay have nouzt despence of hem, for they have noon companye, and other many causes reasonables. And thare fore I telle you schorttely, how a man may goon with lytel costage and schortte tyme. A man that cometh from the londes of the weste, he goth thorewe Fraunce, Borgoyne and Lumbardye, and to Venys and to Geen, or to som other havene of the marches, and taketh a schyppe thare, and gon by see to the Isle of Gryffle; and so aryveth hem yn Grece or in Port Myroche or Valon or Duras, or at som other havene, and gon to londe, for to reste hem ; and gon ayen to the see, and aryves in Cypre ; and cometh nouzt yn the Ile of Roodes ; and aryves at Famegoste, that ys the chefe havene of Cypre, or elles at Lamatoun. And thenne ynto the schyp ayen, and by syde the havene of Tyre, and come nouzt to lande ; and so passeth he by alle the havens of that coast, un til he come to Jaffe, that ys the neyest haven unto Jerusalem : for it is seven and twenty myle. And from Jaffe men goon to the cytee of Rames : and that ys but lytel thenne, and hyt is a fayre cytee. And by syde Rames, ys a fayre churche of oure Lady, whare oure Lord schewede hym to oure Lady, in thys lykenesse, that he tokeneth the Trynyte. And thare fast by, ys a churche of Seynt George, whare that hys heed was smyten of. And thanne un to the Castel Emaus ; and thanne un to Mounte Joye : and from thenne, pylgrymes mowen fyrste se un to Jerusalem. And thanne un to Mount Modeyn : and thanne unto Jerusalem. And at the Mount Modeyn lythe the prophete Machabee. And overe Ramatha, ys the town of Douke ; where of Amos the goude prophete was.

A nother way. For alse moche as many men ne may not suffre the savour of the see, but hadden lever to gon by londe, they that hyt be more payne ; a man schal soo goon un to on of the havenes of Lumbardye, als Venys or an other : and he schal passe yn to Grece, thorwe Port Moroche, or an other, and so he schal gon un to Constantynople. And he achal so passe the wature, that ys cleped the Brace of Seynt George, that ys an arm of the see. And from thens he schal cum un to Pulveralle ; and sythen un to the Castelle of Cynople. And from thens schal he gon unto Capadose, that ys a grete countree, whare that ben many grete hylles. And he schal gon thorewe Turkye, and unto the cytee of Nyke, the whyche they wonne from the Emperoure of Constantynople. And hyt is a fayre cytee, and wounder wel walled : and thare ys a ryvere, that men clepen the laye : and thare men goon by the Alpes of Aryoprynant, and by the Valez of Mallebrynez, and eke the Vale of Ernax ; and so un to Anthyoche the lesse, that sytteth on the Ryehay. And there aboute ben many goude hylles and fayre, and many fayre woodes, and eke wylde beestes.

And he that wylle goon by an other way, he mote goon by the playnes of Romayne, costynge the Romayne see. Uppon that cost, ys a woundur fayre castelle, that men clepen Florathe. And whanne that a man ys oute of that ylke hylles, men passen thenne thorewe a cytee, that ys called Maryoche and Arteyse, whare that ys a grete brygge upon a ryvere of Ferne, that men clepen Fassar: and hyt ys a grete ryvere, berynge schyppes. And by syde the cytee of Damas, ys a ryvere that cometh from the mounteyne of Lybane, that men hyt callen Albane. Atte passynge of this ryvere, seynt Eustache loste hys two sones, whanne that he hadde lost hys wyffe. And yt gooth thorewe the playne of Arthadoe; and so un to the Reed See. And so men moten goon un to the cytee of phenne, and so un to the cytee of Ferne. And Antyoche ys a ful fayre cytee and wel walled. For hyt ys two myle longe and eche pylere of the brygge thare ys a goud toure. And thys ys the beest cytee of the kyngdom of Surrye. And from Antyoche, men moten so forth goon un to the cytee of Lacuthe; and thanne un to Geble; and thanne un tyl Tourtous: and thare by ys the lande of Cambre, whare that ys a stronge castelle, that men clepen Maubeke. And from Tourtouse men goon un to Thryple, uppon the see. And uppon the see, men goon unto Deres; and thare ben two weyes un to Jerusalem: Uppon the lyfte way, men goon fyrst un to Damas, by Flome Jordane: uppon the ryzt syde, men goon thorewe the lande of Flagam, and so un to the cytee of Cayphas: of the whiche Cayphas was Lord: and som clepeth hyt the castelle Pellerynez: And from thens ys foure dayes journeyes un to Jerusalem: and they goon thorewe Cesarye Phylyppum and Jaffe and Ramys and Emaux, and so unto Jerusalem.

Now have I told yow som of the wayes, by the land, and eke by water, how that men mowen goon unto Jerusalem: they that hyt be so, that there been many other wayes, that men goon by, aftur countrees, that thay comen fram, nevere the lasse they turne alle un tylle an ende. Yet is thare a way, alle by lande, un to Jerusalem, and pass noon see; that ys from Fraunce or Flaundres: but that way ys fulle lange and perylous, of grete travayle; and thare fore fewe goon that ylke way. And who so gooth that, he mote goon thorewe Almayn and Pruys; and so un to Tartarye. This Tartarye ys holden of the great Chan, of whom y schal speke more afterwarde. For thydur lasteth hys Lordschup. And the Lordes of Tartarye yeldeth unto the grete Chan trybute. Thys ys a ful ille lande, and a sondye, and wel lytel fruyt beryng. For thare groweth lytel goude of corne or wyn, ne benes ne pese: but beestes ben thare y nowe, and that ful grete plente. And thare ete thay nought but flesche with outen brede; and thay soupe the brothe there of: and also thay drynke the mylk. And alle manere of wylde beestes they eten, houndes, cattes, ratouns, and alle othere wylde bestes. And thei have no wode, or elle lytylle. And therfore thei warmen and sethen here mete with hors dong and cow dong, and of other bestes dryed azenst the sonne. And princes and othere eten not, but ones in the day; and that but lytille. And thei ben righte foule folk and of evyl kynde. And in somer, be alle the contrees, fallen many tempestes and many hydouse thondres and leytes, and slen meche peple and bestes also, fulle often tyme. And sodeynly is there passynge hete, and sodeynly also passynge cold. And it is the foulest contree, and the most cursed, and the porest, that men knowen. And here prince, that governethe that contree, that thei clepen Batho, duellethe at the cytee of Orda. And treuly no gode man scholde not duellen in that contre. For the lond and the contree is not worthi houndes to dwelle inne. It were a gode contree to sowen inne thristelle and breres and broom and thornes; and for no other thing is it not good. Natheless there is gode londe in sum place; but it is pure litille, as men seyn. I have not ben in that contree, ne be tho weyes: but I have ben at other londes, that marchen to tho contrees; and in the lond of Russye, and in the lond of Nyflan, and in the reme of Crako, and of Letto, and in the reme of Daresten, and in manye other places, that marchen to the costes: but I wente never be that weye to Jerusalem; wherfore I may not wel telle zou the manere. But zif this matiere plese to ony worthi man, that hathe gon be that weye, he may telle it, zif him lyke; to that entent, that tho that wole go by that weye, and maken here viage be tho costes, mowen knowen what weye is there. For no man may passe be that weye godely, but in time of wyntir, for the perilous watres, and wykkede mareyes that ben in tho contrees; that no man may passe, but zif it be strong frost, and snowe aboven. For zif the snow ne were, men myght not gon upon the yse, ne hors ne carre nouther. And it is wel a 3 journeys of suche weye, to passe from Prusse to the lond of Sarazin habitable. And it behovethe to the Cristene men, that schulle werre azen hem every zeer, to bere here vitaylles with hem: for thei schulle fynde there no good. And than most thei let carye here vitaylle upon the yse, with carres that have no wheeles, that thei clepen sleyes. And als longe as here vitaylles lasten, thei may abide there, but no longer. For there schulle they fynde no wight that will selle hem ony vitaille or ony thing. And whan the spyes seen ony Cristene men comen upon hem, thei rennen to the townes, and cryen with a lowd voys, Kerra, Kerra, Kerra; and than anon thei armen hem and assemblen hem to gydere.

And zee schulle undirstonde, that it fresethe more strongly in tho contrees than on this half; and therefore hathe every man stewes in his hous, and in tho stewes thei eten and don here occupatiouns, alle that they may. For that is at the northe parties, that men clepen the septentrionelle, where it is alle only cold. For the sonne is but lytille or non toward tho contreyes: and therefore in the Septentryon, that is verry northe, is the lond so cold, that no man may duelle there: and in the contrarye, toward the southe, it is so hoot, that no man ne may duelle there: because that the sonne, whan he is upon the southe, castethe his bemes alle streghte upon that partye.

Of the Customes of Sarasines, and of hire Lawe; and how the Soudan arresond me, Auctour of this Book. And of the begynnynge of Machomete.

Cap. XII.

NOw because that I have spoken of Sarazines and of here contree, now zif zee wil knowe a party of here lawe and of here beleve, I schalle telle zou, aftre that here book, that is clept Alkaron, tellethe. And sum men clepen that book Meshaf: and sum men clepen it Harme, aftre the dyverse langages of the contree. The whiche book Machamete toke hem. In the whiche boke, among other thinges, is written, as I have often tyme seen and radd, that the gode schulle gon to paradys, and the evele to helle: and that beleven alle Sarrazines. And zif a man aske hem, what paradys thei menen; thei seyn, to paradys, that is a place of delytes, where men schulle fynde alle maner of frutes, in alle cesouns, and ryveres rennynge of mylk and hony, and of wyn, and of swete watre; and that thei schulle have faire houses and noble, every man aftre his dissert, made of precyous stones, and of gold, and of sylver; and that every man schalle have 80 wyfes, alle maydenes; and he schalle have ado every day with hem, and zit he schalle fynden hem alle weys maydenes. Also thei beleeven and speken gladly of the Virgine Marie and of the Incarnacioun. And thei seyn, that Marye was taughte of the angel; and that Gabrielle seyde to hire, that sche was forchosen from the begynnynge of the world; and that he schewed to hire the incarnacioun of Jesu Crist; and that sche conceyved and bare child, mayden: and that wytnessethe here boke. And they seyn also, that Jesu Crist spak als sone as he was born; and that he was an holy prophete and a trewe, in woord and dede, and meke and pytous and rightefulle and with outen ony vyce. And thei seyn also, that whan the angel schewed the Incarnacioun of Crist unto Marie, sche was zong, and had gret drede. For there was thanne an enchantour in the contree, that deled with wycche craft, that men clepten Taknia, that be his enchauntementes cowde make him in lyknesse of an angel, and wente often tymes and lay with maydenes: and therfore Marie dredde, lest it hadde ben Taknia, that cam for to desceyve the maydenes. And therfore sche conjured the angel, that he scholde telle hire, zif it were he or no. And the angel answerde and seyde, that sche scholde have no drede of him: for he was verry messager of Jesu Crist. Also here book seythe, that whan that sche had childed undre a palme tree, sche had gret schame, that sche hadde a child; and sche grette, and seyde, that sche wolde that sche hadde ben ded. And anon the child spak to hire and comforted hire, and seyde, Modir, ne dismaye the noughte; for God hathe hidd in the his prevytees, for the salvacioun of the world. And in othere many places seythe here Alkaron, that Jesu Crist spak als sone as he was born. And that book seythe also, that Jesu was sent from God alle myghty, for to ben myrour and ensample and tokne to alle men. And the Alkaron seythe also of the day of doom, how God schal come to deme alle maner of folk; and the gode he schalle drawen on his syde, and putte hem into blisse; and the wykkede he schal condempne to the peynes of helle. And amonges alle prophetes, Jesu was the most excellent and the moste worthi, next God; and that he made the Gospelles, in the whiche is gode doctryne and helefulle, fulle of charitee and sothefastnesse, and trewe prechinge to hem that beleeven in God; and that he was a verry prophete, and more than a prophete; and lyved withouten synne, and zaf syghte to the blynde, and helede the lepres, and reysed dede men, and steyghe to hevene. And whan thei mowe holden the boke of the Gospelles of oure Lord written, and namely, *Missus est Angelus Gabriel;* that Gospel thei seyn, tho that ben lettred, often tymes in here orisouns, and thei kissen it and worschipen it, with gret devocioun. Thei fasten an hool monethe in the zeer, and eten noughte but be nyghte, and thei kepen hem fro here wyfes alle that monethe: but the seke men be not constreyned to that fast. Also this book spekethe of Jewes; and seythe, that thei ben cursed; for thei wolde not beleven, that Jesu Crist was comen of God; and that thei lyeden falsely on Marie and on hire sone Jesu Crist, seyenge that thei hadden crucyfyed Jesu the sone of Marie: for he was nevere crucyfyed, as thei seyn; but that God made him to stye up to him with outen dethe, and with outen anoye: but he transfigured his lyknesse into Judas Scariothe, and him crucyfyden the Jewes, and wenden that it had ben Jesus: but Jesus steyge to hevenes alle quyk; and therfore thei seyn, that the Cristene men erren and han no gode knowleche of this, and that thei beleeven folyly and falsly, that Jesu Crist was crucyfyed. And they seyn zit, that and he had ben crucyfyed, that God had don azen his rightewisnesse, for to suffre Jesu Crist, that was innocent, to ben put upon the Cros, with outen gylt. And in this article thei seyn, that wee faylen, and that the gret rightewisnesse of God ne myghte not suffre so gret a wrong. And in this, faylethe here feythe. For thei knoulechen wel, that the werkes of Jesu Crist ben gode, and his wordes and his dedes and his doctryne by his Gospelles, weren trewe, and his meracles also trewe; and the blessed Virgine Marie is good, and holy mayden, before and aftre the birthe of Jesu Crist; and that alle tho, that beleven perfitely in God, schul ben saved. And because that thei gon so nye oure feythe, thei ben lyghtly converted to Cristene lawe, whan men prechen hem and schewen hem distynctly the lawe of Jesu Crist, and tellen hem of the propheciyes. And also thei seyn, that thei knownen wel, be the propheciyes, that the lawe of Machomete schalle faylen, as the lawe of the Jewes dide; and that the lawe of Cristine peple schalle laste to the day of doom. And zif ony man aske hem, what is here beleeve; thei answeren thus, and in this forme, Wee beleven God formyour of hevene and of erthe and of alle othere things, that he made. And we beleven of the day of doom, and that every man schalle have his meryte, aftre he hathe disserved. And we beleve it for sothe, alle that God hathe seyd be the mouthes of his prophetes. Also Machomet commanded in his Alkaron, that every man scholde have 2 wyfes or 3 or 4; but now thei taken unto 9, and of lemmanes als manye as he may susteyne. And zif ony of here wyfes mys beren hem azenst hire husbonde, he may caste hire out of his house; and departe from him, and take another: but he schalle departe with hire his godes. Also whan men speken to hem, of the Fadre and of the Sone and of the Holy Gost, thei seyn, that thei ben 3 persones ; but not o God. For here Alkaron spekethe not of the Trynyte. But thei seyn wel, that God hathe speche, and elle where he dowmb ; and God hathe also a Spirit, thei knowen wel, for elle thei seyn, he were not in lyve. And whan men speken to hen of the Incarnacioun, how that be the word of the angel, God sente his wysdom in to erthe, and enumbred him in the Virgyne Marie : and be the Woord of God, schulle the dede ben reysed, at the day of doom ; thei seyn, that it is sothe, and that the Woord of God hathe gret strengthe. And thei seyn, that whoso knew not the Woord of God, he scholde not knowe God. And thei seyn also, that Jesu Crist is the Woord of God ; and so seythe here Alkaron, where it seythe, that the angel spak to Marie and seyde, Marie, God schalle preche the Gospel be the woord of his mowthe, and his name schalle be clept Jesu Crist. And thei seyn also, that Abraham was frend to God, and that Moyses was famileer spekere with God ; and Jesu Crist was the Woord and the Spirit of God ; and that Machomete was right messager of God. And thei seyn, that of theise 4, Jesu was the most worthi and the most excellent and the most gret ; so that thei han many gode articles of oure feythe, alle be it that thei have no parfite lawe and feythe, as Cristene men han ; and therfore ben thei lightly converted ; and namely, tho that undirstonden the Scriptures and the prophecyes. For thei han Gospelles and the prophecyes and the Byble, writen in here langage. Wherfore thei conne meche of Holy Wrytt, but thei undirstonde it not, but aftre the lettre : and so don the Jewes ; for thei undirstonde not the lettre gostly, but bodyly : and therfore ben thei repreved of the wise, that gostly understonden it. And therfore seythe seynt Poul ; *Litera occidit ; Spiritus vivificat.* Also the Sarazines seyn, that the Jewes ben cursed : for thei han defouled the lawe, that God sente hem be Moyses. And the Cristene ben cursed also, as thei seyn : for their kepen not the commandementes and the preceptes of the Gospelle, that Jesu Crist taughte hem. And therfore I schalle telle zou, what the Soudan tolde me upon a day, in his chambre. He leet voyden out of his chambre alle manner of men, lordes and othere : for he wolde speke with me in conseille. And there he askede me, how the Cristene men governed hem in oure contree. And I seyde him, righte wel : thonked be God. And he seyde me, treulyche, nay: for zee Cristene men ne recthen righte noghte how untrewly to serve God. Ze scholde zeven ensample to the lewed peple, for to do wel; and zee zeven hem ensample to don evylle. For the comownes, upon festyfulle dayes, whan thei scholden gon to chirche to serve God, than gon thei to tavernes, and ben there in glotony, alle the day and alle nyghte, and eten and drynken, as bestes that have no resoun, and wite not whan thei have y now. And also the Cristene men enforcen hem, in alle maneres that thei mowen, for to fighte, and for to desceyven that on that other. And there with alle thei ben so proude, that thei knowen not how to ben clothed; now long, now schort, now streyt, now large, now swerded, now daggered, and in alle manere gyses. Thei scholden ben symple, meke and trewe, and fulle of almes dede, as Jhesu was, in whom thei trowe: but thei ben alle the contrarie, and evere enclyned to the evylle, and to don evylle. And thei ben so coveytous, that for a lytylle sylver, thei sellen here doughtres, here sustres and here owne wyfes, to putten hem to leccherie. And on with drawethe the wif of another: and non of hem holdethe feythe to another: but thei defoulen here lawe, that Jhesu Crist betook hem to kepe, for here salvacioun. And thus for here synnes, han thei lost alle this lond, that wee holden. For, for hire synnes there God hathe taken hem in to oure hondes, noghte only be strengthe of our self, but for here synnes. For wee knowen wel in verry sothe, that whan zee serve God, God wil hepe zou: and whan he is with zou, no man may be azenst you. And that knowe we wel, be oure prophecyes, that Cristene men schulle wynnen azen this lond out of oure hondes, whan thei serven God more devoutly. But als longe als thei ben of foule and of unclene lyvynge, (as thei ben now) wee have no drede of hem, in no kynde: for here God wil not helpen hem in no wise. And than I asked him, how he knew the state of Cristene men. And he answered me, that he knew alle the state of the comounes also, be his messangeres, that he sente to alle londes, in manere as thei weren marchauntes of precyous stones, of clothes of gold and of othere things; for to knowen the manere of every contree amonges Cristene men. And than he leet clepe in alle the lordes, that he made voyden first out of his chambre; and there he schewed me 4, that weren grete lordes in the contree, that tolden me of my contree, and of many othere Cristene contrees, als wel as thei had ben of the same contree: and thei spak Frensche righte wel;

and the Sowdan also, where of I had gret marvaylle. Alas! that it is gret sclaundre to oure feythe and to oure lawe, whan folk that ben with outen lawe, schulle repreven us and undernemen us of oure synnes. And thei that scholden ben converted to Crist and to the lawe of Jhesu, be oure gode ensamples and be oure acceptable lif to God, and so converted to the lawe of Jhesu Crist, ben thorghe oure wykkednesse and evylle lyvynge, fer fro us and straungeres fro the holy and verry beleeve, schulle thus appelen us and holden us for wykkede lyveres and cursed. And treuly thei sey sothe. For the Sarazines ben gode and feythfulle. For thei kepen entierly the commaundement of the holy book Alkaron, that God sente hem be his messager Machomet; to the whiche, as thei seyne, seynt Gabrielle the aungel often tyme tolde the wille of God. And zee schulle undirstonde, that Machamote was born in Arabye, that was first a pore knave, that kept cameles, that wenten with marchantes for marchandize; and so befelle, that he wente with the marchandes in to Egipt: and thei weren than Cristene, in tho partyes. And at the desertes of Arabye, he wente in to a chapelle, where a Eremyte duelte. And when he entred in to the chapelle, that was but a lytille and a low thing, and had but a lityl dore and a low, than the entree began to wexe so gret and so large and so highe, as thoughe it had ben of a gret mynstre, or the zate of a paleys. And this was the firste myracle, the Sarazins seyn, that Machomete dide in his zouthe. Aftre began he for to wexe wyse and riche; and he was a gret astronomer: and aftre he was governour and prince of the lond of Cozrodane; and he governed it fully wisely, in suche manere, that whan the prince was ded, he toke the lady to wyfe, that highte Gadridge. And Machomete felle often in the grete sikenesse, that men callen the fallynge evylle: wherfore the lady was fulle sorry, that evere sche toke him to husbonde. But Machomete made hire to beleeve, that alle tymes, whan he felle so, Gabriel the angel cam for to speke with him; and for the gret lighte and brightnesse of the angelle, he myghte not susteyne him fro fallynge. And therfore the Sarazines seyn, that Gabriel cam often to speke with him. This Machomete regned in Arabye, the zeer of oure Lord Jhesu Crist 610; and was of the generacioun of Ysmael, that was Abrahames sone, that he gat upon Agar his chamberere. And therfere ther ben Sarazines, that ben clept Ismaelytenes; and summe Agaryenes, of Agar: and the othere propurly ben clept Sarrazines, of Sarra: and summe ben clept

Moabytes, and summe Amonytes; fro the 2 sones of Lothe, Moab and Amon, that he begat on his doughtres, that weren aftirward grete erthely princes. And also Machomete loved wel a gode heremyte, that duelled in the desertes, a myle fro Mount Synay, in the weye that men gon fro Arabye toward Caldee, and toward Ynde, o day journey fro the See, where the marchauntes of Yenyse comen often for marchandise. And so often wente Machomete to this heremyte, that alle his men weren wrothe: for he wolde gladly here this heremyte preche, and make his men wake alle nyghte: and therfore his men thoughten to putte the heremyte to dethe: and so it befelle upon a nyght, that Machomete was dronken of gode wyn, and he felle on slepe; and his men toke Machometes swerd out of his schethe, whils he slepte, and there with thei slowghe this heremyte: and putten his swerd alle blody in his schethe azen. And at morwe, whan he fond the heremyte ded, he was fulle sory and wrothe, and wolde have don his men to dethe: but they alle with on accord seyd, that he him self had slayn him, when he was dronken, and schewed him his swerd alle blody: and he trowed, that thei hadden seyd sothe. And than he cursed the wyn, and alle tho that drynken it. And therfore Sarrazines, that be devout, drynken nevere no wyn: but sume drynken it prevyly. For zif thei dronken it openly, thei scholde ben repreved. But thei drynken gode beverage and swete and norysshynge, that is made of galamelle: and that is that men maken sugar of, that is of righte gode savour: and it is gode for the breest. Also it befallethe sumtyme, that Cristene men becomen Sarazines, outher for povertee, or for symplenesse, or else for here owne wykkednesse. And therfore the archiflamyn or the flamyn, as oure erchebisshop or bisshopp, whan he receyvethe hem, seythe thus, *La ellec, Sila. Machomete rores alla*; that is to seye, *There is no God but on, and Machomete his messager.*

Of the Londes of Albanye, and of Libye. Of the Wisshinges, for Wacchinge of the Sperhauk; and of Noes Schippe.

Cap. XIII.

NOw sithe I have told zou beforn of the Holy Lond, and of that contree abouten, and of many weyes for to go to that lond, and to the Mount Synay, and of Babyloyne the more and the lesse, and to other places, that I have spoken beforn; now is tyme, zif it lyke zou, for to telle zou of the marches and iles, and dyverse bestes, and of dyverse folk bezond theise marches. For in tho contrees bezonden, ben many dyverse contrees, and many grete kyngdomes ; that ben departed be the 4 flodes, that comen from Paradys terrestre. For Mesopotayme and the Kyngdom of Caldee and Arabye, ben betwene the 2 ryveres of Tygre and of Eufrates. And the kyngdom of Mede and of Persye, ben betwene the ryveres of Nile and of Tigres. And the kyngdom of Syrie, where of I have spoken beforn, and Palestyne and Phenycie, ben betwene Eufrates and the See Medyterrane : the whiche see durethe in lengthe, fro Mayrok, upon the See of Spayne, unto the grete See ; so that it lastethe bezonde Costantynople 3040 myles of Lombardye. And toward the see occyan in Ynde, is the kyngdom of Shithie, that is alle closed with hilles. And aftre undre Schithie, and fro the See of Caspie, unto the Flom Thainy, is Amazoyne, that is the lond of femynye, where that no man is, but only alle wommen. And aftre is Albanye, a fulle grete reme. And it is clept Albanye, because the folk ben whitere there, than in other marches there abouten. And in that contree ben so gret houndes and so stronge, that thei assaylen lyouns, and sleu hem. And thanne aftre is Hircanye, Bactrye, Hiberye, and many other kyngdomes. And betwene the Rede See and the see occyan, toward the southe, is the kyngdom of Ethiope, and of Lybye the hyere. The which lond of Lybye, (that is to seyne Libye the lowe) that begynnethe at the See of Spayne, fro thens where the Pyleres of Hercules ben, and durethe unto aneyntes Egipt and towards Ethiope. In that contree of Libye, is the see more highe than the lond ; and it semethe that it wolde covere the erthe, and natheles zit it passethe not his markes. And men seen in that contre a mountayne, to the whiche no man comethe. In this lond of Libye, whoso turnethe toward the est, the schadewe of him self is on the right syde : and here in oure contree, the schadwe is on the left syde. In that See of Libye, is no fissche : for thei mowe not lyve ne dure, for the gret hete of the sonne ; because that the watre is evermore boyllynge, for the gret hete. And many othere londes there ben, that it were to long to tellen or to nombren : but of sum parties, I schal speke more pleynly here afrre.

Whoso wil thanne gon toward Tarterie, toward Persie, toward Caldee, and toward Ynde, he most entre the see, at Gene or at Venyse or at sum other havene, that I have told zou before. And than passe men the see, and arryven at Trapazond, that is a gode cytee; and it was wont to ben the havene of Pountz. There is the havene of persanes and of medaynes and of the marches there bezonde. In that cytee lythe Seynt Athanasie, that was Bisshopp of Alisandre, that made the Psalm *Quicunq; vult.* This Athanasius was a gret Doctour of Dyvynytee: and because that he preched and spak so depely of Dyvynytee and of the Godhede, he was accused to the Pope of Rome, that he was an Heretyk. Wherfore the Pope sente aftre hym, and putte him in presoun: and whils he was in presoun, he made that Psalm, and sente it to the Pope, and seyde: that zif he were an heretyk, that was that heresie; for that, he seyde, was his beleeve. And whan the Pope saughe it, and had examyned it, that it was parfite and gode, and verryly oure feythe and oure beleeve, he made him to ben delyvered out of presoun, and commanded that Psalm to ben seyd every day at Pryme: and so he held Athanasie a gode man. But he wolde nevere go to his bisshopriche azen, because that thei accused him of heresye. Trapazond was wont to ben holden of the Emperour of Costantynople: but a gret man, that he sente for to kepe the contree azenst the Turkes, usurped the lond, and helde it to himself, and cleped him Emperour of Trapazond.

And from thens, men gon thorghe litille Ermonye. And in that contree is an old castelle, that stont upon a roche, the whiche is cleped the Castelle of the Sparrehawk, that is bezonde the cytee of Layays, beside the town of Pharsipee, that belongethe to the lordschipe of Cruk; that is a riche lord and a gode Cristene man; where men fynden a sparchauk upon a perche righte fair, and righte wel made; and a fayre lady of fayrye, that kepethe it. And who that wil wake that sparhauk, 7 dayes and 7 nyghtes, and as sum men seyn, 3 dayes and 3 nyghtes, with outen companye, and with outen sleep, that faire lady schal zeven him, whan he hathe don, the first wyssche, that he wil wyssche, of erthely thinges: and that hathe been proved often tymes. And o tyme befelle, that a kyng of Ermonye, that was a worthi knyght and doughty man and a noble prince, woke that hauk som tyme: and at the ende of 7 dayes and 7 nyghtes, the lady cam to him, and bad him wisschen: for he had wel disserved it. And he answerde, that he was gret Lord y now, and wel in pees, and hadde y nowghe of worldly ricchesse: and therfore he wolde wisshe non other thing, but the body of that faire lady, to have it at his wille. And sche answerde him, that he knew not what he asked; and seyde, that he was a fool, to desire that he myghte not have: for sche seyde, that he scholde not aske, but erthely thing: for sche was non erthely thing, but a gostly thing. And the kyng seyde, that he ne wolde asken non other thing. And the lady answerde, sythe that I may not withdrawe zou fro zoure lewed corage, I schal zeve zou with outen wysschinge, and to alle hem that schulle com of zou. Sire kyng, zee schulle have werre withouten pees, and alle weys to the 9 degree, zee schulle ben in subjeccioun to zoure enemyes; and zee schulle ben nedy of alle godes. And nevere sithen, nouther the kyng of Ermoyne, ne the contree, weren never in pees, ne thei hadden never sithen plentee of godes; and thei han ben sithen alle weyes undre tribute of the Sarrazines. Also the sone of a pore man woke that hauke, and wissheḋ that he myghte cheve wel, and to ben happy to marchandise. And the lady graunted him. And he becaam the most riche and the most famouse marchaunt, that myghte ben on see or on erthe. And he becam so riche, that he knew not the 1000 part of that he hadde: and he was wysere, in wisschynge, than was the king. Also a knyght of the temple wooke there; and wyssched a purs evere more fulle of gold: and the lady graunted him. But sche seyde him, that he had asked the destruccioun of here ordre; for the trust and the affiance of that purs, and for the grete pryde, that they scholde haven: and so it was. And therfore loke, he kepe him wel, that schalle wake: for zif he slepe, he is lost, that nevere man schalle seen him more. This is not the righte weye for to go to the parties, that I have nempned before; but for to see the merveyle, that I have spoken of.

And therfore who so wil go right weye, men gon fro Trapazond toward Ermonye the gret, unto a cytee that is clept Artyroun, that was wont to ben a gode cytee and a plentyous; but the Turkes han gretly wasted it. There aboute growethe no wyn ne fruyt, but litylle or elle non. In this lond, is the erthe more highe than in ony other; and that makethe gret cold. And there ben many gode watres, and gode welles, that comen undre erthe, fro the flom of paradys, that is clept Eufrates, that is a jorneye besyde that cytee. And that ryvere comethe towardes Ynde, undre erthe, and restorethe into the lond of Altazar. And so passe men be this Ermonie, and entren the see of Persie. Fro that cytee of Artyroun go men to an hille, that is clept Sabissocolle. And there besyde is another hille, that men clepen Ararathe: but the Jewes clepen it Taneez; where Noes schipp rested, and zit is upon that montayne: and men may seen it a ferr, in cleer wedre: and that montayne is wel a 7 myle highe. And sum men seyn, that thei han seen and touched the schipp; and put here fyngeres in the parties, where the feend went out, whan that Noe seyde *Benedicite.* But thei that seyn suche wordes, seyn here wille: for a man may not gon up the montayne, for gret plentee of snow that is alle wayes on that montayne, nouther somer ne wynter: so that no man may gon up there; ne never man dide, sithe the tyme of Noe; saf a monk, that, be the grace of God, brought on of the plankes doun: that zit is in the mynstere, at the foot of the montayne. And besyde is the cytee of Dayne, that Noe founded. And faste by is the cytee of Any, in the whiche were 1000 chirches. But upon that montayne, to gon up, this monk had gret desire; and so upon a day, he wente up: and whan he was upward the 3 part of the montayne, he was so wery, that he myghte no ferthere, and so he rested him, and felle o slepe; and whan he awook, he fonde him self lyggynge at the foot of the montayne. And than he preyede devoutly to God, that he wolde vouche saf to suffre him gon up. And an angelle cam to him, and seyde, that he scholde gon up; and so he dide. And sithe that tyme never non. Wherfore men scholde not beleeve such woordes.

Fro that montayne go men to the cytee of Thauriso, that was wont to ben clept Taxis, that is a fulle fair cytee, and a gret, and on of the beste, that is in the world, for marchandise: and it is in the lond of the Emperour of Persie. And men seyn, that the Emperour takethe more gode, in that cytee, for custom of marchandise, than dothe the ricchest Cristene kyng of alle his reme, that livethe. For the tolle and the custom of his marchantes is with outen estymacioun to ben nombred. Beside that cytee, is a hille of salt; and of that salt, every man takethe what he will, for to salte with, to his nede. There duellen many Cristene men, undir tribute of Sarrazines. And fro that cytee, men passen be many townes and castelles, in goynge toward Ynde, unto the cytee of Sadonye, that is a 10 journeyes fro Thauriso; and it is a fulle noble cytee and a gret. And there duellethe the Emperour of Persie, in somer: for the contree is cold y now. And there ben gode ryveres, berynge schippes. Aftre go men the weye toward Ynde, be many iorneyes, and be many contreyes, unto the cytee, that is clept Cassak, that is a fulle noble cytee, and a plentyous of cornes and wynes, and of alle other godes. This is the cytee, where the 3 kynges metten to gedre, whan thei wenten to sechen oure Lord in Bethlem, to worschipe him, and to presente him with gold, ensence, and myrre. And it is from that cytee to Bethleem 53 iourneyes. Fro that cytee, men gon to another cytee, that is clept Bethe, that is a iourneye fro the see, that men clepen the gravely see. That is the best cytee, that the Emperour of Persie hathe, in alle his lond. And thei clepen it there Chardabago; and others clepen it Vapa. And the Paynemes seyn, that no Cristene man may not longe duelle, ne enduren with the lif, in that cytee: but dyen with in schort tyme; and no man knowethe not the cause. Aftre gon men, be many cytees and townes, and grete contrees, that it were to longe to telle, unto the cytee of Cornaa, that was wont to be so gret, that the walles abouten holden 25 myle aboute. The walles schewen zit: but it is not alle enhabited. From Cornaa, go men be many londes, and many cytees and townes, unto the lond of Job: and there endethe the lond of the Emperour of Persie.

Of the Lond of Job; and of his Age. Of the Aray of men of Caldee. Of the Lond where Wommen duellen, with outen companye of men. Of the knouleche and vertues of the verray Dyamant.

Chap. XIV.

AFtre the departynge fro Cornaa, men entren in to the lond of Job, that is a fulle faire contree, and a plentyous of alle godes. And men clepen that lond, the lond of Sweze. In that lond is the cytee of Theman. Job was a Payneem, and he was Are of Gosre his sone, and held that lond, as prynce of that contree; and he was so riche, that he knew not the hundred part of his godes. And alle thoughe he were a Payneem, natheless he served wel God, aftre his lawe: and oure Lord toke his service to his plesance. And whan he felle in poverte, he was 78 zeer of age. And aftre, whan God had preved his pacyence, and that it was so gret, he broughte him azen to richesse, and to hiere estate than he was before. And aftre that he was kyng of Ydumye, aftre Kyng Esau. And whan he was kyng, he was clept Jobab. And in that kyngdom, he lyvede aftre 170 zere: and so he was of age, whan he dyede, 248 zeer. In that lond of Job, there nys no defaute of no thing, that is nedefulle to mannes body. There ben hilles, where men getten gret plentee of manna, in gretter habundance, than in ony other contree. This manna is clept bred of aungelles; and it is a white thing, that is fulle swete and righte delicyous, and more swete than hony or sugre ; and it comethe of the dew of hevene that fallethe upon the herbes, in that contree ; and it congelethe and becomethe alle white and swete : and men putten it in medicynes for rich men, to make the wombe lax, and to purge evylle blood : for it clensethe the blode, and puttethe out malencolye. This lond of Job marchethe to the kyngdom of Caldee. This lond of Caldee is fulle gret : and the langage of that contree is more gret in sownynge, that it is in other parties bezonde the see. Men passen to go bezond, be the Tour of Babiloyne the grete : of the whiche I have told zou before, where that alle the langages weren first chaunged. And that is a 4 jorneyes fro Caldee. In that reme, ben faire men, and thei gon fulle nobely arrayed in clothes of gold, or frayed and apparayled with grete perles and precyous stones, fulle nobely : and the wommen ben righte foule and evylle arrayed ; and thei gon alle bare fote, and clothed in evylle garnementes, large and wyde, but thei ben schorte to the knees ; and longe sleves doun to the feet, lyche a monkes frokke ; and here sleves ben hongyng aboute here schuldres : and thei ben blake women, foule and hidouse ; and treuly as foule as thei ben, als evele thei ben. In that kyngdom of Caldee, in a cytee, that is cleped Hur, duelled Thare, Abrahames fadre : and there was Abraham born : and that was in that tyme, that Nunus was Kyng of Babiloyne, of Arabye and of Egypt. This Nunus made the cytee of Nynyvee, the whiche that Noe had begonne before : and be cause that Nunus performed it, he cleped it Nynyve, aftre his owne name. Ther lythe Thobye the prophete, of whom Holy Writt spekethe offe. And fro that cytee of Hur Abraham departed, be the commandement of God, fro thens, aftre the dethe of his fadre ; and ladde with him Sarra his wife and Lothe his brotheres sone, because that he hadde no child. And thei wenten to duelle in the lond of Chanaan, in a place, that is clept Sychem. And this Lothe was he, that was saved, whan Sodom and Gomorre and the othere cytees weren brent and sonken doun to helle ; where that the dede see is now, as I have told zou before. In that lond of Caldee, thei han here propre langages, and here propre lettres.

Besyde the lond of Caldee, is the lond of Amazoyne. And in that reme is alle wommen, and no man ; noght, as summe men seyn, that men mowe not lyve there, but for because that the wommen will not suffre no men amonges hem, to ben here

Sovereynes. For sum tyme, ther was a kyng in that contrey; and men maryed, as in other contreyes: and so befelle, that the kyng had werre, with hem of Sithie; the whiche kyng highte Colopeus, that was slayn in bataylle, and alle the gode blood of his reme. And whan the queen and alle the othere noble ladyes sawen, that thei weren alle wydewes, and that alle the rialle blood was lost, thei armed hem, and as creatures out of wytt, thei slowen alle the men of the contrey, that weren laft. For thei wolden, that alle the wommen weren wydewes, as the queen and thei weren. And fro that tyme hiderwardes, thei nevere wolden suffren man to dwelle amonges hem, lenger than 7 dayes and 7 nyghtes; ne that no child that were male, scholde duelle amonges hem, lenger than he were noryscht; and thanne sente to his fader. And whan thei wil have ony companye of man, than thei drawen hem towardes the londes marchynge next to hem: and than thei have loves, that usen hem; and thei duellen with hem an 8 dayes or 10; and thanne gon hom azen. And zif thei have ony knave child, thei kepen it a certeyn tyme, and than senden it to the fadir, whan he can gon allone, and eten be him self; or elle thei sleen it: and zif it be a femele, thei don away that on pappe, with an hote hiren: and zif it be a womman of gret lynage, thei don awey the left pappe, that thes may the better beren a scheeld: and zif it be a woman of symple blood, thei don awey the ryght pappe, for to scheeen with bowe Turkeys: for thei schote wel with bowes. In that lond thei have a Queen, that governethe alle that lond: and alle thei ben obeyssant to hire. And alweys thei maken here queen by eleccioun, that is most worthy in armes. For thei ben right gode werryoures, and wyse, noble and worthi. And thei gon often tyme in sowd, to help of other kynges in here werres, for gold and sylver, as othere sowdyoures don: and thei meyntenen hem self right vygouresly. This lond of Amazoyne is an Yle, alle environned with the see, saf in 2 places, where ben 2 entrees. And bezond that watir, duellen the men, that ben here paramoures and hire loves, where thei gon to solacen hem, whan thei wole. Besyde Amazoyne, is the lond of Tarmegyte, that is a gret contree and a fulle delectable: and for the godnesse of the contree, kyng Alisandre leet first make there the cytee of Alisandre; and zit he made 12 cytees of the same name: but that cytee is now clept Celsite. And fro that other cost of caldee, to ward the southe, is Ethiope, a gret contree, that strecchethe to the ende of Egypt. Ethiope is departed in 2 princypalle parties; and that is, in the est partie and in the meridionelle partie : the whiche partie meridionelle is clept Moretane. And the folk of that contree ben blake y now, and more blake than in the tother partie ; and thei ben clept Mowres. In that partie is a welle, that in the day it is so cold, that no man may drynke there offe ; and in the nyght it so hoot, that no man may suffre his hond there in. And bezonde that partie, toward the southe, to passe by the see occean, is a gret lond and a gret contrey : but men may not duelle there, for the fervent brennynge of the sonne ; so is it passynge hoot in that contrey. In Ethiope alle the ryveres and alle the watres ben trouble, and thei ben somdelle salte, for the gret hete that is there. And the folk of that contree ben lyghtly dronken, and han but litille appetyt to mete : and thei han comounly the flux of the wombe : and thei lyven not longe. In Ethiope ben manye dyverse folk : and Ethiope is clept Cusis. In that contree ben folk, that han but o foot : and thei gon so fast, that it is marvaylle : and the foot is so large, that it schadewethe alle the body azen the sonne, whanne thei wole lye and reste hem. In Ethiope, whan the children ben zonge and lytille, thei ben alle zelowe : and whan that thei wexen of age, that zalownesse turnethe to ben alle blak. In Ethiope is the cytee of Saba ; and the lond, of the whiche on of the 3 kynges, that presented oure Lord in Bethleem was kyng offe.

Fro Ethiope men gon to Ynde, be manye dyverse contreyes. And men clepen the highe Ynde, Emlak. And Ynde is devyded .in 3 princypalle parties ; that is, the more, that is a fulle hoot contree ; and Ynde the lesse, that is a fulle atempree contrey, that streccheth to the lond of Mede : and the 3 part toward the Septentrion, is fulle cold ; so that for pure cold and contynuelle frost, the watre becomethe cristalle. And upon tho roches of cristalle, growen the gode dyamandes, that ben of trouble colour. Zalow cristalle drawethe colour lyke oylle. And thei ben so harde, that no man may pollysche hem : and men clepen hem dyamandes in that contree, and Hamese in another contree. Othere dyamandes men fynden in Arabye, that ben not so gode ; and thei ben more broun and more tendre. And other dyamandes also men fynden in the ile of Cipre, that ben zit more tendre ; and hem men may wel pollische. And in the lond of Macedoyne men fynden dyamaundes also. But the beste and the most precyouse ben in Ynde. And men fynden many tymes harde dyamandes in a masse, that comethe out of Gold, whan men puren it and fynen it out of the myne; whan men breken that masse in smale peces. And sum tyme it happenethe, that men fynden summe as grete as a pese, and summe lasse; and thei ben als harde as tho of Ynde. And alle be it that men fynden gode dyamandes in Ynde, zit natheles men fynden hem more comounly upon the roches in the see, and upon hilles where the myne of gold is. And thei growen many to gedre, on lytille, another gret. And ther ben summe of the gretness of a bene, and summe als gret as an haselle note. And thei ben square and poynted of here owne kynde, bothe aboven and benethen, with outen worchinge of mannes hond. And the growen to gedre, male and femele. And thei ben norysscht with the dew of hevene. And thei engendren comounly, and bryngen forthe smale children, that multiplyen and growen alle the zeer. I have often tymes assayed, that zif a man kepe hem with a litylle of the roche, and wete hem with May dew ofte sithes, thei schulle growe everyche zeer; and the smale wole wexen grete. For righte as the fyn perle congelethe and wexethe gret of the dew of hevene, righte so dothe the verray dyamand: and righte as the perl of his owne kynde takethe roundnesse, righte so the dyamand, be vertue of God, takethe squarenesse. And men schalle bere the dyamaund on his left syde: for it is of grettere vertue thanne, than on the righte syde. For the strengthe of here growynge is toward the Northe, that is the left syde of the world; and the left parte of man is, whan he turnethe his face toward the est. And zif zou lyke to knowe the vertues of the dyamand, (as men may fynde in the lapidarye, that many men knowen noght) I schalle telle zou: as thei bezonde the see seyn and affermen, of whom alle science and alle philosophie comethe from. He that berethe the diamand upon him, it zevethe him hardynesse and manhode, and it kepethe the lemes of his body hole. It zevethe him victorye of his enemyes, in plee and in werre; zif his cause be rightefulle: and it kepethe him that berethe it, in gode wytt; and it kepethe him fro strif and riot, fro sorwes and from enchauntementes and from fantasyes and illusiouns of wykked spirites. And zif ony cursed wycche or enchauntour wolde bewycche him, that berethe the dyamand; alle that sorwe and myschance schalle turne to him self, thorghe vertu of that ston. And also no wylde best dar assaylle the man, that berethe it on him. Also the dyamand scholde ben zoven frely, with outen coveytynge and with outen byggynge: and than it is of grettere vertu. And it makethe a man more strong and more sad azenst his enemyes. And it helethe him that is lunatyk, and hem that the fend pursuethe or travaylethe. And zif venym or poysoun be broughte in presence of the dyamand, anon it begynnethe to wexe moyst and for to swete. There ben also dyamandes in Ynde, that ben cept violastres; (for here colour is liche vyolet, or more browne than violettes) that ben fulle harde and fulle precyous; but zit sum men love not hem so wel as the othere: but in sothe to me, I wolde loven hem als moche as the othere; for I have seen hem assayed. Also there is an other maner of dyamandes, that ben als white as cristalle; but thei ben a lityllе more trouble: and thei ben gode and of gret vertue, and alle thei ben square and poynted of here owne kynde. And summe ben 6 squared, summe 4 squared, and summe 3, as nature schapethe hem. And therefore whan grete lordes and knyghtes gon to seche worschipe in armes, thei beren gladly the dyamaund upon hem.

I schal speke a litille more of the dyamandes, alle thoughe I tarye my matere for a tyme, to the ende that thei that knowen hem not, be not disceyved be gabberes, that gon be the contree, that sellen hem. For whoso wil bye the dyamande, it is needefulle to him, that he knowe hem; be cause that men counterfeten hem often of cristalle, that is zalow; and of saphires of cytryne colour, that is zalow also; and of the saphire loupe, and of many other stones. But I telle zou, theise contrefetes ben not so harde; and also the poyntes wil breken lightly, and men may easily pollische hem. But summe werkmen, for malice, will not pollische hem, to that entent, to maken men beleve, that thei may not ben pollischt. But men may assaye hem in this manere; first schere with hem or write with hem in saphires, in cristalle or in other precious stones. Aftre that men taken the ademand, that is the schipmannes ston, that drawethe the nedle to him, and men leyn the dyamand upon the ademand, and leyn the nedle before the ademand; and zif the dyamand be gode and vertuous, the ademande drawethe not the nedle to him, while the dyamand is there present. And this is the preef, that thei bezonde the see maken. Natheles it befallethe often tyme, that the gode dyamande lesethe his vertue, be synne and for incontynence of him, that berethe it: and thanne it is nedfulle to make it to recoveren his vertue azen, or elle it is of litille value.

Of the customs of Yles abouten Ynde. Of the differences betwixt Ydoles and Simulacres. Of 3 maner growing of Peper upon a Tree. Of the welle, that chaungethe his odour, every hour of the day: and that is mervaylle.

Cap. XV.

IN Ynde ben fulle manye dyverse contrees: and it is cleped Ynde, for a flom, that rennethe thorghe out the contree, that is clept Ynde. In that flomme men fynden eles of 30 fote long and more. And the folk that duellen nyghe that watre, ben of evylle colour, grene and zalow. In Ynde and abouten Ynde, ben mo than 5000 iles, gode and grete, that men duellen in, with outen tho that ben inhabitable, and with outen othere smale iles. In every ile, is gret plentee of cytees and of townes and of folk, with outen nombre. For men of Ynde han this condicioun of kynde, that thei nevere gon out of here owne contree: and therfore is ther gret multitude of peple: but thei ben not sterynge ne mevable, be cause that thei ben in the firste clymat, that is of Saturne. And Saturne is sloughe and litille mevynge: for he taryethe to make his turn be the 12 signes, 30 zeer; and the mone passethe thorghe the 12 signes in o monethe. And for because that Saturne is of so late sterynge, therfore the folk of that contree, that ben undre his clymat, han of kynde no wille for to meve ne stere to seche strange places. And in oure contree is alle the contrarie. For wee ben in the sevenethe climat, that is of the mone. And the mone is of lyghtly mevynge; and the mone is planete of weye: and for that skylle, it zevethe us wille of kynde, for to meve lyghtly, and for to go dyverse weyes, and to sechen strange thinges and other dyversitees of the world. For the mone envyrounethe the erthe more hastyly than ony othere planete.

Also men gon thorghe Ynde be many dyverse contrees, to the grete see occean. And aftre men fynden there an ile, that is clept Crues: and thidre comen marchantes of Venyse and Gene and of other marches, for to byen marchandyses. But there is so grete hete in tho marches, and namely in that ile, that for the grete distresse of the hete, mennes ballokkes hangen doun to here knees, for the gret dissolucioun of the body. And men of that contree, that knowen the manere, lat bynde hem up, or elle myghte thei not lyve; and anoynt hem with oynementes made therfore, to holde hem up. In that contree and in Ethiope and in many other contrees, the folk lyggen alle naked in ryveres and watres, men and wommen to gedre, fro undurne of the day, tille it be passed the noon. And thei lyen alle in the watre, saf the visage, for the gret hete that there is. And the wommen haven no schame of the men; but lyen alle to gidre, syde to syde, tille the hete be past. There may men see many foule figure assembled, and namely nyghe the gode townes. In that ile ben schippes with outen nayles of iren or bonds, for the roches of the Ademandes: for thei ben alle fulle there aboute in that see, that it is merveyle to speken of. And zif a schipp passed be tho marches, that hadde outher iren bondes or iren nayles, anon he scholde ben perisscht. For the Ademand, of his kynde, drawethe the iren to him: and so wolde it drawe to him the schipp, because of the iren: that he scholde never departen fro it, ne never go thens.

Fro that ile, men gon be see to another ile, that is clept Chana, where is gret plentee of corn and wyn: and it was wont to ben a gret ile, and a gret havene and a good; but the see hathe gretly wasted it and overcomen it. The kyng of that contree was wont to ben so strong and so myghty, that he helde werre azenst King Alisandre. The folk of that contree han a dyvers lawe: for summe of hem, worschipe the sonne, summe the mone, summe the fuyr, summe trees, summe serpentes, or the first thing that thei meeten at morwen: and summe worschipen symulacres, and summe Ydoles. But betwene symulacres and ydoles, is a gret difference. For symulacres ben ymages made aftre lyknesse of men or of wommen, or of the sonne or of the mone, or of ony best, or of ony kyndely thing: and ydoles, is an ymage made of lewed wille of a man, that man may not fynden among kyndely thinges; as an ymage, that hathe 4 hedes, on of a man, another of an hors, or of an ox, or of sum other best, that no man hathe seyn aftre kyndely disposicioun. And thei that worschipen symulacres, thei worschipen hem for sum worthi man, that was sum tyme, as Hercules and many othere, that diden many marvayles in here tyme. For thei seyn wel, that thei be not goddes: for thei knowen wel, that there is a God of kynde, that made alle thinges; the whiche is in hevene. But thei knowen wel, that this may not do the marvayles that he made, but zif it had ben be the specyalle zifte of God: and therfore thei seyn, that he was wel with God. And for be cause that he was so wel with God, therfore the worschipe him. And so seyn thei of the sonne; be cause that he chaungethe the tyme and zevethe hete and norisschethe alle thinges upon erthe; and for it is of so gret profite, thei knowe wel, that that myghte not be, but that God lovethe it more than ony other thing. And for that skylle, God hath zoven it more gret vertue in the world: therfore it is gode resoun, as thei seyn, to don it worschipe and reverence. And so seyn thei, that maken here resounes, of othere planetes; and of the fuyr also, because it is so profitable. And of Ydoles, thei seyn also, that the ox is the moste holy best, that is in erthe, and most pacyent and more profitable than ony other. For he dothe good y now, and he dothe non evylle. And thei knowen wel, that it may not be with outen specyalle grace of God: and therfore maken thei here God, of an ox the on part, and the other halfondelle of a man: because that man is the most noble creature in erthe; and also for he hathe lordschipe aboven alle bestes: therfore make thei the halfendel of ydole of a man upwardes, and the tother half of an ox dounwardes: and of serpentes and of other bestes, and dyverse thinges, that thei worschipen, that thei meten first at morwe. And thei worschipen also specyally alle tho that thei han gode meetynge of; and whan thei speden wel in here iorneye, aftre here meetynge; and namely suche as thei han preved and assayed be experience of longe tyme. For thei seyn, that thilke gode meetynge ne may not come, but of the grace of God. And therfore thei maken ymages lyche to tho thinges, that thei han beleeve inne, for to beholden hem and worschipen hem first at morwe, or thei meeten ony contrarious thinges. And there ben also sum Cristene men, that seyn, that summe bestes han gode meetynge, that is to seye, for to meete with hem first at morwe; and summe bestes wykked metynge: and that thei han preved ofte tyme, that the hare hathe fulle evylle meetynge, and swy, and many othere bestes. And the sparhauk and other foules of raveyne, whan thei fleen aftre here praye, and take it before men of armes, it is a gode signe: and zif he fayle of takynge his praye, it is an evylle sygne. And also to suche folk, it is an evylle meetynge of ravenes. In theise thinges and in suche othere, ther ben many folk, that beleeven; because it happenethe so often tyme to falle, aftre here fantasyes. And also ther ben men y nowe, that han no beleve in hem. And sithe that Cristene men han suche beleeve, that ben enformed and taughte alle day, be holy doctryne, where inne thei schold beleeve, it is no marvaylle thanne, that the Paynemes, that han no gode doctryne, but only of here nature, beleeven more largely, for here symplenesse. And treuly I have seen of Paynemes and Sarazines, that men clepen Augurynes, that whan wee ryden in armes in dyverse contrees, upon oure enemyes, be the flyenge of foules, thei wolde telle us the prenosticaciouns of thinges that felle aftre: and so thei diden fulle often tymes, and profreden here hedes to wedde, but zif it wolde falle as thei seyden. But natheles ther fore scholde noght a man putten his beleeve in suche thinges: but always han fulle trust and beleeve in God oure Sovereyn Lord. This ile of Chana, the Sarazines han wonnen and holden. In that ile ben many lyouns, and many othere wylde bestes. And there ben rattes in that ile, als gret as houndes here: and men taken hem with grete mastyfes: for cattes may not take hem. In this ile and many othere, men berye not no dede men: for the hete is there so gret, that in a lityle tyme the flesche wil consume fro the bones.

Fro thens men gon be see toward Ynde the more, to a cytee that men clepen Sarche, that is a fair cytee and a gode: and there duellen many Cristene men of gode feythe: and ther ben manye religious men, and namely of Mendynantes. Aftre gon men be see, to the lond of Lomb. In that lond growethe the peper, in the forest that men clepen Combar; and it growethe no where elle in alle the world, but in that forest: and that dureth wel an 18 iourneyes in lengthe. In the forest ben 2 gode cytees; that on highte Fladrine, and that other Zinglantz. And in every of hem, duellen Cristene men, and Jewes, gret plentee. For it is a gode contree and a plenteyous: but there is over meche passynge hete. And zee schulle undirstonde, that the peper growethe, in maner as dothe a wylde vyne, that is planted faste by the trees of that wode, for to susteynen it by, as dothe the vyne. And the fruyt thereof hangethe in manere as reysynges. And the tree is so thikke charged, that it semethe that it wolde breke: and whan it is ripe, it is alle grene as it were ivy beryes; and than men kytten hem, as men don the vynes, and than thei putten it upon an owven, and there it waxethe blak and crisp. And there is 3 maner of peper, all upon o tree; long peper, blak peper, and white peper. The long peper men clepen sorbotyn; and the blak peper is clept fulfulle, and the white peper is clept bano. The long peper comethe first, whanthe lef begynnethe to come; and it is lyche the chattes of Haselle, that comethe before the lef, and it hangethe lowe. And aftre comethe the blake with the lef, in manere of clustres of reysinges, alle grene: and whan men han gadred it, than comethe the white, that is somdelle lasse than the blake;

and of that men bryngen but litille into this contree; for thei bezonden with holden it for hem self, be cause it is betere and more attempree in kynde, than the blake: and therfore is ther not so gret plentee as of the blake. In that contree ben manye manere of serpentes and of other vermyn, for the gret hete of the contree and of the peper. And summe men seyn, that whan thei will gadre the peper, thei maken fuyr, and brennen aboute, to make the serpentes and cokedrilles to flee. But save here grace of alle that seyn so. For zif thei brenten abouten the trees, that beren, the peper scholden ben brent, and it wolde dryen up alle the vertue, as of ony other thing: and han thei diden hemself moche harm; and thei scholde nevere quenchen the fuyr. But thus thei don; thei anoynten here hondes and here feet with a juyce made of snayles and of othere thinges, made therfore; of the whiche the serpentes and the venymous bestes haten and dreden the savour: and that makethe hem flee before hem, because of the smelle; and than thei gadren it seurly ynow.

Also toward the heed of that forest, is the cytee of Polombe. And above the cytee is a grete mountayne, that also is clept Polombe: and of that mount, the cytee hathe his name. And at the foot of that mount, is a fayr welle and a gret, that hathe odour and savour of alle spices; and at every hour of the day, he chaungethe his odour and his savour dyversely. And whoso drynkethe 3 tymes fasting of that watre of that welle, he is hool of of alle maner sykenesse, that he hathe. And thei that duellen there and drynken often of that welle, thei nevere han sekenesse, and thei semen alle weys zonge. I have dronken there of 3 or 4 sithes; and zit, me thinkethe, I fare the better. Sum men clepen it the Welle of Zouthe: for thei that often drynken there of, semen alle weys zongly, and lyven with outen sykenesse. And men seyn, that that welle comethe out of paradys; and therfore it is so vertuous. Be alle that contree growethe gode gyngevere: and therfore thidre gon the marchauntes for spicerye. In that lond men worschipen the ox, for his symplenesse and for his mekenesse, and for the profite that comethe of him. And thei seyn, that he is the holyest best in erthe. For hem semethe, that whoso evere be meke and paycyent, he is holy and profitable: for thanne thei seyn, he hathe alle vertues in him. Thei maken the ox to laboure 6 zeer or 7, and than thei ete him. And the kyng of the contree hathe alle wey an ox with him: and he that kepethe him, hathe every day grete fees, and kepethe every day his dong and his uryne in 2 vesselles of gold, and bryngen it before here prelate, that thei clepen archiprotopapaton; and he berethe it before the kyng, and makethe there over a gret blessynge; and than the kyng wetethe his hondes there, in that thei clepen gaul, and anyntethe his front and his brest: and aftre he frotethe him with the dong and with the uryne with gret reverence, for to ben fulfilt of vertues of the ox, and made holy be the vertue of that holy thing, that nought is worthe. And whan the kyng hathe don, thanne don the lordes; and aftre hem here mynystres and other men, zif thei may have ony remenant. In that contree thei maken ydoles, half man, half ox; and in tho ydoles, eville spirites speken and zeven answere to men, of what is asked hem. Before theise ydoles, men sleen here children many tymes, and spryngen the blood upon the ydoles; and so thei maken here sacrifise. And whan ony man dyethe in the contree, thei brennen his body in name of penance, to that entent, that he suffre no peyne in erthe, to ben eten of wormes. And zif his wif have no child, thei brenne hire with him; and seyn, that it is resoun, that sche make him companye in that other world, as sche did in this. But and sche have children with him, thei leten hire lyve with hem, to brynge hem up, zif sche wole. And zif that sche love more to lyve with here children, than for to dye with hire husbonde, men holden hire for fals and cursed: ne schee schalle never ben loved ne trusted of the peple. And zif the womman dye before the husbonde, men brennen him with hire, zif that he wole; and zif he wil not, no man constreynethe him thereto; but he may wedde another tyme with outen blame and repreef. In that contree growen manye stronge vynes: and the wommen drynken wyn, and men not: and the wommen schaven hire berdes, and the men not.

Of the Domes made be seynt Thomas. Of Devocyoun and Sacrifice made to Ydoles there, in the Cytee of Calamye; and of the processioun in goynge aboute the Cytee.

Cap. XVI.

FRom that contree men passen be many marches, toward a contree, a 10 iourneyes thens, that is clept Mabaron: and it is a gret kyngdom, and it hathe many faire cytees and townes. In that kyngdom lithe the body of Seynt Thomas the apostle, in flesche and bon, in a faire tombe, in the cytee of Calamyee : for there he was martyred and buryed. But men of Assirie beeren his bodye in to mesopatayme, in to the cytee of Edisse : and aftre, he was broughte thidre azen. And the arm and the hoond, (that he putte in oure Lordes syde, whan he appered to him, aftre his resurrexioun, and seyde to him, *Noli esse incredulus, sed fidelis*) is zit lyggynge in a vesselle with outen the tombe. And be that hond thei maken alle here juggementes, in the contree, whoso hathe righte or wrong. For whan ther is ony dissentioun betwene 2 partyes, and every of hem meyntenethe his cause, and seyth, that his cause is rightfulle, and that other seythe the contrarye, thanne bothe partyes writen here causes in 2 billes, and putten hem in the hond of seynt Thomas; and anon he castethe awey the bille of the wrong cause, and holdethe stille the bille with the righte cause. And therfore men comen from fer contrees to have juggement of doutable causes : and other juggement usen thei non there. Also the chirche, where seynt Thomas lythe, is bothe gret and fair, and alle fulle of grete simulacres : and tho ben grete ymages, that thei clepen here goddes; of the whiche, the leste is als gret as 2 men. And among theise othere, there is a gret ymage, more than ony of the othere, that is alle covered with fyn gold and precyous stones and riche perles : and that ydole is the god of false Cristene, that han reneyed hire feythe. And it syttethe in a chayere of gold, fulle nobely arrayed; and he hathe aboute his necke large gyrdles, wroughte of gold and precyous stones and perles. And this chirche is fulle richely wroughte, and alle over gylt with inne. And to that ydole gon men on pylgrimage, als comounly and with als gret devocioun, as Cristene men gon to seynt James, or other holy pilgrimages. And many folk that comen fro fer londes, to seche that ydole, for the gret devocyoun that thei han, thei loken nevere upward, but evere more down to the erthe, for drede to see ony thing aboute hem, that scholde lette hem of here devocyoun. And summe ther ben, that gon on pilgrimage to this ydole, that beren knyfes in hire hondes, that ben made fulle kene and scharpe ; and alle weyes, as thei gon, thei smyten hem self in here armes and in here legges and in here thyes, with many hydouse woundes; and so thei scheden here blood, for love of that ydole. And thei seyn that he is blessed and holy, that dyethe so for love of his God. And othere there ben, that leden hire children, for to sle, to make sacrifise to that ydole : and aftre thei han slayn hem, thei spryngen the blood upon the ydole. And summe ther ben, that comme fro ferr, and in goynge toward this ydole, at every thrydde pas, that thei gon fro here hows, thei knelen ; and so contynuen tille thei come thidre : and whan thei comen there, thei taken ensense and other aromatyk thinges of noble smelle, and sensen the ydole, as we wolde don here Goddes precyouse body. And so comen folk to worschipe this ydole, sum fro an hundred myle, and summe fro many mo. And before the mynstre of this ydole, is a vyvere, in maner of a gret lake, fulle of watre : and there in pilgrymes casten gold and sylver, perles and precyous stones, with outen nombre, in stede of offrynges. And whan the mynystres of that chirche neden to maken ony reparacyoun of the chirche or of ony of the ydoles, thei taken gold and silver, perles and precyous stones out of the vyvere, to quyten the costages of suche thing as thei maken or reparen ; so that no thing is fawty, but anon it schalle ben amended. And zee schulle undirstonde, that whan grete festes and solempnytees of that ydole, as the dedicacioun of the chirche, and the thronynge of the ydole bethe, alle the contree aboute meten there to gidere; and thei setten this ydole upon a chare with gret reverence, wel arrayed with clothes of gold, of riche clothes of Tartarye, of Camacca, and other precyous clothes ; and thei leden him aboute the cytee with gret solempnytee. And before the chare, gon first in processioun alle the maydenes of the contree, 2 and 2 to gidere, fulle ordynatly. And aftre tho maydenes, gon the pilgrymes. And summe of hem falle doun undre the wheles of the chare, and lat the chare gon over hem ; so that thei ben dede anon. And summe han here armes or here lymes alle to broken, and summe the sydes : and alle this don thei for love of hire god, in gret devocioun. And he thinkethe, that the more peyne and the more tribulacioun, that thei suffren for love of here god, the more ioye thei schulle have in another world. And schortly to seye zou ; thei suffren so grete peynes and so harde martyrdomes, for love of here ydole, that a Cristene man, I trowe, durst not taken upon him the tenthe part of the peyne, for love of oure Lord Jhesu Crist. And aftre, I seye zou, before the chare, gon alle the mynstrelles of the contrey, with outen nombre, with dyverse instrumentes ; and thei maken alle the melodye, that thei cone. And whan thei han gon alle aboute the cytee, thanne thei retournen azen to the mynstre, and putten the ydole azen in to his place. And thanne, for the love and in worschipe of that ydole, and for the reverence of the feste, thei slen himself, a 200 or 300 persones, with scharpe knyfes, of the whiche thei bryngen the bodyes before the ydole; and than thei seyn, that tho ben seyntes, because that thei slowen hemself of here owne gode wille, for love of here ydole. And as men here, that hadde an holy seynt of his kyn, wolde thinke, that it were to hem an highe worschipe, right so hem thinkethe there. And as men here devoutly wolde writen holy seyntes lyfes and here myracles, and sewen for here canonizaciouns, righte so don thei there, for hem that sleen hem self wilfully, for love of here ydole; and seyn, that thei ben gloriouse martyres and seyntes, and putten hem in here wrytynges and letanyes, and avaunten hem gretly on to another of here holy kynnesmen, that so becomen seyntes; and seyn, I have mo holy seyntes in my kynrede, than thou in thin. And the custome also there is this, that whan thei that han such devocioun and entent, for to sle him self, for love of his god, thei senden for alle here frendes, and han gret plentee of mynstrelle, and thei gon before the ydole ledynge him, that wil sle himself for such devocioun, betwene hem with gret reverence. And he alle naked hath a ful scharp knyf in his hond, and he cuttethe a gret pece of his flesche and castethe it in the face of his ydole, seyenge his orysounes, recommendynge him to his god: and than he smytethe himself, and makethe grete woundes and depe here and there, tille he falle doun ded. And than his frendes presenten his body to the ydole: and than thei seyn, syngynge, Holy God, behold what thi trewe servant hath don for the; he hathe forsaken his wif and his children and his ricchesse and alle the godes of the worlde and his owne lyf, for the love of the, and to make the sacrifise of his flesche and of his blode. Wherfore, Holy God, putte him among thi beste belovede seyntes in thi blisse of paradys: for he hathe well disserved it. And than thei maken a gret fuyr, and brennen the body: and thanne everyche of his frendes taken a quantyte of the assches, and kepen hem in stede of relykes, and seyn, that it is a holy thing. And thei have no drede of no perile, whils thei han tho holy assches upon hem. And thei putten his name in here letanyes, as a seynt.

Of the evylle Customs used in the Yle of Lamary: and how the Erthe and the See ben of round Forme and schapp, be pref of the Sterre, that is clept Antartyk, that is fix in the Southe.

FRo that contree go men be the see occean, and be many

Chap. XVII.

dyverse yles, and be many contrees, that were to longe for to telle of. And a 52 iorneyes fro this lond, that I have spoken of, there is another lond, that is fulle gret, that men clepen Lamary. In that lond is fulle gret hete: and the custom there is such, that men and wommen gon alle naked. And thei scornen, whan thei seen ony strange folk goynge clothed. And thei seyn, that God made Adam and Eve alle naked; and that no man scholde schame, that is of kyndely nature. And thei seyn, that thei that ben clothed ben folk of another world, or thei ben folk, that trowen not in God. And thei seyn, that thei beleeven in God, that formede the world, and that made Adam and Eve, and alle other thinges. And thei wedden there no wyfes: for all the wommen there ben commoun, and thei forsake no man. And thei seyn, thei synnen, zif thei refusen ony man: and so God commaunded to Adam and Eve, and to alle that comen of him, whan he seyde, *Crescite et multiplicamini, et replete terram.* And therfore may no man in that contree seyn, this is my wyf: ne no womman may seye, this is myn husbonde. And whan thei han children, thei may zeven hem to what man thei wole, that hathe companyed with hem. And also all the lond is comoun: for alle that a man holdethe o zeer, another man hathe it another zeer. And every man takethe what part that him lykthe. And also alle the godes of the lond ben comoun, cornes and alle other thinges: for no thing there is clept in clos, ne no thing there is undur lok; and every man there takethe what he wole, with outen ony contradiccioun: and als riche is o man there, as is another. But in that contree, there is a cursed custom: for thei eten more gladly mannes flesche, than ony other flesche: and zit is that contree habundant of flesche, of fissche, of cornes, of gold and sylver, and of alle other godes. Thidre gone Marchauntes, and bryngen with hem children, to selle to hem of the contree, and thei byzen hem: and zif thei ben fatte, thei eten hem anon; and zif thei ben lene, thei feden hem, tille thei ben fatte, and thanne thei eten hem: and thei seyn, that it is the best flesche and the swettest of alle the world. In that lond, ne in many othere bezonde that, no man may see the sterre transmontane, that is clept the sterre of the see, that is unmevable, and that is toward the northe, that we clepen the lode sterre. But men seen another steere, the contrarie to him, that is toward the south, that is clept Antartyk. And right as the schip men taken here avys here, and governe hem be the lode sterre, right so don schip men bezonde the parties, be the sterre of the southe, the whiche sterre apperethe not to us. And this sterre, that is toward the north, that wee clepen the lode sterre, ne apperethe not to hem. For whiche cause, men may wel perceyve, that the lond and the see ben of rownde schapp and forme. For the partie of the firmament schewethe in o contree, that schewethe not in another contree. And men may well preven be experience and sotyle compassement of wytt, that zif a man fond passages be schippes, that wolde go to serchen the world, MEN MYGHTE GO BE SCHIPPE ALLE ABOUTE THE WORLD, and aboven and benethen. The whiche thing I prove thus, aftre that I have seyn. For I have ben toward the parties of Braban, and beholden the astrolabre, that the sterre that is clept the Transmontayne, is 53 degrees highe. And more forthere in Almayne and Bewme, it hathe 58 degrees. And more forthe toward the parties septemtrioneles, it is 62 degrees of heghte, and certeyn mynutes. For I my self have mesured it by the astrolabre. Now schulle ze knowe, that azen the Transmontayne, is the tother sterre, that is clept Antartyke; as I have seyd before. And tho 2 sterres ne meeven nevere. And be hem turnethe alle the firmament, righte as dothe a wheel, that turnethe be his axille tree: so that tho sterres beren the firmament in 2 egalle parties; so that it hathe als mochel aboven, as it hathe benethen. Aftre this, I have gon toward the parties meridionales, that is toward the southe: and I have founden, that in Lybye, men seen first the sterre Antartyk. And so fer I have gon more forthe in tho contrees, that I have founde that sterre more highe; so that toward the hi͟he Lybye, it is 18 degrees of heghte, and certeyn minutes (of the whiche, 60 minutes maken a degree). After goynge be see and be londe, toward this contree, of that I have spoke, and to other yles and londes bezonde that contree, I have founden the sterre Antartyk of 33 degrees of heghte, and mo mynutes. And zif I hadde had companye and schippynge, for to go more bezonde, I trowe wel in certeyn, that wee scholde have seen alle the roundnesse of the firmament alle aboute. For as I have seyd zou be forn, the half of the firmament is betwene tho 2 sterres: the whiche halfondelle I have seyn. And of the tother halfondelle, I have seyn toward the north, undre the Transmontane 62 degrees and 10 mynutes; and toward the partie meridionalle, I have seen undre the Antartyk 33 degrees and 16 mynutes: and thanne the halfondelle of the firmament in alle, ne holdethe not but 180 degrees. And of tho 180, I have seen 62 on that o part, and 33 on that other part, that ben 95 degrees, and nyghe the halfondelle of a degree; and so there ne faylethe but that I have seen alle the firmament, saf 84 degrees and the halfondelle of a degree; and that is not the fourthe part of the firmament. For the 4 partie of the roundnesse of the firmament holt 90 degrees: so there faylethe but 5 degrees and an half, of the fourthe partie. And also I have seen the 3 parties of alle the roundnesse of the firmament, and more zit 5 degrees and an half. Be the whiche I seye zou certeynly, that men may envirowne alle the erthe of alle the world, as wel undre as aboven, and turnen azen to his contree, that hadde companye and schippynge and conduyt: and alle weyes he scholde fynde men, londes, and yles, als wel as in this contree. For zee wyten welle, that thei that ben toward the Antartyk, thei ben streghte, feet azen feet of hem, that dwellen undre the transmontane; als wel as wee and thei that dwellyn undre us, ben feet azenst feet. For alle the parties of see and of lond han here appositees, habitables or trepassables, and thei of this half and bezond half. And wytethe wel, that aftre that, that I may parceyve and comprehend, the londes of Pestre John, Emperour of Ynde, ben undre us. For in goynge from Scotland or from Englond toward Jerusalem, men gon upward alweys. For oure lond is in the lowe partie of the erthe, toward the west: and the lond of Prestre John is the lowe partie of the erthe, toward the est: and thei han there the day, whan wee have the nyghte, and also highe to the contrarie, thei han the nyghte, whan wee han the day. For the erthe and the see ben of round form and schapp, as I have seyd beforn. And that that men gon upward to o cost, men gon dounward to another cost. Also zee have herd me seye, that Jerusalem is in the myddes of the world; and that may men preven and schewen there, be a spere, that is pighte in to the erthe, upon the hour of mydday, whan it is equenoxium, that schewethe no schadwe on no syde. And that it scholde ben in the myddes of the world, David wytnessethe it in the psautre, where he seythe, *Deus operatus est salutem in medio Terre.* Thanne thei that parten fro the parties of the west, for to go toward Jerusalem, als many iorneyes as thei gon upward for to go thidre, in als many iorneyes may thei gon fro Jerusalem unto other confynyes of the superficialtie of the erthe bezonde. And whan men gon bezonde tho iourneyes, toward Ynde and to the foreyn yles, alle is envyronynge the roundnesse of the erthe and of the see, undre oure contrees on this half. And therfore hathe it befallen many tymes of o thing, that I have herd cownted, whan I was zong; how a worthi man departed somtyme from oure contrees, for to go serche the world. And so he passed Ynde, and the yles bezonde Ynde, where ben mo than 5000 yles: and so longe he wente be see and lond, and so enviround the world be many seysons, that he fond an yle, where he herde speke his owne langage, callynge an oxen in the plowghe, suche wordes as men speken to bestes in his owne contree: whereof he hadde gret mervayle: for he knewe not how it myghte be. But I seye, that he had gon so longe, be londe and be see, that he had envyround alle the erthe, that he was comen azen envirounynge, that is to seye, goynge aboute, unto his owne marches, zif he wolde have passed forthe, til he had founden his contree and his owne knouleche. But he turned azen from thens, from whens he was come fro; and so he loste moche peynefulle labour, as him self seyde, a gret while aftre, that he was comen hom. For it befelle aftre, that he wente in to Norweye; and there tempest of the see toke him; and he arryved in an yle; and whan he was in that yle, he knew wel, that it was the yle, where he had herd speke his owne langage before, and the callynge of the oxen at the plowghe: and that was possible thinge. But how it semethe to symple men unlerned, that men ne mowe not go undre the erthe, and also that men scholde falle toward the hevene, from undre! But that may not be, upon lesse, than wee mowe falle toward hevene, fro the erthe, where wee ben. For fro what partie of the erthe, that men duelle, outher aboven or benethen, it semethe alweys to hem that duellen, that thei gon more righte than ony other folk. And righte as it semethe to us, that thei ben undre us, righte so it semethe hem, that wee ben undre hem. For zif a man myghte falle fro the erthe unto the firmament: be grettere resoun, the erthe and the see, that ben so grete and so hevy, scholde fallen to the firmament: but that may not be: and therfore seithe oure Lord God, *Non timeas me, qui suspendi Terram ex nichilo?* And alle be it that it be possible thing, that men may so envyrone alle the world, natheles of a 1000 persones, on ne myghte not happen to returnen in to his contree. For, for the gretnesse of the erthe and of the see, men may go be a 1000 and a 1000 other weyes, that no man cowde redye him perfitely toward the parties that he cam fro, but zif it were be aventure and happ, or be the grace of God. For the erthe is fulle large and fulle gret, and holt in roundnesse and aboute envyroun, be aboven and be benethen 20425 myles, aftre the opynyoun of the olde wise astronomeres. And here seyenges I repreve noughte. But aftre my lytylle wytt, it semethe me, savynge here reverence, that it is more. And for to have bettere understondynge, I seye thus, Be ther ymagyned a figure, that hathe a gret compas; and aboute the poynt of the gret compas, that is clept the centre, be made another litille compas: then aftre, be the gret compas devised be lines in manye parties; and that alle the lynes meeten at the centre; so that in as many parties, as the grete compas schal be departed, in als manye schalle be departed the litille, that is aboute the centre, alle be it that the spaces ben lesse. Now thanne, be the gret compas represented for the firmament, and the litille compas represented for the erthe. Now thanne the firmament is devysed, be astronomeres, in 12 signes; and every signe is devysed in 30 degrees, that is 360 degrees, that the firmament hathe aboven. Also, be the erthe devysed in als many parties, as the firmament; and lat every partye answere to a degree of the firmament: and wytethe it wel, that aftre the auctoures of astronomye, 700 furlonges of erthe answeren to a degree of the firmament; and tho ben 87 myles and 4 furlonges. Now be that here multiplyed by 360 sithes; and than thei ben 31500 myles, every of 8 furlonges, aftre myles of oure contree. So moche hathe the erthe in roundnesse, and of heght enviroun, aftre myn opynyoun and myn undirstondynge. And zee schulle undirstonde, that aftre the opynyoun of olde wise philosophres and astronomeres, oure contree ne Irelond ne Wales ne Scotlond ne Norweye ne the other yles costynge to hem, ne ben not in the superficialte cownted aboven the erthe: as it schewethe be alle the bokes of astronomye. For the superficialtee of the erthe is departed in 7 parties, for the 7 planetes: and tho parties ben clept clymates. And oure parties be not of the 7 clymates; for thei ben descendynge toward the west. And also these yles of Ynde, which beth even azenst us, beth noght reckned in the climates; for thei ben azenst us, that ben in the lowe contree. And the 7 clymates strecchen hem envyrounynge the world.

Of the Palays of the Kyng of the Yle of Java. Of the Trees, that beren Mele, Hony, Wyn and Venym; and of othere Mervayilles and Customes, used in the Yles marchinge thereabouten.

Cap. XVIII.

BEsyde that yle that I have spoken of, there is another yle, that is clept Sumobor, that is a gret yle: and the kyng thereof is righte myghty. The folk of that yle maken hem alweys to ben marked in the visage with an hote yren, bothe men and wommen, for gret noblesse, for to ben knowen from other folk. For thei holden hem self most noble and most worthi of alle the world. And thei han werre alle weys with the folk that gon alle naked. And faste besyde is another yle, that is clept Betemga, that is a gode yle and a plentyfous. And many other yles ben there about; where ther ben many of dyverse folk: of the whiche it were to longe to speke of alle.

But fast besyde that yle, for to passe be see, is a gret yle a gret contree, that men clepen Java: and it is nyghe 2000 myle in circuyt. And the kyng of that contree is a fulle gret lord and a ryche and a myghty, and hathe undre him 7 other kynges of 7 other yles abouten hym. This yle is fulle wel inhabyted, and fulle wel manned. There growen alle maner of spicerie, more plentyfous liche than in ony other contree; as of gyngevere, clowegylofres, canelle, zedewalle, notemuges and maces. And wytethe wel, that the notemuge berethe the maces. For righte as the note of the haselle hathe an husk with outen, that the note is closed in, til it be ripe, and aftre fallethe out; righte so it is of the notemuge and of the maces. Manye other spices and many other godes growen in that yle. For of alle thing is there plenty, saf only of wyn: but there is gold and silver gret plentee. And the kyng of that contree hathe a paleys fulle noble and fulle marveyllous, and more riche than ony in the world. For alle the degrez to gon up into halles and chambres, ben on of gold, another of sylver. And also the pavmentes of halles and chambres ben alle square, on of gold and another of sylver: and alle the walles with inne ben covered with gold and sylver, in fyn plates: and in tho plates ben stories and batayles of knyghtes enleved. And the crounes and the cercles abouten here hedes ben made of precious stones and riche perles and grete. And the halles and the chambres of the palays ben alle covered with inne with gold and sylver: so that no man wolde trowe the richesse of that palays, but he had seen it. And witethe wel, that the kyng of that yle is so myghty, that he hathe many tymes overcomen the grete Cane of Cathay in bataylle, that is the most gret emperour that is undre the firmament, outher bezonde the see or on this half. For thei han had eften tyme werre betwene hem, be cause that the grete cane wolde constreynen him to holden his lond of him: but that other at alle tymes defendethe him wel azenst him.

Aftre that yle, in goynge be see, men fynden another yle, gode and gret, that men clepen Pathen, that is a gret kyngdom, fulle of faire cytees and fulle of townes. In that lond growen trees, that beren mele, wherof men maken gode bred and white, and of gode savour; and it semethe as it were of whete, but it is not allynges of suche savour. And there ben other trees, that beren hony, gode and swete: and other trees, that beren venym; azenst the whiche there is no medicyne but on; and that is to taken here propre leves, and stampe hem and tempere hem with watre, and then drynke it: and elle he schalle dye; for triacle will not avaylle, ne non other medicyne. Of this venym, the Jewes had let seche of on of here frendes, for to empoysone alle Cristiantee, as I have herd hem seye in here confessioun, before here dyenge. But thanked be alle myghty God, thei fayleden of hire purpos: but alle weys thei maken gret mortalitee of people. And other trees there ben also, that beren wyn of noble sentement. And zif zou like to here how the mele comethe out of the trees, I shalle seye zou. Men hewen the trees with an hatchet, alle aboute the fote of the tree, tille that the bark be parted in many parties; and than comethe out ther of a thikke lykour, the whiche thei resceyven in vesselles, and dryen it at the hete of the sonne; and than thei han it to a mylle to grynde; and it becomethe faire mele and white. And the hony and the wyn and the venym ben drawen out of other trees, in the same manere, and put in vesselles for to kepe. In that yle is a ded see, that is a lake, that hathe no ground. And zif ony thing falle in to that lake, it schalle nevere comen up azen. In that lake growen redes, that ben cannes, that thei clepen thaby, that ben 30 fadme long. And of theise canes men maken faire houses. And ther ben other canes, that ben not so longe, that growen neer the lond, and han so longe rotes, that duren wel a 4 quartres of a furlong or more; and at the knottes of tho rotes, men fynden precious stones, that han gret vertues: and he that berethe ony of hem upon him, yren ne steel ne may not hurt him, ne drawe no blood upon him: and therfore thei that han tho stones upon hem, fighten fulle hardyly, bothe on see and lond: for men may not harmen hem on no partye. And therfore thei that knowen the manere, and schulle fighten with hem, thei schoten to hem arwes and quarrelles with outen yren or steel; and so thei hurten hem and sleen hem. And also of tho cannes, thei maken houses and schippes and other thinges; as wee han here, makynge houses and schippes of oke or of ony other trees. And deme no man, that I seye it, but for a truffulle: for I have seen of the cannes with myn owne eyzen fulle many tymes lyggynge upon the ryvere of that lake: of the whiche, 20 of oure felowes ne myghten not liften up ne beren on to the erthe.

Aftre this yle, men gon be see to another yle, that is clept Calonak: and it is a fair lond and a plentifous of godes. And the kyng of that contrey hath als many wyfes as he wole: for he makethe serche alle the contree, to geten him the fairest maydens that may ben founde, and makethe hem to ben broughte before him; and he takethe on o nyght, and another another nyght, and so forthe contynuelle sewyng; so that he hath a 1000 wyfes or mo. And he liggethe never but o nyght with on of hem, and another nyght with another, but zif that on happene to ben more lusty to his plesance than another. And therfore the kyng getethe fully many children; sum tyme an 100, sum tyme an 200, and sum tyme mo. And he hathe also into a 14000 olifauntz or mo, that he makethe for to ben brought up amonges his vileynes, be alle his townes. For in cas that he had ony werre azenst any other kyng aboute him, thanne he makethe certeyn men of armes for to gon up in to the castelles of tree, made for the werre, that craftily ben sett up on the olifantes bakkes, for to fyghten azen hire enemyes: and so don other kynges there aboute. For the maner of werre is not there, as it is here or in other contrees; ne the ordynance of werre nouther. And men clepen the olifantes, warkes.

And in that yle there is a gret marvayle, more to speke of than in ony other partie of the world. For alle manere of fissches, that ben there in the see abouten hem, comen ones in the zeer, eche manere of dyverse fissches, on maner of kynde aftre other; and thei casten hem self to the see banke of that yle, so gret plentee and multitude, that no man may unnethe see but fissche; and there thei abyden 3 dayes: and every man of the contree takethe of hem, als many as him lykethe: And aftre, that maner of fissche, after the thridde day, departethe and gothe into the see. And aftre hem, comen another multitude of fyssche of another kynde, and don in the same maner as the firste diden other 3 dayes. And aftre hem, another; tille alle the dyverse maner of fissches han ben there, and that men han taken of hem, that hem lykethe. And no man knowethe the cause wherfore it may ben. But thei of the contree seyn, that it is for to do reverence to here kyng, that is the most worthi kyng, that is in the world, as thei seyn; because that he fulfillethe the comandement, that God bad to Adam and Eve, whan God seyde, *Crescite et multiplicamini et replete terram.* And for because that he multipliethe so the world with children, therfore God sendethe him so the fissches of dyverse kyndes, of alle that ben in the see, to taken at his wille, for him and alle his peple. And therfore alle the fissches of the see comen, to maken him homage, as the most noble and excellent kyng of the world, and that is best beloved with God, als thei seyn. I knowe not the resoun, whi it is; but God knowethe. But this, me semethe, is the moste marveylle, that evere I saughe. For this mervaylle is azenst kynde, and not with kynde, that the fissches, that han fredom to environ alle the costes of the see, at here owne list, comen of hire owne wille to profren hem to the dethe, with outen constreynynge of man: and therfore I am syker, that this may not ben, with outen a gret tokene.

There ben also in that contree a kynde of snayles, that ben so grete, that many persones may loggen hem in here schelles, as men wolde done in a litylle hous. And other snayles there ben, that ben fulle grete, but not so huge as the other. And of theise snayles, and of gret white wormes, that han blake hedes, that ben als grete as a mannes thighe, and somme lesse, as grete wormes that men fynden there in wodes, men maken vyaunde rialle, for the kyng and for other grete lordes. And zif a man, that is maryed, dye in that contree, men buryen his wif with him all quyk. For men seyn there, that it is resoun, that sche make him companye in that other world, as sche did in this.

CAPVT. 30.

De Regnis Cynocephalorum, et alijs Insulis.

*Vel Caffeles.

PEr mare oceanum potest hinc veniri in Insulam Kaffa:* quicunque ibi infirmari videtur ad mortem, suspenditur ad arborem, antequam moriatur, vt non ab immundis terræ vermibus, sed a cœli auibus, quas reputant Dei Angelos, comedatur.

In alia insula faciunt suos infirmos ante mortem ab eductis in hoc magnis canibus strangulari, manducantes in conuiuio carnes pro optimo ferculo venationis.

Interpositis quoque multis Insulis, de quibus subticeo gratia breuitatis, habetur Insula Mylke,* et hij videntur omnium hominum crudelissimi; Nam quilibet particularitèr pro leui et modica stimulatione, vulnerat, sauciat, et occidit, proximum, vicinum et amicum: Et si quando dissidentes contigerit concordari, non habebitur pax rata, nisi quisque de alterius sanguine biberit bonum haustum.

*Vel Mekke.

Hinc nauigando per multas et diuersas Insulas, qui in singulas intrare, et moram trahere voluerit, stupenda multa videbit, et poterit venire in Insulam Tracoide.*

*Vel Traceda.

Illic sunt homines àbsque vllo ingenio penitus bestiales, serpentibus, vermibusque vescentes, nec inuicem loquentes, sed conceptus suos signis et indicijs ostendentes. Diligunt preciosos lapides tantummodo pulchritudinis gratia, non causa virtutis: et super omnes vnum diligunt lapidem habentem 60. colorum varietates, qui et Tracoides vocatur propter ipsos.

Intratur hinc per Oceanum in regionem Niconoram, vel Nacumeram, habentem in circuitu spacium mille leucarum: omnes ibi geniti homines habent capita ad formam canum, vnde et in Græco Cynocephali dicuntur. Isti etiam incedunt nudis corporibus, excepto parui panniculi operimento, secretiora loca et posteriora retro tegente. Rationabiles tamen multum sunt hij, et plurimum virtuosi, ac de omni forefacto rigidam iustitiam exercentes. Sunt statura elegantes, robusti corpore, in prælijs lanceam cum tergia lata gerentes, virilitérque, et prudentèr pugnantes. Omnes pro deo adorant bouem, vnde et quilibet in fronte argenteam seu auream similitudinem bouis defert, et si quem viuum in prælio ceperint, sine vlla miseratione manducant.

Rex multum est diues et potens, ac deuotus in superstitione. Nam circa collum gestat trecentas orientales margaritas, quibus quotidiè antè commestionem orationes suas colligit, quemadmodum nos colligimus, Pater noster, etc. Ac præterea portat ad collum * rubetum orientalem, nobilem, purum, pulchrum, resplendentem, et summè preciosum, ad longitudinem pedis humani, quem habet diligentèr seruare, quod dum eo caret non tenetur pro Rege.

Siue carbunculum.

Pro isto carbunculo Grand Can Imperator, per ingenium, per insidias, per precium, et per prælium sæpè laborauit, sed nihil profecit. Post istam apparet insula Syllan, habens leucas de circuitu 80. quæ paucos habet homines propter multitudinem draconum, serpentum, crocodilorum in ea. Sunt autem crocodili speciales serpentes, coloris virgulati de croceo et nigro, cum quatuor cruribus, et tibijs et latis pedum vngulis. Aliqui horum habent longitudinem quínq; tensarum, aut citrà, qui dum tendunt per arenosa relinquunt signum semitæ, acsi sit ibi tractus grandis arboris truncus.

Item in hac insula habetur nons altus, et in sui vertice satis altus et distentus et magnus aquæ lacus, de quo et stulti homines fabulantur, quòd primi parentes post eiectionem suam, illam aquam primò lacrymauerunt. In huius fundo lacus nascuntur margaritæ, et habentur semper lapides preciosi. Solentque pauperes terræ, accepta à Rege licentia, semel in anno ingredi, ac piscari gemmas, qui intrantes vngunt se succo Lymonsæ, contra hirudines, colubros, et serpentes. Sed et de lacu effluit riuulus per montis descensum, in quo nonnunquam margaritæ inueniuntur, et gemmæ: dicunt etiam ibi nullum venenatum animal nocere aduenis.

Ibi videntur leones albi in mira magnitudine boum nostrorum, et multæ diuersæ bestiæ, et aues, bestiolæ, et auiculæ aliarum specierum quàm in partibus istis. Nam ibi et in nonnullis alijs insulis vidi vnum mirum, de quo prius vix credidissem narranti, videlicet anates cum duobus capitibus.

Et sciatis quòd tam hic quam alibi mare apparet satis altius suo littore, imo qui a remotis aspicit videt suspensum quasi ad nubes. Et de hoc admiratus fuissem, nisi quod scriptum sciui mirabiles elationes maris.

CAPVT. 31.

De multis alijs Insulis Meridionalibus, de quibus et Plinius, et Munsterus.

*Vel Doudeia.

VErsus meridien hinc legendo per mare, inuenitur regio speciosa nomine Doudin:* cuius rex imperat seu principatur 54. regibus in circuitu insularum.

Dum quis hic infirmatur tendit proximus ad Idolum sciscitans an morietur, et si respondit non, addit et dicere medicinam qua curabitur: si autem responderit moriturum, statim conuocatis amicis occiditur, et cum symphonia, et solēmnitate comedunt eius carnes, ossa tantummodò sepelientes. In Insulis verò circumiacentibus, habentur incredibilitèr diuersæ gentes. Nam vna habet homines enormis magnitudinis, cum solo in medio frontis oculo, qui absque vllo condimento manducant carnes et pisces.

Alia Insula habet homines aspectu deformes, nihil autem colli aut capitis ostendentes, vnde et Acephali nuncupantur: oculos autem habent ante ad scapulas, et in loco pectoris os apertum ad formam ferri, quo nostri caballi frænantur.

In alia Insula sunt gentes planis faciebus absque eleuatione nasorum, et palpebrarum cum paruis foraminibus oculorum, et scissura modica oris. Et in alia gentes cum superiore oris labio ita lato et amplo, vt, dum velint, totam faciem de illo tegant.

Alia generat homines paruæ saturæ cum oris foramine sic paruo, vt per fistulas alimentum, et potum sumant, et quoniam carent lingua et dentibus, monstrant per naturalia signa conceptus. Et aliqui sunt homines debitæ quidem staturæ, et formæ, nisi quòd habent pedes equinos, quibus ita sunt præpetes, vt syluestres bestias capiant, quas comedunt, et manducant.

In alia homines sunt toti pilosi et hispidi, vsu simiarum manibus et pedibus ambulantes, et ad arbores reptantes, qui quamuis non loquuntur, apparent rationabiles, qui regem habent, et rectores.

Et in alia omnes sunt claudi, qui quamuis pedes habeant, tamen ambulant super genua multum ridiculosè, imò miserabiliter, vt de passu in passum videantur casuri in terrem. Et in quadam, sexum tam masculinum, quàm fœminieum habentes, qui dum masculino vtuntur generant, dum fœminino, impregnantur et pariunt. Atq;, vt in compendio multa concludam, in singulis 54. insularum inueniuntur homines, forma, statura, actibus et moribus singulis ab inuicem differentes, de quibus potest fieri descriptio, quam pertranseo gratia breuitatis, et causa incredulitatis fortè quorundum audientium.

In istis autem meridionalibus partibus apparebat mihi eleuatio poli Antarctici 33. graduum, cum 16. minutis. Et sciendum quod in Bohemia, similitèr et in Anglia eleuatur polus Arcticus 52. gradibus vel citra: Et in partibus magis septentrionalibus, vbi sunt Scoti 62. gradibus cum quatuor minutis. Ex quo patet respiciendo ad latitudinem cœli, quæ est de polo ad polum, quod itineratio mea fuit per quartum Horizontis spheræ terræ et vltra, per quinque gradus, cum 20. minutis. Cum ergò secundum Astrologos, totus terræ circuitus sit 31500. milliarium, octo stadijs pro milliario computatis, et septinginta stadia respondeant ad vnum gradum, quod patet ad latitudinem terræ, perambulaui 66733. stadia cum vno tertio, quæ faciunt 4170. leucas Geometricas cum dimidia vel propè.

CAPVT. 32.

De bona Regione Man chus.*

CVm igitur tot et talsa in istis Insulis vidimus monstra (quæ si explicarem scribendo vix à legentibus omnia crederentur) non curauimus vlterius procedere sub polo australi, ne. in maiora pericula incideremus: sed proptèr auditam et inuisam nobis famositatem potentiæ, nobilitatis, et gloriæ Imperatoris Tartarorum, vertebam faciem cum socijs nauigare magis versus Orientem. Cumque per multas diætas sustinuissemus multa pericula maris, peruenimus in Regnum Manchus,* quod est in confinibus superioris Indiæ, et iungitur ab vna parte Tartariæ. Hæc Regio Manchus, pro sui quantitate reputatur melior, delectabilior, et omnium bonorum abundantior de cunctis ibi propè Regionibus. Nam et homines bestiæ, et volucres maiores et corpulentiores sunt alijs, et præ vbertate vix inuenirentur in vna ciuitate decem mendici. Formosi sunt viri, sed feminæ formosiores. Sed viri loco barbæ, habent perpaucos pilos, rigidos, et longos ab vtraque oris parte, quemadmodum nostros videmus cattos habere.

* Vel Mangi.

Prima quam ingrediebaumer ciuitàs est Lachori,* distans vna dieta à mari, et mirabamur, et gauisi sumus nos inuenisse integram ciuitatem Christianæ fidei. Nam et maior pars Regni credit in Christum.

* Siue Lateryn.

Ibi habetur in leui precio copia rerum omnium, et præcipuè victualium: vnum genus est ibi serpentum in abundantia quod manducant ad omne conuiuium, et nisi pro finali ferculo ministraretur de illis serpentibus, conuiuium quàm modicum diceretur.

Suntque per hoc regnum pleræq; ciuitates et Ecclesiæ, et relligiones, quas instituit dux Ogerus, quia hoc est vnum de quindecim regnis quæ quæsiuit, sicut infra dicetur.

Illic sunt elegantes albæ gallinæ, quæ non vestiuntur plumis vt nostraæ, sed optima lana. Canes aquatici, quos nos lutras nominamus, sunt ibi multi edomiti, quòd quoties mittuntur in flumen, exportant domino piscem.

---

* Mangi.

Ab hoc loco per aliquas diætas, venitur ad huius regionis maximam vrbem Cansay, hoc est dicere ciuitatem cœli, imo de vniuerso orbe terrarum putatur hæc maxima Ciuitatum; nam eius circuitus 50. leucis est mensus, nec est facile dicere, quàm compressè a quamplurimis populis inhabitatur. Hæc sedet in lacu maris, quemadmodum, et Venetiæ: et habentur in ea plures quàm mille ducenti pontes, et in quolibet turres miræ magnitudinis, ac fortitudinis, munitæ peruigili custodia, et pro vrbe tuenda contra Imperatorem Grand Can.

Multi sunt ibi Christiani, et multæ Religiones Christianorum, sed et de ordinibus Minorum, et prædicatorum, qui tamen ibi non mendicant; est magna pluralitas ex diuersis nationibus Mercatorum. Per Regionem nascitur vinum valdè bonum, quod appellatur Bigon. Et ad leucam extra ciuitatem, Abbatia magna est, non de religione Christiana sed Pagana: et in ea forrestum, siue hortus magnus vndíque circumclusus, consitus arboribus, et arbustis, in cuius etiam medio mons, altus simul et latus, habens hortum vbi solum inhabitant bestiolæ mirabiles, sicut Simiæ, marmotæ, Lanbon, papiones, foreti et huiusmodi ad varia et multa genera, et ad numerum infinitum.

Omni autem die post refectionem conuentus Abbatiæ, qui est valdè monachosus, deferuntur reliquiæ ciborum cum magno additamento, in vasis auro lucentibus ad hunc hortum: et ad sonitum campanæ argenteæ, quam Eleemosynarius manu gestat descendentes, et occurrentes de bestiolis duo millia aut plures sese componunt residere ad circulum more pauperum mendicorum, et traditur singulis per seruos aliquid de his cibarijs, ac denuò audita campana segregando recurrunt: Cumque nos tanquam redarguentes, diceremus, cur haec non darentur egenis, responderunt, illic pauperes non habentur, quod si inuenirentur, potius tamen dari deberent bestiolis. Habet enim eorum perfidia, et Paganissimus, animas nobilium hominum post mortem ingredi corpora nobilium bestiarum, et animas ignobilium corpora bestiarum ignobilium et vilium, ad luenda videlicet crimina, donec peracta pœnitentia transeant in Paradisum: ideoque nutriunt, prout dicunt, has nobiliores bestias, siue bestiolas, quòd a quibusdam nobilibus fundabatur in principio haec Abbatia. Multa sunt alia mira in hac ciuitate, de quibus sciatis, quod non omnia vobis recitabo.

CAPVT. 33.

De Pygmæis, et de itinere vsque in prouinciam Cathay.

EVndo per Regionem eandem à dicta ciuitate Cansay, ad sex dietas venitur ad nobilem vrbem Tylenso,* cuius muri per circuitum tendunt ad spacium 20. leucarum:† et sunt 60. petrini pontes, quibus nullos memini pulchriores.

*Vel Chezolo.
†Vel Miliarium.

In ista fuit prima sedes regni Mangi, nec immeritò, cum sit munita, delectabilis, et abundans omnibus bonis, ac deinde in predicta Cansay, nunc autem tenetur in quadam alia ciuitate.

Nota, quilibet ignis soluit quolibet anno vnum balis pro tributo, quod valet vnum florenum cum dimidio, sed omnes famuli de domo vna pro vno igne computantur: summa ignium tributalium, octies centum millia. Reliqui verò Christiani mercatores, in isto vico non computantur. Copia est ibi victualium.

Quatuor fratres minores vnum potentem conuertebant apud quem hospitabar, et qui duxit me ad Abbatiam istam, ibi vidi scilicet quod hic narratur.

Ad fines itaque regni Mangi transitur grandis fluuius de Dylay,* maius flumen mundi, vbi strictius est continet septem miliaria. Odericus: cuius alueus in loco districtiori continet quatuor leucas. Et ex hoc in breui temporis spacio intratur Imperium Tartarorum, sequendo fluuium vsque in terram Pygmeorum, per cuius medium transit.

*Vel de Delay.

Hij Pygmei sunt homines statura breues ad longitudinem nostri brachij, seu trium manuum expansarum. Tam mares quam feminæ formosæ, et gratiosæ, et viuunt communiter ad annos sex vel septem: si qui pertingunt ad octo, mire putantur senectutis. Ad dimidiam anni ætatem nubere possunt, in secundo anno parturiunt: rationalis sunt, et sensati iuxta ætatem pusillam, ac satis ingeniosi ad opera de serico, et de lana arboris. Frequentèr præliantur contra aues grandes patriæ, exercitibus congregatis hinc inde, et fit strages vtrimque. Hæc gens tam parua optimè operatur sericum et bombycem. Isti Pygmei venerunt mihi obuiam chorizando. Non laborant terram, prædia, seu vineas, sed morantur inter eos nostræ quantitatis homines, qui eos incolunt, sicut serui, quos et Pygmæi sæpè derident, quia sunt ipsis maiores: et quod ipse non cesso mirari dum dicti homines in illa terra generant vel pariunt, non crescit proles supra Pygmæi staturam: Insula non est protensa, sed fortè 12. ciuitatum. Quarum vna est grandis, et bene munita, et quam Grand Can facit cum fortibus armaturis curiosè seruari, contra regem Mangi.

Hinc proceditur per Imperium Grand Can, ad multas ciuitates, et villas morum mirabiliter diuersorum, vsque in regnum Iamchan, quod est vnum de 12. prouincijs maximis, quibus distinguitur totum Imperium Tartarorum.

Nobilior ciuitas huius Regni seu Prouinciæ dicitur Iamchan, abundans mercimonijs, et diuitijs infinitis, et multa præstans proprio Regi tributa, quoniam sicut illi de ciuitate fatentur, valet annuè regi quinquaginta milia cuman florenorum auri.

Nota. In Iamchan ciuitate est conuentus fratrum minorum: in hac sunt tres Ecclesiæ Monasteriorum: reditus simul ascendit ad 12. cuman. Odericus dixit, Vnus cuman est decem millium. Summa tributi annui, quinquaginta milia millium Florenorum. In illis namque partibus magnus numerorum summas estimant per cuman, numerum 10. millium qui et in Flamingo dicitur laste.

Ad quinque leucas ab hac ciuitate est alia dicta Meke, in qua fiunt de quodam albissimi genere ligni naues maximæ cum aulis et thalamis, ac multis ædificijs, tanquam Palatium tellure fundatum.

Inde per idem regnum ad viam octo dietarum per aquam dulcem, multas per ciuitates, et bonas villas, venimus Laucherim,* (Odericus appellat Leuyim,) vrbem formosam opumque magnarum, sitam super flumen magnum Cacameran.† Hoc flumen transit per medium Cathay, cui aqua infert damnum, quando nimis inundat, sicut palus in Ferraria, Mogus in Herbipoli: et illud sequentes intrauimus principalem prouinciam Imperij Tartariæ, dictam Cathay Calay: et ista prouincia est multum distenta, ac plena ciuitatibus, et oppidis bonis, et magnis omnibusque referta mercimonijs, maximè sericosis operibus, et aromaticis speciebus.

*Siue Lanterin.

†Vel Caremoron.

Nauigando per dictum flumen versus Orientem, et itinerando per hanc Cathay prouinciam ad multas dietas per plurimas vrbes et villas, venitur in ciuitatem Sugarmago,* abundantiorem omnibus in mercemoniis antedictis, quando sericum est hic vilissimum: quadragintæ libræ habentur ibi pro decem florenis.

*Engarmago.

Ab hac ciuitate, multis ciuitatibus peregratis versus Orientem, veni ad ciuitatem Cambalu, quæ est antiqua in prouincia Cathay: Hanc postquam Tartari ceperunt, ad dimidium miliare fecerunt vnam ciuitatem nomine Caydo, et habet duodecim portas, et à porta in portam duo sunt grossa miliaria Lombardica, spacium inter medium istarum ciuitatum habitatoribus plenum est, et circuitus cuiuslibet istarum ambit 60. miliaria Lombardica, quæ faciunt octo Teutonica.

In hac ciuitate Cambalu residet Imperator Magnus Can, Rex Regum terrestrium, et Dominus Dominorum terrestrium. Atque indè vlteriùs in Orientem intratur vetus vrbs Caydo, vbi communiter tenet suam sedem Imperialem Grand Can in suo palatio. Ambitus autem vrbis Caydo, est viginti ferè leucarum, duodecim habens portas à se distantes ampliùs quàm stadia 24.

The English Version.

From that contree, men gon be the see occean, be an yle that is clept Caffolos. Men of that contree, whan here frendes ben seke, thei hangen hem upon trees; and seyn, that it is bettre, that briddes, that ben angeles of God, eten hem, than the foule wormes of the erthe.

From that yle men gon to another yle, where the folk ben of fulle cursed kynde: for thei norysschen grete dogges, and techen hem to strangle here frendes, whan thei ben syke: for thei wil noughte, that thei dyen of kyndely dethe: for thei seyn, that thei scholde suffren to gret peyne, zif thei abyden to dyen be hem self, as nature wolde: and whan thei ben thus enstrangled, thei eten here flesche, in stede of venysoun.

Aftreward men gon be many yles be see, unto an yle, that men clepen Milke: and there is a fulle cursed peple: for thei delyten in ne thing more, than for to fighten and to sle men. And thei drynken gladlyest mannes blood, the whiche thei clepen dieu. And the mo men that a man may slee, the more worschipe he hathe amonges hem. And zif 2 persones ben at debate, and peraventure ben accorded be here frendes or be sum of here alliance, it behovethe that every of hem, that schulle ben accorded, drynke of otheres blood: and elle the accord ne the alliance is noghte worthe, ne it schalle not be ne repref to him to breke the alliance and the accord, but zif every of hem drynke of otheres blood.

And from that yle, men gon be see, from yle to yle, unto an

yle, that is clept Tracoda; where the folk of that contree ben as bestes and unresonable, and duellen in caves, that thei maken in the erthe; for thei have no wytt to maken hem houses. And whan thei seen ony man passynge thorghe here contrees, thei hyden hem in here caves. And thei eten flesche of serpentes; and thei eten but litille, and thei speken nought; but thei hissen, as serpentes don. And thei sette no prys be no richesse, but only of a precyous ston, that is amonges hem, that is of 60 coloures. And for the name of the yle, thei clepen it Tracodon. And thei loven more that ston, than ony thing elle: and zit thei knowe not the vertue thereof: but thei coveyten it and loven it only for the beautee.

Aftre that yle, men gon be the see occean, be many yles, unto an yle, that is clept Nacumera; that is a gret yle and good and fayr: and it is in kompas aboute, more than a 1000 myle. And alle the men and wommen of that yle han houndes hedes: and thei ben clept Cynocephali: and thei ben fulle resonable and of gode undirstondynge, saf that thei worschipen an ox for here god. And also everyche of hem berethe an ox of gold or of sylver in his forhed, in tokene that thei loven wel here god. And thei gon alle naked, saf a litylle clout, that thei coveren with here knees and hire membres. Thei ben grete folk and wel fyghtynge; and thei han a gret targe, that coverethe alle the body, and a spere in here hond to fighte with. And zif thei taken ony man in bataylle, anon thei eten him. The kyng of that yle is fulle riche and fulle myghty, and righte devout aftre his lawe: and he hathe abouten his nekke 300 perles oryent, gode and grete, and knotted, as Pater Nostres here of amber. And in maner as wee seyn oure Pater Noster and oure Ave Maria, cowntyng the Pater Nosters, right so this kyng seythe every day devoutly 300 preyeres to his god, or that he ete: and he berethe also aboute his nekke a rubye oryent, noble and fyn, that is a fote of lengthe, and fyve fyngres large. And whan thei chesen here kyng, thei taken him that rubye, to beren in his hond, and so thei leden him rydynge alle abouten the cytee. And fro thens fromward, thei ben alle obeyssant to him. And that rubye he schalle bere alle wey aboute his nekke: for zif he hadde not that rubye upon him, men wolde not holden him for kyng. The grete Cane of Cathay hathe gretly coveted that rubye; but he myghte never han it, for werre ne for no maner of godes. This kyng is so rightfulle and of equytee in his doomes, that men may go sykerlyche thorghe out alle his contree, and bere with him what him list, that no man schalle ben hardy to robben hem: and zif he were, the kyng wolde iustifyed anon.

Fro this lond men gon to another yle, that is clept Silha: and it is welle a 800 myles aboute. In that lond is fulle mochelle waste; for it is fulle of serpentes, of dragouns and of cokadrilles; that no man dar duelle there, Theise cocodrilles ben serpentes, zalowe and rayed aboven, and han 4 feet and schorte thyes and grete nayles, as clees or talouns; and there ben somme that han 5 fadme in lengthe, and summe of 6 and of 8, and of 10: and whan thei gon be places, that ben gravelly, it semethe as thoughe men hadde drawen a gret tree thorghe the gravelly place. And there ben also many wylde bestes, and namelyche of olyfauntes. In that yle is a gret mountayne; and in mydd place of the mount, is a gret lake in a fulle faire pleyne, and there is a gret plentee of watre. And thei of the contree seyn, that Adam and Eve wepten upon that mount an 100 zeer, whan thei weren dryven out of Paradys. And that watre, thei seyn, is of here teres: for so moche watre thei wepten, that made the forseyde lake. And in the botme of that lake, men fynden many precious stones and grete perles. In that lake growen many reedes and grete cannes: and there with inne ben many cocodrilles and serpentes and grete watre leches. And the kyng of that contree, ones every zeer, zevethe leve to pore men to gon in to the lake, to gadre hem precyous stones and perles, be weye of alemesse, for the love of God, that made Adam. And alle the zeer, men fynde y nowe. And for the vermyn, that is with inne, thei anoynte here armes and here thyes and legges with an oynement, made of a thing that is clept lymons, that is a manere of fruyt, lyche smale pesen: and thanne have thei no drede of no cocodrilles, ne of non other venymous vermyn. This watre rennethe, flowynge and ebbynge, be a syde of the mountayne: and in that ryver men fynden precious stones and perles, gret plentee. And men of that yle seyn comounly, that the serpentes and the wilde bestes of that contree ne will not don non harm, ne touchen with evylle, no strange man, that entrethe into that contree, but only to men that ben born of the same contree. In that contree and othere there abouten, there ben wylde gees, that han 2 hedes: and there ben lyouns alle white, and als grete as oxen, and many other dyverse bestes, and foules also, that be not seyn amonges us. And witethe wel, that in that contree and in othere yles there abouten, the see is so highe, that it semethe as though it henge at the clowdes, and that it wolde covere alle the world: and that is gret mervaylle, that it myghte be so, saf only the wille of God, that the eyr susteynethe it. And therfore seyth David in the Psautere, *Mirabiles elationes Maris.*

How men knowen be the Ydole, zif the sike schalle dye or non. Of folk of dyverse schap and merveylously disfigured: And of the Monkes, that zeven hire releef to Babewynes, Apes and Marmesettes and to other Bestes.

Cap. XIX.

FRom that yle, in goynge be see, toward the southe, is another gret yle, that is clept Dondun. In that yle ben folk of dyverse kyndes; so that the fadre etethe the sone, the sone the fadre, the husbonde the wif, and the wif the husbonde. And zif it so befalle, that the fadre or modre or ony of here frendes ben seke, anon the son gothe to the prest of here law, and preyethe him to aske the ydole, zif his fadre or modre or frend schalle dye on that evylle or non. And than the prest and the sone gone to gydere before the ydole, and knelen fulle devoutly, and asken of the ydole here demande. And zif the devylle, that is with inne, answere, that he schalle lyve, thei kepen him wel: and zif he seye, that he schalle dye, then the prest gothe with the sonne, with the wif of him that is seeke, and thei putten here hondes upon his mouthe, and stoppen his brethe, and so thei sleen him. And aftre that, thei choppen alle the body in smale peces, and preyen alle his frendes to comen and eten of him, that is ded: and thei senden for alle the mynstralle of the contree, and maken a solempne feste. And whan thei han eten the flessche, thei taken the bones, and buryen hem, and syngen and maken gret melodye. And alle tho that ben of his kyn, or pretenden hem to ben his frendes, and thei come not to that feste, thei ben repreved for evere and schamed, and maken gret doel; for nevere aftre schulle thei ben holden as frendes. And thei seyn also, that men eten here flesche, for to delyveren hem out of peyne. For zif the wormes of the erthe eten hem, the soule scholde suffre gret peyne, as thei seyn; and namely, whan the flesche is tendre and megre, thanne seyn here frendes, that thei don gret synne, to leten hem have so long langure, to suffre so moche peyne, with oute resoun. And whan thei fynde the flessche fatte, than thei seyn, that it is wel don, to senden him sone to paradys; and that thei have not suffred him to longe to endure in peyne. The kyng of this yle is a ful gret lord and a myghty; and hathe undre him 54 grete yles, that zeven tribute to him: and in everyche of theise yles, is a kyng crowned, and alle ben obeyssant to that kyng. And he hathe in tho yles many dyverse folk. In one of theise yles ben folk of gret stature, as Geauntes; and thei ben hidouse for to loke upon; and thei han but on eye, and that is in the myddylle of the front; and thei eten no thing but raw flessche and raw fyssche.

And in another yle, toward the southe, duellen folk of foule stature and of cursed kynde, that han no hedes: and here eyen ben in here scholdres.

And in another yle ben folk, that han the face all platt, alle pleyn, with outen nese and with outen mouthe: but thei han 2 smale holes alle rounde, in stede of hire eyen: and hire mouthe is platt also, with outen lippes.

And in another yle ben folk of foul fasceon and schapp, that han the lippe above the mouthe so gret, that whan thei slepen in the sonne, thei keveren alle the face with that lippe.

And in another yle, ther ben litylle folk, as dwerghes; and thei ben to so meche as the pygmeyes, and thei han no mouthe, but in stede of hire mouthe, thei han a lytylle round hole: and whan thei schulle eten or drynken, thei taken thorghe a pipe or a penne or suche a thing, and sowken it in: for thei han no tonge; and therfore thei speke not, but thei maken a maner of hissynge, as a neddre doth, and thei maken signes on to another, as monkes don; be the whiche, every of hem undirstondethe other.

And in another yle ben folk, that han gret eres and longe, that hangen doun to here knees.

And in another yle ben folk, that han hors feet; and thei ben stronge and myghty and swift renneres: for thei taken wyld bestes with rennyng, and eten hem.

And in another yle ben folk, that gon upon hire hondes and hire feet, as bestes: and thei ben alle skynned and fedred, and thei wolde lepen als lightly in to trees, and fro tree to tree, as it were squyrelles or apes.

And in another yle ben folk that ben bothe man and womman: and thei han kynde of that on and of that other; and thei han but o pappe on the o syde, and on that other non: and thei han membres of generacioun of man and womman; and thei usen bothe, whan hem list, ones that on, and another tyme that other:

and thei geten children, whan thei usen the membre of man; and thei bere children, whan thei usen the membre of womman.

And in another yle ben folk, that gon alle weyes upon here knees, ful merveylously; and at every pas that thei gon, it semethe that thei wolde falle: and thei han in every foot, 8 toes.

Many other dyverse folk of dyverse natures ben there in other yles abouten, of the whiche it were to longe to telle: and therfore I passe over schortly.

From theise yles, in passynge be the see occean toward the est, be many iourneyes, men fynden a gret contree and a gret kyngdom, that men clepen Mancy: and that is in Ynde the more: and it is the beste lond, and on of the fairest, that may be in alle the world, and the most delectable, and the most plentifous of all godes, that is in power of man. In that lond duellen many Cristene men and Sarrazynes: for it is a gode contree and a gret. And there ben there inne mo than 2000 grete cytees and riche, with outen other grete townes. And there is more plentee of peple there, than in ony other partie of Ynde; for the bountee of the contree. In that contree is no nedy man, ne none that gothe on beggynge. And thei ben fulle faire folk: but thei ben all pale. And the men han thynne berdes and fewe heres; but thei ben longe: but unethe hathe ony man passynge 50 heres in his berd; and on heer sitt here, another there, as the berd of a lyberd or of a catt. In that lond ben many fairere wommen, than in ony other contree bezonde the see: and therfore men clepen that lond Albanye; because that the folk ben whyte. And the chief cytee of that contree is clept Latoryn; and it is a iourneye from the see: and it is moche more than Parys. In that cytee is a gret ryvere, berynge schippes, that gon to alle the costes in the see. No cytee of the world is so wel stored of schippes, as is that. And alle tho of the cytee and of the contree worschipen ydoles. In that contree ben double sithes more briddes than ben here. There ben white gees, rede aboute the nekke, and thei han a gret crest, as a cokkes comb upon hire hedes: and thei ben meche more there, than thei ben here; and men byen hem there alle quykke, right gret chepe. And there is gret plentee of neddres, of whom men maken grete festes, and eten hem at grete sollempnytees. And he that makethe there a feste, be it nevere so costifous, and he have no neddres, he hathe no thanke for his travaylle.

Many gode cytees there ben in that contree, and men han gret plentee and gret chep of alle wynes and vitailles. In that contree ben manye chirches of religious men, and of here lawe: and in tho chiches been ydoles, als grete as geauntes. And to theise ydoles thei zeven to ete, at grete festyfulle dayes, in this manere. Thei bryngen before hem mete alle soden, als hoot as thei comen fro the fuyr, and thei leten the smoke gon up towardes the ydoles; and than thei seyn, that the ydoles han eten; and than the religious men eten the mete aftrewardes. In that contree been white hennes withouten fetheres: but thei beren white wolle, as scheep don here. In that contree, wommen that ben unmaryed, thei han tokenes on hire hedes, lyche coronales, to ben knowen for unmaryed. Also in that contree, ther ben bestes, taughte of men to gon in to watres, in to ryveres and in to depe stankes, for to take fysche: the whiche best is but lytille, and men clepen hem loyres. And whan men casten hem in to the watre, anon thei bringen up gret fissches, als manye as men wold. And zif men wil have mo, thei cast hem in azen, and thei bryngen up als many as men list to have.

And fro that cytee, passynge many iourneyes, is another cytee, on of the grettest of the world, that men clepen Cassay; that is to seyne, the Cytee of Hevene. That cytee is well a 50 myle aboute, and it is strongliche enhabyted with peple, in so moche that in on house men maken 10 housholdes. In that cytee ben 12 princypalle zates; and before every zate, a 3 myle or a 4 myle in lengthe, is a gret toun, or a gret cytee. That cytee sytt upon a gret lake on the see; as dothe Venyse. And in that cytee ben mo than 12000 brigges: and upon every brigge, ben stronge toures and gode; in the whiche duellen the wardeynes, for to kepen the cytee fro the gret Cane. And on that o part of the cytee, rennethe a gret ryvere alle along the cytee. And there duellen Cristene men, and many marchauntes and other folk of dyverse nacyouns: be cause that the lond is so gode and so plentifous. And there growethe fulle gode wyn, that men clepen Bigon, that is fulle myghty and gentylle in drynkynge. This is a cytee ryalle, where the Kyng of Mancy was wont to duelle: and there duellen many religious men, as it were of the order of freres: for thei ben mendyfauntes.

From that cytee, men gon be watre, solacynge and disportynge hem, tille thei come to an abbey of monkes, that is faste bye, that ben gode religious men, after here feythe and lawe. In that abbeye is a gret gardyn and a fair, where ben many trees of dyverse manere of frutes: and in this gardyn, is a lytille hille, fulle of delectable trees. In that hille and in that gardyn, ben many dyverse bestes, as of apes, marmozettes, babewynes, and many other dyverse bestes. And every day, whan the covent of this abbeye hathe eten, the awmener let bere the releef to the gardyn, and he smytethe on the gardyn zate with a clyket of sylver, that he holdethe in his hond, and anon alle the bestes of the hille and of dyverse places of the gardyn, comen out, a 3000 or a 4000; and thei comen in gyse of pore men: and men zeven hem the releef, in faire vesselles of sylver, clene over gylt. And whan thei han eten, the monk smytethe eft sones on the gardyn zate with the clyket; and than anon alle the bestes retornen azen to here places, that thei come fro. And thei seyn, that theise bestes ben soules of worthi men, that resemblen in lyknesse of the bestes, that ben faire: and therfore thei zeve hem mete, for the love of God. And the other bestes that ben foule, they seyn, ben soules of pore men and of rude comouns. And thus thei beleeven, and no man may putte hem out of this opynyoun. Theise bestes aboveseyd, thei let taken, whan thei ben zonge, and norisschen hem so with almesse; als manye, as thei may fynde. And I asked hem, zif it had not ben better, to have zoven that releef to pore men, rathere than to the bestes. And thei answerde me and seyde, that thei hadde no pore men amonges hem, in that contree: and thoughe it had ben so, that pore men had ben among hem, zit were it gretter almesse, to zeven it to tho soules, that don there here penance. Many other marveylles ben in that cytee and in the contree there aboute, that were to long to telle zou.

Fro that cytee, go men be the contree a 6 iourneyes, to another cytee, that men clepen Chilenfo: of the whiche cytee, the walles ben 20 myle aboute. In that cytee ben 60 brigges of ston, so faire, that no man may see fairere. In that cytee was the firste sege of the Kyng of Mancy: for it is a faire cytee, and plenteevous of alle godes.

Aftre passe men overthwart a gret ryvere, that men clepen Dalay: and that is the grettest ryvere of fressche water, that is in the world. For there, as it is most narow, it is more than a myle of brede. And thanne entren men azen into the lond of the grete Chane. That ryvere gothe thorghe the lond of Pigmaus: where that the folk ben of litylle stature, that ben but 3 span long: and thei ben right faire and gentylle, aftre here quantytees, bothe the men and the wommen. And thei maryen hem, whan thei ben half zere of age, and geten children. And thei lyven not, but 6 zeer or 7 at the moste. And he that lyvethe 8 zeer men holden him there righte passynge old. Theise men ben the beste worcheres of gold, sylver, cotoun, sylk, and of alle suche thinges, of ony other, that be in the world. And thei han often tymes werre with the briddes of the contree, that thei taken and eten. This lityllе folk nouther labouren in londes ne in vynes. But thei han grete men amonges hem, of oure ſtature, that tylen the lond, and labouren amonges the vynes for hem. And of tho men of oure stature, han thei als grete skorne and wondre, as we wolde have among us of geauntes, zif thei weren amonges us. There is a gode cytee, amonges othere, where there is duellynge gret plentee of tho lytylle folk: and it is a gret cytee and a fair; and the men ben grete, that duellen amonges hem: but whan thei geten ony children, thei ben als lityllе as the pygmeyes: and therfore thei ben alle, for the moste part, alle pygmeyes; for the nature of the lond is suche. The grete Cane let kepe this cytee fulle wel: for it is his. And alle be it, that the pygmeyes ben lytylle, zit thei ben fulle resonable, aftre here age, and connen bothen wytt and gode and malice, y now.

Fro that cytee, gon men be the contree, be many cytees and many townes, unto a cytee, that men clepen Jamchay: and it is a noble cytee and a riche, and of gret profite to the lord: and thidre go men to sechen marchandise of alle manere of thing. That cytee is fulle moche worthe zerly to the lord of the contree. For he hathe every zere to rente of that cytee (as thei of the cytee seyn) 50000 cumantz of floreyns of gold: for thei cownten there alle be cumanz: and every cumant is 10000 floryns of gold. Now may men wel rekene, how moche that it amountethe. The kyng of that contree is fulle myghty: and zit he is undre the grete Cane. And the gret Cane hathe undre him 12 such provynces. In that contree, in the gode townes, is a gode custom. For whoso wille make a feste to ony of his frendes, there ben certeyn innes in every gode toun; and he that wil make the feste, wil seye to the hostellere, arraye for me, to morwe, a gode dyner, for so many folk; and tellethe him the nombre; and devysethe him the viaundes: and he seythe also, thus moche I wil dispende, and no more. And anon the hostellere arrayethe for him, so faire and so wel and so honestly, that ther schalle lakke no thing. And it schalle be don sunnere, and with lasse cost, than and a man made it in his owne hous.

And a 5 myle fro that cytee, toward the hed of the ryvere of Dalay, is another cytee, that men clepen Menke. In that cytee is strong navye of schippes; and alle ben white as snow, of the kynde of the trees, that thei ben made offe. And thei ben fulle grete schippes, and faire, and wel ordeyned, and made with halles and chambres, and other eysementes, as thoughe it were on the lond.

Fro thens go men be many townes and many cytees, thorghe the contree, unto a cytee, that men clepen Lanteryne: and it is an 8 iourneyes from the cytee aboveseyd. This cytee sitt upon a faire ryvere, gret and brood, that men clepen Caramaron. This ryvere passethe thorghe out Cathay: and it dothe often tyme harm, and that fulle gret, whan it is over gret.

Of the grete Chane of Chatay. Of the Rialtee of his Palays, and how he sitt at Mete; and of the grete nombre of Officeres, that serven hym.

CHatay is a gret contree and a faire, noble and riche, and fulle of marchauntes. Thidre gon marchaundes alle zeres, for to sechen spices and alle manere of marchandises, more comounly than in ony other partye. And zee schulle undirstonde, that marchaundes, that comen fro Gene or fro Venyse or fro Romanye, or other partyes of Lombardye, thei gon be see and be lond 11 monethes, or 12, or more sum tyme, or thei may come to the yle of Cathay, that is the princypalle regyoun of alle partyes bezonde; and it is of the grete Cane. Cap. XX.

Fro Cathay go men toward the est, be many iourneyes: and than men fynden a gode cytee, betwene theise othere, that men clepen Sugarmago. That cytee is on of the beste stored of sylk and other marchandises, that is in the world. Aftre go men zit to another old cytee, toward the est: and it is in the provynce of Cathay. And besyde that cytee, the men of Tartarye han let make another cytee, that is clept Caydon; and it hathe 12 zates: and betwene the two zates, there is alle weyes a gret myle; so that the 2 cytees, that is to seyne, the olde and the newe, han in circuyt more than 20 myle.

CAPVT. 34.

De pallatio Imperatoris Grand Can.

PAlatium Imperatoris Grand Can, quod est in Caydo ciuitate, continet in circuitu proprij muralis vltrà duas leucas, et sunt in eo aulæ quàm plures, in forma nobiles, et in materia nobiliores. Aula autem sedis, quæ est maxime cæterarum, habet intrinsecus pro sui sustentatione 24. æreas columnas factas opere fusorio, de auro puro, et omnes parietes ab intus opertas pellibus quorundam animalium, quæ vocantur Pantheres: hæ sanguinei sunt coloris, et ita remicantes, vt Sole desuper relucente, vix oculus valeat humanus sufferre splendorem, tantæque fragantiæ, vt illi approximare non posset aer infectus, vnde et ista opertura parietum appreciatur super tegmen aurearum laminarum.

Namque stultorum aliqui Paganorum huiusmodi adorant animalia propter colorum, odorumque virtutem. Proposui retrahere calamum à describenda nobilitate, gubernatione et ministrantium frequentia, atque Imperatoris magnificentia: attamen quia cœpi ego, propter incredulos, et nescios, ac inerudibiles, non dimittam in toto. Quicunque enim nihil credunt, nihil sciunt, neque erudiri possunt, Scriptura testante, si non credideritis non intelligetis. Dico ergo, et verè dico, quòd in huius aulæ capite sit thronus, vel sedes Imperialis, excelsus, et eminens in ascensu graduum quamplurium, in quo residere solet in plenaria maiestate, in cuius throni toto corpore nihil apparet minùs nobile, auro, margaritis, gemmis, et lapidibus preciosis. Singuli gradus sunt de singulis, ac inter se diuersis magnis lapidibus, vtpote primus de Hæmatisto, alius de Sardio, et alius de Chrysolito, et sic vsque ad supremum gradum, qui singuli ad formam cuiusque gradus sunt circumfusi, et clusorio opere firmati, auro solido, et nihilominùs per superficiem auri, distinctè seminati, firmitèrque inclusi lapilli cari, cum orientalibus Margaritis, summitas autem cum ferculo residentiæ in nobilitate excisionis, et fabrifactura operis tam diuersa est, et mira, vt paruitatem mei ingenij excedat, quamobrem et ei cedo, vlteriusque procedo.

Ad Imperatoris sinistram gradu vno bassior, est sedes suæ primæ coniugis, tota de iaspidibus auro circumfusis, et in superficie aulæ distinctæ gemmulæ cum granellis eodem schemate, et similiter de iaspide. Sed adhuc submissior vno gradu est sedes coniugis secundæ, nec non et sub illa vxoris tertiæ. Nam tres proprias secum habet vxores, Odericus dicit, istas duas concubinas. Itémque resident sub tertia coniuge nobiles mulieres de Imperatoris progenie, iuxta illustriam vniuscuiusque.

Et notandum, quòd per totam patriam singulæ mulieres maritatæ, vt intelligantur maritis subiectæ, et vt discernantur à solutis, gestant in capitis summitate similitudinem pedis viri, longitudinis brachij et dimidij, quadam leui materia operatam: videlicet nobiles de sericosis operibus pannorum, seu alijs raris et pulchris pannis, et preciosis lapillis, et ignobiles iuxta statum suum de materia communiori.

Ad dextram verò sedentis Imperatoris vno gradu submissus residet primogenitus eius filius, et sub ipso ordinatè in consimilibus sedibus nobiles proximi de cognitione Imperiali.

Item super thronum et desuper ante ipsius throni locum, tanquam pro celato seu operimento in throno residentium, et eorum ministrantium, est extensa similitudo vitis operata in palmitibus, et pampinis, de auro puro ad extensionem cubitorum quadraginta, per quadrum, atque per eam dependentes botri vuarum de gemmis, et granellis quinque colorum, quorum albi sunt de christallo et beryllo, et iriscrocei de topazio et fuluo christallo, rubei de rubetorum granis, corallo, et alibandinis, virides de Smaragdis, pyropis, et chrysolytis, nigri, de onichinis, gagetis, et gerateris.

Tempore prandij in hac aula, Imperator et Imperatrices, et quisq; de prædictis, habet mensam sibi solam, quarum vilior præualet thesauro grandi.

In solennitatibus ponitur mensa Imperatori de exquisito electro, seu de auro examinato, distincta diamantibus, et nobis ignotis in comparabilibus gemmis, quandóque de christallo perspicuo, seu croceo, circumclusa auro cum gemmis: quandóque de Hæmatisto, quandóque de ebore candido, vel rubicundo: interdum de ligno artificiosè combinato, quod descendit per flumina de Paradiso. Idem dicit Odericus.

His mensis astant Barones, et Principes pro vasallis attentè in suis officijs ministrantes, quorum nec vnus emittere verbum aliqua præsumit audacia, nisi Imperatore annuente, vel ad illum loquente, illis duntaxat exceptis, qui certis interspatijs canunt, aut recitant de principum gestis.

Et notandum, quando in hoc solio Maiestatis diebus solennibus residet Imperator, subsidere ad pedes eius notarios quatuor, qui omne quod Dominus loquitur, singuli ponunt in scriptis: nam quodcunque tunc ex ore illius egreditur, necesse est esse, vel effici, nec valet item ipse verbum suum mutare, nec reuocare, nisi magno consilio conuocato.

Vniuersa vtensilia quibus in solennitate ad has seruitur mensas, sunt de nobilibus petris auro reclusis, Cyphi de Smaragdis, vel Saphyris, topasijs, pyropis, siue gryophis: et priuatioribus diebus, de auro probato etiam in cameris, et cubiculis, nec reputatur ibi claritas argenti, nisi pro pilarijs, columnis, gradibus, et pauimentis.

Istius autem ostia aulæ, dum in ea residet, aut deambulat Imperator, multi Barones ingressum seruant intentè, et ne limen tangatur, quod hoc haberent pro augurio, et benè verberaretur, quia Imperatore præsente, nemo nisi adductus in quacunque camera, vel habitatione intromittitur, donec interrogatus iusserit Imperator.

Latitudinem huius Basilicæ æstimo ad spatium de meis pedibus centum, et longitudinem vltrà quatuor centum. In cubiculo autem Regis dormitorio, constat vnus pillarius, seu columna de auro solido et carbunculus conclusus in illo longitudinis pedis vnius, totum habitaculum de nocte perfundens lumine claro. Hic prout ego notaui, non est plenè rubeus, sed subrufus, quasi coloris Hæmatistini. Porrò in vna aularum, circà medium palatii, est alius excelsus ascensus, Odericus dicit pigma, super quem dum placet, stat, vel residet Imperator, ditissimè etiam operatus, ex auro, gemmis, baccis, margaritis, et lapidibus raris, et in quatuor angulis, imagines quatuor serpentum de auro puro.

Huius per tria latera dependent retia seu cortinæ de cordulis sericis, in quibus ad singulos nodos, grossa margarita habetur innexa, quibus cortinis tegitur officina: in eius concauitate tenetur tumba quadrata, in qua conueniunt conductus omnium potuum, qui bibuntur in Curia, et innumera vasorum genera, quibus potus omnibus ministratur.

Prætereà, iuxta palatii ambitum, habetur grandis parci spaciamentum, diuersi generis arboribus repletum, fructus ferentibus varios, et nobis inuisos, et in parte media, aula super excelsum collem de tam mira et pulchra structura, vt eius nobilitas de facili ad præsens, non possit describi. Et vndique, par collis gyrum aquæ fossatum profundum, et latum vltrà quod pons vnicus ducit ad collem. Atque ex duobus montis lateribus, stagnum cum diuersorum copia piscium, et volucrum indomitarum, vt aucarum, anatum, cignorum, ciconiarum, ardearum, et collectorum in magna pluralitate, nec non et per parcum, multæ syluestres bestiæ, et bestiolæ quatenùs per aulæ fenestras possit Dominus pro solatio respicere volucrum aucupationes, bestiarum venationes, et piscium captiones.

Et hoc proculdubio sciendum, quòd in nostris partibus rara sint oppida cum pluribus mansionibus, quàm in isto palatio continentur.

Tota æstate moratur in India terra frigidissima, in hyeme in Cambalu. Odericus.

Præter palatium hoc in Caydo, habet Imperator similitèr tria: vnum in ciuitate Sadus, versus Septentrionem, vbi competens est frigus, ibi moratur in æstate. Cambalu, vbi competens calor, ibi moratur hyeme. Tertium in ciuitate Iongh, in quo et in isto Caydo, vt sæpiùs seruat sedem, eò quòd in istis est aer magis temperatus, quamuis semper calidus videtur Nostratibus.

The English Version.

In this cytee is the Sege of the grete Cane in a fulle gret palays, and the most passynge fair in alle the world: of the whiche the walles ben in circuyt more than 2 myle: and within the walles, it is alle fulle of other palays. And in the gardyn of the grete palays, there is a gret hille, upon the whiche there is another palays; and it is the most fair and the most riche, that ony man may devyse. And all aboute the palays and the hille, ben many trees, berynge many dyverse frutes. And alle aboute that hille, ben dyches grete and depe: and besyde hem, ben grete vyneres, on that o part and on that other. And there is a fulle fair brigge to passe over the dyches. And in theise vyneres, ben so many wylde gees and gandres and wylde dokes and swannes and heirouns, that it is with outen nombre. And alle aboute theise dyches and vyneres, is the grete gardyn, fulle of wylde bestes; so that, whan the gret Cane wil have ony desport on that, to taken ony of tho wylde bestes or of the foules, he wil lete chace hem and taken hem at the wyndowes, with outen goynge out of his chambre. This palays, wher^e his sege is, is bothe gret and passynge fair. And with in the palays, in the halle, there ben 24 pyleres of fyn gold: and alle the walles ben covered with inne, of rede skynnes of bestes, that men clepen panteres; that ben faire bestes, and well smellyng: so that for the swete odour of tho skynnes, non evylle ayr may entre in to the palays. Tho skynnes ben als rede as blode; and thei schynen so brighte azen the sonne, that unethes no man may beholden hem. And many folk wor-

schipen tho bestes, whan thei meeten hem first at morwe, for here gret vertue and for the gode smelle that thei han: and tho skynnes thei preysen more than thoughe thei were plate of fyn gold. And in the myddes of this palays is the mountour for the grete Cane, that is alle wrought of gold and of precyous stones and grete perles: and at 4 corneres of the mountour, been 4 serpentes of gold: and alle aboute ther is ·y made large nettes of sylk, and gold and grete perles hangynge alle aboute the mountour. And undre the mountour, ben condytes of beverage, that thei drynken in the emperours court. And besyde the condytes, ben many vesselles of gold, be the whiche, thei that ben of houshold, drynken at the condyt. And the halle of the palays is fulle nobelyche arrayed, and fulle merveylleousely atyred on all parteys, in alle thinges, that men apparayle with ony halle. And first, at the chief of the halle, is the emperours throne, fulle highe, where he syttethe at the mete: and that is of fyn precyouse stones, bordured alle aboute with pured gold and precyous stones and grete perles. And the grees, that he gothe up to the table, ben of precyous stones, medled with gold. And at the left syde of the emperoures sege, is the sege of his firste wif, o degree lowere than the emperour: and it is of jaspere, bordured with gold and preciouse stones. And the sege of his seconde wif is also another sege, more lowere than his firste wif: and it is also of jaspere, bordured with gold, as that other is. And the sege of the thridde wif is also more lowe, be a degree, than the seconde wif. For he hathe alweys 3 wifes with him, where that evere he be. And aftre his wyfes, on the same syde, sytten the ladyes of his lynage, zit lowere, aftre that thei ben of estate. And alle tho that ben maryed, han a countrefete, made lyche a mannes foot, upon here hedes, a cubyte long, alle wrought with grete perles, fyne and oryent, and aboven, made with pecokes fedres and of other schynynge fedres; and that stont upon here hedes, like a crest, in tokene that thei ben undre mannes fote and undre subiectioun of man. And thei that ben unmaryed, han none suche. And aftre, at the right syde of the Emperour, first syttethe his eldest sone, that schalle regne aftre him: and he syttethe also o degree lowere than the emperour, in suche manere of seges, as don the emperesses. And aftre him, sytten other grete lordes of his lynage, every of hem a Degree lowere than other, as thei ben of estate. And the emperour hathe his table allone be him self, that is of gold and of precious stones, or of cristalle, bordured with gold, and fulle of precious stones or of amatystes or of lignum aloes, that comethe out of paradys, or of ivory, bounden or bordured with gold. And everyche of his wyfes hathe also hire table be hire self. And his eldest sone, and the other lordes also, and the ladyes, and alle that sitten with the emperour, han tables allone be hem self, fulle riche. And there nys no table, but that it is worthe an huge tresour of gode. And undre the emperoures table, sitten 4 clerkes, that writen alle, that the emperour seythe, be it good, be it evylle. For alle that he seythe, moste ben holden: for he may not chaungen his word, ne revoke it. At grete solempne festes, before the emperoures table, men bryngen grete tables of gold, and there on ben pecokes of gold, and many other maner of dyverse foules, alle of gold, and richely wrought and enameled; and men maken hem dauncen and syngen, clappynge here wenges to gydere, and maken gret noyse: and where it be by craft or be nygromancye, I wot nere; but it is a gode sight to beholde, and a fair; and it is gret marvayle how it may be. But I have the lasse marvaylle, be cause that thei ben the moste sotyle men in alle sciences and in alle craftes, that ben in the world. For of sotyltee and of malice and of fercastynge, thei passen alle men undre hevene. And therfore thei seyn hem self, that thei seen with 2 eyen; and the Cristene men see but with on: be cause that thei ben more sotylle than thei. For alle other naciouns, thei seyn, ben but blynde in conynge and worchynge in comparisoun to hem. I did gret besynesse, for to have lerned that craft: but the maistre tolde me, that he had made a vow to his God, to teche it to no creature, but only to his eldeste sone. Also above the emperours table and the othere tables, and aboven a gret partie in the halle, is a vyne, made of fyn gold: and it spredethe alle aboute the halle; and it hath many clustres of grapes, somme white, somme grene, summe zalowe and somme rede and somme blake, alle of precious stones: the white ben of cristalle and of berylle and of iris; the zalowe ben of topazes; the rede ben of rubies, and of grenaz and of alabraundynes; the grene ben of emeraudes, of perydos and of crisolytes; and the blake ben of onichez and garantez. And thei ben alle so propurlyche made, that it semethe a verry vyne, berynge kyndely grapes. And before the emperoures table, stonden grete lordes, and riche barouns and othere, that serven the emperour at the mete. And no man is so hardy, to speke a word, but zif the emperour speke to him; but zif it be mynstrelles, that syngen songes, and tellen gestes or other desportes, to solace with the emperour. And alle the vesselle, that men ben served with, in the halle or in chambres, ben of precious stones; and specially at grete tables; outher of jaspre or of cristalle or of amatystez or of fyn gold. And the cuppes ben of emeraudez and of saphires or of topazes, of perydoz, and of many other precyouse stones. Vesselle of sylver is there non: for thei telle no prys there of, to make no vesselle offe: but thei maken ther of grecynges and pileres and pawmentes, to halles and chambres. And before the halle dore, stonden manye barounes, and knyghtes clene armed, to kepe that no man entre, but zif it be the wille or the commandement of the emperour, or but zif thei ben servauntes or mynstralle of the houshold: and other non is not so hardy, to neighen nye the halle dore.

CAPVT. 35.

De quatuor solennitatibus, quas Magnus Can celebrat in anno.

SCiatis quòd ego, meſque sodales, pro fama magnificentiæ huius Imperatoris, tradidimus nos stipendiarios esse in guerris, contra Regem Mangi prænominatum. Et fuimus apud ipsum 15. mensibus, et certè inuenimus multò maiorem partem hominum, in mediam partem nobis non fuisse relatam: hominum (exceptis custodibus bestiarum et volucrum,) qui intra palatium certa gerunt ministeria est numerus decem cuman.

Nota. Traxi moram in Cambalu tribus annis: fratres nostri locum habent in Curia sua specialiter, et festis diebus statutis dant benedictionem, Odericus. Et quoniam Imperator habet satis plures quàm decem mille Elephantes edomitos, et velut vltrà numerum alias bestias, (quarum quædam tenentur in caueis, stabulis mirabilibus, vel catenis) nec non et aues rapaces, et accipitres, falcones, ostrones, gryfandos gentiles, Laueroys, et Satyros, sed et auiculas loquentes, et papingos, et similes, aliásque cantantes: reputatur numerus hominum de istis curam et laborem gerentium, vltrà sex cuman, et prætereà iugiter ad Curiam equites cum plenarijs armaturis, quinque cuman, et de peditibus cum præliandi armaturis, cuman decem. Sed et omnes de natione quacunque mundi venientes, qui petunt describi pro Curia recipiuntur. Sic enim iussit Imperator.

Habet et medicos Paganos viginti, et totidem Physicos, atque sine his Medicos Christianos ducentos, et totidem Physicos,

quoniam iste Grand Can maiorem gerit confidentiam in Medicis Christianis, quàm in suæ propriæ nationis medicis.

Hoc ergò firmiter scias, quod de Curia Regis accipiunt necessaria sua iugitèr vltrà triginta cuman hominum, præter expensas animalium et volucrum, cùm tamen in festis maioribus sint homines propè in duplo tanti. Nec valet hic dominus defectum vllum pati pecuniæ, eò quòd in terra sua non currit moneta de argento, vel auro, alióue metallo, sed tantùm de corio vel papyro: horum enim forma denariorum signo Imperatoris impressorum preciatur minoris aut maioris valoris, secundùm diuersitatem impressionis, qui per visitationem, detriti vel rupti, cùm ad Regis thesaurarios deferuntur, protinùs dantur pro illis noui.

Quatèr in anno celebrat Imperator festiuitates solennes.

Primam de die propriæ Natiuitatis.

Secundam de die suæ primæ præsentationis in eorum Templo, quod appellant Moseath, vbi et fit ijs, nescio quod genus circumcisionis.

Tertiam in thronizatione sui Idoli in Templo.

Quartam de die quo Idolum cepit dare responsum, seu facere diabolica mira. Plures enim in anno non tenet solennitates, nisi si quando nuptias filij aut filiæ celebrat.

Itaque in istis solennitatibus est populi multitudo absque numero, omnes tamen in ordine debito, et singuli intendentes proprio ministerio: nam ad hoc ordinandum, et disponendum, electa sunt quatuor Baronum nobilium genera, ex quibus nonnulli sunt Reges, et alij Equites potentes, Duces, et Marchiones, omnes induti holosericis, quibus inserti cum certa disseminatione sunt vbique preciosi lapides, miræ virtutis, et aurifigia speciosa, vt si quis in his partibus vnum de talibus haberet mutatorijs, dici non posset pauper imò prædiues. Et habet quodlibet millenariorum in his vestibus colorem sibi proprium: primum viridem, secundum vermiculum, tertium croceum, quartum purpureum, seu indicum. Ergo in die solenni, dum de mane Maiestatis thronum conscenderit, veniunt se præsentari hoc modo Regi.

Ante primum millenarium procedit copiosa symphonia dulcis chordarum, sicut de violis, cytharis, lyris, et psalterijs, non autem de tubis aut tympanis: et præcedunt Baronis per transuersum Aulæ coram residente Domino ordinatè bini, et bini sub silentio, ferentes ambabus manibus ante pectus tabulam de Iaspide, ebore, christallo, pyropo, vel Hæmatisto, et ante faciem throni inclinant se Imperatori profundè.

Illísque pertranseuntibus, succedit simili modo millenarius secundus, et tertius, atque quartus, nec auditur à quoquam vnicum verbum. Hac præsentatione cum debita maturitate perfecta, resident in basso à latere throni ad proprias mensas, multi Philosophi, seu Artistæ, sicut de Astronomia, Geomantia, Pyromantia, Hydromantia, Chiromantia, Necromantia, auguriis, ac aruspiciis, et huiusmodi, tenentes coram instrumenta suæ artis, alii Astrolabium, et Sphæras de auro, alii in aureis vasis arenam, prunas ardentes, aquam, vinum, oleum, et caluarias mortuorum, loquentes et respondentes, nec non de auro horologia ad minùs duo: et ad cunctas horas secundum cursum horologiorum innuunt Philosophi seruis sibi ad hoc deputatis, vt faciant præstari auditum per aulam, quorum vnus aut duo conscendentes scallum, alta voce proclamant, audite, auscultate, et omnibus intendentibus dicit Philosophorum vnus: Quilibet nunc faciat reuerentiam Imperatori, qui est filius Dei excelsi, Dominus et superior omnium Dominorum Mundi, quia ecce hæc est hora. Et mox singuli in aula inclinato corpore et capite se inclinant maiestati manentes accliui, donec idem philosophus dicat, leuate. Atque protinùs super hoc factum, Musici suis instrumentis, suauem personant melodiam.

Posteà ad aliquantam moram simili modo dicit alius philosophorum, minimus digitus in aure: et ecce hoc omnes faciunt, donec dicat, sufficit: sic in aliam horam, seu moram dicit, manus vestra super os, et posteà manus super caput. Atque in hunc modum iuxta temporis cursum imponunt facienda signa diuersa. Innuunt in eis latere magna mysteria, et quodlibet horum factorum melodia terminat Musicorum. Et sciatis me quandoque in tempore opportuno ab eis interrogasse de his signis, qui responderunt quòd inclinare caput Domino ad illius horæ momentum, foret confirmatio omnibus diebus vitæ suæ, ad obediendum ipsi et fidelitatem obseruandam imperio, nec posse corrumpi promissionibus siue donis, quódque digitum in auricula imponere, obturatio est auditus contra omnia Imperatori, et Imperio contraria. Et sic de singulis factis singula mysteria confingentes decipiunt audientes: horum itaque fraudulento ingenio, iste Grand Can festiuatus, non nisi ad talium iudicium parari permittit cibaria, aut fieri indumenta pro suo corpore.

Dum autem est visum Curiæ gubernatoribus satis de prædictis auditum, faciunt proclamatores silentium imperari, et incipit fieri offerenda Imperatori hoc modo. Intrant omnes qui sunt de cognatione Imperatoris Barones adornati nobilissimè pro cuiusque decentia balteis, et indumentis, quorum primus cum resonante symphonia præmittit ad oblationem quotquot valet de dextrarijs albis, et inclinans ante thronum pertransit, atque per eundem modum singuli Baronum offerentes aliquid dignum iocale inclinant transeuntes, silentio firmè seruato. Post hos intrantes simili modo prælati et Abbates, de iurisdictionibus et religionibus Paganorum offerunt singuli pro suo statu se reuerentèr inclinantes maiestati, et maior prælatorum benedicit Regi, et suis ac Curiæ quadam suæ legis oratione.

Deinde introducuntur elephantes, leones, pardi, simiæ, marmotæ, et diuersæ bestiæ, quarum ductores singuli transeuntes inclinant reuerenter, et intentè. Postremò afferuntur aquilæ, struthiones, gryphandi, accipitres, et papingi, cum diuersis auibus et auiculis, nec non serpentes ac pisces, quorum portitores inclinant profundè, quoniam dicunt omnes terrenas creaturas debere adorationem Imperatori Grand Can filio Dei excelsi: et his perfectis,

Musicæ Camenæ persoluunt debita plenè.

Nos igitur intendamus hoc loco quæso quomodo veraciter Pagani in tenebris ambulant: diabolica inuolutione mens eorum obtenebrata non videt quomodò, cùm Imperator sit homo mortalis nuper natus, et similiter sicut illi infirmitate circundatus, atque in breui cum ipsis moriturus, quem etiam non dubitant sub Deo, clamant eum non Deum, sed Dei filium, vbi vtique prorsus ignorant illum non esse laudandum, nec adorandum, sed eum non intendunt alium filium, filium increatum et connaturalem, qui et ipsos et eum creauit, solum superlaudabilem in secula.

Et hoc alto corde considerantes, laudemus, adoremus, glorificemus, et superexaltemus totis viribus Deum, qui nos filios lucis esse voluit, et salutis, nasci, baptizari, educari, erudiri sub sinceritate fidei Christianæ, excluso schismate et errore, atque sub instituto sacrosanctæ matris Ecclesiæ, in qua sola penè ab omni circumferentia orbis terræ fides, quæ saluat, et per dilectionem operatur nunc remansit.

Et oremus instantèr pro ipsis Paganis, vt agnita veritatis luce videre possint quò ambulant, vt perueniant ad Iesum Christum coæqualem Dei filium, atque in ipso, et per ipsum laudare et adorare solum vnum verum Deum.

CAPVT. 36.

De ludis et præstigijs in suo festo, et de suo comitatu.

CElebrato post hoc prandio satis morosè, quia nunquam est vltrà semel edendum in die, de quo et eius administratione nunc longum est scribere, adsunt gesticulatores, mira visu, suauiáq; auditu pedibus, manibus, brachijs, humeris, capitibus, et toto corpore, ac ad singulos gestus, correspondentes debito vocis sono. Et semper finem horum mirabilium cantilena subsequitur musicorum. Ex hoc ioculatores præstò sunt, et Magi, qui suis incantationibus præstant præstigia multa.

Imprimis faciunt videri Solem et Lunam, oriendo, descendendo consuetum diei intra Basilicam peragere cursum, cum tanta nimietate splendoris, vt vix se inuicem homines valeant recognoscere præ fulgore, dicentes et mentientes, Solem et Lunam cœli hanc mittere reuerentiam Imperatori.

Hinc pari ludo comparent speciosæ puellæ ducere semitas et choreas, nobili gestu nobilissimum ferre poculum lactis equarum in aureis vasis, de quo, ponentes se in genibus, tradunt potum dominis et dominabus.

Tunc portantur et milites in equis, et armis quoq; pleni atque parati, qui feruentibus sonipedibus se inuicem cuspidibus ad fragorem magnum configentes lanceas comminuunt, et fragmenta per mensas, et pauimenta discurrunt. Ac deindè fantasticè venantur per aulam, cum canibus et papionibus, ad ceruos, lupos, vrsos, et apros, ad lepores, et marmotas. Quæ singula cùm ad horam pascant vana delectatione sensus corporeos, miseriam tamen inserunt piæ menti, quòd tot et tanti homines, neglecta prorsus animi salute, his diabolicis operationibus se dederunt in toto. Nam certò non ita sine dæmonum consolatione et familiaritate præmissa confingi dicerem.

Nota: à Cambalu ad viginti dietas, est pulchrum nemus girans octo dietas in circuitu, in quo sunt omnia genera animalium: custodes habet circa eum. Triennio vel quadriennio visitat illud Imperator, et cum multa gente nemus circumdat, canes emittuntur et aues, cum multo clamore, et feras congregant in medio nemoris, ad planiciem sibi sitam. Tunc Imperator priùs iacit quinque sagittas, posteà alij: tunc Imperator dicit, Eya, hoc est, mina bestijs, et sicut quilibet capit sagittam suam signatam, percussam, aliis recedentibus ad sua loca. Odericus.

Prætereà ante Imperatoris mensam eriguntur tabulæ latæ aureæ cum sculptis, ac si viuerent, imaginibus gallorum, pauonum ac diuersarum volucrum artificiosè, quas præstigiator facit pro libitu sine apprehensione manus ire, tripudiare, chorizare, tremere, compugnare, bibere, manducare, sed et cantare: quod quidem inter cætera mihi videbatur mirabilius et aspectu delectabilius. Nullus istud plenè intueri potuit, nisi qui erat in throno vel circa: et me oportet hoc loco fateri stultitiam propriam, quòd hac delectatione tractus, magnam adhibui apud Artistam diligentiam, verbis blandis, et quibuscunque munusculis, ac melioribus promissis, quod de tali mihi traderet artem, qui sagax simul et fallax imprimis, spem meam trahebat sponsionum funibus: sed at vltimum penitùs abscindebat, dicens se vouisse Deo immortali, ne cuiquam doceret nisi proprio filio seniori, ac per hoc me Deus ab illo malo conseruauit inuitum, et gratias nunc reddentem.

Certum est illic homines esse subtiles ad quasdam humanas artes, et ingeniosos ad fraudes super omnes, quas noui mundi partes, vnde et inter se dicunt prouerbium, se solos videre duobus oculis, et Christianos vno, cæteros autem homines cæcos: sed mentitur iniquitas sibi, quoniam ipsi vident solo oculo terrena et transitoria, et nos Christiani duobus, quia cum terrenis videmus spiritualia, et mansura: percussit enim Naas,* id est, humani generis hostis cum illis fœdus, vt erueret omnibus oculos dextros, scilicet spirituales.

* 1 Sam. 11. 2.

Cùm itaque narrata de præmissis debeant sufficere, quando Imperator Grand Can de vno quatuor palatiorum ad aliud transire velit, vel fortè gratia visitationis aut ardui negotii per Imperium de Regno ad Regnum tendit per comitatus, quatuor exercitibus antè et retrò, et ex ambobus lateribus.

Primus exercitus præcedit personam Regis per vnam de suis dietis, vt semper in hospitium de quo recessit exercitus Rex intret nocte sequenti, et est hic primus comitatus descriptus, et statutus de numero quinquaginta cuman virorum, hoc est, quingentorum millium, sempérque præuisum, et prouisum est, vt inueniant necessaria in locis, vbi habent quiescere, vel tardare siue in hospitiis, siue in tentoriis.

Secundus et tertius comitatus sunt eiusdem numeri virorum cum primo, quorum vnus ad dextram tendit Imperatoris, alius ad sinistrum in distantia ab ipso ad trium vel duarum leucarum.

Quartus autem qui maior est omnibus, subsequitur Imperatorem quasi ad spatium iactus balistæ. Et ad huc sciendum est, quòd personæ horum comitatuum sunt sigillatim, et summatim omnes descriptæ, vt dum vna moritur vel recedit, protinùs alia inscribatur, et numerus non minuatur. Ipse verò Imperator tendit residens in cella seu camera ædificata super currum grandem forma, fortem robore, nobilem in structura, est cella de ligno Aloes optimi odoris, et parietes cellæ operti in quibusdam locis laminis aureis, quæ et ipsæ distinguuntur gemmis variis, et margaritis.

Est autem currus quatuor rotarum duntaxat, quem trahunt quatuor Elephantes ad hoc curiosè instructi, cum quatuor hippis albis equæ doctis et ipsi cooperti ditissimis tegumentis, ac præter aurigas nobiliter indutos, qui currum cautissimè ducunt, adsunt et quatuor de maioribus palatii Dominis, indè ad vehiculum habentes iugem curam, de minatione eius, et ne vltimo exercitu appropriet infra iactum (vt dixi) sagittæ. Ipse autem interdum pro sodalitate iubet secum ascendere quam vult personam, sed minimè vltrà duos. In cellæ quoque culmine, quod aperiri valet et claudi, astant in pertica quatuor grifandi, vel ostiones. Odericus: duodecim Girfalcones, vt si fortè Imperator in aere aquilam, vulturum, ardeam, vel collectorem cerneret, citò dimitteret istorum duas aut plures ad aucupandum.

Nota, per Dromedarios, et cursores, et veloces, qui de hospitio ad hospitium permutantur, scit de remotis noua. Cursor enim appropinquans cornu sonat, et tunc alius præparat, et vlteriùs currit. Odericus. Sciendumque tam primogenitum Regis, quàm singulas de tribus vxoribus ducere similem apparatum in itinerando post ipsum, scilicet cum quatuor comitatibus, antè, et retrò, et à lateribus, sed in valdè minori numero personarum pro placito, et in singulis curribus sequentibus se inuicem per vnam dietam.

Præmissa omnia sic fiunt, dum Imperatori tendendum est remotè, aliàs autem minuuntur, et distinguuntur comitatus, iuxta quod decet, vt nonnunquam omnes Imperatores etiam cum filio simul tendant, cum vna comitatuum distinctione. Transeunte autem sic Imperatore per ciuitates et villas quilibet ante fores proprias præparato igne iactat puluerem aromata redolentem, stans genibus flexis ad reuerentiam illi. Et sciatis vbi propè transitum illius habentur Christianæ Abbatiæ, quas olim constituit Dux Ogerus, exeunt obuiam illi in processione cum vexillis, et sancta cruce, et aqua benedicta, et thuribulo, hymnum, Veni Creator spiritus decantantes.

Nota: Ego semel cum Episcopo nostro, et alijs fratribus, uimus obuiam per duas dietas, et portaui thuribulum. Odericus. Quos ipse à remotis videns, consueuit ad se appellare, et ad crucem suum galeatum deponere, ac reuerentèr nudo capite inclinare: et prælatus dicens super eum aliquam orationem signat cruce, et aqua benedicta aspergit. Et quoniam necesse est, vt quisque extraneus ante Regem apparens, offerat ei aliquid, prælatus in disco præsentat ei fructus, et poma, vel pyra, et hoc in numero nouenario, (ratio ponitur primo capitullo proximo, quod iste numerus est plus cæteris acceptus,) de quibus Imperator vnum sibi sumens, reliqua tradit Dominis præsentibus: quo facto habent relligiosi recedere citò, ne opprimantur multitudine populi subsequentis.

Præfatum Domini galeatum, est ita intextum auro, diamantibus, gemmunculis, et orientalibus margaritis, granellis, et dubletis, et prædiues in materia et artificio, vt ei non sit æquandus magni in partibus istis Regis thesaurus. Item sicut hæc fiunt transeunti Imperatori, fiunt et Imperatricibus, et filio seniori.

The English Version.

And zee schulle undirstonde, that my felawes and I, with oure zomen, we serveden this emperour, and weren his soudyoures, 15 monethes, azenst the Kyng of Mancy, that held werre azenst him. And the cause was, for we hadden gret lust to see his noblesse and the estat of his court and alle his governance, to wite zif it were suche, as wee herde seye, that it was. And treuly, we fond it more noble and more excellent and ricchere and more marveyllous, than ever we herde speke offe; in so moche, that we wolde never han leved it, had wee not seen it. For I trowe, that no man wolde beleve the noblesse, the ricchesse, ne the multytude of folk that ben in his court, but he had seen it. For it is not there, as it is here. For the lordes here han folk of certeyn nombre, als thei may suffise: but the grete Chane hathe every day folke at his costages and expenses, as with outen nombre. But the ordynance, ne the expenses in mete and drynk, ne the honestee ne the clennesse, is not so arrayed there, as it is here: for alle the comouns there eten withouten clothe upon here knees; and thei eten alle maner of flessche, and lityllé of bred. And aftre mete, thei wypen here hondes upon here skyrtes: and thei eten not but ones a day. But the estat of lordes is fulle gret and riche and noble. And alle be it, that sum men wil not trow me; but holden it for fable, to telle hem the noblesse of his persone and of his estate and of his court and of the gret multytude of folk, that he holt, natheles I schalle seye zou, a partye of him and of his folk, aftre that I have seen, the manere and the ordynance, fulle many a tyme. And whoso that wole, may leve me, zif he wille; and who so wille not, may chuse. For I wot wel, zif ony man hathe ben in tho contrees bezonde, thoughe he have not ben in the place, where the grete Chane duellethe, he schalle here speke of him so meche merveylouse thing, that he schalle not trowe it lightly: and treuly, no more did I my self, til I saughe it. And tho that han ben in tho contrees and in the gret Canes houshold, knowen wel, that I seye sothe. And therfore I wille not spare, for hem that knowe not, ne beleve not, but that that thei seen, for to telle zou a partie of him and of his estate, that he holt, whan he gothe from contree to contree, and whan he makethe solempne festes.

CAPVT. 37.

Qua de causa dicitur Grand Can.

SI placet audire, dicam cur hic Imperator sit appellatus Grand Can. Audieram ego in partibus Ierosolymorum hunc esse sic dictum, à filio Noe, Cham: sed in terra Cathay accepi et aliam, et meram huius rei veritatem. Nam et scribendo hæc duo nomina habent differentiam, quòd filius Noe Cham scribitur quatuor elementis, quorum vltimum est M. et iste Can tribus tantùm, quorum vltimum est N.

Post annos Christi 1100. illa prima Tartaria (de qua suprà scripsi in prima parte, capitulo quinto) fuit nimis oppressa seruitute sub Regibus circumiacentium sibi nationum. Quandò autem Deo placuit, maiores illius Tartariæ eleuauerunt de seipsis sibi Regem dictum Guis Can, cui et promiserunt subiectissimam obedientiam.

Idem cùm esset prudens strenuus 12. viriles habens filios, debellauit cum ijs et populo suo, et vicit, ac subiecit cunctos in circuitu Reges, quibus terra indebitè diù subiacuerat. Quin etiam apparente sibi in visione Angelo Dei velut milite in albo equo, et candidis armis, et hortante se, vt transiret Alpes, per montem Beliam,* et per brachium maris, ad terram Cathay, et ad alias illic plurimas regiones transiuit, et cœpit cum filijs suis aliquas ex illis debellare, et

* Vel Belgiam.

subijcere, Deo in omnibus adiuuante patentèr. Et quoniam in equo albo ei Angelus apparuit, qui etiam antè passum prædicti maris nouem orationes Deo facere iussit, ideò successores vsq; hodiè diligunt equos albos, et nouenarium numerum habent præ cæteris in gratia. Dumque Guis Can morti præ senio appropinquaret, conuocatos ante se filios hortabatur, et mouebat exemplo 12. telorum in simul colligatorum, quæ à nullo filiorum paritèr frangi potuerant, sed dissoluta vnumquodque per se facilè frangebatur, sic filij (inquit) dilectissimi, si per concordiam vos inuicèm dilexeritis, et vixeritis seniori fratri obedientes, confido in Deo iuxta promissionem mihi ab Angelo factam, quòd omnem latissimam istam terram, et optimam illius imperio subijcietis, quod et post patris discessum strenuissimè, ac fidelissimè (Deo sibi prosperante) perfecerunt. Et quia cum propriis nominibus habebant cognomen Can, primogenitus pro differentia obtinuit nomen Grand Can, id est, Magnus Can, videlicit suprà cæteros fratres, qui sibi in omnibus obediebant.

Itaque iste secundus Imperator vocabatur Ochoto Can.

Post quem filius eius regnauit dictus Guican.

Quartus autem, qui Mango Can baptizabatur, permansitque fidelis Christianus, qui etiam misso magno exercitu cum fratre suo Hallaon in partes Arabiæ et Aegypti mandauit destrui in toto Mahometi superstitionem, et terram poni in manibus Christianorum. Et fratre procedente, accepit rumores de fratris sui Imperatoris morte inopinata, quapropter et redijt negotio imperfecto.

Quintus Cobilacan, qui etiam fuit Christianus, et regnauit 42. annis, et ædificauit magnam ciuitatem Iong, maiorem satis vrbe Roma, in qua et continetur valdè nobile palatium Imperiale. Hinc vsque hodie omnes successores paganismo fœdantur.

Tempore autem meò erat nomen Imperatoris Echian Can, et primogenitus eius Cosuecan præter quem et alios filios habuit 12. de quorum nominibus conscribendis non est curæ presentis.

Prima vxorum suorum vocabatur Serochan, quæ et est filia Præsbyteri Ioannis scilicet Imperatoris Indiæ.

Secunda Verouchan.

Tertia Caranthcan.

Istis duobus Imperatoribus non creditur inueniri maior Dominus sub firmamento Cœli.

In literis quæ huius Imperatoris Tartariæ scribuntur nomine ponitur semper iste Titulus. Can filius Dei excelsi, omnium vniuersam terram colentium summus Imperator, et Dominus Dominantium omnium.

Circumferentia magni sui sigilli, continet hoc scriptum.
Deus in Cœlo, Can super terram, eius fortitudo. Omnium hominum Imperatoris sigillum.

Sciendum quoque quod quamuis populi ibi dicuntur, et sunt Pagani, tamen et rex et omnes credunt in Deum immortalem, et omnipotentem, et iurant per ipsum appellantes, Yroga, id est, Deum Naturæ. Sed nihilominus colunt et adorant idola, et simulachra aurea, et argentea, lapidea, lignea, filtria, lanea, et linea.

The English Version.

Wherefore he is clept the grete Chane. Of the Style of his Lettres, and of the Superscripcioun abowten his grete Sealle, and his pryvee Sealle.

FIrst I schalle seye zou, whi he was clept the gret Chane. Zee schulle undirstonde, that alle the world was destroyed by Noes flood, saf only Noe and his wif and his children. Chap. XXI. Noe had 3 sones, Sem, Cham and Japhethe. This Cham was he that saughe his fadres prevy membres naked, whan he slepte, and scorned hem and schewed hem with his finger, to his brethren, in scornynge wise : and ther fore he was cursed of God. And Japhethe turned his face away, and covered hem. Theise 3 bretheren had cesoun in alle the lond : and this Cham, for his crueltee, toke the gretter and the beste partie, toward the est, that is clept Asye : and Sem toke Affryk : and Japhethe toke Europe. And therfore is alle the erthe departed in theise 3 parties, be theise 3 bretheren. Cham was the grettest, and the most myghty : and of him camen mo generaciouns, than of the othere. And of his sone Chuse, was engendred Nembrothe the geaunt, that was the firste kyng, that ever was in the world : and he began the foundacion of the Tour of Babyloyne. And that tyme, the fendes of helle camen many tymes, and leyen with the wommen of his generacioun, and engendered on hem dyverse folk, as monstres, and folk disfigured, summe with outen hedes, summe with gret eres, summe with on eye, summe geauntes, summ with hors feet, and many other dyverse schapp, azenst kynde. And of that generacioun of Cham,

ben comen the Paynemes, and dyverse folk, that ben in yles of the see, be alle Ynde. And for als moche as he was the moste myghty, and no man myghte withstonde him, he cleped himself the sone of God, and sovereyn of alle the world. And for this Cham, this emperour clepeth him Cham and sovereyn of all the world. And of the generacioun of Sem, ben comen the Sarrazines, And of the generacioun of Japhethe, is comen the peple of Israel. And thoughe that wee duellen in Europe, this is the opynyoun, that the Syryenes and the Samaritanes, han amonges hem; and that thei told me, before that I wente toward Ynde: but I fond it otherwise. Natheles the sothe is this, that Tartarynes and thei that duellen in the grete Asye, thei camen of Cham. But the emperour of Cathay clepeth him not Cham, but Can: and I schalle telle zou how. It is but litylle more but 8 score zeer, that alle Tartarye was in subiectioun and in servage to othere nacyouns abouten: for thei weren but bestyalle folk, and diden no thing but kepten bestes, and lad hem to pastures. But among hem, thei hadden 7 princypalle nacyouns, that weren soveraynes of hem alle: of the whiche, the firste nacyoun or lynage was clept Tartar; and that is the most noble and the most preysed. The seconde lynage is clept Tanghot; the thridde Eurache; the 4 Valair; the 5 Semoche; the 6 Megly; the 7 Coboghe. Now befelle it so, that of the firste lynage, succeeded an old worthi man, that was not riche, that hadde to name Changuys. This man lay upon a nyght in his bed, and he sawhe in a visioun, that there cam before him a knyght armed alle in white, and he satt upon a white hors, and seyd to him, Can, slepest thou? The inmortalle God hathe sent me to the; and it is his wille, that thou go to the 7 lynages, and seye to hem, that thou schalt ben here emperour. For thou schalt conquere the londs and the contrees, that ben abouten: and thei that marchen upon zou, schulle ben undre zoure subieccioun, as zee han ben undre hires: for that is Goddes wille inmortalle. And whan he cam at morwe, Changuys roos, and wente to the 7 lynages, and tolde hem how the white knyght had seyd. And thei scorned him, and seyden, that he was a fool; and so he departed fro hem alle aschamed. And the nyght sewynge, this white knyght cam to the 7 lynages, and commaunded hem, on Goddes behalve inmortalle, that thei scholde make this Changuys here emperour; and thei scholde ben out of subieccioun; and thei scholde holden alle other regiounes aboute hem in here servage, as thei had ben to hem beforn. And on the morwe, thei chosen him to ben here emperour: and thei setten him upon a blak fertre; and aftre that, thei liften him up with gret solempnytee, and thei setten him in a chayer of gold, and diden hym alle maner of reverence; and thei cleped him, Chan, as the white knyght called him. And whan he was thus chosen, he wolde assayen, zif he myghte trust in hem or non, and whether thei wolde ben obeyssant to him or non. And thanne he made many statutes and ordynances, that thei clepen *Ysya Chan.* The first statute was, that thei scholde beleeven and obeyen in God inmortalle, that is allemyghty, that wolde casten hem out of servage; and at alle tymes clepe to him for help, in tyme of nede. The tother statute was, that alle maner of men that myghte beren armes, scholden ben nombred: and to every 10 scholde ben a maystre, and to every 100 a maystre, and to every 1000 a maystre, and to every 10000 a maystre. Aftre he commanded to the princypales of the 7 lynages, that thei scholde leven and forsaken alle that thei hadden in godes and heritage; and fro thens forthe to holden hem payd, of that that he wolde zeve hem of his grace. And thei diden so anon. Aftre he commanded to the princypales of the 7 lynages, that every of hem scholde brynge his eldest sone before him, and with here owne handes smyten of here hedes, with outen taryenge. And anon his commandement was performed. And whan the Chane saghe, that thei made non obstacle to performen his commandement, thanne he thoughte wel, that he myghte trusten in hem, and commanded hem anon to make hem redy, and to sewen his banere. And aftre this, Chane putt in subieccioun alle the londes aboute him. Aftreward it befelle upon a day, that the Cane rood with a fewe meynee, for to beholde the strengthe of the contree, that he had wonnen: and so befelle, that a gret multytude of his enemyes metten with hem; and for to zeven gode ensample of hardynesse to his peeple, he was the firste that faughte, and in the myddes of his enemyes encountred; and there he was cast from his hors, and his hors slayn. And whan his folk saughe him at the erthe, thei weren alle abasscht, and wenden he had ben ded, and flowen everych one; and hire enemyes aftre, and chaced hem: but thei wiste not, that the emperour was there. And whan thei weren comen azen fro the chace, thei wenten and soughten the wodes, zif ony of hem had ben hid in the thikke of the wodes: and manye thei founden and slowen hem anon. So it happend, that as thei wenten serchinge, toward the place that the emperour was, thei saughe an owle sittynge upon a tree aboven hym ; and than thei seyden amonges hem, that there was no man, be cause that thei saughe that brid there : and so thei wenten hire wey ; and thus escaped the emperour from dethe. And thanne he wente prevylly, alle be nyghte, tille he cam to his folk, that weren fulle glad of his comynge, and maden grete thankynges to God inmortalle, and to that bryd, be whom here lord was saved. And therfore princypally aboven alle foules of world, thei worschipen the owle : and whan thei han ony of here fedres, thei kepen hem fulle precyously, in stede of relykes, and beren hem upon here hedes with gret reverence : and thei holden hem self blessed, and saf from alle periles, while that thei han hem upon hem ; and therfore thei beren here fedres upon here hedes. Aftre alle this the Cane ordeyned him, and assembled his peple, and wente upon hem that hadden assayled hym before, and destroyed hem, and put hem in subieccioun and servage. And whan he had wonnen and putt alle the londes and contrees, on this half the Mount Belyan, in subieccioun, the whyte knyght cam to him azen in his sleep, and seyde to him, Chan, the wille of God immortalle is, that thou passe the Mount Belyan ; and thou schalt wynne the lond, and thou schalt putten many nacyouns in subieccioun : and for thou schalt fynde no gode passage for to go toward that contree, go to the Mount Belyan, that is upon the see, and knele there 9 tymes toward the est, in the worschipe of God immortalle ; and he schal schewe the weye to passe by. And the Chane dide so. And anon the see, that touched and was fast to the mount, began to withdrawe him, and schewed fair weye of 9 fote brede large ; and so he passed with his folk, and wan the lond of Cathay, that is the grettest kyngdom of the world. And for the 9 knelynges, and for the 9 fote of weye, the Chane and alle the men of Tartarye han the nombre of 9 in gret reverence. And therfore who that wole make the Chane ony present, be it of hors, be it of bryddes, or of arwes, or bowes, or of frute, or of ony other thing, alweys he most make it of the nombre of 9. And so thanne ben the presentes of grettere plesance to him, and more benygnely he wil resceyven hem, than though he were presented with an 100 or 200. For hym semethe the nombre of 9 so holy, be cause the messagre of God immortalle devised it. Also whan the Chane of Cathay hadde wonen the contree of Cathay, and put in subieccioun and undre fote many contrees abouten, he felle seek. And whan he felte wel, that he scholde dye, he seyde to his 12 sones, that everyche of hem scholde brynge him on of his arewes; and so thei diden anon. And thanne he commanded, that men scholde bynden hem to gedre, in 3 places; and than he toke hem to his eldest sone, and bad him breke hem alle to gedre. And he enforced hem with alle his myght to breken hem: but he ne myghte not. And than the Chane bad his seconde sone to breke hem; and so schortly to alle, eche aftre other: but non of hem myght breke hem. And than he bad the zongest sone dissevere everyche from other, and breken everyche be him self: and so he dide. And than seyde the Chane to his eldest sone, and to alle the othere, Wherfore myght zee not breke hem? And thei answereden, that thei myght not, be cause that thei weren bounden to gydre. And wherfore, quothe he, hathe zoure lityllc zongest brother broken hem? Because, quothe thei, that thei weren departed eche from other. And thanne seyde the Chane, My sones, quoth he, treuly thus wil it faren be zou. For als longe as zee ben bounden to gedere, in 3 places, that is to seyne, in love, in trouthe and in gode accord, no man schalle ben of powere to greve zou; but and zee ben dissevered fro theise 3 places, that zoure on helpe not zoure other, zee schulle be destroyed and brought to nought: and zif eche of zou love other, and helpe othere, ze schulle be lordes and sovereynes of alle othere. And whan he hadde made his ordynances, he dyed. And thanne after hym, regned Ecchecha Cane his eldest sone. And his othere bretheren wenten to wynnen hem many contrees and kyngdomes, unto the lond of Pruysse and of Rossye, and made hem to ben cleped Chane: but thei weren alle obeyssant to hire eldre brother: and therfore was he clept grete Chane. Aftre Ecchecha, regned Guyo Chane: and aftre him, Mango Chan, that was a gode Cristene man, and baptized, and zaf lettres of perpetuelle pes to alle Cristene men, and sente his brother Halaon with gret multytude of folk, for to wynnen the Holy Lond, and for to put it in to Cristene mennes hondes, and for to destroye Machametes lawe, and for to take the Calyphee of Baldak, that was emperour and lord of alle the Sarazines. And whan this Calyphee was taken, men fownden him of so highe worschipe, that in alle the remenant of the world, ne myghte a man fynde a more reverent man, ne highere in worschippe. And then Halaon made him come before him, and seyde to hym: Why, quoth he, haddest thow not taken with the mo sowdyoures, and men y nowe, for a lytille quantytee of thresour, for to defende the and thi contree, that art so habundant of tresore and so high in alle worschipe? And the Calyphee answered him, For he wel trowede, that he hadde y nowe of his owne propre men. And than seyde Halaon, Thou were as a god of the Sarazines: and it is convenyent to a god, to ete no mete, that is mortalle; and therfore thou schalt not ete, but precyous stones, riche perles, and tresour, that thou lovest so moche. And then he commanded him to presoun, and alle his tresoure aboute him; and so he dyed for hungre, and threst. And than aftre this, Halaon wan alle the lond of promyssioun, and putte it in to Cristene mennes hondes. But the grete Chane his brother dyede; and that was gret sorwe and losse to alle Cristen men.

Aftre Mango Chan, regned Coblya Chan, that was also a Cristene man: and he regnede 42 zere. He founded the grete cytee Izonge in Cathay, that is a gret del more than Rome.

The tother gret Chane, that cam aftre him, becam a Payneme, and alle the other aftre him.

The kyngdom of Cathay is the grettest reme of the world. And also the gret Chan is the most myghty emperour of the world, and the grettest lord undre the firmament; and so he clepethe him in his lettres, right thus, *Chan, filius Dei excelsi, omnium universam Terram colentium summus Imperator, et Dominus omnium Dominantium.* And the lettre of his grete seel, writen abouten, is this, *Deus in Celo, Chan super Terram, ejus fortitudo. Omnium hominum Imperatoris Sigillum.* And the superscripcioun aboute his litylle seel is this, *Dei Fortitudo omnium hominum. Imperatoris Sigillum.* And alle be it that thei be not cristned, zit natheles the emperour and alle the Tarterynes beleeven in God inmortalle. And whan thei wille manacen ony man thanne thei seyn, God knowethe wel, that I schalle do the suche a thing, and tellethe his menace. And thus have zee herd, whi he is clept the grete Chane.

Of the governance of the grete Chanes Court, and whan he makethe solempne Festes. Of his Philosophres. And of his Array, whan he riddethe be the contre.

Cap. XXII.

NOw schalle I telle zou the governance of the court of the grete chane, whan he makethe solempne festes: and that is princypally 4 tymes in the zeer. The firste feste is of his byrthe: that other is of his presentacioun in here temple, that thei clepen here Moseache, where thei maken a manere of circumsicioun: and the tother 2 festes ben of his ydoles. The firste feste of the ydole is, whan he is first put in to hire temple and throned. The tother feste is, whan the ydole begynnethe first to speke or to worche myracles. Mo ben there not of solempne festes, but zif he marye ony of his children. Now undirstondethe, that at every of theise festes, he hathe gret multytude of peple, well ordeyned and wel arrayed, be thousandes, be hundredes and be tenthes. And every man knowethe wel, what servyse he schalle do. And every man zevethe so gode hede and so gode attendance to his servyse, that no man fyndethe no defaute. And there ben first ordeyned 4000 baronnes myghty and riche, for to gouerne and to make ordynance for the feste, and for to serve the emperour. And theise solempne festes ben made with outen, in hales and tentes made of clothes of gold and of tartaries, fulle nobely. And alle tho barouns han crounes of gold upon hire hedes, fulle noble and riche, fulle of precious stones and grete perles oryent. And thei ben alle clothed in clothes of gold or of tartaries or of camokas, so richely and so perfytly, that no man in the world can amenden it, ne better devisen it. And alle tho robes ben orfrayed alle abouten, and dubbed fulle of precious stones and of grete oryent perles, fulle richely. And thei may wel do so: for clothes of gold and of sylk ben gretter chep there a gret del, than ben clothes of wolle. And theise 4000 barouns ben devised in 4 companyes: and every thousand is clothed in clothes alle of o colour; and that so wel arrayed and so richely, that it is marveyle to beholde. The firste thousand, that is of Dukes, of Erles, of Marquyses and of Amyralles, alle clothed in clothes of gold, with tysseux of grene silk, and bordured with gold, fulle of preciouse stones, in maner as I have seyd before. The secounde thousand is alle clothed in clothes dyapred of red silk, alle wroughte with gold, and the orfrayes sett fulle of gret perl and precious stones, fulle nobely wroughte. The 3 thousand is clothed in clothes of silk, of purpre of Ynde. And the 4 thousand is in clothes of zalow. And alle hire clothes ben so nobely and so richely wroughte with gold and precious stones and riche perles, that zif a man of this contree hadde but only on of hire robes, he myghte wel seye, that he sholde nevere be pore. For the gold and the precious stones and the grete oryent perles ben of gretter value, on this half the see, than thei ben bezond the see, in tho contrees. And whan thei ben thus apparaylled, thei gon 2 and 2 togedre, fulle ordynatly before the emperour, withouten speche of ony woord, saf only enclynynge to him. And everyche of hem berethe a tablett of jaspere or of ivory or of cristalle; and the mynstralle goynge before hem, sownyng here instrumentes of dyverse melodye. And whan the firste thousand is thus passed, and hathe made his mostre, he withdrawethe him on that o syde. And than entrethe that other secunde thousand, and dothe right so, in the same manere of array and contenance, as did the firste; and aftre the thridde, and than the fourthe; and non of hem seythe not o word. And at o syde of the emperours table, sitten many philosofres, that ben preved for wise men, in many dyverse scyences; as of astronomye, nigromancye, geomancye, pyromancye, ydromancye, of augurye and of many other scyences. And everyche of hem han before hem astrolabres of gold; sum speres, summe the brayn panne of a ded man, summe vesselles of gold fulle of gravelle or sond, summe vesseles of gold fulle of coles brennynge, summe vesselle of gold fulle of watre and of wyn and of oyle, and summe oriloges of gold, mad ful nobely and richely wroughte, and many other maner of instrumentes aftre hire sciences. And at certeyn houres, whan hem thinkethe time, thei seyn to certeyn officeres, that stonden before hem, ordeynd for the tyme, to fulfille hire commaundementes, Makethe pees. And than seyn the officeres, Now pees lystenethe. And aftre that, seyth another of the philosophres, Every man do reverence, and enclyne to the emperour, that is Goddes sone and soverayn lord of alle the world; for now is tyme. And thanne every man bowethe his hed toward the erthe. And thanne commandethe the same philosophre azen, Stondethe up. And thei don so. And at another hour, seythe another philosophre, Puttethe zoure litille fynger in zoure eres. And anon thei don so. And at another hour, seythe another philosophre, Puttethe zoure honde before zoure mouthe. And anon thei don so. And at another hour, seithe another philosophre, Puttethe zoure honde upon zoure hede. And aftre that, he byddethe hem to don here hond a wey; and thei don so. And so from hour to hour, thei commanden certeyn thinges. And thei seyn, that tho thinges han dyverse significaciouns. And I asked hem prevyly, what tho thinges betokened. And on of the maistres told me, that the bowynge of the hed at that hour betokened this, that alle tho that boweden here hedes, scholden evere more aftre ben obeyssant and trewe to the emperour: and nevere for ziftes, ne for promys in no kynde, ben fals ne traytour unto him for gode ne evylle. And the puttynge of the litylle fynger in the ere, betokenethe, as thei seyn, that none of hem ne schalle not here speke no contrarious thing to the emperour, but that he schalle telle it anon to his conseille, or discovere it to sum men that wille make relacioun to the emperour; thoughe he were his fadre or brother or sone. And so forthe of alle other thinges, that is don be the philosophres, thei tolde me the causes of many dyverse thinges. And trustethe righte wel in certyn, that no man dothe no thing to the emperour, that belongethe unto him, nouther clothinge, ne bred, ne wyn, ne bathe, ne non other thing, that longethe to hym, but at certeyn houres, that his philosopheres wille devysen. And zif there falle werre in ony syde to the emperour, anon the philosophres comen, and seyn here avys aftre her calculaciouns, and conseylen the emperour of here avys, be here sciences; so that the emperour dothe no thing with outen here conseille. And whan the philosophres han don and perfourmed here commandementes, thanne the mynstralle begynnen to don here mynstralcye, everyche in hire instrumentes, eche aftre other, with alle the melodye that thei can devyse. And whan thei han don a gode while, on of the officers of the emperour gothe up on an highe stage wroughte fulle curyously, and cryethe and seythe with lowde voys, Makethe pees. And than every măn is stille. And thanne anon aftre, alle the lordes, that ben of the emperoures lynage, nobely arrayed in riche clothes of gold, and ryally apparayled on white stedes, als manye as may wel sewen hem at that tyme, ben redy to maken here presentes to the emperour. And than seythe the styward of the court to the lordes be name, N. of N. and nempnethe first the most enoble and the worthieste be name, and seythe, be zee redy with suche a nombre of white hors, for to serve the emperour, zoure sovereyn lord. And to another lord, he seythe, N. of N. be zee redy with suche a nombre, to serve zoure sovereyn lord. And so another, right so. And to alle the lordes of the emperoures lynage, eche aftre other, as ben of estate. And whan thei ben alle cleped, thei entren eche aftre other, and presentenen the white hors to the emperour; and than gon hire wey. And than aftre, alle the other barouns every of hem zeven hem presentes, or juelle, or sum other thing, aftre that thei ben of estate. And than aftre hem, alle the prelates of hire lawe, and religiouse men and other; and every man zevethe him sum thing. And whan that alle men han thus presented the emperour, the grettest of dignytee of the prelates zevethe hem a blessynge, seyenge an orisoun of hire lawe. And than begynnen the mynstrelle to maken hire mynstralcye, in dyverse instrumentes, with alle the melodye that thei can devyse. And whan thei han don hire craft, than thei bryngen before the emperour, lyouns, libardes and other dyverse bestes; and egles and veutours, and other dyverse foules; and fissches, and serpentes; for to don him reverence. And than comen jogulours and enchauntoures, that don many marvaylles: for thei maken to come in the ayr, the sonne and the mone, be semynge, to every mannes sight. And aftre thei maken the day to come azen, fair and plesant with bright sonne, to every mannes sight. And than thei bryngen in daunces of the faireste damyselles of the world, and richest arrayed. And aftre thei maken to come in, other damyselles, bryngynge coupes of gold, fulle of mylk of dyverse bestes, and zeven drynke to lordes and to ladyes. And than thei make knyghtes to jousten in armes fulle lustyly; and thei rennen to gidre a gret randoum; and thei frusschen to gidere fulle fiercely; and thei breken here speres so rudely, that the tronchouns flen in sprotes and peces alle aboute the halle. And than thei make to come in huntyng, for the hert and for the boor, with houndes rennynge with open mouthe. And many other thinges thei don, be craft of hire enchauntementes; that it is marveyle for to see. And suche pleyes of desport thei make, til the takynge up of the boordes.

This gret Chan hathe fulle gret peple for to serve him, as I have told zou before. For he hathe of mynstralles the nombre of 13 cumanez: but thei abyde not alle weys with hym. For alle the mynstrelle that comen before hym, of what nacyoun that thei ben of, thei ben withholden with him, as of his houshold, and entred in his bokes, as for his owne men. And aftre that, where that evere thei gon, ever more thei cleymen for mynstralle of the grete Chane: and undre that tytle, alle kynges and lordes, cherisschen hem the more with ziftes and alle thing. And therefore he hathe so gret multytude of hem. And he hathe of certeyn men, as thoughe thei were zomen, that kepen bryddes, as ostrycches, gerfacouns, sparehaukes, faukons gentyls, lanyeres, sacres, sacrettes, papyngayes wel spekynge, and briddes syngynge. And also of wylde bestes, as of olifauntz, tame and othere, babewynes, apes, marmesettes, and othere dyverse bestes; the mountance of 15 cumanez of zomen. And of Phisicyens Cristene, he hathe 200. And of leches, that ben Cristene, he hathe 210. And of leches and Phisicyens, that ben Sarrazines 20: but he trustethe more in the Cristene leches, than in the Sarazines. And his other comoun houshold is with outen nombre: and thei alle han alle necessaries, and alle that hem nedethe, of the emperoures court. And he hathe in his court many barouns, as servytoures, that ben Cristene and converted to gode feythe, be the prechynge of religiouse Cristen men, that duellen with him: but there ben manye mo, that wil not, that men knowen that thei ben Cristene.

This emperour may dispenden als moche as he wille, with outen estymacioun. For he despendethe not, he makethe no money, but of lether emprented, or of papyre. And of that moneye, is som of gretter prys, and som of lasse prys, aftre the dyversitee of his statutes. And whan that money hathe ronne so longe, that it begynnethe to waste, than men beren it to the emperoures tresorye: and than thei taken newe money for the olde. And that money gothe thorghe out alle the contree, and thorghe out alle his provynces. For there and bezonde hem, thei make no money, nouther of gold nor of sylver. And therfore he may despende y now, and outrageously. And of gold and sylver, that men beren in his contree, he makethe cylours, pyleres and paumentes in his palays, and other dyverse thinges, what him lykethe. This emperour hathe in his chambre, in on of the pyleres of gold, a rubye and a charboncle of half a fote long, that in the nyght zevethe so gret clartee and schynynge, that it is als light as day. And he hathe many other precyous stones, and many other rubyes and charboncles: but tho ben the grettest and the moste precyous.

This emperour duellethe in somer in a cytee, that is toward the northe, that is cleped Saduz: and there is cold y now. And in wyntre, he duellethe in a cytee, that is clept Camaaleche: and that is an hote contree. But the contree, where he duellethe in most comounly, is in Caydo or in Jong, that is a gode contree and a tempree, aftre that the contree is there: but to men of this contree, it were to passyng hoot. And whan this emperour wille ryde from o contree to another, he ordeynethe 4 hostes of his folk; of the whiche, the firste hoost gothe before him, a dayes iourneye. For that hoost schalle ben logged the nyght, where the emperour schalle lygge upon the morwe. And there schalle every man have alle maner of vytaylle and necessaryes, that ben nedefulle, of the emperoures costages. And in this firste hoost is the nombre of peple 50 cumauncz; what of hors, what of fote: of the whiche every cumancz amounten to 10000, as I have told zou before. And another hoost gothe in the right syde of the emperour, nygh half a iourneye fro him. And another gothe on the left syde of him, in the same wise. And in every hoost, is as moche multytude of peple, as in the first hoost. And thanne aftre comethe the 4 hoost, that is moche more than ony of the othere, and that gothe behynden him, the mountance of a bowe draught. And every hoost hathe his iourneyes ordeyned in certeyn places, where thei schulle be logged at nyght; and there thei schulle have alle, that hem nedethe. And zif it befalle, that ony of the hoost dye, anon thei putten another in his place; so that the nombre schal evere more ben hool. And zee schulle undirstonde, that the emperour, in his propre persone, rydethe not as othere gret lordes don bezonde; but zif him liste to go prevyly with fewe men, for to ben unknowen. And elle he rytt in a charett with 4 wheles, upon the whiche is made a faire chambre; and it is made of a certeyn wode, that comethe out of paradys terrestre, that men clepen lignum aloes, that the flodes of paradys bryngen out at dyverse cesouns, as I have told zou here beforn. And this chambre is fulle wel smellynge, be cause of the wode, that it is made offe. And alle this chambre is covered with inne of plate of fyn gold, dubbed with precious stones and grete perles. And 4 olifauntz and 4 grete destreres alle white, and covered with riche covertoures ledynge the chariot. And 4 or 5 or 6 of the grettest lordes ryden aboute this charyot, fulle richely arrayed and fulle nobely; so that no man schalle nyghe the charyot, but only tho lordes, but zif that the emperour calle ony man to him, that him list to speke with alle. And above the chambre of this chariot, that the emperour sittethe inne, ben sett upon a perche 4 or 5 or 6 gerfacouns; to that entent, that whan the emperour seethe ony wylde foul, that he may take it at his owne list, and have the desport and the pley of the flight; first with on, and aftre with another: and so he takethe his desport passynge be the contree. And no man rydethe before him of his companye; but alle aftre him. And no man dar not come nyghe the chariot by a bowe draught, but tho lordes only, that ben aboute him: and alle the hoost cometh fayrely aftre him, in gret multitude. And also suche another charyot, with suche hoostes, ordeynd and arrayd, gon with the empresse, upon another syde, everyche be him self, with 4 hoostes, right as the emperour dide; but not with so gret multytude of peple. And his eldest sone gothe be another weye in another chariot, in the same manere. So that there is betwene hem so gret multitude of folk, that it is marveyle to telle it. And no man scholde trowe the nombre, but he had seen it. And sum tyme it happethe, that whan he wil not go fer; and that it lyke him to have the emperesse and his children with him; than thei gon alle to gydere; and here folk ben alle medled in fere, and devyded in 4 parties only.

CAPVT. 38.

De territorio Cathay, et moribus Tartarorum.

TOtum Imperium Imperatoris Grand Can distinctum est in 12. magnas prouincias, iuxta numerum duodecim filiorum primi Genitoris Can, quarum quælibet in se continet circiter 6. millia ciuitatum, præter villas non numeratas quæ sunt velut ábsque numero. Habent et singulæ prouinciæ regem principalem, hoc est 12. reges prouinciales, et horum quisque sub se reges Insularum plurimos, alij 50. alij centum, alij plures, qui omnes et singuli subiectissimè obediunt Grand Can Imperatori. Harum prouinciarum maior, et nobilior dicitur Cathay, qui consistit in Asia profunda. Tres enim sunt Asiæ, scilicet quæ profunda dicitur, et Asia dicta maior quæ nobis est satis propinquior et tertia minor intra quam est Ephesus beati Ioannis Euangelistæ sepultura, de qua habes in præcedentibus. Audistis statum magnatum et nobilium esse permagnificum, et gloriosum, sed sciatis longè secus esse apud communes et priuatos homines tam in ciuitatibus quam in forensibus totius Tartariæ. In prouincijs autem Cathay habetur tantum de mercimonijs specierum, et de operibus sericosis, quòd multis facilius acquirere esset prætiosum indumentum, quàm camisium de lino. Vnde et quicunq; sunt alicuius honestatis non carent desuper precioso vestimento.

Omnes tam viri quam fæminæ similibus in forma vestibus inducuntur, videlicet valdè latis, et breuibus vsque ad genua cum apertura in lateribus quam firmant (dum volunt) ansis quibusdam, nam vtérque sexus est brachijs seu femoralibus plenè tectus. Nunquam vtuntur toga aut collobio, sed nec caputio, vndè nec per aspectum indumentorum potest haberi differentia inter virum et mulierem innuptam. Sed nupta (vt supra dictum est) gestat per aliquod tegumentum in capite formam pedes viri.

Nubit illic vir quotquot placet mulieribus, vt nonnulli habeant decem vel duodecim vxores aut plures. Nam quísque maritus iungitur licentèr cuilibet mulieri, exceptis matre, et amita, sorore, et filia. Sicut viri equitant, tendunt, et currunt per patriam pro negotijs sic et mulieres, quoniam et ipse operantur omnia ferè artificia mechanica sicut pannos et quicquid efficiter de panno, corio, sericoq;, minantq; carrucas, et vehicula, sed viri fabricant de ferro et de omni metallo, lapidibus atq; ligno, nec vir nec mulier nobilis aut degener comedit vltra semel in die communiter. Multa nutriunt pecora sed nullos porcos, parum comeditur ibi de pane exceptis magnatibus et diuitibus, sed carnes edunt pecorum, bestiarum, et bestiolarum vtpote boum, ouium, caprarum, equorum, asinorum, canum, cattorum, murium, et rattorum, ius carnium sorbentes, et omnis generis lac bibentes.

Nobiles autem bibunt lac equarum, seu iumentorum, pro nobilissimo potu et pauperes aquam bullitam cum modico mellis, quia nec vinum ibi habetur, nec ceruisia conficitur: et multi ac plurimi fontes consulunt in sua siti, per villas, et rura. Domus, et habitacula rotundæ sunt formæ, compositæ et contextæ paruis lignis, et flexilibus virgulis, ad modum cauearum quas nos facimus pro auiculis, habentes rotundam in culmine aperturam præstantem duo beneficia habitationi, quoniam et ignis quem in medio domus constituunt fumum emittit, et pro aspiciendo lumen immittit. Intrinsecus sunt parietes vndíq; de filtro, sed et tectum filtreum est: has domus, dum locum habitandi mutare volunt, vel dum in diutina expeditione procedunt, ducunt secum in plaustris quasi tentoria.

Multas superuacuas obseruant ceremonias, quia respiciunt in vanitates et insanias falsas: solem et lunam præcipuè adorant, eisque frequentèr genua curuant, et ad nouilunium, quicquid est magni estimant inchoandum.

Nullus omnino vtitur calcaribus in equitando, sed cogunt equum flagello scorpione, reputantes peccatum non leue, si quis ad hoc flagellum appodiat, aut iumentum percuteret suo freno, pleráq; similia, quæ parum aut nihil nocent, ponderant vt grauia, sicut imponere cultellum in igne, os osse confringere, lac seu aliud potabile in terram effundere, nec non et huiusmodi multa.

Mingere intra domum peccatum capitale.

Sed super hæc, tenent pro grauiori admisso mingere intra domum quæ inhabitatur, et qui de tanto crimine proclamaretur assuetus, mitteretur ad mortem. Et de singulis necesse est vt confiteatur peccator Flamini suæ legis, et soluat summam pecuniarum delicti. Et si peccatum deturpationis habitaculi venerit in publicum, oportebit reconciliari domum per sacerdotem, priusquam vllus audebit intrare. Insuper et peccatorem necesse erit pertransire ignem, semel, bis, aut ter iuxta iudicium Flaminis, quatenus per ignis acrimoniam purgetur à tanti inquinatione peccati.

Neminem hominum prohibent inter se habitare, sed indifferentèr receptant, Iudæos, Christianos, Saracenos, et homines cuiuscúnque nationis, vel legis, dicentes se satis putare suum ritum non ita securum ad salutem, nisi quandóque; traherentur ad ritum magis salutarem, quem tamen determinate nunc ignorant, [imò multi de nobilibus sunt iam in Christianitate baptizati.

Attamen qui illorum sunt curiales Imperatoris non vellent in palatio publicari.

Seu Gubernatorum.

Pœnè oblitus eram, quod nunc hic dico notandum, quia dum ab extra Imperium, quis veniens nuntius aut legatus cupit tradere proprijs manibus literas Imperatori, vel deponere coram illo mandata, non permittitur, donec prius in puris transeat lineas ad venum ad minus regum pro sui purgatione, ne quid forsitan afferat cuius visu, vel odoratu seu tactu rex possit grauari.

Arma Tartarorum.

Porrò Tartari in præcincto expeditionis habent singuli duos arcus, cum magna pluralitate telorum: Nam omnes sunt sagittarij ad manum et cum rigida et longa lancea. Nobilis autem in equis preciosè phaleratis ferunt gladios, vel spatas breues et latas, scindentes pro vno latere, et in capitibus galeas, de corio cocto, non altas, sed ad capitis formam depressas.

Quicúnq; de suis fugerit de prælio, ipso facto conscriptus est, vt siquando inuentus fuerit occidatur. Si castrum vel ciuitas obsessa se illis reddere voluerit, nullam acceptant conditionem nisi cum morte omnium inimicorum, vel si quis homo singularis se dederit victum nihilominus ábsque vlla miseratione occidunt, detruncantes illi protinus aures, quas postea coquentes, et in aceto (dum habuerint) ponentes mittunt inuicem ad conuiuia pro extremo ferculo: dumque ipsi in bellis arte fugam simulant, periculosum est eos insequi, quoniam iaciunt sagittas à tergo, quibus equos et homines occidere norunt. Et quando in prima acie comparant ad bellandum, mirabilitèr sese constringunt, vt media pars numeri eorum vix credatur.

Tartari retro sagittantes.

Generalitèr noueritis, omnes Tartaros habere paruos oculos, et modicam vel raram barbam: in proprijs locis rarò inter se litigant, contendunt, aut pugnant, timentes legum pergraues emendas. Et inuenitur ibi rarius vespilio, latro, fur, homicida, iniurians, adulter, aut fornicarius, quia tales criminatores inuestigatione sollicita requiruntur, et sine redemptione aliqua perimuntur.

Dum quis decumbit infirmus figitur lancea iuxta illum in terra, et cum appropinquauerit morti, nullus remanet iuxta ipsum, cum verò mortuus esse scitur, confestim in campis, et cum lancea sepelitur.

The English Version.

And zee schulle undirstonde, that the empire of this gret Chane is devyded in 12 provynces; and every provynce hathe mo than 2000 cytees; and of townes with outen nombre. This contree is fulle gret. For it hathe 12 pryncypalle kynges, in 12 provynces. And every of tho kynges han many kynges undre hem; and alle thei ben obeyssant to the gret Chane. And his lond and his lordschipe durethe so ferre that a man may not gon from on hed to another, nouther be see ne lond, the space of 7 zeer. And thorghe the desertes of his lordschipe, there as men may fynde no townes, there ben innes ordeyned be every iorneye, to resceyve bothe man and hors; in the whiche thei schalle fynde plentee of vytaylle, and of alle thing, that hem nedethe, for to go be the contree.

And there is a marveylouse custom in that contree, (but is profitable) that zif ony contrarious thing, that scholde ben preiudice or grevance to the Emperour, in ony kynde, anon the Emperour hathe tydynges there of and fulle knowleche in a day, thoughe it

be 3 or 4 iorneys fro him or more. For his ambassedours taken here dromedaries or hire hors, and thei priken in alle that evere thei may toward on of the innes: and whan thei comen there, anon thei blowen an horne; and anon thei of the in knowen wel y now that there ben tydynges to warnen the Emperour of sum rebellyoun azenst him. And thanne anon thei maken other men redy, in alle haste that thei may, to beren lettres, and pryken in alle that evere thei may, tille thei come to the other innes with here lettres: and thanne thei maken fressche men redy, to pryke forthe with the lettres, toward the Emperour; whille that the laste bryngere reste him, and bayte his dromedarie or his hors. And so fro in to in, tille it come to the Emperour. And thus anon hathe he hasty tydynges of ony thing, that berethe charge, be his corrours, that rennen so hastyly, thorghe out alle the contree. And also whan the Emperour sendethe his corrours hastyly, thorghe out his lond, everyche of hem hathe a large thong fulle of smale belles; and whan thei neyghen nere to the innes of other corroures, that ben also ordeyned be the iorneyes, thei ryngen here belles, and anon the other corrours maken hem redy, and rennen here weye unto another in: and thus rennethe on to other, fulle spedyly and swyftly, till the Emperours entent be served, in alle haste. And theise currours ben clept chydydo, aftre here langage, that is to seye, a messagere.

Also whan the Emperour gothe from o contree to another, as I have told zou here before, and he passe thorghe cytees and townes, every man makethe a fuyr before his dore, and puttethe there inne poudre of gode gommes, that ben swete smellynge, for to make gode savour to the Emperour. And alle the peple knelethe doun azenst him, and don him gret reverence. And there where religyouse Cristene men dwellen, as thei don in many cytees in thei lond, thei gon before him with processioun with cros and holy watre; and thei seyngen, *Veni Creator, spiritus*, with an highe voys, and gon towardes him. And whan he herethe hem, he commaundethe to his lordes to ryde besyde him, that the religiouse men may come to him. And whan thei ben nyghe him, with the cros, thanne he dothe a down his galaothe, that syt upon his hede, in manere of a chapelet, that is made of gold and preciouse stone and grete perles. And it is so ryche, that men preysen it to the value of a roialme, in that contre. And than he knelethe to the cros. And than the prelate of the religiouse men seythe before him certeyn orisouns, and zevethe him a blessynge with the cros: and he enclynethe to the blessynge fulle devoutly. And thanne the prelate zevethe him sum maner frute, to the nombre of 9, in a platere of sylver, with peres or apples or other manere frute. And he takethe on; and than men zeven to the othere lordes, that ben aboute him. For the custom is suche, that no straungere schalle come before him, but zif he zeve hym sum manere thing, aftre the olde lawe, that seythe, *Nemo accedat in conspectu meo vacuus.* And thanne the Emperour seythe to the religious men, that thei withdrawe hem azen, that thei ne be hurt ne harmed of the gret multytude of hors that comen behynde him. And also in the same maner don the religious men, that dwellen there, to the Emperesses, that passen by hem, and to his eldest sone; and to every of hem, thei presenten frute.

And zee schulle undirseonde, that the people, that he hathe so many hostes offe, abouten hym and aboute his wyfes and his sone, thei dwelle not contynuelle with him: but alle weys, whan him lykethe, thei ben sent fore; and aftre whan thei han don, thei retournen to hire owne housholdes; saf only thei that ben dwellynge with hym in houshold, for to serven him and his wyfes and his sones, for to governen his houshold. And alle be it, that the othere ben departed fro him, aftre that thei han perfourmed hire servyse, zit there abydethe contynuelly with him in court, 50000 men at horse, and 200000 men a fote; with outen mynstrelles, and tho that kepen wylde bestes and dyverse briddes, of the whiche I have tolde zou the nombre before.

Undre the firmament, is not so gret a lord, ne so myghty, ne so riche, as the gret Chane: nought Prestre Johan, that is Emperour of the highe Ynde, ne the Sowdan of Babylone, ne the Emperour of Persye. Alle theise ne ben not in comparisoun to the grete Chane; nouther of myght, ne of noblesse, ne of ryaltee, ne of richesse: for in alle theise, he passethe alle erthely princes. Wherfore it is gret harm, that he belevethe not feithfully in God. And natheles he wil gladly here speke of God; and he suffrethe wel, that Cristene men duelle in his lordschipe, and that men of his feythe ben made Cristene men, zif thei wile, thorghe out alle his contree. For he defendethe no man to holde no lawe, other than him lykethe.

In that contree, sum man hathe an 100 wyfes, summe 60, mo, summe lesse. And thei taken the nexte of hire kyn, to hire wyfes, saf only, that thei out taken hire modres, hire doughtres, and hire sustres on the fadir syde, of another womman, thei may wel take; and hire bretheres wyfes also aftre here dethe; and here step modres also in the same wyse.

Of the Lawe and customs of the Tartarienes, duellynge in Chatay; and how that men don, whan the Emperour schal dye, and how he schal be chosen.

Cap. XXIII.

The folk of that contree usen alle longe clothes, with outen furroures. And thei ben clothed with precious clothes of Tartarye, and of clothes of gold. And here clothes ben slytt at the syde; and thei ben festned with laces of silk. And thei clothen hem also with pylches, and the hyde with outen. And thei usen nouther cappe ne hood. And in the same maner as the men gon, the wommen gon; so that no man may unethe knowe the men fro the wommen, saf only tho wommen, that ben maryed, that beren the tokne upon hire hedes of a mannes foot, in signe that thei ben undre mannes fote and undre subieccioun of man. And here wyfes ne dwelle not to gydere but every of hem be hire self. And the husbonde may ligge with whom of hem, that him lykethe. Everyche hathe his hous, bothe man and womman. And here houses ben made rounde of staves; and it hathe a rounde wyndowe aboven, that zevethe hem light, and also that servethe for delyverance of smoke. And the helynge of here houses, and the wowes and the dores ben alle of wode.

And whan thei gon to werre, thei leiden hire houses with hem upon chariottes; as men don tentes or pavyllouns. And thei maken hire fuyr, in the myddes of hire houses. And thei han gret multytude of alle maner of bestes, saf only of swyn: for thei bryngen non forthe. And thei beleeven wel, o God, that made and formede alle thinges. And natheles zit han thei ydoles of gold and sylver, and of tree, and of clothe. And to tho ydoles, thei offren alle weys hyre first mylk of hire bestes, and also of hire metes, and of hire drynkes, before thei eten. And thei offren often tymes hors and bestes. And the clepen the God of Kynde, Yroga. And hire Emperour also, what name that evere he have, thei putten evermore therto Chane. And whan I was there, hire Emperour had to name Thiaut; so that he was clept Thiaut Chane. And his eldeste sone was clept Tossue. And whanne he schalle ben emperour, he schalle ben clept Tossue Chane. And at that tyme, the Emperour hadde 12 sones, with outen him; that were named, Cuncy, Ordii, Chahaday, Buryn, Negu, Nocab, Cadu, Siban, Cuten, Balacy, Babylan and Garegan. And of his 3 wyfes, the firste and the pryncypalle, that was Prestre Johnes doughtre, hadde to name Serioche Chan; and the tother Borak Chan; and the tother Karanke Chan.

The folk of that contree begynnen alle hire thinges in the newe mone: and thei worschipen moche the mone and the sonne, and often tyme knelen azenst hem. And alle the folk of the contree ryden comounly with outen spores: but thei beren alle weys a lytille whippe in hire hondes, for to chacen with hire hors. And thei had gret conscience, and holden it for a gret synne, to casten a knyf in the fuyr, and for to drawe flessche out of a pot with a knyf, and for to smyte an hors with the handille of a whippe, or to smyte an hors with a brydille, or to breke o bon with another, or for to caste mylk or ony lykour, that men may drynke, upon the erthe, or for to take and sle lytil children. And the moste synne, that ony man may do, is to pissen in hire houses, that thei dwellen in. And who so that may be founden with that synne, sykerly thei slen hym. And of everyche of theise synnes, it behovethe hem to ben schryven of hire prestes, and to paye gret somme of silver for hire penance. And it behovethe also, that the place, that men han pissed in, be halewed azen; and elles dar no man entren there inne. And whan thei han payed hire penance, men maken hem passen thorghe a fuyr or thorghe 2, for to clensen hem of hire synnes. And also whan ony messangere comethe and bryngethe lettres or ony present to the Emperour, it behovethe him, that he with the thing that he bryngethe, passe thorghe 2 brennynge fuyres, for to purgen hem, that he brynge no poysoun ne venym, ne no wykked thing, that myght be grevance to the lord. And also, zif ony man or womman be taken in avowtery or fornycacyoun, anon thei sleen him. Men of that contree ben alle gode archeres, and schooten right welle, bothe men and women, als wel on hors bak, prykynge, as on fote, rennynge. And the wommen maken alle thinges and alle maner mysteres and craftes; as of clothes, botes and other thinges; and thei dryven cartes, plowes and waynes and chariottes: and thei maken houses and alle maner of mysteres, out taken bowes and arwes and armures, that men maken. And alle the wommen weren breech, as wel as men. Alle the folk of that contree ben fulle obeyssant to hire sovereynes; ne thei fighten not ne chiden not, on with another. And there ben nouther thefes ne robboures in that contree; and every man worschipethe othere: but no man there dothe no reverence to no straungeres, but zif thei ben grete princes. And thei eten houndes, lyounes, lyberdes, mares and foles, asses, rattes and mees, and alle maner of bestes, grete and smale; saf only swyn, and bestes that weren defended by the olde lawe. And thei eaten alle the bestes, with outen and with inne, with outen castynge awey of ony thing, saf only the filthe. And thei eten but litille bred, but zif it be in courtes of grete lordes. And thei have not, in many places, nouther pesen ne benes, ne non other potages, but the brothe of the flessche. For littile ete thei ony thing, but flessche and the brothe. And whan thei han eten, thei wypen hire hondes upon hire skirtes: for thei use non naperye, ne towaylles, but zif it be before grete lordes: but the common peple hathe none. And whan thei han eten, thei putten hire dissches unwasschen in to the pot or cawdroun, with remenant of the flessche and of the brothe, till thei wole eten azen. And the ryche men drynken mylk of mares or of camaylles or of asses or of other bestes. And thei wil ben lightly dronken of mylk, or of another drynk, that is made of hony and of watre soden to gidre. For in that contree is nouther wyn ne ale. Thei lyven fulle wrecched liche; and thei eten but ones in the day, and that but lyttle, nouther in courtes ne in other places. And in soothe, o man allone in this contree wil ete more in a day, than on of hem will ete in 3 dayes. And zif ony straunge messagre come there to a lord, men maken him to ete but ones a day, and that fulle litille.

And whan thei werren, thei werren fulle wisely, and alle weys don here besynes, to destroyen hire enemyes. Every man there berethe 2 bowes or 3, and of arwes gret plentee, and a gret ax. And the gentyles han schorte speres and large, and fulle trenchant on that o syde: and thei han plates and helmes, made of quyrboylle; and hire hors covertoures of the same. And who so fleethe fro the bataylle, thei sle him. And whan thei holden ony sege abouten castelle or toun, that is walled and defensable, thei behoten to hem that ben with inne, to don alle the profite and gode, that it is marveylle to here: and thei graunten also to hem that ben with inne, alle that thei wille asken hem. And aftre that thei ben zolden, anon thei sleen hem alle, and kutten of hire eres, and sowcen hem in vynegre, and there of thei maken gret servyse for lordes. Alle here lust and alle here ymaginacioun, is for to putten alle londes undre hire subieccioun. And thei seyn, that thei knowen wel be hire prophecyes, that thei schulle ben overcomen by archieres, and be strengthe of hem: but they knowe not of what nacioun, ne of what lawe thei schulle ben offe, that schulle overcomen hem. And therfore thei suffren, that folk of alle lawes may peysibely duellen amonges hem.

Also whan thei wille make hire ydoles, or an ymage of ony of hire frendes, for to have remembrance of hym, thei maken alle weys the ymage alle naked, with outen ony maner of clothinge. For thei seyn, that in gode love scholde be no coverynge, that man scholde not love for the faire clothinge, ne for the riche aray, but only for the body, suche as God hathe made it, and for the gode vertues that the body is endowed with of nature; but only for fair clothinge, that is not of kyndely nature.

And zee schulle undirstonde, that it is gret drede for to pursue the Tartarines, zif thei fleen in bataylle. For in fleynge, thei schooten behynden hem, and sleen bothe men and hors. And whan thei wil fighte, thei wille schokken hem to gidre in a plomp; that zif there be 20000 men, men schalle not wenen, that there be scant 10000. And thei cone wel wynnen lond of straungeres, but thei cone not kepen it. For thei han grettre lust to lye in tentes with outen, than for to lye in castelle or in townes. And thei preysen no thing the wytt of other naciouns. And amonges hem, oyle of olyve is fulle dere: for thei holden it for fulle noble medicyne. And alle the Tartarienes han smale eyen and litille of berd, and not thikke hered, but schiere. And thei ben false and traytoures: and thei lasten noghte that thei behoten. Thei ben fulle harde folk, and moche peyne and wo mow suffren and disese, more than ony other folk: for thei ben taughte therto in hire owne contree, of Zouthe: and therfore thei spenden, as who seythe, right nought.

And whan ony man schalle dye, men setten a spere besyde him: and whan he drawethe towardes the dethe, every man fleethe out of the hous, tille he be ded; and aftre that, thei buryen him in the feldes.

CAPVT. 39.

De sepultura Imperatoris Crand Can, et creatione successoris.

IMperator Grand Can postquam eius cognita fuerit defunctio defertur mox à paucis viris in parco palatij, ad præuisum locum vbi debeat sepeliri. Et nudato prius toto illo loco à graminibus cum cespite figitur ibi tentorium, in quo velut in solio regali de ligno corpus defuncti residens collocatur, paraturq; mensa plena

coram eo cibarijs præciosis, et potu de lacte iumentorum. Instabulatur ibi et equa cum suo pullo, sed et ipse albus, nobilitèr phaleratus, et onustatus certo pondere auri et argenti. Et est totum Tentorij pauimentum de mumdo stramine stratum.

Tuncque effodiunt in circuitu fossam latam valdè, et profundam vt totum tentorium cum omnibus contentis descendat in illam. Eoq; facto ita equalitèr terram planificantes adoperiunt graminibus, vt in omni tempore locus sepulturæ non valeat apparere. Et quoniam ignorantiæ nubilo turpiter excæcati putant in alio seculo homines delectationibus frui, dicunt quòd tentorium erit ei pro hospitio, cibi ad edendum, lac ad potandum, equus ad equitandum, aurum et argentum ad respiciendum, sed et equa lac sempèr præstabit, et pullos equinos successiue generabit.

Post has itaq; Imperatoris defuncti miseras exequias, nullus omnino audebit de ipso loqui coram vxoribus et filijs, et propinquis, sed nec nominare, quia per hoc putarent derogari paci, et quieti illius, qua non dubitant eum dominari, in maiori satis gloria Paradisi quam hic stetit.

Igitur Imperatore Grand Can sepulto obliuioni tradito, conueniunt quàm citò nobiles de septem tribubus prouinciæ Cathay, et cui Imperium ex propinquitate competit, dicunt sic.

Ecce volumus, ordinamus, atque precamur, vt sis noster Dominus et Imperator.

Qui respondet.

Si vultis me super vos, sicut et iuris mei est, imperare, oportebit vos fore mihi obedientes tam ad mortem quàm ad vitam.

Et respondentes dicunt.

Nos faciemus quicquid præceperitis.

Túncque Imperator addit haec verba: Ergo scitote, quod ex nunc verbum meum acutum et scindens erit vt meus ensis: Pergit quóq; sessum in suo Philtro nigro super pauimentum in conspectu throni expanso, et cum ipso Philtro eleuatur ab omnibus, et infertur Imperij solio, ac coronatur diademate praecedentis Imperatoris.

i. cathedra.

De inde singuli principes, et singuæ ciuitates, oppida, et villæ per vniuersum imperium mittunt ei munera iocalia, vasa, pannos, equos, elephantes, aurum, argentum, et lapides preciosos, quorum, qualium, et quantorum vix vel in numero haberi potest æstimatio.

CAPVT. 40.

De multis regionibus Imperio Tartariæ subiectis.

BReuitèr et nunc intendo cursum describere aliquarum magnarum regionum et Insularum Imperij Tartariæ. Et primò illas quæ descendunt à prouincia Cathay per septentrionalem plagam, vsque ad fines Christianitatis Prussiæ, et Russiæ.

Ergò prouincia Cathay descendens in sui oriente à regno Tharsis iungitur ab occidente regno Turquescen, in quo et sunt plurimae ciuitates, quarum formosior dicitur Octopar. Ipsum autem Turquescen regnum iungitur ad occidentem sui regno seu Imperio Persiæ, et ad septentrionem regno Corasinæ, quod spaciosum este valde, habens versus orientem sui vltra centum diaetas deserti: hoc regnum est multis bonis abundans, et appellatur eius melior ciuitas etiam Corasine.

Isti quoq; regno iungitur in occidente versus partes nostras regnum Commanorum, quod et similiter longum est, et latum, sed in paucis sui locis inhabitatum: Nam in quibusdam est frigus nimium, in alijs nimius calor, et in nonnullis nimia muscarum multitudo.

De istis Commanis venit olim fugata quædam pluralitas populi vsque in terram Ægypti quæ ibidem succreta nunc ita inualuit, vt suppressis indigenis videatur regnare: Nam et de seipsis constituerunt hunc, qui modo est Soldanus, Melech Mandibron. Per Commanorum regnum decurrit Grandis fluuius Echil, qui omni hyemali tempore in magna spissitudine gelatur: in superiori quoq; parte huius regni inter duo freta Caspiæ, et Oceani, mons sublimis est valde Chocas. Nota quod à nostris partibus non possit vsque in Indiam superiorem duci magnus exercitus per terras, nisi per tres tantummodo transitus, quorum iste est vnus, qui tamen non valet transiri nisi tempore glaciei, et hic appellatus est Lodekonc.

Alter per Turquescen, et per Persiam, tamen ibi sunt deserta plurium dietarum, in quibus nisi esset exercitus bene prouisus, posset perire.

Tertius ad primos fines regni Commanorum, transfretando tamen mare vsque in regnum Abchaz: principalis ciuitas Commanorum dicitur Sarach.

Ab hoc regno versus partes nostras inuenitur regio Laiton quæ est vltima paganismi, iungitur iste finis terræ Christianitatitis regno Prussiæ, et Russiæ.

Post potestatem Imperij Tartariæ descendendo à prouincia Cathay in Australem plagam venitur versus Persiam, Syriam, et Greciam. Versus terram Christianorum possum aliqualiter in summa (quantum conuenit huic scripto) connotare. Dixi supra iam prouinciam Cathay iungi regno Turquescen ad occidentem, et illud quòq; iungi regno seu Imperio Persiæ. Ad quod sciendum, quamuis rex Persiæ habet etiam ab olim nomen Imperatoris; quia (cum tenet aliquas terras sui Imperij ab Imperatore Tartarorum) necesse est vt in tanto subiectus sit illi.

Sunt autem in Persia duæ regiones: vna altæ Persiæ, quæ à regno Turquescen descendens, iungitur ad occidentem sui fluuis Pyson. In ista habentur renominatæ ciuitates, quarum meliores duæ dicuntur Bocura et Seonargant, quam aliqui appellant Samarkand: Et altera Regio bassæ Persiæ, descendens à flumine Pyson, qui ad sui occidentem iungiter regno Mediæ, et terræ minoris Armeniæ, et ad Aquilonem mari Caspio, et ad Austrum terræ minoris Indiæ.

In hac bassa Persia tres principaliores ciuitates sunt Aessabor, Saphaon, Sarmasaule. In terra autem maioris Armeniæ quondam habebantur quatuor regna quæ nunc dicuntur subesse Imperio Persarum, habétque famam terræ nobilis, et ad occidentem sui iungitur Regno Turciæ.

Hec Armenia multas valdè bonas continet ciuitates, quarum famosior est Taurisa. Regnum Mediæ quod subest Regi Persarum quamuis non latum est, tamen longum est, et ad occidentem sui regno Chaldeæ coniunctum. In Media meliores duæ ciuitates sunt, Seras, et Keremen.

Hinc ad occidentem sui, iuncta est regio Georgiæ, quæ modo constat diuisa in duo regna: Nam pars superior, quæ iungitur Mediæ, reseruauit sibi nomen Georgiæ, sed inferior pars dicitur regnum Abchaz. Ambo hæc regna, et regis eorum, sunt de fide Christiana, et homines ita deuoti vt ad minus semel in hebdomada communicent sacramentis, iuxta ritum Græcorum confectis. Et quidem regnum Georgiæ subiacet imperio Grand Can: sed Abchaz nunquam ab ipso Imperatore Tartariæ, neque Persarum, néq; Medorum domino subdi potuit, eo quòd munitum est aquis et rupibus et alijs prouisionibus contra impugnationes hostiles.

Georgia.
Abchas, aliàs Alchaz.

In parte regni Georgiæ sunt tenebræ.

Iuxta hoc regnum Abchaz habetur vnum mirum et mirabile, nam magnus est territorij locus dictus Hamson, et continens in circuitu spacium viæ quatuor diætarum: videter semper opertus tenebris densis vt nemo audeat illic intrare profundè, quoniam si qui presumpserint, non sunt visi reuerti. Attamen fatentur vicini sub illis se tenebris audisse nonnunquam clamores hominum, hinnitus, mugitus, rugitus, et boatus pecudum, et bestiarum, sed et cantus gallorum, vt per hæc et alia signa constet ibi habitare gentes: nam et fluuius decurrens monstrat signa sæpè certissima in suo exitu: ignoratur tamen si tenebræ per totum territorium sint eiusdem densitatis, an forte sint in circuitu per aliquod spacium, et intrinsecus plus luminosum.

Dicuntur autem tenebræ istæ olim per diuinum miraculum aduenisse. Saboere enim Imperatore Persarum, circa annum Gratiæ ducentessimum quinquagessimum in persecutione Christianorum tendente cum pleno exercitu per hunc locum, et Christianis tyrannidem eius fugientibus, contigit ex improuiso eos ità arctari, vt se effugere desperarent, quapropter statim ad orationis refugium omnes se sternentes clamauerunt ad Christum auxiliatorem suum: Et deus, qui pro puro corde Christianos ad se orantes semper exaudit, expleuit illic literam vaticinij Isaiæ: quia ecce tenebræ operient terram et caligo populos, monstrans per tenebram terrenam, quam eis superduxit, quas passuri essent inimici nominis Christi tenebras infernales, indicansque per temporalem vitam, quam sibi fidelibus conseruauit, eam quam possessuri sunt viri Christiani vitam perpetuam, et cœlestem.

Itaq; hoc regnum Abchaz ad occidentem sui iungitur regno Turciæ, quod in longo et lato valdè extensum multas continet prouincias scilicet Iconiæ, Cappadociæ, Sauræ, Brike, Besicon, Patan, et Gennoch; hij omnes Turci, cum tota Syria et Arabia vsq; ad Galliziam Hispaniæ, subsunt Imperatori Babyloniæ Soldano, et sunt in singulis prouinciis et regionibus ciuitates magnæ, ac multæ nimis. Consequentèr huic regno Turciæ ad Occidentem sui in ciuitate Cathasa iungitur per mare Greciæ superior pars potestatis Imperatoris Constantinopolitani, et quasi ad Aquilonem contiguatur regno Syriæ: cuius vna prouincia est terra promissionis, prout hoc satis dictum est suprà. Sunt et aliæ terræ, et Insulæ, et patriæ latæ, et spatiosæ, continentes in se multa regna, et reges, et gentes diuersas, de quibus nunc per singula pertractare non est consilij.

Vel Sathata.

Ad supradictam Chaldæam iungitur Mesopotamia, et minor Armenia, et velut ad Austrum eius Æthiopia, Mauritania, Lybia alta et bassa, et Nubia. Excepto ergò duntaxat districtu Imperij Persiæ, et potestate Soldani, omnes sæpè pertractatæ terræ, regiones, regna et Insulæ descendendo tam par Aquilonem, quam ad Austrum à prouincia Cathay, vsq; ad Christianitatem sunt de Imperio Tartariæ Grand Can. Et notandum de spacio distantiæ, quod institores de Roma, vel Venetia festinantes tam per terras, quàm per mare, expendunt de tempore 11. menses, et quandoque duodecim, priusquam in Cathay valeant peruenire.

Extensio Imperij Grand Can.

Distantia à Roma ad Cathayam per Institores.

Hijs itaq; visis describam saltem aliquas à prouincia Cathay in orientem terras Imperij Tartarorum. Illic habetur regio Cadilla spaciosa multum, simul et speciosa: crescunt namq; in ea fructus ad quantitatem magnorum Cawardorum, in quibus inuenitur vna bestiola, in carne et sanguine ad formam agnelli absq; lana, et manducatur totus fructus cum bestiola. Sunt et alij plures diuersi fructus, quorum penes nos non est respectus nec vsus. Nam et sunt ibi nonnullæ speciales vites ferentes botros incredibiliter magnos, quorum vnum vix virilis vir valet in hasta portare.

Cadilla Regio orientalior Cathay.

Angli nostri hanc bestiolam nuper viderunt in Persia.

Et deinde in meridiem per aliquas diætas, potest perueniri ad primas Caspiæ alpes, quæ descendendo descendunt vsque ad Amazoniam, insulam mulierum, de qua tractatum est. Inter has Alpes retinetur maxima multitudo Iudæorum decem tribum Israel, per Dei voluntatem ita inclusa, vt in copiosa numerositate non possint à nostra parte exire, quamuis aliqui pauci nonnunquam sunt visi transisse. Haberent autem competentem exitum circa insulam Amazoniæ, sed illum diligenter regina obseruat.

Porrò de regione Cadilla in orientem venitur ad regnum Backariæ, in qua mali et multum crudeles habitant homines, nec est securum itinerare per illam, quòd ad modicam occasionem (si Deus non conseruaret) occiderent viatorem et manducarent. Illic sunt arbores ferentes lanam velut ouium, ex qua texunt pannos ad vestimenta. Hypocentauri sunt ibi pro media superiori parte in forma humana, et pro inferiori figura equorum, seu taurorum, venantes in terris, et piscantes in aquis quod comedunt, et super omnia carnes hominum, quos capere possunt.

Bacchariæ Regnum vel Boghariæ.

Arbor Lanifera.

Gryphones, de quibus Paulus Venetus.

Cursores, Chidibo Tartaricè dicti.

Nec non et gryphi illic apparent pro media posteriori parte in forma leonis, pro anteriori in forma aquilæ. Sed sciatis, corpus magni gryphi maius esse octo leonibus de partibus istis. Nam postquam equum, bouem vel hominem, etiam asinum occiderit, leuat et asportat pleno volatu: tanquam cornua bouis aut vaccæ sunt illi vngulæ, de quibus etiam fieri solent ciphi ad bibendum, qui plurimùm reputantur preciosi. Fiunt quóq; de pennis alarum eius arcus rigidi, et fortes ad iaciendum missilia et sagittas. Ad istius regni Baccariæ extremitates in Orientum finitur terra potestatis Grand Can: Et iungitur ei terra potestatis magni Imperatoris Indiæ, qui semper vocatur Præsbyter Ioannes. Notandum, quoties per prouincias totius Imperij Grand Can, quicquam accidit, quod Imperatorem non oportet latere, confestim mittuntur per reges aut barones nuncij in dromedarijs aut equis, qui celerrimè festinant ad certa hospitia, ad hoc ipsum, velut ábsque numero per imperium instituta: Isque nuncius hospitio appropinquans, et cornu resonans, dum auditur paratur nuncius alter, qui de manu suscipiens literas, per recentem dromedarium festinat ad aliud hospitium, et sic in breui tempore perferuntur rumores ad curiæ aures. Similique modo nuncij pedites permutantur de hospitio in hospitium, vt citiùs percipiatur negocium huius nuncij: appellantur sua lingua Chidibo.

Charitas Mandeuilli.

Ergò per præmissa satis elucet magnam esse nobilitatem, potestatem, reuerentiam, et dominationem Imperatoris Tartariæ Grand Can de Cathay, et quòd nullus ab ista parte Imperator, nec Persiæ, nec Babyloniæ, nec Greciæ, sed nec Romæ est illi comparandus. Vndè et multum miserandum est, quia ipse cùm toto Imperio nec est fide Catholica illustratus, nec salutari lauachro regeneratus: et hoc oremus vt in breui eueniat, per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum.

Explicit pars secunda huius operis.

The English Version.

And whan the emperour dyethe, men setten him in a chayere in myddes the place of his tent: and men setten a table before him clene, covered with a clothe, and there upon flesche and dyverse vyaundes, and a cuppe fulle of mares mylk. And men putten a mare besyde him, with hire fole, and an hors sadeled and

brydeled; and thei leyn upon the hors gold and silver gret quantytee: and thei putten abouten him gret plentee of stree: and than men maken a gret pytt and a large; and with the tent and alle theise other thinges, thei putten him in erthe. And thei seyn, that whan he schalle come in to another world, he schalle not ben with outen an hows, ne with owten hors, ne with outen gold and sylver: and the mare schalle zeven him mylk, and bryngen him forthe mo hors, tille he be wel stored in the tother world. For thei trowen, that aftre hire dethe, thei schulle be etynge and drynkynge in that other world, and solacynge hem with hire wifes, as thei diden here. And aftre tyme, that the emperour is thus entered, no man schalle be so hardy to speke of him before his frendes. And zit natheles somtyme fallethe of manye, that thei maken hem to ben entered prevylly be nyghte, in wylde places, and putten azen the grasse over the pytt for to growe: or elle men coveren the pytt with gravelle and sond, that no man schalle perceyve where, ne knowe where the pytt is, to that entent, that never aftre, non of his frendes schulle han mynde ne rememberance of him. And thanne thei seyn, that he is ravissht in to another world, where he is a grettre lord, than he was here. And thanne aftre the dethe of the emperour, the 7 lynages assemblen hem to gidere, and chesen his eldest sone, or the nexte aftre him, of his blood: and thus thei seye to him; wee wolen and wee preyen and ordeynen, that zee ben oure lord and oure emperour. And thanne he answerethe, zif zee wile, that I regne over zou, as lord, do everyche of zou, that I schalle commanden him, outher to abyde or to go; and whom soever that I commaunde to ben slayn, that anon he be slayn. And thei answeren alle with o voys, what so evere zee commanden, it schalle be don. Thanne seythe the emperour, now undirstondethe wel, that my woord from hens forthe, is scharp and bytynge as a swerd. After men setten him upon a blak stede, and so men bryngen him to a cheyere fulle richely arrayed, and there thei crownen hym. And thanne alle the cytees and gode townes senden hym ryche presentes; so that at that iourneye, he schalle have more than 60 chariottes charged with gold and sylver, with outen jewelles of gold and precyouse stones, that lordes zeven hym, that ben withouten estymacioun: and with outen hors and clothes of gold and of Camakaas and Tartarynes, that ben with outen nombre.

Of the Roialme of Thurse and the Londes and Kyngdomes towardes the Septentrionale parties, in comynge down from the Lond of Cathay.

This lond of Cathay is in Asye the depe. And aftre, on this half, is Asyetthe more. The kyngdom of Cathay marchethe toward the west, unto the kyngdom of Tharse; the whiche was on of the kinges, that cam to presente our Lord in Betheleem. And thei that ben of the lynage of that kyng, arn somme Cristene. In Tharse, thei eten no flessche, ne thei drynken no wyn. And on this half, towardes the west, is the kyngdom of Turquesten, that strecchethe him toward the west, to the kyngdom of Persie; and toward the Septrentionalle, to the kyngdom of Chorasme. In the contre of Turquesten, ben but fewe gode cytees: but the beste cytee of that lond highte Octorar. There ben grete pastures; but fewe Coornes; and therfore, for the most partie, thei ben alle herdemen: and thei lyzn in tentes, and thei drynken a maner ale, made of hony.

And aftre, on this half, is the kyngdom of Chorasme, that is a gode lond and a plentevous, with outen wyn. And it hathe a desert toward the est, that lastethe more than an 100 iourneyes. And the beste cytee of that contree is clept Chorasme. And of that cytee, berethe the contree his name. The folk of that contree ben hardy werryoures. And on this half is the kyngdom of Comanye, where of the Comayns that dwelleden in Grece, somtyme weren chaced out. This is on of the grettest kyngdomes of the world: but it is not alle enhabyted. For at on of the parties, there is so gret cold, that no man may dwelle there: and in another partie, there is so grete hete, that no man may endure it. And also there ben so many flyes, that no man may knowe on what syde he may turne him. In that contree is but lytille arberye, ne trees that beren frute, ne othere. Thei lyzn in tentes. And thei brenen the dong of bestes for defaute of wode.

This kyngdom descendeth on this half toward us, and toward Pruysse, and toward Rossye. And thorghe that contree rennethe the ryvere of Ethille, that is on of the grettest ryveres of the world. And it fresethe so strongly alle zeres, that many tymes men han foughten upon the Ise with grete hostes, bothe parties on fote, and hire hors voyded for the tyme: and what on hors and on fote, mo than 200000 persones on every syde. And betweene that ryvere and the grete see ocean, that thei clepen the see maure, lyzn alle theise Roialmes. And toward the hede benethe in that Roialme, is the mount Chotaz, that is the hiest mount of the world : and it is betwene the see Maure and the see Caspy. There is fulle streyt and dangerous passage, for to go toward Ynde. And therfore Kyng Alysandre leet make there a strong cytee, that men clepen Alizandre, for to kepe the contree, that no man scholde passe with outen his leve. And now men clepen that cytee, the Zate of Helle. And the princypalle cytee of Comenye is clept Sarak, that is on of the 3 weyes for to go in to Ynde : but be the weye, ne may not passe no gret multytude of peple, but zif it be in wyntre. And that passage men clepen the Derbent. The tother weye is for to go fro the cytee of Turquesten, be Persie : and be that weye, ben manye iourneyes be desert. And the thridde weye is that comethe fro Comanye, and than to go be the grete see and be the kyngdom of Abchaz.

And zee schulle undirstonde, that alle theise kyngdomes and alle theise londes aboveseyd, unto Pruysse and to Rossye, ben alle obeyssant to the grete Chane of Cathay; and many othere contrees, that marchen to other costes. Wherfore his powere and his lordschipe is fulle gret, and fulle myghty.

Of the Emperour of Persye, and of the lond of darknesse and of other Kyngdomes, that belongen to the grete Chane of Cathay, and other Londes of his, unto the See of Greece.

Cap. XXV.

NOw sithe I have devysed zou the londes and the kyngdoms toward the parties septentrionales, in comynge down from the lond of Cathay, unto the londes of the Cristene, towardes Pruysse and Rossye ; now schalle I devyse zou of other londes and kyngdomes, comynge doun be other costes, toward the right syde, unto the see of Grece, toward the lond of Cristene men : and therfore that, aftre Ynde and aftre Cathay, the Emperour of Persie is the gretteste lord. Therfore I schalle telle zou of the kyngdom of Persie. First, where he hathe 2 kyngdomes ; the firste kyngdom begynnethe toward the est, toward the kyngdom of Turquesten, and it strecchethe toward the west, unto the ryvere of Phison, that is on of the 4 ryveres, that comen out of paradys. And on another syde, it strecchethe toward the septemtrion, unto the see of Caspye : and also toward the southe, unto the desert of Ynde. And this contree is gode and pleyn and fulle of peple. And there ben manye gode cytees. But the 2 princypalle cytees ben theise, Boyturra and Seornergant, that sum men clepen Sormagant. The tother kyngdom of Persie strecchethe toward the ryvere of Phison, and the parties of the west, unto the kyngdom of Mede: and fro the grete Armenye, and toward the septemtrion, to the see of Caspie; and toward the southe, to the lond of Ynde. That is also a gode lond and a plentefous; and it hath 3 grete princypalle cytees, Messabor, Caphon and Sarmassane.

And thanne aftre is Armenye, in the which weren wont to ben 4 kyngdomes: that is a noble cuntree, and fulle of godes. And it begynnethe at Persie, and strecchethe toward the west in lengthe, unto Turkye. And in largenesse, it durethe to the cytee of Alizandre, that now is clept the Zate of Helle, that I spak offe beforn, undre the kyngdom of Mede. In this Armenye ben fulle manye gode cytees: but Tanrizo is most of name.

Aftre this, is the kyngdom of Mede, that is fulle long: but it is not fulle large, that begynnethe toward the est, to the lond of Persie, and to Ynde the lesse. And it strecchethe toward the west, toward the kyngdom of Caldee, and toward the septemtrion, descendynge toward the litille Armenye. In that kyngdom of Medee, ther ben many grete hilles, and litille of pleyn erthe. There duellen Sarazines, and another maner of folk, that men clepen Cordynes. The beste 2 cytees of that kyngdom, ben Sarras and Karemen.

Aftre that, is the kyngdom of George, that begynnethe toward the est, to the gret mountayne, that is clept Abzor; where that duellen many dyverse folk of dyverse naciouns. And men clepen the contree Alamo. This kyngdom strecchethe him towardes Turkye, and toward the grete see: and toward the south, it marchethe to the grete Armenye. And there ben 2 kyngomes in that contree; that on is the kyngdom of Georgie, and that other is the kyngdom of Abcaz. And alle weys in that contree ben 2 kynges, and thei ben bothe Cristene: but the Kyng of Georgie is in subieccioun to the grete Chane. And the King of Abcaz hathe the more strong contree: and he alle weyes vigerously defendethe his contree, azenst alle tho that assaylen him; so that no man may make him in subieccioun to no man. In that kyngdom of Abcaz is a gret marvaylle. For a provynce of the contree, that hathe wel in circuyt 3 iorneyes, that men clepen Hanyson, is alle covered with derknesse, with outen ony brightnesse or light; so that no man may see ne here, ne no man dar entren in to hem. And natheles, thei of the contree seyn, that som tyme men heren voys of folk, and hors nyzenge, and cokkes crowynge. And men witen wel, that men duellen there: but thei knowe not what men. And thei seyn, that the derknesse befelle be myracle of God. For a cursed Emperour of Persie, that highte Saures, pursuede alle Cristene men, to destroye hem, and to compelle hem to make sacrifise to his ydoles; and rood with grete host, in alle that ever he myghte, for to confounde the Cristene men. And thanne in that contree, dwellen manye gode Cristene men, the whiche that laften hire godes, and wolde han fled in to Grece: and whan they weren in a playn, that highte Megon, anon this cursed emperour mett with hem, with his hoost, for to have slayn hem, and hewen hem to peces. And anon the Cristene men kneleden to the grounde, and made hire preyeres to God to sokoure hem. And anon a gret thikke clowde cam, and covered the emperour and alle his hoost: and so thei enduren in that manere, that thei ne mowe not gon out, on no syde; and so schulle thei ever more abyden in derknesse, tille the day of dome, be the myracle of God. And thanne the Cristene men wenten, where hem lykede best, at hire own plesance, with outen lettynge of ony creature; and hire enemyes enclosed and confounded in derknesse, with outen ony strok. Wherfore we may wel seye, with David, *A Domino factum est istud; et est mirabile in oculis nostris.* And that was a gret myracle, that God made for hem. Wherfore methinkethe, that Cristene men scholden ben more devoute, to serven oure Lord God, than ony other men of ony other secte. For with outen ony drede, ne were cursednesse and synne of Cristene men, thei scholden be lordes of alle the world. For the banere of Jesu Crist is alle weys displayed, and redy on alle sydes, to the help of his trewe lovynge servauntes: in so moche, that o gode Cristene man, in gode beleeve, scholde overcomen and out chacen a 1000 cursed mysbeleevynge men: as David seythe in the Psautere, *Quoniam persequebatur unus mille, et duo fugarent decem milia.* Et, *Cadent a latere tuo mille, et decem milia a dextris tuis.* And how that it myghte ben, that on scholde chacen a 1000, David himself seythe, folewynge, *Quia manus Domini fecit hæc omnia.* And oure Lord himself seythe, be the prophetes mouth, *Si in viis meis ambulaveritis, super tribulantes vos misissem manum meam.* So that wee may seen apertely, that zif wee wil be gode men, non enemye ne may not enduren azenst us. Also zee schulle undirstonde, that out of that lond of derknesse, gothe out a gret ryvere, that schewethe wel, that there ben folk dwellynge, be many redy tokenes: but no man dar not entre in to it.

And wytethe well, that in the kyngdoms of Georgie, of Abchaz and of the litile Armenye, ben gode Cristene men and devoute. For thei schryven hem and howsele hem evermore ones or twyes in the woke. And there ben many of hem, that howsele hem every day: and so do wee not on this half; alle be it that Seynt Poul commandethe it, seyenge, *Omnibus diebus dominicis ad communicandum hortor.* Thei kepen that commandement: but wee ne kepen it not.

Also aftre, on this half, is Turkye, that marchethe to the gret Armenye. And there ben many provynces, as Capadoche, Saure, Brique, Quesiton, Pytan and Gemethe. And in everyche of theise ben many gode cytees. This Turkye strecchethe unto the cytee of Sachala, that sittethe upon the see of Grece; and so it marchethe to Syrie. Syrie is a gret contree and a gode, as I have told zou before. And also it hathe, aboven toward Ynde, the kyngdom of Caldee, that strecchethe fro the mountaynes of Calde, toward the est, unto the cytee of Nynyvee, that sittethe upon the ryvere of Tygre: and in largenesse, it begynnethe toward the northe, to the cytee of Maraga; and it strecchethe toward the southe, unto the see occean. In Caldee is a pleyn contree, and fewe hilles and few ryveres.

Aftre is the kyngdom of Mesopotayme, that begynnethe toward the est, to the flom of Tygre, unto a cytee that is clept Moselle: and it streechethe toward the west, to the flom of Eufrate, unto a cytee that is clept Roianz: and in lengthe it gothe to the mount of Armenye, unto the desert of Ynde the lesse. This is a gode contree and a pleyn: but it hathe fewe ryveres. It hathe but 2 mountaynes in that contree: of the whiche, on highte Symar, and that other Lyson. And this lond marchethe to the kyngdom of Caldee.

Zit there is, toward the parties meridionales, many contrees and many regyouns; as the lond of Ethiope, that marchethe, toward the est, to the grete desertes; toward the west, to the kyngdom of Nubye; toward the southe, to the kyngdom of Moretane; and toward the north to the Rede See. Aftre is Moretane, that durethe fro the mountaynes of Ethiope, unto Lybie the hize. And that contree lyzth a long fro the see ocean, toward the southe; and toward the northe, it marchethe to Nubye, and to the highe Lybye. (Theise men of Nubye ben Cristene.) And it marchethe fro the londes aboveseyd to the desertes of Egypt.

And that is the Egypt, that I have spoken of before. And aftre is Libye the hye, and Lybye the lowe, that descendethe down lowe, toward the grete see of Spayne. In the whiche contree ben many kyngdomes and many dyverse folk. Now I have devysed zou many contrees, on this half the kyngdom of Cathay: of the whiche, many ben obeyssant to the grete Chane.

Of the Contrees and Yles, that ben bezonde the Lond of Cathay; and of the Frutes there; and of 22 Kynges enclosed within the Mountaynes.

Cap. XXVI.

NOw schalle I seye zou sewyngly of contrees and yles, that ben bezonde the contrees that I have spoken of. Wherfore I seye zou, in passynge be the lond of Cathaye, toward the highe Ynde, and toward Bacharye, men passen be a kyngdom, that men clepen Caldilhe; that is a fulle fair contree. And there growethe a maner of fruyt, as thoughe it weren gowrdes: and whan thei ben rype, men kutten hem a to, and men fynden with inne a lytylle best, in flessche, in bon and blode, as though it were a lytylle lomb, with outen wolle. And men eten bothe the frut and the best: and that is a gret marveylle. Of that frute I have eten; alle thoughe it were wondirfulle: but that I knowe wel, that God is marveyllous in his werkes. And natheles I told hem, of als gret a marveylle to hem, that is amonges us: and that was of the Bernakes. For I tolde hem, that in oure contree weren trees, that beren a fruyt, that becomen briddes fleeynge: and tho that fellen in the water, lyven; and thei that fallen on the erthe, dyen anon: and thei ben right gode to mannes mete. And here of had thei als gret marvaylle, that summe of hem trowed, it were an impossible thing to be.* In that contree ben longe apples of gode savour; where of ben mo than 100 in a clustre, and als manye in another; and thei han gret longe leves and large, of 2 fote long or more. And in that contree, and in other contrees there abouten, growen many trees, that beren clowe gylofres and notemuges, and grete notes of Ynde and of canelle and of many other spices. And there ben vynes, that beren so grete grapes, that a strong man scholde have y now to done, for to bere o clustre with alle the grapes. In that same regioun ben the mountaynes of Caspye, that men clepen Uber in the contree. Betwene the mountaynes, the Jewes of 10 lynages ben enclosed, that men clepen Gothe and Magothe: and thei mowe not gon out on no syde. There weren enclosed 22 kynges with hire peple, that duelleden betwene the mountaynes of Sythye. There Kyng Alisandre chacede hem betwene tho mountaynes; and there he thoughte for to enclose hem thorghe werk of his men. But whan he saughe, that he myghte not don it, ne bryng it to an ende, he preyed to God of Nature, that he wolde parforme that that he had begonne. And alle were it so, that he was a Payneme and not worthi to ben herd, zit God of his grace closed the mountaynes to gydre: so that thei dwellen there, alle faste y lokked and enclosed with highe mountaynes alle aboute, saf only on o syde; and on that syde is the see of Caspye. Now may sum men asken, Sithe that the see is on that o syde, wherfore go thei not out on the see syde, for to go where that hem lykethe? But to this question, I schal answere, That see of Caspye gothe out be londe, undre the mountaynes, and rennethe be the desert at o syde of the contree; and aftre it strecchethe unto the endes of Persie. And alle thoughe it be clept a see, it is no see, ne it touchethe to non other see: but it is a lake, the grettest of the world. And thoughe thei wolden putten hem in to that see, thei ne wysten never, where that thei scholde arryven. And also thei conen no langage, but only hire owne, that no man knowethe but thei: and therfore mowe thei not gon out. And also zee schulle undirstond, that the Jewes han no propre lond of hire owne for to dwellen inne, in alle the world, but only that lond betwene the mountaynes. And zit thei zelden tribute for that lond to the Queen of Amazoine, the whiche makethe hem to ben kept in cloos fulle diligently, that thei schalle not gon out on no syde, but be the cost of hire lond. For hire lond marchethe to tho mountaynes. And often it hathe befallen, that summe of the Jewes han gon up the mountaynes, and avaled down to the valeyes: but gret nombre of folk ne may not do so. For the mountaynes ben so hye and so streghte up, that thei moste abyde there, maugre hire myghte. For thei mowe not gon out, but be a littille issue, that was made be strengthe of men; and it lastethe wel a 4 gret myle. And aftre, is there zit a lond allo desert, where men may fynde no watre, ne for dyggynge, ne for non other thing. Wherfore men may not dwellen in that place: so it is fulle of dragounes, of serpentes and of other venymous bestes, that no man dar not passe, but zif it be strong wyntre. And that streyt passage, men clepen in that contree, Clyron. And that is the passage, that the Queen of Amazoine makethe to ben kept. And thoghe it happene, sum of hem, be fortune, to gon out; thei conen no maner of langage but Ebrow: so that thei can not speke to the peple. And zit natheles, men seyn, thei schalle gon out in the tyme of Antecrist, and that thei schulle maken gret slaughtre of Cristene men. And therfore alle the Jewes, that dwellen in alle londes, lernen alle weys to speken Ebrew, in hope that whan the other Jewes schulle gon out, that thei may undirstonden hire speche, and to leden hem in to Cristendom, for to destroye the Cristene peple. For the Jewes seyn, that they knowen wel, be hire Prophecyes, that thei of Caspye schulle been undre hire subieccioun, als longe as they had ben in subieccioun of hem. And zif that zee wil wyte, how that thei schulle fynden hire Weye, aftre that I have herd seye, I schalle telle zou. In the time of Antecrist, a fox schalle make there his trayne, and mynen an hole, where Kyng Alisandre leet make the Zates: and so longe he schalle mynen and perce the erthe, till that he schalle passe thorghe, towardes that folk. And whan thei seen the fox thei schulle have gret marveylle of him, be cause that thei saughe never suche a best. For of alle other bestes, thei han enclosed amonges hem, saf only the fox. And thanne thei schullen chacen him and pursuen him so streyte, tille that he come to the same place, that he cam fro. And thanne thei schullen dyggen and mynen so strongly, tille that thei fynden the zates, that Kyng Alisandre leet make of grete stones and passynge huge, wel symented and made stronge for the maystrie. And tho zates thei schulle breken, and so gon out, be fyndynge of that issue.

---

* The Barnacle-bearing trees are said to have grown in Ireland.

Fro that lond, gon men toward the lond of Bacharie, where ben fulle cruelle. In that lond ben trees, that beren wolle, as thoghe it were of scheep; where of men maken clothes, and alle thing that may ben made of wolle. In that contree ben many Ipotaynes, that dwellen somtyme in the watre, and somtyme on the lond: and thei ben half man and half hors, as I have seyd before: and thei eten men, whan thei may take hem. And there ben ryveres of watres, that ben fulle byttere, three sythes more than is the watir of the see. In that contree ben many Griffounes, more plentee than in ony other contree. Sum men seyn, that thei han the body upward, as an eagle, and benethe as a Lyoun: and treuly thei seyn sothe, that thei ben of that schapp. But o griffoun hathe the body more gret and is more strong thanne 8 lyouns, of suche lyouns as ben o this half; and more gret and strongere, than an 100 egles, suche as we han amonges us. For o griffoun there will bere, fleynge to his neste, a gret hors, or 2 oxen zoked to gidere, as thei gon at the plowghe. For he hathe his talouns so longe and so large and grete, upon his feet, as thoughe thei weren hornes of grete oxen or of bugles or of Kyzn ; so that men maken cuppes of hem, to drynken of: and of hire ribbes and of the pennes and of hire wenges, men maken bowes fulle stronge, to schote with arwes and quarelle. From thens gon men, be many iourneyes, thorghe the lond of Prestre John, the grete Emperour of Ynde. And men clepen his Roialme, the Yle of Pentexoire.

END OF PART II.

MANDEVILLE'S VOYAGES

Tertia pars.

CAPVT. 41.

De magnificentia Imperatoris Indiæ et preciositate Palatij.

CVm in præcedentibus Imperator Indiæ dictus sit magnus, restat de illius magnificentia aliquid poni hoc loco : cuius vtiq ; gloria, nobilitas, et potestas, dici non habetur minor, est tamen in aliquibus satis maior, quia omne æquale non est idem cum illo cui æquatur : itáq ; à finibus regni Bachariæ supradicti vbi contiguatur Imperio Indiæ, eundo per multas diætas intratur in Pentoxyriæ quod est magnæ latitudinis, et abundantiæ in multis bonis : huius nominatior ciuitas, dicitur Nyse, et in ea habet Imperator palatium Imperiale, in in quo residet dum sibi placet. Imperator iste semper vocitatus est Præsbyter Ioannes, cuius nominis causam audieram quandoq ; non veram : sed in illis partibus accepi rationem indubitatam, quam breuiter hîc enarro. Circa annum ab incarnatione Domini octingentessimum, dux Ogerus de Danemarchia, cum quindecim cognationis suæ baronibus, et armatis viginti milibus transiuit mare Greciæ, et fauente sibi Deo conquisiuit Christianitati per multa prælia pené omnes terras, regiones, et insulas, quas esse de potestate Grand Can prædixi, nec non et omnes, quæ sunt de potestate Imperij huius Imperatoris Indiæ. Eratq ; inter Barones vnus denominatus Ioannes filius Goudebucf, regis Frisonum: qui dictus Ioannes Deo deuotus fuit, et dum licuit Ecclesiarum limina iniuit, vnde et barones ei dabant quasi per iocum Præsbyter Ioannes vocabulum. Dum ergo Ogerus dictas regiones expugnatas diuideret in hijs quindecim suis cognatis, et quemlibet eorum in suo loco constitueret regem, quatenus Christiana religio in illa orbis superficie semper stabilis permaneret, tradidit isti Præsbytero Ioanni superiorem Indiam, cum 4000. insulis, regionibus, et ipsum præfecit Imperatorem super reliquos cognatos, vt ei certa tributa impenderent, et in omnibus obedirent, átq ; ex tunc omnes successores Indiæ sunt vocati Praesbyter Ioannes et vsq : in hodiernum tempus boni

Seu Pentoxoria.

Ciuitas Nyse.

Narratio de rebus gestis Ogeri Ducis Daniæ.

Vndè Presbyter Ioannis sit dictus.

4000. Insulæ.

manserunt Christiani, et religionis æmulatores. Interim cum causa matrimoniorum aut procurationis filiorum dispersa est primi Imperij integritas, et multæ de insulis conuersæ vel potius peruersæ retrocesserunt ad vetustum squalorem paganismi primi. Nota. Recedens à Cambalu versus orientem post 50. dietas ad terram Praesbyteri Ioannes, principalis ciuitas terræ vocatur Cosan, satis parua sicut Vincentia: habet etiam sub se multas alias ciuitates. Ex pacto semper habet in vxorem vnam de filiabus Grand Can.

Per multas peruenitur ad prouinciam Casan, quæ est secunda melior de mundo, vbi subtilior est, habet dietas 50. longior, 60. et est vna de duodecim partibus Imperij Grand Can. Odericus. Vide infra capitulo 49. de Cassan, et de Epulone. Deinde venitur in Thebeth prouinciam, quæ Indiæ est confinis. Itaque Rex et Imperator iste tenet spatiosissimum Imperium plenum valdè multis Regionibus et Insulis amplis, diuisum inter quatuor flumina magna de Paradiso terrestri descendentia, Pyson, Gyon, Tygrim, et Euphratem. Nam vltra fines orientales eius Imperij, et terrestrem Paradisum, nullus hominum habitat vel domitatur.

Praeterea imperat multis alijs regionibus et insulis quæ distinguntur per brachia maris Oceani, et in quibus singulis continetur grandis numerositas ciuitatum ac villarum, et multitudo innumera populorum præ abundantia, et praeciositate omnium terrenorum bonorum.

Imperium Indiæ habetur famosum per vniuersum orbem. Sed et famosius haberetur si mercatores mundi communitèr possint et auderent adire sicut Cathay. Nostratibus enim perrarus est illic accessus, tam præ longinquitate, quàm præ marinis periculis. Nam exceptis alijs sunt ibi quamplures Adamantini colles, ad oram maris, et intra mare, qui sua virtute attrahunt sibi naues ferrum continentes. Quoniam et mihi nauiganti monstrabatur per nautas à remotis quasi paruula Insula in mari, quam asserebant totalitèr ab antiquis temporibus paulatim ibi cumulatam de nauibus per Adamantes retentis.

Latitudo Imperij Præsbyteri Ioannis est 4. mensium iter.

Estimatur autem latitudo huius Imperij per dietas quatuor mensium, sed longitudini non datur estimatio, eo quòd tenditur vsque Paradisum vbi nullus accedit.

Distinctum est Imperium per duodecim prouincias, quibus totidem praesunt reges principales seu prouinciales, et quorum singuli habent sub se Reges, Duces, Marchiones, et Barones, praestantes atque reddentes Praesbytero Ioanni promptam obedientiam, et certa tributa. Saepius et communitèr tenet Sedem Imperator in palatio vrbis Imperialis Suse. Hoc autem Palatium tale et tantum est, vt per me non credatur debite estimandum. Istud tamen dico audentèr in summa, quòd grandius, nobilius, preciosius, et placidius est, in auro, gemmis, structuris, et schemate supra descripto palatio Grand Can in Caydo.

Et ex speciali sciatis, istius palatij principales portas esse de Sardonico, vndìq; in ebore circumcluso: sed et transuersæ lineæ sunt omnes Eburneæ, aularum et cubiculorum fenestræ christallinæ. Mensarum quaedam Smaragdinæ, aliquæ Haematistinæ, caeterorumq; lapidum preciosorum per aurum sibimet coniunctorum. Et nonnullæ in toto aureæ vel gemmunculis disseminatæ, et vnaquaeque de mensis cum stabilimento proprij generis. De throni quoque preciositate, quia meæ demonstrationis excellit modum, solummodo dico, singulos ascensionis gradus esse singulorum lapidum preciosorum: Primum onychis, secundum christallai, tertium iaspidis, quartum haematisti, quintum sardij, sextum cornelij. Et septimus qui est sub sedentis Imperatoris pedibus, ipse est, chrysolitus, omnes circumfusi, et inclusoria arte formati, auro splendida relucentes. Sed et ambo throni reclinatoria ex smaragdis auro combinatis, eoque distincto nobilissimis granis, et gemmis: cuncti pilarij in camera Regis dormitoria consistunt de auro fuluo, disseminati baccis, et quampluribus carbunculorum rubetis, totum de nocte habitaculum illustrantibus.

Et nihilominus in ea christallina lampas plena balsamo pistico sed ardens et lucens, tam pro augendo lumine, quàm pro corrigendo aere, tamen etiam pro ministrando optimo odore.

Forma lecti Imperatoris compacta est de puris et nobilissimis Saphyris, conclusi vtiq; aureis vel eburneis ligaturis, vt virtute lapidum capiat suauem somnum, motusq; carnis inhonesti stimuli, in eo refrenentur. Nunquam enim iungitur mulieri nisi soli coniugi propriæ, sed nec illi nisi quatuor quindenis anni videlicet in capite hyemis, veris, æstatis, et autumni causa sobolis generandæ.

Vtq; breuitèr transeam de multa huius palatij nobilitate, mirabile hoc solummodò praemissis super addo. Quia circa medium illius in summo apice turris maioris, duo sunt nodi seu pomella de decoctissimi auri metallo miræ magnitudinis, et serenæ resplendentiæ, et in ipsis formati duo carbunculi grandes, et lati, sua virtute tenebras effugantes, et velut splendorem plenilunij nocturno tempore mentientes.

The English Version.

Of the Ryalle estate of Prestre John; and of a riche man, that made a marveyllous Castelle, and cleped it Paradys; and of his Sotyltee.

Chap. XXVII.

THis Emperour Prestre John holt fulle gret lond, and hathe many fulle noble cytees and gode townes in his royalme, and many grete dyverse yles ond large. For alle the contree of Ynde is devysed in yles, for the grete flodes, that comen from Paradys, that departen alle the lond in many parties. And also in the see, he hathe fulle manye yles. And the beste cytee in the yle of Pentexoire is Nyse, that is a fulle ryalle cytee and a noble, and fulle riche. This Prestre John hathe undre him many kynges and many yles and many dyverse folk of dyverse condiciouns. And this lond is fulle gode and ryche; but not so riche as is the lond of the grete Chane. For the marchauntes come not thidre so comounly, for to bye marchandises, as thei don in the lond of the gret Chane: for it is to fer to travaylle to. And on that other partie, in the yle of Cathay, men fynden alle maner thing, that is nede to man; clothes of gold, of silk, and spycerie. And therfore, alle be it that men han grettre chep in the yle of Prestre John, natheles men dreden the longe wey and the grete periles in the see, in tho parties. For in many places of the see ben grete roches of stones of the adamant, that of his propre nature drawethe iren to him. And therfore there passen no schippes, that han outher bondes or nayles of iren with in hem: and zif there do, anon the roches of the adamantes drawen hem to hem, that never thei may go thens. I my self have seen o ferrom in that see, as thoughe it hadde ben a gret yle fulle of trees and buscaylle, fulle of thornes and breres, gret plentee. And the schipmen tolde us, that alle that was of schippes, that weren drawen thidre be the adamauntes, for the iren that was in hem. And of the rotenesse and other thing that was with in the schippes, grewen suche buscaylle and thornes and breres and grene grasse and suche maner of thing; and of the mastes and the seylle zerdes: it semed a gret wode or a grove And suche roches ben in many places there abouten. And therfore dur not the marchauntes passen there, but zif thei knowen wel the passages, or elle that thei han gode lodes men. And also thei dreden the longe weye: and therfore thei gon to Cathay;

for it is more nyghe : and zit is not so nyghe, but that men moste ben travayllynge be see and lond, 11 monethes or 12, from Gene or from Venyse, or he come to Cathay. And zit is the lond of Prestre John more ferr, be many dredfulle iourneyes. And the marchauntes passen be the kyngdom of Persie, and gon to a cytee that is clept Hermes : for Hermes the philosophre founded it. And aftre that, thei passen an arm of the see, and thanne thei gon to another cytee that is clept Golbache : and there thei fynden marchandises, and of popengayes, as gret plentee as men fynden here of gees. And zif thei will passen ferthere, thei may gon sykerly i now. In that contree is but lytylle whete or berley : and therfore thei eten ryzs and hony and mylk and chese and frute.

This Emperour Prestre John takethe alle weys to his wif, the doughtre of the grete Chane : and the gret Chane also in the same wise, the doughtre of Prestre John. For theise 2 ben the grettest lordes undir the firmament.

In the lond of Prestre John, ben manye dyverse thinges and many precious stones, so gret and so large, that men maken of hem vesselle : as plateres, dissches and cuppes. And many other marveylles ben there ; that it were to cumbrous and to long to putten it in scripture of bokes.

CAPVT 42.

De frequentia palatij et comitatu Imperatoris.

SEruiunt et praestò sunt iugitèr Domino Imperatori septem reges, qui in capite singulorum mensium, alijs septem regibus pro illis palatium ingredientibus recedunt ad propria, donec reuoluatur eis tempus statutum. Hij curam habent de gubernatione administrationum in aula maiori per subiectos eis 72. duces, et 300. et 63. comites seu barones, quorum vnusquisque optimè nouit et diligentèr intendit proprio ministerio.

Nam isti sunt Imperatoris Cubicularij, isti Camerarij, isti scindunt Regi morsellos : alij de apponendis curam gerunt ferculis et deponendis, deafferendis, deasportandis, alij pincernæ, Archimandritæ, ostiarij, et sic de singulis.

Nec non absque iam dictis, manducant omni die in aula coràm Imperatore, duodecim Archiepiscopi, 220. Episcopi, quibus etiam alij totidem certis temporibus succedunt per vices. Ver-

umtamem ad quotidianas expensas vsque praemissas, veniunt de Curia 300. millia personarum, sed non ampliùs: sed sicut praedixi de Curia praecedentis Imperatoris sic nullus hic, cuiuscunq; sit status, aut sexus, comedit vltrà semel in die, et hoc ipsum sobriè satis: quoniam prout æstimare possum, expensæ duodecim hominum de nostris communitèr compensarent triginta hominum in partibns illis.

Dum Ioannem Presbyterum contingit procedere cum exercitu in plena exhibitione, non deferuntur vexilla, sed tredecim cruces magnæ altitudinis et grossitudinis, de auro distincto pretiosissimis petris, in honorem Christi et suorum Apostolorum duodecim. Hæ vectantur in singulis curribus, et singularum ad hoc maximis curribus cum custodia cuiuscunquc crucis, decem mille equitum, et centum mille peditum, nec tamen hic numerus auget vel minuit principalem exercitum Paganorum.

Tempore pacis per terras proprias de palatio ad palatium, aut de regno ad regnum, dum tendere ei placet, comitatur vtique magna multitudine hominum antè et retrò, et ex vtroque laterum.

Tùncque portantur coràm eo tria valdè notabilia, quæ tam illi quàm omnibus ea dignè notantibus esse possunt salutaria. Præcedit enim eum in spatio circiter octodecim passuum discus onustus velut omni genere pretiosorum vasorum auri et argenti, gemmarum, et inæstimabilis artificij. Illumque discum subsequitur propinquiùs Imperatori ad spatium centum passuum, alia crux lignea nullo penitùs auro, nulloue colore aut preciositate artificialis operis adornata.

Dehinc ad sex passuum succedit ibidem propinquans Imperatori discus aureus terra nigerrima plenus. Sunt enim prædicti comitatus in custodiam et honorem personæ Imperatoris, discus vassorum in ostensionem diuitiarum, et maiestatis Imperialis. Crux in recordatione passionis et mortis, quam in cruce ligni simplice Christus passus est pro nobis. Et terra nigra in memoriam diræ mortis, qua caro ipsius Imperatoris, quæ terra est, in terram ibit corruptionis.

The English Version.

But of the princypalle yles and of his estate and of his lawe, I schalle telle zou som partye. This Emperour Prestre John is Cristene; and a gret partie of his contree also: but zit thei have not alle the articles of oure feythe, as wee have. Thei beleven wel in the Fadre, in the Sone and in the Holy Gost: and thei ben fulle devoute, and righte trewe on to another. And thei sette not be no barettes, ne by cawteles, ne of no disceytes. And he hathe undre him 72 provynces; and in every provynce is a kyng. And theise kynges han kynges undre hem; and alle ben tributaries to Prestre John.

CAPVT. 43.

De quibusdam miris per regiones Indiæ.

LIcèt plurima mira habeantur in terra Imperij Presbyteri Ioannis, ne materia operis nimiùm proteletur, multa tego silentio: et solùm de quibusdam in principalibus Insulis narro.

Magnum mare arenosum.

Ergò in primis dico vidisse me magnum mare arenosum, quod de solùm minuta arena sine vlla aqua cum lapillorum granellis currit, et fluit per altas eleuationes, et depressiones ad similitudinem maris aquæ, nec vnquam quiescit: et quòd ipse non cesso stupere, inueniuntur pisces ad littus proiecti, qui cum sint alterius formæ et speciei, quàm de nostro mari, videntur tamen gustui in edendo delicatiores. Nullo tamen humano ingenio videtur hoc mare transuadari, aut nauigari, aut illo piscari, sed nec propter sui longitudinem, et plura impedimenta de propè circuiri.

In orientali India vsque hodie venti anniuersarij, arenis ostia fluminum suffocant.

Item ab hoc latere maris per tres dietas habentur magnæ montium alpes, inter quas venit quasi oriens de Paradiso fluuius decurrentibus petris, nihil penitùs habens aquæ, in quibus æstimandæ sunt plurimum magnarum esse virtutum, quamuis de singulis humanæ scientiæ constare non potest.

Hîc petrarum fluuius currit ad intercisum tempus, quasi in tribus septimanæ diebus, per spatium deserti Indiæ plurium dietarum, velut fluuius, quousque tandem se perdat in mare arenosum praedictum, atque ex tunc ipsi lapides penitùs non comparent. Tempore autem sui cursus nullus appropinquare praesumit, præ strepitu eius et motu: sed tempore quietis aditur sine periculo vitæ.

In Orientem versus fluuij originem ad ingressum deserti magni inter quosdam de montibus, cernitur grandis terræ planicies tanquam spatiosi campi totalitèr arenosi, in quo videntur ad Solis ortum exurgere de arena, et secundùm eleuationem Solis excrescere quaedam virgulta, atque in feruore meridiei producere fructum. Ac de illo in Solis decliuo fructus cum arbustulis paulatim minui, et in occasu penitùs deperire, vnde et nullus hominum audet illorum vti fructibus, ne sit quid fantasticum et nociuum.

In huius deserti interioribus, vidi homines in toto syluestres, qui etsi in superioribus formam praetendere videantur humanam, descendunt in subterioribus ad formam bestiæ alicuius.

Horum quidam frontes gerunt cornibus asperatas, grinientes vt feræ vel apri: alij nonnulla vti videntur loquela, quam nemo rationalium nouit, et quibusdam signis concepta depromunt. Et est illic pluralitas syluestrium canum, qui dicuntur papiones, quibus postquam edomiti, et ad venandum instructi fuerint, valent capi multæ bestiæ per desertum. Est et copiositas papingonum auium viridium in colore quas appellant phicake, et quarum diuersa sunt genera, nobiliores habent latas in rostro linguas, et in vtroque pede digitos duos. Et quaedam ex istis naturaliter loquuntur verba aut prouerbia, seu salutationes, in patriæ idiomate, vt euidenter salutes concedant, et reddant viatoribus, et nonnunquam debitum iter errantibus per desertum ostendant. Minus autem nobiles non loquuntur ex natura, sed si latas habent linguas, et non sunt vltrà duorum annorum ætatis, possunt per assiduitatem instrui ad loquelam.

Papagalli.

Aliæ nec loquuntur, nec erudiuntur, sed solùm clamitant pro voce milui, et nisi tres digitos habent in pede.

Nota: in quarta orientali Deus dedit fratribus minoribus magnam gratiam, vnde in magna Tartaria ita expellunt ab obsessis daemones, sicut de domo canes: vnde quandoque per decem dietas ad eos adducuntur daemoniaci alligati, et statim fratribus praecipientibus in nomine Iesu Christi, exeunt, et liberati baptizantur, et comburunt idola, et plures credunt, et quandoque exeunt idola de igne, et fratres proijciunt aquam benedictam, et clamat daemon, Vide, de meo habitaculo expellor propter fratres minores. Ita multi credunt, et baptizantur. Odericus.

Item nota: dum recederem de terra Praesbyteri Ioannis versus occidentem, applicui ad contratam vnam, quæ dicitur Melescorde, quæ pulchra est, et multùm fertilis: inter montes duos huius contratæ fecerat quidam murum circundantem montem, et in eo fontes nobilissimos, et omne delectabile. Et hunc locum dicebant paradisum, sicut hic ferè

Melescorde Regio.
Vel regionis.

continetur. Ideò Odericus, qui posteà narrat de valle infausta in hoc se terminat.

Ad supradictum Indiæ regnum Pentexoriæ satis propè, et lata est et longa Insula, Mischorach, bonis copiosè referta, de qua vnum scribo praeteritum mirum.

Mischorach.

Ante paucos hos annos, villanus ditissimus, sibi valdè preciosum construxerat palatium, quasi pro Paradiso terrestri, circundatum, munitum fortalitijs, ac repletum omnibus corporalibus delicijs.

Illic areæ, turres, cameræ, cubicula, cum alijs ædificijs, in multo numero, et gloria permagnifica, ac historiarum picturis, inter quas, nonnunquam prodigioso artificio bestiæ et bestiolæ, aues et auiculæ discurrebant, volitibant, et per pugnas, garritus, collusiones, mentiebantur viuere.

Illic prata, et pometa, et seruatoria circà deliciosi collis congestum, distincta velut omni genere florum, arborum, et herbarum, cum multis fontibus et riuulis, quorum perspicuitas, et fluxus in glaris suauem et auditui praestabant refectionem, et super aliquos fuerunt exceptioris artificij, circumstructi auro, et argento, et gemmis, et tres principales fontes emittentes ad palatium Domini per occultas conductas, riuulos vini, lactis, et mellis.

Ditissimi villani paradisus fictitius.

Copiosus quoque numerus formosorum puerorum, et puellarum, ætatis inter decem et sex decem annos, indutorum torquibus, et cycladibus exauratis, exercentium inter iocos cantus et spectacula, ac seruientium suo Domino prope nutum. Audiebantur ex turrium custodibus, nec non videbantur dulcisonæ, symphoniæ, generum diuersorum, vt certissimè putares, non hominum, sed Angelorum: et in istis, ac similibus, deliciebatur iste villanus.

Sed et aurum liuido nil iuuat, imò nocet: quia enim hic inuidiæ et otij facibus super ingenuitatem mentis omnium generaliter nobilium principum verebatur in corde: (ingenuitas enim, et rusticitas nunquam cohabitant in cordis vno domicilio) Composuerat ista sibi in hunc finem, vt per se singulos aduocaret aliquos vasallos corpore robustos, mentéq; audaces, atq; ad omnem proteruiam benè procliues: et cuilibet pro placitis muneribus commisit vt illum seu illum principem seu Baronem, quem dicebat sibi aduersarium, clàm per insidias vel impetum, occideret, promittens quenquam post factum ad se recepturum perpetuò in hunc locum: sed et velut vaticinans pseudo praedicauit, si quem illorum pro his flagitijs contigeret corporaliter tradi morti, nihilominùs animam eius in hunc amœnum Paridisum recipi, et viuere in æternum.

Mandeuillus oculatus testis.

Per hunc igitur modum nonnulis nobilibus occisis, et interfectis, tandem nudabatur eius nequitia tanta, et congregati regionis Barones miserum occiderunt, eius opera destruentes. Ipse ego inibi ductus vidi fontium loca, et multa rei vestigia.

CAPVT 44.

De loco et dispositione vallis infaustæ.

HVius ad insulæ extremitates non procul à fluuio Pyson, habetur locus mirabilis pariter et terribilis, vltrà omne mundanum, penè et procul: de euentibus, ac laboribus infinitis, quæ mihi meísque in tempore itinerationis acciderunt hucusque subticui, cùm iam vnum de maioribus ecce narro.

Est illic in alpibus vallis infausta, quatuor fermè leucarum: longitudo vallis, quasi ad quatuor milliaria Lombardica, appellata vallis incantationis, seu periculosa, seu propiùs daemoniosa: intrà quam diebus ac noctibus resonant boatus et tumultus tonitruorum, tempestatum, clamorum, et stridorum, diuersíque generis sonituum terribilium, quos illic exercet multitudo spirituum malignorum.

Propè ad vallis medium sub vna rupium, apparet omni tempore visibiliter integrum ac maximum caput daemonis vsque ad humeros tantùm, cuius speciem præ horrore nullus pleno intuitu humanus audet diu oculus sustinere: nam respicientes contrà aspicit truculentèr, agitans oculos minacitèr, tanquam ex palpebris eiecturus (quæ et scintillant) flammas in altum. Totumque caput sese rotat ad minas, et variat terribilitèr modum et continentiam sub repentè diuersis maneriebus. Exitque de illo per totum ignis obscuratus fumo, et fœtor, tantus, quòd per magnum spatium viæ pessimam vallem infectat.

Ingredi autem volentibus, apparet semper ad introitum vallis, magna copia auri, argenti, vasorum, vestium, et rerum pretiosarum, quas proculdubio ibi daemones confingunt, quibus et ab olim multi insipientium hominum concupiscentia tracti intrarunt, et vsque nunc intrant pro colligendo thesauro: sed de Infidelibus paucissimi reuertuntur, imò nec de Christianis, qui auaritiæ causa ingrediuntur: per vallis autem semitam, quæ inter montes et monticulos, tortuosa et aspera est, gradientes vident, et audiunt, daemoniacos spiritus multos volutantes, et imaginibus corporum visibilium, serpentum, volucrum, vlularum, lamiarum, et huiusmodi specierum horribilium dentibus minitantes, vngulas erigentes, incognitos sibilos spirantes propè super capita ad aures transgredientium. Sempérque minuitur lumen aeris, donec ventum fuerit ad terribilissimum locum capitis antedicti.

Si quis autem sinceræ fidei Christianus per contritionem veram et confessionem, se posuerit in statu saluationis, munitus corporis Christi mysterijs, ac signo crucis, cum intentione ibidem agendi pœnitentiam de admissis, et cauendi de admittendis, putatur posse hanc transire vallem securus quidem à morte, non tamen liber à laboribus, horroribus, et tormentis, et exire, de omnibus culpis praeteritis corruptis, ac de futuris magis solito cautus, sicut scriptum est, territi purgabuntur.

Nota aliud mirabile magnum. Vidic ùm irem per vnam vallem positam iuxta flumen quod egreditur de paradiso, vidi in ea multa corpora mortuorum, in qua etiam audiui multa genera Musicorum, qui ibi mirabilitèr pulsabant: tantus erat ibi tinnitus Musicorum, quòd incussit mihi timorem horribilem.

Est autem longitudo illius vallis quasi ad quatuor milliaria Lombardica, in qua si vnus Infidelis intrat, nunquam egreditur, sed sine mora moritur: Et licet sciui, quòd intrantes moriuntur, tamen acceptaui intrare, vt viderem quid ibi esset. Dum intrassem tot humana cadauera ibi vidi, quod nisi quis videret, credere non posset.

In hac valle, ab vno eius latere, vidi faciem hominis valdè horribilem, qui tantum horrorem mihi incussit, quòd putaui me spiritum exhalare, propter quod saepè repetij verbum vitæ, scilicet, verbum Caro factum est.

Ad illam faciem non audebam accedere, nisi ad distantiam octo passuum: posteà iui ad caput vallis, et ascendi super montem arenosum, in quo vndique circumspiciens, nihil videbam, nisi instrumenta musicalia, quæ audiebam fortitèr pulsare. Cùm fuissem in capite montis, reperi multum argentum congregatum ibi in similitudinem squamarum piscium, vnde posui in gremio, sed quod de ipso non curabam, dimisi illud, et sic illaesus transiui Deo concedente.

Sarraceni cùm hoc scirent, reuerebantur me esse baptizatum, et sanctum: mortuos nunc in valle dicebant, homines infernales.

Odericus ad literam hic terminat suum librum: non fuit tot perpessus in valle, sicut ego. Anno Domini 1331. Ianuarij nono, migrauit ad Christum, in conuentu Minorum: cuius vitam statim in fine, et vsqne nunc claris miraculis diuina prouidentia approbat, et commendat, prout continebatur in quaterno, à quo concordantias hic superseminaui.

CAPVT. 45.

De periculo et tormentis in valle eadem.

Itaque dico vobis, cùm sodalibus, qui simul eramus, quatuordecim diuersarum nationum ante ingressum huius tanti periculi peruenissemus, nos tractatu longo, et deliberatione acuta consiliabamur, vtrùmnam ingredi deberemus, et quidam affirmabant, alii verò negabant. Erant autem in numero duo deuoti fratres, de religione beati Francisci, natione Lombardi, qui videbantur pro seipsis non multum curare ingressum, nisi quia noluerunt nos animare ad ingressum, dicentes, si qui nostrum per confessionem, et Eucharistiæ susceptionem se ibidem praemunirent, ingrederentur cum illis: quo, ab omnibus mediante debita prouisione, quam ipsi fratres penes se gerebant peracto, parauimus mentes nostras cum pedibus ad intrandum.

Sed ecce quinque de nobis, duo Graeci et tres Hispani, semetipsos ab alijs segregantes, visi sunt alium requirere introitum nos praecedere cupientes, et certè nos illos exinde non vidimus, et quid eis acciderit an periculum subierint, velne ignoramus.

Nos autem nouem per vallem processimus in silentio, et cum cordis ea deuotione, quam quisque sibi potuerit obtinere: et ecce in breui transacto spatio apparuerunt cumuli massarum auri et argenti, et preciosorum copia vasorum. Sed dico vobis pro parte mea, quia nihil horum tetigi, reputans id fallaciam daemonum confinxisse ad mittendum concupiscentiam in cor nostram, imò sine intermissione conabar cor meum custodire ad deuotionem inceptam.

Procedentibus igitur nobis lux cœli minuebatur paulatim et augebatur horror, quoniam propè nos vndique etiam sub pedibus nostris apparebant iacere cadauera mortuorum hominum penitùs defuncta: alia adhuc spirantia, et nonulla semiuiua, super quæ dum nos aliquando calcare contingeret, conquerebantur, ac dolorosè submurmurabant.

Et licèt non certum id habebam, æstimaui hoc fieri in parte vel in toto fictione daemonum, reputans in breui tempore tantam multitudinem hominum spontaneè vallem intrasse, et si à longo tempore in ea perijssent putrefactos fuisse.

Ergò in initio nostri processus quasi propè leucam inuenitur iter sub pedibus satis promptum, sed lumine tanquam ad medium nobis sufficiente, via torquebatur nimis, et asperabatur: et ecce figuræ daemonum, circum et suprà in aere se ferentium, ad imagines horribilium luporum, leonum, laruarum, megerarum, iuxtà cuiuscunque genus vlulantium, rugentium, stridentium, gannientium, hiantes ore, intentantes dentibus, rostris, ac vnguibus, nos terrere, mordere, discerpere, deglutire.

Quapropter pro breui interdum soluto silentio nos inuicèm hortabamur, ne quis pro pusillanimitate terrori cederet, et tanto deficeret in agone. Hoc igitur modo per secundam leucam expirante nobis vsque ad tenebras lumine, quousque quis vix vmbram proximi agnoscere possit, praeter praedicta in aere tormenta, incurrebant nobis ad tibias, et pedes pluralitas quasi porcorum, vrsorum, et caprarum grinnientium, et impellentium nos ad lapsum, quod vel ad tertium, vel quartum, aut sextum passum solatenus cadebamus in palmas, seu genua, vel prosternebamur in faciem, aut supini.

Ac superuenere praeter hoc ventorum turbines, fulgurum coruscationes, tonitruorum boatus, drandium casus et exundatio pluuiarum, quantas et quales nunquam accepimus in hoc mundo, quibus iactabamur, ruebamus, quassabamur, et periclitati fuimus extrà narrandum.

Interdum quoque sensimus tanquam graues baculorum ictus, per humeros, dorsa, latera, et ad renes, alij quidem grauiores, alij vt puta secundum demeritum vniuscuiusque. Et certè dum per tanta tormenta, quasi exhaustis totis viribus, iam propè medium locum vallis erat ventum, accidit repentè, sub vnico instanti temporis, quibusdam nostrum expalmatio ita dura, vt omnes paritèr collisi, et prostrati iaceremus in extasi per vnam vul duas forsitan horas.

Et isto defectu vidit quilibet suo modo spiritualem visionem supermirabilem, et excedentem omne dictum, et scriptum.

Ego verò de visione mea nihil ausus sum scribere, vel loqui, quia et fratres singuli inhibuerunt, nisi de his, quæ corporalitèr intuebamur, et passi sumus.

Grauissimum singuli sustinuimus ictum per corporis loca diuersa, vnus in facie, alius in pectore, ad costas, in dorso, vel ad humerum, et mansit cuique signum percussuræ nigerrimum, ad formam virilis manus humanæ:

Mirabilis ictus.

Ictum autem meum in colli ceruice tali ac tanta passione, vt putabam caput abscissum de corpore auolare: et hinc ad octodecimum annum mansit mihi in prima magnitudine signum: sed et vsque nunc variato colore locus ille demonstrat penissimè cicatricem, donec cum cadauere tota mutabitur in sepulchro: porrò vbi nos ab extasi in his tenebris separauimus singuli per diuinam gratiam respirando, loquendo, palpando, erigendo nos ipsos mutua humanitate, vt potuimus, recollegimus, et cohortabamur, cùm subitò nobis apparuit sub tenebroso lumine, vel potiùs fumosa caligine, locus ille spatiosus mediæ vallis, continens antedictum horribile caput daemonis, plenus fœtore inaestimabili, et iugi occupatus exercitatione innumerorum spirituum malignorum.

Hunc ergo locum ineptum cùm vitare vellemus in toto nequiuimus extremitatem eius, quocunque girantes, nullus nostrorum perfecto aspectu audebat respicere quæ gerebantur ibidem, quia inuadens tremor statuebat horripilationem extrahebat, sudorem, et pudorem omnes extinguere videbantur. Nec tamen potuit esse consilium de reuertendo, ne propter immutatum propositum confestim à daemonibus strangularemur.

Transiuimus, Dei gratia nobis opitulante, sed non sine maximo horroris, fœtorisque tormento: rursumque ex tunc procedentes nos apprehendebat tenebrosa, validaque tempestas, ventorum, coruscationum, tonitruum, grandinum, et pluuiarum, cuius, quassatione collabebamur in facies, et in dorso dextrorsum, et sinistrorsum, interuoluente ad tibias, sicut priùs multitudine grinnientium bestiarum, nec dubito scribere quoque ampliùs, quàm 500. vicibus per hanc vallem quisque nostrum sternebatur ad terram.

Post verò exactam tertiam leucam, cœpit nobis augeri lux aeris, ex quo animosiores effecti, in vno tranquilliori loco nos parùm pausantes, gratias Deo palmis extensis in caelum, reddidimus immensas, et praecipuè quòd nullus deesset de nouenario numero sociorum.

Nihilominùs tamen spiritus in aere nobis minari non cessabant, pretendentes in derisionem sua pudenda simul, et fœda virilia et posteriora.

Pro certo ergò habeatis de his quæ vidi, et sensi, nullam possum vobis tradere æquipollentiam verborum, cùm quia grauissima erant, tum quia, singulis ne mihi deuotionem minueret non attendebam, tum etiam, quod præ horrore, labore, et dolore multa memoriæ non commendabam.

Per quartam autem leucam (ductrice gratia) leuiùs transeuntes, sustinuimus tamen sub pedibus hominum cadauera mortuorum, propè vallis exitum rerum tentamina preciosarum.

Nunc itaque obsecro magno cordis effectu, haec legentes et audientes ego, qui in illa hora quid erga me agebat misericordissimi Dei pietas ignorabam, vt velitis pro me, simul et mecum ex mentis intimo collaudare ipsum Dominum, qui tunc de potestate tenebrarum illarum eripuit me indignum, et prout confido, à delictis iuuentutis me purgauit, quatenùs de posteà commissis, et committendis, mihi propitiùs fore dignetur, cùm iam senior sim effectus. Quoniam etsi ex tunc proposui mores corrigere, ex nunc statuo in melius emendare, per filium eius Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum.

Ad hoc, addo breuitèr, quòd non auderem hortari quenquam, me consulentem, vt spontaneè ingrederetur hanc vallem infaustam, quamuis ego curiosus intraui. Venientes posthac ad proximas habitationes, necesse fuit nobis intendere ad recreandum corpora cibarijs, et balneis, et ad medendum vulneribus, et quassaturis, donec per aliquod tempus vnusquisque acciperet deliberationem super suo futuro.

CAPVT. 46.

De quibusdam alijs admirandis per Indorum insulas.

Gigantes Anthropophagi.

VT modò procedam in tractatu. Sciatis ad paucas inde dietas grandem insulam haberi gigantum, ad straturam altitudinis viginti quinque pedum nostrorum, de quibus ipse vidi nonnullos, sed extrà terram eorum, et audiuimus esse intrinsecùs quosdam triginta pedum, et vltrà: hi operiuntur non vestibus, sed bestiarum pellibus vtcunque sibi appensis, comedentes animalium carnes crudas, et lac pro potu sorbentes, atque appetentes super omnem esum carnes humanas.

Istorum non curaui intrare insulam: nam et audiui quòd ad maris littus solent insidiari nauigantibus, nauesque submergere, nisi interdum redimantur tribus aut quatuor per sortem hominibus sibi datis.

Versus Austrum hinc in mari Oceano, habetur inter alias insulas, vna, vbi crudelibus quibusdam mulieribus nascitur in oculis lapis rarus, et malus, quæ si per iram respexerint hominem, more Basilisci interficiunt solo visu.

Letiferi aspectus mulierum.

Et vltrà hanc insulam alia maior et populosior, vbi cùm multi sint vsus nobis insueti, vnum describo.

Dum desponsauerit vir puellam, virginem, mandat hominem incompositum, velut ribaldum, qui sua idonea claue per expertos super hoc diligentѐr considerata, si reputatur idonea reseret et vestiget sub nocte vnica virginalem conclauem, pro mercede sibi tradita competenti. Et si postera nocte accedens sponsus ita non inuenerit, poterit, et consueuit hominem impetere ad mortis iudicium indeclinabile. Cumque huius moris discere voluissem causam, accepi responsum, pro certis temporibus apud eos, virgines habuisse in matricibus paruos serpentes, quibus nocebantur primi ad illas intrantes.

Insula vbi virgines vitiantur antequam nubant.

Ideoq; et viri, que pro mercede tantum subeunt periculum, vocant sua loquela cadibrum, est, stultos desperatos.

Ex hac, apparet Insula in qua inter alios vsus, peruersæ sunt matres contra naturam et scripturam, cum pepererent contristantur, et dum proles moritur iocundantur, iactantes in magno igne cum conuiuio et exultatione, dumque maritus ante vxorem decidit, patebit vxoris plena dilectio, si cum corpore mariti, quod rogo traditur se iactat cremandum, vt quia in isto seculo steterunt amoris vinculo colligati, non sint alio separati.

Nec tamen intelligunt illud seculum, nisi quod sibi confingunt terrestrem Paradisum. Purum aut minorem annis, trahet mater secum si placet, sed ætatis puer perfectæ, eliget pro proprio placito viuere superstes, aut mori iuxta parentes.

Hic etiam non succedunt Reges per generationem sed per electionem, vt assumatur non nobilior, aut fortior, sed morigeratior, et iustior, 50 ad minus annorum, nullam habens sobolem aut vxorem, seruaturque illic iusticiæ rigor in plena censura, in omnibus et contra omnes, etiamsi forefecerit ipse Rex, qui nec eximitur a traditis legibus pro concupiscentia vel contemptione quarumlibet personarum.

Veruntamen Rex si peccauerit non occiditur ob reuerentiam, sed quòd sub pœna mortis, publicѐ inhibetur, ne quispiam in Regione ei verbo vel vllo facto communicet, et quoniam sui loco alter rex constituitur, necesse est illi breui vita degere vel perpetuò exulare. Constat post ipsam, et alia Insula, multis bonis locuples, et hominibus populosa, de qua recolo scribendum, quod nulla occasione comedunt tria genera carnium, gallinarum, leporum, et aucarum, quas etsi nutriant in copijs, vtuntur duntaxat pellibus aut plumis.

Caeterarum vero bestiarum et animalium licitè vescuntur carnibus pro victu, et lacte pro potu. Ibi quisq; vir licitè potest coniungi cuique mulieri, quantumcunque propinquet, exceptis progenitoribus, patre matre. Nam cohabitatio, et commixtio omnium virorum ad singulas mulieres apparet ibi communis, vnde mater natum paruulum suum, adicit pro sui placito cuicunque viro, qui circa generationis tempus secum dormierit, nec valet vllus virorum esse certus de proprio generato, quem modum exlegem arbitror et turpem.

Sicut ergò praefatus sum, multa mira videntur per Regiones Indorum, mira quidem nobis, sed illis assueta, quibus si nostra recitarentur assueta, audirent pro miris. Nam et dum quibusdam dixi aucas viuas apud nos nasci in arboribus, admirati sunt satis. In multis locis seminatur singulis annis sementum de Cothon, quod nos dicimus lanam arboream, exurgunt ei modica arbusta, vel potius arbustula de quibus talis lana habetur: est arbor luniperus, de cuius ligno desiccato, si carbones viuos sub proprijs cineribus tenueris diligenter opertos, igniti seruabuntur ad annum.

Est et genus Nucum incredibilis magnitudinis ad quantitatem magni capitis: et bestia vocata, oraflans, vel serfans, corpore in nostrorum altitudine caballorum, et collo in 20 longitudine cubitorum ad prospiciendum vltra domos et muros, quorum posteriora apparent vt hinniculi siue lerni.

Genus est etiam Camelionum ad formam hynnulorum, qui semper patulo tendunt ore, vel nil manducantes. Viuunt de aere, quæ etiam ad suum libitum videntur sibi variare colorem, exceptis (vt dicitur) albo vel rubeo.

Maximi quóq; serpentes, inuicem qualitate, et genere differentes atq; colore.

Aliqui cristam in capite gerunt, quidam more hominum ad duos pedes erecti incedunt, et nonnulli qui dicuntur Reguli, venenum per ora distillare non cessant, nec non quam plures cocodrilli, de quibus aliquid in praecedentibus retuli; et apri in nostrorum magnitudine boum, spinosi ericij, in quantitate porcorum, Apri ingentes. Leones albi. Louheraus.

leones albi in altitudine dextrariorum. Louheraus, seu Edouches per Indiam habentur, quod ferarum genus satis est maius nostris communibus equis, gerens in fronte tetri capitis tria longa cornua, ad formam pugionis, ex vtraque parte scindentia, vt eis nonnunquam interficiant Elephantes.

Aliæ quoq; bestiæ crudeles vt vrsi cum capitibus ferè aprorum et habentes pedes senos, qui finduntur latis vngulis bis acutis, et cum caudis leonum siue pardorum.

Et quod vix credetur, mures pro quantitate, 10, aut 12. nostrorum et vespertiliones ad modum coruorum.

Sed et aucæ in triplo maiores nostris, plumis indutæ rubris, nisi quod in pectore et collo apparet nigredo.

Et breuiter tam ibi quàm alibi, habentur pisces, bestiæ, volucres, aut vermes diuersorum generum, aut specierum, de quibus hoc loco, vel inutilis, vel prolixa posset fieri narratio, quod nec illis qui nunquam propria exierunt, credibilis videretur.

The English Version.

ANd he hathe in his lordschipes many grete marveyles. For in his contree, is the see that men clepen the Gravely See, that is alle gravelle and sond, with outen ony drope of watre : and it ebbethe and flowethe in grete wawes, as other sees don : and it is never stille ne in pes, in no maner cesoun. And no man may passe that see be navye, be no maner of craft: and therfore may no man knowe, what lond is bezond that see. And alle be it that it have no watre, zit men fynden there in and on the bankes, fulle gode fissche of other maner of kynde and schappe, thanne men fynden in ony other see ; and thei ben of right goode tast, and delycious to mannes mete.

And a 3 iourneys long fro that see, ben gret mountaynes ; out of the whiche gothe out a gret flood, that comethe out of paradys : and it is fulle of precious stones, with outen ony drope of water : and it rennethe thorghe the desert, on that o syde ; so that it makethe the see gravely : and it berethe in to that see, and there it endethe. And that flomme rennethe also, 3 dayes in the woke, and bryngethe with him grete stones, and the roches also therewith, and that gret plentee. And anon as thei ben entred in to the gravely see, thei ben seyn no more ; but lost for evere more. And in tho 3 dayes, that that ryvere rennethe, no man dar entren in to it : but in the other dayes, men dar entren wel y now.

Also bezonde that flomme, more upward to the desertes, is a gret pleyn alle gravelly betwene the mountaynes: and in that playn, every day at the sonne risynge, begynnen to growe smale trees; and thei growen til mydday, berynge frute: but no man dar taken of that frute; for it is a thing of fayrye. And aftre mydday, thei discrecen and entren azen in to the Erthe; so that at the goynge doun of the Sonne, thei apperen no more; and so thei don every day; and that is a gret marvaille.

In that desert ben many wylde men, that ben hidouse to loken on: for thei ben horned; and thei speken nought, but thei gronten, as pygges. And there is also gret plentee of wylde Houndes. And there ben manye popegayes, that thei clepen psitakes in hire langage: and thei speken of hire propre nature, and salven men that gon thorghe the desertes, and speken to hem als appertely, as thoughe it were a man. And thei that speken wel, han a large tonge, and han 5 toos upon a Fote. And there ben also of other manere, that han but 3 toos upon a fote; and thei speken not, or but litille: for thei cone not but cryen.

This Emperour Prestre John, whan he gothe in to battaylle, azenst ony other Lord, he hathe no baneres born before him: but he hathe 3 crosses of gold, fyn, grete and hye, fulle of precious stones: and every of the crosses ben sett in a chariot, fulle richely arrayed. And for to kepen every cros, ben ordeyned 10000 men at Armes, and mo than 100000 men on Fote, in maner as men wolde kepe a Stondard in oure Contrees, whan that wee ben in lond of werre. And this nombre of folk is with outen the pryncipalle Hoost, and with outen Wenges ordeynd for the bataylle. And he hathe no werre, but ridethe with a pryvy meynee, thanne he hathe bore before him but o cross of tree, with outen peynte peynture, and with outen gold or silver or precious stones; in remembrance, that Jesus suffred dethe upon a cros of tree. And he hathe born before him also a plater of gold fulle of erthe, in tokene that his noblesse and his myghte and his flessche schalle turnen to erthe. And he hathe born before him also a vesselle of silver, fulle of noble jewelles of gold fulle riche, and of precious stones, in tokene of his lordschipe and of his noblesse and of his myght. He duellethe comounly in the cytee of Suse; and there is his principalle palays, that is so riche and so noble, that no man wil trowe it by estymacioun, but he had seen it. And aboven the chief tour of the palays, ben 2 rounde pomeles of gold; and in everyche of hem ben 2 carboncles grete and large, that schynen fulle brighte upon the nyght. And the principalle zates of his palays ben of precious ston, that men clepen sardoyne: and the bordure and the barres ben of ivorye: and the wyndowes of the halles and chambres ben of cristalle: and the tables where on men eten, somme ben of emeraudes, summe of amatyst and summe of gold, fulle of precious stones; and the pileres, that beren up the tables, ben of the same precious stones. And the degrees to gon up to his throne, where he sittethe at the mete, on is of oniche, another is of cristalle, and another of jaspre grene, another of amatyst, another of sardyne, another of corneline, and the sevene that he settethe on his feet, is of crisolyte. And alle theise degrees ben bordured with fyn gold, with the tother precious stones, sett with grete perles oryent. And the sydes of the sege of his throne ben of emeraudes, and bordured with gold fulle nobely, and dubbed with other precious stones and grete perles. And alle the pileres in his chambre, ben of fyne gold with precious stones, and with many carboncles, that zeven gret lyght upon the nyght to alle peple. And alle be it that the charboncle zeve lyght right y now, natheles at alle tymes brennethe a vesselle of cristalle fulle of bawme, for to zeven gode smelle and odour to the emperour, and to voyden awey alle wykkede eyres and corrupciouns. And the forme of his bedd is of fyne saphires bended with gold, for to make him slepen wel, and to refreynen him from lecherye. For he wille not lyze with his wyfes, but 4 sithes in the zeer, aftre the four cesouns: and that is only for to engendre children. He hathe also a fulle fayr palays and a noble, at the cytee of Nyse, where that he dwellethe, whan him best lykethe: but the ayr is not so attempree, as it is at the cytee of Suse. And zee schulle undirstonde, that in alle his contree, ne in the contrees there alle aboute, men eten noghte but ones in the day, as men don in the court of the grete Chane. And so thei eten every day in his court, mo than 30000 persones, with outen goeres and comeres. But the 30000 persones of his contree, ne of the contree of the grete Chane, ne spenden noghte so moche gode, as don 12000 of oure contree. This Emperour Prestre John hathe evere more 7 kynges with him, to serve him: and thei departen hire service be certeyn monethes. And with theise kynges serven alle weys 72 dukes and 360 erles. And alle the dayes of the zeer, there eten in his houshold and in his court, 12 erchebysshoppes and 20 bisshoppes. And the patriark of Seynt

Thomas is there, as is the Pope here. And the erchebisshoppes and the bisshoppes and the abbottes in that contree, ben alle kynges. And everyche of theise grete lordes knowen wel y now the attendance of hire servyse. This on is mayster of his houshold, another is his chamberleyn, another servethe him of a dissche, another of the cuppe, another is styward, another is mareschalle, another is prynce of his armes: and thus is he fulle nobely and ryally served. And his lond durethe in verry brede 4 moneths iorneyes, and in lengthe out of measure: that is to seyn, alle the yles undir erthe, that wee supppsen to ben undir us.

Besyde the yle of Pentexoire, that is the lond of Prestre John, is a gret yle long and brode, that men clepen Milsterak; and it is in the lordschipe of Prestre John. In that yle is gret plentee of godes. There was dwellynge somtyme a ryche man, and it is not longe sithen, and men clept him Gatholonabes; and he was fulle of cauteles and of sotylle disceytes: and he hadde a fulle fair castelle, and a strong, in a mountayne, so strong and so noble, that no man cowde devise a fairere ne a strangere. And he had let muren alle the mountayne aboute with e strong walle and a fair. And with inne tho walles he had the fairest gardyn, that ony man myghte beholde; and therein were trees berynge alle maner of frutes, that ony man cowde devyse; and there in were also alle maner vertuous herbes of gode smelle, and alle other herbes also, that beren faire floures. And he had also in that gardyn, many faire welles; and beside tho welles, he had lete make faire halles and faire chambres, depeynted alle with gold and azure. And there weren in that place many a dyverse thinges and many dyverse stories: and of bestes and of bryddes, that songen fulle delectabely, and meveden be craft, that it semede that thei weren quyke. And he had also in his gardyn alle maner of foules and of bestes, that ony man myghte thenke on, for to have pley or desport to beholde hem. And he had also in that place, the faireste zonge Damyseles, that myghte ben founde undir the age of 15 zere, and the faireste zonge striplynges, that men myghte gete of that same age: and alle thei weren clothed in clothes of gold fully richely: and he seyde, that tho weren aungeles. And he had also let make 3 welles, faire and noble, and alle envyround with ston of jaspre, of cristalle, pyapred with gold, and sett with precious stones and grete orient perles. And he had made a conduyt undir erthe, so that the 3 weles, at his list, on scholde renne milk, another wyn, and another hony. And that place he clept paradys.

And whan that ony gode knyghte, that was hardy and noble, cam to see this rialtee, he wolde lede him into his paradys, and schewen him theise wondirfulle thinges, to his desport, and the marveyllous and delicious song of dyverse briddes, and the faire damyseles, and the faire welles of mylk, wyn and hony, plentevous rennynge. And he wolde let make dyverse Instrumentes of Musick to sownen in an highe Tour, so merily that it was joye for to here; and no man scholde see the craft thereof: and tho, he seyde, weren aungeles of God, and that place was paradys, that God had behighte to his frendes, seyenge, *Dabo vobis terram fluentem lacte et mel.* And thanne wolde he maken hem to drynken of certeyn drynk, where of anon thei scholden be dronken. And thanne wolde hem thinken gretter delyt, than thei hadden before. And than wolde he seye to hem, that zif thei wolde dyen for him and for his love, that aftir hire dethe, thei scholde come to his paradys; and thei scholde ben of the age of the damyseles, and thei scholde pleyen with hem, and zit ben maydenes. And aftir that, zit scholde he putten hem in a fayrere paradys, where that thei schold see God of Nature visibely, in His majestee and in His blisse. And than wolde He schewe hem His entent, and seye hem, that zif thei wolde go sle suche a Lord or suche a man, that was his enemye, or contrarious to his list, that thei scholde not dred to done it, and for to be slayn therefore hemself: for aftir hire dethe, he wold putten hem into another paradys, that was an 100 fold fairer than ony of the tothere; and there schode thei dwellen with the most fairest damyselles that myghte be, and play with hem ever more. And thus wenten many dyverse lusty bacheleres for to sle grete lords, in dyverse countrees, that weren his enemyes, and maden hem self to ben slayn, in hope to have that paradys. And thus often tyme, he was revenged of his enemyes, be his sotylle disceytes and false cauteles. And whan the worthi men of the contree hadden perceyved this sotylle falshod of this Gatholonabes, thei assembled hem with force, and assayleden his castelle, and slowen him, and destroyden alle the faire places, and alle the nobletees of that paradys. The place of the welles and of the walles and of many other thinges, ben zit apertly sene: but the richesse is voyded clene. And it is not longe gon, sithe that place was destroyed.

Of the Develes Hede in the Valeye perilous; and of the Customs of folk in dyverse Yles, that ben abouten, in the Lordschipe of Prestre John.

Chap. XXVIII.

BEsyde that Yle of Mistorak, upon the left syde, nyghe to the ryvere of Phison, is a marveylous thing. There is a vale betwene the mountaynes, that durethe nyghe a 4 myle: and summen clepen it the Vale Enchaunted; some clepen it the Vale of Develes, and some clepen it the Vale Perilous. In that vale, heren men often tyme grete tempestes and thondres and grete murmures and noyses, alle dayes and nyghtes: and gret noyse, as it were sown of tabours and of nakeres and trompes, as thoughe it were of a gret feste. This vale is alle fulle of develes, and hathe ben alle weyes. And men seyn there, that it is on of the entrees of helle. In that vale is gret plentee of gold and sylver: wherefore many mysbelevynge men, and manye Christene men also, gon in often tyme, for to have of the thresoure, that there is: but fewe comen azen; and namely of the mys belevynge men, ne of the Cristene men nouther: for thei ben anon strangled of develes. And in mydde place of that vale, undir a roche, is an hed and the visage of a devyl bodyliche, fulle horrible and dreadfulle to see, and it schewethe not but the hed, to the schuldres. But there is no man in the world so hardy, Cristene man ne other, but that he wolde ben a drad for to beholde it: and that it wolde semen him to dye for drede; so is it hidous for to beholde. For he beholdethe every man so scharply, with dreadfulle eyen, that ben evere more mevynge and sparklynge, as fuyr, and chaungethe and sterethe so often in dyverse manere, with so horrible countenance, that no man dar not neighen towardes him. And fro him comethe out smoke and stynk and fuyr, and so moche abhomynacioun, that unethe no man may there endure. But the gode Cristene men, that ben stable in the feythe, entren welle withouten perile. For thei wil first schryven hem, and marken hem with the tokene of the Holy Cros; so that the fendes ne han no power over hem. But alle be it that thei ben with outen perile, zit natheles ne ben thei not with outen drede, whan that thei seen the develes visibely and bodyly alle aboute hem, that maken fully dyverse assautes and manaces in eyr and in erthe, and agasten hem with strokes of thondre blastes and of tempestes. And the most drede is, that

God wole taken vengeance thanne, of that men han mys don azen his wille. And zee schulle undirstonde, that whan my fellows and I weren in that vale, wee weren in gret thought, whether that wee dursten putten oure bodyes in aventure, to gon in or non, in the proteccioun of God. And somme of oure fellowes accordeden to enter, and somme noght. So there weren with us 2 worthi men, Frere Menoures, that weren of Lombardye, that seyden, that zif ony man wolde entren, thei wolde gon in with us. And when thei hadden seyd so, upon the gracyous trust of God and of hem, wee leet synge masse, and made every man to ben schryven and houseld: and thanne wee entreden 14 personnes; but at oure goynge out, wee weren but 9. And so we wisten nevere, whether that oure fellowes weren lost, or elle turned azen for drede: but wee ne saughe hem never after: and tho weren 2 men of Grece and 3 of Spayne. And oure other fellows, that wolden not gon in with us, thei wenten by another coste, to ben before us, and so thei were. And thus wee passeden that perilous vale, and founden thereinne gold and sylver and precious stones and riche jewelles gret plentee, both here and there, as us semed: but whether that it was, as us semede, I wot nere: for I touched none, because that the develes ben so subtyle to make a thing to seme otherwise than it is, for to disceyve mankynde: and therfore I towched none; and also because that I wolde not ben put out of my devocioun: for I was more devout thanne, than evere I was before or after, and alle for the drede of fendes, that I saughe in dyverse figures; and also for the gret multytude of dede bodyes, that I saughe there liggynge be the weye, be alle the vale, as thoughe there had ben a bataylle betwene 2 kynges and the myghtyest of the contree, and that the gretter partye had ben discomfyted and slayn. And I trowe, that unethe scholde ony contree have so moche peple with in him, as lay slayn in that vale, as us thoughte; the whiche was an hidouse sight to seen. And I merveylled moche, that there weren so manye, and the bodyes all hole, with outen rotynge. But I trowe, that fendes made hem semen to ben so hole, with outen rotynge. But that myghte not ben to myn avys, that so manye scholde have entred so newely, ne so manye newely slayn, with outen stynkynge and rotynge. And manye of hem were in habite of Cristene men: but I trowe wel, that it weren of suche, that wenten in for covetyse of the thresoure, that was there, and hadden over moche feblenesse in feithe; so that hire hertes ne myghte not enduren in the beleve for drede.

And therfore weren wee the more devout a gret del: and zit wee weren cast doun and beten down many tymes to the hard erthe, be wyndes and thondres and tempestes: but evere more God of His grace halp us: and so we passed that perilous vale, with outen perile and with outen encombrance. Thanked be alle myghty Godd.

Aftre this, bezonde the vale, is a gret yle, where the folk ben grete geauntes of 28 fote longe or of 30 fote longe; and thei han no clothinge, but of skynnes of bestes, that thei hangen upon hem: and thei eten no breed, but alle raw flesche: and thei drynken mylk of bestes; for thei han plentee of alle bestaylle. And thei have none houses, to lyen inne. And thei eten more gladly mannes flessche, thanne ony other flesche. In to that yle dar no man gladly entren: and zif thei seen a schipp and men there inne, anon thei entren in to the see, for to take hem.

And men seyden us, that in an yle bezonde that, weren geantes of grettere stature: summe of 45 fote, or 50 fote long, and as some men seyn, summe of 50 cubytes long: but I saghe none of tho; for I hadde no lust to go to tho parties, because that no man comethe nouther in to that yle ne in to the other, but zif he be devoured anon. And among tho geauntes ben scheep, als grete as oxen here; and thei beren gret wolle and roughe. Of the scheep I have seyn many tymes. And men han seyn many tymes tho geauntes taken men in the see out of hire schippes, and broughte hem to lond, 2 in on hond and 2 in another, etynge hem goynge, alle rawe and alle quyk.

Another yle is there toward the northe, in the see occean, where that ben fulle cruele and ful evele wommen of nature; and thei han precious stones in hire eyen: and thei ben of that kynde, that zif thei beholden ony man with wratthe, thei slen him anon with the beholdynge, as dothe the basilisk.

Another yle is there, fulle fair and gode and gret, and fulle of peple, where the custom is suche, that the firste nyght that thei ben maryed, thei maken another man to lye be hire wifes, for to have hire maydenhode: and therfore thei taken gret huyre and gret thank. And ther ben certeyn men in every town, that serven of non other thing; and thei clepen hem Cadeberiz, that is to seyne, the foles of Wanhope. For thei of the contree holden it so gret a thing and so perilous, for to haven the maydenhode of a woman, that hem semethe that thei that haven first the maydenhode, puttethe him in aventure of his lif. And zif the husbonde fynde his wif mayden, that other next nyghte, aftre that she scholde have ben leyn by of the man, that is assigned therefore, perauntes for dronkenesse or for some other cause, the husbonde schalle pleyne upon him, that he hathe not don his deveer, in suche cruelle wise, as thoughe he wolde have him slayn therfore. But after the firste nyght, that they ben leyn by, thei kepen hem so streytely, that thei ben not so hardy to speke with no man. And I asked hem the cause, whi that thei helden suche custom: and thei seyden me, that of old tyme, men hadden ben dede for deflourynge of maydenes, that hadden serpentes in hire bodyes, that stongen men upon hire zerdes, that thei dyeden anon: and therfore thei helden that custom, to make other men, ordeyn'd therefore, to lye be hire wyfes, for drede of dethe, and to assaye the passage be another, rather than for to putte hem in that aventure.

Aftre that, is another yle, where that wommen maken gret sorwe, whan hire children ben y born: and whan thei dyen, thei maken gret feste and gret joye and revelle, and thanne thei casten hem into a gret fuyr brennynge. And tho that loven wel hire husbondes, zif hire husbondes ben dede, thei casten hem also in the fuyr, with hire children, and brennen hem. And thei seyn, that the fuyr schalle clensen hem of alle filthes and of alle vices, and thei schulle gon pured and clene in to another world, to hire husbondes, and thei schulle leden hire children with hem. And the cause whi that they wepen, when hire children ben born, is this, for whan thei comen in to this world, thei comen to labour, sorwe and hevynesse: and whi thei maken ioye and gladnesse at hire dyenge, is be cause that, as thei seyn, thanne thei gon to Paradys, where the ryveres rennen mylk and hony, where that men seen hem in ioye and in habundance of godes, with outen sorwe and labour. In that yle men maken hire kyng evere more be eleccioun: and thei ne chese him nought for no noblesse ne for no ricchesse, but suche an on as is of gode maneres and of gode condiciouns, and therewith alle rightfulle; and also that he be of gret age, and that he have no children. In that yle men ben fulle rightfulle, and thei don rightfulle iuggementes in every cause, bothe of riche and pore, smale and grete, aftre the quantytee of the trespas that is mys don. And the kyng may nought deme no man to dethe, with outen assent of his barouns and other wyse men of conseille, and that alle the court accorde therto. And zif the kyng him self do ony homycydie or ony cryme, as to sle a man, or ony suche cas, he schalle dye therefore; but he schalle not be slayn, as another man, but men schulle defende in peyne of dethe, that no man be so hardy to make him companye, ne to speke with hym, ne that no man zeve him ne selle him ne serve him nouther of mete ne drynk: and so schalle he dye in myschef. Thei spare no man that hath trespaced, nouther for love ne for favour ne for ricchesse ne for noblesse, but that he schalle have aftre that he hathe don.

Bezonde that yle, is another yle, where is gret multytude of folk; and thei wole not for nothing eten flesche of hares, ne of hennes, ne of gees: and zit thei bryngen forthe y now, for to seen hem and to beholden hem only. But thei eten Flesche of alle other bestes, and drynken mylk. In that contre, thei taken hire doughtres and hire sustres to here wyfes, and hire other kynneswomen. And zif there ben 10 or 12 men or mo dwellynge in an hows, the wif of everyche of hem schalle ben comoun to hem alle, that duellen in that hows; so that every man may liggen with whom he wole of hem, on o nyght. And zif sche have ony child, sche may zeve it to what man sche list, that hathe companyed with hire; so that no man knoweth there, whether the child be his or anotheres. And zif ony man seye to hem, that thei norrischen other mennes children, thei answeren, that so don other men hires. In that contre and be all Ynde, ben gret plentee of cokodrilles, that is the maner of a longe serpent, as I have seyd before. And in the nyght, thei dwellen in the watir, and on the day, upon the lond, in roches and caves. And thei ete no mete in all the wynter: but thei lyzn as in a drem, as don the serpentes. Theise sepentes slen men, and thei eten hem wepynge: and whan thei eten, thei meven the over Jowe, and noughte the nether Jowe; and thei have no Tonge. In that contree, and in many other bezonde that, and also in manye on this half, men putten in werke the sede of cotoun: and thei sowen it every zeer, and than growthe it in smale trees, that beren cotoun. And so don men every zeer; so that there is plentee of cotoun, at alle tymes. Item, in this yle and in many other, there is a manner of wode, hard and strong: who so coverethe the coles of that wode undir the assches there offe, the coles wil duellen and abyden alle quyk, a zere or more. And that tre hathe many leves, as the gynypre hathe. And there ben also many trees, that of nature thei wole never brenne ne rote in no manere. And there ben note trees, that beren notes, als grete as a mannes hed.

There also ben many bestes, that ben clept orafles.* In Arabye, thei ben clept gerfauntz ; that is a best pomelee or apotted ; that is but a litylle more highe, than is a stede ; but he hathe the necke a 20 cubytes long : and his croup and his tayl is as of an hert : and he may loken over a gret highe Hous. And there ben also in that contree manye camles, that is a lytille best as a goot, that is wylde, and he lyvethe be the eyr, and etethe nought ne drynkethe nought at no tyme. And he chaungethe his colour often tyme : for men seen him often scithes, now in o colour and now in another colour : and he may chaunge him in to alle maner of coloures that him list, saf only in to red and white. There ben also in that contree passynge grete serpentes, sume of 120 Fote long, and thei ben of dyverse coloures, as rayed, rede, grene and zalowe, blewe and blake, and alle spekelede. And there ben othere, that han crestes upon hire hedes : and thei gon upon hire feet upright : and thei ben wel a 4 fadme gret or more : and thei duellen alle weye in roches or in mountaynes : and thei han alle wey the throte open, of whens thei droppen venym alle weys. And there ben also wylde swyn of many eoloures, als gret as ben oxen in oure contree, and thei ben alle spotted, as ben zonge fownes. And there ben also urchounes, als gret as wylde swyn here. Wee clepen hem poriz de spyne. And ther ben lyouns alle whyte gret and myghty. And ther ben also of other bestes, als grete and more gretter than is a destrere : and men clepen hem loerancz : and sum men clepen hem odenthos : and thei han a blak hed and 3 longe hornes trenchant in the front, scharpe as a sword ; and the body is sclender. And he is a fulle felonous best : and he chacethe and sleethe the olifaunt. There ben also manye other bestes, fullye wykked and cruelle, that ben not mocheles more than a bere ; and thei han the hed lyche a bore ; and thei han 6 feet : and on every foote 2 large clawes trenchant : and the body is lyche a bere, and the tayl as a lyoun. And there ben also myse, als gret as houndes ; and zalowe myse, als grete as ravenes. And ther ben gees alle rede, thre sithes more gret than oure here : and thei han the hed, the necke and the brest alle black. And many other dyverse bestes ben in tho contrees, and elle where there abouten : and manye dyverse briddes also ; of the whiche, it were to longe for to telle zou : and therefore I passe over at this tyme.

---

* Giraffes.

CAPVT. 47.

De Bracmannorum et aliorum Insulis.

BRacmannorum Insula quasi ad medium Imperij consistit Praesbyteri Ioannis. Hij licet Christiani non sunt, viuunt tamen naturali optimo more. Rudes enim et incomparati, simplices, et inscij omnis artis apparent. Non cupidi, superbi, inuidi, iracundi, gulosi, aut luxuriosi nec iurant, fraudant, aut mentiuntur. Laborant corpore, sed intendunt animo implere quo ad valent naturale mandatum, hoc facias alijs quod tibi vis fieri: credentes et adorantes omnium creatorum Deum, et sperantes ab ipso simpliciter Paradisum.

Sobrij quoque sunt, quapropter et longo tempore viuunt: et si quis ab eorum moribus degenerat, proscribitur perpetuò sine mora, omnibus nulla posita differentia personarum, vnde et in iusto Dei iudicio, quòd naturalem exercere iustitiam contendunt, Elementa eis naturaliter obsequuntur, et raró eos tangit tempestas, aut fames, pestilentia aut gladius.

Flumen Chene.

Magna riparia dicta Chene currit per Insulam, ministrans piscium et aquarum copiam: Istos olim Alexander rex Grecorum debellare cupiens, misit eis literas comminationis, cui inter caetera notabilia remandauerunt, nihil se habere curiosi, quod Rex tantus deberet concupiscere, nihilque ita se timere perdituros sicut pacem bonam, quam hactenus habuerunt inconcussam: sicque diuino nutu est actum vt Rex truculentus ad alia se verteret, atque in breui postmodùm caderet, quia dissipat Dominus eos, qui bella volunt, et istis manet pax multa diligentibus eam.

Pytan.

Pytan Insula breuis continet paucos et breues habitatores, Pygmaeis modico longiores, qui decoris vultibus nullo vnquam cibo vescentes, specialis pomi quod secum portant sustentantur odore, quo si carerent ad parum, color in vultu marcesceret, et die tertia vita periret.

Discretio et rationabilitas ijs adest modica, nec enim habent laborare nisi pro vestitu, quem sibi circa arbusta colligunt: Et conficit vnusquisq; pro 12 annis vitæ suæ.

Vltra hanc Insulam siluestres, et fortes habentur homines, sed bestiales, vestiti per totum corpus proprijs capillis et pilis, exceptis palmis, et faciebus, qui videntur penitus gubernatione et politia carere: venantur carnes per siluas, et discurrunt piscantes in aquis, omnia cruda vorantes.

Fluuius Briemer.

Huius ad terræ metas manat fluuius Briemer latitudinis duarum leucarum, et semis, quem nos transire nequiuimus, nec ausi fuimus. Quoniam illo transmisso instant deserta 15, aut plurium diætatum inhabitata nunc temporis (prout audieramus) diuersis et nobis ignotis generibus bestiarum, serpentum, draconum, gryphium, aspidum, dypsarum, et colubrorum in multitudine tanta, vt centum millia armatorum simul pertingere vsquè ad arbores, quæ ibi dicuntur solis et lunæ, vix possent. Attamen suo tempore Alexander magnus scribitur pertigisse, et quaedam ab arboribus fictitia succepisse responsa.

Balsamum indicum.

Circa has arbores excolitur Balsamum, cuius liquoris comparatio nusquam scitur contineri sub cœlo. Nam ibidem homines, de istarum arborum fructibus et Balsamo vtentes dicuntur illorum virtute quadringentis aut pluribus annis viuere.

Peruenit autem et Dux Danus Ogerus, ac manducauit de illis, vnde et nonnulli præ sensus stoliditate vel fidei leuitate putant ipsum adhuc alibi viuere in terris. Ego autem quia tantum pro dilatanda Christianitate laborauit arbitror magis, eum regnare cum Christo in cœlis.

Taprobana Insula, et eius descriptio.

Versus Orientales partes Indorum consistit magna regio Taprobane exuberans optimis terrenorum bonorum, in quam nauigio intrauimus in octo vel circa diaetis per aquam satis tenuem, haud profundam. Ibi, sicut et in alijs multis Insulis, rex non nascitur sed eligitur per partes terræ: et est haec vna de quindecim nominatis Regionibus conquisitionis Ogeri. Ista, cum modicum declinet à circulo terræ sub Æquatore, patitur in anno duas æstates, et duas hyemes, si tamen hyems aliqua dici debeat, et non magis æstas, quia nullus hic dies anni caret fructu, flore, germine.

Habitatores sunt discreti, et honesti, vnde et mercatores de remotis partibus libenter cum ijs communicant: et sparsim per regionem habitant plurimi diuites Christiani.

Orilla. Argita.

Hijs iunguntur duæ insulæ (quas nos vocamus, Orilla, et Argita), quanquam illa lingua aliter nominentur. In quarum prima sunt multæ mineriæ auri, in secunda argenti, et propter quandam crassitudinem aeris continuam, perpauca apparent sydera, praeter vnum quod dicunt Canopum, quod æstimo planetam Veneris. Et quod mirum est valdè, de omni lunatione ijs apparet nisi 2. quarta. Cuius rei probabilis ratio effugit etiam Astronomos valdè peritos. Atque per has Insulas quoddam rubrum mare à mari Oceano segregatur.

Hunc locum notat Gerardus Mercator in sua charta generali.

Itaq: in Orilla in locis multis effoditur, colligitur, et conflatur optimum auri metallum, per viros, mulieres, et paruulos in hoc instructos, sed et in nonnullis ibi montibus monstrantur congregationes bestiolarum in quantitate nostrorum catulorum, in formicarum forma ac natura totali: qui pro suis viribus effodiunt, purificant, et colligunt cum intenta occupatione auri minutias, eas reponentes, et repositas retrahentes de cauernis et specubus in cauernas et specus. Et in conseruando sunt diligentes et acres, vt nemo audeat de facili propinquare, nisi quod interdum ab illis pausantibus, seu ab æstu se occultantibus, aliqui non sine periculo in dromedarijs et veredarijs rapiunt, vel furantur.

Solet etiam ab eis obtineri, quòd excogitato ingenio super equam quæ nuper fœtum ediderit, imponentes homines duas de ligno cistulas seu cophinos nouos, vacuos, et apertos à lateribus dependentes propè terram: hanc famelicam dimittunt vt se pascat ad herbas in montem: Quam formicæ videntes solam salientes et iocantes, colludunt ad eam et ad eius confines pro nouitate: et quoniam eis est naturale, vt circa se omne vacuum implere conentur comportant certatim aurum suum in vasculis suis mundis. Cumque homines a remotis tempus obseruauerint, emittunt pellum equæ vt videat matrem, cuius aspectu iam diu stetit priuatus, ad cuius hinnitum protinus equa reuertitur onusta de auro. Hijs ergò et similibus modis homines aurum diripiunt à formicis.

CAPVT 48.

Aliquid de loco Paradisi terrestris per auditum.

A Finibus Imperij Indiæ recta linea in orientem nihil est habitatum vel habitabile, propter rupium, et montium altitudinem, et asperitatem, et propter aeris inter Alpes diuersitatem: nam in multis locis, licet quandoque aer sit serenus, nunc fit spissus nunc fumosus, vel venenosus, et frequenter die medio tenebrosus. Durantque aut potius aggrauescunt huiusmodi difficultates, vsque ad illum amænissimum Paradisi locum, quem protoplausti per inobedientiam sibi et posteris perdidisse noscuntur, quod spacium si metiri posset, est multarum vtique diætarum. Quia iam non vlterius processi, nec procedere quiui, pauca duntaxat de illo loco referam verisimilia, quæ didici per auditum.

Descriptio Paradisi.

Paradisus terrestris dicitur locus spaciosus ad amplitudinem quasi quinq; Insularum nostrarum, Angliae, Normanniae, Hiberniae, Scotiae, et Noruegiae, aut forsan satis plurium. Cuius situs est pertingens in altitudine ad aeris supremam superficiem, eò quod illic terra vel terrae orbis sit multum spissior quàm alibi per modum excentricum à vero centro mundi, nec valet hoc deinde ab aliquo experto refelli, scriptura veritatis clamante, quòd ibi sit fons irrigans vniuersam superficiem terrae: aquae enim est natura semper fluere ad ima.

Exeunt autem ab illo fonte versus nostri partes hemispherij, hoc est nobis de illo loco in occidentem quatuor flumina, Pyson, Gyon, Tygris, et Euphrates, ab ista dimidia parte terrae circa Æquatoris circulum terrae influentes, quapropter et merito credendum videtur, exire de eodem fonte et alia quatuor flumina irrigantia terram oppositam, quae est circa alteram dimîdiam partem circuli Æquatoris, quamuis nos eorum fluminum loca, virtutes, et nomina ignoramus, quòd homines habitant ab alia parte Æquinoctij.

Gentes ad austrum Aequatoris.

Hoc tamen volo sciri pro vero et audiui, illic terræ faciem inhabitatam in maxima multitudine ciuitatum, vrbium, et regionum, quoniam et eorum institores Indiam frequentant, et nunciant sibi inuicem gentes et principes per literas, ac alijs modis destinare sunt visi.

Ganges fluuius.

Vnus nostrorum fluuiorum Pyson currit per Indiam, et per eius deserta quandoque sub terra, sed saepiùs supra, qui et Ganges illic appellatus est, ab illo vltimo Paganitatis rege, quem Dux Ogerus deuictum cùm baptizari renueret in ipso flumine proiectum submersit.

Ad littus huius reperiuntur multi lapides praeciositatis immensæ et metalli grani carissimi, nec non et auri mineriæ, multumque descendit in eo natans lignum Aloes ex Paradiso, quod rebus miræ virtutis inserit Salomon in Canticis.

Hinc secundus fluuius Gyon, currit per Aethiopiam, vnde dum venit in Ægyptum, accipit nomen Nilus. Tertius Tygris veniens per Assyriam influit maiorem Armeniam et Persiam: tandémq; fluuij singuli per loca singula se iactant in mare per quod defluunt vsq; ad Nador, id est, ad oppositum diametrum paradisi: Ideoq; merito æstimantur omnes vniuerso orbe aquæ dulces originem capere, à supradicto paradisi fonte, quamuis secundum distantiam maiorem vel minorem, et secundum naturas rerum per quas meant diuersos habere inueniuntur sapores, atq; virtutes.

Porrò ipsum Paradisi locum audiui à tribus plagis, orientali, meridionali, et septentrionali, inaccessibilem tam hominibus quàm bestijs, eo quòd apparet ripis perpendiculariter abscissa, tanquam inestimabilis altitudinis. Et ab occidente id est nostra parte tanquam super omnium humanorum intuitum rogus ardens, qui in scripturis rumphea flammea appellatur, vt nulli creaturæ terrenæ ascensus in eum credatur nisi quibusdam volatilibus, prout decreuit iusti iudicij Deus.

Ambulantibus enim illuc siue repentibus hominibus obstarent tenebræ imo rupes, aer infestus, bestiæ, serpentes, frigus, et camua. Nauigare autem contra ictum fluminis nitentes impediret intrinsecus recursus, ac impetuosus et quandoque subterraneus aquæ cursus descendentis cum vehementia, ab euectissimo, vt dictum est, loco, qui suo quoque strepitu, per petras atq; strictos aliosque diuersos cadens gurgites, efficeret surdos, et aeris mutatio caecos, vnde et multi tam nobiles quàm ignobiles, fatua sese audacia in isto ponentes periculo perierunt, alijs excœcatis, alijs absurdatis, et nonnullis in ipso accessu subitanea morte peremptis. Ex quo nimirum credi habetur isto Deum displicere conatum.

Quapropter et ego ex illo loco statui animum ad repatriandum, quatenus Deo propitio, Anglia quæ me produxit seculo viuentem, usciperet morientem.

Of the Godenesse of the folk of the Yle of Bragman. Of Kyng Alisandre: and wherfore the Emperour of Ynde is clept Prestre John.

Cap. XXIX.

ANd bezonde that yle, is another yle, gret and gode, and plentyfous, where that ben gode folk and trewe, and of gode lyvynge, aftre hire beleve, and of gode feythe. And alle be it that thei ben not cristned, ne have no perfyt lawe, zit natheles of kyndely lawe, thei ben fulle of alle vertue, and thei eschewen alle vices and alle malices and alle synnes. For thei ben not proude ne coveytous ne envyous ne wrathefulle ne glotouns ne leccherous; ne thei don to no man other wise than thei wolde that other men diden to hem: and in this poynt, thei

fullefillen the 10 commandementes of God: and thei zive no charge of aveer ne of ricchesse: and thei lye not, ne thei swere not, for non occasioun; but thei seyn symply, ze and nay. For thei seyn, He that swerethe, wil disceyve his neyghbore: and therfore alle that thei don, thei don it with outen othe. And men clepen that yle, the Yle of Bragman: and somme men clepen it the Lond of Feythe. And thorgh that lond rennethe a gret ryvere, that is clept Thebe. And in generalle, alle the men of tho yles and of alle the marches there abouten, ben more trewe than in ony othere contrees there abouten, and more righte fulle than othere, in alle thinges. In that yle is no thief, ne mordrere, ne comoun woman, ne pore beggere, ne nevere was man slayn in that contree. And thei ben so chast, and leden so gode lif, as tho thei weren religious men: and thei fasten alle dayes. And because thei ben so trewe and so rightfulle and so fulle of alle gode condiciouns, thei weren nevere greved with tempestes ne with thondre ne with leyt ne with hayl ne with pestylence ne with werre ne with hungre ne with non other tribulaccioun, as wee ben many tymes amonges us, for our synnes. Wherfore it semethe wel, that God lovethe hem and is plesed with hire creance, for hire gode dedes. Thei beleven wel in God, that made alle thinges; and him thei worschipen. And thei preysen non erthely ricchesse; and so thei ben alle right fulle. And thei lyven fulle ordynatly, and so sobrely in met and drynk, that thei lyven right longe. And the most part of hem dyen with outen syknesse, whan nature faylethe hem for elde. And it befelle in Kyng Alisandres tyme, that he purposed him to conquere that yle, and to maken hem to holden of him. And whan thei of the contree herden it, thei senten messangeres to him with lettres, that seyden thus: What may ben y now to that man, to whom alle the world is insuffisant: thou schalt fynde no thing in us, that may cause the to warren azenst us: for wee have no ricchesse, ne none wee coveyten: and alle the godes of our contree ben in comoun. Oure mete, that we susteyne with alle oure bodyes, is our richesse: and in stede of tresoure of gold and sylver, wee maken oure tresoure of accord and pees, and for to love every man other. And for to apparaylle with oure bodyes, wee usen a sely lityllle clout, for to wrappen in oure careynes. Oure wyfes ne ben not arrayed for to make no man plesance, but only connable array, for to eschewe folye. Whan men peynen hem to arraye the body, for to make it semen fayrere than God made it, thei don gret synne. For man scholde not devise ne aske grettre beautee, than God hathe ordeyned man to ben at his birthe. The erthe mynystrethe to us 2 thynges; our liflode, that comethe of the erthe that wee lyve by, and oure sepulture aftre oure dethe. Wee have ben in perpetuelle pees tille now, that thou come to disherite us; and also wee have a kyng, nought for to do justice to every man, for he schalle fynde no forfete amonge us; but for to kepe noblesse, and for to schewe that wee ben obeyssant, wee have a kyng. For justice ne hathe not among us no place: for wee don no man otherwise than wee desiren that man don to us; so that rightwisnesse ne vengeance han nought to don amonges us; so that no thing thou may take fro us, but oure god pes, that alle weys hath dured amonge us. And whan Kyng Alisandre had rad theise lettres, he thoughte that he scholde do gret synne, for to trouble hem: and thanne he sente hem surteez, that thei scholde not ben aferd of him, and that thei scholde kepen hire gode maneres and hire gode pees, as thei hadden used before of custom; and so he let hem allone.

Another yle there is, that men clepen Oxidrate; and another yle, that men clepen Gynosophe, where there is also gode folk, and fulle of gode feythe: and thei holden for the most partye the gode condiciouns and customs and gode maneres, as men of the contree above seyd: but thei gon alle naked. In to that yle entred Kyng Alisandre, to see the manere. And when he saughe hire gret feythe and hire trouthe, that was amonges hem, he seyde that he wolde not greven hem: and bad hem aske of him, what that they wolde have of hym, ricchesse or ony thing elles; and thei scholde have it with gode wille. And thei answerden, that he was riche y now, that hadde mete and drynke to susteyne the body with. For the ricchesse of this world, that is transitorie, is not worthe: but zif it were in his power to make hem immortalle, there of wolde thei preyen him, and thanken him. And Alisandre answerde hem, that it was not in his powere to don it, because he was mortelle, as thei were. And thanne thei asked him, whi he was so proud and so fierce and so besy, for to putten alle the world undre his subieccioun, righte as thou were a god; and hast no terme of this lif, neither day ne hour; and wylnest to have alle the world at thi commandement, that schalle leve the with outen fayle, or thou leve it. And righte as it hathe ben to other men before the, right so it schalle ben to othere aftre the: and from hens schal thou bere no thyng; but as thou were born naked, righte so alle naked schalle thi body ben turned in to erthe, that thou were made of. Wherfore thou scholdest thenke and impresse it in thi mynde, that nothing is immortalle, but only God, that made alle thing. Be the whiche answere, Alisandre was gretly astoneyed and abayst; and alle confuse departe from hem. And alle be it that theyse folk han not the articles of oure feythe, as wee han, natheles for hire gode feythe naturelle, and for hire gode entent, I trowe fulle, that God lovethe hem, and that God take hire servyse to gree, right as he did of Job, that was a Paynem, and held him for his trewe servaunt. And therfore alle be it that there ben many dyverse lawes in the world, zit I trowe, that God lovethe alweys hem that loven him, and serven him mekely in trouthe; and namely, hem that dispysen the veyn glorie of this world; as this folk don, and as Job did also: and therfore seyde oure Lorde, be the mouthe of Ozee the prophete, *Ponam eis multiplices leges meas.* And also in another place, *Qui totum orbem subdit suis legibus.* And also our Lord seythe in the Gospelle, *Alias oves habeo, que non sunt ex hoc ovili;* that is to seyne, that he hadde othere servauntes, than tho that ben undre Cristene lawe. And to that acordethe the avisioun, that Seynt Petir saughe at Jaffe, how the aungel cam from Hevene, and broughte before him diverse bestes, as serpentes and other crepynge bestes of the erthe, and of other also gret plentee, and bad him take and ete. And Seynt Petir answerde; I ete never, quoth he, of unclene bestes. And thanne seyde the aungelle, *Non dicas immunda, que Deus mundavit.* And that was in tokene, that no man scholde have in despite non erthely man, for here diverse lawes: for wee knowe not whom God lovethe, ne whom God hatethe. And for that ensample, whan men seyn *De profundis,* thei seyn it in comoun and in generalle, with the Cristene, *pro animabus omnium defunctorum, pro quibus sit orandum.* And therfore seye I of this folk, that ben so trewe and so feythefulle, that God lovethe hem. For he hathe amonges hem many of the prophetes, and alle weye hathe had. And in tho yles, thei prophecyed the incarnacioun of oure Lord Jesu Crist, how he scholde ben born of a mayden; 3000 zeer or more or oure Lord was born of the Virgyne Marie. And thei beleeven wel in the incarnacioun, and that fulle perfitely: but thei knowe not the manere, how he suffred his passioun and dethe for us.

And bezonde theise yles, there is another yle, that is clept Pytan. The folk of that contree ne tyle not, ne laboure not the erthe: for thei eten no manere thing: and thei ben of gode colour, and of faire schap, aftre hire gretnesse: but the smalle ben as dwerghes: but not so litylle, as ben the pigmeyes. Theise men lyven be the smelle of wylde apples; and whan thei gon ony fer weye, thei beren the apples with hem. For zif thei hadde lost the savour of the apples, thei scholde dyen anon. Thei ne ben not fulle resonable: but thei ben symple and bestyalle.

Aftre that, is another yle, where the folk ben alle skynned, roughe heer, as a rough best, sat only the face and the pawme of the hond. Theise folk gon als wel undir the watir of the see, as thei don above the lond, alle drye. And thei eten bothe flessche and fissche alle raughe. In this yle is a great ryvere, that is wel a 2 myle and an half of brede, that is clept Beumare. And fro that rivere a 15 journeyes in lengthe, goynge be the desertes of the tother syde of the ryvere, (whoso myght gon it, for I was not there: but it was told us of hem of the contree, that with inne tho desertes) weren the trees of the sonne, and of the mone, that spaken to Kyng Alisandre, and warned him of his dethe. And men seyn, that the folk that kepen tho trees, and eten of the frute and of the bawme that growethe there, lyven wel 400 zeere or 500 zere, be vertue of the frut and of the bawme. For men seyn, that bawme growethe there in gret plentee, and no where elles, saf only at Babyloyne, as I have told zou before. Wee wolde han gon toward the trees fulle gladly, zif wee had myght: but I trowe, that 100000 men of armes myghte not passen the desertes safly, for the gret multytude of wylde bestes, and of grete dragouns, and of grete multytude serpentes, that there ben, that slen and devouren alle thet comen aneyntes hem. In that contre ben manye white olifantes with outen nombre, and of unycornes, and of lyouns of many maneres, and many of suche besres, that I have told before, and of many other hydouse bestes with outen nombre.

Many other yles there ben in the lond of Prestre John, and many grete marveyles, that weren to long to tellen alle, bothe of his ricchesse and of his noblesse, and of the gret plentee also of precious stones, that he hathe. I trow that zee knowe wel y now, and have herd seye, wherefore this Emperour is clept Prestre John. But nathales for hem that knowen not, I schalle seye zou the cause. It was somtyme an Emperour there, that was a worthi and a fulle noble prynce, that hadde Cristene knyghtes in his companye, as he hathe that is now. So it befelle, that he hadde gaet list for to see the service in the chirche, among Cristenmen. And than dured Cristendom bezonde the zee, alle Turkye, Surrye, Tartarie, Jerusalem, Palestyne, Arabye, Halappee, and alle the lond of Egypte. So it befelle, that this emperour cam, with a Cristene knyght with him, into a chirche in Egypt: and it was the Saterday in Wyttson woke. And the bishop made ordres. And he beheld and listend the servyse fulle tentyfly: and he askede the Cristene knight, what men of degree thei scholden ben prestes. And than the emperour seyde, that he wolde no longer ben clept kyng ne emperour, but preest; and that he wolde have the name of the first preest, that went out of the chirche: and his name was John. And so evere more sithens, he is cleped Prestre John.

In his lond ben manye Cristene men of gode feythe and of gode lawe; and namely of hem of the same contree; and han comounly hire prestes, that syngen the messe, and maken the sacrement of the awtier of bred, right as the Grekes don: but thei seyn not so many thinges as the messe, as men don here. For thei seye not but only that, that the apostles seyden, as oure Lord taughte hem: righte as seynt Peter and seynt Thomas and the other apostles songen the messe, seyenge the Pater-noster, and the wordes of the sacrement. But wee have many mo addiciouns, that dyverse popes han made, that thei ne knowe not offe.

Of the Hilles of Gold, that Pissemyres kepen: and of the 4 Flodes, that comen fro Paradys terrestre.

Cap. XXX.

TOward the est partye of Prestre Johnes lond, is an yle gode and gret, that men clepen Taprobane, that is fulle noble and fulle fructuous: and the kyng thereof is fulle ryche, and is undre the obeyssance of Prestre John. And alle weys there thei make hire king be eleccyoun. In that ile ben 2 someres and 2 wyntres; and men harvesten the corn twyes a zeer And in alle the cesouns of the zeer ben the gardynes florisht. There dwellen gode folke and resonable, and manye Cristene men amonges hem, that ben so riche, that thei wyte not what to done with hire godes. Of olde tyme, whan meñ passed from the lond of Prestre John unto that yle, men maden ordynance for to passe by schippe, 23 dayes or more: but now men passen by schippe in 7 dayes. And men may see the botme of the see in many places: for it is not fulle depe.

Besyde that yle, toward the est, ben 2 other yles: and men clepen that on Orille, and that other Argyte; of the whiche alle the lond is myne of gold and sylver. And tho yles ben right where that the Rede See departethe fro the see occean. And in tho yles men seen ther no sterres so clerly as in other places: for there apperen no sterres, but only o clere sterre, that men clepen Canapos. And there is not the mone seyn in alle the lunacioun, saf only the seconde quarteroun. In the yle also of this Taprobane, ben grete hilles of gold, that Pissemyres kepen fulle diligently. And thei fynen the pured gold, and casten away the unpured. And theise Pissemyres ben gret as houndes: so that no man dar come to tho hilles: for the Pissemyres wolde assaylen hem and devouren hem anon; so that no man may gete of that gold, but be gret sleighte. And therfore whan it is gret hete, the Pissemyres resten hem in the erthe, from pryme of the day in to noon: and than the folk of the contree taken camayles, dromedaries and hors and other bestes, and gon thidre, and chargen hem in alle haste that thei may. And aftre that thei fleen away, in alle haste that the bestes may go, or the Pissemyres comen out of the erthe. And in other tymes, whan it is not so hote, and that the Pissemyres ne resten hem not in the erthe, than thei geten gold be this sotyltee: thei taken mares, that han zonge coltes or foles, and leyn upon the mares voyde vesselles made therfore; and thei ben alle open aboven, and hangynge lowe to the erthe: and thanne thei sende forth tho mares for to pasturen aboute the hilles, and with holden the foles with hem at home. And whan the Pissemyres sen tho vesselles, thei lepen in anon, and thei han this kynde, that thei lete no thing ben empty among hem, but anon thei fillen it, be it what maner of thing that it be: and so thei fillen tho vesselles with gold. And whan that the folk supposen, that the vesselle ben fulle, thei putten forthe anon the zonge foles, and maken hem to nyzen aftre hire dames; and than anon the mares retornen towardes hire foles, with hire charges of gold; and than men dischargen hem, and geten gold y now be this sotyltee. For the Psssemyres wole suffren bestes to gon and pasturen amonges hem; but no man in no wyse.

And bezonde the lond and the yles and the desertes of Prestre Johnes lordschipe, in goynge streyght toward the est, men fynde nothing but mountaynes and roches fulle grete: and there is the derke regyoun, where no man may see, nouther be day ne be nyght, as thei of the contree seyn. And that desert, and that place of derknesse, duren fro this cost unto Paradys terrestre; where that Adam oure foremest fader, and Eve weren putt, that dwelleden there but lytylle while; and that is towards the est, at the begynnynge of the erthe. But that is not that est, that wee clep oure est, on this half, where the sonne risethe to us: for whenne the sonne is est in tho partyes, toward Paradys terrestre, it is thanne mydnyght in oure parties o this half, for the rowndenesse of the erthe, of the whiche I have towched to zou before. For oure Lord God made the erthe alle round, in the mydde place of the firmament. And there as mountaynes and hilles ben, and valeyes, that is not but only of Noes flode, that wasted the softe ground and the tendre, and felle doun into valeyes: and the harde erthe, and the roche abyden mountaynes, whan the soft erthe and tendre wax nessche, throghe the water, and felle and becamen valeyes.

Of Paradys, ne can not I speken propurly: for I was not there. It is fer bezonde; and that forthinkethe me: and also I was not worthi. But as I have herd seye of wyse men bezonde, I schalle telle zou with gode wille. Paradys terrestre, as wise men seyn, is the highest place of erthe, that is in alle the world: and it is so highe, that it touchethe nyghe to the cercle of the mone, there as the mone makethe hire torn. For sche is so highe, that the flode of Noe ne myght not come to hire, that wolde have covered alle the erthe of the world alle aboute, and aboven and benethen, saf Paradys only allone. And this Paradys is enclosed alle aboute with a walle; and men wyte not wherof it is. For the walles ben covered alle over with mosse; as it semethe. And it semethe not that the walle is ston of nature. And that walle strecchethe fro the southe to the northe; and it hathe not but on entree, that is closed with fyre brennynge; so that no man, that is mortalle, ne dar not entren. And in the moste highe place of Paradys, evene in the myddel place, is a welle, that castethe out the 4 flodes, that rennen be dyverse londes: of the whiche, the first is clept Phison or Ganges, that is alle on: and it rennethe thorghe out Ynde or Emlak: in the whiche ryvere ben manye preciouse stones, and mochel of lignum aloes, and moche gravelle of gold. And that other ryvere is clept Nilus or Gyson, that gothe be Ethiope, and aftre be Egypt. And that other is clept Tigris, that rennethe be Assirye and be Armenye the grete. And that other is clept Eufrate, that rennethe also be Medee and be Armonye and be Persye. And men there bezonde seyn, that alle the swete watres of the world aboven and benethen, taken hire begynnynge of the welle of Paradys: and out of that welle, alle watres comen and gon. The firste ryvere ia clept Phison, that is to seyne in hire langage, Assemblee: for many other ryveres meten hem there, and gon in to that ryvere. And sum men clepen it Ganges; for a kyng that was in Ynde, that highte Gangeres, and that it ran thorge out his lond. And that water is in sum place clere, and in sum place trouble: in sum place hoot, and in sum place cole. The seconde ryvere is clept Nilus or Gyson: for it is alle weye trouble: and Gyson, in the langage of Ethiope, is to seye trouble: and in the langage of Egipt also. The thridde ryvere, that is clept Tigris, is as moche for to seye as faste rennynge: for he rennethe more faste than ony of the tother. And also there is a best, that is cleped Tigris, that is faste rennynge. The fourthe ryvere is clept Eufrates, that is to seyne, wel berynge: for there growen manye godes upon that ryvere, as cornes, frutes, and othere godes y nowe plentee.

And zee schulle undirstonde, that no man that is mortelle, ne may not approchen to that paradys. For be londe no man may go for wylde bestes, that ben in the desertes, and for the highe mountaynes and gret huge roches, that no man may passe by, for the derke places that ben there, and that manye: and be the ryveres may no man go; for the water rennethe so rudely and so scharply, because that it comethe doun so outrageously from the highe places aboven, that it rennethe in so grete wawes, that no schipp may not rowe ne seyle azenes it: and the watre rorethe so, and makethe so huge noyse, and so gret tempest, that no man may here other in the schipp, thoughe he cryede with alle the craft that he cowde, in the hyeste voys that he myghte. Many grete lordes han assayed with gret wille many tymes for to passen be tho ryveres toward paradys, with fulle grete companyes: but thei myghte not speden in hire viage; and manye dyeden for werynesse of rowynge azenst tho stronge wawes; and many of hem becamen blynde, and many deve, for the noyse of the water: and summe weren perisscht and loste, with inne the wawes: so that no mortelle man may approche to that place, with outen specyalle grace of God: so that of that place I can seye zou no more. And therfore I schall holde me stille, and retornen to that that I have seen.

CAPVT. 49.

In reuertendo de Cassan, et Riboth, et de diuite Epulone.

Via per quam Mandeuillus redijt in Angliam.

EXhinc de illis quæ in reuertendo vidi scribo cursim pauca, ne modum excedere videatur materia. Reuertebar itaque quasi per Aquilonare latus Imperij Presbyteri Ioannis, et nunc terræ, non mari nos commendantes, transiuimus Deo Ductore, multas Insulas in multis diaetis, et peruenimus ad regionem magnam Cassan: haec cum sit vna de quindecim habens longitudinem diaetarum 60. et latitudinem propè 30. posset esse nominatior omnibus ibi circa prouincijs, si a nostris frequentaretur.

Cassan.

Notandum. Cassan (secundum Odericum) est melior prouincia de mundo, vbi strictior est, habet diaetas 50. vbi longior 60, et est vna de 12. prouincijs Imperij Grand Can. Est ista populosa, distincta ciuitatibus, vt quisque à quacunque plaga de vna exeat ciuitate nouerit aliam in media diaeta propinquam. Tenétque istam regionem Cassan rex diues et potens, pro parte de Imperio Praesbyteri Ioannis, et pro parte de Imperio Grand Can.

Riboth.

De ista in reuersione nostra venimus ad Regnum Riboth, quod similiter est vnum de quindecim, latum, et speciosum, in quo de multis bonis, habetur plena copia. Hoc tenetur in toto de Imperio Tartarorum.

Labassi, summus idolorum pontifex.

Vna est ibi inter et super omnes ciuitas Sacerdotalis, et Regia, in qua Rex habet suum magnificum palatium, et summus Idolorum Pontifex quem Labassi appellant, cui omnes Regni obediunt, et populi sicut Domino Papæ nos Christiani quoniam et iubet, et benedicit, ac confert sacerdotibus beneficia idolorum.

Ciuitatis vndique muri sunt compacti albis et nigris lapidibus conquadratis ad modum scakarij, omnesque contractæ simili pauimento sunt stratæ. Tanta est illic reuerentia sacrificiorum vt si quis vel in modica quantitate, sanguinem hominis, seu immolaticiæ pecudis fudisse deprehensus fuerit, nequaquam iudicium mortis euadet. Et inter innumeras superstitiones est illic vna talis.

H aeres cuius pater defungitur, si alicuius vlt esse reputationis, mandat cognatos, amicos, Relligiosos, et sacerdotes pro posse, qui certo Die conuenientes sub magno Symphoniæ festo, corportant defuncti cadauer, in montis sublime cacumen. Ibi accedens dignior Praelatorum, funeris caput abscindit, tradens haeredi in aureo disco decantanti sub deuotione suas orationes cum suis in propria lingua. Atque interim aues regionis rapaces, et immundæ, vt corui, vultures, et aquilæ, quæ pro consuetudine optimè morem norunt, aduolant magno numerọ in aere: Tuncque Relligiosi cum sacerdotibus detruncant corpus in frusta velut in macello, proijcientes pecias in altum auibus, ac decantantes certam ad hoc compositam orationem, tanquam si nostri sacerdotes cantarent. Subuenite sancti Dei. etc.

Et habet eorum oratio, hunc sensum in sua lingua. Respice quàm iustus et sanctus extitit homo iste, quem Angeli Dei conueniunt accipere et in Paradisum deferre. Talique diabolico errore delusi, putant filius, et amici, quod defunctus sit in Paradisum translatus, viuat illic sempiterne beatus, quoniam, vbi plures conuenere volucrum, ibi maiorem laetantur et iactant fuisse numerum Angelorum.

Hinc deinde reuertentes, cum choris, et resonantia Musicorum, filius paratum praestat omnibus conuiuium, in cuius fine pro extremo ferculo, tradit singulis particulam, de patris capite summa cum devotione. Hanc etiam capitis caluariam filius facit postmodum debitè formari et poliri sibi pro cypho, in quo bibit in conuijs, ob recordationem amantissimi patris.

Ab hoc Regno decem dietis per potestatem Imperatoris Grand Can, inuenitur Insula delectabilis, et speciosa satis: cuius Rex est praepotens in gloria, et in diuitijs superabundans, et de multis quæ illic geruntur admirandis vnum recito solum.

Diues Epulo.

Quòd est ibi homo quidam ditissimus nullius dignitatis nomine honoratus, sed bysso, ac serico adornatus, et splendide omni tempore epulatus: non ergo vult dici princeps, Dux, comes, miles, aut huiusmodi, licet superioritatem habeat super marchiones aliquos et barones. Eius possessionis valor æstimatur in anno 30. cuman de assinarijs bladi, et risi, nec quaerit nisi delitiosè viuere in isto seculo, vt cum diuite Epulone sepeliatur in inferno. Cum etiam sibi derelictus sit, iste viuendi modus a retrogenitoribus, eum et ipse posteris derelinquet. Hic tanquam Imperiali residet palatio, cuius muri ambitus ad tractum leucæ tenditur, continens arbusta, vineta, riuulos, fontes et stagna, aulas, et cubicula auro strata depictaque mirè, et sculpta artificiosè, vltra quam vales explicare, et inter omnia ad medium palatium in celso vertice atrium amaenum, valdè tamen modico, sed cunctis praeciosius, ædificio, quasi ad seema nostrarum Ecclesiarum, cum turribus, pilarijs, et columnis, in quibus nihil prominet indignius auro. Nunquam vel raro hic exit de suo palatio cum solis pulchris quos sibi conuocat et conuariat paruis pueris et puellis, non excedentibus 16. annos ætatis. Tendit dum libet pedibus, quandoque vectatur equo, interdum ducitur vehiculo, nonnunquam vult ferri gestatorio, vel certè puellaribus brachijs, et visitat saepissimè praefatum praeciosius ædificium: atque hijs et modis alijs excogitat delectare visum pulchris, auditum suauibus, olfactum redolentibus, tactum lenibus, et gustum pascere delicatis. Electas semper habet praesto 50. puellas ei, et de proximo exquisitissimè ministrantes tam ad mensam quàm ad cubiculum, et ad omne libitum.

Versus.

Hæ ad prandium recumbenti afferunt processionis more pro singulo ferculo semper 5. genera dapum nobilium cum dulcisonæ resonantia cantilenæ, quarum aliquæ ei singulos detruncant genu flexo morsellos, aliquæ ponunt in ore, mundis tergentes comedentis labia mappis.

Nam ipse quidem in mensa continet iacentes manus puras et quietas. Post deseruitionem ferculi primi, seruitur pro secundo in 5. alijs dapum generibus modo quo supra, et renouatur in apponendo cantus suauior melodia.

Ista àbsque vlla Domini cura per ministros quotidiè reparantur etiam in maiori satis quàm effor nobilitate, nisi dum ipse pro placito iusserit, quandoque temperari.

Deliciosius igitur quo vult deducit carnem, non curans animam, sed nec probitatem curans terrenam, pascit sterilem, et viduæ non benefacit. Et

Quia viuit sicut porcus,
Morientem suscipit orcus.

Longitudo vnguium. Vtuntur etiam in Florida principes longis vnguibus.

Porrò quod eum dixi manus tenere quietas, noueritis nimirum nil posse manibus capere vel tenere, propter longitudinem, et recuruitatem vnguium in digitis, qui sibi nullo tempore praescinduntur. Seruatur enim hoc pro nobili more patriæ, et viri diuites delicati, qui proprios possunt habere ministros nunquàm sibi dimittunt vngues resecare, vnde et nonnullis circumdantur vndique manus, acsi uiderentur armatæ.

Noua historia Chinensis hoc testatur.

Fœminarum autem mos est nobilis si habeant paruos pedes, vnde et generosarum in cunis strictissimè obuoluuntur, vt vix ad medium debitæ quantitatis excrescere possint.

The English Version.

Of the Customs of Kynges, and othere that dwellen in the Yles costynge to Prestre Johnes Lond. And of the Worschipe that the Sone dothe to the Fader, whan he is dede.

Cap. XXXI.

FRom tho yles, that I have spoken of before, in the lond of Prestre John, that ben undre erthe as to us, that ben o this half, and of other yles, that ben more furthere bezonde; who so wil, pursuen hem, for to comen azen right to pursuen hem, for to comen azen right to the parties that he cam fro; and so environne alle erthe: but what for the yles, what for the see, and what for strong rowynge, fewe folk assayen for to passen that passage; alle be it that men myghte don it wel, that myght ben of power to dresse him thereto; as I have seyd zou before. And therfore men returnen from tho yles aboveseyd, be other yles costynge fro the lond of Prestre John. And thanne comen men in returnynge to an yle, that is clept Casson: and that yle hathe wel 60 jorneyes in lengthe, and more than 50 in brede. This is the beste yle, and the beste kyngdom, that is in alle tho partyes, out taken Cathay. And zif the merchauntes useden als moche that contre as thei don Cathay, it wolde ben better than Cathay, in a schort while. This contree is fulle well enhabyted, and so fulle of cytees, and of gode townes, and enhabyted with peple, that whan a man gothe out of o cytee, men seen another cytee, evene before hem: and that is what partye that a man go, in alle that contree. In that yle is gret plentee of alle godes for to lyve with, and of alle manere of spices. And there ben grete forestes of chesteynes. The kyng of that yle is fulle ryche and fulle myghty: and natheles he holt his lond of the grete Chane, and is obeyssant to hym. For it is on of the 12 provynces, that the nrete Chane hathe undre him, with outen his paopre lond, and with outen other lesse yles, that he hathe: for he hathe fulle manye.

From that kyngdom comen men, in returnynge, to another yle, that is clept Rybothe: and it is also under the grete Chane. That is a fulle gode contree, and fulle plentefous of alle godes and of wynes and frut, and alle other ricchesse. And the folk of that contree han none houses: but thei dwellen and lyggen all under tentes, made of black ferne, by alle the contree. And the princypalle cytee, and the most royalle, is alle walled with black ston and white. And alle the stretes also ben pathed of the same stones. In that cytee is no man so hardy, to schede Blode of no man, ne of no best, for the reverence of an ydole, that is worschipt there. And in that yle dwellethe the pope of hire lawe, that they clepen Lobassy. This Lobassy zevethe alle the benefices, and alle other dignytees, and all other thinges, that belongen to the ydole. And alle tho that holden ony thing of hire chirches, religious and othere, obeyen to him ; as men don here to the Pope of Rome.

In that yle thei han a custom, be alle the contree, that whan the fader is ded of ony man, and the sone list to do gret worchipe to his fader, he sendethe to alle his frendes, and to all his kyn, and for religious men and preestes, and for mynstralle also, gret plentee. And thanne men beren the dede body unto a gret hille, with gret joye and solempnyte. And when thei han brought it thider, the chief prelate smytethe of the hede, and leythe it upon a gret platere of Gold and of sylver, zif so be he be a riche man ; and than he takethe the hede to the sone ; and thanne the sone and his other kyn syngen and seyn manye orisouns : and thanne the prestes, and the religious men, smyten alle the body of the dede man in peces : and thanne thei seyn certeyn orisouns. And the fowles of raveyne of alle the contree abouten knowen the custom of long tyme before, and comen fleenge aboyen in the eyr, as egles, gledes, ravenes and othere foules of raveyne, that eten flesche. And than the preestes casten the gobettes of the flesche; and than the foules eche of hem takethe that he may, and gothe a litille thens and etethe it : and so thei don whils ony pece lastethe of the dede body. And aftre that, as preestes amonges us syngen for the dede, *Subvenite sancti Dei*, &c. right so the preestes syngen with highe voys in hire langage, beholdethe how so worthi a man, and how gode a man this was, that the aungeles of God comen for to sechen him, and for to bryngen him in to paradys. And thanne semethe in to the sone, that he is highliche worschipt, whan that many briddes and foules and raveyne comen and eten his fader. And he that hathe most nombre of foules, is most worschiped. Thanne the sone bryngethe hoom with him alle his kyn, and his frendes, and alle the othere to his hows, and makethe hem a gret feste. And thanne alle his frendes maken hire avaunt and hire dalyance, how the fowles comen thider, here 5, here 6, here 10, and there 20, and so forthe : and thei rejoyssen hem hugely for to speke there of. And whan thei ben at mete, the sone let brynge forthe the hede of his fader, and there of he zevethe of the flesche to his most specyalle frendes, in stede of entre messe, or a sukkarke. And of the brayn panne, he letethe make a cuppe, and there of drynkethe he and his other frendes also, with great devocioun, in remembrance of the holy man, that the aungeles of God han eten. And that cuppe the sone schalle kepe to drynken of, alle his lif tyme, in remembrance of his fadir.

From that lond, in returnynge be 10 jorneyes thorghe out the lond of the grete Chane, is another gode yle, and a gret kyngdom, where the kyng is fulle riche and myghty. And amonges the riche men of his contree, is a passynge riche man, that is no prince, ne duke ne erl; but he hathe mo that holden of him londes and other lordschipes: for he is more riche. For he hathe every zeer of annuelle rente 300000 hors charged with corn of dyverse greynes and of ryzs: and so he ledethe a fulle noble lif, and a delycate, aftre the custom of the contree. For he hathe every day, 50 fair damyseles, alle maydenes, that serven him everemore at his mete, and for to lye be hem o nyght, and for to do with hem that is to his pleasance. And whan he is at the table, they bryngen him hys mete at every tyme, 5 and 5 to gedre. And in bryngynge hire servyse, thei syngen a song. And aftre that, thei kutten his mete, and putten it in his mouthe; for he touchethe no thing ne handlethe nought, but holdethe evere more his hondes before him, upon the table. For he hathe so long nayles, that he may take no thing, ne handle no thing. For the noblesse of that contree is to have longe nayles, and to make hem growen alle weys to ben as longe as men may. And there ben manye in that contree, that han hire nayles so longe, that thei envyronne alle the hond: and that is a gret noblesse. And the noblesse of the wommen, is for to haven smale feet and litille: and therfore anon as thei ben born, they leet bynde hire feet so streyte, that thei may not growen half as nature wolde: and alle weys theise damyseles, that I spak of beforn, syngen alle the tyme that this riche man etethe: and whan that he etethe no more of his firste cours, than other 5 and 5 of faire damyseles bryngen him his seconde cours, alle weys syngynge, as thei dide beforn. And so thei don contynuelly every day, to the ende of his mete. And in this manere he ledethe his lif. And so dide thei before him, that weren his auncestres; and so schulle thei that comen aftre him, with outen doynge of ony dedes of armes: but lyven evere more thus in ese, as a swyn, that is fedde in sty, for to ben made fatte. He hathe a fulle fair palays and fulle riche, where that he dwellethe inne: of the whiche, the walles ben in circuyt 2 myle: and he hathe with inne many faire gardynes, and many faire halles and chambres, and the pawment of his halles and chambres ben of gold and sylver. And in the myd place of on of his gardynes, is a lytylle mountayne, wher there is a litylle medewe: and in that medewe, is a litylle toothille with toures and pynacles, alle of gold: and in that litylle toothille wole he sytten often tyme, for to taken the ayr and to desporten hym: for that place is made for no thing elles, but only for his desport.

Fro that contree men comen be the lond of the grete Chane also, that I have spoken of before.

And ze schulle undirstonde, that of alle theise contrees, and of alle theise yles, and of alle the dyverse folk, that I have spoken of before, and of dyverse lawes, and of dyverse beleeves that thei han; zit is there non of hem alle, but that thei han sum resoun with in hem and undirstondynge, but zif it be the fewere: and that han certeyn articles of oure feithe and summe gode poyntes of oure beleeve: and that thei beleeven in God, that formede alle thinges and made the world; and clepen him God of Nature, aftre that the prophete seythe, *Et metuent eum omnes fines terre:* and also in another place, *Omnes gentes servient ei;* that is to seyn, *Alle folke schalle serven Him.* But zit thei cone not speken perfytly; (for there is no man to techen hem) but only that thei cone devyse be hire naturelle wytt. For thei han no knouleche of the Sone, ne of the Holy Gost: but thei cone alle speken of the Bible: and namely of Genesis, of the prophetes lawes, and of the Bokes of Moyses. And thei seyn wel, that the creatures, that thei worschipen, ne ben no goddes: but thei worschipen hem, for the vertue that is in hem, that may not be, but only be the grace of God. And of simulacres and of ydoles, thei seyn, that there ben no folk, but that thei han simulacres: and that thei seyn, for we Cristene men han ymages, as of Oure Lady, and of othere seyntes, that wee worschipen; nohte the ymages of tree or of ston, but the seyntes, in whoos name thei ben made aftre. For righte as the bokes of the Scripture of hem techen the clerkes, how and in what manere thei schulle beleeven, righte so the ymages and the peyntynges techen the lewed folk to worschipen the seyntes, and to have hem in hire mynde, in whoos name that the ymages ben made aftre. Thei seyn also, that the aungeles of God speken to hem in tho ydoles, and that thei don manye grete

myracles. And thei seyn sothe, that there is an aungele with in hem: for there ben 2 maner of aungeles, a gode and an evelle; as the Grekes seyn, Cacho and Calo; this Cacho is the wykked aungelle, and Calo is the gode aungelle: but the tother is not the gode aungelle, but the wykked aungelle, that is with inne the ydoles, for to disceyven hem, and for to meyntenen hem in hire errour.

CAPVT. 50.

De compositione huius tractatus in nobili ciuitate Leodiensi.

IN reuertendo igitur venitur ab hac insula per prouincias magnas Imperij Tartarorum, in quibus semper noua, semper mira, imo nonnunquam incredibilia viator potest videre, percipere, et audire.

Et Noueritis, vt praedixi, me pauca eorum vidisse, quæ in terris sunt mirabilium, sed nec hic scripsisse centessimam partem eorum quæ vidi, quod nec omnia memoriæ commendare potui, et de commendatis multa subticui, proptèr modestiam, quam decet omnibus actibus addi.

Idcirco vt et alijs, qui vel antè me in partibus illis steterunt, vel ituri sunt, maneat locus narrandi siue scribendi, modum huius pono tractatus, potius decurtans quàm complens, quoniam aliàs loquendi non esset finis, nec aures implerentur auditu.

Itàque anno à natiuitate Domini nostri Iesu Christi 1355. in patriando, cum ad nobilem Legiæ, seu Leodij ciuitatem peruenissem, et præ grandeuitate ac artericis guttis illic decumberem in vico qui dicitur, Bassessanemi, consului causa conualescendi aliquos medicos ciuitatis: Et accidit, Dei nutu, vnum intrare physicum super alios ætate simul et canicie venerandum, ac in sua arte euidenter expertum, qui ibidem dicebatur communiter, Magister Ioannes ad barbam.

Concludit opus suum.

Is, dum paritèr colloqueremur, interseruit aliquid dictis, per quod tandem nostra inuicem renouabatur antiqua notitia, quam quondam habueramus in Cayr Aegypti apud Melech Mandibron Soldanum, prout suprà tetigi in 7. capitulo libri.

Qui cum in me experientiam artis suæ excellenter monstrasset, adhortabatur ac praecabatur instanter, vt de hijs quæ videram tempore peregrinationis, et itinerationis meæ per mundum, aliquid digererem in scriptis ad legendum, et audiendum pro vtilitate.

Sicque tandem illius monitu et adiutorio, compositus est iste tractatus, de quo certè nil scribere proposueram, donec saltem ad partes proprias in Anglia peruenissem. Et credo praemissa circa me, per prouidentiam et gratiam Dei contigisse, quoniam à tempore quo recessi, duo reges nostri Argliæ, et Franciæ, non cessauerunt inuicem exercere destructiones, depraedationes, insidias, et interfectiones, inter quas, nisi à Domino custoditus, non transissem sine morte, vel mortis periculo, et sine criminum grandi cumulo. Et ecce nunc egressionis meæ anno 33. constitutus in Leodij ciuitate, quæ à mari Angliæ distat solum per duas diætas, audio dictas Dominorum inimicitias, per gartiam Dei consopitas: quapropter et spero, ac propono de reliquo secundum maturiorem ætatem me posse in proprijs, intendere corporis quieti, animaeq; saluti.

Edwardus tertius.

Hic itaque finis sit scripti, in nomine Patris, et Filij, et spiritus sancti, AMEN.

Explicit itinerarium à terra Angliæ, in partes Hierosolimitanas, et in vlteriores transmarinas, editum primò in lingua Gallicana, à Domino Ioanne Mandeuille milite, suo authore, Anno incarnationis Domini 1355. in Ciuitate Leodiensi: Et Paulò post in eadem ciuitate, translatum in dictam formam Latinam.

The English Version.

There ben manye other dyverse contrees and manye other marveyles bezonde, that I have not seen : wherfore of hem I can not speke propurly, to telle zou the manere of hem. And also in the contrees where I have ben, ben many dyversitees of manye wondir fulle thinges, mo thanne I make mencioun of. For it were to longe thing to devyse zou the manere. And therfore that that I have devised zou of certeyn contrees, that I have spoken of before, I beseche zoure worthi and excellent noblesse, that it suffise to zou at this tyme. For zif that I devysed zou alle that is bezonde the see, another man peraunter, that wolde peynen him and travaylle his body for to go in to tho marches, for to encerche tho contrees, myghten ben blamed be my wordes, in rehercynge many straunge thinges. For he myghten not seye no thing of newe, in the whiche the hereres myghten haven outher solace or desport or lust or lykynge in the herynge. For men

seyn alle weys, that newe thynges and newe tydynges ben plesant to here. Wherfore I wole holde me stille, with outen ony more rehercyng of dyversiteez or of marvaylles, that ben bezonde, to that entent and ende, that who so wil gon in to the contrees, he schalle fynde y nowe to speke of, that I have not touched of in no wyse.

And zee schulle undirstonde, zif it lyke zou, that at myn hom comynge, I cam to Rome, and schewed my lif to oure holy fadir the Pope, and was assoylled of alle that lay in my conscience, of many a dyverse grevous poynt: as men mosten nedes, that ben in company, dwellyng amonges so many a dyverse folk of dyverse secte and of beleeve, as I have ben. And amonges alle, I schewed hym this tretys, that I had made aftre informacioun of men, that knewen of thinges, that I had not seen my self; and also of marveyles and customes, that I hadde seen my self; as fer as God wolde zeve me grace: and besoughte his holy fadirhode, that my boke myghten be examyned and corrected be avys of his wyse and discreet conseille. And oure holy fadir, of his special grace, remytted my boke to ben examyned and preved be the avys of his seyd conseille. Be the whiche, my boke was preeved for trewe; in so moche that thei schewed me a boke, that my boke was examynde by, that comprehended fulle moche more, ben an hundred part; be the whiche, the *Mappa Mundi* was made after. And so my boke (alle be it that many men ne list not to zeve credence to no thing, but to that that thei seen with hire eye, ne be the auctour ne the persone never so trewe) is affermed and preved be oure holy fadir, in maner and forme as I have seyd.

And I John Maundevylle knyghte aboveseyd, (alle thoughe I ben unworthi) that departed from oure contrees and passed the see, the zeer of grace 1322, that have passed many londes and manye yles and contrees, and cerched manye fulle straunge places, and have ben in manye a fulle gode honourable comyanye, and at many a faire dede of armes, (alle be it that I dide none my self, for myn unable insuffisance) now I am comen hom (mawgree my self) to reste: for gowtes, artetykes, that me distreynen, tho diffynen the ende of my labour, azenst my wille (God knowethe). And thus takynge solace in my wrecched reste, recordynge the tyme passed, I have fulfilled theise thinges and putte hem wryten in this boke, as it wolde come in to my mynde, the zeer of grace 1356 in the 34 zeer that I departede from oure contrees. Wherfore I preye to alle the rederes and hereres of this boke, zif it plese hem, that thei wolde preyen to God for me: and I schalle preye for hem. And alle tho that seyn for me a *Pater nostre*, with an *Ave Maria*, that God forzeve me my synnes, I make hem parteneres, and graunte hem part of alle the gode pilgrymages and of alle the gode dedes, that I have don, zif ony be to his plesance: and noghte only of tho, but of alle that evere I schalle do unto my lyfes ende. And I beseche Almighty God, fro whom alle godenesse and grace comethe fro, that he vouchesaf, of his excellent mercy and habundant grace, to fulle fylle hire soules with inspiracioun of the Holy Gost, in makynge defence of alle hire gostly enemyes here in erthe, to hire salvacioun, bothe of body and soule; to worschipe and thankynge of Him, that is three and on, with outen begynnynge and withouten endynge; that is, with outen qualitee, good, and with outen quantytee, gret; that in alle places is present, and alle thinges conteynynge; the whiche that no goodnesse may amende, ne non evelle empeyre; that in perfeyte Trynytee lyvethe and regnethe God, be alle worldes and be alle tymes. Amen, Amen, Amen.

Richardi Hakluyti breuis admonitio ad Lectorem.

IOannem Mandeuillum nostratem, eruditum et insignem Authorem (Balaeo, Mercatore, Ortelio, et alijs, testibus) ab innumeris Scribarum et Typographorum mendis repurgando, ex multorum, eorumque optimorum exemplarium collatione, quid praestiterim, virorum doctorum, et eorum praecipuè, qui Geographiæ, et Antiquitatis periti sunt, esto iudicium. Quæ autem habet de monstriferis hominum formis itinerarij sui praecedentis capitibus trigessimo, trigessimo primo, trigessimo tertio, et sparsim in sequentibus, quanquam non negem ab illo fortasse quaedam eorum alicubi visa fuisse, maiori tamen ex parte ex Caio Plinio secundo hausta videntur, vt facile patebit ea cum his Plinianis, hic ideo a me appositis, collaturo, quæ idem Plinius, singulis suis authoribus singula refert, in eorum plærisque fidem suam minimè obstringens. Vale, atque aut meliora dato, aut his vtere mecum.

Ex libro sexto Naturalis historiæ C. Plinij secundi, Cap. 30.

VNiuersa verò gens Ætheria appellata est, deinde Atlantia, mox à Vulcani filio Æthiope Æthiopia. Animalium hominumque

effigies monstriferas circa extremitates eius gigni minimè mirum, artifici ad formanda corpora effigiésque caelandas mobilitate ignea. Ferunt certè ab Orientis parte intimatgentes esse sine naribus, æquali totius oris planitie. Alias superiore labro orbas, alias sine linguis. Pars etiam ore concreto et naribus carens, vno tantùm foramine spirat, potùmque calamis auenæ trahit, et grana eiusdem auenæ, sponte prouenientis ad vescendum. Quibusdam pro sermone nutus motùsque membrorum est. &c.

Ex libro eiusdem Plinij septimo, Cap. 2. cui titulus est, De Scythis, et aliarum diversitate gentium.

ESse Scytharum genera, et quidem plura, quæ corporibus humanis vescerentur, indicauimus. Idipsum incredibile fortasse, ni cogitimus in medio orbe terrarum, ac Sicilia et Italia fuisse gentes huius monstri, Cyclopas et Laestrigonas, et nuperrimè trans Alpes hominem immolari gentium earum more solitum: quod paulum à mandendo abest. Sed et iuxta eos, qui sunt ad Septentrionem versi, haud procul ab ipso Aquilonis exortu, specuque eius dicto, quem locum Gesclitron appellant, produntur Arimaspi, duos diximus, vno oculo in fronte media insignes: quibus assiduè bellum esse circa metalla cum gryphis, ferarum volucri genere, quale vulgò traditur, eruente ex cuniculis aurum, mira cupiditate et feris custodientibus, et Arimaspis rapientibus, multi, sed maximè illustres Herodotus, et Aristeas Proconnesius scribunt. Super alios autem Anthropophagos Scythas, in quadam conualle magna Imai montis, regio est, quæ vocatur Abarimon, in qua syluestres viuunt homines, auersis post crura plantis, eximiæ velocitatis, passim cum feris vagantes. Hos in alio non spirare cœlo, ideoque ad finitimos reges non pertrahi, neque ad Alexandrum magnum pertractos, Beton itinerum eius mensor prodidit. Priores Anthropophagos, quos ad Septentrionem esse diximus decem dierum itinere supra Borysthenem amnem, ossibus humanorum capitum bibere, cutibusque cum capillo pro mantelibus ante pectora vti, Isigonus Nicænsis. Idem in Albania gigni quosdam glauca oculorum acie, à pueritia statim canos, qui noctu plusquàm interdiu cernant. Idem itinere dierum x. supra Borysthenem, Sauromatas tertio die cibum capere semper. Crates Pergamenus in Hellesponto circa Parium, genus hominum fuisse tradit, quos Ophiogenes vocat serpentum ictus contactu leuare solitos, et manu imposita venena extrahere corpori. Varro etiam nunc esse paucos ibi, quorum saliuæ contra ictus serpentum medeantur. Similis et in Africa gens Psyllorum fuit, vt Agatharchides scribit, à Psyllo rege dicta, cuius sepulchrum in parte Syrtium maiorum est. Horum corpori ingenitum fuit virus exitiale serpentibus, vt cuius odore sopirent eas. Mos verò, liberos genitos protinus objiciendi saeuissimis earum, eòque genere pudicitiam coniugum experiendi, non profugientibus adulterino sanguine natos serpentibus. Haec gens ipsa quidem prope internicione sublata est à Nasamonibus, qui nunc eas tenent sedes: genus tamen hominum ex his qui profugerant, aut cùm pugnatum est, abfuerant, hodièque remanent in paucis. Simile et in Italia Marsorum gentis durat, quos à Circes filio ortos seruant, et ideo inesse ijs vim naturalem eam. Et tamen omnibus hominibus contra serpentes inest venenum: ferùntque ictas saliua, vt feruentis aquæ contactum fugere. Quòd si in fauces penetrauerit, etiam mori: ìdq; maximè humani ieiuni oris. Supra Nasamonis confinésque illis Machlyas, Androginos esse vtriusq; naturæ, inter se vicibus coeuntes, Calliphanes tradit. Aristoteles adijcit, dextram mamman ijs virilem, laeuam muliebrem esse. In eadem Africa familias quasdam effascinantium, Isigonus et Nymphodorus tradunt quarum laudatione intereant probata, arescant arbores, emoriantur infantes. Esse eiusdem generis in Triballis et Illyrijs, adijcit Isigonus, qui visu quoque effascinent, interimantque quos diutius intueantur. Iratis praecipuè oculis: quod eorum malum faciliùs sentire puberes. Notabilius esse quòd pupillas binas in oculis singulis habeant. Huius generis et fœminas in Scythia, quæ vocantur Bithyæ, prodit Apollonides. Philarchus et in Ponto Thibiorum genus, multosque alios eiusdem naturæ: quorum notas tradit in altero oculo geminam pupillam, in altero equi effigiem. Eosdem praetereà non posse mergi, ne veste quidem degrauatos. Haud dissimile ijs genus Pharnacum in Æthiopia prodidit Damon, quorum sudor tabem contactis corporibus afferat. Fœminas quidem omnes vbique visu nocere, quæ duplices pupillas habeant, Cicero quoque apud nos autor est. Adeò naturæ, cùm ferarum morem vescendi humanis visceribus in homine genuisset, gignere etiam in toto corpore et in quorundam oculis quoque venena placuit: ne quid vsquam mali esset, quod in homine non esset. Haud procul vrbe Roma in Faliscorum agro familiæ sunt paucæ, quæ vocantur Hirpiæ: quæ sacrificio annuo, quod fit ad montem Soractem Apollini, super ambustam ligni struem ambulantes non aduruntur. Et ob id perpetuo senatusconsulto militiæ omniumq; aliorum numerum vacationem habent. Quorundam corpore partes nascuntur ad aliqua mirabiles sicut Pyrrho regi pollex in dextero pede: cuius tactu lienosis medebatur. Hunc cremari cum reliquo corpore non potuisse tradunt, conditumque loculo in templo. Praecipuè India Æthiopumq; tractus, miraculis scatent. Maxima in India gignuntur animalia, Indicio sunt canes grandioris caeteris. Arbores quidem tantæ proceritatis traduntur, vt sagittis superari nequeant. Haec facit vbertas soli, temperies cœli, aquarum abundantia (si libeat credere) vt sub vna ficu turmæ condantur equitum. Arundines verò tantæ proceritatis, vt singula internodia alueo nauigabili ternos interdum homines ferant. Multos ibi quina cubita constat longitudine excedere: non expuere: non capitis, aut dentium, aut oculorum vllo dolore affici, raró aliarum corporis partium: tam moderato Solis vapore durari. Philosophos eorum quos Gymnosophystas vocant, ab exortu ad Occasum praestare, contuentes Solem immobilibus oculis: feruentibus harenis toto die alternis pedibus insistere. In monte cui nomen est Milo, homines esse auersis plantis, octonos digitos in singulis pedibus habentes, autor est Megasthenes. In multis autem montibus genus hominum capitibus caninis, ferarum pellibus velari, pro voce latratum edere, vnguibus armatum venatu et aucupio vesci. Horum supra centum viginti millia fuisse prodente se, Ctesias scribit: et in quadam gente Indiæ, fœminas semel in vita parere, genitosque confestim canescere. Item hominum genus, qui Monosceli vocarentur, singulis cruribus, miræ pernicitatis ad saltum: eosdemque Sciopodas vocari, quòd in maiori æstu humi iacentes resupini, vmbra se pedum protegant, non longè eos à Troglodytis abesse. Rursusque ab his Occidentem versus quosdam sine ceruice, oculos in humeris habentes. Sunt et Satyri subsolanis Indorum montibus (Cartadalorum dicitur Regio) pernicissimum animal, tum quadrupedes, tum rectè currentes humana effigie propter velocitatem, nisi senes aut ægri, non capiuntur. Choromandarum gentem vocat Tauron siluestrem sine voce, stridoris horrendi, hirtis corporibus, oculis glaucis, dentibus caninis. Eudoxus in meridianis Indiæ viris plantas esse cubitales, fœminis adeò paruas, vt Struthopodes appellentur. Megastenes gentem inter Nomadas Indos narium loco foramina tantùm habentem, anguium modo loripedem, vocari Syrictas. Ad extremos fines Indiæ ab Oriente, circa fontem Gangis, Astomorum gentem sine ore, corpore toto hirtam vestiri frondium lanugine, halitu tantùm viuentem et odore quem naribus trahant: nullum illis cibum, nullumque potum:

tantum radicum florumque varios odores et syluestrium malorum, quæ secum portant longiore itinere, ne desit olfactus, grauiore paulò odore haud difficulter examinari. Supra hos extrema in parte montium Spithamaei Pygmaei narrantur, ternas spithamas longitudine, hoc est, ternos dodrantos non excedentes, salubri caelo, sempérque vernante, montibus ab Aquilone oppositis, quos à gruibus infestari Homerus quoq; prodidit: Fama est, insidentes arietum, caprarumque dorsis, armatos sagittis, veris tempore, vniuerso agmine ad mare descendere, et oua pullosque earum alitum consumere, ternis expeditionem eam mensibus confici, aliter futuris gregibus non resisti. Casas eorum luto, pennisque, et ouorum putaminibus construi. Aristotelis in cauernis viuere Pygmaeos tradit. Caetera de his, vt reliqui. Cyrnos Indorum genus Isigonus annis centenis quadragenis viuere. Item Aethiopas Marcrobios, et Seras existimat, et qui Athon montem incolant: hos quidem quia viperinis carnibus alantur, itaque nec capiti, nec vestibus eorum noxia corpori inesse animalia. Onesicritus, quibus in locis Indiæ vmbræ non sint, corpora hominum cubitorum quinum, et binorum palmorum existere, et viuere annos centum triginta, nec senescere, sed vt medio æuo mori. Crates Pergamenus Indos, qui centenos annos excedant Gymnaetas appellat, non pauci Macrobios. Ctesias gentem ex his, quæ appellatur Pandore, in conuallibus sitam, annos ducenos viuere, in iuuenta candido capillo, qui in senectute nigrescat. Contra alios quadragenos non excedere annos, iunctos Macrobijs, quorum fœminæ semel pariant: idque et Agatharchides tradit, praetereà locustis eos ali, et esse pernices. Mandrorum nomen ijs dedit Clitarchus et Megastenes, trecentosque eorum vicos annumerat. Fœminas septimo ætatis anno parere, senectam quadragesimo anno accedere. Artemidorus, in Taprobana insula longissimam vitam sine vllo corporis languore traduci. Duris, Indorum quosdam cum feris coire, mistosque et semiferos esse partus. In Calingis eiusdem Indiæ gente quinquennes concipere fœminas, octauum vitæ annum non excedere, et alibi cauda villosa homines nasci pernicitatis eximiæ, alios auribus totos contegi. Oritas ab Indis Arbis fluuius disterminat. Ii nullum alium cibum nouere, quàm piscium, quos vnguibus dissectos sole torreant, atque ita panem ex his faciunt, vt refert Clitarchus. Troglodytas super Aethiopiam velociores esse equis, Pergamenus Crates. Item Aethiopas octona cubita longitudine excedere. Syrbotas vocari gentem eam Nomadum Aethiopum, secundùm flumen Astapum ad Septentrionem vregentium.* Gens Menisminorum appellata, abest ab oceana dierum itinere viginti, animalium quæ Cynocephalos vocamus, lacte viuit, quorum armenta pascit maribus interemptis, praeterquam sobolis causa. In Africæ solitudinibus hominum species obuiæ subinde fiunt, momentoque euanescunt. Haec atque talia, ex hominum genere ludibria sibi, nobis miracula, ingeniosa fecit natura: et singula quidem, quæ facit indies, ac propè horas, quis enumerare valeat? Ad detegendam eius potentiam, satis sit inter prodigia posuisse gentes.

* Vel vergentium.

END OF MANDEVILLE'S VOYAGES.

Anthony Beck bishop of Durisme was elected Patriarch of Hierusalem, and confirmed by Clement the fift bishop of Rome : in the 34 yere of Edward the first. Lelandus.

ANtonius Beckus episcopus Dunelmensis fuit, regnante Edwardo eius appellationis ab aduentu Gulielmi magni in Angliam primo. Electus est in patriarcham Hierosolymitanum anno Christo 1305, et a Clemente quinto Rom. pontifice confirmatus. Splendidus erat supra quàm decebat episcopum. Construxit castrum Achelandæ, quatuor passuum millibus a Dunelmo in ripa Vnduglessi fluuioli. Eltesbamum etiam vicinum Grenouico, ac Somaridunum castellum Lindianæ prouinciæ, ædificijs illustria reddidit. Deinde et palatium Londini erexit, quod nunc Edwardi principis est. Tandem ex splendore nimio, et potentia conflauit sibi apud nobilitatem ingentem inuidiam, quam viuens nunquam extinguere potuit. Sed de Antonio, et eius scriptis fusiùs in opere, cuius titulus de pontificibus Britannicis, dicemus. Obijt Antonius anno a nato in salutem nostram Christo, 1310, Edwardo secundo regnante.

The same in English.

ANthony Beck was bishop of Durisme in the time of the reigne of Edward the first of that name after the inuasion of William the great into England. This Anthony was elected patriarch of Ierusalem in the yeere of our Lord God 1305, and was confirmed by Clement the fift, pope of Rome. He was of greater magnificence then for the calling of a bishop. He founded also the castle of Acheland foure miles from Durisme, on the shore of a prety riuer called Vnduglesme.* He much beautified with new buildings Eltham mannor nere vnto Greenwich, and the castle Somaridune in the county of Lindsey.† And lastly, he built new out of the ground the palace of London, which now is in possession of prince Edward. Insomuch, that at length, through his ouer great magnificence and power he procured to himselfe great enuy among the nobility, which he could not asswage during the rest of his life. But of this Anthony and of his writings we will speake more at large in our booke intituled of the Britain bishops. This Anthony finished his life in the yere of our Lord God, 1310, and in the reigne of king Edward the second.

---

* Probably Barnard Castle, on the Tees.

† Lindsey is the popular name for the north part of County Lincoln.

Incipit Itinerarium fratris Odorici fratrum minorum de mirabilibus Orientalium Tartarorum.

LIcet multa et varia de ritibus et conditionibus huius mundi enarrentur a multis, ego tamen frater Odoricus de foro Iulij de portu Vahonis, volens ad partes infidelium transfretare, magna et mira vidi et audiui, quæ possum veracitèr enarrare. Primò transiens Mare Maius me de Pera iuxta Constantinopolim transtuli Trapesundam, quæ antiquitùs Pontus vocabatur: Haec terra benè situata est, sicut scala quaedam Persarum et Medorum, et eorum qui sunt vltra mare. In hac terra vidi mirabile quod mihi placuit, scilicet hominem ducentem secum plusquam 4000 perdicum. Homo autem per terram gradiebatur, perdices vero volabant per aera, quas ipse ad quoddam castrum dictum Zauena duxit, distans à Trapesunda per tres dietas: Hæ perdices illius conditionis erant, cùm homo ille quiescere voluit, omnes se aptabant circa ipsum, more pullorum gallinarum, et per illum modum duxit eas vsque ad Trapesundam, et vsque ad palatium imperatoris, qui de illis sumpsit quot voluit, et residuas vir ille ad locum vnde venerat, adduxit. In hac ciuitate requiescit corpus Athanasij supra portem ciuitatis. Vltra transiui vsque in Armeniam maiorem, ad quandam ciuitatem quæ vocatur Azaron, quæ erat multùm opulenta antiquitùs, sed Tartari eam pro magna parte destruxerunt: In ea erat abundantia panis et carnium, et aliorum omnium victualium praeterquam vini et fructuum. Haec ciuitas est multum frigida, et de illa dicitur quòd altius situatur quàm aliqua alia in hoc mundo: haec optimas habet aquas, nam venæ illarum aquarum oriri videntur et scaturire à flumine magno Euphrate quod per vnam dietam ab ciuitate distat: haec ciuitas via media eundi Taurisium. Vltra progressus sum ad quendam montem dictum Sobissacalo. In illa contrata est mons ille supra quem requiescit arca Noe; in quem libenter ascendissem, si societas mea me praestolare voluisset: A gente tamen illius contratæ dicitur quòd nullus vnquam illum montem ascendere potuit, quia vt dicitur, hoc Deo altissimo non placet. Vltra veni Tauris ciuitatem magnam et regalem, quæ antiquitùs Susis dicta est. Haec ciuitas melior pro mercenarijs reputatur, quàm aliqua quæ sit in mundo, nam nihil comestibile, nec aliquid quod ad mercimonium pertinet, reperitur, quod illic in bona copia non habetur. Haec ciuitas

Armenia maior.

Tauris ciuitas Persiæ.

multum benè situatur: Nam ad eam quasi totus mundus pro mercimonijs confluere potest: De hac dicunt Christiani qui ibi sunt, quòd credunt Imperatorem plus de ea acciperè, quám Regem Franciæ de toto regno suo: Iuxta illam ciuitatem est mons salinus praebens sal ciuitati, et de illo sale vnusquisque tantum accipit, quantum vult, nihil soluendo alicui. In hac ciuitate multi Christiani de omni natione commorantur, quibus Saraceni in omnibus dominantur. Vltra iui per decem dietas ad ciuitatem dictam Soldania, in qua imperator Persarum tempore æstiuo commoratur; In hyeme autem vadit ad ciuitatem aliam sitam supra mare vocatam Bakuc: Praedicta autem ciuitas magna est, et frigida, in se habens bonas aquas, ad quam multa mercimonia portantur. Vltra cum quadam societate Carauanorum iui versus Indiam superiorem, ad quam dum transissem per multas dietas perueni ad ciuitatem trium Magorum quæ vocatur Cassan, quæ regia ciuitas est et nobilis, nisi quod Tartari eam in magnaparte destruxerunt: haec abundat pane vino, et alijsbonis multis. Ab hac ciuitate vsque Ierusalem quo, Magi iuerunt miraculosè, sunt L. dietiæ, et multa mirabilia sunt in hac ciuitate quæ pertranseo. Inde recessi ad quandam ciuitatem vocatam Gest a qua distat mare arenosum per vnam dietam, quod mirè est mirabile et periculosum: In hac ciuitate est abundantia omnium uictualium, et ficuum potissimè, et vuarum siccarum et viridium, plus vt credo quàm in alia parte mundi. Haec est tertia ciuitas melior quam Rex Persarum habet in toto regno suo: De illa dicunt Saraceni, quod in ea nullus Christianus vltra annum viuere vnquam potest. Vltra per multas dietas iui ad quandam ciuitatem dictam Comum quæ maxima ciuitas antiquitùs erat, cuius ambitus erat ferè L. Miliaria, quæ magna damna intulit Romanis antiquis temporibus. In ea sunt palatia integra non habitata, tamen multis victualibus abundat. Vltra per multas terras transiens, perueni ad terram Iob nomine Hus quæ omnium victualium plenissima est, et pulcherrimè situata; iuxta eam sunt montes in quibus sunt pascua multa pro animilibus: Ibi manna in magna copia reperitur. Ibi habentur quatuor perdices pro minori, quam pro vno grosso: In ea sunt pulcherrimi senes, vbi homines nent et filant, et faeminæ non: haec terra correspondet Chaldeæ versus transmontana.

Sultania.

Vel Cassibin.

Gest.

Como.

De moribus Chaldæorum, et de India.

Indè iui in Chaldaeam quæ est regnum magnum, et transiui iuxta turrim Babel: Haec regio suam linguam propriam habet, et ibi sunt homines formosi, et fœminæ turpes: et homines illius regionis vadunt compti crinibus, et ornati, vt hîc mulieres, et portant super capita sua fasciola aurea cum gemmis, et margaritis; mulieres verò solum vnam vilem camisiam attingentem vsque ad genua, habentem manicas longas et largas, quæ vsque ad terram protenduntur: Et vadunt discalceatæ portantes Serablans vsque ad terram. Triceas non portant, sed capilli earum circumquaque disperguntur: et alia multa et mirabilia sunt ibidem. Indé veni in Indiam quæ infra terram est, quam Tartari multum destruxerunt; et in ea vt plurimum homines tantum dactilos comedunt, quarum xlij, libræ habentur pro minori quam pro vno grosso. Vltra transsiui per multas dietas ad mare oceanum, et prima terra, ad quam applicui, vocatur Ormes, quæ est optimé murata, et multa mercimonia et diuitiæ in ea sunt; in ea tantus calor est, quod virilia hominum exeunt corpus et descendunt vsque ad mediam tibiarum: ideò homines illius terræ volentes viuere, faciunt vnctionum, et vngunt illa, et sic vncta in quibusdam sacculis ponunt circa se cingentes, et aliter morerentur: In hac terra homines vtuntur nauigio quæ vocatur Iase, sutum sparto. Ego autem ascendi in vnum illorum in quo nullum ferrum potui reperrire, et in viginta octo dietis perueni ad ciuitaten Thana, in qua pro fide Christi quatuor de fratribus nostris martyrizati sunt. Haec terra est optimè situata, et in ea abundantia panis et vini, et aliorum victualium. Haec terra antiquitùs fuit valde magna, et fuit regis Pori, qui cum rege Alexandro praelium magnum commisit. Huius terræ populus Idolatrat, adorans ignem serpentes, et arbores: Et istam terram regunt Saraceni, qui vio lenter eam acceperunt, et subiacent imperio regis Daldili. Ibi sunt diuersa genera bestiarum, leones nigri in maxima quantitate: sunt et ibi simiæ, gatimaymones, et noctuæ magnæ sicut hic habentur columbæ; ibi mures magni sunt, sicut sunt hîc scepi, et ideò canes capiunt ibi mures, quia murelegi non valent. Ad haec, in illa terra quilibet homo habet ante domum suam vnum pedem fasciculorum, ita magnum sicut esset vna columna, et pes ille non desiccatur, dummodò adhibeatur sibi aqua. Multæ nouitates sunt ibi, quas pulcherrimum esset audire.

Ormus.

Thana.

De martyrio fratrum.

MArtyrium autem quatuor fratrum nostrorum in illa ciuitate Thana fuit per istum modum; dum praedicti fratres fuerant in Ormes, fecerunt pactum cum vna naui vt nauigarent vsque Polumbrum, et violentèr deportati sunt vsque Thanam vbi sunt 15. domus Christianorum, qui Nestoriani sunt et Schismatici, et cum illic essent, hospitati sunt in domo cuiusdam illorum; contigit dum ibi manerent litem oriri inter virum domus, et vxorem eius, quam sero ver fortiter verberauit, quæ suo Kadi, i. Episcopo conquesta est; à qua interrogauit Kadi, vtrum hoc probari posset? quæ dixit, quod sic; quia 4. Franchi, i. viri religiosi erant in domo hoc videntes, ipsos interrogate, qui dicent vobis veritatem: Muliere autem sic dicente, Ecce vnus de Alexandria praesens rogauit Kadi vt mitteret pro eis, dicens eos esse homines maximæ scientiæ et scripturas bene scire, et ideo dixit bonum esse cum illis de fide disputare: Qui misit pro illis, et adducti sunt isti quatuor, quorum nomina sunt frater de Tolentino de Marchia, frater Iacobus de Padua, frater Demetrius Laicus, Petrus de Senis. Dimisso autem fratre Petro, vt res suas custodiret, ad Kadi perrexerunt, qui cœpit cum illis de fide nostra disputare; dicens Christum tantum hominem esse et non Deum. E contra frater Thomas rationibus et exemplis Christum verum Deum et hominem esse euidenter ostendit, et in tantum confudit Kadi, et infideles qui cum eo tenuerunt, quod non habuerunt quid rationabiliter contradicere: Tunc videns Kadi se sic confusum, incepit clamare sic; Et quid dicis de Machometo? Respondit frater Thomas: Si tibi probauimus Christum verum Deum et hominem esse, qui legem posuit inter homines, et Machometus è contrario venit, et legem contrariam docuit, si sapiens sis optime scire poteris, quid de eo dicendum sit. Iterum Kadi et alij Saraceni clamabant, Et tu quid iterum de Machometo dicis? Tunc frater T. respondit: vos omnes videre potestis, quid dico de eo. Tum ex quo vultis quod plane loquar de eo, dico quod Machometus vester filius perditionis est, et in inferno cum Diabolo patre suo. Et non solum ipse, sed omnes ibi erunt qui tenent legem hanc, quia ipsa tota pestifera est, et falsa, et contra Deum, et contra salutem animæ. Hoc audientes Saraceni, cœperunt clamare, moriatur, moriatur ille, qui sic contra Prophetam locutus est. Tunc acceperunt fratres et in sole vrente stare permiserunt, vt ex calore solis adusti, dira morte interirent. Tantus enim est calor solis ibi, quòd si homo in eo per spacium vnius missæ persisteret, moreretur: fratres tamen illi sani et hilares à tertia vsque ad nonam laudantes et glorificantes dominum in ardore solis permanserunt, quod videntes Saraceni stupefacti ad fratres venerunt, et dixerunt, volumus ignem accendere copiosum, et in illum vos proijcere, et si fides vestra sit vt dicitis, ignis non poterit vos comburere: si autem vos combusserit, patebit quòd fides vestra nulla sit. Responderunt fratres; parati sumus pro fide nostra ignem, carcerem, et vincula, et omnium tormentorum genera tolerare: verumtamen scire debetis, quòd si ignis potestatem habeat comburendi nos hoc non erit propter fidem nostram, sed propter peccata nostra: fides enim nostra perfectissima et verissima est, et non est alia in mundo in qua animæ hominum possunt saluæ fieri. Dum autem ordinaretur quòd fratres conburerentur, rumor insonuit per totam ciuitatem, de qua omnes senes, et iuuenes, viri et mulieres, qui ire poterant, accurrerunt ad illud spectaculum intuendum. Fratres autem ducti fuerunt ad plateam ciuitatis, vbi accensus est ignis copiosus, in quen frater Thomas voluit se proijcere, sed quidam Saracenus cepit eam per caputium, et retraxit dicens; Non vadus tu cum sis senex, quia carmen aliquod vel experimentum habere posses super te, quare te ignis non posset laedere, sed alium ire in ignem permittas. Tunc 4 Saraceni sumentes fratrem Iacobum, eum in ignem proijcere volebant; quibus ille, permittatis, me quia libenter pro fide mea ignem intrabo: Cui Saraceni non adquiescentes eum violentèr in ignem proiecerunt: ignis autem ita accensus erat, quòd nullus eum videre poteret, vocem tamen eius audierunt, inuocantem semper nomen virginis gloriosæ; Igne autem totalitèr consumpto stetit frater Iacobus super prunas illaesus, et laetus, manibus in modum crucis eleuatis, in cœlum respiciens, et Deum laudans et glorificans, qui sic declararet fidem suam: nihil autem in eo nec pannus, nec capillus laesus per ignem inuentus est; Quod videns populus vnanimitèr conclamare cœpit, sancti sunt, sancti sunt, nefas est offendere eos, modò videmus quia fides eorum bona et sancta est. Tunc clamare cœpit Kadi: sanctus non est ille, quia combustus non est, quia tunica quam portat est de lana terræ Habraæ, et ideò nudus exspolietur, et in ignem proijciatur, et videbitur si comburetur vel non. Tunc Saraceni pessimi ad praeceptum Kadi ignem in duplo magis quàm priùs accenderunt, et fratrem Iacobum nudantes, corpus suum abluerunt, et oleo abundantissimè vnxerunt, insuper et oleum maximum in struem lignorum ex quibus ignis fieret, fuderunt, et igne accenso fratrem in ipsum proiecerunt. Frater autem Thomas, et frater Demetrius extra populum in loco separato flexis genibus orantes cum lachrymis deuotioni se dederunt. Frater autem Iocobus iterum ignem exiuit illaesus sicut prius fecerat: quod videns omnis populus clamare cœpit, peccatum est, deccatum est, offendere eos, quià sancti sunt. Hoc autem tantum miraculum videns Melich. i. potestas ciuitatis, vocauit ad se fratrem Iacobum, et fecit eum ponere indumenta, sua, et dixit, videte fratres, Ite cum gratia Dei, quia nullum malum patiemini a nobis, modò benè videmus vos sanctos esse, et fidem vestram bonam ac veram esse; et ideo consulimus vobis, vt de ista terra exeatis, quàm citiùs poteritis, quia Kadi pro posse suo vobis nocere curabit, quia sic confudistis eum: Hora autem tunc erat quasi completorij, et dixerunt illi de populo, attoniti, admirati, et stupefacti, tot, et tanta mirabilia vidimus ab istis hominibus, quòd nescimus quid tenere et obseruare debemus. Melich verò fecit duci illos tres fratres vltra vnum paruum brachium maris in quendam Burgum modicum ab illa ciuitate distantem: ad quem etiam ille in cuius iam domo fuerant hospitati associauit eos, vbi in domo cuiusdam idolatri recepti sunt. Dùm haec argerenter, Kadi iuit ad Melich, dicens quid facimus? Lex Machometi destructa est, veruntamen hoc scire debes, quod Machomet praecepit in suo Alcorano, quod si quis vnum Christianum interficeret, tantum mereretur, ac si in Mecha ad ipsum peregrinaretur. Est enim Alkoranus lex Sarracenorum sicut Euangelium, Mecha verò est locus vbi iacet Machomet. Quem locum ita visitant Saraceni, sicut Christiani sepulchram Christi. Tunc Melich respondet, vade, et fac sicut vis: quo dicto statim Kadi accepit quatuor homines armatos vt irent, et illos fratres interficerent, qui cùm aquam transijssent, facta est nox, et illo sero eos non inuenerunt, statim Melieh omnes Christianos in ciuitate capi fecit, et incarcerauit, media autem nocte fratres surrexerunt dicere matutinum, quos illi Saraceni qui missi fuerant, inuenerunt, et extra burgum, sub quadam arbore adduxerunt, dixerunt eis. Sciatis fratres nos mandatum habere a Kadi et Melich interficere vos, quod tamen faciemus inuiti, quia vos estis boni homines et sancti, sed non audemus aliter facere; quia si iussa sua non perficeremus, et nos cum liberis nostris et vxoribus moreremur. Tunc fratres responderunt, vos qui huc venistis, et tale mandatum recepistis, vt per mortem temporalem vitam æternam adipiscamur, quod vobis iniunctum est perficite; quia pro amore domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui pro nobis crucifigi et mori dignatus est, et pro fide nostra, parati sumus omnia tormenta, et etiam mortem libenter sustinere. Christianus autem qui fratres comitabatur, multum cum illis quatuor armatis altercatus est dicens, quod si gladium haberet, vel eos à nece tam sanctorum hominum impediret, vel ipse cum eis interfectus esset. Tunc armati fecerunt fratres se exspoliare, et frater Thomas primus iunctis manibus in modum crucis genu flectens capitis abscissionem suscepit: Fratrem verò Iacobum vnus percussit in capite, et eum vsque ad oculos scidit, et alio ictu totum caput abscidit. Frater autem Demetrius primò percussus est cum gladio in pectore, et secundò caput suum abscissum est: Statim vt fratres suum martyrium compleuerunt, aer ita lucidus effectus est, quod omnes admirati sunt, et luna maximam claritatem ostendit. Statim quasi subito tanta tonitrua, et fulgura, et coruscationes, et obscuritas fiebant, quòd omnes mori crediderunt: Nauis etiam illa quæ illos debuerat deportasse submersa est cum omnibus quæ in se habuit, ita quod nunquam de illa posteà aliquid scitum est. Facto mane misit Kadi pro rebus fratrum prædictorum nostrorum, et tunc inuentus est frater Petrus de Senis quartus socius fratrum prædictorum, quem ad Kadi duxerunt: Cui Kadi, et alij Saraceni maxima promittentes persuaserunt quòd fidem suam renueret, et legem Machometi confiteretur, et teneret. Frater autem Petrus de illis truffabat, eos multum deridendo, quem de mane vsque ad meridiem diuersis pænarum ac tormentorum generibus affixerunt ipso semper constantissimè in fide, et in Dei laudibus persistente, et fidem illorum Machometi deridente et destruente. Videntes autem Saraceni eum non posse a suo proposito euelli, eum super quandam arborem suspenderunt, in qua de nona vsq; ad noctem viuus et illaesus pependit: nocte verò ipsum de arbore sumpserunt, et videntes illum laetum, viuum, et illaesum per medium suum corpus diuiserunt, mane autem facto nihil de corpore eius inuentum est, vni tamen persoæ fide dignæ reuelatum est, quod Deus corpus eius occultauerat reuelandum in certo tempore, quandò Deo placuerit Sanctorum corpora manifestare. Vt autem Deus ostenderet animas suorum martyrum iam in cœlis consistere, et congaudere cum Deo et Angelis et alijs Sanctis eius, die sequenti post martyrium fratrum praedictorum Melich dormitioni se dedit, et ecce apparuerunt sibi isti fratres gloriosi, et sicut Sol, lucidi, singulos enses tenentes in manibus, et supra eum eos sic vibrantes, quod vt si eum perfodere ac diuidere vellent: qui excitatus horribilitèr exclamauit. sic, quòd totam familiam terruit: quæ sibi accurrens quaesiuit, quid sibi esset? quibus ille, Illi Raban Franchi quos interfici iussi, venerunt hac ad me cum ensibus, volentes me interficere. Et statim Melich misit pro Kadi, referens sibi visionem et petens consilium, et consolationem, quia timuit per eos finaliter interire. Tunc Kadi sibi consuluit, vt illis maximas eleemosynas faceret, si de manibus interfectorum euadere vellet. Tunc misit pro Christianis quos in carcere intrudi praeceperat: A quibus cum ad eum venissent indulgentiam petijt pro facto suo, dicens se esse amodo socium eorum, et confratrem: Praecepit autem et legem statuit, quòd pro tempore suo, si quis aliquem Christianum offenderet, statim moreretur, et sic omnes illaesos, et indemnes abire permisit. Pro illis autem quatuor fratribus interfectis quatuor mosquetas. (i.) Ecclesias ædificari fecit, quas per Sacerdotes Saracenorum inhabitari fecit. Audiens autem imperator Dodsi istos tres fratres talem sententiam subijsse, misit pro Melich, vt vinctus ad eum duceretur, A quo cùm adductus esset, quaesiuit imperator, quare ita crudeliter illos fratres iusserat interfici, respondit, quia subuertere volebant legem nostram, et malum et blasphemiam de propheta nostro dicebant: et imperator ad eum; O crudelissime canis, cùm videres quod Deus omnipotens bis ab igne eos liberauerit, quo modo ausus fuisti illis mortem inferre tam crudelem. Et edicta sententia, ipsum Melich cum tota sua familia per medium scindi fecit, sicut ipse talem mortem fratri inflixerat. Kadi verò audiens, de terra illa, et etiam de imperatoris illius dominio clàm fugit, et sic euasit.

De miraculis quatuor fratrum occisorum

ESt autem consuetudo in terra illa, quòd corpora mortua non traduntur sepulturæ, sed in campis dimittuntur, et ex calore Solis citò resoluuntur, et sic consumuntur: Corpora autem trium fratrum praedictorum per 14. dies illic in fuerore Solis iacuerunt, et ita recentia et redolentia inuenta fuerunt sicut illa die quandò martirizati erant: quod videntes Christiani qui in illa terra habitabant, praedicta corpora ceperunt, et honorificè sepelierunt. Ego autem Odoricus audiens factum et martyrium illorum fratrum, iui illuc, et corpora eorum effodi, et ossa omnia mecum accepi, et in pulchris towallijs colligaui, et in Indiam superiorem ad vnum locum fratrum nostrorum ea deportaui, habens mecum socium, et vnum famulum. Cum autem essemus in via, hospitabamus in domo cuiusdam hospitarij, et ipsa ossa capiti meo supposui, et dormiui: Et dùm dormirem domus illa à Saracenis subitò accendebatur, vt me cum domo comburerent. Domo autem sic accensa, socius meus et famulus de domo exierunt, et me solum cum ossibus dimiserunt, qui videns ignem supra me, ossa accepi et cum illis in angulos domus recollegi. Tres autem anguli domus statim combusti fuerunt, angulo in quo steti cum ossibus saluo remanente: Supra me autem ignis se tenuit in modum aeris lucidi, nec descendit quamdiu ibi persistebam; quàm citò autem cum ossibus exiui, statim tota pars illa sicut aliæ priores igne consumpta est, et multa alia loca circumadiacentia combusta sunt. Aliud miraculum contigit, me cum ossibus per mare proficiente ad ciuitatem Polumbrum vbi piper nascitur abundantèr, quia nobis ventus totaliter defecit: quapropter venerunt Idolatræ adorantes Deos suos pro vento prospero, quem tamen non obtinuerunt: Tunc Saraceni suas inuocationes, et adorationes laboriose fecerunt, sed nihil profecerunt: Et praeceptum est mihi et socio meo vt orationes funderemus Deo nostro: Et dixit rector nauis in Armenico mihi, quod alij non intelligerent: quòd nisi possemus ventum prosperum à Deo nostro impetrare, nos cum ossibus in mare proijcerent: Tunc ego et socius fecimus orationes, vouentes multas missas de beata virgine celebrare, sic quòd ventum placeret sibi nobis impetrare. Cum autem tempus transiret, et ventus non veniret, accepi vnum de ossibus, et dedi famulo, vt ad caput nauis iret, et clàm in mare proijceret; quo proiecto statim affuit ventus prosper qui nunquam nobis defecit, vsquequò peruenimus ad portum, meritis istorum martyrum cum salute. Deinde ascendimus aliam nauem vt in Indiam superiorem iremus; Et venimus ad quandam ciuitaaem vocatam Carchan in qua sunt duo loca fratrum nostrorum, et ibi reponere istas reliquias volebamus. In naui autem illa erant plus 700. mercatores et alij: Nunc illi Idolatræ istam consuetudinem habebant, quòd semper antequàm ad portum applicuerint, totam nauem perquirerent, si isti aliqua ossa mortuorum animalium inuenirent, qui reperta statim in mare proijcerent, et per hoc bonum portum attingere, et mortis periculum euadere crederent. Cùm autem frequentèr perquirerent, et illa ossa frequenter tangerent, semper oculi delusi fuerunt, sic quòd illa non perpenderunt; et sic ad locum fratrum deportauimus cum omni reuerentia, vbi in pace requiescunt; vbi etiam inter idolatras Deus continuè miracula operatur. Cum enim aliquo morbo grauantur, in terra illa vbi fratres passi sunt ipsi vadunt; et de terra vbi corpora sanguinolenta iacuerunt sumunt quam abluunt, et ablutionem bibunt, et sic ab infirmitatibus suis liberantur.

Quo modo habetur Piper, et vbi nascitur.

Malabar.

VT autem videatur quo modo habetur piper, sciendum quòd in quodam imperio ad quod applicui, nomine Minibar, nascitur, et in nulla parte mundi tantum, quantum ibi; Nemus enim in quo nascitur, continet octodecim dietas, et in ipso nemore sunt duæ ciuitates vna nomine Flandrini, alia nomine Cyncilim: In Flandrina habitant Iudaei aliqui et aliqui Christiani, inter quos est bellum frequenter, sed Christiani vincunt Iudaeos semper: In isto nemore habetur piper per istum modum. Nam primò nascitur in folijs olerum, quæ iuxta magnas arbores plantantur, sicut nos ponimus vites; et producunt fructum, sicut racemi nostri producunt vuas; sed quandó maturescunt sunt viridis coloris, et sic vindemiantur vt inter nos vindemiantur vuæ, et ponuntur grana ad solem vt desiccentur: quæ desiccata reponuntur in vasis terreis, et sic fit piper, et custoditur. In isto autem nemore sunt flumina multa in quibus sunt Crocodili multi, et multi alij serpentes sunt in illo nemore, quos homines per stupam et paleas comburunt, et sic ad colligendum piper securé accedunt. A capite illius nemoris versus meridiem est ciuitas Polumbrum in qua maxima mercimonia cuiuscunque generis reperiuntur. Omnes autem de terra illa bouem viuum sicut Deum suum adorant, quem 6. annis faciunt laborare, et in septimo faciunt ipsum quiescere ab omni opere; ponentes ipsum in loco solemni, et communi, et dicentes ipsum esse animal sanctum. Hunc autem ritum obseruant: quolibet mane accipiunt duas pelues de auro, vel de argento, et vnam submittunt vrinæ bouis, et aliam stercori, de vrina lauant sibi faciem et oculos, et omnes 5. sensus: de stercore verò ponunt in vtròque oculo, posteà liniunt summitates genarum, et tertiò pectus, et ex tunc dicunt se sanctificatos pro toto die illo: et sicut facit populus, ita etiam facit rex et regina. Isti etiam aliud idolum mortuum adorant, quod in medietate vna superior est homo, et in alia est bos, et iliud idolum dat eis responsa, et aliquotièns pro stipendio petit sanguinem, 40. virginum: et ideo homines illius regionis ita vouent filias suas et filios, sicut Christiani aliqui alicui religioni, vel sancto in cœlis. Et per istum modum immolant filios et

Polumbrum ciuitas.

Adoratio bouis.

filias, et multi homines per istum ritum moriuntur ante idolum illud, et multa alia abominabilia facit populus iste bestialis, et multa mirabilia vidi inter eos quæ nolui hic inserere. Aliam consuetudinem vilissimam habet gens illa: Nam quamdo homo moritur, comburunt ipsum mortuum, et si vxorem habet, ipsam comburunt viuam, quia dicunt qnod ipsa ibit in aratura, et cultura cum viro suo in alio mundo: si autem vxor illa habeat liberos ex viro suo, potest manere cum eis si velit sine verecundia et improperio, communiter tamen omnes praeeligunt comburi cum marito; si autem vxor praemoriatur viro, lex illa non obligat virum, sed potest aliam vxorem ducere. Aliam consuetudinem habet gens illa, quòd fœminæ ibi bibunt vinum, et homines non: fœminæ etiam faciunt sibi radi cilia, et supercilia, et barbam, et homines non: et sic de multis alijs vilibus contra naturam sexus eorum. Ab isto regno iui decem dietas ad iliud regnum dictum Mobar, quod habet in se multas ciuitates, et in illo requiescit in vna ecclesia corpus beati Thomæ Apostoli, et est ecclesia illa plena idolis, et in circuitu ecclesiæ simul Cononici viuunt in 15 domibus Nestoriani, id est, mali Christiani, et schismatici.

Combustio mortuorum.

Mobar regnum vel Maliapor.

De quodam idolo mirabili, et de quibusdam ritibus eorum.

In hoc regno est vnum Idolum mirabile, quod omnes Indi reuerentur: et est statura hominis ita magni, sicut noster Christophorus depictus, et est totum de auro purissimo et splendidissimo, et circa collum habet vnam chordulam sericam cum lapidibus pretiosissimis, quorum aliquis valet plus quàm vnum regnum: Domus idoli est tota de auro, scilicet in tecto, et pauimento, et superficie parietum interius et exterius. Ad illud idolum peregrinantur Indi, sicut nos ad S. Petrum: Alij veniunt cum chorda ad collum, alij cum manibus retro ligatis, alij cum cultello in brachio vel tibia defixo, et si post peregrinationem fiat brachium marcidum, illum reputant sanctum, et benè cum Deo suo. Iuxta ecclesiam illius idoli est lacus vnus manufactus, et manifestus, in quem peregrini proijciunt aurum et argentum, et lapides pretiosos in honorem Idoli, et ad ædificationem ecclesiæ suæ, et ideo quando aliquid debet ornari, vel reparari, vadunt homines ad hunc lacum, et proiecta extrahunt: die autem annua constructionis illius idoli, rex et regina cum toto populo et omnibus peregrinis accedunt, et ponunt illud idolum in vno curru pretiosissimo ipsum de ecclesia educentes cum Canticis, et omni genere musicorum, et multæ virgines antecedunt ipsum binæ et binæ, processionaliter combinatæ modulantes: Peregrini etiam multi ponunt se sub curru, vt transeat Deus supra eos; et omnes super quos currus transit, comminuit, et per medium scindit, et interficit, et per hoc reputant se mori pro deo suo, sanctè et securè: et in omni anno hoc modo moriuntur in via sub idolo plusquam 500 homines, quorum corpora comburuntur, et cineres sicut reliquiæ custodiuntur, quia sic pro Deo suo moriuntur. Alium ritum habent, quando aliquis homo offert se mori pro deo suo, conueniunt omnes amici eius et parentes cum histrionibus multis, facientes sibi festum magnum, et post festum appendunt collo eius 5 cultellos acutissimos ducentes eum ante idolum, quo cum peruenerit, sumit vnum ex cultellis, et clamat alta voce, pro deo meo incido mihi de carne mea, et frustum incisum proijcit in faciem idoli: vltima vero incisione per quam seipsum interficit, dicit, me mori pro deo meo permitto, quo mortuo corpus eius comburitur, et sanctum fore ab omnibus creditur. Rex illius regionis est ditissimus in auro et argento, et gemmis pretiosis; ibi etiam sunt margaritæ pulchriores de mundo. Indè transiens iui per mare oceanum versus meridiem per 50 dietas ad unam terram vocatam Lammori, in qua ex immensitate caloris, tam viri quam fœminæ omnes incedunt nudi in toto corpore: Qui videntes me vestitum, deridebant me, dicentes Deum, Adam et Euam fecisse nudos. In illa regione omnes mulieres sunt communes, ita quod nullus potest dicere, haec est vxor mea, et cùm mulier aliqua parit filium vel filiam dat cui vult de hijs qui concubuerunt: Tota etiam terra illius regionis habetur in communi, ita quod non meum et tuum in diuisione terrarum, domos tamen habent speciales: Carnes humanæ quando homo est pinguis ita benè comeduntur, sicut inter nos bouinæ: et licet gens sit pestifera, tamen terra optima est, et abundat in omnibus bonis, carnibus, bladis, riso, auro, argento, et lignis Aloe, canfari, et multis alijs. Mercatores autem cum accedunt ad hanc regionem ducunt secum homines pingues vendentes illos genti illius regionis, sicut nos vendimus porcos, qui statim occidunt eos et comedunt. In hac insula versus meridiem est aliud regnum vocatum Symolcra, in quo tam viri quam mulieres signant se ferro calido in facie, in 12. partibus, Et hij semper bellant cum hominibus nudis in alia regione. Vltra transiui ad aliam

Crudelissima Satanæ tyrannis, et carnificina.

Simoltra vel Samotra.

insulam quæ vocatur Iaua cuius ambitus per mare est trium millium milliarium, et rex illius insulæ habet sub se 7. reges coronatos, et haec insula optimè inhabitatur, et melior secunda de mundo reputatur. In ea nascuntur in copia garyophylli, cubibez, et nuces muscatæ : et breuiter omnes species ibi sunt, et maxima abundantia omnium victualium praeterquam vini. Rex illius terræ habet palatium nobilissimum inter omnia quæ vidi altissime stat, et gradus et scalas habet altissimos, quorum semper vnus gradus est aureus, alius argenteus: Pauimentnm vero vnum laterem habet de auro, alium de argento. Parietes vero omnes interius sunt laminati laminis aureis, in quibus sculpti sunt Equites de auro habentes circa caput circulum aureum plenum lapidibus pretiosis: Tectum est de auro puro. Cum isto rege ille magnus Canis de Katay frequenter fuit in bello : Quem tamen semper ille Rex vicit et superauit.

De arboribus dantibus farinam, et mel, et venenum.

Vel Malasmi.

IVxta istam Insulam est alia contrata vocata Panten, vel alio nomine Tathalamasim, et Rex illius contratæ multas insulas habet sub se. In illa terra sunt arbores dantes farinam, et mel, et vinum, et etiam venenum periculosius quod sit in mundo, quia contra illud non est remedium, nisi vnum solum, et est illud. Si aliquis illud venenum sumpsisset, si velit liberari, sumat stercus hominis et cum aqua temperet, et in bona quantitate bibat, et statim fugat venenum faciens exire per inferiores partes. Farinam autem faciunt arbores hoc modo, sunt magnæ et bassæ, et quandò inciduntur cum securi propè terram, exit de stipite liquor quidam secut gummæ, quem accipiunt homines et ponunt in sacculis de folijs factis, et per quindecim dies in sole dimittunt, et in fine decimi quinti diei ex isto liquore desiccato fit farina, quam primò ponunt in aqua maris, posteà lauant eam cum aqua dulci, et fit pasta valdè bona et odorifera, de qua faciunt cibos vel panes sicut placet eis. De quibus panibus ego comedi, et est panis exterius pulcher, sed interius aliquantulum niger. In hac contrata est mare mortuum quod semper currit versus meridiem, in quod si homo ceciderit, nunquam posteà comparet. In contrata illa inueniuntur Cannæ longissimæ plures passus habentes quàm 60 et sunt magnæ vt arbores. Aliæ etiam Cannæ sunt ibi quæ vocantur Cassan quæ per terram diriguntur vt gramen, et in quolibet nodo

Mare quod semper currit versus meridiem.

earum ramuli producuntur qui etiam prolongantur super terram per vnum miliare ferè: in hijs Cannis reperiuntur lapides, quorum si quis vnum super se portauerit, non poterit incidi aliquo ferro, et ideò communiter homines illius contratæ portant illos lapides super: Multi etiam faciunt pueros suos dum sunt parui incidi in vno brachio, et in vulnere ponunt vnum de illis lapidibus, et faciunt vulnus recludere se per vnum puluerem de quodam pisce, cuius nomen ignoro, qui puluis statim vulnus consolidat et sanat: et virtute illorum lapidum communitèr isti homines triumphant in bellis, et in mari, nec possent isti homines laedi per aliqua arma ferra: Vnum tamen remedium est, quod aduersarij illius gentis scientes virtutem lapidum, prouident sibi propugnacula ferrea contra spicula illorum, et arma venenata de veneno arborum, et in manu portant palos ligneos accutissimos et ita duros in extremitate sicut esset ferrum: Similitér sagittant cum sagittis sino ferro, et sic confundunt aliquos et perforant inermes ex lapidum securitate.

Vela ex arundinibus facta.

De istis etiam Cannis Cassan faciunt sibi vela pro suis nauibus et domunculas paruas, et multa sibi necessaria. Inde recessi per multas dietas ad aliud regnum vocatum Campa, pulcherrimum, et opulentissimum in omnibus victualibus. Cuius rex quamdo fui ibi tot habuit vxores, et alias mulieres, quod de illis 300. filios et filias habuit. Iste rex habet decies millesies et quatuor elephantum domesticorum, quos ita facit custodiri sicut inter nos custodiunt boues, vel greges in pascuis.

Campa.

De multitudine Piscium, qui se proijciunt in aridam.

IN hac contrata vnum mirabile valde reperitur, quod vnaquaeq; generatio piscium in mari ad istam contratam venit in tanta quantitate, quod per magnum spatium maris nil videtur nisi dorsa piscium, et super aridam se proijciunt quando prope ripam sunt, et permittunt homines per tres dies venire, et de illis sumere quantum placuerint, et tunc redeunt ad mare: Post illam speciem per illum modum venit alia species, et offert se, et sic de omnibus speciebus, semel tamen tantum hoc faciunt in anno. Et quaesiui à gente illa quomodo et qualiter hoc possit fieri? responderunt quod hoc modo pisces per naturam docentur venire, et imperatorem suum reuereri. Ibi etiam sunt testudines ita magnæ sicut est vnus furnus, et multa alia vidi quæ incredibilia forent, nisi homo illa vidisset. In illa etiam con-

Testudines magnæ.

trata homo mortuus conburitur, et vxor viua cum eo, sicut superius de alia contrata dictum est, quia dicunt homines illi quod illa vadit ad alium mundum ad morandum cum eo, ne ibi aliam vxorem accipiat. Vltra transiui per mare Oceanum versus meridiem, et transiui per multas contratas et insulas, quarum vna vocatur Moumoran, et habet in circuitu 2000. milliaria, in qua homines portant facies caninas et mulieres similitèr, et vnum bouem adorant pro Deo suo, et ideo quilibet vnum bouem aureum vel argenteum in fronte portat: Homines illius contratæ et mulieres vadunt totaliter nudi, nisi quod vnum pannum lineum portant ante verenda sua. Homines illius regionis sunt maximi et fortissimi, et quia vadunt nudi, quando debent bellare, portant vnum scutum de ferro, quod cooperit eos à capite vsq; ad pedes, et si contingat eos aliquem de aduersarijs capere in bello qui pecunia non possit redimi, statim comedunt eum; si autem possit se redimere pecunia, illum abire permittunt: Rex eorum portat 300. margaritas ad collum suum maximas et pulcherrimas, et 300. orationes omni die dicit Deo suo: Hic etiam portat in digito suo vnum lapidem longitudinis vnius spansæ, et dum habet illum videtur ab alijs quasi vna flamma ignis, et ideò nullus audet sibi appropinquare, et dicitur quòd non est lapis in mundo pretiosior illo. Magnus autem imperator Tartarorum de Katai, nunquam vi, nec pecunia, nec ingenio illum obtinere potuit, cùm tamen circa hoc laborauerit.

Moumoran.

De Insula Ceilan, et de monte vbi Adam planxit Abel filium suum.

TRansiui per aliam insulam vocatam Ceilan, quæ habet in ambitu plusquam duo millia milliaria, in qua sunt serpentes quasi infiniti, et maxima multitudo leonum, vrsarum, et omnium animalium rapacium, et siluestrium, et potissimè elephantum. In illa contrata est mons maximus, in quo dicunt gentes illius regionis quod Adam planxit Abel filium suum 500. annis. In medio illius montis est planicies pulcherrima, in qua est lacus paruus multum habens de aqua, et homines illi dicunt aquam illam fuisse de lachrymis Adæ et Euæ, sed probaui hoc falsum esse, quia vidi aquam in lacu scaturire: haec aqua plena est hirudinibus et sanguisugis, et lapidibus pretiosis; istos lapides rex non accepit sibi, sed semel vel bis in anno permittit pauperes sub aqua ire pro lapidibus, et omnes quot possunt colli-

Ceilan insula.

gere illis concedit, vt orent pro anima sua. Vt autem possint sub aqua ire accipiunt lymones, et cum illis vngunt se valdè benè, et sic nudos se in aquam submergunt, et sanguisugæ illis nocere non possunt. Ab isto lacu aqua exit et currit vsq; ad mare, et in transitu quando retrahit se, fodiuntur Rubiæ, et adamantes, et margaritæ, et aliæ gemmæ pretiosæ: vndè opinio est quod rex ille magis abundat lapidibus pretiosis, quàm aliquis in mundo. In contrata illa sunt quasi omnia genera animalium et auium; et dixerunt mihi gentes illæ, quod animalia illa nullum forensem inuadunt, nec offendunt, sed tantum homines illius regionis. Vidi in illa insula aues ita magnas sicut sunt hic anseres, habentes duo capita, et alia mirabilia quæ non scribo.

Bodin Insula.

Vltra versus meridiem transiui, et applicui, ad insulam quandam quæ vocatur Bodin, quod idem est quod immundum in lingua nostra. In ea morantur pessimi homines, qui comedunt carnes crudas, et omnem immunditiam faciunt quæ quasi excogitari non poterit; nam pater comedit filium et filius patrem, et maritus vxorem, et è contrario, et hoc per hunc modum: si pater alicuius infirmetur, filius vadet ad Astrologum sacerdotem, scz. rogans eum quod consulat Deum suum, si pater de tali infirmitate euadet, vel non. Tunc ambo vadunt ad idolum aureum, vel argenteum, facientes orationes in hac forma. Domine, tu es Deus noster, te adoramus, et rogamus vt nobis respondeas, debetnè talis à tali infirmitate mori vel liberari? Tunc Daemon respondet, et si dicat, viuet, filius vadit et ministrat illi vsq; ad plenam conualescentiam: Si autem dicat, morietur, Sacerdos ibit ad eum, et vnum pannum super os eius ponet, et suffocabit eum, et ipsum mortuum incidet in frusta, et inuitabuntur omnes amici, et parentes eius ad comedendum eum cum canticis, et omni laetitia, ossa tamen eius honorificè sepelient. Cùm autem ego eos de tali ritu reprehendi, quaerens causam: Respondit vnus mihi, hoc facimus ne vermes carnes eius comedant, tunc eius anima magnam pœnam sustinerit, nec poteram euellere eos ab isto errore: et multæ aliæ nouitates sunt ibi, quas non crederent, nisi qui viderent. Ego autem coram Deo nihil hic refero, nisi illud de quo certus sum sicut homo certificari poterit. De ista insula inquisiui à multis expertis, qui omnes vno ore responderunt mihi, dicentes, quod ista India 4400. insulas continet sub se, siue in se, in qua etiam sunt 64. reges coronati, et etiam dicunt quod maior pars illius insulæ benè inhabitatur. Et hic istius Indiæ facio finem.

De india superiori, et de Prouincia Manci.

INprimis refero, qoòd cum transirem per mare Oceanum per multas dietas versus Orientem, perueni ad illam magnam prouinciam Manci, quæ India vocatur à Latinis. De ista India superiori inquisiui à Christianis, Saracenis, idolatris, et omnibus, qui officiales sunt domini Canis magni, qui omnes vno ore responderunt, quod haæ prouincia Manci habet plusquam 2000. magnarum ciuitatum, et in ipsa est maxima copia omnium victualium, puta, panis, vini, risi, carnium, piscium, &c. Omnes homines istius prouinciæ sunt artifices et mercatores, qui pro quacunq; penuria, dummodo proprijs manibus iuuare se possent per labores, nunquam ab aliquo eleemosynam peterent. Viri istius prouinciæ sunt satis formosi, sed pallidi, et rasas et paruas barbas habentes; fœminæ vero sunt pulcherrimæ inter omnes de mundo. Prima ciuitas ad quam veni de ista India vocatur Ceuskalon, et distat à mari per vnam dietam, positaq; est super flumen, cuius aqua propè mare cui contignatur, ascendit super terram per 12. dietas. Totus populus illius Indiæ idolatrat. Ista autem ciuitas tantum nauigium habet, quod incredibile foret nisi videnti. In hac ciuitate vidi quod 300. libræ de bono et recenti zinzibero habentur pro minori quam pro vno grosso: Ibi sunt anseres grossiores et pulchriores, et maius forum de illis, quam sit in mundo, vt credo, et sunt albissimi sicut lac, et habent vnum os super caput quantitatis oui, et habet colorem sanguineum, sub gula habent vnam pellem pendentem semipedalem: Pinguissimi sunt, et optimi fori: et ita est de anatibus, et gallinis, quæ magnæ sunt valdè in illa terra plusquam duæ de nostris. Ibi sunt serpentes maximi, et capiuntur et a gente illa comeduntur: vnde qui faceret festum solemne, et non daret serpentes, nihil reputaret se facere; breuiter in hac ciuitate sunt omnia victualia in maxima abundantia. Indè transiui per ciuitates multas, et veni ad ciuitatem nomine Kaitan, in qua fratres Minores habent duo loca, ad quæ portaui de ossibus fratrum nostrorum pro fidi Christi interfectorum, de quibus supra. In hac est copia omnium victualium pro leuissimo foro, haec ciuitas ita magna est, sicut bis Bononia, et in ea multa monasteria religiosorum, qui omnes idolis seruiunt. In vno autem istorum monasteriorum ego fui, et dictum est mihi quòd inerant 3000. religiosorum habentium 11000. idolorum, et

Vel Ceuscala.

Hi sunt alcatrarsi vel onocratoli.

Vel Zaiton.

vnum illorum, quod quasi paruum inter caetera mihi videbatur, est ita magnum sicut Christophorus noster. Isti religiosi omni die pascunt Deos suos, vnde semel iui ad videntum comestionem illam, et vidi quòd illa quæ detulerunt sibi comestibilia sunt, et calidissima, et multum fumigantia, ita quòd fumus ascendit ad idola, et dixerunt Deos illo fumo recreari. Totum autem cibum illi reportauerunt et comederunt, et sic de fumo tantum Deos suos pauerunt.

De Ciuitate Fuko.

Vel Foquien.

VLtra versus Orientem veni ad ciuitatem quæ vocatur Fuko, cuius circuitus continet 30. milliaria, in qua sunt Galli maximi et pulcherrimi, et gallinæ omnes ita albæ sicut nix, lanam solum pro pennis habentes sicut pecudes. Haec ciuitas pulcherrima est, et sita supra mare. Vltra iui per 18. dietas, et pertransij multas terras et ciuitates, et in transitu veni ad quendam montem magnum, et vidi quod in vno latere montis omnia animalia erant nigra vt carbo, et homines et mulieres diuersum modum viuendi habent: ab alio autem latere omnia animalia erant alba sicut nix, et homines totaliter diuersè ab alijs vixerunt. Ibi omnes foeminæ quæ sunt desponsatæ portant in signum quod habent maritos vnum magnum barile de cornu in capite. Inde transiui per 18. dietas alias, et veni ad quoddam magnum flumen, et intraui ciuitatem vnam, quæ transuersum illius fluminis habet pontem maximum, et hospitabar in domo vnius hospitarij, qui volens mihi complacere, dixit mihi: si velis videre piscari, veni mecum; et duxit me super pontem, et vidi in brachijs suis mergos ligatos super perticas, ad quorum gulam vbi ille ligauit vnum filum, ne illi capientes pisces, comederent eos: Postea in brachio vno posuit 3. cistas magnas, et tunc dissoluit mergos de perticis, qui statim in aquam intraueunt, et pisces ceperunt, et cistas illas repleuerunt in parua hora, quibus repletis vir ille dissoluit fila à collis eorum, et ipsi reintrantes flumen se de piscibus recreauerunt, et recreati ad perticas redierunt, et se ligari sicut priùs permiserunt: Ego autem de illis piscibus comedi, et optimi mihi videbantur. Inde transiens per multas dietas veni ad vnam ciuitatem quæ vocatur Kanasia, quæ sonat in lingua nostro ciuitas coeli: Nunquam ita magnam ciuitatem vidi, Circuitus enim eius continet 100. millaria, nec in ea vidi spatium quin benè inhabitaretur;

Magnum flumen.

Aliâs Cansai, vel Quinzai.

Imo vidi multas domus habentes 10. vel 12. solaria vnum supra aliud: haec habet suburbia maxima continentia maiorem populum quàm ipsa ciuitas contineat. 12. portas habet principales, et in via de qualibet illarum portarum ad 8. milliaria sunt ciuitates fortè maiores vt æstimo, quàm est ciuitas Venetiarum, et Padua. Haec ciuitas sita est in aquis quæ semper stant, et nec fluunt, nec refluunt, vallum tamen habet propter ventum sicut ciuitas Venetiarum. In ea sunt plus decem mille et 2. pontium, quorum multos numeraui et transiui, et in qualibet ponte stant custodes ciuitatis continuè custodientes ciuitatem pro magno Cane imperatore Catai. Vnum mandatum dicunt gentes illius ciuitatis a domino se recepisse. Nam quilibet ignis soluit vnum balis, i. 5. cartas bombicis, qui unum florenum cum dimidio valent, et 10. vel 12. supellectiles facient vnum ignem, et sic pro vno igne soluent. Isti ignes sunt benè 85. Thuman, eum alijs 4. Saracenorum quæ faciunt 89. Thuma vero vnum decem milia ignium facit, reliqui autem de populo ciuitatis sunt alij Christiani, alij mercatores, et alij transeuntes per terram, vndè maximè fui miratus quo modo tot corpora hominum poterant simul habitare: in ea est maxima copia victualium, scz. panis et vini, et carnium de porco praecipué cum alijs necessarijs.

De monasterio vbi sunt multa animalia diuersa in quodam monte.

IN illa ciuitate 4. fratres nostri conuerterant vnum potentem ad fidem Christi, in cuius hospitio continué habitabam, dum fui ibi, qui semèl dixit mihi, Ara, i. pater, vis tu venire et videre ciuitatem istam: et dixi quòd sic, et ascendimus vnam barcham, et iuimus ad vnum monasterium maximum, de quo vocauit vnum religiosum sibi notum, et dixit sibi de me. Iste Raban Francus, i. religiosus venit de indé vbi sol occidit, et nunc vadit Cambaleth, vt deprecetur vitam pro magno Cane, et ideò ostendas sibi aliquid, quòd si reuertatur ad contratas suas possit referre quod tale quid nouum vidi in Canasia ciuitate: tunc sumpsit ille religiosus duos mastellos magnos repletos reliquijs quæ supererant de mensa, et duxit me ad vnam perclusam paruam, quam aperuit cum claue, et aparuit, viridarium gratiosum et magnum in quod intrauimus, et in illo viridario stat vnus monticulus sicut vnum campanile, repletus amœnis herbis et arboribus, et dum staremus ibi, ipse sumpsit cymbalum, et incœpit percutere ipsum sicut percutitur quando monachi intrant refectorium, ad cuius sonitum multa animalia diuersa descenderunt de monte illo, aliqua vt simiæ, aliqua vt Cati, Maymones, et aliqua faciem hominis habentia, et dum sic starem congregauerunt se circa ipsum, 4000. de illis animalibus, et se in ordinibus collocauerunt, coram quibus posuit paropsidem et dabat eis comedere, et cum comedissent iterum cymbalum percussit, et omnia ad loca propria redierunt. Tunc admiratus inquisiui quæ essent animalia ista? Et respondit mihi quod sunt animæ nobilium virorum, quas nos hîc pascimus amore Dei, qui regit orbem, et sicut vnus homo fuit nobilis, ita anima eius post mortem in corpus nobilis animalis intrat. Animæ verò simplicium et rusticorum, corpora vilium animalium intrant. Incoepi istam abusionem improbare, sed nihil valuit sibi, non enim poterat credere, quòd aliqua anima posset sine corpore manere. Indè transiui ad quandam ciuitatem nomine Chilenso, cuius muri per 40. milliaria circuerunt. In ista ciuitate sunt 360. pontes lapidei pulchriores quàm vnquam viderim, et benè inhabitatur, et nauigium maximum habet, et copiam omnium victualium, et aliorum bonorum. Inde iui ad quoddam flumen dictum Thalay, quod vbi est strictius habet in latitudine 7. milliaria, et illud flumen per medium terræ Pygmaeorum transit, quorum ciuitas vocatur Kakam, quæ de pulchrioribus ciuitatibus mundi est. Isti Pigmaei habent longitudinem trium spansarum mearum, et faciunt maiora et meliora goton, et bombicinam quàm aliqui homines in mundo. Indè per illud flumen transiens, veni ad vnam ciuitatem Ianzu, in qua est vnus locus fratrum nostrorum, et sunt in ea tres ecclesiæ Nestorianorum: haec ciuitas nobilis est, et magna, habens in se 48. Thuman ignium, et in ea omnia victualia, et animalia in magna copia, de quo Christiani viuunt: Dominus istius ciuitatis solum de sale habet in redditibus 50. Thuman Balisi, et valet balisus vnum florenum cum dimidio: Ita quod vnum Thuman facit 15. millia florenorum, vnam tamen gratiam facit dominus populo, quia dimittit ei, ne sit caristia in eo, 200. Thuman. Habet haec ciuitas consuetudinem, quod quando vnus vult facere conuiuium amicis suis, ad hoc sunt hospitia deputata, et vbi ille circuit per hospites, dicens sibi tales amicos meos habebis, quos festabis nomine meo, et tantum in festo volo expendere, et per illum modum meliùs conuiuant amici in pluribus hospitijs quam facerent in vno. Per 10. milliaria ab ista ciuitate in capite fluminis Thalay est vna ciuitas vocata Montu, quæ maius nauigium habet, quàm viderim in

Chilenso.

Thalay.

Kakam.

Montu.

toto mundo; Et omnes naues ibi sunt albæ sicùt nix, et in ipsis sunt hospitia, et multa alia quæ nullus homo crederet nisi viderentur.

De ciuitate Cambaleth.

INdè transiui per 8. dietas per multas terras et ciuitates, et veni tandem per aquam dulcem ad quandam ciuitatem nomine Leneyn, quæ est posita super flumen vocatum Caramoran, quod per medium Catai transit, et magnum damnum sibi infert, quando erumpit. Indè transiens per flumen versus Orientem per multas dietas et ciuitates, veni ad vnam ciuitatem nomine Sumacoto, quæ maiorem copiam habet de serico, quàm aliqua ciuitas in mundo: Qùando enim est maior caristia Serici, ibi 40. libræ habentur pro minori quàm pro 8. grossis. In ea est copia omnium mercimoniorum, et omnium victualium, panis, vini, carnium, piscium, et omnium specierum electarum. Inde transiui versus Orientem per multas ciuitates, et veni ad illam nobilem, et nominatam Cambaleth quæ est ciuitas multum antiqua, et veni ad Catai, et eam ceperunt Tartari: Et iuxta eam ad dimidium miliare aliam ciuitatem fecerunt, quæ vocatur Caido et haec 12. portas habet, et semper inter vnam et aliam sunt duo miliaria, et medium inter illas ciuitates benè inhabitatur, ita quòd faciunt quasi vnam ciuitatem; Et ambitus istarum duarum ciuitatum est plusquàm 40. milliaria. In hac ciuitate magnus imperator Canis habet sedem suam principalem, et suum magnum palatium, cuius muri bene 4. miliaria continent; et infra illud palatium sunt multa alia palatia dominorum de familia sua. In palatio etiam illo est vnus mons pulcherrimus consitus arboribus, propter quod mons viridis nominatur, et in monte palatium amœnissimum in quo communitèr Canis residet: A latere autem montis est vnus lacus magnus, supra quem pons pulcherrimus est factus, et in illo lacu est magna copia anserum et anatum, et omnium auium aquaticarum; et in silua montis copia omnium auium et ferarum siluestrium, et ideo quando dominus Canis vult venari non oportet eum exire palatium suum. Palatium vero principale, in quo sedes sua est, est magnum valde, et habet interius 14. columnas aureas, et omnes muri eius cooperti sunt pellibus rubeis quæ dicuntur nobiliores pelles de mundo: Et in medio palatij est vna pigna altitudinis duorum

Caramoran.

Cambalec.

Mandeuil cap. 33.

passuum, quæ tota est de vno lapide pretioso nomine merdochas; et est tota circumligata auro, et in quolibet angulo eius est vnum serpens de auro qui verberatos fortissimé: Habet etiam haec pignaretia de margaritis, et per istam pignam defertur potus per meatus et conductus qui in curia regis habetur; et iuxta eam pendent multa vasa aurea cum quibus volentes bibere possunt. In hoc autem palatio sunt multi pauones de auro; et cùm aliquis Tartarus facit festum domino suo, tunc quando conuiuantes collidunt manus suas præ gaudio et læticia, pauones emittunt alas suas, et expandunt caudas, et videntur tripudiare; Et hoc credo factum arte Magica, vel aliqua cautela subterranea.

De gloria magni Canis.

QVando autem magnus ille Imperator Canis in sede sua imperiali residet, tunc a sinistro latere sedet Regina, et per vnum gradum inferius duo mulieres quas ipse tenet pro se; quando non potest ad Reginam accedere: In infimo autem gradu resident omnes dominæ de sua parentela. Omnes autem mulieres nuptæ portant supra caput suum vnum pedem hominis, longitudinis vnius brachij cum dimidio; et subter illum pedem sunt pennæ gruis, et totus ille pes ornatur maximis margaritis. A latero verò dextro ipsius Canis residet filius eius primogenitus, regnaturus post ipsum, et inferius ipso omnes qui sunt de sanguine regio: Ibi etiam sunt 4. scriptores scribentes omnia verba quæ dicit rex; Ante cuius conspectum sunt Barones sui, et multi alij nobiles cum sua gente maxima, quorum nullus audet loqui nisi a domino licentia petatur exceptis fatuis et histrionibus, qui suum dominum consolari habent; Illi etiam nihil audent facere, nisi secundum quod Dominus voluerit eis legem imponere. Ante portam palatij sunt Barones custodientes, nè aliquis limen portæ tangat. Cùm autem ille Canis voluerit facere conuiuium, habet secum 14000. Barones portantes circulos, et coronulas in capite, et domino suo seruientes; Et quilibet portat vnam vestem de auro et margaritis tot quot valent plus quam decies millies florenorum. Curia eius optime ordinatur per denarios, centenarios, et millenarios, et taliter quòd quilibet in suo ordine peragit officium sibi deputatum, nec aliquis defectus reperitur. Ego frater Odoricus fui ibi per tres annos, et multotiens in istis festis suis fui, quià nos fratres minores in sua curia habemus locum nobis deputatum, et oportet nos semper ire, et dare sibi nostram benedictionem: et inquisiui ab illis de curia, de numero illorum qui sunt in curia domini, et responderunt mihi quod de histrionibus sunt bene 18. Thuman; Custodes autem canum et bestiarum, et auium sunt 15. Thuman; Medici vero pro corpore Regis sunt 400. Christiani autem 8. et vnus Saracenus. Et ego quando fui ibi, hij omnes omnia necessaria tam ad victum, quam ad vestitum habebant de Curia domini Canis. Quando autem vult equitare de vna terra ad aliam, habet 4. exercitus equitum, et vnus per vnam dietam ipsum antecedit, secundus aliam, et tertius similitèr, et quartus; ita quod semper ipse se tenet in medio in modum crucis; et ita omnes exercitus habent omnes dietas suas ordinatas, quod inueniunt omnia victualia parata sine defectu. Illémet autem dominus Canis per illum modum vadit; Sedet in curru cum duabus rotis in quo facta est pulcherrima sella tota de lignis Aloe, et auro ornata, et margaritis maximis, et lapidibus pretiosis; et 4. Elephantes bene ordinati ducunt istum currum, quos praecedunt 4. equi altissimi optime cooperti. Iuxta currum à lateribus sunt 4. Barones tenentes currum, ne aliquis appropinquet domino suo. Supra currum sedent duo Gerfalcones albissimi, et dùm videt aues quos vult capere, dimittit Falcones volare, et capiunt eas; Et sic habet solatium suum equitando, et per iactum vnius lapidis nullus audet appropinquare currui nisi populus assignatus: vnde incredibile esset homini qui non vidisset de numero gentis suæ, et reginæ, et primogeniei sui. Istæ Dominus Canis imperium suum diuisit in 12. partes, et vna habet sub se 200. magnarum ciuitatum: vnde ita latum et longum est suum imperium, quod ad quamcunq; partem iret, satis haberes facere in sex mensibus, exceptis insulis, quæ sunt bene 5000.

De hospitijs paratis per totum imperium pro transeuntibus.

ISte Dominus, vt transeuntes habeant omnia necessaria sua per totum suum imperium, fecit hospitia praeparari vbique per vias; in quibus sunt omnia parata quæ ad victualia pertinent: Cum autem aliqua nouitas oritur in imperio suo, tunc si distat, ambassiatores super equos vel dromedarios festinant, et cùm lassantur in cursu, pulsant cornu, et proximum hospitium parat vnum similitèr equum, qui quandò alius venit fessus accipit literam, et currit ad hospitium, et sic per hospitia, et per diuersos cursores rumor per 30. dietas, vno die naturali venit ad imperatorem; et ideò nihil ponderis potest fieri in imperio suo, quin statim scitur ab eo.

Cum autem ipse Canis vult ire venatum; istum modum habet. Extra Cambaleth ad 20. dietas, est vna foresta quæ 6. dietas continet in ambitu; in qua sunt tot genera animalium et auium quòd mirabile est dicere: Ad illud nemus vadit in fine trium annorum vel quatuor cum tota gente, cum qua ipsum circuit, et canes intrare permittit, qui animalia, scilicet leones, ceruos, et alia animalia reducunt ad vnam planitiem pulcherrimam in medio nemoris, quia ex clamoribus canum maximè tremunt omnes bestiæ syluæ. Tunc accedit magnus Canis super tres elephantes et 5. sagittas mittit in totam multitudinem animalium, et post ipsum omnes Barones, et post ipsos alij de familia sua emittunt sagittas suas; et omnes sagittæ sunt signatæ certis signis et diuersis: Tunc vadit ad animalia interfecta, dimittens viua nemus reintrare vt alià̀s habeat ex eis venationem suam, et quilibet illud animal habebit in cuius corpere inuenit sagittam suam quam iaciebat.

De quatuor festis quæ tenet in anno Canis in curia.

QVatuor magna festa in anno facit Dominus Canis, scilicet festum natiuitatis, festum circumcisionis, coronationis, et desponsationis suæ; et ad ista festa conuocat omnes Barones, et histriones, et omnes de parentela sua. Tunc domino Cane in suo throno sedente, accedunt Barones cum circulis et coronis in capite, vestiti vario modo, quia aliqui de viridi, scilicet primi, secundi de sanguineo, et tertij de croceo, et tenent in manibus vnam tabulam eburneam de dentibus Elephantum, et cinguntur cingulis aureis vno semisse latis, et stant pedibus silentium tenentes. Circa illos stant histriones cum suis instrumentis: In vno autem angulo cuiusdam magni palatij resident Philosophi omnes ad certas horas, et puncta attendentes; et cùm deuenitur ad punctum et horam petitam à philosopho, vnus praeco clamat valentèr. Inclinetis vos omnes imperatori vestro: tunc omnes Barones cadunt ad terram; et iterum clamat, Surgite omnes, et illi statim surgunt. Iterum philosophi ad aliud punctum attendunt, et cùm peruentum fuerit, iterum praeco clamat; ponite digitum in aurem, et statim dicit, extrahite ipsum; iterùm ad aliud punctum clamat, Buratate farinam: et multa alia faciunt, quæ omnia dicunt certam significationem habere, quæ scriberi nolui, nec curaui, quia vana sunt et risu digna. Cùm autem peruentum fuerit ad horam histrionum, tunc Philosophi dicunt, facite festum domino, et omnes pulsant instrumenta sua, et faciunt maximum sonitum; et statim alius clamat; Taceant omnes, et omnes tacent: Tunc accedunt histrionatrices ante dominum dulcitèr modulantes, quod mihi plus placuit. Tunc veniunt leones, et faciunt reuerentiam domino Cani; Et tunc histriones faciunt ciphos aureos plenos vino volare per aerem, et ad ora hominum se applicare vt bibant. Haec et multa alia mirabilia in curia illius Canis vidi, quæ nullus crederet nisi videret; et ideò dimitto ea. De alio mirabili audiui à fide dignis, quòd in vno regno istius Canis in quo sunt montes Kapsei (et dicitur illud regnum Kalor) nascuntur pepones maximi, qui quando sunt maturi aperiuntur, et intùs inuenitur vna bestiola similis vni agnello: sicut audiui quòd in mari Hybernico stant arbores supra ripam maris et portant fructum sicut essent cucurbitæ, quæ certo tempore cadunt in aquam et fiunt aues vocatæ Bernakles, et illud est verum.

De diuersis Prouincijs et ciuitatibus.

DE isto imperio Katay recessi post tres annos, et transiui 50. dietas versus Occidentem; et tandem veni ad terram Pretegoani, cuius ciuitas principalis Kosan vocatur, quæ multas habet sub se ciuitates. Vltra per multas dietas iui, et perueni ad vnam prouinciam vocatam Kasan; et haec est secunda melior prouincia mundi, vt dicitur, et est optimè habitata: Sic quod quando exitur à porta vnius ciuitatis, videntur portæ alterius ciuitatis, sicut egomet vidi de multis. Latitudo Prouinciæ est 50. dietarum, et longitudo plusquam 60. In ea est maxima copia omnium victualium, et maximè castaneorum; et haec est vna de 12. prouincijs magni Canis. Vltra veni ad vnum regnum vocatum Tibek quod est subiectum Cani, in quo est maior copia panis et vini, quam sit in toto mundo vt credo. Gens illius terræ moratur communiter in tenorijs factis ex feltris nigris: Principalis ciuitas sua murata est pulcherrimè ex lapidibus albissimis, et nigerrimis interescalariter dispositis et curiosè compositis, et omnes viæ eius optimè pouatæ. In ista contrata nullus audet effundere sanguinem hominis, nec alicuius animalis, ob reuerentiam vnius Idoli. In ista ciuitate moratur Abassi i. Papa eorum, qui est caput et princeps omnium Idolatrarum; quibus dat et distribuit beneficia secundum morem eorum; sicut noster Papa Romanus est caput omnium Christianorum. Fœminæ in hoc regno portant plusquam

Casan.

Tibec regio aliàs Tebet Guillielmo de Rubricis.

centum tricas, et habent duos dentes in ore ita longos sicut apri. Quando etiam pater alicuius moritur, tunc filius conuocat omnes sacerdotes et histriones, et dicit se velle patrem suum honorare, et facit eum ad campum duci sequentibus parentibus omnibus, amicis, et vicinis, vbi sacerdotes cum magna solemnitate amputant caput suum, dantes illud filio suo, et tunc totum corpus in frusta concidunt, et ibi dimittunt, cum orationibus cum eo redeuntes; Tunc veniunt vultures, de monte assuefacti ad huiusmodi, et carnes omnes asportant: Et ex tunc currit fama de eo quòd sanctus est, quia angeli domini ipsum portant in paradisum: Et iste est maximus honor, quem reputat filius posse fieri patri suo mortuo: Tunc filius sumit caput patris, et coquit ipsum, et comedit, de testa eius faciens ciphum in quo ipse cum omnibus de domo et cognatione eius bibunt cum solemnitate et laetitia in memoriam patris comesti. Et multa vilia et abominabilia facit gens illa quæ non scribo, quia non valent, nec homines crederent nisi viderent.

Eadem historia de eodem populo apud Guilielmum de Rubricis.

De diuite qui pascitur à 50. Virginibus.

DVm fui in prouincia Manzi transiui iuxta palatium vnius hominis popularis, qui habuit 50. domicellas virgines sibi continuè ministrantes, in omnibus pascentes eum sicut auis auiculas, et habet semper 5. fercula triplicata; et quando pascunt eum, continuè cantant dulcissimè: Iste habet in redditibus Tagaris risi 30. Thuman, quorum quodlibet decies millies facit: vnum autem Tagar pondus est asini. Palatium suum duo millaria tenet in ambitu; cuius pauimentum semper vnum laterem habet aureum, alium argenteum: Iuxta ambitum istius palatij est vnus monticulus artificialis de auro et argento, super quo stant Monasteria, et campanilia, et alia delectabilia pro solatio illius popularis; Et dictum fuit mihi, quòd quatuor tales homines sunt in regno illo. Nobilitas virorum est longos habere vngues in digitis, praecipuè pollicis quibus circueunt sibi manus: Nobilitas autem et pulchritudo mulierem est pauos habere pedes: Et ideò matres quandò filiæ suæ sunt tenellæ ligant pedes earum, et non dimittunt crescere. Vltra transiens versus meridiem applicui ad quandam contratam, quæ vocatur Milestorite, quæ pulchra est valdè et fertilis: Et in ista contrata erat vnus vocatus Senex de monte,

Mulierum parui pedes.

Milestorite.

qui inter duos montes fecerat sibi vnum murum circumuentem istos montes. Infra istum murum erant fontes pulcherrimi de mundo; Et iuxta fontes erant pulcherrimæ virgines in maximo numero, et equi pulcherrimi, et omni illud quod ad suauitatem, et delectationem corporis fieri poterit, et ideo illum locum vocant homines illius contratæ Paradisum. Iste senex cùm viderit aliquem iuuenem formosum et robustum, posuit eum in illo paradiso; Per quosdam autem conductus descendere facit vinum et lac abundantèr. Iste Senex cùm voluerit se vindicare, vel interficere regem aliquem vel Baronem, dicit illi qui præerat illi paradiso vt aliquem de notis illius regis, vel Baronis introduceret in paradisum illum, et illum delicijs frui permitteret, et tunc daret sibi potionem vnam, quæ ipsum sopiebat in tantum, quòd insensibilem redderet, et ipsum sic dormientem faceret extra paradisum deportari: qui excitatus et se extra paradisum conspiciens, in tanta tristitia positus foret, quòd nesciret quid faceret: Tunc ad illum senem iret, rogans eum, vt interùm in paradisum introduceretur: qui sibi dicit, tu illic introduci non poteris, nisi talem vel talem interficias; et siue interfeceris, siue non, reponam te in paradiso, et ibidem poteris semper manere; Tunc ille sic faceret, et omnes seni odiosos interficeret; Et ideò omnes reges orientales illum senem timuerunt, et sibi tributum magnum dederunt.

De morte Senis de monte.

CVm autem Tartari magnam partem mundi cepissent, venerunt ad istum Senem, et dominium illius Paradisi ab eo abstulerunt, qui multos sicarios de Paradiso illo emisit, et nobiliores Tartarorum interfici fecit. Tartari autem hoc videntes ciuitatem, in qua erat senex obsederunt, eum ceperunt, et pessima morte interfecerunt. Hanc gratiam habent fratres ibidem, quod citissimè per virtutem nominis Christi Iesu, et in virtute illius sanguinis pretiosi, quem effudit in cruce pro salute generis humani, daemonia ab obsessis corporibus expellunt; et quia multi ibidem sunt obsessi, ducuntur per decem dietas ad fratres ligati, qui liberati statim credunt in Christum, qui liberauit eos habentes ipsum pro Deo suo, et baptizati sunt, et idola sua, et pecorum suorum statim dant fratribus, quæ sunt communitèr de feltro, et de crinibus mulierum et fratres ignem in communi loci faciunt ad quem populus confluit, vt videat Deos vicinorum suorum comburi, et fratres coram populo Idola in ignem proijciunt; Et prima vice de igne exierunt; Tunc fratres ignem cum aqua benedicta conspercerunt, et interùm Idola in ignem proiecerunt, et daemones in effigie fumi nigerrimi fugerunt, et Idola remanserunt, et combusta sunt. Posteà auditur clamor per aerem talis, vide, vide, quo modo de habitatione mea expulsus sum. Et per istum modum fratres maximam multitudinem baptizant, qui citò recidiuant ad idola pecorum: qui fratres continuò quasi stent cum illis, et illos informent. Aliud terribile fuit quod ego vidi ibi. Nam cùm irem per vnam vallem quæ sita est iuxta fluuium deliciarum, multa corpora mortua vidi, et in illa valle audiui sonos musicos dulces et diuersos, et maximè de cytharis, vndè multum timui. Haec vallis habet longitudinem septem, vel octo milliarium ad plus, in quam si quis intrat, moritur, et nunquam viuus potest transire per medium illius vallis, et ideò omnes de contrata declinant à latere: Et tentatus eram intrare, et videre, quid hoc esset. Tandem orans et Deo me recommendans, et cruce signans, in nomine Iesu intraui, et vidi tot corpora mortua ibi, quòd nullus crederet nisi videret. In hac valle ab vno eius latere, in vno saxo vnam faciem hominis vidi, quæ ita terribilitèr me respexit, quòd omnino credidi ibi fuisse mortuus: Sed semper hoc verbum (verbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis) protuli, et cruce me signaui, nec propiùs quàm per 7. passus, vel 8. accedere capiti ausus fui: Iui autem fugiens ad aliud caput vallis, et super vnum monticulum arenosum ascendi, in quo vndique circumspiciens nihil vidi nisi cytharas illas, quas per se (vt mihi videbatur) pulsari et resonare mirabiliter audiui. Cùm vero fui in cacumine montis, inueni ibi argentum in maxima quantitate, quasi fuissent squamæ piscium. Congregans autem inde in gremio meo pro mirabili ostendendo, sed ductus conscientia, in terram proieci, nihil mecum reseruans, et sic per gratiam Dei liber exiui. Cùm autem homines illius contratæ sciuerunt me viuum exisse, reuerebantur me multum, dicentes me baptizatum et sanctum: et corpora illa fuisse daemonum infernalium qui pulsant cytharas vt homines alliciant intare, et interficiant. Haec de visis certudinalitér ego frater Odoricus hic inscripsi; et multa mirabilia omisi ponere, quia homines non credidissent nisi vidissent.

De honore et reuerentia factis Domino Cani.

VNum tantùm referam de magno Cane quod vidi. Consuetudo est in partibus illis quòd quando praedictus dominus per aliquam contratam transit, homines ante ostia sua accendunt ignem et apponunt aromata, ac faciunt fumum, vt dominus transiens suauem sentiat adorem, et multi obuiam sibi vadunt. Dum autem semel veniret in Cambeleth, et fama vndique diuulgaretur de suo aduentu, vnus noster Episcopus, et aliqui nostri minores fratres et ego iuimus obuiàm sibi benè per duas dietas: Et dum appropinquaremus ad eum, posuimus crucem super lignum, et ego habebam mecum in manu thuribulum, et incepimus cantare alta voce dicentes: Veni creator spiritus: Et dum sic cantaremus audiuit voces nostras, fecítque nos vocari, ac iussit nos ad eum accedere; cùm vt suprà dictum est, nullus audeat appropinquare currui suo ad iactum lapidis, nisi vocatus, exceptis illis qui currum custodiunt. Et dum iuissemus ad eum, ipse deposuit galerum suum, sine capellum inestimabilis quasi valoris, et fecit reuerentiam Cruci; et statim incensum posui in thuribulo; Episcopus noster accepit thuribulum, et thurificauit eum; ac sibi praedictus Episcopus dedit benedictionem suam. Accedentes verò ad praedictum dominum, sempèr sibi aliquid offerendum deferunt; secum illam antiquam legem obseruantes; Non apparebis in conspectu meo vacuus; Idcirco portauimus nobiscum poma, et ea sibi super vnum incisorium reuerentèr obtulimus; et ipse duo accepit, et de vno aliquantulum comedit: Et tunc fecit nobis signum quod recederemus, ne equi venientes in aliquo nos offenderent; statimque ab eo discessimus, atque diuertimus, et iuimus ad aliquos Barones per fratres nostri ordinis ad fidem conuersos, qui in exercitu eius erant, et eis obtulimus de pomis praedictis, qui cum maximo gaudio ipsa accipientes ita videbantur laetari, ac si praebuissemus eis familiaritèr magnum munus. Haec praedicta frater Guilelmus de Solangna in scriptis redegit, sicùt praedictus frater Odoricus ore tenus exprimebat. Anno Domini 1330. mense Maij in loco Sancti Antonij de Padua; Nec curauit de latino difficili, et stilo ornato; Sed sicut ipse narrabat ad hoc vt homines faciliùs intelligerent quæ dicuntur. Ego frater Odoricus de Foro Iulij de quadam terra quæ dicitur Portus Vahonis de ordine minorum testificor, et testimonium perhibeo reuerendo patri Guidoto ministro prouinciæ Sancti Antonij in Marchia Triuisana, cùm ab eo fuerim per obedientiam requisitus, quòd haec omnia quæ superiùs scripta sunt, aut proprijs oculis ego vidi, aut a fide dignis audiui: Communis etiam loquutio illarum terrarum illa quæ nec vidi testatur esse; Multa etiam alia ego dimisissem, nisi illa proprijs oculis conspexissem. Ego autem de die in diem me propono contratas seu terras accedere, in quibus mori, et viuere me dispono, si placuerit Deo meo.

De morte fratris Odorici.

ANno igitur Domini 1331. disponente se praedicto fratre Odorico ad perficiendum iter suæ peregrinationis, prout mente conceperat, et etiam vt via et labor esset sibi magnis ad meritum, decreuit primò praesentiam adire Domini et patris omnium summi Pontificis Domini Ioannis Papæ 22. cuius benedictione obedientiaque recepta cum societate fratrum secum ire volentium ad partes infidelium se transferret: Cùmque sic eundo versus summum Pontificem, non multum distaret à ciuitate Pisana, in quadam via occurrit sibi quidam senex in habitu peregrini eum salutans ex nomine, Aue (inquiens) frater Odorice: Et cùm frater quaereret quo modo ipsius haberet noticiam? Respondit, Dum eras in India noui te, tuùmqui noui sanctum propositum; Sed et tu modò ad conuentum vndè venisti reuertere, quia die sequenti decimo ex hoc mundo migrabis. Verbis igitur senis attonitus et stupefactus, praesertim cùm Senex ille statim post dictum ab eius aspectu disparuit; reuerti decreuit; Et reuersus est in bona prosperitate nullam sentiens grauedinem corporis, seu aliquam infirmitatem; Cùmque esset in conuentu suo Vtinensi. N. in prouincia Paduana decimo die, prout facti sibi fuir reuelatio, accepta communione, ipsoque ad Deum disponente, etiam corpore existens incolumis in Domino fœlicitèr requieuit: Cuius sacer obitus Domino summo Pontifici praefato sub manu Notarij publici transmittitur; qui sic scribet.

Anno Domini 1331. decima quarta die mensis Ianuarij obijt in Christo Beatus Odoricus ordinis fratrum Minorum, cuius precibus omnipotens Deus multa, et varia miracula demonstrauit; quæ ego Guetelus notarius communis Vtini, filius domini Damiani de portu Gruario, de mandato et voluntate nobilis viri Domini Conradi de Buardigio Castaldionis, et consilij Vtini, scripsi, sicut potui, bona fide, et fratribus Minoribus exemplum dedi; sed non de omnibus, quià sunt innumerabilia, et mihi difficilia ad scribendum.

The same in English.

Here beginneth the iournall of Frier Odoricus, one of the order of the Minorites, concerning strange things which hee sawe among the Tarters of the East.

ALbeit many and sundry things are reported by diuers authors concerning the fashions and conditions of this world: notwithstanding I frier Odoricus of Friuli, de portu Vahonis being desirous to trauel vnto the foreign and remote nations of infidels, sawe and heard great and miraculous things, which I am able truely to auoch. First of al therefore sayling from Pera by Constantinople, I arrived at Trapesunda. This place is right commodiously situate, as being an hauen for the Persians and Medes, and other countreis beyonde the sea. In this lande I behelde with great delight a very strange spectacle, namely a certaine man leading about with him more then foure thousande partriges. The man himselfe walked vpon the ground, and the partriges flew in the aire, which he ledde vnto a certaine castle called Zauena, being three dayes iourney distant from Trapesunda. The saide partriges were so tame, that when the man was desirous to lie downe and rest, they would all come flocking about him like chickens. And so hee led them vnto Trapesunda, and vnto the palace of the Emperour, who tooke as many of them as he pleased, and the rest the saide man carried vnto the place from whence he came. In this citie lyeth the body of Athanasius, vpon the gate of the citie. And then I passed on further vnto Armenia maior, to a certaine citie called Azaron, which had bene very rich in olde time, but nowe the Tarters haue almost layde it waste. In the saide citie there was abundance of bread and flesh, and of all other victuals except wine and fruites. This citie also is very colde, and is reported to be higher situated, then any other city in the world. It hath most holesome and sweete waters about it: for the veines of the said waters seeme to spring and flow from the mighty riuer of Euphrates, which is but a dayes iourney from the saide city. Also, the said citie stands directly in the way to Tauris. And I passed on vnto a certaine mountaine called Sobissacalo. In the foresaide countrey there is the very same mountaine whereupon the Arke of Noah rested: vnto the which I would willingly haue ascended,

Pera.

Trapesunda.

The citie of Azaron in Armenia maior.

Sobissaclao.

if my company would haue stayed for me. Howbeit the people of that countrey report, that no man could euer ascend the said mountaine, because (say they) it pleaseth not the highest God. And I trauailed on further vnto Tauris that great and royal city, which was in old time called Susis. This city is accompted for traffique of marchandize the chiefe city of the world: for there is no kinde of victuals, nor anything else belonging vnto marchandize, which is not to be had there in great abundance. This city stands very commodiously: for vnto it all the nations of the whole worlde in a maner may resort for traffique. Concerning the saide citie, the Christians in those parts are of opinion, that the Persian Emperour receiues more tribute out of it, then the King of France out of all his dominions. Neare vnto the said city there is a salt-hill yeelding salt vnto the city: and of that salt ech man may take what pleaseth him, not paying ought to any man therefore. In this city many Christians of all nations do inhabite, ouer whom the Saracens beare rule in alle things. Then I traueiled on further vnto a city called Soldania, wherein the Persian Emperour lieth all Sommer time: but in winter hee takes his progresse vnto another city standing upon the sea called Baku. Also the foresaid city is very great and colde, hauing good and holesome waters therein, vnto the which also store of marchandize is brought. Moreouer I trauelled with a certaine company of Carauans toward vpper India: and in the way, after many days iourney, I came vnto the citie of the three wise men called Cassan, which is a noble and renowmed city, sauing that the Tartars haue destroyed a great part thereof, and it aboundeth with bread, wine, and many other commodities. From this city vnto Ierusalem (whither the three foresaid wisemen were miraculously led) it is fiftie days iourney. There be many wonders in this citie also, which, for breuities sake, I omit.

Tauris a citie of Persia.

Or, Sultania.

The Caspian sea.

Or, Cassibin.

From thence I departed vnto a certaine city called Geste, whence the Sea of Sand is distant, one dayes iourney, which is a most wonderful and dangerous thing. In this city there is abundance of all kinds of victuals, and especially of figs, reisins, and grapes; more (as I suppose) then in any part of the whole world besides. This is one of the three principall cities in all the Persian Empire. Of this city the Saracens report, that no Christian can by any meanes liue therein aboue a yeere,

Geste.

Then passing many dayes iourney on forward, I came vnto a certaine citie called Comum, which was an huge and mightie citie in olde time, conteyning well nigh fiftie miles in circuite, and hath done in times past great damage vnto the Romanes. In it there are stately palaces altogether destitute of inhabitants, notwithstanding it aboundeth with great store of victuals. From hence traueiling through many countreys, at length I came vnto the land of Iob named Hus, which is fulle of all kinde of victuals, and very pleasantly situated. Thereabouts are certaine mountains hauing good pastures for cattell upon them. Here also Manna is found in great aboundance. Four partriges are here solde for lesse than a groat. In this countrey there are most comely olde men. Here also the men spin and card, and not the women. This land bordereth vpon the North part of Chaldæa.

Como.

Of the maners of the Chaldæans, and of India.

FRom thence I traueled into Chaldæa, which is a great kingdome, and I passed by the tower of Babel. This region hath a language peculiar vnto it selfe, and there are beautifull men, and deformed women. The men of the same countrey vse to haue their haire kempt, and trimmed like vnto our women: and they weare golden turbants vpon their heades richly set with pearle, and pretious stones. The women are clad in a coarse smock onely reaching to their knees, and hauing long sleeues hanging downe to the ground. And they goe bare-footed, wearing breeches which reach to the ground also. Thei weare no attire vpon their heads, but their haire hangs disheaueled about their eares: and there be many other strange things also. From thence I came into the lower India, which the Tartars ouerran and wasted. And in this countrey the people eat dates for the most part, whereof 42. li. are there sold for lesse than a groat. I passed further also many dayes iourney vnto the Ocean sea, and the first land where I arriued, is called Ormes, being well fortified, and hauing great store of marchandize and treasure therein. Such and so extreme is the heat in that countrey, that the priuities of men come out of their bodies and hang down euen vnto their mid-legs. And therefore the inhabitants of the same place, to preserue their own liues, do make a certaine ointment, and

The tower of Babel.

Ormus.

anointing their priuie members therewith, do lap them up in certaine bags fastened vnto their bodies, for otherwise they must needs die. Here also they vse a kinde of Bark or shippe called Iase being compact together onely with hempe. And I went on bourd into one of them, wherein I could not finde any yron at all, and in the space of 28 dayes I arriued at the city of Thana, wherein foure of our friers were martyred for the faith of Christ. This counrrey is well situate, hauing abundance of bread and wine, and of other victuals therein. This kingdome in olde time was very large and vnder the dominion of king Porus, who fought a great battell with Alexander the great. The people of this countrey are idolaters worshipping fire, serpents and trees. And ouer all this land the Saracen do beare rule, who tooke it by maine force, and they themselues are in subjection unto King Daldilus. There be diuers kinds of beasts, as namely blacke lyouns in great abundance, and apes also, and monkeis, and battes as bigge as our doues. Also there are mise as bigge as our countrey dogs, because cats are not able to incounter them. Moreouer in the same countrey euery man hath a bundle of great boughs standing in a water-pot before his doore, which bundle is as great as a pillar, and it will not wither, so long as water is applied thereunto: with many other nouelties and strange things, the relation whereof would breed great delight.

Thana, whereof Frederick Cæsar maketh mention.

How peper is had: and where it groweth.

MOreouer, that it may be manifest how peper is had, it is to be vnderstood that it groweth in a certaine kingdome whereat I my selfe arriued, being called Minibar, and it is not so plentifull in any other part of the worlde as it is there. For the wood wherein it growes conteineth in circuit 18 dayes iourney. And in the said wood or forrest there are two cities, one called Flandrina, and the other Cyncilim. In Flandrina both Iewes and Christians doe inhabite, betweene whom there is often contention and warre: howbeit the Christians ouercome the Iewes at all times. In the foresaid wood pepper is had after this maner: first it groweth in leaues like vnto pot-hearbs, which they plant neere vnto great trees as we do our vines, and they bring forth pepper in clusters, as our vines doe yeeld grapes, but being ripe, they are of a greene colour, and are gathered as we gather grapes,

Malabar.

and then the graines are layed in the Sunne to be dried, and being dried are put into earthen vessels: and thus is pepper made and kept. Now, in the same wood there be many riuers, wherein are great store of Crocodiles, and of other serpents, which the inhabitants thereabout do burne vp with straw and with other dry fewel, and so they go to gather their pepper without danger. At the South end of the said forrest stands the city of Polumbrum, which aboundeth with marchandize of all kinds. Polumbrum. All the inhabitants of that countrey do worship a liuing oxe, as their god, whom they put to labour for sixe yeres, and in the seuenth yere they cause him to rest from al his worke, placing him in a solemne and publique place, and calling him an holy beast. Moreouer they vse this foolish ceremonie: Euery morning they take two basons, either of siluer, or of gold, and with one they receiue the vrine of the oxe, and with the other his dung. With the vrine they wash their face, their eyes, and all their fiue senses. Of the dung they put into both their eyes, then they anoint the bals of the cheeks therewith, and thirdly their breast: and then they say that they are sanctified for all that day; And as the people doe, euen so doe their King and Queene. This people worshippeth also a dead idole, which, from the nauel vpward, resembleth a man, and from the nauel downeward an oxe. The very same Idol deliuers oracles vnto them, and sometimes requireth the blood of fourtie virgins for his hire. And therefore the men of that region do consecrate their daughters and their sonnes vnto their idols, euen as Christians do their children vnto some Religion or Saint in heauen. Likewise they sacrifice their sonnes and their daughters, and so, much people is put to death before the said Idol by reason of that accursed ceremony. Also, many other hainous and abominable villanies doeth that brutish beastly people commit: and I sawe many moe strange things among them which I meane not here to insert. Another most vile custome the foresaide nation doeth retaine: for when any man dieth they burne his dead corps to ashes: and if his wife suruiueth him, her they burne quicke, because (say they) she shall accompany her husband in his tilthe and husbandry, when he is come into a new world. The burning of their dead. Howbeit the said wife hauing children by her husband, may if she will, remain with them, without shame or reproach; notwithstanding, for the most part, they all of them make choice to be burnt w^t^ their husbands. Now, albeit the wife dieth before her husband, that law bindeth not the husband to any such inconuenience, but he may mary another wife also. Likewise, ye said nation hath another strange custome, in that their women drink wine, but their men do not. Also the women haue the lids and brows of their eyes and beards shauen, but the men haue not: with many other base and filthy fashions which the said women do vse contrary to the nature of their sexe. From that kingdom I traueiled 10. daies iourney vnto another kingdome called Mobar, which containeth many cities, Within a certaine church of the same countrey, the body of S. Thomas the Apostle is interred, the very same church being full of idols: and in 15, houses round about the said Church, there dwell certaine priests who are Nestorians, that is to say, false, and bad Christians, and schismatiques.

Mobar, or Maliapor.

Of a strange and vncouth idole: and of certaine customes and ceremonies.

IN the said kingdome of Mobar there is a wonderfull strange idole, being made after the shape and resemblance of a man, as big as the image of our Christopher, et consisting all of most pure and glittering gold. And about the neck thereof hangeth a silke riband, ful of most rich and precious stones, some one of which is of more value then a whole kingdome. The house of this idol is all of beaten gold, namely the roofe, the pauement, and the sieling of the wall within and without. Vnto this idol the Indians go on pilgrimage, as we do vnto S. Peter. Some go with halters about their necks, some with their hands bound behind them, some others with kniues sticking on their armes or legs: and if after their peregrination, the flesh of their wounded arme festereth or corrupteth, they esteeme that limme to be holy, and thinke that their God is wel pleased with them. Neare vnto the temple of that idol is a lake made by the hands of men in an open et common place, whereinto the pilgrimes cast gold, siluer, and precious stones, for the honour of the idol and the repairing of his temple. And therefore when any thing is to be adorned or mended, they go vnto this lake taking vp the treasure which was cast in. Moreouer at euery yerely feast of the making or repairing of the said idol, the king and queene, with the whole multitude of the people, and all the pilgrimes assemble themselues, and placing the said idol in a most stately and rich chariot, they cary him out of their temple with songs, and with all kind of musical harmonie, and a great company of virgins go procession-wise two and two in a rank singing before him. Many pilgrims also put themselues vnder the chariot wheeles, to the end that their false god may go ouer them: and al they ouer whom the chariot runneth, are crushed in pieces, and diuided asunder in the midst, and slaine right out. Yea, and in doing this, they think themselues to die most holily and securely, in the seruice of their god. And by this meanes euery yere, there die vnder the said filthy idol, mo then 500. persons, whose carkases are burned, and their ashes are kept for reliques, because they died in that sort for their god. Moreouer they haue another detestable ceremony. For when any man offers to die in the seruice of his false god, his parents, and all his friends assemble themselues together with a consort of musicians, making him a great and solemne feast: which feast being ended, they hange 5. sharpe kniues about his neck carying him before the idol, and so soone as he is come thither, he taketh one of his kniues crying with a loud voice, For the worship of my god do I cut this my flesh, and then he casteth the morsel which is cut, at ye face of his idol: but at the very last wound wherewith he murthereth himselfe, he vttereth these words: Now do I yeeld my self to death in the behalfe of my god, and being dead, his body is burned, and is esteemed by al men to be holy. The king of the said region is most rich in gold, siluer, and precious stones, and there be the fairest vnions in al the world. Traueling from thence by the Ocean sea 50. daies iourney southward, I came vnto a certain land named Lammori, where, in regard of extreeme heat, the people both men and women go stark-naked from top to toe: who seeing me apparelled scoffed at me, saying that God made Adam et Eue naked. In this countrey al women are common, so that no man can say, this is my wife. Also when any of the said women beareth a son or a daughter, she bestowes it vpon any one that hath lien with her, whom she pleaseth. Likewise al the land of that region is possessed in common, so that there is not mine and thine, or any propriety of possession in the diuision of lands: howbeit euery man hath is owne house peculiar vnto himselfe. Mans flesh, if it be fat, is eaten as ordinarily there, as beefe in our country. And albeit the people are most lewd, yet the country is exceedindly good, abounding with al commodities, as flesh, corne, rise, siluer, gold, wood of aloes, Campheir, and many other things. Marchants comming vnto this region for

Perhaps he meaneth Comori.

traffique do vsually bring w^t them fat men, selling them vnto the inhabitants as we sel hogs, who immediatly kil and eat them. In this island towards south, there is the another kingdome called Simoltra, where both men and women marke themselues with red-hot yron in 12. sundry spots of their faces: and this nation is at continual warre with certaine naked people in another region. Then I traueled further vnto another island called Iaua, the compasse whereof by sea is 3000. miles. The king of this Iland hath 7. other crowned kings vnder his iurisdiction. The said Island is throughly inhabited, and is thought to be one of the principall Ilands of ye whole world. In the same Iland there groweth great plenty of cloues, cubibez, and nutmegs, and in a word all kinds of spices are there to be had, and great abundance of all victuals except wine. The king of the said land of Iaua hath a most braue and sumptuous pallace, the most loftily built, that euer I saw any, and it hath most high greeses and stayers to ascend vp to the roomes therein contained, one stayre being of siluer, and another of gold, throughout the whole building. Also the lower roomes were paued all ouer with one square plate of siluer, and another of gold. All the wals vpon the inner side were seeled ouer with plates of beaten gold, whereupon were engrauen ye pictures of knights, hauing about their temples, ech of them a wreath of golde, adorned with precious stones. The roofe of the palace was of pure gold. With this king of Iaua the great Can of Catay hath had many conflictes in war: whom notwithstanding the said king hath alwayes ouercome and vanquished.

Sumatra.

Iaffa.

Of certaine trees yeelding meale, hony, and poyson.

NEre vnto the said Iland is another countrey called Panten, or Tathalamasin. And the king of the same country hath many Ilands vnder his dominion. In this land there are trees yeelding meale, hony, and wine, and the most deadly poison in all ye whole world: for against it there is but one only remedy: and that is this: if any man hath taken of ye poyson, and would be deliuered from the danger thereof, let him temper the dung of a man in water, and so drinke a good quantitie thereof, and it expels the poyson immediatly, making it to auoid at the fundament. Meale is produced out of the said trees after this maner. They be mighty huge trees, and when they are cut with an axe by the ground, there issueth out of the stocke a certain licour like vnto gumme, which they take and put into bags made of leaues, laying them for 15 daies together abroad in the sun, and at the end of those 15 dayes, when the said licour is throughly parched, it becommeth meale. Then they steepe it first in sea water, washing it afterward with fresh water, and so it is made very good and sauorie paste, whereof they make either meat or bread, as they thinke good. Of which bread I my selfe did eate, and it is fayrer without and somewhat browne within. By this countrey is the sea called Mare mortuum, which runneth continually Southward, into ye which whoseuer falleth is neuer seene after. In this countrey also are found canes of an incredible length, namely 60 paces high or more, and they are as bigge as trees. Other canes there be also called Cassan, which overspread the earth like grasse, and out of euery knot of them spring foorth certaine branches, which are continued vpon the ground almost for the space of a mile. In the sayd canes there are found certaine stones, one of which stones, whoseuer carryeth about with him, cannot be wounded with any yron : and therefore the men of that countrey for most part, carry such stones with them, whithersoeuer they goe. Many also cause one of the armes of their children, while they are yong, to be launced, putting one of the said stones in the wound, healing also, and closing vp the said wound with the powder of a certaine fish (the name whereof I do not know) which powder doth immediatly consolidate and cure the said wound. And by the vertue of these stones, the people aforesaid doe for the most part triumph both on sea and land. Howbeit there is one kind of stratageme, which the enemies of this nation, knowing the vertue of the sayd stones, doe practise against them : namely, they prouide themselues armour of yron or steele against their arrowes, and weapons also poisoned with the poyson of trees, and they carry in their hands wooden stakes most sharpe and hard-pointed, as if they were yron : likewise they shoot arrowes without yron heads, and so they confound and slay some of their vnarmed foes trusting too securely vnto the vertue of their stones. Also of the foresayd canes called Cassan they make sayles for their ships, and litle houses, and many other necessaries. From thence after many dayes trauell, I arriued at another kingdome called Campa, a most beautiful and rich countrey,

A sea running still South ward.

Sayles made of reedes.

Campa.

and abounding with all kind of victuals: the king whereof, at my being there, had so many wiues and concubines, that he had 300 sonnes and daughters by them. This king hath 10004 tame Elephants, which are kept euen as we keepe droues of oxen, or flocks of sheepe in pasture.

Of the abundance of fishes, which cast themselues vpon the shore.

IN this countrey there is one strange thing to be obserued, y^{t} euery seueral kind of fishes in those seas come swimming towards the said countrey in such abundance, that, for a great distance into the sea, nothing can be seene but ye backs of fishes: which, casting themselues vpon the shore when they come neare vnto it, do suffer men, for the space of 3. daies, to come and to take as many of them as they please, and then they returne againe vnto the sea. After that kind of fishes comes another kind, offering it selfe after the same maner, and so in like sort all other kinds whatsoeuer: notwithstanding they do this but once in a yere. And I demaunded of the inhabitants there, how, or by what meanes this strange accident could come to passe: They answered, that fishes were taught, euen by nature, to come and to do homage vnto their Emperour. There be Tortoises also as bigge as an ouen. Many other things I saw which are incredible, vnlesse a man should see them with his own eies. In this country also dead men are burned, and their wiues are burned aliue with them, as in the city of Polumbrum above mentioned: for the men of that country say that she goeth to accompany him in another world, that he should take none other wife in marriage. Moreouer I traueled on further by the ocean-sea towards the south, and passed through many countries and islands, whereof one is called Moumoran, and it containeth in compasse ii. M. miles, wherein men and women haue dog faces, and worship an oxe for their god: and therefore euery one of them cary the image of an oxe of gold or siluer vpon their foreheads. The men and the women of this country go all naked, sauing that they hang a linen cloth before their priuities. The men of the said country are very tall and mighty, and by reason that they goe naked, when they are to make battell, they cary yron or steele-targets before them, which do couer and defend their bodies from

Tortoises.

Moumoran.

top to toe: and whomsoeuer of their foes they take in battel not being able to ransom himselfe for money, they presently deuoure him: but if he be able to redeeme himselfe for money, they let him go free. Their king weareth about his necke 300. great and most beautifull vnions, and saith euery day 300. prayers vnto his god. He weareth vpon his finger also a stone of a span long, which seemeth to be a flame of fire, and therefore when he weareth it, no man dare once approch vnto him: and they say that there is not any stone in the whole world of more value then it. Neither could at any time the great Tartarian Emperour of Katay either by force, money, or policie obtaine it at his hands: notwithstanding that he hath done the vtmost of his indeuour for this purpose.

Of the Island of Sylan: and of the mountaine where Adam mourned for his sonne Abel.

I Passed also by another island called Sylan, which conteineth in compasse aboue ii. M. miles: wherein are an infinit number of serpents, and great store of lions, beares, and al kinds of rauening and wild beasts, and especially of elephants. In the said country there is an huge mountaine, whereupon the inhabitants of that region do report that Adam mourned for his son Abel ye space of 500. yeres. In the midst of this mountain there is a most beautiful plain, wherin is a litle lake conteining great plenty of water, which water ye inhabitants report to haue proceeded from the teares of Adam and Eue: howbeit I proued that to be false, because I saw the water flow in the lake. This water is ful of hors-leeches, and blood-suckers, and of precious stones also: which precious stones the king taketh not vnto his owne vse, but once or twise euery yere he permitteth certaine poore people to diue vnder the water for ye said stones, and al that they can get he bestoweth vpon them, to the end they may pray for his soule. But y^t they may with leſse danger diue vnder the water, they take limons which they pil, anointing themselues throughly with the iuice therof, and so they may diue naked vnder ye water, the hors-leeches not being able to hurt them. From this lake the water runneth euen vnto the sea, and at a low ebbe the inhabitants dig rubies, diamonds, pearls, and other pretious stones out of the shore: wherupon it is thought, that ye king of this island hath greater abundance of pretious stones, then any other monarch in the whole earth besides. In the said country there be al kinds of beasts and foules: and the people told me, that those beasts would not inuade nor hurt any stranger, but only the natural inhabitants. I saw in this island fouls as big as our countrey geese, hauing two heads, and other miraculous things, which I wiil not here write off. Traueling on further toward the south, I arriued at a certain island called Bodin, which signifieth in our language vnclean. In this island there do inhabit most wicked persons, who deuour and eat raw flesh committing al kinds of vncleannes and abominations in such sort, as it is incredible. For the father eateth his son, and the son his father, the husbande his owne wife, and the wife her husband: and that after this maner. If any mans father be sick, the son straight goes vnto the soothsaying or prognosticating priest, requesting him to demand of his god, whether his father shall recouer of that infirmity or no: Then both of them go vnto an idol of gold or of siluer, making their praiers vnto it in maner folowing: Lord, thou art our God, and thee we do adore, beseeching thee to resolue vs, whether such a man must die, or recouer of such an infirmity or no: Then the diuel answereth out of ye foresaid idol: if he saith (he shal liue) then returneth his son and ministreth things necessary vnto him, til he hath attained vnto his former health: but if he saith (he shal die) then goes ye priest vnto him, and putting a cloth into his mouth doth strangle him therewith: which being done, he cuts his dead body into morsels, and al his friends and kinsfolks are inuited vnto the eating thereof, with musique and all kinde of mirth: howbeit his bones are solemnely buried. And when I found fault with that custome demanding a reason thereof, one of them gaue me this answer: this we doe, least the wormes should eat his flesh, for then his soule should suffer great torments, neither could I by any meanes remooue them from that errour. Many other nouelties and strange things there bee in this countrey, which no man would credite, vnles he saw them with his owne eyes. Howbeit, I (before almighty God) do here make relation of nothing but of that only, whereof I am as sure, as a man may be sure. Concerning the foresaid islands I inquired of diuers wel-experienced persons, who al of them, as it were with one consent, answered me saying, That this India contained 4400. islands vnder it, or within it: in which islands there are sixtie and foure crowned kings: and they say moreouer, that the greater part of those islands are wel inhabited. And here I conclude concerning that part of India.

Or, Dadin.

Of the vpper India: and of the prouince of Mancy.

FIrst of al therefore, hauing traueled many dayes iourney vpon the Ocean-sea toward the East, at length I arriued at a certaine great prouince called Mancy, being in Latine named India. Concerning this India I inquired of Christians, of Saracens, and of Idolaters, and of al such as bare any office vnder the great Can. Who all of them with one consent answered, that this prouince of Mancy hath mo then 2000. great cities within the precincts thereof, and that it aboundeth with all plenty of victuals, as namely with bread, wine, rise, flesh, and fish. All the men of this prouince be artificers and marchants, who, though they be in neuer so extreme penurie, so long as they can helpe themselues by the labor of their hands, wil neuer beg almes of any man. The men of this prouince are of a faire and comely personage, but somewhat pale, hauing their heads shauen but a litle: but the women are the most beautiful vnder the sunne. The first city of yᵉ said India which I came vnto, is called Ceuskalon, which being a daies iourney distant from the sea, stands vpon a riuer, the water whereof, nere vnto the mouth, where it exonerateth it selfe into the sea, doth ouerflow the land for the space of 12. daies iourney. All the inhabitants of this India are worshippers of idols. The foresaid city of Ceuskalon hath such an huge nauy belonging thereunto, that no man would beleeue it vnlesse he should see it. In this city I saw 300.li. of good and new ginger sold for lesse than a groat. There are the greatest, and the fairest geese, and most plenty of them to be sold in al the whole world, as I suppose: they are as white as milke, and haue a bone vpon the crowne of their heads as bigge as an egge, being of the colour of blood: vnder their throat they haue a skin or bag hanging downe halfe a foot. They are exceeding fat and wel sold. Also they haue ducks and hens in that country, one as big as two of ours. There be monstrous great serpents likewise, which are taken by the inhabitants and eaten: whereupon a solemne feast among them without serpents is not set by: and to be briefe, in this city there are al kinds of victuals in great abundance. From thence I passed by many cities, and at length I came vnto a city named Caitan, wherin yᵉ friers Minorites haue two places of aboad, vnto the

Or, Ceuskala.

He meaneth Pellicans, which the Spaniards cal Alcatrarzi

Or, Zaiton.

which I transported the bones of the dead friers, which suffred martyrdom for the faith of Christ, as it is aboue mentioned. In this city there is abundance of al kind of victuals very cheap. The said city is as big as two of Bononia, and in it are many monasteries of religious persons, al which do worship idols. I my selfe was in one of those Monasteries, and it was told me, that there were in it iii. M. religious men, hauing xi. M. idols: and one of ye said idols which seemed vnto me but litle in regard of the rest, was as big as our Christopher. These religious men euery day do feed their idol-gods: wherupon at a certeine time I went to behold the banquet: and indeed those things which they brought vnto them were good to eat, and fuming hote, insomuch that the steame of the smoke thereof ascended vp vnto their idols, and they said that their gods were refreshed with the smoke: howbeit all the meat they conueyed away, eating it vp their owne selues, and so they fed their dumb gods with the smoke onely.

Of the citie Fuco.

TRaueling more eastward, I came vnto a city named Fuco, which conteineth 30. miles in circuit, wherin be exceeding great and faire cocks, and al their hens are as white as the very snow, hauing wol in stead of feathers, like vnto sheep. It is a most stately and beautiful city, and standeth vpon the sea. Then I went 18. daies iourney on further, and passed by many prouinces and cities, and in the way I went ouer a certain great mountaine, vpon ye one side whereof I beheld al liuing creatures to be as black as a cole, and the men and women on that side differed somwhat in maner of liuing from others: howbeit, on the other side of the said hil euery liuing thing was snow-white, and the inhabitants in their maner of liuing, were altogether vnlike vnto others. There, all maried women cary in token that they haue husbands, a great trunke of horne vpon their heads. From thence I traueiled 18. dayes journey further, and came vnto a certaine great riuer, and entered also into a city, whereunto belongeth a mighty bridge to passe the said riuer. And mine hoste, with whom I soiourned, being desirous to shew me some sport, said vnto me: Sir, if you will see any fish taken, goe with me. Then he led me vnto the foresaid bridge, carying in his armes with him certaine diue-doppers

A great riuer.

or water-foules, bound vnto a company of poles, and about euery one of their necks he tied a threed, lest they should eat the fish as fast as they tooke them: and he carried 3. great baskets with him also: then loosed he the diue doppers from the poles, which presently went into the water, and within lesse then the space of one houre, caught as many fishes as filled the 3. baskets: which being full, mine hoste vntyed the threeds from about their neckes, and entering the second time into the riuer they fed themselues with fish, and being satisfied they returned and suffered themselues to be bound vnto the saide poles as they were before. And when I did eate of those fishes, me thought they were exceeding good. Trauailing thence many dayes iourneys, at length I arriued at another city called Canasia, which signifieth in our language, the city of heauen. Neuer in all my life did I see so great a citie; for it conteineth in circuit an hundreth miles: neither sawe I any plot thereof, which was not throughly inhabited: yea, I sawe many houses of tenne or twelue stories high, one aboue another. It hath mightie large suburbs containing more people than the city it selfe. Also it hath twelue principall gates: and about the distance of eight miles, in the high way vnto euery one of the saide gates standeth a city as big by estimation as Venice, and Padua. The foresaid city of Canasia is situated in waters or marshes, which alwayes stand still neither ebbing nor flowing: howbeit it hath a defence for the winde like vnto Venice. In this city there are mo than 10002. bridges, many whereof I numbred and passed ouer them: and vpon euery of those bridges stand certaine watchmen of the citie, keeping continuall watch and ward about the said city, for the great Can the Emperour of Catay. The people of this countrey say, that they haue one duetie inioyned vnto them by their lord: for euery fire payeth one Balis in regard of tribute: and a Balis is fiue papers or pieces of silke, which are worth one floren and an halfe of our coine. Tenne or twelue housholds are accompted for one fire, and so pay tribute but for one fire onely. Al those tributary fires amount vnto the number of 85. Thuman, with other foure Thuman of the Saracens, which make 89. in al; And one Thuman consisteth of 10000. fires. The residue of the people of the city are some of them Christians, some marchants, and some trauellers through the countrey: whereupon I marueiled

Foules catching fish.

Or Cansai, or Quinzai.

The Italian copy in Ramusius, hath 11000. bridges.

much howe such an infinite number of persons could inhabite and liue together. There is great aboundance of victuals in this citie, as namely of bread and wine, and especially of hogs-flesh, with other necessaries.

Of a Monastery where many strange beastes of diuers kindes doe liue vpon an hill.

In the foresaide citie foure of our friers had conuerted a mighty and riche man vnto the faith of Christ, at whose house I continually abode, for so long time as I remained in the citie. Who vpon a certaine time saide vnto me: Ara, that is to say, Father, will you goe and beholde the citie? And I said, yea. Then embarqued we our selues, and directed our course vnto a certaine great Monastery: where being arrived, he called a religious person with whom he was acquainted, saying vnto him concerning me: this Raban Francus, that is to say, this religious Frenchman commeth from the Westerne parts of the world, and is now going to the city of Cambaleth to pray for the life of the great Can, and therefore you must shew him some rare thing, that when hee returnes into his owne countrey, he may say, this strange sight or nouelty haue I seene in the city of Canasia. Then the said religious man tooke two great baskets full of broken reliques which remained of the table, and led me vnto a little walled parke, the doore whereof he vnlocked with his key, and there appeared vnto vs a pleasant faire green plot, into the which we entred. In the said greene stands a litle mount in forme of a steeple, replenished with fragrant herbes, and fine shady trees. And while we stood there, he tooke a cymball or bell, and rang therewith, as they vse to ring to dinner or beuoir in cloisters, at the sound whereof many creatures of diuers kinds came downe from the mount, some like apes, some like cats, some like monkeys, and some hauing faces like men. And while I stood beholding of them, they gathered themselues together about him, to the number of 4200. of those creatures, putting themselues in good order, before whom he set a platter, and gaue them the said fragments to eate. And when they had eaten he rang vpon his cymbal the second time, and they al returned vnto their former places. Then, wondring greatly at the matter, I demanded what kind of creatures those might be? They are (quoth he) the soules of noble men which we do here feed, for the loue of God who gouerneth the world: and as a man was honorable or noble in this life, so his soule after death, entreth into the body of some excellent beast or other, but the soules of simple and rusticall people do possesse the bodies of more vile and brutish creatures. Then I began to refute that foule error: howbeit my speach did nothing at all preuaile with him: for he could not be perswaded that any soule might remaine without a body. From thence I departed vnto a eertaine citie named Chilenso, the walls whereof conteined 40. miles in circuit. In this city there are 360. bridges of stone, the fairest that euer I saw: and it is wel inhabited, hauing a great nauie belonging thereunto, and abounding with all kinds of victuals and other commodities. And thence I went vnto a certaine riuer called Thalay, which where it is most narrow, is 7. miles broad: and it runneth through the midst of the land of Pygmæi, whose chiefe city is called Cakam, and is one of the goodliest cities in the world. These Pigmæans are three of my spans high, and they make larger and better cloth of cotten and silke, then any other nation vnder the sunne. And coasting along by the saide riuer, I came vnto a certaine citie named Ianzu, in which citie there is one receptacle for the Friers of our order, and there be also three Churches of the Nestorians. This Ianzu is a noble and great citie, containing 48 Thuman of tributarie fiers, and in it are all kindes of victuals, and great plenty of such beastes, foules and fishes, as Christians doe vsually liue vpon. The lord of the same citie hath in yeerely reuenues for salt onely, fiftie Thuman of balis, and one balis is worth a floren and a halfe of our coyne: insomuch that one Thuman of balis amounteth vnto the value of fifteene thousand florens. Howbeit the sayd lord fououreth his people in one respect, for sometimes he forgiueth them freely two hundred Thuman, least there should be any scarcity or dearth among them. There is a custome in this citie, that when any man is determined to banquet his friends, going about vnto certaine tauernes or cookes houses appointed for the same purpose, he sayth vnto euery particular hoste, you shall haue such, and such of my friendes, whom you must intertaine in my name, and so much I will bestowe vpon the banquet. And by that means his friendes are better feasted at diuerse places, then they should haue beene at one. Tenne miles from the sayde citie, about the head of the foresayd riuer of Thalay, there is a certaine other

Chilenso.

Thalay.

Cakam.

Ianzu.

citie called Montu, which hath the greatest nauy that I saw in the whole world. All their ships are as white as snow, and they haue banqueting houses in them, and many other rare things also, which no man would beleeue, vnlesse he had seene them with his owne eyes.

Of the citie of Cambaleth.

TRaueiling eight dayes iourney further by diuers territories and cities, at length I came by fresh water vnto a certaine citie named Lencyn, standing vpon the riuer of Karauoran, which runneth through the midst of Cataie, and doeth great harme in the countrey when it ouerfloweth the bankes, or breaketh foorth of the chanell. From thence passing along the riuer Eastward, after many dayes trauell, and the sight of the diuers cities, I arriued at a citie called Sumakoto, which aboundeth more with silke then any other citie in the world: for when there is great scarcitie of silke, fortie pound is sold for lesse then eight groates. In this citie there is abundance of all merchandize, and all kindes of victuals also, as of bread, wine, flesh, fish, with all choise and delicate spices. Then traueiling on still towards the East by many cities, I came vnto the noble and renowmed citie of Cambaleth, which is of great antiquitie being situate in the prouince of Cataie. This citie the Tartars tooke, and neare vnto it within the space of halfe a mile, they built another citie called Caido. The citie of Caido hath twelue gates, being each of them two miles distant from another. Also the space lying in the midst betweene the two foresayd cities is very well and throughly inhabited, so that they make as it were but one citie betweene them both. The whole compasse or circuit of both cities together, is 40. miles. In this citie the great emperour Can hath his principall seat, and his Imperiall palace, the wals of which palace containe foure miles in circuit: and neere vnto this his palace are many other palaces and houses of his nobles which belong vnto his court. Within the precincts of the sayd palace Imperiall, there is a most beautiful mount, set and replenished with trees, for which cause it is called the Greene mount, hauing a most royall and sumptuous palace standing thereupon, in which, for the most part, the great Can is resident. Vpon the one side of the sayd mount there is a great lake, whereupon a most stately bridge is built, in which lake is great abundance

Karamoron.

Sumacoto.

ance of geese, ducks, and all kindes of water foules: and in the wood growing vpon the mount there is great store of all birds, and wilde beasts. And therefore when the great Can will solace himselfe with hunting or hauking, he needs not so much as once to step forth of his palace. Moreouer, the principall palace, wherein he maketh his abode, is very large, hauing within it 14 pillers of golde, and all the walles thereof are hanged with red skinnes, which are sayd to be the most costly skinnes in all the world. In the midst of the palace standes a cisterne of two yards high, which consisteth of a precious stone called Merdochas, and is wreathed about with golde, and at ech corner thereof is the golden image of a serpent, as it were, furiously shaking and casting forth his head. This cisterne also hath a kind of networke of pearle wrought about it. Likewise by the sayd cisterne there is drinke conueyed thorow certeine pipes and conducts, such as vseth to be drunke in the emperors court, vpon the which also there hang many vessels of golde, wherein, whosoeuer will may drinke of the sayd licour. In the foresayd palace there are many peacocks of golde: and when any Tartar maketh a banquet vnto his lord, if the guests chance to clap their hands for ioy and mirth, the sayd golden peacocks also will spread abroad their wings, and lift vp their traines, seeming as if they danced: and this I suppose to be done by arte magike or by some secret engine vnder the ground.

Of the glory and magnificence of the great Can.

MOreouer, when the great emperor Can sitteth in his imperiall throne of estate, on his left hand sitteth his queene or empresse, and vpon another inferior seate there sit two other women, which are to accompany the emperor, when his spouse is absent, but in the lowest place of all, there sit all the ladies of his kindred. All the maried women weare vpon their heads a kind of ornament in shape like vnto a mans foote, of a cubite and a halfe in length, and the lower part of the sayd foote is adorned with cranes feathers, and is all ouer thicke set with great and orient pearles. Vpon the right hand of the great Can sitteth his first begotten sonne and heire apparent vnto his empire, and vnder him sit all the nobles of the blood royall. There bee also foure Secretaries, which put all things in writing that the emperor speaketh. In whose presence likewise stand his Barons and diuers others of his nobilitie, with great traines of folowers after them, of whom none dare speake so much as one word, vnlesse they haue obtained licence of the emperor so to doe, except his iesters and stage-players, who are appointed of purpose to solace their lord. Neither yet dare they attempt to doe ought, but onely according to the pleasure of their emperor, and as hee inioineth them by lawe. About the palace gate stand certaine Barons to keepe all men from treading vpon the threshold of the sayd gate. When it pleassth the great Can to solemnize a feast, he hath about him 14000. Barons, carying wreathes and litle crownes vpon their heads, and giuing attendance vpon their lord, and euery one of them weareth a garment of gold and precious stones, which is woorth ten thousand Florens. His court is kept in very good order, by gouernours of tens, gouernours of hundreds, and gouernours of thousands, insomuch that euery one in his place performeth his duetie committed vnto him, neither is there any defect to bee found. I Frier Odoricus was there present in person for the space of three yeeres, and was often at the sayd banquets; for we friers Minorites haue a place of aboad appointed out for vs in the emperors court, and are enioined to goe and to bestow our blessing vpon him. And I enquired of certaine Courtiers concerning the number of persons pertaining to the emperors court? And they answered mee, that of stage-players, musicians, and such like, there were eighteene Thuman at the least, and that the keepers of dogs, beasts and foules were fifteene Thuman, and the physicians for the emperours body were foure hundred; the Christians also were eight in number, together with one Saracen. At my being there, all the foresayd number of persons had all kind of necessaries both for apparell and victuals out of the emperors court. Moreouer, when he will make his progresse from one countrey to another, hee hath foure troupes of horsemen, one being appointed to goe a dayes iourney before, and another to come a dayes iourney after him, the third to march on his right hand, and the fourth on his left, in the manner of a crosse, he himselfe being in the midst, and so euery particular troupe haue their daily iourneys limited vnto them, to the ende they may prouide sufficient victuals without defect. Nowe the great Can himselfe is caried in maner following; hee rideth in a chariot with two wheeles, vpon which a maiesticall throne is built of the wood of Aloe, being adorned with gold and great pearles, and precious stones, and foure elephants brauely furnished doe drawe the sayd chariot, before which elephants, foure great horses richly trapped and couered doe lead the way. Hard by the chariot on both sides thereof, are foure Barons laying hold and attending thereupon, to keepe all persons from approaching neere vnto their emperour. Vpon the chariot also two milke-white Ier-falcons doe sit, and seeing any game which hee would take, hee letteth them flie, and so they take it, and after this maner doeth hee solace himselfe as hee rideth. Moreouer, no man dare come within a stones cast of the chariot, but such as are appointed. The number of his owne followers, of his wiues attendants, and of the traine of his first begotten sonne and heire apparent, would seeme incredible vnto any man, vnlesse hee had seene it with his owne eyes. The foresayd great Can hath diuided his Empire into twelue partes or Prouinces, and one of the sayd prouinces hath two thousand great cities within the precincts thereof. Whereupon his empire is of that length and breadth, that vnto whatsoeuer part thereof he intendeth his iourny, he hath space enough for six moneths continual progresse, except his Islands which are at the least 5000.

Of certaine Innes or hospitals appointed for trauailers throughout the whole empire.

THe foresayd Emperor (to the end that trauailers may haue all things necessary throughout his whole empire) hath caused certaine Innes to be prouided in sundry places vpon the high wayes, where all things pertaining vnto victuals are in a continuall readinesse. And when any alteration or newes happen in any part of his Empire, if he chance to be farre absent from that part, his ambassadors vpon horses or dromedaries ride post vnto him, and when themselues and their beasts are weary, they blow their horne, at the noise whereof, the next Inne likewise prouideth a horse and a man, who takes the letter of him that is weary and runneth vnto another Inne: and so by diuers Innes, and diuers postes, the report, which ordinarily could skarce come in 30. dayes, is in one naturall day brought vnto the emperor: and therefore no matter of any moment can be done in his empire, but straightway he hath intelligence thereof. Moreouer, when ye great Can himselfe will go on hunting, he vseth this custome. Some twenty dayes iourney from the citie of Kambaleth there is a forrest containing sixe dayes iourney in circuit, in which forrest there are so many kinds of beasts aud birds, as it is incredible to report. Vnto this forrest, at the ende of euery third or fourth yere, himselfe with his whole traine resorteth, and they all of them together enuiron the sayd forrest, sending dogs into the same, which by hunting do bring foorth the beasts: namely, lions and stags, and other creatures, vnto a most beautifull plaine in the midst of the forrest, because all the beasts of the forrest doe tremble, especially at the cry of hounds. Then commeth the great Can himselfe, being caried vpon three elephants, and shooteth fine arrowes into the whole herd of beasts, and after him all his Barons, and after them the rest of his courtiers and family doe all in like maner discharge their arrowes also, and euery mans arrow hath a sundry marke. Then they all goe vnto the beasts which are slaine (suffering the liuing beasts to returne into the wood that they may haue more sport with them another time) and euery man enjoyeth that beast as his owne, wherein he findeth his arrow sticking.

Of the foure feasts which the great Can solemnizeth euery yeere in his Court.

Foure great feasts in a yeere doeth the emperor Can celebrate: namely the feast of his birth, the feast of his circumcision, the feast of his coronation, and the feast of his mariage. And vnto these feasts he inuiteth all his Barons, his stage-players, and all such as are of his kinred. Then the great Can sitting in his throne, all his Barons present themselues before him, with wreaths and crownes vpon their heads, being diuersly attired, for some of them are in greene, namely the principall: the second are in red, and the third in yellow, and they hold each man in his hand a little Iuorie table of elephants tooth, and they are girt with golden girdles of halfe a foote broad, and they stand vpon their feete keeping silence. About them stand the stage-players or musicians with their instruments. And in one of the corners of a certaine great pallace, all the Philosophers or Magicians remaine for certaine howers, and doe attend vpon points or characters: and when the point and hower which the sayd Philosophers expected for, is come, a certaine crier crieth out with a loud voyce, saying, Incline or bowe your selues before your Emperour: with that all the Barons fall flat vpon the earth. Then hee crieth out againe; Arise all, and immediately they all arise. Likewise the Philosophers attend vpon a point or character the second time, and when it is fulfilled, the crier crieth out amaine;

Put your fingers in your eares: and foorthwith againe he saieth; Plucke them out. Againe, at the third point he crieth, Boult this meale. Many other circumstances also doe they performe, all which they say haue some certaine signification: howbeit, neither would I write them, nor giue any heed vnto them, because they are vaine and ridiculous. And when the musicians hower is come, then the Philosophers say, Solemnize a feast vnto your Lord: with that all of them sound their instruments, making a great and a melodious noyse. And immediately another crieth, Peace, peace, and they are all whist. Then come the women-musicians and sing sweetly before the Emperour, which musike was more delightfull vnto me. After them come in the lions and doe their obeisance vnto the great Can. Then the iuglers cause golden cups full of wine to flie vp and downe in the ayre, and to apply themselues vnto mens mouthes that they may drinke of them. These and many other strange things I sawe in the court of the great Can, which no man would beleeue vnlesse he had seen with his owne eies, and therefore I omit to speake of them. I was informed also by certaine credible persons, of another miraculous thing, namely, that in a certaine kingdome of the sayd Can, wherein stand the mountains called Kapsei (the kingdomes name is Kalor) there grewe great Gourds or Pompions, which being ripe, doe open at the tops, and within them is found a little beast like vnto a yong lambe, euen as I my selfe haue heard reported, that there stand certaine trees vpon the shore of the Irish sea, bearing fruit like vnto a gourd, which, at a certaine time of the yeere doe fall into the water, and become birds called Bernacles, and this is most true.*

A lambe in a gourd.

Of diuers prouinces and cities.

ANd after three yeeres I departed out of the empire of Cataie, trauailing fiftie dayes iourney towards the West. And at length I came vnto the empire of Pretegoani, whose principall citie is Kosan, which hath many other cities vnder it. From thence passing many dayes trauell, I came vnto

His returne Westward.

---

* This report is first found in the writings of Giraldus Cambreusis, tutor to King John.

Casan. a prouince called Casan, which is for good commodities, one of the onely prouinces vnder the Sunne, and is very well inhabited, insomuch that when we depart out of the gates of one city we may beholde the gates of another city, as I my selfe saw in diuers of them. The breadth of the sayd prouince is fifty dayes iourney, and the length aboue sixty. In it there is great plenty of all victuals, and especially of chesnuts, and it is one of the twelue prouinces of the great Can. Going on further, I came vnto a certaine kingdome called Tebek, Or, Thebet. which is in subiection vnto the great Can also, wherein I thinke there is more plenty of bread and wine then in any other part of the whole world besides. The people of the sayd countrey do, for the most part, inhabit in tents made of blacke felt. Their principall city is inuironed with faire and beautifull walles, being built of most white and blacke stones, which are disposed chekerwise one by another, and curiously compiled together: likewise all the high wayes in this countrey are exceedingly well paued. In the sayd countrey none dare shed the bloud of a man, or of any beast, for the reuerence of a certaine idole. In the foresayd city their Abassi, that is to say, their Pope is resident, being the head and prince of all idolaters (vpon whom he bestoweth and distributeth gifts after his maner) euen as our pope of Rome accounts himselfe to be the head of all Christians. The women of this countrey weare aboue an hundreth tricks and trifles about them, and they haue two teeth in their mouthes as long as the tushes of a boare. When any mans father deceaseth among them, his sonne assembleth together all the priests and musicians that he can get, saying that he is determined to honour his father: then causeth he him to be caried into the field (all his kinsfolks, friends, and neighbours, accompanying him in the sayd action) where the priests with great solemnity cut off the father's head, giuing it vnto his sonne, which being done, they diuide the whole body into morsels, and so leaue it behinde them, returning home witn prayers in the company of the sayd sonne. So soone as they are departed, certaine vultures, which are accustomed to such bankets, come flying from the mountaines, and cary away all the sayd morsels of flesh: and from thenceforth a fame is spread abroad, that the sayd party deceased was holy, because the angels of God carried him into paradise. And this is the greatest and highest honour, that the sonne can deuise to performe vnto his deceased father. Then the sayd sonne taketh his fathers head, seething it and eating the flesh thereof, but of the skull he makes a drinking cup, wherein himselfe with all his family and kindred do drinke with great solemnity and mirth, in the remembrance of his dead and deuoured father. Many other vile and abominable things doth the said nation commit, which I meane not to write, because men neither can nor will beleeue, except they should haue the sight of them.

The same story concerning the very same people is in William de Rubricis.

Of a certaine rich man, who is fed and nourished by fiftie virgins.

WHile I was in the prouince of Mancy, I passed by the palace of a certaine famous man, which hath fifty virgin damosels continually attending vpon him, feeding him euery meale, as a bird feeds her yoong ones. Also he hath sundry kindes of meat serued in at his table, and three dishes of ech kinde; and when the sayd virgins feed him, they sing most sweetly. This man hath in yeerely reuenues thirty thuman of tagars of rise, euery of which thuman yeeldeth tenne thousand tagars, and one tagar is the burthen of an asse. His palace is two miles in circuit, the pauement whereof is one plate of golde, and another of siluer. Neere vnto the wall of the sayd palace there is a mount artificially wrought with golde and siluer, whereupon stand turrets and steeples and other delectable things for the solace and recreation of the foresayd great man. And it was tolde me that there were foure such men in the sayd kingdome. It is accounted a great grace for the men of that countrey to haue long nailes vpon their fingers, and especially vpon their thumbes which nailes they may fold about their hands: but the grace and beauty of their women is to haue small and slender feet: and therefore the mothers when their daughters are yoong, do binde vp their feet, that they may not grow great. Trauelling on further towards the South, I arriued at a certaine countrey called Melistorte, which is a pleasant and fertile place. And in this countrey there was a certeine man called Senex de monte, who round about two mountaines had built a wall to inclose the sayd mountaines. Within this wall there were the fairest and most chrystall fountaines in the whole world: and about the sayd fountaines there were most beautifull

Long nailes.

Melistorte.

virgins in great number, and goodly horses also, and in a word, euery thing that could be deuised for bodily solace and delight, and therefore the inhabitants of the countrey call the same place by the name of Paradise.

The sayd olde Senex, when he saw any proper and valiant yoong man, he would admit him into his paradise. Moreouer by certaine conducts he makes wine and milke to flow abundantly. This Senex, when he hath a minde to reuenge himselfe or to slay any king or baron, commandeth him that is gouernor of the sayd paradise; to bring thereunto some of the acquaintance of the sayd king or baron, permitting him a while to take his pleasure therein, and then to giue him a certaine potion being of force, to cast him into such a slumber as should make him quite voide of all sense, and so being in a profound sleepe to conuey him out of his paradise: who being awaked, and seeing himselfe thrust out of the paradise would become so sorrowfull, that he could not in the world deuise what to do, or whither to turne him. Then would he goe vnto the foresaid old man, beseeching him that he might be admitted againe into his paradise: who saith vnto him, You cannot be admitted thither, vnlesse you will slay such or such a man for my sake, and if you will giue the attempt onely, whether you kill him or no, I will place you againe in paradise, that there you may remaine alwayes: then would the party without faile put the same in execution, indeuouring to murther all those against whom the sayd olde man had conceiued any hatred. And therefore all the kings of the east stood in awe of the sayd olde man, and gaue vnto him great tribute.

Of the death of Senex de monte.

And when the Tartars had subdued a great part of the world, they came vnto the sayd olde man, and tooke from him the custody of his paradise: who being incensed thereat, sent abroad diuers desperate and resolute persons out of his forenamed paradise, and caused many of the Tartarian nobles to be slaine. The Tartars seeing this, went and besieged the city wherein the said olde man was, tooke him, and put him to a most cruell and ignominious death. The friers in that place haue this speciall gift and prerogatiue: namely, that by the vertue of the name of Christ Iesu, and in the vertue of his pretious bloud, which he shedde vpon the crosse for the saluation of mankinde, they doe cast foorth deuils out of them that are possessed. And because there are many possessed men in those parts, they are bound and brought ten dayes iourney vnto the sayd friers, who being dispossessed of the vncleane spirits, do presently beleeue in Christ who deliuered them, accounting him for their God, and being baptized in his name, and also deliuering immediatly vnto the friers all their idols, and the idols of their cattell, which are commonly made of felt or of womens haire: then the sayd friers kindle a fire in a publike place (whereunto the people resort, that they may see the false gods of their neighbors burnt) and cast the sayd idols thereinto: howbeit at the first those idols came out of the fire againe. Then the friers sprinkled the sayd fire with holy water, casting the idols into it the second time, and with that the deuils fled in the likenesse of blacke smoake, and the idols still remained till they were consumed vnto ashes. Afterward, this noise and outcry was heard in the ayre: Beholde and see how I am expelled out of my habitation. And by these meanes the friers doe baptize great multitudes, who presently reuolt againe vnto their idols: insomuch that the sayd friers must eftsoones, as it were, vnderprop them, and informe them anew. There was another terrible thing which I saw there: for passing by a certaine valley, which is situate beside a pleasant riuer, I saw many dead bodies, and in the sayd valley also I heard diuers sweet sounds and harmonies of musike, especially the noise of citherns, whereat I was greatly amazed. This valley conteineth in length seuen or eight miles at the least, into the which whosoeuer entreth, dieth presently, and can by no meanes passe aliue thorow the middest thereof: for which cause all the inhabitants thereabout decline vnto the one side. Moreouer, I was tempted to go in, and to see what it was. At length, making my prayers, and recommending my selfe to God in the name of Iesu, I entred, and saw such swarmes of dead bodies there, as no man would beleeue vnlesse he were an eye witnesse thereof. At the one side of the foresayd valley vpon a certaine stone, I saw the visage of a man, which beheld me with such a terrible aspect, that I thought verily I should haue died in the same place. But alwayes this sentence, the word became flesh, and dwelt amongst vs, I ceased not to pronounce, signing my selfe with the signe of the crosse, and neerer then seuen or eight pases I durst not approach vnto the said head: but I departed and fled vnto another place in the sayd valley, ascending vp into a little sand mountaine, where looking round about, I saw nothing but the sayd citherns, which me thought I heard miraculously sounding and playing by themselues without the help of musicians. And being vpon the toppe of the mountaine, I found siluer there like the scales of fishes in great abundance: and I gathered some part thereof into my bosome to shew for a wonder, but my conscience rebuking me, I cast it vpon the earth, reseruing no whit at all vnto my selfe, and so, by Gods grace I departed without danger. And when the men of the countrey knew that I was returned out of the valley aliue, they reuerenced me much, saying that I was baptised and holy, and that the foresayd bodies were men subiect vnto the deuils infernall, who vsed to play vpon citherns, to the end they might allure people to enter, and so murther them. Thus much concerning those things which I beheld most certainely with mine eyes, I frier Odoricus haue heere written: many strange things also I haue of purpose omitted, because men will not beleeue them vnlesse they should see them.

Of the honour and reuerence done vnto the great Can.

I Will report one thing more, which I saw, concerning the great Can. It is an vsuall custome in those parts, that when the forsayd Can traueileth thorow any countrey, his subiects kindle fires before their doores, casting spices thereinto to make a perfume, that their lord passing by may smell the sweet and delectable odours thereof, and much people come forth to meet him. And vpon a certaine time when he was cumming towardes Cambaleth, the fame of his approch being published, a bishop of ours with certaine of our minorite friers and my selfe went two dayes iourney to meet him: and being come nigh vnto him, we put a crosse vpon wood, I my selfe hauing a censer in my hand, and began to sing with a loud voice: Veni creator spiritus. And as we were singing on this wise, he caused vs to be called, commanding vs to come vnto him: notwithstanding (as it is aboue mentioned) that no man dare approach within a stones cast of his chariot, vnlesse he be called, but such onely as keepe his chariot. And when we came neere vnto him, he vailed his hat or bonet being of an inestimable price, doing reuerance vnto the crosse. And immediatly I put incense into the censer, and our bishop taking the censer perfumed him, and gaue him his benediction. Moreouer, they that come before the sayd Can do alwayes bring some oblation to present vnto him, obseruing the antient law: Thou shalt not appeare in my presence with an empty hand. And for that cause we carried apples with vs, and offered them in a platter with reuerence vnto him: and taking out two of them he did eat some part of one. And then he signified vnto vs, that we should go apart, least the horses comming on might in ought offend vs. With that we departed from him, and turned aside, going vnto certaine of his barons, which had bene conuerted to the faith by certeine friers of our order, being at the same time in his army: and we offered vnto them of the foresayd apples, who receiued them at our hands with great ioy, seeming vnto vs to be as glad, as if we had giuen them some great gift.

All the premisses abouewritten friar William de Solanga hath put downe in writing euen as the foresayd frier Odoricus vttered them by word of mouth, in the yeere of our Lord 1330. in the moneth of May, and in the place of S. Anthony of Padua. Neither did he regard to write them in difficult Latine or in an eloquent stile, but euen as Odoricus himselfe rehearsed them, to the end that men might the more easily vnderstand the things reported. I frier Odoricus of Friuli, of a certaine territory called Portus Vahonis, and of the order of the minorites, do testifie and beare witnesse vnto the reuerend father Guidotus minister of the prouince of S. Anthony, in the marquesate of Treuiso (being by him required vpon mine obedience so to doe) that all the premisses aboue written, either I saw with mine owne eyes, or heard the same reported by credible and substantiall persons. The common report also of the countreyes where I was, testifieth those things, which I saw, to be true. Many other things I haue omitted, because I beheld them not with mine owne eyes. Howbeit from day to day I purpose with my selfe to trauell countreyes or lands, in which action I dispose myselfe to die or to liue, as it shall please my God.

Of the death of frier Odoricus.

IN the yeere therefore of our Lord 1331 the foresayd frier Odoricus preparing himselfe for the performance of his intended iourney, that his trauel and labour might be to greater purpose, he determined to present himselfe vnto Pope Iohn the two and twentieth, whose benediction and obedience being receiued, he with a certaine number of friers willing to beare him company, might conuey himselfe vnto all the countreyes of infidels. And as he was trauelling towards the pope, and not farre distant from the city of Pisa, there meets him by the waye a certaine olde man, in the habit and attire of a pilgrime, saluting him by name, and saying: All haile frier Odoricus. And when the frier demaunded how he had knowledge of him: he answered: Whiles you were in India I knew you full well, yea, and I knew your holy purpose also: but see that you returne immediatly vnto the couer from whence you came, for tenne dayes hence you shall depart out of this present world. Wherefore being astonished and amazed at these wordes (especially the olde man vanishing out of his sight, presently after he had spoken them) he determined to returne. And so he returned in perfect health, feeling no crazednesse nor infirmity of body. And being in his couen at Vdene in the prouince of Padua, the tenth day after the foresayd vision, hauing receiued the Communion, and preparing himselfe vnto God, yea, being strong and sound of body, hee happily rested in the Lord; whose sacred departure was signified vnto the Pope aforesaid, vnder the hand of the publique notary in these words following.

In the yeere of our Lord 1331, the 14. day of Ianuarie, Beatus Odoricus a Frier minorite deceased in Christ, at whose prayers God shewed many and sundry miracles, which I Guetelus publique notarie of Vtina, sonne of M. Damianus de Porto Gruaro, at the commandement and direction of the honorable Conradus of the Borough of Gastaldion, and one of the Councell of Vtina, haue written as faithfully as I could, and haue deliuered a copie thereof vnto the Friers minorites: howbeit not of all, because they are innumerable, and too difficult for me to write.

The voyage of the Lord Iohn of Holland, Earle of Huntington, brother by the mothers side to King Richard the second, to Ierusalem and Saint Katherins mount.

1394. Froyssart.

The Lord Iohn of Holland, Earle of Huntington, was as then on his way to Ierusalem, and to Saint Katherins mount, and purposed to returne by the Realme of Hungarie. For as he passed through France (where he had great cheere of the King, and of his brother and vncles) hee heard how the king of Hungary and the great Turke should haue battell together: therefore he thought surely to be at that iourney.

The voiage of Thomas lord Moubray duke of Norfolke to Ierusalem, in the yeere of our Lord 1399. written by Holinshed, pag. 1233.

THomas lord Moubray, second sonne of Elizabeth Segraue and Iohn lord Moubray her husband, was aduanced to the dukedome of Norfolke in the 21. yeere of yᵉ reigne of Richard the 2. Shortly after whtch, hee was appealed by Henry earle of Bullingbroke of treason; and caried to the castle of Windsore, where he was strongly and safely garded, hauing a time of combate granted to determine the cause betweene the two dukes, the 16. day of September, in the 22. of the sayd king, being the yeere of our redemption 1398. But in the end the matter was so ordered, that this duke of Norfolke was banished for euer: whereupon taking his iourney to Ierusalem, he died at Venice in his returne from the said citie of Ierusâlem, in the first yeere of King Henry the 4. about the yeere of our redemption, 1399.

The Voiage of the bishop of Winchester to Ierusalem, in the sixt yeere of the reigne of Henry the fift, which was the yeere of our Lord, 1417. Thomas Walsingham.

VLtimo die mensis Octobris, episcopus Wintoniensis accessit ad concilium Constanciense, peregrinaturus Hierosolymam post electionem summi pontificis celebratam, vbi tantum valuit eius facunda persuasio, vt et excitaret dominos Cardinales ad concordiam, et ad electionem summi pontificis se ocyùs præpararent.

The same in English.

THe last day of October the bishop of Winchester came to the Councell of Constance, which after the chusing of the Pope determined to take his iourney to Ierusalem: where his eloquent perswasion so much preuailed, that he both perswaded my lords the Cardinals to vnity and concord, and also moued them to proceed more speedily to the election of the Pope.

A preparation of a voyage of King Henrie the fourth to the Holy land against the infidels in the yere 1413, being the last yere of his reigne: wherein he was preuented by death: written by Walsingham, Fabian, Polydore Virgile, and Holenshed.

Order taken for building of ships and gallies.

IN this fourteenth and last yere of king Henries reigne a councell was holden in the White friers in London, at the which among other things, order was taken for ships and gallies to be builded and made ready, and all other things necessary to be prouided for a voyage, which he meant to make into the Holy land, there to recouer the city of Ierusalem from the infidels: for it grieued him to consider the great malice of Christian princes, that were bent vpon a mischieuous purpose to destroy one another, to the perill of their owne soules, rather than to make warre against the enemies of the Christian faith, as in conscience, it seemed to him, they were bound. We finde, sayeth Fabian in his Chronicle, that he was taken with his last sickeness, while he was making his prayers at Saint Edwards shrine, there as it were, to take his leaue, and so to proceede foorth on his iourney. He was so suddenly and grieuously taken, that such as were about him feared least he would haue died presently: wherefore to relieue him, if it were possible, they bare him into a chamber that was next at hand, belonging to the Abbot of Westminster, where they layd him on a pallet before the fire, and vsed all remedies to reuiue him. At length he recouered his speech, and perceiuing himselfe in a strange place which he knew not, he willed to knowe if the chamber had any particular name, whereunto answere was made, that it was called Ierusalem. Then sayde the king, Laudes be giuen to the father of heauen: for now I knowe that I shall die here in this chamber, according to the prophesie of mee declared, that I should depart this life in Ierusalem.

Of this intended voyage Polydore Virgile writeth in manner following.

POst haec Henricus Rex memor nihil homini debere esse antiquius, quàm ad officium iustitiæ, quæ ad hominum vtilitatem pertinet, omne suum studium conferre, protinùs omisso ciuili bello, quo pudebat videre Christianos omni tempore turpitèr occupari, de republica Anglica benè gubernanda, de bello in hostes communes sumendo, de Hierosolymis tandem aliquando recipiendis plura destinabat, classemque iam parabat, cum ei talia agenti atque meditanti casus mortem attulit: subito enim morbo tentatus, nulla medicina subleuari potuit. Mortuus est apud Westmonasterium, annum agens quadragesimum sextum, qui fuit annus salutis humanæ, 1413.

The same in English.

AFterward, King Henry calling to minde, that nothing ought to be more highly esteemed by any man, then to doe the vtmost of his indeuour for the performance of iustice, which tendeth to the good and benefite of mankinde; altogether abondoning ciuill warre (wherewith he was ashamed to see, how Christians at all times were dishonourably busied) entered into a more deepe consideration of well gouerning his Realme of England, of waging warre against the common enemie, and of recouering, in processe of time the citie of Ierusalem, yea, and was prouiding a nauie fo the same purpose, whenas in the very midst of this his heroicall action and enterprise, he was surprised with death: for falling into a sudden disease, he could not be cured by any kinde of physicke. He deceased at Westminster in the 46 yeare of his age, which was in the yeere of our Lord, 1413.

The voyage of M. Iohn Locke to Ierusalem.

IN my voyage to Ierusalem, I imbarked my selfe the 26 of March 1553 in the good shippe called the Mathew Gonson, which was bound for Liuorno, or Legorne and Candia. It fell out that we touched in the beginning of Aprill next ensuing at Cades in Andalozia, where the Spaniardes, according to their accustomed maner with all shippes of extraordinarie goodnes and burden, picked a quarell against the company, meaning to haue forfeited, or at least to haue arrested the sayd shippe. And they grew so malicious in their wrongfull purpose that I being vtterly out of hope of any speedie release, to the ende that my intention should not be ouerthrowen, was inforced to take this course following. Notwithstanding this hard beginning, it fell out so luckily, that I found in the roade a great shippe called the Caualla of Venice, wherein after agreement made with the patron, I shipped my selfe the 24. of May in the said yere 1553, and the 25 by reason of the winde blowing hard and contrary, we were not able to enter the straits of Gibraltar, but were put to the coast of Barbarie, where we ankered in the maine sea 2. leagues from shore, and continued so vntill two houres before sunne set, and then we weighed againe, and turned our course towards the Straits, where we entered the 26 day aforesayd, the winde being calme, but the current of the straites very fauourable. The same day the winde beganne to rise somewhat, and blew a furthering gale, and so continued at Northwest vntill we arriued at Legorne the third of Iune. And from thence riding ouer land vnto Venice, I prepared for my voyage to Iersalem in the Pilgrimes shippe.

The ship Fila Cauena departeth for Ierusalem.

I Iohn Locke, accompanied with Maister Anthony Rastwold, with diuers other, Hollanders, Zelanders, Almaines and French pilgrimes entered the good shippe called Fila Cauena bf Venice, the 16 of Iuly 1553. and the 17 in the morning we weighed our anker and sailed towardes the coast of Istria, to the port of Rouigno, and the said day there came aboard of our ship the Perceuena of the shippe named Tamisari, for to receiue the rest of all the pilgrimes money, which was in all after the rate of 55. Crownes for euery man for that voyage, after the rate of fiue shillings starling to the crowne: This done, he returned to Venice.

Rouignio a port in Istria.

Sancta Eufemia.

The 19 day we tooke fresh victuals aboard, and with the bote that brought the fresh provision we went on land to the Towne, and went to see the Church of Sancta Eufemia, where we sawe the bodie of the sayd Saint.

Monte de Ancona.

The 20 day wee departed from Rouignio, and about noone we had sight of Monte de Ancona, and the hilles of Dalmatia, or else of Sclauonia both at one time, and by report they are 100. miles distant from ech other, and more.

Il pomo.

Sant Andrea.

The 21 we sayled still in sight of Dalmatia, and a little before noone, we had a sight of a rocke in the midst of the sea, called in the Italian il Pomo, it appeareth a farre off to be in shape like a sugarloafe. Also we sawe another rocke about two miles compasse called Sant Andrea; on this rocke is only one Monasterie of Friers: we sayled betweene them both, and left S. Andrea on the left hand of vs, and we had also kenning of another Iland called Lissa, all on the left hande, these three Ilands lie East and West in the sea, and at the sunne setting we had passed them. Il pomo is distant from Sant Andrea 18 miles, and S. Andrea from Lissa ten miles, and Lissa from another Iland cailed Lezina, which standeth betweene the maine of Dalmatia and Lissa, tenne miles. This Iland is inhabited and hath great plentie of wine and frutes and hereagainst we were becalmed.

Lissa an Iland.

Lezina Iland.

The 22. we had sight of another small Iland called Catza, which is desolate and on the left hand, and on the right hand, a very dangerous Iland called Pelagosa, this is also desolate, and lyeth in the midst of the sea betweene both the maines: it is very dangerous and low land, and it hath a long ledge of rockes lying out sixe miles into the sea, so that many ships by night are cast away vpon them. There is betweene Catza and Pelagosa 30 miles, aud these two Ilands are distant from Venice 400. miles. There is also about twelue miles eastward, a great Iland called Augusta, about 14 miles in length, somewhat hillie, and well inhabited, and fruitfull of vines, corne and other fruit, this also we left on the left hand: and we haue hitherto kept our course from Rouignio East southeast. This Iland is vnder the Signiorie or gouernement of Ragusa, it is distant from Ragusa 50 miles, and there is by that Iland a greater, named Meleda, which is also vnder the gouernement of Ragusa, it is about 30 miles in length, and inhabited, and hath good portes, it lyeth by East from Augusta, and ouer against this Iland lyeth a hill called Monte S. Angelo, vpon the coast of Puglia in Italy, and we had sight of both landes at one time.

Catza.

Pelagosa.

Augusta.

Meleda.

Mont Sant Angelo.

The 23 we sayled all the day long by the bowline alongst the coast of Ragusa, and towardes night we were within 7. or 8. miles of Ragusa, that we might see the white walles, but because it was night, we cast about to the sea, minding at the second watch, to beare in againe to Ragusa, for to know the newes of the Turkes armie, but the winde blew so hard and contrary, that we could not. This citie of Ragusa paieth tribute to the Turke yerely fourteene thousand Sechinos, and euery Sechino is of Venetian money eight liuers and two soldes, besides other presents which they giue to the Turkes Bassas when they come thither. The Venetians haue a rocke or cragge within a mile of the said towne, for the which theRaguseos

Ragusa paieth 14000. Sechinos to the Turke yerely.

would giue much money, but they doe keepe it more for the namesake, then for profite. This rocke lieth on the Southside of the towne, and is called Il Cromo, there is nothing on it but onely a Monasterie called Sant Ieronimo. The maine of the Turkes countrie is bordering on it within one mile, for the which cause they are in great subiection. This night we were put backe by contrarie winds, and ankered at Melleda.

The 24 being at an anker vnder Melleda, we would haue gone on land, but the winde came so faire that we presently set sayle and went our course, and left on the right hand of vs the forenamed Iland, and on the left hand betweene vs and the maine the Iland of Zupanna, and within a mile of that vnder the maine by East, another Iland called Isola de Mezo. This Iland hath two Monasteries in it, one called Santa Maria de Bizo, and the other Sant Nicholo. Also there is a third rocke with a Frierie called Sant Andrea: these Ilands are from the maine but two miles, and the channell betweene Melleda and Zupanna is but foure or fiue miles ouer by gesse, but very deepe, for we had at an anker fortie fathoms. The two Ilands of Zupanno and Mezo are well inhabited, and very faire buildings, but nothing plentie saue wine onely. This night toward sunne set it waxed calme, and we sayled little or nothing.

The 24 we were past Ragusa 14 miles, and there we mette with two Venetian ships, which came from Cyprus, we thought they would haue spoken with vs, for we were desirous to talke with them, to knowe the newes of the Turkes armie, and to haue sent some letters by them to Venice. About noone, we had scant sight of Castel nouo, which Castell a fewe yeeres past the Turke tooke from the Emperour, in which fight were slaine three hundred Spanish souldiers, besides the rest which were taken prisoners, and made gallie slaves. This Castell is hard at the mouth of a channell called Boca de Cataro. The Venetians haue a hold within the channell called Cataro, this channell goeth vp to Budoa, and further vp into the countrey. About sunne set we were ouer against the hilles of Antiueri in Sclauonia, in the which hilles the Venetians haue a towne called Antiueri, and the Turkes haue another against it called Marcheuetti, the which two townes continually skirmish together with much slaughter. At the end of these hils endeth the Countrey of Sclauonia, and Albania beginneth. These hilles are thirtie miles distant from Ragusa.

The 27 we kept our course towards Puglia, and left Albania on the left hand. The 28. we had sight of both the maines, but we were neere the coast of Puglia, for feare of Foystes. It is betweene Cape Chimera in Albania and Cape Otranto in Puglia 60 miles. Puglia is a plaine low lande, and Chimera in Albania is very high land, so that it is seene the further. Thus sayling our course along the coast of Puglia, we saw diuerse white Towers, which serue for sea-markes. About three of the clocke in the after noone, we had sight of a rocke called Il fano, 48 miles from Corfu, and by sunne set we discouered Corfu. Thus we kept on our course with a prosperous winde, and made our way after twelue mile euery houre. Most part of this way we were accompanied with certaine fishes called in the Italian tongue Palomide, it is a fish three quarters of a yard in length, in colour, eating, and making like a Makarell, somewhat bigge and thick in body, and the tayle forked like a halfe moone, for the which cause it is said that the Turke will not suffer them to be taken in all his dominions.

The 29 in the morning we were in sight of an Iland, which we left on our left hande called Cephalonia, it is vnder the Venetians, and well inhabited, with a faire towne strongly situated on a hill, of which hill the Iland beareth her name, it hath also a very strong fortresse or Castle, and plentie of corne and wine, their language is Greek, it is distant from the maine of Morea, thirtie miles, it is in compasse 80 miles. One houre within night we sayled by the towne standing on the South cape of Cephalonia, whereby we might perceiue their lights. There come oftentimes into the creeks and riuers, the Turkes foystes and gallies where at their arriual, the Countrey people doe signifie vnto their neighbours by so many lights, as there are foistes or gallies in the Iland, and thus they doe from one to another the whole Iland ouer. Aboute three of the clocke in the afternoone the winde scanted, and wee minded to haue gone to Zante, but we could not for that night. This Iland of Zante is distant from Cephalonia, 12 or 14 miles, but the towne of Cephalonia, from the towne of Zante, is distant fortie miles. This night we went but little forward.

Zante.

The 30 day we remained still turning vp and downe because the winde was contrary, and towards night the winde mended, so that we entered the channell betweene Cephalonia, and Zante, the which chanell is about eight or tenne miles ouer, and these two beare East and by South, and West and by North from the other. The towne of Zante lieth within a point of the land, where we came to an anker, at nine of the clocke at night.

The 31 about sixe of the clocke in the morning, I with fiue Hollanders went on land, and hosted at the house of Pedro de Venetia. After breakfast we went to see the towne, and passing along we went into some of the Greeke churches, wherein we sawe their Altares, images, and other ornaments. This done, wee went to a Monasterie of Friers called Sancta Maria de la Croce, these are westerne Christians, for the Greekes haue nothing to doe with them, nor they with the Greekes, for they differ very much in religion. There are but 2. Friers in this Friery. In this Monasterie we saw the tombe that M. T. Cicero was buried in, with Terentia Antonia, his wife. This tombe was founde about sixe yeeres since, when the Monastery was built, there was in time past a streete where the tombe stoode. At the finding of the tombe there was also found a yard vnder ground, a square stone somewhat longer then broad, vpon which stone was found a writing of two seuerall handes writing, the one as it seemed, for himselfe, and the other for his wife, and vnder the same stone was found a glasse somewhat proportioned like an vrinall, but that it was eight square and very thicke, wherein were the ashes of the head and right arme of Mar. T. Cicero, for as stories make mention he was beheaded as I remember at Capua, for insurrection. And his wife hauing got his head and right arme, (which was brought to Rome to the Emperor) went from Rome, and came to Zante, and there buried his head and arme, and wrote vpon his tombe this style M. T. Cicero. Haue. Then followeth in other letters, *Et tu Terentia Antonia*, which difference of letters declare that they were not written both at one time. The tombe is long and narrowe, and deepe, walled on euery side like a graue, in the botome whereof was found the sayd stone with the writing on it, and the said glasse of ashes, and also another litle glasse of the same proportion, wherein, as they say, are the teares of his friendes, and in those dayes they did vse to gather and bury with them, as they did vse in Italy and Spaine to teare their haire, to bury with their friendes. In the sayde tombe were a fewe bones. After dinner we rested vntill it drew towards euening by reason of the heat. And about foure of the clocke we walked to another Frierie a mile out of the towne called Sant Elia, these are white Friers, there were two, but one is dead, not sixe dayes since. This Frierie hath a garden very pleasant, and

Iohn Locke, and fiue Hollanders goe on land.

Santa Maria de la Croce.

The tombe of M. T. Cicero.

Or, Aue.

The description of the tombe.

Sant Elia, but one Frier.

well furnished with Orenges, Lemons, pomegranates, and diuers other good fruites. The way to it is somewhat ragged, vp hill and downe, and very stonie, and in winter very durtie. It standeth very plesantly in a clift betweene two hilles, with a good prospect. From thence we ascended the hill to the Castle, which is situated on the very toppe of a hill. This Castle is very strong, in compasse a large mile and a halfe, which being victualed, (as it is neuer vnfurnished) and manned with men of trust, it may defende itselfe against any Princes power. This Castle taketh the iust compasse of the hill, and no other hill neere it, it is so steepe downe, and so high and ragged, that it will tyre any man or euer he be halfe way vp. Very nature hath fortified the walles and bulwarkes: It is by nature foure square, and it commandeth the towne and porte. The Venetians haue alwayes their Podesta, or Gouernour, with his two Counsellours resident therein. The towne is welle inhabited, and hath great quantity of housholders. The Iland by report is threescore and tenne miles about, it is able to make twentie thousand fighting men. They say they have alwayes fiue or sixe hundred horsemen readie at an houres warning. They saye the Turke hath assayed it with 100. Gallies, but he could neuer bring his purpose to passe. It is strange to mee how they should maintaine so many men in this Iland, for their best sustenance is wine, and the rest but miserable.

The description of the Castle of Zante.

The first of August we were warned aboord by the patron, and towards euening we set sayle, and had sight of a Castle called Torneste, which is the Turkes, and is ten miles from Zante, it did belong to the Venetians, but they haue now lost it, it standeth also on a hill on the sea side in Morea. All that night we bare into the sea, because we had newes at Zante of twelue of the Turkes gallies, that came from Rhodes, which were about Modon, Coron, and Candia, for which cause we kept at the sea.

The second of August we had no sight of land, but kept our course, and about the thirde watch the winde scanted, so that we bare with the shore, and had sight of Modon and Coron.

The third we had sight of Cauo Mattapan, and all that day by reason of contrary windes, which blew somewhat hard, we lay a hull vntill morning.

The fourth we were still vnder the sayd Cape, and so continued that day, and towardes night there grewe a contention in the ship amongst the Hollanders, and it had like to haue bene a great inconuenience, for we had all our weapons, yea euen our kniues, taken from vs that night.

The fift, we sayled by the Bowline, and out of the toppe we had sight of the Iland of Candia, and towardes noone we might see it plaine, and towards night the winde waxed calme.

The sixt toward the breake of day we saw two small Ilands called Gozi, and towards noone we were betweene them: the one of these Ilands is fifteene miles about, and the other 10. miles. In those Ilands are nourished store of cattell for butter and cheese. There are to the number of fiftie or sixtie inhabitants, which are Greekes, and they liue chiefly on milke and cheese. The Iland of Candia is 700 miles about, it is in length, from Cape Spada, to Cape Salomon, 300 miles, it is as they say, able to make one hundred thousand fighting men. We sayled betweene the Gozi, and Candia, and they are distant from Candia 5 or 6 miles. The Candiots are strong men, and very good archers, and shoot neere the marke. This Ilande is from Zante 300 miles.

The seuenth we sayled all along the sayd Iland with little winde and vnstable, and the eight day towards night we drew to the East end of the Iland.

The 9 and 10 we sayled along with a prosperous winde and saw no land.

The 11 in the morning, we had sight of the Iland of Cyprus, and towards noone we were thwart the Cape called Ponta Malota, and about foure of the clocke we were as farre as Baffo, and about sunne set we passed Cauo Bianco, and towards nine of the clocke at night we doubled Cauo de la gatte, and ankered afore Limisso, but the wind blew so hard, that we could not come neere the towne, neither durst any man goe on land. The towne is from Cauo de le gatte twelue miles distant.

The 12. of August in the morning wee went on land to Limisso: this towne is ruinated and nothing in it worth writing, saue onely in the midst of the towne there hath bene a fortresse, which is now decayed, and the wals part ouerthrowen, which a Turkish Rouer with certaine gallies did destroy about 10. or 12. yeeres past. This day walking to see the towne, we chanced to see in the market place, a great quantitie of certaine vermine called in the Italian tongue Caualette. It is as I can learne, both in shape and bignesse like a grassehopper, for I can iudge but little difference. Of these many yeeres they haue had such quantitie yt they destroy all their corne. They are so plagued with them, yt almost euery yeere

Caualette is a certaine vermine in the Island of Cyprus.

they doe well nie loose halfe their corne, whether it be the nature of the countrey, or the plague of God, that let them iudge that can best define. But that there may no default be laied to their negllgence for the destruction of them, they haue throughout the whoie land a constituted order, that euery Farmor or husbandmen (which are euen as slaues bought and sold to their lord) shall euery yeere pay according to his territorie, a measure full of the seede or egges of these forenamed Caualette, the which they are bound to bring to the market, and present to the officer appointed for the same, the which officer taketh of them very straight measure, and writeth the names of the presenters, and putteth the sayd egges or seed, into a house appointed for the same, and hauing the house full, they beate them to pouder, and cast them into the sea, and by this pollicie they doe as much as in them lieth for the destruction of them. This vermine breedeth or ingendereth at the time of corne being ripe, and the corne beyng had away, in the clods of the same ground do the husbandmen find yᵉ nestes, or, as I may rather terme them, cases of the egges, of the same vermine. Their nests are much like to the keies of a hasel-nut tree, when they be dried, and of the same length, but somewhat bigger, which case being broken you shall see the egges lie much like vnto antes egges, but somewhat lesser. This much I haue written at this time, because I had no more time of knowledge, but I trust at my returne to note more of this island, with the commodities of the same at large.

The 13. day we went in the morning to the Greeks church, to see the order of their ceremonies, and of their communion, of the which to declare the whole order with the number of their ceremonious crossings, it were to long. Wherefore least I should offend any man, I leaue it vnwritten : but onely that I noted well, that in all their Communion or seruice, not one did euer kneele, nor yet in any of their Churches could I euer see any grauen images, but painted or portrayed. Also they haue store of lampes alight, most for euery image one. Their women are alwayes separated from the men, and generally they are in the lower ende of the church. This night we went aboord the ship, although the wind were contrary, we did it because the patrone should not find any

The pilgrimes going to the Greeke churches.

lacke of vs, as sometimes he did: when as tarying vpon his owne businesse, he would colour it with the delay of the pilgrimes.

The 14. day in the morning we set saile, and lost sight of the Island of Cyprus, and the 15. day we were likewise at Sea, and sawe no land: and the 16. day towards night, we looked for land, but we sawe none. But because we supposed our selues to be neere our port, we tooke in all our sailes except onely the fore-saile and the mizzen, and so we remained all that night.

The 17. day in the morning, we kept by report of the Mariners, some sixe miles from Iaffa, but it prooued contrary. But because we would be sure, wee made to an anker seuen miles from the shore, and sent the skiffe with the Pilot and the master gunner, to learne the coast, but they returned, not hauing seen tree nor house, nor spoken with any man. But when they came to the sea side againe, they went vp a little hill standing hard by the brinke, whereon as they thought, they sawe the hill of Ierusalem, by the which the Pilot knew (after his iudgement) that we were past our port. And so this place where we rode was, as the mariners sayd, about 50. mile from Iaffa. This coast all alongst is very lowe, plaine, white, sandie, and desert, for which cause it hath fewe markes or none, so that we rode here as it were in a gulfe betweene two Capes.

A great currant.

The 18. day we abode still at anker, looking for a gale to returne backe, but it was contrary: and the 19. we set saile, but the currant hauing more force then the winde, we were driuen backe, insomuch that the ship being vnder saile, we cast the sounding lead, and (notwithstanding the wind) it remained before the shippe, there wee had muddie ground at fifteene fadome. The same day about 4. of the clocke, wee set saile againe, and sayled West alongst the coast with a fresh side-winde. It chanced by fortune that the shippes Cat lept into the Sea, which being downe, kept her selfe very valiauntly aboue water, notwithstanding the great waues, still swimming, the which the master knowing, he caused the Skiffe with halfe a dozen men to goe towards her and fetch her againe, when she was almost halfe a mile from the shippe, and all this while the ship lay on staies. I hardly beleeue they would haue made such haste and meanes if one of the company had bene in the like perill. They made the more haste because it was the patrons cat. This I haue written onely to note the estimation that cats are in, among the Italians, for generally they

A Cat fallen into the sea and recouered

esteeme their cattes, as in England we esteeme a good Spaniell. The same night about tenne of the clocke the winde calmed, and because none of the shippe knewe where we were, we let fall an anker about 6 mile from the place we were at before, and there wee had muddie ground at twelue fathome.

The 20 it was still calme, and the current so strong still one way, that we were not able to stemme the streame: moreouer we knew not where we were, whereupon doubting whither wee were past, or short of our port, the Master, Pilot, and other Officers of the shippe entered into counsell what was best to doe, wherevpon they agreed to sende the bote on lande againe, to seeke some man to speake with all, but they returned as wise as they went. Then we set sayle againe and sounded euery mile or halfe mile, and found still one depth, so we not knowing where we were, came againe to an anker, seuen or eight miles by West from the place we were at. Thus still doubting where we were, the bote went on land againe, and brought newes that wee were short 80 miles of the place, whereas we thought wee had beene ouershot by east fiftie miles. Thus in these doubts we lost foure dayes, and neuer a man in the shippe able to tell where we were, notwithstanding there were diuerse in the shippe that had beene there before. Then sayd the Pylot, that at his comming to the shore, by chance he saw two wayfaring men, which were Moores, and he cryed to them in Turkish, insomuch that the Moores, partly for feare, and partly for lacke of vnderstanding, (seeing them to be Christians) beganne to flie, yet in the end with much a doe, they stayed to speake with them, which men when they came together, were not able to vnderstand ech other, but our men made to them the signe of the Crosse on the sande, to giue them to vnderstand that they were of the shippe that brought the pilgrims. Then the Moores knowing (as al the country else doth) that it was the vse of Christians to go to Ierusalem, shewed them to be yet by west of Iaffa. Thus we remained all that night at anker, and the farther west that we sayled, the lesse water we had.

They met with two Moores on land.

The 21 we set sayle againe and kept our course Northeast, but cause we would not goe along the shore by night, wee came to anker in foure and twentie fathome water. Then the next morning being the 22 we set sayle againe, and kept our course as

The two towers of Iaffa.

Scolio di Santo Petro.

before, and about three of the clocke in the afternoone, wee had sight of the two towers of Iaffa, and about fiue of the clocke, wee were with a rocke, called in the Italian tongue, Scolio di Santo Petro, on the which rocke they say he fished, when Christ bid him cast his net on the right side, and caught so many fishes, This rocke is now almost worne away. It is from Iaffa two or three mile: here before the two towers we came to an anker. Then the pilgrimes after supper, in salutation of the holy lande, sang to the prayse of God, Te Deum laudamus, with Magnificat, and Benedictus, but in the shippe was a Frier of Santo Francisco, who for anger because he was not called and warned, would not sing with vs, so that he stood so much vpon his dignitie, that he forgot hi simplicitie, and neglected his deuotion to the holy land for that time, saying that first they ought to haue called him yer they did beginne, because he was a Fryer, and had beene there, and knewe the orders.

A messenger departeth for Ierusalem.

Mahomet is clothed in green.

The 23 we sent the bote on land with a messenger to the Padre Guardian of Ierusalem. This day it was notified vnto mee by one of the shippe that had beene a slaue in Turkie, that no man might weare greene in this land, because their prophet Mahomet went in greene. This came to my knowledge by reason of the Scriuanello, who had a greene cap, which was forbidden him to weare on the land.

The 24. 25. and 26 we taryed in the shippe still looking for the comming of the Padre guardian, and the 26 at night we had a storme which lasted all the next day.

The Guardian of Ierusalem commeth to Iaffa, with the Cady, and Subassi.

A cloud called of the Italians Cion most dangerous.

The 27 in the morning, came the Cadi, ye Subassi, and the Meniwe, with the Padre guardian, but they could not come at vs by reason of the stormy weather: in the afternoone we assayed to send the bote on land, but the weather would not suffer us. Then againe towards night the bote went a shore, but it returned not that night. The same day in the afternoone we sawe in the element, a cloud with a long tayle, like vnto the tayle of a serpent, which cloud is called in Italian Cion, the tayle of this cloud did hang as it were into the sea: and we did see the water vnder the sayde cloude ascend, as it were like a smoke or myste, the which this Cion drew vp to it. The Marriners reported to vs that it had this propertie, that if it should happen to haue lighted on any part of the shippe, that it would rent and wreth sayles, mast, shroudes and shippe and all in manner like a wyth: on the land, trees, houses, or whatsoeuer else it lighteth on, it would rent and wreth. These marriners did vse a certaine coniuration to breake the said tayle, or cut it in two, which as they say doth preuaile. They did take a blacke hafted knife, and with the edge of the same did crosse the said taile as if they would cut it in twain, saying these words, Hold thou Cion, eat this, and then they stucke the knife on the ship side with the edge towards the said cloude, and I saw it therewith vanish in lesse than one quarter of an houre. But whether it was then consumed, or whether by vertue of the Inchantment it did vanish I knowe not, but it was gone. Hereof let them iudge that know more then I. This afternoone we had no winde, but the sea very stormy, insomuch that neither cheste, pot, nor any thing else could stand in the shippe, and wee were driuen to keepe our meate in one hand, and the pot in the other, and so sit downe vpon the hatches to eate, for stand we could not, for that the Seas in the very port at an anker went so high as if wee had bene in the bay of Portugall with stormy weather. The reason is, as the Mariners said to me, because that there meete all the waues from all places of the Straights of Gibralter, and there breake, and that in most calmes there go greatest seas, whether the winde blow or not.

A coniuration.

The 28. the weather growing somewhat calme, wee went on land and rested our selues for that day, and the next day we set forward toward the city of Ierusalem

What I did, and what places of deuotion I visited in Ierusalem, and other parts of the Holy land, from this my departure from Iaffa, vntill my returne to the said port, may briefly be seene in my Testimoniall, vnder the hand and seale of the Vicar generall of Mount Sion, which for the contentment of the Reader I thought good here to interlace.

VNiuersis et singulis præsentes litteras inspecturis salutem in Domino nostro Iesu Christo. Attestamur vobis ac alijs quibuscunq;, qualiter honorabilis vir Iohannes Lok ciuis Londoniensis, filius honorabilis viri Guilhelmi Lok equitis aurati, ad sacratissima terræ sanctæ loca personaliter se contulit, sanctissimum Domini nostri Iesu Christi sepulchrum, equo die tertia gloriosus à mortuis resurrexit, sacratissimum Caluariæ montem, in quo pro nobis omnibus cruci affixus mori dignatus est, Sion etiam montem vbi cœnam illam mirificam cum discipulis suis fecit, et vbi spiritus sanctus in die sancto Pentecostes in discipulos eosdem in linguis igneis descendit, Oliuetiq; montem vbi mirabiliter coelos ascendit, intemeratæ virginis Mariæ Mausoleum in Iosaphat vallis medio situm, Bethaniam quoq;, Bethlehem ciuitatem Dauid in qua de purissima virgine Maria natus est, ibique inter animalia reclinatus, pluraq; loca alia tam in Hierusalem ciuitate sancta terre Iudææ, quàm extra, à modernis peregrinis visitari solita, deuotissimè visitauit, pariterq; adorauit. In quorum fidem, ego frater Anthonius de Bergamo ordinis fratrum minorum regularis obseruantiæ, prouinciæ diui Anthonij Sacri conuentus montis Sion vicarius (licet indignus) necnon aliorum locorum terræ Sanctæ, apostolica authoritate comissarius et rector, has Sigillo maiori nostri officij nostraque subscriptione muniri volui. Datum Hierosolymis apud sacratissimum domini coenaculum in sæpè memorato monte Sion, Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo, quinquagesimo tertio, die vero sexto mensis Septembris.

Frater Antonius qui supra.

The pilgrimes returne from Ierusalem.

Mount Carmel.

THe 15. of September being come from our pilgrimage, we went aborde our shippe, and set saile, and kept our course West toward the Island of Cyprus, but al that night it was calme, and the 16. the winde freshed, and we passed by Mount Carmel.

The 17. the winde was very scant, yet we kept the sea, and towards night wee had a guste of raine whereby wee were constrained to strike our sailes, but it was not very stormie, nor lasted very long.

The 18. 19. 20. and 21. we kept still the sea and saw no land because we had very little winde, and that not very fauourable.

The 22. at noone the Boatswaine sent some of the Mariners into the boat, (which we toed asterne from Iaffa) for certaine necessaries belonging to the ship, wherein the Mariners found a certaine fish in proportion like a Dace, about 6 inches long (yet the Mariners said they had seene the like a foote long and more) the which fish had on euery side a wing, and toward the taile two other lesser as it were finnes, on either side one, but in proportion they were wings and of a good length. These wings grow out betweene the gils and the carkasse of the same fish. They are called in the Italian tongue Pesce columbini, for in deede, the wings being spred it is

Pesce columbini.

like to a flying doue, they say it will flie farre and very high. So it seemeth that being weary of her flight she fell into the boate, and not being able to rise againe died there.

The 23. 24. and 25. we sailed our direct course with a small gale of winde, and this day we had sight of the Island of Cyprus. The first land that we discouered was a headland called Cauo de la Griega, and about midnight we ankered by North of the Cape. This cape is a high hil, long and square, and on the East corner it hath a high cop, that appeareth vnto those at the sea, like a white cloud, for toward the sea it is white, and it lieth into the sea Southwest. This coast of Cyprus is high declining toward the sea, but it hath no cliffes.

Cauo de la Griega.

The 26. we set saile againe, and toward noone we came into the port of Salini, where we went on land and lodged that night at a towne one mile from thence, called Arnacho di Salini, this is but a village called in Italian, Casalia. This is distant from Iaffa 250. Italian miles.

The 27. we rested, and the 28. we hired horses to ride from Arnacho to Sulina, which is a good mile. The salt pit is very neere two miles in compasse, very plaine and leuell, into the which they let runne at the time of raine a quantitie of water comming from the mountaines, which water is let in vntil the pit be full to a certaine marke, which when it is full, the rest is conueyed by a trench into the sea. The water is let runne in about October, or sooner or later, as the time of the yeere doth afforde. There they let it remaine vntill the ende of Iuly or the middest of August, out of which pits at that time, in stead of water that they let in they gather very faire white salt, without any further art or labour, for it is only done by the great heate of the sunne. This the Venetians haue, and doe maintaine to the vse of S. Marke, and the Venetian ships that come to this Island are bound to cast out their ballast, and to lade with salt for Venice. Also there may none in all the Iland buy salt but of these men, who maintaine these pits for S. Marke. This place is watched by night with 6. horsemen to the end it be not stolne by night. Also vnder the Venetians dominions no towne may spende any salt, but they must buy it of Saint Marke, neither may any man buy any salt at one towne to carie to another, but euery one must buy his salt in the towne where he dwelleth. Neither may any man in Venice buy more salt then he spendeth in the city, for if he be knowen to carie but one ounce out of the citie and be accused, hee looseth an eare. The most part of all the salt they haue in Venice commeth from these Salines, and they haue it so plentifull, that they are not able, neuer a yeere to gather the one halfe, for they onely gather in Iuly, August, and September, and not fully these three moneths. Yet notwithstanding the abundance that the shippes carie away yeerely, there remaine heapes like hilles, some heapes able to lade nine or tenne shippes, and there are heapes of two yeeres gathering, some of three and some of nine or tenne yeeres making, to the value of a great summe of golde, and when the ships do lade, they neuer take it by measure, but when they come at Venice they measure it. This salt as it lyeth in the pit is like so much ice, and it is sixe inches thicke: they digge it with axes, and cause their slaues to cary it to the heapes. This night at midnight we rode to Famagusta, which is eight leagues from Salina, which is 24 English miles.

The 29 about two houres before day we alighted at Famagusta, and after we were refreshed we went to see the towne. This is a very faire strong holde, and the strongest and greatest in the Iland. The walles are faire and new, and strongly rampired with foure principall bulwarkes, and betweene them turrions, responding one to another, these walles did the Venetians make. They haue also on the hauen side of it a Castle, and the hauen is chained, the citie hath onely two gates, to say, one for the lande and another for the sea, they haue in the towne continually, be it peace or warres, 800 souldiers, and fortie and sixe gunners, besides Captaines, petie Captaines, Gouernour and Generall. The lande gate hath alwayes fiftie souldiers, pikes and gunners with their harnes, watching thereat night and day. At the sea gate fiue and twentie, vpon the walles euery night doe watch fifteene men in watch houses, for euery watch house fiue men, and in the market place 30 souldiers continually. There may no souldier serue there aboue 5 yeres, neither will they without friendship suffer them to depart afore 5. yeres be expired, and there may serue of all nations except Greekes. They haue euery pay, which is 45. dayes, 15 Mozenigos, which is 15 shillings sterling. Their horsemen haue only sixe soldes Venetian a day, and prouender for their horses, but truely I maruell how they liue being so hardly fed, for all the sommer they feede only vpon chopt strawe

Mozenigo.

Solde of Venice.

and barley, for hay they haue none, and yet they be faire, fat and seruiceable. The Venetians send euery two yeres new rulers, which they call Castellani. The towne hath allowed it also two gallies continually armed and furnished.

Castellani.

The 30. in the morning we ridde to a chappell, where they say Saint Katherin was borne. This Chappell is in olde Famagusta, the which was destroyed by Englishmen, and is cleane ouerthrowne to the ground, to this day desolate and not inhabited by any person, it was of a great circuit, and there be to this day mountaines of faire, great, and strong buildings, and not onely there, but also in many places of the Iland. Moreouer when they digge, plowe, or trench they finde sometimes olde antient coines, some of golde, some of siluer, and some of copper, yea and many tombes and vautes with sepulchers in them. This olde Famagusta is from the other, foure miles, and standeth on a hill, but the new towne on a plaine. Thence we returned to new Famagusta againe to dinner, and toward euening we went about the towne, and in the great Church we sawe the tombe of king Iaques, which was the last king of Cyprus, and was buried in the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred seuentie and three, and had to wife one of the daughters of Venice, of the house of Cornari, the which family at this day hath great reuenues in this Island, and by means of that mariage the Venetians chalenge the kingdome of Cyprus.

Saint Katherens Chappel in old Famagusta.

Diuers coines vnder ground.

Cornari, a family of Venice maried to king Iaques.

The first of October in the morning, we went to see the reliefe of the watches. That done, we went to one of the Greekes Churches to see a pot or Iarre of stone, which is sayd to bee one of the seuen Iarres of water, the which the Lord God at the mariage conuerted into wine. It is a pot of earth very faire, white enamelled, and fairely wrought vpon with drawen worke, and hath on either side of it, instead of handles, eares made in fourme as the painters make angels wings, it was about an elle high, and small at the bottome, with a long necke and correspondent in circuit to the botome, the belly very great and round, it holdeth full twelue gallons, and hath a tap-hole to drawe wine out thereat, the Iarre is very auncient, but whether it be one of them or no, I know not. The aire of Famagusta is very vnwholesome, as they say, by reason of certaine marish ground adioyning vnto it. They haue also a certaine yeerely sicknesse raigning in the same towne, aboue all the rest of the Island: yet neuerthelesse, they haue it in other townes, but not so much. It is a certaine rednesse and paine of the eyes, the which if it bee not quickly holpen, it taketh away their sight, so that yeerely almost in that towne, they haue about twentie that lose their sight, either of one eye or both, and it commeth for the most part in this moneth of October, and the last moneth: for I haue met diuers times three and foure at once in companies, both men and women. Their liuing is better cheape in Famagusta then in any other place of the Island, because there may no kinde of prouision within their libertie bee solde out of the Citie.

No vitailes must be sold out of the city of Famagusta.

The second of October we returned to Arnacho, where wee rested vntill the sixt day. This towne is a pretie Village, there are thereby toward the Sea side diuers monuments, that there hath bene great ouerthrow of buildings, for to this day there is no yere when they finde not, digging vnder ground, either coines, caues, and sepulcres of antiquities, as we walking, did see many, so that in effect, all alongst the Sea coast, throughout the whole Island, there is much ruine and ouerthrow of buildings, for as they say, it was disinhabited sixe and thirtie yeres, before Saint Helens time for lacke of water. And since that time it hath bene ruinated and ouerthrowen by Richard the first of that name king of England, which he did in reuenge of his sisters rauishment comming to Ierusalem, the which inforcement was done to her by the king of Famagusta.

Great ruines in Cyprus.

Cyprus 36. yeres disinhabited for lacke of water.

Cypr. ruinated by Rich. the 1.

The sixt day we rid to Nicosia, which is from Arnacho seuen Cyprus miles, which are one and twentie Italian miles. This is the ancientest citie of the Iland, and is walled about, but it is not strong neither of walles nor situation: It is by report three Cyprus miles about, it is not throughly inhabited, but hath many great gardens in it, and also very many Date trees, and plentie of Pomegranates and other fruites. There dwell all the Gentilitie of the Island, and there hath euery Cauallier or Conte of the Island an habitation. There is in this citie one fountaine rented by saint Marke, which is bound euery eight dayes once, to water all the gardens in the towne, and the keeper of this fountaine hath for euery tree a Bizantin,

A fountaine that watereth al the gardens in the citie.

which is twelue soldes Venice, and sixpence sterling. He that hath that to farme, with a faire and profitable garden thereto belonging, paieth euery yeere to saint Marke, fifteene hundred crownes. The streetes of the citie are not paued, which maketh it with the quantitie of the gardens, to seeme but a rurall habitation. But there be many faire buildings in the Citie, there be also Monasteries both of Franks and Greekes. The Cathedrall church is called Santa Sophia, in the which there is an old tombe of Iaspis stone, all of one piece, made in forme of a cariage coffer, twelue spannes long, sixe spannes broad, and seuen spannes high, which they say was found vnder ground. It is as faire a stone as euer I haue seene.

A Bizantin is 6. d. sterling.

S. Sophia is a Cathedral church of Nicosia.

The seuenth day we rid to a Greeke Frierie halfe a mile without the towne. It is a very pleasaunt place, and the Friers feasted vs according to their abilitie. These Friers are such as haue bene Priests, and their wiues dying they must become Friers of this place, and neuer after eate flesh, for if they do, they are depriued from saying masse: neither, after they haue taken vpon them this order, may they marry againe, but they may keepe a single woman. These Greekish Friers are very continent and chast, and surely I haue seldome seen (which I haue well noted) any of them fat.

The 8. day we returned to Arnacho, and rested there. The 9. after midnight my company rid to the hill called Monte de la Croce (but I not disposed would not go) which hill is from Arnacho 15. Italian miles. Vpon the sayd hill is a certaine crosse, which is, they say, a holy Crosse. This Crosse in times past did by their report of the Island, hang in the ayre, but by a certaine earthquake, the crosse and the chappell it hung in, were ouerthrowen, so that neuer since it would hang againe in the aire. But it is now couered with siluer, and hath 3. drops of our lordes blood on it (as they say) and there is in the midst of the great crosse, a little crosse made of the crosse of Christ, but it is closed in the siluer, you must (if you will) beleeue it is so, for see it you cannot. This crosse hangeth nowe by both endes in the wall, that you may swing it vp and downe, in token that it did once hang in the aire. This was told me by my fellow pilgrimes, for I sawe it not.

Monte de la Croce.

The 10. at night we went aboord by warning of the patron:

and the 11. in the morning we set saile, and crept along the shore, but at night we ankered by reason of contrary windes.

Limisso.

The 12. we set saile toward Limisso, which is from Salines 50. miles, and there we went on land that night.

The 13. and 14. we remained still on land, and the 15. the patrone sent for vs; but by reason that one of our company was not well, we went not presently, but we were forced afterward to hire a boate, and to ouertake the ship tenne miles into the sea. At this Limisso all the Venetian ships lade wine for their prouision, and some for to sell, and also vineger. They lade also great store of Carrobi: for all the countrey thereabout adioining, and all the mountaines are full of Carrobi trees, they lade also cotton wooll there. In the sayd towne we did see a certaine foule of the land (whereof there are many in this Island) named in the Italian tongue Vulture. It is a foule that is as big as a Swanne, and it liueth vpon carion. The skinne is full of soft doune, like to a fine furre, which they vse to occupie when they haue euill stomocks, and it maketh good digestion. This bird (as they say) will eat as much at one meale as shall serue him fortie dayes after, and within the compasse of that time careth for no more meate. The countrey people, when they have any dead beast, they cary it into the mountaines, or where they suppose the sayd Vultures to haunt, they seeing the carion doe immediately greedily seize vpon it, and doe so ingraft their talents, that they cannot speedily rise agayne, by reason whereof the people come and kill them: sometimes they kill them with dogs, and sometimes with such weapons as they haue. This foule is very great and hardy, much like an Eagle in the feathers of her wings and backe, but vnder her great feathers she is onely doune, her necke also long and full of doune. She hath on the necke bone, betweene the necke and the shoulders a heape of fethers like a Tassell, her thighs vnto her knees are couered with doune, her legs strong and great, and dareth with her talents assault a man.

Carrobi.

Vulture.

Great pleny of very fat birds.

They haue also in this Island a certaine small bird, much like vnto a Wagtaile in fethers and making, these are so extreme fat that you can perceiue nothing els in all their bodies: these birds are now in season. They take great quantitie of them, and they vse to pickle them with vineger and salt, and to put them in pots and send them to Venice and other places of Italy for presents of great estimation. They say they send almost 1200. Iarres or pots to Venice, besides those which are consumed in the Island, which are a great number. These are so plentifull that when there is no shipping, you may buy then for 10. Carchies, which coine are 4. to a Venetian Soldo, which is peny farthing the dozen, and when there is store of shipping, 2. pence the dozen, after that rate of their money. They of the limites of Famagusta do keep the statutes of ye Frenchmen which sometimes did rule there. And the people of Nicosia obserue the order of the Genoueses, who sometimes also did rule them. All this day we lay in the sea with little wind.

The Famagustans obserue the French statutes.

The 16. we met a Venetian ship, and they willing to speake with vs, and we with them, made towards each other, but by reason of the euil stirrage of the other ship, we had almost boorded each other to our great danger. Toward night we ankered vnder Cauo Bianco, but because the winde grew faire, we set saile againe presently.

Cauo Bianco.

The 17. 18. 19. and 20. we were at sea with calme sommer weather, and the 20. we had some raine, and saw another Cion in the element. This day also we sawe, and spake with a Venetian ship called el Bonna, bound for ciprus.

Another Cion.

A ship called el Bonna.

The 21. we sailed with a reasonable gale, and saw no land vntil the 4. of Nouember. This day we had raine, thunder, lightening, and much wind and stormie weather, but God be praised we escaped all dangers.

A great tempest.

The 4. of Nouember we had sight of the Island of Candia, and we fell with the Islands called Gozi, by south of Candia. This day departed this present life, one of our company named Anthonie Gelber of Prussia, who onely tooke his surfet of Cyprus wine. This night we determined to ride a trie, because the wind was contrary, and the weather troublesome.

Candia, Gozi. Antonie Gelber departed this life.

The 5. we had very rough stormie weather. This day was the sayd Anthonie Gelber sowed in a Chauina filled with stones and throwen into the sea. By reason of the freshnes of the wind we would haue made toward the shore, but the wind put vs to the sea, where we endured a great storme and a troublesome night.

The 6. 7. and 8. we were continually at the sea, and this day at noone the wind came faire, whereby we recouered the way which we had lost, and sayled out of sight of Candia.

The 9. we sailed all day with a prosperous wind after 14. mile an houre: and the 10. in the morning, wee had sight of Cauo Matapan, and by noone of Cauo Gallo, in Morea, with which land we made by reason of contrary wind, likewise we had sight of Modon, vnder the which place we ankered. This Modon is a strong towne, and built into the sea, with a peere for litle ships and galleis to harbour in. It hath on the South side of the chanell, the Iland of Sapientia, with other litle Ilands all disinhabited. The chanell lieth Southwest and Northeast betweene the Islands and Morea, which is firme land. This Modon was built by the Venetians, but as some say it was taken from them by force of the Turke, and others say by composition: in like case Coron, and Napolis de Romania, which is also in Morea. This night the Flemmish pilgrimes being drunke, would have slaine the patrone because he ankered here.

Cauo Matapan.
Modon.
Sapientia.
Coran.
Napolis de Romania.

The 11. day we set saile againe, and as we passed by Modon, we saluted them with ordinance, for they that passe by this place, must salute with ordinance, (if they haue) or els by striking their top sailes, for if they doe not, the towne will shoot at them. This day toward 2. of the clocke wee passed by the Island of Prodeno, which is but litle, and desert, vnder the Turke. About 2. houres before night, we had sight of the Islands of Zante and Cephalonia, which are from Modon one hundreth miles.

Prodeno.
Zante and Cephalonia.

The 12. day in the morning, with the wind at West, we doubled between Castle Torneste, and the Island of Zante. This castle is on the firme land vnder the Turke. This night we ankered afore the towne of Zante, where we that night went on land, and rested there the 13. 14. and 15. at night we were warned aboord by the patrone. This night the ship tooke in vitailes and other necessaries.

Castle Torneste vnder the Turke.

The 16. in the morning we set saile with a prosperous wind, and the 17. we had sight of Cauo de santa Maria in Albania on our right hand, and Corfu on the left hand. This night we ankered before the castles of Corfu, and went on land and refreshed our selues.

The 18. by meanes of a friend we were licenced to enter the castle or fortresse of Corfu, which is not onely of situation the strongest I haue seene, but also of edification. It hath for the Inner warde two strong castles situated on the top of two high cragges of a rocke, a bow shoot distant the one from the other: the rocke is vnassaultable, for the second warde it hath strong walles with rampiers and trenches made as well as any arte can deuise. For the third warde and vttermost, it hath very strong walles with rampires of the rocke it selfe cut out by force and trenched about with the sea. The bulwarkes of the vttermost warde are not yet finished, which are in number but two: there are continually in the castle seuen hundred souldiours. Also it hath continually foure wardes, to wit, for the land entrie one, for the sea entrie another, and two other wardes. Artillerie and other munition of defence alwayes readie planted it hath sufficient, besides the store remaining in their storehouses. The Venetians hold this for the key of all their dominions, and for strength it may be no lesse. This Island is very fruitfull and plentifull of wine and corne very good, and oliues great store. This Island is parted from Albania with a chanell, in some places eight and ten, and in other but three miles. Albania is vnder the Turke, but in it are many Christians. All the horseman of Corfu are Albaneses; the Island is not aboue 80. or 90. miles in compasse.

The description of the force of Corfu.

The 19. 20. and 21. we remained in the towne of Corfu.

The 22. day wee went aboord and set saile, the wind being very calme wee toed the ship all that day, and toward Sunne set, the castle sent a Fragatta vnto us to giue vs warning of three Foistes comming after vs, for whose comming wee prepared and watched all night, but they came not.

The 23. day in the morning being calme, wee toed out of the Streight, vntill wee came to the olde towne, whereof there is nothing standing but the walles. There is also a new Church of the Greekes called Santa Maria di Cassopo, and the townes name is called Cassopo. It is a good porte. About noone wee passed the Streight, and drew toward the ende of the Iland, hauing almost no wind. This night after supper, by reason of a certaine Hollander that was drunke, there arose in the ship such a troublesome disturbance, that all the ship was in an vprore with weapons, and had it not bene rather by Gods helpe, and the wisedome and patience of the patrone, more then by our procurement, there had bene that night a great slaughter. But as God would, there was no hurt, but onely the beginner was put vnder hatches, and with the fall hurt his face very sore. All that night the wind blew at Southeast, and sent vs forward.

The 24. in the morning wee found ourselues before an Island called Saseno, which is in the entrie to Valona, and the wind prosperous.

The 25. day we were before the hils of Antiueri, and about sunne set wee passed Ragusa, and three houres within night we ankered within Meleda, hauing Sclauonia or Dalmatia on the right hand of vs, and the winde Southwest.

The 26. in the morning we set sayle, and passed the chanell between Sclauonia and Meleda, which may be eight mile ouer at the most. This Iland is vnder the Raguses. At after noone with a hard gale at west and by north we entered the chanell betweene the Iland Curzola and the hilles of Dalmatia, in which channell be many rockes, and the channell not past 3 miles ouer, and we ankered before the towne of Curzolo. This is a pretie towne walled about and built vpon the sea side, hauing on the toppe of a round hill a faire Church. This Iland is vnder the Venetians, there grow very good vines, also that part toward Dalmatia is well peopled and husbanded, especially for wines. In the said Iland we met with the Venetian armie, to wit, tennie gallies, and three foystes. All that nightwe remained there.

The 27 we set sayle and passed along the Iland, and towards afternoone we passed in before the Iland of Augusta, and about sunne set before the towne of Lesina, whereas I am informed by the Italians, they take all the Sardinas that they spend in Italy. This day we had a prosperous winde at Southeast. The Iland of Lesina is vnder the Venetians, a very fruitfull Iland adioyning to the maine of Dalmatia, we left it on our right hand, and passed along.

The gulfe of Quernero.

The 28 in the morning we were in the Gulfe of Quernero, and about two houres after noone we were before the cape of Istria, and at sunne set we were at anker afore Rouignio which is also in Istria and vnder the Venetians, where all ships Venetian and others are bound by order from Venice to take in their pilots to goe for Venice. All the sommer the Pilots lie at Rouignio, and in winter at Parenzo, which is from Rouignio 18 miles by West.

Rouignio.

The 29 we set sayle and went as farre as Parenzo, and ankered there that day, and went no further.

Parenzo.

The 30 in the morning we rowed to Sant Nicolo a litle Island hard by vninhabited, but only it hath a Monastery, and is full of Oliue trees, after masse wee returned and went aboord. This day we hired a Barke to imbarke the pilgrims for Venice, but they departed not. In the afternoone we went to see the towne of Parenzo, it is a pretie handsome towne, vnder the Venetians. After supper wee imbarked our selues againe, and that night wee sayled towardes Venice.

S. Nicolo an Iland.

The first of December we past a towne of the Venetians, standing on the entery to the Palude or marshes of Venice: which towne is called Caorle, and by contrary windes we were driuen thither to take port. This is 60 miles from Parenzo, and forty from Venice, there we remayned that night.

The second two houres before day, with the winde at Southeast, we sayled towards Venice, where we arriued (God be praysed) at two of the clocke after dinner, and landed about foure, we were kept so long from landing, because we durst not land vntill we had presented to the Prouidor de la Sanita, our letter of health.

The first voyage or iourney, made by Master Laurence Aldersey, Marchant of London, to the Cities of Ierusalem, and Tripolis, &c. in the yeere 1581. Penned and set downe by himselfe.

I Departed from London the first day of April in the yeere of our Lord 1581, passing through the Nether-land and vp the riuer Rhene by Colen, and other cities of Germanie. And vpon Thursday, the thirde day of May, I came to Augusta, where I deliuered the letter I had to Master Ienise, and Master Castler, whom I found very willing to pleasure me, in any thing that I could or would reasonably demaund. He first furnished me with a horse to Venice, for my money, and then tooke me with him a walking, to shew me the Citie, for that I had a day to tary there, for him that was to be my guide. He shewed me first the Statehouse, which is very faire, and beautiful: then he brought mee to the finest garden, and orchard, that euer I sawe in my life: for there was in it a place for Canarie birdes, as large as a faire Chamber, trimmed with wier both aboue and beneath, with fine little branches of trees for them to sit in, which was full of those Canarie birdes. There was such an other for Turtle dooues: also there were two pigeon houses ioyning to them, hauing in them store of Turtle dooues and pigeons. In the same garden also were sixe or seuen fishponds, all railed about, and full of very good fish. Also, seuen or eight fine fountaines, or water springs, of diuers fashions: as for fruite, there wanted none of all sorts, as Orenges, figges, raisons, wallnuts, grapes, besides apples, peares, fillbirds, small nuts, and such other fruite, as wee haue in England.

Then did hee bring mee to the water tower of the same Citie, that by a sleight and deuise hath the water brought vp as high as any Church in the towne, and to tel you the strange deuises of all, it passeth my capacitie. Then he brought me to another faire garden, called the Shooters hoose, where are buts for the long bowe, the cross bowe, the stone bowe, the long peece, and for diuers other exercises more.

After this, we walked about the walles of the Citie, where is a great, broade, and deepe ditch, vpon one side of the towne, so full of fish, as euer I saw any pond in my life, and it is reserued onely for the States of the Citie. And vpon the other side of the Citie is also a deepe place all greene, wherein Deere are kept, and when it pleaseth the States to hunt for their pleasure, thither they resort, and haue their courses with grayhounds, which are kept for that purpose.

The fift of May, I departed from Augusta towards Venice, and came thither vpon Whitsunday the thirteenth of the same moneth. It is needlesse to speake of the height of the mountaines that I passed ouer, and of the danger thereof, it is so wel knowen already to the world: the heigth of them is marueilous, and I was the space of sixe dayes in passing them.

I came to Venice at the time of a Faire, which lasted foureteene dayes, wherein I sawe very many, and faire shewes of wares. I came thither too short for the first passage, which went away from Venice about the seuenth or eight of May, and with them about three score pilgrims, which shippe was cast away at a towne called Estria, two miles from Venice, and all the men in her, sauing thirtie, or thereabout, lost.

Within eight dayes after fell Corpus Christi day, which was a day amongst them of procession, in which was shewed the plate and treasure of Venice, which is esteemed to be worth two millions of pounds, but I do not accompt it woorth halfe a quarter of that money, except there be more than I sawe. To speake of the sumptuousnesse of the Copes and Vestments of the Church, I leaue, but the trueth is, they be very sumptuous, many of them set all ouer with pearle, and made of cloth of golde. And for the Iesuits, I thinke there be as many at Venice, as there be in Colen.

The number of Iewes is there thought to be 1000, who dwell in a certaine place of the Citie, and haue also a place, to which they resort to pray, which is called the Iewes Sinagogue. They all, and their offspring vse to weare red caps, (for so they are commaunded) because they may thereby be knowen from other men. For my further knowledge of these people, I went into their Sinagogue vpon a Saturday, which is their Sabbath day: and I found them in their seruice or prayers, very deuoute: they receiue the fiue bookes of Moses, and honour them by carying them about their Church, as the Papists doe their crosse.

Their Synagogue is in forme round, and the people sit round about it, and in the midst, there is a place for him that readeth to the rest: as for their apparell, all of them weare a large white lawne ouer their garments, which reacheth from their head, downe to the ground.

The Psalmes they sing as wee doe, hauing no image, nor vsing any maner of idolatrie: their error is, that they beleeue not in Christ, nor yet receiue the New Testament. This Citie of Venice is very faire, and greatly io bee commended, wherein is good order for all things: and also it is very strong and populous: it standeth vpon the maine Sea, and hath many Islands about it, that belong to it.

To tell you of the duke of Venice, and of the Seigniory: there is one chosen that euer beareth the name of a duke, but in trueth hee is but seruant of his Seigniorie, for of himselfe hee can doe litle: it is no otherwise with him, then with a Priest that is at Masse vpon a festiual day, which putting on his golden garment, seemeth to be a great man, but if any man come vnto him, and craue some friendship at his handes, hee will say, you must goe to the Masters of the Parish, for I cannot pleasure you, otherwise then by preferring to your suite: and so it is with the duke of Venice, if any man hauing a suite, come to him, and make his complaint, and deliuer his supplication, it is not in him to helpe him, but hee will tell him, You must come this day, or that day, and then I will preferre your suite to the Seigniorie, and doe you the best friendship that I may. Furthermore, if any man bring a letter vnto him, hee may not open it, but in the presence of the Seigniorie, and they are to see it first, which being read, perhaps they will deliuer it to him, perhaps not. Of the Seigniory there be about three hundreth, and about fourtie of the priuie Counsell of Venice, who vsually are arayed in gownes of crimsen Satten, or crimsen Damaske, when they sit in Counsell.

In the citie of Venice, no man may weare a weapon, except he be a souldier for the Seigniorie, or a scholler of Padua, or a gentleman of great countenance, and yet he may not do that without licence.

As for the women of Venicer they be rather monsters then women. Euery Shoomakers or Taylors wife will haue a gowne of silke, and one to carie vp her traine, wearing their shooes very neere halfe a yarde high from the ground: if a stranger meete one of them, he will surely thinke by the state that she goeth with, that he meeteth a Lady.

I depared from this citie of Venice, vpon Midsommer day, being the foure and twentieth of Iune, and thinking that the ship would the next day depart, I stayed, and lay a shippeboord all night, and we were made beleeue from time to time, that we should this day, and that day depart, but we taried still, till the fourteenth of July, and then with scant winde we set sayle, and sayled that day and that night, not aboue fiftie Italian miles: and vpon the sixteene day at night the winde turned flat contrary, so that the Master knewe not what do doe: and about the fift houre of the night, which we reckon to be about one of the clocke after midnight, the Pilot descried a saile, and at last perceiued it to be a Gallie of the Turkes, whereupon we were in great feare.

The Master being a wise fellowe, and a good sayler, beganne to deuise howe to escape the danger, and to loose litle of our way: and while both he, and all of vs were in our dumps, God sent vs a merry gale of winde, that we ranne threescore and tenne leagues before it was twelue a clocke the next day, and in sixe dayes after we were seuen leagues past Zante. And vpon Munday morning, being the three and twentie of the same moneth, we came in the sight of Candia which day the winde came contrary, with great blasts and stormes, vntill the eight and twentie of the same moneth: in which time, the Mariners cried out vpon me, because I was an English man, and sayd, I was no good Christian, and wished that I were in the middest of the Sea, saying, that they, and the shippe were the worse for me. I answered, truely it may well be, for I thinke my selfe the worst creature in the worlde, and consider you your selues also, as I doe my selfe, and then vse your discretion. The Frier preached, and the sermon being done, I was demaunded whether I did vnderstand him: I answered, yea, and tolde the Frier himselfe, thus you saide in your sermon, that we were not all good Christians, or else it were not possible for vs to haue such weather: to which I answered, be you well assured, that we are not indeede all good Christians, for there are in the ship some that hold very vnchristian opinions: so for that time I satisfied him, although (they said) that I would not see, when they said the procession, and honoured their images, and prayed to our Lady and S. Marke.

There was also a Gentleman, an Italian, which was a passenger in the ship, and he tolde me what they said of me, because I would not sing, Salue Regina and Aue Maria, as they did: I told them, that they that praied to so many, or sought helpe of any other, then of God the Father, or of Iesus Christ his onely sonne, goe a wrong way to worke, and robbed God of his honour, and wrought their owne destructions.

All this was told of the Friers, but I heard nothing of it in three daies after: and then at euening prayer, they sent the purser about with the image of our Lady to euery one to kisse, and I perceiuing it went another way from him, and would not see it: yet at last he fetched his course about, so that he came to me, and offered it to me as he did to others, but I refused it: whereupon there was a great stirre: the patron and all the friers were told of it, and euery one saide I was a Lutheran, and so called me: but two of the friers that were of greatest authoritie, seemed to beare me better good will then the rest, and trauelled to the patron in my behalfe, and made all well againe.

The second day of August we arriued in Cyprus, at a towne called Missagh: the people there be very rude, and like beasts, and no better they eat their meat sitting vpon the ground, with their legges a crosse like tailors, their beds for the most part be hard stones, but yet some of them haue faire mattraces to lie vpon.

Vpon Thursday the eight of August we came to Ioppa in a small barke, which we hired betwixt Missagh and Salina, and could not be suffered to come on land till noone the next day, and then we were permitted by the great Basha, who sate vpon the top of a hill to see vs sent away. Being come on land, we might not enter into any house for victuals, but were to content our selues with our owne prouision, and that which we bought to carie with vs was taken from vs. I had a paire of stirrops, which I bought at Venice to serue me in my journey, and trying to make them fit for me, when the Basha saw me vp before the rest of the companie, he sent one to dismount me, and to strike me, whereupon I turned me to the Basha, and made a long legge, saying, Grand mercie Signior: and after a while we were horsed vpon litle asses, and sent away, with about fiftie light horsemen to be our conduct through the wildernesse, called Deserta fœlix, who made vs good sport by the way with their pikes, gunnes, and fauchins.

That day being S. Laurence day, we came to Rama, which is tenne Italian miles from Ioppa, and there we stayed that night, and payed to the captaine of the castell euery man a chekin, which is seuen shillings and two pence sterling. So then we had a new gard of souldiers, and left the other.

The house we lodged in at Rama had a doore so low to enter into, that I was faine to creepe in, as it were vpon my knees, and within it are three roomes to lodge trauellers that come that way: there are no beds, except a man buy a mat, and lay it on the ground, that is all the prouision, without stooles or benches to sit vpon. Our victuals were brought vs out of the towne, as hennes, egges, bread, great store of fruite, as pomgranates, figges, grapes, oringes, and such like, and drinke we drue out of the well. The towne it selfe is so ruinated, that I take it rather to be a heape of stones then a towne.

Then the next morning we thought to haue gone away, but we could not be permitted that day, so we stayed there till two of the clocke the next morning, and then with a fresh gard of souldiers we departed toward Ierusalem. We had not ridde fiue English miles, but we were incountred with a great number of the Arabians, who stayed vs, and would not suffer vs to passe till they had somewhat, so it cost vs for all our gard aboue twentie shillings a man betwixt Ioppa and Ierusalem. These Arabians troubled vs oftentimes. Our Truchman that payed the money for vs was striken down, and had his head broken because he would not giue them as much as they asked: and they that should haue rescued both him and vs, stood still and durst do nothing, which was to our cost.

Being come within sight of Ierusalem, the maner is to kneele downe, and giue God thankes, that it hath pleased him to bring vs to that holy place, where he himselfe had beene: and there we leaue our horses, and go on foote to the towne, and being come to the gates, there they tooke our names, and our fathers names, and so we were permitted to go to our lodgings.

The gouernour of the house met vs a mile out of the towne, and very curteously bade vs all welcome, and brought vs to the monasterie. The gates of the citie are all couered with yron, the entrance into the house of the Christians is a very low and narrow doore, barred or plated with yron, and then come we into a very darke entry: the place is a monastery: there we lay, and dieted of free cost, we fared reasonable well, the bread and wine was excellent good, the chambers cleane, and all the meat well serued in, with cleane linnen.

We lay at the monasterie two days, Friday and Saturday, and then we went to Bethlem with two or three of the friers of the house with vs: in the way thither we saw many monuments, as:

The mountaine where the Angell tooke vp Abacuck by the haire, and brought him to Daniel in the Lions denne.

The fountaine of the prophet Ieremie.

The place where the wise men met that went to Bethlem to worship Christ, where is a fountaine of stone.

Being come to Bethlem we sawe the place where Christ was borne, which is now a chappell with two altars, whereupon they say masse: the place is built with gray marble, and hath bene beautifull, but now it is partly decayed.

Neere thereto is the sepulchre of the innocents slaine by Herod, the sepulchres of Paul, of Ierome, and of Eusebius.

Also a little from this monasterie is a place vnder the ground, where the virgine Mary abode with Christ when Herod sought him to destroy him.

We stayed at Bethlem that night, and the next day we went from thence to the mountaines of Iudea, which are about eight miles from Ierusalem, where are the ruines of an olde monasterie. In the mid way from the monasterie to Ierusalem is the place where Iohn Baptist was borne, being now an olde monasterie, and cattell kept in it. Also a mile from Ierusalem is a place called Inuentio sanctæ crucis, where the wood was found that made the crosse.

In the citie of Ierusalem we saw the hall where Pilate sate in iudgement when Christ was condemned, the staires whereof are at Rome, as they told vs. A litle from thence is the house where the virgin Mary was borne.

There is also the piscina or fishpoole where the sicke folkes were healed, which is by the wals of Ierusalem. But the poole is now dry.

The mount of Caluaria is a great church, and within the doore thereof, which is litle, and barred with yron, and fiue great holes in it to looke in, like the holes of taverne doores in London, they sit that are appointed to receiue our money with a carpet vnder them vpon a banke of stone, and their legges a crosse like tailors: hauing paid our money, we are permitted to go into the church: right against the church doore is the graue where Christ was buried, with a great long stone of white marble ouer it, and rayled about, the outside of the sepulchre is very foule, by meanes that euery man scrapes his name and marke vpon it, and is ill kept.

Within the sepulchre is a partition, and in the further part thereof is a place like an altar, where they say masse, and at the doore thereof is the stone whereupon the Angell sate when he sayde to Marie, He is risen, which stone was also rowled to the doore of the sepulchre.

The altar stone within the sepulchre is of white marble, the place able to conteine but foure persons, right ouer the sepulchre is a deuise or lanterne for light, and ouer that a great louer such as are in England in ancient houses. There is also the chappell of the sepulchre, and in the mids thereof is a canopie as it were of a bed, with a great sort of Estridge egges hanging at it, with tassels of silke and lampes.

Behinde the sepulchre is a litle chappell for the Chaldeans and Syrians.

Vpon the right hand comming into the church is the tombe of Baldwine king of France, and of his sonne: and in the same place the tombe of Melchisedech.

There is a chappell also in the same church erected to S. Helen, through which we go vp to the place where Christ was crucified: the stayres are fiftie steps high, there are two altars in it: before the high altar is the place where the crosse stood, the hole whereof is trimmed about with siluer, and the depth of it is halfe a mans arme deepe: the rent also of the mountaine is there to be seene in the creuis, wherein a man may put his arme.

Vpon the other side of the mount of Caluarie is the place where

Abraham would haue sacrificed his sonne. Where also is a chapell, and the place paued with stones of diuers colours.

There is also the house of Annas the high Priest, and the Oliue tree whereunto Christ was bound to when he was whipt. Also the house of Caiphas, and by it the prison where Christ was kept, which is but the roome of one man, and hath no light but the opening of the doore.

Without Ierusalem in the vally of Iosaphat is a church vnder the ground, like to the shrouds in Pauls, where the sepulchre of the virgin Mary is: the staires be very broad, and vpon the staires going downe are two sepulchres: vpon the left hand lieth Iosaphat, and vpon the right hand lieth Ioachim and Anna, the father and mother of the virgin Mary.

Going out of the valley of Iosaphat we came to mount Oliuet, where Christ praied vnto his father before his death; and there is to be seene (as they tolde me) the water and blood that fell from the eyes of Christ. A litle higher vpon the same mount is the place where the Apostles slept, and watched not. At the foot of the mount is the place where Christ was imprisoned.

Vpon the mountaine also is the place where Christ stood when he wept ouer Ierusalem, and where he ascended into heauen.

Now hauing seene all these monuments, I with my company set from Ierusalem, the 20 day of August, and came againe to Ioppa the 22 of the same moneth, where wee tooke shipping presently for Tripolis, and in foure dayes we came to Mecina the place where the ships lie that come for Tripolis.

The citie of Tripolis is a mile and a halfe within the land, so that no ship can come further then Mecina: so that night I came thither, where I lay nine daies for passage, and at last we imbarked our selues in a good ship of Venice called the Naue Ragasona. We entred the ship the second of September, the fourth we set saile, the seuenth we came to Salina, which is 140 miles from Tripolis: there we stayed foure dayes to take in more lading, in which meane time I fell sicke of an ague, but recouered againe, I praise God.

Salina is a ruinated citie, and was destroyed by the Turke ten yeeres past: there are in it now but seuenteene persons, women and children. A litle from this citie of Salina is a salt piece of ground, where the water groweth salt that raineth vpon it.

Thursday the 21 of September, we came to Missagh, and there we stayed eight dayes for our lading: the 18 of September before we came to Missagh, and within ten miles of the towne, as we lay at an anker, because the winde was contrary, there came a great boat full of men to boord vs, they made an excuse to seeke for foure men which (they said) our ship had taken from theirs about Tripolis, but our captaine would not suffer any of them to come into vs.

The next morning they came to vs againe with a great gally, manned with 500 men at ye least, whereupon our captaine sent the boat to them with twelue men to know their pleasure: they said they sought for 4 men, and therefore would talke with our maister: so then the maisters mate was sent them, and him they kept, and went their way: the next morning they came againe with him, and with three other gallies, and then would needes speake with our captaine, who went to them in a gowne of crimson damaske, and other very braue apparell, and fiue or sixe other gentlemen richly apparelled also. They hauing the Turkes safe conduct, shewed it to the captaine of the gallies, and laid it vpon his head, charging him to obey it: so with much adoe, and with the gift of 100 pieces of golde we were quit of them, and had our man againe.

That day as aforesaid, we came to Missagh, and there stayed eight dayes, and at last departed towards Candie, with a scant winde.

The 11 day of October we were boorded with foure gallies, manned with 1200 men, which also made a sleeuelesse arrant, and troubled us very much, but our captaines pasport, and the gift of 100 chekins discharged all.

The 27 of October we passed by Zante with a merrie winde, the 29 by Corfu, and the third of Nouember we arriued at Istria, and there we left our great ship, and tooke small boates to bring vs to Venice.

The 9 of Nouember I arriued again at Venice in good health, where I staied nine daies, and the 25 of the same moneth I came to Augusta, and staied there but one day.

The 27 of Nouember I set towards Nuremberg where I came the 29, and there staied till the 9 of December, and was very well interteined of the English marchants there: and the gouernors of the towne sent me and my company sixteene gallons of excellent good wine.

From thence I went to Frankford, from Frankford to Collen, from Collen to Arnam, from Arnam to Vtreight, from Vtreight to

Dort, from Dort to Antwerpe, from Antwerpe to Flushing, from Flushing to London, where I arriued vpon Twelue eue in safetie, and gaue thanks to God, hauing finished my iourney to Ierusalem and home againe, in the space of nine moneths and fiue dayes.

The passeport made by the great Maister of Malta vnto the Englishmen in the barke Raynolds. 1582.

FRere Hugo de Loubeux Verdala, Dei gratia sacræ domus hospitalis sancti Ioannis Hierosolymitani magister humilis, pauperumq; Iesu Christi custos, vniuersis et singulis principibus ecclesiasticis et secularibus, archiepiscopis, episcopis, ducibus, marchionibus, baronibus, nobilibus, capitaneis, vicedominis, præfectis, castellanis, admiralijs, et quibuscunque triremium vel aliorum nauigiorum patronis, ac ciuitatum rectoribus, potestatibus ac magistratibus, cæterisque officialibus, et quibuscunque personis cuiusuis dignitatis, gradus, status et conditionis fuerint, vbilibet locorum et terrarum constitutis, salutem.

Notum facimus et in verbo veritatis attestamur, come nel mese di Maggio prossime passato le nostre galere vennero dal viaggio di Barberia, doue hauendo mandato per socorrere a vn galionetto de Christiani che hauea dato trauerso in quelle parti, essendo arriuati sopra questa isola alla parte de ponente trouarono vno naue Inglesa, sopra cargo de essa il magnifico Giouanni Keale, et Dauid Filly patrono, volendo la reconoscere che naue fosse, han visto, che se metteua in ordine per defendersi, dubitando che dette nostre galere fossero de inimici: et per che vn marinaro riuoltose contra la volonta de detti magnifiico Giouanni Keale et Dauid Filly, habbi tirato vn tiro di artiglieria verso vna de dette galere, et che non se amangnaua la vela de la Maiestra secondo la volonta de detti magnifico Giouanni Keale et Dauid Filly patrono, furimensata detta naue nel presente general porto di Malta, secondo l'ordine del venerando Generale de dette galere, et essendo qua, monsignor Inquisitore ha impedita quella per conto del sancto officio, et si diede parte alla santita di nostro signor Gregorio papa xiij. A la fin fu licenciata per andarsene al suo viaggio. Han donq; humilmente supplicato detti magnifico Giouanni Keale et Dauid Filly per nome et parte delli magnifici Edwardo Osborn senatore et Richardo Staper merchanti Inglesi della nobile citta di Londra, et anco di Tomaso Wilkinson scriuano, piloti, nocheri, et marinari, gli volessimo dare le nostre

lettere patente et saluo condutto, accioche potranno andare et ritornare quando gli parera commodo con alcuna roba et mercantia a loro benuista: si come noi, essendo cosa giusta et che retornera commoda a nostra relligione et a questi forrestieri, per tenor de li presenti se gli habiamo concesse con le conditione però infra scritte, videlicet:

Che ogni volta che detti mercadanti con sopradetta naue o con altra non porterano mercantie de contrabando, et che constara per fede authentica et con lettere patente de sanita, poteran liberalmente victualiarse de tutte le victuarie necessarie, et praticare in questa isola et dominij, et poi partisene et seguire suo viaggio per doue volessero in leuante o altroue, come tutti altri vaselli et specialmente de Francesi et aitri nationi, et die venderi et comprare qual si voglia mercantia a loro benuista.

Item, che potera portare poluere de canone et di archibuso, salnitro, carboni di petra rosetta, platine de rame, stagno, acciale, ferro, carisée commune, tela grossa bianca per far tende de galere, balle de ferro de calibro, petre de molino fine, arbore et antenne de galere, bastardi et alteri. Et in conclusione, hauenda visto che loro per il tempo che restarano qua, si portorno da fideli et Catholici Christiani, et che sua sanctita habbia trouata bono il saluo eondutto del gran Turko a loro concesso, per il timor della armata Turkesca . et di altri vaselli de inimici, inherendo alla volonta di sua sanctità, et massime per che hauera de andare et passare per diuersi lochi et tanto lontani come Ingilterra, Flandra, et tutti patri di ponente, et in altroue, a noi ha parso farle le presente nostre lettere patente com fidele conuersatore nostro, accio piu securamente et sensa obstaculo possa andare et ritornare quando li parera con detta naue o con altre, a loro benuista. Per tanto donque tutti et ciascun di voi sudetti affectuosamente pregamo, che per qual si voglia de vostra iurisditione, alla quale detto magnifico Giouanni Keale et Dauid Filly anome quo supra con la naue et marinari de detti loro principali o altri caschera, nauigare, passare, et venire sicuramente, alla libera, sensa alcuno disturbo o altro impedimento li lasciate, et facciate lasciare, stare, et passare, tornare, et quando li parera partire, talmente che per amore et contemplatione nostra il detto magnifico Giouanni Keale a nome quo supra con le naue, marinari, et mercantia non habbi difficulta, fastidio et ritentione alcuna, anzi se gli dia ogni agiuto et fauore, cosa degnadi voi, giusta, et a noi gratissima, de recompensaruila con vagule et maggior seruitio, quando dall'occa-

sione ne saremo rechiesti. Et finalmente commandammo a tutti et qual si voglia relligiosi et frati de nostra relligione di qual si voglia conditione, grado et stato che siano, et a tutti riceuitori et procuratori nostri in tutti et qual si voglia priorati nostri deputati et deputandi in vertu di santa obedientia, et attuti nostri vassalli et alla giurisditione di nostri relligione sogetti, che in tale et per tale tenghino et reputino il detto magnifico Giouanni Keale a nome vt supra, naue, marinari, et mercantia, sensa permittere, che nel detto suo viaggio, o in alcun altro luogo sia molestato, o in qual si voglia manera impedito, anzi rutte le cose sue et negotij loro sian da voi agioutati et continuamente fauoriti. In cuius rei testimonium Bulla nostra magistralis in cera nigra præsentibus est impressa. Datæ Melitæ in conuentu nostro die duodecimo Mensis Iulij. 1582.

The same in English

FRier Hugo of Loubeux Verdala, by the grace of God, master of the holy house, the hospital of S. Iohn at Ierusalem, and an humble keeper of the poore of Iesus Christ, to all and euery prince ecclesiastical and secular, archbishops, bishops, Dukes, Marqueses, Barons, Capteines, Vicelords, Maiors, Castellanes, Admirals, and whatsoeuer patrons of Gallies, or other greater officers and persons whatsoeuer, of what dignitie, degree, state and condition soeuer they be, dwelling in all places and landes, greeting.

We make it knowne, and in the word of truth do witnesse, that in the moneth of May last past, our gallies came on the voyage from Barbarie, where hauing commandement to succour a little ship of the Christians which was driuen ouer into that part, being arriued vpon this Iland on the West part they found one English ship vnder the charge of the worshipfull Iohn Keele, and Dauid Fillie master: and our men willing to know what ship it was, they seemed to put themselues in order for their defence, doubting that the said our gallies were of the enemies, and therefore one mariner attempted contrary to the will of the worshipfull Iohn Keele, and Dauid Fillie maister: and had shot off a piece of artillerie against one of the said gallies, and because she would not strike amaine her sayle, according to the will of the saide worshipfull Iohn Keele, and Dauid Fillie master, the said ship was brought backe again vnto the present port of Malta, according to the order of the reuerend generall of the said gallies: and in being there maister Inquisitor staid it by authoritie of the holy office, and in that behalfe by the holinesse of our Lord pope Gregorie the thirteenth, in the end was licenced to depart on her voyage. They therefore the said worshipfull Iohn Keele and Dauid Fillie, in the name and behalfe of the worshipfull master Edward Osborne and Alderman, and Richard Staper, English marchants of the noble citie of London, haue humbly besought together with Thomas Wilkinson the purser, pilots, master and mariners, that we would giue our letters patents, and safe conducts, that they might goe and returne, when they shall see opportunitie, with their goods and marchandizes at their pleasure: whereupon the thing seeming vnto vs iust, and that it might be for the profite of our religion, and of these strangers, by the tenor of these presents we haue graunted the same to them: yet, with the conditions hereunder written, viz.

That euery time the said marchants of the said ship, or with any other, shall not bring such merchandize as is forbidden, and that sufficient proofe and letters testimonial it appeareth that they are free from the infections of the plague, they may vituall themselues with all necessarie victuals, and traffike with vs, and in this Iland and dominion, and afterwarde may depart and follow their voyage whither they will into the Luant or else where, as all other vessels, and especially of France and other nations do, and sell and buy whatsoeuer marchandize they shal thinke good.

Item, that they may bring powder for cannon and harquebush, saltpeeter, cole of Newcastle, plates of lattin, tinne, steele, yron, common karsies white, course canuas to make saile for the gallies, balles of yron for shot, fine milstones, trees and masts for gallies, litle and others, and in conclusion, hauing seene that they for the time of their abode here, did behaue themselues like faithfull and catholike Christians, and that his holines hath allowed the safe-conduct of the great Turke to them granted for feare of the Turkish armie, and other vessels of the enemie, submitting our selues to the pleasures of his holinesse, and especially because our people haue occasion to passe by diuers places so farre off, as England, Flanders, and all parts Westwards, and in other places, we haue vouchsafed to make these our letters patents, as our faithfull assistant, so as more surely, and with let they may go and returne when they shall thinke good, with the said ship or with others at their pleasure. We therefore pray all and euery of your subiects effectually that by what part soeuer of your iurisdiction, vnto the which the said worshipful Iohn Keele and Daniel Fillie by name abouesaid, with the ship and mariners of the said principall place or other, shall haue accesse, saile, and passe, and come safely with libertie without any disturbance or other impediment, that you giue leaue, and cause leaue to be giuen that they may passe, stay and returne, and when they please, depart, in such sort, that for loue and contention the said worshipfull Iohn Keele, with the ship and mariners haue no let, hinderance, or retention, also that you giue all helpe and fauour, a thing worthy of your iustice, and to vs most acceptable, to be recompenced with equall and greater seruice, when vpon occasion it shalbe required.

And finally, we command all, and whatsoeuer religious people, and brothers of our religion, of whatsoeuer condition, degree, and state they be, and all other receiuers and procurators, in all and whatsoeuer our priories deputed, and to be deputed by vertue of the holy obedience, and all our people, and all that are subiect to the iurisdiction of our religion, that in, and by the same they hold, and repute the said worshipfull Iohn Keele in the name as abouesaid, the ship, mariners, and merchandize, without let in the same their voyage, or in any other place, that they be not molested, not in any wise hindered, but that in all their causes and businesse they be of you holpen and furthered continually. In witnesse whereof, our seale of gouernment is impressed to these presents in blacke waxe. Giuen at Malta in our Conuent, the twelfth of the moneth of Iuly, in the yeere 1582.

Commission giuen by M. William Harebourne the English Ambassadour, to Richard Foster, authorising him Consul of the English nation in the parts of Alepo, Damasco, Aman, Tripolis, Ierusalem, &c.

I William Harborne, her Maiesties Ambassadour, Ligier with the Grand Signior, for the affaires of the Leuant doe in her Maiesties name confirme and appoint Richart Foster Gentleman, my Deputie and Consull in the parts of Alepo, Damasco, Aman, Tripolis, Ierusalem, and all other ports whatsoeuer in the prouinces of Syria, Palestina, and Iurie, to execute the office of Consull ouer all our Nation her Maiesties subiects, of what estate or quality soeuer: giuing him hereby full power to defend, protect, and maintaine all such her Maiesties subiects as to him shall be odedient, in all honest and iest causes whatsoeuer: and in like case no lesse power to imprison, punish, and correct any and all such as he shall finde disobedient to him in the like causes, euen in such order as I myselfe might doe by virtue to her Maiesties Commission giuen me the 26 of Nouember 1582, the copie whereof I haue annexed to this present vnder her Maiesties Seale deliuered me to that vse. Straightly charging and commanding all her Maiesties subiects in those parts, as they will auoid her Highnesse displeasure and their owne harmes, to honour his authoritie, and haue due respect vnto the same, aiding and assisting him there with their persons and goods in any cause requisit to her Maiesties good seruice, and commoditie of her dominions. In witnesse whereof I haue confirmed and sealod these these presents at Rapamat my house by Pera ouer against Constantinople, to 20 of Iune 1583.

A letter of direcrions of the English Ambassadour to M. Richard Forster, appointed the first English Consuli at Tripolis in Syria.

COusin Forster, these few words are for your remembrance when it shall please the Almighty to send you safe arriuall in Tripolis of Syria. When it shall please God to send you thither, you are to certifie our Nrtion at Tripolis of the certaine day of your landing, to the end they both may haue their house in a reaeinesse, and also meet you personally at your entrance to accompany you, being your selfe apparelled in the best manner. The next, second, or third day, after your comming, giue it out that you be crazed and not well disposed, by meanes of your trauell at Sea, during which time, you and those there are most wisely to determine in what manner your are to present your selfe to the Beglerbi, Cadi, and other officers: who euery of them are to be presented according to the order accustomed of others formerly in like office: which after the note of Iohn Blanke, late Vice-consull of Tripolis for the French, deliuered you heerewith, is very much: and therefore, if thereof you can saue any thing, I pray you doe it, as I doubt not but you will. They are to giue you there also another Ianizarie according as the French hath: whose outward procedings you are to imitate and follow, in such sort as you be not his inferour, according as those of our Nation heeretofore with him resident can informe you. Touching your demeanour after your placing, your are wisely to proceede considering both French and Venetian will haue an enuious eye on you: whome if they perceiue wise and well aduised, they will feare to offer you any iniurie. But if they shall perceiue any insufficiencie in you, they will not omitte any occasion to harme you. They are subtile, malicious, and disembling people, wherefore you must alwayes haue their doings for suspected, and warily walke in all your actions: wherein if you call for Gods diuine assistance, as doth become euery faithfull good Christian, the same shall in such sort direct you as he shall be glorified, your selfe preserued, your doings blessed, and your enemies confounded. Which if contrarywise you omit and forget, your enemies malice shalbe satisfied with your confusion, which God defend, and for his mercies sake keepe you. Touching any outlopers of our nation, which may happen to come thither to traffike, you are not to suffer, but to imprison the chiefe officers, and suffer the rest not to traffike at any time, and together enter in such bonds as you thinke meete, that both they shall not deale in the Grand Sigoiors dominions, and also not harme, during their voyage, any his subiects shlppes, vessels, or whatsoeuer oiher, but quitely depart out of the same country without any harme doing. And touching those there for the company, your are to defend them according to your priuiledge and such commandements as you haue had hence, in the best order you may. In all and euery your actions, at any hand, beware of rashnesse and anger, after both which repentance followeth. Touching your dealings in their affaires of marchandise, you are not to deale otherwise then in secret and counsell. You are carefully to foresee the charge of the house, that the same may be in all honest measure to the companies profit and your owne health through moderation in diet, and at the best hand, and in due time to prouide things needfull to saue what may be: for he that buyeth euery thing when he needed it, harmeth his owne house, and helpeth the retailer. So as it is, in mine opinion, wisdome to foresee the buying of all things in their natiue soile, in due time, and at the first hand euery yeere, as you are to send the company the particular accounts of the same expenses. Touching your selfe, your are to cause to be employed fifty or threescore ducats, videlicet, twenty in Sope, and the rest in Spices, whereof the most part to be Pepper, whereof we spend very much. The Spices are to be prouided by our friend William Barrat, and the Sope buy you at your first arriuall, for that this shippe lading the same commodity will cause it to amount in price. From our mansion Rapamat, the fift of September 1583.

A commandement for Chio.

VObis, Beg et Cadi et Ermini, qui estis in Chio, significamus: quòd serenissimæ Reginæ Maiestatis Angliæ orator, qui est in excelsa porta per literas significauit nobis, quod ex nauibus Anglicis vna nauis venisset ad portum Chio, et illinc Constantinopolim recto cursu voluisset venire, et contra priuilegium detenuistis, et non siuistis venire. Hæc prædictus orator significauit nobis: et petiuit a nobis in hoc negocio hoc mandatum, vt naues Anglicæ veniant et rediant in nostras ditiones Cæsareas. Priuilegium datum et concessum est ex parte Serenitatis Cæsareæ nostræ: et huius priuilegij copia data est sub insigni nostro: Et contra nostrum priuilegium Cæsareum quod ita agitur, quæ est causa? Quando cum hoc mandato nostro homines illorum ad vos venerint ex prædicta Anglia, si nauis venerit ad portum vestrum, et si res et merces ex naue exemerint, et vendiderint, et tricessimam secundam partem reddiderint, et res quæ manserint Constantinopolim auferre velint, patiantur: Et si aliquis contra priuilegium et articulos eius aliquid ageret, non sinatis, nec vos facite: et impediri non sinatis eos, vt rectà Constantinopolim venientes in suis negotiationibus sine molestia esse possint. Et quicunque contra hoc mandatum et priuilegium nostrum aliquid fecerit, nobis significate. Huic mandato nostro et insigni fidem adhibete. In principio mensis Decembris.

A description of the yeerely voyage or pilgrimage of the Mahumitans, Turkes and Moores vnto Mecca in Arabia.

Of the Citie of Alexandria.

ALexandria the most ancient citie in Africa situated by the seaside containeth seuen miles in circuite, and is enuironed with two walles one neere to the other with high towers, but the walles within be farre higher than those without, with a great ditch round about the same: yet is not this Citie very strong by reason of the great antiquitie, being almost halfe destroyed and ruinated. The greatnesse of this Citie is such, that if it were of double habitation, as it is compassed with a double wall, it might be truely said, that there were two Alexandrias one builded vpon another, because vnder the foundations of the said City are great

habitations, and incredible huge pillers. True it is, that this part vnderneath remaineth at this day inhabitable, because of the corrupt aire, as also for that by time, which consumeth all things, it is greately ruinated. It might well be sayd, that the founder hereof, as he was worthy in all his enterprises, so likewise in building hereof he did a worke worthy of himselfe, naming it after his owne name. This Citie hath one defect, for it is subiect to an euill ayre, which onely proceedeth of that hollownesse vnderneath, out of the which issueth infinite moisture: and that this is true the ayre without doth euidently testifie, which is more subtile and holesome then that beneath. The waters hereof be salt, by reason that the soile of it selfe is likewise so. And therefore the inhabitants, at such time as the riuer Nilus floweth, are accustomed to open a great ditch, the head wherof extendeth into the said riuer, and from thence they conueigh the same within halfe a mile of Alexandria, and so consequently by meanes of conduct-pipes the water commeth vnto the cesternes of Alexandria, which being full serue the citie from one inundation to another. Within the citie is a Pyramide mentioned of in Histories, but not of great importance. Without the citie is La colonna di Pompeio, or the pillar of Pompey, being of such height and thicknesse, that it is supposed there is not the like in the whole world besides. Within the citie there is nothing of importance saue a litle castle which is guarded with 60 Ianizaries. Alexandria hath three portes, one towardes Rossetto, another to the land ward, and the third to the sea ward, which is called Babelbar, without which appeareth a broad Iland called Ghesira in the Moores tongue, which is not wholy an Iland, because a litle point or corner thereof toucheth the firme lande, and therefore may be called Peninsula, that is to say, almost an Iland. Hereupon are builded many houses of the Iewes, in respect of the aire. This Peninsula is situate betweene two very good ports, one of them being much more safe then the other, called The old port, into the which only the vessels of Barbarie, and the sixe Gallies of the Grand Signior deputeth for the guard of Alexandria doe enter. And this port hath vpon the right hand at the mouth or enterance thereof a castle of small importance, and guarded but with fifteene men or thereabouts. On the other side of this Iland is the other called The new port, which name is not vnfitly giuen vnto it, for that in all mens iudgement in times past there hath not beene water there, because in the midst of this port, where the water is very deepe, there are discouered and found great sepulchres and other buildings, out of the which are dayly digged with engines Iaspar and Porphyrie stones of great value, of the which great store are sent to Constantinople for the ornament of the Mesquitas or Turkish Temples, and of other buildings of the Grand Signior. Into this port enter all such vessels as traffique to this place. This port hath on ęch side a castle, whereof that vpon the Peninsula is called Faraone, vpon the toppe whereof euery night there is a light set in a great lanterne for direction of the ships, and for the guard thereof are appointed 200 Ianizaries: the other on the other side is but a litle castle kept by 18 men. It is certeine, that this hauen of Alexandria is one of the chiefest hauens in the world: for hither come to traffique people of euery Nation, and all sorts of vessels which goe round about the citie. It is more inhabited by strangers, marchants, and Christians, then by men of the countrey which are but a few in number. Within the citie are fiue Fontechi, that is to say, one of the Frenchmen, where the Consul is resident, and this is the fairest and most commodious of all the rest. Of the other foure, two belong to the Venetians, one to the Raguseans, and the fourth to the Genoueses. And all strangers which come to traffique there, except the Venetians, are vnder the French Consull. It is also to be vnderstood, that all the Christians dwell within their Fontechi, and euery euening at the going downe of the sunne, they which are appointed for that office goe about and shut all the gates of the saide Fontechi outward, and the Christians shut the same within: and so likewise they doe on the Friday (which is the Moores and the Turkes Sabboth) till their deuotions be expired. And by this meanes all parties are secure and voide of feare: for in so doing the Christians may sleepe quietly and not feare robbing, and the Moores neede not doubt whiles they sleepe or pray, that the Christians should make any tumult, as in times past hath happened.

Fontecho signifieth an house of trafique, as the Stilyard.

Of the coast of Alexandria.

ON the side towardes Barbarie along the sea-coast for a great space there is founde neither hold, nor any thing worthy of mention: but on the other side towards Syria 13 miles from Alexandria standeth a litle castle called Bichier kept by fiftie Turkes, which castle is very olde and weake,

Bichier.

and hath a port which in times past was good, but at this present is vtterly decayed and full of sand, so that the vessels which come thither dare not come neere the shoare, but ride far off into the sea. Fortie miles further is Rossetto, which is a litle towne without walles, and is situate vpon the banke of Nilus three miles from the sea, at which place many times they build ships and other vessels, for gouernement whereof is appointed a Saniacbey, without any other guard: it is a place of traffique, and the inhabitants are very rich, but naughtie varlets and traytours. Further downe along the sea-side and the riuer banke is another litle castle like vnto the abouesayde, and because the Moores beleeue, that Mecca will in short time be conquered by the Christians, they holde opinion, that the same being lost shall be renued in this place of Rossetto, namely, that all their prayers, vowes, and pilgrimages shall be transported to Rossetto, as the religious order of Saint Iohn of the Rhodes is translated thence to Malta. Further forwarde thirtie miles standes another castle of small importance called Brulles, kept continually by fourtie Turkes, which hath a good and secure port, in forme like to a very great lake or ponde, wherein is taken great quantitie of fish, which they salt, and the marchants of Candie and Cyprus come thither to lade the same, and it is greatly esteemed, especially of the Candiots, who hauing great abundance of wine aduenture abroad to seeke meate fitte for the taste of the sayd wine. Distant from Brulles fiue and thirtie miles there is another castle like vnto the abouesayd kept by an Aga with fourtie men or thereabout. More within the lande by the riuers side is Damiata an auncient citie enuironed with walles contayning fiue miles in circuit, and but of small strength. For the gouernement of this place is a Sanjaco with all his housholde and no other companie. This citie is very large, delightfull, and pleasant, abounding with gardens and faire fountaines. Other fortie miles further is Latma, a castle of very small importance, and kept as other with fortie Turkes vnder an Aga. In this place is no port, but a roade very daungerous, and without other habitation. Passing this place we enter Iudea. But because our intent is to reason simply of the voyage to Mecca, we will proceede no further this way, but returning to our first way, let it suffice to say, that from Alexandria to Cairo are two hundred miles, in which way I finde nothing woorthie of memorie.

Rossetto.

Of the mightie Citie of Cairo.

CAiro containeth in circuit eighteene miles, being so inhabited and replenished with people, that almost it cannot receiue more; and therefore they haue begunne to builde newe houses without the citie and about the walles. In Cairo are people of all Nations, as Christians, Armenians, Abexins, Turkes, Moores, Iewes, Indians, Medians, Persians, Arabians, and other sortes of people, which resort thither by reason of the great traffique. This citie is gouerned by a Basha, which ministreth iustice, together with the Cadie throughout the whole kingdome. Also there are two and twentie Saniackes, whose office is onely to ouersee and guarde the kingdome of euery good respect. There are also seuen thousand Turkes in pay, to wit, three thousand Ianizaries, and foure thousand horsemen: The rest of the people in Cairo are for the most part marchants which goe and come, and the remnant are Moores and other base people. About two miles from Cairo there is another little Cairo called The olde Cairo, which containeth in circuit litle more then tenne miles, and the better halfe is not inhabited, but destroyed, whereof I neede not make any other mention. The new Cairo answereth euery yeere in tribute to the grand Signior, 600000 ducates of gold, neat and free of all charges growing on the same, which money is sent to Constantinople, about the fine of September, by the way of Aleppo, alwayes by lande, vnder the custodie of three hundred horsemen, and two hundred Ianizaries footmen. The citie of Cairo is adorned with many faire Mesquitas rich, great, and of goodly and gorgeous building, among which are fiue principall. The first is called Morastano, that is to say, The hospitall, which hath of rent fiue hundred ducats of golde euery day left vnto it by a king of Damasco from auncient times; which king hauing conquered Cairo, for the space of fiue daies continually put the people thereof to the sword, and in the end repenting him of so great manslaughter, caused this cruelty to cease, and to obtaine remission for this sinne committed, caused this hospitall to be built, enriching it as is abouesaid. The second famous monument of Cairo is called Neffisa, of one Neffisa buried there, who was a Dame of honour, and mooued by lust, yeelded her body voluntarily without rewarde, to any that required the same, and sayde she bestowed this almes for the loue of her Prophet Mahomet, and therefore at this day they adore her, reuerence her, and finally haue canonized her for a Saint, affirming that shee did many miracles. The third is called Zauia della Innachari, who was one of the foure Doctors in the law. The fourth is called Imamsciafij, where is buried Sciafij the second Doctor of this law. Of the other two Doctors one is buried in Damasco, the other in Aleppo. The fift and last famous monument is Giamalazar, that is, the house of Lazarus: and this is the generall Vniuersity of the whole kingdome of Egypt. In this place Anno 1566 in the moneth of Ianuary by misfortune of fire were burned nine thousand bookes of great value, as well for that they were written by hand, as also wrought so richly with golde, that they were worth 300 and 400 ducats a piece, one with another. And because it could neuer be knowen yet how this fire beganne, they haue and doe holde the same for a most sinister augurie, and an euident and manifest signe of their vtter ruine. The houses of Cairo without are very faire, and within the greater number richly adorned with hangings wrought with golde. Euery person which resorteth to this place for traffiques sake, is bound to pay halfe a duckat, except the gentlemen Venetians, Siotes, and Rhaguseans, because they are tributarie to the Grand Signor. Cairo is distant from the riuer Nilus a mile and more, being situate on a plaine, saue that on the one side it hath a faire little hill, on the toppe whereof stands a faire castle, but not strong, for that it may be battered on euery side, but very rich and large, compassed about with faire gardens into the which they conueigh water for their necessitie out of Nilus, with certaine wheeles and other like engines. This magnificent citie is adorned with very fruitfull gardens both pleasant and commodious, with great plenty of pondes to water the same. Notwithstanding the great pleasures of Cairo are in the moneth of August, when by meanes of the great raine in Ethiopia the riuer Nilus ouerfloweth and watereth all the countrey, and then they open the mouth of a great ditch, which extendeth into the riuer, and passeth through the midst of the citie, and entring there are innumerable barkes rowing too and fro laden with gallant girles and beautifull dames, which with singing, eating, drinking and feasting, take their solace. The women of this countrey are most beautifull, and goe in rich attire bedeked with gold, pretious stones, and iewels of great value, but chiefely perfumed with odours, and are very libidinous, and the men likewise, but foule and hard fauoured. The soile is very fertile and abundant, the flesh fat which they sell

1566.

The description of Cairo.

without bones, their candles they make of the marowe of cattell, because the Moores eate the tallow. They vse also certaine litle furnaces made of purpose, vnder the which they make fire, putting into the furnace foure or fiue hundred egges, and the said fire they nourish by litle and litle, vntill the chickens be hatched, which after they be hatched, and become somewhat bigger, they sell them by measure in such sort, as we sell and measure nuts and chestnuts and such like.

Of certaine notable monuments without the citie of Cairo.

WIthout the Citie, sixe miles higher into the land, are to be seene neere vnto the riuer diuerse Piramides, among which are three marueilous great, and very artificially wrought. Out of one of these are dayly digged the bodies of auncient men, not rotten, but all whole, the cause whereof is the qualitie of the Egyptian soile, which will not consume the flesh of man, but rather dry and harden the same, and so alwayes conserueth it. And these dead bodies are the Mummie which the Phisitians and Apothecaries doe against our willes make vs to swallow. Also by digging in these Pyramides oftentimes are found certaine Idoles or Images of gold, siluer, and other mettall, but vnder the other piramides the bodies are not taken vp so whole as in this, but there are found legges and armes comparable to the limmes of giants. Neare to these piramides appeareth out of the sand a great head of stone somewhat like marble, which is discouered so farre as the necke ioyneth with the shoulders, being all whole, sauing that it wanteth a little tippe of the nose. The necke of this head contayneth in circuit about sixe and thirty foot, so that it may be according to the necke considered, what greatnesse the head is of. The riuer Nilus is a mile broad, wherein are very many great Croccodiles from Cairo vpward, but lower than Cairo passeth no such creature: and this, they say, is by reason of an inchantment made long since which hindereth their passage for comming any lower then Cairo. Moreouer of these creatures there are sometimes found some of an incredible bignesse, that is to say, of fourtie foot about. The males haue their members like to a man, and the females like to a woman. These monsters oftentimes issue out of the water to feede, and finding any small beasts, as sheepe, lambes, goates, or other like, doe great harme. And whiles they are foorth of the water, if they happen at vnawares vpon any man, woman or childe, whom they can ouercome, they spare not their liues. In the yeere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred and sixtie it happened, that certaine poore Christians trauelling by Cairo towardes the countrey of Prete Ianni to rescue certaine slaues, were guided by a Chaus, and iourneyed alongst the banke of the said riuer. The Chaus remained lingering alone behinde to make his prayers (as their custome is) at a place called Tana, whom being busie in his double deuotion one of these Crocodiles ceazed by the shoulders, and drew him vnder water, so that he was neuer after seene. And for this cause they haue made in sundry places certaine hedges as bankes within the water, so that betwixt the hedge and banke of the riuer there remaineth so much water, that the women washing may take water without danger at their pleasure. This countrey is so fruitfull, that it causeth the women as other creatures to bring foorth one, two, and oft-times three at a birth. Fiue miles southwarde of Cairo is a place called Matarea, where the balme is refined: and therefore some will say, that the trees which beare the balme growe in the said place, wherein they are deceiued: for the sayde trees growe two dayes iourney from Mecca, in a place called Bedrihone, which yeeldeth balme in great plenty, but saluage, wilde, and without vertue, and therefore the Moores carying the same within litle chests from Bedrihone to Matarea, where the trees being replanted (be it by vertue of the soyle, or the water, aire, or any other thing whatsoeuer) it sufficeth that heare they beare the true balme and licour so much in these dayes esteemed of. In this place of Matarea there are certaine little houses, with most goodly gardens, and a chappell of antiquity, where the very Moores themselues affirme, that the mother of the blessed Christ fleeing from the fury of wicked Herode there saued her selfe with the childe, wherein that saying of the Prophet was fulfilled, Ex Ægypto vocaui fillium meum. The which Chappell in the yeare of our Lorde one thousand fiue hundred and foure, the Magnifico Daniel Barbaro first Consull of that place went to visite, and caused it to be renued and reedified, so that in these dayes there resort thither many Christians, who oftentimes bring with them a Priest, to say masse there. Also about an Harque-buz-shotte from Matarea is a spire of great height like to that at Rome, and more beautifull to beholde. Neere vnto the olde Cairo are yet twelue storehouses of great antiquitie, but now very much decayed, and these till late dayes serued to keepe corne for behoofe of the kingdome, concerning which many are of opinion, that the founder hereof was Ioseph the sonne of Iacob, for consideration of the seuen deare yeares. Also passing higher vp by the banke of Nilus, there is to bee seene a fayre Citie ouerflowed with water, the which at such time as Nilus floweth lyeth vnder water, but when the water returneth to the marke, there plainely appeare princely palaces, and stately pillars, being of some called Thebes, where they say that Pharao was resident. Moroeuer three dayes iourney higher vp are two great images of speckled marble, all whole, and somewhat sunke into the earth, being things wonderfull to consider of, for the nose of either is two spannes and a halfe long, and the space from one eare to the other conteineth tenne spannes, the bodies being correspondent to their heads, and grauen in excellent proportion, so that they are shapes of maruellous hugenesse, and these they call The wife, and The daughter of Pharao.

Olde Thebes.

Of the patriarke of Greece.

IN Cairo are two Patriarkes, one of the Greekes, and another of the Iacobites. The Greeke Patriarke called Gioechni, being about the age of one hundred and thirteene yeeres, was a very good and holy man. They say, that when Soldan Gauri of Egypt reigned, there was done this miracle following; this good patriarke being enuied at by the Iewes of the countrey, for none other cause, but for his good workes, and holy life, it happened (I say) that being in disputation with certaine of the Hebrewes in presence of the Sultan, and reasoning of their lawe and faith, it was sayd vnto him by one of these Miscreants: sith thou beleeuest in the faith of Christ, take and drinke this potion which I will giue thee; and if thy Christ be true Messias and true God, he will (sayd he) deliuer thee from daunger. To whom the auncient patriarke answered, that he was content: whereupon that cursed Iewe brought him a cuppe of the most venemous and deadly poyson that could be found, which the holy Patriarke hauing perceiued, said: In the name of the father, of the sonne, and of the holy Ghost: and hauing so sayde he dranke it quite vp; which done, he tooke a droppe of pure water, putting it into that very cup, and gaue it vnto the Iewe, saying vnto him, I in the name of my Christe haue drunke thy poyson, and therefore in the name of thy expected Messias drinke this water of mine within thine owne cuppe. Whereupon the

Iewe tooke the cup out of the hand of the Patriarke, and hauing drunke the water, within halfe an houre burst a sunder. And the Patriarke had none other hurt, saue that he became somewhat pale in sight, and so remained euer after. And this miracle (which meriteth to be called no lesse) was done to the great commendation of the holy Patriarke in the presence of a thousand persons, and namely of the Soldan of Egypt: who seeing the despight of the Iewes, vnto their owne cost and confusion compelled them to make the conduct, which with so many engines commeth into the castle from Nilus aboue mentioned. And this triumphant Patriarke not long since was aliue, and in perfect health, which God continue long time.

Of the preparation of the Carouan to goe to Mecca.

AS touching the Carouan which goeth to Mecca, it is to be vnderstoode, that the Mahumetans obserue a kinde of lent continuing one whole moone, and being a moueable ceremonie, which sometimes falleth high, sometimes lowe in the yeere called in their tongue Ramazàn, and their feast is called Bairam. During this time of lent all they which intende to goe vnto Mecca resort vnto Cairo, because that twentie dayes after the feast the Carouan is readie to depart on the voyage: and thither resort a great multitude of people from Asia, Grecia, and Barbaria to goe on this voyage, some mooued by deuotion, and some for traffiques sake, and some to passe away the time. Nowe, within fewe dayes after the feast they which goe on the voyage depart out of the citie two leagues vnto a place called Birca, where they expect the Captaine of the Carouan. This place hath a great pond caused by the inundation of Nilus, and so made that the camels and other beastes may drinke therein: whereof, namely, of Mules, Camels, and Dromedaries there are at least fortie thousand, and the persons which followe the Carouan euerie yeere are about fiftie thousand, fewe more or lesse, according to the times. Moreouer euery three yeeres they renue the Captaine of the Carouan, called in the Arabian tongue Amarilla Haggi, that is, the Captaine of the Pilgrimes, to whom the Grand Signior giueth euery voyage eighteene purses, conteyning each of them sixe hundred twentie and fiue ducates of golde, and these be for the behoofe of the Carouan, and also to doe almes vnto the needfull pilgrimes. This Captaine, besides other seruingmen which follow him, hath also foure Chausi to serue him. Likewise he hath with him for the securitie of the Carouan foure hundred souldiers, to wit, two hundred Spachi or horsemen mounted on Dromedaries, and two hundred Ianizaries riding vpon Camels. The Chausi and the Spachi are at the charge of the Captaine, but the Ianizaries not so, for their prouision is made them from Cairo. The Spachi weare caps or bonnets like to the caps of Sergeants, but the Ianizaries after another sort, with a lappe falling downe behinde like a French-hoode, and hauing before a great piece of wrought siluer on their heads. The charge of these is to cause the Carouan to march in good array when neede requireth; these are not at the commaundement of any but of the Captaine of the Carouan. Moreouer the Captaine hath for his guide eight pilots, the office of whom is alwayes stable and firme from heire to heire, and these goe before guiding the Carouan, and shewing the way, as being well experienced in the place, and in the night they gouerne them as the mariners, by the starre. These also vse to sende before foure or fiue men carying pieces of dry wood which giue light, because they should not goe out of the way, and if at any time through their ill hap they wander astray out of the way, they are caste downe and beaten with so many bastonadoes vpon the soles of their feete, as serue them for a perpetuall remembrance. The Captaine of the Carouan hath his Lieutenant accompanied continually with fifteene Spachi, and he hath the charge to set the Carouan in order, and to cause them to depart on their iourney when neede requireth: and during the voyage their office is some whiles to goe before with the forewarde, sometimes to come behinde with the rereward, sometimes to march on the one side, and sometimes on the other, to spy, that the coast be cleare. The Carouan carrieth with it sixe pieces of ordinance drawen by 12 camels, which serue to terrifie the Arabians, as also to make triumph at Mecca, and other places. The marchants which followe the Carouan, some carry for marchandise cloth of silke, some Corall, some tinne, others wheat, rise, and all sorts of graine. Some sell by the way, some at Mecca, so that euery one bringeth something to gaine by, because all marchandise that goeth by land payeth no custome, but that which goeth by sea is bound to pay tenne in the hundred.

Pieces of dry wood in stead of torches.

The beginning of the voyage.

THe feast before the Carouan setteth forth, the Captaine with all his retinue and officers resort vnto the castle of Cairo before the Basha, which giueth vnto euery man a garment, and that of the Captaine is wrought with golde, and the others are serued according to their degree. Moreouer he deliuereth vnto him ye Chisua Talnabi, which signifieth in the Arabian tongue, The garment of the Prophet: this vesture is of silke, wrought in the midst with letters of golde, which signifie: La illa ill' alla Mahumet Resullala: that is to say, There are no gods but God, and his ambassadour Mahumet. This garment is made of purpose to couer from top to botome a litle house in Mecca standing in the midst of the Mesquita, the which house (they say) was builded by Abraham or by his sonne Ismael. After this he deliuereth to him a gate made of purpose for the foresaid house of Abraham wrought all with fine golde, and being of excellent workmanship, and it is a thing of great value. Besides, he deliuereth vnto him a couering of greene veluet made in maner of a pyramis, about nine palmes high, and artificially wrought with most fine golde, and this is to couer the tombe of their prophet within Medina, which tombe is built in manner of a pyramis: and besides that couering there are brought many others of golde and silke, for the ornament of the sayde tombe. Which things being consigned, the Basha departeth not from his place; but the Captaine of the Carouan taketh his leaue with all his officers and souldiers, and departeth accompanied with all the people of Cairo orderly in manner of a procession, with singing, shouting and a thousand other ceremonies too long to recite. From the castle they goe to a gate of the citie called Bab-Nassera, without the which standes a Mosquita, and therein they lay vp the sayd vestures very well kept and guarded. And of this ceremony they make so great account, that the world commeth to see this sight, yea the women great with childe, and others with children in their armes, neither is it lawfull for any man to forbid his wife the going to this feast, for that in so doing the wife may separate her selfe from her husband, and may lie with any other man, in regard of so great a trespasse. Now this procession proceeding from the castle towardes the Mosquita, the Camels which bring the vestures are all adorned with cloth of golde, with many little belles, and passing along the streete you may see the multitude casting vpon the said vesture thousands of beautifull flowers of diuers colours, and sweete water, others bringing towels and fine cloth touch the same, which euer after they keepe as reliques with great reuerence. Afterward hauing left the vesture in the Mosquita, as is aforesaid, they returne againe into the citie, where they remaine the space of 20 dayes, and then the captaine departeth with his company, and taking the vestures out of the Mosquita, carieth the same to the foresaid place of Birca, where the Captaine hauing pitched his tent with the standard of the grand Signior ouer the gate, and the other principall tents standing about his, stayeth there some tenne dayes and no more: in which time all those resort thither that meane to follow the Carouan in this voyage to Mecca. Where you shall see certaine women which intend to goe on this voiage accompanied with their parents and friends mounted vpon Camels, adorned with so many tryfles, tassels, and knots, that in beholding the same a man cannot refraine from laughter. The last night before their departure they make great feasting and triumph within the Carouan, with castles and other infinite deuises of fireworke, the Ianizaries alwayes standing round about the tent of the Captaine with such shouting and ioy, that on euery side the earth resoundeth, and this night they discharge all their ordinance, foure or sixe times, and after at the breake of the day vpon the sound of a trumpet they march forward on their way.

What times the Carouan trauelleth, and when it resteth.

IT is to be noted, that from Cairo to Mecca they make 40 dayes iourney or thereabout, and the same great dayes iourneies. For the custome of the Carouan is to trauell much and rest little, and ordinarily they iourney in this maner: They trauell from two a clock in the morning vntill the sunne rising, then hauing rested till noone, they set forward, and so continue till night, and then also rest againe, as is abouesaid, till two of the clocke; and this order they obserue vntill the end of the voiage, neuer changing the same, except in some places, whereof we will hereafter speake, where for respect of water they rest sometimes a day and an halfe, and this they obserue to refresh themselues, otherwise both man and beast would die.

In what order the Carouan trauelleth.

THe maner and order which the Carouan obserueth in march ing is this. It goeth diuided into three parts, to wit, the foreward, the maine battell, and the rereward. In the foreward go the 8 Pilots before with a Chaus, which hath foure knaues, and ech knaue carrieth a sinew of a bul, to the end that if occasion requireth, ye bastonado may be giuen to such as deserue the same. These knaues cast offendours downe, turning vp the soles of their feete made fast to a staffe, giuing them a perpetuall remembrance for them and the beholders. This Chaus is as the Captaine of the foreward, which commandeth lights to be carried before when they trauell in the night. Also there go in this foreward 6 Santones with red turbants vpon their heads, and these eat and ride at the cost of the Captaine of the Carouan. These Santones when the Carouan arriueth at any good lodging, suddenly after they haue escried the place, cry with an horrible voyce saying, good cheare, good cheare, we are neere to the wished lodging. For which good newes the chiefe of the company bestow their beneuolence vpon them. In this foreward goeth very neere the third part of the people of the Carouan, behind whom go alwayes 25 Spachi armed with swords, bowes and arrowes to defend them from thieues. Next vnto the foreward, within a quarter of a mile, followeth the maine battell, and before the same are drawen the sayd sixe pieces of ordinance, with their gunners, and fifteene Spachi Archers. And next vnto these commeth the chiefe physicion, who is an olde man of authoritie, hauing with him many medicines, oyntments, salues, and other like refreshings for the sicke, hauing also camels with him for the sicke to ride on, which haue no horse nor beast. Next vnto him goeth one Camell alone, the fairest that can be found: for with great industrie is sought the greatest and fairest which may be found within the dominions of the Grand Signior. This camell also is decked with cloth of golde and silke, and carieth a little chest made of pure Legmame made in likenesse of the arke of the olde Testament: but, as is abouesayd, made of pure Legmame, without golde or any other thing of cost. Within this chest is the Alcoran all written with great letters of golde, bound betweene two tables of massie golde, and the chest during their voyage is couered with Silke, but at their entring into Mecca it is all couered with cloth of golde, adorned with iewels, and the like at the enterance into Medina. The Camell aforesayd which carrieth the chest, is compassed about with many Arabian singers and musicians, alwayes singing and playing vpon instruments. After this folow fifteene other most faire Camels, euery one carying one of the abouesayd vestures, being couered from toppe to toe with silke. Behind these goe twentie other Camels which carrie the money, apparell, and prouision of the Amir el Cheggi captaine of the Carouan. After foloweth the royall Standard of the Grand Signior, accompanied continually with the musicians of the captaine, and fiue and twentie Spachi archers, with a Chaus before them, and about these marueilous things goe all the people and Camels which follow the Carouan. Behind these, lesse then a mile, foloweth the rereward, whereof the greater part are pilgrimes: the occasion whereof is, for that the merchants seeke alwayes to be in the foreward for the securitie of their goods, but the pilgrimes which haue litle to loose care not though they come behind. Behind these alwayes goe fiue and twentie other Spachi well armed with another Chaus their captaine, and fortie Arabians all Archers for guard of the rereward. And because the Carouan goeth alwayes along the red sea banke, which in going forth they haue on their right hand, therfore the two hundred Ianissaries parted into three companies goe vpon their left hand well armed and mounted vpon Camels bound one to another, for vpon that side is all the danger of thieues, and on the other no danger at all, the captaine of the Carouan alwayes going about his people, sometimes on the one side, and sometimes on the other, neuer keeping any firme place, being continually accompanied with a Chaus and 25. Spachi, armed and mounted vpon Dromedaries, and 8. musicians with violes in their handes, which cease not sounding till the captaine take his rest, vpon whom they attend, till such time as he entreth his pauillion, and then licencing all his attendants and folowers to depart, they goe each man to their lodging.

Of things notable which are seene in this voyage by the way.

BEcause in the way there are not many things found woorthy memorie, for that the Carouan seldome resteth in places of habitation, of which in the way there are but fewe, yea rather the Carouan resteth altogether in the field: therefore in this our voyage wee will onely make mention of certaine Castles found in the way, which bee these, namely Agerut, Nachel, Acba, Biritem, Muel, and Ezlem. Of which fiue the two first are kept of Moores, and the other three of Turkes, and for guard they haue eight men or tenne at the most in euery Castle, with foure or fiue

Smerigli, which serue to keepe the water from the Arabians, so that the Carouan comming thither may haue wherewithall to refresh it selfe. Agerut is distant from Suez a port of the red sea eight miles, where are alwayes resident fiue and twentie gallies of the Grand Signior for the keeping of that Sea. Nachel is distant from the Sea a dayes iourney. The walles of Acba are founded vpon the red Sea banke. Biritem and Muel likewise are dashed by the waues of the Sea. Ezlem is distant from thence aboue a dayes iourney. These fiue Castles abouesayd are not of force altogether to defend themselues agaynst an hundred men. The Carouan departing from Birca vntill Agerut findeth no water by the way to drinke, neither from Agerut till Nachel, nor from Nachel till Acba, but betweene Acba and Biritem are found two waters, one called Agiam el Cassap, and the other Magarraxiaibi, that is to say, the riuer of Iethro the father in lawe of Moses, for this is the place mentioned in the second chapter of Exodus, whither it is sayd that Moses fledde from the anger of Pharao, who would haue killed him, because hee had slaine the Ægyptian, which fought with the Hebrew, in which place stoode the citie of Midian; and there are yet the pondes, neere vnto the which Moses sate downe. And from that place forward they finde more store of water by the way, and in more places, though not so good. It is also to bee noted, that in this voiage it is needfull and an vsuall thing, that the captaine put his hand to his purse, in these places, and bestow presents, garments, and turbants vpon certaine of the chiefe of the Arabians, to the ende they may giue him and his Carouan, free passage: who also promise, that their followers likewise shall doe no damage to the Carouan, and bind themselues to accomplish the same, promising also by worde of mouth, that if the Carouan bee robbed, they will make restitution of such things as are stollen: but notwithstanding the Carouan is by them oftentimes damnified, and those which are robbed haue no other restitution at the Arabians handes then the shewing of them a paire of heeles, flying into such places as it is impossible to finde them. Nowe the Carouan continuing her accustomed iourneys, and hauing passed the abouesayd castles, and others not woorthie mention, at length commeth to a place called Iehbir, which is the beginning and confine of the state and realme of Serifo the king of Mecca: where, at their approching issueth out to meete them the gouernour of the land, with all his people to receiue the Carouan, with such shouting and triumph, as is impossible to expresse, where they staie one whole day. This place aboundeth with fresh and cleare waters, which with streames fall downe from the high mountaines. Moreouer, in this place are great store of dates, and flesh great store and good cheape, and especially laced muttons which willingly fall downe, and here the weary pilgrimes haue cummoditie to refresh themselues, saying, that this wicked fact purgeth them from a multitude of sinnes, and besides increaseth deuotion to prosecute the voiage. Touching the building in these places, it is to bee iudged by the houses halfe ruinated, that it hath bene a magnificent citie : but because it was in times past inhabited more with thieues then true men, it was therefore altogether destroyed by Soldan Gauri king of Ægypt, who going on pilgrimage vnto Mecca, and passing by this place, there was by the inhabitants hereof some iniurie done vnto his Carouan, which he vnderstandeng of, dissembled till his returne from Mecca, and then caused it to bee burned and destroyed in pitifull sort for reuenge of the iniurie done vnto the Carouan. The Carouan hauing rested and being refreshed as is abouesayd, the next day departed on the way, and the first place they arriue at woorthy mention is called Bedrihonem, in which place (as is aforesayd) grow those little shrubbes whereout Balme issueth. And before the Carouan arrieth at this place a mile from the citie is a large and great field enuironed about with most high and huge mountaines. And in this field, according to the Alcoran, their prophet Mahomet had a most fierce and cruel battell giuen by the Christians of the countrey and other people which set themselues agaynst them, and withstood his opinion, so that hee was ouercome and vanquished of the Christians, and almost halfe of his people slaine in the battell. Whereupon the Phrophet seeing himselfe in such extremitie, fell to his prayers, and they say, that God hauing compassion vpon his deare friend and prophet, heard him, and sent him infinite thousands of angels, wherewith returning to the battell, they conquered and ouercame the conquerour. And therefore in memorie of this victorie, the Carouan lodgeth euery yeere one night in this place, making great bonefires with great mirth. And they say that as yet there is heard vpon the mountaines a litle drumme, which while the Carouan passeth, neuer ceaseth sounding. And they say further, that the sayd drumme is sounded by the angels in signe of that great victory graunted of God to their prophet. Also the Mahumetan writings affirme, that after the ende of the sayd battell, the prophet commaunded certaine of his people to goe and burie all the Mahumetans which were dead in the fields, who going, knew not the one from the other, because as yet they vsed not circumcision, so they returned vnto him, answering, that they had bene to doe his commaundement, but they knew not the Musulmans from the Christians. To whom the prophet answered, saying: Turne againe, and all those which you shall finde with their faces downeward, leaue them, because all they are misbeleeuers: and the other which you shall finde with their faces turned vpward, them burie, for they are the true Musulmani, and so his commaundement was done.

The next morning by Sunne rising, the Carouan arriueth at Bedrihomen, in which place euery man washeth himselfe from toppe to toe, as well men as women, and leauing off their apparell, hauing each a cloth about their priuities, called in their tongue Photah, and another white one vpon their shoulders, all which can goe to Mecca in this hahite, doe so, and are thought to merite more then the other, but they which cannot doe [so make a vowe to sacrifice a Ramme at the mountaine of pardons;]and after they bee washed, it is not lawfull for any man or women to kill either flea or lowse with their handes, neither yet to take them with their nailes, vntill they haue accomplished their vowed orations in the mountaine of pardons abouesayd: and therefore they cary with them certaine stickes made of purpose in maner of a File, called in their language Arca, Cassah Guch, with which they grate their shoulders, And so the Carouan marching, commeth within two miles of Mecca where they rest that night. In the morning at the breake of day, with all pompe possible they set forward toward Mecca, and drawing neere thereunto, the Seripho issueth foorth of the citie with his guard, accompanied with an infinite number of people, shouting, and making great triumph. And being come out of the citie a boweshoote into a faire field, where a great multitude of tents are pitched, and in the middest the pauillion of the captaine, who meeting with the Serifo, after salutations on each side, they light from their horses and enter the pauillion, where the king of Mecca depriueth himselfe of all authoritie and power, and committeth the same to the aboue named captaine. giuing him full licence and authoritie to commaund, gouerne, and minister iustice during his aboad in Mecca with his company, and on the other side the captaine to requite this liberalitie vsed toward him by the Serifo giueth him a garment ot cloth of gold of great value, with certaine iewels and other like things. After this, sitting downe together vpon carpets and hides they eate together, and rising from thence with certaine of the chiefest, and taking with them the gate abouesayd, they goe directly to the Mosxuita, attended on but with a fewe, and being entered, they cause the olde to be pulled downe, and put the newe couerture vpon the house of Abraham, and the olde vesture is the eunuchs which serue in the sayde Mosquita, who after sell it vnto the pilgrimes at foure or fiue serafines the pike : and happy doth that man thinke himselfe, which can get neuer so litle a piece thereof, to conserue euer after as a most holy relique : and they say, that putting the same vnder the head of a man at the houre of his death, through vertue thereof all his sinnes are forgiuen. Also they take away the old doore, setting in the place the new doore, and the old by custome they giue vnto the Serifo. After hauing made their praiers with certaine ordinarie and woonted ceremonies, the Serifo rematneth in the citie, and the captaine of the pilgrimage returneth vnto his pauillion.

Of the Serifo the king of Mecca.

THe Serifo is descended of the prophet Mahomet by Fatma daughter of that good prophet, and Alli husband to her, and sonne in lawe to Mahumet, who had no issue male, saue this stocke of the Serifo, to the eldest sonne whereof the realme commeth by succession. This realme hath of reuenues royall, euery yeere halfe a million of golde, or litle more : and all such as are of the prophets kinred, or descended of that blood (which are almost innumerable) are called Emyri, that is to say, lordes. These all goe clothed in greene, or at the least haue their turbant greene, to bee knowen from the other. Neither is it permitted that any of those Christians which dwell or traffique in their Countrey goe clothed in greene, neither may they haue any thing of green about them : for they say it is not lawfull for misbeleeuers to weare that colour, wherein that great friend the prophet of God Mahomet was woont to be apparelled.

Of the citie of Mecca.

THe Citie of Mecca in the Arabian tongue is called Macca, that is to say, an habitation. This citie is inuironed about with exceeding high and barren mountaines, and in the plaine betweene the sayde mountaines and the citie are many pleasant gardens, where groweth great abundaunce of figges, grapes, apples, and melons. There is also great abundance of good water and fleshe, but not of bread. This citie hath no walles about it, and containeth in circuite fiue miles. The houses are very handsome and commodious, and are built like to the houses in Italie. The palace of the Serifo is sumptuous and gorgeously adorned. The women of the place are courteous, iocund, and louely, faire, with alluring eyes, being hote and libidinous, and the most of them naughtie packes. The men of this place are giuen to that abhominable, cursed, and opprobrious vice, whereof both men and women make but small account by reason of the pond Zun Zun, wherein hauing washed themselues, their opinion is, that although like the dog they returne to their vomite, yet they are clensed from all sinne whatsoeuer, of which sin we will hereafter more largely discourse. In the midst of the city is ye great Mosquita, with the house of Abraham standing in the very middest thereof, which Mosquita was built in the time when their prophet liued. It is foure square, and so great, that it containeth two miles in circuit, that is to say, halfe a mile each side. Also it is made in maner of a cloister, for that in the midst thereof separate from the rest, is the abouesayd house of Abraham, also the galleries round about are in maner of 4. streetes, and the partitions which diuide the one street from the other are pillars, whereof some are of marble, and others of lime and stone. This famous and sumptuous Mosquita hath 99. gates, and 5. steeples, from whence the Talismani call the people to the Mosquita. And the pilgrimes which are not prouided of tents, resort hither, and for more deuotion the men and women lie together aloft and beneath, one vpon another, so that their house of praier becommeth worse sometimes then a den of thieues.

Of the house of Abraham.

THe house of Abraham is also foure square, and made of speckled stone, 20. paces high, and 40 in circuit. And vpon one side of this house within the wall, there is a stone of a span long, and halfe a span broad, which stone (as they say) before this house was builded, fell downe from heauen, at the fall whereof was heard a voyce, that wheresoeuer this stone fell, there should be built the house of God, wherein God will heare sinners.

Moreouer, they say that when this stone fell from heauen, it was not blacke as now, but as white as the whitest snow, and by reason it hath bene so oft kissed by sinners, it is therewith become blacke: for all the pilgrimes are bound to kisse this stone, otherwise they cary their sinnes home with them again. The entrance into this house is very small, made in maner of a window, and as high from the ground as a man can reach, so that it is painful to enter. This house hath without 31. pillars of brasse, set vpon cubike or square stones being red and greene, the which pillars sustaine not ought els saue a threed of copper, which reacheth from one to another, whereunto are fastened many burning lampes. These pillars of brasse were caused to be made by Sultan Soliman grandfather to Sultan Amurath now Emperor. After this, hauing entred with the difficultie abouesayd, there stand at the entrance two pillars of marble, to wit, on each side one. In the midst there are three of Aloes-wood not very thicke, and couered with tiles of India 1000. colours which serue to vnderproppe the Terratza. It is so darke, that they can hardly see within for want of light, not without an euill smell. Without the gate fiue pases is the abouesayd pond Zun Zun, which is that blessed pond that the angell of the Lord shewed vnto Agar whiles she went seeking water for her sonne Ismael to drinke.

Of the ceremonies of the pilgrimes.

IN the beginning we haue sayd how the Mahumetans haue two feasts in the yeere. The one they call Pascha di Ramazaco, that is to say, The feast of fasting, and this feast of fasting is holden thirtie dayes after the feast, wherein the Carouan trauelleth to Mecca. The other is called the feast of the Ramme, wherin all they which are of abilitie are bound to sacrifice a Ramme, and this they call Bine Bairam, that is to say, The great feast. And as the Carouan departeth from Cairo thirtie dayes after the little feast, so likewise they come hither fiue or sixe dayes before the great feast, to the ende the pilgrimes may haue time before the feast to finish their rites and ceremonies, which are these. Departing from the Carouan, and being guided by such as are experienced in the way, they goe vnto the citie twentie or thirtie in a company as they thinke good, walking through a streete which ascendeth by litle and litle till they come vnto a certaine gate, whereupon is written on each side in marble stone, Babel

Salema, which in the Arabian tongue signifieth, the gate of health. And from this place is descried the great Mosquita, which enuironeth the house of Abraham, which being descried, they reuerently salute twise, saying, Salem Alech Iara sul Alla, that is to say, Peace to thee, ambassadour of God. This salutation being ended, proceeding on the way, they finde an arche vpon their right hand, whereon they ascend fiue steps, vpon the which is a great voyd place made of stone: after, descending other fiue steps, and proceeding the space of a flight-shoot, they finde another arche like vnto the first, and this way from the one arche to the other they go and come 7. times, saying alwaies some of their prayers, which (they say) the afflicted Agar sayd, whiles she sought and found not water for her sonne Ismael to drinke. This ceremonie being ended, the pilgrimes enter into the Mosquita, and drawing neere vnto the house of Abraham, they goe round about it other seuen times, alwayes saying: This is the house of God, and of his seruant Abraham: This done they goe to kisse the black stone abouesayd. After they go vnto the pond Zun Zun, and in their apparell as they be, they wash themselues from head to foote, saying, Tobah Allah, Tobah Allah, that is to say, Pardon Lord, Pardon Lord, drinking also of that water, which is both mudie, filthie, and of an ill sauour, and in this wise washed and watered, euery one returneth to his place of abode, and these ceremonies euery one is bound to doe once at the least. But those which haue a mind to ouergoe their fellowes, and to goe into paradise before the rest, doe the same once a day while the Carouan remaineth there.

What the Carouan doeth after hauing rested at Mecca.

The mountaine of pardons.

THe Carouan hauing abode within the citie of Mecca fiue dayes, the night before the euening of their feast, the captaine with all his company setteth forward towards the mountaine of pardons, which they call in the Arabian tongue, Iabel Arafata. This mountaine is distant from Mecca 15. miles, and in the mid way thereto is a place called Mina, that is to say, The hauen, and a litle from thence are 4. great pillars, of which hereafter we will speake. Now first touching the mountaine of Pardons, which is rather to be called a litle hill, then a mountain, for that it is low, litle, delightful and pleasant, containing in circuit two miles, and enuironed round about with the goodliest plaine that euer with mans eie could be seen, and the plaine likewise compassed with exceeding high mountains, in such sort that this is one of the goodliest situations in the world: and it seemeth verily, that nature hath therein shewed all her cunning, in making this place vnder the mountaine of pardons so broad and pleasant. Vpon the side towards Mecca there are many pipes of water cleare, faire, and fresh, and aboue all most wholesome, falling down into certaine vessels made of purpose, where the people refresh and wash themselues, and water their cattel. And when Adam and Euah were cast out of paradise by the angel of the Lord, the Mahumetans say, they came to inhabite this litle mountaine of pardons. Also they say, that they had lost one another, and were separated for the space of 40. yeeres, and in the end met at this place with great ioy and gladnesse, and builded a litle house vpon the top of this mountaine, the which at this day they call Beyt Adam, that is to say, the house of Adam.

Of the three Carouans.

THe same day that the Carouan of Cairo commeth to this place, hither come 2. Carouans also, one of Damasco, the other of Arabia, and in like maner all the inhabitants for ten dayes iourney round about, so that at one time there is to be seene aboue 200000. persons, and more then 300000. cattell. Now all this company meeting together in this place the night before the feast, the three hostes cast themselues into a triangle, setting the mountaine in the midst of them: and all that night there is nothing to be heard nor seene, but gunshot and fireworkes of sundry sortes, with such singing, sounding, shouting, halowing, rumors, feasting, and triumphing, as is wonderfull. After this, the day of the feast being come, they are all at rest and silence, and that day they attend on no other thing, then to sacrifice oblations and prayers vnto God, and in the euening all they which haue horses mount thereon, and approch as nigh vnto the mountaine as they can, and those which haue no horses make the best shift they can on foote, giuing euer vnto the captaine of Cairo the chiefe place, the second to the captaine of Damasco, and the third to the captaine of Arabia, and being all approched as is abouesayd, there commeth a square squire, one of the Santones, mounted on a camell well furnished, who at the other side of the mountain ascendeth fiue steps into a pulpit made for that purpose, and all being silent, turning his face towards the people he maketh a short sermon of the tenour folowing.

The summe of the Santones sermon.

THe summe of this double doctors sermon is thus much in briefe. He sheweth them how many and how great benefits God hath giuen to the Mahumetan people by the hand of his beloued friend and prophet Mahomet, hauing deliuered them from the seruitude of sinne and from idolatry, in which before time they were drowned, and how he gaue vnto them the house of Abraham wherein they should be heard, and likewise the mountaine of pardons, by meanes whereof they might obtaine grace and remission of their sinnes: adding, that the mercifull God, who is a liberall giuer of all good things, commaunded his secretarie Abraham to build him an house in Mecca, where his successours might make their prayers vnto him and bee heard, at which time all the mountains in the world came together thither with sufficiencie of stones for building hereof, except that litle and low hill, which for pouertie could not go to discharge this debt, for the which it became sorrowful, weeping beyond all measure for the space of thirtie yeeres, at the ende whereof the eternall God hauing pitie and compassion vpon this poore Mountaine, saide vnto it: Weepe no more (my daughter) for thy bitter plaints haue ascended vp into mine eares, therefore comfort thy selfe: for I will cause all those that shall goe to visite the house of my friend Abraham, that they shall not be absolued from their sinnes, vnlesse they first come to doe thee reuerence, and to keepe in this place their holiest feast. And this I haue commanded vnto my people by the mouth of my friend and prophet Mahumet. This said, he exhorteth them vnto the loue of God, and to prayer and almes. The sermon being done at the Sunne-setting they make 3. prayers, namely the first for the Serifo, the second for the Grand Signior with his hoste, and the third for all the people: to which prayers all with one voice cry saying; Amni Ia Alla, Amni Ia Alla, that is to say, Be it so lord, be it so Lord. Thus hauing had the Santones blessing and saluted the Mountaine of pardons, they returne the way they came vnto Mina, whereof wee haue made mention. In returning at the end of the plaine are the abouesaid 4. pillers, to wit, two on ech side of the way, through the midst whereof they say it is needfull that euery one passe, saying, that who so passeth without looseth all that merit which in his pilgrimage he had gotten. Also from the mountaine of pardons vntill they be passed the said pillers none dare looke backward, for feare least the sinnes which he hath left in the mountains returne to him againe. Being past these pillers euery-one lighteth downe, seeking in this sandy field 50. or 60. litle stones, which being gathered and bound in an hankerchiffe they carry to the abouesaid place of Mina, where they stay 5. dayes, because at that time there is a faire free and franke of al custome. And in this place are other 3. pillers, not together, but set in diuers places, (where (as their prophet saith) were the three apparitions which the diuel made vnto Abraham, and to Ismael his sonne; for amongst them they make no mention of Isaac, as if he had neuer bene borne. So they say, that the blessed God hauing commanded Abraham his faithfull seruant to sacrifice his first begotten Ismael, the old Abraham went to do according to God's wil, and met with the infernall enemie in the shape of a man, and being of him demanded whither he went, he answered, that he went to sacrifice his sonne Ismael, as God had commanded him. Against whom the diuel exclaiming said: Oh doting old man, sith God in thine old age hath marueilously giuen thee this son (in whom all nations shalbe blessed) wherefore giuing credite vnto vaine dreames, wilt thou kill him whom so much thou hast desired, and so intirely loued. But Abraham shaking him off proceeded on his way, whereupon the diuel seeing his words could not preuaile with the father attempted the sonne, saying; Ismael, haue regard vnto thyselfe betimes in this thing which is so dangerous. Wherefore? answered ye childe. Because (saith the diuel) thy doting father seeketh to take away thy life. For what occasion, said Ismael? Because (saith the enemie) he saith, that God hath commanded him. Which Ismael hearing hee tooke vp stones and threw at him, saying, Auzu billahi minal scia itanil ragini, which is to say, I defend me with God from the diuel the offender, as who would say, wee ought to obey the commandement of God and resist the diuel with al our force. But to returne to our purpose, the pilgrimes during their abode there goe to visite these three pillers, throwing away the little stones which before they gathered, whiles they repeat the same words which they say, that Ismael said to the diuell, when he withstoode him. From hence halfe a mile is a mountaine, whither Abraham went to sacrifice his sonne, as is abouesaid. In this mountaine is a great den whither the pilgrims resort to make their prayers, and there is a great stone naturally separated in the midst; and they say, that Ismael, while his father Abraham was busie about the sacrifice, tooke the knife in hand to prooue how it would cut, and making triall diuided the stone in two parts. The fiue dayes being expired, the captaine ariseth with all the Carouan, and returneth againe to Mecca, where they remaine other fiue dayes. And while these rest, we will treat of the city and port of Grida vpon the Red Sea.

Of Grida.

Grida a port neere Mecca.

THerefore wee say that from Mecca to Grida they make two small dayes iourney: and because in those places it is ill traueiling in the day-time by reason of the great heat of the Sunne, therefore they depart in the euening from Mecca, and in the morning before Sunne-rising they are arriued halfe way, where there certaine habitations well furnished, and good Innes to lodge in, but especially women ynough which voluntarily bestowe their almes vpon the poore pilgrims: likewise departing the next euening, the morning after, they come vnto Grida. This citie is founded vpon the Red Sea banke, enuironed with wals and towers to the land-ward, but through continuance of time almost consumed and wasted: on the side to seaward it stands vnwalled. Grida hath three gates, one on eche side, and the thirde in the midst towarde the lande, which is called the port of Mecca, neere vnto which are 6. or 7. Turks vpon the old towers for guard thereof with foure faulcons vpon one of the corners of the city to the land-ward. Also to sea-ward where the wall ioyneth with the water, there is lately made a fort like vnto a bulwarke, where they haue planted 25 pieces of the best ordinance that might be had, which are very well kept and guarded. More outward towards the sea vpon the farthest olde tower are other fiue good pieces with 30 men to guard them. On the other side of the city at the end of the wall there is lately builded a bulwarke strong and well guarded by a Saniaccho with 150 Turks wel prouided with ordinance and all other necessaries and munition, and all these fortifyings are for none other cause then for feare and

The Portugals greatly feared in the Red Sea.

Forty or fifty rich ships arriue yeerely at Grida.

suspition of the Portugals. And if the port were good this were in vaine: but the port cannot be worse nor more dangerous; being all full of rocks and sands, in such wise, that the ships cannot come neere, but but perforce ride at the least two miles off. At this port arriue euery yeere forty or fifty great shippes laden with spices and other rich marchandize which yeeld in custome 150000 ducats, the halie whereof goeth vnto the Grand Signior, and the other halfe to the Serifo. And because there is none other thing worthy mention in Grida we wil returne to our Carouan which hath almost rested enough.

Of their going to Medina.

THe Carouan departeth for Medina returning the same way they came vnto Bedrihonem abouesayd, where they leaue their ordinance and other cariages, whereof they haue no need, with the pilgrims which haue seene Medina aforetime, and desire not to see it againe, but stay in that place, expecting the carouan, and resting vntill the carouan go from Bedrihonem to Medina, where they alwayes finde goodly habitations, with abundance of sweet waters, and dates enough, and being within foureteene miles of Medina they come vnto a great plaine called by them Iabel el salema, that is to say, the mountaine of health, from which they begin to descry the citie and tombe of Mahomet, at which sight they light from their horses in token of reuerence. And being ascended vp the sayd mountaine with shouting which pierceth the skies they say, Sala tuua salema Alaccha Iarah sul Allah. Sala tuua Salema Alaccha Ianabi Allah, Sala tuua Salema Allaccha Iahabit Allah: which words in the Arabian tongue signifie: Prayer and health be vnto thee, oh prophet of God: prayer and health be vpon thee, oh beloued of God. And hauing pronounced this salutacion, they proceed on their iourney, so that they lodge that night within three miles of Medina: and the next morning the captaine of the pilgrimage ariseth, and proceeding towards the city, and drawing neere, there commeth the gouernour vnder the Serifo, accompanied with his people to receiue the Carouan, hauing pitched their tents in the midst of a goodly field where they lodge.

Of Medina.

MEdina is a little city of great antiquity, containing in circuit not aboue two miles, hauing therein but one castle, which is olde and weake, guarded by an Aga with fifty pieces of artillery, but not very good. The houses thereof are faire and well situated, built of lime and stone, and in the midst of the city stands a fouresquare Mosquita, not so great as that of Mecca, but more goodly, rich, and sumptuous in building. Within the same in a corner thereof is a tombe built vpon foure pillers with a vault, as if it were vnder a pauement, which bindeth all the foure pillers together. The tombe is so high, that it farre exceedeth in heighth the Mosquita, being couered with lead, and the top all inamelled with golde, with an halfe moone vpon the top: and within the pauement it is all very artificially wrought with golde. Below there are round about very great staires of yron ascending vp vntill the midst of the pillers, and in the very midst thereof is buried the body of Mahomet, and not in a chest of yron cleauing to the adamant, as many affirme that know not the trueth thereof. Moreouer, ouer the body they haue built a tombe of speckled stone a brace and a halfe high, and ouer the same another of Legmame fouresquare in maner of a pyramis. After this, round about the sepulture there hangeth a curtaine of silke, which letteth the sight of those without that they cannot see the sepulture. Beyond this in the same Mosquita are other two sepulchres couered with greene cloth, and in the one of them is buried Fatma the daughter of Mahomet, and Alli is buried in the other, who was the husband of the sayd Fatma. The attendants vpon these sepulchres are fifty eunuches white and tawny, neither is it granted to any of them to enter within the tombe, sauing to three white eunuches the oldest and best of credit; vnto whom it is lawfull to enter but twise in the day, to light the lamps, and to doe other seruices. All the other eunuchs attend without to the seruice of the Mosquita, and the other two sepulchres of Fatma, and Alli, where euery one may go and touch at his pleasure, and take of the earth for deuotion, as many do.

Or, a fathom.

Of things without the City.

WIthout the city and on euery side are most faire gardens, with many fountaines of most sweet water, infinite pondes, abundance of fruit, with much honest liuing, so that this place is very pleasant and delightfull. This city hath three gates, one of which is an hospitall caused to be built by Cassachi, called the Rosel who was wife to Sultan Solimam grandfather to this emperour. The sayd Hospitall hath nought els woorthy mention, saue that it is fairely built, and hath large reuenues belonging thereunto, and nourisheth many poore people. A mile from the city are certaine houses whereof they affirme one to be the same, where Mahumet in his lifetime dwelt. This house hath on euery side very many faire date trees, amongst which there are two which grow out of one stocke exceeding high, and these, they say, their Prophet graffed with his owne hand: the fruit thereof is alwayes sent to Constantinople, to be presented vnto the Grand Signior, and is sayd to be that blessed fruit of the Prophet. Nere vnto the date trees is a faire fountaine of cleere and sweet water, the which by a conduct pipe is brought into the city of Medina. Also there is a little Mosquita, wherein three places are counted holy, and greatly reuerenced: the first they affirme, that their Prophet made his first prayer in, after he knew God: the second is that whither he went when he would see the holy house of Abraham, where when he sate down to that intent, they say the mountaines opened from toppe to bottome to shew him the house, and after closed againe as before: the third holy place is in the midst of the sayd Mosquita, where is a tombe made of lime and stone fouresquare, and full of sand, wherein, they say, was buried that blessed camel which Mahumet was alwayes woont to ride vpon. On the other side of the city are other tombes of holy Mahumetans, and euery one or them hath a tombe built vpon foure pillers, amongst which three were the companions of Mahumet, to wit, Abubacar; Ottoman, and Omar; all which are visited of the pilgrims as holy places.

The offering of the vestures vnto the sepulchres.

THe Carouan being come to Medina two houres before day, and resting there till the euening, the captaine then with his company and other pilgrims setteth forward, with the greatest pompe possible: and taking with him the vesture which is made in maner of a pyramis, with many other of golde and silke, departeth, going thorow the midst of the city, vntill he come to the Mosquita, where hauing praied, he presenteth vnto the tombe of his prophet (where the eunuchs receiuing hands are ready) the vesture for the sayd tombe: and certaine eunuchs entring in take away the old vesture, and lay on the new, burning the olde one, and diuiding the golde thereof into equall portions. After this are presented other vestures for the ornament of the Mosquita. Also the people without deliuer vnto the eunuchs ech man somewhat to touch the tombe therewith, which they keepe as a relique with great deuotion. This ceremony being ended, the captaine resteth in Medina two dayes, to the end the pilgrims may finish their deuotion and ceremonies: and after they depart to Iambor. A good dayes iourney thence is a steepe mountaine, ouer which is no passage, sauing by one narrow path called Demir Capi, which was in times past called the yron gate. Of this gate the Mahumetans say, that Ally the companion and sonne in law of Mahumet, being here pursued by many Christians, and comming vnto this mountaine, not seeing any way whereby to flee, drew out his sword, and striking the said mountaine, diuided it in sunder, and passing thorow saued his life on the other side. Moreouer, this Alli among the Persians is had in greater reuerence than Mahumet, who affirme, that the sayd Alli hath done greater things and more miraculous than Mahumet, and therefore they esteeme him for God almighty his fellow. But to returne to our matter, the captaine with the carouan within two dayes after returneth for Cairo, and comming to Ezlem, findeth there a captaine with threescore horses come thither to bring refreshments to the said captaine of the pilgrimage, as also to sell vnto the pilgrims some victuals. From thence they set forward, and comming to Birca within two leagues of Cairo, there is the master of the house of the Bassha of Cairo with all his horsemen come thither to receiue him with a sumptuous and costly banket made at the cost of the Basha for the captaine and his retinue, who after he is well refreshed departeth toward the castle of Cairo to salute the Basha, who receiuing him with great ioy and gladnesse in token of good wil presenteth him with a garment of cloth of golde very rich: and the captaine taking the Alcaron out of the chest presenteth it to the Basha, who hauing kissed it, commandeth to lay it vp againe. Some there are which affirme, that being arriued at Cairo, they kill that goodly camell which caried the Alcaron, and eate him; which is nothing so: for they are so superstitious to the contrary, that to gaine all the world they would not kill him. But if by casuality he should die, in this case happy and blessed they thinke themselues, which can get a morsell to eat. And thus much concerning the voyage of the captaine of the carouan of Cairo.

The voyage and trauell of M. Cæsar Fredericke, Marchant of Venice into the East India, and beyond the Indies. Wherein are conteined the customes and rites of those countries, the merchandises and commodities, as well of golde and siluer, as spices, drugges, pearles, and other iewels: translated out of Italian by M. Thomas Hickocke.

Cæsar Fredericke to the Reader.

Cæsar Fredericke trauelled eighteene yeeres in the East Indies.

I Hauing (gentle Reader) for the space of eighteene yeeres continually coasted and trauelled, as it were, all the East Indies, and many other countreys beyond the Indies, wherein I haue had both good and ill successe in my trauels: and hauing seene and vnderstood many things woorthy the noting, and to be knowen to all the world, the which were neuer as yet written of any: I thought it good (seeing the Almighty had giuen me grace, after so long perils in passing such a long voyage to returne into mine owne countrey, the noble city of Venice) I say, I thought it good, as briefly as I could, to write and set forth this voyage made by me, with the maruellous things I haue seene in my trauels in the Indies: The mighty Princes that gouerne those countreys, their religion and faith that they haue, the rites and customes which they vse, and liue by, of the diuers successe that happened vnto me, and how many of these countreys are abounding with spices, drugs, and iewels, giuing also profitable aduertisement to all those that haue a desire to make such a voyage. And because that the whole world may more commodiously reioyce at this my trauell, I haue caused it to be printed in this order: and now I present it vnto you (gentle and louing Readers) to whom for the varieties of things heerein conteined, I hope that it shall be with great delight receiued. And thus God of his goodnesse keepe you.

A voyage to the East Indies, and beyond the Indies, &c.

IN the yere of our Lord God 1653, I Cæsar Fredericke being in Venice, and very desirous to see the East parts of the world, shipped my selfe in a shippe called the Gradaige of Venice, with certaine marchandise, gouerned by M. Iacomo Vatica, which was bound to Cyprus with his ship, with whom I went: and when we were arriued in Cyprus, I left that ship, and went in a lesser to Tripoly in Soria, where I stayed a while. Afterward, I tooke my iourney to Alepo, and there I acquainted my selfe with marchants of Armenia, and Moores, that were marchants, and consorted to go with them to Ormus, and wee departed from Alepo, and in two dayes iourney and a halfe, we came to a city called Bir.

The authours going from Venice to Cyprus and Tripoly.

Of the city called Bir.

BIr is a small city very scarse of all maner of victuals, and nere vnto the walles of the city runneth the riuer of Euphrates. In this city the marchants diuide themselues into companies, according to their merchandise that they haue, and there either they buy or make a boat to carry them and their goods to Babylon downe the riuer Euphrates, with charge of a master and mariners to conduct the boat in the voyage: these boats are in a maner flat bottomed, yet they be very strong: and for all that they are so strong, they will serue but for one voyage. They are made according to the sholdnesse of the riuer, because that the riuer is in many places full of great stones, which greatly hinder and trouble those that goe downe the riuer. These boats serue but for one voyage downe the riuer vnto a village called Feluchia, because it is impossible to bring them vp the riuer backe againe. At Feluchia the marchants plucke their boats in pieces, or else sell them for a small price, for that at Bir they cost the marchants forty or fifty chickens a piece, and they sell them at Feluchia for seuen or eight chickens a piece, because that when the marchants returne from Babylon backe againe, if they haue marchandise or goods that oweth custome, then they make their returne in forty dayes thorow the wildernesse, passing that way with a great deale lesser charges then the other way. And if they haue not marchandise that oweth custome, then they goe by the way of Mosul, where it costeth them great charges both the Carouan and company. From Bir where

The riuer Euphrates.

Feluchia a small city on Euphrates.

Mosul.

the marchants imbarke themselues to Feluchia ouer against Babylon, if the riuer haue good store of water, they shall make their voyage in fifteene or eighteene dayes downe the riuer, and if the water be lowe, and it hath not rained, then it is much trouble, and it will be forty or fifty dayes iourney downe, because that when the barks strike on the stones that be in the riuer, then they must vnlade them, which is great trouble, and then lade them againe when they haue mended them: therefore it is not necessary, neither doe the marchants go with one boat alone, but with two or three, that if one boat split and be lost with striking on the sholdes, they may haue another ready to take in their goods, vntil such time as they haue mended the broken boat, and if they draw the broken boat on land to mend her, it is hard to defend her in the night from the great multitude of Arabians that will come downe there to robbe you: and in the riuers euery night, when you make fast your boat to the banckeside, you must keepe good watch against the Arabians which are theeues in number like to ants, yet when they come to robbe, they will not kill, but steale and run away. Harquebuzes are very good weapons against them, for that they stand greatly in feare of the shot. And as you passe the riuer Euphrates from Bir to Feluchia, there are certein places which you must passe by, where you pay custome certaine medines vpon a bale, which custome is belonging to the sonne of Aborise king of the Arabians and of the desert, who hath certaine cities and villages on the riuer Euphrates.

The Arabian theeues are in number like to Ants.

Feluchia and Babylon.

FEluchia is a village where they that come from Bir doe vnbarke themselues and vnlade their goods, and it is distant from Babylon a dayes iourney and an halfe by land: Babylon is no great city, but it is very populous, and of great trade of strangers because it is a great thorowfare for Persia, Turkia, and Arabia: and very often times there goe out from thence Carouans into diuers countreys: and the city is very copious of victuals, which comme out of Armenia downe the riuer of Tygris, on certaine Zattares or Raffes made of blowen hides or skinnes called Vtrij. This riuer Tygris doeth wash the walles of the city. These Raffes are bound fast together, and then they lay boards on the aforesayd blowen

The olde Babylon hath great trade wt marchants still.

skinnes, and on the boards they lade the commodities, and so come they to Babylon, where they vnlade them, and being vnladen, they let out the winde out of the skinnes, and lade them on cammels to make another voyage. This city of Babylon is situate in the kingdome of Persia, but now gouerned by the Turks. On the other side of the riuer towards Arabia, ouer against the city, there is a faire place or towne, and in it a faire Bazarro for marchants, with very many lodgings, where the greatest part of the marchants strangers which come to Babylon do lie with their marchandize. The passing ouer Tygris from Babylon to this Borough is by a long bridge made of boates chained together with great chaines: prouided, that when the riuer waxeth great with the abundance of raine that falleth, then they open the bridge in the middle, where the one halfe of the bridge falleth to the walles of Babylon, and the other to the brinks of this Borough, on the other side of the riuer: and as long as the bridge is open, they passe the riuer in small boats with great danger, because of the smalnesse of the boats, and the ouerlading of them, that with the fiercenesse of the streame they be ouerthrowen, or els the streame doth cary them away, so that by this meanes, many people are lost and drowned: this thing by proofe I haue many times seene.

A bridge made of boats.

Of the tower of Babylon.

THe Tower of Nimrod or Babel is situate on that side of Tygris that Arabia is, and in a very great plaine distant from Babylon seuen or eight miles: which tower is ruinated on euery side, and with the falling of it there is made a great mountaine, so that it hath no forme at all, yet there is a great part of it standing which is compassed and almost couered with the aforesayd fallings: this Tower was builded and made of foure square Brickes, which Brickes were made of earth, and dried in the Sunne in maner and forme following: first they layed a lay of Brickes,* then a Mat made of Canes, square as the Brickes, and in stead of lime, they daubed it with earth: these Mats of Canes are at this time so strong, that it is a thing woonderfull to beholde, being of such great antiquity: I haue gone round about it, and haue not found any place where there hath bene any doore or entrance: it may be in my iudgement in circuit about a mile, and rather lesse then more.

---

*These bricks be in thicknes six or seuen inches, and a foot and a halfe square.

This Tower in effect is contrary to all other things which are seene afar off, for they seeme small, and the more nere a man commeth to them the bigger they be: but this tower afar off seemeth a very great thing, and the nerer you come to it the lesser. My iudgment and reason of this is, that because the Tower is set in a very great plaine, and hath nothing more about to make any shew sauing the ruines of it which it hath made round about, and for this respect descrying it a farre off, that piece of the Tower which yet standeth with the mountaine that is made of the substance that hath fallen from it, maketh a greater shew then you shall finde comming neere to it.

Babylon and Basora.

FRom Babylon I departed for Basora, shipping my selfe in one of the barks that vse to go in the riuer Tigris from Babylon to Basora, and from Basora to Babylon: which barks are made after the maner of Fusts or Galliots with a Speron and a couered poope: they haue no pumpe in them because of the great abundance of pitch which they haue to pitch them with all: which pitch they haue in abundance two dayes iourney from Babylon. Nere vnto the riuer Euphrates, there is a city called Heit, nere vnto which city there is a great plaine full of pitch, very maruellous to beholde, and a thing almost incredible, that out of a *hole in the earth, which continually throweth out pitch into the aire with continuall smoake, this pitch is throwen with such force, that being hot it falleth like as it were sprinckled ouer all the plaine, in such abundance that the plaine is alwayes full of pitch: the Mores and Arabians of that place say, that that hole is the mouth of hell: and in trueth, it is a thing very notable to be marked: and by this pitch the whole people haue great benefit to pitch their barks, which barks they call Daneck and Saffin. When the riuer of Tygris is well replenished with water, you may passe from Babylon to Basora in eight or nine dayes, and sometimes more and sometimes lesse: we

---

*This hole where out commeth this pitch is most true, and the water and pitch runneth into the valley or Iland where the pitch resteth, and the water runneth into the riuer Euphrates, and it maketh all the riuer to be as it were brackish with the smell of pitch and brimstone.

were halfe so much more which is 14 or 15 daies, because the waters were low: they may saile day and night, and there are some places in this way where you pay so many medins on a baile: if the waters be lowe, it is 18 dayes iourney.

Basora.

BAsora is a city of the Arabians, which of olde time was gouerned by those Arabians called Zizarij, but now it is gouerned by the great Turke where he keepeth an army to his great charges.

Zizarij an ancient people.

The Arabians called Zizarij haue the possession of a great countrey, and cannot be ouercome by the Turke, because that the sea hath deuided their countrey into an Iland by channels with the ebbing and flowing of the sea, and for that cause the Turke cannot bring an army against them, neither by sea nor by land, and another reason is, the inhabitants of that Iland are very strong and warlike men. A dayes iourney before you come to Basora, you shall haue a little castle or fort, which is set on that point of the land where the riuers of Euphrates and Tygris meet together, and the castle is called Corna: at this point, the two riuers make a monstrous great riuer, that runneth into the sea, which is called the gulfe of Persia, which is towards the South: Basora is distant from the sea fifteene miles, and it is a city of great trade of spices and drugges which come from Ormus. Also there is a great store of corne, Rice, and Dates, which the countrey doth yeeld. I shipped my selfe in Basora to go for Ormus, and so we sailed thorow the Persian sea six hundred miles, which is the distance from Basora to Ormus, and we sailed in small ships made of boards, bound together with small cords or ropes, and in stead of calking they lay betweene euery board certaine straw which they haue, and so they sowe board and board together, with the straw betweene, wherethorow there commeth much water, and they are very dangerous. Departing from Basora we passed 200 miles with the sea on our right hand, along the gulfe, vntil at length we arriued at an Iland called Carichij, fro whence we sailed to Ormus in sight of the Persian shore on the left side, and on the right side towards Arabia we discouered infinite Ilands.

At the castle of Corna the riuer Euphrates and Tygris do meet.

Ormus is the barrenest Iland in all the world.

Carichij an Iland in ye gulfe of Persia.

Ormus.

ORmus* is an Iland in circuit fiue and twenty or thirty miles, and it is the barrenest and most drie Iland in all the world, because that in it there is nothing to be had, but salt water, and wood, all other things necessary for mans life are brought out of Persia twelue miles off, and out of other Ilands neere thereunto adioyning, in such abundance and quantity, that the city is alwayes replenished with all maner of store: there is standing neere vnto the waters side a very faire castell, in the which the captaine of the king of Portugall is alwayes resident with a good band of Portugalles, and before this castell is a very faire prospect: in the city dwell the maried men, souldiers and marchants of euery nation, amongst whom there are Moores and Gentiles, In this city there is very great trade for all sorts of spices, drugges, silke, cloth of silke, brocardo, and diuers other sorts of marchandise come out of Persia: and amongst all other trades of marchandise, the trade of Horses is very great there, which they carry from thence into the Indies. This Iland hath a Moore king of the race of the Persians, who is created and made king by the Captaine of the castle, in the name of the king of Portugall. At the creation of this king I was there, and saw the ceremonies that they vse in it, which are as followeth. The olde King being dead, the Captaine of the Portugals chuseth another of the blood royall, and maketh this election in the castle with great ceremonies, and when hee is elected, the Captaine sweareth him to be true and faithfull to the King of Portugall, as his Lord and Gouernour, and then he giueth him the Scepter regall. After this with great feasting and pompe, and with great company, he is brought into the royall palace in the city. This King keepeth a good traine, and hath sufficient reuenues to maintaine himselfe without troubling of any, because the Captaine of the castle doth mainteine and defend his right, and when that the Captaine and he ride together, he is honoured as a king, yet he cannot ride abroad with his traine, without the consent of the Captaine first had: it behooueth them to doe this, and it is necessary, because of the great trade that is in the city: their proper language is the Persian tongue. There I shipped my selfe to goe for Goa, a city in the Indies, in a shippe that had fourescore horses in her. This is to aduertise those Mar-

Great trade of merchandise in Ormus.

***Ormus is alwayes replenished with abundance of victuall, and yet there is none that groweth in the Iland.**

chants that go from Ormus to Goa to shippe themselues n those shippes that carry horses, because euery shippe that carrieth twenty horses and vpwards is priuileged, that all the marchandise whatsoeuer they carry shall pay no custome, whereas the shippes that carry no horses are bound to pay eight per cento of all goods they bring.

A priuilege for Marchants.

Goa, Diu, and Cambaia.

GOa is tho principall city that the Portugals haue in the Indies, where is resident the Viceroy with his Court and ministers of the King of Portugall. From Ormus to Goa is nine hundred foure score and ten miles distance, in which passage the first city that you come to in the Indies, is called Diu,* and is situate in a little Iland in the kingdome of Cambaia, which is the greatest strength that the Portugals haue in all the Indies, yet a small city, but of great trade, because there they lade very many great ships for the straights of Mecca and Ormus with merchandise, and these shippes belong to the Moores and Christians, but the Moores can not trade neither saile into those seas without the licence of the Viceroy of the King of Portugall, otherwise they are taken and made good prises. The marchandise that they lade these ships withall commeth from Cambaietta a port in the kingdome of Cambaia, which they bring from thence in small barks, because there can no great shippes come thither, by reason of the sholdnesse of the water thereabouts, and these sholds are an hundred or fourescore miles about in a straight or gulfe, which they call Macareo, which is as much as to say, as a race of a tide, because the waters there run out of that place without measure, so that there is no place like to it, vnlesse it be in the kingdome of Pegu, where there is another Macareo, where the waters run out with more force than these doe. The principall city in Cambaia is called Amadauar, it is a dayes iourney and an halfe from Cambaietta, it is a very great city and very populous, and for a city of the Gentiles it is very well made and builded with faire houses and large streets, with a faire place in it with many shippes, and in shew like to Cairo, but not so great: also Cambaietta is situate on the seas side, and is a very faire city. The time that I was there, the city was in great calamity and scarsenesse, so that I haue seene the men of the countrey that were Gentiles take their children, their sonnes and their daughters, and haue desired the Portugals to buy them, and I haue seene them sold for eight or ten larines a piece, which may be of our money x.s. or xiii.s. iiii.d. For all this if I had not seene it, I could not haue beleeued that there should be such a trade at Cambaietta as there is: for in the time of euery new Moone and euery full Moone, the small barks (innumerable) come in and out, for at those times of the Moone the tides and waters are higher then at other times they be. These barkes be laden with all sorts of spices, with silke of China, with Sandols, with Elephants teeth, Veluets of Vercini, great quantity of Pannina, which commeth from Mecca, Chickinos which be pieces of golde woorth seuen shillings a piece sterling, with money, and with diuers sorts of other marchandize. Also these barks lade out, as it were, an infinite quantity of cloth made of Bumbast of all sorts, as white stamped and painted, with great quantity of Indico, dried ginger and conserued, Myrabolans drie and condite, Boraso in paste, great store of sugar, great quantity of Cotton, abundance of Opium, Assa Fetida, Puchio, with many other sorts of drugges, turbants made in Diu, great stones like to Corneolaes, Granats, Agats, Diaspry, Calcidonij, Hematists, and some kinde of naturall diamonds. There is in the city of Cambaietta an order, but no man is bound to keepe it, but they that will; but all the Portugall marchants keepe it, the which is this. There are in this city certain Brokers which are Gentiles and of great authority, and haue euery one of them fifteene or twenty seruants, and the Marchants that vse that countrey haue their Brokers, with which they be serued: and they that haue not bene there are informed by their friends of the order, and of what Broker they shall be serued. Now euery fifteene dayes (as abouesayd) that the fleet of small shippes entreth into the port, the Brokers come to the water side, and these Marchants assoone as they are come on land, do giue the cargason of all their goods to that Broker that they will haue to do their businesse for them, with the marks of all the fardles and packs they haue; and the marchant hauing taken on land all his furniture for his house, because it is needfull that the Marchants that trade to the Indies carry prouision of housholde with them, because that in euery place where they come they must haue a new house, the Broker that hath receiued his cargason, commandeth his seruants to carry the Marchants furniture for his house home,

---

* Off South extremity of Kathiawar Peninsula, Bombay Presidency.

Marchants that trauell to the Indies must cary their prouision of houshold with them.

and load it on some cart, and carry it into the city, where the Brokers haue diuers empty houses meet for the lodging of Marchants, furnished onely wtth bedsteads, tables, chaires, and empty iarres for water: then the Broker sayth to the Marchant, Goe and repose your selfe, and take your rest in the city. The Broker tarrieth at the water side with the cargason, and causeth all his goods to be discharged out of the ship, and payeth the custome, and causeth it to be brought into the house where the marchant lieth, the Marchant not knowing any thing thereof, neither custome, nor charges. These goods being brought to this passe into the house of the Marchant, the Broker demandeth of the Marchant if he haue any desire to sell his goods or marchandise, at the prises that such wares are worth at that present time? And if he hath a desire to sell his goods presently, then at that instant the Broker selleth them away. After this the Broker sayth to the Marchant, you haue so much of euery sort of marchandise neat and cleare of euery charge, and so much ready money. And if the Marchant will employ his money in other commodities, then the Broker telleth him that such and such commodities will cost so much, put aboord without any maner of charges. The Marchant vnderstanding the effect, maketh his account; and if he thinke to buy or sell at the prices currant, he giueth order to make his marchandise away: and if he hath commodity for 20000 dukets, all shalbe bartred or solde away in fifteene dayes without any care or trouble: and when as the Marchant thinketh that he cannot sell his goods at the prise currant, he may tary as long as he will, but they cannot be solde by any man but by that Broker that hath taken them on land and payed the custome: and purchance tarying sometimes for sale of their commodity, they make good profit, and sometimes losse: but those marchandise that come not ordinarily euery fifteene dayes, in tarying for the sale of them, there is great profit. The barks that lade in Cambaietta go for Diu to lade the ships that go from thence for the streights of Mecca and Ormus, and some go to Chaul and Goa: and these ships be very well appointed, or els are guarded by the Armada of the Portugals, for that there are many Corsaires or Pyrats which goe coursing alongst that coast, robbing and spoiling: and for feare of these theeues there is no safe sailing in those seas, but with ships very well appointed and armed, or els with the fleet of the

Great store of men of warre and rouers on the coast of Cambaia.

Portugals, as is aforesayd. In fine the kingdome of Cambaia is a place of great trade, and hath much doings and traffique with all men, although hitherto it hath bene in the hands of tyrants, because that at 75 yeeres of age the true king being at the assault of Diu, was there slaine: whose name Sultan Badu. At that time foure or fiue captaines of the army diuided the kingdome amongst themselues, and euery one of them shewed in his countrey what tyranny he could: but twelue yeeres ago the great Mogul a Moore king of Agra and Delly, forty dayes iourny within the land of Amadauar, became the gouernour of all the kingdome of Cambaia without any resistance, because he being of great power and force, deuising which way to enter the land with his people, there was not any man that would make him any resistance, although they were tyrants and a beastly people, they were soone brought vnder obedience. During the time I dwelt in Cambaietta I saw very maruellous things: there were an infinite number of artificers that made bracelets called Mannij, or bracelets of elephants teeth, of diuers colours, for the women of the Gentiles, which haue their armes full decked with them. And in this occupation there are spent euery yeere many thousands of crownes: the reason whereof is this, that when there dieth any whatsoeuer of their kindred, then in signe and token of mourning and sorrow, they breake all their bracelets from their armes, and presently they go and buy new againe, because that they had rather be without their meat then without their bracelets.

A maruellous fond delight in women.

Daman. Basan. Tana.

HAuing passed Diu, I came to the second city that the Portugals haue, called Daman, situated in the territory of Cambaia, distant from Diu an hundred and twenty miles: it is no towne of merchandise, saue Rice and corne, and hath many villages vnder it, where in time of peace the Portugals take their pleasure, but in time of warre the enemies haue the spoile of them; in such wise that the Portugals haue little benefit by them. Next vnto Daman you shall haue Basan, which is a filthy place in respect of Daman: in this place is Rice, Corne, and Timber to make shippes and gallies. And a small distance beyond Bassan is a little Iland called Tana, a place very populous with Portugals, Moores, and Gentiles: these haue nothing but Rice, there are many makers of

Armesie, and weauers of girdles of wooll and bumbast blacke and redde like to Moocharies.

Of the cities of Chaul, and of the Palmer tree.

BEyond this Iland you shall finde Chaul in the firme land; and they are two cities, one of the Portugals, and the other of the Moores: that city which the Portugals haue is situate lower then the other, and gouerneth the mouth of the harbour, and is very strongly walled: and as it were a mile and an halfe distant from this is the city of Moores, gouerned by their king Zamalluco. In the time of warres there cannot any great ships come to the city of the Moores, because the Portugals with their ordinance will sincke them, for that they must perforce passe by the castles of the Portugals: both the cities are ports of the sea, and are great cities, and haue vnto them great trafflque and trade of merchandise, of all sorts of spices, drugges, silke, cloth of silke, Sandols, Marsine, Versine, Porcelane of China, Veluets and Scarlets that come from Portugall and from Meca: with many other sortes of merchandise. There come euery yeere from Cochin, and from Cananor tenne or fifteene great shippes laden with great Nuts cured, and with sugar made of the selfe same Nuts called Giagra: the tree whereon these Nuts doe grow is called the Palmer tree: and thorowout all the Indies, and especially from this place to Goa there is great abundance of them, and it is like to the Date tree. In the whole world there is not a tree more profitable and of more goodnesse then this tree is, neither doe men reape so much benefit of any other tree as they doe of this, there is not any part of it but serueth for some vse, and none of it is woorthy to be burnt. With the timber of this tree they make shippes without the mixture of any other tree, and with the leaues thereof they make sailes, and with the fruit thereof, which be a kinde of Nuts, they make wine, and of the wine they make Sugar and Placetto, which wine they gather in the spring of the yeere: out of the middle of the tree where continually there goeth or runneth out white liquour like vnto water, in that time of the yeere they put a vessel vnder euery tree, and euery euening and morning they take it away full, and then distilling it with fire it maketh a very strong liquour: and then they put it into buts, with a quantity of Zibibbo, white or blacke and in short time it is made a perfect wine. After this they make of the Nuts great store of oile: of the tree they make great quantity of boordes and quarters for buildings. Of the barke of this tree they make cables, ropes, and other furniture for shippes, and, as they say, these ropes be better then they that are made of Hempe. They make of the bowes, bedsteds, after the Indies fashion, and Scauasches for merchandise. The leaues they cut very small, and weaue them, and so make sailes of them, for all maner of shipping, or els very fine mats. And then the first rinde of the Nut they stampe, and make thereof perfect Ockam to calke shippes, great and small: and of the hard barke thereof they make spoones and other vessels for meat, in such wise that there is no part thereof throwen away or cast to the fire. When these Mats be greene they are full of an excellent sweet water to drinke: and if a man be thirsty, with the liquour of one of the Mats he may satisfie himselfe: and as this Nut ripeneth, the liquour thereof turneth all to kernell. There goeth out of Chaul for Mallaca, for the Indies, for Macao, for Portugall, for the coasts of Melinde, for Ormus, as it were an infinite number and quantity of goods and merchandise that come out of the kingdome of Cambaia, as cloth of bumbast white, painted, printed, great quantity of Indico, Opium, Cotton, Silke of euery sort, great store of Boraso in Paste, great store of Fetida, great store of yron, corne, and other merchandise. The Moore king Zamalluco is of great power, as one that at need may command, and hath in his camp, two hundred thousand men of warre, and hath great store of artillery, some of them made in pieces, which for their greatnesse can not bee carried to and fro: yet although they bee made in pieces, they are so commodious that they worke with them maruellous well, whose shotte is of stone, and there hath bene of that shot sent vnto the king of Portugall for the rarenes of the thing. The city where the king Zamalluco hath his being, is within the land of Chaul seuen or eight dayes iourney, which city is called Abneger. Three score and tenne miles from Chaul, towards the Indies, is the port of Dabul, an hauen of the king Zamalluco: from thence to Goa is an hundred and fifty miles.

Great ordinance made in pieces, and yet seruiceable.

Goa.

GOa is the principall city that the Portugals haue in the Indies, wherein the Viceroy with his royall Court is resident, and is in an Iland which may be in circuit fiue and twenty or thirty miles: and the city with the boroughs is reasonable bigge, and for a citie of the Indies it is

The chiefe place the Portugals haue in the Indies.

reasonable faire, but the Iland is farre more fairer: for it is as it were full of goodly gardens, replenished with diuers trees and with the Palmer trees as is aforesayd. This city is of great trafique for all sorts of marchandise which they trade withall in those parts: and the fleet which commeth euery yeere from Portugall, which are fiue or sixe great shippes that come directly for Goa, arriue there ordinarily the sixth or tenth of September, and there they remaine forty or fifty dayes, and from thence they goe to Cochin, where they lade for Portugall, and often times they lade one shippe at Goa and the other at Cochin for Portugall. Cochin is distant from Goa three hundred miles. The city of Goa is situate in the kingdome of Dialcan a king of the Moores, whose chiefe city is vp in the countrey eight dayes iourney, and is called Bisapor: the king is of great power, for when I was in Goa in the yeere of our Lord 1570, this king came to giue assault to Goa, being encamped neere vnto it by a riuer side with an army of two hundred thousand men of warre, and he lay at this siege foureteene moneths: in which time there was peace concluded, and as report went amongst his people, there was great calamity and mortality which bred amongst them in the time of Winter, and also killed very many elephants. Then in the yeere of our Lord 1567, I went from Goa to Bezeneger the chiefe city of the kingdome of Narsinga eight dayes iourney from Goa, within the land, in the company of two other merchants which carried with them three hundred Arabian horses to that king: because the horses of that countrey are of a small stature, and they pay well for the Arabian horses: and is requisite that the merchants sell them well, for that they stand them in great charges to bring them out of Persia to Ormus, and from Ormus to Goa, where the ship that bringeth twenty horses and vpwards payeth no custome, neither ship nor goods whatsoeuer; whereas if they bring no horses, they pay 8 per cento of all their goods: and at the going out of Goa the horses pay custome, two and forty pagodies for euery horse, which pagody may be of sterling money sixe shillings eight pence, they be pieces of golde of that value. So that the Arabian horses are of great value in those countreys, as 300, 400, 500 duckets a horse, and to 1000 duckets a horse.

A very good sale for horses.

Bezeneger.

THe city of Bezeneger was sacked in the yeere 1565, by foure kings of the Moores, which were of great power and might: the names of these foure kings were these following, the first was called Dialcan, the second Zamaluc, the third Cotamaluc, and the fourth Viridy: and yet these foure kings were not able to ouercome the city and the king of Bezeneger, but by treason. The king of Bezeneger was a Gentile, and had, amongst all other of his captaines, two which were notable, and they were Moores: and these two captaines had either of them in charge threescore and ten or fourescore thousand men. These two captaines being of one religion with the foure kings which were Moores, wrought meanes with them to betray their owne king into their hands.* The king of Bezeneger esteemed not the force of the foure kings his enemies, but went out of his city to wage battell with them in the fieldes; and when the armies were ioyned, the battell lasted but a while not the space of foure houres, because the two traitourous captaines, in the chiefest of the fight, with their companies turned their faces against their king, and made such disorder in his armie, that as astonied they set themselues to flight. Thirty yeeres was this kingdome gouerned by three brethren which were tyrants, the which keeping the rightful king in prison, it was their vse euery yeere once to shew him to the people, and they at their pleasures ruled as they listed. These brethren were three captaines belonging to the father of the king they kept in prison, which when he died, left his sonne very yong, and then they tooke the gouernment to themselues. The chiefest of these three was called Ramaragio, and sate in the royall throne, and was called the king: the second was called Temiragio, and he tooke the gouernment on him: the third was called Bengatre, and he was captaine generall of the army. These three brethren were in this battell, in the which the chiefest and the last were neuer heard of quicke nor dead. Onely Temiragio fled in the battel, hauing lost one of his eyes: when the newes came to the city of the ouerthrow in the battell, the wiues and children of these three tyrants, with their lawfull king (kept prisoner) fled away, spoiled as they were, and the foure kings of the Moores entred the city Bezeneger with great triumph, and there they remained sixe moneths, searching vnder houses and in all places for money and other things that were hidden, and then they departed to their owne kingdomes because they were not able

The sacking of the city.

---

* A most vnkind and wicked treason against their prince: this they haue for giuing credit to strangers, rather then to their owne natiue people.

to maintaine such a kingdome as that was, so farre distant from their owne countrey.

When the kings were departed from Bezeneger, this Temiragio returned to the city, and then beganne for to repopulate it, and sent word to Goa to the Merchants, if they had any horses, to bring them to him, and he would pay well for them, and for this cause the foresayd two Merchants that I went in company withall, carried those horses that they had to Bezeneger. Also this Tyrant made an order or lawe, that if any Merchant had any of the horses that were taken in the foresayd battell or warres, although they were of his owne marke, that he would giue as much for them as they would: and besides he gaue generall safe conduct to all that should bring them. When by this meanes he saw that there were great store of horses brought thither vnto him, hee gaue the Merchants faire wordes, vntill such time as he saw they could bring no more. Then he licenced the Merchants to depart, without giuing them any thing for their horses, which when the poore men saw, they were desperate, and as it were mad with sorrow and griefe.

An excellent good policy to intrap men.

I rested in Bezeneger seuen moneths, although in one moneth I might haue discharged all my businesse, for it was necessary to rest there vntill the wayes were cleere of theeues, which at that time ranged vp and downe. And in the time I rested there, I saw many strange and beastly deeds done by the Gentiles. First, when there is any Noble man or woman dead, they burne their bodies: and if a married man die, his wife must burne herselfe aliue, for the loue of her husband, and with the body of her husband: so that when any man dieth, his wife will take a moneths leaue, two or three, or as shee will, to burne her selfe in, and that day being come, wherein shee ought to be burnt, that morning shee goeth out of her house very earely, either on horsebacke or on an eliphant, or else is borne by eight men on a smal stage: in one of these orders shee goeth, being apparelled like to a Bride, carried round about the City, with her haire downe about her shoulders, garnished with iewels and flowers, according to the estate of the party, and they goe with as great ioy as Brides doe in Venice to their nuptials: shee carrieth in her left hand a looking glasse, and in her right hand an arrow, and singeth thorow the City as she passeth, and sayth, that she goeth to sleepe with her deere spowse and husband. She is accompanied with her kindred and friends vntill it be one or two of the clocke in the afternoone, then they goe out of the

City, and going along the riuers side called Nigondin, which runneth vnder the walles of the City, vntill they come vnto a place where they vse to make this burning of women, being widdowes, there is prepared in this place a great square caue, with a little pinnacle hard by it, foure or fiue steppes vp: the foresayd caue is full of dried wood. The woman being come thither, accompanied with a great number of people which come to see the thing, then they make ready a great banquet, and she that shall be burned eateth with as great ioy and gladnesse, as though it were her wedding day: and the feast being ended, then they goe to dancing and singing a certeine time, according as she will. After this, the woman of her owne accord, commandeth them to make the fire in the square caue where the drie wood is, and when it is kindled, they come and certifie her thereof, then presently she leaueth the feast, and taketh the neerest kinseman of her husband by the hand, and they both goe together to the banke of the foresayd riuer, where shee putteth off all her iewels and all her clothes, and giueth them to her parents or kinsefolke and couering herselfe with a cloth, because she will not be seene of the people being naked, she throweth herselfe into the riuer, saying, O wretches, wash away your sinnes. Comming out of the water, she rowleth herselfe into a yellow cloth of fourteene braces long: and againe she taketh her husbands kinseman by the hand, and they go both together vp to the pinnacle of the square caue wherein the fire is made. When she is on the pinnacle, shee talketh and reasoneth with the people, recommending vnto them her children and kindred. Before the pinnacle they vse to set a mat, because they shall not see the fiercenesse of the fire, yet there are many that will haue them plucked away, shewing therein an heart not fearefull, and that they are not affrayd of that sight. When this silly woman hath reasoned with the people a good while to her content, there is another women that taketh a pot with oile, and sprinckleth it ouer her head, and with the same she anoynteth all her body, and afterwards throweth the pot into the fornace, and both the woman and the pot goe together into the fire, and presently the people that are round about the fornace throw after her into the caue great pieces of wood, so by this meanes, with the fire and with the blowes that she hath with the wood throwen after her, she is quickly dead, and after this there groweth such sorrow and such lamentation among the people, that all their mirth is turned

A discription of the burning place.

Feasting and dancing when they should mourne.

into howling and weeping, in such wise, that a man could scarse beare the hearing of it. I haue seene many burnt in this maner, because my house was neere to the gate where they goe out to the place of burning: and when there dieth any great man, his wife with all his slaues with whom hee hath had carnall copulation, burne themselues together with him. Also in this kingdome I haue seene amongst the base sort of people this vse and order, that the man being dead, he is carried to the place where they will make his sepulchre, and setting him as it were vpright, then commeth his wife before him on her knees, casting her armes about his necke, with imbracing and clasping him, vntill such time as the Masons haue made a wall round about them, and when the wall is as high as their neckes, there commeth a man behinde the women and strangleth her: then when she is dead, the workemen finish the wall ouer their heads, and so they lie buried both together. Besides these, there are an infinite number of beastly qualities amongst them, of which I haue no desire to write. I was desirous to know the cause why these women would so wilfully burne themselues against nature and law, and it was told mee that this law was of an antient time, to make prouision against the slaughters which women made of their husbands. For in those dayes before this law was made, the women for euery little displeasure that their husbands had done vnto them, would presently poison their husbands, and take other men, and now by reason of this law they are more faithfull vnto their husbands, and count their liues as deare as their owne, because that after his death her owne followeth presently.

Mourning when they should reioyce.

The cause why the women do so burne themselues.

In the yeere of our Lord God 1567, for the ille successe that the people of Bezeneger had, in that their City was sacked by the foure kings, the king with his Court went to dwell in a castle eight dayes iourney vp in the land from Bezenger, called Penegonde. Also sixe dayes iourney from Bezenger, is the place where they get Diamants: I was not there, but it was tolde me that it is a great place, compassed with a wall, and that they sell the earth within the wall, for so much a squadron, and the limits are set how deepe or how low they shall digge. Those Diamants that are of a certaine sise and bigger then that sise, are all for the king, it is many yeeres agone, since they got any there, for the troubles that haue bene in that kingdome. The first cause of this trouble was, because the sonne of this Temeragio had put to death the lawfull king which he had in prison, for which cause the Barons and Noblemen in that kingdome would not acknowledge him to be their king, and by this meanes there are many kings, and great diuision in that kingdome, and the city of Bezeneger is not altogether destroyed, yet the houses stand still, but empty, and there is dwelling in them nothing, as is reported, but Tygers and other wilde beasts. The circuit of this city is foure and twentie miles about, and within the walles are certeine mountaines. The houses stand walled with earth, and plaine, all sauing the three palaces of the three tyrant brethren, and the Pagodes which are idole houses: these are made with lime and fine marble. I haue seene many kings Courts, and yet haue I seene none in greatnesse like to this of Bezeneger, I say, for the ordes of his palace, for it hath nine gates or ports. First when you goe into the place where the king did lodge, there are fiue great ports or gates: these are kept with Captaines and souldiers: then within these there are foure lesser gates: which are kept with Porters. Without the first gate there is a little porch, where there is a Captaine with fiue and twentie souldiers, that keepeth watch and ward night and day: ahd within that another with the like guard, wherethorow they come to a very faire Court, and at the end of that Court there is another porch as the first, with the like guard, and within that another Court. And in this wise are the first fiue gates guarded and kept with those Captaines: and then the lesser gates within are kept with a guard of Porters: which gates stand open the greatest part of the night, because the custome of the Gentiles is to doe their businesse, and make their feasts in the night, rather then by day. The city is very safe from theeues, for the Portugall merchants sleepe in the streets, or vnder porches, for the great heat which is there, and yet they neuer had any harme in the night. At the end of two monethes, I determined to goe for Goa in the company of two other Portugall Marchants, which were making ready to depart, with two palanchines or little litters, which are very commodious for the way, with eight Falchines which are men hired to cary the palanchines, eight for a palanchine, foure at a time: they carry them as we vse to carry barrowes. And I bought me two bullocks, one of them to ride on, and the other to carry my victuals and prouision, for in that countrey they ride on bullocks with pannels, as we terme them, girts and bridles, and they haue a very good commodious pace. From Bezeneger to Goa in Summer it is eight dayes

Men ride on bullocks, and trauell with them on the way.

iourney, but we went in the midst of Winter, in the moneth of Iuly, and were fifteene dayes comming to Ancola on the sea coast, so in eight dayes I had lost my two bullocks: for he that carried my victuals, was weake and could not goe, the other when I came vnto a riuer where was a little bridge to passe ouer, I put my bullocke to swimming, and in the middest of the riuer there was a little Iland, vnto the which my bullocke went, and finding pasture, there he remained still, and in no wise we could come to him: and so perforce, I was forced to leaue him, and at that time there was much raine, and I was forced to go seuen dayes a foot with great paines: and by great chance I met with Falchines by the way, whom I hired to carry my clothes and victuals. We had great trouble in our iourney, for that euery day wee were taken prisoners, by reason of the great dissension in that kingdome: and euery morning at our departure we must pay rescat foure or fiue pagies a man. And another trouble wee had as bad as this, that when as wee came into a new gouernours countrey, as euery day we did, although they were al tributary to the king of Bezeneger, yet euery one of them stamped a seueral coine of Copper, so that the money that we tooke this day would not serue the next: at length, by the helpe of God, we came safe to Ancola, which is a country of the Queene of Gargopam, tributary to the king of Bezeneger. The marchandise that went euery yere from Goa to Bezeneger were Arabian Horses, Veluets, Damasks, and Sattens, Armesine of Portugall, and pieces of China, Saffron, and Skarlets: and from Bezeneger they had in Turky for their commodities, iewels, and Pagodies which be ducats of golde: the apparell that they vse in Bezeneger is Veluet, Satten, Damaske, Scarlet, or white Bumbast cloth, according to the estate of the person with long hats on their heads, called Colae, made of Veluet, Satten, Damaske, or Scarlet, girding themselues in stead of girldes with some fine white bombast cloth: they haue breeches after the order of the Turks: they weare on their feet plaine high things called of them Aspergh, and at their eares they haue hanging great plenty of golde.

The marchandise that come in and out to Bezeneger euery yere.

The apparell of those people.

Returning to my voyage, when we were together in Ancola, one of my companions that had nothing to lose, tooke a guide, and went to Goa, whither they goe in foure dayes, the other Portugall not being disposed to go, taried in Ancola for that

Their Winter is our Summer.

Winter. The Winter in those parts of the Indies beginneth the fifteenth of May, and lasteth vnto the end of October: and as we were in Ancola, there came another Marchant of horses in a palanchine, and two Portugall souldiers which came from Zeilan, and two cariers of letters, which were Christians borne in the Indies; all these consorted to goe to Goa together, and I determined to goe with them, and caused a pallanchine to be made for me very poorely of Canes; and in one of them Canes I hid priuily all the iewels I had, and according to the order, I tooke eight Falchines to cary me: and one day about eleuen of the clocke wee set forwards on our iourney, and about two of the clocke in the afternoone, as we passed a mountaine which diuideth the territory of Ancola and Dialcan, I being a little behinde my company was assaulted by eight theeues, foure of them had swordes and targets, and the other foure had bowes and arrowes. When the Falchines that carried me vnderstood the noise of the assault, they let the pallanchine and me fall to the ground, and ranne away and left me alone, with my clothes wrapped about me: presently the theeues were on my necke and rifeling me, they stripped me starke naked, and I fained my selfe sicke, because I would not leaue the pallanchine, and I had made me a little bedde of my clothes; the theeues sought it very narrowly and subtilly, and found two pursses that I had, well bound vp together, wherein I had put my Copper money which I had changed for foure pagodies in Ancola. The theeues thinking it had beene so many duckats of golde, searched no further: then they threw all my clothes in a bush, and hied them away, and as God would haue it, at their departure there fell from them an handkercher, and when I saw it, I rose from my Pallanchine or couch, and tooke it vp, and wrapped it together within my Pallanchine. Then these my Falchines were of so good condition, that they returned to seeke mee, whereas I thought I should not haue found so much goodnesse in them: because they were payed their mony aforehand, as is the vse, I had thought to haue seene them no more. Before their comming I was determined to plucke the Cane wherein my iewels were hidden, out of my coutch, and to haue made me a walking staffe to carry in my hand to Goa, thinking that I should haue gone thither on foot, but by the faithfullness of my Falchines, I was rid of that trouble, and so in foure dayes they carried me to Goa, in which time I made hard fare, for the theeues left me neither money, golde, nor siluer, and that which I did eat was giuen me of my men for Gods sake: and after at my comming to Goa I payed them for euery thing royally that I had of them. From Goa I departed for Cochin, which is a voyage of three hundred miles, and betweene these two cities are many holdes of the Portugals, as Onor, Mangalor, Barzelor, and Cananor. The Holde or Fort that you shall haue from Goa to Cochin that belongeth to the Portugals is called Onor, which is in the kingdome of the queene of Battacella, which is tributary to the king of Bezeneger: there is no trade there, but onely a charge with the Captaine and company he keepeth there. And passing this place, you shall come to another small castle of the Portugals called Mangalor, and there is very small trade but onely for a little Rice: and from thence you goe to a little fort called Bazelor, there they haue good store of Rice which is carried to Goa: and from thence you shall goe to a city called Cananor, which is a harquebush shot distant from the chiefest city that ye king of Cananor hath in his kingdome being a king of the Gentiles: and he and his are very naughty and malicious people, alwayes hauing delight to be in warres with the Portugales, and when they are in peace, it is for their interest to let their merchandize passe: there goeth out of this kingdom of Cananor, all the Cardamomum, great store of Pepper, Ginger, Honie, ships laden with great Nuts, great quantitie of Archa, which is a fruit of the bignesse of Nutmegs, which fruite they eate in all those partes of the Indies and beyond the Indies, with the leafe of an Herbe which they call Bettell, the which is like vnto our Iuie leafe, but a litle lesser and thinner: they eate it made in plaisters with the lime made of Oistershels, and thorow the Indies they spend great quantitie of money in this composition, and it is vsed daily, which thing I would not haue beleeued, if I had not seene it. The customers get great profite by these Herbes, for that they haue custome for them. When this people eate and chawe this in their mouthes, it maketh their spittle to bee red like vnto blood, and they say, that it maketh a man to haue a very good stomacke and a sweete breath, but sure in my iudgement they eate it rather to fulfill their filthie lustes, and of a knauerie, for this Herbe is moyst and hote, and maketh a very strong expulsion. From Cananor you go to Cranganor, which is another smal Fort of the Portugales in

Foure small fortes of the Portugals.

Bettell is a very profitable herbe in that countrey.

the land of the king of Cranganor, which is another king of the Gentiles, and a countrey of small importance, and of an hundreth and twentie miles, full of thieues, being vnder the king of Calicut, a king also of the Gentiles, and a great enemie to the Portugales, which when hee is alwayes in warres, hee and his countrey is the nest and resting for stranger theeues, and those bee called Moores of Carposa, because they weare on their heads long red hats, and these thieues part the spoyles that they take on the Sea with the king of Calicut, for hee giueth leaue vnto all that will goe a rouing, liberally to goe, in such wise, that all along that coast there is snch a number of thieues, that there is no sailing in those Seas but with great ships and very well armed, or els they must go in company with the army of the Portugals. From Cranganor to Cochin is 15. miles.

Enimies to the king of Portugall.

Cochin.

COchin is, next vnto Goa, the chiefest place that the Portugales haue in the Indies, and there is great trade of Spices, drugges, and all other sortes of merchandize for the kingdome of Portugale, and there within the land is the kingdome of Pepper, which Pepper the Portugales lade in their shippes by bulke, and not in sackes: the Pepper* that goeth for Portugale is not so good as that which goeth for Mecca, because that in times past the officers of the king of Portugale made a contract with the king of Cochin, in the name of the king of Portugale, for the prizes of Pepper, and by reason of that agreement betweene them at that time made, the price can neither rise nor fall, which is a very lowe and base price, and for this cause the villaines bring it to the Portugales, greene and full of filthe. The Moores of Mecca that giue a better price, haue it cleane and drie, and better conditioned. All the Spices and drugs that are brought to Mecca, are stollen from thence as Contrabanda. Cochin is two cities, one of the Portugales, and another of the king of Cochin: that of the Portugales is situate neerest vnto the Sea, and that of the king of Cochin is a mile and a halfe vp higher in the land, but they

Within Cochin is the kingdom of Pepper

---

* *Marginal note.*—The Pepper that the Portugals bring, is not so good as that which goeth for Mecca, which is brought hither by ye streights.

are both set on the bankes of one riuer which is very great and of a good depth of water, which riuer commeth out of the mountaines of the king of the Pepper, which is a king of the Gentiles, in whose kingdom are many Christians of saint Thomas order: the king of Cochin is also a king of the Gentiles and a great faithfull friend to the king of Portugale, and to those Portugales which are married, and are Citizens in the Citie Cochin of the Portugales. And by this name of Portugales throughout all the Indies, they call all the Christians that come out of the West, whether they bee Italians, Frenchmen, or Almaines, and all they that marrie in Cochin do get an office according to the trade he is of: this they haue by the great priuileges which the Citizens haue of that city, because there are two principal commodities that they deale withal in that place, which are these. The great store of Silke that commeth from China, and the great store of Sugar which commeth from Bengala: the married Citizens pay not any custome for these two commodities: for they pay 4. per cento custome to the king of Cochin, rating their goods at their owne pleasure. Those which are not married and strangers, pay in Cochin to the king of Portugale eight per cento of all maner of merchandise. I was in Cochin when the Viceroy of the king of Portugale wrought what hee coulde to breake the priuilege of the Citizens, and to make them to pay custome as other did: at which time the Citizens were glad to waigh their Pepper in the night that they laded the ships withall that went to Portugale and stole the custome in the night. The king of Cochin hauing vnderstanding of this, would not suffer any more Pepper to bee weighed, Then presently after this, the marchants were licensed so doe as they did before, and there was no more speach of this matter, nor any wrong done. This king of Cochin is of a small power in respect of the other kings of the Indies, for hee can make but seuentie thousand men of armes in his campe: hee hath a great number of Gentlemen which hee calleth Amochi, and some are called Nairi: these two sorts of men esteeme not their liues any thing, so that it may be for the honour of their king, they will thrust themselues forward in euery danger, although they know they shall die. These men goe naked from the girdle vpwardes, with a clothe rolled about their thighs, going barefooted, and hauing their haire very long and rolled vp together on the toppe of thsir heads, and alwayes they carrie their Bucklers or Targets with them and

Great priuileges that the citizens of Cochin haue.

their swordes naked, these Nairi haue their wiues common amongst themselues, and when any of them goe into the house of any of these women, hee leaueth his sworde and target at the doore, and the time that hee is there, there dare not any bee so hardie as to come into that house. The kings children shall not inherite the kingdome after their father, because they hold this opinion, that perchance they were not begotten of the king their father, but of some other man, therfore they accept for their king, one of the sonnes of the kings sisters, or of some other woman of the blood roial, for that they be sure they are of the blood roiall.

A very strange thing hardly to be beleeued.

The Nairi and their wiues vse for a brauerie to make great holes in their eares, and so bigge and wide, that it is incredible, holding this opinion, that the greater the holes bee, the more noble they esteeme themselues. I had leaue of one of them to measure the circumference of one of them with a threed, and within that circumference I put my arme vp to the shoulder, clothed as it was, so that in effect they are monstrous great. Thus they doe make them when they be litle, for thsn they open the eare, and hang a piece of gold or lead thereat, and within the opening, in the whole they put a certaine leafe that they haue for that purpose, which maketh the hole so great. They lade ships in Cochin for Portugale and for Ormus, but they that goe for Ormus carrie no Pepper but by Contrabanda, as for Sinamome they easilie get leaue to carrie that away, for all other Spices and drugs they may liberally carie them to Ormns or Cambaia, and so all other merchandize which come from other places, but out of the kingdom of Cochin properly they cary away with them into Portugale great abundance of Pepper, great quantitie of Ginger dried and conserued, wild Sinamon, good quantity of Arecca, great store of Cordage of Cairo, made of the barke of the tree of the great Nut, and better then that of Hempe, of which they carrie great store into Portugale.

Note the departing of ships from Cochin.

The shippes euery yeere depart from Cochin to goe for Portugall, on the fift day of December, or the fift day of Ianuary. Nowe to follow my voyage for the Indies: from Cochin I went to Coulam, distant from Cochin seuentie and two miles, which Coulam is a small Fort of the king of Portugales, situate in the kingdom of Coulam, which is a king of the Gentiles, and of small trade: at that place they lade onely halfe a ship of Pepper, and then she goeth to

Cochin to take in the rest, and from thence to Cao Comori is seuentie and two miles, and there endeth the coast of the Indies: and alongst this coast, neere to the water side, and also to Cao Comori, downe to the lowe land of Chialon, which is about two hundred miles, the people there are as it were all turned to the Christian faith: there are also Churches of the Friers of S. Pauls order, which Friers doe very much good in those places in turning the people, and in conuerting them, and take great paines in instructing them in the law of Christ.

The fishing for Pearles.

The order how they fish for pearles.

THe Sea that lieth betweene the coast which descendeth from Cao Comori, to the lowe land of Chiaoal, and the Iland Zeilan, they call the fishing of Pearles, which fishing they make euery yeere, beginning in March or Aprill, and it lasteth fiffie dayes, but they doe not fishe euery yeere in one place, but one yeere in one place, and another yeere in another place of the same sea. When the time of this fishing draweth neere, then they send very good Diuers, that goe to discouer where the greatest heapes of Oisters bee vnder water, and right agaynst that place where greatest store of Oisters bee, there they make or plant a village with houses and a Bazaro, all of stone, which standeth as long as the fishing time lasteth, and it is furnished with all things necessarie, and nowe and then it is neere vnto places that are inhabited, and other times farre off, according to the place where they fishe. The Fishermen are all Christians of the countrey, and who so will may goe to fishing, paying a certaine dutie to the king of Portugall, and to the Churches of the Friers of Saint Paule, which are in that coast. All the while that they are fishing, there are three or foure Fustes armed to defend the Fishermen from Rouers. It was my chance to bee there one time in my passage, and I saw the order that they vsed in fishing, which is this. There are three or foure Barkes that make consort together, which are like to our litle Pilot boates, and a litle lesse, there goe seuen or eight men in a boate: and I haue seene in a morning a great number of them goe out, and anker in fifteene or eighteene fadome of water, which is the Ordinarie depth of all that coast. When they are at anker, they cast a rope into the Sea, and at the ende of the rope, they make fast a great stone, and then there is readie a man that hath his nose and his eares well stopped, and annointed with oyle, and a basket about his necke, or vnder his left arme, then hee goeth downe by the rope to the bottome of the Sea, and as fast as he can he filleth the basket, and when it is full, he shaketh the rope, and his fellowes that are in the Barke hale him vp with the basket: and in such wise they goe one by one vntill they haue laden their barke with oysters, and at euening they come to the village, and then euery company maketh their mountaine or heape of oysters one distant from another, in such wise that you shall see a great long rowe of mountaines or heapes of oysters, and they are not touched vntill such time as the fishing bee ended, and at the ende of the fishing euery companie sitteth round about their mountaine or heape of oysters, and fall to opening of them, which they may easilie doe because they bee dead, drie and brittle: and if euery oyster had pearles in them, it would bee a very good purchase, but there are very many that haue no pearles in them: when the fishing is ended, then they see whether it bee a great gathering or a badde: there are certaine expert in the pearles whom they call Chitini, which set and make the price of pearles* according to their carracts, beautie, and goodnesse, making foure sortes of them. The first sort bee the round pearles, and they be called Aia of Portugale, because the Portugales doe buy them. The second sorte which are not round, are called Aia of Bengala. The third sort which are not so good as the second, they call Aia of Canara, that is to say, the kingdome of Bezeneger. The fourth and last sort, which are the least and worst sort, are called Aia of Cambaia. Thus the price being set, there are merchants of euery countrey which are readie with their money in their handes, so that in a fewe dayes all is bought vp at the prises set according to the goodnesse and caracts of the pearles.

In this Sea of the fishing of pearles is an Iland called Manar, which is inhabited by Christians of the countrey which first were Gentiles, and haue a small hold of the Portugales being situate ouer agaynst Zeilan: and betweene these two Ilands there is a chanell, but not very big, and hath but a small depth therein; by reason whereof there cannot any great shippe passe that way, but small ships, and with the increase of the water which is at the change or the full of the Moone, and yet for all this they must vnlade them and put their goods into small vessels to lighten them before they can passe that way for feare of Sholdes that lie in the chanell, and after lade them into their shippes to goe for the Indies, and this doe all small shippes that passe that way, but those shippes that goe for the Indies Eastwardes, passe by the coast of Coromandel, on the other side by the land of Chilao which is betweene the firme land and the Iland Manor: and going from the Indies to the coast of Coromandel, they loose some shippes, but they bee emptie, because that the shippes that passe that way discharge their goods at an Iland called Peripatane, and there land their goods into small flat bottomed boates which drawe litle water, and are called Tane, and can run ouer euery Shold without either danger or losse of any thing, for that they tarrie in Peripatane vntill such time as it bee faire weather. Before they depart to passe the Sholds, the small shippes and flat bottomed boates goe together in companie, and when they haue sailed sixe and thirtie miles, they arriue at the place where the Sholdes are, and at that place the windes blowe so forciblie, that they are forced to goe thorowe, not hauing any other refuge to saue themselues. The flat bottomed boates goe safe thorow, where as the small shippes if they misse the aforesayd chanell, sticke fast on the Sholdes, and by this meanes many are lost: and comming backe for the Indies, they goe not that way, but passe by the chanell of Manar as is abouesayd, whose chanell is Oazie, and if the shippes sticke fast, it is a great chance if there be any danger at all. The reason why this chanell is not more sure to goe thither, is, because the windes that raigne or blowe betweene Zeilan and Manar, make the chanell so shalow with water, that almost there is not any passage. From Coa Comori to the Iland of Zeilan is 120. miles ouerthwart.

---

* *Marginal note.*—These pearles are prised according to the caracts which they weigh, euery caract is 4. graines, and these men that prise them haue an instrument of copper with holes in it, which be made by degrees for to sort ye perles withall.

Zeilan.*

ZEilan is an Iland, in my iudgement, a great deale bigger then Cyprus: on that side towards the Indies lying Westward is the citie called Columba, which is a hold of the Portugales, but without walles or enimies. It hath towards the Sea a free port, the awfull king of that Iland is in Columbo, and is turned Christian and maintained by the king of Portugall, being depriued of his kingdome. The king of the Gentiles, to whom this kingdome did belong, was called Madoni, which had two sonnes, the first named Barbinas the prince; and the second Ragine. This king by the pollicie of his yoonger sonne, was depriued of his kingdome, who because hee had entised and done that which pleased the armie and souldiours, in despight of his father and brother being prince, vsurped the kingdome, and became a great warriour. First, this Iland had three kings; the king of Cotta with his conquered prisoners: the king of Candia, which is a part of that Iland, and is so called by the name of Candia, which had a reasonable power, and was a great friend to the Portugals, which sayd that hee liued secretly a Christian; the third was the king of Gianifampatan. In thirteene yeeres that this Ragine gouerned this Iland, he became a great tyrant.

---

* Ceylon.

In this Iland there groweth fine Sinamom, great store of Pepper, great store of Nuttes and Arochoe: there they make great store of Cairo* to make Cordage: it bringeth foorth great store of Christall Cats eyes, or Ochi de Gati, and they say that they finde there some Rubies, but I haue sold Rubies well there that I brought with me from Pegu. I was desirous to see how they gather the Sinamom, or take it from the tree that it groweth on, and so much the rather, because the time that I was there, was the season which they gather it in, which was in the moneth of Aprill, at which time the Portugals were in armes, and in the field, with the king of the countrey; yet I to satisfie my desire, although in great danger, tooke a guide with mee and went into a wood three miles from the Citie, in which wood was great store of Sinamome trees growing together among other wilde trees; and this Sinamome tree is a small tree, and not very high, and hath leaues like to our Baie tree. In the moneth of March or Aprill, when the sappe goeth vp to the toppe of the tree, then they take the Sinamom from that tree in this wise. They cut the barke of the tree round about in length from knot to knot, or from ioint to ioint, aboue and belowe, and then easilie with their handes they take it away, laying it in the Sunne to drie, and in this wise it is gathered, and yet for all this the tree

The cutting and gathering of Sinamom.

Cairo* is a stuffe that they make ropes with, the which is the barke of a tree.

dieth not, but agaynst the next yeere it will haue a new barke, and that which is gathered euery yeere is the best Sinamome: for that which groweth two or three yeares is great, and not so good as the other is; and in these woods groweth much Pepper.

A rare thing.

Negapatan.

FRom the Iland of Zeilan men vse to goe with small shippes to Negapatan, within the firme land, and seuentie two miles off is a very great Citie, and very populous of Portugals and Christians of the countrey, and part Gentiles: it is a countrey of small trade, neither haue they any trade there, saue a good quantitie of Rice, and cloth of Bumbast which they carie into diuers partes: it was a very plentifull countrey of victuals, but now it hath a great deale lesse; and that abundance of victuals caused many Portugales to goe thither and build houses, and dwell there with small charge.

This Citie belongeth to a noble man of the kingdome of Bezeneger being a Gentile, neuerthelesse the Portugales and other Christians are well intreated there, and haue their Churches there with a monasterie of Saint Francis order, with great deuotion and very well accommodated, with houses round about: yet for all this, they are amongst tyrants, which alwayes at their pleasure may doe them some harme, as it happened in the yeere of our Lord God one thousand fiue hundred, sixtie and fiue: for I remember very well, how that the Nayer, that is to say, the lord of the citie, sent to the citizens to demaund of them certaine Arabian horses, and they hauing denied them vnto him, and gainesayd his demaund, it came to passe that this lord had a desire to see the Sea, which when the poore citizens vnderstood, they doubted some euill, to heare a thing which was not woont to bee, they thought that this man would come to sacke the Citie, and presently they embarked themselues the best they could with their mooueables, marchandize, iewels, money, and all that they had, and caused the shippes to put from the shore. When this was done, as their euill chance would haue it, the next night following, there came such a great storme that it put all the shippes on land perforce, and brake them to pieces, and all the goods that came on land and were saued, were taken from them by the souldiours and armie of this lord which came downe with him to see the Sea, and were attendant

A foolish feare of Portugals.

at the Sea side, not thinking that any such thing would haue happened.

Saint Thomas or San Tome.

St. Thomas his sepulchre.

FRom Negapatan following my voyage towards the East an hundred and fiftie miles, I found the house of blessed Saint Thomas, which is a Church of great deuotion, and greatly regarded of the Gentiles for the great miracles they haue heard to haue bene done by that blessed Apostle: neere vnto this Church the Portugals haue builded them a Citie in the countrey subiect to the king of Bezeneger, which Citie although it bee not very great, yet in my iudgement, it is the fairest in all that part of the Indies: and it hath very faire houses and faire gardens in vacant places very well accommodated: it hath streetes large and streight, with many Churches of great deuotion, their houses be set close one vnto another, with little doores, euery house hath his defence, so that by that meanes it is of force sufficient to defend ye Portugals against the people of that countrey. The Portugals there haue no other possession but their gardens and houses that are within the citie: the customes belong to the king of Bezeneger, which are very small and easie, for that it is a countrey of great riches and great trade: there come euery yeere two or three great ships very rich, besides many other small ships: one of the two great ships goeth for Pegu, and the other for Malacca, laden with fine Bumbast* cloth of euery sort, painted, which is a are thing, because those kinde of clothes shew as they were gilded, with diuers colours, and the more they be washed, the liuelier the colours will shew. Also there is other cloth of Bumbast which is wouen with diuers colours, and is of great value: also they make in Sant Tome great store of red Yarne, which they die with a roote called Saia, and this colour will neuer waste, but the more it is washed, the more redder it will shew: they lade this yarne the greatest part of it for Pegu, because that there they worke and weaue it to make cloth according to their owne fashion, and with lesser charges. It is a maruelous thing to them which haue not seene the lading and vnlading of men and marchandize in S. Tome as they do: it is a place so dangerous, that a man cannot bee serued with

---

Marginal note.—*A painted kind of cloth and died of diuers colours which those people delight much in, and esteeme them of great price.

small barkes, neither can they doe their businesse with the boates of the shippes, because they would be beaten in a thousand pieces, but they make certaine barkes (of purpose) high, which they call Masadie, they be made of litle boards; one board being sowed to another with small cordes, and in this order are they made. And when they are thus made, and the owners will embarke any thing in them, either men or goods, they lade them on land, and when they are laden, the Barke-men thrust the boate with her lading into the streame, and with great speed they make haste all that they are able to rowe out against the huge waues of the sea that are on that shore, vntill that they carie them to the ships: and in like maner they lade these Masadies at the shippes with merchandise and men. When they come neere the shore, the Barke-men leap out of the Barke into the Sea to keepe the Barke right that she cast not thwart the shore, and being kept right, the Suffe of the Sea setteth her lading dry on land without any hurt or danger, and sometimes there are some of them that are ouerthrowen, but there can be no great losse, because they lade but a litle at a time. All the marchandize they lade outwards, they emball it well with Oxe hides, so that if it take wet, it can haue no great harme.

In my voyage, returning in the yeere of our Lord God one thousand, fiue hundred, sixtie and sixe, I went from Goa vnto Malacca, in a shippe or Gallion of the king of Portugal, which went vnto Banda for to lade Nutmegs and Maces: from Goa to Malacca are one thousand eight hundred miles, we passed without the Iland Zeilan, and went through the chanell of Nicubar, or els through the chanell of Sombero, which is by the middle of the Iland of Sumatra, called in olde time Taprobana: and from Necubar to Pegu is as it were a rowe or chaine of an infinite number of Ilands, of which many are inhabited with wilde people, and they call those Ilands the Ilands of Andemaon, and they call their people sauage or wilde, because they eate one another: also these Ilands haue warre one with another, for they haue small Barkes, and with them they take one another, and so eate one another: and if by euil chance any ship be lost on those Ilands, as many haue bene, there is not one man of those ships lost there that escapeth vneaten or vnslaine. These people haue not any acquaintance with any other people, neither haue they trade with

In the Iland of Banda they lade Nutmegs for there they grow.

In the Ilands of Andemaon, they eate one another.

any, but liue onely of such fruites as those Ilands yeeld: and if any ship come neere vnto that place or coast as they passe that way, as in my voyage it happened as I came from Malacca through the chanell of Sombrero, there came two of their Barkes neere vnto our ship laden with fruite, as with Mouces which wee call Adam apples, with fresh Nuts, and with a fruite called Inani, which fruite is like to our Turneps, but is very sweete and good to eate: they would not come into the shippe for any thing that wee could doe: neither would they take any money for their fruite, but they would trucke for olde shirtes or pieces of olde linnen breeches, these ragges they let downe with a rope into their Barke vnto them, and looke what they thought those things to bee woorth, so much fruite they would make fast to the rope and let vs hale it in: and it was told me that at sometimes a man shall haue for an old shirt a good piece of Amber.

Sumatra.

THis Iland of Sumatra is a great Iland and deuided and gouerned by many kings, and deuided into many chanels, where through there is passage: vpon the headland towardes the West is the kingdom of Assi gouerned by a Moore king: this king is of great force and strength, as he that beside his great kingdom, hath many Foists and Gallies. In his kingdom groweth great store of Pepper, Ginger, Beniamin: he is an vtter enemy to the Portugals, and hath diuers times bene at Malacca to fight against it, and hath done great harme to the boroughes thereof, but the citie alway withstood him valiantly, and with their ordinance did great spoile to his campe. At length I came to the citie of Malacca.

The Citie Malacca.

MAlacca is a Citie of marueilous great trade of all kind of marchandize, which come from diuers partes, because that all the shippes that saile in these seas, both great and small, are bound to touch at Malacca to paie their custome there, although they vnlade nothing at all, as we do at Elsinor: and if by night they escape away, and pay not their custome, then they fall into a greater danger after: for if they come into the Indies and haue not the seale of Malacca, they pay double custome. I haue not passed further then Malacca towards the East, but that which I wil speake of here is by good information of them that haue bene there. The sailing from Malacca towards the East is not common for all men, as to China and Iapan, and so forwards to go who will, but onely for the king of Portugall and his nobles, with leaue granted vnto them of the king to make such voiage, or to the iurisdiction of the captaine of Malacca, where he expecteth to know what voiages they make from Malacca thither, and these are the kings voiages, that euery yere there departeth from Malacca 2. gallions of the kings, one of them goeth to ye Moluccos to lade Cloues, and the other goeth to Banda to lade Nutmegs and Maces. These two gallions are laden for the king, neither doe they carie any particular mans goods, sauing the portage of the Mariners and souldiers, and for this cause they are not voiages for marchants, because that going thither, they shal not haue where to lade their goods of returne; and besides this, the captaine wil not cary any marchants for either of these two places. There goe small shippes of the Moores thither, which come from the coast of Iaua, and change or guild their commodities in the kingdom of Assa, and these be the Maces, Cloues, and Nutmegs, which go for the streights of Mecca. The voiages that the king of Portugall granteth to his nobles are these, of China and Iapan, from China to Iapan, and from Iapan to China, and from China to the Indies, and the voyage of Bengala, Maluco, and Sonda, with the lading of fine cloth, and euery sort of Bumbast cloth. Sonda is an Iland of the Moores neere to the coast of Iaua, and there they lade Pepper for China. The ship that goeth euery yeere from the Indies to China, is called the ship of Drugs, because she carieth diuers drugs of Cambaia, but the greatest part of her lading is siluer. From Malacca to China is eighteene hundred miles: and from China to Iapan goeth euery yeere a shippe of great importance laden with Silke, which for returne of their Silke bringeth barres of siluer which they trucke in China. The distance betweene China and Iapan is foure and twentie hundred miles, and in this way there are diuers Ilands not very bigge, in which the Friers of saint Paul, by the helpe of God, make many Christians there like to themselues. From these Ilands hitherwards the place is not yet discouered for the great sholdnesse of Sandes that they find. The Portugals haue made a small citie neere vuto the coast of China called Macao, whose church and houses are of wood,

The ship of drugs, so termed of the Portugals.

and it hath a bishoprike, but the customs belong to the king of China, and they goe and pay the same at a citie called Canton, which is a citie of great importance and very beautifull two dayes iourney and a halfe from Macao. The people of China are Gentiles, and are so iealous and fearefull, that they would not haue a stranger to put his foote within their land: so that when the Portugals go thither to pay their custome, and to buy their marchandize, they will not consent that they shall lie or lodge within the citie, but send them foorth into the suburbes. The countrey of China * is neere the kingdom of great Tartria, and is a very great countrey of the Gentiles and of great importance, which may be iudged by the rich and precious marchandize that come from thence, then which I beleeue there are not better nor in greater quantitie in the whole world besides.

A yeerely Carouan from Persia to China.

First, great store of golde, which they carie to the Indies, made in plates like to little shippes, and in value three and twentie caracts a peece, very great aboundance of fine silke, cloth of damaske and taffata, great quantitie of muske, great quantitie of Occam in barres, great quantitie of quicksiluer and of Cinaper, great store of Camfora, an infinite quantitie of Porcellane, made in vessels of diuerse sortes, great quantitie of painted cloth and squares, infinite store of the rootes of China: and euery yeere there commeth from China to the Indies, two or three great shippes, laden with most rich and precious merchandise. The Rubarbe commeth from thence ouer lande, by the way of Persia, because that euery yeere there goeth a great Carouan from Persia to China, which is in going thither sixe moneths. The Carouan arriueth at a Citie called Lanchin, the place where the king is resident with his Court. I spake with a Persian that was three yeeres in that citie of Lanchin, and he tolde me that it was a great Citie and of great importance. The voiages of Malacca which are in the iurisdiction of the Captaine of the castle, are these: Euery yeere he sendeth a small shippe to Timor to lade white Sandols, for all the best commeth from this Iland: there commeth some also from Solor, but that is not so good: also he sendeth another small ship euery yere to Cauchin China, to lade there wood of Aloes, for that all the wood of Aloes commeth from this place, which is in the firme land neere vnto China, and in that kingdome

---

* *Marginal note.*—China is vnder the gouernment of the great Tartar.

I could not knowe how that wood groweth by any meanes. For that the people of the countrey will not suffer the Portugales to come within the land, but onely for wood and water, and as for all other things that they wanted, as victuals or marchandise, the people bring that a boord the ship in small barkes, so that euery day there is a mart kept in the ship, vntill such time as she be laden: also there goeth another ship for the said Captaine of Malacca to Sion, to lade Verzino: all these voiages are for the Captaine of the castle of Malacca, and when he is not disposed to make these voiages he selleth them to another.

A market kept aboord of the ships.

The citie of Sion, or Siam.

SIon was the imperiall seat, and a great Citie, but in the yeere of our Lord God one thousand fiue hundred sixtie and seuen, it was taken by the king of Pegu, which king made a voyage or came by lande foure moneths iourney with an armie of men through his lande, and the number of his armie was a million and foure hundreth thousand men of warre: when hee came to the Citie, he gaue assault to it, and besieged it one and twentie moneths before he could winne it, with great losse of his people, this I know, for that I was in Pegu sixe moneths after his departure, and sawe when that his officers that were in Pegu, sent fiue hundreth thousand men of warre to furnish the places of them that were slaine and lost in that assault: yet for all this, if there had not beene treason against the citie, it had not beene lost: for on a night there was one of the gates set open, through the which with great trouble the king gate into the citie, and became gouernour of Sion: and when the Emperour sawe that he was betrayed, and that his enemie was in the citie, he poysoned himselfe: and his wiues and children, friends and noblemen, that were not slaine in the first affront of the entrance into the citie, were all caried captiues into Pegu, where I was at the comming home of the king with his triumphs and victorie, which comming home and returning from the warres was a goodly sight to behold, to see the Elephants come home in a square, laden with golde, siluer, iewels, and with Noble men and women that were taken prisoners in that citie.

A prince of a marueilous strength and power.

Now to returne to my yoyage: I departed from Malacca in a great shippe which went for Saint Tome, being a Citie situate on the coast of Coromandel: and because the Captaine of the castles of Malacca had vnderstanding by aduise that the king of Assi would come with a great armie and power of men against them, therefore vpon this he would not giue licence that any shippes should depart: Wherefore in this ship wee departed from thence in the night, without making any prouision of our water: and wee were in that shippe foure hundreth and odde men: we departed from thence with intention to goe to an Iland to take in water, but the windes were so contrary, that they would not suffer vs to fetch it, so that by this meanes wee were two and fortie dayes in the sea as it were lost, and we were driuen too and fro, so that the first lande that we discouered, was beyonde Saint Tome, more then fiue hundreth miles, which were the mountaines of Zerzerline, neere vnto the kingdome of Orisa, and so wee came to Orisa with many sicke, and more that were dead for want of water: and they that were sicke in foure dayes dyed: and I for the space of a yeere after had my throat so sore and hoarse, that I could neuer satisfie my thirst in drinking of water: I iudge the reason of my hoarsenesse to bee with soppes that I wet in vineger and oyle, wherewith I susteyned my selfe many dayes. There was not any want of bread nor of wine: but the wines of that countrey are so hot that being drunke without water they will kill a man: neither are they able to drinke them: when we beganne to want water, I sawe certaine Moores that were officers in the ship, that solde a small dish full for a duckat, after this I sawe one that would haue giuen a barre of Pepper, which is two quintalles and a halfe, for a litle measure of water, and he could not haue it. Truely I beleeue that I had died with my slaue, whom then I had to serue mee, which cost mee verie deare: but to prouide for the daunger at hand, I solde my slaue for halfe that he was worth, because that I would saue his drinke that he drunke, to serue my owne purpose, and to saue my life.

Or Achem.

The mountaines of Zerzeline.

Of the kingdome of Orisa, and the riuer Ganges.

ORisa was a faire kingdome and trustie, through the which a man might haue gone with golde in his hande without any daunger at all, as long as the lawefull King reigned which was a Gentile, who continued in the citie called Catecha, which was within the lande sixe dayes iourney. This king loued strangers marueilous well, especially marchants which had traffique in and out of his kingdome, in such wise that hee would take no custome of them, neither any other grieuous thing. Onely the shippe that came thither payde a small thing according to her portage, aud euery yeere in the port of Orisa were laden fiue and twentie or thirtie ships great and small, with ryce and diuers sortes of fine white bumbaste cloth, oyle of Zerzeline which they make of a seed, and it is very good to eate and to fry fish withal, great store of butter, Lacca, long pepper, Ginger, Mirabolans dry and condite, great store of cloth of herbes, which is a kinde of silke which groweth amongst the woods without any labour of man, and when the bole thereof is growen round as bigge as an Orenge, then they take care onely to gather them. About sixteene yeeres past, this king with his kingdome were destroyed by the king of Patane, which was also king of the greatest part of Bengala, and when he had got the kingdome, he set custome there twenty pro cento, as Marchants paide in his kingdome: but this tyrant enioyed his kingdome but a small time, but was conquered by another tyrant, which was the great Mogol king of Agra, Delly, and of all Cambaia, without any resistance. I departed from Orisa to Bengala, to the harbour Piqueno, which is distant from Orisa towardes the East a hundred and seuentie miles. They goe as it were rowing alongst the coast fiftie and foure miles, and then we enter into the riuer Ganges: from the mouth of this riuer, to a citie called Satagan, where the marchants gather themselues together with their trade, are a hundred miles, which they rowe in eighteene houres with the increase of the water: in which riuer it floweth and ebbeth as it doth in the Thamis, and when the ebbing water is come, they are not able to rowe against it, by reason of the swiftnesse of the water, yet their barkes be light and armed with oares, like to Foistes, yet they cannot preuaile against that streame, but for refuge must make them fast to the banke of the riuer vntill the next flowing water, and they call these barkes Bazaras and Patuas: they rowe as well as a Galliot, or as well as euer I haue seene any. A good tides rowing before you come to Satagan, you shall haue a place which is called Buttor, and from thence vpwards the ships doe not goe, because that vpwardes the riuer is very shallowe, and litle water. Euery yeere at Buttor they make and vnmake a Village, with houses and shoppes made

The commodities that go out of Orisa.

This cloth we call Nettle cloth.

The riuer of Ganges.

of strawe, and with all things necessarie to their vses, and this village standeth as long as the ships ride there, and till they depart for the Indies, and when they are departed, euery man goeth to his plot of houses, and there setteth fire on them, which thing made me to maruaile. For as I passed vp to Satagan, I sawe this village standing with a great number of people, with an infinite number of ships and Bazars, and at my returne comming downe with my Captaine of the last ship, for whom I tarried, I was al amazed to see such a place so soone razed and burnt, and nothing left but the signe of the burnt houses. The small ships go to Satagan, and there they lade.

Of the citie of Satagan.

IN the port of Satagan euery yeere lade thirtte or fiue and thirtie ships great and small, with rice, cloth of Bombast of diuerse sortes, Lacca, great abundance of sugar, Mirabolans dried and preserued, long pepper, oyle of Zerzeline, and many other sorts of marchandise. The citie of Satagan is a reasonable faire citie for a citie of the Moores, abounding with all things, and was gouerned by the king of Patane, and now is subiect to the great Mogol. I was in this kingdome foure moneths, whereas many marchants did buy or fraight boates for their benefites, and with these barkes they goe vp and downe the riuer of Ganges to faires, buying their commoditie with a great aduantage, because that euery day in the weeke they haue a faire, now in one place, and now in another, and I also hired a barke, and went vp and downe the riuer and did my businesse, and so in the night I saw many strange things. The kingdome of Bengala in times past hath bene as it were in the power of Moores, neuerthelesse there is great store of Gentiles among them; alwayes whereas I haue spoken of Gentiles, is to be vnderstood Idolaters, and whereas I speak of Moores I meane Mahomets sect. Those people especially that be within the land doe greatly worship the riuer of Ganges: for when any is sicke, he is brought out of the countrey to the banke of the riuer, and there they make him a small cottage of strawe, and euery day they wet him with that water, whereof there are many that die, and when they are dead, they make a heape of stickes and boughes and lay the dead bodie thereon, and putting fire thereunto, they let the bodie alone vntill

The commodities that are laden in Satagan.

A ceremony of the gentiles when they be dead.

it be halfe rosted, and then they take it off from the fire, and make an emptie iarre fas about his necke, and so throw him into the riuer. These things euery night as I passed vp and downe the riuer I saw for the space of two moneths, as I passed to the fayres to buy my commodities with the marchants. And this is the cause that the Portugales will not drinke of the water of the riuer Ganges, yet to the sight it is more perfect and clearer then the water of Nilus is. From the port Piqueno I went to Cochin, and from Cochin to Malacca, from whence I departed for Pegu being eight hundred miles distant. That voyage is woont to be made in fiue and twentie or thirtie dayes, but we were foure moneths, and at the ende of three moneths our ship was without victuals. The Pilot told vs that wee were by his altitude not farre from a citie called Tanasary, in the kingdome of Pegu, and these his words were not true, but we were (as it were) in the middle of many Ilands, and many vninhabited rockes, and there were also some Portugales that affirmed that they knew the land, and knewe also where the citie of Tanasari was.

Marchandise comming from Sion.

This citis of right belongeth to the kingdome of Sion, which is situate on a great riuers side, which commeth out of the kingdome of Sion: and where this riuer runneth into the sea, there is a village called Mirgim, in whose harbour euery yeere there lade some ships with Verzina, Nypa, and Beniamin, a few cloues, nutmegs and maces which come from the coast of Sion, but the greatest marchandise there is Verzin and Nypa, which is an excellent wine, which is made of the flower of a tree called Nyper. Whose licquour they distill, and so make an excellent drinke cleare as christall, good to the mouth, and better to the stomake, and it hath an excellent gentle vertue, that if one were rotten with the French pockes, drinking good store of this, he shall be whole againe, and I haue seene it proued, because that when I was in Cochin, there was a friend of mine, whose nose beganne to drop away with that disease, and he was counselled of the doctors of phisicke, that he should goe to Tanasary at the time of the new wines, and that he should drinke of the myper wine, night aud day, as much as he could before it was distilled, which at that time is most delicate, but after that it is distilled, it is more strong,, and if you drinke much of it, it will fume into the head with drunkennesse. This man went thither, and did so, and I haue seene him after with a good colour and sound. This wine

Niper wine good to cure the French disease.

is very much esteemed in the Indies, and for that it is brought so farre off, it is very deare: in Pegu ordinarily it is good cheape, because it is neerer to the place where they make it, and there is euery yeere great quantitie made thereof. And returning to my purpose, I say, being amongst these rockes, and farre from the land which is ouer against Tanasary, with great scarcitie of victuals, and that by the saying of the Pylot and two Portugales, holding then firme that wee were in front of the aforesayd harbour, we determined to goe thither with our boat and fetch victuals, and that the shippe should stay for vs in a place assigned. We were twentie and eight persons in the boat that went for victuals, and on a day about twelue of the clocke we went from the ship, assuring our selues to bee in the harbour before night in the aforesaid port, wee rowed all that day, and a great part of the next night, and all the next day without fiinding harbour, or any signe of good landing, and this came to passe through the euill counsell of the two Portugales that were with vs.

For we had ouershot the harbour and left it behind vs, in such wise that we had lost the lande inhabited, together with the shippe, and we eight and twentie men had no maner of victuall with vs in the boate, but it was the Lords will that one of the Mariners had brought a little rice with him in the boate to barter away for some other thing, and it was not so much but that three or foure men would haue eaten it at a meale: I tooke the gouernment of this Ryce, promising that by the helpe of God that Ryce should be nourishment for vs vntil it pleased God to send vs to some place that was inhabited: ahd when I slept I put the ryce into my bosome because they should not rob it from me: we were nine daies rowing alongst the coast, without finding any thing but countreys vninhabited, and desert Ilands, where if we had found but grasse it would haue seemed sugar vnto vs, but wee could not finde any, yet we found a fewe leaues of a tree, and they were so hard that we could not chewe them, we had water and wood sufficient, and as wee rowed, we could goe but by flowing water, for when it was ebbing water, wee made fast our boat to the banke of one of those Ilandes, and in these nine dayes that we rowed, we found a caue or nest of Tortoises egges, wherein were one hundred fortie and foure egges, the which was a great helpe vnto vs: these egges are as bigge as a hennes egge, and haue no shell about them but a tender skinne, euery day we sodde a kettle full of those egges,

Great extremitie at sea.

with an handfull of rice in the broth thereof: it pleased God that at the ende of nine dayes we discouered certaine fisher men, a fishing with small barkes, and we rowed towardes them, with a good cheare, for I thinke there were neuer men more glad then we were, for wee were so sore afflicted with penurie, that we could scarce stande on our legges. Yet according to the order that we set for our ryce, when we sawe those fisher men, there was left sufficient for foure dayes. The first village that we came to was in the gulfe of Tauay, vnder the king of Pegu, whereas we found great store of victuals: then for two or three dayes after our arriuall there, we would eate but litle meate any of vs, and yet for all this, we were at the point of death the most part of vs. From Tauay to Martauan, in the kingdome of Pegu, are seuentie two miles. We laded our bote with victuals which were aboundantly sufficient for sixe moneths, from whence we departed for the port and Citie of Martauan, where in short time we arriued, but we found not our ship there as we had thought we should, from whence presently we made out two barkes to goe to looke for her. And they found her in great calamitie and neede of water, being at an anker with a contrary winde, which came very ill to passe, because that she wanted her boat a moneth, which should haue made her prouision of wood and water, the shippe also by the grace of God arriued safely in the aforesaid port of Martauan.

Tauay vnder the king of Pegu.

The Citie of Martauan.

WE found in the Citie of Martauan ninetie Portugales of Merchants and other base of men, which had fallen at difference with the Retor or gouernour of the citie, and all for this cause, that certaine vagabondes of the Portugales had slaine fiue falchines of the king of Pegu, which chaunced about a moneth after the king of Pegu was gone with a million and foure hundred thousand men to conquere the kingdome of Sion. They haue for custome in this Countrey and kingdome, the king being wheresoeuer his pleasure is to bee out of his kingdome, that euery fifteene dayes there goeth from Pegu a Carouan of Falchines, with euery one a basket on his head full of some fruites or other delicates or refreshings, and with cleane clothes: it chaunced that this Carauan passing by Martauan, and resting

Martauan a citie vnder the king of Pegu.

A custome that these people haue when the king is in the warres.

themselues there a night, there happened betweene the Portugales and them wordes of despight, and from wordes to blowes, and because it was thought that the Portugales had the worse, the night following, when the Falchines were a sleepe with their companie, the Portugales went and cut off their heads. Now there is a law in Pegu, that whosoeuer killeth a man, he shall buy the shed blood with his money, according to the estate of the person that is slaine, but these Falchines being the seruants of the king, the Retors durst not doe any thing in the matter, without the consent of the king, because it was necessarie that the king should knowe of such a matter. When the king had knowledge thereof, he gaue commaundement that the malefactors should be kept vntill his comming home, and then he would duely minister iustice, but the Captaine of the Portugales would not deliuer those men, but rather set himselfe with all the rest in armes, and went euery day through the Citie marching with his Drumme and ensignes displayd. For at that time the Citie was emptie of men, by reason they were gone all to the warres, and in businesse of the king: in the middest of this rumour wee came thither, and I thought it a strange thing to see the Portugales vse such insolencie in another mans Citie. And I stoode in doubt of that which came to passe, and would not vnlade my goods because that they were more sure in the shippe then on the land, the greatest part of the lading was the owners of the shippe, who was in Malacca, yet there were diuerse marchants there, but their goods were of small importance, all those marchants tolde me that they would not vnlade any of their goods there, vnlesse I would vnlade first, yet after they left my counsell and followed their owne, and put their goods a lande and lost euery whit. The Retor with the customer sent for mee, and demaunded why I put not my goods a lande, and payed my custome as other men did? To whom I answered, that I was a marchant that was newly come thither, and seeing such disorder amongst the Portugales, I doubted the losse of my goods which cost me very deare, with the sweate of my face, and for this cause I was determined not to put my goods on lande, vntil such time as his honour would assure me in the name of the king, that I should haue no losse, and although there came harme to the Portugales, that neither I nor my goods should haue any hurt, because I had neither part nor any difference with them in

A law in Pegu for killing of men.

Great pride of the Portugales.

this tumult: my reason sounded well in the Retors eares, and so presently he sent for the Bargits, which are as Counsellors of the Citie, and there they promised mee on the kings head or in the behalfe of the king, that neither I nor my goods should haue any harme, but that we should be safe and sure: of which promise there were made publike notes. And then I sent for my goods and had them on land, and payde my custome, which is in that countrey ten in the hundreth of the same goods, and for my more securitie I tooke a house right against the Retors house. The Captaine of the Portugales, and all the Portugall marchants were put out of the Citie, and I with twentie and two poore men which were officers in the shippe had my dwelling in the Citie. After this the Gentiles deuised to be reuenged of the Portugales; but they would not put it in execution, vntil such time as our small shippe had discharged all her goods, and then the next night following came from Pegu foure thousand souldiers with some Elephants of warre; and before that they made any tumult in the citie, the Retor sent, and gaue commaundement to all Portugales that were in the Citie, when they heard any rumour or noyse, that for any thing they should not goe out of their houses, as they tendered their owne health. Then foure houres within night I heard a great rumour and noyse of men of warre, with Elephants which threw downe the doores of the ware-houses of the Portugales, and their houses of wood and strawe, in the which tumult there were some Portugales wounded, and one of them slaine; and others without making proofe of their manhoode, which the day before did so bragge, at that time put themselues to flight most shamefully, and saued themselues a boord of litle shippes, that were at an anker in the harbour, and some that were in their beds fled away naked, and that night they caried away all the Portugalles goods out of the suburbes into the Citie, and those Portugales that had their goods in the suburbes also. After this the Portugales that were fledde into the shippes to saue themselues, tooke a newe courage to themselues, and came on lande and set fire on the houses in the suburbes, which houses being made of boorde and strawe, and the winde blowing fresh, in small time were burnt and consumed, with which fire halfe the Citie had like to haue beene burnt; when the Portugales had done this, they were without all hope to recouer any part of their goods againe, which goods might amount to the summe of sixteene thousand duckats,

A reuenge on the Portugales.

which, if they had not set fire to the towne, they might haue had againe without any losse at all. Then the Portugales vnderstanding that this thing was not done by the consent of the king, but by his Lieutenant and the Retor of the citie were very ill content, knowing that they had made a great fault, yet the next morning following, the Portugales beganne to bende and shoot their ordinance against the Citie, which batterie of theirs continued foure dayes, but all was in vaine, for the shotte neuer hit the Citie, but lighted on the top of a small hill neere vnto it, so that the citie had no harme. When the Retor perceiued that the Portugales made battery against the Citie, he tooke one and twentie Portugales that were there in the Citie, and sent them foure miles into the Countrey, there to tarry vntill such time as the other Portugales were departed, that made the batterie, who after their departure let them goe at their owne libertie without any harme done vnto them. I my selfe was alwayes in my house with a good guard appointed me by the Retor, that no man should doe me iniurie, nor harme me nor my goods; in such wise that hee perfourmed all that he had promised me in the name of the king, but he would not let me depart before the comming of the king, which was greatly to my hinderance, because I was twenty and one moneths sequestred, that I could not buy nor sell any kinde of marchandise. Those commodities that I brought thither, were peper, sandols, and Porcellan of China: so when the king was come home I made my supplication vnto him, and I was licenced to depart when I would.

From Martauan I departed to goe to the chiefest Citie in the kingdome of Pegu, which is also called after the name of the kingdome, which voyage is made by sea in three or foure daies: they may goe also by lande, but it is better for him that hath marchandize to goe by sea and lesser charge. And in this voyage you shall haue a Macareo, which is one of the most marueilous things * in the world that Nature hath wrought, and I neuer saw any thing so hard to be beleeued as this, to wit, the great increasing and diminishing of the water there at one push or instant, and the horrible earthquake and great noyse that the said Macareo maketh where it commeth. We departed from Martauan in barkes, which are like to our Pylot boates, with the increase of

---

* *Marginal note.*—A thing most marueilous, that at the comming of a tide the earth should quake.

the water, and they goe as swift as an arrowe out of a bow, so long as the tide runneth with them, and when the water is at the highest, then they drawe themselues out of the Channell towardes some banke, and there they come to anker, and when the water is diminished, then they rest on dry land: and when the barkes rest dry, they are as high from the bottome of the Chanell, as any house top is high from the ground. They let their barkes lie so high for this respect, that if there should any shippe rest or ride in the Chanell, with such force commeth in the water, that it would ouerthrowe shippe or barke: yet for all this, that the barkes be so farre out of the Chanell, and though the water hath lost her greatest strength and furie before it come so high, yet they make fast their prowe to the streme, and oftentimes it maketh them very fearefull, and if the anker did not holde her prowe vp by strength, shee would be ouerthrowen and lost with men and goods. When the water beginneth to increase, it maketh such a noyse and so great that you would think it an earthquake, and presently at the first it maketh three waues. So that the first washeth ouer the barke, from stemme to sterne, the second is not so furious as the first, and the thirde rayseth the Anker, and then for the space of sixe houres while the water encreaseth, they rowe with such swiftnesse that you would thinke they did fly: in these tydes there must be lost no iot of time, for if you arriue not at the stagions before the tyde be spent, you must turne back from whence you came. For there is no staying at any place, but at these stagions, and there is more daunger at one of these places then at another, as they be higher and lower one then another. When as you returne from Pegu to Martauan, they goe but halfe the tide at a time, because they will lay their barkes vp aloft on the bankes, for the reason aforesayd. I could neuer gather any reason of the noyse that this water maketh in the increase of the tide, and in deminishing of the water. There is another Macareo in Cambaya, but that is nothing in comparison of this. By the helpe of God we came safe to Pegu, which are two cities, the olde and the newe, in the olde citie are the Marchant strangers, and marchants of the Countrey, for there are the greatest doings and the greatest trade. This citie is not very great, but it hath very great suburbes. Their houses be made with

This tide is like to the tides in our riuer of Seuerne.

These tides make their iust course as ours doe.

This Macareo is a tide or a currant.

canes, and couered with leaues, or with strawe, but the marchants haue all one house or Magason, which house they call Godon which is made of brickes, and there they put all their goods of any valure, to saue them from the often mischances that there happen to houses made of such stuffe. In the newe citie is the pallace of the king, and his abiding place with all his barons and nobles, and other gentlemen; and in the time that I was there, they finished the building of the new citie: it is a great citie, very plaine and flat, and foure square, walled round about and with ditches that compasse the wals about with water, in which ditches are many crocodils, it hath no drawe bridges, yet it hath twentie gates, fiue for euery square on the walles, there are many places made for centinels to watch, made of wood and couered or guilt with gold, the streetes thereof are the fayrest that I haue seene, they are as streight as a line from one gate to another, and standing at the one gate you may discouer to the other, and they are as broad as 10 or 12 men may ride a breast in them: and those streetes that be thwart are faire and large, these streetes, both on the one side and on the other, are planted at the doores of the houses, with nut trees of India, which make a very commodious shadowe, the houses be made of wood and couered with a kind of tiles in forme of cups, very necessary for their vse, the kings palace is in the middle of the citie, made in forme of a walled castle, with ditches full of water round about it, the lodgings within are made of wood all ouer gilded, with fine pinacles, and very costly worke, couered with plates of golde. Truely it may be a kings house: within the gate there is a faire large court, from the one side to the other, wherein there are made places for the strongest and stoutest Eliphants appointed for the seruice of the kings person, and amongst all other Eliphants, he hath foure that be white, a thing so rare that a man shall hardly finde another king that hath any such, and if this king knowe any other that hath white Eliphantes, he sendeth for them as for a gift. The time that I was there, there were two brought out of a farre Countrey, and that cost me something the sight of them, for they commaund the marchants to goe to see them, and then they must giue somewhat to the men that bring them: the brokers of the marchants giue for euery man halfe a duckat, which they call a Tansa,* which amounteth

A rich and stately palace.

---

* *Marginal note.*—This money called Tansa is halfe a duckat which may be three shillings and foure pence.

to a great summe, for the number of merchants that are in that citie; and when they haue payde the aforesayde Tansa, they may chuse whether they will see them at that time or no, because that when they are in the kings stall, euery man may see them that will: but at that time they must goe and see them, for it is the kings pleasure it should be so. This king amongst all other his titles, is called the King of the white Eliphantes and it is reported that if this king knewe any other king that had any of these white Eliphantes, and would not send them vnto him, that he would hazard his whole kingdome to conquer them, he esteemeth these white Eliphantes very deerely, and they are had in great regard, and kept with very meete seruice, euery one of them is in a house, all guilded ouer, and they haue their meate giuen them in vessels of siluer and golde, there is one blacke Eliphant the greatest that hath bene seene, and is kept according to his bignesse, he is nine cubites high, which is a marueilous thing. It is reported that this king hath foure thousand Elephantes of warre, and all haue their teeth, and they vse to put on their two vppermost teeth sharpe spikes of yron, and make them fast with rings, because these beastes fight, and make battell with their teeth; hee hath also very many yong Eliphants that haue not their teeth sprowted foorth: also this king hath a braue deuise in hunting to take these Eliphantes when hee will, two miles from the Citie. He hath builded a faire pallace all guilded, and within it a faire Court, and within it and rounde about there are made an infinite number of places for men to stande to see this hunting: neere vnto this Pallace is a mighty great wood, through the which the hunts-men of the king ride continually on the backs of the feminine Eliphants, teaching them in this businesse. Euery hunter carieth out with him fiue or sixe of these feminines, and they say that they anoynt the secret place with a certaine composition that they haue, that when the wilde Eliphant doeth smell thereunto, they followe the feminines and cannot leaue them: when the hunts-men haue made prouision, and the Eliphant is so entangled, they guide the feminines towards the Pallace which is called Tambell, and this Pallace hath a doore which doth open and shut with engines, before which doore there is a long streight way with trees on both the sides, which couereth the way in such wise as it is like darkenesse in a corner: the wilde Eliphant when he commeth to this way, thinketh that he is in the woods. At end

A warlike policie.

An excellent deuise to hunt and take wilde Elephants.

of this darke way there is a great field, when the hunters haue gotten this praye, when they first come to this field, they send presently to giue knowledge thereof to the Citie, and with all speed there go out fiftie or sixtie men on horsebacke, and doe beset the fielde rounde about: in the great fielde then the females which are taught in this businesse goe directly to the mouth of the darke way, and when as the wilde Eliphant is entred in there, the hunters shoute and make a great noyse, asmuch as is possible, to make the wilde Eliphant enter in at the gate of that Pallace, which is then open, and assoone as he is in, the gate is shut without any noyse, and so the hunters with the female Eliphants and the wilde one are all in the Court together, and then within a small time the females withdraw themselues away one by one out of the Court, leauing the wilde Eliphant alone: and when he perceiueth that he is left alone, he is so madde that for two or three houres to see him, it is the greatest pleasure in the world: he weepeth, hee flingeth, hee runneth, he iustleth, hee thrusteth vnder the places where the people stand to see him, thinking to kil some of them, but the posts and timber is so strong and great, that hee cannot hurt any body, yet hee oftentimes breaketh his teeth in the grates; at length when hee is weary and hath laboured his body that hee is all wet with sweat, then hee plucketh in his truncke into his mouth, and then hee throweth out so much water out of his belly, that he sprinckleth it ouer the heades of the lookers on, to the vttermost of them, although it bee very high: and then when they see him very weary, there goe certaine officers into the Court with long sharpe canes* in their hands, and prick him that they make him to goe into one of the houses that is made alongst the Court for the same purpose: as there are many which are made long and narrow, and when the Eliphant is in, he cannot turne himself to go backe againe. And it is requisite that these men should be very wary and swift, for although their canes be long, yet the Eliphant would kill them if they were not swift to saue themselues: at length when they haue gotten him into one of those houses, they stand ouer him in a loft and get ropes vnder his belly and about his necke, and about his legges, and binde him fast, and so let him stand foure or fiue dayes, and giue him neither meate nor

An excellent pastime of the Eliphants.

---

* *Marginal note.*—These canes are like to them in Spaine which they call Ioco de tore.

drinke. At the ende of these foure or fiue dayes, they vnloose him and put one of the females vnto him, and giue him meate and drinke, and in eight dayes he is become tame. In my iudgement there is not a beast so intellectiue as are these Eliphants, nor of more vnderstanding in al the world: for he wil do all things that his keeper saith, so that he lacketh nothing but humaine speech.

It is reported that the greatest strength that the king of Pegu hath is in these Eliphants, for when they goe to battell, they set on their backes a Castle of wood bound thereto, with bands vnder their bellies: and in euery Castle foure men very commodiously set to fight with harqubushes, with bowes and arrowes, with darts and pikes, and other launcing weapons: and they say that the skinne of this Eliphant is so hard, that an harquebusse will not pierce it, vnlesse it bee in the eye, temples, or some other tender place of his body. And besides this, they are of great strength, and haue a very excellent order in their battel, as I haue seene at their feastes which they make in the yeere, in which feastes the king maketh triumphes, which is a rare thing and worthy memorie, that in so barbarous a people should be such goodly orders as they haue in their armies, which be distinct in squares of Eliphants, of horsemen, of harquebushers and pikemen, that truly the number of men are infinite: but their armour and weapons are very nought and weake as well the one as the other: they haue very bad pikes, their swords are worse made, like long kniues without points, his harquebushes are most excellent, and alway in his warres he hath eightie thousand harquebushes, and the number of them encreaseth dayly. Because the king will haue them shoote every day at the Plancke, and so by continuall exercise they become most excellent shot: also hee hath great ordinance made of very good mettall; to conclude there is not a King on the earth that hath more power or strength then this king of Pegu, because hee hath twentie and sixe crowned kings at his commaunde. He can make in his campe a million and a halfe of men of warre in the fielde against his enemies. The state of his kingdome and maintenance of his army, is a thing incredible to consider, and the victuals that should maintaine such a number of people in the warres: but he that knoweth the nature and quality of that people, will easily beleeue it. I haue seene with mine eyes, that those people and souldiers haue eaten of all sorts of wild beastes that are on the earth, whether it bee very filthie or

A goodly order in a barbarous people.

otherwise all serueth for their mouthes: yea, I haue seene them eate Scorpions and Serpents, also they feed of all kinde of herbes and grasse. So that if such a great armie want not water and salt, they will maintaine themselues a long time in a bush with rootes, flowers and leaues of trees, they cary rice with them for their voyage, and that serueth them in stead of comfits, it is so daintie vnto them. This king of Pegu hath not any army or power by sea, but in the land, for people, dominions, golde and siluer, he farre exceeds the power of the great Turke in treasure and strength. This king hath diuers Magasons full of treasure, as gold, and siluer, and euery day he encreaseth it more and more, and it is neuer diminished. Also hee is Lord of the Mines of Rubies, Safires and Spinels. Neere vnto his royall pallace there is an inestimable treasure whereof hee maketh no accompt, for that it standeth in such a place that euery one may see it, and the place where this treasure is, is a great Court walled round about with walles of stone, with two gates which stand open euery day. And within this place or Court are foure gilded houses couered with lead, and in euery one of these are certaine heathenish idoles of a very great valure. In the first house there is a stature of the image of a man of gold very great, and on his head a crowne of gold beset with most rare Rubies and Safires, and round about him are 4. litle children of gold. In the second house there is the stature of a man of siluer, that is set as it were sitting on heapes of money: whose stature in height, as hee sitteth, is so high, that his highnesse exceeds the height of any one roofe of an house; I measured his feete, and found that they were as long as all my body was in height, with a crowne on his head like to the first. And in the thirde house, there is a stature of brasse of the same bignesse, with a like crowne on his head. In the 4. and last house there is a stature of a man as big as the other, which is made of Gansa, which is the metall they make their money of, and this metall is made of copper and leade mingled together. This stature also hath a crowne on his head like the first: this treasure being of such a value as it is, standeth in an open place that euery man at his pleasure may go and see it: for the keepers therof neuer forbid any man the sight thereof. I say as I haue said before, that this king euery yere in his feastes triumpheth: and because it is worthy of the noting, I thinke it meet to write therof, which

Eating of serpents.

The riches of the king of Pegu.

is as foloweth. The king rideth on a triumphant cart or wagon all gilded, which is drawen by 16. goodly horses: and this cart is very high with a goodly canopy ouer it, behind the cart goe 20. of his Lords and nobles, with euery one a rope in his hand made fast to the cart for to hold it vpright that it fal not. The king sitteth in the middle of the cart; and vpon the same cart about the king stande 4. of his nobles most fauored of him, and before this cart wherein the king is goeth all his army as aforesaid, and in the middle of his army goeth all his nobilitie, round about the cart, that are in his dominions, a marueilous thing it is to see so many people, such riches and such good order in a people so barbarous as they be. This king of Pegu hath one principal wife which is kept in a Seralio, he hath 300. concubines, of whom it is reported that he hath 90. children. This king sitteth euery day in person to heare the suites of his subiects, but he nor they neuer speake one to another, but by supplications made in this order.

The great pompe of the king.

The king sitteth vp aloft, in a great hall, on a tribunall seat, and lower vnder him sit all his Barons round about, then those that demaund audience enter into a great Court before the king, and there set them downe on the ground 40. paces distant from the kings person, and amongst those people there is no difference in matters of audience before the king, but all alike, and there they sit with their supplications in their hands, which are made of long leaues of a tree, these leaues are 3. quarters of a yard long, and two fingers broad, which are written with a sharpe iron made for y^t^ purpose, and in those leaues are their supplications written, and with their supplications, they haue in their hands a present or gift, according to the waightines of their matter. Then come ye secretaries downe to read these supplications, taking them and reading them before the king, and if the king think it good to do to them that fauour or iustice that they demaund, then he commandeth to take the presents out of their hands: but if he thinke their demand be not iust or according to right, he commandeth them away without taking of their gifts or presents. In the Indies there is not any marchandise that is good to bring to Pegu, vnlesse it bee at some times by chance to bring Opium of Cambaia, and if he bring money he shall lose by it. Now the commodities that come from S. Tome are the onely marchandize for that place, which is the great quantity of

The order of Iustice.

No difference of persons before the King in controuersies or in iustice.

cloth made, which they vse in Pegu; which cloth is made of bombast wouen and painted, so that the more that kinde of cloth is washed, the more liuelie they shewe their colours, which is a rare thing, and there is made such accompt of this kinde of cloth which is so great importance, that a small bale of it will cost a thousand or two thousand duckets. Also from S. Tome they layd great store of red yarne, of bombast died with a roote which they call Saia, as aforesayd, which colour will neuer out. With which marchandise euery yeeee there goeth a great shippe from S. Tome to Pegu, of great importance, and they vsually depart from S. Tome to Pegu the 11. or 12. of September, and if she stay vntill the twelfth, it is a great hap if she returne not without making of her voiage. Their vse was to depart the sixt of September, and then they made sure voyages, and now because there is a great labour about that kind of cloth to bring it to perfection, and that it be well dried, as also the greedinesse of the Captaine that would made an extraordinary gaine of his fraight, thinking to haue the wind alwayes to serue their turne, they stay so long, that at sometimes the winde turneth. For in those parts the windes blow firmely for certaine times, with the which they goe to Pegu with the winde in poope, and if they arriue not there before the winde change, and get ground to anker, perforce they must returne backe againe: for that the gales of the winde blowe there for three or foure moneths together in one place with great force. But if they get the coast and anker there, then with great labour they may saue their voyage. Also there goeth another great shippe from Bengala euery yeere, laden with fine cloth of bombast of all sorts, which arriueth in the harbour of Pegu, when the ship that commeth from S. Tome departeth. The harbour where these two ships arriue is called Cosmin. From Malaca to Martauan, which is a port in Pegu, there come many small ships, and great, laden with pepper, Sandolo, Porcellan of China, Camfora, Bruneo and other marchandise. The ships that come from Mecca enter into the port of Pegu and Cirion, and those shippes bring cloth of Wooll, Scarlets, Veluets, Opium, and Chickinos, by the which they lose, and they bring them because they haue no other thing that is good for Pegu: but they esteeme not the losse of them, for they make such great gaine of their commodities that they cary from thence out of that kingdome. Also the king of Assi his ships come thither into the same port laden with peper;

The Chikinos are pieces of gold worth sterling 7. shillings.

from the coast of S. Tome of Bengala, out of the Sea of Bara to Pegu are three hundreth miles, and they go it vp the riuer in foure daies, with the encreasing water, or with the flood, to a City called Cosmin, and there they discharge their ships, whither the Customers of Pegu come to take the note and markes of all the goods of euery man, and take the charge of the goods on them, and conuey them to Pegu, into the kings house, wherein they make the custome of the marchandize. When the Customers haue taken the charge of the goods and put them into barks, the Retor of the City giueth licence to the Marchants to take barke, and goe vp to Pegu with their marchandize; and so three or foure of them take a barke and goe vp to Pegu in company. God deliuer euery man that hee giue not a wrong note, and entrie, or thinke to steale any custome: for if they do, for the least trifle that is, he is vtterly vndone, for the king doeth take it for a most great affront to bee deceiued of his custome; and therefore they make diligent searches, three times at the lading and vnlading of the goods, and at the taking of them a land. In Pegu this search they make when they goe out of the ship for Diamonds, Pearles, and fine cloth which taketh little roome: for because that all the iewels that come into Pegu, and are not found of that countrey, pay custome, but Rubies, Safyres, and Spinels pay no custome in nor out: because they are found growing in that Countrey. I haue ſpoken before, how that all Marchants that meane to goe thorow the Indies, must cary al maner of houshold stuffe with them which is necessary for a house, because that there is not any lodging nor Innes nor hostes, nor chamber roome in that Countrey, but the first thing a man doth when he commeth to that City is to hier a house, either by the yeere or by the moneth, or as he meanes to stay in those parts.

Great rigour for the stealing of customes.

In Pegu their order is to hire their houses for sixe moneths. Nowe from Cosmin to the Citie of Pegu they goe in sixe houres with the flood, and if it be ebbing water, then they make fast their boate to the riuer side, and there tary vntil the water flow againe. It is a very commodious and pleasant voyage, hauing on both sides of the riuers many great vilages, which they call Cities: in the which hennes, pigeons, egges, milke, rice, and other things be very goode cheape. It is all plaine, and a goodly Countrey, and in eight dayes you may make your voyage vp to Macceo, distant from Pegu twelue

Description of the fruitfulnesse of that soyle.

miles, and there they discharge their goods, and lade them in Carts or waines drawen with oxen, and the Marchants are caried in a closet which they call Deling, in the which a man shall be very well accommodated, with cushions vnder his head, and couered for the defence of the Sunne and raine, and there he may sleepe if he haue wil thereunto: and his foure Falchines cary him running away, changing two at one time and two at another. The custome of Pegu and fraight thither, may amount vnto twentie or twentie two per cento, and 23. according as he hath more or lesse stolen from him that day they custome the goods. It is requisite that a man haue his eyes watchfull, and to be carefull, and to haue many friendes, for when they custome in the great hall of the king, there come many gentlemen accompanied with a number of their slaues, and these gentlemen haue no shame that their slaues rob strangers; whether it be cloth in shewing of it or any other thing, they laugh at it. And although the Marchants helpe one another to keepe watch, and looke to their goods, they cannot looke therto so narrowly but one or other wil rob something, either more or lesse, according as their marchandise is more or lesse: and yet on this day there is a worse thing then this: although you haue set so many eyes to looke there for your benefit, that you escape vnrobbed of the slaues, a man cannot choose but that he must be robbed of the officers of the custome house. For paying the custome with the same goods oftentimes they take the best that you haue, and not by rate of euery sort as they ought to do, by which meanes a man payeth more then his dutie. At length when the goods be dispatched out of the custome house in this order, the Marchant causeth them to be caried to his house, and may do with them at his pleasure.

Deling is a small litter carried with men as is aforesaid.

There are in Pegu 8. brokers of the kings, which are called Tareghe, who are bound to sell all the marchandize which come to Pegu, at the common or the currant price: then if the marchants wil sell their goods at that price, they sel them away, and the brokers haue two in the hundreth of euery sort of marchandise, and they are bound to make good the debts of those goods, because they be sold by their hands or meanes, and on their wordes, and oftentimes the marchant knoweth not to whom he giueth his goods, yet he cannot lose any thing thereby, for that the broker is bound in any wise to pay him, and if the marchant sel his goods without the consent of the broker, yet neuerthelesse he must pay him two per cento, and be in danger of his money: but this is very seldom seene, because the wife, children, and slaues of the debtor are bound to the creditor, and when his time is expired and paiment not made, the creditor may take the debtor and cary him home to his house, and shut him vp in a Magasin, whereby presently he hath his money, and not being able to pay the creditor, he may take the wife, children, and slaues of the debtor and sel them, for so is the lawe of that kingdome. The currant money that is in this city, and throughout all this kingdom is called Gansa or Ganza, which is made of Copper and leade: It is not the money of the king, but euery man may stamp it that wil, because it hath his iust partition or value: but they make many of them false, by putting ouermuch lead into them, and those will not passe, neither will any take them. With this money Ganza, you may buy golde or siluer, Rubies and Muske, and other things. For there is no other money currant amongst them. And Golde, siluer and other marchandize are at one time dearer than another, as all other things be.

A lawe for Bankrupts.

Euery man may stampe what money he wil.

This Ganza goeth by weight of Byze, and this name of Byza goeth for ye accompt of the weight, and commonly a Byza of a Ganza is worth (after our accompt) halfe a ducat, litle more or lesse: and albeit that Gold and siluer is more or lesse in price, yet the Byza neuer changeth: euery Byza maketh a hundreth Ganza of weight, and so the number of the money is Byza. He that goeth to Pegu to buy Iewels, if he wil do well, it behoueth him to be a whole yere there to do his businesse. For if so be that he would return with the ship he came in, he cannot do any thing so conueniently for the breuitie of the time, because that when they custome their goods in Pegu that come from S. Tome in their ships, it is as it were about Christmas: and when they haue customed their goods, then must they sell them for their credits sake for a moneth or two: and then at the beginning of March the ships depart. The Marchants that come from S. Tome take for the paiment of their goods, gold and siluer, which is neuer wanting there. And 8. or 10. dayes before their departure they are all satisfied: also they may haue Rubies in paiment, but they make no accompt of them: and they that will winter there for another yere, it is need-

How a man man dispose himselfe for the trade in Pegu.

Good instructions.

full that they be aduertized, that in the sale of their goods, they specifie in their bargaine, the terme of two or 3. moneths paiment, and that their paiment shal be in so many Ganza, and neither golde nor siluer: because that with the Ganza they may buy and sel euery thing with great aduantage. And how needfull is it to be aduertized, when they wil recouer their paiments, in what order they shal receiue their Ganza? Because he that is not experienced may do himselfe great wrong in the weight of the Gansa, as also in the falsenesse of them : in the weight he may be greatly deceiued, because that from place to place it doth rise and fall greatly: and therefore when any wil receiue money or make paiment, he must take a publique wayer of money, a day or two before he go about his businesse, and giue him in paiment for his labour two Byzaes a moneth, and for this he is bound to make good all your money, and to maintaine it for good, for that hee receiueth it and seales the bags with his seale: and when hee hath receiued any store, then hee causeth it to bee brought into the Magason of the Marchant, that is the owner of it.

The marchandizes that goe out of Pegu.

That money is very weightie, for fortie Byza is a strong Porters burden; and also where the Marchant hath any payment to be made for those goods which he buyeth, the Common wayer of money that receiueth his money must make the payment thereof. So that by this meanes, the Marchant with the charges of two Byzes a moneth, receiueth and payeth out his money without losse or trouble. The Marchandizes that goe out of Pegu are Gold, Siluer, Rubies, Saphyres, Spinelles, great store of Beniamin, long peper, Leade, Lacca, rice, wine, some sugar, yet there might be great store of sugar made in the Countrey, for that they haue aboundance of Canes, but they giue them to Eliphants to eate, and the people consume great store of them for food, and many more doe they consume in vaine things, as these following. In that kingdome they spend many of these Sugar canes in making of houses and tents which they call Varely for their idoles, which they call Pagodes, whereof there are great aboundance, great and smal, and these houses are made in forme of little hilles, like to Sugar loaues or to Bells, and some of these houses are as high as a reasonable steeple, at the foote they are very large, some of them be in circuit a quarter of a mile. The saide houses within are full of earth, and walled round about with brickes and dirt in steade of lime, and without forme, from the top to the foote they make a couering for them with Sugar canes, and plaister it with lime all ouer, for otherwise they would bee spoyled, by the great aboundance of raine that falleth in those Countreys. Also they consume about these Varely or idol houses great store of leafe-gold, for that they ouerlay all the tops of the houses with gold, and some of them are couered with golde from the top to the foote: in couering whereof there is great store of gold spent, for that euery 10. yeeres they new ouerlay them with gold, from the top to the foote, so that with this vanitie they spend great aboundance of golde. For euery 10. yeres the raine doth consume the gold from these houses. And by this meanes they make golde dearer in Pegu then it would bee, if they consumed not so much in this vanitie. Also it is a thing to bee noted in the buying of iewels in Pegu, that he that hath no knowledge shall haue as good iewels, and as good cheap, as he that hath bene practized there a long time, which is a good order, and it is in this wise. There are in Pegu foure men of good reputation, which are called Tareghe, or brokers of Iewels. These foure men haue all the Iewels or Rubies in their handes, and the Marchant that wil buy commeth to one of these Tareghe and telleth him, that he hath so much money to imploy in Rubies. For through the hands of these foure men passe all the Rubies: for they haue such quantitie, that they knowe not what to doe with them, but sell them at most vile and base prices. When the Marchant hath broken his mind to one of these brokers or Tareghe, they cary him home to one of their Shops, although he hath no knowledge in Iewels: and when the Iewellers perceiue that hee will employ a good round summe, they will make a bargaine, and if not, they let him alone. The vse generally of this Citie is this: that when any Marchant hath bought any great quantitie of Rubies, and hath agreed for them, hee carieth them home to his house, let them be of what value they will, he shall haue space to looke on them and peruse them two or three dayes: and if he hath no knowledge in them, he shall alwayes haue many Marchants in that Citie that haue very good knowledge in Iewels; with whom he may alwayes conferre and take counsell, and may shew them vnto whom he will; and if he finde that hee hath not employed his money well, hee may returne his Iewels backe to them whom hee had them of, without any losse at all. Which thing is such a shame to the Tareghe to haue his Iewels returned, that he had

Idol houses coured with gold.

Rubies exceeding cheape in Pegu.

rather beare a blow on the face then that it should be thought that he solde them so deere to haue them returned. For these men haue alwayes great care that they afford good peniworths, especially to those that haue no knowledge. This they doe, because they woulde not loose their credite: and when those Marchants that haue knowledge in Iewels buy any, if they buy them deere, it is their own faults and not the brokers: yet it is good to haue knowledge in Iewels, by reason that it may somewhat ease the price. There is also a very good order which they haue in buying of Iewels, which is this; There are many Marchants that stand by at the making of the bargaine, and because they shall not vnderstand howe the Iewels be solde, the Broker and the Marchants haue their hands vnder a cloth, and by touching of fingers and nipping the ioynts they know what is done, what is bidden, and what is asked. So that the standers by knowe not what is demaunded for them, although it be for a thousand or 10. thousand duckets. For euery ioynt and euery finger hath his signification. For if the Marchants that stande by should vnderstand the bargaine, it would breede great controuersie amongst them. And at my being in Pegu in the moneth of August, in Anno 1569, hauing gotten well by my endeuour, I was desirous to see mine owne Countrey, and I thought it good to goe by the way of S. Tome, but then I should tary vntil March.

An honest care of heathen people.

Bargaines made with the nipping of fingers vnder a cloth.

In which iourney I was counsailed, yea, and fully resolued to go by the way of Bengala, with a shippe there ready to depart for that voyage. And then wee departed from Pegu to Chatigan a great harbour or port, from whence there goe smal ships to Cochin, before the fleete depart for Portugall, in which ships I was fully determined to goe to Lisbon, and so to Venice. When I had thus resolued my selfe, I went a boord of the shippe of Bengala, at which time it was the yeere of Touffon: concerning which Touffon ye are to vnderstand, that in the East Indies often times, there are not stormes as in other countreys; but euery 10. or 12. yeeres there are such tempests and stormes, that it is a thing incredible, but to those that haue seene it, neither do they know certainly what yeere they wil come.

This Touffon is an extraordinary storme at Sea.

Vnfortunate are they that are at sea in that yere and time of the Touffon, because few there are that escape that danger. In this yere it was our chance to be at sea with the like storme, but it happened well vnto vs, for that our ship was newly ouer-plancked, and had not any thing in her saue victuall and balasts, Siluer and golde, which from Pegu they cary to Bengala, and no other kinde of Marchandise. This Touffon or cruel storme endured three dayes and three nights: in which time it caried away our sailes, yards, and rudder; and because the shippe laboured in the Sea, wee cut our mast ouer boord: which when we had done she laboured a great deale more then before, in such wise, that she was almost full with water that came ouer the highest part of her and so went downe: and for the space of three dayes and three nights sixtie men did nothing but hale water out of her in this wise, twentie men in one place, and twentie men in another place, and twentie in a thirde place: and for all this storme, the shippe was so good, that shee tooke not one iot of water below through her sides, but all ran downe through the hatches, so that those sixtie men did nothing but cast the Sea into the Sea. And thus driuing too and fro as the winde and Sea would, we were in a darke night about foure of the clocke cast on a sholde: yet when it was day, we could neither see land on one side nor other, and knew not where we were. And as it pleased the diuine power, there came a great waue of the Sea, which draue vs beyonde the should. And when wee felt the shippe aflote, we rose vp as men reuiued, because the Sea was calme and smooth water, and then sounding we found twelue fadome water, and within a while after wee had but sixe fadome, and then presently we came to anker with a small anker that was left vs at the sterne, for all our other were lost in the storme: and by and by the shippe stroke a ground, and then we did prop her that she should not ouerthrow.

The Touffon commeth but euery 10. or 12. yeeres.

A manifest token of the ebbing and flowing in those Countries.

When it was day the shippe was all dry, and wee found her a good mile from the Sea on drie land. This Touffon being ended, we discouered an Island not farre from vs, and we went from the shippe on the sands to see what Island it was: and wee found it a place inhabited, and, to my iudgement, the fertilest Island in all the world, the which is diuided into two parts by a chanell which passeth betweene it, and with great trouble we brought our ship into the same chanel, which parteth the Island at flowing water, and there

This Island is called Sondiua.

we determined to stay 40. dayes to refresh vs. And when the people of the Island saw the ship, and that we were comming a land: presently they made a place of bazar or a market, with shops right ouer against the ship with all maner of prouision of victuals to eate, which they brought downe in great abundance, and sold it so good cheape, that we were amazed at the cheapenesse thereof. I bought many salted kine there, for the prouision of the ship, for halfe a Larine a piece, which Larine may be 12. shillings sixe pence, being very good and fat; and 4. wilde hogges ready dressed for a Larine, great fat hennes for a Bizze a piece, which is at the most a pennie: and the people told vs that we were deceiued the halfe of our money, because we bought things so deare. Also a sacke of fine rice for a thing of nothing, and consequently all other things for humaine sustenance were there in such aboundance, that it is a thing incredible but to them that haue seene it. This Island is called Sondiua belonging to the kingdome of Bengala, distant 120. miles from Chatigan, to which place wee were bound. The people are Moores, and the king a very good man of a Moore king, for if he had bin a tyrant as others be, he might haue robbed vs of all, because the Portugall captaine of Chatigan was in armes against the Retor of that place, and euery day there were some slaine, at which newes we rested there with no smal feare, keeping good watch and ward aboord euery night as the vse is, but the gouernour of the towne did comfort vs, and bad vs that we should feare nothing, but that we should repose our selues securely without any danger, although the Portugales of Chatigan had slaine the gouernour of that City, and said that we were not culpable in that fact: and moreouer he did vs euery day what pleasure he could, which was a thing contrary to our expectations considering that they and the people of Chatigan were both subiects to one king. We departed from Sondiua, and came to Chatigan the great port of Bengala, at the same time when the Portugales had made peace and taken a truce with the gouernours of the towne, with this condition that the chiefe Captaine of the Portugales with his ship should depart without any lading: for there were then at that time 18. ships of Portugales great and small. This Captaine being a Gentleman and of good courage, was notwithstanding contented to depart to his greatest hinderance, rather than hee would seeke to hinder so many of

Sondiua is the fruitfullest Countrey in al the world.

Chatigan is a port in Bengala, whither the Portugales go with their ships.

his friends as were there, as also because the time of the yeere was spent to go to the Indies. The night before he departed, euery ship that had any lading therein, put it aboord of the Captaine to helpe to ease his charge and to recompence his courtesies. In this time there came a messenger from the king of Rachim to this Portugal Captaine, who saide in the behalfe of his king, that hee had heard of the courage and valure of him, desiring him gently that he would vouchsafe to come with the ship into his port, and comming thither he should be very wel intreated. This Portugal went thither and was very well satisfied of this King.

The King of Rachim, or Aracam, neighbour to Bengala.

This King of Rachim hath his seate in the middle coast betweene Bengala and Pegu, and the greatest enemie he hath is the king of Pegu: which king of Pegu deuiseth night and day how to make this king of Rachim his subiect, but by no meanes hee is able to doe it: because the king of Pegu hath no power nor armie by Sea. And this king of Rachim may arme two hundreth Galleyes or Fusts by Sea, and by land he hath certaine sluses with the which when the king of Pegu pretendeth any harme towards him, hee may at his pleasure drowne a great part of the Countrey. So that by this meanes hee cutteth off the way whereby the king of Pegu should come with his power to hurt him.

Or, Aracam.

From the great port of Chatigan they cary for the Indies great store of rice, very great quantitie of Bombast cloth of euery sort, Suger, corne, and money, with other marchandize. And by reason of the warres in Chatigan, the Portugall ships taried there so long, that they arriued not at Cochin so soone as they were wont to doe other yeeres. For which cause the fleete that was at Cochin* was departed for Portugal before they arriued there, and I being in one of the small shippes before the fleete, in discouering of Cochin, we also discouered the last shippe of the Fleete that went from Cochin to Portugall, where shee made saile, for which I was marueilously discomforted, because that all the yeere following, there was no going for Portugale, and when we arriued at Cochin I was fully determined to goe for Venice by the way

The commodities that goe from Chatigan to the Indies.

---

* *Marginal note.*—The Portugal ships depart toward Portugall out of the harbor of Cochin.

Goa was besieged.

of Ormus, and at that time the Citie of Goa was besieged by the people of Dialcan, but the Citizens forced not this assault, because they supposed that it would not continue long. For all this I embarked my selfe in a Galley that went for Goa, meaning there to shippe my selfe for Ormus: but when we came to Goa, the Viceroy would not suffer any Portugal to depart, by reason of the warres. And being in Goa but a small time, I fell sicke of an infirmitie that helde mee foure moneths: which with phisicke and diet cost me eight hundreth duckets, and there I was constrained to sell a smal quantitie of Rubies to sustaine my neede: and I solde that for fiue hundreth duckets, that was worth a thousand. And when I beganne to waxe well of my disease, I had but little of that money left, euery thing was so scarse: For euery chicken (and yet not good) cost mee seuen or eight Liuers, which is sixe shillings, or sixe shillings eight pence. Beside this great charges, the Apothecaries with their medicines were no small charge to me. At the ende of sixe moneths they raised the siege, and then I beganne to worke, for Iewels were risen in their prices: for whereas before I sold a few of refused Rubies, I determined then to sell the rest of all my Iewels that I had there, and to make an other voyage to Pegu. And for because that at my departure from Pegu, Opium was in great request, I went then to Cambaya to imploy a good round summe of money in Opium, and there I bought 60. percels of Opium, which cost me two thousand and a hundreth duckets, euery ducket at foure shillings two pence. Moreouer I bought three bales of Bombast cloth, which cost me eight hundred duckats, which was a good commoditie for Pegu: when I had bought these things, the Viceroy commanded that the custome of the Opium should be paide in Goa, and paying custome there I might cary it whither I would. I shipped my 3. bales of cloth at Chaul in a shippe that went for Cochin, and I went to Goa to pay the aforesaid custome for my Opium, and from Goa I departed to Cochin in a ship that was for the voyage of Pegu, and went to winter then at S. Tome. When I come to Cochin, I vnderstood that the ship that had my three bales of cloth was cast away and lost, so that I lost my 800. Serafins or duckats: and departing from Cochin to goe for S. Tome, in casting about for the Island of Zeilan the Pilote was deceiued, for that the Cape of the Island of Zeilan lieth farre out into the sea, and

Opium a good commoditie in Pegu.

the Pilot thinking that he might haue passed hard aboord the Cape, and paying roomer in the night; when it was morning we were farre within the Cape, and past all remedy to go out, by reason the winds blew so fiercely against vs. So that by this meanes we lost our voyage for that yere, and we went to Manar with the ship to winter there, the ship hauing lost her mastes, and with great dilligence we hardly saued her, with great losses to the Captaine of the ship, because he was forced to fraight another ship in S. Tome for Pegu with great losses and interest, and I with my friends agreed together in Manar to take a bark to cary vs to S. Tome; which thing we did with al the rest of the marchants; and arriuing at S. Tome I had news through or by the way of Bengala, that in Pegu Opium was very deare, and I knew that in S. Tome there was no Opium but mine to go for Pegu that yere, so that I was holden of al the marchants there to be very rich: and so it would haue proued, if my aduerse fortune had not bin contrary to my hope, which was this. At that time there went a great ship from Cambaya, to the king of Assi, with great quantitie of Opium, and there to lade peper: in which voyage there came such a storme, that the ship was forced with wether to goe roomer 800. miles, and by this meanes came to Pegu, whereas they arriued a day before mee; so that Opium which was before very deare, was now at a base price: so that which was sold for firtie Bizze before, was solde for 2. Bizze and an halfe, there was such quantitie came in that ship; so that I was glad to stay two yeres in Pegu vnlesse I would haue giuen away my commoditie: and at the end of two yeres of my 2100. duckets which I bestowed in Cambaya, I made but a thousand duckets. Then I departed againe from Pegu to goe for the Indies for Chaul, and from Chaul to Cochin, and from Cochin to Pegu. Once more I lost occasion to make me riche, for whereas I might haue brought good store of Opium againe, I brought but a little, being fearefull of my other voyage before. In this small quantitie I made good profite. And now againe I determined to go for my Countrey, and departing from Pegu, I tarried and wintered in Cochin, and then I left the Indies and came for Ormus.

I thinke it very necessary before I ende my voyage, to reason somewhat, and to shewe what fruits the Indies do yeeld and bring forth. First, in the Indies and other East parts of India there is Peper and ginger, which groweth in all parts of India. And in some parts of the Indies, the greatest quantitie of peper groweth amongst wilde bushes, without any maner of labour: sauing, that when it is ripe they goe and gather it. The tree that the peper groweth on is like to our Iuie, which runneth vp to the tops of trees wheresoeuer it groweth: and if it should not take holde of some tree, it would lie flat and rot on the ground. This peper tree hath his floure and berry like in all parts to our Iuie berry, and those berries be graines of peper : so that when they gather them they be greene, and then they lay them in the Sunne, and they become blacke.

The Ginger groweth in this wise: the land is tilled and sowen, and the herbe is like to Panizzo, and the roote is the ginger. These two spices grow in diuers places.

The Cloues come all from the Moluccas, which Moluccas are two Islands, not very great, and the tree that they grow on is like to our Lawrell tree.

The Nutmegs and Maces, which grow both together, are brought from the Island of Banda, whose tree is like to our walnut tree, but not so big.

All the good white Sandol is brought from the Island of Timor. Canfora being compound commeth all from China, and all that which groweth in canes commeth from Borneo, and I thinke that this Canfora commeth not into these parts: for that in India they consume great store, and that is very deare. The good Lignum Aloes commeth from Cauchinchina.

The Beniamin commeth from the kingdome of Assi and Sion.

Long pepper groweth in Bengala, Pegu, and Iaua.

Muske* commeth from Tartaria, which they make in this order, as by good information I haue bene told. There is a certaine beast in Tartaria, which is wilde and as big as a wolfe, which beast they take aliue, and beat him to death with small staues y^t his blood may be spread through his whole body, then they cut it in pieces and take out all the bones, and beat the flesh with the blood in a morter very smal, and dry it, and make purses to put it in of the skin, and these be the cods of muske.

Truely I know not whereof the Amber is made, and there are diuers opinions of it, but this is most certaine, it is cast out of the Sea, and throwne on land, and found vpon the sea bankes.

---

* *Marginal note.*—This Muske the Iewes doe counterfeit and take out halfe the good muske and beat the flesh of an asse and put in the roome of it.

The Rubies, Saphyres, and the Spinels be gotten in the kingdome of Pegu. The Diamants come from diuers places; and I know but three sorts of them. That sort of Diamants that is called Chiappe, commeth from Bezeneger. Those that be pointed naturally come from the land of Delly, and from Iaua, but the Diamants of Iaua are more waightie then the other. I could neuer vnderstand from whence they that are called Balassi come.

The Balassi growe in Zeilan.

Pearles they fish in diuers places, as before in this booke is showne.

From Cambaza commeth the Spodiom which congeleth in certaine canes, whereof I found many in Pegu, when I made my house there, because that (as I haue sayd before) they make their houses there of wouen canes like to mats. From Chaul they trade alongst the coast of Melinde in Ethiopia,* within the land of Cafraria: on that coast are many good harbors kept by the Moores. Thither the Portugals bring a kinde of Bombast cloth of a low price, and great store of Paternosters or beads made of paltrie glasse, which they make in Chaul according to the vse of the Countrey: and from thence they cary Elephants teeth for India, slaues called Cafari, and some Amber and Gold. On this coast the king of Portugall hath his castle called Mozambique, which is of as great importance as any castle that hee hath in all his Indies vnder his protection, and the Captaine of this castle hath certaine voyages to this Cafraria, to which places no Marchants may goe, but by the Agent of this Captaine: and they vse to goe in small shippes, and trade with the Cafars, and their trade in buying and selling is without any speach one to the other. In this wise the Portugals bring their goods by litle and litle alongst the Sea coast, and lay them downe: and so depart, and the Cafar Marchants come and see the goods, and there they put downe as much gold as they thinke the goods are worth, and so goe their way and leaue their golde and the goods together, then commeth the Portugal, and finding the golde to his content, hee taketh it and goeth his way into his ship, and

Buying and selling without words one to another.

---

* *Marginal note.*—On the coast of Melynde in Ethiopia, in the land of Cafraria, the great trade that the Portugals haue.

then commeth the Cafar, and taketh the goods and carieth them away: and if he finde the golde there still, it is a signe that the Portugals are not contented, and if the Cafar thinke he hath put too little, he addeth more, as he thinketh the thing is worth: and the Portugales must not stand with them too strickt; for if they doe, then they will haue no more trade with them: For they disdaine to be refused, when they thinke that they haue offered ynough, for they bee a peeuish people, and haue dealt so of a long time: and by this trade the Portugals change their commodities into gold, and cary it to the Castle of Mozambique, which is an Island not farre distant from the firme land of Cafraria on the coast of Ethiopia, and is distant from India 2800. miles. Nowe to returne to my voyage, when I came to Ormus, I found there Master Francis Berettin of Venice, and we fraighted a bark together to goe for Basora for 70. duckets, and with vs there went other Marchants, which did ease our fraight, and very commodiously wee came to Basora and there we stayed 40. dayes for prouiding a Carouan of barks to go to Babylon, because they vse not to goe two or 3. barkes at once, but 25. or 30. because in the night they cannot go, but must make them fast to the banks of the riuer, and then we must make a very good and strong guard, and be wel prouided of armor, for respect and safegard of our goods, because the number of theeues is great that come to spoile and rob the marchants. And when we depart for Babylon we goe a litle with our saile, and the voyage is 38. or 40. dayes long, but we were 50. dayes on it. When we came to Babylon we stayed there 4. moneths, vntill the Carouan was ready to go ouer the wildernes, or desert for Alepo; in this city we were 6. Marchants that accompanied together, fiue Venetians and a Portugal: whose names were as followeth, Messer Florinasa with one of his kinsmen, Messer Andrea de Pola, the Portugal and M. Francis Berettin and I, and so wee furnished our selues with victuals and beanes for our horses for 40. dayes;* and wee bought horses and mules, for that they bee very good cheape there, I my selfe bought a horse there for 11. akens, and solde him after in Alepo for 30. duckets. Also we bought a Tent which did vs very great pleasure: we had also amongst vs 32. Camels laden with marchandise: for the which we

Golden trades that the Portugals haue.

Marginal note.—An order how to prouide to goe ouer the Desert from Babylon to Alepo.

paid 2. duckets for euery camels lading, and for euery 10. camels they made 11, for so is their vse and custome. We take also with vs 3. men to serue vs in the voyage, which are vsed to goe in those voyages for fiue D d. a man, and are bound to serue vs to Alepo: so that we passed very well without any trouble: when the camels cried out to rest, our pauilion was the first that was erected. The Carouan maketh but small iourneis about 20. miles a day, and they set forwards euery morning before day two houres, and about two in the afternoone they sit downe. We had great good hap in our voyage, for that it rained: For which cause we neuer wanted water, but euery day found good water, so that we could not take any hurt for want of water. Yet we caried a camel laden alwayes with water for euery good respect that might chance in the desert, so that wee had no want neither of one thing, nor other that was to bee had in the countrey. For wee came very well furnished of euery thing, and euery day we eat fresh mutton, because there came many shepheards with vs with their flocks, who kept those sheepe that we bought in Babylon, and euery marchant marked his sheepe with his owne marke, and we gaue the shepheards a Medin, which is two pence of our money for the keeping and feeding our sheep on the way and for killing of them. And beside the Medin they haue the heads, the skinnes, and the intrals of euery sheepe they kil. We sixe bought 20. sheepe, and when we came to Alepo we had 7. aliue of them. And in the Carouan they vse this order, that the marchants doe lende flesh one to another, because they will not cary raw flesh with them, but pleasure one another by lending one one day and another another day.

36. Dayes iourney ouer the wildernes.

From Babylon to Alepo is 40. dayes iourney, of the which they make 36. dayes ouer the wildernes, in which 36. dayes they neither see house, trees, nor people that inhabite it, but onely a plaine, and no signe of any way in the world. The Pilots goe before, and the Carouan followeth after. And when they sit downe all the Carouan vnladeth and sitteth downe, for they know the stations where the wells are. I say, in 36. dayes we pass ouer the wildernesse. For when wee depart from Babylon two dayes we passe by villages inhabited vntil we haue passed the riuer Euphrates. And then within two dayes of Alepo we haue villages inhabited. In this Carouan there goeth alway a Captaine that doth Iustice vnto all men: and euery night they keepe watch about the

Carouan, and comming to Alepo we went to Tripoli, whereas Master Florin, and Master Andrea Polo, and I with a Frier, went and hired a barke to goe with vs to Ierusalem. Departing from Tripolie, we arriued at Iaffa: from which place in a day and a halfe we went to Ierusalem, and we gaue order to our barke to tary for vs vntill our returne. Wee stayed in Ierusalem 14. dayes, to visite those holy places: from whence we rertuned to Iaffa, and from Iaffa to Tripolie, and there wee shipped our selues in a ship of Venice called the Bagazzana: And by the helpe of the deuine power, we arriued safely in Venice the fift of Nouember 1581. If there be any that hath any desire to goe into those partes of India, let him not be astonied at the troubles that I haue passed: because I was intangled in many things: for that I went very poore from Venice with 1200. duckets imployed in marchandize, and when I came to Tripolie, I fell sicke in the house of Master Regaly Oratio, and this man sent away my goods with a small Carouan that went from Tripolie to Alepo, and the Carouan was robd, and all my goods lost sauing foure chests of glasses which cost me 200. duckets, of which glasses I found many broken: because the theeues thinking it had bene other marchandize, brake them vp, and seeing they were glasses they let them all alone. And with this onely stocke I aduentured to goe into the Indies: And thus with change and rechange, and by diligence in my voyage, God did blesse and helpe mee, so that I got a good stocke. I will not be vnmindfull to put them in remembrance, that haue a desire to goe into those parts, how they shall keepe their goods, and giue them to their heires at the time of their death,* and howe this may be done very securely. In all the cities that the Portugales haue in the Indies, there is a house called the schoole of Sancta misericordia comissaria: the gouernours whereof, if you giue them for their paines, will take a coppy of your will and Testament, which you must alwayes cary about you; and chiefly when you go into the Indies. In the countrey of the Moores and Gentiles, in those voyages alwayes there goeth a Captaine to administer Iustice to all Christians of the Portugales. Also this captaine hath authoritie to recouer the goods of those Marchants that by chance die in

An order how to prouide for the going to Ierusalem.

The author returned to Venice 1581.

---

* *Marginal note.*—A very good order that they haue in those Countreys for the recouering of the goods of the dead.

those voyages, and they that haue not made their Wills and registred them in the aforesayde schooles, the Captaines wil consume their goods in such wise, that litle or nothing will be left for their heires and friends. Also there goeth in these same voyages some marchants that are commissaries of the schoole of Sancta misericordia, that if any Marchant die and haue his Will made, and hath giuen order that the schoole of Misericordia shall haue his goods and sell them, then they sende the money by exchange to the schoole of Misericordia in Lisbone, with that copie of his Testament, then from Lisbon they giue intelligence thereof, into what part of Christendome soeuer it be, and the heires of such a one comming thither, with testimoniall that they be heires, they shall receiue there the value of his goods: in such wise that they shall not loose any thing. But they that die in the kingdome of Pegu loose the thirde part of their goods by antient custome of the Countrey, that if any Christian dieth in the kingdome of Pegu, the king and his officers rest heires of a thirde of his goods, and there hath neuer bene any deceit or fraude vsed in this matter. I haue knowen many rich men that haue dwelled in Pegu, and in their age they haue desired to go into their owne Countrey to die there, and haue departed with al their goods and substance without let or trouble.

Order of apparel in Pegu.

In Pegu the fashion of their apparel is all one, as well the noble man as the simple: the onely difference is in the finenes of the cloth, which is cloth of Bombast one finer then another, and they weare their apparell in this wise: First a white Bombast cloth which serueth for a shirt, then they gird another painted bombast cloth of foureteene brases, which they binde vp betwixt their legges, and on their heads they weare a small tock of three braces, made in guize of a myter, and some goe without tocks, and cary (as it were) a hiue on their heades, which doeth not passe the lower part of his eare, when it is lifted vp: they goe all bare footed, but the Noble men neuer goe on foote, but are caried by men in a seate with great reputation, with a hat made of the leaues of a tree to keepe him from the raine and Sunne, or otherwise they ride on horsebacke with their feete bare in the stirops. All sorts of women whatsoeuer they be, weare a smocke downe to the girdle, and from the girdle downewards to the foote they weare a cloth of three brases, open before; so straite that they cannot goe, but they must shewe their secret

The order of the womens apparel in Pegu.

as it were aloft, and in their going they faine to hide it with their hand, but they cannot by reason of the straitnes of their cloth. They say that this vse was inuented by a Queene to be an occasion that the sight thereof might remoue from men the vices against nature, which they are greatly giuen vnto; which sight should cause them to regard women the more. Also the women goe bare footed, their armes laden with hoopes of golde and Iewels: And their fingers full of precious rings, with their haire rolled vp about their heads. Many of them weare a cloth about their shoulders instead of a cloake.

Now to finish that which I haue begunne to write, I say, that those parts of the Indies are very good, because that a man that hath litle, shall make a great deale thereof; alwayes they must gouerne themselues that they be taken for honest men. For why? to such there shal neuer want helpe to doe wel, but he that is vicious, let him tary at home and not go thither, because he shall alwayes be a beggar, and die a poore man.

The money and measures of Babylon, Balsara, and the Indies, with the customes, &c. written from Aleppo in Syria, An. 1584. by M. Will. Barret.

BABYLON:

The weight, measure, and money currant there, and the customes of marchandize.

A Mana of Babylon is of Aleppo 1 roue 5 ounces and a halfe: and 68 manas and three seuenth parts, make a quintall of Aleppo, which is 494 li. 8 ounces of London: and 100 manas is a quintall of Babylon, which maketh in Aleppo 146 roues, and of London 722 li. and so much is the sayd quintall: but the marchants accord is by so much the mana, and in the sayd place they bate the tare in all sorts of commodities, according to the order of Aleppo touching the tare.

The measure of Babylon is greater then that of Aleppo 21 in ye 100. For bringing 100 pikes of any measureable ware from Aleppo thither, there is found but 82 pikes in Babylon, so that the 100 pikes of Babylon is of Aleppo 121 pikes, very litle lesse.

The currant mony of Babylon are Saies, which Say is 5 medines, as in Aleppo, and 40 medines being 8 Saies make a duckat currant, and 47 medines passe in value as the duckat of gold of Venice, and the dollars of the best sort are worth 33 medines. The roials of plate are sold by the 100 drams at prise, according as they be in request: but amongst the marchants they bargaine by the 100 metrals, which are 150 drams of Aleppo, which 150 drams are 135 single roials of plate: but in the mint or castle, they take them by the 100 drams, which is 90 roials of plate, and those of the mint giue 5 medines lesse in each 100 drams then they are woorth to be sold among the marchants, and make paiment at the terme of 40 dayes in Sayes.

The custome in Babylon, as wel inward as outward, is in this maner: Small wares at 6 per 100, Coral and amber at 5 and a halfe per 100, Venice cloth, English cloth, Kersies, Mockairs, Chamblets, Silks, Veluets, Damasks, Sattins and such like at 5 per 100: and they rate the goods without reason as they lust themselues. The Toafo, Boabo, and other exactions 6 medines per bale, all which they pay presently in ready mony, according to the custome and vse of the emperor.

To the Ermin of the mint ye ordinarie vse is to giue 30 Saies in curtesie, otherwise he would by authoritie of his office come aboord, and for despight make such search in the barke, that he would turne all things topsie teruie.

BALSARA:

The weight, measure, and money in the citie of Balsara.

A Mana of Balsara answereth 5 roues 2 ounces and a halfe of Aleppo weight, and 19 manas and one 4 part of Balsara, answereth the quintall of Aleppo, which is 494 roues, 8 ounces English, and 20 manas is the quintall of Balsara, which is 104 Alepine, and of London 514 li. 8. ounces, and so much is the sayd quintall, but the marchants bargaine at so much the mana or wolsene (which is all one) and they abate the tare in euery mana, as the sort of spice is, and the order taken therefore in that place.

The measure of Balsara is called a pike, which is iust as the measure of Babylon, to say, 100 pikes of Balsara make of Aleppo 121 pikes, vt supra in the rate of Babylon.

The currant mony of Balsara is as foloweth. There is a sort of flusses of copper called Estiui, whereof 12 make a mamedine, which is the value of one medine Aleppine, the said mamedine is of siluer, hauing the Moresco stampe on both sides, and two of these make a danine, which is 2 medines Aleppine.

The said danine is of siluer, hauing the Turkesco stampe on both sides, and 2 and a halfe of these make a Saie, which is in value as the Saie of Aleppo.

The said Saie is of the similitude and stampe of Aleppo, being (as appeares) 60 estiues. Also one Say and 20 estiues make a larine, which is of Aleppo money 6 medines and a halfe.

The sayd larine is a strange piece of money, not being round as all other currant money in Christianitie, but is a small rod of siluer of the greatnesse of the pen of a goose feather, wherewith we vse to write, and in length about one eight part thereof, which is wrested, so that the two ends meet at the iust halfe part, and in the head thereof is a stampe Turkesco, and these be the best currant money in all the Indias, and 6 of these larines make a duckat, which is 40 medines or eight Saies of Aleppo.

The duckat of gold is woorth there 7 larines, and one danine, which is of Aleppo money 48 medines and a halfe.

The Venetian money is worth larines 88 per hundred meticals which is 150 drams of Aleppo, vt supra.

The roials of plate are worth 88 larines by the 100 meticals, and albeit among the marchants they sel by the 100 meticals, yet in the mint or castle, they sel by the 100 drams, hauing there lesse then the worth 5 medines in each hundred drams, and haue their paiment in 40 dayes made them in Saies or larines.

The custome of the said places, aswell inward as outward, are alike of all sorts of goods, to say 6 by the 100, and Toafo, Boabo, and scriuan medines 6 by the bale inward and outward, to say, 3 inward, and as much outward: but whoso leaueth his goods in the custome house paieth nothing, where otherwise at the taking thereof away, he should pay 3 med. by the bale, and of the said goods there is no other duty to pay, and this commeth to passe when the customers esteeme the goods too high. For in such a case they may be driuen to take so much commoditie as the custome amounteth to, and not to pay them in money, for such is the order from the Grand Signior.

Hauing paid the custome, it behoueth to haue a quittance or cocket sealed and firmed with the customers hand, in confirmation of the dispatch and clearing, and before departure thence, to cause the sayd customer to cause search to be made, to the end that at the voiages returne there be no cauilation made, as it oftentimes happeneth.

Note that 100 meticals of Balsara weigh 17 ounces and a halfe sottile Venetian, and of Aleppo drams 150, vt supra.

The fraight of the barkes from Ormuz to Balsara, I would say from Balsara to Ormuz, they pay according to the greatnesse thereof. To say, for cariage of 10 cares 180 larines, those of 15 cares 270 larines, those of 20 cares 360 larines, those of 30 cares 540 larines. Note that a cara is 4 quintals of Balsara. They pay also to the pilot of the bark for his owne cariage one care, and to all the rest of the mariners amongst them 3 cares fraight, which is in the whole 4 cares, and paying the abouesayd prises and fraights, they are at no charges of victuals with them, but it is requisite that the same be declared in the charter partie, with the condition that they lade not aboord one rotilo more then the fraight, vnder paines that finding more in Ormuz, it is forfeit, and besides that to pay the fraight of that which they haue laden.

And in this accord it behoueth to deale warilie, and in the presence of the Ermin or some other honest man (whereof there are but few) for they are the worst people in all Arabia. And this diligence must be put in execution, to the end the barks may not be ouerladen, because they are to passe many sands betwixt Balsara and Ormuz.

ORMVZ:

The weight, measure, and money currant in the kingdom of Ormuz:

SPices and drugs they weigh by the bar, and of euery sort of goods the weight is different. To say, of some drugs 3 quintals, and 3 erubi or roues, and other some 4 quintals 25 rotiloes, and yet both is called a barre, which barre, as well as great as litle, is 20 frasoli, and euery frasoll is 10 manas, and euery mana 23 chiansi, and euery chianso 10 meticals and a halfe. Note that euery quintall maketh 4 erubi or roues, and euery roue 32 rotiloes, and euery rotilo 16 ounces, and euery ounce 7 meticals, so that the quintall commeth to be 128 rotiloes, which is Aleppine 26 rotiloes and one third part, which is 132 li. English weight. And contrarywise ye quintal of Aleppo (which is 494 rotiloes 8 ounces English) maketh 477

What a rotilo is.

rotiloes and a halfe of Ormuz, which is 3 quintals 2 roues, 29 rotiloes and a halfe.

Note that there are bars of diuers weights, vt supra, of which they bargaine simply, according to the sort of commoditie, but if they bargaine of the great barre, the same is 7 quintals and 24 rotiloes, which is 958 li. 9 ounces of London weight, and of Aleppo 193 rotiloes and a halfe.

Touching the money of Ormuz, they bargaine in marchandize at so many leches by the barre, which lech is 100 Asaries, and maketh larines 100 and a halfe, which maketh pardaos 38, and larines one halfe, at larines 5 by the pardao. One asarie is sadines 10, and euery sadine is 100. danarie.

The larine is worth 5 sadines and one fourth part, so that the sadine is worth of Aleppo mony 1 medine and 1 fourth part, and the larine as in Balsara worth of Aleppo mony 6 medines and a half.

The pardao is 5 larines of Balsara.

There is also stamped in Ormuz a seraphine of gold, which is litle and round, and is worth 24 sadines, which maketh 30 medines of Aleppo.

The Venetian mony is worth in Ormuz larines 88 per 100 meticals, and the roials are worth larines 86 lesse one sadine, which is euery thousand meticals, 382 asures : but those that will not sel them, vse to melt them, and make them so many larines in the king of Ormuz his mint, whereby they cleare 2 per 100, and somewhat more : and this they doe because neither Venetian money nor roials run as currant in Ormuz, per aduise.

The measure of Ormuz is of two sorts, the one called codo which increaseth vpon the measure of Aleppo 3 per 100, for bringing 100 pikes of any measurable wares from Aleppo to Ormuz, it is found in Ormuz to be 103 codes. Also these measures of Ormuz increase vpon those of Balsara and Babylon 25 and two third parts per 100 : for bringing 100 pikes of any measurable wares from Balsara or Babylon, there is found in Ormuz 125 codes and two third parts.

The other measure is called a vare, which was sent from the king of Portugall to the India, by which they sell things of small value, which measure is of 5 palmes or spans, and is one code and two third parts, so that buying 100 codes of any measurable wares, and returning to measure it by the sayd vare, there are found but 60 vares, contrarywise 100 vares make 166 codes and two third parts.

Note that al such ships as lade horses in Ormuz for Goa or any other place of India, lading 10 horses or vpwards, in what places soeuer the said horses be taken a shore in the India, the marchandize which is to be discharged out of that ship wherein the said horses come, are bound to pay no custome at all, bnt if they lade one horse lesse then ten, then the goods are bound to pay the whole custome. And this law was made by Don Emanuel king of Portugall, but it is to be diligently foreseene, whither all those horses laden be bound to pay the king his custome: for many times by the king of Portugall his commandement, there is fauour shewed to the king of Cochin his brother in armes, so that his horses that come in the same ship, are not to answere custome. As for example: If there were 4 horses laden in one ship, all which were to pay custome to the king, and one other of the king of Cochins which were not to pay any custome, the same causeth all the marchandize of that ship to be subiect to pay custome, per aduise. But if they lade ten horses vpon purpose to pay the king his custome in Goa, and in the voyage any of them should die in that case, if they bring the taile of the dead horse to the custome in Goa, then the marchandize is free from all custome, because they were laden in Ormuz to pay custome in Goa. Moreouer, if the horses should die before the midst of the voyage, they pay no custome at all, and if they die in the midst of the voyage, then they pay halfe custome, but if any horse die after the mid voiage, they pay custome no lesse than if they arriue safe. Notwithstanding, the marchandize (whether the said horses die before or in the mid voyage or after the mid voiage) are free from all custome.

The custome of Ormuz is eleuen in the 100, to say, 10 for the king, and 1 for the arming of the foists: but for small wares as glasses, and looking glasses of all sorts, and such like, made for apparell, pay no custome. But cloth of Wooll, Karsies, Mockaires, Chamlets, and all sortes of Silke, Saffron, and such like, pay custome, being esteemed reasonably.

There is also another custome, which they call caida, which is, that one bringing his goods into Ormuz, with purpose to send ye same further into India, the same are bound to pay 3 by the 100, but none other are bound to pay this custome, except the

Armenians, Moores, and Iewes: for the Portugals and Venetians pay nothing thereof.

Note yt in Ormuz they abate tare of all sorts of commodities, by an order obserued of custome.

The fraight from Ormuz to Chaul, Goa, and Cochin, is as followeth: Mokaires, larines 6 per table of 60 pikes. Aquariosa 8 larines by ordinarie chist, raisins 10 by chist, which is a quintall of roues 128. Ruuia of Chalangi larines 10 per quintall, glasses larines 8 per chist, of 4 foote and a halfe, glasses in great chists 14 and 15 larines by chist. Small wares larines 12 by chist of fiue foot. Tamari for Maschat sadines 2 and a half, and 3 by the fardle. Tamarie for Diu and Chaul 4 sadines, aud 4 and a halfe by bale. Other drugs and things which come from Persia pay according to the greatnesse of the bales.

The fraight mentioned, they pay as appeareth, when they ship the sayd goods in ships where horses goe: otherwise not hauing horses, they pay somewhat lesse, because of the custom which they are to pay.

The vse of the India ships is, that the patrones thereof are not at any charge neither with any passenger, not yet with any mariner in the ship, but that euery one at the beginning of the voyage doe furnish to maintaine his owne table (if he will eate) and for drinke they haue a great iarre of water, which is garded with great custodie.

GOA.

The weight, measure, and mony currant in Goa.

THe quintall of Goa is 5 manas, and 8 larines, and the mana is 24 rotilos, so that the quintall of Goa is 128 rot. and euery rot. is 16 ounces, which is of Venice weight 1 li. and a halfe, so that the quintall of Goa is 192 li. sotile Venice, which is 26 rotiloes 8 ounces Aleppine, and of London weight 132 li. English, as the weight of Ormuz.

All the marchandize, spices and drugs, are sold by this quintal, except some drugs, as lignum de China, Galanga, and others, whereof they bargaine at so much per candill, aduertising that there be two sorts of candill, one of 16 manas, the other of 20 manas, that of 16 manas commeth to be iust 3 quintals, and that of 20 manas, 3 quintals, 3 roues. Note that 4 roues make a quintall, and the roue is 32 rotiloes, as in Ormuz.

There is also another weight which they call Marco, which is eight ounces or halfe a rotilo of Goa, and 9 ounces of Venice sotile: with this they weigh amber, corall, muske, ambracan, ciuet, and other fine wares.

There is also another sort of weight called Mangiallino, which is 5 graines of Venice weight and therewith they weigh diamants and other iewels.

Note that in Goa they vse not to abate any tare of any goods, except of sacks or wraps, and therefore it requireth great aduisement in buying of the goods, especially in the muske of Tartaria which commeth by way of China in bladders, and so weigh it without any tare rebating.

Muske of Tartarie by ye way of China.

The measure of Goa is called a tode, which encreaseth vpon the measure of Babylon and Balsara after the rate of 17 and one eight part by the 100, so that bringing 100 pikes of any measurable ware from thence to Goa, it is found 117 pikes 7 eight parts, and bringing 100 codes from Ormuz to Goa, there is found but 93 codes and one fourth part.

There is also the vare in Goa, which is iust as the vare of Ormuz, and therewith they measure onely things that are of small value.

For the mony of Goa, there is a kind of mony made of lead and tin mingled, being thicke and round, and stamped on the one side with a spheare or globe of the world, and on the other side two arrowes and 5 rounds: and this kind of mony is called Basaruchi, and 15 of these make a vinton of naughty mony, and 5 vintons make a tanga, and 4 vintenas make a tanga of base money: so that the tanga of base mony is 60 basaruchies, and the tanga of good mony 75 basaruchies, and 5 tangas make a seraphine of gold, which in merchandize is worth 5 tangas good money: but if one would change them into basaruchies, he may haue 5 tangas, and 16 basaruchies, which ouerplus they cal cerafagio, and when they bargain of the pardaw of gold, each pardaw is ment to be 6 tangas good mony, but in merchandize they vse not to demaund pardawes of gold in Goa, except it be for iewels and horses, for all the rest they take of seraphines of siluer, per aduiso.

The roials of plate, I say, the roial of 8 are worth per custome and commandement of the king of Portugall 400 reies, and euery rey is one basaruchie and one fourth part, which maketh tangas

6, and 53 basaruchies as their iust value, but for that the said roials are excellent siluer and currant in diuers places of the India, and chiefly in Malacca, when the ships are to depart at their due times (called Monsons) euery one to haue the said roials pay more then they are worth, and the ouerplus, as is abouesaid they call serafagio. And first they giue ye iust value of the 100 roials of 8, at 5 tangas 50 basaruchies a piece, which done, they giue seraphins 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, vntill 22 by the 100, according as they are in request.

The ducket of gold is worth 9 tangas and a halfe good money, and yet not stable in price, for that when the ships depart from Goa to Cochin, they pay them at 9 tangas and 3 fourth partes, and 10 tangas, and that is the most that they are woorth.

The larines are woorth by iust value basaruchies 93 and 3 fourth parts, and 4 larines make a seraphine of siluer, which is 5 tangas of good money, and these also haue serafagion of 6, 7, 8, 10, vntill 16, by the hundred, for when the ships depart for the North, to say, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, or Bassaim, all cary of the same, because it is money more currant then any other.

There is also a sort of seraphins of gold of the stampe of Ormuz, whereof there are but fewe in Goa, but being there, they are woorth fiue larines and somewhat more, according as they are in request.

There is also another litle sort of mony, round, hauing on the one side a crosse, and on the other side a crowne, which is woorth one halfe a tanga of good money, and another of the same stampe lesse than that which they call Imitiuo de buona moneda, which is worth 18 basaruches 3 fourth parts a piece.

Note that if a man bargaine in marchandize, it behooueth to demaund tangas of good money: for by nominating tangas onely, is vnderstood to be base money of 60 basaruches, which wanteth of the good money vt supra.

The custome of Goa is 8 in the 100 inwards, and as much outward, and the goods are esteemed iustly rather to the marchants aduantage then the kings. The custome they pay in this order. Comming with a ship from Ormuz to Goa without horses, they pay 8 in the 100 whether they sell part or all, but if they would carie of the sayd marchandise to any other place, they pay none other custome, except others buy it and carie it foorth of the countrey, and then they pay it 8 in the 100. And if one hauing paied the custome should sell to another with composition to passe it forth as for his proper accounts to saue the custome, this may not be, because the seller is put to his oth, whether he send the goods for his owne account, or for the account of any others that haue bought the same, and being found to the contrary, they pay custome as abouesaid. And in this order the marchants pay of all the goods which come from any part of the Indies. But if they come from Ormuz to Goa with horses, they are not subiect to pay any custome inward, notwithstanding if they send all or any part thereof for any other place, or returne it to Ormuz, they pay the custome outward, although they could not sell.

They vse also in Goa amongst the common sort to bargaine for coales, wood, lime, and such like, at so many braganines, accounting 24 basaruches for one braganine, albeit there is no such mony stamped. The custome of the Portugals is, that any Moore or Gentile, of what condition or state soeuer he be, may not depart from Goa to go within the land, without licence of certaine deputies deputed for that office, who (if they be Moores or Gentiles) doe set a seale vpon the arme, hauing thereon the armes of Portugal, to be knowen of the porters of the citie, whether they haue the said licence or no.

COCHIN.

The weight, measure, and money, currant in Cochin.

ALl the marchandise which they sell or buy within the sayd citie, they bargaine for at so many serafines per quintal, which is 128. rotilos of iust weight, with ye quintal and rotilo of Goa and Ormuz: aduertising that there are diuers sorts of bars according to the sorts of commodities, and in traffiquing, they reason at so much the bar. Note that there are bars of 3 quintals and 3 quintals and halfe, and 4 quintals. They abate a vsed tare of all marchandize, according to the sort of goods, and order taken for the same.

The measure of Goa and Cochin are all one.

The money of Cochin are all the same sorts which are currant in Goa, but the duckat of gold in value is 10 tangas of good money.

The custome of Cochin as wel inward as outward for all strangers is eight in the hundred, but those that haue bene married foure yeere in the countrey pay but foure in the hundred, per aduiso.

MALACCA.

The weight, measure and money of Malacca.

FOr the marchandise bought and sold in the citie they reckon at so much the barre, which barre is of diuers sorts, great and small, according to the ancient custome of the said citie, and diuersitie of the goods. But for the cloues they bargaine at so much the barre, which barre is 3 quintals, 2 roues and 10 rotilos. As I haue abouesaid, all kind of drugs haue their sorts of barres limited. Note that euery quintal is 4 roues, and euery roue 32 rotilos, which is 128 rotilos the quintall, the which answereth to Aleppo 95 rotilos, and to London 472 li. per quintal.

The measures of Malacca are as the measures of Goa. In Malacca they abate tare according to their distinction and agreement, for that there is no iust tare limited.

For the money of Malacca, the least money currant is of tinne stamped with the armes of Portugall, and 12 of these make a Chazza.

The Chazza is also of tinne with the said armes, and 2. of these make a challaine.

The Challaine is of tinne with the said armes, and 40 of these make a tanga of Goa good money, but not stamped in Malacca.

There is also a sort of siluer money which they call Patachines, and is worth 6 tangas of good money, which is 360 reyes, and is stamped with two letters, S. T. which is S. Thomas on the one side, and the armes of Portugall on the other side.

There is also a kind of mony called Cruzados stamped with the armes of Portugall, and is worth 6 tangas good mony, the larines are euery 9 of them worth 2 cruzados, which is 12 tangas good mony, and these larines be of those which are stamped in Balsara and Ormuz.

The roials of 8 they call Pardaos de Reales, and are worth 7 tangas of good money.

The custome of Malacca is 10 in the 100 as wel inward as outward, and those which pay the custome inwards, if in case they send the same goods for any other place within terme of a yeere and a day, pay no custome for the same.

A note of charges from Aleppo to Goa, as foloweth.

FOr camels from Aleppo to Birrha.	Medines 60 per somme.[*]
For mules from Aleppo to Birrha,	med. 45. per somme.
For custome at Birrha,	med. 10. per somme.
For Auania of the Cady at Birrha,	med. 200.
For 4 dishes raisins, and 20 pounds sope,	med. 35.
For a present to the Ermine the summe of	med. 400.
For a barke of 30 or 35 sommes. Duc. 60 is	med. 2400. per barke.
For meat for the men the summe of	med. 200.
For custome at Racca the summe of	med. 5. per somme.
For 3 platters of raisins, and 15 pounds of sope,	med. 25.
For custome to king Aborissei, Duc. 20 is	med. 800.
For custome at Dea the summe of	med. 230. per barke.
For 4 dishes raisins, and 20 pounds of sope,	med. 35.
For custome at Bosara, the summe of	med. 10. per barke.
For 2 dishes raisins, and 10 pound of sope,	med. 17.
For custome in Anna, in 10 per summe,	med. 10. per somme.
For 4 dishes of raisins and 20 pound of sope,	med. 35.
For custome in Adite, medines 10 per barke,	med. 10. per barke.
For 2 dishes raisins, and 10 pound of sope,	med. 17.
For custome at Gweke,	med. 10. per barke.
For 2 dishes raisins, and 20 pound of sope,	med. 17.
For custome at Ist,	med. 10. per somme.
For 4 platters raisins, and 20 pound of sope,	med. 35.
Charges of presents at Felugia,	med. 30.
For camels from Felugia to Babylon,	med. 30. per somme.
For custome in Babylon, as in the booke appeareth.	
For a barke from Babylon to Balsara,	med. 900.
For custome of small wares, at Corno	med. 20. per somme.
For custome of clothes at Corno, the summe of	med. per somme.
For 3 dishes raisins, and 20 pound of sope,	med. 26.

For fraight from Balsara to Ormus, according to the greatnesse, as in this booke appeareth.

For custome in Ormus, as is abouesaid in this booke.

For fraight from Ormus to Goa, as is in this booke shewed.

For custome in Goa, as is abouesaid.

A declaration of the places from whence the goods subscribed doe come.

CLoues, from Maluco, Tarenate, Amboina, by way of Iaua.
Nutmegs, from Banda.
Maces from Banda, Iaua, and Malacca.

---

[*] *Marginal note.*—Or, by the Camels burden.

Pepper Gawrie, from Cochin.
Pepper common from Malabar.
Sinnamon, from Seilan.
Tinne, from Malacca.
Sandals wilde, from Cochin.
Sandales domestick, from Malacca.
Verzini, from S. Thomas, and from China.
Spicknard, from Zindi, and Lahor.
Quicksiluer, from China.
Galls, from Cambaia, Bengala, Istria and Syria.
Ginger Dabulin, from Dabul.
Ginger Belledin, from the Countrie within Cambaia.
Ginger Sorattin, from Sorat within Cambaia.
Ginger Mordassi, from Mordas within Cambaia.
Ginger Meckin, from Mecca.
Mirabolans of all sorts, from Cambaia.
White sucket, from Zindia, Cambaia, and China.
Corcunia, from diuers places of India.
Corall of Leuant, from Malabar.
Chomin, from Balsara.
Requitria, from Arabia Felix.
Garble of Nutmegs from Banda.
Sal Armoniacke, from Zindi and Cambaia.
Zedoari, from diuers places of India.
Cubeb, from China.
Amomum, from China.
Camphora, from Brimeo neere to China.
Myrrha, from Arabia Felix.
Costo dulce, from Zinde, and Cambaia.
Borazo, from Cambaia, and Lahor.
Asa fetida, from Lahor.
Waxe, from Bengala.
Seragni, from Persia.
Cassia, from Cambaia, and from Gran Cayro.
Storax calamita, from Rhodes, to say, from Aneda, and Canemarie within Caramania.
Storax liquida, from Rhodes.
Tutia, from Persia.
Cagiers, from Malabar, and Maldiua.
Ruuia to die withall, from Chalangi.
Alumme di Rocca, from China, and Constantinople.

Chopra, from Cochin and Malabar.
Oppopanax, from Persia.
Lignum Aloes, from Cochin, China, and Malacca.
Demnar, from Siacca and Blinton.
Galangæ, from China, Chaul, Goa, and Cochin.
Laccha, from Pegu, and Balaguate.
Carabbe, from Almanie.
Coloquintida, from Cyprus.
Agaricum, from Alemania.
Scamonea, from Syria, and Persia.
Bdellium, from Arabia felix, and Mecca.
Cardamomum small, from Barcelona.
Cardamomum great, from Bengala.
Tamarinda, from Balsara.
Aloe Secutrina, from Secutra.
Aloe Epatica, from Pat.
Safran, from Balsara, and Persia.
Lignum de China, from China.
Rhaponticum, from Persia, and Pugia.
Thus, from Secutra.
Turpith, from Diu, and Cambaia.
Nuts of India, from Goa, and other places of India.
Nux vomica, from Malabar.
Sanguis Draconis, from Secutra.
Armoniago, from Persia.
Spodio di Cana, from Cochin.
Margaratina, from Balaguate.
Muske from Tartarie, by way of China.
Ambrachan, from Melinde, and Mosombique.
Indico, from Zindi and Cambaia.
Silkes fine, from China.
Long pepper, from Bengala and Malacca.
Latton, from China.
Momia, from the great Cayro.
Belzuinum Mandolalo, from Sian, and Baros.
Belzuinum burned, from Bonnia.
Castorium, from Almania.
Corallina, from the red sea.
Masticke, from Sio.
Mella, from Romania.
Oppium, from Pugia, and Cambaia.

Calamus Aromaticus, from Constantinople.
Capari, from Alexandria and other places.
Dates, from Arabia felix and Alexandria.
Dictamnum album, from Lombardia.
Draganti, from Morea.
Euphorbium, from Barbaria.
Epithymum, from Candia.
Sena, from Mecca.
Gumme Arabike, from Zaffo.
Grana, from Coronto.
Ladanum, from Cyprus and Candia.
Lapis lazzudis, from Persia.
Lapis Zudassi, from Zaffetto.
Lapis Spongij is found in sponges.
Lapis Hæmatites, from Almanie.
Manna, from Persia.
Auripigmentum, from manie places of Turkie.
Pilatro, from Barbaria.
Pistaches, from Doria.
Worme-seede, from Persia.
Sumack, from Cyprus.
Sebesten, from Cyprus.
Galbanum from Persia.
Dente d'Abolio, from Melinde, and Mosambique.
Folium Indicum, from Goa, and Cochin.
Diasprum viride, from Cambaia.
Petra Bezzuar, from Tartaria.
Sarcacolla, from Persia.
Melleghete, from the West parts.
Sugo di Requillicie, from Arabia felix.
Chochenillo, from the West India.
Rubarbe, from Persia, and China.

The times or seasonable windes called Monsons, wherein the ships depart from place to place in the East Indies.

NOte that the Citie of Goa is the principall place of all the Orientall India, and the winter there beginneth the 15 of May with very great raine, and so continueth till the first of August, so that during that space, no shippe can passe ouer the barre of Goa, because through the continuall shoures of raine all the sandes ioyne together neere vnto a mountaine called Oghane, and all these sandes being ioyned together, runne into the shoales of the barre and port of Goa, and can haue no other issue, but to remaine in that port, and therefore it is shut vp vntill the first of August, but at the 10 of August it openeth by reason of the raine which ceaseth, and the sea doeth then scoure the sands away againe.

The monson from Goa to the Northward, to say, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, Daman, Basaim, and other places.

The ships depart from betwixt the tenth and 24 of August, for the Northward places abouesayde, and to these places they may saile all times of the yeere, except in the winter, which beginneth and endeth at the times abouesaid.

The monson from the North parts, for Goa.

The ships depart from Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, and other places Northwards for Goa, betwixt the 8 and 15 of Ianuarie, and come to Goa about the end of Februarie.

The first monson from Diu for the straight of Mecca.

The ships depart from Diu about the 15 of Ianuarie, and returne from the straights to Diu in the moneth of August.

The second manson from Diu for the straight of Mecca.

The ships depart betwixt the 25 and first of September, and returne from the straights to Diu, the first and 15 of May.

The monson from Secutra for Ormus.

The ships depart about the tenth of August for Ormus: albeit Secutra is an Iland and hath but few ships, which depart as abouesaid.

The monson wherein the Moores of the firme land come to Goa.

About the fifteenth of September the Moores of the firme lande beginne to come to Goa, and they come from all parts, as well from Balaguate, Bezenegar, as also from Sudalacan, and other places.

The monson wherein the Moores of the firme land depart from Goa.

They depart from Goa betwixt the 10 and 15 day of Nouember.

Note that by going for the North is ment the departing from Goa, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, Daman, Basaim, Ghassain, and other places vnto Zindi: and by the South is vnderstood, departing from Goa, for Cochin, and all that coast vnto Cape Comori.

The first monson from Goa for Ormus.

The shippes depart in the moneth of October from Goa, for Ormus, passing with Easterly windes along the coast of Persia.

The second monson from Goa to Ormus.

The ships depart about the 20 of Ianuarie passing by the like nauigation and windes as in the first monson, and this is called of the Portugals and Indians Entremonson.

The third monson from Goa to Ormus.

The ships depart betwixt the 25 of March, and 6 of Aprill, hauing Easterly windes, till they passe Secutra, and then they find Westerly windes, and therefore they set their course ouer for the coast of Arabia, till they come to Cape Rasalgate and the Straight of Ormus, and this monson is most troublesome of all: for they make two nauigations in the heigth of Seylan, which is 6 degrees and somewhat lower.

The first monson from Ormus for Chanl, and Goa.

The ships depart from Ormus for Chaul, and Goa in the moneth of September, with North and Northeast windes.

The second monson from Ormus for Chaul and Goa.

The second monson is betwixt the fiue and twentie and last of December, with like winds as the former monson.

The third monson from Ormus for Chaul and Goa.

The third monson the ships depart from Ormus, for Chaul and Goa, betwixt the first and 15. of April, and they saile with Southeast windes, East and Northeast windes, coasting vpon the Arabia side from Cape Mosandon vnto Cape Rasalgate, and hauing lost the sight of Cape Rasalgate, they haue Westerly windes, and so come for Chaul and Goa, and if the said ships depart not before the 25 of April, they are not then to depart that monson, but to winter in Ormus because of the winter.

The first monson from Ormus for Zindi.

The ships depart from Ormus betwixt the 15 and 20 of Aprill.

The second monson from Ormus for Zindi.

The ships depart betwixt the 10 and 20 of October for Zindi from Ormus.

The monson from Ormus for the red sea.

The ships depart from Ormus betwixt the first and last of Ianuarie.

Hitherto I haue noted the monsons of the ships departing from Goa to the Northward: Now follow the monsons wherein the ships depart depart from Goa, to the Southward.

The Monson from Goa for Calicut, Cochin, Seilan, and all that coast.

THe ships depart from those places betwixt the 1 and 15 of August, and there they find it nauigable all the yeere except in the winter, which continueth as is aforesayd, from the 15 of May till the 10 of August. In like maner the ships come from these places for Goa at euery time in the yeere except in the winter, but of all other the best time is to come in Nouember, December and Ianuary.

Note.

The first monson from Goa, for Pegu.

The ships depart from Goa, betwixt the 15 and 20 of April, and winter at S. Thomas, and after the 5 of August, they depart from S. Thomas for Pegu.

The second monson from Goa, for Pegu.

The ships depart from Goa betwixt the 8 and 24 of August, going straight for Pegu, and if they passe the 24 of August, they cannot passe that monson, neither is there any more monsons till April as is aforesaid. Note that the chiefest trade is to take money of S. Thomas rials, and patechoni, and to goe to S. Thomas, and there to buy Tellami, which is fine cloth of India, whereof there is great quantitie made in Coromandel, and brought thither, and other marchandise are not good for that place except some dozen of very faire Emeraulds orientall. For of golde, siluer, and Rubies, there is sufficient store in Pegu.

Marchandize goodfor Pegu.

The monson from Pegu for the Indies.

The ships depart from Pegu betwixt the 15 and 25 of Ianuarie, and come to Goa about the 25 of March, or in the beginning of April. Note, that if it passe the 10 of May before the sayde ships be arriued in Goa, they cannot come thither that monson, and if they haue not then fet the coast of India, they shall with great perill fetch S. Thomas.

The first monson from Goa for Malacca.

The ships depart betwixt the 15 and last of September, and arriue in Malacca about the end of October.

The second monson from Goa to Malacca.

The ships depart about the 5 of May from Goa, and arriue in Malacca about the 15 of Iune.

The first monson from Malacca to Goa.

The ships depart about the 10 of September, and come to Goa about the end of October.

The second monson from Malacca to Goa.

The ships depart from Malacca about the 10 of February, and come to Goa about the end of March. But if the said ships should stay till the 10 of May they cannot enter into Goa, and if at that time also they should not be arriued at Cochin, they are forced to returne to Malacca, because the winter and contrary windes then come vpon them.

The monson from Goa for China.

The ships depart from Goa in the moneth of April,

The monson from China for Goa.

The ships depart to be the 10 of May in Goa, and being not then arriued, they turne backe to Cochin, and if they cannot fetch Cochin, they returne to Malacca.

The monson from Goa to the Moluccaes.

The ships depart about 10 or 15 of May, which time being past, the shippes can not passe ouer the barre of Goa for the cause abouesaid.

The monson of the ships of the Moluccaes arriuall in Goa.

The ships which come from the Moluccaes arriue vpon the bar of Goa about the 15. of April.

The monsons of the Portingall ships for the Indies.

The ships which come from Portugall depart thence ordinarily betwixt the tenth and fifteenth of March, comming the straight way during the moneth of Iuly to the coast of Melinde, and Mosambique, and from thence goe straight for Goa, and if in the moneth of Iuly they should not be at the coast of Melinde, they can in no wise that yeere fetch Melinde, but returne to the Isle of Saint Helena, and so are not able, that time being past, to fetch the coast of India, and to come straight for Goa. Therefore (as is abouesaid) they returne to the Island of Saint Helena, and if they cannot make the said Island, then they runne as lost vpon the Coast of Guinea: but if the said ships be arriued in time vpon the coast of Melinde, they set forwardes for Goa, and if by the fifteenth of September they cannot fetch Goa, they then goe for Cochin, but if they see they cannot fetch Cochin, they returne to Mosambique to winter there vpon the sayd coast. Albeit in the yeere of our Lord 1580 there arriued the ship called San Lorenzo, being wonderfull sore sea-beaten, the eight of October, which was accounted as a myracle for that the like had not beene seene before.

Note.

Note.

The monson from India for Portugall.

The shippes depart from Cochin betweene the fifteenth and last of Ianuary, going on till they haue sight of Capo de buona speranza, and the Isle of Saint Helena, which Islande is about the midway, being in sixteene degrees to the South. And it is a litle Island being fruitfull of all things which a man can imagine, with great store of fruit: and this Island is a great succour to the shipping which returne for Portugall. And not long since the said Island was found by the Portugales, and was discouered by a shippe that came from the Indies in a great storme, in which they found such abundance of wilde beastes, and boares, and all sort of fruite, that by meanes thereof that poore ship which had been foure moneths at sea, refreshed themselues both with water and meate very well, and this Island they called S. Helena, because it was discouered vpon S. Helens day. And vndoubtedly this Island is a great succour, and so great an ayde to the ships of Portugall, that many would surely perish if that helpe wanted. And therefore the king of Portugall caused a Church to be made there for deuotion of S. Helena: where there are onely resident Eremits, and all other are forbidden to inhabite there by the kings commaundement, to the ende that the ships may be the more sufficiently furnished with victuals, because the ships which come from India come but slenderly victualled, because there groweth no corne there, neither make they any wine: but the ships which come from Portugall to the Indies touch not in the sayd Island, because they set out being sufficiently furnished with bread and water from Portugall for eight moneths voyage. Any other people then the two Eremites abouesaid, cannot inhabite this Island, except some sicke man that may be set there a shore to remaine in the Eremites companie, for his helpe and recouery.

Note.

The monson from Goa to Mosambique.

The ships depart betwixt the 10 and 15 of Ianuarie.

The monson from Mosambique to Goa.

The ships depart betweene the 8 and last of August, and arriue in Chaul or Goa in the moneth of October, till the 15 of Nouember.

The monson from Ormus to Bengala.

The ships depart betwixt the 15 and 20 of Iune, and goe to winter at Teue and depart thence about the 15 of August for Bengala.

A briefe extract specifying the certaine dayly paiments, answered quarterly in time of peace, by the Grand Signior, out of his Treasurie, to the Officers of his Seraglio or Court, successiuely in degrees: collected in a yeerely totall summe, as followeth.

FOr his owne diet euery day, one thousand and one aspers, according to a former custome receiued from his auncestors: notwithstanding that otherwise his diurnall expence is very much, and not certainly knowen, which summe maketh sterling mony by the yere, two thousand, one hundred, 92. pounds, three shillings, eight pence.

The fiue and fourtie thousand Ianizaries dispersed in sundry places of his dominions, at sixe aspers the day, amounteth by the yeere to fiue hundreth, fourescore and eleuen thousand, and three hundreth pounds.

The Azamoglans, tribute children, farre surmount that number, for that they are collected from among the Christians, from whom betweene the yeeres of sixe and twelue, they are pulled away yeerely perforce: whereof I suppose those in seruice may be equall in number with the Ianizaries abouesayd, at three aspers a day, one with another, which is two hundred fourescore and fifteene thousand, sixe hundred and fiftie pounds.

The fiue Bassas, whereof the Viceroy is supreme, at one thousand aspers the day, besides their yerely reuenues, amounteth sterling by the yeere to ten thousand, nine hundred and fiftie pounds.

The fiue Beglerbegs, chiefe presidents of Greece, Hungary and Sclauonia, being in Europe, in Natolia, and Caramania of Asia, at one thousande aspers the day: as also to eighteene other gouernours of Prouinces, at fiue hundred aspers the day, amounteth by the yeere, to thirtie thousand sixe hundred, and threescore pounds.

The Bassa, Admirall of the Sea, one thousand aspers the day, two thousand, one hundred foure score and ten pounds.

The Aga of the Ianizaries, generall of the footemen, fiue hundred aspers the day, and maketh by the yeere in sterling money, one thousand, foure score and fifteene pounds.

The Imbrahur Bassa, Master of his horse, one hundred and fiftie aspers the day, is sterling money, three hundred and eight and twenty pounds.

The chiefe Esquire vnder him, one hundred and fiftie aspers, is three hundred and eight and twenty pounds.

The Agas of the Spahi, Captaines of the horsemen, sixe, at one hundred and fiftie aspers to either of them, maketh sterling, one thousand, nine hundred, three score and eleuen pounds.

The Capagi Bassas head porters foure, one hundred and fiftie aspers to ech, and maketh out in sterling money by the yeere, one thousand, three hundred, and fourteene pounds.

The Sisinghir Bassa, Controller of the housholde, one hundred and twentie aspers the day, and maketh out in sterling money by the yeere, two hundred, threescore and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Chaus Bassa, Captaine of the Pensioners, one hundred and twentie aspers the day, and amounteth to by the yeere in sterling money, two hundred, threescore and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Capigilar Caiasi Captaine of his Barge, one hundreth and twentie aspers the day, and maketh out by the yeere in sterling money, two hundred, threescore and two poundes, sixteene shillings.

The Solach Bassi, Captaine of his guard, one hundred and twentie aspers, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Giebrigi Bassi, master of the armoury, one hundred and twentie aspers, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Topagi Bassi, Master of the artillerie, one hundred and twentie aspers, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Echim Bassi, Phisition to his person, one hundred and twentie aspers, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

To fourtie Phisitions vnder him, to ech fourtie aspers, is three thousand, eight hundred, three score and sixe pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Mustafaracas spearemen, attending on his person, in number fiue hundred, to either three score aspers, and maketh sterling, threescore and fiue thousand, and seuen hundred pounds.

The Cisingeri gentlemen, attending vpon his diet, fourtie, at fourtie aspers ech of them, and amounteth to sterling by the yeere, three thousand, fiue hundred and foure pounds.

The Chausi Pensioners, foure hundred and fourtie, at thirtie aspers, twenty eight thousand, nine hundred and eight pounds.

The Capagi porters of the Court and City, foure hundred, at eight aspers, and maketh sterling money by the yeere, seuen thousand, and eight pounds.

The Solachi, archers of his guard, three hundred and twenty, at nine aspers, and commeth vnto in English money, the summe of sixe thousand, three hundred and sixe pounds.

The Spahi, men of Armes of the Court and the City, ten thousand, at twenty fiue aspers, and maketh of English money, fiue hundred, forty and seuen thousand, and fiue hundred pounds.

The Ianizaires sixteene thousand, at six aspers, is two hundred and ten thousand, and two hundred and forty pounds.

The Giebegi furbushers of armor, one thousand, fiue hundred, at sixe aspers, and amounteth to sterling money, nineteene thousand, seuen hundred, and fourescore pounds.

The Seiesir, seruitors in his Equier or stable, fiue hundred, at two aspers, and maketh sterling money, two thousand, one hundred, fourescore and ten pounds.

The Saesi, Sadlers and bit makers, fiue hundred, at seuen aspers, seuen thousand, six hundred, threescore and fiue pounds.

The Catergi, Carriers vpon Mules, two hundred, at fiue aspers, two thousand, one hundred, fourescore and ten pounds.

The Cinegi, Carriers vpon Camels, one thousand, fiue hundred, at eight aspers, and amounteth in sterling money, to twenty sixe thousand, two hundred, and fourescore pounds.

The Reiz, or Captaines of the Gallies, three hundred, at ten aspers, and amounteth in English money by the yeere, the summe of sixe thousand, fiue hundred, threescore and ten pounds.

The Alechingi, Masters of the said Gallies, three hundred, at seuen aspers, foure thousand, fiue hundred, fourescore and nineteene pounds.

The Getti, Boateswaines thereof, three hundred, at sixe aspers, is three thousande, nine hundred, fourty and two pounds.

The Oda Bassi, Pursers, three hundred, at fiue aspers, maketh three thousand two hundred, and fourescore pounds.

The Azappi souldiers two thousand sixe hundred at foure Aspers, whereof the six hundred do continually keepe the gallies, two and twentie thousand, seuen hundred fourscore and six pounds.

The Mariers Bassi masters ouer the shipwrights and kalkers of the nauie, nine, at 20. Aspers the piece, amounteth to three thousand fourescore and foure pound, foure shillings.

The Master Dassi shipwrights and kalkers, one thousand at fourteene aspers, which amounteth by the yeere, to thirtie thousand, sixe hundred threescore pound.

Summa totalis of dayly paiments amounteth by the yeere sterling, one million, nine hundred threescore eight thousand, seuen hundred thirty fiue pounds, nineteene shillings eight pence, answered quarterly without default, with the summe of foure hundred fourescore twelue thousand, one hundred fourescore and foure pounds foure shillings eleuen pence, and is for euery day fiue thousand three hundred fourescore and thirteene pounds, fifteene shillings ten pence.

Annuities of lands neuer improued, fiue times more in value then their summes mentioned, giuen by the saide Grand Signior, as followeth.

TO the Viceroy for his Timar or annuitie 60. thousand golde ducats.
To the second Bassa for his annuitie 50. thousand ducats.
To the third Bassa for his annnitie 40. thousand ducats.
To the fourth Bassa for his annuitie 30. thousand ducats.
To the fifth Bassa for his annuitie 20. thousand ducats.
To the Captaine of the Ianizaries 20. thousand ducats.
To the Ieu Merhorbassi master of his horse 15. thousand ducats.
To the Captaine of the pensioners 10. thousand ducats.
To the Captaine of his guard 5. thousand ducats.
Summa totalis 90. thousand li. sterling.

Beside these aboue specified, be sundry other annuities giuen to diuers others of his aforesaid officers, as also to certaine called Sahims, diminishing from three thousand to two hundred ducats, esteemed treble to surmount the annuitie abouesaid.

The Turkes chiefe officers.

THe Viceroy is high Treasurer, notwithstanding that vnder him be three subtreasurers called Teftadars, which bee accomptable to him of the receipts out of Europe, Asia and Africa, saue their yeerely annuitie of lands.

The Lord Chancellor is called Nissangi Bassa, who sealeth with a certaine proper character such licences, safe conducts, passeports, especiall graunts, &c. as proceed from the Grand Signior: notwithstanding all letters to forreine princes so firmed be after inclosed in a bagge, and sealed by the Grand Signior, with a signet which he ordinarily weareth about his necke, credited of them to haue bene of ancient appertayning to king Salomon the wise.

The Admirall giueth his voyce in the election of all Begs, Captaines of the Islandes, to whom hee giueth their charge, as also appointeth the Subbasses, Bayliffes or Constables ouer Cities and Townes vpon the Sea coastes about Constantinople, and in the Archipelago, whereof hee reapeth great profit.

The Subbassi of Pera payeth him yeerely fifteene thousande ducats, and so likewise either of the others according as they are placed.

The Ressistop serueth in office to the Viceroy and Chancellor, as Secretary, and so likewise doeth the Cogie Master of the Rolls, before which two, passe all writings presented to, or granted by the said Viceroy and Chancellor, offices of especiall credite and like profite, moreouer rewarded with annuities of lands.

There are also two chiefe Iudges named Cadi Lesker, the one ouer Europe, and the other ouer Asia and Africa, which in Court doe sit on the Bench at the left hand of the Bassas. These sell all offices to the vnder Iudges of the land called Cadies, whereof is one in euery Citie or towne, before whom all matters in controuersie are by iudgement decided, as also penalties and corrections for crimes ordained to be executed vpon the offenders by the Subbassi.

The number of Souldiers continually attending vpon the Beglerbegs the gouernours of Prouinces and Saniacks, and their petie Captaines mainteined of these Prouinces.

The Beglerbegs of

GRæcia, fourtie thousand persons.
Buda, fifteene thousand persons.
Sclauonia, fifteene thousand persons.
Natolia, fifteene thousand persons.
Caramania, fifteene thousand persons.
Armenia, eighteene thousand persons.
Persia, twentie thousand persons.
Vsdrum, fifteene thousand persons.
Chirusta, fifteene thousand persons.
Caraemiti, thirtie thousand persons.
Gierusal, two and thirtie thousand persons.

The Beglerbegs of

Bagdat, fiue and twentie thousand persons.
Balsara, two and twenty thousand persons.
Lassaija, seuenteene thousand persons.
Alepo, fiue and twentie thousand persons.
Damasco, seuenteene thousand persons.
Cayro, twelue thousand persons.
Abes, twelue thousand persons.
Mecca, eight thousand persons.

Cyprus, eighteene thousand persons.
Tunis in Barbary, eight thousand persons.
Tripolis in Syria, eight thousand persons.
Alger, fourtie thousand persons.

Whose Sangiacks and petie Captaines be three hundred sixtie eight, euery of which retaining continually in pay from fiue hundreth to two hundreth Souldiers, may be one with another at the least, three hundreth thousand persons.

Chiefe officers in his Seraglio about his person. Be these—

CApiaga, High Porter.
Alnader Bassi, Treasurer.
Oda Bassi, Chamberlaine.
Killergi Bassi, Steward.
Saraiaga, Comptroller.
Peskerolen, Groome of the chamber.
Edostoglan, Gentleman of the Ewer.
Sehetaraga, Armour bearer.
Choataraga, he that carieth his riding cloake.
Ebietaraga, Groome of the stoole.

There be many other maner Officers, which I esteeme superfluous to write.

The Turkes yeerely reuenue.

THe Grand Signiors annual reuenue is said to be fourteene Millions and an halfe of golden ducats, which is sterling fiue millions, eight score thousand pounds.

The tribute payd by the Christians his Subiects is one gold ducat yeerely for the redemption of euery head, which may amount vnto not so litle as one Million of golden ducats, which is sterling three hundred threescore thousand pounds.

Moreouer, in time of warre, he exacteth manifolde summes for maintenance of his Armie and Nauie of the said Christians.

The Emperour payeth him yeerely tribute for Hungary, threescore thousand dollers, which is sterling thirteene thousand pound, besides presents to the Viceroy and Bassas, which are said to amount to twentie thousand dollers.

Ambassadors Allowances.

THe Ambassadour of the Emperour is allowed one thousand Aspers the day.

The Ambassadour of the French king heretofore enioyed the like: but of late yeeres by meanes of displeasure conceiued by Mahumet then Viceroy, it was reduced to sixe crownes the day, beside the prouision of his Esquire of his stable.

The Ambassadours of Poland, and for the state of Venice are not Ligiers as these two abouesaid. The said Polack is allowed 12. French crownes the day during his abode, which may be for a moneth. Very seldome do the state of Venice send any Ambassador otherwise, then enforced of vrgent necessity: but in stead thereof keepe their Agent, president ouer other Marchants of them termed a bailife, who hath none allowance of the Grand Signior, although his port and state is in maner as magnifical as the other aforesaid Ambassadors. The Spanish Ambassador was equall with other in Ianizaries: but for so much as he would not according to custome folow the list of other Ambassadors in making presents to ye Grand Signior, he had none alowance. His abode there was 3. yeres, at the end whereof, hauing concluded a truce for six yeres, taking place from his first comming in Nouember last paſt 1580. he was not admitted to the presence of the Grand Signior.

To the Worshipfull and his very louing Vncle M. Rowland Hewish, Esquier, at Sand in Deuonshire.

Sir, considering the goodnesse of your Nature which is woont kindely to accept from a friend, euen of meane things being giuen with a good heart, I haue presumed to trouble you with the reading of this rude discourse of my trauels into Turkie, and of the deliuerie of the present with such other occurrents as there happened woorthie the obseruation: of all which proceedings I was an eie-witnesse, it pleasing the Ambassadour to take mee in with him to the Grand Signior. If for lacke of time to put it in order I haue not performed it so well as it ought, I craue pardon, assuring you that to my knowledge I haue not missed in the trueth of any thing. If you aske me what in my trauels I haue learned, I answere as a noble man of France did to the like demaund, Hoc vnum didici, mundi contemptum: and so concluding with the wise man in the booke of the Preacher, that all is vanitie, and one thing onely is necessarie, I take my leaue and commit you to the Almightie. From London the 16. March 1597.

Your louing Nephew
Richard Wrag.

A description of a Voiage to Constantinople and Syria, begun the 21. of March 1593. and ended the 9. of August, 1595. wherein is shewed the order of deliuering the second Present by Master Edward Barton her maiesties Ambassador, which was sent from her Maiestie to Sultan Murad Can, Emperour of Turkie.

WE set saile in the Ascension of London, a new shippe very well appointed, of two hundred and three score tunnes (whereof was master one William Broadbanke, a prouident and skilfull man in his facultie) from Grauesend the one and twentie of March 1593. And vpon the eight of Aprill folowing wee passed the streights of Gibraltar, and with a small Westerne gale, the 24. of the same, we arriued at Zante an Iland vnder the Venetians. The fourth of May wee departed, and the one and twentie wee arriued at Alexandretta in Cilicia in the very bottome of the Mediterrane sea, a roade some 25. miles distance from Antioch, where our marchants land their goods to bee sent for Aleppo. From thence wee set saile the fift of Iune, and by contrary windes were driuen vpon the coast of Caramania into a road neere a litle Iland where a castle standeth, called Castle Rosso, some thirtie leagues to the Eastwards of the Rhodes, where after long search for fresh water, we could finde none, vntil certaine poore Greekes of the Iland brought vs to a well where we had 5 or 6 tuns. That part of the country next the sea is very barren and full of mountains, yet found we there an olde tombe of marble, with an epitaph of an ancient Greeke caracter, by antiquity neere worne out and past reading; which to the beholders seemed a monument of the greatnesse of the Grecian monarchy.

Candie.

From thence we went to the Rhodes, and by contrary windes were driuen into a port of Candy, called Sittia: this Iland is vnder the Venetians, who haue there 600 souldiers, besides certaine Greeks, continually in pay. Here with contrary winds we stayed six weeks, and in the end, hauing the winde prosperous, we sailed by Nicaria, Pharos, Delos, and Andros, with sight of many other Ilands in the Archipelago, and arriued at the two castles in Hellespont the 24 of August. Within few dayes after we came to Galipoli some thirty miles from this place, where foure of vs tooke a Parma or boat of that place, with two watermen, which rowed us along the Thracian shore to Constantinople, which sometime sailing and sometime rowing, in foure dayes they performed. The first of September we arriued at the famous port of the Grand Signior, where we were not a little welcome to M. Edward Barton vntil then her Maiesties Agent, who (with many other great persons) had for many dayes expected the present. Fiue or sixe dayes after the shippe arriued neere the Seuen towers, which is a very strong hold, and so called of so many turrets, which it hath, standing neere the sea side, being the first part of the city that we came vnto. Heere the Agent appointed the master of the Ascension to stay with the shippe vntill a fitte winde and opportunity serued to bring her about the Seraglio to Salute the Grand Signior in his moskyta or church: for you shall vnderstand that he hath built one neere the wall of his Seraglio or pallace adioyning to the Sea side; whereunto twise or thrise a weeke he resorteth to performe such religious rites as their law requireth: where hee being within few dayes after, our shippe set out in their best maner with flagges, streamers and pendants of diuers coloured silke, with all the mariners, together with most of the Ambassadours men, hauing the winde faire, and came within two cables length of this his moskita, where (hee to his great content beholding the shippe in such brauery) they discharged first two volies of small shot, and then all the great ordinance twise ouer, there being seuen and twentie or eight and twentie pieces in the ship. Which performed, he appointed the Bustangi-Bassa or captaine of the great and spacious garden or parke, to giue our men thankes, with request that some other day they would shew him the like sporte when hee would have the Sultana or Empresse a beholder thereof, which few dayes after at the shippes going to the Custome-house they performed.

The Ascension arriued at the 7 towers.

The ship saluteth the grand Signior.

The grand Signiors salutation thus ended, the master brought the ship to an anker at Rapamat neere the ambassadors house, where hee likewise saluted him with all his great ordinance once ouer, and where he landed the Present, the deliuerie whereof for a time was staied: the cause of which staie it shall neither be dishonorable for our nation, or that woorthie man the ambassador to shew you. At the departure of Sinan Bassa the chiefe Vizir, and our ambassadors great friend toward the warres of Hungarie there was another Bassa appointed in his place, a churlish and harsh natured man, who vpon occasion of certaine Genouezes, escaping out of the castles

The cause of staying the present.

standing toward the Euxine Sea, nowe called the black Sea, there imprisoned, apprehended and threatened to execute one of our Englishmen called Iohn Field, for that hee was taken thereabouts, and knowen not many dayes before to haue brought a letter to one of them: vpon the soliciting of whose libertie there fell a iarre betweene the Bassa (being now chiefe Vizir) and our ambassador, and in choler he gaue her maiesties ambassador such words, as without sustaining some great indignitie hee could not put vp. Whereupon after the arriual of the Present, he made an Arz, that is, a bill of Complaint to the grand Signior against him, the manner in exhibiting whereof is thus performed.

An Arz to the grand Signior.

The plaintifes expect the grand Signiors going abroad from his pallace, either to Santa Sophia or to his church by the sea side, whither, with a Perma (that is one of their vsuall whirries) they approch within some two or three score yards, where the plaintife standeth vp, and holdeth his petition ouer his forehead in sight of the grand Signior (for his church is open to the Sea side) the rest sitting still in the boat, who appointeth one of his Dwarfes to receiue them, and to bring them to him. A Dwarfe, one of the Ambassadors fauorites, so soone as he was discerned, beckned him to the shore side, tooke his Arz, and with speed caried it to the grand Signior. Now the effect of it was this; that except his highnesse would redresse this so great an indignitie, which the Vizir his slaue had offered him and her maiestie in his person, he was purposed to detaine the Present vntill such time as he might by letters ouer-land from her maiestie bee certified, whither she would put vp so great an iniurie as it was. Whereupon he presently returned answere, requesting the ambassador within an houre after to goe to the Douan of the Vizir, vnto whom himselfe of his charge would send a gowne of cloth of gold, and commaund him publikely to put it vpon him, and with kind entertainment to imbrace him in signe of reconciliation. Whereupon our ambassador returning home, tooke his horse, accompanied with his men, and came to the Vizirs court, where, according to the grand Signiors command, he with all shew of kindnesse embraced the ambassador, and with curteous speeches reconciled himselfe, and with his own hands put the gowne of cloth of gold vpon his backe. Which done, hee with his attendants returned home, to the no small admiration of all Christians that

The great hall of Iustice.

Reconciliation with the Vizir made.

heard of it, especially of the French and Venetian ambassadors, who neuer in the like case against the second person of the Turkish Empire durst haue attempted so bold an enterprise with hope of so friendly audience, and with so speedie redresse. This reconciliation with the great Vizir thus made, the ambassador prepared himselfe for the deliuerie of the Present, which vpon the 7 of October 1593. in this maner he performed.

The ambassador goeth to the court with the present.

The Ascension with her flags and streamers, as aforesaid, repaired nigh vnto the place where the ambassador should land to go vp to the Seraglio: for you must vnderstand that all Christian ambassadors haue their dwelling in Pera where most Christians abide, from which place, except you would go 4 or 5 miles about, you cannot go by land to Constantinople, whereas by Sea it is litle broder then the Thames. Our Ambassador likewise apparelled in a sute of cloth of siluer, with an vpper gowne of cloth of gold, accompanied with 7 gentlemen in costly sutes of Sattin, with 40 other of his men very well apparelled, and all in one liuerie of sad French russet cloth gownes, at his house tooke boate: at whose landing the ship discharged all her ordinance, where likewise attended 2 Bassas, with 40 or 50 Chauses to accompany ye ambassador to the court, and also horses for the ambassador and his gentlemen, very richly furnished, with Turkish seruants attendant to take the horses when they should light. The ambassador thus honorably accompanied, the Chauses foremost, next his men on foote all going by two and two, himselfe last with his Chause and Drugaman or Interpreter, and 4 Ianissaries, which he doeth vsually entertaine in his house to accompany him continually abroad, came to the Seraglio about an English mile from the water side, where first hee passed a great gate into a large court (much like the space before Whitehall gate) where he with his gentlemen alighted and left their horses. From hence they passed into an other stately court, being about 6 score in bredth, and some 10 score yards long, with many trees in it: where all the court was with great pompe set in order to entertaine our ambassador. Vpon the right hand all the length of the court was a gallerie arched ouer, and borne vp with stone pillars, much like the Roiall Exchange, where stood most of his guard in rankes from the one end to the other in costly aray, with round head pieces on their heads of mettall and gilt ouer, with a great plume of

The Ambass. came to the Seraglio.

All these are captaines of hundreds and of fifties.

fethers somewhat like a long brush standing vp before. On the left hand stood the Cappagies or porters, and the Chauses. All these courtiers being about the number of 2000. (as I might well gesse) most of them apparelled in cloth of gold, siluer, veluet, sattin and scarlet, did together with bowing their bodies, laying their hands vpon their brests in curteous maner of salutation, entertain the Ambassador: who likewise passing between them, and turning himself sometime to the right hand and sometime to the left, answered them with the like. As he thus passed along, certaine Chauses conducted him to the Douan, which is the seat of Iustice, where certaine dayes of the weeke the grand Vizir, with the other Vizirs, the Cadi-lesker or lord chiefe Iustice, and the Mufti or high priest do sit to determine vpon such causes as be brought before them, which place is vpon the left side of this great court, whither the ambassador with his gentlemen came, where hee found the Vizir thus accompanied as aforesayd, who with great shew of kindnes receiued him: and after receit of her maiesties letters, and conference had of the Present, of her maiesties health, of the state of England, and such other matters as concerned our peaceable traffique in those parts: dinner being prepared was by many of ye Courtiers brought into another inner roome next adioining, which consisted of an hundred dishes or therabouts, most boiled and rosted, where the ambassador accompanied w^t^ the Vizirs went to dinner, his gentlemen likewise with the rest of his men hauing a dinner with the like varietie prepared vpon ye same side of the court, by themselues sate downe to their meat, 40 or 50 Chauses standing at the vpper end attending vpon the gentlemen to see them serued in good order; their drinke was water mingled with rose water and sugar brought in a Luthro (that is a goates skinne) which a man carieth at his backe, and vnder his arme letteth it run out at a spout into cups as men will call for it. The dinner thus with good order brought in, and for halfe an houre with great sobrietie and silence performed, was not so orderly taken vp; for certaine Moglans officers of the kitchin (like her maiesties black guard) came in disordered maner and tooke away the dishes, and he whose hungry eie one dish could not satisfie, turned two or three one into the other, and thus of a sudden was a cleane riddance made of all. The ambassador after dinner with his

The ambassador receiued by the Vizir with all kindnesse.

Diner brought in.

Diner taken away.

gentlemen, by certaine officers were placed at the vpper ende vpon the left side of the court, nere vnto a great gate which gaue entrance to a third court being but litle, paued with stone. In the midst whereof was a litle house built of marble, as I take it, within which sate the grand Signor, according to whose commandement giuen there were gownes of cloth of gold brought out of the wardrope, and put vpon the ambassador and 7 of his gentlemen, the ambassador himselfe hauing 2, one of gold and the other of crimosin veluet, all the rest one a piece. Then certaine Cappagies had the Present, which was in trunks there ready, deliuered them by the ambassadors men, it being 12 goodly pieces of gilt plate, 36 garments of fine English cloth of al colors, 20 garments of cloth of gold, 10 garments of sattin, 6 pieces of fine Holland, and certaine other things of good value; al which were caried round about the court, each man taking a piece, being in number very neere 100 parcels, and so 2 and 2 going round that all might see it, to the greater glory of the present, and of him to whom it was giuen: they went into the innermost court passing by the window of that roome, where the grand Signior sate, who, as it went by to be laid vp in certaine roomes adioining, tooke view of all. Presently after the present followed the ambassador with his gentlemen; at the gate of which court stoode 20 or 30 Agaus which be eunuchs. Within the court yard were the Turkes Dwarfes and Dumbe men, being most of them youths. At the doore of his roome stood the Bustangi-bassa, with another Bassa to lead the ambassador and his folowers to the grand Signior who sate in a chaire of estate, apparelled in a gowne of cloth of siluer. The floore vnder his feete, which part was a foote higher then the rest, was couered with a carpet of green sattin embrodered most richly with siluer, orient perles and great Turkesses; ye other part of the house was couered with a carpet of Cornation sattin imbrodered w^t^ gold, none were in the roome with him, but a Bassa who stood next the wall ouer against him hanging down his head, and looking submissely vpon the ground as all his subiects doe in his presence. The ambassador thus betwixt two which stood at the doore being led in, either of them taking an arme, kissed his hand, and so backward with his face to the Turke they brought him nigh the dore againe, where he stood

Gownes of cloth of gold for the ambassador and his gentlemen.

The Present.

The Present viewed.

The ambassador kisseth the grand Signiors hand.

vntill they had likewise done so with all the rest of his gentlemen. Which ended, the ambassador, according as it is the custome when any present is deliuered, made his three demaunds, such as he thought most expedient for her maiesties honor, and the peaceable traffique of our nation into his dominions: whereunto he answered in one word, Nolo, which is in Turkish as much as, it shal be done: for it is not the maner of the Turkish emperor familiarly to confer with any Christian ambassador, but he appointeth his Vizir in his person to graunt their demaunds if they be to his liking: as to our ambassador he granted all his demands, and gaue order that his daily allowance for his house of mony, flesh, wood, and haie, should be augmented with halfe as much more as it had bene before. Hereupon the ambassador taking his leaue, departed with his gentlemen the same way he came, the whole court saluting him as they did at his comming in: and comming to the second court to take our horses, after we were mounted, we staied halfe an houre, vntil the captain of the guard with 2000 horsemen at the least passed before, after whom folowed 40 or 50 Chauses next before the ambassador to accompany him to his house. And as before at his landing, so now at his taking boat, the ship discharged all her great ordinance, where arriuing, he likewise had a great banquet prepared to entertaine those which came to bring him home. The pompe and solemnitie of the Present, with the day thus ended, he shortly after presented the Sultana or empresse who (by reason that she is mother to him which was heire to the crown Imperial) is had in far greater reuerence then any of his other Queens or concubines. The Present sent her in her maiesties name was a iewel of her maiesties picture, set with some rubies and diamants, 3 great pieces of gilt plate, 10 garments of cloth of gold, a very fine case of glass bottles siluer and gilt, with 2 pieces of fine Holland, which so gratefully she accepted, as that she sent to know of the ambassador what present he thought she might return y^t would most delight her maiestie: who sent word that a sute of princely attire being after the Turkish fashion would for the rarenesse thereof be acceptable in England. Whereupon she sent an vpper gowne of cloth of gold very rich, an vnder gowne of cloth of siluer, and a girdle of Turkie worke, rich and faire, with a letter of gratification, which for the rarenesse of

The ambassadors demands granted.

The Sultanas present.

The Sultanas present to the Queene.

the stile, because you may be acquainted with it, I haue at the ende of this discourse hereunto annexed, which letter and present, with one from the grand Signor, was sent by M. Edward Bushell, and M. William Aldridge ouer-land the 20 of March, who passed through Valachia and Moldauia, and so through Poland, where Michael prince of Valachia, and Aron Voiuoda prince of Moldauia receiuing letters from the ambassador, entertained them with al curtesie, through whose meanes by the great fauour which his lordship had with the grand Signior, they had not long before both of them bene aduanced to their princely dignities. Hee likewise presented Sigala the Admirall of the Seas, with Abrim Bassa, who maried the great Turkes daughter, and all the other Vizirs with diuers pieces of plate, fine English cloth and other costly things: the particulars whereof, to auoid tediousnesse, I omit. All the presents thus ended, the ship shooting ten pieces of ordinance at the Seraglio point, as a last farewell, departed on her iourney for England the first of Nouember, my selfe continuing in Constantinople vntill the last of Iuly after. This yere in the spring there was great preparation for the Hungarian wars: and the great Turke threatned to goe himselfe in person: but like Heliogabalus, his affections being more seruiceable to Venus then to Mars, he stayed at home. Yet a great army was dispatched this yere; who, as they came out of Asia to goe for Hungary, did so pester the streets of Constantinople for the space of two moneths in the spring time, as scarse either Christian or Iew could without danger of losing his money passe vp and downe the city. What insolencies, murders and robberies were committed not onely vpon Christians but also vpon Turks I omit to write, and I pray God in England the like may neuer be seene: and yet I could wish, that such amongst vs as haue inioyed the Gospel with such great and admirable peace and prosperity vnder her Maiesties gouerment this forty yeeres, and haue not all this time brought forth better fruits of obedience to God, and thankfulnesse to her Maiesty, were there but a short time to beholde the miserable condition both of Christians and others liuing vnder such an infidell prince, who not onely are wrapped in most palpable and grosse ignorance of minde, but are cleane without the meanes of the true knowledge of God: I doubt not but the sight hereof (if they be not cleane void of grace) would

Letters sent for England.

The other Vizirs presented.

The Ascension departeth.

stirre them vp to more thankefulnesse to God, that euer they were borne in so happy a time, and vnder so wise and godly a prince professing the true religion of Christ.

The number of souldiours which went to the warres of Hungary this yeere were 470000, as by the particulars giuen by the Admirall to the Ambassadour hereunder doe appeare. Although all these were appointed and supposed to goe, yet the victories which the Christians in the spring had against the Turks strooke such a terrour in many of the Turkish souldiours, as by report diuers vpon the way thither left their Captaines and stole away.

The number of Turkish souldiours which were appointed to goe into Hungary against the Christian Emperour. May 1594.

SInan Bassa generall, with the Saniacke masould, that is, out of office, with the other Saniacks in office or of degree, 40000.
Achmigi, that is, Aduenturers, 50000.
The Agha or Captaine with his Ianisaries, and his Giebegies, 20000.
The Beglerbeg of Græcia, with all his Saniacks, 40000.
The company of Spaheis or horsemen, 10000.
The company of Silitari, 6000.
The company of Sagbulue and of Solbulue both together, 8000.

The Bassa of Belgrad,	80000.
The Bassa of Temiswar.	
The Bassa of Bosna.	
The Bassa of Buda.	
The Saniack of Gersech.	

Out of Asia.

The Bassa of Caramania.	120000
The Bassa of Laras.	
The Bassa of Damasco.	
The Bassa of Suas.	
The Bassa of Van or Nan.	
The Bassa of Vsdrum.	
Of Tartars there be about 100000.	

Thus you may see that the great Turke maketh warre with no small numbers. And in anno 1597, when Sultan Mahomet himselfe went in person into Hungary, if a man may beleeue reports, he had an army of 600000.

For the city of Constantinople you shall vnderstand that it is matchable with any city in Europe, as well in bignesse as for the pleasant situation thereof, and commodious traffike and bringing of all maner of necessary prouision of victuals, and whatsoeuer els mans life for the sustentation thereof shall require, being seated vpon a promontory, looking toward Pontus Euxinus vpon the Northeast, and to Propontis on the Southwest, by which two seas by shipping is brought great store of all maner of victuals. The city it selfe in forme representeth a triangular figure, the sea washing the walles vpon two sides thereof, the other side faceth the continent of Thracia; the grand Signiors seraglio standeth vpon that point which looketh into the sea, being cut off from the city by a wall; so that ye wall of his pallace conteineth in circuit about two English miles: the seuen towers spoken of before stand at another corner, and Constantines olde pallace to the North at the third corner. The city hath a threefolde wall about it; the innermost very high, the next lower then that, and the third a countermure, and is in circuit about ten English miles: it hath foure and twentie gates: and when the empire was remooued out of the West into the East, it was inriched with many spoiles of olde Rome by Vespasian and other emperours, hauing many monuments and pillars in it worthy the obseruation; amongst the rest in the midst of Constantinople standeth one of white marble called Vespasians pillar, of 38 or 40 yards high, which hath from the base to the top proportions of men in armour fighting on horsebacke: it is likewise adorned with diuers goodly buildings and stately Mesquitas, whereof the biggest is Sultan Solimans a great warriour, which liued in the time of Charles the fifth; but the fairest is Santa Sophia, which in the time of the Christian emperours was the chiefe cathedrall church, and is still in greatest account with the great Turke: it is built round like other Greekish churches, the pauements and walles be all of marble, it hath beneath 44 pillars of diuers coloured marble of admirable height and bignesse, which stand vpon great round feet of brasse, much greater then the pillars, and of a great height, some ten yards distant from the wall: from which vnto these pillars is a great gallery built, which goeth round about the church; and vpon the outside of the gallery stand 66 marble pillars which beare vp the round roofe being the top of the church: it hath three pulpits or preaching places, and about 2000 lampes brought in by the Turke. Likewise vpon one side in the top is the picture of Christ with the 12 Apostles, but their faces are defaced, with two or three ancient tombs of Christians: to the West sticketh an arrow in the toppe of the Church, which, as the Turks report, Sultan Mahomet shot when he first tooke the city. Neere adioyning be two chapels of marble, where lie buried most of the emperours with their children and sultanas. The 16 of Iuly, accompanied with some other of our nation we went by water to the Blacke sea, being 16 miles distant from Constantinople, the sea al the way thither being little broader then the Thames; both sides of the shore are beautified with faire and goodly buildings. At the mouth of this Bosphorus lieth a rocke some fourescore yards from the maine land, wherevpon standeth a white marble pillar called Pompeys pillar, the shadow whereof was 23 foote long at nine of the clocke in the forenoone: ouer against it is a turret of stone vpon the maine land 120 steps high, hauing a great glass-lanthorne in the toppe foure yards in diamiter and three in height, with a great copper pan in the midst to holde oile, with twenty lights in it, and it serueth to giue passage into this straight in the night to such ships as come from all parts of those seas to Constantinople: it is continually kept by a Turke, who to y^{t} end hath pay of the grand Signior. And thus hauing spent eleuen moneths in Constantinople, accompanied with a chause, and carying certaine mandates from the grand Signior to the Bassa of Aleppo for the kinde vsage of our nation in those parts, the 30 of Iuly I tooke passage in a Turkish carmosale or shippe bound for Sidon; and passing thorow Propontis, hauing Salimbria with Heraclia most pleasantly situated on the right hand, and Proconesus now called Marmora on the left, we came to Gallipoly, and so by Hellespont, betweene the two castles before named called Sestos and Abydos, famous for the passages made there both by Xerxes and great Alexander, the one into Thracia, the other into Asia, and so by the Sigean Promontory, now called Cape Ianitzary, at the mouth of Hellespont vpon Asia side, where Troy stood, where are yet ruines of olde walles to be seene, with two hils rising in a piramidall forme, not vnlikely to be the tombs of Achilles and Aiax. From thence we sailed along, hauing Tenedos and Lemnos on the right hand, and the Troian fields on the left: at length we came to Mitylen and Sio long time inhabited by the Genoueses, but now vnder the Turke. The Iland is beautified with goodly buildings and pleasant gardens, and aboundeth with fruits, wine, and the gum masticke. From thence sailing alongst the gulfe of Ephesus with Nicaria on the right hand, Samos and Smirna on the left, we came to Patmos, where S. Iohn wrote the Reuelation. The Iland is but small, not aboue fiue miles in compasse: the chiefe thing it yeeldeth is corn: it hath a port for shipping, and in it is a monastery of Greekish Caloieros. From thence by Cos (now called Lango) where Hipocrates was borne: and passing many other Ilands and rocks, we arriued at Rhodes, one of the strongest and fairest cities of the East: here we stayed three or foure dayes; and by reason of a By which went in the ship to Paphos in Cyprus, who vsed me with all kindnesse, I went about the city, and tooke the view of all: which city is still with all the houses and walles thereof maintained in the same order as they tooke it from the Rhodian knights. Ouer the doores of many of the houses, which be strongly built of stone, do remaine vndefaced, the armes of England, France, Spaine, and many other Christian knights, as though the Turkes in the view thereof gloried in the taking of all Christendome, whose armes they beholde. From thence we sailed to Paphos an olde ruinous towne standing vpon the Westerne part of Cyprus, where S. Paul in the Acts conuerted the gouernor. Departing hence, we came to Sidon, by the Turkes called Saytosa, within tenne or twelue miles of the place where Tirus stood, which now being eaten in by the sea, is, as Ezekiel prophesied, a place for the spreading out of a net. Sidon is situated in a small bay at the foot of mount Libanus, vpon the side of an hill looking to the North: it is walled about, with a castle nigh to the sea, and one toward the land which is ruinated, but the walle thereof standeth. Some halfe mile vp toward the mountaine be certaine ruines of buildings, with marble pillars, remaining: heere for three dayes we were kindly entertained of the Captaine of the castle: and in a small barke we sailed from hence along the shore to Tripoli, and so to Alexandretta, where the 24 of August we arriued. From thence with a Venetian carauan we went by land to Aleppo, passing by Antioch, which is seated vpon the side of an hill, whose walles still stand with 360 turrets vpon them, and neere a very great plaine which beareth the name of the city, thorow which runneth the riuer Orontes, in Scripture called Farfar. In Aleppo I stayed vntill February following; in this city, as at a mart, meete many nations out of Asia with the people of Europe, hauing continuall traffike and interchangeable course of marchandise one with another: the state and trade of which place, because it is so well knowen to most of our nation I omitte to write of. The 27 of

February I departed from Aleppo, and the fifth of March imbarked my selfe at Alexandretta in a great ship of Venice called the Nana Ferra, to come to England. The 14 we put into Salino in Cyprus, where the ship staying many dayes to lade cotton wool, and other commodities, in the meane time accompanied with M. William Barret my countrey man, the master of the ship a Greeke, and others wee tooke occasion to see Nicosia, the chiefe city of this Iland, which was some twenty miles from this place, which is situated at the foot of an hill: to the East is a great plaine, extending it selfe in a great length from the North to the South: it is walled about, but of no such strength as Famagusta (another city in this Iland neere the Sea side) whose walles are cut out of the maine rocke. In this city be many sumptuous and goodly buildings of stone, but vninhabited; the cause whereof doth giue me iust occasion to shew you of a rare iudgement of God vpon the owners sometime of these houses, as I was credibly informed by a Cipriot, a marchant of great wealth in this city. Before it came in subiection to the Turks, while it was vnder the Venetians, there were many barons and noble men of the Cipriots, who partly by vsurping more superiority ouer the common people then they ought, and partly through their great reuenues which yeerly came in by their cotton wooll and wines, grew so insolent and proud, and withall so impiously wicked, as that they would at their pleasure command both the wiues and children of their poore tenants to serue their vncleane lusts, and holding them in such slauery as though they had beene no better then dogges, would wage them against a grayhound or spaniell, and he who woon the wager should euer after holde them as his proper goods and chattels, to doe with them as he listed, being Christians as well as themselues, if they may deserue so good a name. As they behaued themselues most vnchristianly toward their brethren, so and much more vngodly (which I should haue put in the first place) did they towards God: for as though they were too great, standing on foot or kneeling to serue God, they would come riding on horsebacke into the church to heare their masse: which church now is made a publicke basistane or market place for the Turkes to sell commodities in: but beholde the iudgement of the righteous God, who payeth the sinner measure for measure. The Turkes the yeere before the ouerthrowe giuen them at Lepanto by Don Iohn tooke Cyprus. These mighty

A great iudgement of God vpon the noble men of Cyprus.

Nimrods fled some in holes and some into mountaines to hide themselues; wheréupon the Turkes made generall proclamation, that if they would all come in and yeeld themselues, they would restore them to their former reuenues and dignities: who not mistrusting the mischieuous pretense of the Turkes, assembled together to make themselues knowen; whom after the Turkes had in possession, they (as the Lords executioners) put them with their wiues and children all to the sword, pretending thereby to cut of all future rebellion, so that at this day is not one of the noble race knowen aliue in the Iland, onely two or three remaine in Venice but of litle wealth, which in the time of the warres escaped. After we had stayed in this Iland some thirty dayes, we set saile in the foresayd shippe being about the burthen of 900 tunnes, hauing in her passengers of diuers nations, as Tartars, Persians, Iewes, and sundry Christians. Amongst all which I had often conference with a Iew, who by reason of his many yeeres education at Safet a place in Iudea neere Ierusalem, where they study the Rabbines with some other arts as they thinke good, as also for his trauels into Persia and Ormus, he seemed to be of good experience in matters abroad, who related vnto me such conference as he had with a Baniane at Ormus, being one of the Indians inhabiting the countrey of Cambaia. This Baniane being a Gentile had skill in Astronomie, as many of that nation haue, who by his books written in his owne tongue and Characters, could tell the time of Eclipses both of Sunne and Moone, with the Change and Full, and by iudgement in Astrologie gaue answere to any question demanded. Being asked concerning his opinion in religion, what he thought of God? He made answere that they held no other god but the sun, (to which planet they pray both at the rising and setting) as I haue seene sundry doe in Aleppo: his reason was drawen from the effects which it worketh in giuing light to the moone and other starres, and causing all things to grow and encrease vpon the earth: answere was made, that it did moue with the rest as the wheeles of a clocke, and therefore of force must haue a moouer. Likewise in the Eclipse being darkened it is manifestly prooued that it is not god, for God is altogether goodnesse and brightnesse, which can neither be darkened nor receiue detriment or hurt: but the Sunne receiueth both in the Eclipse, as is aparant: to which hee could not answere; but so they had receiued from their ancestors, that it was without beginning or ende, as in any Orbicular or round

Indians skilful in Astronomy.

body neither beginning or end could be found. He likewise sayd, that there were other Gentiles in yᵉ Indies which worship the moone as chiefe, and their reason is. The moone when she riseth goeth with thousands of starres accompanied like a king, and therefore is chiefe: but the Sunne goeth alone, and therefore not so great. Against whom the Banianes reason, that it is not true, because the Moone and starres receiue their light from the Sunne, neither doth the Sunne vouchsafe them his company but when he list, and therefore like a mighty prince goeth alone, yet they acknowledge the Moone as Queene or Viceroy. Law they hold none, but only seuen precepts which they say were giuen them from their father Noe, not knowing Abraham or any other. First, to honor father and mother; secondly, not to steale; thirdly not to commit adultery; fourthly not to kill any thing liuing; fiftly, not to eat any thing liuing; sixtly not to cut their haire; seuenthly to go barefoot in their churches. These they hold most strictly, and by no means will breake them: but he that breaketh one is punished with twenty stripes; but for the greatest fault they will kill none, neither by a short death nor a long, onely he is kept some time in prison with very little meat, and hath at the most not aboue twenty or fiue and twenty stripes. In the yeere they haue 16 feasts, and then they go to their church, where is pictured in a broad table the Sun, as we vse to paint it, the face of a man with beames round about, not hauing any thing els in it. At their feast they spot their faces in diuers parts with saffron all yellow, and so walke vp and downe the streets; and this they doe as a custome. They hold, there shalbe a resurrection, and all shall come to iudgement, but the account shalbe most streight, insomuch that but one of 10000 shalbe receiued to fauor, and those shall liue againe in this world in great happinesse: the rest shalbe tormented. And because they will escape this iudgment, when any man dieth, he and his wife be both burnt together euen to ashes, and then they are thrown into a river, and so dispersed as though they had neuer bene. If the wife will not burne with her dead husband, she is holden euer after as a whore. And by this meanes they hope to escape the iudgement to come. As for the soule, that goeth to the place from whence it came, but where the place is they know not. That the body should not be made againe they reason wᵗ the philosophers, saying, that of nothing nothing can be

The seven precepts of Banianes.

made (not knowing that God made the whole world and their god the Sun of nothing) but beholding the course of nature, that nothing is made but by a meanes, as by the seed of a man is made another, and by corne cast into the ground there commeth vp new corne: so, say they, man cannot be made except some part of him be left, and therefore they burne the whole: for if he were buried in the earth, they say there is a small bone in the necke which would neuer be consumed: or if he were eaten by a beast, that bone would not consume, but of that bone would come another man; and then the soule being restored againe, he should come into iudgement, whereas now the body being destroyed, the soule shall not be iudged: for their opinion is, that both body and soule must be vnited together, as they haue sinned together, to receiue iudgement; and therefore the soule alone cannot. Their seuen precepts which they keepe so strictly are not for any hope of reward they haue after this life, but onely that they may be blessed in this world, for they thinke that he which breaketh them shall haue ill successe in all his businesse.

They say, the three chiefe religions in the world be of the Christians, Iewes, and Turks, and yet but one of them true: but being in doubt which is the truest of the three, they will be of none: for they hold that all these three shall be iudged, and but few of them which be of the true shall be saued, the examination shall be so straight; and therefore, as I haue sayd before, to preuent this iudgement, they burne their bodies to ashes. They say, these three religions haue too many precepts to keepe them all wel, and therefore wonderfull hard it wil be to make account, because so few doe obserue all their religion aright. And thus passing the time for the space of three moneths in this sea voyage, we arriued at Venice the tenth of Iune: and after I had seene Padua, with other English men, I came the ordinary way ouer the Alpes, by Augusta, Noremberg, and so for England; where to the praise of God I safely arriued the ninth of August 1595.

The manner of the entring of Soliman the great Turke, with his armie into Aleppo in Syria, marching towards Persia against the Great Sophie, the fourth day of Nouember, 1553, noted by Master Anthony Ienkinson, present at that time.

THere marched before the Grand Signior, otherwise called the great Turke, 6000 Esperes, otherwise called light horsemen very brave, clothed all in scarlet.

After, marched 10000 men, called Nortans, which be tributaries to the Great Turke, clothed all in yellow veluet, and hats of the same, of the Tartary fashion, two foote long, with a great role of the same colour about their foreheads, richly decked, with their bowes in their hands, of the Turkish fashion.

After them marched foure Captaines, men of armes, called in Turkish Saniaques, clothed all foure in crimson veluet, euery one hauing vnder his banner twelue thousand men of armes well armed with their morrions vpon their heads, marching in good order, with a short weapon by their sides, called in their language, Simiterro.

After came 16000 Ianizaries, called the slaues of the Grand Signior, all a foote, euery one hauing his harquebush, who be his gard, all clothed in violet silke, and apparelled vpon their heads with a strange forme, called Cuocullucia, fashioned in this sort: the entering in of the forehead is like a skull made of white veluet, and hath a traine hanging downe behind, in manner of a French hoode, of the same colour, and vpon the forepart of the said skull, iust in the middes of his forehead there is standing bolt vpright like a trunke of a foote long of siluer, garnished most richly with Goldsmiths worke, and precious stones, and in the top of the said trunke a great bush of fethers, which waueth vp and downe most brauely when he marcheth.

After this, there cam 1000. pages of honour, all clothed in cloth of gold, the halfe of them carying harquebushes, and the other halfe, Turkish bowes, with the trusses of arrowes, marching in good order.

Then came three men of armes well armed, and vpon their harnesse coates of the Turkes fashion, of Libard skinnes, and murrions vpon their heads, their speares charged, and at the end of their staffe hard by ye head of the speare, a horse taile died in a bloody colour, which is their ensigne: they be the chalengers for the Turkes owne person.

After them came seuen pages of honour in cloth of siluer, vpon seuen white horses, which horses were couered with cloth of siluer, all embrodered and garnished with precious stones, emerauds, diamonds, and rubies most richly.

After them also came sixe more pages of honour, clothed in cloth of gold, euery one hauing his bowe in his hand, and his fawchine of the Turkes fashion by his side.

Immediately after them came the great Turke himselfe with great pompe and magnificence, vsing in his countenance and gesture a wonderfull maiestie, hauing onely on each side of his person one page clothed with cloth of gold: he himselfe was mounted vpon a goodly white horse, adorned with a robe of cloth of gold, embrodered most richly with the most precious stones, and vpon his head a goodly white tucke, containing in length by estimation fifteene yards, which was of silke and linnen wouen together, resembling something Callicut cloth, but is much more fine and rich, and in the top of his crowne, a litle pinnach of white Ostrich feathers, and his horse most richly apparelled in all points correspondent to the same.

After him folowed sixe goodly yong ladies, mounted vpon fine white hackneis, clothed in cloth of siluer, which were of the fashion of mens garments, embrodered very richly with pearle and precious stones, and had vpon their heads caps of Goldsmiths worke, hauing great flackets of haire, hanging out on each side, died as red as blood, and the nailes of their fingers died of the same colour, euery of them hauing two eunuches on each side, and litle bowes in their hands, after an Antike fashion.

After marched ye great Basha chiefe conductor of the whole army, clothed with a robe of Dollymant crimson, and vpon the same another short garment very rich, and about him fiftie Ianizaries afoote, of his owne gard, all clothed in crimson veluet, being armed as the Turks owne Ianizaries.

Then after ensued three other Bashas, with slaues about them, being afoote, to the number of three thousand men.

After came a companie of horsemen very braue, and in all points well armed, to the number of foure thousand.

All this aforesayd army, most pompous to behold, which was in number foure score and eight thousand men, encamped about the citie of Aleppo, and the Grand Signior himselfe was lodged within the towne, in a goodly castle, situated vpon a high mountaine: at the foote whereof runneth a goodly riuer, which is a branch of that famous riuer Euphrates.

The rest of his armie passed ouer the mountaines of Armenia called now the mountaines of Camarie, which are foure dayes iourney from Aleppo, appointed there to tary the comming of the Grand Signior, with the rest of his army, intending to march into Persia, to giue battel to the great Sophie. So the whole armie of the Grand Signior, containing as well those that went by the mountaines, as also those that came to Aleppo in company with him, with horsemen and footemen, and the conductors of the camels and victuals, were the number of 300000 men.

The camels which carried munition and vitailes for the said army, were in number 200000.

A note of the presents that were giuen at the same time in Aleppo, to the grand Signior, and the names of the presenters.

FIrst the Basha of Aleppo, which is as a Viceroy, presented 100. garments of cloth of gold, and 25. horses.

The Basha of Damasco, presented 100. garments of cloth of gold, and twentie horses, with diuers sorts of comfits, in great quantitie.

The Basha of Aman presented 100. garments of cloth of gold, 20. horses, and a cup of gold, with two thousand duckets.

The Saniaque of Tripolis presented six camels, charged all with silkes, 20. horses, and a little clocke of gold, garnished with precious stones, esteemed worth two hundred duckets.

The Consul of the company of the Venetians in Tripolis, came to kisse the grand Signiors hand, and presented him a great basin of gold, and therein 4000. duckets Venetians.

The safeconduct or priuiledge giuen by Sultan Solyman the great Turke, to master Anthony Ienkinson at Aleppo in Syria in the yeere 1553.

SVltan Solyman, &c. to all Viceroyes, Saniaques, Cadies, and other our Iusticers, Officers, and subiects of Tripolis in Syria, Constantinople, Alexandria in Ægypt, and of all other townes and cities vnder our dominion and iurisdiction : We will and command you, that when you shall see Anthony Ienkinson, bearer of these present letters, merchant of London in England, or his factor, or any other bearing the sayd letter for him, arriue in our ports and hauens, with his ship or ships, or other vessels whatsoeuer, that you suffer him to lade or vnlade his merchandise wheresoeuer it shall seeme good vnto him, traffiking for himelfe in all our countreys and dominions, without hindering or any way disturbing of him, his ship, his people or merchandise, and without enforcing him to pay any other custome or toll whatsoeuer, in any sort, or to any persons whatsoeuer they be, saue onely our ordinarie duties contained in our custome houses, which when he hath paied, we will that he be franke and free, as well for himselfe as for his people, merchandise, ship or ships, and all other vessels whatsoeuer : and in so doing that he may traffike, bargaine, sell and buy, lade and vnlade, in all our foresayd Countreys, lands and dominions, in like sort, and with the like liberties and priuiledges, as the Frenchmen and Venetians vse, and enioy, and more if it bee possible, without the hinderance or impeachment of any man. And furthermore, wee charge and commaund all Viceroyes, and Consuls of the French nation, and of the Venetians, and all other Consuls resident in our Countreys, in what port or prouince soeuer they be, not to constraine, or cause to constraine, by them, or the sayd Ministers and Officers whatsoeuer they be, the sayd Anthony Ienkinson, or his factor, or his seruants, or deputies, or his merchandise, to pay any kind of consullage, or other right whatsoeuer, or to intermeddle or hinder his affaires, and not to molest nor trouble him any manner of way, because our will and pleasure is, that he shall not pay in all our Countreys, any other then our ordinarie custome. And in case any man hinder and impeach him, aboue, and besides these our present letters, wee charge you most expressly to defend and assist him agaynst the sayd Consuls, and if they will not obey our present commandement, that you aduertise vs thereof, that we may take such order for the same, that others may take example thereby. Moreouer we commaund all our Captaines of our Gallies, and their Lieutenants, be they Foister or other Vessels, that when they shall finde the sayd Ienkinson, or his factor, his ship or ships, with his seruaunts and merchandise, that they hurt him not neither in body nor goods, but that rather they assist and defend him agaynst all such as seeke to doe him wrong, and that they ayde and helpe him with vitailes, according to his want, and that whosoeuer shall see these presents, obey the same, as they will auoyd the penaltie in doing the contrary. Made in Aleppo of Syria, the yeere 961. of our holy prophet Mahomet, and in the yeere of Iesus, 1553. signed with the scepter and signet of the grand Signior, with his owne proper hand.

Letters concerning the voyage of M. Iohn Newbery and M. Ralph Fitch, made by the way of the Leuant Sea to Syria, and ouerland to Balsara, and thence into the East Indies, and beyond, In the yeere 1583.

A letter written from the Queenes Maiestie, to Zelabdin Echebar, King of Cambaia, and sent by Iohn Newbery. In February Anno 1583.

ELizabeth by the grace of God &c. To the most inuincible, and most mightie prince, lord Zelabdim Echebar king of Cambaya. Inuincible Emperor, &c. The great affection which our Subiects haue, to visit the most distant places of the world, not without good will and intention to introduce the trade of marchandize of al nations whatsoeuer they can, by which meanes the mutual and friendly trafique of marchandize on both sides may come, is the cause that the bearer of this letter Iohn Newbery, ioyntly with those that be in his company, with a curteous and honest boldnesse, doe repaire to the borders and countreys of your Empire, we doubt not but that your imperiall Maiestie through your royal grace, will fauourably and friendly accept him. And that you would doe it the rather for our sake, to make vs greatly beholding to your Maiestie; wee should more earnestly, and with more wordes require it, if wee did think it needful. But by the singular report that is of your imperial Maiesties humanitie in these vttermost parts of the world, we are greatly eased of that burden, and therefore we vse the fewer and lesse words: onely we request that because they are our subiects, they may be honestly intreated and receiued. And that in respect of the hard iourney which they haue vndertaken to places so far distant, it would please your Maiestie with some libertie and securitie of voiage to gratifie it, with such priuileges as to you shall seeme good: which curtesie if your Imperiall maiestie shal to our subiects at our requests performe, wee according to our royall honour, wil recompence the same with as many deserts as we can. And herewith we bid your Imperial Maiestie to farewel.

A letter written by her Maiestie to the King of China, in Februarie 1583.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, &c. Most Imperial and inuincible prince, our honest subiect Iohn Newbery the bringer hereof, who with our fauour hath taken in hand the voyage which now hee pursueth to the parts and countreys of your Empire, not trusting vpon any other ground then vpon the fauour of your Imperiall clemencie and humanitie, is moued to vndertake a thing of so much difficultie, being perswaded that hee hauing entered into so many perils, your Maiestie will not dislike the same, especially if it may appeare that it be not damageable vnto your royall Maiestie, and that to your people it will bring some profite: of both which things he not doubting, with more willing minde hath prepared himselfe for his destinated voyage vnto vs well liked of. For by this meanes we perceiue, that the profit which by the mutual trade on both sides, al the princes our neighbors in ye West do receiue, your Imperial maiestie and those that be subiect vnder your dominion, to their great ioy and benefit shal haue the same, which consisteth in the transporting outward of such things whereof we haue plenty, and in bringing in such things as we stand in need of. It cannot otherwise be, but that seeing that we are borne and made to haue need one of another, and that wee are bound to aide one another, but that your imperial Maiestie wil wel like of it, and by your subiects w^t like indeuor wil be accepted. For the increase whereof, if your imperial Maiestie shall adde the securitie of passage, with other priuileges most necessary to vse the trade with your men, your maiestie shall doe that which belongeth to a most honorable and liberal prince, and deserue so much of vs, as by no continuance or length of time shalbe forgotten. Which request of ours we do most instantly desire to be taken in good part of your maiestie, and so great a benefit towards vs and our men, we shall endeuor by diligence to requite when time shal serue thereunto. The God Almighty long preserue your Imperial maiestie.

A letter of M. Iohn Newbery, written from Alepo, to M. Richard Hakluyt of Oxford, the 28 of May, Anno 1583.

RIght wellbeloued, and my assured good friend, I heartily commend me vnto you, hoping of your good health, &c. After we set saile from Grauesend, which was the 13. day of February last, wee remained vpon our coast vntill the 11. day of March, and that day we set saile from Falmouth, and neuer ankered till wee arriued in the road of Tripolie in Syria, which was the last day of Aprill last past, where wee stayed 14. dayes: and the twentie of this present we came hither to Alepo, and with Gods helpe, within fiue or sixe dayes goe from hence towards the Indies. Since my comming to Tripolis I haue made very earnest inquirie both there and here, for the booke of Cosmographie of Abilfada Ismael, but by no meanes can heare of it. Some say that possibly it may be had in Persia, but notwithstanding I will not faile to make inquirie for it, both in Babylon, and in Balsara, and if I can finde it in any of these places, I wil send it to you from thence. The letter which you deliuered me for to copy out, that came from M. Thomas Steuens in Goa, as also the note you gaue mee of Francis Fernandes the Portugal, I brought thence with me among other writings vnawares, the which I haue sent you here inclosed. Here is great preparation for the warres in Persia, and from hence is gone the Bassa of a towne called Rahemet, and shortly

Abilfada Ismael his Cosmographie.

after goeth the Bassa of Tripolis, and the Bassa of Damasco, but they haue not all with them aboue 6000. men from hence, and they goe to a towne called Asmerome, which is three dayes iourney from Trapezunde, where they shal meete with diuers captaines and souldiers that come from Constantinople and other places thereabout, which goe altogether into Persia. This yeere many men goe into the warres, and so hath there euery yeere since the beginning thereof, which is eight yeeres or thereabouts, but very fewe of them returne againe. Notwithstanding, they get of the Persians, and make castles and holds in their countrey. I pray you make my hearty commendations to master Peter Guillame, and master Philip Iones, and to M. Walter Warner, and to all the rest of our friends. Master Fitch hath him heartily commended vnto you: and so I commit you to the tuition of the Almightie, who blesse and keepe you, and send vs a ioyfull meeting. From Alepo, the 28. of May 1583.

Your louing friend to command in all that I may.
Iohn Newberie.

Another letter of the said M. Newberie, written to Master Leonard Poore of London from Alepo.

RIght welbeloued, my very heartie commendations vnto you, and the rest of my friends remembred. My last I sent you was the 25. of February last, from Dele out of the Downes, after which time with contrary windes wee remained vpon our owne coast, vntill the 11. day of March, and then wee set saile from Falmouth, and the thirteenth day the winde came contrary with a very great storme, which continued eight dayes, and in this great storme wee had some of our goods wette, but God bee thanked no great hurt done. After which time we sailed with a faire wind within the Streights, and so remained at Sea, and ankered at no place vntil our comming into the roade of Tripolis in Syria, which was the last day of April. This was a very good passage. God make vs thankfull for it. The foureteenth day of this present wee came from Tripolis, and the twentieth day arriued here in Alepo, and with the helpe of God to morrowe or next day, wee beginne our voyage towards Babylon and Balsara, and so into India. Our friend Master Barret hath him commended to you, who hath sent you in the Emanuel a ball of Nutmegs for the small trifles

March 11.

The last of April.

you sent him, which I hope long since you haue receiued. Also hee hath by his letter certified you in what order hee solde those things, whereof I can say nothing, because I haue not seene the accompt thereof, neither haue demaunded it: for euer since our comming hither hee hath bene still busie about the dispatch of the shippe, and our voyage, and I likewise in buying of things here to cary to Balsara, and the Indies. Wee haue bought in currall for 1200. and odde ducats, and amber for foure hundreth ducates, and some sope and broken glasse, with all other small trifles, all which things I hope will serue very wel for those places that wee shall goe vnto. All the rest of the accompt of the Barke Reinolds was sent home in the Emanuel, which was 3600. ducats, which is 200. pound more then it was rated. For master Staper rated it but 1100. li. and it is 1300. pound, so that our part is 200. pound, besides such profit as it shall please God to sende thereof: wherefore you shall doe very well to speake to M. Staper for the accompt. And if you would content your selfe to trauell for three or foure yeeres, I would wish you to come hither or goe to Cairo, if any goe thither. For wee doubt not if you had remained there but three or foure moneths, you would like so well of the place, that I thinke you would not desire to returne againe in three or foure yeeres. And, if it should be my chance to remaine in any place out of England, I would choose this before all other that I know. My reason is, the place is healthfull and pleasant, and the gaines very good, and no doubt the profit will bee hereafter better, things being vsed in good order: for there should come in euery ship the fourth part of her Cargason in money, which would helpe to put away our commodities at a very good price. Also to haue two very good ships to come together, would doe very well: for in so doing, the danger of the voyage might be accompted as little as from London to Antwerpe. Master Giles Porter and master Edmund Porter, went from Tripolis in a small barke to Iaffa, the same day that we came from thence, which was the 14 day of this present, so that no doubt but long since they are in Ierusalem: God send them and vs safe returne. At this instant I haue received the account of M. Barret, and the rest of the rings, with two and twentie duckats, two medines in readie money. So there is nothing remaining in his hands but a few bookes, and with Thomas Bostocke I left certaine small trifles,

Currall. Amber greese. Sope. Broken glasse.

which I pray you demaund. And so once againe with my hearty commendations I commit you to the tuition of the almightie, who alwayes preserue vs. From Aleppo the 29 of May 1583.

Yours assured,

Iohn Newberie.

Another letter of Master Newberie to the aforesaide M. Poore, written from Babylon.

The best sort of spices at Babylon.

Balsara. Ormus.

MY last I sent you, was the 29 of May last past from Aleppo, by George Gill the purser of the Tiger, which the last day of the same moneth came from thence, and arriued at Feluge the 19 day of Iune, which Feluge is one dayes iourney from hence. Notwithstanding some of our company came not hither till the last day of the last moneth, which was for want of Camels to cary our goods: for at this time of the yeere, by reason of the great heate that is here, Camels are very scant to be gotten. And since our comming hither we haue found very small sales, but diuers say that in the winter our commodities will be very well sold, I pray God their words may prooue true. I thinke cloth, kersies and tinne, haue neuer bene here at so low prices as they are now. Notwithstanding, if I had here so much readie money as the commodities are woorth, I would not doubt to make a very good profite of this voiage hither, and to Balsara, and so by Gods helpe there will be reasonable profite made of the voiage. But with halfe money and halfe commoditie may be bought here the best sort of spices, and other commodities that are brought from the Indies, and without money there is here at this instant small good to be done. With Gods helpe two days hence, I minde to goe from hence to Balsara, and from thence of force I must goe to Ormus for want of a man that speaketh the Indian tongue. At my being in Aleppo I hired two Nazaranies, and one of them hath bene twise in the Indies, and hath the language very well, but he is a very lewde fellow, and therefore I will not take him with me.

Here follow the prices of wares as they are worth here at this instant.

Cloues and Maces, the bateman, 5 duckats.

Cynamon 6 duckats, and few to be gotten.

Nutmegs, the bateman, 45 medins, and 40 medins maketh a duckat.

Ginger, 40 medins.

Pepper, 75 medins.

Turbetta, the bateman, 50 medins.

Neel the churle, 70 duckats, and a churle is 27 rottils and a halfe of Aleppo.

Silke, much better then that which commeth from Persia, 11 duckats and a halfe the bateman, and euery bateman here maketh 7 pound and 5 ounces English waight. From Babylon the 20 day of Iuly, 1583.

Yours, Iohn Newberie.

Master Newberie his letter from Ormus, to M. Iohn Eldred and William Shals at Balsara.

RIght welbeloued and my assured good friends, I heartily commend me vnto you, hoping of your good healths, &c. To certifie you of my voiage, after I departed from you, time wil not permit: but the 4 of this present we arriued here, and the 10 day I with the rest were committed to prison, and about the middle of the next moneth, the Captaine wil send vs all in his ship for Goa. The cause why we are taken, as they say, is, for that I brought letters from Don Antonio. But the trueth is, Michael Stropene was the onely cause, vpon letters that his brother wrote him from Aleppo. God knoweth how we shall be delt withall in Goa, and therefore if you can procure our masters to send the king of Spaine his letters for our releasement, you should doe vs great good: for they cannot with iustice put vs to death. It may be that they will cut our throtes, or keepe vs long in prison: Gods will be done. All those commodities that I brought hither, had beene very well sold, if this trouble had not chanced. You shall do well to send with all speed a messenger by land from Balsara to Aleppo, for to certifie of this mischance, although it cost thirtie or fortie crownes, for that we may be the sooner released, and I shalbe the better able to recouer this againe which is now like to be lost: I pray you make my heartie commendations, &c., from out of the prison in Ormuz, this 21 of September, 1583.

His second Letter to the foresaid Master Iohn Eldred and William Shales.

THe barke of the Iewes is arriued here two daies past, by whom I know you did write, but your letters are not like to come to my handes. This bringer hath shewed me here very great courtesie, wherefore I pray you shew him what fauor you may. About the middle of the next moneth I thinke we shall depart from hence, God be our guide. I thinke Andrew will goe by land to Aleppo, wherein I pray you further him what you may: but if he should not goe, then I pray you dispatch away a messenger with as much speede as possible you may. I can say no more, but do for me as you would I should do for you in the like cause, and so with my very hearty commendations, &c. From out of the prison in Ormuz, this 24 day of September, 1583.

Yours, Iohn Newberie.

His third Letter to Maister Leonard Poore, written from Goa.

Michael Stropene an Italian accused our men to be spies.

MY last I sent you was from Ormuz, whereby I certified you what had happened there vnto me, and the rest of my company, which was, that foure dayes after our arriuall there, we were all committed to prison, except one Italian which came with me from Aleppo, whom the Captaine never examined, onely demaunded what countryman he was, but I make account Michael Stropene, who accused vs, had informed the Captaine of him. The first day we arriued there, this Stropene accused vs that we were spies sent from Don Antonio, besides diuers other lies: nothwithstanding if we had beene of any other countrey then of England, we might freely haue traded with them. And although we be Englishmen, I know no reason to the contrary, but that we may trade hither and thither as well as other nations, for all nations doe, and may come freely to Ormuz, as Frenchmen, Flemmings, Almains, Hungarians, Italians, Greekes, Armenians, Nazaranies, Turkes and Moores, Iewes and Gentiles, Persians, Moscouites, and there is no nation that they seeke for to trouble, except ours: wherefore it were contrary to all iustice and reason that they should suffer all nations to trade with them, and to forbid vs. But now I haue as great liberty as any other nation, except it be to go out of the countrey, which thing as yet I desire not. But I thinke hereafter, and before it be long, if I shall be desirious to go from hence, that they wil not deny me licence. Before we might be suffered to come out of prison, I was forced to put in suerties for 2000 pardaus, not to depart from hence without licence of the viceroy: otherwise except this, we haue as much libertie as any other nation, for I haue our goods againe, and haue taken an house in the chiefest streete in the towne, called the Rue dreete, where we sell our goods.

Two causes of our mens imprisonmentat Ormus.

There were two causes which moued the captaine of Ormus to imprison vs, and afterwards to send vs hither. The first was, because Michael Stropene had accused vs of many matters, which were most false. And the second was for that M. Drake at his being at Maluco, caused two pieces of his ordinance to be shot at a gallion of the kings of Portugall, as they say. But of these things I did not know at Ormus: and in the ship that we were sent in came the chiefest iustice in Ormus, who was called Aueador generall of that place, he had been there three yeeres, so that now his time was expired: which Aueador is a great friend to the captaine of Ormus, who, certaine dayes after our comming from thence, sent for mee into his chamber, and there beganne to demaund of me many things, to the which I answered: and amongst the rest, he said, that Master Drake was sent out of England with many ships, and came to Maluco, and there laded cloues, and finding a gallion there of the kings of Portugall, hee caused two pieces of his greatest ordinance to be shot at the same: and so perceiuing that this did greatly grieue them, I asked, if they would be reuenged of me for that which M. Drake had done: To the which he answered, No: although his meaning was to the contrary.

He said moreouer, that the cause why the captaine of Ormus did send me for Goa, was, for that the Viceroy would vnderstand of mee, what newes there was of Don Antonio, and whether he were in England, yes or no, and that it might be all for the best that I was sent hither, the which I trust in God wil so fall out, although contrary to his expectation: for had it not pleased God to put into the minds of the archbishop and other two Padres or Iesuits of S. Pauls college to stand our friends, we might haue rotted in prison. The archbishop is a very good man, who hath two yong men to his seruantes, the one of them was borne at Hamborough, and is called Bernard Borgers: and the other was borne at Enchuysen whose name is Iohn Linscot, who did vs great pleasure; for by them the archbishop was many times put in minde of vs.* And the two good fathers of S. Paul, who trauelled very much for vs, the one of them is called Padre Marke, who was borne in Bruges in Flanders, and the other was borne in Wiltshire in England, and is called †Padre Thomas Steuans.

The author of the book of the East Indies.

Also I chaunced to finde here a young man, who was borne in Antwerpe, but the most part of his bringing vp hath beene in London, his name is Francis de Rea, and with him it was my hap to be acquainted in Aleppo, who also hath done me great pleasure here.

In the prison at Ormus we remained many dayes, also we lay a long time at sea comming hither, and forthwith at our arriual here were caried to prison, and the next day after were sent for before the Aueador, who is the chiefest iustice, to be examined: and when we were examined, he presently sent vs backe againe to prison.

Iames Storie their painter.

And after our being here in prison 13. dayes, Iames Storie went into the monastery of S. Paul, where he remaineth, and is made one of the company, which life he liketh very well.

They arriued at Goa the 20 of Nouember 1583.

And vpon S. Thomas day (which was 22 dayes after our arriuall here) I came out of prison, and the next day after came out Ralph Fitch, and William Bets.

If these troubles had not chanced, I had beene in possibility to haue made as good a voyage as euer any man made with so much money. Many of our things I haue solde very well, both here and at Ormus in prison, notwithstanding the captaine willed me (if I would) to sell what I could before we imbarked: and so with officers I went diuers times out of the castle in the morning, and solde things, and at night returned againe to the prison, and all things that I solde they did write, and at our imbarking from thence, the captain gaue order that I should deliuer all my mony with the goods into the hands of the scriuano, or purser of the ship, which I did, and the scriuano made a remembrance, which he left there with the captaine, that my selfe and the rest with money and goods he should deliuer into the hands of the Aueador generall of India: but at our arriuall here, the Aueador would neither meddle with goods nor money, for that he could not proue any thing against vs: wherefore the goods remained in the ship 9 or 10 daies after our arriual, and then, for that the ship was to saile from thence, the scriuano sent the goods on shore, and here they remained a day and a night, and no body to receiue them. In the end they suffered this bringer to receiue them, who came with me from Ormus, and put them into an house which he had hired for me, where they remained foure or fiue daies. But afterward when they should deliuer the money, it was concluded by the iustice, that both the money and goods should be deliuered into the positors hands, where they remained fourteene dayes after my comming out prison. At my being in Aleppo, I bought a fountaine of siluer and gilt, sixe kniues, sixe spoones, and oue forke trimmed with corall for fiue and twentie chekins, which the captaine of Ormus did take, and payed for the same twentie pardaos, which is one hundred larines, and was worth there or here one hundred chekins. Also he had fiue emrauds set in golde, which were woorth fiue hundred or sixe hundred crownes, and payed for the same an hundred pardaos. Also he had nineteene and a halfe pikes of cloth, which cost in London twenty shillings the pike, and was worth 9 or 10 crownes the pike, and he payed for the same twelue larines a pike. Also he had two pieces of greene Kersies, which were worth foure and twentie pardaos the piece, and payd for them sixteene pardaos a piece: besides diuers other trifles, that the officers and others had in the like order, and some for nothing at all. But the cause of all this was Michael Stropene, which came to Ormus not woorth a penie, and now hath thirtie or fortie thousand crownes, and he grieueth that any other stranger should trade thither but himselfe. But that shall not skill, for I trust in God to goe both thither and hither, and to buy and sell as freely as he or any other. Here is very great good to be done in diuers of our commodities, and in like manner there is great profite to be made with commodities of this countrey, to be carried to Aleppo.

---

*He was really born at Haarlem about 1563, and left the Texel in 1579 to go to Seville. Thence he went to Lisbon, where he entered the service of Vicenzo Fonseca, archbishop of Goa, where he arrived in 1583. He returned to Europe in 1589, having visited most of Southern Asia. His principal work is his "Relation," published first in Dutch at the Hague in 1591. Curiously enough, the place erroneously named as his birth place in the text, is where he died in 1611.

†*Marginal note.*—This is he whose letters to his father from Goa are before put downe, and he was sometimes of New colledge in Oxford.

It were long for me to write, and tedious for you to read of all things that haue passed since my parting from you. But of all the troubles that haue chanced since mine arriual in Ormus, this bringer is able to certifie you. I mind to stay here: wherefore if you will write vnto me, you may send your letters to some friend at Lisbone, and from thence by the ships they may be conueyed hither. Let the direction of your letters be either in Portuguise or Spanish, whereby they may come the better to my hands. From Goa this 20 day of Ianuarie. 1584.

A Letter written from Goa by Master Ralph Fitch to Master Leonard Poore abouesaid.

LOuing friend Master Poore, &c. Since my departure from Aleppo, I haue not written vnto you any letters, by reason that at Babylon I was sicke of the fluxe, and being sicke, I went from thence for Balsara, which was twelue dayes iourney downe the riuer Tygris, where we had extreame hot weather, which was good for my disease, ill fare, and worse lodging, by reason our boat was pestered with people. In eight daies, that which I did eate was very small, so that if we had stayed two dayes longer vpon the water, I thinke I had died: but comming to Balsara, presently I mended, I thanke God. There we stayed 14 dayes, and then we imbarked our selues for Ormuz, where we arriued the fifth of September, and were put in prison the ninth of the same moneth, where we continued vntill the 11 of October, and then were shipt for this citie of Goa in the captaines ship, with an 114 horses, and about 200 men: and passing by Diu and Chaul, where we went on land to water the 20 of Nouember, we arriued at Goa the 29 of the said moneth, where for our better intertainment we were presently put into a faire strong prison, where we continued vntill the 22 of December. It was the will of God that we found there 2 Padres, the one an Englishman, the other a Flemming. The Englishmans name is Padre Thomas Steuens, the others Padre Marco, of the order of S. Paul. These did sue for vs vnto the Viceroy and other officers, and stood vs in as much stead, as our liues and goods were woorth: for if they had not stucke to vs, if we had escaped with our liues, yet we had had long imprisonment.

Diu. Chaul.

After 14 dayes imprisonment they offered vs, if we could put in sureties for 2000 duckats, we should goe abroad in the towne:

which when we could not doe, the said Padres found sureties for vs, that we should not depart the countrey without the licence of the Viceroy. It doth spite the Italians to see vs abroad: and many maruell at our deliuery. The painter is in the cloister of S. Paul, and is of their order, and liketh there very well. While we were in prison, both at Ormuz and here, there was a great deale of our goods pilfered and lost, and we haue beene at great charges in gifts and otherwise, so that a great deale of our goods is consumed. There is much of our things which wil sell very well and some we shall get nothing for. I hope in God that at the returne of the Viceroy, which is gone to Chaul and to Diu, they say, to winne a castle of the Moores, whose returne, is thought will be about Easter, then we shall get our libertie, and our sureties discharged. Then I thinke it will be our best way, either one or both to returne, because our troubles haue bene so great, and so much of our goods spoyled and lost. But if it please God that I come into England, by Gods helpe, I will returne hither againe. It is a braue and pleasant countrey, and very fruitfull. The summer is almost all the yeere long, but the chiefest at Christmas.

The Italians our great enemies for the trade in the East.

The day and the night are all of one length, very litle difference, and marueilous great store of fruits. For all our great troubles, yet are we fat and well liking, for victuals are here plentie and good cheape. And here I will passe ouer to certifie you of strange things, vntill our meeting, for it would be too long to write thereof. And thus I commit you to God, who euer preserue you and vs all. From Goa in the East Indies the 25 of Ianuarie 1584.

Yours to command, Ralph Fitch.

The voyage of M. Ralph Fitch marchant of London by the way of Tripolis in Syria, to Ormus, and so to Goa in the East India, to Cambaia, and all the kingdome of Zelabdim Echebar the great Mogor, to the mighty riuer Ganges, and downe to Bengala, to Bacola, and Chonderi, to Pegu, to Imahay in the kingdome of Siam, and backe to Pegu, and from thence to Malacca, Zeilan, Cochin, and all the coast of the East India: begunne in the yeere of our Lord 1583, and ended 1591, wherin the strange rites, maners, and customes of those people, and the exceeding rich trade and commodities of those countries are faithfully set downe and diligently described, by the aforesaid M. Ralph Fitch.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1583, I Ralph Fitch of London marchant being desirous to see the countreys of the East India, in the company of M. Iohn Newberie marchant (which had beene at Ormus once before) of William Leedes Ieweller, and Iames Story Painter, being chiefly set foorth by the right worshipful Sir Edward Osborne knight, and M. Richard Staper citizens and marchants of London, did ship my selfe in a ship of London called the Tyger, wherein we went for Tripolis in Syria: and from thence we tooke the way for Aleppo, which we went in seuen dayes with the Carouan. Being in Aleppo, and finding good company, we went from thence to Birra, which is two dayes and an halfe trauaile with Camels.

Birra is a little towne, but very plentifull of victuals: and neere to the wall of the towne runneth the riuer of Euphrates. Here we bought a boate and agreed with a master and bargemen, for to go to Babylon. The boats be but for one voiage: for the streame doth runne so fast downewardes that they cannot returne. They carie you to a towne which they call Felugia, and there you sell the boate for a litle money, for that which cost you fiftie at Birra you sell there for seuen or eight. From Birra to Felugia is sixteene dayes iourney, it is not good that one boate goe alone, for if it should chance to breake, you should haue much a doe to saue your goods from the Arabians, which be alwayes there abouts robbing: and in the night when your boates be made fast, it is necessarie that you keepe good watch. For the Arabians that bee theeues, will come swimming and steale your goods and flee away, against which a gunne is very good, for they doe feare it very much. In the riuer of Euphrates from Birra to Felugia there be certaine places where you pay custome, so many Medines for a some or Camels lading, and certaine raysons and sope, which is for the sonnes of Aborise, which is Lord of the Arabians and all that great desert, and hath some villages vpon the riuer. Felugia where you vnlade your goods which come from Birra is a little village: from whence you goe to Babylon in a day.

Babylon is a towne not very great but very populous, and of great traffike of strangers, for that it is the way to Persia, Turkia and Arabia: and from thence doe goe Carouans for these and other places. Here are great store of victuals, which come from Armenia downe the riuer of Tygris. They are brought vpon raftes made of goates skinnes blowne full of winde and bordes layde vpon them: and thereupon they lade their goods which are brought downe to Babylon, which being discharged they open their skinnes and carry them backe by Camels, to serue another time. Babylon in times past did belong to the kingdome of Persia, but nowe is subiecte to the Turke. Ouer against Babylon there is a very faire village from whence you passe to Babylon vpon a long bridge made of boats, and tyed to a great chaine of yron, which is made fast on either side of the riuer. When any boates are to passe vp or downe the riuer, they take away certaine boates vntill they be past.

The tower of Babel.

The tower of Babel is built on this side the riuer Tygris, towardes Arabia from the towne about seuen or eight miles, which tower is ruinated on all sides, and with the fall thereof hath made as it were a litle mountaine, so that it hath no shape at all: it was made of brickes dried in the sonne, and certain canes and leaues of the palme tree layed betwixt the brickes. There is no entrance to be seene to goe into it. It doth stand vpon a great plaine betwixt the riuers of Euphrates and Tygris.

Boyling pitch continually issuing out of the earth.

By the riuer Euphrates two dayes iourney from Babylon at a place called Ait, in a fielde neere vnto it, is a strange thing to see: a mouth that doth continually throwe foorth against the ayre boyling pitch with a filthy smoke: which pitch doth runne abroad into a great fielde which is alwayes full thereof. The Moores say that it is the mouth of hell. By reason of the great quantitie of it, the men of that countrey doe pitch their boates two or three inches thicke on the outside, so that no water doth enter into them. Their boates be called Danec. When there is great store of water in Tigris you may goe from Babylon to Basora in 8 or 9 dayes: if there be small store it will cost you the more dayes.

Basora in times past was vnder the Arabians, but now is subiecte to the Turke. But some of them the Turke cannot subdue, for that they holde certaine Ilandes in the riuer Euphrates which the Turke cannot winne of them. They be theeues all and haue no setled dwelling, but remoue from place to place with their Camels, goates, and horses, wiues and children and all. They haue large blew gownes, their wiues eares and noses are ringed very full of rings of copper and siluer, and they weare rings of copper about their legs.

Basora standeth neere the gulfe of Persia, and is a towne of great trade of spices and drugges which come from Ormus. Also there is great store of wheate, ryce, and dates growing thereabout, wherewith they serue Babylon and all the countrey, Ormus, and all the partes of India. I went from Basora to Ormus downe the gulfe of Persia in a certaine shippe made of boordes, and sowed together with cayro, which is threede made of the huske of Cocoes, and certaine canes or strawe leaues sowed vpon the seames of the bordes which is the cause that they leake very much. And so hauing Persia alwayes on the left hande, and the coast of Arabia on the right hande we passed many Ilandes, and among others the famous Ilande Baharim from whence come the best pearles which be round and Orient.

Ormus is an Island in circuit about fiue and twentie or thirtie miles, and is the driest Island in the world: for there is nothing growing in it but onely salte; for their water, wood, or victuals, and all things necessary came out of Persia, which is about twelue miles from thence. All the Illands thereabout be very fruitful, from whence all kinde of victuals are sent vnto Ormus. The Portugales haue a castle here which standeth neere vnto the sea, wherein there is a Captaine for the king of Portugale hauing vnder him a conuenient number of souldiers, whereof some part remaine in the castle, and some in the towne. In this towne are marchants of all Nations, and many Moores and Gentiles. Here is very great trade of all sortes of spices, drugs, silke, cloth of silke, fine tapestrie of Persia, great store of pearles which come from the Isle of Baharim, and are the best pearles of all others, and many horses of Persia, which serue all India. They haue a Moore to their king, which is chosen and gouerned by the Portugales. Their women are very strangely attyred, wearing on their noses, eares, neckes, armes and legges many rings, set with iewels, and lockes of siluer and golde in their eares, and a long barre of golde vpon the side of their noses. Their eares with the weight of theie iewels be worne so wide, that a man may thrust three of his fingers into them. Here very shortly after our arriuall wee were put in prison, and had part of our goods taken from vs by the Captaine of the castle, whose name was Don Mathias de Albuquerque; and from hence the eleuenth of October he shipped vs and sent vs for Goa vnto the Viceroy, which at that time was Don Francisco de Mascarenhas. The shippe wherein we were imbarked for Goa belonged to the Captaine, and carried one hundred twentie and foure horses in it. All marchandise carried to Goa in a shippe wherein are horses pay no custome in Goa. The horses pay custome, the goods pay nothing; but if you come in a ship which bringeth no horses, you are then to pay eight in the hundred for your goods. The first citie of India that we arriued at vpon the fift of Nouember, after we had passed the coast of Zindi, is called Diu, which standeth in an Iland in the kingdome of Cambaia, and is the strongest towne that the Portugales haue in those partes. It is but litle, but well stored with marchandise; for here they lade many great shippes with diuerse commodities for the streits of Mecca, for Ormus, and other places, and these be shippes of the Moores and of Christains. But the Moores cannot passe, except they haue a passeport from the Portugales. Cambaietta is the chiefe citie of that prouince, which is great and very populous, and fairely builded for a towne of the Gentiles: but if there happen any famine, the people will sell their children for very little. The last king of Cambaia was Sultan Badu, which was killed at the seige of Diu, and shortly after his citie was taken by the great Mogor, which is the king of Agra and of Delli, which are fortie dayes iourney from the country of Cambaia. Here the women weare vpon their armes infinite numbers of rings made of Elephants teeth, wherein they take so much delight, that they had rather be without their meate then without their bracelets. Going from Diu we come to Daman the second towne of the Portugales in the countrey of Cambaia which is distant from Diu fortie leagues. Here is no trade but of corne and rice. They haue many villages vnder them which they quietly possesse in time of peace, but in time of warre the enemie is maister of them. From thence we passed by Basaim, and from Basaim to Tana, at both which places is small trade but only of corn and rice. The tenth of Nouember we arriued at Chaul which standeth in the firm land. There be two townes, the one belonging to the Portugales, and the other to the Moores. That of the Portugales is neerest to the sea, and commaundeth the bay, and is walled round about. A little aboue that is the towne of the Moores which is gouerned by a Moore king called Xa-Maluco. Here is great traffike for all sortes of spices and drugges, silke, and cloth of silke, sandales, Elephants teeth, and much China worke, and much sugar which is made of the nutte called Gagarà: the tree is called the palmer: which is the profitablest tree in the worlde: it doth alwayes beare fruit, and doth yeeld wine, oyle, sugar, vineger, cordes, coles, of the leaues are made thatch for the houses, sayles for shippes, mats to sit or lie on: of the branches they make their houses, and broomes to sweepe, of the tree wood for shippes. The wine doeth issue out of the toppe of the tree. They cut a branch of a bowe and binde it hard, and hange an earthen pot vpon it, which they emptie euery morning and euery euening, and still it and put in certaine dried raysins, and it becommeth very strong wine in short time. Hither many shippes come from all partes of India, Ormus, and many from Mecca: heere be manie Moores and Gentiles. They haue a very strange order among them, they worshippe a cowe, and esteeme much of the cowes doung to paint the walles of their houses. They will kill nothing not so much as a louse; for they holde it a sinne to kill any thing. They eate no flesh, but liue by rootes, and ryce, and milke. And when the husbande dieth his wife is burned with him, if shee be aliue: if shee will not, her head is shauen, and then is neuer any account made of her after. They say if they should be buried, it were a great sinne, for of their bodies there would come many wormes and other vermine, and when their bodies were consumed, those wormes would lacke sustenance, which were a sinne, therefore they will be burned. In Cambaia they will kill nothing, nor haue any thing killed: in the towne they haue hospitals to keepe lame dogs and cats, and for birds. They will giue meat to the Ants.

Goa is the most principal citie which the Portugals haue in India, wherein the Viceroy remaineth with his court. It standeth in an Iland, which may be 25. or 30. miles about. It is a fine citie, and for an Indian towne very faire. The Iland is very faire, full of orchards and gardens, and many palmer trees, and hath some villages. Here bee many marchants of all nations. And the Fleete which commeth euery yeere from Portugal, which be foure, fiue, or sixe great shippes, commeth first hither. And they come for the most part in September, and remaine there fortie or fiftie dayes; and then goe to Cochin, where they lade their Pepper for Portugall. Oftentimes they lade one in Goa, the rest goe to Cochin which is from Goa an hundred leagues southward. Goa standeth in the countrey of Hidalcan, who lieth in the countrey sixe or seuen dayes iourney. His chiefe citie is called Bisapor.

At our comming we were cast into prison, and examined before the Iustice and demanded for letters, and were charged to be spies, but they could prooue nothing by vs. We continued in prison vntill the two and twentie of December, and then we were set at libertie, putting in sureties for two thousand duckets not to depart the towne; which sureties father Steuens an English Iesuite which we found there, and another religious man a friend of his procured for vs. Our sureties name was Andreas Taborer, to whom we paid 2150. duckats, and still he demaunded more: whereupon we made sute to the Viceroy and Iustice to haue our money againe, considering that they had had it in their hands neere fiue moneths and could prooue nothing against vs. The Viceroy made vs a very sharpe answere, and sayd we should be better sifted before it were long, and that they had further matter against vs. Whereupon we presently determined rather to seeke our liberties, then to bee in danger for euer to be slaues in the countrey, for it was told vs we should haue ye strapado. Wherupon presently, the fift day of April 1585. in the morning we ranne from thence. And being set ouer the riuer, we went two dayes on foote not without feare, not knowing the way nor hauing any guide, for we durst trust none. One of the first townes which we came vnto, is called Bellergan, where there is a great market kept of Diamants, Rubies, Saphires, and many other soft stones. From Bellergan we went to Bisapor which is a very great towne where the king doeth keepe his court. Hee hath many Gentiles in his court and they be great idolaters. And they haue their idols standing in the Woods, which they call Pagodes. Some bee like a Cowe, some like a Monkie, some like Buffles, some like peacockes, and some like the deuill. Here be very many elephants which they goe to warre withall. Here they haue good store of gold and siluer: their houses are of stone very faire and high. From hence we went for Gulconda, the king whereof is called Cutup de lashach. Here and in the kingdome of Hidalcan, and in the countrey of the king of Decan, bee the Diamants found in the olde water. It is a very faire towne, pleasant, with faire houses of bricke and timber, it aboundeth with great store of fruites and fresh water. Here the men and the women do go with a cloth bound about their middles without any more apparell. We found it here very hote.

This was the 20 of Nouember.

Bellergan a towne.

Bisapor.

Gulconda.

The winter beginneth here about the last of May. In these partes is a porte or hauen called Masulipatan, which standeth eight dayes iourney from hence toward the gulfe of Bengala, whether come many shippes out of India, Pegu, and Sumatra, very richly laden with Pepper, spices, and other commodities. The countrie is very good and fruitfull. From thence I went to Seruidore which is a fine countrey, and the king is called, the king of Bread. The houses here bee all thatched and made of lome. Here be many Moores and Gentiles, but there is small religion among them. From thence I went to Bellapore, and so to Barrampore, which is in the country of Zelabdim Echebar. In this place their money is made of a kind of siluer round and thicke, to the value of twentie pence, which is very good siluer. It is marueilous great and a populous countrey. In their winter which is in Iune, Iuly, and August, there is no passing in the streetes but with horses, the waters be so high. The houses are made of lome and thatched. Here is great store of cotton cloth made, and painted clothes of cotton wooll: here groweth great store of corne and Rice. We found mariages great store both in townes and villages in many places where wee passed, of boyes of eight or ten yeeres, and girles of fiue or six yeeres old. They both do ride vpon one horse very trimly decked, and are caried through the towne with great piping and playing, and so returne home and eate of a banket made of Rice and fruits, and there they daunce the most part of the night and so make an ende of the marriage. They lie not together vntill they be ten yeeres old. They say they marry their children so yoong, because it is an order that when the man dieth, the woman must be burned with him: so that if the father die, yet they may haue a father in lawe to helpe to bring vp the children which bee maried: and also that they will not leaue their sonnes without wiues, nor their daughters without husbands. From thence we went to Mandoway, which is a very strong towne. It was besieged twelue yeeres by Zelabdim Echebar before he could winne it. It standeth vpon a very great high rocke as the most part of their castles doe, and was of a very great circuite. From hence wee went to Vgini and Serringe, where we ouertooke the ambassadour of Zelabdim Echebar with a marueilous great company of men, elephants, and camels. Here is great

Masulipatan.

Seruidore.

Bellapore.

Strange mariages.

Mandoway a very strong town.

Vgini.

trade of cotton and cloth made of cotton, and great store of drugs. From thence we went to Agra passing many riuers, which by reason of the raine were so swollen, that wee waded and swamme oftentimes for our liues. Agra is a very great citie and populous, built with stone, hauing faire and large streetes, with a faire riuer running by it, which falleth into the gulfe of Bengala. It hath a faire castle and a strong with a very faire ditch. Here bee many Moores and Gentiles, the king is called Zelabdim Echebar: the people for the most part call him The great Mogor. From thence we went for Fatepore, which is the place where the king kept his court. The towne is greater then Agra, but the houses and streetes be not so faire Here dwell many people both Moores and Gentiles. The king hath in Agra and Fatepore as they doe credibly report 1000. elephants, thirtie thousand horses, 1400. tame Deere, 800. concubines: such store of Ounces, Tigers, Buffles, Cocks and Haukes, that is very strange to see. He keepeth a great court, which they call Dericcan. Agra and Fatepore are two very great cities, either of them much greater then London and very populous. Betweene Agra and Fatepore are 12. miles, and all the way is a market of victuals and other things, as full as though a man were still in a towne, and so many people as if a man were in a market. They haue many fine cartes, and many of them carued and gilded with gold, with two wheeles which be drawen with two litle Buls about the bignesse of our great dogs in England, and they will runne with any horse, and carie two or three men in one of these cartes: they are couered with silke or very fine cloth, and be vsed here as our Coches be in England. Hither is great resort of marchants from Persia and out of India, and very much marchandise of silke and cloth, and of precious stones, both Rubies, Diamants, and Pearles The king is apparelled in a white Cabie made like a shirt tied with strings on the one side, and a litle cloth on his head coloured oftentimes with red or yealow. None come into his house but his eunuchs which keepe his women. Here in Fatepore we staied all three vntill the 28. of September 1585. and then master Iohn Newberie tooke his iourney toward the citie of Lahor, determining from thence to goe for Persia and then for Aleppo or Constantinople, whether hee could get soonest passage vnto, and directed me to goe for Bengala and for Pegu, and did promise me, if it

Agra a great citie.

The great Mogor.

The like is reported of the cities of China.

Wil. Leades serued the king of Cambaia.

pleased God, to meete me in Bengala within two yeeres with a shippe out of England. I left William Leades the ieweller in seruice with the king Zelabdim Echebar in Fatepore, who did entertaine him very well, and gaue him an house and fiue slaues, an horse, and euery day sixe S. S. in money. I went from Agra to Satagam in Bengala, in the companie of one hundred and fourescore boates laden with Salt, Opium, Hinge, Lead, Carpets, and diuers other commodities downe the riuer Iemena. The chiefe marchants are Moores and Gentiles. In these countries they haue many strange ceremonies. The Bramanes which are their priests, come to the water and haue a string about their necks made with great ceremonies, and lade vp water with both their hands, and turne the string first with both their hands within, and then one arme after the other out. Though it be neuer so cold, they will wash themselues in cold water or in warme. These Gentiles will eate no flesh nor kill any thing. They liue with rice, butter, milke, and fruits. They pray in the water naked, and dresse their meat and eate it naked, and for their penance they lie flat vpon the earth, and rise vp and turne themselues about 30. or 40. times, and vse to heaue vp their hands to the sunne, and to kisse the earth, with their armes and legs stretched along out, and their right leg alwayes before the left. Euery time they lie downe, they make a score on the ground with their finger to know when their stint is finished. The Bramanes marke themselues in the foreheads, eares and throates with a kind of yellow geare which they grind, and euery morning they doe it. And they haue some old men which go in the streetes with a boxe of yellow poudre, and marke men on their heads and neckes as they meet them. And their wiues do come by 10. 20. and 30. together to the water side singing, and there do wash themselues, and then vse their ceremonies, and marke themselues in their foreheds and faces, and cary some with them, and so depart singing. Their daughters be maried, at, or before the age of 10 yeres. The men may haue 7. wiues. They be a kind of craftie people, worse then the Iewes. When they salute one another, they heaue vp their hands to their heads, and say Rame, Rame. From Agra I came to Prage, where the riuer Iemena entreth into the mightie river Ganges, and Iemena looseth his name. Ganges commeth out of the Northwest, and runneth East into the gulfe of Bengala. In

The superstitious ceremonies of the Bramanes.

Ganges.

those parts there are many Tigers and many partriges and turtledoues, and much other foule. Here be many beggers in these countries which goe naked, and the people make great account of them: they call them Schesche. Here I sawe one which was a monster among the rest. He would haue nothing vpon him, his beard was very long, and with the haire of his head he couered his priuities. The nailes of some of his fingers were two inches long, for he would cut nothing from him, neither would he speake. He was accompanied with eight or tenne, and they spake for him. When any man spake to him, he would lay his hand vpon his brest and bowe himselfe, but would not speake. Hee would not speake to the king. We went from Prage downe Ganges, the which is here very broad. Here is great store of fish of sundry sorts, and of wild foule, as of swannes, geese, cranes, and many other things. The country is very fruitfull and populous. The men for the most part haue their faces shauen, and their heads very long, except some which bee all shauen saue the crowne: and some of them are as though a man should set a dish on their heads, and shaue them round, all but the crowne. In this riuer of Ganges are many Ilands. His water is very sweete and pleasant, and the countrey adioyning very fruitfull. From thence wee went to Bannaras which is a great towne, and great store of cloth is made there of cotton, and Shashes for the Moores. In this place they be all Gentiles, and be the greatest idolaters that euer I sawe. To this towne come the Gentiles on pilgrimage out of farre countreys. Here alongst the waters side bee very many faire houses, and in all of them, or for the most part they haue their images standing, which be euill fauoured, made of stone and wood, some like lions, leopards, and monkeis, some like men and women, and pecocks, and some like the deuil with foure armes and 4. hands. They sit crosse legged, some with one thing in their hands, and some another, and by breake of day and before, there are men and women which come out of the towne and wash themselues in Ganges. And there are diuers old men which vpon places of earth made for the purpose, sit praying, and they giue the people three or foure strawes, which they take and hold them betweene their fingers when they wash themselues: and some sit to marke them in the foreheads, and they haue in a cloth a litle Rice, Barlie, or money, which, when they haue washed themselues, they giue to the old men which sit there praying. Afterwards

A pilgrimage of the Gentiles.

they go to diuers of their images, and giue them of their sacrifices. And when they giue, the old men say certaine prayers, and then is all holy. And in diuers places there standeth a kind of image which in their language they call Ada. And they haue diuers great stones carued, whereon they poure water, and throw thereupon some rice, wheate, barly, and some other things. This Ada hath foure hands with clawes. Moreouer, they haue a great place made of stone like to a well with steppes to goe downe; wherein the water standeth very foule and stinketh: for the great quantitie of flowers, which continually they throwe into it, doe make it stinke. There be alwayes many people in it: for they say when they wash themselues in it, that their sinnes be forgiuen them, because God, as they say, did wash himselfe in that place. They gather vp the sand in the bottome of it, and say it is holy. They neuer pray but in the water, and they wash themselues ouerhead, and lade vp water with both their handes, and turne themselues about, and then they drinke a litle of the water three times, and so goe to their gods which stand in those houses. Some of them will wash a place which is their length, and then will pray vpon the earth with their armes and legs at length out, and will rise vp and lie downe, and kisse the ground twentie or thirtie times, but they will not stirre their right foote. And some of them will make their ceremonies with fifteene or sixteene pots litle and great, and ring a litle bel when they make their mixtures tenne or twelue times: and they make a circle of water round about their pots and pray, and diuers sit by them, and one that reacheth them their pots: and they say diuers things ouer their pots many times, and when they haue done, they goe to their gods, and strowe their sacrifices which they thinke are very holy, and marke many of them which sit by, in the foreheads, which they take as a great gift. There come fiftie and sometime an hundred together, to wash them in this well, and to offer to these idols.

They haue in some of these houses their idoles standing, and one sitteth by them in warme weather with a fanne to blowe winde vpon them. And when they see any company comming, they ring a litle bell which hangeth by them, and many giue them their almes, but especially those which come out of the countrey. Many of them are blacke and haue clawes of brasse with long nayles, and some ride vpon peacocks and other foules which be euill fauoured, with long haukes bils, and some like one thing and some another, but none with a good face. Among the rest there is one which they make great account of: for they say hee giueth them all things both foode and apparell, and one sitteth alwayes by him with a fanne to make wind towards him. Here some bee burned to ashes, some scorched in the fire and throwen into the water, and dogges and foxes doe presently eate them. The wiues here doe burne with their husbands when they die, if they will not their heads be shauen, and neuer any account is made of them afterward. The people goe all naked saue a litle cloth bound about their middle. Their women haue their necks, armes and eares decked with rings of siluer, copper, tinne, and with round hoopes made of Iuorie, adorned with amber stones, and with many agats, and they are marked with a great spot of red in their foreheads, and a stroke of red vp to the crowne, and so it runneth three maner of wayes. In their Winter, which is our May, the men weare quilted gownes of cotton like to our mattraces and quilted caps like to our great Grocers morters, with a slit to looke out at, and so tied downe beneath their eares. If a man or woman be sicke and like to die, they will lay him before their idols all night, and that shall helpe him or make an ende of him. And if he do not mend that night, his friends will come and sit with him a litle and cry, and afterwards will cary him to the waters side and set him vpon a litle raft made of reeds, and so let him goe downe the riuer. When they be maried the man and the woman come to the water side, and there is an olde man which they call a Bramane, that is a priest, a cowe and a calfe, or a cowe with calfe. Then the man and the woman, cowe and calfe, and the olde man goe into the water together, and they giue the olde man a white cloth of foure yards long, and a basket crosse bound with diuers things in it: the cloth he laieth vpon the backe of the cowe, and then he taketh the cowe by the ende of the taile, and saieth certaine wordes: and she hath a copper or a brasse pot full of water, and the man doeth hold his hand by the olde mans hand, and the wiues hand by her husbands, and all haue the cowe by the taile, and they poure water out of the pot vpon the cowes taile, and it runneth through all their hands, and they lade vp water with their handes, and then the olde man doeth tie him and her together by their *clothes. Which done, they goe round about the cowe and calfe, and then they giue somewhat to the poore which be alwayes

---

* *Marginal note.*—This tying of new maried folks together by the clothes, was vsed by the Mexicans in old time.

there, and to the Bramane or priest they giue the cowe and calfe, and afterward goe to diuers of their idoles and offer money, and lie downe flat vpon the ground and kisse it diuers times, and then goe their way. Their chiefe idoles bee blacke and euill fauoured, their mouthes monstrous, their eares gilded, and full of iewels, their teeth and eyes of gold, siluer, and glasse, some hauing one thing in their handes, and some another. You may not come into the houses where they stand, with your shooes on. They haue continually lampes burning before them. From Bannaras I went to Patenaw downe the riuer of Ganges: where in the way we passed many faire townes, and a countrey very fruitfull: and many very great riuers doe enter into Ganges, and some of them as great as Ganges, which cause Ganges to bee of a great breadth, and so broad that in the time of rain, you cannot see from one side to the other. These Indians when they bee scorched and throwen into the water, the men swimme with their faces downewards, the women with their faces vpwards, I thought they tied something to them to cause them to do so: but they say no. There be very many thieues in this countrey, which be like to the Arabians: for they haue no certaine abode, but are sometime in one place and sometime in another. Here the women bee so decked with siluer and copper, that it is strange to see, they use no shooes by reason of the rings of siluer and copper, which they weare on their toes. Here at Patanaw they finde gold in this maner. They digge deepe pits in the earth, and wash the earth in great holles, and therein they finde the gold, and they make the pits round about with bricke, that the earth fall not in. Patenaw is a very long and a great towne. In times past it was a kingdom, but now it is vnder Zelabdim Echebar, the great Mogor. The men are tall and slender, and haue many old folks among them: the houses are simple, made of earth and couered with strawe, the streetes are very large. In this towne there is a trade of cotton, and cloth of cotton, much sugar, which they cary from hence to Bengala and India, very much Opium and other commodities. He that is chiefe here vnder the king is called Tipperdas, and is of great account among the people. Here in Patenau I saw a dissembling prophet which sate vpon an horse in the market place, and made as though he slept, and many of the people came and touched his feete with their hands, and then kissed their hands. They tooke him for a great man, but sure he was a lasie lubber. I left him there sleeping. The

Gold found.

people of these countries be much giuen to such prating and dissembling hypocrites.

From Patanaw I went to Tanda which is in the land of Gouren. It hath in times past bene a kingdom, but now is subdued by Zelabdim Echebar. Great trade and traffique is here of cotton, and of cloth of cotton. The people goe naked with a litle cloth bound about their waste. It standeth in the countrey of Bengala. Here be many Tigers, wild Bufs, and great store of wilde foule: they are very great idolaters. Tanda standeth from the riuer Ganges a league, because in times past the riuer flowing ouer the bankes, in time of raine did drowne the countrey and many villages, and so they do remaine. And the old way which the riuer Ganges was woont to run, remaineth drie, which is the occasion that the citie doeth stand so farre from the water. From Agra downe the riuer Iemena, and downe the riuer Ganges, I was fiue moneths comming to Bengala, but it may be sailed in much shorter time.

I went from Bengala into the countrey of Couche,* which lieth 25. daies iourny Northwards from Tanda. The king is a Gentile, his name is Suckel Counse: his countrey is great, and lieth not far from Cochin China: for they say they haue pepper from thence. The port is called Cacchegate. All the countrie is set with Bambos or Canes made sharpe at both the endes and driuen into the earth, and they can let in the water and drowne the ground aboue knee deepe, so that men nor horses can passe. They poison all the waters if any wars be. Here they haue much silke and muske, and cloth made of cotton. The people haue eares which be marueilous great of a span long, which they draw out in length by deuises when they be yong. Here they be all Gentiles, and they will kil nothing. They haue hospitals for sheepe, goates, dogs, cats, birds, and for all other liuing creatures. When they be old and lame, they keepe them vntil they die. If a man catch or buy any quicke thing in other places and bring it thither, they wil giue him mony for it or other victuals, and keepe it in their hospitals or let it go. They wil giue meat to the Ants. Their smal mony is almonds,† which oftentimes they vse to eat. From thence I returned to Hugeli, which is the place where the

---

* *Marginal note.*—Couche: this seemeth to be Quicheu, accounted by some among the prouinces of China.

† *Marginal note.*—In Mexico they vse likewise for small money the fruit Cacao which are like almonds.

Porto Angeli.

The like cloth may be made of the long grasse in Virginia.

Portugals keep in the country of Bengala which standeth in 23. degrees of Northerly latitude, and standeth a league from Satagan: they cal it Porto Piqueno. We went through the wildernes, because the right way was full of thieues, where we passed the countrey of Gouren, where we found but few villages, but almost all wildernes, and saw many buffes, swine and deere, grasse longer then a man, and uery many Tigers. Not far from Porto Piqueno southwestward, standeth an hauen which is called Angeli, in the countrey of Orixa. It was a kingdom of it selfe, and the king was a great friend to strangers. Afterwards it was taken by the king of Patan which was their neighbour, but he did not enioy it long, but was taken by Zelabdim Echebar, which is king of Agra, Delli, and Cambaia. Orixi standeth 6. daies iourney from Satagan, southwestward. In this place is very much Rice, and cloth made of cotton, and great store of cloth which is made of grasse, which they call Yerua, it is like a silke. They make good cloth out of it which they send for India and diuers other places. To this hauen of Angeli come euery yeere many ships out of India, Negapatan, Sumatra, Malacca, and diuers other places; and lade from thence great store of Rice, and much cloth of cotton wooll, much sugar, and long pepper, great store of butter, and other victuals for India. Satagam is a faire citie for a citie of the Moores, and very plentifull of all things. Here in Bengala they haue euery day in one place or other a great market which they call Chandeau, and they haue many great boats which they cal pericose, wherewithall they go from place to place and buy Rice and many other things: these boates haue 24. or 26. oares to rowe them, they be great of burthen, but haue no couerture. Here the Gentiles haue the water of Ganges in great estimation, for hauing good water neere them, yet they will fetch the water of Ganges a great way off, and if they haue not sufficient to drinke, they will sprinkle a litle on them, and then they thinke themselues well. From Satagam I trauelled by the couutrey of the king of Tippara or porto Grande, with whom the Mogores or Mogen haue almost continuall warres. The Mogen which be of the kingdom of Recon and Rame, be stronger then the king of Tippara, so that Chatigan or porto Grande is oftentimes vnder thh king of Recon.

There is a country 4. daies iourney from Couche or Quicheu before mentiohed, which is called Bottanter and the citie Bottia, the king is called Dermain; the people whereof are very tall and strong, and there are marchants which come out of China, and they say out of Muscouia or Tartarie. And they come to buy muske, cambals, agats, silke, pepper and saffron like the saffron of Persia. The countrey is very great, 3. moneths iourney. There are very high mountains in this countrey, and one of them so steep that when a man is 6. daies iourney off it, he may see it perfectly. Vpon these mountains* are people which haue eares of a spanne long: if their eares be not long, they call them apes. They say that when they be vpon the mountaines, they see ships in the Sea sayling to and fro; but they know not from whence they come, nor whether they go. There are marchants which come out of the East, they say, from vnder the sunne, which is from China, which haue no beards, and they say there it is something warme. But those which come from the other side of the mountains which is from the North, say there it is very cold. These Northern merchants are apparelled with woollen cloth and hats, white hosen close, and bootes which be of Moscouia or Tartarie. They report that in their countrey they haue very good horses, but they be litle: some men haue foure, fiue, or sixe hundred horses and kine: they liue with milke and fleshe. They cut the tailes of their kine, and sell them very deere, for they bee in great request, and much esteemed in those partes. The haire of them is a yard long, the rumpe is aboue a spanne long: they vse to hang them for brauerie upon the heades of their Elephantes: they bee much vsed in Pegu and China: they buie and sell by scores vpon the ground. The people be very swift on foote.

The apparel of the Tartarie marchants.

Cowe tailes in great request.

From Chatigan in Bengala, I came to Bacola; the king whereof is a Gentile, a man very well disposed and delighteth much to shoot in a gun. His countrey is very great and fruitful, and hath store of Rice, much cotton cloth, and cloth of silke. The houses be very faire and high builded, the streetes large, the people naked, except a litle cloth about their waste. The women weare great store of siluer hoopes about their neckes and armes, and their legs are ringed with siluer and copper, and rings made of elephants teeth.

From Bacola I went to Serrepore which standeth vpon the riuer of Ganges, the king is called Chondery. They be all hereabout rebels against their king Zelabdim Echebar: for here are so many riuers and Ilands, that they flee from one to another, whereby his horsemen cannot preuaile against them. Great store of cotton cloth is made here.

---

* *Marginal note.*—These seeme to be the mountains of Iamus, called by the people Cumao.

Sinnergan is a towne sixe leagues from Serrepore, where there is the best and finest cloth made of cotton that is in all India. The chiefe king of all these countries is called Isacan, and he is chiefe of all the other kings, and is a great friend to all Christians. The houses here, as they be in the most part of India, are very litle, and couered with strawe, and haue a fewe mats round about the wals, and the doore to keepe out the Tygers and the Foxes. Many of the people are very rich. Here they will eate no flesh, nor kill no beast: they liue of Rice, milke, and fruits. They goe with a litle cloth before them, and all the rest of their bodies is naked. Great store of Cotton cloth goeth from hence, and much Rice, wherewith they serue all India, Ceilon, Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra, and many other places.

I went from Serrepore the 28. of Nouember 1586. for Pegu in a small ship or foist of one Albert Carauallos, and so passing downe Ganges, and passing by the Island of Sundiua, porto Grande, or the countrie of Tippera, the kingdom of Recon and Mogen, leauing them on our left side with a faire wind at Northwest: our course was South and by East, which brought vs to the barre of Negrais in Pegu: if any contrary wind had come, we had throwen many of our things ouer-boord: for we were so pestered with people and goods, that there was scant place to lie in. From Bengala to Pegu is 90. legues. We entred the barre of Negrais, which is a braue barre and hath 4. fadomes water where it hath least. Three dayes after we came to Cosmin, which is a very pretie towne, and standeth very pleasantly, very well furnished with all things. The people be very tall and well disposed; the women white, round faced, with little eies: the houses are high built, set vpon great high postes, and they go vp to them with long ladders for feare of the Tygers which be very many. The countrey is very fruitful of all things. Here are very great Figs, Orenges, Cocoes, and other fruits. The land is very high that we fall withall, but after we be entred the barre, it is very lowe and full of riuers, for they goe all too and fro in boates, which they call paroes, and keepe their houses with wife and children in them.

Ladders vsed to auoyd the danger of wild beasts.

Dwelling in boats.

From the barre of Nigrais to the citie of Pegu is ten dayes iourney by the riuers. Wee went from Cosmin to Pegu in Paroes or boates, and passing vp the riuers wee came to Medon, which is a prety towne, where there be a wonderfull number of Paroes, for they keepe their houses and their markets in them all vpon the water. They rowe too and tro, and haue all their marchandizes in their boates with a great Sombrero or shadow ouer their heads to keepe the sunne from them, which is as broad as a great cart wheele made of the leaues of the Coco trees and fig trees, and is very light.

From Medon we went to Dela, which is a very faire towne, and hath a faire port into the sea, from whence go many ships to Malacca, Mecca, and many othey places. Here are 18. or 20. very great and long houses, where they tame and keep many elephants of the kings: for thereabout in the wildernesse they catch the wilde elephants. It is a very fruitfull countrey. From Dela we went to Cirion, which is a good towne, and hath a faire porte into the sea, whither come many ships from Mecca, Malacca, Sumatra, and from diuers other places And there the ships staie and discharge, and send vp their goods in Paroes to Pegu. From Cirion we went to Macao, which is a prettie towne, where we left our boates or Paroes, and in the morning taking Delingeges, which are a kind of Coches made of cords and cloth quilted, and caried vpon a stang betweene 3. or 4. men: we came to Pegu the same day. Pegu is a citie very great, strong, and very faire, with walles of stone, and great ditches round about it. There are two townes, the old towne and the newe. In the olde towne are all the marchants strangers, and very many marchants of the countrey. All the goods are sold in the olde towne which is very great, and hath many suburbes round about it, and all the houses are made of Canes which they call Bambos, and bee couered with srawe. In your house you haue a Warehouse which they call Godon, which is made of bricke to put your goods in, for oftentimes they take fire and burne in an houre foure or fiue hundred houses: so that if the Gordon were not, you should bee in danger to haue all burned, if any winde should rise. at a trice. In the newe towne is the king, and all his Nobilitie and Gentrie. It is a citie very great and populous, and is made square and with very faire walles, and a great ditch roundabout it full of water, with many crocodiles in it: it hath twenty gates, and they bee made of stone, for euery square fiue gates.

Coches caried on mens shoulders.

There are also many Turrets for Centinels to watch, made of wood, and gilded with golde very faire. The streets are the fairest that euer I saw, as straight as a line from one gate to the other, and so broad that tenne or twelue men may ride a front thorow them. On both sides of them at euery mans doore is set a palmer tree which is the nut tree: which make a very faire shew and a very commodious shadow, so that a man may walke in the shade all day. The houses be made of wood, and couered with tiles. The kings house is in the middle of the city, and is walled and ditched round about: and the buildings within are made of wood very sumptuously gilded, and great workmanship is vpon the forefront, which is likewise very costly gilded. And the house wherein his Pagode or idole standeth is couered with tiles of siluer, and all the walles are gilded with golde. Within the first gate of the kings house is a great large roome, on both sides whereof are houses made for the kings elephants, which be marveilous great and faire, and are brought vp to warres and in seruice of the king. And among the rest he hath foure white elephants, which are very strange and rare: for there is none other king which hath them but he: if any other king hath one, hee will send vnto him for it. When any of these white elephants is brought vnto the king, all the merchants in the city are commanded to see them, and to giue him a present of halfe a ducat, which doth come to a great summe: for that there are many merchants in the city. After that you haue giuen your present you may come and see them at your pleasure, although they stand in the kings house. This king in his title is called the king of the white elephants. If any other king haue one, and will not send it him, he will make warre with him for it: for he had rather lose a great part of his kingdome, then not to conquere him. They do very great seruice vnto these white elephants: euery one of them standeth in an house gilded with golde, and they doe feede in vessels of siluer and gilt. One of them when he doth go to the riuer to be washed, as euery day they do, goeth vnder a canopy of cloth of golde, or of silke carried ouer him by sixe or eight men, and eight or ten men goe before him playing on drummes, shawmes, or other instruments: and when he is washed and commeth out of the riuer, there is a gentleman which doth wash his feet in a siluer basin: which is his office giuen him by the king. There is no such account made of any blacke ele-

Foure white elephants.

The king of the white elephants.

phant, be he neuer so great. And surely there be woonderfull faire and great, and some be nine cubites in height. And they do report that the king hath aboue fiue thousand elephants of warre, besides many other which be not taught to fight. This king hath a very large place wherein he taketh the wilde elephants. It standeth about a mile from Pegu, builded with a faire court within, and is in a great groue or wood: and there be many huntsmen, which go into the wildernesse with she elephants: for without the she they are not to be taken. And they be taught for that purpose: and euery hunter hath fiue or sixe of them: and they say that they annoint the she elephants with a certaine ointment, which when the wild elephant doth smell, he will not leaue her. When they haue brought the wilde elephant neere vnto the place, they send word vnto the towne, and many horsemen and footmen come out and cause the she elephant to enter into a strait way which doeth go to the palace, and the she and the he do runne in: for it is like a wood: and when they be in, the gate doth shut. Afterward they get out the female: and when the male seeth that he is left alone, he weepeth and crieth, and runneth against the walles, which be made of so strong trees, that some of them doe breake their teeth with running against them. Then they pricke him with sharpe canes, and cause him to go into a strait house, and there they put a rope about his middle and about his feet, and let him stand there three or foure dayes, without eating or drinking: and then they bring a female to him, with meat and drinke, and within a few dayes he becommeth tame. The chiefe force of the king is in these elephants. And when they goe into the warres they set a frame of wood vpon their backes, bound with great cordes, wherein sit foure or sixe men, which fight with gunnes, bowes and arrowes, darts and other weapons. And they say that their skinnes are so thicke that a pellet of an harquebush will scarse pearce them, except it be in some tender place. Their weapons be very badde. They haue gunnes, but shoot very badly in them, darts and swords short without points. The king keepeth a very great state: when he sitteth abroad as he doth euery day twise, all his noblemen which they call Shemines sit on ech side, a good distance off, and a great guard without them. The Court yard is very great. If any man will speake with the king, he is to kneele downe, to heaue vp his hands to his head, and to put his head to the ground three times, when he entreth, in the middle way, and when he commeth neere to the king: and then he sitteth downe and talketh with the king: if the king like well of him, he sitteth neere him within three or foure paces: if he thinke not well of him, he sitteth further off. When he goeth to warre, he goeth very strong.

Odia a city in Siam.

At my being there he went to Odia in the countrey of Siam with three hundred thousand men, and fiue thousand elephants. Thirty thousand men were his guard. These people do eate roots, herbs, leaues, dogs, cats, rats, serpents, and snakes; they refuse almost nothing. When the king rideth abroad, he rideth with a great guard, and many noblemen, oftentimes vpon an elephant with a fine castle vpon him very fairely gilded with gold; and sometimes vpon a great frame like an horsliter, which hath a little house vpon it coucred ouer head, but open on the sides, which is all gilded with golde, and set with many rubies and saphires, whereof he hath infinite store in his country, and is caried vpon sixteene or eighteene mens shoulders. This coach in their language is called Serrion. Very great feasting and triumphing is many times before the king both of men and women. This king hath little force by sea, because he hath but very few ships. He hath houses full of golde and siluer, and bringeth in often, but spendeth very little, and hath the mines of rubies and saphires, and spinelles. Neere vnto the palace of the king, there is a treasure woonderfull rich; the which because it is so neere, he doth not account of it: and it standeth open for all men to see in a great walled court with two gates, which be alwayes open. There are foure houses gilded very richly, and couered with lead: in euery one of them are Pagodes or Images of huge stature and great value. In the first is the picture of a king in golde with a crowne of golde on his head full of great rubies and saphires, and about him there stand foure children of golde. In the second house is the picture of a man in siluer, woonderfull great, and high as an house; his foot is as long as a man, and he is made sitting, with a crowne on his head very rich with stones. In the third house is the picture of a man greater then the other, made of brasse, with a rich crowne on his head. In the fourth and last house doth stand another, made of brasse, greater then the other, with a crowne also on his head very rich with stones. In another court not farre from this stand foure other Pagodes or idoles, maruellous great, of copper, made in the same place where they do stand; for they be so great that they be not to be

This maner of cariage on mens shoulders is vsed in Peru, and in Florida.

remoued: they stand in foure houses gilded very faire, and are themselues gilded all ouer saue their heads, and they shew like a blacke Morian. Their expences in gilding of their images are wonderfull. The king hath one wife and aboue three hundred concubines, by which they say he hath fourescore or fourescore and ten children. He sitteth in iudgement almost euery day. They vse no speech, but giue vp their supplications written in the leaues of a tree with the point of an yron bigger then a bodkin. These leaues are an elle long, and about two inches broad; they are also double. He which giueth in his supplication, doth stand in a place a little distance off with a present. If his matter be liked of, the king accepteth of his present, and granteth his request: if his sute be not liked of, he returneth with his present; for the king will not take it.

Paper of the leaues of a tree.

An excellent colour with a root called Saia.

Woollen cloth and scarlets solde in Pegu.

The money of Pegu.

In India there are few commodities which serue for Pegu, except Opium of Cambaia, painted cloth of S. Thome, or of Masulipatan, and white cloth of Bengala, which is spent there in great quantity. They bring thither also much cotton, yarne red coloured with a root which they call Saia, which will neuer lose his colour: it is very wel solde here, and very much of it commeth yerely to Pegu. By your money you lose much. The ships which come from Bengala, S. Thome, and Masulipatam, come to the bar of Nigrais and to Cosmin. To Martauan a port of the sea in the kingdome of Pegu come many ships from Malacca laden with Sandall, Porcelanes, and other wares of China, and with Camphora of Borneo, and Pepper from Achen in Sumatra. To Cirion a port of Pegu come ships from Mecca with woollen cloth, Scarlets, Veluets, Opium, and such like. There are in Pegu eight Brokers, whom they call Tareghe, which are bound to sell your goods at the price which they be woorth, and you giue them for their labour two in the hundred: and they be bound to make your debt good, because you sell your marchandises vpon their word. If the Broker pay you not at his day, you may take him home, and keepe him in your house: which is a great shame for him. And if he pay you not presently, you may take his wife and children and his slaues, and binde them at your doore, and set them in the Sunne; for that is the law of the countrey. Their current money in these partes is a kinde of brasse which they call Gansa, wherewith you may buy golde, siluer, rubies, muske, and all other things. The golde and siluer is marchandise, and is worth sometimes more, and sometimes lesse, as other wares be. This brazen money doeth goe by a weight which they call a biza; and commonly this biza after our account is worth about halfe a crowne or somewhat lesse. The marchandise which be in Pegu, are golde, siluer, rubies, saphires, spinelles, muske, beniamin or frankincense, long pepper, tinne, leade, copper, lacca whereof they make hard waxe, rice, and wine made of rice, and some sugar. The elephants doe eate the sugar canes, or els they would make very much. And they consume many canes likewise in making of their Varellaes or Idole Temples, which are in great number both great and small. They be made round like a sugar loafe, some are as high as a Church, very broad beneath, some a quarter of a mile in compasse: within they be all earth done about with stone. They consume in these Varellaes great quantity of golde; for that they be all gilded aloft: and many of them from the top to the bottome: and euery ten or twelue yeeres they must be new gilded, because the raine consumeth off the golde: for they stand open abroad. If they did not consume their golde in these vanities, it would be very plentifull and good cheape in Pegu. About two dayes iourney from Pegu there is a Varelle or Pagode, which is the pilgrimage of the Pegues: it is called Dogonne, and is of a woonderfull bignesse, and all gilded from the foot to the toppe. And there is an house by it wherein the Tallipoies which are their priests doe preach. This house is fiue and fifty paces in length, and hath three pawnes or walks in it, and forty great pillars gilded, which stand betweene the walks; and it is open on all sides with a number of small pillars, which be likewise gilded: it is gilded with golde within and without. There are houses very faire round about for the pilgrims to lie in: and many goodly houses for the Tallipoies to preach in, which are full of images both of men and women, which are all gilded ouer with golde. It is the fairest place as I suppose, that is in the world: it standeth very high, and there are foure wayes to it, which all along are set with trees of fruits, in such wise that a man may goe in the shade aboue two miles in length. And when their feast day is, a man can hardly passe by water or by land for the great presse of people; for they come

The seuerall marchandises of Pegu.

The forme of their Temples or Varellaes.

The Tallipoies or Priests of Pegu.

from all places of the kingdome of Pegu thither at their feast. In Pegu they haue many Tallipoies or priests, which preach against all abuses. Many men resort vnto them. When they enter into their kiack, that is to say, their holy place or temple, at the doore their is a great iarre of water with a cocke or a ladle in it, and there they wash their feet; and then they enter in, and lift vp their hands to their heads, first to their preacher, and then to the Sunne, and so sit downe. The Tallipoies go very strangly apparelled with one cambaline or thinne cloth next to their body of a browne colour, another of yellow doubled many times vpon their shoulder: and those two be girded to them with a broad girdle: and they haue a skinne of leather hanging on a string about their necks, whereupon they sit, bare headed and bare-footed: for none of them weareth shoes; with their right armes bare and a great broad sombrero or shadow in their hands to defend them in the Summer from the Sunne, and in the Winter from the raine. When the Tallipoies or priests take their Orders, first they go to schoole vntill they be twenty yeres olde or more, and then they come before a Tallipoie appointed for that purpose, whom they call Rowli: he is of the chiefest or most learned, and he opposeth them, and afterward examineth them many times, whether they will leaue their friends, and the company of all women, and take vpon them the habit of a Tallipoie. If any be content, then he rideth vpon an horse about the streets very richly apparelled, with drummes and pipes, to shew that he leaueth the riches of the world to be a Tallipoie. In few dayes after, he is caried vpon a thing like an horsliter, which they call a serion, vpon ten or twelue mens shoulders in the apparell of a Tallipoie, with pipes and drummes, and many Tallipoies with him, and al his friends, and so they go with him to his house which standeth without the towne, and there they leaue him. Euery one of them hath his house, which is very little, set vpon six or eight posts, and they go vp to them with a ladder of twelue or foureteene staues. Their houses be for the most part by the hie wayes side, and among the trees, and in the woods. And they go with a great pot made of wood or fine earth, and couered, tied with a broad girdle vpon their shoulder, which cometh vnder their arme, wherewith they go to begge their victuals which they eate, which is rice, fish, and herbs. They demand nothing but come to the doore, and the people presently doe giue them, some one thing, and some another: and they put all together in their

The apparell of their priests.

potte: for they say they must eate of their almes, and therewith content themselues. They keepe their feasts by the Moone: and when it is new Moone they keepe their greatest feast: and then the people send rice and other things to that kiack or church of which they be; and there all the Tallipoies doe meete which be of that Church, and eate the victuals which are sent them. When the Tallipoies do preach, many of the people cary them gifts into the pulpit where they sit and preach. And there is one which sitteth by them to take that which the people bring. It is diuided among them. They haue none other ceremonies nor seruice that I could see, but onely preaching.

Obseruation of new moones.

I went from Pegu to Iamahey* which is in the countrey of the Langeiannes, whom we call Iangomes; it is fiue and twenty dayes iourney Northeast from Pegu. In which iourney I passed many fruitfull and pleasant countreys. The countrey is very lowe, and hath many faire riuers. The houses are very bad, made of canes, and couered with straw. Heere are many wilde buffes and elephants. Iamahey is a very faire and great towne, with faire houses of stone, well peopled, the streets are very large, the men very well set and strong, with a cloth about them, bare headed and bare footed: for in all these countreys they weare no shoes. The women be much fairer then those of Pegu. Heere in all these countreys they haue no wheat. They make some cakes of rice. Hither to Iamahey come many marchants out of China, and bring great store of muske, golde, siluer, and many other things of China worke. Here is great store of victuals: they haue such plenty that they will not milke the buffles, as they doe in all other places. Here is great store of copper and beniamin. In these countreys when the people be sicke they make a vow to offer meat vnto the diuell, if they escape: and when they be recouered they make a banket with many pipes and drummes and other instruments, and dansing all the night, and their friends come and bring gifts, cocos, figges, arrecaes, and other fruits, and with great dauncing and reioycing they offer to the diuell, and say, they giue the diuel to eat, and driue him out. When they be dancing and playing they will cry and hallow very loud; and in

---

Marginal note.—Iamahey fiue and twenty dayes iourney Northeastward from Pegu.

this sort they say they driue him away. And when they be sicke a Tallipoy or two euery night doth sit by them and sing, to please the diuell that he should not hurt them. And if any die he is caried vpon a great frame made like a tower, with a couering all gilded with golde made of canes caried with foureteene or sixteene men, with drummes and pipes and other instruments playing before him to a place out of the towne and there is burned. He is accompanied with all his friends and neighbours, all men: and they giue to the tallipoies or priests many mats and cloth: and then they returne to the house and there make a feast for two dayes: and then the wife with all the neighbours wiues and her friends go to the place where he was burned, and there they sit a certaine time and cry and gather the pieces of bones which be left vnburned and bury them, and then returne to their houses and make an end of all mourning. And the men and women which be neere of kin do shaue their heads, which they do not vse except it be for the death of a friend: for they much esteeme of their haire.

They burne their dead.

Caplan * is the place where they finde the rubies, saphires, and spinelles: it standeth sixe dayes iourney from Aua in the kingdome of Pegu. There are many great high hilles out of which they digge them. None may go to the pits but onely those which digge them.

In Pegu, and in all the countreys of Aua, Langeiannes, Siam, and the Bramas, the men weare bunches or little round balles in their priuy members: some of them ware two and some three. They cut the skin and so put them in, one into one side and another into the other side; which they do when they be 25 or 30 yeeres olde, and at their pleasure they take one or more of them as they thinke good. When they be maried the husband is for euery child which his wife hath, to put in one vntill he come to three and then no more: for they say the women doe desire them. They were inuented because they should not abuse the male sexe. For in times past all those countries were so giuen to that villany, that they were very scarse of people. It was also ordained that the women should not haue past three cubits of cloth in their nether clothes, which they binde about them; which are so strait, that when they go in the streets, they shew one side

---

Marginal note.—Caplan is the place the rubies and other precious stones are found.

Anthony Galuano writeth of these bals.

of the leg bare aboue the knee. The bunches aforesayd be of diuers sorts: the least be as big as a litle walnut, and very round: the greatest are as big as a litle hennes egge: some are of brasse and some of siluer: but those of siluer be for the king and his noble men. These are gilded and made with great cunning, and ring like a litle bell. There are some made of leade, which they call Selwy because they ring but litle: and these be of lesser price for the poorer sort. The king sometimes taketh his out, and giueth them to his noblemen as a great gift: and because he hath vsed them, they esteeme them greatly. They will put one in, and heale vp the place in seuen or eight dayes.

The Bramas which be of the kings countrey (for the king is a Brama) haue their legs or bellies, or some part of their body, as they thinke good themselues, made black with certaine things which they haue: they vse to pricke the skinne, and to put on it a kinde of anile or blacking, which doth continue alwayes. And this is counted an honour among them: but none may haue it but the Bramas which are of the kings kinred.

The people of Pegu weare no beards.

These people weare no beards: they pull out the haire on their faces with little pinsons made for that purpose. Some of them will let 16 or 20 haires grow together, some in one place of his face and some in another, and pulleth out all the rest: for he carieth his pinsons alwayes with him to pull the haires out assoone as they appeare. If they see a man with a beard they wonder at him. They haue their teeth blacked both men and women, for they say a dogge hath his teeth white, therefore they will blacke theirs.

The Pegues if they haue a suite in the law which is so doubtfull that they cannot well determine it, put two long canes into the water where it is very deepe: and both the parties go into the water by the poles, and there sit men to iudge, and they both do diue vnder the water, and he which remaineth longest vnder the water doth winne the sute.

The 10 of Ianuary I went from Pegu to Malacca, passing by many of the ports of Pegu, as Martauan, the Iland of Taui, from whence commeth great store of tinne, which serueth all India, the Ilands of Tanaseri, Iunsalaon, and many others; and so came to Malacca the 8 of February, where the Portugals haue a castle which standeth nere the sea. And the countrey fast without the towne belongeth to the Malayos, which is a kinde of proud people. They go naked with a cloth about their middle, and a litle roll of cloth about their heads. Hither come many ships from China and from the Malucos, Banda, Timor, and from many other Ilands of the Iauas, which bring great store of spices and drugs, and diamants and other iewels. The voyages into many of these Ilands belong vnto the captaine of Malacca: so that none may goe thither without his licence: which yeeld him great summes of money euery yeere. The Portugals heere haue often times warres with the king of Achem which standeth in the Iland of Sumatra: from whence commeth great store of pepper and other spices euery yeere to Pegu and Mecca within the Red sea, and other places.

The voyage to Iapan.

When the Portugals go from Macao in China to Iapan, they carry much white silke, golde, muske, and porcelanes: and they bring from thence nothing but siluer. They haue a great caracke which goeth thither euery yere, and she bringeth from thence euery yere aboue sixe hundred thousand crusadoes: and all this siluer of Iapan, and two hundred thousand crusadoes* more in siluer which they bring yeerely out of India, they imploy to their great aduantage in China: and they bring from thence golde, muske, silke, copper, porcelanes, and many other things very costly and gilded. When the Portugales come to Canton in China to traffike, they must remaine there but certaine dayes: and when they come in at the gate of the city, they must enter their names in a booke, and when they goe out at night they must put out their names. They may not lie in the towne all night, but must lie in their boats without the towne. And their dayes being expired, if any man remaine there, they are euill vsed and imprisoned. The Chinians are very suspitious, and doe not trust strangers. It is thought that the king doth not know that any strangers come into his countrey. And further it is credibly reported that the common people see their king very seldome or not at all, nor may not looke vp to that place where he sitteth. And when he rideth abroad he is caried vpon a great chaire or serrion gilded very faire, wherein there is made a little house with a latice to looke out at: so that he may see them, but they may not looke vp at him: and all the time that he passeth by them, they heaue vp their hands to their heads, and lay their heads on the ground, and looke not vp vntill he be passed. The order of China is when they mourne, that they weare white thread shoes, and hats of straw. The man doth mourne for his wife two yeeres, the wife for her husband three yeeres: the sonne for his father a yeere, and for his mother two yeres. And all the time which they mourne they keepe the dead in the house, the bowels being taken out and filled with chownam or lime, and coffined: and when the time is expired they carry them out playing and piping, and burne them. And when they returne they pull off their mourning weeds, and marry at their pleasure. A man may keepe as many concubines as he will, but one wife onely. All the Chineans, Iaponians, and Cauchin Chineans do write right downwards, and they do write with a fine pensill made of dogs or cats haire.

---

* *Marginal note.*—Eight hundred thousand crusadoes in siluer imployed yerely by the Portugals in China.

The writing of the people of China &c.

Laban is a Iland among the Iauas from whence come the diamants of the New water. And they finde them in the riuers: for the king will not suffer them to digge the rocke.

Iamba is an Iland among the Iauas also, from whence come diamants. And the king hath a masse of earth which is golde; it groweth in the middle of a riuer: and when the king doth lacke gold, they cut part of the earth and melt it, whereof commeth golde. This masse of earth doth appeare but once in a yere; which is when the water is low: and this is in the moneth of April.

Bima is another Iland among the Iauas, where the women trauell and labour as our men do in England, and the men keepe house and go where they will.

The 29 of March 1588, I returned from Malacca to Martauan, and so to Pegu, where I remained the second time vntill the 17 of September, and then I went to Cosmin, and there tooke shipping; and passing many dangers by reason of contrary windes, it pleased God that we arriued in Bengala in Nouember following: where I stayed for want of passage vntill the third of February 1589, and then I shipped my selfe for Cochin. In which voyage we endured great extremity for lacke of fresh water: for the weather was extreme hote, and we were many marchants and passengers, and we had very many calmes, and hote weather. Yet it pleased God that we arriued in Ceylon the sixth of March, where we stayed fiue dayes to water, and to furnish our selues with other necessary prouision. This Ceylon is a braue Iland, very fruitfull and faire; but by reason of continuall warres with the king thereof, all things are very deare: for he will not suffer any thing to be brought to the castle where the Portugals be: wherefore often times they haue great want of victuals. Their prouision of victuals commeth out of Bengala euery yere. The king is called Raia, and is of great force: for he commeth to Columbo, which is the place where the Portugals haue their fort, with an hundred thousand men, and many elephants. But they be naked people all of them; yet many of them be good with their pieces which be muskets. When the king talketh with any man, he standeth vpon one legge, and setteth the other foot vpon his knee with his sword in his hand: it is not their order for the king to sit but to stand. His apparell is a fine painted cloth made of cotton wooll about his middle: his haire is long and bound vp with a little fine cloth about his head: all the rest of his body is naked. His guard are a thousand men, which stand round about him, and he in the middle; and when he marcheth, many of them goe before him, and the rest come after him. They are of the race of the Chingalayes, which they say are the best kinde of all the Malabars. Their eares are very large; for the greater they are, the more honourable they are accounted. Some of them are a spanne long. The wood which they burne is Cinamom wood, and it smelleth very sweet. There is great store of rubies, saphires, and spinelles in this Iland: the best kinde of all be here; but the king will not suffer the inhabitants to digge for them, lest his enemies should know of them, and make warres against him, and so driue him out of his countrey for them. They haue no horses in all the countrey. The elephants be not so great as those of Pegu, which be monstrous huge: but they say all other elephants do feare them, and none dare fight with them, though they be very small. Their women haue a cloth bound about them from their middle to their knee: and all the rest is bare. All of them be blacke and but little, both men and women. Their houses are very little, made of the branches of the palmer or coco-tree, and couered with the leaues of the same tree.

The eleuenth of March we sailed from Ceylon, and so doubled the cape of Comori. Not far from thence, betweene Ceylon and the maine land of Negapatan, they fish for pearles. And there is fished euery yere very much; which doth serue all India, Cambaia, and Bengala, it is not so orient as the pearle of Baharim in the gulfe of Persia. From cape de Comori we passed by Coulam, which is a fort of the Portugals: from whence commeth great store of pepper, which commeth for Portugall: for oftentimes there ladeth one of the caracks of Portugall. Thus passing the coast we arriued in Cochin the 22 of March, where we found the weather warme, but scarsity of victuals:· for here groweth neither corne nor rice: and the greatest part commeth from Bengala. They haue here very bad water, for the riuer is farre off. This bad water causeth many of the people to be like lepers, and many of them haue their legs swollen as bigge as a man in the waste, and many of them are scant able to go. These people here be Malabars, and of the race of the Naires of Calicut: and they differ much from the other Malabars. These haue their heads very full of haire, and bound vp with a string: and there doth appeare a bush without the band wherewith it is bound. The men be tall and strong, and good archers with a long bow and a long arrow, which is their best weapon: yet there be some caliuers among them, but they handle them badly.

People with swollen legges mentioned also by Ioh. Huygen.

Heere groweth the pepper; and it springeth vp by a tree or a pole, and is like our iuy berry, but something longer like the wheat eare: and at the first the bunches are greene, and as they waxe ripe they cut them off and dry them. The leafe is much lesser then the iuy leafe and thinner. All the inhabitants here haue very little houses couered with the leaues of the coco-trees. The men be of a reasonable stature; the women little; all blacke, with a cloth bound about their middle hanging downe to their hammes; all the rest of their bodies be naked: they haue horrible great eares with many rings set with pearles and stones in them. The king goeth incached, as they do all; he doth not remaine in a place aboue fiue or sixe dayes: he hath many houses, but they be but litle: his guard is but small: he remooueth from one house to another according to their order. All the pepper of Calicut and course cinamom groweth here in this countrey. The best cinamom doth come from Ceylon, and is pilled from fine yoong trees. Here are very many palmer or coco trees, which is their chiefe food: for it is their meat and drinke: and yeeldeth many other necessary things, as I haue declared before.

How pepper groweth.

The Naires which be vnder the king of Samorin, which be Malabars, haue alwayes wars with the Portugals. The king hath alwayes peace with them; but his people goe to the sea to robbe and steale. Their chiefe

Or Calicut or Cananor.

captaine is called Cogi Alli; he hath three castles vnder him. When the Portugals complaine to the king, he sayth he doth not send them out: but he consenteth that they go. They range all the coast from Ceylon to Goa, and go by foure or fiue parowes or boats together: and haue in euery one of them fifty or threescore men, and boord presently. They do much harme on that coast, and take euery yere many foists and boats of the Portugals. Many of these people be Moores. This kings countrey beginneth twelue leagues from Cochin, and reacheth neere vnto Goa. I remained in Cochin vntill the second of Nouember, which was eight moneths; for that there was no passage that went away in all that time: if I had come two dayes sooner I had found a passage presently. From Cochin I went to Goa, where I remained three dayes. From Cochin to Goa is an hundred leagues. From Goa I went to Chaul, which is threescore leagues, where I remained three and twenty dayes: and there making my prouision of things necessary for the shippe, from thence I departed to Ormus; where I stayed for a passage to Balsara fifty dayes. From Goa to Ormus is foure hundred leagues.

Here I thought good, before I make an end of this my booke, to declare some things which India and the countrey farther Eastward do bring forth.

The pepper groweth in many parts of India, especially about Cochin: and much of it doeth grow in the fields among the bushes without any labour: and when it is ripe they go and gather it. The shrubbe is like vnto our iuy tree: and if it did not run about some tree or pole, it would fall down and rot. When they first gather it, it is greene; and then they lay it in the Sun, and it becommeth blacke.

The ginger groweth like vnto our garlick, and the root is the ginger: it is to be found in many parts of India.

The cloues doe come from the Iles of the Moluccoes, which be diuers Ilands: their tree is like to our bay tree.

The nutmegs and maces grow together, and come from the Ile of Banda: the tree is like to our walnut tree, but somewhat lesser.

The white sandol is wood very sweet and in great request among the Indians; for they grinde it with a litle water, and anoynt their bodies therewith: it commeth from the Isle of Timor.

Camphora is a precious thing among the Indians, and is solde dearer than golde. I thinke none of it commeth for Christendome. That which is compounded commeth from China: but that which groweth in canes and is the best, commeth from the great Isle of Borneo.

Lignum Aloes commeth from Cauchinchina.

The beniamin commeth out of the countreys of Siam and Iangomes.

The long pepper groweth in Bengala, in Pegu, and in the Ilands of the Iauas.

The muske commeth out of Tartarie, and is made after this order, by report of the marchants which bring it to Pegu to sell; In Tartarie there is a little beast like vnto a yong roe, which they take in snares, and beat him to death with the blood: after that they cut out the bones, and beat the flesh with the blood very small, and fill the skin with it: and hereof commeth the muske.

Of the amber they holde diuers opinions; but most men say it commeth out of the sea, and that they finde it vpon the shores side.

The rubies, saphires, and spinnelles are found in Pegu.

The diamants are found in diuers places, as in Bisnagar, in Agra, in Delli, and in the Ilands of the Iauas.

The best pearles come from the Iland of Baharim in the Persian sea, the woorser from the Piscaria neere the Isle of Ceylon, and from Aynam a great Iland on the Southermost coast of China.

Spodium and many other kindes of drugs come from Cambaia.

Now to returne to my voyage; from Ormus I went to Balsara or Basora, and from Basora to Babylon: and we passed the most part of the way by the strength of men by halling the boat vp the riuer with a long cord. From Babylon I came by land to Mosul, which standeth nere to Niniue, which is all ruinated and destroyed: it standeth fast by the riuer of Tigris. From Mosul I went to Merdin, which is in the countrey of the Armenians; but now there dwell in that place a people which they call Cordies or Curdi. From Merdin I went to Orfa, which is a very faire towne, and it hath a goodly fountaine full of fish, where the Moores hold many great ceremonies and opinions concerning Abraham: for they say he did once dwell there. From thence I went to Bir, and so passed the riuer of Euphrates. From Bir I went to Aleppo, where I stayed certaine moneths for company; and then I went to Tripolis; where finding English shipping, I came with a prosperous voyage to London, where by Gods assistance I safely arriued the 29 of April 1591, hauing bene eight yeeres out of my natiue countrey.

The report of Iohn Huighen van Linchoten concerning M. Newberies and M. Fitches imprisonment, and of their escape, which happened while he was in Goa.

IN the moneth of December, Anno 1583, there arriued in the towne and Iland of Ormus, foure English men, which came from Aleppo in the countrey of Syria, hauing sailed out of England, and passed thorow the straights of Gibralter to Tripoli a towne and hauen lying on the coast of Syria, where all the ships discharge their wares and marchandises, and from thence are caried by land vnto Aleppo, which is nine dayes iourney. In Aleppo there are resident diuers marchants and factours of all nations, as Italians, French men, English men, Armenians, Turks and Moores, euery man hauing his religion apart, paying tribute vnto the great Turke. In that towne there is great traffique, for that from thence euery yeere twise, there trauell two Caffyls, that is, companies of people and camels, which trauell vnto India, Persia, Arabia, and all the countreys bordering on the same, and deale in all sorts of marchandise, both to and from those countreys, as I in another place haue already declared. Three of the sayd English men aforesayd, were sent by a company of English men that are resident in Aleppo, to see if in Ormus they might keepe any factours, and so traffique in that place, like as also the Italians do, that is to say, the Venetians which in Ormus, Goa, and Malacca haue their factours, and traffique there, aswell for stones and pearles, as for other wares and spices of those countreyes, which from thence are caried ouer land into Venice. One of these English men had bene once before in the sayd towne of Ormus, and there had taken good information of the trade, and vpon his aduise and aduertisement, the other were as then come thither with him, bringing great store of marchandises with them, as Clothes, Saffron, all kindes of drinking glasses, and Haberdashers wares, as looking glasses, kniues, and such like stuffe : and to conclude, brought with them all kinde of small wares that may be deuised. And although those wares amounted vnto great summes of money, notwithstanding it was but onely a shadow or colour, thereby to giue no occassion to be mistrusted, or seen into : for that their principall intent was to buy great quantities of precious stones, as Diamants, Pearles, Rubies, &c. to the which end they brought with them a great summe of money and golde, and that very secretly, not to be

Iohn Newbery had beene in Ormus before. Anno. 1581.

deceiued or robbed thereof, or to runne into any danger for the same. They being thus arriued in Ormus, hired a shoppe, and beganne to sell their wares: which the Italians perceiuing, whose factours continue there (as I sayd before) and fearing that those English men finding good vent for their commodities in that place, would be resident therin, and so dayly increase, which would be no small losse and hinderance vnto them, did presently inuent all the subtile meanes they could to hinder them: and to that end they went vnto the Captaine of Ormus, as then called Don Gonsalo de Meneses, telling him that there were certaine English men come into Ormus, that were sent onely to spie the countrey; and sayd further, that they were heretikes: and therefore they sayd it was conuenient they should not be suffered so to depart, without being examined, and punished as enemies, to the example of others. The Captaine being a friend vnto the English men, by reason that one of them which had bene there before, had giuen him certaine presents, would not be perswaded to trouble them, but shipped them with all their wares in a shippe that was to saile for Goa, and sent them to the Viceroy, that he might examine and trie them, as he thought good: where when they were arriued, they were cast into prison, and first examined whether they were good Christians or no: and because they could speake but badde Portugall, onely two of them spake good Dutch, as hauing bene certaine yeres in the Low countreyes, and there traffiked, there was a Dutch Iesuite born in the towne of Bruges in Flanders, that had bene resident in the Indies for the space of thirty yers, sent vnto them, to vndermine and examine them: wherein they behaued themselues so well, that they were holden and esteemed for good Catholicke Christians: yet still suspected, because they were strangers, and specially English men. The Iesuites still tolde them that they should be sent prisoners into Portugall, wishing them to leaue off their trade of marchandise, and to become Iesuites, promising them thereby to defend them from all trouble. The cause why they sayd so, and perswaded them in that earnest maner, was, for that the Dutch Iesuite had secretly bene aduertised of great summes of money which they had about them, and sought to get the same into their fingers, for that the first vowe and promise they make at their entrance into their Order, is to procure the welfare of their sayd Order, by what meanes soeuer it be. But although the English men denied them, and refused the Order, saying, that they were vnfit for such places, neuerthelesse they proceeded so farre, that one of them, being a Painter that came with the other three for company, to see the countreys, and to seeke his fortune, and was not sent thither by the English marchants) partly for feare, and partly for want of meanes to relieue himselfe, promised them to become a Iesuite: and although they knew and well perceiued he was not any of those that had the treasure, yet because he was a Painter, whereof there are but few in India, and that they had great need of him to paint their Church, which otherwise would cost them great charges, to bring one from Portugall, they were very glad thereof, hoping in time to get the rest of them with all their money into their fellowship: so that to conclude, they made this Painter a Iesuite, where he remained certaine dayes, giuing him good store of worke to doe, and entertaining him with all the fauour and friendship they could deuise, and all to winne the rest, to be a pray for them: but the other three continued still in prison, being in great feare, because they vnderstood no man that came to them, nor any man almost knew what they sayd: till in the end it was tolde them that certaine Dutch men dwelt in the Archbishops house, and counsell giuen them to send vnto them, whereat they much reioyced, and sent to me and an other Dutch man, desiring vs at once to come and speake with them, which we presently did, and they with teares in their eyes made complaint vnto vs of their hard vsage, shewing vs from point to point (as it is sayd before) why they were come into the countrey, withall desiring vs for Gods cause, if we might by any meanes, to helpe them, that they might be set at liberty vpon sureties, being ready to endure what iustice should ordaine for them, saying, that if it were found contrary, and that they were other then trauelling marchants, and sought to finde out further benefit by their wares, they would be content to be punished. With that we departed from them, promising them to do our best: and in the end we obtained so much of the archbishop, that he went vnto the Viceroy to deliuer our petition, and perswaded him so well, that he was content to set them at libertie, and that their goods should be deliuered vnto them againe, vpon condition they should put in sureties for two thousand pardawes, not to depart the countrey before other order should be taken with them. Thereupon they presently found a Citizen of the towne that was their surety for two thousand pardawes, to whom they payed in hand one thousand and three hundred pardawes, and because they sayd they had no more ready money, he gaue them credit, seeing what store of marchandise they had, whereby at all times if need were, he might be satisfied: and by that meanes they were deliuered out of prison, and hired themselues an house, and beganne to set open shoppe: so that they vttered much ware, and were presently well knowen among all the marchants, because they alwayes respected gentlemen, specially such as bought their wares, shewing great courtesie and honour vnto them, whereby they woon much credit, and were beloued of all men, so that euery man fauoured them, and was willing to doe them pleasure. To vs they shewed great friendship, for whose sake the Archbishop fauoured them much, and shewed them very good countenance, which they knew well how to increase, by offering him many presents, although he would not receiue them, neither would euer take gift or present at any mans hands. Likewise they behaued themselues so discreetly that no man caried an euill eye, no, nor an euill thought towards them. Which liked not the Iesuites, because it hindred them from that they hoped for, so that they ceased not still by this Dutch Iesuite to put them in feare, that they should be sent into Portugall to the King, counselling them to yeeld themselues Iesuits into their Cloister, which if they did, he sayd they would defend them from all troubles, saying further, that he counselled them therein as a friend, and one that knew for certaine that it was so determined by the Viceroyes Priuy councell: which to effect he sayd they stayed but for shipping that should saile for Portugall, with diuers other perswasions, to put them in some feare, and so to effect their purpose. The English men to the contrary, durst not say any thing to them, but answered, that as yet they would stay a while, and consider thereof, thereby putting the Iesuites in comfort, as one among them, being the principall of them (called Iohn Newbery) complained vnto me often times, saying that he knew not what to say or thinke therein, or which way he might be ridde of those troubles: but in the end they determined with themselues to depart from thence, and secretly by meanes of other friendes they imployed their money in precious stones; which the better to effect, one of them was a Ieweller, and for the same purpose came with them. Which being concluded among them, they durst not make knowen to any man, neither did they credite vs so much, as to shew vs their mindes therein, although they tolde vs all whatsoeuer they knew. But on a Whitsunday they went abroad to sport themselues about three miles from Goa, in the mouth of the riuer in a countrey called Bardes, hauing with them good store of meate and drinke. And because they should not be suspected, they left their house and shoppe, with some wares therein vnsolde, in custody of a Dutch boy, by vs prouided for them, that looked vnto it. This boy was in the house not knowing their intent, and being in Bardes, they had with them a Patamar, which is one of the Indian postes, which in the Winter times carieth letters from one place to the other, whom they had hired to guide them: and because that betweene Bardes and the firme land there is but a little riuer, in a maner halfe drie, they passed ouer it on foot, and so trauelled by land, being neuer heard of againe: but it is thought they arriued in Aleppo, as some say, but they know not certainely. Their greatest hope was that Iohn Newbery could speake the Arabian tongue, which is vsed in all those countreys, or at the least vnderstood: for it is very common in all places there abouts, as French with vs. Newes being come to Goa, there was a great stirre and murmuring among the people, and we much woondered at it: for many were of opinion that we had giuen them counsell so to do: and presently their surety seised vpon the goods remaining, which might amount vnto aboue two hundred pardawes; and with that and the money he had received of the English men, he went vnto the Viceroy, and deliuered it vnto him: which the Viceroy hauing receiued forgaue him the rest. This flight of the English men grieued the Iesuites most, because they had lost such a praye, which they made sure account of: whereupon the Dutch Iesuite came to vs to aske vs if we knew thereof, saying, that if he had suspected so much, he would haue dealt otherwise, for that he sayd, he once had in his hands of theirs a bagge wherein was forty thousand veneseanders (ech veneseander being two pardawes) which was when they were in prison. And that they had alwayes put him in comfort to accomplish his desire: vpon the which promise he gaue them their money againe, which otherwise they should not so lightly haue come by, or peraduenture neuer, as he openly sayd: and in the ende he called them hereticks, and spies, with a thousand other railing speeches, which he vttered against them. The English man that was become a Iesuite, hearing that his companions were gone, and perceiuing that the Iesuites shewed him not so great fauour, neither vsed him so well as they did at

The Arabian tongue generall in the East.

the first, repented himselfe; and seeing he had not as then made any solemne promise, and being counselled to leaue the house, and tolde that he could not want a liuing in the towne, as also that the Iesuites could not keepe him there without he were willing to stay, so they could not accuse him of any thing, he tolde them flatly that he had no desire to stay within the Cloister. And although they vsed all the meanes they could to keepe him there, yet he would not stay, but hired an house without the Cloister, and opened shoppe, where he had good store of worke: and in the end married a Mestizos daughter of the towne, so that he made his account to stay there while he liued. By this English man I was instructed of all the wayes, trades, and voyages of the countrey, betweene Aleppo and Ormus, and of all the ordinances and common customes which they vsually holde during their voyage ouer the land, as also of the places and townes where they passed. And since those English mens departures from Goa, there neuer arriued any strangers, either English or others, by land, in the sayd countreys, but onely Italians which dayly traffique ouer land, and vse continuall trade going and comming that way.

The voyage of M. Iohn Eldred to Trypolis in Syria by sea, and from thence by land and riuer to Babylon and Balsara. 1583.

I departed out of London in the ship called the Tiger, in the company of M. Iohn Newbery, M. Ralph Fitch, and sixe or seuen other honest marchants vpon Shroue munday 1583, and arriued in Tripolis of Syria the first day of May next insuing: at our landing we went on Maying vpon S. Georges Iland, a place where Christians dying aboord the ships, are woont to be buried. In this city our English marchants haue a Consull, and our nation abide together in one house with him, called Fondeghi Ingles, builded of stone, square, in maner like a Cloister, and euery man hath his seuerall chamber, as it is the vse of all other Christians of seuerall nations. This towne standeth vnder a part of the mountaine of Libanus two English miles distant from the port: on the side of which port, trending in forme of an halfe Moone, stand fiue blocke houses or small forts, wherein is some very good artillery, and the forts are kept with about an hundred Ianisaries. Right

The description of Tripolis in Syria.

before this towne from the seaward is a banke of mouing sand, which gathereth and increaseth with the Western winds, in such sort, that, according to an olde prophesie among them, this banke is like to swallow vp and ouerwhelme the towne: for euery yere it increaseth and eateth vp many gardens, although they vse all policy to diminish the same, and to make it firme ground. The city is about the bignesse of Bristow, and walled about, though the walles be of no great force. The chiefe strength of the place is in a Citadell, which standeth on the South side within the walles, and ouerlooketh the whole towne, and is strongly kept with two hundred Ianisaries and good artillery. A riuer passeth thorow the midst of the city, wherewith they water their gardens and mulbery trees, on which there grow abundance of silke wormes, wherewith they make great quantity of very white silke, which is the chiefest naturall commodity to be found in and about this place. This rode is more frequented with Christian marchants, to wit, Venetians, Genouois, Florentines, Marsilians, Sicilians, Raguses, and lately with English men, then any other port of the Turks dominions. From Tripolis I departed the 14 of May with a carauan, passing three dayes ouer the ridge of mount Libanus, at the end whereof we arriued in a city called Hammah, which standeth on a goodly plaine replenished with corne and cotton wooll. On these mountaines which we passed grow great quantity of gall trees, which are somewhat like our okes, but lesser and more crooked: on the best tree a man shall not finde aboue a pound of galles. This towne of Hammah is fallen and falleth more and more to decay, and at this day there is scarse one halfe of the wall standing, which hath bene very strong and faire: but because it cost many mens liues to win it, the Turke will not haue it repaired; and hath written in the Arabian tongue ouer the castle gate, which standeth in the midst of the towne, these words: Cursed be the father and the sonne that shall lay their hands to the repairing hereof. Refreshing our selues one day here, we passed forward with camels three dayes more vntill we came to Aleppo, where we arriued the 21 of May. This is the greatest place of traffique for a dry towne that is in all those parts: for hither resort Iewes, Tartarians, Persians, Armenians, Egyptians, Indians, and many sorts of Christians, and enioy freedome of their consciences, and bring thither many kinds of rich marchandises. In the middest of this towne also standeth a goodly

Store of white silke.

The city of Hammah.

castle raised on high, with a garrison of foure or fiue hundred Ianisaries. Within four miles round about are goodly gardens and vineyards and trees, which beare goodly fruit neere vnto the riuers side, which is but small; the walles are about three English miles in compasse, but the suburbs are almost as much more. The towne is greatly peopled. We departed from thence with our camels the last day of May with M. Iohn Newbery and his company, and came to Birrah in three dayes, being a small towne situated vpon the riuer Euphrates, where it beginneth first to take his name, being here gathered into one chanell, whereas before it commeth downe in manifolde branches, and therefore is called by the people of the countrey by a name which signifieth a thousand heads. Here is plenty of victuals, whereof we all furnished our selues for a long iourney downe the aforesayd riuer And according to the maner of those that trauell downe by water, we prepared a small barke for the conueyance of our selues and of our goods. These boates are flat bottomed, because the riuer is shallow in many places: and when men trauell in the moneth of Iuly, August, and September, the water being then at the lowest, they are constrained to cary with them a spare boat or two to lighten their owne boates, if they chance to fall on the sholds. We were eight and twenty dayes vpon the water betweene Birrah and Felugia, where we disimbarked our selues and our goods. Euery night after the Sun setteth, we tie our barke to a stake, go on land to gather sticks, and set on our pot with rice or brused wheat, and hauing supped, the marchants lie aboord the barke, and the mariners vpon the shores side as nere as they can vnto the same. In many places vpon the riuers side we met with troops of Arabians, of whom we bought milke, butter, egges, and lambs, and gaue them in barter, (for they care not for money) glasses, combes, corall, amber, to hang about their armes and necks, and for churned milke we gaue them bread and pomgranat peeles, wherewith they vse to tanne their goats skinnes which they churne withall. Their haire, apparell, and colour are altogether like to those vagabond Egyptians, which heretofore haue gone about in England. Their women all without exception weare a great round ring in one of their nostrels, of golde, siluer, or yron, according to their ability, and about their armes and smalles of their

Euphrates shallow.

Eight and twenty dayes iourney by riuer.

Arabians vpon the riuer of Euphrates.

The Arabian women weare golde rings in their nostrels.

legs they haue hoops of golde, siluer or yron. All of them as wel women and children as men, are very great swimmers, and often times swimming they brought vs milke to our barke in vessels vpon their heads. These people are very theeuish, which I prooued to my cost: for they stole a casket of mine, with things of good value in the same, from vnder my mans head as he was asleepe: and therefore trauellers keepe good watch as they passe downe the riuer. Euphrates at Birrah is about the breadth of the Thames at Lambeth, and in some places narrower, in some broader: it runneth very swiftly, almost as fast as the riuer of Trent: it hath diuers sorts of fish in it, but all are scaled, some as bigge as salmons, like barbils. We landed at Felugia the eight and twentieth of Iune, where we made our abode seuen dayes, for lacke of camels to cary our goods to Babylon: the heat at that time of the yere is such in those parts, that men are loth to let out their camels to trauell. This Felugia is a village of some hundred houses, and a place appointed for discharging of such goods as come downe the riuer: the inhabitants are Arabians. Not finding camels here, we were constrained to vnlade our goods, and hired an hundred asses to cary our marchandises onely to New Babylon ouer a short desert, in crossing whereof we spent eighteene houres trauelling by night, and part of the morning, to auoid the great heat.

Euphrates described.

In this place which we crossed ouer, stood the olde mighty city of Babylon, many olde ruines whereof are easily to be seene by day-light, which I Iohn Eldred haue often beheld at my good leasure, hauing made three voyages betweene the new city of Babylon and Aleppo ouer this desert. Here also are yet standing the ruines of the olde tower of Babel, which being vpon a plaine ground seemeth a farre off very great, but the nerer you come to it, the lesser and lesser it appeareth; sundry times I haue gone thither to see it, and found the remnants yet standing aboue a quarter of a mile in compasse, and almost as high as the stone worke of Pauls steeple in London, but it sheweth much bigger. The bricks remaining in this most ancient monument be halfe a yard thicke, and three quarters of a yard long, being dried in the Sunne onely, and betweene euery course of bricks there lieth a course of mattes made of canes, which remaine sound and not perished, as though they had bene layed within one yeere. The city of New Babylon ioineth vpon

The ruines of olde Babylon.

the aforesayd small desert where the Olde city was, and the riuer of Tigris runneth close vnder the wall, and they may if they will open a sluce, and let the water of the same runne round about the towne. It is aboue two English miles in compasse, and the inhabitants generally speake three languages, to wit, the Persian, Arabian and Turkish Tongues: the people are of the Spaniards complexion: and the women generally weare in one of the gristles of their noses a ring like a wedding ring, but somewhat greater, with a pearle and a Turkish stone set therein: and this they do be they neuer so poore.

Rafts borne vpon bladders of goats skins.

Seldome rain.

Eight and twenty dayes iourney more by riuer, from Babylon to Balsara.

This is a place of very great traffique, and a very great thorowfare from the East Indies to Aleppo. The towne is very well furnished with victuals which come downe the riuer of Tigris from Mosul which was called Niniuie in olde time. They bring these victuals and diuers sorts of marchandises vpon rafts borne vpon goats skins blowen vp full of wind in maner of bladders. And when they haue discharged their goods, they sel the rafts for fire, and let the wind out of their goats skins, and cary them home againe vpon their asses by land, to make other voyages downe the riuer. The building here is most of bricke dried in the Sun, and very litle or no stone is to be found: their houses are all flat-roofed and low. They haue no raine for eight moneths together, nor almost any clouds in the skie night nor day. Their Winter is in Nouember, December, Ianuary and February, which is as warme as our Summer in England in a maner. This I know by good experience, because my abode at seuerall times in this city of Babylon hath bene at the least the space of two yeeres. As we come to the city, we passe ouer the riuer of Tigris on a great bridge made with boats chained together with two mighty chaines of yron. From thence we departed in flat bottomed barks more strong and greater then those of Euphrates, and were eight and twenty dayes also in passing downe this riuer to Balsara, but we might haue done it in eighteene or lesse, if the water had bene higher. Vpon the waters side stand by the way diuer townes resembling much the names of the olde prophets: the first towne they call Ozeah, and another Zecchiah. Before we come to Balsara by one dayes iourney, the two riuers of Tigris and Euphrates meet, and there standeth a castle called Curna, kept by the Turks, where all marchants pay a small custome. Here the two riuers ioyned together begin to be eight or nine miles broad: here also it beginneth to ebbe and flow, and the water ouerflowing maketh the countrey all about very fertile of corne, rice, pulse, and dates. The towne of Balsara is a mile and an halfe in circuit: all the buildings, castle and wals, are made of bricke, dried in the Sun. The Turke hath here fiue hundred Ianisaries, besides other souldiers continually in garison and pay, but his chiefe strength is of gallies which are about fiue and twenty or thirty very faire and furnished with goodly ordinance. To this port of Balsara come monethly diuers ships from Ormuz, laden with all sorts of Indian marchandise, as spices, drugs, Indico and Calecut cloth. These ships are vsually from forty to threescore tunnes, hauing their planks sowed together with corde made of the barke of Date trees, and in stead of Occam they vse the shiuerings of the barke of the sayd trees, and of the same they also make their tackling. They haue no kind of yron worke belonging to these vessels, saue only their ankers. From this place six dayes sailing downe the gulfe, they goe to a place called Baharem in the mid way to Ormus: there they fish for pearles foure moneths in the yeere, to wit, in Iune, Iuly, August, and September. My abode in Balsara was iust sixe moneths, during which time I receiued diuers letters from M. Iohn Newberry from Ormus, who as he passed that way with her Maiesties letters to Zelabdim Echebar king of Cambaia, and vnto the mighty emperour of China, was traiterously there arrested, and all his company, by the Portugals, and afterward sent prisoner to Goa; where after a long and cruell imprisonment, he and his companions were deliuered vpon sureties, not to depart the towne without leaue, at the sute of one father Thomas Steuens, an English religious man which they found there: but shortly after three of them escaped, whereof one, to wit, M. Ralph Fitch, is since come into England. The fourth, which was a painter called Iohn Story, became religious in the college of S. Paul in Goa, as we vnderstood by their letters. I and my companion William Shales hauing dispatched our businesse at Balsara, imbarked our selues in company of seuenty barks all laden with marchandise, hauing euery barke 14. men to draw them, like our Westerne bargemen on the Thames, and we were forty foure dayes comming vp against the streame to

Ships made without yron in the Persian gulfe.

Zelabdim Echebar king of Cambaia.

He returneth from Balsara to Aleppo.

Their prouision of victuals.

A Carauan of foure thousand Camels.

Babylon, where arriuing and paying our custome, we with all other sorts of marchants bought vs camels, hired vs men to lade and driue them, furnished our selues with rice, butter, bisket, hony made of dates, onions and dates: and euery marchant bought a proportion of liue muttons, and hired certaine shepheards to driue them with vs: we also bought vs tents to lie in, and to put our goods vnder: and in this our carauan were foure thousand camels laden with spices, and other rich marchandises. These camels will liue very well two or three dayes without water: their feeding is on thistles, wormewood, magdalene, and other strong weeds which they finde vpon the way. The gouernment and deciding of all quarels and dueties to be payed, the whole carauan commiteth to one speciall rich marchant of the company, of whose honesty they conceiue best. In passing from Babylon to Aleppo, we spent forty dayes, trauelling twenty, or foure and twenty miles a day, resting ourselues commonly from two of the clocke in the afternoone, vntill three in the morning, at which time we begin to take our iourney. Eight dayes iourney from Babylon toward Aleppo, neere vnto a towne called Heit, as we crosse the riuer Euphrates by boates, about 3. miles from the town there is a valley wherein are many springs throwing out abundantly at great mouths, a kinde of blacke substance like vnto tarre, which serueth all the countrey to make stanch their barkes and boates: euery one of these springs maketh a noise like vnto a Smiths forge in the blowing and puffing out of this matter, which neuer ceaseth night nor day, and the noise may be heard a mile off continually. This vale swalloweth vp all heauie things that come vpon it. The people of the countrey call it in their language Babil gehenham, that is to say, Hell doore. As we passed through these deserts, we saw certaine wild beasts, as wild asses all white, Roebucks, wolfes, leopards, foxes, and many hares, whereof we chased and killed many. Aborise the king of the wandring Arabians in these deserts hath a dutie of 40.s. sterling, vpon euery Camels lode, which he sendeth his officers to receiue of the Carauans, and in consideration hereof, he taketh vpon him to conduct the sayd Carauans if they need his helpe, and to defend them against certaine prowling thieues. I and my companion William Shales came to Aleppo with the Carauan the eleuenth of Iune, 1584.

where we were ioyfully receiued 20. miles distant from the towne by M. William Barret our Consull, accompanied with his people and Ianissaries, who fell sicke immediately and departed this life within 8. dayes after, and elected before his death M. Anthonie Bate Consul of our English nation in his place, who laudably supplied the same roome 3. yeeres. In which meane time I made two voyages more vnto Babylon, and returned by the way aforesayd, ouer the deserts of Arabia. And afterwards, as one desirous to see other parts of the countrey, I went from Aleppo to Antioch, which is thence 60. English miles, and from thence went downe to Tripolis, where going aboord a small vessell, I arriued at Ioppe, and trauelled to Rama, Lycia, Gaza, Ierusalem, Bethleem, to the riuer of Iordan, and the sea or lake of Zodome, and returned backe to Ioppe, and from thence by sea to Tripolis, of which places because many others haue published large discourses, I surcease to write. Within few dayes after imbarking my selfe at Tripolis the 22. of December, I arriued (God be thanked) in safety here in the riuer of Thames with diuers English marchants, the 26. of March, 1588, in the Hercules of London, which was the richest ship of English marchants goods that euer was knowen to come into this realme.

William Barret Consul in Aleppo.

Two voyages more made to Babylon.

The second letters Patents graunted by the Queenes Maiestie to the Right worshipfull companie of the English Marchants for the Leuant, the seuenth of Ianuarie 1592.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Irelande, defender of the faith &c. To all our Officers, ministers and subiects, and to all other people aswell within this our Realme of England, as else where vnder our obeysance and iurisdiction or otherwise vnto whom these our letters shal be seene, shewed, or read greeting.

Where our well beloued subiects Edward Osborne knight Alderman of our citie of London, William Hareborne Esquire, and Richard Staper of our saide citie Marchant, haue by great aduenture and industrie with their great cost and charges by the space of sundry late yeeres trauelled, and caused trauell to be taken aswell by secrete and good meanes, as by daungerous wayes and passages both by lande and sea to finde out and set open a trade of marchandize and traffike into the landes, Ilandes, Dominions, and territories of the great Turke, commonly called the Grand Signior, not before that time in the memorie of any man now liuing knowen to be commonly vsed and frequented by way of marchandize by any the marchantes or other subiects of vs or our progenitors: And also haue by their like good meanes and industrie and great charges procured of the sayde Grand Signior in our name, amitie, safetie and freedome for trade and traffike of marchandize to be vsed and continued by our subiects within his sayd dominions, whereby we perceiue and finde that both many good actions haue beene done and performed, and hereafter are likely continually to be done and performed for the peace of Christendome: Namely by the reliefe and discharge of many Christians which haue beene, and which hereafter may happen to be in thraldome and bondage vnder the sayde Grand Signior and his vassals or subiects. And also good and profitable vent and vtterance of the commodities of our Realme, and sundrie other great benefites to the aduancement of our honour and dignitie Royall, the maintenance of our Nauie, the encrease of our customes, and the reuenues of our Crowne, and generally the great wealth of our whole Realme.

And whereas we are enformed of the sayd Edward Osborne knight, William Hareborne, and Richard Staper, that George Barne, Richard Martine, Iohn Harte knights, and other marchants of our sayd Citie of London haue by the space of eight or nine yeeres past ioyned themselues in companie, trade and traffike with them the sayd Edward Osborne knight, William Hareborne and Richard Staper, into the sayde dominions of the sayd great Turke, to the furtherance thereof and the good of the Realme.

And whereas further it is made knowen vnto vs, that within fewe yeeres now past our louing and good subiects Thomas Cordall, Edward Holmeden, William Garraway and Paul Banning, and sundry other merchants of our said Citie of London, haue likewise at their great costes and charges, builded and furnished diuerse good and seruiceable shippes and therewith to their like costs and charges haue traded and frequented, and from time to time doe trade and frequent and traffike by sea with the commodities of our Realme to Venice, Zante, Candie, and Zephalonia and other the dominions of the Segniorie and State of Venice, and thereby haue made and mainteyned, and doe make and continually maintaine diuers good shippes with mariners skilfull and fitte and necessarie for our seruice: and doe vent out of our Realme into those partes diuerse commodities of our Realme, and returne hither into our sayde Realme many good and necessarie commodities for the common wealth thereof: All which traffike, as well inward as outward vntill it hath beene otherwise brought to passe by the sayde endeuours, costs, and charges of our sayde subiects, was in effect by our subiectes wholy discontinued.

Knowe yee, that hereupon we greatly tendring the wealth of our people and the encouragement of them and other our louing subiects in their good enterprises for the aduancement of lawfull traffike to the benefite of our common wealth, haue of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion giuen and graunted, and by these presents for vs, our heyres, and successours, doe giue and graunt vnto our sayd trustie and welbeloued subiectes Edwarde Orborne Knight, George Barne Knight, George Bonde knight, Richard Martine knight, Iohn Harte knight, Iohn Hawkins knight, William Massam, John Spencer, Richard Saltonstall, Nicholas Mosley Alderman of our sayde Citie of London, William Hareborne, Edwarde Barton, William Borrough Esquires, Richard Staper, Thomas Cordall, Henrie Paruis, Thomas Laurence, Edwarde Holmeden, William Garraway, Robert Dowe, Paul Banning, Roger Clarke, Henrie Anderson, Robert Offley, Philip Grimes, Andrewe Banning, Iames Staper, Robert Sadler, Leonarde Power, George Salter, Nicholas Leate, Iohn Eldred, William Shales, Richard May, William Wilkes, Andrewe Fones, Arthur Iackson, Edmund Ansell, Ralph Ashley, Thomas Farrington, Roberte Sandie, Thomas Garraway, Edwarde Lethlande, Thomas Dalkins, Thomas Norden, Robert Bate, Edward Sadler, Richard Darsall, Richard Martine Iunior, Ralph Fitch, Nicholas Pearde, Thomas Simons, and Francis Dorrington,* that they and euery of them by the name of Gouernour and company of Marchants of the Leuant shall from hence foorth for the terme of twelue yeeres next ensuing the date hereof bee one bodie, fellowshippe and companie of themselues, both in deede and in name: And them by the name of Gouernour and companie of marchantes of the Leuant wee doe ordayne, incorporate, name, and declare by these presentes, and that the same fellowshippe and companie from hence foorth shall and may haue one Gouernour. And in consideration that the sayde Edwarde Osborne Knight hath beene of the chiefe setters foorth and actors in the opening and putting in practise of the sayde trade to the dominions of the sayde Grand Signor: Wee doe therefore specially make, ordaine, and constitute the sayde Edwarde Osborne Knight, to bee nowe Gouernour during the time of one whole yeere nowe next following, if hee so long shall liue: and after the expiration of the sayde yeere, or decease of the sayde Edward Osborne the choyse of the next Gouernour, and so of euery Gouernour from time to time during the sayde terme of twelue yeeres to be at the election of the sayde fellowshippe or companie of marchantes of the Leuant or the more part of them yeerely to be chosen, and that they the sayde Sir Edward Osborne, and all the residue of the sayde fellowshippe or companie of Marchantes of the Leuant and euerie of them, and all the sonnes of them and of euery of them, and all such their apprentises and seruants of them and of euery of them, which haue beene or hereafter shall be imployed in the sayde trade by the space of foure yeeres or vpwardes by themselues, their seruantes, factors or deputies, shall and may by the space of twelue yeeres from the day of the date of these our letters Patents freely traffike, and vse the trade of Marchandize as well by sea as by lande into and from the dominions of the sayde Grand Signor, and into and from Venice, Zante, Candie and Zephalonia, and other the dominions of the Signiorie and State of Venice, and also by lande through the Countries of the sayde Grand Signor into and from the East India, lately discouered by Iohn Newberie, Ralph Fitch, William Leech, and Iames Storie, sent with our letters to that purpose at the proper costs and charge of the sayde Marchants or some of them: and into and from euerie of them in such order, manner, forme, libertie and condition to all intentes and purposes as shall be betweene them of the sayde fellowshippe or companie of Marchantes of the Leuant or the more part of them for the time being limited and agreed, and not otherwise, without any molestation, impeachment, or disturbance; any lawe, statute, vsage, or diuersitie of Religion or faith, or any other cause or matter whatsoeuer to the contrarie notwithstanding.

**Marginal note.*—The marchants aboue named be made a fellowship and companie for 12 yeeres by the name of the Gouernor and companie of the marchants of the Leuant.

Sir Edward Osborne appointed the first Gouernour.

A priuiledge for the East Indies.

And that the sayde Governour and companie of Marchantes of the Leuant, or the greater part of them for the better gouernement of the sayde fellowshippe and companie, shall and may within fortie dayes next and immediatly following after the date hereof, and so from hence foorth yeerely during the continuance of this our graunt, assemble themselues in some conuenient place, and that they or the greater parte of them being so assembled, shall and may elect, ordaine, nominate, and appoint twelue discreete and honest persons of the sayde companie to be assistants to the sayde Gouernour, and to continue in the sayde office of assistants, vntill they shall die or bee remoued by the sayde Gouernour and companie or the greater part of them. And if it happen the sayde assistantes or any of them to die, or be remooued from their sayde office at anie time during the continuance of this our graunt: that then and so often it shall and may bee lawfull to and for the sayde Gouernour and companie of marchantes of the Leuant, or the greater part of them to elect and chuse one or more other persons of the sayd companie into the place or places of euery such person or persons so dying or happening to be remooued, as is aforesayde. And wee will and ordaine that the same person or persons so as is aforesaide to be elected shall be of the sayd number of assistants of the sayde companie. And this to be done so often as the case shall so require. And that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the sayde Edwarde Orborne Knight, George Barne Knight, George Bonde knight, Richard Martine knight, Iohn Hart knight, Iohn Hawkins knight, William Massam, Iohn Spencer, Richard Saltonstall, Nicholas Mosley, William Hareborne, Edwarde Barton, William Borrough, Richard Staper, Thomas Cordall, Henrie Paruis, Thomas Laurence, Edwarde Holmeden, William Garraway, Robert Dowe, Paul Banning, Roger Clarke, Henrie Anderson, Robert Offley, Philip Grimes, Andrewe Banning, Iames Staper, Robert Sadler, Leonarde Power, George Salter, Nicholas Leate, Iohn Eldred, William Shales, Richard May, William Wilkes, Andrewe Fones, Arthur Iackson, Edmund Ansell, Ralph Ashley, Thomas Farrington, Robert Sandie, Thomas Garraway, Edwarde Lethlande, Thomas Dalkins, Thomas Norden, Robert Bate, Edward Sadler, Richard Darsall, Richard Martine Iunior, Ralph Fitch, Nicholas Pearde, Thomas Simons, and Francis Dorrington aforesayde, or any of them to assemble themselues for or about any the matters, causes or affaires or businesses of the sayde trade in any place or places for the same conuenient from time to time during the sayde terme of twelue yeeres within our dominions or else where. And that also it shall and may be lawfull for them or the more part of them to make, ordaine and constitute reasonable lawes and orders for the good gouernment of the sayde companie, and for the better aduancement and continuance of the sayde trade and traffike: the same lawes and ordinances not being contrarie or repugnant to the lawes, statutes or customes of our Realme: And the same lawes and ordinances so made to put in vse, and execute accordingly, and at their pleasures to reuoke and alter the same lawes and ordinances or any of them as occasion shall require.

And we doe also for vs, our heyres and successors of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion graunt to and with the sayd Gouernour and companie of marchantes of the Leuant, that when and as often at any time during the sayde terme and space of twelue yeeres as any custome, pondage, subsidie or other duetie shall be due and payable vnto vs, our heires, or successors for any goods or marchandize whatsoeuer, to be carried or transported out of this our port of London into any the dominions aforesayde, or out of or from any the sayde dominions vnto our sayde port of London, that our Customers, and all other our officers for receites of custome, pondage, subsidie or other duetie vnto whom it shall appertaine, shall vpon the request of the sayde Gouernour for the time being, giue vnto the sayde companie three monethes time for the payment of the one halfe, and other three monethes for the payment of the other halfe of their sayde custome, pondage, or other subsidie or duetie for the same, receiuing good and sufficient bonde and securitie to our vse for the payment of the same accordingly. And vpon receipt of the sayde bonde to giue them out their cockets or other warrants to lade out and receiue in the same their goods by vertue hereof without any disturbance. And that also as often as at any time during the sayde terme of twelue yeeres any goods or marchandize of any of the sayde companie laden from this our port of London in any the dominions beforesayde shall happen to miscarie before their safe discharge in the partes for and to the which they be sent: That then and so often so much custome, pondage, and other subsidie as they answered vs for the same, shall after due proofe made before the Treasurour of England for the time being of the sayde losse, and the iust quantitie thereof, be by the vertue hereof allowed vnto them, by warrant of the sayde Treasurour to the sayde Customers in the next marchandize that they shall or may shippe for those partes, according to the true rates of the customes, pondage, or subsidies heretofore payde for the goods so lost or any part or parcell thereof.

And for that the sayde companie are like continually to bring into this our Realme a much greater quantitie of forren commodities from the forren Countreyes, places, or territories aforesaide, then here can be spent for the necessarie vse of the same, which of necessitie must be transported into other countreyes, and there vented, we for vs, our heires and successors of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion doe graunt to and with the sayd Gouernour and companie that at all times from time to time during the space of thirteene moneths next after the discharge of any the sayde goods so brought in, and the subsidies, pondage, customes and other duties for the same being before hande payde or compounded for as aforesayd, it shall be lawfull for them or any of them or any other person or persons whatsoeuer being naturall subiects of the Realme which may or shall buy the same of them or any of them to transport the same in English bottomes freely out of this Realme without payment of any further custome, pondage, or other subsidie to vs, our heires or successors for the same, whereof the sayde subsidies, pondage, or customes or other duties shall be so formerly payde and compounded for, as aforesayd, and so proued. And the sayd customer by vertue hereof shall vpon due and sufficient proofe thereof made in the custome house giue them sufficient cocket or certificate for the safe passing out thereof accordingly. And to the ende no deceipt be vsed herein to vs our heires, and successors, certificate shall be brought from our collector of custome inwardes to our customer outwardes that the sayd marchandizes haue within the time limited answered their due custome, subsidie, pondage and other duties for the same inwards.

And furthermore we of our ample and aboundant grace, meere motion, and certaine knowledge haue graunted, and by these presents for vs our heyres and successours doe graunt vnto the said Gouernours and companie of marchantes of the Leuant, that they and such onely as be and shall be of that companie, shall for the sayd terme of twelue yeeres haue, vse, and enioy the whole and onely trade and traffike, and the whole entire and onely libertie, vse, and priuilege of trading and traffiking, and vsing feate of marchandise by and through the Leuant seas otherwise called the Mediterran seas into and from the sayd dominions of the Grand Signor, and dominions of the state of Venice; and by and through the sayd Grand Signors dominions to and from such other places in the East Indies discouered as aforesayd. And that they the sayd Gouernour and companie of marchants of the Leuant and euery particular and seuerall person of that companie their and euery one of their seruants, factors, and deputies shall haue full and free authoritie, libertie, facultie, licence, and power to trade and trafficke by and through the sayde Leuant seas into and from all and euery the sayd dominions of the sayde Grand Signor, and the dominions of the state of Venice, and the sayde Indies, and into and from all places where by occasion of the sayd trade they shall happen to arriue or come, whither they be Christians, Turkes, Gentiles, or others: And by and through the sayd Leuant seas into and from all other seas, riuers, portes, regions, territories, dominions, coastes and places with their ships, barkes, pinases and other vessels, and with such mariners and men as they will leade or haue with them, or sende for the sayde trade as they shall thinke good at their owne costes and expenses.

And for that the shippes sayling into the sayde Countreyes must take their due and proper times to proceede in these voyages, which otherwise as we well perceiue cannot be performed in the rest of the yeere following: Therefore we of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion for vs, our heyres and successors doe graunt to and with the sayd Gouernour and companie of Marchantes of the Leuant, that foure good shippes well furnished with ordinance and other munition for their defence, and two hundred mariners English men to guide and sayle in the same four shippes at all times during the sayde twelue yeeres shall quietly bee permitted and suffered to depart and goe in the sayde voyages, according to the purport of these presents, without any stay or contradiction by vs, our heyres and successors, or by the Lorde high Admirall or any other officer or subiect of vs, our heires or successours in any wise: Any restraint, lawe, statute, vsage or matter whatsoeuer to the contrarie notwithstanding.

Prouided neuerthelesse, that if wee shall at any time within the sayde twelue yeeres haue iust cause to arme our Nauie in warrelike manner in defence of our Realme, or for offence of our enemies: and that it shall be founde needefull and conuenient for vs to ioyne to our Nauie the shippes of our subiects to be also armed for warres to such number as cannot bee supplied if the sayd foure shippes should be permitted to depart as aboue is mentioned; then vpon knowledge giuen by vs or our Admirall to the sayde Gouernour or companie about the fifteenth day of the moneth of March, or three moneths before the saide companie shall beginne to make readie the same foure shippes that we may not spare the sayd foure ships and the marriners requisite for them to be out of our Realme during the time that our Nauie shal be vpon the seas, that then the sayde companie shall forbeare to send such foure shippes for their trade of marchandise vntill that we shall retake our sayd Nauie from the sayd seruice.

And further our will and pleasure is, and wee doe by these presentes graunt that it shall be lawfull to and for the sayd Gouernour and companie of Marchantes of the Leuant to haue and vse in and about the affaires of the sayde companie a common seale for matters concerning the sayde companie and trade. And that also it shall be lawfull for the Marchants, Mariners, and Sea men, which shall be vsed and imployed in the sayde trade and voyage to set and place in the toppes of their ships or other vessels the Armes of England with the redde-crosse in white ouer the same as heretofore they haue vsed.

And we of our further Royall fauour and of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion haue graunted and by these presents for vs, our heyres and successors doe graunt to the sayd Gouernour and companie of Marchants of the Leuant, that the sayde landes, territories, and dominions of the sayde Grand Signor, or the dominions of the Signiorie of Venice, or any of them within the sayde Leuant or Mediterran seas shall not be visited, frequented, or haunted by the sayde Leuant sea by way of marchandize by any other our subiects during the saide terme of twelue yeeres contrarie to the true meaning of these presentes. And by vertue of our prerogatiue Royall, which wee will not in that behalfe haue argued or brought in question, wee straightly charge, commaunde and prohibite for vs, our heyres and successours all our subiects of what degree or qualitie soeuer they bee, that none of them directly or indirectly doe visite, haunt, frequent, trade, traffike or aduenture by way of marchandise into or from any of the sayd dominions of the sayd Grand Signor, or the dominions of the saide Segniorie of Venice, by or through the sayde Leuant sea other then the sayd Gouernour and companie of marchants of the Leuant, and such particular persons as be or shall be of that companie, their factors, agents, seruants and assignes. And further for that wee plainely vnderstande that the States and Gouernours of the citie and Segniorie of Venice haue of late time set and raysed a newe impost and charge ouer and besides their auncient impost, custome, and charge of and vpon all manner of marchandize of our Realme brought into their dominions, and also of and vpon all marchandise caried or laden from their sayd Countrey or dominions by our subiects or in the ships or bottoms of any of our subiectes to the great and intollerable charge and hinderance of our sayd subiects trading thither, wee therefore minding the redresse thereof, doe also by these presents for vs, our heires and successors further straightly prohibite and forbid not onely the subiects of the sayde State and Segniorie of Venice, but also of all other Nations or Countries whatsoeuer other then the sayd Gouernour and companie of marchants of the Leuant, and such onely as be or shall be of that companie, their factors, agents, seruantes, and assignes: That they or any of them during the sayde terme of twelue yeeres, shall bring or cause to be brought into this our Realme of Englande, or any part thereof anie manner of small fruites called corrants, being the raysins of Corinth, or wine of Candie, vnlesse it be by and with the licence, consent, and agreement of the sayde Gouernour and companie in writing vnder their sayd common seale first had and obteyned vpon paine vnto euery such person and persons that shall trade and traffike into any the sayde dominions of the State and Segniorie of Venice by sea, or that shall bring or cause to be brought into our saide Realme any of the said corrants being the raysins of Corinth, or wines of Candia, other then the sayd companie in paine of our indignation, and of forfaiture and losse as well of the shippe and ships with the furniture thereof, as also of the goods, marchandize, and thinges whatsoeuer they be of those which shall attempt or presume to commit or doe any matter or thing contrarie to the prohibition aforesayd. The one halfe of all the saide forfeitures to be to vs, our heires and successours, and the other halfe of all and euery the sayde forfeitures we doe by these presents, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion clearely and wholie for vs, our heires and successors, giue and graunt vnto the saide Gouernour and companie of marchantes of the Leuant.

And further all and euery the sayde offendours for their sayde contempt to suffer imprisonment during our pleasures, and such other punishment as to vs for so high a contempt shall seeme meete and conuenient, and not to be in any wise deliuered vntill they and euery of them shall be come bounde vnto the sayd Gouernour for the time being in the summe of one thousand poundes or lesse at no time, then after to sayle or traffike by sea into any the dominions aforesaide, or to bring or cause to be brought from any the places aforesayde any corrants, raysins of Corinth, or wines of Candia contrarie to our expresse commaundement in that behalfe herein set downe and published.

Prouided alwayes, and our expresse will is notwithstanding the premisses that if our sayde subiects shall at any time hereafter be recompensed of and for all such newe impostes and charges as they and euery of them shall pay, and likewise be freely discharged of and from the payment of all manner of newe imposte or taxe for any of their marchandise which they hereafter shall bring into or from any the dominions of the sayde State or Segniorie of Venice, and from all bondes and other assurances by them or any of them to be made for or in that behalfe, that then immediatly from and after such recompence and discharge made as aforesayde our sayde prohibition and restraint in these presentes mentioned, shall not be of any strength or force against the sayde Citie or State of Venice, or any the subiects thereof, but for and during such time onely and in such case when hereafter the sayde State of Venice shall againe beginne to taxe or leuie any manner of newe imposte within the sayde dominions vpon any the goods or marchandizes of our sayde subiects heereafter to be brought into any the dominions of the said State or Segniorie of Venice. Any thing in these our letters Patents contayned to the contrarie thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

And further wee straightly charge and commaunde, and by these presentes prohibite all and singular Customers and Collectors of our Customes, pondage, and subsidies, and all other Officers within our porte and Citie of London and else where, to whom it shall appertaine and euery of them, That they or any of them by themselues, their clarkes, or substitutes shall not receiue or take, or suffer to be receiued or taken for vs in our name, or to our vse, or in the name, or vnto the vse of our heires or successors of any person or persons, any summe or summes of money, or other consideration during the sayde terme of twelue yeeres for any custome, pondage, taxe or subsidie of any corrants, raysins of Corinth, or wines of Candie aforesayd saue onely of and in the name of the sayde Gouernour and companie of marchantes of the Leuant, or of some of that companie without the consent of the sayde Gouernour and companie in writing vnder their sayd common seale, first had and obteyned, and vnto them shewed for the testifying their sayd consent. And for the better and more sure obseruation thereof wee will and graunt for vs, our heires or successors by these presentes, that our Treasurour and Barons of the Exchequer for the time being by force of these presentes, and the inrollment thereof in the sayde Court of our Exchequour, at all and euery time and times during the sayde terme of twelue yeeres, at and vpon the request of the sayde Gouernour and companie, their Attourney or Attourneys, Deputies or assignes, shall and may make and direct vnder the seale of the sayde Court one or more sufficient writte or writtes close or patent, vnto euery or any of the sayd Customers or other Officers to whom it shall appertaine, commaunding them and euery of them thereby, that neither they nor any of them at any time or times during the sayd space of twelue yeeres shall take entrie of any corants, raisins of Corinth, or wines of Candia, or take or make any agreement for any custome, pondage, or other subsidie for any of the sayd corants, raisins of Corinth, or wines of Candie, with any person or persons whatsoeuer, other then with, or in the name and by the priuitie of the sayd gouernour and company or some of the same company.

And further of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion we haue condescended and graunted, and by these presents for vs our heires and successours doe condescend and graunt to the sayd Gouernour and company of merchants of Leuant, that wee, our heires and successours, during the sayd terme, will not graunt libertie, licence, or power to any person or persons whatsoeuer contrary to the tenour of these our letters patents, to saile, passe, trade, or traffique by the sayd Leuant Sea, into, or from the sayde dominions of the sayd Grand Signior or the dominions of the State of Venice or any of them, contrary to the true meaning of these presents, without the consent of the sayd Gouernour and Companie or the most part of them.

And whereas Henry Farrington and Henry Hewet haue not yet assented to bee incorporated into the sayd societie of Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, neuerthelesse sithence, as we be informed, they haue bene traders that way heretofore;

our will and pleasure is, and we doe hereby expressely commaund and charge that if it happen at any time within two moneths next following after the date hereof, the sayd Henry Farrington and Henry Hewet or either of them, do submit themselues to be of the sayd companie, and doe giue such assurance as the sayd Gouernour and companie, or the more part of them shall allow of, to beare, pay, and performe such orders, constitutions, paiments and contributions, as other of the sayd company shall be ordered to beare, pay, and performe, that then euery of the sayd Henry Farrington and Henry Hewet so doing and submitting himselfe, shall vpon his or their request vnto the sayd Gouernour bee admitted into the sayd companie and corporation of Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, and haue and enioy the same, and as great liberties, priuileges, and preheminences, as the rest of the sayde corporation or companie may, or ought to haue by vertue of this our graunt. Any thing in these presents contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

And our will and pleasure is, and hereby wee doe also ordaine that it shall and may bee lawfull, to, and for the sayde Gouernour and company of marchants of Leuant or the more part of them, to admit into, and to be of the sayd companie, any such as haue bene or shall bee employed as seruants, factors, or agents in the trade of marchandise by the sayd Leuant seas, into any the countreys, dominions or territories of the sayd Grand Signior or Signiorie or State of Venice, according as they or the most part of them shall thinke requisite.

And where Anthony Ratcliffe, Steuen Some, and Robert Brooke Aldermen of the saide Citie of London, Simon Laurence, Iohn Wattes, Iohn Newton, Thomas Middleton, Robert Coxe, Iohn Blunt, Charles Faith, Thomas Barnes, Alexander Dansey, Richard Aldworth, Henry Cowlthirste, Cæsar Doffie, Martine Bonde, Oliuer Stile and Nicholas Stile Marchants of London for their abilities and sufficiencies haue bene thought fit to be also of the sayd Company of the saide gouernour and Company of Marchants of Leuant: Our will and pleasure and expresse commaundement is, and wee doe hereby establish and ordeine, that euery such of the same Anthony Radcliffe, Steuen Some, Robert Brooke, Simon Laurence, Iohn Wattes, Iohn Newton, Thomas Midleton, Robert Coxe, Iohn Blunt, Charles Faith, Thomas Barnes, Alexander Dansey, Richard Aldworth, Henry Cowlthirste, Cæsar Doffie, Martine Bonde, Oliuer Style, and Nicholas Style, as shall pay vnto the saide Gouernour and company of Marchants of Leuante the summe of one hundred and thirtie poundes of lawfull English money within two monethes next after the date hereof towards the charges that the same Company haue already bene at in and about the establishing of the sayde trades shall from hencefoorth bee of of the same company of the Marchants of Leuant as fully and amply and in like maner, as any other of that societie or Company.

Prouided also, that wee, our heires and successours at any time during the sayd twelue yeeres may lawfully appoynt and authorize two other persons exercising the lawfull trade of marchandize, and being fit men to bee of the sayd companie of Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, so that the sayd persons to bee nominated or authorized, shall aide, doe, beare, and paie such payments and charges touching and concerning the same trade and Companie of marchants of Leuant, ratablie as other of the sayd Companie of marchants of Leuant shall, and doe, or ought to beare and pay: and doe also performe and obserue the orders of the sayd Companie allowable by this our graunt, as others of the same doe or ought to doe. And that such two persons so to bee appoynted by vs our heires or successours, shall and may with the sayd Company vse the trade and feate of marchandise aforesayd, and all the liberties and priuileges herein before granted, according to the meaning of these our letters patents, any thing in these our letters patents contained to the contrary nothwithstanding.

Prouided also, that if any of the marchants before by these presents named or incorporated, to bee of the said fellowship of Gouernour and companie of the merchants of Leuant, shall not bee willing to continue or bee of the same companie, and doe giue notice thereof, or make the same knowen to the sayd Gouernour within two moneths next after the date hereof, that then such person so giuing notice, shall no furthur or any longer be of that companie, or haue trade into those parties, nor be at any time after that of the same corporation or companie, or vse trade into any territories or countries aforesayd.

Prouided alwayes neuerthelesse, that euery such person so giuing notice and hauing at this present any goods or marchandises in any the Territories or countreys of the sayd Grand Signior, or Segniorie or State of Venice, may at any time within the space of eighteene moneths next, and immediately following after the date hereof, haue free libertie, power and authoritie to returne the same or the value thereof into this Realme, without vsing any traffique there, but immediately from thence hither, paying, bearing, answering, and performing all such charges, dueties, and summes of money ratably as other of the same corporation or company doe or shall pay, beare, answere, or performe for the like.

Prouided also, that if any of the persons before by these presents named or incorporated to bee of the sayd fellowship of Gouernour and Companie of the marchants of Leuant, or which hereafter shall bee admitted to bee of the sayde Corporation or Companie, shall at any time or times hereafter refuse to be of the sayd Corporation or Companie, or to beare, pay or be contributorie to, or not beare and pay such ratable charges and allowances, or to obserue or performe such ordinances to bee made as is aforesayd, as other of the same company are, or shall bee ordered, to beare, paie, or performe, that then it shall and may bee lawfull for the rest of the sayd Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, presently to expell, remooue, and displace euery such person so refusing, or not bearing or paying out, of, and from the sayd Corporation and companie, and from all priuilege, libertie, and preheminence which any such person should, or might claime, or haue by vertue of this our graunt, and in place of them to elect others exercising the lawfull trade of marchandise to bee of the sayd Company. And that euery such person so expelled, remooued, or displaced by consent of the sayd Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, or the more part of them, shall bee from thencefoorth vtterly disabled to take any benefite by vertue of this priuilege, or any time after to bee admitted or receiued againe into the same, any thing in these presents contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided alwayes, that if it shall hereafter appeare to vs, our heires and successours, that this graunt or the continuance thereof in the whole or in any part thereof, shall not bee profitable to vs, our heires and successours, or to this our realme, that then and from thencefoorth, vpon and after eighteene moneths warning to bee giuen to the sayd companie by vs, our heires and successours, this present graunt shall cease, bee voyd, and determined to all intents, constructions and purposes.

And further of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, we haue condescended and graunted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successors, doe condescend and graunt to the sayde Gouernour and companie of marchants of

Leuant, that if at the ende of the sayd terme of twelue yeeres it shall seeme meete and conuenient to the sayde Gouernour and Companie, or any the parties aforesayd, that this present graunt shall bee continued: And if that also it shall appear vnto vs, our heires and successours, that the continuance thereof shall not bee preiudiciall or hurtfull to this our realme, but that wee shall finde the further continuance thereof profitable for vs, our heires and successours and for our realme with such conditions as are herein mentioned, or with some alteration or qualification thereof, that then wee, our heires and successours at the instance and humble petition of the sayde Gouernour and Companie, or any of them so suing for the same, and such other person and persons our subiectes as they shall nominate and appoint, or shall bee by vs, our heires and successours newly nominated, not exceeding in number twelue, new letters patents vnder the great seale of England in due forme of lawe with like couenants, graunts, clauses, and articles, as in these presents are contained, or with addition of other necessarie articles or changing of these in some partes, for, and during the full terme of twelue yeeres then next following. Willing now hereby, and straightly commannding and charging all and singular our Admirals, Vice-admirals, Iustices, Maiors, Shiriffes, Escheators, Constables, Bailiffes, and all and singular other our Officers, Ministers, Liege-men and subiects whatsoeuer, to bee aiding, fauouring, helping, and assisting vnto the sayd companie and their successours, and to their Deputies, Officers, Factors, seruants, assignes and ministers, and euery of them, in executing and enioying the premisses as well on land as on Sea, from time to time, and at all times when you or any of you shal thereto bee required, any Statute, Acte, ordinance, Prouiso, Proclamation or restraint heretofore had, made, set foorth, ordained or prouided, or any other matter, cause or thing whatsoeuer to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Although expresse mention of the true yeerely value or certaintie of the premisses, or any of them, or of any other gifts or graunts by vs, or any of our progenitours to the sayde Gouernour and Companie of the marchants of Leuant before this time made, in these presents is not made: Or any Statute, Acte, Ordinance, prouision, proclamation or restraint to the contrary thereof before this time had, made, done, or prouided, or any other matter, thing or cause whatsoeuer, in any wise notwithstanding. In witnesse

whereof we haue caused these our letters to be made patents. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the seuenth day of Ianuarie in the foure and thirtieth yeere of our raigne.

Per breue de priuato Sigillo.

Bailie.

Voyage D'outremer et Retour de Jérusalem en France par la voie de terre, pendant le cours des années 1432 et 1433, par Bertrandon de la Brocquière, conseiller et premier écuyer tranchant de Philippe-le-bon, duc de Bourgogne; ouvrage extrait d'un Manuscript de la Bibliothèque Nationale, remis en Français Moderne, et publié par le citoyen Legrand d'Aussy.

Discours Prèliminaire.

LEs relations de voyages publièes par nos Français remontent fort haut.

Dès les commsncemens du Ve siècle, Rutilius Claudius Numatianus en avoit donné une, qui ne nous est parvenue qu'incomplète, parce que apparemment la mort ne lui permit pas de l'achever. L'objet étoit son retour de Rome dans la Gaule, sa patrie. Mais, comme il n'avoit voyagé que par mer, il ne put voir et décrire que des ports et des cotes; et de là nécessairement a resulté, pour son ouvrage, une monotonie, qu'un homme de génie auroit pu vaincre sans doute, mais qu'il étoit au dessus de ses forces de surmonter. D'ailleurs, il a voulu donner un poème : ce qui l'oblige à prendre le ton poétique, et à faire des descriptions poétiques, ou soi-disant telles. Enfin ce poème est en vers élégiaques. Or qui ne sait que cette sorte de versification, dont le propre est de couper la pensée de deux en deux vers et d'assujettir ces vers au retour continuel d'une chute uniforme, est peut être celle de toutes qui convieent le moins en genre descriptif? Quand l'imagination a beaucoup à peindre; quand sans cesse elle a besoin de tableaux brillans et variés, il lui faut, pour développer avantageusement toutes ses richesses, une grande liberté; et elle ne peut par conséquent s'accommoder d'une double entrave, dont l'effet infaillible seroit d'éteindre son feu.

Payen de religion, Rutilius a montré son aversion pour la religion chrétienne dans des vers où, confondant ensemble les chrétiens et les Juifs, il dit du mal des deux sectes.

C'est par une suite des mêmes sentimens qu'ayant vu, sur sa route, des moines dans lile Capraia, il fit contre le monachisme ces autres vers, que je citerai pour donner une idée de sa manière.

Processu pelagi jam se Capraria tollit;
Squalet lucifugis insula plena viris.
Ipsi se monachos, Graio cognomine, dicunt,
Quòd, soli, nullo vivere teste, volunt.
Munera fortunæ metuunt, dum damna verentur:
Quisquam sponte miser, ne miser esse queat.
Quænam perversi rabies tam crebra cerebri,
Dum mala formides, nec bona posse pati* ?

Son ouvrage contient des détails précieux pour le géographe; il y en a même quelques uns pour l'antiquaire et l'historien: tels par exemple, que sa description d'un marais salant, et l'anecdote des livres Sibyllins brûlés à Rome par l'ordre de Stilicon †. Enfin on y remarque quelques beaux vers, et particulièrement celui-ci sur une ville ruinée.

Cernimus exemplis oppida posse mori.

Mais il pèche par la composition, Ses tableaux sont secs et

---

* "He afterwards," says Gibbon, "mentions a religious madman on the isle of Gorgona. For such profane remarks, Rutilius and his accemplices, are styled, by his commentator, Barthius, rabiosi canes diaboli."

† The verses relating to Stilicho are very spirited and elegant. I will transcribe them.

Quo magis est facinus diri Stilichonis acerbum,
Proditor arcani qui fuit imperii.
Romano generi dum nititur esse superstes,
Crudelis summis miscuit ima furor.
Dumque timet, quicquid se fecerat ipse timeri,
Immisit Latiæ barbara tela neci.
Visceribus nudis armatum condidit hostem,
Illatæ cladis liberiore dolo.
Ipsa satellitibus pellitis Roma patebat,
Et captiva prius, quam caperetur, erat.
Nec tantum Geticis grassatus proditor armis:
Ante Sibyllinæ fata cremavit opis.
Odimus Althæam consumti funere torris:
Niseum crinem flere putantur aves:
At Stilicho æterni fatalia pignora regni;

froids ; sa manière petite et mesquine. Du reste, point de génie, point d'imagination, et par conséquent, point d'invention ni de coloris. Voilà ce qu'il présente, ou au moins ce que j'ai cru y voir ; et ce sont probablement ces défauts qui ont fait donner à son poëme le nom dégradant d'Itinéraire, sous lequel il est connu

Nous en avons une traduction Française par le Franc de Pompignan.[*]

Vers 505, Arculfe, évêque Gaulois, étoit allé en pélerinage à Jérusalem. A son retour, il voulut en publier la relation ; et il chargea de cette rédaction un abbé écossais, nommé Adaman, auquel il donna des notes tant manuscrites que de vive voix. La relation composée par Adaman, intitulée : De locis sanctis, est divisée en trois livres; a été imprimée par Gretser, puis, plus complète encore, par Mabillon[†].

Arculfe, aprés avoir visité la Terre Sainte, s'étoit embarqué pour Alexandrie. D'Alexandrie, il avoit passé à l'île de Cypre, et de Cypre à Constantinople, d'où il étoit revenu en France. Un pareil voyage promet assurément beaucoup; et certes l'homme qui avoit à décrire la Palestine l'Egypte et la capitale de l'Empire d'Orient pouvoit donner une relation intéressante. Mais pour l'exécution d'un projet aussi vaste il falloit une philosophie et des connoissance que son siècle étoit bien loin d'avoir. C'est un pélerinage, et non un voyage, que publie le prélat. Il ne nous fait connoitre ni les lois, ni les mœurs, ni les usages des peuples, ni ce qui concerne les lieux et la contrée qu'il parcourt, mais les reliques et les objets de dévotion qu'on y révéroit.

Ainsi, dans son premier livre, qui traite de Jérusalem, il vous parlera de la colonne où Jésus fut flagellé, de la lance qui lui perça le côté, de son suaire, d'une pierre sur laquelle il pria et qui porte l'empreinte de ses genoux, d'une autre pierre sur laquelle il étoit quand il monta au ciel, et qui porte l'empreinte de ses pieds, d'un linge tissu par la Vierge et qui le représente ; du figuier où se

---

Et plenas voluit præcipitare colus.
Omnia Tartarei cessent tormenta Neronis,
Consumat Stygias tristior umbra faces.
Hic immortalem, mortalem perculit ille ;
Hic mundi matrem perculit, ille suam.

Claudian draws a very different portarit of Stilicho. Indeed, as Gibbon observes, "Stilicho, directly or indirectly, is the perpetual theme of Claudian."

[*] Mélanges de littér. de poés. et d'hist. par l'Acad. de Montauban. p. 81.

[†] Acta ord. S. Bened. sec. 3, t. 2. p. 502.

pendit Judas; enfin de la pierre sur laquelle expira saint Etienne, etc. etc.

Dans son second livre, où il parcourt les divers lieux de la Palestine que visitoient les pélerins, il suit les mêmes erremens. A Jéricho, il cite la maison de la courtisane Raab ; dans la vallée de Mambré, les tombeaux d'Adam, d'Abraham, d'Isaac, de Jacob de Sara, de Rébecca, de Lia ; à Nazareth, l'endroit où l'ange vint annoncer à Marie qu'elle seroit mère en restant vierge; à Bethléem, la pierre sur laquelle Jésus fut lavé à sa naissance ; les tombeaux de Rachel, de David, de saint Jérôme, de trois des bergers qui vinrent à l'adoration, etc.

Le troisième livre enfin est consacré en grand partie à Constantinople; mais il n'y parle que de la vraie croix, de saint George, d'une image de la Vierge, qui, jettée par un Juif dans les plus dégoûtantes ordures, avoit été ramassée par un chretien et distilloit une huile miraculeuse.

Pendant bien des siècles, les relations d'outre mer ne continrent que les pieuses et grossières fables qu'imaginoient journellement les Orientaux pour accréditer certains lieux qu'ils tentoient d'ériger en pélerinages, et pour soutirer ainsià leur profit l'argent des pélerins. Ceux-ci adoptoient aveuglément tous les contes qu'on leur débitoit; et ils accomplissoient scrupuleusement toutes les stations qui leur étoient indiquées. A leur retour en Europe, c'étoitlà tout ce qu'ils avoient à raconter; mais c'étoitlà aussi tout ce qu'on leur demandoit.

Cependant notre saint (car à sa mort il a été déclaré tel, ainsi que son rédacteur Adaman) a, dans son second livre, quelques phrases historiques sur Tyr et sur Damas. Il y parle également et avec plus de détails encore d'Alexandrie ; et je trouve même sous ce dernier article deux faits qui m'ont paru dignes d'attention.

L'un concerne les crocodiles, qu'il répresente comme si multipliés dans la partie inférieure du Nil, que dès l'instant où un bœuf, un cheval, un âne, s'avançoient sur les bords du fleuve, ils étoient saisis par eux, entraînés sous les eaux, et dévorés ; tandis qu'aujourd'hui, si l'on en croit le rapport unanime de nos yoyageurs modernes, il n'existe plus de crocodiles que dans la haute Egypte ; que c'est un prodige d'en voir descendre un jusqu'au Caire, et que du Caire à la mer on n'en voit pas un seul.

L'autre a rapport à cet île nommée Pharos, dans laquelle le Ptolémée-Philadelphe fit construire une tour dont les feux servoient de signal aux navigateurs, et qui porta également le nom de Phare. On sait que, postérieurement à Ptolémée, l'île fut jointe au continent par un mole qui, à chacune de ses deux extrémités, avoit un pont; que Cléopatre acheva l'isthme, en détruisant les ponts et en faisant la digue pleine; enfin qu'aujourd'hui l'île entière tient à la terre ferme. Cependant notre prélat en parle comme si, de son temps, elle eût été ile encore: "in dextera parte portûs parva insula habetur, in qua maxima turris est quam, in commune, Græci ac Latini, ex ipsius rei usu, Pharum vocitaverunt." Il se trompe sans doute. Mais, probablement, à l'époque où il la vit, elle n'avoit que sa digue encore: les atterrissemens immenses qui en ont fait une terre, en la joignant au continent, sont postérieurs à lui; et il n'aura pas cru qu'un môle fait de main d'homme empêchât une ile d'être ce que l'avoit faite la nature.

Au neuvième siècle, nous eûmes une autre sorte de Voyage par Hetton, moine et abbé de Richenou, puis évêque de Bâle. Cet homme, habile dans les affaires, et employé comme tel par Charlemagne, avoit été en 811 envoyé par lui en ambassade à Constantinople. De retour en France, il y publia, sur sa mission, une relation, que jusqu'ici l'on n'a pas retrouvée, et que nous devons d'autant plus regretter qu'infailliblement elle nous fourniroit des détails curieux sur un Empire dont les rapports avec notre France étoient alors si multipliés et si actifs. Peut être au reste ne doit on pas la regarder comme tout-à-fait perdue; et il seroit possible qu'après être restée pendant plusieurs siècles ensevelie dans un manuscrit ignoré, le hasard l'amenât un jour sous les yeux de quelqu'un de nos savans, qui la donneroit au public.

C'est ce qui est arrivé pour celle d'un autre moine Français nommé Bernard; laquelle, publiée en 870, a été retrouvée par Mabillon et mise par lui au* jour. Ce n'est, comme celle d'Arculfe, qu'un voyage de Terre Sainte à la vérité beaucoup plus court que le sien, écrit avec moins de prétention, mais qui, à l'exception de quelques details personnels à l'auteur, ne contient de même qu'une sèche énumération des saints lieux: ce qui l'a fait de même intituler: De locis sanctis.

Cependant la route des deux pélerins fut différente. Arculfe étoit allé directment en Palestine, et de là il s'etoit embarqué une seconde fois pour voir Alexandrie. Bernard, au contraire, va d'àbord débarquer à Alexandrie. Il remonte le Nil jusqu'à Babylone, redescend à Damiette, et, traversant le désert sur des chameaux, il se rend par Gaza en Terre Sainte.

---

* Ubi suprà, p. 523.

Là, il fait, comme saint Arculfe, différens pélerinages, mais moins que lui cependant, soit que sa profession ne lui eût point permis les même dépenses, soit qu'il ait négligé de les mentionner tous.

Je remarquerai seulement que dans certaines églises on avoit imaginé, depuis l'évêque, de nouveaux miracles, et qu'elles en citoient dont il ne parle pas, et dont certainement il eût fait mention s'ils avoient eu lieu de son temps. Tel étoit celui de l'église de Sainte-Marie, où jamais il ne pleuvoit, disoit-on, quoiqu'elle fût sans toit. Tel celui auquel les Grecs ont donné tant de célébrité, et qui, tous les ans, la veille de Pâques, s'opéroit dans l'église du Saint-Sépulcre, ou un ange descendoit du ciel pour allumer les cierges : ce qui fournissoit aux chrétiens de la ville un feu nouveau, qui leur étoit communiqué par le patriarche, et qu'ils emportoient réligieusement chez eux.

Bernard rapporte, sur son passage du désert, une anecdote qui est à recueillir : c'est que, dans la traversée de cette immense mer de sable, des marchands païens et chrétiens avoient formé deux hospices, nommés l'un Albara, l'autre Albacara, où les voyageurs trouvoient à se pourvoir de tous les objets dont ils pouvoient avoir besoin pour leur route.

Enfin l'auteur nous fait connoitre un monument formé par Charlemagne dans Jérusalem en faveur de ceux qui parloient *la langue Romane*, et que les Français, et les gens de lettres spécialement, n'apprendront pas, sans beaucoup de plaisir, avoir existé.

Ce prince, la gloire de l'Occident, avoit, par ses conquêtes et ses grandes qualités, attiré l'attention d'un homme qui remplissoit également l'Orient de sa renommée : c'étoit le célèbre calife Haroun-al-Raschild. Haroun, empressé de témoigner à Charles l'estime et la considération qu'il lui portoit, lui portoit, lui avoit envoyé des ambassadeurs avec des présens magnifiques ; et ces ambassadeurs, disent nos historiens, étoient même chargés de lui présenter, de la part de leur maitre, les clés de Jérusalem.

Probablement Charles avoit profité de cette faveur pour établir dans la ville un hôpital ou hospice, destiné aux pélerins de ses états Français. Tel étoit l'esprit du temps. Ces sortes de voyages étant réputés l'action la plus sainte que put imaginer la dévotion, un prince qui les favorisoit croyoit bien mériter de la religion. Charlemagne d'ailleurs avoit le goût des pélerinages; et son historien Eginhard* remarque avec surprise que, malgré la prédilection qu'il portoit à celui de Saint-Pierre de Rome, il ne l'avoit fait pourtant que *quatre fois* dans sa vie.

Mais souvent le grand homme se montre grand encore jusqu'au sein des prejugés qui l'entourent. Charles avoit été en France le restaurateur des lettres; il y avoit rétabli l'orthographe, régénéré l'écriture, formé de belles bibliothèques: il voulut que son hospice de Jérusalem eût une bibliothèque aussi à l'usage des pélerins. L'établissement la possédoit encore tout entière, au temps de Bernard: "nobilissimam habens bibliothecam, studio Imperatoris;" et l'empereur y avoit même attaché, tant pour l'entretien du depôt et celui du lieu, que pour la nourriture des pélerins, douze manses situées dans la vallée de Josaphat, avec des terres, des vignes et un jardin.

Quoique notre historien dût être rassasié de pélerinages, il fit néanmoins encore, à son retour par l'Italie, celui de Rome; puis quand il fut rentré en France, celui du mont Saint-Michael.

Sur ce dernier, il observe que ce lieu, situé au milieu d'une grève des côtes de Normandie, est deux fois par jour, au temps du flux, baigné des eaux de la mer. Mais il ajoute que, le jour de la fête du saint l'accés du rocher et de la chapelle reste libre; que l'Océan y forme, comme fit la Mer rouge, au temps de Moise, deux grands murs, entre lesquels on peut passer à pied sec; et que ce miracle, que n'a lieu que ce jour-là, dure tout le jour.

Notre littérature nationale possédoit quatre voyages; un des cotes d'Isalie, un de Constantinople, deux de Terre-Sainte. Au treizième siècle, une cause fort étrange lui en procura deux de Tartarie.

Cette immense contrée dont les habitans, en divers temps et sous différens noms, ont peuplé, conquis, ou ravagé la très-grande partie de l'Europe et de l'Asie, se trouvoit pour ainsi dire tout entière en armes.

Fanatisés par les incroyables conquêtes d'un de leurs chefs, le fameux Gengis-Kan; persuadés que la terre entière devoit leur obéir, ces nomades belliqueux et féroces étoient venus, après avoir soumis la Chine, se précipiter sur le nord-est de l'Europe. Par tout où s'étoient portées leurs innombrables hordes, des royaumes avoient été ravagés; des nations entières exterminées ou trainées en esclavage; la Hongrie, la Pologne, la Bohème, les frontières de l'Autriche, dévastées d'une manière effroyable. Rien n'avoit pu arrêter ce débordement qui, s'il éprouvoit, vers quelque côte, une résistance, se jetoit ailleurs avec plus de fureur encore. Enfin la chrétienté fut frappée de terreur, et selon l'expression d'un de nos historiens, elle trembla jusqu'à l'Océan.

---

*Vita Carol. Mag. Cap. 27.

Dans cette consternation générale, Innocent IV voulut se montrer le père commun des fidèles. Ce tendre père se trouvoit à Lyon, ou il étoit venu tenir un concile pour excommunier le redoutable Frédéric II, qui trois fois déja l'avoit été vainement par d'autres papes. Là, en accablant l'empereur de toutes ses foudres, Innocent forme un projet dont l'idée seule annonce l'ivresse de la puissance; celui d'envoyer aux Tartares des lettres apostoliques, afin de les engager à poser les armes et à embrasser la religion chrétienne: "ut ab hominum strage desisterent et fidei veritatem reciperent."* Il charge de ses lettres un ambassadeur; et l'ambassadeur est un Frère-mineur nommé Jean du Plan de Carpin (Joannes de Plano Carpini,) qui le jour de Pâques, 1245, part avec un de ses camarades, et qui en chemin se donne un troisiéme compagnon, Polonois et appelé Benoit.

Soit que l'ordre de Saint-Dominique eût témoigné quelque déplaisir de voir un pareil honneur déféré exclusivement à l'ordre de Saint François; soit qu'Innocent craignit pour ses ambassadeurs les dangers d'un voyage aussi pénible; soit enfin par quelque motif que nous ignorons, il nomma une seconde ambassade, à laquelle il fit prendre une autre route, et qui fut composée uniquement de Frères-prêcheurs. Ceux-ci, au nombre de cinq, avoient pour chef un nommé Ascelin, et parmi eux étoit un frère Simon, de Saint-Quentin, dont j'aurai bientot occasion de parler. Ils étoient, comme les Frères-mineurs, porteurs de lettres apostoliques, et avoient auprès des Tartares la même mission, celle de déterminer ce peuple formidable à s'abstenir de toute guerre et à recevoir le baptême.

De Carpin cependant avoit, avec la sienne, reçu l'ordre particulier et secret d'examiner attentivement et de recueillir avec soin tout ce qui chez ce peuple lui paroitroit digne de remarque. Il le fit; et à son retour il publia une relation, qui est composée dans cet esprit, et qu'en conséquence il a intitulée Gesta Tartarorum. Effectivement il n'y emploie, en détails sur sa route et sur son voyage, qu'un seul chapitre. Les sept autres sont consacrés à décrire tout ce qui concerne les Tartares; sol, climat, mœurst usages, conquêtes, manière de combattre, etc. Son ouvrage es, imprimé dans la collection d'Hakluyt‡. J'en ai trouvé parmi les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale (No. 2477, à la page 66) un exemplaire plus complet que celui de l'édition d'Hakluyt, et qui contient une assez longue préface de l'auteur, que cette édition n'a pas. Enfin, à l'époque où parut ce Voyage, Vincent de Beauvais l'avoit inséré en grande partie dans son Speculum historiale.

---

* Vincent Bellovac. Spec. histor. lib. xxxii. cap. 2.

Ce frére Vincent, religieux dominicain, lecteur et prédicateur de saint Louis, avoit été invité par ce prince à entreprendre différens ouvrages, qu'en effet il mit au jour, et qui aujourd'hui forment une collection considérable. De ce nombre est une longue et lourde compilation historique, sous le titre de Speculum historiale, dans laquelle il a fait entrer et il a fondu, comme je viens de le dire, la relation de notre voyageur. Pour rendre celle-ci plus intéressante et plus complète, il y a joint, par une idée assez heureuse, certains détails particuliers que lui fournit son confrère Simon de Saint-Quentin, l'un des associés d'Ascelin dans la seconde ambassade. Ayant eu occasion de voir Simon à son retour de Tartarie, il apprit de lui beaucoup de choses qu'il a insérées en plusieurs endroits de son Miroir et spécialement dans le 32e et dernier livre. Là, avec ce qu'avoit écrit et publié de Carpin, et ce que Simon lui raconta de vive voix, il a fait une relation mixte, qu'il a divisée en cinquante chapitres; et c'est celle que connoissent nos modernes. Bergeron en a donné une traduction dans son recueil des voyages faits pendant le douzième siècle et les trois suivans. Cependant il a cru devoir séparer ce qui concernoit de Carpin d'avec ce qui appartient à Simon, afin d'avoir des mémoires sur la seconde ambassade comme on en avoit sur la première. Il a donc détaché du récit de Vincent six chapitres attribués par lui à Simon; et il en a fait un article à part, qu'il a mis sous le nom d'Ascelin, chef de la seconde légation. C'est tout ce que nous savons de celle-ci.

Quant au succès qu'eurent les deux ambassades, je me crois dispensé d'en parler. On devine sans peine ce qu'il dut être; et il en fut de même de deux autres que saint Louis, quoique par un autre motif, envoya peu après dans la même contrée.

Ce monarque se rendoit en 1248 à sa désastreuse expédition d'Egypte, et il venoit de relacher en Cypre avec sa flotte lorsqu'il reçut dans cette ile, le 12 Décembre, une députation des Tartares, dont les deux chefs portoient les noms de David et de Marc. Ces aventuriers se disoient délégués vers lui par leur prince, nouvellement converti à la foi chrétienne, et qu'ils appeloient Ercalthay. Ils assuroient encore que le grand Kan de Tartarie avoit également reçu le baptême, ainsi que les principaux officiers de sa cour et de son armée, et qu'il desiroit faire alliance avec le roi.

Quelque grossière que fut cette imposture, Louis ne put pas s'en défendre. Il résolut d'envoyer au prince et au Kan convertis une ambassade pour les féliciter de leur bonheur et les engager à favoriser et à propager dans leurs états la religion chrétienne. L'ambassadeur qu'il nomma fut un Frére-prêcheur nommé André Longjumeau ou Longjumel, et il lui associa deux autres Dominicains, deux clercs, et deux officiers de sa maison.

David et Marc, pour lui en imposer davantage, affectèrent de se montrer fervens chrétiens. Ils assistèrent avec lui fort dévotieusment aux offices de Noel; mais ils lui firent entendre que ce seroit une chose fort agréable au Kan d'avoir une tente en écarlate. C'étoit-là que vouloient en venir les deux fripons. Et en effet le roi en commanda une magnifique, sur laquelle il fit broder l'Annonciation, la Passion, etles autres mystères du christianisme. A ce présent il en ajouta, un autre, celui de tout ce qui étoit nécessaire, soit en ornemens soit en vases et argenterie pour une chapelle. Enfin il donna des reliques et du bois de la vraie croix : c'est-à-dire ce que, dans son opinion, il estimoit plus que tout au monde. Mais une observation que je ne dois point omettre ici, parce qu'elle indique l'esprit de cette cour Romaine qui se croyoit faite pour commander à tous les souverains : c'est que le légat que le pape avoit placé dans l'armée du roi pour l'y représenter et ordonner en son nom, écrivit, par la voie des ambassadeurs, aux deux souverains Tartares, et que dans sa lettre il leur annonçoit qu'il les adoptoit et les réconnoissoit enfans de l'église. Il en fut pour ses prétentions et les avances de sa lettre, ainsi que le roi, pour sa tente, pour sa chappelle et ses reliques. Longjumeau, arrivé en Tartarie, eut beau chercher le prince Ercalthay et ce grand Kan baptisé avec sa cour; il revint comme il étoit parti. Cependant il devoit avoir, sur cette contrée, quelques renseignemens. Déja il y avoit voyagé, disoit-on; et même quand David parut devant lui en Cypre, il prétendit le reconnoitre, comme l'ayant vu chez les Tartares.

Ces circonstances nous ont été transmises par les historiens du temps. Pour lui, il n'a rien laissé sur sa mission. On diroit qu'il en a eu honte.

Louis avoit été assez grossiérement dupé pour partager un peu ce sentiment, ou pour en tirer au moins une leçon de prudence. Et néanmoins trés-peu d'années après il se laissa tromper encore : c'étoit en 1253 ; et il se trouvoit alors en Asie.

Quoique au sortir de sa prison d'Egypte tout lui fit une loi de retourner en France où il avoit tant de plaies à fermer et tant de larmes à tarir, une devotion mal éclairée l'avoit conduit en Palestine. Là, sans songer ni à ses sujets ni à ses devoirs de roi, non seulement il venoit de perdre deux années, presque uniquement occupé de pélerinages ; mais malgré l'épuisement des finances de son royaume, il avoit dépensé des sommes très-considérables à relever et à fortifier quelques bicoques que les chrétiens de ces contrées y possédoient encore.

Pendant ce temps, le bruit courut qu'un prince Tartare nommé Sartach avoit embrassé le christianisme. Le baptême d'un prince infidèle étoit pour Louis une de ces béatitudes au charme desquelles il ne savoit pas résister. Il résolut d'envoyer une ambassade à Sartach pour le féliciter, comme il en avoit envoyé une à Ercalthay. Sa première avoit été confiée à des Frères-prêcheurs ; il nomma, pour celle-ci, des Franciscains, et pour chef frère Guillaume Rubruquis. Déja Innocent avoit de même donné successivement une des deux siennes à l'un des deux autres. Suivre cet exemple étoit pour Louis une grande jouissance. Il avoit pour l'un et pour l'autre une si tendre affection, que tout son vœu, disoit-il, eut été de pouvoir se partager en deux, afin de donner à chacun des deux une moitié de luimême.

Rubruquis, rendu près de Sartach, put s'y convaincre sans peine combien étoient fabuleux les contes que de temps en temps les chrétiens orientaux faisoient courir sur ces prétendues conversions de princes Tartares. Pour ne pas perdre tout-à-fait le fruit de son voyage il sollicita près de ce chef la permission de prêcher l'évangile dans ses états. Sartach répondit qu'il n'osoit prendre sur lui une chose aussi extraordinaire ; et il envoya le convertisseur à son père Baathu, qui le renvoya au grand Kan.

Pour se présenter devant celui-ci, Rubruquis et ses deux camarades se revêtirent chacun d'une chape d'église. L'un d'eux portoit une croix et un missel, l'autre un encensoir, lui une bible et un psautier et il s'avance ainsi entre eux deux en chantant des cantiques. Ce spectacle, que d'après ses préjugés monastiques, il croyoit imposant, et qui n'étoit que burlesque, ne produisit rien, pas même la risée du Tartare; et peu content sans doute d'un voyage très-inutile il revint en rendre compte au roi.

Louis n'étoit plus en Syrie. La mort de Blanche sa mère l'avoit rappelé enfin en France. d'où il n'auroit jamais du sortir, et où néanmoins il ne se rendit qu'après une année de retard encore. Rubruquis s'apprêtoit à l'y suivre quand il reçut de son provincial une défense de partir, avec ordre de se rendre au couvent de Saint-Jean d'Acre, et là d'écrire au roi pour l'instruire de sa mission. Il obéit. Il envoya au monarque une relation, que le temps nous a conservée, et qui, comme la précédente, se trouve traduite dans Bergeron; mais c'est à la contrariété despotique d'un supérieur dur et jaloux que nous la devons. Peut-être que si le voyageur avoit obtenu permission de venir à la cour, il n'eut rien ecrit.

Ainsi des quatre ambassadeurs monastiques envoyés en Tartarie tant par Innocent que par le roi, il n'y a que les deux Franciscains de Carpin et Rubruquis, qui aient laissé des mémoires; et ces ouvrages, quoiqu'ils se ressentent de leur siècle et particulièrement de la profession de ceux qui les composèrent, sont cependant précieux pour nous par les détails intéressans qu'ils contiennent sur une contrée lointaine dont alors on connoissoit à peine le nom, et avec laquelle nous n'avons depuis cette époque conservé aucun rapport.

On y admirera sur tout le courage de Rubruquis, qui ne craint pas de déclarer assez ouvertement au roi que David étoit un imposteur qui l'avoit trompé. Mais Louis avoit le fanatisme du prosélytisme et des conversions; et c'est-là chez certains esprits une maladie incurable.

Dupé deux fois, il le fut encore par la suite pour nn roi de Tunis qu'on lui avoit représenté comme disposé à se faire baptiser. Ce baptême fut long-temps sa chimère. Il regardoit comme le plus beau jour de sa vie celui où il seroit le parrain de ce prince. Il eut consenti volontiers, disoit-il, à passer le reste de sa vie dans les cachots d'Afrique, si à ce prix il eut pu le voir chrétien. Et ce fut pour être le parrain d'un infidèle qu'il alla sur les côtes de Tunis perdre une seconde flotte et une seconde armée, déshonorer une seconde fois les armes Françaises qu'avoit tant illustrées la journée de Bovines, enfin perir de la peste au milieu de son camp pestiféré, et mériter ainsi, par les malheurs multipliés de la France, d'être qualifié martyr et saint.

Quant à Bergeron, il n'est personne qui ne convienne qu'en publiant sa traduction il a rendu aux lettres et aux sciences un vrai service, et je suis bien loin assurément de vouloir en déprécier le mérite. Cependant je suis convaincu qu'elle en auroit davantage encore s'il ne se fut point permis, pour les différens morceaux qu'il y a fait entrer, une traduction trop libre, et surtout s'il s'y fut interdit de nombreux retranchemens qui à la vérité nous épargnent l'ennui de certains détails peu faits pour plaire, mais qui aussi nous privent de l'inestimable avantage d'apprécier l'auteur et son siècle. Lui-même, dans la notice préliminaire d'un des voyages qu'il a imprimés, il dit l'avoir tiré d'un Latin assez grossier où il étoit écrit selon le temps, pour le faire voir en notre angue avec un peu plus d'élégance et de clarté.* De-là il est arrivé qu'en promettant de nous donner des relations du treizième et du quatorziéme siécle, il nous en donne de modernes, qui toutes ont la même physionomie à peu près, tandis que chacune devroit avoir la sienne propre.

Le recueil de Bergeron, bon pour son temps, ne l'est plus pour le notre. Composé d'ouvrages qui contiennent beaucoup d'erreurs, nous y voudrions des notes critiques, des discussions historiques, des observations savantes ; et peut-être seroit-ce aujourd'hui une entreprise utile et qui ne pourroit manquer d'être accueillie très-favorablement du public, que celle d'une édition nouvelle des voyages anciens, faite ainsi, surtout si l'on y joignoit, autant qu'il seroit possible, le texte original avec la traduction. Mais cette traduction, il faudroit qu'elle fut très-scrupuleusement fidèle. Il faudroit avant tout s'y interdire tout retranchement, ou au moins en prévenir et y présenter en extrait ce qu'on croiroit indispensable de retrancher. Ce n'est point l'agrément que s'attend de trouver dans de pareils ouvrages celui qui entreprend la lecture ; c'est l'instruction. Dès le moment où vous les dénaturerez, où vous voudrez leur donner une tournure moderne et être lu des jeunes gens et des femmes, tout est manqué. Avez-vous des voyages, quels qu'ils soient, de tel ou tel siècle ? Voilà ce que je vous demande, et ce que vous devez me faire connoitre.

Si parmi ceux de nos gens de lettres qui avec des connoissances en histoire et en géographie réunissent du courage et le talent des recherches, il s'en trouvoit quelqu'un que ce travail n'effrayât pas, je là préviens que, pour ce qui concerne le Speculum historiale, il en existe à la Bibliothéque nationale quatre exemplaires manuscrits, sous les numéros 4898, 4900, 4901, et 4902.

---

* Tome I. p. 160, à la suite du Voyage de Rubruquis.

Les deux Voyageurs du quatorzième siècle qui ont publié des relations ne sont point nés Français; mais tous deux écrivirent primitivement dans notre langue: ils nous appartiennent à titre d'auteurs, et sous ce rapport je dois en parler. L'un est Hayton l'Arménien; l'autre, l'Anglais Mandeville.

Hayton, roi d'Arménie, avoit été dépouillé de ses états par les Sarrasins, Il imagina d'aller solliciter les secours des Tartares, qui en effet prirent les armes pour lui et le rétablirent. Ses négociations et son voyage lui parurent mériter d'être transmis à la postérité, et il dressa des mémoires qu'en mourant il laissa entre les mains d'Hayton son neveu, seigneur de Courchi.

Celui-ci, après avoir pris une part très-active tant aux affaires d'Arménie qu'aux guerres qu'elle eut à soutenir encore, vint se faire Prémontré en Cypre, où il apprit la langue Française, qui, portée là par les Lusignans, y étoit devenue la langue de la cour et celle de tout ce qui n'étoit pas peuple.

De Cypre, le moine Hayton ayant passé à Poitiers, voulut y faire connoitre les mémoires de son oncle, ainsi que les événemens dans lesquels lui-même avoit été, ou acteur, ou témoin. Il intitula ce travail Histoire d'Orient, et en confia la publication à un autre moine nommé de Faucon, auquel il le dicta de mémoire en Français. L'ouvrage eut un tel succès que, pour en faire jouir les peuples auxquels notre langue étoit étrangère, Clement V. chargea le même de Faucon de le traduire en Latin. Celui-ci fit paroitre en 1307 sa version, dont j'ai trouvé parmi le les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale trois exemplaires sous les numéros 7514, 7515—A, et 6041. (Page 180) à la fin du numéro 7515, on lit cette note de l'éditeur, qui donne la preuve de ce que je viens de dire du livre.

"Explicit liber Historiarum Parcium [Partium] Orientis, à religioso viro fratre Haytono, ordinis beati Augustini, domino Churchi, consanguineo regis Armeniæ, compilato [compilatus] ex mandato summi pontificis domini Clementis papæ quinti, in civitate pictaviensi regni Franchiæ: quem ego Nicolaüs Falconi, primò scripsi in galico ydiomate, sicut idem frater H. michi [mihi] ore suo dictabat, absque nota sive aliquo* exemplari. Et de gallico transtuli in latinum; anno domini M°CCC°. septimo, mense Augusti.

---

* L'exemplaire no. 5514 ajoute a verbo ad verbum.

Bergeron a publié l'histoire d'Hayton. Mais, au lieu donner le texte Français original, au ou moins la version Latine de l'éditeur, il n'a donné qu'une version Française de ce Latin: de sorte que nous n'avons ainsi qu'une traduction de traduction.

Pour ce qui regsrde Mandeville, il nous dit que ce voyageur composa son ouvrage dans les trois langues, Anglaise, Française et Latine. C'est une erreur. J'en ai en ce moment sous les yeux un exemplaire manuscrit de la Bibliothèque nationale, no. 10024* écrit en 1477 ainsi que le porte une note finale du copiste. Or, dans celui-ci je lis ces mots:

Je eusse mis cest livre en latin, pour plus briefment délivrez (pour aller plus vite, pour abréger le travail). Mais pour ce que plusieurs ayment et endendent mieulx romans [le français] que latin, l'ai-ge [je-l'ai] mis en Romans, affin que chascun l'entende, et que les seigneurs et les chevaliers et aultres nobles hommes qui ne scèvent point de latin, ou petit [peu] qui ont esté oultre-mer, saichent se je dy voir [vrai], ou non.

D'ailleurs, au temps de Mandeville, c'étoit la langue Française qu'on parloit en Angleterre. Cette langue y avoit été portée par Guillaume-le-Conquérant. On ne pouvoit enseigner qu'elle dans les écoles. Toutes les sentences des Tribunaux, tous les actes civils devoient être en Français; et quand Mandeville écrivoit en Français, il écrivoit dans sa langue. S'il se fût servi de la Latine, c'eût été pour être lu chez les nations qui ne connoissoient pas la nôtre.

A la vérité, son Français se ressent du sol. Il a beaucoup d'anglicismes et de locutions vicieuses; et la raison n'en est pas difficile à deviner. On sait que plus un ruisseau s'éloigne de sa source, et plus ses eaux doivent s'altérer. Mais c'est-là, selon moi, le moindre défaut de l'auteur. Sans goût, sans jugement, sans critique, non seulement il admet indistinctement tous les contes et toutes les fables qu'il entend dire; mais il en forge lui-même à chaque instant.

A l'entendre il s'embarqua l'an 1332, jour de Saint-Michel; il voyagea pendant trente-cinq ans, et parcourut une grande partie de l'Asie et de l'Afrique. Eh bien, ayez comme moi le courage de le lire ; et si vous lui accordez d'avoir vu peut-être Constantinople, la Palestine et l'Egypte (ce que moi je me garderois bien de garantir), à coup sûr au moin vous resterez convaincu que jamais i, ne mit le pied dans tous ces pays dont il parle à l'aveugle ; Arabie, Tartarie, Inde, Ethiopie, etc. etc.

---

* Il y en a dans la même bibliothèque un autre exemplaire noté 7972; mais celui-ci, mutilé, incomplet, trèsdifficile à lire, par la blancheur de son encre, ne peut guères avoir de valeur qu'en le collationant avec l'autre.

Au moins, si les fictions qu'il imagine offroient ou quelque agrément ou quelque intérêt ! s'il ne faisoit qu'user du droit de mentir, dont se sont mis depuis si long-temps en possession la plupart des voyageurs ! Mais chez lui ce sont des erreurs géographiques si grossières, des fables si sottes, des descriptions de peuples et de contrées imaginaires si ridicules, enfin des âneries si révoltantes, qu'en vérité on ne sait quel nom lui donner. Il en coûteroit d'avoir à traiter de charlatan un écrivain. Que seroit-ce donc si on avoit à la qualifier de hâbleur effronté ? Cependant comment désigner le voyageur qui nous cite des géans de trente pieds de long ; des arbres dont les fruits se changent en oiseaux qu'on mange ; d'autres arbes qui tous les jours sortent de terre et s'en élèvent depuis le lever du soleil jusqu'à midi, et qui depuis midi jusqu'au soir y rentrent en entier ; un val périlleux, dont il avoit près la fiction dans nos vieux romans de chevalerie, val ou il dit avoir éprouvé de telles aventures qu'infalliblement il y auroit péri si précedemment il n'auoit reçeu Corpus Domini (s'il n'avoit communié) ; un fleuve qui sort du paradis terrestre et qui, au lieu d'eau, roule des pierres précieuses ; ce paradis qui, dit-il, est au commencement de la terre et placé si haut qu'il touche de près la lune ; enfin mille autres impostures ou sottisses de même espèce, qui dénotent non l'erreur de la bêtise et de la crédulité, mais le mensonge de la réflexion et de la fraude?

Je regarde même comme tels ces trente-cinq ans qu'il dit avoir employés à parcourir le monde sans avoir songé à revenir dans sa patrie que quand enfin la goute vint le tourmenter.

Quoiqu'il en existe trois éditions imprimées, l'une en 1487 chez Jean Cres, l'autre en 1517 chez Regnault, la troisième en 1542 chez Canterel, on ne le connoît guère que par le court extrait qu'en a publié Bergeron. Et en effet cet editeur l'avoit trouvé si invraisemblable et si fabuleux qu'il l'a réduit à douze pages quoique dans notre manuscrit il en contienne cent soixante et dix-huit.

Dans le quinzième siècle, nous eûmes deux autres voyages en Terre-Sainte : l'un que je publie aujourd'hui ; l'autre, par un carme nommé Huen, imprimé en 1487, et dont je ne dirai rien ici, parce qu'il est posterieur à l'autre.

La même raison m'empêchera de parler d'un ouvrage mis au jour par Mamerot, chantre et chanoine de Troyes. D'ailleurs celui-ci, intitulé passages faiz oultre-mer par les roys de France et autres princes et seigneurs François contre les Turcqs et autres Sarrasins et Mores oultre-marins, n'est point, à proprement parler, un voyage, mais une compilation historique des différentes craisades qui ont eu lieu en France, et que l'auteur, d'après la fausse Chronique de Turpin et nos romans de chevalerie, fait commencer à Charlemagne. La Bibliothèque nationale possède de celui-ci un magnifique exemplaire, orné d'un grand nombre de belles miniatures et tableaux.

Je viens à l'ouvrage de la Brocquière; mais celui-ci demande quelque explication.

Seconde Partie.

LA folie des Croisades, comme tous les genres d'ivresse, n'avoit eu en France qu'une certaine durée, ou, pour parler plus exactement, de même que certaines fièvres, elle s'étoit calmée après quelques accès. Et assurément la croisade de Louis-le-Jeune, les deux de saint Louis plus désastreuses encore, avoient attiré sur le royaume assez de honte et de malheurs pour y croire ce fanatisme éteient à jamais.

Cependent la superstition cherchoit de temps à le rallumer. Souvent, en confession et dans certains cas de pénitence publique, le clergé imposoit pour satisfaction un pélerinage à Jérusalem, ou un temps fixe de croisade. Plusieurs fois même les papes employèrent tous les ressorts de leur politique et l'ascendant de leur autorité pour renouer chez les princes chrétiens quelqu'une de ces ligues saintes, où leur ambition avoit tant à gagner sans rien risquer que des indulgences.

Philippe-le-Bel, par hypocrisie de zèle et de religion, affecta un moment de vouloir en former une nouvelle pour la France. Philippe-de-Valois, le prince le moins propre à une enterprise si difficile et qui exigeoit tant de talens, parut s'en occuper pendant quelques années. Il reçut une ambassade du roi d'Armenie, entama des négociations avec la cour de Rome, ordonna même des préparatifs dans le port de Marseille. Enfin dans l'intervalle de ces mouvemens, l'an 1332, un dominicain nommé Brochard (surnommé l'Allemand, du nom de son pays), lui présenta deux ouvrages Latins composés à dessein sur cet objet.

L'un, dans lequel il lui faisoit connoître la contrée qui alloit être le but de la conquête, étoit une description de la Terre-Sainte; et comme il avoit demeuré vingt-quatre ans dans cette contrée en qualité de missionnaire et de prédicateur, peu de gens pouvoient alléguer autant de droits que lui pour en parler.

L'autre, divisé en deux livres, par commémoration des deux épées dont il est mention dans l'Evangile, sous-divisé en douze chapitres à l'honneur des douze apôtres, traitoit des différentes routes entre lesquelles l'armée avoit à choisir, des précautions de détail à prendre pour le succès de l'entreprise, enfin des moyens de diriger et d'assurer l'expédition.

Quant à celui-ci, dont les matières concernent entièrement la marine et l'art militaire, on est surpris de voir l'auteur l'avoir entrepris, lui qui n'étoit qu'un simple religieux. Mais qui ne sait que, dans les siècles d'ignorance, quiconque est moins ignorant que ses contemporains, s'arroge le droit d'écrire sur tout? D'ailleurs, parmi les conseils que Brochard donnoit au roi et à ses généraux, son expérience pouvoit lui en avoir suggéré quelquesuns d'utiles. Et après tout, puisque dans la classe des nobles auxquels il eut appartenu de traiter ces objets, il ne se trouvoit personne peut-être qui put offrir et les mêmes connoissances locales que lui et un talent égal pour les écrire, pourquoi n'auroit-il pas hasardé ce qu'ils ne pouvoient faire?

Quoiqu'il en soit du motif et de son excuse, il paroît que l'ouvrage fit sur le roi et sur son conseil une impression favorable. On voit au moins, par la continuation de la Chronique de Nangis, que le monarque envoya *in terram Turcorum* Jean de Cépoy et l'évêque de Beauvais avec quelque peu d'infanterie *ad explorandos portus et passus, ad faciendos aliquas munationes et præparationes victualium pro passagio Terre Sanctæ;* et que la petite troupe, après avoir remporté quelques avantages aussi considérables que le permettoient ses foibles forces, revint en France l'an 1335.*

Au reste tout ce fracas d'armemens, de préparatifs et de menaces dont le royaume retentit pendant quelques années, s'évanouit en un vain bruit. Je ne doute point que, dans les commencemens, le roi ne fut de bonne foi. Sa vanité s'étoit laissée éblouir par un projet brillant qui alloit fixer sur lui les yeux de l'Asie et de l'Europe ; et les esprits médiocres ne savent point résister à la séduction de pareilles chimères.

---

* Spicil. t. II. p. 764.

Mais bientôt, comme les caractères foibles, fatigué des difficultés, il chercha des prétextes pour se mettre à l'écart; et dans ce dessein il demanda au pape des titres et de l'argent, que celui-ci n'accorda pas. Alors on ne parla plus de l'expédition; et tout ce qu'elle produisit fut d'attirer la colère et la vengeance des Turcs sur ce roi d'Arménie, qui étoit venu en France solliciter contre eux une ligue et des secours.

Au siècle suivant, la même fanfaronnade eut lieu à la cour de Bourgogne, quoique avec un début plus serieux en apparence.

L'an 1432, cent ans après la publication des deux ouvrages de Brochard, plusieurs grands seigneurs des états de Bourgogne et officiers du duc Philippe-le-Bon font le pélerinage de la Terre-Sainte. Parmi eux est son premier écuyer tranchant nommé la Brocquière. Celui-ci, après plusieurs courses dévotes dans le pays, revient malade à Jérusalem, et pendant sa convalescence il y forme le hardi projet de retourner en France par la voie de terre. C'étoit s'engager à traverser toute la partie occidentale d'Asie, toute l'Europe orientale; et toujours, excepté sur la fin du voyage, à travers la domination musulmane. L'exécution de cette entreprise, qui aujourd'hui même ne seroit point sans difficultés, passoit alors pour impossible. En vain ses camarades essaient de l'en détourner: il s'y obstine; il part, et, après avoir surmonté tous les obstacles, il revient, dans le cours de l'année 1433, se présenter au duc sous le costume Sarrasin, qu'il avoit éte obligé de prendre, et avec le cheval qui seul avoit fourni à cette étonnante traite.

Une si extraordinaire aventure ne pouvoit manquer de produire à la cour un grand effet. Le duc voulut que le voyageur en rédigeat par écrit la relation. Celui-ci obéit; mais son ouvrage ne parut que quelques années après, et même postérieurement à l'année 1438, puisque cette époque y est mentionnée, comme on le verra ci-dessous.

Il n'étoit guère possible que le duc eut journellement sous les yeux son écuyer tranchant sans avoir quelquefois envie de le questionner sur cette terre des Mécréans; et il ne pouvoit guère l'entendre, sur-tout à table, sans que sa tête ne s'échauffat, et ne format aussi des chimères de croisade et de conquête.

Ce qui me fait présumer qu'il avoit demandé à la Brocquière des renseignemens de ce genre, c'est que celui-ci a inséré dans sa relation un long morceau sur la force militaire des Turcs, sur les moyens de les combattre vigoureusement, et, quoiqu'avec une armée médiocre mais bien conduite et bien organisée, de pénétrer sans risques jusqu'à Jérusalem. Assurément un episode aussi étendu et d'un résultat aussi important est à remarquer dans un ouvrage présenté au duc et composé par ses ordres ; et l'on conviendra qu'il n'a guère pu y être placé sans un dessein formel et une intention particulière.

En effet on vit de temps en temps Philippe annoncer sur cet objet de grands desseins ; mais plus occupé de plaisirs que de gloire, ainsi que le prouvent les quinze batards connus qu'il a laissés, toute sa forfanterie s'évaporoit en paroles. Enfin cependant un moment arriva où la chrétienté, alarmée des conquêtes rapides du jeune et formidable Mahomet II. et de l'armement terrible qu'il préparoit contre Constantinople, crut qu'il n'y avoit plus de digue à lui opposer qu'une ligue générale.

Le duc, qui, par l'étendue et la population de ses états, étoit plus puissant que beaucoup de rois, pouvoit jouer dans la coalition un rôle important. Il affecta de se montrer en scène un des premiers ; et pour le faire avec éclat, il donna dans Lille en 1453 une fête splendide et pompeuse, ou plutôt un grand spectacle à machines, fort bizarre dans son ensemble, fort disparate dans la multitude de ses parties, mais le plus étonnant de ceux de ce genre que nous ait transmis l'histoire. Ce spectacle dont j'ai donné ailleurs la description*, et qui absorba en pur faste des sommes considérables qu'il eut été facile dans les circonstances d'employer beaucoup mieux, se termina par quelques vœux d'armes tant de la part du duc que de celle de plusieurs seigneurs de sa cour : et c'est tout ce qui en résulta. Au reste il eut lieu en février, et Mahomet prit Constantinople en Mai.

La nouvelle de ce désastre, les massacres horribles qui avoient accompagné la conquête, les suites incalculables qu'elle pouvoit avoir sur le sort de la chrétienté, y répendirent la consternation. Le duc alors crut qu'il devoit enfin se prononcer autrement que par des propos et des fêtes. Il annonça une croisade, leva en conséquence de grosses sommes sur ses sujets, forma même une armée et s'avança en Allemagne. Mais tout-à-coup ce lion fougueux s'arrêta. Une incommodité qui lui survint fort à propos lui servit de prétexte et d'excuse ; et il revint dans ses états.

Néanmoins il affecta de continuer à parler croisades comme auparavant. Il chargea même un de ses sujets, Joseph Miélot, chanoine de Lille, de lui traduire en François les deux traités de

---

*Hist. de la vie privée des Français, t. III, p. 324.

Brochard dont j'ai parlé ce-dessus. Enfin, quand le Pape Pie II. convoqua dans Mantoue en 1459, une assemblée de princes chrétiens pour former une ligue contre Mahomet, il ne manqua pas d'y envoyer ses ambassadeurs, à la tête desquels étoit le duc de Clèves.

Miélot finit son travail en 1455, et le court préambule qu'il a mis en tête l'annonce. Les deux traductions se trouvent dans un de ces manuscrits que la Bibliothèque nationale a reçus récemment de la Belgique. Elles sont, pour l'écriture, de la même main que le voyage de la Brocquière; mais quoique des trois ouvrages celui-ci ait dû paroître avant les deux autres, tout trois cependant, soit par économie de reliure, soit par analogie de matières, ont été réunis ensemble; et ils forment ainsi un gros volume in-folio, numéroté 514, relié en bois avec basane rouge, et intitulé au dos, Avis directif de Brochard.

Ce manuscrit, auquel son écriture, sa conservation, ses miniatures, et le beaux choix de son vélin donnent déjà beaucoup de prix, me paroît en acquérir davantage encore sous un autre aspect, en ce qu'il est composé, selon moi, des traités originaux présentés par leurs auteurs à Philippe-le-Bon, ou de l'exemplaire commandé par lui à l'un de ses copistes sur l'autographe des auteurs, pour être placé dans sa bibliothèque.

Je crois voir la preuve de cette assertion non seulement dans la beauté du manuscrit, et dans l'écusson du prince, qui s'y trouve armorié en quatre endroits, et deux foix avec sa devise *Aultre n'aray;* mais encore dans la vignette d'un des deux frontispices, ainsi que dans la miniature de l'autre.

Cette vignette, qui est en tête du volume, représente Miélot à genoux, faisant l'offrande de son livre au duc, lequel est assis et entouré de plusieurs courtisans, dont trois portent, comme lui, le collier de la Toison.

Dans la miniature qui précède le Voyage, on voit la Brocquière faire de la même manière son offrande. Il est en costume Sarrasin, ainsi qu'il a été dit ci-dessus, et il a auprès de lui son cheval, dont j'ai parlé.

Quant à ce duc Philippe qu'on surnomma le Bon, ce n'est point ici le lieu d'examiner s'il mérita bien véritablement ce titre glorieux, et si l'histoire n'auroit pas à lui faire des reproches de plus d'un genre. Mais, comme littérateur, je ne puis m'empêcher de remarquer ici, à l'honneur de sa mémoire, que les lettres au moins lui doivent de la reconnoissance; que c'est un des princes qui, depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à François Iᵉʳ, ait le plus fait pour elles ; qu'au quinzième siècle il fut dans les deux Bourgognes, et dans la Belgique sur-tout, ce qu'au quatorzième Charles V. avoit été en France ; que comme Charles, il se créa une bibliothèque, ordonna des traductions et des compositions d'ouvrages, encouragea les savans, les dessinateurs, les copistes habile ; enfin qu'il rendit peut-être aux sciences plus de services réels que Charles, parce qu'il fut moins superstitieux.

Je donnerai, dans l'Histoire de la littérature Française, à laquelle je travaille, des détails sur ces différens faits. J'en ai trouvé des preuves multipliées dans les manuscrits, qui de la Belgique ont passé à la Bibliothèque nationale, ou, pour parler plus exactement, dans les manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Bruxelles, qui faisoient une des portions les plus considérables de cet envoi.

Cette bibliothèque, pour sa partie Française, qui est spécialement confiée à ma surveillance, et qu'à ce titre j'ai parcourue presque en entier, étoit composée de plusieurs fonds particuliers, dont les principaux sont :

1°. Un certain nombre de manuscrits qui précédemment avoient formé la bibliothèque de Charles V, celle de Charles VI, celle de Jean, duc de Berri, frère de Charles V, et qui pendant les troubles du royaume sous Charles VI, et dans les commencemens du règne de son fils, furent pillés et enlevés par les ducs de Bourgogne. Ceux de Jean sont reconnoissables à sa signature, apposée par lui à la dernière page du volume et quelquefois en plusieurs autres endroits. On reconnoit ceux de deux rois à l'écu de France blasonné qu'on y a peint, à leurs épitres dédicatoires, à leurs vignettes, qui représentent l'offrande du livre fait au monarque, et le monarque revêtu du manteau royal. Il en est d'autres, provenus de ces deux dépots, sur l'enlèvement desquels je ne puis alléguer des preuves aussi authentiques, parce que dans le nombre il s'en trouvoit beaucoup qui n'étoient point ornés de miniatures, ou qui n'avoient point été offerts au roi, et qui par conséquent ne peuvent offrir les mêmes signalemens que les premiers ; mais j'aurois, pour avancer que ceux-là ont été pris également, tant de probabilités, tant de conjectures vraisemblables, qu'elles équivalent pour moi à une preuve positive.

2°. Les manuscrits qui appartinrent légitimement aux ducs de Bourgogne, c'est-à-dire qui furent, ou acquis par eux, ou dédiés et présentés à eux, ou commandés par eux, soit comme ouvrages, soit comme simples copies. Dans la classe des dédiés, le très-grand nombre l'a été à Philippe-le-Bon; dans celle des faits par ordre, presque tous furent ordonnés par lui: et c'est là qu'on voit, comme je l'ai dit plus haut, l'obligation qui lui ont les lettres et tout ce qu'il fit pour elles.

3°. Les manuscrits qui, après avoir appartenu à des particuliers, ou à de grands seigneurs des états de Bourgogne, ont passé en différens temps et d'une manière quelconque dans la bibliothèque de Bruxelles. Parmi ceux-ci l'on doit distinguer spécialement ceux de Charles de Croy, comte de Chimay, parrain de Charles-Quint, chevalier de la toison, fait en 1486 prince de Chimay par Maximilien. Les siens sont assez nombreux, et ils portent pour signe distinctif ses armoiries et sa signature, apposée par lui-même.

De tout ceci il résulte, quant au mérite de la collection Française de Bruxelles, qu'elle ne doit guère offrir que des manuscrits modernes. J'en ai effectivement peu vu qui soient précieux par leur ancienneté, leur rareté, la nature de l'ouvrage; mais beaucoup sont curieux par leur écriture, leur conservation, et spécialement par leurs miniatures; et ces miniatures seront un objet intéressant pour les personnes qui, comme moi, entreprendont l'histoire des arts dans les bas siècles. Elles leur prouveront qu'en Belgique l'état florissant de certaines manufactures y avoit fort avancé l'art de la peinture et du dessin. Mais je reviens aux trois traités de notre volume.

Je ne dirai qu'un mot sur la description de la Palestine par Brochard, parce que l'original Latin ayant été imprimé, elle est connue, et que Miélot, dans le préambule de sa traduction, assure, ce dont je me suis convaincu, n'y avoir adjousté rien de sien. Brochard, de son côté, proteste de son exactitude. Non seulement il a demeuré vingt-quatre ans dans le pays, mais il l'a traversé dans son double diamètre du nord au sud, depuis le pied de Liban jusqu'à Bersabée; et du couchant au levant, depuis la Mediterranée jusqu'à la mer Morte. Enfin il ne décrit rien qu'il n'ait, pour me servir des termes de son traducteur, veu corporellement, lui, estant en iceulx lieux.

La traduction commence au folio 76 de notre volume, et elle porte pour titre: Le livre de la description de la Terre-Saincte, fait en l'onneur et loenge de Dieu, et compilé jadis, l'an M.III^{c}.XXXII, par frère Brochard, l'Alemant, de l'ordre des Preescheurs.

Son second ouvrage étant inédit, j'en parlerai plus au long, mais uniquement d'après la traduction de Miélot.

Le volume est composé de deux parties, et porte pour titre, Advis directif (conseils de marche et de direction) pour faire le passage d'oultremer.

On a pour ce passage, dit Brochard, deux voies différentes, la terre et la mer; et il conseille au roi de les employer toutes les deux à la fois, la première pour l'armée, la seconde pour le transport des vivres, tentes, machines, et munitions de guerre, ainsi que pour les personnes qui sont accoutumées à la mer.

Celle-ci exigera dix à douze galères, qu'on pourra, par des négociations et des arrangemens, obtenir des Génois et des Vénitiens. Les derniers possèdent Candie, Négrepont et autres îles, terres, ou places importantes. Les Génois ont Péra, près de Constantinople, et Caffa, dans la Tartarie. D'ailleurs les deux nations connoissent bien les vents et les mers d'Asie, de même que la langue, les îles, côtes et ports du pays.

Si l'on choisit la voie de mer, on aura le choix de s'embarquer, soit à Aigues-Mortes soit à Marseille ou à Nice: puis on relâchera en Cypre, comme fit Saint Louis. Mais la mer et le séjour des vaisseaux ont de nombreux inconvéniens, et il en résulte de fâcheuses maladies pour les hommes et pour les chevaux. D'ailleurs on dépend des vents: sans cesse on est réduit à craindre les tempêtes et le changement de climat. Souvent même, lorsqu'on ne comptoit faire qu'une relâche, on se voit forcé de séjourner. Ajoutez à ces dangers les vins de Cypre, qui de leur nature sont trop ardents. Si vous y mettez de l'eau, ils perdent toute leur saveur; si vous n'en mettez point, ils attaquent le cerveau et brûlent les entrailles. Quand Saint Louis hiverna dans l'île, l'armée y éprouva tous ces inconvéniens. Il y mourut deux cens et cinquante, que contes, que barons, que chevaliers, des plus noble qu'il eust en son ost.

Il est un autre passage composé de mer et de terre, et celui-ci offre deux routes; l'une par l'Afrique, l'autre par l'Italie.

La voie d'Afrique est extrêmement difficile, à raison des châteaux fortifiés qu'on y rencontrera, du manque de vivres auquel on sera exposé, de la traversée des déserts, et de l'Egypte qu'il faudra franchir. Le chemin d'ailleurs est immense par sa longueur. Si l'on part du détroit de Gibraltar, on aura, pour arriver à deux petites journées de Jérusalem, 2500 milles à parcourir; si l'on part de Tunis, on en aura 2400. Conclusion: la voie d'Afrique est impracticable, il faut y renoncer.

Celle d'Italie présente trois chemins divers. L'un par Aquilée, par l'Istrie, la Dalmatie, le royaume de Rassie (Servie) et Thessalonique (Salonique), la plus grande cité de Macédoine, laquelle n'est qu'à huit petites journées de Constantinople. C'est la route que suivoient les Romains quand ils alloient porter la guerre en Orient. Ces contrées sont fertiles; mais le pays est habité de gens non obeïssans à l'église de Rome. Et quant est de leur vaillance et hardiesse à résister, je n'en fais nulle mention, néant plus que de femmes.

Le second est par la Pouille. On s'embarqueroit à Brandis (Brindes), pour débarquer à Duras (Durazzo) qui est à monseigneur le prince de Tarente. Puis on avanceroit par l'Albanie, par Blaque et Thessalonique.

La troisième traverse également la Pouille; mais il passe par Ydronte (Otrante), Curpho (Corfou) qui est à mondit seigneur de Tarente, Desponte, Blaque, Thessalonique. C'est celui qu'à la première croisade prirent Robert, comte de Flandre; Robert, duc de Normandie; Hugues, frère du roi Philippe Ier, et Tancrède, prince de Tarente.

Après avoir parlé du passage par mer et du passage composé de terre et de mer, Brochard examine celui qui auroit lieu entièrement par terre.

Ce dernier traverse l'Allemagne, la Hongrie et la Bulgarie. Ce fut celui qu'à la même première expédition suivit une grande partie de l'armée de France et d'Allemagne, sous la conduite de Pierre l'hermite, et c'est celui que l'auteur conseille au roi.

Mais quand on est en Hongrie on a deux routes à choisir: l'une par la Bulgarie, l'autre par l'Esclavonie, qui fait partie du royaume de Rassie. Godefroi de Bouillon, ses deux frères, et Baudouin, comte de Mons, prirent la première. Raimond, comte de Saint-Gilles, et Audemare, évéque du Puy et légat du Saint-Siège, prirent la seconde, quoique quelques auteurs prétendent qu'ils suivirent celle d'Aquilée et de Dalmatie.

Si le roi adoptoit ce passage par terre, l'armée, arrivée en Hongrie, pourroit se diviser en deux; et alors, pour la plus grande commodité des vivres, chacune des deux parties suivroit un des deux chemins; savoir, l'une, celui de la Bulgarie; l'autre, celui de l'Esclavonie. Le roi prendroit la première route, comme la plus courte. Quant aux Languedociens et Provençaux, qui sont voisins de l'Italie, il leur seroit permis d'aller par Brindes et Otrante. Leur rendezvous seroit à Thessalonique, où ils trouveroint le corps d'armée, qui auroit pris par Aquilée.

A ces renseignemens sur les avantages et les inconvéniens des des divers passages, le dominicain en ajoute quelques autres sur les princes par les états desquels il faudra passer, et sur les ressources que fourniront ces états.

La Rassie est un pays fertile, dit il ; elle a en activité cinq mines d'or, cinq d'argent, et plusieurs autres qui portent or et argent. Il ne faudroit pour la conquête de cette contrée que mille chevaliers et six mille hommes d'infanterie. Ce seroit un joyel (joyau) gracieux et plaisant à acquérir.

L'auteur veut qu'on ne fasse aucun traité d'alliance ni avec ce roi ni même avec l'empereur Grec ; et, pour mieux motiver son assertion, il rapporte quelques détails sur le personnel de ces princes, et principalement sur le premier, qu'il dit être un usurpateur.

Quant à l'autre, il demande non seulement qu'on ne fasse avec lui ni paix ni trève, mais encore qu'on lui déclare la guerre. En conséquence il donne des moyens pour assiéger Constantinople, Andrinople et Thessalonique. Et comme, d'après ce qui est arrivé, il ne doute nullement de ce qui doit arriver encore, c'est-à-dire de la prise de Constantinople, il propose divers réglemens pour gouverner l'empire d'Orient quand on l'aura conquis une seconde fois, et pour le ramener à la religion Romaine.

Il termine ses avis directifs par avertir les croisés de se mettre en garde contre la prefidie des Grecs, ainsi que contre les Syriens, les Hassassins et autres habitans de l'Asie. Il leur détaille une partie des piéges qu'on leur tendra, et leur enseigne à s'en garantir.

Brochard, dans sa première partie, a conduit par terre jusqu'à Constantinople l'ost de Nostre Seigneur, et il lui a fait prendre cette ville. Dans la seconde il lui fait passer le détroit et le mène en Asie. Au reste il connoissoit très-bien ces contrées ; et indépendamment de ses vingt-quatre ans de séjour dans la Palestine, il avoit parcouru encore l'Arménie, la Perse, l'empire Grec, etc.

Selon lui, ce qui, dans les croisades précédentes, avoit fait échouer les rois de France et d'Angleterre, c'est que mal adroitement on attaquoit à la fois et les Turcs et le soudan d'Egypte. Il propose de n'attaquer que les premiers, et de n'avoir affaire qu'à eux seuls.

Pour le faire avec succès il donne des renseigemens sur la

Turquie, nommée Anachély (Anotolie) par les Grecs; sur la manière de tirer par mer des vivres pour l'armée; sur l'espoir bien fondé de réussir contre un peuple nécessairement abandonné de Dieu, parce que sa malice est accomplie; contre un peuple qui intérieurement est affoibli par des guerres intestines et par le manque de chefs; dont la cavalerie est composée d'esclaves; qui, avec peu de courage et d'industrie n'a que des chevaux petits et foibles, de mauvaises armes, des arcs Turquois et des haubergeons de cuir qu'on pourroit appeler des *cuirasses; contre un peuple enfin qui ne combat qu'en fuyant, et qui, après les Grecs et les Babyloniens, est le plus vil de tout Orient, en fais-d'armes.

L'auteur déclare en finissant que dans tout cet Orient il n'est presque aucune nation qu'il n'ait veue aller en bataille, et que la seule puissance de France, sans nuls aydes quelsconques, peut défaire, non seulement les Turcs et les Egyptiens†, mais encore les Tartres (Tatars) fors (excepté) les Indiens, les Arabes, et les Persains.

La collection de Bruxelles contient un autre exemplaire de l'Advis directif, in fol. pap. miniat. No. 352. Celui-ci forme un volume à part. Sa vignette représente Brochard travaillant à son pupitre. Vient ensuite une miniature où on le voit présentant son livre au roi; puis une autre où le roi est en marche avec son armée pour la Terre-Sainte.

J'ai également trouvé dans la même collection les deux traités Latins de l'auteur, réunis en un seul volume in fol. pap. No. 319, couvert en basane rouge. Le premier porte en titre: Directorium ad passagium faciendum, editum per quemdam fratrem ordinis Predicatorum, scribentem experta et visa potiùs quàm audita; ad serenissimum principem et dominum Philippum, regem Francorum, anno Domini M.CCC^{mo}. xxxii^{o}.

Le second est intitulé: Libellus de Terrâ Sanctâ, editus à fratre Brocardo, Theutonico, ordinis fratrum predicatorum. A la fin de celui-ci on lit qu'il a été écrit par Jean Reginaldi, chanoine de Cambrai. Comme l'autre est incontestablement de la même main, je de doute nullement qu'il ne soit aussi de Reginaldi.

---

* Le haubert et le haubergeon (sorte de haubert plus léger et moins lourd) étoient une sorte de chemise en mailles de fer, laquelle descendoit jusqu'à mi-cuisse. Les haubergeons Turcs, au contraire, étoient si courts qu'on pouvoit selon l'auteur, les qualifier du nom de cuirasses.

† Les Turcs et les Egyptiens ! frère Brochard, vous oubliez Louis-le-Jeune, et saint Louis.

Il me reste maintenant à faire connoître notre troisième ouvrage Français, ce Voyage de la Brocquière que je publie aujourd'hui.

L'auteur étoit gentilhomme, et l'on s'en aperçoit sans peine quand il parle de chevaux, de châteaux forts et de joutes.

Sa relation n'est qu'un itinéraire qui souvent, et surtout dans la description du pays, et des villes, présente un peu de monotonie et des formes peu variées ; mais cet itinéraire est intéressant pour l'histoire et la géographie du temps. Elles y trouveront des matériaux très précieux, et quelquefois même des tableaux et des aperçus qui ne sont pas sans mérite.

Le voyageur est un homme d'un esprit sage et sensé, plein de jugement et de raison. On admirera l'impartialité avec laquelle il parle des nations infidèles qu'il a occasion de connoître, et spécialement des Turcs, dont la bonne foi est bien supérieure, selon lui, à celle de beaucoup de chrétiens.

Il n'a guère de la superstition de son siècle que la dévotion pour les pélerinages et les reliques ; encore annonce-t-il souvent peu de foi sur l'authenticité des reliques qu'on lui montre.

Quant aux pélerinages, on verra en le lisant combien ils étoient multipliés en Palestine, et son livre sera pour nous un monument qui, d'une part, constatera l'aveugle crédulité avec laquelle nos dévots occidentaux avoient adopté ces pieuses fables ; et de l'autre l'astuce criminelle des chrétiens de Terre-Sainte, qui pour soutirer l'argent des croisés et des pélerins, et se faire à leurs dépens un revenu, les avoient imaginées.

La Brocquière écrit en militaire, d'un style franc et loyal qui annonce de la véracité et inspire la confiance ; mais il écrit avec négligence et abandon ; de sorte que ses matières n'ont pas toujours un ordre bien constant, et que quelquefois il commence à raconter un fait dont la suite se trouve à la page suivante. Quoique cette confusion soit rare, je me suis cru permis de la corriger et de rapprocher ce qui devoit être réuni et ne l'étoit pas.

Notre manuscrit a, pour son orthographe, le défaut qu'ils ont la plupart, c'est que, dans certains noms, elle varie souvent d'une page à l'autre, et quelquefois même dans deux phrases qui se suivent. On me blâmeroit de m'astreindre à ces variations d'une langue qui, alors incertaine, aujourd'hui est fixée. Ainsi, par exemple, il écrit Auteriche, Autherice, Austrice, Ostrice. Je n'emploierai constamment que celui d'Autriche.

Il en sera de même des noms dont l'orthographe ne varie point dans le manuscrit, mais qui en ont aujourd'hui une différente. J'écrirai Hongrie, Belgrade, Bulgarie, et non Honguerie, Belgrado, Vulgarie.

D'autres noms enfin ont changé en entier et ne sont plus les mêmes. Nous ne disons plus la mer Majeure, la Dunoë; mais la mer Noire, le Danube. Quant à ceux-ci je crois intéressant pour cela de les citer une fois. Ainsi la première fois que dans la relation le mot Dunoë s'offrira, j'écrirai Dunoë; mais par la suite je dirai toujours Danube et il en sera de même pour les autres.

On m'objectera, je m'y attends, qu'il est mal de prêter à un auteur des expressions qui n'étoient ni les siennes ni souvent même celles de son siècle; mais, après avoir bien pesé les avantages et les inconvéniens d'une nomenclature très-littérale, j'ai cru reconnoitre que cette exactitude rigoureuse rendroit le texte inintelligible ou fatigant pour la plupart des lecteurs; que si l'on veut qu'un auteur soit entendu, il faut le faire parler comme il parleroit lui-même s'il vivoit parmi nous; enfin qu'il est des choses que le bon sens ordonne de changer ou de supprimmer, et qu'il seroit ridicule, par exemple, de dire, comme la Brocquière, un seigneur hongre, pour un seigneur Hongrois; des chrétiens vulgaires, pour des chrétiens Bulgares, etc.

VOYAGE DE LA BROCQUIERE.

Cy commence le voyage de Bertrandon de la Brocquière en la Terre d'Oultre Mer l'an de grace mil quatre cens et trente-deux.

POur animer et enflammer le cœur des nobles hommes qui desirent voir le monde;

Et par l'ordre et commandement de très-haut, très-puissant et mon très-redouté seigneur, Philippe, par la grace de Dieu, duc de Bourgogne, de Lothrik (Lorraine), de Brabant et de Limbourg; comte de Flandres, d'Artois et de Bourgogne;* palatin de

---

* La Bourgogne étoit divisée en deux parties, duché et comté. Cette dernière, qui depuis fut connue sous le nom de Franche-Comté, commença dès-lors à prendre ce nom; voilà pourquoi l'auteur désigne à la fois Philippe et comme duc de Bourgogne, et comme comte de Bourgogne.

Hainaut, de Hollande, de Zélande et de Namur; marquis du Saint-Empire; seigneur de Frise, de Salins et de Malines:

Je, Bertrandon de la Brocquière, natif du duché de Guienne, seigneur de Vieux-Chateau, conseiller et premier écuyer tranchant de mondit très-redouté seigneur;

D'après ce que je puis me rappeler et ce que j'avois consigné en abrégé dans un petit livret en guise de mémorial, j'ai rédigé par écrit ce peu de voyage que j'ai fait;

Afin que si quelque roi ou prince chrétien vouloit entreprendre la conquête de Jérusalem et y conduire par terre une armée, ou si quelque noble homme vouloit y voyager, les uns et les autre pussent connoître, depuis le duché de Bourgogne jusqu'à Jerusalem, toutes les villes, cités, régions, contrées, rivières, montagnes et passages du pays, ainsi que les seigneurs auxquels ils appartiennent.

LA route d'ici à la cité sainte est si connue que je ne crois pas devoir m'arrêter à la décrire. Je passerai donc légèrement sur cet article, et ne commencerai à m'étendre un peu que quand je parlerai de la Syrie. J'ai parcouru ce pays entier, depuis Gazère (Gaza), qui est l'entrée de l'Egypte, jusqu'à une journée d'Halep, ville située au nord sur la frontière et où j'on se rend quand on veut aller en Perse.

J'avois résolu de faire le saint pélerinage de Jérusalem. Déterminé à l'accomplir, je quittai, au mois de Février l'an 1432, la cour de mon très-redouté seigneur, qui alors étoit à Gand. Après avoir traversé la Picardie, la Champagne, la Bourgogne, j'entrai en Savoie où je passai le Rhône, et arrivai à Chambéri par le Mont-du-Chat.

Là commence une longue suite de montagnes, dont la plus haute, nommée mont Cénis, forme un passage dangereux dans les temps de neige. Par-tout la route, étant couverte et cachée, il faut avoir, si l'on ne veut pas se perdre, des guides du pays, appelés marrons. Ces gens vous recommandent de ne faire en chemin aucune sorte de bruit qui puisse étonner la montagne, parce qu'alors la neige s'en détache et vient très-impétueusement tomber au bas. Le mont Cénis sépare l'Italie de la France.

Descendu de là dans le Piémont, pays beau et agréable, qui par trois côtés est clos de hautes montagnes, je passai par Turin, où je traversai le Pô; par Ast, qui est au duc d'Orléeans; par Alexandrie, dont la plupart des habitans sont usuriers, dit-on;

par Plaisance, qui appartient au nuc de Milan; enfin par Bologne-la-Grasse, qui est au pape. L'empereur Sigismond étoit dans Plaisance. Il venoit de Milan, ou il avoit reçu sa seconde couronne, et alloit à Rome chercher la troisième.[*]

De Bologne, pour arriver dans l'état des Florentins, j'eus à passer une autre chaine de montagnes (l'Apennin). Florence est une grande ville où la commune se gouverne par ellemême. De trois en trois mois elle se choisit, pour son administration, des magistrats qu'elle appelle prieurs, et qui sont pris dans diverses professions. Tant qu'ils restent en place on les honore; mais, quand leurs trois mois sont expirés, chacun retourne à son état.[†]

De Florence j'allai à Mont-Poulchan (Monte-Pulciano), château bâti sur une hauteur et entouré de trois côtés par un grand lac (le lac de Pérouse); à Espolite (Spoléte); à Mont-Flaschon (Monte Fiascone); enfin à Rome.

Rome est connue. On sait par des écrits véridiques que pendant sept cents ans elle a été maitresse du monde. Mais quand ces écrits ne l'attesteroient pas, on n'en auroit pas moins la preuve dans tous ces beaux édifices qu'on y voit encore, dans ces grands palais, ces colonnes de marbre, ces statues et tous ces monumens aussi merveilleux à voir qu'à décrire.

Joignez à cela l'immense quantité de belles reliques qu'elle possède, tant de choses qui N. S. a touchées, tant de saints corps d'apôtres, de martyrs, de confesseurs et de vierges; enfin plusieurs églises, où les saints pontifes ont accordé plein pardon de peine et de coulpe (indulgence plénière).

J'y vis Eugène IV, Vénitien, qui venoit d'être élu pape.[‡] Le prince de Salerne lui avoit déclaré la guerre. Celui-ci étoit un Colonne, et neveu du pape Martin.[§]

---

[*] En 1414, Sigismond, élu empereur, avoit reçu la couronne d'argent à Aix-la-Chapelle. Au mois de Novembre 1431, peu avant le passage de notre voyageur, il avoit reçu à Milan la couronne de fer. Ce ne fut qu'en 1443 qu'il reçut à Rome, des mains du pape, celle d'or.

[†] Pour donner une idée favorable du talent de la Brocquière, ne pourroit-on pas citer le court et bel éloge qu'il fait ici du gouvernmement représentatif et républicain qu'avoit alors Florence?

[‡] On va voir que la Brocquière sortit de Rome le 25 Mars, et Eugène avoit été élu dans les premiers jours du mois.

[§] Martin V, prédécesseur d'Eugène, étoit de la maison des Colonne, et il y avoit inimitié declarée entre cette famille et celle des Ursins. Eugène, dès qu'il se vit établi sur le Saint-Siége, prit parti entre ces deux maisons. Il se déclara pour la seconde contre la première, et sur-tout contre ceux des Colonne, qui étoient neveux de Martin. Ceux ci prirent les armes et lui firent la guerre.

Je sortis de Rome le 25 Mars, et passant par une ville du comte de Thalamoné, parent du cardinal des Ursins, par Urbin; par la seigneurie des Malatestes, par Reymino (Rimini), par Ravenne, qui est aux Vénitiens, je traversai trois fois le Pô (trois branches de l'embouchure du Pô), et vins à Cloge (Chiosa), ville des Vénitiens qui autrefois avoit un bon port, lequel fut détruit par eux quand les Jennevois (Génois) vinrent assiéger Venise.* Enfin, de Cloge je me rendis à Venise, qui en est distante de vingt-cinq milles.

Venise, grande et belle ville, ancienne et marchande, est bâtie au milieu de la mer. Ses divers quartiers, séparés par les eaux, forment des iles; de sorte qu'on ne peut aller de l'une à l'autre qu'en bateau.

On y posséde le corps de sainte Hélène, mère de l'empereur Constantin, ainsi que plusieurs autres que j'ai vus, et spècialement plusieurs des Innocens, qui sont entiers. Ceux-ci se trouvent dans une ile qu'on appelle Réaut (Realto), ile renommée par ses fabriques de verre.

Le gouvernement de Venise est sage. Nul ne peut être membre du conseil ou y posséder quelque emploi s'il n'est noble et né dans la ville. Il y a un duc qui sans cesse, pendant le jour, est tenu d'avoir avec lui six des anciens du conseil les plus remarquables. Quand il meurt, on lui donne pour successeur celui qui a montré le plus de sagesse et le plus de zèle pour le bien commun.

Le 8 Mai je m'embarquai, pour accomplir mon voyage, sur une galée (galère) avec quelques autres pélerins. Elle côtoya l'Esclavonie, et relâcha successivement à Pole (Pola), Azarre (Zara), Sébénich (Sebenico) et Corfo (Corfou).

Pola me parut avoir été autrefois une grande et forte ville. Elle a un très-beau port. On voit à Zara le corps de ce saint Siméon à qui N. S. fut présenté dans le temple. Elle est entourée de trois côtés par la mer, et son port, également beau, est fermé d'une chaine de fer. Sebenico appartient aux Vénitiens, ainsi que l'île et la ville de Corfou, qui, avec un très-beau port, a encore deux châteaux.

---

* Jennevois ou Gennevois. Les auteurs de ce temps appellent toujours ainsi les Génois. Je n'emploierai désormais que cette dernière dénomination, l'autre étant aujourd'hui exclusivement consacrée aux habitans de Genève.

De Corfou nous vînmes à Modon, bonne et belle ville de Morée, qu'ils possèdent aussi ; à Candie, ile très-fertile, dont les habitans sont excellens marins et où la seigneurie de Venise nomme un gouverneur qui porte le titre de duc, mais qui ne reste en place que trois ans ; à Rhodes, où je n'eus que le temps de voir la ville ; à Baffe, ville ruinée de l'ile de Cypre ; enfin à Jaffe, en la sainte terre de permission.

C'est à Jaffa, que commencent les pardons de ladite sainte terre. Jadis elle appartint aux chrétiens, et alors elle étoit forte ; maintenant elle est entièrement détruite, et n'a plus que quelques cahuttes en roseaux, où les pélerins se retirent pour se défendre de la chaleur du soleil. La mer entre dans la ville et forme un mauvais havre peu profond, où il est dangereux de rester, parce qu'on peut être jeté à la côte par un coup de vent. Elle a deux sources d'eau douce, dont l'une est couverte des eaux de mer quand le vent de Ponent souffle un peu fort. Dès qu'il débarque au port quelques pélerins, aussitôt des truchemens et autres officiers du soudan * viennent pour s'assurer de leur nombre, pour leur servir de guides, et recevoir en son nom le tribut d'usage.

Rames (Ramlé), où nous nous rendimes de Jaffe, est une ville sans murailles, mais bonne et marchande, sise dans un canton agréable et fertile. Nous allâmes dans le voisinage visiter ung village où monseigneur saint Georg fu martirié ; et de retour à Rames, nous reprimes notre route, et arrivâmes en deux jours en la sainte cité de Jhérusalem, où nostre Seigneur Jhésu Crist reçut mort et passion pour nous.

Après y avoir fait les pélerinages qui sont d'usage pour les pélerins, nous fîmes ceux de la montagne où Jésus jeûna quarante jours ; du Jourdain, où il fut baptisé ; de l'église de Saint-Jean, qui est près du fleuve ; de celle de Sainte-Marie-Madelaine et de Sainte-Marthe, où notre Seigneur ressuscita le Ladre (Lazare) ; de Bethléem, où il prit naissance ; du lieu où naquit Saint-Jean-Baptiste ; de la maison de Zacharie ; enfin de Sainte-Croix, où crût l'arbre de la vraie croix : après quoi nous revînmes à Jérusalem.

Il y a dans Bethléem des cordeliers qui ont une église où ils font le service divin ; mais ils sont dans une grande sujétion des

---

* C'est du soudan d'Egypte, qu'il s'agit ici. C'étoit à lui qu'obéissoient alors la Palestine et la Syrie. Il en sera souvent mention dans le cours du voyage.

Sarrasins. La ville n'a pour habitans que des Sarrasins et quelques chrétiens de la ceinture.[*]

Au lieu de la naissance de sainte Jean Baptiste, on montre une roche qui, pendant qu'Hérode persécutoit les innocens, s'ouvrit miraculeusement en deux. Sainte Elisabeth y cacha son fils; aussitôt elle se ferma, et l'enfant y resta, dit-on, deux jours entiers.

Jérusalem est dans un fort pays des montagnes, et c'est encore aujourd'hui une ville assez considérable, quoiqu'elle paroisse l'avoir été autrefois bien davantage. Elle est sous la domination du soudan: ce qui doit faire honte et douleur à la chrétienté. Il n'y a de chrétiens Francs que deux cordeliers qui habitent au Saint-Sépulcre, encore y sont ils bien vexés des Sarrasins; et je puis en parler avec connoissance de cause, moi qui pendant deux mois en ai été le témoin.

Dans l'église du Sépulcre se trouvent aussi d'autres sortes de chrétiens: Jacobites, Erménins (Arméniens), Abécins (Abyssins), de la terre du prêtre Jehan, et chrétiens de la ceinture; mais de tous ce sont les Francs qui éprouvent la sujétion la plus dure.

Après tous ces pélerinages accomplis, nous en entreprîmes un autre également d'usage, celui de Sainte-Catherine au mont Sinaï; et pour celui-ci nous nous réunîmes dix pélerins: messire André de Thoulongeon, messire Michel de Ligne,[†] Guillaume de Ligne son frère, Sanson de Lalaing, Pierre de Vaudrey; Godefroi de Thoisi, Humbert Buffart, Jean de la Roe, Simonnet (le nom de la famile est en blanc), et moi.[‡]

Pour l'instruction de ceux qui, comme moi, voudroient l'entreprendre, je dirai que l'usage est de traiter avec le grand trucheman de Jérusalem; que celui-ci commence par percevoir un droit pour le soudan et un autre pour lui, et qu'alors il envoie prévenir le trucheman de Gaza, qui à son tour traite du passage avec les Arabes du désert. Ces Arabes jouissent du droit de conduire les pélerins; et comme ils ne sont pas toujours fort soumis au soudan, on est obligé de se servir de leurs chameaux, qu'ils louent à deux ducats par bête.

---

[*] L'an 235 de l'hégire, 856 de l'ère chrétienne, le calife Motouakkek astreignit les chrétiens et les Juifs à porter une large ceinture de cuir, et aujourd'hui encore ils la portent dans l'Orient. Mais depuis cette époque les chrétiens d'Asie, et spécialement ceux de Syrie, qui sont presque tous Nestoriens ou Jacobites, furent nommés chrétiens de la ceinture.

[†] On sait que le nom de messire ou de monseigneur étoit un titre qu'on donnoit aux chevaliers.

[‡] Ces noms, dont le cinq premiers sont ceux de grands seigneurs des états du duc de Bourgogne, attestent que plusieurs personnes de la cour du duc s'étoient réunies pour le voyage d'outremer, et ce sont probablement celles qui s'embarquèrent à Venise avec notre auteur, quoique jusqu'à présent il ne les ait pas nommées. Toulongeon, cette même année 1432, fut créé chevalier de la toison d'or; mais il ne reçut pas l'ordre, parce qu'il étoit pélerin et qu'il mourut en route.

Le Sarrasin qui remplissoit alors l'emploi de grand trucheman se nommoit Nanchardin. Quand il eut reçu la réponse des Arabes, il nous assembla devant la chapelle qui est à l'entrée et à la gauche de l'église de Saint Sépulcre. Là il prit par écrit nos âges, noms, surnoms et signalemens très-détaillés, et en envoya le double au grand trucheman du Caire. Ces précautions ont lieu pour la sûreté des voyageurs, afin que les Arabes ne puissent en retenir aucun; mais je suis persuadé qu'il y entre aussi de la méfiance, et qu'on craint quelque échange ou quelque substitution qui fasse perdre le tribut.

Prêts à partir, nous achetames du vin pour la route, et fîmes notre provision de vivre, excepté celle de biscuit, parce que nous devions en trouver à Gaza. Nanchardin nous fournit, pour notre monture et pour porter nos provisions, des anes et des mulets. Il nous donna un trucheman particulier, nommé Sadalva, et nous partîmes.

Le premier lieu par lequel nous passâmes est un village, jadis beaucoup plus considérable et maintenant habité par des chrétiens de la ceinture, qui cultivent des vignes. Le second est une ville appellée Saint-Abraham; et située dans la vallée d'Hebron, où Notre Seigneur forma premièrement Adam, notre premier père. Là sont inhumés ensemble Abraham, Isaac et Jacob, avec leurs femmes. Mais ce tombeau est aujourd'hui enfermé dans une mosquée de Sarrasins. Nous desirions fort d'y entrer, et nous avancâmes même jusqu'à la porte; mais nos guides et notre trucheman nous dirent qu'ils n'oseroient nous y introduire de jour, à cause des risques qu'ils courroient, et que tout chrétien qui pénètre dans une mosquée est mis à mort, à moins qu'il ne renonce à sa foi.

Après la vallée d'Hébron nous en traversâmes une autre fort grande, près de laquelle on montre la montagne où saint Jean Baptiste fit sa pénitence. De là nous vînmes en pays désert loger dans une de ces maisons que la charité a fait bâtir pour les voyageurs, et qu'on appelle kan, et du kan nous nous rendîmes à Gaza.

Gaza, située dans un beau pays, près de la mer et à l'entrée du désert, est une forte ville, quoique sans fermeture aucune. On prétend quelle appartint jadis au fort Sanson. On y montre encore son palais, ainsi que les colonnes de celui qu'il abbattit; mais je n'oserois garantir que ce sont les mêmes.

Souvent les pélerins y sont traités durement, et nous en aurions fait l'épreuve sans le seigneur (le gouverneur), homme d'environ soixante ans et né Chercais (Circassien), qui reçut nos plaintes et nous rendit justice. Trois fois nous fûmes obligés de paroître devant lui: l'une à raison de nos épées que nous portions; les deux autres pour des querelles que nous cherchoient les Moucres Sarrasins du pays.

Plusieurs de nous vouloient acheter des ânes, parce que le chameau a un branle très-dur qui fatigue extrêmement quand on n'y est pas accoutumé. Un âne à Gaza se vendoit deux ducats; et les Moucres vouloient, non seulement nous empêcher d'en acheter, mais nous forcer d'en louer des leurs, et de les louer cinq ducats chacun jusqu'à Sainte Catherine. Le procès fut porté devant le seigneur. Pour moi, qui jusque-là n'avois point cessé de monter un chameau, et qui me proposois de ne point changer, je leur demandai de m'apprendre comment je pourrois monter un chameau et un âne tout à la fois. Le seigneur prononça en notre faveur, et il décida que nous ne serions obligés de louer des ânes aux Moucres qu'autant que cela nous conviendroit.

Nous achetâmes les nouvelles provisions qui nous étoient necessaires pour continuer notre voyage; mais, la veille de notre départ, quatre d'entre nous tombèrent malades, et ils retournèrent à Jérusalem. Moi, je partis avec les cinq autres, et nous vînmes à un village situé à l'entré du désert, et le seul qu'on trouve depuis Gaza jusqu' à Sainte Catherine. Là messire Sanson de Lalaing nous quitta et s'en retourna aussi; de sort que je restai dans la compagnie de messire André (de Toulongeon), Pierre de Vaudrei, Godefroi (de Toisi) et Jean de la Roe.

Nous voyageâmes ainsi deux journées dans le désert, sans y rien voir absolument qui mérite d'être raconté. Seulement un matin, avant le lever du soleil, j'aperçus courir un animal à quatre pattes, long de trois pieds environ, et qui n'avoit guère en hauteur plus qu'une palme. A sa vue nos Arabes s'enfuirent, et la bête alla se cacher dans une broussaille qui se trouvoit là. Messire André et Pierre de Vaudrey mirent pied à terre, et coururent à elle l'épée en main. Elle se mit à crier comme un chat qui voit approcher un chien. Pierre de Vaudrey la frappa sur le dos de la pointe de son épée ; mais il ne lui fit aucun mal, parce qu'elle est couverte de grosses écailles, comme un esturgeon. Elle s'élança sur messire André, qui d'un coup de la sienne lui coupa la cou en partie, la tourna sur le dos, les pieds en l'air, et la tua. Elle avoit la tête d'un fort lièvre, les pieds comme les mains d'un petit enfant, et une assez longue queue, semblable à celle des gros verdereaux (lézards verts). Nos Arabes et notre trucheman nous dirent qu'elle étoit fort dangereuse.*

A la fin de la seconde journée je fus saisi d'une fièvre ardente, si forte qu'il me fut impossible d'aller plus loin. Mes quatre compagnons, bien désolés de mon accident, me firent monter un âne, et me recommandèrent à un de nos Arabes, qu'ils chargèrent de me reconduire à Gaza, s'il étoit possible.

Cet homme eut beaucoup soin de moi ; ce qui ne leur est point ordinaire vis-à-vis des chrétiens. Il me tint fidèle compagnie, et me mena le soir passer la nuit dans un de leurs camps, qui pouvoit avoir quatre-vingts et quelques tentes, rangées en forme de rues. Ces tentes sont faites avec deux fourches qu'on plante on terre par leur gros bout à une certaine distance l'une de l'autre. Sur les deux fourches est posée en traverse une perche et sur la perche une grosse couverture en laine ou en gros poil.

Quand j'arrivai, quatre ou cinq Arabes de la connoissance du mien vinrent au devant de nous. Ils me descendirent de mon âne, me firent coucher sur un matelas que je portois, et là, me traitant à leur guise, ils me pétirent et me pincèrent tant avec les† mains que, de fatigue et de lassitude, je m'endormis et reposai six heures.

Pendant tout ce temps aucun d'eux ne me fit le moindre déplaisir, et ils ne me prirent rien. Ce leur étoit cependant chose bien aisée ; et je devois d'ailleurs les tenter, puisque je portois sur moi deux cents ducats, et que j'avois deux chameaux chargés de provisions et de vin.

---

* D'après la description vague que donne ici la Brocquière, il paroît que l'animal dont il parle est le grand lézard appelé monitor, parce qu'on prétend qu'il avertit da l'approche du crocodile. Quant à la terreur qu'en avoient les Arabes, elle n'étoit point fondée.

† C'est ce que nous appelons masser. Cette méthode est employée dans beaucoup de contrées de l'Orient pour certaines maladies.

Je me remis en route avant le jour pour regagner Gaza : mais quand j'y arrivai je ne retrouvai plus ni mes quatre compagnons, ni même messire Sanson de Lalaing. Tous cinq étoient retournés à Jérusalem, et ils avoient emmené avec eux le truceman. Heureusement je trouvai un Juif Sicilien de qui je pus me faire entendre. Il fit venir près de moi un vieux Samaritain qui, par un remède qu'il me donna, appaisa la grande ardeur que j'endurois.

Deux jours après, me sentant un peu mieux, je partis dans la compagnie d'un Maure. Il me mena par le chemin de la marine (de la côte.) Nous passâmes pres d'Esclavonie (Ascalon), et vînmes, à travers un pays toujours agréable et fertile, à Ramlé, d'où je repris le chemin de Jérusalem.

La première journée, je rencontrai sur ma route l'amiral (commandant) de cette ville. Il revenoit d'un pélerinage avec une troupe de cinquante cavaliers et de cent chameaux, montés presque tous par des femmes et des enfans qui l'avoient accompagné au lieu de sa dévotion. Je passai la nuit avec eux ; et, le lendemain, de retour a Jérusalem, j'allai loger chez les cordeliers, à l'église du mont de Sion, où je retrouvai mes cinq camarades. En arrivant je me mis au lit pour me faire traiter de ma maladie, et je ne fus guéri et en état de partir que le 19 d'Août. Mais pendant ma convalescence je me rappelai que plusieurs fois j'avois entendu différentes personnes dire qu'il étoit impossible à un chrétien de revenir par terre de Jérusalem en France. Je n'oserois pas même, aujourd'hui que j'ai fait le voyage, assurer qu'il est sûr. Cependant il me sembla qu'il n'y a rien qu'un homme ne puisse entreprendre quand il est assez bien constitué pour supporter la fatigue, et qu'il possède argent et santé. Au reste, ce n'est point par jactance que je dis cela ; mais, avec l'aide de Dieu et de sa glorieuse mère, qui jamais ne manque d'assister ceux qui la prient de bon cœur, je résolus de tenter l'aventure

Je me tus néanmoins pour le moment sur mon projet, et ne m'en ouvris pas même à mes compagnons. D'ailleurs je voulois, avant de l'entreprendre, faire encore quelques autres pélerinages, et spécialement ceux de Nazareth et du mont Thabor. J'allai donc prévenir de mon dessein Nanchardin, grand trucheman du soudan à Jérusalem, et il me donna pour mon voyage un truchemen particulier. Je comptois commercer par celui du Thabor, et déjà tout étoit arrangé ; mais quand je fus au moment de partir, le gardien chez qui je logeois m'en détourna, et s'y opposa même de toutes ses forces. Le trucheman, de son côté, s'y refusa, et il m'annonça que je ne trouverois dans les circonstances personne pour m'accompagner, parce qu'il nous faudroit passer sur le territoire de villes qui étoient en guerre, et que tout récemment un Vénitien et son trucheman y avoient été assassinés.

Je me restreignis donc au second pélerinage, et messire Sanson de Lalaing voulut m'y accompagner, ainsi que Humbert. Nous laissames au mont de Sion messire Michel de Ligne, qui étoit malade. Son frère Guillaume resta près de lui avec un serviteur pour le garder. Nous autres nous partimes le jour de la mi-août, et notre intention étoit de nous rendre à Jaffa par Ramlé, et de Jaffa à Nazareth; mais avant de me mettre en route, j'allai au tombeau de Notre Dame imploier sa protection pour mon grand voyage. J'entendis aux cordeliers le service divin, et je vis là des gens qui se disent chrétiens, desquels il y en a de bien estranges, selon nostre manière.

Le gardien de Jérusalem nous fit l'amitié de nous accompagner jusqu'à Jaffa, avec un frère cordelier du couvent de Beaune. Là ils nous quittèrent, et nous prîmes une barque de Maures qui nous conduisit au port d'Acre.

Ce port est beau, profond et bien fermé. La ville elle-même paroît avoir été grande et forte; mais il n'y subsiste plus maintenant que trois cent maisons situées à l'une de ses extrémités, et assez loin de la marine. Quant à notre pélerinage, nous ne pûmes l'accomplir. Des marchands Vénitiens que nous consultames nous en détournèrent, et nous primes le parti d'y renoncer. Il nous apprirent en même temps qu'on attendoit à Barut une galére de Narbonne. Mes camarades voulurent en profiter pour retourner en France, et en conséquence nous prîmes le chemin de cette ville.

Nous vîmes en route Sur, ville fermée et qui a un bon port, puis Saïette (Séyde), autre port de mer assez bon.* Pour Barut, elle a été plus considérable qu'elle ne l'est aujourd'hui; mais son port est beau encore, profond et sûr pour les vaisseaux. On voit à l'une de ses pointes les restes d'un chateau fort qu'elle avoit autrefois, et qui est détruit.†

---

* Sur est l'ancienne Tyr; Saiette, l'ancienne Sidon; Barut, l'ancienne Bérite.

† Les notions que nous donne ici la Brocquière sont intéressantes pour la géographie. Elles prouvent que tous ces ports de Syrie, jadis si commerçans et si fameux, aujourd'hui si dégradés et si complétement inutiles, étoient de son temps propres encore la plupart au commerce.

Moi qui n'étois occupé que de mon grand voyage, j'employai mon séjour dans cette ville à prendre sur cet objet des renseignemens et j'ai m'adressai pour cela à un marchand Génois nommé Jacques Pervézin. Il me conseilla d'aller à Damas; m'assura que j'y trouverois des marchands Vénitiens, Catalans, Florentins, Génois et autres, qui pourroient me guider par leurs conseils, et me donna même, pour un de ses compatriotes appelé Ottobon Escot, une lettre de recommendation.

Résolu de consulter Escot avant de rien entreprendre, je proposai à messire Sanson d'aller voir Damas, sans cependant lui rien dire de mon projet. Il accepta volontiers la proposition, et nous partimes, conduit par un moucre. J'ai déja dit qu'en Syrie les moucres sont des gens dont le métier est de conduire les voyageurs et de leur louer des anes et des mulets.

Au sortir de Barut nous eûmes à traverser de hautes montagnes jusqu'à une longue plaine appelée vallée de Noë, parce que Noë, dit-on, y batit son arche. La vallée a tout au plus une lieue de large; mais elle est agréable et fertile, arrosée par deux rivières et peuplée d'Arabes.

Jusqu'à Damas on continue de voyager entre des montagnes au pied desquelles on trouve beaucoup de villages et de vignobles. Mais je préviens ceux qui, comme moi, auront à les traverser, de songer à se bien munir pour la nuit; car de ma vie je n'ai eu aussi froid. Cette excessive froidure a pour cause la chute de la rosée; et il en est ainsi par toute la Syrie. Plus la chaleur a été grande pendant le jour, plus la rosée est abondante et la nuit froide.

Il y a deux journées de Barut à Damas.

Par toute la Syrie les Mahométans ont établi pour les chrétiens une coutume particulière qui ne leur permet point d'aller à cheval dans les villes, Aucun d'eux, s'il est connu pour tel, ne l'oseroit, et en conséquence notre moucre, avant d'entrer, nous fit mettre pied à terre, messire Sanson et moi.

A peine étions nous entrés qu'une douzaine de Sarrasins s'approcha pour nous regarder. Je portois un grand chapeau de feutre, qui n'est point d'usage dans le pays. Un d'eux vint le frapper par dessous d'un coup de baton, et il me le jeta par terre. J'avoue que mon premier mouvement fut de lever le poing sur lui. Mais le moucre, se jetant entre nous deux, me poussa en arrière, et ce fut pour moi un vrai bonheur; car en un instant trente ou quarante autres personnes accoururent, et, si j'avois frappé, je ne sais ce que nous serions devenus.

Je dis ceci pour avertir que les habitans de cette ville sont gens méchants qui n'entendent pas trop raison, et que par conséquent il faut bien se garder d'avoir querrelle avec eux. Il en est de même ailleurs. J'ai éprouvé par moi-même qu'il ne faut vis-à-vis d'eux ni faire le mauvais, ni se montrer peureux; qu'il ne faut ni paroitre pauvre, parce qu'ils vous mépriseroient; ni riche, parce qu'ils sont très avides, ainsi que l'expérimentent tous ceux qui débarquent à Jaffa.

Damas peut bien contenir, m'a-t-on dit, cent mille âmes.* La ville est riche, marchande, et, après le Caire, la plus considérable de toutes celles que possède le soudan. Au levant, au septentrion et au midi, elle a une grande plaine; au ponant, une montagne au pied de laquelle sont batis les faubourgs. Elle est traversée d'une rivière qui s'y divise en plusieurs canaux, et fermée dans son enceinte seulement de belles murailles; car les faubourgs sont plus grands que la ville. Nulle part je n'ai vu d'aussi grands jardins, de meilleurs fruits, une plus grande abondance d'eau. Cette abondance est telle qu'il y a peu de maisons, m'a-t-on dit, qui n'aient leur fontaine.

Le seigneur (le gouverneur) n'a, dans toute la Syrie et l'Egypte, que le seul soudan qui lui soit supérieur en puissance. Mais comme en différens temps quelques-uns d'eux se sont revoltés, les soudans ont pris des précautions pour les contenir. Du côté de terre est un grand et fort chateau qui a des fossés larges et profonds. Ils y placent un capitaine à leur choix, et jamais ce capitaine n'y laisse entrer le gouverneur.

En 1400 Damas fut détruite en cendres par le Tambrulant (Tamerlan). On voit encore des vestiges de ce désastre; et vers la porte qu'on appelle de Saint-Paul, il y a un quartier tout entier qui n'est pas rebâti.

Dans la ville est un kan destiné à servir de dépôt de sûreté aux négocians pour leurs marchandises. On l'appelle kan Berkot, et ce nom lui a été donné, parce qu'il fut originairement la maison d'un homme nommé ainsi. Pour moi, je crois que Berkot étoit Français ; et ce qui me le fait présumer, c'est que sur une pierre de sa maison sont sculptées des fleurs de lis qui paroissent aussi anciennes que les murs.

---

* Il y dans le texte cent mille hommes. Si, par ce mot hommes, l'auteur entend les habitans mâles, alors, pour comprendre les femmes dans la population, il faudroit compter plus de deux cent mille individus au lieu de cent mille. S'il entend les personnes en état de porter les armes, son état de population est trop fort et ne peut être admis.

Quoi qu'il en soit de son origine, ce fut un très-vaillant homme, et qui jouit encore dans le pays d'une haute renommée. Jamais, pendant tout le temps qu'il vécut et qu'il eut de l'autorité, les Persiens et Tartres (Persans et Tatars) ne purent gagner en Syrie la plus petite portion de terrain. Dès qu'il apprenoit qu'une de leurs armés y portoit les armes, il marchoit contre elle jusqu'à une rivière au-delà d'Alep, laquelle sépare la Syrie de la Perse, et qu'à vue de pays je crois être celle qu'on appelle Jéhon, et qui vient tomber à Misses en Turcomanie. On est persuadé à Damas que, s'il eût vécu, Tamerlan n'auroit pas osé porter ses armes de ce côté-là. Au reste ce Tamerlan rendit honneur à sa mémoire quand il prit la ville. En ordonnant d'y tout mettre à feu, il ordonna de respecter la maison de Berkot ; il la fit garder pour la défendre de l'incendie, et elle subsiste encore.

Les chrétiens ne sont vus à Damas qu'avec haine. Chaque soir on enferme les marchands dans leurs maisons. Il y a des gens préposés pour cela, et le lendemain ils viennent .ouvrir les portes quand bon leur semble.

J'y trouvai plusieurs marchands Génois, Vénitiens, Catalans, Florentins et Français. Ces derniers étoient venus y acheter différentes choses, spécialement des épices, et ils comptoient aller à Barut s'embarquer sur la galère de Narbonne qu'on y attendoit. Parmi eux il y avoit un nommé Jacques Cœur, qui depuis a joué un grand rôle en France et a été argentier du roi. Il nous dit que la galère étoit alors à Alexandrie, et que probablement messire André viendroit avec ses trois camarades la prendre à Barut.

Hors de Damas et près des murs on me montra le lieu où saint Paul, dans une vision, fut renversé de cheval et aveuglé. Il se fit aussitôt conduire à Damas pour y recevoir le baptême, et l'endroit où on le baptisa est aujourd'hui une mosquée.

Je vis aussi la pierre sur laquelle saint George monta à cheval quand il alla combattre le dragon. Elle a deux pieds en carré. On prétend qu'autrefois les Sarrasins avoient voulu l'enlever, et que jamais, quelques moyens qu'ils aient employés, ils n'ont pu y réussir.

Après avoir vu Damas nous revinmes à Barut, messire Sanson et moi : nous y trouvâmes messire André, Pierre de Vaudrey, Geoffroi de Thoisi et Jean de la Roe, qui déja s'y étoient rendus, comme me l'avoit annoncé Jacques Cœur. La galère y arriva d'Alexandrie trois ou quatre jours après ; mais, pendant ce court intervalle, nous fûmes témoins d'une fête que les Maures célébrèrent à leur ancienne manière.

Elle commença le soir, au coucher du soleil. Des troupes nombreuses, éparses çà et la, chantoient et poussoient de grands cris. Pendant ce temps on tiroit le canon du château, et les gens de la ville lançoient en l'air, bien haut et bien loin, une manière de feu plus gros que le plus gros fallot que je visse oncques allumé. Ils me dirent qu'ils s'en servoient quelquefois à la mer pour brûler les voiles d'un vaisseau ennemi. Il me semble que, comme c'est chose bien aisée et de une petite despense, on pourroit l'employer également, soit à consumer un camp ou un village couvert en paille, soit dans un combat de cavalerie, à épouvanter les chevaux.

Curieux d'en connoître la composition, j'envoyai vers celui qui le faisoit le valet de mon hôte, et lui fis demander de me l'apprendre. Il me répondit qu'il n'oseroit, et que ce seroit pour lui une affaire trop dangereuse, si elle étoit sue ; mais comme il n'est rien qu'un Maure ne fasse pour de l'argent, je donnai à celui-ci un ducat, et, pour l'amour du ducat, il m'apprit tout ce qu'il savoit, et me donna même des moules en bois et autres ingrédiens que j'ai apportés en France.

La veille de l'embarquement je pris à part messire André de Toulongeon, et après lui avoir fait promettre qu'il ne s'opposeroit en rien à ce que j'allois lui révéler, je lui fis part du projet que j'avois formé de retourner par terre. Conséquemment à sa parole donnée, il ne tenta point de m'en empêcher; mais il me représenta tout ce que j'allois courir de dangers, et celui sur-tout de me voir contraint à renier la foi de Jésus-Christ. Au reste j'avoue que ses représentations étoient fondées, et que de tous les périls dont il me menacoit il n'en est point, excepté celui de renier, que je n'aie éprouvés. Il engagea également ses camarades à me parler ; mais ils eurent beau faire, je les laissai partir et demeurai.

Après leur départ je visitai une mosquée qui jadis avoit été une très-belle église, bâtie, disoit-on, par sainte Barbe. On ajoute que quand les Sarrasins s'en furent emparés, et que leurs crieurs voulurent y monter pour annoncer la prière, selon leur usage, ils furent si battus que depuis ce jour aucun d'eux n'a osé y retourner.

Il y a aussi un autre bâtiment miraculeux qu'on a changé en église. C'étoit auparavant une maison de Juifs. Un jour que ces gens-là avoient trouvé une image de Notre Seigneur, ils se mirent à la lapider, comme leurs pères jadis l'avoient lapidé lui-même ; mais l'image ayant versé du sang, ils furent tellement effrayés du miracle, qu'ils se sauvèrent, allèrent s'accuser à l'évêque, et donnèrent même leur maison en réparation du crime. On en a fait une église, qui aujourd'hui est desservie par des cordeliers.

Je logeai chez un marchand Vénitien nommé Paul Barberico ; et comme je n'avois nullement renoncé à mes deux pélerinages de Nazareth et du Thabor, malgré les obstacles que j'y avois rencontrès et tout ce qu'on m'avoit dit pour m'en détourner, je le consultai sur ce double voyage. Il me procura un moucre qui se chargea de me conduire, et qui s'engagea même pardevant lui à me mener sain et sauf jusqu'a Damas, et à lui en rapporter un certificat signé par moi. Cet homme me fit habiller en Sarrasin ; car les Francs, pour leur sûreté, quand ils voyagent, ont obtenu du soudan de prendre en route cet habillement.

Je partis donc de Barut avec mon moucre le lendemain du jour où la galère avoit mis à la voile, et nous primes le chemin de Saïette, entre la mer et les montagnes. Souvent ces montagnes s'avancent si près du rivage qu'on est obligé de marcher sur la grève, et quelquefois elles en sont éloignées de trois quarts de lieue.

Après une heure de marche je trouvai un petit bois de hauts sapins que les gens du pays conservent bien précieusement. Il est même sévèrement défendu d'en abattre aucun ; mais j'ignore la raison de ce règlement.

Plus loin étoit une rivière assez profonde. Mon moucre me dit que c'étoit celle qui vient de la vallée de Noë, mais qu'elle n'est pas bonne à boire. Elle a un pont de pierre, près duquel se trouve un kan où nous passâmes la nuit.

Le lendemain je vins à Séyde, ville située sur la marine (sur la mer), et fermée du côté de terre par des fossés peu profonds.

Sur, que les Maures nomment Four, est située de même. Il est abreuvé par une fontaine qu'on trouve à un quart de lieue vers le midi, et dont l'eau, très-bonne, vient, par-dessur des arches, se rendre dans la ville.

Je ne fis que la traverser, et elle me parut assez belle ; cependant elle n'est pas forte, non plus que Séyde, toutes deux ayant été détruites autrefois, ainsi qu'il paroît par leurs murailles, qui ne valent pas, à beaucoup près, celles de nos villes.

La montagne, vers Sur, s'arrondit en croissant, et s'avance par ses deux pointes jusqu'à la mer. L'espace vide entre l'une et l'autre n'a point de villages ; mais il y en a beaucoup le long de la montagne.

Une lieue au-delà on trouve une gorge qui vous oblige de passer sur une falaise au haut de laquelle est une tour. Les cavaliers qui vont de Sur à Acre n'ont point d'autre route que ce passage, et la tour a été construite pour le garder.

Depuis ce défilé jusqu'à Acre les montagnes sont peu élevées, et l'on y voit beaucoup d'habitations qui, pour la plupart, sont remplies d'Arabes. Près de la ville je rencontrai un grand seigneur du pays nommé Fancardin. Il campoit en plein champ, et portoit avec lui ses tentes.

Acre, entourée de trois côtés par des montagnes, quoique avec une plaine d'environ quatre lieues, l'est de l'autre par la mer. J'y fis connoissance d'un marchand de Venise nommé Aubert Franc, qui m'accueillit bien et qui me procura sur mes deux pélerinages des renseignemens utiles dont je profitai.

A l'aide de ses avis je me mis en route pour Nazareth, et, après avoir traversé une grande plaine, je vins à la fontaine dont Notre Seigneur changea l'eau en vin aux noces d'Archétéclin;* elle est près d'un village où l'on dit que naquit saint Pierre.

Nazareth n'est qu'un autre gros village bâti entre deux montagnes ; mais le lieu où l'ange Gabriel vint annoncer à la vierge Marie qu'elle seroit mère fait pitié à voir. L'église qu'on y avoit bâtie est entièrement détruite, et il n'en subsiste plus qu'une petite chose (case), là où Nostre-Dame estoit quand l'angèle lui apparut.

De Nazareth j'allai au Thabor, où fut faite la transfiguration de Notre Seigneur, et plusieurs autres miracles Mais comme les paturages y attirent beaucoup d'Arabes qui viennent y mener leurs bêtes, je fus obligé de prendre pour escorte quatre autres hommes, dont deux étoient Arabes eux-mêmes.

La montée est trés-rude parce qu'il n'y a point de chemin ; je la fis à dos de mulet, et j'y employai deux heures. La cime se termine par un plateau presque rond, qui peut avoir en longeur deux portées d'arc et une de large. Jadis il fut enceient d'une muraille dont on voit encore des restes avec des fossés, et dans le pourtour, en dedans du mur, étoient plusieurs églises, et spécialement une où l'on gagne encore, quoiqu'elle soit ruinée, plain pardon de paine et de coulpe.

---

* Architriclinus est un mot Latin formé du Grec, par lequel l'Evangile désigne le maître d'hôtel ou majordôme qui présidoit aux noces de Cana Nos ignarans auteurs des bas siècles le prirent pour un nom d'homme, et cet homme ils en firent un saint, qu'ils appelèrent saint Architriclin. Dans la relation de la Brocquière, Architriclin est le marié de Cana.

Au levant du Thabor, et au pied de la montagne, on aperçoit Tabarie (Tibériade), au-delà de laquelle coule le Jourdain; au couchant est une grande plaine fort agréable par ses jardins remplis de palmiers portant dattes, et par de petits bosquets d'arbres, plantés comme des vignes, et sur lesquels croit le coton. Au lever du soleil ceux-ci présentent un aspect singulier. En voyant leurs feuilles vertes couvertes de coton, on diroit qu'il a neigé sur eux.*

Ce fut dans cette plaine que je descendis pour me reposer et diner; car j'avois apporté des poulets crus et du vin. Mes guides me conduisirent dans une maison dont le maitre, quand il vit mon vin, me prit pour un homme de distinction et m'accueillit bien. Il m'apporta une écuelle de lait, une de miel, et une branche chargée de dattes nouvelles. C'étoit la première fois de ma vie que j'en voyois. Je vis encore comment on travailloit le coton, et pour ce travail les ouvriers étoient des hommes et des femmes. Mais là aussi mes guides voulurent me rançonner, et, pour me reconduire à Nazareth où je les avois pris, ils exigèrent de moi un marché nouveau.

Je n'avois point d'épée, car j'avoue que je l'aurois tirée, et c'eût été folie à moi, comme c'en seroit une à ceux qui m'imiteroient. Le résultat de la querelle fut que, pour me débarrasser d'eux, il me fallut leur donner douze drachmes de leur monnoie, lesquelles valent un demi-ducat. Dès qu'ils les eurent reçues ils me quittèrent tous quatre: de sorte que je fus obligé de m'en revenir seul avec mon moucre.

Nous avions fait peu de chemin, quand nous vimes venir à nous deux Arabes armés à leur manière et montés sur de superbes chevaux. Le moucre, en les voyant, eut grande peur. Heureusement ils passèrent sans nous rien dire; mais il m'avoua que, s'ils m'eussent soupçonné d'être chrétien, nous étions perdus, et qu'ils nous eussent tués tous deux sans rémission, ou pour le moins dépouillés en entier.

---

* Il est probable qu'ici le voyageur s'est trompé. Le cotonnier a par ses feuilles quelque ressemblance avec celles de la vigne. Elles sont lobées de même; mais le coton naît dans des capsules, et non sur des feuilles. On connoît en botanique plusieurs arbres dont les feuilles sont couvertes à leur surface extérieure d'un duvet blanc; mais on n'en connoit aucune qui produise du coton.

Chacun d'eux portoit une longue et mince perche ferrée par les deux bouts, dont l'un étoit tranchant, l'autre arrondi, mais garni de plusieurs taillans, et long d'un empan. Leur écu (bouclier) étoit rond, selon leur usage, convexe dans la partie du milieu, et garni au centre d'une grosse pointe de fer; mais depuis cette pointe jusqu'au bas il étoit orné de longues franges de soie. Ils avoient pour vêtement des robes dont les manches, larges de plus d'un pied et demi, dépassoient leur bras, et pour toque un chapeau rond terminé en pointe, de laine cramoisie, et velu; mais ce chapeau, au lieu d'avoir sa toile tortillée tout autour, comme l'ont les autres Maures, l'avoit pendante fort bas des deux côtés, dans toute sa largeur.

Nous âllames de là loger à Samarie, parce que je voulois visiter la mer de Tabarie (lac de Tibériade), où l'on dit que saint Pierre pêchoit ordinairement, et y a aucuns (quelques) pardons; c'étoient les quatre-temps de Septembre. Le moucre me laissa seul toute la journée. Samarie est située sur la pointe d'une montagne. Nous n'y entrames qu'à la chute de jour, et nous en sortimes à minuit pour nous rendre au lac. Le moucre avoit préféré cette heure, afin d'esquiver le tribut que paient ceux qui s'y rendent; mais la nuit m'empêcha de voir le pays d'alentour.

J'allai ensuite au puits qu'on nomme puits de Jacob, parce que Jacob y fut jeté par ses frères. Il y a là une belle mosquée, dans laquelle j'entrai avec mon moucre, parce que je feignis d'être Sarrasin.

Plus loin est un pont de pierre sur lequel on passe le Jourdain, et qu'on appelle le pont de Jacob, à cause d'une maison qui s'y trouve, et qui fut, dit-on, celle de ce patriarche. Le fleuve sort d'un grand lac situé au pied d'une montagne vers le nordouest (nord-ouest), et sur la montagne est un beau chateau possédé par Nancardin.

Du lac je pris le chemin de Damas. Le pays est assez agréable, et quoiqu'on y marche toujours entre deux rangs de montagnes, il a constamment une ou deux lieues de large. Cependant on y trouve un endroit fort étrange. Là le chemin est réduit uniquement à ce qu'il faut pour le passage des chevaux tout le reste, à gauche, dans une largeur et une longueur d'une lieue environ, ne présente qu'un amas immense de cailloux pareils à ceux de rivière, et dont la plupart sont gros comme des queues de vin.

Au débouché de ce lieu est un très-beau kan, entouré de fontaines et de ruisseaux. A quatre ou cinq milles de Damas il y en a un autre, le plus magnifique que j'aie vu de ma vie. Celui-ci est près d'une petite rivière formée par des sources; et en général plus on approche de la ville et plus le pays est beau.

Là je trouvai un Maure tout noir qui venoit du Caire à course de chameau, et qui étoit venu en huit jours, quoiqu'il y eût, me dit-on, seize journées de marche. Son chameau lui avoit échappé: à l'aide de mon moucre je parvins à le lui faire reprendre. Ces coureurs ont une selle fort singulière, sur laquelle ils sont assis les jambes croisées; mais la rapidité des chameaux qui les conduisent est si grande que, pour résister à l'impression de l'air, ils se font serrer d'un bandage la tête et le corps.

Celui-ci étoit porteur d'un ordre du soudan. Une galère et deux galiotes du prince de Tarente avoient pris devant Tripoli de Syrie une griperie* de Maures: le soudan, par représailles, envoyoit saisir à Damas et dans toute la Syrie tous les Catalans et les Génois qui s'y trouvoient. Cette nouvelle, dont je fus instruit par mon moucre, ne m'effraya pas. J'entrai hardiment dans la ville avec les Sarrasins, parce que, habillé comme eux, je crus n'avoir rien à craindre. Mon voyage avoit duré sept jours.

Le lendemain de mon arrivée je vis la caravane qui revenoit de la Mecque. On la disoit composée de trois mille chameaux; et en effet elle employa pour entrer dans la ville près de deux jours et deux nuits Cet événement fut, selon l'usage, une grande fête. Le seigneur de Damas, ainsi que les plus notables, allèrent au devant de la caravane, par respect pour l'Alkoran qu'elle avoit. Ce livre est la loi qu'a laissée aux siens Mahomet. Il étoit enveloppé d'une étoffe de soie peinte et chargée de lettres morisque, et un chameau le portoit, couvert lui-même également de soie.

En avant du chameau marchoient quatre ménestrels (musiciens) et une grande quantité de tambours et de nacquaires (timbales) qui faisoient ung hault bruit. Devant et autour de lui étoient une trentaine d'hommes dont les uns portoient des arbalètes, les autres des épées nues, d'autres de petits canons (arquebuses) qu'ils tiroient de temps en temps.* Par derrière suivoient huit vieillards, qui montoient chacun un chameau de course près duquel on menoit en lesse leur cheval, magnifiquement couvert et orné de riches selles, selon la mode du pays. Après eux enfin venoit une dame Turque, parente de grand-seigneur: elle étoit dans une litière que portoient deux chameaux richement parés et couverts. Il y avoit plusieurs de ces animaux couverts de drap d'or.

---

* Griperie, grip, sorte de bâtiment pour aller en course, vaisseau corsaire.

La caravane étoit composée de Maures, de Turcs, Barbes (Barbaresques), Tartres (Tatars), Persans et autres sectateurs du faux prophète Mahomet. Ces gens-là prétendent que, quand ils ont fait une fois le voyage de la Mecque, ils ne peuvent plus être damnés. C'est ce que m'assura un esclave renégat. Vulgaire (Bulgare) de naissance, lequel appartenoit à la dame dont je viens de parler. Il s'appeloit Hayauldoula, ce qui en Turc signifie serviteur de Dieu, et prétendoit avoir été trois fois à la Mecque. Je me liai avec lui, parce qu'il parloit un peu Italien, et souvent même il me tenoit compagnie la nuit ainsi que le jour.

Plusieurs fois, dans nos entretiens, je l'interrogeai sur Mahomet, et lui demandai où reposoit son corps. Il me répondit que c'étoit à la Mecque; que la fiertre (chasse) qui le renfermoit se trouvoit dans une chapelle ronde, ouverte par le haut: que c'étoit par cette ouverture que les pélerins alloient voir la fiertre, et que parmi eux il y en avoit qui, après l'avoir vue, se faisoient crever les yeux, parce qu'après cela le monde ne pouvait rien offrir, disoient-ils, qui méritat leur regards. Effectivement il y en avoit deux dans la troupe, l'un d'environ seize ans, l'autre de vingt-deux à vingt-trois, qui c'étoient fait aveugler ainsi.

Hayauldoula me dit encore que c'nest point à la Mecque qu'on gagne les pardons, mais à Méline (Médine), ville où saint Abraham fist faire une maison qui y est encoires.† La maison est en forme de cloitre, et le pélerins en font le tour.

---

* L'auteur ne dit pas si ces arquebuses étoient à fourchette, à mèche, à rouet; mais il est remarquable que nos armes à feu portatives, dont l'invention étoit encore assez récente en Europe, fussent dès-lors en usage chez les Mahométans d'Asie.

† Notre voyageur a confondu: c'est à Médine, et non à la Mecque, qu'est le tombeau de Mahomet; c'est à la Mecque, et non à Médine, qu'est la prétendue maison d'Abraham, que les pélerins gagnent les pardons et que se fait le grand commerce.

Quant à la ville, elle est sur le bord de la mer. Les hommes de la terre du prêtre Jean (les Indiens) y apportent sur de gros vaisseaux les épices et autres marchandises que produit leur pays. C'est là que les Mahométans vont les acheter. Ils les chargent sur des chameaux ou sur d'autres bêtes de somme, et les portent au Caire, à Damas et autres lieux, ainsi qu'on sait. De la Mecque à Damas il y a quarante journées de marche à travers le désert; les chaleurs y sont excessives, et la caravane avoit eu plusieurs personnes étouffées.

Selon l'esclave renégat, celle de Médine doit annuellement être compossée de sept cent mille personnes; et quand ce nombre n'est pas complet, Dieu, pour le remplir, y envoie des agnes. Au grand jour du jugement Mahomet fera entrer en paradis autant de personnes qu'il voudra, et là ils auront à discrétion du lait et des femmes.

Comme sans cesse j'entendois parler de Mohomet, je voulus savoir sur lui quelque chose, et m'adressai pour cela à un prêtre qui dans Damas étoit attaché au consul des Vénitiens, qui disoit souvent la messe à l'hôtel confessoit les marchands de cette nation, et, en cas de danger, régloit leurs affaires. Je me confessai à lui, je réglai les miennes, et lui demandai s'il connoissoit l'historie de Mahomet. Il me dit que oui, et qu'il savoit tout son Alkoran. Alors je le suppliai le mieux qu'il me fut possible de rédiger par écrit ce qu'il en connoissoit, afin que je pusse le présenter à monseigneur le duc.* Il le fit avec plaisir, et j'ai apporté avec moi son travail.

Mon projet étoit de me rendre à Bourse. On m'abcucha en conséquence avec un Maure qui s'engagea dam'y conduire en suivant la caravane. Il me demandoit trente ducats et sa dépense; mais on m'avertit de me défier des Maures comme gens de mauvaise foi, sujets à fausser leur promesse, et je m'abstins de conclure. Je dis ceci pour l'instruction des personnes qui auroient affaire à eux; car je les crois tels qu'on me les a peints. Hayauldoula me procura de son côté la connoissance de certains marchands du pays de Karman (de Caramanie). Enfin je pris un autre moyen.

---

* Le duc de Bourgogne, auquel étoit attaché la Brocquière. Par tout ce que cit ici le voyageur on voit combien peu étoit connu en Europe le fondateur de l'Islamisme et l'auteur du Koran.

Le grand-Turc a pour les pélerins qui vont à la Mecque un usage qui lui est particulier, au moins j'ignore si les autres puissances Mahométanes l'observent aussi : c'est que, quand ceux de ses états partent, il leur donne à son choix un chef auquel ils sont tenus d'obéir ainsi qu'à lui. Celui de la caravane s'appeloit Hoyarbarach ; il étoit de Bourse, et c'étoit un des principaux habitans.

Je me fis présenter à lui par mon hôte et par une autre personne, comme un homme qui vouloit aller voir dans cette ville un frère qu'il y avoit, et ils le prièrent de me recevoir dans sa troupe et de m'y accorder sûreté. Il demanda si je savois l'Arabe, le Turc, l'Hébreu, la langue vulgaire, le Grec ; et comme je répondis que non : Eh bien, que veut-il donc devenir ? reprit-il.

Cependant, sur la répresentation qu'on lui fit que je n'osois, à cause de la guerre, aller par mer, et que s'il daignoit m'admettre je ferois comme je pourrois, il y consentit, et après s'être mis les deux mains sur sa tête et avoir touché sa barbe, il dit en Turc que je pouvois me joindre à ses esclaves ; mais il exigea que je fusse vêtu comme eux.

D'après cela j'allai aussitôt, avec un de mes deux conducteurs, au marché qu'on appelle bathsar (bazar). J'y achetai deux longues robes blanches qui me descenoient jusqu'au talon, une toque accomplie (turban complet), une ceinture de toile, une braie (caleçon) de futaine pour y mettre le bas de ma robe, deux petits sacs ou besaces, l'un pour mon usage, l'autre pour suspendre à la tête de mon cheval quand je lui ferois manger son orge et sa paille : une cuiller et une salière de cuir, un tapis pour coucher ; anfin un paletot (sorte de pour-point) de panne blanche que je fis couvrir de toile, et qui me servit beaucoup la nuit J'achetai aussi un tarquais blanc et garni (sorte de carquois), auquel pendoient une épée et des couteaux : mais pour le tarquais et l'épée je ne pus en faire l'acquisition que secrètement ; car, si ceux qui ont l'administration de la justice l'avoient su, le vendeur et moi nous eussions couru de grands risques.

Les épées de Damas sont le plus belles et les meilleures de tout la Syrie ; mais c'est une chose curieuse de voir comment ils les brunissent. Cette opération se fait avant la trempe. Ils ont pour cela une petite pièce de bois dans laquelle est enté un fer ; ils la passent sur la lame et enlévent ainsi ses inégalités de même qu'avec un rabot on enlève celles du bois ; ensuite ils la trempent, puis la polissent. Ce poli est tel que quand quelqu'un veut arranger son turban, il se sert de son épée comme d'un mirior. Quant à la trempe, elle est si parfaite que nulle part encore je n'ai vu d'épée trancher aussi bien.

On fait aussi à Damas et dans le pays des miroirs d'acier qui grossissent les objets comme un miroir ardent. J'en ai vu qui, quand on les exposoit au soleil, percoient, à quinze ou seize pieds de distance, une planche et y mettoient le feu.

J'achetai un petit cheval, qui se trouva très-bon. Avant de partir je le fis ferrer à Damas; et de là jusqu'à Bourse, quoiqu'il y ait près de cinquante journées, je n'eus rien à fair à ses pieds, excepté à l'un de ceux de devant, où il prit une enclouure qui trois semaines après le fit boiter. Voici comme ils ferrent leurs chevaux.

Les fers sont légers, très-minces, allongés sur les talons, et plus amincis encore là que vers la pince. Ils n'ont point de retour* et ne portent que quartre trous, deux de chaque côté. Les clous sont carrés, avec une grosse et lourde tête. Faut-il appliquer le fer: s'il est besoin qu'on le retravaille pour l'ajuster, on le bat à froid sans le mettre au feu, et on le peut à cause de son peu d'épaisseur. Pour parer le pied du cheval on se sert d'une serpette pareille à celle qui est d'usage en-de-çà de la mer pour tailler la vigne.

Les chevaux de ce pays n'ont que le pas et le galop. Quand on en achète, on choisit ceux qui ont le plus grand pas: comme en Europe on prend de préférence ceux qui trottent le mieux. Ils ont les narines très-fendues courent très bien, sont excellens, et d'ailleurs coûtent très-peu, puisqu'ils ne mangent que la nuit, et qu'on ne leur donne qu'un peu d'orge avec de la paille picquade (hachée). Jamais ile ne boivent que l'après-midi, et toujours, même à l'ecurie, on leur laisse la bride en bouche, comme aux mules. La ils sont attachés par les pieds de derrière et confondus tous ensemble, chevaux et jumens. Tous sont hongres, excepté quelques'uns qu'on garde comme étalons. Si vous avez affaire à un homme riche, et que vouz alliez le trouver chez lui, il vous menera, pour vous parler, dans son écurie: aussi sont-elles tenues très-fraîches et très-nettes.

Nous autres, nous aimons un cheval entier, de bonne race; les

---

*Je crois que par retour la Brocquière a entendu ce crochet nommé crampon qui est aux nôtres, et qu'il a voulu dire que ceux de Damas étoient plats.

Maures n'estiment que les jumens. Chez eux, un grand n'a point honte de monter une jument que son poulain suit par derrière. * J'en ai vu d'une grande beauté, et qui se vendoient jusqu'a deux et trois cents ducats. Au reste, leur coutume est de tenir leurs chevaux sur le maigre (de ne point les laisser engraisser).

Chez eux, les gens de bien (gens riches, qui ont du bien) portent tons, quand ils sont à cheval, un tabolcan (petit tambour), dont ils se servent dans les batailles et les escarmouches pour se rassembler et se rallier; ils l'attachent à arçon de leur selle, et le frappent avec une baguette de cuir plat. J'en achetai un aussi, avec des éperons et des bottes vermeilles qui montoient jusqu'aux genoux, selon la coutume du pays.

Pour témoigner ma reconnoissance à Hoyarbarach j'allai lui offrir un pot de gingembre vert. Il le refusa, et ne ce fut qu'à force d'instances et de prières que je vins à bout de le lui faire accepter. Je n'eus de lui d'autre parole et d'autre assurance que celle dont j'ai parlé cidessus. Cependant je ne trouvai en lui que franchise et layauté, et plus peut-être que j'en aurois éprouvé de beaucoup de chrétiens.

Dieu, qui me favorisoit en tout dans l'accomplissement de mon voyage, me procura la connoissance d'un Juif de Caffa qui parloit Tartare et Italien; je le priai de m'aider à mettre en écrit dans ces deux langues toutes les choses dont je pouvois avoir le plus de besoin en route pour moi et pour mon cheval. Dès notre première journée, arrivé à Ballec, je tirai mon papier pour savoir comment on appeloit l'orge et la paille hachée que je voulois faire donner à mon cheval. Dix ou douze Turcs qui étoient autour de moi se mirent à rire en me voyant. Ils s'approchèrent pour regarder mon papier, et parurent cussi étonnés de mon écriture que nous le sommea de la leur; néanmoins ils me prirent en amitié, et firent tous leurs efforts pour m'apprendre à parler. Ils ne se laissoient point de me répéter plusieurs fois la même chose, et la redisoient si souvent et de tant de manières, qu'il falloit bien que je la retinsse; aussi, quand nous nous séparâmes, savois-je déja demander pour moi et pour mon cheval tout ce qui m'étoit nécessaire.

---

* Ce trait fait allusion aux préjugés alors en usage chez les chevaliers d'Europe. Comme ils avoient besoin, pour les tournois et les combats, de chevaux très-forts, ils ne se servoient que de chevaux entiers, et se seroient crus déshonorés de monter une jument.

Pendant le séjour qué fit à Damas la caravane, j'allai visiter un lieu de pélerinage qui est à seize milles environ vers le nord, et qu'on nomme Notre-Dame de Serdenay. Il faut, pour y arriver, traverser une montagne qui peut bien avoir un quart de lieue, et jusqu'à laquelle s'étendent les jardins de Damas; on descend ensuite dans une vallée charmante, remplie de vignes et de jardins, et qui a une belle fontaine dont l'eau est bonne. Là est une roche sur laquelle on a construit un petit château avec une église de callogero (de caloyers), où se trouve une image de la Vierge, peinte sur bois: sa tête, dit-on est portée par miracle; quant à la manière, je l'ignore. On ajoute qu'elle sue toujours, et que cette sueur est une huile.* Tout ce que je puis dire, c'est que quand j'y allai on me montra, au bout de l'église, derrière le grand autel, une niche pratiquée dans le mur, et que là je vis l'image, qui est une chose plate, et qui peut avoir un pied et demi de haut sur un de large. Je ne puis dire si elle est de bois ou de pierre, parce qu'elle étoit couverte entièrement de drapeaux. Le devant étoit fermé par un treillis de fer, et au-dessous il y avoit un vase qui contenoit de l'huile. Une femme qui étoit là vint à moi; elle remua les drapeaux avec une cuillère d'argent, et voulut me faire, le signe de la croix au front, aux tempes et sur la poitrine. Il me sembla que tout cela étoit une pratique pour avoir argent; cependant je ne veux point dire par-là que Notre-Dame n'ait plus de pouvoir encore que cette image.

Je revins à Damas, et, la ville du départ, je réglai mes affaires et disposai ma conscience, comme si j'eusse dû mourir; mais tout-à-coup je me vis dans l'embarras.

J'ai parlé du courier qu'avoit envoyé le soudan pour faire arrêter les marchands Génois et Catalans qui se trouvoient dans ses Etats. En vertu de cet ordre, on prit mon hôte, qui étoit Génois; ses effets furent saisis, et l'on plaça chez lui un Maure pour les garder. Moi, je cherchai à lui sauver tout ce que je pourrois, et afin que le Maure ne s'en aperçût pas, je l'enivrai. Je fus arrêté à mon tour, et conduit devant un des cadis, gens qu'ils regardent comme nous nos évêques, et qui sont chargés d'administrer la justice.

---

* Plusieurs de nos auteurs du treizième siècle font mention de cette vierge de Serdenay, devenue fameuse pendant les croisades, et ils parlent de sa sueur huileuse, qui passoit pour faire beaucoup de miracles. Ces fables d'exsudations, miraculeuses étoient communes en Asie. On y vantoit entre autres celle qui découloit du tombeau de l'evêque Nicolas, l'un de ces saints dont l'existence est plus que douteuse. Cette liqueur prétendue de Nicolas etoit même un objet de culte; et nous lisons qu'en 1651, un curé de Paris en ayant reçut une phiole, il demanda et obtint de l'archevêque la permission de l'exposer à la vénération des fidèles. (Hist. de la ville et du diocèse de Paris, par Lebeuf, t. I., part. 2, p. 557.)

Le cadi me renvoya vers un autre, qui me fit conduire en prison avec les marchands. Il savoit bien pourtant que je ne l'étois pas; mais cette affaire m'étoit suscitée par un trucheman qui vouloit me rançonner, comme il l'avoit déja tenté à mon premier voyage. Sans Antonine Mourrouzin, consul de Venise, il m'eut fallu payer; mais je restai en prison, et pendant ce temps la caravane partit.

Pour obtenir ma liberté, le consul et quelques autres personnes furent obligés de faire des démarches auprès du roi (gouverneur) de Damas, alléguant qu'on m'avoit arrêté à tort et sans cause, et que le trucheman le savoit bien. Le seigneur me fit venir devant lui avec un Génois nommé Gentil Impérial, qui étoit un marchand de par le soudan, pour aller acheter des esclaves à Caffa. Il me demanda qui j'étois, et ce que je venois faire à Damas; et, sur ma réponse que j'étois Français, venu en pélerinage à Jérusalem, il dit qu'on avoit tort de me retenir, et que je pouvois partir quand il me plairoit.

Je partis donc, le lendemain 6 Octobre, accompagné d'un moucre, que je chargeai d'abord de transporter hors de la ville mes habillemens Turcs, parce qu'il n'est point permis à un chrétien d'y paroître avec la toque blanche.

A peu de distance est une montagne où l'on montre une maison qu'on dit avoir été celle de Caïn; et, pendant la première journée, nous n'eumes que des montagnes, quoique le chemin soit bon; mais à la seconde nous trouvames un beau pays, et il continua d'être agréable jusqu'à Balbec.

C'est là que mon moucre me quitta, et que je trouvai la caravane. Elle étoit campée près d'une riviére, à cause de la chaleur qui régne dans le pays; et cependant les nuits y sont très-froides (ce qu'on aura peine a croire), et les rosées très-abondantes. J'allai trouver Hoyarbarach, qui me confirma la permission qu'il m'avoit donnée de venir avec lui, et qui me recommenda de ne point quitter la troupe.

Le lendemain matin, à onze heures, je fis boire mon cheval, et lui donnai la paille et l'avoine, selon l'usage de nos contrées. Pour cette fois les Turcs ne me dirent rien; mais le soir, à six heures, quand, après l'avoir fait boire, je lui attachai sa besace pour qu'il mangeât, ils s'y opposèrent et détachèrent le sac. Telle est leur coutume: leur chevaux ne mangent qu'à huit, et jamais ils n'en laissent manger un avant les autres, à moins que ce ne soit pour paitre l'herbe.

Le chef avoit avec lui un mamelus (mamelouck) du soudan, qui étoit Cerquais (Circassien), et qui alloit dans la pays de Karman chercher un de ses frères. Cet homme, quand il me vit seul, et ne sachant point la langue du pays, volut charitablement me servir de compagnon, et il me prit avec lui. Cependant, comme il n'avoit point de tente, nous fûmes souvent obligés de passer la nuit dans des jardins sous des arbres.

Ce fut alors qu'il me fallut apprendre à coucher sur la dure, à ne boire que de l'eau, à m'asseoir à terre, les jambes croisées. Cette posture me coûta d'abord beaucoup; mais ce à quoi j'eus plus de peine encore à m'accoutumer, fut d'être à cheval avec des étriers courts. Dans le commencemens je souffrois si fort, que, quand j'étois descendu, je ne pouvois remonter sans aide, tant les jarrets me faisoient mal; mais lorsque j'y fus accoutumé, cette manière me parut plus commode que la nôtre.

Dès le jour même je soupai avec mon mamelouck, et nous n'eumes que du pain, du fromage et du lait. J'avois, pour manger, une nappe, à la mode des gens riches du pays. Elles ont quatre pieds de diamètre, et sont rondes, avec des coulisses tout autour; de sorte qu'on peut les fermer comme une bourse. Veulent-ils manger, ils les étendent; ont-ils mangé, ils les resserrent, et y renferment tout ce qui reste, sans vouloir rien perdre, ni une miette de pain, ni un grain de raisin. Mais ce que j'ai remarqué, c'est qu'après leur repas, soit qu'il fut bon, soit qu'il fut mauvais, jamais ils ne manquoient de remercier Dieu tout haut.

Balbec est une bonne ville, bien fermée de murs, et assez marchande Au centre étoit un château, fait de très-grosses pierres. Maintenant il renferme une mosquée dans laquelle est, dit-on, une tête humaine qui a des yeux si énormes, qu'un homme passeroit aisément la sienne à travers leur ouverture. Je ne puis assurer le fait, attendu que pour entrer dans la mosquée il faut être Sarrasin.

De Balbec nous allâmes à Hamos, et campâmes sur une rivière. Ce fut là que je vis comment ils campent et tendent leurs pavillons. Les tentes ne sont ni très-hautes ni très-grandes; de sorte qu'il ne faut qu'un homme pour les dresser, et que six à huit personnes peuvent s'y tenir à l'aise pendant les chaleurs du jour. Dans le cours de la journée ils en ôtent le bas, afin de donner passage à l'air. La nuit, ils le remettent pour avoir plus chaud. Un seul chameau en porte sept ou huit avec leurs mâts. Il y en a de très-belles.

Mon compagnon, le mamelouck, et moi, qui n'en avions point, nous allâmes nous établir dans un jardin. Il y vint aussi deux Turquemans (Turcomans) de Satalie, qui revenoient de la Mecque, et qui soupèrent avec nous. Mais quand ces deux hommes me virent bien vêtu, ayant bon cheval, belle épée, bon tarquais, ils proposèrent au mamelouck, ainsi que lui-même me l'avoua par la suite lorsque nous nous séparâmes, de se défaire de moi, vu que j'étois chrétien et indigne d'être dans leur compagnie Il répondit que, puisque j'avois mangé avec eux le pain et le sel, ce seroit un crime ; que leur loi le leur défendoit, et qu'après tout Dieu faisoit les chrétiens comme les Sarrasins.

Néanmoins ils persistèrent dans leur projet ; et comme je témoignois le desir de voir Halep, la ville la plus considérable de Syrie après Damas, ils me pressèrent de me joindre à eux. Moi qui ne savois rien de leur dessein, j'acceptai; et je suis convaincu aujourd'hui qu'ils ne vouloient que me couper la gorge. Mais le mamelouck leur défendit de venir davantage avec nous, et par-là il me sauva la vie.

Nous étions partis de Balbec deux heures avant le jour, et notre caravane étoit compsée de quatre à cinq cents personnes, et de six ou sept cents chameaux et mulets, parce qu'elle portoit beaucoup d'épices. Voici leur manière de se mettre en marche.

Il y a dans la troupe une très-grande nacquaire (très grosse timbale). Au moment où le chef veut qu'on parte, il fait frapper trois coups. Aussitôt tout le monde s'apprête, et à mesure que chacun est prêt, il se met à la file sans dire un seul mot : Et feront plus de bruit dix d'entre nous que mil de ceux-là. On marche ainsi en silence, à moins que ce ne soit la nuit, et que quelqu'un ne veuille chanter une chanson de gestes.* Au point du jour, deux ou trois d'entre eux, fort éloignés les uns des autres, crient et se répondent, comme on le fait sur les mosquées aux heures d'usage. Enfin, peu après, et avant le lever du soleil, les gens dévots font leurs prières et ablutions ordinaires.

---

* On appeloit en France chansons de gestes celles qui célébroient les gestes et belles actions des anciens héros.

Pour ces ablutions, s'ils sont auprès d'un ruisseau, ils descendent de cheval, se mettent les pieds nus, et se lavant les mains, les pieds, le visage et tous les conduits du corps. S'ils n'ont pas de ruisseau, ils passent la main sur ces parties. Le dernier d'entre eux se lave la bouche et l'ouverture opposée, après quoi il se tourne vers le midi. Tous alors lèvent deux doigts en l'air; ils se prosternent et baisent la terre trois fois, puis ils se relèvent et font leurs prières. Ces ablutions leur ont été ordonnées en lieu de confession. Les gens de distinction, pour n'y point manquer, portent toujours en voyage des bouteilles de cuir pleines d'eau: on les attache sous le ventre des chameaux et des chevaux, et ordinairement elles sont très-belles.

Ces peuples s'accroupissent, pour uriner, comme les femmes; après quoi ils se frottent le canal contre une pierre, contre un mur ou quelque autre chose. Quant à l'autre besoin, jamais après l'avoir satisfait ils ne s'essuient.

Hamos (Hems), bonne ville, bien fermée de murailles avec des fossés glacés (en glacis), est située dans une plaine sur une petite rivière. Là vient aboutir la plaine de Noë, qui s'étend, dit-on, jusqu'en Perse. C'est par elle que déboucha ce Tamerlan qui prit et détruisit tant de villes. A l'extrémité de la ville est un beau château, construit sur une hauteur, et tout en glacis jusqu'au pied du mur.

De Hamos nous vinmes à Hamant (Hama). Le pays est beau; mais je n'y vis que peu d'habitans, excepté les Arabes qui rebâtissoient quelques-uns des villages détruits. Je trouvai dans Hamant un marchand de Venise nommé Laurent Souranze. Il m'accueillit, me logea chez lui, et me fit voir la ville et le chateau. Elle est garnie de bonnes tours, close de fortes et épaisses murailles, et construite, comme le chateau de Provins, sur une roche, dans laquelle on a creusé au ciseau des fossés fort profonds. A l'une des extrémités se voit le chateau, beau et fort, tout en glacis jusqu'au pied du mur, et construit sur une élévation. Il est entouré d'une citadelle qu'il domine, et baigné par une rivière qu'on dit être l'une des quatre qui sortent du paradis terrestre. Si le fait est vrai, je l'ignore. Tout ce que je sais, c'est qu'elle descend entre le levant et le midi, plus près du priemier que du second, (est-sud-est), et qu'elle va se perdre à Antioche.

Là est la roue la plus haute et la plus grande que j'aie vue de ma vie. Elle est mise en mouvement par la rivière, et fournit à la consommation des habitans, quoique leur nombre soit considérable, la quantité d'eau qui leur est nécessaire. Cette eau tombe en une auge creusée dans la roche du chateau ; de là elle se porte vers la ville et en parcourt les rues dans un canal formé par de grands piliers carrés qui ont douze pieds de haut sur deux de large.

Il me manquoit encore différentes choses pour être en tout comme mes compagnons de voyage. Le namelouck m'en avoit averti, et mon hôte Laurent me mena lui-même au bazar pour en faire l'acquisition. C'étoient de petites coiffes de soie à la mode des Turcomans, un bonnet pour mettre sous la coiffe, des cuillères Turques, des couteaux avec leur fusil, un peigne avec son étui, et un gobelet de cuir. Tout celle s'attache et se suspend à l'épée,

J'achetai aussi des pouçons[*] pour tirer de l'arc, un tarquais nouveau tout garni, pour épargner le mien, qui étoit très-beau, et que je voulois conserver ; enfin un capinat : c'est une robe de feutre, blanche, très-fine, et impénétrable à la pluie.

En route je m'étois lié avec quelques-uns de mes compagnons de caravane. Ceux ci, quand ils surent que j'étois logé chez un Franc, vinrent me trouver pour me demander de leur procurer du vin. Le vin leur est défendu par leur loi, et ils n'auroient osé en boire devant les leurs ; mais ils espéroient le faire sans risque chez un Franc, et cependant ils revenoient de la Mecque. J'en parlai à mon hôte Laurent, qui me dit qu'il ne l'oseroit, parce que, si la chose étoit sue, il courroit les plus grands dangers. J'allai leur rendre cette réponse ; mais ils en avoient déja cherché ailleurs, et venoient d'en trouver chez un Grec. Ils me proposèrent donc, soit par pure amitié, soit pour être autorisé auprès du Grec à boire, d'aller avec eux chez lui, et je les y accompagnai.

Cet homme nous conduisit dans une petite galerie, où nous nous assîmes par terre, en cercle, tous les six. Il posa d'abord au milieu de nous un grand et beau plat de terre, qui eût pu contenir au moins huit lots (seize pintes) ; ensuite il apporta pour chacun de nous un pot plein de vin, le versa dans le vase, et y mit deux écuelles de terre qui devoient nous servir de gobelets.

Un de la troupe commença la premier, et il but à son compagnon, selon l'usage du pays. Celui-ci en fit de même pour son suivant, et ainsi des autres. Nous bûmes de cette manière, et sans manger, pendant fort long-temps. Enfin, quand je m'aperçus que je ne pouvois pas continuer davantage sans m'incommoder, je les suppliai à mains jointes de m'en dispenser; mais ils se fachèrent beaucoup, et se plaignirent, comme si j'avois résolu d'interrompre leurs plaisirs et de leur faire tort.

---

[*] Sorte de doigtier qu'on mettoit au pouce, afin de le garantir et de le défendra de l'impression de la corde.

Heureusement il y en avoit un parmi eux qui étoit plus lié avec moi, et qui m'aimoit tant qu'il m'appeloit kardays, c'est-à-dire frère. Celui-ci s'offrit à prendre ma place, et à boire pour moi quand ce seroit mon tour. Cette offre les satisfit ; ils l'acceptèrent, et la partie continua jusqu'au soir, où il nous fallut retourner au kan.

Le chef étoit en ce moment assis sur un siége de pierre, et il avoit devant lui un fallot allumé. Il ne lui fut pas difficile de diviner d'où nous venions: aussi y eut-il quatre de mes camarades qui s'esquivèrent ; il n'en resta qu'un avec moi. Je dis tout ceci, afin de prévenir les personnes qui, demain oủ un jour quelconque, voyageroient, ainsi que moi, dans leur pays, qu'elles se gardent bien de boire avec eux, à moins qu'elles ne veuillent être obligées d'en prendre jusqu'à ce qu'elles tombent à terre.

Le mamelouck ne savoit rien de ma débauche. Pendant ce temps il avoit acheté une oie pour nous deux. Il venoit de la faire bouillir, et, au défaut de verjus, il l'avoit accommodée avec des feuilles vertes de porreaux. J'en mangeai avec lui, et elle nous dura trois jours.

J'aurois bien desiré voir Alep ; mais la caravane n'y allant point et se rendant directement à Antioche, il fallut y renoncer. Cependant, comme elle ne devoit se mettre en marche que deux jours après, le mamelouck fut d'avis que nous prissions tous deux les devants, afin de trouver plus aisément à nous loger. Quatre autres camarades, marchands Turcs, demaudèrent à être des nôtres, et nous partîmes tous six ensemble.

A une demi-lieue de Hama, nous trouvames la rivière et nous la passames sur un pont. Elle étoit débordée, quoiqu'il n'eût point plu. Mois, je voulus y faire boire mon cheval ; mais la rive étoit escarpée et l'eau profonde, et infailliblement je m'y serois noyé si le mamelouck n'étoit venu à mon secours.

Au delà du fleuve est une longue et vaste plaine qui dure toute une journée. Nous y rencontrames six à huit Turcomans accompagnés d'une femme. Elle portoit la tarquais ainsi qu'eux ;

et, à ce sujet, on me dit que celles de cette nation sont braves et qu'en guerre elles combattent comme les hommes. On ajouta même, et ceci m'étonna bien davantage, qu'il y en a environ trente mille qui portent ainsi le tarquais, et qui sont soumises à un seigneur nommé Turcgadiroly, lequel habite les montagnes d'Arménie, sur les frontières de la Perse.

La seconde journée fut à travers un pays de montagnes. Il est assez beau quoique peu arrosé; mais par tout on ne voyoit que des habitations détruites. Tout en le traversant, mon mamelouck m'apprit à tirer de l'arc, et il me fit acheter des pouçons ét des anneaux pour tirer. Enfin nous arrivâmes à un village riche en bois, en vignobles, en terres à blé, mais qui n'avoit d'autres eaux que celles de citernes. Ce canton paroissoit avoir été habité autrefois par des chrétiens, et j'avoue qu'on me fit un grand plaisir quand on me dit que tout cela avoit été aux Francs, et qu'on me montra pour preuve des églises abattues.

Nous y logeames; et ce fut la première fois que je vis des habitations de Turcomans, et des femmes de cette nation à visage découvert. Ordinairement elles le cachent sous un morceau d'étamine noire, et celles qui sont riches y portent attachées des pièces de monnoie et des pierres précieuses. Les hommes sont bons archers. J'en vis plusieurs tirer de l'arc. Ils tirent assis et à but court: ce peu d'espace donne à leurs flèches une grande rapidité.

Au sortir de la Syrie on entre dans la Turcomanie, que nous appellons Arménie. La capitale est une très-grande ville qu'ils nomment Antéquayé, et nous Antioche. Elle fut jadis très-florissante et a encore de beaux murs bien entiers, qui renferment un très-grand espace et même des montagnes. Mais on n'y compte point à présent plus de trois cents maisons. Au midi elle est bornée par une montagne, au nord par un grand lac, au-delà duquel on trouve un beau pays bien ouvert. Le long des murs coule la rivière qui vient de Hama. Presque tous les habitans sont Turcomans ou Arabes, et leur état est d'élever des troupeaux, tels que chameaux, chèvres, vaches et brebis.

Ces chèvres, les plus belles que j'aie jamais vues, sont la plupart blanches; elles n'ont point comme celles de Syrie, les oreilles pendantes, et portent une laine longue douce et crépue. Les moutons ont de grosses et larges queues. On y nourrit aussi des ânes sauvages qu'on apprivoise et qui, avec un poil, des oreilles et une tête pareils à ceux de cerf, ont comme lui le pied fendu. J'ignore s'ils ont son cri, car je ne les ai point entendus crier. Ils sont beaux, fort grands, et vont avec les autres bêtes; mais je n'ai point vu qu'on les montat.*

Pour le transport de leurs marchandises, les habitans se servent de bœufs et de buffles, comme nous nous servons de chevaux.

Ils les emploient aussi en montures; et j'en ai vu des troupes dans lesquelles les uns étoient chargés de marchandises, et les autres étoient montés.

Le seigneur de ce pays étoit Ramedang, prince riche, brave et puissant. Pendant longtemps il se rendit si redoutable que le soudan le craignois et n'osoit l'irriter. Mais le soudan voulut le détruire, et dans ce dessein il s'entendit avec le karman, qui pouvoit mieux que personne tromper Ramedang, puisqu'il lui avoit donné sa sœur en mariage. En effet, un jour qu'ils mangoient ensemble, il l'arrêta et le livra au soudan, qui le fit mourrir et s'empara de la Turcomanie, dont cependant il donna un portion au karman.

Au sortir d'Antioche, je repris ma route avec mon mamelouck; et d'abord nous eûmes à passer une montagne nommée Nègre, sur laquelle on me montra trois ou quatre beaux châteaux ruinés, qui jadis avoient appartenu à des chrétiens. Le chemin est beau et sans cesse on y est parfumé par les lauriers nombreux qu'elle produit; mais la descente en est une fois plus rapide que la montée. Elle aboutit au golfe qu'on nomme d'Asacs, et que nous autres nous appellons Layaste, parce qu'en effet c'est la ville d'Ayas qui lui donne son nom. Il s'étend entre deux montagnes, et s'avance dans les terres l'espace d'environ quinze milles. Sa largeur à l'occident m'a paru être de douze; mais sur cet article je m'en rapporte à la carte marine.

Au pied de la montagne, près du chemin et sur le bord de la mer, sont les restes d'un château fort, qui du côté de la terre étoit défendu par un marécage; de sorte qu'on ne pouvoit y aborder que par mer, ou par une chaussée étroite qui traversoit le marais. Il étoit inhabité, mais en avant s'étoient établis des Turcomans. Ils occupoient cent vingt pavillons, les uns de feutre, les autre de coton bleu et blanc, tous très-beaux, tous assez grands pour loger à l'aise quinze ou seize personnes. Ce sont leurs maisons, et, comme nous dans les nôtres, ils y font tout leur ménage, à l'exception du feu.

---

* Cet animal ne peut être un âne, puisqu'il a le pied fendu et que l'âne ne l'a point. C'est probablement une espèce de gazelle, ou plutôt un bubale.

Nous nous arrêtames chez eux. Ils vinrent placer devant nous une de ces nappes à coulisses dont j'ai parlé, et dans laquelle il y avoit encore des miettes de pain, des fragmens de fromage et des grains de raisin. Après quoi ils nous apportèrent une douzaine de pains plats avec un grand quartier de lait caillé, qu'ils appellent yogort. Ces pains, larges d'un pied, sont ronds et plus mince que des oublies. On les plie en cornet, comme une oublie à pointes, et on les mange avec le caillé.

Une lieue au-delà étoit une petit karvassera (caravanserai) où nous logeâmes. Ces établisemens consistent en maisons, comme les kans de Syrie.

En route, dans le cours de la journée j'avois rencontré un Ermin (Arménien) qui parloit un peu Italien. S'étant aperçu que j'étois chrétien, il se lia de conversation avec moi, et me conta beaucoup de détails, tant sur le pays et les habitans, que sur le soudan et ce Ramedang, seigneur de Turcomanie, dont je viens de faire mention. Il me dit que ce dernier étoit un homme de haute taille, très-brave, et le plus habile de tous les Turcs à manier la masse et l'épée. Sa mère étoit une chrétienne, qui l'avoit fait baptiser à la loi Grégoise (selon le rit des Grecs) "pour lui oster le flair et la senteur que ont ceulx qui ne sont point baptisez."* Mais il n'étoit ni bon chrétien ni bon Sarrasin; et quand on lui parloit des deux prophètes Jésus et Mahomet, il disoit : Moi, je suis pour les prophètes vivans, il me seront plus utiles que ceux qui sont morts.

Ses Etats touchoient d'un côté à ceux du karman, dont il avoit épousé la sœur; de l'autre à la Syrie, qui appartenoit au soudan. Toutes les fois que par son pays passoit un des sujets de celui-ci, il en exigeoit des péages. Mais enfin le soudan obtint du karman, comme je l'ai dit, qu'il le lui livreroit; et aujourd'hui il possède toute la Turcomanie jusqu'à Tharse et même une journée par-de-là.

Ce jour-là nous logeâmes de nouveau chez des Turcomans, où l'on nous servit encore du lait; et l'Arménien nous y accompagna. Ce fut là que je vis faire par des femmes ces pains minces et plats dont j'ai parlé. Voici comment elles s'y prennent. Elles ont une petite table ronde, bien unie, y jettent un peu de farine qu'elles détrempent avec de l'eau et en font une pâte plus molle que celle du pain. Cette pâte, elles la partagent en plusieurs morceaux ronds, qu'elles aplatissent autant qu'il leur est possible avec un rouleau en bois, d'un diamètre un peu moindre que celui d'un œuf, jusqu'à ce qu'ils soient amincis au point que j'ai dit. Pendant ce temps elles ont une plaque de fer convexe, qui est posée sur un trépied et échauffée en dessous par un feu doux. Elles y étendent la feuille de pâte et la retournent tout aussitôt, de sorte qu'elles ont plus-tôt fait deux de leurs pains qu'un oublieur chez nous n'a fait une oublie.

---

* Les chrétiens d'Asie croyoient de bonne foi que les infidèles avoient une mauvaise odeur qui leur étoit particulière, et qu'ils perdoient par le baptême. Il sera encore parlé plus bas de cette superstition. Ce baptême étoit, selon la loi Grégoise, par immersion.

J'employai deux jours à traverser le pays qui est autour du golfe. Il est fort beau, et avoit autrefois beaucoup de châteaux qui appartenoient aux chrétiens, et qui maintenant sont détruits. Tel est celui qu'on voit en avant d'Ayas, vers le levant.

Il n'y a dans la contrée que des Turcomans. Ce sont de beaux hommes, excellens archers et vivant de peu. Leurs habitations sont rondes comme des pavillons et couvertes de feutre. Ils demeurent toujours en plein champ, et ont un chef auquel ils obéissent ; mais ils changent souvent de place, et alors ils emportent avec eux leurs maisons. Leur coutume dans ce cas est de se soumettre au seigneur sur les terres duquel ils s'établissent, et même de le servir de leurs armes s'il a guerre. Mais s'ils quittent ses domaines et qu'ils passent sur ceux de son ennemi, ils serviront celui-ci à son tour contre l'autre, et on ne leur en sait pas mauvais gré, parce que telle est leur coutume et qu'ils sont errans.

Sur ma route je rencontrai un de leurs chefs qui voloit (chassoit au vol) avec des faucons et prenoit des oies privées. On me dit qu'il pouvoit bien avoir sous ses ordres dix mille Turcomans. Le pays est favorable pour la chasse, et coupé par beaucoup de petites rivières qui descendent des montagnes et se jettent dans le golfe. On y trouve sur-tout beaucoup de sangliers.

Vers le milieu du golfe, sur le chemin de terre, est un défilé formé par une roche sur laquelle on passe, et qui se trouve à deux portées d'arc de la mer. Jadis ce passage étoit défendu par un château qui le rendoit très-fort. Aujourd'hui il est abandonné.

Au sortir de cette gorge on entre dans une belle et grande plaine, peuplée de Turcomans. Mais l'Arménien mon compagnon me montra sur une montagne un château où il n'y avoit, disoit-il, que des gens de sa nation, et dont les murs sont arrosés par une rivière nommée Jéhon. Nous côtoyâmes la rivière jusqu'à une ville qu'on nomme Misse-sur-Jehon, parce qu'elle la traverse.

Misse, située à quatre journées d'Antioche, appartint à des chrétiens et fut une cité importante. On y voit encore plusieurs églises à moitié détruites et dont il ne reste plus d'entier que le chœur de la grande, qu'on a converti en mosquée. Le pont est en bois, parce que le premier a été détruit aussi. Enfin, des deux moitiés de la ville, l'une est totalement en ruines ; l'autre a conservé ses murs et environ trois cents maisons qui sont remplies par des Turcomans.

De Misse à Adève (Adène) le pays continue d'être uni et beau; et ce sont encore des Turcomans qui l'habitent. Adène est à deux journées de Misse, et je me proposois d'y attendre la caravane.

Elle arriva. J'allai avec le mamelouck et quelques autres personnes, dont plusieurs étoient de gros marchands, loger près du pont, entre la rivière et les murs ; et ce fut là que je vis comment les Turcs font leurs prières et leurs sacrifices ; car non seulement ils ne se cachoient point de moi, mais ils paroissoient même contens quand "je disois mes patrenostre, qui leur sambloit merveilles. Je leur ouys dire acunes fois leus heures en chantant, à l'entrée de la nuit, et se assiéent à la réonde (en rond) et branlent le corps et la teste, et chantent bien sauvaigement."

Un jour ils me menèrent avec eux aux étuves et aux bains de la ville ; et comme je refusai de me baigner, parce qu'il eût fallu me déshabiller et que je craignois de montrer mon argent, ils me donnèrent leurs robes à garder. Depuis ce moment nous fûmes très-liés ensemble.

La maison du bain est fort élevée et se termine par un dôme, dans lequel a été pratiquée une ouverture circulaire qui éclaire tout l'interieur. Les étuves et les bains sont beaux et très-propres. Quand ceux qui se baignent sortent de l'eau, ils viennent s'asseoir sur de petites claies d'osier fin, où ils s'essuient et peignent leur barbe.

C'est dans Adène que je vis pour la première fois les deux jeunes gens qui à la Mecque s'étoient fait crever les yeux après avoir vu la sépulture de Mahomet.

Les Turcs sont gens de fatigue, d'une vie dure, et à qui il ne coute rien, ainsi que je l'ai vu tout le long de la route, de dormir sur la terre commes les animaux. Mais ils sont d'humeur gaie et joyeuse, et chantent volontiers chansons de gestes. Aussi quelqu'un qui veut vivre avec eux ne doit être ni triste ni rêveur, mais avoir toujours le visage riant. Du reste, ils sont gens de bonne foi et charitables les uns envers les autres. "J'ay veu bien souvent, quant nous mengions, que s'il passoit ung povre homme auprès d'eulx, faisoient venir mengier avec nous : ce que nous, ne fésiesmes point."

Dans beaucoup d'endroits j'ai trouvé qu'ils ne cuisent point leur pain la moitié de ce que l'est le nôtre. Il est mou, et à moins d'y être accoutumé, on a bien de la peine à le mâcher. Pour leur viande, ils la mangent crue, séchée au soleil. Cependant quand une de leurs bêtes, cheval ou chameau, est en danger de mort ou sans espoir, ils l'égorgent et la mangent non crue, un peu cuite. Ils sont très-propres dans l'apprêt de leurs viandes ; mais ils mangent très-salement. Ils tiennent de même fort proprement leur barbe ; mais jamais ils ne se lavent les mains que quand ils se baignent, qu'ils veulent faire leur prière, ou qu'ils se lavent la barbe ou le derrière.

Adène est une assez bonne ville marchande, bien fermée de murailles, située en bon pays et assez voisine de la mer. Sur ses murs passe une grosse rivière qui vient des hautes montagnes d'Arménie et qu'on nomme Adena. Elle a un pont fort long et le plus large que j'aie jamais vu. Ses habitans et son amiral (son seigneur, son prince) sont Turcomans : cet amiral est le frère de ce brave Ramedang que le soudan fit mourir ainsi que je l'a raconté. On m'a dit même que le soudan a entre les mains son fils, et qu'il n'ose le laisser retourner en Turcomanie.

D'Adène j'allai à Therso que nous appellons Tharse. Le pays, fort beau encore, quoique voisin des montagnes, est habité par des Turcomans, dont les uns logent dans des villages et les autres sous des pavillons. Le canton ou est bâtie Tharse abonde en blé, vins, bois et eaux. Elle fut une ville fameuse, et l'on y voit encore de très-anciens édifices. Je crois que c'est celle qu'assiégea Baudoin, frère de Godefroi de Bouillon. Aujourd'hui elle a un amiral nommé par le soudan, et il y demeure plusieurs Maures. Elle est défendue par un château, par des fossés à glacis et par une double enceinte de murailles, qui en certains endroits est triple. Une petite rivière la traverse, et à peu de distance il en coule une autre.

J'y trouvai un marchand de Cypre, nomme Antoine, qui depuis long-temps demeuroit dans le pays et en savoit bien la languei Il m'en parla pertinemment ; mais il me fit un autre plaisir, celui de me donner de bon vin, car depuis plusieurs jours je n'en avois point bu.

Tharse n'est qu'à soixante milles du Korkène (Curco), château construit sur la mer, et qui appartient au roi de Cypre.

Dans tout ce pays on parle Turc, et on commence même à le parler dès Antioche, qui est, comme je l'ai dit, la capitale de Turcomanie. "C'est un très-beau langaige, et brief, et bien aisié pour aprendre."

Comme nous avions à traverser les hautes montagnes d'Arménie, Hoyarbarach, le chef de notre caravane, voulut qu'elle fût toute réunie ; et dans ce dessein il attendit quelques jours. Enfin nous partîmes la veille de la Toussaint. Le mamelouck m'avoit conseillé de m'approvisioner pour quatre journées. En conséquence j'achetai pour moi une provision de pain et de fromage, et pour mon cheval une autre d'orge et de paille.

Au sortir de Tharse je fis encore trois lieues Françaises à travers un beau pays de plaines, peuplé de Turcomans ; mais enfin j'entrai dans les montagnes, montagnes les plus hautes que j'aie encore vues. Elles enveloppent par trois côtés tout le pays que j'avois parcouru depuis Antioche. L'autre partie est fermée au midi par la mer.

D'abord on a des bois à traverser. Ce chemin dure tout un jour, et il n'est pas malaisé. Nous logeâmes le soir dans un passage étroit où il me parut que jadis il y avoit eu un château. La seconde journée n'eut point de mauvaise route encore, et nous vînmes passer la nuit dans un caravanserai. La troisième, nous côtoyâmes constamment une petite rivière, et vîmes dans les montagnes une multitude immense de perdrix griaches. Notre halte du soir fut dans une plaine d'environ une lieue de longueur sur un quart de large.

Là se rencontrent quatre grandes combes (vallées). L'une est celle par laquelle nous étions venus ; l'autre, qui perce au nord, tire vers le pays du seigneur, qu'on appelle Turcgadirony, et vers la Perse ; la troisième s'étend au Levant, et j'ignore si elle conduit de même à la Perse ; la dernière enfin est au couchant, et c'est celle que j'ai prise, et qui m'a conduit au pays du karman. Chacune des quatre a une rivière, et les quatre rivières se rendent dans ce dernier pays.

Il neigea beaucoup pendant la nuit. Pour garantir mon cheval, je le couvris avec mon capinat, cette robe de feutre qui me servoit de manteau. Mais moi j'eus froid, et il me prit une maladie qui est malhonnête (le dévoiement): j'eusse même été en danger, sans mon mamelouck, qui me secourut et qui me fit sortir bien vite de ce lieu.

Nous partîmes donc de grand matin tous deux, et entrâmes dans les hautes montagnes. Il y a là un château nommé Cublech, le plus élevé que je connoisse. On le voit à une distance de deux journées. Quelquefois cependant on lui tourne le dos, à cause des détours qu'occasionnent les montagnes; quelquefois aussi on cesse de le voir, parce qu'il est caché par des hauteurs: mais on ne peut pénétrer au pays du karman qu'en passant au pied de celle où il est bâti. Le passage est étroit. Il a fallu même en quelques parties l'ouvrir au ciseau; mais par-tout il est dominé par le Cublech. Ce château, le dernier* de ceux qu'ont perdus les Arméniens, appartient aujour'hui au karman, qui l'a eu en partage à la mort de Ramedang.

Ces montagnes sont couvertes de neige en tout temps, et il n'y a qu'un passage pour les chevaux, quoiqu'on y trouve de temps en temps de jolies petites plaines. Elles sont dangereuses, par les Turcomans qui y sont répandus; mais pendant les quatre jours de marche que j'y ai faite, je n'y ai pas vu une seule habitation.

Quand on quitte les montagnes d'Arménie pour entrer dans le pays du karman, on en trouve d'autres qu'il faut traverser encore. Sur l'une de celles-ci est une gorge avec un château nommé Lève, où l'on paie au karman un droit de passage. Ce péage étoit affermé à un Grec, qui, en me voyant, me reconnut à mes traits pour chrétien, et m'arrêta. Si j'avois été obligé de retourner, j'étois un homme mort, et on me l'a dit depuis: avant d'avoir fait une demi-lieue j'eusse été égorgé; car la caravane étoit encore fort loin. Heureusement mon mamelouk gagna le Grec, et, moyennant deux ducats que je lui donnai, il me livra passage.

Plus loin est le château d'Asers, et par-de-là le château une ville nommée Araclie (Erégli).

En débouchant des montagnes on entre dans un pays aussi uni que la mer; cependant on y voit encore vers la trémontane (le nord) quelques hauteurs qui, semées d'espace en espace, semblent des îles au milieu des flots. C'est dans cette plaine qu'est Erégli, ville autrefois fermée, et aujourd'hui dans un grand délabrement. J'y trouvai au moins des vivres; car, dans mes quatre jours de marche depuis Tharse, la route ne m'avoit offert que de l'eau. Les environs de la ville sont couverts de villages habités en très-grande partie par des Turcomans.

---

* Ce mot dernier signifie probablement ici le plus reculé, le plus éloigné à la frontière.

Au sortir d'Erégli nous trouvâmes deux gentilshommes du pays qui paroissoient gens de distinction; ils firent beaucoup d'amitié au mamelouck, et le menèrent, pour le régaler à un village voisin dont les habitations son toutes creusées dans le roc. Nous y passâmes la nuit; mais moi je fus obligé de passer dans une caverne le reste du jour, pour y garder nos chevaux. Quand le mamelouck revint, il me dit que ces deux hommes lui avoient demandé qui j'étois, et qu'il leur avoit répondu, en leur donnant le change, que j'étois un Circassien qui ne savoit point parler Arabe.

D'Erégli à Larande, où nous allâmes, il y a deux journées. Cette ville-ci, quoique non close, est grande, marchande et bien située. Il y avoit autrefois au centre un grand et fort château dont on voit encore les portes, qui sont en fer et très-belles; mais les murs sont abbatus. D'une ville à l'autre on a, comme je l'ai dit, un beau pays plat; et depuis Lève je n'ai pas vu un seul arbre qui fût en rase campagne.

Il y avoit à Larande deux gentilshommes de Cypre, dont l'un s'appelloit Lyachin Castrico; l'autre, Léon Maschero, et qui tous deux parloient assez bien Français.* Ils me demandèrent quelle étoit ma patrie, et comment je me trouvais là. Je leur répondis que j'étois serviteur de monseigneur de Bourgogne, que je venois de Jérusalem et de Damas, et que j'avois suivi la caravane. Ils me parurent très-emerveillés de ce que j'avois pu passer; mais quand ils m'eurent demandé où j'allois, et que j'ajoutai que je retournois par terre en France vers mondit seigneur, ils me dirent que c'étoit chose impossible, et que, quand j'aurois mille vies, je les perdrois toutes. En conséquence ils me proposèrent de retourner en Cypre avec eux. Il y avoit dans l'ile deux galéres qui étoient venues y chercher la sœur de roi, accordé en mariage au fils de monseigneur de Savoie,* et ils ne doutoient point que le roi, par amour et honneur pour monseigneur de Bourgogne, ne m'y accordât passage. Je leur répondis que puisque Dieu m'avoit fait la grace d'arriver à Larande, il me feroit probablement celle d'aller plus loin, et qu'au reste j'étois résolu d'achever mon voyage ou d'y mourir.

---

* Les Lusignan, devenus rois de Cypre sur la fin du douzième siècle, avoient introduit dans cette île la langue Française. C'est en Cypre, au passage de saint Louis pour sa croisade d'Egypte que fut fait et publié ce code qu'on appela Assises de Jérusalem, et qui devint le code des Cypriots. La langue Française continua d'être celle de la cour et des gens bien élevés.

A mon tour je leur demandai où ils alloient. Ils me dirent que leur roi venoit de mourir; que pendant sa vie il avoit toujours entretenu trève avec le grand karman, et que le jeune roi et son conseil les envoyoit vers lui pour renouveller l'alliance. Moi, qui étois curieux de connoître ce grand prince que sa nation considère comme nous notre roi, je les priai de permettre que je les accompagnasse; et ils y consentirent.

Je trouvai à Larande un autre Cypriot. Celui-ci, nommé Perrin Passerot, et marchand, demeuroit depuis quelque temps dans le pays. Il étoit de Famagouste, et en avoit été banni, parce qu'avec un de ses frères il avoit tenté de remettre dans les mains du roi cette ville, qui étoit dans celles des Génois.

Mon mamelouck venoit de recontrer aussi cinq ou six de ses compatriotes. C'étoient de jeunes esclaves Circassiens que l'on conduisoit au soudan. Il voulut à leur passage les régaler; et comme il avoit appris qu'il se trouvoit à Larande des chrétiens, et qu'il soupçonnoit qu'ils auroient du vin, il me pria de lui en procurer. Je cherchai tant que, moyennant la moitié d'un ducat, je trouvai à en acheter demi-peau de chèvre (une demi-outre), et je la lui donnai.

Il montra en la recevant une joie extrême, et alla aussitôt trouver ses camarades, avec lesquelles il passa la nuit tout entière à boire. Pour lui, il en prit tant que le lendemain, dans la route, il manqua d'en mourir; mais il se guérit par une méthode qui leur est propre: dans ces cas-là, ils ont une très-grande bouteille pleine d'eau, et à mesure que leur estomac se vide et se débarrasse, ils boivent de l'eau tant qu'ils peuvent en avaler, comme s'ils vouloient rincer une bouteille, puis ils la rendent et en avalent d'autre. Il employa ainsi à se laver tout le temps de la route jusqu'à midi, et il fut gueri entièrement.

De Larande nous allâmes à Qulongue, appelée par les Grecs

---

* Louis, fils d'Amédée VIII., duc de Savoie. Il épousa en 1432 Anne de Lusignan fille de Jean II, roi de Cypre, mort au mois de Juin, et sœur de Jean III, qui alors étoit sur le trône.

Quhonguopoly.[*] Il y a d'un lieu à l'autre deux journées. Le pays est beau et bien garni de villages; mais il manque d'eau, et n'a, ni d'autres arbres que ceux qu'on a plantés près des habitations pour avoir du fruit, ni d'autre rivière que celle qui coule près de la ville.

Cette ville, grande, marchande, défendue par des fossés en glacis et par de bonnes murailles garnies de tours, est la meilleure qu'ait le karman. Il lui reste un petit château. Jadis elle en avoit un très-fort, qui étoit construit au centre. On l'a jeté bas pour y bâtir le palais du roi.[†]

Je restai là quatre jours, afin de donner le temps à l'ambassadeur de Cypre, et à la caravane d'arriver. Il arriva, ainsi qu'elle. Alors j'allai demander à l'ambassadeur que, quand il iroit saluer le karman, il me permît de me joindre à sa suite, et il me promit. Cependant il avoit parmi ses esclaves quatre Grecs de Cypre renégats, dont l'un étoit son huissier d'armes, et qui tous quatre firent auprès de lui des efforts pour l'en détourner; mais il leur répondit qu'il n'y voyoit point d'inconvénient: d'ailleurs j'en avois témoigné tant d'envie qu'il se fit un plaisir de m'obliger.

On vint le prévenir de l'heure à laquelle il pourroit faire sa révérence au roi, lui exposer le sujet de son ambassade, et offrir ses présens; car c'est une coutume au-delà des mers qu'on ne paroit jamais devant un prince sans en apporter quelques-uns. Les siens étoient six pièces de camelot de Cypre, je ne sais combien d'aunes d'écarlate, une quarantaine de pains de sucre, un faucon pélerin et deux arbalètes, avec une douzaine de vires.[‡]

On envoya chez lui des genets pour apporter les présens; et, pour sa monture ainsi que pour sa suite, les chevaux qu'avoient laissés à la porte du palais ceux des grands qui étoient venus faire cortége au roi pendant la cérémonie.

Il en monta un, et mit pied à terre à l'entrée du palais; après quoi, nous entrâmes dans une très-grande salle où il pouvoit y avoir environ trois cents personnes. Le roi occupoit la chambre suivante, autour de laquelle étoient rangés trente esclaves, tous debout. Pour lui, il étoit dans un coin, assis sur un tapis par terre, selon la coutume du pays, vêtu de drap d'or cramoisi, et le coude appuyé sur un carreau d'une autre sorte de drap d'or. Près de lui étoit son épée; en avant, son chancelier debout, et autour, à peu de distance, trois hommes assis.

---

[*] Plus bas le copiste a écrit Quohongue et Quhongue. J'écrirai désormais Couhongue.

[†] L'auteur, d'après ses préjugés Européens, emploie ici le mot roi pour désigner le prince, le souverain du pays.

[‡] Vives, grosses flèches qu se lançoient avec l'arbalète.

D'abord on fit passer sous ses yeux les présens, qu'il parut à peine regarder; puis l'ambassadeur entra accompagné d'un trucheman, parce qu'il ne savoit point la langue Turque. Quand il eut fait sa révérence, le chancelier lui demanda la lettre dont il étoit porteur, et la lut tout haut. L'ambassadeur alors dit au roi, par son trucheman, que le roi de Cypre envoyoit le saluer, et qu'il le prioit de recevoir avec amitié les présens qu'il lui envoyoit.

Le roi ne lui répondit pas un mot. On le fit asseoir par terre, à leur manière, mais audessous des trois personnes assises, et assez loin du prince. Alors celui-ci demanda comment se portoit son frère le roi de Cypre, et il lui fut répondu qu'il avoit perdu son père, qu'il envoyoit renouveler l'alliance qui du vivant du mort, avoit subsisté entre les deux pays, et que pour lui il la desiroit fort. Je la souhaite également, dit le roi.

Celui-ci demanda encore à l'ambassadeur quand étoit mort le défunt, quel âge avoit son successeur, s'il étoit sage, si son pays lui obéissoit bien; et comme à ces deux dernières questions la réponse fut un oui, il témoigna en être bien-aise.

Après ces paroles on dit à l'ambassadeur de se lever. Il obéit, et prit congé du roi, qui ne se remua pas plus à son départ qu'il ne l'avoit fait à son arrivée. En sortant il trouva devant le palais les chevaux qui l'avoient amené. On lui en fit de nouveau monter un pour le reconduire à sa demeure; mais à peine y fut-il arrivé que les huissiers d'armes se présentèrent à lui. En pareilles cérémonies, c'est la coutume qu'on leur distribue de l'argent, et il en donna.

Il alla ensuite saluer le fils aîné du roi, et lui présenter ses présens et ses lettres. Ce prince étoit, comme son père, entouré de trois personnes assises. Mais quand l'ambassadeur lui fit la révérence, il se leva, se rassit, le fit asseoir à son tour au-dessus des trois personnages. Pour nous autres qui l'accompagnions, on nous plaça bien en arrière. Moi j'avois apperçu à l'écart un banc, sur lequel j'allai me mettre sans façon; mais on vint m'en tirer, et il me fallut plier le jarret et m'accroupir à terre avec les autres. De retour à l'hôtel, nous vîmes arriver un huissier d'armes du fils, comme nous avions vu du père. On lui donna aussi de l'argent, et au reste ces gens-là se contentent de peu.

A leur tour, le roi et son fils en envoyèrent à l'ambassadeur pour sa dépense; et c'est encore là une coutume. Le premier lui fit passer cinquante aspres, le second trente. L'aspre est la monnoie du pays: il en faut cinquante pour un ducat de Venise.

Je vis le roi traverser la ville en cavalcade. C'étoit un Vendredi jour de fête pour eux, et il alloit faire sa prière. Sa garde étoit composée d'une cinquantaine de cavaliers, la plupart ses esclaves, et d'environ trente archers à pied qui l'entouroient. Il portoit une épée à sa ceinture et un tabolcan à l'arçon de sa selle, selon l'usage du pays. Lui et son fils ont été baptisés à la Grecque, pour ôter le flair (la mauvaise odeur), et l'on m'a dit même que la mère de son fils étoit chrétienne. Il en est ainsi de tous les grands, ils se font baptiser afin qu'ils ne puent point.

Ses états sont considérables; ils commencent à une journée en-de-çà de Tarse; et vont jusqu'au pays d'Amurat-Bey, cet autre karman dont j'ai parlé, et que nous appelons le grand-Turc. Dans ce sens, leur largeur est, dit-on, de vingt lieues au plus; mais ils ont seize journées de long, et je le sais, moi qui les ai traversées. Au nord-est, ils s'étendent, m'a-t-on dit, jusqu'aux frontières de Perse.

Le karman possède aussi une côte maritime qu'on nomme les Farsats. Elle se prolonge depuis Tharse jusqu'à Courco, qui est au roi de Cypre, et à un port nommé Zabari. Ce canton produit les meilleurs marins que l'on connoisse; mais ils se sont révoltés contre lui.

Le karman est un beau prince, âgé de trente-deux ans, et qui a épousé la sœur d'Amurat-Bey. Il est fort obéi dans ses états; cependant j'ai entendu des gens qui disent de lui qu'il est très-cruel, et qu'il passe peu de jours sans faire couper des nés, des pieds, des mains, ou mourir quelqu'un. Un homme est-il riche, il le condamne à mort pour s'emparer de ses biens; et j'ai ouï dire qu'il s'étoit ainsi défait des plus grands de son pays. Huit jours avant mon arrivée il en avoit fait étrangler un par des chiens. Deux jours après cette exécution il avoit fait mourir une de ses femmes, la mère même de son fils aîné, qui, quand je le vis, ne savoit rien encore de ce meurtre.

Les habitans de ce pays sont de mauvaises gens, voleurs, subtils et grands assassins. Ils se tuent les uns les autres, et la justice qu'il en fait ne les arrête point.

Je trouvai dans Cohongue Antoine Passerot, frère de ce Perrin Passerot que j'avois vu à Larande, qui tous deux accusés d'avoir voulu remettre Famagouste sous la puissance du roi de Cypre, en avoient été bannis, ainsi que je l'ai dit; et ils s'étoient retirés dans le pays du karman, l'un à Larande, l'autre à Couhongue. Mais Antoine venoit d'avoir une mauvaise aventure. Quelquefois péché aveugle les gens : on l'avoit trouvé avec une femme de la loi Mahométane; et sur l'ordre du roi, il avoit été obligé, pour échapper à la mort, de renier la foi catholique, quoiqu'il m'ait paru encore bon chrétien.

Dans nos conversations, il me conta beaucoup de particularités sur le pays, sur le caractère et le gouvernement du seigneur, et principalement sur la manière dont il avoit pris et livré Ramedang.

Le karman, me dit-il, avoit un frère qu'il chassa du pays, et qui alla se réfugier et chercher asile près du soudan. Le soudan n'osoit lui déclarer la guerre; mais il le fit prévenir que s'il ne lui livroit Ramedang, il enverroit son frère avec des troupes la lui faire. Le karman n'hésita point, et plutôt que d'avoir son frère à combattre, il fit envers son beau-frère une grande trahison. Antoine me dit aussi qu'il étoit lâche et sans courage, quoique son peuple soit le plus vaillant de la Turquie. Son vrai nom est Imbreymbas; mais on l'appelle karman, à cause qu'il est seigneur de ce pays.

Quoiqu'il soit allié au grand-Turc, puisqu'il a épousé sa sœur, il le hait fort, parce que celui-ci lui a pris une partie du Karman. Cependant il n'ose l'attaquer, vu que l'autre est trop fort; mais je suis persuadé que s'il le voyoit entrepris avec succès de notre côté, lui, du sien, ne le laisseroit pas en paix.

En traversant ses états j'ai côtoyé une autre contrée qu'on nomme Gaserie. Celle-ci confine, d'une part au Karman, et de l'autre à la Turcomanie, par les hautes montagnes qui sont vers Tharse et vers la Perse. Son seigneur est un vaillant guerrier appelé Gadiroly, lequel a sous ces ordres trente mille hommes d'armes Turcomans, et environ cent mille femmes, aussi braves et aussi bonnes pour le combat que les hommes.

Il y a là quatre seigneurs qui se font continuellement la guerre; c'est Gadiroly, Quharaynich, Quaraychust et le fils de Tamerlan, qui, m'a-t-on dit, gouverne la Perse.

Antoine m'apprit qu'en débouchant des montagnes d'Arménie par de-là Erégli, j'avois passé à demi-journée d'une ville célèbre où repose le corps de saint Basile; il m'en parla même de manière à me donner envie de la voir. Mais on me représenta si bien ce que je perdois d'advantages en me séparant de la caravane, et ce que j'allois courir de risques en m'exposant seul, que j'y renonçai.

Pour lui, il m'avoua que son dessein étoit de se rendre avec moi auprès de monseigneur le duc; qu'il ne se sentoit nulle envie d'être Sarrasin, et que s'il avoit pris quelque engagement à ce sujet, c'étoit uniquement pour éviter la mort. On vouloit le circoncire; il s'y attendoit chaque jour, et le craignoit fort. C'est un fort bel homme, âgé de trente-six ans.

Il me dit encore que les habitans font, dans leurs mosquées, des prières publiques, comme nous, dans les paroisses, nous en faisons tous les dimanches pour les princes chrétiens et pour autres objets dont nous demandons à Dieu l'accomplissement. Or une des choses qu'ils lui demandent, c'est de les préserver de la venue d'un homme tel que Godefroi de Bouillon.

Le chef de la caravane s'apprêtoit à repartir, et j'allai en conséquence prendre congé des ambassadeurs du roi de Cypre. Ils s'étoient flattés de m'emméner avec eux, et ils renouvelèrent leurs instances en m'assurant que jamais je n'acheverois mon voyage; mais je persistai. Ce fut à Couhongue que quittèrent la caravane ceux qui la composoient. Hoyarbarach n'amenoit avec lui que ses gens, sa femme, deux de ses enfans qu'il avoit conduits à la Mecque, une ou deux femmes étrangères, et moi.

Je dis adieu à mon mamelouck. Ce brave homme, qu'on appeloit Mahomet, m'avoit rendu des services sans nombre. Il étoit très-charitable, et faisoit toujours l'aumône quand on la lui demandoit au nom de Dieu. C'étoit par un motif de charité qu'il m'obligeoit, et j'avoue que sans lui je n'eusse pu achever mon voyage qu'avec de très-grandes peines, que souvent j'aurois été exposé au froid et à la faim, et fort embarrassé pour mon cheval.

En le quittant je cherchai à lui témoigner ma reconnoissance; mais il ne voulut rien accepter qu'un couvre-chef de nos toiles fines d'Europe, et cet objet parut lui faire grand plaisir. Il me raconta toutes les occasions venues à sa connoissance, où sans lui, j'aurois couru risque d'être assassiné, et me prévint d'être bien circonspect dans les liaisons que je ferois avec les Sarrasins, parce qu'il s'en trouvoit parmi eux d'aussi mauvais que les Francs. J'écris ceci pour rappeler que celui qui, par amour de Dieu, m'a fait tant de bien, étoit "ung homme hors de nostre foy."

Le pays que nous eûmes à parcourir après être sortis de Couhongue est fort beau, et il a d'assez bons villages; mais les habitans sont mauvais: le chef me défendit même, dans un des villages où nous nous arrêtâmes, de sortir de mon logement, de peur d'être assassiné. Il y a près de ce lieu un bain renommé, où plusieurs malades accourent pour chercher guérison. On y voit des maisons qui jadis appartinrent aux hospitaliers de Jérusalem, et la croix de Jérusalem s'y trouve encore.

Après trois jours de marche nous arrivâmes à une petite ville nommé Achsaray, située au pied d'une haute montagne, qui la garantit du midi. Le pays est uni, mais mal-peuplé, et les habitans passent pour méchans: aussi me fut-il encore défendu de sortir la nuit hors de la maison.

Je voyageai la journée suivante entre deux montagnes dont les cimes sont couronnées d'un peu de bois. Le canton, assez bien peuplé, l'est un partie par des Turcomans; mais il y a beaucoup d'herbages et de marais.

Là je traversai une petite rivière qui sépare ce pays de Karman d'avec l'autre Karman que possède Amurat-Bey, nommé par nous le Grand-Turc. Cette portion ressemble à la première; elle offre comme elle un pays plat, parsemé çà et là de montagnes.

Sur notre route nous côtoyâmes une ville à château, qu'on nomme Achanay. Plus loin est un beau caravanserai où nous comptions passer la nuit; mais il y avoit vingt-cinq ânes. Notre chef ne voulut pas y entrer, et il préféra retourner une lieue en arrière sur ses pas, jusqu'à un gros village où nous logeâmes, et où nous trouvâmes du pain, du fromage et du lait.

De ce lieu je vins à Karassar en deux jours. Carassar, en langue Turque, signifie pierre noire. C'est la capitale de ce pays, dont s'est emparé de force Amurat-Bey. Quoiqu'elle ne soit point fermée, elle est marchande, et a un des plus beaux châteaux que j'aie vus, quoiqu'il n'ait que de l'eau de citerne. Il occupe la cime d'une haute roche, si bien arrondie qu'on la croiroit taillée au ciseau. Au bas est la ville, qui l'entoure de trois côtés; mais elle est à son tour enveloppée, ainsi que lui, par une montagne en croissant, depuis grec jusqu'à mestre (depuis le nord-est jusqu'au nord-ouest). Dans le reste de la circonférence s'ouvre une plaine que traverse une rivière. Il y avoit peu de temps que les Grecs s'étoient emparés de ce lieu; mais ils l'avoient perdu par leur lâcheté.

On y apprête les pieds de mouton avec une perfection et une propreté que je n'ai vues nulle part. Je m'en régalai d'autant plus volontiers que depuis Couhongue je n'avois pas mangé de viande cuite. On y fait aussi, avec des noix vertes, un mets particulier. Pour cela on les pèle, on les coupe en deux, on les enfile avec une ficelle, et on les arrose de vin cuit, qui se prend tout autour et y forme une gelée comme de la colle. C'est une nourriture assez agréable, sur-tout quand on a faim. Nous fûmes obligés d'y faire une provision de pain et de fromage pour deux jours ; et je conviens que j'étois dégoûté de chair crue.

Ces deux jours furent employés à venir de Carassar à Cotthay. Le pays est beau, bien arrosé et garni de montagnes peu élevées. Nous traversâmes un bout de forêt qui me parut remarquable en ce qu'elle est composée entièrement de chênes, et que ces arbres y sont plus gros, plus droits et plus hauts que ceux que j'avois été à portée de voir jusque-là. D'ailleurs ils n'ont, comme les sapins, de branches qu'à leurs cimes.

Nous vinmes loger dans un caravanserai qui étoit éloigné de toute habitation. Nous y trouvâmes de l'orge et de la paille, et il eût été d'autant plus aisé de nous en approvisionner, qu'il n'y avoit d'autre gardien qu'un seul valet, Mais on n'a rien de semblable à craindre dans ces lieux-là, et il n'est point d'homme assez hardi pour oser y prendre une poignée de marchandise sans payer.

Sur la route est une petite rivière renommée pour son eau. Hoyarbarch alla en boire avec ses femmes ; il voulut que j'en busse aussi, et lui-même m'en présenta dans son gobelet de cuir. C'étoit la première fois de toute la route qu'il me faisoit cette faveur.

Cotthay, quoique assez considérable, n'a point de murs ; mais elle a un beau et grand château composé de trois forteresses placées l'une au-dessus de l'autre sur le penchant d'une montagne, lequel a une double enceinte. C'est dans cette place qu'étoit le fils aîné du grand-Turc.

La ville possède un caravanserai où nous allâmes loger. Déja il y avoit des Turcs, et nous fûmes obligés d'y mettre tous nos chevaux pêle-mêle, selon l'usage ; mais le lendemain matin, au moment où j'apprêtois le mien pour partir, je m'aperçus qu'on m'avoit pris l'une des courroies qui me servoit à attacher derrière ma selle le tapis et autres objets que je portois en trousse.

D'abord je criai et me fâchai beaucoup. Mais il y avoit là un esclave Turc, l'un de ceux du fils aîné, homme de poids et d'environ cinquante ans, qui, m'entendant et voyant que je ne parlois pas bien la langue, me prit par la main et me conduisit à la porte du caravanserai. Là il me demanda en Italien qui j'étois. Je fus stupéfait d'entendre ce langage dans sa bouche. Je répondis que j'etois Franc. "D'où venez-vous? ajouta-t-il.—De Damas, dans la compagnie d'Hoyarbarach, et je vais à Bourse retrouver un de mes frères.—Eh bien, vous êtes un espion, et vous venez chercher ici des renseignemens sur le pays. Si vous ne l'étiez pas, n'auriez-vous pas dû prendre la mer pou; retourner chez vous?"

Cette inculpation à laquelle je ne m'attendois pas m'interdit; je répondis cependant que les Vénitiens et les Génois se faisoient sur mer une guerre si acharnée que je n'osois m'y risquer. Il me demanda d'où j'étois. Du royaume de France, repartis-je. Etes-vous des environs de Paris? reprit-il. Je dis que non, et je lui demandai à mon tour s'il connoissoit Paris. Il me répondit qu'il y avoit été autrefois avec un capitaine nommé Bernabo. "Croyez-moi, ajouta-t-il, allez dans le caravanserai chercher votre cheval, et amenez-le moi ici; car il y a là des esclaves Albaniens qui acheveroient de vous prendre ce qu'il porte encore. Tandis que je le garderai, vous irez déjeuner, et vous ferez pour vous et pour lui une provision de cinq jours, parce que vous serez cinq journées sans rien trouver."

Je profitai du conseil; j'allai m'approvisionner, et je déjeunai avec d'autant plus de plaisir que depuis deux jours je n'avois gouté viande, et que je courois risque de n'en point tâter encore pendant cinq jours.

Sorti du caravanserai, je pris le chemin de Bourse, et laissai à gauche, entre l'occident et le midi, celui de Troie-la-Grant.* Il y a d'assez hautes montagnes, et j'en eus plusieurs à passer. J'eus aussi deux journées de forêts, après quoi je traversai une belle plaine dans laquelle il y a quelques villages assez bons pour le pays. A demi-journée de Bourse il en est un où nous trouvâmes de la viande et du raisin ; ce raisin étoit aussi frais qu'au temps des vendanges : ils savent le garder ainsi toute l'année ; c'est un secret qu'ils ont. Les Turcs m'y régalèrent de rôti ; mais il n'étoit pas cuit à moitié. A mesure que la viande se rôtissoit, nous la coupions à la broche par tranches. Nous eûmes aussi du kaymac;

---

* L'auteur, en donnant ici à la fameuse Troie la dénomination de grande, ne fait que suivre l'usage de son siècle. Les historiens et les romanciers du temps la désignoient toujours ainsi, "histoire de Troye-la-Grant," "destruction de Troie-la-Grant," etc.

c'est de la crême de buffle. Elle étoit si bonne et si douce, et j'en mangeai tant que je manquai d'en crever.

Avant d'entrer dans le village nous vîmes venir à nous un Turc de Bourse qui étoit envoyé à l'épouse de Hoyarbarach pour lui annoncer la mort de son père. Elle témoigna une grande douleur, et ce fut à cette occasion que s'étant découvert le visage, j'eus le plaisir de la voir; ce qui ne m'étoit pas encore arrivé de toute la route. C'étoit une fort belle femme.

Il y avoit dans le lieu un esclave Bulgare renégat, qui, par affectation de zèle et pour se montrer bon Sarrasin, reprocha aux Turcs de la caravane de me laisser aller dans leur compagnie, et dit que c'étoit un péché à eux qui revenoient du saint pélerinage de la Mecque: en conséquence ils me notifièrent qu'il falloit nous séparer, et je fus obligé de me rendre à Bourse.

Je partis donc le lendemain, une heure avant le jour, avec l'aide de Dieu qui jusque-là m'avoit conduit; il me guida encore si bien que dans la route je ne demandai mon chemin qu'une seule fois.

En entrant dans la ville je vis beaucoup de gens qui en sortoient pour aller au-devant de la caravane. Tel est l'usage: les plus notables s'en font un devoir; c'est une fête. Il y en eut même plusieurs qui, me croyant un des pélerins, me baisèrent les mains et la robe.

En y entrant je me vis embarrassé, parce que d'abord on trouve une place qui s'ouvre par quatre rues, et que je ne savois laquelle prendre. Dieu me fir encore choisir la bonne, laquelle me conduisit au bazar, où sont les marchandises et les marchands. Je m'adressai au premier chrétien que j'y vis, et ce chrétien se trouva heureusement un des espinolis de Gênes, celui-là même pour qui Parvésin de Baruth m'avoit donné des lettres. Il fut fort étonné de me voir, et me conduisit chez un Florentin où je logeai avec mon cheval. J'y restai dix jours, temps que j'employai à parcourir la ville, conduit par les marchands, qui se firent un plaisir de me mener par-tout eux-mêmes.

De toutes celles que possède le Turc, c'est la plus considérable; elle est grande, marchande, et située au pied et au nord du mont Olimpoa (Olympe), d'où descend une rivière qui la traverse et qui, se divisant en plusieurs bras, forme comme un amas de petites villes, et contribue à la faire paroître plus grande encore.

C'est à Burse que sont inhumées les seigneurs de Turquie (les sultans). On y voit de beaux édifices, et surtout un grand nombre d'hôpitaux, parmi lesquels il y en a quatre où l'on distribue souvent du pain, du vin et de la viande aux pauvres, qui veulent les prendre pour Dieu. A l'une des extrémités de la ville, vers le ponent, est un beau et vaste château bâti sur une hauteur, et qui peut bien renfermer mille maisons. Là est aussi le palais du seigneur, palais qu'on m'a dit être intérieurement un lieu très-agréable, et qui a un jardin avec un joli étang. Le prince avoit alors cinquante femmes, et souvent, dit-on, il va sur l'étang s'amuser en bateau avec quelqu'une d'elles.

Burse étoit aussi le séjour de Camusat Bayschat (pacha), seigneur, ou, comme nous autres nous dirions, gouverneur et lieutenant de la Turquie. C'est un très-vaillant homme, le plus entreprenant qu'ait le Turc, et le plus habile à conduire sagement une enterprise. Aussi sont-ce principalement ces qualités qui lui ont fait donner ce gouvernement.

Je demandai s'il tenoit bien le pays et s'il savoit se faire obéir. On me dit qu'il y étoit obéi et respecté comme Amurat lui-même, qu'il avoit pour appointemens cinquante mille ducats par an, et que, quand le Turc entroit en guerre, il lui menoit à ses dépens vingt mille hommes ; mais que lui, de son côté, il avoit également ses pensionnaires qui, dans ce cas, étoient tenus de lui fournir à leurs frais, l'un mille hommes, l'autre deux mille, l'autre trois, et ainsi des autres.

Il y a dans Burse deux bazars ; l'un où l'on vend des étoffes de soie de toute espèce, de riches et belles pierreries, grande quantité de perles, et à bon marché, des toiles de coton, ainsi qu'une infinité d'autres marchandises dont l'énumération seroit trop longue ; l'autre où l'on achète du coton et du savon blanc, qui fait là un gros objet de commerce.

Je vis aussi dans une halle un spectacle lamentable : c'étoient des chrétiens, hommes et femmes, que l'on vendoit. L'usage est de les faire asseoir sur les bancs. Celui qui veut les acheter ne voit d'eux que le visage et les mains, et un peu le bras des femmes. A Damas j'avois vu vendre une fille noire, de quinze à seize ans ; on la menoit au long des rues toute nue, "fors que le ventre et le derrière, et ung pou au desoubs."

C'est à Burse que, pour la première fois, je mangeai du caviare* à l'huile d'olive. Cette nouriture n'est guère bonne que pour des Grecs, ou quand on n'a rien de mieux.

---

* Caviaire, caviar, cavial, caviat, sorte de ragoût ou de mets composé d'œufs d'esturgeons qu'on a saupoudrés de sel et séchés au soleil. Les Grecs en font une grande consommation dans leurs différens carêmes.

Quelques jours après qu'Hoyarbarach fut arrivé j'allai prendre congé de lui et le remercier des moyens qu'il m'avoit procurés de faire mon voyage. Je le trouvai au bazar, assis sur un haut siége de pierre avec plusieurs des plus notables de la ville. Les marchands s'étoient joints à moi dans cette visite.

Quelques-uns d'entre eux, Florentins de nation, s'intéressoient à un Espagnol qui, après avoir été esclave du soudan, avoit trouvé le moyen de s'échapper d'Egypte et d'arriver jusqu'à Burse. Ils me prièrent de l'emmener avec moi. Je le conduisis à mes frais jusqu'à Constantinople, où je le laissai ; mais je suis persuadé que c'étoit un renégat. Je n'en ai point eu de nouvelles depuis.

Trois Génois avoient acheté des épices aux gens de la caravane, et ils se proposoient d'aller les vendre à Père (Péra), près de Constantinople, par-delà le détroit que nous appelons le Bras-de-Saint-George. Moi qui voulois profiter par leur compagnie, j'attendis leur départ, et c'est la raison qui me fit rester dans Burse ; car, à moins d'être connu, l'on n'obtient point de passer le détroit. Dans cette vue ils me procurèrent une lettre du gouverneur. Je l'emportai avec moi ; mais elle ne me servit point, parce que je trouvai moyen de passer avec eux. Nous partîmes ensemble. Cependant ils m'avoient fait acheter pour ma sûreté un chapeau rouge fort élevé, avec une huvette * en fil d'archal, que je portai jusqu'à Constantinople.

Au sortir de Burse nous traversâmes vers le nord une plaine qu'arrose une rivière profonde qui va se jetter, quatre lieues environ plus bas, dans le golfe, entre Constantinople et Galipoly. Nous eûmes une journée de montagnes, que des bois et un terrain argileux rendirent très-pénible. Là est un petit arbre qui porte un fruit un peu plus gros que nos plus fortes cerises, et qui a la forme et le goût de nos fraises, quoiqu'un peu aigrelet. Il est fort agréable à manger ; mais si on en mange une certaine quantité, il porte à la tête et enivre. On le trouve en Novembre et Décembre.†

Du haut de la montagne on voit le golfe de Galipoly. Quand on l'a descendu on entre dans une vallée terminée par un très-grand lac, autour duquel sont construites beaucoup de maisons. C'est là que j'ai vu pour la première fois faire des tapis de

---

* Huvette, sorte d'ornement qu'on mettoit au chapeau.

† La description de l'auteur annonce qu'il s'agit ici de l'arbousier.

Turquie. Je passai la nuit dans la vallée. Elle produit beaucoup de riz.

Au-delà on trouve, tantôt un pays de montagnes et de vallées, tantôt un pays d'herbages, puis une haute forêt qu'il seroit impossible de traverser sans guide, et où les chevaux enfoncent si fort qu'ils ont grande peine à s'en tirer. Pour moi je crois que c'est celle dont il est parlé dans l'histoire de Godefroi de Bouillon, et qu'il eut tant de difficulté à traverser.

Je passai la nuit par-delà, dans un village qui est à quatre lieues en-deçà de Nichomède (Nichomédie). Nichomédie est une grande ville avec havre. Ce havre, appelé le Lenguo, part du golfe de Constantinople et s'étend jusqu'à la ville, où il a de largeur un trait d'arc. Tout ce pays est d'un passage très-difficultueux.

Par-delà Nicomédie, en tirant vers Constantinople, il devient très-beau et assez bon. Là on trouve plus de Grecs que de Turcs; mais ces Grecs ont pour les chrétiens (pour les Latins) plus d'aversion encore que les Turcs eux-mêmes.

Je côtoyai le golfe de Constantinople, et laissant le chemin de Nique (Nicée), ville située au nord, près de la mer Noire, je vins loger successivement dans un village en ruine, et qui n'a pour habitans que des Grecs; puis dans un autre près de Scutari; enfin à Scutari même, sur le détroit, vis-à-vis de Péra.

Là sont des Turcs auxquels il faut payer un droit, et qui gardent le passage. Il y a des roches qui le rendroient très aisé à défendre si on vouloit le fortifier. Hommes et chevaux peuvent s'y embarquer et débarquer aisément. Nous passâmes, mes compagnons et moi, sur deux vaisseaux Grecs.

Ceux à qui appartenoit celui que je montois me prirent pour Turc, et me rendirent de grands honneurs. Mais quand ils m'eurent descendu à terre, et qu'ils me virent, en entrant dans Péra, laisser à la porte mon cheval en garde, et demander un marchand Génois nommé Christophe Parvesin, pour qui j'avois des lettres, ils se doutèrent que j'étois chrétien. Deux d'entre eux alors m'attendirent à la porte, et quand je vins y reprendre mon cheval ils me demandèrent plus que ce que j'étois convenu de leur donner pour mon passage, et voulurent me rançonner. Je crois même qu'ils m'auroient battu s'ils l'avoient osé; mais j'avois mon épée et mon bon tarquais: d'ailleurs un cordonnier Génois qui demeuroit près de là vint à mon aide, et ils furent obligés de se retirer.

J'écris ceci pour servir d'avertissement aux voyageurs qui, comme moi, auroient affaire à des Grecs. Tous ceux avec qui j'ai eu à traiter ne m'ont laissé que de la défiance. J'ai trouvé plus de loyauté en Turquie. Ce peuple n'aime point les chrétiens qui obéissent à l'église de Rome; la soumission qu'il a faite depuis à cette église étoit plus intéressée que sincère*. Aussi m'a-t-on dit que, peu avant mon passage, le pape, dans un concile général, les avoit déclarés schismatiques et maudits, en les dévouant à être esclaves de ceux qui étoient esclaves †.

Péra est une grande ville habitée par des Grecs, par des Juifs et par des Génois. Ceux-ci en sont les maîtres sous le duc de Milan, qui s'en dit le seigneur; ils y ont un podestat et d'autres officiers qui la gouvernent à leur manière. On y fait un grand commerce avec les Turcs; mais les Turcs y jouissent d'un droit de franchise singulier: c'est que si un de leurs esclaves s'échappe et vient y chercher un asile, on est obligé de le leur rendre. Le port est le plus beau de tous ceux que j'ai vus, et même de tous ceux, je crois, que possèdent les chrétiens, puisque les plus grosses caraques Génoises peuvent venir y mettre échelle à terre. Mais comme tout le monde sait cela, je m'abstiens d'en parler. Cependant il m'a semblé que du côté de la terre, vers l'église qui est dans le voisinage de la porte, à l'extrémité du havre, il y a un endroit foible.

Je trouvai à Péra un ambassadeur du duc de Milan, qu'on appeloit messire Benedicto de Fourlino. Le duc, qui avoit besoin de l'appui de l'empereur Sigismond contre les Vénitiens, et qui voyoit Sigismond embarrassé à défendre des Turcs son royaume de Hongrie, envoyoit vers Amurat une ambassade pour négocier un accommodement entre les deux princes.

---

* En 1438, Jean Paléologue II vint en Italie pour réunir l'église Grecque avec la Latine, et la réunion eut lieu l'année suivante au concile de Florence. Mais cette démarche n'étoit de la part de l'empereur, ainsi que le remarque la Brocquière, qu'une opération politique dictée par l'intérêt, et qui n'eut aucune suite. Ses états se trouvoient dans une situation si déplorable, et il étoit tellement pressé par les Turcs, qu'il cherchoit à se procurer le secours des Latins; et c'est dans cet espoir qu'il étoit venu leurrer le pape. Cette époque de 1438 est remarquable pour notre voyage. Elle prouve que la Brocquière, puisqu'il la cite, le publia postérieurement à cette année-là.

† Fait faux. Le concile général qui eut lieu peu avant le passage de l'auteur par Constantinople est celui de Bâle en 1431. Or, loin d'y maudire et anathématiser les Grecs, on s'y occupa de leur réunion. Cette prétendue malédiction étoit sans doute un bruit que faisoient courir dans Constantinople ceux qui ne vouloient pas de rapprochement, et le voyageur le fait entendre par cette expression, l'on m'a dit.

Messire Benedicto me fit, en l'honneur de monseigneur de Bourgogne, beaucoup d'accueil ; il me conta même que, pour porter dommage aux Vénitiens, il avoit contribué à leur faire perdre Salonique, prise sur eux par les Turcs ; et certes en cela il fit d'autant plus mal que depuis j'ai vu des habitans de cette ville renier Jésus-Christ pour embrasser la loi de Mahomet.

Il y avoit aussi à Péra un Napolitain nommé Piètre de Naples, avec qui je me liai. Celui-ci se disoit marié dans la terre du prêtre Jean, et il fit des efforts pour m'y emmener avec lui. Au reste, comme je le questionnai beaucoup sur ce pays, il m'en conta bien des choses que je vais écrire. J'ignore s'il me dit vérité ou non, mais je ne garantis rien.

Nota. La manière dont notre voyageur annonce ici la relation du Napolitain, annonce combien peu il y croyoit ; et en cela le bon sens qu'il a montré jusqu'à présent ne se dément pas. Ce récit n'est en effet qu'un amas de fables absurdes et de merveilles révoltantes qui ne méritent pas d'être citées, quoiqu'on les trouve également dans certains auteurs du temps. Laissons l'auteur reprendre son discours.

Deux jours après mon arrivée à Péra je traversai le havre pour aller à Constantinople et visiter cette ville.

C'est une grande et spacieuse cité, qui a la forme d'un triangle. L'un des côtés regarde le détroit que nous appelons le Bras-de-Saint-George ; l'autre a au midi un gouffre (golfe) assez large, qui se prolonge jusqu'à Galipoly. Au nord est le port.

Il existe sur la terre, dit-on, trois grandes villes dont chacune renferme sept montagnes ; c'est Rome, Constantinople et Antioche. Selon moi, Rome est plus grande et plus arrondie que Constantinople. Pour Antioche, comme je ne l'ai vue qu'en passant, je ne puis rien dire sur sa grandeur ; cependant ses montagnes m'ont paru plus hautes que celles des deux autres.

On donne à Constantinople, dans son triangle, dix-huit milles de tour, dont un tiers est situé du côté de terre, vers le couchant. Elle a une bonne enceinte de murailles, et surtout dans la partie qui regarde la terre. Cette portion, qu'on dit avoir six milles d'une pointe à l'autre, a en outre un fossé profond qui est en glacis, excepté dans un espace de deux cents pas, à l'une de ses extrémités, près du palais appelé la Blaquerne ; on assure même que les Turcs ont failli prendre la ville par cet endroit foible

Quinze ou vingt pieds en avant du fossé est une fausse braie d'un bon et haut mur.

Aux deux extrémités de ce côté il y avoit autrefois deux beaux palais qui, si l'on en juge par les ruines et les restes qui en subsistent encore, étoient très-forts. On m'a conté qu'ils ont été abattus par un empereur dans une circonstance où, prisonnier du Turc, il courut risque de la vie. Celui-ci exigeoit qu'il lui livrât Constantinople, et, en cas de refus, il menaçoit de le faire mourir. L'autre répondit qu'il préféroit la mort à la honte d'affliger la chrétienté par un si grand malheur, et qu'après tout sa perte ne seroit rien en comparaison de celle de la ville. Quand le Turc vit qu'il n'avanceroit rien par cette voie, il lui proposa la liberté, à condition que la place qui est devant Sainte-Sophie seroit abattue, ainsi que les deux palais. Son projet étoit d'affoiblir ainsi la ville, afin d'avoir moins de peine à la prendre. L'empereur consentit à la proposition, et la preuve en existe encore aujourd'hui.

Constantinople est formée de diverses parties séparées ; de sorte qu'il y a plus de vide que de plein. Les plus grosses caraques peuvent venir mouiller sous ses murs, comme à Péra ; elle a en outre dans son intérieur un petit havre qui peut contenir trois ou quatre galères. Il est au midi, près d'une porte où l'on voit une butte composée d'os de chrétiens qui, après la conquête de Jérusalem et d'Acre, par Godefroi de Bouillion, revenoient par le détroit. A mesure que les Grecs les passoient, ils les conduisoient dans cette place, qui est éloignée et cachée, et les y égorgeoient. Tous quoiqu'en très-grand nombre, auroient péri ainsi, sans un page qui, ayant trouvé moyen de repasser en Asie, les avertit du danger qui les menaçoit : ils se répandirent le long de la mer Noire, et c'est d'eux, à ce qu'on prétend, que descendent ces peuples gros chretiens (d'un christianisme grossier) qui habitent là : Circassiens, Migrelins, (Mingreliens), Ziques, Gothlans et Anangats. Au reste, comme ce fait est ancien, je n'en sais rien que par ouï-dire.

Quoique la ville ait beaucoup de belles églises, la plus remarquable, ainsi que la principale, est celle de Sainte-Sophie, où le patriarche se tient, et autres gens comme chanonnes (chanoines). Elle est de forme ronde, située près de la pointe orientale, et formée de trois parties diverses ; l'une souterraine, l'autre hors de terre, la troisième supérieure à celle-ci. Jadis elle étoit entourée de cloîtres, et avoit, dit-on, trois milles de circuit ;

aujourd'hui elle est moins étendue, et n'a plus que trois cloîtres, qui tous trois sont pavés et revêtus en larges carreaux de marbre blanc, et ornés de grosses colonnes de diverses couleurs.* Les portes, remarquables par leur largeur et leur hauteur, sont d'airain.

Cette église possède, dit-on, l'une des robes de Notre-Seigneur, le fer de la lance qui le perça, l'éponge dont il fut abreuvé, et le roseau qu'on lui mit en main. Moi je dirai que derrière le chœur on m'a montré les grandes bandes du gril où fut rôti Saint-Laurent, et une large pierre en forme de lavoir, sur laquelle Abraham fit manger, dit-on, les trois anges qui alloient détruire Sodome et Gomorre.

J'étois curieux de savoir comment les Grecs célébroient le service divin, et en conséquence je me rendis à Sainte-Sophie un jour où le patriarche officioit. L'empereur y assistoit avec sa femme, sa mère et son frère, despote de Morée.† On y représenta un mystère, dont le sujet étoit les trois enfans que Nabuchodonosor fit jeter dans la fournaise.‡

L'impératrice, fille de l'empereur de Traséonde (Trébisonde), me parut une fort belle personne. Cependant, comme je ne pouvois la voir que de loin, je voulus la considérer de plus près: d'ailleurs j'étois curieux de savoir comment elle montoit à cheval; car elle étoit venue ainsi à l'église, accompagnée seulement de deux dames, de trois vieillards, ministres d'état, et de trois de ces hommes à qui les Turcs confient la garde de leurs femmes (trois eunuques). Au sortir de Sainte-Sophie elle entra dans un hôtel voisin pour y dîner; ce qui m'obligea d'attendre là qu'elle sortît, et par conséquent de passer toute la journée sans boire ni manger.

Elle parut enfin. On lui apporta un banc sur lequel elle monta. On fit approcher du banc son cheval, qui étoit superbe et couvert d'une selle magnifique. Alors un des veillards prit le long manteau qu'elle portoit, et passa de l'autre côté du cheval, en le tenant étendu sur ses mains aussi haut qu'il pouvoit. Pendent ce temps elle mit le pied sur l'étrier, elle enfourcha le cheval comme le font les hommes, et dès qu'elle fut en selle le vieillard lui jeta le manteau sur les épaules; après quoi il lui donna un de ces chapeaux longs, à pointe, usités en Grèce, et vers l'extrémité duquel étoient trois plumes d'or qui lui séyoient très-bien.

---

* Deux de ces galeries ou portiques, que l'auteur appelle cloîtres, subsistent encore aujourd'hui, ainsi que les colonnes. Celles-ci sont de matières différentes, porphyre, marbre, granit, etc.; et voilà pourquoi le voyageur, qui n'étoit pas naturaliste, les représente comme étant de couleurs diverses.

† Cet empereur étoit Jean Paléologue II; son frère, Démétrius, despote ou prince du Péloponnèse; sa mère, Irène, fille de Constantin Dragasès, souverain d'une petite contrée de la Macédoine; sa femme, Marie Comnène, fille d'Alexis, empereur de Trébisonde.

‡ Ces farces dévotes étoient d'usage alors dans l'église Grecque, ainsi que dans la Latine. En France on les appeloit mystères, et c'est le nom que le voyageur donne à celle qu'il vit dans Sainte-Sophie.

J'étois si près d'elle qu'on me dit de m'éloigner: ainsi je pus la voir parfaitement. Elle avoit aux oreilles un fermail (anneau) large et plat, orné de plusieurs pierres précieuses, et particulièrement de rubis. Elle me parut jeune, blanche, et plus belle encore que dans l'église; en un mot, je n'y eusse trouvé rien à redire si son visage n'avoit été peint, et assurément elle n'en avoit pas besoin.

Les deux dames montèrent à cheval en même temps qu'elle; elles étoient belles aussi, et portoient comme elle manteau et chapeau. La troupe retourna au palais de la Blaquerne.

Au-devant de Sainte-Sophie est une belle et immense place, entourée de murs comme un palais, et où jadis on faisoit des jeux.* J'y vis le frère de l'empereur, despote de Morée, s'exercer avec une vingtaine d'autres cavaliers. Chacun d'eux avoit un arc: ils couroient à cheval le long de l'enceinte, jetoient leurs chapeaux en avant; puis, quand ils l'avoient dépassé, ils tiroient par derrière, comme pour le percer, et celui d'entre eux dont la flèche atteignoit le chapeau de plus près étoit réputé le plus habile. C'est-là un exercice qu'ils ont adopté des Turcs, et c'est un de ceux auxquels ils cherchent à se rendre habiles.

De ce côté, près de la pointe de l'angle, est la belle église de Saint-George, qui a, en face de la Turquie†, une tour à l'endroit où le passage est le plus étroit.

De l'autre côté, à l'occident, se voit une très-haute colonne carrée portant des caractères tracés, et sur laquelle est une statue de Constantin, en bronze. Il tient un sceptre de la main gauche, et a le bras droit et la main étendus vers la Turquie et le chemin de Jérusalem, comme pour marquer que tout ce pays étoit sous sa loi.

---

* L'hippodrome Grec, aujourd'hui l'atméïdan des Turcs.

† Il s'agit ici de la Turquie d'Asie. On n'avoit point encore donné ce nom aux provinces que les Turcs possédoient en Europe.

Près de cette colonne il y en a trois autres, placées sur une même ligne, et d'un seul morceau chacun. Celles-ci portoient trois chevaux dorés qui sont maintenant à Venise.*

Dans la jolie église de Panthéacrator, occupée par des religieux caloyers, qui sont ce que nous appellerions en France moines de l'Observance, on montre une pierre ou table de diverses couleurs que Nicodème avoit fait tailler pour placer sur son tombeau, et qui lui servit à poser le corps de Notre-Seigneur quand il le descendit de la croix. Pendant ce temps la Vierge pleuroit sur le corps; mais ses larmes, au lieu d'y rester, tombèrent toutes sur la pierre, et on les y voit toutes encore. D'abord je crus que c'étoient des gouttes de cire, et j'y portai la main pour les tâter; je me baissai ensuite, afin de la regarder horizontalement et à contre-jour, et me sembla que c'estoient gouttes d'eau engellées. C'est là une chose que plusieurs personnes ont pu voir comme moi.

Dans la même église sont les tombeaux de Constantin et de sainte Hèléne sa mère, placés chacun à la hauteur d'environ huit pieds, sur une colonne qui se termine comme un diamant pointu à quatre faces. On dit que les Vénitiens, pendant qu'ils eurent à Constantinople une grande puissance, tirèrent du tombeau de sainte Hélène son corps, qu'ils emportèrent à Venise, où il est encore tout entier. Ils tentèrent, dit-on, la même chose pour celui de Constantin, mais ils ne purent en venir à bout; et le fait est assez vraisemblable, puisqu'on y voit encore deux gros morceaux brisés à l'endroit qu'on vouloit rompre. Les deux tombeaux sont couleur de jaspre sur le vermeil, comme une brique (de jaspe rouge).

On montre dans l'église de Sainte-Apostole un tronçon de la colonne à laquelle fut attaché Notre-Seigneur pour être battu de verges chez Pilate. Ce morceau, plus grand que la hauteur d'un homme, est de la même pierre que deux autres que j'ai vus, l'une à Rome, l'autre à Jérusalem ; mais ce dernier excède en grandeur les deux autres ensemble.

Il y a encore dans la même église, et dans des cercueils de bois, plusieurs corps saints qui sont entiers : les voit qui veut. L'un d'eux avoit eu la tête coupée ; on lui en a mis une d'un autre saint. Au reste les Grecs ne portent point à ces reliques le même respect que nous. Il en est de même pour la pierre de Nichodème et la colonne de Notre-Seigneur : celle-ci est seulement couverte d'une enveloppe en planches, et posée debout près d'un pilier, à main droite quand on entre dans l'église par la porte de devant.

---

* Ils sont maintenant à Paris, et il y en a quatre.

Parmi les belles églises je citerai encore comme une des plus remarquables celle qu'on nomme la Blaquerne, parce qu'elle est près du palais impérial, et qui, quoique petite et mal couverte, a des peintures avec pavé et revêtemens en marbre. Je ne doute pas qu'il n'y en ait plusieurs autres également dignes d'être vantées; mais je n'ai pu les visiter toutes. Les marchands (marchands Latins) en ont une où tous les jours on dit la messe à la romaine. Celle-ci est vis-à-vis le passage de Péra.

La ville a des marchands de plusieurs nations ; mais aucune n'y est aussi puissante que les Vénitiens. Ils y ont un baïlle (baile) qui connoît seul de toutes leurs affaires, et ne dépend ni de l'empereur ni de ses officiers. C'est-là un privilège qu'ils possèdent depuis longtemps* : on dit même que par deux fois ils ont, avec leurs galéres, sauvé des Turcs la ville ; pour moi je croy que Dieu l'a plus gardée pour les saintes reliques qui sont dedans que pour autre chose.

Le Turc y entretient aussi un officier pour le commerce qu'y font ses sujets, et cet officier est, de même que le baile, indépendant de l'empereur ; ils y ont même le droit, quand un de leurs esclaves s'échappe et s'y réfugie, de le redemander, et l'empereur est obligé de le leur rendre.

Ce prince est dans une grande sujétion du Turc, puisque annuellement il lui paie, m'a-t-on dit, un tribut de dix mille ducats ; et cette somme est uniquement pour Constantinople : car au-delà de cette ville il ne possède rien qu'un château situé à trois lieues vers le nord, et en Grèce une petite cité nommée Salubrie.

J'étois logé chez un marchand Catalan. Cet homme ayant dit à l'un des gens du palais que j'étois à monseigneur de Bourgogne, l'empereur me fit demander s'il étoit vrai que le duc eût pris la pucelle, ce que les Grecs ne pouvoient croire.† Je leur en dys la vérité tout ainsi que la chose avoit esté; de quoy ils furent bien esmerveilliés.

---

* Depuis la conquête de l'empire d'Orient par les Latins, en 1204, conquête à laqnelle les Vénitiens avoient contribué en grande partie.

† La pucelle d'Orléans, après avoir combattu avec gloire les Anglais et le duc de Bourgogne ligués contre la France, avoit été faite prisonnière en 1430, par un officier de Jean de Luxembourg, général des troupes du duc, puis

Le jour de la Chandeleur, les marchands me prévinrent que, l'après-dînée, il devoit y avoir au palais un office solennel pareil à celui que nous faisons ce jour-là; et ils m'y conduisirent. L'empereur étoit à l'extrémité d'une salle, assis sur une couche (un coussin): l'impératrice vit la cérémonie d'une pièce supérieure; et sont les chappellains qui chantent l'office, estrangnement vestus et habilliés, et chantent par cuer, selon leurs dois.

Quelques jours après, on me mena voir également une fête qui avoit lieu pour le mariage d'un des parens de l'empereur. Il y eut une joute à la manière du pays, et cette joute me parut bien étrange. La voici:

Au milieu d'une place on avoit planté, en guise de quintaine, un grand pieu auquel étoit attachée une planche large de trois pieds, sur cinq de long. Une quarantaine de cavaliers arrivèrent sur le lieu sans aucune pièce quelconque d'armure, et sans autre arme qu'un petit bâton.

D'abord ils s'amusèrent à courir les uns après les autres, et cette manœuvre dura environ une demi-heure. On apporta ensuite soixante à quatre-vingts perches d'aune, telles et plus longues encore que celles dont nous nous servons pour les couvertures de nos toits en chaume. Le marié en prit une le premier, et il courut ventre à terre vers la planche, pour l'y briser. Elle plioit et branloit dans sa main; aussi la rompit-il sans effort. Alors s'élevèrent des cris de joie, et les instrumens de musique, qui étoient des nacaires, comme chez les Turcs, se firent entendre. Chacun des autres cavaliers vint de même prendre sa perche et la rompre. Enfin le marié en fit lier ensemble deux, qui à la vérité n'étoient pas trop fortes, et il les brisa encore sans se blesser.* Ainsi finit

---

vendue par Jean aux Anglais, qui la firent brûler vive l'année suivante. Cette vengeance atroce avoit retenti dans toute l'Europe. A Constantinople le bruit public l'attribuoit au duc; mais les Grecs ne pouvoient croire qu'un prince chrétien eût été capable d'un pareille horreur, et leur sembloit, dit l'auteur, que c'estoit une chose impossible.

* La Brocquière devoit trouver ces joutes ridicules, parce qu'il étoit accoutumé aux tournois de France, où des chevaliers tout couverts de fer se battoient avec des épées, des lances, des massues, et où très-fréquemment il y avoit des hommes tués, blessés ou écrasés sous les pieds des chevaux. C'est ce qui lui fait dire par deux fois que dans la joute des perches il n'y eut personne de blessé.

la fête, et chacun retourna chez soi sain et sauf. L'empereur et son épouse étoient à une fenêtre pour la voir.

Je m'étois proposé de partir avec ce messire Bénédict de Fourlino, qui, comme je l'ai dit, étoit envoyé en ambassade vers le Turc par le duc de Milan. Il avoit avec lui un gentilhomme du duc, nommé Jean Visconti, sept autres personnes, et dix chevaux de suite, parce que, quand on voyage en Grèce, il faut porter sans exception tout ce dont on peut avoir besoin.

Je sortis de Constantinople le 23 Janvier 1433, et traversai d'abord Rigory, passage jadis assez fort, et formé par une vallée dans laquelle s'avance un bras de mer qui peut bien avoir vingt milles de longueur. Il y avoit une tour que les Turcs ont abattue. Il y reste un pont, une chaussée et un village de Grecs. Pour arriver à Constantinople par terre on n'a que ce passage, et un autre un peu plus bas que celui-ci, plus fort encore, et sur une rivière qui vient là se jeter dans la mer.

De Rigory j'allai à Thiras, habité pareillement par des Grecs, jadis bonne ville, et passage aussi fort que le précédent, parce qu'il est formé de même par la mer. A chaque bout du pont étoit une grosse tour. La tour et la ville, tout a été détruit par les Turcs.

De Thiras je me rendis à Salubrie. Cette ville, située à deux journées de Constantinople, a un petit port sur le golfe, qui s'étend depuis ce dernier lieu jusqu'à Galipoly. Les Turcs n'ont pu la prendre, quoique du côté de la mer elle ne soit pas forte. Elle appartient à l'empereur, ainsi que le pays jusque-là; mais ce pays, tout ruiné, n'a que des villages pauvres.

De là je vins à Chourleu, jadis considérable, détruit par les Turcs et peuplé de Turcs et de Grecs;

De Chourleu à Mistério, petite place fermée: il n'y a que des Grecs, avec un seul Turc à qui son prince l'a donnée;

De Mistério à Pirgasy, où il ne demeure que des Turcs, et dont les murs sont abattus;

De Pirgasy à Zambry, également détruite;

De Zambry à Andrenopoly (Andrinople), grande ville marchande, bien peuplée, et située sur une très-grosse rivière qu'on nomme la Marisce, à six journées de Constantinople. C'est la plus forte de toutes celles que le Turc possède dans la Grèce, et c'est celle qu'il habite le plus volontiers. Le seigneur ou lieutenant de Grèce (le gouverneur) y fait aussi son séjour, et l'on y trouve plusieurs marchands Vénitiens, Catalans, Génois et Florentins. Depuis Constantinople jusque là, le pays est bon, bien arrosé, mais mal peuplé; il a des vallées fertiles, et produit de tout, excepté du bois.

Le Turc étoit à Lessère, grosse ville en Pyrrhe, près du lieu de Thessalie où se livra la bataille entre César et Pompée, et messire Benedicto prit cette route pour se rendre auprès de lui. Nous passâmes la Marisce en bateaux, et rencontrâmes, a peu de distance, cinquante de ses femmes, accompagnées d'environ seize eunuques, qui nous apprirent qu'ils les conduisoient à Andrinople, où lui-même se proposoit de venir bientôt.

J'allaià Dymodique, bonne ville, fermée d'une double enceinte de murailles. Elle est fortifiée d'un côté par une rivière, et de l'autre par un grand et fort château construit sur une hauteur presque ronde, et qui, dans son circuit, peut bien renfermer trois cents maisons. Le château a un donjon où le Turc, m'a-t-on dit, tient son trésor.

De Dymodique je me rendis à Ypsala, assez grande ville, mais totalement détruite, et où je passai la Marisce une seconde fois.* Elle est à deux journées d'Andrinople. Le pays, dans tout cet espace, est marécageux et difficile pour les chevaux.

Ayne, au-delà d'Ypsala, est sur la mer, à l'embouchure de la Marisce, qui a bien en cet endroit deux milles de large. Au tems de Troye-la-Grant, ce fut une puissante cité, qui avoit son roi: maintenant elle a pour seigneur le frère du seigneur de Matelin, qui est tributaire du Turc.

Sur une butte ronde on y voit un tombeau qu'on dit être celui de Polydore, le plus jeune des fils de Priam. Le père, pendant le siége de Troie, avoit envoyé son fils au roi d'Ayne, avec de grands trésors; mais, après la destruction de la ville, le roi, tant par crainte des Grecs que par convoitise des trésors, fit mourir le jeune prince.

A Ayne je passai la Marisce sur un gros bâtiment, et me rendis à Macry, autre ville maritime à l'occident de la première, et habitée de Turcs et de Grecs. Elle est près de l'ile de Samandra, qui appartient au seigneur d'Ayne, et elle paroit avoir été autrefois très-considérable; maintenant tout y est en ruines, à l'exception d'une partie du château.

---

* Ici le copiste écrit la Marescе, plus haut il avoit mis Maresche, et plus haut encore Marisce. Ces variations d'orthographe sont infiniment communes dans nos manuscrits, et souvent d'une phrase à l'autre. J'en ai fait la remarque dans mon discours préliminaire.

Caumissin, qu'on trouve ensuite après avoir traversé une montagne, a de bons murs, qui la rendent assez forte, quoique petite. Elle est sur un ruisseau, en beau et plat pays, fermé par d'autres montagnes à l'occident, et ce pays s'étend, dans un espace de cinq à six journées, jusqu'à Lessère.

Missy fut également et forte et bien close ; mais une partie de ses murs sont abattus ; tout y a été détruit, et elle n'a point d'habitans.

Péritoq, ville ancienne et autrefois considérable, est sur un golfe qui s'avance dans les terres d'environ quarante milles, et qui part de Monte-Santo, où sont tant de caloyers. Elle a des Grecs pour habitans, et pour défense de bonnes murailles, qui cependant sont entamées par de grandes brêches. De là, pour aller à Lessère, le chemin est une grande plaine. C'est près de Lessère, dit-on, que se livra la grande bataille de Thessale (de Pharsale).

Je n'allai point jusqu'à cette dernière ville. Instruits que le Turc étoit en route, nous l'attendîmes à Yamgbatsar, village construit par ses sujets. Il n'arriva que le troisième jour. Son escorte, quand il marchoit, étoit de quatre à cinq cents chevaux ; mais comme il aimoit passionnément la chasse au vol, la plus grande partie de cette tronpe étoit composée de fauconniers et d'ostriciers (autoursiers), gens dont il faisoit un grand cas, et dont il entretenoit, me dit-on, plus de deux mille. Avec ce goût il ne faisoit que de petites journées, et ses marches n'étoient pour lui qu'un objet d'amusement et de plaisir.

Il entra dans Yamgbatsar avec de la pluie, n'ayant pour cortége qu'une cinquantaine de cavaliers avec douze archers, ses esclaves, qui marchoient à pied devant lui. Son habillement étoit une robe de velours cramoisi, fourrée de martre zibeline, et sur la tête il portoit, comme les Turcs, un chapeau rouge ; mais, pour se garantir de la pluie, par-dessus sa robe il en avoit mis une autre de velours, en guise de manteau, selon la mode du pays.

Il campa sous un pavillon qu'on avoit apporté ; car nulle part on ne trouve à loger, nulle part on ne trouve de vivres que dans les grandes villes, et, en voyage, chacun est obligé de porter tout ce qui lui est nécessaire. Pour lui, il avoit un grand train de chameaux et d'autres bêtes de somme.

L'après-dînée il sortit pour aller prendre un bain, et je le vis à mon aise. Il étoit à cheval, avec son même chapeau et sa robe cramoisie, accompagné de six personnes à pied ; je l'entendis même parler à ses gens, et il me parut avoir la parole lourde. C'est un prince de vingt-huit à trente ans, qui déja devient très-gras.

L'ambassadeur lui fit demander par un des siens s'il pourroit avoir de lui une audience et lui offrir les présens qu'il apportoit. Il fit réponse qu'allant à ses plaisirs il ne vouloit point entedre parler d'affaires; que d'ailleurs ses bayschas (bachas) étoient absens, et que l'ambassadeur n'avoit qu'à les attendre ou aller l'attendre lui-même dans Andrinople.

Messire Bénédict prit ce dernier parti. En conséquence nous retournâmes à Caumissin, et de là, après avoir repassé la montagne dont j'ai parlé, nous vînmes gagner un passage formé par deux hautes roches entre lesquelles coule une rivière. Pour le garder on avoit construit sur l'une des roches un fort château nommé Coulony, qui maintenant est détruit presque en entier. La montagne est en partie couverte de bois, et habité par des hommes méchans et assassins.

J'arrivai ainsi à Trajanopoly, ville bâtie par un empereur nommé Trajan, lequel fit beaucoup de choses dignes de mémoire. Il étoit fils de celui qui fonda Andrénopoly. Les Sarrasins disent qu'il avoit une oreille de mouton.*

Sa ville, qui étoit très-grande, est dans le voisinage de la mer et de la Marisce. On n'y voit plus que des ruines, avec quelques habitans. Elle a une montagne au levant et la mer au midi. L'un des ses bains porte le nom d'eau sainte.

Plus loin est Vyra, ancien château qu'on a demoli en plusieurs endroits. Un Grec m'a dit que l'église avoit trois cents chanoines. Le chœur en subsiste encore, et les Turcs en ont fait une mosquée. Ils ont aussi construit autour du château une grande ville, peuplée maintenant par eux et par des Grecs. Elle est sur une montagne près de la Marisce.

Au sortir de Vyra nous recontrâmes le seigneur (gouverneur) de la Grèce, qui, mandé par le Turc, se rendoit apprès de lui avec une troupe de cent vingt chevaux. C'est un bel homme, natif de Bulgarie, et qui a été esclave de son maître; mais comme il a le talent de bien boire, le dit maître lui a donné le gouvernement de Grèce, avec cinquante mille ducats de revenu.

---

* Trajanopoly ne fut point nommée ainsi pour avoir été construite par Trajan, mais parce qu'il y mourut. Elle existoit avant lui, et se nommoit Sélinunte.

Adrien ne fut pas le père de Trajan, mais au contraire son fils adoptif, et c'est par-là qu'il devint son successeur.

Andrinople n'a pas plus été fondée par Adrien que Trajanopoly par Trajan. Un tremblement de terre l'avoit ruinée ; il la fit rebâtir et lui donna son nom. On doit excuser ces erreurs dans un auteur du quinzième siècle. Quant à l'oreille de mouton, il en parle comme d'une fable de Sarrasins.

Dymodique, où je revins, me parut plus belle et plus grande encore qu'à mon premier passage; et s'il est vrai que le Turc y a déposé son trésor, assurément il a raison.

Nous fûmes obligés de l'attendre onze jours dans Adrinople. Enfin il arriva le premier de carême. Le grand calife (le muphti), qui est chez eux ce qu'est le pape chez nous, alla au-devant de lui avec tous les notables de la ville: ce qui formoit une troupe très-nombreuse. Il en étoit déja assez près lorsqu'ils le rencontrèrent, et néanmoins il s'arrêta pour boire et manger, envoya en avant une partie de ces gens, et n'y entra qu'à la nuit.

J'ai eu occasion de me lier, pendant mon séjour à Andrinople, avec plusieurs personnes qui avoient vécu à sa cour, et qui, à portée de le bien connoître, m'ont donné sur lui quelques détails; et d'abord, moi qui l'ai vu plusieurs fois, je dirai que c'est un petit homme, gros et trapu, à physionomie Tartare, visage large et brun, joues élevées, barbe ronde, nez grand et courbé, petits yeux; mais il est, m'a-t-on dit, doux, bon, libéral, distribuant volontiers seigneuries et argent.

Ses revenus sont de deux millions et demi de ducats, y compris vingt-cinq mille qu'il perçoit en tributs.* D'ailleurs, quand il leve une armée, non seulement elle ne lui coûte rien; mais il y gagne encore, parce que les troupes qu'on lui amène de Turquie en Grèce† paient à Gallipoly le comarch, qui est de trois aspres par homme et de cinq par cheval. Il en est de même au passage de la Dunoë (du Danube). D'ailleurs, quand ses soldats vont en course et qu'ils font des esclaves, il a le droit d'en prendre un sur cinq, à son choix.

Cependant il passe pour ne point aimer la guerre, et cette inculpation me paroît assez fondée. En effet il a jusqu'à présent éprouvé de la part de la chrétienté si peu de resistance que s'il vouloit employer contre elle la puissance et les revenus dont il jouit, ce lui seroit chose facile d'en conquérir une très grande partie.[*]

---

* Il y a ici erreur de copiste sur ces vingt-cinq mille ducats de tributs; la somme est trop foible. On verra plus bas que le despote de Servie en payoit annuellement cinquante mille à lui seul.

† J'ai déja remarqué que l'auteur appelle Turquie les états que possédoient en Asie les Turcs, et qu'il désigne sous le nom de Grèce ceux qu'ils avoient en-deçà du détroit, et que nous nommons aujourd'hui Turquie d'Europe.

Un de ses goûts favoris est la chasse aux chiens et aux oiseaux. Il a, dit-on, plus de mille chiens et plus de deux mille oiseaux dressés, et de diverses espèces; j'en ai vu moi-même une très-grande partie.

Il aime beaucoup à boire, et aime ceux qui boivent bien. Pour lui, il va sans peine jusqu'à dix ou douze grondils de vin : ce qui fait six ou sept quartes.[†] C'est quand il a bien bu qu'il devient libéral et qu'il distribue ses grands dons : aussi ses gens sont-ils très-aises de le voir demander du vin. L'année dernière il y eut un Maure qui s'avisa de venir le prêcher sur cet objet, et qui lui représenta que cette liqueur étant défendue par le prophète, ceux qui en buvoient n'étoient pas de bons Sarrasins: pour toute réponse il le fit mettre en prison, puis chasser de ses états, avec défense d'y jamais remettre les pieds.

Au goût pour les femmes il joint celui des jeunes garçons. Il a trois cents des premières et une trentaine des autres; mais il se plait devantage avec ceux-ci. Quand ils sont grands il les récompense par de riches dons et des seigneuries : il y en a un auquel il a donné en mariage l'une de ses sœurs, avec vingt-cinq mille ducats de revenu.

Certains personnes font monter son trèsor à un demi-million de de ducats, d'autres à un million. Il en a en outre un second, qui consiste en esclaves, en vaisselle, et principalement en joyaux pour ses femmes. Ce dernier article est estimé seul un million d'or. Moi, je suis convaincu que s'il tenoit sa main fermée pendant un an, et qu'il s'abstint de donner ainsi à l'aveugle, il épargneroit un million de ducats sans faire tort à personne.

---

[*] Le Sultan dont la Brocquière fait ici mention, et qu'il a désigné ci-devant sous le non d'Amourat-Bay, est Amurat II, l'un des princes Ottomans les plus célèbres. L'histoire cite de lui plusieurs conquêtes qui à la vérité sont la plupart postérieures au temps dont parle ici la relation. S'il n'en a point fait davantage, c'est qu'il eut en tête Huniade et Scanderberg. D'ailleurs sa gloire fut éclipsée par celle de son fils, le fameux Mahomet II, la terreur des chrétiens, surnommé le grand par sa nation, et qui, vingt ans après, en 1453, prit Constantinople, et détruisit le peu qui subsistoit encore de l'empire Grec.

[†] La quarte s'appeloit ainsi, parce qu'elle étoit le quart du chenet, qui contenoit quatre pots et une pinte. Le pot étoit de deux pintes, et par conséquent la quarte faisoit deux bouteilles, plus un demi-setier; et douze grondils, vingt-trois bouteilles.

De temps en temps il fait de grands exemples de justice bien remarquables ; ce qui lui procure d'être parfaitement obéi tant dans son intérieur qu'au-dehors. D'ailleurs il sait maintenir son pays dans un excellent état de défense, et il n'emploie vis-à-vis de ses sujets Turcs ni taille ni aucun genre d'extorsion.*

Sa maison est composée de cinq mille personnes tant à pied qu'à cheval ; mais à l'armée il n'augmente en rien leurs gages : de sorte qu'en guerre il ne depense pas plus qu'en paix.

Ses principaux officiers sont trois baschas ou visiers-bachas (visirs-bachas.) Le visir est un conseiller ; le bacha, une sorte de chef ou ordonnateur. Ces trois personnages sont chargés de tout ce qui concerne sa personne ou sa maison, et on ne peut lui parler que par leur entremise. Quand il est en Grèce, c'est le seigneur de Grèce (le gouverneur) qui a l'inspection sur les gens de guerre ; quand il est en Turquie, c'est le seigneur de Turquie.

Il a donné de grandes seigneuries; mais il peut les retirer à son gré. D'ailleurs ceux auxquels il les accorde sont tenus de le servir en guerre avec un certain nombre de troupes à leurs frais. C'est ainsi que, tous les ans, ceux de Grèce lui fournissent trente mille hommes qu'il peut employer et conduire par-tout où bon lui semble ; et ceux de Turquie dix mille, auxquels il n'a que des vivres à fournir. Veut-il former une armée plus considérable, la Grèce seule, m'a-t-on dit, peut alors lui donner cent vingt mille hommes ; mais ceux-ci, il est obligé de les soudoyer. La paie est de cinq aspers pour un fantassin, de huit pour un cavalier.

Cependant j'ai entendu dire que sur ces cent vingt mille hommes il n'y en avoit que la moitié, c'est-à-dire les gens de cheval, qui fussent en bon état, bien armés de tarquais et d'épée ; le reste est composé de gens de pied mal équippés. Celui d'entre eux qui a une épée n'a point d'arc, celui qui a un arc n'a ni épée ni arme quelconque, beaucoup même n'ont qu'un bâton. Et il en est ainsi des piétons que fournit la Turquie : la moitié n'est armée que de bâtons ; cependant ces piétons Turcs sont plus estimés que les Grecs, et meilleurs soldats.

---

* Ceci est une satire indirecte des gouvernemens d'Europe, où chaque jour les rois, et même les seigneurs particuliers, vexoient ce qu'ils appéloient leurs hommes ou leurs sujets par des tailles arbitraires et des milliers d'impôts dont les noms étoient aussi bizarres que l'assiette et la perception en étoient abusives.

D'autres personnes dont je regarde le témoignage comme véritable m'ont dit depuis que les troupes qu'annuellement la Turquie est obligée de fournir quand le seigneur veut former son armée, montent à trente mille hommes, et celles de Grèce à vingt mille, sans compter deux ou trois mille esclaves qui sont à lui, et qu'il arme bien.

Parmi ces esclaves il y a beaucoup de chrétiens. Il y en a aussi beaucoup dans les troupes Grecques: les uns Albaniens, les autres Bulgares ou d'autres contrées. C'est ainsi que dans la dernière armée de Grèce il se trouva trois mille chevaux de Servie, que le despote de cette province envoya sous le commandement d'un de ses fils. C'est bien à regret que tous ces gens-là viennent le servir; mais ils n'oseroient refuser.

Les bachas arrivèrent à Andrinople trois jours après leur seigneur, et ils y amenoient avec eux une partie de ses gens et de son bagage. Ce bagage consiste en une centaine de chameaux et deux cent cinquante, tant mulets que sommiers, parce que la nation ne fait point usage de chariots.

Messire Bénédict, qui desiroit avoir de lui une audience, fit demander aux bachas s'il pouvoit les voir, et ils répondirent que non. La raison de ce refus étoit qu'ils avoient bu avec leur seigneur, et qu'ils étoient ivres ainsi que lui. Cependant ils envoyèrent le lendemain chez l'ambassadeur pour le prévenir qu'ils étoient visibles, et il se rendit aussitôt chez chacun d'eux avec des présens: telle est la coutume; on ne peut leur parler sans apporter quelque chose, et il en est de même pour les esclaves qui gardent leurs portes. Je l'accompagnai dans cette visite.

Le jour suivant, dans l'après-dînée, ils lui firent dire qu'il pouvoit venir au palais. Il monta aussitôt à cheval pour s'y rendre avec sa suite, et je me joignis à elle: mais nous étions tous à pied; lui seul avoit un cheval.

Devant la cour nous trouvâmes une grande quantité d'hommes et de chevaux. La porte étoit gardée par une trentaine d'esclaves sous le gouvernement d'un chef, et armés de bâtons. Si quelqu'un se présente pour entrer sans permission, ils lui disent de se retirer; s'il insiste, ils le chassent à coups de bâton.

Ce que nous appelons la cour du roi, les Turcs l'appellent porte du seigneur. Toutes les fois que le seigneur reçoit un message ou ambassade, ce qui lui arrive presque tous les jours, il fait porte. Faire porte est pour lui ce qu'est pour nos rois de France tenir état royal et cour ouverte, quoique cependant il y ait entre les deux cérémonies beaucoup de différence, comme je le dirai tout-à-l'heure.

Quand l'ambassadeur fut entré on le fit asseoir près de la porte avec beaucoup d'autres personnes qui attendoient que le maître sortit de sa chambre pour faire porte. D'abord les trois bachas entrèrent avec le gouverneur de Grèce et autres qu'ils appellent seigneurs. Sa chambre donnoit sur une très-grande cour. Le gouverneur alla l'y attendre. Il parut.

Son vêtement étoit, selon l'usage, une robe de satin cramoisi, par-dessus laquelle il en avoit, comme manteau, une autre de satin vert à figures, fourrée de martre zibeline. Ses jeunes garçons l'accompagnoient ; mais ils ne le suivirent que jusqu'à l'entrée de la pièce, et rentrèrent. Il ne resta près de lui qu'un petit nain et deux jeunes gens qui faisoient les fous.*

Il traversa l'angle de la cour, et vint dans une galerie où l'on avoit préparé un siége pour lui. C'étoit une sorte de couche couverte en velours (un sopha), où il avoit quatre ou cinq degrés à monter. Il alla s'y asseoir à la manière Turque, comme nos tailleurs quand ils travaillent, et aussitôt les trois bachas vinrent prendre place à peu de distance de lui. Les autres officiers qui dans ces jours-là font partie de son cortége entrèrent également dans la galerie, et ils allèrent se ranger le long des murs, aussi loin de lui qu'ils le purent. En dehors, mais en face, étoient assis vingt gentilshommes Valaques, détenus à sa suite comme otages du pays. Dans l'intérieur de la salle on avoit placé une centaine de grands plats d'étain, qui chacun contenoient une pièce de mouton et du riz.

Quand tout le monde fut placé on fit entrer un seigneur du royaume de Bossène (Bosnie), lequel prétendoit que la couronne de ce pays lui appartenoit: en conséquence il étoit venu en faire hommage au Turc et lui demander du secours contre le roi. On le mena prendre place auprès des bachas; on introduisit ses gens, et l'on fit venir l'ambassadeur du duc de Milan.

Il partit suivi de ses présens, qu'on alla placer près des plats d'étain. Là, des gens préposés pour les recevoir, les prirent et les levèrent au-dessus de leurs têtes aussi haut qu'ils le purent, afin que le seigneur et sa cour pussent les voir. Pendant ce temps, messire Bénédict avançoit lentement vers la galerie. Un homme de distinction vint au-devant de lui pour l'y introduire. En entrant il fit une révérence sans ôter l'aumusse qu'il avoit sur la tête; arrivé près des degrés, il en fit une autre très-profonde.

---

* L'usage d'avoir des nains et des fous étoit très-ancien dans les cours d'Orient. Il avoit passé avec les croisades dans celles des princes chrétiens d'Europe, et dura en France, pour les fous, jusqu'à Louis XIV.

Alors le seigneur se leva: il descendit deux marches pour s'approcher de l'ambassadeur et le prit par la main. Celui-ci voulut lui baiser la sienne; mais il s'y refusa, et demanda, par la voie d'un interprète Juif qui savoit le Turc et l'Italien, comment se portoit son bon frère et voisin le duc de Milan. L'ambassadeur rèpondit à cette question; après quoi on le mena prendre place près du Bosnien, mais à reculons, selon l'usage, et toujours le visage tourné vers le prince.

Le seigneur attendit, pour se rasseoir, qu'il fût assis. Alors les diverses personnes de service qui étoient dans la salle se mirent par terre, et l'introducteur qui l'avoit fait entrer alla nous chercher, nous autres qui formions sa suite, et il nous plaça près des Bosniens.

Pendant ce temps on attachoit au seigneur une serviette en soie; on plaçoit devant lui une pièce de cuir rouge, ronde et mince, parce que leur coutume est de ne manger que sur des nappes de cuir; puis on lui apporta de la viande cuite, sur deux plats dorés. Lorsqu'il fut servi, les gens de service allèrent prendre les plats d'étain dont j'ai parlé, et ils les distribuèrent par la salle aux personnes qui s'y trouvoient: un plat pour quatre. Il y avoit dans chacun un morceau de mouton et du riz clair, mais point de pain et rien à boire. Cependant j'aperçus dans un coin de la cour un haut buffet à gradins qui portoit un peu de vaisselle, et au pied duquel étoit un grand vase d'argent en forme de calice. Je vis plusieurs gens y boire; mais j'ignore si c'étoit de l'eau ou du vin.

Quant à la viande des plats, quelques-uns y goûtèrent; d'autres, non: mais, avant qu'ils fussent tous servis, il fallut desservir, parce que le maitre n'avoit point voulu manger. Jamais il ne prend rien en public, et il y a très-peu de personnes qui puissent se vanter de l'avoir entendu parler, ou vu manger ou boire.

Il sortit, et alors se firent entendre des ménestrels (musiciens) qui étoient dans la cour, près du buffet. Ils touchèrent des instrumens et chantèrent des chansons de gestes, dans lesquelles ils célébroient les grandes actions des guerriers Turcs. A mesure que ceux de la galerie entendoient quelque chose qui leur plaisoit, ils poussoient à leur manière des cris épouvantables, J'ignorois quels étoient les instrumens dont on jouoit: j'allai dans la cour, et je vis qu'ils étoient à cordes et fort grands. Les ménestrels vinrent dans la salle, où ils mangèrent ce qui s'y trouvoit. Enfin on desservit; chacun se leva, et l'ambassadeur se retira sans avoir dit un mot de son ambassade: ce qui, pour la première audience, est de coutume.

Une autre coutume encore est que quand un ambassadeur a été présenté au seigneur, celui-ci, jusqu'à ce qu'il ait fait sa réponse, lui envoie de quoi fournir à sa dépense; et cette somme est de deux cents aspers. Le lendemain donc un des gens du trésorier, celui-là même qui étoit venu prendre messire Bénédict pour le conduire à la cour, vint lui apporter la somme; mais peu après les esclaves qui gardent la porte vinrent chercher ce qu'en pareil cas il est d'usage de leur donner, et au reste ils se contentent de peu.

Le troisième jour, les bachas lui firent savoir qu'ils étoient prêts à apprendre de lui le sujet qui l'amenoit. Il se rendit aussitôt à la cour, et je l'y accompagnai. Déja le maître avoit tenu son audience; il venoit de se retirer, et les bachas seuls étoient restés avec le béguelar ou seigneur de Grèce. Quand nous eûmes passé la porte nous les trouvâmes tous quatre assis en dehors de la galerie, sur un pièce de bois qui se trouvoit là. Ils envoyèrent dire à l'ambassadeur d'approcher. On mit par terre, devant eux, un tapis, et ils l'y firent asseoir comme un criminel qui est devant son juge. Cependant il y avoit dans le lieu une assez grande quantité de monde.

Il leur exposa le sujet de sa mission, qui consistoit, m'a-t-on dit, à prier leur maitre, de la part du duc de Milan, de vouloir bien abandonner à l'empereur Romain Sigismond la Hongrie, la Valaquie, toute la Bulgarie jusqu'à Sophie, le royaume de Bosnie, et la partie qu'il possédoit d'Albanie dépendante d'Esclavonie. Ils répondirent qu'ils ne pouvoient pour le moment en instruire leur seigneur, parce qu'il étoit occupé; mais que dans dix jours ils feroient connoitre sa réponse, s'il la leur avoit donnée. C'est encore là une chose d'usage, que dès le moment où un ambassadeur est annoncé tel, il ne peut plus parler au prince; et ce règlement a lieu depuis que le grand-père de celui-ci a péri de la main d'un ambassadeur de Servie. L'envoyé étoit venu solliciter auprès de lui quelque adoucissement en faveur de ses compatriotes, que le prince vouloit réduire en servitude. Désespéré de ne pouvoir rien obtenir, il le tua, et fut lui-même massacré à l'instant.*

Le dixième jour, nous allâmes à la cour chercher réponse. Le seigneur étoit, comme la première fois, sur son siége; mais il n'y avoit avec lui dans la galerie que ceux de ses gens qui lui servoient à manger. Je n'y vis ni buffet, ni ménestrels, ni le seigneur de Bosnie, ni les Valaques; mais seulement Magnoly, frère du duc de Chifalonie (Céphalonie), qui se conduit envers le prince comme un serviteur bien respectueux. Les bachas eux-même étoient en dehors, debout et fort loin, ainsi que la plupart des personnes que j'avois vues autrefois dans l'intérieur; encore leur nombre étoit-il beaucoup moindre.

On nous fit attendre en dehors. Pendant ce temps, le grand cadi, avec ses autres associés, rendoit justice à la porte extérieure de la cour, et j'y vis venir devant lui des chrétiens étrangers pour plaider leur cause. Mais quand le seigneur se leva, les juges levèrent aussi leur séance, et se retirèrent chez eux.

Pour lui, je le vis passer avec tout son cortége dans la grande cour; ce que je n'avois pu voir la première fois. Il portoit une robe de drap d'or, verte et peu riche, et il me parut avoir la démarche vive.

---

* Le grand-père d'Amurath II est Bajazet Ier, qui mourut prisonnier de Tamerlan, soit qu'il ait été traité avec égards par son vainqueur, comme le veulent certains écrivains, soit qu'il ait péri dans une cage de fer, comme le prétendent d'autres: ainsi l'historiette de l'ambassadeur de Servie ne peut le regarder. Mais on lit dans la vie d'Amurath Ier, père de Bajazet, et par conséquent bisaïeul d'Amurath II, un fait qui a pu donner lieu à la fable de l'assassinat. Ce prince, en 1389, venoit de remporter sur le despote de Servie une victoire signalée dans laquelle il l'avoit fait prisonnier, et il parcouroit le champ de bataille quand, passant auprès d'un soldat Tréballien blessé à mort, celui-ci le reconnoît, ranime ses forces et le poignarde.

Selon d'autres auteurs, le despote, qui se nommoit Lazare ou Eléazar Bulcowitz, se voit attaqué par une puissante armée d'Amurath. Hors d'état de résister, il emploie la trahison: il gagne un des grands seigneurs de sa cour, qui feint de passer dans le parti du sultan, et l'assassine. (Ducange, Familiæ Bisant. p. 334.)

Enfin, selon une autre relation, Amurath fut tué dans le combat; mais Lazare, fait prisonnier par les Turcs, est par eux coupé en morceaux sur le cadavre sanglant de leur maître.

Il paroît, d'après le récit de la Brocquière, que la version de l'assassinat du sultan par le Servien est la véritable. C'est au moins ce que paroissent prouver les précautions prises à la cour Ottomane contre les ambassadeurs étrangers. Aujourd'hui encore, quand ils paroissent devant le souverain, on les tient par la manche.

Dès qu'il fut rentré dans sa chambre, les bachas, assis, comme la fois précédente, sur la pièce de bois, firent venir l'ambassadeur. Leur réponse fut que leur maitre le chargeoit de saluer pour lui son frère le duc de Milan ; qu'il desireroit faire beaucoup en sa faveur, mais que sa demande en ce moment n'étoit point raisonnable ; que, par égard pour lui, leur dit seigneur s'étoit souvent abstenu de faire dans le royaume de Hongrie de grandes conquêtes, qui d'ailleurs lui eussent peu coûté, et que ce sacrifice devoit suffire ; que ce seroit pour lui chose fort dure de rendre ce qu'il avoit gagné par l'épée ; que, dans les circonstances présentes, lui et ses soldats n'avoient, pour occuper leur courage, que les possessions de l'empereur, et qu'ils y renonçoient d'autant moins que jusqu'alors ils ne s'étoient jamais trouvés en présence sans l'avoir battu ou vu fuir, comme tout le monde le savoit.

En effet, l'ambassadeur étoit instruit de ces détails. A la dernière défaite qu'éprouva Sigismond devant Couloubath, il avoit été témoin de son désastre ; il avoit même, la veille de la bataille, quitté son camp pour se rendre auprès du Turc. Dans nos entretiens il me conta sur tout cela beaucoup de particularités. Je vis également deux arbalétriers Génois qui s'étoient trouvés à ce combat, et qui me racontèrent comment l'empereur et son armée repassèrent le Danube sur ces galères.

Après avoir reçu la réponse des bachas, l'ambassadeur revint chez lui ; mais à peine y étoit-il arrivé qu'il reçut, de la part du seigneur, cinq mille aspres avec une robe de camocas cramoisi, doublée de boccassin jaune. Trente-six aspres valent un ducat de Venise ; mais sur les cinq mille le trésorier qui les délivra en retint dix par cent pour droits de sa charge.

Je vis aussi pendant mon séjour à Andrinople un présent d'un autre genre, fait également par le seigneur à une mariée, le jour de ses noces. Cette mariée étoit la fille du béguelarbay, gouverneur de la Grèce, et c'étoit la fille d'un des bachas qui, accompagnée de trente et quelques autres femmes, avoit été chargée de le présenter. Son vêtement étoit un tissu d'or cramoisi, et elle avoit le visage couvert, selon l'usage de la nation, d'un voile très-riche et ornée de pierreries. Les dames portoient de même de magnifiques voiles, et pour habillement les unes avoient des robes de velours cramoisi, les autres des robes de drap d'or sans fourrures. Toutes étoient à cheval, jambe de-ça, jambe de là, comme des hommes, et plusieurs avoient de superbes selles.

En avant et à la tête de la troupe marchoient treize ou quatorze cavaliers et deux ménestrels, également à cheval, ainsi que quelques autres musiciens qui portoient une trompette, un très-grand tambour et environ huit paires de timbales. Tout cela faisoit un bruit affreux. Après les musiciens venoit le présent, et après le présent, les dames.

Ce présent consistoit en soixante-dix grands plateaux d'etain chargés de différentes sortes de confitures et de compotes, et vingt-huit autres dont chacun portoit un mouton écorché. Les moutons étoient peints en blanc et en rouge, et tous avoient un anneau d'argent suspendu au nez et deux autres aux oreilles.

J'eus occasian de voir aussi dans Andrinople des chaînes de chrétiens qu'on amenoit vendre. Ils demandoient l'aumône dans les rues. Mais le cœur saigne quand on songe à tout ce qu'ils souffrent de maux.

Nous quittâmes la ville le 12 de Mars, sous la conduite d'un esclave que le seigneur avoit donné à l'ambassadeur pour l'accompagner. Cet homme nous fut en route d'une grande utilité, surtout pour les logemens; car par-tout où il demandoit quelque chose pour nous, à l'instant on s'empressoit de nous l'accorder.

Notre première journée fut à travers un beau pays, en remontant le long de la Marisce, que nous passâmes à un bac. La seconde, quoiqu'avec bons chemins, fut employée à traverser des bois. Enfin nous entrâmes dans le pays de Macédoine. Là je trouvai une grande plaine entre deux montagnes, laquelle peut bien avoir quarante milles de large, et qui est arrosée par la Marisce. J'y rencontrai quinze hommes et dix femmes enchaînés par le cou. C'étoient des habitans du royaume de Bosnie que des Turcs venoient d'enlever dans une course qu'ils avoient faite. Deux d'entre eux les menoient vendre dans Andrinople.

Peu après j'arrivai à Phéropoly,* capitale de la Macédoine, et bâtie par le roi Philippe. Elle est sur la Marisce, dans une grande plaine et un excellent pays, où l'on trouve toutes sortes de vivres et à bon compte. Ce fut jadis une ville considérable, et elle l'est encore, Elle renferme trois montagnes, dont deux sont à une extrémité vers le midi, et l'autre au centre. Sur celle-ci étoit construit un grand château en forme de croissant allongé; mais il a été détruit. On me montra l'emplacement du palais du roi Philippe, qu'on a de même démoli, et dont les murs subsistent encore. Philippopoli est peuplée en grande partie de Bulgares qui tiennent la loi Grégoise (qui suivent la religion Grecque).

---

* C'est une erreur de copiste: lui-même, quelques lignes plus bas, a écrit Phélippopoly, et en effet c'est de Philippopoli qu'il est mention.

Pour en sortir je passai la Marisce sur un pont, et chevauchai pendant une journée toute entière à travers cette plaine dont j'ai parlé ; elle aboutit à une montagne longue de seize à vingt milles, et couverte de bois. Ce lieu étoit autrefois infesté de voleurs, et très-dangereux à passer. Le Turc a ordonné que quiconque y habiteroit fut Franc, et en conséquence il s'y est élevé deux villages peuplés de Bulgares, et dont l'un est sur les confins de Bulgarie et de Macédoine. Je passai la nuit dans le premier.

Après avoir traversé la montagne, on trouve une plaine de six milles de long sur deux de large ; puis une forêt qui peut bien en avoir seize de longueur ; puis une autre grande plaine totalement close de montagnes, bien peuplée de Bulgares, et où l'on a une rivière à traverser. Enfin j'arrivai en trois jours à une ville nommée Sophie, qui fut autrefois très-considérable, ainsi qu'on le voit par les débris de ses murs rasés jusqu'à terre, et qui aujourd'hui encore est la meilleure de la Bulgarie. Elle a un petit château, et se trouve assez près d'une montagne au midi, mais située au commencement d'une grande plaine d'environ soixante milles de long sur dix de large. Ses habitans sont pour la plupart des Bulgares, et il en est de même des villages. Les Turcs n'y forment que le très-petit nombre ; ce qui donne aux autres un grand desir de se tirer de servitude, s'ils pouvoient trouver qui les aidât.

J'y vis arriver des Turcs qui venoient de faire une course en Hongrie. Un Génois qui se trouvoit dans la ville, et qu'on nomme Nicolas Ciba, me raconta qu'il avoit vu revenir également ceux qui repassèrent le Danube, et que sur dix il n'y en avoit pas un qui eût à la fois un arc et une épée. Pour moi, je dirai que parmi ceux-ci j'en trouvai beaucoup plus n'ayant ou qu'un arc ou qu'une épée seulement, que de ceux qui eussent les deux armes ensemble. Les mieux fournis portoient une petite targe (bouclier) en bois. En vérité, c'est pour la chrétienté une grande honte, il faut en convenir, qu'elle se laisse subjuguer par de telles gens. Ils sont bien au-dessous de ce qu'on les croit.

En sortant de Sophie je traversai pendant cinquante milles cette plaine dont j'ai fait mention. Le pays est bien peuplé, et les habitans sont des Bulgares de religion Grecque. J'eus ensuite un pays de montagnes, qui cependant est assez bon pour le cheval ; puis je trouvai en plaine une très-petite ville nommée

Pirotte, située sur la Nissave. Elle n'est point fermée ; mais elle a un petit château qui, d'une part est défendu par la rivière, et de l'autre par un marais. Au nord est une montagne. Il n'y a d'habitans que quelques Turcs.

Au-delà de Pirotte on retrouve un pays montagneux ; après quoi l'on revient sur ses pas pour se rapprocher de la Nissave, qui traverse une belle vallée entre deux assez hautes montagnes. Au pied d'une des deux étoit la ville d'Ysvourière, aujourd'hui totalement détruite, ainsi que ses murs. On côtoie ensuite la rivière, en suivant la vallée ; on trouve une autre montagne dont le passage est difficile, quoiqu'il y passe chars et charrettes. Enfin on arrive dans une vallée agréable qu'arrose encore la Nissave ; et après avoir traversé la rivière sur un pont, on entre dans Nisce (Nissa).

Cette ville, qui avoit un beau château, appertenoit au despote de Servie. Le Turc l'a prise de force il y a cinq ans, et il l'a entièrement détruite ; elle est dans un canton charmant qui produit beaucoup de riz. Je continuai par-delà Nissa de côtoyer la rivière ; et le pays, toujours également beau, est bien garni de villages. Enfin je la passai à un bac, où je l'abandonnai. Alors commencèrent des montagnes. J'eus à traverser une longue forêt fangeuse, et, après dix journées de marche depuis Andrinople, j'arrivai à Corsebech, petite ville à un mille de la Morane (Morave.)

La Morave est une grosse rivière qui vient de Bosnie. Elle sépare la Bulgarie d'avec la Rascie ou Servie, province qui porte également ces deux noms, et que le Turc a conquise depuis six ans.

Pour Corsebech, il avoit un petit château qu'on a détruit. Il a encore une double enceinte de murs ; mais on en a démoli la partie supérieure jusqu'au-dessous des créneaux.

J'y trouvai Cénamin-Bay, capitaine (commandant) de ce vaste pays frontière, qui s'étend depuis la Valaquie jusqu'en Esclavonie. Il passe dans la ville une partie de l'année. On m'a dit qu'il étoit né Grec, qu'il ne boit point de vin, comme les autres Turcs, et que c'est un homme sage et vaillant, qui s'est fait craindre et obéir. Le Turc lui a confié le commandement de cette contrée, et il en possède en seigneurie la plus grande partie. Il ne laisse passer la rivière qu'à ceux qu'il connoît, à moins qu'ils ne soient porteurs d'une lettre du maitre, ou, en son absence, du seigneur de la Grèce.

Nous vîmes là une belle personne, genti-femme du royaume de Hongrie, dont la situation nous inspira bien de la pitié. Un renégat Hongrois, homme du plus bas état, l'avoit enlevée dans une course, et il en usoit comme de sa femme. Quand elle nous aperçut elle fondit en larmes ; car elle n'avoit pas encore renoncé à sa religion.

Au sortir de Corsebech, je traversai la Morave à un bac, et j'entrai sur les terres du despote de Rassie ou de Servie, pays beau et peuplé. Ce qui est en-deçà de la rivière lui appartient, ce qui se trouve au-delà est au Turc ; mais le despote lui paie annuellement cinquante mille ducats de tribut.

Celui-ci possède sur la rivière et aux confins communs de Bulgarie, d'Esclavonie, d'Albanie et de Bosnie, une ville nommée Nyeuberge, qui a une mine portant or et argent tout à la fois. Chaque année elle lui donne plus de deux cent mille ducats, m'ont dit gens qui sont bien instruits : sans cela il ne seroit pas longtemps à être chassé de son pays.

Sur ma route je passai près du château d'Escalache, qui lui appartenoit. C'étoit une forte place, sur la pointe d'une montagne au pied de laquelle la Nissane se jette dans la Morave. On y voit encore une partie des murs avec une tour en forme de donjon ; mais c'est tout ce qui en reste.

A cette embouchure des deux rivières le Turc tient habituellement quatre-vingts ou cent fustes, galiottes et gripperies, pour passer, en temps de guerre, sa cavalerie et son armée. Je n'ai pu les voir, parce qu'on ne permet point aux chrétiens d'en approcher; mais un homme digne de foi m'a dit qu'il y a toujours, pour les garder, un corps de trois cents hommes, et que ce corps est renouvelé de deux en deux mois.

D'Escalache au Danube il y a bien cent milles, et néanmoins, dans toute la longueur de cet espace, il n'existe d'autre forteresse ou lieu de quelque défense qu'un village et une maison que Cénaym-Bay a fait construire sur le penchant d'une montagne, avec une mosquée.

Je suivis le cours de la Morave ; et, à l'exception d'un passage très-boueux qui dure près d'un mille, et que forme le resserrement de la rivière par une montagne, j'eus beau chemin et pays agréable et bien peuplé. Il n'en fut pas de même à la seconde journée : j'eus des bois, des montagnes, beaucoup de fange ; néanmoins le pays continua d'être aussi beau que peut l'être un pays de montagnes. Il est bien garni de villages, et par-tout on y trouve tout ce dont on a besoin.

Depuis que nous avions mis le pied en Macédoine, en Bulgarie et en Rassie, sans cesse sur notre passage j'avois trouvé que le Turc faisoit crier son ost, c'est-à-dire qu'il faisoit annoncer que quiconque est tenu de se rendre à l'armée, se tînt prêt à marcher. On nous dit que ceux qui, pour satisfaire à ce devoir, nourrissent un cheval sont exempts du comarch ; que ceux des chrétiens qui veulent être dispensés de service paient cinquante aspres par tête, et que d'autres y marchent forcés ; mais qu'on les prend pour augmenter le nombre.

L'on me dit aussi, à la cour du despote, que le Turc a partagé entre trois capitaines la garde et défense de ces provinces frontières. L'un, nommé Dysem-Bay, a depuis les confins de la Valaquie jusqu'à la mer Noire ; Cénaym-Bay, depuis la Valaquie jusqu'aux confins de Bosnie ; et Ysaac-Bay, depuis ces confins jusqu'à l'Esclavonie, c'est-à-dire tout ce qui est par-delà la Morave.

Pour reprendre le récit de ma route, je dirai que je vins à une ville, ou plutôt à une maison de campagne nommée Nichodem. C'est là que le despote a fixé son séjour, parce que le terroir en est bon, et qu'il y trouve bois, rivières et tout ce qu'il lui faut pour les plaisirs de la chasse et du vol, qu'il aime beaucoup.

Il étoit aux champs et alloit voler sur la rivière, accompagné d'une cinquantaine de chevaux, de trois de ses enfans et d'un Turc qui, de la part du maitre, étoit venu le sommer d'envoyer à l'armée un de ses fils avec son contingent. Indépendamment du tribut qu'il paie, c'est-là une des conditions qui lui sont imposées. Toutes les fois que le seigneur lui fait passer ses ordres, il est obligé de lui envoyer mille ou huit cents chevaux sous le commandement de son second fils.

Il a donné à ce maitre une de ses filles en mariage, et cependant il n'y a point de jour qu'il ne craigne de se voir enlever par lui ses Etats ; j'ai même entendu dire qu'on en avoit voulu inspirer de l'envie à celui-ci, et qu'il avoit répondu : "J'en tire plus que si je " les possédois. Dans ce cas je serois obligé de les donner à l'un " de mes esclaves, et je n'en aurois rien."

Les troupes qu'il levoit étoient destinées contre l'Albanie, disoit-on. Déja il en avoit fait passer dans ce pays dix mille ; et voilà pourquoi il avoit près de lui si peu de monde à Lessère quand je l'y vis : mais cette première armée avoit été détruite.*

---

* C'est en effet dans cette même année 1433 que le célèbre Scanderberg, après être rentré par ruse en possession de l'Albanie, dont ses ancêtres étoient souverains, commença contre Amurath cette guerre savante qui le couvrit de gloire et qui ternit les dernières années du sultan.

Le seigneur despote est un grand et bel homme de cinquante-huit à soixante ans ; il a cinq enfans, trois garçons et deux filles. Des garçons, l'un a vingt ans, l'autre quatorze, et tous trois sont, comme leurs père, d'un extérieur très-agréable. Quant aux filles, l'une est mariée au Turc, l'autre au comte de Seil ; mais je ne les ai point vues, et ne puis rien en dire.*

Lorsque nous le rencontrâmes aux champs, ainsi que je l'ai dit, l'ambassadeur et moi nous lui prîmes la main et je la lui baisai, parce que tel est l'usage. Le lendemain nous allâmes le saluer chez lui. Sa cour, assez nombreuse, étoit composée de très-beaux hommes qui portent longs cheveux et longue barbe, vu qu'ils sont de la religion Grecque. Il y avoit dans la ville un évêque et un maitre (docteur) en théologie, qui se rendoient à Constantinople, et qui étoient envoyés en ambassade vers l'empereur par le saint concile de Bâle.†

De Coursebech j'avois mis deux jours pour venir à Nicodem ; de Nicodem à Belgrado j'en mis un demi. Ce ne sont jusqu'à cette dernière ville que grands bois, montagnes et vallées ; mais ces valées foisonnent de villages dans lesquels on trouve beaucoup de vivres, et spécialement de bons vins.

Belgrade est en Rascie, et elle appartenoit au despote ; mais depuis quatre ans il l'a cédée au roi de Hongrie, parce qu'on a craint qu'il ne la laissât prendre au Turc, comme il a laissé prendre Coulumbach. Cette perte fut un grand malheur pour la chrétienté. L'autre en seroit un plus grand encore, parce que la place est plus forte, et qu'elle peut loger jusqu'à cinq à six mille chevaux.‡

Le long de ses murs, d'un côté, coule une grosse rivière qui vient de Bosnie, et qu'on nomme la Sanne; de l'autre elle a un château près ququel passe le Danube, et là, dans ce Danube, se jette la Sanne. C'est sur la pointe formée par les deux rivières qu'est bâtie la ville.

---

* Le despote dont il s'agit se nommoit George Brancovitz ou Wkovitz. On trouve dans Ducange (Familiæ Bisant. p. 336) quelques détails sur lui et sa famille.

† Ce saint concile, qui finit par citer à son tribunal et déposer le pape, tandis que le pape lui ordonnit de se dissoudre et en convoquoit un autre à Ferrare, puis à Florence, avoit entrepris de réunir l'église Grecque à la Latine ; et c'est dans ce dessein qu'il députoit vers l'empereur. Celui-ci se rendit effectivement en Italie, et il signa dans Florence cette réunion politique et simulée dont il a été parlé plus haut.

‡ On sera étonné de voir l'auteur, en parlant de la garnison d'une place de guerre, ne faire mention que de chevaux. Ci-dessus, lorsqu'il a spécifié le contingent que le despote étoit obligé de fournir à l'armée Turque, il n'a parlé que de chevaux. Sans cesse il parle de chevaux. C'est qu'alors en Europe on ne faisoit cas que de la gendarmerie, et que l'infanterie ou piétaille, presque toujours mal composée et mal armée, étoit comptée pour trés-peu.

Dans le pourtour de son enceinte son terrain a une certaine hauteur, excepté du côté de terre, où il est tellement uni qu'on peut par là venir de plain pied jusqu'au bord du fossé. De ce côté encore il y a un village qui, s'étendant depuis la Sanne jusqu'au Danube, enveloppe la ville à la distance d'un trait d'arc.

Ce village est habité par des Rasciens. Le jour de Pâques j'y entendis la messe en langue Sclavonne. Il est dans l'obédience de l'église Romaine, et leurs cérémonies ne diffèrent en rien des nôtres.

La place, forte par sa situation et par ses fossés, tous en glacis, a une enceinte de doubles murs bien entretenus, et qui suivent très-exactement les contours du terrain. Elle est composée de cinq forteresses, dont trois sur le terrain élevé dont je viens de parler, et deux sur la rivière. De ces deux-ci, l'une est fortifiée contre l'autre; mais toutes deux sont commandées par les trois premières.

Il y a aussi un petit port qui peut contenir quinze à vingt galères, et qui est défendu par une tour construite à chacune de ses extrémités. On le ferme avec une chaîne qui va d'une tour à l'autre. Au moins c'est ce qu'on m'a dit; car les deux rives sont si éloignées que moi je n'ai pu la voir.

Je vis sur la Sanne six galères et cinq galiottes. Elles étoient près l'une des cinq forteresses, la moins forte de toutes. Dans cette forteresse sont beaucoup de Rasciens; mais on ne leur permet point d'entrer dans les quatre autres.

Toutes cinq sont bien garnies d'artillerie. J'y ai remarqué surtout trois bombardes de métail (canons de bronze) dont deux étoient de deux pièces,* et l'une d'une telle grosseur que jamais je n'en ai vu de pareille: elle avoit quarante-deux pouces de large dedans où la pierre entre (sa bouche avoit quarante-deux pouces de diamètre); mais elle me parut courte pour sa grosseur.†

---

* La remarque que l'auteur fait ici sur ces trois canons sembleroit annoncer que ceux de bronze étoient rares encore, et qu'on les regardoit comme une sorte de merveille. Louis XI en fit fondre une douzaine, auxquels il donna le nom des douze pairs. (Daniel, Mil. Franc. t. I, p. 825.)

† La mode alors étoit de faire des pièces d'artillerie d'une grosseur énorme. Peu de temps après l'époque où écrivoit notre auteur, Mahomet II, assiégeant Constantinople, en employa qui avoient été fondues sur les lieux, et qui

Le capitaine (commandant) de la place étoit messire Mathico, chevalier de Aragouse (d'Arragon), et il avoit pour lieutenant un sien frère, qu'on appeloit le seigneur frère.

Sur le Danube, deux journées au-dessous de Belgrade, le Turc possède ce château de Coulombach, qu'il a pris au despote. C'est encore une forte place, dit-on, quoique cependant il soit aisé de l'attaquer avec de l'artillerie et de lui fermer tout secours; ce qui est un grand désavantage. Il y entretient cent fustes pour passer en Hongrie quand il lui plaît. Le capitaine du lieu est ce Ceynam-Bay dont j'ai parlé ci-devant.

Sur le Danube encore, mais à l'opposite de Belgrade, et dans la Hongrie, le despote possède également une ville avec château. Elle lui a été donnée par l'empereur,* avec plusieurs autres, qui lui font un revenu de cinquante mille ducats, et c'étoit à condition qu'il deviendroit son homme† ; mais il obéit plus au Turc qu'à l'empereur.

Deux jours après mon arrivée dans Belgrade j'y vis entrer vingt-cinq hommes armés à la manière du pays, que le gouverneur comte Mathico y faisoit venir pour demeurer en garnison. On me dit que c'étoient des Allemands pour garder la place, tandis qu'on avoit si près des Hongrois, et des Serviens. On me répondit que les Serviens, étant sujets et tributaires du Turc, on se garderoit bien de la leur confier; et que quant aux Hongrois, ils le redoutoient tant que s'il paroissoit, ils n'oseroient la défendre contre lui, quelque forte qu'elle fût. Il falloit donc y appeler des étrangers; et cette mesure devenoit d'autant plus nécessaire que c'étoit la seule place que l'empereur possédât pour passer sur l'autre rive du Danube, ou pour le repasser en cas de besoin.

---

portoient, dit-on, deux cents livres de balle. La Chronique Scandaleuse et Monstrelet parlent d'une sorte d'obus que Louis XI fit fondre à Tours, puis conduire à Paris, et qui portoit des balles de cinq cents livres. En 1717, le prince Eugène, après sa victoire sur les Turcs, trouva dans Belgrade un canon long de près de vingt-cinq pieds, qui tiroit des boulets de cent dix livres, et dont la charge étoit de cinquante-deux livres de poudre (Ibid. p. 323.) C'étoit encore un usage ordinaire de faire les boulets en grès ou en pierre, arrondis et taillés de calibre pour la pièce. Et voilà pourquoi la Brocquière, parlant de l'embouchure du canon, emploie cette expression, "dedens où LA PIERRE entre."

* Sigismond, roi de Bohême et de Hongrie. On prétend que Sigismond ne les donna qu'en échange de Belgrade.

† Deviendroit son homme. Cette expression de la féodalité du temps indique l'obligation du service militaire et de la fidélité que le vassel devoit à son suzerain.

Ce discours m'étonna beaucoup; il me fit faire des réflexions sur l'étrange sujettion où le Turc tient la Macédoine et la Bulgarie, l'empereur de Constantinople et les Grecs, le despote de Rascie et ses sujets. Cette dépendance me parut chose lamentable pour la chrétienté. Et comme j'ai vécu avec les Turcs, que je connois leur manière de vivre et de combattre, que j'ai hanté des gens notables qui les ont vus de près dans leurs grandes entreprises, je me suis enhardi à écrire, selon mes lumières, quelque chose sur eux, et à montrer, sauf correction de la part de ceux qui sont plus instruits que moi, comment il est possible de reprendre les états dont ils se sont emparés, et de les battre sur un champ de bataille.

Et d'abord, pour commencer par leur personnel, je dirai que ce sont d'assez beaux hommes, portant tous de longues barbes, mais de moyenne taille et de force médiocre. Je sais bien que, dans le langage ordinaire, on dit fort comme un Turc; cependant j'ai vu une infinité de chrétiens qui, dans les choses où il faut de la force, l'emportoient sur eux; et moi-même, qui ne suis pas des plus robustes, j'en ai trouvé, lorsque les circonstances exigeoient quelque travail, de plus foibles que moi encore.

Ils sont gens diligens, se lèvent matin volontiers, et vivent de peu en compagne; se contentant de pain mal cuit, de chair crue séchée au soleil, de lait soit caillé soit non caillé, de miel, fromage. raisins, fruits, herbages, et même d'une poignée de farine avec laquelle ils feront un brouet qui leur suffira pour un jour à six ou huit. Ont-ils un cheval ou un chameau malade sans espoir de guérison, ils lui coupent la gorge et le mangent. J'en ai été témoin maintes fois. Pour dormir ils ne sont point embarassés, et couchent par terre.

Leur habillement consiste en deux ou trois robes de coton l'une sur l'autre, et qui descendent jusqu'aux pieds. Par-dessus celles-là ils en portent, en guise de manteau, une autre de feutre qu'on nomme capinat. Le capinat, quoique léger, résiste à la pluie, et il y en a de très-beaux et de très-fins. Ils ont des bottes qui montent jusqu'aux genoux, et de grandes braies (caleçons), qui pour les uns sont de velours cramoisi, pour d'autres de soie, de futaine, d'étoffes communes. En guerre ou en route, pour n'être point embarrassés de leurs robes, ils les relèvent et les enferment dans leurs caleçons; ce qui leur permet d'agir librement.

Leurs chevaux sont bons, coûtent peu à nourir, courent bien et longtemps; mais ils les tiennent très-maigres et ne les laissent manger que la nuit, encore ne leur donnent-ils alors que cinq ou six jointées d'orge et le double de paille picade (hachée): le tout mis dans une besace qu'ils leur pendent aux oreilles. Au point du jour, ils les brident, les nettoient, les étrillent; mais ils ne les font boire qu'à midi, puis l'après-diner, toutes les fois qu'ils trouvent de l'eau, et le soir quand ils logent ou campent; car ils campent toujours de bonne heure, et près d'une rivière, s'ils le peuvent. Dans cette dernière circonstance ils les laissent bridés encore pendant une heure, comme les mules. Enfin vient un moment où chacun fait manger le sien.

Pendant la nuit ils les couvrent de feutre ou d'autres étoffes, et j'ai vu de ces couvertures qui étoient très-belles; ils en ont même pour leurs lévriers,* espèce dont ils sont trés-curieux, et qui chez eux est belle et forte, quoiqu'elle ait de longues oreilles pendantes et de longues queues feuillées (touffues), que cependant elle porte bien.

Tous leurs chevaux sont Hongres: ils n'en gardent d'entiers que quelques-uns pour servir d'étalons, mais en si petit nombre que je n'en ai pas vu un seul. Du reste ils les sellent et brident à la jennette.† Leurs selles, ordinairement fort riches, sont très-creuses. Elles n'ont qu'un arçon devant, un autre derrière, avec de courtes étrivières et de larges étriers.

Quant à leurs habillemens de guerre, j'ai été deux fois dans le cas de les voir, â l'occasion des Grecs renégats qui renonçoient à leur religion pour embrasser le Mahométisme: alors les Turcs font une grande fête; ils prennent leurs plus belles armes et parcourent la ville en cavalcade aussi nombreuse qu'il leur est possible. Or dans ces circonstances, je les ai vus porter d'assez belles brigandines (cottes d'armes) pareilles aux nôtres, à l'exception que les écailles en étoient plus petites. Leur garde-bras (brassarts) étoient de même. En un mot ils ressemblent à ces peintures où l'on nous représente les temps de Jules César. La brigandine descend presqu'à mi-cuisse ; mais à son extrémité est attachée circulairement une étoffe de soie qui vient jusqu'à mi-jambe.

---

* Le mot lévrier n'avoit pas alors l'acception exclusive qu'il a aujourd'hui; il se prenoit pour le chien de chase ordinaire.

† Les mors et les selles à la genette avoient été adoptés en France, et jusqu'au dernier siècle ils furent d'usage dans nos manéges. On disoit monter à la genette quand les jambes étoient si courtes que l'éperon portoit vis-à-vis les flancs du cheval. Le mors à la genette étoit celui qui avoit sa gourmette d'une seule pièce et de la forme d'un grand anneau, mis et arrêté au haut de la liberté de la langue.

Sur la tête ils portent un harnois blanc qui est rond comme elle, et qui, haut de plus d'un demi-pied, se termine en pointe.* On le garnit de quatre clinques (lames), l'une devant, l'autre derrière, les deux autres sur les côtés, afin de garantir du coup d'épée la face, le cou et les joues. Elles sont pareilles à celles qu'ont en France nos salades.†

Outre cette garniture de tête ils en ont assez communément une autre qu'ils mettent par-dessus leurs chapeaux ou leurs toques : c'est une coiffe de fil d'archal. Il y a de ces coiffes qui sont si riches et si belles qu'elles coûtent jusqu'à quarante et cinquante ducats, tandis que d'autres n'en coûtent qu'un ou deux. Quoique celles-ci soient moins fortes que les autres, elles peuvent résister au coup de taille d'une épée.

J'ai parlé de leurs selles : ils y sont assis comme dans un fauteuil, bien enfoncés, les genoux fort haut et les étriers courts ; position dans laquelle ils ne pourroient pas supporter le moindre coup de lance sans être jetés bas.

L'arme de ceux qui ont quelque fortune est un arc, un tarquais, une épée et une forte masse à manche court, dont le gros bout est taillé à plusieurs carnes. Ce bâton a du danger quand on l'assène sur des épaules ou des bras dégarnis. Je suis même convaincu qu'un coup bien appuyé sur une tête armée de salade étourdiroit l'homme.

Plusieurs portent de petits pavois (boucliers) en bois, et ils savent très-bien s'en couvrir à cheval quand ils tirent de l'arc. C'est ce que m'ont assuré gens qui les ont long-temps pratiqués, et ce que j'ai vu par moi-même.

Leur obéissance aux ordres de leur seigneur est sans bornes. Pas un seul n'oseroit les transgresser quand il s'agiroit de la vie, et c'est principalement à cette soumission constante qu'il doit les grandes choses qu'il a exécutées et ces vastes conquêtes qui l'ont rendu maître d'une étendue de pays beaucoup plus considérable que n'est la France.

---

* Harnois, dans la langue du temps, étoit un terme général qui signifioit à la fois habillement et armure ; ici il désigne une sorte de bonnet devenu arme défensive.

† Salades, sorte de casque léger alors en usage, et qui, n'ayant ni visière ni gorgerin, avoit besoin de cette bande de fer en saillie pour défendre le visage.

On m'a certifié que quand les puissances chrétiennes ont pris les armes contre eux, ils ont toujours été avertis à temps. Dans ce cas, le seigneur fait épier leur marche par des hommes qui sont propres à cette fonction, et il va les attendre avec son armée à deux ou trois journées du lieu où il se propose de les combattre. Croit-il l'occasion favorable, il fond sur eux tout-à-coup, et ils ont pour ces circonstances une sorte de marche qui leur est propre. Le signal est donné par un gros tambour. Alors ceux qui doivent être en tête partent les premiers et sans bruit; les autres suivent de même en silence, sans que la file soit jamais interrompue, parce que les chevaux et les hommes sont dressés à cet exercice. Dix mille Turcs, en pareil cas, font moins de tapage que ne feroient cent hommes d'armes chrétiens. Dans leurs marches ordinaires, ils ne vont jamais qu'au pas; mais dans celles-ci ils emploient le galop, et comme d'ailleurs ils sont armés légèrement, ils font du soir au matin autant de chemin qu'en trois de leurs journées communes; et voilà pourquoi ils ne pourroient porter d'armures complètes, ainsi que les Français et les Italiens: aussi ne veulent-ils en chevaux que ceux qui ont un grand pas ou qui galopent long-temps, tandis que nous il nous les faut trottant bien et aisés.

C'est par ces marches forcées qu'ils ont réussi, dans leurs différentes guerres, à surprendre les chrétiens et à les battre si complétement; c'est ainsi qu'ils ont vaincu le duc Jean, à qui Dieu veuille pardonner,* et l'empereur Sigismond, et tout récemment encore cet empereur devant Coulumbach, où périt messire Advis, chevalier de Poulaine (Pologne).

Leur manière de combattre varie selon les circonstances. Voient-ils un lieu et une occasion favorables pour attaquer, ils se divisent en plusieurs pelotons, selon la force de leur troupe, et viennent ainsi assailir par différens côtés. Ce moyen est surtout celui qu'ils emploient en pays de bois et de montagnes, parce qu'ils ont l'art de se réunir sans peine.

---

*Jean, comte de Nevers, surnommé Sans-peur, et fils de Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne. Sigismond ayant formé une ligue pour arretêr les conquêtes de Bajazet, notre roi Charles VI lui envoya un corps de troupes dans lequel il y avoit deux mille gentilshommes, et qui étoit conduit par le comte Jean. L'armée chrétienne fut défaite à Nicopolis en 1396, et nos Français tués ou faits prisonniers. On sait qu'avant la bataille, pour se débarrasser de captifs Turcs qu'ils avoient reçus à rançon, ils eurent l'indignité de les égorger, et qu'après la victoire le sultan n'ayant accordé la vie qu'aux principaux d'entre eux, il fit par représailles massacrer devant eux leurs camarades. Jean, devenu duc de Bourgogne, fit lâchement assassiner dans Paris le duc d'Orléans, frère du roi. Il fut tué à son tour par Tannegui du Châtel, ancien officier du duc. On voit par ces faits que la Brocquière avoit grande raison, en parlant de Jean, de demander que Dieu lui pardonnât.

D'autres fois ils se mettent en embuscade et envoient à la découverte quelques gens bien montés. Si le rapport est que l'ennemi n'est point sur ses gardes, ils savent prendre leur parti sur-le-champ et tirer avantage des circonstances. Le trouvent-ils en bonne ordonnance, ils voltigent autour de l'armée à la portée du trait, caracollent ainsi en tirant sans cesse aux hommes et aux chevaux, et le font si long-temps qu'enfin ils la mettent en désordre. Si l'on veut les poursuivre et les chasser, il fuient, et se dispersent chacun de leur côté, quand même on ne leur opposeroit que le quart de ce qu'ils sont; mais c'est dans leur fuite qu'ils sont redoutables, et c'est presque toujours ainsi qu'ils ont déconfi les chrétiens. Tout en fuyant ils ont l'art de tirer de l'arc si adroitement qu'ils ne manquent jamais d'atteindre le cavalier ou le cheval.

D'ailleurs chacun d'eux porte attaché à l'arçon de sa selle un tabolcan. Si le chef ou quelqu'un des officiers s'aperçoit que l'ennemi qui poursuit est en désordre, il frappe trois coups sur son instrument; chacun de son côté et de loin en loin en fait autant: en un instant tous se rassemblent autour du chef, "comme pourceaux au cry l'un de l'autre," et, selon les circonstances, ils reçoivent en bon ordre les assaillans ou fondent sur eux par pelotons, on les attaquant de toutes parts.

Dans les batailles rangées ils emploient quelquefois une autre sorte de stratagème, qui consiste à jeter des feux à travers les chevaux de la cavalerie pour les épouvanter; souvent encore ils mettent en tête de leur ligne un grand nombre de chameaux ou de dromadaires forts et hardis; ils les chassent en avant sur les chevaux, et y jettent le désordre.

Telles sont les manières de combattre que les Turcs ont jusqu'à présent mises en usage vis-à-vis des chrétiens. Assurément je ne veux point en dire du mal ni les déprécier; j'avouerai au contraire que, dans le commerce de la vie, je les ai trouvés francs et loyaux, et que dans les occasions où il falloit du courage ils se sont bien montrés: mais cependant je n'en suis pas moins convaincu que, pour des troupes bien montées et bien commandées, ce seroit chose peu difficile de les battre; et quant à moi je déclare qu'avec moitié moins de monde qu'eux je n'hésiterois pas à les attaquer.

Leurs armées, je le sais, sont ordinairement de cent à deux cent mille hommes; mais la plupart sont à pied, et la plupart manquent, comme je l'ai dit, de tarquais, de coiffe, de masse ou d'épée; fort peu ont une armure complète.

D'ailleurs ils ont parmi eux un très-grand nombre de chrétiens qui servent forcément: Grecs, Bulgares, Macédoniens, Albanois, Esclavons, Valaques, Rasciens et autres sujets du despote de Rascie. Tous ces gens-là détestent le Turc, parce qu'il les tient dans une dure servitude; et s'ils voyoient marcher en forces contre lui les chrétiens, et sur-tout les Français, je ne doute nullement qu'ils ne lui tournassent le dos et ne le grevassent beaucoup.

Les Turcs ne sont donc ni aussi terribles, ni aussi formidables que je l'ai entendu dire. J'avoue pourtant qu'il faudroit contre eux un général bien obéi, et qui voulût spécialement prendre et suivre les avis de ceux qui connoissent leur manière de faire la guerre. C'est la faute que fit à Coulumbach, m'a-t-on-dit, l'empereur Sigismond lorsqu'il fut battu par eux. S'il avoit voulu écouter les conseils qu'on lui donna, il n'eût point été obligé de lever honteusement le siége, puisqu'il y avoit vingt-cinq à trente mille Hongrois. Ne vit-on pas deux cents arbalêtriers Lombards et Génois arrêter seuls l'effort des ennemis, les contenir, et favoriser sa retraite pendant qu'il s'embarquoit dans les galères qu'il avoit sur le Danube; tandis que six mille Valaques, qui, avec le chevalier Polonois dont j'ai parlé ci-dessus, s'étoient mis à l'écart sur une petite hauteur, furent tous taillés en pièces?

Je ne dis rien sur tout ceci que je n'aie vu ou entendu. Ainsi donc, dans le cas où quelque prince où général chrétien voudroit entreprendre la conquête de la Grèce ou même pénétrer plus avant, je crois que je puis lui donner des renseignemens utiles. Au reste je vais parler selon mes facultés; et s'il m'échappoit chose qui déplût à quelqu'un, je prie qu'on m'excuse et qu'on la regarde comme nulle.

Le souverain qui formeroit un pareil projet devroit d'abord se proposer pour but, non la gloire et la renommée, mais Dieu, la religion, et le salut de tant d'âmes qui sont dans la voie de perdition. Il faudroit qu'il fût bien assuré d'avance du paiement de ses troupes, et qu'il n'eût que des corps bien famés, de bonne volonté, et sur-tout point pillards. Quant aux moyens de solde, ce seroit, je crois, à notre saint-père le pape qu'il conviendroit de les assurer; mais jusqu'au moment où l'on entreroit sur les terres des Turcs on devroit se fair une loi de ne rien prendre sans payer. Personne n'aime à se voir dérober ce qui lui appartient, et j'ai entendu dire que ceux qui l'ont fait s'en sont souvent mal trouvés. Au reste je m'en rapporte sur tous ces détails aux princes et à messeigneurs de leur conseil; moi je ne m'arrête qu'à l'espèce de troupes qui me paroît la plus propre à l'enterprise, et avec laquelle je desirerois être, si j'avois à choisir.

Je voudrois donc, 1°. de France, gens d'armes, gens de trait, archers et arbalêtriers, en aussi grand nombre qu'il seroit possible, et composés comme je l'ai dit ci-dessus; 2°. d'Angleterre, mille hommes d'Armes et dix mille archers; 3°. d'Allemagne, le plus qu'on pourroit de gentilshommes et de leurs crennequiniers à pied et à cheval.* Assemblez en gens de trait, archers et crennequiniers quinze à vingt mille hommes de ces trois nations, bien unis; joignez-y deux à trois cents ribaudequins,† et je demanderai à Dieu la grace de marcher avec eux et je réponds bien qu'on pourra les mener sans peine de Belgrade à Constantinople.

Il leur suffiroit, ainsi que je l'ai remarqué, d'une armure légère, attendu que le trait Turc n'a point de force. De près, leurs archers tirent juste et vite; mais ils ne tirent point à beaucoup près aussi loin que les nôtres. Leurs arcs sont gros, mais courts, et leurs traits courts et minces. Le fer y est enfoncé dans le bois, et ne peut ni supporter un grand coup, ni faire plaie que quand il trouve une partie découverte. D'après ceci, on voit qu'il suffiroit à nos troupes d'avoir une armure légère, c'est-à-dire un léger harnois de jambes‡, une légère brigandine ou blanc-harnois, et une salade avec bavière et visière un peu large.§ Le trait d'un arc Turc pourroit fausser un haubergeon;[*] mais il sémoussera contre une brigandine ou blanc-harnois.

---

* Cranquiniers, c'étoit le nom qu'en Autriche et dans une partie de l'Allemagne on donnoit aux archers.

† Ribaudequins, sortes de troupes légères qui servoient aux escarmouches et représentoient nos tirailleurs d'aujourd'hui.

‡ Harnois de jambes, sorte d'armure défensive en fer qui emboîtoit la jambe, et qu'on nommoit jambards ou grèves.

§ J'ai déja dit que la salade étoit un casque beaucoup moins lourd que le heaume. Il y en avoit qui laissoient le visage totalement découvert; d'autres qui, pour le garantir, portoient en avant une lame de fer; d'autres qui, comme le heaume, le couvroient en entier, haut et bas: ce qu'on appeloit visière et bavière.

J'ajouterai qu'en cas de besoin nos archers pourroient se servir des traits des Turcs, et que les leurs ne pourroient se servir des nôtres, parce que la coche n'est pas assez large, et que les cordes de leurs arcs étant de nerfs, sont beaucoup trop grosses.

Selon moi, ceux de nos gens d'armes qui voudroient être à cheval devroient avoir une lance légère à fer tranchant, avec une forte épée bien affilée. Peut-être aussi leur seroit-il avantageux d'avoir une petite hache à main. Ceux d'entre eux qui seroient à pied porteroient guisarme,[†] ou bon épieu tranchant[‡]; mais les uns et les autres auroient les mains armées de gantelets. Quant a ces gantelets, j'avoue que pour moi j'en con- nois en Allemagne qui sont de cuir bouilli, dont je ferois autant de cas que de ceux qui sont en fer.

Lorsqu'on trouvera une plaine rase et un lieu pour combattre avec avantage on en profitera; mais alors on ne fera qu'un seul corps de bataille. L'avant-garde et l'arrière-garde seront employées à former les deux ailes. On entremèlera par-ci par-là tout ce qu'on aura de gens d'armes, à moins qu'on ne préférât de les placer en dehors pour escarmoucher; mais on se gardera bien de placer ainsi les hommes d'armes. En avant de l'armée et sur ses ailes seront épars et semés çà et là les ribaudequins; mais il sera défendu à qui que ce soit, sous peine de la vie, de poursuivre les fuyards.

Les Turcs ont la politique d'avoir toujours des armées deux fois plus nombreuses que celles des chrétiens. Cette supériorité de nombre augmente leur courage, et elle leur permet en même temps de former différens corps pour attaquer par divers côtés à la fois. S'ils parviennent à percer, ils se précipitent en foule innombrable par l'ouverture, et alors c'est un grand miracle si tout n'est pas perdu.

Pour empêcher ce malheur on placera la plus grande quantité de ribaudequins vers les angles du corps de bataille, et l'on tâchera de se tenir serré de manière à ne point se laisser entamer. Au reste, cette ordonnance me paroit d'autant plus facile à garder qu'ils ne sont point assez bien armés pour former une colonne capable par son poids d'une forte impulsion. Leurs lances ne valent rien. Ce qu'ils ont de mieux ce sont leurs archers, et ces archers ne tirent ni aussi loin ni aussi fort que les nôtres.

---

[*] Haubergeon, cotte de mailles plus légère que le haubert. Etant en mailles, elle pouvoit être faussée plus aisément que la brigandine, qui étoit de fer plein ou en écailles de fer.

[†] Guisarme, hache à deux têtes.

[‡] Epieu, lance beaucoup plus forte que la lance ordinaire.

Ils ont aussi une cavalerie beaucoup plus nombreuse ; et leurs chevaux, quoique inférieurs en force aux nôtres, quoique moins capables de porter de lourds fardeaux, courent mieux, escarmouchent plus long-temps et ont plus d'haleine. C'est une raison de plus pour se tenir toujours bien serré, toujours bien en ordre.

Si l'on suit constamment cette méthode ils seront forcés, ou de combattre avec désavantage, et par conséquent de tout risquer, ou de faire retraite devant l'armée. Dans le cas où ils prendroient ce dernier parti, on mettra de la cavalerie à leurs trousses ; mais il faudra qu'elle ne marche jamais qu'en bonne ordonnance, et toujours prête à combattre et à les bien recevoir s'ils reviennent sur leurs pas. Avec cette conduite il n'est point douteux qu'on ne les batte toujours. En suivant le contraire, ce seront eux qui nous battront, comme il est toujours arrivé.

On me dira peut-être que rester ainsi en présence et sur la défensive vis-à-vis d'eux, seroit une honte pour nous. On me dira que, vivant de peu et de tout ce qu'ils trouvent, ils nous affameroient bientôt si nous ne sortoins de notre fort pour aller les combattre.

Je répondrai que leur coutume n'est point de rester en place ; qu'aujourd'hui dans un endroit, demain éloignés d'une journée et demie, ils reparoissent tout-à-coup aussi vite qu'ils ont disparu, et que, si l'on n'est point continuellement sur ses gardes, on court de gros risques. L'important est donc, du moment où on les a vus, d'être toujours en défiance, toujours prêt à monter à cheval et à se battre.

Si l'on a quelque mauvais pas à passer, on ne manquera pas d'y envoyer des gens d'armes et des gens de trait autant que le lieu permettra d'en recevoir pour combattre, et l'on aura grand soin qu'ils soient constamment en bon ordre de bataille.

Jamais n'envoyez au fourrage, ce seroit autant d'hommes perdus; d'ailleurs vous ne trouveriez plus rien aux champs. En temps de guerre les Turcs font tout transporter dans les villes.

Avec toutes ces précautions, la conquête de la Grèce* ne sera pas une entreprise extrêmement difficile, pourvu, je le répète, que l'armée fasse toujours corps, qu'elle ne se divise jamais, et ne veuille point envoyer de pelotons à la poursuite de l'ennemi. Si l'on me demande comment on aura des vivres, je dirai que la Grèce et la Rassie ont des rivières navigables, et que la Bulgarie, la Macédoine et les provinces Grecques sont fertiles.

---

* On a déja vu plus haut que par le mot Grèce l'auteur entend les états que les Turcs possédoient en Europe.

En avançant ainsi toujours en masse, on forcera les Turcs à reculer, et il faudra qu'ils choisissent entre deux extrémités, comme je l'ai déja dit, ou de repasser en Asie et d'abandonner leurs biens, leurs femmes et leurs enfans, puisque le pays n'est point de défense, ainsi qu'on l'a pu voir par la description que j'en ai donnée, ou de risquer une bataille, comme ils l'ont fait toutes les fois qu'ils ont passé le Danube.

Je conclus qu'avec de bonnes troupes composées des trois nations que j'ai nommées, Français, Anglais et Allemands, on sera sûr du succès, et que si elles sont en nombre suffisant, bien unies et bien commandées, elles iront par terre jusqu'à Jerusalem. Mais je reprends mon récit.

Je traversai le Danube à Belgrade. Il étoit en ce moment extraordinairement gonflé, et pouvoit bien avoir douze milles de large. Jamais, de mémoire d'homme, on ne lui avoit vu une crue pareille. Ne pouvant me rendre à Boude (Bude) par le droit chemin, j'allai à une ville champêtre (un village) nommée Pensey. De Pensey j'arrivai par la plaine la plus unie que je connoisse, et après avoir traversé en bac une rivière à Beurquerel, ville qui appartient au despote de Rassie, et où je passai deux autres rivières sur un pont. De Beurquerel je vins à Verchet, qui est également au despote, et là je passai la Tiste (la Teisse), rivière large et profonde. Enfin je me rendis à Ségading (Ségédin) sur la Tiste.

Dans toute la longueur de cette route, à l'exception de deux petits bois qui étoient enclos d'un ruisseau, je n'ai pas vu un seul arbre. Les habitans n'y brûlent que de la paille ou des roseaux qu'ils ramassent le long des rivières ou dans leurs nombreux marécages. Ils mangent, au lieu de pain, des gâteaux tendres; mais ils n'en ont pas beaucoup à manger.

Ségédin est une grande ville champêtre, composée d'une seule rue qui m'a paru avoir une lieue de longueur environ. Elle est dans un terroir fertile, abondant en toutes sortes de denreés. On y prend beaucoup de grues et de bistardes (outardes), et j'en vis un grand marché tout rempli; mais on les y apprête fort malproprement, et on les mange de même. La Teisse fournit aussi quantité de poissons, et nulle part je n'ai vu rivière en donner d'aussi gros.

On y trouve également une grande quantité de chevaux sauvages à vendre ; mais on sait les domter et les apprivoiser, et c'est une chose curieuse à voir. On m'a même assuré que qui en voudroit trois ou quatre mille, les trouveroit dans la ville. Ils sont à si bon marché que pour dix florins de Hongrie on auroit un très-beau roussin (cheval de voyage).

L'empereur, m'a-t-on dit, avoit donné Ségédin à un évêque. J'y vis ce prélat, et me sembla homme de grosse conscience. Les cordeliers ont dans la ville une assez belle église. J'y entendis le service. Ils le font un peu à la Hongroise.

De Ségédin je vins à Paele (Pest), assez bonne ville champêtre sur le Danube, vis-à-vis Bude. D'une ville à l'autre le pays continue d'être bon et uni. On y trouve une quantité immense de haras de jumens, qui vivent abandonnées à elles-mêmes en pleine campagne, comme les animaux sauvages ; et telle est la raison qui fait qu'on en voit tant au marché de Ségédin.

A Pest je traversai le Danube et entrai dans Bude sept jours après mon départ de Belgrade.

Bude, la principale ville de Hongrie, est sur une hauteur beaucoup plus longue que large. Au levant elle a le Danube, au couchant un vallon, et au midi un palais qui commande la porte de la ville, palais qu'a commencé l'empereur, et qui, quand on l'aura fini, sera grand et fort. De ce côté, mais hors des murs, sont de très beaux bains chauds. Il y en a encore au levant, le long du Danube, mais qui ne valent pas les autres.

La ville est gouvernée par des Allemands, tant pour les objets de justice et de commerce que pour ce qui regarde les différentes professions. On y voit beaucoup de Juifs qui parlent bien Français, et dont plusieurs sont de ceux qu'on a chassés de France. J'y trouvai aussi un marchand d'Arras appelé Clays Davion ; il faisoit partie d'un certain nombre de gens de métier que l'empereur Sigismond avoit amenés de France. Clays travailloit en haute-lice.*

Les environs de Bude sont agréables, et le terroir est fertile en toutes sortes de denrées, et spécialement en vins blancs qui ont un peu d'ardeur: ce qu'on attribue aux bains chauds du canton et au soufre sur lequel les eaux coulent. A une lieue de la ville se trouve le corps de saint Paul, hermite, qui s'est conservé tout entier.

---

* Sigismond, dans son voyage en France, avoit été à portée d'y voir nos manufactures, et spécialement celles de Flandre, renommées dès-lors par leurs tapisseries. Il avoit voulu en établir de pareilles dans sa capitale de Hongrie, et avoit engagé des ouvriers de différentes professions à l'y suivre.

Je retournai à Pest, où je trouvai également six à huit familles Françaises que l'empereur y avoit envoyées pour construire sur le Danube, et vis-à-vis de son palais une grande tour. Son dessein étoit d'y mettre une chaîne avec laquelle il pût fermer la rivière. On seroit tenté de croire qu'il a voulu en cela imiter la tour de Bourgogne qui est devant le château de l'Ecluse; mais ici je ne crois pas que le projet soit exécutable: la rivière est trop large. J'eus la curiosité d'aller visiter la tour. Elle avoit déja une hauteur d'environ trois lances, et l'on voyoit à l'entour une grande quantité de pierres taillées; mais tout étoit resté là, parce que les premiers maçons qui avoient commencé l'ouvrage étoient morts, disoit-on, et que ceux qui avoient survécu n'en savoient pas assez pour le continuer.

Pest a beaucoup de marchands de chevaux, et qui leur en demanderoit deux mille bons les y trouveroit. Ils les vendent par écurie composée de dix chevaux, et chaque écurie est de deux cents florins. J'en ai vu plusieurs dont deux ou trois chevaux seuls valoient ce prix. Ils viennent la plupart des montagnes de Transylvanie, qui bornent la Hongrie au levant. J'en achetai un qui étoit grand coureur: ils le sont presque tous. Le pays leur est bon par la quantité d'herbages qu'il produit; mais ils ont le défaut d'être un peu quinteux, et spécialement mal aisés à ferrer. J'en ai même vu qu'on étoit alors obligé d'abattre.

Les montagnes dont je viens de parler ont des mines d'or et de sel qui tous les ans rapportent au roi chacune cent mille florins de Hongrie. Il avoit abandonné celle d'or au seigneur de Prusse et au comte Mathico, à condition que le premier garderoit la frontière contre le Turc, et le second Belgrade. La reine s'étoit réservé le revenu de celle du sel.

Ce sel est beau. Il se tire d'une roche et se taille en forme de pierre, par morceaux d'un pied de long environ, carrés, mais un peu convexes en dessus. Qui les verroit dans un chariot les prendroit pour des pierres. On le broie dans un mortier, et il en sort passablement blanc, mais plus fin et meilleur que tous ceux que j'ai goûtés ailleurs.

En traversant la Hongrie j'ai souvent rencontré des chariots qui portoient six, sept ou huit personnes, et où il n'y avoit qu'un cheval d'attelé; car leur coutume, quand ils veulent faire de grandes journées, est de n'en mettre qu'un. Tous ont les roues de derrière beaucoup plus hautes que celles de devant. Il en est de couverts à la manière du pays, qui sont très-beaux et si légers qu'y compris les roues un homme, ce me semble, les porteroit sons peine suspendus à son cou. Comme le pays est plat et très-uni, rien n'empêche le cheval de trotter toujours. C'est à raison de cette égalité de terrain que, quand on y laboure, on fait des sillons d'une telle longueur que c'est une merveille à voir.

Jusqu'à Pest je n'avois point eu de domestique; là je m'en donnai un, et pris à mon service un de ces compagnons maçcons Français qui s'y trouvoient. Il étoit de Brai-sur-Somme.

De retour à Bude j'allai, avec l'ambassadeur de Milan, saluer le grand comte de Hongrie, titre qui répond à celui de lieutenant de l'empereur. Le grand comte m'accueillit d'abord avec beaucoup de distinction, parce qu'à mon habit il me prit pour Turc; mais quand il sut que j'étois chrétien il se refroidit un peu. On me dit que c'étoit un homme peu sûr dans ses paroles, et aux promesses duquel il ne falloit pas trop se fier. C'est un peu là en général ce qu'on reproche aux Hongrois; et, quant à moi, j'avoue que, d'après l'idée que m'ont donnée d'eux ceux que j'ai hantés, je me fierois moins à un Hongrois qu'à un Turc.

Le grand comte est un homme âgé. C'est lui, m'a-t-on dit, qui autrefois arrêta Sigismond, roi de Behaigne (Bohême) et de Hongrie, et depuis empereur; c'est lui qui le mit en prison, et qui depuis l'en tira par accommodement.

Son fils venoit d'épouser une belle dame Hongroise. Je le vis dans une joute qui, à la manière du pays, eut lieu sur de petits chevaux et avec des selles basses. Les jouteurs étoient galamment habillés, et ils portoient des lances fortes et courtes. Ce spectacle est très-agréable. Quand les deux champions se touchent il faut que tous deux, ou au moins l'un des deux nécessairement, tombent à terre. C'est là que l'on connoît sûrement ceux qui savent se bien tenir en selle.*

---

* En France, pour les tournois et les joutes, ainsi que pour les batailles, les chevaliers montoient de ces grands et fort chevaux qu'on appeloit palefrois. Leurs selles avoient par-devant et par-derrière de hauts arçons qui, par les points d'appui qu'ils leur fournissoient, leur donnoient bien plus de moyens de résister au coup de lance que les petits chevaux et les selles basses des Hongrois; et voilà pourquoi notre auteur dit que c'est dans les joutes Hongroises qu'on peut reconnoître le cavalier qui sait bien se tenir en selle.

Quand ils joutent à l'estrivée pour des verges d'or, tous les chevaux sont de même hauteur; toutes les selles sont pareilles et tirées au sort, et l'on joute par couples toujours paires, un contre un. Si l'un des deux adversaires tombe, le vainqueur est obligé de se retirer, et il ne joute plus.

Jusqu'à Bude j'avois toujours accompagné l'ambassadeur de Milan; mais, avant de quitter la ville, il me prévint qu'en route il se sépareroit de moi pour se rendre auprès du duc. D'après cette annonce j'allai trouver mon Artésien Clays Davion, qui me donna, pour Vienne en Autriche, une lettre de recommendation adressée à un marchand de sa connoissance. Comme je m'étois ouvert à lui, et que je n'avois cru devoir lui cacher ni mon état et mon nom, ni le pays d'où je venois, et l'honneur que j'avois d'appartenir à monseigneur le duc (duc de Bourgogne), il mit tout cela dans la lettre à son ami, et je m'en trouvai bien.

De Bude je vins à Thiate, ville champêtre où le roi se tient volontiers, me dit-on; puis à Janiz, en Allemand Jane, ville sur le Danube. Je passai ensuite devant une autre qui est formée par une île du fleuve, et qui avoit été donnée par l'empereur à l'un des gens de monseigneur de Bourgogne, que je crois être messire Rénier Pot. Je passai par celle de Brut, située sur une rivière qui sépare le royaume de Hongrie d'avec le duché d'Autriche. La rivière coule à travers un marais où l'on a construit une chaussée longue et étroite. Ce lieu est un passage d'une grande importance; je suis même persuadé qu'avec peu de monde on pourroit le défendre et le fermer du côté de l'Autriche.

Deux lieues par-delà Brut l'ambassadeur de Milan se sépara de moi: il se rendit vers le duc son maître, et moi à Vienne en Autriche, où j'arrivai après cinq jours de marche.

Entré dans la ville, je ne trouvai d'abord personne qui voulût me loger, parce qu'on me prenoit pour un Turc. Enfin quelqu'un, par aventure, m'enseigna une hôtellerie où l'on consentit à me recevoir. Heureusement pour moi le domestique que j'avois pris à Pest savoit le Hongrois et le haut Allemand, et il demanda qu'on fît venir le marchand pour qui j'avois une lettre. On alla le chercher. Il vint, et non seulement il m'offrit tous ces services, mais il alla instruire monseigneur le duc Aubert,* cousin-germain de mondit seigneur qui aussitôt dépêcha vers moi un poursuivant,† et peu après messire Albrech de Potardof.

---

* Albert II, duc d'Autriche, depuis empereur, à la mort de Sigismond.

† Poursuivant d'armes, sorte de héraut en usage dans les cours des princes.

Il n'y avoit pas encore deux heures que j'étois arrivé quand je vis messire Albrech descendre de cheval à la porte de mon logis, et me demander. Je me crus perdu. Peu avant mon départ pour les saints lieux, moi et quelques autres nous l'avions arrêté entre Flandres et Brabant, parce que nous l'avions cru sujet de Phédérich d'Autriche,* qui avoit défié mondit seigneur; et je ne doutai pas qu'il ne vînt m'arrêter à mon tour, et peut-être faire pis encore.

Il me dit que mondit seigneur d'Autriche, instruit que j'étois serviteur de mondit seigneur le duc, l'envoyoit vers moi pour m'offrir tout ce qui dépendoit de lui; qu'il m'invitoit à le demander aussi hardiment que je le ferois envers mondit seigneur, et qu'il vouloit traiter ses serviteurs comme il feroit les siens même. Messire Albrech parla ensuite en son nom: il me présenta de l'argent, m'offrit des chevaux et autres objets; en un mot il me rendit le bien pour le mal, quoiqu'après tout cependant je n'eusse fait envers lui que ce que l'honneur me permettoit et m'ordonnoit même de faire.

Deux jours après, mondit seigneur d'Autriche m'envoya dire qu'il vouloit me parler; et ce fut encore messire Albrech qui vint me prendre pour lui faire la révérence. Je me présentai à lui au moment où il sortoit de la messe, accompagné de huit ou dix vieux chevaliers notables. A peine l'eus-je salué qu'il me prit la main sans vouloir permetter que je lui parlasse à genoux. Il me fit beaucoup de questions, et particulièrement sur mondit seigneur; ce qui me donna lieu de présumer qu'il l'aimoit tendrement.

C'étoit un homme d'assez grande taille et brun; mais doux et affable, vaillant et libéral, et qui passoit pour avoir toutes sortes de bonnes qualités. Parmi les personnes qui l'accompagnoient étoient quelques seigneurs de Bohème que les Houls en avoient chassés parce qu'ils ne vouloient pas être de leur religion.†

Il se présenta également à lui un grand baron de ce pays, appelé Paanepot, qui, avec quelques autres personnes, venoit, au nom des Hussites, traiter avec lui et demander la paix. Ceux ci se proposoient d'aller au secours du roi de Pologne contre les seigneurs de Prusse, et ils lui faisoient de grandes offres, m'a-t-on dit, s'il vouloit les seconder; mais il répondit, m'a-t-on encore ajouté, que s'ils ne se soumettoient à la loi de Jésus-Christ, jamais, tant qu'il seroit en vie, il ne feroit avec eux ni paix ni trève.

---

* Frédéric, duc d'Autriche, empereur après Albert II.

† Houls, Hussites, disciples de Jean Hus (qu'on prononçoit Hous), sectaires fanatiques qui dans ce siècle inondèrent la Bohème de sang, et se rendirent redoutables par leurs armes.

En effet, au temps où il leur parloit il les avoit déja battus deux fois. Il avoit repris sur eux toute la Morane (Moravie), et, par sa conduite et sa vaillance, s'étoit agrandi à leurs dépens.

Au sortir de son audience je fus conduite à celle de la duchesse, grande et belle femme, fille de l'empereur, et par lui héritière du royaume de Hongrie et de Bohème, et des autres seigneuries qui en dépendent. Elle venoit tout récemment d'accoucher d'une fille; ce qui avoit occasionné des fêtes et des joutes d'autant plus courues, que jusque-là elle n'avoit point eu d'enfans.

Le lendemain mondit seigneur d'Autriche m'envoya inviter à dîner par messire Albrech, et il me fit manger à sa table avec un seigneur Hongrois et un autre Autrichien. Tous ses gens sont à gages, et personne ne mange avec lui que quand on est en prévenu par son maître d'hôtel.

La table étoit carrée. La coutume est qu'on n'y apporte qu'un plat à la fois, et que celui qui s'en trouve le plus voisin en goûte le premier. Cet usage tient lieu d'essai.* On servit chair et poisson, et sur-tout beaucoup de différentes viandes fort épicées, mais toujours plat à plat.

Après le dîner on me mena voir les danses chez madame la duchesse. Elle me donna un chapeau de fil d'or et de soie, un anneau et un diamant pour mettre sur ma tête, selon la coutume du pays. Il y avoit là beaucoup de noblesse en hommes et en femmes; j'y vis des gens très-aimables, et les plus beaux cheveux qu'on puisse porter.

Quand j'eus été là quelque temps, un gentilhomme nommé Payser, qui, bien qu'il ne fût qu'écuyer,† étoit chambellan et garde des joyaux de mondit seigneur d'Autriche, vint de sa part me prendre pour me les montrer. Il me fit voir la couronne de Bohème, qui a d'assez belles pierreries, et entr'autres un rubis, le plus considérable que j'aie vu. Il m'a paru plus gros qu'une grosse datte ; mais il n'est point net, et offre quelques cavités dans le fond desquelles on aperçoit des taches noires.

---

* Chez les souverains on faisoit l'essai des viandes à mesure qu'on les leur servoit, et il y avoit un officier chargé de cette fonction qui, dans l'origine, avoit été une précaution prise contre le poison.

† Qui n'étoit pas encore chevalier.

De là ledit garde me mena voir les waguebonnes,* que mondit seigneur avoit fait construire pour combattre les Bohémiens. Je n'en vis aucun qui pût contenir plus de vingt hommes ; mais on me dit qu'il y en avoit un qui en porteroit trois cents, et auquel il ne falloit pour le traîner que dix-huit chevaux.

Je trouvai à la cour monseigneur de Valse, gentil chevalier, et le plus grand seigneur de l'Autriche après le duc ; j'y vis messire Jacques Trousset, joli chevalier de Zoave (Souabe) : mais il y en avoit un autre, nommé le Chant, échanson né de l'Empire, qui, ayant perdu à la bataille de Bar un sien frère et plusieurs de ses amis, et sachant que j'étois à monseigneur le duc, me fit épier pour savoir le jour de mon départ et me saisir en Bavière lorsque j'y passerois. Heureusement pour moi monseigneur d'Autriche fut instruit de son projet. Il le congédia, et me fit rester à Vienne plus que je ne comptois, pour attendre le départ de monseigneur de Valse et de messire Jacques, avec lesquels je partis.

Pendant mon séjour j'y vis trois de ces joutes dont j'ai parlé, à petits chevaux et à selles basses. L'une eut lieu à la cour, et les deux autres dans les rues ; mais à celles-ci, plusieurs de ceux qui furent renversés tombèrent si lourdement qu'ils se blessèrent avec danger.

Mondit seigneur d'Autriche me fit offrir en secret de l'argent. Je reçus les même offres de messire Albert et de messire Robert Daurestof, grand seigneur du pays, lequel, l'année d'auparavant, étoit allé en Flandre déguisé, et y avoit vu mondit seigneur le duc, dont il disoit beaucoup de bien. Enfin j'en reçus de très-vives d'un poursuivant Breton-bretonnant (Bas-Breton) nommé Toutseul, qui, après avoir été au service de l'amiral d'Espagne, étoit à celui de mondit seigneur d'Autriche. Ce Breton venoit tous les jours me chercher pour aller à la messe, et il m'accompagnoit par-tout où je voulois aller. Persuadé que j'avois dû dépenser en route tout ce que j'avois d'argent, il vint, peu avant mon départ, m'en présenter cinquante marcs qu'il avoit en émaux. Il insista beaucoup pour que je les vendisse à mon profit ; et comme je refusois également de recevoir et d'emprunter, il me protesta que jamais personne n'en sauroit rien.

---

* Waguebonne, sorte de chariot ou de tour ambulante pour les combats.

Vienne est une ville assez grande, bien fermée de bons fossés et de hauts murs, et où l'on trouve de riches marchands et des ouvriers de toute profession. Au nord elle a le Danube qui baigne ses murs. Le pays aux environs est agréable et bon, et c'est un lieu de plaisirs et d'amusemens. Les habitans y sont mieux habillés qu'en Hongrie, quoiqu'ils portent tous de gros pourpoints bien épais et bien larges.

En guerre, ils mettent par-dessus le pourpoint un bon haubergeon, un glaçon,* un grand chapeau de fer et d'autres harnois à la mode du pays.

Ils ont beaucoup de crennequiniers. C'est ainsi qu'en Autriche et en Bohème on nomme ceux qu'en Hongrie on appelle archers. Leurs arcs sont semblables à ceux des Turcs, quoiqu'ils ne soient ni si bons ni si forts; mais ils ne les manient point aussi bien qu'eux. Les Hongrois tirent avec trois doigts, et les Turcs avec le pouce et l'anneau.

Quand j'allai prendre congé de mondit seigneur d'Autriche et de madame, il me recommanda lui-même à mes deux compagnons de voyage, messire Jacques Trousset et mondit seigneur de Walsce, qui alloit se rendre sur la frontière de Bohème où il commandoit. Il me fit demander de nouveau si j'avois besoin d'argent. Je lui répondis, comme je l'avois déja fait à ceux qui m'en avoient offert, qu'à mon départ mondit seigneur le duc m'en avoit si bien pourvu qu'il m'en restoit encore pour revenir auprès de lui; mais je lui demandai un saufconduit, et il me l'accorda.

Le Danube, depuis Vienne jusqu'à trois journées pardelà, a son cours dirigé vers le levant; depuis Bude et même au-dessus, jusqu'à la pointe de Belgrade, il coule au midi. Là, entre la Hongrie et la Bulgarie, il reprend sa direction au levant, et va, dit-on, se jeter dans la mer Noire à Mont-Castre.

Je partis de Vienne dans la compagnie de mondit seigneur de Valse et de messire Jacques Trousset. Le premier se rendit à Lints, auprès de son épouse; la second dans sa terre.

Après deux journées de marche nous arrivâmes à Saint-Polquin

---

* Glaçon ou glachon, sorte d'armure défensive. Les Suisses estoient assez communément habillez de jacques, de pans, de haubergerie, de glachons et de chapeaux de fer à la façon d'Allemagne. (Mat. de Coucy, p. 536.)

En Français on appeloit glaçon une sorte de toile fine qui sans doute étoit glacée. Je soupçonne que le glaçon Allemand étoit une espèce de cotte d'armes faite de plusieurs doubles de toile piquée, comme nos gambisons. Peut-être aussi n'étoit-ce qu'une cuirasse.

(Saint-Pelten), où se font les meilleurs couteaux du pays. De là nous vînmes à Mélich (Mæleh) sur le Danube, ville où l'on fabrique les meilleures arbalètes, et qui a un très-beau monastère de chartreux ; puis à Valse, qui appartient audit seigneur, et dont le château, construit sur une roche élevée, domine le Danube. Lui-même me montra les ornemens d'autel qu'a le lieu. Jamais je n'en ai vu d'aussi riches en broderie et en perles. J'y vis aussi des bateaux qui remontoient le Danube, tirés par des chevaux.

Le lendemain de notre arrivée, un gentilhomme de Bavière vint saluer mondit seigneur de Valse. Messire Jacques Trousset, averti de sa venue, annonça qu'il alloit le faire pendre à une aubépine qui étoit dans le jardin. Mondit seigneur accourut aussitôt, et le pria de ne point lui faire chez lui un pareil affront. S'il vient jusqu'à moi, répondit messire, il ne peut l'échapper, et sera pendu. Ledit seigneur courut donc au devant du gentilhomme ; il lui fit un signe, et celui-ci se retira. La raison de cette colère est que messire Jacques, ainsi que la plupart des gens qu'il avoit avec lui, étoit de la secrète compagnie, et que le gentilhomme, qui en étoit aussi, avoit méusé.[*]

De Valse nous allâmes à Oens (Ens), sur la rivière de ce nom ; à Evresperch, qui est sur le même rivière, et du domaine de l'évêque de Passot (Passau) ; puis à Lins (Lintz), très-bonne ville, qui a un château sur le Danube, et qui n'est pas éloignée de la frontière de Bohème. Elle appartient à monseigneur d'Autriche, et a pour gouverneur ledit seigneur de Valse.

J'y vis madame de Valse, très-belle femme, du pays de Bohème, laquelle me fit beaucoup d'accueil. Elle me donna un roussin d'un excellent trot, un diamant pour mettre sur mes cheveux, à la mode d'Autriche, et un chapeau de perles orné d'un anneau et d'un rubis.[†]

Mondit seigneur de Valse restant à Lintz avec son épouse, je partis dans la compagnie de messire Jacques Trousset, et vins à Erfort, qui appartient au comte de Chambourg. Là finit l'Autriche, et depuis Vienne jusque-là nous avions mis six journées. D'Erfort nous allâmes à Riet, ville de Bavière, et qui est au duc Henri; à Prenne, sur la rivière de Sceine; à Bourchaze, ville avec château sur la même rivière, ou nous trouvâmes le duc; à Mouldrouf, où nous passâmes le Taing. Enfin, après avoir traversé le pays du duc Louis de Bavière, sans être entrés dans aucune de ses ville, nous arrivâmes à Munèque (Munich), la plus jolie petite ville que j'aie jamais vue, et qui appartient au duc Guillaume de Bavière.

[†] Probablement il s'agit ici de franc-maçonnerie, et le Bavarois que Trousset vouloit faire pendre étoit un faux frère qui avoit révélé les mystères de la compagnie secrète.

[*] Ces chapeaux, qu'il ne faut pas confondre avec les nôtres, n'étoient que des cercles, des couronnes en cerceau.

A Lanchperch je quittai la Bavière pour entrer en Souabe, et passai par Meindelahan (Mindelheim), qui est au duc; par Mamines (Memingen), ville d'Empire, et de là à Walpourch, l'un des châteaux de messire Jacques. Il ne s'y rendit que trois jours après moi, parce qu'il vouloit aller visiter dans le voisinage quelques-uns de ses amis; mais il donna ordre à ses gens de me traiter comme ils le traiteroient lui-même.

Quand il fut revenu nous partîmes pour Ravespourch (Rawensburg), ville d'Empire; de là à Martorf, à Mersporch (Mersbourg), ville de l'évêque de Constance, sur le lac de ce nom. Le lac en cet endroit peut bien avoir en largeur trois milles d'Italie. Je le traversai et vins à Constance, où je passai le Rhin, qui commence à prendre là son nom en sortant du lac.

C'est dans cette ville que se sépara de moi messire Jacques Trousset. Ce chevalier, l'un des plus aimable et des plus vaillans de l'Allemagne, m'avoit fait l'honneur et le plaisir de m'accompagner jusque-là pour égard pour mondit seigneur le duc; il m'eût même escorté plus loin, sans un fait d'armes auquel il s'étoit engagé: mais il me donna pour le suppléer un poursuivant, qu'il chargea de me conduire aussi loin que je l'exigerois.

Ce fait d'armes étoit une enterprise formée avec le seigneur de Valse. Tous deux s'aiment comme frères, et il devoient jouter à fer de lance, avec targe et chapeau de fer, selon l'usage du pays, treize contre treize, tous amis et parens. Il est parfaitement muni d'armes pour joutes et batailles. Lui-même me les avoit montrées dans son château de Walporch. Je pris congé de lui, et le quittai avec bien du regret.

De Constance je vins à Etran (Stein), où je passai le Rhin; à Chaufouze (Schaffouse,) ville de l'empereur; à Vualscot (Waldshutt); à Laufemberg (Lauffembourg); à Rinbel (Rhinfeld), toutes trois au duc Frédéric d'Autriche, et à Bâle, autre ville de l'Empereur où il avoit envoyé comme son lieutenant le duc

Guillaume de Bavière, parce que le saint concile y étoit assemblé.

Le duc voulut me voir, ainsi que madame la duchesse son épouse. J'assistai à une session du concile où furent présens monseigneur le cardinal de Saint-Ange, légat de notre saint père la pape Eugéne; sept autres cardinaux, plusieurs patriarches, archevêques et évêques. J'y vis des gens de mondit seigneur le duc, messire Guillebert de Lannoy, seigneur de Villerval, son ambassadeur; maître Jean Germain, et l'évêque de Châlons. J'eus un entretien avec ledit légat, qui me fit beaucoup de questions sur les pays que j'avois vus, et particulièrement sur la Grèce; il me parut avoir fort à cœur la conquête de ce pays, et me recommanda de répéter à mondit seigneur, touchant cette conquête, certaines choses que je lui avois racontées.

A Bâle je quittai mon poursuivant, qui retourna en Autriche; et moi, après avoir traversé la comté de Férette, qui est au duc Frédéric d'Autriche, et passé par Montbéliart, qui est à la comtesse de ce nom, j'entrai dans la comté de Bourgogne (la Franche-comté), qui appartient à monseigneur le duc, et vins à Besançon.

Je le croyois en Flandre, et en conséquence, voulant me rendre près de lui par les marches (frontières) de Bar et de Lorraine, je pris la route de Vésou; mais à Villeneuve j'appris qu'il étoit à l'entrée de Bourgogne, et qu'il avoit fait assiéger Mussi-l'Evêque. Je me rendis donc par Aussonne à Dijon, où je trouvai monseigneur le chancelier de Bourgogne, avec qui j'allai me présenter devant lui. Ses gens étoient au siége, et lui dans l'abbaye de Poitiers.

Je parus en sa présence avec les mêmes habillemens que j'avois au sortir de Damas, et j'y fis conduire le cheval que j'avois acheté dans cette ville, et qui venoit de m'amener en France. Mondit seigneur me reçut avec beaucoup de bonté. Je lui présentai mon cheval, mes habits, avec le koran et la vie de Mahomet en Latin, que m'avoit donnés à Damas, le chapelain du consul de Venise. Il les fit livrer à maître Jean Germain pour les examiner; mais onc depuis je n'en ai entendu parler. Ce maître Jean étoit docteur en théologie: il a été évêque de Châlons-sur-Saone et chevalier de la toison.[*]

---

[*] Jean Germain, né à Cluni, et par conséquent sujet du duc de Bourgogne, avoit plu, étant enfant, à la duchesse, qui l'envoya étudier dans l'Université de Paris, où il se distingua. Le duc, dont il sut gagner la faveur par la suite, le

Je me suis peu étendu sur la description du pays depuis Vienne jusqu'ici, parce qu'il est connu ; quant aux autres que j'ai parcourus dans mon voyage, si j'en publie la relation j'avertis ceux qui la liront que je l'ai entreprise, non par ostentation et vanité, mais pour instruire et guider les personnes qu'un même desir conduiroit dans ces contrées, et pour obéir à mon très-redouté seigneur monseigneur le duc, qui me l'a ordonné. J'avois rapporté un petit livret où en route j'écrivois toutes mes aventures quand j'en avois le temps, et c'est d'après ce mémorial que je l'ai rédigée. Si elle n'est pas composée aussi bien que d'autres pourroient le faire, je prie qu'on m'excuse.

The description of a voyage made by certaine ships of Holland into the East Indies, with their aduentures and successe ; together with the description of the countries, townes, and inhabitantes of the same : who set forth on the second of Aprill, 1595, and returned on the 14 of August, 1597. Translated out of Dutch into English, by W. P.*

To the right worshipfull Sir Iames Scudamore, Knight.

RIght worshipfull, this small treatie (written in Dutch, shewing a late voyage performed by certain Hollanders to the Islandes of Iaua, part of the East Indies) falling into my handes, and in my iudgement deserving no lesse commendation then those of our Countreymen, (as Captaine Raimonde in the Penelope, Maister Foxcroft in the Marchant Royall, and M. Iames Lancaster in the Edward Bonauenture, vnto the said East Indies, by the Cape de

---

fit, en 1431, chancelier de son ordre de la toison d'or (et non chevalier, comme le dit la Brocquière). L'année suivante il le nomme à l'évêché de Nevers; l'envoya, l'an 1432, ambassadeur à Rome, puis au concile de Bâle, comme l'un de ses représentans. En 1436 il le transféra de l'évêché de Nevers à celui de Châlons-sur-Saone.

Ce que la Brocquière dit de cet évêque annonce de l'humeur, et l'on conçoit que n'entendant point parler des deux manuscrits intéressans qu'il avoit apportés d'Asie, il devoit en avoir. Cependant Germain s'en occupa ; mais ce ne fut que pour travailler à les réfuter. A sa mort, arrivée en 1461, il laissa en manuscrit deux ouvrages dont on trouve des copies dans quelques bibliothèques, l'un intitulé, De conceptione beatæ Mariæ virginis, adversus mahometanos et infideles, libri duo ; l'autre, Adversus Alcoranum, libri quinque.

* London, imprinted by iohn wolfe, 1598.

Bona Sperance, in Anno 1591, as also M. Iohn Newbery, and Raphael Fich ouer land through Siria from Aleppo vnto Ormus and Goa, and by the said Raphael Fitch himselfe to Bengala, Malocca, Pegu, and other places in Anno 1583. as at large appeareth in a booke written by M. RICHARD HACLUTE a Gentleman very studious therein, and entituled the English voyages) I thought it not vnconuenient to translate the same into our mother tongue, thereby to procure more light and encouragement to such as are desirous to trauell those Countries, for the common wealth and commoditie of this Realme and themselues. And knowing that all men are not like affected, I was so bold to shrowd it vnder your worships protection, as being assured of your good disposition to the fauoring of trauell and trauellers, and whereby it hath pleased God to aduance you to that honourable title, which at this present you beare) and so not fitter for the protection of any then your selfe: and as a poore friend wishing all happines and prosperity in all your valiant actions. Which if it please your worshippe to like and accept, it may procure the proceeding in a more large and ample discourse of an East Indian voyage, lately performed and set forth by one Iohn Hughen of Linschoten, to your further delight. Wherewith crauing your fauor, and beseeching God to blesse your worship, with my good Ladie your wife, I most humbly take my leaue:

This 16. of Ianuarie.
1597.

Your Worships to commaunde.
W. PHILLIP.

To the Bayliefes, Burghemaisters, and Counsell of the town of Middelborgh in Zeelande.

IT may well bee thought (Right worshipfull) as many learned men are of opinion, that the actions and aduentures of the ancients long since done and performed, haue beene set forth with more show of wonder and strangenesse then they in truth deserued: the reason as I think was, because that in those daies there were many learned and wise men, who in their writings sought by all meanes they could to excell each other, touching the description of Countries and nations: And againe to the contrarie, for want of good Historiographers and writers, many famous actes and trauels of diuers nations and Countries lie hidden, and in a manner buried vnder ground, as wholly forgotten and vnknowne, vnlesse it were such as the Grecians and Romanes for their owne glories and aduantages thought good to declare. But to come to the matter of voyages by sea, it is euident to all the world, what voyage Iason with certaine yong Grecian Princes made to Colchos in the Oriental Countries to winne the golden Fleece, as also the trauels by Hercules performed into Libia in the West partes, to winne the Aurea Mala or golden apples of Hesperides, which notwithstanding neither for length, daunger, nor profite, are any thing comparable to the nauigations and voyages, that of late within the space of one hundreth years haue been performed and made into the East and West Indies, whereby in a manner there is not one hauen on the sea coast, nor any point of land in the whole world, but hath in time beene sought and founde out. I will not at this present dispute or make an argument, whether the Countries and nations of late yeares found out and discouered, were knowne to the auncients, but this is most certaine, that not any strange worke or aduenture was, or euer shall be performed, but by the speciall grace, fauour and mightie hand of God, and that such are worthy perpetual memory, as with noble minds haue sought to effect, and be the first enterprisers thereof, and with most valiant courages and wisedomes, haue performed such long and dangerous voyages into the East and West Indies, as also such Kinges and Princes, as with their Princely liberalities haue imployed their treasures, shippes, men and munitions to the furtherance and performance of so worthy actes, which notwithstanding in the end turned to their great aduancementes and inriching with great treasures, which by those meanes they haue drawn, and caused in great aboundance to be brought from thence, in such manner, that the King of Spaine nowe liuing, (hauing both the Indies in his possession, and reaping the abundant treasures which yearly are brought out of those countries) hath not only (although couertly) sought all the means he could to bring all Christendome vnder his dominion, but also (that which no King or country whatsoeuer although of greater might then he hath euer done) hee is not ashamed to vse this posie, Nec spe, nec metu. And although the first founders and discouerers of those Countries haue alwayes sought to hinder and intercept other nations from hauing any part of their glorie, yet hereby all nations, and indifferent persons may well know and perceiue the speciall policie, and valour of these vnited Prouinces, in trauelling into both the Indies, in the faces, and to the great griefe of their many and mightie enemies. Whereby it is to be hoped, that if they continue in their enterprises begun, they will not onely draw the most part of the Indian treasures into these Countries, but thereby disinherite and spoyle the Countrie of Spayne of her principall reuenues, and treasures of marchandises and traffiques, which she continually vseth and receyueth out of these countries, and out of Spayne are sent into the Indies, and so put the King of Spaine himselfe in minde of his foolish deuise which he vseth for a posie touching the new world, which is, Non sufficit orbis, like a second Alexander magnus, desiring to rule ouer all the world, as it is manifestly knowne. And because this description is fallen into my handes, wherein is contayned the first voyage of the Low-countrymen into the East Indies, with the aduentures happened vnto them, set downe and iustified by such as were present in the voyage, I thought it good to put it in print, with many pictures and cardes, whereby the reader may the easilier perceyue and discerne, the natures, apparels, and fashions of those Countries and people, as also the manner of their shippes, together with the fruitfulnesse and great aboundance of the same, hoping that this my labour will not onely be acceptable vnto all Marchants and Saylers, which hereafter meane to traffique into those Countries, but also pleasant and profitable to all such as are desirous to looke into so newe and strange things, which neuer heretofore were knowne vnto our nation. And againe for that all histories haue their particular commoditie, (specially such as are collected and gathered together) not by common report, from the first, seconde, or thirde man, but by such as haue seene and beene present in the actions, and that are liuing to iustifie and verifie the same: And although eloquence and words well placed in shewing a history, are great ornamentes and beautifyinges to the same, yet such reports and declarations are much more worthy credite, and commendabler for the benefit of the commonwealth, which are not set down or disciphered by subtill eloquence, but showne and performed by simple plaine men, such as by copiousnesse of wordes, or subtiltie do not alter or chaunge the matter from the truth thereof, which at this day is a common and notorious fault in many Historiographers: And thinking with myselfe to whome I were best to dedicate the same, I found it not fitter for any then for the right worshipfull Gouernours of this famous Towne of

Middelborgh, wherein for the space of 19 yeares I haue peaceably continued, specially because your worships do not onely deale with great store of shipping, and matter belonging to nauigation, but are also well pleased to heare, and great furtherers to aduance both shipping and traffiques, wherein consisteth not onely the welfare of all marchants, inhabitants, and cittizens of this famous City, but also of all the commonwealth of the vnited Prouinces, hoping your worships wil not onely accept this my labour, but protect and warrantise the same against all men: Wherewith I beseech God to blesse you with wisedome, and godly policie, to gouerne the Commonwealth: Middleborgh this 19 of October. 1597.

Your worships seruant to command
BERNARDT LANGHENEZ.

A briefe discription of a voyage performed by certaine Hollanders, to and from the East Indies, with their aduentures and successe.

THe ancient Historiographers and describers of the world haue much commended, and at large with great prayse set downe the diuers and seuerall voyages of many noble and valiant Captains (as of Alexander Magnus, Seleucus, Antiochus, Patrocles, Onesecritus) into the East Indies, which notwithstanding haue not set downe a great part of those coontries, as not being as then discouered, whereby it is thought and iudged by some men, that India is the full third part of all the world, because of the great Prouinces, mighty citties and famous Islands (full of costly marchandises, and treasures from thence brought into all partes of the worlde) that are therein: Wherein the auncient writers were very curious, and yet not so much as men in our age: They had some knowledge thereof, but altogether vncertaine, but we at this day are fully certified therein, both touching the countreys, townes, streames and hauens, with the trafiques therein vsed and frequented, whereby all the world, so farre distant and seperated from those strange nations, are by trade of marchandises vnited therevnto, and therby commonly knowne vnto them: The Portingalles first began to enterprise the voyage, who by art of nauigation (in our time much more experienced and greater then in times past, and therefore easilier performed) discouered those wild Countries of India, therein procuring great honour to their King, making his name famous and bringing a speciall and great profite of all kindes of spices into their Countrie, which thereby is spread throughout all the worlde, yet that sufficed not, for that the Englishmen (not inferiour to any nation in the world for arte of nauigation) haue likewise vndertaken the Indian voyage, and by their said voyages into those Countries, made the same commonly knowne vnto their Country, wherein Sir Frances Drake, and M. Candish are chiefly to bee commended, who not onely sayled into the East Indies, but also rounde about the world, with most prosperous voyages, by which their voyages, ours haue beene furthered and set forwarde, for that the condition of the Indies is, that the more it is sayled into, the more it is discouered, by such as sayle the same, so strange a Countrey it is: So that besides the famous voyages of the Countries aforesaid, in the ende certain people came into Holland (a nation wel known) certifying them, that they might easily prepare certaine shippes to sayle into the East Indies, there to traffique and buy spyces etc. By sayling straight from Hollande, and also from other countries bordering about it, with desire to see strange and rich wares of other Countries, and that should not be brought vnto them by strangers, but by their owne countrey men, which some men would esteeme to be impossible, considering the long voyage and the daungers thereof, together with the vnaccustomed saylinges and little knowledge thereof by such as neuer sayled that way, and rather esteeme it madnesse, then any point of wisedome, and folly rather then good consideration. But notwithstanding wee haue seene foure ships make that voyage, who after many dangers hauing performed their voyage, returned againe and haue brought with them those wares, that would neuer haue beene thought coulde haue beene brought into these countries by any Holland ships; but what shoulde I herein most commende eyther the willingnesse and good performance of the parties, or the happinesse of their voyage? whereof that I may giue the reader some knowledge, I will shew what I haue hearde and beene informed of, concerning the description of the Countries, customes, and manners of the nations, by them in this voyage seene and discouered, which is as followeth.

In the yeere of our Lord 1595. vpon the 10. day of the month of March, there departed from Amsterdam three ships and a Pinnace to sayle into the East Indies, set forth by diuers rich Marchantes: The first called Mauritius, of the burthen of 400. tunnes, hauing in her sixe demie canon, fourteene Culuerins, and other peeces, and 4. peeces to shoot stones, and 84. men: the Mayster Iohn Moleuate, the Factor Cornelius Houtman: The second named Hollandia, of the burthen of 400. tunnes, having 85. men, seuen brasse peeces, twelue peeces for stones, and 13. iron peeces, the Mayster Iohn Dignums, the Factor Gerrit van Buiningen, the thirde called Amsterdam, of the burthen of 200. tuns, wherein were 59. men, sixe brasse peeces, ten iron peeces, and sixe peeces for stones, the Mayster Iohn Iacobson Schellinger, the Factor Reginer van Hel: The fourth being a Pinnace called the Doue, of the burthen of 50. tunnes, with twenty men, the Mayster Simon Lambertson: Which 4. ships vpon the 21. of the same moneth came vnto the Tassel, where they stayed for the space of 12. daies to take in their lading, and the seconde of Aprill following, they set saile with a North east winde and following on their course the fouith of the same moneth the passed the heades; The sixt they saw Heyssant, the 10. of April they passed by the Barles of Lisbon: With an East and North East wind, the 17. of Aprill they discouered two of the Islands of Canaries: The 19. Palm, and Pic, Los Romeros, and Fero: The 25. of Aprill they saw Bona visita, the 16. they ankered vnder Isole de May: The 27. they set sayle againe and held their course South Southeast. The 4. of May, we espied two of the King of Spaines ships, that came from Lisbone, and went for the East Indies, about 1000. or 1200. tunnes each ship, with whom we spake, and told them that we were bound for the straights of Magellanes, but being better of sayle then they wee got presently out of their sight. The 12. of May being vnder fiue degrees on this side the Equinoctiall line, we espyed fiue ships laden with Sugar, comming from the Island of S. Thomas, and sayled for Lisbone, to whome we gaue certaine letters, which were safely deliuered in Holland. Departing from them and keeping on our course, vpon the fourth of Iune we passed the Equinoctial line, where the extreame heat of the ayre spoyled all our victuailes: Our flesh and fishe stunke, our Bisket molded, our Beere sowred, our water stunke, and our Butter became as thinne as Oyle, whereby diuers of our men fell sicke, and many of them dyed; but after that we learned what meat and drinke we should carrie with vs that would keepe good. The 28 of Iune we passed the sandes of Brasill, by the Portingalles called Abrolhos, which are certaine places

When and how the ships set saile.

Their victuailes stunke and spoyled.

They passed the sandes of Brasilia.

which men must looke warely vnto, otherwise they are very dangerous.

These sandes lie vnder 18. degrees, and you must passe betweene the coast of Guine and the sandes aforesaid, not going too neer eyther of them, otherwise close by the Coast there are great calmes, thunders, raines and lightnings, with great stormes, harde by the sands men are in daunger to be cast away: and so sayling on their course, first East South East, then East and East and by North. Vpon the seconde of Iuly wee passed Tropicus Cancri, vnder 23. degrees, and ½. The 13. of the same Month, we espied many blacke birdes. The 19. great numbers of white birdes, and the 20. a bird as bigge as a Swan, whereof foure or fiue together is a good signe of being neere the Cape de bona Sperance. These birdes are alwaies about the said Cape, and are good signes of being before it.

Tokens of the Cape de bona Sperance.

The second of August we saw the land of the Cape de bona Sperance, and the fourth of the same Month we entered into a hauen called Agne Sambras, where wee ankered, and found good depth at 8. or 9 fadome water, sandy ground.

The 5. day we went on shore to gather fruite, therewith to refresh our sicke men, that were thirty to 33 in one shippe. In this bay lyeth a smal Islande, wherern are many birdes called Pyncuius and sea Wolues that are taken with mens handes: we went into the countrey and spake with the inhabitantes, who brought diuers fresh victuailes aborde our shippes, for a knife or small peece of Iron, etc. giuing vs an Oxe, or a sheepe etc. The sheepe in those Countries haue great tayles, and are fat and delicate. Their ozen are indifferent good, hauing lumps of flesh vpon their backes, and are as fat as any of our good brisket beefe: the inhabitantes are of small stature, well ioynted and boned, they goe naked, couering their members with Foxes and other beastes tayles: they seeme cruell, yet with vs they vsed all kind of friendship, but are very beastly and stinking, in such sort, that you may smell them in the wind at the least of a fadome from you: They are apparelled with beastes skinnes made fast about their neckes: some of them, being of the better sort, had their mantles cut and raysed checkerwise, which is a great ornament with them: They eate raw flesh, as it is new killed, and the entrailes of beastes without washing or making cleane, gnawing it like dogs, vnder their feet they tye peeces of beastes skinnes, in steed of shooes, that they trauel in the hard wayes: We could not see their habitations, for wee saw no houses they had, neither could wee vnderstande them, for they speake very strangely, much like the children in our Countrey with their pipes, and clocking like Turkey Cockes: At the first wee saw about thirtie of them, with weapons like pikes, with broade heades of Iron, about their armes they ware ringes of Elpen bones: There wee coulde finde neyther Oringes nor Lemons, which we purposely sought for.

The 11. of August we hoysed anker, sayling towards the Island of S. Laurence, and the 22. of the same month we had a contrary wind that blew North East: the 25. a West winde, and so held our course East North East: The 28. there blew a South East wind, and the 30. a South West winde, and our course lay North North East to sayle to the Isle of S. Laurence. The first of September wee discouered the point of the Islande of S. Laurence, vnder 16 degrees, and the third day we saw the Island being very desirous to go on land, for that many of our men were sicke, whereby wee coulde hardly rule our shippes, or bring them farther without healing or refreshing of our men. The 9. of September Iohn Schellinger sent out his boate to rowe to lande, where they founde three Fishermen, of whome for two or three kniues they had great store of fishes. The 13. we entered into a small Bay, but because wee founde no good anker ground, as also being very foule we sayled out againe. The 14. we sayled vnder a small Island about a mile or 2. great, by the Hollanders called their Church yarde, or the dead Island, because many saylers dying in that place, were buried in the African earth, and the 29. of the same Month died Iohn Dignumsz Mayster of the Lyon of Holland, and was buried the next day after.

With what wind they sailed to S. Laurence.

They had great store of fish for 2 or 3 kniues.

There Iohn Peters of Delft Sayler of the Hollandia, and Koelken van Maidenblick of the Amsterdam were set on shore vpon the Island of S. Laurence, where they were left because they had committed certaine notorious crimes.

Meane time the Pinnace was sent out to looke for fresh water, which hauing found, the boat returned to bring vs newes, and therewith the fleete sayled thither, and the 10. of October the shippes ankered before the Riuer, and went on shore, where we found good prouision of all necessaries, the inhabitants being very willing thereunto, bringing vs of al things that we needed, where for a Pewter Spoone wee had an Oxe, or three sheepe.

How the wilde men assailed them, and forced them to insconce themselues.

The 11. of October we went on shore with a boat full of sicke men, and the next day we were assayled by a company of wild men, against whom our weapons little preuayled, for they hurt one of our men and tooke all that we had from vs, whereby vpon the thirteenth of the same Month, wee were forced to insconse our selues with peeces of wood and braunches of trees, making Cabins within our Sconse, for that the 15. of October they came againe, but then we tooke one, and slew another of them. The 19. of Nouember our Pilot Claes Ianson was intrapped and murthered by the wild people, although we vsed all the means we could to helpe him, but they feared no weapons, about ten or twelue dayes after we tooke one of them that paide for his death. The first of December our men hauing for the most part recouered their healthes, were all carryed aborde the ships: in that parte of Madagascar the people are of good condition, and goe naked, onely with a Cotton cloth before their priuie members, and some from their breasts downward: Their ornaments are Copper ringes about their armes, but Tin rings are more esteemed with them, and therefore tinne with them is good marchaundise. Their Oxen haue great lumpes of fat vpon their backes: Their sheepes tayles way at the least twelue pound, being of an elle long, and two and twentie inches thick. They gaue vs six of those sheepe for a tinne Spoone: They dwel in cottages and liue very poorely: they feare the noyse of a peece, for with one Caliuer you shall make an hundred of them runne away: Wee coulde not perceyue any religion they had, but after wee were informed that they helde the law of Mahomet, for the two boyes that wee tooke from of the land, shewed vs their circumcision: There we found no fruit of Tambaxiumes, but great numbers of Parrats, Medicats, and Turtle Doues, whereof we killed and eat many. The second of December we burned our sconse, and fourteene of our men going further into the Islande brought certaine of the countreymen prisoners, and being abord our ships taught them what they shoulde doe. The thirteenth of December wee hoysed anker, minding to holde on our course for the Islands of Iaua, and for that by reason of the pleasantnesse of the ayre we had in a manner all recouered our healthes, we set our course East and by North, and East Northeast. The nineteenth of the same Month wee were separated by foule weather, and the 22.

The maner and custome of the wild people.

with great ioy we met againe. The tenth of Ianuarie Vechter Willemson dyed, being a verie honest man, and Pilot in Molenaers shippe, for whome we were much grieued, and the same day we determined to put backe againe for the Islande of S. Laurence, for as then wee began againe to haue a great scouring among our men, and many of them fell sicke: But presently therevpon we espied the Islande of Saint Mary, and the next day being arriued there, some of the inhabitants came abord our shippes with a basket of Ryce, Sugar canes, Citrons, Lemons, and Hens, whereof we were very glad, as being phisicke for vs.

The wilde men broght things aborde to comfort them.

The 13. 14. 15. 16. and 17. dayes we were on land, where we bought Ryce, Hens, Sugar-canes, Citrons and Lemons in great aboundance, and other kinde of fruites to vs vnknowne, also good fish, and greene Ginger: There we tooke a Fish, which thirteen men could hardly pull into our shippe, and because the Island was little, and we had many men, wee entred into the Bay of the firme land with our Pinnace, where for a string of Beades of small value we had a tunne of Ryce: The King came abord our Pinnace to see it, and was as blacke as a Deuill, with two hornes made fast vpon his heade, and all his body naked like the rest of the countrey people.

The description of one of their kings.

This Island lyeth about a small mile from Madagascar, about 19 degrees Southward from the Equinoctiall line (Madagascar or S. Laurence is an Islande belonging to the Countrey of Africa, and lyeth Southwarde vnder 26 degrees, ending Northwarde vnder 11 degrees by the inhabitants it is called Madagascar, and by the Portingalles the Islande of S. Laurence, because it was discouered on S. Laurence day: The riches of this Island is great, it aboundeth in Ryce, Honnie, Waxe, Cotton, Lemons, Cloues, etc. The inhabitants are blacke and go naked, but the haire vpon their heades is not so much curled as those of the Mosambique, and they are not ful so blacke.)

The 23. of Ianuary we ankered before a Riuer where likewise we had all kind of necessaries, and after that we went to lie vnder a small Islande within the same Bay.

The wilde people came on borde their ships and seemed very friendly.

The 25. Ianuarie there came some of the wild people aborde our ships, making signes to haue vs go on land, which we did, and there we had good Ryce and other fruits in great abundance. On the left side of the entry of the Riuer lyeth one of their Townes, and on the right hand two townes, where we had most of our trafique.

The 26. of Ianuarie wee had interpreters, whom we made to drink wine, wherewith they were as drunk as beastes.

The manner and condition of the people inhabiting in the great Bay of Antogil,on this side the Equinoctiall line vnder 16 degrees, on the South side of the Island Madagascar.

Why their houses stand so high aboue the earth.

IT is a very great Bay, about ten mile broade, behind it lyeth a a high Island, and three small Islands: there is good harbour against all windes. The Island is inhabited, and therein groweth all kindes of fruites, it hath a great fall of water that commeth down out of the hilles, where we laded all our water, and halfe a mile from thence within the land, there runneth a great Riuer, wherein likewise there is much water to be had, when you enter into the Riuer about a quarter of a mile inward on the left hand, ther is a smal towne or village, not closed nor fortified, in it there is about 200. houses, and on the right hand where the Riuer diuideth it selfe, there is two other such Townes: They were all compassed with palles, and the houses were placed about two foote aboue the ground, vpon foure or fiue palles or stakes of wood, and all the vpper partes of reede and strawe. The cause why their houses are made so high from the ground is to auoide the danger of venemous beastes that are there in great aboundance, as Serpents, Snakes, Camelions, and other kindes of beastes. The people are very blacke, but their hayre and beardes are not so much curled as the right Mores, nor their noses nor lippes so great nor flat. They are subtill and strong people, much addicted to drinking, for they will bee as drunke as Swine, with a kind of drinke made of Honie and Ryce. They go naked, onely that about their midles they weare a cloth made of the barke of a tree, drawne in small threedes: they make and vse very fine Mats to sitte vppon: They haue no great store of weapons, for that halfe of them are vnprouided, and that they vse is a speare of nine ten foote long, with a great wooden Target: They are very fearefull of our Caliuers, for 5. or sixe men with Caliuers will cause great numbers of them to flie away: We taught them what our peeces ment for wee perceyued that they knew them not, before they had proued them: at the first they thought they coulde carry no further then their owne lengthes, for they knew not what

The maner of the wilde men in that countrey.

they were: Their Kinges ornamentes were ten or twelue Copper Rings about his armes: if we had had such Ringes with vs, wee might haue sold them at what prices wee woulde. They likewise vse beades of Glasse, which they weare about their armes and neckes, by them esteemed for great ornaments: for a boxe of beades of small value, we had an Oxe, or three or foure Sheepe; rounde about this Bay are townes and villages, where you may haue of all things to refresh your selues, Lemons and Citrons are there greater and better then in Portingall: Likewise Oringes, Ryce, Hennes, Goats, Honie, and many other sortes of fruites, and to conclude it is the best Bay in all the world to refresh ships. Being on land we were wel entertayned, and must of force drink with them of their drinke made of Hony and Ryce: There we trafiqued with them, and had sufficient of euery thing, but euery night we went aborde our shippes.

The third of February we had so great a storme, that most of our ankers were lost, and we ran vpon the land in great daunger to cast our ships away, but God holpe vs, for the storme ceased, and then we went to hoyse vp our lost ankers, and so againe went to anker vnder the Island, glad that we had so well escaped that daunger. The fift of February we went to seeke for our boats, but the wild men had smitten them in peeces, and taken out the nailes, thinking likewise that our shippes woulde haue beene cast away vpon the shore, which they still expected: and when we came thither, they stood vpon the shore with their weapons in hand and threw stones at vs, and we perceyuing them in that minde, made towardes our shippes, for we desired not to reuenge our selues, nor once to fight with them without commission from our Generall, whom we certified thereof. The eyght of February we rowed into the Riuer to buy cattle, and other things, but they were become our enemies, threatning and casting stones at vs, wherevpon we put out two shalops to run a shore close to the land, and made our Caliuers and other weapons ready.

Wherewith we shut at them, but they feared not our shot, for they knew not what they ment, they thought likewise that the peeces coulde carrie no further then they were long: but when they sawe eight or nine of their fellowes dead, they fled into the woodes, and wee entering vpon the lande set fire on their houses, whereof we burnt about twentie or thirtie. The 9. of Februarie we sailed on the other side to buy cattle, and other necessaries, but they seemed vnwilling to deale with vs, but we threatning to burne their houses, they brought vs Cattle and fruites inough, with all things else to our desires.

The 12. of Februarie wee hoised anker, and set sayle out of the great Bay of Antongill, being well prouided of all necessaries, we put out with a North wind, the Bay stretching Northeast and Southwest: The 2. of March we had a West winde, our course being East and East and by North towards Iaua. In March and Aprill about the Islande of Brandawe, we found that our Compasses helde two Strikes to farre Northwarde, and we coulde not perceiue the sands that are set downe in the Portingalles sea Cards, but we saw many turnings of streames, and we were much troubled with calmes, but with the new Moone we had winde enough out of the West and North West. The 27. of May we found the water abord our shippes to bee much lessened, and therefore euery mans portion was but halfe as much as he was wont to haue; so that each man was allowed but foure draughts euery day, which was but a small quantitie. Whereby through the extreame heat we endured great thirst, so that at that time a draught of water abord our ship was worth a Riall of 8. The first of Iuly we saw the Islande of Emgano, whereat we much reioyced, because of the great thirst wee endured in our shippe, and when wee made neerer to it, we perceyued it to be an Islande lying before the straightes of Sonda, vnder 9. degrees on the South side of the line.

The sixt of Iuly we put somewhat nearer to the land, and there we saw sixe or seuen canoes lying vnder the shore, but farre off, and durst not make toward vs: in the end we manned out a shalop and rowed to land, but they made from vs, and when our men were hard by the shore, there we saw about 40. or 50. of them standing vpon the shore with their bowes; wherewith our men durst not land, for they seemed to be a cruell kind of people, and altogether wild, for they went all naked, not hauing any thing before their priuy members. They were of a reddish colour, but when our men saw no aduantage they turned again vnto their shippes.

The seuenth of Iuly we saw the point of the land of Sumatra, which is a verie high land descending downewarde with a long end.

The 11. of the same Month we were close vnder the land, where there lay an Island, and there we ankered.

The 12. of Iuly in the morning we saw certaine ships, whereo one came vnto vs, wee rowed vnto it with a shalop, and spake with it, but we could not vnderstand them, but they shewed vs where we should haue water, which made vs glad, that wee might once againe haue our bellies full of water: it being almost foure Monthes that wee had not seene any land, nor taken in any fresh victuailes. We sent our Pinace to the firme land of Sumatra, there to seeke for some reliefe: for that where we lay there dwelt not any man. The 13. of Iuly the Captain or principall ruler of Sumatra came abord our ships to see them, which was done with great solemnitie, hee being apparelled after the Turkish manner, with a wreath about his heade, and a fearefull countenance, small eyes, great eye browes, and little beard, for a man might tell all the haires vpon his chinne: he brought vs a present of Betele, which are leaues which they continually chaw, and eat it with chalke.

The maner of the Gouernor of Soumatras comming on bord.

This Island of Sumatra or Taprobana (as it is saide) is the greatest of all the Orientall Islandes, it is diuided from the firme land of Malacca by a straight and dangerous sea, by reason of many Islandes and cliffes that are within it: Out of this Island as some men are of opinion, Salomon had his Gold wherewith he beautified the Temple, and his owne pallace, and then in the Bible it should be named Orphir, for certainly Sumatra is rich of mynes of Golde, Siluer, and Mettall, and the inhabitants thereof are very expert in melting of brasse peeces: Therein is a fountaine of pure Balsame, the Portingalles haue no fortresse therein, yet they traffique in certaine hauens, specially in Pedir and Campar: There is also in this Island a place called Manancabo, where they make poinyardes and daggers, by them calde cryses, which are much esteemed in those Countries, and those of Malacca and Iaua, hold them for their best weapons, and with them are very bold.

The same day our Pinnace returned againe vnto vs, bringing vs good news, that wee were welcome vnto the Countrey people, and brought vs certaine Indian Nuttes or Cocus, Melons, Cocombers, Onions, Garlicke, and a sample of Peper and other spices, which liked vs well.

The fourteenth of June we laded in some fresh water.

Right ouer against Sumatra, on the South side of the Equinoctiall lyeth the Islande of Iaua Maior, or great Iaua, and these two Islandes are deuided by a straight commolny called the straight of

Sunda, which lyeth between these two Islands, bearing the name of the principall hauen of Iaua called Sunda: In this channel there runneth a great streame, and course of narrow waters, through this straight M. Condlish an Englishman passed with his ship, comming out of the South sea from new Spaine. Iaua beginneth vnder seuen degrees on the South side, and so stretcheth East and South 150. miles long, it is very fruitfull, specially of Ryce, Catle Hogges, Sheepe, Hennes, Onions, Garlike, Indian Nuttes, and all kinde of Spices, as Cloues, Nutmegges, Mace, etc. Which they carrie to Malacca. The chiefe hauen in the Islande is Sunda Calapa, there you haue much Pepper, better then that of India, or of Malabar, and there you may yearely lade 4. or 5000. Quintales of Pepper Portingall waight, there likewise you haue great store of frankencense, Camphora, and some Diamants: but they haue no other kinde of money but a certaine peece called Caixa, as bigge as a Hollands Doibt, but not so thicke, with a hole in the middle to hang it vpon a string, in which manner they commonly hange hundrethes or thousandes together, and with them they know how to make their accountes, which is two hundred Caixas make a Sata, and fiue Satas make a thousand Caixas, which is as much as one Crusado of Portingall, or three Carolus Gilderns, Flemish money: Pepper is solde by the sacke, each sacke waying 45. Catten waight of China, each Catte as much as 20. ounces Portingall waight, and each sacke is worth in that Country at the least 5000. Caixas, and when it is highest at 6. or 7000. Caixas: Mace, Cloues, Nutmegs, white and blacke Beniamin, Camphora, are sold by the Bhar, each barre waying 330. Catten of China: Mace that is faire and good is commonly worth from 100. to 120. thousande Caixas: Good Cloues accordingly, and foure Cloues called Bastan are worth 70. and 80. thousand Caixas the Bhar: Nutmegs are alwaies worth 20. and 25. thousand Caixas the Bhar: White and blacke Beniamin is worth 150. and 180. thousand Caixas, and sometimes 200. thousand. The wares that are there desired and exchanged for spices, are diuers sortes and colours of Cotton Linnen, which come out of seuerall Prouinces; and if our Cambricke or fine Hollande were carryed thither, it would peraduenture bee more esteemed then the Cotton linnen of India.

The 15. of Iune there rowed a scute called a Prawen harde vnder the lande by vs, wee called him, but not against his will, and shewed him siluer, and other wares that liked him well, he bad vs make towards the strand, and told vs of Bantam, saying that there we should haue al kinds of Marchandise. Then we made signs vnto him that if he wold bring vs to Bantam, we wold pay him for his labor, he asked vs 5. rialles of 8. and a red cap, which we graunted vnto, and so one of the men in the scute came on bord the Mauritius, and was our Pilot to Bantam, where we passed by many Islandes.

The nineteenth of Iuly as wee sailed by a towne, many Portingalles borded vs, and brought vs certaine Cocus and Hens to sell, which wee bought for other wares.

The 22. of the same Month wee came before the towne of Bantam, within three miles of it, and there ankered vnder an Island. The same day about euening a scute of Portingals borded vs that were sent by the Gouernour to see what ships we were, and when we shewed them that wee came thither to traficke with them, they told vs, that there was the right Pepper country, and that there we might haue our lading, that new Pepper was readie to be gathered, and would be ripe within two Monthes after, which pleased vs well, for wee had already beene fifteene Monthes and tweluc daies vppon our voyage, hauing endured great daungers, miseries and thirst, many of our men by sicknesse being dead.

The 23. of Iune wee hoysed our ankers, and went close to the towne of Bantam, and ankered harde by 4. small Islands, that lie right North from the Towne: the same day the Sabander (who is there one of the greatest officers next the King) came abord our shippes, asking vs what we would haue, we said we were come to buy Pepper and other spyces, and that wee had readie money, and certaine wares, whereof we shewed him some parte, which hee liked well, saying that there wee might haue lading enough, shewing vs great countenance.

The same day likewise there came a great number of scutes vnto our ships, bringing all kinds of victuailes to sel, as Hennes, Egges, Cocus, Bonanas, sugar canes, Cakes of Ryce baked, and many other thinges. The 24. of Iune there came many men aborde our ships, bringing diuers wares to sell, shewing vs great friendshippe, and as it seemed were very glad of our arriuall there, telling vs that there we might haue Pepper enough, and new Pepper within two Monthes after, and that Pepper was then as good cheap as it had beene any time within ten yeares before, that wee might buy 5. or 6. sackes for one Catti, (being about

20. Guilderns) which was ordinarily sold but one sacke for that price: euery sacke wayeth 54. pounde Hollandes waight, so that a pounde would be worth about a brasse penie Hollands money.

The same day about noone the Sabander borded vs once againe, willing Cornelis Houtman to go on land to speake with the Gouernour, for as then there was no King, for about a Month before our arriuall there, the King was gone with a great armie before the towne of Palimbam, which hee thought to take, and had almost gotten it, but there he was stricken with a great Peece by a Renigado of the Portingalles, and so was slaine. His death was much lamented by the straungers that dwelt at Bantam, for he was a good king, being about 25. yeares of age: he left behind him foure wives, whereof the eldest was not aboue 15. yeares of age, and a yong sonne of three Monthes olde, that was to succeed him in his Kingdome, and they had chosen a Protector or Gouernor to rule in his minoritie, whom they call Kipate, and when the Kipate by the Sabandar sent to our Sargeant Maior to come vnto him into the towne, he made him answer that he had no such commission, but he desired the Gouernor first to come abord his ship, and then he would go on shore, he likewise desired vs to go neerer to the towne with our shippes.

And therevpon wee sayled somewhat neerer to the Island that lay next vnto the towne, within halfe a mile from it, and there we ankered at 4 fadome clay grounde, the towne lying South from vs, where wee had a good roade: The next morning the Gouernor sent aborde, and the men that came spake not onely good Portingal, but other languages: he let our Sargeant Maior vnderstand that he would come aborde, and desired that hee would with a shalop meet him halfe the way, which was done about noone, and the Gouernour came aborde with a great company of men, where we shewed him all our wares, which liked him well, desiring vs to come on land, saying that we should be welcome, promising vs much fauour, wherewith he returned to the land with certaine rich presents that we gaue him. The 26. Barent Heijn Factor of the ship called the Mauritius, died very sodainly.

The Gouernor of Bantam came abord their ships.

The 27. and 28. great numbers of people borded our shippes bringing all sortes of necessaries and victuails to sell.

The 29. there came an Emperour abord our shippe, whose father in time past had beene Emperour of all Iaua, and commanded all the Kinges of Iaua, but this man because of his badde life was not much accounted of: he spake good Portingall, for his mother was a Portingall woman borne in Malacca: This Emperour had conspired against vs with the Portingalles, but as then we knew it not.

The Emperour came aborde and secretly conspired with the Portingals against them.

The 30. of Iune Cornelis Houtman tooke a boate and went into the towne, and there spake with the Gouernour about certaine affaires, touching a contract to bee made with him.

The first of Iuly Houtman went again into the towne, and when he returned he brought with him a certaine contract made and signed by tne Gouernor himself, who most willingly consented therevnto, and saide vnto him, Go now and buy what you will, you haue free liberty; which done, the said Houtman with his men went to see the towne, apparelled in the best manner they coulde, in veluet, Satin, and silkes, with rapiers by their sides: The Captaine had a thing borne ouer his head to keep him from the Sun, with a Trumpet before him, which certaine times he caused to bee sounded: There the Emperour bad them to a banket after the Indian manner: From thence we went to the Portingalles, that made much account of Houtman, and made him a banket, saying that they had seene him in Lisbone. The 2. of Iuly many Marchants came abord, profering vs Pepper verie good cheape, but because we were vnskilfull in the waight and other thinges wee tooke respite to answere them.

A contract to buy and sell in the towne.

The 3. of Iuly the Sabander came abord, and he was our great friend, for that after we found it so, hee tolde vs what waight the sackes of Pepper were, and what prises they bare, counselling vs to buy.

The 7. of Iuly the Gouernour sent vs a man secretly by night willing vs to looke vnto our selues, and not to trust the Emperour, with whom all the Marchantes conspired, and went to inuade our ships, and that hee ment to rob vs, as being very licentious and euill minded.

The 8. of Iuly the Emperour sent vnto our ships, and offered to make them a banket, bidding all the Captaines, maisters, Pilots, Gentlemen, Officers, Trumpets, and Gunners to come into the towne to him, and there he woulde make merrie with them: This was done by

The Emperour ment to fall vpon the ships to rob them.

the Portingalles aduise, thereby to haue all the chiefe and principall men out of our ships, but we perceiued their intent.

The 11. of Iuly the Emperour perceyuing that his deuise would not take place, hee went from Bantam to Iacatra.

The 12. of Iuly wee had a house offered vs within the towne.

The 13. of the same month Reyner van Hel with eyght Gentlemen went into the towne, taking certaine wares with him, of euery thing a little, and laid it in the house appointed for the purpose: there to keep a ware house and to sel our marchandise, and presently both Gentlemen and Marchants came thither to buy and to sell vs Pepper.

The 15. and 16. many Gentlemen, Marchants, Chinars, and Arabians came to our warehouse and into our ships, offering vs Pepper, but our Factor offered them to little a price.

The hatred of the Portingalles against them.

The 25. of Iuly the Gouernour came againe aborde our shippes, and there looked vppon certaine of our wares, whereof hee bought some, and counselled vs to buy Pepper: About the same time the Portingalles made great sute vnto the Gouernour, promising him many giftes to deny vs traffike, and to constraine vs to depart from thence, saying we were no marchantes, but that we came to spie the countrie, for they said that they had seene many Fleminges in Lisbone, but none like vs. Among the Portingalles there was one that was borne in Malacca, of the Portingalles race, his name was Pedro Truide, a man well seene in trauayling, and one that had beene in all places of the world: He was our good friend, and euery day came to talke with our Captaines, saying, you do not well that you make no more haste to take in your lading, you shall haue no better cheape wares, and withall shewed vs many other things: wherevpon the Portingalles hated him, and not long after he was murthered in his bed.

In August we did little, and tooke no great store of lading in seeking to haue Pepper better cheape, which the Portingalles liked not well of, and saide vnto the Gouernour, that we desired not to buy; which the Gouernour began to hearken vnto, for they offered great summes of money that hee shoulde not permit vs traffique, so that in the end hee commaunded that no man shoulde carrie any Ryce aborde our shippes, whereby we were abashed, and thereupon we sent vnto the Gouernour for our money which hee ought for the wares hee had bought, which moued him.

The 26. of Iuly hee sent one of our Gentlemen with some of his men and nine slaues abord our ships.

The situation of the towne of Bantam, the principall towne of traffique in the Island of Iaua, their strength and manner of building, with their traffique, what people come thither, what wares are there most desired, what nations bring them thither, or come to fetch them, together with their religion, customes and manner of house keeping.

BAntam lyeth in the Islande of Iaua maior, about 25. miles to sea ward within the Isle, between Sumatra and Iaua: On both sides of the Towne there runneth a Riuer, about 3 foot and a half deep, so that no shippes can enter into them: The towne is compassed about with a Riuer: The towne is almost as great in compasse as the olde towne of Amsterdam: The wals are made with flankers: They haue great numbers of Peeces therein, but they knowe not how to vse them, for they feare them much: all their Peeces are of brasse, and they haue many brazen bases. Their walles are not aboue two foote thicke made of brickes: euery flanker hath diuers mastes and peeces of wood, which they vse when they are besieged by their enemies. The houses are made of straw and reedes, standing vpon 4. woodden postes. The rich haue their chambers all hanged with silken Curtins, or els with cotton linnen: Their houses are most placed vnder Cocus trees, whereof the towne is full: Without the walles are many houses, wherein strangers for the most part haue their dwellinges. The towne hath three great market places, wherein dayly there is markets holden, where you may buy all kindes of wares, and where there commeth a great number of people, very strange to beholde: Within the towne there is a great church or muske of wood, wherein they obserue the law of Mahomet: Gentlemen and men of any qualitie haue their owne muskes in their houses. The towne is not built with streetes, nor the houses placed in order, but very foule lying full of filthy water, which men must passe through, or leape ouer, for they haue no bridges: In the towne there is great resort of diuers Countries and nations, as of Malacca, Bengala, Malabar, Guihereters of Pegu, Sani Malicas, Banda, China and of many Kingdomes that haue great traffique for Pepper, that groweth rounde about Bantam, which in August and September is ripe, there you haue nutmegs, out of the Island of Banda, and Cloues from Moluca, which the Portingalles doe most buy vp: Wee bought Nutmegs there for a blank a pound: All victuailes and necessaries are there in great aboundance to be had, as Hennes, Hartes, Fish, and Ryce, and diuers kindes of fruites, as Auanas, Cocus, Bonanas, Manges, Doroyens, Iacca, Pruna, Grapes, Oranges, Lemons, Pomegarnets, Cocombers, Melons, Onions, Garlicke : but breade they haue none, but in steade of it they eate Ryce: Beefe is there the dearest victuaile, for an Oxe in that place is worth 7. 8. or 9. Rialles of 8. The Chinars have the greatest and most trafficke in that towne. They come thither in the Month of Ianuarie, with 8. or 9. great shippes, bringing all sorts of Porseline, silks, Damaske, gold thread, Iron pannes, and Iauas money called Caixas, whereof 12000 make a Ryall of eight: They are hanged vpon stringes by two hundred together, for the which they both buy and sel al kinds of marchandises, and there they lade Pepper which they carrie into China: Without the towne they haue a great place wherein they commonly vse to sell their wares, and there they dwell, and haue greater and better houses then any are within the towne, all made of reedes, onely that in euery house they haue a square place made of stone, wherein they put their wares to keepe them from burning, as some riche men in the towne likewise haue: The Chinars are very subtill and industrious people, and will refuse no labour nor paynes to yearne money, there they make much Aqua vitæ of Ryce and Cocus, and trafficke much therewith, which the Iauars by night come to buy, and drinke it secretly, for by Mahomets law it is forbidden them. The Chinars liue there with free libertie: When they come to remaine there for a yeare or more as they thinke good, they buy themselues a wife or two, or more as they thinke good, and liue together like man and wife, and when they meane to depart, they sell their wiues again, but if they haue children they take them with them and so returne to China: They haue no special religion, but pray vnto the Deuill, that he would not hurt them, for they know that the Deuill is wicked, and that God is good, and hurteth no man, therefore they thinke it needlesse to pray to God. They acknowledge not the resurrection of the deade, but when a man dyeth they thinke he neuer riseth again: In their houses they have great painted Deuils, before the which they place wax candles, and sing vnto them, praying them not to hurt them, and the more monstrous that their shapes be, the more they honour them. These people liue very hardly and poorely within Bantam, for there is not any work or labour how filthy soeuer it be, but they will do it to get money, and when they haue gotten something they returne againe to China. They are verie like Iewes in our country, for they neuer goe without a paire of ballances, and all thinges is good wares with them, and are ready to do any seruice. When we came first before Bantam, they came euery day in great companies into our shippes, and there set out their wares to sel, as silkes, sowing silkes, and porselines, so that our vpper deckes were full of pedlers, that wee could hardly walke vpon the hatches.

The manner, condition, custome, going, standing, apparell, housekeeping, wares, and behauiour of the Iauars in Bantam.

THe Iauars and inhabitants of Bantam, are proude and obstinate, with a very stately pace, they hold the law of Mahomet, which they haue not had aboue 35. yeares, for as yet there are many heathens among them that neuer were made Mores: it is a very lying and theeuish kind of people, not in any sort to bee trusted. Their apparell both of rich and poore is a cotton cloth, and some of silke about their middles, which they tie about them with a girdle, the vpper parte and from the knees downeward all naked: most of them goe bareheaded, but the principallest of them haue a wreath or Turkish roule about their heades, and some little cappes: Their priestes come out of Meca in Arabia, and are yellowe of colour: Their weapon is a poinyard, which they call Crisis: it is made with hilts, and the handle is a Deuil cut out of wood or bone: the sheathes are of wood: with them they are very bolde, and it is accounted for a great shame with them if they haue not such a Dagger, both yong, old, rich and poore, and yong children of fiue or sixe yeares olde, and when they go to the warres they haue targets, and some long speares, but most of them such poinyardes: The vse neyther great shotte nor caliuers when they go against their enemies: for a small matter one King wil make warre against another. When we came first before Bantam, we offered to make a contract with the Gouernour and the counsell of the towne, that they should deliuer vs a certaine quantitie of Pepper, and wee would goe with our shippes before Palimbam, and helpe them to reuenge the death of their Kings vppon their enemies, for (as they said) we might goe within a bowe shot of

What weapons they weare.

the towne with our shippes, and the Towne is but of wood without walles, so that we would presently haue beaten it downe to the ground. They offered vs some of their principall Gouernours to be left for pledges in our shippes, and their men woulde sayle in their fustes, such as shoulde go on land, and we should doe nothing els but shoote out of our shippes, but our Captaines would not do it, considering our small number of men. The Iauars take as many wiues as they will and are able to maintaine; but the common people haue but one, and some two married wiues, and some 10. 20. and 30. concubines: For a small matter they will send their married wiues home agayne vnto their fathers, when they haue layne fiue or sixe dayes with them, saying they like them not, and so their marriage is vndone, when they desire it.

How many wiues they haue.

The manner, custome, housholding, childbearing, sporting and cleanlinesse of the women in Bantam.

The women of the towne are well kept from such as are circumcised, whereof the riche men haue many, and from other men or their friendes, for their owne sonnes may not come into the house where the women are. They lie all naked and chaw Betelle, and haue a slauish woman that continually scratcheth their bodies, that is, such as are married women, but such as are concubines are as waiting Gentlewomen, to the married women, when they goe out to giue them more maiestie, and those that haue the greatest number are of most estimation: The Concubines haue but fewe children, for the married women poyson their children, and these concubines are bought and solde: by their apparell a man can hardly discerne the riche from the poore, for they goe all with a Cotton cloth about their bodies vp to their breastes, and bounde about their middles with an other cloth, bare footed and their heads vncouered, their hayre bound right vpon the top of their heads in a heape, but when they are in their pride, they weare crownes vpon their heads, whereof some of them are of pure golde, and ringes of golde, and some of siluer about their armes, euery one according to their abilitie. They are very curious about their bodyes, for they washe themselues at the least fiue or sixe times euery day: they neuer ease themselues nor haue the company of their husbandes, but they presently leape into the water and wash their bodies, and therefore the water that runneth through Bantam is very vnwholesome; for euery one washeth themselues in it, as well pockie as other people, whereby wee lost some of our men that drunke of the water: The women are verie idle, for they do nothing all the day but lie downe; the poore slaues must doe all the drudgerie, and the men sit all day vpon a mat, and chaw Betele, hauing ten or twentie women about them, and when they make water, presenly one of the women washeth their member, and so they sit playing all the day with their women: Many of them haue slaues that play vppon instrumentes much like our Shakebois,* they haue likewise great basons whereon they strike, and therewith know how to make good musicke, whereat the women daunce, not leaping much, but winding and drawing their bodies, armes and shoulders, which they vse all night long, so that in the night time they make a great noyse with basons and other instruments, and the man he sitteth and looketh vpon them, euerie one of the women striuing to doe her best that she may get her husbands fauour and her secreat pleasure. The Gentlemen, Citizens, and marchantes haue their Gardens, and fieldes without the towne, and slaues for the purpose to labour in them, and bring their maisters all kindes of fruit, Rice and Hennes in the towne, also the Pepper that groweth there, which runneth vp by another tree, as Hoppes with vs, and groweth in long bunches like Grapes, so that there is at the least 200. graines in one bunch: it is first greene, and after it becommeth blacke, and is there in great aboundance, so that it is the right Pepper countrey; for when we came thither they said vnto vs, Aqui ai tanta Pimienta, como terra, that is, here is as much Pepper as earth, and so we found it, and yet we departed from thence by our owne follies, without our lading of Pepper: Wee staide for new Pepper, meane time the Portingalles sent their letters into euery place seeking to hinder our trade: At the first we might haue sufficient, for there we founde enough both to buy for money or to barter. We likewise had money and wares sufficient: we might easily have had sixe or eight hundred tunnes, as we were aduertised by some of the countrey, that we should presently buy, for that the Portingalles sought by all the meanes they could to hinder vs, as after it appeared; and there-

How Pepper groweth in that countrey.

---

* Musical instruments mentioned in Nichol's Coronation of Anne Boleyn, p. 2. Probably Sackbuts.

fore he that thinketh to come soone enough, commeth oftentimes too late, and we vsed not our time so well as it fell out.

A letter sent by our men in the town that were kept prisoners.

The 29. of August we had a letter sent vs by night from our men that were in the towne, that lay in a maner as prisoners, to will vs to let our pledge go a shore, otherwise they feared they shoulde hardly escape with their liues, and great danger might fall vpon them: this pledge came aborde with the 9. slaues.

The 30. of August we sent the pledge and the rest of our Iauars to land, with promise that he would do the best he might to get our men leaue to come aborde: about euening of the same day wee had newes from our men by foure of our saylers that as then they were better vsed, saying they thought they should come aborde when two shippes were gone that ment to saile for Malacca, being laden with Nutmegs and other things.

The first of September, and the 2. 3. and 4. wee sent many letters to the Gouernour and hee to vs, and likewise to our men that were in the towne, being nine in number, all our best marchants and captains, hauing with them about 6. or 7000. Guildernes in marchandise, and they againe to vs.

They went nearer to the town.

The 5. of September when wee perceyued that delayes were dangerous wee went close to the towne with all our 4. shippes, and so neere that we had but two fadome muddie grounde, and presently with two of our boates for our securitie wee set vppon three Iauan shippes, whereof two were laden with fish and Cocus, wherein wee founde a man of China, being of some account. The third ship was laden with 20. tunnes of Cloues, 6 tunnes of Pepper, and some Benioni, and Piementa da Rauo, wherein we founde fiue Malabardes slaues to the Portingalles, whom wee likewise tooke, and they were very willing to goe with vs, thereby to bee eased of the slauery wherevnto the Portingals put them, and perceyuing that the Portingalles went often to and from another shippe that lay not farre from vs, we took our Pinace and made towardes it, and being harde by it, the Portingals left it and set it on fire: This ship had the richest wares in it as the Portingalles slaues tolde vs, for it was laden with fiftie tunnes of Cloues, which were burnt in it.

The sixt and seuenth of September we hearde no newes, so that wee went close to the Towne agayne, shooting with our great which the Portingalles did, for that the Iauars haue little or no skill at all therein, and are very fearefull of them, and although they had many peeces in the towne, yet they did vs no other hurt then onely shot one of Molenares halfe masts in peeces.

A skirmish betweene the Pinace and 24. boats.

The seuenth of September wee had a skirmish, which was in this manner, we perceyuing a Iauan ship vnder sayle, sent our Pinace with sixe and twentie men in her to fetch it in, which the Iauan shippe perceyuing fledde behinde an Islande, where our Pinace followed him so fast that shee fell a grounde, which the townes men perceyuing, made them readie with foure and twentie boates full of men, all armed after their manner, and set forwarde in good order, being diuided in two companies, seuen on starre bord, and 17. on lardde bord of the Pinace, in order like a halfe Moone, threatning vs with great speares, they thought by reason of their great number of men that they had already taken it, but it fell out otherwise, for they in the Pinace, perceyuing them comming, shotte among them: and when they were harde by the Pinace, shee gotte a flote, as they thought to take her, hauing cast out an anker in good time, and thereby wounde themselues off the grounde, but for haste they were forced to cutte their Cable, because they had not time enough to winde it vppe, and with all they shotte one of their boates vnder water. The Pinace drawing her boate after her, the Iauans presently leapt into it, and cutte a sunder the roape that helde it, which they immediately stole from vs, thrusting with their Speares in at the loope holes. Seuen of their Boates being round about vs were so sharpely paide with the iron peeces, stone peeces, and Caliuers, that the 17. others durst not come so neere vs: I thinke there were at the least 100. of them that neuer carryed newes how they sped in that skirmish, for euery boate had at the least 60. men in it, and they were so thicke in them, that they could not help themselues, nor did any thing els but shake their speares, and they shot but one base: their arrowes hurt vs not, and so the Pinace returned agayne vnto our shippes, sayling close before the towne, and shooting into it with her ordinance: They shot out of the towne, but it hit her not, because they shot with stone pellets, wherewith you cannot shoote so certainly as with iron bullets.

The 8. 9. and 10. of September we had letters from our men out of Bantam, by the which they willed vs not to shoot any more, for that the Gouernour threatned to set them vpon stakes:

Houtman wrote they were in good hope that they shoulde bee put to raunsome, which wee counselled them to doe as well as they might.

The contents of the Gouernors letter.

The 11. of September we had a letter from Houtman, and one from the Gouernour, wherein hee wrote that he would set our men at libertie, so we would be quiet, but if we desired warre, he would once againe come and visite vs in another sort: wee aunswered him that there he should find vs, that wordes were but wind, and that he should set our men at a reasonable ransome, and thereof send us an answere the next day.

The 12. and 13. of September wee had no answere out of the towne, and we had want of water, and could get none thereabouts but that which came out of the towne, for that the Gouernour had taken order that we should get no water about the towne, so that we hoised ankers to go seeke some.

The 17. of September we came before 3. or 4. Islands which Molenare and Shellenger sayled betweene, and for that the streame ranne so strong there, they were forced to goe so nigh the shore, that they might almost leape on lande, whereby they escaped great danger, but the other shippe and the Pinace sayled about the Islands, and so met with the other two, and casting forth their ankers went on shore, where wee spake with men that saide they would shew vs where wee shoulde haue water, so we would giue them two Caliuers.

The 18. 19. 20. 23. and 24. we sayled to lade water, for it was hard to get, and we were forced to keep good watch, which done hoysing ankers againe, wee sayled towardes Bantam, holding our course Eastwarde.

The 27. we sayled Northeast towardes the lande of Iaua maior.

The 28. setting sayle agayne, we kept East Northeast along by by the coast of Iaua, and about noone because of the great streame that runneth in the straight, wee were forced to anker, and the 30. day wee set sayle againe.

The first of October in the euening wee came to a great Islande, being three miles from the towne, and there we ankered finding good clay ground.

The 2. of October wee had a letter from our men, how they were separated one from the other, and kept by the Gentlemen of the towne, and their wares parted among them.

The 3. 4. and 5. when wee were againe before the towne, we had other letters, that by our comming they were better vsed, and hoped to bee set at a reasonable ransome, and that they promised that one of our men should come aborde, so he would returne againe into towne, that shoulde by worde of mouth certifie vs what hope they were in, and the cause thereof, that we might the better believe it.

How the Iauars vsed our men being prisoners.

The 6. of October in the night one of our men came aborde, and shewed vs what had past, when we shotte into the towne, how they were separated and kept close prisoners, and cruelly threatned by the Iauars, whereby they still expected when they should bee put to death, and howe they sought all the meanes they coulde to make them to deny their faith, and become Mores, but they remayned constant, and saide they woulde rather die, and that they had by force shauen three of our men after the Morish manner, and how the Portingals had sought all the meanes they coulde to buy them for slaues, offering money for them that they might sende them to Malacca, how they were set at libertie againe, and might goe where they woulde within the towne, and so they hoped all would be well, and that they shoulde bee set at libertie for some small ransome, and that the Gouernour asked them 3000. Rialles of 8. but they hoped to bring him to 2000. whereat we much reioyced.

The 8. 9. and 10. of October we passed ouer to make some agreement with them that we might be quiet.

The maner of the ransome.

The 11. of October they agreede vppon a ransome of 2000. Ryalles. of eyght, and were content, that what goodes, soeuer we had taken from them, wee shoulde keepe as our owne, and for our goodes that they had stolen, and forcibly taken from our men within the towne, they would keepe them, and so exchange one for the other, they likewise were content to quit vs of all our debts, that we ought within the towne eyther to the Gouernour or to any other man, and that from thence forwarde we should be free, and traffique in the towne, both to buy and sell when it pleased vs, and with their good willes as we had done, and before we paide our money, the towne was to sende two men aborde our ships, which done we were to pay the halfe of our ransome, which was 1000. Ryalles of eyght; which being performed, their two men, and their other halfe of our men were on both sides to bee deliuered and sette free, and without contradiction it was performed.

The 12. and 13. this agreement being ended, diuers victuailers came aborde our shippes to sell vs Hennes, Egges, and all other kind of victuailes.

The 14. we gaue certaine presentes in signe of good will, to such as had shewed vs fauour when we were in contention with them.

The 15. 16. 17 and 18. some of our Factors went into the towne, where they bought certaine Pepper, and brought it abord our ships.

Why the Gouernour forbad vs trafficke.

The 19. they went again into the towne, and bought a greater quantitie at 5. sackes for one Catti, minding in that sorte euery day to take in our lading, but it fell not out as wee desired, for the Portingalles that coulde not brooke our company, made such means to the Gouernour, that he gave commandment that we should buy no more Pepper, before we had paide 1400. Rialles of 8. which he challenged of vs because we had cast anker within his streame, wherevpon our Marchantes went and agreed with him, which done wee thinking to buy Pepper as we did before, the Gouernour againe commanded to the contrarie, whereby we perceyued their deceipt, in that he wold not hold his word. The countrymen would gladly haue solde their Pepper, as also the Chinars, Arabians, Mahometitians, and secretly some Portingalles, but when we saw wee could not get it out but with great daunger, wee thought it not conuenient to buy: and when we spake vnto the Gouernour, touching the holding of his worde, he made vs answere, that he had no bones in his tongue, and that therefore he coulde not speake that which he ment not to doe: and to say the truth most part of the Iauars are a kind of deceitfull people, for whatsoeuer they say and presently performe, that shall you be sure of and no more.

The 25. of October there came an Ambassador into Bantam sent from Malacca to the Gouernour with a present of 10000. Rials of 8. desiring him to forbid vs both his towne and streame, that wee might not traffique there. Whereof wee were aduertised by the Sabander and other of our friendes counselling our men to get them out of the towne, and not to returne againe, otherwise they would be in daunger to be stayed againe, and we hauing sent a man into the towne to saue him from being holden prisoner, our host where we lay being on shore was forced to bring him out couered with certaine mattes; so that vppon the 26. of the same month all our trafficke and friendship with them ceased: but our hoast being our friende, came secretly aborde our ships, and shewed vs that he and his company had two ships lying before the towne, laden with Nutmegges and Mace that came from Banda, for the which hee agreed with vs at a price, vpon condition that we should seeme to take them by force, that thereby he might colour his dealing with vs: wherevpon the first of Nouember we sailed close to the towne with all our ships, and set vpon to two Iauan shippes, wherein we found to the number of 30. slaues, that knew nothing of their maisters bargaine made with vs, so that they began to resist vs, wherewith we shot among them, and presently slew 4. or 5. of them, the rest leapt ouer borde, and swamme to land, which done we tooke the two ships, and put their lading into ours; The Portingalles shippe that brought their Ambassadour, lay close vnder the shore, wherevnto we sent two of our boats, but the Portingals that were in her shot so thicke with their peeces vppon our men, that our boates were forced to leaue them with losse of one of our men, but our shippes shot in such sorte with their ordinance vppon the Portingall shippe, that they spoyled and brake it in peeces, wherein their Captaine was slaine, and the victuailers that stil brought vs victuailes to sell, told vs that with our peeces we had slain three or foure men within the towne, and that the townes men began to make an armie of ships to set vpon vs.

How they tooke two Iauan ships.

They fought with a Portingall shippe.

The 2. of Nouember we espyed a shippe that came towards Bantam, which we ioyned vnto with our boats, and being neere vnto it, they spread their fights, which were of thicke mattes, and began to defend themselues; our men shot among them with stone peeces and Caliuers, and they defended themselues with great courage, hauing halfe pikes wherewith they thrust at vs, and that serued likewise to blow arrowes out of them, for they were like trunkes, out of the which trunkes they shot so great numbers of arrowes, that they fell as thick as hayle, and shot so certainely, that therewith they hurt at the least eyght or nine of our men, but the arrowes are thinne and light, so that their blaste coulde not make them enter into the flesh aboue the thicknes of two fingers, onely the head of the arrowe (which is made of reede, and loose stayeth in the flesh) when we shot with our Caliuers they ranne behind their fightes, but when they perceiued that their matted

They fought with a Iauan shippe.

fights could not defende them, and that they were killed through them, they entered into their boate, and by strength of oares rowed from vs, leauing their shippe, wherein we founde two dead men, and we slew three more of them as we rowed after their boat, so that in all they lost fiue men, as we after heard, and that they were to the number of 40. which done, wee brought their shippe to ours, wherein we found good store of Ryce and dryed fish.

The 6. of Nouember, perceyuing not any hope of more trafficke for vs with those of Bantam, wee hoised anker and set sayle, setting our course towardes the straight of Sunda.

The marchants follow them with wares.

The seuenth of Nouember wee came and ankered before a Riuer of freshe water, about sixe miles from Bantam, where wee tooke in our prouision of water: thither certaine Merchants followed vs with Porseline, telling vs that they were sory for our departure, and that they longed for our returne againe.

The thirteenth of Nouember we set sayle, and about euening wee came before Iacatra, in time past called Sunda Calapa, which hath beene a rich Towne of marchandise, but vppon some occasions and by reason of their hard vsage the Marchants had withdrauen themselues from thence, therefore at this present there is little or nothing to doe. Iohn Hughen in his booke saith this to be the principal towne of trafficke, but that is long sithence, for now there is not any trade of marchandise.

The fourteenth of Nouember wee sent two of our men into the towne, hauing some of theirs in pawne, who tolde vs that many of the inhabitants were gone out of the towne with all their goodes, being in great feare of our peeces, and there wee had great store of victuailes, and much more then wee required brought abord our ships.

The 18. wee set saile from Iacatra, and being about two miles from the towne, our shippe called Amsterdam fell vppon a cliffe, but it got offe again without any hurt, and therewith wee presently made towardes the straight.

The 2. of December we passed by 3. townes which we might easily perceiue, we likewise passed by Tubam, and ankered vnder Sidaya. The 5. of December there came men out of the towne, and desired vs to stay, saying that there we might haue Cloues and Nutmegs as many as we woulde, bringing certaine banketting stuffe (as a present from their king) vnto Schelengers ship, because it lay nearest to the land, and they came most abord it.

The 4. of December they came again into Schellengers ship, bringing certaine presentes with them, and among the rest a certayne birde that coulde swallowe fyer, which is a very strange fowle, and was brought aliue to Amsterdam, which after was giuen to the states of Hollande lying in the Hage, and some good fruites, willing vs to sende a man on shore, to see their spices, whereof they said they had great store: wherevpon we sent a man out of the Amsterdam, and with him an interpreter, one of the Portingalles slaues, they leauing three or foure of their men aborde our shippes, for pawnes till his returne: when our men came to lande hee was well vsed, and there they shewed him fortie or fiftie bals of Cloues; which done they brought him before the King, that promised him great fauor, and told him that the next day he wold himselfe come abord our ships, and deale with our Captaines, and with that he let our man depart.

How the Indians betrayed them.

The 5. of December we expected the Kings comming aborde, putting out all our flagges and streamers, and about noone there came 8. or 9. indifferent great shippes full of men from off the shore, wherein wee thought the King to bee, but when they were almost at vs, they diuided themselues, three of them rowing to Shellengers ship, and when they borded him, they thinking the King had been there, Reymer van Hel as Factor and the Maister came forth to receyue him, and the Iauars entering all at once, Reymer van Hel said, What will all these people do aborde the shippe, for there was at the least two hundred men, who all at one time drewe out their poinyardes, and stabbed our men that neuer suspected them, so that presently they had slaine twelue of the shippe, and two sore wounded, that boldly withstoode them: the rest of our men being vnder hatches presently tooke their pikes, and thrust so fast out at the grates, that the Iauars woulde haue forced the middle part of the ship, wherein was two entries, but our men standing at them with their swordes in hand draue them out, not ceasing still to thrust vp with their pikes, meane time they kindled fier, lighted their matches, and shot off their stone peeces that lay aboue the hatches, wherwith they began presently to flie, most of them leaping ouer bord, and swam to their two boates, that lay harde by our shippes, whereof one with a great peece was presently stricken in peece: The rest of our shipps hearing vs shoote in that manner, entered into their boats, and made towardes them, rowing harde to the three Indian fustes, wherein were at the least 100. men, and shotte among them with their peeces, wherewith they leapt into the water, euery man swimming to shore, and we with two boates after them, hewing and killing them as our deadly enemies, who vnder pretence of friendshippe sought to murther vs, and wee handled them in such sort, that of two hundred men there got not aboue thirty of them to lande, the rest of their fustes lay farre off and beheld the fight: Three of their fustes thought to rowe to the Pinnace to take her, which they might easily haue done, as hauing not aboue 7. or 8. men in her, being busie to set vp a newe maste, but when they perceyued their men to bee so handeled in the Amsterdam, and that they leapt ouer borde, they turned backe againe, and in great haste rowed to land, so that at that time they got not much by the bargaine, and no small griefe to vs, for there wee lost 12. men, that were all stabbed with poinyards, their names were Iohn Iacobson Schellenger, maister of the ship, Reymer Van Hel Factor, Gielis Gieleson Gentleman, Barent Bonteboter, Arent Cornedrager, Cornelis van Alcmuer, Simon Ianson, Wiltschut Ioos the Carpenter, Adrian de Metselar, one of the Portingalles slaues, and two boyes, whereof one was but twelue yeares olde, whereby wee perceyued them to be a kinde of cruell people, for they had giuen the little boy and all the rest of our men at the least 12 stabbes a peece after they were dead.

The names of the men that were stabbed.

The same day about euening we hoysed ankers, and set saile, hauing manned the Amsterdam with men out of our other shippes, and so helde our course Eastward.

The 6. of December we came to a great Island called Madura, where we ankered, and in the evening two of their men came aborde our shippes, with message from their Gouernour, saying that we were welcome, desiring vs to stay there, for he would trafficke with vs, and sell vs some Pepper, as they saide, but wee belieued them not.

The 7. of December there came another boat abord, bringing certaine fruites, saying that the next day their Gouernour would come to see our shippes.

The 8. there came a great fuste and three smal boats, from off the land all full of men, saying their Gouernour was among them: we willed them not to goe to the Amsterdam, but to the Mauritius, but they woulde not, but made to the Amsterdam, thinking because there had beene so many murthered in her, there was not many men aborde her at that time, and when they were within a pykes length of her, (although they were directed to the other shippes) they remembering their late mischance, shotte off three or foure stone Peeces full laden, wherewith they slew and hurt many of the Indians, wherevpon they presently leapt ouer board, and wee with our boates followed after and slew diuers of them, taking ten or twelue, thinking by them to know what their intent was to doe, but they could not certifie vs, and therefore we let them go againe onely keeping two boyes, who long after stole out of the shippe, and swamme to lande: They tolde vs that the Gouernour being a Bishoppe or chiefe instructor of the countrey, was within the boate and slaine among the rest, hee had therein likewise a little boy one of his sonnes who wee likewise tooke, and sent to lande: The Bishoppe was of Meca, and much esteemed of among them, a great Clearke, and Gouernour ouer all the rest of the Countrey: There was a Iewell found about him, which as yet is kept.

About euening we hoysed ankers, and set sayle, and the 11. of December we came to two small Islands, where wee ankered, there wee founde none but poore people and fishermen, that brought vs fish, Hens, and other fruit to sell.

How farre they were from Moluccas.

The 13. wee set sayle, and the 14. wee had a West winde, which they call the passage winde, that would haue serued vs well to saile to Moluccas, from whence wee were not distant aboue two hundred miles, and as then it was a good yeare for Cloues, which happeneth euery three yeares: It was told vs that we might there haue a Cabbin laden full of Cloues, wherevpon we determined to sayle thither, but because wee had already indured a long and troublesome voyage, and but ill manned, we woulde not, longing to bee at home: This contrary wind holding vppon the foure and twentie of December wee came to an Islande where we had beene before.

The 25. of December Iohn Molenaer maister of the Mauritius, dyed sodainely, for an hower before hee was well, and in good health.

The 28. 29. 30. and 31. of December wee were busied to take all the wares, sayles, and other things out of the Amsterdam, her victuailes and furnitures seruing for our voyage homewarde, and lying vnder that Island, we had victuailes brought vs euery day as much as wee needed, both fish, Hens, venison and fruit, and at reasonable price, but there we could get no water.

The Amsterdam set on fire.

The 11. of Ianuary when we had vnladen the Amsterdam we set her on fier, letting her burne, taking her men in our shippes.

The 12. of Ianuarie we set sayle again, some desiring to sayle Eastward, others Westward, but in fine wee set Westwarde to sayle once againe to Bantam, wherewith the Mauritius sayled Southeastwarde, to gette about the Island of Iaua, and we followed her. The 14. of Ianuary we once againe perceyued the East point of the Island of Madura, and held our course Southward: on that side of Madura there lyeth many small Islandes, through which we sayled.

The Pinace on ground.

The 16. in the morning our Pinace fell on grounde vpon the coast of Iaua, not far from Pannorocan, where she shotte off three peeces, at the which warning wee made thither with our boates, and by the helpe of God got her off againe: There we saw a high hil that burnt, vnder and aboue the fire hauing a great smoake, most strange to behold.

The 18. of Ianuary we entered into the straight that runneth betweene Iaua and Baly, and by reason of the hard and contrary streame that ran therin, we were forced to anker vpon the coast of Iaua, where wee found good anker ground.

The 19. wee set sayle, and when wee came neere to the coast of Baly, we entered into a rough streame, and our shippes draue backeward, as swiftly as an arrow out of a bow, and there we found no anker ground, nor any anker could haue holden vs, but Molenaer got the coast of Iaua and ankered, which in the ende wee likewise did, and ankered at the least three miles from him, and so much we had driuen backe in the space of halfe an houre.

The 20. of Ianuarie wee went and lay by our other ships.

The 21. of Ianuarie there came two barkes to the Mauritius, wherein there was one that coulde speake good Portingall, who tolde vs that the towne of Ballaboam was besieged by a strange King, that had marryed the King of Ballaboams daughter, and after he had laine with her he caused her to bee slaine, and then came to besiege her father. This towne of Ballaboam lyeth on the East end of the Islaud of Iaua, and is the same towne where M. Candish was when hee passed that way, and the old King wherof he writeth was as then yet liuing, being at the least 160. years of age. There we saw great numbers of Battes, that flew ouer our shippes, and were as bigge as Crowes, which in that Countrey they vse to eat, as they say: About noone we came before the towne of Ballaboam, so neare vnto it, that we might easily see it, and there we lay behind a high point of lande, thinking to take in water.

The 22. of Ianuarie we tooke our Pinace, and sayled about the shore as neere the land as possible we might, to seeke for fresh water, but we found none, for the Riuer that ran through the towne was paled vp (by them that lay before it) so that no man might passe either out or in, but onely on the lande side, and that with great daunger: The same day there came 2. or 3. men abord our shippe, that stole out of the towne by night, and came from the King, to desire our help with our great shot, which wee could not doe; because that thereabouts it was very shallow, and we might not go neere it with our shippes; they tolde vs they had great want of victuailes within the towne, whereby many of them were already deade for hunger, and much desired our aide, but it was not in vs to doe. Those that besieged the towne were Mores, but they in the towne were heathens, and as yet had not receyued Mahomets lawe, and that (as wee heard after) was the cause of their warre: There wee sawe many Storkes flying and sitting in the fielde: with vs we cannot imagine where the Storkes remaine in winter time, but here wee sawe them in the winter time.

The 24. of Ianuarie we sayled from thence, perceyuing nothing for vs to get, and tooke our course right ouer to the Island of Bally.

The 25. we came to Bally, where one of their barks borded vs, telling vs that there we should find a Riuer of fresh water, and of all thinges els sufficient to serue our necessities, wherevpon we ankered.

The 26. of Ianuarie our Pinace sent her boat to land, to see the Riuer, and there one of our men was sent on shore, but when he was on land he found nothing, but an armie of ten thousand men, that ment to relieue the towne of Ballaboam, and the Riuer was nothing worth to lade water, wherevpon our men came on borde againe: Their Generall thought to haue gotten some great pray out of our shippes.

The 27. of Ianuarie we set sayle to finde a conuenient place to refresh vs with water and other prouision, for wee were informed by a man of Bengala, that of his owne will sayled with vs, and that had beene in Bally, that there wee should finde water and other thinges to serue our necessities, so that by night wee ankered vnder a high pointe of lande on the South West ende of Bally.

The 28. of Ianuarie one of their boates borded vs with sixe or seuen men, saying that their King was desirious to deale with vs for such wares as hee had, and sent to know from whence we came, and we said wee came out of Holland.

The 29. and 30. there came more men aborde our shippes, but as wee suspected that was not the right hauen, for the people came rowing in great haste a far off, and the man of Bengala could not tell what to say, but the King was thereabout, and euery day sent vs some fruit.

The first of February wee had two hogges brought aborde our shippes, that wee bought for two Ryalles of eyght, and we eate them very sauerly.

The 2. of Februarie, we set saile that wee might get aboue the point, where wee thought to finde a better place for freshe water, but by reason the winde was contrary, wee could not doe it, but were forced to anker againe.

The 3. of February we set saile againe, and then wee had a storme, so that our saile blew euery way, and because of the contrarie winde we could not reach aboue the point, but were constrained to anker, but the Mauritius and the Pinace got past it, although thereby the Mauritius was in no little daunger, but because the Pilot had laid a wager of 6. Rialles of 8. that hee woulde get aboue it, hee would passe, what daunger soeuer it might be, and sayled close along by the cliffes, whereby wee lay at anker without companie.

The 4. and 5. we set saile once againe to get aboue the point but could not reach it.

The 6. we had a letter from Rodenburgh, that certified vs how the Mauritius lay at anker at the least 7. or 8. miles beyond the point, and he that brought the letter came with it ouer land; and at the same time there was a man sent on lande with a small present for the King, that we might winne his fauour.

The 7. our man came on borde againe, and brought vs newes how Rodenburgh with one of the Portingalles slaues, being on lande were against their willes led before the King, but the saylors of the Mauritius had gotten men for pledges.

The 8. of Ianuarie, the same man went on land out of our shippe with more presentes of veluet and a caliuer, the better to get the Kinges fauour, which liked him well, and desired vs to bring the ship nearer to the towne, saying he would send vs water, and other things sufficient to supply our wants.

The 9. we sayled into the cheeke with our shippe, and ankered about a small halfe mile from the land, and being ankered there came at the least 70. boates of the Countrey to see our ship, and the King sent vs word that hee was desirous to heare vs shoote off 5. or 6. of our great peeces, and the King stoode vppon the shore to see them.

The 10. we had a letter from Cornelis Houtman, to wil vs to come to them, for that there they had founde a good place for water, and all other necessaries, so that about euening wee set sayle, leauing two of our men and a Portingall slaue among the Indians, whome the King promised should come vnto vs ouer land, yet that night wee could not reach aboue the point, meane time we perceyued our Pinace that came to helpe vs.

The 16. we got by the Mauritius, that had already laden in her water, and hooped her vessels, wherevpon we began presently to do the like, and to visite our vessels that were almost spoyled.

The 17. our men whome wee left with the King came ouer land vnto our shippes, and then we bought great store of cattle and fruit.

The 18. 19. 20. and 21. wee imployed our time to lade water, which wee had verie easily, and refreshed our selues with Cattle, Hogges, fruit, and Lemons sufficient. There came one of the Kinges principall officers with our men ouer land, to pleasure vs in all things we desired, he was very desirous to haue some present of vs.

Two of our men stayed with the Indians.

The 24. of Ianuarie two of our men that sayled in the Mauritius stayed on lande, but wee knewe not the cause: it should seeme some great promises had beene made vnto them, for as we vnderstoode the King was very desirous to haue all sortes of strange nations about him, but our people were therein much ouerseene, for there they liued among heathens, that neyther knewe God nor his commandements, it appeared that their youthes and wilde heades did not remember it, one of their names was Emanuel Rodenburgh of Amsterdam, the other Iacob Cuyper of Delft: within a day or two they sent vnto vs for their clothes, but wee sent them not.

The 23. 24. and 25. we made a voyage on land, and fetcht as many Hogges abord our shippes as we could eate.

The 25. of Februarie we hoysed ankers, minding to set saile and so go homeward, leauing our two men aforesaid on land, but because it was calme weather we ankered, and went once againe on lande, and the 26. of the same Month wee set saile and helde our course West South West, but we had a calme.

The situation of the Island of Baly

How 50 women burnt them selues with one man.

THe Island of Baly lying at the East end of Iaua, is a verie fruitfull Islande of Ryce, Hennes, Hogges, that are very good, and great store of cattle: but they are very drie and leane beastes They haue many horses: the inhabitantes are heathens, and haue no religion, for some pray to Kine, others to the Sunne, and euerie man as hee thinketh good. When a man dyeth his wife burneth her selfe with him: there were some of their men aborde our shippes, that told vs, that when some man dyeth in that Countrey, that sometimes there are at the least fifty women that will burne themselues with him, and she that doth not so is accounted for a dishonest woman: so that it is a common thing with them: The apparel both of men and women is for the most part like those of Bantam, nothing but a cloth about their middles: Their weapons is, each man a poinyarde at their backes, and a trunke with an iron point like a speare, about a fadom and a halfe long, out of the which they blowe certaine arrowes, whereof they haue a case full; it is an euil weapon for naked men: they are enemies to the Mores and Portingalles. This Iland yeeldeth no spice, nor any other costly ware, onely victuailes and clothes which they weare about their bodies, and slaues that are there to be solde. The King went with more state then the King of Bantam: all his garde had pikes with heades of fine gold, and he sate in a wagon that that was drawen by two white Buffles.

The first of March we had a calme.

The third we got a good wind that blew Southeast, holding our course West South West.

The fourteenth the wind blew stil South East, sometimes more Southwarde, and sometimes Eastward, being vnder 14. degrees, and a good sharpe gale, holding our course West Southwest: There we found that Iaua is not so broade, nor stretcheth it selfe not so much Southwarde, as it is set downe in the Carde: for if it were, we should haue passed clean through the middle of the land.

The situation of Iaua.

The 22. of March the winde helde as it did, being vnder 19. degrees, holding our course West South West.

The 19. of April our ship had no more bread left, but for our last partition euery man had seuen pound, both good and badde breade, and from that time forwarde our meate was Rice sodden in water, and euery man had a canne of water euery day, with three romers of wine, and weekely each man three romers or glasses of oyle and that very strong, and nothing els.

The 20. we had a calme, the 21. a calme with a Northerne aire.

The 23. a good wind that blew Southwest.

The 24. we saw the firme lande of Æthiopia, being vnder 33, degrees, and as wee gessed, wee were then about an hundred miles from the Cape de bona Sperance, yet we thought we had been at the least three hundred miles from it, so that wee may say, that God wrought wonderfully for vs: for that if wee had fallen by night vpon the land, we had surely runne vpon it: wee had a good winde out of the West, and West Southwest.

The 25. of Aprill in the morning wee had a calme, with a very hollow water, and at euening we had a good winde, that came North and Northeast, and although wee had so good a wind yet our shippe bare but little sayle, although the other two shippes of our company were at the least two mile before vs, for most part of the night wee sayled with our schouer saile, holding our course Southwest and by West.

The 26. of Aprill in the morning we coulde not see our shippes, which pleased not our men, besides that our shippe was very weake, whereby her ribs shoke, and her ioynts with the force of the water opened and shut, so that as then our shippe was very leake, hauing the winde Northwest, holding our course as neere as wee could West Southwest, and then we put out our maine sayles, at noone the winde came West, with a great storme, so that most of our sayles blew in peeces, and so wee draue forward with out sayles.

The 27. of Aprill still driuing without sayle with a West winde, wee were vnder thirty sixe degrees, so that we found that the streame draue vs South and South West.

The 28. of Aprill still driuing without sailes, we had the height of 36. degrees and 20. minutes, and about euening we hoised saile againe, the winde being West Southwest, and we held our course Northwest with very hollow water.

The 29. of April we could not as yet see our shippes, the wind being West.

The 30. of Aprill we had fayre weather with a West and West Sourh West wind, and then we saw many great birdes with white billes, which is a signe not to bee far from the Cape de bona Sperance, we likewise saw certain small birdes, speckled on their backes, and white vpon their breastes.

The first of May wee had a South winde with fayre weather, hauing 34 degrees and a halfe, holding our course West Southwest.

The seconde of May wee were vnder 35. degrees, and ½. holding our course West and West and by North.

The fourth of May we found our selues to be vnder 37. degrees South South East winde, our course being West and by North, and West North West.

The 5. and 6. of May we had all one winde at noone being vnder 35. degrees, wee thought wee had passed the Cape, and held our course Northwest, towardes Saint Helena, still without sight of our ships.

The 8. of May with a South wind wee helde North West and by West.

The 9. we had a calme with a gray sky, and were vnder 31. degrees and twentie minutes, and then our portion of oyle was increased a glasse more euery weeke, so that euery man had foure glasses.

The 10. we had stil South winds, and were vnder 29 deg.

Signes of the Cape de bona Speranza.

The 14. of May twice or thrice we saw reedes, called Trombos driuing on the water, being such as driue about the Cape de bona Speranza, which wee thought verie strange, for that the Portingals write, that they are seen but thirtie myles from the Cape, and wee gest our selues to be at the least 200. beyond it.

The 15. we still had a South East wind, and helde our course Northwest.

The 16. of May in the morning we saw two ships, whereat we much reioyced, thinking they had beene our companie, we made to leewarde of them, and the smallest of them comming somewhat neere vs, about the length of the shotte of a great peece, shee made presently toward her fellow, whereby we perceiued them to bee Frenchmen, yet we kept to leeward, thinking they would haue come and spoken with vs, but it should seeme they feared vs, and durst not come, but held their course Northeast; at noone we had the height of 22. degrees, and 50. minutes with a Southeast wind, holding our course Northwest.

The 17. of May wee were vnder 21. degrees and a halfe: the the 18. the wind being Southerly, we were vnder 19. degrees and a halfe.

The 19. and 20. we had a calme with a Southern aire.

The 21. the ayre comming Southwest, we held our course Northwest: and were vnder 17. degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$. partes: There we found the compasse to decline three quarters of a strike or line North eastward, after noone we had a Southeast wind, and our course West Northwest.

The 22. of May we had still a Southeast winde, and were vnder the height of 16. degrees and 40. minutes, holding our course West Northwest.

The 23. of May, by reason of the cloudy sky, about noone we could not take the height of the Sunne, but as we gest we had the height of the Island of S. Helena, and held our course West and by South to keepe vnder that height, for there the compasses decline a whole strike or line: in the euening we found that we were vnder 16. degrees.

The 24. of May in the morning wee discouered a Portingall ship, that stayed for vs, and put out a flagge of truce, and because our flagge of truce was not so readie as theirs, and we hauing the wind of him, therefore he shot two shootes at vs, and put forth a flagge out of his maine top, and we shot 5. or 6. times at him, and so held on our course without speaking to him, hauing a South East winde, holding our course West and by South to find the Island of S. Helena, which the Portingal likewise sought.

The 25. of May we discouered the Island of S. Helena, but we could not see the Portingal ship, still sayling with a stiffe Southeast wind, and about euening we were vnder the Island, which is very high lande, and may be seene at the least 14. or 15. miles off, and as we sayled about the North point, there lay three other great Portingal ships, we being not aboue half a mile from them, wherevpon wee helde in the weather and to seawarde Northeast as much as we might. The Portingalles perceyuing vs, the

Foure Portingal ships richly laden.

Admiral of their fleet shot off a peece to call their men that were on land to come aborde, and then wee saw foure of their shippes together, that were worth a great summe of money, at the least 300. tunnes of gold, for they were all laden with spices, precious stones, and other rich wares, and therefore wee durst not anker vnder the Island, but lay all night Northeastwarde, staying for our company.

The 26. of May in the morning wee made towardes the Island againe, with a good Southeast winde, and about noone or somewhat past we discried two shippes, and about euening as we made towards them, we knew them to be our company, which made vs to reioyce, for we had been asunder the space of a whole Month, and so we helde together and sayled homeward, holding our course Northwest: for as yet our men were well and in good health, and we found a good Southeast winde, and had water enough for foure or fiue monthes.

The 27. 28. 29. and 30. of May wee had a Southeast winde, with faire weather, and the 27. day we were vnder 14. degrees. The first of Iune we were vnder 6. degrees, with a Southeast wind, holding our course North West, but by means of the Compasse that yeelded North eastward, we kept about Northwest and by North. The 6. of Iune wee were vnder one degree on the South side of the line, there wee founde that the streame draue vs fast into the West, and therefore wee helde our course more Northernely and sayled Northwest and by North, with an East and South East wind. The 7. of Iune wee past the Equinoctiall line, with an East winde, holding our course North Northwest.

They passed the Equinoctiall line.

The 10. of Iune in the euening we were vnder 5. degrees and a halfe on the North side of the line, and then we began again to see the North star, which for the space of 2. years we had not seene, holding our course North Northwest, there we began to haue smal blasts, and some times calmes, but the aire all South and South-east.

The 11. of Iune we had a calme, and yet a darke sky, that came Southeastwarde.

The 12. of Iune wee had a close sky with raine, and the same euening our fore top maste fell downe.

The 13. we strake all our sailes and mended our ship.

The 14. we had the wind Northward, holding our course West Northwest as neare as we coulde, but by reason of the thick sky wee could not take height of the Sun. The 15. of Iune we had the wind North, and North Northwest.

The 16. of Iune wee had the height of 9. degrees and 10. minutes, the winde being Northeast and North Northeast. The 17. the winde was Northeast with fair weather, and we held Northwest, and Northwest and by North till after noone. The 15. we tooke a great fish called an Aluercoor, which served vs all for 3. meals, which wee had not tasted of long time before.

They tooke a great fish.

The 26. we had still a Northeast winde, and sometimes larger, holding our course North Northwest with large saile, and were vnder 17. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$.

The same day there came much dust flying into our shippe, as if we had past hard by some sandie towne, and we gest the nearest land to vs might be the Island of S. Anthony, and wee were as then at the least 40. or 50. miles from it: The same day likewise there came a flying fish into our shippe, which we eat.

The 28. of Iune wee had the height of 20. degrees, with a East Northeast wind and East and by West, with full sayle, there we saw much Sargosse, driuing on the water. The last of Iune we had the Sun right ouer our heades, and yet we felt no heat, for that by reason of the cold ayre we had a fine coole weather. The same day we passed Tropicus Cancri, still hauing the winde East Northeast, and in the euening we were vnder 24. degr.

The second of Iuly we saw Sargosse driuing vpon the water, and had the wind somewhat lower North Northeast with a calme. The thirde of Iuly the winde came againe East Northeast, and wee helde our course North and by West. The 8. of Iuly wee were vnder 33. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. with an East wind, holding our course North and by East, and yet we saw much Sargosse driuing, but not so thicke as it did before.

The 10. of Iuly we had a good wind that blew south and South and by East, and hoysted vp our maine tops, that for the space of 26. daies were neuer touched, and held our course North Northeast, there we were in no little feare to fall among the Spanish fleet, which at that time of the yeare keepeth about the Flemmish Islands.

The same day one of our boyes fell ouer bord, and was carried away with a swift streame before the wind, but to his great good fortune, the Pinace saued him, that was at the least a quarter of a mile from vs: this euening we found the height of 36. degrees.

The 12. of Iuly we had a Southwest wind, holding our course Northeast and by North: Our Pilot and the Pilot of the Pinnace differed a degree in the height of the Sunne, for ours had 38. degrees, and theirs but 37. We gest to be about the Islands of Corbo and Flores, but the one held more easterly and the other more Westerly. The 13. of Iuly wee had still a Southwest winde, and after noone wee thought wee had seene land, but we were not assured thereof, for it was somewhat close. The 14. of Iuly we had a calme, and saw no land, and then our men began to be sicke.

The 17. of Iuly wee had a South Southeast winde, with faire weather, and were vnder 41. degrees, holding our course East Northeast.

The 18. 19. 20. and 21. it was calme. The 22. of Iuly the winde came North, and wee held our course East Southeast. The 23. of Iuly the wind was North North East and Northeast, and we held as near as we could East and East Southeast, the same day our steward found a barrell of stockfish in the roming, which if we had beene at home we would haue cast it on the dunghil, it stunke so filthily, and yet we eat it as sauerly as the best meat in the world.

The 24. we had a West wind, and that with so strong a gale, that wee were forced to set two men at helme, which pleased vs well.

The 25. of Iuly we had a storme that blew West and West Northwest, so that we bare but two sailes, holding our course Northeast and by East.

The first of August we were vnder 45. degrees with a North West wind, holding our course Northeast and by East.

The second of August one of our men called Gerrit Cornelison of Spijckenes died, being the first man that dyed in our voyage homeward.

The 4. of August we had a Northwest wind.

The 5. of August in the morning the winde came Southwest, and we were vnder 47. degrees, holding our course Northeast and the North Northeast, and wee gest that wee were not farre from the channell, those dayes aforesaid we had so great colde in our shippes, as if it had beene in the middle of winter: We could not be warme with all the clothes wee had. The same day we saw Sargosse driue vpon the water.

The 6. of August we had a West wind, in the morning we cast out our lead and found grounde at 80. fadome, and about noone we saw a shippe that bare the Princes flagge, yet durst not come neare vs, although we made signes vnto him, and after noone wee saw the land of Heissant, whereat we all reioyced.

They saw a shippe with the Prince of Oranges flagge.

The 7. of August in the morning we saw the land of Fraunce, and held our course North Northeast, and likewise we saw a small shippe, but spake not with it.

The 8. of August in the morning we saw the Kiskas, and had a South wind and somewhat West, holding our course East Northeast.

The 9. of August we entered the heades, and past them with a Southwest wind, sayling Northeast. After noone we past by a man of warre being a Hollander, that lay at anker, and he hoysed anker to follow vs, about euening wee spake with him, but because of the wind wee could hardly heare what hee said, yet hee sailed on with vs.

They saw a man of war.

The 10. of August the man of warre borded vs with his boat, and brought vs a barrell of beere, some bread and cheese, shewing vs what news he could touching the state of Holland, and presently wee sawe the land of Holland, and because it blew very stiffe and a great storme, after noone wee ankered about Petten to stay for better weather, and some new Pilots, and that was the first time we had cast anker for the space of 5. monthes together, about euening it beganne to blow so stiffe, that wee lost both an anker and a cable.

The man of war gaue them victuailes,

The 11. of August we had still a Southerly winde, and therefore about noone the Mauritius set saile, and wee thought likewise to saile, but our men were so weake that we could not hoyse vp our anker, so that we were constrained to lie still till men came out to helpe vs, about euening the winde came Southwest, and with so great a storme, that we thought to haue run vpon the strand, and were forced to cut downe our maine maste.

They cut down their main mast.

The 12. and 13. we had a hard South West wind, and sometimes West, so that no Pilots came abord our ship, but the 13. day about euening it began to be faire weather.

The 14. of August about breake of day in the morning, there came two boats with Pilots and men abord our ship, that were sent out by our owners, and brought vs some fresh victuailes, which done they hoysed vp our ankers, and about noone we sayled into the Tessel, and ankered in the channell, where we had fresh victuailes enough, for we were all weake.

This was a great noueltie to all the Marchantes and inhabitantes of Hollande, for that wee went out from thence the second of April 1595. and returned home again vpon the 14. of August 1597. there you might haue bought of the Pepper, Nutmegs, Cloues, and Mace, which wee brought with vs. Our saylors were most part sicke, being but 80. men in all, two third partes of their company being dead, and lost by diuers accidentes, and among those forescore such as were sicke, as soone as they were on land and at their ease presently recouered their healthes.

The copper money of Iaua commeth also out of China, and is almost as thicke, great and heauy, as a quarter of a Doller, and somewhat thicker, in the middle hauing a square hole, 2000. of them are worth a Riall of 8. but of these there are not ouer many, they vse to hang them vpon stringes, and pay them without telling, they stand not so narrowly vpon the number, for if they want but 25. or 50. it is nothing.

The leaden money of Iaua, (being of bad Leade is very rough) hath in the middle a foure square hole, they are hanged by two hundred vppon a string, they are commonly 10. 11. and 12. thousand to a Riall of 8. as there commeth great quantitie out of China, where they are made, and so as there is plentie or scarcitie they rise and fal.

A true report of the gainefull, prosperous, and speedy voiage to Iaua in the East Indies, performed by a fleete of 8. ships of Amsterdam: which set forth from Texell in Holland the first of Maie 1598. Stilo Nouo. Whereof foure returned againe the 19. of Iuly anno 1599. in lesse then 15. moneths; the other foure went forward from Iaua for the Moluccas.*

WHereas in the yeare of our Lord 1595. a certaine company of substantial merchants of Amsterdam in Holland did build and set forth for the East Indies four well appointed shippes, whereof three came home An. 1597. with small profit (as already in sundry languages is declared)† Yet neuerthelesse the aforesaid company, in hope of better successe, made out the last yeare 1598. for a seconde voiage, a fleete of eight gallant ships, to wit. The shippe called the Mauritius, lately returned from that former voyage, being of burden two hundreth and thirty last, or foure hundreth and sixty tunnes, or thereabouts. This shippe was Admirall of the fleete. The master whereof was Godevart Iohnson, the Commissarie or factor Cornelius Heemskerck, and the Pilot Kees Collen.

---

* At London: printed by P. S. for W. Aspley, and are to be sold at the signe of the Tygers Head in Paules Church-yard, (1600).

† See above.

The second ship called the Amsterdam, was of the burden of four hundreth and sixty tuns. The Master's name was Claes Iohnson Melcknap; The factor or commissarie Iacob Heemskerck.

The third was named Hollandia, about the burden of sixe hundreth tuns: which had likewise been in the former voiage. The Master was Symon Lambertson or Mawe, the Factor Master Witte Nijn, who died in the voyage before Bantam, and in his roome succeeded Iohn Iohnson Smith.

The name of the fourth ship was Gelderland, of burden about foure hundreth tuns. Master wherof was Iohn Browne, factor or commissarie Hans Hendrickson.

The fift was called Zeelandia, of the burden of three hundreth and sixtie tuns. The Master was Iohn Cornelison, the Commissary or factor N. Brewer.

The sixt ship named Utrecht of the burden of two hundreth and sixtie tuns. The Master was Iohn Martsen, the Factor or commissary Adrian Veen.

The seuenth a pinnas called Frisland, of burden about seuenty tuns. The Master Iacob Cornelison, the Factor Walter Willekens.

The eighth a pinnas that had been in the former voiage called the Pidgeon, now ye Ouerijssel, of the burden of fifty tuns. The Master Symon Iohnson. The Factor Arent Hermanson.

Of this fleete was General and Admirall Master Iacob Neck, Viceadmirall Wybrand van Warwick: and Rereadmirall Iacob Heemskerck.

With this fleet of eight ships we made saile from Texell the first of May 1598. Stilo Nouo, being the 21. of Aprill, after the account of England and sailed with good speed vnto the Cabo de bona Speranza: as further shal appeare by a Iournal annexed vnto the end of this discourse.

Being past the Cape, the 7. and 8. of August, by a storme of weather fiue ships were separated from the Admirall, who afterwardes came together againe before Bantam.

They meete with a ship of Zeland.

The 26. of August with three shippes wee came within the view of Madagascar, and the 29. wee met with a ship of Zeeland, called the Long barke, which had put to sea before vs, and now kept aloofe from us, supposing we were enemies: but at length perceiuing by our flagges what we were, they sent their Pinnas aboord vs, reioycing greatly to haue met with vs, because that diuers of their men were sicke, and ten were already dead: and they had in all but seuen men aboord the shippe that were meat-whole, and eleuen mariners to guide the shippe. Wee agreed to relieue them with some supplie of men: but through darkenesse and great winde wee lost them againe.

The Isle of Santa Maria.

After this, we the Admiral Mauritius, the Hollandia, and the pinnas Ouerijssel keeping together, came to the Island of Santa Maria, before the great bay of Antogil in Madagascar: where wee got a small quantity of Rice. We tooke the King prisoner, who paide for his ransome a Cow and a fat calfe.

In this Island we found no great commodity: for being the month of September, the season was not for any fruits: the Oranges had but flowers: Lemons were scant: of Sugarcanes and Hens there was some store, but the Inhabitants were not very forward in bringing them out.

Killing of the whale.

Heere we sawe the hunting of the Whale, (a strange pastime) certaine Indians in a Canoa, or boate following a great Whale, and with a harping Iron, which they cast forth, piercing the whals body, which yron was fastned to a long rope made of the barkes of trees, and so tied fast to their Canoa. All this while pricking and wounding the whale so much as they could, they made him furiously to striue too and fro, swiftly swimming in the sea, plucking the canoa after him: sometimes tossing it vp and downe, as lightly as if it had been a strawe. The Indians in the meane time being cunning swimmers taking small care though they were cast ouerboord, tooke fast hold by the boat stil, and so after some continuance of this sport, the whale wearied and waxing faint, and staining the sea red with his bloud, they haled him toward the shore, and when they had gotten him so neare shore on the shallowe that the most part of him appeared aboue water, they drew him aland and hewed him in pieces, euery one taking thereof what pleased them, which was to vs a strange sight. It is reported that the Indians of Terra Florida vse the like fishing for the Whale. Our men might haue taken some part thereof, but refused it: the pieces thereof were so like larde or fat bacon.

The Bay of Antcgill.

From thence we made toward the great Bay of Antogill and ankered vnder the Island, where wee tooke in fresh water.

Our Indians that were brought from thence by them of the former voiage (the names of whome were Madagascar the one, and the other Laurence) wee offered to set there on land, but they refused, chusing rather to tarry with vs and to be apparelled, then to go naked in their owne countrey: working and moyling for a miserable liuing, opposing their bare skins to the vehemency of the sunne and weather: and their excuse was, that in that place they were strangers and had none acquaintance.

How long their beere continued good.

Our beere continued good vntill we were passed the Cape de bona speranza: from thence we began to mingle it with water hauing a portion of wine allowed vs twise a day, and this allowance continued vntill our returne into Holland.

We went with our boates vp the riuer seeking refreshing: but the Inhabitants gaue vs to vnderstand by signes that wee might returne, for there was nothing to be had. Wee rowed into the riuer about three leagues, and found their report to bee true. The cause was, that the Kings made warre there one against an other, and so all the victuals were in manner destroied, insomuch that the Inhabitants themselues many of them perished for hunger, and in one of these battailes one of their Kings was lately slaine. Wherfore after fiue daies abode and no longer, we departed, and in Gods name made to sea again, directing our course the sixteenth of September for Iaua. About the nineteenth of Nouember we came within sight of Sumatra, and the 26. of the same moneth 1598. wee in the three shippes aforesaid, to wit, the Mauritius, our Admirall, the Hollandia, and the Ouerissell, arriued before the citty of Bantam in Iaua. Presently vpon this our arriuall, our Admirall and Generall Master Iacob Van Neck, sought with all friendship to traffique with the people of the saide towne of Bantam, sending Master Cornelis Heemskerck on land to shew them what we were, for they thought vs to be the very same men that had been

They arriue at Bantam.

there the yeare before, and al that while guarded the sea cost, as being assuredly persuaded that we were pirates and sea rouers. But we, to make them vnderstand the contrary, sent on lande one Abdoll of China, a captiue of theirs, whom we brought from them in our first voyage; by whose meanes we got audience and credite: and so we presented our gifts and presents to the King, which was but a childe: and the chiefe gouernour called Cephat, hauing the kingly authority, most thankfully receiued the same in the name of his King. The said presents were a faire couered cup of siluer and gilt, certaine veluets and clothes of silke, with very fine drinking glasses and excellent looking glasses, and such other gifts more. Likewise we presented our letters sealed very costly with the great seale of the noble and mighty lords the Estates generall of the united Prouinces, and of Prince Mauritz, whome they termed their Prince. Which letters were by them receiued with great reuerence, creeping vpon their knees: and (the same being well perused, read and examined) they found thereby our honest intent and determination for traffike: insomuch that a mutuall league of friendship and alliance was concluded, and we were freely licensed to trade and traffike in such wise, that euen the fourth day of our arriuall we began to lade; and within foure or fiue weekes all our foure ships hauing taken in their full fraight, were ready to depart.

They present their letters and gifts.

Trade licensed.

When our three shippes aforesaid had remained there welnigh a moneth, about Newyears-tide arriued the other fiue shippes of our company before mentioned in very good manner, and well conditioned. And so our whole fleete of eight ships ioyfully met together, and had none or very fewe sicke persons among them, hauing lost by death in the whole fleete but 35. men in all, of which number some perished through their own negligence. Vpon this happy meeting we displaied our flags, streamers and ensignes after the brauest manner, honouring and greeting one another with volleis of shot, making good cheere, and (which was no small matter) growing more deeply in fauour with the townesmen of Bantam. Vnto vs were daily brought aboord in Prauwes or Indian boats great quantity of hens, egs, Cocos, bonanos, sugar-canes, cakes, made of rice, and a certaine kinde of good drinke which is there made by the men of China. Thus the people daily bartered with vs for

The whole fleet meet before Bantam.

pewter and other wares, giuing so much victuals for a pewter spoone, as might well suffice one man for an whole weeke. Wee trucked likewise for diuers other things, as for porcellan dishes and such like. Howbeit, that which our Indian Abdoll declared (namely, that more ships were comming besides the three aforesaid, and that others beside them were also sent out of Zeland) little tended to our commodity: for thereupon the Iauans tooke occasion to inhance the price of their pepper, insomuch that we were forced to pay for 55. pounds of pepper first three, and afterward four Reals of eight: neither did they demaund or call for any thing so much as for the said Reals of eight. Mercery or haberdashers wares were in no such request as money. Also we much marueiled, how the Iauans should tell vs of more shippes to come, making signes with their foure fingers and thumb, that foure Lyma (which word in their language signifieth shippes) were comming.

The price of pepper inhanced.

And here you are to vnderstand, that our Generall Master Van Neck, together with the commissaries or factors, thought good, besides the three forsaid ships that came first, to lade one other, to wit, the greater pinnasse called Frisland, whereof was Master Iacob Cornelison, and factor Walter Willekens. These foure ships hauing receiued their ful fraight, and giuen notice on land of their departure (to the end that none of their creditours might bee vnpaid) and also hauing well prouided themselues of rice and water, departed the thirteenth of Ianuary 1599. and sayled to Sumatra, where they tooke in fresh water; for that the water of Bantam first waxeth white, and afterward crawleth full of magots.

Foure ships laden.

Vpon the land of Sumatra we bartered kniues, spoones, looking-glasses, bels, needles and such like, for sundry fruits, to wit, melons, cucumbers, onions, garlike, and pepper though little in quantity, yet exceeding good.

We had to deale with a notable Merchant of Bantam, named Sasemolonke, whose father was a Castilian, which sold vs not much lesse then an hundreth last of pepper. He was most desirous to haue traueiled with vs into Holland: but misdoubting the displeasure and euil will of the king, and fearing least his goods might haue bin confiscated, he durst not aduenture vpon the voiage.

Certaine daies before our departure from Bantam were the

The four other ships sent to Moluccas.

other foure shippes dispatched to go for the Moluccas, and ouer them was appointed as Admirall and Generall Master Wybrant van Warwicke in the shippe called Amsterdam, and Iacob Heemskerck Viceadmirall in the shippe Gelderland, the other two shippes in consort with them being Zeland and Vtrecht before mentioned.

These foure made saile towards the Moluccas, and parted from vs the 8. of Ianuary in the night, and in taking of our leaues both of vs together, made such a terrible thundering noise with our ordinance, that the townsemen were vp in alarme, vntill they knewe the reason thereof. The people were glad of their departure, hauing some mistrust of vs, remaining there so strong with 8. ships. And they asked daily when we should depart, making great speed to help vs vnto our lading, and shewing themselues most seruiceable vnto vs.

The 11. of Ianuary 1599. we in the foure shippes laden with pepper departed from Bantam homeward. The 13. we arriued at Sumatra. The 19. we shaped our course directly for Holland. The 3. of April we had sight of Capo de buona esperanza. The 8. of Aprill we doubled the said Cape, proceeding on for the Isle of Saint Helena, whither we came the twenty sixt of the same month, and there refreshed our selues for the space of eight daies.

In this Island we found a church with certaine boothes or tents in it, and the image of Saint Helena, as likewise a holy water fat, and a sprinkle to cast or sprinkle ye holy water: but we left all things in as good order as we found them.

Moreouer here we left behinde vs some remembrances in writing, in token of our being there. At this place died of the bloody flixe, the Pilot of our Admirall Kees Collen of Munickendam, a worthy man, to our great griefe.

This Island (as Iohn Huighen van Linschotten describeth it) is replenished with manifold commodities, as namely with goates, wilde swine, Turkies, partridges, pidgeons, &c. But by reason that those which arriue there vse to discharge their ordinance, and to hunt and pursue the saide beastes and fowles, they are now growen exceedingly wilde and hard to be come by. Certaine goates whereat we shotte fled vp to the high cliffes, so that it was impossible to get them. Likewise fishes wee could not catch so many as wee needed; but wee tooke in fresh water enough to serue vs till our arriuall in Holland.

A man left on land at Saint Helena.

Here we left on land as a man banished out of our society, one Peter Gisbrecht the masters mate of the great pinasse, because hee had stroken the Master.

Very penitent hee was, and sorie for his misdemeanour, and all of vs did our best endeuour to obtain his pardon: but (the orders and ordinances wherevnto our whole company was sworne being read before vs) we were constrained to surcease our importunate suit, and he for the example of others to vndergo the seuere doome that was allotted him.

There was deliuered vnto him a certaine quantity of bread, oile, and rice, with hookes and instruments to fish withall, as also a hand gun and gunpowder.

Hereupon we bad him generally farewell, beseeching God to keepe and preserue him from misfortunes, and hoping that at some one time or other he should finde deliuerance; for that all shippes sailing to the West Indies must there of necessity refresh themselues.

Not far from this place we descried a saile which wee iudged to be some Frenchmen, by whom peraduenture the saide banished party might bee deliuered.

The fourth of May we set saile from Saint Helena, and the tenth of the same moneth wee passed by the Isle of Ascension. The 17. day wee passed the line. The 21. we saw the Polle-starre. The 10. and 11. of Iune we had sight of the Canaries. About the Azores wee stood in feare to meete with some Spanish Armada, because our men were growen faint and feeble by reason of their long voiage. The 27. of Iune we entered the Spanish sea. The 29. we found our selues to be in fortie foure degrees of northerly latitude. The 6. of Iuly our Admirall ye Mauritius had two of his mastes blowne ouerboord; for which cause we were contrained to towe him along. The 11. of Iuly we passed the sorlings. The 13. we sayled by Falmouth, Dartmouth, and the Quasquets. The 17. we passed by Douer. The 19. meeting with some stormes and rainy weather we arriued at Texell in our owne native countrey, without any great misfortune, saue that the Mauritius once stroke on ground.

Thus hauing attained to our wished home, we gaue God thankes for this our so happy and prosperous voiage: because their neuer arriued in Holland any shippes so richly laden.

The particulars of their rich lading.

Of pepper we brought eight hundreth tunnes, of Cloues two hundreth, besides great quantity of Mace, Nutmegs, Cinamom, and other principall commodities. To conclude this voiage was performed in one yeare, two monethes, and nineteene daies.

We were sailing outward from Texell to Bantam seuen moneths, we remained there sixe weekes to take in our lading, and in six monethes we returned from Bantam in Iaua to Holland.

The performance of this long and daungerous voiage in so short time we ascribed to Gods deuine and wonderfull prouidence, hauing sailed at the least 8000. leagues, that is to say, twenty four thousand English miles.

The ioye of the safe arriuall of these shippes in Holland was exceeding great: and postes were dispatched to euery principall towne and citty to publish these acceptable newes.

The merchants that were owners of these ships went straight toward Texell for the refreshing of their men, and for other necessary considerations. The Commissary or Factor master Cornelis Heemskerck together with Cornelis Knick, hied them with all speed towardes the Estates generall and prince Mauritz his excellency, not onely tocarry the saide good newes, but withal to present the letters of the King of Iaua importing mutuall alliance, friendship and free intercourse of traffike in consideration of their honourable, liberal, and iust dealings: They brought gifts also from the said King of great price and value.

Friendly letters and presents from the King of Iaua.

The 27. of Iuly the Mauritius our Admirall together with the Hollandia came before Amsterdam: where they were ioyfully saluted with the sound of eight trumpettes, with banqueting, with ringing of bels, and with peales of ordinance, the Generall and other men of command being honourably receiued and welcommed by the citty.

The merchants that aduentured in these voyages being in number sixteene or seuenteene (notwithstanding the foure shippes gone from Iaua to the Moluccas, as it is before mentioned) haue sent this last spring 1599.* foure ships more to continue this their traffique so happely begun: intending moreouer the next spring to send a newe supply of other ships.* And diuers other Marchants are likewise determined to enter into the same action.

**Marginal note.*—A new supply of foure Hollandish ships sent this last spring 1599. to the East Indies.

Of them that departed from Zeland these bring no newes, otherwise then is aforesaide. Neither doe they report any thing of the two fleetes or companies, that went from Roterdam the last sommer 1598, shaping their course for the streites of Magellan.

Wee haue before made mention of an Indian called Abdoll, which was brought from Bantam, in the first voiage, and had continued an whole winter or some eight months at Amsterdam in Holland.

Where during that space (being a man of good obseruation and experience, and borne about China) hee was well entreated, cherished, and much made of.

This Abdoll vpon his returne to Iaua being demanded concerning the state of the Netherlands, made vnto the principall men of Bantam a full declaration thereof, with all the rarities and singularities which he had there seen and obserued.

The relation of Abdoll an Indian, concerning the Netherlands.

Which albeit to the greatest part of readers, who haue trauailed those countries may seeme nothing strange, and scarce worthy the relation: yet because the report was made by so meere a stranger, and with the Iauans that heard it wrought so good effect, I thought it not altogether impertinent here in this place to make rehearsall thereof.

First therefore he tolde them (to their great admiration in that hoat climate) That hee had seene aboue a thousand sleds drawen, and great numbers of horsemen riding vpon the frozen water in winter time, and that he had beheld more then two hundreth thousand people trauailing on foote and on horseback vpon the yce, as likewise that the said sleds were by horses drawen so swiftly, that they made more way in three houres than any man could go on foote in tenne. And also that himselfe for pleasure had beene so drawen, the horses being brauely adorned with bels and cymbals.

Howbeit they would hardly be induced to beleeue that those countries should be so extreamely colde, and the waters so mightely frozen, as to beare such a hugh waight.

Hee tolde them moreouer, that Holland was a free countrey,

**Marginal note.*—An intent of the marchants of Amsterdam to send more ships the next spring 1600.

and that euery man there was his owne Master, and that there was not one slaue or captiue in the whole land.

Moreouer, that the houses, in regarde of their beautifull and lofty building, resembled stately pallaces, their inward rich furniture being altogether answerable to their outward glorious shew.

Also, that the Churches (which he called Mesquitas), were of such bignesse and capacity, as they might receiue the people of any prety towne.

He affirmed likewise, that the Hollanders with the assistance of their confederates and friendes, maintained warres against the King of Spaine, whose mighty puissance is feared and redoubted of all the potentates of Europa.

And albeit the said warres had continued aboue thirty yeares, yet that during all that time the saide Hollanders increased both in might and wealth.

In like sort he informed them of the strange situation of Holland, as being a countrey driuing vpon the water, the earth or ground whereof, they vse instead of fewell, and that he had oft times warmed himselfe, and had seene meat dressed with fires made of the same earth.

In briefe, that it was a waterish and fenny countrey, and full of riuers, chanels, and ditches, and that therein was an innumerable multitude of boates and small shippes, as likewise great store of tall and seruiceable ships, wherewith they sailed vnto all quarters of the world, etc.

This man Abdoll wee found to bee a captiue or slaue, and sawe there his wife and children in very poore estate dwelling in a little cottage not so bigge as an hogsty: but by oure meanes he was made free and well rewarded.

Notwithstanding he did but euil recompence vs: for he was charged to be the cause why pepper was solde dearer than ordinary vnto vs by a penny in the pounde: for hee tolde them that certaine shippes of Zeland and of other places were comming thitherwardes.

The Portugals go about to hinder the trade of the Hollanders.

And here the reader is to vnderstand, that some foure moneths before the said three ships arriued at Bantam, the Portugales came with an Armada of gallies and fustes, being set foorth by the Viceroy of Goa and the gouernour of Molucca, to intercept the traffique of the Hollanders vnto those partes, and to make them loose all their expenses, labour, and time which they had bestowed:

and also that their great and rich presentes which they gaue vnto the Iauans the yeare before, to bring them into vtter detestation of the Hollanders, might not be altogether in vaine.

The Generall of them that came from Goa was Don Luis, and of those that came from Molucca Don Emanuell: who brought their Armada before Bantam, intending to surprize the citty, vnder pretence that the same preparation was made to resist certaine pirates that came thither out of Holland the last yeare, and were determined this yeare also to come againe. Vnder these colours they sought to take the towne and to fortifie the same, and they built certaine sconces in the countrey, committing great outrages, rauishing the Women, with many other villanies. Hereupon the townsemen of Bantam very secretly prouided certaine gallies and fustes in great hast, and sodainly assailed the Portugales before they were well aware of them: for which cause finding but small resistance, they tooke 3. Portugale gallies with certaine shippes, and slewe about 300. of them, taking 150. Portugales prisoners, of which we daily saw some going vp and downe the streetes of Bantam like slaues and captiues. Besides these they tooke about 900. gallislaues prisoners.

The Portugals vanquished.

Vpon this hard successe the rest of the Portugals betooke themselues to flight: but whither they bee arriued at Goa or Molucca, or what is become of them since, we are not able to auouch. The foresaid attempt and ouerthrowe, bred greater enmity betweene the Portugales and them of Bantam, and gaue an especiall occasion for the aduancement of our traffique.

The fiue ships (whereof we haue before signified that foure were dispatched by the whole companie for the Moluccas) being seuered beyonde the Cape of Buona Speranza* from the other three of their company, and hauing quite lost them, came all of them shortly after vnder an Island called (as it is thought) by the Portugals Isola de Don Galopes: but they named it the Island of Mauritius. Here they entered into an hauen, calling the same Warwicke, after the name of their Viceadmirall, wherin they found very good harborow in twenty degrees of southerly latitude.

This Island being situate to the East of Madagascar,* and containing as much in compasse as all Holland, is a very high, goodly and pleasant land, full of green

The Isle of Mauritius described.

---

* *Marginal Note.*—The course which the fiue ships tooke after they were separated from their three consorts about the Cape of bouona esperanza.

and fruitfull vallies, and replenished with Palmito-trees, from the which droppeth holesome wine. Likewise here are very many trees of right Ebenwood as black as iet, and as smooth and hard as the very Iuory: and the quantity of this wood is so exceeding, that many ships may be laden herewith.

Great store of Eben-wood.

For to saile into this hauen you must bring the two highest mountaines one ouer the other, leauing sixe small Islands on your right hand, and so you may enter in vpon 30. fadomes of water. Lying within the bay, they had 10. 12. and 14. fadomes. On their left hand was a litle Island which they named Hemskerk Island, and the bay it selfe they called Warwick bay, as is before mentioned. Here they taried 12. daies to refresh themselues, finding in this place great quantity of foules twise as bigge as swans, which they called Walghstocks or Wallowbirdes being very good meat. But finding also aboundance of pidgeons and popiniayes, they disdained any more to eat of those great foules, calling them (as before) Wallowbirds, that is to say, lothsome or fulsome birdes.

Of the said Pidgeons and Popiniayes they found great plenty being very fat and good meate, which they could easily take and kil euen with little stickes: so tame they are by reason y^{t} the Isle is not inhabited, neither be the liuing creatures therein accustomed to the sight of men.

Here they found rauens also, and such abundance of fish, that two men were able to catch enough for all fiue ships.

Tortoises they found so huge, that tenne men might sit and dine in one of their shelles, and one of them would creepe away, while two men stood vpon the backe thereof.

Here was founde waxe also whiter then any of ours, lying about the strande, bleached (as it is like) by the sunne: and in some of this waxe there were Arabian letters or characters printed: whereby it is probable, that some Arabian ship might bee cast away thereabout, out of which the said waxe might be driuen on land.

They found likewise Corall on this land, and many trees which we call Palmitos, whereout droppeth wine as out of the Coco-tree: which wine being kept hath his operation as our new prest wine, but after some time it commeth vnto the ful vertue and perfection.

The said Palmitos they esteemed to bee a kinde of wilde date-trees.

We sought all the Island ouer for men, but could find none, for that it was wholly destitute of Inhabitants.

Vpon this Island we built an house with a pulpit therein, and left behind vs certaine writings as a token and remembrance of our being there, and vpon the pulpit we left a Bible and a psalter lying.

Thus after 12. daies aboad at this Island, being well refreshed, they tooke in excellent fresh water being easie to get, and very sweet and sauory to drinke, and then set saile, meeting the three other ships their consorts at the time and place before mentioned.

A good watering place.

A briefe description of the voiage before handled, in manner of a Iournall.

THe first of Maie 1598. with the eight shippes before mentioned, we set saile in the name of God from Texell in Holland.

The third of May we passed along the coast of England, descrying some of her Maiesties ships, and they vs, whom we honoured with discharge of our artillery.

The fourteenth we had sight of the Isle of Porto Santo lying in thirty two degrees.

The sixteenth, wee came within sight of the Canaries.

The twenty two, we first saw flying fishes.

The twenty three, we passed by the Isle Dell Sall.

The thirty one, we had a great storme, so that we lost sight one of another: but by night we came together againe.

The eighth of Iune wee crossed the Equinoctiall line.

The twenty foure we sayled by the sholdes of Brasile lying vnder eighteene degrees of Southerly Latitude.

The twenty one of Iuly we got to the height of the Cape of buona esperanza.

From the thirtith of Iuly till the second of August, we continually sayled in sight of the land of the aforesaid Cape.

The seuenth and eighth of August wee had such foule and stormy weather, that fiue ships of our company were separated from vs, whom we saw no more vntill they came to vs before Bantam.

The twenty sixt we descryed the Island of Madagascar.

The twenty nine came by us the ship called the Long barke of Zeland, hauing in her but nine sound men, tenne dead, and the rest all sicke: but the same night we lost the sight of her againe.

The seauenth of September, we came before the Island of Santa Maria, and afterward wee put into the great bay of Antogill.

The sixteenth of September, wee set saile from thence, directing our course for Iaua.

The first of October, wee got to the heighth of Bantam.

The fifteenth, died the first man in our Admirall.

The nineteenth of Nouember, we came within sight of Sumatra.

The twenty-ninth, we road before the citty of Bantam: And the thirtieth, we payed our toll to the gouernour.

And vpon Newyeares daie 1599. Stilo Nouo, we began to take in our lading.

Then came vnto vs before Bantam, with great ioie and triumph, our fiue separated shippes, all the people standing vpon the shore gazing, and suspecting some harme intended against them.

The eighth of Ianuary, foure of the said 5. newcome shippes (God send them a prosperous voyage) set saile toward the Moluccas.

Moreouer our foure shippes being well and richly laden at Bantam made saile homewarde the eleuenth of Ianuary, and the thirteenth, wee were shot as farre as the Isles of Sumatra.

The nineteenth, we proceeded thence on our voiage, and the same day, to the great griefe of vs all died the Pilot of our Admirall.

The third of Aprill, we descried the land of Capo de buona esperanza.

The eighth, wee doubled the same Cape, thence shaping our course for the Island of Saint Helena, where the twenty sixt we happily arriued, and departed from thence vpon the fourth of Maie.

The tenth of Maie, wee sailed by the Isle of Ascension.

The seuenteenth, we passed the Equinoctiall line.

The twenty one, we saw the North starre.

The ninth and tenth of Iune, we had sight of the Canaries.

The twenty seauen, wee sayled vpon the Spanish Sea.

The twenty nine, we were in fortie four degrees.

The fourth of Iuly, we saw behind vs two sailes, one before the other, which were the first that we had seene for a long time.

The sixt of Iuly our Admirall had both his foremast and mainemast blowne ouer boord.

The eleuenth, we passed the Sorlings, the thirteenth, Falmouth, Plimmouth and the Quasquets.

The seauenteenth, we came before Douer.

The nineteenth, wee had foule and stormy weather, at what time by Gods good blessing wee arriued in our natiue countrey at Texell in Holland, hauing performed in the short space of one yeare, two moneths and nineteene daies, almost as long a voiage, as if we should haue compassed the globe of the earth, and bringing home with vs our full fraight of rich and gainfull Marchandize.

AFRICA.

The voyage of Henrie Earle of Derbie, after Duke of Hereford, and lastly Henry the fourth King of England, to Tunis in Barbarie, with an army of Englishmen written by Polidore Virgill. pag. 1389.

FRanci interim per inducias nacti ocium, ac simul Genuensium precibus defatigati, bellum in Afros, qui omnem oram insulásque Italiæ latrocinijs infestas reddebant, suscipiunt. Richardus quoque rex Angliæ rogatus auxilium, mittit Henricum comitem Derbiensem cum electa Anglicæ pubis manu ad id bellum faciendum. Igitur Franci Anglſque viribus et animis consociatis in Africam traijciunt, qui vbi littus attigere, eatenùs à Barbaris descensione prohibiti sunt, quoad Anglorum sagittariorum virtute factum est, vt aditus pateret: in terram egressi recta Tunetam vrbem regiam petunt, ac obsident. Barbari timore affecti de pace ad eos legatos mittunt, quam nostris dare placuit, vt soluta certa pecuniæ summa ab omni deinceps Italiæ, Galliæque ora manus abstinerent. Ita peractis rebus post paucos menses, quàm eo itum erat, domum repediatum est.

The same in English.

THe French in the meane season hauing gotten some leasure by meanes of their truce, and being sollicited and vrged by the intreaties of the Genuois vndertooke to wage warre against the Moores, who robbed and spoyled all the coasts of Italy, and of the Ilandes adiacent. Likewise Richard the second, king of England, being sued vnto for ayde, sent Henry the Earle of Derbie with a choice armie of English souldiers vnto the same warfare. Wherefore the English and French, with forces and mindes vnited, sayled ouer into Africa, who when they approached vnto the shore were repelled by the Barbarians from landing, vntill such time as they had passage made them by the valour of the English archers. Thus hauing landed their forces, they foorthwith marched vnto the royall citie of Tunis, and besieged it. Whereat the Barbarians being dismayed, sent Ambassadours vnto our Christian Chieftaines to treat of peace, which our men graunted vnto them, vpon condition that they should pay a certaine summe of money, and that they should from thencefoorth abstaine from piracies vpon all the coasts of Italy and France. And so hauing dispatched their businesse, within a fewe moneths after their departure they returned home.

This Historie is somewhat otherwise recorded by Froysard and Holenshed in manner following, pag. 473.

IN the thirteenth yeere of the reigne of King Richard the second, the Christians tooke in hand a iourney against the Saracens of Barbarie through sute of the Genouois, so that there went a great number of Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of France and England, the Duke of Burbon being their Generall. Out of England there went Iohn de Beaufort bastarde sonne to the Duke of Lancaster (as Froysard hath noted) also Sir Iohn Russell, Sir Iohn Butler, Sir Iohn Harecourt and others. They set forwarde in the latter ende of the thirteenth yeere of the Kings reigne, and came to Genoa, where they remayned not verie long, but that the gallies and other vessels of the Genouois were ready to passe them ouer into Barbarie. And so about midsomer in the begining of the foureteenth yere of this kings reigne the whole army being embarked, sailed forth to the coast of Barbary, where neere to the city of Africa they landed: at which instant the English archers (as the Chronicles of Genoa write) stood all the company in good stead with their long bowes, beating backe the enemies from the shore, which came downe to resist their landing. After they had got to land, they inuironed the city of Africa (called by the Moores Mahdia) with a strong siege: but at length, constrained with the intemperancy of the scalding ayre in that hot countrey, breeding in the army sundry diseases, they fell to a composition vpon certaine articles to be performed in the behalfe of the Saracens: and so 61 dayes after their arriuall there they tooke the seas againe, and returned home, as in the histories of France and Genoa is likewise expressed. Where, by Polidore Virgil it may seeme, that the lord Henry of Lancaster earle of Derbie should be generall of the English men, that (as before you heard) went into Barbary with the French men and Genouois.

The Chronicles of Genoa.

The memorable victories in diuers parts of Italie of Iohn Hawkwood English man in the reigne of Richard the seeond, briefly recorded by M. Camden, pag. 339.

AD alteram ripam fluuij Colne oppositus est Sibble Heningham, locus natalis, vt accepi, Ioannis Hawkwoodi (Itali Aucuthum corruptè vocant) quem illi tantopere ob virtutem militarem suspexerunt, vt Senatus Florentinus propter insignia merita equestri statua et tumuli honore in eximiæ fortitudinis, fideíque testimonium ornauit. Res eius gestas Itali pleno ore prædicant; Et Paulus Iouius in elogijs celebrat: sat mihi sit Iulij Feroldi tetrastichon adijcere.

Hawkoode Anglorum decus, et decus addite genti
  Italicæ, Italico presidiúmq; solo,
Vt tumuli quondam Florentia, sic simulachri
  Virtutem Iouius donat honore tuam.

William Thomas in his Historie of the common wealthes of Italy, maketh honorable mention of him twise, to wit, in the commonwealth of Florentia and Ferrara.

The Epitaph of the valiant Esquire M. Peter Read in the south Ile of Saint Peters Church in the citie of Norwich, which was knighted by Charles the fift at the winning of Tunis in the yeere of our Lord 1538.

HEre vnder lieth the corpes of Peter Reade Esquire, who hath worthily serued, not onely his Prince and Countrey, but also the Emperour Charles the fift, both at his conquest of Barbarie, and at his siege at Tunis, and also in other places. Who had giuen him by the sayd Emperour for his valiant deedes the order of Barbary. Who dyed the 29 day of December, in the yeere of our Lord God 1566.

The voyage of Sir Thomas Chaloner to Alger with Charles the fift 1541, drawen out of his booke De Republica instauranda.

THomas Chalonerus patria Londinensis, studio Cantabrigensis, educatione aulicus, religione pius, veréque Christianus fuit. Itaque cum iuuenilem ætatem, mentémq; suam humanioribus studijs roborasset, Domino Henrico Kneuetto à potentissimo rege Henrico eius nominis octauo ad Carolum quintum imperatorem transmisso legato, vnà cum illo profectus est, tanquam familiaris amicus, vel eidem, à consilijs. Quo quidem tempore Carolo quinto nauali certamine à Genua et Corsica in Algyram in Africa contra Turcas classem soluente ac hostiliter proficiscente, ornatissimo illo Kneuetto legato regis, Thoma Chalonero, Henrico Knolleo, et Henrico Isamo, illustribus viris eundem in illa expeditione suapte sponte sequentibus, paritérque militantibus, mirifice vitam suam Chalonerus tutatus est. Nam triremi illa, in qua fuerat, vel scopulis allisa, vel grauissimis pro cellis conquassata, naufragus cum se diù natatu defendisset, deficientibus viribus, brachijs manibusque languidis ac quasi eneruatis, prehensa dentibus cum maxima difficultate rudenti, quæ ex altera triremi iam propinqua tum fuerat eiecta, non sine dentium aliquorum iactura sese tandem recuperauit, ac domum integer relapsus est.

The same in English.

THomas Chaloner was by birth a Londiner, by studie a Cantabrigian, by education a Courtier, by religion a deuout and true Christian. Therefore after he had confirmed his youth and minde in the studies of good learning, when Sir Henry Kneuet was sent ambassadour from the mighty Prince Henry the 8. to the Emperour Charles the fift, he went with him as his familiar friend, or as one of his Councell. At which time the said Charles the 5. passing ouer from Genoa and Corsica to Alger in Africa in warlike sort, with a mighty army by sea, that honourable Kneuet the kings ambassadour, Thomas Chaloner, Henry Knolles, and Henry Isham, right worthy persons, of their owne accord accompanied him in that expedition, and serued him in that warre, wherin Thomas Chaloner escaped most wonderfully with his life. For the galley wherein he was, being either dashed against the rockes, or shaken with mighty stormes, and so cast away, after he had saued himselfe a long while by swimming, when his strength failed him, his armes and hands being faint and weary, with great difficulty laying hold with his teeth on a cable, which was cast out of the next gally, not without breaking and losse of certaine of his teeth, at length recouered himselfe, and returned home into his countrey in safety.

The woorthy enterprise of Iohn Foxe an Englishman in deliuering 266. Christians out of the captiuitie of the Turkes at Alexandria, the 3. of Ianuarie 1577.

Iohn Foxe taken 1563.

AMong our Merchants here in England, it is a common voiage to traffike into Spaine: whereunto a ship, being called The three halfe Moones, manned with 38. men, and well fensed with munitions, the better to encounter their enemies withall, and hauing wind and tide, set from Portsmouth, 1563. and bended her iourney toward Siuill a citie in Spaine, intending there to traffique with them. And falling neere the Streights, they perceiued themselues to be beset round with eight gallies of the Turkes, in such wise, that there was no way for them to flie or escape away, but that either they must yeeld or els be sunke. Which the owner perceiuing, manfully encouraged his company, exhorting them valiantly to shew their manhood, shewing them that God was their God, and not their enemies, requesting them also not to faint in seeing such a heape of their enemies ready to deuour them; putting them in mind also, that if it were Gods pleasure to giue them into their enemies hands, it was not they y^t ought to shew one displeasant looke or countenance there against; but to take it patiently, and not to prescribe a day and time for their deliuerance, as the citizens of Bethulia did, but to put themselues vnder his mercy. And againe, if it were his mind and good will to shew his mighty power by them, if their enemies were ten times so many, they were not able to stand in their hands; putting them likewise in mind of the old and ancient woorthinesse of their countreymen, who in the hardest extremities haue alwayes most preuailed and gone away conquerors, yea, and where it hath bene almost impossible. Such (quoth he) hath bene the valiantnesse of our countreymen, and such hath bene the mightie power of our God.

With other like incouragements, exhorting them to behaue themselues manfully, they fell all on their knees making their prayers briefly vnto God: who being all risen vp againe perceiued their enemies by their signes and defiances bent to the spoyle, whose mercy was nothing els but crueltie, whereupon euery man tooke him to his weapon.

Then stood vp one Groue the master, being a comely man, with his sword and target, holding them vp in defiance agaynst his enemies. So likewise stood vp the Owner, the Masters mate, Boateswaine, Purser, and euery man well appointed. Nowe likewise sounded vp the drums, trumpets and flutes, which would haue encouraged any man, had he neuer so litle heart or courage in him.

Then taketh him to his charge Iohn Foxe the gunner in the disposing of his pieces in order to the best effect, and sending his bullets towards the Turkes, who likewise bestowed their pieces thrise as fast toward the Christians. But shortly they drew neere, so that the bowmen fel to their charge in sending forth their arrowes so thicke amongst the Gallies, and also in doubling their shot so sore vpon the gallies, that there was twise so many of the Turkes slaine, as the number of the Christians were in all. But the Turks discharged twise as fast against the Christians, and so long, that the ship was very sore stricken and bruised vnder water. Which the Turkes perceiuing, made the more haste to come aboord the Shippe: which ere they could doe, many a Turke bought it deerely with the losse of their liues. Yet was all in vaine, and boorded they were, where they found so hote a skirmish, that it had bene better they had not medled with the feast. For the Englishmen shewed themselues men in deed, in working manfully with their browne bils and halbardes: where the owner, master, boateswaine, and their company stoode to it so lustily, that the Turkes were halfe dismaied. But chiefly the boateswaine shewed

The valour and death of their Boatswaine.

himself valiant aboue the rest: for he fared amongst the Turkes like a wood Lion: for there was none of them that either could or durst stand in his face, till at the last there came a shot from the Turkes, which brake his whistle asunder, and smote him on the brest, so that he fell downe, bidding them farewell, and to be of good comfort, encouraging them likewise to winne praise by death, rather then to liue captiues in misery and shame. Which they hearing, in deed intended to haue done, as it appeared by their skirmish: but the prease and store of the Turkes was so great, that they were not able long to endure, but were so ouerpressed, that they could not wield their weapons: by reason whereof, they must needs be taken, which none of them intended to haue bene, but rather to haue died: except onely the masters mate, who shrunke from the skirmish, like a notable coward, esteeming neither the valure of his name, nor accounting of the present example of his fellowes, nor hauing respect to the miseries, whereunto he should be put. But in fine, so it was, that the Turks were victors, whereof they had no great cause to reioyce, or triumph. Then would it haue grieued any hard heart to see these Infidels so violently intreating the Christians, not hauing any respect of their manhood which they had tasted of, nor yet respecting their owne state, how they might haue met with such a bootie, as might haue giuen them the ouerthrow; but no remorse hereof, or any thing els doth bridle their fierce and tirannous dealing, but that the Christians must needs to the gallies, to serue in new offices: and they were no sooner in them, but their garments were pulled ouer their eares, and torne from their backes, and they set to the oares.

I will make no mention of their miseries, being now vnder their enemies raging stripes. I thinke there is no man wil iudge their fare good, or their bodies vnloden of stripes, and not pestered with too much heate, and also with too much cold: but I will goe to my purpose, which is, to shew the ende of those, being in meere miserie, which continually doe call on God with a steadfast hope that he will deliuer them, and with a sure faith that he can doe it.

Nigh to the citie of Alexandria, being a hauen towne, and vnder the dominion of the Turkes, there is a roade, being made very fensible with strong wals, whereinto the Turkes doe customably bring their gallies on shoare euery yeere, in the winter season, and there doe trimme them, and lay them vp against the spring time. In which road there is a prison, wherein the captiues and such prisoners as serue in the gallies, are put for all that time, vntill the seas be calme and passable for the gallies, euery prisoner being most grieuously laden with irons on their legges, to their great paine, and sore disabling of them to any labour taking. Into which prison were these Christians put, and fast warded all the Winter season. But ere it was long, the Master and the Owner, by meanes of friends, were redeemed: the rest abiding still by the miserie, while that they were all (through reason of their ill vsage and worse fare, miserably starued) sauing one Iohn Fox, who (as some men can abide harder and more miserie, then other some can, so can some likewise make more shift, and worke more deuises to helpe their state and liuing, then other some can doe) being somewhat skilfull in the craft of a Barbour, by reason thereof made great shift in helping his fare now and then with a good meale. Insomuch, til at the last, God sent him fauour in the sight of the keeper of the prison, so that he had leaue to goe in and out to the road, at his pleasure, paying a certaine stipend vnto the keeper, and wearing a locke about his leg: which libertie likewise, sixe more had vpon like sufferance: who by reason of their long imprisonment, not being feared or suspected to start aside, or that they would worke the Turkes any mischiefe, had libertie to go in and out at the sayd road, in such maner, as this Iohn Fox did, with irons on their legs, and to returne againe at night.

The English-men caried prisoners vnto an Hauen nere Alexandria.

In the yeere of our Lord 1577. in the Winter season, the gallies happily comming to their accustomed harborow, and being discharged of all their mastes, sailes, and other such furnitures, as vnto gallies doe appertaine, and all the Masters and mariners of them being then nested in their owne homes: there remained in the prison of the said road two hundred threescore and eight Christian prisoners, who had bene taken by the Turks force, and were of sixteen sundry nations. Among which there were three Englishmen, whereof one was named Iohn Foxe of Woodbridge in Suffolke, the other William Wickney of Portsmouth, in the Countie of Southampton, and the third Robert Moore of Harwich in the Countie of Essex. Which Iohn Fox hauing bene thirteene or fourteene yeres vnder their gentle entreatance, and being too too weary thereof, minding his escape, weighed with himselfe by what meanes it might be brought to passe: and continually pondering with himself thereof, tooke a good heart vnto him, in hope that God would not be alwayes scourging his children, and neuer ceassed to pray him to further his pretended enterprise, if that it should redound to his glory.

Not farre from the road, and somewhat from thence, at one side of the Citie, there was a certaine victualling house, which one Peter Vnticaro had hired, paying also a certaine fee vnto the keeper of the road. This Peter Vnticaro was a Spaniard borne, and a Christian, and had bene prisoner about thirtie yeeres, and neuer practised any meanes to escape, but kept himselfe quiet without touch or suspect of any conspiracie: vntill that nowe this Iohn Foxe vsing much thither, they brake one to another their mindes, concerning the restraint of their libertie and imprisonment. So that this Iohn Fox at length opening vnto this Vnticaro the deuise which he would faine put in practise, made priuie one more to this their intent. Which three debated of this matter at such times as they could compasse to meete together: insomuch, that at seuen weekes ende they had sufficiently concluded how the matter should be, if it pleased God to farther them thereto: who making fiue more priuie to this their deuise, whom they thought they might safely trust, determined in three nights after to accomplish their deliberate purpose. Whereupon the same Iohn Fox, and Peter Vnticaro, and the other sixe appointed to meete all together in the prison the next day, being the last day of December: where this Iohn Fox certified the rest of the prisoners, what their intent and deuise was, and how and when they minded to bring their purpose to passe: who thereunto perswaded them without much a doe to further their deuise. Which the same Iohn Fox seeing, deliuered vnto them a sort of files, which he had gathered together for this purpose, by the meanes of Peter Vnticaro, charging them that euery man should be readie discharged of his yrons by eight of the clocke on the the next day at night.

Januarie.

On the next day at night, this said Iohn Fox, and his sixe other companions, being all come to the house of Peter Vnticaro, passing the time away in mirth for feare of suspect, till the night came on, so that it was time for them to put in practise their deuise, sent Peter Vnticaro to the master of the roade, in the name of one of the Masters of the citie, with whom this keeper was acquainted, and at whose request he also would come at the first: who desired him to take the paines to meete him there, promising him, that he would bring him backe againe. The keeper agreed to goe with him, willing the warders not to barre the gate, saying, that he would not stay long, but would come againe with all speede.

In the meane season, the other seuen had prouided them of such weapons, as they could get in that house: and Iohn Fox tooke him to an olde rustie sword blade, without either hilt or pomell, which he made to serue his turne, in bending the hand ende of the sword, in steed of a pomell, and the other had got such spits and glaiues as they found in the house.

The keeper now being come vnto the house, and perceiuing no light, nor hearing any noyse, straight way suspected the matter: and returning backward, Iohn Fox standing behind the corner of the house, stepped foorth vnto him: who perceiuing it to be Iohn Fox, saide, O Fox, what haue I deserued of thee, that thou shouldest seeke my death? Thou villaine (quoth Fox) hast bene a bloodsucker of many a Christians blood, and now thou shalt know what thou hast deserued at my handes: wherewith he lift vp his bright shining sword of tenne yeeres rust, and stroke him so maine a blowe, as therewithall his head claue a sunder, so that he fell starke dead to the ground. Whereupon Peter Vnticaro went in, and certified the rest how the case stood with the keeper: who came presently foorth, and some with their spits ranne him through, and the other with their glaiues hewed him in sunder, cut off his head, and mangled him so, that no man should discerne what he was.

Then marched they toward the roade, whereinto they entered softly, where were six warders, whom one of them asked, saying, who was there? quoth Fox and his company, all friendes. Which when they were all within, proued contrary: for, quoth Fox, my masters, here is not to euery man a man, wherefore looke you play your parts. Who so behaued themselues in deede, that they had dispatched these sixe quickly. Then Iohn Fox intending not to be barred of his enterprise, and minding to worke surely in that which he went about, barred the gate surely, and planted a Canon against it.

Then entred they into the Gailers lodge, where they found the keyes of the fortresse and prison by his bed side, and there had they all better weapons. In this chamber was a chest, wherein was a rich treasure, and all in duckats, which this Peter Vnticaro, and two more, opening, stuffed themselues so full as they could, betweene their shirts and their skinne: which Iohn Fox would not once touch, and sayde, that it was his and their libertie which he sought for, to the honour of his God, and not to make a marte of the wicked treasure of the Infidels. Yet did these words sinke nothing into their stomakes, they did it for a good intent: so did Saul saue the fattest Oxen, to offer vnto the Lord, and they to serue their owne turne. But neither did Saul scape the wrath of God therefore, neither had these that thing which they desired so, and did thirst after. Such is Gods iustice. He that they put their trust in, to deliuer them from the tyrannous hands of their enemies, he (I say) could supply their want of necessaries.

Nowe these eight being armed with such weapons as they thought well of, thinking themselues sufficient champions to encounter a stronger enemie, and coming vnto the prison, Fox opened the gates and doores thereof, and called forth all the prisoners, whom he set, some to ramming vp the gate, some to the dressing vp of a certaine gallie, which was the best in all the roade, and was called the captaine of Alexandria, whereinto some caried mastes, sailes, oares, and other such furniture as doth belong vnto a gallie.

At the prison were certaine warders, whom Iohn Fox and his companie slewe: in the killing of whom, there were eight more of the Turkes, which perceiued them, and got them to the toppe of the prison: vnto whom Iohn Fox, and his company, were faine to come by ladders, where they found a hot skirmish. For some of them were there slaine, some wounded, and some but scarred, and not hurt. As Iohn Fox was thrise shot through his apparell, and not hurt, Peter Vnticaro, and the other two, that had armed them with the duckats, were slaine, as not able to weild themselues, being so pestered with the weight and vneasie carying of the wicked and prophane treasure: and also diuerse Christians were aswell hurt about that skirmish, as Turkes slaine.

Amongst the Turkes was one thrust thorowe, who (let vs not say that it was ill fortune) fell off from the toppe of the prison wall, and made such a lowing, that the inhabitants thereabout (as here and there scattering stoode a house or two) came and dawed* him, so that they vnderstood the case, how that the prisoners were paying their ransomes: wherewith they raised both Alexandria which lay on the west side of the roade, and a Castle which was at the Cities end, next to the roade, and also an other Fortresse which lay on the Northside of the roade: so that nowe they had no way to escape, but one, which by mans reason (the two holdes lying so vpon the mouth of the roade) might seeme impossible to be a way for them. So was the red sea impossible for the Israelites to passe through, the hils and rockes lay so on the one side, and their enemies compassed on the other. So was it impossible, that the wals of Iericho should fall downe, being neither vndermined, nor yet rammed at with engines, nor yet any mans wisedome, pollicie, or helpe set or put thereunto. Such impossibilities can our God make possible. He that helde the Lyons iawes from renting Daniel asunder, yea, or yet from once touching him to his hurt: can not he hold the roring cannons of this hellish force? He that kept the fiers rage in the hot burning Ouen, from the three children, that praised his name, can not he keepe the fiers flaming blastes from among his elect?

---

* To awaken: here to bring back to his senses. I know of no other instance where it bears just this meaning.

"The other side from whence the morning daws."

(*Polyolbion X.*)

Now is the road fraught with lustie souldiers, laborers, and mariners, who are faine to stand to their tackling, in setting to euery man his hand, some to the carying in of victuals, some munitions, some oares, and some one thing, some another, but most are keeping their enemie from the wall of the road. But to be short, there was no time mispent, no man idle, nor any mans labour ill bestowed, or in vaine. So that in short time, this gally was ready trimmed vp. Whereinto euery man leaped in all haste, hoyssing vp the sayles lustily, yeelding themselues to his mercie and grace, in whose hands are both winde and weather.

Now is this gally on flote, and out of the safetie of the roade: now haue the two Castles full power vpon the gally, now is there no remedy but to sinke: how can it be auoided? The canons let flie from both sides, and the gally is euen in the middest, and betweene them both. What man can deuise to saue it? there is no man, but would thinke it must needes be sunke.

There was not one of them that feared the shotte, which went thundring round about their eares, nor yet were once scarred or touched, with fiue and forty shot, which came from the Castles. Here did God hold foorth his buckler, he shieldeth now this gally, and hath tried their faith to the vttermost. Now commeth his speciall helpe: yea, euen when man thinks them past all helpe then commeth he himselfe downe from heauen with his mightie power, then is his present remedie most readie prest. For they saile away, being not once touched with the glaunce of a shot, and are quickly out of the Turkish canons reach. Then might they see them comming downe by heapes to the water side, in companies like vnto swarmes of bees, making shew to come after them with gallies, in bustling themselues to dresse vp the gallies, which would be a swift peece of worke for them to doe, for that they had neither oares, mastes, sailes, gables, nor any thing else ready in any gally. But yet they are carrying them into them, some into one gally, and some into another, so that, being such a confusion amongst them, without any certaine guide, it were a thing impossible to ouertake them: beside that, there was no man that would take charge of a gally, the weather was so rough, and there was such an amasednes amongst them. And verely I thinke their God was amased thereat: it could not be but he must blush for shame, he can speake neuer a word for dulnes, much lesse can he helpe them in such an extremitie. Well, howsoeuer it is, he is very much to blame, to suffer them to receiue such a gibe. But howsoeuer their God behaued himselfe, our God shewed himselfe a God indeede, and that he was the onely liuing God: for the seas were swift vnder his faithfull, which made the enemies agast to behold them, a skilfuller Pilot leades them, and their mariners bestirre them lustily: but the Turkes had neither mariners, Pilot, nor any skilfull Master, that was in a readinesse at this pinch.

When the Christians were safe out of the enemies coast, Iohn Fox called to them all, willing them to be thankfull vnto almighty God for their deliuerie, and most humbly to fall downe vpon their knees, beseeching him to aide them vnto their friends land, and not to bring them into an other daunger, sith hee had most mightily deliuered them from so great a thraldome and bondage.

Thus when euery man had made his petition, they fell straight way to their labour with the oares, in helping one another, when they were wearied, and with great labour striuing to come to some Christian land, as neere as they could gesse by the starres. But the windes were so diuers, one while driuing them this way, that they were now in a newe maze, thinking that God had forsaken them, and left them to a greater danger. And forasmuch as there were no victuals now left in the gally, it might haue beene a cause to them (if they had beene the Israelites) to haue murmured against their God: but they knew how that their God, who had deliuered them out of Ægypt, was such a louing and mercifull God, as that hee would not suffer them to be confounded, in whom he had wrought so great a wonder: but what calamitie soeuer they sustained, they knew it was but for their further triall, and also (in putting them in mind of their farther miserie) to cause them not to triumph and glory in themselues therefore.

Extremity of famine.

Hauing (I say) no victuals in the galley, it might seeme that one miserie continually fel vpon an others neck: but to be briefe, the famine grew to be so great, that in 28 dayes, wherein they were on the sea, there died eight persons, to the astonishment of all the rest.

Iohn Fox his sword kept as a monument in Gallipoli.

So it fell out, that vpon the 29 day, after they set from Alexandria, they fell on the Isle of Candie, and landed at Gallipoli, where they were made much of by the Abbot and Monks there, who caused them to stay there, while they were well refreshed and eased. They kept there the sworde, wherewith Iohn Fox had killed the keeper, esteeming it as a most precious iewell, and hung it vp for a monument.

When they thought good, hauing leaue to depart from thence, they sayled along the coast, till they arriued at Tarento, where they solde their gallie, and deuided it, euery man hauing a part thereof. The Turkes receiuing so shamefull a foile at their hand, pursued the Christians, and scoured the seas, where they could imagine that they had bent their course. And the Christians had departed from thence on the one day in the morning, and seuen gallies of the Turkes came thither that night, as it was certified by those who followed Fox, and his companie, fearing least they should haue bene met with. And then they came a foote to Naples, where they departed a sunder, euery man taking him to his next way home. From whence Iohn Fox tooke his iourney vnto Rome, where he was well entertayned of an Englishman, who presented his worthy deede vnto the Pope, who rewarded him liberally, and gaue him his letters vnto the king of Spaine, where he was very well entertained of him there, who for this his most worthy enterprise gaue him in fee twenty pence a day. From whence, being desirous to come into his owne countrie, he came thither at such time as he conueniently could, which was in the yeere of our Lorde God, 1579. Who being come into England, went vnto the Court, and shewed all his trauell vnto the

Councell: who considering of the state of this man, in that hee had spent and lost a great part of his youth in thraldome and bondage, extended to him their liberalitie, to helpe to maintaine him now in age, to their right honour, and to the incouragement of all true hearted Christians.

The copie of the certificate for Iohn Fox, and his companie, made by the Prior, and the brethren of Gallipoli, where they first landed.

WE the Prior, and Fathers of the Couent of the Amerciates, of the city of Gallipoli, of the order of Preachers doe testifie, that vpon the 29 of Ianuary last past, 1577, there came into the said citie a certaine gally from Alexandria, taken from the Turkes, with two hundreth fiftie and eight Christians, whereof was principal Master Iohn Fox, an Englishman, a gunner, and one of the chiefest that did accomplish that great worke, whereby so many Christians haue recouered their liberties. In token and remembrance whereof, vpon our earnest request to the same Iohn Fox, he hath left here an olde sworde, wherewith he slewe the keeper of the prison: which sword we doe as a monument and memoriall of so worthy a deede, hang vp in the chiefe place of our Couent house. And for because all things aforesaid, are such as we will testifie to be true, as they are orderly passed, and haue therefore good credite, that so much as is aboue expressed is true, and for the more faith thereof, we the Prior, and Fathers aforesaide, haue ratified and subscribed these presents. Geuen in Gallipoly, the third of Februarie 1577.

I Frier Vincent Barba, Prior of the same place, confirme the premisses, as they are aboue written.
I Frier Albert Damaro, of Gallipoly, Subprior, confirme as much.
I Frier Anthony Celleler of Gallipoly, confirme as aforesaid.
I Frier Bartlemew of Gallipoly, confirme as aboue said.
I Frier Francis of Gallipoly, confirme as much.

The Bishop of Rome his letters in the behalfe of Iohn Fox.

BE it knowen vnto all men, to whom this writing shall come, that the bringer hereof Iohn Fox Englishman, a Gunner, after he had serued captiue in the Turkes gallies, by the space of foureteene yeeres, at length, thorough God his helpe, taking good opportunitie, the third of Ianuarie last past, slew the keeper of the prison, (whom he first stroke on the face) together with four and twentie other Turkes, by the assistance of his fellow prisoners: and with 266. Christians (of whose libertie he was the author) launched from Alexandria, and from thence arriued first at Gallipoly in Candie, and afterwardes at Tarento in Apulia: the written testimony and credite of which things, as also of others, the same Iohn Fox hath in publike tables from Naples.

Vpon Easter eue he came to Rome, and is now determined to take his iourney to the Spanish Court, hoping there to obtaine some reliefe toward his liuing: wherefore the poore distressed man humbly beseecheth, and we in his behalfe do in the bowels of Christ, desire you, that taking compassion of his former captiuitie, and present penurie, you doe not onely suffer him freely to passe throughout all your cities and townes, but also succour him with your charitable almes, the reward whereof you shall hereafter most assuredly receiue, which we hope you will afford to him, whom with tender affection of pitie wee commende vnto you. At Rome, the 20 of Aprill 1577.

Thomas Grolos Englishman Bishop of Astraphen.
Richard Silleum Prior Angliæ.
Andreas Ludouicus Register to our Soueraigne Lord the Pope, which for the greater credit of the premises, haue set my seale to these presents. At Rome, the day and yeere aboue written.
Mauricius Clement the gouernour and keeper of the English Hospitall in the citie.

The King of Spaine his letters to the Lieutenant, for the placing of Iohn Fox in the office of a Gunner.

TO the illustrious Prince, Vespasian Gonsaga Colonna, our Lieutenant and Captaine Generall of our Realme of Valentia. Hauing consideration, that Iohn Fox Englishman hath serued vs, and was one of the most principall, which tooke away from the Turkes a certaine gallie, which they haue brought to Tarento, wherein were two hundred, fiftie, and eight Christian captiues: we licence him to practise, and giue him the office of a Gunner, and haue ordained, that he goe to our said Realme, there to serue in the said office in the Gallies, which by our commandement are lately made. And we doe commaund, that you cause to be payed to him eight ducats pay a moneth, for the time that he shall serue in the saide Gallies as a Gunner, or till we can otherwise prouide for him, the saide eight duckats monethly of the money which is already of our prouision, present and to come, and to haue regarde of those which come with him. From Escuriall the tenth of August, 1577.

I the King,
Iuan del Gado.
And vnder that a confirmation of the Councell.

The voyage made to Tripolis in Barbarie, in the yeere 1583. with a ship called the Iesus, wherein the aduentures and distresses of some Englishmen are truely reported, and other necessary circumstances obserued. Written by Thomas Sanders.

THis voyage was set foorth by the right worshipfull sir Edward Osborne knight, chiefe merchant of all the Turkish company, and one master Richard Staper, the ship being of the burden of one hundred tunnes, called the Iesus, she was builded at Farmne a riuer by Portsmouth. The owners were master Thomas Thomson, Nicholas Carnaby, and Iohn Gilman. The master was one Aches Hellier of Black-wall, and his Mate was one Richard Morris of that place: their Pilot was one Anthonie Ierado a Frenchman, of the prouince of Marseils: the purser was one William Thomson our owners sonne: the merchants factors were Romane Sonnings a Frenchman, and Richard Skegs seruant vnto the said master Staper. The owners were bound vnto the marchants by charter partie therevpon, in one thousand markes, that the said ship by Gods permission should goe for Tripolis in Barbarie, that is to say, first from Portsmouth to Newhauen in Normandie, from thence to S. Lucar, otherwise called Saint Lucas, in Andeluzia, and from thence to Tripolie, which is in the East part of Africa, and so to returne vnto London. But here ought euery man to note and consider the workes of our God, that many times what man doth determine God doth disappoint. The said master hauing some occasion to goe to Farmne, tooke with him the Pilot and the Purser, and returning againe by meanes of a perrie of winde, the boat wherein they

Man doth purpose, and God doth dispose.

were, was drowned, with the said master, the purser, and all the company: onely the said Pilot by experience in swimming saued himselfe: these were the beginnings of our sorrowes. After which the said masters mate would not proceed in that voiage, and the owner hearing of this misfortune, and the unwillingnesse of the masters mate, did send downe one Richard Deimond, and shipped him for master, who did chuse for his Mate one Andrew Dier, and so the said ship departed on hor voiage accordingly: that is to say, about the 16. of October, in An. 1583. she made saile from Portsmouth, and the 18 day then next following she arriued at Newhauen, where our saide last master Deimond by a surfeit died. The factors then appointed the said Andrew Dier, being then masters mate, to be their master for that voiage, who did chuse to be his Mates the two quarter masters of the same ship, to wit, Peter Austine, and Shillabey, and for Purser was shipped one Richard Burges. Afterward about the 8. day of Nouember we made saile forthward, and by force of weather we were driuen backe againe into Portesmouth, where we renued our victuals and other necessaries, and then the winde came faire. About the 29. day then next following we departed thence, and the first day of December by meanes of a contrarie winde, we were driuen to Plimmouth. The 18. day then next following, we made foorthward againe, and by force of weather we were driuen to Falmouth, where we remained vntill the first day of Ianuary: at which time the winde comming faire, we departed thence, and about the 20. day of the said moneth we arriued safely at S. Lucar. And about the 9. day of March next following, we made saile from thence, and about the 18. day of the same moneth we came to Tripolis in Barbarie, where we were verie well intertained by the king of that countrey, and also of the commons. The commodities of that place are sweete oiles: the king there is a merchant, and the rather (willing to preferre himselfe before his commons) requested our said factors to traffique with him, and promised them that if they would take his oiles at his owne price, they should pay no maner of custome, and they tooke of him certaine tunnes of oile: and afterwarde perceiuing that they might haue farre better cheape notwithstanding the custome free, they desired the king to licence them to take the oiles at the pleasure of his commons, for that his price did exceede theirs: whereunto the

A new master chosen.

The new master died.

The Iesus arriued in Tripolis.

king would not agree, but was rather contended to abate his price, insomuch that the factors bought all their oyles of the king custome free, and so laded the same aboord.

Another ship of Bristow came to Tripolis.

In the meane time there came to that place one Miles Dickenson in a ship of Bristow, who together with our said Factors tooke a house to themselues there. Our French Factor Romane Sonnings desired to buy a commodity in the market, and wanting money, desired the saide Miles Dickenson to lend him an hundred Chikinoes vntill he came to his lodging, which he did, and afterward the same Sonnings mette with Miles Dickenson in the streete, and deliuered him money bound vp in a napkin: saying, master Dickenson there is the money I borrowed of you, and so thanked him for the same: hee doubted nothing lesse then falshoode, which is seldome knowne among marchants, and specially being together in one house, and is the more detestable betweene Christians, they being in Turkie among the heathen. The said Dickenson did not tell the money presently, vntill he came to his lodging, and then finding nine Chikinoes lacking of his hundred, which was about three pounds, for that euery Chikino is woorth seuen shillings of English money, he came to the sayde Romane Sonnings and deliuered him his handkerchiefe, and asked him howe many Chikinoes hee had deliuered him! Sonnings answered, an hundred: Dickenson said no: and so they protested and swore on both parts. But in the ende the said Romane Sonnings did sweare deepely with detestable othes and curses, and prayed God that he might shewe his workes on him, that other might take ensample thereby, and that he might be hanged like a dogge, and neuer come into England againe, if he did not deliuer vnto the sayde Dickenson an hundred Chikinoes. And here beholde a notable example of all blasphemers, curses and swearers, how God rewarded him accordingly: for many times it cometh to passe, that God sheweth his miracles vpon such monstrous blasphemers, to the ensample of others, as nowe hereafter you shall heare what befell to this Romane Sonnings.

There was a man in the said towne a pledge, whose name was Patrone Norado, who the yere before had done this Sonnings some pleasure there. The foresaid Patrone Norado was indebted vnto a Turke of that towne in the summe of foure hundred and fiftie crownes, for certain goods sent by him into Christendome in a ship of his owne, and by his owne brother, and himselfe remained in Tripolis as pledge vntill his said brothers returne: and, as the report went there, after his brothers arriual into Christendome, he came among lewde companie, and lost his brothers said ship and goods at dice, and neuer returned vnto him againe.

The said Patrone Norado being voyde of all hope, and finding now opportunitie, consulted with the said Sonnings for to swimme a seaboorde the Islands, and the ship being then out of danger, should take him in (as after was confessed) and so to goe to Tolan in the prouince of Marseilis with this Patrone Norado, and there to take in his lading.

A conspiracie practised by the French Factor, to deceiue a Turkish marchant of 450 crowns.

The shippe being readie the first day of May, and hauing her sayles all aboorde, our sayde Factors did take their leaue of the king, who very courteously bidde them farwell, and when they came aboorde, they commanded the Master and the companie hastily to get out the ship: the Master answered that it was vnpossible, for that the winde was contrary and ouer-blowed. And he required vs vpon forfeiture of our bandes, that we should doe our endeuour to get her foorth. Then went wee to warpe out the shippe, and presently the king sent a boate aboord of vs, with three men in her, commaunding the saide Sonnings to come a shoare: at whose comming, the king demaunded of him custome for the oyles: Sonnings answered him that his highnesse had promised to deliuer them custome free. But notwithstanding the king weighed not his said promise, and as an infidell that hath not the feare of God qefore his eyes, nor regarde of his worde, albeit he was a king, hee caused the sayde Sonnings to pay the custome to the vttermost penie. And afterwarde willed him to make haste away, saying, that the Ianizaries would haue the oyle ashoare againe.

These Ianizaries are souldiers there vnder the great Turke, and their power is aboue the Kings. And so the saide Factor departed from the king, and came to the waterside, and called for a boate to come aboorde, and he brought with him the foresaid Patrone Norado. The companie inquisitiue to know what man that was, Sonnings answered, that he was his countrymen, a passenger: I pray God said the companie, that we come not into trouble by this man. Then said Sonnings angerly, what haue you to do with any matters of mine? if any thing chance otherwise then well, I must answer for all.

The beginning of their troubles, and occasion of all their miserie.

Now the Turke vnto whom this Patrone Norado was indebted, missing him (supposed him to be aboorde of our shippe) presently went vnto the King, and tolde him that hee thought that his pledge Patrone Norado was aboord of the English ship, whereupon the King presently sent a boat aboord of vs, with three men in her, commanding the said Sonnings to come a shoare, and not speaking any thing as touching the man, he saide that he would come presently in his owne boate, but as soone as they were gone, he willed vs to warp foorth the ship, and saide that he would see the knaues hanged before he would goe a shoare. And when the king sawe that he came not a shoare, but still continued warping away the shippe, he straight commaunded the gunner of the bulwarke next vnto vs, to shoote three shootes without ball. Then we came all to the said Sonnings, and asked of him what the matter was that we were shot at, he said that it was the Ianizaries who would haue the oyle a shoare againe, and willed vs to make haste away, and after that he had discharged three shots without ball, he commaunded all the gunners in the towne to doe their indeuour to sinke vs, but the Turkish gunners could not once strike vs, wherefore the king sent presently to the Banio: (this Banio is the prison whereas all the captiues lay at night) and promised if that there were any that could either sinke vs, or else cause vs to come in againe, he should haue a hundred crownes, and his libertie. With that came foorth a Spaniard called Sebastian, which had bene an olde seruitor in Flanders, and he said, that vpon the performance of that promise, hee would vndertake either to sinke vs, or to cause vs to come in againe, and therto he would gage his life, and at the first shotte he split our rudders head in pieces, and the second shotte he shotte vs vnder the water, and the third shotte he shotte vs through our foremast with a Coluering shot, and thus he hauing rent both our rudder and maste, and shot vs vnder water, we were inforced to goe in againe.

This Sebastian for all his diligence herein, had neither his liberty, nor an hundred crownes, so promised by the said king, but after his seruice done was committed againe to prison, whereby may appeare the regard that the Turke or infidell hath of his worde, although he be able to performe it, yea more, though he be a king.

Then our merchants seeing no remedie, they together with fiue of our companie went a shoare, and then they ceased shooting:

they shot vnto vs in the whole, nine and thirtie shootes, without the hurt of any man.

And when our marchants came a shoare, the King commaunded presently that they with the rest of our companie that were with them, should be cheined foure and foure, to a hundred waight of yron, and when we came in with the ship, there came presently aboue an hundred Turks aboord of vs, and they searched vs, and stript our very clothes from our backes, and brake open our chests, and made a spoyle of all that we had: and the Christian caitifes likewise, that came a boord of vs made spoyle of our goods, and vsed vs as ill as the Turkes did. And our masters mate hauing a Geneua Bible in his hand, there came the kings chiefe gunner, and tooke it out from him, who shewed me of it, and I hauing the language, went presently to the kings treasurer, and tolde him of it, saying, that sith it was the will of God that we should fall into their handes, yet that they should grant vs to vse our consciences to our owne discretion, as they suffered the Spaniards and other nations to vse theirs, and he graunted vs: then I told him that the maister gunner had taken away a Bible from one of our men: the Treasurer went presently and commaunded him to deliuer vp the Bible againe, which he did: and within a litle after he tooke it from the man againe, and I shewed the Treasurer of it, and presently he commaunded him to deliuer it againe: saying, thou villaine, wilt thou turne to Christianitie againe? for he was a Renegado, which is one that first was a Christian, and afterwards becommeth a Turke, and so he deliuered me the Bible the second time. And then I hauing it in my hand, the gunner came to me, and spake these wordes, saying, thou dogge, I wil haue the booke in despight of thee, and tooke it from me, saying: If thou tell the kings treasurer of it any more, by Mahomet I will be reuenged of thee. Notwithstanding I went the third time vnto the kings Treasurer, and tolde him of it, and he came with me, saying thus vnto the gunner: by the head of the great Turke, if thou take it from him againe, thou shalt haue an hundred bastonadoes. And foorthwith he deliuered me the booke, saying, he had not the value of a pin of the spoyle of the ship, which was the better for him, as hereafter you shall heare: for there was none, neither Christian nor Turke that tooke the value of a peniworth of our goods from vs, but perished both bodie and goods within seuenteene moneths following, as hereafter shall plainely appeare.

Then came the Guardian Basha, which is the keeper of the kings captiues, to fetch vs all a shoare, and then I remembring the miserable estate of poore distressed captiues, in the time of their bondage to those infidels, went to mine owne chest, and tooke out thereof a iarre of oyle, and filled a basket full of white Ruske to carie a shoare with me, but before I came to the Banio, the Turkish boyes had taken away almost all my bread, and the keeper saide, deliuer me the iarre of oyle, and when thou commest to the Banio thou shalt haue it againe, but I neuer had it of him any more.

But when I came to the Banio, and sawe our Marchants and all the rest of our company in chaines, and we all ready to receiue the same reward, what heart in the world is there so hard, but would haue pitied our cause, hearing or seeing the lamentable greeting there was betwixt vs: all this happened the first of May 1584.

The Englishmen arraigned.

And the second day of the same moneth, the King with all his counsell sate in iudgment vpon vs. The first that were had forth to be arraigned, were the Factors, and the Masters, and the King asked them wherefore they came not a shoare when he sent for them. And Romaine Sonnings answered, that though he were king on shoare, and might commaunde there, so was hee as touching those that were vnder him: and therefore said, if any offence be, the fault is wholly in my selfe, and in no other. Then foorthwith the king gaue iudgement, that the saide Romaine Sonnings should be hanged ouer the Northeast bulwarke: from whence he conueyed the forenamed Patrone Norado, and then he called for our Master Andrew Dier, and vsed fewe wordes to him, and so condemned him to be hanged ouer the walles of the Westermost bulwarke.

Then fell our other Factor (named Richard Skegs) vpon his knees before the king, and said, I beseech your highnesse either to pardon our Master, or else suffer me to die for him, for he is ignorant of this cause. And then the people of that countrey fauouring the said Richard Skegs besought the king to pardon them both. So then the king spake these wordes: Beholde for thy sake, I pardon the Master. Then presently the Turkes shouted, and cried, saying: Away with the Master from the presence of the king. And then he came into the Banio whereas we were, and tolde vs what had happened, and we all reioyced at the good hap of master Skegs, that hee was saued, and our Master for his sake.

But afterward our ioy was turned to double sorrow, for in the meane time the kings minde was altered: for that one of his counsell had aduised him, that vnlesse the Master died also, by the lawe they could not confiscate the ship nor goods, neither captive any of the men: whereupon the king sent for our Master againe, and gaue him another iudgement after his pardon for one cause, which was that hee should be hanged. Here all true Christians may see what trust a Christian man may put in an infidels promise, who being a King pardoned a man nowe, as you haue heard, and within an houre after hanged him for the same cause before a whole multitude: and also promised our Factors their oyles custome free, and at their going away made them pay the vttermost penie for the custome thereof.

Master Dier condemned to be hanged ouer a bulwarke.

And when that Romaine Sonnings saw no remedy but that he should die, he protested to turne Turke, hoping thereby to haue saued his life. Then said the Turke, if thou wilt turne Turke, speake the words that thereunto belong: and he did so. Then saide they vnto him, Now thou shalt die in the faith of a Turke, and so hee did, as the Turkes reported that were at his execution. And the forenamed Patrone Norado, whereas before he had libertie and did nothing he then was condemned slaue perpetuall, except there were paiment made of the foresaid summe of money.

A Frenshman turned Turke, in hope of his life, and afterwards was hanged.

Then the king condemned all vs, who were in number sixe and twentie, of the which, two were hanged (as you haue heard) and one died the first day wee came on shoare, by the visitation of Almightie God: and the other three and twentie he condemned slaues perpetually vnto the great Turke, and the ship and goods were confiscated to the vse of the great Turke: and then we all fell downe vpon our knees, giuing God thankes for this sorrowfull visitation, and giuiug our selues wholy to the Almightie power of God, vnto whom all secrets are knowen, that he of his goodnesse would vouchsafe to looke vpon vs.

Here may all true Christian hearts see the wonderfull workes of God shewed vpon such infidels, blasphemers, whoremasters, and renegate Christians, and so you shall reade in the ende of this booke, of the like vpon the vnfaithfull king and all his children, and of as many as tooke any portion of the said goods.

Euery fiue men allowed but two pence of bread a day.

But first to shewe our miserable bondage and slauerie, and vnto what small pittance and allowance wee were tied, for euery fiue men had allowance but fiue aspers of bread in a day, which is but two pence English: and our lodging was to lye on the bare boords, with a very simple cape to couer vs, wee were also forceably and most violently shauen, head and beard, and within three dayes after, I and six more of my fellowes, together with fourescore Italians and Spaniards were sent foorth in a Galeot to take a Greekish Carmosell, which came into Africa to steale Negroes, and went out of Tripolis vnto that place, which was two hundred and fourtie leagues thence, but wee were chained three and three to an oare, and wee rowed naked aboue the girdle, and the Boteswaine of the Galley walked abaft the maste, and his Mate afore the maste, and eche of them a bulls pissell dried in their handes, and when their diuelish choller rose, they would strike the Christians for no cause: and they allowed vs but halfe a pound of bread a man in a day without any other kinde of sustenance, water excepted. And when we came to the place whereas wee saw the Carmosell, we were not suffered to haue neither needle, bodkin, knife, or any other weapon about vs, nor at any other time in the night, vpon paine of one hundred bastonadoes: wee were then also cruelly manackled in such sort, that we could not put our handes the length of one foote asunder the one from the other, and euery night they searched our chaines three times, to see if they were fast riueted: Wee continued fight with the Carmosell three houres, and then wee tooke it, and lost but two of our men in that fight, but there were slaine of the Greekes fiue, and foureteene were cruelly hurt, and they that were sound, were presently made slaues, and chained to the oares: and within fifteene dayes after we returned againe into Tripolis, and then wee were put to all maner of slauerie. I was put to hewe stones, and other to cary stones, and some to draw the Cart with earth, and some to make morter, and some to draw stones, (for at that time the Turkes builded a church:) And thus we were put to all kinde of slauerie that was to be done. And in the time of our being there, the Moores that are the husbandmen of the countrey rebelled against the king, because he would haue constrained them to pay greater tribute then heretofore they had done, so that the Souldiours of Tripolis marched foorth of the towne to haue

The Turkes builded a church.

ioyned battell against the Moores for their rebellion, and the King sent with them foure pieces of Ordinance, which were drawen by the captiues twenty miles into the Country after them, and at the sight thereof the Moores fled and then the Captaines returned backe againe. Then I and certaine Christians more were sent twelue miles into the countrey with a Cart to lode timber, and we returned againe the same day.

The Christians sent 3. times a weeke 30 miles to fetch wood.

Nowe the king had 18. captiues, which three times a weeke went to fetch wood thirtie miles from the towne: and on a time he appointed me for one of the 18. and wee departed at eight of the clocke in the night, and vpon the way as wee rode vpon the camels, I demaunded of one of our company, who did direct vs the way? he sayd, that there was a Moore in our company which was our guide: and I demavnded of them how Tripolis and the wood bare one of the other? and hee said, East Northeast and West Southwest. And at midnight or neere thereabouts, as I was riding vpon my camel, I fell asleepe, and the guide and all the rest rode away from me, not thinking but I had bene among them. When I awoke, and finding my selfe alone durst not call nor hallow for feare least the wilde Moores should heare me, because they holde this opinion, that in killing a Christian they do God good seruice: and musing with my selfe what were best for me to do, if I should goe foorth, and the wilde Moores should hap to meete with mee, they would kill mee: and on the other side, if I should returne backe to Tripolis without any wood or company, I should be most miserably vsed: therefore of two euils, rather I had to goe foorth to the loosing of my life, then to turne backe and trust to their mercie, fearing to bee vsed as before I had seene others: for vnderstanding by some of my company before, howe Tripolis and the saide wood did lie one off another, by the North starre I went forth at aduenture, and as God would haue it, I came right to the place where they were, euen about an houre before day: there altogether wee rested and gaue our camels prouender, and assoone as the day appeared, we rode all into the wood: and I seeing no wood there, but a sticke here and a sticke there, about the bignesse of a mans arme growing in the sand, it caused mee to maruile how so many camels should be loden in that place. The wood was Iuniper, we needed no axe nor edge toole to cut it, but pluckt it vp by strength of hands rootes and all, which a man might easily do, and so gathered it together, a little at one place and so at another, and laded our camels, and came home about seuen of the clocke that night following: because I fell lame, and my camel was tired, I left my wood in the way.

Eighteene captiues run away from Tripolis.

There was in Tripolis that time a Venetian, whose name was Benedetto Venetiano, and seuenteene captiues more of his company, which ranne away from Tripolis in a boate, and came in sight of an Island called Malta, which lieth fourtie leagues from Tripolis right North, and being within a mile of the shoare, and very faire weather, one of their company said, In dispetto de Dio adesso venio a pilliar terra, which is as much to say: In the despite of God I shall now fetch the shoare, and presently there arose a mighty storme, with thunder and raine and the wind at North, their boate being very small, so that they were inforced to beare vp roome, and to sheare right afore the winde ouer against the coast of Barbarie from whence they came, and rowing vp and downe the coast, their victuals being spent, the 21. day after their departure they were inforced through the want of food to come ashoare, thinking to haue stolne some sheepe: but the Moores of the country very craftily perceiuing their intent, gathered together a threescore horsemen, and hid themselues behinde a sandie hill, and when the Christians were come all a shoare, and past vp halfe a mile into the countrey, the Moores rode betwixt them and their boate, and some of them pursued the Christians, and so they were all taken and brought to Tripolis, from whence they had before escaped: and presently the king commaunded that the foresaide Benedetto with one more of his company should lose their eares, and the rest should be most cruelly beaten, which was presenly done. This king had a sonne which was a ruler in an Island called Gerbi, whereunto arriued an English shippe called the Greene Dragon, of the which was Master one M. Blonket, who hauing a very vnhappy boy in that shippe, and vnderstanding that whosoeuer would turne Turke should be well enterteined of the kings sonne, this boy did runne a shoare, and voluntarily turned Turke. Shortly after the kings sonne came to Tripolis to visite his father, and seeing our company, hee greatly fancied Richard Burges our Purser, and Iames Smith: they were both yong men, therefore he was very desirous to haue them to turne Turkes, but they would not yeeld to his

The iudgement of God vpon blasphemers.

The Greene Dragon.

desire, saying: We are your fathers slaues, and as slaues wee will serue him. Then his father the king sent for them, and asked them if they would turne Turkes? And they saide: If it please your highnesse, Christians we were borne, and so we will remaine, and beseeched the king that they might not bee inforced thereunto. The king had there before in his house a sonne of a yeoman of our Queenes guard, whom the kings sonne had inforced to turne Turke, his name was Iohn Nelson: him the king caused to be brought to these yong men, and then said vnto them: Wil not you beare this your countreymen company, and be Turke as hee is? And they saide, that they would not yeeld thereunto during life. But it fell out, that within a moneth after, the kings sonne went home to Gerbi againe, being sixe score miles from Tripolis, and carried our two foresaid yong men with him, which were Richard Burges, and Iames Smith: and after their departure from vs, they sent vs a letter, signifying that there was no violence shewed vnto them as yet, but within three dayes after they were violently vsed, for that the kings sonne demaunded of them againe, if that they would turne Turke? Then answered Richard Burges, a Christian I am, and so I will remaine. Then the kings sonne very angerly said vnto him: By Mahomet thou shall presently be made Turke. Then called he for his men, and commaunded them to make him Turke, and they did so, and circumcised him, and would haue had him speake the wordes that thereunto belonged, but he answered them stoutly that he would not: and although they had put on him the habite of a Turke, yet sayd he, A Christian I was borne, and so I will remaine, though you force me to doe otherwise.

The kings sonne had a captiue that was sonne to one of the Queenes Maiesties guard, that was forced to turne Turke.

And then he called for the other, and commaunded him to be made Turke perforce also: but he was very strong, for it was so much as eight of the kings sonnes men could doe to holde him, so in the ende they circumcised him, and made him Turke. Now to passe ouer a little, and so to shewe the maner of our deliuerance out of that miserable captiuitie.

In May aforesaid, shortly after our apprehension, I wrote a letter into England vnto my father dwelling in Tauistoke in Deuonshire, signifying vnto him the whole estate of our calamities: and I wrote also to Constantinople to the English Embassadour, both which letters were faithfully deliuered. But when my

The first motion for those Englishmens deliuerie.

father had receiued my letter, and vnderstood the trueth of our mishap, and the occasion thereof, and what had happened to the offenders, he certified the right honourable the earle of Bedford thereof, who in short space acquainted her highnesse with the whole cause thereof, and her Maiestie like a most mercifull princesse tendering her Subiects, presently tooke order for our deliuerance. Whereupon the right worshipful sir Edward Osborne knight directed his letters with all speed to the English Embassadour in Constantinople, to procure our deliuery: and he obteined the great Turkes Commission, and sent it foorthwith to Tripolis, by one Master Edward Barton, together with a Iustice of the great Turkes, and one souldiour, and another Turke, and a Greeke which was his interpretour, which could speake besides Greeke, Turkish, Italian, Spanish and English. And when they came to Tripolis, they were well interteined. And the first night they did lie in a Captaines house in the towne: all our company that were in Tripolis came that night for ioy to Master Barton and the other Commissioners to see them. Then master Barton said vnto vs, welcome my good countreymen, and louingly interteined vs, and at our departure from him, he gaue vs two shillings, and said, Serue God, for to morrow I hope you shall be as free as euer you were; We all gaue him thankes and so departed.

The next day in the morning very early, the King hauing intelligence of their comming, sent word to the keeper, that none of the Englishmen (meaning our company) should goe to worke. Then he sent for Master Barton and the other Commissioners, and demaunded of the saide Master Barton his message: the Iustice answered, that the great Turke his Souereigne had sent them vnto him, signifying that he was informed that a certaine English shippe, called the Iesus, was by him the saide king confiscated, about twelue months since, and nowe my saide Souereigne hath here sent his especiall commission by vs vnto you, for the deliuerance of the saide shippe and goods, and also the free libertie and deliuerance of the Englishmen of the same shippe, whom you haue taken and kept in captiuitie. And further the same Iustice saide, I am authorized by my said soueraigne the great Turke to see it done: And therefore I commaund you by vertue of this commission, presently to make restitution of the premisses or the value thereof: and so did the Iustices deliuer vnto the King the great Turkes commission to the effect aforesaide, which commission the king with all obedience receiued: and after

The Englishmen released.

the perusing of the same, he foorthwith commanded all the English captiues to be brought before him, and then willed the keeper to strike off all our yrons, which done, the king said, You Englishmen, for that you did offend the lawes of this place, by the same lawes therefore some of your company were condemned to die as you knowe, and you to bee perpetuall captiues during your liues: notwithstanding, seeing it hath pleased my soueraigne lord the great Turke to pardon your said offences, and to giue you your freedome and libertie, beholde, here I make deliuery of you to this English Gentleman: so hee deliuered vs all that were there, being thirteene in number, to Master Barton, who required also those two yong men which the Kings sonne had taken with him. Then the king answered that it was against their lawe to deliuer them, for that they were turned Turkes: and touching the ship and goods, the king said, that he had solde her, but would make restitution of the value, and as much of the goods as came vnto his hands, and so the king arose and went to dinner, and commaunded a Iew to goe with Master Barton and the other commissioners, to shew them their lodging, which was a house prouided and appointed them by the said king. And because I had the Italian and Spanish tougues, by which their most trafique in that countrey is, Master Barton made me his Cater to buy his victuals for him and his company, and deliuered me money needfull for the same. Thus were wee set at libertie the 28. day of April, 1585.

The plagues and punishments that happened to the King and his people.

Nowe to returne to the kings plagues and punishments, which Almighty God at his will and pleasure sendeth vpon men in the sight of the worlde, and likewise of the plagues that befell his children and others aforesaide. First when we were made bondmen, being the second day of May 1584. the king had 300. captiues, and before the moneth was expired, there died of them of the plague 150. And whereas they were 26. men of our company, of whom two were hanged, and one died the same day that wee were made bondslaues: that present moneth there died nine more of our company of the plague, and other two were forced to turne Turkes as before is rehearsed: and on the fourth day of June next following the king lost 150 camels, which were taken from him by the wilde Moores: and on the 28. day of the saide moneth of Iune, one Geffrey Maltese, a renegado of Malta, ranne away to his countrey, and stole a Brigandine which the king

The king lost 150. camels taken by the wilde Moores.

had builded for to take the Christians withall, and carried with him twelue Christians more which were the kings captiues. Afterward about the tenth day of Iuly next following, the king road foorth vpon the greatest and fairest mare that might be seene, as white as any swanne: hee had not ridden fourtie paces from his house, but on a sudden the same mare fell downe vnder him starke dead, and I with sixe more were commaunded to burie her, skinne, shoes and all, which we did. And about three moneths after our deliuerie, Master Barton, with all his residue of his company departed from Tripoli to Zante, in a vessell, called a Settea, of one Marcus Segoorus, who dwelt in Zante, and after our arriuall at Zante we remained fifteene dayes there aboorde our vessell, before wee could haue Platego, (that is, leaue to come a shoare) because the plague was in that place, from whence wee came: and about three dayes after we came a shoare, thither came another Settea of Marseils bound for Constantinople. Then did Master Barton, and his company, with two more of our company, shippe themselues as passengers in the same Settea, and went to Constantinople. But the other nine of vs, that remained in Zante, about three moneths after, shipt our selues in a ship of the said Marcus Segoorus, which came to Zante, and was bound for England. In which three moneths, the souldiers of Tripolie killed the said king. And then the kings sonne, according to the custome there, went to Constantinople, to surrender vp all his fathers treasure, goods, captiues, and concubines, vnto the great Turke, and tooke with him our saide Purser Richard Burges, and Iames Smith, and also the other two Englishmen, which he the said kings sonne had inforced to become Turkes, as is aforesayd. And they the said Englishmen finding now some opportunitie, concluded with the Christian captiues which were going with them vnto Constantinople, being in number about one hundred and fiftie, to kill the kings sonne, and all the Turkes which were aboorde of the Galley, and priuily the saide Englishmen conueyed vnto the saide Christian captiues, weapons for that purposes. And when they came into the maine Sea, towards Constantinople (vpon the faithfull promise of the sayde Christian captiues) these foure Englishmen lept suddenly into the Crossia, that is, in the middest of the Galley, where the canon lieth, and with their swordes drawne, did fight against all the foresaid Turkes, and for

Two Englishmen shipped to Constantinople with M. Barton.

The souldiers of Tripolis kil the King.

want of helpe of the saide Christian captiues, who falsly brake their promises, the said Master Blonkets boy was killed, and the sayde Iames Smith, and our Pursser Richard Burges, and the other Englishman, were taken and bound into chaines, to be hanged at their arriual in Constantinople: and as the Lordes will was, about two dayes after, passing through the gulfe of Venice, at an Island called Cephalonia, they met with two of the duke of Venice his Gallies,* which tooke that Galley, and killed the kings sonne, and his mother, and all the Turkes that were there, in number 150. and they saued the Christian captiues, and would haue killed the two Englishmen because they were circumcised, and become Turkes, had not the other Christian captiues excused them, saying, that they were inforced to be Turkes, by the kings sonne, and shewed the Venetians also, how they did enterprise at sea to fight against all the Turks, and that their two fellowes were slaine in that fight. Then the Venetians saued them, and they, with all the residue of the said captiues, had their libertie, which were in number 150. or thereabouts, and the said Gallie, and all the Turkes treasure was confiscated to the vse of the state of Venice. And from thence our two Englishmen traueiled homeward by land, and in this meane time we had one more of our company, which died in Zante, and afterward the other eight shipped themselues at Zante, in a shippe of the said Marcus Segorus, which was bound for England: and before we departed thence, there arriued the Assension, and the George Bonauenture of London in Cephalonia, in a harbour there, called Arrogostoria, whese Marchants agreed with the Marchants of our shippe, and so laded all the marchandise of our shippe into the said ships of London, who tooke vs eight in as passengers, and so we came home, and within two moneths after our arriuall at London, our said Purser Richard Burges, and his fellow came home also: for the which we are bound to praise Almightie God, during our liues, and as duetie bindeth vs, to pray for the preseruation of our most gracious Queene, for the great care her Maiestie had ouer vs, her poore Subjects, in seeking and procuring of our deliuerance aforesaide: and also for her honourable priuie Counsell, and I especiall for the prosperitie and good estate of the house of the late deceased, the right honourable the Earle of Bedford, whose honour I must confesse, most diligently at the suite of my father now departed, traueiled herein: for the which I rest continually bounden to him, whose soule I doubt not, but is already in the heauens in ioy, with the Almightie, vnto which place he vouchsafe to bring vs all, that for our sinnes suffered most vile and shameful death vpon the Crosse, there to liue perpetually world without ende, Amen.

---

* *Marginal Note.*—Two Gallies of Venice tooke the King of Tripolie his galley, and killed the kings sonne, and all the Turkes in it, and released all the Christians being in number 150.

The Queenes letters to the Turke 1584. for the restitution of the shippe called the Iesus, and the English captiues detained in Tripolie in Barbarie, and for certaine other prisoners in Argier.

ELIZABETHA, Dei ter maximi et vnici cœli terræque conditoris gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regina, fidei Christianæ contra omnes omnium inter Christianos degentium, Christíque nomen falsò profitentium idololatrias, inuistissima et potentissima defensatrix: augustissimo, inuictissimôque principi, Zultan Murad Can, Musulmanici regni dominatori potentissimo, imperijque Orientis Monarchæ, supra omnes soli et supremo salutem, et multos cum summa rerum optimarum affluentia fœlices et fortunatos annos.

Augustissime et potentissime Imperator, biennio iam peracto, ad Cæsaream vestram Maiestatem scripsimus, vt dilectus noster famulus Guilielmus Harebornus, vir ornatissimus pro legato nostro Constantinopoli, alijsque Musulmanici imperij ditionibus, sublimi vestra authoritate reciperetur: simul etiam Angli subditi nostri commercium et mercaturam, in omnibus illis prouincijs exerceant, non minùs liberè quàm Galli, Poloni, Veneti, Germani, cæteríque vestri confœderati, qui varias Orientis partes peragrant, operam nauantes, vt mutuis commercijs coniungatur Oriens, cum Occidente.

Quæ priuilegia, cum nostris subditis Anglis inuictissima vestra Maiestas literis et diplomate suo liberalissimè indulserit, facere non potuimus, quin quas maximas animus noster capere potest gratias, eo nomine ageremus: sperantes fore, vt hæc instituta commerciorum ratio maximas vtilitates, et commoda vtrinque, tam in imperij vestri ditiones, quàm regni nostri prouincias secum adferat.

Id vt planè fiat, cûm nuper subditi nostri nonnulli Tripoli in

Barbaria et Argellæ ab eius loci incolis voluntatem vestram fortè nescientibus malè habiti fuerint, et immaniter diuexati, Cæsaream vestram Maiestatem beneuolè rogamus, vt per Legatum nostrum eorum causam cognoscas, et postremò earum prouinciarum proregibus ac præfectis imperes, vt nostri liberè in illis locis, sine vi aut iniuria deinceps versari, et negotia gerere possint.

Et nos omni opera vicissim studebimus ea omnia præstare, quæ Imperatoriæ vestræ Maiestati vllo pacto grata fore intelligemus: quam Deus vnicus mundi conditor optimus maximus diutissimè incolumem et florentem seruet. Datæ in palatio nostro Londini, quinto die Mensis Septembris: anno IESV CHRISTI Seruatoris nostri, 1584. Regni verò nostri vicessimo sexto.

The same in English.

ELizabeth, by the grace of the most high God, and onely maker of heauen and earth, of England, France and Ireland Queene, and of the Christian faith, against all the Idolaters and false professors of the Name of CHRIST dwelling among the Christians, most inuincible and puissant defender: to the most valiant and invincible Prince, Zultan Murad Can, the most mightie ruler of the kingdome of Musulman, and of the East Empire the onely and highest Monarch aboue all, health and many happy and fortunate yeres, with great aboundance of the best things.

Most noble and puissant Emperour, about two yeeres nowe passed, wee wrote vnto your Imperiall Maiestie, that our wel-beloued seruant, William Hareborne, a man of great reputation and honour, might be receiued vnder your high authoritie, for our Ambassadour in Constantinople, and other places, vnder the obedience of your Empire of Musulman: And also that the Englishmen, being our Subiects, might exercise entercourse and marchandize in all those Prouinces, no lesse freely then the French, Polonians, Venetians, Germanes, and other your confederats, which traueile through diuers of the East parts: endeuouring that by mutuall trafique, the East may be ioyned and knit to the West.

Which priuileges, when as your most puissant Maiestie, by your letters and vnder your dispensation most liberally and fauourably granted to our Subiects of England, wee could no

lesse doe, but in that respect giue you as great thankes, as our heart could conceiue, trusting that it wil come to passe, that this order of trafique, so well ordeined, will bring with it selfe most great profits and commodities to both sides, as well to the parties subiect to your Empire, as to the Prouinces of our kingdome. Which thing that it may be done in plaine and effectuall maner, whereas some of our Subiects of late at Tripolis in Barbarie, and at Argier, were by the inhabitants of those places (being perhaps ignorant of your pleasure) euill intreated and grieuously vexed, wee doe friendly and louingly desire your Imperial Maiestie, that you will vnderstand their causes by our Ambassadour, and afterward giue commaundement to the Lieutenants and Presidents of those Prouinces, that our people may henceforth freely, without any violence, or iniurie, traueile, and do their businesse in those places.

And we againe with all endeuour, shall studie to performe all those things, which we shall in any wise vnderstand to be acceptable to your Imperiall Maiestie, which God, the onely maker of the world, most best and most great, long keepe in health, and flourishing. Given in our pallaice at London, the fift day of the moneth of September, in the yeere of IESVS CHRIST our Saviour, 1584. And of our raigne, the 26.

The Turkes letter to the King of Tripolis in Barbarie, commanding the restitution of an English ship, called the Iesus, with the men, and goods, sent from Constantinople, by Mahomet Beg, a Iustice of the Great Turkes, and an English Gentleman, called Master Edward Barton. Anno 1584.

HOnourable, and worthy Bassa Romadan Beglerbeg, most wise and prudent Iudge of the West Tripolis, wee wish the ende of all thy enterprises happie, and prosperous. By these our highnesse letters, wee certifie thee, that the right honourable, William Hareborne, Ambassadour in our most famous Porch, for the most excellent Queenes Maiestie of England, in person, and by letters hath certified our highnesse, that a certaine shippe, with all her furniture, and artillerie, worth two thousand duckets, arriuing in the port of Tripolis, and discharged of her lading and marchandize, paide our custome according to order, and againe, the marchants laded their shippe with oyle, which by constraint they were inforced to buy of you, and hauing answered in like maner the custome for the same, determined to depart: a Frenchman assistant to the Marchant, vnknowen to the Englishmen, caried away with him another Frenchman indebted to a certaine Moore in foure hundred duckets, and by force caused the Englishmen, and shippe to depart: who neither suspecting fraude, nor deceite, hoised sailes. In the meane time, this man, whose debter the Frenchman had stollen away, went to the Bassa with the supplication, by whose meanes, and force of the Castle, the Englishmen were constrained to returne into the port, where the Frenchman, author of the euill, with the Master of the ship an Englishman, innocent of the crime were hanged, and sixe and twentie Englishmen cast into prison, of whom through famine, thirst, and stinke of the prison, eleuen died, and the rest like to die. Further, it was signified to our Maiestie also, that the marchandise and other goods, with the shippe, were worth 7600. duckets: which things if they be so, this is our commandement, which was granted and giuen by our Maiestie, that the English shippe, and all the marchandize, and whatsoeuer else taken away bee wholy restored, and that the Englishmen be let goe free, and suffered to returne into their countrey. Wherefore when this our commaundement shall come vnto thee, wee straightly commaund, that the foresaid businesse be diligently looked vnto, and discharged. And if it be so, that a Frenchman, and no Englishman hath done this craft, and wickednesse vnknowen to the Englishmen, and as authour of the wickednesse is punished, and that the Englishmen committed nothing against the peace and league, or their articles: also if they payd custome according to order, it is against law, custome of Countreys, and their priuilege, to hinder or hurt them. Neither is it meete, their shippe, marchandise, and all their goods taken, should be withholden. We will therefore, that the English shippe, marchandize, and all other their goods, without exception, be restored to the Englishmen: also that the men bee let goe free, and if they will, let none hinder them, to returne peaceably into their Countrey: do not commit, that they another time complaine of this matter, and how this businesse is dispatched, certifie vs at our most famous porche.

Dated in the Citie of Constantinople, in the 992. yeere of Mahomet, and in the ende of the moneth of October; and in the yeere of IESVS 1584.

A letter of Master William Hareborne, the English Ambassadour, Ligier in Constantinople, to the Bassa Romadan, the Beglerbeg of Tripolis in Barbarie, for the restoring of an English shippe called the Iesus, with the goods, and men, detained as slaues, Anno 1585.

MOlto magnifico Signor,

Noi ha stato significato per diuerse lettere di quanto ha passato circa diuina naue nostra chiamata Iesus, sopra il quale in agiuto di Ricciardo Skegs, vno de gli nostri mercanti di essa gia morto, veniua vn certo Francese per sopra cargo, chiamato Romano Sonings, il quale per non esser ben portato secondo che doueua, volendo importer seco vn altro Francese debitore a certi vostri sensa pagarcene, per giusticia era appiccato col patron Inglese Andre Dier, che come simplice credendo al detto Francese, senza auedercene de la sua ria malitia non retornaua, quando da vostra magnifica Signoria gli era mandato. La morte del detto tristo Francese approuiamo como cosa benfatta. Ma al contrario, doue lei ha confiscato la detta naue e mercantia en essa, et fatto sciaui li marinari, como cosa molto contraria a li priuilegij dal Gran Signor quattro anni passati concessi, et da noi confirmati di parte de la Serenissima Magesta d'Ingilterra nostra patrona, e molto contraria a la liga del detto Gran Signor, il quale essendo dal sopra detto apieno informato, noi ha conceduto il suo regale mandamento di restitutione, la qual mandiamo a vostra magnifica Signoria col presente portator Edoardo Barton, nostro Secretario, et Mahumed Beg, droguemano di sua porta excelsa, con altre lettere del excellentissimo Vizir, et inuictissimo capitan di mar: chiedendo, tanto di parte del Gran Signor, quanto di sua Serenissima Magesta di V. S. M. che gli huomini, oglij, naue col fornimento, danare, et tutti altri beni qualconque, da lei et per vestro ordine da gli nostri tolti siano resi à questo mio Secretario liberamente senza empacho alcuno, como il Gran Signor da sua gratia noi ha conceduto, specialmente per esser detti oglij comprati per ordine di sua Serenissima Magestà, per prouisione della Corte sua. Il qual non facendo, protestiamo per questa nostra al incontra di esso tutti futuri danni che puono succedere per questa cagione, como authore di quelli, contrario à la Santa liga giurata de li duoi Rei, patroni nostri, como per li priuilegij, che lei mostrerà il nostra, consta: per obseruatione de gli quali noi

Edoardo Barton et Mahumed Beg.

stiamo di fermo en questa excelsa Porta. Et cosi responderete nel alro mondo al solo Iddio, et quà al Gran Signor questo massimo peccato commesso da lei al incontra di tanti poueracchi, che per questa crudeltà sono in parte morti, in parti retenuti da esso en duro cattiuerio. Al contrario, piacendo lei euitar questo incommodo et restarcene en gratia del Signor Iddio, et li nostri patroni, amicheuolmente, (como conuien à par vostro di mostrarsi prudente gouernatore, et fidel seruitor al patrono) ad impirete questa nostra giustissima domanda, per poter resultarui à grand honore et commodo per la tratta di marchantia, che faronno a laduenire li nostri in quella vostra prouincia. Li quali generalmente, tanto quelli, como tutti altri che nel mar riscontrarete, siano, secondo che manda il Grand Signor, de vostra Signoria magnifica amicheuolmente recolti et receuuti: Et noi non mancharemo al debito di ottimo amico en qualconche occurenza vostra, piacendo lei amicitia nostra como desideramo. Il Signor Iddio lei conceda (adimpiendo questa nostra giusta rechiesta, per cauar noi di piu futura fatica in questo negocio, et lei di disgratia) ogni vera felicità, et supremo honore. Data in Palazzo nostro che fu da Rapamat appresso Pera di 15. di Genero 1585.

Il Ambassiatore de la Majesta Serenissima d'Ingilterra, amico.
de vostra Signoria magnifica, piacendo lei.

The same in English.

RIght honourable Lord, it hath bene signified vnto vs by diuers letters, what hath fallen out, concerning a certaine shippe of ours, called the Iesus, into which, fore the helpe of Richard Skegs, one of our Marchants in the same, nowe deceased, there was admitted a certaine Frenchman called Romaine Sonnings, which for his ill behauiour, according to his deserts, seeking to cary away with him another Frenchman, which was indebted to certaine of your people, without paying his creditours, was hanged by sentence of iustice, together with Andrew Dier, the master of the said ship, who simply and without fraude, giuing credite to the said Frenchman, without any knowledge of his euil fact, did not returne when hee was commaunded, by your honourable Lordship. The death of the said lewde Frenchman we approue as a thing well done, but contrarywise, whereas your Lordship hath confiscated the said ship with the goods therein, and hath made slaues of the Mariners, as a thing altogether contrary to the priuileges of the

Grand Signior, granted foure yeeres since, and confirmed by vs on the behalfe of the most excellent the Queenes Maiestie of England our Mystresse, and altogether contrary to the league of the saide Grand Signior, who being fully informed of the aforesaid cause, hath granted vnto vs his royall commandement of restitution, which we send vnto your honourable Lordship, by the present bearer Edward Barton our Secretarie, and Mahomet Beg, one of the Iustices of his stately Court, with other letters of the most excellent Admirall, and most valiant Captaine of the Sea, requiring your honourable Lordship, as well on the behalfe of the Grand Signior, as of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, my Mystresse, that the men, oyles, shippe, furniture, money, and all other goods whatsoeuer, by your Lordship, and your order taken from our men, be restored vnto this my Secretary freely, without delay, as the Grand Signior of his goodnesse hath graunted vnto vs, especially in regard that the same oyles were bought by the commaundement of our Queenes most excellent Maiestie, for the prouision of her Court. Which if you performe not, wee protest by these our leters against you, that you are the cause of all the inconueniences which may ensue vpon this occasion, as the authour thereof, contrary to the holy league sworne by both our Princes, as by the priuileges, which this our seruant will shewe you, may appeare. For the seeing of which league performed, wee remaine here as Ligier in this stately Court. And by this meanes you shall answere in another world vnto God alone, and in this world vnto the Grand Signior, for this hainous sinne committed by you against so many poore soules, which by this your cruelty are in part dead, and in part detained by you in most miserable captiuitie. Contrarywise, if it shall please you to auoyd this mischiefe, and to remaine in the fauour of Almighty God, and of our Princes, you shall friendly fulfill this our iust demaund (as it behooueth you to shew your selfe a prudent Gouernour, and faithfull seruant vnto your Lord) and the same may turne to your great honour, and profite, by the trade of marchandize, which our men in time to come, may vse in that gouernment of yours: which generally, as well those poore men, as all others, which you shall meete at the sea, ought to be according to the commandement of the Grand Signior, friendly entertained and receiued of your honourable Lordship, and we will not faile in the dueties of a speciall friend, whensoeuer you shall haue occasion to vse vs, as we desire. Almighty God grant vnto your Lordship (in the fulfilling of this our iust request, whereby wee may be deliuered from further trouble in this matter, and your selfe from further displeasure) all true felicitie, and increase of honour.

Giuen in our Pallace from Rapamat in Pera,
the 15 of Ianuarie 1585.

The voyage passed by sea into Aegypt, by Iohn Euesham Gentleman. Anno 1586.

THe 5 of December 1586 we departed from Grauesend in the Tiger of London, wherein was Master vnder God for the voyage Robert Rickman, and the 21. day at night we came to the Isle of Wight: departing from thence in the morning following we had a faire winde, so that on the 27 day wee came in sight of the rocke of Lisbone, and so sayling along we came in sight of the South Cape, the 29 of the same, and on the morrowe with a Westerly winde we entered the straights: and the second of Ianuary being as high as Cape de Gate, we departed from our fleete towards Argier. And the 4 day we arriued at the port of Argier aforesaid, where we staied till the first of March. At which time we set saile towardes a place called Tunis, to the Eastward of Argier 100 leagues, where we arriued the 8 of the same. This Tunis is a small citie vp 12 miles from the sea, and at the port or rode where shipping doe ride, is a castle or fort called Goletta, sometimes in the handes of the Christians, but now of the Turkes; at which place we remained till the third of Aprill: at which time wee set saile towardes Alexandria, and hauing sometime faire windes, sometime contrary, we passed on the 12 day betweene Sicilia and Malta (where neere adioyning hath beene the fort and holde of the knights of the Rhodes) and so the 19 day we fell with the Isle of Candy, and from thence to Alexandria, where we arriued the 27 of April, and there continued till the 5 of October.

Tunis.

The said citie of Alexandria is an old thing decayed or ruinated, hauing bene a faire and great citie neere two miles in length, being all vauted vnderneath for prouision of fresh water, which water commeth thither but once euery yeere, out of one of the foure riuers of paradise (as it is termed) called Nilus, which in September floweth neere eighteene foote vpright higher then his accustomed manner, and

The description of Alexandria.

so the banke being cut, as it were a sluce, about thirty miles from Alexandria, at a towne called Rossetto, it doth so come to the saide Citie, with such aboundance, that barkes of twelue tunne doe come vpon the said water, which water doth fill all the vauts, cesternes, and wels in the said Citie, with very good water, and doth so continue good, till the next yeere following: for they haue there very litle raine or none at all, yet haue they exceeding great dewes. Also they haue uery good corne, and very plentifull; all the Countrey is very hot, especially in the moneths of August, September, and October. Also within the saide Citie there is a pillar of Marble, called by the Turkes, King Pharaoes needle, and it is foure square, euery square is twelue foote, and it is in height 90 foote. Also there is without the wals of the said Citie, about twentie score paces, another marble pillar, being ronnd, called Pompey his pillar: this pillar standeth vpon a great square stone, euery square is fifteene foote, and the same stone is fifteene foote high, and the compasse of the pillar is 37 foote, and the height of it is 101 feete, which is a wonder to thinke how euer it was possible to set the said pillar vpon the said square stone. The port of the said Citie is strongly fortified with two strong Castles, and one other Castle within the citie, being all very well planted with munition: and there is to the Eastward of this Citie, about three dayes iourney the citie of Grand Cayro, otherwise called Memphis: it hath in it by report of the registers bookes which we did see, to the number of 2400 Churches, and is wonderfully populous, and is one dayes iourney about the wals, which was iourneyed by one of our Mariners for triall thereof. Also neere to the saide citie there is a place called the Pyramides, being as I may well terme it, one of the nine wonders of the world: that is, seuen seuerall places of flint and marble stone, foure square, the wals thereof are seuen yards thicke in those places that we did see: the squarenes is in length about twentie score euery square, being built as it were a pointed diamond, broad at the foote, and small or narrow at the toppe: the heigth of them, to our iudgement, doth surmount twise the heighth of Paules steeple: within the said Pyramides, no man doth know what there is, for that they haue no entrance but in the one of them, there is a hole where the wall is broken, and so we went in there, hauing torch-light with vs, for that it hath no light to it, and within the same, is as it were a great hall, in the which there is a costly tombe, which tombe they say, was made

Cayro.

for king Pharao in his life time, but he was not buried there, being drowned in the red sea: also there are certaine vauts or dungeons, which goe downe verie deepe vnder those Pyramides with faire staires, but no man dare venter to goe downe into them, by reason that they can cary no light with them, for the dampe of the earth doth put out the light: the red sea is but three dayes iourney from this place, and Ierusalem about seuen dayes iourney from thence: but to returne to Cayro. There is a Castle wherein is the house that Pharaoes wiues were kept in, and in the Pallace or Court thereof stande 55 marble pillars, in such order, as our Exchange standeth in London: the said pillars are in heigth 60 foote, and in compasse 14 foote: also in the said Citie is the castle were Ioseph was in prison, where to this day they put in rich men, when the king would haue any summe of money of them: there are seuen gates to the sayd prison, and it goeth neere fiftie yardes downe right: also, the water that serueth this castle, commeth out of the foresaide riuer of Nilus, vpon a wall made with arches, fiue miles long, and it is twelue foote thicke. Also there are in old Cayro two Monasteries, the one called S. Georges, the other S. Maries: and in the Courts where the Churches be, was the house of king Pharao. In this Citie is great store of marchandize, especially pepper, and nutmegs, which come thither by land, out of the East India: and it is very plentifull of all maner of victuals, especially of bread, rootes, and hearbes: to the Eastwards of Cayro, there is a Well, fiue miles off called Matria, and as they say, when the Virgin Marie fled from Bethleem, and came into Ægypt, and being there, had neither water, nor any other thing to sustaine them, by the prouidence of God, an Angell came from heauen, and strake the ground with his wings, where presently issued out a fountaine of water: and the wall did open where the Israelites did hide themselues, which fountaine or well is walled foure square till this day. Also we were at an old Citie, all ruinated and destroyed, called in olde time, the great Citie of Carthage where Hannibal and Queene Dido dwelt: this Citie was but narrow, but was very long: for there was, and is yet to bee seene, one streete three mile long, to which Citie fresh water was brought vpon arches (as afore) aboue 25 miles, of which arches some are standing to this day. Also we were at diuers other places on the coast, as we came from Cayro, but of other antiquities we saw but few. The towne of Argier which was our

Carthage.

Argier.

first and last port, within the streights standeth vpon the side of an hill, close vpon the sea shore: it is very strong both by sea and land, and it is very well victualed with all manner of fruites, bread and fish good store, and very cheape. It is inhabited with Turkes, Moores, and Iewes, and so are Alexandria and Cayro. In this towne are a great number of Christian captiues, whereof there are of Englishmen onely fifteene, from which port we set sayle towardes England, the seuenth of Ianuarie, Anno 1587, and the 30 day of the sayd moneth, we arriued at Dartmouth on the coast of England.

The second voyage of M. Laurence Aldersey, to the Cities of Alexandria, and Cayro in Aegypt. Anno 1586.

I Embarked my selfe at Bristoll, in the Hercules, a good ship of London, and set saile the 21 day of Februarie, about ten of the clocke in the morning, hauing a merry winde: but the 23 day, there arose a very great storme, and in the mids of it we descried a small boate of the burden of ten tunnes, with foure men in her, in very great danger, who called a maine for our helpe. Whereupon our Master made towards them, and tooke them into our ship, and let the boate, which was laden with timber, and appertained to Chepstow, to runne a drift. The same night about midnight arose another great storme, but the winde was large with vs, vntill the 27 of the same moneth, which grew then somewhat contrary: yet notwithstanding we held on our course, and the tenth day of March, we described a saile about Cape Sprat, which is a little on this side the streight of Gibraltare, but we spake not with her. The next day we described twelue saile more, with whom we thought to haue spoken, to haue learned what they were, but they made very fast away, and we gaue them ouer.

Thursday the 16 of March, we had sight of the streights, and of the coast of Barbary. The 18 day we passed them, and sailed towards Patras. Vpon the 23 of March, we met with the Centurion of London which came from Genoa, by whom we sent letters to England, and the foure men also which we tooke in, vpon the coast of England, before-mentioned.

The 29th of March we came to Goleta a small Iland, and had sight of two shippes, which we iudged to be of England.

Tuesday the fourth of April, we were before Malta, and being there becalmed, our Maister caused the two ship boates to be had out, and they towed the ship, till we were out of sight of the Castle of Malta. The 9 day of April we came to Zante, and being before the towne, William Aldridge, seruant to Master Thomas Cordall of London, came aboord us, with whom our Master and twelue more of our company, thought to haue gone on shoare, but they could not be permitted: so we all came aboard againe, and went to Patras, where we arriued vpon good Friday, and lay there with good enterteinement at the English house, where was the Consull Master Grimes, Ralph Ashley, and Iohn Doddington, who very kindly went with vs, and shewed vs the pleasures of the towne.

They brought vs to the house of the Cady, who was made then to vnderstand of the 20 Turks that wee had aboard, which were to goe to Constantinople, being redeemed out of captiuitie, by sir Francis Drake in the West Indies, and brought with him into England, and by order of the Queenes Maiestie sent now into their Countrey. Whereupon the Cady commanded them to be brought before him, that he might see them: and when he had talked with them, and vnderstood howe strangely they were deliuered, he marueiled much, and admired the Queenes Maistie of England, who being but a woman, is notwithstanding of such power and renowne amongst all the princes of Christendome, with many other honourable wordes of commending her Maiestie. So he tooke the names of those 20. Turkes, and recorded them in their great bookes, to remaine in perpetuall memory. After this, our foresaid countreyman brought mee to the Chappel of S. Andrew where his tombe or sepulchre is, and the boord vpon which he was beheaded, which boord is now so rotten, that if any man offer to cut it, it falleth to powder, yet I brought some of it away with me.

Vpon Tuesday in Easter weeke, wee set out towards Zante againe, and the 24. of April with much adoe, wee were all permitted to come on shoare, and I was caried to the English house in Zante, where I was very well entertained. The commodities of Zante are Currants and oyle: the situation of the Towne is vnder a very great hill, vpon which standeth a very strong Castle, which commaundeth the Towne. At Zante wee tooke in a Captaine and 16. souldiers, with other passengers. Wee departed from Zante vpon Tuesday the 15. of April, and the next day we ankered at a small Iland, called Striualia, which is desolate of people, sauing a fewe religious men, who entertained vs well without taking any money: but of courtesie we bestowed somewhat vpon them for their maintenance, and then they gaue vs a couple of leane sheepe, which we caried aboord. The last day of Aprill, wee arriued at Candie, at a Castle, called Sowday, where wee set the Captaine, Souldiers, and Mariners ashoare, which wee tooke in at Zante, with all their carriage.

The Islands of Milo, in olde time called Sporades.

The second day of May wee set saile againe, and the fourth day came to the Islands of Milo, where we ankered, and found the people there very courteous, and tooke in such necessaries as we wanted. The Islands are in my iudgement a hundred in number, and all within the compasse of a hundred miles.

The 11. day, the Chaus, which is the greatest man there in authoritie, for certaine offences done in a little Chappell by the water side, which they saide one of our shippe had done, and imputed it to mee, because I was seene goe into it three dayes before, came to vs, and made much a doe, so that we were faine to come out of our shippe armed: but by three pieces of golde the brabling was ended, and we came to our shippe. This day wee also set saile, and the next day passed by the Castle of Serpeto, which is an old ruinated thing, and standeth vnder a hils side.

The 13. day we passed by the Island of Paris, and the Island of the bankes of Helicon, and the Island called Ditter, where are many boares, and the women bee witches. The same day also wee passed by the Castle of Timo, standing vpon a very high mountaine, and neere vnto it is the Island of Diana.

The 15. of May, wee came to Sio, where I stayed thirtie and three dayes. In it is a very proper Towne, after the building of that Countrey, and the people are civil: and while we were here there came in sixe Gallies, which had bene at Alexandria, and one of them which was the Admiral, had a Prince of the Moores prisoner, whom they tooke about Alexandria, and they meant to present him to the Turke. The towne standeth in a valley, and a long the water side pleasantly. There are about 26. winde-mils about it, and the commodities of it are cotton wooll, cotton yarne, mastike, and some other drugs.

As we remained at Sio, there grew a great controuersie betweene the mariners of the Hercules, and the Greekes of the towne of Sio, about the bringing home of the Turkes, which the Greekes took in ill part, and the boyes cried out, Viue el Re Philippe:

whereupon our men beate the boyes, and threwe stones, and so a broile beganne, and some of our men were hurt: but the Greekes were fetcht out of their houses, and manacled together with yrons, and threatned to the Gallies: about fortie of them were sent to the prison, and what became of them when we were gone, we know not, for we went thence within two dayes after, which was the 19. of Iune.

The 20. day wee passed by the Island of Singonina, an Island risen by the casting of stones in that place: the substance of the ground there is brimstone, and burneth sometimes so much that it bloweth vp the rockes.

The 24. of Iune wee came to Cyprus, and had sight in the way of the aforesaide sixe Gallies, that came from Alexandria, one whereof came vnto vs, and required a present for himselfe, and for two of the other Gallies, which we for quietnesse sake gaue them.

The 27. of Iune, wee came to Tripolie, where I stayed till the fift of Iuly, and then tooke passage in a smal barke called a Caramusalin, which was a passage boat, and was bound for Bichieri, thirteene miles on this side Alexandria, which boate was fraighted with Turkes, Moores, and Iewes.

The 20. day of Iuly, this barke which I passed in ranne vpon a rocke, and was in very great danger, so that we all began some to be ready to swimme, some to leape into the shippe boate, but it pleased God to set vs quickly off the rocke, and without much harme.

The 28. of Iuly I came to Bichieri, where I was well entertained of a Iewe which was the Customer there, giuing me Muskadine, and drinking water himselfe: hauing broken my fast with him, he prouided mee a Camell for my carriage, and a Mule for mee to ride vpon, and a Moore to runne by me to the City of Alexandria, who had charge to see mee safe in the English house, whether I came, but found no Englishmen there: but then my guide brought me aboord a ship of Alderman Martins, called the Tyger of London, where I was well receiued of the Master of the said ship, whose name was Thomas Rickman, and of all the company.

The English house in Alexandria.

The said Master hauing made me good cheere, and made me also to drinke of the water of Nilus, hauing the keyes of the English house, went thither with me himselfe, and appointed mee a faire chamber, and left a man with me to prouide me all things that I needed, and euery day came himselfe to me, and caried me into the City, and shewed me the monuments thereof, which be these.

The monuments of Alexandria.

Hee brought mee first to Pompey his pillar, which is a mighty thing of gray marble, and all of one stone, in height by estimation about 52. yards, and the compasse about sixe fadome.

The City hath three gates, one called the gate of Barbaria, the other of Merina, and the thirde of Rossetto.

He brought me to a stone in the streete of the Citie, whereupon S. Marke was beheaded: to the place where S. Katerine died, hauing there hid herselfe, because she would not marry: also to the Bath of S. Katerine.

I sawe there also Pharaos needle, which is a thing in height almost equall with Pompeys pillar, and is in compasse fiue fadome, and a halfe, and all of one stone.

I was brought also to a most braue and daintie Bath, where we washed our selues: the Bath being of marble, and of very curious workemanship.

The Citie standeth vpon great arches, or vawtes, like vnto Churches, with mightie pillars of marble, to holde vp the foundation: which arches are built to receiue the water of the riuer of Nilus, which is for the vse of the Citie. It hath three Castles, and an hundred Churches: but the part that is destroyed of it, is sixe time more then that part which standeth.

The last day of Iuly, I departed from Alexandria towards Cayro in a passage boate, wherein first I went to Rossetto, standing by the riuer side, hauing 13. or 14. great churches in it, their building there is of stone and bricke, but as for lodging, there is little, except we bring it with vs.

From Rosetto wee passed along the riuer of Nilus, which is so famous in the world, twise as broad as the Thames at London: on both sides grow date trees in great abundance. The people be rude, insomuch that a man cannot traueile without a Ianizary to conduct him.

The Turkes Lent.

The time that I stayed in Ægypt, was the Turkes and Moores Lent, in all which time they burne lamps in their churches, as many as may hang in them: their Lent endureth 40. dayes, and they haue three Lents in the yere: during which time they neither eate nor drinke in the day time, but all the night they do nothing else.

Betwixt Rossetto and Cayro there are along the water side three hundred cities and townes, and the length of the way is not aboue three hundred miles.

To this famous Citie of Cayro I came the fift day of August, where I found M. William Alday, and William Cæsar, who intertained me in very good sort. M. Cæsar brought mee to see the Pyramides which are three in number, one whereof king Pharao made for his owne tombe, the tombe it selfe is almost in the top of it: the monuments bee high and in forme 4. square, and euery of the squares is as long as a man may shoote a rouing arrowe, and as high as a Church, I sawe also the ruines of the Citie of Memphis hard by those Pyramides.

The house of Ioseph is yet standing in Cayro, which is a sumptuous thing, hauing a place to walke in of 56. mighty pillars, all gilt with gold, but I saw it not, being then lame.

The 11. day of August the lande was cut at Cayro, to let in the water of the riuer of Nilus, which was done with great ioy and triumph.

The 12. of August I set from Cayro towards Alexandria againe, and came thither the 14. of August. The 26. day there was kept a great feast of the Turkes and Moores, which lasted two dayes, and for a day they neuer ceased shooting off of great Ordinance.

The English Consul at Argier.

From Alexandria I sailed to Argier, where I lay with M. Typton Consull of the English nation, who vsed me most kindly, and at his owne charge. Hee brought mee to the kings Court, and into the presence of the King, to see him, and the maners of the Court: the King doeth onely beare the name of a king, but the greatest gouernment is in the hands of the souldiers.

The king of Potanca is prisoner in Argier, who comming to Constantinople, to acknowledge a duety to the great Turke, was betrayed by his owne nephew, who wrote to the Turke, that he went onely as a spy, by that meanes to get his kingdome, I heard at Argier of seuen Gallies that were at that time cast away at a towne called Formentera: three of them were of Argier, the other foure were the Christians.

We found here 13. Englishmen, which were by force of weather put into the bay of Tunis, where they were very ill vsed by the Moores, who forced them to leaue their barke: whereupon they went to the Councell of Argier, to require a redresse and remedy for the iniurie. They were all belonging to the shippe called the

Golden Noble of London, whereof Master Birde is owner. The Master was Stephen Haselwood, and the Captaine Edmond Bence.

The thirde day of December, the pinnesse called the Moone-shine of London, came to Argier with a prize, which they tooke vpon the coast of Spaine, laden with sugar, hides, and ginger: the pinnesse also belonging to the Golden Noble: and at Argier they made sale both of shippe and goods, where wee left them at our comming away, which was the seuenth day of Ianuarie, and the first day of February, I landed at Dartmouth, and the seuenth day came to London, with humble thankes to Almightie God, for my safe arriuall.

A letter of the English Ambassadour to M. Haruie Millers, appointing him Consull for the English nation in Alexandria, Cairo, and other places of Egypt.

HAuing to appoint our Consull in Cayro, Alexandria, Egypt, and other parts adiacent, for the safe protection of body and goods of her Maiesties subiects; being well perswaded of your sufficient abilitie; in her Maiesties name I doe elect and make choise of you, good friend Haruie Millers, to execute the same worshipfull office, as shall be required for her Maiesties better seruice, the commodity of her subiects, and my contentation: hauing and enioying for merit of your trauell in the premises the like remuneration incident to the rest of ours in such office in other parts of this Empire. Requiring you (all other affaires set aside) to repaire thither with expedition, and attend vpon this your charge, which the Almighty grant you well to accomplish. For the due execution whereof, wee heerewith send you the Grand Signiors Patent of priuilege with ours, and what els is needfull therefore, in so ample maner, as any other Consull whosoeuer doeth or may enioy the same. In ayd whereof, according to my bounden duety to her Maiesty our most gracious Mistresse, I will be ready alwayes to employ my selfe to the generall benefit of her Maiesties subiects, for your maintenance in all iust causes incident to the same. And thus eftsoones requiring and commanding you as aboue sayd, to performe my request, I bid you most heartily well to fare, and desire God to blesse you. From my mansion Rapamat night Pera this 25 of April 1583.

A letter to the right honourable William Hareborne her Maiesties Ambassadour with the Grand Signior from Alger.

RIght honorable, we haue receiued your honors letters dated in Constantinople the 5. of Nouember, and accordingly deliuered that inclosed to the king of this place, requiring of him, according as you did command vs in her Maiesties name, that he would vouchsafe to giue order to all his Captaines and Raies that none of them should meddle with our English shippes comming or going to or from these parts, for that they haue order not to passe by the Christian coast, but vpon the coast of Barbary, and shewing him of the charter giuen by the Grand Signior, requiring him in like case that for the better fulfilling of the amity, friendship and holy league betweene the Grand Signior and her Maiesty, he would giue vs fiue or six safe-conducts for our ships, that meeting with any of his gallies or galliots, they might not meddle with them neither shoot at them: who made me answere he would neither giue me any safe-conduct nor commission to his men of war not to meddle with them, for that he trusted to take some of them this yere, and made good account thereof. In like maner I spake to the chiefe of the Ianisers and the Leuents, who made me answere, the best hope they had this yere was to take some of them, and although they haue the Grand Signiors commandement we care not therefore: for we will by policy, or one meanes or other prouoke them to shoot some ordinance, which if they do but one piece, the peace is broken, and they be good prizes. And some of them say further, we care not for his safe-conduct, for if they shew it vs, we will conuey it away, we are sure the dogs cannot be beleeued against vs. The premisses considered, your honour is with all speed to procure the Grand Signior his fauorable letters directed to Hazan, the Cady, Captaines, Ianisers, and Leuents, and another like to Romadan Bassa, king of Tripolis, commanding them in no maner whatsoeuer to deale with our English ships bound into those parts or returning thence with their commodities, although they should shoot one at another: for when our ships shall meet them, for that, as your honor is aduertised, the gallies of Carthagena, Florence, Sicilia and Malta haue made a league to take all our ships comming in or going out of the Grand Signiors dominions, therefore if they meet with any of these gallies of Alger or Tripolis, thinking they be of them, and not knowing them a far off, they may shoot at them, which if therefore they should make them prizes, were against Gods lawes, the Grand Signior his league, all reason and conscience, considering that all the world doth know that Marchants ships laden with marchandise do not seeke to fight with men of warre, but contrariwise to defend themselues from them, when they would do them harme. Wherefore if your honour do not get out two letters of the Grand Signior as aforesayd, and send them hither with all speed by some one of your gentlemen accompanied with a chaus of the Court, or some other of the Grand Signiors seruants, it is impossible that our English ships can escape freely from these or the Christians: for either they must of force go on the Christian coast, and so fall into their hands, or els on this coast, and fall into the kings of this towne, or Tripolis, their hands which if they should, will neuer be recouered. And if your honor cannot obtaine this thing, I beseech your honour in the behalfe of all the English marchants (who sent me hither to follow such order as your honour should giue me) to certifie her Maiesty, to the end that they may be commanded to leaue off traffique, and not to lose their goods, and her poore subiects the Mariners. And thus humbly taking my leaue, I desist from troubling your honor. From Algier the tenth of February 1583.

A letter of M. Harborne to Mustapha, challenging him for his dishonest dealing in translating of three of the Grand Signior his commandements.

DOmine Mustapha, nescimus quid sibi velit, cum nobis mandata ad finem vtilem concessa perperàm reddas, quæ male scripta, plus damni, quàm vtilitatis adferant: quemadmodum constat ex tribus receptis mandatis, in quibus summum aut principale deest aut aufertur. In posterum noli ita nobiscum agere. Ita enim ludibrio erimus omnibus in nostrum et tuum dedecus. Cum nos multarum actionum spem Turcicè scriptarum in tua prudentia reponimus, ita prouidere debes, vt non eueniant huiusmodi mala. Quocirca deinceps cum mandatum aut scriptum aliquod accipias, verbum ad verbum conuertatur in Latinum sermonem, ne damnum insequatur. Nosti multos habere nos inimicos conatibus nostris inuidentes, quorum malitiæ vestræ est prudentiæ aduersari. Hi nostri, Secretarius et minimus interpres ex nostra parte dicent in tribus illis receptis mandatis errata. Vt deinceps similes errores non eueniant precamur. Ista emendes, et cætera Serenissimæ regiæ Maiestatis negocia, vti decet vestræ conditionis hominem, meliùs cures. Nam vnicuique suo officio strenuè est laborandum vt debito tramite omnia succedant: quod spero te facturum. Bene vale.

The Pasport in Italian granted to Thomas Shingleton Englishman, by the king of Algier. 1583.

NOi Assan Basha Vicere et lochotenente e capitan della iurisditione de Algier doniamo e concediamo libero saluo condutto a Thomas Shingleton mercadante, che possi con suo vassello e marinare de che natione se siano, e mercadantia di qual si voglia natione, andare et venire, e negotiari, e contrattare liberamente in questa citta de Algier et altri locha de la nostra iurisditione cosi di ponente comi di Leuante: et cosi anchora commandiamo al capitan di maare di Algier et d'altri lochi de nostra iurisditione, Rais de Vasselli et Capitani de Leuante, et altri capitani di vasselli tanto grossi como picholi, si commanda a qual si voglia, che truando il sopradetto Thomas Shingleton Inglese nelli mari di Genua, Francia Napoli, Calabria, e Sardigna con suo vassello e mercantia, et homini de che nationi si siano, non gli debba molestare, ne piggliare, ne toccare cosa de nessuna manero tanto di denare, como di qual si voglia altra robba, sotto la pena e disgratia di perdir la vita et la robba: Et per quanto hauete a caro la gratia del Gran Signor nostro patronc Soltan Murates Ottomano, lo lasciarete andare per suo camino senza dargli nessuno impedimento. Dato in Algieri in nostro regio Palazzo, sigillato del nostro reggio sigillo, e fermato della gran ferma, et scritto del nostro reggio Secretario, il di 23 de Ienaro, 1583.

The same in English.

WE Assan Bassha Viceroy and lieutenant, and captaine of the iurisdiction of Algier, giue and grant free safeconduct to Thomas Singleton marchant, that with his ship and mariners, of what nation soeuer they be, and with his marchandize of what countrey soeuer, he may go and come, and trade and traffique freely in this city of Algier, and other places of our iurisdiction, as well of the West as of the East. And in like sort we further command the captaine of the sea of Algier, and other places of our iurisdiction, the Reiz of vessels and captaines of the Leuant, and other captaines of vessels aswell great as small, whosoeuer they be, we do command them, that finding the forsayd Thomas Shingleton Englishman in the seas of Genua, France, Naples, Calabria, and Sardinia, with his ship and merchandize, and men of what nation soeuer they be, that they molest them not, neither take nor touch any kind of thing of theirs, neither money nor any other kind of goods, vnder paine and peril of loosing of their liues and goods: and as you make account of the fauour of the Grand Signor our lord Sultan Murates Hottoman, so see you let him passe on his way without any maner of impediment. Dated at Alger in our kingly palace, signed with our princely Signet, and sealed with our great seale, and writen by our Secretarie of estate, the 23. of Ianuarie, 1583.

A letter written in Spanish by Sir Edward Osborne, to the king of Alger, the 20. of Iuly, 1584. in the behalfe of certeine English captiues there detained.

MVy alto y poderoso Rey,

Sea seruida vostra alteza. Como la muy alta y poteutissima magestad del Gran Sennor tiene hecho articulos de priuilegios con la Serenissima Magestad de nuestra Reyna d'Inglatierra, para los vassalos della poder libremente yr y boluer, y tratar por mar y tierra en los dominios de su potentissima Magestad, Como a la clara paresce por los dichos articulos, de che embiamos el tractado al Senor Iuan Tipton nuestro commissario, para le muestrar a vostra Alteza. Contra el tenor de los quales articulos por dos galeras de su ciudad de Alger ha sido hechado al fondo en la mar vn des nuestros nauios que venia de Patras, que es en la Morea, cargado de corintes y otras mercaderias, que alla se compraron, y las mas de la gente del la matados y ahogados en la mar, y el resto est an detenidos por esclauos: cosa muy contraria a los dichos articulas y priuilegios. Que es occasion, que por esto supplicamos a vostra Alteza muy humilmente, que, pues que la potentissimo magestad del grand Sennor es seruida nos fauorescer por los dichos articulos, tambien sea seruida vostra Alteza assistirnos en ellos, otorgandonos por vostra autoridad su auida y fauor, segun que esperamos, para que puedan estar libres, y boluer para aca aquellos pobres hombres ansi hechos esclauos, como dicho es. Y ansi mismo, que mande vostra Alteza dar orden a los capitanes, maestres y gente de las galeras, que nos dexen de

aqui adelante hazer nuestro trafico con seys naos cada anno para Turquia a los dominios del Gran Sennor a paz y a saluo, por no cotrariar a los dichos nuestros priuilegios, Lleuando cada vna de nuestras dichas naos por se conoscer vn saluo condutto de su alta et potentissima magestad. Y con esta vostra tan senallada merced y fauor que en esso reciberemos, quedaremos nosotros con grandissima obligation a vostra Alteza de seruir la por ello, segun que el dicho Sennor Iuan Tipton, a quien nos reportamos de todo lo demas, mejor informrra vostra Alteza: Cuya serenissima persona y estado supplicamos y pidimos a Dios omnipotente prosperu y accrescente con toda felicitad y honra. Del la ciuidad de Londres a los veynte dias de Iulio del mil y quinientos y ochenta y quatro annos.

Al seruitio de vuestra Alteza per y en nombre de todos
los tratantes en Tutquia, lo el Mayor de Londres,
Edward Osborne.

The same in English.

RIght high and mightie king,

May it please your highnesse to vnderstand, that the most high and most mightie maiestie of the Grand Signor hath confirmed certaine articles of priuileges with the most excellent maiestie of our Queene of England, that her subjects may freely go and come, and traffique by sea and land in the dominions of his most mighty maiesty, as appeareth more at large by ye said articles, whereof we haue sent the copy vnto M. Ioh, Tipton our Commissarie to shew the same vnto your highnes. Against the tenor of which articles, one of our ships wnich came from Patras which is in Morea, laden with corants and other merchandizes which were bought in those parts, was sunke by 2. gallies of your citie of Alger, and the greatest number of the men thereof were slain and drowned in the sea, the residue being detained as slaues: An acte very contrary to the meaning of the aforesaid articles and priuileges: which is the occasion that by these presents we beseech your highnesse very humbly that since it hath pleased the most mightie maiestie of the Grand Signor to fauour vs with the sayd priuileges, it would please your Highnesse in like maner to assist vs in the same, graunting vs by your authoritie, your ayde and fauour, according as our hope is that these poore men so detained in captiuitie, as

An English ship sunke by two gallies of Alger.

is aforesald, may be set at libertie, and returne into their countrey. And lidewise that your highnesse would send to giue order to the captaines, masters and people of your gallies, that from henceforth they would suffer vs to vse our trafflque with sixe ships yerely into Turkie vnto the dominions of the Grand Signor in peace and safetie, that they do not withstand those our said priuileges, euery one of our foresaid ships carying with them a passeport of his most high and most mightie maiestie to be knowen by. And for that your so singular fauour and curtesie which in so doing we shall receiue, we on our part with all bounden duetie vnto your highnesse, will seeke to honour you in that behalfe, according as the sayd Master Iohn Tipton (to whom wee referre our selues touching all other circumstances) shall more at large informe your highnesse, whose most excellent person and estate, we pray and beseech Almighty God to prosper and increase with all felicitie and honour. From the Citie of London, the 20. of Iuly, 1584.

At the seruice of your highnesse, for and in the name of
our whole company trading into Turkie, I Maior of
London. Edward Osburne.

Notes concerning the trade of Alger.

THe money that is coined in Alger is a piece of gold called Asiano, and Doublaes, and two Doublaes make an Asiano, but the Doubla is most vsed, for all things be sold by Doublaes, which Doubla is fiftie of their Aspers there.

The Asper there is not so good by halfe and more, as that in Constantinople; for the Chekin of gold of the Turkes made at Constantinople is at Alger worth an 150 Aspers, and at Constantinople, it is but 66. Aspers.

The pistolet and roials of plate are most currant there.

The said pistolet goeth for 130. Aspers there: and the piece of 4 roials goeth for 40 Aspers, but oftentimes is sold for more, as men need them to carie vp into Turkie.

Their Asianos and Doublaes are pieces of course gold, worth here but 40. s. the ounce, so the same is currant in no place of Turkie out of the kingdom of Alger, neither the Aspers, for that they be lesse then others be, for they coine them in Alger.

The custome to the king is inward 10. per centum, to the

Turke, to be paid of the commoditie it selfe, or as it shall be rated.

There is another custome to the Ermine, of one and an halfe per centum, which is to the Iustice of the Christians: the goods for this custome are rated as they are for the kings custome.

Hauing paid custome inwards, you pay none outwards for any commoditie that you doe lade, more then a reward to the gate keepers.

The waight there is called a Cantare for fine wares, as mettals refined, and spices &c. which is here 120. li. subtil.

Mettall not refined, as lead, iron, and such grosse wares, are sold by a great Cartare, which is halfe as big againe: so it is 180. li. subtil of ours here.

The measure of corne is by a measure called a Curtia, which is about 4. bushels of our measure, and corne is plentiful there and good cheape, except when there hapneth a very dry yeere.

The surest lodging for a Christian theee is in a Iewes house: for if he haue any hurt, the Iew and his goods shall make it good, so the Iew taketh great care of the Christian and his goods that lieth in his house, for feare of punishment.

An Englishman called Thomas Williams, which is M. Iohn Tiptons man, lieth about trade of merchandize in the streete called The Soca of the Iewes.

Notes concerning the trade in Alexandria.

ALexandria in Egypt is a free port, and when a man commeth within the castles, presently the Ermyn sends aboord to haue one come and speake with him to know what goods are aboord: and then hee will set guards aboord the ship to see all the goods discharged. And then from the Ermin you goe to the Bye,* onely for that he will inquire newes of you, and so from thence to the Consuls house where you lie. The Venetians haue a Consul themselues. But all other nations goe to the French nations Consul, who will giue you a chamber for your selues apart, if you will so haue it.

*This is another officer.

The customs inward of all commodities are ten in the hundred, and the custome is paid in wares also that you buy: for the same wares in barter you pay also ten in the hundred, at the lading of the wares.* But if you sell for mony, you pay no more custome but the ten aforesaid, and one and a halfe in the hundred, which is for the custome of the goods you lade for the sayd mony, for more custome you pay not. But for all the money you bring thither you pay nothing for the custome of the same. And if you sell your wares for mony, and with the same money buy wares, you pay but two in the hundred for the custome thereof. And if you steale any custome, if it be taken, you pay double custome for that you steale.

---

* *Marginal note.*—Other smal customs you pay besides, which may be at two in the hundred: and for Consulage you pay two in the hundred.

The weight of Alexandria is called Pois Forforeine, which is a kintal in that place, which maketh at Marseils 109. li. of Marseils waight, at 15 ounces the pound, which is 103. li. of 16. ounces to the li. There is another waight called Pois Gerrin, which is 150. li. of Marseils waight, by which are sold all things to eate: but spice is sold by the former waight.

From Alexandria to Cairo is three daies iourney, but you must take a Ianissarie with you: and to go vp thither by water it is 8. dayes iourney. Roials of Spaine are currant mony there, and are the best money you can cary. And 4. roials are worth 13. Medins, and 2. Medins, are 3. Aspers. Pistolets and crownes of France and Dollers will goe, but of all Roials are best.

Rice is not permitted to goe out of the land, but is kept for a victuall. But with a present to the Bye and Ermine some may passe.

All sortes of spices be garbled after the bargaine is made, and they be Moores which you deale withall, which be good people and not ill disposed. And after you be searched and haue leaue to passe, you must presently depart out of the port, and if you doe not, they will search you againe. And you must depart in the day, for in the night the castles will not suffer you to depart. The duetie to the Consul is 2 in the hundred, for his aide, and meate, and drinke and all. And the port of Alexandria is good when one is within it with good ankers and cables. Siluer is better currant then gold in Alexandria, but both are good.

Commonly the Carauans come thither in October from Mecca to Cairo, and from thence to Alexandria, where the merchants be that buy the spices, and therefore the spices are brought most to Alexandria, where each Christian nation remaineth at the Consuls houses. Yet oftentimes the christians go vp to Cairo to buy drugs and other commodities there, as they see cause. And the commodities there vendible are all sorts of kersies, but the most part blewes, and of clothes all colours except mingled colours and blacks. Pepper is vsually sold for 24. ducats the quintal, Ginger for 14. ducats. You must take canuas to make bags to put your commoditie in from Alexandria, for there is none. There is also fine flaxe, and good store of Buffe hides.

A letter of the English ambassador to M. Edward Barton.

Master Barton I send you 3. commandements in Turkish, with a copy thereof in English, to the ende our ships might not come in danger of breach of league, if they should shoote at the gallies of those of Algier, Tunis, and Tripolis in the West: which after you haue shewed the Bassas, receiue againe into your hands, and see them registred, and then deliuer one of them to our friend M. Tipton, and the like you are to do with the priuilege which you cary with you, and see them icintly registred in the Cadies booke, deliuering the copy of the said priuilege sealed by the Cadi, also to the sayd our friend M. Tipton, taking a note of his hand for the receipt thereof, and for deliuerie at all times to vs or our assignes. And require them in her maiesties and the grand Signors name, that they will haue our ships passing too and fro vnder licence and safeconduct for recommended in friendly maner. Touching your proceedings in Tripolis with Romadan, as I haue not receiued any aduise thereof, since your departure, so must I leaue you to God and my former direction. The ship patronised of Hassan Rayes, which you wrote to be ours, prooued to be a Catalonian. As for ours, by report of that Hassan and other Iewes in his ship, it was affirmed to be sold to the Malteses, which with the rest you are to receiue there. And hauing ended these affaires and registred our priuilege, and these three commandements, in Tripolis, Tunis, and Alger, I pray you make speedy returne, and for that which may be recouered, make ouer the same either to Richard Rowed for Patrasso in Morea, or otherwise hither to Iohn Bate in the surest maner you may, if the registring of that your priuilege and these commandements will not suffer you in person to returne with the same. From my mansion Rapamat in Pera this 24. of Iune 1584.

The commaundement obtained of the Grand Signior by her Maiesties ambassador M. Wil. Hareborne, for the quiet passing of her subiects to and from his dominions, sent in An. 1584. to the Viceroyes of Algier, Tunis, and Tripolis in Barbary.

To our Beglerbeg of Algier.

WE certifie thee by this our commandement, that the right honorable Will. Hareborne ambassador to the Queenes maiestie of England hath signified vnto vs, that the ships of that countrey in their comming and returning to and from our Empire, on the one part of the Seas haue the Spaniards, Florentines, Sicilians, and Malteses, on the other part our countreis committed to your charge : which abouesaid Christians will not quietly suffer their egresse and regresse, into, and out of our dominions, but doe take and make the men captiues, and forfeit the shippes and goods, as the last yeere the Maltese did one, which they tooke at Gerbi, and to that end do continually lie in wait for them to their destruction, whereupon they are constrained to stand to their defence at any such time as they might meet with them. Wherefore considering by this means they must stand vpon their guard, when they shall see any gallie afarre off, whereby if meeting with any of your gallies and not knowing them, in their defence they do shoot at them, and yet after when they doe certainly know them, do not shoote any more, but require to passe peaceably on their voiage, which you would deny, saying, the peace is broken because you haue shot at vs, and so make prize of them contrary to our priuileges, and against reason : for the preuenting of which inconuenience the said ambassadour hath required this our commaundement. We therefore command thee, that vpon sight hereof thou doe not permit any such matter in any sort whatsoeuer, but suffer the sayd Englishmen to passe in peace according to the tenour of our commandement giuen, without any disturbance or let by any meanes vpon the way, although that meeting with thy gallies, and not knowing them afarre off, they taking them for enemies should shoote at them, yet shall you not suffer them to hurt them therefore, but quietly to passe. Wherefore looke thou that they may haue right, according to our priuilege giuen them, and finding any that absenteth himself, and wil not obey this our commandement, presently certify vs to our porch, that we may giue order for his punishment, and with reuerence giue faithfull credite to this our commandement, which hauing read, thou shalt againe returne it vnto them that present it. From our palace in Constantinople, the 1. of Iune 1584.

A letter of the honorable M. Wil. Hareborne her maiesties ambass. with the grand Signior to M. Tipton, appointing him Consul of the English in Algier, Tunis, and Tripolis of Barbarie.

MAster Tipton, I haue receiued among others, yours of the 10. of Nouember 1584. by Soliman Sorda, certifying the receipt of mine of the 24. of Iune 1584. with the 3. commandements, which not being registred, let it now be done. Where you write the force of the priuilege to be broken by our ships in shooting, and therefore be lawfully taken, you are deceiued, for of those taken in then, hath the grand Signior now deliuered vs free, Wil. Moore, and Rob. Rawlings, and further promised the rest in like case, wheresoeuer they be, and that hereafter no violence shalbe shewed, considering ours be merchants ships which go peaceably in their voiage, and were ignorant of the orders of Algier, neither knew afar off, whether they were friends or the Christians gallies in league with vs, of whom they most doubted, who not suffring our ships to come into these parts, wil make prize of the goods and captiue the men, so as they are not to let them come nigh them: and since ours haue not done contrary to the articles of the same priuilege, wherein is no order for Algier prescribed vs, as both by the originall now sent vs, and also by the copy now sent you from London you may perceiue, they according to right are as abouesaid to be set free, and their goods restored, which if it be not there accomplished as the grand Signior hath now commanded, and most faithfully promised, neither yet in case of their denial, those offenders punished here, and our iniuries redressed, we are to demand our Congie, and command our merchants her maiesties subiects, to end their traffike here, which in our countrey commodities is prooued and found by the great Signior to be so beneficial to his countries as we are assured so well thereof, as also for the honor which his ancestors neuer had of friendship with so mighty a prince as is her maiesty, he wil not but maintaine

ye faith promised her, and the intercourse in due force. And where you say y^t the grand Signor his letters, in the behalf of the French, were no more accepted there, then of a mean man, nor tooke no place, that is not material to vs, our letters are after another sort much more effectuall. For our case and theirs be found far different, in y^t they be not onely now out of fauour with him, but also the commodities which they bring hither, as sugar, paper, bracelets, ropes of bast, almonds, &c., all which may be here wel spared, and we contrarily so wel esteemed, as he neuer denied vs any thing since our comming demanded, which neither their ambassador, nor the Venetian could haue here, and therefore we rest perswaded, knowing the wisdom of the Beglebeg, who is aduised by his friends from hence, of this our credite w^t his master, he wil so respect his commandements, as to accomplish ye tenor thereof according to our desire. And where you say y^t the Ianizers rule all there, I know right wel y^t if things be not done as the grand Signior commandeth, his lieutenant must answer it. And therefore I am fully perswaded if he doe what he may they dare not resist him, for if they should, those rebels should not be vnpunished of ye grand Signior. And though they speake their pleasures among themselues there, yet they be not so brutish, but they wel consider that their master ye grand Signior may not be gainsaid or mocked of any. For vpon his word dependeth the life or death euen of the chiefest, as I have seene since my comming hither. So whatsoeuer these Ianizaries say, they will be better aduised in their deedes then to withstand their Viceroy, if he himselfe wil vse his lawfull power, which if hee doe not, hee cannot purge himselfe here of their euill proceedings against the grand Signiors friends: for the feet may not rule the bodie, but contrarywise, the head, the feete, and all the rest of the members. And for that neither for feare, affection or otherwise you omit as a faithfull true subiect to her maiestie to do your dutie, I do by my warrant going herewith charge you, and in her maiesties name, to the vttermost to vse your good and faithfull endeuour, as becommeth a true subiect, and in all things that may concerne her maiesties good seruice, assisting the Chaus with the rest of our messengers in counsel, trauel, and what els shall be thought requisite for your good discharge of your duetie. And to ye end you may boldly proceed herein as also for the good opinion sir Edward Osborne and the company haue of you, and I no lesse perswaded of youre wisedome, vpright dealing, and good experience in those parts, do send you herewith the grand Signiors and our patents for exercising the office of Consul there, in Tripolis and Tunis: by virtue of which authoritie you may without feare proceed as the office doeth chalenge in defence of our priuilege, to redresse all iniuries offred our nation. Which if you cannot get reformed there of ye Beglerbies vpon your complaint, I thereof aduertised, shal doe it here, and to the vttermost maintaine you in al rightful causes whatsoeuer, doubt you not. And hereafter according to your aduise, I wil and doe giue our ships order not to fight with any gallies of Alger, but to hoise out their skiffe and go aboord to shew them their safeconduct, and to present the captain with a garment, and you there in such like case are to take order that they do not forceably take any thing from them. Nothing doubting but the Viceroy (whose friendship in her maiesties behalfe I desire) will not onely performe the same your iust request, and according to right, restore to libertie our men since the priuilege taken, but also cause those y^t tooke and sunke our ships to answere the value, which I haue set down truly, and rather with the least in the Inuentorie translated into Turkish, whereof the inclosed is the copy in Engiish, which I send to the end you may be the better informed of my demand by this our Chaus Mahomet, with whom in all things you are to conferre of matters expedient, for the honor of her maiesties countrey, and the commoditie, and libertie of poore captiues, which if the Viceroy do wel consider, according to his wisdome, as the grand Signior doeth thereof, he shal wel perceiue it not onely a great honour to his master as aforesaid, to continue this amitie with her maiestie, but chiefly to the whole estate of his kingdom exceeding profitable, which by this means shall be abundantly serued with the chiefest commodities they want, with many other things of more importance to the grand Signior his contentation, not herein to be mentioned. For I know the Viceroies experienced wisdom can wel consider thereof, in such sort as he wil not deny to accomplish his masters commandement, and our earnest request in so small a matter as this we require, whereof I expect no refusall: for thereby he shall increase his honor with the grand Signior, be in credite with her maiestie, be void of trouble which hereafter by future suite against him may happen, and his gallies free of such doubtful issue as doeth chance, fighting with our ships. Which, as it is well knowen to all the world, haue so

The Inuentorie of our ships and goods sunke and taken by the gallies of Alger.

great hearts as neuer cowardly to yeeld to their enemies. And that therefore in that respect (after the prouerbe, like esteeme of their like) they are the more of such a valiant prince as is their Viceroy and his couragious souldiers to be in all friendship cherished and better esteemed. If the captaine Bassa had bene returned from Capha, I would in like maner haue procured his letters, which for that he is not, I doubt nothing but that the grand Signiors will suffise. Thus commending your selfe and these proceedings to the almighty his merciful direction, I bid you most heartily wel to fare. From my mansion Rapamat nigh Pera, this 30. of March, 1585.

Series vel registrum valoris nauium, bonorum, et hominum per triremes Argerienses ereptorum, vna cum captiuorum hominum nominibus, Beglerbego Argeriensi Hassano.

1 Salomon de Plimmouth habuit 36. homines, onerata cum sale, onere trecentorum doliorum, valore Florenorum 5600.

2 Elizabetha de Garnesey cum decem hominibus Anglis, reliquis Britonibus, valore Florenorum 2000.

3 Maria Martin de London onere centum et triginta doliorum, rectore Thoma More cum triginta quinque hominibus, reuertens de Patrasso cum mandato Cæsareo, valore Florenorum 1400.

4 Elizabeth Stokes de London, rectore Dauid Fillie de London, Patrassum veniens cum mandato Cæsareo: huius præcipuus valor erat in talleris numeratis, quos habuit Richardus Gibben, qui adduxit etiam Serenissimæ Reginæ maiestatis literas Cæsari et oratori. Valor reliquus in mercibus vna cum superiori in talleris effecit Florenorum 21500.

5 Nicolaus de London, rectore Thoma Forster, onerata cum vuis siccis, valore Florenorum 4800.

In tempore Romadan Beglerbegi Argiræ spoliatæ et ereptæ naues, merces, et homines.

1 IVdith de London, rectore Iacobo Beare, cum hominibus 24. valore Florenorum 3100.

2 Iesus de London, rectore Andræa Dier, cum 21. hominibus. Valorem huius et 14. homines, reliquis mortuis, reddidit Romadan Bassa Tripolitanus Secretario legati, Edwardo Barten, valore Florenorum 9000.

Nomina hominum mancipatorum et viuentium tunc temporis, quando Cæsar illustrissimus, et dominus Orator Chauseum Mahumetem miserunt Algiram.

1 Ante fœdus initum in naue Peter de Bristow. Iohn Winter, Robert Barton.

2 In naue Swallow de London. Rich. Crawford, Anthony Eluers, Wil. Rainolds.

Post fœdus initum in naue Britona. Iames Yoong.

1 In naue Rabnet de Hampton. Thomas Lisney.

2 In naue Salomon. Iohn Tracie, Wil. Griffith, Wil. Cocke.

1 In naue Elizabeth. Iohn Woodward, Giles Naper, Leonard Iames, Oliuer Dallimore, and Richard Maunsell.

2 in naue Maria Martin. Thomas Moore, Wil. White, Wil. Palmer, Nich. Long, Peter March, Rich. Haslewood, Wil. Dewly, Wil. Cowel, Iohn Franke, Henry Parker, Iohn Cauendish, Moises Robinson, Iames Sotherich, Henry Howel, Nich. Smith, Henry Ragster, Rich. Dauison, Rich. Palmer.

3 In naue Elizabeth Stokes. Dauid Fillie, Walter Street, Laurence Wilkins, Morgan Dauis, Iohn Quinte, Ambrose Harison, Iohn Peterson, Tristram Vois, Roger Ribbe.

4 In naue Nicholas, Thomas Forster rector nauis et eius nautæ.

To Assan Aga, Eunuch and Treasurer to Hassan Bassa king of Alger, which Assan Aga was the sonne of Fran. Rowlie of Bristow merchant, taken in the Swalow.

I Receiued your letters of Will. Hamor gentleman my seruant very thankfully, aswel for the feruant faith that by his report I heare you haue in our lord Iesus Christ, by whose onely merits and bloodshedding, you together with vs and all other good Christians so truly beleeuing, shalbe saued, as also for your faithfull obedience like a true subiect to her Maiestie, naturally louing your countrey and countreymen, declared in your fauourable furtherance of the said Wil. Hamore, procuring their redemption. Of which your good and vertuous actions, as I reioice to vnderstand, so wil I impart the same to your singuler commendation, both to our mistresse her Maiestie, and her most honorable counsellors the nobilitie of England, to whom assure your selfe the report shalbe very welcome. And now this second time I am inforced by duetie to God and her maiesty, as also by the smal regard your master had of the Grand Signors former commandements, to complaine vnto him, though not so vehemently as I had occasion by his most vnworthy answer. But I hope, and the rather by your means, he will not contrary this second commandement, threatning him, not obseruing the same, losse of office and life. The due execution whereof by your vertuous and careful industry procured, wil manifest to all the world, especially to her maiesty, and me her ambassador, your true Christian mind and English heart, intentiuely bent to Gods honor, and the libertie of the poore men, for which I trust you be ordained another Ioseph, to folow his example in true pietie, in such sort that notwithstanding your body be subiect to Turkish thraldom, yet your vertuous mind free from those vices, next vnder God addict to ye good seruice of your liege Lady and soueraigne princes, her most excellent maiesty, wil continually seeke by all good meanes to manifest ye same in this and the like faithful seruice to your singuler commendation, wherby both my selfe and others in that place hauing found you in all good offices faithfully affectionated, may in like case performe the like towards you, when and where you may haue occasion to vse me: which as I for my part do assuredly promise, and wil no lesse faithfully performe: so accordingly I expect herein, and hereafter the like of you, whom most heartily saluted I commend to the diuine tuition and holy direction. From my house Rapamat, this 28. of Iune 1586.

Your louing and good friend her Maiesties
Ambassador with the Grand Signor,
Wil. Hareborne.

The originall of the first voyage for traffique into the kingdom of Marocco in Barbarie, begun in the yeere 1551. with a tall ship called the Lion of London, whereof went as captaine Master Thomas Windam, as appeareth by this extract of a letter of Iames Aldaie, to the worshipfull master Michael Locke, which Aldaie professseth himselfe to haue bene the first inuentor of this trade.

WOrshipful Sir, hauing lately bene acquainted with your intent to prosecute the olde intermitted discouerie for Catai, if therein with my knowledge, trauell or industrie I may doe you seruice, I am readie to doe it, and therein to aduenture my life to the vttermost point. Trueth it is, that I haue bene by some men (not my friends) euill spoken of at London, saying that although I be a man of knowledge in the Arte of Nauigation and Cosmographie, and that I haue bene the inuentor of some voyages that be now growen to great effect; yet say they maliciously and without iust cause, that I haue not bene willing at any season to proceed in those voyages that I haue taken in hand, taking example especially of two voyages. The one was when I was master in the great Barke Aucher of the Leuant, in which voyage I went not, but the causes they did not know of my let from the same, nor of the other. But first the very trueth is, that I was from the same voyage letted by the Princes letters, which my Master Sebastian Gabota had obtained for that purpose, to my great griefe. And as touching the second voyage which I inuented for the trade of Barbarie, the liuing God knoweth that I say most true, that when the great sweate was, (whereon the chiefe of those with whom I ioyned in that voyage died, that is to say, Sir Iohn Lutterell, Iohn Fletcher, Henry Ostrich and others) I my selfe was also taken with the same sweate in London, and after it, whether with euill diet in keeping, or how I know not, I was cast into such an extreame feuer, as I was neither able to ride nor goe: and the shippe being at Portesmouth, Thomas Windam had her away from thence, before I was able to stand vpon my legges, by whom I lost at that instant fourescore pound. Besides I was appointed by them that died (if they had liued) to haue had the whole gouernment both of shippe and goods, because I was to them the sole inuenter of that trade.

In the first voyage to Barbary there were two Moores, being noblemen, whereof one was of the Kings blood, conuayed by the said Master Thomas Windham into their Countrey out of England,

Yours humble at your commandement,
Iames Alday.

The second voyage to Barbary in the yeere 1552. Set foorth by the right worshipfull Sir Iohn Yorke, Sir William Gerard, Sir Thomas Wroth, Master Frances Lambert, Master Cole. and others; Written by the relation of Master Iames Thomas then Page to Master Thomas Windham chiefe Captaine of this voyage.

THe shippes that went on this voyage were three, whereof two were of the Riuer of Thames, That is to say, the Lyon of London, whereof Master Thomas Windham was Captaine and part owner, of about an hundred and fiftie tunnes: The other was the Buttolfe about fourescore tunnes, and a Portugall Carauel bought of certaine Portugals in Newport in Wales, and fraightened for this voyage, of summe sixtie tunnes. The number of men in the Fleete were an hundred and twentie. The Master of the Lyon was one Iohn Kerry of Mynhed in Somersetshire, his Mate was Dauid Landman. The chiefe Captaine of this small Fleete was Master Thomas Windham a Norffolke gentlemen borne, but dwelling at Marshfield-parke in Somerset shire. This Fleete departed out of King-rode neere Bristoll about the beginning of May 1552. being on a Munday in the morning: and the Munday fortnight next ensuing in the euening came to an ancker at their first port in the roade of Zafia, or Asafi on the coast of Barbarie, standing in 32. degrees of latitude, and there put on land part of our Marchandise to be conueied by land to the citie of Marocco: which being done, and hauing refreshed our selues with victuals and water, we went to the second port called Santa Cruz, where we discharged the rest of our goods, being good quantitie of linnen and woollen cloth, corall, amber, Iet, and diuers other things well accepted of the Moores. In which road we found a French ship, which not knowing whether it were warre or peace betweene England and France, drewe her selfe as neere vnder the towne wals as she could possible, crauing aide of the towne for her defence, if need were, which in deed seeing vs draw neere, shot at vs a piece from the wals, which came ouer the Lion our Admirall, between the maine mast and her foremast. Whereupon we comming to an anker, presently came a pinnes aboord vs to know what we were, who vnderstanding that we had bene there the yere before, and came with the good leaue of their king in marchant wise, were fully satisfied, and gaue vs good leaue to bring our goods peaceably on shore, where the Vice-roy, whose name was Sibill Manache, within short time after came to visite vs, and vsed vs with all curtesie. But by diuers occasions we spent here very neere three moneths before we could get in our lading, which was Sugar, Dates, Almonds, and Malassos or sugar Syrrope. And for all our being here in the heate of the Sommer, yet none of our company perished by sicknesse. Our ships being laden, we drew into the

The English were at Santa Cruz the yere before being 1551.

Sea for a Westerne wind for England. But being at sea, a great leake fell vpon the Lion, so that we were driuen to Lancerota, and Forteuentura, where, betweene the two Ilands, we came to a road, whence wee put on land out of our sayd ship 70. chests of Sugar vpon Lancerota, with some dozen or sixteene of our company, where the inhabitants supposing we had made a wrongfull prize of our carauell, suddenly came with force vpon our people, among whom I my selfe was one, tooke vs prisoners, and spoiled the sugars: which thing being perceiued from our ships, they manned out three boates, thinking to rescue vs, and draue the Spaniards to flight, whereof they slew eighteene, and tooke their gouernour of the Iland prisoner, who was a very aged gentleman about 70 yeeres of age. But chasing the enemies so farre, for our recouerie, as pouder and arrowes wanted, the Spaniardes perceiuing this, returned, and in our mens retire they slew sixe of them. Then a Parle grew, in the which it was agreed, that we the prisoners should be by them restored, and they receiue their olde gouernour, giuing vs a testimonie vnder his and their hands, what damages wee had there receiued, the which damages were here restored, and made good by the king of Spaine his marchants vpon our returne into England. After wee had searched and mended our leake, being returned aboord, we came vnder saile, and as wee were going to the sea on the one side of the Iland, the Cacafuego and other ships of the king of Portugals Armada entered at the other, and came to anker in the road from whence we were but newly departed, and shot off their great ordinance in our hearing. And here by the way it is to bee vnderstood that the Portugals were much offended with this our new trade into Barbarie, and both in our voiage the yeere before, as also in this they gaue out in England by their marchants, that if they tooke vs in those partes, they would vse vs as their mortall enemies, with great threates and menaces. But by God and good prouidence wee escaped their hands. From this Iland shaping our coast for England, we were seuen or eight weekes before we could reach the coast of England. The first port wee entered into was the hauen of Plimmouth, from whence within short time wee came into the Thames, and landed our marchandise at London, about the ende of the moneth of October, 1552.

A voiage made out of England vnto Guinea and Benin in Affrike, at the charges of certaine marchants Aduenturers of the Citie of London, in the yeere of our Lord 1553.

I Was desired by certaine of my friends to make some mention of this Voiage, that some memorie thereof might remaine to our posteritie, if either iniquitie of time consuming all things, or ignorance creeping in by barbarousness and contempt of knowledge should hereafter bury in obliuion so woorthie attempts, so much the greatlier to bee esteemed, as before neuer enterprised by Englishmen, or at the least so frequented, as at this present they are, and may bee, to the great commoditie of our marchants, if the same be not hindered by the ambition of such, as for the conquering of fortie or fiftie miles here and there, and erecting of certaine fortresses, thinke to be Lordes of halfe the world, enuying that other should enioy the commodities, which they themselues cannot wholly possesse. And although such as haue bene at charges in the discouering and conquering of such landes ought by good reason to haue certaine priuileges, preheminences, and tributes for the same, yet (to speake vnder correction) it may seeme somewhat rigorous, and agaynst good reason and conscience, or rather agaynst the charitie that ought to be among Christian men, that such as inuade the dominions of other should not permit other friendly to vse the trade of marchandise in places neerer, or seldome frequented of them, whereby their trade is not hindered in such places, where they themselues haue at their owne election appointed the Martes of their traffike. But forasmuch as at this present it is not my intent to accuse or defend, approoue or improoue, I will cease to speake any further hereof, and proceed to the description of the first voyage, as briefly and faithfully as I was aduertised of the same, by the information of such credible persons, as made diligent inquisition to know the trueth thereof, as much as shall be requisite, omitting to speake of many particular things, not greatly necessarie to be knowen: which neuerthelesse, with also the exact course of the nauigation, shall be more fully declared in the second voiage. And if herein fauour or friendship shall perhaps cause some to thinke that some haue bene sharply touched, let them lay apart fauour and friendship, and giue place to trueth, that honest men may receiue prayse for well doing, and lewd persons reproch, as the iust stipend of their euill desertes, whereby other may be deterred to doe the like, and vertuous men encouraged to proceed in honest attempts.

But that these voyages may be more plainly vnderstood of all men, I haue thought good for this purpose, before I intreat hereof, to make a briefe description of Africa, being that great part of the world, on whose West side beginneth the coast of Guinea at Cabo Verde, about twelue degrees in latitude, on this side the Equinoctiall line, and two degrees in longitude from the measuring line, so running from the North to the South, and by East in some places, within 5, 4, and 3 degrees and a halfe vnto the Equinoctiall, and so foorth in maner directly East and by North, for the space of 36 degrees or thereabout, in longitude from the West to the East, as shall more plainly appeare in the description of the second voyage.

A briefe description of Afrike gathered by Richard Eden.

IN Africa the lesse are these kingdoms: the kingdom of Tunis and Constantina, which is at this day vnder Tunis, and also the region of Bugia, Tripoli, and Ezzah. This part of Afrike is very barren by reason of the great deserts, as the deserts of Numidia and Barca. The principall ports of the kingdome of Tunis are these: Goletta, Bizerta, Potofarnia, Bona, and Stora. The chiefe cities of Tunis are Constantina and Bona, with diuers other. Vnder this kingdom are many Ilands, as Zerbi, Lampadola, Pantalarea, Limoso, Beit, Gamelaro, and Malta, where at this present is the great master of the Rhodes. Vnder the South of this kingdom are the great deserts of Lybia. All the nations in this Africa the lesse are of the sect of Mahomet, and a rusticall people, liuing scattred in villages. The best of this part of Afrike is Barbaria lying on the coast of the sea Mediterraneum.

Mauritania (now called Barbaria) is diuided into two parts, as Mauritania Tingitana, and Cæsariensis. Mauritania Tingitania is now called the kingdom of Fes, and the kingdom of Marocco. The principall citie of Fes is called Fessa: and the chiefe citie of Marocco is named Marocco.

Mauritania Cæsariensis is at this day called the kingdom of Tremisen, with also the citie called Tremisen or Telensin. This region is full of deserts, and reacheth to the Sea Mediterraneum, to the citie of Oram, with the port of Mersalquiber. The kingdom of Fes reacheth vnto the Ocean Sea, from the West to the citie of Argilla: and the port of the sayd kingdom is called Sala.

The kingdom of Marocco is also extended aboue the Ocean Sea, vnto the citie of Azamor and Azafi, which are vpon the Ocean Sea, toward the West of the sayd kingdom. Nere Mauritania Tingitana (that is to say, by the two kingdoms of Fes, and Marocco) are in the Sea, the Ilands of Canarie, called in old time, The fortunate Ilands. Toward the south of this region is the kingdom of Guinea, with Senega, Ialofo, Gambra, and many other regions of the Blacke Moores, called Aethiopians or Negros all which are watered with the riuer Negro, called in old time Niger. In the sayd regions are no cities, but onely certaine lowe cottages made of boughes of trees, plastered with chalke, and couered with strawe. In these regions are also very great deserts.

The kingdom of Marocco hath vnder it these seuen kingdoms: Hea, Sus, Guzula, the territorie of Marrocca, Duccala, Hazchora, and Tedle. The kingdom of Fes hath as many: as Fes, Temesne, Azgar, Elabath, Errif, Garet, and Elcair. The kidgdom of Tremisen hath these regions: Tremisen, Tenez, and Elgazair, all which are Machometists. But all the regions of Guinea are pure Gentiles, and idolatrous, without profession of any religion, or other knowledge of God, then by the law of nature.

Africa the great is one of the three parts of the world, knowen in old time, and seuered from Asia, on the East by the riuer Nilus, on the West from Europe by the pillars of Hercules. The hither part is now called Barbarie, and the people Moores. The inner part is called Lybia and Aethiopia. Afrike the lesse is in this wise bounded. On the West it hath Numidia; On the East Cyrenaica: On the North, the sea called Mediterraneum. In this countrey was the noble city of Carthage.

In the East side of Afrike beneath the red sea, dwelleth the great and mighty Emperour and Christian king Prester Iohn, well knowen to the Portugales in their voyages to Calicut. His dominions reach very farre on euery side: and hath vnder him many other Kings both christian and heathen that pay him tribute. This mightie prince is called Dauid the Emperour of Aethiopia. Some write that the king of Portugall sendeth him yeerely eight ships laden with marchandize. His kingdom confineth with the red Sea, and reacheth far into Afrike toward Aegypt and Barbarie. Southward it confineth with the Sea toward the Cape de Bona Speranza: and on the other side with the sea of sand, called Mare de Sabione, a very dangerous sea lying between ye great citie of Alcair, or Cairo in Aegypt, and the country of Aethiopia: In the which way are many vnhabitable deserts, continuing for the space of fiue dayes iourney. And they affirme, that if the sayd Christian Emperour were not hindered by those deserts (in the which is great lacke of victuals, and especially of water) he would or now haue inuaded the kingdom of Egypt, and the citie of Alcair. The chiefe city of Ethiopia, where this great emperor is resident, is called Amacaiz, being a faire citie, whose inhabitants are of the colour of an Oliue. There are also many other cities, as the city of Saua vpon the riuer of Nilus, where the Emperour is accustomed to remaine in the Sommer season. There is likewise a great city named Barbaregaf, and Ascon, from whence it is said that the Queene of Saba came to Hierusalem to heare the wisedom of Salomon. This citie is but litle, yet very faire, and one of the chiefe cittes in Ethiope. In this prouince are many exceeding high mountains, vpon the which is said to be the earthly paradise: and some say that there are the trees of the Sunne and Moone, whereof the antiquitie maketh mention: yet that none can passe thither by reason of great deserts of an hundred daies iourney. Also beyond these mountains is the Cape of Bona Speranza. And to haue said thus much of Afrike it may suffice.

The first voiage to Guinea and Benin.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1553. the twelfth day of August, sailed from Portsmouth two goodly ships, the Primerose and the Lion, with a pinnas called the Moone, being all well furnished aswell with men of the lustiest sort, to the number of seuen score, as also with ordinance and victuals requisite to such a voiage: hauing also two captaines, the one a stranger called Anthonie Anes Pinteado, a Portugall, borne in a towne named The Port of Portugall, a wise, discreet, and sober man, who for his cunning in sailing, being as well an expert Pilot as a politike captaine, was sometime in great fauour with the king of Portugall, and to whom the coasts of Brasile and Guinea were committed to be kept from the Frenchmen, to whom he was a terrour on the Sea in those parts, and was furthermore a gentleman of the king his masters house. But as fortune in maner neuer fauoureth but flattereth, neuer promiseth but deceiueth, neuer raiseth but casteth downe againe: and as great wealth and fauour haue alwaies companions, emulation and enuie, he was after many aduersities and quarels made against him, inforced to come into England: where in this golden voyage he was euil matched with an vnequal companion, and vnlike match of most sundry qualities and conditions, with vertues few or none adorned. Thus departed these noble ships vnder saile on their voyage: But first captaine Windam putting forth of his ship at Portsmouth a kinsman of one of the head marchants, and shewing herein a muster of the tragicall partes hee had conceiued in his braine, and with such small beginnings nourished so monstrous a birth, that more happy, yea and blessed was that yong man being left behind, then if he had bene taken with them, as some do wish he had done the like by theirs. Thus sailed they on their voyage, vntill they came to the Iland of Madera, where they tooke in certaine wines for the store of their ships, and paid for them as they agreed of the price. At these Ilands they met with a great Galion of the king of Portugall, full of men and ordinance: yet such as could not haue preuailed if it had attempted to withstand or resist our ships, for the which cause it was set foorth, not onely to let and interrupt these our shippes of their purposed voiage, but al other that should attempt the like: yet chiefly to frustrate our voiage. For the king of Portugall was sinisterly informed, that our ships were armed to his castle of Mina in those parties, whereas nothing lesse was ment.

After that our ships departed from the Iland of Madera forward on their voiage, began this worthy captaine Pinteados sorow, as a man tormented with the company of a terrible Hydra, who hitherto flattred with him, and made him a faire countenance and shew of loue. Then did he take vpon him to command all alone, setting nought both by captain Pinteado, and the rest of the marchants factors, sometimes with opprobrious words, and sometimes with threatnings most shamfully abusing them, taking from Pinteado the seruice of the boies and certain mariners that were assigned him by the order and direction of the worshipful merchants, and leauing him as a common mariner, which is the greatest despite and grief that can be to a Portugale or Spaniard, to be diminished of their honor, which they esteem aboue all riches. Thus sailing forward on their voiage, they came to the Ilands of Canarie, continuing their course from thence vntil they arriued at the Iland of S. Nicholas, where they victualled themselues with fresh meat, of the flesh of wild goats, whereof is great plenty in that Iland, and in maner of nothing els. From hence following on their course and tarying here and there at the desert Ilands in the way, because they would not come too timely to the countrey of Guinea for the heat, and tarying somewhat too long (for what can be well ministred in a common wealth, where inequalitie with tyrannie wil rule alone) they came at the length to the first land of the country of Guinea, where they fel with the great riuer of Sesto, where they might for their marchandizes haue laden their ships with the graines of that countrey, which is a very hote fruit, and much like vnto a fig as it groweth on the tree. For as the figs are full of small seeds, so is the said fruit full of graines, which are loose within the cod, hauing in the mids thereof a hole on euery side. This kind of spice is much vsed in cold countries, and may there be sold for great aduantage, for exchange of other wares. But our men, by the perswasion or rather inforcement of this tragicall captaine, not regarding and setting light by that commoditie, in comparison of ye fine gold they thirsted, sailed an hundred leagues further, vntil they came to the golden land: where not attempting to come neere the castle pertaining to the king of Portugall, which was within the riuer of Mina, they made sale of their ware only on this side and beyond it, for the gold of that country, to the quantitie of an hundred and fiftie pounds weight, there being in case that they might haue dispatched all their ware for gold, if the vntame braine of Windam had, or could haue given eare to the counsell and experience of Pinteado. For when that Windam not satisfied with the gold which he had, and more might haue had if he had taried about the Mina, commanding the said Pinteado (for so he tooke vpon him) to lead the ships to Benin, being vnder the Equinoctial line, and an hundred and fifty leagues beyond the Mina, where he looked to haue their ships laden with pepper: and being counselled of the said Pinteado, considering the late time of the yeere, for that time to go no further, but to make sale of their wares such as they had for gold, wherby they might haue bene great gainers: Windam not assenting hereunto, fell into a sudden rage, reuiling the sayd Pinteado, calling him Iew, with other opprobrious words, saying, This whoreson Iew hath promised to bring vs to such places as are not, or as he cannot bring vs vnto: but if he do not, I will cut off his eares and naile them to the maste. Pinteado gaue the foresaid counsell to go no further for the safegard of the men and their liues, which they should put in danger if they came too late, for the Rossia which is their Winter, not for cold, but for smothering heate, with close and cloudie aire and storming weather, of such putrifying qualitie, that it rotted the coates of their backs: or els for comming to soone for the scorching heat of the sunne, which caused them to linger in the way. But of force and not of will brought he the ships before the riuer of Benin, where riding at an Anker, they sent their pinnas vp into the riuer 50 or 60 leagues, from whence certaine of the marchants with captaine Pinteado, Francisco, a Portugale, Nicholas Lambert gentleman, and other marchants were conducted to the court where the king remained, ten leagues from the riuer side, whither when they came, they were brought with a great company to the presence of the king, who being a blacke Moore (although not so blacke as the rest) sate in a great huge hall, long and wide, the wals made of earth without windowes, the roofe of thin boords, open in sundry places, like vnto louers to let in the aire.

The king of Benin his court.

And here to speake of the great reuerence they giue to their king, it is such, that if we would giue as much to our Sauior Christ, we should remooue from our heads many plagues which we daily deserue for our contempt and impietie.

So it is therefore, that when his noble men are in his presence, they neuer looke him in the face, but sit cowring, as we vpon our knees, so they vpon their buttocks, with their elbowes vpon their knees, and their hands before their faces, not looking vp vntil the king command them. And when they are comming toward the king, as far as they do see him, they do shew such reuerence, sitting on the ground with their faces couered as before. Likewise when they depart from him, they turn not their backs toward him, but goe creeping backward with like reuerence.

And now to speake somewhat of the communication that was between the king and our men, you shall first vnderstand that he himselfe could speake the Portugall tongue, which he had learned of a child. Therefore after he had commanded our men to stand vp, and demanded of them the cause of their comming into that countrey, they answered by Pinteado, that they were marchants trauelling into those parties for the commodities of his countrey, for exchange of wares which they had brought from their countries, being such as should be no lesse commodious for him and his people. The king then hauing of old lying in

The communication between the king of Benin and our men.

a certaine store-house 30 or 40 kintals of Pepper (euery kintall being an hundred weight) willed them to looke vpon the same, and againe to bring him a sight of such marchandizes as they had brought with them. And thereupon sent with the captaine and the marchants certaine of his men to conduct them to the waters side, with other to bring the ware from the pinnas to the court. Who when they were returned and the wares seen, the king grew to this ende with the merchants to prouide in 30 dayes the lading of al their ships with pepper. And in case their merchandizes would not extend to the value of so much pepper, he promised to credite them to their next returne, and thereupon sent the country round about to gather pepper, causing the same to be brought to the court: So that within the space of 30 dayes they had gathered fourescore tunne of pepper.

The kings gentlenes towards our men.

In the meane season our men partly hauing no rule of themselues, but eating without measure of the fruits of the countrey, and drinking the wine of the Palme trees that droppeth in the night from the cut of the branches of the same, and in such extreme heate running continually into the water, and vsed before to such sudden and vehement alterations (then the which nothing is more dangerous) were thereby brought into swellings and agues: insomuch that the later time of the yeere comming on, caused them to die sometimes three and sometimes 4 or 5 in a day. Then Windam perceiuing the time of the 30 daies to be expired, and his men dying so fast, sent to the court in post to Captaine Pinteado, and the rest to come away and to tary no longer. But Pinteado with the rest, wrote backe to him againe, certifying him of the great quantity of pepper they had alreadie gathered, and looked daily for much more: desiring him furthermore to remember the great praise and name they should win, if they came home prosperously, and what shame of the contrary. With which answere Windam not satisfied, and many of their men dying dayly, willed and commaunded them againe either to come away forthwith, or els threatened to leaue them behinde. When Pinteado heard this answere, thinking to perswade him with reason, hee tooke his way from the court toward the ships, being conducted thither with men by the kings commandement.

In the meane season Windam all raging, brake vp Pinteados Cabin, brake open his chestes, spoiled such prouision of cold stilled waters and suckets as he had prouided for his health, and left him nothing, neither of his instruments to saile by, nor yet of his apparell: and in the meane time falling sicke, himselfe died also. Whose death Pinteado comming aboord, lamented as much as if he had bene the deerest friend he had in the world. But certaine of the mariners and other officers did spit in his face, some calling him Iewe, saying that he had brought them thither to kill them: and some drawing their swords at him, making a shew to slay him. Then he perceiuing that they would needs away, desired them to tarry that he might fetch the rest of the marchants that were left at the court, but they would not grant this request. Then desired he them to giue him the ship-boate, with as much of an old saile as might serue for the same, promising them therwith to bring Nicholas Lambert and the rest into England, but all was in vaine. Then wrote he a letter to the court to the marchants, informing them of all the matter, and promising them if God would lend him life to returne with all haste to fetch them. And thus was Pinteado kept ashipboord against his will, thrust among the boyes of the ship, not vsed like a man, nor yet like an honest boy, but glad to find fauour at the cookes hand. Then departed they, leauing one of their ships behind them, which they sunke for lacke of men to cary her. After this, within 6 or 7 dayes sayling, dyed also Pinteado for uery pensiuenesse and thought that stroke him to the heart. A man worthy to serue any prince, and most vilely vsed. And of seuenscore men came home to Plimmouth scarcely forty, and of them many died. And that no man should suspect these words which I haue saide in commendation of Pinteado, to be spoken vpon fauour otherwise then trueth, I haue thought good to adde hereunto the copie of the letters which the king of Portugall and the infant his brother wrote vnto him to reconcile him, at such time as vpon the king his masters displeasure (and not for any other crime or offence, as may appeare by the said letters) he was only for pouertie inforced to come into England, where he first perswaded our marchants to attempt the said voyages to Guinea. But as the king of Portugall too late repented him that he had so punished Pinteado, vpon malicious informations of such as

The death of Windam.

Pinteado euill vsed of the mariners.

This Lambert was a Londiner borne, whose father had bin Lord Maior of London.

The death of Pinteado.

Pinteado first perswaded our men to the voiage of Guinea.

enuied the mans good fortune: euen so may it hereby appeare that in some cases euen Lions themselues may either be hindered by the contempt, or aided by the helpe of the poore mise, according vnto the fable of Esope.

The copie of Anthonie Anes Pinteado his letters patents, whereby the king of Portugall made him knight of his house, after all his troubles and imprisonment, which, by wrong information made to the king, he had susteined of long time, being at the last deliuered, his cause knowen and manifested to the king by a gray Friar the kings Confessor.

Seuen hundred reis are ten shillings. Alcayre is halfe a bushell.

I The king doe giue you to vnderstand lord Francis Desseaso, one of my counsell and ouerseer of my house, that in consideration of the good seruice which Anthony Anes Pinteado, the sonne of Iohn Anes, dwelling in the towne called the Port, hath done vnto me, my will and pleasure is, to make him knight of my house, allowing to him in Pension seuen hundred reis monethly, and euery day one alcayre of barly, as long as he keepeth a horse, and to be paid according to the ordinance of my house. Prouiding alwaies that he shall receiue but one marriage gift. And this also in such condition, that the time which is accepted in our ordinance, forbidding such men to marry for getting such children as might succeede them in this allowance, which is 6 yeres after the making of this patent, shalbe first expired before he do marry. I therfore command you to cause this to be entred in the booke called the Matricula of our houshold, vnder the title of knights. And when it is so entred, let the clarke of the Matricula, for the certeintie therof, write on the backside of this Aluala, or patent, the number of the leafe wherein this our grant is entred. Which done, let him returne this writing vnto the said Anthonie Anes Pinteado for his warrant.

I Diego Henriques haue written this in Almarin the two and twentie day of September, in the yeere of our Lord 1551. And this beneuolence the king gaue vnto Anthonie Anes Pinteado, the fiue and twentie day of Iuly this present yeere.

Rey.

The Secretaries declaration written vnder the kings grant.

YOur Maiestie hath vouchsafed, in respect and consideration of the good seruice of Anthonie Anes Pinteado, dwelling in the port, and sonne of Iohn Anes, to make him knight of your house, with ordinarie allowance, of seuen hundred reis pension by the moneth, and one alcaire of barley by the day, as long as he keepeth a horse: and to be paide according to the ordinance of your house, with condition that hee shall haue but one marriage gift: and that not within the space of sixe yeres after the making of these letters Patents. The Secretaries note. Entred in the booke of the Matricula. Fol. 683.

Francisco de Siquera.

The copie of the letter of Don Lewes the infant, and brother to the king of Portugall, sent into England to Anthonie Anes Pinteado.

ANthony Anes Pinteado, I the infant brother to the king, haue me heartily commended vnto you. Peter Gonsalues is gone to seeke you, desiring to bring you home againe into your countrey. And for that purpose he hath with him a safe conduct for you, granted by the king, that therby you may freely and without all feare come home. And although the weather be foule and stormie, yet faile not to come: for in the time that his Maiestie hath giuen you, you may doe many things to your contentation and gratifying the king, whereof I would be right glad: and to bring the same to passe, I will do all that lieth in me for your profite. But forasmuch as Peter Gonsalues will make further declaration hereof vnto you, I say no more at this present. Written in Lisbone, the eight day of December. Anno 1552.

The infant Don Lewes.

ALl these foresaid writings I saw vnder seale, in the house of my friend Nicholas Liese, with whom Pinteado left them, at his vnfortunate departing to Guinea. But, notwithstanding all these friendly letters and faire promises, Pinteado durst not attempt to goe home, neither to keepe companie with the Portugals his countrey men, without the presence of other: forasmuch as he had secrete admonitions that they intended to slay him, if time and place might haue serued their wicked intent.

The second voyage to Guinea set out by Sir George Barne, Sir Iohn Yorke, Thomas Lok, Anthonie Hickman and Edward Castelin, in the yere 1554. The Captaine whereof was M. Iohn Lok.

AS in the first voiage I haue declared rather the order of the history, then the course of the nauigation, whereof at that time I could haue no perfect information: so in the description of this second voyage, my chiefe intent hath beene to shew the course of the same, according to the obseruation and ordinarie custome of the mariners, and as I receiued it at the handes of an expert Pilot, being one of the chiefe in this voyage, who also with his owne handes wrote a briefe declaration of the same, as he found and tried all things, not by coniecture, but by the art of sayling, and instruments perteining to the mariners facultie. Not therefore assuming to my selfe the commendations due vnto other, neither so bold as in any part to change or otherwise dispose the order of this voyage so well obserued by art and experience, I haue thought good to set forth the same, in such sort and phrase of speech as is commonly vsed among them, and as I receiued it of the said Pilot, as I haue said. Take it therefore as followeth.

In the yeere of our Lord 1554 the eleuenth day of October, we departed the riuer of Thames with three goodly ships, the one called the Trinitie, a ship of the burden of seuenscore tunne, the other called the Bartholomew, a ship of the burden of ninetie, the third was the Iohn Euangelist, a ship of seuen score tunne. With the sayd ships and two pinnesses (wherof the one was drowned on the coast of England) we went forward on our voyage, and stayed at Douer fourteene dayes. We staied also at Rie three or foure dayes. Moreouer last of all we touched at Dartmouth.

Robert Gainsh was master of the Iohn Euangelist.

The first day of Nouember at nine of the clocke at night, departing from the coast of England, we set off the Start, bearing Southwest all that night in the sea, and the next day all day, and the next night after, vntill the third day of the said moneth about noone, making our way good, did runne threescore leagues.

The 17. day in the morning we had sight of the Ile of Madera, which doth rise to him that commeth in the Northnortheast part vpright land in the west part of it, and very high: and to the Southsoutheast a low long land, and a long point, with a saddle thorow the middest of it, standing in two and thirtie degrees: and in the West part, many springs of water running downe from the mountaine, and many white fieldes like vnto corne fields, and some white houses to the Southeast part of it: and the toppe of the mountaine sheweth very ragged, if you may see it, and in the Northeast part there is a bight or bay as though it were a harborow: Also in the said part, there is a rocke a little distance from the shoare, and ouer the sayd bight you shall see a great gappe in the mountaine.

The 19 day at twelue of the clocke we had sight of the isle of Palmes and Teneriffa and the Canaries. The Ile of Palme riseth round, and lieth Southeast and Northwest, and the Northwest part is lowest. In the South is a round hill ouer the head land, and another round hill aboue that in the land. There are betweene the Southeast part of the Ile of Madera and the Northwest part of the Ile of Palme seuen and fifty leagues. This Isle of Palme lieth in eight and twenty degrees. And our course from Madera to the Ile of Palme was South and South and by West, so that we had sight of Teneriffa and of the Canaries. The Southeast part of the Ile of the Palme, and the Northnortheast of Teneriffa lie Southeast and Northwest, and betweene them are 20 leagues. Teneriffa and the great Canary called Gran Canaria, and the West part of Forteuentura stande in seuen and twenty degrees and a halfe. Gomera is a faire Island but very ragged, and lieth Westsouthwest off Teneriffa. And whosouer wil come betweene them two Ilands must come South and by East, and in the South part of Gomera is a towne and a good rode in the said part of the Iland: and it standeth in seuen and twentie degrees and three terces. Teneriffa is an high land, with a great high pike like a sugar loafe, and vpon the said pike is snow throughout all the whole yeere. And by reason of that pike it may be knowen aboue all other Ilands, and there we were becalmed the twentieth day of Nouember, from sixe of the clocke in the morning, vntill foure of the clocke at afternoone.

The two and twentieth day of Nouember, vnder the Tropike of Cancer the Sunne goeth downe West and by South. Vpon the coast of Barbarie fiue and twentie leagues by North Cape blanke, at three leagues off the maine, there are fifteene fadomes and good shelly ground, and sande among and no streames, and two small Ilands standing in two and twentie degrees and a terce.

From Gomera to Cape de las Barbas is an hundred leagues, and our course was South and by East. The said Cape standeth in two and twentie and a halfe: and all that coast is flatte, sixteene or seuenteene fadome deepe. Seuen or eight leagues off from the riuer del Oro or Cape de las Barbas, there vse many Spaniardes and Portugals to trade for fishing, during the moneth of Nouember: and all that coast is very low lands. Also we went from Cape de las Barbas Southsouthwest, and Southwest and by South, till we brought our selues in twentie degrees and a halfe, reckoning our selues seuen leagues off: and there were the least sholes of Cape Blanke.

Then we went South vntil we brought out selues in 13 degrees, reckoning our selues fiue and twentie leagues off. And in 15 degrees we did reare the Crossiers, and we might haue reared them sooner if we had looked for them. They are not right a crosse in the moneth of Nouember, by reason that the nights are short there. Neuerthelesse we had the sight of them the 29 day of the said moneth at night.

The first of December, being in 13 degrees we set our course South and by East, vntill the fourth day of December at 12 of the clocke the same day. Then we were in nine degrees and a terce, rekoning our selues 30 leagues of the sholes of the riuer called Rio Grande, being Westsouthwest off them, the which sholes be 30 leagues long.

The fourth of December we beganne to set our course Southeast, we being in sixe degrees and a halfe.

The ninth day of December we set our course Eastsoutheast: the fourteenth day of the sayde moneth we set our course East, we being in fiue degrees and a halfe, reckoning our selues thirty and sixe leagues from the coast of Guinea.

The nineteenth of the said moneth we set our course East and by North, reckoning our selues seuenteene leagues distant from Cape Mensurado, the said Cape being Eastnortheast of vs, and the riuer of Sesto being East.

The one and twentieth day of the said moneth, we fell with Cape Mensurado to the Southeast, about two leagues off. This Cape may be easily knowen, by reason yet the rising of it is like a Porpose-head. Also toward the Southeast there are three trees, whereof the Eastermost tree is the highest, and the middlemost is like a hie stacke, and the Southermost like vnto a gibet: and vpon the maine are foure or fiue high hilles rising one after another like round hommocks or hillocks. And the Southeast of the three trees, brandiernwise: and all the coast along is white sand. The said Cape standeth within a litle in sixe degrees.

The two and twientieth of December we came to the riuer of Sesto, and remained there vntill the nine and twentieth day of the said moneth. Here we thought it best to send before vs the pinnesse to the riuer Dulce, called Rio Dulce, that they might haue the beginning of the market before the comming of the Iohn Euangelist.

At the riuer of Sesto we had a tunne of graines. This riuer standeth in sixe degrees, lacking a terce. From the riuer of Sesto to Rio Dulce are fiue and twentie leagues. Rio Dulce standeth in fiue degrees and a halfe. The riuer of Sesto is easie to be knowen, by reason there is a ledge of rockes on the Southeast part of the Rode. And at the entring into the hauen are fiue or sixe trees that beare no leaues. This is a good harborow, but very narow at ye entrance into the riuer. There is also a rocke in the hauens mouth right as you enter. And all that coast betweene Cape de Monte, and cape de las Palmas, lieth Southeast and by East, Northwest and by West, being three leagues off the shore. And you shal haue in some places rocks two leagues off: and that, betweene the riuer of Sesto and cape de las Palmas.

Betweene the riuer of Sesto and the riuer Dulce are fiue and twentie leagues: and the high land that is betweene them both, is called Cakeado, being eight leagues from the riuer of Sesto. And to the Southeastwarde of it is a place called Shawgro, and another called Shyawe or Shauo, where you may get fresh water. Off this Shyawe lieth a ledge of rockes: and to the Southeastwarde lieth a hedland called Croke. Betweene Cakeado and Croke are nine or ten leagues. To the Southeastward off, is a harborow called S. Vincent: Right ouer against S. Vincent is a rocke vnder the water, two leagues and a halfe off the shore. To the Southeastward of that rocke you shal see an island about three or foure leagues off: this island is not past a league off the shore. To the Eastsoutheast of the island, is a rocke that lieth aboue the water, and by that rocke goeth in the riuer Dulce, which you shall know by the said riuer and rocke. The Northwest side of the hauen is flat sand, and the Southeast side thereof is like an Island, and a bare plot without any trees, and so is it not in any other place.

In the Rode you shall ride in thirteene or foureteene fadomes, good oaze and sand, being the markes of the Rode to bring the

Island and the Northeast land together, and here we ankered the last of December.

The third day of Ianuarie, we came from the riuer Dulce.

Note that Cape de las Palmas is a faire high land, but some low places thereof by the water side looke like red cliffes with white strakes like hie wayes, a cable length a piece, and this is the East part of the cape. This cape is the Southermost land in all the coast of Guinea, and standeth in foure degrees and a terce.

The coast from Cape de las Palmas to Cape Trepointes, or de Tres Puntas, is faire and cleare without rocke or other danger.

Twentie and fiue leagues from Cape de las Palmas, the land is higher then in any place, vntill we come to Cape Trepointes: And about ten leagues before you come to Cape Trepointes, the land riseth still higher and higher, vntill you come to Cape Trepointes, Also before you come to the said Cape, after other 5 leagues to the Northwest part of it, there is certaine broken ground, with two great rockes, and within them in the bight of a bay, is a castle called Arra, perteining to the king of Portugall. You shall know it by the said rockes that lie off it: for there is none such from Cape de las Palmas to Cape Trepointes. This coast lieth East and by North, West and by South. From Cape de las Palmas to the said castle is fourescore and fifteene leagues. And the coast lieth from the said castle to the Westermost point of Trepoyntes, Southeast and by South, Northwest and by North. Also the Westermost point of Trepoyntes is a low lande, lying halfe a mile out in the sea: and vpon the innermost necke, to the land-ward, is a tuft of trees, and there we arriued the eleuenth day of Ianuary.

The 12 day of Ianuary we came to a towne called Samma or Samua, being 8 leagues from Cape Trepointes toward Eastnortheast. Betweene Cape Trepointes and the towne of Samua is a great ledge of rockes a great way out in the sea. We continued foure dayes at that Towne, and the Captaine thereof would needs haue a pledge a shore. But when they receiued the pledge, they kept him still, and would trafficke no more, but shot off their ordinance at vs. They haue two or three pieces of ordinance and no more.

The pledge was sir Iohn Yorke his Nephew.

The sixteenth day of the said month we made reckoning to come to a place called Cape Corea, where captaine Don Iohn dwelleth, whose men entertained vs friendly. This Cape Corea is foure leagues Eastwarde of the castle of Mina, otherwise called La mina, or Castello de mina, where we arriued the 18 day of the moneth. Here we made sale of all our cloth, sauing two or three packes.

The castle of Mina perteining to the king of Portugall.

The 26 day of the same moneth we weighed anker, and departed from thence to the Trinitie, which was seuen leagues Eastward of vs, where she solde her wares. Then they of the Trinitie willed vs to go Eastward of that eight or nine leagues, to sell part of their wares, in a place called Perecow, and another place named Perecow Grande, being the Eastermost place of both these, which you shal know by a great round hill neere vnto it, named Monte Rodondo, lying Westward from it, and by the water side are many high palme trees. From hence did we set forth homeward the thirteenth day of February, and plied vp alongst till we came within seuen or eight leagues to Cape Trepointes. About eight of the clocke the 15 day at afternoone, wee did cast about to seaward: and beware of the currants, for they will deceiue you sore. Whosoeuer shall come from the coast of Mina homeward, let him be sure to make his way good West, vntill he reckon himselfe as farre as Cape de las Palmas, where the currant setteth alwayes to the Eastward. And within twentie leagues Eastward of Cape de las Palmas is a riuer called De los Potos, where you may haue fresh water and balast enough, and plenty of iuory or Elephants teeth. This riuer standeth in foure degrees, and almost two terces. And when you reckon your selfe as farre shot as Cape de las Palmas, being in a degree, or a degree and a halfe, you may go West, and West by North, vntill you come in three degrees: and then you may go Westnorthwest, and Northwest and by West, vntill you come in fiue degrees, and then Northwest. And in sixe degrees, we met Northerly windes, and great ruffling of tides. And as we could iudge, the currants went to the Northnorthwest. Furthermore betweene Cape de Monte, and Cape Verde, go great currants, which deceiue many men.

Cabo de las Palmas.

The 22 day of Aprill, we were in 8 degrees and two terces: and so we ran to the Northwest, hauing the winde at Northeast and Eastnortheast, and sometimes at East, vntill we were at 18 degrees and a terce, which was on May day. And so from 18 and two terces, we had the winde at East and Eastnortheast, and sometimes at Eastsoutheast: and then we reckoned the Island of Cape verde Eastsoutheast of vs, we iudging our selues to be 48 leagues off. And in 20 and 21 degrees, we had the winde more

Easterly to the Southward then before. And so we ran to the Northwest and Northnorthwest, and sometimes North and by West and North, vntil we came into 31 degrees, where we reckoned our selues a hundred and fourescore leagues Southwest and by South of the Island de los Flores, and there wee met with the winde at Southsoutheast, and set our course Northeast.

In 23 degrees we had the winde at the South and Southwest, and then we set our course Northnortheast, and so we ran to 40 degrees, and then we set our course Northeast, the winde being at the Southwest, and hauing the Ile de Flores East of vs, and 17 leagues off.

In the 41 degrees we met with the winde at Northeast, and so we ran Northwestward, then we met with the winde Westnorthwest, and at the West within 6 leagues, running toward the Northwest, and then we cast about, and lay Northeast, vntill we came in 42 degrees, where we set our course Eastnortheast, iudging the Ile of Coruo South and by West of vs, and sixe and thirty leagues distant from vs.

A remembrance, that the 21 day of May we communed with Iohn Rafe, and he thought it best to goe Northeast, and iudged himselfe 25 leagues Eastward to the Isle de Flores, and in 39 degrees and a halfe.

Note, that on the fourth day of September, vnder nine degrees, we lost the sight of the North starre.

Note also, that in 45 degrees, the compasse is varied 8 degrees to the West.

Item, in 40 degrees the compasse did varie 15 degrees in the whole.

Item, in 30 degrees and a halfe, the compasse is varied 5 degrees to the West.

Be it also in memory that two or three daies before we came to Cape de 3 puntas, the pinnesse went alongst the shore, thinking to sell some of our wares, and so we came to anker three or foure leagues West and by South of the Cape de 3 puntas, where we left the Trinitie.

Then our pinnesse came aboord with all our men, the pinnesse also tooke in more wares. They told me moreouer that they would goe to a place where the Primrose was, and had receiued much gold at the first voyage to these parties, and tolde me furthermore that it was a good place: but I fearing a brigantine that was then vpon the coast, did wey and follow them, and left the Trinitie about foure leagues off from vs, and there we rode against that towne foure dayes: so that Martine by his owne desire, and assent of some of the Commissioners that were in the pinnesse, went a shoare to the towne, and there Iohn Berin went to trafique from vs, being three miles off trafiquing at an other towne. The towne is called Samma or Samua, for Samma and Sammaterra, are the names of the two first townes, where we did trafique for gold, to the Northeast of Cape de 3 puntas.

Hitherto continueth the course of the voyage, as it was described by the sayde Pilot. Nowe therefore I will speake somewhat of the countrey and people, and of such things as are brought from thence.

They brought from thence at the last voyage foure hundred pound weight and odde of gold, of two and twentie carrats and one graine in finenesse: also sixe and thirtie buts of graines, and about two hundred and fiftie Elephants teeth of all quantities. Of these I saw and measured some of nine spans in length, as they were crooked. Some of them were as bigge as a mans thigh aboue the knee, and weyed about fourescore and ten pound weight a peece. They say that some one hath bin seene of an hundred and fiue and twentie pound weight. Other there were which they call the teeth of calues, of one or two or three yeeres, whereof some were a foot and a halfe, some two foot, and some 3 or more, according to ye age of the beast. These great teeth or tusks grow in the vpper iaw downeward, and not in ihe nether iaw vpward, wherein the Painters and Arras workers are deceiued. At this last voyage was brought from Guinea the head of an Elephant, of such huge bignesse, that onely the bones or cranew thereof, beside the nether iaw and great tusks, weighed about two hundred weight, and was as much as I could well lift from the ground: insomuch that considering also herewith the weight of two such great teeth, the nether iaw with the lesse teeth, the tongue, the great hanging eares, the bigge and long snout or troonke, with all the flesh, braines, and skinne, with all other parts belonging to the whole head, in my indgement it could weigh litle lesse then fiue hundred weight. This head diuers haue seene in the house of the worthy marchant sir Andrew Iudde, where also I saw it, and beheld it, not only with my bodily eyes, but much more with the eye of my mind and spirit, considering by the worke, the cunning and wisedome of the workemaister: without which consideration, the sight of such strange and

Sir Andrew Iudde. The contemplations of Gods works.

wonderfull things may rather seeme curiosities, then profitable contemplations.

The description and properties of the Elephant.

The Elephant (which some call an Oliphant) is the biggest of all foure footed beasts, his forelegs are longer then his hinder, he hath ancles in the lower part of his hinder legges, and fiue toes on his feete vndiuided, his snout or tronke is so long, and in such forme, that it is to him in the stead of a hand: for he neither eateth nor drinketh but by bringing his tronke to his mouth, therewith he helpeth vp his Master or keeper, therewith he ouerthroweth trees. Beside his two great tusks, he hath on euery side of his mouth foure teeth, wherewith he eateth and grindeth his meate: either of these teeth are almost a span in length, as they grow along in the iaw, and are about two inches in height, and almost as much in thicknesse. The tuskes of the male are greater then of the female: his tongue is very litle, and so farre in his mouth, that it cannot be seene: of all beastes they are most gentle and tractable, for by many sundry wayes they are taught, and doe vnderstand: insomuch that they learne to doe due honor to a king, and are quick sense and sharpenesse of wit. When the male hath once seasoned the female, he neuer after toucheth her. The male Elephant liueth two hundreth yeeres, or at the least one hundred and twentie: the female almost as long, but the floure of their age is but threescore yeres, as some write. They cannot suffer winter or cold: they loue riuers, and will often go into them vp to the snout, wherewith they blow and snuffe, and play in the water: but swimme they cannot, for the weight of their bodies. Plinie and Soline write, that they vse none adulterie. If they happen to meete with a man in wildernesse being out of the way, gently they wil go before him, and bring him into the plaine way. Ioyned in battel, they haue no small respect vnto them that be wounded: for they bring them that are hurt or weary into the middle of the army to be defended: they are made tame by drinking the iuise of barley.

Debate betweene the Elephant and the Dragon.

They haue continual warre against Dragons, which desire their blood, because it is very cold: and therefore the Dragon lying awaite as the Elephant passeth by, windeth his taile (being of exceeding length) about the hinder legs of the Elephant, and so staying him, thrusteth his head into his tronke and exhausteth his breath, or else biteth him in the eare, whereunto he cannot reach with his tronke, and when the Elephant waxeth faint, he falleth downe on the serpent, being now full of blood, and with the poise of his body breaketh him: so that his owne blood with the blood of the Elephant runneth out of him mingled together, which being colde, is congealed into that substance which the Apothecaries call Sanguis Draconis, (that is) Dragons blood, otherwise called Cinnabaris, although there be an other kinde of Cinnabaris, commonly called Cinoper or Vermilion, which the Painters vse in certaine colours.

Three kinds of Elephants.

They are also of three kinds, as of the Marshes, the plaines, and the mountaines, no lesse differing in conditions. Philostratus writeth, that as much as the Elephant of Libya in bignes passeth the horse of Nysea, so much doe the Elephants of India exceed them of Libya: for the Elephants of India, some haue bene seene of the height of nine cubits: the other do so greatly feare these, that they dare not abide the sight of them. Of the Indian Elephants onely the males haue tuskes, but of them of Ethiopia and Libya both kindes are tusked: they are of diuers heights, as of twelue, thirteene, and fourteene dodrants, euery dodrant being a measure of nine inches. Some write that an Elephant is bigger then three wilde Oxen or Buffes. They of India are black, or of ye colour of a mouse, but they of Ethiope or Guinea are browne: the hide or skinne of them all is very hard, and without haire or bristles: their eares are two dodrants broad, and their eyes very litle. Our men saw one drinking at a riuer in Guinea, as they sailed into the land.

Of other properties and conditions of the Elephant, as of their marueilous docilitie, of their fight and vse in the warres, of their generation and chastitie, when they were first seene in the Theatres and triumphes of the Romanes, how they are taken and tamed, and when they cast their tusks, with the vse of the same in medicine, who so desireth to know, let him reade Plinie, in the eight booke of his naturall history. He also writeth in his twelft booke, that in olde time they made many goodly workes of iuory or Elephants teeth: as tables, tressels, postes of houses, railes, lattesses for windowes, images of their gods, and diuers other things of iuory, both coloured, and vncoloured, and intermixt with sundry kindes of procious woods, as at this day are made certaine chaires, lutes, and virginals. They had such plenty thereof in olde time, that (as far as I remember) Iosephus writeth, that one of the gates of

Hierusalem was called Porta Eburnea, (that is) the Iuory gate. The whitenesse thereof was so much esteemed, that it was thought to represent the natural fairenesse of mans skinne: insomuch that such as went about to set foorth (or rather corrupt) naturall beautie with colours and painting, were reproued by this prouerbe, Ebur atramento candefacere, that is, To make iuory white with inke. The Poets also describing the faire necks of beautifull virgins, call them Eburnea colla, that is, Iuory necks. And to haue said thus much of Elephants and Iuory, it may suffice.

The people of Africa.

Now therefore I will speake somewhat of the people and their maners, and maner of liuing, with an other briefe description of Africa also. It is to be vnderstood, that the people which now inhabite the regions of the coast of Guinea, and the midle parts of Africa, as Libya the inner, and Nubia, with diuers other great and large regions about the same, were in old time called Æthiopes and Nigritæ, which we now call Moores, Moorens, or Negroes, a people of beastly liuing, without a God, lawe, religion, or common wealth, and so scorched and vexed with the heat of the sunne, that in many places they curse it when it riseth. Of the regions and people about the inner Libya (called Libya interior) Gemma Phrysius writeth thus.

Libya interior is very large and desolate, in the which are many horrible wildernesses and mountaines, replenished with diuers kinds of wilde and monstrous beastes and serpents. First from Muritania or Barbary toward the South is Getulia, a rough and sauage region, whose inhabitants are wilde and wandering people. After these follow the people called Melanogetuli and Pharusij, which wander in the wildernesse, carrying with them great gourdes of water. The Ethiopians called Nigritæ occupy a great part of Africa, and are extended to the West Ocean. Southward also they reach to the riuer Nigritis, whose nature agreeth with the riuer of Nilus forasmuch as it is increased and diminished at the same time, and bringeth forth the like beasts as the Crocodile. By reason whereof, I thinke this to be the same riuer which the Portugals called Senega: For this riuer is also of the same nature. It is furthermore marueilous and very strange that is said of this river: And this is, that on the one side thereof, the inhabitants are of high stature and black, and on the other side, of browne or tawne colour, and low stature, which thing also our men confirme to be true.

Æthiopes, Nigritæ.

The riuer Nigritis or Senega.

There are also other people of Libya called Garamantes, whose women are common: for they contract no matrimonie, neither haue respect to chastitie. After these are the nations of the people called Pyrei, Sathiodaphnitæ, Odrangi, Mimaces, Lynxamatæ, Dolopes, Aganginæ, Leuci Ethiopes, Xilicei Ethiopes, Calcei Ethiopes, and Nubi. These haue the same situation in Ptolome that they now giue to the kingdome of Nubia. Here are certaine Christians vnder the dominion of the great Emperour of Æthiopia, called Prester Iohn. From these toward the West is a great nation of people called Aphricerones, whose region (as farre as may be gathered by coniecture) is the same that is now called Regnum Orguene, confining vpon the East parts of Guinea. From hence Westward, and somewhat toward the North, are the kingdoms of Gambra and Budomel, not farre from the riuer of Senega. And from hence toward the inland regions, and along by the sea coast, are the regions of Ginoia or Guinea, which we commonly call Ginnee. On the Westside of these regions toward the Ocean, is the cape or point called Cabo verde, or Caput viride, (that is) the greene cape, to the which the Portugals first direct their course when they saile to America, or the land of Brasile. Then departing from hence, they turne to the right hand toward the quarter of the winde called Garbino, which is betweene the West and the South. But to speake somewhat more of Æthiopia: although there are many nations of people so named, yet is Aethiopia chiefly diuided into two parts, whereof the one is called Aethiopia vnder Aegypt, a great and rich region. To this perteineth the Island Meroe, imbraced round about with the stremes of the riuer Nilus. In this Island women reigned in old time. Iosephus writeth, that it was sometime called Sabea: and that the Queene of Saba came from thence to Ierusalem, to heare the wisedom of Salomon. From hence toward the East reigneth the said Christian Emperour Prester Iohn, whom some cal Papa Iohannes, and other say that he is called Pean Iuan (that is) great Iohn, whose Empire reacheth far beyond Nilus, and is extended to the coasts of the Red sea and Indian sea. The middle of the region is almost in 66. degrees of longitude, and 12. degrees of latitude. About this region inhabite the people called Clodi, Risophagi, Bobylonij, Axiuntæ, Molili, and Molibæ. After these

People of Libya.

The Portugals Nauigation to Brasile.

Prester Iohn Emperour of Aethiopia.

People of the Eastside of Africa.

is the region called Troglodytica, whose inhabitants dwel in caues and dennes: for these are their houses, and the flesh of serpents their meat, as writeth Plinie, and Diodorus Siculus. They haue no speach, but rather a grinning and chattering. There are also people without heads, called Blemines, hauing their eyes and mouth in their breast. Likewise Strucophagi, and naked Ganphasantes: Satyrs also, which haue nothing of men but onely shape. Moreouer Oripei, great hunters. Mennones also, and the region of Smyrmophora, which bringeth foorth myrrhe. After these is the region of Azania, in the which many Elephants are found. A great part of the other regions of Africke that are beyond the Aequinoctiall line, are now ascribed to the kingdome of Melinde, whose inhabitants are accustomed to trafique with the nations of Arabia, and their king is ioyned in friendship with the king of Portugal, and payeth tribute to Prester Iohn.

The other Ethiope, called Æthiopia interior (that is) the inner Ethiope, is not yet knowne for the greatnesse thereof, but onely by the sea coastes: yet is it described in this manner. First from the Aequinoctiall toward ye South, is a great region of Aethiopians, which bringeth forth white Elephants, Tygers, and the beastes called Rhinocerotes. Also a region that bringeth foorth plenty of cynamome, lying betweene the branches of Nilus. Also the kingdome of Habech or Habasi, a region of Christian men, lying both on this side and beyond Nilus. Here are also the Aethiopians, called Ichthiopagi (that is) such as liue onely by fish, and were sometimes subdued by the warres of great Alexander. Furthermore the Aethiopians called Rhapsij, and Anthropophagi, y^t^ are accustomed to eat mans flesh, inhabite the regions neere vnto the mountains called Montes Lunæ (that is) the mountaines of the Moone. Gazati is vnder the Tropike of Capricorne. After this followeth the front of Afrike, the Cape of Buena Speranza, or Caput Bonæ Spei, that is, the Cape of good hope, by the which they passe that saile from Lisbon to Calicut. But by what names the Capes and gulfes are called, forasmuch as the same are in euery globe and card, it were here superfluous to rehearse them.

Some write that Africa was so named by the Grecians, because it is without colde. For the Greeke letter Alpha or A signifies priuation, voyd, or without: and Phrice signifies colde. For in deed although in the stead of Winter they haue a cloudy and tempestuous season, yet is it not colde, but rather smothering hote, with hote showres of raine also, and somewhere such scorching windes, that what by one meanes and other, they seeme at certaine times to liue as it were in fornaces, and in maner already halfe way in Purgatorie or hell. Gemma Phrisius writeth, that in certaine parts of Africa, as in Atlas the greater, the aire in the night season is seene shining, with many strange fires and flames rising in maner as high as the Moone: and that in the element are sometime heard as it were the sound of pipes, trumpets and drummes: which noises may perhaps be caused by the vehement and sundry motions of such firie exhalations in the aire, as we see the like in many experiences wrought by fire, aire and winde. The hollowness also, and diuers reflexions and breaking of the cloudes may be great causes hereof, beside the vehement colde of the middle region of the aire, whereby the said fiery exhalations, ascending thither, are suddenly stricken backe with great force: for euen common and dayly experience teacheth vs, by the whissing of a burning torch, what noise fire maketh in the aire, and much more where it striueth when it is inclosed with aire, as appeareth in gunnes, and as the like is seene in onely aire inclosed, as in Organ pipes, and such other instruments that go by winde. For winde (as say the Philosophers) is none other then aire vehemently moued, as we see in a paire of bellowes, and such other.

The middle region of the aire is cold.

The strife of Elements.
Winde.

Some of our men of good credite that were in this last voiage to Guinea, affirme earnestly that in the night season they felt a sensible heat to come from the beames of the moone. The which thing, although it be strange and insensible to vs that inhabite cold regions, yet doeth it stand with good reason that it may so be, forasmuch as the nature of starres and planets (as writeth Plinie) consisteth of fire, and conteineth in it a spirit of fire, which cannot be without heat.

The heate of the Moone.

The nature of the starres.

And, that the Moone giueth heate vpon the earth the Prophe Dauid seemeth to confirme in his 121. Psalme, where speaking of such men as are defended from euil by Gods protection, hee saith thus: Per diem Sol non exuret te, nec Luna per noctem. That is to say, In the day the Sunne shall not burne thee, nor the Moone by night.

They say furthermore, that in certaine places of the sea they saw certaine streames of water, which they call spouts, falling out of the aire into the sea, and that some of these are as bigge as the great pillars of Churches: insomuch that sometimes they fall into shippes, and put them in great danger of drowning. Some faine that these should be the Cataracts of heauen, which were all opened at Noes floud. But I thinke them rather to be such fluxions and eruptions as Aristotle in his booke de Mundo saith, to chance in the sea. For speaking of such strange things as are seene often times in the sea, he writeth thus. Oftentimes also euen in the sea are seene euaporations of fire, and such eruptions and breaking foorth of springs, that the mouthes of riuers are opened. Whirlepooles, and fluxions are caused of such other vehement motions, not only in the middest of the sea, but also in creeks and streights. At certaine times also, a great quantity of water is suddenly lifted vp and carried about with the Moone, &c. By which wordes of Aristotle it doth appeare that such waters be lifted vp in one place at one time, and suddenly fall downe in an other place at another time. And hereunto perhaps perteineth it that Richard Chancellor told me that he heard Sebastian Cabot report, that (as farre as I remember) either about the coasts of Brasile or Rio de Plata, his shippe or pinnesse was suddenly lifted from the sea, and cast vpon land, I wot not howe farre. The which thing, and such other like wonderfull and strange workes of nature while I consider, and call to remembrance the narrownesse of mans vnderstanding and knowledge, in comparison of her mightie power, I can but cease to maruell and confesse with Plinie, that nothing is to her impossible, the least part of whose power is not yet knowen to men. Many things more our men saw and considered in this voyage, woorthy to be noted, whereof I haue thought good to put some in memory, that the reader may aswell take pleasure in the variety of things, as knowledge of the historie. Among other things, therefore touching the maners and nature of the people, this may seeme strange, that their princes and noble men vse to pounce and rase their skinnes with pretie knots in diuers formes, as it were branched damaske, thinking that to be a decent ornament. And albeit they goe in maner all naked, yet are many of them, and especially their women, in maner laden with collars, bracelets, hoopes, and chaines, either of gold, copper, or iuory. I my selfe haue one of their brassets of

A strange thing.

The power of nature.

Fine iewels.

A bracelet.

Iuory, weighing two pound and sixe ounces of Troy weight, which make eight and thirtie ounces: this one of their women did weare vpon her arme. It is made of one whole piece of the biggest part of the tooth, turned and somewhat carued, with a hole in the midst, wherein they put their handes to wear it on their arme. Some haue on euery arme one, and as many on their legges, wherewith some of them are so galled, that although they are in maner made lame thereby, yet will they by no meanes leaue them off. Some weare also on their legges great shackles of bright copper, which they thinke to bee no lesse comely. They weare also collars, bracelets, garlands, and girdles, of certain blew stones like beads. Likewise some of their women weare on their bare armes certaine foresleeues made of the plates of beaten golde. On their fingers also they weare rings, made of golden wires, with a knot or wreath, like vnto that which children make in a ring of a rush. Among other things of golde that our men bought of them for exchange of their wares, were certaine dogs-chaines and collers.

They are very wary people in their bargaining, and will not lose one sparke of golde of any value. They vse weights and measures, and are very circumspect in occupying the same. They that shall haue to doe with them, must vse them gently: for they will not trafique or bring in any wares if they be euill vsed. At the first voyage that our men had into these parties, it so chanced, that at their departure from the first place where they did trafick, one of them either stole a muske Cat, or tooke her away by force, not mistrusting that that should haue hindered their bargaining in another place whither they intended to goe. But for all the haste they coulde make with full sailes, the fame of their misusage so preuented them, that the people of that place also, offended thereby, would bring in no wares: insomuch that they were inforced either to restore the Cat, or pay for her at their price before they could trafique there.

Their houses are made of foure postes or trees, and couered with boughes.

Their common feeding is of roots, and such fishes as they take, whereof they haue great plenty.

There are also such flying fishes as are seene in the sea of the West Indies. Our men salted of their fishes, hoping to prouide store thereof: but they would take no salt, and must therefore be eaten forthwith as some say. Howbeit other affirme, that if they be salted immediately after they be taken, they wil last vncorrupted ten or twelue dayes. But this is more strange, that part of such flesh as they caried with them out of England, which putrified there, became sweete againe at their returne to the clime of temperate regions.

They vse also a strange making of bread, in this maner. They grinde betweene two stones with their handes as much corne as they thinke may suffice their family, and when they haue thus brought it to floure, they put thereto a certaine quantitie of water, and make thereof very thinne dough, which they sticke vpon some post of their houses, where it is baked by the heate of the Sunne: so that when the master of the house or any of his family will eate thereof, they take it downe and eate it.

They haue very faire wheate, the eare whereof is two handfuls in length, and as bigge as a great Bulrush, and almost foure inches about where it is biggest. The stemme or straw seemeth to be almost as bigge as the litle finger of a mans hand, or litle lesse. The graines of this wheate are as big as our peason, round also, and very white, and somewhat shining, like pearles that haue lost their colour. Almost all the substance of them turneth into floure, and maketh little bran or none. I told in one eare two hundred and threescore graines. The eare is inclosed in three blades longer than it selfe, and of two inches broad a piece. And by this fruitfulnes the Sunne seemeth partly to recompence such griefes and molestations as they otherwise receiue by the feruent heate thereof. It is doubtlesse a worthy contemplation to consider the contrary effects of the sunne: or rather the contrary passions of such things as receiue the influence of his beames, either to their hurt or benefit. Their drinke is either water, or the iuise that droppeth from the cut branches of the barren Date trees, called Palmitos. For either they hang great gourdes at the said branches euery euening, and let them so hang all night, or else they set them on the ground vnder the trees, that the droppes may fall therein. They say that this kinde of drinke is in taste much like vnto whey, but somewhat sweeter, and more pleasant. They cut the branches euery euening, because they are seared vp in the day by the heate of the Sunne. They haue also great beanes as bigge as chestnuts, aud very hard, with a shell in the stead of a huske.

Many things more might be saide of the maners of the people, and of the wonders and monstrous things that are engendered in

M.O.U.

Africke. But it shall suffice to haue saide this much of such things as our men partly sawe, and partly brought with them.

And whereas before speaking of the fruit of graines, I described the same to haue holes by the side (as in deede it hath, as it is brought hither) yet was I afterward enfourmed, that those holes were made to put stringes or twigges through the fruite, thereby to hang them vp to dry at the Sunne. They grow not past a foote and a halfe, or two foote from the ground, and are as red as blood when they are gathered. The graines themselues are called of the Phisicions Grana Paradisi.

Shels that cleaue to ships.

At their comming home the keeles of their shippes were marueilously ouergrowne with certaine shelles of two inches length and more, as thicke as they could stand, and of such bignesse that a man might put his thumbe in the mouthes of them. They certainely affirme that in these there groweth a certaine slimie substance, which at the length slipping out of the shell and falling in the sea, becommeth those foules which we call Barnacles. The like shelles haue bene seene in ships returning from Iseland, but these shels were not past halfe an inch in length. Of the other that came from Guinea, I sawe the Primerose lying in the docke, and in maner couered with the said shels, which in my iudgement should greatly hinder her sayling. Their ships were also in many places eaten with the wormes called Bromas or Bissas, whereof mention is made in the Decades. These creepe betweene the plankes, which they eate through in many places.

A secret.

The death of our men.

Fiue blacke Moores brought into England.

Colde may be better abiden then heate.

Among other things that chanced to them in this voyage, this is worthy to be noted, that whereas they sailed thither in seuen weekes, they could returne in no lesse space then twentie weekes. The cause whereof they say to be this: That about the coast of Cabo Verde the winde is euer at the East, by reason whereof they were enforced to saile farre out of their course into the maine Ocean, to finde the winde at the West to bring them home. There died of our men at this last voyage about twentie and foure, whereof many died at their returne into the clime of the colde regions, as betweene the Islands of Azores and England. They brought with them certaine black slaues, whereof some were tall and strong men, and could wel agree with our meates and drinkes. The colde and moyst aire doth somewhat offend them. Yet doubtlesse men that are borne in hot Regions may better abide colde, then men that are borne in colde Regions may abide heate, forasmuch as vehement heate resolueth the radicall moysture of mens bodies, as colde constraineth and preserueth the same.

This is also to be considered as a secret worke of nature, that throughout all Africke, vnder the Æquinoctial line, and neere about the same on both sides, the regions are extreeme hote, and the people very blacke. Whereas contrarily such regions of the West Indies as are vnder the same line are very temperate, and the people neither blacke, nor with curlde and short wooll on their heads, as they of Afrike haue, but of the colour of an Oliue, with long and blacke heare on their heads: the cause of which variety is declared in diuers places in the Decades.

It is also worthy to be noted that some of them that were at this voyage told me: That is, that they ouertooke the course of the Sunne, so that they had it North from them at noone, the 14. day of March. And to haue said thus much of these voyages, it may suffice.

The first voyage made by Master William Towrson Marchant of London, to the coast of Guinea, with two Ships, in the yeere 1555.

VPpon Munday the thirtieth day of September wee departed from the Isle of Wight, out of the hauen of Neuport with two good shippes, the one called the Hart, the other the Hinde, both of London, and the Masters of them were Iohn Ralph, and William Carter, for a voyage to bee made vnto the Riuer de Sestos in Guinea, and to other hauens thereabout.

It fell out by the varietie of windes, that it was the fourteenth day of October before wee coulde fetch Dartmouth: and being there arriued wee continued in that roade sixe dayes, and the 20. of October we warpt out of the hauen, and set saile, directing our course towards the Southwest, and the next morning we were runne by estimation thirty leagues.

The first of Nouember we found our selues to be in 31. degrees of latitude by the reckoning of our Master. This day we ranne about 40. leagues also.

The second day we ranne 36. leagues.

The third day we had sight of Porto Santo, which is a small Island lying in the sea, about three leagues long, and a league and a halfe broad, and is possessed by Portugals. It riseth as we came from the Northnorthwest like two small hilles neere together. The East end of the same Island is a high land like a saddle with a valley, which makes it to beare that forme. The West ende of it is lower with certaine small round hillocks. This Island lieth in thirty and three degrees. The same day at 11. of the clocke we raysed the Isle of Madera, which lieth 12. leagues from Porto Santo, towards the Southwest: that Island is a faire Island and fruitfull, and is inhabited by Portugals, it riseth afarre off like a great whole land and high. By three of the clocke this day at after noone we were thwart of Porto Santo, and we set our course Southwest, to leaue the Isle of Madera to the Eastward, as we did Porto Santo. These two Islands were the first land that we saw since wee left the coast of England. About three of the clocke after midnight wee were thwart of Madera, within three leagues of the West ende of it, and by meanes of the high hilles there, we were becalmed: We suppose we ranne this day and night 30. leagues.

The fourth day we lay becalmed vnder the Isle of Madera, vntill one of the clocke at afternoone, and then, the winde comming into the East, wee went our course, and ranne that day fifteene leagues.

The 5. day we ranne 15. leagues more.

The 6. day in the morning we raysed the Isle of Tenerif, otherwise called the Pike, because it is a very high Island, with a pike vpon the top like a loafe of suger. The same night we raised the Isle of Palma, which is a high land also, and to the Westward of the Isle of Tenerif.

The 7. day we perceiued the Isle of Gomera, which is an Island standing betwixt Tenerif and Palma, about 12. leagues Eastward from Palma, and 8. leagues Westward from Tenerif: and for feare of being becalmed with the Isle of Tenerif, we left both it, and Gomera to the Eastward of vs, and went betwixt Palma and Gomera. We ranne this day and nigh' 30. leagues.

Note that these Islands be 60. leagues from Madera, and that there are 3 Islands more to the Westward of Tenerif, named the Grand Canaria, Forte-ventura, and Lancerot, of which Island we came not in sight: they being inhabited by Spaniards.

This day also we had sight of the Isle of Ferro, which is to the Southwards 13. leagues from the other Islands, and is possessed by Spaniards. All this day and night by reason of the winde we could not double the point of the Isle of Ferro, except we would haue gone to the Westward of it, which had bene much out of our course: therefore we kept about, and ranne backe fiue houres Eastnortheast to the ende we might double it vpon the next boord, the winde continuing Southeast, which hath not bene often seene vpon that coast by any traueilers: for the winde continueth there for the most part Northeast, and East Northeast: so vpon the other boord by the next morning we were in a maner with the Island, and had roome ynough to double the same.

The 8. day we kept our course as neere the winde as wee could, because that our due course to fetch the coast of Barbary was Southeast and by East, but by the scant winde we could not goe our due course, but went as neere it as we could, and ranne this day and night 25. leagues.

The 9. day we ranne 30. leagues, the 10. 25. leagues, the 12. 24.

The 12. day we saw a saile vnder our Lee, which was as we thought a fishermen, so that wee went roome to haue spoken with him, but within one houre there fell such a fogge, that wee could not see the shippe nor one of vs the other: we shot off diuers pieces to the Hinde, but she heard them not: at afternoone she shot off a piece which wee heard, and made her answere with another: and within one halfe houre after the fogge brake vp, and we were within 4. leagues of the shoare vpon the coast of Barbary, and wee sounded and had 14. fadom water. The Barke also came roome with vs and their ankered by reason of the contrary winde. When we fell with the land, we could not iudge iustly what part of the land it was, because the most part of that coast is lowe land, and no part to be iudged of it but the fore part of the shoare, which is white like chalke or sand, and very deepe vnto the hard shoare: there immediatly we began to fish, and found great store of a kinde of fish which the Portugals commonly fish for vpon that coast, which they cal Pergosses, the Frenchmen call them Saders, and our men salt-water breames. Before the clearing vp of the fogge, the shippe which we followed shaped such a course that we could see her no more, by reason of our shooting off to finde the Hinde againe. This part of the coast of Barbary, by our Pilots reckoning, is about 16. leagues to the Eastwards of the riuer del Oro.

The 13. day in the afternoone wee spyed a saile comming towards vs, which wee iudged to be the saile that wee sawe the day before, and as soone as we spied him, wee caused the Hinde to way her ancre and to goe towardes him, and manned out our Skiffe in like case to lay him aboorde, or to discerne what hee was, and wee our selues within halfe an houre after wayed also: but after the saile had espied vs, hee kept about, and turned backe againe, and shortly after there fell such another fogge, that wee coulde not see him: which fogges continued all that night, so that wee were constrained to leaue the chase. This afternoone the winde came about, and wee went our course Southwest and by West, to goe cleare off the coast, wee ranne that night sixteene leagues.

A Caruell taken.

The foureteenth day in the morning was verie foggie: but about twelue a clocke wee espied a Caruell of 60. tunne which was fishing, and we sent our Skiffe to him with fiue men, and all without any weapon sauing their Oares. The Caruell for haste let slippe her ancre, and set saile; and they seeing that, fearing that they should not fetch her, would tarry for no weapons, and in the ende ouertooke the Caruell, and made her to strike saile, and brought her away, although they had foureteene or fifteene men aboord, and euery man his weapon, but they had not the hearts to resist our men. After they were come to vs, they let fall their ancre, for wee had cast ancre because the winde was not good: I caused then the Skiffe to come for mee, and I went aboorde of them to see that no harme should bee done to them, nor to take any thing but that which they might spare vs for our money. So wee tooke of them 3. Tapnets of figges, two small pots of oyle, two pipes of water, foure hogsheads of saltfish which they had taken vpon the coast, and certaine fresh fish which they did not esteeme, because there is such store vpon that coast, that in an houre and sometime lesse, a man may take as much fish as will serue twentie men a day. For these things, and for some wine which wee dranke aboord of them, and three or foure great Cannes which they sent aboord of our shippes, I payed them twentie and seuen Pistoles, which was twise as much as they willingly would haue taken: and so let them goe to their ancre and cable which they had let slippe, and got it againe by our helpe. After this wee set saile, but the winde caused vs to ancre againe about twelue leagues off the riuer del Oro, as the Portugals tolde vs. There were fiue Caruels more in this place, but when they sawe vs, they made all away for feare of vs.

Great store of fish vpon the coast of Barbary.

The 15. day we ridde still because of the winde.

The 16. day we set saile and ranne our course 40. leagues. This day, by the reckoning of our Pilots, we were right vnder the Tropike of Cancer. The 17. we ranne 25. leagues within sight for the most part of the coast of Barbary.

The Tropike of Cancer in 23. and a halfe.

The 18. day wee ranne thirtie leagues, and at tweluc of the clocke by the reckoning of our Pilots we were thwart of Cape Blanke.

The 22. day our Pilots reckoned vs to be thwart Cape Verde.

The 12. day of December we had sight of land of Guinea, which as soone as we saw we halled into the land Northeast, and about 12. of the clocke at night we were neere the shoare within lesse then 2. leagues: and then we kept about and sounded, and found 18. fadom water. Afterwards we saw a light towards the shoare, which we thought to haue bene a ship, and thereby iudged it to be the riuer de Sestos, which light as soone as we espied, we came to an anker and armed our tops, and made all things ready to fight, because we doubted that it might be some Portugal or French man: this night we remained at an anker, but in the morning we saw no man, only we espied 4. rockes about 2. English miles from vs, one great rocke, and the 3. other smal ones, which when we sawe, we supposed that the light came from the shore, and so wayed, and set saile East Southeast along the shoare, because the Master did not well know the place, but thought that we were not so farre to the East as the riuer de Sestos.

The coast of Guinea.

This land all along is a low land, and full of very high trees all along the shoare, so that it is not possible to know the place that a man doth fall withall, except it be by the latitude. In these 24. houres I thinke we ran 16. leagues, for all the night we had a great gale as we were vnder saile, and had withall store of thunder and lightnings.

The 13. day for the most part we ran East Southeast all along the shoare, within two leagues alwayes of the same, and found the land all as at the first, ful of woods and great rocks hard aboord the shoare, and the billow beating so sore, that the seas brake vpon the shoare as white as snow, and the water mounted so high that a man might easily discerne it 4. leagues off, in such wise that no boate could land there. Thus we ran vntil 12. of the clocke, and then they tooke the Sunne and after iudged themselues to be 24. leagues past the riuer de Sestos to the Eastwards, by reason whereof we halled into the shoare within two English miles, and there ancred and found fifteene fadom water, and all off from the shoare the sea so smooth, that we might wel haue rid by an Hawser. All that after-noone we trimmed our boate and made her a saile, to the ende that she might go along by the shoore to seeke some place to water in: for wee could not goe back againe to the riuer de Sestos, because the winde blowes alwayes contrary, and the Currant runneth alwayes to the Eastwards, which was also against vs.

The 14. day we set saile and went back againe along the coast, and sent our boats hard aboord the shoare to seeke a watering place, which they found about 12. of the clock, and we being farre into the sea, met with diuers boats of the Countrey, small, long and narrow, and in euery boate one man and no more: we gaue them bread which they did eat, and were very glad of it. About 4. of the clocke our boats came to vs with fresh water: and this night we ankered against a Riuer.

The 15. day we wayed and set saile to goe neere the shoare, and with our leade wee sounded all the way, and found sometimes rockes, and sometimes faire ground, and at the shallowest found 7. fadoms alwayes at the least. So in fine we found 7. fadom and a halfe within an English mile of the shoare, and there we ankered in a maner before the mouth of the Riuer, and then wee sent our boats into the Riuer for water, which went about a mile within the Riuer, where they had very good water. This Riuer lieth by estimation 8. leagues beyond the Riuer de Sestos, and is called in the Carde Riuer S. Vincent, but it is so hard to finde, that a boat being within halfe a mile of it shall not be able to discerne that it is a Riuer: by reason that directly before the mouth of it there lyeth a ledge of rockes, which is much broader then the Riuer, so that a boate must runne in along the shoare a good way betwixt the rockes and the shoare before it come to the mouth of the Riuer, and being within it, it is a great Riuer and diuers other Riuers fall into it: The going into it is somewhat ill, because that at the entring the seas doe goe somewhat high, but being once within it, it is as calme as the Thames.

Riuer S. Vincent.

There are neere to the sea vpon this Riuer diuers inhabitants, which are mighty bigge men and go al naked except some thing before their priuie parts, which is like a clout about a quarter

Cloth made of the barke of trees.

of a yard long made of the barke of trees, and yet it is like a cloth: for the barke is of that nature, that it will spin small after the maner of linnen. Some of them also weare the like vpon their heades being painted with diuers colours, but the most part of them go bare headed, and their heads are clipped and shorne of diuers sorts, and the most part of them haue their skin of their bodies raced with diuers workes, in maner of a leather Ierkin. The men and women goe so alike, that one cannot know a man from a woman but by their breastes, which in the most part be very foule and long, hanging downe low like the vdder of a goate.

The Negroes race their skinnes.

The same morning we went into the Riuer with our Skiffe, and caried certaine basons, manels, &c. And there we tooke that day one hogs-head and 100. li. waight of Graines, and two Elephants teeth at a reasonable good reckoning. Wee solde them both basons, and Manellios, and Margarits, but they desired most to haue basons: For the most part of our basons wee had by estimation about 30. li. for a piece, and for an Elephants tooth of 30. li. waight, we gaue them 6.

Graines of Guinea.

The 16. day in the morning we went into the riuer with our Skiffe, and tooke some of euery sort of our marchandize with vs, and shewed it to the Negroes, but they esteemed it not, but made light of it, and also of the basons, Manellios and Margarits, which yesterday they did buy: howbeit for the basons they would haue giuen vs some graines, but to no purpose, so that this day wee tooke not by estimation aboue one hundreth pound waight of Graines, by meanes of their Captaine, who would suffer no man to sell any thing but through his hands, and at his price: he was so subtile, that for a bason hee would not giue 15. pound waight of Graines, and sometimes would offer vs smal dishfuls, whereas before wee had baskets full, and when he saw that wee would not take them in contentment, the Captaine departed, and caused all the rest of the boates to depart, thinking belike that wee would haue followed them, and haue giuen them their owne askings. But after that wee perceiued their fetch, wee wayed our Grapnel and went away, and then wee went on land into a small Towne to see the fashions of the Countrey, and there came a threescore of them about vs, and at the first they were afraid of vs, but in the ende perceiuing that wee did no hurt, they would come to vs and take vs by the hand and be familiar with vs, and then we went into their Townes, which were like to twentie small houels, all couered ouer with great leaues and baggage, and all the sides open, and a scaffolde vnder the house about a yarde high, where they worke many pretie things of the barkes of trees, and there they lye also. In some of their houses they worke yron and make faire dartes, and diuers other things to worke their boates, and other things withall, and the women worke as well as the men. But when wee were there diuers of the women to shew vs pleasure danced and sung after their maner, full ill to our eares. Their song was thus:

The description of their Townes and houses.

Sakere, sakere, ho, ho. Sakere, sakere, ho, ho.

And with these words they leape and dance, and clap their hands. Beastes we could see none that they had, but two goates, small dogges, and small hennes: other beastes we saw none. After that we had well marked all things we departed and went aboord our ships: which thing the Captaine of the other towne perceiuing, sent two of his seruants in a boat with a basket of Graines, and made vs signes that if when wee had slept wee would come againe into their riuer, wee should haue store of Graines, and so shewed vs his Graines and departed.

The 17. day in the morning because we thought that the Negroes would haue done something because the Captaine sent for vs, I required the Master to goe on shoare, and sent the rest of our Marchants with him, and taried aboord my selfe by reason that the last day he esteemed our things so litle: so when the Master and the rest came into the riuer, the captaine with diuers others came to them, and brought Graines with them, and after that he saw that I was not there, he made signes to know where I was, and they made signes to him againe that I was in the ships: and then hee made signes to know who was Captaine by name of Diago, for so they call their Captaine, and they pointed to the master of the ship: then he began to shew his Graines, but he held them so vnreasonably, that there was no profit to be made of them: which things the Master perceiuing, and seeing that they had no store of Graines, came away, and tooke not aboue 50. pound waight of Graines. Then he went a shoare to the litle Towne where we were the day before, and one of them plucked a Gourd, wherewith the Negroes were offended, and came many of them to our men with their darts and great targets, and made signes to them

Diago the name of a Captaine.

to depart: which our men did, hauing but one bow and two or three swords, and went aboord the boate and came away from them: and assoone as they were come aboord we wayed and set saile, but the winde was off the Sea, so that we could not get out cleare of certaine rocks, and therefore we came to an ancre againe.

The latitude of S. Vincent riuer is 4. degrees and a halfe.

This riuer is called Riuer S. Vincent, standing in 4. degrees and a halfe, and it ebbeth and floweth there every 12. houres, but not much water when it ebbeth the most: while wee were there, it ebbeth one fadome and a halfe water.

Leaues of exceeding length.

This countrey as farre as we could perceiue is altogether woody, and al strange trees, whereof wee knewe none, and they were of many sorts, with great leaues like great dockes, which bee higher then any man is able to reach the top of them.

Long pease stalkes.

There are certaine peason by the Sea side, which grow vpon great and very long stalkes, one of the stalkes I measured and found it 27. paces long, and they grow vpon the sand like to trees, and that so neere the Sea, that sometimes the Sea floweth into the woods as we might perceiue by the water markes.

The trees and all things in this place grow continually greene.

Long womens breasts.

Diuers of the women haue such exceeding long breasts, that some of them wil lay the same vpon the ground and lie downe by them, but all the women haue not such breasts.

At this place all the day the winde bloweth off the Sea, and all the night off the land, but wee found it to differ sometimes, which our Master marueiled at.

This night at 9. of the clocke the winde came vp at the East, which ordinarily about that time was wont to come out of the North Northwest off the shoare: yet we wayed and halled off South with that winde all night into the Sea, but the next morning we halled in againe to the lande, and tooke in 6. Tunnes of water for our ship, and I thinke the Hinde tooke in as much.

I could not perceiue that here was any gold, or any other good thing: for the people be so wilde and idle, that they giue themselues to seeke out nothing: if they would take paines they might gather great store of graines, but in this place I could not perceiue two Tunne.

There are many foules in the Countrey, but the people will not take the paines to take them.

I obserued some of their words of speach, which I thought good here to set downe.

Bezow, bezow,	Is their salutation.
Manegete afoye,	Graines ynough.
Crocow, afoye,	Hennes ynough.
Zeramme, afoye,	Haue ynough.
Begge sacke,	Giue me a knife.
Begge come,	Giue me bread.
Borke,	Holde your peace.
Coutrecke,	Ye lye.
Veede,	Put foorth, or emptie.
Brekeke,	Rowe.
Diago,	Their Captaine, and some call him Dabo.

These and other wordes they speake very thicke, and oftentimes recite one word three times together, and at the last time longer then at the two first.

The 18. day towards night, as we were sailing along the coast, we met with certaine boats in the sea, and the men shewed vs that there was a riuer thwart of vs, where there were Graines to be sold, but we thought it not good to tary there, least the other ships should get before vs. This riuer hath lying before it three great rockes, and 5. small rocks, one great tree, and a little tree right by the riuer, which in height exceeded all the rest: we halled this night along the coast 10. leagues.

The 19. day as we coasted the shoare, about twelue of the clocke there came out to vs 3. boates to tell vs that they had graines, and brought some with them for a shew, but we could not tary there. We proceeded along the coast, and ancred by the shore all the night, and ran this day 10. leagues.

The 20. day the Hinde hauing ankered by vs amongst rockes, and foule ground, lost a small anker. At noone, as we passed along the coast, there came forth a Negro to vs, making signes, that if we would goe a shoare, wee should haue Graines, and where wee ankered at night, there came another to vs, and brought Graines, and shewed vs them, and made signes that wee should tary, and made a fire vpon the land in the night, meaning thereby to tell vs where we should land, and so they did in diuers other places vpon the coast, where they saw vs to anker.

In al the places where we haue ancred, since we came from our watring place, we haue found the tide alwayes running to the Westwards, and all along the coast many rockes hard aboord the shoare, and many of them a league off the shoare or more, we ran this day 12. leagues.

The tides and nature of the shore.

The 21 day, although we ranne all day with a good gale of winde, yet the tides came so sore out of the coast, that we were not able to runne aboue sixe leagues: and this day there came some Negroes to vs, as there had done other times.

The 22. wee ranne all day and night to double a point, called Das Palmas, and ranne sixteene leagues.

The 23. day about 3. of the clocke we were thwart of the point, and before we came to the Westermost part of it, we saw a great ledge of rocks, which lie West from the Cape about 3. leagues and a league or more from the land. Shortly after we had sight of the Eastermost part of the Cape, which lieth 4. leagues from the Westermost part, and vpon the very corner thereof lie two greene places, as it were closes, and to the Westwards of the Cape the land parted from the Cape, as it were a Bay, whereby it may well be knowen. Foure leagues more beyonde that there lieth a head-land in the sea, and about two leagues beyond the head-land there goeth in a great Bay, as it were a riuer, before which place we ankered all that night, which wee did, least in the night, wee should ouerrunne a riuer where the last yeere they had all their Elephants teeth.

That was the yere 1554.

This Cape Das palmas lieth vnder foure degrees and a halfe, and betwixt the said Cape, and the riuer de Sestos is the greatest store of Graines to be had, and being past the said Cape there is no great store else where.

Where we ankered this night, we found that the tide, which before ran alwayes to the Westward, from this Cape runneth all to the Eastward: this day we ranne some 16. leagues.

The 24. day running our course, about eight of the clock there came forth to vs certaine boats, which brought with them small egges, which were soft without shels, and they made vs signes, that there was within the land fresh water, and Goates: and the Master thinking that it was the riuer which we sought, cast ancker and sent the boate on shoare, with one that knew the riuer, and comming neere the shoare, hee perceiued that it was not the riuer, and so came backe againe, and went along the shoare, with their oares and saile, and wee weyed and ranne along the shoare also: and being thirteene leagues beyond the Cape, the Master perceiued a place which he iudged to be the riuer, when wee were in deede two miles shot past it: yet the boate came from the shoare, and they that were in her saide, that there was no riuer: notwithstanding wee came to an ancker, and the Master and I tooke fiue men with vs in the boat, and when hee came neere the shoare, hee perceiued that it was the same riuer which hee did seeke: so we rowed in, and found the entrance very ill, by reason that the sea goeth so high: and being entred, diuers boats came to vs, and shewed vs that they had Elephants teeth, and they brought vs one of about eight pound, and a little one of a pound, which we bought: then they brought certaine teeth to the riuer side, making signes, that if the next day we would come againe, they would sell vs them: so we gaue vnto two Captaines, to either of them a manillio, and so we departed, and came aboord, and sent out the other boate to another place, where certaine boats that came into the sea, made vs signes that there was fresh water: and being come thither, they found a towne, but no riuer, yet the people brought them fresh water, and shewed them an Elephants tooth, making signes that the next day they would sel them teeth, and so they came aboord.

This riuer lieth by the Carde thirteene leagues from the Cape Das palmas, and there lieth to the Westwards of the same a rocke about a league in the sea, and the riuer it selfe hath a point of lande comming out into the Sea, whereupon grow fiue trees, which may well bee discerned two or three leagues off, comming from the Westward, but the riuer cannot bee perceiued vntill such time as a man be hard by it, and then a man may perceiue a litle Towne on ech side the riuer, and to ech Towne there belongeth a Captaine. The riuer is but small, but the water is good and fresh.

Two miles beyond the riuer, where the other towne is, there lieth another point into the Sea, which is greene like a close, and not aboue sixe trees vpon it, which growe one of them from the other, whereby the coast may well be knowen: for along all the coast that we haue hitherto sailed by, I haue not seene so much bare land.

In this place, and three or foure leagues to the Westward of it, al along the shoare, there grow many Palme trees, whereof they make their wine de Palma. These trees may easily be knowen almost two leagues off, for they be very high and white bodied, and streight, and be biggest in the midst: they haue no boughes, but onely a round bush in the top of them: and at the top of the same trees they boare a hoale, and there they hang a bottell, and the iuyce of the tree runneth out of the said hole into the bottle, and that is their wine.

From the Cape das Palmas, to the Cape Tres puntas, there are 100. leagues: and to the port where we purpose to make sales of our cloth beyond the Cape Tres puntas, 40. leagues.

Note, that betwixt the riuer De Sestos, and the Cape Das palmas, is the place where all the graines be gathered.

The language of the people of this place, as far as I could perceiue, differeth not much from the language of those which dwel where we watred before: but the people of this place be more gentle in nature then the other, and goodlier men: their building and apparel is all one with the others.

Their desire in this place was most of all to haue Manillios and Margarites: as for the rest of our things, they did litle esteeme them.

Their maner of swearing by the water of the Sea.

About nine of the clocke there came boates to vs foorth, from both of the places aforesaid, and brought with them certaine teeth, and after they had caused me to sweare by the water of the Sea that I would not hurt them, they came aboord our ship three or foure of them, and we gaue them to eate of all such things as we had, and they did eate and drinke of all things, as well as we our selues. Afterwards we bought all their teeth, which were in number 14. and of those 14. there were 10. small: afterwards they departed, making vs signes that the next day we should come to their Townes.

Two townes.

The 26. day because we would not trifle long at this place I required the Master to goe vnto one of the townes, and to take two of our marchants with him, and I my selfe went to the other, and tooke one with me, because these two townes stand three miles asunder. To these places we caried somewhat of euery kind of marchandize that we had: and hee had at the one Towne, nine teeth, which were but small, and at the other towne where I was, I had eleuen, which were also not bigge, and we left aboord with the Master certaine Manillios, wherewith he bought 12. teeth aboord the ship, in our absence: and hauing bought these of them, wee perceiued that they had no more teeth: so in that place where I was one brought to me a small goat, which I bought, and to the Master at the other place they brought fiue small hennes, which he bought also, and after that we saw there was nothing else to be had, we departed, and by one of the clocke we met aboord, and then wayed, and went East our course 18. leagues still within sight of land.

The 28. the wind varied, and we ranne into the sea, and the winde comming againe off the sea, wee fell with the land againe, and the first of the land which we raised shewed as a great red cliffe round, but not very high, and to the Eastward of that another smaller red cliffe, and right aboue that into the land a round hammoke and greene, which we tooke to be trees. We ranne in these 24. houres, not aboue foure leagues.

The 29. day comming neere to the shoare, we perceiued the red cliffe aforesaide to haue right vpon the top of it a great heape of trees, and all to the Westwards of it ful of red cliffes as farre as we could see, and all along the shoare, as well vpon the cliffes, as otherwise, full of wood: within a mile of the said great cliffe there is a riuer to the Eastwards, and no cliffes that we could see, except one small cliffe, which is hard by it. We ran this day and night 12. leagues.

The windes that wee had in this place by the reports of the people and of those that haue bene there, haue not bene vsuall, but in the night, at North off the lande, and in the day South off the Sea, and most commonly Northwest, and Southwest.

The 31. day we went our course by the shoare Northwards: this land is al along a low shoare, and full of wood, as all the coast is for the most part, and no rockes. This morning came out many boates which went a fishing, which bee greater boates then those which we sawe before, so that in some of them there sate 5. men, but the fashion of the boats is all one. In the afternoone about three of the clocke wee had sight of a Towne by the sea side, which our Pilots iudged to be 25. leagues to the Westwards of the Cape Tres puntas.

The third of Ianuary in the morning we fell with the Cape Tres puntas, and in the night passed, as our Pilots saide, by one of the Portugals castles, which is 8. leagues to the Westwards of the Cape: vpon the first sight of the Cape wee discerned it a very high land, and all growen ouer with trees, and comming neere to it, we perceiued two head lands, as it were two Bayes betwixt them, which opened right to the Westward, and the vttermost of them is the Easterne Cape, there we perceiued the middle Cape, and the Eastermost Cape: the middle Cape standeth not aboue a league from the West Cape, although the Card sheweth them to be 3. leagues one from the other: and that middle Cape hath right before the point of it a small rocke so neere to it, that it cannot be discerned from the Cape, except a man be neere to the shoare, and vpon the same Cape standeth a great heape of trees, and when a man is thwart the same Cape to the Eastward, there riseth hard by it a round greene hommoke, which commeth out of the maine.

The thirde Cape is about a league beyond the middle Cape, and is a high land like to the other Capes, and betwixt the middle, and the thirde commeth out a little head or point of a land out of the maine, and diuers rocks hard aboord the shoare.

Before we came to the Capes, being about 8. leagues off them, wee had the land Southeast, and by East, and being past the Capes, the land runneth in againe East Northeast.

About two leagues beyond the farthest Cape there is a lowe glade about two miles long, and then the land riseth high againe, and diuers head lands rise one beyond another, and diuers rockes lie at the point of the first head-land. The middest of these Capes is the neerest to the Southwards, I meane, further into the sea than any of the other, so that being to the Eastward of it, it may be discerned farre off, and being so to the Eastward it riseth with two small rockes.

This day we ankered for feare of ouershooting a towne called S. Iohns. Wee ran this day not aboue 8. leagues. In the afternoone this day there came a boate of the countrey from the shoare, with fiue men in her, and went along by vs, as we thought, to discerne our flagges, but they would not come neere vs, and when they had well looked vpon vs, they departed.

The fourth day in the morning, sailing by the coast, we espied a ledge of rockes by the shoare, and to the Westwards of them two great grene hils ioyning together, so that betweene them it was hollow like a saddle: and within the said rockes the Master thought the aforenamed Towne had stoode, and therefore we manned our boates, and tooke with vs cloth, and other marchandize, and rowed ashoare, but going along by the coast, we sawe that there was no towne, therefore wee went aboord againe.

From these two hils aforesaid, about two leagues to the Eastward, lie out into the Sea almost two miles a ledge of rockes, and beyond that a great Bay, which runneth into the North Northwestward, and the land in this place lieth North Northeast along the shoare: but the vttermost point of land in that place that we could see, lay Northeast, and by East from vs.

After that we were with a small gale of winde runne past that vttermost head-land, we sawe a great red cliffe, which the Master againe iudged to be the towne of S. Iohns, and then wee tooke our boate with marchandize, and went thither, and when we came thither, we perceiued that there was a towne vpon the toppe of the hill, and so wee went toward it, and when we were hard by it, the people of the towne came together a great sort of them, and waued vs to come in, with a peece of cloth, and so we went into a very faire Bay, which lieth to the Eastward of the cliffe, whereupon the towne standeth, and being within the cliffe, wee let fall our grapnell, and after that we had taried there a good space, they sent a boate aboord of vs, to shewe vs that they had golde, and they shewed us a peece about halfe a crowne weight, and required to know our measure, and our weight, that they might shewe their Captaine thereof: and wee gaue them a measure of two elles, and a waight of two Angels to shew vnto him, which they tooke, and went on shoare, and shewed it vnto their Captaine, and then they brought vs a measure of two elles, one quarter and a halfe, and one Crusado-weight of gold, making vs signes that so much they would giue for the like measure, and lesse they would not haue. After this, we taried there about an houre, and when we sawe that they would doe no otherwise, and withall vnderstood, that all the best places were before vs, wee departed to our shippes and wayed, and ranne along the shoare, and went before with our boate, and hauing sailed about a league, we came to a point where there lay foorth a ledge of rockes, like to the others before spoken of, and being past that people, the Master spied a place which hee saide plainely was the towne of Don Iohn: and the night was come vpon vs, so that we could not well discerne it, but we ankered as neere vnto the place as we could.

The towne of Don Iohn.

The fift day in the morning we perceiued it to be the same towne in deede, and we manned our boates and went thither, and because that the last yeere the Portugals at that place tooke away a man from them, and after shot at them with great bases, and did beate them from the place, we let fall our grapnel almost a base shot off the shoare, and there we lay about two houres, and no boats came to vs.

Then certaine of our men with the Hindes boate went into the Bay which lieth to the Eastward of the towne, and within that Bay they found a goodly fresh riuer, and afterwards they came and waued to vs also to come in, because they perceiued the Negroes to come downe to that place, which we did: and immediately the Negroes came to vs, and made vs signes that they had golde, but none of them would come aboord our boates, neither could we perceiue any boates that they had to come withall, so that we iudged that the Portugals had spoiled their boates, because we saw halfe of their towne destroyed.

Wee hauing stayed there a good space, and seeing that they would not come to vs, thrust our boates heads a shoare, being both well appointed, and then the Captaine of the Towne came downe being a graue man: and he came with his dart in his hand, and sixe tall men after him, euery one with his dart and his target, and their darts were all of yron, faire and sharpe, and there came another after them which caried the Captaines stoole: wee saluted him, and put off our caps, and bowed our selues, and hee like one that thought well of himselfe, did not mooue his cap, nor scant bowed his body, and sate him downe very solemnly, vpon his stoole: but all his men put off their caps to vs, and bowed downe themselues.

He was clothed from the loines down with a cloth of that Countrey making, wrapped about him, and made fast about his loynes with a girdle, and his cap of a certaine cloth of the Countrey also, and bare legged, and bare footed, and all bare aboue the loynes, except his head.

His seruants, some of them had cloth about their loines, and some nothing but a cloth betwixt their legges, and made fast before, and behinde to their girdles, and cappes of their owne making, some like a basket, and some like a great wide purse of beasts skinnes.

Their weapons.

All their cloth, cordes, girdles, fishing lines, and all such like things which they haue, they make of the bark of certaine trees, and thereof they can worke things very pretily, and yron worke they can make very fine, of all such things as they doe occupy, as darts, fishhookes, hooking yrons, yron heads, and great daggers, some of them as long as a woodknife, which be on both sides exceeding sharpe, and bended after the maner of Turkie blades, and the most part of them haue hanging at their left side one of those great daggers.

Their targets bee made of such pils as their cloth is made of, and very closely wrought, and they bee in forme foure square, and very great, and somewhat longer then they bee broad, so that kneeling downe, they make their targets to couer their whole body. Their bowes be short, and of a pretie strength, as much as a man is able to draw with one of his fingers, and the string is of the barke of a tree, made flat, and about a quarter of an inch broad: as for their arrowes, I haue not as yet seene any of them, for they had wrapped them vp close, and because I was busie I could not stand about it, to haue them open them. Their golde also they worke very well.

When the Captaine was set, I sent him two elles of cloth, and two basons, and gaue them vnto him, and hee sent againe for a waight of the same measure, and I sent him a weight of two Angels, which he would not take, nether would hee suffer the towne to buy any thing, but the basons of brasse: so that wee solde that day 74. basons vnto the men of the towne, for about half an Angel weight, one with another, and nine white basons, which we solde for a quarter of an Angell a peece, or thereabouts.

We shewed them all our other things which we had, but they did not esteeme them.

About two of the clocke, the Captaine who did depart in the morning from vs, came againe, and brought with him to present mee withall, a henne, and two great rootes, which I receiued, and after made me signes that the countrey would come to his towne that night, and bring great store of gold, which in deed about 4. of the clocke they did: for there came about 100. men vnder 3. Captaines, well appointed with their darts and bowes, and when they came to vs, euery man sticked downe his dart vpon the shoare, and the Captaines had stooles brought them, and they sate downe, and sent a young man aboord of vs, which brought a measure with him of an ell, and one fourth part, and one sixteenth part, and he would haue that foure times for a waight of one Angell and twelue graines: I offered him two elles, as I had done before for two Angels weight, which he esteemed nothing, but still stucke at his foure measures aforesaide: yet in the ende, when it grew very late, and I made him signes, that I would depart, he came to foure elles for the weight abouesaid, and otherwise he would not deale, and so we departed. This day we tooke for basons sixe ounces and a halfe and one eight part.

The sixt day in the morning we manned our boates and the skiffe well, for feare of the Portugals which the last yeere had taken away a man from the other ships, and went on shoare, and landed, because they had no boates to come to vs, and so the young man which was with vs the night before was sent aboord, who seemed to haue dealt and bargained before with the Portugals for he could speake a litle Portuguise, and was perfect in weights and measures: at his comming he offered vs, as he had done before, one Angell, and twelue graines for four elles, and more he would not giue, and made signes, that if we would not take that, we should depart, which we did: but before we did indeede depart, I offered him of some rotten cloth three elles for his waight of an Angell and twelue graines, which he would not take, and then we departed making signes to him that we would go away, as indeede we would haue done, rather then haue giuen that measure, although the cloth was ill, seeing we were so neere to the places, which we iudged to be better for sale. Then we went aboord our ships which lay about a league off, and came backe againe to the shoare for sand and balaste: and then the Captaine perceiuing that the boats had brought no marchandize but came onely for water and sand, and seeing that we would depart, came vnto them, making signes againe to know whether would we not giue the foure elles, and they made signes againe, that we would giue them but three, and when they sawe that the boates were ready to depart, they came vnto them and gaue them the weight of our Angell and twelue graines, which we required before and made signes, that if we would come againe, they would take three elles. So when the boates came aboord, we layde wares in them both, and for the speedier dispatch I and Iohn Sauill went in one boat, and the Maister Iohn Makeworth, and Richard Curligin, in the other, and went on shoare, and that night I tooke for my part fiftie and two ounces, and in the other boate they tooke eight ounces and a quarter, all by one weight and measure, and so being very late, we departed and went aboord, and took in all this day three pound.

The seuenth day we went a shoare againe, and that day I tooke in our boate three pound 19 ounces, so that we dispatched almost all the cloth that we caried with us before noone, and then many of the people were departed and those that remained had litle golde, yet they made vs signes to fetch them some latten basons, which I would not because I purposed not to trifle out ye time, but goe thence with speede to Don Iohns towne. But Iohn Sauill and Iohn Makeworth were desirous to goe againe: and I, loth to hinder them of any profite, consented, but went not my selfe: so they tooke eighteene ounces of gold and came away, seeing that the people at a certaine crie made, were departed.

While they were at the shoare, there came a young fellow which could speake a little Portuguise, with three more with him, and to him I solde 39 basons and two small white sawcers, for three ounces, &c., which was the best reckoning that we did make of any basons: and in the forenoone when I was at the shoare, the Master solde fiue basons vnto the same fellow, for halfe an ounce of golde.

This fellow, as farre as we could perceiue, had bene taken into the Castle by the Portugales, and was gotten away from them, for he tolde vs that the Portugales were bad men, and that they made them slaues if they could take them, and would put yrons vpon their legges, and besides he tolde vs, that as many Frenchmen or Englishmen, as they could take (for he could name these two very well) they would hang them: he tolde vs further, that there were 60 men in the castle, and that euery yeere there came thither two shippes, one great, and one small caruell, and further, that Don Iohn had warres with the Portugals, which gaue mee the better courage to goe to his towne, which lieth not foure leagues from the Castle, wherehence our men were beaten the last yeere.

60. Portugales in the castle of Mina.

This fellowe came aboord our shippe without much feare, and assoone as he came, he demaunded, why we had not brought againe their men, which the last yeere we tooke away, and could tell vs that there were fiue taken away by Englishmen: we made him answere, that they were in England well vsed, and were there kept till they could speake the language, and then they should be brought againe to be a helpe to Englishmen in this Countrey: and then he spake no more of that matter.

The English in anno 1544 tooke away 5 Negroes.

Our boates being come aboord, we wayed and set saile and a litle after spied a great fire vpon the shoare, and by the light of the fire we might discerne a white thing, which they tooke to be the Castle, and for feare of ouershooting the towne of Don Iohn we there ankered two leagues off the shoare, for it is hard to fetch vp a towne here, if a ship ouershoot it. This day we tooke seuen pound, and fiue ounces of gold.

This towne lieth in a great Bay, which is very deepe.

The people in this place desired most to haue basons and cloth. They would buy some of them also many trifles, as kniues, horsetailes, hornes: and some of our men going a shoare, sold a cap, a dagger, a hat, &c.

They shewed vs a certain course cloth, which I thinke to be made in France, for it was course wooll, and a small threed, and as thicke as wosted, and striped with stripes of greene, white, yellow &c. Diuers of the people did weare about their neckes great beades of glasse of diuerse colours. Here also I learned some of their language,* as followeth:

Mattea, mattea,	Is their salutation
Dassee, dassee,	I thanke you.
Sheke,	Golde.
Cowrte,	Cut.
Cracca,	Kniues.
Bassina,	Basons.
Foco, foco,	Cloth.
Molta,	Much, or great store.

Sight of the castle of Mina.

The eight day in the morning we had sight of the Castle, but by reason of a miste that then fell we could not haue the perfect sight of it, till we were almost at the towne of Don Iohn, and then it cleared vp, and we saw it and a white house, as it were a Chappell, vpon the hill about it, and then we halled into the shoare, within two English miles of Don Iohns towne, and there ankered in seuen fadome water. Here, as in many other places before, we perceiued that the currant went with the winde.

The land here is in some places low and in some high, and full of wood altogether.

Don Iohns towne described.

The towne of Don Iohn is but litle, of about twentie houses, and the most part of the towne is walled in with a wall of a mans height, made with reede or sedge, or some such thing. Here we staied two or three houres after we had ankered, to see if any man would come vnto vs: and seeing that none did come, we manned our boates and put in marchandize, and went and ankered with our boates neere to the shoare: then they sent out a man to vs who made vs signes that that was the towne of Don Iohn, and that he himselfe was in the Countrey, and would be at home at the going downe of the Sunne, and when he had done, he required a reward, as the most part of them will doe which come first aboord, and I gaue him one ell of cloth and he departed, and that night we heard no more of him.

---

* *Marginal note.*—This language seemeth partly to be corrupt.

The ninth day in the morning we went againe with our boates to the shoare, and there came foorth a boate to vs, who made signes that Don Iohn was not come home, but would be at home this day: and to that place also came another boate from the other towne a mile from this, which is called Don Deuis, and brought with him gold to shew vs, making signes that we should come thither. I then left in this place Iohn Sauill, and Iohn Makeworth, and tooke the Hinde, and went to the other towne and there ankered, and tooke cloth and went to shore with the boate, and by and by the boates came to vs and brought a measure of foure yards long and a halfe, and shewed vs a weight of an angell and twelue graines, which they would giue for so much, and not otherwise: so I staied and made no bargaine. And all this day the barke lay at Don Iohns towne, and did nothing, hauing answere that he was not come home.

The tenth day we went againe to the shoare, and there came out a boat with good store of gold, and hauing driuen the matter off a long time, and hauing brought the measure to a nayle lesse then three elles, and their weight to an angell and twentie graines, and could not bring them to more, I did conclude with them and solde, and within one quarter of an houre I tooke one pound and a quarter of an ounce of golde: and then they made me signes to tary, till they had parted their cloth vpon the shoare as their manner is, and they would come againe, and so they went away, and layde the cloth all abroad vpon the sande peece by peece, and by and by one came running downe from the towne to them, and spake vnto them, and foorthwith euery man made as much haste as he could away, and went into the woods to hide his golde and his cloth: we mistrusted some knauery, and being waued by them to come a shoare, yet we would not, but went aboorde the Hinde, and perceiued vpon the hill 30 men whom we iudged to be Portugals: and they went vp to the toppe of the hill and there mustered and shewed themselues, hauing a flagge with them. Then I being desirous to knowe what the Hart did, tooke the Hindes boate and went towards her, and when I came neere to them they shot off two pieces of ordinance which I marueiled at: I made as much haste as I could to her, and met her boate and skiffe comming from the shoare in all haste, and we met aboord together. They shewed me that they had beene a shoare all that day, and had giuen to the two sonnes of Don Iohn, to either of them three yardes and a halfe of cloth, and three basons betwixt them, and had deliuered him 3 yards of cloth more and the weight of an angell and 12 graines, and being on land did tarie for his answere, and in the meane time the Portugals came running from the hill vpon them, whereof the Negroes a litle before had giuen them warning, and bad them to go go away, but they perceiued it not. The sonne of Don Iohn conspired with the Portugales against them, so that they were almost vpon them, but yet they recouered their boate and set off from the shoare, and the Portugales shot their calieuers at them, but hurt no man, and then the shippe perceiuing it, shot off the two peeces aforesayde among them. Hereupon we layde bases in both the boates, and in the Skiffe and manned them well, and went a shoare againe, but because of the winde we could not land, but lay off in the sea about ten score and shot at them, but the hill succoured them, and they from the rockes and from the hilles shot at vs with their halfe hakes, and the Negroes more for feare then for loue stoode by them to helpe them, and when we saw that the Negroes were in such subiection vnto them that they durst not sell vs any thing for feare of them we went aboord, and that night the winde kept at the East, so that we could not with our ship fetch the Hinde, but I tooke the boate in the night and went aboord the barke to see what was there to be done, and in the morning we perceiued the towne to be in like case layde with Portugales, so we wayed and went along the coast. This towne of Iohn de Viso standeth vpon an hill like the towne of Don Iohn, but it hath beene burned, so that there are not passing sixe houses in it: the most part of the golde that comes thither comes out of the countrey, and no doubt if the people durst for feare of the Portugals bring forth their gold, there would be had good store: but they dare not sell any thing, their subiection is so great to the Portugales. The 11 day running by the shoare we had sight of a litle towne foure leagues from the last towne that we came from, and about halfe a league from that, of another towne vpon a hill, and halfe a league from that also of

The Portugales of the castle of Mina inuaded our men.

The towne of Don Iohn de Viso.

another great towne vpon the shoare: whither we went to set what could there be done: if we could doe nothing, then to returne to the other towne, because we thought that the Portugales would leaue the towne vpon our departure. Along from the castle vnto this place are very high hilles which may be seene aboue all other hilles, but they are full of wood, and great red cliffes by the sea side. The boates of these places are somewhat large and bigge, for one of them will carie twelue men, but their forme is alike with the former boates of the coast. There are about these townes few riuers: their language differeth not from the language vsed at Don Iohns towne: but euery one can speake three or foure words of Portuguise, which they vsed altogether to vs.

We sawe this night about 5 of the clocke 22 boates running along the shoare to the Westward, whereupon we suspected some knauery intended against vs. The 12 day therefore we set sayle and went further along the coast, and descried more townes wherein were greater houses then in the other townes, and the people came out of the townes to looke vpon vs, but we could see no boates. Two mile beyond the Eastermost towne are blacke rocks, which blacke rockes continue to the vttermost cape of the land, which is about a league off, and then the land runnes in Eastnortheast, and a sandy shoare againe: vpon these blacke rockes came downe certaine Negroes, which waued vs with a white flagge, but we perceiuing the principall place to be neere, would not stay, but bare still along the shoare: and as soone as we had opened the point of the land, we raysed another headland about a league off the point, which had a rocke lying off it into the sea, and that they thought to be the place which we sought. When we came thwart the place they knew it, and we put wares into our boate, and the ship being within halfe a mile of the place ankered in fiue fadome water and faire ground. We went on shoare with our boate, and ankered about ten of the clocke in the forenoone: we saw many boates lying vpon the shoare, and diuers came by vs, but none of them would come neere vs, being as we iudged afraid of vs: because that foure men were taken perforce the last yeere from this place, so that no man came to vs, whereupon we went aboord againe, and thought here to haue made no saile: yet towardes night a great sort came downe to the water side, and waued vs on shoare with a white flagge,

Foure men taken away by the English.

and afterwarde their Captaine came downe and many men with him, and sate him downe by the shoare vnder a tree: which when I perceiued, I tooke things with me to giue him: at last he sent a boat to call to vs, which would not come neere vs, but made vs signes to come againe the next day: but in fine, I got them to come aboord in offering them things to giue to their captaine, which were two elles of cloth, one latten bason, one white bason, a bottle, a great piece of beefe, and sixe bisket cakes, which they receiued making vs signes to come againe the next day, saying, that their Captain was Grand Capitane as appeared by those that attended vpon him with their darts and targets, and other weapons.

This towne is very great and stands vpon a hill among trees, so that it cannot well be seene except a man be neere it: to the Eastward of it vpon the hill hard by the towne stand 2. high trees, which is a good marke to knowe the towne. And vnder the towne lieth another hill lower then it, whereupon the sea beates: and that end next the sea is all great blacke rockes, and beyonde the towne in a bay lieth another small towne.

The 13 day in the morning we tooke our boate and went to shoare, and stayed till ten a clocke and no man came to vs: we went about therefore to returne aboord, and when the Negroes saw that, they came running downe with a flagge to waue vs againe, so we ankered againe, and then one shewed vs that the Captaine would come downe by and by: we sawe a saile in the meane time passe by vs but it was small, and we regarded it not. Being on shore we made a tilt with our oares and sayle, and then there came a boate to vs with fiue men in her, who brought vs againe our bottle, and brought me a hen, making signes by the sunne, that within two houres the marchants of the countrey would come downe and buy all that we had: so I gaue them sixe Manillios to carry to their Captaine, and they made signes to haue a pledge of vs, and they would leaue vs another man: and we willing to do so, put one of our men in their boate, but they would not giue vs one of theirs, so we tooke our man againe, and there tarried for the marchants: and shortly after one came downe arrayed like their Captaine with a great traine after him, who saluted us friendly, and one of the chiefest of them went and sate downe vnder a tree, where the last yere the Captaine was wont to sit: and at last we perceiued a great many of them to stand at the ende of a

The like they doe in the countrey of Prette Ianni.

hollow way, and behinde them the Portugales had planted a base, who suddenly shotte at vs but ouershot vs, and yet we were in a manner hard by them, and they shot at vs againe before we could ship our oares to get away but did no hurt. Then the Negroes came to the rocks hard by vs, and disharged calieuers at vs, and againe the Portugales shot off their base twise more, and then our ship shot at them, but the rockes and hilles defended them.

Master Robert Gainshes voyage to Guinea in anno 1554.

Then we went aboord to goe from this place, seeing the Negroes bent against vs, because that the last yeere M. Gainsh did take away the Captaines sonne and three others from this place with their golde, and all that they had about them: which was the cause that they became friends with the Portugales, whom before they hated, as did appeare the last yeere by the courteous intertainement which the Trinitie had there, when the Captaine came aboord the shippe, and brought them to his towne, aud offered them ground to build a Castle in, and there they had good sales.

The English were offered to build a towne in Guine.

The 14 day we wayed and plyed backe againe to seeke the Hinde, which in the morning we met, and so we turned both back to the Eastwardes to see what we could doe at that place where the Trinitie did sell her eight frises the last yeere. The Hinde had taken eighteene ounces and a halfe more of golde of other Negroes, the day after that we left them. This day about one of the clocke we espied certaine boates vpon the sand and men by them and went to them with marchandizes, and tooke three ounces of gold for 18 fuffs of cloth, euery fuffe three yards and a halfe after one angell and 12 graines the fuffe, and then they made me signes that the next day I should haue golde enough: so the Master took the Hinde with Iohn Sauill and Iohn Makeworth, and went to seeke the place aforesaid, and I with Richard Pakeman remained in this place to see what we could do the next day: and when the Negroes perceiued our ship to go away, they feared that the other would follow, and so sent forth 2 boats to vs with 4 men in them, requiring vs to tary and to giue them one man for a pledge, and 2 of them should tary with vs for him, so Edward M. Morleis seruant seeing these men so earnest therein offered himselfe to be pledge, and we let him goe for two of them, one whereof had his waights and scales, and a chaine of golde aboute his necke, and another about his arme. They did eate of such things as we had and were well contented. In the night the Negroes kept a light vpon the shoare thwart of vs, and about one of the clocke we heard and saw the light of a base which shot off twise at the said light, and by and by discharged two calieuers, which in the end we perceiued to be the Portugals brigandine which followed vs from place to place, to giue warning to the people of the countrey, that they should not deale with vs.

The 15 day in the morning the Captaine came downe with 100 men with him, and brought his wife, and many others brought their wiues also, because their towne was 8 miles vp in the countrey, and they determined to lie by the sea side till they had brought what they would. When he was come he sent our man aboord, and required to haue two men pledges, and he himselfe would come aboord, and I sent him two, of whom he tooke but one, and so came aboord vs, he and his wife with diuers of his friends, and brought me a goate and two great rootes, and I gaue him againe a latten bason, a white bason, 6 manillios, and a bottell of Malmesie, and to his wife a small casket. After this we began to make our measure and weight: and he had a weight of his owne which held one angell and 14 graines, and required a measure of 4 elles and a halfe. In fine we concluded the 8 part for one angell and 20 graines, and before we had done, they tooke mine owne weight and measure.

The 16 day I tooke 8 li. 1 ounce of gold: aud since the departure of the Hinde I heard not of her, but when our pledge went into the countrey the first night, he said he saw her cast anker aboue fiue leagues from this place. The 17 day I sold about 17 pieces of cloth, and tooke 4 li. 4 ounces and a halfe of gold. The 18 day the captaine desired to haue some of our wine, and offered halfe a ducket of gold for a bottell: but I gaue it him freely, and made him and his traine drinke besides. And this day also I tooke 5 li. 5 ounces of gold. The 19 day we sold about 18 clothes, and tooke 4 li. 4 ounces and one quarter of golde.

The 20 day tooke 3 li. sixe ounces and a quarter of golde. The 21 we tooke 8 li. 7. ounces and a quarter. The 22. 3. li. 8. ounces and a quarter. And this night about 4 of the clocke the Captaine who had layen all this while vpon the shoare, went away with all the rest of the people with him.

The 23 day we were waued a shoare by other Negroes, and sold them cloth, caskets, kniues, and a dosen of bels, and tooke 1 li. 10 ounces of gold. The 24 likewise we sold bels, sheetes, and thimbles, and tooke two li. one ounce and a quarter of gold. The 25 day we sold 7 dosen of smal bels and other things, and then perceiuing their gold to be done, we wayed and set sayle and went to leeward to seeke the Hinde, and about 5 of the clocke at night we had sight of her, and bare with her, and vnderstood that shee had made some sales. The 26 day wee receiued out of the Hinde 48 li. 3 ounces and one eight part of golde, which they had taken in the time that we were from them. And this day vpon the request of a Negro that came vnto vs from a captaine, we went to shoare with our marchandize, and tooke 7 li. and one ounce of gold. At this place they required no gages of vs, but at night they sent a man aboord vs, which lay with vs all night, because we might knowe that they would also come to vs the next day. The 27 day in both our shippes we tooke 8. li. one ounce, three quarters and halfe a quarter of golde. The 28 we made sales for the companie, and tooke one pound and half an ounce of gold. The 29 day in the morning we heard two calieuers shot off vpon the shore, which we iudged to be either by the Portugales or by the Negroes of the Portugales: we manned our boates and armed our selues and went to shoare, but coulde finde nothing: for they were gone. The 30 day we made more sales for the companie and for the Masters.

The 31 we sent our boate to shoare to take in sand for balast, and there our men met the Negroes, with whom they had made sale the day before a fishing which did helpe them to fill sand, and hauing no gold, sold fish to our men for their handkerchiefs and nightkerchiefes.

They returne for England.

The 1 day of February we wayed and went to another place, and tooke 1. li. 9. ounces 3 quarters of gold. The 2 day we made more sales: but hauing viewed our victuals we determined to tarie no long time vpon the coast, because the most part of our drinke was spent, and that which remained grew sowre. The 3 and 4 dayes we made some sales, though not great, and finding the wind this 4. day to come off the shoare, we set saile and ranne along the shoare to the Westwards: vpon this coast we found by experience that ordinarily about 2 of the clocke in the night the winde comes off the shoare at North-northeast, and so continueth vntil eight of the clocke in the morning: and all the rest of the day and night it comes out of

Southwest: and as for the tide or currant vpon this shoare, it goeth continually with the winde. The 5 day we continued sayling and thought to haue met with some English ships, but found none.

The sixt day we went our course Southwest to fetch vnder the line, and ranne by estimation 24 leagues.

The 13 day wee thought our selues by our reckoning to be cleare off the Cape das Palmas, and ranne 12 leagues.

The 22 day we were thwart of the Cape de Monte, which is to the Westward of the Riuer de Sestos, about 30 leagues.

The first day of March in a Ternado we lost the Hinde, whereupon we set vp a light and shot off a piece but could not heare of her, so that then we strooke our saile and taried for her, and in the morning had sight of her againe three leagues a sterne off vs.

Vpon the 22 day we found our selues to be in the height of Cape Verde, which stands in 14 degrees and a halfe.

From this day till the 29 day we continued our course, and then we found our selues to be in 22 degrees. This day one of our men called William King, who had bene long sicke, died in his sleepe, his apparel was distributed to those that lackt it, and his money was kept for his friends to be deliuered them at his comming home.

The 30 day we found our selues to be vnder the Tropike.

The 31 day we went our course, and made way 18 leagues.

From the first day of Aprill to the 20 we went our course, and then found our selues to bee in the height of the Asores.

The seuenth day of May we fell with the South part of Ireland, and going on shoare with our boate had fresh drinke, and two sheepe of the countrey people, which were wilde Kernes, and we gaue them golde for them, and bought further such other victuals as we had neede of, and thought would serue vs till we arriued in England.

The 14 day with the afternoone tide we went into the Port of Bristoll called Hungrode, and there ankered in safetie and gaue thankes to God for our safe arriuall.

The second voyage made by Maister William Towrson to the coast of Guinea, and the Castle of Mina, in the yeere 1556. with the Tiger of London, a ship of 120 tunnes, the Hart of London of 60 tunnes, and a Pinnesse of sixteene tunnes.

THe fourteenth day of September, the yeere abouesayd, we departed from Harwich, and directed our course for the Isle of Sillie, to meete there with the Hart and Pinnesse, which were rigged and victualed at Bristoll, but arriuing there the eight and twientieth day we found them not, and therefore after long lying at Hull to tarrie for them, but not espying them, we turned backe to Plimmouth the 12 day of October, and being there, the Hart and the Pinnesse came to vs, so that the 15 of Nouember we all departed together from Plimmouth at one of the clocke in the after noone, and the 28 day we had sight of the Isle of Porto Santo, and the next day in the morning of Madera.

The third day of December we fell with the Ile of Palma, and the 9 we were thwart of Cape Blanke, and found there certaine Carauels fishing for Pargoes.

The 19 we found our selues in the height of Sierra Leona, and all this day we ranne thwart of certaine Currants, which did set to the West Southwestward so fast as if it had bene the ouerfall of a sand, making a great noyse like vnto a streame or tide-gate when the water is shoale: and to prooue whither we could finde ground in this place, we sounded and had 150 fadome, and no ground, and so departed.

The 30 of December we fell with the coast of Guinea, and had first sight of it about 4 leagues off. The best marke that we could take of the place to knowe it was three hilles, which lay Northeast and by East from vs: betwixt the Northermost two hilles there are two high and great trees standing in sight as it were a sailes breadth one from another, and a litle more to the Northwestwards are certaine hommocks. Hauing sayled somewhat into the shoare wee tooke our selues to be shotte somewhat past the riuer de Sestos, so that we kept about to fetch it. And a litle after we had sight of three sayles of shippes and two pinnesses which were in the weather of vs, and hauing sight of them we made our selues readie to meete them, and halled off our ships to fetch the winde as neere as we could: and hauing sayled about an houre or two, they also went about, and went as we went to make themselues readie, and when we had them in chase, they went away from vs: but when they had made themselues readie, they kept about againe, and came with vs verie finely appointed with their streamers, and pendants and ensignes, and noyse of trumpets very brauely: so when we met, they had the weather of vs, and we being determined to fight, if they had bene Portugals, waued them to come vnder our Lee, which they denied stoutly: then we demaunded of them whence they were, and they sayd of France, we told them againe that were of London in England. They asked of vs what Portugals wee had seene, we answered, none but Fishermen: then they told vs that there were certaine Portugall ships gone to the Mina to defend it, and that they met with another at the riuer de Sestos, which was a ship of two hundred which they had burned, and had saued none but the master and two or three Negroes, and certaine others which were sore burned which they left a shoare there. Then they desired to come aboord of vs with their boates to talke with vs, and wee gaue them leaue. Then the captaine of the Admirall and diuers others came aboord very friendly, desiring vs to keepe them company because of the Portugals, and to goe to the Mina with them: wee told them that we had not watered, and that we were but now fallen with the coast, and they shewed vs that we were fiftie leagues past the riuer de Sestos: notwithstanding there was water enough to be had, and they would helpe vs to water with their owne boates because they would haue our companie. And told vs further, that they had bene sixe weekes vpon the coast, and had gotten but three tunnes of graines amongst them all: and when wee had heard them, we made our reckoning that although the Mina were cleare, yet if they did goe before vs, they would marre our market; and if it were not cleare, then if the Portugals were there and did take them, they would vnderstand that we were behind, and so would waite for vs. And further we made account that if we went with them we should doe as well as they, if the coast were cleare: if it were not cleare, then by them we were assured to be the stronger. Therefore hauing considered thus much of their gentle offers, we tolde them that the next day wee would conferre more largely of the matter. Whereupon they desired me to come the next day to dinner to them, and to bring the masters of our ships with me, and such marchants as I thought good, promising to giue vs water out of their owne ships if we would take it, or els to tarie with vs and helpe vs to water with their own boats and pinnasses.

They admit certaine Frenchmen into their companie.

The 31 day in the morning the Admirall sent his boat aboord for me, and I tooke our masters and certaine of our marchants and went to him, who had prouided a notable banquet for vs, and intreated vs very friendly, desiring vs still to keepe his company, promising that what victuals were in his ships, or other things that might doe vs pleasure vntill the end, we should haue the one halfe of it, offering vs if we would to furle his Flags, and to bee at our commaundement in all things.

In the ende we agreed to come to an anker, and to send our boat on shore with the Admirals boat, and one of his pinnasses, and an Almaine which they had brought out of France, to seeke water, as for our pinnasse she came to an anker to seaward of vs all, and would not come at vs. All this night the boats continued on shore.

The first day of Ianuary our boats came to vs againe and had found no riuer. Whereupon we weighed and set saile, and ankred againe at another riuer.

The 2 day we went into the riuer and bargained, and tooke 5 small Elephants teeth.

The 3 day we tooke 5 more.

An assault vpon elephants.

The fourth day the French Admirall and wee tooke fifteene small teeth. This day wee tooke thirtie men with vs and went to seeke Elephants, our men being all well armed with harquebusses, pikes, long bowes, crossebowes, partizans, long swordes, and swordes and bucklers: wee found two Elephants which wee stroke diuers times with harquebusses and long bowes, but they went away from vs and hurt one of our men. The fift day we set saile and ranne along the coast.

The 6 day we fell with the riuer de S. Andre, at which place the land is somewhat high to the Westward of the riuer, and a faire Baie also to the Westward of it: but to the Eastward of it it is lowe land.

The 7 day we went into the Riuer and found no village, but certaine wild Negros not accustomed to trade. It is a very great riuer and 7 fadome water in some places at the entring. Here we filled water, and after set saile.

The 8 day we sailed along the shore and came to the red cliffes, and went forward in sailing the 9 day also.

The 10 day we came together to confer with captaine Blundel Admiral of the French ships, Ierom Baudet his vice admiral, and Iohn de Orleans master of a ship of 70 tunne, and with their marchants, and agreed that when God should send vs to any place where wee might make sale, that we should be of one accord and not one of vs hurt the market of the other, but certaine of our boates to make the price for all the rest, and then one boate to make sale for euery shippe. This night our boats going to the shore met with certaine Negros, who said that they had gold, and therefore we here cast anker.

The 11 day all the day we tooke but one halfe angel weight of 4 graines, which we tooke by hand, for the people of this place had no weight: the Negros called this place Allow.

The 12 day we ran along the coast and found but one towne, but no boates would come out to vs, and therefore we went our course.

The 13 day I tooke my boat and went along the shore, and passed by diuers small townes, and was waued to come on shore at 3 places, but the sea went so high vpon the shore, that it was not possible for vs to land, neither could they come to vs if they had had boats, as I could see none but at one place, where there was one that would haue come vnto vs, but the Land-wash went so sore that it ouerthrew his boat, and one of the men was drowned, which the people lamented, and cried so sore, that we might easily heare them, and they got his body out of the sea, and caried it amongst them to their towne.

The castle of Mina.

The 14 day we came within Saker-shot of the castle, and straightway they set forth an Almade to descry vs, and when they perceiued that we were no Portugals, they ranne within the towne againe: for there is a great towne by the Castle which is called by the Negros Dondou. Without this there lie two great rockes like Ilands, and the castle standeth vpon a point which sheweth almost like an Iland. Before we came at this castle, we found the land for fiue or six leagues to be high land, and about seuen leagues before we came to the castle, lowe land, vntil we came at the castle, and then wee found the land high againe. This castle standeth about fiue leagues to the East of Cape de Tres puntas. Here I tooke the boate with our Negros and ranne alongst the shore till I came to the Cape and found two small townes, but no boates at them, neither any traffique to be had. At these places our Negros did vnderstand them well, and one of them went ashore at all the places and was well receiued of them. This night we ankred at the Cape de Tres puntas.

The 15 day I tooke our boat and went along the shore, and about 3 leagues beyond the Eastermost part of the Cape we found a faire Bay where we ran in, and found a smal towne and certaine boates which belonged to the same towne, but the Negros in a long time would not come to vs, but at the last by the perswasion of our owne Negros, one boat came to vs, and with him we sent George our Negro a shore, and after he had talked with them, they came aboord our boates without feare, and I gaue to their captaine a bason, and two strings of Margarets, and they shewed vs about 5 duckats weight of gold, but they required so much for it that wee would not take it, because the Frenchman and we had agreed to make price of our goods all in one boat, and the price being made then euery man to sell in his owne boat, and no man to giue more then the price which should be set by vs al. This place is called Bulle, and here the Negros were very glad of our Negros, and shewed them all the friendship they could, when they had told them that they were the men that were taken away being now againe brought by vs.

The Negros here shewed vs that a moneth since there were 3 ships that fought together, and the two shippes put the other to flight: and before that at the castle of Mina there were 4 ships of the Portugals which met with one Frenchman, which Frenchman caused them all to flee, which shippe we tooke to be the Roebarge: for the Frenchmen of our company iudged her to be thereabout that time with her pinnasse also. And further, that after her went a shippe of twelue score named the Shaudet all alone, and after her a ship of fourescore, and both for the Mina. And there were two others also which they left, one at Cape Verde called the Leuriere of Diepe, and another at the riuer De Sestos, besides these 3 which all this time be in our company, whose names be these:

The Espoier of Hableneff which is the Admirall, whose captaine is Denis Blundell.

The Leuriere of Roan Viceadmirall, whose master is Ierome Baudet.

The other is of Hunfleur whose master is called Iohn de Orleans.

The sixteenth day I went along the shore with two pinasses of the Frenchmen, and found a Baie and a fresh riuer, and after that went to a towne called Hanta, twelue leagues beyond the Cape. At this towne our Negros were well knowen, and the men of the towne wept for ioy when they saw them, and demanded of them where Anthonie and Binne had bene: and they told them that that they had bene at London in England, and should bee brought home the next voyage. So after this, our Negros came aboord with other Negros which brought a weight with them, which was so small that wee could not giue them the halfe of that which they demaunded for it.

The Negros here told vs that there were fiue Portugall shippes at the Castle, and one pinnasse, and that the Portugals did much harme to their Countrey, and that they liued in feare of them, and we told them againe, that we would defend them from the Portugals whereof they were very glad.

The 17 day we went a shoare and the Frenchmen with vs, but did no great good, the Negros were so vnreasonable, we sold 80. Mancllios for one ounce of gold.

The Negros brought home by our men.

Then wee departed and went to Shamma, and went into the riuer with fiue boates well appointed with men and ordinance, and with our noises of trumpets and drummes, for we thought here to haue found some Portugals but there were none: so wee sent our Negros on shoare, and after them went diuers of vs, and were very well receiued, and the people were very glad of our Negros, specially one of their brothers wiues, and one of their aunts, which receiued them with much ioy, and so did all the rest of the people, as if they had bene their naturall brethren: we comforted the captaine and told him that hee should not feare the Portugals, for wee would defend him from them: whereupon we caused our boats to shoote off their bases and harquebusses, and caused our men to come on shore with their long bowes, and they shot before the captaine, which he, with all the rest, of the people, wondred much at, specially to see them shoot so farre as they did, and assaied to draw their bowes but could not. When it grew to be late, we departed to our ships, for we looked euery houre for the Portugals. And here the Negros shewed vs that there was an English ship at the Mina, which had brought one of the Negros againe, which Robert Gaynsh tooke away.

The 18 day we went into the riuer with no lesse strength then before, and concluded with the Negros to giue them for euery Fuffe two yardes and three nailes of Cloth, and to take for it one angel-duckat: so that we tooke in all 70 Duckats, whereof the Frenchmen had fortie, and wee thirtie.

The nineteenth day wee went a shore euery man for himselfe, and tooke a good quantitie of gold, and I for my part tooke foure pound and two ounces and a halfe of gold, and our Hartes boate tooke one and twentie ounces. At night the Negros shewed vs that the next day the Portugals would be with vs by land or by Sea: and when we were ready to depart, we heard diuers harquebusses shoote off in the woods by vs which wee knew to bee Portugals, which durst come no neerer to vs, but shot off in the woods to see if they could feare vs and so make vs to leaue our traffique.

The 20 day we manned our fiue boats, and also a great boat of the Frenchmens with our men and the Admirals, 12 of them in their murrians and corsets, and the rest all well appoynted, with foure trumpets, a drumme and a Fife, and the boate all hanged with streamers of Silke and pendants very faire, and went into the riuer and traffiqued, our man of warre lying off and on in the riuer to waft vs, but we heard no more of the Portugals. This day the Negros told vs that there were certain ships come into Hanta, which towne is about two leagues to the Westward of this place.

This 21 day we manned our boats againe and went to a place a league from this to the Westwards, and there found many Negros with another Captaine, and sold at the same rate that wee had done with the others.

The 22 day we went ashore againe and traffiqued in like sort quietly, and I tooke 4 pound and six ounces of gold.

The 23 day about night the Negros with their captaine came to vs and told vs that the king of Portugals ships were departed from the Castle, meaning the next day to plie to the windward to come to vs, giuing vs warning to take heed to our selues: we told them againe that wee were very glad of their comming, and would be ready at all times to meet them, and to assure them that wee were glad of it, wee sounded our trumpets, and shot off certaine bases whereof the Negros were very glad, and requested vs that if the Portugals sought to hinder our traffique, to shew them all the extremitie that we could, promising vs that if they came by land, they would aduertise vs thereof.

The 24 we went a shore with our trumpets and drummes, and traffiqued, and I bade the captaine of the towne to dinner.

Fiue sailes of Portingals descried.

The 25 day we being a shore, our ships had descried fiue sailes of the king of Portugals, and our ships shot off ordinance to call vs away, and we threw euery man his caske ashore for water, and went to our ships, and by that time we had weighed and giuen order one to another what to do, it was night, so yt that night nothing was done. We set saile and lay close all night to get the wind if we could: we were neere some of them, and one shot off a piece which wee iudged to be the Admirall of the Portugals, to cause the rest to come and speake with him: so all this night we made our selues ready for fight.

The 26 we came in with the shore and had sight of the Portugals where they rid at anker, and we bare with them, and we gaue all our men white scarffes, to the ende that the Frenchmen might know one the other if we came to boording: but the night came vpon vs that we could not fetch them, but we ankered within demie-Culuering shot of them.

The fight with the Portugals.

The 27 day we weighed and so did the Portugals, and about eleuen of the clocke wee had the wind of them, and then we went roome with them, which when they perceiued, they kept about to the shore againe, and wee after them, and when they were so neere the shore that they could not well runne any further on that boord, they kept about againe, and lay to the Seaward, and then we kept about with them, and were a head of them, and tooke in our topsailes and taried for them: and the first that came vp was a small barke which sailed so well that she cared not for any of vs, and caried good ordinance: and as soone as she came vp, she shot at vs, and ouershot vs, and then she shot at the Admirall of the Frenchmen, and shot him through in two or three places, and went forth a head of vs, because we were in our fighting sailes: then came vp another carauell vnder our Lee in like case which shot at vs and at the Frenchman, and hurt two of his men and shot him through the maine maste. And after them came vp the Admirall vnder our Lee also, but he was not able to doe vs so much harme as the small shippes, because he caried ordinance higher then they, neither were we able to make a good shot at any of them, because our shippe was so weake in the side, that she laid all her ordinance in the Sea: wherefore we thought to lay the great ship aboord, and as soone as the French Admirall went roome with him, he fell a sterne and could not fetch him, and after he fell asterne of two carauels more and could fetch none of them, but fell to Leeward of them all: and when he was to Leeward, he kept about to the shoreward, and left vs, and then we put out our topsailes and gaue them chase, and both the other Frenchmen kept the wind, and would not come neere vs, and our owne

The French forsake our men.

ship was a sterne so that she could not come to vs: and after we had folowed them about two houres to the seaward, they kept about againe towards the shore, thinking to pay vs as they went along by, and to haue the wind of the French Admirall which before ran in towards the shore, and we kept about with them, and kept still the wind of them thinking that our Viceadmiral and the other would haue folowed vs as wee willed them to do: but after that the Portugall was past by them, and euery one had shot at vs and our Viceadmirall, both our Viceadmirall and the two Frenchmen, and our owne pinnasse left vs in the laps, and ran to seaward, and we ran still along, and kept the wind of them to succour the French Admirall, who was vnder all of their Lees, and when they met with him, euery one went roome with him, and gaue him the broad side, and after they cast about againe, and durst not boord him, because they sawe vs in the weather of them, or els without doubt they had taken or sunke them, for three of them which were the smallest went so fast that it was not possible for a ship to boord them, and caried such ordinance that if they had had the weather of vs, they would haue troubled 3 of the best ships that we had, and as for their Admirall and Viceadmirall they were both notablie appointed.

When the Frenchman was cleare of them, hee laie as neere the winde as hee could, and wee followed them still towardes the shore, and there the Admirall ranne to Sea after the rest, and left vs all alone: and when the Portugals perceiued that we were alone, and gaue them chase, they kept about with vs and we with them, to keepe the wind of them, and we ranne still within base shot of them, but they shot not at vs, because we had the weather of them, and sawe that they could do vs no hurt: and thus we folowed one another vntil night, and in the night we lost them, but as for all the rest of our ships, they packed on all the sailes that they could and ranne to sea, and as they themselues confesse, they praied for vs, but as for helpe at their hands we could haue none.

The 28 day we met with our Viceadmirall, our pinnasse, and two of the Frenchmen, and the third was fled which was a ship of fourscore tunne, and belonged to Roan: and when I had the sight of the rest of our ships, I tooke our skiffe and went to them to know why they lost vs in such a case, and Iohn Kire made me answere that his ship would neither reare nor steere, and as for the pinnasse, Iohn Dauis made me answere that she would doe nothing, and that he could cary her no further, for her rudder was broken, so that the Hart was glad to towe her. Then I went to the French Admirall, and found himselfe to be a man of good stomacke, but the one halfe of his men were sicke and dead: and then I talked with the smaller Frenchman, and hee made me answere that he could doe nothing, saying, that his ship would beare no saile, and had 16 of his men dead and sicke, so he made vs plaine answere that he was able to doe nothing. After this the Frenchman durst not anker for feare of the Portugales.

The 29 day the master of the pinnasse came to vs and sayd that they were not able to keepe her any longer, and then wee viewed her and seeing there was no remedie, her rudder with all the iron worke being broken both aloft and belowe, wee agreed to breake her vp and to put the men into the Hart. So wee tooke out of her foure bases, one anker, and certaine fire wood, and set her on fire, and afterwards ran along the coast.

The thirtie day we went in to the shore, and spake with certaine Negros, who told vs that some French shippes had bene there, but wee could not bargaine with them they were so vnreasonable.

The 31 day I went to shore but did not traffike.

The 1 day of Februarie we weighed, seeing we could not bring the Negros to any reason, and came to another place which standeth vpon an hill.

The third day I went to a towne foure leagues from vs, and shot off two pieces, and the Captaine came to vs, and I sent Thomas Rippen a land who knew the Captaine, and assoone as he came on shore the Captaine knew him and diuers of the Negros who then began to aske for mee, and hauing told the Captaine that I was in the boate, hee made no longer tarying but by and by caused two boates to be put to the Sea, and came to me himselfe, and when he sawe me, he cryed to me before hee came to the boat and seemed to be the gladdest man aliue, and so did all the companie that knew mee, and I gaue him a reward as the maner of the Countrey is, and caused the Frenchman to giue another, promising the next day to giue him wine: and that night because it was late, he would not talke of any price but left me a pledge, and tooke another of me and so departed.

The 4 day going on shore, I found that the ships of France which had bin there, had done much hurt to our markets but yet I tooke fiue ounces and a halfe of gold.

The fift day I tooke eight ounces and one eight part of gold: but I saw that the Negros perceiued the difference in Cloth betwixt ours and that which the Frenchmen had, which was better, and broader then ours: and then I told captaine Blundel that I would goe to the Leeward, because I perceiued that being there where his Cloth was sold, I should do no good, whereof hee was sorie.

The 6 day there came an almade and Negros aboord me, requesting me to come to their towne for they had much gold and many marchants: and so I went and found their old Captaine gone, and another in his place: but this night wee did no good, because the marchants were not come downe: so he required a pledge which I let him haue, and tooke another of him.

The 7 day George our Negro came to vs, who had followed vs at the least 30 leagues in a small boat, and when he came, the Negros and we soone concluded of price. I tooke this day fiue pound and one ounce, and 3 quarters of gold. This Negro we had left at Shamma at the time of the fight, who said that he saw the fight being on shore, and that when we were gone from the Portugals, the Portugals came into their riuer, and told them that the Englishmen had slaine two Portugals with a piece, which was in deed out of our ship, and they required harbour there, but the captaine of Shamma would not suffer them.

The 8 day we tooke nineteene pound three ounces and a halfe.

The 9 day we tooke two pound six ounces and a halfe.

The 10 day three pound.

The 11 day came to vs Ierome Bawdet the Viceadmiral of the Frenchmen and his pinnasse, and he shewed vs that where we left them there was no good to be done, and sayd he would goe to the Eastward, but we told him hee should not: and thereupon commaunded him to goe to his company which he was appointed to bee with, which hee refused to doe vntill wee had shot three or foure pieces at their pinnasse, and when the ship sawe that, she kept about, and ranne to Seaward, and durst come no neerer to vs, so the pinnasse went after her. We tooke this day one pound fiue ounces.

The Frenchmen bridled by the English.

The 12 day there came one of the Frenchmens pinnasses to vs laden with cloth, and would haue made sale, but I would not suffer him, and therefore tooke him and sent him aboord of our ship, and caused him to ride there all day. We tooke fiue pound six ounces and a halfe.

The 14 day we tooke of some Negros 4 ounces of gold.

The 16 we came to another towne.

The 17 day I went a shore and vnderstood that 3 of the Portugall ships were at the Castle, and the other two at Shamma. The captaine of this towne was gone to the principall towne, to speake with their king, and would returne shortly as they told me, and so he did, and brought me a weight and measure, and I sent a man to see that principall towne, and their king. The Portugall ships rid so neere vs, that within 3 houres they might be with vs, yet were all contented to tary for sales.

The 18 day certaine of the kings seruants came to vs, and we tooke one pound two ounces, and one eight part of gold.

The 10 day we tooke fiue pound one ounce.

The 20 day one pound and foure ounces.

The 21 I tooke foure pound and one ounce, and the Negroes enquired for fine cloth, and I opened two pieces which were not fine enough, as they sayd, but seeing that we had no other, they bought of them. At night I prouided a gift, or present, and sent one marchant and a mariner with it to the king, to certifie him of our want of victuals, by reason whereof we could not stay long: for in deed we searched our ship, and the most part of our beere was leaked out of all our barrels.

The 22 day we tooke three ounces and a halfe.

The offer of the king to the English to build a Fort.

The 23 our men came from the king Abaan, and told vs, that he had receiued them very friendly, but he had litle gold, but promised, if we would tary, to send into all his countrey for gold for vs, and he willed our men at their comming home to speake to our king to send men and prouision into his countrey, to build a castle, and to bring Tailors with them, to make them apparell, and good wares, and they should be sure to sell them: but for that present the Frenchmen had filled them full of cloth.

A pretie deuise to descrie the enemie.

This towne standeth about foure leagues vp in the land, and is by the estimation of our men, as big in circuit as London, but the building is like to the rest of the countrey. They haue about this Towne great store of the wheate of the Countrey, and they iudge, that on one side of the towne there were one thousand rikes of Wheate, and another sorte of Corne which is called Mill, which is much vsed in Spaine. About this towne they keepe good watch euery night, and haue to warne the watchmen certaine cordes made fast ouer their wayes which lead into the towne, and certaine bels vpon them, so that if any man touch the cordes, the bels ring, and then the watchmen runne foorth of their watch houses to see what they be: and if they be enemies, if they passe the cord, they haue prouision with certaine nets hanged ouer the wayes, where they must passe, to let fall vpon them, and so take them, and otherwise then by the wayes it is not possible to enter the towne, by reason of the thickets and bushes which are about the same, and the towne is also walled round about with long cords, and bound together with sedge and certaine barkes of tree.

When our men came to the towne, it was about fiue of the clock in the morning, for there they trauell alwayes in the night by reason of the heate of the day: and about nine of the clocke, the king sent for them, for there may no man come to him before he be sent for, and then they would haue carried their present with them: but the Negros told them, that they must bee three times brought before him, before they might offer their gift: and when they came to him, he talked with them, and receiued them very friendly and kept them about half an hour, and then they departed, and after that sent for them againe three times, and last of all, they brought him their present, which he receiued thankfully, and then caused a pot .of wine of Palme to be brought foorth, and made them drinke: and before they drinke, both here and in all the Countrey, they vse certaine ceremonies.

The kings friendly entertainment of our men.

First, they bring foorth their pot of drinke, and then they make a hole in the ground, and put some of the drinke into it, and they cast the earth vpon it, which they digged forth before, and then they set the pot vpon the same, then they take a little thing made of a goord, and with that they take out of the same drinke, and put it vpon the ground in three places, and in diuers places they haue certaine bunches of the pils of Palme trees set in the ground before them, and there they put in some drinke, doing great reuerence in all places to the same Palme trees.

Their ceremonies in drinking.

All these ceremonies first done, the king tooke a cup of gold, and they put him in wine, and hee dranke of it, and when he dranke, the people cried all with one voice, Abaan, Abaan, with certaine other words, like as they cry commonly in Flanders, vpon the Twelfe night, The kinning drinks: and when he had drunke, then they gaue drinke to euery one, and that done, the king licensed them to depart, and euery one that departeth from him boweth 3 times towards him, and waueth with both hands together, as they bow, and then do depart. The king hath commonly sitting by him 8 or 10 ancient men with gray beards.

This day we tooke one pound and 10 ounces of gold.

The 24 day we tooke 3 pound and 7 ounces.

The 25 we tooke 3 ounces and 3 quarters.

The 26 day we tooke 2 pound and 10 ounces.

The 27 two pound and fiue ounces.

The 28 foure pound, and then seeing that there was no more gold to be had, we weighed and went foorth.

The first day of March we came to a towne called Mowre, but we found no boats nor people there: but being ready to depart, there came two Almades to vs from another towne, of whom we tooke two ounces and a halfe of gold: and they tolde vs that the Negros that dwelled at Mowre were gone to dwell at Lagoua.

The second day we came thwart of the castle, and about two leagues off, and there saw all the fiue Portugall ships at anker, and this day by night we fetched Shamma.

The third day we had sight of one tall ship, of about two hundred tunnes in the weather of vs, and within lesse then two leagues of our ships, and then we saw two more a sterne of her, the one a ship of fiue hundred or more, and the other a pinnesse: and these were a new fleet at that present arriued out of Portugall. Whereupon we wayed, and made shift to double out of the land, and then the winde comming to the South-southwest, the Hart going roome with them fell three leagues to the leewards of vs. These Portugals gaue vs the chase from nine of the clocke in the morning, till fiue at night, but did no good against vs. At last, we perceiuing the Admirall to be farre a sterne of his company, because his maine topmast was spent, determined to cast about againe with them, because we were sure to weather them, and the winde being as it was, it was our best course: but the Hart was so farre to the leeward, that we could not doe it, except we would lose her company, so that we tooke in some of our sailes, and went roome with him: which when he perceiued, he looffed to, and was able to lie as neere as he did before. At night, when we came to him, he would not speake to vs: then we asked of his company why he went so roome; and they made excuse that they were able to beare no saile by, for feare of bearing their foretopmast ouer boord; but this was a simple excuse.

Ships of Portugall.

The fourth day, being put from our watring place we began to seethe our meat in salt water, and to rebate our allowance of drinke, to make it indure the longer: and so concluded to set our course thence, for our owne countrey.

The 12 of March I found my selfe thwart of Cape das Palmas.

The 16 day we fell with the land, which we iudged to be the Cape Mensurado, about which place is very much high land.

The 18 day we lost sight of the Hart, and I thinke the willfull Master ran in with the shore of purpose to lose vs, being offended that I tolde him of his owne folly.

Two small Ilands by Sierra Leona. Note.

The 27 day we fell in sight of two small Islands, which lie by our reckoning sixe leagues off the headland of Sierra Leona: and before we came in sight of the same Ilands, we made our reckoning to be forty or thirty leagues at the least off them. Therefore all they that saile this way are to regard the currents which set North-northwest, or els they may be much deceiued.

The 14 of April we met with two great ships of Portugall, which although they were in the weather of vs, yet came not roome with vs, whereby we iudged that they were bound for Calicut.

The 18 day we were in the heigth of Cape verde.

The 24 we were directly vnder the tropike of Cancer.

The first day of May Henry Wilson our Steward died: and the next day died Iohn Vnderwood.

A French brauado.

The 23 we had sight of a shippe in the weather of vs, which was a Frenchman of 90 tunne, who came with vs as stoutly and as desperately as might be, and comming neere vs perceiued that we had bene vpon a long voyage, and iudging vs to be weake, as in deed we were, came neerer vs, and thought to haue layed vs aboord, and there slept vp some of his men in armour, and commanded vs to strike saile: whereupon we sent them some of our stuffe, crossebarres, and chaineshot, and arrowes, so thicke, that it made the vpper worke of their shippe flit about their eares, and then we spoiled him with all his men, and toare his shippe miserably with our great ordinance, and then he began to fall a sterne of vs, and to packe on his sailes, and get away: and we seeing that, gaue him foure or fiue good pieces more for his farewell; and thus we were rid of this French man, who did vs no harme at all. We had aboord vs a French man a Trumpeter, who being sicke, and lying in his bed, tooke his trumpet notwithstanding, and sounded till he could sound no more, and so died.

The 28 we conferred together, and agreed to go into Seuerne, and so to Bristoll, but the same night we had sight of the Lizard, and by reason of the winde, we were not able to double the lands end to go into Seuerne, but were forced to beare in with the Lizard.

The 29 day, about nine of the clocke in the morning, we arriued safely in Plimmouth, and praised God for our good arriuall.

The third and last voyage of M. William Towrson to the coast of Guinie, and the Castle de Mina, in the yeere 1577.

THe thirtieth day of Ianuary, the yeere abouesayd, we departed out of the sound of Plimmouth, with three ships, and a pinnesse, whereof the names are these:

1 The Minion Admirall of the fleet.
2 The Christopher Viceadmirall.
3 The Tyger.
4 A pinnesse called the Vnicorne: being all bound for the Canaries, and from thence, by the grace of God, to the coast of Guinie.

The next day, being the last of this moneth,* we met with two hulks of Dantzick, the one called the Rose, a ship of foure hundred tunnes, and the other called the Vnicorne, of an hundred and fifty tunnes, the Master of the Rose was called Nicholas Masse, and the Master of the Vnicorne Melchior White, both laden at Bourdeaux, and for the most part with wines. When we came to them, we caused them to hoise foorth their boats, and to come and speake with vs, and we examined euery one of them apart, what French mens goods they had in their shippes, and they said they had none: but by the contrarieties of their tales, and by the suspicion which we gathered of their false chartarparties, we perceiued that they had French mens goods in them: we therefore caused one of them to fetch vp his bils of lading, and because he denied that he had any, we sent certaine with him, who caused him to goe to the place where he had hid them, and by the differences of his billes of lading, and his talke, we gathered, as before, that they had Frenchmens goods. Whereupon we examined them straightly, and first the Purser of the Vnicorne, which was the smaller shippe, confessed that they had two and thirty tunnes and a hogs-head of a French mans. Then we examined the Master in like case, and he acknowledged the same to be true. Then we examined also the Master of the great ship, and he confessed that he had an hundred and eight and twenty tunnes of the same French mans, and more they would not confesse, but sayd that all the rest was laden by Peter Lewgues of Hamburg, to be deliuered to one Henry Summer of Camphire, notwithstanding all their letters were directed to Hamburg, and written in Dutch without, and within in French.

---

* *Marginal note.*—It is to be vnderstood, that at this time there was warre betwixt England and France.

When they had confessed that they had thus much French mens goods within their shippes, we conferred together what was best to be done with them. William Cretton and Edward Selman were of the opinion, that it should be good either to carry them into Spaine, and there to make sale of the goods, or els into Ireland, or to returne backe againe into England with them, if the winde would permit it. But I, waying what charge we had of our Masters, first by mouth, and afterwards by writing, that for no such matter we should in any case prolong the time, for feare of losing the voyage, and considering that the time of the yeere was very farre spent, and the money that we should make of the wines not very much, in respect of the commodity which we hoped for by the voyage, perswaded them that to goe into Ireland, the winde being Easterly as it was, might be an occasion that we should be locked in there with that winde, and so lose our voyage: and to cary them into Spaine, seeing they sailed so ill, that hauing all their sailes abroad, we kept them company onely with our foresailes, and without any toppe sailes abroad, so that in euery two dayes sailing they would haue hindered vs more then one; and besides that (the winde being Easterly) we should not be able to seaze the coast with them: besides all this the losse of time when we came thither was to be considered, whereupon I thought it not good to carry them any further.

And as for carying them into England, although the winde had bene good, as it was not, considering what charge we had of our Masters, to shift vs out of the way for feare of a stay by reason of the warres, I held it not in any wise conuenient.

But notwithstanding all this, certeine of our company not being herewith satisfied went to our Master to know his opinion therein, who made them a plaine answere, that to cary them into any place, it was not the best way nor the profit of their Masters. And he tolde them further, that if the time were prolonged one moneth longer before they passed the Cape, but a few men would go the voyage. All these things considered, we all paused, and determined at the last, that euery man should take out of the hulks so much as he could well bestow for necessaries, and the next morning to conclude what should be further done with them. So we tooke out of them for vs foureteene tunnes and a halfe of wine, and one tunne we put into the pinnesse.

The French mens goods seazed in the time of the warre vpon the losse of Cales.

More we tooke out one hogshead of Aquauitæ.
Sixe cakes of rozzen.
A small halser for ties: and certeine chesnuts.
The Christopher tooke out,
Ten tunnes of wine, and one hogshead.
A quantity of Aquauitæ.
Shall-lines.
Chesnuts.

Sixe double bases with their chambers. And their men broke vp the hulks chests, and tooke out their compasses, and running glasses, the sounding leade and line, and candles: and cast some of their beefe ouer board, and spoiled them so much, that of very pity we gaue them a compasse, a running glasse, a leade and a line, certaine bread and candles, but what apparel of theirs we could finde in their ship, we gaue them againe, and some money also of that which William Crompton tooke for the ransome of a poore Frenchman, who being their Pilot downe the Riuer of Bordeux, they were not able to set him a shore againe, by reason of the foule weather.

The Tyger also tooke out of the smaller hulke sixe or seuen tunnes of wine, one hogshead of Aquauitæ, and certeine rozzen, and two bases he tooke out of the great hulke.

The first day of February in the morning we all came together againe sauing W. Crompton who sent vs word that he was contented to agree to that order which we should take.

Now Edward Selman was of this opinion, that it was not best to let the ships depart, but put men into them to cary them into England, which thing neither we nor our Master would agree vnto, because we thought it not good to vnman our ships going outward, censidering how dangerous the time was: so that in fine we agreed to let them depart, and giue them the rest of the wine which they had in their ships of the Frenchmens for the fraight of that which we had taken, and for their ordinance, rozzen, aquauitæ, chesnuts, and other things which the company had taken from them. So we receiued a bill of their handes, that they confessed how much Frenchmens goods they had, and then we let them depart.

The 10 day we reckoned our selues to be 25 leagues from the Grand Canarie, and this day about nine of the clocke our pinnesse brake her rudder, so that we were forced to towe her at the sterne of the Minion, which we were able to doe, and yet kept company with the rest of our ships. About eleuen of the clocke this day we had sight of the Grand Canarie.

The 11 day when we came to the Iland we perceiued that it was the Ile of Tenerif, and then indeed wee had sight of the Grand Canarie, which lieth 12 leagues to the Eastwards of Tenerif: and because the road of Tenerif is foule ground, and nothing was there to be gotten for the helping of our pinnesse, hauing the winde long, we agreed to go with the Grand Canarie.

The 12 day we came into the roade of the towne of Canarie, which lieth one league from the same towne. And after we had shot off diuers pieces of ordinance to salute the towne and the castle, the gouernour and captiues of the Iland sent to vs which were the captaines of the ships, requiring vs to come a shoare. And when we came to them they receiued vs very friendly, offering vs their owne Iennets to ride to the towne, and what other friendship they could shew vs: and we went to the towne with two English Marchants which lay there, and remained in their house that day. The second day following we came aboord to deliuer our marchandise, and to get our pinnesse mended.

Two English Marchants Legiers in the Grand Canary.

The 14 day came into the road the Spanish fleet which was bound to the Emperours Indies, which were in number nineteene saile, whereof sixe were ships of foure hundred and fiue hundred a piece, the rest were of two hundred, an hundred and fifty, and of an hundred. When they were come to an ancre they saluted vs with ordinance, and so we did them in like case. And afterwards the Admirall (who was a knight) sent his pinnesse to desire me to come to him; and when I came to him he receiued me friendly, and was desirous to heare somewhat of the state of England and Flanders. And after he had me a banquet, I departed; and I being gone vnto the boat, hee caused one of his gentlemen to desire Francisco the Portugall, which was my interpreter, to require me to furle my flagge, declaring that hee was Generall of the Emperours fleet. Which thing (being come aboord) Franciso shewed me: and because I refused to furle it, and kept it foorth still, certaine of the souldiers in the ships shot diuers harquebush shot about the ship, and ouer the flagge: and at the same time there came certeine gentlemen aboord our ship to see her: to whom I sayd, that if they would not cause those their men to leaue shooting, I would shoot the best ordinance I had thorow their sides. And when they perceiued that I was offended, they departed, and caused their men of warre and souldiers to shoot no more, and afterwards they came to me againe, and tolde me that they punished their men. That done, I shewed them the ship, and made them such cheere as I could, which they receiued very thankfully: and the day following they sent for mee to dine with them, and sent me word that their General was very sory that any man should require me to furle my flagge, and that it was without his consent: and therefore he requested me not to thinke any vngentlenesse to be in him, promising that no man of his should misdemeane himselfe.

The 17 day we set saile in the road of Grand Canarie, and proceeded on our voyage.

The 20. in the morning we had sight of the coast of Barbarie, and running along the shore we had sight of Rio del Oro, which lieth almost vnder the tropike of Cancer.

The 21 day we found our selues to be in 20 degrees and a halfe, which is the heigth of Cape Blank.

The 25 we had sight of the land in the bay to the Northward of Cape Verde.

The 26 I tooke Francisco and Francis Castelin with me, and went into the pinnesse, and so went to the Tyger which was neerer the shore then the other ships, and went aboord her, and with her and the other ships we ranne West and by South, and West southwest, vntill about foure of the clocke, at which time we were hard aboord the Cape, and then we ran in Southwest, and beyond the Cape about foure leagues we found a faire Iland, and besides that two or three Ilands, which were of very high rocks being full of diuers sorts of

Cape verde.

foure Ilands.

sea foule, and of pigeons, with other sorts of land-foules, and so many, that the whole Iland was couered with the dung thereof, and seemed so white as if the whole Iland had bene of chalke; and within those Ilands was a very faire bay, and hard aboord the rocks eighteene fadom water, and faire ground. And when we perceiued the bay, and vnderstanding that the Frenchmen had a great trade there, which we were desirous to know, we came to an ancre with the Tyger. And after that the Minion and the Christopher ancred in like case: then we caused the pinnesse to runne beyond another Cape of land, to see if there were any place to trade in there.

A great trade of the French-men at Cape verde.

It being neere night I took our cocke and the Tygers skiffe, and went to the Iland, where we got certaine foules like vnto Gannards: and then I came aboord againe and tooke two of the Gannards which we had taken, and caried them to the captaine of the Christopher, and when I had talked with him I found him not willing to tary there, neither was I desirous to spend any long time there, but onely to attempt what was to be done. The Master of the Christopher told me he would not tary, being not bound for that place.

The 27 the Captaine of the Tyger and Edward Selman came to me, and Iohn Makeworth from the Christopher, and then we agreed to take the pinnessse, and to come along the shore, because that where we rid no Negros came to vs, and the night before our pinnesse brought vs word that there was a very faire Iland. And when I came beyond the point I found it so, and withall a goodly bay, and we saw vpon the maine certaine Negros which waued vs on shore, and then we came to an ancre with the pinnesse, and went a shore with our cocke, and they shewed vs where their trade was, and that they had Elephants teeth, muske, and hides, and offered vs to fetch downe their Captaine, if we would send a man with them, and they would leaue a pledge for him: then we asked him when any ship had bene there; and some of them sayd not in eight moneths, others, in sixe moneths, and others in foure, and that they were Frenchmen.

A faire Iland where the French trade.

Then we perceiuing the Christopher not willing to tary, departed from them, and set saile with the pinnesse and went aboord the Tyger.

The 10 day of March we fell with the coast of Guinea, fiue leagues to the Eastward of Cape de Monte, beside a riuer called Rio das Palmas.

The 11 we went to the shore, and found one man that could speake some Portuguise, who tolde vs that there were three French ships passed by; one of them two moneths past, and the other one moneth past. At this place I receiued nineteene Elephants teeth, and two ounces and halfe a quarter of golde.

The 12 we set saile to go to the riuer de Sestos.

The 13 at night we fell with the same riuer.

The 14 day we sent in our boats to take water, and rommaged our shippes, and deliuered such wares to the Christopher and Tyger, as they had need of.

The 15 we came together, and agreed to send the Tyger to another riuer to take in her water, and to see what she could do for graines.

After that we tooke marchandise with vs, and went into the riuer, and there we found a Negro which was borne in Lisbone, left there by a ship of Portugal which was burned the last yere at this riuer in fighting with three Frenchmen: and he told vs further, that two moneths past there were three Frenchmen at this place; and sixe weeks past there were two French ships at the riuer: and fifteene dayes past there was one. All which ships were gone towards the Mina. This day we tooke but few graines.

The 19 day considering that the Frenchman were gone before vs, and that by reason of the vnholesome aires of this place foureteene of our men in the Minion were fallen sicke, we determined to depart, and with all speed to go to the Mina.

The 21. wee came to the riuer de Potos, where some of our boats went in for water, and I went in with our cocke, and tooke 12 small Elephants teeth.

The 23. day, after we had taken as many teeth as we could get, about nine of the clocke we set saile to go towards the Mina.

The 31 we came to Hanta, and made sale of certaine Manillios.

They descrie fiue saile of the Portugals.

The first Aprill we had sight of fiue saile of Portugals, whereupon we set saile and went off to sea to get the winde of them, which wee should haue had if the winde had kept his ordinary course, which is all the day at the Southwest, and West-southwest: but this day with a flaw it kept all the day at the East, and East-southeast, so that the Portugals had the winde of vs, and came roome with the Tyger and vs vntill night, and brought themselues all saue one, which sailed not so well as the rest, within shot of vs: then it fell calme, and the winde came vp to the Southwest, howbeit it was neere night, and the Christopher, by meanes of her boat, was about foure leagues to the leewards of vs. We tacked and ranne into the weather of the Admirall, and three more of his company, and when we were neere him we spake to him, but he would not answere. Then we cast about and lay in the weather of him; and casting about he shot at vs, and then wee shot at him, and shot him foure or fiue times thorow. They shot diuers times thorow our sailes, but hurt no man. The Tyger and the pinnesse, because it was night, kept out their sailes, and would not meddle with them. After we had thus fought together 2 houres or more, and would not lay him aboord because it was night, we left shooting one at the other, and kept still the weather of them. Then the Tyger and the pinnesse kept about and came to vs, and afterwards being neere the shore, we three kept about and lay to the sea, and shot off a piece to giue warning to the Christopher.

The fight.

This night about 12 of the clocke, being very litle winde, and the Master of the Tyger asleepe, by the ill worke of his men the ship fel aboord of vs, and with her sheare-hooks cut our mainesaile, and her boat being betwixt vs was broken and suncke, with certaine marchandise in her, and the ships wales were broken with her outleger: yet in the ende we cleared her without any more hurt, but she was in hazzard to be broken downe to the water.

The second day we had sight of the Christopher, and were neere vnto her, so that I tooke our boat and went to her. And when I came thither, they shewed me, that after the Portugals had left vs, they went all roome with him, and about twelue a clocke at night met him, and shot at him, and hee at them, and they shot him thorow the sailes in diuers places, and did no other great hurt. And when we had vnderstood that they had bene with him as well as with vs, we agreed altogether to seeke them (if wee might finde them) and keepe a weather our places of traffique.

The third day we ran all day to the Southwestwards to seeke the Portugals, but could haue no sight of them, and halled into the shore.

The fourth day, when we had sight of land, we found that the current had set vs thirty leagues to the Eastwards of our reckoning, which we woondered at: for the first land we made was Lagua. Then I caused our boat to be manned, and the Christophers also, and went to the shore and tooke our Negro with vs. And on shore we learned that there were foure French ships vpon the coast: one at Perinnen, which is six leagues to the Westward of Laguoa: another at Weamba, which is foure leagues to the Eastward of Laguoa; a third at Perecow, which is foure leagues to the Eastward of Weamba: and the fourth at Egrand, which is foure leagues to the Eastward of Perecow.

When we had intelligence of these newes we agreed to go to the Eastwards with the Frenchmen to put them from their traffique, and shot off two or three pieces in our boats to cause the ships to way: and hauing bene about one houre vnder saile, we had sight of one of the French men vnder saile, halling off from Weamba to whome we gaue chase, and agreed in the night for feare of ouershooting them, that the Minion should first come to ancre, and after that about three houres, the Tyger and the Chistopher to beare along all night.

The 5. day we found three of the French ships at ancre: one called La foye de Honfleur, a ship of 220 tunnes, another called the Ventereuse or small Roebarge of Honfleur, of 100 tunnes, both appertaining to Shawdet of Honfleur, the third was called the Mulet de Batuille a ship of 120 tunnes, and this ship belonged to certaine Marchants of Roan.

When we came to them, we determined to lay the Admiral aboord, the Christopher the Viceadmirall, and the Tyger the smallest: but when we came nere them they wayed, and the Christopher being the headmost and the weathermost man, went roome with the Admirall: the Roebarge went so fast that wee could not fetch her. The first that we came to was the Mullet, and her wee layed aboord, and our men entred and tooke her, which ship was the richest except the Admirall: for the Admirall had taken about 80 pound of golde, and the Roeberge had taken but 22 pound: and all this we learned of the Frenchmen, who knew it very well: for they were all in consort together, and had bene vpon the coast of Mina two moneths and odde dayes: howbeit the Roebarge had bene there before them with another ship of Diepe, and a carauel, which had beaten all the coast, and were departed one moneth before our arriuing there, and they three had taken about 700 pound of golde.

The English boord the Frenchmen.

Assoone as we had layed the ship aboord, and left certaine men in her to keepe her, we set saile and gaue chase to the other two ships, and chased them all day and night, and the next day vntill three a clocke in the afternoone, but we could not fetch them: and therefore seeing that we brought our selues very farre to leeward of our place, we left the chase, and kept about againe to go with the shore.

The 7 day I sent for the captaine, marchants and Masters of the other ships, and when they came we weighed the golde which we had from the Frenchmen, which weighed fifty ponnd and fiue ounces of golde: this done we agreed to put men out of euery ship into the prise to keepe her.

The 12 day we came to the further place of the Mina called Egrand, and being come to an ancre, discharged all the marchants goods out of the prise, and would haue sold the ship with the victuals to the Frenchmen, but because she was leake they would not take her, but desired vs to saue their liues in taking them into our owne ships: then we agreed to take out the victuals and sinke the ship, and diuide the men among our ships.

The 15 at night we made an end of discharging the prise, and diuided all the Frenchmen except foure which were sicke and not able to helpe themselues; which foure both the Christopher and the Tyger refused to take, leauing them in their ship alone in the night, so that about midnight I was forced to fetch them into our ship.

The 15 of April, moouing our company for the voyage to Benin, the most part of them all refused it.

The 16, seeing the vnwillingnesse of the company to goe thither, we determined to spend as much time vpon the coast as we could, to the end we might make our voyage, and agreed to leaue the Minion here at Egrand, the Tyger to go to Pericow which is foure leagues off, and the Christopher to goe to Weamba, which is ten leagues to the weatherward of this place: and if any of them both should haue sight of more sailes then they thought good to meddle withall to come roome with their fellowes; to wit, first the Christopher to come with the Tyger, and then both they to come with vs.

We remained in this place called Egrand, vntill the last day of April, in which time many of our men fell sicke: and sixe of them died. And here we could haue no traffique with the Negros but three or foure dayes in the weeke, and all the rest of the weeke they would not come at vs.

The 3 of May not hauing the pinnesse sent vs with cloth from the other ships, as they promised, we solde French cloth, and gaue but three yards thereof to euery ſuffe.

The 5 day the Negros departed, and told vs they would come to vs againe within foure dayes, which we determined there to tary, although we had diuers of our men sicke.

The 8 day, all our cloth in the Minion being sold, I called the company together, to know whether they would tary the sale of the cloth taken in the prise at this place or no: they answered, that in respect of the death of some of their men, and the present sicknesse of twentie more, they would not tary, but repaire to the other ships, of whom they had heard nothing since the 27 of April: and yet they had our pinnesse with them, onely to cary newes from one to another.

The 9 day we determined to depart hence to our fellowes, to see what they had done, and to attempt what was to be done at the towne of Don Iohn.

The 10 day in the morning we sat saile to seeke the Christopher and the Tyger.

The 11 day the Captaine of the Christopher came to vs, and told vs that they could finde small doings at the places where they had bene.

The 12 William Crompton and I in our small pinnesse went to the Tyger and the Christopher at Perenine.

The 13 we sent away the Tyger to Egrand, because we found nothing to doe at Perenine, worth the tarying for.

The 14 our great pinnesse came to vs, and presently we put cloth into her, and sent her backe to Weamba, where she had bene before, and had taken there ten pound of golde.

The 15 the Minion came to vs, and the next day we went a shore with our boats, and tooke but one ounce of golde.

The 19 day hauing set saile we came to an ancre before Mowre, and there we tarried two dayes, but tooke not an ounce of golde.

The 21 we came to an ancre before Don Iohns towne.

The great towne of Don Iohn.

The 22 we manned our boats and went to shore, but the Negros would not come at vs; then the Captaine of the Christopher and I tooke a skiffe and eight men with vs, and went and talked with the Negros, and they sayd that they would send a man to the great towne, where Don Iohn himselfe lay, to aduertise him of our comming.

The 23 we went ashore againe, and the Negros tolde vs that this day the marchants of Don Iohn would come downe: so we tarried there vntill night, and no man would come to vs: but diuers of the Negros made vs signes to depart.

The 24 the Captaine of the Christopher tooke his boat and went to Mowre, and when he came thither, certaine Negros came to him to know the price of his wares, but in the end there came an Almade, which he iudged came from the castle, and caused all the Negros to depart from him: and when he saw they would come no more to him, he went ashore and tooke certaine men with him, and then the Negros cast stones at them, and would not suffer them to come vp to their towne. And when they saw that, they tooke certaine of the Almades, and put them to the sea, and afterwards departed. The same morning I went a shore at Don Iohns towne, and tooke a white flag with me, but none of the Negros could come to me, which caused vs to iudge that the Portugals were in the towne. After this, our boat came to vs well manned, and I sent one man vp to the towne with a white flag in his hand, but when he was come thither, all the Negros went away and would not speake with him. Then I sent one alone into the woods after them, but they in no case would come to vs. When we saw that, we tooke twelue goats and fourteene hennes, which we found in the towne, and went aboord without doing any further hurt to the towne: and when I came aboord, I found our pinnesse come from Cormatin, which had taken there two pound and fiue ounces of golde. Then after much ado with the froward Mariners, we went thitherwards with our ship, and the Christopher went to Mowre.

A fight with the Negros.

The 25 day the Master of the Christopher sent his boat to the shore for balast, and the Negros would haue beaten the company from the shore, whereupon the company resisted them, and slew and hurt diuers of them, and hauing put them to flight, burned their towne, and brake all their boats.

The 26 day our pinnesse came to vs from Cormatin, and had taken two pound and eleuen ounces of golde: and Iohn Shirife tolde vs that the Negros of that place were very desirous to haue a ship come back againe to their towne.

The 27 we wayed and went to Cormatin.

The 28 the Christopher came to vs from Mowre, and traffiqued there two dayes.

The second day of Iune the Tyger came to vs from Egrand,

and the pinnesse from Weamba, and they two had taken about fifty pound of golde since they departed from vs.

The 4 day we departed from Cormatin to plie vp to Shamma, being not able to tary any longer vpon the coast for lacke of victuals, and specially of drinke.

The 7 day we had sight of fiue of the king of Portugals ships which came to an ancre besides the castle.

The 8 day George and Binny came to vs, and brought with them two pound of golde.

The 10 day in the morning I tooke our small pinnesse, and the Captaine of the Christopher with me, and manned her well, and went to the castle to view the Portugals ships, and there we found one ship of about 300 tunne, and foure carauels: when we had well viewed them, we returned backe againe to our ships which we found seuen leagues at sea.

The 11 day in the morning we found our selues wel shot toward Shamma, and the Tyger with vs, but the Minion and the pinnesse had not wayed that night, so that we were out of sight of them: and hauing brought our selues in the weather of the Portugals ships, we came to an ancre to tary for the Minion, or els we might haue fetched Shamma. At night the Minion and the pinnesse came vp to vs, but could not fetch so farre to the weatherward as we, and therefore they ancred about a league a weather The castle, and we waied in the Christopher, and went roome with her.

The 12 day the Tyger came roome with vs, and she and the Christopher finding themselues to stand in great need of victuals, would haue gone with the Portugals ships to haue fetched some of them forth: but our master and company would in no case consent to goe with them, for feare of hanging when we came home: and the other two ships being fully minded to haue gone, and fearing that their owne company would accuse them, durst not go to them.

After this, by reason of the want of victuals in the pinnesse, which could receiue no victuals from the other shippes, but from vs onely, we tooke out all our men, and put twelue Frenchmen into her, and gaue them victuals to bring them to Shamma.

The 19 day the Tyger and Minion arriued at Shamma, and the Christopher within two leagues off them, but could not fetch the winde by reason of the scantnesse of the winde, which hath bene so scant, that in fifteene dayes we haue plied to the windewards but twelue leagues, which before we did in one day and a night.

The 20 day I tooke our pinnesse, and went to the towne of Shamma to speake with the captaine, and he tolde me that there was no golde there to be had, nor as much as a hen to be bought, and all by reason of the accord which he had made with the Portugals, and I seeing that departed peaceably from him.

The 21 I put such things as we had into our small pinnesse, and tooke one marchant of our ship, and another of the Tyger, and sent her to Hanta, to attempt, if she could doe any thing there. That night they could doe nothing but were promised to haue golde the next day.

The next day (which was the 22) being come, we sent our pinnesse to Hanta againe, but there neither the captaine nor the Negros durst traffike with vs, but intised vs from place to place, and all to no purpose.

This day we put away our pinnesse, with fiue and twenty Frenchmen in her, and gaue them such victuals as we could spare, putting fifteene of them to the ransome of sixe crownes a man.

The 23 of Iune our pinnesse came to vs from Hanta, and tolde vs that the Negros had dealt very ill with them, and would not traffike with them to any purpose.

The 24 we tooke our boat and pinnesse and manned them well, and went to the towne of Shamma, and because the Captaine thereof was become subiect to the Portugals we burned the towne, and our men seeking the spoile of such trifles as were there found a Portugals chest, wherein was some of his apparell, and his weights, and one letter sent to him from the castle, whereby we gathered that the Portugall had bene there of a long time.

Shamma burnt by the English.

The 25 day, about three of the clocke at afternoone, we set saile, and put into the sea, for our returne to England.

The last day of this moneth we fell with the shore againe, and made our reckoning to be eighteene leagues to the weatherward of the place where we set off. When we came to make the land, we found our selues to be eighteene leagues to the leeward of the place, where we set off, which came to passe, by reason of the extreme currant that runneth to the Eastward: when we perceiued our selues so abused, we agreed to cast about againe, and to lie as neere the winde as we could, to fetch the line.

The seuenth of Iuly we had sight of the Ile of S. Thome, and thought to haue sought the road to haue arriued there: but the next morning the wind came about, and we kept our course.

The ninth, the winde varying, we kept about againe, and fell with the Iland of S. Thome, and seeking the road, were becalmed neere the Iland, and with the currant were put neere the shore, but could haue no ground to ancre: so that we were forced to hoise out our pinnesse, and the other ships their skiffs to towe from the Iland, which did litle good, but in the ende the winde put vs three leagues off the shore.

The tenth day the Christopher and the Tyger cast about, whereby we iudged them to haue agreed together, to goe seeke some ships in the road, and to leaue vs: our men were not willing to goe after them, for feare of running in with the Iland againe, and of putting our selues into the same danger that we were in the night before: but we shot off a piece, and put out two lights, and they answered vs with lights againe: whereupon we kept our course, and thought that they had followed vs, but in the morning we could not see them, so that they left vs willingly, and we determined to follow them no more. But the eleuenth day we altered our opinion and course, and consented to cast about againe for the Iland, to seeke our ships; and about foure of the clocke in the afternoone we met with them.

The 13 we fell againe with the Iland of S. Thome; and the same night we found our selues directly vnder the line.

The description of the Ile of S. Thome.

This Iland is a very high Iland, and being vpon the West side of it, you shall see a very high pike, which is very small, and streight, as it were the steeple of a church, which pike lieth directly vnder the line, and at the same South end of the Iland to the Westward thereof lieth a small Iland, about a mile from the great Iland.

The third of August we departed from the Ile of S. Thome, and met the winde at the Southwest.

The 12 day we were in the height of Cape Verde.

The 22 day we fell with one of the Iles of Cape verde, called the Ile of Salt, and being informed by a Scotish man that we tooke among the Frenchmen vpon the coast, that there were fresh victuals to be had, we came to an ancre there.

The 23 day in the morning we manned our skiffe, and went a shore, and found no houses, but we saw foure men, which kept themselues alwayes farre from vs, as for cattell we could finde none, but great store of goats, and they were so wilde, that we could not take aboue three or foure of them: but there we had good store of fish, and vpon a small Iland which lay by the same we had great store of sea-birds.

At night the Christopher brake her cradle, and lost an ancre, so that she could tary no longer, so we all wayed, and set saile. Vpon the same Iland we left the Scotish man, which was the occasion of our going aland at that place, but how he was left we could not tell: but, as we iudged, the people of the Iland found him sleeping, and so caried him away; for at night I went my selfe to the Iland to seeke him, but could hear nothing of him.

The 24 day the Master of the Tyger came aboord vs, and tolde vs that his men were so weake, and the shippe so leake, that he was not able to keepe her aboue the water, and therefore requested vs to go backe againe to the Iland, that we might discharge her, and giue her up: but we intreated him to take paine with her awhile, and we put a French Carpenter into her, to see if he could finde the leake. This day we tooke a view of all our men, both those that were hole, and the sicke also, and we found that in all the three ships, were not aboue thirty sound men.

The great inconuenience by late staying vpon the coast of Guinie.

The 25 we had sight of the Ile of S. Nicholas, and the day following of the other Iles, S. Lucia, S, Vincent, and S. Anthony; which four Iles lie the one from the other Northwest, and by West, Souteast and by East.

The 26 we came againe with the Iland of S. Anthony, and could not double the Cape. This day Philip Iones, the Master of the Christopher, came aboord vs, who had beene aboord the Tyger, and tolde vs that they were not able to keepe the Tyger, because she was leake, and the Master very weake, and sayd further, he had agreed with the Master and the company, that if the next day we could double the Iland, we should runne to the leeward of it, and there discharge her: but if we could not double it, then to put in betwixt the Iland of S. Vincent and S. Anthony, to see if we could discharge her.

The third day of September I went aboord the Tyger, with the Master and Marchants with me, to view the shippe and men: and we found the shippe very leake, and onely six labouring men in her, whereof one was the Master gunner: so that we seeing that they were not able to keepe the ship, agreed to take in the men, and of the goods what we could saue, and then to put the ship away.

The fift day we went to discharge the Tyger.

The eight day, hauing taken out the artillery, goods, victuals, and gold of the Tyger, we gaue her vp 25 degrees by North the line.

The 27 we had sight of two of the Iles of the Azores, S. Mary, and S. Michael.

The fourth of October we found ourselues to be 41 degrees and a halfe from the line.

The sixt day the Christopher came to vs, and willed vs to put with the Cape, for they also were so weake, that they were not able to keepe the sea, and we being weake also, agreed to go for Vigo, being a place which many English men frequent.

The 10 day the Christopher went roome with the Cape, but we hauing a mery wind for England, and fearing the danger of the enemies, which ordinarily lie about the Cape: besides, not knowing the state of our countrey and Spaine, and although it were peace, yet there was little hope of friendship at their hands, considering the voyage that we had made, and we also being so weake, that by force and violence we could come by nothing, and doubting also that the king of Portugall knowing of our being there, might worke some way with the Counsell of Spaine to trouble vs: and further, considering that if we did put in with any harbor, we should not be able to come out againe, till we sent for more men into England, which would be a great charge, and losse of time, and meanes of many dangers. All these things pondred, we agreed to shoot off two pieces of ordinance, to warne the Christopher, and then we went our course for England: she hearing our pieces followed vs, and we carried a light for her, but the next day in the morning it was thicke, and we could not see her in the afternoone neither, so that we suspected that either she was gone with Spaine, or els that she should put foorth more sailes then we in the night, and was shot a head of vs, so that then we put forth our top-sailes, and went our course with England.

At the time when the Christopher left vs, we were within 120 leagues of England, and 45 leagues Northwest and by West from Cape Finister: and at the same time in our ships we had not aboue sixe Mariners and sixe Marchants in health, which was but a weake company for such a ship to seeke a forren harbour.

The 16 day, about sixe of the clocke at night, we met with a great storme at the West-south-west, and West, and our men being weake, and not able to handle to sailes, we lost the same night our maine saile, foresaile, and spreetsaile, and were forced to lie a hulling, vntill the eighteenth day, and then we made ready an olde course of a foresaile, and put it to the yard, and therewith finding our selues far shot into the sleeue, we bare with our owne coast; but that foresaile continued not aboue two houres, before it was blowen from the yard with a freat, and then we were forced to iie a hull againe, vntil the nineteenth day of October in the morning, and then we put an olde bonnet to our foreyard, which, by the good blessing and prouidence of God, brought vs to the Ile of Wight, where we arriued the 20 of October in the afternoone.

The commodities and wares that are most desired in Guinie, betwixt Sierra Liona and the furthest place of the Mine.

MAnils of brasse, and some of loade.
Basons of diuers sorts, but the most lattin.
Pots of course tinne, of a quart and more.
Some wedges of yron.
Margarites, and certaine other sleight beads.
Some blew Corall.
Some horse tailes.
Linnen cloth principally.
Basons of Flanders.
Some red cloth of low price, and some kersie.
Kettles of Dutch-land with brasen handles.
Some great brasse basons graued, such as in Flanders they set vpon their cupboords.
Some great basons of pewter, and ewers grauen.
Some lauers, such as be for water.
Great kniues of a low price.
Sleight Flanders-caskets.
Chests of Roan of a lowe price, or any other chests.
Great pinnes.
Course French couerings.
Packing sheets good store.
Swords, daggers, frise mantels, and gownes, clokes, hats, red caps, Spanish blankets, axe heads, hammers, short pieces of yron, sleight belles, gloues of a lowe price, leather bags, and what other trifles you will.

Certaine Articles deliuered to M. Iohn Lok, by Sir William Gerard Knight, M. William Winter, M. Beniamin Gonson, M. Anthony Hickman, and M. Edward Castelin the 8 of September 1561, touching a voyage to Guinea.

A remembrance for you M. Lok at your comming to the coast of Guinie.

FIrst, when God shal send you thither, to procure, as you passe alongst the coast, to vnderstand what riuers, hauens, or harboroughs there be; and to make your selfe a plat thereof, setting those places which you shall thinke materiall in your sayd plat, with their true eleuations.

Also you shall learne what commodities doe belong to the places where you shall touch, and what may be good for them.

It is thought good, that hauing a fort vpon the coast of Mina in the king of Habaans country,* it would serue to great purpose: wherfore you are especially sent to consider where the fort might be best placed, and vpon what ground: wherein are to be noted these things following.

1. That the ground so serue, that it ioyne to the sea on the one part, so as shippes and boats may come to lade and vnlade.

2. What molde of earth the ground is of.

3. What timber or wood may be had, and how it will be caried.

4. What prouision of victuals may be had in the countrey: and what kinde of our victuals will best serve to continue.

5. The place must be naturally strong, or such as may be made strong with a small charge, and afterwards kept with a few men.

6. How water may be prouided, if there be none to be had in the ground where the fort shall stand, or neere to it.

7. What helpe is to be had from the people of the country, either for the building of it, or for the defence thereof.

To mooue the king of Haban a farre off, for the making of a fort, and to note how he will like it; but vse your communication so, that although there might fall out good cause for the doing of it, yet he do not vnderstand your meaning.

Search the countrey so farre as you may, both alongst the coast, and into the land.

---

* *Marginal note.*—The English marchants intend to fortifie in Ghinea, in the king of Habaans country.

To learne what became of the marchants that were left at Benin.

The matters which shall be of importance to be noted we nothing doubt that you will omit, wherefore we referre the order of these affaires to your discretion.

Also we pray you as occasion shall serue that you ayd and helpe our factours, both with your counsell and otherwise; and thus God send you safely to returne.

William Gerrard, William Winter, Beniamin Gonson,
Anthony Hickman, Edward Castelin.

A letter of M. Iohn Lok to the worshipfull company of Marchants aduenturers for Guinie, written 1561, shewing reasons for his not proceeding in a voyage then intended to the foresayd countrey.

WOrshipfull sirs; since the arriuall of M. Pet and Buttoll Monioy (as I vnderstand) for the voyage it is concluded that the Minion shall proceed on her voyage, if within 20 dayes she may be repaired of those hurts she hath receiued by the last storme: or in the moneth of Ianuary also, if the wind wil serue therfore. Wherefore for that your worships shall not be ignorant of my determined purpose in the same, with the reasons that haue perswaded me thereunto; I haue thought good to aduertise you thereof, trusting that your worships will weigh them, as I vprightly and plainly meane them. And not for any feare or discouragement that I haue of my selfe by the raging of the stormes of the sea, for that (I thanke the Lord) these haue not beene the first that I haue abiden, neither trust I they shalbe the last. First the state of the ship, in which, though I thinke not but M. Pet can do more for her strengthening than I can conceiue, yet for all that, it will neither mend her conditions, nor yet make her so stanch that any cabin in her shalbe stanch for men to lie drie in; the which sore, what a weakening it will be to the poore men after their labour, that they neither can haue a shift of apparell drie, nor yet a drie place to rest in, I referre to your discretion. For though that at Harwich she was both bound and caulked as much as might be, both within and without, yet for all that she left not, afore this flaw, in other weathers, being stressed, to open those seames, and become in the state she was before; I meane, in wetting her men: notwithstanding her new worke. And my iudgement, with that litle experience I haue had, leadeth me to thinke that the ship whose water works and footings be spent and rotten cannot be but leake for men. Next, the vnseasonable time of the yeere which is now present. And how onely by meanes of the vnseasonable times in the returne from the voyage home, many thereby haue decayed, to the great misery and calamity of the rest, and also to the great slander of the voyage, (which I much respect) the last and other voyage haue declared. And what it is to make the voyage in vnseasonable time, that hath the second voyage also declared. Wherefore weying and foreseeing this (as I may wel terme it) calamity and vneuitable danger of men, and that by men she must be brought home againe (except that God will shew an extraordinary miracle) I purpose not nor dare I venture with a safe conscience to tempt God herein. Againe, forsomuch as she is alone, and hath so little helpe of boat or pinnesse in her trade, and also for her watering, where a long time of force must be spent, my going, to the accomplishment of your expectations, will be to small effect for this time, because I shall want both vessell and men to accomplish it. And I would not gladly so spend my time and trauell, to my great charges and paine, and after, for not falling out accordingly, to lose both pot and water, as the prouerbe is. As for the Primrose, if she be there, her trade will be ended or euer we come there, so that she of force, by want of prouision, must returne: yea, though we should carry with vs a supply for her, yet is the meeting of her doubtfull, and though we met her, yet will the men not tarry, as no reason is they should: howbeit my opinion of her is that she is put into Ireland. The Flowerdeluce was in Milford. Thus for that your worships might vnderstand the whole cause why I doe not proceed, I haue troubled you at this time with this my long Letter. And, as God is my Iudge, not for feare of the Portugals, which there we shall meet (and yet alone without ayde) as here is a shippe which was in Lisbon, whose men say that there are in a readinesse (onely to meet vs) foure great ships, of the which one is accounted 700 tunnes, and other pinnesses: yet not for feare of them, nor raging of the seas (whose rage God is aboue to rule) but onely for the premisses: the sequell whereof must by reason turne to a great misery to the men; the which I for my part (though it might turne me to as much gaine as the whole commeth to) yet would I not be so tormented, as the sight thereof would be a corsiue to my heart, and the more, because foreseeing the same, I should be so leud, as yeelding, to haue runne into the danger thereof, and therefore I haue absolutely determined with my selfe not to goe this voyage. Howbeit if in a seasonable time of the yeere I had but one ship sufficient, though much lesse by the halfe, I would not refuse (as triall being made thereof should appeare) or if I had ability of my selfe to venture so much, it should well be seene. And this I speake to giue you to vnderstand that I refuse not this for feare: If you purpose to proceed heerein, send some one whom you please; to whom I will not onely deliuer the articles which I haue receiued, but also will giue some particular notes which I haue noted in the affaires which you haue committed vnto mee, with the best helpe and counsell I can. Thus the liuing God keepe your worships all. Bristoll this 11 of December 1561.

Your worships to comand to his power.
Iohn Lok.

The relation of one William Rutter to M. Anthony Hickman his master touching a voyage set out to Guinea in the yeere 1562, by Sir William Gerard, Sir William Chester, M. Thomas Lodge, the sayd Anthony Hickman, and Edward Castelin, which voyage is also written in verse by Robert Baker.

WOrshipfull sir, my duty remembered, this shalbe to declare vnto you the discourse of this our voyage, since our departure out of England from Dartmouth; at which time I gaue you to vnderstand of our departure, which was the 25 of February 1562. Then hauing a prosperous winde we departed from thence, and sailed on our voyage vntill we arriued at Cauo verde the 20 of March, making no abode there, but sailed along the coast to our first appointed port Rio de Sestos, at which port we arriued the third of Aprill in the morning, hauing the sight of a Frenchman, who assoone as he perceiued vs, set saile and made to the sea: in the meane time we came to an anker in the rode: and after that he had espied our flag, perceiuing vs to be Englishman, he bare with the shore, and hailed our ships with his ordinance, at which time we the merchants of both the ships were in the riuer in traffike, and had vnderstanding of the Negroes that he had bene there three dayes before our comming: so we concluded together, that if he sent his pinnesse to traffike, we would not suffer him, vntill we had taken further order with their captaine and marchants. In the afternoone the pinnesse came into the riuer, whose men we willed to make no traffike vntill we had talked further with their captaine, whom we willed that night to come aboord our admirall: which was done. At which sayd time M. Burton and Iohn Munt went aboord the Minion where the Frenchmen were, and there concluded that they should tary by vs eight dayes, and suffer vs quietly to traffike, wherewith they were not well pleased. Wherevpon the next morning they departed from vs, sailing alongst the coast to the Eastward towards Potis, which he did to hinder our traffike that way: wherefore the marchants of the Minion and we concluded (forasmuch as at that present we vnderstood that were no sailes past alongst) that we should go before, to the end we might not be hindered of our traffike by the Frenchmen; which thing we did: and at our comming thither we found the Frenchmen in traffike to the West of Potis, by whom we passed, and arriued at Rio de Potis the 12 of April, where we remained in traffike vntill the 15 of the sayd moneth, and then departed from thence along the coast toward Sant Andre, where we appointed by agreement to tary for the Minion; and the 17 at night we came to the riuer of S. Andre, in which very day the Minion came vnto vs, telling vs that they met at cauo das Palmas a great ship and a caruell of the king of Portugals bound to the Mina, who gaue chase vnto them, and shot freely at them, and the Minion in her defence returned her the like: but God be praised the Minion had no hurt for that time. In the end we concluded to hasten towards cauo de tres puntus to haue put them from the castle, if by any meanes wee might; and when wee were come to the Cape, we lay a hull one night and two dayes, and doubting they had bene past, the Minion went neere the shore, and sent her merchants to a place called Anta, where beforetime we had traffike, and the next morning very early being the 21 of the sayd moneth, we againe had sight of the ship and the carauell a good way to sea-boord of vs. Then we presently set saile, and bare with the formost of them, hoping to haue got betweene the castle and them, but we came short of our purpose, which was no small griefe vnto vs all; and when they had gotten the castle to friend, they shot at vs freely, and we at them, and the castle at vs; but we profited litle. In the afternoone we set saile and came to the town of Don Iuan called Equi, where the 22 in the morning we went a shoare to traffike, but the Negros would not vntill they had newes from Don Luis, for at that time Don Iuan was dead, and the 23 came Don Luis his sonne and Pacheco minding to traffike with vs, at which said day came two gallies rowing along the shoare from the castle, minding to keepe vs from our traffike. The 24 we set saile and chased the galies to the castle againe. The Negroes being glad of that required vs to goe to Mowre, which is some 3 leagues behind, and thither would they come for that they stood in feare of the Portugals, and there we remained for the marchants that came out of the countrey which were come with their gold, but Anthonio don Luis his sonne, and Pacheco were aboord the Minion. And the 25 in the morning came the two galies from the castle againe vnto vs, the weather being very calme, they shot at vs and hit vs 3 times, and shortly after the wind came from the shore, at which instant we descried the ship, and the carauell comming toward vs, then we weighed and set saile, and bare as neere vnto them as we could: but it was night or euer wee met with them, and the night being very darke we lost them. The next day plying to the shore, at night we agreed to go with Cormantin, but the next morning being the 28 we were but a litle distant from the great ship and the 2 galies, hauing no wind at all, and the carauell hard aboord the shore. Then being calme, came the 2 galies rowing to the sterne of the Minion, and fought with her the most part of the forenoone: and in the fight a mischance hapned in the Minions steward-roome by means of a barrell of pouder that tooke fire, wherewith were hurt the master gunner, the steward, and most part of the gunners: which the galies perceiuing, began to be more fierce vpon them, and with one shot cut halfe her foremast in twaine, that without present remedie shee was not able to beare saile, and presently vpon this the great ship sent her boat to the galies, who suddenly departed from vs. And after their departure we went aboord the Minion to counsell what were best to be done, at which time they were sore discomfited. Whereupon we deuised what was best to be done: and because wee knew that the Negros neither would nor durst traffike so long as the galies were on the coast; it was therefore agreed that we should prepare our selues to depart to Rio de Sestos, and so we departed that day. The 14 of May in the morning we fell with the land, and when wee came to it, we doubted what place

Much hurt done in the Minion with firing a barrel of gunpouder.

They returne. it was, and sent our boates, on land to know the trueth, and we found it to be Rio de Barbos, which is to the Eastward of sant Andre, and there remained in getting of water vntil the 21, where we lost the day before 5 of our men by meanes of ouerthrowing our black pinnasse. The 22 we departed from thence to Rio de Sesto, where we arriued the 2 of Iune, and the 4 wee departed from Rio de Sesto, and arriued (God bee thanked) the 6 of August within sight of the Stert in the West part of England, our men being very sicke and weake. We haue not at this present aboue 20 sound men that are able to labour, and we haue of our men 21 dead, and many more very sore hurt and sicke. Master Burton hath bene sicke this 6 weekes, and at this present (God strengthen him) is so weake that I feare he will hardly escape. Herein inclosed your worship shall receiue a briefe of all the goods sold by vs, and also what commodities we haue receiued for the same. Thus I leaue to trouble your worship, reseruing all things als to our generall meeting, and to the bringer hereof. From aboord the Primerose the 6 of August 1563.

Your obedient seruant
William Rutter.

There are brought home this voiage An. 1363. Elephants teeth 166 weighing 1758 pounds. Graines 22 buts full.

A meeting at Sir William Gerards house the 11 of Iuly 1564. for for the setting foorth of a voyage to Guinea, with the Minion of the Queens, the Iohn Baptist of London, and the Merline of M. Gonson.

AT this meeting were these chiefe aduenturers, Sir William Gerrard, sir William Chester, sir Thomas Lodge, Anthonie Hickman, and Edward Castelin. Where it was agreed that Francis Ashbie should be sent to Deptford to M. Gonson for his letters to Peter Pet to goe about the rigging of the Minion vpon the Queenes maiesties charges, and so the said Francis to repaire with the same letters to Gillingham with money to supplie our charge there.

Also that euery one of the fiue partners shall foorthwith call vpon their partners to supply towards this new rigging and victualling, 29 li. 10s. 6d. for euery 100. li. value.

Also that euery one of the fiue partners shall foorthwith bring in 50 li. towards the furniture of the premisses.

Likewise it is agreed that if M. Gonson giue his consent that the Merline shall be brought about from Bristoll to Hampton, that a letter be drawen whereunto his hand shall be, before order be giuen for the same.

The successe of this Voiage in part appeareth by certaine briefe relations extracted out of the second voyage of Sir Iohn Hawkins to the West Indies, made in the sayd yeere 1564. which I thought good to set downe for want of further instructions, which hitherto I could not by any meanes come by, albeit I haue vsed all possible indeuour for the obtaining of the same: Take them therefore in the meane season as foloweth.

MAster Iohn Hawkins, with the Iesus of Lubeck a ship of 700. tunnes, and the Salomon, a ship of 7 score, the Tiger a barke of 50, and the Swalow of 30 tunnes, being all well furnished with men to the number of one hundred threescore and ten, as also with ordinance and victuall requisite for such a voiage, departed out of Plimmouth the 18 day of October in the yeere of our Lord 1564. with a prosperous winde: at which departing, in cutting the foresaile, a marueilous misfortune happened to one of the officers in the ship, who by the pullie of the sheat was slaine out of hand, being a sorowfull beginning to them all. And after their setting out 10 leagues to the Sea, hee met the same day with the Minion a ship of the Queens Maiesties, whereof was captaine Dauid Carlet, and also her consort the Iohn Baptist of London being bound to Guinea likewise, who hailed one the other after the custome of the sea, with certaine pieces of ordinance for ioy of their meeting: which done, the Minion departed from him to seeke her other consort the Merline of London, which was a sterne out of sight, leauing in M. Hawkins companie the Iohn Baptist her other consort.

Thus sailing forwards on their way with a prosperous wind vntil the 21 of the same moneth, at that time a great storme arose, the wind being at Northeast about 9 of the clocke at night, and continued so 23 houres together, in which storme M. Hawkins lost the company of the Iohn Baptist aforesaid, and of his pinnasse called the Swallow, the other 3 ships being sore beaten with the storme. The 23 day the Swalow, to his no small reioicing, came to him againe in the night 10 leagues to the Northward of Cape Finister, hauing put roomer and not being able to double the Cape, in that there rose a contrary wind at Southwest. The 25 the wind continuing contrary, he put into a place in Galicia called Ferol, where he remained 5 daies and appointed all the masters of his ships an order for the keeping of good company.

The firing and sinking of the Merline bound for Guinea.

The 26 day the Minion came in also where he was, for the reioycing whereof he gaue them certaine pieces of ordinance after the curtesie of the Sea for their welcome, but the Minions men had no mirth because of their consort the Merline, whom at their departure from M. Hawkins vpon the coast of England, they went to seeke, and hauing met with her, kept company two dayes together, and at last by misfortune of fire (through the negligence of one of the gunners) the pouder in the gunners roome was set on fire, which with the first blast stroke out her poope, and therewithall lost 3 men, besides many sore burned (which escaped by the Brigandine being at her sterne) and immediatly to the great losse of the owners, and most horrible sight of the beholders, she sunke before their eies. The 30 day of the moneth M. Hawkins with his consorts and company of the Minion hauing now both the Brigandines at her sterne, weighed anker, and set saile on their voiage hauing a prosperous wind thereunto. The 4 of Nouember they had sight of the Iland of Madera, and the 6 day of Teneriffa, which they thought to haue bene the Canarie, in that they supposed themselues to haue bene to the Eastward of Teneriffa but were not: but the Minion beyng 3 or 4 leagues a head of vs kept on her course to Teneriffa, hauing better sight thereof then the other had, and by that means they parted company.

The foresaid Sir Iohn Hawkins passing on his voiage by Cauo Verde and Sierra Leona, and afterward crossing ouer the maine Ocean comming to the towne of Burboroata vpon the coast of Terra firma in the West Indies, had further information of the euill successe of this Guinean voyage, as in the same hereafter is verbatim mentioned.

The 29 of April, we being at anker without the road, a French ship called the green Dragon of Newhauen, whereof was captaine one Bon Temps came in, who saluted vs after the maner of the sea, with certaine pieces of ordinance, and we resaluted him with the like againe: with whom hauing communication, he declared that hee had bene at the Mina in Guinea, and was beaten off by the Portugals gallies, and enforced to come thither to make sale of such wares as he had: and further that the like was hapned vnto the Minion: also that captaine Dauid Carlet, and a marchant, with a dozen mariners were betraied by the Negros at their first arriuall thither, remaining prisoners with the Portugals, besides other misaduentures of the losse of their men hapned through the great lacke of fresh water, with great doubts of bringing home the ships: which was most sorrowfull for vs to vnderstand.

The voyage of M. George Fenner to Guinie, and the Islands of Cape Verde, in the yeere of 1566. with three ships, to wit, the Admirall called the Castle of Comfort, the May Flower, and the George, and a pinnasse also:

Written by Walter Wren.

THe 10 day of December, in the yeere abouesayd, we departed from Plimmouth, and the 12 day we were thwart of Vshant.

The 15 day in the morning being Sunday, wee had sight of Cape Finister, and the same night we lost the company of our Admiral, wherefore we sayled along the coast of Portugall, hoping that our Admiral had bene before vs.

The 18 day we met with a French ship of whom wee made inquirie for our Admirall, but he could not tell vs newes of him: so we followed our course to the Ilands of the Canaries.

The 25 day in the morning we fell with a small Iland called Porto Santo, and within 3 houres wee had sight of another Iland called Madera which is 6 leagues from Porto Santo.

The said 25 day being the day of the Natiuitie, we hoised out our boat, and fet Master Edward Fenner captaine of the May Flower aboord vs, being in the George, with the master whose name was Robert Cortise and others of the sayd shippe, and feasted them with such cheere as God had sent vs.

The 28 day we fel with an Iland called Tenerif, which is 27 leagues from the said Iland, and on the East side thereof we came to an anker in 40 fadome water, within a base shot of the shore, in a little Baie wherein were 3 or 4 small houses: which Baie and houses were distant from a litle towne called Santa Cruz, a league or thereabout, and as we rode in the said Baie, we might see an Iland called The grand Canarie, which was 6 or 7 leagues from vs.

The 29 day the May Flower for that she could not ſet into ye road where we were at an anker, by reason the wind was off the shore, and because she bare more roomer from the land then we did, in the morning came bearing in with the towne of Santa Cruz, thinking to come to an anker in the road against the towne, and before she came within the reach of any of their ordinance, they shot at her foure pieces which caused her to come roome with vs, and came at last to an anker by vs. And about one of the clocke in the afternoone, the forenamed captaine of the .May Flower wrote a letter a shoare, directing it to the head officer of the towne of Santa Cruz, to the intent to vnderstand the pretense of the shooting off the said ordinance.

The letter being written, Robert Courtise master of the May Flower, and Walter Wren were appointed to deliuer the same a land at 3 or 4 houses to bee conueid to the foresayd towne, and so went with six men in the boate, and rowed to the shore as neere as they might, for setting the boate on ground, for the sea went cruelly at the shore.

The people stood in number 30 persons with such armour as they had : the foresayd Wren called to them in Spanish, declaring to them that they had a letter which they would very gladly haue conueid vnto the towne, shewing that they would traffique with them as marchants, desiring their helpe for the conuenience of the same letter. With that one of the Spaniards willed vs to come on land, and we should be welcome, but doubting the worst, the said Walter answered them that they would not come on land, vntill they had answere of their letter which they had brought.

Whereupon one of the Spaniards vnraied himselfe, and lept into the water, and swam to the boat, whom we receiued. And he saluted vs, and demaunded what our request was: we made him answere, that by misfortune we lost the companie of our Admirall, and being bound to this Iland to traffique for wines and other things necessary for vs, do here mind to stay vntill he come.

Concerning our letter he made vs answere, that he would with all diligence cary it, and deliuer it according to the direction, and so the said Walter knit the letter in a bladder, and deliuered it unto him, and also gaue him foure roials of Spanish money for his paines: and promising that we should haue answere of it, he tooke his leaue and swamme againe on shore, where the people stood ready to receiue him. And after that they had talked with him, and vnderstood our meaning, some of them threw vp their hats, and the other put them off holding them in their hands, and made vs very curteous signes, alwaies desiring that the boat would come a land, but we resaluting them rowed backe againe aboord.

The 30 day the Gouernors brother of Santa Cruz came aboord the May Flower with sixe or seuen Spaniards with him, who concluded with the Captaine that we might come a shoare and traffique with them, but that day we did not, for we had sufficient pledge of theirs for our assurance. Our Captaine entertained them well, and at their departure gaue them foure pieces of ordinance for a farewell, and bestowed vpon them two cheeses with other things.

The said Gouernors brother promised our Captaine that hee should haue sufficient pledges the morrow following, which was not done, whereupon wee grew suspicious, and went not that day a shore.

The first day of Ianuary our captaine sent Nicholas Day and Iohn Sumpter a shore, who were very well entertained with as many of our company as went after them.

In the said Iland is a maruellous high hill called the Pike, which is a far off more like a cloud in the aire, then any other thing: the hill is round and somewhat small at the top, it hath not bene knowen that euer any man could goe vp to the top thereof. And although it stand in 28 degrees which is as hote in Ianuary, as it is in England at Midsommer, yet is the top of the said hil Winter and Sommer seldome without snow.

In this Iland about two leagues from the said Santa Cruz is a citie called Anagona.

The third day wee departed about the Westerne point of the Iland, about 12 or 14 leagues from Santa Cruz, into a Baie which is right agaynst the house of one Petro de Souses, in which Baie we came to an anker the 5 day, where we heard that our Admirall had bene there at an anker 7 dayes before vs, and was gone thence to an Iland called Gomera, whereupon we set saile presently to seeke him.

The 6 day we came to an anker against the towne of Gomera, where we found our Admirall, which was very ioyfull of our comming, and we also of his sight.

In the sayd road we found Edward Cooke, in a tall ship, and a shippe of the Coppersmiths of London, which the Portugals had trecherously surprised in the Baie of Santa Cruz, vpon the coast of Barbarie, which ship we left there all spoiled.

Our General and marchants bought in the said towne for our prouision, 14 buts of wine, which cost 15 duckats a but, which were offred vs at Santa Cruz in Tenerif for 8, 9, and 10 duckats.

The 9 day we departed from this road to another Baie, about 3 leagues off and there tooke in fresh water: and so the 10 day we set saile towards Cape Blanke, which is on the coast of Guinea.

A good caueat.

The 12 day we fell into a Baie to the Eastward of Cape Pargos, which is 35 leagues from Cape Blanke. But hauing no knowledge of that coast, we went with Cape Blanke, and at the fall of the land we sounded and had 16 fadome water two leagues from the shore. The land is very lowe and white sand. Vpon the fall of the sayd coast beware how you borow in 12 or 10 fadome, for within 2 or 3 casts of the lead you may be on ground.

The 17 day we set saile from Cape Blanke, directing our course South and by East and South among, and so fell into a Baie to the Eastward of Cape Verde, about 16 leagues, and about sixe leagues from the shore. The sayd land seemed vnto vs as if it had bene a great number of shippes vnder saile, being indeed nothing els but the land which was full of Hummoks, some high some lowe, with high trees on them. We bare with the said land till we were within 3 leagues of the shore, and then we sounded, and found 28 fadome water, black oase. This day we saw much fish in sundry sculs swimming with their noses with the brim of the water.

Passing along this coast we might see two small round hils, seeming to vs about a league one from the other, which is the Cape, and betweene them are great store of trees, and in all our dayes sailing we saw no land so high as the said two hils.

The 19 day we came to an anker at the Cape, in a roade fast by the Westermost side of two hils in 10 fadome of water where you may ride in fiue or sixe fadome, for the ground is faire, and alwayes you shall haue the winde off the shore. And as soone as we were all at an anker our Generall came aboord vs, and with him the master of the Admirall, whose name was William Bats, and with them the captaine of the Viceadmirall, whose name was master Edward Fenner, and Robert Curtise the master, and dined aboord of vs being in the George, wherein was Captaine Iohn Heiwood, and Iohn Smith of Hampton master, and there we concluded to goe a land, which was halfe a mile from vs: and by the counsel of William Bats both Captaine and marchants and diuers of the companie went without armour: for he sayd, that although the people were blacke and naked, yet they were ciuill: so that hee would needs giue the venter without the consent of the rest to go without weapon. Thus they rowed to shore, where we being in the shippe might see a great companie of Negros naked, walking to and fro by the sea side where the landing place was, waiting for the comming of our men, who came too soone, and landed to their losse as it fell out afterwards.

The foolish rashnes of Wil. Bats perswading company to land vnarmed.

There went a shore the Admirals skiffe, and the May Flowers boate, and in them the number of 20 persons or thereabouts, as M. George Fenner the Generall, his brother M. Edward Fenner, Thomas Valentine, Iohn Worme and Francis Leigh marchants, Iohn Haward, William Bats, Nicholas Day, Iohn Thomson and others.

At their comming to the shore there were 100 Negros or vpward, with their bowes and arrowes: our Captaines and merchants talked with them, and according to the vse of the country, the one demanded pledges of the other, and they were content to deliuer 3 of their Negros for 5 of our men. Our 5 mens names were these, Iohn Haward, Wil. Bats, Nich. Day, Ioh. Tomson, and Iohn Curtise: these were deliuered them, and we receiued 3 Negros into our Admirals skiffe.

Our men being a shore among the Negros, began to talke with them, declaring what ware and marchandize we had, as woollen cloth, linnen cloth, iron, cheese and other things. The Negros answered againe, they had ciuet, muske, gold and graines, which pleased our captaines and marchants very well. Then the Negros desired to haue a sight of some of our wares, to the which our marchants were content, and foorthwith sent aboord one of the boats for part of their marchandise, and in the meane time while the boate went to the ship, our fiue men were walking on the shore with the Negros, and our Generall and marchants staied in the other boat by the sea side, hauing the 3 Negros with them.

Our boate then came againe and brought iron and other marchandise, with bread, wine, and cheese which they gaue vnto him.

Then two of the Negros (which were the pledges) made themselues sicke, desiring to goe a shore, promising to send other two for them. Captaine Haiward perceiuing that our men had let the Negros come a shore, asked what they meant, and doubting the worst began to drawe toward the boate, and two or three of the Negros folowed him. And when hee came to the boate they began to stay him, and he made signes vnto them that hee would fetch them more drinke and bread: notwithstanding, when he was entering into the boate, one of them caught him by the breeches and would haue staied him, but hee sprang from him and leapt into the boate, and as soone as hee was in, one of the Negros a shore beganne to blow a pipe, and presently the other Negro that was in our boate sitting on the boates side, and master Wormes sword by him, suddenly drew the sword out of the scabberd, and cast himselfe into the Sea, and swamme a shore, and presently the Negros laied handes on our men that were on shore, and tooke three of them with great violence, and tore all their apparell from their backes and left them nothing to couer them, and many of them shot so thicke at our men 'in our boates, that they could scarse set hand to any Oare to rowe from the shore, yet (by the helpe of God) they got from them with their boates although many of them were hurt with their poysoned arrowes: and the poison is vncurable, if the arrow enter within the skin and drawe blood, and except the poison be presently suckt out, or the place where any man is hurt bee foorthwith cut away, he dieth within foure dayes, and within three houres after they bee hurt or pricked, wheresoeuer it be, although but at the litle toe, yet it striketh vp to the heart, and taketh away the stomacke, and causeth the partie marueilously to vomite, being able to brooke neither meat nor drinke.

The Negros hauing vsed our men with such cruelty, whose names were Nicholas Day, Wiilliam Bats, and Iohn Tomson, led them away to a towne which was within a mile of the water side, or thereabout.

The 20 day we sent to land a boate or skiffe wherein were eight persons, and one of them was the foresayd Iohn Tomson and our interpreter which was a Frenchman, (for there was one of the Negros which spake good French:) and they caried with them two harquebusses, two targets and a mantell.

The cause of sending them was to learne what ransome they demaunded for Bats and Day whom they detained. And when they came to the shore and told the Negros what they desired, they went and fetched them from among the trees, and brought them loose among fortie or fiftie of them. And being come within a stones cast of the sea side, William Bats brake from them, and ran as fast as he could into the sea towards the boat, and he was not so soone in the water but hee fell downe, either breath or his foote failing him in the sand being soft: so that the Negros came and fell on him and tooke him and haled him, that we thought they had torne him in pieces: for they tore againe all the apparell from his backe, so that some of them caried our men againe to the towne, and the rest shot at vs with their poisoned arrowes, and hurt one of our men called Androwes in the smal of the leg, who being come aboord, (for all that our Surgeons could do) we thought he would haue died.

The danger of poysoned arrowes.

Our Generall (notwithstanding all this villanie) sent agayne to them, and offered them any thing that they desired for the raunsome of our men, bat they would not deliuer them: giuing vs this answere: That there was in the foresayd roade, three weekes before we came, an English shippe which had taken three of their people, and vntill we did bring or send them againe, wee should not haue our men although wee would giue our three shippes with their furniture.

The 21 day a French shippe of the burden of 80 tunnes (or thereabouts,) came to the place where we were, being bound to traffique at the Cape: we told them of the detaining of our two men by the Negros: and seeing that these Frenchmen were very well welcome to the Negros, we wished them to see whether they could procure them againe of the Negros, and bring them along with them, and our Generall promised the Frenchmen 100 li. to obtaine them. So wee committed the matter to the Frenchmen and departed.

Of our men that were hurt by the Negros arrowes, foure died, and one to saue his life had his arme cut off. Androwes that was last of all hurt, lay lame not able to helpe himselfe: onely two recouered of their hurts. So we placed other men in the roomes of those that we lost, and set saile.

The 26 day between Cape Verde and Bona vista we sawe many flying fishes of the bignesse of herrings, whereof two flew into our boat, which we towed at our sterne.

The 28 day we fell with an Iland called Bona vista, which is from Cape Verde 86 leagues. The Northside of the sayde Iland is full of white sandie hils and dales, and somewhat high land.

The sayd day wee came to an anker within the Westermost point, about a league within the point and found in our sounding faire sand in ten fadome water, but you may go neere till you be in fiue or six fadome, for the ground is faire.

As soone as we were at an anker, our Generall sent his pinnasse a land, and found fiue or sixe small houses, but the people were fled into the mountains: and the next day he sent a shore againe, and met with two Portugals, who willingly went aboord with his men, and at their comming he welcommed them, although they were but poore and simple, and gaue each of them a paire of shoes, and so set them a shore againe.

The 30 day we weighed and sailed into a Bay within a small Iland about a league from vs, and tooke plentie of diuers sortes of fishe. The foresayd Iland lieth in sixteene degrees. And if you meane to anker in the said Bay, you may borow in four or fiue fadome of the Southermost point of the sayd Iland, which you may see when you ride in the road. But beware of the middle of the Baie, for there lieth a ledge of rocks, which at lowe water breaketh, yet there is three fadome water ouer them.

The last day of Ianuarie our Generall with certaine of his men went a shore in the Baie to the houses, where he found 12 Portugals. In all the Iland there were not aboue 30 persons, which were banished men for a time, some for more yeeres, some for lesse, and amongst them there was one simple man which was their captaine.

They liue vpon goats flesh, cocks, hennes, and fresh water: other victuals they haue none, sauing fish, which they esteeme not, neither haue they any boats to take them.

They reported that this Iland was giuen by the king of Portugall to one of his gentlemen, who hath let it foorth to rent for one hundreth duckats a yeere, which rent is reared onely in goates skinnes. For by their speaches there hath bene sent foorth of the sayd Iland into Portugall 40000 skins in one yeere.

We were to these men marueilously welcome, and to their powers very wel entertained, and they gaue vs the flesh of as many hee-goates as wee would haue, and tooke much paines for vs in taking them, and bringing them from the mountains vpon their asses.

They haue there great store of the oyle of Tortoises, which

Tortoise is a fish which swimmeth in the Sea, with a shell on his backe as broad as a target. It raineth not in this Iland but in three moneths of the yeere, from the midst of Iuly to the midst of October, and it is here alwayes very hote. Kine haue bene brought hither, but by reason of the heate and drought they haue died.

The 3 of February wee departed from this Iland, and the same day fell with another Iland called the Iland of Maiyo, which is 14 leagues from the other Iland: there is in the midst of the way between these two Ilands a danger which is alwayes to be seene.

We ankred in the Northwest side of the sayd Ile in a faire Baie of eight fadomes water and faire sand, but here we staied not, but the fourth day weighed and sailed to another Iland called S. Iago, which lieth off the said Iland of Maiyo East and by South, and about fiue leagues one from the other. Being come within the Westermost point, we saw a faire road, and a small towne by the water side, and also a fort or platforme by it: there we purposed to come to anker, and our marchants to make some sale. But before we came within their shot, they let flie at vs two pieces, whereupon we went roomer and sailed along the shore two or three leagues from the road, where we found a small Baie and two or three small houses, where we came to an anker in 14 fadome faire ground.

Within an houre after we had ankered we might see diuers horsemen and footmen on the land right against vs riding and running to and fro.

The next day being the fift of Februarie, a great companie of their horsemen and footmen appeared on the shoare side, vnto whom our Generall sent to vnderstande whether they would quietly trafike with vs: And they sent him worde againe, desiring that they might speake with him, promising that if he came to trafike as a marchant he should be welcome, and also that he should haue any thing that he or the marchant would with reason demaund.

When this answere was brought vnto our Generall he was very glad thereof and the whole companie, and presently (with as much speede as he could) he caused his boates to be made readie: but doubting the villanie of the Portugales, he armed his boates putting a double base in the head of his pinnesse, and two single bases in the head of the Skiffe, and so sent to the May-floure, and the George, and willed them in like sort to man their two boates.

These boates being thus manned and well appointed, our Generall entered into his Skiffe, and with the rest rowed to the shoare where were threescore horsemen or more, and two hundreth footemen readie to receiue them. Our Generall marueiled that they came in so great a number and all armed, and therefore with a flagge of truce sent to them to knowe their pleasure: and they answered him with many faire promises and othes, that their pretence was all true, and that they meant like Gentlemen and Marchantes to trafike with him, declaring also that their Captaine was comming to speake with him, and therefore desired our Generall to come and speake with him himselfe.

With this answere the boate returned, and then our Generall caused his pinnesse to rowe to them, and as he came neere the shoare they came in a great companie with much obeysance, opening their hands and armes abroade, bowing themselues with their bonnets off, with as much humble salutations outwardly as they might: earnestly desiring our Generall and Marchants to come on lande to them, wherevnto he would not agree without sufficient gages of Gentlemen and Marchants. At length they promised to sende two gages to our Generals contentment, promising fresh water, victuall, money, or Negroes for ware, if it were such as they liked: and therefore desired our Generall and Marchants to sende them a shoare in writing the quantitie of their wares, and the names of them: all which our Generall departed to performe, looking for their answere the morrowe following. And being gone a litle from the shoare, he caused his bases, curriers, and harquebusses to be shot off, and our ships in like case shot off fiue or sixe pieces of great ordinance, and so came aboord to prepare the note. The Portugales most of them departed, sauing those that were left to watch and to receiue the note, which about foure or five a clocke in the afternoone was sent, and it was receiued. But all the purposes of the Portugals were villainously to betray vs, (as shal appeare hereafter) although we meant in truth and honestie, friendly to trafike with them.

The treason of the Portugals in S. Iago to our men.

There was to the Westward of vs and about two leagues from vs, a towne behinde a point fast by the sea side, where they had certaine carauels, or shippes and also two Brigandines, whereof they (with all the speede that they might) made readie foure

Carauels, and both the brigandines which were like two Gallies, and furnished them both with men and ordinance as much at they could carrie, and as soone as it was night, they came rowing and falling towardes vs: so that the land being high and the weather somewhat cloude or mystie, and they comming all the way close vnder the shoare we could not see them till they were right against one of our ships called the May-floure.

By this time it was about one or two of the clocke in the morning, and the May-floure roade neerer them then the other two by a base shotte, so they made a sure account either to haue taken her or burnt her. In the meane time our men that had the watch (litle thinking of such villainous treacheries after so many faire wordes) were singing and playing one with the other and made such a noyse, that (being but a small gale of winde, and riding neere the lande) they might heare vs from the shoare: so that we supposed that they made account that we had espyed them, which indeede we had not, neither had any one piece of ordinance primed, or any other thing in a readinesse.

They came so neere vs that they were within gunshot of vs, and then one of our men chanced to see a light, and then looking out spied the 4 ships, and suddenly cried out, Gallies, gallies, at which crie we were all amazed, and foorthwith they shot at vs all the great ordinance that they had, and their harquebusses, and curriers, and so lighted certaine tronkes or pieces of wilde fire, and all of them with one voice (as well they on the shoare as they in the shippes) gaue a great shoute, and so continued hallowing with great noyses, still approaching neerer and neerer vnto the May-floure. We (with all the speede that we might) made readie one piece of ordinance and shotte at them, which caused them somewhat to stay, so they charged their ordinance and shot at vs freshly againe, and while they shotte this second time at vs, we had made readie three pieces which we shot at them, but they approched still so neere, that at last we might haue shot a sheafe arrowe to them. Wherevpon we hauing a gale of winde off the shoare hoysed our foresayle, and cut our cable at the hawse, and went towarde our Admirall, and they continued following and shooting at vs, and sometime at our Admirall, but our Admirall shotte one such piece at them, that it made them to retire, and at length to worpe away like traiterous villaines, and although they thus suddenly shot all their shot at vs, yet they hurt neither man or boye of ours, but what we did to them we know not.

But seeing the villanie of these men we thought it best to stay there no longer, but immediately set sayle towardes an Iland, called Fuego, 12 leagues from the said Iland of S. Iago. At which Island of Fuego we came to an anker the 11 day of this moneth, against a white chappell in the West end of the sayd Iland, within half a league of a litle towne, and with in a league or thereabout of the vttermost point of the said Island.

In this Island is a marueilous high hill which doth burne continually, and the inhabitants reported that about three yeeres past the whole Island was like to be burned with the abundance of fire that came out of it.

About a league from the chappel to the Westward is a goodly spring of fresh water, where we had as much as we would. Wheate they haue none growing here, but a certaine seede that they call Mill, and certaine peason like Guinie peason, which Mill maketh good breade, but they haue here good store of rother beasts and goates. Their marchandize is cotton, which groweth there.

Cotton in Fuego.

The inhabitants are Portugals which haue commandement from the king to trafike neither with Englishmen nor Frenchmen for victuall or any other thing, except they be forced so to doe.

There lieth off this Iland another called Ila Braua, which is not passing two leagues ouer, it hath good store of goates and many trees, but there are not passing three or foure persons dwelling in it.

They returne.

The 25 day of February we departed towardes the Islands of Azores: and on the 23 day of March we had sight of one of them called Flores, and then wee might see another Island to the Northward of it called Cueruo, lying two leagues or thereabouts off the other.

The 27 we came to an anker in Cueruo ouer against a village of about twelue simple houses; but in the night by a gale of winde, which caused vs to drawe our anker after vs we hoysed sayle and went to the aforesayd Island of Flores, where we sawe strange streames of water running downe from the high cliffes by reason of the great abundance of raine that had suddenly fallen.

The 29 day we came againe to Cueruo and cast anker, but a storme arose and continued seuen or eight houres together, so that we let slip a cable and anker, and after the storme was alayed we came againe thinking to haue recouered the same, but the

Portugals had either taken it, or spoiled it: the cable was new and neuer wet before, and both the cable and anker were better worth then 40 li. So that we accompt our selues much beholding to the honest Portugales.

The 18 day of April we tooke in water at the Island of Flores, and hauing ankered our cable was fretted in sunder with a rocke and so burst, where wee lost that cable and anker also, and so departed to our coast.

Then wee set sayle to an Islande named Faial, about the which lie three other Islands, the one called Pico, the other Saint George, and the other Graciosa, which we had sight of on the eight and twentieth day.

The 29 we came to an anker in the Southwest side of Faial in a faire bay, and 22 fadom water against a litle towne where we had both fresh water and fresh victuall. In this Iland by the report of the inhabitants, there groweth certaine greene woad, which by their speeches is farre better then the woad of S. Michael or of Tercera.

The 8 day of May we came to Tercera where we met with a Portugall ship, and being destitute of a cable and anker, our Generall caused vs to keepe her companie, to see if she could conueniently spare vs any. The next morning we might see bearing with vs a great shippe and two Carauels, which we iudged to be of the king of Portugals Armada, and so they were, wherevpon we prepared our selues for our defence. The said ship was one of the kings Galliasses, about the burden of foure hundred tunnes, with about three hundred men in her, the shippe being well appointed with brasse pieces both great and small, and some of them so bigge that their shot was as great as a mans head, the other two Carauels were also very warlike and well appointed both with men and munition.

A Portugall Galiasse of 400 tunnes.

As soone as they were within shotte of vs, they waued vs amaine with their swords, we keeping our course, the greatest shippe shot at vs freely and the carauell also, and we prepared our selues, and made all things cleare for our safegard as neere as we could. Then the great shippe shot at vs all her broad side, and her foure greatest pieces that lay in her sterne, and therewith hurt some of our men, and we did the best we could with our shot to requite it. At last two other Carauels came off the shoare, and two other pinnesses full of men, and deliuered them aboord the

A fight betweene one English ship and 7 Portugals.

great shippe, and so went went backe againe with two men in a piece of them. The ship and the Carauell gave vs the first day three fights, and when the night was come they left off shooting, yet notwithstanding kept hard by vs all the night. In the meane time we had as much as wee could doe all the night to mende our ropes, and to strengthen our bulwarkes, putting our trust in God, and resoluing our selues rather to die in our defence then to bee taken by such wretches.

The next day being the 10 of May in the morning, there were come to the aide the said Portugals foure great Armadas or Carauels more which made seuen, of which 4 three of them were at the least 100 tunnes a piece, the other not so bigge, but all well appointed and full of men. All these together came bearing with vs being in our Admirall, and one of the great Carauels came to lay vs aboorde (as we iudged) for they had prepared their false nettings, and all things for that purpose, so that the Gallias came vp in our larboord side, and the Carauell in our starboord side.

Our Captaine and master perceiuing their pretence, caused our gunners to make all our ordinance readie with crossebarres, chaineshotte and haileshot: so the ship and Carauell came vp, and as soone as they were right in our sides, they shotte at vs as much ordinance as they could, thinking to haue layde vs presently aboord: whereupon we gaue them such a heate with both our sides, that they were both glad to fall asterne of vs, and so paused the space of two or three houres being a very small gale of winde.

Then came vp the other fiue and shot all at vs, and so fell all asterne of vs, and then went to counsell together.

Then our small barke named the George came to vs, and wee confered together a great space. And as the Portugall shippes and Carauels were comming to vs againe, our barke minding to fall asterne of vs and so to come vp againe, fell quickly vpon the lee, and by reason of the litle winde, it was so long before she could fill her sailes againe, that both the shippe and Carauels were came vp to vs, and she falling in among them made reasonable shift with them, but they got a head of her, so that she could not vs: then 5 of the Carauels followed her, but we saw she defended her selfe against them all.

Then came the great shippe and the Carauell to vs, and fought with vs all that day with their ordinance.

The May-floure our other consort being very good by the winde, tooke the benefite thereof and halde all that day close by the winde, but could not come neere vs. So when night againe was come, they gaue ouer their fight and followed vs all the night.

In these many fights it could not otherwise be but needes some of our men must be slaine, (as they were indeede) and diuers hurt, and our tackle much spoyled: yet for all this we did our best indeuour to repaire all things, and to stand to it to the death with our assured trust in the mercie and helpe of God.

This night the May-floure came vp to vs, and our Captaine tolde them his harmes and spoyles, and wished them if they could spare halfe a dosen fresh men to hoyse out their boate and sende them to him, but they could not spare any, and so bare away againe. Which when our enemies sawe in the next morning that we were one from another, they came vp to vs againe and gaue vs a great fight with much hallowing and hooping, making accompt either to boorde vs or els to sinke vs: but although our companie was but small, yet least they should see vs any whit dismayed, when they hallowed we hallowed also as fast as they, and waued to them to come and boorde vs if they durst, but that they would not, seeing vs still so couragious: and hauing giuen vs that day foure fights, at night they forsooke vs with shame, as they came to vs at the first with pride.

The 7 Portugals depart with shame from one English ship.

They had made in our ship some leakes with their shot which we againe stopped with al speed, and that being done, we tooke some rest after our long labour and trouble.

The next day in the morning the May-floure came to vs, and brought vs sixe men in her boate which did vs much pleasure, and we sent to them some of our hurt men.

Then we directed our course for our owne countrey, and by the second day of Iune we were neere to our owne coast and sounded being thwart the Lyzard.

The third day we had sight of a shippe which was a Portugall, who bare with vs, and at his comming to vs (the weather being calme) our Captaine caused him to hoyse foorth his boate to come aboord to speake with him, and at their comming our Captaine and Marchants demanded of them what ware they had, and whether they were bound, and they made answere that their alding was sugar and cotton. Then our Captaine and Marchants shewed them fiue Negroes that we had, and asked them whither they would buy them, which they were very desirous to doe, and agreed to giue for them 40 chests of sugar, which chests were small hauing not aboue 26 loaues in a piece: so they with their boate did fetch fiue of the chestes and deliuered them and went for more, and when they had laden their boate and were come againe, we might see bearing with vs a great ship and a small, which our Captaine supposed to be men of warre or Rouers,* and then willed the Portugales to carie their sugar to their ship againe, purposing to make our selues readie for our defence. But the Portugales earnestly intreated our Captaine not so to forsake them, and promised him (if he would safegard them) to giue him aboue the bargaine ten chests of sugar: whereupon our Captaine was content, and the Portugall not being good of sayle, we spared our topsayles for her; so at last the foresaid ship bare with vs, and (seeing that we did not feare them) gaue vs ouer. And the next morning came two others bearing with vs, and seeing vs not about to flie a iot from them forsooke vs also.

The 5 day of Iune we had sight of the Stert, and about noone we were thwart of the bay of Lime, and so sounded and had 35 fadom water.

The sixt day we came in at the Needles and so came to an anker vnder the Isle of Wight at a place called Meadhole, and from thence sayled to Southampton where we made an ende of this voyage.

The Ambassage of M. Edmund Hogan, one of the sworne Esquires of her Maiesties person, from her Highnesse to Mully Abdelmelech Emperour of Marocco, and king of Fes and Sus: in the yeere 1577, written by himselfe.

I Edmund Hogan being appointed Ambassadour from the Queenes Maiestie to the aboue named Emperour and King Mully Abdelmelech, departed with my company and seruants from London the two and twentie day of April 1577, being imbarked in the good ship called the Gallion of London, and arriued in Azafi a port of Barbarie the one and twentie day of May next following. Immediatly I sent Leonell Edgerton a shoare with my letters directed to Iohn Williams and Iohn Bampton, who dispatched a Trottero to Marocco to knowe the kings pleasure for my repaire to the Court, which letters came to their hands on the Thursday night.

---

* *Marginal Note.*—A Portugall ship (notwithstanding all their villanies) defended by our men from Rouers.

They with all speede gaue the king vnderstanding of it, who being glad thereof speeded the next day certaine Captaines with souldiers and tents, with other prouision to Azafi: so that vpon Whitsunday at night the said Captaines with Iohn Bambton, Robert Washborne, and Robert Lion, and the kings officers came late to Azafi.

In the meane time I remained a boord, and caused some of the goods to be discharged for lightning of the shippe, and I wrote in my letter that I would not lande, till I knewe the Kings pleasure.

The 22 day being Saturday, the Make-speede arriued in the roade about two of the clocke in the afternoone.

The 27 day, being Whitsunday, came aboord the Gallion Iohn Bampton, and others, giuing me to vnderstande how much the King reioyced of my safe arriuall, comming from the Queenes Maiestie, and how that for my safe conduct to the Court he had sent foure Captaines and an hundred souldiers well appointed, with a horse furnished which he vsed himselfe to ride on with all other furniture accordingly: they wished mee also to come on lande in the best order I could, as well for my selfe as my men, which I did, hauing to the number of tenne men, whereof three were trumpetters.

The ships being foure appointed themselues in the best order they could for the best shew, and shot off all their ordinance to the value of twentie Markes in powder.

At my comming a shoare, I found all the souldiers well appointed on horsebacke, the Captaines and the Gouernour of the towne standing as neere the water side as they could, with a Iennet of the kings, and receiued mee from the boate declaring how glad his maiestie was of my safe arriuall, comming from the Queenes Maiestie my Mistresse, and that hee had sent them to attend vpon me, it being his pleasure that I should tarie there on shore fiue or sixe dayes for my refreshing.

So being mounted vpon the Iennet, they conducted mee through the Towne into a faire fielde vpon the Sea-side where was a tent prouided for mee, and all the ground spread with

Turkie carpets, and the Castle discharged a peale of ordinance, and all things necessarie were brought into my tent, where I both tooke my table and lodging, and had other conuenient tents for my seruants.

The souldiers enuironed the tents, and watched about vs day and night as long as I lay there, although I sought my speedier dispatch.

On the Wednesday towards night, I tooke my horse and traueiled ten miles to the first place of water that we could finde,* and there pitched our tents till the next morning, and so traueiled till ten of the clocke, and then pitched our tents till foure, and so traueiled as long as day light would suffer about 26 miles that day.

The next day being Friday I traueiled in like order but eight and twentie miles at the most, and by a Riuer being about sixe miles within sight of the Citie of Marocco we pitched our tents.

Immediatly after came all our English marchants, and the French on horsebacke to meete me, and before night there came an Alcayde from the king with fiftie men, and diuers mules laden with victuall and banket, for my supper, declaring vnto me how glad the king shewed himselfe to heare of the Queenes Maiestie, and that his pleasere was I should be receiued into his country as neuer any Christian the like: and desired to knowe what time the next day I would come into his citie, because he would that all the Christians as also his nobilitie should meete me, and willed Iohn Bampton to be with him early in the morning, which he did.

The singular humanitie of the king to our Ambassadour.

About seuen of the clocke being accompanied with the French and English marchants, and a great number of souldiers, I passed towards the citie, and by that time I had traueiled 2 miles, there met me all the Christians of the Spaniards and Portugals to receiue me, which I knowe was more by the kings commandement then of any good wils of themselues: for some of them although they speake me faire hung downe their heads like dogs, and especially the Portugales, and I countenanced them accordingly.†

So I passed on till I came within two English miles of the

---

* *Marginal note.*—In Barbarie they haue no Innes but they lodge in open fieldes where they can find water.

† *Marginal Note.*—The Spaniards and Portugales were commanded by the king in paine of death, to meete the English Ambassadour.

Citie, and then Iohn Bampton returned, shewing me that the king was so glad of my comming, that hee could not deuise to doe too much, to shewe the good will that hee did owe to the Queenes Maiestie, and her Realme.

His counsellors met me without the gates, and at the entrie of the gates, his footmen and guard were placed on both sides of my horse, and so brought me to the kings palace.

The king sate in his chaire with his Counsell about him, as well the Moores as the Elchies, and according to his order giuen vnto me before, I there declared my message in Spanish, and made deliuerie of the Queenes Maiesties letters, and all that I spake at that present in Spanish, hee caused one of his Elchies to declare the same to the Moores present, in the Larbe tongue.

Which done, he answered me againe in Spanish, yeelding to the Queenes Maiestie great thankes, and offering himselfe and his countrey to bee at her Graces commaundement, and then commaunded certaine of his Counsellers to conduct mee to my lodging, not being farre from the Court.

The house was faire after the fashion of that countrey, being daily well furnished with al kind of victuall at the kings charge.

The same night he sent for mee to the Court, and I had conference with him about the space of two houres, where I throughly declared the charge committed vnto mee from her Maiestie, finding him conformable, willing to pleasure and not to vrge her Maiestie with any demaundes, more then conueniently shee might willingly consent vnto, hee knowing that out of his countrey the Realme of England might be better serued with lackes, then hee in comparison from vs.

The king of Spaine sought to disgrace the Queene and her Ambassadour.

Further he gaue me to vnderstand, that the king of Spaine had sent vnto him for a licence, that an Ambassadour of his might come into his countrey, and had made great meanes that if the Queenes maiesty of England sent any vnto him, that he would not giue him any credit or intertainment, albeit (said he) I know what the king of Spaine is, and what the Queene of England and her Realme is: for I neither like of him nor of his religion, being so gouerned by the Inquisition that he can doe nothing of himselfe.

Therefore when he commeth vpon the licence which I haue granted, he shall well see how litle account I will make of him and Spaine, and how greatly I will extoll you for the Queenes maiestie of England.

He shall not come to my presence as you haue done, and shall dayly: for I minde to accept of you as my companion and one of my house, whereas he shall attend twentie dayes after he hath done his message.

After the end of this speech I deliuered Sir Thomas Greshams letters, when as he tooke me by the hand, and led me downe a long court to a palace where there ranne a faire fountaine of water, and there sitting himselfe in a chaire, he commanded me to sit downe in another, and there called for such simple Musicians as he had.

The king of Barbarie sent into England for Musicians.

Then I presented him with a great base Lute, which he most thankfully accepted, and then he was desirous to heare of the Musicians, and I tolde him that there was great care had to prouide them, and that I did not doubt but vpon my returne they should come with the first ship. He is willing to giue them good intertainment with prouision of victuall, and to let them liue according to their law and conscience wherein he vrgeth none to the contrary.

I finde him to be one that liueth greatly in the feare of God, being well exercised in the Scriptures, as well in the olde Testament as also in the New, and he beareth a greater affection to our Nation then to others because of our religion, which forbiddeth worship of Idols, and the Moores called him the Christian king.

A rich gift bestowed upon our Ambassadour.

The same night being the first of Iune, I continued with him till twelue of the clocke, and he seemed to haue so good liking of me, that he tooke from his girdle a short dagger being set with 200 stones, rubies and turkies, and did bestow it vpon me, and so I being conducted returned to my lodging for that time.

The next day because he knew it to be Sunday and our Sabbath day he did let me rest. But on the Munday in the afternoone he sent for me, and I had conference with him againe, and musicke.

Likewise on the Tuesday by three of the clocke he sent for me into his garden, finding him layd vpon a silke bed complayning of a sore leg: yet after long conference he walked into another Orchard, where as hauing a faire banketting-house and a great water, and a new gallie in it, he went aboord the gallie and tooke me with him, and passed the space of two or three houres, shewing the great experience he had in Gallies, wherein (as he said) he had excercised himselfe eighteene yeeres in his youth.

After supper he shewed me his horses and other commodities that he had about his house, and since that night I haue not seene him, for that he hath kept in with his sore legge, but he hath sent to me daily.

The 13 of Iune at sixe of the clocke at night I had againe audience of the king, and I continued with him till midnight, hauing debated as well for the Queenes commission as for the well dealing, with her marchants for their traffike here in these parts, saying, he would do much more for the Queenes maiesty and the Realme offering that all English ships with her subiects may with good securitie enter into his ports and dominions as well in trade of marchandise, as for victuall and water, as also in time of warre with any her enemies to bring in prises and to make sales as occasion should serue, or else to depart againe with them at their pleasure.

Likewise for all English ships that shall passe along his coast of Barbarie, and thorow the straites into the Leuant seas, that he would graunt safe conduct that the said ships and marchants with their goods might passe into the Leuant seas, and so to the Turks dominions, and the king of Argiers, as his owne, and that he would write to the Turke and to the king of Argier his letters for the well vsing of our ships and goods.

Also that hereafter no Englishmen that by any meanes be taken captiues, shall be solde within any of his dominions: whereupon I declared that the Queenes maiesty accepting of these his offers was pleased to confirme the intercourse and trade of our marchants within this his countrey, as also to pleasure him with such commodities as he should haue need of, to furnish the necessities and wants of his countrey in trade of marchandise, so as he required nothing contrarie to her honour and law, and the breach of league with the Christian princes her neighbours.

A good prouiso.

The same night I presented the king with the case of combes, and desired his maiestie to haue special regard that the ships might be laden backe againe, for that I found litle store of saltpeter in readinesse in Iohn Bamptons hands. He answered me that I should haue all the assistance therein that he could, but that in Sus he thought to haue some store in his house there, as also that the Mountayners had made much in a readinesse: I requested that he would send downe, which he promised to doe.

The eighteene day I was with him againe and so continued there till night, and he shewed me his house with pastime in ducking with water-Spaniels, and baiting buls with his English dogges.

At this time I moued him againe for the sending downe to Sus, which he granted to doe, and the 24. day there departed Alcayde Mammie, with Lionell Edgerton, and Rowland Guy to Sus, and caried with them for our accompts and his company the kings letters to his brother Muly Hammet, and Alcayde Shauan, and the Viceroy.

The 23. day the king sent me out of Marocco to his garden called Shersbonare, with his gard, and Alcayde Mamoute, and the 24. at night I came to the court to see a Morris dance, and a play of his Elchies. He promised me audience the next day being Tuesday, but he put it off till Thursday: and the Thursday at night I was sent for to the king after supper, and then he sent Alcayde Rodwan, and Alcayde Gowry to conferre with me, but after a little talke I desired to be brought to the King for my dispatch. And being brought to him, I preferred two bils of Iohn Bamptons which he had made for prouision of Salt-peter: also two bils for the quiet traffique of our English marchants, and bils for sugars to be made by the Iewes, as well for the debts past, as hereafter, and for good order in the Ingenios. Also I mooued him againe for the Salt-peter, and other dispatches, which he referred to be agreed vpon by the two Alcaydes. But the Friday being the 20. the Alcaydes could not intend it, and vpon Saturday Alcayde Rodwan fell sicke, so on Sunday we made meanes to the King, and that afternoone I was sent for to conferre vpon the bargaine with the Alcaydes and others, but did not agree.

Vpon Tuesday I wrote a letter to the King for my dispatch, and the same afternoone I was called againe to the Court, and referred all things to the King, accepting his offer of Salt-peter.

That night againe the King had me into his Gallie, and the Spaniels did hunt the ducke.

The Thursday I was appointed to way the 300. kintals grosse of Salt-peter, and that afternoone the Tabybe came vnto mee to my lodging, shewing mee that the king was offended with Iohn Bampton for diuers causes.

The Sunday night late being the 7. of Iuly, I got the King to forgiue all to Iohn Bampton, and the King promised me to speake againe with me vpon Munday.

Vpon Tuesday I wrote to him againe for my dispatch, and then hee sent Fray Lewes to mee, and said that he had order to write.

Vpon Wednesday I wrote againe, and he sent me word that vpon Thursday I should come and be dispatched, so that I should depart vpon Friday without faile, being the twelfth of Iuly.

The Emperor of Maroco his priuileges to the English.

So the Friday after according to the kings order and appointment I went to the court, and whereas motion and petition was made for the confirmation of the demaunds which I had preferred, they were all granted, and likewise the priuileges which were on the behalfe of our English marchants requested, were with great fauour and readinesse yeelded vnto. And whereas the Iews there resident were to our men in certaine round summes indebted, the Emperors pleasure and commandement was, that they should without further excuse or delay, pay and discharge the same. And thus at length I was dismissed with great honour and speciall countenance, such as hath not ordinarily bene shewed to other Ambassadors of the Christians.

And touching the priuate affaires intreated vpon betwixt her Maiestie and the Emperour, I had letters from him to satisfie her highnesse therein. So to conclude, hauing receiued the like honourable conduct from his Court, as I had for my part at my first landing, I embarked my selfe with my foresaid company, and arriuing not long after in England, I repaired to her Maiesties court, and ended my Ambassage to her highnesse good liking, with relation of my seruice performed.

The voyage of Thomas Stukeley, wrongfully called Marques of Ireland, into Barbary 1578. Written by Iohannes Thomas Freigius in Historia de cæde Sebastiani Regis Lusitaniæ.

VEnerant autem ad regem etiam sexcenti Itali, quos Papa subministrarat, Comiti Irlandiæ: qui cum Vlissiponem tribus instructis nauibus appulisset Regi operam suam condixit, eumque in bellum sequi promisit. Cap. 7.

Totum exercitum diuisit in quatuor acies quadratas: In dextro latere primum agmen erat Velitum et militum Tingitanorum, eosque ducebat Aluarus Peresius de Tauara: sinistram aciem seu mediam tenebant Germani et Itali, quibus imperabat Marchio Irlandiæ, etc. Cap. 11.

Inter nobiles qui in hoc prælio ceciderunt, fuerunt, præter regem Sebastianum, dux de Auero, Episcopi Conimbricensis et Portuensis, Commissarius generalis à Papa missus Marchio Irlandiæ, Christophorus de Tauora, et plures alij. Cap. 13.

The same in English.

THere came also to Don Sebastian the King of Portugal 600. Italians, whom the Pope sent vnder the conduct of the Marques of Irland:* who being arriued at Lisbone with three tall ships, proffered his seruice to the king, and promised to attend vpon him in the warres, &c.

He diuided the whole Armie into 4 squadrons: vpon the right wing stood the first squadron, consisting of men lightly armed or skirmishers and of the souldiers of Tangier, Generall of whom was Don Aluaro Perez de Tauara: the left or midle squadron consisted of Germanes and Italians, vnder the command of the Marques of Irland, &c. cap 7.

Of Noblemen were slaine in this battel (besides Don Sebastian the king) the duke de Auero, the two bishops of Coimbra and of Porto, the Marques of Irland sent by the Pope as his Commissary generall, Christopher de Tauara, and many others. cap. 13.

IT is further also to be remembred, that diuers other English gentlemen were in this battell, whereof the most part were slaine; and among others M. Christopher Lyster was taken captiue, and was there long detained in miserable seruitude. Which gentleman although at length he happily escaped the cruel hands of the Moores; yet returning home into England, and for his manifold good parts being in the yeere 1586. employed by the honourable the Earle of Cumberland, in a voyage intended by the Streights of Magellan for the South sea, as Viceadmirall, (wherein he shewed singular resolution and courage) and appointed afterward in diuers places of speciall command and credite, was last of all miserably drowned in a great and rich Spanish prize vpon the coast of Cornwall.

---

* *Marginal note.*—Thomas Stukeley was wrongfully indued with this title.

Certaine reports of the prouince of China learned through the Portugals there imprisoned, and chiefly by the relation of Galeotto Perera, a gentleman of good credit, that lay prisoner in that Countrey many yeeres. Done out of Italian into English by Richard Willes.

THis land of China is parted into 13. Shires, the which sometimes were ech one a kingdome by it selfe, but these many yeeres they haue bene all subiect vnto one King. Fuquien is made by the Portugals the first Shire, because there their troubles began, and they had occasion thereby to know the rest. In the shire be 8 cities, but one principally more famous then others called Fuquieo, the other seuen are reasonably great, the best knowen whereof vnto the Portugals is Cinceo, in respect of a certaine hauen ioyning thereunto, whither in time past they were wont for marchandise.

Cantan is the second shire, not so great in quantitie, as well accompted of, both by the king thereof, and also by the Portugals, for that it lieth neerer vnto Malacca then any other part of China, and was first discried by the Portugals before any other shire in that prouince: this shire hath in it seuen Cities.

Chequeam is the third shire, the chiefest Citie therein is Donchion, therein also standeth Liampo, with other 13. or 14. boroughes: countrey townes therein are too too many to be spoken of.

The fourth shire is called Xutiamfu, the principall Citie thereof is great Pachin, where the King is alwayes resident. In it are fifteene other very great Cities: of other townes therein, and boroughes well walled and trenched about, I will say nothing.

The fift shire hath name Chelim: the great Citie Nanquin chiefe of other fifteene cities was herein of ancient time the royall seat of the Chinish kings. From this shire, and from the aforesaid Chequeam forward bare rule the other kings, vntil the whole region became one kingdome.

Quianci, or, Quinzi.

The 6. shire beareth the name Quianci, as also the principal City thereof, wherein the fine clay to make vessels is wrought. The Portugals being ignorant of this Countrey, and finding great abundance of that fine clay to be solde at Liampo, and that very good cheape, thought at the first that it had bene made there, howbeit in fine they perceiued that the standing of Quinzi more neere vnto Liampo then to Cinceo or Cantan was the cause of so much fine clay at Liampo: within the compasse of Quinci shire be other 12. cities.

The 7. shire is Quicin, the 8. Quansi, the 9. Confu, the 10. Vrnan, the 11. Sichiua. In the first hereof there be 16. Cities, in the next 15: how many Townes the other 3. haue, wee are ignorant as yet, as also of the proper names of the 12. and 13. shires, and the townes therein.

This finally may be generally said hereof, that the greater shires in China prouince may bee compared with mightie kingdomes.

In eche one of these shires bee set Ponchiassini and Anchiassini, before whom are handled the matters of other Cities. There is also placed in ech one a Tutan, as you would say, a gouernour, and a Chian, that is a visiter, as it were: whose office is to goe in circuit, and to see iustice exactly done. By these meanes so vprightly things are ordered there, that it may be worthily accompted one of the best gouerned prouinces in all the world.

The king maketh alwayes his abode in the great city Pachin, as much to say in our language, as by the name thereof I am aduertised, the towne of the kingdome. This kingdome is so large, that vnder fiue moneths you are not able to trauaile from the Townes by the Sea side to the Court, and backe againe, no not vnder three moneths in poste at your vrgent businesse. The post-horses in this Countrey are litle of body, but swift of foote. Many doe traueile the greater part of this iourney by water in certaine light barkes, for the multitude of Riuers commodious for passage from one Citie to another.

The king, (notwithstanding the hugenesse of his kingdome, hath such a care thereof, that euery Moone (for by the Moones they reckon their monethes) hee is aduertised fully of whatsoeuer thing happeneth therein, by these meanes following.

The whole prouince being diuided into shires, and each shire hauing in it one chiefe and principall Citie, whereunto the matters of all the other Cities, Townes and boroughes, are brought, there are drawen in euery chiefe Citie aforesaid intelligences of such things as doe monethly fall out, and be sent in writing to the

Court. If happely in one moneth euery Post be not able to goe so long a way, yet doeth there notwithstanding once euery moneth arriue one Poste out of the shire. Who so commeth before the new moone stayeth for the deliuery of his letters vntil the moone be changed. Then likewise are dispatched other Posts backe into all the 13. shires againe.

Before that we doe come to Cinceo wee haue to passe through many places, and some of great importance. For this Countrey is so well inhabited neere the Sea side, that you cannot goe one mile but you shall see some Towne, borough or hostry, the which are so aboundantly prouided of all things, that in the Cities and townes they liue ciuily. Neuertheles such as dwel abrode are very poore, for the multitude of them euery where is so great, that out of a tree you shall see many times swarme a number of children, where a man would not haue thought to haue found any one at all.

From these places in number infinite, you shall come vnto two Cities very populous, and, being compared with Cinceo, not possibly to be discerned which is the greater of them. These Cities are as well walled as any Cities in all the world. As you come into either of them, there standeth so great and mighty a bridge, that the like thereof I haue neuer seene in Portugal nor else where. I heard one of my fellowes say, that hee tolde in one bridge 40. arches. The occasion wherefore these bridges are made so great is, for that the Countrey is toward the sea very plaine and low, and ouerflowed euer as the sea water encreaseth. The breadth of the bridges, although it bee well proportioned vnto the length thereof, yet are they equally built no higher in the middle then at either ende, in such wise that you may see directly from the one ende to the other: the sides are wonderfully well engraued after the maner of Rome-workes. But that we did most marueile at was therewithall the hugenesse of the stones, the like whereof, as we came into the Citie, we did see many set vp in places dis-habited by the way, to no small charges of theirs, howbeit to little purpose, whereas no body seeth them but such as doe come by. The arches are not made after our fashion, vauted with sundry stones set together: but paued, as it were, whole stones reaching from one piller to an other, in such wise that they lye both for the arches heads, and galantly serue also for the high way. I haue bene astonied to beholde the hugenesse of the aforesaid stones: some of them are xii. pases long and vpward, the least 11. good pases long, and an halfe.

The wayes echwhere are galantly paued with fouresquare stone, except it be where for want of stone they vse to lay bricke: in this voyage wee trauailed ouer certaine hilles, where the wayes were pitched, and in many places no worse paued then in the plaine ground. This causes vs to thinke, that in all the world there bee no better workemen for buildings, then the inhabitants of China. The Countrey is so well inhabited, that no one foote of ground is left vntilied: small store of cattell haue we seene this day, we sawe onely certaine oxen wherewithall the countrey, men do plow their ground. One oxe draweth the plough alone not onely in this shire, but in other places also, wherein is greater store of cattell. These countreymen by arte do that in tillage, which we are constrained to doe by force. Here be solde the voydings of close stooles, although there wanteth not the dung of beastes: and the excrements of man are good marchandise throughout all China. The dungfermers seek in euery streete by exchange to buy this dirtie ware for herbs and wood. The custome is very good for keeping the Citie cleane. There is great aboundance of hennes, geese, duckes, swine, and goates, wethers haue they none: the hennes are solde by weight, and so are all other things. Two pound of hennes flesh, geese, or ducke, is worth two foi of their money, that is, d. ob. sterling. Swines flesh is sold at a penie the pound. Beefe beareth the same price, for the scarcitie thereof, howbeit Northward from Fuquieo and farther off from the seacoast, there is beefe more plentie and solde better cheape; We haue had in all the Cities we passed through, great abundance of all these victuals, beefe onely excepted. And if this Countrey were like vnto India, the inhabitants whereof eate neither henne, beefe, nor porke, but keepe that onely for the Portugals and Moores, they would be sold here for nothing. But it so falling out, that the Chineans are the greatest eaters in all the world, they do feed vpon all things, specially on porke, which, the fatter it is, is vnto them the lesse lothsome. The highest price of these things aforesaid I haue set downe, better cheap shal you sometimes buy them for the great plentie thereof in this countrey. Frogs are solde at the same price that is made of hennes, and are good meate amongst them, as also dogs, cats, rats, snakes, and all other vncleane meates.

The Cities be very gallant, specially neere vnto the gates, the which are marueilously great, and couered with iron. The gate houses are built on high with towers, and the lower part thereof is made of bricke and stone, proportionally with the walls, from the walles vpward the building is of timber, and many stories in it one aboue the other. The strength of their townes is in the mightie walles and ditches, artillerie haue they none.

The streetes in Cinceo, and in all the rest of the Cities we haue seene are very faire, so large and so straight, that it is wonderfull to behold. Their houses are built with timber, the foundations onely excepted, the which are layed with stone: in ech side of the streetes are pentises or continuall porches for the marchants to walke vnder: the breadth of the streets is neuertheless such, that in them 15. men may ride commodiously side by side. As they ride they must needs passe vnder many high arches of triumph that crosse ouer the streetes made of timber, and carued diuersly, couered with tiles of fine clay: vnder these arches the Mercers do vtter their smaller wares, and such as list to stand there are defended from raine and the heate of the Sunne. The greater gentlemen haue these arches at their doores: although some of them be not so mightily built as the rest.

I shall haue occasion to speake of a certaine order of gentlemen that are called Louteas. I wil first therefore expound what this word signifieth. Loutea is as much to say in our language as Sir, and when any of them calleth his name, he answereth Sir: and as we do say, that the king hath made some gentlemen, so say they, that there is made a Loutea. And for that amongst them the degrees are diuers both in name and office, I will tell you onely of some principals, being not able to aduertise you of all.

The maner how gentlemen are created Louteas, and do come to that honour and title, is by the giuing of a broad girdle, not like to the rest, and a cap, at the commaundement of the king. The name Loutea is more generall and common vnto mo, then the qualitie of honour thereby signified agreeth withall. Such Louteas as doe serue their prince in weightie matters for iustice, are created after trial made of their learning: but the other which serue in smaller affaires, as Captaines, constables, sergeants by land and sea, receiuers and such like, whereof there be in euery citie, as also in this, very many, are made for fauour: the chiefe Louteas are serued kneeling.

The whole prouince of China is diuided, as I haue said, into 13. shires, in euery shire at the least is one gouernour called there Tutan, in some shires there be two.

Chiefe in office next vnto them be certaine other named Chians, that is, high Commissioners as you would say, or visiters, with full authoritie in such wise, that they doe call vnto an accompt the Tutans themselues, but their authoritie lasteth not in any shire longer then one yere. Neuerthelesse in euery shire being at the least 7. cities, yea, in some of them 15. or 16. beside other boroughes and townes not well to be numbred, these visiters where they come are so honoured and feared, as though they were some great princes. At the yeres end, their circuit done, they come vnto that Citie which is chiefe of others in the shire, to do iustice there: finally busying themselues in the searching out of such as are to receiue the order of Louteas, whereof more shalbe said in another place.

Chian, or, Chaen.

Ouer and beside these officers, in the chiefe Citie of ech one of these aforesaid 13. prouinces, is resident one Ponchiassi, Captaine thereof, and treasurer of all the kings reuenues. This Magistrate maketh his abode in one of the foure greatest houses that be in all these head Cities. And although the principall part of his function be to be Captaine, to be treasourer of the reuenues in that prouince, and to send these reuenues at appointed times to the Court: yet hath he notwithstanding by his office also to meddle with matters appertaining vnto iustice.

In the second great house dwelleth an other Magistrate called Anchiassi, a great officer also, for he hath dealings in all matters of iustice. Who although he be somewhat inferior in dignitie vnto the Ponchiassi, yet for his great dealings and generall charge of iustice, whosoeuer seeth the affaires of the one house and the other might iudge this Anchiassi to be the greater.

Ahchiassi, or Hexasi.

Tuzi, an other officer so called, lieth in the thirde house, a magistrate of importance, specially in things belonging vnto warfare, for thereof hath he charge.

There is resident in the 4 house a fourth officer, bearing name Taissu. In this house is the principall prison of all the Citie. Ech one of these Magistrates aforesaide may both lay euill doers in prison, and deliuer them out againe, except ye fact be heinous and of importance: in such a case they can do nothing, except they do meet al together. And if the deed deserueth death, all they together cannot determine thereof, without recourse made vnto the Chian wheresoeuer hee be, or to the Tutan; and eft soones it falleth out, that the case is referred vnto higher power.

In all Cities, not onely chiefe in ech shire, but in the rest also, are meanes found to make Louteas. Many of them do study at the prince his charges, wherefore at the yeeres ende they resort vnto the head Cities, whither the Chians doe come, as it hath bene earst aside, as well to giue these degrees, as to sit in iudgement ouer the prisoners.

The Chians go in circuit euery yeere, but such as are to be chosen to the greatest offices meete not but from three yeeres to three yeeres, and that in certaine large halles appointed for them to be examined in. Many things are asked them, whereunto if they doe answere accordingly, and be found sufficient to take their degree, the Chian by and by granteth it them: but the Cap and girdle, whereby they are knowen to be Louteas, they weare not before that they be confirmed by the king. Their examination done, and triall made of them, such as haue taken their degree wont to be giuen them with all ceremonies, vse to banquet and feast many dayes together (as the Chineans fashion is to ende all their pleasures with eating and drinking) and so remaine chosen to do the king seruice in matters of learning. The other examinates founde insufficient to proceed are sent backe to their studie againe. Whose ignorance is perceiued to come of negligence and default, such a one is whipped, and sometimes sent to prison, where lying that yere when this kinde of acte was, we found many thus punished, and demaunding the cause thereof, they saide it was for that they knew not how to answere vnto certaine things asked them. It is a world to see how these Louteas are serued and feared, in such wise, that in publike assemblies at one shrike they giue, all the seruitors belonging vnto iustice tremble thereat. At their being in these places, when they list to mooue, be it but euen to the gate, these seruitors doe take them vp, and carry them in seates of beaten gold. After this sort are they borne when they goe in the City, either for their owne businesse abroade, or to see ech other at home. For the dignitie they haue, and office they doe beare, they be all accompanied: the very meanest of them all that goeth in these seates is vshered by two men at the least, that cry vnto the people to giue place, howbeit they neede it not, for that reuerence the common people haue vnto them. They haue also in their company certaine Sergeants with their maces either siluered or altogether siluer, some two, some foure, other sixe, other eight, conueniently for ech one his degree. The more principal and chiefe Louteas haue going orderly before these Sergeants, many other with staues, and a great many catchpoules with rods of Indish canes dragged on the ground, so that the streets being paued, you may heare affarre off as well the noyse of the rods, as the voyce of the criers. These fellowes serue also to apprehend others, and the better to be knowen they weare liuery red girdles, and in their caps peacocks feathers. Behinde these Louteas come such as doe beare certaine tables hanged at staues endes, wherein is written in siluer letters, the name, degree, and office of that Loutea, whom they follow. In like maner they haue borne after them hattes agreeable vnto their titles: if the Loutea be meane, then hath he brought after him but one hat, amd that may not be yealowe: but if he be of the better sort, then may he haue two, three, or foure: the principall and chiefe Louteas may haue all their hats yealow, the which among them is accompted great honour. The Loutea for warres, although he be but meane, may notwithstanding haue yealow hats. The Tutans and Chians, when they goe abroad, haue besides all this before them ledde three or foure horses with their guard in armour.

Furthermore the Louteas, yea and all the people of China, are wont to eate their meate sitting on stooles at high tables as we doe, and that very cleanely, although they vse neither table-clothes nor napkins. Whatsoeuer is set downe vpon the boord is first carued before that it be brought in: they feede with two sticks, refraining from touching their meate with their hands, euen as we do with forkes: for the which respect they lesse do need any table clothes. Ne is the nation only ciuill at meate, but also in conuersation, and in courtesie they seeme to exceede all other. Likewise in their dealings after their maner they are so ready, that they farre passe all other Gentiles aud Moores: the greater states are so vaine, that they line their clothes with the best silke that may be found. The Louteas are an idle generation, without all maner of exercises and pastimes, except it be eating and drinking. Sometimes they walke abroad in the fields to make the souldiers shoot at pricks with their bowes, but their eating passeth: they will stand eating euen when the other do draw to shoot. The pricke is a great blanket spread on certaine long poles, he that striketh it, hath of the best man there standing a piece of crimson Taffata, the which is knit about his head: in this sort the winners be honoured, and the Louteas with their bellies full returne home againe. The inhabitants of China be very great Idolaters, all generally doe worship the heauens: and, as wee are wont to say, God knoweth it: so say they at euery word, Tien Tautee, that is to say, The heauens doe know it. Some doe worship the Sonne, and some the Moone, as they thinke good, for none are bound more to one then to another. In their temples, the which they do call Meani, they haue a great altar in the same place as we haue, true it is that one may goe round about it. There set they vp the image of a certaine Loutea of that countrey, whom they haue in great reuerence for certaine notable things he did. At the right hand standeth the diuel much more vgly painted then we doe vse to set him out, whereunto great homage is done by such as come into the temple to aske counsell, or to draw lottes: this opinion they haue of him, that he is malicious and able to do euil. If you aske them what they do thinke of the soules departed, they will answere that they be immortall, and that as soone as any one departeth out of this life, he becommeth a diuel if he haue liued well in this world, if otherwise, that the same diuel changeth him into a bufle, oxe, or dogge. Wherefore to this diuel they doe much honour, to him doe they sacrifice, praying him that he will make them like vnto himselfe, and not like other beastes. They haue moreouer another sort of temples, wherein both vpon the altars and also on the walls do stand many idols well proportioned, but bare headed; these beare name Omithofon, accompted of them spirits, but such as in heauen doe neither good nor euill, thought to be such men and women as haue chastly liued in this world in abstinence from fish and flesh, fed onely with rise and salates. Of that diuel they make some accompt: for these spirits they care litle or nothing at all. Againe they hold opinion that if a man do well in this life, the heauens will giue him many temporall blessings, but if he doe euil, then shall he haue infirmities, diseases, troubles, and penurie, and all this without any knowledge of God. Finally, this people knoweth no other thing then to liue and die, yet because they be reasonable creatures, all seemed good vnto them we speake in our language, though it were not very sufficient: our maner of praying especially pleased them, and truely they are well ynough disposed to receiue the knowledge of the trueth. Our Lord grant for his mercy all things so to be disposed, that it may sometime be brought to passe, that so great a nation as this is perish not for want of helpe.

After the Dutch fashion.

Pythagorean like.

Our maner of praying so well liked them, that in prison importunately they besought vs to write for them somewhat as concerning heauen, the which we did to their contentation w^t^ such reasons as we knew, howbeit not very cunningly. As they do their idolatry they laugh at themselues. If at any time this countrey might be ioyned in league with the kingdome of Portugale, in such wise that free accesse were had to deale with the people there, they might all be soone conuerted. The greatest fault we doe finde in them is Sodomie, a vice very common in the meaner sort, and nothing strange among the best. This sinne were it left of them, in all other things so well disposed they be, that a good interpreter in a short space might do there great good: If, as I said, the countrey were ioyned in league with vs.

Furthermore the Louteas, with all the people of China, are wont to solemnise the dayes of the new and full Moones in visiting one an other, and making great banquets: for to that end, as I earst said, do tend all their pastimes, and spending their dayes in pleasure. They are wont also to solemnise ech one his birth day, whereunto their kindred and friends do resort of custome with presents of iewels or money, receiuing againe for their reward good cheare. They keepe in like maner a generall feast with great banquets that day their king was borne. But their most principall and greatest feast of all, and best cheare, is the first day of new yeere, namely the first day of the new Moone of February, so that their first moneth is March, and they reckon the times accordingly, respect being had vnto the reigne of their princes: as when any deed is written, they date it thus, Made such a day of such a moone, and such a yeere of the reigne of such a king. And their ancient writings beare date of the yeeres of this or that king.

Now will I speake of the maner which the Chineans doe obserue in doing of iustice, that it be knowen how farre these Gentiles do herein exceed many Christians, that be more bounden then they to deale iustly and in trueth. Because the Chinish king maketh his abode continually in the city of Pachin, his kingdome is so great, and the shires so many, as tofore it hath bene said: in it therefore the gouernours and rulers, much like vnto our Shireffs, be appointed so suddenly and speedily discharged againe, that they haue no time to grow naught. Furthermore to keepe the state in more securitie, the Louteas that gouerne one shire are chosen out of some other shire distant farre off, where they must leaue their wiues, children and goods, carying nothing with them but themselues. True it is, that at their comming thither they doe finde in a readinesse all things necessary, their house, furniture, seruants, and all other things in such perfection and plentie, that they want nothing. Thus the king is well serued without all feare of treason.

In the principall Cities of the shires be foure chiefe Louteas, before whom are brought all matters of the inferiour Townes, throughout the whole Realme. Diuers other Louteas haue the managing of iustice, and receiuing of rents, bound to yeelde an accompt thereof vnto the greater officers. Other do see that there be no euil rule kept in the Citie: ech one as it behoueth him. Generally all these doe imprison malefactors, cause them to be whipped and racked, hoysing them vp and downe by the armes with a cord, a thing very vsuall there, and accompted no shame. These Louteas do vse great diligence in the apprehending of theeues, so that it is a wonder to see a theefe escape away in any City, towne or village. Vpon the sea neere vnto the shoare many are taken, and looke euen as they are taken, so be they first whipped, and afterward layde in prison, where shortly after they all die for hunger and cold. At that time when we were in prison, there died of them aboue threescore and ten. If happely any one, hauing the meanes to get food, do escape, he is set with the condemned persons, and prouided for as they be by the King, in such wise as hereafter it shalbe said.

The Italians call it the strapado.

Their whips be certaine pieces of canes, cleft in the middle, in such sort that they seeme rather plaine then sharpe. He that is to be whipped lieth groueling on the ground: vpon his thighes the hangman layeth on blowes mightily with these canes, that the standers by tremble at their crueltie. Ten stripes draw a great deale of blood, 20. or 30. spoile the flesh altogether, 50. or 60. will require long time to bee healed, and if they come to the number of one hundred, then are they incurable.

The Louteas obserue moreouer this: when any man is brought before them to be examined, they aske him openly in the hearing of as many as be present, be the offence neuer so great. Thus did they also behaue themselues with vs: For this cause amongst them can here be no false witnesse, as daily amongst vs it falleth out. This good commeth thereof, that many being alwayes about the Iudge to beare the euidence, and beare witnesse, the processe cannot be falsified, as it happeneth sometimes with vs. The Moores, Gentiles, and Iewes haue all their sundry othes, the Moores do sweare by their Mossafos, the Brachmans by their Fili, the rest likewise by the things they do worship. The Chineans though they be wont to sweare by heauen, by the Moone, by the Suune, and by all their Idoles, in iudgement neuertheless they sweare not at all. If for some offence an othe be vsed of any one, by and by with the least euidence he is tormented, so be the witnesses he bringeth, if they tell not the trueth, or do in any point disagree, except they be men of worship and credit, who are beleeued without any further matter: the rest are made to confesse the trueth by force of torments and whips. Besides this order obserued of them in examinations, they do feare so much their King, and he where he maketh his abode keepeth them so lowe, that they dare not once stirre. Againe, these Louteas as great as they be, notwithstanding the multitude of Notaries they haue, not trusting any others, do write all great processes and matters of importance themselues. Moreouer one vertue they haue worthy of great praise, and that is, being men so wel regarded and accompted as though they were princes, yet they be patient aboue measure in giuing audience. We poore strangers brought before them might say what we would, as all to be lyes and fallaces that they did write, ne did we stand before them with the usuall ceremonies of that Countrey, yet did they beare with vs so patiently, that they caused vs to wonder, knowing specially how litle any aduocate or Iudge is wont in our Countrey to beare with vs. For wheresoeuer in any Towne of Christendome should be accused vnknowen men as we were, I know not what end the very innocents cause would haue: but we in a heathen Countrey, hauing our great enemies two of the chiefest men in a whole Towne, wanting an interpreter, ignorant of that Countrey language, did in the end see our great aduersaries cast into prison for our sake, and depriued of their Offices and honour for not doing iustice, yea not to escape death: for, as the rumour goeth, they shalbe beheaded. Somewhat is now to be said of the lawes that I haue bene able to know in this Countrey, and first, no theft or murther is at any time pardoned: adulterers are put in prison, and the fact once prooued, are condemned to die, the womans husband must accuse them: this order is kept with men and women found in that fault, but theeues and murderers are imprisoned as I haue said, where they shortly die for hunger and cold. If any one happely escape by bribing the Gailer to giue him meate, his processe goeth further, and commeth to the Court where he is condemned to die. Sentence being giuen, the prisoner is brought in publique with a terrible band of men that lay him in Irons hand and foot, with a boord at his necke one handfull broad, in length reaching downe to his knees, cleft in two parts, and with a hole one handfull downeward in the table fit for his necke, the which they inclose vp therein, nailing the boord fast together; one handfull of the boord standeth vp behinde in the necke: The sentence and cause wherefore the fellon was condemned to die, is written in that part of the table that standeth before.

A pillory boord.

This ceremony ended, he is laid in a great prison in the company of some other condemned persons, the which are found by the king as long as they do liue. The bord aforesaid so made tormenteth the prisoners very much, keeping them both from rest, and eke letting them to eat commodiously, their hands being manacled in irons vnder that boord, so that in fine there is no remedy but death. In the chiefe Cities of euery shire, as we haue erst said, there be foure principall houses, in ech of them a prison: but in one of them, where the Taissu maketh his abode, there is a greater and a more principall prison then in any of the rest: and although in euery City there be many, neuerthelesse in three of them remaine onely such as be condemned to die. Their death is much prolonged, for that ordinarily there is no execution done but once a yeere, though many die for hunger and cold, as we haue seene in this prison. Execution is done in this maner. The Chian, to wit, the high Commissioner or Lord chiefe Iustice, at the yeres end goeth to the head City, where he heareth againe the causes of such as be condemned. Many times he deliuereth some of them, declaring y^t boord to haue bene wrongfully put about their necks: the visitation ended, he choseth out seuen or eight, not many more or lesse of the greatest malefactors, the which, to feare and keepe in awe the people, are brought into a great market place, where all the great Louteas meete together, and after many ceremonies and superstitions, as the vse of the Countrey is, are beheaded. This is done once a yeere: who so escapeth that day, may be sure that he shall not be put to death all that yeere following, and so remaineth at the kings charges in the greater prison. In that prison where we lay were alwayes one hundred and mo of these condemned persons, besides them that lay in other prisons.

These prisons wherein the condemned caytifes do remaine are so strong, that it hath not bene heard, that any prisoner in all China hath escaped out of prison, for in deed it is a thing impossible. The prisons are thus builded. First all the place is mightily walled about, the walles be very strong and high, the gate of no lesse force: within it three other gates, before you come where the prisoners do lye, there many great lodgings are to be seene of the Louteas, Notaries, Parthions, that is, such as do there keepe watch and ward day and night, the court large and paued, on the one side whereof standeth a prison, with two mighty gates, wherein are kept such prisoners as haue committed enormious offences. This prison is so great, that in it are streets and Market places wherein all things necessary are sold. Yea some prisoners liue by that kind of trade, buying and selling, and letting out beds to hire: some are dayly sent to prison, some dayly deliuered, wherefore this place is neuer void of 7. or eight hundred men that go at libertie.

Into one other prison of condemned persons shall you go at three yron gates, the court paued and vauted round about, and open aboue as it were a cloister. In this cloister be eight roomes with yron doores, and in ech of them a large gallerie, wherein euery night the prisoners do lie at length, their feet in the stocks, their bodies hampered in huge wooden grates that keep them from sitting, so that they lye as it were in a cage, sleepe if they can: in the morning they are losed againe, that they may go into the court. Notwithstanding the strength of this prison, it is kept with a garrison of men, part whereof watch within the house, part of them in the court, some keepe about the prison with lanterns and watch-bels answering one another fiue times euery night, and giuing warning so lowd, that the Loutea resting in a a chamber not neere thereunto, may heare them. In these prisons of condemned persons remaine some 15, other 20. yeres imprisoned, not executed, for the loue of their honorable friends that seeke to prolong their liues. Many of these prisoners be shoomakers, and haue from the king a certaine allowance of rise: some of them worke for the keeper, who suffreth them to go at libertie without fetters and boords, the better to worke. Howbeit when the Loutea called his checke roll, and with the keeper vieweth them, they all weare their liuerses, that is, boords at their necks, yronned hand and foot. When any of these prisoners dieth, he is to be seene of the Loutea and Notaries, brought out of a gate so narrow, that there can but one be drawen out there at once. The prisoners being brought forth, one of the aforesaid Parthions striketh him thrise on the head with an yron sledge, that done he is deliuered vnto his friends, if he haue any, otherwise the king hireth men to cary him to his buriall in the fields.

Thus adulterers and theeues are vsed. Such as be imprisoned for debt once knowen, lie there vntil it be paied. The Taissu or Loutea calleth them many times before him by the vertue of his office, who vnderstanding the cause wherefore they do not pay their debts, appointeth them a certaine time to do it, within the compasse whereof if they discharge not their debts being debtors in deed, then they be whipped and condemned to perpetuall imprisonment: if the creditors be many, and one is to be paied before another, they do, contrary to our maner, pay him first of whom they last borrowed, and so ordinarily the rest, in such sort that the first lender be the last receiuer. The same order is kept in paying legacies: the last named receiueth his portion first. They accompt it nothing to shew fauour to such a one as can do the like againe: but to do good to them that haue litle or nothing, that is worth thanks, therefore pay they the last before the first, for that their intent seemeth rather to be vertuous then gainefull.

Of like the first lenders be the more wealthie.

When I said, that such as be committed to prison for theft and murther were iudged by the Court, I ment not them that were apprehended in the deed doing, for they need no triall, but are brought immediatly before the Tutan, who out of hand giueth sentence. Others not taken so openly, which do need trial, are the malefactors put to execution once a yere in the chiefe cities, to keepe in awe the people: or condemned, do remaine in prison, looking for their day. Theeues being taken are caried to prison from one place to another in a chest vpon mens shoulders, hired therefore by the king, the chest is 6. handfuls high, the prisoner sitteth therein vpon a bench, the couer of the chest is two boords, amid them both a pillery-like hole, for the prisoners necke, there sitteth he with his head without the chest, and the rest of his body within, not able to mooue or turne his head this way or that way, nor to plucke it in: the necessities of nature he voydeth at a hole in the bottome of a chest, the meate he eateth is put into his mouth by others. There abideth he day and night during his whole iourney: if happily his porters stumble, or the chest do iogge or be set down carelessly, it turneth to his great paines that sitteth therein, al such motions being vnto him hanging as it were. Thus were our companions carried from Cinceo, 7. dayes iourney, neuer taking any rest as afterward they told vs, and their greatest griefe was to stay by the way: as soone as they came, being taken out of the chests, they were not able to stand on their feet, and two of them died shortly after. When we lay in prison at Fuquieo, we came many times abroad, and were brought to the pallaces of noble men, to be seene of them and their wiues, for that they had neuer seene any Portugale before. Many things they asked vs of our Countrey, and our fashions, and did write euery thing, for they be curious in nouelties aboue measure. The gentlemen shew great curtesie vnto strangers, and so did we finde at their hands, and because that many times we were brought abroad into the City, somewhat wil I say of such things as I did see therein, being a gallant City, and chiefe in one of the 13. shires aforesaid. Tbe City Fuquieo is very great, and mightily walled with square stone both within and without, and, as it may seeme by the breadth thereof, filled vp in the middle with earth, layd ouer with brick and couered with tyle, after the maner of porches or galleries, that one might dwel therein. The staires they vse are so easily made, that one may go them vp and downe a horse-backe, as eftsoones they do: the streets are paued, as already it hath bin said: there be a great number of Marchants, euery one hath written in a great table at his doore such things as he hath to sel. In like maner euery artisane painteth out his craft: the market places be large, great abundance of al things there be to be sold. The city standeth vpon water, many streames run through it, the banks pitched, and so broad that they serue for streets to the cities vse. Ouer the streams are sundry bridges both of timber and stone, which being made leuel with the streets, hinder not the passage of the barges too and fro, the chanels are so deepe. Where the streames come in and go out of the city, be certaine arches in the wal, there go in and out their Parai, that is a kind of barges they haue, and that in the day time only: at night these arches are closed vp with gates, so do they shut vp al the gates of the City. These streames and barges do ennoblish very much the City, and make it as it were to seeme another Venice. The buildings are euen, wel made, high, not lofted, except it be some wherein marchandize is laid. It is a world to see how great these cities are, and the cause is, for that the houses are built euen, as I haue said, and do take a great deale of roome. One thing we saw in this city that made vs al to wonder, and is worthy to be noted: namely, ouer a porch at the comming in to one of the aforesaid 4. houses, which the king hath in euery shire for his gouernors, as I haue erst said, standeth a tower built vpon 40. pillers, ech one whereof is but one stone, ech one 40. handfuls or spans long: in bredth or compasse 12, as many of vs did measure them. Besides this, their greatnesse is such in one piece, that it might seeme impossible to worke them: they be moreouer cornered, and in colour, length and breadth so like, that the one nothing differeth from the other. This thing made vs all to wonder very much.

We are wont to cal this country China, and the people Chineans, but as long as we were prisoners, not hearing amongst them at any time that name, I determined to learne how they were called: and asked sometimes by them thereof, for that they vnderstood vs not when we called them Chineans, I answered them, that al the inhabitants of India named them Chineans, wherefore I praied them that they would tel me, for what occasion they are so called, whether peraduenture any city of theirs bare that name. Hereunto they alwayes answered me, y^t^ they haue no such name, nor euer had. Then did I aske them what name the whole Country bareth, and what they would answere being asked of other nations what countrymen they were? It was told me that of ancient time in this country had bin many kings, and though presently it were al vnder one, ech kingdom neuertheles enioyed that name it first had, these kingdomes are the prouinces I spake of before. In conclusion they said, that the whole country is called Tamen, and the inhabitants Tamegines, so that this name China or Chineans, is not heard of in y^t^ country. I thinke that the neernesse of another prouince thereabout called Cochinchina, and the inhabitants thereof Cochinesses, first discouered before China was, lying not far from Malacca, did giue occasion to ech of the nations, of that name Chineans, as also the whole country to be named China. But their proper name is that aforesaid.

Tamen the proper name of China.

I haue heard moreouer that in the City of Nanquim remaineth a table of gold, and in it written a kings name, as a memory of that residence the kings were wont to keepe there. This table standeth in a great pallace, couered alwayes, except it be on some of their festiuall dayes, at what time they are wont to let it be seene, couered neuertheless as it is, all the nobilitie of the City going of duetie to doe it euery day reuerence. The like is done in the head Cities of all the other shires in the pallaces of the Ponchiassini, wherein these aforesaid tables doe stand with the kings name written in them, although no reuerence be done thereunto but in solemn feastes.

Pochan, or, Pachin.

I haue likewise vnderstood that the city Pachin, where the king maketh his abode, is so great, that to go from one side to the other, besides the Suburbs, the which are greater then the City it selfe, it requireth one whole day a horseback, going hackney pase. In the suburbs be many wealthy marchants of all sorts. They tolde me furthermore that it was moted about, and in the moates great store of fish, whereof the king maketh great gaines.

Their enemies.

Marriage of the kings children.

It was also told me that the king of China had no king to wage battel withall, besides the Tartars, with whom he had concluded a peace more then 80. yeres ago. Neuerthelesse their friendship was not so great, that the one nation might marry with the other. And demanding with whom they married, they said, that in olde time the Chinish kings when they would marry their daughters, accustomed to make a solemne feast, whereunto came all sorts of men. The daughter that was to be married, stood in a place where she might see them all, and looke whom she liked best, him did she chuse to husband, and if happely he were of a base condition, hee became by and by a gentleman: but this custome hath bene left long since. Now a dayes the king marrieth his daughters at his owne pleasure, with great men of the kingdome: the like order he obserueth in the marriage of his sonnes.

They haue moreouer one thing very good, and that which made vs all to marueile at them being Gentiles: namely, that there be hospitals in all their Cities, alwayes full of people, we neuer saw any poore body begge.* We therefore asked the cause of this: answered it was, that in euery City there is a great circuit, wherein be many houses for poore people, for blinde, lame, old folke, not able to trauaile for age, nor hauing any other meanes to liue. These folke haue in the aforesaid houses euer plentie of rice during their liues, but nothing else. Such as be receiued into these houses, come in after this maner. When one is sicke, blinde or lame, he maketh a supplication to the Ponchiassi, and prouing that to be true he writeth, he remaineth in the aforesaid great lodging as long as he liueth: besides this they keepe in these places swine and hennes, whereby the poore be relieued without going a begging.

---

* *Marginal note.*—He speaketh not here of all China, but of the Cities, for in other places there be beggers, as you haue seene already, swarming out of trees.

I said before that China was full of riuers, but now I minde to confirme the same anew: for the farther we went into the Countrey, the greater we found the riuers. Sometimes we were so farre off from the sea, that where we came no sea fish had bene seene, and salt was there very deare, of fresh water fish yet was there great abundance, and that fish very good: they keep it good after this maner. Where the riuers do meete, and so passe into the sea, there lieth great store of boats, specially where no salt-water commeth, and that in March and April. These boates are so many that it seemeth wonderfull, ne serue they for other then to take small fish. By the riuers sides they make leyres of fine and strong nettes, that lye three handfulls vnder water, and one aboue to keepe and nourish their fish in, vntill such time as other fishers do come with boates, bringing for that purpose certaine great chests lined with paper, able to holde water, wherein they cary their fish vp and downe the riuer, euery day renuing the chest with fresh water, and selling their fish in euery City, towne and village where they passe, vnto the people as they neede it: most of them haue net leyres to keepe fish in alwayes for their prouision. Where the greater boates cannot passe any further forward, they take lesser, and because the whole Countrey is very well watered, there is so great plenty of diuers sorts of fish, that it is wonderfull to see: assuredly we were amazed to behold the maner of their prouision. Their fish is chiefly nourished with the dung of Bufles and oxen, that greatly fatteth it. Although I said their fishing to be in March and April at what time we saw them do it, neuerthelesse they told vs that they fished at all times, for that vsually they do feed on fish, wherefore it behoueth them to make their prouision continually.

Meanes to fat fish.

When we had passed Fuquien, we went into Quicin shire, He speaketh of Fuquien shire.

where the fine clay vessell is made, as I said before: and we came to a City, the one side whereof is built vpon the the foote of a hill, whereby passeth a riuer nauigable: there we tooke boat, and went by water toward the Sea: on ech side of the riuer we found many Cities, Townes and villages, wherein we saw great store of marchandize, but specially of fine clay: there did we land by the way to buy victuals and other necessaries. Going downe this riuer Southward, we were glad that wee drew neere vnto a warmer Countrey, from whence we had bene farre distant: this Countrey we passed through in eight dayes, for our iourney lay downe the streame. Before that I doe say any thing of that shire we came into, I will first speake of the great City of Quicin, wherein alwayes remaineth a Tutan, that is a gouernour, as you haue seene, though some Tutans do gouerne two or three shires.

Aliàs Cenchi.

That Tutan that was condemned for our cause, of whom I spake before, was borne in this Countrey, but he gouerned Foquien shire: nothing it auailed him to be so great an officer. This Countrey is so great, that in many places where we went, there had bene as yet no talke of his death, although he were executed a whole yere before. At the Citie Quanchi whither we came, the riuer was so great it seemed a Sea, though it were so litle where we tooke water, that we needed small boats. One day about nine of the clocke, beginning to row neere the walls with the streame, we came at noone to a bridge made of many barges, ouerlinked al together with two mightie cheines. There stayed we vntill it was late, but we saw not one go either vp thereon or downe, except two Louteas that about the going downe of the Sunne, came and set them down there, the one on one side, the other on the other side. Then was the bridge opened in many places, and barges both great and small to the number of sixe hundred began to passe: those that went vp the streame at one place, such as came downe at an other. When all had thus shot the bridge, then was it shut vp againe. We heare say that euery day they take this order in all principall places of marchandize, for paying of the Custome vnto the king, specially for salt, whereof the greatest reuenues are made that the king hath in this Countrey. The passage of the bridge where it is opened, be so neere the shoare, that nothing can passe without touching the same. To stay the barges at their pleasure, that they goe no further forward, are vsed

The kings reuenues.

certaine iron instruments. The bridge consisteth of 112. barges, there stayed we vntill the euening that they were opened, lothsomely oppressed by the multitude of people that came to see vs, so many in number, that we were enforced to go aside from the banke vntil such time as the bridge was opened: howbeit we were neuerthelesse thronged about with many boates full of people. And though in other Cities and places where we went, the people came so importunate vpon vs, that it was needfull to withdraw our selues: yet were we here much more molested for the number of people: and this bridge is the principall way out of the Citie vnto another place so wel inhabited, that were it walled about, it might be compared to the Citie. When we had shot the bridge, we kept along the Citie vntil it was night, and then met we with another riuer that ioyned with this, we rowed vp that by the walls vntill we came to another bridge gallantly made of barges, but lesser a great deale then that other bridge ouer the greater streame: here stayed we that night, and other two dayes with more quiet, being out of the preasse of the people. These riuers do meet without at one corner point of the City. In either of them were so many barges great and small, that we all thought them at the least to be aboue three thousand: the greater number thereof was in the lesser riuer, where we were. Amongst the rest here lay certaine greater vessels, called in their language Parai, that serue for the Tutan, when he taketh his voyage by other riuers that ioyne with this, towards Pachin, where the king maketh his abode. For, as many times I haue erst said, all this Countrey is full of riuers. Desirous to see those Parai we got into some of them, where we found some chambers set foorth with gilded beds very richly, other furnished with tables and seats, and all other things so neat and in perfection, that it was wonderfull.

Quiacim shire, as farre as I can perceiue, lieth vpon the South. On that side we kept at our first entry thereinto, trauayling not farre from the high mountaines we saw there. Asking what people dwelleth beyond those mountaines, it was told me that they be theeues and men of a strange language. And because that vnto sundry places neere this riuer the mountaines doe approch, whence the people issuing downe do many times great harme, this order is taken at the entry into Quiacim shire. To guard this riuer whereon continually go to and fro Parai great and small fraught with salt, fish poudred with peper, and other necessaries for that countrey, they do lay in diuers places certaine Parai, and great barges armed, wherin watch and ward is kept day and night on both sides of the riuer, for the safety of the passage, and securitie of such Parai as do remaine there, though the trauailers neuer go but many in company. In euery rode there be at the least thirtie, in some two hundred men, as the passage requireth. This guard is kept vsually vntill you come to the City Onchio, where continually the Tutan of this shire, and eke of Cantan, maketh his abode. From that City vpward, where the riuer waxeth more narrow, and the passage more dangerous, there be alwayes armed one hundred and fiftie Parai, to accompany other vessels fraught with marchandize, and all this at the Kings charges. This seemed to me one of the strangest things I did see in this Countrey.

When we lay at Fuquien, we did see certaine Moores, who knew so litle of their secte, that they could say nothing else but that Mahomet was a Moore, my father was a Moore, and I am a Moore, with some other wordes of their Alcoran, wherewithall, in abstinence from swines flesh, they liue vntill the diuel take them all. This when I saw, and being sure that in many Chinish Cities the reliques of Mahomet are kept, as soone as we came to the City where these fellowes be, I enfourmed my selfe of them, and learned the trueth.

Great ships comming from the North.

These Moores, as they tolde me, in times past came in great ships fraught with marchandise from Pachin ward, to a port granted vnto them by the king, as hee is wont to all them that traffique into this Countrey, where they being arriued at a litle Towne standing in the hauens mouth, in time conuerted vnto their sect the greatest Loutea there. When that Loutea with all his family was become Moorish, the rest began likewise to doe the same. In this part of China the people be at libertie, euery one to worship and folow what him liketh best. Wherefore no body tooke heede thereto, vntil such time as the Moores perceiuing that many followed them in superstition, and that the Loutea fauoured them, they began to forbid wholy the eating of swines flesh. But all these countreymen and women chosing rather to forsake father and mother, then to leaue off eating of porke, by no meanes would yeeld to that proclamation. For besides the great desire they all haue to eate that kinde of meate, many of them do liue thereby: and therefore the people complained vnto the

Magistrates, accusing the Moores of a conspiracie pretended betwixt them and the Loutea against their king. In this countrey, as no suspition, no not one traiterous word is long borne withall, so was the king speedily aduertised thereof, who gaue commandement out of hand that the aforesaid Loutea should be put to death, and with him the Moores of most importance: the other to be layde first in prison, and afterward to be sent abroad into certaine Cities, where they remained perpetuall slaues vnto the king. To this City came by happe men and women threescore and odde, who at this day are brought to fiue men and foure women, for it is now twenty yeeres since this happened. Their offspring passeth the number of two hundreth, and they in this City, as the rest in other Cities whither they were sent, haue their Moscheas, whereunto they all resort euery Friday to keepe their holy day. But, as I thinke, that will no longer endure, then whiles they doe liue that came from thence, for their posteritie is so confused, that they haue nothing of a Moore in them but abstinence from swines flesh, and yet many of them doe eate thereof priuily. They tell mee that their natiue Countrey hath name Camarian, a firme land, wherein be many kings, and the Indish countrey well knowen vnto them. It may so be: for as soone as they did see our seruants (our seruants were Preuzaretes) they iudged them to be Indians: many of their wordes sounded vpon the Persian tongue, but none of vs coulde vnderstand them. I asked them whether they conuerted any of the Chinish nation vnto their secte: they answered mee, that with much a doe they conuerted the women with whom they doe marry, yeelding me no other cause thereof, but the difficultie they finde in them to be brought from eating swines flesh and drinking of wine. I am perswaded therefore, that if this Countrey were in league with vs, forbidding them neither of both, it would be an easie matter to draw them to our Religion, from their superstition, whereat they themselues do laugh when they do their idolatry.

That is their temples.

It should seeme by their voyage to be Cardandan in Ortelius.

I haue learned moreouer that the Sea, whereby these Moores that came to China were wont to trauaile, is a very great gulfe, that falleth into this Countrey out from Tartaria and Persia, leauing on the other side all the Countrey of China, and land of the Mogores, drawing alwayes

A Northerne Sea.

toward the South: and of all likelyhood it is euen so, because that these Moores, the which we haue seene, be rather browne then white, whereby they shewe themselues to come from some warmer Countrey then China is neere to Pachin, where the riuers are frosen in the Winter for colde, and many of them so vehemently that carts may passe ouer them.

We did see in this Citie many Tartars, Mogores, Brames, and Laoynes, both men and women. The Tartars are men very white, good horsemen and archers, confining with China on that side where Pachin standeth, separated from thence by great mountaines that are bewixt these kingdomes. Ouer them be certaine wayes to passe, and for both sides, Castles continually kept with Souldiers: in time past the Tartars were wont alwayes to haue warres with the Chineans, but these fourescore yeeres past they were quiet, vntill the second yeere of our imprisonment. The Mogores be in like maner white, and heathen, we are aduertised that of one side they border vpon these Tartars, and confine with the Persian Tartars on the other side, whereof we sawe in them some tokens, as their maner of clothes, and that kinde of hat the Saracens doe weare. The Moores affirmed, that where the king lyeth, there be many Tartars and Mogores, that brought into China certaine blewes of great value: all we thought it to be Vanil of Cambaia wont to be sold at Ormus. So that this is the true situation of that Countrey, not in the North parts, as many times I haue heard say, confining with Germanie.

As for the Brames we haue seene in this city Chenchi certaine men and women, amongst whom there was one that came not long since, hauing as yet her haire tied vp after the Pegues fashion: this woman, and other mo with whom a black Moore damsel in our company had conference, and did vnderstand them wel ynough, had dwelt in Pegu. This new come woman, imagining that we ment to make our abode in that citie, bid vs to be of good comfort, for that her countrey was not distant from thence aboue fiue dayes iourney, and that out of her countrey there lay a high way for vs home into our owne. Being asked the way, she answered that the first three daies the way lieth ouer certaine great mountaines and wildernesse, afterward people are met withall againe. Thence two dayes iourney more to the Brames countrey. Wherefore I doe conclude, that Chenchi is one of the confines of this kingdome, separated by certaine huge mountaines, as it hath bene alreadie

Southward from Chenchi to the sea.

said, that lie out towards the South. In the residue of these mountaines standeth the prouince of Sian, the Laoyns countrey, Camboia, Campaa, and Cochinchina.

This citie chiefe of other sixteene is situated in a pleasant plaine abounding in all things necessarie, sea-fish onely excepted, for it standeth farre from the sea: of fresh fish so much store, that the market places are neuer emptie. The walles of this city are very strong and high: one day did I see the Louteas thereof go vpon the walles to take the view thereof, borne in their seates which I spake of before, accompanied with a troupe of horsemen that went two and two: It was tolde me they might haue gone three and three. We haue seene moreouer, that within this aforesayd Citie: the king hath moe then a thousande of his kinne lodged in great pallaces, in diuers partes of the Citie: their gates be redde, and the entrie into their houses, that they may be knowen, for that is the kings colour. These Gentlemen, according to their neerenesse in blood vnto the king, as soone as they be married receiue their place in honour: this place neither increaseth nor diminisheth in any respect as long as the king liueth, the king appointeth them their wiues and familie, allowing them by the moneth all things necessarie abundantly, as he doth to his gouernours of shires and Cities, howbeit, not one of these hath as long as he liueth any charge or gournement at all. They giue themselues to eating and drinking, and be for the most part burly men of bodie, insomuch that espying any one of them whom we had not seene before, we might knowe him to be the King his cosin. They be neuerthelesse very pleasant, courteous, and faire conditioned: neither did we find, all the time wee were in that citie, so much honour and good intertainement any where as at their hands. They bid vs to their houses to eate and drinke, and when they found vs not, or we were not willing to go with them, they bid our seruants and slaues, causing them to sit downe with the first. Notwithstanding the good lodging these Gentlemen haue, so commodious that they want nothing, yet are they in this bondage, that during life they neuer goe abroad. The cause, as I did vnderstand, wherefore the king so vseth his cosins is, that none of them at any time may rebell against him: and thus he shutteth them vp in three or foure other cities. Most of them can play on the Lute, and to make that kinde of pastime peculiar vnto them onely, all other in the cities where they doe liue be forbidden that instrument, the Curtisans and blinde folke onely excepted, who be musicians and can play.

This king furthermore, for the greater securitie of his Realme and the auoiding of tumults, letteth not one in all his countrey to be called Lord, except he be of his blood. Manie great estates and gouernours there be, that during their office are lodged Lordlike, and doe beare the port of mightie Princes: but they be so many times displaced and other placed a new, that they haue not the time to become corrupt. True it is that during their office they be well prouided for, as afterward also lodged at the kings charges, and in pension as long as they liue, payed them monethly in the cities where they dwell by certaine officers appointed for that purpose. The king then is a Lord onely, not one besides him as you haue seene, except it be such as be of his blood. A Nephew likewise of the king, the kings sisters sonne, lyeth continually within the walles of the citie in a strong pallace built Castlewise, euen as his other cousins do, remayning alwayes within doores, serued by Ennuches, neuer dealing with any matters. On their festiuall dayes, new moones, and full moones the magistrates make great bankets, and so do such as be of the king his blood. The kings Nephew hath to name Vanfuli, his pallace is walled about, the wall is not high but fouresquare, and in circuit nothing inferiour to the wals of Goa, the outside is painted red, in euery square a gate, and ouer each gate a tower made of timber excellently well wrought: before the principall gate of the foure that openeth in to the high street no Loutea, be he neuer so great, may passe on horsebacke, or carried in his seat. Amidst this quadrangle standeth the pallace where that Nobleman lyeth, doubtlesse worth the sight, although we came not in to see it. By report the roofes of the towers and houses are glased greene, and the greater part of the quadrangle set with sauage trees, as Okes, Chesnuts, Cypresse, Pineapples, Cedars, and other such like that we do want, after the manner of a wood, wherein are kept Stags, Oxen, and other beasts, for that Lord his recreation neuer going abroad as I haue sayd. One preheminence this citie hath aboue the rest where we haue bene, and that of right, as we do thinke, that besides the multitude of market places wherein all things are to be sold through euery streete continually are cryed all things necessary, as flesh of all sortes, freshfish, hearbes, oyle, vineger, meale, rise: in summa, all things so plentifully, that

Goa is a city of the Portugals in the East Indies.

many houses neede no seruants, euery thing being brought to their doores. Most part of the marchants remaine in the suburbes, for that the cities are shut vp euery night, as I haue said. The marchants therefore, the better to attend their businesse, do chuse rather to make their abode without in the suburbes then within the citie. I haue seene in this riuer a pretie kinde of fishing, not to be omitted in my opinion, and therefore I will set it downe. The king hath in many riuers good store of barges full of sea-crowes that breede, are fedde and doe die therein, in certaine cages, allowed monethely a certaine prouision of rise. These barges the king bestoweth vpon his greatest magistrates, giuing to some two, to some three of them as he thinketh good, to fish therewithal after this manner. At the houre appointed to fish, all the barges are brought together in a circle, where the riuer is shalow, and the crowes tyed together vnder the wings are let leape downe into the water some vnder, some aboue, woorth the looking vpon: each one as he hath filled his bagge, goeth to his owne barge and emptieth it, which done, he returneth to fish againe. Thus hauing taken good store of fish, they set the crowes at libertie, and do suffer them to fish for their owne pleasure. There were in that city where I was, twentie barges at the least of these aforesayd crowes. I went almost euery day to see them, yet could I neuer be throughly satisfyed to see so strange a kind of fishing.

Odericus writeth of the like.

Of the Iland Iapan, and other litle Iles in the East Ocean.

By R. Willes.

THe extreame part of the knowen world vnto vs is the noble Iland Giapan, written otherwise Iapon and Iapan. This Island standeth in the East Ocean, beyond all Asia, betwixt Cathayo and the West Indies sixe and thirtie degrees Northward from the Equinoctial line, in the same clime with the South part of Spaine and Portugall, distant from thence by sea sixe thousand leagues: the trauile thither, both for ciuill discord, great pyracie, and often shipwracks is very dangerous. This countrey is hillie and pestered with snow, wherefore it is neither so warme as Portugall, nor yet so wealthy, as far as we can learne, wanting oyle, butter, cheese, milke, egges, sugar, honny, vinegar, saffron, cynamom and pepper. Barleybranne the Ilanders doe vse in stead of salt: medicinable things holsome for the bodie haue they none at all. Neuerthelesse in that Iland sundry fruites doe growe, not much vnlike the fruites of Spaine: and great store of Siluer mynes are therein to be seene. The people are tractable, ciuill, wittie, courteous, without deceit, in vertue and honest conuersation exceeding all other nations lately discouered, but so much standing vpon their reputation, that their chiefe Idole may be thought honour. The contempt thereof causeth among them much discord and debate, manslaughter and murther: euen for their reputation they doe honour their parents, keepe their promises, absteine from adulterie and robberies, punishing by death the least robbery done, holding for a principle, that whosoeuer stealeth a trifle, will, if he see occasion, steale a greater thing. It may be theft is so seuerely punished of them, for that the nation is oppressed with scarcitie of all things necessary, and so poore, that euen for miserie they strangle their owne children, preferring death before want. These fellowes doe neither eate nor kill any foule. They lieu chiefely by fish, hearbes, and fruites, so healthfully, that they die very old. Of Rice and Wheat there is no great store. No man is ashamed there of his pouertie, neither be their gentlemen therefore lesse honoured of the meaner people, neither will the poorest gentleman there matche his childe with the baser sort for any gaine, so much they do make more account of gentry then of wealth. The greatest delight they haue is in armour, each boy at fourteene yeeres of ages, be he borne gentle or otherwise, hath his sword and dagger: very good archers they be, contemning all other nations in comparison of their manhood and prowesse, putting not vp one iniurie be it neuer so small in worde or deede, among themselues. They feede moderately, but they drinke largely. The vse of vines they knowe not, their drinke they make of Rice, vtterly they doe abhorre dice, and all games, accounting nothing more vile in a man, then to giue himselfe vnto those things that make vs greedy and desirous to get other mens goods. If at any time they do sweare, for that seldome they are wont to doe, they sweare by the Sunne: many of them are taught good letters, wherfore they may so much the sooner be brought vnto Christianitie. Each one is contented with one wife: they be all desirous to learne, and naturally inclined vnto honesty and courtesie: godly talke they listen vnto willingly, especially when they vnderstand it throughly. Their gouernment consisteth of 3 estates. The first place is due vnto the high Priest, by whose lawes and decrees all publike and priuate matters appertayning to religion are decided. The sects of their clergie men, whom they doe call Bonzi, be of no estimation or authoritie except the high Priest by letters patent doe confirme the same: he confirmeth and alloweth of their Tundi, who be as it were Bishops, although in many places they are nominated by sundry Princes. These Tundi are greatly honoured of all sorts: they doe giue benefices vnto inferiour ministers, and do grant licences for many things as to eate flesh vpon those dayes they goe in pilgrimage to their Idoles with such like priuileges. Finally, this High Priest wont to be chosen in China for his wisedome and learning, made in Iapan for his gentry and birth, hath so large a Dominion and reuenues so great, that eftsones he beardeth the petie Kings and Princes there.

Their second principal Magistrate, in their language Vo, is the chiefe Herehaught, made by succession and birth, honoured as a God. This gentleman neuer toucheth the ground with his foote without forfaiting of his office, he neuer goeth abroad out of his house, nor is at all times to be seene. At home he is either carried about in a litter, or els he goeth in wooden Choppines a foote high from the ground: commonly he sitteth in his chaire with a sword in one side, and a bow and arrows in the other, next his bodie he wearth blacke, his outward garments be red, all shadowed ouer with Cypresse, at his cappe hang certaine Lambeaux much like vnto a Bishop Miter, his forehead is painted white and red, he eateth his meat in earthen dishes. This Herehaught determineth in all Iapan the diuerse titles of honour, whereof in that Iland is great plentie, each one particularly knowen by his badge, commonly seene in sealing vp their letters, and dayly altered according to their degrees. About this Vo euery Noble man hath his Soliciter, for the nation is so desirous of praise and honour, that they striue among themselues who may bribe him best. By these meanes the Herehaught groweth so rich, that although hee haue neither land nor any reuenues otherwise, yet may he be accounted the wealthiest man in all Iapan. For three causes this great Magistrate may loose his office: first, if he touch the ground with his foote, as it hath beene alreadie said: next, if he kill any body: thirdly, if he be found an enemie vnto peace and quietnesse, howbeit neither of these aforesaid causes is sufficient to put him to death.

Their third chiefe officer is a Iudge, his office is to take vp and to end matters in controuersie, to determine of warres and peace, that which he thinketh right, to punish rebels, wherein he may commaund the noble men to assist him vpon paine of forfeiting their goods: neuerthelesse at all times he is not obeyed, for that many matters are ended rather by might and armes, then determined by law. Other controuersies are decided either in the Temporall Court, as it seemeth good vnto the Princes, or in the Spirituall consistorie before the Tundi.

Rebelles are executed in this manner, especially if they be noble men or officers. The king looke what day he giueth sentence against any one, the same day the partie, wheresoeuer he be, is aduertised thereof, and the day told him of his execution. The condemned person asketh of the messenger whether it may bee lawful for him to kill himselfe: the which thing when the king doeth graunt, the partie taking it for an honour, putteth on his best apparel and launcing his body a crosse from the breast downe all the belly, murthereth himselfe. This kind of death they take to be without infamie, neither doe their children for their fathers crime so punished, loose their goods. But if the king reserue them to be executed by the hangman, then flocketh he together his children, his seruants, and friends home to his house, to preserue his life by force. The king committeth the fetching of him out vnto his chiefe Iudge, who first setteth vpon him with bow and arrowes, and afterward with pikes and swords, vntill the rebell and family be slaine to their perpetuall ignominie and shame.

The Indie-writers make mention of sundry great cities in this Iland, as Cangoxima a hauen towne in the South part thereof, and Meaco distant from thence three hundred leagues northward, the royall seat of the king and most wealthy of all other townes in that Iland. The people thereabout are very noble, and their language the best Iaponish. In Maco are sayd to be ninetie thousande houses inhabited and vpward, a famous Vniuersitie, and in it fiue principall Colleges, besides closes and cloysters of Bonzi, Leguixil, and Hamacata, that is, Priests, Monks and Nunnes. Other fiue notable Vniuersities there be in Iapan, namely, Coia, Negru, Homi, Frenoi, and Bandu. The first foure haue in them at the least three thousand and fiue hundred schollers: in the fift are many mo. For Bandu prouince is very great and possessed with sixe princes, fiue whereof are vassals vnto the sixt, yet he himselfe subiect vnto the Iaponish king, vsually called the great king of Meaco: lesser scholes there be many in diuers places of this Ilande. And thus much specially concerning this glorious Iland, among so many barbarous nations and rude regions, haue I gathered together in one summe, out of sundry letters written from thence into Europe, by no lesse faithfull reporters than famous trauellers. For confirmation wherof, as also for the knowledge of other things not conteyned in the premisses, the curious readers may peruse these 4 volumes of Indian matters written long ago in Italian, and of late compendiously made Latine, by Petrus Maffeius my old acquainted friend, entituling the same, De rubus Iaponicis. One whole letter out of the fift booke thereof, specially intreating of that countrey, I haue done into English word for word in such wise as followeth.

Petrus Maffeins de rebus Iaponicis.

Aloisius Froes to his companions in Iesus Christ that remaine in China and India.

THe last yeere, deare brethren, I wrote vnto you from Firando, how Cosmus Turrianus had appointed me to trauile to Meaco to helpe Gaspar Vilela, for that there the haruest was great, the labourers few, and that I should haue for my companion in that iourney Aloisius Almeida. It seemeth now my part, hauing by the helpe of God ended so long a voiage, to signifie vnto you by letter such things specially as I might thinke you would most delight to know. And because at the beginning Almeida and I so parted the whole labour of writing letters betwixt vs, that he should speake of our voyage, and such things as happened therein, I should make relation of the Meachians estate, and write what I could well learne of the Iapans manners and conditions: setting aside all discourses of our voyage, that which standeth me vpon I will discharge in this Epistle, that you considering how artificially, how cunningly, vnder the pretext of religion, that craftie aduersary of mankind leadeth and draweth vnto perdition the Iapanish mindes, blinded with many superstitions and ceremonies, may the more pitie this Nation.

The inhabiters of Iapan, as men that had neuer had greatly to doe with other Nations, in their Geography diuided the whole world into three parts, Iapan, Sian, and China. And albeit the Iapans receiued out of Sian and China their superstitions and ceremonies, yet doe they neuertheless contemne all other Nations in comparison of themselues, and standing in their owne conceite doe far preferre themselues before all other sorts of people in wisedome and policie.

Touching the situation of the countrey and nature of the soyle, vnto the things eftsoones erst written, this one thing I will adde: in these Ilands, the sommer to be most hot, the winter extreme cold. In the kingdom of Canga, as we call it, falleth so much snow, that the houses being buried in it, the inhabitants keepe within doores certaine moneths of the yeere, hauing no way to come foorth except they break vp the tiles. Whirlewindes most vehement, earthquakes so common, that the Iapans dread such kind of feares litle or nothing at all. The countrey is ful of siluer mines otherwise barren, not so much by fault of nature, as through the slouthfulnesse of the inhabitants: howbeit Oxen they keepe and that for tillage sake onely. The ayre is holesome, the waters good, the people very faire and well bodied: bare headed commonly they goe, procuring baldnesse with sorrow and teares, eftsoones rooting vp with pinsars all the haire of their heads as it groweth, except it be a litle behind, the which they knot and keepe with all diligence. Euen from their childhood they weare daggers and swords, the which they vse to lay vnder their pillowes when they goe to bed: in shew courteous and affable, in deede haughtie and proud. They delight most in warlike affaires, and their greatest studie is armes. Mens apparel diuersely coloured is worne downe halfe the legges and to the elbowes: womens attire made handsomely like vnto a vaile, is somewhat longer: all manner of dicing and theft they do eschewe. The marchant although he be wealthy, is not accounted of. Gentlemen, be they neuer so poore, retaine their place: most precisely they stand vpon their honour and worthinesse, ceremoniously striuing among themselues in courtesies and faire speeches. Wherein if any one happily be lesse carefull than he should be, euen for a trifle many times he getteth euill will. Want though it trouble most of them, so much they doe detest, that poore men cruelly taking pittie of their infantes newly borne, especially girles, do many times with their owne feete strangle them. Noble men, and other likewise of meaner calling generally haue but one wife a peece, by whom although they haue issue, yet for a trifle they diuorse themselues from their wiues, and the wiues also sometimes from their husbands, to marry with others. After the second degree cousins may there lawfully marry. Adoption of other mens children is much vsed among them. In great townes most men and women can write and reade.

This Nation feedeth sparingly, their vsuall meat is rice and salets, and neere the sea side fish. They feast one another many times, wherein they vse great diligence, especially in drinking one to another, insomuch that the better sort, least they might rudely commit some fault therein, does vse to reade certaine bookes written of duties and ceremonies apperteyning vnto banquets. To be delicate and fine, they put their meate into their mouthes with litle forkes, accounting it great rudenesse to touch it with their fingers: winter and sommer they drinke water as hot as they may possibly abide it. Their houses are in danger of fire, but finely made and cleane, layde all ouer with strawe-pallets, whereupon they doe both sit in stead of stooles, and lie in their clothes with billets under their heads. For feare of defiling these pallets, they goe either bare foote within doores, or weare strawe pantofles on their buskins when they come abroad, the which they lay aside at their returne home againe. Gentlemen for the most part do passe the night in banketting, musicke, and vaine discourses, they sleepe the day time. In Meaco and Sacaio there is good store of beds, but they be very litle, and may be compared vnto our pues.

In bringing vp children they vse words only to rebuke them, admonishing as diligently and aduisedly boyes of sixe or seuen yeeres of age, as though they were olde men. They are giuen very much to intertaine strangers, of whom most curiously they loue to aske euen in trifles what forraine nations doe, and their fashions. Such arguments and reasons as be manifest, and are made plaine with examples, doe greatly persuade them. They detest all kinde of theft, whosoeuer is taken in that fault may be slaine freely of any bodie. No publike prisons, no common gayles, no ordinary Iusticers: priuately each householder hath the hearing of matters at home in his owne house, and the punishing of greater crimes that deserue death without delay. Thus vsually the people is kept in awe and feare.

About foure hundred yeeres past (as in their olde recordes we finde) all Iapan was subiect vnto one Emperour whose royall seat was Meaco, in the Iaponish language called Cubucama. But the nobilitie rebelling against him, by litle and litle haue taken away the greatest part of his dominion, howbeit his title continually remayneth, and the residue in some respect doe make great account of him still, acknowledging him for their superior. Thus the Empyre of Iapan, in times past but one alone, is now diuided into sixtie sixe kingdomes, the onely cause of ciuill warres continually in that Iland, to no small hinderance of the Gospell, whilest the kings that dwell neare together inuade one another, each one coueting to make his kingdome greater. Furthermore in the citie Meaco is the pallace of the high Priest, whom that nation honoureth as a God, he hath in his house 366 Idoles, one whereof by course is euery night set by his side for a watchman. He is thought of the common people so holy, that it may not be lawfull for him to goe vpon the earth: if happily he doe set one foote to the ground, he looseth his office. He is not serued very sumptaously, he is maintained by almes. The heads and beards of his ministers are shauen, they haue name Cangues, and their authoritie is great throughout all Iapan. The Cubucama vseth them for Embassadores to decide controuersies betwixt princes, and to end their warres, whereof they were wont to make very great gaine. It is now two yeres since or there about, that one of them came to Bungo, to intreate of peace betwixt the king thereof and the king of Amanguzzo. This Agent fauouring the king of Bungo his cause more then the other, brought to passe that the foresayd king of Bungo should keepe two kingdomes, the which he had taken in warres from the king of Amanguzzo. Wherefore he had for his reward of the king of Bungo aboue 30000 ducats. And thus farre hereof.

I come now to other superstitions and ceremonies, that you may see, deare brethren, that which I said in the beginning, how subtilly the diuell hath deceiued the Iaponish nation, and how diligent and readie they be to obey and worship him. And first, al remembrance and knowledge not onely of Christ our Redeemer, but also of that one God the maker of all things is cleane extinguished and vtterly abolished out of the Iapans hearts. Moreouer their superstitious sects are many, whereas it is lawfull for each one to follow that which liketh him best: but the principall sects are two, namely the Amidans and Xacaians. Wherefore in this countrey shall you see many monasteries, not onely of Bonzii men, but also of Bonziæ women diuersely attired, for some doe weare white vnder, and blacke vpper garments, other goe apparelled in ash colour, and their idole hath to name Denichi: from these the Amidanes differ very much. Againe the men Bonzii for the most part dwell in sumptuous houses, and haue great reuenues. These fellowes are chaste by commandement, marry they may not vpon paine of death. In the midst of their temple is erected an altar, whereon standeth a woodden Idole of Amida, naked from the girdle vpward, with holes in his eares after the manner of Italian gentlewomen, sitting on a wooden rose goodly to behold. They haue great libraries, and halles for them all to dine and sup together, and bels wherewith they are at certaine houres called to prayers. In the euening the Superintendent giueth each one a theame for meditation. After midnight before the altar in their Temple they do say Mattens at it were out of Xaca his last booke, one quier one verse, the other quier another. Early in the morning each one giueth himselfe to meditation one houre: they shaue their heads and beards. Their cloysters be very large, and within the precinct thereof, Chappels of the Fotoquiens, for by that name some of the Iapanish Saints are called: their holydaies yeerely be very many. Most of these Bonzii be gentlemen, for that the Iapanish nobility charged with many children, vse to make most of them Bonzii, not being able to leaue for each one a patrimony good enough. The Bonzii most coueteously bent, know all the wayes how to come by money. They sell vnto the people many scrolles of paper, by the helpe whereof the common people thinketh it selfe warranted from all power of the deuils. They borrow likewise money to be repayed with great vsury in an other worlde, giuing by obligation vnto the lender an assurance thereof, the which departing out of his life he may carry with him to hell.

There is another great company of such as are called Inambuxu, with curled and staring haire. They make profession to finde out againe things either lost or stolen, after this sort. They set before them a child whom the deuill inuadeth, called vp thither by charmes: of that child then doe they aske that which they are desirous to know.

These mens prayers both good and bad are thought greatly to preuaile, insomuch that both their blessings and their curses they sell vnto the people. The nouices of this order, before they be admitted, goe together two or three thousand in a company, vp a certaine high mountaine to doe pennance there, threescore dayes voluntarily punishing themselues. In this time the deuill sheweth himselfe vnto them in sundry shapes: and they like young graduats, admitted as it were fellowes into some certaine companie, are set foorth with white tassels hanging about their neckes, and blacke Bonnets that scarcely couer any more then the crowne of their heads. Thus attyred they range abroade in all Iapan, to set out themselues and their cunning to sale, each one beating his bason which he carieth alwayes about with him, to giue notice of their comming in al townes where they passe.

There is also an other sort called Genguis, that make profession to shewe by soothsaying where stollen things are, and who were the theeues. These dwell in the toppe of an high mountaine, blacke in the face: for the continuall heate of the sunne, for the cold windes, and raines they doe continually endure. They marry but in their owne tribe and line: the report goeth that they be horned beasts. They climbe vp most high rockes and hilles, and go ouer very great riuers by the onely arte of the deuill, who to bring those wretches the more into errour, biddeth them to goe vp a certaine high mouutaine, where they stande miserably gazing and earnestly looking for him as long as the deuill appointeth them. At the length at noonetide or in the euening commeth that deuill, whom they call Amida among them to shew himselfe vnto them: this shew breedeth in the braines and hearts of men such a kinde of superstition, that it can by no meanes be rooted out of them afterward.

The deuill was wont also in another mountaine to shew himselfe vnto the Iapanish Nation. Who so was more desirous than other to go to heauen and to enioy Paradise, thither went he to see that sight, and hauing seene the deuill followed him (so by the deuill persuaded) into a denne vntil he came to a deepe pit. Into this pit the deuill was wont to leape and to take with him his worshipper whom he there murdred. This deceit was thus perceiued. An old man blinded with this superstition, was by his sonne diswaded from thence, but all in vaine. Wherefore his sonne followed him priuily into that denne with his bow and arrows, where the deuill gallantly appeared vnto him in the shape of a man. Whilest the old man falleth downe to worshippe the deuill, his sonne speedily shooting an arrow at the spirit so appearing, strooke a Foxe in stead of a man so suddenly was that shape altered. This olde manne his sonne tracking the Foxe so running away, came to that pit whereof I spake, and in the bottome thereof he found many bones of dead men, deceiued by the deuill after that sort in time past. Thus deliuered he his father from present death, and all other from so pestilent an opinion.

There is furthermore a place bearing name Coia, very famous for ye multitude of Abbyes which the Bonzii haue therein. The beginner and founder whereof is thought to be one Combendaxis a suttle craftie fellowe, that got the name of holinesse by cunning speech, although the lawes and ordinances he made were altogether deuillish: he is said to haue found out the Iapanish letters vsed at this day. In his latter yeeres this Sim suttle buried himselfe in a fouresquare graue, foure cubites deepe, seuerely forbidding it to be opened, for that then he died not, but rested his bodie wearied with continuall businesse, vntill many thousand thousands of yeeres were passed, after the which time a great learned man named Mirozu should come into Iapan, and then would he rise vp out of his graue againe. About his tombe many lampes are lighted, sent thither out of diuerse prouinces, for that the people are perswaded that whosoeuer is liberall and beneficiall towardes the beautifying of that monument shall not onely increase in wealth in this world, but in the life to come be safe through Combendaxis helpe. Such as giue themselues to worship him, liue in those Monasteries or Abbyes with shauen heads, as though they had forsaken all secular matters, whereas in deede they wallow in all sortes of wickednesse and lust. In these houses, the which are many (as I sayd) in number, doe remaine 6000 Bonzii, or thereabout besides the multitude of lay men, women be restrained from thence vpon paine of death. Another company of Bonzii dwelleth at Fatonochaiti. They teach a great multitude of children all tricks and sleights of guile and theft: whom they do find to be of great towardnes, those do they instruct in al the petigrues of princes, and fashions of the nobilitie, in chiualrie and eloquence, and so send them abroad into other prouinces, attired like yong princes, to this ende, that faining themselues to be nobly borne, they may with great summes of money borowed vnder the colour and pretence of nobilitie returne againe. Wherefore this place is so infamous in all Iapan, that if any scholer of that order be happily taken abroad, he incontinently dieth for it. Neuerthelesse these cousiners leaue not daily to vse their woonted wickednesse and knauerie.

A warrelike people 300 leagues to the North of Meaco.

North from Iapan, three hundred leagues out of Meaco, lieth a great countrey of sauage men clothed in beasts skinnes, rough bodied, with huge beards and monstrous muchaches, the which they hold vp with litle forkes as they drinke. These people are great drinkers of wine, fierce in warres, and much feared of the Iapans: being hurt in fight, they wash their wounds with salt water, other Surgerie haue they none. In their breasts they are sayd to cary looking glasses: their swordes they tie to their heads, in such wise, that the handle doe rest vpon their shoulders. Seruice and ceremonies haue they none at all, onely they are woont to worship heauen. To Aquita a great towne in that Iaponish kingdom, which we call Geuano, they much resort for marchandise, and the Aquitanes likewise doe trauell in to their countrey, howbeit not often, for that there many of them are slaine by the inhabiters.

The Iapanish funerals.

Much more concerning this matter I had to write: but to auoyd tediousnesse I will come to speake of the Iapans madnesse againe, who most desirous of vaine glory doe thinke then specially to get immortall fame, when they procure themselues to be most sumptuously and solemnly buried: their burials and obsequies in the citie Meaco are done after this maner. About one houre before the dead body be brought foorth, a great multitude of his friends apparelled in their best aray goe before vnto the fire, with them goe their kinswomen and such as bee of their acquaintance, clothed in white, (for that is the mourning colour there) with a changeable coloured vaile on their heads. Each woman hath with her also, according to her abilitie, all her familie trimmed vp in white mockado: the better sort and wealthier women goe in litters of Cedar artificially wrought and richly dressed. In the second place marcheth a great company of footemen sumptuously apparelled. Then afarre off commeth one of these Bonzii master of the ceremonies for that superstition, brauely clad in silkes and gold, in a large and high litter excellently well wrought, accompanied with 30 other Bonzii or thereabout, wearing hats, linnen albes, and fine blacke vpper garments. Then attired in ashe colour (for this colour also is mourning) with a long torch of Pineaple, he sheweth the dead body the way vnto the fire, lest it either stumble or ignorantly go out of the way. Well neere 200 Bonzii folow him singing the name of that deuill the which the partie deceassed chiefly did worship in his life time, and therewithall a very great bason is beaten euen to the place of fire instead of a bell. Then follow two great paper baskets hanged open at staues endes full of paper roses diuersly coloured, such as beare them doe march but slowly, shaking euer now and then their staues, that the aforesayd flowers may fall downe by litle and litle as it were drops of raine: and be whirled about with wind. This shower say they is an argument that the soule of the dead man is gone to paradise. After al this, eight beardles Bonzii orderly two and two drag after them on the ground long speares, the points backward, with flags of one cubite a piece, wherein the name also of that idole is written. Then there be caried 10 lanterns trimmed with the former inscription, ouercast with a fine vaile, and candles burning in them. Besides this, two yoong men clothed in ashe colour beare pineaple torches, not lighted, of three foote length, the which torches serue to kindle the fire wherein the dead corpes is to bee burnt. In the same colour follow many other that weare on the crownes of their heads faire, litle, three-square, blacke Lethren caps tied fast vnder their chinnes (for that is honorable amongst them) with papers on their heads, wherein the name of the deuill I spake of, is written. And to make it the more solemne, after commeth a man with a table one cubite long, one foot broad, couered with a very fine white vaile, in both sides whereof is written in golden letters the aforesayd name. At the length by foure men is brought foorth the corps sitting in a gorgeous litter clothed in white, hanging downe his head and holding his hands together like one that prayed: to the rest of his apparell may you adde an vpper gowne of paper, written full of that booke the which his God is sayd to haue made, when he liued in the world, by whose helpe and merites commonly they doe thinke to be saued. The dead man his children come next after him most gallantly set foorth, the yongest wherof carieth likewise a pineaple torch to kindle the fire. Last of all foloweth a great number of people in such caps as I erst spake of.

They burne their dead.

When they are al come to y^t place appointed for the obsequie, al the Bonzii w^t the whole multitude for the space of one houre, beating pannes and basons with great clamours, call vpon the name of that deuill, the which being ended, the Obsequie is done in this maner. In the midst of a great quadrangle railed about, hanged with course linnen, and agreeably vnto the foure partes of the world made with foure gates to goe in and out at, is digged a hole: in the hole is laied good store of wood, whereon is raised gallantly a waued roofe; before that stand two tables furnished with diuers kindes of meates, especially drie Figs, Pomegranates and Tartes good store, but neither Fish nor Flesh: vpon one of them standeth also a chafer with coales, and in it sweete wood to make perfumes. When all this is readie, the corde wherewith the litter was caried, is throwen by a long rope into the fire: as many as are present striue to take the rope in their handes, vsing their aforesayd clamours, which done, they goe in procession as it were round about the quadrangle thrise. Then setting the litter on the wood built vp ready for the fire that Bonzius who then is master of the ceremonies, saieth a verse that no bodie there vnderstandeth, whirling thrise about ouer his head a torch lighted, to signifie thereby that the soule of the dead man had neither any beginning, ne shall haue at any time an ende, and throweth away the torch. Two of the dead man his children, or of his neere kinne, take it vp againe, and standing one at the East side of the litter, the other at the West, doe for honour and reuerence reach it to each other thrise ouer the dead corps, and so cast it into the pile of wood: by and by they throw in oyle, sweete wood, and other perfumes, accordingly as they haue plentie, and so with a great flame bring the corps to ashes: his children in the meane while putting sweete wood into the chafer at the table with odours, doe solemnly and religiously worship their father as a Saint: which being done, the Bonzii are paied each one in his degree. The master of the ceremonies hath for his part fiue duckats, sometimes tenne, sometimes twentie, the rest haue tenne Iulies a piece, or els a certaine number of other presents called Caxæ. The meate that was ordained, as soone as the dead corps friends and all the Bonzii are gone, is left for such as serued at the obsequie, for the poore and impotent lazars.

The next day returne to the place of obsequie the dead man his children, his kindred and friends, who gathering vp his ashes, bones, and teeth, doe put them in a gilded pot, and so carie them home, to bee set vp in the same pot couered with cloth, in the middest of their houses. Many Bonzii returne likewise to these priuate funerals, and so do they againe the seuenth day: then cary they out the ashes to be buried in a place appointed, laying thereupon a fouresquare stone, wherein is written in great letters drawen all the length of the stone, the name of that deuil the which the dead man worshipped in his life time. Euery day afterward his children resort vnto the graue with roses and warme water that the dead corps thirst not. Nor the seuenth day onely, but the seuenth moneth and yeere, within their owne houses they renue this obsequie, to no small commodities and gaine of the Bonzii: great rich men doe spend in these their funerals 3000 duckats or thereabout, the meaner sort two or three hundred. Such as for pouertie be not able to go to that charges, are in the night time darke long without all pompe and ceremonies buried in a dunghill.

They haue another kinde of buriall, especially neere the Sea side, for them that bee not yet dead. These fellowes are such, as hauing religiously with much deuotion worshipped Amida, now desirous to see him, doe slay themselues. And first they goe certaine dayes begging almes, the which they thrust into their sleeues, then preach they in publique a sermon vnto the people, declaring what they mind to doe, with the great good liking of all such as doe heare them: for euery body wondreth at such a kinde of holinesse. Then take they hookes to cut downe briars and thornes that might hinder them in their way to heauen, and so embarke themselues in a new vessell, tying great stones about their neckes, armes, loines, thighes, and feete: thus they launching out into the main Sea be either drowned there, their shippe bouged for that purpose, or els doe cast themselues ouer-boord headlong into the Sea. The emptie barke is out of hand set a fire for honours sake by their friends that folow them in another boat of their owne, thinking it blasphemie that any mortall creature should afterward once touch the barke that had bene so religiously halowed.

Truly when we went to Meaco, eight dayes before we came to the Ile of Hiu at Fore towne, sixe men and two women so died. To all such as die so the people erecteth a Chappell, and to each of them a pillar and a pole made of Pineaple for a perpetuall monument, hanging vp many shreds of paper in stickes all the roofe ouer, with many verses set downe in the walles in commendation of that blessed company. Wherefore vnto this place both day and night many come very superstitiously in pilgrimage. It happened euen then as Aloisius Almeida and I went to christen a childe wee traueiled that way at what time foure or fiue olde women came foorth out of the aforesayd chappell with beades in their handes (for in this point also the deuill counterfeiteth Christianitie) who partly scorned at vs for follie, partly frowned and taunted at our small deuotion, for passing by that holy monument without any reuerence or worship done thereunto at all.

It remaineth now we speake two or three wordes of those Sermons the Bonzii are woont to make, not so many as ours in number, but assuredly very well prouided for. The Pulpit is erected in a great temple with a silke Canopie ouer it, therein standeth a costly seate, before the seate a table with a bell and a booke. At the houre of Sermon each sect of the Iapans resorteth to their owne doctors in diuers Temples. Vp goeth the doctor into the Pulpit, and being set downe, after that hee hath lordlike looked him about, signifieth silence with his bell, and so readeth a fewe wordes of that booke we spake of, the which he expoundeth afterward more at large. These preachers be for the most part eloquent, and apt to drawe with their speach the mindes of their hearers. Wherefore to this ende chieflie (such is their greedinesse) tendeth all their talke, that the people bee brought vnder the colour of godlinesse to enrich their monasteries, promising to each one so much the more happinesse in the life to come, how much the greater costes and charges they bee at in Church matters and obsequies: notwithstanding this multitude of superstitious Sects and companies, and the diuersities thereof amongst themselues: yet in this principally all their Superintendents doe trauell so to perswade their Nouices in their owne tales and lies, that they thinke nothing els trueth, nothing els sure to come by euerlasting saluation, nothing els woorth the hearing. Whereunto they adde other subtleties, as in going grauitie, in countenance, apparell, and in all outward shew, comelinesse. Whereby the Iapans mindes are so nousled in wicked opinions, and doe conceiue thereby such trust and hope of euerlasting saluation, that not onely at home, but also abroad in euery corner of the towne continually almost they run ouer their beades, humbly asking of Amida and Xaca, wealth, honour, good health, and euerlasting ioyes. Thus then, deare brethren, may you thinke how greatly they need the helpe of God, that either doe bring the Gospell into this countrey, or receiuing it brought vnto them, doe forsake idolatrie and ioine themselues with Christ, being assaulted by so many snares of the deuill, troubled with the daily dissuasions of their Bonzii, and finally, so iniuriously, so hardly, so sharpely vexed of their kinred and friends, that except the grace of God obtained by the sacrifices and prayers of the Catholique church doe helpe vs, it cannot be chosen but that the faith and constancie of many, if not of all, in these first beginnings of our churches, will greatly be put in ieopardie. So much the more it standeth you vpon that so earnestly long for the health of soules, to commend specially these Iapanish flocks vnto our Lord.

We came to Sacaio the eight and twentie day of Ianuary: Aloisius Almeida first for businesse, but afterward let by sicknesse, staied there some while, but I parting the next day from thence came thirteene leagues off to Meaco the last of Ianuarie. Of my comming all the Christians tooke great comfort, but specially Gaspar Vilela who in 6 yeres had seen none of our companie at Meaco: his yeeres are not yet fortie, but his grey haires shew him to be seuentie, so vehemently is his litle body afflicted and worne with extreme cold. Hee speaketh Iapanish so skilfully after the phrase of Meaco (the which for the renowne of this people and royal seat of the king is best accounted of) that hee doeth both confesse and preach in that language. Certaine godly bookes also he hath done into that speach, not omitting to translate other as laisure suffreth him. To make an ende, our Lord for his goodnesse vouchsafe to preserue vs all continually, and to giue vs ayde both rightly to interprete his will, and well to doe the same. From Meaco the 19 of February 1565.

Other such like matter is handled both in other his letters, and also in the Epistles written by his companions to be seene at large in the aforesaid volume. Amongst the rest this seemed in my iudgement one of the principall, and therefore the rather I tooke vpon me to doe it into English.

Of the Iles beyond Iapan in the way from China to the Moluccas.

AMongst other Iles in the Asian sea betwixt Canton a Chinish hauen in Cathaio and the Moluccas, much spoken of in the Indian histories and painted out in Maps, Ainan and Santianum are very famous. Ainan standeth 19 degrees on this side of the Equinoctiall line neere China, from whence the Chinish nation haue their prouision for shipping and other necessaries requisite for their Nauie. There staied Balthasar Gagus a great traueiler 5 moneths, who describeth that place after this maner. Ainan is a goodly countrey ful of Indian fruits and all kinds of victuals, besides great store of iewels and pearle, well inhabited, the townes built of stone, the people rude in conditions, apparelled in diuers coloured rugs, with two oxe hornes, as it were, made of fine cypres hanging

De reb. Iap. li 4.

downe about their eares, and a paire of sharpe cyzers at their foreheads.

The cause wherefore they go in such attire I could not vnderstand, except it bee for that they do counterfeit the deuil in the forme of a brute beast, offring themselues vp to him.

Santianum is an Ile neere vnto the hauen Cantan in the confines likewise of China, famous for the death of that worthy traueiler and godly professour and painfull doctor of the Indian nation in matters concerning religion, Francis Xauier, who after great labours, many iniuries, and calamities infinite suffred with much patience, singular ioy and gladnesse of mind, departed in a cabben made of bowes and rushes vpon a desert mountaine, no lesse voyd of all worldly commodities, then endued with all spirituall blessings, out of this life, the 2 day of December, the yeere of our Lord 1552. after that many thousand of these Easterlings were brought by him to the knowledge of Christ. Of this holy man, his particular vertues, and specially trauell, and wonderfull works in that region, of other many litle Iles (yet not so litle, but they may right wel be written of at laisure) all the latter histories of the Indian regions are full.

An excellent treatise of the kingdome of China, and of the estate and gouernment thereof: Printed in Latine at Macao a citie of the Portugals in China, An. Dom. 1590. and written Dialogue-wise. The speakers are Linus, Leo, and Michael.

LINUS.

COncerning the kingdome of China (Michael) which is our next neighbour, we haue heard and daily do heare so many reports, that we are to request at your hands rather a true then a large discourse and narration thereof. And if there be ought in your knowledge besides that which by continual rumours is waxen stale among vs, we will right gladly giue diligent eare vnto it.

MICHAEL. Because the report of this most famous kingdome is growen so common among vs, reducing diuers and manifold particulars into order, I will especially aime at the trueth of things receiued from the fathers of the societie, which euen now at this present are conuersant in China. First of all therefore it is not vnknowen, that of all parts of the maine continent this kingdom of China is situate most Easterly: albeit certaine Ilands, as our natiue Iapon, and the Ile of Manilia stand more Easterly then China it selfe. As touching the limites and bounds of this kingdom, we may appoint the first towards ye West to be a certaine Ile commonly called Hainan, which standeth in 19 degrees of Northerly latitude. For the continent next adioining vnto this Ile trendeth towardes the East, and that especially, where the promontorie of the citie called Nimpo or Liampo doeth extend it selfe. Howbeit, from that place declining Northward, it stretcheth foorth an huge length, insomuch that the farthest Chinian inhabitants that way doe behold the North pole eleuated, at least 50 degrees, and perhaps more also: whereupon a man may easilie coniecture (that I may speake like an Astronomer) how large the latitude of this kingdom is, when as it containeth about more then 540 leagues in direct extension towards the North. But as concerning the longitude which is accounted from East to West, it is not so exactly found out, that it may be distinguished into degrees. Howbeit certaine it is, that according to the Map wherein the people of China describe the forme of their kingdom, the latitude thereof doeth not much exceed ye longitude. This kingdom therefore is, without all peradventure, of all earthly kingdoms the most large and spacious: for albeit diuers other kings vnder their iurisdiction containing in dimensions more length and breadth then all China, do possesse very many kingdoms and far distant asunder: yet none of them all enioyeth any one kingdom so large and so ample, as the most puissant king of China doeth. Now, if we shall make enquirie into his reuenues and tributes, true it is, that this king, of all others, is endued with the greatest and the richest, both in regard of the fertilitie aud greatnes of his dominions, and also by reason of the seuere collection and exaction of his duties: yea, tributes are imposed vpon his subiects, not onely for lands, houses, and impost of marchandise, but also for euery person in each family. It is likewise to be vnderstood, that almost no lord or potentate in China hath authoritie to leuie vnto himselfe any peculiar reuenues, or to collect any rents within the precincts of his seigniories, al such power belonging onely vnto the king: whereas in Europe the contrary is most commonly seen, as we haue before signified. In this most large kingdom are con-

The situation and limites of China.

Chinian Cosmographers.

The rich reuenues of the king of China.

teined 15 prouinces, euery one of which were in it selfe sufficient to be made one great kingdom. Six of these prouinces do border vpon the sea, namely (y^t I may vse the names of the Chinians themselues) Coantum, Foquien, Chequiam, Nanquin, Xantum, Paquin: the other 9 be in-land prouinces, namely, Quiansi, Huquam, Honan, Xiensi, Xansi, Suchuon, Queicheu, Iunan, Coansi. Amongst all the foresayd prouinces, two are allotted for the kings court and seat roial, that is to say, Paquin for his court in the North, and Nanquin for his court in the South. For the kings of China were woont to be resident altogether at the South court: but afterward by reason of the manifold and cruell warres mooued by the Tartars, they were constrained to defixe their princely seate and habitation in that extreme prouince of the North. Whereupon it commeth to passe, that those Northren confines of the kingdom doe abound with many moe fortresses, marciall engines, and garrisons of souldiers. LEO. I haue heard, amongst those munitions, a certaine strange and admirable wall reported of, wherewith the people of China doe represse and driue backe the Tartars attempting to inuade their territories. MICHAEL. Certes that wall which you haue heard tell of is most woorthie of admiration; for it runneth alongst the borders of three Northerlie prouinces, Xiensi, Xansit and Paquin, and is sayd to contayne almost three hundred leagues in length, and in such sort to bee built, that it hindereth not the courses and streames of any riuers, their chanels being ouerthwarted and fortified with wonderfull bridges and other defences. Yet is it not vnlikely, that the sayd wall is built in such sort, that onely lowe and easie passages bee therewith stopped and enuironed; but the mountaines running betweene those lowe passages are, by their owne naturall strength, and inaccessible heigth, a sufficient fortification agaynst the enemie. LINUS. Tell vs (Michael) whether the kingdome of China be so frequented with inhabitants, as wee haue often bene informed, or no? MICHAEL. It is (Linus) in very deed a most populous kingdom, as I haue bene certified from the fathers of societie: who hauing seene sundry prouinces of Europe renoumed for the multitude of their inhabitants, doe notwithstanding greatly admire the infinite swarmes of people in China. Howbeit these multitudes are not pel-mel and confusiuely dispersed ouer the land, but most conueniently and orderly distributed in their townes and famous cities: of which assemblies there are diuers kindes

The seats roiall of the king of China.

among the Chinians. For they haue certaine principal cities called by the name of Fu: other inferior cities called Cheu: and of a third kind also named Hien, which be indeed walled townes, but are not priuileged with the dignities and prerogatiues of cities. To these may be added two other kindes of lesser townes, which are partly villages, and partly garrisons of souldiers. Of the first and principall kind is that most noble citie standing neere vnto the port of Macao, called by the Chinians Coanchefu, but by the Portugals commonly termed Cantam, which is rather the common name of the prouince, then a word of their proper imposition. Vnto the third kind appertaineth a towne, which is yet nigher vnto the port of Macao, called by the Portugals Ansam, but by the Chinians Hiansanhien. Al the foresayd prouinces therefore haue their greater cities named Fu, and their lesser cities called Cheu, vnto both of which the other townes may be added. Moreouer in euery prouince there is a certain principal city which is called the Metropolitane thereof, wherein the chief magistrates haue their place of residence, as the principal citie by me last mentioned, which is the head of the whole prouince called Coantum. The number of the greater cities throughout the whole kingdom is more then 150, and there is the same or rather a greater multitude of inferiour cities. Of walled townes, not endued with the priuileges of cities there are mo then 1120: the villages and garrisons can scarce be numbred: ouer and besides the which conuents it is incredible what a number of countrie farmes or granges there be: for it is not easie to find any place desert or void of inhabitants in all that land. Now in the sea, in riuers, and in barks there are such abundance of people, and of whole families inhabiting, that euen the Europæans themselues doe greatly wonder thereat: insomuch that some (albeit beyond measure) haue bene perswaded that there are as many people dwelling vpon the water as vpon the land. Neither were they induced so to thinke altogether without probabilitie: for whereas the kingdom of China is in all parts thereof interfused with commodious riuers, and in many places consisteth of waters, barges and boats being euery-where very common, it might easily bee supposed, that the number of watermen was equal vnto the land inhabitants. Howbeit, that is to be vnderstood by amplification, whereas the cities do swarme so ful with citizens and the countrie with peasants. **Leo.** The abundance of people which you tell vs of seemeth

The Chinian riuers greatly inhabited.

Holesome aire, plenty and peace in China.

very strange: whereupon I coniecture the soile to be fertile, the aire to be holesome, and the whole kingdom to be at peace. MICHAEL. You haue (friend Leo) ful iudicially coniectured those three: for they do all so excel y^{t} which of the three in this kingdom be more excellent, it is not easie to discerne. And hence it is that this common opinion hath been rife among the Portugals, namely, that the kingdom of China was neuer visited with those three most heauy and sharpe scourges of mankind, warre, famine, and pestilence. But that opinion is more common then true: sithens there haue bene most terrible intestine and ciuile warres, as in many and most autenticall histories it is recorded: sithens also that some prouinces of the sayd kingdom, euen in these our dayes, haue bene afflicted with pestilence and contagious diseases, and with famine. Howbeit, that the foresaid three benefits do mightily flourish and abound in China, it cannot be denied. For (that I may first speake of the salubritie of the aire) the fathers of the societie themselues are witnesses, that scarcely in any other realme there are so many found that liue vnto decrepite and extreme old age: so great a multitude is there of ancient and graue personages: neither doe they vse so many confections and medicines, nor so manifold and sundry wayes of curing diseases, as wee saw accustomed in Europe. For amongst them they haue no Phlebotomie or letting of blood: but all their cures, as ours also in Iapon, are atchieued by fasting, decoctions of herbes, and light or gentle potions. But in this behalfe let euery nation please themselues with their owne customes. Now, in fruitfulnes of soile this kingdom certes doth excel, far surpassing all other kingdoms of the East: yet it is nothing comparable vnto the plentie and abundance of Europe, as I haue declared at large in the former treatises. But the kingdom of China is, in this regard, so highly extolled, because there is not any region in the East partes that aboundeth so with marchandise, and from whence so much traffique is sent abroad. For whereas this kingdome is most large and full of nauigable riuers, so that commodities may easilie be conueyed out of one prouince into another: the Portugals doe find such abundance of wares within one and the same Citie, (which perhaps is the greatest Mart throughout the whole kingdome) that they are verily perswaded, that the same region, of all others, most

Chinian stories.

The city of Coanchefu, *aliàs* Cantam.

abboundeth with marchandise: which notwithstanding is to be vnderstood of the Orientall regions: albeit there are some kindes of marchandise, wherewith the land of China is better stored then any other kingdom. This region affordeth especially sundry kinds of mettals, of which the chiefe, both in excellencie and in abundance, is gold, whereof so many Pezoes are brought from China to India, and to our countrey of Iapon, that I heard say, that in one and the same ship, this present yeere, 2000 such pieces consisting of massie gold, as the Portugals commonly call golden loaues, were brought vnto vs for marchandise: and one of these loaues is worth almost 100 duckats. Hence it is that in the kingdom of China so many things are adorned with gold, as for example, beds, tables, pictures, images, litters wherein nice and daintie dames are caried vpon their seruants backes. Neither are these golden loaues onely bought by the Portugals, but also great plentie of gold-twine and leaues of gold: for the Chinians can very cunningly beate and extenuate gold into plates and leaues.

Great abundance of gold in China.

There is also great store of siluer, whereof (that I may omit other arguments) it is no small demonstration, that euery yeere there are brought into the citie commonly called Cantam by the Portugal marchants to buie wares, at the least 400 Sestertium thereof, and yet nothing in a maner is conueied out of the Chinian kingdom: because the people of China abounding with all necessaries, are not greatly inquisitiue or desirous of any marchandise from other kingdomes. I doe here omit the Siluer mines whereof there are great numbers in China, albeit there is much circumspection vsed in digging the siluer thereout: for the king standeth much in feare least it may bee an occasion to stirre up the couetous and greedie humour of many. Nowe their siluer which they put to vses is for the most part passing fine, and purified from all drosse, and therefore in trying it they vse great diligence. What should I speake of their iron, copper, lead, tinne, and other mettals, and also of their quick-siluer. Of all which in the realme of China there is great abundance, and from thence they are transported into diuers countreys. Hereunto may bee added the wonderfull store of pearles, which, at the Ile of Hainan, are found in shell-fishes taken very cunningly by certaine Diuers, and doe much enlarge the kings reuenues. But now let vs proceed vnto the Silke or Bombycine fleece, whereof there is great plentie in China: so that euen as the husbandmen

Great store of siluer.

Great store of silke in China.

labour in manuring the earth, and in sowing of Rice; so likewise the women doe employ a great part of their time in preseruing of silke-wormes, and in keeming and weauing of Silke. Hence it is that euery yeere the King and Queene with great solemnitie come foorth into a publique place, the one of them touching a plough, and the other a Mulberie tree, with the leaues whereof Silke-wormes are nourished: and both of them by this ceremonie encouraging both men and women vnto their vocation and labour: whereas otherwise, all the whole yeere throughout, no man besides the principall magistrates, may once attaine to the sight of the king. Of this Silke or Bombycine fleece there is such abundance, that three shippes for the most part comming out of India to the port of Macao, and at the least one euery yeere comming vnto vs, are laden especially with this fraight, and it is vsed not onely in India, but caried euen vnto Portugal. Neither is the Fleece it selfe onely transported thence, but also diuers and sundry stuffes wouen thereof, for the Chinians do greatly excel in the Art of weauing, and do very much resemble our weauers of Europe. Moreouer the kingdom of China aboundeth with most costlie spices and odours, and especially with cynamom (albeit not comparable to the cynamom of Zeilan) with camphire also and muske, which is very principal and good. Muske deriueth his name from a beast of the same name (which beast resembleth a Beuer) from the parts whereof brused and putrified proceedeth a most delicate and fragrant smel which the Portugals highly esteem, commonly calling those parts of the foresaid beasts (because they are like vnto the gorges of foules) Papos, and conuey great plenty of them into India, and to vs of Iapon. But who would beleeue, that there were so much gossipine or cotton-wool in China; whereof such variety of clothes are made like vnto linnen; which we our selues do so often vse, and which also is conueied by sea into so many regions? Let vs now intreat of that earthen or pliable matter commonly called porcellan, which is pure white, and is to be esteemed the best stuffe of that kind in the whole world: whereof vessels of all kinds are very curiously framed. I say, it is the best earthen matter in all the world, for three qualities; namely, the cleannesse, the beauty, and the strength thereof. There is indeed other matter to be found more glorious, and more costly, but none so free from vncleannes, and so durable:

Silke brought into Iapon.

Cotton wooll, whereof Calicut-cloth is made.

this I adde, in regard of glasse, which indeed is immaculate and cleane, but may easily be broken in pieces. This matter is digged, not thorowout the whole region of China, but onely in one of the fifteene prouinces called Quiansi, wherein continually very many artificers are employed about the same matter: neither doe they only frame thereof smaller vessels, as dishes, platters, salt-sellers, ewers, and such like, but also certaine huge tunnes, and vessels of great quantity, being very finely and cunningly wrought, which, by reason of the danger and difficulty of carriage, are not transported out of the realme, but are vsed onely within it, and especially in the kings court. The beauty of this matter is much augmented by variety of picture, which is layed in certaine colours vpon it, while it is yet new, golde also being added thereunto, which maketh the foresayd vessels to appeare most beautifull. It is wonderfull how highly the Portugals do esteeme thereof, seeing they do, with great difficulty transport the same, not onely to vs of Iapon and into India, but also into sundry prouinces of Europe. Vnto the marchandize aboue-mentioned may be added diuers and sundry plants, the rootes whereof be right holesome for mens bodies, and very medicinable, which are brought vnto our Iles of Iapon, and vnto many other Ilands, amongst the which that wood may be reckoned, which (by a synechdoche) is called The Wood of China, being of notable force to expell out of mens bodies those humours, which would breed contagious diseases. To these you may adde sugar-canes (for in the realme of China there is great store of excellent sugar) which is conueyed by the Portugals very plentifully, both into our countrey, and also into India. My speeches vttered immediatly before concerned marchandize onely, in regard whereof this kingdome is beneficiall not to itselfe alone, but most profitable to many other nations also. As for those fruits which pertaine to yerely sustenance and common food, they can scarse be numbred: albeit, of those three commodities which they of Europe so greatly account of; namely of cornes, vines, and oliues the land of China is not very capable: for the Chinians know not so much as the name of an Oliue tree (out of the fruit whereof oile is expressed) neither yet the name of a vine. The prouince of Paquin is not altogether destitute of wine, but whether it be brought from other places, or there made, I am not able to say: although it aboundeth with many other, and those not vnpleasant

China in a maner destitute of corne, wine, and oile.

liquors, which may serue in the stead of wine it selfe. Now, as touching corne, there is indeed wheat sowen in all the prouinces, howbeit rise is in farre more vse and request then it: and so in regard of these two commodities profitable for mans life; namely, wine and corne; the kingdome of China and our countrey of Iapon may be compared together.

LEO. You haue discoursed (Michael) of the fruitfulnesse of China, whereof I haue often heard, that it is no lesse pleasant than fruitful, and I haue bene especially induced so to thinke, at the sight of the Chinian maps. MICHAEL. The thing it selfe agrees right well with the picture: for they that haue seene the mediterran or inner parts of the kingdome of China, do report it to be a most amiable countrey, adorned with plenty of woods, with abundance of fruits and grasse, and with woonderfull variety of riuers, wherewith the Chinian kingdome is watered like a garden; diuers of which riuers doe naturally flowe, and others by arte and industry are deriued into sundry places. But now I will intreat of the tranquility and peace of China, after I haue spoken a word or two concerning the maners of the inhabitants. This nation is indued with excellent wit and dexterity for the attaining of all artes, and being very constant in their owne customes, they lightly regard the customes or fashions of other people. They vse one and the same kinde of vesture, yet so, that there is some distinction betweene the apparell of the magistrate and of the common subiect. They all of them do weare long haire vpon their heads, and, after the maner of women, do curiously keame their dainty locks hanging downe to the ground, and, hauing twined and bound them vp, they couer them with calles, wearing sundry caps thereupon, according to their age and conditon. It seemeth that in olde time one language was common to all the prouinces: notwithstanding, by reason of variety of pronunciation, it is very much altered, and is diuided into sundry idiomes or proprieties of speech, according to the diuers prouinces: howbeit, among the magistrates, and in publike assemblies of iudgement, there is one and the very same kinde of language vsed thorowout the whole realme, from the which (as I haue sayd) the speech of ech prouince differeth not a little. Moreouer this people is most loyall and obedient vnto the king and his magistrates, which is the principall cause of their tranquility and peace. For whereas the common sort doe apply themselues

The dispositions and maners of the Chinians.

Their loyaltie vnto their superiours.

vnto the discretion and becke of inferiour magistrates, and the inferiour magistrates of the superiour, and the superiour magistrates of the king himselfe, framing and composing all their actions and affaires vnto that leuell: a world it is to see, in what equability and indifferency of iustice all of them do leade their liues, and how orderly the publike lawes are administred. Which thing notwithstanding shall be handled more at large, when we come to intreat of the gouernment. LINUS. Tell vs now (Michael) of the industry of that people, whereof we haue heard great reports. MICHAEL. Their industry is especially to be discerned in manuary artes and occupations, and therein the Chinians do surpasse most of these Easterly nations. For there are such a number of artificers ingeniously and cunningly framing sundry deuices out of golde, siluer, and other mettals, as likewise of stone, wood and other matters conuenient for mans vse, that the streets of cities being replenished with their shops and fine workemanship, are very woonderfull to beholde. Besides whom also there are very many Painters, vsing either the pensill or the needle (of which the last sort are called Embrotherers) and others also that curiously worke golde-twine vpon cloth either of linnen or of cotton: whose operations of all kinds are diligently conueyed by the Portugals into India. Their industry doth no lesse appeare in founding of gunnes and in making of gun-powder, whereof are made many rare and artificiall fire-works. To these may be added the arte of Printing, albeit their letters be in maner infinite and most difficult, the portraitures whereof they cut in wood or in brasse, and with maruellous facilitie they dayly publish huge multitudes of books. Vnto these mechanicall and illiberall crafts you may adde two more; that is to say, nauigation and discipline of warre; both of which haue bene in ancient times most diligently practised by the inhabitants of China: for (as we haue before signified in the third dialogue) the Chinians sailing euen as farre as India, subdued some part thereof vnto their owne dominion: howbeit afterward, least they should diminish the forces of their realme by dispersing them into many prouinces, altering their counsell, they determined to containe themselues within their owne limits: within which limits (as I haue sayd) there were in olde time vehement and cruell warres, both betweene the people of China themselues, and also against the Tartarian king, who inuaded their kingdome, and by himselfe and his successours, for a long season, vsurped the gouernment thereof. Howbeit the kings of the Tartarian race being worne out, and their stocke and family being vtterly abolished, the Chinians began to lift vp their heads, and to aduance themselues, inioying for these 200 yeeres last past exceeding peace and tranquility, and at this day the posterity of the same king that expelled the Tartars, with great dignity weareth the crowne, and wieldeth the royall scepter. Albeit therefore the people of China (especially they that inhabit Southerly from the prouince of Paquin) are, for the most part, by reason of continuall ease and quiet, growen effeminate, and their courage is abated, notwithstanding they would prooue notable and braue souldiers, if they ioyned vse and exercise vnto their naturall fortitude. As a man may easily obserue in them, that maintaine continuall warres against the most barbarous and cruell Tartars. Howbeit in this kingdome of China there is so great regard of military discipline, that no city nor towne there is destitute of a garison, the captaines and gouernours keeping ech man his order; which all of them, in euery prouince, are subiect vnto the kings lieutenant generall for the warres, whom they call Chumpin, and yet he himselfe is subiect vnto the Tutan or viceroy. Let vs now come vnto that arte, which the Chinians do most of all professe, and which we may, not vnfitly, call literature or learning. For although it be commonly reported, that many liberall sciences, and especially naturall and morall phylosophy are studied in China, and that they haue Vniuersities there, wherein such ingenuous artes are deliuered and taught, yet, for the most part this opinion is to be esteemed more popular then true; but I will declare, vpon what occasion this conceit first grew. The people of China doe, aboue all things, professe the arte of literature; and learning it most diligently, they imploy themselues a long time and the better part of their age therein. For this cause, in all cities and townes, yea, and in pety villages also, there are certaine schole-masters hired for stipends to instruct children: and their literature being (as ours in Iapon is also) in maner infinite, their children are put to schole euen from their infancy and tender yeeres, from whence notwithstanding such are taken away, as are iudged to be vnfit for the same purpose, and are trained vp to marchandize or to manuary sciences: but the residue do so dedicate themselues to the study of learning, that (a strange thing it is to consider) being conuersant in the principall books, they will easily tel you, if they be asked the question, how many letters be conteined in euery page, and where ech letter is placed. Now, for the greater progresse and increase of learning, they (as the maner is in Europe) do appoint three degrees to the attaining of noble sciences; that is to say, the lowest, the middle degree, and the highest. Graduates of the first degree are called Siusai, of the second Quiugin, and of the third Chinzu. And in each city or walled towne there is a publique house called the Schoole, and vnto that all they doe resort from all priuate and pety-schooles that are minded to obtaine the first degree; where they do amplifie a sentence or theame propounded vnto them by some magistrate: and they, whose stile is more elegant and refined, are, in ech city, graced with the first degree. Of such as aspire vnto the second degree triall is made onely in the metropolitan or principall city of the prouince, whereunto, they of the first degree, euery third yere, haue recourse, and, in one publike house or place of assembly, doe, the second time, make an oration of another sentence obscurer then the former, and doe vndergo a more seuere examination. Now, there is commonly such an huge multitude of people, that this last yere, in the foresayd famous city of Cantam, by reason of the incredible assembly of persons flocking to that publike act or commencement, at the first entrance of the doores, there were many troden vnder foot, and quelled to death, as we haue bene most certainly informed. Moreouer they that sue for the highest degree are subiect vnto a most seuere and exact censure, whereby they are to be examined at the Kings Court onely, and that also euery third yere next ensuing the sayd yere wherein graduates of the second degree are elected in ech prouince, and, a certaine number being prescribed vnto euery particular prouince, they do ascend vnto that highest pitch of dignity, which is in so great regard with the king himselfe, that the three principall graduates do, for honours sake, drinke off a cup filled euen with the Kings owne hand, and are graced with other solemnities.* Out of this order the chiefe magistrates are chosen: for after that they haue attained vnto this third degree, being a while trained vp in the lawes of the realme, and in the precepts of vrbanity, they are admitted vnto diuers function. Neither are we to thinke that the Chinians be altogether destitute of other artes. For, as touching morall philosophy, all those books are fraught with the precepts thereof, which, for their instructions sake, are alwayes conuersant in the hands of the foresayd students, wherein such graue and pithy sentences are set downe, that, in men void of the light of the Gospell, more can not be desired. They haue books also that intreat of things and causes naturall, but herein it is to be supposed, that aswell their books as ours do abound with errors. There be other books among them, that discourse of herbs and medicines, and others of chiualry and martiall affaires. Neither can I here omit, that certaine men of China (albeit they be but few, and rare to be found) are excellent in the knowledge of astronomy, by which knowledge of theirs the dayes of the new moone incident to euery moneth are truly disposed and digested, and are committed to writing and published: besides, they doe most infallibly foretell the eclipses of the Sun and Moone: and whatsoeuer knowledge in this arte we of Iapon haue, it is deriued from them. LEO. We doe freely confesse that (Michael) sithens our books intreating of the same arte are, a great part of them, written in the characters or letters of China. But now, instruct you vs as touching their maner of gouernment, wherein the Chinians are sayd greatly to excell. MICHAEL. That, that, in very deed, is their chiefe arte, and vnto that all their learning and exercise of letters is directed. Whereas therefore, in the kingdome of China, one onely king beares rule ouer so many prouinces, it is strange what a number of Magistrates are by him created to admister publique affaires. For (to omit them which in ech Towne and City haue iurisdiction ouer the townesmen and citizens) there are three principall Magistrates in euery prouince. The first is he that hath to deale in cases criminall, and is called Ganchasu: the second is the Kings Fosterer, and is called Puchinsu: the third is the Lieutenant-generall for the warres, named, as we sayd before, Chumpin. These three therefore haue their place of residence in the chiefe City of the prouince: and the two former haue certaine associates of their owne order, but of inferiour authority, appointed in diuers Cities and Townes, vnto whom, according to the variety of causes, the Gouernours of Townes and the Maiors of Cities doe appeale. Howbeit the three forenamed Magistrates are in subiection vnto the Tutan, that is, the Vice-roy, ordained in ech prouince. And all these Magistrates beare office for the space of three yeeres together: yet so, that for the gouerning of

---

* *Marginal note.*—Note the extraordinary honor vouchsafed by the great King of China vpon his learned graduates.

Naturall philosophy.

The politike gouernment of China.

ech prouince, not any of the same prouince, but strangers, that is, men of another prouince, are selected: whereof it commeth to passe, that the Iudges may giue sentence with a farre more entire and incorrupt minde, then if they were among their owne kinesfolke and allies. Ouer and besides all these, there is an annuall or yeerely Magistrate, which is called Chaien, whose duety it is to make inquisition of all crimes, and especially the crimes of Magistrates, and also to punish common offences: but concerning the faults of the great magistrates to admonish the king himselfe. Of this order, euery yere, are sent out of the Kings Court, for ech prouince, one; and going ouer all the Cities and Townes thereof, they do most diligently ransacke and serch out all crimes, and vpon them which are imprisoned they inflict due punishment, or, being found not guilty, they dismisse them vnpunished. Hence it is, that all Magistrates greatly fearing to be called in question by the Chaien are well kept within the limits of their callings. Besides all these Magistrates there is at either Court, namely in the North, and in the South, a Senate or honourable assembly of graue counsellors, vnto the which, out of all prouinces, according to the neerenesse and distance of the place, affaires of greater weight and moment are referred, and by their authority diuers Magistrates are created: howbeit the managing and expedition of principall affaires is committed vnto the Senate of Paquin. Moreouer there are euery yeere certaine Magistrates appointed in ech prouince, to goe vnto the king; and euery third yeere all the Gouernours of Cities and of Townes do visit him at once, what time triall is made of them that aspire vnto the third degree: vpon which occasion there is at the same time an incredible number of people at the Kings Court. By reason of this excellent order and harmony of Magistrates placed one vnder another, it can scarse be imagined, what sweete peace and tranquility flourisheth thorowout the whole realme, especially sithens, after speedy inquisition, persons that are guilty be put (as the maner is there) to the punishment of the bastinado: neither yet are suits or actions any long time delayed. Also it is not to be omitted, that for the obtaining of any dignity or magistracy, the way is open, without all respect of gentry or blood, vnto all men, if they be learned, and especially if they haue attained vnto the third and highest degree aforesaid. Neither can it be expressed how obedient and

Two Senates or Counsels continually holden in China.

The causes of peace in China.

Learning the only step to honour in China.

duetifull the common sort are vnto their Magistrates, and with what magnificence and pompe the sayd Magistrates come abroad: for the most part of them haue fiftie or threescore Sergeants attending vpon them, and going before them, two and two in a ranke: some of them carrying Halberds, Maces, and Battle-axes: some trailing yron chaines vpon the ground: others holding great roddes or staues of a certaine kinde of reede, wherewith malefactours are punished, in their hands: and two there are that carry, inclosed in a case, the Kings seale peculiar for ech office: and many others also, that shew sundry spectacles vnto the people: whereunto may be added the horrible out-cries and showtes, which betweene whiles they vtter, to strike a terrour into the hearts of all men: and at length come the Mrgistrates themselues, being carried in a throne vpon the backs of foure men, sixe men, or eight men, according to the dignity of their office.

The stately and formidable procession of the Chinian magistrates.

Now, as concerning their houses, they are very large and stately, being built and furnished with all necessary stuffe, at the Kings owne cost, in the which, so long as their magistracy lasteth, they leade a braue and an honourable life. The sayd houses are without variety of stories one aboue another, which in the kingdome of China and in our Iles of Iapon also are not ordinarily vsed for habitation, but either to keepe watch and ward, or els for solace and recreations sake (for the which purposes, eight most lofty turrets of nine stories high are built) or els for the defence of Cities. Howbeit in other regardes these buildings doe shew foorth no small magnificence: for they haue their cisternes for the receit of raine-water, which are adorned with beautifull trees, set in order, round about them: and they haue also their places designed for the administration of iustice, and diuers other conuenient roomes to bestow their wiues and families in. Within the doores of the foresayd habitations a certain number of Sergeants and officers, hauing cabbins or little houses allotted them on both sides, doe alwayes giue their attendance; and so long as matters of iudgement are in deciding, they be alwayes ready at hand, that, at the direction of the Magistrates they may either beat malefactours, or by torments constraine them to tell the trueth. The sayd Magistrates also haue their peculiar barges wherein to take the water; being in breadth and length not much vnlike to galleys of Europe, but for swiftnesse and multitude of orres,

The houses of the Chinian magistrates.

The magistrates barges.

farre inferiour vnto them. The rowers, sitting vpon galleries without the hatches or compasse of the barge, doe mooue it on forward with their oares: whereupon it commeth to passe, that the middle part of the barge affordeth sufficient roome for the Magistrates themselues to abide in, containing chambers therein almost as conuenient and handsome, as in any of their foresayd publique houses, together with butteries and kitchins, and such other places necessary for the prouision and stowage of victuals. LEO. All these things agree right well with the reports, which we haue heard of the stately and renowmed kingdome of China: I would now right gladly know somewhat concerning the order which is obserued in the obtaining of magistracies.

The maner of electing magistrates in China.

MICHAEL. You haue enquired of a matter most woorthy to be knowen, which I had almost omitted to entreat of. The Chinians therefore doe vse a kinde of gradation in aduancing men vnto sundry places of authority, which for the most part is performed by the Senatours of Paquin. For first they are made iudges of townes: then of Cities: afterward they are elected to be of that order, which decreeth punishments in cases criminall without further appeale, or of their order, that are the kings fosterers. And in both of these Orders, which are very honourable, there are many places and degrees, so that from the inferiour place they must ascend vnto the superiour, vntill they haue attained vnto the highest dignity of all: and immediatly after that they come to be Vice-royes, howbeit this gradation is not alwayes accomplished in one and the same prouince, but in changing their offices they change places and prouinces also. Moreouer, next after the office of Vice-roy they are capable to be chosen Senatours of Nanquin, and last of all to be elected into the Senate of Paquin. Now, there is such an order and methode obserued in the ascending vnto these dignities, that all men may easily coniecture, what office any one is to vndertake. And there is so great diligence and celerity vsed for the substitution of one into the roome of another, that for the same purpose, messengers are dispatched by land, vpon swift post-horses, vnto diuers prouinces, almost twenty dayes iourney from the Kings Court. And, to be short, there is such district seuerity in degrading those that vniustly or negligently demeane themselues, from

Degrees vnto honour.

Riding post.

an honourable vnto an inferiour and base office, or altogether in depriuing them of the kings authority: that all Magistrates doe stand in feare of nothing in the world more then of that. The same order, almost, is obserued among the Captaines and Lieu-tenants generall for the warres: except onely in them, that their birth and offspring is respected: for many there be, who descending by parentage from such men as haue in times past atchieued braue exploits in warfare, so soone as they come to sufficient yeeres, are created Centurions, Colonels, and Gouernours, vntill at last they attaine to be Lieu-tenants generall and Protectours of some whole prouince: who notwithstanding (as I haue sayd) are in all things subiect vnto the Vice-roy. All the foresayd Magistrates both of warre and of peace haue a set number of attendants allotted vnto them, enioying a stipend, and carying certaine ensignes and peculiar badges of their office: and (besides the ordinary watch, which souldiers appointed for the same purpose doe in the night season, after the City gates be shut, keepe in their forts) wheresoeuer any Magistrate is, either at his house or in his barge, the sayd attendants striking vpon a cymball of brasse, at certaine appointed times, do keepe most circumspect and continuall watch and ward about his person. LINUS. You haue (Michael) sufficiently discoursed of the Magistrates: informe vs now of the king himselfe, whose name is so renowmed and spread abroad. MICHAEL. Concerning this matter I will say so much onely as by certaine rumours hath come to my knowledge; for of matters appertaining vnto the kings Court we haue no eye-witnesses, sithens the fathers of the society haue not as yet proceeded vnto Paquin, who so soone as (by Gods assistance) they shall there be arriued, will by their letters more fully aduertise vs. The king of China therefore is honoured with woonderfull reuerence and submission thorowout his whole realme: and whensoeuer any of his chiefe Magistrates speaketh vnto him, he calleth him VAN-SVI, signifying thereby that he wisheth tenne thousands of yeeres vnto him. The succession of the kingdome dependeth vpon the bloud royall: for the eldest sonne borne of the kings first and lawfull wife obtaineth the kingdome after his fathers decease: neither doe they depriue themselues of the kingly authority in their life time (as the maner is in our Ilands of Iapon) but the custome of Europe is there obserued.

Martiall dignities.

The king of China.

Van-Sui.

The succession of the crowne.

The kings yonger brethren.

Now, that the safety and life of the king may stand in more security, his yoonger brethren, and the rest borne of concubines are not permitted to liue in the kings Court: but places of habitation are by the king himselfe assigned vnto them in diuers prouinces farre distant asunder, where they dwell most commodiously, being comparable vnto kings for their buildings and revenues: howbeit they exercise no authority ouer the people, but all the gouernment of those cities wherein they dwell concerneth the Magistrates, who notwithstanding haue the sayde Princes in high regard and honour, and doe visit them twise in a moneth, and salute them kneeling vpon their knees, and bowing their faces downe to the earth: and yet they communicate nothing vnto them as touching the administration of the Common-wealth. These are they which may properly be called the Peeres or Princes of the Realme of China: for they deriue their houses and reuenues vnto their posterity, and so are these royall families continually preserued. But to returne vnto the king himselfe, hee is most chary in obseruing the Chinian lawes and customes, and diligently exerciseth himselfe in learning so much as concernes his estate, sheweth himselfe dayly vnto his chiefe Magistrates, and communeth of matters appertaining to the publique commodity of the Realme. His palace is of woonderfull largenesse and capacity, out of the which he very seldome takes his progresse; and whensoeuer he doeth so, there are twelue chariots brought foorth, all of them most like one to another both in workemanship and in value, that no man may discerne in which the king himselfe is placed. He followeth in religion especially the opinions of the Magistrates, attributing diuine power vnto heauen and earth as vnto the parents of all, and with great solemnity sacrificing vnto them. He hath diuers most sumptuous Temples dedicated vnto his ancestours, whereunto likewise he ascribeth diuine honour, and yet ceaseth hee not to fauour Priests of other sects, yea, hee erecteth Temples vnto their Patrons, endowing them with most rich reuenues; aud so often as any vrgent necessity requireth, he enioynes continuall fastings and prayers vnto them: and after this sort he doeth in a maner patronize all the idolatrous sects of his Realme, and shewing himselfe ready to embrace any false religion whatsoeuer, he liueth in sundry and manifolde kindes of superstition. Out of all the former particulars by me alledged,

Twelue chariots.

The idolatrous religion of the king.

The ciuill gouernment of China most agreeable to the instinct of nature.

you may easily coniecture that the administration of the kingdome of China doeth, for the most part, agree with the instinct of nature, authority being committed, not vnto rude and vnskilfull persons, but vnto such as haue beene conuersant in the vse and exercise of learning, yea, and in promoting learned men vnto magistracies, great consideration is had of their wisedome, justice, and of other virtues esteemed by the Chinian: wherefore the way being open for all men, without any respect of degree or parentage, to obtaine any of the foresayd dignities, it can not be but that this most mighty and famous kingdome must needes enioy exceeding peace and tranquility. LEO. I would nowe (Michael) right gladly vnderstand, what kinde of vrbanity or ciuill demeanour both the common people and the Magistrates doe vse one towardes another: for it is not likely that where such due administration of iustice is, common ciuility, which so well beseemeth all men, should be wanting. MICHAEL. You haue hit euen the very naile on the head: for among the fiue vertues, which the Chinians principally regard, vrbanity or courtesy is one, the rest are piety, a thankefull remembrance of benefites, true dealing in contracts or bargaines, and wisedome in atchieuing of matters: with the praises and commendations of which vertues the Chinian bookes are full fraught. Now as touching their vrbanity, it is much vnlike vnto ours in Iapan, and vnto that of Europe: howbeit vnder two principall kindes the rule of their vrbanity or courtesie may be comprehended: whereof one is obserued betweene equals, and the other betweene superiours and inferiours. For when men of equall dignity meet together, they stand bending their backes, and bowing their heads downe to the ground, and this they doe either once or twice, or sometimes thrise. Now when the inferiour meets with his superiour, the sayd inferiour, for the most part kneeling lowly on his knees, enclineth his countenance downe to the earth. But how often and when this obeizance is to be performed it is woonderfull what a number of rules and prescriptions are set downe, which to recount would require a long time. Somewhat also I wil say as touching their piety, and especially of the piety which they vse towards their parents, which verily is so exceeding great, that for the space of

The fiue vertues principally esteemed among the Chinians.

Vrbanity.

The Chinians great piety towards their parents.

three whole yeres together, the sonnes being cladde in mourning vestures doe bewaile the death of their parents, which duety is performed not onely by the common sort, but euen by all the Magistrates themselues, and that most curiously and diligently. And that all men may wholly giue their attendance vnto this businesse, it is prouided by a most inuiolable law among the Chinians, that Magistrates, vpon the death of their parents, must foorthwith renounce their authority, and three whole yeeres, for the performance of their fathers exequies, must betake themselues vnto a priuate kinde of liuing: which also is most duely put in practise by the Senatours of the Kings owne Conncell. For albeit a man be right gracious in the eyes of his Prince, yea, and such an one, as vpon whom the administration of the Realme doeth principally depend; yet hauing heard of the death of his parents, that is, of his father or his mother, he hies himselfe immediately home to solemnise their funerals: insomuch that if the king would retaine him still in his office, he should be esteemed by the people, as a transgressour of the lawes and customes of China: which accident (as it is recorded) in ancient times fel out euen so. For whenas a certain king most familiarly vsed a certaine Senatour of his about the managing and expedition of publike affaires, and vnderstanding well how necessary the helpe of his foresayd Senatour was, would gladly, after the death of his father, haue retained him still in his office: yet a certaine other man, being a welwiller vnto the Chinian lawes, could in no case abide it, but checking his Prince with sharpe rebukes, obiected the transgression of the law against him. The king waxing wroth menaced present death vnto the man: but when the party being no wit danted with the terrour of death, persisted still in his sayings, the king changing his determination dismissed the Senatour to mourne for his father, but as for his reprehender he aduanced him vnto an higher dignity. LINUS. I perceiue (Michael) that drawing to an end of these dialogues, and being weary of your long race, you begin to affect breuity: yet let it not seeme troublesome vnto you to speake somewhat of the religion of China, which onely thing seemes to be wanting in this present dialogue. MICHAEL. I confesse indeed that I endeuour to be briefe, not so much in regard of wearisomnesse, as for feare least I haue bene ouer tedious vnto you: howbeit I will not faile but accomplish that which I haue vndertaken, and (according

A memorable story.

The religion of China.

to your request) adde somewhat more concerning religion. Whereas therefore the kingdome of China hath hitherto bene destitute of true religion, and now the first beginnings thereof are included in most narrow bounds, that nation being otherwise a people most ingenious, and of an extraordinory and high capacity, hath alwayes liued in great errours and ignorance of the trueth, being distracted into sundry opinions, and following manifolde sects. And among these sects there are three more famous then the rest: the first is of them that professe the doctrine of one Confucius a notable philosopher. This man (as it is reported in the history of his life) was one of most vpright and incorrupt maners, whereof he wrote sundry treatises very pithily and largely, which abone all other books, are seriously read and perused by the Chinians. The same doctrine do all Magistrates embrace, and others also that giue their mindes to the study of letters, a great part whereof Confucius is sayd to haue inuented: and he is had in so great honour, that all his followers and clients, vpon the dayes of the new and full Moone, doe assemble themselues at the common Schoole, which I haue aboue mentioned, and before his image, which is worshipped with burning of incense and with tapers, they doe thrise bend their knees, and bow their heads downe to the ground; which not onely the common scholars, but the chiefe Magistrates do performe. The summe of the foresayd doctrine is, that men should follow the light of nature as their guide, and that they should diligently endeuour to attaine vnto the vertues by me before mentioned: and lastly, that they should employ their labour about the orderly gouernment of their families and of the Common-wealth. All these things are in very deed praise-worthy, if Confucius had made any mention of almighty God and of the life to come, and had not ascribed so much vnto the heauens, and vnto fatall necessity, nor yet had so curiously intreated of worshipping the images of their forefathers. In which regard he can very hardly or not at all be excused from the crime of idolatry: notwithstanding it is to be granted, that none other doctrine among the Chinians approacheth so neere vnto the trueth as this doeth. The second sect is of them which follow the instructions of Xaquam, or as the Chinians call him Xequiam, whose opinions, because they are well knowen amongst vs, it were bootlesse for me to repeat; especially sithens, in the

Three principall sectes among the Christians.

Confucius authour of the first sect.

The summe of Confucius his doctrine.

Xequiam author of the second sect, whose followers are called Cen or Bonzi.

Catechisme composed by our graue visitour, they are notably refuted. This doctrine doe all they embrace, which are in China called Cen, but with vs at Iapon are named Bonzi. For this I doe briefly and by the way giue you to vnderstand, that all words of the Chinians language are of one sillable onely, so that if there be any word that consisteth of more sillables then one, it consisteth also of more wordes then one. These sectaries called Cen doe shaue their beards and their heads, and doe for the most part, together with diuers of their associates, inhabit the Temples of Xaquam, or of others which in regard of the same profession haue in their Kalenders beene canonized for Saints, and doe rehearse certaine prayers after their maner, either vpon books or beads, vsing other ceremonies after the maner of our Bonzi. These men haue some inckling of the life to come, and of the rewardes of good men, and the punishments of the wicked: howbeit all their assertions are fraught with errours. The third sect is of them which are called Tauzu: and those doe imitate a certaine other man, to be adored, as they thinke, for his holinesse. These also are Priests after their kinde, howbeit they let their haire grow, and doe in other obseruations differ from the former. Now, because the sect of Confucius is the most famous of all the three, and the two other sects called Cen and Tauzu are not much adicted vnto learning, their religion preuailing onely among the common sort, the Priests of both the sayd sects doe leade a most base and seruile life amongst the Chinians, insomuch that they kneele downe before the Magistrates, and are not permitted to sit beside them, sometimes, if the Magistrate please, are abased vnto the punishment of the bastonado: whereas in our Iles of Iapon it is farre otherwise, Priests, euen of false religion, being had in so great honour among vs. LEO. I heard also (Michael) that the Saracens superstition takes place in China: now, whether it doth or no, you can resolue vs. MICHAEL. That forren superstition was brought into China what time the Tartars inuaded the kingdome, and vsurped the gouernment thereof. All the Saracens therefore in China are originally descended of the Tartars, who, because they were an infinite number, could not vtterly be expelled and rooted out of the kingdome, but remaining still there, haue propagated their posterity, though not their religion. These therefore are souldiers

Note.

The third sect.

The superstition of the Saracens.

for the greater part of them, and sometimes doe obtaine martiall dignities: and except a few ceremonies of their superstition which is nowe become stale and almost worne out, they doe liue altogether after the Chinians fashion, their predecessours being brought into the same kingdome about foure hundred yeeres agoe. LINUS. Now (Michael) let vs heare you say somewhat of the Christian religion, which as we hope hath set most happy footing in that kingdome. MICHAEL. I could say much concerning those most wished and acceptable beginnings were they not already published in Iapon by the letters of the fathers: howbeit I will make a briefe rehearsall of all things, that I may not seem altogether to haue abandoned this labour. You know that from the time wherein the fathers of the society arriued in our Ilands, to the end they might augment Christian religion, they were in like sort most carefull how they might insinuate themselues into the innermost parts of the kingdome of China. In the middst of this endeauour and trauell Francis Xauier, a most deuout man of the foresayd society, departed out of this present life at the Ile of Sancian (which some call Sangiam) leauing an example vnto the rest of his associates, how they should likewise doe their best to plant the religion of Christ in that nation. This man was seconded by others, who vsed all meanes, and left no practise vnattempted, that they might bring these good beginnings vnto a prosperours issue: howbeit they were greatly hindered by reason of an ancient custome in China, in regard whereof they doe not without great difficulty and circumspection admit any strangers into their dominions, except those which hauing a long time executed the office of ambassadous doe ordinarily euery third yeere present themselues before the king: in the admission of whom likewise there is maruellous care vsed, that they may not easily espie and become acquainted with the affaires of the Realme. Hereunto may be added, that the Chinians are great contemners of other nations, and most constant obseruers of their owne lawes and customes: in all which respects it came to passe that there was wonderfull labour and diligence employed aboue thirty yeeres together, onely to get an entrance, vntill in the yeere one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and three, two fathers of the foresayd society, that had pretty skill in the letters

Christian religion planted in China.

An ancient custome worthy ye obseruation.

The Chinians contemne other nations.

and language of China, vtterly despairing of mans helpe, and depending vpon the prouidence of almighty God, obtained licence of the Tutan or Vice-roy to build them an house and a Church in the City of Xauquin, which by reason of the commodiousnesse thereof is the seat of the Viceroy himselfe. This worke being begunne, the sayd fathers of the society, for the nouelty therof, were a few yeeres right well entreated by the Magistrates: inasmuch that two others out of India had free and easie accesse vnto them, one couple remaining still in their foresayd house at Xauquin, and the other two taking their iourney for the inner prouinces, to conuert more people vnto the faith: who notwithstanding afterward, other Magistrates not approouing of their attempts, were constrained to retire. Nowe all the time wherein the foresayd fathers abode at Xauquin (being more then fiue yeeres) certaine of the common people were restrained from false superstition to Christian religion, and seuenty persons were baptised. But the enemy of mankinde, who omitteth none opportunity for the hinderance of Christian religion, suggested into the mindes of the Chinians (being, as I sayd, of their owne nature, a people estranged from the traffique and acquaintance of other nations, and alwayes being too suspicious of strangers) that they should exhibit letters of supplication vnto the Caien and the Tutan their principall Magistrates, to haue the fathers expelled out of Xauquin: which Magistrates repairing vnto their foresayed house and Church entered consultation how they might bannish them out of the sayd City of Xauquin: in which thing verily they vsed great moderation, not any way offending or exasperating the mindes of the fathers, but onely signifying that they had regard vnto the estate of their Common-wealth. For the Tutan or Vice-roy calling the fathers vnto him, and (to let passe other accidents) vsing courteous and familiar conference with them, declared by many arguments, that their habitation in the City of Xauquin was not conuenient, especially sithens so many Magistrates resorted vnto that City, who would take great offence at the presence of strangers. For the which cause he perswaded them to accept some part of the money which they had bestowed in the building of their house, and so to returne either home into their own countrey, or vnto the port of Macao. Howbeit, such was the instant supplication of the fathers, and so woorthy of compassion, that the Tutan or Vice-roy, in the extreame and mediterrane borders of the prouince of Coantum, assigned vnto them a new habitation at the city called Xaucheo, commending them also to a certaine Magistrate, who was come from the same place to salute him. Thither therefore the sayd fathers, not without great sorrow and griefe of the Christians, hied themselues, and as we are informed by their last letters, they haue euen now layed the foundation of their first building, and haue also written that they are like to liue much more peaceably and conueniently for the propagating of Christian religion. These be the first beginnings of Christianity in China, where, euen as in other places of the Christian Common-wealth, the seed is to be sowen with great labour and teares, that acceptable fruits may be reaped with gladnesse. LEO. It is euen as you haue sayd (Michael) and nowe for this your pleasant and eloquent discourse we do acknowledge our selues much bounden vnto you.

A Letter written from Goa, the principall City of all the East Indies, by one Thomas Steuens an English man, and sent to his father, M. Thomas Steuens: Anno 1579.

AFter most humble commendations: These shall be to crave your dayly blessing, with like commendations vnto my mother; and withall, to certifie you of my being: according to your will and my duety. I wrote vnto you taking my iourney from Italy to Portugall, which letters I thinke are come to your hands, so that presuming therupon, I thinke I haue the lesse need at this time to tell you the cause of my departing, which neverthelesse in one word I may conclude, if I do but name obedience. I came to Lisbon toward the end of March, eight dayes before the departure of the shippes, so late that if they had not bene stayed about some weighty matters, they had bene long gone before our comming: insomuch that there were others ordained to goe in our places, that the kings prouision and ours also might not be in vaine. Neuerthelesse our sudden comming tooke place, and the fourth of Aprill fiue ships departed for Goa, wherein besides shipmen and souldiers, there were a great number of children which in the seas beare out better than men, and no maruell, when that many women also passe very well. The setting foorth from the port I need not to tell how solemne it is with trumpets, and shooting of ordinance, you may easily imagine it, considering that they go in the maner of warre. The tenth of the foresayd moneth we came to the sight of Porto Santo neere vnto Madera, where an English shippe set vpon ours (which was then also alone) with a few shots, which did no harme, but after that our ship had layed out her greatest ordinance, they straight departed as they came. The English shippe was very faire and great, which I was sorry to see so ill occupied, for she went rouing about, so that we saw her againe at the Canarian Iles, vnto the which we came the thirteenth of the sayd moneth, and good leisure we had to woonder at the high mountaine of the Iland Tenerif, for we wandred betweene that and great Canaria foure dayes by reason of contrary windes: and briefly, such euill weather we had vntill the foureteenth of May, that they despaired, to compasse the Cape of Good hope that yeere. Neuertheless, taking our voyage betweene Guinea and the Ilands of Capo Verde, without seeing of any land at all, we arriued at length vnto the coast of Guinie, which the Portugals so call, chiefly that part of the burning Zone, which is from the sixt degree vnto the Equinoctiall, in which parts they suffered so many inconueniences of heats, and lacke of windes, that they thinke themselues happy when they haue passed it: for sometimes the ship standeth there almost by the space of many dayes, sometimes she goeth, but in such order that it were almost as good to stand still. And the greatest part of this coast not cleare, but thicke and cloudy, full of thunder and lightening, and raine so vnholesome, that if the water stand a little while, all is full of wormes, and falling on the meat which is hanged vp, it maketh it straight full of wormes. Along all that coast we often times saw a thing swimming vpon the water like a cocks combe (which they call a ship of Guinea) but the colour much fairer; which combe standeth vpon a thing almost like the swimmer of a fish in colour and bignesse, and beareth vnderneath in the water, strings which saue it from turning ouer. This thing is so poisonous, that a man cannot touch it without great perill. In this coast, that is to say, from the sixt degree vnto the Equinoctiall, we spent no lesse than thirty dayes, partly with contrary windes, partly with calme. The thirtieth of May we passed the Equinoctiall with contentation, directing our course as well as we could to passe the promontory, but in all that gulfe, and in all the way beside, we found so often calmes, that the expertest mariner wondred at it. And in places where there are alwayes woont to be most horrible tempests, we found most quiet calmes which was very troublesome to those ships which be the greatest of all other, and cannot go without good windes. Insomuch, that when it is tempest almost intollerable for other ships, and maketh them maine all their sailes, these hoise vp, and saile excellent well, vnlesse the waters be too furious, which seldome happened in our nauigation. You shall vnderstand, that being passed the line, they cannot straightway go the next way to the promontory: but according to the winde, they draw always as neere South as they can to put themselues in the latitude of the point, which is 35 degrees and an halfe, and then they take their course towards the East, and so compass the point. But the winde serued vs so, that at 33 degrees we did direct our course toward the point or promontory of Good hope.

You know that it is hard to saile from East to West, or contrary, because there is no fixed point in all the skie, whereby they may direct their course, wherefore I shall tell you what helps God prouided for these men. There is not a fowle that appereth, or signe in the aire, or in the sea, which they haue not written, which haue made the voyages heretofore. Wherfore, partly by their owne experience, and pondering withall what space the ship was able to make with such a winde, and such direction, and partly by the experience of others, whose books and nauigations they haue, they gesse whereabouts they be, touching degrees of longitude, for of latitude they be alwayes sure: but the greatest and best industry of all is to marke the variation of the needle or compasse, which in the Meridian of the Iland of S. Michael, which is one of the Azores in the latitude of Lisbon, is iust North, and thence swarueth towards the East so much, that betwixt the Meridian aforesayd, and the point of Africa it carrieth three or foure quarters of 32. And againe in the point of Afrike, a little beyond the point that is called Cape das Agulias (in English the needles) it returneth againe vnto the North, and that place passed, it swarueth againe toward the West, as it did before proportionally. As touching our first signes, the neerer we came to the people of Afrike, the more strange kindes of fowles appeared, insomuch that when we came within no lesse then

The variation of the compasse.

Signes about the Cape of Bona Speransa.

thirty leagues (almost an hundred miles) and sixe hundred miles as we thought from any Iland, as good as three thousand fowles of sundry kindes followed our ship: some of them so great that their wings being opened from one point to the other, contained seuen spannes, as the Mariners sayd. A maruellous thing to see how God prouided, so that in so wide a sea these fowles are all fat, and nothing wanteth them. The Portugals haue named them all according to some propriety which they haue: some they call Rushtailes, because their tailes be not proportionable to their bodies, but long and small like a rush, some forked tailes because they be very broad and forked, some Veluet sleeues, because they haue wings of the colour of veluet, and bowe them as a man boweth his elbow. This bird is alwayes welcome, for he appeareth neerest the Cape. I should neuer make an end if I should tell all particulars: but it shall suffice briefly to touch a few, which yet shall be sufficient, if you marke them, to giue occasion to glorifie almighty God in his wonderfull works, and such variety in his creatures. And to speake somewhat of fishes in all places of calme, especially in the burning Zone, neere the line (for without we neuer saw any) there waited on our ship fishes as long as a man, which they call Tuberones, they come to eat such things as from the shippe fall into the sea, not refusing men themselues if they light vpon them. And if they finde any meat tied in the sea, they take it for theirs. These haue waiting on them six or seuen small fishes (which neuer depart) with gardes blew and greene round about their bodies, like comely seruing men: and they go two or three before him, and some on euery side. Moreouer, they haue other fishes which cleaue alwayes vnto their body, and seeme to take such superfluities as grow about them, and they are sayd to enter into their bodies also to purge them if they need. The Mariners in time past haue eaten of them, but since they haue seene them eate men their stomacks abhorre them. Neuerthelesse, they draw them vp with great hooks, and kill of them as many as they can, thinking that they haue made a great reuenge. There is another kind of fish as bigge almost as a herring, which hath wings and flieth, and they are together in great number. These haue two enemies, the one in the sea, the other in the aire. In the sea the fish which is called Albocore, as big as a Salmon, followeth them with great swiftnesse to take them. This poore fish not being able to swim fast, for he hath

Fishes on sea coast of Africa.

no finnes, but swimmeth with moouing of his taile, shutting his wings, lifteth himselfe aboue the water, and flieth not very hie: the Albocore seeing that, although he haue no wings, yet he giueth a great leape out of the water, and sometimes catcheth him, or els he keepeth himselfe vnder the water going that way on as fast as he flieth. And when the fish being weary of the aire, or thinking himselfe out of danger, returneth into the water, the Albocore meeteth with him: but sometimes his other enemy the sea-crow, catcheth him before he falleth. With these and like sights, but alwayes making our supplications to God for good weather and saluation of the ship, we came at length vnto the point, so famous and feared of all men: but we found there no tempest, only great waues, where our Pilot was a little ouerseene: for whereas commonly al other neuer come within sight of land, but seeing signes ordinary, and finding bottome, go their way sure and safe, he thinking himselfe to haue wind at will, shot so nigh the land that the winde turning into the South, and the waues being exceeding great, rolled vs so neere the land, that the ship stood in lesse then 14 fadoms of water, no more then sixe miles from the Cape, which is called Das Agulias, and there we stood as vtterly cast away: for vnder vs were rocks of maine stone so sharpe, and cutting, that no ancre could hold the ship, the shore so euill, that nothing could take land, and the land itselfe so full of Tigers, and people that are sauage, and killers of all strangers, that we had no hope of life nor comfort, but onely in God and a good conscience. Notwithstanding, after we had lost ancres, hoising vp the sailes for to get the ship a coast in some safer place, or when it should please God, it pleased his mercy suddenly, where no man looked for helpe, to fill our sailes with wind from the land, and so we escaped, thanks be to God. And the day following, being in the place where they are alwayes wont to catch fish, we also fell a fishing, and so many they tooke, that they serued all the ship for that day, and part of the next. And one of them pulled vp a corall of great bignesse and price. For there they say (as we saw by experience) that the corals doe grow in the maner of stalks vpon the rocks in the bottome, and waxe hard and red. The day of perill was the nine and twentieth of Iuly. And you shall vnderstand that, the Cape passed, there be two wayes to India: one within the Ile of S. Lawrence, which they take willingly, because

Note.

Corall.

Two wayes beyond ye cape of Good hope.

they refresh themselues at Mosambique a fortnight or a moneth, not without great need, and thence in a moneth more land in Goa. The other is without the Ile of S. Lawrence, which they take when they set foorth so late, and come so late to the point, that they haue no time to take the foresayd Mosambique, and then they goe heauily, because in this way they take no port. And by reason of the long nauigation, and want of food and water, they fall into sundry diseases, their gummes waxe great, and swell, and they are faine to cut them away, their legges swell and all the body becommeth sore, and so benummed, that they cannot stirre hand nor foot, and so they die for weaknesse, others fall into fluxes and agues, and die thereby. And this way it was our chance to make: yet though we had more then one hundred and fifty sicke, there died not past seuen and twentie; which losse they esteemed not much in respect of other times. Though some of ours were diseased in this sort, yet, thanks be to God, I had my health, contrary to the expectation of many: God send me my health so well in the land, if it may be to his honour and seruice. This way is full of priuy rocks and quicke-sands, so that sometimes we durst not saile by night, but by the prouidence of God we saw nothing, nor neuer found bottom vntill we came to the coast of India. When we had passed againe the line, and were come to the third degree or somewhat more, we saw crabs swimming on the water that were red as though they had bene sodden: but this was no signe of land. After, about the eleuenth degree, the space of many days, more than ten thousand fishes by estimation followed round about our ship, whereof we caught so many, that for fifteene days we did eate nothing els, and they serued our turne very well: for at this time we had neither meate nor almost any thing els to eate, our nauigation growing so long that it drew neere to seuen moneths, where as commonly they goe it in fiue, I mean when they saile the inner way. But these fishes were not signe of land, but rather of deepe sea. At length we tooke a couple of Birds which were a kinde of Hawks, whereof they ioyed much, thinking that they had bene of India, but indeed they were of Arabia, as we found afterward. And we that thought we had bene neere India, were in the same latitude neere Zocotoro, an Ile in the mouth of the Red sea. But there God sent vs great winds from the Northeast or Northnortheast, wherevpon vnwillingly they bare

They commonly saile from Lisbon to Goa in 5 moneths.

vp towards the East, and thus we went tenne dayes without seeing signe of land, whereby they perceived their errour: for they had directed their course before always Northeast, coueting to multiply degrees of latitude, but partly the difference of the Needle, and most of all the running seas, which at that time ran Northwest, had drawen vs to this other danger, had not God sent vs this winde, which at length waxed larger, and restored vs to our right course. These running seas be so perillous that they deceiue the most part of the gouernours, and some be so little curious, contenting themselues with ordinary experience, that they care not to seeke out any meanes to know when they swarue, neither by the compasse, nor by any other triall. The first signe of land were certaine fowles which they knew to be of India: the second, boughes of palmes and sedges: the third, snakes swimming on the water, and a substance which they call by the name of a coine of money, as broad and as round as a groat, wonderfully printed and stamped of nature, like vnto some coine. And these two last signes be so certaine, that the next day after, if the winde serve, they see lande, which we did to our great joy, when all our water (for you know they make no beere in those parts) and victuals began to faile vs. And to Goa we came the foure and twentieth day of October, there being receiued with passing great charity. The people be tawny, but not disfigured in their lips and noses, as the Moores and Cafres of Ethiopia. They that be not of reputation, or at least the most part, goe naked, sauing an apron of a span long, and as much in breadth before them, and a lace two fingers broad before them, girded about with a string and no more: and thus they thinke them as well as we with all our trimming. Of the fruits and trees that be here I cannot now speake, for I should make another letter as long as this. For hitherto I haue not seene a tree here whose like I haue seene in Europe, the vine excepted, which neuerthelesse here is to no purpose, so that all the wines are brought out of Portugall. The drinke of this countrey is good water, or wine of the Palme tree, or of a fruit called Cocos. And this shall suffice for this time. If God send me my health, I shall haue opportunity to write to you once againe. Now the length of my letter compelleth me to

Running seas very dangerous.

Certaine signs of land.

They arriued at Goa the 24 of October.

take my leaue, and thus I wish your most prosperous health. From Goa the tenth of Nouember, 1579.

Your louing sonne Thomas
Steuens.

A briefe relation of the great magnificence and rich traffike of the kingdome of Pegu beyond the East India, written by Frey Peter of Lisbon, to his cousin Frey Diego of Lisbon, from Cochin.

The coast of India greatly troubled with Moores.

I Receiued your letters in the harbour of Damaon by a carauell of aduise that came from Malacca, which brought shot, powder, and other prouision for the furnishing of foure gallies and a great Gallion, which are now in building, to keepe our coast for feare of great store of men of warre, being Moores, which trouble vs very sore. At that instant when I receiued your letters I was newly come from the kingdome of Pegu, where I had remained one yeere and an halfe, and from thence I departed to the city of Cochin in October 1587. The newes which I can certifie you of concerning these countreys are: that this king of Pegu is the mightiest king of men, and the richest that is in these parts of the world: for he bringeth into the field at any time, when he hath warres with other princes, aboue a million of fightingmen: howbeit they be very leane and small people, and are brought vnto the field without good order. He is lord of the Elephants, and of all the golde and siluer mines, and of all the pearles and precious stones: so that he hath the greatest store of treasure that euer was heard of in these parts. The countrey people call him the God of trueth and of iustice. I had great conference with this king, and with the head captaine of the Portugals, which is one of the countrey. They demanded of me many questions as touching the law and faith of Iesus Christ, and as touching the Ten Commandements. And the king gaue his consent that our Order should build a Church in his countrey, which was halfe builded; but our peruerse and malicious Portugals plucked it downe againe: for whereas it is a countrey wherein our nation gaine very much by their commodities, they fearing that by the building of this Church there would be greater resort thither,

Abundance of golde, siluer, pearles, and precious stones in Pegu.

The great gaine of the Portugals in Pegu.

and so their trade should be impaired if their great gaines should be knowen vnto others then those which found this countrey out first, therefore they were so vnwilling that the building of this church should goe forward. Our Portugals which are here in this realme are woorse people then the Gentiles. I preached diuers times among those heathen people; but being obstinate they say, that as their father beleeued so they will beleeue: for if their forefathers went to the diuell so they will. Whereupon I returned backe againe to our monastery to certifie our Father prouinciall of the estate of this new found countrey. It is the best and richest countrey in all this East India: and it is thought to be richer then China.

Pegu the best and richest countrey in all the East Indies.

I am afrayd that the warres which his Maiestie hath with England will be the vtter vndoing and spoile of Spaine: for these countreys likewise are almost spoiled with ciull warres, which the Moores haue against the Gentiles: for the kings here are vp in armes all the countrey ouer. Here is an Indian which is counted a prophet, which hath prophesied that there will a Dragon arise in a strange countrey, which will do great hurt to Spaine. How it will fall out onely God doth know. And thus I rest: from this monastery of Cochin the 28 of December, 1589.

A prophesie of an Indian against Spaine.

Your good cousin and assured friend
frier Peter of Lisbon.

A voyage with three tall ships, the Penelope Admirall, the Marchant royall Viceadmirall, and the Edward Bonaduenture Rereadmirall, to the East Indies, by the Cape of Buona Speransa, to Quitangone neere Mosambique, to the Iles of Comoro and Zanzibar on the backeside of Africa, and beyond Cape Comori in India, to the Iles of Nicubar and of Gomes Polo, within two leagues of Sumatra, to the Ilands of Pulo Pinaom, and thence to the maine land of Malacca, begunne by M. George Raymond, in the yeere 1591, and performed by M. Iames Lancaster, and written from the mouth of Edmund Barker of Ipswich, his lieutenant in the sayd voyage, by M. Richard Hakluyt.

OVr fleet of the three tall ships abouenamed departed from

Plimmouth the 10 of April 1591, and arrived at the Canarie-ilands the 25 of the same, from whence we departed the 29 of April. The second of May we were in the height of Cape Blanco. The fift we passed the tropique of Cancer. The eight we were in the height of Cape Verde. All this time we went with a faire winde at Northeast, alwayes before the winde vntil the 13 of the same moneth, when we came within 8 degrees of the Equinoctiall line, where we met with a contrary winde. Here we lay off and on in the sea vntil the 6 of Iune, on which day we passed the sayd line. While we lay thus off and on, we tooke a Portugal Carauel laden by merchants of Lisbon for Brasile, in which Carauel we had some 60 tunnes of wine, 1200 iarres of oyle, about 100 iarres of oliues, certaine barrels of capers, three fats of peason, with diuers other necessaries fit for our voyage; which wine, oyle, oliues and capers were better to vs then gold. We had two men died before wee passed the line, and diuers sicke, which took their sicknesse in those hote climates: for they be wonderfull vnwholesome from 8 degrees of Northerly latitude vnto the line, at that time of the yeere: for we had nothing but Ternados, with such thunder, lightning, and raine, that we could not keep our men drie 3 houres together, which was an occasion of the infection among them, and their eating of salt victuals, with lacke of clothes to shift them. After we passed the line, we had the wind still at Eastsoutheast, which carried vs along the coast of Brasil 100 leagues from the maine, til we came in 26 degrees to the Southward of the line, where the wind came vp to the North, at which time we did account, that the Cape of Buona esperansa did beare off vs East and by South, betwixt 900 and 1000 leagues. Passing this gulfe from the coast of Brasil vnto the Cape we had the wind often variable as it is vpon our coast, but for the most part so, that we might lie our course. The 28 of Iuly we had sight of the foresayd Cape of Buona esperansa: vntill the 31 we lay off and on with the wind contrary to double the Cape, hoping to double it, and so to haue gone seuentie leagues further to a place called Agoada de S. Bras, before we would haue sought to haue put into any harbour. But our men being weake and sicke in all our shippes, we thought good to seeke some place to refresh them. With which consent we bare vp with the land to the Northward of the Cape, and going along the shoare, we espied a

Three occasions of sicknes neere the line.

goodly Baie with an Iland lying to Seawards of it into which we did beare, and found it very commodious for our ships to ride in.

Agoada de Saldanha.

This Baie is called Agoada de Saldanha, lying 15 leagues Northward on the hither side of the Cape. The first of August being Sunday we came to an anker in the Baie, sending our men on land, and there came vnto them certaine blacke Saluages very brutish which would not stay, but retired from them. For the space of 15 or 20 dayes we could finde no reliefe but onely foules which wee killed with our pieces, which were cranes and geese: there was no fish but muskles and other shel-fish, which we gathered on the rockes. After 15 or 20 dayes being here, our Admirall went with his pinnasse vnto the Iland which lieth off this Baie, where hee found great store of Penguines and Seales, whereof he brought good plenty with him. And twise after that we sent certain of our men, which at both times brought their bots lading vnto our ships. After we had bene here some time, we got here a Negro, whom we compelled to march into the countrey with vs, making signs to bring vs some cattel; but at this time we could come to the sight of none, so we let the Negro goe with some trifles. Within 8 dayes after, he with 30 or 40 other Negroes, bought vs downe some 40 bullocks and oxen, with as many sheepe: at which time we brought but few of them. But within 8 dayes after they came downe with as many more, and then we bought some 24 oxen with as many sheepe. We bought an oxe for two kniues, a stirke for a knife, and a sheepe for a knife, and some we bought for lesse value then a knife. The oxen be very large and well fleshed, but not fat. The sheepe are very big and very good meat, they haue no woll on their backs but haire, and haue great tailes like the sheepe in Syria. There be diuers sorts of wild beests, as the Antilope, (whereof M. Lancaster killed one of the bignes of a yong colt) the red and fallow Deere, with other great beasts vnknowen vnto vs. Here are also great store of ouer-growen monkies. As touching our proceeding vpon our voyage, it was thought good rather to proceed with two ships wel manned, then with three euill manned: for here wee had of sound and whole men but 198, of which there went in the Penelope with the Admiral 101, and in the Edward with the worshipfull M. captaine Lancaster 97. We left behind 50 men

Great store of Penguins and Seales.

Bullocks, oxen, and sheepe, dog-cheape.

with the Roiall marchant, whereof there were many pretily well recouered, of which ship was master and gouernour Abraham Kendal, which for many reasons we thought good to send home. The disease that hath consumed our men hath bene the skuruie. Our souldiers which haue not bene vsed to the Sea, haue best held out, but our mariners dropt away, which (in my iudgement) proceedeth of their euill diet at home.

Sixe dayes after our sending backe for England of the Marchant Roiall from Agoada de Saldanha, our Admirall M. captaine Raimond in the Penelope, and M. Iames Lancaster in the Edward Bonaduenture, set forward to double the Cape of Buona esperansa, which they did very speedily. But being passed as far as Cape dos Corrientes the 14 of September we were encountred with a mighty storme and extreme gusts of wind, wherein we lost our Generals companie, and could neuer heare of him nor his ship any more, though we did our best endeuour to seeke him vp and downe a long while, and staied for him certaine dayes at the Iland of Comoro, where we appointed to stay one for another. Foure days after this uncomfortable seperation in the morning toward ten of the clocke we had a terrible clap of thunder, which slew foure of our men ovtright, the necks being wrung in sonder without speaking any word, and of 94 men there was not one vntouched, whereof some were striken blind, others were bruised in their legs and armes, and others in their brests, so that they voided blood two days after, others were drawen out at length as though they had been racked. But (God be thanked) they all recouered sauing onely the foure which were slain out right. Also with the same thunder our maine maste was torn very grieuously from the head to the decke, and some of the spikes that were ten inches into the timber, were melted with the extreme heate thereof. From thence we shaped our course to the Northeast, and not long after we fell vpon the Northwest end of the mighty Iland of S. Laurence: which one of our men espied by Gods good blessing late in the euening by Moone light, who seeing afarre off the breaking of the Sea, and calling to certaine of his fellowes, asked them what it was: which eft soones told him that it was the breaking of the Sea vpon the Shoulds. Whereupon in very good time we cast

Cape de Buona Speransa doubled.

Cape dos Corrientes.

Here they are seuered from the Penelope.

Foure men slaine with a clap of thunder.

The Shoulds of S. Laurence.

about to auoyd the danger which we were like to haue incurred. Thus passing on forward, it was our lucke to ouer-shoote Mozambique, and to fall with a place called Quitangone two leagues to the Northward of it, and we tooke three or foure Barkes of Moores, which Barkes in their language they call Pangaias, laden with Millio, hennes and ducks, with one Portugall boy, going for the prouision of Mozambique. Within few dayes following we came to an Iland an hundred leagues to the Northeast of Mozambique called Comoro, which we found exceedingly full of people, which are Moores of tawnie colour and good stature, but they be very trecherous and diligently to be taken heed of. Here wee desired to store our selues with water, whereof we stood in great need, and sent sixteene of our men well armed on in our boate: whom the people suffred quietly to land and water, and diuers of them with their king came aboord our ship in a gowne of crimosine Sattin pinked after the Moorish fashion downe to the knee, whom we entertained in the best maner, and had some conference with him of the state of the place and marchandises, vsing our Portugall boy which we had taken before for our interpreter, and in the end licensed the king and his company to depart, and sent our men againe for more water, who then also dispatched their businesse and returned quietly: the third time likewise we sent them for more, which also returned without any harme. And though we thought our selues furnished, yet our master William Mace of Radcliffe pretending that it might be long before we might finde any good watering place, would needes goe himselfe on shore with thirtie men, much against the will of our captaine, and hee and 16 of his company, together with one boat which was all that we had, and 16 others that were a washing ouer against our ship, were betrayed of the perfidious Moores, and in our sight for the most part slaine, we being not able for want of a boat to yeeld them any succour. From thence with heauie hearts we shaped our course for Zanzibar the 7 of Nouember, where shortly after we arriued and made vs a new boat of such boards as we had within boord, and rid in the road vntill the 15 of February, where, during our aboad, we sawe diuers Pangaias or boates, which are pinned with wooden pinnes, and sowed together with Palmito cordes, and calked with the husks of Cocos shels beaten, whereof they made Occam. At length a Portugal

Quitagone neere Mozambique.

The Ile of Comoro.

32 of our men betraid at the Ile of Comoro

Zanzibar Iland.

Pangaia comming out of the harborow of Zanzibar, where they haue a small Factorie, sent a Canoa with a Moore which had bene christened, who brought vs a letter wherein they desired to know what wee were, and what we sought. We sent them word we were Englishmen come from Don Antonio vpon businesse to his friends in the Indies: with which answere they returned, and would not any more come at vs. Whereupon not long after wee manned out our boat and tooke a Pangaia of the Moores, which had a priest of theirs in it, which in their language they call a Sherife: whom we vsed very courteously: which the king tooke in very good part, hauing his priests in great estimation, and for his deliuerance furnished vs with two moneths victuals, during all which time we detained him with vs. These Moores informed vs of the false and spitefull dealing of the Portugals towards vs,* which made them beleeue that we were cruell people and men-eaters, and willed them if they loued their safetie in no case to come neere vs. Which they did onely to cut us off from all knowledge of the state and traffique of the countrey. While we road from the end of Nouember vntil the middle of February in this harborough, which is sufficient for a ship of 500 tuns to ride in, we set vpon a Portugall Pangaia with our boat, but because it was very litle, and our men not able to stirre in it, we were not able to take the sayd Pangaia which was armed with 10 good shot like our long fouling pieces. This place for the goodnesse of the harborough and watering, and plentifull refreshing with fish, whereof we tooke great store with our nets, and for sundry sorts of fruits of the countrey, as Cocos and others, which were brought vs by the Moores, as also for oxen and hennes, is carefully to be sought for by such of our ships, as shall hereafter passe that way. But our men had need to take good heed of the Portugals: for while we lay here the Portugall Admiral of the coast from Melinde to Mozambique, came to view and betray our boat if he could haue taken at any time aduantage, in a gallie Frigate of ten tunnes with 8 or 9 oares on a side. Of the strength of which Frigate and their trecherous meaning we were aduertised by an Arabian Moore which came from

A Portugall Factorie in Zanzibar.

An excellent place for refreshing.

A gallie Frigate.

---

* *Marginal note.*—The treason of the Portugals towards the English.

the king of Zanzibar diuers times vnto vs about the deliuerie of the priest aforesayd, and afterward by another which we caried thence along with vs: for whersoeuer we came, our care was to get into our hands some one or two of the countreys to learne the languages and states of those partes where we touched.

Another thunder-clap.

Moreouer, here againe we had another clap of thunder which did shake our foremast very much, which wee fisht and repaired with timber from the shore, whereof there is good store thereabout of a kind of tree some fortie foot high, which is a red and tough wood, and as I suppose, a kind of Cedar. Here our Surgeon Arnold negligently catching a great heate in his head being on land with the master to seeke oxen, fell sicke and shortly died, which might haue bene cured by letting of blood before it had bin settled. Before our departure we had in this place some thousand weight of pitch, or rather a kind of gray and white gumme like vnto frankincense, as clammie as turpentine, which in melting groweth as blacke as pitch, and is very brittle of it selfe, but we mingled it with oile, whereof wee had 300 iarres in the prize which we tooke to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, not farre from Guinie, bound for Brasil. Sixe days before wee departed hence, the Cape marchant of the Factorie wrote a letter vnto our capitaine in the way of friendship. as he pretended, requesting a iarre of wine and a iarre of oyle, and two or three pounds of gunpowder, which letter hee sent by a Negro his man, and Moore in a Canoa: we sent him his demaunds by the Moore, but tooke the Negro along with vs because we vnderstood he had bene in the East Indies and knew somewhat of the Countrey. By this Negro we were aduertised of a small Barke of some thirtie tunnes (which the Moores call a Iunco) which was come from Goa thither laden with Pepper for the Factorie and seruice of that kingdome. Thus hauing trimmed our shippe as we lay in this road, in the end we set forward for the coast of the East Indie, the 15 of February aforesayd, intending if we could to haue reached to Cape Comori, which is the headland or Promontorie of the maine of Malauar, and there to haue lien off and on for such ships as should haue passed from Zeilan, Sant Tome, Bengala, Pegu, Malacca, the Moluccos, the coast of China; and the Ile of Japan, which ships are of exceeding wealth and riches. But in our course we were very much deceiued by the currents

Heat in the head deadly.

Letting of blood very necessary.

A Iunco laden with pepper and drugs.

that set into the gulfe of the Red sea along the coast of Melinde. And the windes shortening vpon vs to the Northeast and Easterly, kept vs that we could not get off, and so with the putting in of the currents from the Westward, set vs in further vnto the Northward within fourscore leagnes of the Ile of Zocotora, farre from our determined course and expectation. But here we neuer wanted abundance of Dolphins, Bonitos, and flying fishes. Now while we found our selues thus farre to the Northward, and the time being so farre spent, we determined to goe for the Red sea, or for the Iland of Zocotora, both to refresh our selues, and also for some purchase. But while we were in this consultation, the winde very luckily came about to the Northwest and caried vs directly toward Cape Comori. Before we should haue doubled this Cape, we were determined to touch at the Ilands of Mamale, of which we had aduertisement, that one had victuals, standing in the Northerly latitude of twelue degrees. Howbeit it was not our good lucke to finde it, which fell out partly by the obstinacie of our master: for the day before we fell with part of the Ilands the wind came about to the Southwest, and then shifting our course we missed it. So the wind increasing Southerly, we feared we should not haue bene able to haue doubled the Cape, which would haue greatly hazarded our casting away vpon the coast of India, the Winter season and Westerne Monsons already being come in, which Monsons continue on that coast vntil August. Neuertheless it pleased God to bring the wind more Westerly, and so in the moneth of May 1592, we happily doubled Cape Comori without sight of the coast of India. From hence thus hauing doubled this Cape, we directed our course for the Ilands of Nicubar, which lie North and South with the Westerne part of Sumatra, and in the latitude of 7 degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall. From which Cape of Comori vnto the aforesayd Ilands we ranne in sixe days with a very large wind though the weather were foule with extreme raine and gustes of winde. These Ilands were missed through our masters default for want of due obseruation of the South starre. And we fell to the Southward of them within the sight of the Ilands of Gomes Polo, which lie hard vpon the great Iland of Sumatra the first of Iune, and at the Northeast side

The currents set to the North-west.

Zocotora.

The Iles of Mamale.

Cape Comori doubled 1592.

The Iles of Nicubar.

The Iles of Gomes Polo.

of them we lay two or three dayes becalmed, hoping to haue had a Pilote from Sumatra, within two leagues whereof wee lay off and on. Now the Winter coming vpon vs with much contagious weather, we directed our course from hence with the Ilands of Pulo Pinaou, (where by the way is to be noted that Pulo in the Malaian tongue signifieth an Iland) at which Ilands wee arriued about the beginning of Iune, where we came to an anker in a very good harborough betweene three Ilands: at which time our men were very sicke and many fallen. Here we determined to stay vntil the Winter were ouerpast. This place is in 6 degrees and a halfe to the Northward, and some fiue leagues from the maine betweene Malacca and Pegu. Here we continued vntil the end of August. Our refreshing in this place was very smal, onely of oysters growing on rocks, great wilks, and some few fish which we tooke with our hookes. Here we landed our sicke men on these vninhabited Ilands for their health, neuertheless 26 of them died in this place, whereof John Hall our master was one, and M. Rainold Golding another, a marchant of great honestie and much discretion. In these Ilands are abundance of trees of white wood, so right and and tall, that a man may make mastes of them being an hundred foote long. The winter passed and hauing watered our ship and fitted her to goe to Sea, wee had left vs but 33 men and one boy, of which not past 22 were sound for labour and helpe, and of them not past a third part sailers: thence we made saile to seeke some place of refreshing, and went ouer to the maine of Malacca. The next day we came to to an anker in a Baie in six fadomes water some two leagues from the shore. Then master Iames Lancaster our captaine, and M. Edmund Barker his lieutenant, and other of the companie manning the boat, went on shoare to see what inhabitants might be found. And comming on land we found the tracking of some barefooted people which were departed thence not long before: for we sawe their fire still burning, but people we sawe none, nor any other living creature, saue a certaine kind of foule called oxe birds, which are a gray kind of Sea-foule, like a Snite in colour, but not in beake. Of these we killed some eight dozen with haile-shot being very tame, and spending the day in search, returned toward night aboord. The next day about two of the clocke in the afternoone we espied a Canoa which came neere

Sumatra.

The Iles of Pulo Pinaou.

Trees fit for mastes.

Malacca.

vnto vs, but would not come aboord vs, hauing in it some sixteen naked Indians, with whom neuertheles going afterward on land, we had friendly conference and promise of victuals. The next day in the morning we espied three ships, being all of burthen 60 or 70 tunnes, one of which wee made to strike with our very boate: and vnderstanding that they were of the towne of Martabam, which is the chiefe hauen towne for the great citie of Pegu, and the goods belonging to certaine Portugal Iesuites and a Biscuit baker a Portugall we tooke that ship and did not force the other two, because they were laden for marchants of Pegu, but hauing this one at our command, we came together to an anker. The night folowing all the men except twelue, which we tooke into our ship, being most of them borne in Pegu, fled away in their boate, leauing their ship and goods with vs. The next day we weighed our anker and went to the Leeward of an Iland hard by, and tooke in her lading being pepper, which shee and the other two had laden at Pera, which is a place on the maine 30 leagues to the South. Besides the aforesaid three ships we tooke another ship of Pegu laden with pepper, and perceiuing her to bee laden with marchants goods of Pegu onely, wee dismissed her without touching any thing.

Three ships of Pegu laden with pepper.

Martabam.

Pera.

Thus hauing staied here 10 daies and discharged her goods into the Edward, which was about the beginning of September, our sicke men being somewhat refreshed and lustie, with such reliefe as we had found in this ship, we weighed anker, determining to runne into the streights of Malacca to the Ilands called Pulo Sambilam, which are some fiue and fortie leagues Northward of the citie of Malacca, to which Ilands the Portugals must needs come from Goa or S. Thome, for the Malucos, China, and Iapan. And when wee were there arriued, we lay too and agayne for such shipping as should come that way. Thus hauing spent some fiue dayes, vpon a Sunday we espied a saile which was a Portutugall ship that came from Negapatan a towne on the maine of India ouer-against the Northeast part of the Ile of Zeilan; and that night we tooke her being of 250 tunnes: she was laden with Rice for Malacca. Captaine Lancaster commanded their captaine and master aboord our shippe, and sent Edmund Barker his lieutenant and seuen more to keepe this prize, who being aboord the same, came to an anker in thirtie

Pulo Sambilam.

A ship of Negapatan taken.

fadomes water: for in that chanell three or foure leagues from the shore you shall finde good ankorage. Being thus at an anker and keeping out a light for the Edward, another Portugall ship of Sant Thome of foure hundred tunnes, came and ankered hard by vs. The Edward being put to Leeward for lacke of helpe of men to handle her sailes, was not able the next morning to fetch her vp, vntil we which were in the prize with our boate, went to helpe to man our shippe. Then comming aboord we went toward the shippe of Sant Thome, but our ship was so foule that shee escaped vs. After we had taken out of our Portugall prize what we thought good, we turned her and all her men away except a Pilot and foure Moores. We continued here vntill the sixt of October, at which time we met with the ship of the captaine of Malacca of seuen hundred tunnes which came from Goa: we shot at her many shot, and at last shooting her maine-yard through, she came to an anker and yeelded. We commaunded her Captaine, Master, Pilot, and Purser to come aboord vs. But the Captaine accompanied by one souldier onely came, and after certaine conference with him, he made excuse to fetch the Master, and Purser, which he sayd would not come vnless he went for them: but being gotten from vs in the edge of the euening, he with all the people which were to the number of about three hundred men, women and children gote a shore with two great boates and quite abandoned the ship. At our comming aboord we found in her sixteene pieces of brasse, and three hundred but of Canarie wine, and Nipar wine, which is made of the palme trees, and raisin wine which is also very strong: as also all kinds of Haberdasher wares, as hats, red caps knit of Spanish wooll, worsted stockings knit, shooes, veluets, taffataes, chamlets, and silkes, abundance of suckets, rice, Venice glasses, certaine paper full of false and counterfeit stones which an Italian brought from Venice to deceiue the rude Indians withall, abundance of playing cardes, two or three packs of French paper. Whatsoeuer became of the treasure which vsually is brought in roials of plate in this gallion, we could not find it. After that the mariners had disordredly pilled this rich shippe, the Captaine because they would not follow his commandement to vnlade those excellent wines into the Edward, abandoned her and let her driue at Sea, taking out of her the choisest things that she had. And doubting

A ship of S. Thome.

The galcon of Malacca of 700 taken.

Wares fit to carry into the East India.

the forces of Malaca, we departed thence to a Baie in the kingdom of Iunsalaom, which is betweene Malacca and Pegu eight degrees to the Northward, to seeke for pitch to trimme our ship. Here we sent our souldier, which the captaine of the aforesaid galion had left behind him with vs, because he had the Malaian language, to deale with the people for pitch, which hee did faithfully, and procured vs some two or three quintals with promise of more, and certaine of the people came vnto vs. We sent commodities to their king to barter for Amber-griese, and for the hornes of Abath, whereof the king onely hath the traffique in his hands. Now this Abath is a beast which hath one horne onely in her forehead, and is thought to be the female Vnicorne, and is highly esteemed of all the Moores in those parts as a most soueraigne remedie against poyson. We had only two or three of these hornes which are of the colour of a browne gray, and some reasonable quantitie of Amber-griese. At last the king went about to betray our Portugall with our marchandise: but he to get aboord vs, told him that we had gilt armour, shirtes of maile and halberds, which things they greatly desire: for hope whereof he let him returne aboord, and so he escaped the danger.* Thus we left this coast and went backe againe in sight of Sumatra, and thence to the Ilands of Nicubar, where we arriued and found them inhabited with Moores,† and after wee came to an anker, the people daily came aboord vs in their Canoas, with hennes, Cocos, plantans, and other fruits: and within two dayes they brought vnto vs roials of plate, giuing vs them for Calicut cloth: which roials they finde by diuing for them in the Sea, which were lost not long before in two Portugall ships which were bound for China and were cast away there. They call in their language the Coco Calambe, the Plantane Pison, a Hen Iam, a Fish Iccan, a Hog Babee. From thence we returned the 21 of Nouember to goe for the Iland of Zeilan, and arriued there about the third of December 1592, and ankered vpon the Southside in sixe fadomes water, where we lost our anker, the place being rockie and foule

The kingdom of Iunsaloam.

Amber-greese

The hornes of Abath.

The female Vnicorne.

---

* *Marginal note.*—Some small quantitie hereof may be caried to pleasure those kings.

† *Marginal note.*—They arriue at the Iles of Nicubar, which are inhabited by Moores.

ground. Then we ranne along the Southwest part of the sayd Iland, to a place called Punta del Galle, where we ankered, determining there to haue remained vntill the comming of the Bengala Fleet of seuen or eight ships, and the Fleete of Pegu of two or three sailes, and the Portugall shippes of Tanaseri being a great Baie to the Southward of Martabam in the kingdome of Siam: which ships, by diuers intelligences which we had, were to come that way within foureteene daye to bring commodities to serue the Caraks, which commonly depart from Cochin for Portugall by the middest of Ianuarie. The commodities of the shippes which come from Bengala bee fine pauillions for beds, wrought quilts, fine Calicut cloth, Pintados and other fine workes, and Rice, and they make this voiage twise in the yeere. Those of Pegu bring the chiefest stones, as Rubies and Diamants, but their chiefe fraight is Rice and certaine cloth. Those of Tanaseri are chiefly fraighted with Rice and Nipar wine, which is very strong, and in colour like vnto rocke water somewhat whitish, and very hote in taste like vnto Aqua vitæ. Being shot vp to the place aforesayd, called Punta del Galle, wee came to an anker in foule ground and lost the same, and lay all that night a drift, because we had nowe but two ankers left vs, which were vnstocked and in hold. Whereupon our men tooke occasion to come home, our Captaine at that time lying very sicke more like to then to liue. In the morning wee set our foresaile determining to lie vp to the Northward and there to keepe our selues to and againe out of the current, which otherwise would haue set vs off to the Southward from all knowen land. Thus hauing set our foresayle, and in hand to set all our other sayles to accomplish our aforesayd determination, our men made answere that they would take their direct course for England and would stay there no longer. Nowe seeing that they could not bee perswaded by any meanes possible, the captaine was constrained to giue his consent to returne, leauing all hope of so great possibilities. Thus the eight of December 1592, wee set sayle for the Cape of Buona Speransa, passing by the Ilands of Maldiua, and leauing the mightie Iland of S. Laurence on the starreboord or Northward in the latitude of 26 degrees to the South. In our passage ouer from S. Laurence to the maine we had exceeding great store of Bonitos and Albocores, which are a greater kind of fish; of which our captain, being now recouered of his sicknesse, tooke with a hooke as many in two or three howers as would serue fortie persons a whole day. And this skole of fish continued with our ship for the space of fiue or sixe weekes, all which while we tooke to the quantitie aforesayd, which was no small refreshing to vs. In February 1593 we fell with the Eastermost land of Africa at a place called Baia de Agoa some 100 leagues to the Northeast of the Cape of Good Hope: and finding the winds contrary, we spent a moneth or fiue weekes before we could double the Cape. After wee had doubled it in March following wee directed our course for the Iland of Santa Helena, and arriued there the third day of Aprill, where we staied to our great comfort nineteene dayes: in which meane space some one man of vs tooke thirtie goodly Congers in one day, and other rockie fishe and some Bonitos. After our arriual at Santa Helena, I Edmund Barker went on shore with foure or fiue Peguins or men of Pegu which we had taken, and our Surgion, where in an house by the Chappell I found an Englishman one Iohn Segar of Burie in Suffock,* who was left there eighteene moneths before by Abraham Kendall, who put in there with the Roiall marchant and left him there to refresh him on the Iland, being otherwise like to haue perished on shipboord: and at our comming wee found him as fresh in colour and in as good plight of body to our seeming as might be, but crazed in minde and halfe out of his wits, as afterwards wee perceiued: for whether he was put in fright of vs, not knowing at first what we were, whether friends or foes, or of sudden ioy when he vnderstand we were his olde consorts and countreymen, hee became idle-headed, and for eight dayes space neither night nor day tooke any naturall rest, and so at length died for lacke of sleepe.† Here two of our men, whereof the one was diseased with the skuruie, and the other had bene nine moneths sicke of the fluxe, in short time while they were on the Iland, recouered their perfect health. We found in this place great store of very holesome and excellent good greene figs, orenges, and lemons very faire, abundance of goates and hogs, and great plentie of partriges, Guiniecocks, and other wilde foules.‡ Our mariners somewhat discontented being now watered and hauing some prouision of fish, contrary to the will of the capitaine, would straight home. The capitaine because he was desirous to goe for Phernambuc in Brasil, granted their request. And about the 12 of Aprill 1593. we departed from S. Helena, and directed our course for the place aforesayd. The next day our capitaine calling vpon the sailers to finish a foresaile which they had in hand, some of them answered that vnlesse they might goe directly home, they would lay their hands to nothing; whereupon he was constrained to folow their humour. And from thence-foorth we directed our course for our countrey, which we kept vntill we came 8 degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, betweene which 8 degrees and the line, we spent some sixe weekes, with many calme and contrary winds at North, and sometimes to the Eastward, and sometimes to the Westward: which losse of time and expense of our victuals, whereof we had very smal store, made vs doubt to keepe our course and some of our men growing into a mutinie threatned to breake vp other mens chests, to the ouerthrow of our victuals and all our selues, for euery man had his share of his victuals before in his owne custody, that they might be sure what to trust to, and husband it more thriftily. Our captaine seeking to preuent this mischiefe, being aduertised by one of our companie which had bene at the Ile of Trinidada in M. Chidleis voyage, that there we should be sure to haue refreshing, hereupon directed his course to that Iland, and not knowing the currents, we were put past it in the night into the gulfe of Paria in the beginning of Iune, wherein we were 8 dayes, finding the current continually setting in, and oftentimes we were in 3 fadomes water, and could find no going out vntil the current had put vs ouer to the Westernside vnder the maine land, where we found no current at all, and more deep water; and so keeping by the shore, the wind off the shore euery night did helpe vs out to the Northward. Being cleare, within foure or fiue days after we fell with the Ile of Mona where we ankered and rode some eighteene dayes. In which time the Indians of Mona gaue vs some refreshing. And in the meane space there arriued a French ship of Cane in which was capitaine one Monsieur de Barbaterre, of whom wee bought some two buts of wine and bread, and other victuals. Then wee watered and fitted our shippe, and stopped a great leake which broke on vs as we were beating out of the gulfe of Paria. And hauing thus made ready

---

* *Marginal note.*—Iohn Segar an Englishman left 18 moneths alone in the Ile of santa Helena.

† *Marginal note.*—A miraculous effect of extreme feare or extreme ioy.

‡ *Marginal note.*—The description of the commodities of the ile of santa Helena.

The gulfe of Paria, or Bocca del Dragone passed.

A good note.

The Ile of Mona.

our ship to goe to Sea, we determined to goe directly for New-found-land. But before we departed, there arose a storme the winde being Northerly, which put vs from an anker and forced vs the Southward of Santo Domingo. This night we were in danger of shipwracke vpon an Iland called Sauona, which is enuironed with flats lying 4 or 5 miles off; yet it pleased God to cleare vs of them, and so we directed our course Westward along the Iland of Santo Domingo, and doubled Cape Tiberon, and passed through the old channell betweene S. Domingo and Cuba for the cape of Florida: And here we met againe with the French ship of Caen, whose Captaine could spare vs no more victuals, as he said, but only hides which he had taken by traffike vpon those Ilands, wherewith we were content and gaue him for them to his good satisfaction. After this, passing the Cape of Florida, and cleere of the channell of Bahama, we directed our course for the banke of Newfound-land. Thus running to the height of 36 degrees, and as farre to the East as the Ile of Bermuda the 17 of September finding the winds there very variable, contrarie to our expectation and all mens writings, we lay there a day or two the winde being northerly, and increasing continually more and more, it grewe to be a storme and a great frete of wind: which continued with vs some 24 houres, with such extremetie, as it caried not onely our sayles away being furled, but also made much water in our shipppe, so that wee had six foote water in hold, and hauing freed our ship thereof with baling, the winde shifted to the Northwest and became dullerd: but presently vpon it the extremetie of the storme was such that with the labouring of our ship we lost our foremaste, and our ship grewe as full of water as before. The storme once ceased, and the winde contrary to goe our course, we fell to consultation which might be our best way to saue our liues. Our victuals now being vtterly spent, and hauing eaten hides 6 or 7 daies, we thought it best to beare back againe for Dominica, and the Islands adioyning, knowing that there we might haue some reliefe, whereupon we turned backe for the said Islands. But before we could get thither the winde scanted vpon vs, which did greatly endanger vs for lacke of fresh water and victuals; so that we were constrained to beare vp to the Westward to certaine other Ilandes called the Neublas or cloudie Ilands, towards the Ile of S. Iuan de porto Rico, where

The Ile of Sauona enuironed with flats.

Cape de Tiberon.

at our arriuall we found land-crabs and fresh water, and tortoyses, which come most on lande about the full of the moone. Here hauing refreshed our selues some 17 or 18 dayes, and hauing gotten some small store of victuals into our ship, we resolued to returne againe for Mona: vpon which our determination fiue of our men left vs, remaining still on the Iles of Neublas for all perswasions that we could vse to the contrary, which afterward came home in an English shippe. From these Iles we departed and arriued at Mona about the twentieth of Nouember 1593, and there comming to an anker toward two or three of the clocke in the morning, the Captaine, and Edmund Barker his Lieutenant with some few others went on land to the houses of the olde Indian and his three sonnes, thinking to haue gotten some foode, our victuals being all spent, and we not able to proceede any further vntill we had obteyned some new supply. We spent two or three daies in seeking prouision to cary aboord to relieue the whole companie. And comming downe to go aboord, the winde then being northerly and the sea somewhat growne, they could not come on shore with the boate, which was a thing of small succour and not able to rowe in any rough sea, whereupon we stayed vntill the next morning, thinking to haue had lesse winde and safer passage. But in the night about twelue of the clocke our ship did driue away with fiue men and a boy onely in it, our carpenter secretly cut their owne cable, leaning nineteene of vs on land without boate or any thing, to our great discomfort. In the middest of these miseries reposing our trust in the goodnesse of God, which many times before had succoured vs in our greatest extremities, we contented our selues with our poore estate, and sought meanes to preserue our liues. And because one place was not able to sustaine vs, we tooke our leaues one of another, diuiding our selues into seuerall companies. The greatest reliefe that we sixe which were with the Captaine could finde for the space of nine and twentie dayes was the stalkes of purselaine boyled in water, and now and then a pompion, which we found in the garden of the olde Indian, who vpon this our second arriual with his three sonnes stole from vs, and kept himselfe continually aloft in the mountaines. After the ende of nine and twentie dayes we espied a French shippe, which afterwards we vnderstood to be of Diepe, called the Luisa, whose Captaine was one Monsieur Felix, vnto whom wee made a fire, at sight whereof he tooke in his topsayles, bare in with the land, and shewed vs his flagge, whereby we iudged him French: so comming along to the Westerne ende of the Island there he ankered, we making downe with all speede vnto him. At this time the Indian and his three sonnes came downe to our Captaine Master Iames Lancaster and went along with him to the shippe. This night he went aboord the French man who gaue him good entertainement, and the next day fetched eleuen more of vs aboord entreating vs all very courteously. This day came another French shippe of the same towne of Diepe which remayned there vntil night expecting our other seuen mens comming downe: who, albeit we caused certaine pieces of ordinance to be shot off to call them, yet came not downe. Whereupon we departed thence, being deuided sixe into one ship, and sixe into another, and leauing this Iland departed for the Northside of Saint Domingo, where we remained vntill April following 1594, and spent some two moneths in traffike with the inhabitants by permission for hides and other marchandises of the Countrey. In this meane while there came a shippe of New-hauen to the place where we were, whereby we had intelligence of our seuen men which wee left behinde vs at the Isle of Mona: which was, that two of them brake their neckes with ventring to take foules vpon the cliffes, other three were slaine by the Spaniards, which came from Saint Domingo, vpon knowledge giuen by our men which went away in the Edward, the other two this man of New-hauen had with him in his shippe, which escaped the Spaniards bloodie hands. From this place Captaine Lancaster and his Lieutenant Master Edmund Barker, shipped themselues in another shippe of Diepe, the Captaine whereof was one Iohn La Noe, which was readie first to come away, and leauing the rest of their companie in other ships, where they were well intreated, to come after him, on Sunday the seuenth of Aprill 1594 they set homewarde, and disbocking through the Caijcos from thence arriued safely in Diepe within two and fortie dayes after, on the 19 of May, where after two dayes we had stayed to refresh our selues, and giuen humble thankes vnto God, and vnto our friendly neighbours, we tooke passage for Rie and landed there on Friday the 24 of May 1594, hauing spent in this voyage three yeeres, sixe weekes and two dayes, which the Portugales performe in halfe the time, chiefely because wee lost our fit time and season to set foorth in the beginning of our voyage.

We vnderstood in the East Indies by certaine Portugales which we tooke, that they haue lately discouered the coast of China to the latitude of nine and fiftie degrees, finding the sea still open to the Northward: giuing great hope of the Northeast or Northwest passage. Witnesse Master Iames Lancaster.

Certaine remembrances of an intended voyage to Brasill, and the Riuer of Plate, by the Edward Cotton, a ship of 260 Tunnes of Master Edward Cotton of Southampton, which perished through extreme negligence neare Rio Grande in Guinie, the 17 of Iuly 1583.

ARticles of Couenants agreed vpon betweene Edward Cotton Esquier, owner of the good ship called the Edward Cotton of Southampton, and of all the marchandizes in her laden, of the one part, and William Huddie gentleman, Captaine of the said ship, Iohn Hooper his Lieutenant, Iohn Foster Master, Hugh Smith Pilot for the whole voyage, and William Cheesman marchant, on the other part.

1 TO obserue and keepe the dayly order of Common prayer aboord the ships, and the companie to be called thereunto, at the least once in the day, to be pronounced openly.

2 Item, that they be ready with the first faire winde, to set saile and sailes in the voyage, and not to put into any port or harbour, but being forcibly constrained by weather, or other apparant and vrgent cause.

3 Item, that they take in, at or about the Isles of Cape Verde, to the quantitie of 25 or 30 tuns of salt, to be imployed among other the owners marchandize, at Santos, and S. Vincent, to his onely behoofe, and the rest of the salt, so much as shall be needed for victuall, and for sauing of the hides to be kept aboord, and the same salt to be prouided either at the fishermens hands neere the said Isles for trucke of commodities, or els to be taken in at the aforesayd Isles, at discretion of the aboue-named.

4 Item, vpon the due performance of this voiage, the owner bindeth himselfe by this deede, to yeeld vnto any such of the companie, as shall refuse their shares before they depart from the coast of England, 20 markes a single share, for the dutie of

the whole voiage, making not aboue 75. shares single in the whole.

5 Item, the company according as they be appointed by the officers of the said ship aboue named, shall at all times be most ready to doe their painfull indeuor, not onely aboord, but in all labours at the land, according to the direction giuen by the aboue named officers, vpon paine of forfeiture of their shares and wages, the same to be diuided amongst the company.

6 Item, that the shares be taken at their returne out of al the traine oile, and hides of the seales, and of all other commodities gotten by their handie labour, and of the salt that shall be vended and other commodities, at, or neere the coast of Brasil, to allow after 9 li. the tunne freight, whereof one third to goe to the company.

7 Item, that if any man shall practise by any deuise or deuises whatsoeuer, to alter the voiage from the true purpose and intent of the owner, viz. to make their first port at Santos, and Saint Vincent, and there to reuictuall and traffike, and from thence to the riuer of Plate to make their voyage by the traine, and hide of the seales, with such other commodities as are there to be had, according as the owner, with diuers that haue gouernment in the said ship, are bound to her highnesse by their deedes obligatorie in great summes, that all such practisers, vpon due proofe made, shall lose their whole intertainement due by shares or otherwise for this sayde voyage to be adiuged by the Captaine, his Lieutenant, the Master, Pilot, and marchant, or three of them at least, whereof the Captaine to be one.

8 Item, that the pinnesse be ready at al times to serue the marchants turne vpon his demand, to take in wares and commodities, and to cary and recary to and from the shore, when, and as oft as neede shall be, and to giue due attendance at the marchant and marchants direction during the whole voyage.

9 Item, that no head or chiefe officer being set downe for such an officer vnder the hand of the owner, at the going to sea of the said shippe, shall or may be displaced from his said place or office, without great cause, and his misdemeanor to be adiudged by the Captaine, and his Lieutenant, the Master, the Pilot, and the marchant, or by the consent of three of them at least.

10 Item, that vpon the returne of the shippe to the coast of England, the Maister and Pilot put not into any port or harbour,

to the Westward of Southampton, but forced by weather, or such like vrgent cause.

William Huddie.
Iohn Hooper.
Hugh Smith.
John Foster.
William Cheesman.

A direction as well for the Captaine, and other my friends of the shippe, as especially for William Cheesman Marchant, for the voyage to the riuer of Plate.

The Ile of S. Sebastian.

AT your comming to the Isle of Saint Sebastian, vpon the coast of Brasill, you shall according to your discretions, make sale of such commodities, as you may thinke will be thereabout well vented, and likewise to buy commodities without making longer stay there then your victuals be prouiding, but rather to bespeake commodities against your returne from the riuer of Plate, especially of Amber, Sugar, Greene ginger, Cotton wooll, and some quantitie of the peppers of the countrey there. Also for Parats and Munkies, and the beast called Serrabosa. Also you shall barrell vp of the beefe called Petune, two or three barrels, and to lose no good opportunitie, to gather of the Indian figges, and the graines of them to preserue drie, in such quantitie as conueniently may be done: and touching the making of the traine, and preseruing of the hides, I leaue it wholly to the order and the discretion of the chiefe of the companie. Also that in any road where the ship shall ride vpon the coast of America, triall be made with the dragges, for the pearle Oisters, and the same being taken, to be opened and searched for pearle in the presence of the Captaine, his Lieutenant, the Master, the Pilot, and marchant, or three of them, whereof the Captaine or his Lieutenant to be one, and to remaine in the custodie of the Captaine and marchant, vnder two lockes, either of them to haue a key to his owne locke, and that a true inuentorie be deliuered also to the Master and Pilot of the said pearle or other iewels of price gotten in the said voiage, to the intent that no partie be defrauded of his due, and that no concealment be made of any such thing vpon forfeiture, the partie to lose his share and dutie for the voyage that shall so conceale and not reueale it vnto the officers aboue named. Also to doe your best indeuour to try for the best Ore of golde, siluer, or other rich mettals whatsoeuer. Forget not also to bring the kernels and seeds of strange plants with you, the Palmito with his fruit inclosed in him. Serue God, keepe good watch, and stand alwayes vpon your garde.

Edward Cotton.

These things being thus ordered, and the ship of the burden of 260 tunnes, with 83 men of all sortes furnished, and fully appointed for the voyage, began to set saile from Hurst Castle vpon Friday the 20 of May, Anno 1583, and the 17 day of Iuly ensuing fell with the coast of Guinie, to take in fresh water, where, through meere dissolute negligence, she perished vpon a sand, with the most part of the men in her, as appeareth by the confession of one that escaped, the substance and tenor whereof is this.

The confession of William Bends Masters Mate in the Edward Cotton, the 21 of October, Ann. 1584.

HE sayth, that the 17 day of Iuly, Anno 1583. hauing some lacke of fresh water, they put roome vpon the coast of Guinie, where they were set vpon a sand about 8 leagues from the shore, and this Examinate, with 29 more, got into the pinnesse, who arriued in an Island, being desolate of people, and fiue miles in compasse, where they rested 18 dayes through force of weather, hauing nought to eate but grasse. The rest of the company the ship being splitted in two and in quarters, got them into one of the after quarters, and by the helpe of raftes came also a shore into another Island neere to Rio Grande, where they all died as he supposeth.

Rio Grande.

The other 30 in the pinnesse, at the end of 18 dayes, departed that Island, and came to Saint Domingo, where comming on shore, they were taken of the Moores, and stripped naked. And they buried one Coxe * an olde man aliue, notwithstanding his pitifull lamentation and skrikings: the rest hauing Rice and water allowed them, liued there a certaine time. This Examinate was at last sold to a Portugall, with whom he dwelt the space of a quarter of a yere, and in the end, a Portugall Carauel comming

---

Marginal note.—One Coxe an old English man buried aliue by the Moores of Rio Grande in Guinea.

thither, his master laded the same with Negroes, and he obtained leaue of his master to goe in the same Carauell, and by that meanes arriued at Lisbone, and from thence came into England the 17 of October, 1584, leauing behinde him of his companie aliue, Richard Hacker, Iohn Baker, Iohn Mathew, and a boy, with two others which were gone beyond Saint Domingo: all which, as he saith, were so sicke and diseased, that he iudged them to be long before this time dead.

The Letters patents or priuiledges granted by her Maiestie to certaine Noble men and Marchants of London, for a trade to Barbarie, in the yeere 1585.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to the Treasurer & Barons of our Eschequer, and to al Maiors, shirifs, constables, customers, collectors of our customes and subsidies, controllers, searchers, and keepers of our hauens and creekes, ports and passages, within this our realme of England and the dominions of the same and to al our officers, ministers and subiects, and to all other whosoeuer to whom it shall or may appertaine, and to euery of them greeting. Whereas it is made euidently and apparantly knowen vnto vs, that of late yeeres our right trustie and right welbeloued councellors, Ambrose Erle of Warwike, and Robert Erle of Leicester, and also our louing and naturall subiects, Thomas Starkie of our citie of London Alderman, Ierard Gore the elder, and all his sonnes, Thomas Gore the elder, Arthur Atie gentleman, Alexander Auenon, Richard Staper, William Iennings, Arthur Dawbeney, William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthony Garrard, Robert How, Henry Colthirst, Edward Holmden, Iohn Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Lawrence, Nicholas Stile, Oliuer Stile, William Bond, Henrie Farrington, Iohn Tedcastle, Walter Williams, William Brune, Iohn Suzan, Iohn Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afield, Robert Washborne, Reinold Guy, Thomas Hitchcocke, George Lydiat, Iohn Cartwright, Henry Paiton, Iohn Boldroe, Robert Bowyer, Anthonie Dassell, Augustine Lane, Robert Lion, and Thomas Dod, all of London, Marchants now trading into the Countrey of Barbary, in the parts of Africa, vnder the gouernement of Muly Hammet Sheriffe, Emperor of Morocco, and king of Fesse and Sus, haue sustained great and grieuous losses, and are like to sustaine greater if it should not be preuented: In tender consideration whereof, and for that diuers Marchandize of the same Countries are very necessary and conuenient for the vse and defence of this our Realme of England, and for diuers other causes vs specially mouing, minding the reliefe and benefit of our said subiects, and the quiet trafique and good gouernment to be had, and vsed among them in their said trade, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion haue giuen and granted, and by those presents for vs, our heires and successors, doe giue and grant vnto the saide Earles of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, Ierard Gore the elder, Arthur Atie gentleman, Alexander Auenon, Richard Staper, William Iennings, Arthur Dawbenie, William Sherrington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthonie Gerrard, Robert Howe, Henry Colthirst, Edward Holmden, Iohn Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden Simon Lawrence, Nicholas Stile, Oliuer Stile, William Bond, Henry Farrington, Iohn Tedcastle, Walter Williams, William Brune, Iohn Suzan, Iohn Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afild, Robert Washborne, Rainold Guie, Thomas Hitchcocke, George Lidiate, Iohn Cartwright, Henry Payton, Iohn Baldroe, Robert Bowyer, Anthony Dassell, Augustine Lane, Robert Lion, and Thomas Dod, that they and euery of them by themselues or by their factors or seruants, and none others, shall and may, for, and during the space of 12. yeeres, haue and enioy the whole freedome and libertie in the saide trafique or trade, vnto or from the said countrey of Barbary, or to or from any part thereof, for the buying and selling of all maner of wares and marchandizes whatsoeuer, that now or accustomably heretofore haue bene brought or transported, from, or to the said country of Barbary, or from or to any of the cities, townes, places, ports, roades, hauens, harbors, or creeks of the said country of Barbary, any law, statute, graunt, matter, customes or priuileges, to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And for the better establishing, ordering and gouerning of the said Erles of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, &c. abouesaid, their factors, seruants and assignes in the trade aforesaid, we for vs, our heires and successors, doe by these presents giue and graunt full licence to the saide Thomas Starke, Ierard Gore the elder, and the rest aforesaide, and euery of them from time to time, during the said terme of twelue yeeres, at their pleasures to assemble and meete together in any place or places conuenient within our citie of London, or elsewhere, to consult of, and for the said trade, and with the consent of the said Erle of Leicester, to make and establish good and necessary orders and ordinances for and touching the same, and al such orders and ordinances so made, to put in vse and execute, and them or any of them with the consent of the said Erle of Leicester, to alter, change and make voyde, and if need be, to make new, at any time during the saide terme, they or the most part of them then liuing and trading, shall finde conuenient.

Prouided alwayes, that the ordinances or any of them bee not contrary or repugnant to the lawes, statutes or customes of this our Realme of England. And to the intent that they onely to whom the said libertie of trafique is graunted by these our Letters patents, and none other our Subiects whatsoeuer, without their special consent and licence before had, should during the said terme haue trade or trafique for any maner of Marchandizes, to, or from the said countrey of Barbary, or to, or from any Citie, town, place, port, harbor or creeke within the said countrey of Barbary, to, or out of our said Realmes and dominions, wee doe by these presents straightly charge, commaund, and prohibite all and euery our Subiects whatsoeuer, other then only the said Erles of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, and the rest abouesaid, and euery of them by themselues, or by their Factors or seruants during the saide terme, to trade or trafique, for or with any marchandize, to, or from the saide Countrey of Barbary, or to, or from any the dominions of the same, as they tender our fauour, and will auoyde our high displeasure, and vpon paine of imprisonment of his and their bodies, at our will and pleasure, and of forfeiting all the marchandizes, or the full value thereof, wherewith they or any of them during the saide terme, shall trade or trafique to or from the said countrey of Barbary, or to, or from the dominions of the same, contrary to this our priuilege and prohibition, vnlesse it be by and with the expresse licence, consent, and agreement of the saide Erles of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, Ierard Gore the elder, and all his sonnes, Thomas Gore the elder, Arthur Atie Gentleman, Alexander Auenon, Richard Straper, William Iennings, Arthur Dawbnie, William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthonie Gerrard, Robert Howe, Henry Colthirst, Edward Holmden, Iohn Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Lawrence, Nicholas Stile, Oliuer Stile, William Bond, Henry Farington, Iohn Tedcastle, Walter Williams, William Brune, Iohn Suzan, Iohn Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afield, Robert Washborne, Rainold Guy, Thomas Hitchcock, George Lidiate, &c. or by, and and with the expresse licence and consent of the more part of them then liuing and trading, first had and obtained, so alwayes, that the sayd Earle of Leicester be one, if hee bee liuing.

And we further for vs, our heires and successors of our speciall grace, meere motion and certaine knowledge, do graunt to the said Erles of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, and the rest abouesaid, and to euery of them, that nothing shall be done, to be of force or validitie touching the said trade or trafique, or the exercise thereof, without or against the consent of the saide Erles, Thomas Starkie, (and the others before named) during the time of these our Letters patents for 12. yeeres as aforesaid.

And for that the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. and euery of them aforesaid should not be preuented or interrupted in this their said trade, we do by these presents for vs, our heires and successours, straightly prohibite and forbid all maner of person or petsons, as well strangers of what nation or countrey soeuer, as our owne Subiects, other then onely the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. and euery of them as aforesaid, that they nor any of them from hencefoorth during the said terme of 12. yeeres, do or shall bring, or cause to be brought into this our Realme of England, or to any the dominions thereof, any maner of marchandizes whatsoeuer growing, or being made within the said Countrey of Barbary, or within any the dominions thereof, vnlesse it be by and with the license of the more part of them then liuing, first had and obtained, so alwayes y^{t} the sayd Erle of Leicester (if hee be liuing) be one, vnder the paine that euery one that shall offend or doe against this our present prohibition here last aboue mentioned in these presents, shall forfeite and lose all and singular the said marchandizes to be landed in any our realmes and dominions, contrary to the tenor and true meaning of this our prohibition in that behalfe prouided: the one moitie of all and euery which said forfaitures whatsoeuer mentioned or specified in these our present Letters patents, shalbe to vs, our heires and successors: And the other moity of al and euery the said forfaitures, we doe by these presents of our certaine knowledge and meere motion clearely and wholy for vs, our heires and successors giue and graunt vnto the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. And these our Letters patents, vpon the onely sight thereof, without any further warrant, shal bee sufficient authoritie to our Treasurer of England for the time being, to our Barons of the Exchequer, and to all other our officers that shall haue to deale in this behalfe, to make full allowance vnto the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. their deputies or assignes of the one moitie of all and singular the goods, marchandizes and things whatsoeuer mentioned in these our present Letters patents, to be forfaited at any time or times during the said terme of twelue yeres: which said allowance we doe straightly charge and commaund from time to time to be made to the sayd Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. and to euery of them accordingly, without any maner of delay or deniall or any of our officers whatsoever, as they tender our fauour and the furtherance of our good pleasure. And wee doe straightly charge and commaund, and by these presents prohibite all and singular Customers and Collectors of our customes and subsidies, and comptrollers of the same, of and within our Citie and port of London, and all other portes, creekes, and places within this our Realme of England, and euery of them, that they ne any of them take or perceiue, or cause, or suffer to be taken, receiued, or perceiued for vs and in our name, or to our vse, or to ye vses of our heires or successors of any person or persons, any sum or summes of money, or other things whatsoeuer during the said terme of 12. yeeres, for, and in the name and liew or place of any custome, subsidy and other thing or duties to vs, our heires or successors due or to be due for the customes and subsidies of any marchandizes whatsoeuer growing, being made or comming out of the said countrey of Barbary, or out of the dominions thereof, nor make, cause, nor suffer to be made any entrie into our or their books of customs and subsidies, nor make any agreement for the shbsidies and customs, of, and for any the said marchants. sauing onely with, and in the name of the said Erles, Thomas Starkle, &c. or the most part of them, as they and euery of them will answere at their vttermost perils to the contrary. And for the better and more sure obseruation of this our graunt, wee will, and grant for vs, our heires and successors by these presents, that the Treasurer and barons of our Exchequer for the time being, by force of this our graunt or enrolment thereof in the said court at al and euery time and times during the said terme of 12 yeeres, at and vpon request made vnto them by the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c., or by the atturneis, factors, deputies or assignes of them, or the most part of them then liuing and trading, shall and may make and direct vnder the seale of the said Exchequer, one or more sufficient writ or writs, close or patents, vnto euery or any of our said customers, collectors or controllers of our heires and successors in all and euery, or to any port or ports, creeke, hauens, or other places within this our realme of England, as the Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or any the atturneis, factors, deputies or assignes of them or the most part of them then liuing and trading, shall at any time require, commaunding and straightly charging them and euery of them, that they nor any of them at any time or times during the said term of 12. yeeres, make any entrie of any wares or marchandizes whatsoeuer, growing, being made or comming out or from the said countrey of Barbary, or the dominions thereof, nor receiue or take any custome, subsidie or other entrie, or make any agreement for the same, other then with or in the name of the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c, the factor or factors, deputies or assignes of them or the most part of them then liuing and trading, according to this our graunt, and the true meaning thereof, and according to our saide will and pleasure before in these presents declared. In witnesse whereof we haue caused these our Letters to be made patents. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the 5. day of Iuly in the 27. yeere of our reigne.

The Ambassage of Master Henry Roberts, one of the sworne Esquires of her Maiesties person, from her highnesse to Mully Hamet Emperour of Marocco and the King of Fesse· and Sus, in the yeere 1585 : who remained there as Liger for the space of 3. yeeres. Written briefly by himselfe.

VPon an incorporation granted to the Company of Barbary Marchants resident in London, I Henry Roberts one of her Maiesties sworne Esquires of her peron, was appointed her highnesse messenger, and Agent vnto the aforesaid Mully Hamet Emperor of Marocco, king of Fesse, and Sus. And after I had receiued my Commission, instructions, and he Maiesties letters, I departed from London the 14. of August in the yeere 1585. in a tall ship called the Ascension, in the company of the Minion and Hopewell, and we all arriued in safetie at Azafi a port of Barbary, the 14. of September next following. The Alcaide of the towne (being the kings officer there, and as it were Maior of the place) receiued mee with all humanitie and honour, according to the custome of the Countrey, lodging me in the chiefest house of the towne, from whence I dispatched a messenger (which in their language they call a Trottero) to aduertise the Emperour of my arriuall: who immediately gaue order, and sent certaine souldiers for my guard and conduct, and horses for my selfe, and mules for mine owne and my companies carriages. Thus being accompanied with M. Richard Euans, Edward Salcot, and other English Marchants resident there in the Countrey, with my traine of Moores and carriages, I came at length to the riuer of Tensist, which is within foure miles of Marocco: and there by the water side I pitched my tents vnder the Oliue trees: where I met with all the English Marchants by themselues, and the French and Flemish, and diuers other Christians, which attended my comming. And after we had dined, and spent out the heat of the day, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone we all set forward toward the Citie of Marocco, where we arriued the said day, being the 14. of September, and I was lodged by the Emperours appointment in a faire house in the Iudaria or Iurie, which is the place where the Iewes haue their abode, and is the fairest place, and quietest lodging in all the Citie.

After I had reposed my selfe 3 dayes, I had accesse to the kings presence, deliuered my message and her Maiesties letters, and was receiued with all humanitie, and had fauourable audience from time to time for three yeeres: during which space I abode there in his Court, as her Maiesties Agent and Ligier: and whensoeuer I had occasion of businesse I was admitted either to his Maiestie himselfe, or to his vice Roy, whose name was Alcayde Breme Saphiana, a very wise and discreet person, and the chiefest about his Maiestie. The particulers of my seruice, for diuers good and reasonable causes, I forbeare here to put downe in writing.

After leaue obtained, and an honourable reward bestowed by the Emperour vpon me, I departed from his Court at Marocco the 18. of August 1588. toward a garden of his, which is called Shersbonare, where he promised mee I should stay but one day for his letters: howbeit, vpon some occasion I was stayed vntil the 14. of September at the kings charges, with 40. or 50. shot attending vpon me for my guard and safetie.

From thence at length I was conducted with all things necessary to the port of Santa Cruz, being sixe dayes iourney from Marocco, and the place where our shippes do commonly take in their lading, where I arriued the 21. of the same moneth. In this port I stayed 43. dayes, and at length the second of Nouember I embarqued my selfe, and one Marshok Reiz a Captaine and a Gentleman, which the Emperour sent with mee vpon an Ambassage to her Maiestie: and after much torment and foule weather at Sea, yet New-yeres day I came on land at S. Iues in Cornwall, from whence passing by land both together vp towards London, we were met without the Citie with the chiefest marchants of the Barbary Company, well mounted all on horsebacke, to the number of 40. or 50. horse, and so the Ambassadour and myselfe being both in Coche, entred the citie by torchlight, on Sunday at night the 12. of Ianuary 1589.

Este es vn traslado bien y fielmente sacado da vna carta real del Rey Muley Hamet de Fes y Emperador de Marruecos, cuyo tenor es este, que Segue.

COn el nombre de Dios piadoso y misericordioso, &c. El sieruo de Dios soberano, el conquistador per su causa, el successor ensalçado por Dios, Emperador de los Moros, hijo del Emperador de los Moros, Iariffe, Haceni, el que perpetue su honora, y ensalçe su estado. Se pone este nuestro real mandado en manos de los criados de neustras altas puertas los mercadores Yngleses; para que por el sepan todos los que la presente vieren, come nuestro alto Conseio les anpara con el fauor de Dios de todo aquello, que les enpeciere y dannare en qualquiera manera, que fueren offendidos, y en qualquiera viaie, que fueren, ninguno les captiuarà en estos nuestros reynos, y puertos, y lugares, que a nos pertenescen: y que les cubre el anporo de nuestro podor de qualquiera fatiga; y ningun los impida commano de enemistad, ni se darà causa, de que se agrauien en qualquiera manera con el fauor de Dios y de sua comparo. Y mandamos à los Alcaydes de los nuestros puertos y fortalezas, y à los que en estos nuestros reynos tienen cargo, y à toda la gente commun, que no les alleguen en ninguna manera, con orden, de que sean offendidos en ninguna manera; y esto serà necessariamente: Que es escrita en los medios dias de Rabel, segundo anno de nueue çientos, y nouenta y seys.

Concorda el dia d'esta cara con veynte dias de Março del anno de mil y quiniento y ochenta y siete, lo qual yo Abdel Rahman el Catan, interprete per su Magestad saquè, y Romançe de verbo ad verbum, como en el se contiene, y en Fee dello firmo de my nombre, fecho vt supra.

Abdel Rahman el Catan.

The same in English.

This is a copy well and truely translated of an edict of Muley Hamet king of Fez and Emperour of Marocco, whose tenor is as followeth: To wit, that no Englishmen should be molested or made slaues in any part of his Dominions, obtained by the aforesaid M. Henry Roberts.

IN the Name of the pitifull and the mercifull God, &c. The seruant of the supreme God, the conqueror in his cause, the successor aduanced by God, the Emperour of the Moores, the sonne of the Emperour of the Moores, the Iariffe, the Haçeny, whose honour God long increase and aduance his estate. This our princely commandement is deliuered into the hands of the English marchants, which remaine in the protection of our stately palaces: to the ende that all men which shall see this present writing, may vnderstand that our princely counsaile wil defend them by the fauor of God, from any thing that may impeach or hurt them in what sort soeuer they shalbe wronged: and that, which way soeuer they shall trauaile, no man shall take them captiues in these our kingdomes, ports, and places which belong vnto vs, which also may protect and defend them by our authoritie from any molestation whatsoeuer: and that no man shall hinder them by laying violent hand vpon them, and shall not giue occasion that they may be grieued in any sort by the fauour and assistance of God. And we charge and command our officers of our hauens and fortresses, and all such as beare any authority in these our dominions, and likewise all the common people, that in no wise they do molest them, in such sort that they be no way offended or wronged. And this our commandement shall remaine inuiolable, being registred in the middest of the moneth of Rabel in the yeere 996.

The date of this letter agreeth with the 20. of March 1587. which I Abdel Rahman el Catan, interpretour for his Maiestie, haue translated and turned out of the Arabian into Spanish word for word as is conteined therein: and in witnesse thereof haue subscribed my name as aforesaid.

Abdel Rahman el Catan.

En nombre de Dios el piadoso piadador.

Oracion de Dios sobre nuestro Sennor y Propheta Mahumet, y los allegados à el.

A letter of Mully Hamet to the Earle of Leicester.

El seruo de Dios, y muy guerrero, y ensalsado por la graçia de Dios, Myra Momanyn, hijo de Myra Momanyn, nieto de Myra Momanyn, el Iarif, el Hazeny, que Dios sustenga sus reynos, y enhalse sus mandados, para el Sennor muy affamado y muy illustre, muy estimado, el Conde de Leycester, despues de dar las loores deuidas à Dios, y las oraçiones, y saludes deuidas à le propheta Mahumet. Seruirà esta por os hazer saber que llegò a qui à nuestra real Corte vuestra carta, y entendimos lo que en ella se contiene. Y vuestro Ambaxador, que aqui està en nuestra corte me dio à entender la causa de la tardança de los rehenes hasta agora: el qual descuento reçebimos, y nos damos por satisfechos. Y quanta à lo que à nos escriueys por causa de Iuan Herman, y lo mesmo que nos ha dicho el Ambaxador sobre el, antes que llegâsse vuestra carta por la quexa del ambaxador, que se auia quexado del, ya auiamos mandado prender lo, y assi que da aora preso, y quedera, hasta que se le haga la iusticia que mas se le ha de hazer. Y con tanto nuestro Sennor os tenga en su guardia. Hecha en nuestra corte real en Marruecos, que Dios sostenga, el 28. dias del mes de Remodan Anno 996.

The same in English.

In the Name of the mercifull and pitifull God.

The blessing of God light vpon our Lord and prophet Mahumet, and those that are obedient vuto him.

THe seruant of God both mightie in warre and mightily exalted by the grace of God Myra Momanyn, the son of Myra Momanyn, the Iarif, the Hazeni, whose kingdoms God maintaine and aduance his authoritie: Vnto the right famous, right noble, and right highly esteemed Erle of Leicester, after due praises giuen vnto God, and due blessings and salutations rendered vnto the prophet Mahumet. These are to giue you to vnderstand, that your letters arriued here in our royal Court, and we wel perceiue the contents thereof. And your Ambassador which remaineth here in our Court told me the cause of the slownesse of the gages or pledges vntil this time: which reckoning we accept of, and holde our selues as satisfied. And as touching the matter wherof you write vnto vs concerning Iohn Herman, and the selfe same complaint which your Ambassador hath made of him, before the comming of your letter, we had already commaunded him to be taken vpon the complaint which your Ambassadour had made of him, whereupon he still remaineth in hold, and shall so continue vntil further iustice be done vpon him according to his desert. And so our Lord keepe you in his safeguard. Written at our royall court in Marocco, which God maintaine, the 28. day of the moneth Remodan, Anno 996.*

The Queenes Maiesties letters to the Emperour of Marocco.

MVy alto, y muy poderoso Sennor,

The Queenes letters to the Emperour.

Auiendo entendido de parte de nuestro Agente la mucha aficion, y volontad, que nos teneys, y quanta honta, y fauor le hazeys por amor nuestro, para dar nos tanto mayor testimonio de vuestra amistad, hemos recebido de lo vno y de le otro muy grande contento, y satisfacion; y assy no podemos dexar de agradesceroslo, como mereceys. Vuestras cartas hemos tambien recibido, y con ellas holgadonos infinitamente, por venir de parte de vn Principe, à quien tenemos tanta obligacion. Nuestro Agente nos ha escripto sobre ciertas cosas, que desseays ser os embiadas de aqui: Y, aunque queriamos poder os en ello puntualmente conplazer, como pidiz, ha succedido, que las guerras, en que stamos al presente occupadas, no nos lo consienten del todo: Hemos però mandado que se os satisfaga en parte, y conforme à lo que por agora la necessitad nos permite, como mas particularmente os lo declararà nuestro Agente: esperando, que lo reciberreys en buena parte y conforme al animo, con que os lo concedemos. Yporque nos ha sido referido, que aueys prometido de proceder contra vn Iuan Herman vassallo nuestro, (el qual nos ha grauemente offendido) de la manera, que os lo demandaremos, auemos dado orden à nuestro dicho Agente de deziros mas parcularmente lo que desseamos ser hecho a cerca deste negocio, rogando os, que lo mandeys assi complir: y que seays seruido de fauorescer siempre al dicho Agente, y tener lo en buen credito, como hasta agora aueys hecho, sin permiter, que nadie os haga mudar de parecer a cerca de las calumnias, que le podran leuantar, ny dudar, que no complamos muy por entero todo, lo que de nuestra parte os prometiere. Nuestro Sennor guarde vostra muy alta y muy poderosa persona. Hecha en nuestra Corte Real de Grenewich a 20. de Iulio 1587.

---

* *Marginal note.*—Which is with vs 1587.

The same in English.

RIght high and mightie Prince, Hauing vnderstood from our Agent the great affection and good wil which you beare vs, and how great honour and fauor you shew him for our sake, to the end to giue vs more ample testimonie of your friendship, we haue receiued very great contentment and satisfaction, as wel of the one as of the other: and withall we could not omit to magnifie you, according to your desert. We haue also receiued your letters, aud do not a litle reioyce thereof, because they come from a prince vnto whom we are so much beholden. Our Agent hath written vnto vs concerning certaine things which you desire to bee sent vnto you from hence. And albeit we wish that we could particularly satisfie you, as you desire, yet it is fallen out, that the warres, wherein at this present we be busied wil not suffer vs fully to doe the same: neuerthelesse, wee haue commaunded to satisfie you in part, and according as the present necessitie doeth permit vs, as our Agent will declare vnto you more particularly, hoping you will receiue it in good part, and according to the good will wherewith wee graunt the same. And because it hath bene signified vnto vs that you haue promised to proceed in iustice against one Iohn Herman our subiect, which hath grieuously offended vs, in such sort as wee haue sent word vnto you, wee haue giuen order to our said Agent to informe you more particularly in that which we desire to be done in this busines, praying you also to

Iohn Herman an English rebel.

command the same to be put in execution: and that it would please you alwayes to fauour our said Agent and to hold him in good credite, as you haue done hitherto, not suffering your selfe to be changed in your opinion, for all the false reports which they may raise against him, nor to doubt that wee will not accomplish at large all that he shall promise you on our behalfe. Our Lord keepe and preserue your right high and mightie person. Written in our royall Court at Greenwich the 20. of Iuly 1587.

A Patent granted to certaine Marchants of Exeter, and others of the West parts, and of London, for a trade to the Riuer of Senega and Gambra in Guinea, 1588.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To our Treasurer and Admirral of England, our Treasurer and Barons of our Exchequer, and all and euery our Officers, ministers and subiects whatsoeuer, greeting. Whereas our welbeloued subiects William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicolas Spicer, and Iohn Doricot of our City of Exeter marchants, Iohn Yong of Coliton in our county of Deuon marchant, Richard Doderige of Barnstable in our saide County of Deuon Marchant, Anthonie Dassell, and Nicolas Turner of our Citie of London Marchants, haue bene perswaded and earnestly moued by certaine Portugals resident within our Dominions, to vndertake and set forward a voyage to certaine places on the coast of Guinea; Videlicit, from the Northermost part of the Riuer commonly called by the name of the Riuer of Senega, and from and within that Riuer all along that coast vnto the Southermost part of another Riuer commonly called by the name of Gambra, and within that Riuer: which, as we are informed they haue already once performed accordingly: And for that we are credibly giuen to vnderstand that the further prosecuting of the same voyage, and the due and orderly establishing of an orderly trafique and trade of marchandize into those Countries, wil not only in time be very beneficial to these our Realmes and dominions, but also be a great succour and reliefe vnto the present distressed estate of those Portugals, who by our princely fauour liue and continue here vnder our protection: And considering that the aduenturing and enterprising of a newe trade cannot be a matter of small charge and hazard to the

A former voyage to Gambra.

aduenturers in the beginning: we haue therefore thought it conuenient, that our said louing subiects William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Young, Richard Doderige, Anthonie Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, for the better incouragement to proceede in their saide aduenture and trade in the said Countreis, shal haue the sole vse and exercise thereof for a certaine time. In consideration whereof, and for other waightie reasons and considerations vs specially moouing, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, we haue giuen and graunted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successors doe giue and graunt vnto the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Young, Richard Doderide, Anthony Dassell and Nicholas Turner, and to euery of them, and to such other our Subiects as they or the most part of them shall thinke conuenient to receiue into their Company and society, to be the traders with them into the said Contreis, that they and euery of them by themselues or by their seruants or Factors and none others, shall and may for and during the full space and terme of tenne yeeres next ensuing the date of these presents, haue and enioy the free and whole trafique, trade and feat of marchandise, to and from the said Northermost part of the said Riuer, commonly called by the name of the Riuer of Senega: and from and within that riuer all along the coast of Guinea, vnto the Southermost part of the said Riuer, commonly called by the name of the Riuer of Gambra, and within that Riuer also. And that they the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassel and Nicholas Turner, and euery of them, by themselues or by their seruants or Factors, and such as they or the most part of them shall receiue into their Company and societie, to be traders with them into the sayd Countreis (as is aforesaid) and none others, shall and may, for, and during the said space and terme of 10. yeres, haue and enioy the sole and whole trafique or trade of marchandize into and from the said places afore limitted and described, for the buying and selling, bartering and changing of and with any goods, wares, and marchandizes whatsoeuer, to be vented had or found, at or within any the cities, townes, or places situated or being in the countries, partes and coastes of Guinea before limitted, any law, statute, or graunt, matter, custome or priuileges to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And for the better ordering, establishing, and gouerning of the said societie and Company in the said trade and trafique of marchandizes, and the quiet, orderly, and lawfull exercise of the same, We for vs, our heires, and successors, do by these presents giue and graunt full license and authority vnto the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthonie Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, and to such others as they shall receiue into their saide societie and company to be traders into the said countreis, as is aforesaid, and to euery of them, that they or the most part of them shall and may at all conuenient times at their pleasures, assemble and meete together in any place or places conuenient, aswell within our citie of Exeter, as elsewhere within this our Realme of England, or other our dominions. during the said terme of ten yeere, to consult of, for, and concerning the saide trade and trafique of marchandize, and from time to time to make, ordaine, and stablish good, necessary, and reasonable orders, constitutions, and ordinances, for, and touching the same trade. And al such orders, constitutions, and ordinances so to be made, to put in vse and execute, and them, or any of them, to alter, change, and make voyd, and, if neede be, to make new, as at any time, during the said terme of ten yeeres, to them, or the most part of them then trading, as is aforesaide, shall be thought necessary and conuenient. Vnto all and euery which said orders, constitutions, and ordinances, they, and euery of them, and all other persons which shall hereafter be receiued into the saide societie and Company, shall submit themselues, and shall well and duely obserue, performe, and obey the same, so long as they shall stand in force, or else shall pay and incurre such forfeitures, paines, and penalties, for the breach thereof, and in such maner and forme, and to such vses and intents, as by the saide orders, constitutions, and ordinances shall be assessed, limitted and appointed. So alwayes, as the same orders, constitutions and ordinances be not repugnant or contrary to the lawes, statutes, and customes of this Realme of England, nor any penaltie to exceede the reasonable forme of other penalties, assessed by the Company of our Marchants, named Aduenturers. And to the intent that they onely, to whom the said power and libertie of trafique and trade of marchandize is graunted by these our letters patent aforesaid, and none others whatsoeuer, without their speciall consent and license before had, shall, during the said terme of ten yeeres, vse, or haue trade or trafique, with or for any maner of goods or marchandizes, to and from the saide coastes or parts of Guinea afore limited: Wee doe by these presents, by our royall and supreme authoritie, straightly charge and commaund, that no person or persons whatsoeuer, by themselues, or by their factors, or seruants, during the said terme of 10. yeres, shall in any wise trade or trafique, for or with any goods or marchandizes, to or from the said coasts and parts of Guinea afore limitted, other then the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, and such as from time to time, they, or the most part of them, shall receiue into their societie and company, to be traders with them, as is aforesaid, as they tender our fauour, and will auoyde our high displeasure, and vpon paine of imprisonment of his or their bodies, at our will and pleasure, and to lose and forfeit the ship or shippes, and all the goods, wares, and marchandizes, wherewith they, or any of them, shal, during the said terme of 10. yeres, trade, or trafique to or from the said Countries, or any part thereof, according to the limitation aboue mentioned, contrary to our expresse prohibition and restraint, in that behalfe. And further, we do by these presents giue and graunt full power and authoritie to the said William Braily, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, and to such other persons, as they shal receiue into their society and company, to be traders with them, as is aforesaid, and the most part of them, for the time being: that they, and euery of them, by themselues, their factors, deputies, or assignes, shall and may, from time to time, during the said terme of 10. yeres, attach, arrest, take, and sease all, and all maner of ship, and ships, goods, wares, and marchandizes whatsoeuer, which shall be brought from, or caried to the said coasts and parts of Guinea afore limited, contrary to our will and pleasure, and the true meaning of the same, declared and expressed in these our letters patents. Of all and euery which said forfaitures whatsoeuer, the one third part shall be vnto vs, our heires, and successors, and another thirde part thereof we giue and graunt by these presents, for and towards the reliefe of the saide Portugals continuing here vnder our protection, as is aforesaid. And the other third part of al the same forfaitures, we do by these presents, of our certaine knowledge and meere motion, for vs, our heires and successors, giue and grant cleerely and wholy vnto the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassel, and Nicholas Turner, and such other persons, as they shall receiue into their societie, and company, as is aforesaid. And these our letters patents, or the inrolment or exemplification of the same, without any further or other warrant, shall from time to time, during the said tenne yeeres, be a sufficient warrant and authoritie to our Treasurer of England, for the time being, and to the barons of our Exchequer, and to all other our officers and ministers whatsoeuer, to whom it shall or may appertaine, to allow, deliuer, and pay one thirde part of all the said forfeitures, to the vse of the said Portugals, and one other thirde part of the same forfeitures, to the saide William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, and such other persons, as they shall receiue into their societie and Company, to be traders with them, as aforesaide, to their owne proper vse and behoofe: which said allowances and paiments thereof, our will and pleasure is, and we do straightly charge and commaund, to bee from time to time duely made and performed accordingly, without any delay or denial of any our officers aforesaid, or any other our officers or ministers whatsoeuer. And we do straightly charge and command, and by these presents prohibite all and singular our customers, collectors, and farmers of our Customes and subsidies, and controllers of the same, of and within our ports of the citie of London, and the Citie of Exeter, and all other ports, creekes, and places, within this our Realme of England, and euery of them, and all other our officers and ministers whatsoeuer, which haue or shall haue any dealing or intermedling, touching our said Customes and subsidies, that they, ne any of them by themselues, their clearks, deputies, or substitutes, or any of them take or receiue, or in any wise cause or suffer to be taken or receiued for vs, or in our name, or to our vse, or for, or in the names or to the vses of our heires or successors, or any person, or persons, any summe or summes of money, or other things whatsoeuer, during the saide terme of ten yeeres, for, or in the name, lieu, or place of any Custome, subsidie, or other thing or duetie, to vs, our heires, or successors, due, or to be due, for the Customes or subsidies of any such goods, wares, or marchandizes, to be transported, caried, or brought to or from the priuileged places, before in these presents mentioned, or any of them: nor make, nor cause to be made any entry into, or of the bookes of subsidies or customes, nor make any agreement for the Customes or subsidies, of, or for any goods, wares, or marchandizes, to bee sent to, or returned from any the priuileged places, before in these presents mentioned, sauing onely with, and in the name, and by the consent of the saide William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Antonie Dassel, and Nicholas Turner, or of some of them, or of such as they or the most part of them shall receiue into their societie and Company, as aforesaid. Prouided alwaies, that if at any time hereafter, we our selues, by our writing sigded with our proper hand, or any sixe or more of our priuie Counsell, for the time being, shall by our direction, and by writing signed and subscribed with their hands, signifie and notifie to the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Ioh Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, or to any of them, or to any other, whom they or the most part of them shal receiue into their Companie and society, as is aforesaid, or otherwise to our officers in our ports of Exeter, or Plimouth, by them to be notified to such as shall haue interest in this speciall priuilege, that our will and pleasure is, that the said trade and trafique shal cease, and be no longer continued into the saide coastes and partes of Guinea before limited: then immediatly from and after the ende of sixe moneths next insuing, after such signification and notification so to be giuen to any of the said Company and societie, as is aforesaid, or otherwise to our Officers in our ports of Exeter or Plimouth, by them to be notified to such as shall haue interest in this speciall priuilege, these our present letters Patents, and our graunt therein contained shall be vtterly voyde, and of none effect, ne validitie in the lawe, to all intents and purposes: any thing before mentioned to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster, the thirde day of May, in the thirtieth yere of our Reigne 1588.

A voyage to Benin beyond the Countrey of Guinea, set foorth by Master Bird and Master Newton Marchants of London; with a shippe called the Richard of Arundell, and a Pinesse; Written by Iames Welsh, who was chiefe Master of the said voyage, begunne in the yeere 1588.

VPon the twelft of October wee wayed our ankers at Ratcliffe and went to Blackwall. And the next day sayling from thence, by reason of contrary winde and weather, wee made it the 25. of October before wee were able to reach Plimouth, and there we stayed (to our great expense of victuals) for lacke of winde and weather vnto the 14. of December.

On Saturday the said 14. of December we put from thence, and about midnight were thwart of the Lizart.

Rio del oro is in 22. degrees and 47. min.

Thursday the second of Ianuary wee had sight of the land neere Rio del oro, God be thanked, and there had 22. degrees of latitude, and 47. minutes.

Cauo de las Barbas.

The thirde of Ianuary wee had sight of Cauo de las Barbas, and it bare Southeast fiue leagues off.

Crosiers.

The 4. we had sight of the Crosiers in the morning.

Cauo Verde, in 14. degr. 43. m.

Tuesday the 7. day we had sight of Cauo verde, and I finde this place to be in latitude 14. degrees, and 43. minutes, being 4. leagues from the shoare.

Cauo de Monte.

Cauo Mensurado.

Friday the 17. Cauo de Monte bare off vs North Northeast, we sounded and had 50. fathom blacke oase, and at 2. of the clocke it bare North Northwest 8. leagues off. And Cauo Mensurado bare of vs East and by South, and wee went Northeast with the maine: here the current setteth to the East Southeast alongst the shoare, and at midnight wee sounded and had 26. fathome blacke oase.

The 18. in the morning we were thwart of a land much like Cauo verde, and it is as I iudge 9. leagues from Cauo Mensurado; it is a hill sadlebacked, and there are 4. or 5. one after another: and 7. leagues to the Southward of that, we saw a row of hils sadlebacked also, and from Cauo Mensurado are many mountaines.

Rio de Sestos.

Cauo dos Baixos.

The 19. we were thwart Rio de Sestos, and the 20. Cauo dos Baixos was North and by West 4. leagues off the shoare, and at afternoone there came a boate frome the shoare with 3. Negroes, from a place (as they say) called Tabanoo. And towards euening we were thwart of an Island, and a great many of small Islands or rockes to the Southward, and the currant came out of the Souther-boord: we sounded and had 35. fathomes.

Tabanoo.

The 21. wee had a flat hill that bare North Northeast off vs, and wee were from the shoare 4. leagues, and at 2. a clocke in the afternoone we spake with a Frenchman riding neere a place called Ratire, and another place hard by called Crua. This Frenchman caried a letter from vs to M. Newton: wee layd it on hull while wee were writing of our letter; and the current set vs to the Southward a good pase alongst the shore South Southeast.

A French ship at Ratire.

Crua.

A current to the Southeast-ward.

The 25. we were in the bight of the bay that is to the Westward of Capo de Tres puntas: the currant did set East Northeast.

The 28. we lay sixe glasses a hull tarying for the pinesse.

The last of Ianuary the middle part of Cape de tres puntas was thwart of vs three leagues at seuen of the clocke in the morning: and at eight the pinnesse came to an anker: and wee prooued that the current setteth to the Eastward: and at sixe at night the vttermost lande bare East and by South 5. leagues, and we went Southwest, and Southwest and by South.

Cauo de tres puntas.

Saturday the first of February 1588. we were thwart of a Round foreland, which I take to be the Eastermost part of Capo de tres puntas: and within the saide Round foreland was a great bay with an Island in the said bay.

The second of February wee were thwart of the Castle of Mina, and when the thirde glasse of our Looke-out was spent, we spied vnder our Larbord-quarter one of their Boates with certaine Negroes, and one Portugale in the Boate, wee haue had him to come aboord, but he would not. And ouer the castle upon the hie rockes we did see as it might be two watch-houses, and they did shew very white: and we went eastnortheast.

The Castle of Mina.

Two white watch-houses.

The 4 in the morning we were thwart a great high hill, and vp into the lande were more high ragged hilles, and those I reckoned to be but little short of Monte Redondo. Then I reckoned that we were 20 leagues Southeast-ward from the Mina, and at 11 of the clocke I sawe two hilles within the land, these hils I take to be 7 leagues from

Monte Redondo.

the first hils. And to sea-ward of these hilles is a bay, and at the east end of the bay another hill, and from the hils the landes lie verie low. We went Eastnortheast, and East and by North 22 leagues, and then East along the shore.

Villa longa.

The 6 we were short of Villa longa, and there we met with a Portugall Carauell.

The 7 a faire temperate day, and all this day we road before Villa longa.

The 8 at noone we set saile from Villa longa, and ten leagues from thence we ankered againe and stayed all that night in ten fadom water.

Rio de Lagoa.

The ninth we set saile, and all alongst the shore were very thicke woodes, and in the afternoone we were thwart a riuer, and to the Eastward of the riuer a litle way off was a great high bush-tree as though it had no leaues, and at night we ankered with faire and temperate weather.

The 10 we set sayle and went East, and East and by South 14 leagues along the shoare, which was so full of thicke woods, that in my iudgement a man should haue much to doe to passe through them, and towards night we ankered in 7 fadome with faire weather.

Very shallow water.

The 11 we sayled East and by South, and three leagues from the shore we had but 5 fadome water, and all the wood vpon the land was as euen as if it had beene cut with a paire of gardeners sheeres, and in running of two leagues we descerned a high tuft of trees vpon the brow of a land, which shewed like a Porpose head, and when wee came at it, it was but part of the lande, and a league further we saw a head-land very low and full of trees, and a great way from the land we had very shallow water, then we lay South into the sea, because of the sands for to get into the deepe water, and when we found it deepe, we ankered in fiue fadom thwart the riuer of Iaya, in the riuers mouth.

Rio de Iaya.

The 12 in the morning we road still in the riuers mouth. This day we sent the pinnesse and the boat on land with the marchants, but they came not againe vntil the next morning. The shallowest part of this riuer is toward the West, where there is but 4 fadom and a halfe, and it is very broad. The next morning came the boate aboord, and they also said it was Rio de Iaya. Here the currant setteth Westward, and the Eastermost land is higher then the Westermost.

Thursday the 13 we set saile, and lay South Southeast along the shore, where the trees are wonderfull euen, and the East shore is higher then the West shore, and when wee had sayled 18 leagues we had sight of a great riuer, then we ankered in three fadom and a halfe, and the currant went Westward. This riuer is the riuer of Benin, and two leagues from the maine it is very shallowe.

Rio Benin.

The 15 we sent the boat and pinnesse into the riuer with the marchants, and after that we set saile, because we road in shallow water, and went Southsoutheast, and the starboard tacke aboord vntill we came to fiue fathom water, where we road with the currant to the Westward: then came our boat out of the harbour and went aboord the pinnesse. The West part of the land was high browed much like the head of a Gurnard, and the Eastermost land was lower, and had on it three tufts of trees like stackes of wheate or corne, and the next day in the morning we sawe but two of those trees, by reason that we went more to the Eastward. And here we road still from the 14 of Februarie vntill the 14 of Aprill, with the winde at Southwest.

A currant Westward.

The 16 of Februarie we rode still in 5 fadome, and the currant ranne still to the Westward, the winde at Southwest, and the boat and pinnesse came to vs againe out of the riuer, and told vs that there was but ten foote water vpon the barre. All that night was drowsie, and yet reasonable temperate.

The 17 a close day the winde at Southwest. Our marchants wayed their goods and put them aboord the pinnesse to goe into the riuer, and there came a great currant out of the riuer and set to the Westward.

The 18 the marchants went with the boat and pinnesse into the riuer with their commodities. This day was close and drowsie, with thunder, raine and lightning.

The 24 a close morning and temperate, and in the afternoone the boat came to vs out of the riuer from our marchants.

Twesday the 4 of March, a close soultry hot morning, the currant went to the Westward, and much troubled water came out of the riuer.

The 16 our pinnesse came a boord and Anthonie Ingram in her, and she brought in her 94 bags of pepper, and 28 Elephants teeth, and the Master of her and all his company were sicke. This was a temperate day and the winde at Southwest.

Sicknesse among our men.

The 17. 18. and 19 were faire temperate weather and the winde at Southwest. This day the pinnesse went into the riuer againe, and carried the Purser and the Surgion.

The 25 of the said moneth 1589 we sent the boate into the riuer.

The death of the Captaine.

Pepper and Elephants teeth.

The 30 our pinnesse came from Benin, and brought sorowfull newes, that Thomas Hemstead was dead and our Captaine also, and she brought with her 159 Cerons or sackes of pepper and Elephants teeth.

A good note.

Note that in all the time of our abiding here, in the mouth of the riuer of Benin, and in all the coast hereabout it is faire temperate weather, when the winde is at Southwest. And when the winde is at Northeast and Northerly, then it raineth, with lightning and thunder, and is very intemperate weather.

The 13 of Aprill 1589 we set saile homewards in the name of Iesus. In the morning we sayled with the winde at Southwest, and lay West and by North, but it prooued calme all that night, and the currant Southeast.

The 14 the riuer of Benin was Northeast 7 leagues from the shore, and there was little winde and towards night calme.

The 17 a faire temperate day the winde variable, and we had of latitude foure degrees and 20 minutes.

The 25 a faire temperate day the winde variable, and here we had three degrees and 29 minuts of latitude.

The 8 of May we had sight of the shore, which was part of Cauo de Monte, but we did not thinke we had beene so farre, but it came so to passe by reason of the currant. In this place M. Towrson was in like maner deceiued with the currant.

A deceiptfull currant.

The 9 we had sight of Cauo de monte.

The 17 a darke drowsie day, this was the first night that I tooke the North starre.

The 26 a temperate day with litle winde, and we were in 12 degrees and 13 minutes of latitude.

The 30 we met a great sea out of the Northwest.

The 6 of Iune we found it as temperate as if we had beene in England, and yet we were within the height of the sunne, for it was declined 23 degrees, and 26 minuts to the Northward, and we had 15 degrees of latitude.

The 8 faire and temperate as in England, here we met with a counter sea, out of the Southborde.

The 15 a faire temperate day, the winde variable, here we had 18 degrees and fiftie nine minutes.

The 12 of Iuly in 30 degrees of latitude we met with great store of rockweed, which did stick together like clusters of grapes, and this continued with vs vntill the 17 of the said moneth, and then we saw no more, at which 17 day we were in two and thirtie degrees sixe and fortie minutes of latitude.

Rockweed or Saragasso all along the sea.

The 25 at sixe of the clocke in the morning, we had sight of the Ile of Pike, it bare North and by East from vs, we being 15 leagues off.

The 27 we spake with the poste of London and she told vs good newes of England.

The nine and twentieth we had sight of the Island of Cueruo, and the 30 we saw the Island of Flores.

The 27 of August in 41 degrees of latitude we saw 9 saile of Britons, and three of them followed vs vntill noone, and then gaue vs ouer.

The 30 we had sight of Cape Finisterre.

The eight of September at night wee put into Plimouth sound, and road in Causon Bay all night.

The 9 we put into Catwater and there stayed vntill the 28 of September, by reason of want of men and sicknesse.

The nine and twentieth we set sayle from Plimouth, and arriued at London the second of October 1589.

The commodities that we caried in this voyage were cloth both linnen and woollen, yron worke of sundry sorts, Manillios or bracelets of copper, glasse beades, and corrall.

The commodities that we brought home were pepper and Elephants teeth, oyle of palme, cloth made of Cotton wool very curiously wouen, and cloth made of the barke of palme trees. Their monie is pretie white shels, for golde and siluer we saw none. They haue also great store of cotton growing: their bread is a kind of roots, they call it Inamia, and when it is well sodden I would leaue our bread to eat of it, it is pleasant in eating, and light of digestion, the roote thereof is as bigge as a mans arme. Our men vpon fish-dayes had rather eate the rootes with oyle and

Inamia, a kind of bread in Benin.

Wine of palm trees.

vineger, then to eate good stockfish. There are great store of palme trees, out of the which they gather great store of wine, which wine is white and very pleasant, and we should buy two gallons of it for 20 shels. They haue good store of sope, and it smelleth like beaten violets. Also many pretie fine mats and baskets that they make, and spoones of Elephants teeth very curiously wrought with diuers proportions of foules and beasts made vpon them. There is vpon the coast wonderfull great lightning and thunder, in so much as I neuer hard the like in no Countrey, for it would make the decke or hatches tremble vnder our feete, and before we were well acquainted with it, we were fearefull, but God be thanked we had no harme. The people are very gentle and louing, and they goe naked both men and women vntill they be married, and then they goe couered from the middle downe to the knees.

Abundance of honey.

They would bring our men earthen pottes of the quantitie of two gallons, full of hony and hony combes for 100 shelles. They would also bring great store of Oranges and Plantans which is a fruit that groweth upon a tree, and is like vnto a Cucumber but very pleasant in eating. It hath pleased God of his mercefull goodnesse to give me the knowledge how to preserue fresh water with little cost,* which did serve vs sixe moneths at the sea, and when we came into Plimmouth it was much wondered at, of the principal men of the towne, who said that there was not sweeter water in any spring in Plimmouth. Thus doth God prouide for his creatures, vnto whom be praise now and for euermore, Amen.

The voiage set forth by M. Iohn Newton, and M. Iohn Bird marchants of London to the kingdome and Citie of Benin in Africa, with a ship called the Richard of Arundell, and a pinnesse, in the yere 1588. briefly set downe in this letter following, written by the chiefe Factor in the voyage to the foresaid Marchants at the time of the ships first arriuall at Plimouth.

WOrshipful Sirs, the discourse of our whole proceeding in this voyage wil aske more time and a person in better health then I am at this present, so that I trust you will pardon me, till my comming up to you: in the meane time let this suffice. Whereas we departed in the moneth of December from the coast of England with your good ship the Richard of Arundell and the pinnesse, we held on our direct course towards our appointed port, and the 14 day of Februarie following we arriued in the hauen of Benin, where we found not water enough to carry the ship ouer the barre, so that we left her without in the road, and with the pinnesse and ship boat, into which we had put the chiefest of our marchandise, we went vp the riuer to a place called Goto, where we arriued the 20 of February, the foresaid Goto being the neerest place that we could come to by water, to go for Benin. From thence we presently sent Negroes to the king, to certifie him of our arriuall, and of the cause of our comming thither: who returned to vs againe the 22 day with a noble man in their company to bring vs vp to the Citie, and with 200 Negroes to carrie our commodities: hereupon the 23 day we deliuered our marchandize to the kings Factor, and the 25 day we came to the Citie of Benin, where we were well intertained: The sixe and twenty day we went to the Court to haue spoken with the king, which (by reason of a solemne feast then kept amongst them) we could not doe: but yet we spake with his Veadore, or chiefe man, that hath the dealing with the Christians: and we conferred with him concerning our trading, who answered vs, that we should have all thing to our desire, both in pepper and Elephants teeth.

---

* *Marginal note.*—This preseruatiue is wrought by casting into an hogshead of water an handful of bay-salt, as the author told me.

Goto in Benin.

The great citie of Benin.

The first of March, we were admitted to the kings presence, and he made vs the like courteous answere for our traffike: the next day we went againe to the Court, where the foresaid Veadore shewed vs one basket of greene pepper, and another of dry in the stalkes: wee desired to haue it plucked from the stalks and made cleane, who answered, that it would aske time, but yet it should be done: and that against another yeere it should be in better readines, and the reason why we found it so vnprepared was, because in this kings time no Christians had euer resorted thither, to lade pepper. The next day there were sent vs 12 baskets, and so a litle euery day vntill the 9 of March at which time we had made vpon 64 serons of pepper, and 28 Elephants teeth. In this time of our being at Benin (our natures at this first time not so well acquainted with that climate) we fell all of vs into the disease of the feuer, whereupon the Captaine sent me downe with those goods which we alreadie had receiued, to the rest of our men at Goto: where being arriued, I found all the men of our pinnesse sicke also, and by reason of their weaknes not able to conuey the pinnesse and goods downe to the place where our ship road: but by good hap within two houres after my comming to Goto, the boate came vp from the ship, to see how all things stood with vs, so that I put the goods into the boat, and went downe towards the ship: but by that time I was come aboord, many of our men died: namely, Master Benson, the Cooper, the Carpenter, and 3 or 4 more, and my selfe was also in such a weake state that I was not able to returne againe to Benin. Whereupon I sent vp Samuel Dunne, and the Chirurgian with him to our men, that were about to let them blood, if it were thought needfull: who at their comming to Benin, found the Captaine and your sonne William Bird dead, and Thomas Hempsteede very weake, who also died within two dayes after their comming thither. This sorrowfull accident caused them with such pepper and teeth, as they could then find, speedily to returne to the ship, as by the Cargason will appeare: at their comming away the Veadore tolde them, that if they could or would stay any longer time, he would vse all possible expedition to bring in more commodities: but the common sicknesse so increased and continued amongst vs all, that by the time our men which remained were come aboord, we had so many sicke and dead of our companie, that we looked all for the same happe, and so thought to loose both our ship, life, countrey and all. Very hardly and with much adoe could we get vp our ankers, but yet at last by the mercie of God hauing gotten them vp, but leauing our pinnesse behind vs, we got to sea, and set saile, which was vpon the 13 of Aprill. After which by little and little our men beganne to gather vp their crums and to recouer some better strength: and so sailing betwixt the Ilands of Cape Verde, and the maine we came to the Islands of the Azores vpon the 25 of Iuly, where our men beganne a fresh to grow ill, and divers died, among whom Samuel Dun was one, and as many as remained liuing were in a hard case: but in the midst of our distresse, it fell so well out, by Gods good prouidence, that we met with your ship the Barke Burre, on this side the North cape, which did not only keepe vs good companie, but also sent vs sixe fresh men aboord, without whose helpe, we should surely haue tasted of many inconueniences. But by this good meanes we are now at the last arriued in Plimouth, this 9 day of September: and for want of better health at this time, I referre the further knowledge of more particularities till my comming to London.

Yours to commaund
Antony Ingram.

The second voyage to Benin, set foorth by Master Iohn Newton, and Master Iohn Bird Marchants of London in the yeere 1590 with a ship called the Richard of Arundell of the burthen of one hundreth tunnes, and a small pinnesse, in which voyage Master Iames Welsh was chiefe Maister.

The third of September 1590 we set saile from Ratclife, and the 18 of the said moneth we came into Plimouth sound, and the two and twentieth we put to sea againe, and at midnight we were off the Lisart, and so passed on our voyage vntill the 14 of October, on which day we had sight of Forteuentura one of the Canarie Islands, which appeared very ragged as we sailed by it.

The 16 of October, in the latitude of 24 degrees and nine minutes we met with a great hollow sea, the like whereof I neuer saw on this coast, and this day there came to the ships side a monstrous great fish (I thinke it was a Gobarto) which put vp his head to the steepe tubs where ye cooke was in shifting the victuals, whom I thought the fish would haue caried away.

The 21 in this latitude of 18 degrees we met with a countersea out of the North boord, and the last voyage in this very place we had the countersea out of the South, being very calme weather as now it is also.

The 24 we had sight of Cauo Verde, and the 25 we met with a great hollow sea out of the North, which is a common signe that the winde will be Northerly, and so it prooued.

A token of a Northerly winde.

The 15 of Nouember we met with three currants out of the West and Northwest, one after another, with an houres time betweene each currant. This was in the latitude of 6 degrees and 42 minutes.

The 18 day we met with two other great currants out of the Southwest, and the 20 we saw another current out of the Northeast, and the 24 we had a great current

Great currants.

out of the Southsouthwest, and at 6 of the clocke towards night we had 3 currents more.

The 27 we thought that we had gone at the least 2 leagues and a halfe euery watch, and it fell out that we sailed but one league euery watch for the space of 24 houres, by meanes of a great billow and current that came still out of the South.

The 5 of December in setting the watch we cast about and lay East Northeast, and Northeast, and here in 5 degrees and a halfe our pinnesse lost vs wilfully.

The 7 at the going downe of the Sunne we saw a great blacke spot in the Sunne, and the 8. day both at rising and setting we saw the like, which spot to our seeming was about the bignesse of a shilling, being in 5 degrees of latitude, and still there came a great billow of the southerboord.

The 14 we sounded and had 15 fadom water and grosse red sand, and 2 leagues from the shore the currant set Southeast along the shore with a billow still out of the southerboord.

Two rocks.

The 15 we were thwart a rocke somewhat like the Mewstone in England, it was 2 leagues from vs, here we sounded and had 27 fadom, but the rocke is not aboue a mile from the shore, and a mile farther we saw another rocke, and betweene them both broken ground; here we sounded and had but 20 fadome and blacke sand, and we might see plaine that the rockes went not along the shore, but from the land to the seaward, and about 5 leagues to the Southwards we sawe a great bay, here we had 4 degrees and 27 minuts.

A French ship of Hunfleur.

The 16 we met with a French ship of Hunfleur, who robbed our pinnesse, we sent a letter by him, and this night we saw another spot in the sunne at his going downe. And towards euening we were thwart of a riuer, and right ouer the riuer was a high tuft of trees.

Cauo de las Palmas.

The 17 we ankered in the riuers mouth, and then we found the land to be Cauo de las Palmas, and betweene vs and the cape was a great ledge of rockes, one league and a halfe into the sea, and they bare to the West of the Cape, we saw also an Island off the point of the foreland, thus it waxed night that we could perceiue no more of the lande, but onely that it trended in like a bay, where there runneth a streame as if it were in the riuer of Thames, and this was the change day of the Moone.

The 19 a faire temperate day, and the wind South, we went

East, and the lande a sterne of vs West, and it shewed low by the water side like Islands, this was the East of Cauo de las Palmas, and it trended in with a great sound, and we went East all night, and in the morning wee were but 3 or 4 leagues from the shore.

The 20 we were thwart of a riuer called Rio de los Barbos.

The 21 we went along the shore East, and 3 or 4 leagues to the West of Cauo de tres puntas, I find the bay to be set deeper then it is by 4 leagues, and at 4 of the clocke the land begun to shewe high, and the first part of it full of Palme trees.

The 24 still going by the shore, the land was very low and full of trees by the water side, and at 12 of the clocke we ankered thwart of the riuer called, Rio de Boilas. Here we sent our boate a shore with the marchants, but they durst not put into the riuer because of a great billow that continually brake at the entrance vpon the barre.

The 28 we sailed alongst the shore, and ankered at night in seuen fadom because a great current would haue put vs backe, which came from the East Southeast from Papuas.

Arda.

The 29 at noone we were thwart of Arda, and there we tooke a Carauel but the men were fled on land, then we went aboord her, but she had nothing in her but only a litle oyle of Palme trees, and a few roots. The next morning our Captaine and marchants went to meete Portugals, that came in a boate to speake with vs, where they communed about the buying of the Carauell of our men againe, and the Portugals promised that we should haue for the Carauell, certaine bullocks and Elephants teeth, and they gaue vs one tooth and one bullocke presently, and sayd they would bring vs the rest the next day.

Ianuarie.

The first of Ianuarie our Captaine went on land to speake with the Portugales, but when he saw they did dissemble, he came aboord againe, and presently we vnrigged the Carauell, and set her on fire before the towne. Then we set saile and went along the coast, where we saw a Date tree, the like whereof is not in all that coast vpon the water side, also we fell on ground a litle in one place: Thus we went to Villa longa, and there ankered.

Villa longa.

Rio de Lagoa.

The third we were as far shot as Rio de Lagoa, where our marchants went a shore and vpon the barre they found 3 fadom flat, but they went not in because it was late. There is also to the Eastward of this riuer a Date tree higher than all the rest of the other trees thereabout. Thus we went along the coast, and euery night ankered, and al the shore as we went was full of trees and thicke woods.

The 6 day in the morning it was very foggy, so that we could not see the land, and at three of the clocke in the afternoone it cleared vp, and then we found our selues thwart of the riuer of Iaya, and when we found the shallow water, we bare into the sea South, as we did the voyage before, and came to an ancre in fiue fadom water.

The riuer of Iaya.

The next day we set saile againe, and towards noone we were thwart of the riuer of Benin in foure fadom water.

The riuer of Benin.

The 10 day our Captaine went on land with the shallop at 2 a clocke in the afternoone. All this weeke it was very foggy euery day vntill ten a clocke, and all this time hitherto hath beene as temperate as our summer in England. This day we went into the road and ankered, and the west point of the road bare East northeast off vs, wee riding in foure fadome water.

The 21 a faire temperate day, this day M. Hassald went to the towne of Goto, to heare newes of the Captaine.

Goto.

The 23 came the Carauell, and Samuell in her, and she brought 63 Elephants teeth, and three bullocks.

The 28 a faire temperate day, and towards night there fell much raine, lightning, and thunder, this day our boate came aboord from Goto.

The 24 of Februarie, we tooke in 298 Cerons or sackes of pepper, and 4 Elephants teeth, and the winde was at Southeast. And the 26 we put the rest of our goods into the Carauell, and M. Hassald went with her to Goto.

The 5 of March ye Carauel came againe and brought 21 Cerons of pepper, and 4 Elephants teeth.

The 9 of Aprill our Carauell came aboord with water for our prouision for the sea, and this day also we lost our shallope.

The 17 a drowsie rainie day, and in the afternoone we saw 3 great spoutes of raine, two on our larbord side, and one right with the ships head, but God be thanked, they came not at vs, and this day we tooke in the last of our water for the sea, and the 26 we victualed our Carauell to go with vs to the sea.

The 27 we set saile to goe homewarde with the winde at Southwest, and at two a clocke in the afternoone, the riuer of Benin was Northeast 8 leagues from vs.

The 3 of May we had such a terrible gust with raine, lightning and thunder, that it tore and split our fore saile, and also the Carauels foresayle and maine-sayle, with the wind at Southeast.

The 12 a faire temperate day, much like our sommer mornings in England, being but one degree and a halfe from the line, but at midnight we had a cruell gust of raine, and the wind at northeast.

The 24 we were South from Cauo de las Palmas 37 leagues.

The first of Iuly we had sight of the Iland of Braua, and it bare East 7 leagues off, and this Island is one of the Islands of Cauo Verde.

The 13 of August we spake with the Queenes ships, the Lord Thomas Howard being Admirall, and sir Richard Greeneuill Viceadmirall. They kept vs in their company vntill the 15 day night, themselues lying a hull, in waight for purchase 30 leagues to the Southwest of the Island of Flores.

We departed in company of a prise.

The 15 we had leaue to depart with a fly-boat laden with sugar that came from Sant Thome, which was taken by the Queenes ships, whereof my Lord Admirall gaue me great charge, not to leaue her vntill she were harbored in England.

The three and twentieth the Northeast part of the Island of Coruo bare of vs East and by South sixe leagues off.

The 17 of September we met with a ship of Plimouth that came out of the West Indies, but she could tell vs no newes. The next day we had sight of another sayle, this day also one of our company named M. Wood died.

The 23 we spake with the Dragon of my Lord of Cumberland, whereof Master Iuie was Maister.

The second of October we met with a ship of New-castle which came from Newfoundland, and out of her we had 300 couple of Newland fish.

The 6 we had sight of Sillie, and with raine and winde we were forced to put into S. Maries sound, where we staied all night, and 4 dayes after.

The 11 we set saile againe, and comming out had three fadom vpon the barre at a high water, then we lay out Southeast, through Crow-sand, and shortly after we had sight of the lands end, and at ten of the clocke we were thwart of the Lysart.

The 13 we were put into Dartmouth, and there we stayd vntill the 12 of December. From thence we put out with the winde at West, and the 18 of December, God be praised, we ankered at Limehouse in the Thames, where we discharged 589 sacks of Pepper, 150 Elephants teeth, and 32 barrels of oile of Palme trees.

The commodities that we caried out this second voyage were Broad cloth, Kersies, Bayes, Linnen cloth, Yron vnwrought, Bracelets of Copper, Corall, Hawks belles, Horsetails, Hats, and such like.

This voyage was more comfortable vnto vs then the first, because we had good store of fresh water, and that very sweet: for as yet we haue very good water in the shippe which we brought out of the riuer of Benin the first day of Aprill 1591. and it is at this day (being the 7 of Iune 1592.) to be seene aboord the ship as cleare and as sweet as any fountaine can yeeld.

In this voyage we sailed 350 leagues within halfe a degree of the equinoctiall line, and there we found it more temperate than where we rode.* And vnder the line we did kill great store of small Dolphines, and many other good fishes, and so did we all the way, which was a very great refreshing vnto vs, and the fish neuer forsooke vs vntil we were to the Northwards of the Ilands of Azores, and then we could see no more fish, but God be thanked wee met with good company of our countrey ships which were great comfort vnto vs, being fiue moneths before at Sea without any companie.

By me Iames Welsh master of the Richard of Arundell, in both these voyages to the riuer of Benin.

An Aduertisement sent to Philip the second king of Spaine from Angola by one Baltazar Almeida de Sousa, touching the state of the forsayd countrey, written the 21 of May, 1591.

THe 26 of Iuly I certified your maiestie by Iohn Frere de Bendanha your maiesties pay-master and commissioner, with the gouernour Paulo Dias, which is lately deceased, of all things that happened the 28 of December in the yere last past 1590. Now I thought it conuenient to aduertise your maiestie what hath fallen out since that time, which is as foloweth. The gouernour Luis Serrano encamped himselfe eight leagues from Cabasa, where the Negro king dwelleth with 350 Portugal souldiers: and afterward being there encamped, it hapned that the King of Matamba sent a strong and mightie army, and in warlike maner, with strange inuentions for the sayd purpose. So the king of Angola gaue this other king battell, and the gouernour sent 114 souldiers Portugals to helpe the said king of Angola: in which battell it was the will of God that our army was ouerthrown and all slaine, as well our Portugals as the Moores which tooke part with them. So with this ouerthrow it happened that this realme the second time hath rebelled against your maiestie. Herevpon the Governour assembling the rest of his Portugal souldiers, to the number of 250 altogether, went to Amasanguano, which is now his place of abode. Moreouer, besides the manifold losses which haue befallen the Portugals in this realme, your maiestie hath sustained other great misfortunes in your lands and goods. And because I cannot personally come to certifie your maiestie thereof, I thought it good to write some part of the same whereby your maiestie may vnderstand the estate of this countrey. This realme for the most part thereof hath twise benne wonne, and twise lost for want of good gouernment. For here haue bene many gouernours which haue pretended to do iustice, but haue pitifully neglected the same, and practised the cleane contrary.* And this I know to be most true. But the onely way to recouer this realme, and to augment your maiesties lands, goods and treasure, must be by sending some noble and mighty man to rule here, which must bring authoritie from your maiestie, and by taking streight order that euery captaine which doeth conquere here may bee rewarded according to his deserts. Likewise your maiestie must send hither 2000 good souldiers, with munition and sufficient store of prouision for them. And by this means your highnesse shall know what yeerely reuenue Angola will yeeld vnto your coffers, and what profit will grow thereof. Otherwise your maiestie shall reape but

---

* *Marginal note.*—It is more temperate vnder the equinoctiall, then on the coast of Guinie and Benin.

114 Portugals slaine in Angola.

---

* *Marginal note.*—The only way to reduce a rebellous kingdom vnto obedience.

litle benefit here. If with my presence I may doe your maiestie any seruice in giuing information of the state of this realme, as one which haue had experience thereof, and haue seene the order of it, vpon the vnderstanding of your maiesties pleasure herein, I will do my best endeuour. And the cause whereof I haue not done this heretofore hath bene, by reason that the Gouernors of this realme would suffer none of the captaines which haue conquered this countrey to informe your maiestie of that which is needfull for your seruice, and the augmenting of this conquest. Our lord preserue your catholique person with increase of many kingdomes, and the augmentation of youre crowne. Written in the conquest of the realme of Angola the 21 of May 1591.

An vsuall trick of lewd gouernours.

Your maiesties most loiall subiect,
Baltazar Almeida de Souza.

Confirmatio treugarum inter Regem Angliæ Eduardum quartum, et Ioannem secundum Regem Portugalliæ, datarum in oppido montis Maioris 8 Februarij, et apud Westmonasterium 12 Septembris, 1482, anno regni 22 Regis Eduardi quarti, lingua Lusitanica ex opere sequenti excerpta.

Libro das obras de Garcia de Resende, que tracta da vida è feitos del Rey dom Ioham secundo.

Embaixada que el Rey mandou à el Rey d'Inglaterra, cap. 33.

EDa qui de Monte Mor mandou el Rey por embaixadores à el rey dom Duarte de Inglaterra Ruy de Sousa pessoa principal è de muyto bon saber é credito, de que el Rey muyto confiaua, é ho doutor Ioam d'Eluas, é Fernam de Pina por secretario. E foram por mar muy honradamente com muy boa companhia: hos quaes foram en nome del Rey confirmar as ligas antiquas com Inglaterra, que polla condisan dellas ho nouo Rey de hum reyno é do outro era obrigado à mandar confirmar: é tambien pera mostrarem ho titolo que el rey tinha no senhorio de Guinee, pera que depois de visto el rey d'Inglaterra defendesse em todos seus reynos, que ninguen armasse nem podesse mandar à Guinee: é assi mandasse desfazer huna armada, que pera laa faziam, per mandado do Duque de Medina Sidonia, hum Ioam Tintam é hum Guilherme Fabiam Ingreses. Com ha qual embaixada el rey d'Inglaterra mostrou receber grande contentamento, é foy delle com muyta honra recebida, é em tudo fez inteiramente ho que pellos embaixadores lhe foy requerido. De que elles trouxeran autenticas* escrituras das diligencias que con pubricos pregones fizeram: é assi as prouisones das aprouasones que eran necessarias: é com tudo muyto ben acabado, é ha vontade del rey se vieram.

*These writings are in the Tower.

The Ambassage which king Iohn the second, king of Portugall, sent to Edward the fourth king of England, which in part was to stay one Iohn Tintam, and one William Fabian English men, from proceeding in a voyage which they were preparing for Guinea, 1481, taken out of the booke of the workes of Garcias de Resende, which intreateth of the life and acts of Don Iohn the second, king of Portugall. Chap. 33.

ANd afterwards the king sent as Ambassadours from the towne of Monte maior to king Edward the fourth of England, Ruy de Sousa, a principall person, and a man of great wisedome and estimation, and in whom the king reposed great trust, with doctor Iohn d'Eluas, and Ferdinand de Pina, as secretarie. And they made their voyage by sea very honourably, being very well accompanied. These men were sent on the behalfe of their king, to confirme the ancient leagues with England, wherein it was conditioned that the new king of the one and of the other kingdome, should be bound to send to confirme the olde leagues. And likewise they had order to shew and make him acquainted with the title which the king held in the segneury of Ginnee, to the intent that after the king of England had seene the same, he should giue charge thorow all his kingdomes, that no man should arme or set foorth ships to Ginnee: and also to request him, that it would please him to giue commandement to dissolue a certaine fleet, which one Iohn Tintam and one William Fabian, English men, were making, by commandement of the duke of Medina Sidonia, to goe to the aforesayd parts of Ginnee. With which ambassage the king of England seemed to be very well pleased, and they were receiued of him with very great honour, and he condes-

The first cause of this ambassage.

The second cause.

The third cause.

cended vnto all that the ambassadours required of him, at whose hands they receiued authenticall writings of the diligence which they had performed, with publication thereof by the heralds: and also prouisoes of those confirmations which were necessary. And hauing dispatched all things well, and with the kings good will, they returned home into their countrey.

A relation sent by Melchior Petoney to Nigil de Moura at Lisbon, from the Iland and Castle of Arguin, standing a little to the southward of Cape Blanco, in the Northerly latitude of 19 degrees, concerning the rich and secret trade from the inland of Africa thither: Anno 1591.

AS concerning the trade to this Castle and Iland of Arguin, your worship is to vnderstand, that if it would please the kings maiesty to send hither two or three carauels once in a yeere with Flanders and Spanish commodities, as Bracelets of glasse, Kniues, Belles, Linnen-cloth, Looking-glasses, with other kindes of small wares, his hignesse might do great good here. For 50 leagues vp into the land the Moores haue many exceedingly rich golde mines; insomuch that they bring downe their golde to this Castle to traffique with vs: and for a small trifle they will give vs a great wedge of gold. And because here is no trade, the sayd Moores cary their golde to Fez being 250 leagues distant from hence, and there doe exchange the same for the forsayd kindes of commodities. By this meanes also his maiesty might stop that passage, and keepe the king of Fez from so huge a mass of golde. Scarlet-clothes, and fine Purples are greatly accepted of in these parts. It is a most fertile country within the land, and yeeldeth great store of Wheat, flesh of all kindes, and abundance of fruits. Therefore if it were possible, you should do well to deale with his maiesty, either himselfe to send a couple of carauels, or to giue your worship leaue to traffique here: for here is a very good harbour where ships may ride at ancre hard by the Castle. The countrey where all the golde-mines are is called The kingdome of Darha.* In this kingdome are great store of cities and townes; and in euery city

Commodities fit for Arguin.

Scarlet and fine Purple cloth greatly accepted.

A good harbor before the Castle of Arguin.

---

* *Marginal note.*—Concerning this kingdome reade Leo Africanus a little after the beginning of his 6 booke.

and towne a Captaine with certaine souldiers; which Captaines are lords and owners of the sayd townes. One city there is called Couton, another Xanigeton, as also the cities of Tubguer, Azegue, Amader, Quaherque, and the towne of Faroo. The which townes and cities are very great and fairely built, being inhabited by rich Moores, and abounding with all kinde of cattell, Barley and Dates. And here is such plenty of golde found vpon the sands by the riuers side, that the sayd Moores vsually cary the same Northward to Marocco, and Southward to the city of Tombuto in the land of Negros, which city standeth about 300 leagues from the kingdome of Darha; and this kingdome is but 60 leagues from this Iland and Castle of Arguin. Wherefore I beseech your worship to put his maiesty in remembrance hereof; for the sayd cities and townes are but ten dayes iourney from hence. I heartily wish that his maiesty would send two or three marchants to see the state of the Countrey, who might trauell to the aforesayd cities, to vnderstand of their rich trade. For any man may go safe and come safe from those places. And thus without troubling of your worship any further, I humbly take my leaue. From the Iland and Castle of Arguin the 20 of Ianuary 1591.

Your worships seruant
Melchior Petoney.

THe voyage of Richard Rainolds and Thomas Dassel to the riuers of Senega and Gambra adioning vpon Guinea, 1591 with a discourse of the treasons of certaine of Don Antonio his seruants and followers.

BY vertue of her Maiesties most gracious charter giuen in the yeere 1588, and in the thirtieth yeere of her Highnesse reigne, certaine English marchants are granted to trade, in and from the riuer of Senega to and in the riuer of Gambra, on the Westerne coast of Africa. The chiefest places of traffique on that coast betweene these riuers, are these:

1 Senega riuer:* The commodities be hides, gumme, elephants teeth, a few graines, ostrich feathers, amber-griece, and some golde.

2 Beseguiache, a towne by Capo Verde * leagues from Senega riuer: The commodities be small hides, and a few teeth.

---

* *Marginal note.*—The names of the chiefe places of traffike between Senega and Gambra.

3 Refisca Vieio, a towne 4 leagues from Beseguiache: The commodities be small hides, and a few teeth now and then.

4 Palmerin, a towne 2 leagues from Refisca: The commodities be small hides, and a few elephants teeth now and then.

5 Porto d'Ally, a towne 5 leagues from Palmerin: The commodities be small hides, teeth, amber-griece, and a little golde: and many Portugals are there.

6 Candimal, a towne halfe a league from Porto d'Ally: The commodities be small hides, and a few teeth now and then.

7 Palmerin, a towne 3 leagues from Candimal: The commodities be small hides, and a few teeth now and then.

8 Ioala, a towne 6 leagues from Palmerin: The commodities be hides, waxe, elephants teeth, rice, and some golde: and many Spaniards and Portugals are there.

9 Gambra riuer: The commodities are rice, waxe, hides, elephants teeth, and golde.

The Frenchmen of Diepe and New-hauen haue traded thither aboue thirty yeres: and commonly with four or five ships a yere, whereof two small barks go into the riuer of Senega. The other were wont (vntill within these foure yeres, that our ships came thither) to ride with their ships in the road of Porto d'Ally and so sent their small shaloups of sixe or eight tunnes to some of of these places on the Sea coast berore repeated. Where in all places generally they were well beloued and as courteously entertained of the Negros, as if they had been naturally borne in the country. And very often the Negros come into France and returne againe, which is a further increasing of mutuall loue and amity. Since our comming to that coast the Frenchmen ride with their shippes at Refisca Vieio and suffered vs to ancre with our shippes at Porto d'Ally. The Frenchmen neuer vse to go into the riuer of Gambra: which is a riuer of secret trade and riches concealed by the Portugals. For long since one Frenchman entered the riuer with a small barke which was betrayed, surprised and taken by two gallies of the Portugals.

In our second voyage and second yeere there were by vile treacherous meanes of the Portugals and the king of the Negros consent in Porto d'Ally and Ioala about forty Englishmen cruelly slaine and captiued, and most or all of their goods confiscated: whereof there returned onely two, which were marchants. And also by procurement of Pedro Gonsalues, one of Don

Antonio the kings seruants, Thomas Dassel and others had bene betrayed, if it had not pleased Almighty God to reueale the same, whereby it was preuented.

From the South side of Senega riuer on the Sea coast vnto about Palmerin is all one kingdome of Negros. The kings name is Melick Zamba, who dwelleth two dayes iourney within the land from Refisca.

The 12 of Nouember 1591, I Richard Rainolds and Thomas Dassel factors in a ship called the Nightingale of London 125 tunnes, and a pinnesse called the Messenger of 40 tunnes arriued neere vnto Capo Verde at a little Iland called The Iland of liberty. At this Iland we set vp a small pinnesse, with which we cary our marchandise on land when wee traffique. And in the meane time Thomas Dassel went with the great pinnesse to traffike with Spaniards or Portugals in Porto d'Ally or Ioala. Ouer against the sayd Iland on the maine is an habitation of the Negros called Besegueache. The alcaide or gouernor thereof with a great traine came aboord in their canoas to receiue the kings dueties for ankerage and permitting the quiet setting vp of our pinnesse: who liked passing well that no Portugall came in the shippe, saying, we should be better thought of by the king and people, if we neuer did bring Portugall, but come of our selues as the Frenchmen euer did and doe. And to purchase the more loue, I Richard Rainolds gaue him and all his company courteous entertainment. Also vpon his intreaty, hauing sufficient pledge aboord, I and others went on land with him. At this instant there was great warre betweene this alcaide and another gouernor of the next prouince. Neuerthelesse vpon our arriuall truce was taken for a space; and I with our company conducted among both enemies to the gouernors house in Besegueache, and were gently and friendly feasted after their maner, and with some presents returned safe aboord againe. The next day the alcaide came aboord againe, to wil me to send some yron and other commodities in the boat to traffike with the Negros, and also requested me that I would go to Refisca with the ship; which I did. And one thing I noted, that a number of Negros attended the alcaides landing in warlike maner with bowes and poisoned arrowes, darts poisoned, and swords, (because that the enemies by reason of the truce taken were there also to view the ship) who for the most part approched to him kneeling downe and kissed the backe of his hand.

The 17 of Nouember we weyed anker; and by reason no French ship was yet come, I went to the road of Refisca: where I sent for the alcaides interpretors, who came thither aboord, and receiued of me the kings duties for to haue free traffike with the Negros, with whom dayly I exchanged my yron and other wares for hides and some elephants teeth, finding the people very friendly and tractable. And the next day after our arriuall I went vp into the land about three miles to the towne of Refisca, where I was friendly vsed and well entertained of the alcaide, and especially of a yoong nobleman called Conde Amar Pattay, who presented me with an oxe for my company, goats and some yoong kids, assuring me that the king would be glad to heare of the arriuall of a Christians ship, whom they called Blancos, that is, white men: especially of an English ship. And so dayly the yong Conde came with a small company of horsemen to the sea side, feasting me very kindly and courteously. And the fift of December he with his traine came aboord to see the ship; which to them seemed woonderfull, as people that seldome had seene the like: who tolde me that his messenger from the king was returned; and the king reioyed much to heare that English men were come with a ship to trade in his ports; and being the first Englishman that euer came with a ship, I was the better welcome; promising that I or any Englishman hereafter should be wel intreated and find good dealing at their hands. And further the Conde on the kings behalfe and his owne, earnestly requested, that before my departure off the coast I would returne againe to his road to conferre with him for the better continuance and confirming of amity betweene them and Englishmen: which I agreed vnto. And so shewing him and his company the best friendship and courtesie I could, he went on shore, and should haue had the honor of our ordinance but that he desired the contrary, being amazed at the sight of the ship and noise of the gunnes, which they did greatly admire.

The 13 of December at night we weighed anker, and arriued the 14 day at the road of Porto d'Ally, which is another kingdome: the king thereof is called Amar Meleck, and sonne to Meleck Zamba the other king, and dwelleth a dayes iourney and an halfe from Porto d'Ally. When we had ankered, the kings kinsmen being gouernors, with all the officers of that towne came aboord to receiue all duties for the ship and licence to traffike due to the king; who there generally seemed to be very glad that no Portugall was come in our ship out of England; saying it was the kings pleasure we should bring none hereafter; for that the king did esteeme them as people of no truth; and complained of one Francisco de Costa seruant to Don Antonio, how he had often and the last yere also abused and deluded their king Amar Meleck in promising to bring him certaine things out of England, which he neuer performed, and deemed that to be the cause of his staying behinde this voyage, and that neither Spaniard nor Portugall could abide vs, but reported very badly and gaue out hard speeches tending to the defamation and great dishonour of England: and also affirmed that at the arriuall of an English ship called The Command, of Richard Kelley of Dartmouth, one Pedro Gonsalues a Portugall that came in the sayd ship from Don Antonio reported vnto them, that we were fled out of England and come away vpon intent to rob and do great spoile vpon this coast to the Negros and Portugals, and that Thomas Dassel had murdered Francisco de Acosta since our comming from England, who was comming to their king in our ship with great presents from Don Antonio, and desired that at our arriuall stay might be made of our goods and our selues in secret maner; which they denied, not giuing credit to his report, hauing bene often abused by such friuolous and slanderous speeches by that nation; telling me their king was sory for the former murder and captiuity of our nation, and would neuer yeeld to the like, hauing the Portugals and Spaniards in generall hatred euer since, and conceiueth much better of our countrey, and vs, then these our enemies report of. For which I yeelded them hearty thanks, assuring them they should finde great difference betweene the loyalty of the one and disloyalty of the other; and so payed their dueties: and for that it was the chiefe place of trade, I shewed them how I was resolued to goe to their king with certaine presents which we had brought out of England; which we determined for the more honor and credit of our countrey, and augmenting of their better affection toward vs.

The monstrous lies of a Portugall.

Port Dally the chiefe place of trade.

All this while Thomas Dassel was with our great pinnesse at the towne of Ioala, being in the kingdome of king Iocoel Lamiockeric, traffiking with the Spaniards and Portugals there. And the forenamed Pedro Gonsalues, which came out of England, was there also with other English marchants about the busines of

Rich. Kelley; and as it should seeme, for that he could not obtaine his mischieuous pretended purpose against Thomas Dassel and others at the towne of Porto d'Ally, where I Richard Rainolds remained, he attempted with consent of other Portugals which were made priuy to his intent to betray the sayd Thomas Dassel at this towne, and had with bribes seduced the chiefe commanders and Negros to effect his wicked and most villanous practise: which as God would, was reuealed to the sayd Thomas Dassel by Rich. Cape an Englishman and seruant to the forenamed Rich. Kelley: to whom this sayd Pedro Gonsalues had disclosed his secret treachery, willing him with all expedition to stand vpon his guard. Whereupon Thomas Dassel went aboord a small English barke called The Cherubin of Lime, and there one Iohn Payua a Portugall and seruant of Don Antonio declared, that if he and one Garcia a Portugall of the sayd towne would haue consented with Pedro Gonsalues, the sayd Thomas Dassel had bene betrayed long before. And vpon this warning Thomas Dassel the next day hauing gotten three Portugals aboord, aduised for our better securities to send two on land, and detained one with him called Villa noua, telling them that if the next day by eight of the clocke, they would bring Pedro Gonsalues aboord to him, he would release the sayd Villa noua, which they did not. And Thomas Dassel hauing intelligence that certaine Negros and Portugals were ridden post ouerland to Porto d'Ally with intent to haue Richard Rainolds and his company stayd on land, being doubtfull what friendship soeuer the vnconstant Negros professed (by reason they be often wauering being ouercome with drinking wine) how they would deale, to preuent the dangerous wiles that might be effected in the road by Portugals, and for better strength, the 24 of December he came with his pinnesse and Portugall to ride in the road of Porto d'Ally, where our great shippe the Nightingall was: who was no sooner arriued but he had newes also from the shore from Iohn Baily Anthony Dassels seruant, who was there with our goods detained by the Portugals means, that aboue 20 Portugals and Spaniards were come from Ioala by land, and Pedro Gonsalues in their company, to take order for the releasing of Villa noua. So hauing had conference two or three dayes with the Commanders, the Negros, some Spaniards, and some Portugals, in the end by due examination of the matter the Negros seeing how vilely Pedro Gonsalues had delt, he being in their power, sayd

The Cherubin of Lime at Ioala.

he should suffer death or be tortured, for an example to others. But we in recompense of his cruelty pitied him and shewed mercy, desiring the Negros to intreat him well though vndeserued: and therevpon the Commanders brought him aboord the pinnesse to Thomas Dassel to do with him what he would: where at his comming from the shore, for lauish speeches which he used of Princes, he was well buffetted by a Spaniard, and might haue bene slaine, if for our sakes he had not bene rescued.

Note.

While I went on shore with Villa noua, the sayd Pedro Gonsalues confessed vnto Thomas Dassel that he did enquire of some Negros and Portugals if he might not stay him and his goods in the land, and that he did nothing but by commission from his king by his letters which he receiued from London in Dartmouth after we were departed from London, for that we presumed to come to Guinea to traffike without a seruant of his: and further, that he had power or procuration from Francisco de Costa the Portugall that stayed behinde in England to detaine the goods of Anthony Dassel in Guinea.

By consent of M. Francis Tucker, Iohn Browbeare, and the rest of the factours of Richard Kelley, with whom this Pedro Gonsalues came, for auoiding further mischiefe that might be practised, we agreed that the sayd Pedro Gonsalues should stay aboord our shippe, and not goe any more on land vntill they departed. So the ninth of Ianuary he was deliuered aboord to goe for England in the same ship wherein he came: who was all the time of his abode in our shippe both courteously and friendly vsed at my hands, much against the mariners willes, who could not abide such a wicked creature and caitiue, that is nourished and relieued in our countrey, and yet by villanous meanes sought the destruction of vs all.

The Spaniards and Portugals though they be dissemblers and not to be trusted, when they perceiued how king Amar Melicks Negros befriended and fauored vs, and that it would be preiudiciall to their trade for diuers respects, if we should any way be iniuried, renounced the sayd practises, detesting the author, and protested to defend vs in such cases with all faithfulnesse: desiring we would, as the king of Negros had commanded vs, neuer bring Portugal with vs more: vsing this phrase in disdaine of such as came out of England, let your Portugals be barres of yron: for in trueth in regard of the rich trade maintained by Frenchmen and by vs of late, they esteeme more of one barre of yron then of twenty Portugals which we should bring out of England: who at their comming thither very subtilly disaduantage vs, and doe great hurt to euery party.

At the beginning of these broiles the king Amar Melick had sent his chiefe secretary and three horses for me Richard Rainolds: but I denied to goe by reason of the hurley burley, though I might haue had Negros of account for pledges aboord: yet we sent the presents vnto the king; who so soone as he vnderstood the cause why I came not to him, being sory and offended thereat, commanded presently by proclamation, that no iniury should be offered vs in his dominions by his owne people, or suffered to be done by Spaniards or Portugals. And if the Negros ioyning to his kingdome should confederate with the Spaniards and Portugals to molest or trouble vs; that his subiects the Negros should be ready to ayde, succor and defend vs. In which people appeared more confident loue and good will toward vs, then euer we shall finde either of Spaniards or Portugals, though we should relieue them of the greatest misery that can be imagined.

In the riuer of Senega no Spaniard or Portugall vse to trade: and onely one Portugall called Ganigoga dwelleth farre within the riuer, who was maried to a kings daughter.

In the townes of Porto d'Ally and Ioala, being townes of chiefest trade, and in the townes of Canton and Cassan in the riuer of Gambra are many Spaniards and Portugals resident by permission of the Negros; who haue rich trades there along the coast, especially to San Domingo and Rio grande, not far distant from Gambra riuer; whither they transport the yron which they buy of Frenchmen and vs, and exchange it for Negros; which be caried continually to the West Indies in such ships as came from Spaine. Also by the gouernors order and Renters of Castel de Mina and other places, where golde is, vpon the coast of Guinea, they haue a place limited how farre they must go to trade within the riuer of Gambra; and further they may not go vpon paine of confiscation of their goods, and losse of life: for that the Renters themselues send at certaine times their owne barkes within the riuer to such places, where as they haue great store of golde. And in all these places hereabouts, where we vse to trade, they haue no Fort, Castle, or place of strength, but onely trading by the Negros safeconduct and

Note this trade.

A rich trade for golde in Rio grande.

permission. And the most part of the Spaniards and Portugals that be resident in these places be banished men or fugitiues, for committing most hainous crimes and incestuous acts, their life and conuersation being agreeable; and they are of the basest behauiour that we haue euer seene of these nations in any other countrey.

A briefe relation concerning the estate of the cities and prouinces of Tombuto and Gago written in Marocco the first of August 1594, and sent to M. Anthony Dassel marchant of London.

MY hearty commendations premised: your letter of late I receiued, and found that you would haue me discouer vnto you the estate and quality of the countreyes of Tombuto and Gago. And that you may not thinke me to slumber in this action, wherein you would be truely and perfectly resolued, you shall vnderstand, that not ten dayes past here came a Cahaia of the Andoluzes home from Gago, and another principall Moore, whom the king sent thither at the first with Alcaide Hamode, and they brought with them thirty mules laden with gold. I saw the same come into the Alcasaua with mine owne eies: and these men themselues came not poore, but with such wealth, that they came away without the kings commandement; and for that cause the king will pay them no wages for the time they haue beene there. On the other side they dare not aske the king for any wages. And when Alcaide Hamode saw that the Cahaia of the Andoluzes would not stay in Gago with him, he thought good to send these thirty mules laden with golde by him, with letters of commendations, by which the king smelled their riches that they brought with them: and this was the cause of the kings displeasure towards them. So now there remaineth in Gago Alcaide Hamode, and Alcaide Iawdara, and Alcaide Bucthare. And here are in a readinesse to depart in the end of next September Alcaide Monsor, Ben Abdrahaman Allies, Monsor Rico with fiue thousand men, most of the fettilase, that is to say, of fier-match, and muskets. There is gone good store of reds and yellowes: and this yere here was want of the same commodity; but I trust the next yere wil be no want. But in fine the king doth prosper wel in those parts, and here are many pledges come hither, and

Commodities for Gago.

namely three of the kings sonnes of Gago and the Iustice; I saw them come in with the treasure. Now when Alcaide Monsor commeth to Gago, the which will be in Ianuary next, then returneth hither Alcaide Hamode with all the treasure, and Alcaide Monsor is to keepe Gago vntill the king take further order. And thus much for Gago. Thus not hauing any other thing to write at this present, I commend you to the mercifull tuition of the almighty. From Marocco the first of August 1594.

Your assured friend Laurence Madoc.

Another briefe relation concerning the late conquest and the exceeding great riches of the cities and prouinces of Tombuto and Gogo, written from Marocco the 30 August 1594, to M. Anthony Dassel marchant of London aforesayd.

LOuing friend M. Dassel, two of your letters I haue receiued, one by the shippe called The Amity, the other by the Concord: the chiefest matter therein was to be satisfied of the king of Marocco his proceedings in Guinea. Therefore these are to let you vnderstand that there went with Alcaide Hamode for those parts seuenteene hundred men: who passing ouer the sands, for want of water perished one third part of them: and at their comming to the city of Tombuto, the Negros made some resistence: but to small purpose, for that they had no defence but with their asagaies or iauelings poisoned. So they tooke it, and proceeded to the city of Gago, where the Negros were in numbers infinite, and meant to stand to the vttermost for their countrey: but the Moores slew them so fast, that they were fain to yeeld, and do pay tribute by the yere. The rent of Tombuto is 60 quintals of golde by the yeere: the goodnesse whereof you know. What rent Gago will yeeld, you shall know at the Spring, for then Alcaide Hamode commeth home. The rent of Tombuto is come by the cafelow or carouan, which is, as aboue mentioned, 60 quintals. The report is, that Mahomed bringeth with him such an infinite treasure as I neuer heard of: it doth appeare that they haue more golde then any other parte of the world beside. The Alcaide winneth all the countrey where he goeth without fighting and is going downe towards the sea coast. The king of Marocco is like to be the greatest prince in the world for money, if he

Tombuto taken.

Gago taken.

keepe this countrey. But I make account assoone as the king of Spaine hath quietnesse in Christendome, he wil thrust him out: for that the kings force is not great as yet; but he meaneth to be stronger. There is a campe ready to go now with a viceroy: the speech is with 3000 men: but I thinke they will be hardly 2000; far by report, 3000 men are enough to conquer all the countrey: for they haue no defence of importance against an enemy. I thinke Hamode will be returned home in Ianuary or thereabout: for he stayeth but for the comming of the viceroy. Mulley Balasen the kings sonne of Marocco was slaine in Guinea by his own men, and they were presently killed, because they should tell no tales. And thus leauing to trouble you, I commit you to God, who prosper you in all your proceedings. From Marocco the first of August 1594.

Yours to command for euer Laurence Madoc.

Of these two rich cities and kingdomes of Tombuto and Gago Leo Africanus writeth at large in the beginning of his seuenth booke of the description of Africa, which worthy worke is to be annexed vnto the end of this second volume.

A briefe extract of a patent granted to M. Thomas Gregory of Tanton, and others, for traffique betweene the riuer of Nonnia and the riuers of Madrabumba and Sierra Leona on the coast of Guinea, in the yeere 1592.

IM May the 34 yeere of our gracious soueraigne Queene Elizabeth, a patent of speciall licence was granted to Thomas Gregory of Tanton in the county of Somerset, and to Thomas Pope, and certaine other marchants to traffique into Guinea from the Northermost part of the riuer of Nonnia to the Southermost parts of the riuers of Madrabumba and Sierra Leona, and to other parts as well to the Southeast as to the Northwest, for a certaine number of leagues therein specified which amount to an hundred or thereabout. Which patent was granted for the terme of ten yeeres: as appeareth at large in the sayd patent recorded in the Rolles in her Maiesties Chancery.

The maner of the taking of two Spanish ships laden with quicksiluer and the Popes bulles, bound for the West Indies, by M. Thomas White in the Amity of London. 1592.

THe 26 of Iuly 1592, in my returning out of Barbary in the ship called the Amity of London, being in the height of 36 degrees or thereabout, at foure of the clocke in the morning we had sight of two shippes, being distant from vs about three or foure leagues: by seuen of the clocke we fetched them up, and were within gunshot: whose boldnesse, hauing the king of Spaines armes displayed, did make vs iudge them rather ships of warre then laden with marchandise. And as it appeared by their owne speeches, they made full account to haue taken vs: it being a question among them, whether it were best to cary vs to S. Lucar, or to Lisbon. We waued ech other a maine. They hauing placed themselues in warlike order one a cables length before another, we began the fight. In the which we continued, so fast as we were able to charge and discharge, the space of fiue houres, being neuer a cables length distant either of vs from other. In which time we receiued diuers shot both in the hull of our ship, masts, and sailes, to the number of 32 great, besides 500 musket shot and harquebuzes a crocke at the least, which we tolde after the fight. And because we perceiued them to be stout, we thought good to boord the Biscaine, which was on head the other: where lying aboord about an houre, and plying our ordinance and small shot; in the end we stowed all his men. Now the other in the flieboat, thinking we had entred our men in their fellow, bare roome with vs, meaning to haue layed vs aboord, and so to haue intrapped vs betwixt them both: which we perceiuing, fitted our ordinance so for him, as we quitted our selues of him, and he boorded his fellow: by which meanes they both fell from vs. Then presently we kept our loofe, hoised our top-sailes, and weathered them, and came hard aboord the flieboat with our ordinance prepared, and gaue her our whole broad side, with the which we slew diuers of their men; so as we might see the blood run out at the scupper holes. After that we cast about, and new charged all our ordinance, and came vpon them againe, willing them to yeeld, or els we would sinke them: whereupon the one would haue yeelded, which was betweene winde and water; but the other called him traitor.

Vnto whom we made answere, that if he would not yeeld presently also, we would sinke him first. And thereupon he vnderstanding our determination, presently put out a white flag, and yeelded, and yet refused to strike their own sailes, for that they were sworne neuer to strike to any Englishman. We then commanded their captaines and masters to come aboord vs; which they did. And after examination and stowing them, we sent certaine of our owne men aboord them, and strook their sailes, and manned their ships: finding in them both 126 persons liuing, and 8 dead, besides those which they themselues had cast ouerboord. So it pleased God to giue vs the victory being but 42 men and a boy, whereof 2 were killed and 3 wounded: for the which good successe we giue God the only praise. These two rich prizes laden with 1400 cheste of quicksiluer with the armes of Castile and Leon fastened vpon them, and with a great quantity of bulles or indulgences, and gilded Missals or Seruice books, with an hundred tunnes of excellent wines, we brought shortly after into the riuer of Thames vp to Blacke-wall.

Marke this othe.

By the taking of this quicksiluer, about 1400 chests, the king of Spaine loseth for euery quintall of the same a quintall of siluer that should haue beene deliuered him by the masters of the mines there, which amounteth to 600000 pounds.

More by taking of his bulles, to wit, two millions and 72 thousand for liuing and dead persons for the prouinces of Noua Hispania, Iucatan, Guatimala, the Honduras, and the Phillippinas, taxed at two reals the piece. And more for eighteene thousand bulles taxed at foure reals, amounteth all to 107700 pounds. Summa totalis 707700 li.

More there were taken ten fardels of gilt missals and breuiaries sent for the kings account.

So the hindrance that the king recieueth by the losse of his bulles and quicksiluer amounteth as is abouesaid: besides the sacking of his wines, about 100 tunnes, whereby his fleet is disappointed of a great part of their prouision.

A true report of the honourable seruice at Sea perfourmed by Sir Iohn Burrough Knight, Lieutenant generall of the fleet prepared by the honour. Sir Walter Ralegh Knight, Lord warden of the Stanneries of Cornwall and Deuon. Wherein chiefly the Santa Clara of Biscay, a ship of 600 tunnes was taken, and the two East Indian caraks, the Santa Cruz and the Madre de Dios were forced, the one burnt, and the other taken and brought into Dartmouth the seuenth of September, 1592.

SIr Walter Ralegh vpon commission receiued from her Maiesty for an expedition to be made to the West Indies, slacked not his vttermost diligence to make full prouision of all things necessary, as both in his choise of good ships, and sufficient men to performe the action euidently appeared. For his shippes which were in numbre 14 or 15, those two of her Maiesties, the Garland and the Foresight were the chiefest; the rest either his owne or his good friends or aduenturers of London. For the gentlemen his consorts and officers, to giue them their right, they were so well qualited in courage, experience, and discretion, as the greatest prince might repute himselfe happy to be serued with their like. The honor of Lieutenant generall was imposed vpon sir Iohn Burrough, a gentleman, for his manifold good and heroicall parts, thought euery way worthy of that commandement: with whom after sir W. R. returned was ioyned in commission sir Martin Frobisher, who for his speciall skill and knowledge in marine causes had formerly caried imploiments of like or greater place. The rest such as heretofore had giuen to the world sufficient proofe of their valour in diuers seruices of the like nature. With these ships thus manned sir Walter Ralegh departed towards the West countrey, there to store himselfe with such further necessaries as the state of his voyage did needfully require: where the Westerly windes blowing for a long time contrary to his course, bound and constrained him to keepe harborough so many weeks, that the fittest season for his purpose was gone, the mindes of his people much altered, his victcals consumed: and withall, her Maiesty vnderstanding how crosly all this sorted, began to call the proceeding of this preparation into question: insomuch that, whereas the sixt of May was first come before sir Walter could put to sea, the very next day sir Martin Frobisher in a pinnesse of my lord Admirals called The Disdaine, met him, and brought to him from her Maiesty letters of reuocation, with commandement to relinquish (for his owne part) the intended attempt, and to leaue the charge and conduct of all things in the hands of sir Iohn Burrough and sir Martin Frobisher. But sir Walter finding his honor so farre engaged in the vndertaking of this voyage, as without proceeding he saw no remedy either to salue his reputation, or to content those his friends which had put in aduentures of great summes with him; and making construction of the Queenes letters in such sort as if her commandement had bene propounded in indifferent termes, either to aduance forward or to retire, at his owne discretion; would in no case yeeld to leaue his fleet now vnder saile. Wherefore continuing his course into the sea, he met within a day or two, with certaine sailes lately come from Spaine: among which was a ship appertaining to Monsieur Gourdon gouernor of Caleis, and found aboord her one M. Neuel Dauies an Englishman, who hauing endured a long and miserable captiuity for the space of twelue yeeres, partly in the inquisition in Spaine, was now by good fortune escaped, and vpon returne to his countrey. This man, among other things, reported for certaine, that there was little hope of any good this yeere to be done in the West India; considering that the king of Spaine had sent expresse order to all the Ports both of the Ilands and of Terra firma, that no ship should stirre that yeere, nor any treasure be layed aboord for Spaine. But neither this vnpleasant relation nor ought els could stay his proceedings, vntill a tempest of strange and vncouth violence arising vpon Thursday the 11 of May, when he was athwart the Cape Finister, had so scattered the greater part of the fleet, and sunke his boats and pinnesses, that as the rest were driuen and seuered, some this way and some that, sir Walter himselfe being in the Garland of her Maiesty was in danger to be swallowed vp of the Sea. Whereupon sir W. Ralegh finding that the season of the yere was too farre gone to proceed with the enterprise which he had vpon Panama, hauing bene held on the English coast from February till May, and thereby spent three moneths victuals; and considering withall, that to lie vpon the Spanish coast or at the Ilands to attend the returne of the East or West Indian fleets was rather a worke of patience then ought els: he gaue directions to sir Iohn Burgh and sir M. Frobisher to diuide the fleet in two parts; sir M. with the Garland, cap. George Gifford, cap. Henry Thin, cap. Grenuile and others to lie off the South cape, thereby to amaze the Spanish fleet, and to holde them on their owne coast; while sir I. Burgh, capt. Robert Crosse, capt. Tomson, and others should attend at the Ilands for the caraks or any other Spanish ships comming from Mexico or other parts of the West Indies. Which direction tooke effect accordingly; for the king of Spaines Admirall receiuing intelligence that the English fleet was come on the coast, attended to defend the South parts of Spaine, and to keepe himselfe as nere sir Mart. Frobisher as he could, to impeach him in all things which he might vndertake; and thereby neglected the safeconduct of the caraks, with whom it fared as hereafter shall appeare. Before the fleet seuered themselues they mette with a great Biscain on the Spanish coast called Santa Clara a ship of 600 tunnes.

The noise of the artillery on both sides being heard, immediatly they drew to their fleet; where after a reasonable hot fight, the ship was entred and mastered, which they found fraighted with all sorts of small yron-worke, as horse-shoes, nailes, plough-shares, yron barres, spikes, boults, locks, gimbols, and such like, valued by vs at 6000 or 7000 li. but woorth to them treble the value. This Biscain was sailing towards S. Lucar, there to take in some further prouision for the West India. This ship being first roomaged, and after sent for England, our fleet coasted along towards the Southcape of S. Vincent, and by the way about the Rocke neere Lisbon, sir Iohn Burrough in the Robucke spying a saile a farre off, gaue her present chase; which being a flieboat and of good saile, drew him farre Southwards before he could fetch her; but at last she came vnder his lee and strooke saile. The master of which flieboat comming aboord him, confessed that the king indeed had prepared a great fleet in S. Lucar and Cadiz, and (as the report in Spaine was currant) for the West Indies. But indeed the Spanish king had prouided this fleet vpon this counsell. He receiued intelligence, that sir Walter Ralegh was to put out strong for the West India: to impeach him, and to ranconter his force he appointed this fleet; although looking for the arriuall of his East Indian caraks, he first ordained those ships to waft them from the Açores. But perswading himselfe, that if the fleet of sir Walter Ralegh did go for the West India, then the Ilands should haue none to infest them but some small men of warre, which the caraks of themselues would be well able to match; his order was to Don Alonso de Baçan brother to the Marques of Santa Cruz, and Generall of his armada, to pursue sir Walters fleet, and to confront him, what course soeuer he held. And that this was true, our men in short time by proofe vnderstood: for sir Iohn Burrough, not long after the taking of his last prize the flieboat, as he sailed backe againe towards the rest of his company, discouered the Spanish fleet to sea-ward of him: which hauing likewise espied him betwixt them and the shore, made full account to bring him safe into Spanish harbour; and therefore spred themselues in such sort before him, that indeed his danger was very great: for both the liberty of the sea was brought into a narrow straight, and the shore being enemy could giue him no comfort of reliefe: so that trusting to Gods helpe onely and his good saile, he thrust out from among them in spight of all their force, and to the notable illusion of all their cunning, which they shewed to the vttermost, in laying the way for his apprehension. But now sir Iohn Burrough hauing happily escaped their clouches, finding the coast guarded by this fleet, and knowing it was but folly to expect a meeting there with sir Martin Frobisher (who vnderstanding of this armada aswell as himselfe, would be sure not to come that way) beganne to shape his course to the Açores according to sir W. Raleghs direction, and came in sight of S. Michael, running so neere by Villa Franca, that he might easily discerne the shippes lying there at anker. Diuers small carauels both here and betweene S. Georges and the Pike in his course towards Flores he intercepted; of which no great intelligence for his affaires could be vnderstood. Arriuing before Fleres vpon Thursday the 21 of Iune, towards euening, accompanied onely with captaine Caufield and the Master of his shippe, the rest not being yet arriued, he made towards the shore with his boat, finding all the people of Santa Cruz, a village of that Iland, in armes, fearing their landing, and ready marshalled to defend their towne from spoile. Sir Iohn contrariwise made signes of amity vnto them by aduancing a white flagge, a common token of peace, which was answered againe of them with the like: whereupon ensued entercourses of good friendship; and pledges were taken on both sides, the captaine of the towne for them, and captaine Caufield for our: so that whatsoeuer our men wanted, which that place could supply

Sir Iohn Burrough in great danger of the Spanish fleet.

The Ile of S. Michael.

Diuers small ships taken.

Santa Cruz a village in the Ile of Flores.

either in fresh water, victuals, or the like, was very willingly granted by the inhabitants; and good leaue had they to refresh themselues on shore as much and as oft as they would without restraint. At this Santa Cruz sir Iohn Burrough was informed, that indeed there was among them no expectation of any fleet to come from the west, but from the East, that no longer since then three dayes before his arriuall a carak was passed by for Lisbon, and that there were foure caraks more behinde, of one consort. Sir Iohn being very glad of this newes, stayed no longer on shore, but presently imbarqued himselfe, hauing onely in company a small barke of threescore tunnes belonging to one M. Hopkins of Bristoll. In the meane while that these things thus passed at Flores, part of the rest of the English fleet, which sir Iohn Burrough had left vpon the coast of Spaine, drew also towards the Acores: and whereas he quickly at sea had discouered one of the caraks, the same euening he might descry two or three of the Earle of Cumberlands ships (whereof one M. Norton was captaine) which hauing in like sort kenned the carak, pursued her by that course which they saw her to runne towards the Ilands. But on no side was there any way made by reason of a great calme which yeelded no breath to spread a saile. Insomuch that fitly to discouer her what she was, of what burthen, force, and countenance sir Iohn Burrough tooke his boat, and rowed the space of three miles, to make her exactly: and being returned, he consulted with the better sort of the company then present, vpon the boording her in the morning. But a very mighty storme arising in the night, the extremity thereof forced them all to wey ankers, yet their care was such in wrestling with the weather not to lose the carak, that in the morning the tempest being qualified, and our men bearing againe with the shore, they might perceiue the carak very neere the land, and the Portugals confusedly carrying on shore such things as they could any maner of way conuey out of her; and seeing the haste our men made to come vpon them, forsook her; but first, that nothing might be left commodious to our men, set fire to that which they could not cary with them, intending by that meanes wholly to consume her; that neither glory of victory nor benefit of shippe might remaine to ours. And least the approch and industry of the English should bring meanes to extinguish the flame, thereby to preserue the residue of that which the fire

Newes of the East Indian caraks.

A carak called The Santa Cruz set on fire.

had not destroyed; being foure hundred of them in number and well armed, they entrenched themselues on land so neere to the carak, that she being by their forces protected, and our men kept aloofe off, the fire might continue to the consumption of the whole. This being noted by sir Iohn Burrough he soone prouided a present remedy for this mischiefe. For landing one hundred of his men, whereof many did swim and wade more then brest high to shore, and easily scattering those that presented themselues to guard the coast, he no sooner drew toward their new trenches, but they fled immediatly, leauing as much as the fire had spared to be the reward of our mens paines. Here was taken among others one Vincent Fonseca a Portugall, Purser of the carak, with two others, one an Almaine and the second a Low-dutchman, canoniers: who refusing to make any voluntary report of those things, which were demanded of them, had the torture threatened, the feare whereof at the last wrested from them this intelligence, that within fifteene dayes three other greater caraks then that lately fired would arriue at the same Iland: and that being fiue caraks in the fleet at their departure from Goa, to wit, the Buen Iesus admirall, the Madre de Dios, the S. Bernardo, the S. Christophoro, and the S. Cruz, (whose fortune you haue already heard) they had receiued speciall commandement from the king not to touch in any case at the Iland of S. Helena, where the Portugall caraks in their returne from the East India were alwayes till now woont to arriue to refresh themselues with water and victuals. And the kings reason was; because of the English men of warre, who (as he was informed) lay there in wait to intercept them. If therefore their necessity of water should driue them to seeke supply any where, he appointed them Angola in the maine of Africa, with order there to stay onely the taking in of water to auoid the inconuenience of infections where unto that hot latitude is dangerously subiect. The last rendeuous for them all was the Iland of Flores, where the king assured them not to misse of his armada thither sent of purpose for their wafting to Lisbon. Vpon this information sir Iohn drew to counsel, meeting there Captaine Norton, captain Dountain, captain Abraham Cocke, captaines of three ships of the Earle of Cumberland, M. Tomson of Harwich cap. of the Dainty of sir Iohn Haukins, one of sir W. Raleghs fleet, and M. Christopher Newport cap. of the Golden

An hundred of our men land.

Angola a new watering place for the caraks.

dragon newly returned from the West India, and others. These being assembled, he communicated with them what he had vnderstood of the foresaid examinates, and what great presumptions of trueth their relation did cary: wishing that forasmuch as God and good fortune had brought them together in so good a season, they would shew the vttermost of their indeuors to bring these Easterlings vnder the lee of the English obedience. Hereupon a present accord on all sides followed not to part company or leaue of those seas till time should present cause to put their consultations in execution. The next day her Maiesties good ship the Foresight commanded by sir Rob. Crosse came in to the rest: and he likewise informed of the matter was soone drawen into this seruice. Thus sir Iohn with al these ships departing thence 6 or 7 leagues to the West of Flores, they spread themselues abroad from the North to the South, ech ship two leagues at the least distant from another. By which order of extension they were able to discouer the space of two whole degrees at sea. In this sort they lay from the 29 of Iune to the third of August, what time cap. Thomson in the Dainty had first sight of the huge carak called the Madre de Dios, one of the greatest receit, belonging to the crowne of Portugall. The Dainty being of excellent saile got the start of the rest of our fleet, and begun the conflct somewhat to her cost, with the slaughter and hurt of diuers of her men. Within a while after, sir Iohn Burrough in the Robucke of sir W. Raleghs, was at hand to second her, who saluted her with shot of great ordinance, and continued the fight within musket shot assisted by cap. Tomson and cap. Newport till sir R. Crosse viceadmirall of the fleet came vp being to leeward, at whose arriuall sir I. Burgh demanded of him what was best to be done, who answered, that if the carak were not boorded she would recouer the shore and fire herselfe as the other had done. Whereupon sir I. Burgh concluded to entangle her; and sir R. Crosse promised also to fasten himselfe te her together at the instant; which was performed: but after a while sir Iohn Burgh receiuing a shot with a canon perier vnder water and ready to sinke, desired sir R. C. to fall off, that he might also cleere himselfe, and saue his ship from sinking, which with difficulty he did: for both the Roebucke and the Foresight were so intangled, as with much adoe could they cleere themselues.

The same euening sir R. Crosse finding the carak then sure and drawing neere the Iland perswaded his company to boord her againe, or els there was no hope to recouer her: who after many excuses and feares, were by him incouraged, and so fell athwart her foreships all alone; and so hindered her sailing that the rest had time to come vp to his succour, and to recouer the carak yer she recouered the land: and so toward the euening after he had fought with her alone three houres single, my lord of Cumberlands two ships came vp, and with very little losse entred with sir R. Crosse, who had in that time broken their courages, and made the assault easie for the rest.

The Madre de Dios taken.

The generall hauing disarmed the Portugals, and stowed them for better security on all sides, first had presented to his eyes the true proportion of the vast body of this carak, which did then and may still iustly prouoke the admiration of all men not formerly acquainted with such a sight. But albeit this first apparance of the hugenesse thereof yeelded sights enough to entertaine our mens eyes: yet the pitifull obiect of so many bodies slaine and dismembred could not but draw ech mans eye to see, and heart to lament, and hands to helpe those miserable people, whose limnes were so torne with the violence of shot, and paine made grieuous with the multitude of woundes. No man could almost steppe but vpon a dead carkase or a bloody floore, but specially about the helme, where very many of them fell suddenly from stirring to dying. For the greatnesse of the stirrage requiring the labour of twelue or fourteene men at once, and some of our shippes beating her in at the sterne with their ordinance often times with one shot slew foure or fiue labouring on either side of the helme; whose roomes being still furnished with fresh supplies, and our artillery still playing vpon them with continuall volleys, it could not be but that much bloud should be shed in that place. Whereupon our Generall moued with singular commiseration of their misery, sent them his owne chyrurgions, denying them no possible helpe or reliefe that he or any of his company could affoord them. Among the rest of those, whose state this chance had made very deplorable, was Don Fernando de Mendoça Grand captaine and Commander of this Carake: who indeed was descended of the house of Mendoça in Spaine; but being married into Portugall, liued there as one of that nation; a gentleman well stricken in yeeres, well spoken, of

Exceeding humanity shewed to the enemy.

comely personage, of good stature, but of hard fortune. In his seuerall seruices against the Moores he was twise taken prisoner, and both times ransomed by the king. In a former voyage of returne from the East India he was driuen vpon the Baxos or sands of Iuda nere the coast of Cephala, being then also captaine of a caracke which was there lost, and himselfe, though escaping the sea-danger, yet fell into the hands of infidels on land; who kept him vnder long and grieuous seruitude. Once more the king carying a louing respect to the man, and desirous to better his condition, was content to let him try his fortune in this Easterly nauigation, and committed vnto him the conduct of this caracke, wherein he went from Lisbon Generall of the whole fleet, and in that degree had returned, if the Vice-rey of Goa embarked for Portugall in the Bon Iesus had not, by reason of his late office, bene preferred. Sir Iohn intending not to adde too much affliction to the afflicted, moued with pity and compassion of humane misery, in the end resolued freely to dismisse this captaine and the most part of his followers to their owne countrey, and for the same purpose bestowed them in certaine vessels furnished with all kindes of necessary prouision. This businesse thus dispatched, good leasure had he to take such view of the goods as conueniency might affoord. And hauing very prudently (to cut off the vnprofitable spoile and pillage whereunto he saw the minds of many inclined) seised vpon the whole to her Maiesties vse, after a short and slender romaging and searching of such things as first came to hand, he perceiued that ye wealth would arise nothing disanswerable to expectation; but that the variety and grandure of all rich commodities would be more then sufficient to content both the aduenturers desire and the souldiers trauell. And here I cannot but enter into the consideration and acknowledgement of Gods great fauor towards our nation, who by putting this purchase into our hands hath manifestly discouered those secret trades and Indian riches, which hitherto lay strangely hidden, and cunningly concealed from vs; whereof there was among some few of vs some small and vnperfect glimse onely, which now is turned into the broad light of full and perfect knowledge. Whereby it should seeme that the will of God for our good is (if our weaknesse could apprehend it) to haue vs communicate with them in those East Indian treasures, and by the erection of a lawfull traffike to better our meanes to aduance true religion and his holy seruice.

The caracke being in burden by the estimation of the wise and experienced no lesse then 1600 tunnes had full 900 of those stowed with the grosse bulke of marchandise, the rest of the tunnage being allowed, partly to the ordinance which were 32 pieces of brasse of all sorts, partly to the passengers and the victuals, which could not be any small quantity, considering the number of the persons betwixt 600 and 700, and the length of the nauigation. To giue you a taste (as it were) of the commodities, it shall suffice to deliuer you a generall particularity of them, according to the catalogue taken at Leaden hall the 15 of September 1592. Where vpon good view it was found, that the principall wares after the iewels (which were no doubt of great value, though they neuer came to light) consisted of spices, drugges, silks, calicos, quilts, carpets and colours, &c. The spices were pepper, cloues, maces, nutmegs, cinamom, greene ginger: the drugs were beniamin, frankincense, galingale, mirabolans, aloes zocotrina, camphire: the silks, damasks, taffatas, sarcenets, altobassos, that is, counterfeit cloth of gold, vnwrought China silke, sleaued silke, white twisted silke, curled cypresse. The calicos were book-calicos, calico-launes, broad white calicos, fine starched calicos, course white calicos, browne broad calicos, browne course calicos. There were also canopies, and course diaper-towels, quilts of course sarcenet and of calico, carpets like those of Turky; whereunto are to be added the pearle, muske, ciuet, and amber-griece. The rest of the wares were many in number, but lesse in value; as elephants teeth, porcellan vessels of China, coco-nuts, hides, eben-wood as blacke as iet, bedsteads of the same, cloth of the rindes of trees very strange for the matter, and artificiall in workemanship. All which piles of commodities being by men of approued iudgement rated but in reasonable sort amounted to no lesse then 150000 li. sterling, which being diuided among the aduenturers (whereof her Maiesty was the chiefe) was sufficient to yeeld contentment to all parties. The cargazon being taken out, and the goods fraighted in tenne of our ships sent for London, to the end that the bignesse, heigth, length, bredth, and other dimensions of so huge a vessell might by the exact rules of Geometricall obseruations be truly taken, both for present knowledge, and deriuation also of the same vnto posterity, one M. Robert Adams, a man in his

A briefe catalogue of yͤ sundry rich commodities of yͤ Madre de Dios.

The capacity and dimensions of the Madre de Dios.

faculty of excellent skill, omitted nothing in the description, which either his arte could demonstrate, or any mans iudgement thinke woorthy the memory. After an exquisite suruey of the whole frame he found the length from the beak-head to the sterne (whereupon was erected a lanterne) to containe 165 foote. The breadth in the second close decke whereof she had three, this being the place where there was most extension of bredth, was 46 feet and ten inches. She drew in water 31 foot at her departure from Cochin in India, but not aboue 26 at her arriuall in Dartmouth, being lightened in her voyage by diuers meanes some 5 foote. She caried in height 7 seuerall stories, one maine Orlop, three close decks, one fore-castle, and a spar-decke of two floores a piece. The length of the keele was 100 foote, of the maine-mast 121 foot, and the circuite about at the partners 10 foote 7 inches, the maine-yard was 106 foote long. By which perfect commensuration of the parts appeareth the hugenesse of the whole, farre beyond the mould of the biggest shipping vsed among vs either for warre or receit.

Don Alonso de Baçan hauing a great Fleet and suffering these two caraks, the Santa Cruz to be burnt, and the Madre de Dios to be taken, was disgraced by his prince for this negligence.

The firing and sinking of the stout and warrelike Carack called Las Cinque Llaguas, or, The fiue Wounds, by three tall Ships set foorth at the charges of the right honorable the Erle of Cumberland and his friends: Written by the discreet and valiant captaine M. Nicholas Downton.

IN the latter ende of the yeere 1593. the right honourable Erle of Cumberland, at his owne charges and his friends, prepared 3 ships, all at equall rate, and either of them had like quantitie of victuals, and like numbers of men, there being embarked in all 3 ships 420 men of al sorts.* The Roial Exchange went as Admirall, wherein M. George Caue was captaine. The Mayflower Viceadmirall vnder the conduct of William Anthonie: and the Sampson, the charge whereof it pleased his honour to commit vnto me Nicholas Dounton. Our directions were sent vs to Plimmouth, and we were to open them at sea.

---

* *Marginal note.*—Besides these three ships there was a pinnas called the Violet, or the Why not I.

The sixt of Aprill 1594 we set sayle in the sound of Plimmouth, directing our course toward the coast of Spaine.

The 24 of the sayd moneth at the Admirals direction wee diuided our selues East and West from ech other, being then in the heigth of 43 degrees, with commaundement at night to come together againe.

We 27 day in the morning we descried the May-flower and the litle Pinnasse with a Prise that they had taken, being of Viana in Portugall, and bound for Angola in Africa. This Barke was of 28 tunnes, hauing some 17 persons in the same. There were in her some 12 Buts of Galicia wine, whereof we tooke into euery shippe a like part, with some Ruske in chests and barrels, with 5 buts of blew course cloth, and certaine course linnen-cloth for Negros shirts, which goods were diuided among our fleet.

Commodities fit for Angola.

The 4 of May we had sight of our Pinnasse, and the Admirals Shallop which had taken three Portugall Carauels, whereof they had sent two away and kept the third.

The second of Iune we had sight of S. Michael. The third day in the morning we sent our small pinnasse, which was of some 24 tunnes, with the small Carauell which we had taken at the Burlings to range the road of all the Ilands, to see if they could get any thing in the same: appointing them to meet vs W. S. W. 12 leagues from Faiall. Their going from vs was to no purpose. They missed comming to vs when we appointed, as also we missed them, when we had great cause to haue vsed them.

The 13 of Iune we met with a mightie Carack of the East Indies, called Las cinque Llagas, or The fiue wounds. The May-flower was in fight with her before night. I, in the Sampson, fetched her vp in the euening, and as I commanded to giue her the broad side, as we terme it, while I stood very heedefully prying to discouer her strength: and where I might giue counsel to boord her in the night when the Admirall came vp to vs, and as I remember at the very first shot she discharged at vs, I was shot in a litle aboue the belly, whereby I was made vnseruiceable for a good while after, without touching any other for that night. Yet by meanes of an honest truehearted man which I had with me, one captaine Grant, nothing was neglected: vntill midnight when the Admirall came vp, the May-flower, and the Sampson neuer left by turnes to ply her with their great ordinance; but then captaine Caue wished vs to stay till morning, at what time each one of vs should giue her three bouts with our great ordinance, and so clap her aboord: but indeed it was long lingered in the morning vntil 10 of the clocke before wee attempted to boord her. The Admirall laid her a boord in the mid ship: the May-flower comming vp in the quarter, as it should seeme, to lie at the sterne of the Admirall on the larboord-side. The captaine of the sayd May-flower was slaine at the first comming vp: whereby the ship fell to the sterne of the out-licar of the Carack, which (being a piece of timber) so wounded her foresaile, that they sayd they could come no more to fight, I am sure they did not, but kept aloofe from vs. The Sampson went aboord on the bow, but hauing not rome enough, our quarter lay on the Exchanges bow, and our bowe on the Caracks bowe. The Exchange also at the first comming had her captaine M. Caue shot into both the legs, the one whereof he neuer recouered, so he for that present was not able to doe his office, and in his absence he had not any that would vndertake to lead out his company to enter vpon the enemie. My friend captaine Grant did lead my men on the Caracks side, which being not manfully backed by the Exchanges men, his forces being smal, made the enemie bolder than he would haue bene, whereby I had sixe men presently slaine and many more hurt, which made them that remained vnhurt to returne aboord, and would neuer more giue the assault. I say not but some of the Exchanges men did very well, and many more (no doubt) would haue done the like, if there had bene any principall man to haue put them forward, and to haue brought all the company to the fight, and not to haue run into corners themselues. But I must needs say, that their ship was as well prouided for defence, as any that I haue seene. And the Portugals peraduenture encouraged by our slacke working, plaied the men and had Barricados made, where they might stand without any danger of our shot. They plied vs also very much with fire, so that most of our men were burnt in some place or other: and while our men were putting out of the fire, they would euer be plying them with small shot or darts. This vnusuall casting of fire did much dismay many of our men and made them draw backe as they did. When we had not men to enter, we plied our great ordinance much at them as high vp as they might be mounted, for otherwise we did them little harme, and by shooting a piece out of our forecastle being close by her, we fired a mat on her beak-head, which more and more kindled, and ran from thence to the mat on the bow-sprit, and from the mat vp to the wood of the bow-sprit, and thence to the top-saile yard, which fire made the Portugals abaft in the ship to stagger, and to make shew of parle. But they that had the charge before encouraged them, making shew, that it might easily be put out, and that it was nothing. Whereupon againe they stood stifly to their defence. Anone the fire grew so strong, that I saw it beyond all helpe, although she had bene already yeelded to vs. Then we desired to be off from her, but had little hope to obtaine our desire; neuerthelesse we plied water very much to keep our ship well. Indeed I made little other reckoning for the ship, my selfe, and diuers hurt men, then to haue ended there with the Carak, but most of our people might haue saued themselues in boats. And when my care was most, by Gods prouidence onely, by the burning asunder of our spritsaile-yard with ropes and saile, and the ropes about the spritsaile-yarde of the Carack, whereby we were fast intangled, we fell apart, with burning of some of our sailes which we had then on boord. The Exchange also being farther from the fire, afterward was more easily cleared, and fell off from abaft And as soone as God had put vs out of danger, the fire got into the fore-castle, where, I think, was store of Beniamin, and such other like combustible matter, for it flamed and ran ouer all the Carack at an instant in a maner. The Portugals lept ouerboord in great numbers. Then sent I captaine Grant with the boat, with leaue to vse his owne discretion in sauing of them. So he brought me aboord two gentlemen, the one an old man called Nuno Velio Pereira, which (as appeareth by the 4 chapter in the first booke of the woorthy history of Huighen de Linschoten) was gouernour of Moçambique and Cefala, in the yeere 1582. and since that time had bene likewise a gouernour in a place of importance in the East Indies. And the shippe wherein he was comming home was cast away a little to the East of the Cape of Buona Speranza, and from thence he traueiled ouer-land to Moçambique, and came as a passenger in this Carack. The other was called Bras Carrero, and was captaine of a Carack which was cast away neere Moçambique, and came likewise in this ship for a passenger. Also three men of the inferior sort we saued in our boat, onely these two we clothed and brought into England. The rest which were taken vp by the other ship boats, we set all on shore in the Ile of Flores, except some two or three Negros, whereof one was borne in Moçambique, and another in the East Indies. This fight was open off the Sound between Faial and Pico 6 leagues to the Southward. The people which we saued told vs that the cause why they would not yeeld, was, because this Carack was for the king, and that she had all the goods belonging to the king in the countrey for that yeere in her, and that the captaine of her was in fauor with the king, and at his returne into the Indies should haue bene Viceroy there. And withall this ship was nothing at all pestered neither within boord nor without, and was more like a ship of warre then otherwise: moreouer she had the ordinance of a Carak that was cast away at Moçambique, and the company of her, together with the company of another Carack that was cast away a little to the Eastwards of the Cape of Buona Speranza. Yet through sicknesse which they caught at Angola, where they watered, they say, they had not now aboue 150 white men, but Negros a great many. They likewise affirmed that they had three noblemen and three ladies in her, but we found them to differ in most of their talke. All this day and all the night she burned, but the next morning her poulder which was lowest being 60 barrels blew her abroad, so that most of the ship did swim in parts aboue the water. Some of them say, that she was bigger then the Madre de Dios, and some, that she was lesse: but she was much vndermastered, and vndersailed, yet she went well for a ship that was so foule. The shot which wee made at her in great Ordinance before we layde her aboord might be at seuen bouts which we had, and sixe or 7 shot at a bout, one with another, some 49 shot: the time we lay aboord might be two houres. The shot which we discharged aboord the Carack might be some twentie Sacars. And thus much may suffice concerning our daungerous conflict with that vnfortunate Carack.

The last of Iune after long traversing of the seas we had sight of another mightie Carack which diuerse of our company at the first tooke to be the great S. Philip the Admiral of Spaine, but the next day being the first of Iuly fetching her up we perceiued her indeede to be a Carack, which after some few shot bestowed vpon her we summoned to yeeld; but they standing stoutly to their defence vtterly refused the same. Wherefore seeing no good could be done without boording her I consulted what course we should take in the boording. But by reason that wee which were the chiefe captaines were partly slaine and partly wounded in the former conflict, and because of the murmuring of some disordered and cowardly companions, our valiant and resolute determinations were crossed: and to conclude a long discourse in few words, the Carack escaped our hands. After this attending about Coruo and Flores for some West Indian purchase, and being disappointed of our expectation, and victuals growing short, we returned for England, where I arriued at Portesmouth the 28 of August.

The casting away of the Tobie neere Cape Espartel corruptly called Cape Sprat without the Straight of Gibraltar on the coast of Barbarie. 1593.

THe Tobie of London a ship of 250 tunnes manned with fiftie men, the owner whereof was the worshipful M. Richard Staper, being bound for Liuorno, Zante and Patras in Morea, being laden with marchandize to the value of 11 or 12 thousand pounds sterling, set sayle from Black-wall the 16 day of August 1593, and we went thence to Portesmouth where we tooke in great quantitie of wheate, and set sayle foorth of Stokes bay in the Isle of Wight, the 6. day of October, the winde being faire: and the 16 of the same moneth we were in the heigth of Cape S. Vincent, where on the next morning we descried a sayle which lay in try right a head off vs, to which we gaue chase with very much winde, the sayle being a Spaniard, which wee found in fine so good of sayle that we were faine to leaue her and giue her ouer. Two dayes after this we had sight of mount Chiego, which is the first high-land which we descrie on the Spanish coast at the entrance of the Straight of Gibraltar, where we had very foule weather and the winde scant two dayes together. Here we lay off to the sea. The Master, whose name was George Goodley, being a young man, and one which neuer tooke charge before for those parts, was very proud of that charge which he was litle able to discharge, neither would take any counsel of any of his company, but did as he thought best himselfe, and in the end of the two dayes of foule weather cast about, and the winde being faire, bare in with the straights mouth. The 19 day at night he thinking that he was farther off the land than he was, bare sayle all that night, and an houre and an halfe before day had ranne our shippe vpon the ground on the coast of Barbarie without the straight foure leagues to the

South of Cape Espartel. Whereupon being all not a litle astonied, the Master said vnto vs, I pray you forgiue me; for this is my fault and no mans else. The company asked him whether they should cut off the main mast: no said the Master, we will hoyse out our boate. But one of our men comming speedily vp, said, Sirs, the ship is full of water, well sayd the Master, then cut the mayne-mast ouer boord: which thing we did with all speede. But the afterpart suddenly split a sunder in such sort that no man was able to stand vpon it, but all fled vpon the foremast vp into the shrouds thereof; and hung there for a time: but seeing nothing but present death approch (being so suddenly taken that we could not make a raft which we had determined) we committed our selues vnto the Lord and beganne with dolefull tune and heauy hearts to sing the 12 Psalme. Helpe Lord for good and godly men &c. Howbeit before we had finished foure verses the waues of the sea had stopped the breathes of most of our men. For the foremast with the weight of our men and the force of the sea fell downe into the water, and vpon the fall thereof there were 38 drowned, and onely 12 by Gods prouidence partly by swimming and other meanes of chests gote on shoare, which was about a quarter of a mile from the wracke of the ship. The master called George Goodley, and William Palmer his mate, both perished. M. Cæsar also being captaine and owner was likewise drowned: none of the officers were saued but the carpenter.

We twelue which the Lord had deliuered from extreme danger of the Sea, at our comming ashore fell in a maner into as great distresse. At our first comming on shore we all fell downe on our knees, praying the Lord most humbly for his merciful goodnesse. Our prayers being done, we consulted together what course to take, seeing we were fallen into a desert place, and we traueled all that day vntill night, sometimes one way and sometimes another, and could finde no kinde of inhabitants; onely we saw where wilde beasts had bene, and places where there had bene houses, which after we perceiued to haue bene burnt by the Portugals. So at night falling into certaine groues of oliue trees, we climed vp and sate in them to auoid the danger of lions and other wilde beasts, whereof we saw many the next morning. The next day we trauelled vntill three of the clocke in the afternoone without any food but water and wilde date roots: then going ouer a mountaine, we had sight of Cape Espartel; whereby we knew some what better which way to trauell, and then we went forward vntill we came to an hedgerow made with great long canes; we spied and looked ouer it, and beheld a number of men aswell horsemen as footmen, to the number of some fiue thousand in skirmish together with small shot and other weapons. And after consultation what we were best to do, we concluded to yeeld our selues vnto them, being destitute of all meanes of resistance. So rising vp we marched toward them, who espying vs, foorthwith some hundred of them with their iauelings in their hands came running towards vs as though they would haue run vs thorow: howbeit they onely strooke vs flatling with their weapons, and said that we were Spaniards: and we tolde them that we were Englishmen: which they would not beleeue yet. By and by the conflict being ended, and night approching, the captaine of the Moores, a man of some 56 yeres olde, came himselfe vnto vs, and by his interpretor which spake Italian, asked what we were and from whence we came. One Thomas Henmer of our company which could speake Italian, declared vnto him that we were marchants, and how by great misfortune our ship, marchandise, and the greatest part of our company were pitifully cast away vpon their coast. But he void of all humainity and all manhood, for all this, caused his men to strip vs out of our apparel euen to our shirts to see what money and iewels we had about vs: which when they had found to the value of some 200 pounds in golde and pearles they gaue vs some of our apparel againe, and bread and water onely to comfort vs. The next morning they carried vs downe to the shore where our shippe was cast away, which was some sixteene miles from that place. In which iourney they vsed vs like their slaues, making vs (being extreame weake,) to carry their stuffe, and offering to beat vs if we went not so fast as they. We asked them why they vsed vs so, and they replied, that we were their captiues: we said we were their friends, and that there was neuer Englishman captiue to the king of Marocco. So we came downe to the ship, and lay there with them seuen dayes, while they had gotten all the goods they could, and then they parted it amongst them. After the end of these seuen dayes the captaine appointed twenty of his men wel armed, to bring vs vp into ye countrey: and the first night we came to the side of a riuer called Alarach, where we lay on the grasse all that night: so the next day we went ouer the riuer in a frigate of nine oares on a side, the riuer being in that place aboue a quarter of a mile broad: and that day we went to a towne of thirty houses, called Totteon: there we lay foure dayes hauing nothing to feed on but bread and water: and then we went to a towne called Cassuri, and there we were deliuered by those twenty souldiers vnto the Alcaide, which examined vs what we were: and we tolde him. He gaue vs a good answere, and sent vs to the Iewes house, where we lay seuen dayes. In the meane while that we lay here, there were brought thither twenty Spaniards and twenty Frenchmen, which Spaniards were taken in a conflict on land, but the Frenchmen were by foule weather cast on land within the Straights about Cape de Gate, and so made captiues. Thus at the seuen dayes end we twelue Englishmen, the twelue French, and the twenty Spaniards were all conducted toward Marocco with nine hundred souldiers horsemen and fotmen, and in two dayes iourney we came to the riuer of Fez, where we lodged all night, being prouided of tents. The next day we went to a towne called Salle, and lay without the towne in tents. From thence we trauelled almost an hundred miles without finding any towne, but euery night we came to fresh water, which was partly running water and sometime raine water. So we came at last within three miles of the city of Marocco, where we pitched our tents: and there we mette with a carrier which did trauel in the countrey for the English marchants: and by him we sent word vnto them of our estate; and they returned the next day vnto vs a Moore, which brought vs victuals, being at that instant very feeble and hungry: and withall sent vs a letter with pen, inke, and paper, willing vs to write vnto them what ship it was that was cast away, and how many and what men there were aliue. For said they we would knowe with speed, for to morow is the kings court: and therefore we would know, for that you should come into the citie like captiues. But for all that we were carried in as captiues and with ropes about our neckes as well English as the French and Spaniards. And so we were carried before the king: and when we came before him he did commit vs all to ward, where wee lay 15 dayes in close prison: and in the end we were cleared by the English Marchants to their great charges; for our deliuerance cost them 700 ounces, euery ounce in that country contayning two shillings. And when we came out of prison we went to the Alfandica, where we continued eight weekes with the English marchants. At the end of which time being well apparelled by the bountie of our marchants we were conueyed downe by the space of eight dayes iourney to S. Cruz, where the English ships road: where we tooke shipping about the 20 of March, two in the Anne Francis of London, and fiue more of vs fiue dayes after in the Expedition of London, and two more in a Flemish flie-boat, and one in the Mary Edward also of London, other two of our number died in the countrey of the bloodie-fluxe: the one at our first imprisonment at Marocco, whose name was George Hancock, and the other at S. Cruz, whose name was Robert Swancon, whose death was hastened by eating of rootes and other vnnatural things to slake their raging hunger in our trauaile, and by our hard and cold lodging in the open fields without tents. Thus of fiftie persons through the rashnesse of an vnskilfull Master ten onely suruiued of vs, and after a thousand miseries returned home poore, sicke, and feeble into our countrey.

Richard Iohnson.
William Williams Carpenter.
Iohn Durham.
Abraham Rouse.
Iohn Matthewes.
Thomas Henmore.
Iohn Siluester.
Thomas Whiting.
William Church.
Iohn Fox.

The letters of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie sent by one Laurence Aldersey vnto the Emperour of Aethiopia, 1597.

Inuictissimo potentissimoq; Abassenorum regi, magnoq; vtriusq; Aethiopiæ imperatori &c.

ELizabetha Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ regina, fidei defensor &c. summo ac potentissimo Æthiopiæ imperatori salutem. Quod ab omnibus qui vbiuis terrarum ac gentium sunt regibus principibusq; præstari par et æquum est, vt quanquàm maximo locorum interuallo dissiti, et moribus ac legibus discrepantes, communem tamen generis humani societatem tueri et conseruare, mutuáq; vt occasio ferret, charitatis et beneuolentiæ officia velint exercere: in eo nos de vestra fide atque humanitate

spem certissimam concipientes huic subito nostro Laurentio Alderseio in regnum vestrum proficiscenti, hasce literas nostras, quibus et nostra erga vos beneuolentia testata sit, et illum hinc profectum esse constet, potissimùm vobis indicandus dedimus. Qui cùm orbis terrarum perscrutandi cognoscendſq; studio permotus, multis antehàc regionibus peragratis, iam tandem in eas regiones, quæ vestræ ditionis sunt, longum, periculosumq; iter instituat: cùm ipse existimauit, tum nos etiam sumus in eadem opinione, ad incolumitatem suam, atque etiam ad gratiam apud vos, plurimum illi profuturum, si diplomate nostro munitus, beneuolenentiæ nostræ et profectionis hinc suæ testimonium ad vos deferret. Nam cum summus ille mundi conditor rectorq; præpotens Deus, regibus principibusq; qui suam vicem gerunt, orbem terrarum, suis cuique finibus pro rata portione designatis, regendum atque administrandum dederit; eoq; munere ius quoddam inter eos fraternæ necessitudinis, æternumq; fœdus ab illis colendum sanxerit: non erit (vt arbitramur) ingratum vobis, cùm beneuolentiæ nostræ significationem, tàm immensa maris ac terrarum spatia transgressam, ab vltima Britannia ad vos in Aetheiopiam perferri intellexeritis. Nobisq; rursùs erit incundum, cùm subditorum nostrorum prædicatione, ab ipsis Nili fontibus, et ab ijs regionibus quæ solis cursum definiunt, fama vestri nominis ad nos recurret. Erit igitur humanitatis vestræ huic subdito nostro eam largiri gratiam, vt in ditionem vestram sub præsidio ac tutela vestri nominis intrare, ibique saluus et incolumis manere possit: quod ipsum etiam ab aliis principibus, per quorum regiones illi transeundum erit magnoperè petimus, nobisq; ipsis illud honoris causa tributum existimabimus: néq; tamèn maiorem hac in re gratiam postulamus, quàm vicissim omnium principum subditis, omniumq; gentium hominibus ad nos commeantibus liberrimè concedimus. Datum Londini quinto die Nouembris: anno regni nostri tricesimo nono: annoq: Dom. 1597.

The same in English.

To the most inuincible and puissant king of the Abassens, the mightie Emperour of Aethiopia the higher and the lower.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To the most high and mightie Emperour of Aethiopia greeting. Whereas it is a matter

requisite and well beseeming all kings and princes of what lands or nations soeuer, be they neuer so much disseuered in place or differing in customes and lawes, to maintaine and preserue the common societie of mankinde, and, as occassion shall be offered, to performe mutuall duties of charitie and beneuolence: we for that cause conceiuing most vndoubted hope of your princely fidelity and courtesie, haue giuen vnto this our subiect Laurence Aldersey intending to trauell into your dominions, these our letters to be deliuered without faile vnto your Highnesse, to the end they may be a testimony of our good will towards you and of our saide subiect his departure from England. Who, after his trauels in many forren countreys, being as yet enflamed with a desire more throughly to surueigh and contemplate the world, and now at length to vndertake a long and daungerous iourney into your territories and regions: both the sayd Laurence thought, and our selues also deemed, that it would very much auaile him, as well for his owne safetie as for the attayning of your fauour, if, being protected with our broad seale, hee might transport vnto your Highnesse a testimony of our louing affection and of his departure from hence. For sithence almightie God the highest creatour and gouernour of the world hath allotted vnto kings and princes his vicegerents ouer the face of the whole earth, their designed portions and limits to be ruled and administred by them; and by this his gift hath established among them a certaine law of brotherly kindnesse, and an eternall league by them to be obserued: it will not (we hope) seeme vnpleasant vnto your highnesse, when you shall haue intelligence of our louing letters sent so huge a distance ouer sea and land, euen from the farthest realme of England vnto you in Aethiopia. On the other side our selues shall take great solace and delight, when as by the relation of our owne subiects, the renowme of your name shall be brought vnto vs from the fountains of Nilus, and from those regions which are situate vnder the Southerne Tropike. May it please you therefore of your princely clemencie to vouchsafe so much fauour on this our subiect, that he may, vnder the safeguard and protection of your name, enter into your highnesse dominions, and there remaine safe and free from danger. Which fauour and courtesie wee doe likewise most earnestly request at the hands of other princes, through whose Seigniories our said subiect is to passe; and we shall esteeme it as done vnto our selfe and for our honours sake.

Neither do we require any greater fauour in this behalfe, then we are vpon the like occasion most ready to graunt vnto the subiects of all princes and the people of all Nations, trauelling into our dominions. Giuen at London the fift day of Nouember, in the thirtie and ninth yeere of our reigne: and in the yeare of our Lord 1597.

* * *

APPENDIX.

THE OMISSIONS OF CALES VOYAGE.

THe[*] first and greatest occasion let slip in our Voyage was, that we did not possess ourselues of the fleete that was bound for the Indies, the lading whereof would not onelie haue paid all charges of the iorneie, but haue enabled vs a great while to wage warre with Spaine, with the meanes of Spaine. To which I aunswere, that if either I had ben followed the first morning of our comminge before the harbor when I bare with it, or if we had entred the same Sundaie in the afternoone when we were vnder saile, and within cannon shot of the enemies fleete, or after the men of warre were taken and burnt, the nexte daie if anie shipping had gone vp as I vrged by mine owne speech sent by Sir Anthonie Ashlie, who being secretarie at wars was to record euerie mans seruice or omission; if anie of these had ben don, then I saie had that fleete ben easilie possessed. For the first morning they had neither their men aboard, as it was since confessed by our prisoners, nor were provided of any counsel what to doe. In the afternoone the same daie we had found the men of warre and the Marchaunts fleet altogether in one bodie, and engaged them both at once, so as at the same time we had defeated the one, we had possessed the other. And the next daie presentlie vpon the fight and victorie against the Kings shipps, we had found them all so amazed and confounded as they would haue thought of nothing but of sauing themselues, and we had taken the ships, the riches in them, and the fleet of gallies, without striking a blow; as both our prisoners and captaines out of the gallies haue assured vs. But the first morninge when I boare with the harbor, almost all the fleet came to an ancker by the point Saint Sebastian a league wide of me, and gaue the enemie leasure to send men and all necessaries aboard. When I was gon in, I could neither get my companion to waigh his anckor, nor most of those that were waied to goe in with me. And the next daie I had much a do to make our ships fight at all. And when God had giuen vs victorie, my perswasions nor protestations could make them that were sea-commaunders go or send vp to possess the fleet of the Indies, whiles we assailed the towne, so as the enemie had almost 48. howers to burne his owne shipps.

---

[*] The Editor takes this opportunity of making his grateful acknowledgements to the Marquis of Stafford, for his permission to print this Tract from his curious Manuscript; and to the Reverend H. J. Todd, for furnishing him with the accurate transcript from which it is printed.

The second imputation that maie be laid to vs, was, that we did abandon Cales, when we were possesst of it, whereas the holding of it would haue ben a naile not in the foote of this great monarch but in his side, and haue serued for a diversion of all the wars in these parts. To which I aunswere, that some of our sea-commaunders, and especiallie my colleague, did not onelie oppose themselues to that designe, (whose oppositions mine instructions made an absolute barre,) but when we came to see how the forces that should be left there might be victualed till succours came, the victualls were for the most part hidden and embeazled, and euery ship began at that instant to feare their wants, and to talke of goeing home ; soe as I should neither haue had one ship to staie at Cales, nor victualls for the garrison for 2. moneths. And therefore I was forced to leaue Cales, and did not choose to abandon it.

The third obiection we haue to aunswere is, whie we did not lie for the carricks and Indian ships, seing we were on the coast the verie time that is thought fittest for their intercepting and vsual of their retourne. In which I must first cite the testimonie of all our commanders by land and sea, that when we had in our retourne from Cales doubled the Cape St. Vincent comonlie called the South Cape, I vrged our going to th' Islands of Ozores, founding my selfe vpon these reasons : first, that it was more certaine to attend them at the land-fall where theie must needs touch, then to seeke them in the wide sea ; and next, that the aduises sent out of Spaine and Portingall since our being of myght meete them at the Islands, and make them divert from coming thither. Besides, the Spaniards after theie saw vs engaged at Cales would neuer suspect or dreame of our goeing to the Islands. And when this counsell was reiected, and we come in the sight of Lisbon, I there againe pressed the lieing for them with a selected fleet, and offered vpon that condition to send home the land-forces, and all such ships as want of victualls, leaks, sickness, or anie thing els had made vnfit to staie out at sea. But first the L. Admirall and Sr. Wa[l]ter Rawligh did directlie by attestation vnder their hands contradict the first proposition that I made, that some ships should attend that seruice. And when we came to the hypothesis, which were fitt and their captaines content to staie out in all the fleet, except the Low Countrie Squadron, there could be found but two, my L. Thom. Howard and my selfe; so as by the whole counsell at wars, it was resolued that as well my offer and opinion, as euerie mans els amongst vs, should be kept vnder his hand, for our particuler discharges, and I be barred of staieing, except my L. Admirall would assent to leaue some 8. or 10. of the Marchaunts ships besides 2. of the Queenes: which he refused to doe: and soe our dessigne brake of.

The last omission maie seeme to be in this, that since all our seruice consisted in taking or distroyinge the Spanish shipping and sea prouisions, that we did not looke into all his chiefe ports, and do him in that kind as much hurt as we might haue done. To which I aunswere, that first my end in going to Cales was not onlie because it was a principall port and the likeliest to be held by vs, by cause of the seat and naturall strength of it; but also for that it was the farthest good porte south-ward; so as beginning with it we might, if some greater seruice did not diuert vs, goe to all the good ports betwixt that and the northmost ports of Biskaie: which was a better waie then to haue begonne or giuen the enemie an alarum in the middest of his Countrie, or the neerest ports to vs; for so our attempts would haue ben more difficile, and our retreats at last from those farthest ports less safe; considering the wants, infections, and other inconveniences that for the most parte doe accompanie the retraicts of our fleet and armies in long iourneies. But after we had ended at Cales, it was by all our seamen thought a capitall offence to name the goeing ouer the Barre at St. Lucars. Betwixt St. Lucars and Lisbone there is no good porte. From Lisbone I was barred by name, if it had bene free for vs to haue gone. Yet our seamen are made of the same stuffe, Sr. Francis D: and his companie was, when theie lost the occasion of his taking Lisbone, for feare of passing by the castle of St. Iulian's. From Lisbone to the Groine there is no port to hold the Kings or anie other great shipping. To the Groin with cart-ropes I drew them: for both I vowed and protested against their refusall, and parted companie with them when they offered to hold another course. But when we came to the mouth of the harbor, and sent in some of our small vessells, we saw there was nothing there, nor yet at Furroll; for into that port also we made our discouveries to looke.

After which discouverie we held our last counsell. And then I vrged our goeing to St. Audica, the passage St. Sebastian, and all other good ports all along the coast. But mine associat did altogether refuse to goe farther alonge the coaste, complaininge of wants, and obiecting our being embayed, and I know not what. In which opinion Sir Walter Rawlighe strengthened him; and theie were both desirous to take vpon them the honnor of breaking that dessigne. And of landing at the Groyne, or attempting the towne, theie would not heare by anie meanes. And presentlie euery man cried to set saile homewards. Since which time theie haue made such haste, as I, tarieing behind to bring along with me the St. Andrew taken at Cales and the fflie boate that carries our artillarie haue lost them all, sauing Monsieur Oauerworme and his squadron, and some few small shipps.

[These "Omissions" were not included in the early editions, but appeared in Woodfall's edition of 1812].

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR ROBERT CECIL KNIGHT.*

Principall Secretarie to her Maiestie, Master of the Court of Wards and Liueries, and one of her Maiesties most honourable Priuie Councell.

RIght honourable, your fauourable acceptance of my second volume of the English voyages offred vnto you the last yere, your perusing of the same at your conuenient leasure, your good testimony of my selfe and of my trauailes therein, together with the infallible signes of your earnest desire to doe mee good, which very lately, when I thought least thereof, brake forth into most bountiful and acceptable effects: these considerations haue throughly animated and encouraged me to present vnto your prudent censure this my third and last volume also. The subiect and matter herein contained is the fourth part of the world, which more commonly then properly is called America: but by the chiefest Authors The new world. New, in regard of the new and late discouery thereof made by Christopher Colon, aliàs Columbus, a Genouois by nation, in the yere of grace 1492. And world, in respect of the huge extension thereof, which to this day is not throughly discouered, neither within the Inland nor in the coast, especially toward the North and Northwest, although on the either side it be knowen vnto vs for the space of fiue thousand leagues at the least, compting and considering the trending of the land, and for 3000. more on the backeside in the South Sea from the Streight of Magellan to Cape Mendoçino and Noua Albion. So that it seemeth very fitly to be called A newe worlde. Howbeit it cannot be denied but that Antiquitie had some kinde of dimme glimse, and vnperfect notice thereof. Which may appeare by the relation of Plato in his two worthy dialogues of Timæus and Critias vnder the discourse of that mighty large yland called by him Atlantis, lying in the Ocean sea without the Streight of Hercules, now called the Streight of Gibraltar, being (as he there reporteth) bigger then Africa and Asia: And by that of Aristotle in his booke De admirandis auditionibus of the long nauigation of certaine Carthaginians, who sayling forth of the aforesaid Streight of Gibraltar into the maine Ocean for the space of many dayes, in the ende found a mighty and fruitfull yland, which they would haue inhabited, but were forbidden by their Senate and chiefe gouernours. Moreouer, aboue 300. yeeres after these wee haue the testimony of Diodorus Siculus lib. 5 cap. 7. of the like mighty yland discouered in the Westerne Ocean by the Tyrrheni, who were forbidden for certaine causes to inhabite the same by the foresaid Carthaginians. And Senecca in his tragedie intituled Medea foretold aboue 1500. yeeres past, that in the later ages the Ocean would discouer new worlds, and that the yle of Thule would no more be the vttermost limite of the earth. For whereas Virgile had said to Augustus Cæsar, Tibi seruiat vltima Thule, alluding thereunto he contradicteth the same, and saith, Nec sit terris vltima Thule. Yea Tertullian one of our most ancient and learned diuines, in the beginning of his treatise de Pallio alludeth vnto Plato his Westerne Atlantis, which there by another name he calleth Aeon, saying Aeon in Atlantico nunc quæritur. And in his 40. chapter de Apologetico he reporteth the same to be bigger then all Africa and Asia.* Of this new world and euery speciall part thereof in this my third volume I haue brought to light the best and most perfect relations of such as were chiefe actours in the particular discoueries and serches of the same, giuing vnto euery man his right, and leauing euery one to mainteine his owne credit. The order obserued in this worke is farre more exact, then heretofore I could attaine vnto: for whereas in my two former volumes I was enforced for lacke of sufficient store, in diuers places to vse the methode of time onely (which many worthy authors on the like occasion are enforced vnto) being now more plentifully furnished with matter, I alwayes follow the double order of time and place. Wherefore proposing vnto my selfe the right situation of this New world, I begin at the extreme Northerne limite, and put downe successiuely in one ranke or classis, according to the order aforesaide, all such voyages as haue bene made to the said part: which comming all together, and following orderly one vpon another, doe much more lighten the readers vnderstanding, and confirme his iudgment, then if they had bene scattered in sundry corners of the worke. Which methode I obserue from the highest North to the lowest South.* Now where any country hath bene but seldome hanted, or any extraordinary or chiefe action occureth, if I finde one voyage well written by two seuerall persons, sometimes I make no difficultie to set downe both those iournals, as finding diuers things of good moment obserued in the one, which are quite omitted in the other. For commonly a souldier obserueth one thing, and a mariner another, and as your honour knoweth, Plus vident oculi, quàm oculus. But this course I take very seldome and sparingly. And albeit my worke do cary the title of The English voyages, aswell in regard that the grèatest part are theirs, and that my trauaile was chiefly vndertaken for preseruation of their memorable actions, yet where our owne mens experience

---

* Son of William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, minister of Elizabeth, and himself minister to the same queen and to James I. A clever but unscrupulous man, he was never popular, and his share in the fate of Essex and Raleigh has obscured his fame. He was created Earl of Salisbury. His secret correspondence is to be found in Goldsmid's Collectanea Adamantæa. Born 1565. Died 1612.

---

*Hakluyt here merely condenses the researches of Grotius, who had published, in 1542, his famous but rare Tract "On the Origin of the Native American Races," a translation of which the present Editor issued in his "Bibliotheca Curiosa," Edinburgh, 1884. Hakluyt was evidently ignorant of Gunnbjorn's glimpse of a Western land in 876, of Eric the Red's discovery of Greenland about 985, of Bjarni's and Leif's discoveries, or indeed of any of the traditions of the Voyages of the Northmen, or he would certainly have

---

included them in his Collection. Those who are interested in these matters should consult Wheaton's History of the Northmen, London, 1831; Antiquitates Americanæ, edited by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquarians, Hafniæ, 1837; The Discovery of America by the Northmen, by N. L. Beamish, London, 1841; Historia Vinlandiæ Antiquæ, by Thermodus Torfœus, Hafniæ, 1705; and the edition of the Flateyan MSS., lately published at Copenhagen.

* I have, to the best of my abiliy, in Vols. I. to XI. of this edition, arranged the contents of Hakluyt's first two volumes in the order he would have desired, had he not "lacked sufficient store."

is defectiue, there I haue bene careful to supply the same with the best and chiefest relations of strangers. As in the discouery of the Grand Bay, of the mighty riuer of S. Laurence, of the countries of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay, of Florida, and the Inland of Cibola, Tiguex, Cicuic, and Quiuira, of The gulfe of California, and the North westerne sea-coast to Cabo Mendoçino and Sierra Neuada: as also of the late and rich discouery of 15. prouinces on the backside of Florida and Virginia, the chiefest whereof is called the kingdome of New Mexico, for the wealth, ciuil gouernment, and populousnesse of the same. Moreouer, because since our warres with Spaine, by the taking of their ships, and sacking of their townes and cities, most of all their secrets of the West Indies, and euery part thereof are fallen into our peoples hands (which in former time were for the most part vnknowen vnto vs,) I haue vsed the vttermost of my best endeuour, to get, and hauing gotten, to translate out of Spanish, and here in this present volume to publish such secrets of theirs, as may any way auaile vs or annoy them, if they driue and vrge vs by their sullen insolencies, to continue our courses of hostilitie against them, and shall cease to seeke a good and Christian peace vpon indifferent and equal conditions. What these things be, and of how great importance your honour in part may vnderstand, if if it please you to vouchsafe to reade the Catalogues conteyning the 14 principal heads of this worke. Whereby your honor may farther perceiue that there is no chiefe riuer, no port, no towne, no citie, no prouince of any reckoning in the West Indies, that hath not here some good description thereof, aswell for the inland as the sea-coast. And for the knowledge of the true breadth of the Sea betweene Noua Albion on the Northwest part of America, and the yle of Iapan lying ouer against the kingdomes of Coray and China, which vntil these foure yeeres was neuer reueiled vnto vs, being a point of exceeding great consequence, I haue here inserted the voyage of one Francis Gualle a Spaniard made from Acapulco an hauen on the South sea on the coast of New Spaine, first to the Philippinas, and then to the citie of Macao in China, and homeward from Macao by the yles of Iapan, and thence to the back of the West Indies in the Northerly latitude of 37. degrees ½. In which course betweene the said ylands and the maine he found a wide and spacious open Ocean of 900. leagues broad, which a little more to the Northward hath bene set out as a Streight, and called in most mappes The Streight of Anian. In which relation to the viceroy hee constantly affirmeth three seuerall times, that there is a passage that way vnto the North parts of Asia. Moreouer, because I perceiue by a letter directed by her Maiestie to the Emperour of China (and sent in the last Fleet intended for those 9 2 parts by The South Sea vnder the charge of Beniamin Wood-chiefly set out at the charges of sir Robert Duddeley, a gentle, man of excellent parts) that she vseth her princely mediation for obtaining of freedome of traffique for her marchants in his dominions, for the better instruction of our people in the state of those countries, I haue brought to light certaine new aduertisements of the late alteration of the mightie monarchie of the confronting yle of Iapan, and of the new conquest of the kingdome of Coray, not long since tributarie to the king of China, by Quabacondono the monarch of all the yles and princedomes of Iapan; as also of the Tartars called Iezi, adioyning on the East and Northeast parts of Coray, where I thinke the best vtterance of our natural and chiefe commoditie of cloth is like to be, if it please God hereafter to reueile vnto vs the passage thither by the Northwest. The most exact and true information of the North parts of China I finde in a history of Tamerlan, which I haue in French, set out within these sixe yeeres by the abbat of Mortimer, dedicated to the French king that now reigneth, who confesseth that it was long since written in the Arabian tongue by one Alhacen a wise and valiant Captaine, employed by the said mighty prince in all his conquests of the foresaid kingdome, Which history I would not haue failed to haue translated into English, if I had not found it learnedly done vnto my hand.

And for an appendix vnto the ende of my worke, I haue thought it not impertinent, to exhibite to the graue and discreet iudgements of those which haue the chiefe places in the Admiraltie and marine causes of England, Certaine briefe extracts of the orders of the Contractation house of Siuil in Spaine, touching their gouernment in sea-matters: together with The streight and seuere examination of Pilots and Masters before they be admitted to take charge of ships, aswell by the Pilot mayor, and brotherhood of ancient Masters, as by the Kings reader of The lecture of the art of Nauigation, with the time that they be enioyned to bee his auditors, and some part of the questions that they are to answere vnto. Which if they finde good and beneficial for our seamen, I hope they wil gladly imbrace and imitate, or finding out some fitter course of their owne, will seeke to bring such as are of that calling vnto better gouernment and more perfection in that most laudable and needfull vocation. To leaue this point, I was once minded to haue added to the end of these my labours a short treatise, which I haue lying by me in writing, touching The curing of hot diseases incident to traueilers in long and Southerne voyages, which treatise was written in English, no doubt of a very honest mind, by one M. George Wateson, and dedicated vnto her sacred Maiestie. But being carefull to do nothing herein rashly, I shewed it to my worshipfull friend M. doctour Gilbert, a gentleman no lesse excellent in the chiefest secrets of the Mathematicks (as that rare iewel lately set foorth by him in Latine doeth euidently declare) then in his owne profession of physicke: who assured me, after hee had perused the said treatise, that it was very defectiue and vnperfect, and that if hee might haue leasure, which that argument would require, he would either write something thereof more aduisedly himselfe, or would conferre with the whole Colledge of the Physicions, and set downe some order by common consent for the preseruation of her Maiesties subjects. Now as the foresaid treatise touched the cure of diseases growing in hot regions, so being requested thereunto by some in authoritie they may adde their iudgments for the cure of diseases incident unto men employed in cold regions, which to good purpose may serue our peoples turnes, if they chance to prosecute the intermitted discouery by the Northwest, whereunto I finde diuers worshipfull citizens at this present much inclined. Now because long since I did foresee, that my profession of diuinitie, the care of my family, and other occasions might call and diuert me from these kinde of endeuours, I haue for these 3. yeeres last pasts encouraged and furthered in these studies of Cosmographie and forren histories, my very honest, industrious, and learned friend M. IOHN PORY, one of speciall skill and extraordinary hope to performe great matters in the same, and beneficial for the common wealth.

Thus Sir I haue portrayed out in rude lineaments my Westerne Atlantis or America: assuring you, that if I had bene able, I would haue limned her and set her out with farre more liuely and exquisite colours: yet, as she is, I humbly desire you to receiue her with your wonted and accustomed fauour at my handes, who alwayes wil remaine most ready and deuoted to do your honour any poore seruice that I may; and in the meane season will not faile vnfainedly to beseech the Almighty to powre vpon you the best of his temporall blessings in this world, and after this life ended with true and much honour, to make you partaker of his ioyes eternall. From London the first of September, the yeere of our Lord God 1600.

Your Honours most humble to
be commanded,

RICHARD HAKLVYT, Preacher.

Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoueries

OF THE

ENGLISH NATION IN AMERICA.

The most ancient Discouery of the West Indies by Madoc the sonne of Owen Guyneth Prince of North-wales, in the yeere 1170: taken out of the history of Wales, lately published by M. Dauid Powel Doctor of Diuinity.[*]

AFter the death of Owen Guyneth, his sonnes fell at debate who should inherit after him: for the eldest sonne borne in matrimony, Edward or Iorweth Drwydion, was counted vnmeet to gouerne, because of the maime upon his face: and Howell that tooke vpon him all the rule was a base sonne, begotten upon an Irish woman. Therefore Dauid gathered all the power he could, and came against Howel, and fighting with him, slew him; and afterwards inioyed quietly the whole land of Northwales, vntil his brother Iorwerths sonne came to age. Madoc another of Owen Guyneth his sonnes left the land in contention betwixt his brethren, and prepared certaine ships, with men and munition, and sought aduentures by Seas, sailing West, and leauing the coast of Ireland so farre

Madoc the son of Owen Guyneth.

---

[*] The History of Wales, written by Caradoc of Llancarvan, Glamorganshire, in the British Language, translated into English by Humphrey Llwyd, and edited by Dr. David Powel in 1584, is the book here quoted. It is very rare.

North, that he came vnto a land vnknowen, where he saw many strange things.

Humf. Llyod.

This land must needs be some part of that Countrey of which the Spanyards affirme themselues to be the first finders since Hannos time. Whereupon it is manifest that that countrey was by Britaines discouered, long before Columbus led any Spanyards thither.

The second voyage of Madoc the sonne of Owen Guyneth.

Of the voyage and returne of this Madoc there be many fables fained, as the common people doe vse in distance of place and length of time rather to augment then to diminish: but sure it is there he was. And after he had returned home, and declared the pleasant and fruitfull countreys that he had seen without inhabitants, and vpon the contrary part, for what barren and wild ground his brethren and nephews did murther one another, he prepared a number of ships, and got with him such men and women as were desirous to liue in quietness: and taking leaue of his friends, tooke his iourney thitherward againe. Therefore it is to be supposed that he and his people inhabited part of those countreys: for it appeareth by Francis Lopez de Gomara, that in Acuzamil and other places the people honored the crosse. Wherby it may be gathered that Christians had bene there before the comming of the Spanyards: But because this people were not many, they followed the maners of the land which they came vnto, and vsed the language they found there.

Gomara. lib. 2. cap. 16.

M. Powels addition.

Gutyn Owen.

This Madoc arriuing in that Westerne countrey, vnto the which he came in the yere 1170, left most of his people there, and returning backe for more of his owne nation, acquaintance and friends to inhabit that faire and large countrey, went thither againe with ten sailes, as I find noted by Gutyn Owen. I am of opinion that the land whereunto he came was some part of the West Indies.*

---

* If Madoc ever existed, it seems more probable that the land he discovered was Madeira or the Azores. Such at least is the view taken by Robertson, and also by Jeremiah Belknap (American Biography, 8vo, Boston, 1774). Southey founded one of his poems on this tradition.

Carmina Meredith filij Rhesi[*] mentionem facientia de Madoco filio Oweni Guynedd, et de sua nauigatione in terras incognitas. Vixit hic Meredith circiter annum Domini 1477.

MAdoc wyf, mwyedic wedd,
Iawn genau, Owyn Guynedd:
Ni fynnum dir, fy enaid oedd
Na da mawr, ond y moroedd.[†]

The same in English.

Madoc I am the sonne of Owen Gwynedd
With stature large, and comely grace adorned:
No lands at home nor store of wealth me please,
My minde was whole to search the Ocean seas.

The offer of the discouery of the West Indies by Christopher Columbus to king Henry the seuenth in the yeere 1488 the 13 of February: with the kings acceptation of the offer, and the cause whereupon hee was depriued of the same: recorded in the thirteenth chapter of the history of Don Fernand Columbus of the life and deeds of his father Christopher Columbus.[‡]

CHristophoro Colon temendo, se parimente i Re di Castiglia non assentissero alla sua impresa, non gli bisognasse proporla di nuouo à qualche altro principe, e cosi in cio passasse lungo tempo; mando in Inghilterra vn suo fratello, che haueua appresso di se, chiamato Bartholomeo Colon: il qual, quantunque non hauesse lettere Latine, erà però huomo prattico, e giudicioso nelle cose del mare, e sapea molto bene far carte da nauigare, e sphere, et altri instrumenti di quella professione, come dal suo fratello era instrutto. Partito adunque Bartholomeo Colon per Inghilterra, volle la sua sorte, che desse in man di cor sali, i quali lo spogliarono insieme con gli altri della sua naue. Per la qual cosa, e per la sua pouertà et infirmità, che in cosi diuerse terre lo assalirono crudelmente, prolungo per gran tempo

---

[*] In Welsh, Meridith ap Rhees.

[†] *Marginal note.*—These verses I receiued of my learned friend M. William Camden.

[‡] The most interesting life of Columbus is that by Lamartine, a translation of which appeared in the "Bibliotheca Curiosa."

la sua ambasciata, fin che, acquistata vn poco di facultà con le carte, ch' ei fabricaua, cominciò a far pratiche co' il Re Enrico settimo padre de Enrico ottauo, che al presente regna: a cui appresentò vn mappamondo, nel quale erano scritti questi versi, che fra le sue scriture Io trouai, e da me saranno qui posti piu tosto per l'antichità, che per la loro elganza.

Terrarum quicunque cupis fœliciter oras
Noscere, cuncta decens doctè pictura docebit,
Quam Strabo affirmat, Ptolomæus, Plinius, atque
Isidorus: non vno tamen sententia cuique.
Pingitur hîc etiam nuper sulcata carinis
Hispanis Zona illa, priùs incognita genti
Torrida, quæ tandem nunc est notissima multis.

Et piu di sotto diceua

Pro Authore siue Pictore.

Ianua cui patriæ est nomen, cui Bartholomæus
Columbus de Terra Rubra, opus edidit istud,
Londonijis anno Domini 1480 atque insuper anno
Octauo, decimaque die cùm tertia mensis
Februarij. Laudes Christo cantentur abundè.

Et, percioche auuertirà alcuno, che dice Columbus de Terra Rubra, dico medesimamente Io viddi alcune sotto scritioni dell' Ammiraglio, primo che acquistasse lo stato, ou' egli si sotto scriueua, Columbus de Terra Rubra. Ma, tornando al Re d'Inghilterra, dico, che, da lui il mappamondo veduto, et cio che l'Ammiraglio gli offeriua, con allegro volto accettò la sua offerta, e mandolo a chiamare. Ma, percioche Dio l'haueua per Castiglia serbata, gia l'Ammiraglio in quel tempo era andato, e tornato con la vittoria della sua impresa, secondo che per ordine si racconterà. Lasciarò hora di raccontar ciò, che Bartolomeo Colon haueua negociato in Inghilterra, e tornarò all'Ammiraglio, etc.

The same in English.

CHristopher Columbus fearing least if the king of Castile in like manner (as the king of Portugall had done) should not con-

descend vnto his enterprise, he should be inforced to offer the same againe to some other prince, and so much time should be spent therein, sent into England a certaine brother of his which he had with him, whose name was Bartholomew Columbus, who, albeit he had not the Latine tongue, yet neuerthelesse was a man of experience and skilfull in Sea causes, and could very wel make sea cards and globes, and other instruments belonging to that profession, as he was instructed by his brother. Wherefore after that Bartholomew Columbus was departed for England, his lucke was to fall into the hands of pirats, which spoiled him with the rest of them which were in the ship which he went in. Vpon which occasion, and by reason of his pouerty and sicknesse which cruelly assaulted him in a countrey so farre distant from his friends, he deferred his embassage for a long while, until such time as he had gotten somewhat handsome about him with making of Sea Cards. At length he began to deale with king Henry the seuenth the father of Henry the eight, which reigneth at this present: vnto whom he presented a mappe of the world, wherein these verses were written, which I found among his papers: and I will here set them downe, rather for their antiquity then for their goodnesse.

The occasion why the West Indies were not discouered for England.

Thou which desireth easily the coasts of lands to know,
This comely mappe right learnedly the same to thee will shew:
Which Strabo, Plinie, Ptolomew and Isodore maintaine:
Yel for all that they do not all in one accord remaine.
Here also is set downe the late discouered burning Zone
By Portingals, vnto the world which whilom was vnknowen.
Whereof the knowledge now at length thorow all the world is
blowen.

And a little vnder he added:

For the Author or the Drawer.

He, whose deare natiue soile hight stately Genua.
Euen he whose name is Bartholomew Colon de Terra Rubra,
The yeere of Grace a thousand and foure hundred and fourescore
And eight, and on the thirteenth day of February more,
In London published this worke. To Christ all laud therefore.

And because some peraduenture may obserue that he calleth himselfe Columbus de Terra Rubra, I say, that in like maner I haue seene some subscriptions of my father Christopher Columbus, before he had the degree of Admirall, wherein he signed his name thus, Columbus de Terra Rubra. But to returne to the king of England, I say, that after he had seene the map, and that which my father Christopher Columbus offered vnto him, he accepted the offer with ioyfull countenance, and sent to call him into England. But because God had reserued the said offer for Castile, Columbus was gone in the meane space, and also returned with the performance of his enterprise, as hereafter in order shall be rehearsed. Now will I leaue off from making any farther mention of that which Bartholomew Colon had negotiated in England, and I will returne vnto the Admirall, &c.

King Henry the seuenth his acceptation of Columbus offer.

Another testimony taken out of the 60 chapter of the foresayd history of Ferdinando Columbus, concerning the offer that Bartholomew Columbus made to king Henry the seuenth on the behalfe of his brother Christopher.

TOrnato adunque l'Ammiraglio dallo scoprimento di Cuba and di Giamaica, tornò nella Spagnuola Bartolomeo Colon suo fratello, quello, che era già andato a trattare accordo col Re d'Inghilterra sopra lo scoprimento delle Indie, come di sopra habiam detto. Questo poi, ritornando sene verso Castiglia con capitoli conceduti, haueua inteso a Parigi dal re Carlo di Francia, l'Ammiraglio suo fratello hauer gia scorperte l'Indie: per che gli souenne per poter far il Viaggio di cento scudi. Et, Auengà che per cotal nuoua egli si fosse molto affrettato, per arriuar l'Ammiraglio in Spagna, quando non dimeno giunse a Siuiglia, egli era gia tornato alle Indie co' 17 nauigli. Perche, per asseguir quanto ei gli haueba lasciato, di subito al principio dell' anno del 1494 sen' andò a i Re Catholici, menando seco Don Diego Colon, mio fratello, e me ancora, accioche seruissimo di paggi al serenissimo principe Don Giouanni, il qual viua in gloria, si come hauea commandato la Catholica Reina donna Isabella, che alhora era in Vagliadolid. Tosto adunque che noi giungemmo, i Re chiamarono Don Bartolomeo, et mandaronlo alla Spagnuola centre naui, &c.

The same in English.

CHristopher Columbus the Admirall being returned from the discouery of Cuba and Iamayca, found in Hispaniola his brother Bartholomew Columbus, who before had beene sent to intreat of an agreement with the king of England for the discouery of the Indies, as we haue sayd before. This Bartholomew therefore returning vnto Castile, with the capitulations granted by the king of England to his brother, vnderstood at Paris by Charles the king of France that the Admirall his brother had already performed that discouery: whereupon the French king gaue vnto the sayd Bartholomew an hundred French crownes to beare his charges into Spaine. And albeit he made great haste vpon this good newes to meet with the Admirall in Spaine, yet at his comming to Siuil his brother was already returned to the Indies with seuenteene saile of shipps. Wherefore to fulfill that which he had left him in charge in the beginning of the yeere 1494 he repaired to the Catholike princes, taking with him Diego Colon my brother and me also, which were to be preferred as Pages to the most excellent Prince Don Iohn, who now is with God, according to the commandement of the Catholic Queene Lady Isabell, which was then in Validolid. Assoone therefore as we came to the Court, the princes called for Don Bartholomew, and sent him to Hispaniola with three ships, &c.

THE ENGLISH VOYAGES, NAVIGATIONS, AND DISCOUERIES.

(Intended for the finding of a northwest passage) to the north parts of America, to meta incogita, and the backeside of Gronland, as farre as 72 degrees and 12 minuts: performed first by Sebastian Cabota, and since by Sir Martin Frobisher, and M. John Dauis, with the patents, discourses, and aduertisements thereto belonging.

The Letters patents of King Henry the seuenth granted vnto Iohn Cabot and his three sonnes, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sancius for the discouerie of new and vnknowen lands.

HEnricus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, et Franciæ, et Dominus Hiberniæ, omnibus, ad quos præsentes literæ nostræ peruenerint, salutem.

Notum sit et manifestum, quòd dedimus et concessimus, ac per præsentes damus et concedimus pro nobis et hæredibus

nostris, dilectis nobis Ioanni Caboto ciui Venetiarum, Lodouico, Sebastiano, et Sancio, filijs dicti Ioannis, et eorum ac cuiuslibet eorum hæredibus et deputatis, plenam ac liberam authoritatem, facultatem, et potestatem nauigandi ad omnes partes, regiones, et sinus maris orientalis, occidentalis, et septentrionalis, sub banneris, vexillis, et insignijs nostris, cum quinque nauibus siue nauigijs, cuiuscunque portituræ et qualitatis existant, et cum tot et tantis nautis et hominibus, quot et quantos in dictis nauibus secum ducere voluerint, suis et eorum proprijs sumptibus et expensis, ad inueniendum, discooperiendum, et inuestigandum quascunque insulas, patrias, regiones siue prouincias gentilium et infidelium quorumcunque, in quacunque parte mundi positas, quæ Christianis omnibus ante hæc tempora fuerint incognitæ. Concessimus etiam eisdem et eorum cuilibet, eorumque et cuiuslibet eorum hæredibus et deputatis, ac licentiam dedimus ad affigendum prædictas banneras nostras et insignia in quacunque villa, oppido, castro, insula seu terra firma à se nouiter inuentis. Et quòd prænominatus Ioannes, et filij eiusdem, seu hæredes et eorum deputati, quascunque huiusmodi villas, castra, oppida, et insulas à se inuentas, quæ subiugari, occupari, possideri possint, subiugare, occupare, possidere valeant tanquam vasalli nostri, et gubernatores, locatenentes, et deputati eorundem, dominium, titulum et iurisdictionem earundem villarum, castrorum, oppidorum, insularum, ac terræ firmæ sic inuentorum nobis acquirendo. Ita tamen, vt ex omnibus fructibus, proficuis, emolumentis, commodis, lucris, et obuintionibus ex huiusmodi nauigatione prouenientibus, præfatus Iohannes, et filij ac hæredes, et eorum deputati, teneanter et sint obligati nobis pro omni viagio suo, toties quoties ad portum nostrum Bristolliæ applicuerint (ad quem omnino applicare teneantur et sint astricti) deductis omnibus sumptibus et impensis necessarijs per eosdem factis, quintam partem capitalis lucri facti, siue in mercibus, siue in pecunijs persoluere: Dantes nos et concedentes eisdem suisque hæredibus et deputatis, vt ab omni solutione custumarum omnium et singulorum bonorum et mercium, quas secum reportarint ab illis locis sic nouiter inuentis, liberi sint et immunes. Et insuper dedimus et concessimus eisdem ac suis hæredibus et deputatis, quod terræ omnes firmæ, insulæ, villæ, oppida, castra, et loca quæcunque a se inuenta, quotquot ab eis inueniri contigerit, non possint ab alijs quibusuis nostris subditis frequentari seu visitari, absque licentia prædictorum Ioannis et eius filiorum, suorumque deputatorum, sub pœna amissionis tam nauium quàm bonorum omnium quorumcunque ad ea loca sic inuenta nauigare præsumentium. Volentes et strictissimè mandantes omnibus et singulis nostris subditis, tam in terra quàm in mari constitutis, vt præfato Ioanni, et eius filijs ac deputatis, bonam assistentiam faciant, et tam in armandis nauibus seu nauigijs, quàm in prouisione commeatus et victualium pro sua pecunia emendorum, atque aliarum omnium rerum sibi prouidendarum pro dicta nauigatione sumenda suos omnes fauore set auxilia impertiant. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium quinto die Martij anno regni nostri vndecimo.

Ann. Dom. 1495.

The same in English.

HEnry by the grace of God, king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, to all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting.

Be it knowen that we haue giuen and granted, and by these presents do giue and grant for vs and our heires, to our welbeloued Iohn Cabot citizen of Venice,* to Lewis, Sebastian, and Santius, sonnes of the said Iohn, and to the heires of them, and euery of them, and their deputies, full and free authority, leaue, and power to saile to all parts, countreys, and seas of the East, of the West, and of the North, under our banners and ensignes, with fiue ships of what burthen or quality soeuer they be, and as many mariners or men as they will haue with them in the sayd ships, vpon their owne proper costs and charges, to seeke out, discouer, and finde whatsoeuer isles, countreys, regions or prouinces of the heathen and infidels whatsoeuer they be, and in what part of the world soeuer they be, which before this time haue bene vnknowen to all Christians; we haue granted to them, and also to euery of them, the heires of them, and their deputies, and haue giuen them licence to set vp our banners and ensignes in euery village, towne, castle, isle, or maine land of them newly found. And that the aforesayd Iohn and his sonnes, or their heires and assignes may subdue, occupy and possesse all such townes, cities,

---

* Nothing is known of Cabot's early years. In the Archives of Venice is the record of his naturalization, dated 28 March 1476, which shows he had lived there fifteen years. (Archives of Venice: Senato Terra, 1473-1477. Vol. vii., p. 109.

castles and isles of them found, which they can subdue, occupy and possesse, as our vassals, and lieutenants, getting vnto vs the rule, title, and iurisdiction of the same villages, townes, castles, and firme land so found. Yet so that the aforesayd Iohn, and his sonnes and heires, and their deputies, be holden and bounden of all the fruits, profits, gaines, and commodities growing of such nauigation, for euery their voyage, as often as they shall arriue at our port of Bristoll (at the which port they shall be bound and holden onely to arriue) all maner of necessary costs and charges by them made, being deducted, to pay vnto vs in wares or money the fift part of the capitall gaine so gotten. We giuing and granting vnto them and to their heires and deputies, that they shall be free from all paying of customes of all and singular such merchandize as they shall bring with them from those places so newly found. And moreouer, we haue giuen and granted to them, their heires and deputies, that all the firme lands, isles, villages, townes, castles and places whatsoeuer they be that they shall chance to finde, may not of any other of our subiects be frequented or visited without the licence of the foresayd Iohn and his sonnes, and their deputies, vnder paine of forfeiture aswell of their shippes as of all and singuler goods of all them that shall presume to saile to those places so found. Willing, and most straightly commanding all and singuler our subiects aswell on land as on sea, to giue good assistance to the aforesayd Iohn and his sonnes and deputies, and that as well in arming and furnishing their ships or vessels, as in prouision of food, and in buying of victuals for their money, and all other things by them to be prouided necessary for the sayd nauigation, they do giue them all their helpe and fauour. In witnesse whereof we haue caused to be made these our Letters patents. Witnesse our selfe at Westminister the fift day of March, in the eleuenth yeere of our reigne.*

Bristol thought ye meetest port for Westerne discoueries.

Freedome from custome.

---

* This patent was granted in reply to the following application by John Cabot:

"To the Kyng our Souvereigne lord,

"Please it your highnes of your moste noble and haboundant grace to graunt vnto Iohn Cabotto, citezen of Venes, Lewes, Sebestyan and Sancto his sonneys your gracious lettres patentes vnder your grete seale in due forme to be made accordying to the tenour hereafter ensuying. And they shall during their lyves pray to God for the prosperous continuance of your moste noble and royale astate long to enduer. "(Public Records, Bill number 51.) Consult also Rymer's Fœdera; London, 1727, folios 595-6.

Billa signata anno 13 Henrici septimi.

REx tertio die Februarij, anno 13, licentiam dedit Ioanni Caboto,* quod ipse capere possit sex naues Anglicanas, in aliquo portu, siue portibus regni Angliæ, ita quod sint de portagio 200. doliorum, vel subtus, cum apparatu requisito, et quod recipere possint in dictas naues omnes tales magistros, marinarios, et subditos regis, qui cum eo exire voluerint, &c.

The same in English.

THe king vpon the third day of February, in the 13 yeere of his reigne, gaue licence to Iohn Cabot to take sixe English ships in any hauen or hauens of the realme of England, being of the burden of 200 tunnes, or vnder, with all necessary furniture, and to take also into the said ships all such masters, mariners, and subiects of the king as willingly will go with him, &c.†

An extract taken out of the map‡ of Sebastian Cabot, cut by Clement Adams, concerning his discouery of the West Indies, which is to be seene in her Maiesties priuie gallerie at Westminster, and in many other ancient merchants houses.

ANno Domini 1497 Ioannes Cabotus Venetus, et Sebastianus illius filius eam terram fecerunt peruiam, quam nullus priùs adire

---

* *Marginal note.*—A record of the rolls touching the voyage of Iohn Cabot and Sebastian his sonne.

† Armed with this authority, John Cabot sailed from Bristol in the spring of 1497, with two ships, one being called the Matthew. (The History and Antiquities of the city of Bristol, by William Barrett, 1789).

‡ In the National Library, Paris, is a large map of the world on the margin of which is written :
"Sebastian Caboto capitan, y piloto mayor de la S. c. c. m. del Imperador don Carlos quinto deste nombre, y rey nuestro sennor hizo esta figura extensa en plano, anno del nasciem° de nro saluador Jesu Christo de m.d. xliii. annos, tirada por grados de latitud y longitud con sus uientos como carta de marear, imitando en parte al Ptolomeo, y en parte alos modernos descobridores, asi Espannoles como Portugueses, y parte por su padre, y por el descubierto."
I give a facsimile of part of this map. As will be seen the words "Prima tierra vista" are opposite a cape about the 48th parallel, which would be Cape Breton. In a letter written to the Duke of Milan by Raimondo di Soncino, his minister in London, and dated the 18th Dec. 1497, a very interesting account is given of Cabot's voyage. Archives of Milan. Annuario scientifico, Milan, 1866 p. 700.

ausus fuit, die 24 Junij, circiter horam quintam bene manè. Hanc autem appellauit Terram primùm visam, credo quod ex mari in eam partem primùm oculos iniecerat. Nam quæ ex aduerso sita est insula, eam appellauit insulam Diui Ioannis, hac opinor ratione, quòd aperta fuit eo die qui est sacer Diuo Ioanni Baptistæ: Huius incolæ pelles animalium, exuuiasque ferarum pro indumentis habent, easque tanti faciunt, quanti nos vestes preciosissimas. Cùm bellum gerunt, vtuntur arcu, sagittis, hastis, spiculis, clauis ligneis et fundis. Tellus sterilis est, neque vllos fructus affert, ex quo fit, vt vrsis albo colore, et ceruis inusitatæ apud nos magnitudinis referta sit: piscibus abundat, ijsque sane magnis, quales sunt lupi marini, et quos salmones vulgus appellat; soleæ autem reperiuntur tam longæ, vt vlnæ mensuram excedant. Imprimis autem magna est copia eorum piscium, quos vulgari sermone vocant Bacallaos. Gignuntur in ea insula accipitres ita nigri, vt coruorum similitudinem mirum in modum exprimant, perdices autem et aquilæ sunt nigri coloris.

The same in English.

In the yeere of our Lord 1497 Iohn Cabot a Venetian, and his sonne Sebastian (with an English fleet set out from Bristoll) discouered that land which no man before that time had attempted, on the 24 of Iune,* about fiue of the clocke early in the morning. This land he called Prima vista, that is to say, First seene, because as I suppose it was that part whereof they had the first sight from sea. That Island which lieth out before the land, he called the Island of S. Iohn vpon this occasion, as I thinke, because it was discouered vpon the day of Iohn the Baptist. The inhabitants of this Island vse to weare beasts skinnes, and haue them in as great estimation as we haue our finest garments. In their warres they vse bowes, arrowes, pikes, darts, woodden clubs, and slings. The soile is barren in some places, and yeeldeth litle fruit, but it is full of white beares, and stagges farre greater then ours. It yeeldeth plenty of fish, and those very great, as seales, and those which commonly we call salmons: there are soles also aboue a yard in length: but especially there is great abundance of that kinde of fish which the Sauages call baccalaos. In the same Island also there breed

---

* Query, July.

haukes, but they are so blacke that they are very like to rauens, as also their partridges, and egles, which are in like sort blacke.

A discourse of Sebastian Cabot touching his discouery of part of the West India out of England in the time of king Henry the seuenth, vsed to Galeacius Butrigarius the Popes Legate in Spaine, and reported by the sayd Legate in this sort.

This discourse is taken out of the second volume of ye voyages of Baptista Ramusius.*

DOe you not vnderstand sayd he (speaking to certaine Gentlemen of Venice) how to passe to India toward the Northwest, as did of late a citizen of Venice, so valiant a man, and so well practised in all things pertaining to nauigations, and the science of Cosmographie, that at this present he hath not his like in Spaine, insomuch that for his virtues he is preferred aboue all other pilots that saile to the West Indies, who may not passe thither without his licence, and is therefore called Piloto mayor, that is, the grand Pilot. And when we sayd that we knew him not, he proceeded, saying, that being certaine yeres in the city of Siuil, and desirous to haue some knowledge of the nauigations of the Spanyards, it was tolde him that there was in the city a valiant man, a Venetian borne named Sebastian Cabot, who had the charge of those things, being an expert man in that science, and one that coulde make Cardes for the Sea, with his owne hand, and by this report, seeking his acquaintance, hee found him a very gentle person, who intertained him friendly, and shewed him many things, and among other a large Mappe of the world, with certaine particuler Nauigations, as well of the Portugals, as of the Spaniards, and that he spake further vnto him to this effect.

Sebastian Cabota Pilot mayor of Spaine.

When my father departed from Venice many yeeres since to dwell in England, to follow the trade of marchandises, hee tooke mee with him to the citie of London, while I was very yong, yet hauing neuerthelesse some knowledge of letters of humanitie, and of the Sphere. And when my father died in that time when newes were brought that Don Christopher Colonus Genuese had discouered the coasts of India, whereof was great talke in all the Court of king Henry the 7, who then raigned, insomuch that all men with great admiration affirmed it to be a thing more diuine then humane, to saile by the West into the East where spices growe, by a way that was neuer knowen before, by this fame and report there increased in my heart a great flame of desire to attempt some notable thing. And vnderstanding by reason of the Sphere, that if I should saile by way of the Northwest, I should by a shorter tract come into India, I thereupon caused the King to be aduertised of my deuise, who immediatly commanded two Caruels to bee furnished with all things appertayning to the voyage, which was as farre as I remember in the yeere 1496. in the beginning of Sommer. I began therefore to saile toward the Northwest, not thinking to finde any other land then that of Cathay, and from thence to turne toward India, but after certaine dayes I found that the land ranne towards the North, which was to mee a great displeasure. Neuerthelesse, sayling along by the coast to see if I could finde any gulfe that turned, I found the lande still continent to the 56. degree vnder our Pole. And seeing that there the coast turned toward the East, despairing to finde the passage, I turned backe againe, and sailed downe by the coast of that land toward the Equinoctiall (euer with intent to finde the saide passage to India) and came to that part of this firme lande which is nowe called Florida, where my victuals failing, I departed from thence and returned into England, where I found great tumults among the people, and preparation for warres in Scotland; by reason whereof there was no more consideration had to this voyage.

---

* J. B. Ramusio compiled in Italian a celebrated collection of maritime voyages. The most complete edition is formed by joining vol. I. of 1574 to vol. II. of 1555 and vol. III. of 1554. He died 1557, aged 72.

The second voyage of Cabot to the land of Brazil, and Rio de Plata.

Whereupon I went into Spaine to the Catholique king, and Queene Elizabeth, which being aduertised what I had done, intertained me, and at their charges furnished certaine ships, wherewith they caused me to saile to discouer the coastes of Brazile, where I found an exceeding great and large riuer named at this present Rio de la plata, that is, the riuer of siluer, into the which I sailed and followed it into the firme land, more then sixe score leagues, finding it euery where very faire, and inhabited with infinite people, which with admiration came running dayly to our ships. Into this Riuer runne so many other riuers, that it is in maner incredible.

After this I made many other voyages, which I nowe pretermit, and waxing olde, I giue myselfe to rest from such trauels, because there are nowe many yong and lustie Pilots and Mariners of good experience, by whose forwardnesse I doe reioyce in the fruit of my labours, and rest with the charge of this office, as you see.*

The office of Pilote maior.

The foresaide Baptista Ramusius in his preface to the thirde volume of the Nauigations, writeth thus of Sebastian Cabot.

IN the latter part of this volume are put certaine relations of Iohn de Vararzana, Florentine, and of a great captaine a Frenchman, and the two voyages of Iaques Cartier a Briton, who sailed vnto the land situate in 50. degrees of latitude to the North, which is called New France, which landes hitherto are not throughly knowen, whether they doe ioyne with the firme lande of Florida and Noua Hispania, or whether they bee separated and diuided all by the Sea as Ilands: and whether that by that way one may goe by Sea vnto the countrey of Cathaia. As many yeeres past it was written vnto mee by Sebastian Cabota our Countrey man a Venetian, a man of great experience, and very rare in the art of Nauigation, and the knowledge of Cosmographie, who sailed along and beyond this land of New France, at the charge of King Henry the seuenth king of England: and he aduertised mee, that hauing sailed a long time West and by North, beyond those Ilands vnto the Latitude of 67. degrees and an halfe, vnder the North pole, and at the 11. day of Iune finding still the open Sea without any manner of impediment, he thought verily by that way to haue passed on still the way to Cathaia, which is in the East, and would haue done it, if the mutinie of the ship-master and Mariners had not hindered him and made him to returne homewards from that place. But it seemeth that God doeth yet still reserue this great enterprise for some great prince to discouer this vovage of Cathaia by this way, which for the bringing of the Spiceries from India into Europe, were the most easy and shortest of all other wayes hitherto found out. And

The great probabilitie of this North-west passage.

---

* Ramusius has evidently mixed up the two voyages of John Cabot with those of his son. John's second and last voyage was in 1498, with five ships; though little is known of the result, that little has been collected by Mr. Weise in his "Discoveries of America."

surely this enterprise would be the most glorious, and of most importance of all other that can be imagined to make his name great, and fame immortall, to all ages to come, farre more then can be done by any of all these great troubles and warres which dayly are used in Europe among the miserable Christian people.

Another testimonie of the voyage of Sebastian Cabot to the West and Northwest, taken out of the sixt Chapter of the third Decade of Peter Martyr of Angleria.

SCrutatus est oras glaciales Sebastianus quidam Cabotus genere Venetus, sed à parentibus in Britanniam insulam tendentibus (vti moris est Venetorum, qui commercij causa terrarum omnium sunt hospites) transportatus penè infans. Duo is sibi nauigia, propria pecunia in Britannia ipsa instruxit, et primò tentens cum hominibus tercentum ad Septentrionem donec etiam Iulio mense vastas repererit glaciales moles pelago natantes, et lucem ferè perpetuam, tellure tamen libera, gelu liquefacto: quare coactus fuit, vti ait, vela vertere et occidentem sequi: tetenditque tantum ad meridiem littore sese incuruante, vt Herculei freti latitudinis fere gradus æquarit: ad occidentémque profectus tantum est vt Cubam Insulam à læua, longitudine graduum penè parem, habuerit. Is ea littora percurrens, quæ Baccalaos appelauit, eosdem se reperisse aquarum, sed lenes delapsus ad Occidentem ait, quos Castellani, meridionales suas regiones adnauigantes, inuenient. Ergò non modò verisimilius, sed necessario concludendum est, vastos inter vtramque ignotam hactenus tellurem iacere hiatus, qui viam præbeant aquis ab oriente cadentibus in Occidentem. Quas arbitror impulsu cœlorum circulariter agi in gyrum circa terræ globum, non autem Demogorgone anhelante vomi, absorberique vt nonnulli senserunt, quod influxu, et refluxu forsan assentire daretur. Baccalaos, Cabotus ipse terras illas appellauit, eò quod in earum pelago tantam reperierit magnorum quorundam piscium, tynnos æmulantium, sic vocatorum ab indigenis, multitudinem, vt etiam illi interdum nauigia detardarent. Earum Regionum homines pellibus tantum coopertos reperiebat, rationis haudquaquam expertes. Vrsorum inesse regionibus copiam ingentem refert, qui et ipsi piscibus vescantur. Inter densa namque piscium illorum agmina sese immergunt vrsi, et singulos singuli complexos, vnguibusque inter squammas immissis in terram raptant et comedunt. Propterеà minimè noxios hominibus visos esse ait. Orichalcum in plerisque locis se vidisse apud incolas prædicat. Familiarem habeo domi Cabotum ipsum, et contubernalem interdum. Vocatus namque ex Britannia à Rege nostro Catholico, post Henrici Maioris Britanniæ Regis mortem, concurialis noster est, expectatque indies, vt nauigia sibi parentur, quibus arcanum hoc naturæ latens iam tandem detegatur.

The same in English.

THese North Seas haue bene searched by one Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian borne, whom being yet but in maner an infant, his parents carried with them into England, hauing occasion to resort thither for trade of marchandise, as in the maner of the Venetians to leaue no part of the world vnsearched to obtaine riches. Hee therefore furnished two ships in England at his owne charges, and first with 300 men directed his course so farre towards the North pole, that euen in the moneth of Iuly he found monstrous heapes of ice swimming on the sea, and in maner continuall day light, yet saw he the land in that tract free from ice, which had bene molten by the heat of the Sunne. Thus seeing such heapes of yce before him, hee was enforced to turne his sailes and follow the West, so coasting still by the shore, that hee was thereby brought so farre into the South, by reason of the land bending so much Southwards, that it was there almost equal in latitude, with the sea Fretum Herculeum, hauing the Northpole eleuate in maner in the same degree. He sailed likewise in this tract so farre towards the West, that hee had the Island of Cuba on his left hand, in maner in the same degree of longitude. As hee traueiled by the coastes of this great land, (which he named Baccalaos) he saith that hee found the like course of the waters toward the West, but the same to runne more softly and gently then the swift waters which the Spaniards found in their Nauigations Southwards. Wherefore it is not onely more like to be true, but ought also of necessitie to be concluded that betweene both the lands hitherto vnknown, there should be certaine great open places whereby the waters should thus continually passe from the East vnto the West:

A current toward the West.

The people of Island say the Sea and yce setteth also West. (Ionas Arngrimus.)*

which waters I suppose to be driuen about the globe of the earth by the uncessant mouing and impulsion of the heauens, and not to bee swallowed vp and cast vp againe by the breathing of Demogorgon, as some haue imagined, because they see the seas by increase and decrease to ebbe and flowe. Sebastian Cabot himselfe named those lands Baccalaos, because that in the Seas thereabout hee found so great multitudes of certaine bigge fishes much like vnto Tunies, (which the inhabitants called Baccalaos) that they sometimes stayed his shippes. He found also the people of those regions couered with beastes skinnes, yet not without the vse of reason. He also saieth there is great plentie of Beares in those regions which vse to eate fish: for plunging themselues into ye water, where they perceiue a multitude of these fishes to lie, they fasten their clawes in their scales, and so draw them to land and eate them, so (as he saith) the Beares being thus satisfied with fish, are not noisome to men. Hee declareth further, that in many places of these Regions he saw great plentie of Copper among the inhabitants. Cabot is my very friend, whom I vse familiarly, and delight to haue sometimes keepe mee company in mine owne house. For being called out of England by the commandement of the Catholique King of Castile, after the death of King Henry the seuenth of that name king of England, he was made one of our council and Assistants, as touching the affaires of the new Indies, looking for ships dayly to be furnished for him to discouer this hid secret of Nature.

Copper found in many places by Cabote.

The testimonie of Francis Lopez de Gomara a Spaniard, in the fourth Chapter of the second Booke of his generall history of the West Indies concerning the first discouerie of a great part of the West Indies, to wit, from 58. to 38. degrees of latitude, by Sebastian Cabota out of England.

HE which brought most certaine newes of the countrey and people of Baccalaos, saith Gomara, was Sebastian Cabote a Venetian, which rigged vp two ships at the cost of K. Henry the 7.

---

* A celebrated Icelandic astronomer, a disciple of Tycho-Brahe. The opinion here quoted appears in his *Specimen Historicorum Islandiæ et magnâ ex parte chorographicum*; Amsterdam, 1643. When aged 91, he is said to have married a young girl. Born 1545; died 1640.

of England, hauing great desire to traffique for the spices as the Portingalls did. He carried with him 300. men, and tooke the way towards Island from beyond the Cape of Labrador, vntill he found himselfe in 58. degrees and better. He made relation that in the moneth of Iuly it was so cold, and the ice so great, that hee durst not passe any further: that the dayes were long, in a maner without any night, and for that short night that they had, it was very cleare. Cabot feeling the cold, turned towards the West, refreshing himselfe at Baccalaos: and afterwards he sayled along the coast vnto 38. degrees, and from thence he shaped his course to returne into England.

A note of Sebastian Cabots[*] first discouerie of part of the Indies taken out of the latter part of Robert Fabians Chronicle[†] not hitherto printed, which is in the custodie of M. Iohn Stow [‡] a diligent preseruer of Antiquities.

IN the 13. yeere of K. Henry the 7. (by meanes of one Iohn Cabot a Venetian which made himselfe very expert and cunning in knowledge of the circuit of the world and Ilands of the same, as by a Sea card and other demonstrations reasonable he shewed) the King caused to man and victuall a ship at Bristow, to search for an Island, which he said hee knew well was rich, and replenished with great commodities: Which shippe thus manned and victualled at the kings cost, diuers Marchants of London ventured in her small stocks, being in her as chiefe patron the said Venetian. And in the company of the said ship, sailed also out of Bristow three or foure small ships fraught with sleight and grosse marchandizes, as course cloth, caps, laces, points and other trifles. And so departed from Bristow in the beginning of May, of whom in this Maiors time returned no tidings.

Cabots voyage from Bristol wherein he discouered Newfound land and the Northerne parts of that land, and from thence almost as farre as Florida.[§]

---

[*] An error for John Cabot.

[†] This *Chronicle of England and France*, by a London tradesman, was first printed in 1516.

[‡] This celebrated Antiquary was born in 1525. Originally a tailor, his tastes procured him the encouragement of Archbishop Parker and the Earl of Leicester. His principal works are *Flores Historiarum* (1600) and his *Survey of London*, first published in 1598. Died a beggar in 1605.

[§] If Cabot's discoveries extended from 38° to 58°, he cannot have gone south of Cape Hatteras, in North Carolina.

Of three Sauages which Cabot brought home and presented vnto the King in the foureteenth yere of his raigne, mentioned by the foresaid Robert Fabian.

THis yeere also were brought vnto the king three men taken in the Newfound Island that before I spake of, in William Purchas time being Maior: These were clothed in beasts skins, and did eate raw flesh, and spake such speach that no man could vnderstand them, and in their demeanour like to bruite beastes, whom the King kept a time after. Of the which vpon two yeeres after, I saw two apparelled after the maner of Englishmen in Westminster pallace, which that time I could not discerne from Englishmen, til I was learned what they were, but as for speach, I heard none of them vtter one word.

A briefe extract concerning the discouerie of Newfound-land, taken out of the booke of M. Robert Thorne, to Doctor Leigh, &c.

I Reason, that as some sicknesses are hereditarie, so this inclination or desire of this discouerie I inherited from my father, which with another marchant of Bristol named Hugh Eliot, were the discouerours of the Newfound-lands; of the which there is no doubt (as nowe plainely appeareth) if the mariners would then haue bene ruled, and followed their Pilots minde, but the lands of the West Indies, from whence all the golde cometh, had bene ours; for all is one coast as by the Card appeareth, and is aforesaid.

The large pension granted by K. Edward the 6. to Sebastian Cabot, constituting him grand Pilot of England.

EDwardus sextus Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ rex, omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos præsentes hæ literæ nostræ peruenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod nos in consideratione boni et acceptabilis seruitij, nobis per dilectum seruientem nostrum Sebastianum Cabotam impensi atque impendendi, de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia, et mero motu nostro, nec non de aduisamento, et consensu præclarissimi auunculi nostri Edwardi Ducis Somerseti personæ nostræ Gubernatoris, ac Regnorum, dominiorum, subditorumque nostrorum protectoris, et cæterorum consiliariorum nostrorum, dedimus et concessimus,

ac per præsentes damus, et concedimus eidem Sebastiano Cabotæ, quandam annuitatem siue annualem reditum, centum sexaginta et sex librarum, tresdecim solidorum, et quatuor denariorum sterlingorum, habendam, gaudendam, et annuatìm percipiendam prædictam annuitatem, siue annalem reditum eidem Sebastiano Cabotæ, durante vita sua naturali, de thesauro nostro ad receptum scacarij nostri Westmonasterij per manus thesaurariorum, et Camerariorum nostrorum, ibidem pro tempore existentium, ad festa annuntiationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis, natiuitatis sancti Ioannis Baptistæ, Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, et Natalis Domini per æquales portiones soluendam. Et vlteriùs de vberiori gratia nostra, ac de aduisamento, et consensu prædictis damus, et per præsentes concedimus præfato Sebastiano Cabotæ, tot et tantas Denariorum summas, ad quot et quantas dicta annuitas siue annalis reditus centum sexaginta sex librarum, tresdecim solidorum, et quatuor denariorum, à festo sancti Michaelis Archangeli vltimô præterito huc vsq; se extendit, et attingit, habendas et recipiendas præfato Sebastiano Cabotæ et assignatis suis de thesauro nostro prædicto per manus prædictorum Thesaurariorum, et Camerariorum nostrorum de dono nostro absque computo, seu aliquo alio nobis, hæredibus, vel successoribus nostris proinde reddendo, soluendo, vel faciendo: eo quòd expressa mentio, &c. In cuius rei testimonium, &c. Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium 6. die Ianuarij, Anno 2. Regis Edwardi sexti.

Anno D. 1549.

The same in English.

EDward the sixt by the grace of God, King of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, to all Christian people to whom these presents shall come, sendeth greeting. Know yee that we, in consideration of the good and acceptable seruice done, and to be done, vnto vs by our beloued seruant Sebastian Cabota, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, meere motion, and by the aduice and counsel of our most honourable vncle Edward duke of Somerset gouernour of our person, and Protector of our kingdomes, dominions, and subiects, and of the rest of our Counsaile, haue giuen and granted, and by these presents do giue and graunt to the said Sebastian Cabota, a certaine annuitie, or yerely reuenue of one hundreth, three-score and sixe pounds, thirteene shillings foure pence sterling, to haue, enioy,

and yerely receiue the foresaid annuitie, or yerely reuenue, to the foresaid Sebastian Cabota during his natural life, out of our Treasurie at the receit of our Exchequer at Westminster, at the hands of our Treasurers and paymasters, there remayning for the time being, at the feasts of the Annuntiation of the blessed Virgin Mary, the Natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptist, S. Michael ye Archangel, and the Natiuitie of our Lord, to be paid by equal portions.

And further, of our more speciall grace, and by the aduise and consent aforesaide wee doe giue, and by these presents do graunt vnto the aforesaide Sebastian Cabota, so many, and so great summes of money as the saide annuitie or yeerely reuenue of an hundreth, three-score and sixe pounds, thirteene shillings 4. pence, doeth amount and rise vnto from the feast of S. Michael the Archangel last past vnto this present time, to be had and receiued by the aforesaid Sebastian Cabota, and his assignes out of our aforesaid Treasurie, at the handes of our aforesaide Treasurers, and officers of our Exchequer of our free gift without accompt, or any thing else therefore to be yeelded, payed, or made, to vs, our heires or successours, forasmuch as herein expresse mention is made to the contrary.

In witnesse whereof we haue caused these our Letters to be made patents: Witnesse the King at Westminster the sixt day of Ianuarie, in the second yeere of his raigne. The yeere of our Lord 1548.

A discourse written by Sir Humphrey Gilbert Knight,* to proue a passage by the Northwest to Cathaia, and the East Indies.

¶ The Table of the matters in euery Chapter of this discourse.

Capitulo 1.

TO proue by authoritie a passage to be on the North side of America, to goe to Cataia, China, and to the East India.

Capitulo 2.

To proue by reason a passage to be on the North side of America, to goe to Cataia, Moluccæ, &c.

---

* Gilbert was half brother to Sir Walter Raleigh. This "discourse" was published in 1576, and two years later he himself sailed on a voyage of discovery to Newfoundland, but on the return journey his ship foundered with all on board.

Capitulo 3.

To proue by experience of sundry mens trauailes the opening of this Northwest passage, whereby good hope remaineth of the rest.

Capitulo 4.

To proue by circumstance, that the Northwest passage hath bene sailed throughout.

Capitulo 5.

To proue that such Indians as haue bene driuen vpon the coastes of Germanie came not thither by the Southeast, and Southwest, nor from any part of Afrike or America.

Capitulo 6.

To prooue that the Indians aforenamed came not by the Northeast, and that there is no thorow passage nauigable that way.

Capitulo 7.

To proue that these Indians came by the Northwest, which induceth a certaintie of this passage by experience.

Capitulo 8.

What seuerall reasons were alleaged before the Queenes Maiestie, and certaine Lords of her Highnesse priuie Council, by M. Anth. Ienkinson a Gentleman of great trauaile and experience, to proue this passage by the Northeast, with my seuerall answers then alleaged to the same.

Capitulo 9.

How that this passage by the Northwest is more commodious for our traffike, then the other by the Northeast, if there were any such.

Capitulo 10.

What commodities would ensue, this passage being once discouered.

To proue by authoritie a passage to be on the Northside of America, to goe to Cathaia, and the East India.

Chapter 1.

WHen I gaue my selfe to the studie of Geographie, after I had perused and diligently scanned the descriptions of Europe, Asia, and Afrike, and conferred them with the Mappes and Globes both Antique and Moderne : I came in fine to the fourth part of the world, commonly called America, which by all descriptions I found to bee an Iland enuironed round about with Sea, hauing on the Southside of it the frete or straight of Magellan, on the West side Mar del Sur, which Sea runneth towards the North, separating it from the East parts of Asia, where the Dominions of the Cathaians are: On the East part our West Ocean, and on the North side the sea that seuereth it from Groneland, thorow which Northern Seas the Passage lyeth, which I take now in hand to discouer.

Plato in Timæo, and in the Dialogue called Critias, discourseth of an incomparable great Iland then called Atlantis, being greater then all Affrike and Asia, which lay Westward from the Straights of Gibraltar, nauigable round about: affirming also that the Princes of Atlantis did as well enioy the gouernance of all Affrike, and the most part of Europe, as of Atlantis it selfe.

Also to proue Platos opinion of this Iland, and the inhabiting of it in ancient time by them of Europe, to be of the more credite; Marinæus Siculus[*] in his Chronicle of Spaine, reporteth that there haue bene found by the Spaniards in the gold Mines of America, certaine pieces of Money ingraued with the Image of Augustus Cæsar: which pieces were sent to the Pope for a testimonie of the matter, by Iohn Rufus Archbishop of Consentinum.

Moreouer, this was not only thought of Plato, but by Marsilius Ficinus,[†] an excellent Florentine Philosopher, Crantor the Græcian,[‡] and Proclus,[§] and Philo[‖] the famous Iew (as appeareth in his booke De Mundo, and in the Commentaries vpon Plato,) to be ouerflowen and swallowed vp with water, by

Proclus pag. 24.

---

[*] Luke Marinæus, chaplain to Charles V., author of *Obra de las cosas memorabiles de Espana*, Alcala, 1543; folio, the work here referred to.

[†] Ficinus, (born 1433, died 1499); a protégé of the Medici, translated Plato and Plotinus. These translations will be found in his collected works, published at Bâle in 1591, 2 vols. folio. Herein he tries to prove Plato a Christian, as he also does in his *Theologia Platonica*; Florence, 1482; folio. The original editions of his works are extremely rare.

[‡] Crantor's opinion is only known to us by Cicero's reference, his works being all lost. He flourished about 315 B.C.

[§] Born in 412, at Constantinople. Studied at Alexandria and Athens, and succeeded Syrianus in the Neo Platonic School. Died 485. Several of his works are extant.

[‖] Philo of Alexandria was well versed in the philosophy of Plato, and tried to show its harmony with the books of Moses. A fine edition of his works was published in 1742, in 2 vols. folio, edited by Mangey.

reason of a mightie earthquake, and streaming downe of the heauenly Fludgates. The like whereof happened vnto some part of Italy, when by the forciblenes of the Sea, called Superum, it cut off Sicilia from the Continent of Calabria, as appeareth in Iustine, in the beginning of his fourth booke. Also there chanced the like in Zeland a part of Flanders.

Iustine Lib. 4.

And also the Cities of Pyrrha and Antissa, about Meotis palus: and also the Citie Burys, in the Corynthian bosome, commonly called Sinus Corinthiacus, haue bene swallowed vp with the Sea, and are not at this day to be discerned: By which accident America grew to be be vnknowen of long time, vnto vs of the later ages, and was lately discouered againe by Americus Vespucius,* in the yeere of our Lord 1497. which some say to haue bene first discouered by Christophorus Columbus a Genuois, Anno 1492.

Plinie.

The same calamitie happened vnto this Isle of Atlantis 600. and odde yeres before Plato his time, which some of the people of the Southeast parts of the world accompted as 9000. yeeres: for the maner then was to reckon the Moone her Period of the Zodiak for a yeere, which is our vsual moneth, depending à Luminari minori.

So that in these our dayes there can no other mayne or Islande be found or iudged to bee parcell of this Atlantis, then those Westerne Islands, which beare now the name of America: counteruailing thereby the name of Atlantis, in the knowledge of our age.†

Then, if when no part of the sayd Atlantis, was oppressed by water, and earthquake, the coast round about the same were nauigable: a farre greater hope now remaineth of the same by the Northwest, seeing the most part of it was (since that time) swallowed vp with water, which could not vtterly take away the olde deeps and chanels, but rather be an occasion of the inlarging of the olde, and also an inforcing of

A minore ad maius.

---

* Amerigo Vespucci, born at Florence, 1451, was sent by his father to Spain. Fired by the example of Columbus, he became a navigator, and made three voyages to the New World, which ultimately was named after him, though the honour should belong to Columbus. Died at Seville 1512.

† It has also been supposed by many ancient writers that Atlantis was situated between the 20th and 30th degrees of north latitude, and the 40th and 60th degrees of west longitude, in that part of the Atlantic known as the Sargasso sea.

a great many new: why then should we now doubt of our Northwest passage and nauigation from England to India? &c. seeing that Atlantis now called America, was euer knowen to be an Island, and in those dayes nauigable round about, which by accesse of more water could not be diminished.

Also Aristotle in his booke De Mundo, and the learned Germaine Simon Gryneus* in his annotations vpon the same, saith that the whole earth (meaning thereby, as manifestly doth appeare, Asia, Africk and Europe, being all the countreys then knowen) is but one Island, compassed about with the reach of the sea Atlantine: which likewise prooueth America to be an Island, and in no part adioyning to Asia, or the rest.

Strabo lib. 15

Also many ancient writers, as Strabo and others, called both the Ocean Sea, (which lieth East of India) Atlanticum pelagus, and that sea also on the West coasts of Spaine and Africk, Mare Atlanticum: the distance betweene the two coasts is almost halfe the compasse of the earth.

So that it is incredible, as by Plato appeareth manifestly, that the East Indian Sea had the name Atlanticum pelagus of the mountaine Atlas in Africk, or yet the sea adioining to Africk, had the name Oceanus Atlanticus of the same mountaine: but that those seas and the mountaine Atlas were so called of this great Island Atlantis, and that the one and the other had their names for a memorial of the mighty prince Atlas, sometimes king thereof, who was Iaphet yongest sonne to Noah, in whose time the whole earth was diuided between the three brethren, Sem, Cam, and Iaphet.

Valerius Anselmus† in Catalogo annorum et principum. fol. 6. Gen. 9. 10.

Wherefore I am of opinion that America by the Northwest will be found fauourable to this our enterprise, and am the rather imboldened to beleeue the same, for that I finde it not onely confirmed by Plato, Aristotle, and other ancient Phylosophers: but also by all the best moderne Geographers, as Gemma Frisius,

---

* Born 1493; died 1541. He was the first to publish the Almagestes of Ptolemy in Greek at Bâle, 1538, folio. He was the friend of Luther and Melancthon.

† The first Edition of his chronological tables is that of Berne, 1540. Little is known of him except that he was born at Rotweil in Germany and was a councillor of the city of Berne, in the library of which town is a unique copy of his History of Berne, 3 vols. folio, in German.

Munsterus, Appianus, Hunterus, Gastaldus, Guyccardinus,* Michael Tramasinus, Franciscus Demongenitus, Bernardus Puteanus, Andreas Vauasor, Tramontanus, Petrus Martyr, and also Ortelius,† who doth coast out in his generall Mappe set out Anno 1569, all the countreys and Capes, on the Northwest side of America, from Hochalega to Cape de Paramantia: describing likewise the sea coastes of Cataia and Gronland, towards any part of America, making both Gronland and America, Islands disioyned by a great Sea, from any part of Asia.

All which learned men and paineful trauellers haue affirmed with one consent and voice, that America was an Island: and that there lyeth a great Sea betweene it, Cataia, and Grondland, by which any man of our countrey, that will giue the attempt, may with small danger passe to Cataia, the Molluccæ, India, and all other places in the East, in much shorter time, than either the Spaniard, or Portugal doeth, or may doe, from the neerest parte, of any of their countreys within Europe.

What moued these learned men to affirme thus much, I know not, or to what ende so many and sundry trauellers of both ages haue allowed the same:‡ But I coniecture that they would neuer haue so constantly affirmed, or notified their opinions therein to the world, if they had not had great good cause, and many probable reasons, to haue lead them therevnto.

Now least you should make small accompt of ancient writers or of their experiences which trauelled long before our times, reckoning their authority amongst fables of no importance: I haue for the better assurance of those proofes, set downe some part of a discourse, written in the Saxon tongue and translated into English by M. Nowel seruant to Sir William Cecil, lord Burleigh, and lord high treasurer of England, wherein there is described a Nauigation which one Ochther made, in the time of king Alfred, king of Westsaxe Anno 871. the words of which discourse were these: Hee sailed right North, hauing alwaies the desert land on the Starborde, and on the Larbord the maine sea, continuing his course, vntill hee perceiued that the coast bowed directly towards the East, or else the Sea opened into the land he could not tell how farre, where he was compelled to stay vntil he had a westerne winde, or somewhat upon the North, and sayled thence directly East alongst the coast, so farre as hee was able in foure dayes, where he was againe inforced to tary vntill hee had a North winde, because the coast there bowed directly towards the South, or at least opened he knew not howe farre into the land, so that he sayled thence along the coast continually full South, so farre as he could trauell in the space of fiue dayes, where hee discouered a mighty riuer, which opened farre into the land, and in the entrie of this riuer he turned backe againe.*

---

* Guicciardini, the author of the celebrated *History of the events between* 1494 *and* 1532.

† FRISIUS was born at Dorkum in Frisia, his real name being John Gemma. His map of the world was published in 1540. Died at Louvain in 1555. GASTALDUS was a Genoese and wrote many tracts on Geography. He was the father of Jerome Gastaldus, the author of a celebrated work on the Plague. TRAMASINUS was a celebrated Venetian printer of the 16th Century. ANDREAS VAVASOR is probably an error for Francis Vavasor, the Jesuit.

MUNSTER, APPIANUS, PUTEANUS, PETER MARTYR, and ORTELIUS are well known, but HUNTERUS, DEMONGENITUS, and TRAMONTANUS are unknown to me.

‡ *Marginal note*:—We ought by reasons right to haue a reuerent opinion of worthy men.

A Nauigation of one Ochther made in king Alfreds time.

A perfect description of our Moscouie voyage.

Whereby it appeareth that he went the very same way, that we now doe yerely trade by S. Nicholas into Moscouia, which no man in our age knew for certaintie to be by sea, vntil it was since discouered by our English men, in the time of King Edward the sixt; but thought before that time that Groneland had ioyned to Normoria, Byarmia, &c. and therefore was accompted a new discouery, being nothing so indeede, as by this discourse of Ochther it appeareth.

By Sir Hugh Willoughbie knight, Chancellor and Borough.†

Neuerthelesse if any man should haue taken this voyage in hand by the encouragement of this onely author, he should haue bene thought but simple: considering that this Nauigation was written so many yeres past, in so barbarous a tongue by one onely obscure author, and yet we in these our dayes finde by our owne experiences his former reports to be true.

How much more then ought we to beleeue this passage to Cataia to bee, being verified by the opinions of all the best, both Antique, and Moderne Geographers, and plainely set out in the best and most allowed Mappes, Charts, Globes, Cosmographical tables and discourses of this our age, and by the rest not denied but left as a matter doubtfull.

---

* Octher's voyage will be found in Vol. I., p. 51, of this Edition of Hakluyt.

† See Vol. I. of this Edition of Hakluyt.

To prooue by reason, a passage to be on the Northside of America, to goe to Cataia, &c.

Chap. 3.

First, all seas are maintained by the abundance of water, so that the neerer the end any Riuer, Bay, or Hauen is, the shallower it waxeth, (although by some accidentall barre, it is sometime found otherwise) But the farther you sayle West from Island towards the place, where this fret is thought to be, the more deepe are the seas: which giueth vs good hope of continuance of the same Sea with Mar del Sur, by some fret that lyeth betweene America, Groneland and Cataia.

Experimented by our English fishers.

2 Also if that America were not an Island, but a part of yͤ continent adioyning to Asia, either the people which inhabite Mangia, Anian, and Quinsay, &c. being borderers vpon it, would before this time haue made some road into it hoping to haue found some like commodities to their owne.

3 Or els the Scythians and Tartarians (which often times heretofore haue sought farre and neere for new seats, driuen thereunto through the necessitie of their cold and miserable countreys) would in all this time haue found the way to America, and entred the same, had the passages bene neuer so straite or difficult; the countrey being so temperate pleasant and fruitfull, in comparison of their owne. But there was neuer any such people found there by any of the Spaniards, Portugals, or Frenchmen, who first discouered the Inland of that countrey: which Spaniards or Frenchmen must then of necessitie haue seene some one ciuil man in America, considering how full of ciuill people Asia is; But they neuer saw so much as one token or signe, that euer any man of the knowen part of the world had bene there.

Neede makes the old wife to trotte.

4 Furthermore it is to be thought, that if by reason of mountaines, or other craggy places, the people neither of Cataia or Tartarie could enter the countrey of America, or they of America haue entred Asia, if it were so ioyned: yet some one sauage or wandring beast would in so many yereshaue passed into it:

but there hath not any time bene found any of the beasts proper to Cataia, or Tartarie &c. in America: nor of those proper to America, in Tartarie, Cataia, &c. or any part of Asia. Which thing proueth America, not onely to be one Island, and in no part adioyning to Asia: But also that the people of those Countreys, haue not had any traffique with each other.

5 Moreouer at the least some one of those paineful trauellers, which of purpose haue passed the confines of both countreys, with intent only to discouer, would as it is most likely haue gone from the one to the other: if there had bene any piece of land, or Isthmos, to haue ioyned them together, or els haue declared some cause to the contrary.

6 But neither Paulus Venetus,* who liued and dwelt a long time in Cataia, euer came into America, and yet was at the sea coastes of Mangia, ouer against it where he was embarked, and performed a great Nauigation along those seas: Neither yet Verarzanus,† or Franciscus Vasques de Coronado, who trauelled the North part of America by land, euer found entry from thence by land to Cataia, or any part of Asia.

7 Also it appeareth to be an Island, insomuch as the Sea‡ runneth by nature circularly from the East to the West, following the diurnal motion of Primum Mobile, which carieth with it all inferiour bodies moueable, aswel celestiall as elemental; which motion of the waters is most euidently seene in the Sea, which lieth on the Southside of Afrike where the current that runneth from the East to the West is so strong (by reason of such motion) that the Portugals in their voyages Eastward to Calicut, in passing by Cap. de buona Sperança are enforced to make diuers courses, the current there being so swift as it striketh from thence all along Westward vpon the fret of Magellan, being distant from thence, neere the fourth part of the longitude of the earth; and not hauing free passage and entrance thorow the fret towards the West, by reason of the narrownesse of the

---

* See Vol. II. p. 60 (note) of this Edition

† Giovanni Verrzzani is evidently meant. A Florentine by birth, he entered the service of Francis I., and in 1524 discovered New France. An account of his travels and tragic death is to be found in Ramusius. In the Strozzi library, at Florence, a manuscript of Verazzani's is preserved.

‡ *Marginal note.*—The Sea hath three motions. 1 Motum ab oriente in occidentem. 2 Motum fluxus et refluxus. 3 Motum circularem. Ad cæli motum elementa omnia (excepta terra) mouentur.

sayd Straite of Magelian, it runneth to salue this wrong, (Nature not yeelding to accidentall restraints) all along the Easterne coastes of America, Northwards so far as Cape Fredo, being the farthest knowne place of the same continent towards the North: which is about 4800 leagues, reckoning therewithall the trending of the land.

8 So that this current being continually maintained with such force, as Iaques Cartier* affirmeth it to be, who met with the same being at Baccalaos, as he sayled along the coastes of America, then either it must be of necessitie haue way to passe from Cape Fredo, thorow this fret, Westward towards Cataia, being knowen to come so farre, onely to salue his former wrongs, by the authority before named: or els it must needes strike ouer, vpon the coast of Island, Norway, Finmarke, and Lappia, (which are East from the sayd place about 360 leagues) with greater force then it did from Cape de buona Sperança, vpon the fret of Magellan, or from the fret of Magellan to Cape Fredo, vpon which coastes Iaques Cartier met with the same, considering the shortnesse of the Cut from the sayd Cape Fredo, to Island, Lappia, &c. And so the cause Efficient remaining, it would haue continually followed along our coasts, through the narrow seas, which it doth not, but is digested about the North of Labrador, by some through passage there thorow this fret.

Posita causa, ponitur effectus.

The like course of the water in some respect happeneth in the Mediterrane sea, (as affirmeth Conterenus) whereas the current which cometh from Tanais, and Pontus Euxinus, running along all the coasts of Greece, Italy, France, and Spaine, and not finding sufficient way out through Gibraltar, by meanes of the straitnesse of the fret it runneth backe againe along the coastes of Barbary, by Alexandria, Natolia, &c.

Conterenus.

It may (peraduenture) bee thought that this course of the sea doth sometime surcease, and thereby impugne this principle, because it is not discerned all along the coast of America, in such sort as Iaques Cartier found it: Whereunto I answere this: that albeit, in euery part of the Coast of America, or elswhere this current is not sensibly perceiued, yet it hath euermore such like motion, either in the

An objection answered

---

* Born at St. Malo. Discovered part of Canada in 1534. His *Brief récit de la Navigation faite ès îles de Canada, Hochelage, Saguenay et autres*, was published at Paris in 1546, 8vo.

vppermost or nethermost part of the sea; as it may be proued true, if ye sinke a sayle by a couple of ropes, neere the ground, fastening to the nethermost corners two gunne chambers or other weights: by the driuing whereof you shall plainely perceiue, the course of the water, and current running with such course in the bottome.*

By the like experiment, you may finde the ordinary motion of the sea, in the Ocean: howe farre soeuer you be off the land.

9 Also there commeth another current from out the Northeast from the Scythian Sea (as M. Ienkinson a man of rare vertue, great trauail and experience, told me) which runneth Westward towardes Labrador,† as the other did, which commeth from the South: so that both these currents, must haue way thorow this our fret, or else encounter together and runne contrarie courses, in one line, but no such conflicts of streames, or contrary courses are found about any part of Labrador, or Terra noua, as witnesse our yeerely fishers, and other saylers that way, but is there disgested, as aforesayd, and found by experience of Barnard de la Torre, to fall into Mar del Sur.

10 Furthermore, the current in the great Ocean, could not haue beene maintained to runne continually one way, from the beginning of the world vnto this day, had there not beene some thorow passage by the fret aforesayd, and so by circular motion bee brought againe to maintaine it selfe: For the Tides and courses of the sea are maintayned by their interchangeable motions: as fresh riuers are by springs, by ebbing and flowing, by rarefaction and condensation.

So that it resteth not possible (so farre as my simple reason can comprehend) that this perpetuall current can by any meanes be maintained, but onely by continuall reaccesse of the same water, which passeth thorow the fret, and is brought about thither againe, by such circular motion as aforesayd.‡ And the certaine falling thereof by this fret into Mar del Sur ¶ is prooued by the testimonie and experience of Bernard de la Torre, who was sent from P. de la Natiuidad to the Moluccæ, Anno domini 1542. by commandement of Anthony Mendoza, then Viceroy of Noua Hispania, which Bernard sayled 750. Leagues, on the Northside of the Aequator, and there met with a current, which came from the Northeast, the which droue him backe againe to Tidore.

---

* *Marginal note*:—The sea doth euermore performe this circular motion, either in Suprema, or concaua superficie aquæ.

† *Marginal note.*—The yce set westward euery yeere from Island. Auth. Iona Arngrimo.

‡ *Marginal note.*—The flowing is occasioned by reason that the heate of the moone boyleth, and maketh the water thinne by way of rarefaction.

¶ *Marginal note.*—An experience to prooue the falling of this current into Mar del Sur.

Wherfore, this current being proued to come from C. de buona Sperança to the fret of Magellan, and wanting sufficient entrance there, by narrownes of the straite, is by the necessitie of natures force, brought to Terra de Labrador, where Iaques Cartier met the same, and thence certainly knowen, not to strike ouer vpon Island, Lappia, &c. and found by Bernard de la Torre in Mar del Sur, on the backeside of America: therefore this current (hauing none other passage) must of necessity, fall out thorow this our fret into Mar del Sur, and so trending by the Moluccæ, China, and C. de buona Sperança, maintaineth it selfe by circular motion, which is all one in nature, with Motus ab Oriente in Occidentem.

So that it seemeth, we haue now more occasion to doubt of our returne, then whether there be a passage that way, yea or no: which doubt, hereafter shall be sufficiently remooued. Wherefore, in mine opinion, reason it self, grounded vpon experience, assureth vs of this passage, if there were nothing els to put vs in hope thereof. But least these might not suffice, I haue added in this chapter following, some further proofe hereof, by the experience of such as haue passed some part of this discouerie: and in the next adioining to that the authority of those, which haue sailed wholy, thorow euery part thereof.

To proue by experience of sundry mens trauels, the opening of some part of this Northwest passage: whereby good hope remaineth of the rest.

Chap. 3.

PAulus Venetus, who dwelt many yeres in Cataia, affirmed that hee sayled 1500 miles vpon the coastes of Mangia, and Anian, towards the Northeast: alwayes finding the Seas open before him, not onely as farre as he went, but also as farre as he could discerne.

2 Also Franciscus Vasques de Coronado passing from Mexico

by Ceuola, through the country of Quiuira, to Siera Neuada, found there a great sea, where were certaine ships laden with Merchandise, carrying on their prowes the pictures of certaine birds called Alcatrarzi, part whereof were made of golde, and part of siluer, who signified by signes, that they were thirty dayes comming thither: which likewise proueth America by experience to be disioyned from Cataia: on that part by a great Sea, because they could not come from any part of America, as Natiues thereof: for that, so farre as is discouered, there hath not bene found there any one Shippe of that countrey.

Alcatrarzi be Pellicanes.

3. In like maner, Iohn Baros* testifieth that the Cosmographers of China (where he himselfe had bene) affirme that the Sea coast trendeth from thence Northeast, to 50 degrees of Septentrional latitude, being the furthest part that way which the Portugals had then knowledge of: And that the said Cosmographers knew no cause to the contrary, but that it might continue further.

Baros lib. 9. Of his first Decas cap 1.

By whose experiences America is prooued to be separate from those parts of Asia, directly against the same. And not contented with the iudgements of these learned men only, I haue searched what might be further sayd for the confirmation hereof.

4 And I found that Franciscus Lopez de Gomara affirmeth America to be an Island, and likewise Gronland: and that Gronland is distant from Lappia 40 leagues, and from Terra de Labrador, 50.

5 Moreouer, Aluarus Nunnius† a Spaniard, and learned Cosmographer, and Iacobus Cartier, who made two voyages into those parts, and sayled 900 miles vpon the Northeast coastes of America doe in part confirme the same.

6 Likewise Hieronymus Fracastorius,‡ a learned Italian, and trauailer in the North parts of the same land.

---

* Baros, who had been appointed treasurer of the Indies, wrote a *History of Asia and of India* in 4 decades which were published between the years 1552 and 1602. It has been translated from Portuguese into Spanish, and considering that it contains many facts not to be found elsewhere, it is surprising that there should have been neither a French nor English Edition. Baros was born in 1496 and died in 1570.

† This is probably an error for Peter Nonnius, professor of Mathematics at the University of Coimbra who published two books *De Arte Navigandi* in 1573.

‡ Little is known of this writer. He appears to have been the son of Jerome Fracastor, a Veronese who obtained a certain celebrity as a poet at the beginning of the 16th Century.

7 Also Iaques Cartier hauing done the like, heard say at Hochelaga in Noua Francia, how that there was a great Sea at Saguinay, whereof the end was not knowen: which they presupposed to be the passage to Cataia.

Written in the discourses of Nauigation.

Furthermore, Sebastian Cabota by his personal experience and trauel hath set foorth, and described this passage in his Charts, which are yet to be seene in the Queens Maiesties priuie Gallerie at Whitehall, who was sent to make this discouery by king Henrie the seuenth, and entred the same fret: affirming that he sayled very farre Westward, with a quarter of the North, on the Northside of Terra de Labrador the eleuenth of Iune, vntill he came to the Septentrionall latitude of 67 degrees and a halfe,* and finding the Seas still open, sayd, that he might, and would haue gone to Cataia, if the mutinie of the Master and Mariners had not bene.

Now as these mens experience hath proued some part of this passage: so the chapter following shal put you in full assurance of the rest, by their experiences which haue passed through euery part thereof.

To prooue by circumstance that the Northwest passage hath bene sayled throughout.

Chap. 4.

THe diuersitie betwene bruite beastes and men, or betweene the wise and the simple is, that the one iudgeth by sense onely,† and gathereth no surety of any thing that he hath not seene, felt, heard, tasted, or smelled: And the other not so onely, but also findeth the certaintie of things by reason, before they happen to be tryed. Wherefore I haue added proofes of both sorts, that the one and the other might thereby be satisfied.

1 First, as Gemma Frisius reciteth, there went from Europe three brethren through this passage: whereof it tooke the name of Fretum trium fratrum.

2 Also Plinie affirmeth out of Cornelius Nepos, (who wrote 57 yeeres before Christ) that there were certaine Indians driuen by tempest, vpon the coast of Germanie which were presented by

---

* In a former passage it is stated that Cabot did not get beyond the 58th degree of latitude.

† *Marginal note.*—Quinque sensus. 1 Visus. 2 Auditus. 3 Olfactus. 4 Gustus. 5 Tactus. Singularia sensu, vniuersalia verò mente percipiuntur.

the king of Sueuia, vnto Quintus Metellus Celer, the Proconsull of France.

3 And Plinie vpon the same sayth, that it is no maruel though there be Sea by the North, where there is such abundance of moisture: which argueth that hee doubted not of a nauigable passage that way, through which those Indians came.

Lib. 2. cap. 66.

4 And for the better proofe that the same authoritie of Cornelius Nepos is not by me wrested, to proue my opinion of the Northwest passage: you shall finde the same affirmed more plainly in that behalfe, by the excellent Geographer Dominicus Marius Niger, who sheweth how many wayes the Indian sea stretcheth it selfe, making in that place recital of certaine Indians, that were likewise driuen through the North Seas from India, vpon the coastes of Germany, by great tempest, as they were sayling in trade of marchandize.

Pag. 590.

5 Also while Frederic Barbarossa reigned Emperour, Anno Do. 1160. there came certaine other Indians vpon the coast of Germanie.*

6 Likewise Othon in the storie of the Gothes affirmeth, that in the time of the Germane Emperours there were also certaine Indians cast by force of weather, vpon the coast of the sayd countrey, which foresaid Indians could not possibly haue come by the Southeast, Southwest, nor from any part of Afrike or America, nor yet by the Northeast: therefore they came of necessitie by this our Northwest passage.

To prooue that these Indians aforenamed came not by the Southeast, Southwest, nor from any other part of Afrike, or America.

Cap. 5.

FIrst, they could not come from the Southeast by the Cape de bona Sperança, because the roughnes of the Seas there is such (occasioned by the currents and great winds in that part) that the greatest armadas the king of Portugal hath, cannot without great difficulty passe that way, much lesse then a Canoa of India could liue in those outragious seas without shipwracke (being a vessel of very small burden) and haue conducted themselues to the place aforesayd, being men vnexpert in the Arte of nauigation.

---

* *Marginal note.*—Auouched by Franciscus Lopes de Gomara in his historie of India, lib. 1. cap. 10.

2 Also, it appeareth plainely that they were not able to come from alongst the coast of Afrike aforesayd, to those parts of Europe, because the winds doe (for the most part) blow there Easterly off from the shore, and the current running that way in like sort, should haue driuen them Westward vpon some part of America: for such winds and tides could neuer haue led them from thence to the said place where they were found, nor yet could they haue come from any of the countries aforesayd, keeping the seas alwayes, without skilful mariners to haue conducted them such like courses as were necessary to performe such a voiage.

3 Presupposing also, if they had bene driuen to the West (as they must haue bene, comming that way) then they should haue perished, wanting supplie of victuals, not hauing any place (once leauing the coast of Afrike) vntill they came to America, nor from America vntill they arriued vpon some part of Europe, or the Islands adioyning to it, to haue refreshed themselues.

4 Also, if (notwithstanding such impossibilities) they might haue recouered Germanie by comming from India by the Southeast, yet must they without all doubt haue stricken vpon some other part of Europe before their arriuall there, as the Isles of the Açores, Portugal, Spaine, France, England, Ireland, &c. which if they had done, it is not credible that they should or would haue departed vndiscovered of the inhabitants: but there was neuer found in those dayes any such ship or men but only vpon the coasts of Germanie, where they haue bene sundry times and in sundry ages cast aland: neither is it like that they would haue committed themselues againe to sea, if they had so arriued, not knowing where they were, nor whither to haue gone.

This fifth reason by later experience is proued vtterly vntrue.

5 And by the Southwest it is vnpossible, because the current aforesayd which commeth from the East, striketh with such force vpon the fret of Magellan, and falleth with such swiftnesse and furie into Mar del Zur, that hardly any ship (but not possibly a Canoa, with such vnskilfull mariners) can come into our Westerne Ocean through that fret, from the West seas of America, as Magellans experience hath partly taught vs.

6 And further, to prooue that these people so arriuing vpon

That the Indians could not be natiues either of Africa, or of America.

the coast of Germany, were Indians, and not inhabiters of any part either of Africa or America, it is manifest, because the natiues both of Africa and America neither had, or haue at this day (as is reported) other kind of boates then such as do beare neither mastes nor sailes, (except onely vpon the coasts of Barbarie and the Turkes ships) but do carie themselues from place to place neere the shore by the ore onely.

To prooue that those Indians came not by the Northeast, and that there is no thorow nauigable passage that way.

Cap. 6.

IT is likely that there should be no thorow passage by the Northeast, whereby to goe round about the world, because all Seas (as aforesayd) are maintained by the abundance of water, waxing more shallow and shelffie towards the ende, as we find it doeth by experience in Mare Glaciali, towards the East, which breedeth small hope of any great continuance of that sea, to be nauigable towards the East, sufficient to saile thereby round about the world.

Quicquid naturali loco priuatur, quam citisimè corrumpitur.

Qualis causa, talis effectus.

2 Also, it standeth scarcely with reason, that the Indians dwelling vnder Torrida Zone, could endure the iniurie of the cold ayre, about the Septentrional latitude of 80. degrees, vnder which eleuation the passage by the Northeast cannot bee (as the often experience had of all the South parts of it sheweth) seeing that some of the inhabitants of this cold climate (whose Summer is to them an extreme Winter) haue bene stroken to death with the cold damps of the aire about 72 degrees, by an accidental mishap, and yet the aire in such like Eleuation is alwaies cold, and too cold for such as the Indians are.

3 Furthermore, the piercing cold of the grosse thicke aire so neere the Pole wil so stiffen and furre the sailes and ship tackling, that no mariner can either hoise or strike them (as our experience farre neerer the South, then this passage is presupposed to be, hath taught vs) without the vse whereof no voiage can be performed.

4 Also the aire is so darkened with continuall mists and fogs

so neere the Pole, that no man can well see, either to guide his ship, or direct his course.

5 Also the compasse at such eleuation doth very suddenly vary, which things must of force haue bene their destructions, although they had bene men of much more skill then the Indians are.

6 Moreouer, all baies, gulfes, and riuers doe receiue their increase vpon the flood, sensibly to be discerned on the one side of the shore or the other, as many waies as they be open to any main sea, as Mare Mediterraneum, Mare Rubrum, Sinus Persicus, Sinus Bodicus, Thamesis, and all other knowen hauens or riuers in any part of the world, and each of them opening but on one part to the maine sea, doe likewise receiue their increase vpon the flood the same way, and none other, which Mare Glaciale doeth, onely by the West; as M. Ienkinson affirmed vnto me: and therefore it followeth that this Northeast sea, receiuing increase but onely from the West, cannot possibly open to the maine Ocean by the East.

Similium similis est ratio.

7 Moreouer, the farther you passe into any sea towards the end of it, on that part which is shut vp from the maine sea (as in all those aboue mentioned) the lesse and lesse the tides rise and fall. The like whereof also happeneth in Mare Glaciale, which proueth but small continuance of that sea toward the East.

8 Also, the further yee goe toward the East in Mare Glaciale, the lesse salt the water is: which could not happen, if it were open to the salt Sea towards the East, as it is to the West only, seeing Euery thing naturally ingendreth his like: and then must it be like salt throughout, as all the seas are, in such like climate and eleuation.*

Quicquid corrumpitur à contrario corrumpitur.

And therefore it seemeth that this Northeast sea is maintained by the riuer Ob, and such like freshets, as Mare Goticum, and Mare Mediterraneum, in the vppermost parts thereof by the riuers Nilus, Danubius, Neper, Tanais, &c.

Omne simile gignit sui simile.

9 Furthermore, if there were any such sea at that eleuation, of like it should be alwaies frozen throughout (there being no tides to hinder it) because the extreme coldnes of the aire being in the vppermost part, and the extreme coldnesse of the earth in the bottome, the sea there being but of small depth, whereby the one accidentall coldnesse doth meet with the other, and the

---

* It is now well known that the diminished saltness of the sea off the Siberian coast is due to the immense masses of fresh water poured into it by the Ob, the Lena, and other Siberian rivers.

Sunne not hauing his reflection so neere the Pole, but at very blunt angels, it can neuer be dissolued after it is frozen, notwithstanding the great length of their day: for that the sunne hath no heate at all in his light or beames, but proceeding onely by an accidentall reflection, which there wanteth in effect.

10 And yet if the Sunne were of sufficient force in that eleuation, to preuaile against this ice, yet must it be broken before it can be dissolued, which canuot be but through the long continuance of the sunne aboue their Horizon, and by that time the Sommer would be so farre spent, and so great darkenes and cold ensue, that no man could be able to endure so cold, darke, and discomfortable a nauigation, if it were possible for him then, and there to liue.

11. Further, the ice being once broken, it must of force so driue with the windes and tides, that no ship can saile in those seas, seeing our Fishers of Island, and the New found land, are subiect to danger through the great Islands of Ice which fleete in the Seas (to the sailers great danger) farre to the South of that presupposed passage.

And it cannot be that this Northeast passage should be any neerer the South, then before recited, for then it should cut off Ciremissi, and Turbi Tartari, with Vzesucani, Chisani, and others from the Continent of Asia, which are knowen to be adioyning to Scythia, Tartaria, &c. with the other part of the same Continent.

And if there were any thorowe passage by the Northeast, yet were it to small ende and purpose for our traffique, because no shippe of great burden can Nauigate in so shallow a Sea: and ships of small burden are very vnfit and vnprofitable, especially towards the blustering North to performe such a voyage.

To prooue that the Indians aforenamed, came only by the Northwest, which induceth a certaintie of our passage by experience.

Cap. 7.

IT is as likely that they came by the Northwest, as it is vnlikely that they should come, either by the Southeast, Southwest, Northeast, or from any other part of Africa or America, and therefore this Northwest passage hauing bene alreadie so many wayes prooued, by disproouing of the others, &c. I shall the lesse neede in this place, to vse many words otherwise then to conclude in this sort, That they came onely by the Northwest from England, hauing these many reasons to leade me thereunto.

1 First, the one halfe of the windes of the compasse might bring them by the Northwest, bearing alwayes betweene two sheats, with which kind of sayling the Indians are onely acquainted, not hauing any vse of a bow line, or quarter winde, without the which no ship can possibly come either by the Southeast, Southwest or Northeast, having so many sundry Capes to double, whereunto are required such change and shift of windes.

2 And it seemeth likely that they should come by the Northwest,* because the coast whereon they were driuen, lay East from this our passage, And all windes doe naturally driue a ship to an opposite point from whence it bloweth, not being otherwise guided by Arte, which the Indians do vtterly want, and therefore it seemeth that they came directly through this our fret, which they might doe with one wind.

3 For if they had come by the Cape de buona Sperança, then must they (as aforesaid) haue fallen vpon the South parts of America.

4 And if by the fret of Magellan, then vpon the coasts of Afrike, Spaine, Portugall, France, Ireland or England.

5 And if by the Northeast, then vpon the coasts of Cerremissi, Tartarji, Lappia, Island, Terra de Labrador, &c. and vpon these coasts (as aforesaid) they haue neuer bene found.

So that by all likelihood they could neuer haue come without shipwracke vpon the coastes of Germanie, if they had first striken vpon the coastes of so many countries, wanting both Arte and shipping to make orderly discouery, and altogether ignorant both in the Arte of Nauigation, and also of the Rockes, Flats, Sands or Hauens of those parts of the world, which in most of these places are plentifull.

6 And further it seemeth very likely, that the inhabitants of the most part of those countries, by which they must haue come any other way besides by the Northwest, being for the most part Anthropophagi, or men eaters, would haue deuoured them, slaine them, or (at the least wise) kept them as wonders for the gaze.

---

* *Marginal note.*—True both in ventis obliquè flantibus, as also in ventis ex diamentro spirantibus.

So that it plainely appeareth that those Indians (which as you haue heard in sundry ages were driuen by tempest vpon the shore of Germanie) came onely through our Northwest passage.

7 Moreouer, the passage is certainely prooued by a Nauigation that a Portugall made, who passed through this fret, giuing name to a promontorie farre within the same, calling it after his owne name, Promontorium Corterialis, neere adioyning vnto Polisacus fluuius.

8 Also one Scolmus a Dane entred and passed a great part thereof.

9 Also there was one Saluaterra, a Gentleman of Victoria in Spaine, that came by chance out of the West Indias into Ireland, Anno 1568. who affirmed the Northwest passage from vs to Cataia, constantly to be beleeued in America nauigable. And further said in the presence of sir Henry Sidney (then lord Deputie of Ireland, in my hearing, that a Frier of Mexico, called Andrew Vrdaneta, more then eight yeeres before his then comming into Ireland, told him there, that he came from Mar del Sur into Germany through this Northwest passage, and shewed Saluaterra (at that time being then with him in Mexico) a Sea Card made by his owne experience and trauell in that voyage, wherein was plainly set downe and described this Northwest passage, agreeing in all points with Ortelius mappe.

And further, this Frier tolde the king of Portugall (as he returned by that countrey homeward) that there was (of certainty) such a passage Northwest from England, and that he meant to publish the same: which done, the king most earnestly desired him not in any wise to disclose or make the passage knowen to any nation: For that* (said the King) if England had knowledge and experience thereof, it would greatly hinder both the king of Spaine and me. This Frier (as Saluaterra reported) was the greatest Discouerer by sea, that hath bene in our age. Also Saluaterra being perswaded of this passage by the frier Vrdaneta, and by the common opinion of the Spaniards inhabiting America, offered most willingly to accompanie me in this Discouery, which of like he would not haue done if he had stood in doubt thereof.†

---

* *Marginal note.*—The words of the king of Portugall to Andro Vrdaneta a Frier, touching the concealing of this Northwest passage from England to Cataia.

† Either Salvaterra or the Frier must have possessed a vivid imagination. The former at any rate thoroughly took in Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

An obiection.

And now as these moderne experiences cannot be impugned, so least it might be obiected that these things (gathered out of ancient writers, which wrote so many yeeres past) might serue litle to prooue this passage by the North of America, because both America and India were to them then vtterly vnknowen : to remooue this doubt let this suffise : That Aristotle (who was 300. yeeres before Christ) named Mare Indicum. Also Berosus (who liued 330 yeres before Christ) hath these words, Ganges in India. Also in the first chapter of Hester be these wordes, In the dayes of Assuerus which ruled from India to Aethiopia, which Assuerus liued 580 yeeres before Christ. Also Quintus Curtius (where he speaketh of the conquests of Alexander) mentioneth India. Also, Arianus, Philostratus, and Sidrach in his discourses of the warres of the king of Bactria, and of Garaab, who had the most part of India vnder his gouernment. All which assureth vs, that both India and Indians were knowen in those dayes.

Aristotle lib. de mundo, cap. 2.
Berosus lib. 5.

These things considered, we may (in my opinion) not only assure our selues of this passage by the Northwest, but also that it is nauigable both to come and go, as hath bene prooued in part and in all, by the experience of diuers, as Sebastian Cabota, Corterialis, the three brethren aboue named, the Indians, and Vrdaneta the Frier of Mexico, &c.

And yet notwithstanding all this, there be some that haue a better hope of this passage to Cataia by the Northeast then by the West, whose reasons with my seuerall answeres ensue in the chapter following.

Certaine reasons alleaged for the proouing of a passage by the Northeast, before the Queenes Maiestie, and certaine Lords of the Counsell, by Master Anthoni Ienkinson, with my seuerall answers then vsed to the same.

Cap. 8.

BEcause you may vnderstand as well those things alleaged against me, as what doth serue for my purpose, I haue here added the reasons of Master Anthony Ienkinson a worthy gentleman, and a great traueller, who conceiued a better hope of the passage to Cataia from vs, to be by the Northeast, then by the Northwest.

He first said that he thought not to the contrary, but that there was a passage by the Northwest according to mine opinion: but assured he was, that there might be found a nauigable passage by the Northeast from England, to goe to all the East parts of the world, which he endeuoured to prooue three wayes.

The North-west passage assented vnto.

The first was that he heard a Fisherman of Tartaria say in hunting the Morce, that he sayled very farre towards the Southeast, finding no end of the Sea: whereby he hoped a thorow passage to be that way.

The first reason.

Whereunto I answered, that the Tartarians were a barbarous people, and vtterly ignorant in the Arte of Nauigation, not knowing the vse of the Sea Card, Compasse or Starre, which he confessed to be true: and therefore they could not (said I) certainly know the Southeast from the Northeast, in a wide sea, and a place vnknowen from the sight of the land.

The answer or resolution.

Or if he sailed any thing neere the shore, yet he (being ignorant) might be deceiued by the doubling of many points and Capes, and by the trending of the land, albeit he kept continually alongst the shore.

And further, it might be that the poore Fishermen through simplicitie thought that there was nothing that way but sea, because he saw no land: which proofe (vnder correction) giueth small assurance of a Nauigable sea by the Northeast, to goe round about the world, For that he iudged by the eye onely, seeing we in this our cleare aire doe account twentie miles a ken at Sea.

Visus nonnunquam fallitur in suo obiecto.

His second reason is, that there was an Vnicornes horne found vpon the coast of Tartaria, which could not come (said he) thither by any other meanes then with the tides, through some fret in the Northeast of Mare Glaciale, there being no Vnicorne in any part of Asia, sauing in India and Cataia: which reason (in my simple iudgement) forceth as litle.

The second reason or allegation.

First, it is doubtfull whether those barbarous Tartarians do know an Vnicornes horne, yea, or no: and if it were one, yet it is not credible that the Sea could haue driuen it so farre, being of such nature that it will not swimme.

The answer or resolution.

Also the tides running too and fro, would haue driuen it as farre backe with the ebbe, as it brought it forward with the flood.

There is also a beast called Asinus Indicus (whose horne most like it was) which hath but one horne like an Vnicorne in his forehead, whereof there is great plenty in all the North parts thereunto adioyning, as in Lappia, Noruegia, Finmarke, &c. as Iacobus Zieglerus writeth in his historie of Scondia.

And as Albertus saieth, there is a fish which hath but one horne in his forehead like to an Vnicorne, and therefore it seemeth very doubtfull both from whence it came, and whether it were an Vnicornes horne, yea, or no.

His third and last reason was, that there came a continuall streame or currant through Mare Glaciale, of such swiftnesse (as a Colmax told him) that if you cast any thing therein, it would presently be carried out of sight towards the West.

The third and last reason or assertion.

Whereunto I answered, that there doth the like from Mæotis Palus, by Pontus Euxinus, Sinus Bosphorus, and along the coast of Græcia, &c. As it is affirmed by Contarenus, and diuers others that haue had experience of the same: and yet that Sea lieth not open to any maine Sea that way, but is maintained by freshets as by Tanais, Danubius, &c.

The answer or resolution.

In like maner is this current in Mare Glaciale increased and maintained by the Dwina, the riuer Ob, &c.

Now as I haue here briefly recited the reasons alleaged, to prooue a passage to Cataia by the Northeast, with my seuerall answeres thereunto: so will I leaue it to your iudgement, to hope or despaire of either at your pleasure.*

---

* It seems very strange to us after the Northwest passage has been discovered by M'Clure in 1852 and the North East passage by Nordenskiold in 1879 to read the arguments by which each of the upholders of the two routes sought to prove that his opponent's contention was impossible. Of the two disputants we must confess that Jenkinson's views now appear the likeliest to be realised, for M'Clure only made his way from Behring Straits to Melville island by abandoning his ship and travelling across the ice, while Nordenskiold carried the Vega past the North of Europe and Siberia, returning by Behring's straits and the Pacific.

How that the passage by the Northwest is more commodious for our traffique, then the other by the East, if there were any such.

Cap. 9.

FIrst, by the Northeast (if your windes doe not giue you a maruelous speedie and luckie passage) you are in danger (being so neere the Pole) to be benighted almost the one halfe of the yeere, and what danger that were, to liue so long comfortlesse, voide of light, (if the cold killed you not) each man of reason or vnderstanding may iudge.

2 Also Mangia, Quinzai, and the Moluccæ are neerer vnto vs by the Northwest, then by the Northeast, more then two fiue parts, which is almost by the halfe.

Some doubt of this.

3 Also we may haue by the West a yeerely returne, it being at all times nauigable, whereas you haue but 4. moneths in the whole yeere to goe by the Northeast: the passage being at such eleuation as it is formerly expressed, for it cannot be any neerer the South.

4 Furthermore, it cannot be finished without diuers wintrings by the way, hauing no hauens in any temperate climate to harbour in there: for it is as much as we can well saile from hence to S. Nicholas, in the trade of Moscouia, and returne in the nauigable season of the yeere, and from S. Nicholas to Cerimissi Tartari, which stande at 80 degrees of the Septentrional latitude, it is at the least 400 leagues, which amounteth scarce to the third part of the way, to the end of your voyage by the Northeast.

5 And yet after you haue doubled this Cape, if then there might be found a nauigable Sea to carie you Southeast according to your desire, yet can you not winter conueniently, vntil you come to 60 degrees, and to take vp one degree running Southeast, you must saile 24 leagues and three foure parts, which amounteth to 495 leagues.

6 Furthermore, you may by the Northwest saile thither with all Easterly windes, and returne with any Westerly windes, whereas you must haue by the Northeast sundry windes, and those proper, according to the lying of the coast and Capes, you shalbe inforced to double, which windes are not alwaies to be had, when they are looked for: whereby your iourney should be greatly prolonged, and hardly endured so neere the Pole. As

we are taught by sir Hugh Willoughbie, who was frozen to death farre neerer the South.

7. Moreouer, it is very donbtfull, whether we should long inioy that trade by the Northeast, if there were any such passage that way, the commodities thereof once knowen to the Moscouite, what priuilege so euer hee hath granted, seeing pollicy with the masse of excessiue gaine, to the inriching (so greatly) of himselfe and all his dominions would perswade him to presume the same, hauing so great opportunitie to vtter the commodities of those countries by the Narue.

But by the Northwest, we may safely trade without danger or annoyance of any prince liuing, Christian or Heathen, it being out of all their trades.

8 Also the Queenes Maiesties dominions are neerer the Northwest passage then any other great princes that might passe that way, and both in their going and returne, they must of necessitie succour themselues and their ships vpon some part of the same, if any tempestuous weather should happen.

Further, no princes nauie of the world is able to incounter the Queenes Maiesties nauie, as it is at this present: and yet it should be greatly increased by the traffike insuing vpon this discouerie, for it is the long voyages that increase and maintaine great shipping.

Now it seemeth necessarie to declare what commodities would growe thereby, if all these things were, as we haue heretofore presupposed, and thought them to be: which next adioyning are briefly declared.

What commodities would ensue, this passage once discouered.

Cap. 10.

First, it were the onely way for our princes, to possesse the wealth of all the East parts (as they terme them) of the world, which is infinite: as appeareth by the experience of Alexander the great, in the time of his conquest of India, and other the East parts of the world, alleaged by Quintus Curtius, which would be a great aduancement to our countrey, a wonderfull inriching to our prince, and an vnspeakable commoditie to all the inhabitants of Europe.

2 For through the shortnesse of the voyage, we should be

able to sell all maner of merchandize, brought from thence, farre better cheape then either the Portugall or Spaniard doth or may do. And further, we should share with the Portugall in the East, and the Spaniard in the West, by trading to any part of America, thorow Mar del Sur, where they can no maner of way offend vs.

3 Also we might sayle to diuers very rich countreys, both ciuill and others, out of both their iurisdictions, trades and traffikes, where there is to be found great abundance of golde, siluer, precious stones, cloth of gold, silkes, all maner of spices, grocery wares, and other kinds of merchandize of an inestimable price, which both the Spaniard and Portugall, through the length of their iournies, cannot well attaine vnto.

4 Also we might inhabite some part of those countreyes, and settle there such needy people of our countrey, which now trouble the common wealth, and through want here at home are inforced to commit outragious offences, whereby they are dayly consumed with the gallowes.

5 Moreouer, we might from all the aforesaid places haue a yeerely returne, inhabiting for our staple some conuenient place of America, about Sierra Neuada, or some other part, whereas it shal seeme best for the shortning of the voyage.

6 Beside vttering of our countrey commodities, which the Indians, &c. much esteeme: as appeareth in Hester, where the pompe is expressed of the great king of India, Assuerus, who matched the coloured clothes, wherewith his houses and tents were apparelled, with gold and siluer, as part of his greatest treasure: not mentioning either veluets, silkes, cloth of gold, cloth of siluer, or such like, being in those countreyes most plentifull: whereby it plainly appeareth in what great estimation they would haue the clothes of this our countrey, so that there would be found a farre better vent for them by this meanes, then yet this realme euer had: and that without depending either vpon France, Spaine, Flanders, Portugall, Hamborow, Emden, or any other part of Europe.

7 Also, here we shall increase both our ships and mariners, without burthening of the state.

8 And also haue occasion to set poore mens children to learne handie craftes, and thereby to make trifles and such like, which the Indians and those people do much esteeme: by reason whereof, there should be none occasion to haue our countrey combred with loiterers, vagabonds, and such like idle persons.

All these commodities would grow by following this our discouery, without iniury done to any Christian prince, by crossing them in any of their vsed trades, whereby they might take any iust occasion of offence.

Thus haue I briefly shewed you some part of the grounds of mine opinion, trusting that you will no longer iudge me fantasticke in this matter: seeing I haue conceiued no vaine hope of this voyage, but am perswaded thereunto by the best Cosmographers of our age, the same being confirmed both by reason and certaine experiences.

Also this discouery hath bene diuers times heretofore by others both offered, attempted and performed.

It hath bene offered by Stephen Gomes vnto Carolus the fift Emperour, in the yeere of our Lord God 1527, as Alphonso Vllua testifieth in the story of Carolus life: who would haue set him forth in it (as the story mentioneth) if the great want of money, by reason of his long warres had not caused him to surcease the same.

And the king of Portugall fearing least the Emperour would haue perseuered in this his enterprise, gaue him to leaue the matter vnattempted, the summe of 350000 crownes: and it is to be thought that the king of Portugall would not haue giuen to the Emperour such summes of money for egges in mooneshine.

This discouery offered.

It hath bene attempted by Sebastian Cabota in the time of king Henry the seuenth, by Corterialis the Portugall, and Scolmus the Dane.

This discovery attempted.

And it hath bene performed by three brethren, the Indians aforesaid, and by Vrdaneta the Frier of Mexico.

This discouery performed.

Also diuers haue offered the like vnto the French king, who hath sent two or three times to haue discouered the same: The discouerers spending and consuming their victuals in searching the gulfes and bayes betweene Florida and Terra de Labrador, whereby the yce is broken to the after commers.

So that the right way may now easily be found out in short time: and that with little ieopardie and lesse expences.

For America is discouered so farre towards the North as Cape Frio,* which is 62 degrees, and that part of Grondland next adioyning is knowen to stand but at 72 degrees. So that wee haue but 10 degrees to saile North and South, to put the world out of doubt hereof: and it is likely that the king of Spaine, and the king of Portugall would not haue sit out all this while, but that they are sure to possesse to themselues all that trade they now vse, and feare to deale in this discouery, least the Queenes Maiestie hauing so good opportunitie, and finding the commoditie which thereby might ensue to the common wealth, would cut them off, and enioy the whole traffique to herselfe, and thereby the Spaniards and Portugals, with their great charges, should beate the bush, and other men catch the birds: which thing they foreseing, haue commanded that no pilot of theirs vpon paine of death, should seeke to discouer to the Northwest, or plat out in any Sea card any thorow passage that way by the Northwest.

---

* Cape Chudley.

The labour of this discouerie shortned by other mens trauell.

Why ye kings of Spaine and Portugal would not perseuer in this discouery.

Now, and if you will indifferently compare the hope that remaineth, to animate me to this enterprise, with those likelihoods which Columbus alleaged before Ferdinando the king of Castilia, to prooue that there were such Islands in the West Ocean, as were after by him and others discouered to the great commodity of Spaine and all the world: you will thinke then this Northwest passage to be most worthy trauell therein.

For Columbus had none of the West Islands set foorth vnto him, either in globe or card, neither yet once mentioned of any writer (Plato excepted, and the commentaries vpon the same) from 942 yeeres before Christ, vntill that day.

Moreouer, Columbus himselfe had neither seene America nor any other of the Islands about it, neither, vnderstood he of them by the report of any other that had seene them, but only comforted himselfe with this hope, that the land had a beginning where the Sea had an ending: for as touching that which the Spaniards doe write of a Biscaine, which should haue taught him the way thither, it is thought to be imagined of them, to depriue Columbus of his honour, being none of their countrey man, but a stranger borne.

And if it were true of the Biscaine, yet did he but roue at the matter, or (at the least) gathered the knowledge of it, by coniectures onely.

And albeit myselfe haue not seene this passage nor any part thereof, but am ignorant of it as touching experience (as Columbus was before his attempt made) yet haue I both the report, relation, and authoritie of diuers most credible men, which haue both seene and passed through some and euery part of this discouery, besides sundry reasons for my assurance thereof: all which Columbus wanted.

These things considered, and indifferently weighed togither, with the wonderfull commodities which this discouery may bring, especially to this realme of England: I must needes conclude with learned Baptista Ramusius, and diuers other learned men, who said, that this discouery hath bene reserued for some noble prince or worthie man, thereby to make himselfe rich, and the world happie: desiring you to accept in good part this briefe and simple discourse, written in haste, which if I may perceiue that it shall not sufficiently satisfie you in this behalfe, I will then impart vnto you a large discourse, which I haue written onely of this discouery.

And further, because it sufficeth not only to know that such a thing there is, without abilitie to performe the same, I wil at at leasure make you partaker of another simple discourse of nauigation, wherein I haue not a little trauelled, to make my selfe as suufficient to bring these things to effect, as I haue bene readie to offer my selfe therein.

And therein I haue deuised to amend the errors of vsuall sea cards, whose common fault is to make the degrees of longitude in euery latitude of one like bignesse.

And haue also deuised therein a Spherical instrument, with a compasse of variation for the perfect knowing of the longitude.

And a precise order to pricke the sea card, together with certaine infallible rules for the shortning of any discouery, to know at the first entring of any fret whether it lie open to the Ocean more wayes then one, how farre soeuer the sea stretcheth itself into the land.

Desiring you hereafter neuer to mislike with me, for the taking in hande of any laudable and honest enterprise: for if through pleasure or idlenesse we purchase shame, the pleasure vanisheth, but the shame remaineth for euer.

Pereas qui vmbras times.

And therefore to giue me leaue without offence, alwayes to liue and die in this mind, That he is not worthy to liue at all, that for feare, or danger of death, shunneth his countreys seruice, and his owne honour: seeing death is inevitable, and the fame of vertue immortall. Wherefore in this behalfe, Mutare vel timere sperno.

Certaine other reasons, or arguments to prooue a passage by the Northwest, learnedly written by M. Richard Willes, Gentleman.

FOure famous wayes there be spoken of to those fruitfull and wealthie Islands, which wee doe vsually call Moluccaes, continually haunted for gaine, and dayly trauelled for riches therein growing. These Islands, although they stand East from the Meridian, distant almost halfe the length of the worlde, in extreame heate, vnder the Equinoctiall line, possessed of Infidels and Barbarians: yet by our neighbours great abundance of wealth there is painefully sought in respect of the voyage deerely bought, and from thence dangerously brought home vnto vs. Our neighbours I call the Portugalls in comparison of the Molucchians for neerenesse vnto vs, for like situation Westward as we haue, for their vsuall trade with vs, for that the farre Southeasterlings doe knowe this part of Europe by no other name then Portugall, not greatly acquainted as yet with the other Nations thereof. Their voyage is very well vnderstood of all men, and the Southeasterne way round about Afrike by the Cape of Good hope more spoken of, better knowen and trauelled, then that it may seeme needefull to discourse thereof any further.

1 By the Southeast

The second way lyeth Southwest, betweene the West India or South America, and the South continent, through that narrow straight where Magellan first of all men that euer we doe read of, passed these latter yeeres, leauing therevnto therefore his name. This way no doubt the Spaniardes would commodiously take, for that it lyeth neere vnto their dominions there, could the Easterne current and leuant windes as easily suffer them to returne, as speedily therwith they may be carried thither: for the which difficultie, or rather impossibility of striuing against the force both of winde and streame, this passage is litle or nothing vsed, although it be very well knowen.

2 By the Southwest.

This is an errour.

The third way by the Northeast, beyond all Europe and Asia, that worthy and renowmed knight sir Hugh Willoughbie sought to his perill, enforced there to ende his life for colde, congealed and frozen to death. And truely this way consisteth rather in the imagination of Geographers, then allowable either in reason, or approued by

3 By the Northeast.

experience, as well it may appeare by the dangerous trending of the Scythish Cape set by Ortelius vnder the 80 degree North, by the vnlikely sailing in that Northerne sea alwayes clad with yce and snow, or at the least continually pestred therewith, if happily it be at any time dissolued: besides bayes and shelfes, the water waxing more shallow toward the East, that we say nothing of the foule mists and darke fogs in the cold clime, of the litle power of the Sunne to cleare the aire, of the vncomfortable nights, so neere the Pole, fiue moneths long. Ortel. tab. Asiæ 3.

A fourth way to go vnto these aforesaid happy Islands Moluccæ sir Humphrey Gilbert a learned and valiant knight discourseth of at large in his new passage to Cathayo. The enterprise of itselfe being vertuous, the fact must doubtlesse deserue high praise, and whensoeuer it shal be finished, the fruits thereof cannot be smal: where vertue is guide, there is fame a follower, and fortune a companion. But the way is dangerous, the passage doubtfull, the voiage not throughly knowen, and therefore gainesaid by many, after this maner. 4 By the Northwest.

First, who can assure vs of any passage rather by the Northwest then by the Northeast? do not both wayes lye in equall distance from the North Pole? Stand not the North Capes of eyther continent vnder like eleuation? Is not the Ocean sea beyond America farther distant from our Meridian by 30. or 40. degrees West, then the extreame poyntes of Cathayo Eastward, if Ortelius generall Carde of the world be true: In the Northeast that noble Knight Syr Hugh Willoughbie perished for colde: and can you then promise a passenger any better happe by the Northwest? Who hath gone for triall sake at any time this way out of Europe to Cathayo? Ob. 1. In Theatro.

If you seeke the aduise herein of such as make profession in Cosmographie, Ptolome the father of Geographie, and his eldest children, will answere by their mappes with a negatiue, concluding most of the Sea within the land, and making an end of the world Northward, neere the 63. degree. The same opinion, when learning chiefly florished, was receiued in the Romanes time, as by their Poets writings it may appeare: tibi seruiat vltima Thyle, said Virgil, being of opinion, that Island was the extreme part of the world habitable toward the North. Ob. 2.

Ioseph Moletius an Italian, and Mercator a Germaine, for knowledge men able to be compared with the best Geographers of our time, the one in his halfe Spheres of the whole world, the other in some of his great globes, haue continued the West Indies land, euen to the North Pole, and consequently, cut off all passage by sea that way.

The same doctors, Mercator in other of his globes and mappes, Moletius in his sea Carde, neuerthelesse doubting of so great continuance of the former continent, haue opened a gulfe betwixt the West Indies and the extreame Northerne land: but such a one, that either is not to be trauelled for the causes in the first obiection alledged, or cleane shut vp from vs in Europe by Groenland: the South ende whereof Moletius maketh firme land with America, the North part continent with Lappeland and Norway.

Ob. 3. Thirdly, the greatest fauourers of this voyage can not denie, but that if any such passage be, it lieth subiect vnto yce and snow for the most part of the yeere, whereas it standeth in the edge of the frostie Zone. Before the Sunne hath warmed the ayre, and dissolued the yce, eche one well knoweth that there can be no sailing: the yce once broken through the continuall abode the sunne maketh a certaine season in those parts, how shall it be possible for so weake a vessel as a shippe is, to holde out amid whole Ilands, as it were of yce continually beating on eche side, and at the mouth of that gulfe, issuing downe furiously from the north, and safely to passe, when whole mountaines of yce and snow shall be tumbled downe vpon her?

Ob. 4. Well, graunt the West Indies not to continue continent vnto the Pole, grant there be a passage betweene these two lands, let the gulfe lie neerer vs then commonly in cardes we finde it set, namely, betweene the 61. and 64. degrees north, as Gemma Frisius in his mappes and globes imagineth it, and so left by our countryman Sebastian Cabot in his table which the Earle of Bedford hath at Cheinies: Let the way be voyde of all difficulties, yet doeth it not follow that wee haue free passage to Cathayo. For examples sake: You may trend all Norway, Finmarke, and Lappeland, and then bowe Southward to Saint Nicholas in Moscouia: you may likewise in the Mediterranean Sea fetch Constantinople, and the mouth of Tanais: yet is there no passage by Sea through Moscouia into Pont Euxine, now called Mare

Maggiore. Againe, in the aforesaid Mediterranean sea, we saile to Alexandria in Egypt, the Barbarians bring their pearle and spices from the Moluccaes vp the Red sea or Arabian gulph to Sues, scarcely three dayes iourney irom the aforesayd hauen: yet haue wee no way by sea from Alexandria to the Moluccaes, for that Isthmos or litle straight of land betweene the two seas. In like maner although the Northerne passage be free at 61 degrees of latitude, and the West Ocean beyond America, vsually called Mar del Zur, knowen to be open at 40. degrees eleuation from the Island Iapan, yea three hundred leagues Northerly aboue Iapan: yet may there be land to hinder the thorow passage that way by Sea, as in the examples aforesaid it falleth out, Asia and America there being ioyned together in one continent. Ne can this opinion seeme altogether friuolous vnto any one that diligently peruseth our Cosmographers doings. Iosephus Moletius is of that minde, not onely in his plaine Hemispheres of the world, but also in his Sea card. The French Geographers in like maner be of the same opinion, as by their Mappe cut out in forme of a Hart you may perceiue: as though the West Indies were part of Asia. Which sentence well agreeth with that old conclusion in the Schooles. Quicquid præter Africam et Europam est, Asia est, Whatsoeuer land doeth neither apperteine vnto Afrike nor to Europe, is part of Asia.

Ob. 5.

Furthermore it were to small purpose to make so long, so painefull, so doubtfull a voyage by such a new found way, if in Cathayo you should neither bee suffered to land for silkes and siluer, nor able to fetch the Molucca spices and pearle for piracie in those Seas. Of a law denying all Aliens to enter into China, and forbidding all the inhabiters vnder a great penaltie to let in any stranger into those countreys, shall you reade in the report of Galeotto Perera there imprisoned with other Portugals: as also in the Iaponish letters, how for that cause the worthy traueller Xauierus bargained with a Barbarian Merchant for a great summe of pepper to be brought into Canton, a port in China. The great and dangerous piracie vsed in those Seas no man can be ignorant of, that listeth to reade the Iaponish and East Indian historie.

Ob. 6.

Finally, all this great labour would be lost, all these charges spent in vaine, if in the ende our trauellers might not be able to returne againe, and bring safely home into their owne natiue countrey that wealth and riches, which they in forrein regions with aduenture of goods, and danger of their liues haue sought for. By the Northeast there is no way, the Southeast passage the Portugals doe hold as the Lords of those Seas. At ye Southwest Magellans experience hath partly taught vs, and partly we are persuaded by reason, how the Easterne current striketh so furiously on that straight, and falleth with such force into that narrow gulph, that hardly any ship can returne that way into our West Ocean out of Mar del Zur. The which if it be true, as truely it is, then wee may say that the aforesayd Easterne current or leuant course of waters continually following after the heauenly motions, loseth not altogether his force, but is doubled rather by an other current from out the Northeast, in the passage betweene America and the North land, whither it is of necessity caryed: hauing none other way to maintaine it selfe in circular motion, and consequently the force and fury thereof to be no lesse in the straight of Anian, where it striketh South into Mar del Zur, beyond America (if any such straight of Sea there be) then in Magellans fret, both straights being of like bredth: as in Belognine Zalterius table of new France, and in Don Diego Hermano de Toledo his Card for nauigation in that region we doe finde precisely set downe.

Neuerthelesse to approue that there lyeth a way to Cathayo at the Northwest from out of Europe, we haue experience, namely of three brethren that went that iourney, as Gemma Frisius recordeth, and left a name vnto that straight, whereby now it is called Fretum trium fratrum. We doe reade againe of a Portugall that passed this straight, of whom Master Frobisher speaketh, that was imprisoned therefore many yeeres in Lisbone, to verifie the olde Spanish prouerbe, I suffer for doing well. Likewise Andrew Vrdaneta a Fryer of Mexico came out of Mar del Zur this way into Germanie: his Carde (for he was a great discouerer) made by his owne experience and trauell in that voyage, hath bene seene by Gentlemen of good credite.

Cic. 1. de orat. Arist. pri. Metaph.

Now if the obseruation and remembrance of things breedeth experience, and of experience proceedeth arte, and the certaine knowledge we haue in all faculties, as the best Philosophers that euer were doe affirme: truely the voyage of these aforesayd trauellers that haue gone out of Europe into Mar del Zur, and returned thence at the Northwest, do most euidently conclude that way to be nauigable, and that passage free. So much the more we are so to thinke for that the first principle and chiefe ground in all Geographie, as Ptolome saith, is the history of trauell, that is, reports made by trauellers skilful in Geometrie and Astronomie, of Lib. 1. Geog. all such things in their iourney as to Geographie doe Cap. 2. belong. It onely then remaineth, that we now answere to those arguments that seemed to make against this former conclusion.

The first obiection is of no force, that generall table of the world set forth by Ortelius or Mercator, for it greatly Sol. 1. skilleth not, being vnskilfully drawen for that point: as manifestly it may appeare vnto any one that conferreth the same with Gemma Frisius his vniuersall Mappe, with his round quartered carde, with his globe, with Sebastian Cabota his table, and Ortelius his generall mappe alone, worthily preferred in this case before all Mercator and Ortelius other doings: for that Cabota was not onely a skilful Sea man, but a long traueller, and such a one as entred peronally that straight, sent by king Henry the seuenth to make this aforesayd Discouerie, as in his owne discourse of nauigation you may reade in his carde drawen with his owne hand, that the mouth of the Northwesterne straight lyeth neere the 318. Meridian, betweene 61. and 64. degrees in the eleuation, continuing the same bredth about 10. degrees West, where it openeth Southerly more and more, vntill it come vnder the tropicke of Cancer, and so runneth into Mar del Zur, at the least 18 degrees more in bredth there, then it was where it first began: otherwise I conld as well imagine this passage to be more vnlikely then the voyage to Moscouia, and more impossible then it for the farre situation and continuance thereof in the frostie clime: as now I can affirme it to be very possible and most likely in comparison thereof, for that it neither coasteth so farre North as the Moscouian passage doeth, neither is this straight so long as that, before it bow downe Southerly towardes the Sunne againe.

The second argument concludeth nothing. Ptolome knew not what was aboue sixteene degrees South beyond the Sol. 2. Equinoctiall line, he was ignorant of all passages Northward from the eleuation of 63. degrees: he knewe no Ocean sea beyond Asia, yet haue the Portugals trended the Cape of Good hope at the South point of Afrike, and trauelled to Iapan an Island in the East Ocean, betweene Asia and America: our merchants in the time of king Edward the sixt discouered the Moscouian passage farther North than Thyle, and shewed Groenland not to be continent with Lappeland and Norway: the like our Northwesterne trauellers haue done, declaring by their nauigation that way, the ignorance of all Cosmographers that either doe ioyne Groenland with America, or continue the West Indies with that frosty region vnder the north pole. As for Virgil he sang according to the knowledge of men in his time, as an other poet did of the hot Zone.

Quarum quæ media est, non est habitabilis æstu. Ouid. 1. Meta.

Imagining, as most men then did, Zonam torridam, the hot Zone to be altogether dishabited for heat, though presently wee know many famous and worthy kingdomes and cities in that part of the earth, and the Island of S. Thomas neere Æthiopia, and the wealthy Islands for the which chiefly all these voyages are taken in hand, to be inhabited euen vnder the Equinoctiall line.

Sol. 3. To answere the third obiection, besides Cabota and all other trauellers nauigations, the onely credit of M. Frobisher* may suffice, who lately through all these Islands of ice, and mountaines of snow, passed that way, euen beyond the gulfe that tumbleth downe from the North, and in some places though he drewe one inch thicke ice, as he returning in August did, yet came he home safely againe.

Sol. 4. The fourth argument is altogether friuolous and vaine, for neither is there any isthmos or strait of land betweene America and Asia, ne can these two landes ioyntly be one continent. The first part of my answere is manifestly Lib. Geog. allowed of by Homer, whom that excellent Geographer Strabo followeth, yeelding him in this facultie the price. The author of that booke likewise *περὶ κόσμου* to Alexander, attributed vnto Aristotle, is of the same opinion that Homer and Strabo be of, in two or three places. Dionisius in *ὀικουμένης περιηγησι* hath this verse *ὥτως ὠκεανός περιδέδρομε γαὶαν ἅπασαν.* So doth the Ocean Sea runne round about the worlde: speaking onely of Europe, Afrike and Asia, as then Asia was Note. trauelled and knowen. With these Doctours may you ioyne Pomponius Mela. cap. 2. lib. 1. Plinius lib. 2. cap. 67. and Pius 2. cap. 2. in his description of Asia. All the which writers doe no lesse confirme the whole Easterne side of Asia to be compassed about with the sea, then Plato doeth affirme in Timæo, vnder the name Atlantis , the West indies to be an Island, as in a special discoure thereof R. Eden writeth, agreeable vnto the sentence of Proclus, Marsilius Ficinus, and others. Out of Plato it is gathered that America is an island. Homer, Strabo, Aristotle, Dionysius, Mela, Plinie, Pius 2. affirme the continent of Asia, Afrike, and Europe to be enuironed with the Ocean. I may therefore boldly say (though later intelligences thereof had we none at all) that Asia and the West Indies be not tied together by any Isthmos or straight of land, contrary to the opinion of some new Cosmographers, by whom doubtfully this matter hath bin brought in controuersie. And thus much for the first part of my answere vnto the fourth obiection.

---

* Born near Doncaster. He made several attempts to find the Northwest passage. (See post.) In 1585 he accompanied Drake to the West Indies; assisted in defeating the Spanish Armada, and was mortally wounded in 1594 at the attack on Fort Croyzan, near Brest. Some relics of his Arctic expedition were discovered by Captain F. C. Hall in 1860-62, and described in his delightful book, "Life with the Esquimaux."

Richard Eden.

The second part, namely that America and Asia cannot be one continent, may thus be prooued, *κατα τὴν της γῆς κοιλότητα ῥεῖ καὶ των ποτάμων τὸ πλῆθος.* The most Riuers take downe that way their course, where the earth is most hollow and deepe, writeth Aristotle : and the Sea (sayeth he in the same place) as it goeth further, so it is found deeper. Into what gulfe doe the Moscouian riuers Onega, Duina, Ob, powre out their streames Northward out of Moscouia into the sea ? Which way doeth that sea strike : The South is maine land, the Easterne coast waxeth more and more shalow : from the North, either naturally, because that part of the earth is higher Aristot. 2. Met. cap. 1. or of necessitie, for that the forcible influence of some Northerne starres causeth the earth there to shake off the Sea, as some Philosophers doe thinke : or finally for the great store of waters engendered in that frostie and colde climate, that the bankes are not able to holde them. Alber. in 2. Meteor. cap. 6. From the North, I say, continually falleth downe great abundance of water. So that this Northeasterne currant must at the length abruptly bow towards vs South on the West side of Finmarke and Norway : or else strike downe Southwest aboue Groneland and Iseland, into the Northwest straight we speake of, as of congruence it doeth, if you marke the situation of that Region, and by the report of M. Frobisher experience teacheth vs. And M. Frobisher the further he trauailed in the former passage, as he tolde me, the deeper always he found the Sea. Lay you now the summe hereof together. The

Lib. 2.
Meteor.
cap. 1.

riuers runne where the chanels are most hollow, the Sea in taking his course waxeth deeper, the Sea waters fall continually from the North Southward, the Northeasterne current striketh downe into the straight we speak of, and is there augmented with whole mountaines of yce and snowe falling downe furiously out from the land vnder the North pole. Where store of water is, there is it a thing impossible to want Sea, where Sea not onely doeth not want, but waxeth deeper, there can be discouered no land, finally, whence I pray you came the contrary tide, that M. Frobisher mette withall after he had sailed no small way in that passage, if there be any Isthmos or straight of land betwixt the aforesayd Northwesterne gulfe, and Mar del Zur, to ioyne Asia and America together? That conclusion frequented in scholes Quicquid præter, &c. was meant of the partes of the world then knowen, and so it is of right to be vnderstood.

Plin. lib. 2. cap. 67.

The fift obiection requireth for answere wisdome and policie in the trauailer to winne the Barbarians fauour by some good meanes: and so to arme and strengthen himselfe, that when he shal haue the repulse in one coast, he may safely trauaile to an other, commodiously taking his conuenient times, and discreetely making choise of them with whom hee will throughly deale. To force a violent entry, would for vs Englishmen be very hard, considering the strength and valour of so great a Nation, farre distant from vs, and the attempt thereof might be most perilous vnto the doers, vnlesse their part were very good.

Sol. 5.

Touching their lawes against strangers, you shall reade neuerthelesse in the same relations of Galeotto Perera, that the Cathaian king is woont to graunt free accesse vnto all foreiners that trade into his Countrey for Marchandise, and a place of libertie for them to remaine in: as the Moores had, vntill such time as they had brought the Loutea or Lieutenant of that coast to be a circumcised Saracene: wherefore some of them were put to the sword, the rest were scattered abroad: at Fuquien a great citie in China, certaine of them are yet this day to be seene. As for the Iapans they be most desirous to be acquainted with strangers. The Portingals though they were straitly handled there at the first, yet in the ende they found great fauor at the Prince his hands, insomuch that the Loutea or president that misused them was therefore put to death. The rude Indian Canoa halleth those seas, the Portingals, the Saracens, and Moores trauaile continually vp and downe that reach from Iapan to China, from

China to Malacca, from Malacca to the Moluccaes: and shall an Englishman, better appointed then any of them all (that I say no more of our Nauie) feare to saile in that ocean? What seas at all doe want piracie? what Nauigation is there voyde of perill?

To the last argument. Our trauailers neede not to seeke their returne by the Northeast, neither shall they be constrained, except they list, either to attempt Magellans straight at the Southwest, or to be in danger of the Portingals for the Southeast: they may returne by the Northwest, that same way they doe goe foorth, as experience hath shewed.

Sol. 6

The reason alleadged for proofe of the contrary may be disproued after this maner. And first it may be called in controuersie, whether any current continually be forced by the motion of Primum mobile, round about the world, or no: For learned men doe diuersly handle that question. The naturall course of all waters is downeward, wherefore of congruence they fall that way where they finde the earth most lowe and deepe: in respect whereof, it was erst sayd, the seas doe strike from the Northern landes Southerly. Violently the seas are tossed and troubled diuers wayes with the windes, encreased and diminished by the course of the Moone, hoised vp and downe through the sundry operations of the Sunne and the starres: finally, some be of opinion, that the seas be carried in part violently about the world, after the dayly motion of the highest moueable heauen, in like maner as the elements of ayre and fire, with the rest of the heauenly spheres, are from the East vnto the West. And this they doe call their Easterne current, or leuant stream. Some such current may not be denied to be of great force in the hot Zone, for the neerenesse thereof vnto the centre of the Sunne, and blustering Easterne windes violently driuing the seas Westwards: howbeit, in the temperate climes, the Sunne being further off, and the windes more diuers, blowing as much from the North, the West and South, as from the East, this rule doeth not effectually withholde vs from trauailing Eastward, neither be we kept euer backe by the aforesaid Leuant windes and streame. But in the Magellans streight wee are violently driuen backe West: Ergo, through the Northwesterne straight or Annian frette shall we not be able to returne Eastward? It followeth not. The first, for that the northwesterne straight hath more sea roome at the least by one hundreth English myles, than Magellans frette hath, the onely

Luc. lib. I. Pharsal.

What the Easterne current is.

want whereof causeth all narrow passages generally to be most violent. So would I say in the Anian gulfe, if it were so narrow as Don Diego and Zalterius haue painted it out, any returne that way to bee full of difficulties, in respect of such streightnesse thereof, not for the neerenesse of the Sunne, or Easterne windes violently forcing that way any leuant streame: But in that place there is more sea roome by many degrees, if the Cardes of Cabota, and Gemma Frisius, and that which Tramezine imprinted be true.

And hitherto reason see I none at all, but that I may as well giue credite vnto their doings, as to any of the rest. It must be Peregrinationis historia, that is, true reportes of skilfull trauailers, as Ptolome writeth, that in such controuersies of Geographie must put vs out of doubt. Ortelius in his vniuersall tables, in his particular Mappes of the West Indies, of all Asia, of the Northern kingdomes, of the East Indies, Mercator in some of his globes, and generall Mappes of the world, Moletius in his vniuersall table of the Globe diuided, in his sea Carde, and particuler tables of the East Indies, Zalterius, and Don Diego, with Ferdinando Bertely, and others, doe so much differ from Gemma Frisius and Cabota, among themselues, and in diuers places from themselues, concerning the diuers situation and sundry limits of America, that one may not so rashly, as truely surmise, these men either to be ignorant in those points touching the aforesaid region, or that the Mappes they haue giuen out vnto the world, were collected onely by them, and neuer of their owne drawing.

Lib. 1. Geog. Cap. 2.

The first Voyage of M. Martine Frobisher, to the Northwest, for the search of the straight or passage to China, written by Christopher Hall, Master in the Gabriel, and made in the yeere of our Lord 1576.

THe 7. of Iune being Thursday, the two Barks, viz. the Gabriel, and the || Michael and our Pinnesse set saile at Ratcliffe, and bare down to Detford, and there we ancred: the cause was that our Pinnesse burst her boulsprit, and foremast aboard of a ship that rode at Detford, else wee meant to haue past that day by the Court then at Grenewich.

|| M. Matthew Kindersiye was Captaine of the Michael.

The 8. day being Friday, about 12 of the clocke we wayed at Detford, and set saile all three of vs, and bare downe

by the Court, where we shotte off our ordinance and made the best shew we could: Her Maiestie beholding the same, commended it, and bade vs farewell, with shaking her hand at vs out of the window. Afterward shee sent a Gentleman aboord of vs, who declared that her Maiestie had good liking of our doings, and thanked vs for it, and also willed our Captaine to come the next day to the Court to take his leaue of her.

The same day towards night M. Secretarie Woolly came aboorde of vs, and declared to the company, that her Maiestie had appointed him to giue them charge to be obedient, and diligent to their Captaine, and gouernours in all things, and wished vs happie successe.

The 12. day being ouer against Grauesend, by the castle or blockehouse, we obserued the latitude, which was 51. degrees 33. min. And in that place the variation of the Compasse is 11. degrees and a halfe.

Faire Island.

The 24. day at 2. of the clocke after noone, I had sight of Faire yle,* being from vs 6. leagues North and by East, and when I brought it Northwest and by North, it did rise at the Southermost ende with a litle hommocke, and swampe in the middes.

Shotland.

The 25. day from 4. to 8. a clocke in the forenoone, the winde at Northwest and by North a fresh gale, I cast about to the Westward, the Southermost head of Shotland called Swinborne head Northnorthwest from me, and the land of Faire yle, West Southwest from me. I sailed directly to the North head of that said land, sounding as I ranne in, hauing 60. 50. and 40. fathoms, and gray redde shels: and within halfe a mile of that Island, there are 36. fathoms, for I sailed to that Island to see whether there were any roadesteede for a Northwest winde, and I found by my sounding hard rockes, and foule ground, and deepe water, within two cables length of the shoare, 28. fathome, and so did not ancre but plied to and fro with my foresaile, and mizen till it was a high water vnder the Island. The tide setteth there Northwest and Southeast: the flood setteth Southeast, and the ebbe Northwest.

The 26. day hauing the winde at South a faire gale, sayling from Faire yle to Swinborne head, I did obserue the latitude, the Island of Fowlay being West Northwest from me 6. leagues,

---

* Midway between Orkney and Shetland.

[*] By eleuation he meaneth the distance of the sunne from the zenith.

S. Tronions.

Fowlay Island.

and Swinborne head East southeast from me, I found my eleuation[*] to be 37. degr. and my declination 22. degr. 46. min. So that my latitude was 59. degr. 46. min. At that present being neere to Swinborne head, hauing a leake which did trouble vs, as also to take in fresh water, I plyed roome with a sound, which is called S. Tronions, and there did ancre in seuen fathoms water, and faire sande. You haue comming in the sounds mouth in the entring 17. 15. 12. 10. 9. 8. and 7. fathoms, and the sound lyeth in North northwest, and there we roade to a West sunne, and stopped our leake, and hauing refreshed onr selues with water, at a North northwest sunne, I set saile from S. Tronions the winde at South Southest, and turned out till wee were cleare of the sound, and so sailed West to go cleare of the Island of Fowlay. And running off toward Fowlay,[*] I sounded, hauing fiftie fathome, and streamie ground, and also I sounded Fowlay being North from mee one league off that Islande, hauing fiftie fathome at the South head, and streamie ground, like broken otmell, and one shell being redde and white like mackerell.

Latitude 59. deg. 59. min.

Here they begin to saile West and by North.

The 27. day at a South sunne I did obserue the latitude, the Island of Fowlay being from me two leagues East Northeast: I found my selfe to be in latitude 59. degrees, 59. min. truly obserued, the winde at South Southwest: I sailed West and by North.

From 12. to foure a clocke afternoone, the wind at South, a faire gale the shippe sailed West and by North 6. leagues, and at the ende of this watch, I sounded hauing 60. fathome, with little stones and shels, the Island from vs 8. leagues East.

July the first.

The first of Iuly, from 4. to 8. a clocke, wee sailed West 4. glasses 4. leagues, and at that present we had so much winde that we spooned afore the sea Southwest 2. leagues.

The 3. day we found our Compasse to bee varied one point to Westwards: this day from 4. to 8. a clocke we sailed West and by North 6 leagues.

From 8. to 12. a clocke at noone West and by North 4.

---

[*] Foula, the most westerly of the Shetlands, round in form, is 12 miles in circuit.

leagues. At that present I found our compasse to be varied 11. deg. and one 4. part to the Westwards, which is one point.

The Compasse varying Westwards one point.

The 11. day at a Southeast sunne we had sight of the land of Friseland bearing from vs West northwest 16. leagues, and rising like pinacles of steeples, and all couered with snowe. I found my selfe in 61. degr. of latitude. Wee sailed to the shoare and could finde no ground at 150. fathoms, we hoised out our boate, and the Captaine with 4. men rowed to the shoare to get on land, but the land lying full of yce, they could not get on land, and so they came aboord againe: We had much adoe to get cleare of the yce by reason of the fogge. Yet from Thursday 8. a clocke in the morning to Friday at noone we sailed Southwest 20. leagues.

The Island of Friseland.

The 18. day at a Southwest sunne I found the sunne to be eleuated 33. deg. And at a Southsoutheast sunne 40. deg. So I obserued it till I found it at the highest, and then it was eleuated 52. deg. I iudged the variation of the Compasse to be 2. points and a halfe to the Westward.

The variation of the needle two points and a halfe to the West.

The 21. day we had sight of a great drift of yce, seeming a firme land, and we cast Westward to be cleare of it.

A great drift of yce.

The 26. we had sight of a land of yce: the latitude was 62. degrees, and two minutes.

The latitude of 62. degrees 2. min.

The 28. day in the morning was very foggie: but at the clearing vp of the fogge, we had sight of lande, which I supposed to be Labrador, with great store of yce about the land: I ranne in towards it, and sownded, but could get no ground at 100. fathom, and the yce being so thicke, I could not get to the shoare, and so lay off, and came cleare of the yce. Upon Munday we came within a mile of the shoare, and sought a harborowe: all the sownd was full of yce, and our boate rowing a shoare, could get no ground at 100. fathom, within a Cables length of the shoare: then we sailed Eastnortheast along the shoare, for so the lande lyeth, and the currant is there great, setting Northeast, and Southwest: and if we could haue gotten anker ground, wee would haue seene with what force it had runne, but I iudge a ship may driue a league and a halfe, in one houre, with that tide.

Sight of land supposed to haue bene Labrador.

This day at 4 of the clocke in the morning, being faire and cleere, we had sight of a head land, as we iudged, bearing from vs north, and by East, and we sailed Northeast, and by North to that land, and when we came thither, wee could not get to the lande for yce: for the yce stretched along the coast, so that we could not come to the land, by fiue leagues.

August.

Wednesday the first of August it calmed, and in the after noone I caused my boate to be hoysed out, being hard by a great Island of yce, and I and foure men rowed to that yce, and sownded within two Cables length of it, and had sixteene fathome, and little stones, and after that sownded againe within a Minion shot, and had ground at an hundreth fathome, and faire sand: we sownded the next day a quarter of a myle from it, and had sixtie fathome rough ground, and at that present being aboord, that great Island of yce fell one part from another, making a noyse as if a great cliffe had fallen into the Sea. And at foure of the clocke I sownded againe, and had 90. fathome, and small blacke stones, and little white stones like pearles. The tide here did set to the shoare.

The tenth I tooke foure men, and my selfe, and rowed to shoare to an Island one league from the maine, and there the flood setteth Southwest alongest the shoare, and it floweth as neere as I could iudge so too, I could not tarry to prooue it, because the ship was a great way from me, and I feared a fogge: but when I came a shoare, it was a low water. I went to yͤ top of the Island, and before I came backe, it was hied a foote water, and so without tarrying I came aboord.

They enter the Streit in the latitude of 63. deg. and 8. min.

The 11. we found our latitude to be 63. degr. and eight minutes, and this day we entred the streight.

The 12. wee set saile towardes an Island, called the Gabriels Island, which was 10 leagues then from vs.

We espied a sound, and bare with it, and came to a Sandie Baye, where we came to an anker, the land being East southeast off vs, and there we rode al night in 8. fathome water. It floweth there at a Southeast Moone. We called it Priors sownd, being from the Gabriels Island, tenne leaques.

The 14, we waied, and ranne into another sownde, where wee ankered in 8. fathome water, faire sand, and black oaze, and there calked our ship, being weake from the wales vpward, and tooke in fresh water.

The 15. day we waied, and sailed to Priors Bay, being a mile from thence.

The 16. day was calme, and we rode still, without yce, but presently within two houres it was frozen round about the ship, a quarter of an ynch thicke, and that day very faire, and calme.

The 17. day we waied, and came to Thomas Williams Island.

The 18. day we sailed North northwest, and ankered againe in 23. fathome, and tough oaze, vnder Burchers Island, which is from the former Island, ten leaques.

The 19. day in the morning, being calme, and no winde, the Captaine and I tooke our boat, with eight men in her, to rowe vs a shoare, to see if there were any people, or no, and going to the toppe of the Island, we had sight of seuen boates, which came rowing from the East side, toward that Island: whereupon we returned aboord againe: at length we sent our boate with fiue men in her, to see whither they rowed, and so with a white cloth brought one of their boates with their men along the shoare, rowing after our boate, till such time as they sawe our ship, and then they rowed a shoare: then I went on shore my selfe, and gaue euery of them a threadden point, and brought one of them aboord of me, where hee did eate and drinke, and then carried him on shoare againe. Whereupon all the rest came aboord with their boates, being nineteene persons, and they spake, but we vnderstoode them not. They bee like to Tartars, with long blacke haire, broad faces, and flatte noses, and tawnie in colour, wearing Seale skinnes, and so doe the women, not differing in the fashion, but the women are marked in the face with blewe streekes downe the cheekes, and round about the eyes. Their boates are made all of Seales skinnes, with a keele of wood within the skin: the proportion of them is like a Spanish shallop, saue only they be flat in the bottome, and sharpe at both ends.

Sight of the Countrey people.

The description of the people.*

The twentieth day wee wayed, and went to the Eastside of this island, and I and the Captaine, wiih foure men more went on shoare, and there we sawe their houses, and the people espying vs, came rowing towards our boate: whereupon we plied toward our boate: and wee being in our boate and they ashoare, they called to vs, and we rowed to them, and one of their company came into our boate, and we carried him a boord, and gaue him

---

* Esquimaux.

5 of our men taken by the people.

a Bell, and a knife: so the Captaine and I willed fiue of our men to set him a shoare at a rocke, and not among the company, which they came from, but their wilfulnesse was such, that they would goe to them, and so were taken themselues, and our boate lost.

The next day in the morning, we stoode in neere the shoare, and shotte off a fauconet, and sounded our trumpet, but we could hear nothing nothing of our men: this sound wee called the fiue mens sound, and plyed out of it, but ankered againe in thirtie fathome, and ooze: and riding there all night, in the morning, the snow lay a foote thicke vpon our hatches.

The 22. day in the morning we wayed, and went againe to the place we lost our men, and our boate. We had sight of foureteene boates, and some came neere to vs, but wee could learne nothing of our men: among the rest, we intised one boate to our ships side, with a Bell, and in giuing him the Bell, we tooke him, and his boate, and so kept him, and so rowed downe to Thomas Williams Island, and there ankered all night.

They returne.

The 26. day we waied, to come homeward, and by 12. of the clocke at noone, we were thwart of Trumpets Island.

The next day we came thwart of Gabriels Island, and at 8. of the clocke at night, we had the Cape Labrador as we supposed West from vs, ten leagues.

The 28. day we went our course Southeast.

We sailed Southeast, and by East, 22. leagues.

The first day of September in the morning we had sight of the land of Friseland, being eight leagues from vs but we could not come neerer it, for the monstrous yce that lay about it. From this day, till the sixth of this Moneth, we ranne along Island, and had the South part of it at eight of the clocke, East from vs ten leagues.

The seuenth day of this moneth we had a very terrible storme, by force whereof, one of our men was blowen into the sea out of our waste, but he caught hold of the foresaile sheate, and there held till the Captaine pluckt him againe into the ship.

The 25 day of this moneth we had sight of the Island of Orkney, which was then East from vs.

The Sheld.

The first day of October we had sight of the Sheld, and so sailed about the coast, and ankered at Yarmouth, and the next day we came into Harwich.

The language of the people of Meta incognita.

Argoteyt, a hand.
Cangnawe, a nose.
Arered, an eye.
Keiotot, a tooth.
Mutchatet, the head,
Chewat, an eare.
Comagaye, a legge.
Atoniagay, a foote.
Callagay, a paire of breeches.
Attegay, a coate.
Polleuetagay, a knife.
Accaskay, a shippe.
Coblone, a thumbe.
Teckkere, the foremost finger.
Ketteckle, the middle finger.
Mekellacane, the fourth finger.
Yacketrone, the little finger.

The second voyage of Master Martin Frobisher, made to the West and Northwest Regions, in the yeere 1577. with a description of the Countrey, and people: Written by Master Dionise Settle.

ON Whitsunday, being the sixe and twentieth of May, in the yeere of our Lord God 1577. Captaine Frobisher departed from Blacke Wall, with one of the Queenes Maiesties ships, called The Aide, of nine score tunnes, or thereabouts: and two other Little Barkes likewise, the one called The Gabriel, whereof Master Fenton, a Gentleman of my Lord of Warwikes, was Captaine: accompanied with seuen score Gentlemen, souldiers, and sailers, well furnished with victuals, and other prouision necessarie for one halfe yeere, on this his second voyage, for the further discouering of the passage to Cathay, and other Countreys, thereunto adiacent, by West and Northwest nauigations: which passage or way, is supposed to bee on the North and Northwest part of America: and the said America to be an Island inuironed with the sea, where through our Merchants may haue course and recourse with their merchandize, from these our Northernmost parts of Europe, to those Orientall coasts of Asia, in much shorter time, and with greater benefite then any others, to their no little commoditie and profite that do or shall frequent the same. Our said Captaine and General of this present voyage and company hauing the yeere before, with two little pinnesses, to his great danger, and no small commendations, giuen a worthy attempt towards the performance thereof, is also prest, when occasion shall be ministred (to the benefite of his Prince, and natiue Countrey) to aduenture himselfe further therein. As for the second voyage, it seemeth sufficient that he hath better explored and searched the commodities of those people and Countreys, which in his first voyage the yeere before he had found out.

The Islands Orcades, or Orkney.

Vpon which considerations, the day and yeere before expressed, we departed from Blacke Wall to Harwich, where making an accomplishment of things necessary, the last of May we hoised vp sailes, and with a merrie winde the 7. of Iune we arriued at the Islands called Orcades, or vulgarly Orkney, being in number 30. subiect and adiacent to Scotland where we made prouision of fresh water; in the doing wherof our Generall licensed the Gentlemen and souldiers for their recreation to go on shore. At our landing, the people fled from their poore cottages, with shrikes and alarms, to warne their neighbours of enemies, but by gentle perswasions we reclamed them to their houses. It seemeth they are often frighted with Pirats, or some other enemies, that mooue them to such sudden feare. Their houses are very simply builded with Pibble stone, without any chimneis, the fire being made in the middest thereof. The good man, wife, children, and other of their family eate and sleepe on the one side of the house, and the cattell on the other, very beastly and rudely, in respect of ciuilitie. They are destitute of wood, their fire is turffes, and Cowshards. They haue corne, bigge, and oates, with which they pay their Kings rent, to the maintenance of his house. They take great quantitie of fish, which they dry in the wind and Sunne. They dresse their meat very filthily, and eate it without salt. Their apparell is after the rudest sort of Scotland. Their money is all base. Their Church and religion is reformed according to the Scots. The fisher men of England can better declare the dispositions of those people then I: wherefore I remit other their vsages to their reports, as yeerely repaires thither, in their course to and from Island for fish.

The Orcadians vpon smal occasion flee their home.

No wood in Orkney.

Fisher men of England haue daily traffique to Orkney.

We departed herehence the 8. of Iune, and followed our course betweene West and Northwest, vntill the 4. of Iuly: all which time we had no night, but that easily, and without any impediment we had when we were so disposed, the fruition of our bookes, and other pleasures to passe away the time: a thing of no small moment, to such as wander in vnknowen seas, and long nauigations, especially, when both the winds and raging surges do passe their common and wonted course. This benefite endureth in those parts not 6. weekes, while the sunne is neere the Tropike of Cancer: but where the pole is raised to 70. or 80. degrees, it continueth much longer.

In Iune and Iuly no night in those West and Northwest regions.

All along these seas, after we were sixe dayes sailing from Orkney, we met floting in the sea, great Firre trees, which as we iudged, were with the furie of great floods rooted vp, and so driuen into the sea. Island hath almost no other wood nor fuell, but such as they take vp vpon their coastes. It seemeth, that these trees are driuen from some part of the New found land, with the current that setteth from the West to the East.*

Great abundance of Firre trees floting in the sea.

Inquire further of this current.

The 4. of Iuly we came within the making of Frisland.† From this shoare 10. or 12. leagues, we met great Islands of yce, of halfe a mile, some more, some lesse in compasse, shewing aboue the sea, 30. or 40. fathoms, and as we supposed fast on ground, where with our lead we could scarse sound the bottome for depth.

Here, in place of odoriferous and fragrant smels of sweete gums, and pleasant notes of musicall birdes, which other Countreys in more temperate Zones do yeeld, wee tasted the most boisterous Boreal blasts mixt with snow and haile, in the moneths of Iune and Iuly, nothing inferior to our vntemperate winter: a sudden alteration, and especially in a place or Paralelle, where the Pole is not eleuate aboue 61. degrees: at which height other Countreys more to the North, yea vnto 70. degrees, shew themselues more temperate then this doth.

Yce, snow, and haile in Iune and Iuly.

---

* Far from coming from Newfoundland, this drift-wood is carried into the Arctic Ocean by the Yenisei and other large rivers of Siberia.

† Contrary to the opinion of Mr. Weise, who insists that Friseland is Iceland, I am inclined to believe that the East coast of Greenland is meant.

All along this coast yce lieth, as a continuall bulwarke, and so defendeth the countrey, that those that would land there, incur great danger. Our Generall 3. dayes together attempted with the ship boate to haue gone on shoare, which for that without great danger he could not accomplish, he deferred it vntill a more conuenient time. All along the coast lie very high mountaines couered with snow, except in such places, where through the steepenes of the mountaines of force it must needs fall. Foure dayes coasting along this land, we found no signe of habitation. Little birds, whiche we iudged to haue lost the shore, by reason of thicke fogges which that Countrey is much subiect vnto, came flying into our ships, which causeth vs to suppose, that the Countrey is both more tollerable, and also habitable within, then the outward shore maketh shew or signification.*

Friseland subiect to fogge.

From hence we departed the eight of Iuly: and the 16. of the same, we came with the making of land, which land our Generall the yeere before had named The Queenes foreland, being an Island as we iudge, lying neere the supposed continent with America: and on the other side, opposite to the same, one other Island called Halles Isle, after the name of the Master of the ship, neere adiacent to the firme land, supposed continent with Asia. Betweene the which two Islands there is a large entrance or streight, called Frobishers streight,† after the name of our Generall, the firste finder thereof. This said streight is supposed to haue passage into the sea of Sur, which I leaue vnknowen as yet.

Frobishers streight.

It seemeth that either here, or not farre hence, the sea should haue more large entrance, then in other parts within the frozen or vntemperate Zone: and that some contrary tide, either from the East or West, with maine force casteth out that great quantity of yce, which commeth floting from this coast, euen vnto Friseland, causing that Countrey to seeme more vntemperate then others, much more Northerly then the same.

I cannot iudge that any temperature vnder the Pole, the time of the Sunnes Northerne declination being halfe a yere together, and one whole day, (considering that the Sunnes eleuation surmounteth not 23. degrees and 30. minuts) can haue power to dissolue such monstrous and huge yce, comparable to great mountaines, except by some other force, as by swift currents and tides, with the helpe of the said day of halfe a yeere.

---

* Lieutenant Nansen's expedition across Greenland negatives this supposition, but the West coast is more habitable than the East.

† Frobisher Bay: it is not a strait. Hall's *Island* is Hall's Peninsula.

Islands of yce comparable to mountaines.

Before we came within the making of these lands we tasted cold stormes, in so much that it seemed we had changed summer with winter, if the length of the dayes had not remooued vs from that opinion.

At our first comming, the streights seemed to be shut vp with a long mure of yce, which gaue no litle cause of discomfort vnto vs all: but our Generall, (to whose diligence imminent dangers, and difficult attempts seemed nothing, in respect of his willing mind, for the commoditie of his Prince and Countrey,) with two little Pinnesses prepared of purpose, passed twise thorow them to the East shore, and the Ilands thereunto adiacent: and the ship, with the two Barks lay off and on something further into the sea, from the danger of the yce.

Captaine Frobisher his speciall care and diligence for the benefite of his Prince and Countrey.

Whilest he was searching the Countrey neere the shoare, some of the people of the Countrey shewed themselues leaping and dauncing, with strange shrikes and cries, which gaue no little admiration to our men. Our Generall desirous to allure them vnto him by faire meanes, caused kniues, and other things to be profered vnto them, which they would not take at our hands: but being laid on the ground, and the party going away, they came and tooke vp, leauing some thing of theirs to counteruaile the same. At the length two of them leauing their weapons, came downe to our Generall and Master, who did the like to them, commanding the company to stay, and went vnto them: who after certaine dumbe signes, and mute congratulations, began to lay handes vpon them, but they deliuerly escaped, and ranne to their bowes and arrowes, and came fiercely vpon them, (not respecting the rest of our companie which were readie for their defence,) but with their arrowes hurt diuers of them: we tooke the one, and the other escaped.

The order of the people appearing on shoare.

Fierce and bold people.

One taken.

Whilest our Generall was busied in searching the Countrey, and those Islands adiacent on the Eastshoare, the ship and barkes hauing great care, not to put farre into the sea from him, for that he had small store of victuals, were forced to abide in a cruell tempest, chancing in the night, amongst and in the thickest of the yce, which was so monstrous, that euen the least of a thousand had bene of force sufficient, to haue shiuered our ship and barks into small portions, if God (who in all necessities, hath care vpon the infirmitie of man) had not prouided for this our extremitie a sufficient remedie through the light of the night, whereby we might well discerne to flee from such imminent dangers, which we auoyded with 14. Bourdes in one watch the space of 4 houres. If we had not incurred this danger amongst those monstrous Islands of yce, we should haue lost our Generall and Master, and the most of our best sailers, which were on shoare destitute of victuals: but by the valure of our Master Gunner, Master Iackman, and Andrew Dier, the Masters Mates, men expert both in nauigation, and other good qualities, wee were all content to incurre the dangers afore rehearsed, before we would with our owne safetie, runne into the seas, to the destruction of our sayd Generall, and his company.

Richard Cox, Master gunner. Master Iackman. Andrew Dier.

The day following, being the 19. of Iulie, our captaine returned to the ship, with report of supposed riches, which shewed it selfe in the bowels of those barren mountaines, wherewith wee were all satisfied.

Within foure daies after we had bene at the entrance of the streights, the Northwest and West winds dispersed the yce into the sea, and made vs a large entrance into the streights, so that without any impediment, on the 19. of Iulie we entred them, and the 20. thereof, our Generall and Master with great diligence, sought out and sounded the West shoare, and found out a faire Harborough for the ship and barkes to ride in, and named it after our Masters mate, Iackmans sound, and brought the ship, barkes and all their company to safe anker, except one man, which died by Gods visitation.

Iackmans sound.

At our first arriuall, after the ship rode at anker, our generall, with such company as could well be spared from the ships, in marching order entred the lande, hauing speciall care by exhortations, that at our entrance thereinto, wee should all with one voyce, kneeling vpon our knees, chiefly thanke God for our safe arriuall: secondly beseech him, that it would please his diuine Maiestie, long to continue our Queene, for whom he, and all the rest of our company in this order tooke possession of the

Possession taken.

Countrey: and thirdly, that by our Christian studie and endeuour, those barbarous people trained vp in Paganisme, and infidelitie, might be reduced to the knowledge of true religion, and to the hope of saluation in Christ our Redeemer. With other words very apt to signifie his willing mind, and affection toward his Prince and Countrey: whereby all suspicion of an vndutifull subiect, may credibly be iudged to be vtterly exempted from his mind. All the rest of the Gentlemen and other deserue worthily herein their due praise and commendation.

These things in this order accomplished, our Generall commanded all the company to be obedient in things needfull for our owne safegard, to Master Fenton, Master Yorke, and Master Beast his Lieutenant, while he was occupied in other necessarie affaires, concerning our comming thither.

After this order we marched through the Countrey, with Ensigne displaied, so farre as was thought needfull, and now and then heaped vp stones on high mountaines, and other places in token of possession, as likewise to signifie vnto such as hereafter may chance to arriue there, that possession is taken in the behalfe of some other Prince, by those who first found out the Countrey.

Yce needfull to be regarded of sea faring men.

Who so maketh nauigations to those Countreys, hath not onely extreme winds, and furious sea to encounter withall, but also many monstrous and great Islands of yce; a thing both rare, wonderfull, and greatly to be regarded.

We were forced sundry times, while the ship did ride here at anker, to haue continuall watch, with boats and men ready with halsers to knit fast vnto such yce, as with the ebbe and flood were tossed to and fro in the harborough, and with force of oares to hale them away, for endangering the ship.

Our Generall certaine dayes searched this supposed continent with America, and not finding the commodity to answere his expectation, after he had made triall thereof he departed thence with two little barks, and men sufficient to the East shore being the supposed continent of Asia, and left the ship with most of the Gentlemen, souldier, and sailers, vntill such time as he either thought good to send or come for them.

Stones glister with sparkles like gold.

A common prouerb.

The stones of this supposed continent with America be altogether sparkled, and glister in the Sunne like gold: so likewise doth the sand in the bright water, yet they verifie the old Prouerb: All is not gold that glistereth.

On this West shore we found a dead fish floating, which had in his nose a horne streight and torquet,* of length two yards lacking two ynches, being broken in the top, where we might perceiue it hollow, into the which some of our sailers putting spiders they presently died. I saw not the triall hereof, but it was reported vnto me of a trueth: by the verture whereof we supposed it to be the sea Vnicorne.

The sea Vnicorne.

After our Generall had found out good harborough for the ship and barks to anker in, and also such store of supposed gold ore as he thought himselfe satisfied withall, he returned to the Michael, whereof Master Yorke aforesaid was Captaine, accompanied with our master and his Mate: who coasting along the West shore not farre from whence the ship rode, they perceived a faire harborough, and willing to sound the same, at the entrance thereof they espied two tents of Seale skins, vnto which the Captaine, our said Master, and other company resorted. At the sight of our men the people fled into the mountaines: neuerthelesse they went to their tents, where leauing certaine trifles of ours, as glasses, bels, kniues, and such like things they departed, not taking any thing of theirs, except one dogge. They did in like maner leaue behind them a letter, pen, yncke, and paper, whereby our men whom the Captaine lost the yere before, and in that peoples custody, might (if any of them were aliue) be aduertised of our presence and being there.

The people fled at the sight of our men.

On the same day after consultation had, all the Gentlemen, and others likewise that could be spared from the ship, vnder the conduct and leading of Master Philpot, (vnto whom in our Generall his absence, and his Lieutenant Master Beast, al the rest were obedient) went a shore, determining to see, if by faire means we could either allure them to familiarity, or otherwise take some of them, and so attaine to some knowledge of those men whom our Generall lost the yeere before.

Master Philpot.

Master Beast.

At our comming backe againe to the place where their tents were before, they had remooued their tents further into the said Bay or Sound, where they might if they were driuen from the land, flee with their boates into the sea. We parting our selues into two companies, and compassing a mountaine came suddenly vpon them by land, who espying vs, without any tarrying fled to their boates, leauing the most part of their oares behind them for haste, and rowed downe the bay, where our two Pinesses met them and droue them to shore: but if they had had all their oares, so swift are they in rowing, it had bene lost time to haue chased them.

---

* Twisted.

A fierce assault of a few..

When they were landed they fiercely assaulted our men with their bowes and arrowes, who wounded three of them with our arrowes; and perceiuing themselues thus hurt, they desperatly leapt off the Rocks into the Sea, and drowned themselues: which if they had not done, but had submitted themselues, or if by any meanes we could haue taken them aliue (being their enemies as they iudged) we would both haue saued them, and also haue sought remedy to cure their wounds receiued at our hands. But they altogether voyd of humanity, and ignorant what mercy meaneth, in extremities looke for no other then death: and perceiuing they should fall into our hands, thus miserably by drowning rather desired death then otherwise to be saued by vs: the rest perceiuing their fellowes in this distresse, fled into the high mountaines. Two women not being so apt to escape as the men were, the one for her age, and the other being incombred with a yong child, we tooke. The old wretch, whom diuers of our Saylers supposed to be eyther a deuill, or a witch, had her buskins plucked off, to see if she were clouen footed, and for her ougly hew and deformity we let her go: the yong woman aud the child we brought away. We named the place where they were slaine, Bloodie point: and the Bay or Harborough, Yorks sound, after the name of one of the Captaines of the two Barks.

Faire meanes not able to allure them to familiarity.

Hauing this knowledge both of their fiercenesse and cruelty, and perceiuing that faire meanes as yet is not able to allure them to familiarity, we disposed our selues, contrary to our inclination, something to be cruel, returned to their tents and made a spoyle of the same: where we found an old shirt, a doublet, a girdle, and also shoes of our men, whom we lost the yeere before: on nothing else vnto them belonging could we set our eyes.

Boates of skinnes.

Their riches are not gold, siluer or precious Drapery, but their tents and boates, made of the skins of red Deare and Seale skins; also dogges like vnto woolues, but for the most part black, with other trifles, more to be wondred at for their strangenesse, then for any other commoditie needefull for our vse.

Our departure from the West shoare.

Thus returning to our ship the 3. of August, we departed from the West shore supposed firme with with America, after we had ankered there 13. dayes: and so the 4. thereof we came to our Generall on the East shore and ankered in a faire Harborough name Anne Warwickes sound, vnto which is annexed an Island both named after the Countesse of Warwicke, Anne Warwickes sound and Isle.

In this Isle our Generall thought good for this voyage, to fraight both the ship and barkes, with such stone or supposed gold minerall, as he iudged to counteruaile the charges of his first, and this his second nauigation to these Countreys.

The countrey people shew themselues vnto vs.

In the meane time of our abode here some of the countrey people came to shew themselues vnto vs, sundry times on the maine shore, neere adiacent to the saide Isle. Our Generall desirous to haue some newes of his men, whom he lost the yeere before, with some company with him repaired with the ship boat to common, or signe with them for familiaritie, whereunto he is perswaded to bring them. They at the first shew made tokens, that three of his fiue men were aliue, and desired penne, ynck, and paper, and that within three or foure dayes they would returne, and (as we iudged) bring those of our men which were liuing, with them.

They also made signes or tokens of their king, whom they called Cacough, and how he was carried on mens shoulders, and a man farre surmounting any of our company, in bignesse and stature.

Their vsage in traffique or exchange.

With these tokens and signes of writing, penne, yncke, and paper was deliuered them, which they would not take at our hands, but being laid vpon the shore, and the partie gone away, they tooke vp: which likewise they do when they desire any thing for change of theirs, laying for that which is left so much as they thinke will counteruaile the same, and not coming neere together. It seemeth they haue been vsed to this trade or traffique, with some other people adioining, or not farre distant from their Countrey.

The people shew themselues the third time.

After 4. dayes some of them shewed themselues vpon the firme land, but not where they were before. Our General very glad thereof, supposing to heare of our men, went from the Island, with the boat, and sufficient company with him. They seemed very glad, and allured him about a certaine point of the land: behind which they might perceiue a company of the crafty villaines to lye lurking, whom our Generall would not deale withall, for that he knew not what company they were, and so with few signes dismissed them and returned to his company.

The people shew themselues againe on firme land.

An other time as our said Generall was coasting the Countrey with two little Pinnesses, whereby at our returne he might make the better relation thereof, three of the crafty villans, with a white skin allured vs to them. Once again our Generall, for that he hoped to heare of his men, went towards them: at our comming neere the shore whereon they were, we might perceiue a number of them lie hidden behind great stones, and those 3. in sight labouring by al meanes possible that some would come on land: and perceiuing we made no hast by words nor friendly signes, which they vsed by clapping of their hands, and being without weapon, and but 3. in sight, they sought further meanes to prouoke vs therevnto. One alone laid flesh on the shore, which we tooke vp with the Boate hooke, as necessary victuals for the relieuing of the man, woman, and child, whom we had taken: for that as yet they could not digest our meat: whereby they perceiued themselues deceiued of their expectation, for all their crafty allurements. Yet once againe to make (as it were) a full shew of their craftie natures, and subtile sleights, to the intent thereby to haue intrapped and taken some of our men, one of them counterfeited himselfe impotent and lame of his legs, who seemed to descend to the water side, with great difficulty: and to couer his craft the more, one of his fellowes came downe with him, and in such places where he seemed vnable to passe, he tooke him on his shoulders, set him by the water side, and departed from him, leauing him (as it should seeme) all alone, who playing his counterfait pageant very well, thought thereby to prouoke some of vs to come on shore, not fearing, but that one of vs might make our party good with a lame man.

Their first meanes to allure vs to shore.

Their second meanes.

Their third and craftiest allurement.

Compassion to cure a crafty lame man.

Our Generall hauing compassion of his impotency, thought good (if it were possible) to cure him thereof: wherefore he caused a souldier to shoote at him with his Caleeuer, which grased before his face. The counterfeit villeine deliuerly fled, without any impediment at all, and got him to his bow and arrowes, and the rest from their lurking holes, with their weapons, bowes, arrowes, slings, and darts. Our Generall caused some caleeuers to be shot off at them, whereby some being hurt, they might hereafter stand in more feare of vs.

This was all the answere for this time we could haue of our men, or of our Generals letter. Their crafty dealing at these three seuerall times being thus manifest vnto vs, may plainely shew their disposition in other things to be correspondent. We iudged that they vsed these stratagemes, thereby to haue caught some of vs, for the deliuering of the man, woman and child whom we had taken.

They are men of a large corporature, and good proportion: their colour is not much vnlike the Sunne burnt Countrey man, who laboureth daily in the Sunne for his liuing.

They weare their haire something long, and cut before either with stone or knife, very disorderly. Their women weare their haire long and knit vp with two loupes, shewing forth on either side of their faces, and the rest foltred vpon a knot. Also some of their women race their faces proportionally, as chinne, cheekes, and forehead, and the wrists of their hands, wherevpon they lay a colour which continueth darke azurine.

They eate their meat all raw, both flesh, fish, and foule, or something per boyled with blood and a little water which they drinke. For lacke of water they will eate yce, that is hard frosen, as pleasantly as we will do Sugar Candie, or other Sugar.

If they for necessities sake stand in need of the premisses, such grasse as the countrey yeeldeth they plucke vp and eate, not deintily, or salletwise to allure their stomacks to appetite: but for necessities sake without either salt, oiles or washing, like brute beasts deuouring the same. They neither vse table, stoole, or table cloth for comlines; but when they are imbrued with blood knuckle deepe, and their kniues in like sort, they vse their tongues as apt instruments to lick them cleane: in doing whereof they are assured to loose none of their victuals.

Dogges like vnto wolues.

They frank or keepe certaine dogs not much vnlike Wolues, which they yoke togither, as we do oxen and horses, to a sled or traile: and so carry their necessaries ouer the yce and snow from place to place: as the captiue, whom we haue, made perfect signes. And when these dogs are not apt for the same vse: or when with hunger they are constrained for lacke of other victuals, they eate them: so that they are as needfull for them in respect of their bignesse, as our oxen are for vs.

They eate dogs flesh.

They apparell themselues in the skins of such beasts as they kill, sewed together with the sinewes of them. All the foule which they kill, they skin, and make thereof one kind of garment or other to defend them from the cold.

They make their apparel with hoods and tailes, which tailes they giue when they thinke to gratifie any friendship shewed vnto them: a great signe of friendship with them. The men haue them not so side * as the women.

Hoods and tailes to their apparell.

The men and women weare their hose close to their legges, from the wast to the knee without any open before, as well the one kind as the other. Vpon their legges they weare hose of leather, with the furre side inward two or three paire on at once, and especially the women. In those hose they put their kniues, needles, and other thing needfull to beare about. They put a bone within their hose, which reacheth from the foote to the knee, whereupon they draw the said hose, and so in place of garters they are holden from falling downe about their feete.

They dresse their skinnes very soft and souple with the haire on. In cold weather or Winter they weare the furre side inward: and Summer outward. Other apparell they haue none but the said skinnes.

Those beasts, fishes, and foules, which they kill, are their meat, drinke, apparell, houses, bedding, hose, shooes, threed, and sailes for their boates, with many other necessaries whereof they stand in need, and almost all their riches.

Their houses are tents made of Seale skins, pitched vp with 4. Firre quarters foure square meeting at the top, and the skins sewed together with sinews, and laid thereupon: they are so pitched vp, that the entrance into them is alwayes South or against the Sunne.

Their houses of Seale skins and firre.

They haue other sorts of houses which we found not to be inhabited, which are raised with stones and Whale bones, and a skinne layd ouer them, to with stand the raine, or other weather: the entrance of them being not much vnlike an Ouens mouth, whereto I thinke they resort for a time to fish, hunt, and foule, and so leaue them vntil the next time they come thither again.

---

* Long. From Saxon *sid.* (See Ben Jonson, *New Inn*, v. 1.)

Their weapons are bowes, arrowes, darts, and slings. Their bowes are of wood of a yard long, sinewed at the back with strong sinews, not glued too, but fast girded and tyed on. Their bow strings are likewise sinewes. Their arrowes are three pieces nocked with bone, and ended with bone, with those two ends, and the wood in the midst, they passe not in length halfe a yard or little more. They are fethered with two fethers the penne end being cut away, and the fethers layd vpon the arrow with the broad side to the wood; insomuch that they seeme when they are tyed on, to haue foure fethers. They haue also three sorts of heads to those arrowes: one sort of stone or yron, proportioned like to a heart: the second sort of bone, much like vnto a stopt head, with a hooke on the same: the third sort of bone likewise made sharpe at both sides, and sharpe pointed. They are not made very fast but lightly tyed to, or else set in a nocke, that vpon small occasion the arrowes leaue these heads behind them: and they are of small force, except they be very neere when they shoote.

Their weapons of defence.

Three sorts of heads to their arrowes.

Their Darts are made of two sorts: the one with many forkes of bones in the fore end and likewise in the midst: their proportions are not much vnlike our toasting yrons, but longer: these they cast out of an instrument of wood, very readily. The other sort is greater then the first aforesayd, with a long bone made sharpe on both sides not much vnlike a Rapier, which I take to bee their most hurtfull weapon.

two sorts of darts.

They haue two sorts of boats made of leather, set out on the inner side with quarters of wood, artificially tyed with thongs of the same: the greater sort are not much vnlike our wherries, wherein sixteene or twenty men may sit: they haue for a sayle drest the guts of such beasts as they kill very fine and thinne, which they sew together: the other boate is but for one man to sit and row in with one oare.

Two sorts of boates made of leather.

Their order of fishing, hunting, and fouling are with these said weapons; but in what sort, or how they vse them we haue no perfect knowledge as yet.

They vse to foule, fish, and hunt.

I can suppose their abode or habitation not to be here, for that neither their houses or apparell, are of such force to withstand the extremity of cold, that the Countrey seemeth to be infected with all: neither do I see any signe likely to performe the same.

It is to be supposed that their inhabiting is elsewhere.

Those houses or rather dennes which stand there, haue no signe of footway, or any thing else troden, which is one of the chiefest tokens of habitation. And those tents which they bring with them, when they haue sufficiently hunted and fished, they remoue to other places: and when they haue sufficiently stored them of such victuals, as the Countrey yeeldeth or bringeth forth, they returne to their winter stations or habitations. This coniecture do I make, for the infertility which I coniecture to be in that Countrey.

They haue some yron whereof they make arrow heads, kniues, and other little instruments, to worke their boates, bowes, arrowes, and darts withall, which are very vnapt to doe any thing withall but with great labour.

Their vse of yron.

It seemeth that they haue conuersation with some other people, of whom for exchange they should receiue the same. They are greatly delighted with any thing that is bright, or giueth a sound.

What knowledge they haue of God, or what Idoll they adore, we haue no perfect intelligence, I thinke them rather Anthropophagi, or deuourers of mans flesh then otherwise: for that there is no flesh or fish which they find dead (smell it neuer so filthily) but they will eate it, as they finde it without any other dressing. A loathsome thing, either to the beholders or hearers.

Anthropophagi.

There is no maner of creeping beast hurtfull, except some Spiders (which as many affirme, are signes of great store of gold) and also certaine stinging Gnattes, which bite so fiercely, that the place where they bite shortly after swelleth and itcheth very sore.

They make signes of certaine people that weare bright plates of gold in their foreheads, and other places of their bodies.

The Countreys on both sides the streights lye very high with rough stony mountaines, and great quantitie of snow thereon. There is very little plaine ground and no grasse, except a little which is much like vnto mosse that groweth on soft ground, such as we get Turffes in. There is no wood at all. To be briefe there is nothing fit or profitable for the vse of man, which that Countrey with roote yeeldeth or bringeth forth: Howbeit there is great quantity of Deere, whose skins are like vnto Asses, there heads or hornes doe farre exceede, as well in length as also in breadth, any in these our parts or Countreys: their feete likewise are as great as our oxens, which we measured

Description of the Countreis.

to be seuen or eight ynches in breadth. There are also hares, wolues, fishing beares, and sea foule of sundry sorts.

As the Countrey is barren and vnfertile, so are they rude and of no capacitie to culture the same to any perfection; but are contented by their hunting, fishing, and fouling, with raw flesh and warme blood to satisfie their greedy panches, which is their only glory.

A signe of Earthquakes or thunder.

There is great likelihood of Earthquakes or thunder: for that there are huge and monstrous mountaines, whose greatest substance are stones, and those stones so shaken with some extraordinarie meanes that one is separated from another, which is discordant from all other Quarries.

No riuers, but such as the Sunne doth cause to come of Snow.

There are no riuers or running springs, but such as through the heate of the Sunne, with such water as decendeth from the mountaines and hilles, whereon great drifts of snow do lie, are engendred.

A probability that there should be neither spring or riuer in the ground.

It argueth also that there should be none: for that the earth, which with the extremitie of the Winter is so frosen within, that that water which should haue recourse within the same to maintaine springs, hath not his motion, whereof great waters haue their originall, as by experience is seene otherwhere. Such valleis as are capable to receiue the water, that in the Summer time by the operation of the Sunne decendeth from great abundance of snowe, which continually lyeth on the mountaines and hath no passage, sinketh into the earth and so vanisheth away, without any runnell aboue the earth, by which occasion or continuall standing of the said water, the earth is opened, and the great frost yeeldeth to the force thereof, which in other places foure or fiue fathomes within the ground for lacke of the said moisture, the earth (euen in the very summer time) is frosen, and so combineth the stones together, that scarcely instruments with great force can vnknit them.

Also where the water in those valleis can haue no such passage away, by the continuance of time in such order as is before rehearsed, the yeerely descent from the mountaines filleth them full, that at the lowest banke of the same, they fall into the valley, and so continue as fishing Ponds or Stagnes in Summer time full of water, and in the Winter hard frosen: as by skarres that remaine thereof in Summer may easily be perceiued: so that the heat of Summer is nothing comparable or of force to dissolue the extremitie of cold that commeth in Winter.

Neuerthelesse I am assured that below the force of the frost within the earth, the waters haue recourse, and emptie themselues out of sight into the Sea, which through the extremitie of the frost are constrained to doe the same: by which occasion the earth within is kept the warmer, and springs haue their recourse, which is the only nutriment of golde and Minerals within the same.

Springs nourish gold.

There is much to be sayd of the commodities of these Countreys, which are couched within the bowels of the earth, which I let passe till more perfect triall be made thereof.

The 24. of August after we had satisfied our minds with fraight sufficient for our vessels, though not our couetous desires with such knowledge of the Countrey people, and other commodities as are before rehearsed, we departed therehence. The 17. of September we fell with the lands end of England, and so sailed to Milford Hauen, from whence our Generall rode to the Court for order, to what Port or Hauen to conduct the ship.

Our departure from those Countreys.

We lost our two Barkes in the way homeward, the one the 29. of August, the other the 21. of the same moneth, by occasion of great tempest and fogge. Howbeit God restored the one to Bristowe, and the other made his course by Scotland to Yermouth. In this voyage we lost two men, one in the way by Gods visitation, and the other homeward cast ouer borde with a surge of the Sea.

How and when we lost our 2. Barks which God neuerthelesse restored.

I Could declare vnto the Readers, the latitude and longitude of such places and regions as we haue bene at, but not altogether so perfectly as our masters and others, with many circumstances of tempests and other accidents incident to Sea-faring men, which seeme not altogether strange, but I let them passe to their reports as men most apt to set forth and declare the same. I haue also left the names of the Countreys on both the shores vntouched, for lacke of vnderstanding the peoples language: as also for sundry respects, not needfull as yet to be declared.

The conclusion.

Countreys new discouered where commoditie is to be looked for, doe better accord with a new name giuen by the discouerers, then an vncertaine name by a doubtfull Authour.

Our generall named sundry Islands, Mountaines, Capes, and Harboroughs after the names of diuers Noble men and other gentlemen his friends, as wel on the one shore as also on the other.

The third and last voyage vnto Meta Incognita, made by M. Martin Frobisher, in the yeere 1578. Written by Thomas Ellis.

THese are to let you know, that vpon the 25. of May, the Thomas Allen being Viceadmirall whose Captaine was M. Yorke, M. Gibbes Master, Christopher Hall Pilot, accompanied with the Reareadmiral named the Hopewel, whose Captaine was M. Henrie Carewe, the M. Andrewe Dier, and certaine other ships came to Grauesend, where wee ankered and abode the comming of our Fleete which were not yet come.

The 27. of the same moneth our Fleete being nowe come together, and all things prest in a readinesse, the wind fauouring, and tide seruing, we being of sailes in number eight, waied ankers and hoised our sailes toward Harwich to meete with our Admirall, and the residue which then and there abode arriuall: where we safely arriued the 28. thereof, finding there our Admirall, whom we with the discharge of certaine pieces saluted, acording to order and duety, and were welcommed with the like courtesie: which being finished we landed; where our Generall continued mustering his souldiers and Miners, and setting things in order appertaining to the voyage vntill the last of the said moneth of May, which day we hoised our sailes, and committing ourselues to the conducting of Almightie God, we set forward toward the west Countrey in such luckie wise and good successe, that by the fift of Iune we passed the Dursies, being the vtmost part of Ireland to the Westward.

And here it were not much amisse nor farre from our purpose, if I should a little discourse and speake of our aduentures and chances by the way, as our landing at Plimmouth, as also the meeting certaine poore men, which were robbed and spoyled of all that they had by Pirates and Rouers: amongst whom was a man of Bristow, on whom our Generall vsed his liberality, and sent him away with letters into England.

But because such things are impertinent to the matter, I will returne (without any more mentioning of the same) to that from the which I haue digressed and swarued, I meane our ships now sailing on the surging seas, sometime passing at pleasure with a wished Easterne wind, sometimes hindered of our course againe by the Westerne blasts, vntill the 20. day of the foresayd moneth of Iune, on which day in the morning we fell with Frizeland, which is a very hie and cragged land and was almost cleane couered with snow, so that we might see nought but craggie rockes and the topes of high and huge hilles, sometimes (and for the most part) all couered with foggie mists. There might we also perceiue the great Isles of yce lying on the seas, like mountaines, some small, some big, of sundry kinds of shapes, and such a number of them, that wee could not come neere the shore for them.

Thus sailing alongst the coast, at the last we saw a place somewhat voyd of yce, where our Generall (accompanied with certaine other) went a shore, where they sawe certaine tents made of beasts skinnes, and boates much the like vnto theirs of Meta Incognita. The tents were furnished with flesh, fish, skins, and other trifles: amonst the which was found a boxe of nailes: whereby we did coniecture, that they had either Artificers amongst them, or els a traffike with some other nation. The men ran away, so that wee coulde haue no conference or communication with them. Our Generall (because hee would haue them no more to flee, but rather incouraged to stay through his courteous dealing) gaue commaundement that his men should take nothing away with them, sauing onely a couple of white dogs, for the which he left pinnes, poynts, kniues, and other trifling things, and departed without taking or hurting any thing, and so came abord, and hoysed sailes, and passed forwards.

The curtesie of our Generall.

But being scarce out of the sight thereof, there fell such a foggy and hidious mist that we could not see one another: whereupon we stroke our drums, and sounded our trumpets, to the ende we might keepe together: and so continued all that day and night till the next day that the mist brake vp: so that we might easily perceiue all the ships thus sailing together all that day, vntil the next day, being the 22. of the same: on which day wee sawe an infinite number of yce, from the which we cast about to shun the danger thereof.

But one of our small Barkes named the Michael, whose Captaine was Master Kinderslie, the master Bartholomew Bull, lost our company, insomuch that we could not obteine the sight of her many dayes after, of whom I meane to speak further anon when occassion shall be ministred, and opportunitie serue. Thus we continued in our course vntill the second of Iuly, on which day we fell with the Queenes foreland, where we saw so much yce, that we thought it vnpossible to get into the Straights; yet at the last we gaue the aduenture and entred the yce.

The Michael.
The Iudith.
M. Fenton.
Charles Iackman.

Being amongst it wee sawe the Michael, of whom I spake before, accompanied with the Iudith, whose Captaine was Master Fenton, the Master Charles Iackman, bearing into the foresayd yce, farre distant from vs, who in a storme that fell that present night, (whereof I will at large God willing, discourse hereafter) were seuered from vs, and being in, wandred vp and downe the Straights amongst the yce many dayes in great perill, till at the last, by the prouidence of God) they came safely to harbor in their wished Port in the Countesse of Warwicks sound, the 20. of Iuly aforesayd, tenne dayes before any of the other shippes: who going on shore found where the people of the Countrey had bene, and had hid their prouision in great heapes of stones being both of flesh and fish, which they had killed; whereof wee also found great store in other places after our arriual. They found also diuers engins, as bowes, slings, and darts. They found likewise certaine pieces of the Pinnesse which our Generall left there the yeere before, which Pinnesse he had sunke, minding to haue it againe the next yeere.

The Countesse of Warwicks sound

Now seeing I haue entreated so much of the Iudith and the Michael: I will returne to the rest of the other ships, and will speake a little of the storme which fell, with the mishaps that we had, the night that we put into the yce: whereof I made mention before.

Our entrance and passage, &c.

At the first entring into the yce in the mouth of the Straights, our passage was very narrow, and difficult but being once gotten in, we had a faire open place without any yce for the most part, being a league in compasse, the yce being round about vs and inclosing vs, as it were, within the pales of a parke. In which place, (because it was almost night) we minded to take in our sailes, and lie a hull all that night. But the storme so increased, and the waues began to mount aloft, which brought the yce so neere vs, and comming on so fast vpon vs, that we were faine to beare in and out, where we might espie an open place. Thus the yce comming on vs so fast, we were in great danger, looking euery houre for death. And thus passed we on in that great danger, seeing both our selues and the rest of our ships so troubled and tossed amongst the yce, that it would make the strongest heart to relent.

Barke Dionyse.

At the last the Barke Dionyse being but a weake ship, and bruised afore amongst the yce, being so leake that no longer she could tarry aboue the water, sanke without sauing any of the goods which were within her: which sight so abashed the whole Fleete, that we thought verily we should haue tasted of the same sauce. But neuerthelesse we seeing them in such danger, manned our boates and saued all men in such wise, that not one perished: God be thanked.

Narow shifts for safetie.

The storme still increased and the yce inclosed vs, so that we were faine to take downe top and top mastes: for the yce had so inuironed vs, that we could see neither land nor sea, as farre as we could kenne: so that we were faine to cut our cables to hang ouer boord for fenders, somewhat to ease the ships sides from the great and driry strokes of the yce: some with Capstan barres, some fending off with oares, some with plancks of two ynches thicke, which were broken immediatly with the force of the yce, some going out vpon the yce to beare it off with their shoulders from the ship. But the rigorousnes of the tempest was such, and the force of the yce so great, that not onely they burst and spoyled the foresaid prouision, but likewise so raised the sides of the ships, that it was pitifull to behold, and caused the hearts of many to faint.

Gods prouidence.

Thus we continued all that dismall and lamentable night plunged in this perplexity, looking for instant death: but our God (who neuer leaueth them destitute which call vpon him, although he often punisheth for amendements sake) in the morning caused the winds to cease, and the fogge which all that night lay on the face of the water to cleare: so that we might perceiue about a mile from vs, a certaine place cleare from any yce, to the which with an easie breath of wind which our God sent vs, we bent our selues. And furthermore, hee prouided better for vs then we deserued or hoped for: for when we were in the foresaid cleare place, he sent vs a fresh gale at West or at West Southwest, which set vs cleare without all the yce. And further he added more: for he sent vs so pleasant a day as the like we had not of a long time before, as after punishment consolation.

Thus we ioyfull wights being at libertie, tooke in all our sailes and lay a hull, praysing God for our deliuerance, and stayed to gather together our Fleete: which once being done, we seeing that none of them had any great hurt, neither any of them wanted, sauing onely they of whom I spake before and the ship which was lost, then at the last we hoised our sailes, and lay bulting off and on, till such time as it would please God to take away the yce that wee might get into the Straights.

A mountaine of yce appearing in sundry figures.

And as we thus lay off and on we came by a marueilous huge mountaine of yce, which surpassed all the rest that euer we saw: for we iudged it to be neere fourescore fathomes aboue water, and we thought it to be a ground for any thing that we could perceiue, being there nine score fathoms deepe, and of compasse about halfe a mile.

A fog of long continuance.

A current to the Northwest.

Also the fift of Iuly there fell a hidious fogge and mist, that continued till the nineteenth of the same: so that one shippe could not see another. Therefore we were faine to beare a small sayle and to obserue the time: but there ran such a current of a tide, that it set vs to the Northwest of the Queenes foreland the backside of all the Straights: where (through the contagious fogge hauing no sight either of Sunne or Starre) we scarce knew where we were. In this fogge the tenth of Iuly we lost the company of the Viceadmirall, the Anne Francis, the Busse of Bridgewater, and the Francis of Foy.

The Gabriel.

The people offer to traffike with vs.

The 16. day one of our small Barkes named The Gabriel was sent by our Generall to beare in with the land to descrie it, where being on land, they met with the people of the Countrey, which seemed very humane and ciuill, and offered to traffike with our men, profering them foules and skins for kniues, and other trifles: whose courtesie caused vs to thinke, that they had small conuersation with other of the Straights.

Then we bare backe againe to goe with the Queenes foreland: and the eighteenth day wee came by two Islands whereon we went on shore, and found where the people had bene: but we saw none of them. This day we were againe in the yce, and like to be in as great perill as we were at the first. For through the darknesse and obscuritie of the fogie mist, we were almost run on rocks and Islands before we saw them: But God (euen miraculously) prouided for vs, opening the fogges that we might see clearely, both where and in what danger we presently were, and also the way to escape: or els without faile we had ruinously runne vpon the rocks.

When we knew perfectly our instant case, wee cast about to get againe on Sea-bord, which (God be thanked) by night we obtained and praised God. The cleare continued scarce an houre, but the fogge fell againe as thicke as euer it was.

Then the Rearadmirall and the Beare got themselues cleare without danger of yce and rocks, strooke their sailes and lay a hull, staying to haue the rest of the Fleet come forth: which as yet had not found the right way to cleare themselues from the danger of rockes and yce, vntill the next morning, at what time the Rearadmirall discharged certaine warning pieces to giue notice that she had escaped, and that the rest (by following of her) might set themselues free, which they did that day.

Warning pieces of safe passage discharged.

Then hauing gathered our selues togither we proceeded on our purposed voyage, bearing off, and keeping our selues distant from the coast till the 19. day of Iuly; at which time the fogges brake vp and dispersed, so that we might plainely and clearly behold the pleasant ayre, which so long had bene taken from vs, by the obscuritie of the foggie mists: and after that time we were not much incumbred therewith vntill we had left the confines of the Countrey.

Then we espying a fayre sound, supposed it to goe into the Straights betweene the Queenes foreland and Iackmans sound, which proued as we imagined. For our Generall sent forth againe the Gabriel to discouer it, who passed through with much difficulty: for there ran such an extreme current of a tide, with such a horrible gulfe, that with a fresh-gale of wind they were scarce able to stemme it: yet at length with great trauaile they passed it, and came to the Straights, where they met with the Thomas Allen, the Thomas of Ipswich, and the Busse of Bridgewater: who altogether aduentured to beare into the yce againe, to see if they could obtaine their wished Port. But they were so incombred that with much difficultie they were able to get out againe, yet at the last they escaping, the Thomas Allen, and the Gabriel bare in with the Westerne shore, where they found harbour, and there moared their ships vntill the fourth of August, at which time they came to vs in the Countesse of Warwicks sound. The Thomas of Ipswich caught a great leake which caused her to cast againe to Seabord and so was mended.

A faire sound betweene the Queenes foreland and Iackmans sound.

We sailed along still by the coast vntill we came to the Queenes foreland, at the point whereof we met with part of the gulfe aforesaid, which place or gulfe (as some of our Masters doe credibly report) doeth flow nine houres, and ebs but three. At that point wee discouered certaine lands Southward, which neither time nor opportunitie would serue to search. Then being come to the mouth of the Straights, we met with the Anne Francis, who had laine bulting vp and downe euer since her departure alone, neuer finding any of her company. We met then also the Francis of Foy, with whom againe we intended to venture and get in: but the yce was yet so thicke, that we were compelled againe to retyre and get vs on Sea-bord.

An horrible snowe fell in Iuly.

There fell also the same day being the 26. of Iuly, such an horrible snow, that it lay a foot thick vpon the hatches which frose as it fell.

We had also at other times diuers cruell stormes both of snow and haile, which manifestly declared the distemperature of the Countrey: yet for all that wee were so many times repulsed and put backe from our purpose, knowing that lingering delay was not profitable for vs, but hurtfull to our voyage, we mutually consented to our valiant Generall once againe to giue the onset.

The time of our setting forward, &c.

The 28. day therefore of the same Iuly we assayed, and with little trouble (God be praysed) we passed the dangers by day light. Then night falling on the face of the earth, wee hulled in the cleare, til the chearefull light of the day had chased away the noysome darkenesse of the night: at which time we set forward towards our wished Port: by the 30. day wee obteined our expected desire, where we found the Iudith, and the Michael: which brought no smal ioy vnto the General, and great consolation to the heauie hearts of those wearied wights.

The 30. day of Iuly we brought our ships into the Countesse of Warwicks sound, and moared them, namely these ships, The Admirall, the Rearadmirall, the Francis of Foy, the Beare Armenel, the Salomon, and the Busse of Bridgewater: which being done, our Generall commaunded vs all to come a shore vpon the Countesses Iland, where he set his Miners to worke vpon the Mine, giuing charge with expedition to dispatch with their lading.

Our Generall himselfe, accompanied with his Gentlemen, diuers times made rodes into sundry partes of the Countrey, as well to finde new Mines, as also to finde out and see the people of the Countrey. He found out one Mine vpon an Island by Beares sound, and named it the Countesse of Sussex Island. One other was found in Winters Fornace, with diuers others, to which the ships were sent sunderly to be laden. In the same rodes he mette with diuers of the people of the Countrey at sundry times, as once at a place called Dauids sound: who shot at our men, and very desperately gaue them the onset, being not aboue three or foure in number, there being of our Countrey men aboue a dozen: but seeing themselues not able to preuaile, they tooke themselues to flight; whom our men pursued, but being not vsed to such craggie cliffes, they soone lost the sight of them, and so in vaine returned.

The Countesse of Sussex Iland.

Winters Fornace.

Dauids Sound.

We also saw of them at Beares sound, both by Sea and land in great companies: but they would at all times keepe the water betweene them and vs. And if any of our ships chanced to be in the sound (as they came diuers times, because the Harbor was not very good) the ship laded, and departed againe: then so long as any ships were in sight, the people would not be seene. But when as they perceiued the ships to be gone, they would not only shew themselues standing vpon high cliffes, and call vs to come ouer vnto them: but also would come in their Botes very neere to vs, as it were to brag at vs: whereof our Generall hauing aduertisement, sent for the Captaines and Gentlemen of the ships, to accompany and attend vpon him, with the Captaine also of the Anne Francis, who was but the night before come vnto vs. For they, and the Fleebote hauing lost vs the 26. day in the great snow, put into an harbour in the Queenes foreland, where they found good Oare, wherewith they laded themselues, and came to seeke the Generall: so that now we had all our Shippes, sauing one Barke, which was lost, and the Thomas of Ipswich, who (compelled by what furie I knowe not) forsooke our company, and returned home without lading.

The policie of the people for safetie of themselues.

Our Generall accompanied with his Gentlemen, (of whom I spake) came altogether to the Countesse of Sussex Island, neere to Beares sound: where he manned out certaine Pinasses, and went ouer to the people: who perceiuing his arriuall, fledde away with all speede, and in haste left certaine dartes and other engines behinde them, which we found: but the people we could not finde.

Their speedie flight at our Generals arriuall.

The next morning our Generall perceiuing certaine of them in botes vpon the Sea gaue chase to them in a Pinnesse vnder saile, with a fresh gale of winde, but could by no meanes come neere vnto them: for the longer he sailed, the further off he was from them: which well shewed their cunning and actiuitie. Thus time wearing away, and the day of our departure approching, our Generall commaunded vs to lade with all expedition, that we might be againe on Seaboard with our ships: for whilest we were in the Countrey, we were in continual danger of freesing in: for often snowe and haile often falling, the water was so much frosen and congealed in the night, that in the morning we could scarce rowe our botes or Pinnesses, especially in Diers sound, which is a calme and still water: which caused our Generall to make the more haste, so that by the 30. day of August we were all laden, and made all things ready to depart.

Gentlemen should haue inhabited the Countrey.

But before I proceede any further herein, to shew what fortune befell at our departure, I will turne my penne a litle to M. Captaine Fenton, and those Gentlemen which should haue inhabited all the yeere in those Countries, whose valiant mindes were much to be commended: For doubtlesse they had done as they intended if lucke had not withstoode their willingnesse.

For the Barke Dionyse which was lost, had in her much of their house which was prepared and should haue bene builded for them, with many other implements. Also the Thomas of Ipswich which had most of their prouision in her, came not into the Streights at all: neither did we see her since the day we were separated in the great snow, of which I spake before. For these causes, hauing not their house, nor yet prouision, they were disappointed of their pretence to tarie, and therefore laded their ships, and so came away with vs.

An house tricked and garnished with diuers trinkets.

But before we tooke shipping, we builded a litle house in the Countesse of Warwicks Island, and garnished it with many kinds of trifles, as Pinnes, Points, Laces, Glasses, Kombes, Babes on horsebacke and on foote, with innumerable other such fansies and toyes: thereby to allure and entice the people to some familiaritie against other yeeres.

Thus hauing finished all things we departed the Countrey, as I sayd before: but because the Busse had not lading enough in her, she put into Beares sound to take in a little more. In the meane while the Admirall, and the rest without at Sea stayed for her. And that night fell such an outragious tempest, beating on our shipps with such vehement rigor, that anchor and cable auailed nought: for we were driuen on rockes and Islands of yce, insomuch that (had not the great goodnesse of God bene miraculously shewed to vs) we had bene cast away euery man. This danger was more doubtfull and terrible, then any that preceded or went before: for there was not any one shippe (I thinke) that escaped without damage. Some lost anchor and also cables, some botes, some Pinnesses: some anchor, cables, boates, and Pinnisses.

This boystrous storme so seuered vs from one another, that one shippe knewe not what was become of another. The Admirall knewe not where to finde the Viceadmirall or Rear-admirall, or any other ship of our company. Our Generall being on land in Beares sound could not come to his shippe, but was compelled to goe aboord the Gabriel where he continued all the way homeward: for the boystrous blasts continued so extreamely and so long a time, that they sent vs homewarde (which was Gods fauour towardes vs) will we, nill we, in such haste as not any one of vs were able to keepe in company with other, but were separated. And if by chance any one Shippe did ouertake other, by swiftnesse of sayle, or mette, as they often did: yet was the rigour of the wind so hidious, that they could not continue company together the space of one whole night.

Our entring the coastes dangerous.

Thus our iourney outward was not so pleasant, but our comming thither, entering the coasts and countrey, by narrow Streights, perillous yce, and swift tides, our times of aboade there in snowe and stormes, and our departure from thence the 31. of August with dangerous blustering windes and tempests, which that night arose, was as vncomfortable: separating vs so as we sayled, that not any of vs mette together, vntill the 28. of September, which day we fell on the English coastes, betweene Sylley and the landes ende, and passed the channell, vntill our arriuall in the riuer of Thames.

The report of Thomas Wiars passenger in the Emanuel, otherwise called the Busse of Bridgewater, wherein Iames Leech was Master, one of the ships in the last Voyage of Master Martin Frobisher 1578. concerning the discouerie of a great Island in their way homeward the 12. of September.

THe Busse of Bridgewater was left in Beares sound at Meta incognita, the second day of September behinde the Fleete in some distresse, through much winde, ryding neere the Lee shoare, and forced there to ride it out vpon the hazard of her cables and anchors, which were all aground but two. The third of September being fayre weather, and the winde North northwest she set sayle, and departed thence, and fell with Frisland on the 8. day of September at sixe of the clocke at night, and then they set off from the Southwest point of Frisland, the wind being at East, and East Southeast, but that night the winde veared Southerly, and shifted oftentimes that night: but on the tenth day in the morning, the wind at West northwest faire weather, they steered Southeast, and by south, and continued that course vntil the 12. day of September, when about 11. a clocke before noone, they descryed a lande, which was from them about fiue leagues, and the Southermost part of it was Southeast by East from them, and the Northermost next, North Northeast, or Northeast. The master accompted that the Southeast poynt of Frisland was from him at that instant when hee first descryed this new Islande, Northwest by North, 50. leagues. They account this Island to be 25. leagues long, and the longest way of it Southeast, and Northwest. The Southerne part of it is in the latitude of 57. degrees and 1. second part or there about. They continued in sight of it, from the 12. day at a 11. of the clocke, till the 13. day three of the clocke in the afternoone, when they left it: and the last part they saw of it, bare from them Northwest by North. There appeared two Harboroughs vpon that coast: the greatest of them seuen leagues to the Northwards of the Southermost poynt, the other but foure leagues. There was very much yce neere the same land, and also twenty or thirty leagues from it, for they were not cleare of yce, till the 15. day of September after noone. They plyed their Voyage homewards, and fell with the West part of Ireland about Galway, and had first sight of it on the 25. day of September.

The Island in length 25 leagues.

This Iland is in the latitude of 57. degrees and 1 second part.

Two harboroughs in this Island.

Notes framed by M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple Esquire, giuen to certaine Gentlemen that went with M. Frobisher in his Northwest discouerie, for their directions: And not vnfit to be committed to print, considering the same may stirre vp considerations of these and of such other things, not vnmeete in such new voyages as may be attempted hereafter.

THat the first Seate be chosen on the seaside, so as (if it may be) you may haue your owne Nauie within Bay, riuer or lake, within your Seate safe from the enemie: and so as the enemie shalbe forced to lie in open rode abroade without, to be dispersed with all windes and tempests that shall arise. Thus seated you shall be least subiect to annoy of the enemie, so may you by your Nauie within passe out to all parts of the world, and so may the Shippes of England haue accesse to you to supply all wants, so may your commodities be caryed away also. This seat is to be chosen in a temperate Climat, in sweete ayre, where you may possesse alwayes sweete water, wood, seacoles or turfe, with fish, flesh, graine, fruites, herbes, and rootes, or so many of those as may suffice every necessitie for the life of such as shall plant there. And for the possessing of mines of golde, of siluer, copper, quicksiluer, or of any such precious thing, the wants of those needfull things may be supplyed from some other place by sea, &c.

Stone to make Lyme of; Slate stone to tyle withall, or such clay as maketh tyle; Stone to wall withall, if Brycke may not bee made; Timber for buylding easely to be conueied to the place; Reede to couer houses or such like, if tyle or slate be not—are to be looked for as things without which no Citie may be made nor people in ciuil sort be kept together.

The people there to plant and to continue are eyther to liue without traffique, or by traffique and by trade of marchandise. If they shall liue without sea traffique, at the first they become naked by want of linnen and woollen, and very miserable by infinite wants that will otherwise ensue, and so will they be forced of themselues to depart, or else easely they will be consumed by the Spanyards, by the Frenchmen, or by the naturall inhabitants of the countrey, and so the enterprize becomes reprochfull to our Nation, and a let to many other good purposes that may be taken in hand.

And by trade of marchandise they can not liue, except the Sea or the Land there may yeelde comoditie. And therefore you ought to haue most speciall regard of that poynt, and so to plant, that the naturall commodities of the place and seate may draw to you accesse of Nauigation for the same, or that by your owne Nauigation you may cary the same out, and fetch home the supply of the wants of the seate.

Such Nauigation so to be employed shall, besides the supply of wants, be able to encounter with forreine force.

And for that in the ample vent of such things as are brought to you out of England by Sea, standeth a matter of great consequence, it behoueth that all humanitie and curtesie and much forbearing of reuenge to the Inland people be vsed : so shall you haue firme amitie with your neighbours, so shall you haue their inland commodities to mainteine traffique, and so shall you waxe rich and strong in force. Diuers and seuerall commodities of the inland are not in great plenty to be brought to your hands, without the ayde of some portable or Nauigable riuer, or ample lake, and therefore to haue the helpe of such a one is most requisite : And so is it of effect for the dispersing of your owne commodities in exchange into the inlands.

Nothing is more to be indeuoured with the Inland people then familiarity. For so may you best discouer all the natural commodities of their countrey, and also all their wants, al their strengths, all their weaknesse, and with whom they are in warre, and with whom confederate in peace and amitie, &c. which knowen you may worke many great effects of greatest consequence.

And in your planting the consideration of the clymate and of the soyle be matters that are to be respected. For if it be so that you may let in the salt sea water, not mixed with the fresh into flats, where the sunne is of the heate that it is at Rochel, in the Bay of Portugal, or in Spaine, then may you procure a man of skill, and so you haue wonne one noble commoditie for the fishing, and for trade of marchandize by making of Salt.

Or if the soyle and clymate be such as may yeeld you the Grape as good as that at Burdeaux, as that in Portugal, or as that about Siuil in Spaine, or that in the Islands of the Canaries, then there resteth but a workeman to put in execution to make Wines, and to dresse Resigns* of the sunne and other, &c.

---

* Raisins.

Or if ye finde a soyle of the temperature of the South part of Spaine or Barbarie in the which you finde the Oliue tree to growe; Then you may be assured of a noble marchandize for this Realme, considering that our great trade of clothing doeth require oyle, and weying how deere of late it is become by the vent they haue of that commoditie in the West Indies, and if you finde the wilde Oliue there it may be graffed.

Or if you can find the berrie of Cochenile with which we colour Stammelles, or any Roote, Berrie, Fruite, wood or earth fitte for dying, you winne a notable thing fitte for our state of clothing. This Cochenile is naturall in the West Indies on that firme.

Or if you haue Hides of beasts fitte for sole Lether, &c. It will be a marchandize right good, and the Sauages there yet can not tanne Lether after our kinde, yet excellently after their owne manner.

Or if the soyle shall yeeld Figges, Almonds, Sugar Canes, Quinces, Orenges, Lemonds, Potatoes, &c. there may arise some trade and traffique by Figs, Almonds, Sugar, Marmelade, Sucket, &c.

Or if great woods be found, if they be of Cypres, chests may be made, if they be of some kinde of trees, Pitch and Tarre may be made, if they be of some other, then they may yeeld Rosin, Turpentine, &c. and all for trade and traffique, and Caskes for wine and oyle may be made, likewise ships and houses, &c.

And because traffique is a thing so materiall, I wish that great obseruation be taken what euery soyle yeeldeth naturally, in what commoditie soeuer, and what it may be made to yeelde by indeuour, and to send vs notice home, that thereupon we may deuise what meanes may be thought of to raise trades.

Now admit that we might not be suffered by the Sauages to enioy any whole country or any more than the scope of a citie, yet if we might enioy traffique, and be assured of the same, we might be much inriched, our Nauie might be increased, and a place of safetie might there be found, if change of religion or ciuil warres should happen in this realme, which are things of great benefit. But if we may enioy any large territorie of apt soyle, we might so vse the matter, as we should not depend vpon Spaine for oyles, sacks, resignes, orenges, lemonds, Spanish skins, &c. Nor vpon France for woad, baysalt, and Gascoyne wines, nor on Eastland for flaxe, pitch, tarre, mastes, &c. So we should not so exhaust our treasure, and so exceedingly inrich our doubtfull friends, as we doe, but should purchase the commodities that we want for halfe the treasure that now wee doe: and should by our owne industries and the benefities of the soyle there cheaply purchase oyles, wines, salt, fruits, pitch, tarre, flaxe, hempe, mastes, boords, fish, golde, siluer, copper, tallow, hides and many commodies: besides if there be no flatts to make salt on, if you haue plentie of wood you may make it in sufficient quantitie for common vses at home there.

If you can keepe a safe Hauen, although you haue not the friendship of the neere neighbours, yet you may haue traffique by sea vpon one shore or other, vpon that firme in time to come, if not present.

If you find great plentie of tymber on the shore side or vpon any portable riuer, you were best to cut downe of the same the first winter, to be seasoned for ships, barks, boates, and houses.

And if neere such wood there be any riuer or brooke vpon the which a sawing mill may be placed, it would doe great seruice, and therefore consideration would be had of such places.

And if such port and chosen place of settling were in possession and after fortified by arte, although by the land side our Englishmen were kept in, and might not enioy any traffique with the next neighbours, nor any victuals: yet might they victuall themselues of fish to serue every necessitie, and enter into amitie with the enemies of their next neighbours, and so haue vent of their marchandize of England and also haue victual, or by meanes hereupon to be vsed, to force the next neighbours to amitie. And keeping a nauy at the settling place, they should find out along the tract of the land to haue traffique, and at diuers Islands also. And so this first seat might in time become a stapling place of the commodities of many countreys and territories, and in time this place might become of all the prouinces round about the only gouernor. And if the place first chosen should not so well please our people, as some other more lately found out: There might be an easie remoue, and that might be raised, or rather kept for others of our nation to auoyd an ill neighbour.

If the soyles adioyning to such conuenient Hauen and setling places be found marshie and boggie, then men skilful in drayning are to be caryed thither. For arte may worke wonderful effects therein, and make the soyle rich for many vses.

To plant vpon an Island in the mouth of some notable riuer, or vpon the point of the land entring into the riuer, if no such Island be, were to great end. For if such riuer were nauigable or portable farre into the land, then would arise great hope of planting in fertil soyles, and traffike on the one or on the other side of the riuer, or on both, or the linking in amitie with one or other pettie king contending there for dominion.

Such riuers found, both Barges and Boates may be made for the safe passage of such as shall pierce the same. These are to be couered with doubles of course linnen artificially wrought, to defend the arrow or the dart of the sauage from the rower.

Since euery soile of the worlde by arte may be made to yeeld things to feede and to clothe man, bring in your returne a perfect note of the soile without and within, and we shall deuise if neede require to amend the same, and to draw it to more perfection. And if you finde not fruites in your planting place to your liking, we shall in fiue drifats * furnish you with such kindes of plants to be carryed thither the winter after your planting, as shall the very next summer following yeeld you some fruite, and the yeere next following, as much as shall suffice a towne as bigge as Calice, and that shortly after shall be able to yeeld you great store of strong durable good sider to drinke, and these trees shall be able to encrease you within lesse then seuen yeeres as many trees presently to beare, as may suffice the people of diuers parishes, which at the first setling may stand you in great stead, if the soile haue not the commoditie of fruites of goodnesse already. And because you ought greedily to hunt after things that yeeld present reliefe, without trouble of carriage thither, therefor I make mention of these thus specially, to the end you may haue it specially in minde.

A true discourse of the three Voyages of discouerie, for the finding of a passage to Cathaya, by the Northwest, vnder the conduct of Martin Frobisher Generall: Before which as a necessary Preface is prefixed a twofolde discourse, conteining certaine reasons to proue all partes of the World habitable. Penned by Master George Best, a Gentleman employed in the same voyages.

What commodities and instructions may be reaped by diligent reading this Discourse.

1 First, by example may be gathered, how a Discouerer

---

* In a very short time. Sometimes written *giffats*

of new Countries is to proceede in his first attempt of any Discouerie.

2 Item, how he should be prouided of shipping, victuals, munition, and choice of men.

3 How to proceede and deale with strange people, be they neuer so barbarous, cruell and fierce, either by lenitie or otherwise.

4 How trade of Merchandize may be made without money.

5 How a Pilot may deale, being inuironed with mountaines of yce in the frozen sea.

6 How length of dayes, change of seasons, Summers and Winters doe differ in sundry regions.

7 How dangerous it is to attempt new Discoueries, either for the length of the voyage, or the ignorance of the language, the want of Interpretors, new and vnaccustomed Elements and ayres, strange and vnsauoury meates, danger of theeues and robbers, fiercenesse of wilde beastes and fishes, hugenesse of woods, dangerousnesse of Seas, dread of tempestes, feare of hidden rockes, steepnesse of mountaines, darknesse of sudden falling fogges, continuall paines taking without any rest, and infinite others.

8 How pleasant and profitable it is to attempt new Discoueries, either for the sundry sights and shapes of strange beastes and fishes, the wonderfull workes of nature, the different maners and fashions of diuers nations, the sundry sortes of gouernment, the sight of strange trees, fruite, foules, and beasts, the infinite treasure of Pearle, Golde and Siluer, the newes of newe found landes, the sundry positions of the Sphere, and many others.

9 How valiant Captaines vse to deale vpon extremitie, and otherwise.

10 How trustie souldiers dutifully vse to serue.

11 Also here may bee seene a good example to be obserued of any priuate person, in taking notes, and making obseruations of all such things as are requisite for a Discouerer of newe Countries.

12 Lastly, the Reader here may see a good paterne of a well gouerned seruice, sundry instructions of matters of Cosmographie, Geographie, and Nauigation, as in reading more at large may be seene.

Experiences and reasons of the Sphere, to prooue all partes of the worlde habitable, and thereby to confute the position of the fiue Zones.

FIrst, it may be gathered by experience of our Englishmen in Anno 1553. For Captaine Windam made a Voyage with Merchandise to Guinea, and entred so farre within the Torrida Zona, that he was within three or foure degrees of the Equinoctiall, and his company abiding there certaine Moneths, returned, with gaine.

Experience to proue that Torrida Zona is habitable.

Also the Englishmen made another Voyage very prosperous and gainefull, An. 1554. to the coasts of Guinea, within 3. degrees of the Equinoctiall. And yet it is reported of a trueth, that all the tract from Cape de las Palmas trending by C. de tres puntas alongst by Benin, vnto the Ile of S. Thomas (which is perpendiculer vnder the Equinoctial)* all that whole Bay is more subiect to many blooming and smoothering heates, with infectious and contagious ayres, then any other place in all Torrida Zona: and the cause thereof is some accidents in the land. For it is most certaine, that mountains, Seas, woods and lakes, &c, may cause through their sundry kinde of situation, sundry strange and extraordinary effects, which the reason of the clyme otherwise would not giue. I mention these Voyages of our Englishmen, not so much to prooue that Torrida Zona may bee, and is inhabited, as to shew their readinesse in attempting long and dangerous Nauigations. Wee also among vs in England haue blacke Moores, Æthiopians, out of all partes of Torrida Zona, which after a small continuance, can well endure the colde of our Countrey, and why should not we as well abide the heate of their Countrey? But what should I name any more experiences, seeing that all the coastes of Guinea and Benin are inhabited of Portugals, Spanyardes, French, and some Englishmen, who there haue built Castles and Townes. Onely this I will say to the Merchants of London, that trade yeerely to Marochus, it is very certaine, that the greatest part of the burning Zone is farre more temperate and coole in Iune, then the Countrey of Marochus, as shall appeare by these reasons and experiences following. For let vs first consider the bignesse of this burning Zone (which as euery man knoweth, is 47. degrees)

Marochus more hote then about the Equinoctiall.

---

* It is almost in the exact latitude of Gaboon Bay.

each Tropicke, which are the bounders thereof, being 28. degrees and a halfe distant from the Equinoctiall. Imagine againe two other Parallels, on each side the Equinoctiall about 20. degrees, which Paralels may be described either of them twice a yeere by the Sunne, being in the first degrees of Gemini the 11. of May, and in Leo the 13. of Iuly, hauing North Latitude. And againe, the Sunne being in the first degrees of Sagittarius, the 12. of Nouember, and in Aquarius the 9. of Ianuary, hauing South latitude, I am to prooue by experience and reason that all that distance included betweene these two Paralels last named (conteyning 40. degrees in latitude, going round about the earth, according to longitude) is not onely habitable, but the same most fruitfull and delectable, and that if any extremitie of heate bee, the same not to be within the space of twenty degrees of the Equinoctiall on either side, but onely vnder and about the two Tropickes, and so proportionally the neerer you doe approch to eyther Tropicke, the more you are subiect to extremitie of heate (if any such be) and so Marochus being situate but sixe or seuen degrees from the Tropicke of Cancer, shall be more subiect to heate, then any place vnder or neere the Equinoctiall line.*

Marueilous fruitfull soile vnder the Equinoctiall.

And first by the experience of sundry men, yea thousands, Trauailers and Merchants, to the East and West Indies in many places, both directly vnder, and hard by the Equinoctiall, they with one consent affirme, that it aboundeth in the middest of Torrida Zona with all manner of Graine, Hearbes, grasse, fruite, wood and cattell, that we haue heere, and thousandes other sortes, farre more wholesome, delectable and precious, then any wee haue in these Northerne climates, as very well shall appeare to him that will reade the Histories and Nauigations of such as haue traueiled Arabia, India intra and extra Gangem, the Islands Moluccæ, America, &c. which all lye about the middle of the burning Zone, where it is truely reported, that the great hearbes, as are Radish, Lettuce, Colewortes, Borage, and such like, doe waxe ripe, greater, more sauourie and delectable in taste then ours, within sixteene dayes after the seede is sowen. Wheate being sowed the first of Februarie, was found ripe the first of May, and generally, where it is lesse fruitfull, the wheate will be ripe the fourth moneth after the seed is sowne, and in some places will bring foorth an eare as bigge as the wrist of a mans arme containing 1000. graines; Beanes, peace, &c. are there ripe twice a yeere. Also grasse being cut downe, will grow vp in sixe dayes aboue one foote high. If our cattell be transported thither, within a small time their young ones become of bigger stature, and more fat than euer they would haue bene in these countreys. There are found in euery wood in great numbers, such timber trees as twelue men holding handes together are not able to fathome. And to be short, all they that haue bene there with one consent affirme, that there are the goodliest greene medowes and plaines, the fairest mountaines couered with all sorts of trees and fruites, the fairest valleys, the goodliest pleasant fresh riuers, stored with infinite kinde of fishes, the thickest woods, greene and bearing fruite all the whole yeere, that are in all the world. And as for gold, siluer, and all other kinde of Metals, all kinde of spices and delectable fruites, both for delicacie and health, are there in such abundance, as hitherto they haue bene thought to haue beene bred no where else but there. And in conclusion, it is nowe thought that no where else but vnder the Equinoctiall, or not farre from thence, is the earthly Paradise, and the onely place of perfection in this worlde. And that these things may seeme the lesse strange, because it hath bene accompted of the olde Philosophers, that there coulde nothing prosper for the extreme heat of the Sunne continually going ouer their heades in the Zodiacke, I thought good here to alleadge such naturall causes as to me seeme very substantiall and sure reasons.

---

* Our author is wrong. Morocco lies between the *annual* Isothermal lines of 68° Fahr. (or 20 Cent.), whilst the mean temperature at the Equator was considered by Humboldt to be 81. 4° Fahr. and by Atkinson (Memoirs of the Royal Astronomical Society) 84. 5°.

Great trees.

Commodities and pleasures vnder the Equinoctiall.

First you are to vnderstand that the Sunne doeth worke his more or lesse heat in these lower parts by two meanes, the one is by the kinde of Angle that the Sunne beames doe make with the earth, as in all Torrida Zona it maketh perpendicularly right Angles in some place or other at noone, and towards the two Poles very oblique and vneuen Angles. And the other meane is the longer or shorter continuance of the Sunne aboue the Horizon. So that wheresoeuer these two causes do most concurre, there is most excesse of heat: and when the one is wanting, the rigor of the heat is lesse. For though the Sunne beames do beat perpendicularly vpon any region subiect vnto it,

Heat is caused by two meanes that is by his maner of Angle and by his continuance.

if it hath no continuance or abode aboue the Horizon, to worke his operation in, there can no hote effect proceed. For nothing can be done in a moment. And this second cause mora Solis supra Horizontem, the time of the sunnes abiding aboue the Horizon, the old Philosophers neuer remembred, but regarded onely the maner of Angles that the Sunne beames made with the Horizon, which if they were equall and right, the heat was the greater, as in Torrida Zona: if they were vnequall and oblique, the heat was the lesse, as towards both Poles, which reason is very good and substantiall: for the perpendicular beames reflect and reuerberate in themselues, so that the heat is doubled, euery beame striking twice, and by vniting are multiplied, and continue strong in forme of a Columne. But in our latitude of 50. and 60. degrees, the Sunne beames descend oblique and slanting wise, and so strike but once and depart, and therefore our heat is the lesse for any effect that the Angle of the Sunne beames make. Yet because wee haue a longer continuance of the Sunnes presence aboue our Horizon then they haue vnder the Equinoctial; by this continuance the heat is increased, for it shineth to vs 16. or 18. houres sometime, when it continueth with them but twelue houres alwayes.

Note this reason.

√

And againe, our night is very short, wherein cold vapours vse to abound, being but sixe or eight houres long, whereas theirs is alwayes twelue houres long, by which two aduantages of long dayes and short nights, though we want the equalitie of Angle, it commeth to passe that in Sommer our heat here is as great as theirs is there, as hath bene proued by experience, and is nothing dissonant from good reason. Therefore whosoeuer will rightly way the force of colde and heat in any region, must not onely consider the Angle that the Sunne beames make, but also the continuance of the same aboue the Horizon. As first to them vnder the Equinoctiall the Sunne is twice a yeere at noone in their Zenith perpendicular ouer their heads, and therefore during the two houres of those two dayes the heat is very vrgent, and so perhaps it will be in foure or fiue dayes more an houre euery day, vntill the Sunne in his proper motion haue crossed the Equinoctiall; so that this extreme heat caused by the perpendicular Angle of the Sunne beames, endureth but two houres of two dayes in a yeere. But if any man say the Sunne may scalde a good while before and after it come to the Meridian, so farre foorth as reason leadeth, I am content to allow it, and therefore

I will measure and proportion the Sunnes heat, by comparing the Angles there, with the Angles made here in England, because this temperature is best knowen vnto vs. As for example, the 11. day of March, when vnder the Equinoctiall it is halfe houre past eight of the clocke in the morning, the Sunne will be in the East about 38. degrees aboue the Horizon, because there it riseth alwayes at six of the clocke, and moueth euery houre 15. degrees, and so high very neere will it be with vs at London the said eleuenth day of March at noone. And therefore looke what force the Sunne hath with vs at noone, the eleuenth of March, the same force it seemeth to haue vnder the Equinoctial at half an houre past eight in the morning, or rather lesse force vnder the Equinoctiall, For with vs the Sunne had bene already sixe houres aboue the horizon, and so had purified and clensed all the vapours, and thereby his force encreased at noone; but vnder the Equinoctiall, the Sunne hauing bene vp but two houres and an halfe, had sufficient to doe, to purge and consume the cold and moyst vapours of the long night past, and as yet had wrought no effect of heate. And therefore I may boldly pronounce, that there is much lesse heate at halfe an houre past eight vnder the Equinoctiall, then is with vs at noone: à fortiori. But in March we are not onely contented to haue the Sunne shining, but we greatly desire the same. Likewise the 11. of Iune, the Sunne in our Meridian is 62 degrees high at London: and vnder the Equinoctiall it is so high after 10 of the clocke, and seeing then it is beneficial with vs; à fortiori it is beneficiall to them after 10 of the clocke.

And thus haue wee measured the force of the Sunnes greatest heate, the hottest dayes in the yeere, vnder the Equinoctiall, that is in March and September, from sixe till after tenne of the clocke in the morning, and from two vntill Sunne set. And this is concluded, by respecting onely the first cause of heate, which is the consideration of the Angle of the Sunne beames, by a certaine similitude, that whereas the Sunne shineth neuer aboue twelue houres, more then eight of them would bee coole and pleasant euen to vs, much more to them that are acquainted alwayes with such warme places. So there remaineth lesse then foure houres of excessiue heate, and that onely in the two Sommer dayes of the yeere, that is the eleueuth day of March, and the foureteenth of September: for vnder the Equinoctiall they haue two Sommers, the one in March, and the other in September, which are our Spring and Autumne:

and likewise two Winters, in Iune and December, which are our Sommmer and Winter, as may well appeare to him that hath onely tasted the principles of the Sphere. But if the Sunne bee in either Tropicke, or approaching neere thereunto, then may wee more easily measure the force of his Meridian altitude, that it striketh vpon the Equinoctiall. As for example, the twelfth of Iune the Sunne will be in the first degree of Cancer. Then look what force the heate of the Sunne hath vnder the Equinoctiall, the same force and greater it hath in all that Parallel, where the Pole is eleuated betweene fourtie and seuen, and fourtie and eight degrees. And therefore Paris in France the twelfth day of Iune sustaineth more heate of the Sunne, then Saint Thomas Iland lying neere the same Meridian doeth likewise at noone, or the Ilands Traprobana, Mollucca, or the firme lande of Peru in America, which all lye vnderneath the Equinoctiall. For vpon the twelfth day of Iune aforesaide, the Sunne beames at noone doe make an Isoscheles Triangle, whose Vertex is the Center of the Sunne, the Basis a line extended from Saint Thomas Iland vnder the Equinoctiall, vnto Paris in France neere the same Meridian: therefore the two Angles of the Base must needs be equal per 5. primi,* Ergo the force of the heat equal, if there were no other cause then the reason of the Angle, as the olde Philosophers haue appointed. But because at Paris the Sunne riseth two houres before it riseth to them vnder the Equinoctiall, and setteth likewise two houres after them, by meanes of the obliquitie of the Horizon, in which time of the Sunnes presence foure houres in one place more then the other, it worketh some effect more in one place then in the other, and being of equall height at noone, it must then needs follow to be more hote in the Parallel of Paris, then it is vnder the Equinoctiall.

Paris in France is as hote as vnder the Eqinoctiall in Iune.

In Iune is greater heat at Paris then vnder the Equinoctiall.

Also this is an other reason, that when the Sunne setteth to them vnder the Equinoctiall, it goeth very deepe and lowe vnder their Horizon, almost euen to their Antipodes, whereby their twilights are very short, and their nights are made very extreeme darke and long, and so the moysture and coldnesse of the long nights wonderfully encreaseth, so that at length the Sunne rising can

The Twilights are shorter, and the nights darker vnder the Equinoctiall then at Paris.

---

* Our author means the *fifth* proposition of the *first* book of Euclid, the celebrated *Pons Asinorum*.

hardly in many houres consume and driue away the colde humours and moyst vapours of the night past, which is cleane contrary in the Parallel of Paris: for the Sunne goeth vnder their Horizon but very little, after a sloping sort, whereby their nights are not very darke, but lightsome, as looking into the North in a cleare night without cloudes it doeth manifestly appeare, their twilights are long: for the Parallel of Cancer cutteth not the Horizon of Paris at right Angles, but at Angles very vneuen, and vnlike as it doeth the Horizon of the Equinoctiall. Also the Sommer day at Paris is sixteene houres long, and the night but eight: where contrarywise vnder the Equinoctiall the day is but twelue houres long, and so long is also the night, in whatsoeuer Parallel the Sunne be: and therefore looke what oddes and difference of proportion there is betweene the Sunnes abode aboue the Horizon in Paris, and the abode it hath vnder the Equinoctiall, (it being in Cancer) the same proportion would seeme to be betweene the heate of the one place, and heate of the other: for other things (as the Angle of the whole arke of the Sunnes progresse that day in both places) are equall.

But vnder the Equinoctiall the presence and abode of the Sunne aboue the Horizon is equall to his absence, and abode vnder the Horizon, eche being twelue houres. And at Paris the continuance and abode of the Sunne is aboue the Horizon sixteene houres long, and but eight houres absence, which proportion is double, from which if the proportion of the equalitie be subtracted to finde the difference, there will remaine still a double proportion, whereby it seemeth to follow, that in Iune the heate of Paris were double to the heate vnder the equinoctiall. For (as I haue said) the Angles of the Sunne beames are in all points equall, and the cause of difference is, Mora Solis supra Horizontem, the stay of the Sunne in the one Horizon more then in the other. Therefore, whosoeuer could finde out in what proportion the Angle of the Sunne beames heateth, and what encrease the Sunnes continuance doeth adde thereunto, it might expresly be set downe, what force of heat and cold is in all regions.

In what proportion the Angle of the Sun beames heateth.

Thus you partly see by comparing a Climate to vs well knowen and familiarly acquainted by like height of the Sunne in both places, that vnder the Equinoctiall in Iune is no excessiue heat, but a temperate aire rather tendering to cold. For as they haue there for the most part a continuall moderate heat, so yet sometime they are a little pinched with colde, and vse the benefite of fire as well as we, especially in the euening when they goe to bed, for as they lye in hanging beds tied fast in the vpper part of the house, so will they haue fires made on both sides their bed, of which two fires, the one they deuise superstitiously to driue away spirits, and the other to keepe away from them the coldnesse of the nights.

They vse and haue neede of fire vnder the Equinoctiall.

Also in many places of Torrida Zona, especially in the higher landes somewhat mountainous, the people a little shrincke at the colde, and are often forced to prouide themselues clothing, so that the Spaniards haue found in the West Indies many people clothed, especially in Winter, whereby appeareth, that with their heat there is colde intermingled, else would they neuer prouide this remedy of clothing, which to them is rather a griefe and trouble then otherwise. For when they goe to warres, they will put off all their apparell, thinking it to be combersome, and will alwayes goe naked, that they thereby might be more nimble in their fight.

Colde intermingled with heate vnder the Equinoctiall.

Some there be that thinke the middle Zone extremely hot, because the people of the countrey can, and doe liue without clothing, wherein they childishly are deceiued: for our Clime rather tendeth to extremitie of colde, because wee cannot liue without clothing: for this our double lining, furring, and wearing so many clothes, is a remedy against extremetie, and argueth not the goodnesse of the habitation, but inconuenience and iniury of colde: and that is rather the moderate, temperate, and delectable habitation, where none of these troublesome things are required, but that we may liue naked and bare, as nature bringeth vs foorth.

Others againe imagine the middle Zone to be extreme hot, because the people of Africa, especially the Ethiopians, are so cole blacke, and their haire like wooll curled short, which blacknesse and curled haire they suppose to come onely by the parching heat of the Sunne, which how it should be possible I cannot see: for euen vnder the Equinoctiall in America, and in the East Indies, and in the Ilands Moluccæ the people are not blacke, but tauney and white, with long haire vncurled as wee haue, so that if the Ethiopians blacknesse came by the heate of the Sunne, why should not those Amer-

Ethiopians blacke, with curled haire.

icans and Indians also be as blacke as they, seeing the Sunne is equally distant from them both, they abiding in one Parallel: for the concaue and conuexe Superficies of the Orb of the Sunne is concentrike, and equidistant to the earth; except any man should imagine somewhat of Aux Solis, and Oppositum, which indifferently may be applied aswel to the one place as to the other. But the Sunne is thought to giue no otherwise heat, but by way of Angle in reflection, and not by his neerenesse to the earth: for throughout all Africa, yea in the middest of the middle Zone, and in all other places vpon the tops of mountaines there lyeth continuall snow, which is neerer to the Orbe of the sunne, then the people are in the valley, by so much as the height of these moantaines amount vnto, and yet the Sunne notwithstanding his neerenesse, can not the melt snow for want of conuenient place of reflections. Also the middle region of the aire where all the haile, frost, and snow is engendred, is neerer vnto the Sunne then the earth is, and yet there continueth perpetuall cold, because there is nothing that the Sunne beames may reflect against, whereby appeareth that the neerenesse of the body of the Sunne worketh nothing.

The Sunne heateth not by his neerenesse, but onely by reflection.

Therefore to returne againe to the blacke Moores. I myself haue seen an Ethiopian as blacke as a cole brought into England, who taking a faire English woman to wife, begat a sonne in all respects as blacke as the father was, although England were his natiue countrey, and an English woman his mother: whereby it seemeth this blacknes proceedeth rather of some natural infection of that man which was so strong, that neither the nature of the Clime, neither the good complexion of the mother concurring, coulde any thing alter, and therefore wee cannot impute it to the nature of the Clime. And for a more fresh example, our people of Meta Incognita (of whom and for whom this discourse is taken in hande) that were brought this last yeere into England, were all generally of the same colour that many nations be, lying in the middest of the middle Zone. And this their colour was not onely in the face which was subiect to Sunne and aire, but also in their bodies, which were still couered with garments as ours are, yea the very sucking childe of twelue moneths age had his skinne of the very same colour that most haue vnder the equinoctiall, which thing cannot proceed by reason of the Clime, for that they are at least

A blacke Moores sonne borne in England.

The colour of the people in Meta Incognita.

The complexion of the people of Meta incognita.

ten degrees more towardes the North then wee in England are, No, the Sunne neuer commeth neere their Zenith by fourtie degrees: for in effect, they are within three or foure degrees of that which they call the frozen Zone, and as I saide, fourtie degrees from the burning Zone, whereby it followeth, that there is some other cause then the Climate or the Sonnes perpendicular reflexion, that should cause the Ethiopians great blacknesse. And the most probable cause to my iudgement is, that this blackenesse proceedeth of some naturall infection of the first inhabitants of that Countrey, and so all the whole progenie of them descended, are still polluted with the same blot of infection. Therefore it shall not bee farre from our purpose, to examine the first originall of these blacke men, and howe by a lineall discent they haue hitherto continued thus blacke.

The cause of the Ethiopians blacknesse.

It manifestly and plainely appeareth by Holy Scripture, that after the generall inundation and ouerflowing of the earth, there remained no moe men aliue but Noe and his three sonnes, Sem, Cham, and Iaphet, who onely were left to possesse and inhabite the whole face of the earth: therefore all the sundry discents that vntil this day haue inhabited the whole earth, must needes come of the off-spring either of Sem, Cham, or Iaphet, as the onely sonnes of Noe, who all three being white, and their wiues also, by course of nature should haue begotten and brought foorth white children. But the enuie of our great and continuall enemie the wicked Spirite is such, that as hee coulde not suffer our olde father Adam to liue in the felicitie and Angelike state wherein hee was first created, but tempting him sought and procured his ruine and fall: so againe, finding at this flood none but a father and three sonnes liuing, hee so caused one of them to transgresse and disobey his fathers commaundement, that after him all his posterity shoulde bee accursed. The fact of disobedience was this: When Noe at the commandement of God had made the Arke and entred therein, and the floud-gates of heauen were opened, so that the whole face of the earth, euery tree and mountaine was couered with abundance or water, hee straitely commaunded his sonnes and their wiues, that they should with reuerence and feare beholde the iustice and mighty power of God, and that during the time of the floud while they remained in the Arke, they should vse continencie, and abstaine from carnall copulation

The Arke of Noe.

with their wiues: and many other precepts hee gaue vnto them, and admonitions touching the iustice of God, in reuenging sinne, and his mercie in deliuering them, who nothing deserued it. Which good instructions and exhortations notwithstanding his wicked sonne Cham disobeyed, and being perswaded that the first childe borne after the flood (by right and Lawe of nature) should inherite and possesse all the dominions of the earth, hee contrary to his fathers commandement while they were yet in the Arke, vsed company with his wife, and craftily went about thereby to dis-inherite the off-spring of his other two brethren: for the which wicked and detestable fact, as an example for contempt of Almightie God, and disobedience of parents, God would a sonne should bee borne whose name was Chus, who not onely it selfe, but all his posteritie after him should bee so blacke and lothsome, that it might remaine a spectacle of disobedience to all the worlde. And of this blacke and cursed Chus came all these blacke Moores which are in Africa, for after the water was vanished from off the face of the earth, and that the lande was dry, Sem chose that part of the land to inhabite in, which nowe is called Asia, and Iaphet had that which now is called Europa, wherein wee dwell, and Africa remained for Cham and his blacke sonne Chus, and was called Chamesis after the fathers name, being perhaps a cursed, dry, sandy, and vnfruitfull ground, fit for such a generation to inhabite in.

Chus the sonne of Cham accursed.

Africa was called Chamesis.

Thus you see, that the cause of the Ethiopians blacknesse is the curse and naturall infection of blood, and not the distemperature of the Climate; Which also may bee prooued by this example, that these blacke men are found in all parts of Africa, as well without the Tropickes, as within, euen vnto Capo de buona Speranza Southward, where, by reason of the Sphere, should be the same temperature that is in Sicilia, Morea and Candie, where al be of very good complexions. Wherefore I conclude, that the blacknesse proceedeth not of the hotenesse of the Clime, but as I saide, of the infection of blood, and therefore this their argument gathered of the Africans blacknesse is not able to destroy the temperature of the middle Zone. Wee may therefore very well bee assertained, that vnder the Equinoctiall is the most pleasant and delectable place of the worlde to dwell in; where although the Sunne for two houres in a yeere be direct ouer their heades, and therefore the heate at that time somewhat of force, yet

Greatest temperature vnder the Equinoctial

because it commeth so seldome, and continueth so small a time, when it commeth, it is not to bee wayed, but rather the moderate heate of other times in all the yeere to be remembred. And if the heate at any time should in the short day waxe somewhat vrgent, the coldnesse of the long night there would easily refresh it, according as Henterus sayeth, speaking of the temperature vnder the Equinoctiall.

Quodque die solis violento incanduit æstu,
Humida nox reficit, paribusque refrigerat horis.

If the heate of the Sunne in the day time doe burne or parch any thing, the moysture of the night doeth coole and refresh the same againe, the Sunne being as long absent in the night, as it was present in the day.

Also our Aucthour of the Sphere, Johannes de Sacro Bosco,* in the Chapter of the Zodiacke, deriueth the Etymologie of Zodiacus, of the Greeke word Zoe, which in Latine signifieth Vita, life; for out of Aristotle hee alleadgeth, that Secundum accessum et recessum solis in Zodiaco, fiunt generationes et corruptiones in rebus inferioribus: according to the Sunnes going to and fro in the Zodiake, the inferiour bodies take their causes of generation and corruption. Then it followeth, that where there is most going to and fro, there is most generation and corruption: which must needes be betweene the two Tropikes; for there the Sunne goeth to and fro most, and no where else but there. Therefore betweene the two Tropikes, that is, in the middle Zone, is greatest increase, multiplication, generation, and corruption of things, which also wee finde by experience; for there is Sommer twice in the yeere, and twice Winter, so that they haue two Haruests in the yeere, and continuall Spring. Seeing then the middle Zone falleth out so temperate, it resteth to declare where the hottest part of the world should bee, for we finde some places more hote then others.

Vnder the Equinoctiall is greatest generation.

To answere this doubt, reason perswadeth, the hotest place in

---

* John Holywood, so named after the place of his birth near York, after studying at Oxford, settled in Paris where he became famous. He died in 1256, leaving two works of rare power considering the century they were written in, viz., *de Spherâ Mundi*, and *de Computo Ecclesiastico.* They are to be found in one volume 8vo, Paris, 1560.

Greatest heate vnder the Tropicks.

the world to bee vnder and about the two Tropikes; for there more then in any other place doe both the causes of heate concurre, that is, the perpendicular falling of the Sunne beames, at right angles, and a greater continuance of the Sunne aboue the Horizon, the Pole there being eleuated three or foure and twentie degrees. And as before I concluded, that though the Sunne were perpendicular to them vnder the Equinoctiall, yet because the same continued but a small time (their dayes being short, and their nights long) and the speedie departure of the Sunne from their Zenith, because of the suddeine crossing of the Zodiake with the Equinoctiall, and that by such continuall course and recourse of hote and colde, the temperature grew moderate, and very well able to bee endured: so nowe to them vnder the two Tropikes, the Sunne hauing once by his proper motion declined twentie degrees from the Equinoctial, beginneth to drawe neere their Zenith, which may bee (as before) about the eleuenth day of May, and then beginneth to sende his beames almost at right Angles, about which time the Sunne entreth into the first degree of Gemini, and with this almost right Angle the Sunne beames will continue vntill it bee past Cancer, that is, the space of two moneths euery day at noone, almost perpendicular ouer their heades, being then the time of Solstitium Aestiuale: which so long continuance of the Sunne about their Zenith may cause an extreeme heate (if any be in the world) but of necessitie farre more heate then can bee vnder the Equinoctiall, where the Sunne hath no such long abode in the Zenith, but passeth away there hence very quickly. Also vnder the Tropikes, the day is longer by an houre and a halfe, then it is vnder the Equinoctiall; wherefore the heate of the Sunne hauing a longer time of operation, must needes be encreased, especially seeing the night wherein colde and moysture doe abound vnder the Tropickes, is lesse then it is vnder the Equinoctiall. Therefore I gather, that vnder the Tropickes is the hotest place, not onely of Torrida Zona, but of any other part of the world, especially because there both causes of heate doe concurre, that is, the perpendicular falling of the Sunne beames two monethes together, and the longer abode of the Sunnes presence aboue the Horison. And by this meanes more at large is prooued, that Marochus in Sommer is farre more hote, then at any time vnder the Equinoctiall, because it is situate so neere the Tropick of Cancer, and also for the length of their dayes. Neither yet doe I thinke, that the Regions situate vnder the Tropicks are not habitable, for they are found to be very fruitfull also; although Marochus and some other parts of Afrike neere the Tropike for the drinesse of the natiue sandie soile, and some accidents may seeme to some to be intemperate for ouer much heat. For Ferdinandus Ouiedus* speaking of Cuba and Hispaniola, Ilands of America, lying hard vnder, or by the Tropike of Cancer, saith, that these Ilands haue as good pasture for cattell, as any other countrey in the world.

Also, they haue most holesome and cleare water, and temperate aire, by reason whereof the heards of beastes are much bigger, fatter, and of better taste, then any in Spaine, because of the ranke pasture, whose moysture is better digested in the hearbe or grasse, by continuall and temperate heate of the Sunne, whereby being made more fat and vnctious, it is of better and more stedfast nourishment: For continuall and temperate heate doeth not onely drawe much moysture out of the earth to the nourishment of such things as growe, and are engendred in that Clime, but doeth also by moderation preserue the same from putrifying, digesting also, and condensating or thickning the said moyst nourishment into a gumme and vnctious substance, whereby appeareth also, that vnder the Tropikes is both holesome, fruitefull, and pleasant habitation, whereby lastly it followeth, that all the middle Zone, which vntill of late dayes hath bene compted and called the burning, broyling, and parched Zone, is now found to be the most delicate, temperate, commodious, pleasant, and delectable part of the world, and especially vnder the Equinoctiall.

Vnder the Tropickes is moderate temperature.

Hauing now sufficiently at large declared the temperature of the middle Zone, it remaineth to speake somewhat also of the moderate and continuall heate in colde Regions, as well in the night as in the day all the Sommer long, and also how these Regions are habitable to the inhabitants of the same, contrary to the opinion of the olde writers.

Of the temperature of colde Regions all the Sommer long, and also how in Winter the same is habitable, especially to the inhabitants thereof.

THe colde Regions of the world are those, which tending toward the Poles Arctike, and Antarctike, are without the circuite or boundes of the seuen Climates: which assertion agreeable to the opinion of the olde Writers, is found and set out in our authour of the Sphere, Iohannes de Sacrobosco, where hee plainely saith, that without the seuenth Climate, which is bounded by a Parallel passing at fiftie degrees in Latitude, all the habitation beyonde is discommodious and intollerable. But Gemma Frisius a late writer finding England and Scotland to be without the compasse of those Climates, wherein hee knewe to bee very temperate and good habitation, added thereunto two other Climates, the vttermost Parallel whereof passeth by 56. degrees in Latitude, and therein comprehendeth ouer and aboue the first computation, England, Scotland, Denmarke, Moscouia, &c. which all are rich and mightie kingdomes.

---

* John Gonzalvo d'Oviedo, born 1478. Was Governor of the New World, and wrote a *Summario de la Historia general y natural de las Indias Occidentales.* Best edition, *Salamanca* 1535, and *Toledo*, 1536, folio. This is the work here quoted.

Nine Climates.

The olde writers perswaded by bare coniecture, went about to determine of those places, by comparing them to their owne complexions, because they felt them to bee hardly tolerable to themselues, and so took thereby an argument of the whole habitable earth; as if a man borne in Marochus, or some other part of Barbarie, should at the latter end of Sommer vpon the suddeine, either naked, or with his thinne vesture, bee brought into England, hee would iudge this Region presently not to bee habitable, because hee being brought vp in so warme a Countrey, is not able here to liue, for so suddeine an alteration of the colde aire: but if the same man had come at the beginning of Sommer, and so afterward by little and little by certaine degrees, had felt and acquainted himselfe with the frost of Autumne, it would haue seemed by degrees to harden him, and so to make it farre more tollerable, and by vse after one yeere or two, the aire would seeme to him more temperate. It was compted a great matter in the olde time, that there was a brasse pot broken in sunder with frosen water in Pontus, which after was brought and shewed in Delphis, in token of a miraculous colde region and winter, and therefore consecrated to the Temple of Apollo.

A comparison betweene Marochus and England.

This effect being wrought in the Parallel of fouretie three degrees in Latitude, it was presently counted a place very hardly and vneasily to be inhabited for the great colde. And how then can such men define vpon other Regions very farre without that Parallel, whether they were inhabited or not, seeing that in so neere a place they so grossely mistooke the matter, and others their followers being contented with the inuentions of the olde Authors, haue persisted willingly in the same opinion, with more confidence then consideration of the cause: so lightly was that opinion receiued, as touching the vnhabitable Clime neere and vnder the Poles.

All the North regions are habitable.

Therefore I am at this present to proue, that all the land lying betweene the last climatè euen vnto the point directly vnder either poles, is or may be inhabited, especially of such creatures as are ingendred and bred therein. For indeed it is to be confessed, that some particular liuing creature cannot liue in euery particular place or region, especially with the same ioy and felicitie, as it did where it was first bred, for the certeine agreement of nature that is betweene the place and the thing bred in that place; as appeareth by the Elephant, which being translated and brought out of the second or third climat, though they may liue, yet will they neuer ingender or bring forth yong.* Also we see the like in many kinds of plants and herbs; for example, the Orange trees, although in Naples they bring forth fruit abundantly, in Rome and Florence they will beare onely faire greene leaues, but not any fruit: and translated into England, they will hardly beare either flowers, fruit, or leaues, but are the next Winter pinched and withered with colde: yet it followeth not for this, that England, Rome, and Florence should not be habitable.

Two causes of heat.

In the prouing of these colde regions habitable, I shalbe very short, because the same reasons serue for this purpose which were alleged before in the proouing the middle Zone to be temperate, especially seeing all heat and colde proceed from the Sunne, by the meanes either of the Angle which his beames do make with the Horizon, or els by the long or short continuance of the Suns presence aboue ground: so that if the Sunnes beames do beat perpendicularly at right Angles, then there is one cause of heat, and if the Sunne do also long continue aboue the Horizon, then the heat thereby is much increased by accesse of this other cause, and so groweth to a kinde of extremitie. And these two causes, as I sayd before, do most coucurre vnder the two Tropicks, and therefore there is the greatest heat of the world. And likewise, where both these causes are most absent, there is greatest want of heat, and increase of colde (seeing that colde is nothing but the priuation and absence of heate) and if one cause be wanting, and the other present the effect will grow indifferent. Therefore this is to be vnderstood, that the neerer any region is to the Equinoctiall, the higher the Sunne doth rise ouer their heads at noone, and so maketh either right or neere right Angles, but the Sunne tarieth with them so much the shorter time, and causeth shorter dayes, with longer and colder nights, to restore the domage of the day past, by reason of the moisture consumed by vapour. But in such regions, ouer the which the Sunne riseth lower (as in regions extended towards either pole) it maketh there vnequall Angles, but the Sunne continueth longer, and maketh longer dayes, and causeth so much shorter and warmer nights, as retaining warme vapours of the day past. For there are found by experience Summer nights in Scotland and Gothland very hot, when vnder the Equinoctiall they are found very cold. This benefit of the Sunnes long continuance and increase of the day, doth argument so much the more in colde regions as they are nerer the poles, and ceaseth not increasing vntill it come directly vnder the point of the pole Arcticke, where the Sunne continueth aboue ground the space of sixe moneths or halfe a yere together, and so the day is halfe a yere long, that is the time of the Sunnes being in the North signes, from the first degree of Aries vntill the last of Virgo, that is all the time from our 10 day of March vntill the 14 of September. The Sunne therefore during the time of these sixe moneth without any offence or hinderance of the night, giueth his influence vpon those lands with heat that neuer ceaseth during that time, which maketh to the great increase of Summer, by reason of the Sunnes continuance. Therefore it followeth, that though the Sunne be not there very high ouer their heads, to cause right angle beames, and to giue great heat, yet the Sun being there sometimes about 24 degrees high doth cast a conuenient and meane heate, which there continueth without hindrance of the night the space of sixe moneths (as is before sayd) during which time there followeth to be a conuenient, moderate and temperate heat: or els rather it is to be suspected the heat there to be very great, both for continuance, and also, Quia virtus vnita crescit, the vertue and strength of heat vnited in one

---

* This is not the case.

Hote nights nere the pole.

Colde nights vnder the Equinoctiall.

One day of sixe moneths.

Moderate heat vnder ye poles.

increaseth. If then there be such a moderate heate vnder the poles, and the same to continue so long time; what should mooue the olde writers to say there cannot be place for habitation. And that the certainty of this temperate heat vnder both the poles might more manifestly appeare, let vs consider the position and quality of the sphere, the length of the day, and so gather the height of the Sunne at all times, and by consequent the quantity of his angle, and so lastly the strength of his heat.

The Sunne neuer setteth in 182 dayes.

Horizon and Equinoctiall all one vnder the pole.

Those lands and regions lying vnder the pole, and hauing the pole for their Zenith, must needs haue the Equinoctiall circle for their Horizon: therefore the Sun entring into the North signes, and describing euery 24 houres a parallel to the Equinoctiall by the diurnall motion of Primum mobile, the same parallels must needs be wholly aboue the Horizon: and so looke how many degrees there are from the first of Aries to the last of Virgo, so many whole reuolutions there are aboue their Horizon that dwell vnder the pole, which amount to 182, and so many of our dayes the Sunne continueth with them. During which time they haue there continuall day and light, without any hindrance of moist nights. Yet it is to be noted, that the Sunne being in the first degree of Aries, and last degree of Virgo, maketh his reuolution in the very horizon, so that in these 24 houres halfe the body of the Sunne is aboue the horizon, and the other halfe is vnder his only center, describing both the horizon and the equinoctiall circle.

London.

And therefore seeing the greatest declination of the Sunne is almost 24 degrees, it followeth, his greatest height in those countries to be almost 24 degrees. And so high is the Sun at noone to vs in London about the 29 of October, being in the 15 degree of Scorpio, and likewise the 21 of Ianuary being in the 15 of Aquarius. Therefore looke what force the Sun at noone hath in London the 29 of October, the same force of heat it hath, to them that dwell vnder the pole, the space almost of two moneths, during the time of the Summer solstitium, and that without intermingling of any colde night; so that if the heat of the Sunne at noone could be well measured in London (which is very hard to do because of the long nights which ingender great moisture and cold) then would manifestly appeare by expresse numbers the maner of the heat vnder the poles, whichs certainly must needs be to the inhabitants very commodious and profitable, if it incline not to ouermuch heat, and if moisture do not want.

For as in October in England we finde temperate aire, and haue in our gardens hearbs and floures notwithstanding our cold nights, how much more should they haue the same good aire, being continuall without night. This heat of ours continueth but one houre, while the Sun is in that meridian, but theirs continueth a long time in one height. This our heat is weake, and by the coolnesse of the night vanisheth, that heat is strong, and by continuall accesse is still increased and strengthened. And thus by a similitude of the equal height of the Sun in both places appeareth the commodious and moderate heat of the regions vnder the poles.

Comodious dwelliug vnder the poles.

And surely I cannot thinke that the diuine prouidence hath made any thing vncommunicable, but to haue giuen such order to all things, that one way or other the same should be imployed, and that euery thing and place should be tollerable to the next: but especially all things in this lower world be giuen to man to haue dominion and vse thereof. Therefore we need no longer to doubt of the temperate and commodious habitation vnder the poles during the time of Summer.

But all the controuersie consisteth in the Winter, for then the Sunne leaueth those regions, and is no more seene for the space of other sixe moneths, in the which time all the Sunnes course is vnder their horizon for the space of halfe a yere, and then those regions (say some) must needs be deformed with horrible darknesse, and continuall night, which may be the cause that beasts can not seeke their food, and that also the colde should then be intollerable. By which double euils all liuing creatures should be constrained to die, and were not able to indure the extremity and iniury of Winter, and famine insuing thereof, but that all things should perish before the Summer following, when they should bring foorth their brood and yoong, and that for these causes the sayd Clime about the pole should be desolate and not habitable. To all which obiections may be answered in this maner; First, that though the Sunne be absent from them those six moneths, yet it followeth not that there should be such extreme darknesse; for as the Sunne is departed vnder their horizon, so is it not farre from them: and not so soone as the Sunne falleth so suddenly commeth the darke night; but the euening doth substitute and prolong the day a

The night vnder the poles.

good while after by twilight. After which time the residue of the night receiueth light of the Moone and Starres, vntill the breake of the day, which giueth also a certaine light before the Sunnes rising; so that by these meanes the nights are seldome darke; which is verified in all parts of the world, but least in the middle Zone vnder the Equinoctiall, where the twilights are short, and the nights darker then in any other place, because the Sunne goeth vnder their horizon so deepe, even to their antipodes. We see in England in the Summer nights when the Sunne goeth not farre vnder the horizon, that by the light of the Moone and Starres we may trauell all night, and if occasion were, do some other labour also. And there is no man that doubteth whether our cattell can see to feed in the nights, seeing we are so well certified thereof by our experience: and by reason of the sphere our nights should be darker then any time vnder the poles.

The Astronomers consent that the Sunne descending from our vpper hemisphere at the 18 parallel vnder the horizon maketh an end of twilight, so that at length the darke night insueth, and that afterward in the morning the Sun approching againe within as many parallels, doth driue away the night by accesse of the twilight. Againe, by the position of the sphere vnder the pole, the horizon, and the equinoctiall are all one. These reuolutions therefore that are parallel to the equinoctiall are also parallel to the horizon, so that the Sunne descending vnder that horizon, and there describing certaine parallels not farre distant, doth not bring darke nights to those regions vntill it come to the parallels distant 18 degrees from the equinoctiall, that is, about the 21 degree of Scorpio, which will be about the 4 day of our Nouember, and after the Winter solstitium, the Sunne returning backe againe to the 9 degree of Aquarius, which will be about the 19 of Ianuary; during which time onely, that is, from the 4 day of Nouember vntill the 19 day of Ianuary, which is about six weeks space, these regions do want the commodity of twilights: therefore, during the time of these sayd six moneths of darknesse vnder the poles, the night is destitute of the benefit of the Sunne and the sayd twilights onely for the space of six weeks or thereabout. And yet neither this time of six weeks is without remedy from heauen; for the Moone with her increased light hath accesse at that time, and illuminateth the moneths lacking light euery one of themselues seuerally halfe the course of that

The regions vnder the poles want twilights but sixe weeks.

moneth, by whose benefit it commeth to passe that the night named extreame darke possesseth those regions no longer then one moneth, neither that continually, or all at one time, but this also diuided into two sorts of shorter nights, of the which either of them indureth for the space of 15 dayes, and are illuminate of the Moone accordingly. And this reason is gathered out of the sphere, whereby we may testifie that the Summers are warme and fruitfull, and the Winters nights vnder the pole are tolerable to liuing creatures. And if it be so that the Winter and time of darknesse there be very colde, yet hath not nature left them vnprouided therefore: for there the beastes are couered with haire so much the thicker in how much the vehemency of colde is greater; by reason whereof the best and richest furres are brought out of the coldest regions. Also the fowles of these colde countreys haue thicker skinnes, thicker feathers, and more stored of downe then in other hot places. Our English men that trauell to S. Nicholas, and go a fishing to Wardhouse, enter farre within the circle Artike, and so are in the frozen Zone, and yet there, aswell as in Island and all along those Northerne Seas, they finde the greatest store of the greatest fishes that are; as Whales &c. and also abundance of meane fishes; as Herrings, Cods, Haddocks, Brets, &c. which argueth that the sea as well as the land may be and is well frequented and inhabited in the colde countreys.

Winter nights vnder the pole tolerable to liuing creatures.

But some perhaps will maruell there should be such temperate places in the regions about the poles, when at vnder 62 degrees in latitude our captaine Frobisher and his company were troubled with so many and so great mountaines of fleeting ice, with so great stormes of colde, with such continuall snow on tops of mountaines, and with such barren soile, there being neither wood nor trees, but low shrubs, and such like. To all which obiections may be answered thus: First, those infinite Islands of ice were ingendred and congealed in time of Winter, and now by the great heat of Summer were thawed, and then by ebs, flouds, winds, and currents, were driuen to and fro, and troubled the fleet; so that this is an argument to proue the heat in Summer there to be great, that was able to thaw so monstrous mountaines of ice. As for continuall snow on tops of mountaines, it is there no otherwise then is in the hotest part of the middle Zone, where also lieth great snow all

An obiection of Meta incognita.

the Summer long vpon tops of mountaines, because there is no sufficient space for the Sunnes reflexion, whereby the snow should be molten. Touching the colde stormy winds and the barrennesse of the country, it is there as it is in Cornwall and Deuonshire in England, which parts though we know to be fruitfull and fertile, yet on the North side thereof all alongst the coast within seuen or eight miles off the sea there can neither hedge nor tree grow, although they be diligently by arte husbanded and seene vnto: and the cause thereof are the Northerne driuing winds, which comming from the sea are so bitter and sharpe that they kill all the yoong and tender plants, and suffer scarse any thing to grow; and so it is in the Islands of Meta incognita, which are subiect most to East and Northeastern winds, which the last yere choaked vp the passage so with ice that the fleet could hardly recouer their port. Yet notwithstanding all the obiections that may be, the countrey is habitable; for there are men, women, children, and sundry kind of beasts in great plenty, as beares, deere, hares, foxes and dogs: all kinde of flying fowles, as ducks, seamewes, wilmots, partridges, larks, crowes, hawks, and such like, as in the third booke you shall vnderstand more at large. Then it appeareth that not onely the middle Zone but also the Zones about the poles are habitable.

Meta Incognita inhabited.

Which thing being well considered, and familiarly knowen to our Generall captaine Frobisher, aswell for that he is thorowly furnished of the knowledge of the sphere and all other skilles appertaining to the arte of nauigation, as also for the confirmation he hath of the same by many yeres experience both by sea and land, and being persuaded of a new and nerer passage to Cataya then by Capo de buona Sperança, which the Portugals yerely vse: he began first with himselfe to deuise, and then with his friends to conferre, and layed a plaine plat vnto them that that voyage was not onely possible by the Northwest, but also he could proue easie to be performed. And further, he determined and resolued with himselfe to go make full proofe thereof, and to accomplish or bring true certificate of the truth, or els neuer to returne againe, knowing this to be the only thing of the world that was left yet vndone, whereby a notable minde might be made famous and fortunate. But although his will were great to performe this notable voyage, whereof he had conceiued in his minde a great

Captaine Frobishers first voyage.

hope by sundry sure reasons and secret intelligence, which here for sundry causes I leaue vntouched, yet he wanted altogether meanes and ability to set forward, and performe the same. Long time he conferred with his priuate friends of these secrets, and made also many offers for the performing of the same in effect vnto sundry merchants of our countrey aboue 15 yeres before he attempted the same, as by good witnesse shall well appeare (albeit some euill willers which challenge to themselues the fruits of other mens labours haue greatly iniured him in the reports of the same, saying that they haue bene the first authours of that action, and that they haue learned him the way, which themselues as yet haue neuer gone) but perceiuing that hardly he was hearkened vnto of the merchants, which neuer regard vertue without sure, certaine, and present gaines, he repaired to the Court (from whence, as from the fountaine of our Common wealth, all good causes haue their chiefe increase and maintenance) and there layed open to many great estates and learned men the plot and summe of his deuice. And amongst many honourable minds which fauoured his honest aud commendable enterprise, he was specially bound and beholding to the right honourable Ambrose Dudley earle of Warwicke, whose fauourable minde and good disposition hath alwayes bene ready to countenance and aduance all honest actions with the authours and executers of the same: and so by meanes of my lord his honourable countenance he receiued some comfort of his cause, and by litle and litle, with no small expense and paine brought his cause to some perfection and had drawen together so many aduenturers and such summes of money as might well defray a reasonable charge to furnish himselfe to sea withall.

He prepared two small barks of twenty and fiue and twenty tunne a piece, wherein he intended to accomplish his pretended voyage. Wherefore, being furnished with the foresayd two barks, and one small pinnesse of ten tun burthen, hauing therein victuals and other necessaries for twelue moneths prouision, he departed vpon the sayd voyage from Blacke-wall the 15 of Iune anno Domini 1576.

One of the barks wherein he went was named the Gabriel, and the other The Michael; and sailing Northwest from England vpon the 11 of Iuly he had sight of an high and ragged land, which he iudged to be Frisland (whereof some authors haue made mention) but durst not approch the same by reason of the great store of ice that lay alongst the coast, and the great mists that troubled them not a litle. Not farre from thence he lost company of his small pinnesse, which by meanes of the great storme he supposed to be swallowed vp of the Sea, wherein he lost onely foure men.

The Michael returned home.

Also the other barke named The Michael mistrusting the matter, conueyed themselues priuily away from him, and returned home, with great report that he was cast away.

The worthy captaine notwithstanding these discomforts, although his mast was sprung, and his toppe mast blowen ouerboord with extreame foule weather, continued his course towards the Northwest, knowing that the sea at length must needs haue an ending, and that some land should haue a beginning that way; and determined therefore at the least to bring true proofe what land and sea the same might be so farre to the Northwestwards, beyond any man that hath heretofore discouered. And the twentieth of Iuly he had sight of an high land, which he called Queene Elizabeths Forland, after her Maiesties name. And sailing more Northerly alongst that coast, he descried another forland with a great gut, bay, or passage, diuided as it were two maine lands or continents asunder. There he met with store of exceeding great ice all this coast along, and coueting still to continue his course to the North, wards, was alwayes by contrary winde deteined ouerthwart these straights, and could not get beyond. Within few dayes after he perceiued the ice to be well consumed and gone, either there ingulfed in by some swift currents or indrafts, carried more to the Southwards of the same straights, or els conueyed some other way: wherefore he determined to make proofe of this place, to see how farre that gut had continuance, and whether he might carry himselfe thorow the same into some open sea on the backe side, whereof he conceiued no small hope, and so entred the same the one and twentieth of Iuly, and passed aboue fifty leagues therein, as he reported, hauing vpon either hand a great maine or continent. And that land vpon his right hand as he sailed Westward he iudged to be the continent of Asia, and there to be diuided from the firme of America, which lieth vpon the left hand ouer against the same.

Frobishers first entrance within ye streights.

This place he named after his name, Frobishers streights, like as Magellanus at ye Southwest end of the world, hauing discouered the passage to the South sea (where America is diuided from the continent of that land, which lieth vnder the South pole) and called the same straights, Magellanes straits.

Frobishers streights.

After he had passed 60 leagues into this foresayd straight, he went ashore, and found signes where fire had bene made.

He saw mighty deere that seemed to be mankinde, which ranne at him, and hardly he escaped with his life in a narrow way, where he was faine to vse defence and policy to saue his life.

In this place he saw and perceiued sundry tokens of the peoples resorting thither. And being ashore vpon the top of a hill, he perceiued a number of small things fleeting in the sea afarre off, which he supposed to be porposes or seales, or some kinde of strange fish; but comming neerer, he discouered them to be men in small boats made of leather. And before he could descend downe from the hill, certaine of those people had almost cut off his boat from him, hauing stollen secretly behinde the rocks for that purpose, where he speedily hasted to his boat, and bent himselfe to his halberd, and narrowly escaped the danger, and saued his boat. Afterwards he had sundry conferences with them, and they came aboord his ship, and brought him salmon and raw flesh and fish, and greedily deuoured the same before our mens faces. And to shew their agility, they tried many masteries vpon the ropes of the ship after our mariners fashion, and appeared to be very strong of their armes, and nimble of their bodies. They exchanged coats of seales, and beares skinnes, and such like with our men; and receiued belles, looking glasses, and other toyes, in recompense thereof againe. After great curtesie, and many meetings, our mariners, contrary to their captaines direction, began more easily to trust them; and fiue of our men going ashore were by them intercepted with their boat, and were neuer since heard of to this day againe: so that the captaine being destitute of boat, barke, and all company, had scarsely sufficient number to conduct backe his barke againe. He could neither conuey himselfe ashore to rescue his men (if he had bene able) for want of a boat; and againe the subtile traitours were so wary, as they would after that neuer come within our mens danger. The captaine not-

The first sight of ye Sauages.

Fiue Englishmen intercepted and taken.

withstanding desirous to bring some token from thence of his being there, was greatly discontented that he had not before apprehended some of them: and therefore to deceiue the deceiuers he wrought a pretty policy; for knowing wel how they greatly delighted in our toyes, and specially in belles, he rang a pretty lowbell, making signes that he would giue him the same that would come and fetch it. And because they would not come within his danger for feare, he flung one bell vnto them, which of purpose he threw short, that it might fall into the sea and be lost. And to make them more greedy of the matter he rang a louder bell, so that in the end one of them came nere the ship side to receiue the bel; which when he thought to take at the captaines hand, he was thereby taken himselfe: for the captaine being readily prouided let the bell fall, and caught the man fast, and plucked him with maine force boat and all into his barke out of the sea. Whereupon when he found himselfe in captiuity, for very choler and disdaine he bit his tongue in twaine within his mouth: notwithstanding, he died not thereof, but liued vntill he came in England, and then he died of cold which he had taken at sea.

Taking of the first Sauage.

Now with this new pray (which was a sufficient witnesse of the captaines farre and tedious trauell towards the vnknowen parts of the world, as did well appeare by this strange infidell, whose like was neuer seene, read, nor heard of before, and whose language was neither knowen nor vnderstood of any) the sayd captaine Frobisher returned homeward, and arriued in England in Harwich the 2 of October following, and thence came to London 1576, where he was highly commended of all men for his great and notable attempt, but specially famous for the great hope he brought of the passage to Cataya.

Frobishers returne.

And it is especially to be remembred that at their first arriuall in those parts there lay so great store of ice all the coast along so thicke together, that hardly his boate could passe vnto the shore. At length, after diuers attempts he commanded his company, if by any possible meanes they could get ashore, to bring him whatsoeuer thing they could first finde, whether it were liuing or dead, stocke or stone, in token of Christian possession, which thereby he tooke in behalfe of the Queenes most excellent Maiesty, thinking that thereby he might iustify the hauing and inioying of the same things that grew in these vnknowen parts.

The taking possession of Meta incognita.

Some of his company brought floures, some greene grasse; and one brought a piece of blacke stone much like to a sea cole in colour, which by the waight seemed to be some kinde of mettall or minerall. This was a thing of no account in the iudgment of the captaine at first sight; and yet for nouelty it was kept in respect of the place from whence it came.

How the ore was found by chance.

After his arriuall in London, being demanded of sundry his friends what thing he had brought them home out of that countrey, he had nothing left to present them withall but a piece of this blacke stone. And it fortuned a gentlewoman one of the aduenturers wiues to haue a piece thereof, which by chance she threw and burned in the fire, so long, that at the length being taken forth, and quenched in a little vinegar, it glistened with a bright marquesset of golde. Whereupon the matter being called in some question, it was brought to certaine Goldfiners in London to make assay thereof, who gaue out that it held golde, and that very richly for the quantity. Afterwards, the same Goldfiners promised great matters thereof if there were any store to be found, and offered themselues to aduenture for the searching of those parts from whence the same was brought. Some that had great hope of the matter sought secretly to haue a lease at her Maiesties hands of those places, whereby to inioy the masse of so great a publike profit vnto their owne priuate gaines.

Many aduenturers.

In conclusion, the hope of more of the same golde ore to be found kindled a great opinion in the hearts of many to aduance the voyage againe. Whereupon preparation was made for a new voyage against the yere folowing, and the captaine more specially directed by commission for the searching more of this golde ore then for the searching any further discouery of the passage. And being well accompanied with diuers resolute and forward gentlemen, her Maiesty then lying at the right honourable the lord of Warwicks house in Essex, he came to take his leaue, and kissing her hignesse hands, with gracious countenance and comfortable words departed toward his charge.

In the second voyage commission was giuen onely for the bringing of ore.

A true report of such things as happened in the second voyage of captaine Frobisher, pretended for the discouery of a new passage to Cataya, China and the East India, by the Northwest. Ann. Dom. 1577.

BEing furnished with one tall ship of her Maiesties, named

The Ayde, of two hundred tunne, and two other small barks, the one named The Gabriel, the other The Michael, about thirty tun a piece, being fitly appointed with men, munition, victuals, and all things necessary for the voyage, the sayd captaine Frobisher, with the rest of his company camẽ aboord his ships riding at Blackwall, intending (with Gods helpe) to take the first winde and tide seruing him, the 25 day of May, in the yere of our Lord God 1577.

The names of such gentlemen as attempted this discouery, and the number of souldiers and mariners in ech ship, as followeth.

ABoord the Ayd being Admirall were the number of 100 men of all sorts, whereof 30 or moe were Gentlemen and Souldiers, the rest sufficient and tall Sailers.

Aboord the Gabriel being Viceadmirall, were in all 18 persons, whereof sixe were Souldiers, the rest Mariners.

Aboord the Michael were 16 persons, whereof fiue were Souldiers, the rest Mariners.

Aboord the Ayde was	Generall of the whole company for her Maiestie	Martin Frobisher.
	His Lieutenant	George Best.
	His Ensigne	Richard Philpot.
	Corporall of the shot	Francis Forfar.
	The rest of the gentlemen	Henry Carew. Edmund Stafford. John Lee. M. Haruie. Mathew Kinersley. Abraham Lins. Robert Kinersley. Francis Brakenbury. William Armshow.
	The Master	Christopher Hall.
	The Mate	Charles Iackman.
	The Pilot	Andrew Dier.
	The Master gunner	Richard Cox.

Aboord the Gabriell was	Captaine	Edward Fenton.
	One Gentleman	William Tamfield.
	The Maister	William Smyth.
Aboord the Michaell was	Captaine	Gilbert Yorke.
	One Gentleman	Thomas Chamberlaine.
	The Maister	Iames Beare.

ON Whitsunday being the 26 of May, Anno 1577, early in the morning, we weighed anker at Blackwall, and fell that tyde downe to Grauesend, where we remained vntill Monday at night.

On Munday morning the 27 of May, aboord the Ayde we receiued all the Communion by the Minister of Grauesend, and prepared vs as good Christians towards God, and resolute men for all fortunes: and towards night we departed to Tilbery Hope.

They receiued the communion.

Tuesday the eight and twenty of May, about nine of the clocke at night, we arriued at Harwitch in Essex and there stayed for the taking in of certaine victuals, vntill Friday being the thirtieth of May, during which time came letters from the Lordes of the Councell, straightly commanding our Generall, not to exceede his complement and number appointed him, which was, one hundred and twentie persons: whereupon he discharged many proper men which with vnwilling mindes departed.

The number of men in this voyage.

He also dismissed all his condemned men, which he thought for some purposes very needefull for the voyage, and towards night vpon Friday the one and thirtieth of May we set saile, and put to the Seas againe. And sailing Northward alongst the East coasts of England and Scotland, the seuenth day of Iune we arriued in Saint Magnus sound in Orkney Ilandes, called in Latine Orcades, and came to ancker on the South side of the Bay, and this place is reckoned from Blackwall where we set saile first leagues.*

The condemned men discharged.

The first arriuall after our departing from England.

Here our companie going on lande, the Inhabitants of these Ilandes beganne to flee as from the enemie, whereupon the Lieutenant willed euery man to stay togither, and went himselfe vnto their houses, to declare what we were and the cause of our comming thither, which being vnderstood after their poore maner they friendly entreated vs, and brought vs for our money such things as they had. And here our goldfinders found a Mine of siluer.

---

* Blank in original.

A Mine of siluer found in Orkney.

Orkney is the principall of the Isles of the Orcades, and standeth in the latitude of fiftie nine degrees and a halfe. The countrey is much subiect to colde, answerable for such a climate, and yet yeeldeth some fruites, and sufficient maintenance for the people contented so poorely to liue.

There is plentie ynough of Poultrey, store of egges, fish, and foule.

For their bread they haue Oaten Cakes, and their drinke is Ewes milke, and in some partes Ale.

Their houses are but poore without and sluttish ynough within, and the people in nature thereunto agreeable.

For their fire they burne heath and turffe, the Countrey in most parts being voide of wood.

They haue great want of Leather, and desire our old Shoes, apparell, and old ropes (before money) for their victuals, and yet are they not ignorant of the value of our coine. The chiefe towne is called Kyrway.*

Kyrway the chiefe towne of Orkney.

In this Island hath bene sometime an Abbey or a religious house called Saint Magnus, being on the West side of the Ile, whereof this sound beareth name, through which we passed. Their Gouernour or chiefe Lord is called the Lord Robert Steward, who at our being there, as we vnderstood, was in durance at Edenburgh, by the Regents commandement of Scotland.

S. Magnus sound why so called.

After we had prouided vs here of matter sufficient for our voyage the eight of Iune wee set sayle againe, and passing through Saint Magnus sound hauing a merrie winde by night, came cleare and lost sight of all the land, and keeping our course West Northwest by the space of two dayes, the winde shifted vpon vs so that we lay in trauerse on the Seas, with contrary windes, making good (as neere as we could) our course to the westward, and sometime to the Northward, as the winde shifted. And hereabout we met with 3 saile of English fishermen from Iseland, bound homeward, by whom we wrote our letters vnto our friends in England. We trauersed these Seas by the space of 26 dayes without sight of any land, and met with much drift wood, and whole bodies of trees. We

Great bodies of trees driuing in the seas.

---

* Kirkwall.

sawe many monsterous fishes and strange foules, which seemed to liue onely by the Sea, being there so farre distant from any land. At length God fauoured vs with more prosperous windes, and after wee had sayled foure dayes with good winde in the Poop, the fourth of Iuly the Michael being foremost a head shot off a peece of Ordinance, and stroke all her sayles, supposing that they had descryed land which by reason of the thicke mistes they could not make perfit: howbeit, as well our account as also the great alteration of the water, which became more blacke and smooth, did plainely declare we were not farre off the coast. Our Generall sent his Master aboord the Michaell (who had beene with him the yeere before) to beare in with the place to make proofe thereof, who descryed not the land perfect, but sawe sundry huge Ilands of yce, which we deemed to be not past twelue leagues from the shore, for about tenne of the clocke at night being the fourth of Iuly, the weather being more cleare, we made the land perfect and knew it to be Frislande. And the heigth being taken here, we found ourselues to be in the latitude of 60 degrees and a halfe, and were fallen with the Southermost part of this land. Betweene Orkney and Frisland are reckoned leagues.*

Monstrous fish and strange foule liuing onely by the Sea.

Water being blacke and smooth signifieth land to be neere.

Ilands of yce.

The first sight of Frisland the 4. of Iuly.

This Frislande sheweth a ragged and high lande, hauing the mountaines almost couered ouer with snow alongst the coast full of drift yce, and seemeth almost inaccessable, and is thought to be an Iland in bignesse not inferiour to England, and is called of some Authors, West Frislande, I thinke because it lyeth more West then any part of Europe. It extendeth in latitude to the Northward very farre as seemed to vs, and appeareth by a description set out by two brethren Venetians, Nicholaus and Antonius Zeni, who being driuen off from Ireland with a violent tempest made shipwracke here, and were the first knowen Christians that discouered this land about two hundred yeares sithence, and they haue in their Sea-cardes set out euery part thereof and described the condition of the inhabitants, declaring them to be as ciuill and religous people as we. And for so much of

Frisland described.

---

* Blank in original.

this land as we haue sayled alongst, comparing their Carde with the coast, we finde it very agreeable. This coast seemeth to haue good fishing, for we lying becalmed let falle a hooke without any bayte and presently caught a great fish called a Hollibut, who serued the whole companie for a dayes meate, and is dangerous meate for surfetting. And sounding about fiue leagues off from the shore, our leade brought vp in the tallow a kinde of Corrall almost white, and small stones as bright as Christall: and it is not to be doubted but that this land may be found very rich and benhficial if it were thoroughly discouered, although we sawe no creature there but little birdes. It is a maruellous thing to behold of what great bignesse and depth some Ilands of yce be here, some seuentie, some eightie fadome vnder water, besides that which is aboue, seeming Ilands more then halfe a mile in circuit. All these yce are in tast fresh, and seeme to be bredde in the sounds thereabouts, or in some lande neere the pole, and with the winde and tides are driuen alongst the coastes. We found none of these Ilands of yce salt in taste, whereby it appeareth that they were not congealed of the Ocean Sea water which is alwayes salt, but of some standing or little moouing lakes or great fresh waters neere the shore, caused eyther by melted snowe from tops of mountaines, or by continuall accesse of fresh riuers from the land, and intermingling with the Sea water, bearing yet the dominion (by the force of extreame frost) may cause some part of salt water to freese so with it, and so seeme a little brackish, but otherwise the maine Sea freeseth not, and therefore there is no Mare Glaciale or frosen Sea, as the opinion hitherto hath bene. Our Generall prooued landing here twice, but by the suddaine fall of mistes (whereunto this coast is much subiect) he was like to loose sight of his ships, and being greatly endangered with the driuing yce alongst the coast, was forced aboord and faine to surcease his pretence till a better opportunitie might serue: and hauing spent foure dayes and nights sayling alongst this land, finding the coast subiect to such bitter colde and continuall mistes he determined to spend no more time therein, but to beare out his course towards the streights called Frobishers streights after the Generals name, who being the first that euer passed beyond 58 degrees to the Northwardes, for any thing that hath beene yet

An easie kind of Fishing

White Corrall got by sounding.

Monstrous Isles of yce, in taste fresh, wherehence they are supposed to come.

The opinion of the frozen seas is destroyed by experience.

knowen of certaintie of New found land, otherwise called the continent or firme land of America, discouered the saide straights this last yere 1576.

Betweene Frisland and the Straights we had one great storme, wherein the Michaell was somewhat in danger, hauing her Stirrage broken, and her toppe Mastes blowen ouer boord, and being not past 50 leagues short of the Straights by our account, we stroke sayle and lay a hull, fearing the continuance of the storme, the winde being at the Northeast, and hauing lost companie of the Barkes in that flaw of winde, we happily met againe the seuenteenth day of Iuly, hauing the euening before seene diuers Ilands of fleeting yce, which gaue an argument that we were not farre from land. Our Generall in the morning from the maine top (the weather being reasonable cleare) descried land, but to better assured he sent the two Barkes two contrarie courses, whereby they might discry either the South or North foreland, the Ayde lying off and on at Sea, with a small sayle by an Iland of yce, which was the marke for vs to meet together againe. And about noone, the weather being more cleare, we made the North foreland perfite, which otherwise is called Halles Iland, and also the small Iland bearing the name of the sayd Hall whence the Ore was taken vp which was brought into England this last yeere 1576 the said Hall being present at the finding and taking vp thereof, who was then Maister in the Gabriell with Captaine Frobisher. At our arriuall here all the Seas about this coast were so couered ouer with huge quantitie of great yce, that we thought these places might onely deserue the name of Mare Glaciale, and be called the Isie Sea.

The Stirrage of the Michaell broken by tempest.

The first entrance of the Straights.

Halles Iland.

This North forland is thought to be deuided from the continent of the Northerland, by a little sound called Halles sound, which maketh it an Iland, and is thought little lesse then the Ile of Wight, and is the first entrance of the Straights vpon the Norther side, and standeth in the latitude of sixtie two degrees and fiftie minutes, and is reckoned from Frisland* leagues. God hauing blessed vs with so happie a land-fall, we bare into the Straights which runne in next hand, and somewhat further vp to the Northwarde, and came as neere the shore as wee might for the yce, and vpon the eighteenth day

The description of the straights.

---

* Blank and original.

No more gold Ore found in the first Iland.

Egs and foules of Meta incognita.

Snares set to catch birds withall.

of Iuly our Generall taking the Goldfiners with him, attempted to goe on shore with a small rowing Pinnesse, vpon the small Islande where the Ore was taken vp, to prooue whether there were any store thereof to be found, but he could not get in all that Iland a peece so bigge as a Walnut, where the first was found. But our men which sought the other Ilands thereabouts found them all to haue good store of the Ore, whereupon our Generall with these good tidings returned aboord about tenne of the clocke at night, and was ioyfully welcommed of the company with a volie of shot. He brought egges, foules, and a young Seale aboord, which the companie had killed ashore, and hauing found vpon those Ilands ginnes set to catch fowle, and stickes newe cut, with other things, he well perceiued that not long before some of the countrey people had resorted thither.

The building of a Columne, called Mount Warwicke.

Hauing therefore found those tokens of the peoples accesse in those parts, and being in his first voyage well acquainted with their subtill and cruell disposition, hee prouided well for his better safetie, and on Friday the nineteenth of Iuly in the morning early, with his best companie of Gentlemen and souldiers to the number of fortie persons, went on shore, aswell to discouer the Inland and habitation of the people, as also to finde out some fit harborowe for our shippes. And passing towardes the shoare with no small difficultie by reason of the abundance of yce which lay alongst the coast so thicke togither that hardly any passage through them might be discouered, we arriued at length vpon the maine of Halles greater Iland, and found there also aswell as in the other small Ilands good store of the Ore. And leauing his boates here with sufficient guarde we passed vp into the countrey about two English miles, and recouered the toppe of a high hill, on the top whereof our men made a Columne or Crosse of stones heaped vp of a good heigth togither in good sort, and solemnly sounded a Trumpet, and saide certaine prayers kneeling about the Ensigne, and honoured the place by the name of Mount Warwicke, in remembrance of the Right Honorable the Lord Ambrose Dudley Earle of Warwicke, whose noble mind and good countenance in this, as in all other good actions, gaue great encouragement and good furtherance. This done, we retyred our companies not seeing any thing here worth further discouerie, the countrey seeming barren and full of ragged mountaines and in most parts couered with snow.

The first sight of countrie people, wafting with a flagge.

The meeting a part of two Englishmen with two of that countrey.

The order of their traffique.

And thus marching towards our botes, we espied certaine countrey people on the top of Mount Warwick with a flag wafting vs backe againe and making great noise with cries like the mowing of Buls seeming greatly desirous of conference with vs: whereupon the Generall being therewith better acquainted, answered them againe with the like cries, whereat and with the noise of our trumpets they seemed greatly to reioice, skipping, laughing, and dancing for ioy. And hereupon we made signes vnto them, holding vp two fingers, commanding two of our men to go apart from our companies, whereby they might do the like. So that forthwith two of our men and two of theirs met together a good space from company, neither partie hauing their weapons about them. Our men gaue them pins and points and such trifles as they had. And they likewise bestowed on our men two bow cases and such things as they had. They earnestly desired our men to goe vp into their countrey, and our men offered them like kindnesse aboord our ships, but neither part (as it seemed) admitted or trusted the others courtesie. Their maner of traffique is thus, they doe vse to lay downe of their marchandise vpon the ground, so much as they meane to part withal, and so looking that the other partie with whom they make trade should do the like, they themselues doe depart, and then if they doe like of their Mart they come againe, and take in exchange the others marchandise, otherwise if they like not, they take their owne and depart. The day being thus well neere spent, in haste wee retired our companies into our boates againe, minding foorthwith to search alongst the coast for some harborow fit for our shippes, for the present necessitie thereof was much, considering that all this while they lay off and on betweene the two landes, being continually subiect aswell to great danger of fleeting yce, which enuironed them, as to the sodaine flawes which the coast seemeth much subiect vnto. But when the people perceiued our departure, with great tokens of affection they earnestly called vs backe againe, following vs almost to our boates: whereupon our Generall taking his Master with him, who was best acquainted with their maners, went apart vnto two of

Another meeting of two of our men with two of theirs.

them, meaning, if they could lay sure hold vpon them, forcibly to bring them aboord, with intent to bestow certaine toyes and apparell vpon the one, and so to dismisse him with all arguments of curtesie, and retaine the other for an Interpreter. The Generall and his Maister being met with their two companions togither, after they had exchanged certaine things the one with the other, one of the Saluages for lacke of better marchandise, cut off the tayle of his coat (which is a chiefe ornament among them) and gaue it vnto our Generall for a present. But he presently vpon a watchword giuen with his Maister sodainely laid hold vpon the two Saluages. But the ground vnderfoot being slipperie with the snow on the side of the hill, their handfast fayled and their prey escaping ranne away and lightly recouered their bow and arrowes, which they had hid not farre from them behind the rockes. And being onely two Saluages in sight, they so fiercely, desperately and with such fury assaulted and pursued our Generall and his Master, being altogether vnarmed, and not mistrusting their subtiltie that they chased them to their boates, and hurt the Generall in the buttocke with an arrow, who the rather speedily fled backe, becasuse they suspected a greater number behind the rockes. Our souldiers (which were commanded before to keepe their boates) perceiuing the danger, and hearing our men calling for shot came speedily to rescue, thinking there had bene a greater number. But when the Saluages heard the shot of one of our caliuers (and yet hauing first bestowed their arrowes) they ranne away, our men speedily following them. But a seruant of my Lorde of Warwick, called Nicholas Conger a good footman, and vncumbred with any furniture hauing only a dagger at his backe ouertooke one of them, and being a Cornishman and a good wrastler, shewed his companion such a Cornish tricke, that he made his sides ake against the ground for a moneth after. And so being stayed, he was taken aliue and brought away, but the other escaped. Thus with their strange and new prey our men repaired to their boates, and passed from the maine to a small Iland of a mile compasse, where they resolued to tarrie all night; for euen now a sodaine storme was growen so great at sea, that by no meanes they could recouer their ships. And here euery man refreshed himselfe with a small portion of victuals which was laide into the boates for their dinners, hauing neither eate nor

The Englishmen chased to their boates.

One of that Countreymen taken.

drunke all the day before. But because they knewe not how long the storme might last, nor how farre off the shippes might be put to sea, nor whether they should euer recouer them againe or not, they made great spare of their victuals, as it greatly behoued them: For they knew full well that the best cheare the countrey could yeeld them, was rockes and stones, a hard food to liue withall, and the people more readie to eate them then to giue them wherewithall to eate. And thus keeping verie good watch and warde, they lay there all night vpon hard cliffes of snow and yce both wet, cold, and comfortlesse.

These things thus hapning with the company on land, the danger of the ships at Sea was no lesse perilous. For within one houre after the Generals departing in the morning by negligence of the Cooke in ouer-heating, and the workman in making the chimney, the Ayde was set on fire, and had bene the confusion of the whole if by chance a boy espying it, t had not bene speedily with great labour and Gods helpe well extinguished.

The Ayde set on fire.

This day also were diuerse stormes and flawes, and by nine of the clocke at night the storme was growen so great, and continued such vntill the morning, that it put our ships at sea in no small perill: for hauing mountaines of fleeting yce on euery side, we went roomer for one, and loofed for another, some scraped vs, and some happily escaped vs, that the least of a M. were as dangerous to strike as any rocke, and able to haue split asunder the strongest ship of the world. We had a scope of cleare without yce, (as God would) wherein we turned, being otherwise compassed on euery side about: but so much was the winde and so litle was our sea roome, that being able to beare onely our forecourse we cast so oft about, that we made fourteene bordes in eight glasses running, being but foure houres: but God being our best Steresman, and by the industry of Charles Iackman and Andrew Dyer then masters mates, both very expert Mariners and Richard Cox yͤ maister Gunner, with other very carefull sailers, then within bord, and also by the helpe of the cleare nights which are without darknesse, we did happily auoide those present dangers, whereat since wee haue more maruelled then in the present danger feared, for that euery man within borde, both better and worse had ynough to doe with his hands to hale ropes, and with his eyes to looke out for danger.

The great danger of those rockes of yce.

Night without darknes in that countrey.

But the next morning being the 20 of Iuly, as God would, the storme ceased, and the Generall espying the ships with his new Captiue and whole company, came happily abord, and reported what had passed a shoare, whereupon altogither vpon our knees we gaue God humble and hartie thankes, for that it had pleased him, from so speedy peril to send vs such speedy deliuerance, and so from this Northerne shore we stroke ouer towards the Southerland.

The one and twentieth of Iuly, we discouered a bay which ranne into the land, that seemed a likely harborow for our ships, wherefore our Generall rowed thither with his boats, to make proofe thereof, and with his goldfiners to search for Ore, hauing neuer assayed any thing on the South shore as yet, and the first small Island which we landed vpon. Here all the sands and clifts did so glister and had so bright a marquesite, that it seemed all to be gold, but vpon tryall made it prooued no better then black-lead, and verified the prouerb. All is not gold that glistereth.

Our first comming on the Southerland of the sayd straights.

A Mine of Blacke lead.

Vpon the two and twentieth of Iuly we bare into the sayde sound, and came to ancker a reasonable bredth off the shore, where thinking our selues in good securitie, we were greatly endangered with a peece of drift yce, which the Ebbe brought forth of the sounds and came thwart vs ere we were aware. But the gentlemen and souldiers within bord taking great paines at this pinch at the Capstone, ouercame the most danger thereof, and yet for all that might be done, it stroke on our sterne such a blow, that we feared least it had striken away our rudder, and being forced to cut our Cable in the hawse, we were faine to set our fore saile to runne further vp within, and if our stirrage had not bene stronger then in the present time we feared, we had runne the ship vpon the rockes, hauing a very narrow Channell to turne in, but as God would, all came well to passe. And this was named Iackmans sound, after the name of the Masters mate, who had first liking vnto the place.

Iackmans sound.

Vpon a small Iland, within this sound called Smithes Iland (because he first set vp his forge there) was found a Mine of siluer, but was not wonne out of the rockes without great labour. Here our goldfiners made say of such Ore as they found vpon the Northerland, and found foure sortes thereof to holde golde in good quantitie. Vpon another small

Smiths Iland.

Iland here was also found a great dead fish, which as it should seeme, had bene embayed with yce, and was in proportion round like to a Porpose, being about twelue foote long, and in bignesse answerable, hauing a horne of two yards long growing out of the snoute or nostrels. This horne is wreathed and straite, like in fashion to a Taper made of waxe, and may truely be thought to be the sea Vnicorne.* This horne is to be seene and reserued as a Iewell by the Queenes Maiesties commandement, in her Wardrope of Robes.

The finding of an Vnicornes horne.

Tuesday the three and twentieth of Iuly, our Generall with his best company of gentlemen, souldiers and saylers, to the number of seuentie persons in all, marched with ensigne displayde, vpon the continent of the Southerland (the supposed continent of America) where, commanding a Trumpet to sound a call for euery man to repaire to the ensigne, he declared to the whole company how much the cause imported for the seruice of her Maiestie, our countrey, our credits, and the safetie of our owne liues, and therefore required euery man to be conformable to order, and to be directed by those he should assigne. And he appointed for leaders, Captaine Fenton, Captaine Yorke, and his Lieutenant George Beste: which done, we cast our selues into a ring, and altogither vpon our knees, gaue God humble thanks for that it had pleased him of his great goodnesse to preserue vs from such imminent dangers, beseeching likewise the assistance of his holy spirite, so to deliuer vs in safetie into our Countrey, whereby the light and truth of these secrets being knowen, it might redound to the more honour of his holy name, and consequently to the aduancement of our common wealth. And so, in as good sort as the place suffered, we marched towards the tops of the mountaines, which were no lesse painfull in climbing then dangerous in descending, by reason of their steepenesse and yce. And hauing passed about fiue miles, by such vnwieldie wayes, we returned vnto our ships without sight of any people, or likelihood of habitation. Here diuerse of the Gentlemen desired our Generall to suffer them to the number of twentie or thirtie persones to march vp thirtie or fortie leagues in the countrey, to the end they might discouer the

---

* Probably a Narwal.

Inland, and doe some acceptable seruice for their countrey. But he not contented with the matter he sought for, and well considering the short time he had in hand, and the greedie desire our countrey hath to a present sauor and returne of gaine, bent his whole indeuour only to find a Mine to fraight his ships, and to leaue the rest (by Gods helpe) hereafter to be well accomplished. And therefore the twentie sixe of Iuly he departed ouer to the Northland, with the two barkes, leauing the Ayde ryding in Iackmans sound, and ment (after hee had found conuenient harborow, and fraight there for his ships) to discouer further for the passage. The Barkes came the same night to ancker in a sound vpon the Northerland, where the tydes did runne so swift, and the place was so subiect to indrafts of yce; that by reason thereof they were greatly endangered, and hauing found a very rich Myne, as they supposed, and got almost twentie tunne of Ore together, vpon the 28 of Iuly the yce came driuing into the sound where the Barkes rode, in such sort, that they were therewith greatly distressed. And the Gabriell riding asterne the Michael, had her Cable gauld asunder in the hawse with a peece of driuing yce, and lost another ancker, and hauing but one cable and ancker left, for she had lost two before, and the yce still driuing vpon her, she was (by Gods helpe) well fenced from the danger of the rest, by one great Iland of yce, which came a ground hard a head of her, which if it had not so chanced, I thinke surely shee had bene cast vpon the rockes with the yce. The Michael mored ancker vpon this great yce, and roade vnder the lee thereof: but about midnight, by the weight of it selfe, and the setting of the Tydes, the yce brake within halfe the Barkes length, and made vnto the companie within boord a sodaine and fearefull noyse. The next flood toward the morning we weyed ancker, and went further vp the straights, and leauing our Ore behind vs which we had digged, for hast left the place by the name of Beares sound after the masters name of the Michaell, and named the Iland Lecesters Iland. In one of the small Ilands here we founde a Tombe, wherein the bones of a dead man lay together, and our Sauage Captiue being with vs, and being demanded by signes whether his countreymen had not slaine this man and eat his flesh so from the bones, he made signes to the contrary, and that he was slaine with Wolues and wild beasts. Here also was found hid vnder stones good store of fish, and

Beares sound.

Lecesters Iland.

A tombe with a dead mans bones in it.

sundry other things of the inhabitants; as sleddes, bridles, kettels of fish-skinnes, kniues of bone, and such other like. And our Sauage declared vnto vs the vse of all those things. And taking in his hand one of those countrey bridles, he caught one of our dogges and hampred him handsomely therein, as we doe our horses, and with a whip in his hand, he taught the dogge to drawe in a sled as we doe horses in a coach, setting himselfe thereupon like a guide: so that we might see they vse dogges for that purpose that we do our horses. And we found since by experience, that the lesser sort of dogges they feede fatte, and keepe them as domesticall cattell in their tents for their eating, and the greater sort serue for the vse of drawing their sleds.

Bridles, kniues, and other instruments found hid among the rockes.

They vse great dogs to draw sleds, and little dogs for their meat.

The twentie ninth of Iuly, about fiue leagues from Beares sound, we discouered a Bay which being fenced on ech side with smal Ilands lying off the maine, which breake the force of the tides, and make the place free from any indrafts of yce, did prooue a very fit harborow for our ships, where we came to ancker vnder a small Ilande, which now together with the sound is called by the name of that right Honourable and vertuous Ladie, Anne Countesse of Warwicke. And this is the furthest place that this yeere we haue entred vp within the streits, and is reckoned from the Cape of the Queenes foreland, which is the entrance of the streites not aboue 30 leagues. Vpon this Iland was found good store of Ore, which in the washing helde golde to our thinking plainly to be seene: whereupon it was thought best rather to load here, where there was store and indifferent good, then to seeke further for better, and spend time with ieoperdie. And therefore our Generall setting the Myners to worke, and shewing first a good president of a painefull labourer and a goode Captaine in himselfe, gaue good examples for other to follow him: whereupon euery man both better and worse, with their best endeuours willingly layde to their helping hands. And the next day, being the thirtieth of Iuly, the Michaell was sent ouer to Iackmans sound, for the Ayde and the whole companie to come thither. Vpon the maine land ouer against the Countesses Iland we discouered and behelde to our greate maruell the poore caues and houses of those countrey people, which

Thirty leagues discouered within the straites.

A good president of a good Captain shewed by Captain Frobisher.

The maner of their houses in this countrey.

serue them (as it should seeme) for their winter dwellings, and are made two fadome vnder grounde, in compasse round, like to an Ouen, being ioyned fast one by another, hauing holes like to a Foxe or Conny berry, to keepe and come togither. They vndertrenched these places with gutters so, that the water falling from the hilles aboue them, may slide away without their annoyance: and are seated commonly in the foote of a hill, to shield them better from the cold windes, hauing their doore and entrance euer open towards the South. From the ground vpward they builde with whales bones, for lacke of timber, which bending one ouer another, are handsomely compacted in the top together, and are couered ouer with Seales skinnes, which in stead of tiles, fence them from the raine. In which house they haue only one roome, hauing the one halfe of the floure raised with broad stones a foot higher than ye other, whereon strawing Mosse, they make their nests to sleep in. They defile these dennes most filthily with their beastly feeding, and dwell so long in a place (as we thinke) vntill their sluttishnes lothing them, they are forced to seeke a sweeter ayre, and a new seate, and are (no doubt) a dispersed and wandring nation, as the Tartarians, and liue in hords and troupes, without any certaine abode, as may appeare by sundry circumstances of our experience.

Whales bones vsed in stead of timber.

The sluttishnesse of these people.

Here our captiue being ashore with vs, to declare the vse of such things as we saw, stayd himselfe alone behind the company, and did set vp fiue small stickes round in a circle one by another, with one smal bone placed iust in the middest of all: which thing when one of our men perceiued, he called vs backe to behold the matter, thinking that hee had meant some charme or witchcraft therein. But the best coniecture we could make thereof was, that hee would thereby his countreymen should vnderstand, that for our fiue men which they betrayed the last yeere (whom he signified by the fiue stickes) he was taken and kept prisoner, which he signified by the bone in the midst. For afterwards when we shewed him the picture of his countreman, which the last yeere was brought into England (whose counterfeit we had drawen with boate and other furniture, both as he was in his own, and also in English apparel) he was vpon the sudden much amazed thereat, and beholding aduisedly the same with silence a good while, as though he would

A signe set vp by the sauage captiue, and the meaning therof.

The sauage captiue amazed at his countreimans picture.

streine courtesie whether should begin the speech (for he thought him no doubt a liuely creature) at length began to question with him, as with his companion, and finding him dumb and mute, seemed to suspect him, as one disdeinfull, and would with a little helpe haue growen into choller at the matter, vntill at last by feeling and handling, hee found him but a deceiuing picture. And then with great noise and cryes, ceased not wondring, thinking that we could make men liue or die at our pleasure.

And thereupon calling the matter to his remembrance, he gaue vs plainely to vnderstand by signes, that he had knowledge of the taking of our fiue men the last yeere, and confessing the maner of ech thing, numbred the fiue men vpon his fiue fingers, and pointed vnto a boat in our ship, which was like vnto that wherein our men were betrayed: And when we made him signes, that they were slaine and eaten, he earnestly denied, and made signes to the contrary.

The last of Iuly the Michael returned with the Aide to vs from the Southerland, and came to anker by vs in the Countesse of Warwicks sound, and reported that since we departed from Iackmans sound there happened nothing among them there greatly worth the remembrance, vntill the thirtieth of Iuly, when certaine of our company being a shoare vpon a small Island within the sayd Iackmans sound, neere the place where the Aide rode, did espie a long boat with diuers of the countrey people therein, to the number of eighteene or twenty persons, whom so soone as our men perceiued, they returned speedily aboord, to giue notice thereof vnto our company. They might perceiue these people climbing vp to the top of a hill, where with a flagge, they wafted vnto our ship, and made great out cries and noyses, like so many Buls. Hereupon our men did presently man foorth a small skiffe, hauing not aboue sixe or seuen persons therein, which rowed neere the place where those people were, to prooue if they could haue any conference with them. But after this small boate was sent a greater, being wel appointed for their rescue, if need required.

Another shew of twenty persons of that countrey in one boate.

As soone as they espied our company comming neere them, they tooke their boates and hasted away, either for feare, or else for pollicie, to draw our men from rescue further within their danger: wherefore our men construing that their comming thither was but to seeke aduantage, followed speedily after them, but they rowed so swiftly away, that our men could come nothing neere them. Howbeit they failed not of their best indeuour in rowing, and hauing chased them aboue two miles into the sea, returned into their ships againe.

Yorkes sound.

The apparel found againe of our English men which the yere before were taken captiue.

A good deuise of Captaine Yorke.

The morning following being the first of August, Captaine Yorke with the Michael came into Iackmans sound, and declared vnto the company there, that the last night past he came to anker in a certaine baye (which sithens was named Yorkes sound) about foure leagues distant from Iackmans sound, being put to leeward of that place for lacke of winde, where he discouered certaine tents of the countrey people, where going with his company ashore, he entred into them, but found the people departed, as it should seeme, for feare of their comming. But amongst sundry strange things which in these tents they found, there was rawe and new killed flesh of vnknowen sorts, with dead carcases and bones of dogs, and I know not what. They also beheld (to their greatest marueile) a dublet of Canuas made after the English fashion, a shirt, a girdle, three shoes for contrary feete, and of vnequall bignesse, which they well coniectured to be the apparell of our fiue poore countreymen, which were intercepted the last yeere by these Countrey people, about fiftie leagues from this place, further within the Straights. Whereupon our men being in good hope, that some of them might be here, and yet liuing: the Captaine deuising for the best left his mind behind him in writing, with pen, yncke, and paper also, whereby our poore captiue countrymen, if it might come to their hands, might know their friends minds, and of their arriuall, and likewise returne their answere. And so without taking any thing away in their tents, leauing there also looking glasses, points, and other of our toyes (the better to allure them by such friendly meanes) departed aboord his Barke, with intent to make haste to the Aide, to giue notice vnto the company of all such things as he had there discouered: and so meant to returne to these tents againe, hoping that he might by force or policie intrappe or intice the people to some friendly conference. Which things when he had deliuered to the whole company there, they determined forthwith to go in hand with the matter. Hereupon Captaine Yorke with the master of the Aide and his mate (who the night before had bene at the tents, and came ouer from the other side in the Michael with him) being accompanied with the Gentlemen and souldiors to the number of thirty or forty persons in two small rowing Pinnasses made towards the place, where the night before they discouered the tents of those people, and setting Charles Iackman, being the Masters mate, ashore with a conuenient number, for that he could best guide them to the place, they marched ouer land, meaning to compasse them on the one side, whilest the Captaine with his boates might entrap them on the other side. But landing at last at the place where the night before they left them, they found them with their tents remoued. Notwithstanding, our men which marched vp into the countrey, passing ouer two or three mountaines, by chance espied certaine tents in a valley vnderneath them neere vnto a creeke by the Sea side, which because it was not the place where the guide had bene the night before, they iudged them to be another company, and be setting them about, determined to take them if they could. But they hauing quickly descried our companie, launched one great and another smal boat, being about 16 or 18 persons, and very narrowly escaping, put themselues to sea. Whereupon our souldiers discharged their Caliuers, and followed them, thinking the noise therof being heard to our boats at sea, our men there would make what speede they might to that place. And thereupon indeede our men which were in the boates (crossing vpon them in the mouth of the sound whereby their passage was let from getting sea roome, wherein it had bene impossible for vs to ouertake them by rowing) forced them to put themselues ashore vpon a point of land within the sayd sound (which vpon the occasion of the slaughter there, was since named The bloody point) whereunto our men so speedily followed, that they had little leisure left them to make any escape. But so soone as they landed each of them brake his Oare, thinking by that meanes to preuent vs, in carrying away their boates for want of Oares. And desperately returning vpon our men, resisted them manfully in their landing, so long as their arrowes and dartes lasted, and after gathering vp those arrowes which our men shot at them, yea, and plucking our arrowes out of their bodies

The Sauages haue boats of sundry bignes.

The English men pursue those people of that countrey.

The swift rowing of those people.

The bloody point.

Yorkes sound.

A hot skirmish betweene the English and them of that countrey.

incountred fresh againe, and maintained their cause vntill both weapons and life fayled them. And when they found they were mortally wounded, being ignorant what mercy meaneth, with deadly fury they cast themselues headlong from off the rockes into the sea, least perhaps their enemies should receiue glory or prey of their dead carcaises, for they supposed vs belike to be Canibals or eaters of mans flesh. In this conflict one of our men was dangerously hurt in the belly with one of their arrowes, and of them were slaine fiue or sixe, the rest by flight escaping among the rockes, sauing two women, whereof the one being old and vgly, our men thought shee had bene a deuill or some witch, and therefore let her goe: the other being yong, and cumbred with a sucking childe at her backe, hiding her selfe behind the rockes, was espied by one of our men, who supposing she had bene a man, shot through the haire of her head, and pierced through the childs arme, whereupon she cried out, and our Surgeon meaning to heale her childes arme, applyed salues thereunto. But she not acquainted with such kind of surgery, plucked those salues away, and by continuall licking with her owne tongue, not much vnlike our dogs, healed vp the childes arme. And because the day was welneere spent our men made haste vnto the rest of our company which on the other side of the water remained at the tents, where they found by the apparell, letter, and other English furniture, that they were the same company which Captaine Yorke discouered the night before, hauing remoued themselues from the place where he left them.

The desperate nature of those people.

The taking of the woman and her child.

A prety kind of surgery which nature teacheth.

And now considering their sudden flying from our men, and their desperate maner of fighting, we began to suspect that we had heard the last newes of our men which the last yere were betrayed of these people. And considering also their rauenous and bloody disposition in eating any kind of raw flesh or carrion howsoeuer stinking, it is to bee thought that they had slaine and deuoured our men: For the dublet which was found in their tents had many holes therein being made with their arrowes and darts.

But now the night being at hand, our men with their captiues and such poore stuffe as they found in their tents, returned towards their ships, when being at sea, there arose a sudden flaw of winde, which was not a little dangerous for their small boates: but as God would they came all safely aboord. And with these good newes they returned (as before mentioned) into the Countesse of Warwicks sound vnto vs. And betweene Iackmans sound, from whence they came, and the Countesse of Warwicks sound betweene land and land, being thought the narrowest place of the Straights were iudged nine leagues ouer at the least: and Iackmans sound being vpon the Southerland, lyeth directly almost ouer against the Countesses sound, as is reckoned scarce thirty leagues within the Straights from the Queenes Cape, which is the entrance of the Streits of the Southerland. This Cape being named Queene Elizabeths Cape, standeth in the latitude of 62 degrees and a halfe to the Northwards of New found land, and vpon the same continent, for any thing that is yet knowen to the contrary.

The narrowest place of the Straites is 9. leagues ouer.

The Queenes Cape.

Hauing now got a woman captiue for the comfort of our man, we brought them both together, and euery man with silence desired to behold the maner of their meeting and entertainment, the which was more worth the beholding than can be well expressed by writing. At their first encountring they beheld each the other very wistly a good space, without speech or word vttered, with great change of colour and countenance, as though it seemed the griefe and disdeine of their captiuity had taken away the vse of their tongues and vtterance: the woman at the first very suddenly, as though she disdeined or regarded not the man, turned away, and began to sing as though she minded another matter: but being againe brought together, the man brake vp the silence first, and with sterne and stayed countenance, began to tell a long solemne tale to the woman, whereunto she gaue good hearing, and interrupted him nothing, till he had finished, and afterwards, being growen into more familiar acquaintance by speech, they were turned together, so that (I thinke) the one would hardly haue liued without the comfort of the other. And for so much as we could perceiue, albeit they liued continually together, yet they did neuer vse as man and wife, though the woman spared not to doe all necessary things that appertained to a good housewife indifferently for them both, as in making cleane their Cabin, and euery other thing that appertained to his ease: for when he was seasicke, she would make him cleane, she

The maner of the meeting of the two captiues, and their entertainment.

The shamefastness and chastity of those Sauage captiues.

would kill and flea the dogs for their eating, and dresse his meate. Only I think it worth the noting, the continencie of them both: for the man would neuer shift himselfe, except he had first caused the woman to depart out of his cabin, and they both were most shamefast, least any of their priue parts should be discouered, either of themselues, or any other body.

Another appearance of the countrey people.

On Munday the sixth of August, the Lieutenant with all the Souldiers, for the better garde of the Myners and other things a shore, pitched their tents in the Countesses Island, and fortifyed the place for their better defence as well as they could, and were to the number of forty persons, when being all at labour, they might perceiue vpon the top of a hill ouer against them a number of the countrey people wafting with a flag, and making great outcries vnto them, and were of the same companie, which had encountred lately our men vpon the other shore, being come to complaine their late losses, and to entreate (as it seemed) for restriction of the woman and child, which our men in the late conflict had taken and brought away; whereupon the Generall taking the sauage captiue with him, and setting the woman where they might best perceiue her in the highest place in the Island, went ouer to talke with them. This captiue at his first encounter of his friends fell so out into teares that he could not speake a word in a great space, but after a while, ouercomming his kindnesse, he talked at full with his companions, and bestowed friendly vpon them such toyes and trifles as we had giuen him, whereby we noted, that they are very kind one to another, and greatly sorrowfull for the losse of their friends. Our Generall by signes required his fiue men which they tooke captiue the last yeere, and promised them, not only to release those which he had taken, but also to reward them with great gifts and friendship. Our Sauage made signes in answere from them that our men should be deliuered vs, and were yet liuing, and made signes likewise vnto vs that we should write our letters vnto them, for they knew very well the vse we haue of writing, and receiued knowledge thereof, either of our poore captiue countreymen which they betrayed, or else by this our new captiue who hath seene vs dayly write and repeate againe such words of his language as we desired to learne: but they for this night, because it was late, departed without any letter, although they called earnestly

Those people know the vse of writing.

in hast for the same. And the next morning early being the seuenth of August, they called againe for the letter, which being deliuered vnto them, they speedily departed, making signes with three fingers, and pointing to the Sunne, that they meant to returne within 3 dayes, vntill which time we heard no more of them, and about the time appointed they returned, in such sort as you shal afterwards heare.

A letter sent vnto the fiue English captiues.

This night because the people were very neere vnto vs, the Lieutenant caused the Trumpet to sound a call, and euery man in the Island repayring to the Ensigne, he put them in minde of the place so farre from their countrey wherein they liued, and the danger of a great multitude which they were subiect vnto, if good watch and warde were not kept, for at euery low water the enimie might come almost dryfoot from the mayne vnto vs, wherefore he willed euery man to prepare him in good readinesse vpon all sudden occasions, and so giuing the watch their charge, the company departed to rest.

I thought the Captaines letter well worth the remembring, not for the circnmstance of curious enditing, but for the substance and good meaning therein contained, and therefore haue repeated here the same, as by himselfe it was hastily written.

The forme of M. Martin Frobishers letter to the English captiues.

IN the name of God, in whom we all beleeue, who (I trust) hath preserued your bodies and soules amongst these infidels, I commend me vnto you. I will be glad to seeke by al meanes you can deuise for your deliuerance, either with force, or with any commodities within my ships, which I will not spare for your sakes, or any thing else I can doe for you. I haue aboord, of theirs, a man, a woman, and a child, which I am contented to deliuer for you, but the man which I caried away from hence the last yeere is dead in England. Moreouer you may declare vnto them, that if they deliuer you not, I will not leaue a man aliue in their countrey. And thus, if one of you can come to speake with mee, they shall haue either the man, woman, or childe in pawne for yon. And thus vnto God whom I trust you doe serue, in hast I leaue you, and to him wee will dayly pray for you. This Tuesday morning the seuenth of August. Anno 1577.

Yours to the vttermost of my power,
MARTIN FROBISHER.

Postscript.

I haue sent you by these bearers, penne, ynke and paper, to write backe vnto me againe, if personally you cannot come to certifie me of your estate.

The cause why M. Frobisher entred no further within the Streits this yere.

Now had the Generall altered his determination for going any further into the Streites at this time for any further discouery of the passage, hauing taken a man and a woman of that countrey, which he thought sufficient for the vse of the language: and hauing also met with these people here, which intercepted his men the last yere, (as the apparell and English furniture which was found in their tents, very well declared) he knew it was but a labour lost to seeke further off, when he had found them there at hand. And considering also the short time he had in hand, he thought it best to bend his whole endeuour for the getting of Myne, and to leaue the passage further to be discouered hereafter. For his commission directed him in this voyage, onely for the searching of the Ore, and to deferre the further discouery of the passage vntill another time.

Bests bulwarke.

Their King called Catchoe.

How he is honoured.

On Thursday the ninth of August we began to make a small Fort for our defence in the Countesse Island, and entrenched a corner of a cliffe, which on three parts like a wall of good height was compassed and well fenced with the sea, and we finished the rest with caskes of the earth, to good purpose, and this was called Bests bulwarke, after the Lieutenants name, who first deuised the same. This was done for that wee suspected more lest the desperate men might oppresse vs with multitude, then any feare we had of their force, weapons, or policie of battel; but as wisdome would vs in such place (so farre from home) not to be of our selues altogether carelesse: so the signes which our captiue made vnto vs, of the comming downe of his Gouernour or Prince, which he called Catchoe, gaue vs occasion to foresee what might ensue thereof, for he shewed by signes that this Catchoe was a man of higher stature farre then any of our nation is, and he is accustomed to be caried vpon mens shoulders.

About midnight the Lieutenant caused a false Alarme to be giuen in the Island, to proue as well the readines of the company there ashore, as also what helpe might be hoped for vpon the sudden from the ships if need so required, and euery part was found in good readines vpon such a sudden.

Saturday the eleuenth of August the people shewed themselues againe, and called vnto vs from the side of a hil ouer against vs. The General (with good hope to heare of his men, and to haue answere of his letter) went ouer vnto them, where they presented themselues not aboue three in sight, but were hidden indeede in greater numbers behinde the rockes, and making signes of delay with vs to entrappe some of vs to redeeme their owne, did onely seeke aduantage to traine our boat aboue a point of land from sight of our companie: whereupon our men iustly suspecting them, kept aloofe without their danger, and yet set one of our company ashore which tooke vp a great bladder which one of them offered vs, and leauing a looking glasse in the place, came into the boate againe. In the meane while our men which stood in the Countesses Island to beholde, who might better discerne them, then those of the boate, by reason they were on higher ground, made a great outcrie vnto our men in the boate, for that they saw diuers of the Sauages creeping behind the rockes towards our men, wherupon the Generall presently returned without tidings of his men.

A bladder changed for a looking glasse.

No newes of the English captiues.

Concerning this bladder which we receiued, our Captiue made signes that it was giuen him to keepe water and drinke in, but we suspected rather it was giuen him to swimme and shift away withall, for he and the woman sought diuers times to escape, hauing loosed our boates from asterne our ships, and we neuer a boate left to pursue them withall, and had preuailed very farre, had they not bene very timely espied and preuented therein.

To what end the bladder was deliuered.

After our Generals comming away from them they mustred themselues in our sight, vpon the top of a hill, to the number of twenty in a rancke, all holding hands ouer their heads, and dancing with great noise and songs together: we supposed they made this dance and shew for vs to vnderstand, that we might take view of their whole companies and force, meaning belike that we should doe the same. And thus they continued vpon the hill tops vntill night, when hearing a piece of our great Ordinance, which thundred in the hollownesse of the high hilles, it made vnto them so fearefull a noise, that they had no great will to tarie long after. And this

Those people dancing vpon the hil toppes.

was done more to make them know our force then to doe them any hurt at all.

A skirmish shewed to those people.

On Sunday the 12 of August, Captaine Fenton trained the company, and made the souldiers maintaine a skirmish among themselues, as well for their exercise, as for the countrey people to behold in what readines our men were alwaies to be found, for it was to be thought, that they lay hid in the hilles thereabout, and obserued all the maner of our proceedings.

Their flags made of bladders.

Great offers.

On Wednesday the fourteenth of August, our Generall with two small boates well appointed, for that hee suspected the countrey people to lie lurking thereabout, went vp a certaine Bay within the Countesses sound, to search for Ore, and met againe with the countrey people, who so soone as they saw our men made great outcries, and with a white flag made of bladders sewed together with the guts and sinewes of beasts, wafted vs amaine vnto them, but shewed not aboue three of their company. But when wee came neere them, wee might perceiue a great multitude creeping behinde the rockes, which gaue vs good cause to suspect their traiterous meaning: whereupon we made them signes, that if they would lay their weapons aside, and come foorth, we would deale friendly with them, although their intent was manifested vnto vs: but for all the signes of friendship we could make them they came still creeping towards vs behind the rocks to get more aduantage of vs, as though we had no eyes to see them, thinking belike that our single wits could not discouer so bare deuises and simple drifts of theirs. Their spokesman earnestly perswaded vs with many intising shewes, to come eate and sleepe ashore, with great arguments of courtesie, and clapping his bare hands ouer his head in token of peace and innocencie, willed vs to doe the like. But the better to allure our hungry stomackes, he brought vs a trimme baite of raw flesh, which for fashion sake with a boat-hooke wee caught into our boate: but when the cunning Cater perceiued his first cold morsell could nothing sharpen our stomacks, he cast about for a new traine of warme flesh to procure our appetites, wherefore he caused one of his fellowes in halting maner, to come foorth as a lame man from behind the rockes, and the better to declare his kindnes in caruing, he hoised him vpon his shoulders, and bringing him hard to the water side where we were, left him there limping as an easie prey to be taken of vs. His hope was that we would bite at this baite, and speedily leape ashore within their danger, wherby they might haue apprehended some of vs, to ransome their friends home againe, which before we had taken. The gentlemen and souldiers had great will to encounter them ashore, but the Generall more carefull by processe of time to winne them, then wilfully at the first to spoile them, would in no wise admit that any man should put himselfe in hazard ashore, considering the matter he now intended was for the Ore, and not for the Conquest: notwithstanding to prooue this cripples footemanship, he gaue liberty for one to shoote: whereupon the cripple hauing a parting blow, lightly recouered a rocke and went away a true and no fained cripple, and hath learned his lesson for euer halting afore such cripples againe. But his fellowes which lay hid before, full quickly then appeared in their likenesse, and maintained the skirmish with their slings, bowes and arrowes very fiercely, and came as neere as the water suffred them: and with as desperate minde as hath bene seene in any men, without feare of shotte or any thing, followed vs all along the coast, but all their shot fell short of vs, and are of little danger. They had belayed all the coast along for vs, and being dispersed so, were not well to be numbred, but wee might discerne of them aboue an hundreth persons, and had cause to suspect a greater number. And thus without losse or hurt we returned to our ships againe.

An hundreth Sauages.

Now our worke growing to an end, and hauing, onely with fiue poore Miners, and the helpe of a few gentlemen and souldiers, brought aboord almost two hundreth tunne of Ore in the space of twenty dayes, euery man therewithall well comforted, determined lustily to worke a fresh for a bone* voyage, to bring our labour to a speedy and happy ende.

And vpon Wednesday at night, being the one and twentieth of August, we fully finished the whole worke. And it was now good time to leaue, for as the men were well wearied, so their shooes and clothes were well worne, their baskets bottoms torne out, their tooles broken, and the ships reasonably well filled. Some with ouer-straining themselues receiued hurts not a little dangerous, some hauing their bellies broken, and others their legs made lame. And about this time the yce began to congeale and freeze about our ships sides a night, which gaue vs a good argument of the Sunnes declining Southward, and put vs in mind to make more haste homeward.

---

* Good.

It is not a little worth the memorie, to the commendation of the gentlemen and souldiers herein, who leauing all reputation apart, with so great willingnesse and with couragious stomackes, haue themselues almost ouercome in so short a time the difficultie of this so great a labour. And this to be true, the matter, if it bee well weyed without further proofe, now brought home doth well witnesse.

Thursday the 22 of August, we plucked downe our tents, and euery man hasted homeward, and making bonefires vpon the top of the highest Mount of the Island, and marching with Ensigne displayed round about the Island, wee gaue a vollie of shotte for a farewell, in honour of the right honourable Lady Anne, Countesse of Warwicke, whose name it beareth: and so departed aboord.

They returne.

The 23 of August hauing the wind large at West, we set saile from out of the Countesses sound homeward, but the wind calming we came to anker within the point of the same sound againe.

The 24 of August about three of the clocke in the morning, hauing the wind large at West, we set saile againe, and by nine of the clocke at night, wee left the Queenes Foreland asterne of vs, and being cleere of the Streites, we bare further into the maine Ocean, keeping our course more Southerly, to bring our selues the sooner vnder the latitude of our owne climate.

Snow halfe a foote deepe in August.

The wind was very great at sea, so that we lay a hull all night, and had snow halfe a foote deepe on the hatches.

From the 24 vntil the 28 we had very much wind, but large, keeping our course Southsoutheast, and had like to haue lost the Barkes, but by good hap we met againe. The height being taken, we were in * degrees and a halfe.

The 29 of August the wind blew much at Northeast, so that we could beare but onely a bunt of our foresaile, and the Barkes were not able to cary any sayle at all.

The Michael lost company of vs and shaped her course towards Orkney because that way was better knowne vnto them, and arriued at Yermouth.

The 30 of August with the force of the wind, and a surge of

---

* **Blank in the original.**

the sea, the Master of the Gabriel and the boatswain were striken both ouerboord, and hardly was the boatswain recouered, hauing hold on a roape hanging ouerboord in the sea, and yet the barke was laced fore and after with ropes a breast high within boorde.

The Master of the Gabriell strooken ouerboord.

This Master was called William Smith, being but a yong man and a very sufficient mariner, who being all the morning before exceeding pleasant, told his Captaine he dreamed that he was cast ouerboord, and that the Boatswain had him by the hand, and could not saue him, and so immediately vpon the end of his tale, his dreame came right euilly to passe, and indeed the Boatswain in like sort held him by one hand, hauing hold on a rope with the other, vntill his force fayled, and the Master drowned. The height being taken we found ourselues to be in the latitude of* degrees and a halfe, and reckoned our selues from the Queenes Cape homeward about two hundreth leagues.

The last of August about midnight, we had two or three great and sudden flawes or stormes.

The first of September the storme was growen very great, and continued almost the whole day and night, and lying a hull to tarrie for the Barkes our ship was much beaten with the seas, euery sea almost ouertaking our poope, so that we were constrained with a bunt of our saile to trie it out, and ease the rolling of our ship. And so the Gabriel not able to beare any sayle to keepe company with vs, and our ship being higher in the poope, and a tall ship, whereon the winde had more force to driue, went so fast away that we lost sight of them, and left them to God and their good fortune of Sea. The second day of September in the morning, it pleased God of his goodnesse to send vs a calme, whereby we perceiued the Rudder of our ship torne in twaine, and almost ready to fall away. Wherefore taking the benefite of the time, we flung half a dozen couple of our best men ouer boord, who taking great paines vnder water, driuing plankes, and binding with ropes, did well strengthen and mend the matter, who returned the most part more then halfe dead out of the water, and as Gods pleasure was, the sea was calme vntill the worke was finished. The fift of September, the height of the Sunne being taken, we

The Rudder of the Aide torne in twain.

---

* Blank in original.

found our selues to be in the latitude of* degrees and a halfe. In this voyage commonly wee tooke the latitude of the lac ep by the height of the sunne, because the long day taketh away the light not onely of the Polar, but also of all other fixed Starres. And here the North Starre is so much eleuated aboue the Horizon, that with the staffe it is hardly to bee well obserued, and the degrees in the Astrolabe are too small to obserue minutes. Therefore wee alwaies vsed the Staffe and the sunne as fittest instruments for this vse.

How the latitudes were alwayes taken in this voyage rather with the Staffe then Astrolabe.

Hauing spent foure or fiue dayes in trauerse of the seas with contrary winde, making our Souther way good as neere as we could, to raise our degrees to bring ourselues with the latitude of Sylley, wee tooke the height the tenth of September, and found our selues in the latitude of* degrees and ten minutes. The eleuenth of September about sixe a clocke at night the winde came good Southwest, we vered sheat and set our course Southeast.

And vpon Thursday, the twelfth of September, taking the height, we were in the latitude of* and a halfe, and reckoned our selues not past one hundred and fifty leagues short of Sylley, the weather faire, the winde large at Westsouthwest, we kept our course Southeast.

The thirteenth day the height being taken, wee found our selues to be in the latitude of* degrees, the wind Westsouthwest, then being in the height of Sylley, and we kept our course East, to run in with the sleeue or chanel so called, being our narrow seas, and reckoned vs short of Sylley twelue leagues.

Sonday, the 15 of September about foure of the clocke, we began to sound with our lead, and had ground at 61 fadome depth, white small sandy ground, and reckoned vs vpon the backe of Sylley, and set our course East and by North, Eastnortheast, and Northeast among.

The sixteenth of September, about eight of the clocke in the morning sounding, we had 65. fadome osey† sand, and thought our selues thwart of S. Georges channell a little within the banks. And bearing a small saile all night, we made many soundings, which were about fortie fadome, and so shallow, that we could not well tell where we were.

---

* Blank in original.

† Muddy.

The seuenteenth of September we sounded, and had forty fadome, and were not farre off the lands end, finding branded sand with small wormes and Cockle shells, and were shotte betweene Sylley and the lands ende, and being within the bay, we were not able to double the pointe with a South and by East way, but were faine to make another boord, the wind being at Southwest and by West, and yet could not double the point to come cleere of the lands end, to beare along the channell: and the weather cleered vp when we were hard aboord the shore, and we made the lands end perfit, and so put vp along Saint Georges channel. And the weather being very foule at sea, we coueted some harborough, because our steerage was broken, and so came to ancor in Padstow road in Cornewall. But riding there a very dangerous roade, we were aduised by the Countrey, to put to Sea againe, and of the two euils, to chose the lesse, for there was nothing but present perill where we rode: whereupon we plyed along the channell to get to Londy, from whence we were againe driuen, being but an open roade, where our anker came home, and with force of weather put to Seas againe, and about the three and twentieth of September, arriued at Milford Hauen in Wales, which being a very good harborough, made vs happy men, that we had receiued such long desired safetie.

The arriual of the Aide at Padstow in Cornewall.

Our comming to Milford Hauen.

About one moneth after our arriuall here, by order from the Lords of the Counsell, the ship came up to Bristow, where the Ore was committed to keeping in the Castel there. Here we found the Gabriel one of the Barkes, arriued in good safetie, who hauing neuer a man within boord very sufficient to bring home the ship, after the Master was lost, by good fortune, when she came vpon the coast, met with a ship of Bristow at sea, who conducted her in safety thither.

The arriuall of the Gabriel at Bristow.

Here we heard good tidings also of the arriuall of the other Barke called the Michael, in the North parts, which was not a little ioyful vnto vs, that it pleased God so to bring vs to a safe meeting againe, and wee lost in all that voyage only one man, besides one that dyed at sea, which was sicke before he came aboord, and was so desirous to follow this enterprise, that he rather chose to dye therein, then not to be one to attempt so notable a voyage.

The Michael arriued in the North parts.

Only one man died the voyage.

The third voyage of Captaine Frobisher, pretended for the discouery of Cataia, by Meta Incognita, Anno Do, 1578.

THe Generall being returned from the second voyage, immediately after his arriuall in England repaired with all hast to the Court being then at Windsore, to aduertise her Maiestie of his prosperous proceeding, and good successe in this last voyage, and of the plenty of gold Ore, with other matters of importance which he had in those Septentrionall parts discouered. He was courteously enterteyned, and heartily welcommed of many noble men, but especially for his great aduenture, commended of her Maiestie, at whose hands he receiued great thankes, and most gracious countenance, according to his deserts. Her Highnesse also greatly commended the rest of the Gentlemen in this seruice, for their great forwardnes in this so dangerous an attempt: but especially she reioyced very much, that among them there was so good order of gouernment, so good agreement, euery man so ready in his calling, to do whatsoeuer the Generall should command, which due commendation gratiously of her Maiestie remembred, gaue so great encouragement to all the Captaines and Gentlemen, that they to continue her Highnesse so good and honourable opinion of them, haue since neither spared labour, limme, nor life, to bring this matter (so well begun) to a happie and prosperous ende. And finding that the matter of the golde Ore had appearance and made shew of great riches and profit, and the hope of the passage to Cataya, by this last voyage greatly increased, her Maiestie appointed speciall Commissioners chosen for this purpose, gentlemen of great iudgement, art, and skill, to looke thorowly into the cause, for the true triall and due examination thereof, and for the full handling of all matters thereunto appertaining. And because that place and countrey hath neuer heretofore bene discouered, and therefore had no speciall name, by which it might be called and knowen, her Maiestie named it very properly Meta Incognita, as a marke and bound vtterly hitherto vnknowen. The commissioners after sufficient triall and proofe made of the Ore, and hauing vnderstood by sundrie reasons, and substantiall grounds, the possibilitie and likelyhood of the passage,

M Frobisher commended of her Maiestie.

The Gentlemen commended.

Commissioners appointed to examine the goodnesse of the Ore.

A name giuen to ye place new discouered.

aduertised her highnesse, that the cause was of importance, and the voyage greatly worthy to be aduanced againe. Wherevpon preparation was made of ships and all other things necessary, with such expedition, as the time of the yeere then required. And because it was assuredly made accompt of, that the commoditie of Mines, there already discouered, would at the least counteruaille in all respects the aduenturers charge, and giue further hope and likelyhood of greater matters to follow: it was thought needfull, both for the better guard of those parts already found, and for further discouery of the Inland and secrets of those countreys, and also for further search of the passage to Cataya (whereof the hope continually more and more increaseth) that certaine numbers of chosen souldiers and discreet men for those purposes should be assigned to inhabite there. Wherevpon there was a strong fort or house of timber, artificially framed, and cunningly deuised by a notable learned man here at home, in ships to be caried thither, wherby those men that were appointed to winter and stay there the whole yere, might as well bee defended from the danger of snow and colde ayre, as also fortified from the force or offence of those countrey people, which perhaps otherwise with too great multitudes might oppresse them. And to this great aduenture and notable exploit many well minded and forward yong Gentlemen of our countrey willingly haue offered themselues. And first Captaine Fenton Lieutenant generall for Captaine Frobisher, and in charge of the company with him there, Captaine Best, and Captaine Filpot, vnto whose good discretions the gouernment of that seruice was chiefly commended, who, as men not regarding peril in respect of the profit and common wealth of their countrey, were willing to abide the first brunt and aduenture of those dangers among a sauage and brutish kinde of people, in a place hitherto euer thought for extreme cold not habitable. The whole number of men which had offered, and were appointed to inhabite Meta Incognita all the yeere, were one hundreth persons, whereof 40 should be mariners for the vse of ships, 30 Miners for gathering the gold Ore together for the next yere, and 30 souldiers for the better guard of the rest, within which last number are included the Gentlemen, Goldfiners, Bakers, Carpenters, and all necessary persons. To each of the Captaines was assigned

The hope of the passage to Cataya.

A forte to be built in Meta Incognita.

A hundreth men appointed to inhabite there.

one ship, aswel for the further searching of the coast and countrey there, as for to returne and bring backe their companies againe, if the necessity of the place so vrged, or by miscarying of the fleet the next yere, they might be disappointed of their further prouision. Being therefore thus furnished with al necessaries, there were ready to depart vpon the said voyage 15 saile of good ships, whereof the whole number was to returne again with their loding of gold Ore in the end of the sommer, except those 3 ships, which should be left for the vse of those Captains which should inhabite there the whole yere. And being in so good readinesse, the Generall with all the Captaines came to the Court, then lying at Greenwich, to take their leaue of her Maiestie, at whose hands they all receiued great encouragement, and gracious countenance. Her highnesse besides other good gifts, and greater promises, bestowed on the Generall a faire chaine of golde, and the rest of the Captaines kissed her hand, tooke their leaue, and departed euery man towards their charge.

A chaine of gold giuen to M. Frobisher.

The names of the Ships with their seuerall Captaines.

1 In the Aide being Admirall, was the Generall Captaine Frobisher.
2 In the Thomas Allen Viceadmirall Captaine Yorke.
3 In the Iudith Lieutenant generall Captaine Fenton.
4 In the Anne Francis Captaine Best.
5 In the Hopewell Captaine Carew.
6 In the Beare Captaine Filpot.
7 In the Thomas of Ipswich Captaine Tanfield.
8 In the Emmanuel of Exceter Captaine Courtney.
9 In the Francis of Foy Captaine Moyles.
10 In the Moone Captaine Vpcot.
11 In the Emmanuel of Bridgewater Captaine Newton.
12 In the Salomon of Weymouth Captaine Randal.
13 In the Barke Dennis Captaine Kendal.
14 In the Gabriel Captaine Haruey.
15 In the Michael Captaine Kinnersly.

The sayd fifteene saile of ships arriued and met together at Harwich, the seuen and twentieth day of May Anno 1578, where the Generall and the other Captaines made view, and mustred their companies. And euery seuerall Captaine receiued from the Generall certaine Articles of direction, for the better keeping of order and company together in the way, which Articles are as followeth.

Articles and orders to be obserued for the Fleete, set downe by Captaine Frobisher Generall, and deliuered in writing to euery Captaine, as well for keeping company, as for the course, the 31 of May.

1 INprimis, to banish swearing, dice, and card-playing, and filthy communication, and to serue God twice a day, with the ordinary seruice vsuall in Churches of England, and to cleare the glasse, according to the old order of England.

2 The Admirall shall carie the light, and after his light be once put out, no man to goe a head of him, but euery man to fit his sailes to follow as neere as they may, without endangering one another.

3 That no man shall by day or by night depart further from the Admirall then the distance of one English mile, and as neere as they may, without danger one of another.

4 If it chance to grow thicke, and the wind contrary, either by day or by night, that the Admirall be forced to cast about, before her casting about shee shall giue warning, by shooting off a peece, and to her shall answere the Viceadmirall and the Rereadmirall each of them with a piece, if it bee by night, or in a fogge; and that the Viceadmirall shall answere first, and the Rereadmirall last.

5 That no man in the fleete descrying any sayle or sayles, giue vpon any occasion any chace before he haue spoken with the Admirall.

6 That euery euening all the Fleete come vp and speake wit, the Admirall, at seuen of the Clocke, or betweene that and eight and if the weather will not serue them all to speake with the Admirall, then some shall come to the Viceadmirall, and receiue the order of their course of Master Hall chiefe Pilot of the Fleete, as he shall direct them.

7 If to any man in the Fleete there happen any mischance, they shall presently shoote off two peeces by day, and if it be by night, two peeces, and shew two lights.

8 If any man in the fleete come vp in the night, aud hale his fellow knowing him not, he shall giue him this watch-word, Before the world was God. The other shal answere him (if he be one of our Fleete) After God came Christ his Sonne. So that if any be found amongst vs, not of our owne company, he that first descrieth any such sayle or sayles, shall giue warning to the

Admirall by himselfe or any other that he can speake to, that sailes better then he, being neerest vnto him.

9 That every ship in the fleete in the time of fogs, which continually happen with little winds, and most part calmes, shal keepe a reasonable noise with trumpet, drumme, or otherwise, to keepe themselues cleere one of another.

10 If it fall out so thicke or mistie that we lay it to hull, the Admirall shall giue warning with a piece, and putting out three lights one ouer another, to the end that euery man may take in his sailes, and at his setting of sayles againe doe the like if it be not cleere.

11 If any man discouer land by night, that he giue the like warning, that he doth for mischances, two lights, and two pieces, if it be by day one piece, and put out his flagge, and strike all his sailes he hath aboord.

12 If any ship shall happen to lose company by force of weather, then any such ship or ships shall get her into the latitude of* , and so keepe that latitude vntill they get Frisland. And after they be past the West parts of Frisland, they shall get them into the latitude of* , and* , and not to the Northward of* ; and being once entred within the Streites, al such ships shal euery watch shoote off a good piece, and looke out well for smoke and fire, which those that get in first shall make euery night, vntill all the fleete be come together.

13 That vpon the sight of an ensigne in the mast of the Admirall (a piece being shot off) the whole fleete shall repaire to the Admirall, to vnderstand such conference as the Generall is to haue with them.

14 If we chance to meete with any enemies, that foure ships shall attend vpon the Admirall, viz. the Francis of Foy, the Moone, the Barke Dennis, and the Gabriel: and foure vpon my Lieutenant generall in the Iudith, viz. the Hopewel, the Armenal, the Beare, and the Salomon: and the other foure vpon the Viz-admirall, the Anne Francis, the Thomas of Ipswich, the Emmanuel, and the Michael.

15 If there happen any disordred person in the Fleete, that he be taken and kept in safe custodie vntill he may conueniently be brought aboord the Admirall, and there to receiue such punishment as his or their offences shall deserue.

By me Martin Frobisher.

---

* Blank in original.

Our departure from England.

HAuing receiued these articles of direction we departed from Harwich the one and thirtieth of May. And sayling along the South part of England Westward, we at length came by the coast of Ireland at Cape Cleare the sixth of Iune, and gaue chase there to a small barke which was supposed to be a Pyrat, or Rouer on the Seas, but it fell out indeede that they were poore men of Bristow, who had met with such company of Frenshmen as had spoiled and slaine many of them, and left the rest so sore wounded that they were like to perish in the sea, hauing neither hand nor foote hole to helpe themselues with, nor victuals to sustaine their hungry bodies. Our Generall, who well vnderstood the office of a Souldier and an Englishman, and knew well what the necessitie of the Sea meaneth, pitying much the miserie of the poore men, relieued them with Surgerie and Salues to heale their hurtes, and with meate and drinke to comfort their pining hearts: some of them hauing neither eaten nor drunke more then oliues and stinking water in many dayes before, as they reported. And after this good deede done, hauing a large wind, we kept our course vpon our sayd voyage without staying for the taking in of fresh water, or any other prouision, whereof many of the fleete were not throughly furnished: and sayling towards the Northwest parts from Ireland, we mette with a great current from out of the Southwest, which caried vs (by our reckoning) one point to the Northeastwards of our sayd course, which current seemed to vs to continue it selfe towards Norway, and other the Northeast parts of the world, whereby we may be induced to beleeue, that this is the same which the Portugals meete at Capo de buona Speranza,* where striking ouer from thence to the Streites of Magellan, and finding no passage there for the narrownesse of the sayde Streites, runneth along into the great Bay of Mexico, where also hauing a let of land, it is forced to strike backe againe towards the Northeast,† as we not onely here, but in another place also, further to the Northwards, by good experience this yeere haue found, as shalbe hereafter in his place more at large declared.

Cape Cleare the sixt of Iune.

A charitable deede.

Marke this current.

---

* South Equatorial Current.

† Gulf Stream.

Now had we sayled about fourteene dayes, without sight of any land, or any other liuing thing, except certaine foules, as Wilmots, Nodies, Gulles, &c. which there seeme onely to liue by sea.

West England.

The twentieth of Iune, at two of the clocke in the morning, the Generall descried land, and found it to be West Frisland, now named west England. Here the Generall, and other Gentlemen went ashore, being the first knowen Christians that we haue true notice of, that euer set foot vpon that ground: and therefore the Generall took possession thereof to the vse of our Soueraigne Lady the Queenes Maiestie, and discouered here a goodly harborough for the ships, where were also certaine little boates of that countrey. And being there landed, they espied certaine tents and people of that countrey, which were (as they iudge) in all sorts, very like those of Meta Incognita, as by their apparell, and other things which we found in their tents, appeared.

The Sauage and simple people so soone as they perceiued our men comming towards them (supposing there had bene no other world but theirs) fled fearefully away, as men much amazed at so strange a sight, and creatures of humane shape, so farre in apparell, complexion, and other things different from themselues. They left in their tents all their furniture for haste behind them, where amongst other things were found a boxe of small nailes, and certaine red Herrings, boords of Firre tree well cut, with diuers other things artificially wrought: whereby it appeareth, that they haue trade with some ciuill people, or else are indeede themselues artificiall workmen.

Our men brought away with them onely two of their dogs, leauing in recompense belles, looking-glasses, and diuers of our countrey toyes behinde them.

This countrey, no doubt, promiseth good hope of great commoditie and riches, if it may be well discouered. The description whereof you shall finde more at large in the second voyage.

Frisland supposed to be continent with Greenland.

Some are of opinion, that this West England is firme land with the Northeast partes of Meta Incognita, or else with Groenland. And their reason is, because the people, apparel, boates, and other things are so like to theirs: and another reason is, the multitude of Islands of yce, which lay betweene it and Meta Incognita, doth argue, that on the North side there is a bay, which cannot be but by conioyning of the two lands together.

The 23 of Iune.

And hauing a faire and large winde we departed from thence towards Frobishers Streites, the three and twentieth of Iune. But first wee gaue name to a high cliffe in West England, the last that was in our sight, and for a certaine similitude we called it Charing crosse. Then wee bare Southerly towards the Sea, because to the Northwardes of this coast we met with much driuing yce, which by reason of the thicke mistes and weather might haue bene some trouble vnto vs.

Charing Crosse.

On Munday the last of Iune, wee met with many great Whales, as they had bene Porposes.

A Whale strooke a ship.

The same day the Salamander being vnder both her corses and bonets, happened to strike a great Whale with her full stemme, with such a blow that the ship stoode still, and stirred neither forward or backward. The Whale thereat made a great and vgly noyse, and cast vp his body and taile, and so went vnder water, and within two dayes after, there was found a great Whale dead swimming aboue water, which wee supposed was that which the Salamander strooke.

Frobishers Streites choked vp with yce.

The second day of Iuly early in the morning we had sight of the Queenes Foreland, and bare in with the land all the day, and passing thorow great quantity of yce, by night were entred somewhat within the Streites, perceiuing no way to passe further in, the whole place being frozen ouer from the one side to the other, and as it were with many walles, mountaines, and bulwarks of yce, choked vp the passage, and denied vs entrance. And yet doe I not thinke that this passage or Sea hereabouts is frozen ouer at any time of the yere : albeit it seemed so vnto vs by the abundance of yce gathered together, which occupied the whole place. But I doe rather suppose these yce to bee bred in the hollow soundes and freshets thereabouts : which by the heate of the Sommers Sunne, being loosed, doe emptie themselues with the ebbes into the sea, and so gather in great abundance there together.

And to speake somewhat here of the ancient opinion of the frozen sea in these parts : I doe thinke it to be rather a bare coniecture of men, then that euer any man hath made experience of any such Sea. And that which they speake of Mare glaciale, may be truely thought to be spoken of these parts: for this may well be called indeede the ycie sea, but not the frozen sea, for no sea consisting of salt water can be frozen, as I haue more at large herein shewed my opinion in my second voyage, for it seemeth impossible for any sea to bee frozen, which hath his course of ebbing and flowing, especially in those places where the tides doe ebbe and flowe aboue ten fadome. And also all these aforesayd yce, which we sometime met a hundredth mile from lande, being gathered out of the salt Sea, are in taste fresh, and being dissolued, become sweete and holesome water.*

Salt water cannot freeze.

And the cause why this yere we haue bene more combred with yce then at other times before, may be by reason of the Easterly and Southerly winds, which brought vs more timely thither now then we looked for. Which blowing from the sea directly vpon the place of our Streites, hath kept in the yce, and not suffered them to be caried out by the ebbe to the maine sea, where they would in more short time haue bene dissolued. And all these fleeting yce are not only so dangerous in that they wind and gather so neere together, that a man may passe sometimes tenne or twelue miles as it were vpon one firme Island of yce: but also for that they open and shut together againe in such sort with the tides and sea-gate, that whilst one ship followeth the other with full sayles, the yce which was open vnto the foremost will ioyne and close together before the latter can come to follow the first, whereby many times our shippes were brought into great danger, as being not able so sodainely to take in our sayles or stay the swift way of our ships.

We were forced many times to stemme and strike great rockes of yce, and so as it were make way through mighty mountaines. By which meanes some of the fleete, where they found the yce to open, entred in, and passed so farre within the danger thereof, with continuall desire to recouer their port, that it was the greatest wonder of the world that they euer escaped safe, or were euer heard of againe. For euen at this present we missed two of the fleete, that is, the Iudith, wherein was the Lieutenant Generall Captaine Fenton; and the Michael, whom both we supposed had bene vtterly lost, hauing not heard any tidings of them in moe then 20 dayes before.

---

* The elimination of salt from sea-water by cold was evidently unknown to the writer.

And one of our fleete named the Barke Dennis, being of an hundreth tunne burden, seeking way in amongst these yce, receiued such a blow with a rocke of yce that she sunke downe therewith in the sight of the whole fleete. Howbeit hauing signified her danger by shooting off a peece of great Ordinance, new succour of other ships came so readily vnto them, that the men were all saued with boats.

Barke Dennis sunke.

Within this ship that was drowned there was parcell of our house which was to bee erected for them that should stay all the Winter in Meta Incognita.

Part of the house lost.

This was a more fearefull spectacle for the Fleete to beholde, for that the outragious storme which presently followed, threatned them the like fortune and danger. For the Fleete being thus compassed (as aforesayd) on euery side with yce, having left much behinde them, thorow which they passed, and finding more before them, thorow which it was not possible to passe, there arose a sudden terrible tempest at the Southeast, which blowing from the maine sea, directly vpon the place of the Streites, brought together all the yce a sea-boorde of vs vpon our backes, and thereby debard vs of turning backe to recouer sea-roome againe: so that being thus compassed with danger on euery side, sundry men with sundry deuises sought the best way to saue themselues. Some of the ships, where they could find a place more cleare of yce, and get a little birth of sea roome, did take in their sayles, and there lay a drift. Other some fastened and mored Anker vpon a great Island of yce, and roade vnder the Lee thereof, supposing to be better guarded thereby from the outragious winds, and the danger of the lesser fleeting yce. And againe some were so fast shut vp, and compassed in amongst an infinite number of great countreys and Islands of yce, that they were faine to submit themselues and their ships to the mercy of the vnmerciful yce, and strengthened the sides of their shipps with iuncks of cables, beds, Mastes, plankes and such like, which being hanged ouerboard on the sides of their ships, might the better defend them from the outragious sway and strokes of the said yce. But as in greatest distresse, men of best valor are best to be discerned, so it is greatly worthy commendation and noting with what inuincible minde euery Captaine encouraged his company, and with what incredible labour the painefull Mariners and poore Miners (vnacquainted with such extremities) to the euerlasting renowne of our nation, did ouercome the brunt of these so great and extreme dangers: for some, euen without boord vpon the yce, and some within boord vpon the sides of their ships, hauing poles, pikes, pieces of timber, and Ores in their handes, stoode almost day and night without any rest, bearing off the force, and breaking the sway of the yce with such incredible paine and perill, that it was wonderfull to beholde, which otherwise no doubt had striken quite through and through the sides of their ships, notwithstanding our former prouision: for plankes of timber more then three inches thicke, and other things of greater force and bignesse, by the surging of the sea and billowe, with the yce were shiuered and cut in sunder, at the sides of our ships, so that it will seeme more then credible to be reported of. And yet (that which is more) it is faithfully and plainely to bee prooued, and that by many substantiall witnesses, that our ships, euen those of greatest burdens, with the meeting of contrary waues of the sea, were heaued vp betweene Islands of yce, a foote welneere out of the sea aboue their watermarke, hauing their knees and timbers within boord both bowed and broken therewith.

And amidst these extremes, whilest some laboured for defence of the ships, and sought to saue their bodies, other some of more milder spirit sought to saue the soule by deuout prayer and meditation to the Almightie, thinking indeede by no other meanes possible then by a diuine Miracle to haue their deliuerance: so that there was none that were either idle, or not well occupied, and he that helde himselfe in best securitie had (God knoweth) but onely bare hope remayning for his best safetie.

Thus all the gallant Fleete and miserable men without hope of euer getting foorth againe, distressed with these extremities remayned here all the whole night and part of the next day, excepting foure ships, that is the Annie Francis, the Moone, the Francis of Foy, and the Gabriell, which being somewhat a Seaboord of the Fleete, and being fast ships by a winde, hauing a more scope of cleare, tryed it out all the time of the storme vnder sayle, being hardly able to beare a coast of each.

And albeit, by reason of the fleeting yce, which were dispersed here almost the whole sea ouer, they were brought many times to the extreamest point of perill, mountaines of yce tenne thousand times scaping them scarce one ynch, which to have striken had bene their present destruction, considering the swift course and way of the ships, and the unwieldinesse of them to stay and turne as a man would wish: yet they esteemed it their better safetie, with such perill to seeke Sea-roome, then without hope of euer getting libertie to lie striuing against the streame, and beating against the Isie mountaines, whose hugenesse and monstrous greatnesse was such, that no man would credite, but such as to their paines sawe and felt it. And these foure shippes by the next day at noone got out to Sea, and were first cleare of the yce, who now enioying their owne libertie, beganne a new to sorrow and feare for their fellowes safeties. And deuoutly kneeling about their maine Mast, they gaue vnto God humble thankes, not only for themselues, but besought him likewise highly for their friendes deliuerance. And euen now whilst amiddest these extremities this gallant Fleete and valiant men were altogither ouerlaboured and forewatched, with the long and fearefull continuance of the foresayd dangers, it pleased God with his eyes of mercie to looke downe from heauen to sende them helpe in good time, giuing them the next day a more favourable winde at the West Northwest, which did not onely disperse and driue foorth the yce before them, but also gaue them libertie of more scope and Sea-roome, and they were by night of the same day following perceiued of the other foure shippes, where (to their greatest comfort) they enioyed againe the fellowship one of another. Some in mending the sides of their ships, some in setting vp their top Mastes, and mending their sayles and tacklings; Againe, some complayning of their false Stemme borne away, some in stopping their leakes, some in recounting their dangers past, spent no small time and labour. So that I dare well auouch, there were neuer men more dangerously distressed, nor more mercifully by Gods prouidence deliuered. And hereof both the torne ships, and the forwearied bodies of the men arriued doe beare most euident marke and witnesse. And now the whole Fleete plyed off to Seaward, resoluing there to abide vntill the Sunne might consume, or the force of winde disperse these yce from the place of their passage: and being a good birth off the shore, they tooke in their sailes, and lay adrift.

Another assault.

The seuenth of Iuly as men nothing yet dismayed, we cast about towards the inward, and had sight of land, which rose in forme like the Northerland of the straights, which some of the Fleete, and those not the worst Marriners, iudged to be the North Foreland: howbeit other some were of contrary opinion. But the matter was not well to be discerned by reason of the thicke fogge which a long time hung vpon the coast, and the new falling snow which yeerely altereth the shape of the land, and taketh away oftentimes the Mariners markes. And by reason of the darke mists which continued by the space of twentie dayes togither, this doubt grewe the greater and the longer perilous. For whereas indeede we thought ourselues to be vpon the Northeast side of Frobishers straights, we were now caried to the Southwestwards of the Queenes Foreland, and being deceiued by a swift current comming from the Northeast, were brought to the Southwestwards of our said course many miles more then we did thinke possible could come to passe. The cause whereof we haue since found, and it shall be at large hereafter declared.

Fogge, snow, and mistes hinder the Mariners markes

A swift current from the North-east.

Here we made a point of land which some mistooke for a place in the straightes called Mount Warwicke: but how we should be so farre shot vp so suddainely within the said straights the expertest Mariners began to maruell, thinking it a thing impossible that they could be so farre ouertaken in their accounts, or that any current could deceiue them here which they had not by former experience prooued and found out. Howbeit many confessed that they found a swifter course of flood then before time they had obserued. And truely it was wonderfull to heare and see the rushing and noise that the tides do make in this place with so violent a force that our ships lying a hull were turned sometimes round about euen in a moment after the maner of a whirlepoole, and the noyse of the streame no lesse to be heard afarre off, then the waterfall of London Bridge.

A current.

But whilst the Fleete lay thus doubtfull amongst great store of yce in a place they knew not without sight of Sunne, whereby to take the height, and so to know the true eleuation of the pole, and without any cleere of light to make perfite the coast, the Generall with the Captaines and Masters of his ships, began doubtfully to question of the matter, and sent his Pinnesse aboord to heare each man's opinion, and specially of Iames Beare, Master of the Anne Francis, who was knowen to be a sufficient and skillfull Mariner, and hauing bene there the yere before, had wel obserued the place, and drawen out

Iames Beare a good Mariner.

Christopher Hall chiefe Pylot.

Cardes of the coast. But the rather this matter grew the more doubtfull, for that Christopher Hall chiefe Pilot of the voyage, deliuered a plaine and publique opinion in the hearing of the whole Fleete, that hee had neuer seene the foresayd coast before, and that he not could make it for any place of Frobishers Streits, as some of the Fleete supposed, and yet the landes doe lie and trend so like, that the best Mariners therein may bee deceiued.

The tenth of Iuly, the weather still continuing thicke and darke, some of the ships in the fogge lost sight of the Admirall and the rest of the fleete, and wandering to and fro, with doubtfull opinion whether it were best to seeke backe againe to seaward through great store of yce, or to follow on a doubtfull course in a Sea, Bay, or Streites they knew not, or along a coast, whereof by reason of the darke mistes they could not discerne the dangers, if by chance any rocke or broken ground should lie of the place, as commonly in these parts it doth.

The Viceadmirall Captaine Yorke considering the foresayd opinion of the Pylot Hall, who was with him in the Thomas Allen, hauing lost sight of the Fleete, turned backe to sea againe hauing two other ships in company with him.

Also the Captain of the Anne Francis hauing likewise lost companie of the Fleete, and being all alone, held it for best to turne it out to sea againe, vntill they might haue cleere weather to take the Sunnes altitude, and with incredible paine and perill got out of the doubtfull place, into the open Sea againe, being so narrowly distressed by the way, by meanes of continuall fogge and yce, that they were many times ready to leape vpon an Island of yce to auoide the present danger, and so hoping to prolong life awhile meant rather to die a pining death.

Hard shifts to saue mens liues.

Some hoped to saue themselues on chestes, and some determined to tie the Hatches of the ships togither, and to binde themselues with their furniture fast thereunto, and so to be towed with the ship bote ashore, which otherwise could not receiue halfe of the companie, by which meanes if happily they had arriued they should eyther haue perished for lacke of foode to eate, or else should themselues haue beene eaten of those rauenous, bloodie, and Men-eating people.

The rest of the Fleete following the course of the Generall which led them the way, passing vp aboue sixtie leagues

The coast along ye Southside of Gronland 60 leagues.

within the saide doubtfull and supposed straights, hauing alwayes a faire continent vpon their starreboorde side, and a continuance still of an open Sea before them.

Mistaken straights which indeed are no straights.

The Generall albeit with the first perchance he found out the error, and that this was not the olde straights, yet he perswaded the Fleete alwayes that they were in their right course, and knowen straights. Howbeit I suppose he rather dissembled his opinion therein then otherwise, meaning by that policie (being himselfe led with an honourable desire of further discouerie) to induce the Fleete to follow him, to see a further proofe of that place. And as some of the companie reported, he hath since confessed that if it had not bene for the charge and care he had of the Fleete and fraughted ships, he both would and could haue gone through to the South Sea, called Mar del Sur, and dissolued the long doubt of the passage which we seeke to find to the rich countrey of Cataya.

Frobisher could haue passed to Cataia.

Faire open way.

1 Of which mistaken straights, considering the circumstance, we haue great cause to confirme our opinion, to like and hope well of the passage in this place. For the foresaid Bay or Sea, the further we sayled therein, the wider we found it, with great likelihood of endlesse continuance. And where in other places we were much troubled with yce, as in the entrance of the same, so after we had sayled fiftie or sixtie leagues therein we had no let of yce, or other thing at all, as in other places we found.

Reasons to prooue a passage here.

Great indrafts.

2 Also this place seemeth to haue a maruellous great indraft, and draweth vnto it most of the drift yce, and other things which doe fleete in the Sea, either to the North or Eastwards of the same, as by good experience we haue found.

A current to the West.

3 For here also we met with boordes, lathes, and diuers other things driuing in the Sea, which was of the wracke of the ship called the Barke Dennis, which perished amongst the yce as beforesaid, being lost at the first attempt of the entrance ouerthwart the Queenes forelande in the mouth of Frobishers straights, which could by no meanes haue bene so brought thither, neither by winde nor tyde, being lost so

many leagues off, if by force of the said current the same had not bene violently brought. For if the same had bene brought thither by tide of flood, looke how farre the said flood had carried it, the ebbe would haue recarried it as farre backe againe, and by the winde it could not so come to passe, because it was then sometime calme, and most times contrarie.

Nine houres flood to three houres ebbe.

And some Mariners doe affirme that they haue diligently obserued, that there runneth in this place nine houres flood to three ebbe, which may thus come to passe by force of the sayd current: for whereas the Sea in most places of the world, doth more or lesse ordinarily ebbe and flow once euery twelue houres with sixe houres ebbe, and sixe houres flood, so also would it doe there, were it not for the violence of this hastening current, which forceth the flood to make appearance to beginne before his ordinary time one houre and a halfe, and also to continue longer than his naturall course by an other houre and a halfe, vntill the force of the ebbe be so great that it will no longer be resisted: according to the saying, Naturam expellas furca licet, vsque recurret. Although nature and naturall courses be forced and resisted neuer so much, yet at last they will haue their owne sway againe.

Moreouer it is not possible that so great course of floods and current, so high swelling tides with continuance of so deepe waters, can be digested here without vnburdening themselues into some open Sea beyond this place, which argueth the more likelihood of the passage to be hereabouts. Also we suppose these great indrafts doe grow and are made by the reuerberation and reflection of that same currant, which at our comming by Ireland, met and crossed vs, of which in the first part of this discourse I spake, which comming from the bay of Mexico, passing by and washing the Southwest parts of Ireland, reboundeth ouer to the Northeast parts of the world, as Norway, Island, &c. where not finding any passage to an open Sea, but rather being there encreased by a new accesse, and another current meeting with it from the Scythian Sea, passing the bay of Saint Nicholas Westward, it doth once againe rebound backe, by the coastes of Groenland, and from thence vpon Frobishers straights being to the Southwestwardes of the same.

5 And if that principle of Philosophie be true, that Inferiora corpora reguntur à superioribus, that is, if inferior

The Sea moueth continually from East to West.

bodies be gouerned, ruled, and carried after the maner and course of the superiors, then the water being an inferior Element, must needes be gouerned after the superior heauen, and so follow the course of Primum from East to West.*

Authoritie.

6 But euery man that hath written or considered auy thing of this passage, hath more doubted the returne by the same way by reason of a great downefall of water, which they imagine to be thereabouts (which we also by experience partly find) than any mistrust they haue of the same passage at all. For we find (as it were) a great downefall in this place, but yet not such but that we may returne, although with much adoe. For we were easier carried in one houre then we could get forth againe in three. Also by another experience at another time, we found this current to deceiue vs in this sort: That wheras we supposed it to be 15 leagues off, and lying a hull, we were brought within two leagues of the shore contrarie to all expectation.

Hard but yet possible turning backe againe.

Our men that sayled furthest in the same mistaken straights (hauing the maine land vpon their starboord side) affirme that they met with the outlet or passage of water which commeth thorow Frobishers straights, and followeth as all one into this passage.

Some of our companie also affirme that they had sight of a continent vpon their larboord side being 60 leagues within the supposed straights: howbeit except certaine Ilands in the entrance hereof we could make no part perfect thereof. All the foresaid tract of land seemeth to be more fruitfull and better stored of Grasse, Deere, Wilde foule, as Partridges, Larkes, Seamewes, Guls, Wilmots, Falcons and Tassel gentils, Rauens, Beares, Hares, Foxes, and other things, than any other part we haue yet discouered, and is more populous. And here Luke Ward, a Gentleman of the companie, traded marchandise, and did exchange kniues, bels, looking glasses, &c. with those countrey people, who brought him foule, fish, beares skinnes, and such like, as their countrey yeeldeth for the same. Here also they saw of those greater boats of the countrey, with twentie persons in a peece.

Traffique.

---

* The writer was evidently not a convert to the System of Copernicus, but agreed with Ptolemy that the Heavens were solid and moved round the earth, which was the centre of the Universe.

Now after the Generall had bestowed these many dayes here, not without many dangers, he returned backe againe. And by the way sayling alongst this coast (being the backeside of the supposed continent of America) and the Queenes Foreland, he perceiued a great sound to goe thorow into Frobishers straights. Whereupon he sent the Gabriel the one and twentieth of Iuly, to prooue whether they might goe thorow and meete againe with him in the straights, which they did: and as wee imagined before, so the Queenes foreland prooued an Iland, as I thinke most of these supposed continents will. And so he departed towardes the straights, thinking it were high time now to recouer his Port, and to prouide the Fleete of their lading, whereof he was not a little carefull, as shall by the processe and his resolute attempts appeare. And in his returne with the rest of the fleete he was so entangled by reason of the darke fogge amongst a number of Ilands and broken ground that lye off this coast, that many of the shippes came ouer the top of rockes, which presently after they might perceiue to lie dry, hauing not halfe a foote water more then some of their ships did draw. And by reason they could not with a smal gale of wind stemme the force of the flood, whereby to goe cleare off the rockes, they were faine to let an anker fall with two bent of Cable togither, at an hundred and odde fadome depth, where otherwise they had bene by the force of the tides caried vpon the rockes againe, and perished: so that if God in these fortunes (as a mercifull guide, beyond the expectation of man) had not carried vs thorow, we had surely perished amidst these dangers. For being many times driuen hard aboord the shore without any sight of land, vntill we were ready to make shipwracke thereon, being forced commonly with our boats to sound before our ships, least we might light thereon before we could discerne the same; it pleased God to giue vs a cleare of Sunne and light for a short time to see and auoyde thereby the danger, hauing bene continually darke before, and presently after. Manie times also by meanes of fogge and currents being driuen neere vpon the coast, God lent vs euen at the very pinch one prosperous breath of winde or other, whereby to double the land, and auoid the perill, and when that we were all without hope of helpe, euery man recommending himselfe to death, and crying out, Lord now helpe or neuer, now Lord looke downe from

Returne out of the mistaken straights.

Great dangers.

heauen and saue vs sinners, or else our safetie commeth too late: euen then the mightie maker of heauen, and our mercifull God did deliuer vs: so that they who haue bene partakers of these dangers doe euen in their soules confesse, that God euen by miracle hath sought to saue them, whose name be praysed euermore.

Anne Francis met with some of the fleete.

Long time now the Anne Francis had layne beating off and on all alone before the Queenes foreland, not being able to recouer their Port for yce, albeit many times they dangerously attempted it, for yet the yce choaked vp the passage, and would not suffer them to enter. And hauing neuer seene any of the fleete since twenty dayes past, when by reason of the thicke mistes they were seuered in the mistaken straights, they did now this present 23 of Iuly ouerthwart a place in the straights called Hattons Hedland, where they met with seuen ships of ye Fleete againe, which good hap did not onely reioyce them for themselues, in respect of the comfort which they receiued by such good companie, but especially that by this meanes they were put out of doubt of their deare friends, whose safeties long time they did not a little suspect and feare.

At their meeting they haled the Admirall after the maner of the Sea, and with great ioy welcommed one another with a thundring volly of shot. And now euery man declared at large the fortunes and dangers which they had passed.

Francis of Foy.

Bridgwater ship.

The foure and twentieth of Iuly we met with the Francis of Foy, who with much adoe sought way backe againe, through the yce from out of the mistaken straights, where (to their great perill) they prooued to recouer their Port. They brought the first newes of the Vizadmirall Captaine Yorke, who many dayes with themselues, and the Busse of Bridgewater was missing. They reported that they left the Vizeadmirall reasonably cleare of the yce, but the other ship they greatly feared, whom they could not come to helpe, being themselues so hardly distressed as neuer men more. Also they told vs of the Gabriel, who hauing got thorow from the backside, and Western point of the Queenes foreland, into Frobishers straights, fell into their company about the cape of Good hope.

And vpon the seuen and twentieth of Iuly, the ship of Bridgewater got out of the yce and met with the Fleete which lay off and on vnder Hattons Hedland. They reported of their maruellous accidents and dangers, declaring their ship to be so leake that they must of necessitie seeke harborow, hauing their stem so beaten within their huddings, that they had much adoe to keepe themselues aboue water. They had (as they say) fiue hundreth strokes at the pump in lesse then halfe a watch, being scarce two houres; their men being so ouerwearied therewith, and with the former dangers that they desired helpe of men from the other ships. Moreouer they declared that there was nothing but yce and danger where they had bene, and that the straights within were frozen vp, and that it was the most impossible thing of the world, to passe vp vnto the Countesse of Warwicks sound, which was the place of our Port.

The Streits frozen ouer.

The report of these dangers by these ships thus published amongst the fleete, with the remembrance of the perils past, and those present before their face, brought no small feare and terror into the hearts of many considerate men. So that some beganne priuily to murmure against the Generall for this wilfull manner of proceeding. Some desired to discouer some harborow thereabouts to refresh themselues and reform their broken vessels for a while, vntill the North and Northwest windes might disperse the yce, and make the place more free to passe. Other some forgetting themselues, spake more vndutifully in this behalfe, saying: that they had as leeue be hanged when they came home, as without hope of safetie to seeke to passe, and so to perish amongst the yce.

The Generall not opening his eares to the peeuish passion of any priuate person, but chiefly respecting the accomplishment of the cause he had vndertaken (wherein the chiefe reputation and fame of a Generall and Captaine consisteth) and calling to his remembrance the short time he had in hand to prouide so great number of ships their loading, determined with this resolution to passe and recouer his Port, or else there to burie himselfe with his attempt.

A valiant mind of M. Frobisher.

Notwithstanding somewhat to appease the feeble passions of the fearefuller sort, and the better to entertaine time for a season, whilest the yce might the better be dissolued, he haled on the Fleete with beleefe that he would put them in harborow: thereupon whilest the shippes lay off and on under Hattons Hedland, he sought to goe in with his Pinnesses amongst the

Ilandes there, as though hee meant to search for harborowe, where indeede he meant nothing lesse, but rather sought if any Ore might be found in that place, as by the sequele appeared.

In the mean time whilest the Fleete lay thus doubtfull without any certaine resolution what to do, being hard aboord the lee-shore, there arose a sodaine and terrible tempest at the Southsoutheast, whereby the yce began maruellously to gather about vs.

Whereupon euery man, as in such case of extremitie he thought best, sought the wisest way for his owne safety. The most part of the Fleete which were further shot vp within the straights, and so farre to the leeward, as that they could not double the land following the course of the Generall, who led them the way, tooke in their Sayles, and layde it a hull amongst the yce, and so passed ouer the storme, and had no extremitie at all, but for a short time in the same place.

Howbeit the other ships which plyed out to Seaward, had an extreme storme for a long season. And the nature of the place is such, that it is subiect diuersely to diuers windes, according to the sundry situation of the great Alps and mountaines there, euery mountaine causing a seuerall blast, and parrie, after the maner of a Leuant.

In this storme being the sixe and twentieth of Iuly, there fell so much snow, with such bitter cold aire, that we could not scarse see one another for the same, nor open our eyes to handle our ropes and sayles, the snow being aboue halfe a foote deepe vpon the hatches of our ship, which did so wet thorow our poore Mariners clothes, that hee that had fiue or sixe shifts of apparell had scarce one drie threed to his backe, which kinde of wet and coldnesse, together with the ouerlabouring of the poore men amiddest the yce, bred no small sicknesse amongst the fleete, which somewhat discouraged some of the poore men, who had not experience of the like before, euery man perswading himselfe that the winter there must needes be extreme, where they found so vnseasonable a Sommer.

Snow in Iuly.

Extreme winter.

And yet notwithstanding this cold aire, the Sunne many times hath a maruellous force of heate amongst those mountaines, insomuch that when there is no breth of winde to bring the colde aire from the dispersed yce vpon vs, we shall be wearie of the blooming heate and then sodainely

Great heat in Meta Incognita.

with a perry* of winde which commeth downe from the hollownesse of the hilles, we shall haue such a breth of heate brought vpon our faces as though we were entred within some bathstoue or hote-house, and when the first of the pirry and blast is past, we shall haue the winde sodainely a new blow cold againe.

Vnconstant weather.

In this storme the Anne Francis, the Moone, and the Thomas of Ipswich, who found themselues able to hold it vp with a saile, and could double about the Cape of the Queenes foreland, plyed out to the Seaward, holding it for better policie and safetie to seeke Sea roome, then to hazard the continuance of the storme, the danger of the yce, and the leeshore.

And being vncertaine at this time of the Generals priuate determinations, the weather being so darke that they could not discerne one another, nor perceiue which way he wrought, betooke themselues to this course for best and safest.

The Generall, notwithstanding the great storme, following his own former resolution, sought by all meanes possible, by a shorter way to recouer his Port, and where he saw the yce neuer so little open, he gate in at one gappe and out at another, and so himselfe valiantly led the way thorow before to induce the Fleete to follow after, and with incredible paine and perill at length gat through the yce, and vpon the one and thirtieth of Iuly recouered his long wished Port after many attempts and sundry times being put backe, and came to anker in the Countesse of Warwicks sound, in the entrance whereof, when he thought all perill past, he encountred a great Iland of yce which gaue the Ayde such a blow, hauing a little before wayed her anker a cocke bill, that it stroke the anker fluke through the ships bowes vnder the water, which caused so great a leake, that with much adoe they preserued the ship from sinking.

The General recouereth his port.

At their arriuall here they perceiued two ships at anker within the harborough, whereat they began much to maruell and greatly to reioyce, for those they knew to be the Michael, wherein was the Lieutenant generall Captaine Fenton, and the small Barke called the Gabriel, who so long time were missing, and neuer heard of before, whom euery man made the last reckoning, neuer to heare of againe.

---

* *Pirrie*, a sudden storm at sea. According to Jamieson, *Pirr*, in Scotch, means a gentle breeze.

> "A pirrie came, and set my ship on sands."
>
> *Mirror for Magistrates*, p. 194.

Here euery man greatly reioyced of their happie meeting, and welcommed one another after the Sea manner with their great Ordinance, and when each partie had ripped vp their sundry fortunes and perils past, they highly praysed God, and altogither vpon their knees gaue him due, humble and heartie thankes, and Maister Wolfall a learned man, appointed by her Maiesties Councell to be their Minister and Preacher made vnto them a godly sermon, exhorting them especially to be thankfull to God for their strange and miraculous deliuerance in those so dangerous places, and putting them in mind of the vncertaintie of mans life, willed them to make themselues alwayes readie as resolute men to enioy and accept thankefully whatsoeuer aduenture his diuine Prouidence should appoint. This maister Wolfall being well seated and settled at home in his owne Countrey, with a good and large liuing, hauing a good honest woman to wife and very towardly children, being of good reputation among the best, refused not to take in hand this painefull voyage, for the onely care he had to saue soules, and to reforme those Infidels if it were possible to Christiantie: and also partly for the great desire he had that this notable voyage so well begunne, might be brought to perfection: and therefore he was contented to stay there the whole yeare if occasion had serued, being in euery necessary action as forward as the resolutest men of all. Wherefore in this behalfe he may rightly be called a true Pastor and minister of God's word, which for the profite of his flocke spared not to venture his owne life.

Master Wolfall Preacher.

But to returne againe to Captaine Fentons company, and to speake somewhat of their dangers (albeit they be more then by writing can be expressed) they reported that from the night of the first storme which was about the first day of Iuly vntill seuen dayes before the Generals arriuall, which was the sixe and twentith of the same, they neuer saw any one day or houre, wherin they were not troubled with continuall danger and feare of death, and were twentie dayes almost togither fast amongst the yce. They had their ship stricken through and through on both sides, their false stemme borne quite away, and could goe from their ships in some places vpon the yce very many miles, and might easily haue passed from one Iland of yce to another euen to the shore,

The aduentures of Captaine Fenton and his companie.

and if God had not wonderfully prouided for them and their necessitie, and time had not made them more cunning and wise to seeke strange remedies for strange kindes of dangers, it had bene impossible for them euer to haue escaped: for among other deuises, wheresoeuer they found any Iland of yce of greater bignesse then the rest (as there be some of more then halfe a mile compasse about, and almost forty fadome high) they commonly coueted to recouer the same, and thereof to make a bulwarke for their defence, whereon hauing mored anker, they road vnder the lee therof for a time, being therby garded from the danger of the lesser driuing yce. But when they must needes forgoe this new found fort by meanes of other yce, which at length would vndermine and compasse them round about, and when that by heauing of the billow they were therewith like to be brused in peeces, they vsed to make fast the shippe vnto the most firme and broad peece of yce they could find, and binding her nose fast thereunto, would fill all their sayles whereon the winde hauing great power, would force forward the ship, and so the shippe bearing before her the yce, and so one yce driuing forward another, should at length get scope and searoome. And hauing by this meanes at length put their enemies to flight, they occupyed the cleare place for a prettie season among sundry mountaines and Alpes of yce. One there was found by measure to be 65 fadome aboue water, which for a kind of similitude, was called Solomons porch. Some thinke those Ilands eight times so much vnder water as they are aboue, because of their monstrous weight. But now I remember I saw very strange wonders, men walking, running, leaping and shooting vpon the mayne seas 40. myles from any land, without any Shippe or other vessel vnder them. Also I saw fresh Riuers running amidst the salt Sea a hundred myle from land, which if any man will not belieue let him know that many of our company leapt out of their Shippe vpon Ilandes of yce, and running there vp and downe, did shoote at Buts vpon the yce, and with their Caliuers did kill great Seales, which vse to lye and sleepe vpon the yce, and this yce melting aboue at the toppe by reflection of the Sunne, came downe in sundry streames, which vniting together, made a pretie Brooke able to driue a Mill.

Extremitie causeth men to deuise new arts and remedies.

Hard shifts.

Strange Wonders.

The sayde Captaine Fenton recouered his Port tenne dayes before any man, and spent good tyme in searching for Mine, and hee found good store thereof. He also discouered about tenne Miles vp into the Countrey, where he perceiued neither Towne, Village, nor likelihoode of habitation, but it seemeth (as he sayeth) barren, as the other parts which as yet we haue entred vpon: but their victuals and prouision went so scant with them, that they had determined to returne homeward within seuen dayes after, if the Fleete had not then arriued.

The Generall after his arriuall in the Countesses sound, spent no time in vaine, but immediately at his first landing called the chiefe Captaines of his Councell together, and consulted with them for the speedier execution of such things as then they had in hand. As first, for searching and finding out good Minerall for the Miners to be occupyed on. Then to giue good Orders to bee obserued of the whole company on shore. And lastly, to consider for the erecting vp of the Fort and House for the vse of them which were to abide there the whole yeere. For the better handling of these, and all other like important causes in this seruice, it was ordeined from her Maiestie and the Councell, that the Generall should call vnto him certaine of the chiefe Captaines and Gentlemen in Councell, to conferre, consult and determine of all occurrents in this seruice, whose names are as here they follow.

Captaine Fenton.
Captaine Yorke.
Captaine Best.
Captaine Carew.
Captaine Philpot.

And in Sea causes to haue as assistants, Christopher Hall and Charles Iackman, being both very good Pilots, and sufficient Mariners, whereof the one was chiefe Pilot of the Voyage, and the other for the discouerie. From the place of our habitation Westward, Master Selman was appointed Notarie, to register the whole maner of proceeding in these affaires, that true relation thereof might be made, if it pleased her Maiestie to require it.

The first of August euery Captaine by order, from the Generall and his councell, was commanded to bring ashoare vnto the Countesses Iland all such Gentlemen, souldiers, and Myners, as were vnder their charge, with such prouision as they had of victuals, tents, and things necessary for the speedy getting together of Mine, and fraight for the shippes.

The Muster of the men being taken, and the victuals with all other things viewed and considered, euery man was set to his charge, as his place and office required. The Myners were appointed where to worke, and the Mariners discharged their shippes.

Vpon the second of August were published and proclaymed vpon the Countesse of Warwickes Iland with sound of Trumpet, certaine Orders by the Generall and his councell, appoynted to be obserued of the company during the time of their abiding there.

In the meane time, whilst the Mariners plyed their worke, the Captaines sought out new Mynes, the Goldfiners made tryall of the Ore, the Mariners discharged their shippes, the Gentlemen for example sake laboured heartily, and honestly encouraged the inferior sort to worke. So that the small time of that little leisure that was left to tarrie, was spent in vaine.

The second of August the Gabriel arriued, who came from the Vizeadmirall, and beeing distressed sore with Yce, put into Harborough neere vnto Mount Oxford. And now was the whole Fleete arriued safely at their Port, excepting foure, besides the Shippe that was lost: that is, the Thomas Allen, the Anne Francis, the Thomas of Ipswich, and the Moone, whose absence was some lette vnto the workes and other proceedings, aswell for that these Shippes were furnished with the better sorte of Myners, as with other prouision for the habitation.

The ninth of August the Generall with the Captaynes of his counsell assembled together, and began to consider and take order for the erecting vp of the house or Fort for them that were to inhabite there the whole yeere, and that presently the Masons and Carpenters might goe in hande therewith. First therefore they perused the Bils of lading, what euery man receiued into his Shippe, and found that there was arriued only the Eastside, and the Southside of the house, and yet not that perfect and entier: for many pieces thereof were vsed for fenders in many Shippes, and so broken in pieces whilest they were distressed in the yce. Also after due examination had, and true account taken, there was found want of drinke and fuel to serue one hundreth men, which was the number appoynted first to inhabite there, because their greatest store was in the Shippes which were not yet arriued. Then Captaine Fenton seeing

Consultation for inhabiting Meta incognita.

An hundred men appointed to inhabite.

the scarcitie of the necessary things aforesayd, was contented, and offred himselfe to inhabite there with sixtie men. Whereupon they caused the Carpenters and Masons to come before them, and demanded in what time they would take vpon them to erect vp a lesse house for sixtie men. They required eight or nine weekes, if there were Tymber sufficient, whereas now they had but sixe and twentie dayes in all to remayne in that Countrey. Wherefore it was fully agreed vpon, and resolued by the Generall and his counsell, that no habitation should be there this yeere. And therefore they willed Master Selman the Register to set downe this decree with all their consents, for the better satisfying of her Maiestie, the Lords of the Counsell, and the Aduenturers.

No habitation this yeere.

The Anne Francis, since she was parted from the Fleete, in the last storme before spoken of, could neuer recouer aboue fiue leagues within the streights, the winde being sometime contrary, and most times the Yce compassing them round about. And from that time, being about the seuen and twentieth of Iuly, they could neither heare nor have sight of any of the Fleete, vntill the 3. of August, when they descryed a sayle neere vnto Mount Oxford, with whom when they had spoken, they could vnderstand no newes of any of the Fleete at all. And this was the Thomas of Ipswich, who had layne beating off and on at Sea with very fowle weather, and contrary windes euer since that foresayd storme, without sight of any man. They kept company not long together, but were forced to loose one another againe, the Moone being consort always with the Anne Francis, and keeping very good company plyed vp together into the streights, with great desire to recouer their long wished Port: and they attempted as often, and passed as farre as possible the winde, weather, and yce gaue them leaue, which commonly they found very contrary. For when the weather was cleare and without fogge, then commonly the winde was contrary. And when it was eyther Easterly or Southerly, which would serue their turnes, then had they so great a fogge and darke miste therewith, that eyther they could not discerne way thorow the yce, or els the yce lay so thicke together, that it was impossible for them to passe. And on the other side, when it was calme, the Tydes had force to bring the yce so suddenly about them, that commonly then they were most therewith distressed, hauing no Winde to carry them from the danger thereof.

And by the sixt of August being with much adoe got vp as high as Leicester point, they had good hope to finde the Souther shore cleare, and so to passe vp towardes their Port. But being there becalmed and lying a hull openly vpon the great Bay which commeth out of the mistaken streights before spoken of, they were so suddenly compassed with yce round about by meanes of the swift Tydes which run in that place, that they were neuer afore so hardly beset as now. And in seeking to auoyde these dangers in the darke weather, the Anne Francis lost sight of the other two Ships, who being likewise hardly distressed, signified their danger, as they since reported, by shooting off their ordiance, which the other could not heare, nor if they had heard, could haue giuen them any remedie, being so busily occupied to winde themselues out of their owne troubles.

The Moone.

The Fleeboate called the Moone, was here heaued aboue the water with the force of the yce, and receiued a great leake thereby. Likewise the Thomas of Ipswich, and the Anne Francis were sore bruised at that instant, hauing their false stemmes borne away, and their ship sides stroken quite through.

The Anne Francis, the Thomas of Ipswich and the Moone consult.

Now considering the continuall dangers and contraries, and the little leasure that they had left to tarie in these partes, besides that euery night the ropes of their Shippes were so frozen, that a man could not handle them without cutting his handes, together with the great doubt they had of the Fleetes safety, thinking it an impossibilitie for them to passe vnto their Port, as well for that they saw themselues, as for that they heard by the former report of the Shippes which had prooued before, who affirmed that the streights were all frozen ouer within: They thought it now very hie time to consider of their estates and safeties that were yet left together. And hereupon the Captaines and masters of these Shippes, desired the Captaine of the Anne Francis to enter into consideration with them of these matters. Wherefore Captaine Tanfield of the Thomas of Ipswich, with his Pilot Richard Cox, and Captaine Vpcote of the Moone, with his master Iohn Lakes came aboorde the Anne Francis the eight of August to consult of these causes. And being assembled together in the Captaines Cabin, sundry doubts were there alledged. For the fearefuller sort of Mariners being ouertyred with the continuall labour of the former dangers, coueted to returne homeward, saying that they would not againe tempt God so much, who had giuen them so many warnings, and deliuered them from so wonderfull dangers: that they rather desired to lose wages, fraight, and all, then to continue and follow such desperate fortunes. Againe, their Ships were so leake, and the men so wearie, that to amend the one, and refresh the other, they must of necessitie seeke into harborough.

But on the other side it was argued againe to the contrary, that to seeke into harborough thereabouts, was but to subject themselues to double daugers: if happily they escaped the dangers of Rockes in their entring, yet being in, they were neuerthelesse subiect there to the danger of the Ice, which with the swift tydes and currents is caryed in and out in most harboroughs thereabouts, and may thereby gaule their Cables asunder, driue them vpon the shoare, and bring them to much trouble. Also the coast is so much subiect to broken ground and rockes, especially in the mouth and entrance of euery Harborough, that albeit the Channell be sounded ouer and ouer againe, yet are you neuer the neerer to discerne the dangers. For the bottome of the Sea holding like shape and forme as the land, being full of hils, dales, and ragged Rockes, suffreth you not by your soundings to knowe and keepe a true gesse of the depth. For you shall sound vpon the side or hollownesse of one Hill or Rocke vnder water, and haue a hundreth, fiftie, or fourtie fadome depth: and before the next cast, yer* you shall be able to heaue your lead againe, you shall be vpon the toppe thereof, and come aground to your vtter confusion.

Another reason against going to harborough was, that the colde ayre did threaten a sudden freezing vp of the sounds, seeing that euery night there was new congealed yce, euen of that water which remayned within their shippes. And therefore it should seeme to be more safe to lye off and on at Sea, then for lacke of winde to bring them foorth of harborough, to hazard by sudden frosts to be shut vp the whole yeere.

After many such dangers and reasons alleged, and large debating of these causes on both sides, the Captaine of the Anne Francis deliuered his opinion vnto the company to this effect.

Captaine Bests resolution.

First concerning the question of returning home, hee thought it so much dishonorable, as not to grow in any farther question: and againe to returne home at length (as at length they must needes) and not to be able to bring a certaine report of the Fleete, whether they were liuing or lost, or whether any of them had recouered their Port or not, in the Countesses sound, (as it was to bee thought the most part would if they were liuing) hee sayde that it would be so great an argument eyther of want of courage or discretion in them, as hee resolued rather to fall into any danger, then so shamefully to consent to returne home, protesting that it should neuer bee spoken of him, that hee would euer returne without doing his endeuour to finde the Fleete, and knowe the certaintie of the Generals safetie. Hee put his company in remembrance of a Pinnesse of fiue tunne burthen, which hee had within his Shippe, which was caryed in pieces, and vnmade vp for the vse of those which should inhabite there the whole yeere, the which, if they could finde meanes to ioyne together, hee offered himselfe to prooue before therewith, whether it were possible for any Boate to passe for yce, whereby the Shippe might bee brought in after, and might also thereby giue true notice, if any of the Fleete were arriued at their Port or not.

---

* *Yer* = ere.

A Pinnesse for the inhabiters.

But notwithstanding, for that he well perceiued that the most part of his company were addicted to put into harborough, hee was willing the rather for these causes somewhat to encline thereunto. As first, to search alongst the same coast, and the soundes thereabouts, hee thought it to be to good purpose, for that it was likely to finde some of the Fleete there, which being leake, and sore brused with the yce, were the rather thought likely to be put into an yll harborough, being distressed with foule weather in the last storme, then to hazard their vncertaine safeties amongst the yce: for about this place they lost them, and left the Fleete then doubtfully questioning of harborough.

It was likely also, that they might finde some fitte harborough thereabouts, which might bee behoouefull for them against another time. It was not likewise impossible to finde some Ore or Mine thereabouts wherewithall to fraight their Shippes, which would bee more commodious in this place, for the neerenesse to Seaward, and for a better outlet, then farther within the streights, being likely heere alwayes to loade in a shorter time, howsoeuer the streight should be pestered with yce within, so that if it might come to passe that thereby they might eyther finde the Fleete, Mine, or conuenient harborough, any of these three would serue their present turnes, and giue some hope and comfort vnto their companies, which now were altogether comfortlesse. But if that all fortune should fall out so contrary, that they could neyther recouer their Port, nor any of these aforesayde helpes, that yet they would not depart the Coast, as long as it was possible for them to tary there, but would lye off and on at Sea athwart the place. Therefore his finall conclusion was set downe thus, First, that the Thomas of Ipswich and the Moone should consort and keepe company together carefully with the Anne Francis, as neere as they could, and as true Englishmen and faithfull friends, should supply one anothers want in all fortunes and dangers. In the morning following, euery Shippe to send off his Boate with a sufficient Pylot, to search out and sound the harboroughs for the safe bringing in of their Shippes. And beeing arriued in harborough, where they might finde conuenient place for the purpose, they resolued foorthwith to ioyne and sette together the Pinnesse, wherewithall the Captaine of the Anne Francis might, according to his former determination, discouer vp into the streights.

After these determinations thus set downe, the Thomas of Ipswich the night following lost company of the other Shippes, and afterward shaped a contrary course homeward, which fell out as it manifestly appeared, very much against their Captaine Master Tanfields minde, as by due examination before the Lordes of her Maiesties most honourable priuie Counsell it hath since bene prooued, to the great discredite of the Pilot Cox, who specially persuaded his company against the opinion of his sayd Captaine, to returne home.

And as the Captaine of the Anne Francis doeth witnesse, euen at their conference togither, Captaine Tanfield tolde him, that he did not a little suspect the sayd Pilot Cox, saying that he had opinion in the man neither of honest duetie, manhoode, nor constancie. Notwithstanding the sayde Shippes departure, the Captaine of the Anne Francis being desirous to put in execution his former resolutions, went with his Shippe boate (being accompanied also with the Moones Skiffe) to prooue amongst the Ilands which lye vnder Hattons Hedland, if any conuenient harborough, or any knowledge of the Fleete, or any good Ore were there to be found. The Shippes lying off and on at Sea the while vnder Sayle, searching through many sounds, they sawe them all full of many dangers and broken ground: yet one there was, which seemed an indifferent place to harborough in, and which they did very diligently sound ouer, and searched againe.

Here the sayde Captaine found a great blacke Island, whereunto hee had good liking, and certifying the company thereof, they were somewhat comforted, and with the good hope of his wordes rowed cheerefully vnto the place: where when they arriued, they found such plentie of blacke Ore of the same sort which was brought into England this last yeere, that if the goodnesse might answere the great plentie thereof, it was to be thought that it might reasonably suffice all the golde-gluttons of the worlde. This Iland the Captaine for cause of his good hap, called after his own name, Bestes blessing, and with these good tydings returning abord his Ship the ninth of August about tenne of the clocke at night, hee was ioyfully welcommed of his company, who before were discomforted, and greatly expected some better fortune at his handes.

Beates blessing.

The next day being the tenth of August, the weather reasonably fayre, they put into the foresayde Harborough, hauing their Boate for the better securitie sounding before their Shippe. But for all the care and diligence that could bee taken in sounding the Channell ouer and ouer againe, the Anne Francis came aground vpon a suncken Rocke within the Harborough, and lay thereon more then halfe drye vntill the next flood, when by Gods Almighty prouidence, contrary almost to all expectation, they came afloat againe, being forced all that time to vndersette their Shippe with their mayne Yarde, which otherwise was likely to ouerset and put thereby in danger the whole company. They had aboue two thousand strokes together at the Pumpe, before they could make their Shippe free of the water againe, so sore shee was brused by lying vpon the Rockes. The Moone came safely, and roade at anchor by the Anne Francis, whose helpe in their necessitie they could not well haue missed.

Anne Francis in danger.

The Mooue in harborough.

Now whilest the Mariners were romaging their Shippes, and mending that which was amisse, the Miners followed their labour for getting together of sufficient quantitie of Ore, and the Carpenters indeuoured to doe their best for the making vp of the Boate or Pinnesse: which to bring to passe, they wanted two speciall and most necessarie things, that is, certaine principall tymbers that are called knees, which are the chiefest strength of any Boate and also nayles, wherewithall to ioyne the plancks together.

Whereupon hauing by chance a Smyth amongst them, (and yet vnfurnished of his necessary tooles to worke and make nayles withall) they were faine of a gunne chamber to make an Anuile to worke vpon, and to vse a pickaxe in stead of a sledge to beate withall, and also to occupy two small bellowes in steade of one payre of greater Smiths bellowes. And for lacke of small Yron for the easier making of the nayles, they were forced to breake their tongs, grydiron, and fireshouell in pieces.

Hattons Hedland.

The eleuenth of August the Captaine of the Anne Francis taking the Master of his Shippe with him, went vp to the toppe of Hattons Hedland, which is the highest land of all the streights, to the ende to descry the situation of the Countrey vnderneath, and to take a true plotte of the place, whereby also to see what store of Yce was yet left in the streights, as also to search what Mineral matter or fruite that soyle might yeeld: And the rather for the honour the said Captaine doeth owe to that Honourable name* which himselfe gaue thereunto the last yeere, in the highest part of this Hedland he caused his company to make a Columne or Crosse of stone, in token of Christian possession. In this place there is plentie of Blacke Ore, and diuers pretie stones.

Pretie stones.

A mightie white Beare.

The seuenteenth of August the Captaines with their companies chased and killed a great white Beare, which aduentured and gaue a fierce assault vpon twentie men being weaponed. And he serued them for good meate many dayes.

A Pinnesse there built.

The eighteenth of August the Pinnesse with much adoe being set together, the sayd Captaine Best determined to depart vp the streights, to prooue and make tryall, as before was pretended, some of his companie greatly persuading him to the contrary, and specially the Carpenter that set the same together, who sayde that hee would not aduenture himselfe therein for fiue hundreth pounds, for that the boate hung together but onely by the strength of the nayles, and lacked some of her principall knees and tymbers.

These wordes some what discouraged some of the company which should haue gone therein. Whereupon the Captaine, as one not altogether addicted to his owne selfe-will, but somewhat foreseeing how it might be afterwards spoken, if contrary fortune should happen him (Lo he hath followed his owne opinion and desperate resolutions, and so thereafter it is befallen him) calling the Master and Mariners of best iudgement together, declared vnto them how much the cause imported him to his credite to seeke out the Generall, as well to conferre with him of some causes of weight, as otherwise to make due examination and tryall of the Goodnesse of the Ore, whereof they had no assurance but by gesse of the eye, and it was well like the other: which so to cary home, not knowing the goodnesse thereof, might be as much as if they should bring so many stones. And therefore hee desired them to deliuer their plaine and honest opinion, whether the Pinnesse were sufficient for him so to aduenture in or no. It was answered, that by careful heede taking thereunto amongst the yce, and the foule weather, the Pinnesse might suffice. And hereupon the Masters mate of the Anne Francis called Iohn Gray, manfully and honestly offering himselfe vnto his Captaine in this aduenture and seruice, gaue cause to others of his Mariners to follow the attempt.

---

* Sir Christopher Hatton.

And vpon the nineteenth of August the sayd Captaine being accompanied with Captaine Vpcote of the Moone, and eighteene persons in the small Pinnesse, hauing conuenient portions of victuals and things necessary, departed upon the sayd pretended Voyage, leauing their shippe at anchor in a good readinesse for the taking in of their fraight. And hauing little winde to sayle withall, they plyed alongst the Souther shore, and passed aboue 30. leagues, hauing the onely helpe of mans labour with Oares, and so intending to keepe that shore aboord vntil they were got vp to the farthest and narrowest of the streights, minded there to crosse ouer and to search likewise alongst the Northerland vnto the Countesses sound, and from thence to passe all that coast along, whereby if any of the Fleete had bene distressed by wrecke of rocke or yce, by that meanes they might be perceiued of them, and so they thereby to giue them such helpe and reliefe as they could. They did greatly feare, and euer suspect that some of the Fleete were surely cast away, and driuen to seeke sowre sallets amongst the colde cliffes.

They aduenture by the streights in a weake Pinnesse.

And being shotte vp about fortie leagues within the Streights, they put ouer towardes the Norther shore, which was not a little dangerous for their small boates. And by meanes of a sudden flawe were dryuen, and faine to seeke harborough in the night amongst all the rockes and broken

40 leagues within the streights.

Gabriels Ilands.

ground of Gabriels Ilands, a place so named within the streights aboue the Countesse of Warwicks sound: And by the way where they landed, they did finde certaine great stones set vp by the Countrey people as it seemed for markes, where they also made many Crosses of stone, in token that Christians had been there. The 22. of August they had sight of the Countesses sound, and made the place perfect from the toppe of a hill, and keeping along the Norther shore, perceiued the smoke of a fire vnder a hils side: whereof they diuersely deemed. When they came neere the place, they perceiued people which wafted vnto them, as it seemed, with a flagge or ensigne. And because the Countrey people had vsed to do the like, when they peceiued any of our boats to passe by, they suspected them to be the same. And comming somewhat neerer, they might perceiue certaine tents, and discerne this ensigne to be of mingled colours, blacke and white, after the English Fashion. But because they could see no Shippe, nor likelihood of harborough within fiue or sixe leagues about, and knewe that none of our men were woont to frequent those partes, they could not tell what to iudge thereof, but imagined that some of the ships being carried so high with the storme and mistes, had made shipwracke amongst the yce or the broken Islands there, and were spoyled by the countrey people, who might vse the sundry coloured flagge for a policie, to bring them likewise within their danger. Whereupon the sayd Captaine with his companies, resolued to recouer the same ensigne, if it were so, from those base people, or els to lose their liues and all together. In the ende they discerned them to be their countreymen, and then they deemed them to haue lost their Ships, and so to be gathered together for their better strength. On the other side, the companie ashoare feared that the Captaine hauing lost his Shippe, came to seeke forth the Fleete for his reliefe in his poore Pinnesse, so that their extremities caused eche part to suspect the worst.

Proximus sum egomet mihi.

The Captaine now with his Pinnisse being come neere the shoare, commanded his Boate carefully to be kept aflote, lest in their necessitie they might winne the same from him, and seeke first to saue themselues: for euery man in that case is next himselfe. They haled one another according to the manner of the Sea, and demaunded what cheere? and either partie answered the other, that all was well: whereupon there was a sudden and ioyful outshoote, with great flinging vp of caps, and a braue voly of shotte to welcome one another. And truely it was a most strange case to see how ioyfull and gladde euery partie was to see themselues meete in safetie againe, after so strange and incredible dangers: Yet to be short, as their dangers were great, so their God was greater.

And here the company were working vpon new Mines, which Captaine York being here arriued not long before, had found out in this place, and it is named the Countesse of Sussex Mine.

Captain York arriued.

After some conference with our friends here, the captaine of the Anne Francis departed towards the Countesse of Warwicks sound, to speake with the Generall, and to haue tryall made of such mettall as he had brought thither, by the Goldfiners. And so he determined to dispatch againe towards his ship. And hauing spoken with the General, he receiued order for all causes, direction as well for the bringing vp of the Shippe to the Countesses sound, as also to fraight his Ship with the same Oare which he himselfe had found, which vpon triall made, was supposed to be very good.

The 23. of August, the sayde Captaine mette together with the other Captaines (Commissioners in counsell with the Generall) aboorde the Ayde, where they considered and consulted of sundry causes, which being particularly registred by the Notarie, were appoynted where and how to be done against another yeere.

The 24. of August, the Generall with two Pinnesses and good numbers of men went to Beares sound, commanding the sayde Captaine with his Pinnesse to attend the seruice, to see if he could encounter or apprehend any of the people: for sundry times they shewed themselues busie thereabouts, sometimes with seuen or eyght Boates in one company, as though they minded to encounter with our company which were working there at the Mines, in no great numbers. But when they perceiued any of our Shippes to ryde in that roade (being belike more amazed at the countenance of a Shippe, and a more number of men) they did neuer shewe themselues againe there at all. Wherefore our men sought with their Pinnesses to compasse about the Iland where they did vse, supposing there suddenly to intercept some of them. But before our men could come neere, hauing belike some watch in the toppe of the

None of the people will be taken.

mountaines, they conueyed themselues priuilly away, and left (as it should seeme) one of their great dartes behinde them for haste, which we found neere to a place of their caues and housing. Therefore, though our Generall were very desirous to haue taken some of them to haue brought into England, they being being now,growen more wary by their former losses, would not at any time come within our dangers. About midnight of the same day, the captaine of the Anne Francis departed thence and set his course ouer the straights towards Hattons Hedland, being about 15. leagues ouer, and returned aboord his Shippe the 25. of August to the great comfort of his company, who long expected his comming, where hee found his Shippes ready rigged and loden. Wherefore he departed from thence againe the next morning towards the Countesses sound, where he arriued the 28. of the same. By the way he set his Miners ashore at Beares sound, for the better dispatch and gathering the Ore togither: for that some of the ships were behind hand with their fraight, the time of the yeere passing suddenly away.

The thirtieth of August the Anne Francis was brought aground, and had 8. great leakes mended which she had receiued by meanes of the rockes and yce. This day the Masons finished a house which Captaine Fenton caused to be made of lyme and stone vpon the Countesse of Warwickes Island, to the ende we might proue against the next yeere, whither the snow could ouerwhelme it, the frost brake it vp, or the people dismember the same. And the better to allure those brutish and vnciuill people to courtesie against other times of our comming, we left therein diuers of our Countrey toyes, as belles, and kniues, wherein they specially delight, one for the necessary vse, and the other for the great pleasure thereof. Also pictures of men and women in lead, men on horsebacke, looking glasses, whistles, and pipes. Also in the house was made an Ouen, and bread left baked therein for them to see and taste.

A house builded and left there.

We buried the timber of our pretended fort. Also here we sowed pease, corne, and other graine, to proue the fruitfulnesse of the soyle against the next yeere.

Master Wolfall on Winters Fornace preached a godly sermon, which being ended, he celebrated also a Communion vpon the land, at the partaking whereof was the Captaine of the Anne Francis, and many other Gentlemen and Souldiers, Mariners, and Miners with him. The

M. Wolfall a godly preacher.

celebration of the diuine mystery was the first signe, seale, and confirmation of Christs name, death, and passion euer knowen in these quarters. The said M. Wolfall made sermons, and celebrated the Communion at sundry other times, in seuerall and sundry ships, because the whole company could neuer meet together at any one place. The Fleet now being in some good readinesse for their lading, the Generall calling together the Gentlemen and Captaines to consult, told them that he was very desirous that some further discouery should be attempted, and that he would not onely by Gods helpe bring home his ships laden with Ore, but also meant to bring some certificate of a further discouery of the Countrey, which thing to bring to passe (hauing sometime therein consulted) they found very hard, and almost inuincible. And considering that already they had spent sometime in searching out the trending and fashion of the mistaken straites, therefore it could not be sayd, but that by this voyage they haue notice of a further discouery, and that the hope of the passage thereby is much furthered and encreased, as appeared before in the discourse thereof. Yet notwithstanding if any meanes might be further deuised, the Captaines were contented and willing, as the Generall shoulde appoynt and commaund, to take any enterprise in hand. Which after long debating was found a thing very impossible, and that rather consultation was to be had of returning homeward, especially for these causes following. First the darke foggy mists, the continuall falling snowe and stormy weather which they commonly were vexed with, and now daily euer more and more increased, haue no small argument of the Winters drawing neere. And also the frost euery night was so hard congealed within the sound, that if by euill hap they should bee long kept in with contrary winds, it was greatly to be feared, that they should be shut vp there fast the whole yeere, which being vtterly vnprouided, would be their vtter destruction. Againe, drinke was so scant throughout all the Fleet by meanes of the great leakage, that not onely the prouision which was layd in for the habitation was wanting and wasted, but also each shippes seuerall prouision spent and lost, which many of our company to their great griefe found in their returne since, for all the way homewards they dranke nothing but water. And the great cause of this leakage and wasting was, for that the great timber and seacole, which lay so weighty vpon the barrels,

Consultation for a further discouery.

brake, bruised, and rotted the hoopes insunder. Yet notwithstanding these reasons alleaged the Generall himselfe (willing the rest of the Gentlemen and Captaines euery man to looke to his seuerall charge and lading, that against a day appointed, they should be all in a readinesse to set homeward) went in a Pinnesse and discouered further Northward in the straights, and found that by Beares sound and Halles Island, the land was not firme, as it was first supposed, but all broken Islands in maner of an Archipelagus, and so with other secret intelligence to himselfe, he returned to the Fleet. Where presently vpon his arriuall at the Countesses sound, he began to take order for their returning homeward, and first caused certaine Articles to be proclaimed, for the better keeping of orders and courses in their returne, which Articles were deliuered to euery Captaine.

Broken Ilands in maner of an Archipelagus.

The Fleetes returning homeward.

HAuing now receiued articles and directions for our returne homewards, all other things being in forwardnesse and in good order, the last day of August the whole Fleete departed from the Countesses sound, excepting the Iudith, and the Anne Francis, who stayed for the taking in of fresh water and came the next day and mette the Fleete off and on, athwart Beares sound, who stayed for the Generall, which then was gone ashore to despatch the two Barkes and the Busse of Bridgewater, for their loading, whereby to get the companies and other things aboord. The Captaine of the Anne Francis hauing most part of his company ashore, the first of September went also to Beares sound in his Pinnesse to fetch his men aboord, but the wind grewe so great immediatly vpon their landing, that the shippes at sea were in great danger, and some of them forcibly put from their ankers, and greatly feared to be vtterly lost, as the Hopewell, wherein was Captaine Carew and others, who could not tell on which side their danger was most: for hauing mightie rockes threatening on the one side, and driuing Islands of cutting yce on the other side, they greatly feared to make shipwracke, the yce driuing so neere them that it touched their bolt-sprit. And by meanes of the Sea that was growne so hie, they were not able to put to sea with their small Pinnesses to recouer their shippes. And againe, the shippes

Returne homeward.

were not able to tarie or lie athwart for them, by meanes of the outragious windes and swelling seas. The Generall willed the Captaine of the Anne Francis with his company, for that night to lodge aboord the Busse of Bridgewater, and went himselfe with the rest of his men aboord the Barkes. But their numbers were so great, and the prouision of the Barkes so scant, that they pestered one another exceedingly. They had great hope that the next morning the weather would be faire, whereby they might recouer their shippes. But in the morning following it was much worse, for the storme continued greater, the Sea being more swollen, and the Fleete gone quite out of sight. So that now their doubts began to grow great: for the ship of Bridgewater which was of greatest receit, and whereof they had best hope and made most account, roade so farre to leeward of the harborowes mouth, that they were not able for the rockes (that lay betweene the wind and them) to lead it out to Sea with a saile. And the Barks were already so pestered with men, and so slenderly furnished with prouision, that they had scarce meat for sixe dayes for such numbers.

The Generall in the morning departed to Sea in the Gabriel to seeke the Fleete, leauing the Busse of Bridgewater, and the Michael behind in Beares sound. The Busse set sayle, and thought by turning in the narrow channell within the harborow to get to windward: but being put to leeward more, by that meanes was faine to come to anker for her better safetie, amongst a number of rockes, and there left in great danger of euer getting forth againe. The Michael set sayle to follow the Generall, and could giue the Busse no reliefe, although they earnestly desired the same. And the Captaine of the Anne Francis was left in hard election of two euils: eyther to abide his fortune with the Busse of Bridgewater, which was doubtfull of euer getting forth, or else to bee towed in his small Pinnesse at the sterne of the Michael thorow the raging Seas, for that the Barke was not able to receiue or relieue halfe his company, wherein his danger was not a little perillous.

So after hee resolued to commit himselfe with all his company vnto that fortune of God and Sea, and was dangerously towed at the sterne of the Barke for many miles, vntill at length they espyed the Anne Francis vnder sayle, hard vnder their Lee, which was no small comfort vnto them. For no doubt, both those and a great number more had perished for lacke of victuals, and conuenient roome in the Barks without the helpe of the said Ship. But the honest care that the Master of the Anne Francis had of his Captaine, and the good regarde of duetie towardes his Generall, suffered him not to depart, but honestly abode to hazard a dangerous roade all the night long, notwithstanding all the stormy weather, when all the Fleete besides departed. And the Pinnesse came no sooner aboord the shippe, and the men entred, but shee presently shiuered and fell to pieces and sunke at the ships sterne, with all the poore mens furniture: so weake was the boat with towing, and so forcible was the sea to bruise her in pieces, But (as God would) the men were all saued.

At this present in this storme many of the Fleete were dangerously distressed, and were seuered almost all asunder. Yet, thanks be to God, all the Fleete arriued safely in England about the first of October, some in one place and some in another. But amongst other, it was most maruellous how the Busse of Bridgewater got away, who being left behind the Fleete in great danger of neuer getting forth, was forced to seeke a way Northward thorow an vnknowen channell full of rocks, vpon the backe side of Beares sound, and there by good hap found out a way into the North sea, a very dangerous attempt: save that necessitie, which hath no law, forced them to trie masteries. This aforesayd North sea is the same which lyeth vpon the backe side of Frobishers straits, where first the Generall himselfe in his Pinnesses, and after some other of our company haue discouered (as they affirme) a great foreland, where they would also haue a great likelihood of the greatest passage towards the South sea, or Mar del Sur.

An vnknowen channell into the Northeast discouered by the Busse of Bridgewater.

A fruitful new Island discouered.

The Busse of Bridgewater, as she came homeward, to the Southeastward of Friseland, discouered a great Island in the latitude of 57 degrees and an halfe, which was neuer yet found before, and sailed three dayes alongst the coast, the land seeming to be fruitfull, full of woods, and a champion * countrey.

There died in the whole Fleete in all this voyage not aboue forty persons, which number is not great, considering how many ships were in the Fleet, and how strange fortunes we passed.

---

* Flat.

A generall and briefe description of the Counrtey, and condition of the people, which are found in Meta Incognita.

HAuing now sufficiently and truly set forth the whole circumstance, and particuler handling of euery occurrent in the 3. voyages of our worthy Generall, Captaine Frobisher, it shal not be from the purpose to speake somewhat in generall of the nature of this Countrey called Meta Incognita, and the condition of the sauages there inhabiting.

A Topographical description of Meta Incognita.

First therefore touching the Topographical description of the place. It it now found in the last voyage, that Queene Elizabeths Cape being situate in latitude at 61. degrees and a halfe, which before was supposed to be part of the firme land of America, and also al the rest of the South side of Frobishers straites, are all seuerall Islands and broken land, and like wise so will all the North side of the said straites fall out to be as I thinke. And some of our company being entred aboue 60. leagues within the mistaken straites in the third voyage mentioned, thought certainely that they had discryed the firme land of America towards the South, which I thinke will fall out so to be.

The people of Meta Incognita like vnto Samoeds.

These broken lands and Islands being very many in number, do seeme to make there an Archipelagus, which as they all differ in greatnesse, forme, and fashion one from another; so are they in goodnesse, colour, and soyle much vnlike. They all are very high lands, mountaines, and in most parts couered with snow euen all the Sommer long. The Norther lands haue lesse store of snow, more grasse, and are more plaine Countreys: the cause whereof may be, for that the Souther Ilands receiue all the snow, that the cold winds and piercing ayre bring out of the North. And contrarily, the North parts receiue more warme blasts of milder ayre from the South, whereupon may grow the cause why the people couet to inhabit more vpon the North parts then the South, as farre as we yet by our experience perceiue they doe. These people I iudge to be a kind of Tartar, or rather a kind of Samoed, of the same sort and condition of life that the Samoeds bee to the Northeastwards beyond Moscouy, who are called Samoeds, which is as much to say in the Moscouy tongue as eaters of themselues, and so the Russians their borderers doe name them. And by late conference with a friend of mine (with whom I did

Their natiue colour.

sometime trauell in the parts of Moscouy) who had great experience of those Samoeds and people of the Northeast, I find that in all their maner of liuing, those people of the Northeast, and those of the Northwest are like. They are of the colour of a ripe Oliue, which how it may come to passe, being borne in so cold a climate I referre to the iudgement of others, for they are naturally borne children of the same colour and complexion that all the Americans are, which dwell vnder the Equinoctiall line.

Their apparel.

They are men very actiue and nimble. They are a strong people and very warlike, for in our sight vpon the toppes of the hilles they would often muster themselues, and after the maner of a skirmish trace their ground very nimbly, and mannage their bowes and dartes with great dexterity. They go clad in coates made of the skinnes of beasts, as of Seales, Deere, Beares, Foxes, and Hares. They haue also some garments of feathers, being made of the cases of Foules, finely sowed and compact togither. Of all which sorts wee brought home some with vs into England, which we found in their tents. In Sommer they vse to weare the hairie side of their coates outward, and sometime goe naked for too much heate. And in Winter (as by signes they haue declared) they weare foure or fiue folde vpon their bodies with the haire (for warmth) turned inward. Hereby it appeareth, that the ayre there is not indifferent, but either it is feruent hote, or els extreme cold, and farre more excessiue in both qualities, then the reason of the climate should yeeld. For there it is colder, being vnder 62 degrees in latitude, then it is at Wardhouse in the voyage to Saint Nicholas in Moscouie, being at about aboue 72. degrees in latitude. The reason hereof perhaps may be, that this Meta Incognita is much frequented and vexed with Easterne and Northeastern winds, which from the sea and yce bringeth often an intollerable cold ayre, which was also the cause that this yeere our straits were so long shut vp with so great store of yce. But there is great hope and likelihood, that further within the Straights it will bee more constant and temperate weather.

The accidental cause of cold ayre at Meta Incognita.

These people are in nature very subtill and sharpe witted, ready to conceiue our meaning by signes, and to make answere well to be vnderstood againe. And if they haue not seene the thing whereof you aske them, they will wincke, or couer their eyes with their hands, as who would say, it hath bene hid from their sight. If they vnderstand you not whereof you should aske them, they wil stop their eares. They will teach vs the names of each thing in their language which wee desire to learne, and are apt to learne any thing of vs. They delight in Musicke aboue measure, and will keepe time and stroke to any tune which you shall sing, both with their voyce, head, hand and feete, and will sing the same tune aptly after you. They will row with our Ores in our boates, and keepe a true stroke with our Mariners, and seeme to take great delight therein. They liue in Caues of the earth, and hunt for their dinners or praye, euen as the beare or other wild beastes do. They eat raw flesh and fish, and refuse no meat howsoeuer it be stinking. They are desperate in their fight, sullen of nature, and rauenous in their maner of feeding.

The Sauages delight in Musicke.

Hard kind of liuing.

Their sullen and desperate nature doth herein manifestly appeare, that a company of them being enuironed by our men on the top of a hie cliffe, so that they could by no meanes escape our hands, finding themselues in this case distressed, chose rather to cast themselues headlong down the rocks into the sea, and so be bruised and drowned, rather than to yeeld themselues to our mens mercies.

For their weapons to offend their enemies or kill their prey withall, they haue darts, slings, bowes, and arrowes headed with sharpe stones, bones, and some with yron. They are exceeding friendly and kind hearted one to the other, and mourne greatly at the losse or harme of their fellowes, and expresse their griefe of mind, when they part one from another with a mourneful song, and Dirges. They are very shamefast in bewraying the secrets of nature, and very chaste in the maner of their liuing: for when the man, which wee brought from thence into England the last voyage, should put off his coat or discouer his whole body for change, he would not suffer the woman to bee present, but put her forth of his Cabin. And in all the space of two or three moneths, while the man liued in company of the woman, there was neuer any thing seene or perceiued betweene them, more then might haue passed betweene brother and sister: but the woman was in all things very seruiceable for the man, attending him carefully when he was sicke, and he likewise in all

Their weapons.

Their chastity.

the meates which they did eate together, woulde carue vnto her of the sweetest, fattest, and best morsels they had. They wondred much at all our things, and were afraid of our horses and other beasts out of measure. They began to grow more ciuill, familiar, pleasant, and docible amongst vs in very short time.

Their boates.

They haue boates made of leather, and couered cleane ouer sauing one place in the middle to sit in, planked within with timber, and they vse to row therein with one Ore, more swiftly a great deale, then we in our boates can doe with twentie. They haue one sort of greater boates wherein they can carrie aboue twentie persons, and haue a Mast with a saile thereon, which saile is made of thinne skinnes or bladders, sowed togither with the sinewes of fishes.

They are good Fishermen, and in their small Boates being disguised with their coates of Seales skinnes, they deceiue the fish, who take them rather for their fellow Seales, then for deceiuing men.

They are good marke-men. With their dart or arrow they will commonly kill a Ducke, or any other foule in the head, and commonly in the eye.

When they shoote at a great fish with any of their darts, they vse to tye a bladder thereunto, whereby they may the better find them againe, and the fish not able to cary it so easily away (for that the bladder doth boy the dart) will at length be wearie, and dye therewith.

Traffique with some other nation vnknowen.

They vse to traffike and exchange their commodities with some other people, of whom they haue such things as their miserable Countrey, and ignorance of Art to make, denieth them to haue, as barres of yron, heads of yron for their darts, needles made foure square, certaine buttons of copper, which they vse to weare vpon their forehads for ornament, as our Ladies in the Court of England doe vse great pearle.

Gold.

Also they haue made signes vnto vs, that they haue seene gold, and such bright plates of mettals, which are vsed for ornaments amongst some people with whom they haue conference.

We found also in their tents a Guiny Beane of redde colour, the which doth vsually grow in the hote Countreys: whereby it appeareth they trade with other nations which dwell farre off, or else themselues are great trauellers.

They haue nothing in vse among them to make fire withall, sauing a kinde of Heath and Mosse which groweth there.

Their fewell.

And they kindle their fire with continuall rubbing and fretting one sticke against another, as we doe with flints. They drawe with dogges in sleads vpon the yce, and remooue their tents therewithall wherein they dwell in Sommer, when they goe a hunting for their praye and prouision against Winter. They doe sometime parboyle their meat a little and seeth the same in kettles made of beast skins: they haue also pannes cut and made of stones very artificially; they vse prety ginnes wherewith they take foule. The women carry their sucking children at their backes, and doe feede them with raw flesh, which first they do a little chaw in their owne mouths. The women haue their faces marked or painted ouer with small blewe spots: they haue blacke and long haire on their heads, and trimme the same in a decent order. The men haue but little haire on their faces, and very thinne beards. For their common drinke, they eate yce to quench their thirst withall. Their earth yeeldeth no graine or fruit of sustenance for man, or almost for beast to liue vpon: and the people will eate grasse and shrubs of the ground, euen as our kine doe. They haue no wood growing in their Countrey thereabouts, and yet wee finde they haue some timber among them, which we thinke doth growe farre off to the Southwards of this place, about Canada, or some other part of New found land: for there belike, the trees standing on the cliffes of the sea side, by the waight of yce and snow in Winter ouercharging them with waight, when the Sommers thaw commeth aboue, and the Sea vnderfretting beneath, which winneth dayly of the land, they are vndermined and fall downe from those cliffes into the Sea, and with the tydes and currents are driuen to and fro vpon the coastes further off, and by conjecture are taken vp here by these Countrey people, to serue them to planke and strengthen their boates withall, and to make dartes, bowes, and arrowes, and such other things necessarie for their vse. And of this kind of drift wood we find all the Seas ouer great store, which being cut or sawed asunder, by reason of long driuing in the Sea is eaten of wormes, and full of holes, of which sort theirs is found to be.

How they make fire.

Their kettles and pannes.

The people eate grasse and shrubs.

We haue not yet found any venemous Serpent or other hurt-

A strange kind of gnat.

full thing in these parts, but there is a kind of small flie or gnat that stingeth and offendeth sorely, leauing many red spots in the face, and other places where she stingeth. They haue snow and haile in the best time of their Sommer, and the ground frosen three fadome deepe.

Inchanters.

These people are great inchanters, and vse many charmes of witchcraft: for when their heads doe ake, they tye a great stone with a string vnto a sticke, and with certaine prayers and wordes done to the sticke, they lift vp the stone from ground, which sometimes with all a mans force they cannot stirre, and sometime againe they lift as easily as a fether, and hope thereby with certaine ceremonious wordes to haue ease and helpe. And they made vs by signes to vnderstand, lying groueling with their faces vpon the ground, and making a noise downeward, that they worship the deuill vnder them.

The beasts and foules of the Countrey.

They haue great store of Deere, Beares, Hares, Foxes, and innumerable numbers of sundry sorts of wild foule, as Seamewes, Gulles, Wilmotes, Ducks, &c. whereof our men killed in one day fiteene hundred.

They haue also store of haukes, as Falkons, Tassels, &c. whereof two alighted vpon one of our ships at their returne, and were brought into England, which some thinke wil proue very good.

There are also great store of rauens, larkes, and partriges, whereof the countrey people feed.

All these foules are farre thicker clothed with downe and fethers, and haue thicker skinnes then any in England haue: for as that countrey is colder, so nature hath prouided a remedie thereunto.

Our men haue eaten of the Beares, Hares, Patriges, Larkes, and of their wild foule, and find them reasonable good meat, but not so delectable as ours.

Their wild foule must be all fleine, their skins are so thicke: and they tast best fryed in pannes.

The Countrey seemeth to be much subiect to Earthquakes.

The ayre is very subtile, piercing and searching, so that if any corrupted or infected body, especially with the disease called Morbus Gallicus come there, it will presently breake forth and shew it selfe, and cannot there by any kind of salue or medicine be cured.

Their longest Sommers day is of great length, without any darke night, so that in Iuly al the night long, we might perfitly and easily write and reade whatsoeuer had pleased vs, which lightsome nights were very beneficiall vnto vs, being so distressed with abundance of yce as we were.

The Sunne setteth to them in the Euening at a quarter of an houre after tenne of the clocke, and riseth againe in the morning, at three quarters of an houre after one of the clocke, so that in Sommer their Sunne shineth to them twenty houres and a halfe, and in the night is absent three houres and a halfe. And although the Sunne bee absent these 3. houres and a halfe, yet it is not darke that time, for that the Sunne is neuer aboue three or foure degrees vnder the edge of their Horizon; the cause is that the Tropicke of Cancer doth cut their Horizon at very vneuen and oblique Angles. But the Moone at any time of the yeere being in Cancer, hauing North latitude, doth make a full reuolution aboue their Horizon, so that sometime they see the Moone about 24. houres togither. Some of our company of the more ignorant sort, thought we might continually haue seene the Sunne and the Moone, had it not bene for two or three high mountaines.

The length of their day.

A full reuolution of the Moone aboue their Horizon.

The people are now become so warie, and so circumspect, by reason of their former losses, that by no meanes we can apprehend any of them, although wee attempted often in this last voyage. But to say trueth wee could not bestow any great time in pursuing them, because of our great businesse in lading, and other things.

The Letters patents of the Queenes Maiestie, granted to Master Adrian Gylbert and others, for the search and discouery of the Northwest Passage to China.

ELizabeth by the grace of God of England, France, and Ireland Queene, defender of the faith, &c. To all, to whome these presents shall come, greeting: Forasmuch as our trustie and welbeloued subiect Adrian Gylbert of Sandridge in the Countie of Deuon, Gentleman, to his great costes and charges, hath greatly and earnestly trauelled and sought, and yet doth trauell and seeke, and by diuers meanes indeuoureth and laboureth, that the Passage vnto China and the Iles of the Moluccas, by the Northwestward, Northeastward, or Northward, vnto which part or the world, none of our loyall Subiects haue hitherto had any traffique or trade, may be discouered, knowen, and frequented by the Subiects of this our Realme: Knowe yee therefore that for the considerations aforesayd and for diuers other good considerations vs thereunto specially moouing. We of our grace especiall, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, haue giuen and granted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successors, doe giue and grant free libertie, power, and full authoritie to the sayd Adrian Gylbert, and to any other person by him or his heires to be assigned, and to those his associates and assistants, whose names are written in a Scedule hereunto annexed, and to their heires, and to one assigne of each of them, and each of their heires at all times, and at any time or times after the date of these presents, vnder our Banners and Ensignes freely, without let, interruption, or restraint, of vs, our heires or successors, any law, statute proclamation, patent charter, or prouiso to the contrary nothwithstanding, to saile, make voyage, and by any maner of meanes to passe and to depart out of this our Realme of England, or any our Realmes, Dominions, or Territories into all or any Isles, Countreys, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Portes, Bayes, Creekes, armes of the Sea, and all Hauens, and all maner of other places whatsoeuer, that by the sayde Northwestward, Northeastward, or Northward, is to be by him, his associates or assignes discouered, and for and in the sayd sayling, voyage, and passage, to haue and vse so many shippes, Barkes, Pinnesses, or any vessels of any qualitie or burthen, with all the furniture, of men, victuals, and all maner of necessary prouision, armour, weopons, ordinance, targets, and appurtinances, whatsoeuer, as to such a voyage shall or may be requisite, conuenient or commodious, any lawe, statute, ordinance or prouiso to the contrary thereof notwithstanding. And also we doe giue and grant to the sayde Adrian Gylbert, and his sayde associates, and to such assignee of him, and his heires, and to the heires and one assignee of euery of his sayde associates for euer, full power and absolute authoritie to trade and make their residance in any of the sayde Isles, Countreys, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Portes, Bayes, and Hauens, and all maner of other places whatsoeuer with all commodities, profites, and emoluments in the sayde places or any of them, growing and arising, with all maner of priuiledges, prerogatiues, iurisdictions and royalties both by sea and land whatsoeuer, yeelding and paying therefore vnto vs, our heires and successors, the tenth part of all such golde and siluer oare, pearles, iewels, and precious stones, or the value thereof, as the sayd Adrian Gylbert and his sayd associates, their heires and assignes, servants, factors, or workemen, and euery or any of them shall finde, the sayd tenth to bee deliuered duely to our Customer, or other officers by vs, our heires or successors thereunto assigned, in the Portes of London, Dartmouth, or Plimmouth, at which three places onely the sayde Adrian Gylbert, and his sayde associates, their sayde heires and assignes, shall lade, charge, arriue, and discharge all maner of wares, goods, and merchandizes whatsoeuer to the sayde voyage, and newe trade belonging or appertaining. And moreouer, wee haue giuen, granted, and authorized, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successors, of our grace especiall, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, doe giue, graunt, and authorize the said Adrian Gilbert, and his said associats for euer, their heires and their said assignes and euery of them, that if the aforesayd Isles, Countreys, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Ports, Bayes, or Havens, or any other of the premises by the sayd Adrian Gylbert or his associates, their heires and their said assignes or any of them, to be found by them, discouered and traffiqued vnto by any trade as aforesayd, shall be by any other our subiects visited, frequented, haunted, traded vnto or inhabited by the wayes aforesayd, without the special licence in writing of the said Adrian Gylbert and his associats, and their heires and assignes for euer, or by the most part of them, so that the sayd Adrian Gilbert, his heires or assignes be one of them, that then aswell their ship, or ships in any such voyage or voyages be vsed, as all and singuler their goods, wares, and marchandizes, or any other things whatsoeuer, from or to any of the places aforesayd transported, that so shall presume to visit, frequent, haunt, trade vnto, or inhabite, shall be forfaited and confiscated, ipso facto, the one halfe of the same goods and marchandizes, or other things whatsoeuer, or the value thereof to be to the vse of vs, our heires or successours, and the other moytie thereof to be to the vse of the sayd Adrian Gylbert and his said associats, their heires and assignes for euer: and vnto the sayd Adrian Gylbert and his sayd associats, their heires and assignes wee impose, giue, assigne, create and confirme this name peculiar to be named by, to sue and to be sued by, that is to wit, by the name of the Colleagues of the fellowship for the discouerie of the Northwest passage, and them for vs, our heires and successours by that name doe incorporate, and doe erect and create as one body corporate to haue continuance for euer.

The colleagues of the fellowship for the discouery of the Northwest passage.

Moreouer vnto the sayd Adrian Gylbert, and his said associats, and vnto their heires and their sayd assignes for euer, by name of the Colleagues of the fellowship for the discouerie of the Northwest passage, we haue giuen, granted, and confirmed, and doe by these presents giue, grant, and confirme full power and authoritie from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to make order, decree and enact, constitute and ordeine, and appoynt all such ordinances, orders, decrees, lawes, and actes, as the sayd new corporation or body politique, Colleagues of the fellowship for the discouerie of the Northwest passage, shall thinke meete, necessary, and conuenient, so that they or any of them be not contrary to the lawes of this realme, and of this our present graunt.

And we by our Royall prerogatiue, and fulnesse of our authority, of our grace especiall, certaine knowledge and meere motion, do establish, confirme and ratifie all such ordinances, orders, decrees, lawes and acts to be in so full and great power and authority, as we, our heires or successours may or can in any such case graunt, confirme, or ratifie. And further for the better incouragement of our louing subiects in this discouerie, we by our Royall prerogatiue, and fulnesse of authority for vs, our heires and successours, doe giue, graunt, establish, confirme, ordeine, ratifie and allow by these presents, to the sayd Adrian Gylbert and to his associates, and to the heires and assignes of them and euery of them for euer, and to all other person or persons of our louing subiects whatsoeuer that shall hereafter trauaile, sayle, discouer, or make voyage as aforesayd to any of the Iles, Mainelands, Countreys or Teritories whatsoeuer, by vertue of this our graunt to be discouered, that the heires and assignes of them and euery of them being borne within any of the Iles, Mainelands and Countreys, or Territories whatsoeuer before mentioned, shall haue and enioy all the priuileges of free Denizens, as persons natiue borne within this our Realme of England, or within our allegiance for euer, in such like ample maner and forme, as if they were or had bene borne and personally resiant within our sayd Realme, any law, statute, proclamation, custome or vsage to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding.

Free Denization granted.

Moreouer, for the consideration aforesayd by vertue hereof, we giue and graunt vnto the sayd Adrian Gylbert, his heires and assignes for euer, free libertie, licence and priuilege, This Patent remained in force fiue yeeres.

that during the space of fiue yeeres next and immediately ensuing the date hereof, it shall not be lawfull for any person or persons whatsoeuer, to visit, haunt, frequent, trade, or make voyage to any Iles, Mainlands, Countreys, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Ports, Bayes, and Hauens, nor to any other Hauens or places whatsoeuer hitherto not yet discouered by any of our subiects by vertue of this graunt to be traded vnto, without the special consent and good liking of the said Adrian Gylbert, his heires or assignes first had in writing. And if any person or persons of the associats of the sayd Adrian, his heires or assignes, or any other person or persons whatsoeuer, free of this discouery, shall do any act or acts contrary to the tenour and true meaning hereof, during the space of the sayd fiue yeeres, that then the partie and parties so offending, they and their heires for euer shall loose (ipso facto) the benefite and priuilege of this our graunt, and shall stand and remaine to all intents and purposes as persons exempted out of this graunt.

Authoritie to proceede at Sea against mutiners.

And further by vertue hereof wee giue and graunt, for vs, our heires and successours at all times during the space of fiue yeers next ensuing the date hereof, libertie and licence, and full authority to the sayd Adrian Gylbert, and his heires and assignes, that if it shall happen any one or moe in any ship or ships sayling on their sayd voyage, to become mutinous, seditious, disordered, or any way vnruly to the preiudice or hinderance of the hope for the successe in the attempt or prosecuting of this discouerie or trade intended, to vse or execute vpon him or them so offending, such punishment, correction, or execution, as the cause shall be found in iustice to require by the verdict of twelue of the companie sworne thereunto, as in such a case apperteineth: That expresse mention of the certaintie of the premisses, or of other gifts or graunts by vs to the sayd Adrian Gylbert and his associats before this time made is not mentioned in these presents, or any other lawe, act, statute, prouiso, graunt, or proclamation heretofore made or hereafter to be made to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding. In witnesse whereof we haue made these our Letters to bee made patents: Witnesse our selfe at Westminster, the sixt day of Februarie, in the sixe and twenty yeere of our reigne.

1583.

The first voyage of M. Iohn Dauis, vndertaken in Iune 1585. for the discouerie of the Northwest passage, Written by M. Iohn Ianes Marchant, sometimes seruant to the worshipfull Master William Sanderson.

CErtaine Honourable personages and worthy Gentlemen of the Court and Countrey, with diuers worshipful Marchants of London and of the West Countrey, mooued with desire to aduance Gods glory and to seeke the good of their natiue Countrey, consulting together of the likelyhood of the Discouerie of the Northwest passage, which heretofore had bene attempted, but vnhappily giuen ouer by accidents vnlooked for, which turned the enterprisers from their principall purpose, resolued after good deliberation, to put downe their aduentures to prouide for necessarie shipping, and a fit man to be chiefe Conductor of this so hard an enterprise. The setting forth of this action was committed by the aduenturers, especially to the care of M. William Sanderson Marchant of London, who was so forward therein, that besides his trauaile which was not small, he became the greatest aduenturer with his purse, and commended vnto the rest of the companie one M. Iohn Dauis, a man very well grounded in the principles of the Arte of Nauigation, for Captaine and chiefe Pilot of this exployt.

Thus therefore all things being put in a readines, wee departed from Dartmouth the seuenth of Iune, towards the discouerie of the aforesayd Northwest passage, with two Barkes, the one being of 50. tunnes, named the Sunneshine of London, and the other being 35. tunnes, named the Mooneshine of Dartmouth. In the Sunneshine we had 23. persons, whose names are these following, M. Iohn Dauis Captaine, William Eston Master, Richard Pope masters mate, Iohn Iane Marchant, Henry Dauie gunner, William Crosse boatswayne, Iohn Bagge, Walter Arthur, Luke Adams, Robert Coxworthie, Iohn Ellis, Iohn Kelley, Edward Helman, William Dicke, Andrew Maddocke, Thomas Hill, Robert Wats Carpenter, William Russel, Christopher Gorney boy: Iames Cole, Francis Ridley, Iohn Russell, Robert Cornish Musicians.

Musitians.

The Mooneshine had 19. persons, William Bruton Captaine Iohn Ellis Master, the rest Mariners.

The 7. of Iune the Captaine and the Master drewe out a proportion for the continuance of our victuals.

The 8. day the wind being at Southwest and West Southwest, we put in for Falmouth, where we remained vntill the 13.

The 13. the wind blew at North, and being faire weather we departed.

The 14. with contrary wind we were forced to put into Silley.

The 15. wee departed thence, hauing the wind North and by East moderate and faire weather.

The 16. wee were driuen backe againe, and were constrained to arriue at newe Grymsby in Silley: here the winde remained contrary 12. dayes, and in that space the Captaine, the Master and I went about all the Ilands, and the Captaine did plat out and describe the situation of all the Ilands, rocks and harboroughs to the exact vse of Nauigation, with lines and scale thereunto conuenient.

They depart from Silley.

The 28. in Gods name we departed the wind being Easterly but calme.

Iuly.

The first of Iuly wee sawe great store of Porposes; The Master called for an harping yron, and shot twise or thrise: sometimes he missed, and at last shot one and strooke him in the side, and wound him into the ship: when we had him aboord, the Master sayd it was a Darlie head.

The 2. we had some of the fish sodden, and it did eat as sweete as any mutton.

The 3. wee had more in sight, and the Master went to shoote at them, but they were so great, that they burst our yrons, and we lost both fish, yrons, pastime and all: yet neuerthelesse the Master shot at them with a pike, and had welnigh gotten one, but he was so strong that he burst off the barres of the pike and went away: then he tooke the boate-hook, and hit one with that, but all would not preuaile, so at length we let them alone.

Great store of whales.

The 6. we saw a very great Whale, and euery day we saw whales continually.

The 16. and 17. we saw great store of Whales.

The 19. of Iuly we fell into a great whirling and brustling of a tyde, setting to the Northwards: and sayling about halfe a league wee came into a very calme Sea, which bent to the Southsouthwest. Here we heard a mighty great roaring of the Sea, as if it had bene the breach of some shoare, the ayre being so fogie and fulle of thicke mist, that we could not see the one ship from the other, being a very small distance asunder: so the Captaine and the Master being in distrust how the tyde might set them, caused the Mooneshine to hoyse out her boate and to sound, but they could not finde ground in 300 fathoms and better. Then the Captaine, Master, and I went towards the breach, to see what it should be, giuing the charge to our gunners that at euery glasse they should shoote off a musket shot, to the intent we might keepe ourselues from loosing them. Then coming nere to the breach, we met many Ilands of yce floting, which had quickly compassed vs about: then we went vpon some of them, and did perceiue that all the roaring which we heard, was caused onely by the rowling of this yce together: Our companie seeing vs not to returne according to our appoyntment, left off shooting muskets, and began to shoote falkonets, for they feared some mishap had befallen vs, but before night we came aboord againe with our boat laden with yce, which made very good fresh water. Then wee bent our course toward the North, hoping by that meanes to double the land.

The rouling of the yce together made a great roaring.

Yce turned into water.

The 20. as we sayled along the coast the fogge broke, and we discouered the land, which was the most deformed rockie and mountainous land that euer we saw: The first sight whereof did shew as if it had bene in forme of a sugar-loafe, standing to our sight aboue the cloudes, for that it did shew ouer the fogge like a white liste in the skie, the tops altogether couered with snow, and the shoare beset with yce a league off into the Sea, making such yrkesome noyse as that it seemed to be the true patterne of desolation, and after the same our Captaine named it, The land of Desolation.

The land of Desolation.

The 21. the winde came Northerly and ouerblew, so that we were constrained to bend our course South againe, for we perceiued that we were runne into a very deepe Bay, where wee were almost compassed with yce, for we saw very much toward the Northnortheast, West, and Southwest: and this day and this night wee cleared our selues of the yce, running Southsouthwest along the shoare.

Vpon Thursday being the 22. of this moneth, about three of the clocke in the morning, wee hoysed out our boate, and the Captaine with sixe sayles went towards the shore, thinking to find a landing place, for the night before we did perceiue the coast to be voyde of yce to our iudgement, and the same night wee were all perswaded that we had seene a Canoa rowing along the shoare, but afterwards we fell in some doubt of it, but we had no great reason so to doe. The Captaine rowing towards the shoare, willed the Master to beare in with the land after him, and before he came neere the shoare by the space of a league, or about two miles, hee found so much yce, that hee could not get to land by any meanes. Here our mariners put to their lines to see if they could get any fish, because there were so many seales vpon the coast, and the birds did beate vpon the water, but all was in vaine: The water about this place was very blacke and thicke like to a filthy standing poole, we sounded and had ground in 120. fathoms. While the Captaine was rowing to the shoare, our men sawe woods vpon the rocks like to the rocks of Newfoundland, but I could not discerne them, yet it might be so very well, for we had wood floting vpon the coast euery day, and the Moone-shine tooke vp a tree at Sea not farre from the coast being sixtie foote of length and fourteeene handfuls about, hauing the roote vpon it: After this the Captaine came aboord, the weather being very calme and faire we bent our course toward the South, with intent to double the land.

Very blacke water.

Floting wood.

The 23. we coasted the land which did lie Eastnortheast and Westsouthwest.

The 24. the winde being very faire at East, we coasted the land which did lie East and West, not being able to come neere the shoare by reason of the great quantitie of yce. At this place, because the weather was somewhat colde by reason of the yce, and the better to encourage our men, their allowance was increased: the captaine and the master tooke order that euery messe, being fiue persons, should haue halfe a pound of bread and a kan of beere euery morning to breakfast. The weather was not very colde, but the aire was moderate like to our April-weather in England: when the winde came from the land, or the ice, it was somewhat colde, but when it came off the sea it was very hote.

Colde by reason of yce.

The 25 of this moneth we departed from sight of this land at sixe of the clocke in the morning, directing our course to the Northwestward, hoping in Gods mercy to finde our desired passage, and so continued aboue foure dayes.

They saile Northwestward aboue foure dayes.

The 29 of Iuly we discouered land in 64 degrees 15 minutes of latitude, bearing Northeast from vs. The winde being contrary to goe to the Northwest-

Land in 64 degrees 15 min.

wards, we bare in with this land to take some view of it, being vtterly void of the pester yce and very temperate. Comming neere the coast, we found many faire sounds and good roads for shipping, and many great inlets into the land, whereby we iudged this land to be a great number of Islands standing together. Heere hauing mored our barke in good order, we went on shoare vpon a small Island to seeke for water and wood. Vpon this Island we did perceiue that there had bene people: or we found a small shoo and pieces of leather sowed with sinewes, and a piece of furre, and wooll like to Beuer. Then we went vpon another Island on the other side of our shippes: and the Captaine, the master, and I, being got vp to the top of an high rocke, the people of the countrey hauing espied vs, made a lamentable noise, as we thought, with great outcries and skreechings: we hearing them, thought it had bene the howling of wolues. At last I hallowed againe, and they likewise cried. Then we perceiuing where they stood, some on the shoare, and one rowing in a Canoa about a small Island fast by them, we made a great noise, partly to allure them to vs, and partly to warne our company of them. Whereupon M. Bruton and the Master of his shippe, with others of their company, made great haste towards vs, and brought our Musicians with them from our shippe, purposing either by force to rescue vs, if need should so require, or with courtesie to allure the people. When they came vnto vs, we caused our Musicians to play, our selues dancing, and making many signes of friendship. At length there came tenne Canoas from the other Islands, and two of them came so neere the shoare where we were, that they talked with vs, the other being in their boats a prety way off. Their pronunciation was very hollow thorow the throat, and their speech such as we could not vnderstand: onely we allured them by friendly imbracings and signes of courtesie. At length one of them pointing vp to the Sunne with his hand, would presently strike his breast so hard that we might heare the blow. This hee did many times before hee would any way trust vs. Then Iohn Ellis the Master of the Mooneshine was appointed to vse his best policie to gaine their friendship; who strooke his breast, and pointed to the Sunne after their order: which when he had diuers time done, they beganne to trust him, and one of

The sound where our ships did ride was called Gilberts sound.

Musicians.

The people of the countrey came and conferred with our men.

them came on shoare, to whom we threw our cappes, stockings, and gloues, and such other things as then we had about vs, playing with our musicke, and making signes of ioy, and dauncing. So the night comming, we bade them farewell, and went aboord our barks.

They next morning being the 30 of Iuly there came 37 Canoas rowing by our ships, calling to vs to come on shoare: we not making any great haste vnto them, one of them went vp to the toppe of the rocke, and leapt and daunced as they had done the day before, shewing vs a seales skinne, and another thing made like a timbrell, which he did beat vpon with a sticke, making a noise like a small drumme. Whereupon we manned our boats and came to them, they all staying in their Canoas: we come to the water side where they were: and after we had sworne by the Sunne after their fashion, they did trust vs. So I shooke hands with one of them, and he kissed my hand, and we were very familiar with them. We were in so great credit with them vpon this single acquaintance, that we could haue any thing they had. We bought fiue Canoas of them: we bought their clothes from their backs, which were all made of seales skinnes and birds skinnes; their buskins, their hose, their gloues, all being commonly sowed and well dressed: so that we were fully perswaded that they haue diuers artificers among them. We had a paire of buskins of them full of fine wool like beuer. Their apparell for heat was made of birds skinnes with their feathers on them. We saw among them leather dressed like Glouers leather, and thicke thongs like white leather of a good length. We had of their darts and oares, and found in them that they would by no meanes displease vs, but would giue vs whatsoeuer we asked of them, and would be satisfied with whatsoeuer we gaue them. They tooke great care of one another: for when we had bought their boats, then two other would come and cary him away betweene them that had solde vs his. They are very tractable people, void of craft or double dealing, and easie to be brought to any civility or good order: but we iudge them to be idolaters and to worship the Sunne.

Thirty seuen Canoas.

Their musicke.

Great familiarity with the Sauages.

During the time of our abode among these Islands we found reasonable quantitie of wood, both firre, spruse and iuniper; which whether it came floating any great distance to these places where we found it, or whether

Diuers sorts of wood.

it grew in some great Islands neere the same place by vs not yet discouered, we know not; but we iudge that it groweth there further into the land then we were, because the people had great store of darts and oares which they made none account of, but gaue them to vs for small trifles, as points and pieces of paper. We saw about this coast marueilous great abundance of seales skulling together like skuls of small fish. We found no fresh water among these Islands, but onely snow water, whereof we found great pooles. The cliffes were all of such oare as M. Frobisher brought from Meta incognita. We had diuers shewes of Study or Muscouy glasse shining not altogether vnlike to Christall. We found an herbe growing vpon the rocks whose fruit was sweet, full of red iuice, and the ripe ones were like corinths. We found also birch and willow growing like shrubbes low to the ground. These people haue great store of furres as we iudge. They made shewes vnto vs the 30 of this present, which was the second time of our being with them, after they perceiued we would haue skinnes and furres, that they would go into the countrey and come againe the next day with such things as they had: but this night the winde comming faire, the captaine and the master would by no meanes detract the purpose of our discouery. And so the last of this moneth about foure of the clocke in the morning in God's name we set saile, and were all that day becalmed vpon the coast.

They may make much traine, if they had meanes how to vse it.

Moscouie glasse.

A fruit like corinths.

August.

The first of August we had a faire winde, and so proceeded towards the Northwest for our discouery.

The sixt of August we discouered land in 66 degrees 40 minuts of latitude, altogether void from the pester of ice: we ankered in a very faire rode vnder a braue mount, the cliffes whereof were as orient as golde. This Mount was named Mount Raleigh. The rode where our ships lay at anker was called Totnes rode. The sound which did compasse the mount was named Exeter sound. The foreland towards the North was called Diers cape. The foreland towards the South was named Cape Walsingham. So soone as we were come to an anker in Totnes rode vnder Mount Raleigh, we espied foure white beares at the foot of the mount: we supposing them to be goats or wolues, manned our boats and went towards them: but when we came neere the shore, we found them to be white beares of a

Land in 66 degrees 40 min.

Foure white beares.

monstrous bignesse: we being desirous of fresh victuall and the sport, began to assault them, and I being on land, one of them came downe the hill right against me: my piece was charged with hailshot and a bullet: I discharged my piece and shot him in the necke; he roared a litle, and tooke the water straight, making small account of his hurt. Then we followed him with our boat, and killed him with boare-speares, and two more that night. We found nothing in their mawes: but we iudged by their dung that they fed vpon grasse, because it appeared in all respects like the dung of an horse, wherein we might very plainly see the very strawes.

A lare white beare.

The 7 we went on shore to another beare which lay all night vpon the top of an Island vnder Mount Raleigh, and when we came vp to him he lay fast asleep. I leuelled at his head, and the stone of my piece gaue no fire: with that he looked vp, and layed downe his head againe: then I shot being charged with two bullets, and strooke him in the head: he being but amazed fell backwards: wherevpon we ran all vpon him with boare-speares, and thrust him in the body: yet for that he gript away our boare-speares, and went towards the water; and as he was going downe, he came backe againe. Then our Master shot his boare-spear, and strooke him in the head, and made him to take the water, and swimme into a coue fast by, where we killed him, and brought him aboord. The breadth of his forefoot from one side to the other was fourteene inches ouer. They were very fat, so as we were constrained to cast the fat away. We saw a rauen vpon Mount Raleigh. We found withies also growing like low shrubs and flowers like Primroses in the sayd place. The coast is very mountainous, altogether without wood, grasse, or earth, and is onely huge mountaines of stone; but the brauest stone that euer we saw. The aire was very moderate in this countrey.

The 8 we departed from Mount Raleigh, coasting along the shoare, which lieth Southsouthwest, and Eastnortheast.

The 9 our men fell in dislike of their allowance, because it was too small as they thought: whereupon we made a new proportion; euery messe being fiue to a messe should haue foure pound of bread a day, twelue wine quarts of beere, six Newland fishes; and the flesh dayes a gill of pease more: so we restrained them from their butter and cheese.

The 11 we came to the most Southerly cape of this land, which we named The Cape of Gods mercy, as being the place of our first entrance for the discouery. The weather being very foggy we coasted this North land; at length when it brake vp, we perceiued that we were shot into a very faire entrance or passage, being in some places twenty leagues broad, and in some thirty, altogether void of any pester of ice, the weather very tolerable, and the water of the very colour, nature and quality of the maine ocean, which gaue vs the greater hope of our passage. Hauing sailed Northwest sixty leagues in this entrance we discouered certaine Islands standing in the midst thereof, hauing open passage on both sides. Wherupon our ships diuided themselues, the one sailing on the North side, the other on the South side of the sayd Isles, where we stayed fiue dayes, hauing the winde at Southeast, very foggy and foule weather.

The 14 we went on shoare and found signes of people, for we found stones layed vp together like a wall, and saw the skull of a man or a woman.

The 15 we heard dogs houle on the shoare, which we thought had bene wolues, and therefore we went on shoare to kill them. When we came on land the dogges came presently to our boat very gently, yet we thought they came to pray vpon vs, and therefore we shot at them, and killed two: and about the necke of one of them we found a leatherne coller, whereupon we thought them to be tame dogs. There were twenty dogs like mastiues with prickt eares and long bush tailes: we found a bone in the pizels of their dogs. Then we went farther, and found two sleads made like ours in England: the one was made of firre, spruse and oken boords sawen like inch boords: the other was made all of whale bone, and there hung on the tops of the sleads three heads of beasts which they had killed. We saw here larks, rauens, and partridges.

Timber sawen.

Fowle.

The 17 we went on shoare, and in a little thing made like an ouen with stones I found many small trifles, as a small canoa made of wood, a piece of wood made like an image, a bird made of bone, beads hauing small holes in one end of them to hang about their necks, and other small things. The coast was very barren without wood or grasse: the rocks were very faire like marble, full of vaines of divers colours. We found a seale which was killed not long before, being fleane, and hid vnder stones.

An image.

Our Captaine and Master searched for probabilities of the passage, and first found, that this place was all Islands, with great sounds passing betweene them.

Probabilities for the passage.

Secondly the water remained of one colour with the maine ocean without altering.

Wee neuer came into any bay before or after, but the waters colour was altered very blackish.

Thirdly we saw to the West of those Isles three or foure whales in a skull, which they iudged to come from a Westerly sea, because to the Eastward we saw not any whale.

Also as we were rowing into a very great sound lying Southwest, from whence these whales came, vpon the sudden there came a violent counter-checke of a tide from the Southwest against the flood which we came with, not knowing from whence it was mainteined.

Fiftly, in sailing twenty leagues within the mouth of this entrance we had sounding in 90 fadoms, faire grey osie sand, and the further we ran into the Westwards the deeper was the water; so that hard aboord the shoare among these Isles we could not haue ground in 330 fadoms.

Lastly, it did ebbe and flow sixe or seuen fadome vp and downe, the flood comming from diuers parts, so as we could not perceiue the chiefe maintenance thereof.

The 18 and 19 our Captaine and Master determined what was best to doe, both for the safegard of their credits, and satisfying of the aduenturers, and resolued, if the weather brake vp, to make further search.

The 20 the winde came directly against vs: so they altered their purpose and reasoned both for proceeding and returning.

The 21 the winde being Northwest, we departed from these Islands; and as we coasted the South shoare we saw many faire sounds, whereby we were perswaded that it was no firme land but Islands.

The 23 of this moneth the wind came Southeast, with very stormy and foule weather: so we were constrained to seeke harborow vpon the South coast of this entrance, where we fell into a very faire sound, and ankered in 25 fadoms greene osie sand. Here we went on shore, where we had manifest signes of people where they had made their fire, and layed stone like a wall. In this place we saw foure very faire faulcons; and M. Bruton tooke from one of them his prey, which we

Faulcons.

iudged by the wings and legs to be a snite, for the head was eaten off.

The 24 in the afternoone, the winde comming somewhat faire, we departed from this road, purposing by Gods grace to returne for England.

Their returne.

The 26 we departed from sight of the North land of this entrance, directing our course homewards vntill the tenth of the next moneth.

September.

The 10. of September wee fell with The land of desolation, thinking to goe on shoare, but we could get neuer a good harborough. That night wee put to sea againe, thinking to search it the next day: but this night arose a very great storme, and separated our ships, so that we lost the sight of the Mooneshine.

They saile from The land of defolation to England in 14. dayes.

The 13. about noone (hauing tried all the night before with a goose wing) we set saile, and within two houres after we had sight of the Mooneshine againe: this day we departed from this land.

The 27. of this moneth we fell with sight of England. This night we had a marueilous storme and lost the Mooneshine.

The 30. of September wee came into Dartmouth, where wee found the Mooneshine being come in not two houres before.*

The second voyage attempted by M. Iohn Dauis with others, for the Discouery of the Northwest passage, in Anno 1586.

THe 7. day of May, I departed from the port of Dartmouth for the discouery of the Northwest passage, with a ship of an hundred and twentie tunnes named the Mermayd, a barke of 60. tunnes named the Sunneshine, a barke of 35. tunnes named the Mooneshine, and a pinnesse of tenne tunnes named the North starre.

Land discouered in 60. degrees.

And the 15. of Iune I discouered land in the latitude of 60. degrees, and in longitude from the Meridian of London Westward 47. degrees, mightily pestered with yce and snow, so that there was no hope of landing: the yce lay in some places tenne leagues, in some 20. and in some 50. leagues off the shore, so that wee were constrained to beare into 57. degrees to double the same, and to recouer a free Sea, which through Gods fauourable mercy we at length obtained.

---

*Thus the only result of Davis's Voyage was the discovery of the broad piece of water since known as Davis's Straits, extending between Greenland on the East and Cumberland Island on the West. It connects the Atlantic with Baffin's Bay. In the next voyage, Davis seems to have crossed the mouth of Hudson's Straits, without entering them.

The 29. of Iune after many tempestuous storms we againe discouered land, in longitude from the Meridian of London 58. degr. 30. min. and in latitude 64. being East from vs: into which course sith it please God by contrary winds to force vs, I thought it very necessary to beare in with it, and there to set vp our pinnesse, prouided in the Mermayd to be our scout for this discouery, and so much the rather because the yere before I had bene in the same place, and found it very conuenient for such a purpose, wel stored with flote wood, and possessed by a people of tractable conversation: so that the 29. of this moneth we arriued within the Isles which lay before this land, lying North northwest, and South southeast, we knew not how farre. This land is very high and mountainous, hauing before it on the West side a mighty company of Isles full of faire sounds, and harboroughs. This land was very little troubled with snow, and the sea altogether voyd of yce.

The ships being within the sounds wee sent our boates to search for shole water, where wee might anker, which in this place is very hard to finde: and as the boat went sounding and searching, the people of the countrey hauing espied them, came in their Canoas towards them with many shoutes and cries: but after they had espied in the boat some of our company that were the yeere before here with vs, they presently rowed to the boate, and tooke hold on the oare, and hung about the boate with such comfortable ioy, as would require a long discourse to be uttered: they came with the boates to our ships, making signes that they knewe all those that the yeere before had bene with them. After I perceiued their ioy and small feare of vs, myselfe with the Merchants and others of the company went a shoare, bearing with me twentie kniues: I had no sooner landed, but they lept out of their Canoas and came running to mee and the rest, and embraced vs with many signes of heartie welcome: at this present there were eighteene of them, and to eche of them I gaue a knife: they offered skinnes to me for reward, but I made signes that they were not solde, but giuen them of courtesie: and so dismissed them for that time,

Gentle and louing Sauages.

with signes that they should returne againe after certaine houres.

An 100 Canoas with diuers commodities.

The next day with all possible speed the pinnesse was landed vpon an Isle there to be finished to serue our purpose for the discouerie, which Isle was so conuenient for that purpose, as that we were very wel able to defend ourselues against many enemies. During the time that the pinesse was there setting vp, the people came continually vnto vs sometime an hundred Canoas at a time, sometime fortie, fiftie, more and lesse, as occasion serued. They brought with them seale skinnes, stagge skinnes, white hares, Seale fish, salmon peale, smal cod, dry caplin, with other fish, and birds such as the countrey did yeeld.

My selfe still desirous to haue a further search of this place, sent one of the shipboates to one part of the land, and my selfe went to another part to search for the habitation of this people, with straight commandement that there should be no iniurie offered to any of the people, neither any gunne shot.

Images, trane oyle, and Seale skins in tan tubs.

The boates that went from me found the tents of the people made with seale skinnes set vp vpon timber, wherein they found great store of dried Caplin, being a little fish no bigger than a pilchard: they found bags of Trane oyle, many litle images cut in wood, Seale skinnes in tan-tubs, with many other such trifles, whereof they diminished nothing.

A plaine champion countrey. A goodly riuer.

They also found tenne miles within the snowy mountaines a plaine champion countrey, with earth and grasse, such as our moory and waste grounds of England are: they went vp into a riuer (which in the narrowest place is two leagues broad) about ten leagues, finding it still to continue they knewe not howe farre: but I with my company tooke another riuer, which although at the first it offered a large inlet, yet it proued but a deepe bay, the ende whereof in foure houres I attained, and there leauing the boat well manned, went with the rest of my company three or foure miles into the countrey, but found nothing, nor saw any thing; saue onely gripes, rauens, and small birds, as larkes and linnets.

The third of Iuly I manned my boat, and went with fifty Canoas attending vpon me vp into another sound where the people by signes willed mee to goe, hoping to finde their habitation: at length they made signes that I should goe into warme place to sleepe, at which place I went on shore, and ascended the toppe of an high hill to see into the countrey, but perceiuing my labour vaine, I returned againe to my boate, the people still following me, and my company very diligent to attend vs, and to helpe vs vp the rockes, and likewise downe: at length I was desirous to haue our men leape with them, which was done, but our men did ouerleape them: from leaping they went to wrestling, we found them strong and nimble, and to haue skil in wrestling, for they cast some of our men that were good wrestlers.

The fourth of Iuly we lanched our pinnesse, and had fortie of the people to help vs, which they did very willingly: at this time our men againe wrestled with them, and found them as before, strong and skilfull. The fourth of Iuly the Master of the Mermayd went to certaine Ilands to store himselfe with wood, where he found a graue with diuers buried in it, only couered with seale skinnes, hauing a crosse laid ouer them. The people are of good stature, wel in body proportioned, with small slender hands and feet, with broad visages, and smal eyes, wide mouthes, the most part vnbearded, great lips, and close toothed. Their custome is as often as they go from vs, still at their returne to make a new truce, in this sort, holding his hand vp to the Sun with a lowd voice he crieth Ylyaoute, and striketh his brest with like signes, being promised safety, he giueth credit. These people are much giuen to bleed, and therefore stop their noses with deeres haire, or haire of an elan. They are idolaters and haue images great store, which they weare about them, and in their boats, which we suppose they worship. They are witches, and haue many kinds of inchantments, which they often vsed, but to small purpose, thankes be to God.

A graue with a crosse layd ouer.

The Tartars and people of Iapon are also smal eyed.

Being among them at shore the fourth of Iuly, one of them making a long oration, beganne to kindle a fire in this maner: he tooke a piece of a board wherein was a hole halfe thorow: into that hole he puts the end of a round stick like vnto a bedstaffe, wetting the end thereof in Trane, and in fashion of a turner with a piece of lether, by his violent motion doeth very speedily produce fire: which done, with turfes he made a fire, into which with many words and strange gestures, he put diuerse things, which wee supposed to be a sacrifice: my selfe and diuers of my company standing by, they were desirous to haue me go into the smoke, I willed them like-

Their maner of kindling fire like to theirs in America.

A fire made of turfes.

wise to stand in the smoke, which they by no meanes would do. I then tooke one of them, and thrust him into the smoke, and willed one of my company to tread out the fire, and to spurne it into the sea, which was done to shew them that we did contemne their sorcery. These people are very simple in all their conuersation, but marueillous theeuish, especially for iron, which they haue in great account. They began through our lenitie to shew their vile nature: they began to cut our cables: they cut away the Moonelights boat from her sterne, they cut our cloth where it lay to aire, though we did carefully looke vnto it, they stole our oares, a caliuer, a boare speare, a sword, with diuers other things, whereat the company and Masters being grieued, for our better securitie, desired me to dissolue this new friendship, and to leaue the company of these theeuish miscreants: whereupon there was a caliuer shot among them, and immediatly vpon the same a faulcon, which strange noice did sore amaze them, so that with speed they departed: notwithstanding their simplicitie is such, that within ten hours after they came againe to vs to entreat peace: which being promised, we againe fell into a great league. They brought vs Seale skinnes, and sammon peale, but seeing iron, they could in no wise forbeare stealing: which when I perceiued, it did but minister vnto mee an occasion of laughter, to see their simplicitie, and I willed that in no case they soould bee any more hardly used, but that our owne company should be the more uigilant to keepe their things, supposing it to be very hard in so short time to make them know their euils. They eate all their meat raw, they liue most vpon fish, they drinke salt water, and eate grasse and ice with delight: they are neuer out of the water, but liue in the nature of fishes, saue only when dead sleepe taketh them, and then vnder a warme rocke laying his boat vpon the land, hee lyeth downe to sleepe. Their weapons are all darts, but some of them haue bow and arrowes and slings. They make nets to take their fish of the finne of a whale: they do their things very artificially: and it should seeme that these simple theeuish Islanders haue warre with those of the maine, for many of them are sore wounded, which wounds they receiued vpon the maine land, as by signes they gaue vs to vnderstand. We had among them copper oare, blacke copper, and red copper: they pronounce their language very hollow, and

Great theeues.

Their rude diet.

Their weapons.

Strange nets.

These Islanders warre with the people of the maine.

Copper oare.

deepe in the throat: these words following we learned from them.

Their language.

Kesinyoh, Eate some.
Madlycoyte, Musicke.
Aginyoh, go fetch.
Yliaoute, I meane no harme.
Ponameg, A boat.
Paaotyck, An oare.
Asanock, A dart.
Sawygmeg, A knife.
Vderah, A nose.
Aoh, Iron.
Blete, An eye.
Vnuicke, Giue it.
Tuckloak, A stagge or ellan.
Panygmah, A neddle.
Aob, The Sea.
Mysacoah, Wash it.
Lethicksaneg, A seale skinne.
Canyglow, Kiss me.
Vgnera, My sonne.
Acu, Shot.
Conah, Leape.
Maatuke, Fish.
Sambah, Below.
Maconmeg, Will you haue this.
Cooah, Go to him.
Aba, fallen downe.
Icune, Come hither.
Awennye, Yonder.
Nugo, No.
Tucktodo, A fogge.
Lechiksa, A skinne.
Maccoah, A dart.
Sugnacoon, A coat.
Gounah, Come downe.
Sasobneg, A bracelet.
Vgnake, A tongue.
Ataneg, A seale.
Macuah, A beard.
Pignagogah, A threed.
Quoysah, Giue it to me.

The 7. of Iuly being very desirous to search the habitation of this countrey, I went myselfe with our new pinnesse into the body of the land, thinking it to be a firme continent, and passing vp a very large riuer, a great flaw of winde tooke me, whereby wee were constrained to seeke succour for that night, which being had, I landed with the most part of my company, and went to the top of a high mountaine, hoping from thence to see into the countrey: but the mountaines were so many and so mighty as that my purpose preuailed not: whereupon I againe returned to my pinnesse, and willing diuers of my company to gather muscles for my supper, whereof in this place there was great store, myselfe hauing espied a very strange sight, especially to me that neuer before saw the like, which was a mighty whirlewinde taking vp the water in very great quantitie, furiously mounting it into the aire, which whirlewinde, was not for a puffe or blast, but continual, for the space of three houres, with very little intermission, which sith it was in the course that I should passe, we were constrained that night to take vp our lodging vnder the rocks.

Muscles.

A strange whirlewinde.

The next morning the storme being broken vp, we went for ward in our attempt, and sailed into a mighty great riuer directly into the body of the land, and in briefe, found it to be no firme land, but huge waste, and desert Isles with mighty sounds, and inlets passing betweene Sea and Sea. Whereupon we returned towards our shippes, and landing to stoppe a floud, we found the burial of these miscreants; we found of their fish in bagges, plaices, and calpin dried, of which wee tooke onely one bagge and departed. The ninth of this moneth we came to our ships, where we found the people desirous in their fashion, of friendship and barter: our Mariners complained heauily against the people, and said that my lenitie and friendly vsing of them gaue them stomacke to mischiefe: for they haue stollen an anker from vs, they haue cut our cable very dangerously, they haue cut our boats from our sterne, and now since your departure, with slings they spare vs not with stones of halfe a pound weight: and wil you stil indure these iniuries? It is a shame to beare them. I desired them to be content, and said, I doubted not but all shonld be wel. The 10. of this moneth I went to the shore, the people following mee in their Canoas: I tolled them on shoare, and vsed them with much courtesie, and then departed aboord, they

Great Ilands.

Slings.

following me, and my company. I gaue some of them bracelets, and caused seuen or eight of them to come aboord, which they did willingly, and some of them went into the top of the ship: and thus curteously vsing them, I let them depart: the Sunne was no sooner downe, but they began to practice they deuilish nature, and with slings threw stones very fiercely into the Mooneshine, and strake one of her men then boatswaine, that he ouerthrew withall: whereat being moued, I changed my custesie, and grew to hatred, my self in my owne boate well manned with shot, and the barks boat likewise pursued them, and gaue them diuers shot, but to small purpose, by reason of their swift rowing: so smally content we returned.

The 11. of this moneth there came fiue of them to make a new truce: the master of the Admiral came to me to shew me of their comming, and desired to haue them taken and kept as prisoners vntill we had his anker againe: but when he sawe that the chiefe ringleader and master of mischiefe was one of the fiue, he then was vehement to execute his purpose, so it was determined to take him: he came crying Iliaout, and striking his brest offered a paire of gloues to sell, the master offered him a knife for them: so two of them came to vs, the one was not touched, but the other was soone captiue among vs: then we pointed to him and his fellowes for our anker, which being had, we made signes that he should be set at libertie: within one houre after he came aboord the winde came faire, wherevpon we weyed and set saile, and so brought the fellow with vs: one of his fellowes still following our ship close aboord, talked with him and made a kind of lamentation, we still vsing him wel with Yliaout, which was the common course of curtesie. At length this fellow aboord vs spake foure or fiue words vnto the other and clapped his two hands vpon his face, whereupon the other doing the like, departed as we suppose with heauie chere. We iudged the couering of his face with his hands and bowing of his body downe, signified his death. At length he became a pleasant companion among vs. I gaue him a new sute of frize after the English fashion, because I saw he could not indure the colde, of which he was very ioyful, he trimmed vp his darts, and all his fishing tooles, and would make okam, and set his hand to a ropes end vpon occasion. He liued with the dry Caplin that I tooke when I was searching in the pinnis, and did eate dry Newfoundland fish.

One of the people taken which after dyed.

All this while, God be thanked, our people were in very good health, onely one young man excepted, who dyed at sea the fourteenth of this moneth, and the fifteenth, according to the order of the sea, with praise giuen to God by seruice, was cast ouerboord.

A huge quantitie of yce in 63. degrees of latitude.

The 17 of this moneth being in the latitude of 63. degrees 8. minuts, we fell vpon a most mighty and strange quantitie of yce in one entire masse, so bigge as that we knew not the limits thereof, and being withall so high in forme of a land, with bayes and capes and like high cliffe land, as that we supposed it to be land, and therefore sent our pinnesse off to discouer it: but at her returne we were certainely informed that it was onely yce, which bred great admiration to vs all considering the huge quantitie thereof, incredible to be reported in trueth as it was, and therefore I omit to speake any further thereof. This onely I thinke, that the like before was neuer seene: and in this place we had very stickle and strong currents.

The nature of fogges.

We coasted this mightie masse of yce vntill the 30 of Iuly, finding it a mighty barre to our purpose: the ayre in this time was so contagious and the sea so pestered with yce, as that all hope was banished of proceeding: for the 24 of Iuly all our shrowds, ropes and sailes were so frosen, and compassed with yce, onely by a grosse fogge, as seemed to me more then strange, sith the last yeere I found this sea free and nauigable, without impediments.

Our men through this extremity began to grow sicke and feeble, and withall hopelesse of good successe: whereupon very orderly, with good discretion they intreated me to regard the state of this business, and withall aduised me, that in conscience I ought to regard the saftie of mine owne life with the preseruation of theirs, and that I should not through my ouerboldnes leaue their widowes and fatherlesse children to giue me bitter curses. This matter in conscience did greatly moue me to regard their estates: yet considering the excellencie of the business if it might be attained, the great hope of certaintie by the last yeeres discouery, and that there was yet a third way not put in practice, I thought it would growe to my great disgrace if this action by my negligence should grow into discredite: whereupon seeking helpe from God, the fountaine of all mercies, it pleased his diuine maiestie to moue my heart to prosecute that which I hope shall be to his glory, and to the contentation of euery Christian minde. Whereupon falling into consideration that the Mermaid, albeit a very strong and sufficient ship, yet by reason of her burthen was not so conuenient and nimble as a smaller bark, especially in such desperate hazzards; further hauing in account her great charge to the adueuturers being at 100. li. the moneth, and that at doubtfull seruice: all the premisses considered with diuers other things, I determined to furnish the Moonelight with reuictualling and sufficient men, and to proceede in this action as God should direct me. Whereupon I altered our course from the yce, and bare Eastsoutheast to recouer the next shore where this thing might be performed: so with fauourable winde it pleased God that the first of August we discouered the land in Latitude 66. degrees, 33. min. and in longitude from the Meridian of London 70. degrees voyd of trouble without snow or ice.

The second of August we harboured our selues in a very excellent good road, where with all speed we graued the Moonelight, and reuictualled her: wee searched this countrey with our pinnesse while the bark was trimming, which William Eston did: he found all this land to be onely Ilands, with a Sea on the East, a Sea on the West, and a Sea on the North. In this place wee found it very hot and wee were very much troubled with a flie which is called Muskyto, for they did sting grieuiously. The people of this place at our first comming in caught a Seale and with bladders fast tied to him sent him vnto vs with the floud, so as hee came right with our shippes, which we took as a friendly present from them.

Great heat.

The fift of August I went with the two Masters and others to the toppe of a hill, and by the way William Eston espied three Canoas lying vnder a rocke, and went vnto them: there were in them skinnes, darts, with diuers superstitious toyes, whereof wee diminished nothing, but left vpon euery boat a silke point, a bullet of lead, and a pinne. The next day being the sixt of August, the people came vnto vs without feare and did barter with vs for skinnes, as the other people did: they differ not from the other, neither in their Canoas nor apparel, yet is their pronuntiation more plaine then the others, and nothing hollow in the throat. Our Sauage aboord vs kept himselfe close, and made shew that he would faine haue another companion. Thus being prouided, I departed from this lande the twelft of August at sixe of the clocke in the morning, where I left the Mermayd at an anker: the fourteenth sailing West about fiftie leagues, we discouered land, being in latitude 66. degrees 19 minuts: this land is 70. leagues from the other from whence we came. This fourteenth day from nine a clocke at night till three a clocke in the morning, wee ankered by an Island of yce, twelue leagues off the shore, being mored to the yce.

66. degrees 19. minutes.

The fifteenth day at three a clocke in the morning we departed from this land to the South, and the eighteenth of August we discouered land Northwest from vs in the morning, being a very faire promontory, in latitude 65. degrees, hauing no land on the South. Here wee had great hope of a through passage.

Great hope of a passage.

This day at three a clocke in the afternoone wee againe discouered lande Southwest and by South from vs, where at night wee were becalmed. The nineteenth of this moneth at noone, by obseruation, we were in 64. degrees 20 minuts. From the eighteenth day at noone vnto the nineteenth at noone, by precise ordinary care, wee had sailed 15. leagues South and by West, yet by art and more exact obseruation, we found our course to be Southwest, so that we plainely perceiued a great current striking to the West.

64. degr. 20. min.

A great current to the West.

This land is nothing in sight but Isles, which increaseth our hope. This nineteenth of August at sixe a clocke in the afternoone, it began to snow, and so continued all night with foule weather, and much winde, so that we were constrained to lie at hull all night fiue leagues off the shore: In the morning being the twentieth of August, the fogge and storme breaking vp, we bare in with the lande, and at nine a clocke in the morning wee ankered in a very faire and safe road and lockt for all weathers. At tenne of the clocke I went on shore to the toppe of a very high hill, where I perceiued that this land was Islands: at foure of the clocke in the afternoone wee weyed anker, hauing a faire North northeast winde, with very faire weather; at six of the clocke we were cleare without the land, and so shaped our course to the South, to discouer the coast, where by the passage may be through Gods mercy found.

Ilands.

We coasted this land till the eight and twentieth of August, finding it still to continue towards the South, from the latitude of 67. to 57. degrees: we found marueilous great store of birds, guls and mewes, incredible to be reported, whereupon being calme weather, we lay one glasse vpon the lee, to proue for fish, in which space we caught 100. of cod, although we were but badly prouided for fishing, not being our purpose. This eight and twentieth hauing great distrust of the weather, we arriued in a very faire harbour in the latitude of 56. degrees, and sailed 10. leagues into the same, being two leagues broad, with very faire woods on both sides: in this place wee continued vntil the first of September, in which time we had two very great stormes. I landed, and went sixe miles by ghesse into the countrey, and found that the woods were firre, pineaple, alder, yew, withy, and birch: here we saw a blacke beare: this place yeeldeth great store of birds, as fezant, partridge, Barbary hennes or the like, wilde geese, ducks, black birdes, ieyes, thrushes, with other kinds of small birds. Of the partridge and fezant we killed great store with bow and arrowes: in this place at the harborough mouth we found great store of cod.

They runne 8 dayes Southward from 67 to 57. degrees vpon the coast.

A harborough in 56. degrees.

Faire woods.

Store of cod.

The first of September at ten a clocke wee set saile, and coasted the shore with very faire weather. The thirde day being calme, at noone we strooke saile, and let fall a cadge anker, to proue whether we could take any fish, being in latitude 54. degrees 30. minuts, in which place we found great abundance of cod, so that the hooke was no sonner ouerboord, but presently a fish was taken. It was the largest and the best fed fish that euer I sawe, and diuers fisher men thet were with me sayd that they neuer saw a more suaule or better skull of fish in their liues: yet had they seene great abundance.

The fourth of September at fiue a clocke in the afternoone we ankered in a very good road among great store of Isles, the countrey low land, pleasant and very full of fayre woods. To the North of this place eight leagues, we had a perfect hope of the passage, finding a mightie great sea passing betweene two lands West. The Southland to our iudgement being nothing but Isles: we greatly desired to goe into the sea, but the winde was directly against vs. We ankered in foure fathome fine sand. In this place is foule and fish mightie store.

A perfect hope of the passage about 54. degrees and an halfe.

The sixt of September hauing a faire Northnorthwest winde, hauing trimmed our Barke we proposed to depart, and sent fiue of our sailers yong men a shore to an Island, to fetch certaine fish which we purposed to weather, and therefore left it al night couered vpon the Isle: the brutish people of this countrey lay secretly lurking in the wood, and vpon the sudden assaulted our men; which when we perceiued, we presently let slip our cables vpon the halse, and vnder our foresaile bare into the shoare, and with all expedition discharged a double musket vpon them twise, at the noyse whereof they fled: notwithstanding to our very great griefe, two of our men were slaine with their arrowes, and two grieuously wounded, of whom at this present we stand in very great doubt, onely one escaped by swimming, with an arow shot thorow his arme. These wicked miscreants neuer offered parly or speech, but presently executed their cursed fury.

Two of our men slaine by the Sauages.

This present euening it pleased God further to increase our sorrowes with a mighty tempestuous storme, the winde being Northnortheast, which lasted vnto the tenth of this moneth very extreme. We vnrigged our ship, and purposed to cut downe our masts, the cable of our shutanker brake, so that we onely expected to be driuen on shoare among these Canibals for their pray. Yet in this deepe distresse the mightie mercie of God, when hope was past, gaue vs succour, and sent vs a faire lee, so as we recouered our anker againe, and newe mored our ship: where we saw that God manifestly deliuered vs: for the straines of one of our cables were broken, and we only roade by an olde iunke. Thus being freshly mored a new storme arose, the winde being Westnorthwest, very forcible, which lasted vnto the tenth day at night.

The eleuenth day with a faire Westnorthwest winde we departed with trust in Gods mercie, shaping our course for England, and arriued in the West countrey in the beginning of October.

Master Dauis being arriued, wrote his letter to M. William Sanderson of London, concerning his voyage, as followeth.

SIr, the Sunneshine came into Dartmouth the fourth of this moneth: she hath bene at Island, and from thence to Groenland, and so to Estotiland, from thence to Desolation, and to our Marchants, where she made trade with the people, staying in the countrey twentie dayes. They haue brought home fiue hundred seales skinnes, and an hundred and fortie halfe skinnes and pieces of skinnes. I stand in great doubt of the pinnesse, God be mercifull vnto the poore men, and preserue them, if it be his blessed will.

I haue now experience of much of the Northwest part of the world, and haue brought the passage to that likelihood, as that I am assured it must bee in one of the foure places, or els not at all. And further I can assure you vpon the perill of my life, that this voyage may be performed without further charge, nay with certaine profite to the aduenturers, if I may haue but your fauour in the action. I hope I shall finde fauour with you to see your Card. I pray God it be so true as the Card shal be which I will bring you: and I hope in God, that your skill in Nauigation shall be gaineful vnto you, although at the first it hath not proued so. And thus with my humble commendations I commit you to God, desiring no longer to liue, then I shall be yours most faithfully to command. Exon this fourteenth of October. 1586.

Yours to command
IOHN DAVIS.

The relation of the course which the Sunshine a barke of fiftie tuunes, and the Northstarre a small pinnesse, being two vessels of the fleete of M. Iohn Dauis, helde after hee had sent them from him to discouer the passage betweene Groenland and Island, written by Henry Morgan seruant to M. William Sanderson of London.

May.

THe seuenth day of May 1586. wee departed out of Dartmouth hauen foure sailes, to wit, the Mermaid, the Sunshine, the Mooneshine, and the Northstarre. In the Sunshine were sixteene men, whose names were these: Richard Pope Master, Marke Carter Masters mate, Henry Morgan Purser, George Draward, Iohn Mandie, Hugh Broken, Philip Iane, Hugh Hempson, Richard Borden, Iohn Philpe, Andrew Madock, William Wolcome, Robert Wag carpenter, Iohn Bruskome, William Ashe, Simon Ellis.

Our course was Westnorthwest the seuenth and eight dayes: and the ninth day in the morning we were on head of the Tarrose of Silley. Thus coasting along the South part of Ireland the 11. day, we were on head of the Dorses: and our course was Southsouthwest vntill sixe of the clocke the 12. day. The 13. day our course was Northwest.

M. Dauis in the latitude of 60. deg. diuideth his fleete into 2. parts.

We remained in the company of the Mermaid and the Mooneshine vntill we came to the latitude of 60. degrees: and there it seemed best to our Generall M. Dauis to diuide his fleete, himself sayling to the Northwest, and to direct the Sunshine, wherein I was, and the pinnesse called the Northstarre, to seeke a passage Northward between Groenland and Island to the latitude of 80. degrees, if land did not let vs.

The 7. of Iune.

So the seuenth day of Iune wee departed from them: and the ninth of the same we came to a firme land of yce, which we coasted along the ninth, the tenth, and the eleuenth dayes of Iune: and the eleuenth day at sixe of the clocke at night we saw land which was very high, which afterward we knew to be a Island: and the twelft day we harboured there, and found many people: the land lyeth East and by North in 66. degrees.

Island descryed.

66. degrees.

Their commodities were greene fish, and Island lings, and stockfish, and a fish which is called Scatefish: of all which they had great store. They had also kine, sheep and horses, and hay for their cattell, and for their horses. Wee saw also their dogs. Their dwelling houses were made on both sides with stones, and wood layd crosse ouer them, which was couered ouer with turfes of earth, and they are flat on the tops, and many of these stood hard by the shore. Their boates were made with wood and yron all along the keele like our English boates: and they had nayles for to naile them withall, and fish-hookes and other things for to catch fish as we haue here in England. They had also brasen kettles, and girdles and purses made of leather, and knoppes on them of copper, and hatchets, and other small tooles as necessary as we haue. They drie their fish in the Sun, and when they are dry, they packe them vp in the top of their houses. If we would goe thither to fishing more then we doe, we should make it a very good voyage: for wee got an hundreth greene fish in one morning. Wee found heere two English men with a shippe, which came out of England about Easter day of this present yeere 1586, and one of them came aboord of vs, and brought vs two lambs

Their commodities.

Their dwellings.

Their boats.

The English mans name was M. Iohn Roydon of Ipswich marchant: hee was bound for London with his ship. And this is the summe of that which I obserued in Island. We departed from Island the sixteenth day of Iune in the morning, and our course was Northwest, and we saw on the coast two small barkes going to an harborough: we went not to them, but saw them a farre off. Thus we continued our course vnto the end of this moneth.

M. Iohn Roydon of Ipswich.

They departed from Island Northwest.

The third day of Iuly we were in betweene two firme lands of yce, and passed in betweene them all that day vntill it was night: and then the Master turned backe againe, and so away we went towards Groenland. And the seuenth day of Iuly we did see Groenland, and it was very high, and it looked very blew: we could not come to harborough into the land, because we were hindered by a firme land as it were of yce, which was along the shoares side: but we were within three leagues of the land, coasting the same diuers dayes together. The seuenteenth day of Iuly wee saw the place which our Captaine M. Iohn Dauis the yeere before had named The land of Desolation, where we could not goe on shore for yce. The eighteenth day we were likewise troubled with yce, and went in amongst it at three of the clocke in the morning. After wee had cleared our selues thereof, wee ranged all along the coast of Desolation vntill the ende of the aforesayd moneth.

Iuly.

Groneland discouered.

The land of Desolation.

Groenland coasted from the 7. till the last of Iuly.

The third day of August we came in sight of Gilberts sound in the latitude of 64. deg. 15. min. which was the place where we were appoynted to meete our Generall and the rest of our Fleete. Here we came to an harborough at 6. of the clocke at night.

August.

The 4. day in the morning the Master went on shore with 10. of his men, and they brought vs foure of the people rowing in their boats aboord of the ship. And in the afternoone I went on shore with 6. of our men, and there came to vs seuen of them when we were on land. We found on shore three dead people, and two of them had their staues lying by them, and their olde skinnes wrapped about them and the other had nothing lying by, wherefore we thought it was a woman. We also wsa their houses neere the Sea side, which were made with pieces of wood on both sides, and crossed ouer with poles and then couered ouer with earth: we found

The houses of Gronland.

Foxes running vpon the hilles: as for the place it is broken land all the way that we went, and full of broken Islands.

The 21. of August the Master sent the boate on shore for wood with sixe of his men, and there were one and thirtie of the people of the countrey which went on shore to them, and they went about to kill them as we thought, for they shot their dartes towards them, and we that were aboord the ship, did see them goe on shore to our men: whereupon the Master sent the pinnesse after them, and when they saw the pinnesse comming towards them, they turned backe, and the Master of the pinnesse did shoote off a caliuer to them the same time, but hurt none of them, for his meaning was onely to put them in feare. Diuers times they did waue vs on shore to play with them at the football, and some of our company went on shore to play with them, and our men did cast them downe as soone as they did come to strike the ball. And thus much of that which we did see and do in that harborough where we arriued first.

Our men play at footeball with the Sauages.

The 23. day wee departed from the Merchants Isle, where wee had beene first, and our course from thence was South and by West, and the wind was Northeast, and we ran that day and night about 5. or 6. leagues, vntill we came to another harborough.

The 24. about eleuen of the clocke in the forenoone wee entred into the aforesayd new harborow, and as wee came in, we did see dogs running vpon the Islands. When we were come in, there came to vs foure of the people which were with vs before in the other harborough, and where we rode, we had sandie ground. We saw no wood growing, but found small pieces of wood vpon the Islands, and some small pieces of sweete wood among the same. We found great Harts hornes, but could see none of the Stagges where we went, but we found their footings. As for the bones which we receiued of the Sauages I cannot tell of what beasts they be.

Sweete wood found.

The stones that we found in the countrey were black, and some white, as I think they be of no value, neuerthelesse I haue brought examples of them to you.

The 30. of August we departed from this harborough towards England, and the wind tooke vs contrary, so that we were faine to go to another harborough the same day at 11. of the clocke. And there came to vs 39. of the people, and brought vs 13. Seale skins, and after we receiued these skins of them, the Master sent the carpenter to change one of our boates which wee had bought of them before, and they would haue taken the boate from him perforce, and when they sawe they could not take it from vs, they shot with their dartes at vs, and stroke one of our men with one of their dartes, and Iohn Philpe shot one of them into the brest with an arrow. And they came to vs againe, and foure of our men went into the shipboate, and they shot with their dartes at our men: but our men tooke one of their people in his boate into the shipboate, and he hurt one of them with his knife, but we killed three of them in their boates: two of them were hurt with arrowes in the brests, and he that was aboord our boat, was shot in with an arrow, and hurt with a sword, and beaten with staues, whome our men cast ouerboord, but the people caught him and carried him on shore vpon their boates, and the other two also, and so departed from vs. And three of them went on shore hard by vs, where they had their dogs, and those three came away from their dogs, and presently one of their dogs came swimming towards vs hard aboord the ship, whereupon our Master caused the Gunner to shoote off one of the great pieces towards the people, and so the dog turned backe to land and within an houre after there came of the people hard aboord the ship, but they would not come to vs as they did come before.

A skirmish between the Sauages and our men.

The 31. of August we departed from Gylberts sound for England, and when we came out of the harborough there came after vs 17. of the people looking which way we went.

The 2. of September we lost sight of the land at 12. of the clocke at noone.

The third day at Night we lost sight of the Northstarre our pinnesse in a very great storme, and lay a hull tarying for them the 4. day, but could heare no more of them. Thus we shaped our course the 5. day Southsoutheast, and sayling vntill the 27. of the sayd moneth, we came in sight of Cape Clere in Ireland.

The pinnesse neuer returned home.

The 30. day we entred our owne chanell.

The 2. of October we had sight of the Isle of Wight.

The 3. we coasted all along the shore, and the 4. and 5.

The 6. of the said moneth of October wee came into the riuer of Thames as high as Ratcliffe in safetie God be thanked.

The third voyage Northwestward, made by M. Iohn Dauis Gentleman, as chiefe captaine and Pilot generall, for the discouery of a passage to the Isles of the Moluccas, or the coast of China, in the yeere 1587. Written by M. Iohn Ianes.

May.

THe 19. of this present moneth about midnight wee weyed our ankers, set sayle, and departed from Dartmouth with two Barkes and a Clincher, the one named the Elizabeth of Dartmouth, the other the Sunneshine of London, and the Clincher called the Helene of London: thus in Gods name we set forwards with the wind at Northeast a good fresh gale. About 3. houres after our departure, the night being somewhat thicke with darknesse, we had lost the pinnesse: the Captaine imagining that the men had runne away with her, willed the Master of the Sunshine to stand to Seawards, and see if we could descry them, we bearing in with the shore for Plimmouth. At length we descried her, bare with her, and demanded what the cause was: they answered that the tiller of their helme was burst. So shaping our course Westsouthwest, we went forward, hoping that a hard beginning would make a good ending, yet some of vs were doubtfull of it, falling in reckoning that she was a Clincher; neuerthelesse we put our trust in God.

The 21 we met with the Red Lion of London, which came from the coast of Spaine, which was afrayd that we had bene men of warre, but we hailed them, and after a little conference, we desired the Master to carie our Letters for London directed to my vncle Sanderson, who promised vs a safe deliuerie. And after wee had heaued them a lead and a line, wherevnto wee had made fast our letters, before they could get them into the ship, they fell into the Sea, and so all our labour and theirs also was lost; notwithstanding they promised to certifie our departure at London, and so we departed, and the same day we had sight of Silley. The 22. the wind was at Northeast by East with faire weather, and so the 23. and 24. the like. The 25. we layd our ships on the Lee for the Sunneshine, who was a romaging for a leake, they had 500. strokes at the pumpe in a watch, the wind at Northwest.

The 26. and 27. wee had faire weather, but this 27. the

Pinnesses foremast was blowen ouerboord. The 28. the Elizabeth towed the pinnesse, which was so much bragged of by the owners report before we came out of England, but at Sea she was like a cart drawen with oxen. Sometimes we towed her because she could not saile for scant wind.

The 31. day our Captaine asked if the pinnesse were stanch, Peerson answered that she was as sound and stanch as a cup. This made vs something glad, when we sawe she would brooke the Sea, and was not leake.

Iune.

THe first 6. dayes wee had faire weather: after that for 5 dayes wee had fogge and raine, the winde being South. The 12 wee had cleare weather. The Mariners in the Sunneshine and the Master could not agree: the Mariners would goe on their voyage a fishing, because the yeere began to waste: the Master would not depart till hee had the companie of the Elizabeth, whereupon the Master told our Captaine that hee was afrayd his men would shape some contrary course while he was asleepe, and so he should lose vs. At length after much talke and many threatnings, they were content to bring vs to the land which we looked for daily.

The 14. day we discouered land at fiue of the clocke in the morning, being very great and high mountaines, the tops of the hils being couered with snow. Here the wind was variable, sometimes Northeast, Eastnortheast, and East by North: but we imagined ourselues to be 16. or 17. leagues off from the shore.

Land descried.

The 16. we came to an anker about 4. or 5. of the clocke afternoone, the people came presently to vs after the old maner, with crying Ilyaoute, and shewing vs Seales skinnes. The 17, we began to set vp the pinnesse that Peerson framed at Dartmouth, with the boords which hee brought from London.

The 18. Peerson and the Carpenters of the ships began to set on the plankes. The 19. as we went about an Island, were found blacke Pumise stones, and salt kerned on the rockes very white and glistering. This day also the Master of the Sunneshine tooke of the people a very strong lusty yoong fellow.

Salt kerned on the rockes.

The 20. about two of the clocke in the morning, the Sauages came to the Island where our pinnace was built readie to bee launched, and tore the two vpper strakes, and carried them away onely for the loue of the yron in the boords. While they were about this practise, we manned the Elizabeths boate to goe a shore to them: our men being either afrayd or amazed, were so long before they came to shore, that our Captaine willed them to stay, and made the Gunner giue fire to a Saker, and layd the piece leuell with the boate which the Sauages had turned on the one side because wee should not hurt them with our arrowes, and made the boate their bulwarke against the arrowes which we shot at them. Our Gunner hauing made all things readie, gaue fire to the piece, and fearing to hurt any of the people, and regarding the owners profite, thought belike hee would saue a Sakers shot, doubting wee should haue occasion to fight with men of warre, and so shot off the Saker without a bullet: we looking stil when the Sauages that were hurt should run away without legs, at length wee could perceiue neuer a man hurt, but all hauing their legges could carie away their bodies: wee had no sooner shot off the piece, but the Master of the Sunneshine manned his boate, and came rowing toward the Island, the very sight of whom made each of them take that hee had gotten, and flee away as fast as they could to another Island about two miles off, where they tooke the nayles out of the timber, and left the wood on the Isle. When we came on shore, and sawe how they had spoiled the boat, after much debating of the matter, we agreed that the Elizabeth should haue her to fish withall: whereupon she was presently caryed aboord, and stowed.

Now after this trouble, being resolued to depart with the first wind, there fell out another matter worse then all the rest, and that was in this maner. Iohn Churchyard one whom our Captaine had appoynted as Pilot in the pinnace, came to our Captaine, and Master Bruton, and told them that the good ship which we must all hazard our liues in, had three hundred strokes at one time as she rode in the harbour: This disquieted vs all greatly, and many doubted to goe in her. At length our Captaine by whom we were all to be gouerned, determined rather to end his life with credite, then to returne with infamie and disgrace, and so being all agreed, wee purposed to liue and die together, and committed our selues to the ship. Now to 21. hauing brought all our things aboord, about 11. or 12. of the clocke at night, we set saile and departed from those Isles, which lie in 64. degrees of latitude, our ships being now all at Sea, and wee shaping our course to goe, coasting the land to the Northwards vpon the Easterne shore, which we called the shore of our Marchants, because there we met with people which traffiqued with vs, but here wee were not without doubt of our ship.

Isles in 64 degrees.

The 24. being in 67. degrees, and 40. minutes, wee had great store of Whales, and a kinde of sea birds which the Mariners call Cortinous. This day about sixe of the clocke at night, we espied two of the countrey people at Sea, thinking at the first they had bene two great Seales, vntill wee sawe their oares glistering with the Sunne: they came rowing towardes vs, as fast as they could, and when they came within hearing, they held vp their oares, and cryed Ilyaoute, making many signes: and at last they came to vs, giuing vs birdes for bracelets, and of them I had a darte with a bone in it, or a piece of Vnicorns horne, as I did iudge. This dart he made store of, but when he saw a knife, he let it go, being more desirous of the knife then of his dart: these people continued rowing after our ship the space of 3. houres.

Store of Whales in 67. degrees.

The 25. in the morning at 7. of the clocke we descried 30. Sauages rowing after vs, being by iudgement 10. leagues off from the shore: they brought vs Salmon Peales, Birdes, and Caplin, and we gaue them pinnes, needles, bracelets, nailes, kniues, bels, looking glasses, and other small trifles, and for a knife, a naile or a bracelet, which they call Ponigmah, they would sell their boate, coates, or any thing they had, although they were farre from the shore. Wee had but few skinnes of them, about 20. but they made signes to vs that if wee would goe to the shore, wee should haue more store of Chichsanege: they stayed with vs till 11. of the clocke, at which time wee went to prayer, and they departed from vs.

The 28. and 29. were foggie with cloudes, the 30. day wee tooke the heigth, and found our selues in 72. degrees and 12 minutes of latitude both at noone and at night, the Sunne being 5. degrees aboue the Horizon. At midnight the compasse set to the variation of 28. degrees to the Westward. Now hauing coasted the land, which wee called London coast, from the 21. of this present, till the 30. the Sea open all to the Westwards and Northwards, the land on starboard side East from vs, the winde shifted to the North, whereupon we left that shore, naming the same Hope Sanderson, and

72. deg. 12. min.

The great variation of the compasse.

London coast.

Betweene Gronland and the North of America aboue 40. leagues.

shaped our course West, and ranne 40. leagues and better without the sight of any land.

Iuly.

A mightie banke of yce lying North and South.

THe second of Iuly wee fell with a mightie banke of yce West from vs, lying North and South, which banke wee would gladly haue doubled out to the Northwards, but the winde would not suffer vs, so that we were faine to coast it to the Southwards, hoping to double it out, that wee might haue run so farre West till wee had found land, or els to haue beene thorowly resolued of our pretended purpose.

The 3. wee fell with the yce againe, and putting off from it, we sought to the Northwards, but the wind crossed vs.

The 4. was foggie: so was the 5. also with much wind at the North.

The 6. being very cleare, we put our barke with oares through a gap in the yce, seeing the Sea free on the West side, as we thought, which falling out otherwise, caused vs to returne after we had stayed there betweene the yce. The 7. and 8. about midnight, by Gods helpe we recouered the open Sea, the weather being faire and calme, and so was the 9. The 10. we coasted the yce. The 11. was foggie, but calme.

Extreme heate of the Sunne.

The 12. we coasted againe the yce, hauing the wind at Northnorthwest. The 13. bearing off from the yce, we determined to goe with the shoare and come to an anker, and to stay 5. or 6. dayes for the dissoluing of the yce, hoping that the Sea continually beating it, and the Sunne with the extreme force of heat which it had alwayes shining vpon it, would make a quicke dispatch, that we might haue a further search vpon the Westerne shore. Now when we were come to the Easterne coast, the water something deepe, and some of our companie fearefull withall, we durst not come to an anker, but bare off into the Sea againe. The poore people seeing vs goe away againe, came rowing after vs into the Sea, the waues being somewhat loftie. We truckt with them for a few skinnes and dartes, and gaue them beads, nailes, pinnes, needles and cardes, they poynting to the shore, as though they would shew vs some great friendship: but we little regarding their curtesie, gaue them the gentle farewell, and so departed.

The 14. wee had the wind at South. The 15. there was some fault either in the barke, or the set of some current, for wee were driuen sixe points beyond our course West. The 16. wee fell with the banke of yce West from vs. The 17. and 18. were foggie. The 19. at one a clocke after noone, wee had sight of the land which we called Mount Raleigh, and at 12. of the clocke at night, we were thwart the streights which we discouered the first yeere. The 20. wee trauersed in the mouth of the streight, the wind being at West, with faire and cleare weather. The 21, and 22. wee coasted the Northerne coast of the streights. The 23. hauing sayled threescore leagues Northwest into the streights, at two a clocke after noone wee ankered among many Isles in the bottome of the gulfe, naming the same The Earle of Cumberlands Isles, where riding at anker, a Whale passed by our ship and went West in among the Isles. Heere the compasse set at thirtie degrees Westward variation. The 23. wee departed, shaping our course Southeast to recouer the Sea. The 25. wee were becalmed in the bottome of the gulfe, the ayre being extreme hot. Master Bruton and some of the Mariners went on shoare to course dogs, where they found many Graues and Trane split on the ground, the dogs being so fat that they were scant able to run.

They were driuen West sixe points out of their course in 67. degrees, 45. minutes.

Mount Raleigh.

The Earle of Cumberlands Isles.

The variation of the compasse 30. deg. Westward.

The 26. wee had a prety storme, the winde being at Southeast. The 27. and 28. were faire. The 29. we were cleare out of the streights, hauing coasted the South shore, and this day at noone we were in 62. degrees of latitude. The 30. in the afternoone wee coasted a banke of yce, which lay on the shore, and passed by a great banke or Inlet, which lay between 63. and 62. degrees of latitude, which we called Lumlies Inlet. We had oftentimes, as we sailed alongst the coast, great ruttes, the water as it were whirling and ouerfalling, as if it were the fall of some great water through a bridge.

The land trendeth from this place Southwest and by South.

My Lord Lumleys Inlet.

The 31. as we sayled by a Headland, which we named Warwicks Foreland, we fell into one of these ouerfals with a fresh gale of wind, and bearing all our sailes, wee looking vpon an Island of yce betweene vs and the shoare, had thought that our barke did make no way, which caused vs to take markes on the shoare: at length wee per-

Warwicks Foreland.

A very forcible current Westward.

ceiued our selues to goe very fast, and the Island of yce which we saw before, was carried very forcibly with the set of the current faster then our ship went. This day and night we passed by a very great gulfe, the water whirling and roaring as it were the meetings of tydes.

August.

Chidleys cape.

THe first of August hauing coasted a banke of ice which was driuen out at the mouth of this gulfe, we fell with the Southermost cape of the gulfe, which we named Chidleis cape, which lay in 61 degrees and 10 minutes of latitude. The 2 and 3 were calme and foggie, so were the 4, 5, and 6. The 7 was faire and calme: so was the 8, with a ittle gale in the morning. The 9 was faire, and we had a little gale at night. The 10 we had a frisking gale at Westnorthwest. The 11 faire. The 12 we saw fiue deere on the top of an Island, called by vs Darcies Island. And we hoised out our boat, and went ashore to them, thinking to haue killed some of them. But when we came on shore, and had coursed them twise about the Island, they tooke the sea and swamme towards Islands distant from that three leagues. When we perceiued that they had taken the sea we gaue them ouer because our boat was so small that it could not carrie vs, and rowe after them, they swamme so fast: but one of them was as bigge as a good prety Cow, and very fat, their feet as bigge as Oxe feet. Here vpon this Island I killed with my piece a gray hare.

The lord Darcies Island.

The 13 in the morning we saw three or foure white beares, but durst not go on shore to them for lacke of a good boat. This day we stroke a rocke seeking for an harborow, and receiued a leake: and this day we were in 54. degrees of latitude.

The 14 we stopt our leake in a storme not very outragious, at noone.

The 15 being almost in 52 degrees of latitude, and not finding our ships, nor (according to their promise) any kinde of marke, token, or beacon, which we willed them to set vp, and they protested to do so vpon euery head land, Island or cape, within twenty leagues euery way off from their fishing place, which our captaine appointed to be betweene 54 and 55 degrees: This 15 I say we shaped our course homewards for England, hauing in our ship but litle wood, and halfe a hogshead of fresh water. Our men

The fishing place betweene 54 and 55 degrees of latitude.

were very willing to depart, and no man more forward then Peerson, for he feared to be put out of his office of stewardship: but because euery man was so willing to depart, we consented to returne for our owne countrey: and so we had the 16 faire weather, with the winde at Southwest.

The 17 we met a ship at sea, and as farre as we could iudge it was a Biskaine: we thought she went a fishing for whales; for in 52 degrees or thereabout we saw very many.

Abundance of whales in 52 degrees.

The 18 was faire, with a good gale at West.

The 19 faire also, with much winde at West and by South.

And thus after much variable weather and change of winds we arriued the 15 of September in Dartmouth anno 1587, giuing thanks to God for our safe arriuall.

They arriue at Dartmouth the 15 of September.

A letter of the sayd M. Iohn Dauis written to M. Sanderson of London concerning his forewritten voyage.

Good M. Sanderson, with Gods great mercy I haue made my safe returne in health, with all my company, and haue sailed threescore leagues further then my determination at my departure. I haue bene in 73 degrees, finding the sea all open, and forty leagues betweene land and land. The passage is most probable, the execution easie, as at my comming you shall fully know.

Yesterday the 15 of September I landed all weary; therefore I pray you pardon my shortnesse.

Sandridge this 16 of September anno 1587.

Yours equall as mine owne, which
by triall you shall best know,
IOHN DAVIS.

A Traverse-Booke made by M. Iohn Davis in his third voyage discouerie for the Northwest passage. Anno 1587.

Moneth. May.	Dayes.	Houres.	Course.	Leagues.	Eleuation of the pole.		The winde.	THE DISCOVRSE.
					Deg.	Min.		
	19		w. s. w. Westerly.		50	30	n. e.	This day we departed from Dartmouth at two of the clocke at night.
	20							
	21	35	w. s. w. Westerly.	50	50		n. e.	This day we descried Silly N. W. by W. from vs.
	22	15	w. n. w.	14			n. e. by e.	This day at noone we departed from Silly.
	22	6	w. n. w.	6			n. e. by e.	
	22	3	w. n. w.	2				
	23	15	n. w. by w.	18			n. e.	
	23	39	w. n. w.	36	50	40		The true course, distance and latitude.
		3	w. n. w.	2			n. n. e.	
		6	n. w. by w.	5			n. e. by n.	
		3	w. n. w.	3			n. n. e.	
		12	w. n. w.	12			n. e.	
Noone the 24		24	w. n. w. Northerly.	25	51	16		The true course, distance and latitude.
		3	w. n. w.	3			n. n. e.	
		3	w. n. w.	2½			n. by e.	
		6	w. by n.	5			n.	
		6	w. by n.	5			n.	
		2	s.	½			n.	Now we lay vpon the lee for the Sunshine, which had taken a leake of 500 strokes in a watch.
Noone the 25		24	w. by n.	20	51	30		The true course, distance and latitude.

Moneth. Dayes.	Houres.	Course.	Leagues.	Eleuation of the pole.		The winde.	THE DISCOVRSE.
May.				Deg.	Min.		
Noone the 25	3	w.	3			n. n. w.	
	3	w. s. w.	2			n. w.	
	1	s. w.	1			w. n. w.	
	2	w. n. w.	1½			n.	
	3	w. n. w.	1½			n.	
	3					Calme	
	4	w. n. w.	4			s. s. e.	
	5	w.	6			s. s. e.	
Noone the 26	24	w. by n. Westerly.	23	51	40		The true course, distance, &c.
	11	w.	16			s. s. e.	
	6	w. n. w.	2			s. s. e.	We lay at hull with winde, raine, and fog.
	7	w.	5			s. e.	
Noone the 27	24	w. northerly.	23				The common course supposed.
Noone the 28	24	w.	20	52	13	e. s. e.	We towed the pinnesse 18 houres of this day.
Noone the 28	28	w. by n. Northerly.	43	52	13		The true course, distance, &c.
Noone the 29	24	n. w.	30			s. by e.	
	6	n. w.	10			s.	
	3	n. by w.	2			w. by n.	
	3	w. by w.	3			w. by s.	
	12	n. w.	12			s. s. w.	
Noone the 30	48	n. w. by n.	65	54	50		The true course, &c.
	9	n. w.	12			s. w.	
	9	n. w. by w.	12			s. s. w.	
	3	w. n. w.	3			n. n. e.	

Moneth.	Dayes.	Houres.	Course.	Leagues.	Eleuation of the pole.		The winde.	THE DISCOVRSE.
					Deg.	Min.		
May.								
Noone the	30	3	w. by n.	4			n.	
	30	24	w. n. w. Northerly.	27	55	30		The true course, &c.
Iune	1	12	w.	10			n. n. w.	
		9	n. w.	8			e. n. e.	
		3	n. w.	2½			e. n. e.	
	1	24	w. n. w. Westerly.	17	55	45		The true course, &c.
		12	n. w.	16			e. s. e.	
		6	n. w.	7			s.	
		6	n. w.	8			s. s. w.	
Noone the	2	24	n. w. Northerly.	32	56	55		The true course, &c.
Noone the	5	72	w. by s. Southerly.	45	56	20		The true course, &c., drawen from diuers trauerses.
Noone the	6	24	s. w.	16			w. n. w.	
		7	s. w. by w.	6			w. by n.	
		5					Calme.	
		3	w. n. w.	1			s.	
Noone the	7	9	w. n. w.	12			s.	
		12	w. n. w.	20			s.	
		3	w. n. w.	4			s.	
Noone the	8	9	w. n. w.	7			s.	
		12	w. n. w.	5			s.	
Noone the	9	12	w. n. w.	13			s. e.	
Noone the	9	96	w. by n. Northerly.	86	57	30		The true course, distance, and latitude for 96 houres.

Moneth. Iune.	Dayes.	Houres.	Course.	Leagues.	Eleuation of the pole. Deg.	Min.	The winde.	THE DISCOVRSE.
Noone the	9	3	w. n. w.	4			s. e.	
		3	w. n. w.	2			s. e.	
		6	w. n. w.	1			Calme.	
Noone the	10	12	w. n. w.	16½			e.	
		7	w. n. w.	12			e.	
		2	n. w.	2			e	
Noone the	11	15	n. w.	18			e. n. e.	
		12	n. w.	12			e. n. e.	
		12	n. w.	13			e. by s.	
Noone the	12	72	n. w. by w. Northerly.	78	59	50		The true course, &c. for 72 houres.
Noone the	13	24	n. n. w. Westerly.	26	60	58	e. by n.	
Noone the	14	24	n. n. w.	32	62	30	n. e.	This day in the morning at fiue of the clocke we discouered land being distant from vs at the neerest place sixteene leagues. This land in generall lay Northwest and to the Westwards, being very mountainous. The winde was this day variable, and the aire sometime foggie, and sometime cleere. The foresayd land bare from vs (so neere as we could iudge) North, Northwest, and Southeast.
		9	w. n. w.	7			n.	
		3	n. w.	2			n. n. e.	
		3	n. w. by n.	2			n. e. by n.	
	15	9	n. n. w.	8			n. e.	
Noone the	15	24	n. w. Northerly.	22	63	20		The true course, &c.
Noone the	16	24	n. n. e. Easterly.	14	64			The true course, &c. This 16 of Iune at 5 of the clocke in the afternoone, being in the latitude of 64 degrees, through Gods helpe we came to an anker among many low islands which

THE DISCOVRSE.

Moneth. Iune.	Dayes.	Houres.	Course.	Leagues.	Eleuation of the pole. Deg.	Eleuation of the pole. Min.	The winde.	
Noone the	17							lay before the high land. This 17 of Iune we set vp our pinnesse. The 20 she was spoiled by the Sauages. At midnight the 21 of Iune wee departed from this coast, our two barks for their fishing voyage, and my selfe in the pinnesse for the discouery. From midnight the 21 we shaped our course as followeth.*
	20							
* At midnight ye	21	8	w. n. w.	7			s. e.	
Noone the	22	4	n. w.	6			s. e.	
		13	n. w.	18			s. e.	
		11	n.	13			s. e.	At this time we saw great store of whales.
Noone the	23	36	n. w. by n.	42	65	40		The true course, &c.
Noone the	24	24	n. by e. northerly.	41	67	40	s. s. e.	The true course, &c. Here the weather was very hot. This 24 of Iune at 6 of the clocke at night we met two sauages at sea in their small canoas, vnto whom we gaue bracelets, and nailes, for skins and birds. At 9 of the clocke they departed from vs. The next day at 7 of the clocke in the morning, there came vnto vs 30 sauages 20 leagues off the shore, intreating vs to goe to the shore. We had of them fish, birds, skinnes, darts, and their coats from their backs, for bracelets, nailes, kniues, &c. They remained with vs foure houres, and departed.
	2							
Noone the	26	48	n.				s.	
		3	n. w.	2			s. w.	
		7	n. n. e.	10			s.	
		6	n.	8			s. w.	
		8	w. n. w.	5			s. e.	
Noone the	27	72	n. westerly.	52	70	4		The true course for, &c. 72 houres.
Noone the	29	72	n.	43	72	12		The true course, &c. Since the 21 of this moneth I haue continually coasted the shore of Gronland, hauing the sea all open towards the West, and the land on ye starboord side East from me. For these last 4 dayes the weather hath bene extreame hot
	30							

Moneth. Iune.	Dayes.	Houres.	Course.	Leagues.	Eleuation of the pole. Deg.	Min.	The winde.	THE DISCOVRSE.
								and very calme, the Sun being 5 degrees aboue the horizon at midnight, The compasse in this place varieth 28 degrees toward ye West.
Iuly	1	30	w. by s. westerly.	44	71	36	n. w.by n.	The true course, &c. This day at noone wee coasted a mighty banke of ice West from vs.
	2	24	s. e.	12	71	9		
Noone the	3	8	n. n. w.	11	71	40	n.	This day we fell againe with the ice, seeking to double it out by the North.
Noone the	5	48	s. s. e.	36	70		n.	The true course, &c.
	6	24	s. s. w.	22	69		variable.	The true course, &c. This 6 of Iuly we put our barke thorow the ice, seeing the sea free on the West side: and hauing sailed 5 leagues West, we fell with another mighty barre, which we could not passe: and therefore returning againe, we freed our selues the 8 of this moneth at midnight, and so recouered the sea through Gods fauour, by faire winds, the weather being very calme.
	7							
	8							
Noone the	9	72	e. s. e.	7	68	50	calme.	The true course, &c.
	10	24	s. e. by s.	8	68	30	e. by n.	The true course, &c. This day we coasted the ice.
	11	24	e. n. e.	11½	68	45	variable.	The true course, &c.
	12	24	s. s. e.	16	68		n. n. w.	The true course, &c.
	13	24	e. by s.	20			s.	This day the people came to vs off the shore, and bartered with vs. Being within the Isles, and not finding good ankorage, we bare off againe into the sea.
	14	24	w. by n.	11	67	50	s.	The true course, &c.
	15	24	w. s. w.	5	67	45	e.	The true course, &c. This day a great current set vs West 6 points from our course.
	16	24	s. w. by w. westerly.	23	67	10	s.	The true course, &c. This day we fell with a mighty banke of ice West of vs.

Moneth.	Dayes.	Houres.	Course.	Leagues.	Eleuation of the pole.		The winde.	THE DISCOVRSE.
					Deg.	Min.		
Iuly.								
Noone the	18	48	s. by w.	30	65	33	n. fog.	The true course, &c. Collected by diuers experiments.
	19	24	w. southerly.	13	65	30	s. fog.	The true course, &c. This 19 of Iuly at one a clocke in the afternoone we had sight of the land of Mount Ralegh, and by 12 of the clocke at night wee were thwart the Streights which (by Gods helpe) I discouered the first yere.
	20							The 20 day wee trauersed in the mouth of the sayd Streights with a contrary winde, being West and faire weather.
	23							This 23 day at 2 of the clocke in the afternoone, hauing sailed 60 leagues Northwest, we ankered among an huge number of isles lying in the bottome of the sayd supposed passage, at which place the water riseth 4 fadome vpright. Here as we rode at anker, a great whale passed by vs, and swam West in amongst the isles. In this place a S. W. by W. moone maketh a full sea. Here the compasse varied 30 degrees.
	24							The 24 day at 5 of the clocke in the morning we set saile, departing from this place, and shaping our course S. E. to recouer the maine Ocean againe.
	25							This 25 we were becalmed almost in the bottome of the Streights, and had the weather maruellous extreme hot.
	26						s. e.	This day being in the Streights, we had a very quicke storme.
	27						s.	Being still in the Streight, we had this day faire weather.
Noone the	29				64			At this present we got cleere of the Streights, hauing coasted the South shore, the land trending from hence S. W. by S.
Noone the	30	24	s. s. w.	22	63			This day we coasted the shore, a banke of ice lying thereupon. Also this 30 of Iuly in the afternoone we crossed ouer the entrance or mouth of a great inlet or passage, being 20 leagues broad, and situate betweene 62 and 63 degrees. In which place

Moneth.	Dayes.	Houres.	Course.	Leagues.	Eleuation of the pole. Deg.	Min.	The winde.	THE DISCOVRSE.
Iuly.								we had 8 or 9 great rases, currents or ouerfals, lothsomly crying like the rage of the waters vnder London bridge, and bending their course into the sayd gulfe.
Noone the	31	24	s. by w.	27	62		n. w.	This 31 at noone, comming close by a foreland or great cape, we fell into a mighty rase, where an island of ice was carried by the force of the current as fast as our barke could saile with lum wind, all sailes bearing. This cape as it was the most Southerly limit of the gulfe which we passed ouer the 30 day of this moneth, so was it the North promontory or first beginning of another very great inlet, whose South limit at this present wee saw not. Which inlet or gulfe this afternoone, and in the night, we passed ouer: where to our great admiration we saw the sea falling down into the gulfe with a mighty ouerfal, and roring, and with diuers circular motions like whirlepooles, in such sort as forcible streames passe thorow the arches of bridges.
August. Noone the	1	24	s. e. by s.	16	61	10	w. s. w.	The true course, &c. This first of August we fell with the promontory of the sayd gulfe or second passage, hauing coasted by diuers courses for our sauegard, a great banke of the ice driuen out of that gulfe.
Noone the	3	48	s. s. e.	16	60	26	variable.	
Noone the	6	72	s. e. southerly.	22	59	35	variable wt calme.	The true course, &c.
	7	24	s. s. e.	22	58	40	w. s. w.	The true course, &c.
	8	24	s. e.	13	58	12	w. fog.	The true course, &c.
	9	24	s. by w.	13	57	30	variable and calme.	The true course, &c.

Moneth.	Dayes.	Houres.	Course.	Leagues.	Eleuation of the pole.		The winde.	THE DISCOVRSE.
August.					Deg.	Min.		
Noone the	10	24	s. s. e.	17	56	40	s. w. by w.	The true course, &c.
	11	24	s. e. easterly.	40	55	13	w. n. w.	The true course, &c.
	12	24	s. e. easterly.	20	54	32	w. s. w.	The true course, &c.
	13	24	s. s. e.	4	54		n. w.	This day seeking for our ships that went to fish, we stroke on a rocke, being among many iles, and had a great leake.
Noone the	14	24	s. s. e.	28	52	40	n. w.	This day we stopped our leake in a storme. The 15 of August at noon, being in the latitude of 52 degrees 12 min. and 16 leagues from the shore, we shaped our course for England, in Gods name, as followeth.*
*Noone ye	15				52	12	s. s. w.	The true latitude.
	16	20	e. s. e. halfe point s.	50	51		s. w.	The true course, &c.
	17	24	e. by s.	30	50	40	s.	The true course, &c. This day vpon the banke we met a Biscaine bound either for the Grand Bay or for the passage. He chased vs.
	18	24	e. by n. northerly.	49	51	18	w.	The true course, &c.
	19	24	e. halfe point north.	51	51	35	variable w. & s.	The true course, &c.
	20	24	e. s. e.	31	50	50	s. w.	The true course, &c.
Noone the	22	48	e. by n.	68	51	30	s. s. w.	The true course, &c.
	23	24	e. by n. northerly.	33	51	52	s.	The true course, &c.
	24	24	e. by n.	31	52	10	variable.	The true course, &c. This 24 of August obseruing the variation, I found the compasse to vary towards the East from the true Meridian, one degree.

Moneth.	Dayes.	Houres.	Course.	Leagues.	Eleuation of the pole.		The winde.	THE DISCOVRSE.
					Deg.	Min.		
August.								
Noone the	27	72	e. northerly.	40	52	22	variable & calme.	The true course, &c. for 72 houres.
Noone the	29	48	e. s. e.	47	51	28	variable w. & n.	The true course, &c.
Noone the	31	48	s. e. by e. easterly.	14	51	9	variable.	The true course, &c.
September	2	48	e. southerly.	65	51		n. w.	The true course, &c.
	3	24	e. by s. easterly	24	50	50	w. n. w.	The true course, &c.
	4	24	s. e. by e.	20	50	21	n. n. e.	The true course, &c.
	5	24	s. e. by e.	18	49	48	n. n. e.	The true course, &c. Now we supposed our selues to be 55 leagues from Sillie.
	6	24	e. by s.	15	49	40	n.	The true course, &c.
	7	24	e. s. e.	20	49	15	n. n. w.	The true course, &c.
	8	24	n. e.	18	49	40		
	9	24	w. s. w.	7	49	42		
	10	24	s. e. by e.	8½	49	28	variable.	
	11	24	n. e. by e.	10	49	45	variable.	
	12	24	n. w. by w.	6	50		n. e.	
	13	24	e. by s. southerly.	15	49	47	n. e.	
	15							This 15 of September 1587 we arriued at Dartmouth.

Vnder the title of the houres, where any number exceedeth 24, it is the summe or casting vp of so many other dayes and parts of dayes going next before, as conteine the foresayd summe.

A report of Master Iohn Dauis of his three Voyages made for the discouerie of the Northwest passage, taken out of a Treatise of his, Intituled the worlds Hydrographicall description.

NOw there onely resteth the North parts of America, vpon which coast my selfe haue had most experience of any in our age: for thrise I was that way imployed for the discouery of this notable passage, by the honourable care and some charge of Syr Francis Walsingham knight, principall secretary to her Maiestie, with whom diuer noble men and worshipfull marchants of London ioyned in purse and willingnesse for the furtherance of that attempt, but when his honour dyed the voyage was friendlesse, and mens mindes alienated from aduenturing therein.

The 1. voyage.

In my first voyage not experienced of the nature of those climates, and hauing no direction either by Chart, Globe, or other certaine relation in what altitude that passage was to be searched, I shaped a Northerly course and so sought the same toward the South, and in that my Northerly course I fell vpon the shore which in ancient time was called Groenland, fiue hundred leagues distant from the Durseys Westnorthwest Northerly, the land being very high and full of mightie mountaines all couered with snowe, no viewe of wood, grasse or earth to be seene, and the shore two leagues off into the sea so full of yce as that no shipping could by any meanes come neere the same. The lothsome view of the shore, and irksome noyse of the yce was such, as that it bred strange conceits among vs, so that we supposed the place to be wast and voyd of any sensible or vegitable creatures, whereupon I called the same Desolation: so coasting this shore towards the South in the latitude of sixtie degrees, I found it to trend towards the West, I still followed the leading thereof in the same height, and after fifty or sixtie leagues it fayled and lay directly North, which I stilll followed, and in thirtie leagues sayling vpon the West side of this coast by me named desolation, we were past al the yce and found many greene and pleasant Iles bordering vpon the shore, but the maine were still couered with great quantities of snow, I brought my ship among those Isles and there moored to refresh our selues in our weary trauell, in the latitude of sixtie foure degrees or thereabout, The people of the countrey hauing espied our shippes came downe vnto vs in their

Canoas, and holding vp their right hand to the Sunne and crying Yliaout, would strike their breasts: we doing the like the people came aboard our shippes, men of good stature, vnbearded, small eyed and of tractable conditions, by whome as signes would permit, we vnderstood that towards the North and West, there was a great sea, and vsing the people with kindeness in giuing them nayles and kniues which of all things they most desired, we departed, and finding the sea free from yce supposing our selues to be past al daunger we shaped our course Westnorthwest thinking thereby to passe for China, but in the latitude of sixtie sixe degrees we fell with another shore, and there found another passage of twenty leagues broad directly West into the same, which we supposed to be our hoped straight, we entred into the same thirtie or fortie leagues, finding it neither to wyden nor streighten, then considering that the yeere was spent (for this was the fiue of August) not knowing the length of the straight and dangers thereof, we tooke it our best course to returne with notice of our good successe for this small time of search. And so returning in a sharpe fret of Westerly windes the 29 of September we arriued at Dartmouth. And acquainting Master Secretary Walsingham with the rest of the honourable and worshipfull aduenturers of all our proceedings, I was appointed againe the second yere to search the bottome of this straight, because by all likelihood it was the place and passage by vs laboured for. In this second attempt the marchants of Exeter, and other places of the West became aduenturers in the action, so that being sufficiently furnished for sixe moneths, and hauing direction to search these straights, vntill we found the same to fall into another sea vpon the West side of this part of America, we should againe returne: for then it was not to be doubted, but shipping with trade might safely be conueied to China, and the parts of Asia. We departed from Dartmouth, and arriuing vpon the South part of the coast of Desolation coasted the same vpon his West shore to the latitude of sixtie sixe degrees, and there anchored among the Isles bordering vpon the same, where we refreshed our selues, the people of this place came likewise vnto vs, by whom I vnderstood through their signes that towards the North the sea was large. At this place the chiefe ship whereupon I trusted, called the Mermayd of Dartmouth, found many occasions of discontentment, and being vnwilling to proceed shee there forsook me. Then considering

The 2. voyage.

how I had giuen my faith and most constant promise to my worshipfull good friend Master William Sanderson, who of all men was the greatest aduenturer in that action, and tooke such care for the performance thereof, that he hath to my knowledge at one time disbursed as much money as any fiue others whatsoeuer, out of his purse, when some of the companie haue bene slacke in giuing in their aduenture: And also knowing that I should loose the fauour of M. Secretary Walsingham, if I should shrink from his direction; in one small barke of 30 Tunnes, whereof M. Sanderson was owner, alone without farther company I proceeded on my voyage, and arriuing at these straights followed the same 80. leagues, vntill I came among many Islands, where the water did ebbe and flow sixe fadome vpright, and where there had bene great trade of people to make traine. But by such things as there we found, wee knew that they were not Christians of Europe that had vsed that trade: in fine by searching with our boat, we found small hope to passe any farther that way, and therefore recouered the sea and coasted the shore towards the South, and in so doing (for it was too late to search towards the North) we found another great inlet neere 40 leagues broad, where the water entred in with violent swiftnesse, this we also thought might be a passage; for no doubt the North partes of America are all Islands by ought that I could perceiue therein: but because I was alone in a small barke of thirtie tunnes, and the yeere spent, I entred not into the same,, for it was now the seuenth of September, but coasting the shore towards the South wee saw an incredible number of birds: hauing diuers fishermen aboord our Barke they all concluded that there was a great skull of fish, we being vnprouided of fishing furniture with a long spike nayle made a hooke, and fastened the same to one of our sounding lines, before the baite was changed we tooke more then fortie great Cods, the fish swimming so abundantly thicke about our barke as is incredible to bee reported, of which with a small portion of salt that we had, we preserved some thirtie couple, or thereaboutes, and so returned for England. And hauing reported to M. Secretarie Walsingham the whole successe of this attempt, he commanded me to present vnto the most honourable Lord high Treasurour of England, some part of that fish: which when his Lordship saw, and heard at large the relation of this second attempt, I receiued fauourable countenance from his honour, aduising me

The North parts of America all Islands.

to prosecute the action, of which his Lordship conceiued a very good opinion. The next yere, although diuers of the aduenturers fell from the Action, as all the Westerne marchants, and most of those in London: yet some of the aduenturers both honourable and worshipfull continued their willing fauour and charge, so that by this meanes the next yere two shippes were appointed for the fishing and one pinnesse for the discouerie.

Departing from Dartmouth, thorough Gods mercifull fauour, I arriued at the place of fishing, and there according to my direction I left the two ships to follow that busines, taking their faithful promise not to depart vntill my returne vnto them, which should be in the fine of August, and so in the barke I proceeded for this discouerie: but after my departure, in sixeteene dayes the two shippes had finished their voyage, and so presently departed for England, without regard of their promise: my selfe not distrusting any such hard measure proceeded for the discouerie, and followed my course in the free and open sea betweene North and Northwest to the latitude of 67 degrees, and there I might see America West from me, and Gronland, which I called Desolation, East: then when I saw the land of both sides I began to distrust it would prooue but a gulfe: notwithstanding desirous to know the full certainty I proceeded, and in 68 degrees the passage enlarged, so that I could not see the Westerne shore: thus I continued to the latitude of 73 degrees in a great sea, free from yce, coasting the Westerne shore of Desolation: the people came continually rowing out vnto me in their Canoas, twenty, forty, and one hundred at a time, and would giue me fishes dryed, Salmon, Salmon peale, Cod, Caplin, Lumpe, Stone-base and such like, besides diuers kinds of birds, as Partrige, Fesant, Guls, Sea birds, and other kinds of flesh: I still laboured by signes to know from them what they knew of any sea toward the North, they still made signes of a great sea as we vnderstood them, then I departed from that coast, thinking to discouer the North parts of America: and after I had sailed towards the West 40 leagues, I fel vpon a great banke of yce: the winde being North and blew much, I was constrained to coast the same toward the South, not seeing any shore West from me, neither was there any yce towards the North, but a great sea, free, large, very salt and blew, and of an vnsearchable depth: So

The 3. voyage.

coasting towards the South I came to the place where I left the ships to fish, but found them not. Then being forsaken and left in this distresse referring my self to the mercifull prouidence of God, I shaped my course for England, and vnhoped for of any, God alone releeuing me, I arriued at Dartmouth. By this last discouery it seemed most manifest that the passage was free and without impediment toward the North: but by reason of the Spanish Fleete and vnfortunate time of M. Secretaries death, the voyage was omitted and never sithens attempted. The cause why I vse this particular relation of all my proceedings for this discouery, is to stay this obiection, why hath not Dauis discouered this passage being thrise that wayes imploied? How far I proceeded and in what forme this discouery lieth, doth appeare vpon the Globe which M. Sanderson to his very great charge hath published, for the which he deserueth great fauor and commendations.*

The discouerie of the Isles of Frisland, Iseland, Engroneland, Estotiland, Drogeo and Icaria: made by two brethren, namely M. Nicholas Zeno, and M. Antonio his brother: Gathered out of their letters by M. Francisco Marcolino.

IN the yere of our Lord 1200 there was in the Citie of Venice a famous Gentleman, named Messer Marino Zeno, who for his great vertue and singular wisdome, was called and elected gouernour in certaine common wealths of Italy: in the administration whereof he bore himselfe so discretly, that he was beloued of all men, and his name greatly reuerenced of those that neuer knew or saw his person. And amongst sundry his worthy workes, this is recorded of him, that he pacified certaine grieuous ciuile dissentions that arose among the citizens of Verona: whereas otherwise, if by his graue aduise and great diligence they had not bene preuented, the matter was likely to breake out into hot broyles of warre. He was the first Podesta, or Ruler, that the Common wealth of Venice appointed in Constantinople in the yeere 1205 when our state had rule thereof with the French Barons. This Gentleman had a sonne named Messer Pietro, who was the father of the Duke Rinieri, which Duke dying without issue, made his heire M. Andrea, the sonne of M. Marco his brother. This M. Andrea was Captaine Generall and Procurator, a man of great reputation for many rare partes, that were in him. He had a sonne M. Rinieri, a worthy Senatour and prudent Counsellour: of whom descended M. Pietro Captaine Generall of the league of the Christians against the Turkes, who was called Dragon, for that in his shield, in stead of a Manfrone which was his armes at the first, he bare a Dragon. He was father to M. Carlo Il grande the famous Procurator and Captaine generall against the Genowayes in those cruell warres, when as almost all the chiefe Princes of Europe did oppugne and seeke to ouerthrow our Empire and libertie, wherein by his great valiancie and prowesse, as Furius Camillus deliuered Rome, so he deliuered his countrey from the present perill it was in, being ready to become a pray and spoile vnto the enemie: wherefore he was afterward surnamed the Lyon, and for an eternall remembrance of his fortitude and valiant exploits he gaue the Lyon in his armes. M. Carlo had two brethren, M. Nicolo, the knight and M. Antonio, the father of M. Dragon, of whom issued M. Caterino, the father M. Pietro da i Grocecchieri. This M. Pietro had sonnes M. Caterino, that died the last yere, being brother vnto M. Francisco, M. Carlo, M. Battista, and M. Vincenzo: Which M. Caterino was father to M. Nicola, that is yet liuing.

---

* The full text of Davis's account is given in Vol. vi., p. 250 of this Edition.

Now M. Nicolo, the knight being a man of great courage, after this aforesaid Genouan warre of Chioggia, that troubled so our predecessours, entred into a great desire and fansie to see the fashions of the worlde and to trauell and acquaint himselfe with the maners of sundry nations, and learne their languages, whereby afterwards vpon occasions he might be the better able to doe seruice to his countrey, and purchase to himselfe credite and honour. Wherefore he caused a ship to be made, and hauing furnished her at his proper charges (as he was very wealthy) he departed out of our seas and passing the straites of Gibraltar, he sailed for certaine dayes vpon the Ocean, keeping his course still to the Northwards, with intent to see England and Flanders. Where being assalted in those Seas by a terrible tempest, he was so tossed for the space of many dayes with the sea and winde, that he knew not where he was, till at length he discouered land, and not being able any longer to susteine the violence of the tempest the ship was cast away vpon the Isle of Friseland. The men were saued, and most part of the goods that were in the ship. And this was in the yere 1380. The inhabitants of the Island came running

The ship of M. N. Zeno cast away vpon Frisland in Anno 1380.

in great multitudes with weapons to set vpon M. Nicolo and his men, who being sore weather-beaten and ouer-laboured at sea and not knowing in what part of the world they were, were not able to make any resistance at all, much lesse to defend themselues couragiously, as it behooued them in such a dangerous case. And they should haue bene doubtlesse very discourteously intreated and cruelly handled, if by good hap there had not beene hard by the place a prince with armed people. Who vnderstanding that there was euen at that present a great ship cast away vpon the Island, came running at the noyse and outcryes that they made against our poore Mariners, and dryuing away the inhabitants, spake in Latine and asked them what they were and from whence they came, and perceiuing that they came from Italy and that they were men of the sayd Countrey, he was surprised with maruelous great ioy. Wherefore promising them all, that they should receiue no discourtesie, and that they were come into a place where they should be well vsed and very welcome, he tooke them into his protection vpon his faith. This was a great Lord, and possessed certaine Islands called Porland, lying on the South side of Frisland, being the richest and most populous of all those parts, his name was Zichmni: and beside the said little Islands, he was Duke of Sorani, lying ouer against Scotland.*

A forraine prince hapning to be in Frisland with armed men, when M. Zeno suffered shipwracked there came vnto him and spake Latine.

Zichmni prince of Porland or Duke of Zorani.

Of these North parts I thought good to draw the copie of a Sea carde, which amongst other antiquities I haue in my house, which although it be rotten through many yeres, yet it falleth out indifferent well: and to those that are delighted in these things, it may serue for some light to the vnderstanding of that, which without it cannot so easily be conceiued. Zichmni being Lord of those Sygnories (as is said) was a very warlike and valiant man and aboue all things famous in Sea causes. And hauing the yere before giuen the ouerthrow to the king of Norway, who was Lord of the Island, being desirous to winne fame by feates of armes, hee was come on land with his men to giue the attempt for the winning of Frisland, which is an Island much bigger then Ireland. Wherefore seeing that M. Nicolo was a man of iudgement and

Frisland the king of Norwayes.

---

* It seems probable that either Zeno was wrecked on one of the Shetlands, and that by *Sorani* is meant Orkney, or that Iceland is the true Frisland.

discretion, and very expert both in sea matters and martiall affaires, hee gaue him commission to goe aboord his Nauy with all his men, charging the captaine to honor him and in all things to use his counsaile.

This Nauy of Zichmni was of thirteene vessels, whereof two onely were rowed with oares, the rest small barkes and one ship, with the which they sayled to the Westwards and with little paines wonne Ledouo and Ilofe and diuers other small Islands: and turning into a bay called Sudero, in the hauen of the towne named Sanestol, they tooke certaine small barks laden with fish. And here they found Zichmni, who came by land with his armie conquering all the countrey as he went: they stayed here but a while, and led on their course to the Westwards till they came to the other Cape of the gulfe or bay, then turning againe, they found certaine Islandes and broken lands which they reduced al vnto the Signorie and possession of Zichmni. These seas, for as much as they sailed, were in maner nothing but sholds and rocks, in so much that if M. Nicolo and the Venetian mariners had not bene their Pilots, the whole fleete in iudgement of all that were in it, had bene cast away, so small was the skill of Zichmnis men, in respect of ours, who had bene trained vp in the arte and practise of Nauigation all the dayes of their life. Now the fleete hauing done such things as are declared, the Captaine, by the counsaile of M. Nicolo, determined to goe a land, at a towne called Bondendon, to vnderstand what successe Zichmni had in his warres: where they heard to their great content, that he had fought a great battell and put to flight the armie of his enemie: by reason of which victory, they sent Embassadours from all parts of the Island to yeeld the countrey vp into his handes, taking downe their ensignes in euery towne and castle: they thought good to stay in that place for his comming, it being reported for certaine that hee would be there very shortly. At his comming there was great congratulation and many signes of gladnesse shewed, as well for the victory by land, as for that by sea: for the which the Venetians were honoured and extolled of all men, in such sort that there was no talke but of them, and of the great valour of M. Nicolo. Wherefore the prince, who was a great fauourer of valiant men and especially of those that could behaue themselues well at sea, caused M. Nicolo to be brought before him, and after hauing commended him with many honourable speeches, and praysed his great industrie and dexteritie of wit, by the which two things he acknowledged himselfe to haue receiued an inestimable benefite, as the sauing of his fleet and the winning of many places without any great trouble, he made him knight, and rewarded his men with many rich and bountiful gifts. Then departing from thence they went in tryumphing maner toward Frisland, the chiefe citie of that Island. In this gulf or bay there is such great abundance of fish taken, that many ships are laden therewith to serue Flanders, Britain, England, Scotland, Norway, and Denmarke, and by this trade they gather great wealth.

And thus much is taken out of a letter, that M. Nicolo sent to M. Antonio his brother, requesting that he would seeke some meanes to come to him. Wherefore he who had as great desire to trauaile as his brother, bought a ship, and directed his course that way: and after he had sailed a great while and escaped many dangers, he arriued at length in safetie with M. Nicolo, who receiued him very ioyfully, for that he was his brother not onely in flesh and blood, but also in valour and good qualities. M. Antonio remained in Frisland and dwelt there for the space of 14 yeres, 4 yeeres with M. Nicolo, and 10 yeres alone. Where they came in such grace and fauour with the Prince, that he made M. Nicolo Captaine of his Nauy, and with great preparation of warre they were sent forth for the enterprise of Estland, which lyeth vpon the coast betweene Frisland and Norway, where they did many dammages, but hearing that the king of Norway was coming towardes them with a great fleet, they departed with such a terrible flaw of winde, that they were driuen vpon certaine sholds: were a great part of their ships were cast away, the rest were saued vpon Grisland, a great Island but dishabited. The king of Norway his fleete being taken with the same storme, did vtterly perish in those seas: Whereof Zichmni hauing notice, by a ship of his enemies that was cast by chance vpon Grisland, hauing repayred his fleet, and perceiuing himself Northerly neere vnto the Islands, determined to set vpon Island, which together with the rest, was subiect to the king of Norway: but he found the countrey so well fortified and defended, that his fleete being so small, and very ill appointed both of weapons and men, he was glad to retire. And so he left that enterprise withont performing any thing at all: and in the chanels, he assaulted the other Isles called Islande, which are seuen, Talas, Broas, Iscant, Trans, Mimant, Dambere, and Bres: and hauing spoyled them all, hee built a fort in Bres, where he left M. Nicolo, with certaine small barkes and men and munition. And now thinking he had done wel for this voyage, with those few ships which were left he returned safe into Frisland. M. Nicolo remaining nowe in Bres, determined in the spring to go forth and discouer land: wherefore arming out three small barkes in the moneth of Iuly, he sayled to the Northwards, and arriued in Engroneland. Where he found a Monasterie of Friers, of the order of the Predicators, and a Church dedicated to Saint Thomas, hard by a hill that casteth forth fire, like Vesuuius and Etna.

Engroneland Preaching fryers of Saint Thomas.

There is a fountaine of hot burning water with the which they heate the Church of the Monastery and the Fryers chambers, it commeth also into the kitchin so boyling hot, that they vse no other fire to dresse their meate: and putting their breade into brasse pots without any water, it doth bake as it were in an hot ouen. They haue also smal gardens couered ouer in the winter time, which being watered with this water, are defended from the force of the snow and colde, which in those partes being situate farre vnder the pole, is very extreme, and by this meanes they produce flowers and fruites and herbes of sundry sorts, euen as in other temperate countries in their seasons, in such sort that the rude and sauage people of those partes seeing these supernaturall effects, doe take those Fryers for Gods, and bring them many presents, as chickens, flesh, and diuers other things, they haue them all in great reuerence as Lords. When the frost and snowe is great, they heate their houses in maner before said, and wil by letting in the water or opening the windowes, at an instant, temper the heate and cold at their pleasure. In the buildings of the Monasterie they vse no other matter but that which is ministred vnto them by the fire: for they take the burning stones that are cast out as it were sparkles or cinders at the fierie mouth of the hill, and when they are most enflamed, cast water vpon them, whereby they are dissolued and become excellent white lime and so tough that being contriued in building it lasteth for euer. And the very sparkles after the fire is out of them doe serue in stead of stones to make walles and vautes: for being once colde they will nener dissolue or breake, except they be cut with some iron toole, and the vautes that are made of them are so light that they need no sustentacle, or prop to holde them vp, and they will endure continually very faire and whole. By reason of these great commodities, the Fryers haue made there so many buildings and walles that it is a wonder to see. The couerts or roofes of their houses for the most part are made in maner following: first they rayse vp the wall vp to his full height, then they make it enclinining or bowing in by little and litle in fourme of a vaut. But they are not greatly troubled with raine in those partes, because the climate (as I haue saide) is extreme colde: for the first snow being fallen, it thaweth no more for the space of nine moneths, for so long dureth their winter. They feede of the flesh of wilde foule and of fish: for wheras the warme water falleth into the sea, there is a large and wide hauen, which by reason of the heate of the water, doeth neuer freeze all the winter, by meanes whereof there is such concourse and flocks of sea foule and such abundance of fish, that they take thereof infinite multitudes, whereby they maintaine a great number of people round about, which they kepe in continuall worke, both in building and taking of foules and fish, and in a thousand other necessarie affaires and busines about the Monasterie.

Winter of 9 moneths.

Their houses are built about the hill on euery side, in forme round, and 25 foote broad, and in mounting vpwards they goe narower and narower, leauing at the top a litle hole, whereat the aire commeth in to giue light to the house, and the flore of the house is so hot, that being within they feele no cold at all. Hither in the Summer time come many barkes from the Islands there about, and from the cape aboue Norway, and from Trondon, and bring to the Friers al maner of things that may be desired, taking in change thereof fish, which they dry in the sunne or in the cold, and skins of diuers kindes of beasts.* For the which they haue wood to burne and timber very artificially carued, and corne, and cloth to make them apparell. For in change of the two aforesaid commodities all the nations bordering round about them couet to trafficke with them, and so they without any trauell or expences haue that which they desire. To this Monasterie resort Fryers of Norway, of Suetia and of other countreys, but the most part are of Islande. There are continually in that part many barks, which are kept in there by reason of the sea being frozen, waiting for the spring of the yere to dissolue the yce. The fishers boates are made like into a weauers shuttle: taking the skins of fishes, they fashion them with the bones of the same fishes, and sowing them together in many doubles they make so sure and substanciall, that it is miraculous to see, howe in tempests they will shut themselues close within and let the sea and winde cary them they care not whether, without any feare either of breaking or drowning.† And if they chance to be driuen vpon any rocks, they remaine sound without the least bruse in the world: and they haue as it were a sleeue in the bottome, which is tyed fast in the middle, and when there commeth any water into the boat, they put it into the one halfe of the sleeue, then fastening the ende thereof with two pieces of wood and loosing the band beneath, they conuey the water forth of the boats: and this they doe as often as they haue occasion, without any perill or impediment at all.

---

* *Marginal note.*—Trade in summer time from Trondon to S. Thomas Friers in Groneland. Resort of Fryers from Norway and Sueden, to the Monastery in Engroneland, called S. Tho.

Moreouer, the water of the Monastery, being of sulphurious or brimstonie nature, is conueyed into the lodgings of the principall Friers by certaine vesselles of brass, tinne, or stone, so hot that it heateth the place as it were a stone, nor carying with it any stinke or other noysome smell.

Besides this they haue another conueyance to bring hot water with a wall vnder the ground, to the end it should not freeze, vnto the middle of the court, where it falleth into a great vessel of brasse that standeth in the middle of a boyling fountaine, and this is to heat their water to drinke and to water their gardens, and thus they haue from the hill the greatest commodities that may be wished: and so these Fryers employ all their trauaile and studie for the most in trimming their gardens and in making faire and beautifull buildings, but especially handsome and commodious: neyther are they destitute of ingenious and paineful artificers for the purpose; for they giue very large payment, and to them that bring them fruits and seedes they are very bountifull, and giue they care not what. So that there is great resort of workemen and masters in diuers faculties, by reason of the good gaines and large allowance that is there.

---

† *Marginal note.*—M. Frobisher brought these kinde of boats from these parts into England.

In the Monastery of Saint Thomas most of them spake the Latine tongue.

The most of them speake the Latine tongue, and specially the superiours and principals of the Monastery. And this is as much as is knowen of Engroneland, which is all by the relation of M. Nicolo, who maketh also particular description of a riuer that he discouered, as is to be seene in the carde that I drew. And in the end M. Nicolo, not being vsed and acquainted with these cruell coldes, fel sicke, and a litle while after returned into Frisland, where he dyed. He left behind him in Venice, two sonnes, M. Giouanni and M. Toma, who had two sonnes, M. Nicolo the father of the famous Cardinal Zeno, and M. Pietro of whom descended the other Zenos, that are liuing at this day.

The end of the 2. letter.

M. Zeno dyed in Frisland.

Now M. Nicolo being dead, M. Antonio succeeded him both in his goods, and in his dignities and honour: and albeit he attempted diuers wayes, and made great supplication, he could neuer obtaine licence to returne into his countrey. For Zichmni, being a man of great courage and valour, had determined to make himself Lord of the sea. Wherefore vsing alwayes the counsaile and seruice of M. Antonio, he determined to send him with certaine barks to the Westwards, for that towards those parts, some of his fishermen had discouered certaine Islands very rich and populous: which discouery M. Antonio, in a letter to his brother M. Carlo, recounteth from point to point in this maner, sauing that we haue changed some old words, leauing the matter entire as it was.

Sixe and twentie yeeres agoe there departed foure fisher boats, the which, a mightie tempest arising, were tossed for the space of many dayes very desperately vpon the Sea, when at length, the tempest ceasing, and the wether waxing faire, they discouered an Island called Estotiland, lying to the Westwards aboue 1000 Miles from Frisland, vpon the which one of the boats was cast away, and sixe men that were in it were taken of the inhabitants and brought into a faire and populous citie, where the king of the place sent for many interpreters, but there was none could be found that vnderstood the language of the fishermen, except one that spake Latine, who was also cast by chance vpon the same Island, who in behalfe of the king asked them what countreymen they were: and so vnderstanding their case, rehearsed it vnto the king, who willed that they should tary in the countrey: wherefore they obeying his commandement, for that they could not otherwise doe, dwelt fiue yeres in the Island, and learned the language, and one of them was in diuers partes of the Island, and reporteth that it is a very rich countrey, abounding with all the commodities of the world, and that it is litle lesse then Island, but farre more fruitfull, hauing in the middle thereof a very high mountaine, from the which there spring foure riuers that passe through the whole countrey.

Sixe were fiue yeeres in Estotiland.

The inhabitants are very wittie people, and haue all artes and faculties, as we haue: and it is credible that in time past they haue had trafficke with our men, for he said, that he saw Latin bookes in the kings Librarie, which they at this present do not vnderstand: they haue a peculiar language, and letters or caracters to themselues. They haue mines of all maner of mettals, but especial they abound with gold. They haue their trade in Engroneland, from whence they bring furres, brimstone and pitch: and he saith, that to the Southwards, there is a great populous countrey very rich of gold. They sow corne, and make beere and ale, which is a kinde of drinke that North people do vse as we do wine. They haue mighty great woods, they make their buildings with wals, and there are many cities and castles. They build small barks and haue sayling, but they haue not the load stone, nor know not the vse of the compasse. Wherefore these fishers were had in great estimation, insomuch that the king sent them with twelue barks to the Southwards to a countrey which they call Drogio: but in their voyage they had such contrary weather, that they thought to haue perished in the sea: but escaping that cruell death, they fell into another more cruell: for they were taken in the countrey and the most part of them eaten by the Sauage people, which fed vpon mans flesh, as the sweetest meat in their iudgements that is.

Many cities and castles.

A countrey called Drogio.

But that fisher with his fellowes shewing them the maner of taking fish with nets, saued their liues:* and would goe euery day a fishing to the sea and in fresh riuers, and take great abundance of fish and giue it to the chiefe men of the countrey, whereby he gate himselfe so great fauour, that he was very well beloued and honoured of euery one.

The fame of this man being spread abroad in the countrey, there was a Lord there by, that was very desirous to haue him with him, and to see how he vsed his miraculous arte of catching fish, in so much that he made warre with the other Lord with whom he was before, and in the end preuailing, for that he was more mightie and a better warriour, the fisherman was sent vnto him with the rest of his company. And for the space of thirteene yeres that he dwelt in those parts, he saith, that he was sent in this order to more than 25 Lords, for they had continuall war amongst themselues, this Lord with that Lord, and he with another, onely to haue him to dwell with them: so that wandring vp and downe the countrey without any certaine abode in one place, he knew almost all those parts. He saith, that it is a very great countrey and as it were a new world: the people are very rude and voide of all goodnesse, they go all naked so that they are miserably vexed with colde, neither haue they the wit to couer their bodyes with beasts skins which they take in hunting, they haue no kinde of mettal, they liue by hunting, they carry certaine lances of wood made sharpe at the point, they haue bowes, yͤ strings whereof are made of beasts skins: they are very fierce people, they make cruell warres one with another, and eate one another, they haue gouernours and certaine lawes very diuers among themselues. But the farther to the Southwestwards, the more ciuilitie there is, the ayre being somewhat temperate, so that there they haue cities and temples to idols, wherein they sacrifice men and afterwards eate them, they haue there some knowledge and vse of gold and siluer.

---

* *Marginal note.*—The 6 fishermen of Frisland onely saved, by shewing the maner to take fish.

In the space of 13 yeeres he serued 25 lords of Drogio.

Now this fisherman hauing dwelt so many yeeres in those countreys purposed, if it were possible, to returne home into his countrey, but his companions despairing euer to see it againe, let him goe in Gods name, and they kept themselues where they were. Wherefore he bidding them farwell, fled through the woods towards Drogio, and was very well receiued of the Lord that dwelt next to that place; who knew him and was a great enemie of the other Lord: and so running from one Lord to another, being those by whom he had passed before, after long time and many trauels he came at length to Drogio, where he dwelt three yeres. When as by good fortune he heard by the inhabitants, that there were certaine boates arriued vpon the coast: wherefore entring into good hope to accomplish his intent, he went to the sea side, and asking them of what countrey they were; they answered of Estotiland, whereat he was exceeding glad, and requested that they would take him in to them, which they did very willingly, and for that he had the language of the countrey, and there was none that could speake it, they vsed him for their interpreter.

He returned from Estotiland to Frisland.

And afterward he frequented that trade with them in such sort, that he became very rich, and so furnishing out a barke of his owne, he returned into Frislande, where he made reporte vnto this Lord of that wealthy countrey.

And he is throughly credited because of the mariners, who approue many strange things, that he reporteth to be true. Wherefore this Lord is resolued to send me forth with a fleet towards those parts,* and there are so many that desire to go in the voyage, for the noueltie and strangenesse of the thing, that I thinke we shall be very strongly appointed, without any publike expence at all. And this is the tenour of the letter before mentioned, which I haue here set downe to giue intelligence of another voyage that M. Antonio made, being set out with many barkes, and men, notwithstanding he was not captaine, as he had thought at the first he should: for Zichmni went in his owne person: and concerning that matter I haue a letter in forme following.

The 4. letter.

One great preparation for the voyage of Estotiland was begun in an vnlucky houre: for three dayes before our departure the fisherman died † that should haue bene our guide: notwithstanding this Lord would not giue ouer the enterprize, but instead of the fisherman tooke certaine mariners that returned out of the Island with him: and so making our Nauigation to the Westwards, we discouered certaine Islands subiect to Frisland, and hauing passed certaine shelues we stayed at Leduo for the space of 7 daies to refresh our selues, and to furnish the fleet with necessarie prouision. Departing from thence we arriued the first of Iuly at the Isle of Ilofe: and for that the wind made for vs, we stayed not there, but passed forth, and being vpon the maine sea, there arose immediately a cruel tempest, wherewith for eight dayes space we were

Isle Ilof.

---

* *Marginal note.*—Zichmni minded to send M. Antonio Zeno with a fleete towards those parts of Estotiland.

† *Marginal note.*—The fisherman dyed that should haue bene interpreter. Certaine mariners taken in his steede, which came with him from Estotiland.

miserably vexed, not knowing where we were: and a great part of the barks were cast away, afterward the weather waxing faire, we gathered vp the broken peices of the barkes that were lost, and sayling with a prosperous winde we discouered land at West. Wherefore keeping our course directly vpon it, we arriued in a good and safe harborough, where we saw an infinit companie of people ready in armes, come running very furiously to the water side, as it were for defence of the Iland. Wherefore Zichmni causing his men to make stgnes of peace vnto them, they sent 10 men vnto vs that coulde speake ten languages, but we could vnderstand none of them, except one that was of Island. He being brought before our prince and asked, what was the name of the Island, and what people inhabited it, and who gouerned it, answered that the Island was called Icaria,* and that all the kings that reigned there, were called Icari, after the name of the first king of that place, which as they say was the sonne of Dedalus king of Scotland, who conquered that Island, left his sonne there for king, and left them those lawes that they retaine to this present, and after this, he desiring to sayle further, in a great tempest that arose, was drowned, wherefore for a memoriall of his death, they call those seas yet, the Icarian Sea, and the kings of the Island Icari, and for that they were contented with that state, which God had giuen them, neither would they alter one iote of their lawes and customes, they would not receiue any stranger: wherefore they requested our prince, that hee would not seeke to violate their lawes, which they had receiued from that king of worthy memory and obserued very duly to that present: which if he did attempt, it would redound to his manifest destruction, they being all resolutely bent rather to leaue their life, then to loose in any respect the vse of their lawes. Notwithstanding, that we should not thinke they did altogether refuse conuersation and traffick with other men, they tolde vs for conclusion that they would willingly receiue one of our men, and preferre him to be one of the chiefe amongst them, onely to learne my language the Italian tongue, and to be informed of our manners and customes, as they had already receiued those other ten of ten sundry nations,

Zichmni his discouerie of the Island Icaria.

An Island man in Icaria.

The people of Icaria desirous of the Italian tongue.

---

* *Marginal note.*—The kings of Icaria called Icaria after the name of the first king of that place, who as they report, was sonne to Dedalus the king of the Scots.

that came into their Island. To these things our Prince answered nothing at all, but causing his men to seke some good harborough, he made signes as though he would depart, and sayling round about the Island, he espied at length a harborough on the East side of the Island, where hee put in with all his Fleet: the mariners went on land to take in wood and water, which they did with as great speede as they could, doubting least they should be assaulted by the inhabitants, as it fell out in deed, for those that dwelt thereabouts, making signes vnto the other with fire and smoke, put themselues presently in armes and the other comming to them, they came all running downe to the sea side vpon our men, with bowes and arrowes, and other weapons, so that many were slaine and diuers sore wounded. And we made signes of peace vnto them, but it was to no purpose, for their rage increased more and more, as though they had fought for land and liuing. Wherefore we were forced to depart, and to sayle along in a great circuite about the Islande, being alwayes accompanyed vpon the hil tops and the sea coastes with an infinite number of armed men: and so doubling the Cape of the Island towards the North, we found many great sholdes, amongst the which for the space of ten dayes we were in continuall danger of loosing our whole fleet, but that it pleased God all that while to send vs faire weather. Wherefore proceeding on till we came to the East cape, we saw the inhabitants still on the hill tops and by the sea coast keepe with vs, and in making great outcryes and shooting at vs a farre off, they vttered their old spitefull affection towards vs. Wherefore wee determined to stay in some safe harborough, and see if wee might speake once againe with the Islander, but our determination was frustrate: for the people more like vnto beasts then men, stood continually in armes with intent to beat vs back, if we should come on land. Wherefore Zichmni seeing he could not preuaile, and thinking if he should haue perseuered and followed obstinately his purpose, their victuals would haue failed them, he departed with a fayre wind and sailed sixe daies to the Westwards, but the winde changing to the Southwest, and the sea waxing rough, wee sayling 4 dayes with the wind the powp, and at length discouering land, were afraid to approch nere vnto it, the sea being growen, and we not knowing what land it was: but God so prouided for vs, that the wind ceasing there came a great calme. Wherefore some

Infinite multitudes of armed men in Icaria.

Zichmni departed from Icaria Westwards.

of our company rowing to land with oares, returned and brought vs newes to our great comfort, that they had found a very good countrey and a better harborough: vpon which newes we towed our ships and smal barks to land, and being entred into the harborough, we saw a farre off a great mountain, that cast forth smoke, which gaue vs good hope that we should finde some inhabitants in the Island, neither would Zichmni rest, although it were a great way off, but sent 100 souldiers to search the countrey and bring report what people they were that inhabited it, and in the meane time they tooke in wood and water for the prouision of the fleete, and catcht great store of fish and sea foule and found such abundance of birds egges that our men that were halfe famished, were filled therewithall. Whiles we were riding here, began the moneth of Iune, at which time the aire in the Island was so temperate and pleasant as is impossible to express; but when we could see no people at al, we suspected greatly that this pleasant place was desolate and dishabited. We gaue name to the heauen calling it Trin, and the point that stretched out into the sea, we called Capo de Trin.

100 men sent to discrie the countrey.

The 100 souldiers returned which had bene through the Island, report what they saw and found.

The 100 souldiers that were sent forth, 8 dayes after returned, and brought word that they had bene through the Island and at the mountaine, and that the smoke was a naturall thing proceeding from a great fire that was in the bottome of the hill, and that there was a spring from which issued a certaine water like pitch which ran into the sea, and that thereabouts dwelt great multitudes of people halfe wilde, hiding themselues in caues of the ground, of small stature, and very fearefull: for as soone as they saw them they fled into their holes, and that there was a great riuer and a very good and safe harborough. Zichmni being thus informed, and seeing that it had a holesome and pure aire, and a very fruitfull soyle and faire riuers, with sundry commodities, fell into such liking of the place, that he determined to inhabite it, and built there a citie. But his people being weary and faint with long and tedious trauell began to murmure, saying that they would returne into their countrey, for that the winter was at hand, and if they entred into the harborough, they should not be able to come out againe before the next Summer. Wherefore he retaining onely the barks with Oares and such as were willing to stay with him, sent all the rest with the shippes backe againe, and willed that I (though vnwilling) should be their captaine. I therefore departing, because I could not otherwise chuse, sayled for the space of twenty dayes to the Eastwards without sight of any land: then turning my course towards the Souteast, in 5. dayes I discouered land, and found my selfe vpon the Isle of Neome, and knowing the countrey, I perceiued I was past Island: wherefore taking in some fresh victuals of the inhabitants being subiect to Zichmni, I sayled with a faire winde in three dayes to Frisland, where the people, who thought they had lost their prince, because of his long absence, in this our voyage receiued vs very ioyfully.

M. Antonio Zeno, made chiefe captaine of those ships which went back to Frisland.

What followed after this letter I know not but by coniecture, which I gather out of a peice of another letter, which I will set downe here vnderneath: That Zichmni built a towne in the port of the Iland that he discouered, and that he searched the countrey very diligently and discouered it all, and also the riuers on both sides of Engroneland, for that I see it particularly described in the sea card, but the discourse or narration is lost. The beginning of the letter is thus.

Concerning those thiugs that you desire to know of me, as of the men and their maners and customes, of the beasts, and of the countries adioyning, I haue made therof a particuler booke, which by Gods help I will bring with me: wherein I haue decribed the countrey, the monstrous fishes, the customes and lawes of Frisland, Island, Estland, the kingdome of Norway, Estotiland, Drogio, and in the end the life of M. Nicolo, the knight our brother, with the discouery which he made, and the state of Groneland. I haue also written the life and acts of Zichmni, a prince as worthy of immortall memory, as euer liued, for his great valiancie and singular humanitie, wherein I haue described the discouery of Engroneland on both sides, and the citie that he builded. Therefore I will speake no further hereof in this letter, hoping to be with you very shortly, and to satisfie you in sundry other things by word of mouth.

The 5 letter.

All these letters were written by M. Antonio to Messer Carlo his brother: and it grieueth me, that the booke and diuers other writings concerning these purposes, are miserably lost: for being but a child when they came to my hands, and not knowing what they were, (as the maner of children is) I tore them, and rent them in pieces, which now I cannot cal to remembrance but to my exceeding great griefe. Notwithstanding, that the memory of so many good things should not bee lost: whatsoeuer I could get of this matter, I haue disposed and put in order in the former discourse, to the ende that this age might be partly satisfied, to the which we are more beholding for the great discoueries made in those partes, then to any other of the time past, being most studious of the newe relations and discoueries of strange countries, made by the great mindes, and industrie of our ancestours.

For the more credite and confirmation of the former Historie of Messer Nicolas and Messer Antonio Zeni (which for some fewe respects may perhaps bee called in question) I haue heere annexed the iudgement of that famous Cosmographer Abraham Ortelius, or rather the yealding and submitting of his iudgement thereunto: who in his Theatrum Orbis, fol. 6. next before the map of Mar del Zur, boroweth proofe and authoritie out of this relation, to shew that the Northeast parte of America called Estotiland, and in the original alwayes affirmed to bee an Islande, was about the yeere 1390 discouered by the aforesayd Venetian Gentleman Messer Antonio Zeno, aboue 100 yeeres before euer Christopher Columbus set saile for those Westerne Regions; and that the Northren Seas were euen then sayled by our Europæan Pilots through the helpe of the loadstone: with diuers other particulars concerning the customes, religion and wealth of the Southern Americans, which are most euidently confirmed by all the late and moderne Spanish Histories of Nueua Espanna and Peru.

AND here I shall not (as I suppose) commit any great inconuenience, or absurditie, in adding vnto this History of the new world, certaine particulars as touching the first discouery thereof, not commonly known. Which discouerie al the writers of our time ascribe (and that not vnworthily) vnto Christopher Columbus. For by him it was in a maner first discouered, made knowen, and profitably communicated vnto the Christian world, in the yeere of our Lord 1492. Howbeit I finde that the North part thereof called Estotiland, (which most of all extendeth toward our Europe and the Ilands of the same, namely, Groneland, Island, and Frisland) was long ago found out by certaine fishers of the Isle of Frisland, driuen by tempest vpon the shore thereof: and was afterward about the yeere 1390 discouered a new

Estotiland first discouered.

The second discouerie thereof.

by one Antonio Zeno a gentleman of Venice; which sayled thither vnder the conduct of Zichmni king of the saide Isle of Frisland, a prince in those parts of great valour, and renowned for his martiall exploits and victories. Of which expedition of Zichmni there are extant in Italian certaine collections or abridgements gathered by Francisco Marcolino out of the letters of M. Nicolo and Antonio Zeni two gentlemen of Venice which liued in those partes. Out of which collections I doe adde concerning the description of Estotiland aforesaid these particulars following.

Estotiland (saith he) aboundeth with all things necessary for mankinde In the mids thereof standeth an exceeding high mountaine, from which issue foure riuers that moisten all the countrie. The inhabitants are wittie and most expert in Mechanicall arts. They haue a kinde of peculiar language and letters. Howbeit in this Kings Librarie are preserued certaine Latine bookes which they vnderstand not, being perhaps left there many yeeres before by some Europeans, which traffiqued thither. They haue all kinde of mettals; bnt especially golde, wherewith they mightily abound. They trafficke with the people of Groneland: from whence they fetch skinnes, pitch and brimstone. The inhabitants report that towardes the South, there are regions abounding with gold, and very populous: they haue many and huge woods, from whence they take timber for the building of ships and cities, whereof and of castles there are great store. The vse of the loadstone for Nauigation is vnknowen vnto them. They make relation also of a certaine region toward the South, called Drogio, which is inhabited by Canibals, vnto whom mans flesh is delicate meat: wherof being destitute they liue by fishing, which they vse very much. Beyond this are large regions, and as it were a newe world: but the people are barbarous and goe naked: howbeit against the colde they cloth themselues in beastes skinnes. These haue no kinde of metall: and they liue by hunting. Their weapons are certaine long staues with sharpe points, and bowes. They wage warres one against another. They haue gouernours, and obey certaine lawes. But from hence more towardes the South the climate is much more temperate: and there are cities, and temples of idoles, vnto whom they sacrifice liuing men, whose flesh they afterwards deuoure. These nations haue the vse of siluer and gold.

Drogio.

This much of this tract of landes out of the aforesaide collections and abridgements. Wherein this also is worthy the obseruation, that euen then our Europæan Pilots sayled those seas by the helpe of the loadstone. For concerning the vse thereof in Nauigation, I suppose there is not to be found a more ancient testimonie. And these things I haue annexed the rather vnto this table of Mar del Zur; considering that none of those Authours which haue written the Histories of the Newe world, haue in any part of their writings, mentioned one word thereof. Hitherto Ortelius.

THE
NAUIGATIONS, VOYAGES, TRAFFIQUES, AND DISCOUERIES,
OF THE
ENGLISH NATION,
TO NEWFOVNDLAND, TO THE ISLES OF RAMEA AND THE ISLES OF ASSUMPTION OTHERWISE CALLED NATISCOTEC.
SITUATE AT THE MOUTH OF THE RIUER OF CANADA,
AND TO THE COASTES OF CAPE BRITON, AND ARAMBEC,
CORRUPTLY CALLED NORUMBEGA,
WITH THE PATENTS, LETTERS, AND ADUERTISEMENTS
THEREUNTO BELONGING.

The voyage of the two ships, whereof the one was called the Dominus vobiscum, set out the 20 day of May in the 19 yere of king Henry the eight, and in the yere of our Lord God 1527. for the the discouerie of the North partes.

MAster Robert Thorne of Bristoll, a notable member and ornament of his country, as wel for his learning, as great charity to the poore, in a letter of his to king Henry the 8 and a large discourse to doctor Leigh, his Ambassadour to Charles the Emperour, (which both are to be seene almost in the beginning of the first volume of this my work) exhorted the aforesayd king with very waighty and substantial reasons, to set forth a discouery euen to the North Pole. And that it may be knowne that this his motion tooke present effect, I thought it good herewithall to put downe the testimonies of two of our Chroniclers, M. Hall, and M. Grafton, who both write in this sort. This same moneth (say they) king Henry the 8 sent 2 faire ships wel manned and victualled, hauing in them diuers cunning men to seeke strange regions, and so they set forth out of the Thames the 20 day of May in the 19 yeere of his raigne, which was the yere of our Lord. 1527.

And whereas master Hal, and master Grafton say, that in those ships there were diuers cunning men, I haue made great enquirie of such as by their yeeres and delight in Nauigation, might giue me any light to know who those cunning men should be, which were the directors in the aforesaid voyage. And it hath bene tolde me by sir Martine Frobisher, and M. Richard Allen, a knight of the Sepulchre, that a Canon of Saint Paul in London, which was a great Mathematician, and a man indued with wealth, did much aduance the action, and went therein himselfe in person, but what his name was I cannot learne of any. And further they told me that one of the ships was called the Dominus vobiscum, which is a name likely to be giuen by a religious man of those dayes: and that sayling very farre Northwestward, one of the ships was cast away as it entred into a dangerous gulph, about the great opening, betweene the North parts of Newfoundland, and the countrey lately called by her Maiestie, Meta Incognita, Whereupon the other ship shaping her course towards Cape Briton, and the coastes of Arambec, and oftentimes putting their men on land to search the state of those vnknowen regions, returned home about the beginning of October, of the yere aforesayd. And this much (by reason of the great negligence of the writers of those times, who should haue vsed more care in preseruing of the memories of the worthy actes of our nation,) is all that hitherto I can learne, or finde out of this voyage.

The voyage of M. Hore and diuers other gentlemen, to Newfoundland, and Cape Briton, in the yeere 1536 and in the 28 yere of king Henry the 8.

ONe master Hore of London, a man of goodly stature and of great courage, and giuen to the studie of Cosmographie, in the 28 yere of king Henry the 8 and in the yere of our Lord 1536 encouraged diuers Gentlemen and others, being assisted by the kings fauor and good countenance, to accompany him in a voyage of discouerie vpon the Northwest parts of America: wherein his perswasions tooke such effect, that within short space many gentlemen of the Innes of court, and of the Chancerie, and diuers others of good worship, desirous to see the strange things of the world, very willingly entered into the action with him, some of whose names were as followeth: M. Weekes a gentleman of the West countrey of fiue hundred markes by the yeere liuing. M. Tucke a gentleman of Kent. M. Tuckfield. M. Thomas Buts the sonne of Sir William Buts knight, of Norfolke, which was lately liuing, and from whose mouth I wrote most of this relation. M. Hardie, M. Biron, M. Carter, M. Wright, M. Rastall Serieant Rastals brother, M. Ridley, and diuers other, which all were in the Admyrall called the Trinitie, a ship of seuen score tunnes, wherein M. Hore himselfe was imbarked. In the other ship whose name was the Minion, went a very learned and vertuous gentleman one M. Armigil Wade, Afterwards Clerke of the Counsailes of king Henry the 8 and king Edward the sixth, father to the worshipfull M. William Wade now Clerke of the priuie Counsell, M. Oliuer Dawbeney marchant of London, M. Ioy afterward gentleman of the Kings Chappell, with diuers other of good account. The whole number that went in the two tall ships aforesaid to wit, the Trinitie and the Minion, were about six score persons, whereof thirty were gentlemen, which all were mustered in warlike maner at Grauesend, and after the receiuing of the Sacrament, they embarked themselues in the ende of Aprill. 1526.

M. Armigil Wade.

From the time of their setting out from Grauesend, they were very long at sea, to witte, aboue two moneths, and neuer touched any land vntill they came to part of the West Indies about Cape Briton, shaping their course thence Northeastwardes, vntill they came to the Island of Penguin, which is very full of rockes and stones, whereon they went and found it full of great foules white and gray, as big as geese, and they saw infinite numbers of their egges. They draue a great number of the foules into their boates vpon their sayles, and tooke vp many of their egges, the foules they flead and their skinnes were very like hony combes full of holes being flead off: they dressed and eate them and found them to be very good and nourishing meat. They saw also store of beares both blacke and white, of whome they killed some, and tooke them for no bad foode.

Cape Briton. The Island of Penguin standeth about the latitude of 30 degrees.

M. Oliuer Dawbeny, which (as it is before mentioned) was in this voyage, and in the Minion, told M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple these things following: to wit, That after their arriuall in Newfoundland, and hauing bene there

M. Dawbneys report to M. Richard Hakluyt of the Temple.

certaine dayes at ancre, and not hauing yet seene any of the naturall people of the countrey, the same Dawbeney walking one day on the hatches, spied a boate with Sauages of those parts, rowing down the Bay toward them, to gaze vpon the ship, and our people, and taking viewe of their comming aloofe, hee called to such as were vnder the hatches, and willed them to come vp if they would see the natural people of the countrey, that they had so long and so much desired to see: whereupon they came vp, and tooke viewe of the Sauages rowing toward them and their ship, and vpon the viewe they manned out a ship-boat to meet them and to take them. But they spying our ship-boat making towards them, returned with maine force and fled into an Island that lay vp in the Bay or riuer there, and our men pursued them into the Island, and the Sauages fledde and escaped: but our men found a fire, and the side of a beare on a wooden spit left at the same by the Sauages that were fled.

They beheld the Sauages of Newfoundland.

There in the same place they found a boote of leather garnished on the outward side of the calfe with certaine braue trailes, as it were of rawe silke, and also found a certaine great warme mitten: And these caryed with them, they returned to their shippe, not finding the Sauages, nor seeing any thing else besides the soyle, and the things growing in the same, which chiefely were store of firre and pine trees.

And further, the said M. Dawbeny told him, that lying there they grew into great want of victuals, and that there they found small reliefe, more then that they had from the nest of an Osprey, that brought hourely to her yong great plentie of diuers sorts of fishes. But such was the famine that increased amongst them from day to day, that they were forced to seeke to relieue themselues of raw herbes and rootes that they sought on the maine: but the famine increasing, and the reliefe of herbes being to little purpose to satisfie their insatiable hunger, in the fieldes and desertes here and there, the fellowe killed his mate while he stooped to take vp a roote for his reliefe, and cutting out pieces of his bodie whom he had murthered, broyled the same on the coles and greedily deuoured them.

Extreme famine.

By this meane the company decreased, and the officers knew not what was become of them; And it fortuned that one of the company driuen with hunger to seeke abroade for reliefe found out in the fieldes the sauour of broyled flesh, and fell out with one for that he would suffer him and his fellowes to sterue, enioying plentie as he thought: and this matter growing to cruell speaches, he that had the broyled meate, burst out into these wordes: If thou wouldest needes know, the broyled meate that I had was a piece of such a mans buttocke. The report of this brought to the ship, the Captaine found what became of those that were missing, and was perswaded that some of them were neither deuoured with wilde beastes, nor yet destroyed by Sauages: And hereupon hee stood vp and made a notable Oration, containing, Howe much these dealings offended the Almightie, and vouched the Scriptures from first to last, what God had in cases of distresse done for them that called vpon them, and told them that the power of the Almighty was then no lesse, then in al former time it had bene. And added, that if it had not pleased God to haue holpen them in that distresse, that it had bene better to haue perished in body, and to haue liued euerlastingly, then to haue relieued for a poore time their mortal bodyes, and to bee condemned euerlastingly, both body and soule to the vnquenchable fire of hell. And thus hauing ended to that effect, he began to exhort to repentance, and besought all the company to pray, that it might please God to looke vpon their miserable present state and for his owne mercie to relieue the same. The famine increasing, and the inconuenience of the men that were missing being found, they agreed amongst themselues rather then all should perish, to cast lots who should be killed: And such was the mercie of God, that the same night there arriued a French ship in that port, well furnished with vittaile, and such was the policie of the English, that they became masters of the same, and changing ships and vittailing them, they set sayle to come into England.

Our men eate one another for famine.

The Captaines Oration.

The English surprise a French ship, wherein they returned home.

In their iourney they were so farre Northwards, that they sawe mighty Islands of yce in the sommer season, on which were haukes and other foules to rest themselues being weary of flying ouer farre from the maine. They sawe also certaine great white foules with red bils and red legs, some what bigger then Herons, which they supposed to be Storkes. They arriued at S. Iues in Cornewall about the ende of October. From thence they

Haukes and other foules.

Foules supposed to be Storkes.

departed vnto a certaine castle belonging to sir Iohn Luttrel, where M. Thomas Buts, and M. Rastall and other Gentlemen of the voyaye were very friendly entertained: after that they came to the Earle of Bathe at Bathe, and thence to Bristoll, so to London. M. Buts was so changed in the voyage with hunger and miserie, that sir William his father and my Lady his mother knew him not to be their sonne, vntill they found a secret marke which was a wart vpon one of his knees, as hee told me Richard Hakluyt of Oxford himselfe, to whom I rode 200. miles onely to learne the whole trueth of this voyage from his own mouth, as being the onely man now aliue that was in this discouerie.

The French royally recompenced by king Henry the 8.

Certaine moneths after, those Frenchmen came into England and made complaint to king Henry the 8: the king causing the matter to be examined, and finding the great distresse of his subiects, and the causes of the dealing so with the French, was so mooued with pitie, that he punished not his subiects, but of his owne purse made full and royall recompence vnto the French.

In this distresse of famine, the English did somewhat relieue their vitall spirits, by drinking at the springs the fresh water out of certaine wooden cups, out of which they had drunke their Aqua composita before.

An act against the exaction of money or any other thing by any officer for licence to traffique into Iseland and Newfoundland, made in An. 2. Edwardi sexti.

FOrasmuch as within these few yeeres now last past, there haue bene leuied, perceiued and taken by certaine of the officers of the Admiraltie, of such Marchants, and fishermen as haue vsed and practised the aduentures and iourueys into Iseland, Newfoundland, Ireland, and other places commodious for fishing, and the getting of fish, in and vpon the Seas or otherwise, by way of Marchants in those parties, diuers great exactions, as summes of money, doles or shares of fish, and such other like things, to the great discouragement and hinderance of the same Marchants and fishermen, and to no little dammage of the whole common wealth, and thereof also great complaints haue bene made, and informations also yeerely to the kings Maiesties most honourable councell: for reformation whereof, and to the intent also that the sayd Marchants and fishermen may haue occasion the rather to practise and vse the same trade of marchandizing, and fishing freely without any such charges and exactions, as are before limited, whereby it is to be thought that more plentie of fish shall come into this Realme, and thereby to haue the same at more reasonable prices: Be it therefore enacted by the king our soueraigne Lord, and the lords and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by authoritie of the same, that neither the Admiral, nor any officer, or minister, officers or ministers of the Admiraltie for the time being, shall in any wise hereafter exact, receiue, or take by himselfe, his seruant, deputie, seruants, or deputies of any such Marchant or fisherman, any summe or summes of money, doles or shares of fish, or any other reward, benefit or aduantage whatsoeuer it be, for any licence to passe this Realme to the sayd voyages or any of them, nor vpon any respect concerning the said voyages, nor any of them, vpon paine to forfeit for the first offence treble the summe, or treble the value of the reward, benefite or aduantage, that any such officer or minister shall hereafter haue or take of any such Marchants or fishermen. For the which forfeiture the party grieued, and euery other person or persons whatsoeuer he or they be, shall and may sue for the same by information, bill, plaint, or action of debt in any of the kings courts of recorde: The king to haue the one moitie, and the party complaining the other moitie: in which suite no essoigne, protection, or wager of law shall be allowed. And for the second offence the party so offending not only to lose and forfeite his or their office or offices in the Admiraltie, but also to make fine and ransome at the kings will and pleasure.

By this acte it appeareth, that the trade out of England to Newfound land was common and frequented about the beginning of the raigne of Edward the 6. namely in the yeere 1548. and it is much to be marueiled, that by negligence of our men, the countrey in all this time hath bene no better searched.

A letter to M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple, conteining a report of the true state and commodities of Newfoundland, by M. Anthonie Parkhurst Gentleman, 1578.

MAster Hakluy, tafter most heartie commendations, with like thankes for your manifold kindnesse to me shewed, not for any merits that hitherto haue been mine, but wholly proceeding, I must needs confesse, of your owne good nature, which is so ready prest to benefiit your countrey and all such poore men as haue any sparke in them of good desires, that you do not onely become their friend, but also humble your selfe as seruant in their affaires: for which I would to God I were once in place where I might cause your burning zeale to bee knowen to those that haue authoritie, power, and abilitie to recompense your trauelling mind and pen, wherewith you cease not day nor night to labour and trauell to bring your good and godly desires to some passe, though not possibly to that happy ende that you most thirst for: for such is the malice of wicked men the deuils instruments in this our age, that they cannot suffer any thing (or at least few) to proceed and prosper that tendeth to the setting forth of Gods glory, and the amplifying of the Christian faith, wherein hitherto princes haue not bene so diligent as their calling required. Alas, the labourers as yet are few, the haruest great, I trust God hath made you an instrument to increase the number, and to mooue men of power, to redeeme the people of Newfoundland and those parts from out of the captiuitie of that spirituall Pharao, the deuill.

Now to answer some part of your letter touching the sundrie nauies that come to Newfoundland, or Terra noua, for fish: you shal vnderstand that some fish not neere the other by 200. leagues, and therefore the certaintie is not knowen; and some yeres come many more then other some, as I see the like among vs: who since my first trauell being but 4. yeeres, are increased from 30. sayle to 50. which commeth to passe chiefly by the imagination of the Westerne men, who thinke their neighbours haue had greater gaines then in very deed they haue, for that they see me to take such paines yeerely to go in proper person: they also suppose that I find some secret commoditie by reason that I doe search the harbors, creekes and hauens, and also the land much more then euer any Englishman hath done. Surely I am glad that it so increaseth, whereof soeuer it springeth. But to let this passe, you shall vnderstand that I am informed that there are aboue 100. saile of Spaniards that come to take Cod (who make all wet, and do drie it when they come home) besides 20. or 30. more that come from Biskaie to kill Whale for Traine. These be better appoynted for shipping and furniture of munition, then any nation sauing the Englishmen, who commonly are lords of the harbors where they fish, and doe vse all strangers helpe in fishing if need require, according to an old custome of the countrey, which thing they do willingly, so that you take nothing from them more then a boate or twaine of salte, in respect of your protection of them from rouers or other violent intruders, who do often put them from good harbor, &c. As touching their tunnage, I thinke it may be neere fiue or sixe thousand tunne. But of Portugals there are not lightly aboue 50 saile, and they make all wet in like sorte, whose tunnage may amount to three thousand tuns, and not vpwarde. Of the French nation and Britons, are about one hundred and fiftie sailes, the most of their shipping is very small, not past fortie tunnes, among which some are great and reasonably well appointed, better then the Portugals, and not so well as the Spaniards, and the burden of them may be some 7000. tunne. Their shipping is from all parts of France and Britaine, and the Spaniards from most parts of Spaine, the Portugals from Auiero* and Viana,† and from 2. or 3. ports more. The trade that our nation hath to Island maketh, that the English are not there in such numbers as other nations. Now to certifie you of the fertilitie and goodnesse of the countrey, you shall vnderstand that I haue in sundry places sowen Wheate, Barlie, Rie, Oates, Beanes, Pease and seedes of herbes, kernels, Plumstones, nuts, all which haue prospered as in England. The countrey yeeldeth many good trees of fruit, as Filberds in some places, but in all places Cherie trees, and a kind of Peare-tree meet to graffe on. As for roses, they are as common as brambles here: Strawberies, Dewberies, and Raspis, as common as grasse. The timber is most Firre, yet plentie of Pineapple trees: fewe of these two kinds meete to maste a ship of threescore and ten: But neere Cape Briton, and to the Southward, big and sufficient for any ship. There be also Okes and thornes, there is in all the countrey plentie of Birch and Alder, which be the meetest wood for cold, and also willow, which will serue for many other purposes. As touching the kindes of Fish beside Cod, there are Herrings, Salmons, Thornebacke, Plase, or rather wee should call them Flounders, Dog fish, and another most excellent of taste called of vs a Cat, Oisters, and Muskles, in which I haue found pearles aboue 40. in one Muskle, and generally all haue some, great or small. I heard of a Portugall that found one woorth 300. duckets: There are also

The fertility of Newfoundland.

Seueral sortes of fish.

---

* Aveiro, province of Beira, 31 miles N. W. of Coimbra.

† Viana do Castello, province of Minho, 40 miles N. of Oporto.

other kinds of Shel-fish, as limpets, cockles, wilkes, lobsters, and crabs: also a fish like a Smelt which commeth on shore, and another that hath like propertie, called a Squid: there be the fishes, which (when I please to bee merie with my olde companions) I say doe come on shore when I commaund them in the name of the 5 ports, and coniure them by such like words: These also bee the fishes which I may sweepe with broomes on a heape, and neuer wet my foote, onely two or three wordes whatsoeuer they be appointed by any man, so they heare my voyce: the vertue of the wordes be small, but the nature of the fish great and strange. For the Squid, whose nature is to come by night as by day, I tell them, I set him a candle to see his way, with which he is much delighted, or els commeth to wonder at it as doth our fresh water fish, the other commeth also in the night, but chiefly in the day, being forced by the Cod that would deuoure him, and therefore for feare comming so neare the shore, is driuen drie by the surge of the sea on the pibble and sands. Of these being as good as a Smelt you may take vp with a shoue net as plentifully as you do Wheat in a shouell, sufficient in three or four houres for a whole Citie. There be also other fishes which I tell those that are desirous of stange newes, that I take as fast as one would gather vp stones, and them I take with a long pole and hooke. Yea marrie say they, wee beleeue so, and that you catch all the rest you bring home in that sort, from Portugals and Frenchmen. No surely, but thus I doe: with three hookes stretched foorth in the ende of a pole, I make as it were an Eele speare, with which I pricke these Flounders as fast as you would take vp fritters with a sharpe pointed sticke, and with that toole I may take vp in lesse then halfe a day Lobsters sufficient to finde three hundred men for a dayes meate. This pastime ended, I shewe them that for my pleasure I take a great Mastiue I haue, and say no more then thus: Goe fetch me this rebellious fish that obeyeth not this Gentleman that commeth from Kent and Christendome, bringing them to the high water marke, and when hee doubteth that any of those great Cods by reason of sheluing ground bee like to tumble into the Sea againe, hee will warily take heede and carrie him vp backe to the heape of his fellowes. This doeth caue my friendes to wonder, and at the first hearing to iudge them notorious lies, but they laugh and are merrie when they heare the meanes howe each tale is true.

Called by the Spaniards Anchouas, and by the Portugals Capelinas.

I told you once I doe remember how in my trauaile into Africa and America, I found trees that bare Oisters which was strange to you, till I tolde you that their boughes hung in the water, on which both Oisters and Muskles did sticke fast, as their propertie is, to stakes and timber.*

Nowe to let these merrie tales passe, and to come to earnest matters againe, you shall vnderstand, that Newfoundland is in a temperate Climate, and not so colde as foolish Mariners doe say, who finde it colde sometimes when plentie of Isles of yce lie neere the shore: but vp in the land they shall finde it hotter then in England in many parts of the countrey toward the South. This colde commeth by an accidental meanes, as by the yce that commeth fleeting from the North partes of the worlde, and not by the situation of the countrey, or nature of the Climate. The countrey is full of little small riuers all the yeere long proceeding from the mountaines, ingendred both of snow and raine: few springs that euer I could finde or heare of, except it bee towards the South: in some places or rather in most places great lakes with plentie of fish, the countrey most couered with woods of firre, yet in many places indifferent good grasse, and plentie of Beares euery where, so that you may kill of them as oft as you list: their flesh is as good as yong beefe, and hardly you may know the one from the other if it be poudred but two dayes. Of Otters we may take like store. There are Sea Guls, Murres, Duckes, wild Geese, and many other kind of birdes store, too long to write, especially at one Island named Penguin, where wee may driue them on a planke into our ship as many as shall lade her. These birdes are also called Penguins, and cannot flie, there is more meate in one of these then in a goose: the Frenchmen that fish neere the grand baie, doe bring small store of flesh with them, but victuall themselues alwayes with these birdes. Nowe againe, for Venison plentie, especially to the North about the grand baie, and in the South neere Cape Race, and Pleasance: there are many other kinds of beasts, as Luzarnes and other mighty beastes like to Camels in great likenesse, and their feete were clouen, I did see them farre off not able to discerne them perfectly, but their steps shewed that their feete were clouen, and bigger then the feete of Camels, I suppose them to bee a kind off Buffes which I read to bee in the countreyes adiacent, and very many in the firme land. There bee also to the Northwards, Hares, and Foxes in all parts so plentifully, that at noone dayes they take away our flesh before our faces within lesse then halfe a paire of buts length, where foure and twentie persons were turning of drie fish, and two dogs in sight, yet stoode they not in feare till wee gaue shot and set the dogs vpon them: the Beares also be as bold, which will not spare at midnight to take your fish before your face, and I beleeue assuredly would not hurt any bodie vnlesse they be forced.

---

* See Vol. ix., p. 143 of this Edition.

Nowe to showe you my fancie what places I suppose meetest to inhabite in those parts discouered of late by our nation: There is neere about the mouth of the grand Bay, an excellent harbour called of the Frenchmen Chasteaux,* and one Island in the very entrie of the streight called Bell Isle,† which places if they be peopled and well fortified (as there are stones and things meete for it throughout all Newfoundland) wee shall bee lordes of the whole fishing in small time, if it doe so please the Queenes Maiestie, and from thence send wood and cole with all necessaries to Labrador lately discouered: but I am of opinion, and doe most stedfastly beleeue that we shall finde as rich Mines in more temperate places and Climates, and more profitable for fishing then any yet we haue vsed, where wee shall haue not farre from thence plentie of salt made vndoubtedly, and very likely by the heate of the Sunne, by reason I find salt kerned on the rockes in nine and fortie and better: these places may bee found for salte in three and fortie. I know more touching these two commodities last remembred then any man of our nation doeth; for that I haue some knowledge in such matters, and haue most desired the finding of them by painefull trauaile, and most diligent inquirie. Now to be short, for I haue bene ouer long by Master Butlers means, who cryed on mee to write at large, and of as many things as I call to minde woorthy of rembrance: wherefore this one thing more. I could wish the Island in the mouth of the riuer of Canada‡ should be inhabited, and the riuer searched, for that there are many things which may rise thereof as I will shew you hereafter. I could find in my heart to make proofe whether it be true or no that I haue read and heard of Frenchmen and Portugals to bee in that riuer, and about Cape

---

* (?) Chateau-Richer on the St. Lawrence, 15 miles below Quebec.

† Near Cape Charles.

‡ The St. Lawrence.

Briton. I had almost forgot to speake of the plentie of wolues, and to shew you that there be foxes, blacke, white and gray: other beasts I know none saue those before remembered. I found also certain Mines of yron and copper in S. Iohns, and in the Island of Yron, which might turne to our great benefite, if our men had desire to plant thereabout, for proofe whereof I haue brought home some of the oare of both sortes. And thus I ende, assuring you on my faith, that if I had not beene deceiued by the vile Portugals descending of the Iewes and Iudas kinde, I had not failed to haue searched this riuer, and all the coast of Cape Briton, what might haue bene found to haue benefited our countrey: but they breaking their bands, and falsifying their faith and promise, disappointed me of the salte they should haue brought me in part of recompence of my good seruice in defending them two yeeres against French Rouers, that had spoyled them, if I had not defended them.

By meanes whereof they made me lose not onely the searching of the countrey, but also forced mee to come home with great losse aboue 600. li. For recompence whereof I haue sent my man into Portugall to demand iustice at the Kings hand, if not, I must put vp my supplication to the Queenes Maiesty and her honourable councell, to grant me leaue to stay here so much of their goods as they haue damnified mee, or else that I may take of them in Newfound land, as much fish as shall be woorth 600. li. or as much as the salte might haue made. I pray you aduertise mee what way I were best to take, and what hope there will bee of a recompence if I follow the suite: many there are that doe comfort me, and doe bid me proceede, for that her Maiestie and the councell doe tender poore fisher men, who with me haue susteined three hundred pound losse in that voyage. And to conclude, if you and your friend shall thinke me a man sufficient and of credite, to seeke the Isle of S. Iohn, or the riuer of Canada, with any part of the firme land of Cape Briton, I shall giue my diligence for the true and perfect discouerie, and leaue some part of mine owne businesse to further the same: and thus I end, committing you to God. From Bristow the 13. of Nouember, 1578.

Yours to vse and command,
ANTHONY PARCKHVRST.

The Letters Patents graunted by her Maiestie to Sir Humfrey Gilbert, knight, for the inhabiting and planting of our people in America.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, &c. To all people to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye that of our especiall grace, certaine science and meere motion, we haue giuen and granted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successours, doe giue and graunt to our trustie and welbeloued seruant Sir Humfrey Gilbert of Compton, in our Countie of Deuonshire knight, and to his heires and assignes for euer, free libertie and licence from time to time and at all times for euer hereafter, to discouer, finde, search out, and view such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countreys and territories not actually possessed of any Christian prince or people, as to him, his heirs and assignes, and to euery or any of them, shall seeme good : and the same to haue, hold, occupie and enioy to him, his heires and assignes for euer, with all commodities, iurisdictions and royalties both by sea and land: and the sayd sir Humfrey and all such as from time to time by licence of vs, our heires and successours, shall goe and trauell thither, to inhabite or remaine there, to build and fortifie at the discretion of the sayde sir Humfrey, and of his heires and assignes, the statutes or actes of Parliament made against Fugitiues, or against such as shall depart, remaine, or continue out of our Realme of England without licence, or any other acte, statute, lawe, or matter whatsoeuer to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And wee doe likewise by these presents, for vs, our heires and successours, giue full authoritie and power to the saide Sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and euery of them, that hee and they, and euery, or any of them, shall and may at all and euery time and times hereafter, haue, take, and lead in the same voyages, to trauell thitherward, and to inhabite there with him, and euery or any of them, such and so many of our subiects as shall willingly accompany him and them, and euery or any of them, with sufficient shipping, and furniture for their transportations, so that none of the same persons, nor any of them be such as hereafter shall be specially restrained by vs, our heires and successors. And further, that he, the said Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them shall haue, hold, occupy and enioy to him, his heires, or assignes, and euery of them for euer, all the soyle of all such lands, countries, and territories so to be discouered or possessed as aforesaid, and of all Cities, Townes and Villages, and places, in the same, with the rites, royalties and iurisdictions, as well marine as other, within the sayd lands or countreys of the seas thereunto adioining, to be had or vsed with ful power to dispose thereof, and of euery part thereof in fee simple or otherwise, according to the order of the laws of England, as nere as the same conueniently may be, at his, and their will and pleasure, to any person then being, or that shall remaine within the allegiance of vs, our heires and successours, paying vnto vs, for all seruices, dueties and demaunds, the fift part of all the oare of gold and siluer, that from time to time, and at all times after such discouerie, subduing and possessing shall be there gotten: all which lands, countreys, and territories, shall for euer bee holden by the sayd Sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes of vs, our heires and successours by homage, and by the sayd payment of the sayd fift part before reserued onely for all seruices.

And moreouer, we doe by those presents for vs, our heires and successours, giue and graunt licence to the sayde Sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires or assignes, and to euery of them, that hee and they, and euery or any of them shall, and may from time to time and all times for euer hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter, expulse, repell, and resist, as well by Sea, as by land, and by all other wayes whatsoeuer, all, and euery such person and persons whatsoeuer, as without the speciall licence and liking of the sayd Sir Humfrey, and of his heires and assignes, shall attempt to inhabite within the sayd countreys, or any of them, or within the space of two hundreth leagues neere to the place or places within such countreys as aforesayd, if they shall not be before planted or inhabited within the limites aforesayd, with the subiects of any Christian prince, being in amitie with her Maiesty, where the said sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, or any of them or his or their, or any of their associates or companies, shall within sixe yeeres next ensuing, make their dwellings and abidings, or that shall enterprise or attempt at any time hereafter vnlawfully to annoy either by Sea or land, the said sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of their companies: giuing and graunting by these presents further power and authoritie to the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and euery of them from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter to take and surprise by all maner of meanes whatsoeuer, all and euery person and persons, with their shippes, vessels, and other goods and furniture, which without the licence of the said sir Humfrey, or his heires or assignes as aforesayd, shall bee found traffiquing into any harborough or harboroughs, creeke or creekes within the limites aforesayde, (the subiects of our Realmes and dominions, and all other persons in amitie with vs, being driuen by force of tempest or shipwracke onely excepted) and those persons and euery of them with their ships, vessels, goods, and furniture, to detaine and possesse, as of good and lawfull prize, according to the discretion of him, the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and of euery or any of them. And for vniting in more perfect league and amitie of such countreys, landes and territories so to bee possessed and inhabited as aforesayde, with our Realmes of England and Ireland, and for the better encouragement of men to this enterprise: wee doe by these presents graunt, and declare, that all such countreys so hereafter to bee possessed and inhabited as aforesayd, from thencefoorth shall bee of the allegiance of vs, our heires and successours. And wee doe graunt to the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and to all and euery of them, and to all and euery other person and persons, being of our allegiance, whose names shall be noted or entred in some of our courts of Record, within this our Realme of England, and that with the assent of the said sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, shall nowe in this iourney for discouerie, or in the second iourney for conquest hereafter, trauel to such lands, countries and territories as aforesaid, and to their and euery of their heires: that they and euery or any of them being either borne within our sayd Realmes of England or Ireland, or within any other place within our allegiance, and which hereafter shall be inhabiting within any the lands, countreys and territories, with such licence as aforesayd, shall, and may haue, and enioy all priuileges of free denizens and persons natiue of England, and within our allegiance: any law, custome, or vsage to the contrary notwithstanding.

And forasmuch, as vpon the finding out, discouering and inhabiting of such remote lands, countreys and territories, as aforesayd, it shall be necessarie for the safetie of all men that shall aduenture themselues in those iourneys or voiages, to determine to liue together in Christian peace and ciuill quietnesse each with other, whereby euery one may with more pleasure and profit, enioy that whereunto they shall attaine with great paine and perill: wee for vs, our heires and successours are likewise pleased and contented, and by these presents doe giue and graunt to the sayd sir Humfrey and his heires and assignes for euer, that he and they, and euery or any of them, shall and may from time to time for euer hereafter within the sayd mentioned remote lands and countreys, and in the way by the Seas thither, and from thence, haue full and meere power and authoritie to correct, punish, pardon, gouerne and rule by their, and euery or any of their good discretions and pollicies, as well in causes capitall or criminall, as ciuill, both marine and other, all such our subiects and others, as shall from time to time hereafter aduenture themselues in the sayd iourneys or voyages habitatiue or possessiue, or that shall at any time hereafter inhabite any such lands, countreys or territories as aforesayd, or that shall abide within two hundred leagues of any the sayd place or places, where the sayd sir Humfrey or his heires, or assignes, or any of them, or any of his or their associats or companies, shall inhabite within sixe yeeres next ensuing the date hereof, according to such statutes, lawes and ordinances, as shall be by him the said sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, or euery, or any of them deuised or established for the better gouernment of the said people as aforesayd: so alwayes that the sayd statutes, lawes and ordinances may be as neere as conueniently may, agreeable to the forme of the lawes and pollicy of England: and also, that they be not against the true Christian faith or religion now professed in the church of England, nor in any wise to withdraw any of the subiects or people of those lands or places from the allegiance of vs, our heires or successours, as their immediate Soueraignes vnder God. And further we doe by these presents for vs, our heires and successours, giue and graunt full power and authority to our trustie and welbeloued counseller, sir William Cecill knight, lord Burleigh, our high treasurer of England, and to the lord treasurer of England of vs, for the time being, and to the priuie counsell of vs, our heires and successours, or any foure of them for the time being, that he, they, or any foure of them, shall, and may from time to time and at all times hereafter, vnder his or their handes or seales by vertue of these presents, authorize and licence the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them by him and themselues, or by their or any of their sufficient atturneys, deputies, officers, ministers, factors and seruants, to imbarke and transport out of our Realmes of England and Ireland, all, or any of his goods, and all or any the goods of his or their associates and companies, and euery or any of them, with such other necessaries and commodities of any our Realmes, as to the said lord treasurer or foure of the priuie connsell of vs, our heires, or successours for the time being, as aforesayd, shall be from time to time by his or their wisedoms or discretions thought meete and conuenient for the better reliefe and supportation of him the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them, and his and their, and euery or any of their said associates and companies, any act, statute, lawe, or other thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Prouided alwayes, and our will and pleasure is, and wee doe hereby declare to all Christian Kings, princes and states, that if the said Sir Humfrey his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, shall at any time or times hereafter robbe or spoile by Sea or by land, or doe any act of vniust and vnlawfull hostilitie to any of the Subiects of vs, our heires, or successours, or any of the Subiects of any King, prince, ruler, gouernour or state being then in perfect league and amitie with vs, our heires or successours: and that vpon such iniurie, or vpon iust complaint of any such prince, ruler, gouernour or state, or their subiects, wee, our heires or successours shall make open proclamation within any the portes of our Realme of England commodious, that the said Sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, or any other to whom those Letters patents may extend, shall within the terme to be limited by such proclamations, make full restitution and satisfaction of all such iniuries done, so that both we and the saide Princes, or others so complayning, may holde vs and themselues fully contended: And that if the saide Sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, shall not make or cause to bee made satisfaction accordingly, within such time so to be limited: that then it shall bee lawfull to vs, our heires and successours, to put the said Sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the said places to be discouered as is aforesaid, or any of them out of our allegiance and protection, and that from and after such time of putting out of our protection the saide Sir Humfrey, and his heires, assignes, adherents and others so to be

put out, and the said places within their habitation, possession and rule, shal be out of our protection and allegiance, and free for all princes and others to pursue with hostilitie as being not our Subiects, nor by vs any way to bee aduowed, maintained or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection, dominion or allegiance any way belonging, for that expresse mention &c. In witnesse whereof, &c. Witnesse ourselfe at Westminster the 11. day of Iune, the twentieth yeere of our raigne. Anno Dom. 1578.

Per ipsam Reginam, &c.

De Nauigatione Illustris et Magnanimi Equitis aurati Humfredi Gilberti, ad deducendam in nouum Orbem coloniam susceptâ, Carmen ’*επιζατικὸν* STEPHANI PARMENII BVDEII.

Ad eundem illustrem equitem autoris præfatio.

REddenda est, quàm fieri potest breuissime, in hoc vestibulo, ratio facti mei, et cur ita homo nouus et exterus, in tanta literatissimorum hominum copia, quibus Anglia beata est, versandum in hoc argumento mihi putauerim: ita enim tu, fortissime Gilberte, fœtum hunc nostrum in lucem exire voluisti. In seruitute et barbarie Turcica, Christianis tamen, magno immortalis Dei beneficio, parentibus natus, aliquam etiam ætatis partem educatus; postquam doctissimorum hominum opera, quibus tum Pannoniæ nostræ, tum imprimis saluæ adhuc earum reliquiæ florescunt, in literis adoleuissem, more nostrorum hominum, ad inuisendas Christiani orbis Academias ablegatus fui. Qua in peregrinatione, non solùm complura Musarum hospitia, sed multas etiam sapienter institutas respublicas, multarum Ecclesiarum probatissimas administrationes introspeximus, iam fermè triennio ea in re posito. Fuerat hæc nostra profectio ita à nobis comparata, vt non tantùm mores et vrbes gentium videndum, sed in familiaritatem, aut saltem notitiam illustriorum hominum introeundum nobis putaremus, Cæterum, vt hoc à nobis sine inuidia dici possit, (certè enim taceri absque malicia nullo modo protest) non locus, non natio, non respublica vlla nobis æquè ac tua Britannia complacuit, quamcunque in partem euentum consilij mei considerem. Accedit, quòd præter omnem expectationem meam ab omnibus tuis ciuibus, quibus cumaliqua consuetudo mihi contigit, tanta passìm humanitate acceptus essem, vt iam (sit hoc saluo pietate à me dictum) suauissimæ Anglorum amicitiæ fermè aboleuerint desiderium et Pannoniarum et Budæ meæ, quibus patriæ nomen debeo. Quas ab caussas cùm sæpenumero animus fuisset significationem aliquam nostræ huius voluntatis et existimationis edendi; accidit vtique secundùm sententiam, vt dum salutandis et cognoscendis excellentibus viris Londini operam do, ornatissimus ac doctissimus amicus meus Richardus Hakluytus ad te me deduxerit, explicato mihi præclarissimo tuo de ducenda propedièm colonia in nouum orbem instituto. Quæ dum aguntu, agnoscere portui ego illud corpus et animum tuum sempiterna posteritatis commemoratione dignum, et agnoui profectò, eaque tali ac tanta obseruantia prosequi cœpi; vt cum paulò post plura de tuis virtutibus, et rebus gestis passìm audissem, tempus longè accommodatissimum existimarem esse, quo aliqua parte officij studijque nostri, ergà te et tuam gentem perfungerer. Hoc est primum ouum, vnde nostrum ’επιζατικὸν originem ducit. Reliquum est, vt eas et redeas quàm prosperrimè, vir nobilissime, et beneuolentia tua, autoritate, ac nomine, tueare studium nostrum. Vale pridie Kalen. Aprilis 1583.

Ad Thamesin.

AMnis, inoffensa qui tàm requiete beatus
  Antipodum quæris iam tibi in orbe locum:
Nunc tibi principium meritæ, pro tempore, laudis
  Fecimus, et raucæ carmina prima tubæ.
Tum cum reddideris, modo quam dimittimus, Argo,
  Ornatu perages gaudia festa nouo.

  QVæ noua tàm subitò mutati gratia cœli?
Vnde graues nimbi vitreas tenuantur in auras?
Diffugiunt nebulæ, puroque nitentior ortu
Illustrat terras, clementiaque æquora Titan?
Nimirum posuere Noti, meliorque resurgit
Evrys, et in ventos soluuntur vela secundos,
Vela quibus gentis decus immortale Brittanniæ
Tendit ad ignotum nostris maioribus orbem
Vix notis Gilebertvs aquis. Ecquando licebit
Ordiri heroas laudes, et facta nepotum
Attonitis memoranda animis? Si cœpta silendum est

Illa, quibus nostri priscis ætatibus audent
Conferri, et certare dies: quibus obuia plano
Iamdudum Fortvna solo, quibus omne per vndas
Nereidvm genus exultat, faustoque tridenti
Ipse pater Nerevs placabile temperat æquor.
Et passim Oceano curui Delphines ab imo
In summos saliunt fluctus, quasi terga pararent
In quibus euectæ sulcent freta prospera puppes,
Et quasi diluuium, tempestatesque minatur
Follibus inflatis inimica in uela physeter.
Et fauet ÆGÆON, et qui Neptvnia PROTEVS
Armenta, ac turpes alit imo in gurgite phocas.
Atque idem modò ab antiqua virtute celebrat
Sceptra Chaledonidvm: seclis modò fata futuris
Pandit, et ad seros canit euentura minores.
Vt pacis bellique bonis notissima vasto
Insula in Oceano, magni decus Anglia mundi;
Postquam opibus diues, populo numerosa frequenti,
Tot celebris factis, toto caput extulit orbe;
Non incauta sui, ne quando immensa potestas
Pondere sit ruitura suo, noua mœnia natis
Quærat, et in longum extendat sua regna recessum:
Non aliter, quàm cùm ventis sublimibus aptæ
In nidis creuere grues, proficiscitur ingens
De nostra ad tepidum tellure colonia Nilvm.
Euge, sacrum pectus, tibi, per tot secula, soli
Seruata est regio nullis regnata Monarchis.
Et triplici quondam mundi natura notata
Margine, et audacim quarto dignata Colvmbvm;
Iam quintâ lustranda plagâ tibi, iamque regenda
Imperio superest. Evropam Asiamqve relinque,
Et fortunatam nimiùm, nisi sole propinquo
Arderet, Libyen: illis sua facta viasque
Terminet Alcides: abs te illustranda quietscit
Parte alis telus, quam non Babylonia sceptra,
Non Macedvm inuictæ vires, non Persica virtus
Attigit, aut vnquam Latiæ feriere secures.
Non illo soboles Mahometi mugijt orbe:
Non vafer Hispanvs, cœlo, superisque relictis,
Sacra Papæ humano crudelia sanguine fecit.
Illic mortales hominumque ignota propago;

Siue illi nostræ veniant ab origine gentis,
Seu tandem à prisca Favnorvm stirpe supersint
Antiqua geniti terra, sine legibus vrbes
Syluasque et pingues habitant ciuilibus agros:
Et priscos referunt mores, vitamque sequuntur
Italiæ antiquæ, et primi rude temporis æuum:
Cum genitor nati fugiens Satvrus ob iram
In Latio posuit sedem, rudibusque regendos
In tenues vicos homines collegit ab agris.
Aurea in hoc primùm populo cœpisse feruntur
Secula, sicque homines vitam duxisse beati;
Vt simul argenti percurrens tempora, et æris,
Degener in durum chalybem vilesceret ætas;
Rursus in antiquum, de quo descenderat, aurum
(Sic perhibent vates) æuo vertente rediret.
Fallor an est tempus, reuolutoque orbe videntur
Aurea pacificæ transmittere secula gentes?
Fallor enim, si quassatas tot cladibus vrbes
Respicio, et passim lacerantes regna tyrannos:
Si Mahometigenis Asiam Libyamqve cruento
Marte premi, domitaque iugum ceruice subire:
Iamque per Evropæ fines immane tribunal
Barbari adorari domini, Dacisqve, Pelasgisqve
Æmathiisqve, omnique solo quod diuidit Hebrvs,
Et quondam bello inuictis, nunc Marte sinistro
Angustos fines, paruamque tuentibus oram
Pannoniæ populis, et prisca in gente Libvrnis.
Tum verò in superos pugnas sine fine cieri
Patribus Avsoniis: ardere in bella, necesque
Sarmaticas gentes: et adhuc à cæde recenti
Hispanvm sancto Gallvmqve madere cruore.
Non sunt hæc auri, non sunt documenta, sed atrox
Ingenio referunt ferrum, et si dicere ferro
Deteriora mihi licet, intractabile saxum.
At verò ad niueos alia si parte Britannos
Verto oculos animumque, quot, ô pulcherrima tellus
Testibus antiquo vitam traducis in auro?
Namque quòd hoc summum colitur tibi numen honore
Quo superi, atque omnis geniorum casta iuuentus
Illius ad sacra iussa vices obit, arguit aurum.
Quòd tàm chara Deo tua sceptra gubernat Amazon,

Quàm Dea, cum nondum cœlis Astræa petitis
Inter mortales regina erat, arguit aurum.
Quòd colit haud vllis inclusas mœnibus vrbes
Aurea libertas, et nescia ferre tyrannum
Securam ætatem tellus agit, arguit aurum.
Quòd regio nullis iniuria gentibus, arma
Arma licet ferruginea rubicunda quiete,
Finitimis metuenda gerit tamen, arguit aurum.
Quòd gladij, quòd mucrones, quòd pila, quòd hastæ
In rastros abiere, et bello assueta iuuentus
Pacem et amicitias dulces colit, arguit aurum.
Denique si fas est auro connectere laudes
Æris, et in pacis venerari tempore fortes;
Quot natos bello heroas, quot ahænea nutris
Pectora? Sint testes procerum tot millia, testes
Mille duces, interque duces notissima mille
Illa cui assurgunt Mvsæ, quam conscia Pallas
Lætior exaudit, Gileberti gloria nostri.
Illius auxilium, et socialia prælia amici
Mirantur Belgæ, et quamuis iniustus Ibervs
Commemorat iustas acies, domitasque per oras
Martia victrices formidat Hibernia turmas.
Illum oppugnatæ quassatis turribus arces,
Illum expugnatæ perruptis mœnibus vrbes,
Fluminaque et portus capti, hostilique notatum
Sanguine submersæ meminere sub æquore classes.
Hic vbi per medios proiectus Seqvana Celtas
Labitur, et nomen mox amissurus, et vndas.
Omnia si desint, quantum est ingentibus ausis
Humani generis pro pace bonoque pacisci
Tàm varios casus, freta tanta, pericula tanta?
Linquere adhuc teneram prolem, et dulcissima sacri
Oscula coniugij, numerantemque ordine longo
Avcheriam digitis in mollibus, æquora mille
Formidanda modis, atque inter pauca relatos
Avcherios exempla suos, fratremque patremque;
Qui dum pro patria laudem et virtute sequuntur,
Obsessi in muris soli portisque Caleti,
Præposuere mori, quàm cum prodentibus vrbem,
Et decus Albionvm, turpi superesse salute.
    Quòd si parua loquor, nec adhuc fortasse fatenda est

Aurea in hoc iterum nostro gens viuere mundo,
Quid vetat ignotis vt possit surgere terris?
Auguror, et faueat dictis Devs, auguror annos,
In quibus haud illo secus olim principe in vrbes
Barbara plebs coeat, quàm cùm noua saxa vocaret
Amphion Thebas, Troiana ad mœnia Phœbvs.
Atque vbi sic vltrò iunctas sociauerit ædes,
Deinde dabit leges custoditurus easdem;
In quibus ignari ciues fraudumque, dolique,
A solida assuescant potius virtute beari;
Quàm genio et molli liquentia corpora vita
In Venerem ignauam, pinguemque immergere luxum:
Quàm nummos, quam lucra sequi, quam propter honores
Viuere ad arbitrium stolidæ mutabile plebis.
Non illic generi virtus, opibusue premetur
Libertas populi, non contrà in deside vulgo
Oppugnabit opes ciuis sub nomine pauper:
Quisque suo partem fœlix in iure capesset.
Tum sua magna parens ingenti fœnore tellus
Exiguo sudore dabit bona: cura iuuentam
Nulla adiget senio, nec sic labor ocia tollet,
Quo minus è virtute petant sua commoda ciues.
O mihi fœlicem si fas conscendere puppim:
Et tecum patria (pietas ignosce) relicta
Longinquum penetrare fretum, penetrare sorores
Mecum vnà Aonias, illic exordia gentis
Prima nouæ ad seros transmittere posse nepotes!
Sed me fata vetant, memoraturumque canora
Inclyta facta tuba, ad clades miserabilis Istri
Inuitum retrahunt. His his me fata reseruent:
Non deerit vates, illo qui cantet in orbe
Aut veteres populos, aut nostro incognita cœlo
Munera naturæ; dum spreto Helicone manebit
Illa Aganippæis sacrata Oxonia Musis.
Dum loquor in viridi festinant gramine Nymphæ,
Impediuntque comas lauro, et florentis oliuæ
Frondibus armantur, dominatricemque frequentes
Oceani immensi longè venerantur Elisam.
Illa autem ad gelidum celsis de turribus amnem
Prospicit, et iamiam Tamesino in patre tuetur
Paulatim obliquis Gilebertum albescere velis.

Sic dea Peliaco spectasse è vertice Pallas
Fertur Iasonios comites, ad Phasidos vndas
Vix benè dum notis committere carbasa ventis.
Diva faue, nutuque tuo suscepta parari
Vela iuua; Si sola geris dignissima totum
Talibus auspicijs proferri sceptra per orbem.
Propterea̍ quia sola tuos ita pace beasti
Tranquilla populos, vt iam te principe possint
Augere imperij fines. Quia sola videris
Quo niueæ Charites, quo corpore Delia virgo
Pingitur, et iusto si sit pro teste vetustas.
Talibus audimus quondam de matribus ortos
Semideos homines: tali est de sanguine magnus
Siue Hector genitus, siue Hectore maior Achilles:
Duntaxat sine fraude vlla, sine crimine possint
Vlla tibi veterum conferri nomina matrum,
Quæ sexum factis superas, quæ patribus audes,
Nympha, dijs dignas laudes æquare Latinis.
Mentior infœlix, nisi sic in corpore virtus
Lucet formoso, ceu quæ preciosior auro est
Gemma, tamen pariter placituro clauditur auro.
Mentior, et taceo, nisi sola audiris vbique
Induperatorum timor aut amor, inter et omnes
Securam requiem peragis tutissima casus:
Dum reliqui reges duro quasi carcere clausi
Sollicitis lethi dapibus, plenoque fruuntur
Terrificis monstris furtiua per ocia somno.
Mentior et taceo, solam nisi viuere ciues
Æternùm cupiunt: quando nec verbere toruo,
Nec cædis pœnæue thronum formidine firmas:
Sed tibi tot meritis maiestas parta, et inermis
Ad patulos residet custos clementia postes:
Vt quot penè rei iustum meruere tribunal,
Tot veniam grato narrent sermone clientes.
Nec tamen admittis, nisi quod iustumque piumque
Agnoscit probitas, et quæ potes omnia, solis
Legibus vsurpas cautas sanctissima vires.
Nec mala formidas: si quidem quasi fune ligatur
Consilio fortuna tibi: Nullum impia terret
In castris Bellona tuis: Quin pronus adorat
Gradivvs tua iussa pater, sequiturque vocantem

Quacunque ingrederis grato victoria plausu.
Dumque fores alijs, vitamque et regna tuetur
Ianitor externus, cingunt tua limina ciues:
Dumque alijs sordet sapientia regibus, almo
Pegasidvm tu fonte satur, tot Appollinis artes
Aurea vaticina fundis quasi flumina lingua.
Nil nostri inuenere dies, nil prisca vetustas
Prodidit, in linguis peragunt commercia nullis
Christiadvm gentes, quas te, diuina virago,
Iustius Aoniæ possint iactare sorores.
Audijt hæc mundus, cunctisque in finibus ardet
Imperio parêre tuo: et quæ fortè recusat
Miratur vires regio tamen. Hinc tua sceptra
Incurua Mahometigenæ ceruice salutant:
Hinc tua pugnaces properant ad fœdera Galli:
Dumque sibi metuit toties tibi victus Ibervs,
Nescia Romano Germania Marte domari
Quærit amicitias Britonvm: procul oscula mittit
Virgineis pedibus Lativm, longéque remoti
Pannones in tutos optant coalescere fines.
Quinetiam quæ submisso diademate nuper
Obtulit inuictis fascesque fidemque Britannis. Noua Albion.
Nonne vides passis vt crinibus horrida dudum
Porrigit ingentem lugubris America dextram?
Et numquid lacrymas, inquit, soror Anglia, nostras
Respicis, et dura nobiscum in sorte gemiscis?
An verò nescisse potes, quæ tempora quantis
Cladibus egerimus? postquam insatiabilis auri,
Nam certè non vllus amor virtutis Iberos
In nostrum migrare soluum, pietasue coegit.
Ex illo, quæ sacra prius væsana litabam
Manibus infernis, sperans meliora tuumque
Discere posse Devm, iubeor mortalibus aras
Erigere, et mutas statuas truncosque precata
Nescio quod demens Romanvm numen adoro.
Cur trahor in terras? si mens est lucida, puris
Cur Devs in cœlis rectà non quæritur? aut si
A nobis cœlum petitur, cur sæpe videmus
Igne, fame, ferro subigi, quocunque reatu
Oenotriæ sedis maiestas læsa labascit?
Non sic relligio, non sic me iudice gaudet

Defendi sua regna Devs, quòd si optimus ille est;
Quòd si cuncta potest, et nullis indiget armis.
Mitto queri cædes, exhaustaque mœnia bello:
Mitto queri in viles tot libera corpora seruos
Abiecta, immanique iugum Busiride dignum.
Te tantum fortuna animet tua, te tua virtus:
Si tibi tam plenis habitantur mœnibus vrbes,
Vt nisi in excelsum crescant, cœloque minentur
Ædes aeriæ; quanquam latissima, desit
Terra tamen populo: Si tot tua flumina nigrant
Turrigeras arces imitatæ mole carinæ,
Quot non illa natant eadem tua flumina cygni.
Si tibi iam sub sole iacens penetratus vtroque est
Mundus, vtroque iacens peragrata est terra sub axe.
Ni frustrà gelidam vectus Wilobeivs ad arcton
Illa in gente iacet, cui dum Sol circinat vmbras,
Dimidio totus vix forsitan occidit anno.

Hugo Willobeius eques auratus.

Ni frustrà quæsiuit iter, duraque bipenni
Illo Frobiservs reditum sibi in æquore fecit,
Horridum vbi semper pelagus, glacieque perenni
Frigora natiuos simulant immitia montes.

Martinus Frobisherus eques auratus.

Ni frustrà per Cimmerios, syluisque propinqua
Flumina Riphæis eoa profectus ad vsque est
Mœnia Iencisonvs, Persasqve et proxima Persis
Bactra, et Bactrorvm confines regibus Indos.

Antonius Ienkinsonus.

Ni frustrà, quod mortali tot secla negarant,
Hac tuus immensum nuper Dracvs ambijt orbem,
Quà patri Oceano clausas circumdare terras
Concessit natura viam, mediaque meare
Tellure, et duplici secludere littore mundos.

Franciscus Dracus eques auratus.

Iam si fortuna, iam si virtute sequare
Digna tua; sunt monstra mihi, sunt vasta gigantum
Corpora, quæ magno cecidisse sub Hercvle non sit
Dedecus, Ogigivs non quæ aspernetur Iaccvs.
Quæ si indigna putas, tantaque in pace beata
Auersare meos multo vt tibi sanguine fines
Inuidiosa petas: est nobis terra propinqua,
Et tantum bimari capiens discrimen in Isthmo.
Hanc tibi iamdudum primi inuenere Brittanni,
Tum cum magnanimus nostra in regione Cabotvs
Proximus à magno ostendit sua vela Colvmbo,

Sebastianus Cabotus.

Hæc neque vicina nimiùm frigescit ab arcto,
Sole nec immodico in steriles torretur arenas:
Frigus et æstatem iusto moderamine seruat,
Siue leues auras, grati spiracula cœli,
Seu diæ telluris opes, et munera curas.
Pone age te digno tua sceptra in honore, meoque
Iunge salutarem propius cum littore dextram.
Sit mihi fas aliquam per te sperare quietem,
Vicinoque bono lætum illucescere Solem.
Quòd si consilijs superum, fatisque negatum est
Durare immensum magna infortunia tempus:
Quòd si de immerita iustum est ceruice reuelli
Ignarum imperij dominum, populique regendi;
Quòd si nulla vnquam potuit superesse potestas,
Ni pia flexilibus pareret clementia frenis
Obsequium. A mita quæsita potentia Cyro
Amissa est sæuæ soboli. Parcendo subegit
Tot reges Macedvm virtus, tot postera sensim
Abscidit a parto tandem inclementia regno.
Et quod Romvleis creuit sub patribus olim
Imperium, diri semper minuêre Nerones.

A report of the voyage and successe thereof, attempted in the yeere of our Lord 1583 by sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, with other gentlemen assisting him in that action, intended to discouer and to plant Christian inhabitants in place conuenient, vpon those large and ample countreys extended Northward from the cape of Forida, lying vnder very temperate Climes, esteemed fertile and rich in Minerals, yet not in the actuall possession of any Christian prince, written by M. Edward Haies gentleman, and principall actour in the same voyage, who alone continued vnto the end, and by Gods speciall assistance returned home with his retinue safe and entire.

MAny voyages haue bene pretended, yet hitherto neuer any thorowly accomplished by our nation of exact discouery into the bowels of those maine, ample and vast countreys, extended infinitely into the North from 30 degrees, or rather from 25 degrees of Septentrionall latitude, neither hath a right way bene taken of planting a Christian habitation and regiment vpon the

same, as well may appeare both by the little we yet do actually possesse therein, and by our ignorance of the riches and secrets within those lands, which vnto this day we know chiefly by the trauell and report of other nations, and most of the French, who albeit they can not challenge such right and interest vnto the sayd countreys as we, neither these many yeeres haue had opportunity nor meanes so great to discouer and to plant (being vexed with the calamnities of intestine warres) as we haue had by the inestimable benefit of our long and happy peace: yet haue they both waies performed more, and had long since attained a sure possession and settled gouernment of many prouinces in those Northerly parts of America, if their many attempts into those forren and remote lands had not bene impeached by their garboils at home.

The coasts from Florida Northward first discouered by the English nation.

The first discouery of these coasts (neuer heard of before) was well begun by Iohn Cabot the father, and Sebastian his sonne, an Englishman borne, who were the first finders out of all that great tract of land stretching from the cape of Florida vnto those Islands which we now call the Newfoundland: all which they brought and annexed vnto the crowne of England. Since when, if with like diligence the search of inland countreys had bene followed, as the discouery vpon the coast, and out-parts therof was performed by those two men: no doubt her Maiesties territories and reuenue had bene mightily inlarged and aduanced by this day. And which is more: the seed of Christian religion had bene sowed amongst those pagans, which by this time might haue brought foorth a most plentifull haruest and copious congregation of Christians; which must be the chiefe intent of such as shall make any attempt that way: or els whatsoeuer is builded vpon other foundation shall neuer obtaine happy successe nor continuance.

And although we can not precisely iudge (which onely belongeth to God) what haue bene the humours of men stirred vp to great attempts of discouering and planting in those remote countreys, yet the euents do shew that either Gods cause hath not bene chiefly preferred by them, or els God hath not permitted so abundant grace as the light of his word and knowledge of him to be yet reuealed vnto those infidels before the appointed time.

But most assuredly, the only cause of religion hitherto hath kept backe, and will also bring forward at the time assigned by God, an effectuall and compleat discouery and possession by Christians both of those ample countreys and the riches within them hitherto concealed: whereof notwithstanding God in his wisdome hath permitted to be reuealed from time to time a certaine obscure and misty knowledge, by little and little to allure the mindes of men that way (which els will be dull enough in the zeale of his cause) and thereby to prepare vs vnto a readinesse for the execution of his will against the due time ordeined, of calling those pagans vnto Christianity.

A fit consideration.

In the meane while, it behooueth euery man of great calling, in whom is any instinct of inclination vnto this attempt, to examine his owne motions: which if the same proceed of ambition or auarice, he may assure himselfe it commeth not of God, and therefore can not haue confidence of Gods protection and assistance against the violence (els irresistable) both of sea, and infinite perils vpon the land; whom God yet may vse an instrument to further his cause and glory some way, but not to build vpon so bad a foundation.

Probable coniectures y^t these lands North of Florida, are reserued for the English nation to possesse.

Otherwise, if his motiues be deriued from a vertuous and heroycall minde, preferring chiefly the honour of God, compassion of poore infidels captiued by the deuill, tyrannizing in most woonderfull and dreadfull maner ouer their bodies and soules; aduancement of his honest and well disposed countreymen, willing to accompany him in such honourable actions: reliefe of sundry people within this realme distressed: all these be honourable purposes, imitating the nature of the munificent God, wherewith he is well pleased, who will assist such an actour beyond expectation of man. And the same, who feeleth this inclination in himselfe, by all likelihood may hope, or rather confidently repose in the preordinance of God, that in this last age of the world (or likely neuer) the time is compleat of receiuing also these Gentiles into his mercy, and that God will raise him an instrument to effect the same: it seeming probable by euent or precedent attempts made by the Spanyards and French sundry times, that the countreys lying North of Florida, God hath reserued the same to be reduced vnto Christian ciuility by the English nation. For not long after that Christopher Columbus had discouered the Islands and continent of the West Indies for Spayne, Iohn and Sebastian

Cabot made discouery also of the rest from Florida Northwards to the behoofe of England.

And whensoeuer afterwards the Spanyards (very prosperous in all their Southerne discoueries) did attempt any thing into Florida and those regions inclining towards the North they proued most vnhappy, and were at length discouraged vtterly by the hard and lamentable successe of many both religous and valiant in armes, endeauouring to bring those Northerly regions also vnder the Spanish iurisdiction; as if God had prescribed limits vnto the Spanish nation which they might not exceed; as by their owne gests recorded may be aptly gathered.

The Spanyards prosperous in the Southerne discoueries, yet vnhappy in the Northerne.

The French, as they can pretend lesse title vnto these Northerne parts then the Spanyard, by how much the Spanyard made the first discouery of the same continent so far Northward as vnto Florida, and the French did but reuiew that before discouered by the English nation, vsurping vpon our right, and imposing names vpon countreys, riuers, bayes, capes, or head lands, as if they had bene the first finders of those coasts: which iniury we offered not vnto the Spanyards, but left off to discouer when we approached the Spanish limits: euen so God hath not hitherto permitted them to establish a possession permanent vpon anothers right, notwithstanding their manifolde attempts, in which the issue hath bene no lesse tragicall then that of the Spanyards, as by their owne reports is extant.

The French are but vsurpers vpon our right.

The French also infortunate in those North parts of America.

Then seeing the English nation onely hath right vnto these countreys of America from the cape of Florida Northward by the priuilege of first discouery, vnto which Cabot was authorised by regall authority, and set forth by the expense of our late famous king Henry the seuenth: which right also seemeth strongly defended on our behalfe by the powerfull hand of almighty God, withstanding the enterprises of other nations: it may greatly incourage vs vpon so iust ground, as is our right, and vpon so sacred an intent, as to plant religion (our right and intent being meet foundations for the same) to prosecute effectually the full possession of those so ample and pleasant countreys apperteining vnto the crowne of

A good incouragement for the English nation, to proceed in the conquests of the North of America.

The due time approcheth by all likelihood of calling these heathens vnto Christianity.

The word of God moueth circularly.

England: the same (as is to be coniectured by infallible arguments of the worlds end approching) being now arriued vnto the time by God prescribed of their vocation, if euer their calling vnto the knowledge of God may be expected. Which also is very probable by the reuolution and course of Gods word and religion, which from the beginning hath moued from the East, towards, and at last vnto the West, where it is like to end, vnlesse the same begin againe where it did in the East, which were to expect a like world againe. But we are assured of the contrary by the prophesie of Christ, whereby we gather, that after his word preached thorowout the world shalbe the end. And as the Gospel when it descended Westward began in the South, and afterward spread into the North of Europe: euen so, as the same hath begunne in the South countreys of America, no lesse hope may be gathered that it will also spread into the North.

These considerations may helpe to suppresse all dreads rising of hard euents in attempts made this way by other nations, as also of the heauy successe and issue in the late enterprise made by a worthy gentleman our countryman sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, who was the first of our nation that caried people to erect an habitation and gouernment in those Northerly countreys of America. About which, albeit he had consumed much substance, and lost his life at last, his people also perishing for the most part: yet the mystery thereof we must leaue vnto God, and iudge charitably both of the cause (which was iust in all pretence) and of the person, who was very zealous in prosecuting the same, deseruing honourable remembrance for his good minde, and expense of life in so vertuous an enterprise. Whereby neuerthelesse, least any man should be dismayd by example of other folks calamity, and misdeeme that God doth resist all attempts intended that way: I thought good, so farre as my selfe was an eye witnesse, to deliuer the circumstance and maner of our proceedings in that action: in which the gentleman was so incumbred with wants, and woorse matched with many ill disposed people, that his rare iudgement and regiment premeditated for these affaires, was subiected to tolerate abuses, and in sundry extremities to holde on a course, more to vpholde credite, then likely in his owne conceit happily to succeed.

The issue of such actions, being alwayes miserable, not guided by God, who abhorreth confusion and disorder, hath left this for admonition (being the first attempt by our nation to plant) vnto such as shall take the same cause in hand hereafter not to be discouraged from it: but to make men well aduised how they handle his so high and excellent matters, as the carriage of his word into those very mighty and vast countreys. An action doubtlesse not to be intermedled with base purposes; as many haue made the same but a colour to shadow actions otherwise scarse iustifiable: which doth excite Gods heauy iudgements in the end, to the terrifying of weake mindes from the cause, without pondering his iust proceedings: and doth also incense forren princes against our attempts how iust soeuer, who can not but deeme the sequele very dangerous vnto their state (if in those parts we should grow to strength) seeing the very beginnings are entred with spoile.

The planting of Gods word must be handled with reuerence.

Ill actions coloured by pretence of planting vpon remote lands.

And with this admonition denounced vpon zeale towards Gods cause, also towards those in whom appeareth disposition honourable vnto this action of planting Christian people and religion in those remote and barbarous nations of America (vnto whom I wish all happinesse) I will now proceed to make relation briefly, yet particularly, of our voyage vndertaken with sir Humfrey Gilbert, begun, continued, and ended aduersly.

When first sir Humfrey Gilbert vndertooke the Westerne discouery of America, and had procured from her Maiesty a very large commission to inhabit and possesse at his choice all remote and heathen lands not in the actuall possession of any Christian prince, the same commission exemplified with many priuileges, such as in his discretion he might demand, very many gentlemen of good estimation drew vnto him, to associate him in so commendable an enterprise, so that the preparation was expected to grow vnto a puissant fleet, able to encounter a kings power by sea: neuerthelesse, amongst a multitude of volntary men, their dispositions were diuers, which bred a iarre, and made a diuision in the end, to the confusion of that attempt euen before the same was begun. And when the shipping was in a maner prepared, and men ready vpon the coast to go aboord: at that time some brake consort, and followed courses degenerating from the voyage before pretended: Others failed of their promises contracted, and

The first and great preparation of sir Humfrey Gilbert.

the greater number were dispersed, leauing the Generall with few of his assured friends, with whom he aduentured to sea: where hauing tasted of no lesse misfortune, he was shortly driuen to retire home with the losse of a tall ship, and (more to his griefe) of a valiant gentleman Miles Morgan.*

A constant resolution of sir Humfrey Gilbert.

Hauing buried onely in a preparation a great masse of substance, wherby his estate was impaired, his minde yet not dismaid he continued his former designment and purpose to reuiue this enterprise, good occasion seruing. Vpon which determination standing long, without meanes to satisfy his desire; at last he granted certaine assignments out of his commission to sundry persons of meane ability, desiring the priuilege of his rank, to plant and fortifie in the North parts of America about the riuer of Canada, to whom if God gaue good successe in the North parts (where then no matter of moment was expected) the same (he thought) would greatly aduance the hope of the South, and be a furtherance vnto his determination that way. And the worst that might happen in that course might be excused without preiudice vnto him by the former supposition, that those North regions were of no regard: but chiefly a possession taken in any parcell of those heathen countreys, by vertue of his grant, did inuest him of territories extending euery way two hundred leagues: which induced sir Humfry Gilbert to make those assignments, desiring greatly their expedition, because his commission did expire after six yeres, if in that space he had not gotten actuall possession.

A second preparation of sir Humfrey Gilbert.

Time went away without any thing done by his assignes: insomuch that at last he must resolue himselfe to take a voyage in person, for more assurance to keepe his patent in force, which then almost was expired, or within two yeres.

In furtherance of his determination, amongst others, sir George Peckam knight shewed himselfe very zealous to the action, greatly aiding him both by his aduice and in the charge. Other gentlemen to their ability ioyned vnto him, resoluing to aduenture their substance and liues in the same cause. Who beginning their preparation from that time, both of shipping, munition, victual, men, and things requisit, some of them continued the charge two yeeres compleat without intermission. Such were the difficulties and crosse accidents opposing these proceedings, which tooke not end in lesse then two yeres : many of which circumstances I will omit.

---

* This refers to Gilbert's first voyage in 1578.

The last place of our assembly, before we left the coast of England, was in Causet bay neere vnto Plimmouth : then resolued to put vnto the sea with shipping and prouision, such as we had, before our store yet remaining, bnt chiefly the time and season of the yeere, were too farre spent. Neuerthelesse it seemed first very doubtfull by what way to shape our course, and to begin our intended discouery, either from the South Northward, or from the North Southward.

The first, that is, beginning South, without all controuersie was the likeliest, wherein we were assured to haue commodity of the current, which from the cape of Florida setteth Northward, and would haue furthered greatly our nauigation, discouering from the foresayd cape along towards cape Briton, and all those lands lying to the North.

Consultation about our course.

Also the yere being farre spent, and arriued to the moneth of Iune, we were not to spend time in Northerly courses, where we should be surprised with timely Winter, but to couet the South, which we had space enough then to haue attained : and there might with lesse detriment haue wintred that season, being more milde and short in the South then in the North where winter is both long and rigorous.

Commodities in discouering from South Northward.

These and other like reasons alleged in fauour of the Southerne course first to be taken, to the contrary was inferred : that forasmuch as both our victuals, and many other needfull prouisions were diminished and left insufficient for so long a voyage, and for the wintering of so many men, we ought to shape a course most likely to minister supply; and that was to take the Newfoundland in our way, which was but seuen hundred leagues from our English coast. Where being vsually at that time of the yere, and vntill the fiue of August, a multitude of ships repairing thither for fish, we should be relieued abundantly with many necessaries, which after the fishing ended, they might well spare, and freely impart vnto vs.

Not staying long vpon that Newland coast, we might proceed Southward, and follow still the Sunne, vntill we arriued at places more temperate to our content.

By which reasons we were the rather induced to follow this

Northerly course, obeying vnto necessity, which must be supplied. Otherwise, we doubted that sudden approch of Winter, bringing with it continuall fogge, and thicke mists, tempest and rage of weather; also contrariety of currents descending from the cape of Florida vnto cape Briton and cape Rase, would fall out to be great and irresistable impediments vnto our further proceeding for that yeere, and compell vs to Winter in those North and colde regions.

Cause why we began our discouery from the North.

Incommodities in beginning North.

Wherefore suppressing all obiections to the contrary, we resolued to begin our course Northward, and to follow directly as we might, the trade way vnto Newfoundland: from whence after our refreshing and reparation of wants, we intended without delay (by Gods permission) to proceed into the South, not omitting any riuer or bay which in all that large tract of land appeared to our view worthy of search. Immediatly we agreed vpon the maner of our course and orders to be obserued in our voyage; which were deliuered in writing vnto the captaines and masters of euery ship a copy in maner following.

Euery shippe had deliuered two bullets or scrowles, the one sealed vp in waxe, the other left open: in both which were included seuerall watch-words. That open, seruing vpon our owne coast or the coast of Ireland: the other sealed was promised on all hands not to be broken vp vntill we should be cleere of the Irish coast; which from thencefoorth did serue vntill we arriued and met altogether in such harbors of the Newfoundland as were agreed for our Rendez vouz. The sayd watch-words being requisite to know our consorts whensoeuer by night, either by fortune of weather, our fleet dispersed should come together againe: or one should hale another; or if by ill watch and steerage one ship should chance to fall aboord of another in the darke.

The reason of the bullet sealed was to keepe secret that watch-word while we were vpon our owne coast, lest any of the company stealing from the fleet might bewray the same: which knowen to an enemy, he might boord vs by night without mistrust, hauing our owne watch-word.

Orders agreed vpon by the Captaines and Masters to be obserued by the fleet of Sir Humfrey Gilbert.

FIrst the Admirall to cary his flag by day, and his light by night.

2 Item, if the Admirall shall shorten his saile by night, then to shew two lights vntill he be answered againe by euery ship shewing one light for a short time.

3 Item, if the Admirall after his shortening of saile, as aforesayd, shall make more saile againe: then he to shew three lights one aboue another.

4 Item, if the Admirall shall happen to hull in the night, then to make a wauering light ouer his other light, wauering the light vpon a pole.

5 Item, if the fleet should happen to be scattered by weather, or other mishap, then so soone as one shall descry another to hoise sailes twise, if the weather will serue, and to strike them twise againe; but if the weather serue not, then to hoise the maine top saile twise, and forthwith to strike it twise againe.

9 Item, if it shall happen a great fogge to fall, then presently euery shippe to beare vp with the admirall, if there be winde: but if it be a calme, then euery ship to hull, and so to lie at hull till it be cleere. And if the fogge do continue long, then the Admirall to shoot off two pieces euery euening, and euery ship to answere it with one shot: and euery man bearing to the ship, that is to leeward so neere as he may.

7 Item, euery master to giue charge vnto the watch to looke out well, for laying aboord one of another in the night, and in fogges.

8 Item, euery euening euery ship to haile the admirall, and so to fall asterne him sailing thorow the Ocean: and being on the coast, euery ship to haile him both morning and euening.

9 Item, if any ship be in danger any way, by leake or otherwise, then she to shoot off a piece, and presently to hang out one light, whereupon euery man to beare towards her, answering her with one light for a short time, and so to put it out againe; thereby to giue knowledge that they haue seene her token.

10 Item, whensoeuer the Admirall shall hang out her ensigne in the maine shrowds, then euery man to come aboord her, as a token of counsell.

11 Item, if there happen any storme or contrary winde to the fleet after the discouery, whereby they are separated: then euery ship to repaire vnto their last good port, there to meete againe.

Our course agreed vpon.

THe course first to be taken for the discouery is to beare directly to Cape Rase, the most Southerly cape of Newfound land; and there to harbour ourselues either in Rogneux or Fermous, being the first places appointed for our Rendez vous, and the next harbours vnto the Northward of cape Rase: and therefore euery ship separated ftom the fleete to repaire to that place so fast as God shall permit, whether you shall fall to the Southward or to the Northward of it, and there to stay for the meeting of the whole fleet the space of ten dayes: and when yon shall depart, to leaue marks.

A direction of our course vnto the Newfound land.

BEginning our course from Silley, the neerest is by West-southwest (if the winde serue) vntill such time as we haue brought our selues in the latitude of 43 or 44 degrees, because the Ocean is subiect much to Southerly windes in Iune and Iuly. Then to take trauerse from 45 to 47 degrees of latitude, if we be inforced by contrary windes: and not to go to the Northward of the height of 47 degrees of Septentrionall latitude by no meanes; if God shall not inforce the contrary; but to do your indeuour to keepe in the height of 46 degrees, so nere as you can possibly, because cape Rase lieth about that height.

Notes.

IF by contrary windes we be driuen backe vpon the coast of England, then to repaire vnto Silley for a place of our assembly or meeting.

If we be driuen backe by contrary winds that we can not passe the coast of Ireland, then the place of our assembly to be at Beare hauen or Baltimore hauen.

If we shall not happen to meete at cape Rase, then the place of Rendez vous to be at cape Briton, or the neerest harbour vnto the Westward of cape Briton.

If by meanes of other shipping we may not safely stay there, then to rest at the very next safe port to the Westward; euery ship leauing their marks behinde them for the more certainty of the after commers to know where to finde them.

The marks that euery man ought to leaue in such a case, were of the Generals priuate deuice written by himselfe, sealed also in close waxe, and deliuered vnto euery shippe one scroule, which was not to be opened vntill occasion required, whereby euery man was certified what to leaue for instruction of after commers: that euery of vs comming into any harbour or riuer might know who had bene there, or whether any were still there vp higher into the riuer, or departed, and which way.

Beginning of the voyage.

Orders thus determined, and promises mutually giuen to be obserued, euery man withdrew himselfe vnto his charge, the ankers being already weyed, and our shippes vnder saile, hauing a soft gale of winde, we began our voyage vpon Tuesday the eleuenth day of Iune, in the yere of our Lord 1585, hauing in our fleet (at our departure from Causet* bay) these shippes, whose names and burthens, with the names of the captaines and masters of them, I haue also inserted, as followeth:

1 The Delight aliàs The George, of burthen 120 tunnes, was Admirall: in which went the Generall, and William Winter captaine in her and part owner, and Richard Clearke master.

2 The Barke Raleigh set forth by M. Walter Raleigh, of the burthen of 200 tunnes, was then Vice-admirall: in which went M. Butler captaine, and Robert Dauis of Bristoll master.

3 The Golden hinde, of burthen 40 tunnes, was then Reare-admirall: in which went Edward Hayes captaine and owner, and William Cox of Limehouse master.

4 The Swallow, of burthen 40 tunnes: in her was captaine Maurice Browne.

5 The Squirrill, of burthen 10 tunnes: in which went captaine William Andrewes, and one Cade master.

Our fleet consisted of fiue sailes, in which we had about 260 men.

Prouisions fit for such discoueries.

We were in number in all about 260 men: among whom we had of euery faculty good choice, as Shipwrights, Masons, Carpenters, Smithes, and such like, requisite to such an action: also Minerall men and Refiners. Besides, for solace of our people, and allurement of the Sauages, we were prouided of Musike in good variety: not omitting the least toyes, as Morris dancers, Hobby horsse, and Maylike conceits to delight the Sauage people, whom we intended to winne by all faire meanes possible. And to that end we were indifferently furnished of all petty haberdasherie wares to barter with those people.

---

* Causand.

In this maner we set forward, departing (as hath bene said) out of Causon bay the eleuenth day of Iune being Tuesday, the weather and winde faire and good all day, but a great storme of thunder and winde fell the same night.

Obserue.

Thursday following, when we hailed one another in the euening according (to the order before specified) they signified vnto vs out of the Vizadmirall, that both the Captaine, and very many of the men were fallen sicke, And about midnight the Vizeadmirall forsooke vs, notwithstanding we had the winde East, faire and good. But it was after credibly reported. that they were infected with a contagious sicknesse, and arriued greatly distressed at Plimmoth: the reason I could neuer vnderstand. Sure I am, no cost was spared by their owner Master Raleigh in setting them forth: Therfore I leaue it vnto God.

By this time we were in 48 degrees of latitude, not a little grieued with the losse of the most puissant ship in our fleete: after whose departure, the Golden Hind succeeded in the place of Vizadmirall, and remooued her flagge from the mizon vnto the foretop.

From Saturday the 15 of Iune vntill the 28, which was vpon a Friday, we neuer had faire day without fogge or raine, and windes bad, much to the West northwest, whereby we were driuen Southward vnto 41 degrees scarse.

About this time of the yere the winds are commonly West towards the Newfound land, keeping ordinarily within two points of West to the South or to the North, whereby the course thither falleth out to be long and tedious after Iune, which in March, Apriell and May, hath bene performed out of England in 22 dayes and lesse. We had winde alwayes so scant from West northwest, and from West southwest againe, that our trauerse was great, running South vnto 41 degrees almost, and afterward North into 51 degrees.

Great fogges vpon the Ocean sea Northward.

Also we were incombred with much fogge and mists in maner palpable, in which we could not keepe so well together, but were disseuered, losing the company of the Swallow and the Squirrill vpon the 20. day of Iuly, whom we met againe at seuerall places vpon the Newfound land coast the third of August, as shalbe declared in place conuenient.

Saturday the 27 of Iuly, we might descry not farre from vs, as it were mountaines of yce driuen vpon the sea, being then in 50 degrees, which were caried Southward to the weather of vs: whereby may be coniectured that some current doth set that way from the North.

Before we come to Newfound land about 50 leagues on this side, we passe the banke,* which are high grounds rising within the sea and vnder water, yet deepe enough and without danger, being commonly not lesse then 25 and 30 fadome water vpon them: the same (as it were some vaine of mountaines within the sea) doe runne along, and from the Newfound land, beginning Northward about 52 or 53 degrees of latitude, and do extend into the South infinitly. The bredth of this banke is somewhere more, and somewhere lesse: but we found the same about 10 leagues ouer, hauing sounded both on this side thereof, and the other toward Newfound land, but found no ground with almost 200 fadome of line, both before and after we had passed the banke.† The Portugals, and French chiefly, haue a notable trade of fishing vpon this banke, where are sometimes an hundred or more sailes of ships: who commonly beginne the fishing in Apriell, and haue ended by Iuly. That fish is large, alwayes wet, hauing no land neere to drie, and is called Corre fish.

A great fishing vpon ye banke.

During the time of fishing, a man shall know without sounding when he is vpon the banke, by the incredible multitude of sea foule houering ouer the same, to prey vpon the offalles and garbish of fish throwen out by fishermen, and floting vpon the sea.

Abundance of foules.

Vpon Tuesday the 11 of Iune, we forsooke the coast of England. So againe Tuesday the 30 of Iuly (seuen weekes after) we got sight of land, being immediatly embayed in the Grand bay, or some other great bay: the certainty whereof we could not iudge, so great hase and fogge did hang vpon the coast, as neither we might discerne the

First sight of land.

---

* *Marginal note.*—The banke in length vnknowen, stretcheth from North into South, in bredth 10. leagues, in depth of water vpon it 30. fadome.

† The Newfoundland Banks are rather a submarine Plateau than banks in the ordinary sense. The bottom is rocky, and generally reached at 25 to 95 fathoms: length and breadth about 300 miles: the only shallow region in the Atlantic.

land well, nor take the sunnes height. But by our best computation we were then in the 51 degrees of latitude.

Forsaking this bay and vncomfortable coast (nothing appearing vnto vs but hideous rockes and mountaines, bare of trees, and voide of any greene herbe) we followed the coast to the South, with weather faire and cleare.

Iland and a foule named Penguin.

We had sight of an Iland named Penguin, of a foule there breeding in abundance, almost incredible, which cannot flie, their wings not able to carry their body, being very large (not much lesse then a goose) and exceeding fat: which the French men vse to take without difficulty vpon that Iland, and to barrell them vp with salt. But for lingering of time we had made vs there the like prouision.

An Iland called Baccaloas, of the fish taken there.

Trending this coast, we came to the Iland called Baccalaos, being not past two leagues from the maine: to the South thereof lieth Cape S. Francis, 5. leagues distant from Baccalaos, between which goeth in a great bay. by the vulgar sort called the bay of Conception, Here we met with the Swallow againe, whom we had lost in the fogge, and all her men altered into other apparell: whereof it seemed their store was so amended, that for ioy and congratulation of our meeting, they spared not to cast vp into the aire and ouerboord, their caps and hats in good plenty. The Captaine albeit himselfe was very honest and religious, yet was he not appointed of men to his humor and desert: who for the most part were such as had bene by vs surprised vpon the narrow seas of England, being pirats and had taken at that instant certaine Frenchmen laden, one barke with wines, and another with salt. Both which we rescued, and tooke the man of warre with all her men, which was the same ship now called the Swallow, following still their kind so oft, as (being separated from the Generall) they found opportunitie to robbe and spoile. And because Gods iustice did follow the same company, euen to destruction, and to the ouerthrow also of the Captaine (though not consenting to their misdemeanor) I will not conceale any thing that maketh to the manifestation and approbation of his iudgements, for examples of others, perswaded that God more sharpely tooke reuenge vpon them, and hath tolerated longer as great outrage in others: by how much these went vnder protection of his cause and religion, which was then pretended.

Therefore vpon further enquiry it was knowen, how this com-

Misdemeanor of them in the Swallow.

pany met with a barke returning home after the fishing with his fraight: and because the men in the Swallow were very neere scanted of victuall, and chiefly of apparell, doubtful withall where or when to find and meete with their Admiral, they besought the captaine they might go aboord this Newlander, only to borrow what might be spared, the rather because the same was bound homeward. Leaue giuen, not without charge to deale fauourably, they came aboord the fisherman, whom they rifled of tackle, sailes, cables, victuals, and the men of their apparell: not sparing by torture (winding cords about their heads) to draw out else what they thought good. This done with expedition (like men skilfull in such mischiefe) as they tooke their cocke boate to go aboord their own ship, it was ouerwhelmed in the sea, and certaine of these men were drowned: the rest were preserued euen by those silly soules whom they had before spoyled, who saued and deliuered them aboord the Swallow. What became afterward of the poore Newlander, perhaps destitute of sayles and furniture sufficient to carry them home (whither they had not lesse to runne then 700 leagues) God alone knoweth, who tooke vengeance not long after of the rest that escaped at this instant: to reueale the fact, and iustifie to the world Gods iudgements inflicted vpon them, as shalbe declared in place conuenient.

Thus after we had met with the Swallow, we held on our course Southward, vntill we came against the harbor called S. Iohn, about 5 leagues from the former Cape of S. Francis: where before the entrance into the harbor, we found also the Frigate or Squirrill lying at anker. Whom the English marchants (that were and alwaies be Admirals * by turnes interchangeably ouer the fleetes of fisherman within the same harbor) would not permit to enter into the harbor. Glad of so happy meeting both of the Swallow and Frigate in one day (being Saturday the 3. of August) we made readie our fights, and prepared to enter the harbor, any resistance to the contrarie notwithstanding, there being within of all nations, to the number of 36 sailes. But first the Generall dispatched a boat to giue them knowledge of his comming for no ill intent, hauing Commission from her Maiestie for his voiage he had in hand. And immediatly we followed with a slacke gale, and in

---

* *Marginal note.*—English ships are the strongest and Admirals of other fleetes, fishing vpon the South parts of Newfound land.

the very entrance (which is but narrow, not aboue 2 buts length) the Admirall fell vpon a rocke on the larboord side by great ouersight, in that the weather was faire, the rocke much aboue water fast by the shore, where neither went any sea gate. But we found such readinesse in the English Marchants to helpe vs in that danger, that without delay there were brought a number of boates, which towed off the ship, and cleared her of danger.

Hauing taken place conuenient in the road, we let fall ankers, the Captaines and Masters repairing aboord our Admirall: whither also came immediatly the Masters and owners of the fishing fleete of Englishmen, to vnderstand the Generals intent and cause of our arriuall there. They were all satisfied when the General had shewed his commission, and purpose to take possession of those lands to the behalfe of the crowne of England, and the aduancement of Christian religion in those Paganish regions, requiring but their lawfulll ayde for repayring of his fleete, and supply of some necessaries, so farre as might conueniently be afforded him, both out of that and other harbors adioyning. In lieu whereof, he made offer to gratifie them, with any fauour and priueledge, which vpon their better aduise they should demand, the like being not to be obteyned hereafter for greater price. So crauing expedition of his demand, minding to proceede further South without long detention in those partes, he dismissed them, after promise giuen of their best indeuour to satisfie speedily his so reasonable request. The marchants with their Masters departed, they caused forthwith to be discharged all the great Ordinance of their fleete in token of our welcome.

Good order taken by English marchants for our supply in Newfound land.

It was further determined that euery ship of our fleete should deliuer vnto the marchants and Masters of that harbour a note of all their wants: which done, the ships aswell English as strangers, were taxed at an easie rate to make supply. And besides, Commissioners were appointed, part of our owne companie and part of theirs, to go into other harbours adioyning (for our English marchants command all there) to leauie our prouision: whereunto the Portugals (aboue other nations) did most willingly and liberally contribute. Insomuch as we were presented (aboue our allowance) with wines, marmalads, most fine ruske or bisket, sweet oyles and sundry delicacies. Also we wanted not of fresh salmons, trouts, lobsters and other fresh fish brought daily vnto vs. Moreouer as the maner is in their fishing, euery weeke to choose their Admirall a new, or rather they succeede in orderly course, and haue weekely their Admirals feast solemnized: euen so the General, Captaines and masters of our fleete were continually inuited and feasted. To grow short, in our abundance at home, the intertainment had bene delightfull, but after our wants and tedious passage through the Ocean, it seemed more acceptable and of greater contentation, by how much the same was vnexpected in that desolate corner of the world: where at other times of the yeare, wilde beasts and birds haue only the fruition of all those countries, which now seemed a place very populous and much frequented.

Good entertainment in Newfound land.

No Sauages in the South part of New-found land.

The next morning being Sunday and the 4 of August, the Generall and his company were brought on land by English marchants, who shewed vnto vs their accustomed walks vnto a place they call the Garden. But nothing appeared more then Nature it selfe without art: who confusedly hath brought forth roses abundantly, wilde, but odoriferous, and to sense very comfortable. Also the like plentie of raspis berries, which doe grow in euery place.

Munday following, the Generall had his tent set vp, who being accompanied with his own followers, summoned the marchants and masters, both English and strangers to be present at his taking possession of those Countries. Before whom openly was read and interpreted vnto the strangers his Commission: by vertue whereof he tooke possession in the same harbour of S. Iohn, and 200 leagues euery way, inuested the Queenes Maiestie with the title and dignitie thereof, had deliuered vnto him (after the custome of England) a rod and a turffe of the same soile, entring possession also for him, his heires and assignes for euer: And signified vnto al men, that from that time forward, they should take the same land as a territorie appertaining to the Queene of England, and himselfe authorised vnder her Maiestie to possesse and enioy it, And to ordaine lawes for the gouernement thereof, agreeable (so neere as conueniently might be) vnto the lawes of England: vnder which all people coming thither hereafter, either to inhabite, or by way of traffique, should be subiected and gouerned. And especially at the same time for a beginn-

Possession taken.

Three Lawes.

ing, he proposed and deliuered three lawes to be in force immediatly. That is to say: the first for Religion, which in publique exercise should be according to the Church of England. The 2. for maintenance of her Maiesties right and possession of those territories, against which if any thing were attempted preiudiciall the partie or parties offending should be adiudged and executed as in case of high treason, according to the lawes of England. The 3. if any person should vtter words sounding to the dishonour of her Maiestie, he should loose his eares, and haue his ship and goods confiscate.

These contents published, obedience was promised by generall voyce and consent of the multitude aswell of Englishmen as strangers, praying for continuance of this possession and gouernement begun. After this, the assembly was dismissed. And afterward were erected not farre from that place the Armes of England ingrauen in lead, and infixed vpon a pillar of wood.

Actuall possession maintained in Newfoundland.

Yet further and actually to establish this possession taken in the right of her Maiestie, and to the behoofe of Sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, his heires and assignes for euer: the Generall granted in fee farme diuers parcels of land lying by the water side, both in this harbor of S. Iohn, and elsewhere, which was to the owners a great commoditie, being thereby assured (by their proper inheritance) of grounds conuenient to dresse and to drie their fish, whereof many times before they did faile, being preuented by them that came first into the harbor. For which grounds they did couenant to pay a certaine rent and seruice vnto sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires or assignes for euer, and yeerely to maintaine possession of the same, by themselues or their assignes.

Now remained only to take in prouision granted, according as euery shippe was taxed, which did fish vpon the coast adioyning. In the meane while, the Generall appointed men

Men appointed to make search.

vnto their charge: some to repaire and trim the ships, others to attend in gathering togither our supply and prouisions: others to search the commodities and singularities of the countrey, to be found by sea or land, and to make relation vnto the Generall what eyther themselues could knowe by their owne trauaile and experience, or by good intelligence of English men or strangers, who had longest frequented the same coast. Also some obserued the eleuation of the pole, and drewe plats of the countrey exactly graded. And by that I could gather by each mans seuerall relation, I haue drawen a briefe description of the Newfoundland, with the commodities by sea or lande alreadie made, and such also as are in possibilitie and great likelihood to be made: Neuerthelesse the Cardes and plats that were drawing, with the due gradation of the harbors, bayes, and capes, did perish with the Admirall: wherefore in the description following, I must omit the particulars of such things.

A briefe relation of the New found lande, and the commodities thereof.

THat which we doe call the Newfound land, and the Frenchmen Bacalaos, is an Iland, or rather (after the opinion of some) it consisteth of sundry Ilands and broken lands, situate in the North regions of America, vpon the gulfe and entrance of the great riuer called S. Laurence in Canada. Into the which, nauigation may be made both on the South and North side of this Iland. The land lyeth South and North, containing in length betweene three and 400 miles, accounting from cape Race (which is 46 degrees 25 minuts) vnto the Grand bay in 52 degrees of Septentrionall latitude. The Iland round about hath very many goodly bayes and harbors, safe roads for ships, the like not to be found in any part of the knowen world.

New found land is al Islands or broken lands.

Goodly roads and harbours.

The common opinion that is had of intemperature and extreme cold that should be in this countrey, as of some part it may be verified, namely the North, where I grant it is more colde then in countries of Europe, which are vnder the same eleuation: euen so it cannot stand with reason and nature of the clime, that the South parts should be so intemperate as the brute hath gone. For as the same doe lie vnder the climats of Briton, Aniou, Poictou in France, betweene 46 and 49 degrees, so can they not so much differ from the temperature of those countries: vnlesse vpon the outcast lying open vnto the Ocean and sharpe windes, it must in deede be subiect to more colde, then further within the land, where the mountaines are interposed, as walles and bulwarkes, to defend and to resist the asperitie and rigor of the sea weather. Some hold opinion, that the Newfound land might be the more subiect

New found land is inhabitable.

to cold, by how much it lyeth high and neere vnto the middle region. I grant that not in Newfound land alone, but in Germany Italy and Afrike, euen vnder the Equinoctiall line, the mountaines are extreme cold, and seeldome vncouered of snow, in their culme and highest tops, which commeth to passe by the same reason that they are extended towards the middle region: yet in the countries lying beneth them, it is found quite contrary. Euen so all hils hauing their discents, the valleis also and low grounds must be likewise hot or temperate, as the clime doeth giue in Newfound land: though I am of opinion that the Sunnes reflection is much cooled, and cannot be so forcible in the Newfound land, nor generally throughout America, as in Europe or Afrike: by how much the Sunne in his diurnal course from East to West passeth ouer (for the most part) dry land and sandy countries, before he arriueth at the West of Europe or Afrike, whereby his motion increaseth heate, with little or no qualification by moyst vapours. Where, on the contrary he passeth from Europe and Afrike vnto America ouer the Ocean, from whence it draweth and carieth with him abundance of moyst vapours, which doe qualifie and infeeble greatly the Sunnes reuerberation vpon this countrey chiefly of Newfound land, being so much to the Northward. Neuerthelesse (as I sayd before) the cold cannot be so intollerable vnder the latitude of 46 47 and 48 (especiall within land) that it should be vnhabitable, as some do suppose, seeing also there are very many people more to the North by a great deale. And in these South parts there be certaine beastes, Ounces or Leopards, and birdes in like maner which in the Sommer we haue seene, not heard of in countries of extreme and vehement coldnesse. Besides, as in the monethes of Iune, Iuly, August and September, the heate is somewhat more then in England at those seasons: so men remaining vpon the South parts neere vnto Cape Race, vntill after Hollandtide, haue not found the cold so extreme, nor much differing from the temperature of England. Those which haue arriued there after Nouember and December, haue found the snow exceeding deepe, whereat no maruaile, considering the ground vpon the coast, is rough and uneuen, and the snow is driuen into the places most declyning as the like is to be seene with vs. The like depth of snow happily shall not be found within land vpon the playner countries, which also are defended

Cold by accidentall meanes.

by the mountaines, breaking off the violence of winds and weather. But admitting extraordinary cold in those South parts, aboue that with vs here: it can not be as great as in Sweedland, much lesse in Moscouia or Russia: yet are the same countries very populous, and the rigor and cold is dispensed with by the commoditie of Stoues, warme clothing, meats and drinkes: all which neede not be wanting in the Newfound land, if we had intent there to inhabite.*

Commodities.

In the South parts we found no inhabitants, which by all likelihood haue abandoned those coastes, the same being so much frequented by Christians: But in the North are sauages altogether harmelesse. Touching the commodities of this countrie, seruing either for sustentation of inhabitants, or for maintenance of traffique, there are and may be made diuers: so y^t^ it seemeth Nature hath recompenced that only defect and incommodities of some sharpe cold, by many benefits: viz. With incredible quantitie, and no lesse varietie of kindes of fish in the sea and fresh waters, as Trouts, Salmons, and other fish to vs vnknowen: Also Cod, which alone draweth many nations thither, and is become the most famous fishing of the world. Abundance of Whales, for which also is a very great trade in the bayes of Placentia and the Grand bay, where is made Traine oiles of the Whale: Herring the largest that haue bene heard of, and exceeding the Malstrond† herring of Norway: but hitherto was neuer benefit taken of the herring fishing. There are sundry other fish very delicate, namely the Bonito, Lobsters, Turbut, with others infinite not sought after: Oysters hauing peare but not orient in colour: I tooke it by reason they were not gathered in season.

Fish of sea and fresh water.

Concerning the inland commodities, aswel to be drawen from this land, as from the exceeding large countries adioyning: there is nothing which our East and Northerly countries of Europe doe yeelde, but the like also may be made in them as plentifully by time and industrie: Namely rosen, pitch, tarre, sopeashes, dealboord, mastes for ships, hides, furres, flaxe, hempe, corne, cordage, linnen-cloth, mettals and many more. All which the countries will aford, and the soyle is apt to yeelde.

---

* The cold on the coast is partly due to the quantities of ice descending from Baffin's Bay.

† Maëlstrom.

The trees for the most in those South parts are Firretrees, Pine and Cypresse, all yeelding Gumme and Turpentine.

Cherrie trees bearing fruit no bigger than a small pease. Also peare trees but fruitlesse. Other trees of some sorts to vs vnknowen.

The soyle along the coast is not deepe of earth, bringing forth abundantly peason small, yet good feeding for cattell. Roses passing sweet, like vnto our muske roses in forme, raspases, a berry which we call Hurts, good and holesome to eat. The grasse and herbe doth fat sheepe in very short space, proued by English marchants which haue caried sheepe thither for fresh victuall and had them raised exceeding fat in lesse then three weekes. Peason which our countreymen haue sowen in the time of May, haue come vp faire, and bene gathered in the beginning of August, of which our Generall had a present acceptable for the rarenesse, being the first fruits comming vp by art and industrie in that desolate and dishabited land.

Lakes or pooles of fresh water, both on the tops of mountaines and in the valies. In which are said to be muskles not vnlike to haue pearle, which I had put in triall, if by mischance falling vnto me, I had not bene letted from that and other good experiments I was minded to make.

Foule both of water and land in great plentie and diuersitie. All kind of greene foule: Others as bigge as Bustards, yet not the same. A great white foule called by some a Gaunt.

Vpon the land diuers sorts of haukes. as Faulcons, and others by report: Partridges most plentifull larger than ours, gray and white of colonr, and rough footed like doues, which our men after one flight did kill with cudgels, they were so fat and vnable to flie. Birds some like blackbirds, linnets, Canary birds, and other very small. Beasts of sundry kindes, red deare, buffles or a beast, as it seemeth by the tract and foote very large in maner of an oxe. Beares, ounces or leopards, some greater and some lesser, wolues, Foxes, which to the Northward a little further are black, whose furre is esteemed in some Countries of Europe very rich. Otters, beuers, and marternes: And in the opinion of most men that saw it, the Generall had brought vnto him a Sable aliue, which he sent vnto his brother sir Iohn Gilbert knight of Deuonshire: but it was neuer deliuered, as after I vnderstood. We could not obserue the hundreth part of creatures in those vnhabited lands: but these mentioned may induce vs to glorifie the magnificent God, who hath superabundantly replenished the earth with creatures seruing for the vse of man, though man hath not vsed a fifth part of the same, which the more doth aggrauate the fault and foolish slouth in many of our nation, chusing rather to liue indirectly, and very miserably to liue and die within this realme pestered with inhabitants, then to aduenture as becommeth men, to obtaine an habitation in those remote lands, in which Nature very prodigally doth minister vnto mens endeuours, and for art to worke vpon.

Newfound land doth minister commodities abundantly for art and industrie.

For besides these alreadie recounted and infinite moe, the mountaines generally make shew of minerall substance: Iron very common, lead, and somewhere copper. I will not auerre of richer mettals: albeit by the circumstances following, more then hope may be conceiued thereof.

For amongst other charges giuen to inquire out the singularities of this countrey, the Generall was most curious in the search of mettals, commanding the minerall man and refiner, especially to be diligent. The same was a Saxon borne, honest and religious, named Daniel. Who after search brought at first some sort of Ore, seeming rather to be yron then other mettal. The next time he found Ore, which with no small shew of contentment he deliuered vnto the General, vsing prostestation, that if siluer were the thing which might satisfie the Generall and his followers, there it was, aduising him to seeke no further: the perill whereof he vndertooke vpon his life (as deare vnto him as the Crowne of England vnto her Maiestie, that I may vse his owne words) if it fell not out accordingly.

Siluer Ore brought vnto the Generall.

My selfe at this instant liker to die then to liue, by a mischance, could not follow this confident opinion of our refiner to my owne satisfaction: but afterward demanding our Generals opinion therein, and to haue some part of the Ore, he replied: Content your selfe, I haue seene ynough, and were it but to satifie my priuate humor, I would proceede no further. The promise vnto my friends, and necessitie to bring also the South countries within compasse of my Patent neere expired, as we haue alreadie done these North parts, do only perswade me further. And touching the Ore, I haue sent it aboord, whereof I would haue no speech to be made so long as we remaine within harbor: here being both Portugals, Biscains, and Frenchmen not farre

Reasons why no further search was made for the siluer mine.

off, from whom must be kept any bruit or muttering of such matter. When we are at sea proofe shalbe made: if it be to our desire, we may returne the sooner hither againe. Whose answere I iudged reasonable, and contenting me well: wherewith will I conclude this narration and description of the Newfound land, and proceede to the rest of our voyage, which ended tragically.*

Misdemeanor in our companie.

WHile the better sort of vs were seriously occupied in repairing our wants, and continuing of matters for the commoditie of our voyage: others of another sort and disposition were plotting of mischiefe. Some casting to steale away our shipping by night, watching opportunitie by the Generals and Captaines lying on the shore: whose conspiracies discouered, they were preuented. Others drew togither in company, and carried away out of the harbors adioyning, a ship laden with fish, setting the poore men on shore. A great many more of our people stole into the woods to hide themselues, attending time and meanes to returne home by such shipping as daily departed from the coast. Some were sicke of fluxes, and many dead: and in briefe, by one meanes or other our company was diminished, and many by the Generall licenced to returne home. Insomuch as after we had reuiewed our people, resolued to see an end of our voyage, we grewe scant of men to furnish all our shipping: it seemed good therefore vnto the Generall to leaue the Swallowe with such provision as might be spared for transporting home the sicke people.

God brought togither these men into the ship ordained to perish, who before had committed such outrage.

The Captaine of the Delight or Admirall returned into England, in whose stead was appointed Captaine Maurice Browne, before Captaine of the Swallow: who also brought with him into the Delight all his men of the Swallow, which before haue bene noted of outrage perpetrated and committed vpon fishermen there met at sea.

Why sir Humf. Gilbert went in the Frigate.

The Generall made choise to goe in his frigate the Squirrell (whereof the Captaine also was amongst them that returned into England) the same Frigate being most conuenient to discouer vpon the coast, and to search into euery harbor or creeke, which a great ship could not doe. Therefore the Frigate was prepared with her nettings and fights, and ouercharged with bases and such small Ordinance, more to giue a shew, then with iudgement to foresee vnto the safetie of her and the men, which afterward was an occasion also of their ouerthrow.

---

* Silver, and even gold, has been found in Newfoundland.

Now hauing made readie our shipping, that is to say, the Delight, the golden Hinde, and the Squirrell, and put aboord our prouision, which was wines, bread or ruske, fish wette and drie, sweete oiles: besides many other, as marmalades, figs, lymmons barrelled, and such like: Also we had other necessary prouision for trimming our ships, nets and lines to fish withall, boates or pinnesses fit for discouery. In briefe, we were supplied of our wants commodiously, as if we had bene in a Countrey or some Citie populous and plentifull of all things.

Liberalitie of the Portugals.

We departed from this harbor of S. Iohns vpon Tuesday the twentieth of August, which we found by exact obseruation to be in 47 degrees 40 miuutes. And the next day by night we were at Cape Race, 25 leagues from the same harborough.

S. Iohns in 47 deg. 40 min.

This Cape lyeth South Southwest from S. Iohns: it is a low land, being off from the Cape about halfe a league: within the sea riseth vp a rocke against the point of the Cape, which thereby is easily knowen. It is in latitude 46 degrees 25 minutes.

Cape Race in 46 degrees 25 minutes.

Vnder this cape we were becalmed a small time, during which we layd out hookes and lines to take Codde, and drew in lesse then two houres, fish so large and in such abundance, that many dayes after we fed vpon no other prouision.

Fish large and plentifull.

From hence we shaped our course vnto the Island of Sablon, if conueniently it would so fall out, also directly to Cape Briton.

Sablon lieth to the sea-ward of Cape Briton about 25 leagues, whither we were determined to goe vpon intelligence we had of a Portugal, (during our abode in S. Iohns) who was himselfe present, when the Portugals (aboue thirty yeeres past) did put into the same Island both Neat and Swine to breede, which were since exceedingly multiplied. This seemed vnto vs very happy tidings, to haue in an Island lying so neere vnto the maine, which we intended to plant vpon, such store of cattell, whereby we might at all times conueniently be relieued of victuall, and serued of store for breed.

Cattell in the Isle of Sablon.

In this course we trended along the coast, which from Cape

Race stretcheth into the Northwest, making a bay which some called Trepassa. Then it goeth out againe toward the West, and maketh a point, which with Cape Race lieth in maner East and West. But this point inclineth to the North: to the West of which goeth in the bay of Placentia. We sent men on land to take view of the soyle along this coast, whereof they made good report, and some of them had wil to be planted there. They saw Pease growing in great abundance euery where.

Good soile.

The distance betweene Cape Race and Cape Briton is 87 leagues. In which Nauigation we spent 8 dayes, hauing many times the wind indifferent good; yet could we neuer attaine sight of any land all that time, seeing we were hindred by the current. At last we fell into such flats and dangers, that hardly any of vs escaped: where neuerthelesse we lost our Admiral with al the men and prouision, not knowing certainly the place. Yet for inducing men of skill to make coniecture, by our course and way we held from Cape Race thither (that thereby the flats and dangers may be inserted in sea Cards, for warning to others that may follow the same course hereafter) I haue set downe the best reckonings that were kept by expert men, William Cox Master of the Hind, and Iohn Paul his mate, both of Limehouse.

Reckonings kept in our course from Cape Race towards Cape Briton, and the Island of Sablon, to the time and place where we lost our Admirall.

August 22.	West,	14. leagues.
	West and by South,	25.
	Westnorthwest,	25.
	Westnorthwest,	9.
	Southsouthwest,	10.
	Southwest,	12.
	Southsouthwest,	10.
August 29.	Westnorthwest,	12. Here we lost our Admiral.

Summe of these leagues, 117.

The reckoning of Iohn Paul masters mate from Cape Race.

August 22.	West,	14. leagues.
23	Northwest and by West,	9.
24	Southwest and by South,	5.
25	West and by South,	40.
26	West and by North,	7.
27	Southwest,	3.
28	Southwest,	9.
	Southwest,	7.
	Westsouthwest,	7.
29	Northwest and by West,	20. Here we lost our Admirall.

Summe of all these leagues, 121.

Our course we held in clearing vs of these flats was Eastsoutheast, and Southeast, and South 14 leagues with a marueilous scant winde.

The maner how our Admirall was lost.

VPon Tewsday the 27 of August, toward the euening, our Generall caused them in his frigat to sound, who found white sande at 35 fadome, being then in latitude about 44 degrees.

Angust 27.

Wednesday toward night the wind came South, and wee bare with the land all that night, Westnorthwest, contrary to the mind of master Cox: neuerthelesse wee followed the Admirall, depriued of power to preuent a mischiefe, which by no contradiction could be brought to hold other course, alleaging they could not make the ship to worke better, nor to lie otherwaies.

The euening was faire and pleasant, yet not without token of storme to ensue, and most part of this Wednesday night, like the Swanne that singeth before her death, they in the Admiral, or Delight, continued in sounding of Trumpets, with Drummes, and Fifes: also winding the Cornets, Haught boyes: and in the end of their iolitie, left with the battell and ringing of doleful knels.

Predictions before the wracke.

Towards the euening also we caught in the Golden Hinde a very mighty Porpose, with a harping yron, hauing first striken diuers of them, and brought away part of their flesh, sticking vpon the yron, but could recouer onely that one. These also passing through the Ocean, in heardes, did portend storme. I omit to recite friuolous reportes by them in the Frigat, of strange voyces, the same night, which scarred some from the helme.

Losse of our Admirall.

Thursday the 29 of August, the wind rose, and blew vehemently at South and by East, bringing withal raine, and thicke mist, so that we could not see a cable length before vs. And betimes in the morning we were altogether runne and folded in amongst flats and sands, amongst which we found shoale and deepe in euery three or foure shippes length, after wee began to sound: but first we were vpon them vnawares, vntill master Cox looking out, discerned (in his iudgement) white cliffes, crying (land) withal, though we could not afterward descrie any land, it being very likely the breaking of the sea white, which seemed to be white cliffes, through the haze and thicke weather.

Immediatly tokens were giuen vnto the Delight, to cast about to seaward, which, being the greater ship, and of burden 120 tunnes, was yet formost vpon the breach, keeping so ill watch, that they knew not the danger before he felt the same, too late to recouer it: for presently the Admirall strooke a ground, and had soone after her sterne and hinder partes beaten in pieces: whereupon the rest (that is to say, the Frigat in which was the Generall and the Golden Hinde) cast about Eastsoutheast, bearing to the South, euen for our liues into the windes eye, because that way caried vs to the seaward. Making out from this danger, wee sounded one while seuen fadome, then fiue fadome, then foure fadome and lesse, againe deeper, immediatly foure fadome, then but three fadome, the sea going mightily and high. At last we recouered (God be thanked) in some despaire, to sea roome enough.

In this distresse, wee had vigilant eye vnto the Admirall, whom wee sawe cast away, without power to giue the men succour, neither could we espie any of the men that leaped ouerboord to saue themselues, either in the same Pinnesse or Cocke, or vpon rafters, and such like meanes, presenting themselues to men in those extremities: for we desired to saue the men by euery possible meanes. But all in vaine, sith God had determined their ruine: yet all that day, and part of the next, we beat vp and downe as neere vnto the wracke as was possible for vs, looking out, if by good hap we might espie any of them.

This was a heavy and grieuous euent, to lose at one blow our chiefe shippe fraighted with great prouision, gathered together with mnch trauell, care, long time, and difficultie. But more was the losse of our men, which perished to the number almost of a hundreth soules. Amongst whom was drowned a learned man, an Hungarian, borne in the citie of Buda, called hereof Budæus, who of pietie and zeale to good attempts, aduentured in this action, minding to record in the Latine tongue, the gests and things worthy of remembrance, happening in this discouerie, to the honour of our nation, the same being adorned with the eloquent stile of this Orator, and rare Poet of our time.

Stephanus Parmenius a learned Hungarian.

Here also perished our Saxon Refiner and discouerer of inestimable riches, as it was left amongst some of vs in vndoubted hope.

Daniel a refiner of mettals.

No lesse heauy was the losse of the Captaine Maurice Browne, a vertuous, honest, and discreete Gentleman, ouerseene onely in liberty giuen late before to men, that ought to haue bene restrained, who shewed himselfe a man resolued, and neuer vnprepared for death, as by his last act of this tragedie appeared, by report of them that escaped this wracke miraculously, as shall bee hereafter declared. For when all hope was past of recouering the ship, and that men began to giue ouer, and to saue themselues, the Capatine was aduised before to ship also for his life, by the Pinnesse at the sterne of the ship: but refusing that counsell, he would not giue example with the first to leaue the shippe, but vsed all meanes to exhort his people not to despaire, nor so to leaue off their labour, choosing rather to die, then to incurre infamie, by forsaking his charge, which then might be thought to haue perished through his default, shewing an ill president vnto his men, by leauing the ship first himselfe. With this mind hee mounted vpon the highest decke, where hee attended imminent death, and vnauoidable; how long, I leaue it to God, who withdraweth not his comfort from his seruants at such times.

In the meane season, certaine, to the number of fourteene persons, leaped into a small Pinnesse (the bignes of a Thames barge, which was made in the New found land) cut off the rope wherewith it was towed, and committed themselues to Gods mercy, amiddest the storme, and rage of sea and windes, destitute of foode, not so much as a droppe of fresh water.

A wonderfull scape and deliuerance. A great distresse. A desperate resolution.

The boate seeming ouercharged in foule weather with company, Edward Headly a valiant souldier, and well reputed of his companie, preferring the greater to the lesser, thought better that some of them perished then all, made this motion to cast lots, and them to bee throwen ouerboord vpon whom whom the lots fell, thereby to lighten the boate, which otherwayes seemed impossible to liue, offred himselfe with the first, content to take his aduenture gladly: which neuerthelesse Richard Clarke, that was Master of the Admirall, and one of this number, refused, aduising to abide Gods pleasure, who was able to saue all, as well as a few.

Two men famished.

The boate was caried before the wind, continuing sixe dayes and nights in the Ocean, and arriued at last with the men (aliue, but weake) vpon the New found land, sauing that the foresayd Headly, (who had bene late sicke) and another called of vs Brasile, of his trauell into those Countries, died by the way, famished, and lesse able to holde out, then those of better health. For such was these poore mens extremitie, in cold and wet, to haue no better sustenance then their own vrine, for sixe dayes together.

Thus whom God deliuered from drowning, hee appointed to bee famished, who doth giue limits to mans times, and ordaineth the manner and circumstance of dying: whom againe he will preserue, neither Sea nor famine can confound. For those that arriued vpon the Newe found land, were brought into France by certaine French men, then being vpon that coast.

After this heauie chance, wee continued in beating the sea vp and downe, expecting when the weather would cleere vp, that we might yet beare in with the land, which we iudged not farre off, either the continent or some Island. For we many times, and in sundry places found ground at 50, 45, 40 fadomes, and lesse. The ground comming vpon our lead, being sometimes oazie sand, and otherwhile a broad shell, with a little sand about it.

Causes inforcing vs to returne home againe.

Our people lost courage dayly after this ill successe, the weather continuing thicke and blustering, with increase of cold, Winter drawing on, which tooke from them all hope of amendment, setling an assurance of worse weather to growe vpon vs euery day. The Leeside of vs lay full of flats and dangers ineuitable, if the wind blew hard at South. Some againe doubted we were ingulphed in the Bay of S. Laurence, the coast full of dangers, and vnto vs vnknowen.

But aboue all, prouision waxed scant, and hope of supply was gone, with losse of our Admirall.

Those in the Frigat were already pinched with spare allowance, and want of clothes chiefly: Whereupon they besought the Generall to returne for England, before they all perished. And to them of the Golden Hinde, they made signes of their distresse, pointing to their mouthes, and to their clothes thinne and ragged: then immediately they also of the Golden Hinde, grew to be of the same opinion and desire to returne home.

The former reasons hauing also moued the Generall to haue compassion of his poore men, in whom he saw no want of good will, but of meanes fit to performe the action they came for, resolued vpon retire: and calling the Captaine and Master of the Hinde, he yeelded them many reasons, inforcing this vnexpected returne, withall protesting himselfe greatly satisfied with that hee had seene, and knew already.

Reiterating these words, Be content, we haue seene enough, and take no care of expence past: I will set you foorth royally the next Spring, if God send vs safe home. Therefore I pray you let vs no longer striue here, where we fight against the elements.

Omitting circumstance, how vnwillingly the Captaine and Master of the Hinde condescended to this motion, his owne company can testifie: yet comforted with the Generals promises of a speedie returne at Spring, and induced by other apparant reasons, prouing an impossibilitie, to accomplish the action at that time, it was concluded on all hands to retire.

So vpon Saturday in the afternoone the 31 of August, we changed our course, and returned backe for England, at which very instant, euen in winding about, there passed along betweene vs and towards the land which we now forsooke a very lion to our seeming, in shape, hair and colour, not swimming after the maner of a beast by moooing of his feete, but rather sliding vpon the water with his whole body (excepting the legs) in sight, neither yet diuing vnder, and againe rising aboue the water, as the maner is, of Whales, Dolphins, Tunise, Porposes, and all other fish: but confidently shewing himselfe aboue water without hiding: Notwithstanding, we presented our selues in open view and gesture to amase him, as all creatures will be commonly at a sudden gaze and sight of men. Thus he passed along turning his head

gAuust 31.

A monster of the sea.

to and fro, yawning and gaping wide, with ougly demonstration of long teeth, and glaring eies, and to bidde vs a farewell (comming right against the Hinde) he sent forth a horrible voyce, roaring or bellowing as doeth a lion, which spectacle wee all beheld so farre as we were able to discerne the same, as men prone to wonder at euery strange thing, as this doubtlesse was, to see a lion in the Ocean sea, or fish in shape of a lion. What opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the Generall himselfe, I forbeare to deliuer: But he tooke it for Bonum Omen, reioycing that he was to warre against such an enemie, if it were the deuill.

The wind was large for England at our returne, but very high, and the sea rough, insomuch as the Frigat wherein the Generall went was almost swalowed vp.

September 2.

Munday in the afternoone we passed in the sight of Cape Race, hauing made as much way in little more then two dayes and nights backe againe, as before wee had done in eight dayes from Cape Race, vnto the place where our ship perished. Which hindrance thitherward, and speed back againe, is to be imputed vnto the swift current, as well as to the winds, which we had more large in our returne.

This Munday the Generall came aboord the Hind to haue the Surgeon of the Hind to dresse his foote, which he hurt by treading vpon a naile: At what time we comforted ech other with hope of hard successe to be all past, and of the good to come. So agreeing to cary out lights alwayes by night, that we might keepe together, he departed into his Frigat, being by no meanes to be intreated to tarie in the Hind, which had bene more for his security. Immediatly after followed a sharpe storme, which we ouerpassed for that time. Praysed be God.

Our last conference with our Generall.

The weather faire, the Generall came aboord the Hind againe, to make merrie together with the Captaine, Master and company, which was the last meeting, and continued there from morning vntill night. During which time there passed sundry discourses, touching affaires past, and to come, lamenting greatly the losse of his great ship, more of the men, but most of all of his bookes and notes, and what els I know not, for which hee was out of measure grieued, the same doubtles being some matter of more importance then his bookes, which I could not draw from him: yet by circumstance I gathered, the same to be ye Ore which Daniel the Saxon had brought vnto him in the New found land.

Circumstances to be well obserued in our Generall, importing the Ore to be of a Siluer Mine.

Whatsoeuer it was, the remembrance touched him so deepe, as not able to containe himselfe, he beat his boy in great rage, euen at the same time, so long after the miscarrying of the great ship, because vpon a faire day, when wee were becalmed vpon the coast of the New found land, neere vnto Cape Race, he sent his boy aboord the Admirall, to fetch certaine things: amongst which, this being chiefe, was yet forgotten and left behind. After which time he could neuer conueniently send againe aboord the great ship, much lesse hee doubted her ruine so neere at hand.

Herein my opinion was better confirmed diuersly, and by sundry coniectures, which maketh me haue the greater hope of this rich Mine. For where as the Generall had neuer before good conceit of these North parts of the world: now his mind was wholly fixed vpon the New found land. And as before he refused not to grant assignements liberally to them that required the same into these North parts, now he became contrarily affected, refusing to make any so large grants, especially of S. Iohns, which certaine English merchants made suite for, offering to imploy their money and trauell vpon the same: yet neither by their owne suite, nor of others of his owne company, whom he seemed willing to pleasure, it could be obtained.

Also laying downe his determination in the Spring following, for disposing of his voyage then to be reattempted: he assigned the Captaine and Master of the Golden Hind, vnto the South discouery, and reserued vnto himselfe the North, affirming that this voyage had wonne his heart from the South, and that he was now become a Northerne man altogether.

Last, being demanded what means he had at his arriuall in England, to compasse the charges of so great preparation as he intended to make the next Spring: hauing determined vpon two fleetes, one for the South, another for the North: Leaue that to mee (hee replied) I will aske a pennie of no man. I will bring good tidings vnto her Maiesty, who wil be so gracious, to lend me 10000 pounds, willing vs therefore to be of good cheere: for he did thanke God (he sayd) with al his heart, for that he had seene, the same being enough for vs all, and that we needed not to seeke any further. And these last words he would often repeate, with demonstration of great feruencie of mind, being himselfe very confident, and setled in beliefe of inestimable good by his voyage: which the greater number of his followers neuertheles mistrusted altogether, not being made partakers of those secrets, which the Generall kept vnto himselfe. Yet all of them that are liuing, may be witnesses of his words and protestations, which sparingly I haue deliuered.

Wilfulnes in the Generall.

Leauing the issue of this good hope vnto God, who knoweth the trueth only, and can at his good pleasure bring the same to light: I will hasten to the end of this tragedie, which must be knit vp in the person of our Generall. And as it was Gods ordinance vpon him, euen so the vehement perswasion and intreatie of his friends could nothing auaile, to diuert him from a wilfull resolution of going through in his Frigat, which was ouercharged vpon their deckes, with fights, nettings, and small artillerie, too cumbersome for so small a boate, that was to passe through the Ocean sea at that season of the yere, when by course we might expect much storme of foule weather, whereof indeed we had enough.

A token of a good mind.

But when he was intreated by the Captaine, Master, and other his well willers of the Hinde, not to venture in the Frigat, this was his answere: I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I haue passed so many stormes and perils. And in very trueth, hee was vrged to be so ouer hard, by hard reports giuen of him, that he was afraid of the sea, albeit this was rather rashnes, then aduised resolution, to preferre the wind of a vaine report to the weight of his owne life.

Seeing he would not bend to reason, he had prouision out of the Hinde, such as was wanting aboord his Frigat. And so we committed him to Gods protection, and set him aboord his Pinnesse, we being more then 300 leagues onward of our way home.

By that time we had brought the Islands of Açores South of vs, yet wee then keeping much to the North, vntill we had got into the height and eleuation of England: we met with very foule weather, and terrible seas, breaking short and high Pyramid wise. The reason whereof seemed to proceede either of hilly grounds high and low within the sea, (as we see hilles and dales vpon the land) vpon which the seas doe mount and fall: or else the cause proceedeth of diuersitie of winds, shifting often in sundry points: al which hauing power to moue the great Ocean, which againe is not presently setled, so many seas do encounter together, as there had bene diuersitie of windes. Howsoeuer it commeth to passe, men which all their life time had occupied the Sea, neuer saw more outragious Seas. We had also vpon our maine yard, an apparition of a little fire by night, which seamen doe call Castor and Pollux. But we had onely one, which they take an euill signe of more tempest: the same is vsuall in stormes.

Munday the ninth of September, in the afternoone, the Frigat was neere cast away, oppressed by waues, yet at that time recouered: and giuing foorth signes of ioy, the Generall sitting abaft with a booke in his hand, cried out vnto vs in the Hind (so oft as we did approch within hearing) We are as neere to heauen by sea as by land. Reiterating the same speech, well beseeming a souldier, resolute in Iesus Christ, as I can testifie he was.

A resolute and Christianlike saying in a distresse.

The same Monday night, about twelue of the clocke, or not long after, the Frigat being ahead of vs in the Golden Hinde, suddenly her lights were out, whereof as it were in a moment, we lost the sight, and withall our watch cryed, the Generall was cast away, which was so true. For in that moment, the Frigat was deuoured and swallowed vp of the Sea. Yet still we looked out all that night, and euer after, vntill wee arriued vpon the coast of England: Omitting no small saile at sea, vnto which we gaue not the tokens betweene vs, agreed vpon, to haue perfect knowledge of each other, if we should at any time be separated.

Sir Humfrey Gilbert drowned.

In great torment of weather, and perill of drowning, it pleased God to send safe home the Golden Hinde, which arriued in Falmouth, the 22 day of September, being Sonday, not without as great danger escaped in a flaw, comming from the Southeast, with such thicke mist, that we could not discerne land, to put in right with the Hauen.

Arriuall in England of the Golden Hinde.

From Falmouth we went to Dartmouth, and lay there at anker before the Range, while the captaine went aland, to enquire if there had bene any newes of the Frigat, while sayling well, might happily haue bene there before vs. Also to certifie Sir Iohn Gilbert, brother vnto the Generall of our hard successe, whom the Captaine desired (while his men were yet aboord him, and were witnesses of all occurents in that voyage,) It might please him to take the examination of euery person particularly, in discharge of his and their faithfull endeauour. Sir Iohn Gilbert refused so to doe,

A fit motion of the Captain vnto sir Humfrey Gilbert.

holding himselfe satisfied with report made by the Captaine: and not altogether dispairing of his brothers safetie, offered friendship and curtesie to the Captaine and his company, requiring to haue his barke brought into the harbour: in furtherance whereof, a boate was sent to helpe to tow her in.

Neuerthelesse, when the Captaine returned aboord his ship, he found his men bent to depart, euery man to his home: and then the winde seruing to proceede higher vpon the coast: they demanded monie to carie them home, some to London, others to Harwich, and elsewhere, (if the barke should be caried into Dartmouth, and they discharged, so farre from home) or else to take benefite of the wind, then seruing to draw neerer home, which should be a lesse charge vnto the Captaine, and great ease vnto the men, hauing els farre to goe.

Reason accompanied with necessitie perswaded the Captaine, who sent his lawfull excuse and cause of his sudden departure vnto Sir Iohn Gilbert, by the boate at Dartmouth, and from thence the Golden Hind departed, and tooke harbour at Waimouth. Al the men tired with the tediousnes of so vnprofitable a voyage to their seeming: in which their long expence of time, much toyle and labour, hard diet and continuall hazard of life was vnrecompensed: their Captaine neuerthelesse by his great charges, impaired greatly thereby, yet comforted in the goodnes of God, and his vndoubted prouidence following him in all that voyage, as it doth alwaies those at other times, whosoeuer haue confidence in him alone Yet haue we more neere feeling and perseuerance of his powerfull hand and protection, when God doth bring vs together with others into one same peril, in which he leaueth them, and deliuereth vs, making vs thereby the beholders, but not partakers of their ruine.

An ill recompense.

Euen so, amongst very many difficulties, discontentments, mutinies, conspiracies, sicknesses, mortalitie, spoylings, and wracks by sea, which were afflictions, more then in so small a Fleete, or so short a time may be supposed, albeit true in euery particularitie, as partly by the former relation may be collected, and some I suppressed with silence for their sakes liuing, it pleased God to support this company, (of which onely one man died of a maladie inueterate, and long infested): the rest kept together in reasonable contentment and concord, beginning, continuing, and ending the voyage, which none els did accomplish either not pleased with the action, or impatient of wants, or preuented by death.

Thus haue I deliuered the contents of the enterprise and last action of sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, faithfully, for so much as I thought meete to be published: wherein may alwaies appeare, (though he be extinguished) some sparkes of his vertues, he remaining firme and resolute in a purpose by all pretence honest and godly, as was this, to discouer, possesse, and to reduce vnto the seruice of God, and Christian pietie, those remote and heathen Countreys of America, not actually possessed by Christians, and most rightly appertaining vnto the Crowne of England: vnto the which, as his zeale deserueth high commendation: euen so, he may iustly be taxed of temeritie and presumption (rather) in two respects.

Constancie in sir Humfrey Gilbert.

First, when yet there was onely probabilitie, not a certaine and determinate place of habitation selected, neither any demonstration of commoditie there in esse, to induce his followers: neuertheles, he both was too prodigall of his owne patrimony, and too careles of other mens expences, to imploy both his and their substance vpon a ground imagined good. The which falling, very like his associates were promised, and made it their best reckoning to bee salued some other way, which pleased not God to prosper in his first and great preparation.

His temeritie and presumtion.

Secondly, when by his former preparation he was enfeebled of abilitie and credit, to performe his designements, as it were impatient to abide in expectation better opportunitie and meanes, which God might raise, he thrust himselfe againe into the action, for which he was not fit, presuming the cause pretended on Gods behalfe, would carie him to the desired ende. Into which, hauing thus made reentrie, he could not yeeld againe to withdraw though hee sawe no encouragement to proceed, lest his credite, foyled in his first attempt, in a second should vtterly be disgraced. Betweene extremities, hee made a right aduenture, putting all to God and good fortune, and which was worst refused not to entertaine euery person and meanes whatsoeuer, to furnish out this expedition, the successe whereof hath bene declared.

But such is the infinite bountie of God, who from euery euill deriueth good. For besides that fruite may growe in time of our trauelling into those Northwest lands, the crosses, turmoiles, and afflictions, both in the preparation and execution of this voyage, did correct the

Afflictions needfull in the children of God.

intemperate humors, which before we noted to bee in this Gentleman, and made vnsauorie, and lesse delightful his other manifold vertues.

Then as he was refined, and made neerer drawing vnto the image of God: so it pleased the diuine will to resume him vnto himselfe, whither both his, and euery other high and noble minde, haue alwayes aspired.

Ornatissimo viro, Magistro Richard Hakluyto Oxonij in Collegio ædis Christi, Artium et Philosophiæ Magistro, amico, et fratri suo.

Dominus Ralegh.

Insula penguin.

S. Non statueram ad te scribere, cùm in mentem veniret promissum literarum tuarum. Putabas te superiore iam Iunio nos subsecuturum. Itaque de meo statu ex doctore Humfredo certiorem te fieri iusseram. Verùm sic tibi non esset satisfactum. Itaque scribam ad te ijsdem ferè verbis, quia noua meditari et συνονυμίζειν mihi hoc tempore non vacat. Vndecimo Iunij ex Anglia reuera tandem et seriò soluimus, portu et terra apud Plemuthum simul relictis. Classis quinque nauibus constabat: maxima, quam* frater Amiralij accommodauerat, ignotum quo comsilio, statim tertio die à nobis se subduxit. Reliqui perpetuò coniunctim nauigauimus ad 23. Iulij, quo tempore magnis nebulis intercepto aspectu alij aliam viam tenuimus: nobis seorsim prima terra apparuit ad Calendas Augusti, ad gradum circiter 50. cùm vltrà 41. paucis ante diebus descendissemus spe Australium ventorum, qui tamen nobis suo tempore nunquam spirauêre. Insula est ea, quam vestri Penguin vocant, ab auium eiusdem nominis multitudine. Nos tamen nec aues vidimus, nec insulam accessimus, ventis aliò vocantibus. Cæterùm conuenimus omnes in eundum locum paulò ante portum in quem communi consilio omnibus veniendum erat, idqúe intra duas horas, magna Dei benignitate et nostro gaudio. Locus situs est in Newfoundlandia, inter 47. et 48. gradum, Diuum Ioannem vocant. Ipse Admiralius proter multitudinem hominum et angustiam nauis paulò afflictiorem comitatum habuit et iam duos dysentericis fioloribus amisit: de cæteris bona spes est. Ex nostris (nam ego me Mauricio Browno verè generoso iuueni me coniunxeram) duo etiam casu quodam submersi sunt. Cæteri salui et longè firmiores. Ego nunquam sanior. In hunc locum tertio Augusti

appulimus: quinto autem ipse Admiralius has regiones in suam et regni Angliæ possessionem potestatemque vendicauit, latis quibusdam legibus de religione et obsequio Reginæ Angliæ. Reficimur hoc tempore paulò hilariùs et lautiùs. Certè enim et qualibus ventis vsi simus, et quàm fessi esse potuerimus tam longi temporis ratio docuerit, proinde nihil nobis deerit. Nam extra Anglos, 20 circiter naues Lusitanicas et Hispanicas nacti in hoc loco sumus: eæ nobis impares non patientur nos esurire. Angli etsi satis firmi, et à nobis tuti, authoritate regij diplomatis omni obsequio et humanitate prosequuntur. Nunc narrandi erant mores, regiones, et populi. Cæterùm quid narrem mi Hakluyte, quando præter solitudinem nihil video? Piscium inexhausta copia: inde huc commeantibus magnus quæstus. Vix hamus fumdum attigit, illicò insigni aliquo onustus est. Terra vniuersa* montana et syluestris: arbores vt plurimùm pinus: eæ partim consenuêre, partim nunc adolescunt: magna pars vetustate collapsa, et aspectum terræ, et iter euntium ita impedit, vt nusquam progredi liceat. Herbæ omnes proceræ: sed rarò à nostris diuersæ. Natura videtur velle niti etiam ad generandum frumentum. Inueni enim gramina, et spicas in similitudinem secales: et facilè cultura et satione in vsum humanum assuefieri posse videntur. Rubi in syluis vel potiùs fraga arborescentia magna suauitate. Vrsi circa tuguria nonnunquam apparent, et conficiuntur: sed albi sunt, vt mihi ex pellibus coniicere licuit, et minores quàm nostri. Populus an vllus sit in hac regione incertum est: Nec vllum vidi qui testari posset. Et quis quæso posset, cùm ad longum progredi non liceat? Nec minùs ignotum est an aliquid metalli sub sit montibus. Causa eadem est, etsi aspectus eorum mineras latentes præ se ferat. Nos Admiralio authores fuimus syluas incendere, quo ad inspiciendam regionem spacium pateret: nec displicebat illi consilium, si non magnum incommodum allaturum videretur. Confirmatum est enim ab idoneis hominibus, cum casu quopiam in alia nescio qua statione id accidisset, septennium totum pisces non comparuisse, ex acerbata maris vnda ex terebynthina, quæ conflagrantibus arboribus per riuulos defluebat. Cœlum hoc anni tempore ita feruidum est, vt nisi pisces, qui arefiunt ad solem, assidui inuertantur, ab adustione defendi non possint. Hyeme quàm frigidum sit, magnæ moles

The great heate of the sunne in summer.

---

* *Marginal note.*—In the south side of Newefoundland, there is store of plaine and champion Countrey, as Richard Clarke found.

glaciei in medio mari nos docuere. Relatum est à comitibus mense Maio sexdecim totos dies interdum se inter tantam glaciem hæsisse, vt 60. orgyas altæ essent insulæ: quarum latera soli apposita cum liquescerent, liberatione quadam vniuersam molem ita inuersam, vt quòd ante pronum erat, supinum euaderet, magno præsentium discrimine, vt consentaneum est. Aer in terra mediocriter clarus est: ad orientem supra mare perpetuæ nebulæ: Et in ipso mari circa Bancum (sic vocant locum vbi quadraginta leucis à terra fundus attingitur, et pisces capi incipiunt) nullus ferme dies absque pluuia. Expeditis nostris necessitatibus in hoc loco, in Austrum (Deo iuuante) progrediemur, tantò indies maiori spe, quò plura de iis quas petimus regionibus commemorantur. Hæc de nostris. Cupio de vobis scire: sed metuo ne incassum. Imprimis autem quomodo Vntonus meus absentiam meam ferat, præter modum intelligere velim: Habebit nostrum obsequium et officium paratum, quandiu vixerimus. Reuera autem spero, hanc nostram peregrinationem ipsius instituo vsui futuram. Nunc restat, vt me tuum putes, et quidem ita tuum, vt neminem magis. Iuuet dei filius labores nostros eatenus, vt tu quoque participare possis. Vale amicissime, suauissime, nrnatissime Hakluyte, et nos ama. In Newfundlandia apud portum Sancti Iohannis 6. Augusti 1583.

STEPHANVS PARMENIVS
Budeius, tuus.

The same in English.

To the worshipfull, Master Richard Hakluit at Oxford in Christchurch Master of Arts, and Philosophie, his friend and brother.

I Had not purposed to write vnto you, when the promise of your letters came to my mind: You thought in Iune last to haue followed vs your selfe, and therefore I had left order that you should be aduertised of my state, by Master Doctor Humfrey: but so you would not be satisfied: I will write therefore to you almost in the same words, because I haue no leasure at this time, to meditate new matters, and to vary or multiply words.

The 11. of Iune we set saile at length from England in good earnest, and departed leauing the hauen and land behind

vs at Plimmouth: our Fleete consisted of fiue shippes: the greatest, which the Admirals brother had lent vs, withdrew her selfe from vs the third day, wee know not vpon what occassion: with the rest we sailed still together till the 23 of Iuly: at which time our view of one another being intercepted by the great mists, some of vs sailed one way, and some another: to vs alone the first land appeared, the first of August, about the latitude of 50. degrees, when as before we had descended beyond 41 degrees in hope of some Southerly windes, which notwithstanding neuer blew to vs at any fit time.

It is an Island which your men call Penguin, because of the multitude of birdes of the same name. Yet wee neither sawe any birds, nor drew neere to the land, the winds seruing for our course directed to another place, but wee mette altogether at that place a little before the Hauen, whereunto by common Councell we had determined to come, and that within the space of two houres by the great goodnesse of God, and to our great ioy. The place is situate in Newfound land, betweene 47. and 48. degres called by the name of Saint Iohns: the Admirall himselfe by reason of the multitude of the men, and the smalnesse of his ship, had his company somewhat sickly, and had already lost two of the same company, which died of the Flixe: of the rest we conceiue good hope. Of our company (for I ioyned my selfe with Maurice Browne, a very proper Gentleman) two persons by a mischance were drowned, the rest are in safetie, and strong, for mine owne part I was neuer more healthy. Wee arriued at this place the third of August: and the fift the Admirall tooke possession of the Countrey, for himselfe and the kingdome of England: hauing made and published certaine Lawes, concerning religion, and obedience to the Queene of England: at this time our fare is somewhat better, and dantier, then it was before: for in good sooth, the experience of so long time hath taught vs what contrary winds wee haue found, and what great trauell wee may endure hereafter: and therefore wee will take such order, that wee will want nothing: for we found in this place about twenty Portugall and Spanish shippes, besides the shippes of the English: which being not able to match vs, suffer vs not to bee hunger starued: the English although they were of themselues strong ynough, and safe from our force, yet seeing our authoritie, by the Queenes letters patents, they shewed vs all maner of duety and humanitie.

The maner of this Countrey and people remaine now to be spoken of. But what shall I say, my good Hakluyt, when I see nothing but a very wildernesse: Of fish here is incredible abundance, whereby great gaine growes to them, that trauell to these parts: the hooke is no sooner throwne out, but it is eftsoones drawne vp with some goodly fish: the whole land is full of hilles and woods. The trees for the most part are Pynes and of them some are very olde, and some yong: a great part of them being fallen by reason of their age, doth so hinder the sight of the land, and stoppe the ways of those that seeke to trauell, that they can goe no whither: all the grasse here is long, and tall, and little differeth from ours. It seemeth also that the nature of this soyle is fit for corne: for I found certaine blades and eares in a manner bearded, so that it appeareth that by manuring and sowing, they may easily be framed for the vse of man: here are in the woodes bush berries, or rather straw berries growing vp like trees, of great sweetnesse. Beares also appeare about the fishers stages of the Countrey, and are sometimes killed, but they seeme to bee white, as I coniectured by their skinnes, and somewhat lesse then ours. Whether there bee any people in the Countrey I knowe not, neither haue I seene any to witnesse it. And to say trueth, who can, when as it is not possible to passe any whither: In like sort it is vnknowne, whither any mettals lye vnder the hilles: the cause is all one, although the very colour and hue of the hilles seeme to haue some Mynes in them: we mooued the Admirall to set the woods a fire, that so wee might haue space, and entrance to take view of the Countrey, which motion did nothing displease him, were it not for feare of great inconuenience that might thereof insue: for it was reported and confirmed by very credible persons, that when the like happened by chance in another Port, the fish neuer came to the place about it, for the space of 7. whole yeeres after, by reason of the waters made bitter by the Turpentine, and Rosen of the trees, which ranne into the riuers vpon the firing of them. The weather is so hote this time of the yeere, that except the very fish, which is layd out to be dryed by the sunne, be euery day turned, it cannot possibly bee preserued from burning; but how cold it is in the winter, the great heapes, and mountaines of yce, in the middest of the Sea haue taught vs: some of our company report, that in May, they were sometimes kept in, with such huge yce, for 16. whole dayes together, as that the Islands thereof were threescore fathoms thicke, the sides whereof which were toward the Sunne, when they were melted, the whole masse or heape was so inuerted and turned in maner of balancing, that that part which was before downeward rose vpward, to the great perill of those that are neere them, as by reason wee may gather. The ayre vpon land is indifferent cleare, but at Sea towards the East there is nothing els but perpetuall mists, and in the Sea it selfe, about the Banke (for so they call the place where they find ground fourty leagues distant from the shore, and where they beginne to fish) there is no day without raine. When we haue serued, and supplied our necessitie in this place, we purpose by the helpe of God to passe towards the South, with so much the more hope euery day, by how much the greater the things are, that are reported of those Countreys, which we go to discouer. Thus much touching our estate.

Now I desire to know somewhat concerning you, but I feare in vaine, but specially I desire out of measure to know how my Patrone master Henry Vmptom doth take my absence: my obedience, and duetie shall alwayes bee ready toward him as long as I liue: but in deede I hope, that this iourney of ours shalbe profitable to his intentions. It remaineth that you thinke me to be still yours, and so yours as no mans more. The sonne of God blesse all our labors, so farre, as that you your selfe may be partaker of our blessing. Adieu, my most friendly, most sweete, most vertuous Hakluyt: In Newfound land, at Saint Iohns Port, the 6. of August, 1583.

STEVEN PARMENIVS of
Buda, yours.

A relation of Richard Clarke of Weymouth, master of the ship called the Delight, going for the discouery of Norembega, with Sir Humfrey Gilbert 1583. Written in excuse of that fault of casting away the ship and men, imputed to his ouersight.

20 Leagues from the Isle of Sablon.

DEparting out of Saint Iohns Harborough in the Newfound land the 20. of August vnto Cape Raz, from thence we directed our course vnto the Ile of Sablon or the Isle of Sand, which the Generall Sir Humfrey Gilbert would willingly haue seene. But when we came within twentie leagues of the Isle of Sablon, we fell to controuersie of our course. The Generall came vp in his Frigot and demanded of mee Richard Clarke master of the Admirall what course was best to keepe:

I said that Westsoutwest was best: because the wind was at South and night at hand and vnknowen sands lay off a great way from the land. The Generall commanded me to go Westnorthwest. I told him againe that the Isle of Salon was Westnorthwest and but 15. leagues off, and that he should be vpon the Island before day, if hee went that course. The Generall sayd, my reckoning was vntrue, and charged me in her Maiesties name, and as I would shewe myselfe in her Countrey to follow him that night. I fearing his threatenings, because he presented her Maiesties person, did follow his commaundement, and about seuen of the clocke in the morning the ship stroke on ground, where shee was cast away. Then the Generall went off to Sea, the course that I would haue had them gone before, and saw the ship cast away men and all, and was not able to saue a man, for there was not water vpon the sand for either of them much lesse the Admirall, that drew fourteene foote. Now as God would the day before it was very calme, and a Souldier of the ship had killled some foule with his piece, and some of the company desired me that they might hoyse out the boat to recouer the foule, which I granted them: and when they came aboord they did not hoyse it in againe that night. And when the ship was cast away the boate was a sterne being in burthen one tunne and an halfe: there was left in the boate one oare and nothing els. Some of the company could swimme, and recouered the boate and did hale in out of the water as many men as they coulde: among the rest they had a care to watch for the Captaine or the Master: They happened on my selfe being the master, but could neuer see the Captaine: Then they halled into the boate as many men as they could in number 16. whose names hereafter I will rehearse. And when the 16. were in the boate, some had small remembrance, and some had none: for they did not make account to liue, but to prolong their liues as long as it pleased God, and looked euery moment of an houre when the Sea would eate them vp, the boate being so little and so many men in her, and so foule weather, that it was not possible for a shippe to brooke halfe a coarse of sayle. Thus while wee remayned two dayes and two nights, and that wee saw it pleased God our boate liued in the Sea (although we had nothing to helpe

15 Leagues from the Isle of Sablon.

Herein Clarke vntruely chargeth sir Humfrey Gilbert.

The ship cast away on Thursday being the 29 of August 1583.

Sixteene gate into the shipboate.

vs withall but one oare, which we kept vp the boate withall vpon the Sea, and so went euen as the Sea would driue vs) there was in our company one Master Hedly that put foorth this question to me the Master. I doe see that it doth please God, that our boate lyueth in the Sea, and it may please God that some of vs may come to the land if our boate were not ouerladen. Let vs make sixteene lots, and those foure that haue the foure shortest lots we will cast ouerboord preseruing the Master among vs all. I replied vnto him, saying, no, we will liue and die together. Master Hedley asked me if my remembrance were good: I answered I gaue God prayse it was good, and knewe how farre I was off the land, and was in hope to come to the land within two or three dayes, and sayde they were but threescore leagues from the lande, (when they were seuentie) all to put them in comfort. Thus we continued the third and fourth day without any sustenance, saue onely the weedes that swamme in the Sea, and salt water to drinke. The fifth day Hedly dyed and another moreouer: then wee desired all to die: for in all these fiue dayes and fiue nights we saw the Sunne but once and the Starre but one night, it was so foule weather. Thus we did remaine the sixt day: then we were very weake and wished all to die sauing only my selfe which did comfort them and promised they should come soone to lande by the helpe of God: but the company were very importunate, and were in doubt they should neuer come to land, but that I promised them that the seuenth day they should come to shore, or els they should cast me ouer boord: which did happen true the seuenth day, for at eleuen of the clocke wee had sight of the land, and at 3. of the clocke at afternoone we came on land. All these seuen dayes and seuen nights, the wind kept continually South. If the wind had in the meanetime shifted vpon any other point, wee had neuer come to land: we were no sooner come to the land, but the wind came cleane contrary at North within halfe an houre after our arriuall. But we were so weake that one could scarcely helpe another of vs out of the boate, yet with much adoe being come all on shore we kneeled downe vpon our knees and gaue God praise that he had dealt so mercifully with vs. Afterwards those which were strongest holpe their fellowes vnto a fresh brooke, where we satisfied our selues with water and berries very well. There were of al sorts of berries plentie, and as goodly

Master Hedlyes vngodly proposition.

They came on land the 7 day after their shipwracke.

The fruitfulnesse of the south part of Newfound land.

a Countrey as euer I saw: we found a very faire plaine Champion ground that a man might see very farre euery way: by the Sea side was here and there a little wood with goodly trees as good as euer I saw any in Norway, able to mast any shippe, of pyne trees, spruse trees, firre, and very great birch trees. Where we came on land we made a little house with boughes, where we rested all that night. In the morning I deuided the company three and three to goe euery way to see what foode they could find to sustaine themselues, and appointed them to meete there all againe at noone with such foode as they could get. As we went aboord we found great store of peason as good as any wee haue in England: a man would thinke they had bene sowed there. We rested there three dayes and three nights and liued very well with pease and berries, wee named the place Saint Laurence, because it was a very goodly riuer like the riuer of S. Laurence in Canada, and we found it very full of Salmons. When wee had rested our selues wee rowed our boate along the shore, thinking to haue gone to the Grande Bay to haue come home with some Spanyards which are yeerely there to kill the Whale: And when we were hungry or a thirst we put our boate on land and gathered pease and berries. Thus wee rowed our boate along the shore fiue dayes: about which time we came to a very goodly riuer that ranne farre vp into the Countrey and saw veıy goodly growen trees of all sortes. There we happened vpon a ship of Saint Iohn de Luz, which ship brought vs into Biskay to an Harborough called The Passage. The Master of the shippe was our great friend, or else we had bene put to death if he had not kept our counsayle. For when the visitors came aboord, as it is the order in Spaine, they demanding what we were, he sayd we were poore fishermen that had cast away our ship in Newfound land and so the visitors inquired no more of the matter at that time. Assoone as night was come he put vs on land and bad vs shift for our selues. Then had wee but tenne or twelue miles into France, which we went that night, and then cared not for the Spanyard. And so shortly after we came into England toward the end of the yeere 1583.

Foureteene of our men brought out of Newfound land in a ship of S. Iohn de Luz.

A true report of the late discoueries, and possession taken in the right of rhe Crowne of England of the Newfound lands, By that valiant and worthy Gentlemen, Sfr Humfrey Gilbert, Knight.

Wherein is also briefly set downe, her highnesse lawfull Title thereunto, and the great and manifold commodities, that are likely to grow therby, to the whole Rerlme in generall, and to the aduenturers in particular: Together with the easinesse and shortnesse of the Voyage.

Written by Sir George Peckham Knight, the chiefe aduenturer, and furtherer of Sir Humfrey Gilberts voyage to Newfound Land.

The first Part, wherein the Argument of the Booke is contained.

IT was my fortune (good Reader) not many dayes past, to meete with a right honest and discreete Gentleman, who accompanied that valiant and worthy Knight Sir Humfrey Gilbert, in this last iourney for the Westerne discoueries, and is owner and Captaine of the onely vessell which is as yet returned from thence.

Master Edward Hays.

By him I vnderstand that Sir Humfrey departed the coast of England the eleuenth of Iune last past, with fiue sayle of Shippes, from Caushen bay neere Plimmouth, whereof one of the best forsooke his company, the thirteenth day of the same moneth, and returned into England.

Sir Humfrey Gilbert did arriue at Saint Iohn's Hauen in Newfound land, the 3. of August. Anno 1583.

The other foure (through the assistance of Almighty God) did arriue at Saint Iohns Hauen, in Newfoundland, the 3. of August last. Vpon whose arriuall all the Masters and chiefe Mariners of the English Fleet, which were in the said Hauen, before endeuouring to fraight themselues with fish, repaired vnto Sir Humfrey, whom he made acquainted with the effect of his Commission: which being done, he promised to intreat them and their goods well and honourably as did become her Maiesties Lieutenant. They did all welcome him in the best sort that they could, and shewed him and his all such courtesies as the place could affoord or yeelde.

Then he went to view the Countrey, being well accompanied with most of his Captaines and souldiers. They found the same very temperate, but somewhat warmer then England at that season of the yeere, replenished with Beasts and great store of Foule of diuers kinds: And Fish of sundry sortes, both in the salt water, and in the fresh, in so great plentie as might suffice to victuall an Armie, and they are very easily taken. What sundry other commodities for this Realme right necessarie, the same doeth yeelde, you shall vnderstand in this treatise hereafter, in place more conuenient.

Among these there was found the tract of a beast of 7. ynches and a halfe ouer.

On Munday being the fifth of August, the Generall caused his tent to be set vpon the side of an hill, in the viewe of all the Fleete of English men and strangers, which were in number betweene thirtie and fourtie sayle: then being accompanied with all his Captaines, Masters, Gentlemen and other souldiers, he caused all the Masters, and principall Officers of the ships, aswell Englishmen as Spanyards, Portugales, and of other nations, to repayre vnto his tent: And then and there, in the presence of them all, he did cause his Commission vnder the great seale of England to bee openly and solemnely read vnto them, whereby were granted vnto him, his heires, and assignes, by the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, many great and large royalties, liberties, and priueledges. The effect whereof being signified vnto the strangers by an Interpreter, hee tooke possession of the sayde land in the right of the Crowne of England by digging of a Turffe and receiuing the same with an Hassell wand, deliuered vnto him, after the maner of the law and custome of England.

Sir Humfrey tooke possession of the New-found land in right of the Crowne of England.

Then he signified vnto the company both strangers and others, that from thencefoorth, they were to liue in that land, as the Territories appertayning to the Crowne of England, and to be gouerned by such lawes as by good aduise should be set downe, which in all points (so neere as might be) should be agreeable to the Lawes of England: And for to put the same in execution, presently be ordained and established three Lawes.

First, that Religion publiquely exercised, should be such, and none other, then is vsed in the Church of England.

Three lawes established there by Sir Humfrey.

The second, that if any person should bee lawfully conuicted of any practise against her Maiestie, her Crowne and dignitie, to be adiudged as traitors according to the lawes of England.

The third, if any should speake dishonourably of her Maiestie, the partie so offending, to loose his eares, his ship and goods, to be confiscate to the vse of the Generall.

All men did very willingly submit themselues to these lawes. Then he caused the Queenes Maiesties Armes to be ingraued, set vp, and erected with great solemnitie. After this, diuers Englishmen made sute vnto Sir Humfrey to haue of him by inheritance, their accustomed stages, standings, and drying places, in sundry places of that land for their fish, as a thing they doe make great accompt of, which he granted vnto them in fee farme. And by this meanes he hath possession maintained for him, in many parts of that Countrey. To be briefe, he did let, set, giue and dispose of many things, as absolute Gouernour there, by vertue of her Maiesties letters patents.

Sundry persons became Tenants to Sir Humfrey and doe mainteine possession for him in diuers places there.

And after their ships were repaired, whereof one he was driuen to leaue behind, both for want of men sufficient to furnish her, as also to carrie home such sicke persons as were not able to proceede any further: He departed from thence the 20 of August, with the other three, namely, the Delight, wherein was appointed Captaine in M. William Winters place, (that thence returned immediatly for England) M. Maurice Browne: the Golden Hinde, in which was Captaine and owner, M. Edward Hays: and the little Frigat where the Generall himselfe did goe seeming to him most fit to discouer and approch the shore.

The 21. day they came to Cape Race, toward the South partes whereof, lying a while becalmed, they tooke Cod in largness and quantitie, exceeding the other parts of Newfound land, where any of them had bene. And from thence, trending the coast West toward the Bay of Placentia, the Generall sent certaine men a shore, to view the Countrey, which to them as they sayled along, seemed pleasant. Whereof his men at their returne gaue great commendation, liking so well of the place, as they would willingly haue stayed and wintred there. But hauing the wind faire and good, they proceeded on their course towards the firme of America, which by reason of continuall fogs, at that time of the yeere espescially, they could neuer see, till Cox Master of the Golden Hinde did discerne land, and presently lost sight thereof againe, at what time they were all vpon a breach in a great and outragious storme, hauing vnder 3. fathome water. But God deliuered the Frigat and the Golden Hind, from this great danger. And the Delight in the presence of them all was lost, to their vnspeakable griefe, with all their chiefe victuall, munition, and other necessary prouisions, and other things of value not fit here to be named. Whereupon, by reason also that Winter was come vpon them, and foule weather increased with fogs and mists that so couered the land, as without danger of perishing they could not approch it: Sir Humfrey Gilbert and M. Hays were compelled much against their willes to retyre homewards: And being 300. leagues on their way, were after by tempestuous weather separated the one from the other, the ninth of September last, since which time M. Hays with his Barke is safely arriued, but of Sir Humfrey as yet they heare no certaine newes.

Plutarch.

Vpon this report (together with my former intent to write some briefe discourse in the commendation of this so noble and worthy an enterprise) I did call to my remembrance, the Historie of Themystocles the Grecian, who (being a right noble and valiant Captaine) signified vnto his Countreymen the Citizens of Athens, that he had inuented a deuise for their common wealth very profitable: but it was of such importance and secrecie, that it ought not to be reuealed, before priuate conference had with some particular prudent person of their choyse.

The Athenians knowing Aristides the Philosopher, to be a man indued with singular wisedome and vertue, made choyse of him to haue conference with Themystocles, and thereupon to yeelde his opinion to the Citizens concerning the said deuise: which was, that they might set on fire the Nauie of their enemies, with great facilitie, as he had layde the plot: Aristides made relation to the Citizens, that the stratageme deuised by Themystocles was a profitable practise for the common wealth but it was dishonest. The Athenians (without further demaund what the same was) did by common consent reiect and condemne it, preferring honest and vpright dealing before profite.

By occasion of this Historie, I drewe my selfe into a more deepe consideration of this late vndertaken Voyage, whether it were as well pleasing to almightie God, as profitable to men; as lawfull, as it seemed honourable: as well gratefull to the Sauages as gainefull to the Christians. And vpon mature deliberation I found the action to be honest and profitable, and therefore allowable by the opinion of Aristides if he were now aliue: which being by me herein sufficiently prooued, (as by Gods grace I purpose to doe) I doubt not but that all good mindes will endeauour themselues to be assistants to this so commendable an enterprise, by the valiant and worthy Gentlemen our Countrey men already attempted and vndertaken.

Now whereas I doe vnderstand that Sir Humfrey Gilbert his adherents, associates and friends doe meane with a conuenient supply (with as much speede as may be) to maintaine, pursue and follow this intended voyage already in part perfourmed, and (by the assistance of almightie God) to plant themselues and their people in the continent of the hither part of America, betweene the degrees of 30. and 60. of septentrionall latitude: Within which degrees by computation Astronomicall and Cosmographicall are doubtlesse to bee found all things that be necessarie, profitable, or delectable for mans life: The clymate milde and temperate, neyther too hote nor too colde, so that vnder the cope of heauen there is not any where to be found a more conuenient place to plant and inhabite in: which many notable Gentlemen, both* of our owne nation and strangers, (who haue bene trauailers) can testifie: and that those Countries are at this day inhabited with Sauages (who haue no knowledge of God:) Is it not therefore (I say) to be lamented, that these poore Pagans, so long liuing in ignorance and idolatry, and in sort thirsting after Christianitie, (as may appeare by the relation of such as haue trauailed in those partes) that our heartes are so hardened, that fewe or none can be found which will put to their helping hands, and apply themselues to the relieuing of the miserable and wretched estate of these sillie soules?

Whose Countrey doeth (as it were with armes aduanced) aboue the climates both of Spaine and France, stretch out it selfe towards England only: In maner praying our ayde and helpe, as it is not onely set forth in Mercators generall Mappe, but it is also found to be true by the discouerie of our nation, and other strangers, who haue oftentimes trauailed vpon the same coasts.

---

* *Marginal note.*—Englishmen, Master Iohn Hawkins; Sir Francis Drake; M. William Winter; M. Iohn Chester; M. Martin Frobisher; Anthony Parkhurst; William Battes; Iohn Louel; Dauid Ingram. Strangers, French, Iohn Ribault; Iaques Cartier; Andrew Theuet; Monsieur Gourgues: Monsieur Laudonniere. Italians, Christopher Columbus; Iohn Verazanus.

Christopher Columbus of famous memorie, the first instrument to manifest the great glory and mercy of Almightie God in planting the Christian faith, in those so long vnknowen regions, hauing in purpose to acquaint (as he did) that renoumed Prince, the Queenes Maiesties grandfather King Henry the seuenth, with his intended voyage for the Westerne discoueries, was not onely derided and mocked generally even here in England, but afterward became a laughing stocke to the Spaniards themselues, who at this day (of all other people) are most bounden to laude and prayse God, who first stirred vp the man to that enterprise.

God doth not alwayes begin his greatest workes by the greatest persons.

And while he was attending there to acquaint the King of Castile (that then was) with his intended purpose, by how many wayes and meanes was he derided? Some scorned the wildnesse of his garments, some tooke occasion to iest at his simple and silly lookes, others asked if this were he that lowts so lowe,* which did take vpon him to bring men into a Countrey that aboundeth with Golde, Pearle, and Precious stones? If hee were any such man (sayd they) he would cary another maner of countenance with him, and looke somewhat loftier. Thus some iudged him by his garments, and others by his looke and countenance, but none entred into the consideration of the inward man.

His custome was to bowe himselfe very lowe in making of courtesie.

In the ende, what successe his Voyage had, who list to reade the Decades, the Historie of the West Indies, the conquest of Hernando Cortes about Mexico, and those of Francisco Pizarro in Peru about Casamalcha and Cusco may know more particularly. All which their discoueries, trauailes and conquests are extant to be had in the English tongue. This deuise was then accounted a fantasticall imagination, and a drowsie dreame.

Hernando Cortes.

Francisco Pizarro.

But the sequele thereof hath since awaked out of dreames thousands of soules to knowe their Creator, being thereof before that time altogether ignorant: And hath since made sufficient proofe, neither to be fantasticke nor vainely imagined.

Withall, how mightily it hath enlarged the dominions of the Crowne of Spaine, and greatly inriched the subiects of the same, let all men consider. Besides, it is well knowen, that sithence the time of Columbus his first discouerie, through the planting, possessing, and inhabiting those partes, there hath bene transported and brought home into Europe greater store of Golde, Siluer, Pearle, and Precious stones, then heretofore hath bene in all ages since the creation of the worlde.

---

* Bends.

I doe therefore heartily wish, that seeing it hath pleased almightie God of his infinite mercy, at the length to awake some of our worthy Countrey men out of that drowsie dreame, wherein we haue so long slumbered:

That wee may now not suffer that to quaile for want of maintenance, which by these valiant Gentlemen our Countreymen is so nobly begun and enterprised. For which purpose, I haue taken vpon me to write this simple short Treatise, hoping that it shall be able to perswade such as haue bene, and yet doe continue detractors and hinderers of this iourney, (by reason perhaps that they haue not deliberately and aduisedly entred into the iudgement of the matter) that yet now vpon better consideration they will become fauourable furtherers of the same. And that such as are already well affected thereunto will continue their good disposition: And withall, I most humbly pray all such as are no nigards of their purses in buying of costly and rich apparel, and liberall Contributors in setting forth of games, pastimes, feastings and banquets, (whereof the charge being past, there is no hope of publique profite or commoditie) that henceforth they will bestowe and employ their liberality (heretofore that way expended) to the furtherance of these so commendable purposed proceedings.

A reasonable request.

And to this ende haue I taken pen in my hand, as in conscience thereunto mooued, desiring much rather, that of the great multitude which this Realme doth nourish, farre better able to handle this matter then I my selfe am, it would haue pleased some one of them to haue vndertaken the same. But seeing they are silent, and that it falleth to my lotte to put pen to the paper, I will endeuour my selfe, and doe stand in good hope (though my skill and knowledge bee simple, yet through the assistence of almightie God) to prooue that the Voyage lately enterprised for trade, traffique, and planting in America is an action tending to the lawfull enlargement of her Maiesties Dominions, commodious to the whole Realme in generall, profitable to the aduenturers in particular, beneficiall to the Sauages, and a matter to be atteined without any great danger or difficultie.

The argument of the booke.

And lastly, (which is most of all) A thing likewise tending to the honour and glory of Almightie God. And for that the lawfulnesse to plant in those Countreys in some mens iudgements seemeth very doubtfull, I will beginne the proofe of the lawfulnesse of trade, traffique, and planting.

END OF VOL XII.

APPENDICES.

I. GREENLAND.

GREENLAND is an extensive country, the greater part of which belongs to Denmark, situated between Iceland and the continent of America. Its southern extremity, Cape Farewell, is situated in 59 deg. 49 min. N. lat., and 43 deg. 54 min. W. lon. The British Arctic expedition of 1876 traced the northern shores as far as Cape Britannia, in lat. 82 deg. 54 min. The German Arctic expedition of 1870 pursued the east coast as high as 77 deg. N., so that between Koldeway's furthest in 1870 and Beaumont's furthest in 1876 there remains an interval of more than 500 miles of the Greenland coast yet unexplored. The estimated area of the whole country is about 340,000 square miles. The outline forming the sea-coast of Greenland is in general high, rugged, and barren ; close to the water's edge it rises into tremendous precipices and lofty mountains, covered with inaccessible cliffs, which may be seen from the sea at a distance of more than 60 miles.

The vast extent of Greenland, together wtth its peculiar position between Europe and America, secures for it a very special interest. From its most northern discovered point, Cape Britannia, it stretches southward, in a triangular form, for a distance of 1500 miles. Its interior is nearly a closed book to us, but the coast has been thoroughly explored and examined on the western side from Cape Farewell to Upernavik, a distance of about 800 miles, as well as along the western shores of the channels leading from Smith's Sound ; and from Cape Farewell to the Danebrog Islands and Cape Bismarck on the east side. These belts of coast line consist of the most glorious mountain scenery —lofty peaks, profound ravines, long valleys, precipices and cliffs, vast glaciers, winding fiords often running 100 miles into the interior, and innumerable islands.

Greenland was discovered in 981 or 983 by an Icelander or Norwegian named Gunbiörn, and was soon afterwards colonized by a number of families from Iceland, of whom all historical traces soon disappeared ; they appear to have formed their settlement on the western coast. The country was called Greenland because its southern extremity was first seen in spring-time, and presented a pleasing appearance, but it was speedily found to be little better than an icebound region. Davis rediscovered Greenland in his voyage, 1585—87 ; and in the beginning of the seventeenth century the Dutch government fitted out several expeditions to re-establish a communication with the lost colony.

II. NEWFOUNDLAND.

NEWFOUNDLAND is, as it were, a stepping-stone between the Old World and the New. At its south-western extremity it approaches within 50 miles of the island of Cape Breton, while its most eastern projection is but 1640 miles distant from Ireland. Its population in 1881 was 161,384, and its area was estimated at 42,000 square miles; but, strange as it seems, up to the present time the interior is almost unknown, while the mere existence of certain splendid fertile valleys in portions of the island has only been discovered in quite recent times. The appearance of the coast is rocky and forbidding, but there are a great number of deep bays and fiords, containing magnificent harbours, and piercing the land for 80 or 100 miles, while the sides present varied scenes of beauty, such as are rarely surpassed in the world's most favoured lands. The effect of these inlets is to give the island the enormous coast-line, compared to its area, of more than 2000 miles. The loftiest range of mountains, the Long Range, has a few summits of more than 2000 feet, but the elevations of the island rarely exceed 1500 feet. Lakes are very numerous. The mines are very valuable, and Newfoundland now ranks as the sixth copper-producing country in the world. Lead mines have also been discovered and worked. There is good reason for believing that gold and coal will yet be found.

III. POLAR ICE.

It is believed on good grounds of inference, but absolutely without positive evidence, that the south pole is covered with a great cap of ice, and some physiographers have gone so far as to assert its thickness as possibly six miles at the centre. But as to the ice of the north pole, thanks to the efforts to discover a north-west passage which showed us the breach in the wall of the polar fortress, we know very much more.

Sir Edward Belcher encountered ice 106 feet thick drifting into and grounding on the shores of Wellington Channel. It was in Banks Strait that Sir Edward Parry was finally stopped by the great undulating floes, reaching 102 feet in thickness, that he tells us he had never seen in Baffin's Sea or in the land-locked channels he had left behind him, but which filled the whole sea before him. Such floes are the edge of a pack which we may conjecture extends uninterruptedly from shore to shore of the Polar Sea.

IV. ICEBERGS.

Icebergs are masses of ice rising to a great height above the level of the sea, presenting a singular variety in form and appearance. They are masses broken off from glaciers, or from barrier lines of ice-cliff, and owe their origin to the circumstance of glaciers being in a continual state of progress. Glaciers reach the sea-shore in many places in the Arctic regions. When pushed forward into deep water, vast masses are lifted up by their inherent buoyancy, and, broken off at the landward end, are borne away by the winds, or on tides and currents, to parts of the sea far removed from their place of formation. Owing to the expansion of water when freezing, and the difference in density between salt and fresh water, the usual relative density of sea-water to an iceberg is as 1 to ·91674, and hence the volume of ice below water is about nine times that above the surface. The largest icebergs are met with in the Southern Ocean; several have been ascertained to be from 800 to 1000 feet in height, and the largest are nearly three miles long. One was met with 20 deg. south of the Cape of Good Hope, between Marion and Bouvet Isles, which was 960 feet high, and therefore more than 9000 feet, or 1¾ mile in thickness.

The second Part or Chapter sheweth, that it is lawfull and necessarie to trade and traffique with the Sauages: And to plant in their Countries: And diuideth planting into two sorts.

ANd first for traffique, I say that the Christians may lawfully trauell into those Countries and abide there: whom the Sauages may not iustly impugne and forbidde in respect of the mutuall societie and fellowshippe betweene man and man prescribed by the Law of Nations.

For from the first beginning of the creation of the world, and from the renewing of the same after Noes flood, all men haue agreed, that no violence should be offered to Ambassadours: That the Sea with his Hauens should be common: That such as should fortune to be taken in warre, should be seruants or slaues: And that strangers should not be driuen away from the place or Countrey whereunto they doe come.

If it were so then, I demaund in what age, and by what Law is the same forbidden or denied since? For who doubteth but that it is lawfull for Christians to vse trade and traffique with Infidels or Sauages, carrying thither such commodities as they want, and bringing from thence some part of their plentie?

A thing so commonly and generally practised, both in these our dayes, and in times past, beyond the memorie of man, both by Christians and Infidels, that it needeth no further proofe.

And forasmuch as the vse of trade and traffique (be it neuer so profitable) ought not to be preferred before the planting of Christian faith: I will therefore somewhat intreate of planting, (without which, Christian Religion can take no roote, be the Preachers neuer so carefull and diligent) which I meane to diuide into two sortes.

The principall causes why this voyage is vndertaken.

The first, when Christians by the good liking and willing assent of the Sauages, are admitted by them to quiet possession.

The second, when Christians being vniustly repulsed, doe seeke to attaine and mainteine the right for which they doe come.

And though in regard of the establishment of Christian Religion, eyther of both may be lawfully and iustly exercised: (Whereof many examples may be found, as well in the time of Moyses and Iosua, and other rulers before the birth of Christ, as of many vertuous Emperours and Kings sithence his incarnation:) yet doe I wish, that before the second be put in practise, a proofe may be made of the first, sauing that for their safetie as well against the Sauages, as all other foreigne enemies, they should first well and strongly fortifie themselues: which being done, then by all fayre speeches, and euery other good meanes of perswasion to seeke to take away all occasions of offence.

As letting them to vnderstand, how they came not to their hurt, but for their good, and to no other ende, but to dwell peaceably amongst them, and to trade and traffique with them for their owne commoditie, without molesting or grieuing them any way: which must not be done by wordes onely but also by deedes.

For albeit, to maintaine right and repell iniury, be a iust cause of warre: yet must there hereof be heedefull care had, that whereas the Sauages be fearefull by nature, and fond otherwise, the Christians should doe their best endeuour to take away such feare as may growe vnto them by reason of their strange apparell, Armour, and weapon, or such like, by quiet and peaceable conuersation, and letting them liue in securitie, and keeping a measure of blamelesse defence, with as little discommoditie to the Sauages as may bee: for this kinde of warre would be onely defensiue and not offensiue.

And questionlesse there is great hope and likelyhoode, that by this kinde of meanes we should bring to passe all effects to our desired purposes: Considering that all creatures, by constitution of nature, are rendred more tractable and easier wonne for all assayes, by courtesie and mildnesse, then by crueltie or roughnesse: and therefore being a principle taught vs by naturall reason, it is first to be put in vse.

For albeit as yet the Christians are not so thoroughly furnished with the perfectnesse of their language, eyther to expresse their mindes to them, or againe to conceiue the Sauages intent: Yet for the present opportunitie, such policie may be vsed by friendly signes, and courteous tokens towards them, as the Sauages may easily perceiue (were their sences neuer so grosse) an assured friendship to be offered them, and that they are encountered with such a nation, as brings them benefite, commoditie, peace, tranquilitie and safetie. To further this, and to accomplish it in deedes, there must bee presented vnto them gratis, some kindes of our pettie marchandizes and trifles: As looking glasses, Belles, Beades, Bracelets, Chaines, or collers of Bewgle, Chrystall, Amber, Iet, or Glasse, &c. For such be the things, though to vs of small value, yet accounted by them of high price and estimation: and soonest will induce their Barbarous natures to a liking and a mutuall societie with vs.

Moreouer, it shall be requisite eyther by speeche, if it be possible either by some other certaine meanes, to signifie vnto them, that once league of friendship with all louing conuersation being admitted betweene the Christians and them: that then the Christians from thenceforth will alwayes be ready with force of Armes to assist and defend them in their iust quarrels, from all inuasions, spoyles and oppressions offered them by any Tyrants, Aduersaries, or their next borderers: and a benefite is so much the more to be esteemed, by how much the person vpon whom it is bestowed standeth in neede thereof.

For it appeareth by the relation of a Countreyman of ours, namely Dauid Ingram, (who trauelled in those countries xi. Moneths and more) That the Sauages generally for the most part, are at continuall warres with their next adioyning neighbours, and especially the Cannibals, being a cruell kinde of people whose foode is mans flesh, and haue teeth like dogges, and doe pursue them with rauenous mindes to eate their flesh, and deuoure them.

And it is not to be doubted, but that the Christians may in this case iustly and lawfully ayde the Sauages against the Cannibals. So that it is very likely, that by this meanes we shall not only mightily stirre and inflame their rude mindes gladly to embrace the louing company of the Christians, proffering vnto them both commodities, succour and kindnesse: But also by their franke consents shall easily enioy such competent quantity of Land, as euery way shall be correspondent to the Christians expectation and contentation, considering the great abundance that they haue of Land, and how small account they make thereof, taking no other fruites thereby then such as the ground of it selfe doeth naturally yeelde. And thus much concerning the first sort of planting, which as I assuredly hope, so I most heartily pray may take effect and place.

The seconde kinde of planting

But if after these good and fayre meanes vsed, the Sauages neuerthelesse will not bee herewithall satisfied, but barbarously will goe about to practise violence eyther in repelling the Christians from their Ports and safe-landings, or in withstanding them afterwards to enioy the rights for which both painfully and lawfully they haue aduentured themselues thither.

Then in such a case I holde it no breach of equitie for the Christians to defend themselues, to pursue reuenge with force, and to doe whatsoeuer is necessarie for the atteining of their saftie: For it is allowable by all Lawes in such distresses, to resist violence with violence: And for their more securitie to increase their strength by building of Forts for auoyding the extremitie of iniurious dealing.

Wherein if also they shal not be suffered in reasonable quietnesse to continue, there is no barre (as I iudge) but that in stoute assemblies the Christrians may issue out, and by strong hand pursue their enemies, subdue them, take possession of their Townes, Cities, or Villages, and (in auoyding murtherous tyrannie) to vse the Law of Armes, as in like case among all Nations at this day is vsed: and most especially to the ende they may with securitie holde their lawfull possession, lest happily after the departure of the Christians, such Sauages as haue bene conuerted should afterwards through compulsion and enforcement of their wicked Rulers, returne to their horrible idolatrie (as did the children of Israel, after the decease of Ioshua) and continue their wicked custome of most vnnaturall sacrificing of humane creatures.

And in so doing, doubtlesse the Christians shall no whit transgresse the bonds of equitie or ciuilitie, forasmuch as in former ages, (yea, before the incarnation of Christ) the like hath bene done by sundry Kings and Princes, Gouernours of the children of Israel: chiefly in respect to begin their planting, for the establishment of Gods worde: as also since the Natiuitie of Christ, mightie and puissant Emperours and kings haue performed the like, I say to plant, possesse, and subdue. For proofe whereof, I will alledge you examples of both kindes.

Wee reade in the olde Testament, how that after Noes flood was ceased, restauration of mankinde began onely of those fewe of Noes children and familie as were by God preelected to bee saued in the Arke with him, whose seede in processe of time, was multiplyed to infinite numbers of Nations, which in diuers sortes diuided themselues to sundry quarters of the earth. And foreasmuch as all their posteritie being mightily encreased, followed not the perfect life of Noe their predecessour, God chose out of the multitude a peculiar people to himselfe, to whom afterwardes being vnder the gouernment of Moyses in Mount Sinay, hee made a graunt to inherite the Land of Canaan, called the Land of promise, with all the other rich and fertile Countries next adioyning thereunto. Neuerthelesse, before they came to possession thereof, hauing bene afflicted with many grieuous punishments and plagues for their sinnes, they fell in despayre to enioy the same.

But being encouraged and comforted by their rulers, (men of God) they proceeded, arming themselues with all patience, to suffer whatsoeuer it should please God to send: and at last attaining to the Land, they were encountered with great numbers of strong people, and mighty Kings.

Notwithstanding, Iosua their Leader replenished with the Spirite of God, being assured of the iustnesse of his quarrell, gathered the chiefe strength of the children Iosua 4.

of Israel together, to the number of 40000. with whom he safely passed the huge riuer Iordon, and hauing before sent priuie spies for the discouerie of the famous citie Ierico, to vnderstand the certaintie of the Citizens estate, he forthwith came thither, and enuironed it round about with his whole power the space of seuen dayes. Iosua 6.

In which respite, perceiuing none of the Gentiles disposed to yeeld or call for mercie, he then commanded (as God before had appointed) that both the citie Ierico should be burned, yea, and all the inhabitants, as well olde as young, with all their cattell should be destroyed, onely excepted Rahab, her kindred and familie, because shee before had hid secretly the messengers of Iosua, that were sent thither as spies. As for all their golde, siluer, precious stones, or vessels of brasse, they were reserued and consecrated to the Lords treasurie.

In like maner he burned the citie Hay, slew the inhabitants thereof, and hanged vp their King. Iosua 8. But for so much as the Gebionites (fearing the like euent) sent Ambassadours vnto Iosua to entreate for grace, fauour, and peace: hee commaunded that all their liues should bee saued, and that they should be admitted to the children of Israel. Iosua 9. Yet vnderstanding afterwards they wrought this by a pollicie, he vsed them as drudges to hewe wood and to carie water, and other necessaries for his people. Thus beganne this valiant Captaine his conquest, which he pursued and neuer left till hee had subdued all the Hethites, Cananites, Peresites, Heuites, and Iebusites, with all their princes and Kings, being thirtie and one in number, and diuers other strange nations, besides whose lands and dominions he wholy diuided among Gods people. Iudg. 11. 13.

After that Iosua was deceased, Iuda was constituted Lord ouer the armie, who receiuing like charge from God, pursued the proceedings of the holy captaine Iosua, and vtterly vanquished many Gentiles, Idolaters, and aduersaries to the children of Israel, with all such Rulers or Kings as withstoode him, and namely Adonibezek the most cruell tyrant: whose thumbes and great toes he caused to be cut off, for so much as hee had done the like before vnto seuentie Kings, whom being his prisoners, he forced to gather vp their victuals vnderneath his table. In this God shewed his iustice to reuenge Iudg. 1.

tyrannie. We reade likewise, that Gedeon a most puissant and noble warriour so behaued himselfe in following the worthy acts of Iosua and Iuda, that in short time he not only deliuered the children of Israel from the hands of the multitude of the fierce Madianites, but also subdued them and their Tyrants, whose landes he caused Gods people to possesse and inherite.

A good note for al Conquerers to be mercifull.

Iudg. 6. 7.

I could recite diuers other places out of the Scripture, which aptly may be applyed hereunto, were it not I doe indeuour my selfe by all meanes to be briefe. Now in like maner will I alledge some fewe Inductions out of the autenticall writings of the Ecclesiasticall Historiographers, all tending to the like argument. And first to begin withall, we doe reade: That after our Sauiour Iesus Christ had suffered his passion, the Apostles being inspired with the holy Ghost, and the knowledge of all strange languages, did immediatly disperse themselues to sundry parts of the world, to the preaching of the Gospel. Yet not in so generall a maner, but that there remayned some farre remote Countries vnvisited by them, among the which it is reported that India the great, called the vttermost India, as yet had received no light of the word. But it came to passe, that one Metrodorus, a very learned and wise Philosopher in that age, being desirous to search out vnknowen lands, did first discouer the same finding it wonderfull populous and rich, which vpon his returne being published, and for certaine vnderstood, there was another graue Philosopher of Tyrus called Meropius, being a Christian, who did resolue himselfe (following the example of Metrodorus) to trauaile thither, and in a short time assisted but with a fewe, in a small Vessel arriued there, hauing in his company two yong youths, Edesius and Frumentius, whom (being his schollers) he had thoroughly instructed both in liberall Sciences, and christian Religion. Now after that Meropius somewhile staying there, had (as hee thought) sufficient vnderstanding of the Indians whole estate: He determined to depart, and to bring notice thereof vnto the Emperour, whom he meant to exhort to the conquest of the same.

Ruffinus lib. 1. cap. 9.

But by misfortune he was preuented, for being in the middest of his course on the Sea homeward, a sore tempest arose, and perforce droue him backe againe, to an unknowen Port of the said land: where he by the most cruell barbarous Indians on the sudden was slaine with all his company, except the two young

Meropius slaine.

Edesius and Frumentius preserued by the Indians.

schollers aforesayde, whom the barbarous Indians, by reason they were of comely stature and beautifull personages, tooke, and forthwith presented them to their King and Queene: which both being very well liked of, the King courteously entreated, and ordeined Edesius to be his Butler, and Frumentius his Secretarie, and in few yeeres by reason of their learning and ciuill gouernment, they were had in great fauour, honour, and estimation with the Princes. But the King departing this life, left the Queene his wife with her yong sonne to gouerne, and gaue free scope and liberty to the two Christians, at their best pleasure to passe to their natiue soyles, allowing them all necessaries for the same. Yet the Queene who highly fauoured them was very sorrowfull they should depart, and therefore most earnestly intreated them to tarie and assist her in the gouernment of her people, till such time as her yong sonne grewe to ripe yeeres, which request they fulfilled.

Frumentius in great fauour with ye Queene of the Indias.

Another great worke of God begunne by a man a meane birth.

Ruffinus the Author of this storie.

And Frumentius excelling Edesius farre in all wisedome, ruled both the Queene and her subiects at his discretion, whereby he tooke occasion to put in practise priuily, that the foundation of Christian religion might be planted in the hearts of such as with whom he thought his perswasion might best preuaile, and that soonest would giue eare vnto him: which being brought to passe accordingly, hee then with his fellow Edesius tooke leaue of the Queene to returne to his natiue countrey. And so soone as he was arriued there, he reuealed to the Emperour Constantine, the effect of all those euents: who both commending his deedes and wholy allowing thereof, by the aduise and good liking of Athanasius then Bishop of Alexandria, did arme and set forth a conuenient power for the ayde of Frumentius, in this his so godly a purpose. And by this meanes came the Emperour afterwards by faire promises, and by force of armes together, vnto the possession of all the Indians countrey. The author of this storie Ruffinus receiued the trueth hereof from the very mouth of Edesius companion to Frumentius.

Moreouer Eusebius in his Historie Ecclesiasticall[*] in precise termes, and in diuers places maketh mention how Constantine the great not onely enlarged his Empire by the subduing of his next neighbours, but also endeauoured by all meanes to subiect all such remote Barbarous and Heathen nations, as then inhabited the foure quarters of the worlde. For (as it is written) the Emperour thoroughly ayded with a puissant armie of valiant souldiers whom he had before perswaded to Christian religion, in proper person himselfe came euen vnto this our country of England, then called the Island of Britaines, bending from him full West, which he wholy conquered, made tributarie, and setled therein Christian faith, and left behinde him such Rulers thereof, as to his wisedome seemed best. From thence hee turned his force towardes the North coast of the world, and there vtterly subdued the rude and cruell Nation of the Scythians, whereof part by friendly perswasions, part by maine strength, hee reduced the whole to Christian faith. Afterwards he determined with himselfe to search out what strange people inhabited in the vttermost parts of the South. And with great hazard and labour, making his iourney thither, at last became victour ouer them all, euen to the countrey of the Blemmyans, and the remote Æthiopians, that now are the people of Presbyter Iohn, who yet till this day continue and beare the name of Christians.

---

[*] *Marginal note.*—Euseb. in his Ecclesiasticall historie, testifieth how that Constantine the great did enlarge his dominions by subduing of Infidels and Idolatrous nations. Eusebius lib. 1. de vita Constant. cap. 4. et cap. 9. Euseb. eod. lib. cap. 39.

In the East likewise, what Nation soeuer at that time he could haue notice of, he easily wonne and brought in subiection to the Empire. So that to conclude, there was no region in any part of the world, the inhabitants whereof being Gentiles, though vnkowen vnto him, but in time he ouercame and vanquished.

This worthy beginning of Constantine, both his sonnes succeeding his roome, and also diuers other Emperours afterward to their vttermost endeauour followed and continued, which all the bookes of Eusebius more at large set foorth. Theodoretus likewise in his Ecclesiasticall historie maketh mention how Theodosius the vertuous Emperour imployed earnestly all his time, as well in conquering the Gentiles to the knowledge of the holy Gospel, vtterly subuerting their prophane Temples and abominable Idolatry, as also in extinguishing of such vsurping tyrants as with Paganisme withstoode the planting of Christian religion. After whose decease his sonnes Honorius and Arcadius were created Emperours, the one of the East, the other of the West, who with all the stout godlinesse most carefully

Theodoret. in eccle. lib. 5. cap. 20.

Theodoretus cap. 26. eodem lib.

imitated the foresteps of their Father, eyther in enlarging theyr territories, or increasing the christian flocke.

Moreouer, it is reported by the sayd author, that Theodosius iunior the Emperour, no whit inferior in vertuous life to any of the aboue named Princes, with great studie and zeale pursued and prosecuted the Gentiles, subdued their tyrants and countries, and vtterly destroyed all their idolatry, conuerting their soules to acknowledge their onely Messias and Creator, and their Countries to the enlargement of the Empire. To be briefe, who so listeth to read Eusebius Pamphilus, Socrates Scholasticus, Theodoritus Hermia, Sozomen, and Euagrius Scholasticus, which all were most sage Ecclesiasticall writers, shall finde great store of examples of the worthy liues of sundry Emperours, tending all to the confirmation of my former speeches.

And for like examples of later time, (yea euen in the memorie of man) I shall not neede to recite any other then the conquest made of the West and East Indies by the Kings of Spaine and Portugall, whereof there is particular mention made in the last chapter of this booke. Herein haue I vsed more copy of examples then otherwise I would haue done, sauing that I haue bene in place, where this maner of planting the Christian faith hath bene thought of some to be scarce lawfull, yea, such as doe take vpon them to be more then meanely learned. To these examples could I ioyne many moe, but whosoeuer is not satisfied with these fewe, may satisfie himselfe in reading at large the authors last aboue recited. Thus haue I (as I trust) prooued that we may iustly trade and traffique with the Sauages, and lawfully plant and inhabite their Countries.

The third Chapter doeth shew the lawfull title which the Queenes most excellent Maiestie hath vnto those countries, which through the ayde of Almighty God are meant to be inhabited.

1170. Owen Guyneth was then Prince of Northwales.

ANd it is very euident that the planting there shal in time right amply enlarge her Maiesties Territories and Dominions, or (I might rather say) restore to her Highnesse ancient right and interest in those Countries, into the which a noble and worthy personage, lineally descended from the blood royall, borne in Wales, named Madock ap Owen Gwyneth, departing from the coast of England, about the yeere of our Lord God 1170. arriued and there planted himselfe and his Colonies, and afterward returned himselfe into England, leauing certaine of his people there, as appeareth in an ancient Welsh Chronicle, where he then gaue to certaine Ilands, beastes, and foules sundry Welsh names, as the Iland of Pengwin, which yet to this day beareth the same.

Nullum tempus occurrit Regi.

This Island was discouered by Sir Humfrey and his company, in this his last iourney.

There is likewise a foule in the saide countreys called by the same name at this day, and is as much to say in English, as Whitehead, and in trueth the said foules haue white heads. There is also in those countreis a fruit called Gwynethes which is likewise a Welsh word. Moreouer, there are diuers other Welsh wordes at this day in vse, as Dauid Ingram aforesaid reporteth in his relations. All which most strongly argueth, the sayd prince with his people to haue inhabited there. And the same in effect is confirmed by Mutezuma* that mightie Emperour of Mexico, who in an Oration vnto his subiects for the better pacifying of them, made in the presence of Hernando Cortes, vsed these speeches following.

MY kinsmen, friends, and seruants, you doe well know that eighteene yeres I haue bene your King, as my fathers and grandfathers were, and alwayes I haue bene vnto you a louing Prince, and you vnto me good and obedient subiects, and so I hope you will remaine vnto mee all the dayes of my life. You ought to haue in remembrance, that either you haue heard of your fathers, or else our diuines haue instructed you, that wee are not naturally of this countrey, nor yet our kingdome is durable, because our forefathers came from a farre conntrey, and their King and Captaine, who brought them hither, returned againe to his naturall Countrey, saying that he would send such as should rule and gouerne vs, if by chance he himselfe returned not, &c.

Mutezuma his Oration to his subiects in presence of Hermando Cortes, which Oration was made about the yeere 1520.

These be the very wordes of Mutezuma set downe in the Spanish Chronicles, the which being thoroughly considered, because they haue relation to some strange noble person, who long before had possessed those courtreys, doe all sufficiently argue the vndoubted title of her Maiestie: forasmuch as no other Nation can truely by any Chronicles they can finde, make prescription of time for themselues, before the time of this Prince Madoc. Besides all this, for further proofe of her highnesse title sithence the arriuall of this noble Briton into those parts (that is to say) in the time of the Queenes grandfather of worthy memory, King Henry the seuenth, Letters patents were by his Maiestie granted to Iohn Cabota an Italian, to Lewis, Sebastian and Sancius, his three sonnes, to discouer remote, barbarous and heathen Countreys, which discouery was afterwardes executed to the vse of the Crowne of England, in the sayde Kings time, by Sebastian and Sancius his sonnes, who were borne here in England: in true testimony whereof there is a faire hauen in Newfoundland, knowen, and called vntill this day by the name of Sancius hauen, which proueth that they first discouered vpon that coast from the height of 63 vnto the cape of Florida, as appeareth in the Decades.

---

* Montezuma,

M. Oliuer Dalbony.
M. Edward Keow.
M. R. H.
M. I. A.

And this may stand for another title to her Maiesty: but any of the foresayd titles is as much or more then any other Christian Prince can pretend to the Indies, before such time as they had actuall possession thereof, obtained by the discouery of Christopher Columbus, and the conquest of Vasques Nunnes de Balboa, Hernando Cortes, Francisco Pizarro, and others. And therefore I thinke it needlesse to write any more touching the lawfulnesse of her Maiesties title.

The fourth chapter sheweth how that the trade, traffike, and planting in those countreys, is likely to proue very profitable to the whole realme in generall.

NOw to shew how the same is likely to prooue very profitable and beneficiall generally to the whole realme: it is very certaine, that the greatest iewell of this realme, and the chiefest strength and force of the same, for defence or offence in marshal matter and maner, is the multitude of ships, masters and mariners, ready to assist the most stately and royall nauy of her Maiesty, which by reason of this voyage shall haue both increase and maintenance. And it is well knowen that in sundry places of this realme ships haue beene built and set forth of late dayes, for the trade of fishing onely: yet notwithstanding the fish which is taken and brought into England by the English nauy of fishermen, will no suffice for the expense of this realme foure moneths, if there were none els brought of strangers. And the chiefest cause why our English men doe not goe so farre Westerly as the especiall fishing places doe lie, both for plenty and greatnesse of fish, is for that they haue no succour and knowen safe harbour in those parts. But if our nation were once planted there, or neere thereabouts; whereas they now fish but for two moneths in the yeere, they might then fish as long as pleased themselues, or rather at their comming finde such plenty of fish ready taken, salted, and dried, as might be sufficient to fraught them home without long delay (God granting that salt may be found there) whereof Dauid Ingram (who trauelled in those countreys as aforesayd) sayth that there is great plenty: and withall the climate doth giue great hope, that though there were none naturally growing, yet it might as well be made there by art, as it is both at Rochel and Bayon, or elsewhere. Which being brought to passe, shall increase the number of our shippes and mariners, were it but in respect of fishing onely: but much more in regard of the sundry merchandizes and commodities which are there found, and had in great abundance.

Cox the master.

Moreouer, it is well knowen that all Sauages, aswell those that dwell in the South, as those that dwell in the North, so soone as they shall begin but a little to taste of ciuility, will take maruelous delight in any garment, be it neuer so simple; as a shirt, a blew, yellow, red, or greene cotton cassocke, a cap, or such like, and will take incredible paines for such a trifle.

For I my selfe haue heard this report made sundry times by diuers of our countreymen, who haue dwelt in the Southerly parts of the West Indies, some twelue yeeres together, and some of lesse time; that the people in those parts are easily reduced to ciuility both in maners and garments. Which being so, what vent for our English clothes will thereby ensue, and how great benefit to all such persons and artificers, whose names are quoted in the margent,* I do leaue to the iudgement of such as are discreet.

---

* *Marginal note.*—Clothiers. Woolmen. Carders. Spinners. Weauers. Fullers. Sheermen. Diers. Drapers. Cappers. Hatters, &c. and many decayed townes repayred.

And questionlesse, hereby it will also come to passe, that all such townes and villages as both haue beene, and now are vtterly decayed and ruinated (the poore people thereof being not set on worke, by reason of the transportation of raw wooll of late dayes more excessiuely then in times past) shal by this meanes be restored to their pristinate wealth and estate: all which doe likewise tend to the inlargement of our nauy, and maintenance of our nauigation.

To what end need I endeuour my selfe by arguments to proue that by this voyage our nauie and nauigation shalbe inlarged, when as there needeth none other reason then the manifest and late example of the neere neighbours to this realme, the kings of Spaine and Portugall, who since the first discouery of the Indies, haue not onely mightily inlarged their dominions, greatly inriched themselues and their subiects: but haue also by iust account trebled the number of their shippes, masters and mariners, a matter of no small moment and importance?

Besides this, it will prooue a generall benefit vnto our countrey, that through this occasion, not onely a great number of men which do now liue idlely at home, and are burthenous, chargeable, and vnprofitable to this realme, shall hereby be set on worke, but also children of twelue or fourteene yeeres of age, or vnder, may bee kept from idlenesse, in making of a thousand kindes of trifling things, which wil be good merchandize for that countrey. And moreouer, our idle women (which the Realme may well spare) shall also be imployed on plucking, drying, and sorting of feathers, in pulling, beating, and working of hempe, and in gathering of cotton, and diuers things right necessary for dying. All which things are to be found in those countreys most plentifully. And the men may imploy themselues in dragging for pearle, woorking for mines, and in matters of husbandry, and likewise in hunting the whale for Trane, and making casks to put the same in: besides in fishing for cod, salmon, and herring, drying, salting and barrelling the same, and felling of trees, hewing and sawing of them, and such like worke, meete for those persons that are no men of Art or Science.

The idle persons of this realme shall by occasion of this iourney bee well imployed and set on worke.

Hempe doeth growe neere S. Laurence riuer naturally.

Many other things may bee found to the great reliefe and good employments of no small number of the naturall Subiects of this

Realme, which doe now liue here idlely to the common annoy of the whole state. Neither may I here omit the great hope and likelyhood of a passage beyond the Grand Bay into the South Seas, confirmed by sundry authors to be found leading to Cataia, the Molluccas and Spiceries, whereby may ensue as generall a benefite to the Realme, or greater then yet hath bene spoken of, without either such charges, or other inconueniences, as by the tedious tract of time and perill, which the ordinary passage to those parts at this day doeth minister.

Read the beginning of the booke intituled Diuers touching the discouery of America.

And to conclude this argument withall, it is well knowen to all men of sound iudgement, that this voyage is of greater importance, and will be found more beneficiall to our countrey, then all other voyages at this day in vse and trade amongst vs.

The fift chapter sheweth, that the trading and planting in those countreis is likely to proue to the particular profit of all aduenturers.

I Must, now according to my promise shew foorth some probable reasons that the aduenturers in this iourney are to take particular profit by the same. It is therefore conuenient that I doe diuide the aduenturers into two sorts: the noblemen and gentlemen by themselues, and the Merchants by themselues. For, as I doe heare, it is meant that there shall be one societie of the Noblemen and Gentlemen, and another societie of the merchants. And yet not so diuided, but that eche society may freely and frankely trade and traffique one with the other.

And first to bend my speech to the noblemen and gentlemen, who doe chiefly seeke a temperate climate, wholesome ayre, fertile soile, and a strong place by nature whereupon they may fortifie, and there either plant themselues, or such other persons as they shall thinke good to send to bee lords of that place and countrey: to them I say, that all these things are verie easie to be found within the degrees of 30 and 60 aforesaid, either by South or North, both in the Continent, and in Islands thereunto adioyning at their choise: but the degree certaine of the eleuation of the pole, and the very climate where these places of force and fertility are to be found, I omit to make publike, for such regard as the wiser sort can easily coniecture: the rather because I doe certainly vnderstand, that some of those which haue the managing of this matter, knowe it as well or better then I my selfe, and do meane to reueale the same, when cause shall require, to such persons whom it shall concerne, and to no other: so that they may seat and settle themselues in such climate as shall best agree with their owne nature, disposition, and good liking: and in the whole tract of that land, by the description of as many as haue bene there, great plentie of minerall matter of all sorts, and in very many places, both stones of price, pearle and christall, and great store of beasts, birds and fowles both for pleasure and necessary for vse of man are to be found.

Beasts for pleasure.

And for such as take delight in hunting, there are Stagges, Wilde bores, Foxes, Hares, Cunnies, Badgers, Otters, and diuers other such like for pleasure. Also for such as haue delight in hauking, there are haukes of sundry kinds, and great store of game, both for land and riuer, as Fezants, Partridges, Cranes, Heronshawes, Ducks, Mallards, and such like. There is also a kinde of beast much bigger then an Oxe, whose hide is more then eighteene foote long, of which sort a countreyman of ours, one Walker a sea man, who was vpon that coast, did for a trueth report in the presence of diuers honourable and worshipfull persons, that he and his company did finde in one cottage aboue two hundred and fortie hides, which they brought away and solde in France for fortie shillings an hide: and with this agreeth Dauid Ingram, and describeth that beast at large, supposing it to be a certaine kinde of Buffe; there are likewise beasts and fowles of diuers kinds, which I omit for breuities sake, great store of fish both in the salt water and in the fresh, plentie of grapes as bigge as a mans thumbe, and the most delicate wine of the Palme tree, of which wine there be diuers of good credit in this realme that haue tasted: and there is also a kind of graine called Maiz, Potato rootes, and sundry other fruits naturally growing there: so that after such time as they are once settled, they shall neede to take no great care for victuall.

Hides solde for forty shillings a piece.

Great grapes.

Wine of the Palme tree.

And now for the better contentation and satisfaction of such worshipfull, honest minded, and well disposed Merchants, as haue a desire to the furtherance of euery good and commendable action, I will first say vnto them, as I haue done before to the Noblemen and Gentlemen, that within the degrees abouesayde, is doubtlesse to bee found the most wholesome and best temperature of ayre, fertilitie of soyle, and euery other commoditie or merchandize, for the which, with no small perill we doe trauell into Barbary, Spaine, Portugall, France, Italie, Moscouie and Eastland. All which may be either presently had, or at the least wise in very short time procured from thence with lesse danger then now we haue them. And yet to the ende my argument shall not altogether stand vpon likelihoods and presumptions, I say that such persons as haue discouered and trauelled those partes, doe testifie that they haue found in those countreys all these things following, namely:

Of beasts for furres.

Marterns, Beauers, Foxes, blacke and white, Leopards.

Of wormes.

Silke wormes great and large.

Of Birds.

Hawkes, Bitters, Curlewes, Herons, Partridges, Cranes, Mallards, Wilde geese, Stocke dooues, Margaus, Blacke birds, Parrots, Pengwins.

Of Fishes.

Codde, Salmon, Seales, Herrings.

Of Trees.

Palme trees yeelding sweet wines, Cedars, Firres, Sasafras, Oake, Elme, Popler, and sundry other strange Trees to vs vnknowen.

Of fruites.

Grapes very large, Muskemellons, Limons, Dates great, Orrenges, Figges, Prunes, Raisins great and small, Pepper, Almonds, Citrons.

Of Mettals.

Golde, Siluer, Copper, Lead, Tinne.

Of Stones.

Turkeis, Rubies, Pearls great and faire, Marble of diuers kindes, Iasper, Christall.

Sundry other commodities of all sorts.

Rosen, Pitch, Tarre, Turpentine, Frankincense, Honny, Waxe, Rubarbe, Oyle Oliue, Traine oyle, Muske codde, Salt, Tallow, Hides, Hempe, Flaxe, Cochenello and dies of diuers sorts, Feathers of sundrie sorts, as for pleasure and filling of Featherbeds.

And seeing that for small costs, the trueth of these may be vnderstood (whereof this intended supply will giue vs more certaine assurance) I doe finde no cause to the contrary, but that all well minded persons should be willing to aduenture some competent portion for the furtherance of so good an enterprise.

Now for the triall hereof, considering that in the articles of the societie of the aduenturers in this voyage, there is prouision made, that no aduenturer shall be bound to any further charge then his first aduenture: and yet notwithstanding keepe still to himselfe his children, his apprentises and seruants, his and their freedome for trade and traffique, which is a priuiledge that aduenturers in other voyages haue not: and in the said articles it is likewise prouided, that none other then such as haue aduentured in the first voyage, or shal become aduenturers in this supply, at any time hereafter are to be admitted in the said society, but as redemptionaries, which will be very chargeable: therefore generally I say vnto all such according to the olde prouerbe, Nothing venture, nothing haue. For if it do so fall out, according to the great hope and expectation had, (as by Gods grace it will) the gaine which now they reap by traffique into other farre countries, shal by this trade returne with lesse charge, greater gaine, and more safety: Lesse charge,. I say, by reason of the ample and large deepe riuers at the very banke, whereof there are many, whereby both easily and quietly they may transport from the innermost parts of the main land, all kind of merchandize, yea in vessels of great burden, and that three times, or twise in the yere at the least. But let vs omit all presumptions how vehement soeuer, and dwel vpon the certainty of such commodities as were discouered by S. Humfrey Gilbert, and his assistants in Newfound land in August last. For there may be very easily made Pitch, Tarre, Rosen, Sope ashes in great plenty, yea, as it is thought, inough to serue the whole realme of euery of these kindes: And of Traine oyle such quantity, as if I should set downe the value that they doe esteeme it at, which haue bene there, it would seeme incredible.

Commodities found in August last.

It is hereby intended, that these commodities in this abundant maner, are not to be gathered from thence, without planting and setling there. And as for other things of more value, and that of more sorts and kindes then one or two (which were likewise discouered there) I doe holde them for some respects, more meete for a time to be concealed then vttered.

Of the fishing I doe speake nothing, because it is generally knowen: and it is not to be forgotten, what trifles they be that the Sauages doe require in exchange of these commodities: yea, for pearle, golde, siluer, and precious stones. All which are matters in trade and traffique of great moment. But admit that it should so fall out, that the aboue specified commodities shall not happily be found out within this first yeere: Yet it is very cleere that such and so many may be found out as shall minister iust occasion to thinke all cost and labour well bestowed. For it is very certaine, that there is one seat fit for fortification, of great safety, wherein those commodities following, especially are to be had, that is to say, Grapes for wine, Whales for oyle, Hempe for cordage, and other necccessary things, and fish of farre greater sise and plenty, then that of Newfound land, and of all these so great store, as may suffice to serue our whole realme.

Besides all this, if credit may be giuen to the inhabitants of the same soile, a certaine riuer doth thereunto adioyne, which leadeth to a place abounding with rich substance: I doe not hereby meane the passage to the Molluccaes, whereof before I made mention.

And it is not to be omitted, how that about two yeeres past, certaine merchants of S. Malo in France, did hyre a ship out of the Island of Iersey, to the ende that they would keepe that trade secret from their Countreymen, and they would admit no mariner, other then the ship boy belonging to the said ship, to goe with them, which shippe was about 70. tunne. I doe know the shippe and the boy very well, and am familiarly acquainted with the owner, which voyage prooued very beneficiall.

To conclude, this which is already sayd, may suffice any man of reasonable disposition to serue for a taste, vntill such time as it shall please almighty God through our owne industrie to send vs better tydings. In the meane season, if any man well affected to this iourney, shall stand in doubt of any matter of importance touching the same, he may satisfie himselfe with the iudgement and liking of such of good calling and credite, as are principall dealers herein. For it is not neccessary in this treatise, publikely to set forth the whole secrets of the voyage,

The sixth Chapter sheweth that the traffique and planting in those countries, shall be vnto the Sauages themselues very beneficiall and gainefull.

NOw to the end it may appeare that this voyage is not vndertaken altogether for the peculiar commodity of our selues and our countrey (as generally other trades and iournies be) it shall fall out in proofe, that the Sauages shall hereby haue iust cause to blesse the houre when this enterprise was vndertaken.

First and chiefly, in respect of the most happy and gladsome tidings of the most glorious Gospel of our Sauiour Iesus Christ, whereby they may be brought from falshood to trueth, from darknesse to light, from the hie way of death to the path of life, from superstitious idolatrie to sincere Christianity, from the deuill to Christ, from hell to heauen. And if in respect of all the commodities they can yeelde vs (were they many moe) that they should but receiue this onely benefit of Christianity, they were more then fully recompenced.

But hereunto it may bee obiected, that the Gospel must bee freely preached, for such was the example of the Apostles: vnto whom although the authorities and examples before alledged of Emperors, Kings and Princes, aswel before Christs time as since, might sufficiently satisfie: yet for further answere, we may say with S. Paul, If wee haue sowen vnto you heauenly things, doe you thinke it much that we should reape your carnall things? And withall, The workman is worthy of his hire. These heauenly tidings which those labourers our countreymen (as messengers of Gods great goodnesse and mercy) will voluntarily present vnto them, doe farre exceed their earthly riches. Moreouer, if the other inferiour worldly and temporall things which they shall receiue from vs, be weighed in equall ballance, I assure my selfe, that by equal iudgement of any indifferent person, the benefits which they then receiue, shall farre surmount those which they shall depart withall vnto vs. And admit that they had (as they haue not) the knowledge to put their land to some vse: yet being brought from brutish ignorance to ciuilitie and knowledge, and made then to vnderstand how the tenth part of their Land may be so manured and employed, as it may yeeld more commodities to the necessary vse of mans life, then the whole now doeth: What iust cause of complaint may they haue? And in my private opinion, I do verily thinke that God did create land, to the end that it should by culture and husbandry yeeld things necessary for mans life.

2 Corinth. 9.

But this is not all the benefit which they shall receiue by the Christians: for, ouer and beside the knowledge how to till and dresse their grounds, they shal be reduced from vnseemely customes to honest maners, from disordered riotous routs and companyes to a well gouerned common wealth, and withall, shalbe taught mechanicall occupations, arts, and liberall sciences: and which standeth them most vpon, they shalbe defended from the cruelty of their tyrannicall and blood sucking neighbors the Canibals, whereby infinite number of their liues shalbe preserued. And lastly, by this meanes many of their poore innocent children shall be preserued from the bloody knife of the sacrificer, a most horrible and detestable custome in the sight of God and man, now and ever heretofore vsed amongst them. Many other things could I heere alledge to this purpose, were it not that I doe feare lest I haue already more then halfe tired the reader.

This bargen cannot be vniust, where both parties are gainers.

The seuenth Chapter sheweth that the planting there, is not a matter of such charge or difficultie, as many would make it seeme to be.

NOw therefore for proofe, that the planting in these parts is a thing that may be done without the ayde of the Princes power and purse, contrary to the allegation of many malicious persons, who wil neither be actors in any good action themselues, nor so much as afoord a good word to the setting forward thereof: and that worse is, they will take vpon them to make molehilles seeme mountaines, and flies elephants, to the end they may discourage others, that be very well or indifferently affected to the matter, being like vnto Esops dogge, which neither would eate Hay himselfe, nor suffer the poore hungry asse to feede thereon:

I say and affirme that God hath prouided such meanes for the furtherance of this enterprise, as doe stand vs in stead of great treasure: for first by reason that it hath pleased God of his great goodnesse, of long time to hold his merciful hand ouer this realme, in preseruing the people of the same, both from slaughter by the sword, and great death by plague, pestilence, or otherwise, there are at this day great numbers (God he knoweth) which liue in such penurie and want, as they could be contented to hazard their liues, and to serue one yeere for meat, drinke and apparell only, without wages, in hope thereby to amend their estates: which is a matter in such like iourneyes, of no small charge to the prince. Moreouer, things in the like iourneyes of greatest price and cost as victuall (whereof there is great plentie to be had in that countrey without money) and powder, great artillery, or corselets are not needefull in so plentifull and chargeable maner, as the shew of such a iourney may present: for a small quantitie of all these, to furnish the Fort only, will suffice vntill such time as diuers commodities may be found out in those parts, which may be thought well worthy a greater charge. Also the peculiar benefit of archers which God hath blessed this land withall before all other nations, will stand vs in great stead amongst those naked people.

Another helpe we haue also, which in such like cases is a matter of marueilous cost, and will be in in this iourney procured very easily (that is to say) To transport yeerely as well our people, as all other necessaries needfull for them into those parts by the fleet of merchants, that yeerely venture for fish in Newfound-land, being not farre distant from the countrey meant to be inhabited, who commonly goe with emptie vessels in effect, sauing some litle fraight with salt. And thus it appeareth that the souldiers wages, and the transportation may be defrayed for farre lesse summes of money then the detractors of this enterprise haue giuen out. Againe, this intended voyage for conquest, hath in like maner many other singular priuiledges wherewith God hath, as it were, with his holy hand blessed the same before all others. For after once we are departed the coast of England, wee may passe straight way thither, without danger of being driuen into any the countries of our enemies, or doubtfull friends: for commonly one winde serueth to bring vs thither, which seldome faileth from the middle of Ianuarie to the middle of May, a benefite which the mariners make great account of, for it is a pleasure that they haue in a few or none of other iourneyes. Also the passage is short, for we may goe thither in thirtie or fortie dayes at the most, hauing but an indifferent winde, and returne continually in twentie or foure and twentie dayes at the most. And in the same our iourney, by reason it is in the Ocean, and quite out of the way from the intercourse of other countreyes, we may safely trade and traffique without peril of piracy: neither shall our ships, people, or goods there, be subiect to arrest or molestation of any Pagan potentate, Turkish tyrant, yea, or Christian prince, which heretofore sometimes vpon slender occasion in other parts haue stayed our ships and merchandizes, whereby great numbers of our countrymen haue bene vtterly vndone, diuers put to ransome, yea, and some lost their liues: a thing so fresh in memorie as it neede no proofe, and is well worthy of consideration.

Besides, in this voyage we doe not crosse the burnt line,* whereby commonly both beuerage and victuall are corrupted, and mens health very much impayred, neither doe we passe the frozen seas, which yeelde sundry extreame dangers: but haue a temperate climate at all times of the yeere, to serue our turnes. And lastly, there neede no delayes by the way for taking in of fresh water and fewell, (a thing vsually done in long iournies) because, as I sayd aboue, the voyage is not long, and the fresh waters taken in there, our men here in England at their returne home haue found so wholesome and sweete, that they haue made choise to drinke it before our beere and ale.

Behold heere, good countreymen, the manifold benefits and commodities and pleasures heretofore vnknowen, by Gods especiall blessing not onely reueiled vnto vs, but also as it were infused into our bosomes, who though hitherto like dormice haue slumbred in ignorance thereof, being like the cats that are loth for their prey to wet their feet: yet if now therefore at the last we would awake, and with willing mindes (setting friuolous imaginations aside) become industrious instruments to our selues, questionlesse we should not only hereby set forth the glory of our heauenly father, but also easily attaine to the end of all good purposes that may be wished or desired.

And may it not much encourage vs to hope for good successe in the countrey of the Sauages, being a naked kinde of people, voyde of the knowledge of the discipline of warre, seeing that a noble man, being but a subieet in this realme (in the time of our king Henry the second) by name Strangbow, then earle of Chepstow in South Wales, by himselfe and his allies and assistants, at their owne proper charges haue passed ouer into Ireland, and there made conquest of the now countrey, and then kingdome of Lynester, at which time it was very populous and strong, which History our owne chronicles do witnesse: And why should we be dismayed more then were the Spanyards, who haue bene able within these few yeeres to conquer, possesse, and enioy so large a tract of the earth, in the West Indies, as is betweene the two tropikes of Cancer and Capricorne, not onely in the maine firme land of America, which is 47. degrees in latitude from South to North, and doth containe 2820. English miles at the least, that the king of Spaine hath there in actuall possession, besides many goodly and rich Islands, as Hispaniola, now called S. Domingo, Cuba, Iamaica, and diuers other which are both beautifull and full of treasure, not speaking any whit at all, how large the said land is from East to West, which in some places is accounted to be 1500. English miles at the least from East to West, betweene the one Sea and the other.

---

* Equator.

2. Decad. lib. 5. fol. 77. of the West Indies in English.

Canoa is a kind of boat.

3. Decad. lib. 1. fol. 97.

Or why should our noble nation be dismaid, more then was Vasques Nunnes de Valboa, a priuate gentleman of Spaine, who with the number of 70. Spaniards at Tichiri, gaue an ouerthrow vnto that mighty king Chemaccus, hauing an armie of an hundred Canoas and 5000. men, and the said Vasques Nunnes not long after, with his small number, did put to flight king Chiapes his whole armie.

About the yere of our Lord 1511.

Conquest of the West Indies. fol. 43. and 45. English.

Likewise Hernando Cortes, being also but a priuate gentleman of Spaine, after his departure from the Islands of Cuba and Acuzamil, and entring into the firme of America, had many most victorious and triumphant conquests, as that at Cyntla, where being accompanied with lesse then 500. Spanish footmen, thirteene horsemen and sixe pieces of Ordinance only, he ouerthrew 40000. Indians. The same Cortes with his sayd number of Spanyards, tooke prisoner that mighty Emperour Mutezuma in his most chiefe and famous citie of Mexico, which at that instant had in it aboue the number of 50000. Indians at the least, and in short time after obteined not onely the quiet possession of the said citie, but also of his whole Empire.

A marueilous victorie.

And in like maner in the Countrey of Peru, which the king of Spaine hath now in actuall possession, Francisco Pysarro, with the onely ayd of Diego de Almagro, and Hernando Luche, being all three but priuate gentlemen, was the principall person that first attempted discouerie and conquest of the large and rich countrey of Peru, which through the ayd of the almighty, he brought to passe and atchieued in the Tambo of Caxamalca, (which is a large place of ground, enclosed with walles) in which place he tooke the great and mightie prince Atabalipa prisoner, midst the number of 60000 Indians his subiects, which were euer before that day accounted to bee a warlike kind of people, which his great victorie it pleased God to grant vnto him in the yeere of our Lord God 1533. he not hauing in his company aboue the number of 210.

Spaniards, whereof there were not past threescore horsemen in all: after the taking of which prince Atabalipa, he offered vnto Pyzarro for his ransome, to fill a great large hall full of gold and siluer, and such golde and siluer vessels as they then vsed, euen as high as a man might reach with his arme. And the sayd prince caused the same hall to be marked round about at the sayd height, which ransome Pyzarro granted to accept. And after when as this mighty prince had sent to his vassals and subiects to bring in gold and siluer for the filling of the hall, as aforesaid, as namely to the cities or townes of Quito, Paciacama and Cusco, as also to the Calao of Lima, in which towne, as their owne writers doe affirme, they found a large and faire house, all slated and couered with gold: and when as the said hall was not yet a quarter ful, a mutinie arose amongst the Spanyards, in which it was commonly giuen out, that the said prince had politikely offered this great ransome vnder pretence to raise a much more mightie power, whereby the Spanyards should be taken, slaine and ouerthrowen: wherevpon they grew to this resolution, to put the sayd prince to death, and to make partition of the golde and siluer already brought in, which they presently put in execution. And comming to make perfect Inuentorie of the same, as well for the Emperour then king of Spaine, his fift part, as otherwise, there was found to be already brought in into the sayd hall, the nnmber of 132425. pound weight of siluer, and in golde the numher of 1828125. pezos, which was a riches neuer before that nor since seene of any man together, of which there did appertaine to the Emperour for his fift part of golde 365625. pezos, and for his fift part of siluer 26485. pound waight, and to euery horseman eight thousand pezos of gold, and 67. pound waight of siluer. Euery souldier had 4550. pezos of gold and 280. pound waight of siluer. Euery Captaine had some 30000. some 20000. pezos of gold and siluer proportionally answerable to their degrees and calling, according to the rate agreed vpon amongst them.

Francis Pizarro as their generall, according to his decree and calling proportionally, had more then any of the rest, ouer and besides the massie table of gold which Atabalipa had in his Letter, which waighed 25000. pezos of gold: neuer were there before that day souldiers so rich in so small a time, and with so little danger. And in this iourney for want of yron, they did shoe their horses, some with gold, and some with siluer. This is to be seene in the generall historie of the West Indies, where as the doings of Pizarro, and the conquest of Peru is more at large set forth.

To this may I adde the great discoueries and conquests which the princes of Portugall haue made round about the West, the South, and the East parts of Africa, and also at Callicut and in the East Indies, and in America, at Brasile and elsewhere in sundry Islands, in fortifying, peopling and planting all along the sayd coastes and Islands, euer as they discouered: which being ightly weyed and considered, doth minister iust cause of encouragement to our Countreymen, not to account it so hard and difficult a thing for the subiects of this noble realme of England, to discouer, people, plant and possesse the like goodly lands and rich countreys not farre from vs, but neere adioyning and offring themselues vnto vs (as is aforesayd) which haue neuer yet heretofore bene in the actuall possession of any other Chrisian prince, then the princes of this Realme. All which (as I thinke) should not a little animate and encourage vs to looke out and aduenture abroad, vnderstanding what large Countreys and Islands the Portugals with their small number haue within these few yeeres discouered, peopled and planted, some part whereof I haue thought it not amisse, briefly in particular to name both the Townes, Countreys, and Islands, so neere as I could vpon the sudden call them to remembrance: for the rest I doe referre the Reader to the histories, where more at large the same is to be seene. First, they did winne and conquere from the princes of Barbary the Island of Geisera and towne of Arzila, not past an 140. mile distant from their Metropolitane and chiefe citie of Fesse: and after that they wonne also from the said princes the townes of Tanger, Ceuta, Mazigan, Azamor, and Azaffi, all alongst the Sea coasts. And in the yeere of our Lord, 1455. Alouis de Cadomosta* a Gentleman Venetian, was hee that first discouered for their vse Cape Verd, with the Islands adioyning, of which he then peopled and planted those of Bonauista and Sant Iago discouering also the riuer Senega, otherwise called Niger, and Cape Roxo and Sierra Leone, and in a few yeeres after they did discouer the coast of Guinea, and there peopled and built the castle of Mina: then discouered they further to the countreys of Melegettes, Benin, and Congo, with the Islands of Principe, da Nabon, S. Matthewe, and S. Thomas vnder the Equinoctiall line, which they peopled, and built in the said Island of S. Thomas the hauen towne or port of Pauosan. After that, about the yeere of our Lord, 1494. one Bartholomew Dias was sent forth, who was the first man that discouered and doubled that great and large Cape called de Bon Esperanze, and passing the currents that run vpon the said coast, on the Southeast part of Africa, betweene the said maine land and the Island of S. Laurence, otherwise called of the ancients, Madagascar, he discouered to yͤ harbor named the Riuer of yͤ Infant. After that since the yeere of our Lord God, 1497. and before the ful accomplishment of the yeere of Christ, 1510. through the trauailes and discoueries of Vasques de Gama,[*] Peter Aluares, Thomas Lopes, Andrew Corsale, Iohn de Empoli, Peter Sintia, Sancho de Toar, and that noble and worthy gentleman Alonzo de Albuquerque,[†] they did discouer, people, and plant at Ceffala, being vpon the East side of Africa, in the twenty degrees of latitude of the South Pole, and direct West from the Island of S. Laurence (at which port of Ceffala, diuers doe affirme that king Salomon did fetch his gold) as also vpon the said East side of Africa, they did afterward discouer people, and plant at Mozambique, Quiola, Monbaza, and Melinde, two degrees of Southerly latitude, and so vp to the Streight of Babell-Mandell at the entring of the red sea, all vpon the East coast of Africa, from whence they put off at the Cape Guarda Fu, and passed the great gulfe of Arabia and the Indian Sea East to Sinus Persicus, and the Island of Ormus, and so passing the large and great riuer Indus, where he hath his fall into the maine Ocean, in 23. degrees and an halfe, vnder the tropike of Cancer, of Septentrional latitude, they made their course againe directly towardes

---

* Louis Cadamosto, a Venetian, born about 1422, sailed from Madeira in 1455, under the auspices of Dom Henry, son of King John of Portugal. He discovered Senegal, Cape Verd, and Gambra River. In a second voyage, in 1456, he pushed as far as the Saint Dominic River. On his return to his native land in 1464, he published an account of his travels.

Ceffella accompted to be the place where the noble and wise king Salomon did fetch his gol he will be lesse ready most mightily and miraculously to assist our nation in this quarell, which is chiefly and principally vndertaken for the enlargement of the Christian faith abroad, and the banishment of idlenes at home, then he was to Columbus, Vasques, Nunnes, Hernando Cortes, and Francis Pizarro in the West: and Vasques de Gama, Peter Aluares, et Alonso de Albuquerque in the East: Let vs therefore with cheerefull minds and couragious hearts, giue the attempt, and leaue the sequell to Almightie God: for if he be on our part, what forceth it who bee against vs: Thus leauing the correction and reformation vnto the gentle Reader, whatsoeuer is in this treatise too much or too little, otherwise vnperfect, I take leaue and so end.

---

[*] Vasco da Gama was the first to double the Cape of Good Hope. Died at Cochin, 24th December 1525.

[†] Alonzo, Duke of Albuquerque, an illegitimate descendant of the Kings of Portugal, established the Portuguese power on the East Coast of Africa, in Arabia, the Persian Gulf, further India, the Moluccas, etc. As Viceroy of the East Indies, his justice and chivalrous nature won the love and respect of all, and many years after his death, which happened in 1515, the natives used to make pilgrimages to his tomb to pray for justice against his cruel successors,

A letter of Sir Francis Walsingham to M. Richard Hakluyt then of Christchurch in Oxford, incouraging him in the study of Cosmographie, and of furthering new discoueries, &c.

I vnderstand aswel by a letter I long since receiued from the Maior of Bristoll, as by conference with Sir Iohn Pekham, that you haue endeuoured, and giuen much light for the discouery of the Westerne partes yet vnknowen: as your studie in these things is very commendable, so I thanke you much for the same; wishing you do continue your trauell in these and like matters, which are like to turne not only to your owne good in priuate, but to the publike benefite of this Realme. And so I bid you farewell. From the Court the 11. of March. 1582.

Your louing Friend,
FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

A letter of Sir Francis Walsingham to Master Thomas Aldworth merchant, and at that time Maior of the Citie of Bristoll, concerning their aduenture in the Westerne discouerie.

AFter my heartie commendations, I haue for certaine causes deferred the answere of your letter of Nouember last till now, which I hope commeth all in good time. Your good inclination to the Westerne discouerie I cannot but much commend. And for that sir Humfrey Gilbert, as you haue heard long since, hath bene preparing into those parts being readie to imbarke within these 10. dayes, who needeth some further supply of shipping then yet he hath, I am of opinion that you shall do well if the ship or 2. barkes you write of, be put in a readinesse to goe alongst with with him, or so soone after as you may. I hope this trauell wil prooue profitable to the Aduenturers and generally beneficiall to the whole realme: herein I pray you conferre with these bearers M. Richard Hackluyt, and M. Thomas Steuenton, to whome I referre you: And so bid you heartily farewell. Richmond the 11. of March. 1582.

Your louing Friend,
FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

A letter written from M. Thomas Aldworth merchant and Maior of the Citie of Bristoll, to the right honourable Sir Francis Walsingham principall Secretary to her Maiestie, concerning a Westerne voyage intended for the discouery of the coast of America, lying to the Southwest of Cape Briton.

RIght honourable, vpon the receit of your letters directed vnto me and deliuered by the bearers hereof M. Richard Haklnyt and M. Steuenton, bearing the date the 11. of March, I presently conferred with my friends in priuate, whom I know most affectionate to this most godly enterprise, especially with M. William Salterne deputie of our company of merchants: whereupon my selfe being as then sicke, with as conuenient speede as he could, hee caused an assembly of the merchants to be gathered: where after dutifull mention of your honourable disposition for the benefite of this citie, he by my appointment caused your letters being directed vnto me priuately, to be read in publike, and after some good light giuen by M. Hakluyt vnto them that were ignorant of the Countrey and enterprise, and were desirous to be resolued the motion grew generally so well to be liked, that there was eftsoones set downe by mens owne hands then present, and apparently knowen by their own speach, and very willing offer, the summe of 1000. markes and vpward: which summe if it should not suffice, we doubt not but otherwise to furnish out for this Westerne discouery, a ship of threescore, and a barke of 40. tunne, to bee left in the countrey vnder the direction and gouernment of your sonne in law M. Carlile, of whom we haue heard much good, if it shall stand with your honors good liking and his acceptation. In one of which barks we are also willing to haue M, Steuenton your honours messenger, and one well knowen to vs as captaine. And here in humble maner, desiring your honour to vouchsafe vs of your further direction by a generall letter to my selfe, my brethren, and the rest of the merchants of this city, at your honors best and most conuenient leisure, because we meane not to deferre the finall proceeding in this voyage, any further then to the end of April next comming, I cease, beseeching God long to blesse and prosper your honourable estate. Bristoll. March 27. 1583.

A briefe and summary discourse vpon the intended voyage to the hithermost parts of America: written by Captaine Carlile in April, 1583. for the better inducement to satisfie such Merchants of the Moscouian companie and others, as in disbursing their money towards the furniture of the present charge, doe demand forthwith a present returne of gaine, albeit their said particular disbursements are required but in very slender summes, the highest being 25. li. the second at 12. li. 10. s. and the lowest at 6. pound fiue shilling.

When the Goldsmith desireth to finde the certaine goodnesse of a piece of golde, which is newly offered vnto him, he presently bringeth the same to the touchstone, where by comparing the shewe or touch of this new piece with the touch or shew of that which he knoweth of old, he forthwith is able to iudge what the value is of that, which is newly offered vnto him. After the example whereof I haue thought it good to make some briefe repetition of the particular estate of many other forren voyages and trades already frequented and knowen vnto vs, whereby we may be the better able to conceiue and iudge what certaine likelihood of good there is to be expected in the voyage, which is presently recommended vnto your knowledge and resolution.

And first to lay downe that of Moscouia, whose beginning is yet in the remembrance of many: It is well knowen, that what by the charges of the first discouery, and by the great gifts bestowed on the Emperour and his Nobilitie, togither with the leud dealing of some of their seruants, who thought themselues safe enough from orderly punishment, it cost the company aboue fourescore thousand pounds, before it could be brought to any profitable reckoning. And now that after so long a patience and so great a burthen of expences, the same began to frame to some good course and commoditie; It falleth to very ticklish termes, and to as slender likelihood of any further goodnesse, as any other trade that may be named.

For first the estate of those Countreys and the Emperours dealings, are things more fickle then are by euery body vnderstood.

Next, the Dutchmen are there so crept in as they daily augment their trade thither, which may well confirme that vncertainty of the Emperours disposition to keepe promise with our nation.

Thirdly, the qualitie of the voyage, such as may not be performed but once the yeere.

Fourthly, the charges of all Ambassadours betweene that Prince and her Maiesty, are alwayes borne by the merchants stocke.

And lastly, the danger of the king of Denmarke, who besides that presently he is like to enforce a tribute on vs, hath likewise an aduantage vpon the ships in their voyage, either homewards or outwards whensoeuer he listeth to take the opportunitie.

The badde dealings of the Easterlings are sufficiently knowen to be such towards our merchants of that trade, as they doe not onely offer them many iniuries ouerlong to bee written, but doe seeke all the meanes they can, to depriue them wholy of their occupying that way: and to the same purpose haue of late cleane debarred them their accustomed and ancient priuiledges in all their great townes.

The traffique into Turkie, besides that by some it is thought a hard point to haue so much familiaritie with the professed and obstinate enemie of Christ: It is likewise a voyage which can not be made but at the deuotion, and as it were in the danger of many states, who for sundry respects are apt to quarell with vs vpon sudden occasions, and the presents to be giuen away in Turkie this yeere, cost little lesse then two thousand pounds.

As for the trades into all the parts of Italie, it may easily be considered by euery one of iudgement, that the same stand in the like termes touching the passages, as that of Turkie, and that many times our shippes being taken in the way by the Gallies of Alger, our poore Mariners after the losse of their goods and trauell, are set at such excessiue ransoms before they can bee freed of their slauerie, as for the most part they are no way able to discharge. As for example, at this instant there are some prisoners, poore ordinarie Mariners, for whose releasing there must be payed two hundred Duckets the man, for some three hundred, yea, foure or fiue hundred Duckets the man for some of them. And how enuiously the Venetians doe already oppose themselues against our frequenting into their parts, may appeare by the late customs which they haue imposed as well vpon our English merchandize which we bring them, as also vpon such their merchandize which we fetch from them.

The trade into Barbarie groweth likewise to worse termes then before times, and when it was at the best, our merchants haue bene in danger of all their goods they had there, whensoeuer it happened the king to die. For vntill a new were chosen, the libertie of all disordered persons is such, as they spoile and wrong whom they list, without any redresse at all.

Touching Spaine and Portugall, with whom wee haue very great trade, and much the greater, by meanes of their venting a good part of our wares in their Indies, as also of the prouision they haue from the same, wherewith are made many of our returnes from them againe: It falleth out that twise the yeere ordinarily we send our Fleetes into those parts: So that whensoeuer the king of Spaine listeth to take the opportunitie, hee may at these seasons depriue vs not onely of a great number of our very good ships, but also of our honestest and ablest sort of Mariners that are to bee found in our whole Realme againe, which is a matter of no small consequence: for it is to bee noted, that when hee shall take a quarrell in hand, though it be but his owne particularly, yet hath he the meanes to put in hazard as well those our shippes which are in his owne Countreys of Spaine and Portugall, as also all others which shall bee bound to any the partes of all Italie or of Turkie either. And further whosoeuer hee bee that is but meanely affected in Religion, as of necessitie becommeth euery ordinarie man and good Christian to be, cannot but be agrieued in his heart to consider, that his children and seruants whom hee desireth to haue well brought vp, are in these trades of Spaine and Portugall, and all Italie, forced to denie their owne profession, and to acquaint themselues with that which the Parents and Masters doe vtterly deny and refuse, yea which many of them doe in their owne hearts abhorre as a detestable and most wicked doctrine.

Remember the great arrest of the Hollanders. An. 1598.

But who shall looke into the qualitie of this voyage, being directed to the latitude of fortie degrees or thereaboutes, of that hithermost part of America, shal find it hath as many points of good moment belonging vnto it, as may almost be wished for.

Commodities of this voyage in shortnesse.

1 As first it is to be vnderstood, that it is not any long course, for it may be perfourmed too and fro in foure moneths after the first discouerie thereof.

2 Secondly, that one wind sufficeth to make the passage, whereas most of your other voyages of like length, are subiect to 3. or 4. winds.

3 Thirdly, that it is to be perfourmed at all times of the yeere.

4 Fourthly, that the passage is vpon the high sea, wherby you are not bound to the knowledge of dangers, on any other coast, more then of that Countrey, and of ours here at home.

5 Fiftly, that those parts of England and Ireland, which lie aptest for the proceeding outward or homeward vpon this voyage are very well stored of goodly harbours.

6 Sixtly, that it is to bee accounted of no danger at all as touching the power of any foreine prince or state, when it is compared with any the best of all other voyages before recited.

7 And to the godly minded, it hath this comfortable commoditie, that in this trade their Factours, bee they their seruants or children, shall haue no instruction or confessions of Idolatrous Religion enforced vpon them, but contrarily shall be at their free libertie of conscience, and shall find the same Religion exercised, which is most agreeable vnto their Parents and Masters.

Commodities of the countrey more then those of Moscouie

As for the merchandising, which is the matter especially looked for, albeit that for the present we are not certainely able to promise any such like quantitie, as is now at the best time of the Moscouian trade brought from thence: So likewise is there not demanded any such proportion of daily expences, as was at the first, and as yet is consumed in that of Moscouia and other.

But when this of America shall haue bene haunted and practised thirtie yeeres to an ende as the other hath bene, I doubt not by Gods grace, that for the tenne shippes that are now commonly employed once the yeere into Moscouia, there shall in this voyage twise tenne be imployed well, twise the yeere at the least. And if for the present there doe fall out nothing els to bee found then the bare Fishing, yet doubt I not after the first yeeres planting but by that matter only to serue halfe a dozen of your best sorts of ships, although my supply of people doe not follow me so substantially, as in all reason may be well looked for.

But when it is asked what may be hoped from thence after some yeeres, it is first to be considered, that this situation in fourtie degrees, shall bee very apt to gather the commodities either of those parts which stand to he Southward of it, as also of those which are to the Northward.

The seuerall merchandise.

In the Northerlie may be expected not onely an especiall good fishing for Salmon, Codde, and Whales, but also any other such commodities, as the Easterne Countreys doe yeeld vs now: as Pitch, Tarre, Hempe, and thereof cordage, Masts, Losshe hides, rich Furres, and other such like without being in any sort beholding to a king of Denmarke, or other prince or state that shall be in such sort able to command our shippes at their pleasure, as those doe at this day, by meanes of their strait passages and strong shipping.

As for those partes which lie West and to the Southwardes, it may well bee hoped they will yeeld Wines with a small helpe, since the grapes doe growe there of themselues alreadie very faire and in great abundance. Oliues being once planted, will yeelde the like Oyle as Spaine, Prouince and Italie. The Countrey people being made to know, that for Waxe and honie, we will giue them such trifling things as they desired of vs, and shewing them once the means how to prouide the same, the labour thereof being so light, no doubt but in short time they will earnestly care to haue the same in good quantitie for vs. Besides, what great likelihoode there is of good meanes to make Salt, which may serue for the fishing of those partes, may well appeare vnto them, who can iudge the qualitie of such places as are required to make the same in.

A lake of salt in Vasques his voyage.

Thus much for the beginning, because they may bee had with an easie kinde of trauell: but when it may haue pleased God to establish our people there any such time as they may haue planted amongst them in sundry partes of the Countrey, and that by gentle and familiar treating them, they bee made to see what is better for them then they doe as yet vnderstand of, and that in so many sorts of occasions as were infinite to be set downe: It is to bee assuredly hoped, that they will daily by little and little forsake their barbarous and sauage liuing, and growe to such order and ciuilitie with vs, as there may be well expected from thence no lesse quantitie and diuersitie of merchandize then is now had out of Dutchland, Italie, France or Spaine. And as the bordering neighbours are commonly the aptest to fall out with vs, so these parts being somewhat remote, are the liker to take, or giue lesse occasion of disqniet. But when it is considered that that they are our own kindred, and esteemed our own countrey nation which haue the gouernment, meaning by those who shall be there planted, who can looke for any other then the dealing of most louing and most assured friends?

There are further to be considered these two poynts of good importance, concerning the matter of trade. The one is, that by the good paospering of this action, there must of necessitie fall but a very liberall vtterance of our English Clothes into a maine Country, described to bee bigger then all Europe, the larger part whereof bending to the Northward, shall haue wonderfull great vse of her sayde English Clothes, after they shall come once to knowe the commoditie thereof. The like will bee also of many other things, ouer many to bee reckoned, which are made here by our Artificers and labouring people, and of necessitie must bee prouided from hence.

The other is, if there be any possible meanes to finde a sea passage or other fresh water course, which may serue in some reasonable and conuenient sort, to transport our Merchandize into the East Indian Sea, through any of these Northerly partes of America, it shall be soonest and most assuredly perfourmed by these who shall inhabite and first grow into familiaritie with the Inland people.

What minerall matter may fall out to bee found, is a thing left in suspence, vntill some better knowledge, because there be many men, who hauing long since expected some profits herein, vpon the great promises that haue bene made them, and being as yet in no point satisfied, doe therevpon conceiue that they be but wordes purposely cast out for the inducing of men to bee the more ready and willing to furnish their money towards the charge of the first discouerie.

But nowe to answere some others who begin with an other obiection, saying: That it is not for the Marchants purse to continue the charges of transporting and planting: and that since these hundred men which are nowe to bee planted will cost foure thousand pound: It is then to bee thought, that the charge of a farre greater number, will bee also a farre greater summe of money.

Whereunto I answere, that in all attempts vnknowen, especially such a one as this is, wherewith wee are presently in hand, the first charges are commonly aduentured in more desperate kinde, then those thst followe vpon some better knowledge: and therewith it falleth out, that whereas one aduentureth in the first enterprise, an hundred for that one will of themselues bee willing and desirous to aduenture in the next, if there bee neuer so little more appearance, that the intended matter is by some knowledge of our owne, found true in some poynts of our first presumption.

The examples are many, and may easily bee remembred by those who be Merchants, euen in their ordinarie and dayly trades, as well as in extraordinarie attempts, which of late yeeres haue fallen into those termes of some likelyhood, as is aforesayde.* So then no doubt, but when certaine reports shall bee brought by them who directly came from thence, that such a Countrey and people they haue themselues seene, as is by vs spoken of, but that then there will come forwarde a greater number of those, who haue nowe neither heard any thing of the matter, as also of others, who presently make such friuolous scruple, and will not otherwise be satisfied, then by the report of Saint Thomas. I speake not this by the Marchants whom for their fredoms of trade I would not haue pressed to any further charge then this first preparation, but rather as such as haue great affection to hazard the changing of their estates, and would be well content to goe in the voyage if they might onely be assured that there is such a Countrey, and that their money should not be wasted to nothing in the preparations.

The right examination of this point must bee the contrary sequell of the common Prouerbe that is vsed, Nothing venture, nothing haue: so on the other side by venturing, many great good profites are found out, to the wonderfull benefite of Common weale, and to those especially in priuate, who take on them the hazard of their life and trauell, or substance in the first attempts: and therefore I would wish that they, who (God be thanked) are well able to spare that which is required of each one towardes the vndertaking of this aduenture, be well content and willing to imploy the same, since the sequell in good and substantiall reasons doth promise, not onely a great commoditie in particular to the Marchant, who shall here at home exercise the trade of Marchandise: but also to an infinite number of other, who presently liue in poore estate, and may by taking the opportunitie of this discouerie, alter the same to a far better degree. Wherefore to make some conclusion vpon this point of the Marchants misdoubt, who suspecteth lest this first disbursement without returne of present gaine, should not be all his charge, but that afterwards he might yet further be vrged to continue the like again, as hath happened in the discouery of the Moscouian trade: It may suffice to consider, that this is not an action which concerneth onely the Marchants particularly, but a great deale more the generall sort of people throughout all England: And that when such relation shall be returned, as that it may bee found a matter worthy the following, the whole generalitie will not refuse to contribute towards the furtherance thereof, rather then it should sinke, for want of any reasonable supply.

---

* *Marginal note.*—The ewer of metal brought by M. Frobisher, caused two seuerall supplies, the two yeeres next following; whereof the latter was of thirteene tall ships.

But as it is a very little time, since I haue beene throughly resolued to trie my fortune in the matter, so it is more then time the preparation were in hand already, and therefore no fit time now to make any number of ignorant men to vnderstand with reason the circumstance that belongeth to a matter of so great consideration and importance.

To those who haue any forward mindes in well doing to the generalitie of mankind, I say thus much more, that Christian charitie doth as greatly perswade the furtherance of this action, as any other that may be layed before vs, in as much as thereby wee shall not onely doe a most excellent worke, in respect of reducing the sauage people to Christianitie and ciuilitie, but also in respect of our poore sorte of people, which are very many amongst vs, liuing altogether vnprofitable, and often times to the great disquiet of the better sort. For who knoweth not, how by the long peace, happie health, and blessed plentifulnesse, wherewith God hath endued this Realme, that the people is so mightily encreased, as a great number being brought vp, during their youth in their parents houses, without any instruction how to get their liuings after their parents decease, are driuen to some necessitie, whereby very often for want of better education they fall into such disorders, and so the good sort of people, as I sayde before, are by them ordinarily troubled, and themselues led on to one shamefull ende or other, whereas if there might bee found some such kinde of imployment as this would be, no doubt but a greater part of them wonld be withheld from falling into such vile deedes: and insteade thereof, prooue greatly seruiceable in those affaires, where they might be so imployed.

Master Carliles owne experience

This I speake of mine owne experience, hauing seene diuers come ouer to he warres of the lowe Countreys during my residence in the same, who here had bene very euill and idle liuers, and by some little continuance with vs, haue growen to be very industrious in their facultie, which I can assure you, was a more painefull maner of liuing then in this action is like to fall out, and withall to a purpose of farre lesse value, in respect of their particular recompence, then with an assured kind of good hope is looked for in this.

Thus you see in euery point that may bee wished for in a good action and voyage, there is matter and reason enough to satisfie the well disposed. But nowe to growe somewhat neerer the quicke, and to shewe you some greater appearance, then hath bene yet spoken of touching the trade which is the onely subiect wherewith I doe meane to intermeddle at this time, because my addresse hereby is chiefly to men of such like facultie: you may vnderstande by that which followeth, the circumstance of a little discourse, which doeth concerne these matters, very directly.

In the yeere 1534. Iames Carthier, of S. Malo made his first discouerie of those partes of America, which lie to the Westwardes, and as it were on the backside of Newfoundland. In which voyage his principall intention was to seeke out the passage, which hee presumes might haue bene found out into the East Indian Sea, otherwise called the passage to Cathaya, but this yeere he went no higher then the Island of the Assumption in the great bay of S. Laurence, and so returned backe into France.

The next yeere following hee went with greater prouision into the Grand bay againe, where he keping the Northerly shoare, ran vp the great Riuer that comes downe from Canada and other places, vntill at last with his small pinnesses, (hauing left his great shipping by the way) he arriued at Hochelaga towne, being three hundreth leagues within the entrance of the Grand bay. In which trauaile he had spent so much of the yeere, that it was nowe the moneth of October, and therefore thought it conuenient for the better enforming himselfe at large in this discouerie, to winter it out in those partes, which he did at a place called by himselfe Holy Crosse. This winter fell out to bee a very long and hard winter, as many times the like happeneth with vs in these partes, and the sauage people, who for the most part make but a slender kinde of prouision, euen as it were from hande to mouth, fell into some scarcitie of victuals ; yet did they notrefuse to serue the Frenchmen, with any thing they had all the winter long, albeit at somewhat higher prices towardes the ende when the neede was most, as with our selues the like happeneth at such times.

But when the French had their wants serued all the yeere and that as yet they sawe not any appearance of their intended matter, which was the discouerie of the passage, and yet imagining by the signes wherewith the willing people endeuoured to declare their knowledge in that poynt, that some good matter might bee had from them, if they might haue beene well vnderstoode, they resolued with themselues to take some of the sufficientest men of that countrey home into France, and there to keepe them so long, as that hauing once atchieued the French tongue, they might declare more substantially their minde, and knowledge in the sayde passage, concluding this to be the meane of least charge, of least trauaile, and of least hazard.

And when they came to bethinke themselues, who might bee meetest for it, they determined to take the King, as the person who might bee best infourmed of such partes as were somewhat remote from his owne Countrey, as also that for the respect of him, the people would bee alwayes readie, and content to doe them any further seruice, when it should happen them to returne thither againe about the discouerie.

Thus the poore king of the Countrey, with two or three others of his chiefe companions comming aboorde the French shippes, being required thither to a banquet, was traiterously caryed away into France, where hee liued foure yeeres, and then dyed a Christian there, as Theuet the French Kings Cosmographer doeth make mention. This outrage and iniurious dealing did put the whole Countrey people into such dislike with the French, as neuer since they would admit any conuersation or familiaritie with them, vntill of late yeeres, the olde matter beginning to grow out of minde, and being the rather drawen on by gifts of many trifling things, which were of great value with them, they are as (I sayde) within these two or three yeeres content againe to admit a traffique, which two yeeres since was begunne with a small barke of thirtie tunnes, whose returne was found so profitable, as the next yeere following, being the last yeere, by

The Frenchmens trade renewed in Canada, in the yeere 1581.

those Marchants, who meant to haue kept the trade secret vnto themselves, from any others of their owne Countrey men, there was hired a shippe of fourescore tunnes out of the Isle of Iersey, but not any one Mariner of that place, sauing a shipboy. This shippe made her returne in such sorte, as that this yeere they haue multiplyed three shippes, to wit, one of nine score tunnes, another of an hundreth tunnes, and a third of fourescore tunnes: which report is giuen by very substantiall and honest men of Plimmouth, who sawe the sayd shippes in readinesse to depart on their voyage, and were aboord of some of them.

Here is at this instant in the towne a man of Guernsey, Lewis de Vike, who reporteth to haue credibly heard, that by this last yeeres voyage the Frenchmen got fouretcene or fifteene hundreth for euery one hundreth: But how soeuer it be, it carrieth good likelyhood of some notable profite, in asmuch as they doe so greatly, and thus suddenly encrease the burthen and number of their ships this present yeere.

The South part best for inhabiting and traffique.

Nowe if in so little as two yeeres time this voyage of the Northerne partes bee growen to such good passe as hath beene declared vnto you: it is worth the thinking on to consider what may be hoped for from the Southerne part, which in all reason may promise a great deale more. And so, as one who was neuer touched with any indirect meaning, I presume to wish and perswade you to some better taking of this matter to heart, as a thing which I do verely thinke will turne to your greater and more assured commodity, then you receiue by any other voyage, as yet frequented of so short and safe a course as this hath: dealing herein no otherwise with you for your seuerall small summes, then I doe with myselfe, both for more of mine owne, then is required of any one of you: besides the hazard and trauaile of my person, and the totall imployment of my poore credit, which (I thanke God) hath hitherto passed cleare and vnspotted in matters of greater importance and difficultie, then is like to fall out in this matter betweene you and me.

* * *

Articles set downe by the Committies appointed in the behalfe of the Companie of Moscouian Marchants, to conferre with M. Carlile, vpon his intended discouerie and attempt into the hithermost parts of America.

The names of the Committies.

Master Alderman Hart.
Master Alderman Spencer.
Master Hoddesden.
Master William Burrough.
Master Slany.
Master Towerson.
Master Staper.
Master Iohn Castelin.
Master Leake.

FIrst the Committies are well perswaded, that the Countrey whereunto this action is intended, is very fruitfull, inhabited with sauage people of a milde and tractable disposition. And that of all other places which are vnfrequented at this day, it is the onely most fit and most commodious for vs to intermeddle withall.

The conuenientest manner of attempting this enterprise is thought to bee thus: That there should be one hundreth men conueyed thither to remaine there one whole yeere: who with friendly intreatie of the people, may enter into better knowledge of the particular estate of the Countrey, and thereby gather what commoditie may be hereafter, or presently looked for.

The charge to transport these hundreth men, to victuall them, and to furnish them of munition and other needefull things, will not be lesse then foure thousand poundes: whereof hath bene very readily offered by the Citie of Bristoll one thousand poundes, the residue being three thousande poundes, remaineth to bee furnished by this Citie of London, or any others who will aduenture their money in this first preparation.

The furnishing foorth of 100. men for one yeere will cost 4000.li.

The Committies thinke it conuenient that a Priuilege should be procured by Master Carlile from her Maiesty, by vertue whereof these conditions and Articles following may be effectually prouided for, First, that they who shall disbursse their money for the first preparation shall be named Aduenturers, and shall haue the one halfe of all such landes, territories, townes, mines of gold and siluer, and other metals whatsoeuer, as shall bee found, gotten, obtained, as conquered by this discouery: yeelding to her Maiestie the fift part of all such gold and siluer, as shall happen to be had out of any mines that so shall be found.

That those parties which doe employ themselues personally in the present discouerie, shall be named Enterprisers, and shall haue the other halfe, of all the Lands, Territories, Townes, Mines of Gold and Siluer and other mettals, yeelding to her Maiestie the fift part of the Gold and Siluer as the Aduenturers do: The same to bee distributed by the Generall, with the consent of the greatest part of twelue discreet persons to bee chosen out of the whole number of the Enterprisers.

Also, that all trade of Marchandise which shall be vsed to and from those partes, which by this discouerie shall bee found out, shall apperteine onely to the Aduenturers which first shall disbursse their money for this discouery, which prohibition to all other her Maiesties subiects, and other Marchants to deale in the sayd parts, without the consent of the first Aduenturers, vpon losse of shippe and goods, and punishment of their persons, that so shall aduenture in trade of marchandise: or otherwise by imprisonment at the Companies pleasure.

That no person shall hereafter aduenture in this discouerie as Aduenturers for the profits mentioned in the first Articles, but such onely as doe disbursse their money in the first preparation: and they shall not aduenture hereafter any greater summe, then ratably according to their proportion of this their first aduenture.

Also, the profite which by this discouerie shall be attained vnto, either by lande which may bee conquered, or otherwise gotten: as also such profite which by this discouerie shall bee obtained by mines, or otherwise gotten, that eche one shall haue his part rate and rate like, according to the proportion of their firs aduenture, and not otherwise.

The Aduenturers in this first preparation shall, at their owne free will and libertie, choose whether they will supply hereafter any further charge or not: if there doe fall out any such occasion to require the same. And yet withall shall for euer holde to them the freedome of the trade which shall growe in any of these partes: notwithstanding their sayd refusall to beare any further charge.

That in the Patent which is to bee obteined, be graunted, that all her Maiesties subiects may transport themselues thither that shall be contented to goe. And that the Patentee or his assignes may shippe thither from time to time, so many and such persons, men, women, and children, as they shall thinke meete. And the same persons to inhabite or remaine there at their pleasure, any lawe to the contrary notwithstanding, with expresse prohibition, as is mentioned in the third article, against all others, which shall go thither without the licence of the patentee or his assignes first obteined.

That it shall not be lawful for any of her Maiesties subiects, or any other to inhabite or traffique within one hundred leagues any way of the place, where the Generall haue setled his chiefest being or residence.

A relation of the first voyage and discouerie of the Isle Ramea, made by   for Monsieur de La Court Pre Ravillon, and Grand Pre, with the ship called the Bonauenture, to kill and make Traine oyle of the beasts called the Morses with great teeth, which we haue perfourmed by Gods helpe this yeere 1591.

The fleete of Canada.

FOr the performance of our said voyage, we departed from S. Malo with the fleete that went for Canada, and kept companie with the ships called The Soudil and the Charles halfe the way, and then lost them, a violent wind arising at Northwest, which separated vs.

After which we had faire wether, and came to the coast of Cape Rase, and had no further knowledge thereof, because the winde was at the Southwest but a scarce gale: and we came to the sounding Southwest of the Isles of S. Peter about 10. leagues, where we found 20. fathoms water, and we sayled Northwest one quarter of the North, and came within 12. leagues of Cape de Rey.

The next day being the 6. of May 1591. we were come to Cape de Rey, and saw a ship Southwest of vs, and stayed there that night.

The next day being the seuenth of the sayd moneth, we came to the Isles of Aponas, where we put foorth our boat, because we had not past 8. leagues to our hauen, which we kenned very clearly, although the coasts lay very low: and because the night approched, and the wind grew very high, we sought not to seeke our port, because it is very hard to find it when the wind is lofty, because of the shoalds that are about it. And we thought to keepe our course vntill the next morning between the Isle of Biton and the Isle of Aponas. But there arose so great a tempest at the Southwest, that without the helpe of God we had bene in great danger among these Isles. And we trauersed vp and downe eleuen dayes, making our prayers vnto God to ende the tempest and to send vs faire weather, that we might obteine our hauen: which of his goodnesse he gaue vs. The last of May we ranged the Isle Ramea on the Northnorthwest side, vnto the contrary part of the land, where it trendeth to the Southsoutheast: and seeing no land on the West side, wee ranged the sayd land to the East one quarter to the North at the least 15. leagues, and being from the shore some eight leagues, we found 15 fathoms water, and passed betweene the Isle of Duoron and the Isle of Ramea, where goeth a chanel of 3. leagues bredth; in the midest whereof you shall haue 7. 8. and 9. fathoms water. And the lowe poynt of the Isle Ramea, and the Isle Duoron lie Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest. And take heede you come not neere the low point of the Isle Ramea by a great league, for I haue sounded it at 3. fathoms water. The Isle is marked. And the harbour of the Isle Ramea lyeth Northeast and Southwest, one quarter to the East and West. And if you would enter the sayd harbour, keepe you a league off the shoare: for often times there is great danger.

The markes of the harbour of the Isle Ramea.

And that you may know the sayd hauen, to the Eastnortheast of the sayde Isle there are high lands appearing to them that are without on all sides like a number of Islands, but in very deede they are all firme land: and if you come on the South and Southwest side, you shall see a hill diuided into 3. parts, which I called The three hillockes, which is right within the hauen. And for another better marke of the sayd harbour, you shall see an Isle like vnto a Floure de lice, distant from the sayd hauen 6. leagues at the least: and this Isle and the sayd hauen lie Northeast and Southwest, a quarter to the North and South. And on the sayd Isle there is good pebble

An Isle like a Floure de lice.

stone to drie fish vpon: But to the West thereof there is a very faire countrey: and there is a banke of sande, which runneth the length of a cable, hauing not past one fathom water vpon it. From the sayd Isle along the firme land the coast lyeth East and West, and you shall see as it were a great forrest running eastward: and the Easterne Cape is called Cape du Chapt, and is great and red toward the Sea. And betweene the sayd lands you shall see as it were a small Island, but it ioyneth to the firme land on the Southwest part: and there is good shingle to drie fish on. And you must coast the shore with boates and not with ships, by reason of the shallowes of the sayd coast. For I haue seene without Cape du Chapt in faire weather the ground in two fathoms water, neere a league and an halfe from shore, and I iudged by reason of the highnesse of the land, that there had bene aboue thirtie fathoms water, which was nothing so: and I haue sounded comming neere the shore, in more or lesse depth. The coast stretcheth three leagues to the West from Lisle Blanche or the white Isle, vnto the entrance of a riuer, where we slewe and killed to the number of fifteene hundred Morses or Sea oxen, accounting small and great, where at full sea you may come on shoare with boates, and within are two or three fathoms water. From thence the coast trendeth foure leagues to the West $\frac{1}{4}$ to the Northwest vnto the Isle Hupp, which is twentie leagues in circuit, and is like the edge of a knife: vpon it there is neither wood nor grasse: there are Morses vpon it, but they bee hard to be taken. From thence the coast trendeth to the Northwest and Northnorthwest: which is all that I haue seene, to wit, the two sides and one ende of the Isle. And if I had had as good lucke as my Masters, when I was on the Northwest side with my shippe, I would haue aduentured to haue sayled South-southeast, to haue discouered the Easterne shoare of the sayd Isle.

A banke of sand.

The maine a shold coast.

Lisle Blanche.

The place where they killed 1500. Morses.

In your returne to the East, as you come from the hauen of Cape du Chapt vnto the sayde hauen, are sandes and sholds. And three good leagues from Cape du Chapt there is a small Island conteining about a league of ground: where there is an hauen* toward the Southeast: and as you enter into the sayd

Sands and sholds.

A smal Island conteining a league of ground.

---

* Blank in original.

hauen on the starreboord side, a dented Cape all of redde land. And you cannot enter into the sayd hauen but with the flood, because of a barre which lieth halfe a league without the poynts of the sayd hauen. The tydes are there at Southeast and Northwest; but when the wind is very great, it bloweth much into the hauen at halfe flood. But ordinarily it floweth fiue foote and an halfe.

A hard hauen.

Markes to come into the hauen.

The markes to enter into the sayd hauen are to leaue the Isle Blanche or White Island at your comming in on the starreboord; and the poynt of the hauen toward the West hath a thick Island, which you shall see on the other side, and it hath a little round Buttresse, which lyeth on the East side of the Island. There are also two other buttresses more easie to be seene then hidden: these are not to the East but to the West, and they haue markes on them. Here you shall not haue aboue two fathom and an halfe at a full sea vpon this barre. And the sounding is stone and rough ground. At your entring in, when you shall finde white sand which lyeth next the Southeast of the Cape, then you are vpon the barre: and bee not afrayd to passe vp the chanell.

The barre.

And for markes towarde the West athwart the barre, when you haue brought an Island euen, which lyeth to the westward without, with the thicke part of the high land which lyeth most to the West, you shall bee past the barre: and the chanell runneth due North. And for your anchoring in the sayd hauen, see that you carefully seeke the middest of the sayd Thicke land, which lyeth in the bottome of the sayd hauen: for you must anchor betweene two bankes of sand, where the passage is but narrow. And you must anker surely: for there goeth a great tyde: for the Sea runneth there as swiftly and more then in* . There is good ground and ankorage here: and you shall ride in three fathom water. And within the sayde hauen there is nothing to hurt you, for you are free from all winds. And if by chance you should be driuen Westward of the sayd hauen, you may seeke an entrance, which is right ouer against the small Island named before, which is called The Isle of Cormorants; and you may enter in there as at the other hauen at a full sea: And you must passe vpon the West side,

The best anchorage.

Another entrance.

The Isle of Cormorants.

---

* Blank in original.

and you shall finde on the Barre at a full sea fourteene foote water, and great depth when you are entred in: for the Sea runneth very swiftly in that place: and the entrie thereof lyeth Southeast and Northwest.

Right ouer against you on the other side, you may passe with boates at a full sea. And all these entrances make all but one hauen, which is good within. I say this, because I haue passed into the maine Sea by the one and the other passage. And the said Isle is not past two leagues ouer in the middest. It is but two bankes of sande, whereof one is like to that of S. Malo, which let the Sea from passing through the middest of all the Isle: But the two endes are high mountaines with Islands altogether cut and separated with streames and riuers.

To anker in the sayd harbour, you must not ride farther then fiue or sixe cables length from the sayd hauen.

A letter sent to the right Honourable Sir William Cecil Lord Burghley, Lord high Treasurer of England &c. From M. Thomas Iames of Bristoll, concerning the discouerie of the Isle of Ramea, dated the 14 of September. 1591.

RIght Honourable, my humble duetie to your good Lordship done, I thought good humbly to aduertise your honour of the discouery of an Island made by two smal shippes of Saint Malo; the one 8 daies past being prised neare Silley by a ship of which I am part owner, called the Pleasure, sent by this citie to my Lord Thomas Howard, for her Maiesties seruice. Which prise is sent backe to this Port by those of the sayd shippes, with vpwards of fortie tunnes of Traine. The Island lyeth in 47. degrees, some fiftie leagues from the grand Bay, neere Newfoundland: and is about twentie leagues about, and some part of the Island is flat Sands and shoulde: and the fish commeth on banke (to do their kinde) in April May and Iune, by numbers of thousands, which fish is very big: and hath two great teeth: and the skinne of them is like Buffes leather: and they will not away from their yong ones. The yong ones are as good meat as Veale. And with the bellies of fiue of the saide fishes they make a hogshead of Traine, which Traine is very sweet, which if it will make sope, the king of Spaine may burne some of his

Oliue trees. Humbly praying your Lordship to pardon herein my boldnes, betaking your Honour to the keeping of the Almightie. From Bristoll this 14 of September. 1591.

Your Honours most humbly at commandement.
THOMAS IAMES.

A briefe note of the Morsse and the vse thereof.

IN the first voyage of Iaques Carthier, wherein he discouered the Gulfe of S. Laurence and the said Isle of Ramea, in the yeere 1534. as you may reade in pag. 250 of this present volume,* he met with these beasts, as he witnesseth in these words. About the said Island are very great beasts as great as oxen, which haue two great teeth in their mouthes like vnto Elephants teeth, and liue also in the sea. Wee sawe one of them sleeping vpon the banke of the water, and thinking to take it, we went to it with our boates, but so soone as he heard vs, he cast himselfe into the sea. Touching these beasts which Iaques Carthier saith to be as big as Oxen, and to haue teeth in their mouthes like Elephants teeth: True it is that they are called in Latine Boues Marini, or Vaccæ Marinæ, and in the Russian tongue Morsses, the hides whereof I haue seene as big as any Oxe hide, and being dressed I haue yet a piece of one thicker then any two Oxe or Buls hides in England. The Leather dressers take them to be excellent good to make light targets against the arrowes of the Sauages; and I hold them farre better then the light leather targets which the Moores vse in Barbarie against arrowes and lances, whereof I haue seene diuers in her Maiesties stately Armorie in the towre of London. The teeth of the sayd fishes, whereof I haue seene a dry flat full at once, are a foote and some times more in length: and haue bene sold in England to the combe and knife makers, at 8 groats and 3 shillings the pound weight, whereas the best Iuory is solde for halfe the money: the graine of the bone is somewhat more yellow then the Iuorie. One M. Alexander Woodson of Bristoll my old friend, an excellent Mathematician and skilful Phisition, shewed me one of these beasts teeth which were brought from the Isle of Ramea in the first prize, which was half a yard long or very little lesse: and assured mee that he had made tryall of it in ministering medicine to his patients, and had found it as soueraigne against poyson as any Vnicornes horne.*

---

* This page refers to Vol. III. of the Edition of 1812. For Jacques Cartier's voyage, see farther on.

The voyage of the ship called the Marigold of M. Hill of Redrife vnto Cape Briton and beyond to the latitude of 44 degrees and an halfe, 1593. Written by Richard Fisher Master Hilles man of Redriffe.

THe ship called the Marigold of 70 tunnes in burthen furnished with 20 men, wherof 10 were mariners, the Masters name being Richard Strong of Apsham, the Masters mate Peter Langworth of Apsham, with 3 coopers, 2 butchers to flea the Morsses or sea Oxen (whereof diuers haue teeth aboue a cubit long and skinnes farre thicker then any buls hide) with other necessary people, departed out of Falmouth the 1 of Iune 1593 in consort of another ship of M. Drakes of Apsham, which vpon some occasion was not ready so soone as shee should haue bene by two moneths. The place for which these two ships were bound was an Island within the streightes of Saint Peter on the backe side of Newfoundland to the Southwest in the latitude of fortie seuen degrees, called by the Britons of Saint Malo the Isle of Ramea, but by the Sauages and naturals of the Continent next adioying Menquit: On which Isle are so great abundance of the huge and mightie Sea Oxen with great teeth in the moneths of April, May and Iune, that there haue bene fifteene hundreth killed there by one small barke, in the yeere 1591. The two English shipps aforesayde, lost companie before they came to Newfoundland: and neuer came after together in all their voyage.

The voyage of M. Drake of Apsham to Ramea.

The Isle of Ramea, or Menquit.

The ship of M. George Drake fell first with New-foundland, and afterward very directly came to the Isle Ramea, though too late in the yeere to make her voyage: where shee found a shippe of Saint Malo three parts fraighted with these fishes: the men whereof enquiring whence our shippe was and who was the Master thereof, being answered that shee was belonging to Master George Drake of Apsham, fearing to bee taken as good prize being of a Leaguer towne, and at that time out of league with England, fled so hastily that present night that they left three and twentie men and three Shallops behinde them, all which our men seazed vpon and brought away as good prises home.

---

* A very curious account of the Unicorn is to be found in Goldsmid's Myths of Ancient Science, 1886.

Here our men tooke certaine Sea-Oxen, but nothing such numbers as they might haue had, if they had come in due season, which they had neglected. The shippe called the Marigolde fell with Cape Saint Francis in Newfoundland the eleuenth of Iulie, and from thence wee went into the Bay Rogneuse, and afterward doubled Cape Razo, and sayling toward the straight of Saint Peter) which is the entrance betweene Newfoundland and Cape Briton,) being vnacquainted with the place, beate vp and downe a very long time, and yet missed it, and at length ouer shot it, and fell with Cape Briton.

The English men land vpon Cape Briton.

Here diuerse of our men went on land vpon the very Cape, where, at their arriuall they found the spittes of Oke of the Sauages which had roasted meate a litle before. And as they viewed the countrey they sawe diuers beastes and foules, as blacke Foxes, Deere, Otters, great Foules with redde legges, Pengwyns, and certaine others. But hauing found no people here at this our first landing wee went againe on shipboorde, and sayled farther foure leagues to the West of Cape Briton, where wee sawe many Seales. And here hauing heede of fresh water we went againe on shore. And passing somewhat more into the land, wee founde certaine round pondes artificially made by the Sauages to keepe fish in, with certaine weares in them made to take fish. To these pondes wee repayred to fill our caske with water. Wee had not bene long here, but there came one Sauage with blacke long hayre hanging about his shoulders who called vnto vs, weauing his handes downewardes towardes his bellie, vsing these wordes, Calitogh Calitogh: as wee drewe towardes him one of our mens musket vnawares shot off: wherevpon hee fell downe, and rising vp suddenly againe hee cryed thrise with a loude voyce Chiogh, Chiogh, Chiogh. Thereupon nine or tenne of his fellowes running right vp ouer the bushes with great agilitie and swiftnesse came towardes vs with white staues in their handes like halfe pikes, and their dogges of colour blacke not so bigge as a grey-hounde followed them at the heeles; but wee retired vnto our boate without any

They goe on shore in another place.

The people of the countrey came downe to our men.

Blacke dogs.

hurt at all receiued. Howbeit one of them brake an hogshead which wee had filled with fresh water, with a great branche of a tree which lay on the ground. Vpon which occasion we bestowed halfe a dozen muskets shotte vpon them, which they avoyded by falling flatte to the earth, and afterwarde retired themselues to the woodes. One of the Sauages, which seemed to bee their Captaine, ware a long mantle of beastes skinnes hanging on one of his shoulders. The rest were all naked except their priuities, which were couered with a skinne tyed behinde. After they had escaped our shotte they made a great fire on the shore, belike to giue their fellowes warning of vs.

The kindes of trees that wee noted to bee here, were goodly Okes, Firre trees of a great height, a kinde of tree called of vs Quickbeame, and Cherie trees, and diuerse other kindes to vs vnknowne, because wee stayed not long with diligence to obserue them: and there is great shewe of rosen, pitch, and tarre. Wee found in both the places where wee went on land abundance of Raspeses, Strawberies, Hurtes, and herbes of good smell, and diuers good for the skuruie, and grasse very ranke and of great length. Wee sawe fiue or sixe boates sayling to the Southwestwardes of Cape Briton, which wee iudged to bee Christians, which had some trade that way. Wee sawe also, while wee were on shore, the manner of their hanging vp their fish and flesh with withes to dry in the ayre: they also lay them vpon raftes and hurdles and make a smoake vnder them, or a softe fire, and so drie them as the Sauages vse to doe in Virginia.

A secret trade to the Southwest of Cape Briton.

While wee lay foure leagues South of Cape Briton wee sounded and had sixtie fathomes black ozie ground. And sayling thence Westwarde nine or ten leagues off the shore, we had twenty foure fathomes redde sande, and small whitish stones. Wee continued our course so farre to the Southwest, that wee brought ourselues into the latitude of fourtie foure degrees and an half, hauing sayled fiftie or sixtie leagues to the Southwest of Cape Briton. We found the current betweene this Cape Briton and Cape Rey to set out toward the Eastsoutheast. In our course to the West of Cape Briton we saw exceeding great store of seales, and abundance of Porposes, whereof we killed eleuen. We sawe Whales also of all sortes aswel small as great: and here our men tooke many

Soundings to the South and Southwestward of Cape Briton.

They sayle 50 or 60 leagues to the South-West of Cape Briton.

Great store of Seales, Porposes, Whales and Cods.

lberded Coddes with one teate vnderneath, which are like to the Northeast Cods, and better then those of Newfoundland.

They continue on the coast from Cape Briton Westwards full eleuen weekes.

An huge Whale pursued their ship by the space of many dayes, till one of their men fell ouerboord.

From our arriuall at the hauen of Saint Francis in Newfoundland, (which was as is aforesayde the eleuenth of Iuly) we continued beating vp and downe on the coast of Arambec to the West and Southwest of Cape Briton vntil the twentie eight of September, fully by the space of eleuen weekes: and then by the perswasion of our Master and certaine others wee shaped our course homeward by the Isles of the Açores, and came first to Coruo and Flores, where beating vp and downe, and missing of expected pray, we sayled by Tercera, and from thence to Saint Michael, where we sought to boorde a Portugall shippe, which we found too well appointed for vs to bring along with vs, and so being forced to leaue them behinde and hauing wasted all our victuals, wee were constrained against our willes to hasten home vnto our narrowe Seas: but it was the two and twentieth of December before wee could get into the Downes: where for lacke of winde wee kept our Christmas with dry breade onely for dropping of our clothes. One thing very strange hapened in this voyage: to witte, that a mightie great Whale followed our shippe by the space of many dayes as we passed by Cape Razo, which by no meanes wee coulde chase from our ship, untill one of our men fell ouerboord and was drowned, after which time shee immediatly forsooke vs, and neuer afterward appeared vnto vs.*

A briefe note concerning the voyage of M. George Drake of Apsham to Isle of Ramea in the aforesayd yere 1593.

IN the beginning of the former relation written by Richard Fisher seruant to the worshipfull Master Hill of Redriffe is, as you reade, a briefe reporte of their loosing of their consort the shippe of Master George Drake of Apsham: which though shee came directly to the Isle of Ramea, yet because shee was not ready so soone by two moneths as she ought to haue bene, she was not onely the hinderance of her consort the Marigolde, and lost the season of the yere for the making of her voyage of killing the Morses or Sea Oxen, which are to be taken in Aprill, May, and Iune: but also suffered the fit places and harboroughs in the Isle which are but two, as farre as I can learne, to be forestalled and taken vp by the Britons of Saint Malo and the Baskes of Saint Iohn de Luz, by comming a day after the Fayre, as wee say. Which lingering improuidence of our men hath bene the ouerthrowe of many a worthy enterprize and of the vndertakers of the same.

---

* Probably a Shark.

The relation of this voyage at large I was promised by the Authour himselfe: but the same not comming to my handes in tyme I am constrained to leaue it out. The want whereof, for the better vnderstanding of the state of the sayde Island, the frequenting of that gainefull trade by the aforesayd nations of the Britons and Baskes, may in part be supplyed by the voyage of Master Charles Leigh to the sayde Island of Ramea: which also comming much too late thither, as Master George Drake had done, was wholly preuented and shutte out to his and his friendes no small detriment and mischiefe, and to the discouraging of others hereafter in the sayde gainefull and profitable trade.

Neuerthelesse albeit hitherto the successe hath not answered our expectation through our owne default, as is abouesaid, yet I was very willing to set downe in briefe and homely stile some mention of these three voyages of our owne men. The first of M. George Drake, the second of M. Siluester Wyet, the third of M. Charles Leigh, because they are the first, for ought that hitherto is come to my knowledge, of our own Nation, that haue conducted English ships so farre within this gulfe of S. Laurence, and haue brought vs true relation of the manifold gaine which the French, Britaynes, Baskes, and Biskaines do yerely returne from the sayd partes; while wee this long time haue stood still and haue bene idle lookers on, making courtesie who should giue the first aduenture, or once being giuen, who should continue or prosecute the same.

The voyage of the Grace of Bristoll of M. Rice Iones, a Barke of thirty-fiue Tunnes, vp into the Bay of Saint Laurence to the Northwest of Newfoundland, as farre as the Ile of Assumption or Natiscotec, for the barbes or fynnes of Whales and traine Oyle, made by Siluester Wyet, Shipmaster of Bristoll.

WEe departed with the aforesaid Barke manned with twelue men for the place aforesaid from Bristoll the 4 of Aprill 1594 and fell with Cape d'Espere on the coast of Newefoundland the nineteenth of May in the heighth of 47. We went thence for Cape Raz, being distant from thence 18 or 19 leagues, the very same day.

The 20 day we were thwart of Cape Raz.

Then we set our course Northwest for Cape S. Marie, which is distant from Cape Raz 19 leagues, and is on the Eastside of the great bay of Placentia almost at the entrie thereof.

The Islands of the Martyers.

The Isles of S. Peter.

From thence we shaped our course for the Islands of S. Pedro passing by the broken Islands of the Martyers our course to the Isles of S. Pedro was West and by North. In these Isles of S. Pedro there is a faire harbour, which we went into with our barke, and found there 2 ships of Sibiburo fishing for Cod: where we stayed 2 dayes, and tooke in balest for our ship. There are as faire and tall firre trees growing therein, as in any other part of Newfoundland. Then wee departed thence, and as we came out of the harbours mouth we laid the ship vpon the lee, and in 2 houres space we tooke with our hookes 3 or 4 hundred great Cods for our prouision of our ship. Then we departed from the Isle of S. Pedro to enter into the gulffe of S. Laurence betweene Cape Briton and the said Isle, and set our course West North West, and fel with Cape de Rey which wee found to be distant from the Isles of S. Pedro 42 leagues. From Cape de Rey to Cape de Angullie we set our course Northnorthwest being distant thence 12 or 13 leagues. From the Cape de Angullie into the Bay of S. George we ran Northeast and by East some 18 or 19 leagues.

In this bay of Saint George, we found the wrackes of 2 great Biskaine ships, which had bene cast away three yeeres before: where we had some seuen or eight hundred Whale finnes, and some yron bolts and chaines of their mayne shrouds and fore shroudes: al their traine was beaten out with the weather but the caske remained still. Some part of the commodities were spoiled by tumbling downe of the clifts of the hils, which couered part of the caske, and the greater part of those Whale finnes, which we vnderstood to be there by foure Spaniards which escaped, and were brought to S. Iohn de Luz. Here we found the houses of the Sauages, made of firre trees bound together in the top and set round like a Doue-house, and couered with the barkes of firre trees, wee found also some part of their victuals, which were Deeres flesh roasted vpon wooden spits at the fire, and a dish made of a ryne of a tree, sowed together with the sinowes of the Deere, wherein was oile of the Deere. There were also foules called Cormorants, which they had pluckt and made ready to haue dressed, and there we found a wooden spoone of their making. And we discerned the tracks of the feete of some fortie or fiftie men, women and children.

When we had dispatched our businesse in this bay of S. George and stayed there ten dayes, wee departed for the Northern point of the said Bay, which is nine or ten leagues broade. Then being enformed, that the Whales which are deadly wounded in the grand Bay, and yet escape the fisher for a time, are woont vsually to shoot themselues on shore on the Isle of Assumption, or Natiscotec, which lieth in the very mouth of the great riuer that runneth vp to Canada, we shaped our course ouer to that long Isle of Natiscotec, and wee found the distance of the way to the Estermost ende thereof to be about fourty foure leagues: and it standeth in the latitude of 49. Here wee arriued about the middest of Iune at the East end, and rode in eighteene fadome water, in faire white sand and very good ankerage, and for tryall heaued a lyne ouerboorde and found wonderfull faire and great Cod fish: we went also seuen of vs on shore and found there exceeding fayre great woods of tall firre trees, and heard and sawe store of land and sea foules, and sawe the footing of diuers beastes in the sand when we were on shore. From the Easter end we went to the Norther side of the Island, which we perceiued to be but narrow in respect of the length thereof. And after wee had searched two dayes and a night for the Whales which were wounded which we hoped to haue found there, and missed of our purpose, we returned backe to the Southwarde, and were within one league of the Island of Penguin, which lyeth South from the Eastermost part of Natis-

They land on the Isle of Natiscotec.

cotec some twelue leagues. From the Isle of Penguin wee shaped our course for Cape de Rey and had sight of the Island of Cape Briton: then returned wee by the Isles of Saint Pedro, and so came into the Bay of Placentia, and arriued in the Easterside thereof some ten leagues vp within the Bay among the fishermen of Saint Iohn de Luz and of Sibiburo and of Biskay, which were to the number of threescore and odde sayles, whereof eight shippes onely were Spaniardes, of whom we were very well vsed and they wished heartily for peace betweene them and vs. There the men of Saint Iohn and Sibiburo men bestowed two pinnesses on vs to make vp our voyage with fish. Then wee departed ouer to the other side of the Bay, where we arriued in an harbour which is called Pesmarck, and there made our stage and fished so long, that in the ende the Sauages came, and in the night, when our men were at rest, cut both our pinnesse and get them againe. Then for feare of a shrewder turne of the Sauages, we departed for Cape Saint Marie, and hauing passed Cape Kaz, we passed Northwarde foureteene leagues and arriued in Farrillon, and finding there two and twentie sayles of Englishmen, wee made vp our fishing voyage to the full in that harborough the twentieth foure of August to our good content: and departing thence we arriued first in Combe and staied there a seuen night, and afterward in Hungrod in the riuer of Bristol! by the grace of God the 24 of September. 1594.

The voyage of M. Charles Leigh, and diuers others to Cape Briton and the Isle of Ramea.

THe Hopewell of London of the burthen of 120 tunnes, whereof was M. William Crafton, and the Chancewel of London of the burthen of 70 tunnes, whereof was M. Steuen Bennet, bound vnto the riuer of Canada, set to sea at the sole and proper charge of Charles Leigh and Abraham Van Herwick of London merchants (the saide Charles Leigh himselfe, and Steuen Van Herwick brother to the sayd Abraham, going themselues in the said ships as chiefe commanders of the voyage) departed from Graues-end on Fryday morning the 8 of April 1597. And after some hindrances, arriuing at Falmouth in Cornewal the 28 of the said moneth put to sea againe. And with prosperous windes the 18 of May we were vpon the Banke of Newfoundland. The 19 we lost the Chancewel. The 20 we had sight of land and entred within the bay of Assumption, where our men contrary to my knowledge fought with a French ship: and afterward in the same bay wee met with our consort. Whereupon we presently put to sea againe: and the next day we arriued at Caplen bay, where we remained by extremitie of foule weather, and to mend a pinnes of 7 or 8 tunnes (which was giuen vs at Farrillon by M. Wil. Sayer of Dartmouth the Admiral of that place) vntill the last of May. On which day departing from thence in the afternoone we put in to Rogneuse to seeke Shallops but could find none. The first of Iune we set saile from Rogneuse, and the second we put roome to a bay vnder the Northside of Cape Raz being inforced in by an extreme storme. The 4 we set saile, and this day we saw a great Island of yce. The 5 at night we lost the Chancewell in a fog at the mouth of the bay of Placentia. The 11 at Sunne setting we had sight of Cape Briton. And the 12 by reason of contrary windes we cast anker vnder the Northeast ende of the Isle of Menego to the North of Cape Briton in 16 fathome reasonable ground. In that place we caught great store of Cods, which were larger and better fish then any in Newfoundland. The 13 wee weyed anker againe, and being becalmed about a league from the shore we fell to fishing where the Cods did bite at least 20 fathomes aboue ground, and almost as fast as we could hale them into the ship. The 14 we came to the two Islands of Birds, some 23 leagues from Monego: where there were such abundance of Birds, as is almost incredible to report. And vpon the lesse of these Islands of Birds, we saw great store of Morsses or sea Oxen, which were a sleepe vpon the rockes: but when we approched nere vnto them with our boate they cast themselues into the sea and pursued vs with such furie as that we were glad to flee from them. The 16 we arriued at Brians Island, which lyeth 5 leagues West from the Island of Birds. About this Island ther is as great aboundance of cods as in any place can be found. In litle more then an houre we caught with 4 hookes 250 of them. Here we caught also a great Turbut which was an elle long and a yard broad: which was so great that the hooke could not hold her into the ship: but when she was aboue water

The Isle of Menego.

The 2 Islands of Birdes.

Store of Morsses.

In Bryans Island excellent ground for corne and meadow.

she bent the hooke and escaped. In this Island we found exceeding good ground both for corne and meadow, and great store of wood, but of smal groweth. Springes of fresh water we found none in all the Island, but some standing pooles of raine water. The same day at night we weighed anker againe. The 17 we had stormy weather. The 18 we came to the Isle of Ramea, where we appointed to meet with our consort. And approching neere vnto the harborough of Halabolina we cast anker in 3 fadomes water and sent our great boate into the harborough, with the masters mate and some dozen more of the company: who when they came in, found 4 ships. Namely 2 of Saint Malo in Britaigne, and two of Sibiburo adioyning to Saint Iohn de Luz being the French Kings subiects, whom they supposed to haue bene of Spaine, and so affirmed vnto vs. Whereupon wee went presently into harborough, finding but eleuen foote and an halfe of water vpon the barre and a mightie great current in, when wee had cast anker we sent presently to speake with the masters of all the ships: but those only of Saint Malo came aboord, whom wee entertained very friendly, and demaunded of whence the other two shippes were. They sayde as they thought of Saint Iohn de Luz or Sibiburo. Then we presently sent our boate for the Masters of both the sayd shippes, to request them to come aboord, and to bring with them there Charters parties and other euidences, to the ende we might knowe of whence they were. At which message one of the sayde Masters came aboord, with the Pilote and Masters mate of the other shippe: whom when we had examined, they sayd that they were of Sibiburo, and the French Kings subiects. We requested them for our better securitie in the harborough peaceably to deliuer up their powder and munition: promising them that if we found them to be the French Kings subiects it shoulde be kept in safetie for them without diminishing. But they woulde not consent thereunto: whereunto we replyed, that vnlesse they would consent thereunto we would hold them to be our enemies. They not consenting, we sent the boate well manned to fetch their powder and munition from aboorde their ship: but straightly commanded our men not to touch anything else in the ship vpon their further perill: which they promised to performe. When they came aboorde the said ships which were mored together, they were resisted by force of armes, but quickly they got the victorie:

which done, they fell presently to pillaging of the Baskes, contrary to their promise: whereupon we sent another to forbidde them; but when he came to them, none was more ready of pillage then he. Whereupon I went my selfe, and tooke away from our men whatsoeuer they had pillaged, and gaue it againe to the owners: onely I sent aboord our owne ship their powder and munition to be kept in safetie vntil we knew farther what they were. When I had done, I gaue the Baskes possession of their shippe againe, and tolde them they should not loose the valewe of one peny if they were the French Kings subiects. Then I caryed away all our men, and also tooke with me two or three of the chiefest of them, and when I came aboord went to examining of them, and by circumstances found one of the ships to belong to France: whereupon I tolde the master of the said ship, that I was throughly satisfied that he was of France and so dismissed him in peace. Of the other ship we had great presumption that she was of Spaine, but had no certaine proofe thereof, wherefore wee dismissed them likewise in peace. After I had thus dismissed them, our ships company fell into a mutiny, and more then half of them resolued to cary one of those ships away. But they were preuented of their euill purpose by ayde which the saide ships receiued from their countreymen in the other harborough: For the next morning, which was the twentieth of Iune, very earely there were gathered together out of all the ships in both harboroughs, at the least 200 Frenchmen and Britons, who had planted vpon the shore three pieces of Ordinance against vs, and had prepared them selues in al readinesse to fight with vs, which so soone as as we had discried them gaue the onset vpon vs with at least an hundred small shot out of the woods. There were also in a readines to assault vs about three hundred Sauages. But after we had skirmished a while with them, we procured a parley by one of the men of Saint Malo, whose ship rowed hard by vs: In which parley they required some of our men to come on shore vnto them: whereupon wee requested M. Ralph Hill and the Boatswaines mate to go on shore to them: whom when they had they detained as prisoners; and then required the powder and munition, which we had of the Baskes in possession; which we surrendered vnto them in safetie as our intent alwayes was, which done, there

Another harborough in Ramea.

A skirmish betweene the French men and vs.

A new treason of the Britons.

came aboord vnto vs one Captaine Charles, who was captaine of the great ship of Saint Malo, which rode in the other harborough: who challenged our great boate which we had at Farrillon to be his. And while we were in talke with him about the two Baskes which at first we thought to be Spaniards, wee had almost bene betraied. For the said Captaine Charles with halfe a dozen more of his company kept themselues aboord of our ship and held vs in a talke, while thirtie or fortie others should haue entred our ship vnawares from one of the ships of S. Malo, which professed to be our friend, and vnto whom we shewed all courtesie. But we perceiuing their treacherous intent, threatned to set fire on the said ship, which was then thwart our hawse, from which they would haue entred. By which resolution of ours God did discourage them from effecting their mischieuous purposes. Now the said captaine Charles when he saw himself preuented of his wicked intents, took his boat presently to go on shore, and promised that all things should be ended in peace betweene vs, and that he would send vs our two men againe. But when he was on shore he presently sent for our great boat which he claimed to be his, and withall commanded vs out of the harborough, but he sent not our men as he promised, we being now the weaker side did not only deliuer his boat but also determined to be gon and then requested them to help vs with our anker which was on shore; hut they would not. Then we desired them to cut the bent of the cable vpon the anker on shore (for we durst not send our boat lest they should haue kept from vs both our boat and men) which they promised to do for vs, as also to send our men; but when they were on shore, they would do neither. We therefore seeing their falshood in euery thing, durst no longer tary for feare of farther treachery; wherefore we concluded to cut our cable in the hawse: which we did, and so departed the harborow about 9 of the clock, leauing two of our men with our cable and anker, and 20 fadoms of a new hawser behind vs. And as we were going away, they made great shewes of friendship, and dranke vnto vs from the shore; but more for feare then loue, and requested vs to come on shore for our men, whom then they deliuered. The same morning in passing ouer the barre before the harborowes mouth, and by that time that we had all our men aboord, our ship came on ground vpon the sands; where we lay some 8 houres; during

The bar of the hauen of Ramea.

which time, at low water we trimmed our ship without boord, and by the great prouidence of God found our leake which then we stopped. About sixe of the clocke at night we got our ship on float againe, and that night ankered within part of the barre, which then because of the wind we could not passe. But it pleased God to send vs faire weather all that night, and the next day by noone we had gotten our ship cleane ouer the bar. The 21 day after we got ouer the barre the wind arose at east and eastsoutheast, we blew right into the bay: which if it had come before we were cleere of the bar, we had both ship and men perished in the sands. The same day, because the wind kept vs within the bay, we went to the Isle Blanch, where the ships of the other harborow had their stages: but it was at least two leagues from their ships: where we hoped by friendship to procure a shallope and assurance of our cable and anker againe. But when we had approched nere the shore with our ship, and weaued them with a white flag, they in sted of comming vnto vs, sent their message by a bullet out of a piece of great ordinance, which they had placed on shore of purpose against vs; so that they would neither speake with vs, nor permit vs to come nere them. Thus we departed, and would haue put to sea that night: but there was much wind at East, which kept vs within the bay, and inforced vs to come to an anker vnder Isle Blanch. The next morning being the 22. we put to sea, and about 12 of the clocke the same day, the wind being at Northeast and foule weather, the master sayd he could not ply vp to Grande Coste, because of the leeshore, and the wind against vs, and therefore asked what we should do. I asked then how farre we had to the river of cape Briton: he sayd a little way. Then sayd I, If it be not farre, we were best to go thither to trade with the Sauages while the wind is contrary, and to take in water and balist, which we wanted. To which the master sayd, that if I would he would cary vs thither. I thinking it to be the best course, sayd I was content, so farre forth as that from thence we tooke the first faire wind for Grande Coste. Hereupon the master willed him at the helme to keepe his course southeast and southeast and by south. Presently after I asked him how many leagues we had to the sayd riuer, and from the sayd riuer to Grande Coste. He then sayd that we had 40. leagues to the riuer, and from the

They depart from Ramea.

Isle Blanch or the White Isle.

The riuer of Cape Briton.

riuer to Grande Coste 120 leagues. Hereupon I said I would not consent to go so far out of our way, but willed him to keep his directest course for Grande Coste; which he did. Within one halfe houre afterwards the 23 day the gunner and company of the ship presented me and the master with a request in writing to returne for England or to goe for the Islands of Açores for a man of war, for they would not proceed on their voyage to Grande Coste; and therefore do what I could they turned the helme homewards. The 14 of Iune we sent our boat on shore in a great bay vpon the Isle of Cape Briton for water. The 25 we arriued on the West side of the Isle of Menego, where we left some caske no shore in a sandy bay, but could not tary for foule weather. The 26 we cast anker in another bay vpon the maine of Cape Briton. The 27 about tenne of the clocke in the morning we met with eight men of the Chancewell our consort in a shallope; who told vs that their ship was cast away vpon the maine of Cape Briton, within a great bay eighteene leagues within the Cape, and vpon a rocke within a mile of the shore, vpon the 23 of this moneth about one of the clocke in the afternoone: and that they had cleered their ship from the rocke: but being bilged and full of water, they presently did run her vp into a sandy bay, where she was no sooner come on ground, but presently after there came aboord many shallops with store of French men, who robbed and spoiled all they could lay hands on, pillaging the poore men euen to their very shirts, and vsing them in sauage maner: whereas they should rather as Christians haue aided them in that distresse. Which newes when we heard, we blessed God, who by his diuine prouidence and vnspeakeable mercy had not onely preserued all the men, but brought vs thither so miraculously to ayd and comfort them. So presently we put into the road where the Chancewell lay; where was also one ship of Sibiburo, whose men that holpe to pillage the Chancewell were runne away into the woods. But the master thereof which had dealt very honestly with our men stayed in his ship, and came aboord of vs: whom we vsed well, not taking any thing from him that was his, but onely such things as we could finde of our owne. And when we had dispatched our businesse, we gaue him one good cable, one olde cable and an anker, one shallop

Their arriuall in the Isle of Cape Briton.

The Chancewel cast away 18 leagues within Cape Briton.

Woods on the Isle of Cape Briton.

with mast, sailes, and other furniture, and other things which belonged to the ship. In recompence whereof he gaue vs two hogsheads of sider, one barrel of peaze, and 25 score of fish. The 29 betimes in the morning we departed from that road toward a great Biskaine some 7 leagues off of 300 tun, whose men dealt most doggedly with the Chancewels company. The same night we ankered at the mouth of the harborow, where the Biskain was. The 30 betimes in the morning we put into the harborow; and approching nere their stage, we saw it vncouered, and so suspected the ship to be gone: whereupon we sent our pinnesse on shore with a dozen men, who when they came, found great store of fish on shore, but all the men were fled: neither could they perceiue whether the ship should be gone, but as they thought to sea. This day about twelue of the clocke we tooke a Sauages boat which out men pursued: but all the Sauages ran away into the woods, and our men brought their boat on boord. The same day in the afternoone we brought our ship to an anker in the harborow: and tne same day we tooke three hogsheads and an halfe of traine, and some 300 of greene fish. Also in the euening three of the Sauages, whose boat we had, came vnto vs for their boat; to whom we gaue coats and kniues, and restored them their boate againe. The next day being the first of Iuly, the rest of the Sauages came vnto vs, among whom was their king, whose name was Itarey, and their queene, to whom also we gaue coats and kniues, and other trifles. These Sauages called the harborow Cibo. In this place are the greatest multitude of lobsters that euer we heard of: for we caught at one hawle with a little draw net aboue 140. The fourth of Iuly in the morning we departed from Cibo. And the fift we cast anker in a reasonable good harborow called New Port vnder an Island some eight leagues from Cibo, and within three leagues from the English port. At this place in pursuing certaine shallops of a ship of Rochel, one of them came aboord, who told vs, that the Biskainer whom we sought, was in the English port with two Biskainers more, and two ships of Rochel. Thereupon wee sent one of our men in the Rochellers shallop to parle with the admiral and others our friends in the English port, requesting them ayd for the recouery of our things, which the other ship called the Santa Maria of S. Vincent (whereof was Master Iohannes de Harte, and

The Sauages of Cape Briton come aboord of our ship.

Cibo an harborow in the Isle of Cape Briton.

Pilot Adame de Lauandote) had robbed from the Chancewell. To which they answered, that if we would come in vnto them in peace, they would assist vs what they might. This answere we had the sixt day: and the seuenth in the fornoone we arriued in the English port, and cast anker aloofe from the other ships: which done, I went aboord the Admirall, to desire the performance of his promise: who sent for Iohannes de Harte, who was contented to restore most of our things againe: whereupon I went aboord his ship to haue them restored. This day and the eighth I spent in procuring such things as they had robbed; but yet in the end we wanted a great part thereof. Then we were briefe with them, and willed them either to restore vs the rest of our things which they had, or els we would both inforce them to doe it, and also haue satisfaction for our victuals and merchandises which by their meanes were lost in the Chancewell. The ninth in the morning wee prepared our ship to goe neere vnto them. Whereupon their Admirall sent his boat aboord, and desired to speake with mee: then I went aboord vnto him, and desired to haue our things with peace and quietnesse, proffering to make him and the Masters of the two ships of Rochel our vmpires, and what they should aduise I would stand vnto. Heereupon he went aboord the other ship to make peace; but they would heare no reason, neither yet condescend to restore any thing els which they had of ours. Then I desired that as I came in peace vnto them. they would so set me aboord my ship againe: which they denied to doe, but most vniustly detained me and Stephen van Herwicke who was with me. A while after our shallop came with foure men to know how I did, and to fetch me aboord: but so soone as she came to the Admirals ships side, his men entred, and tooke her away, detaining our men also as prisoners with vs. Then presently all the three Biskainers made toward our ship, which was not carelesse to get the winde of them all: and hauing by the mercy of God obtained the same, shee then stayed for them: but when they saw they had lost their aduantage, they presently turned their course, making as great haste in againe as they did out before. Afterwards I attempted twise to goe aboord, but was still enforced backe by the two other Biskainers, who sought our liues: so that in the end the Master of the Admirall was inforced to man his great boat to waft vs: and yet notwithstanding they bent a piece of great ordinance at vs: for we were to passe by them vnto our ship: but we rescued our shallop vnder our Masters great boat; and by that meanes passed in safety. The next morning being the tenth of the moneth, we purposed if the winde had serued our turne, to haue made them to repent their euill dealing, and to restore vs our owne againe, or els to haue suncke their ships if we could. But the winde serued not our turne for that purpose; but caried vs to sea: so that the same morning wee tooke our course toward the bay of S. Laurence in Newfoundland: where wee hoped to finde a Spanish ship, which as we had intelligence, did fish at that place. The thirteenth day we had sight of S. Peters Islands And the foureteenth day being foggy and misty weather, while we made towards the land, we sent our shallop before the shippe to discouer dangers: but in the fogge, through the mens negligence which were in her, she lost vs: yet we kept on our course, thinking that although we could not see them, yet they might see our ship: and comming into sixteene fathoms water we cast anker, supposing our selues to be neere the shore: and in the euening it pleased God to giue vs for the space of one quarter of an houre clere weather, by which we found our selues to be imbayed, and also had sight of our shallop, which was at the point of a land about one league from vs. The same night we went further into the same bay, where we had very good riding. The fifteenth we went on shore, and in that place found footing of deere, and before we returned we killed one. The eighteenth we departed toward S. Laurence: the same euening we had sight of S. Laurence, and sent off our boat in the night with our Master and sixteene men to surprise the Spanyard, which lay in Litle S. Laurence: who presently vpon the entrance of our men surrendered vp their ship and goods. The nineteenth in the morning before day, the Master of our ship with two more, and three Spanyards, tooke a boat and came foorth to meet our shippe, but being foggy, he cast anker by the mouth of the harborow (thinking in faire weather to put out to our ship, which through the current and foggy weather was put fiue or sixe leagues to leeward: and while they were at anker in the boat they were surprised again by certaine Basks of S. Iohn de Luz who were in Great S. Laurence hard by. These Basks with their forces (hauing receiued intelligence by one of the Spanyards, who sleeping on shore, escaped vnto them ouerland) on the sudden surprised the sayd

They departed from Cape Briton.

S. Peters Islands.

A Spanish ship taken.

boat with our Master and others: and then presently made vnto the ship; but our men aboord defended them off. In the end they threatned that vnlesse they would yeeld, they would kill M. Crafton and our other men before their eyes. So at last vpon M. Craftons intreaty and our mens, to saue their liues, they yeelded vp the ship againe, vpon condition, that they should not iniure any of our men, but should let them all with their weapons peaceably depart: yet when our men had yeelded, they brake their couenant, profering them great violence, threatning to kill them, disarming them, stripping their clothes from their backs, and vsing them more like dogs then men. After they had thus robbed our men of their prize and weapons, they presently towed the shippe with their boats out of that harborow into Great S. Laurence, where their owne shippes did ride, and within lesse then an houre after they had caried our prize away, our shippe arriued in the bay: where after we had bene a while at anker, our shallop came aboord vnto vs, with most part of our sixteene men, who tolde vs the whole story before recited, as also that captaine Laurence had caried away our Master, and Stephen van Herwicke prisoners, and turned the rest of our men on shore in the woods, without either meat, drinke, or almost any apparell. The 20 all our men came aboord, except the two prisoners: and the same day we tooke with our boats three of the Spanyards shallops, with fiue hogsheads of traine oile in ech of them, and in one boat foure Spanyards; but the men of the other two shallops fled on shore. The same day also we tooke the Master of one of the ships which was in the harborow with three other of his men, whom we detained prisoners to ransome M. Crafton and Stephen van Herwick. The 22 captaine Laurence sent them aboord, and we also released all our prisoners, except one Spanyard, who was boatswaine of the Spanish ship, whom we kept with vs: and the same day we set from thence. The 24 we had aduice of our Spanyard of certain Leagers which were in the harborow of cape S. Mary. Whereupon the same night, being within fiue or six leagues of the harborow, I sent off our two shallops with thirty men to discouer the harborow, and to surprise the enemy. The 25 in the morning we approched the harborow with our ship, and in the mouth thereof we espied three shallops, two whereof were ours, and the third of a ship of Rochel, which they had surprised with foure men in her; who told them that

M. Crafton.

The harborow of Cape S. Marie.

there were but two ships in the harborow, whereof one was of Rochel, and the other of Bell isle. And as we were discoursing with the Rochellers, we had sight of the ships: whereupon we sent our boat aboord the Rocheller to certifie him that we were his friends, and to request him not to hinder our fight with the enemy. This message being sent, we made all the haste we could vnto the ship of Belle isle, which first began with vs with three great shot, one whereof hit our maintopsaile, but both the other missed vs. And we also sent one vnto them: then being approched nere vnto them ten or twelue of vs went in a shallop to enter them, and we caried also a warpe with vs to make fast vnto their ship, whereby our ship might the better come vp to ayd vs. And when we boorded them in our boat, they betooke themselues to their close fights, playing chiefly vpon vs with shot and pikes out at two ports, between which we entred very dangerously, escaping neere dangers both by shot and pike. Some of our men were wounded, but no great harme was done. And mine owne piece in entring, was shot out of my hand into the sea: which shot also burst one side of the ladder, by which I entred. We had not long bene aboord, but through the helpe of God we caused them to yeeld vnto our mercy. There were of them in the ship aboue forty men, most whereof we sent aboord our shippe, there to be kept in holde, with order to our chyrurgion to dresse the wounded men, one of which was wounded vnto death That done, we had then time to view our prize, which we found of great defence, and a notable strong ship, almost two hundred tun in burden, very well appointed, and in all things fitted for a man of warre. They had also foureteene or fifteene men more, which were then absent from the ship; otherwise we should haue had the hoter fight. The same day we got our sailes to the yard, and our top masts on end, and rigged the shippe what we could. The 26 day we got some oile aboord, and there we taried vntill the second of August, fitting our selues for the sea, and getting fish aboord as weather serued vs. During our abode there we diuided our men, and appointed to ech ship their company, my selfe and my friends being resolued to take our passage in the prize; wherein when we were shipped, and the company, there arose great enmity against vs by the other shippe, which afterward was quieted. The second day of August, hauing taken in water and wood, we put to sea from

A Briton ship of 200 tunnes, taken.

that harborow in company of the Hopewell, with purpose to go directly to Parlican, which is an harborow in the North part of Newfoundland, where we expected another prize. But when we came to sea we found our sailes so olde, our ropes so rotten, and our prouision of bread and drinke so short, as that we were constrained to make our resolution directly for England: whereupon we drew out our reasons the fourth day of August, and sent them aboord the Hopewell, to certifie them the cause of our resolution for England: wherat they were generally offended, thinking and saying, that we in the prize went about to cousin and deceiue them. To conclude, they sent vs word that they would keepe vs company for England. But I had giuen William Crafton commission before to go for the Island of the Açores, and there to spend his victuals for a man of warre. The next day being the fift of August, hauing a faire winde, we put off from the coast of Newfoundland, and kept our course directly for England, the Hopewell keeping vs company vntill midday, whenas hauing lost vs in a fogge, she shot off two pieces of ordinance, and we answered her with three: afterwards we spake not with her, supposing that she went for the Islands. The 27 of August, drawing neere the coast of England, we sounded and found ground at seuenty fadoms. Some of the mariners, thinking we were in Bristow channell, and other in Silly channell: so that through variety of iudgements, and euil marinership we were faine to dance the hay foure dayes together, sometimes running to the Northeast, sometimes to the Southeast, then againe to the East and Eastnortheast. Thus did we spend faire winds, and lose our time vntill the last of August. And then it pleased God that we fell with the Island of Lundy within the channell of Bristoll; from whence we shaped our course: and after diuers dangers, the third of September we met with the Tramontane of the Queene off Dartmouth; to the captaine whereof we gaue certaine things that he had need of. The fift of September I landed on the outside of the Isle of Wight, and within few dayes after it pleased God to bring the ship in safety to London, where she was made prize as belonging to the enemies of this land.

Certaine obseruations touching the countreys and places where we trauelled.

THe Newfoundland we found very subiect to fogs and mists.

The ground of it is very rocky: and vpon it there is great store of firre trees, and in some places red; and about the shore it hath great abundance of cod-fish. We were on land in it in foure seuerall places: 1 At Caplin bay and Farrillon: 2 At Cape Rase: 3 At the harborow of Lano, which lieth foure leagues to the West of Cape Laurence: 4 At S. Marie port.

The Island of Monego for the soile is much like Newfoundlend, but the fish about it, as also throwout the Grande Bay within Cape Briton, is much larger and better than that of the Newfoundland. This Island is scant two leagues long, and very narrow. In the midst of it, a great way within the wood is a great poole. Here we were thrise on shore: once at the East side, and twise at the West.

The three Islands of birds are sandy red, but with the multitude of birds vpon them they looke white. The birds sit there as thicke as stones lie in a paued street. The greatest of the Islands is about a mile in compasse. The second is little less. The third is a very little one, like a small rocke. At the second of these there lay on the shore in the Sunshine about thirty or forty sea-oxen or morses: which when our boat came nere them, presently made into the sea, and swam after the boat.

Brions Island wee found to be very good, and sandy ground. It hath in it store of firre trees. It is somewhat more than a league long, and about three leagues in compasse. Here we were on land once, and went from the one side of it to the other.

The Island of Ramea we tooke to be like ground as Brions Island, hauing also abundance of firre trees. It seemeth to be in length about twelue or thirteene leagues at least. We were there in harborow, but not on shore, which we much desired, and hoped to haue bene: but the conflict which we had there with the Basks and Britons, mentioned before, preuented vs.

The Isle Blanche likewise seemeth in quality of the ground and bignesse of it to be much like Brions Island aforesayd, but somewhat lesse. We were not on shore vpon it, but rode before it at anker.

The land of Cape Briton we found to be somewhat like the Newfoundland, but rather better. Here toward the West end of it we saw the clouds lie lower then the hils: as we did also at Cape Laurence in Newfoundland. The Easterly end of the land of Cape Briton is nothing so high land, as the West. We went on shore vpon it in fiue places: 1 At the bay where the

Chancewell was cast away: 2 At Cibo: 3 At a little Island betweene Cibo and the New port: 4 At the New port: And 5 at Port Ingles, or the English port.

Concerning the nature and fruitfulnesse of Brions Island, Isle Blanche, and of Ramea, they do by nature yeeld exceeding plenty of wood, great store of wild corne like barley, strawberries, gooseberries, mulberies, white roses, and store of wilde peason. Also about the sayd Islands the sea yeeldeth great abundance of fish of diuers sorts. And the sayd Islands also seeme to proffer, through the labour of man, plenty of all kinde of our graine, of roots, of hempe, and other necessary commodities.

Charles Leigh.

CERTAINE VOYAGES

CONTAINING THE DISCOUERIE OF THE GULFE OF SAINCT LAURENCE TO THE WEST OF NEWFOUNDLAND, AND FROM THENCE VP THE RIUER OF CANADA, TO HOCHELAGA, SAGUENAY, AND OTHER PLACES: WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE TEMPERATURE OF THE CLIMATE, THE DISPOSITION OF THE PEOPLE, THE NATURE, COMMODITIES, AND RICHES OF THE SOILE, AND OTHER MATTERS OF SPECIALL MOMENT.

The first relation of Iaques Carthier of S. Malo, of the new land called New France, newly discouered in the yere of our Lord 1534.

How M. Iaques Carthier departed from the Port of S. Malo, with two ships, and came to Newfoundland, and how he entred into the Port of Buona Vista.

AFter that Sir Charles of Mouy knight lord of Meylleraye, and Viceadmirall of France had caused the Captaines, Masters, and Mariners of the shippes to be sworne to behaue themselues truely and faithfully in the seruice of the most Christian King of France, vnder the charge of the sayd Carthier, vpon the twentieth day of Aprill 1534, we departed from the Port of S. Malo with two ships of threescore tun apiece burden, and 61 well appointed men in each one: and with such prosperous weather we sailed onwards, that vpon the tenth day of May we came to Newfoundland, where we entred into the Cape of Buona Vista, which is in latitude 48 degrees and a halfe, and in longitude*. But because of the great store of the ice that was alongst the sayd land, we were constrayned to enter into an hauen called S. Katherins

---

* Blank in original.

Hauen, distant from the other Port about fiue leagues toward Southsoutheast: there did we stay tenne days looking for faire weather; and in the meanwhile we mended and dressed our boats.

How we came to the Island of Birds, and of the great quantity of birds that there be.

VPon the 21 of May the wind being in the West, we hoisted saile, and sailed toward North and by East from the cape of Buona Vista vntil we came to the Island of Birds, which was enuironed about with a banke of ice, but broken and crackt: notwithstanding the sayd banke, our two boats went thither to take in some birds, whereof there is such plenty, that vnlesse a man did see them, he would thinke it an incredible thing: for albeit the Island (which containeth about a league in circuit) be so full of them, that they seeme to haue been brought thither, and sowed for the nonce, yet are there an hundred folde as many houering about as within; some of which are as big as iayes, blacke and white, with beaks like vnto crowes: they lie alwayes upon the sea; they cannot flie very high, because their wings are so little, and no bigger then halfe ones hand, yet do they flie as swiftly as any birds of the aire leuell to the water; they are also exceeding fat; we named them Aporath. In lesse then halfe an houre we filled two boats full of them, as if they had bene with stones: so that besides them which we did eat fresh, euery ship did powder and salt fiue or sixe barrels full of them.

Of two sorts of birds, the one called Godetz, the other Margaulx; and how we came to Carpunt.

BEsides these, there is another kinde of birds which houer in the aire, and ouer the sea, lesser than the others; and these doe all gather themselves together in the Island, and put themselues vnder the wings of birds that are greater: these we named Godetz. There are also of another sort, but bigger, and white, which bite euen as dogs: those we named Margaulx. And albeit the sayd Island be 14 leagues from the maine land, notwithitanding beares come swimming thither to eat of the sayd birds: and our men found one there as great as any cow, and as white as any swan, who in their presence leapt into the sea; and vpon Whitsunmunday (following our voyage toward the land) we met her by the way, swimming toward land as swiftly as we could saile. So soone as we saw her, we pursued her with our boats, and by maine strength tooke her, whose flesh was as good to be eaten as the flesh of a calf of two yeres olde. The Wednesday following, being the 27 of the moneth, we came to the entrance of the bay of the Castles; but because the weather was ill, and the great store of ice we found, we were constrained to enter into an harborow about the sayd entrance called Carpunt, where, because we would not come out of it, we stayed til the ninth of Iune, what time we departed, hoping with the helpe of God to saile further then the said Carpunt, which is latitude 51 degrees.

A great white bear.

Les Chasteaux.

The description of Newfoundland, from Cape Razo to Cape Degrad.

THe land from Cape Razo to Cape Degrad, which is the point of the entrance of the bay that trendeth from head to head toward Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest. All this part of land is parted into Islands one so near the other, that there are but small riuers betweene them; thorow the which you may passe with little boats, and therefore there are certaine good harborows, among which are those of Carpunt and Degrad. In one of these Islands that is the highest of them all, being the top of it you may plainly see the two low Islands that are nere to Cape Razo, from whence to the port of Carpunt they count it fiue and twenty leagues; and there are two entrances thereat, one on the East, the other on the South side of the Island. But you must take heed of the side and point of the East, because that euery where there is nothing els but shelues, and the water is very shallow: you must go about the Island toward the West the length of halfe a cable or thereabout, and then to goe toward the South to the sayd Carpunt. Also you are to take heed of three shelues that are in the chanell vnder the water: and toward the Island on the East side in the chanell, the water is of three or four fadome deepe, and cleere ground. The other trendeth toward Eastnortheast, and on the West you may go on shore,

Of the Island which is now called S. Katherins Islaud.

GOing from the point Degrad, and entring into the sayd bay toward the West and by North: there is some doubt of two Islands that are on the right side, one of the which is distant from the sayd point three leagues, and the other seuen, either more or lesse then the first, being a low and plaine land, and it seemeth to be part of the maine land. I named it Saint Katherines Island; in which, toward the Northeast there is very dry soile; but about a quarter of a league from it, very ill ground so that you must go a little about. The sayd Island and the Port of Castles trend toward North northeast, and South southwest, and they are about 15. leagues asunder. From the said port of Castles to the port of Gutte, which is in the northerne part of the said Bay, that trendeth toward East northeast, and West southwest, there are 12. leagues and an halfe: and about two leagues from the port of Balances, that is to say, the third part athwart the saide Bay the depth being sounded it is about 38. fadomes: and from the said port of Balances to the white Sands toward West southwest there is 15. leagues, but you must take heed of a shelfe that lyeth about 3. leagues outward from the said white Sands on the Southwest side aboue water like a boat.

Blanc Sablon or white Sands.

Of the place called Blanc Sablon, or the white Sand: of the Iland of Brest, and of the Iland of Birds, of the sorts and quantitie of birds that there are found: and of the Port called the Islettes.

WHite Sand is a Road in the which there is no place guarded from the South, nor southeast. But toward South southwest from the saide road there are two Ilands, one of the which is called Brest Iland, and the other the Iland of Birds, in which there is great store of Godetz, and crowes with red beakes and red feete: they make their nestes in holes vnder the ground euen as Conies. A point of land being passed about a league from white Sand, there is a Port and passage found called the Islettes, a better place then white Sand: and there is great fishing. From the said Port of the Islettes vnto another called Brest, the circuit is

Brest a place to the North in New-foundland.

about ten leagues. This Port is in latitude 51. degrees and 55. minutes, and in longitude*. From the Islettes to that place there are many other Ilands: and the saide Port of Brest is also amongst those Ilands. Moreouer the Ilands do compasse more then 3. leagues from the said Brest, being low, and ouer them are the other lands aboue mentioned seene.

How we with our ships entred into the Port of Brest, and sayling onward toward the West we passed amidst the Islettes, which were so many in number, that it was not possible to tell them: and how we named them the Islettes.

Vpon the 10. of June wee with our ships entred into the Port of Brest, to furnish our selues with water and wood, and to make vs ready to passe the said Bay. Vpon S. Barnabas day Seruice being heard, we with our boats went beyond the said Port toward the west, to see what harboroughes were there: wee passed through the midst of the Islettes, which were so many in number that it was not possible they might be tolde, for they continued about 10. leagues beyond the said Port. We to rest our selues stayed in one of them a night, and there we found great store of ducke egges, and other birds that there do make their nests, we named them all The Islettes.

Of the Port called S. Antonies Port, S. Seruans Port, Iames Cartiers Port: of the riuer called S. Iames: of the customes and apparell of the inhabitants in the Iland of White Sand.

THe next day we passed the said Ilands, and beyond them all we found a good hauen, which we named S. Antonies Hauen, and one or two leagues beyond wee found a little riuer towarde the southwest coast, that is betweene two other Ilands, and is a good harborough. There we set vp a Crosse, and named it S. Seruans Port: and on the Southwest side of the said Port and riuer, about one league there is a small Iland as round as an Ouen, enuironed about with many other litle Ilands that giue notice to the said Ports. Furthet about two leagues there is another greater riuer, in which we tooke a good store of salmon, that we named S. Iames his Riuer. Being in the said riuer, we saw a ship of Rochel that the night before had passed the Port of Brest, where they thought to haue gone a fishing: but the Mariners knew not where they were. We with our boats approched neere vnto it, and did direct it to another Port one league more toward the West than the said riuer of S. Iames, which I take to be one of the best in all the world, and therefore wee named it Iames Carthiers Sound. If the soile were as good as the harboroughes are, it were a great commoditie: but it is not to be called The new Land, but rather stones and wilde cragges, and a place fit for wilde beastes, for in all the North Iland I did not see a Cart-load of good earth: yet went I on shoare in many places, and in the Iland of White Sand, there is nothing else but mosse and small thornes scattered here and there, withered and dry. To be short, I beleeue that this was the land that God allotted to Caine. There are men of an indifferent good stature and bignesse, but wilde and vnruly: they weare their haire tied on the top like a wreath of hay, and put a wooden pinne within it, or any other such thing instead of a naile, and with them they binde certaine birdes feathers. They are clothed with beastes skinnes as well the men as women, but that the women go somewhat straiter and closer in thelr garments than the men do, with their wastes girded: they paint themselues with certaine Roan colours: their boates are made of the barke of birch trees, with the which they fish and take great store of Seales, and as farre as we could vnderstand since our comming thither, that is not their habitation, but they come from the maine land our of hotter countreys, to catch the saide seales and other necessaries for their liuing.

---

* Blank in original.

The riuer of S. Iaques.

Boats made of the barke of birch trees.

Of certaine Capes, that is to say, The double Cape, The pointed Cape, Cape Royal, and the Cape of Milke: of the mountaines of Granges: of the Ilands of Doue houses: and of the great fishing of Cods.

VPon the 13. of that moneth we came to our ships againe with our boats on purpose to saile forwards because the weather was faire, and vpon Sunday we caused Seruice to be saide: then on Munday being the 15. of the moneth we departed from Brest, and sailed toward the South to take a view of the lands that there wee had seene, that seemed vnto vs to bee two Ilands: but when we were amidst the Bay, we knew it to be firme land, where was a great double Cape one aboue the other, and therefore wee named it The double Cape. In the entrance of the Bay wee sounded, and found it to be an hundred fadome round about vs. From Brest to The double Cape there is about 20. leagues, and about fiue or sixe leagues beyond we sounded againe and found 40 fadome water. The said land lieth Northeast and Southwest. The next day being the 16 of the moneth we sailed along the said coast toward the Southwest, and by South about 35 leagues from the double Cape, where we found very steepe and wilde hilles, among the which were seene certaine smal cabbans, which we in the countrey call Granges, and therefore we named them The hilles of the Granges. The other lands and mountaines are all craggie, cleft and cut, and betwixt them and the Sea, there are other Ilands, but low. The day before through the darke mists and fogges of the weather, we could not haue sight of any land, but in the euening we spied an entrance into the land, by a riuer among the said Hilles of Granges, and a Cape lying toward the Southwest about 3 leagues from vs. The said Cape is on the top of it blunt-pointed, and also toward the Sea it endeth in a point, wherefore wee named it The pointed Cape, on the North side of which there is a plaine Iland. And because we would haue notice of the said entrance, to see if there were any good hauens, we strooke saile for that night. The next day being the 17 of the moneth we had stormie weather from Northeast, wherefore we tooke our way toward the Southwest vntill Thursday morning, and we went about 37 leagues, till wee came athwart a Bay full of round Ilands like doue houses, and therefore wee named them The doue houses. And from the Bay of S. Iulian, from the which to a Cape that lieth South and by West, which wee called Cape Roial, there are 7. leagues, and toward the West southwest side of the saide Cape, there is another that beneath is all craggie, and aboue round. On the North side of which about halfe a league there lieth a low Iland: that Cape we named The Cape of milke. Betweene these two Capes there are certaine low Ilands, aboue which there are also certaine others that shew that there be some riuers. About two leagues from Cape royall wee sounded and found 20 fadome water, and there is the greatest fishing of Cods that possible may be: for staying for our company, in lesse then an houre we tooke aboue an hundreth of them.

Of certaine Ilands that lie betweene Cape Royall, and The Cape of milke.

THe next day being the 18 of the moneth, the winde with such rage turned against vs, that we were constrained to go backe towards Cape Royal, thinking there to finde some harborough, and with our boates went to discouer betweene the Cape Royal, and the Cape of Milke, and found that aboue the low Ilands there is a great and very deepe gulfe, within which are certaine Ilands. The said gulfe on the Southside is shut vp. The foresaid low grounds are on one of the sides of the entrance, and Cape Royal is on the other. The saide low grounds doe stretch themselues more then halfe a league within the Sea. It is a plaine countrey, but an ill soile: and in the middest of the entrance thereof, there is an Iland. The saide gulfe in latitude is fourtie eight degrees and an halfe, and in longitude*. That night we found no harborough, and therefore we lanched out into the Sea, leauing the Cape toward the West.

Of the Iland called S. Iohn.

FRom the said day vntill the 24 of the moneth being S. Iohns day we had both stormie weather and winde against vs, with such darknesse and mistes, that vntill S. Iohns day, we could haue no sight of any land, and then we had sight of a Cape of land, that from Cape Royal lieth Southwest about 35 leagues, but that day was so foggie and mistie, that we could not come neere land, and because it was S. Iohns day, we named it Cape S. Iohn.

Of certaine Ilands called the Ilands of Margaulx, and of the kinds of beas and birds that there are found. Of the Iland of Brion, and Cape Dolphin.

The next day being the 25. of the moneth, the weather was also stormie, darke, and windy, but yet we sailed a part of the day toward West North west, and in the euening wee out our selues athwart vntill the second quarter; when as we departed, then did we by our compasse know that we were Northwest and by West about seuen leagues and an halfe from the Cape of S. Iohn, and as wee were about to hoise saile, the winde turned into the Northwest, wherefore we went Southeast, about 15. leagues, and came to three Ilands, two of which are as steepe and vpright as any wall, so that it was not possible to climbe them: and betweene them there is a little rocke. These Ilands were as full of birds, as any field or medow is of grasse, which there do make their nestes: and in the greatest of them, there was a great and infinite number of those that wee call Margaulx, that are white, and bigger then any geese, which were seuered in one part. In the other were onely Godetz, but toward the shoare there were of those Godetz, and great Apponatz, like to those of that Iland that we aboue haue mentioned: we went downe to the lowest part of the least Iland, where we killed aboue a thousand of those Godetz, and Apponatz. We put into our boates so many of them as we pleased, for in lesse then one houre we might haue filled thirtie such boats of them: we named them The Ilands of Margaulx. About fiue leagues from the said Ilands on the West, there is another Iland that is about two leagues in length, and so much in breadth: there did we stay all night to take in water and wood. That Iland is enuironed round about with sand, and hath a very good road about it three or foure fadome deepe. Those Ilands haue the best soile that euer we saw, for that one of their fields is more worth then all the New land. We found it all full of goodly trees, medowes, fields full of wild corne and peason bloomed, as thicke, as ranke, and as faire as any can be seene in Britaine, so that they seemed to haue bene plowed and sowed. There was also a great store of gooseberies, strawberies, damaske roses, parseley, with other very sweete and pleasant hearbes. About the said Iland are very great beastes as great as oxen, which haue two great teeth in their mouths like vnto Elephants teeth, and liue also in the Sea. We saw one of them sleeping vpon the banke of the water: wee thinking to take it, went to it with our boates, but so soone as he heard vs, he cast himselfe into the Sea. We also saw beares and wolues: we named it Brions Iland. About it toward Southeast, and Northwest, there are great lakes. As farre as I could gather and comprehend, I

---

* Blank in original.

The Islands of Margaulx.

Morses or Sea oxen.

thinke that there be some passage betweene New found land, and Brions land. If so it were, it would be a great shortening, aswel of the time as of the way, if any perfection could be found in it. About foure leagues from that Iland toward West-Southwest is the firme land, which seemeth to be as an Iland compassed about with litle Ilands of sands. There is a goodly Cape which we named Cape Dolphin, for there is the beginning of good grounds. On the 27. of Iune we compassed the said lands about that lie West Southwest: and a farre off they seeme to be little hilles of sand, for they are but low landes: wee could neither goe to them, nor land on them, because the winde was against vs. That day we went 15. leagues.

Of the Iland called Alezai, and of the cape of S. Peter.

THe next day we went along the said land about 10. leagues, till we came to a Cape of redde land, that is all craggie, within the which there is a bracke looking toward the North. It is a very low countrey. There is also betweene the Sea and a certaine poole, a plaine field: and from that Cape of land and the poole vnto another Cape, there are about 14 leagues. The land is fashioned as it were halfe a circle, all compassed about with sand like a ditch, ouer which as farre as ones eye can stretch, there is nothing but marrish grounds and standing pooles. And before you come to the first Cape very neere the maine land there are two little Ilands. About fiue leagues from the second Cape toward the Southwest, there is another Iland very high and pointed, which we named Alezai. The first Cape we named S. Peters Cape, because vpon that day we came thither.

Of the Cape called Cape Orleans: of the Riuer of boates: of Wilde mens Cape: and of the qualitie and temperature of the countrey.

FRom Brions Iland to this place there is good anckorage o sand, and hauing sounded toward Southwest euen to the shoare about fiue leagues, wee found twentie and fiue fadome water, and within one league twelue fadome, and very neere the shoare six fadome, rather more then lesse, and also good anckorage. But because wee would bee the better acquainted with this stonie and rockie ground, wee strooke our sailes lowe and athwart. The next day being the last of the moneth saue one, the winde blewe South and by East. Wee sailed Westward vntill Tuesday morning at Sunne rising, being the last of the moneth, without any sight or knowledge of any lande except in the euening toward Sunne set, that wee discouered a lande which seemed to be two Ilands, that were beyond vs West southwest, about nine or tenne leagues. All the next day till the next morning at sunne rising wee sailed Westward about fourtie leagues, and by the way we perceiued that the land we had seene like Ilands, was firme land, lying South southeast, and North northwest, to a very good Cape of land called Cape Orleans. Al the said land is low and plaine, and the fairest that may possibly be seene, full of goodly medowes and trees. True it is that we could finde no harborough there, because it is all full of shelues and sands. We with our boats went on shore in many places, and among the rest wee entred into a goodly riuer, but very shallow, which we named The riuer of boats, because that there wee saw boates full of wild men that were crossing the riuer. We had no other notice of the said wild men: for the wind came from the sea, and so beat vs against the shore, that wee were constrained to retire our selues with our boates toward our ships. Till the next day morning at Sunne rising, being the first of Iuly we sailed Northeast, in which time there rose great mistes and stormes, and therefore wee strucke our sailes till two of the clocke in the afternoone, that the weather became cleare, and there we had sight of Cape Orleans, and of another about seuen leagues from vs, lying North and by East, and that we called Wilde mens Cape. On the Northside of this Cape about halfe a league, there is a very dangerous shelfe, and banke of stones. Whilst wee were at this Cape, we sawe a man running after our boates that were going along the coast, who made signes vnto vs that we should returne toward the said Cape againe. We seeing such signes, began to turne toward him, but he seeing vs come, began to flee: so soone as we were come on shoare, we set a knife before him and a woollen girdle on a little staffe, and then came to our ships again. That day we trended the said land about 9. or 10. leagues, hoping to finde some good harborough, but it was not possible: for as I haue said already, it is a very low land, and enuironed round about with great shelues. Neuerthelesse we went that

An exceeding goodly land.

Varietie of goodly trees.

day on shore in foure places to see the goodly and sweete smelling trees that were there: we found them to be Cedars, ewetrees, Pines, white elmes, ashes, willowes, with many other sorts of trees to vs vnknowen, but without any fruit. The grounds where no wood is, are very faire, and all full of peason, white and red gooseberies, strawberies, blackeberies, and wilde corne, euen like vnto Rie, which seemed to have bene sowen and plowed. This countrey is of better temperature then any other that can be seene, and very hote. There are many thrushes, stockdoues, and other birds: to be short, there wanteth nothing but good harboroughs.

Of the Bay called S. Lunario, and other notable Bayes and Capes of land, and of the qualitie, and goodnesse of those grounds.

THe next day being the second of Iuly we discouered and had sight of land on the Northerne side toward vs, that did joyne vnto the land abouesaid, al compassed about, and we knew that it had about* in depth, and as much athwart, and we named it S. Lunarios Bay, and with our boats we went to the Cape toward the North, and found the shore so shallow, that for the space of a league from land there was but a fadome water. On the Northeast side from the said Cape about 7. or 8. leagues there is another Cape of land, in the middst whereof there is a Bay fashioned trianglewise, very deepe, and as farre off, as we could ken from it the same lieth Northeast. The said Bay is compassed about with sands and shelues about 10. leagues from land, and there is but two fadome water: from the said Cape to the bank of the other, there is about 15. leagues. We being a crosse the said Capes, discouered another land and Cape, and as farre as we could ken, it lay North and by East. All that night the weather was very ill, and great winds, so that wee were constrained to beare a smal saile vntil the next morning, being the thirde of July when the winde came from the West: and we sailed Northward to haue a sight of the land that we had left on the Northeast side, aboue the low lands, among which high and low lands there is a gulfe or breach in some places about 55. fadome deepe, and 15. leagues in bredth. By reason of the great depth and bredth of the gulfe, and change of the lands, we conceiued hope that we should finde a passage, like vnto the passage of The Castles. The said gulfe lieth East Northeast, and West southwest. The ground that lieth on the Southside of the said gulfe, is as good and easie to be manured, and full of as goodly fields and meadowes, as any that euer wee haue seene, as plaine and smooth as any die: and that which lyeth on the North is a countrey altogether hilly, full of woods, and very high and great trees of sundry sorts: among the rest there are as goodly Ceders, and Firre trees, as possibly can be seene, able to make mastes for ships of three hundred Tunne: neither did we see any place that was not full of the saide trees, except two onely that were full of goodly medowes, with two very faire lakes. The middest of the said Bay is 47. degrees and halfe in latitude.

The passage de Chasteaux.

Trees able to mast ships of 300. tunnes.

Of the Cape D'Esperance, or the Cape of Hope, and of S. Martins Creeke, and how seven boats full of wilde men comming to our boat, would not retire themselues, but being terrified with our Culuerins which we shot at them, and our lances, they fled with great hast.

THe Cape of the said South land was called The Cape of Hope, through the hope that there we had to finde some passage. The fourth of Iuly we went along the coast of the said land on the Northerly side to find some harborough, where wee entred into a creeke altogether open toward the South, where there is no succour against the wind: we thought good to name it S. Martines Creeke. There we stayed from the fourth of Iuly vntil the twelfth: while we were there, on Munday being the sixth of the moneth, Seruice being done, wee with one of our boates went to discouer a Cape and point of land that on the Westerne side was about seuen or eight leagues from vs, to see which way it did bend, and being within halfe a league of it, wee sawe two companies of boates of wilde men going from one land to the other: their boates were in number about fourtie or fiftie. One part of the which came to the said point, and a great number of men went on shore making a great noise, beckening vnto vs that wee should come on land, shewing vs certaine skinnes vpon pieces of wood, but because we had but one onely boat, wee would not

Fortie or 50 boates of saluages.

goe to them, but went to the other side lying in the See: they seeing vs flee, prepared two of their boats to follow vs, with which came also fiue more of them that were comming from the Sea side, all which approched neere vnto our boate, dancing, and making many signes of ioy and mirth, as it were desiring our friendship, saying in their tongue Napeu tondamen assurtah, with many other words that we vnderstood not. But because (as we haue said) we had but one boat, wee would not stand to their courtesie, but made signes vnto them that they should turne back, which they would not do, but with great furie came toward vs: and suddenly with their boates compassed vs about: and because they would not away from vs by any signes that we could make, we shot off two pieces among them, which did so terrifie them, that they put themselues to flight toward the sayde point, making a great noise: and hauing staid a while, they began anew, euen as at the first to come to vs againe, and being come neere our boat wee strucke at them with two lances, which thing was so great a terrour vnto them, that with great haste they beganne to flee, and would no more follow vs.

How the said wilde men comming to our ships, and our men going toward them, both parties went on land, and how the saide wilde men with great ioy began to trafique with our men.

THe next day part of the saide wilde men with nine of their boates came to the point and entrance of the Creeke, where we with our ships were at road. We being aduertised of their comming, went to the point where they were with our boates: but so soone as they saw vs, they began to flee, making signes that they came to trafique with us, shewing vs, such skinnes as they cloth themselues withall, which are of small value. We likewise made signes vnto them, that we wished them no euill: and in signe thereof two of our men ventured to go on land to them, and carry them kniues with other Iron wares, and a red hat to giue vnto their Captaine. Which when they saw, they also came on land, and brought some of their skinnes, and so began to deale with vs, seeming to be very glad to haue our iron ware and other things, stil dancing with many other ceremonies, as with their hands to cast Sea water on their heads. They gave vs whatsoeuer they had, not keeping any thing, so that they were constrained to go back againe naked, and made signes that the next day they would come againe, and bring more skinnes with them.

How that we hauing sent two of our men on land with wares, there came about 300. wilde men with great gladnesse. Of the qualitie of the countrey, what it bringeth forth, and of the Bay called Baie du Chaleur, or The Bay of heat.

VPon Thursday being the eight of the moneth, because the winde was not good to go out with our ships, we set our boates in a readinesse to goe to discouer the said Bay, and that day wee went 25. leagues within it. The next day the wind and weather being faire, we sailed vntil noone, in which time we had notice of a great part of the said Bay, and how that ouer the low lands, there were other lands with high mountaines: but seeing that there was no passage at all, wee began to turne back againe, taking our way along the coast: and sayling, we saw certaine wilde men that stood vpon the shoare of a lake, that is among the low grounds, who were making fires and smokes: wee went thither, and found that there was a channel of the sea that did enter into the lake, and setting our boats at one of the banks of the chanell, the wilde men with one of their boates came vnto vs, and brought vp pieces of Seales ready sodden, puttiug them vpon pieces of wood: then retiring themselues, they would make signes vnto vs, that they did giue them vs. We sent two men vnto them with hatchets, kniues, beads, and other such like ware, whereat they were very glad, and by and by in clusters they came to the shore where wee were, with their boates, bringing with them skinnes and other such things as they had, to haue of our wares. They were more than 300. men, women, and children: Some of the women which came not ouer, wee might see stand vp to the knees in water, singing and dancing: the other that had passed the riuer where we were, came very friendly to vs, rubbing our armes with their owne handes, then would they lift them vp toward heauen, shewing many signes of gladnesse: and in such wise were wee assured one of another, that we very familiarly began to trafique for whatsoeuer they had, til they had nothing but their naked bodies; for they gaue vs all whatsoeuer they had, and that was but of small value. We perceiued that this people might very easily be conuerted to

Three hundred gentle Sauages.

our Religion. They goe from place to place. They liue onely with fishing. They haue an ordinarie time to fish for their prouision. The countrey is hotter than the countrey of Spaine, and the fairest that can possibly be found, altogether smooth, and leuel. There is no place be it neuer so little, but it hath some trees (yea albeit it be sandie) or else is full of wilde corne, that hath an eare like vnto Rie: the corne is like oates, and smal peason as thicke as if they had bene sowen and plowed, white and red gooseberies, strawberies, blackberies, white and red Roses, with many other floures of very sweet and pleasant smell. There be also many goodly medowes full of grasse, and lakes wherein great plentie of salmons be. They call a hatchet in their tongue Cochi, and a knife Bacon: we named it The bay of heat.

Baye du Chaleur, or the Bay of heat.

Of another nation of wilde men: of their manners, liuing and clothing.

BEing certified that there was no passage through the said Bay, we hoised saile, and went from S. Martines Creeke vpon Sunday being the 12. of July, to goe and discouer further beyond the said Bay, and went along the sea coast Eastward about eighteene leagues, till we came to the Cape of Prato, where we found the tide very great, but shallow ground, and the Sea stormie, so that we were constrained to draw toward shore, between the said Cape and an Iland lying Eastward, about a league from the said Cape, where we cast anker for that night. The next morning we hoised saile to trend the said coast about, which lyeth North Northeast. But there rose such a stormie and raging winde against vs, that we were constrained to come to the place againe, from whence we were come: there did we stay all that day til the next that we hoised vp saile, and came to the middest of a riuer fiue or sixe leagues from the Cape of Prato Northward, and being ouerthwart the said Riuer, there arose againe a contrary winde, with great fogges and stormes. So that we were constrained vpon Tuesday being the fourteenth of the moneth to enter into the riuer, and there did we stay till the sixteenth of the moneth looking for faire weather to come out of it: on which day being Thursday, the winde became so raging that one of our ships lost an anker, and we were constrained to goe vp higher into the riuer seuen or eight leagues, into a good harborough and ground that we with our boates found out, and through the euill weather, tempest, and darkenesse that was, wee stayed in the saide harborough till the fiue and twentieth of the moneth, not being able to put out: in the meane time wee sawe a great multitude of wilde men that were fishing for mackerels, whereof there is great store. Their boates were about 40, and the persons what with men, women, and children two hundred, which after they had hanted our company a while, they came very familiarly with their boats to the sides of our ships. We gaue them kniues, combes, beads of glasse, and other trifles of small value, for which they made many signes of gladnesse, lifting their hands vp to heauen dancing and singing in their boates. These men may very well and truely be called Wilde, because there is no poorer people in the world. For I thinke all that they had together, besides their boates and nets was not worth fiue souce.* They goe altogether naked sauing their priuities, which are couered with a little skinne, and certaine olde skinnes that they cast vpon them. Neither in nature nor in language, doe they any whit agree with them which we found first: their heads be altogether shauen, except one bush of haire which they suffer to grow vpon the top of their crowne as long as a horse taile, and then with certaine leather strings binde it in a knot vpon their heads. They haue no other dwelling but their boates, which they turne vpside downe, and vnder them they lay themselues all along vpon the bare ground. They eate their flesh almost raw, saue onely that they heat it a little vpon imbers of coales, so doe they their fish. Vpon Magdalens day we with our boates went to the bancke of the riuer, and freely went on shore among them, whereat they made many signs, and all their men in two or three companies began to sing and dance, seeming to be very glad of our comming. They had caused all the young women to flee into the wood, two or three excepted, that stayed with them, to ech of which we gaue a combe, and a little bell made of Tinne, for which they were very glad, thanking our Captaine, rubbing his armes and breasts with their hands. When the men saw vs giue something vnto those that had stayed, it caused al the rest to come out of the wood, to the end that that they should haue as much as the others: These women are about twenty, who altogether in a knot fell vpon our Captaine, touching and rubbing him with their hands, according to their manner of cherishing and making much of one, who gaue to each of them a little Tinne bell: then suddenly they began to dance, and sing many songs. There we found great store of mackrels, that they had taken vpon the shore, with certaine nets that they made to fish, of a kinde of Hempe that groweth in that place where ordinarily they abide, for they neuer come to the sea, but onely in fishing time. As farre as I vnderstand, there groweth likewise a kind of Millet as big as Peason, like vnto that which groweth in Bresil, which they eate in stead of bread. They had great store of it. They call it in their tongue Kapaige. They haue also Prunes (that is to say Damsins) which they dry for winter as we doe, they call them Honesta. They haue also Figs, Nuts, Apples, and other fruits, and Beans, that they call Sahu, their nuts Cahehya. If we shewed them any thing that they haue not, nor know not what it is, shaking their heads, they will say Nohda, which is as much to say, they haue it not, nor they know it not. Of those things they haue, they would with signes shew vs how to dresse them, and how they grow. They eate nothing that hath any taste of salt. They are very great theeues, for they will filch and steale whatsoeuer they can lay hold of, and all is fish that commeth to net.

---

* Sous.

Maize.

¶ How our men set vp a great Crosse vpon the poynt of the sayd Porte, and the Captaine of those wild men, after a long Oration, was by our Captain appeased, and contented that two of his Children should goe with him.

VPon the 25 of the moneth, wee caused a faire high Crosse to be made of the height of thirty foote, which was made in the presence of many of them, vpon the point of the entrance of the sayd hauen, in the middest whereof we hanged vp a Shield with three Floure de Luces in it, and in the top was carued in the wood with Anticke letters this posie, Viue le Roy de France. Then before them all we set it vpon the sayd point. They with great heed beheld both the making and setting of it vp. So soone as it was vp, we altogether kneeled downe before them, with our hands toward Heauen, yeelding God thankes: and we made signes vnto them, shewing them the Heauens, and that all our saluation dependeth onely on him which in them dwelleth: whereat they shewed a great

This hauen seemeth to be Gaspay.

admiration, looking first one at another, and then vpon the Crosse. And after wee were returned to our ships, their Captaine clad with an old Beares skin, with three of his sonnes, and a brother of his with him, came vnto vs in one of their boates, but they came not so neere vs as they were wont to doe: there he made a long Oration vnto vs, shewing vs the crosse we had set vp, and making a crosse with two fingers, then did he shew vs all the Countrey about vs, as if he would say that all was his, and that wee should not set vp any crosse without his leaue. His talke being ended, we shewed him an Axe, faining that we would giue it him for his skin, to which he listned, for by little and little hee came neere our ships. One of our fellowes that was in our boate, tooke hold on theirs, and suddenly leapt into it, with two or three more, who enforced them to enter into our ships, whereat they were greatly astonished. But our Captain did straightwaies assure them, that they should haue no harme, nor any iniurie offred them at all, and entertained them very friendly, making them eate and drinke. Then did we shew them with signes, that the crosse was but onely set vp to be as a light and leader which wayes to enter into the port, and that wee would shortly come againe, and bring good store of iron wares and other things, but that we would take two of his children with vs, and afterward bring them to the sayd port againe: and so wee clothed two of them in shirts, and coloured coates, with red cappes, and put about euery ones necke a copper chaine, whereat they were greatly contented: then gaue they their old clothes to their fellowes that went backe againe, and we gaue to each one of those three that went backe, a hatchet, and some kniues, which made them very glad. After these were gone, and had told the newes vnto their fellowes, in the after noone there came to our ships sixe boates of them, with fiue or sixe men in euery one, to take their farewels of those two we had detained to take with vs, and brought them some fish, vttering many words which we did not vnderstand, making signes that they would not remoue the crosse we had set vp.

Two sauages taken.

¶ How after we were departed from the sayd porte, following our voyage along the sayd coast, we went to discouer the land lying Southeast, and Northwest.

THe next day, being the 25 of the moneth, we had faire weather, and went from the said port: and being out of the riuer, we sailed Eastnortheast, for after the entrance into the said riuer, the land is enuironed about, and maketh a bay in maner of halfe a circle, where being in our ships, we might see all the coast sayling behind, which we came to seeke, the land lying Southeast and Northwest, the course of which was distant from the riuer about twentie leagues.

Of the Cape S. Aluise, and Cape Memorancie, and certaine other lands, and how one of our Boates touched a Rocke and suddenly went ouer it.

ON Munday being the 27 of the moneth, about sunne-set we went along the said land, as we haue said, lying Southeast and Northwest, till Wednesday that we saw another Cape where the land beginneth to bend toward the East: we went along about 15 leagues, then doeth the land begin to turne Northward. About three leagues from the sayd Cape we sounded, and found 24 fadome water. The said lands are plaine, and the fairest and most without woods that we haue seene, with goodly greene fields and medowes: we named the sayd Cape S. Aluise Cape, because that was his day: it is 49 degrees and an halfe in latitude, and in longitude *. On Wednesday morning we were on the East side of the Cape, and being almost night we went Northwestward for to approch neere to the sayd land, which trendeth North and South. From S. Aluise Cape to another called Cape Memorancie, about fifteene leagues, the land beginneth to bend Northwest. About three leagues from the sayd Cape we would needes sound, but wee could finde no ground at 150 fadome, yet went we along the said land about tenne leagues, to the latitude of 50 degrees. The Saturday following, being the first of August, by Sunne rising, wee had certaine other landes, lying North and Northeast, that were very high and craggie, and seemed to be mountaines: betweene which were other low lands with woods and riuers: wee went about the sayd lands, as well on the one side as on the other, still bending Northwest, to see if it were either a gulfe, or a passage, vntill the fift of the moneth. The distance from one land to the other is about fifteene leagues.

Fifty degrees of latitude.

---

* Blank in original.

The middle betweene them both is 50 degrees and a terce in latitude. We had much adoe to go fiue miles farther, the winds were so great and the tide against vs. And at fiue miles end, we might plainely see and perceiue land on both sides, which there beginneth to spread it selfe, but because we rather fell, then got way against the wind, we went toward land, purposing to goe to another Cape of land, lying Southward, which was the farthermost out into the sea that we could see, about fiue leagues from vs, but so soone as we came thither, we found it to be naught else but Rockes, stones, and craggie cliffes, such as we had not found any where since we had sailed Southward from S. Iohns Cape: and then was the tide with vs, which caried vs against the wind Westward, so that as we were sayling along the sayd coast, one of our boats touched a Rocke, and suddenly went ouer, but we were constrained to leape out for to direct it on according to the tide.

How after we had agreed and consulted what was best to be done, we purposed to returne: and of S. Peters Streight, and of Cape Tiennot.

AFter we had sailed along the sayd coast, for the space of two houres, behold, the tide began to turne against vs, with so swift and raging a course, that it was not possible for vs with 13 oares to row or get one stones cast farther, so that we were constrained to leaue our boates with some of our men to guard them, and 10 or 12 men went ashore to the sayd Cape, where we found that the land beginneth to bend Southwest, which hauing seene, we came to our boats againe, and so to our ships, which were stil ready vnder saile, hoping to go forward: but for all that, they were fallen more then foure leagues to leeward from the place where we had left them, where so soone as we came, wee assembled together all our Captaines, Masters, and Mariners, to haue their aduice and opinion what was best to be done: and after that euery one had said, considering that the Easterly winds began to beare away, and blow, and that the flood was so great, that we did but fall, and that there was nothing to be gotten, and that stormes and tempests began to reigne in Newfound land, and that we were so farre from home, not knowing the perils and dangers that were behind, for either we must agree to returne home againe, or els to stay there all the yeere. Moreouer, we did consider, that if the Northerne winds did take vs, it were not possible for vs to depart thence. All which opinions being heard and considered, we altogether determined to addresse our selues homeward. Nowe because vpon Saint Peters day wee entred into the sayd Streite, wee named it Saint Peters Streite. Wee sounded it in many places, in some wee found 150 fadome water, in some 100, and neere the shoare sixtie, and cleere ground. From that day till Wednesday following, we had a good and prosperous gale of winde, so that we trended the said North shore East, Southeast, West Northwest: for such is the situation of it, except one Cape of low lands that bendeth more toward the Southeast, about twenty fiue leagues from the Streight. In this place we saw certaine smokes, that the people of the countrey made vpon the sayd cape: but because the wind blewe vs toward the coast, we went not to them, which when they saw, they came with two boates and twelue men vnto vs, and as freely came vnto our ships, as if they had bene French men, and gaue vs to vnderstand, that they came from the great gulfe,* and that Tiennot was their Captaine, who then was vpon that Cape, making signes vnto vs, that they were going home to their Countreys whence we were come with our ships, and that they were laden with Fish. We named the sayd Cape, Cape Tiennot. From the said Cape all the land trendeth Eastsoutheast, and Westnorthwest. All these lands lie low, very pleasant, enuironed with sand, where the sea is entermingled with marishes and shallowes, the space of twentie leagues: then doth the land begin to trend from West to Eastnortheast altogether enuironed with Islands two or three leagues from land, in which as farre as we could see, are many dangerous shelues more then foure or fiue leagues from land.

The Streit of S. Peter.

How that vpon the ninth of August wee entred within White Sands, and vpon the fift of September we came to the Port of S. Malo.

FRom the sayd Wednesday vntill Saturday following, we had a great wind from the Southwest, which caused vs to run Eastnortheast, on which day we came to the Easterly partes of Newfoundland, between the Granges and the Double Cape.

---

* Gulf of Mexico.

There began great stormie windes comming from the East with great rage: wherefore we coasted the Cape Northnorthwest, to search the Northerne part, which is (as we haue sayd) all enuironed with Islands, and being neere the said Islands and land, the wind turned into the South, which brought vs within the sayd gulfe, so that the next day being the 9 of August, we by the grace of God entred within the white Sands. And this is so much as we haue discouered. After that, vpon the 15 of August, being the feast of the Assumption of our Lady, after that we had heard seruice, we altogether departed from the porte of White Sands, and with a happy and prosperous weather we came into the middle of the sea, that is between Newfoundland and Britanie, in which place we were tost and turmoyled three dayes long with great stormes and windy tempests comming from the East, which with the ayde and assistance of God we suffred: then had we faire weather, and vpon the fift of September, in the sayd yere, we came to the Port of S. Malo whence we departed.

The language that is spoken in the Land newly discouered, called New France.

God	———
the Sunne	Isnez
the Heauen	camet
the Day	———
the Night	aiagla
Water	ame
Sand	estogaz
a sayle	aganie
the Head	agonaze
the Throate	conguedo
the Nose	hehonguesto
the Teeth	hesangue
the Nayles	agetascu
the Feete	ochedasco
the Legs	anoudasco
a dead man	amocdaza
a Skinne	aionasca
that Man	yca
a Hatchet	asogne
a Cod fish	gadagoursere

good to be eaten	guesande
Flesh	———
Almonds	anougaza
Figs	asconda
Gold	henyosco
the priuie members	assegnega
an Arrow	cacta
a greene Tree	haueda
an earthen dish	vndaco
a Bow	———
Brasse	aignetaze
the Brow	ansce
a Feather	yco
the Moone	casmogan
the Earth	conda
the Wind	canut
the Raine	onnoscon
Bread	cacacomy
the Sea	amet
a Ship	casaomy
a Man	vndo
the Haires	hoc hosco
the Eyes	ygata
the Mouth	heche
the Eares	hontasco
the Armes	agescu
a Woman	enrasesco
a sicke Man	alouedeche
Shooes	atta
a skinne to couer a mans priuy members	ouscozon vondico
red cloth	cahoneta
a Knife	agoheda
a Mackrell	agedoneta
Nuttes	caheya
Apples	honesta
Beanes	sahe
a Sword	achesco

A shorte and briefe narration of the Nauigation made by the commandement of the King of France, to the Islands of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, and diuers others which now are called New France, with the particular customes, and maners of the inhabitants therein.

Chap. 1.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1535, vpon Whitsunday, being the 16. of May, by the commandement of our Captaine Iames Cartier, and with a common accord, in the Cathedrall Church of S. Malo we deuoutly each one confessed our selues, and receiued the Sacrament: and all entring into the Quier of the sayd Church, wee presented our selues before the Reuerend Father in Christ, the Lord Bishop of S. Malo, who blessed vs all, being in his Bishops roabes. The Wednesday following, being the 19. of May, there arose a good gale of wind, and therefore we hoysed sayle with three ships, that is to say, the great Hermina, being in burden about a hundreth, or a hundreth and twentie tunne, wherein the foresaid Captaine Iames Cartier was Generall, and master Thomas Frosmont chiefe Master, accompanied with master Claudius de Pont Briand, sonne to the Lorde of Montceuell, and Cup-bearer to the Dolphin of France, Charles of Pomeraies, Iohn Powlet, and other Gentlemen. In the second ship called the little Hermina, being of threescore tunne burden, were Captaines vnder the sayd Cartier, Mace Salobert, and Master William Marie. In the third ship called the Hermerillon, being of forty tunne in burden, were Captains M. William Britton, and M. Iames Maringare. So we sayled with a good and prosperous wind, vntill the 20 of the said moneth, at which time the weather turned into stormes and tempests, the which with contrary winds, and darkenesse, endured so long that our ships being without any rest, suffered as much as any ships that euer went on seas: so that the 25 of Iune, by reason of that foule and foggie weather, all our ships lost sight one of another againe till wee came to Newfoundland where wee had appointed to meete. After we had lost one another, wee in the Generals ship were with contrary winds tost to and fro on the sea, vntill the seuenth of Iuly, vpon which lyeth from the maine land 14 leagues. This Island is so full of birds, that all our ships might easily haue bene fraighted with them, and yet for the great number that there is, it would not seeme that any were taken away. We to victuall our selues filled two boats of them. This Island hath the Pole eleuated 49 degrees, and 40 minutes. Vpon the eight of the sayd moneth we sailed further, and with a prosperous weather, came to the Port called The Port of white sands, that is in the Bay called The Bay of Castels, where we had purposed to meete and stay together the 15 of the said moneth. In this place therefore we looked for our fellowes, that is to say, the other two ships, till the 26 of the moneth, on which day both came together. So soone as our fellowes were come, we set our ships in a readines, taking in both water, wood, and other necessaries. And then on the 29 of the sayd moneth, early in the morning we hoised saile to passe on further, and sayling along the Northerne coast that runneth Northeast and Southwest, til two houres after Sun-set or thereabouts, then we crossed along two Islands, which doe stretch further foorth then the others, which we called S. Williams Islands, being distant about 20 leagues or more from the Port of Brest. All the coast from the Castels to that place lieth East and West, Northeast and Southwest, hauing betweene it sundry little Islands, altogether barren and full of stones, without either earth or trees, except certain valleys only. The next day being the 30 of Iuly, we sailed on Westward to find out other Islands which as yet we had not found 12 leagues and a halfe, among which there is a great Bay toward the North all full of Islands and great creekes, where many good harboroughs seeme to be: them we named S. Marthas Islands, from which about a league and a halfe further into the sea there is a dangerous shallow, wherein are fiue rockes, which lie from Saint Marthas Islands about seuen leagues as you passe into the sayd Islands, on the East and on the West side, to which we came the sayd day an houre after noone, and from that houre vntill midnight we sailed about fifteene leagues athwart a cape of the lower Islands, which we named S. Germans Islands Southeastward, from which place about three leagues, there is a very dangerous shallow. Likewise betweene S. Germans cape and Saint Marthas, about two leagues from the sayd Islands, there lyeth a banke of sand, vpon which banke the water is but foure fadome deepe, and therefore seeing the danger of the coast, we strucke saile and went no further that night: The next day being the last of Iuly, we went all along the coast that runneth East and West, and

The Isle of birds in 49 degrees 40 minutes.

The Bay des Chasteaux or The Grand Bay.

somewhat Southeasterly which is all enuironed about with Islands and drie sands, and in trueth it very dangerous. The length from S. Germans Cape to the said Islands is about 17 leagues and a halfe, at the end of which there is a goodly plot of ground full of huge and high trees, albeit the rest of the coast be compassed about with sands without any signe or shew of harboroughs, till we came to Cape Thiennot, which trendeth Northwest about seuen leagues from the foresaid Islands, which Cape Thiennot we noted in our former voyage, and therefore we sailed on all that night West and Westnorthwest, till it was day, and then the wind turned against vs, wherefore we went to seeke a hauen wherein we might harbour our ships, and by good hap, found one fit for our purpose, about seuen leagues and a halfe beyond Cape Thiennot, and that we named S. Nicholas Hauen, it lieth amidst 4 Islands that stretch into the sea: Vpon the neerest wee for a token set vp a woodden crosse. But note by the way, that this crosse must be brought Northeast, and then bending toward it, leaue it on the left hand and you shall find sixe fadome water, and within the hauen foure. Also you are to take heede of two shelues that leane outward halfe a league. All this coast is full of shoulds and very dangerous, albeit in sight many good hauens seeme to be there, yet is there nought else but shelues and sands. We staied and rested our selues in the sayd hauen, vntill the seuenth of August being Sonday: on which day we hoysed sayle, and came toward land on the South side toward Cape Rabast, distant from the sayd hauen about twentie leagues Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest: but the next day there rose a stormie and a contrary winde, and because we could find no hauen there toward the South, thence we went coasting along toward the North, beyond the abouesayd hauen about ten leagues, where we found a goodly great gulfe, full of Islands, passages, and entrances toward what wind soeuer you please to bend: for the knowledge of this gulfe there is a great Island that is like to a Cape of lande, stretching somewhat further foorth than the others, and about two leagues within the land, there is an hill fashioned as it were an heape of corne. We named the sayd gulfe Saint Laurence his bay. The twelfth of the sayd moneth wee went from the sayd Saint Laurence his Bay, or gulfe, sayling Westward, and discouered a Cape of land toward the South, that runneth West and by South, distant from the sayd Saint Laurence his Bay, about fiue and twenty leagues.

A Cape of the Isle of Assumption.

And of the two wilde men which wee tooke in our former voyage, it was tolde vs, that this was part of the Southerne coaste, and that there was an Island, on the Southerly parte of which is the way to goe from Honguedo (where the yeere before we had taken them) to Canada, and that two dayes iourney from the sayd Cape, and Island began the Kingdome of Saguenay, on the North shore extending toward Canada, and about three leagues athwart the sayd Cape, there is aboue a hundreth fadome water. Moreouer I beleeue that there were neuer so many Whales seen as wee saw that day about the sayd Cape. The next day after being our Ladie day of August the fifteenth of the moneth, hauing passed the Straight, we had notice of certaine lands that wee left toward the South, which landes are full of very great and high hilles, and this Cape wee named The Island of the Assumption, and one Cape of the said high countreys lyeth Eastnortheast, and Westsouthwest, the distance betweene which is about fiue and twenty leagues. The Countreys lying North may plainely be perceiued to be higher then the Southerly, more then thirty leagues in length. We trended the sayd landes about toward the South: from the sayd day vntill Tewesday noone following, the winde came West, and therefore wee bended toward the North, purposing to goe and see the land that we before had spied. Being arriued there, we found the sayd landes, as it were ioyned together, and low toward the Sea. And the Northerly mountaines that are vpon the sayd low lands stretch East, and West, and a quarter of the South. Our wild men told vs that there was the beginning of Saguenay, and that it was land inhabited, and that thence commeth the red Copper, of them named Caignetdaze. There is betweene the Southerly lands, and the Northerly about thirty leagues distance, and more then two hundreth fadome depth. The sayd men did moreouer certifie vnto vs, that there was the way and beginning of the great riuer of Hochelaga and ready way to Canada, which riuer the further it went the narrower it came, euen vnto Canada, and that then there was fresh water, which went so farre vpwards, that they had neuer heard of any man who had gone to the head of it, and that there is no other passage but with small boates. Our Captaine hearing their talke, and how they did affirme no other passage to be there, would not at that time proceede any further, till he had seene and noted the other

A mighty skull of Whales.

The mouth of the riuer of Hochelaga about thirty leagues broad.

lands, and coast toward the North, which he had omitted to see from S. Laurence his gulfe, because he would know, if between the lands toward the North any passage might be discouered.

How our Captaine caused the ships to returne backe againe, only to know if in Saint Laurence gulfe there were any passage toward the North.

Chap. 2.

Vpon the 18 of August being Wednesday, our Captaine caused his shippes to wind backe, and bend toward the other shore, so that we trended the said Northerly cost, which runneth Northeast and Southwest, being fashioned like vnto halfe a bowe, and is a very high land, but yet not so high as that on the South parts. The Thursday following we came to seuen very high Islands, which we named The round Islands. These Islands are distant from the South shore about 40 leagues, and stretch out into the sea about 3 or 4 leagues. Against these there are goodly low grounds to be seene full of goodly trees, which we the Friday following, with our boats compassed about. Ouerthwart these lands there are diuers sandy shelues more then two leagues into the sea, very dangerous, which at a low water remaine almost dry. At the furthest bounds of these lowe lands, that containe about ten leagues, there is a riuer of fresh water, that with such swiftnesse runneth into the sea, that for the space of one league within it the water is as fresh as any fountaine water. We with our boates entred in the sayd riuer, at the entrance of which we found about one fadome and a halfe of water. There are in this riuer many fishes shaped like horses, which as our wild men told vs, all the day long lie in the water, and the night on land: of which we saw therin a great number. The next day being the 21 of the moneth, by breake of day we hoysed saile, and sailed so long along the said coast, that we had sight of the rest of the sayd Northerne coast, which as yet we had not seene, and of the Island of the Assumption which wee went to discouer, departing from the sayd land: which thing so soone as we had done, and that we were certified no other passage to be there, we came to our ships againe, which we had left at the said Islands, where is a good harborough,

The Isle of Assumption or Natiscotec.

the water being about nine or ten fadome. In the same place by occasion of contrary winds and foggie mists, we were constrained to stay, not being either able to come out of it, or hoise saile, till the 24 of the moneth: On which day we departed and came to a hauen on the Southerly coast about 80 leagues from the said Islands. This hauen is ouer against three flat Islands that lie amidst the riuer, because on the midway betweene those Islands, and the sayd hauen toward the North, there is a very great riuer that runneth betweene the high and low landes, and more then three leagues into the sea it hath many shelues, and there is not altogether two fadome water, so that the place is very dangerous: and neere vnto the said shelues, there is either fifteene or 20 fadomes from shore to shore. All the Northerly coaste runneth Northeast and by North, and Southwest and by South. The said hauen wherin we stayed on the South side, is as it were but a sluce of the waters that rise by the flood, and but of smal accompt: we named them S. Iohns Islets, because we found them, and entred into them the day of the beheading of that Saint. And before you come to the said hauen, there is an Island lying Eastward about 5 leagues distant from the same: betweene which and the land there is no passage sauing only for smal boats. The hauen of S. Iohns Islets dryeth vp all the waters that rise by flowing, although they flow two fadome at the least. The best place to harborough ships therein is on the South part of a little Island that is ouer against the said hauen, whereby the bancke or shore of the Island riseth. Vpon the first of September we departed out of the said hauen, purposing to go toward Canada; and about 15 leagues from it toward the West, and Westsouthwest, amidst the riuer, there are three Islands, ouer against the which there is a riuer which runneth swift, and is of a great depth, and it is that which leadeth, and runneth into the countrey and kingdome of Saguenay, as by the two wild men of Canada it was told vs. This riuer passeth and runneth along very high and steepe hils of bare stone, where very little earth is, and notwithstanding there is great quantity of sundry sorts of trees that grow in the said bare stones, euen as vpon good and fertile ground, in such sort that we haue seene some so great as wel would suffise to make a mast for a ship of 30 tunne burden, and as greene as possibly can be, growing in a stony rocke without any earth at all. At the entrance of the sayd riuer we met

A hauen on the Southerne coast.

This is the riuer of Tadascu, or of Saguenay.

with 4 boats ful of wild men, which as far as we could perceiue, very fearfully came toward vs, so that some of them went backe againe, and the other came as neere vs as easily they might heare and vnderstand one of our wild men, who told them his name, and then tooke acquaintance of them, vpon whose word they came to vs. The next day being the 2 of September, we came out of the sayd riuer to go to Canada, and by reason of the seas flowing, the tide was very swift and dangerous, for that on the South part of it there lie two Islands, about which, more then three leagues compasse, lie many rocks and great stones, and but two fadome water: and the flowing amidst those Islands is very vnconstant and doubtful, so that if it had not bene for our boats, we had been in great danger to lose our Pinnesse: and coasting along the said drie sands, there is more then 30 fadom water.

About fiue leagues beyond the riuer of Saguenay Southwest, there is another Iland on the Northside, wherein are certaine high lands, and thereabouts we thought to haue cast anker, on purpose to stay the next tide, but we could sound no ground in a 120 fadome, within a flight shoot from shore, so that we were constrained to winde backe to the said Iland, where wee sounded againe and found 35 fadome. The next morning we hoysed saile and went thence, sayling further on, where we had notice of a certaine kind of fish neuer before of any man seene or knowen. They are about the bignesse of a porpose, yet nothing like them, of body very well proportioned, headed like Grayhounds, altogither as white as snow without any spot, within which riuer there is great quantitie of them: they doe liue altogither betweene the Sea and the fresh water. These people of the Countrey call them Adhothuys, they tolde vs that they be very sauory and good to be eaten. Moreouer they affirme none to be found elsewhere but in the mouth of that riuer. The sixth of the month, the weather being calme and faire, we went about 15 leagues more vpward into the riuer, and there lighted on an Iland that looketh Northward, and it maketh a little hauen or creeke wherein are many and innumerable great Tortoyzes, continually lying about that Iland. There are likewise great quantitie of the said Adhothuys taken by the inhabitours of the countrey, and there is as great a current in that place as is at Bordeux in France at euery tide. This Iland is in length about three leagues, and in bredth two, and is a goodly and fertile plot of ground, replenished with many goodly and great trees of many sorts.

Among the rest there are many Filberd-trees, which we found hanging full of them, somewhat bigger and better in sauour then ours, but somewhat harder, and therefore we called it The Iland of Filberds. The seuenth of the moneth being our Ladies euen, after seruice we went from that Iland to goe vp higher into the riuer, and came to 14 Ilands seuen or eight leagues from the Iland of Filberds, where the countrey of Canada beginneth, one of which Ilands is ten leagues in length, and fiue in bredth, greatly inhabited of such men as onely liue by fishing of such sorts of fishes as the riuer affordeth, according to the season of them. After we had cast anker betwene the said great Iland, and the Northerly coast, we went on land and tooke our two wild men with vs, meeting with many of theso countrey people, who would not at all approch vnto vs, but rather fled from vs, vntill our two men began to speake vnto them, telling them that they were Taignoagny and Domagaia, who so soone as they had taken acquaintance of them, beganne greatly to reioyce, dancing and shewing many sorts of ceremonies: and many of the chiefest of them came to our boats and brought many Eeles and other sorts of fishes, with two or three burdens of great Millet wherewith they make their bread, and many great muske millions. The same day came also many other boates full of those countreymen and weomen, to see and take acquaintance of our two men, all which were as courteously receiued and friendly entertained of our Captaine, as possibly could be. And to haue them the better acquainted with him, and make them his friends, hee gaue them many small gifts, but of small value: neuerthelesse they were greatly contented with them. The next day following, the Lord of Canada (whose proper name was Donnacona, but by the name of Lord they call him Agouhanna) with twelue boats came to our ships, accompanied with many people, who causing ten of his boates to goe backe with the other two, approched vnto vs with sixteene men. Then beganne the said Agouhanna ouer against the smallest of our ships, according to their maner and fashion, to frame a long Oration, moouing all his bodie and members after a strange fashion, which thing is a ceremonie and signe of gladnesse and securitie among them, and then comming to the Generals ship, where Taignoagny and Domagaia were, he spake with them and they with him, where they began to tell and shew vnto him what they had seene in

The Ile of Condres or Filberds.

This great Iland is called The Ile of Orleans.

Maiz.

France, and what good entertainement they had had: hearing which things the said Lord seemed to be very glad thereof, and prayed our Captaine to reach him his arme, that he might kisse it, which thing he did: their Lord taking it, laid it about his necke, for so they vse to doe when they will make much of one. Then our Captaine entred into Agouhannas boat, causing bread and wine to be brought to make the said Lord and his companie to eate and drinke, which thing they did, and were greatly thereby contented and satisfied. Our Captaine for that time gaue them nothing, because he looked for a fitter opportunity. These things being done, ech one tooke leaue of others, and the said Lord went with his boats againe to his place of abode. Our Captaine then caused our boates to be set in order, that with the next tide he might goe vp higher into the riuer, to find some safe harborough for our ships: and we passed vp the riuer against the streame about tenne leagues, coasting the said Iland, at the end whereof, we found a goodly and pleasant sound, where is a little riuer and hauen, where by reason of the flood there is about three fadome water. This place seemed to vs very fit and commodious to harbour our ships therein, and so we did very safely, we named it the holy Crosse, for on that day we came thither. Neere vnto it, there is a village, whereof Donnacona is Lord, and there he keepeth his abode: it is called Stadacona, as goodly a plot of ground as possibly may be seene, and therewithall very fruitfull, full of goodly trees euen as in France, as Okes, Elmes, Ashes, Walnut trees, Maple tres, Cydrons, Vines, and white Thornes, that bring foorth fruit as bigge as any damsons, and many other sortes of trees, vnder which groweth as faire tall hempe, as any in France, without any seede or any mans worke or labour at all. Hauing considered the place, and finding it fit for our purpose, our Captaine withdrew himselfe on purpose to returne to our ships: but behold, as we were comming out of the riuer we met comming against vs one of the Lords of the said village of Stadacona, accompanied with many others, as men, weomen, and children, who after the fashion of their country, in signe of mirth and ioy, began to make a long Oration, the women still singing and dancing vp to the knees in water. Our Captaine knowing their good will and kindnesse toward vs, caused the boat wherein they were, to come vnto him, and gaue them certaine trifles, as kniues, and beades of glasse, whereat they were maruellous glad, for being gone about

Santa Croix.

Goodly hemp.

leagues from them, for the pleasure they conceiued of our comming we might heare them sing, and see them dance for all they were so farre.

How our Captaine went to see and note the bignesse of the Iland, and the nature of it, and then returned to the ships, causing them to be brought to the riuer of The holy Crosse.

Chap. 3.

The Ile of Bacchus, or the Ile of Orleans.

AFter we were come with our boats vnto our ships againe, our Captaine caused our barks to be made readie to goe on land in the said Iland, to note the trees that in shew seemed so faire, and to consider the nature and qualitie of it: which things we did, and found it full of goodly trees likes to ours. Also we saw many goodly Vines, a thing not before of vs seene in those countries, and therefore we named it Bacchus Iland. It is in length about twelue leagues, in sight very pleasant, but full of woods, no part of it manured, vnlesse it be in certaine places, where a few cottages be for Fishers dwellings as before we haue said. The next day we departed with our ships to bring them to the place of the holy Crosse, and on the 14 of that moneth we came thither, and the Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia, with 25 boats full of those people, came to meete vs, comming from the place whence we were come, and going toward Stadacona, where their abiding is, and all came to our ships, shewing sundry and diuers gestures of gladnesse and mirth, except those two that he had brought, to wit, Taignoagny, aud Domagaia, who seemed to haue altered and changed their mind, and purpose, for by no meanes they would come vnto our ships, albeit sundry times they were earnestly desired to doe it, whereupon we began to mistrust somewhat. Our Captaine asked them if according to promise they would go with him to Hochelaga? They answered yea, for so they had purposed, and then ech one withdrew himselfe. The next day being the fifteenth of the moneth, our Captaine went on shore, to cause certaine poles and piles to be driuen into the water, and set vp, that the better and safelier we might harbour our ships there: and many of those countrey people came to meete vs there, among whom was Donnacona and our two men, with the rest of their company, who kept themselues aside vnder a point or nooke of land that is vpon the shore of a certaine riuer, and no one of them came vnto vs as the other did that were not on their side. Our Captaine vnderstanding that they were there, commanded part of our men to follow him, and he went to the saide point where he found the said Donnacona, Taignoagny Domagaia, and diuers other: and after salutations giuen on ech side, Taignoagny setled himselfe formost to speake to our Captaine, saying that the Lord Donnacona did greatly grieue and sorrow that our Captaine and his men did weare warlike weapons, and they not. Our Captaine answered, that albeit it did greeue them yet would not he leaue them off, and that (as he knew) It.was the maner of France. But for all these words our Captaine and Donnacona left not off to speake one to another, and friendly to entertaine one another. Then did we perceiue, that whatsoeuer Taignoagny spake, was onely long of himselfe and of his fellow, for that before they departed thence our Captaine and Donnacona entred into a maruellous stedfast league of friendship, whereupon all his people at once with a loude voyce, cast out three great cryes, (a horrible thing to heare) and each one hauing taken leaue of the other for that day, we went aboord againe. The day following we brought our two great shippes within the riuer and harborough, where the waters being at the highest, are three fadome deepe, and at the lowest, but halfe a fadome. We left our Pinnesse without the road to the end we might bring it to Hochelaga. So soone as we had safely placed our ships, behold we saw Donnacona, Taignoagny and Domagaia, with more then fiue hundred persons, men, women and children, and the said Lord with ten or twelue of the chiefest of the countrey came aboord of our ships, who were all courteously receiued, and friendly entertained both of our Captaine and of vs all: and diuers gifts of small value were giuen them. Then did Taignoagny tell our Ceptaine, that his Lord did greatly sorrow that he would go to Hochelaga, and that he would not by any meanes permit that any of them should goe with him, because the riuer was of no importance. Our Captaine answered him, that for all his saying, he would not leaue off his going thither, if by any meanes it were possible, for that that he was commanded by his king to goe as farre as possibly he could: and that if he (that is to say Taignoagny) would goe wlth him, as he had promised, he should be very well entertained, beside that, he should haue such a gift giuen him, as he should well content himselfe: for he should doe nothing else but goe with him to Hochelaga and come againe. To whom Taignoagny answered, that he would not by any meanes goe, and thereupon they sodainly returned to their houses. The next day being the 17 of September, Donnacona and his company returned euen as at the first, and brought with him many Eeles, with sundry sorts of other fishes, whereof they take great store in the said riuer, as more largely hereafter shall be shewed. And as soone as they were come to our ships, according to their wonted use they beganne to sing and dance. This done, Donnacona caused all his people to be set on the one side: then making a round circle vpon the sand he caused our Captaine with all his people to enter thereinto, then he began to make a long Oration, holding in one of his hands a maiden child of ten or twelue yeeres old, which he presented vnto our Captaine: then sodainly beganne all his people to make three great shreeks, or howles, in signe of ioy and league of friendship: presently vpon that he did present vnto him two other young male children one after another, but younger then the other, at the giuing of which euen as before they gaue out shreeks and howles very loud, with other cerimonies: for which presents, our Captaine, gaue the saide Lorde great and hearty thankes. Then Taignoagny told our Captaine, that one of the children was his owne brother, and that the maiden child was daughter vnto the said Lords owne sister, and the presents were only giuen him to the end he should not goe to Hochelaga at all: to whom our Captaine answered, that if they were only giuen him to that intent, if so he would, he should take them againe, for that by no meanes he would leaue his going off, for as much as he was so commanded of his King. But concerning this, Domagaia told our Captaine that their Lord had giuen him those children as a signe and token of goodwill and security, and that he was contented to goe with him to Hochelaga, vpon which talke great wordes arose betweene Taignoagny and Domagaia, by which we plainely perceiued that Taignoagny was but a crafty knaue, and that he intended but mischiefe and treason, as well by this deede as others that we by him had seene. After that our Captaine caused the said children to be put in our ships, and caused two Swords and two copper Basons, the one wrought, the other plaine, to be brought vnto him, and them he gaue to Donnacona, who was therewith greatly contented, yeelding most heartie thankes vnto our Captaine for them, and presently vpon that he commanded all his people to sing and dance, and desired our Captaine to cause a peece of artillerie to be shot off, because Taignoagny and Domagaia made great brags of it, and had told them maruellous things, and also, because they had nnuer heard nor seene any before: to whom our Captaine answered, that he was content: and by and by he commanded his men to shoot off twelue cannons charged with bullets into the wood that was hard by those people and ships, at whose noyse they were greatly astonished and amazed, for they thought that heauen had fallen vpon them, and put themselues to flight, howling, crying, and shreeking, so that it seemed hell was broken loose. But before we went thence, Taignoagny caused other men to tell vs, that those men which we had left in our Pinnesse in the road, had slaine two men of their company, with a peece of ordinance that they had shot off, whereupon the rest had put themselues all to flight, as though they should all haue bene slaine: which afterward we found vntrue, because our men had not shot off any peece at all that day.

How Donnacona and Taignoagny with others, deuised a prettie sleight or pollicie: for they caused three of their men to be attired like Diuels, fayning themselues to be sent from their God Cudruaigny, onely to hinder our voyage to Hochelaga.

Chap. 4.

THe next day being the eighteenth of September, these men still endeuoured themselues to seeke all meanes possible to hinder and let our going to Hochelaga, and deuised a prettie guile, as hereafter shalbe shewed. They went and dressed three men like Diuels, being wrapped in dogges skinnes white and blacke, their faces besmeered as blacke as any coales, with hornes on their heads more then a yard long, and caused them secretly to be put in one of their boates, but came not neere our ships as they were wont to doe, for they lay hidden within the wood for the space of two houres, looking for the tide, to the end the boat wherein the Diuels were, might approach and come neere vs, which when time was, came, and all the rest issued out of the wood comming to vs, but yet not so neere as they were wont to do. There began Taignoagny to salute our Captaine, who asked him if he would haue the boate to come for him; he answered, not for that time, but after a while he would come vnto our ships: then presently came that boat rushing out, wherein the three counterfeit Diuels were with such long hornes on their heads, and the middlemost came making a long Oration and passed along our ships without turning or looking toward vs, but with the boat went toward the land. Then did Donnacona with all his people pursue them, and lay hold on the boat and Diuels, who so soone as the men were come to them, fell prostrate in the boate, euen as if they had beene dead: then were they taken vp and carried into the wood, being but a stones cast off, then euery one withdrew himselfe into the wood, not one staying behind with vs, where being, they began to make a long discourse, so loud that we might heare them in our ships, which lasted aboue halfe an houre, and being ended we began to espie Taignoagny and Domagaia comming towards vs, holding their hands vpward ioyned together, carying their hats vnder their vpper garment, shewing a great admiration, and Taignoagny looking vp to heauen, cryed three times Iesus, Iesus, Iesus, and Domagaia doing as his fellow had done before, cryed, Iesus Maria, Iames Cartier. Our Captaine hearing them, and seeing their gestures and ceremonies, asked of them what they ailed, and what was happened or chanced anew; they answered, that there were very ill tydings befallen, saying in French, Nenni est il bon, that is to say, it was not good: our Captaine asked them againe what it was, then answered they, that their God Cudruaigny had spoken in Hochleaga: and that he had sent those three men to shewe vnto them that there was so much yce and snow in that countrey, that whosoeuer went thither should die, which wordes when we heard, we laughed and mocked them saying, that their God Cudruaigny was but a foole and a noddie, for he knew not what he did or said: then bade we them shew his messengers from vs, that Christ would defend them all from colde, if they would beleeue in him. Then did they aske of our Captaine if he had spoken with Iesus: he answered no, but that his Priests had, and that he told them they should haue faire weather: which wordes when they had heard, they thanked our Captaine, and departed toward the wood to tell those newes vnto their felowes, who sodainly came all rushing out of the wood, seeming to be very glad for those words that our Captaine had spoken, and to shew that thereby they had had, and felt great ioy, so soone as they were before our ships, they altogether gaue out three great shreekes, and thereupon beganne to sing and dance, as they were wont to doe. But for a resolution of the matter Taignoagny and Domagaia tolde our Captaine, that their Lord Donnacona would by no meanes permit that any of them should goe with him to Hochelaga vnlesse he would leaue him some hostage to stay with him: our Captaine answered them, that if they would not goe with him with a good will, they should stay, and that for all them he would not leaue off his iourney thither.

How our Captaine with all his Gentlemen and fiftie Mariners departed with our Pinnesse, and the two boates from Canada to goe to Hochelaga: and also there is described, what was seene by the way vpon tne said riuer.

Chap. 5.

Vines laden with grapes.

THe next day being the 19 of September we hoysed saile, and with our Pinnesse and two boates departed to goe vp the riuer with the flood, where on both shores of it we beganne to see as goodly a countrey as possibly can with eye be seene, all replenished with very goodly trees, and Vines laden as full of grapes as could be all along the riuer, which rather seemed to haue bin planted by mans hand than otherwise. True it is, that because they are not dressed and wrought as they should be, their bunches of grapes are not so great nor sweete as ours: also we sawe all along the riuer many houses inhabited of Fishers, which take all kindes of fishes, and they came with as great familiaritie and kindnesse vnto vs, as if we had beene their Countreymen, and brought vs great store of fish, with other such things as they had, which we exchanged with them for other wares, who lifting vp their hands toward heauen, gaue many signes of ioy: we stayed at a place called Hochelai, about fiue and twentie leagues from Canada, where the riuer waxeth very narrow, and runneth very swift, wherefore it is very dangerous, not onely for that, but also for certaine great stones that are therein: Many boates and barkes came vnto vs, in one of which came one of the chiefe Lords of the countrey, making a long discourse, who being come neere vs, did by euident signes and gestures shew vs, that the higher the riuer went, the more dangerous it was,

Hochelay.

and bade vs take heede of our selues. The said Lord presented and gaue vnto our Captaine two of his owne children, of which our Captaine tooke one being a wench 7 or 8 yeres old, the man child he gaue him againe, because it was too yong, for it was but two or three yeeres old. Our Captaine as friendly and as courteously as he could did entertaine and receiue the said Lord and his company, giuing them certaine small trifles, and so they departed toward the shore againe. Afterwards the sayd Lord and his wife came vnto Canada to visite his daughter, bringing vnto our Captaine certaine small presents. From the nineteenth vntill the eight and twentieth of September, we sailed vp along the saide riuer, neuer losing one houre of time, all which time we saw as goodly and pleasant a countrey as possibly can be wished for, full (as we haue said before) of all sorts of goodly trees, that is to say, Okes, Elmes, Walnut-trees, Cedars, Firres, Ashes, Boxe, Willowes, and great store of Vines, all as full of grapes as could be, so that if any of our fellowes went on shore, they came home laden with them: there are likewise many Cranes, Swannes, Geese, Duckes, Feasants, Partriges, Thrushes, Blackbirds, Turtles, Finches, Redbreasts, Nightingales, Sparrowes of diuerse kindes, with many other sorts of Birds, euen as in France, and great plentie and store. Vpon the 28 of September we came to a great wide lake in the middle of the riuer fiue or sixe leagues broad, and twelue long, all that day we went against the tide, hauing but two fadome water, still keeping the sayd scantling: being come to one of the heads of the lake, we could espie no passage or going out, nay, rather it seemed to haue bene closed and shut vp round about, and there was but a fadome and an halfe of water, little more or lesse. And therefore we were constrayned to cast anker, and to stay with our Pinnesse, and went with our two boates to seeke some going out, and in one place we found foure or fiue branches, which out of the riuer come into the lake, and they came from Hochelaga. But in the said branches, because of the great fiercenesse and swiftnesse wherewith they breake out, and the course of the water, they make certaine barres and shoulds, and at that time there was but a fadome water. Those Shouldes being passed, we found foure or fiue fadome, and as farre as we could perceiue by the flood, it was that time of the yeere that the waters are lowest, for at other times they flowe higher by three fadomes. All these foure or fiue branches do

The lake of Angolesme.

compasse about fiue or sixe Ilands very pleasant, which make the head of the lake: about fifteene leagues beyond, they doe all come into one. That day we landed in one of the saide Islands, and met with fiue men that were hunting of wilde beastes, who as freely and familiarly came to our boates without any feare, as if we had euer bene brought vp togither. Our boates being somewhat neere the shore, one of them tooke our Captaiue in his armes, and caried him on shore, as lightly and as easily as if he had bene a child of fiue yeeres old: so strong and sturdie was this fellow. We found that they had a great heape of wild Rats that liue in the water, as bigge as a Conny, and very good to eate, which they gaue vnto our Captaine, who for a recompence gaue them kniues and glassen Beades. We asked them with signes if that was the way to Hochelaga, they answered yea, and that we had yet three dayes sayling thither.

Wild rats as big as Conies.

How our Captaine caused our boates to be mended and dressed to goe to Hochelaga: and because the way was somewhat difficult and hard, we left our Pinnesse behinde: and how we came thither, and what entertainment we had of the people.

Chap. 6.

THe next day our Captaine seeing that for that time it was not possible for our Pinnesse to goe on any further, he caused our boates to be made readie, and as much munition and victuals to be put in them, as they could well beare: he departed with them, accompanyed with many Gentlemen, that is to say, Cladius of Ponte Briand, Cup-bearer to the Lorde Dolphin of France, Charles of Pommeraye, Iohn Gouion, Iohn Powlet, with twentie and eight Mariners: and Mace Iallobert, and William Briton, who had the charge vnder the Captaine of the other two ships, to goe vp as farre as they could into that riuer: we sayled with good and prosperous weather vntill the second of October, on which day we came to the towne of Hochelaga, distant from the place where we had left our Pinnesse fiue and fortie leagues. In which place of Hochelaga, and

They leaue their Pinnesse behind.

Hochelaga distant from the lake of Angolesme 45 leagues.

all the way we went, we met with many of those countriemen, who brought vs fish and such other victuals as they had, still dancing and greatly reioycing at our comming. Our Captaine to lure them in, and to keepe them our friends, to recompence them, gaue them kniues, beades, and such small trifles, wherewith they were greatly satisfied. So soone as we were come neere Hochelaga, there came to meete vs aboue a thousand persons, men, women and children, who afterward did as friendly and merily entertaine and receiue vs as any father would doe his child, which he had not of long time seene, the men dauncing on one side, the women on another, and likewise the children on another: after that they brought vs great store of fish, and of their bread made of Millet, casting them into our boates so thicke, that you would haue thought it to fall from heauen. Which when our Captaine sawe, he with many of his company went on shore: so soone as euer we were aland they came clustring about vs, making very much of vs, bringing their young children in their armes, onely to haue our Captaine and his company to touch them, making signes and shewes of great mirth and gladnesse, that lasted more than halfe an houre. Our Captaine seeing their louing kindnesse and entertainment of vs, caused all the women orderly to be set in aray, and gaue them Beades made of Tinne, and other such small trifles. and to some of the men he gaue kniues: then he returned to the boates to supper, and so passed that night, all which while all those people stood on the shore as neere our boates ;as they might, making gteat fires, and dauncing very merily, still crying Aguiaze, which in their tonge signifieth Mirth and Safetie.

How our Captaine with fiue gentlemen and twentie armed men all well in order, went to see the towne of Hochelaga, and the situation of it.

Chap. 7.

The third of October.

OVr Captaine the next day very earely in the morning, hauing very gorgeously attired himselfe, caused all his company to be set in order to go to see the towne and habitation of those people, and a certaine mountaine that is somewhat neere the citie: with whom went also fiue

Gentlemen and twentie Mariners, leauing the rest to keepe and looke to our boates: we tooke with vs three men of Hochelaga to bring vs to the place. All along as we went we found the way as well beaten and frequedted as can be, the fairest and best countrey that possibly can be seene, full of as goodly great Okes as are in any wood in France, vnder which the ground was all couered ouer with faire Akornes. After we had gone about foure or fiue miles, we met by the way one of the chiefest Lords of the citie, accompanied with many moe, who so soone as he sawe vs beckned and made signes vpon vs, that we must rest vs in that place where they had made a great fire, and so we did. After that we had rested our selues there a while, the said Lord began to make a long discourse, euen as we haue saide aboue, they are accustomed to doe in signe of mirth and friendship, shewing our Captaine and all his company a ioyfull countenance, and good will, who gaue him two hatchets, a paire of kniues and a crosse which he made him to kisse, and then put it about his necke, for which he gaue our Captaine heartie thankes. This done, we went along, and about a mile and a halfe farther, we began to finde goodly and large fieldes, full of such corne as the countrie yeeldieth. It is euen as the Millet of Bresil, as great and somewhat bigger than small peason, wherewtth they liue euen as we doe with ours. In the midst of those fields is the citie of Hochelaga, placed neere, and as it were ioyned to a great mountaine that is tilled round about, very fertill, on the top of which you may see very farre, we named it Mount Roiall. The citie of Hochelaga is round, compassed about with timber, with three course of Rampires, one within another framed like a sharpe Spire, but laide acrosse aboue. The middlemost of them is made and built, as a direct line, but perpendicular. The Rampires are framed and fashioned with peeces of timber, layd along on the ground, very well and cunningly ioyned togither after their fashion, This enclosure is in height about two rods. It hath but one gate or entrie thereat, which is shut with piles, stakes, and barres. Ouer it, and also in many places of the wall, there be places to runne along, and ladders to get vp, all full of stones, for the defence of it. There are in the towne about fiftie houses, about fiftie paces long, and twelue, or fifteene broad, built all of wood, couered ouer with the barke of the wood as

Hochelaga sixe miles from the riuer side.

This Millet is Maiz.

The description of Hochelaga.

broad as any boord, very finely and cunning ioyned togither. Within the said houses, there are many roomes, lodgings and chambers. In the middest of euery one there is a great Court, in the middle whereof they make their fire. They liue in common togither: then doe the husbands, wiues and children each one retire themselues to their chambers. They haue also on the top of their houses certaine garrets, wherein they keepe their corne to make their bread withall: they call it Carraconny, which they make as hereafter shall follow. They haue certaine peeces of wood, made hollow like those whereon we beat our hempe, and with certaine beetles of wood they beat their corne to powder: then they make paste of it, and of the paste, cakes or wreathes, then they lay them on a broad and hote stone, and then couer it with hote stones, and so they bake their bread in stead of Ouens.

Maiz, pease, beanes, musk-millions, cucumbers, and other fruits.

Plentie of fish and the preseruing thereof.

They make also sundry sorts of pottage with the said corne and also of pease and of beanes, whereof they haue great store, as also with other fruits, as Muske-Millions, and very great Cowcumbers. They haue also in their houses certaine vessels as bigge as any But or Tun, wherein they preserue and keepe their fish, causing the same in sommer to be dried in the sunne, and liue therewith in winter, whereof they make great prouision, as we by experience haue seene. All their viands and meates are without any taste or sauour of salt at all. They sleepe vpon barkes of trees laide all along vpon the ground being ouer-spread with the skinnes of certaine wilde Beastes, wherewith they also cloth and couer themselues. The thing most precious that they haue in all the world they call Asurgny: it is as white as any snow: they take it in the said riuer of Cornibotz, in the maner folowing. When any one hath deserued death, or that they take any of their enemies in Warres, first they kill him, then with certaine kniues they giue great slashes and strokes vpon their buttocks, flankes, thighs, and shoulders: then they cast the same bodie so mangled downe to the bottome of the riuer, in a place where the said Esurgny is, and there leaue it ten or 12 houres, then they take it vp againe, and in the cuts find the said Esurgny or Cornibotz. Of them they make beads, and weare them about their necks, euen as we doe chaines of gold and siluer, accounting it the preciousest thing in the world. They haue this vertue and propertie in them, they will stop or stanch bleeding at the nose, for we haue prooued it. These

Esurgni good to stanch blood.

people are giuen to no other exercise, but onely to husbandrie and fishing for their sustenance: they haue no care of any other wealth or commoditie in this world, for they haue no knowledge of it, and that is, because they neuer trauell and go out of their countrey, as those of Canada and Saguenay doe, albeit the Canadians with eight or nine Villages more alongst the riuer be subiects vnto them.

How we came to the Towne of Hochelaga, and the entertainement which there we had, and of certaine gifts which our Captaine gaue them, with diuers other things.

Chap. 8.

SO soone as we were come neere the Towne, a great number of the inhabitants thereof came to present themselues before vs after their fashion, making very much of vs: we were by our guides brought into the middest of the towne. They haue in the middlemost part of their houses a large square place, being from side to side a good stones cast, whither we were brought, and there with signes were commanded to stay: then suddenly all the women and maidens of the towne gathered themselues together, part of which had their armes full of young children, and as many as could came to rubbe our faces, our armes, and what part of the bodie soeuer they could touch, weeping for very ioy that they saw vs, shewing vs the best countenance that possibly they could, desiring vs with their signes, that it would please vs to touch their children. That done, the men caused the women to withdraw themselues backe, then they euery one sate downe on the ground round about vs, as if they would haue shewen and rehearsed some Comedie or other shew: then presently came the women againe, euery one bringing a foure square Matte in manner of Carpets, and spreading them abroad on the ground in that place, they caused vs to sit vpon them. That done, the the Lord and King of the countrey was brought vpon 9 or 10 mens shoulders, (whom in their tongue they call Agouhanna) sitting vpon a great Stagges skinne, and they laide him downe vpon the foresaid mats neere to the Captaine, euery one beckniug vnto vs that hee was their Lord and King. This Agouhanna was a man about fiftie yeeres old: he was no whit better apparelled then any of the rest, onely excepted, that he had a certaine thing made of the skinnes of Hedgehogs like a red wreath, and that was in stead of his Crowne. He was full of the palsie, and his members shronke togither. After he had with certaine signes saluted our Captaine and all his companie, and by manifest tokens bid all welcome, he shewed his legges and armes to our Captaine, and with signes desired him to touch them, and so he did, rubbing them with his owne hands: then did Agouhanna take the wreath or crowne he had about his head, and gaue it vnto our Captaine: that done they brought before him diuers diseased men, some blinde, some criple, some lame and impotent, and some so old that the haire of their eyelids came downe and couered their cheekes, and layd them all along before our Captaine, to the end they might of him be touched: for it seemed vnto them that God was descended and come downe from heauen to heale them. Our Captaine seeing the misery and deuotion of this poore people, recited the Gospel of Saint Iohn, that is to say, In the beginning was the word; touching euery one that were diseased, praying to God that it would please him to open the hearts of this poore people, and to make them know his holy word, and that they might receiue Baptisme and Christendome: that done, he tooke a Seruice-booke in his hand, and with a loud voyce read all the passion of Christ, word by word that all the standers by might heare him: all which while this poore people kept silence, and were maruellously attentiue, looking vp to heauen, and imitating vs in gestures. Then he caused the men all orderly to be set on one side, the women on another, and likewise the children on an other, and to the chiefest of them he gaue hatchets, to the other kniues, and to the women beads and such other small trifles. Then where ye children were, he cast rings, counters, and brooches made of Tin, whereat they seemed to be very glad. That done, our Captaine commanded Trumpets and other musicall instruments to be sounded, which when they heard, they were very merie. Then we tooke our leaue and went to our boate: the women seeing that, put themselues before to stay vs, and brought vs out of their meates that they had made readie for vs, as fish, pottage beanes, and such other things, thinking to make vs eate, and dine in that place: but because the meates had no sauour at all of salt, we liked them not, but thanked them, and with signes gaue them to vnderstand that we had no neede to eate. When wee were out of the Towne, diuerse of the men and women followed vs, and brought vs to the toppe of the foresaid mountaine, which we named Mount Roiall, it is about a league from the Towne. When as we were on rhe toppe of it, we might discerne and plainly see thirtie leagues about. On the Northside of it there are many hilles to be seene running West and East, and as many more on the South, amongst and betweene the which the Countrey is as faire and as pleasant as possibly can be seene, being leuell, smooth, and very plaine, fit to be husbanded and tilled: and in the middest of those fieldes we saw the riuer further vp a great way then where we had left our boates, where was the greatest and the swiftest fall of water that any where hath beene seene, and as great, wide, and large as our sight might discerne, going Southwest along three faire and round mountaines that wee sawe, as we iudged about fifteene leagues from vs. Those which brought vs thither tolde and shewed vs, that in the sayd riuer there were three such falles of water more, as that was where we had left our boates: but because we could not vnderstand their language, we could not knowe how farre they were from one another. Moreouer they shewed vs with signes, that the said three fals being past, a man might sayle the space of three monethes more alongst that Riuer, and that along the hilles that are on the North side there is a great riuer, which (euen as the other) commeth from the West, we thought it to be the riuer that runneth through the Countrey of Saguenay: and without any signe or question mooued or asked of them, they tooke the chayne of our Captaines whistle, which was of siluer, and the dagger-haft of one of our fellow Mariners, hanging on his side being of yellow copper guilt, and shewed vs that such stuffe came from the said Riuer, and that there be Agouionda, that is as much to say, as euill people, who goe all armed euen to their finger ends. Also they shewed vs the manner and making of their armour: they are made of cordes and wood, finely and cunningly wrought togither. They gaue vs also to vnderstande that those Agouionda doe continually waire one against another, but because we did not vnderstand them well, we could not pereeiue how farre it was to that Countrey. Our Captaine shewed them redde Copper, which in their language they call Caignetadze, and looking towarde that Countrey, with signes asked them if any came from

A ridge of mountaines to the North of Hochelaga and another to the South.

The 3 faults or falles of water in 44 degrees of latitude.

The riuer of Saguenay commeth from the West, where there is gold and siluer.

thence, they shaking their heads answered no: but they shewed vs that it came from Saguenay, and that lyeth cleane contrary to the other. After we had heard and seene these things of them, we drewe to our boates accompanied with a great multitude of those people: some of them when as they sawe any of our fellowes weary, would take them vp on their shoulders, and carry them as on horsebacke. So soone as we came to our boates we hoysed saile to goe toward our Pinnesse, doubting of some mischance. Our departure grieued and displeased them very much, for they followed vs along the riuer as farre as they could: we went so fast that on Munday being the fourth of October wee came where our Pinnesse was. The Tuesday following being the fift of the moneth, we hoysed saile, and with our Pinnesse and boates departed from thence toward the Prouince of Canada, to the port of the Holy Crosse, where we had left our ships. The seuenth day we came against a riuer that commeth from the North, and entred into that riuer, at the entrance whereof are foure little Ilands full of faire and goodly trees: we named that riuer The riuer of Fouetz: But because one of those Ilandes stretcheth it selfe a great way into the riuer, our Captaine at the point of it caused a goodly great Crosse to be set vp, and cpmmanded the boates to be made readie, that with the next tide he might goe vp the saide riuer, and consider the qualitie of it, which wee did, and that day went vp as farre as we could: but because we found it to be of no importance, and very shallow, we returned and sayled down the riuer.

How we came to the Port of the Holy Crosse, and in what state we found our ships: and how the Lord of the Countrey came to visite our Captaine, and our Captaine him: and of certaine particular customes of the people.

Chap. 9.

VPon Monday being the 11 of October we came to the Port of the Holy Crosse, where our ships were, and found that the Masters and Mariners we had left there, had made and reared a trench before the ships, altogither closed with great peeces of timber set vpright and verywell fastened togither: then had they beset the said trench about with peeces of Artillerie and other necessarie things to shield and defend themselues from the power of all the countrey. So soone as the Lord of the countrey heard of our comming, the next day being the twelfth of October, he came to visite vs, accompanied with Taignoagny, Domagaia, and many others, fayning to be very glad of our comming, making much of our Captaine, who as friendly as he could, entertained them, albeit they had not deserued it. Donnacona their Lord desired our Captaine the next day to come and see Canada, which he promised to doe: for the next day being the 13 of the moneth, he with all his Gentlemen and fiftie Mariners very well appointed, went to visite Donnacona and his people, about a league from our ships. The place where they make their abode is called Stadacona. When we were about a stones cast from their houses, many of the inhabitants came to meete vs, being all set in a ranke, and (as their custome is) the men all on one side, and the women on the other, still dancing and singing without any ceasing: and after we had saluted and receiued one another, our Captaine gaue them kniues and such other sleight things: then he caused all the women and children to passe along before him, giuing each one a ring of Tin, for which they gaue him hearty thankes: that done, our Captaine was by Donnacona and Taignoagny, brought to see their houses, which (the qualitie considered) were very well prouided, and stored with such victuals as the countrey yeeldeth, to passe away the winter withall. Then they shewed vs the skins of fiue mens heads spread vpon boards as we do vse parchment: Donnacona told vs that they were skins of Toudamani, a people dwelling toward the South, who continually doe warre against them. Moreouer they told vs, that it was two yeeres past that those Toudamans came to assault them, yea euen into the said riuer, in an Iland that lyeth ouer against Saguenay, where they had bin the night before, as they were going a warfaring in Hognedo, with 200 persons, men, women, and children, who being all asleepe in a Fort that they had made, they were assaulted by the said Toudamans, who put fire round about the Fort, and as they would haue come out of it to saue themselues, they were all slaine, only fiue excepted, who escaped. For which losse they yet sorrowed, shewing with signes, that one day they would be reuenged: that done, we came to our ships againe.

Toudamani dwelling Southward of Canada.

The maner how the people of that Countrey liue: and of certaine conditions: of their faith, maners, and customes.

Chap. 10.

THis people beleeue no whit in God, but in one whom they call Cudruaigni: they say that often he speaketh with them and telleth them what weather shal follow, whether good or bad. Moreouer they say, that when he is angry with them he casteth dust into their eyes: they beleeue that when they die they go into the stars, and thence by litle and little descend downe into the Horizon, euen as the stars doe, and that then they goe into certaine greene fields full of goodly faire and precious trees, floures, and fruits. After that they had giuen vs these things to vnderstand, we shewed them their error, and told that their Cudruaigni did but deceiue them, for he is but a Diuell and an euill spirit: affirming vnto them, that there is but one onely God, who is in heauen, and who giueth vs all necessaries, being the Creatour of all himselfe, and that onely we must beleeue in him: moreouer, that it is necessarie for vs to be baptised, otherwise wee are damned into hell. These and many other things concerning our faith and religion we shewed them, all which they did easily beleeue, calling their Cudruaigni, Agouiada, that is to say, nought, so that very earnestly they desired and prayed our Captaine that he would cause them to be baptised, and their Lorde, and Taignoagny, Domagaia, and all the people of the towne came vnto vs, hoping to be baptised: but because we did not throughly know their minde, and that there was no bodie could teach them our beliefe and religion, we excused our selues, desiring Taignoagny, and Domagaia, to tell the rest of their countreymen, that he would come againe another time, and bring Priests and chrisome with vs, for without them they could not be baptised: which they did easily beleeue, for Domagaia and Taignoagny had seene many children baptised in Britain whiles they were there. Which promise when they heard they seemed to be very glad. They liue in common togither: and of such commodities as their countrey yeeldeth they are indifferently well stored, the inhabitants of the countrey cloth themselues with the skinnes of certaine wiide beasts, but very miserably. In winter they weare hosen and shoes made of wilde beasts skins, and in Sommer they goe

They desire to be baptised.

barefooted. They keepe and obserue the rites of matrimonie sauing that euery one weddeth 2 or 3 wiues, which (their husbands being dead) do neuer marrie againe, but for the death of their husbands weare a certaine blacke weede all the daies of their life, besmearing al their faces with cole dust and grease mingled togither as thicke as the backe of a knife, and by that they are knowen to be widdowes. They haue a filthy and detestable vse in marrying of their maidens, and that is this, they put them all (after they are of lawfull age to marry) in a common place, as harlots free for euery man that will haue to doe with them, vntill such time as they find a match. This I say, because I haue seene by experience many housen full of those Damosels, euen as our schooles are full of children in France to learne to reade. Moreouer, the misrule and riot that they keepe in those houses is very great, for very wantonly they sport and dally togither, shewing whatsoeuer God hath sent them. They are no men of great labour. They digge their grounds with certaine peeces of wood, as bigge as halfe a sword, on which ground groweth their corne, which they call Offici: it is as bigge as our small peason: there is great quantitie of it growing in Bresill. They haue also great store of Muske-milions, Pompions, Gourds, Cucumbers, Peason and Beanes of euery colour, yet differing from ours. There groweth also a certaine kind of herbe, whereof in Sommer they make great prouision for all the yeere, making great account of it, and onely men vse of it, and first they cause it to be dried in the Sunne, then weare it about their neckes wrapped in a little beasts skinne made like a little bagge, with a hollow peece of stone or wood like a pipe: then when they please they make pouder of it, and then put it in one of the ends of the said Cornet or pipe, and laying a cole of fire vpon it, at the other ende sucke so long, that they fill their bodies full of smoke, till that it commeth out of their mouth and nostrils, euen as out of the Tonnell of a chimney. They say that this doth keepe them warme and and in health: they neuer goe without some of it about them. We ourselues haue tryed the same smoke, and hauing put it in our monthes, it seemed almost as hot as Pepper. The women of that countrey doe labour much more then the men, as well in fishing (whereto they are greatly giuen) as in tilling and husbanding their grounds, and other things: as well the men as women and children, are very much more able to resist cold then sauage beastes, for wee

Tobacco described.

with our owne eyes haue seene some of them, when it was coldest (which cold was extreme raw and bitter) come to our ships starke naked going vpon snow and yce, which thing seemeth incredible to them that haue not seene it. When as the snow and yce lyeth on the ground, they take great store of wilde beasts, as Faunes, Stags, Beares, Marterns, Hares and Foxes, with diuers other sorts whose flesh they eate raw, hauing first dried it in ye sunne or smoke, and so they doe their fish. As farre foorth as we could perceiue and vnderstand by these people, it were a very easie thing to bring them to some familiaritie and ciuility, and make them learne what one would. The Lord God for his mercies sake set thereunto his helping hand when he seeth cause. Amen.

Of the greatnesse and depth of the said riuer, and of the sorts of beasts, birdes, fishes, and other things that we haue seene, with the situation of the place.

Chap. 11.

THe said riuer beginneth beyond the Iland of the Assumption, ouer against the high mountaines of Hognedo, and of the seuen Ilands. The distance ouer from one side to the other is about 35 or 40 leagues. In the middest it is aboue 200 fadome deepe. The surest way to sayle vpon it is on the South side. And toward the North, that is to say, from the said 7 Ilands, from side to side, there is seuen leagues distance, where are also two great riuers that come downe from the hils of Saguenay, and make diuers very dangerous shelues in the Sea. At the entrance of those two riuers we saw many and great store of Whales and Sea horses. Ouerthwart the said Islands there is another little riuer that runneth along those marrish grounds about 3 or 4 leagues, wherein there is great store of water foules. From the entrance of that riuer to Hochelaga there is about 300 leagues distance: the originall beginning of it is in the riuer that commeth from Saguenay, which riseth and springeth among high and steepe hils: it entreth into that riuer before it commeth to the Prouince of Canada on the North side. That riuer is very deepe, high, and streight, wherefore it is very dangerous for any vessell to goe vpon it. After that riuer followeth the Prouince of Canada,

It is now found to be but 200 leagues.

wherein are many people dwelling in open boroughes and villages. There are also in the circuit and territorie of Canada, along, and within the said riuer, many other Ilands, some great, and some small, among which there is one that containeth aboue ten leagues in length, full of goodly and high trees, and also many Vines. You may goe into it from both sides, but yet the surest passage is on the South side. On the shore or banke of that riuer Westward, there is a goodly, faire, and delectable bay or creeke, conuenient and fit for to harborough ships. Hard by there is in that riuer one place very narrow, deepe, and swift running, but it is not passing the third part of a league, ouer against the which there is a goodly high piece of land, with a towne therein: and the countrey about it is very well tilled and wrought, and as good as possibly can be seene. That is the place and abode of Donnacona, and of our two men we tooke in our first voyage, it is called Stadacona. But before we come to it, there are 4 other peopled townes, that is to say, Ayraste, Starnatan, Tailla, which standeth vpon a hill, Scitadin, and then Stadagona, vnder which towne toward the North the riuer and port of the holy crosse is, where we staied from the 15 of September, vntil the 16 of May 1536, and there our ships remained dry, as we haue said before. That place being past, we found the habitation of the people called Teguenondahi, standing vpon an high mountaine, and the valley of Hochelay, which standeth in a Champaigne countrey. All the said countrey on both sides of the riuer as farre as Hochelay and beyond, is as faire and plaine as euer was seene. There are certain mountaines farre distaines diuers riuers descend, which fall into the said riuer. All that countrey is full of sundry sorts of wood and many Vines, vnlesse it be about the places that are inhabited, where they haue pulled vp the trees to till and labour the ground, and to build their houses and lodgings. There is great store of Stags, Deere, Beares, and other such sorts of beasts, as Connies, Hares, Marterns, Foxes, Otters, Beares, Weasels, Badgers, and Rats exceeding great and diuers other sortes of wilde beasts. They cloth themselues with the skinnies of those beasts, because they haue nothing else to make them apparell withall. There are also many sorts of birdes, as Cranes, Swannes, Bustards, wild Geese white and grey, Duckes, Thrushes, Blackbirdes, Turtles, wilde Pigeons, Lenites, Finches, Red-breasts,

Riuers falling from mountaines.

Beasts.

Birds.

Stares, Nightingales, Sparrowes, and other Birdes, euen as in France. Also, as we haue said before, the said riuer is the plentifullest of fish that euen hath of any man bene seene or heard of, because that from the mouth to the end of it, according to their seasons, you shall finde all sorts of fresh water fish and salt. There are also many Whales, Porposes, Seahorses, and Adhothuis, which is a kind of fish that we had neuer seene or heard of before. They are as great as Porposes, as white as any snow, their bodie and head fashioned as a grayhound, they are wont alwaies to abide between the fresh and salt water, which beginneth betweene the riuer of Saguenay and Canada.

Fishes.

Of certaine aduertisements and notes giuen vnto vs by those countreymen, after our returne from Hochelaga.

Chap. 12.

AFter our returne from Hochelaga, we dealt, traffickt, and with great familiaritie and loue were conuersant with those that dwelt neerest vnto our ships, except that sometimes we had strife and contention with certaine naughtie people, full sore against the will of the others. Wee vnderstood of Donnacona and of others, that the said riuer is called the riuer of Saguenay, and goeth to Saguenay, being somewhat more then a league farther Westnorthwest, and that 8 or 9 dayes iourneys beyond, it will beare but small boats. But the right and ready way to Saguenay is vp that way to Hochelaga, and then into another that commeth from Saguenay, and then entreth into the foresaid riuer, and that there is yet one moneths sayling thither. Moreouer, they told vs and gaue vs to vnderstand, that there are people clad with cloth as we are, very honest, and many inhabited townes, and that they haue great store of Gold and red Copper: and that about the land beyond the said first riuer to Hochelaga and Saguenay, is an Iland enuironed round about with that and other riuers, and that beyond Saguenay the said riuer entereth into two or 3 great lakes, and that there is a Sea of fresh water found, and as they haue heard say of those of Sanguenay, there was neuer man heard of that found out the end thereof: for, as they told vs, they themselues were

The right way to Saguenay.

Store of gold and red copper.

Two or three great lakes.

Mare dulcum aquarum.

neuer there. Moreouer they told vs, that where we had left our Pinnesse when wee went to Hochelaga, there is a riuer that goeth Southwest, from whence there is a whole moneths sayling to goe to a certaine land, where there is neither yce nor snow seene, where the inhabitants doe continually warre one against another, where there is great store of Oranges, Almonds, Nuts, and Apples, with many other sorts of fruits, and that the men and women are clad with beasts skinnes euen as they: we asked them if there were any gold or red copper, they answered no. I take this place to be toward Florida, as farre as I could perceiue and vnderstand by their signes and tokens.

Of a strange and cruell disease that came to the people of Stadacona, wherewith because we did haunt their company, we were so infected, that there died 25 of our company.

Chap. 13.

IN the moneth of December, wee vnderstood that the pestilence was come among the people of Stadacona, in such sort, that before we knew of it, according to their confession, there were dead aboue 50: whereupon we charged them neither to come neere our Fort, nor about our ships, or vs. And albeit we had driuen them from vs, the said vnknowen sicknes began to spread itselfe, amongst vs after the strangest sort that euer was eyther heard of or seene, insomuch as some did lose all their strength, and could not stand on their feete, then did their legges swel, their sinnowes shrinke as blacke as any cole. Others also had all their skins spotted with spots of blood of a purple coulour: then did it ascend vp to their ankels, knees, thighes, shoulders, and necke: their mouth became stincking, their gummes so rotten, that all the flesh did fall off, even to the rootes of the teeth, which did also almost all fall out. With such infection did this this sicknesse spread itselfe in our three ships, that about the middle of February, of a hundreth and tenne persons that we were, there were not ten whole, so that one could not help the other, a most horrible and pitifull case, considering the place we were in, forsomuch as the people of the countrey would dayly come before our fort, and saw but few of vs. There were alreadie eight dead, and more then fifty sicke, and as we thought, past all hope of recouery. Our Captaine seeing this our misery, and that the sicknesse was gone so farre, ordained aud commanded, that euery one should deuoutly prepare himselfe to prayer, and in remembrance of Christ, caused his Image to be set vpon a tree, about a flight shot from the fort amidst the yce and snow, giuing all men to vnderstand, that on the Sunday following, seruice should be said there, and that whosoeuer could goe, sicke or whole, should goe thither in Procession, singing the seuen Psalmes of Dauid, with other Letanies, praying most heartily that it would please the said our Christ to haue compassion vpon vs. Seruice being done, and as well celebrated as we could, our Captaine there made a vow, that if it would please God to giue him leaue to returne into France, he would go on Pilgrimage to our Ladie of Rocquemado. That day Philip Rougemont, borne in Amboise, died, being 22 yeeres olde, and because the sicknesse was to vs vnknowen, our Captaine caused him to be ripped to see if by any meanes possible we might know what it was, and so seeke meanes to saue and preserue the rest of the company: he was found to have his heart white, but rotten, and more then a quart of red water about it: his liuer was indifferent faire, but his lungs blacke and mortified, his blood was altogither shrunke about the heart, so that when he was opened great quantitie of rotten blood issued out from about his heart: his milt toward the backe was somewhat perished, rough as it had bene rubbed against a stone. Moreouer, because one of his thighs was very blacke without, it was opened, but within it was whole and sound: that done, as well as we could he was buried. In such sort did the sicknesse continue and increase, that there were not aboue three sound men in the ships, and none was able to goe vnder hatches to draw drinke for himselfe, nor for his fellowes. Sometimes we were constrained to bury some of the dead vnder the snow, because we were not able to digge any graues for them the ground was so hard frozen, and we so weake. Besides this, we did greatly feare that the people of the countrey would perceiue our weaknesse and miserie, which to hide, our Captaine, whom it pleased God alwayes to keepe in health, would go out with two or three of the company, some sicke and some whole, whom when he saw out of the Fort, he would throw stones at them and chide them, faigning that so soone as he came againe, he would beate them, and then with signes shewe the people of the countrey that hee caused all his men to worke and labour in the ships, some in calking them, some in beating of chalke, some in one thing, and some in another, and that he would not haue them come foorth till their worke was done. And to make his tale seeme true and likely, he would make all his men whole and sound to make a great noyse with knocking stickes, stones, hammers, and other things togither, at which time we were so oppressed and grieued with that sicknesse, that we had lost all hope euer to see France againe, if God of his infinite goodnesse and mercie had not with his pitifull eye looked vpon vs, and reuealed a singular and excellent remedie against all diseases vnto vs, the best that euer was found vpon earth, as hereafter shall follow.

How long we stayed in the Port of the holy Crosse amidst the snow and yce, and how many died of the said disease, from the beginning of it to the midst of March.

Chap. 14.

FRom the midst of Nouember vntill the midst of March, we were kept in amidst the yce aboue two fadomes thicke, and snow aboue foure foot high and more, higher then the sides of our ships, which lasted till that time, in such sort, that all our drinkes were frozen in the Vessels, and the yce through all the ships was was aboue a hand-breadth thicke, as well aboue hatches as beneath, and so much of the riuer as was fresh, euen to Hochelaga, was frozen, in which space there died fiue and twentie of our best and chiefest men, and all the rest were so sicke, that wee thought they should neuer recouer againe, only three or foure excepted. Then it pleased God to cast his pitiful eye vpon vs, and sent us the knowledge of remedie of our healthes and recouerie, in such maner as in the next Chapter shall be shewed.

How by the grace of God we had notice of a certaine tree, whereby we all recouered our health: and the maner how to vse it.

Chap. 15.

OVr Captaine considering our estate (and how that sicknesse was encreased and hot amongst vs) one day went foorth of the

Forte, and walking vpon the yce, hee saw a troupe of those Countreymen comming from Stadacona, among which was Domagaia, who not passing ten or twelue dayes afore, had bene very sicke with that disease, and had his knees swolne as bigge as a childe of two yeres old, all his sinews shrunke together, his teeth spoyled, his gummes rotten, and stinking. Our Captaine seeing him whole and sound, was thereat maruellous glad, hoping to vnderstand and know of him how he had healed himselfe, to the end he might ease and help his men. So soone as they were come neere him, he asked Domagaia how he had done to heale himselfe: he answered, that he had taken the iuice and sappe of the leaues of a certain Tree, and therewith had healed himselfe: For it is a singular remedy against that disease. Then our Captaine asked of him if any were to be had thereabout, desiring him to shew him, for to heale a seruant of his, who whilest he was in Canada with Donnacona, was striken with that disease: That he did because he would not shew the number of his sicke men. Domagaia straight sent two women to fetch some of it, which brought ten or twelue branches of it, and therewithall shewed the way how to vse it, and that is thus, to take the barke and leaues of the sayd tree, and boile them togither, then to drinke of the sayd decoction euery other day, and to put the dregs of it vpon his legs that is sicke: moreouer, they told vs, that the vertue of that tree was, to heale any other disease: the tree is in their language called Ameda or Hanneda, this is thought to be the Sassafras tree. Our Captaine presently caused some of that drink to be made for his men to drink of it, but there was none durst tast of it, except one or two, who ventured the drinking of it, only to tast and proue it: the other seeing that did the like, and presently recouered their health, and were deliuered of that sickenes, and what other disease soeuer, in such sorte, that there were some had bene diseased and troubled with the French Pockes foure or fiue yeres, and with this drinke were cleane healed. After this medicine was found and proued to be true, there was such strife about it, who should be first to take it, that they were ready to kill one another, so that a tree as big as any Oake in France was spoiled and lopped bare, and occupied all in fiue or sixe daies, and it wrought so wel, that if all the phisicians of Mountpelier and Louaine had bene there with all the drugs of Alexandria, they would not haue done so

A perfect remedy against the French Pocks.

much in one yere, as that tree did in sixe dayes, for it did so preuail, that as many as vsed of it, by the grace of God recouered their health.

How the Lord Donnacona accompanied with Taignoagny and diuers others, faining that they would goe to hunt Stags, and Deere, taried out two moneths, and at their returne brought a great multitude of people with them, that we were not wont to see before.

Chap. 16.

WHile that disease lasted in our ships, the lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, with many others went from home, faining that they would goe to catch Stags and Deere, which are in their tongue called Aiounesta, and Asquenoudo, because the yce and snow was not so broken along the riuer that they could sayle: it was told vs of Domagaia and others, that they would stay out but a fortnight, and we beleeued it, but they stayed aboue two moneths, which made vs mistrust that they had bene gone to raise the countrey to come against vs, and do vs some displeasure, we seeing our selues so weake and faint. Albeit we had vsed such diligence and policie in our Fort, that if all the power of the countrey had bene about it, they could haue done nothing but looke vpon vs: and whilest they were foorth, many of the people came dayly to our ships, and brought vs fresh meat, as Stags, Deere, fishes, with diuers other things, but held them at such an excessiue price, that rather then they would sell them any thing cheape, many times they would carie them backe againe, because that yere the Winter was very long, and they had some scarcity and neede of them.

A long winter.

How Donnacona came to Stadacona againe with a great number of people, and because he would not cnme to visit our Captaine, fained himselfe to be sore sicke, which he did only to haue the Captaine come see him.

Chap. 17.

ON the one and twentieth day of April Domagaia came to the shore side, accompanied with diuers lusty and strong men, such as we were not wont to see, and tolde vs that their lord Donnacona would the next day come and see vs, and bring great store of Deeres flesh, and other things with him. The next day he came and brought a great number of men to Stadacona, to what end, and for what cause wee knew not, but (as the prouerb sayth) hee that takes heede and shields himselfe from all men, may hap to scape from some: for we had need to looke about vs, considering how in number we were diminished, and in strength greatly weakned, both by reason of our sicknesse and also of the number that were dead, so that we were constrained to leaue one of our ships in the Port of the Holy Crosse. Our Captaine was warned of their comming, and how they had brought a great number of men with them, for Domagaia came to tell it vs, and durst not passe the riuer that was betwixt Stadacona and vs, as he was wont to doe, whereupon we mistrusted some treason. Our Captaine seeing this sent one of his seruants to them, accompanied with Iohn Poulet being best beloued of those people, to see who were there, and what they did. The sayd Poulet and the other fained themselues onely to be come to visit Donnacona, and bring him certaine presents, because they had beene together a good while in the sayd Donnaconas Towne. So soone as he heard of their comming, he got himselfe to bed, faining to bee very sicke. That done, they went to Taignoagny his house to see him, and wheresoeuer they went, they saw so many people, that in a maner one could not stirre for another, and such men as they were neuer wont to see. Taignoagny would not permit our men to enter into any other houses, but still kept them company, and brought them halfe way to their ships, and tolde them that if it would please our captaine to shew him so much fauour as to take a Lord of the Countrey, whose name was Agonna, of whom hee had receiued some displeasure, and carie him with him into France, he should therefore for euer be bound vnto him, and would doe for him whatsoeuer hee would command him, and bade the seruant come againe the next day, and bring an answere. Our Captaine being aduertised of so many people that were there, not knowing to what end, purposed to play a prettie prancke, that is to say, to take their Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia, and some more of the chiefest of them prisoners, in so much as before hee had purposed, to bring them into France, to shew vnto our King what he had seene in those Westerne parts, and maruels of the world, for that Donnacona had told vs, that he had bene in the Countrey of Saguenay, in which are infinite Rubies, Gold, and other riches, and that there are white men, who clothe themselues with woollen cloth euen as we doe in France. Moreouer he reported, that hee had bene in another countrey of a people called Picquemians, and other strange people. The sayd Lord was an olde man, and euen from his childehood had neuer left off nor ceased from trauailing into strange Countreys, as well by water and riuers, as by lande. The sayd Poulet and the other hauing tolde our Captaine their Embassage, and shewed him what Taignoagny his will was, the next day he sent his seruant againe to bid Taignoagny come and see him, and shewe what hee should, for he should be very well entertained, and also part of his will should be accomplished. Taignoagny sent him word, that the next day hee would come and bring the Lord Donnacona with him, and him that had so offended him, which hee did not, but stayed two dayes, in which time none came from Stadacona to our shippes, as they were wont to doe, but rather fled from vs, as if we would haue slaine them, so that then wee plainely perceiued their knauery.

Rubies, Gold, and wollen cloth with other riches in Saguenay.

A people called Picquemians.

But because they vnderstood, that those of Sidatin did frequent our company, and that we had forsaken the bottome of a ship which we would leaue, to haue the olde nailes out of it, the third day following they came from Stadacona, and most of them without difficulty did passe from one side of the riuer to the other with small Skiffes: but Donnacona would not come ouer: Taignoagny and Domagaia stood talking together about an houre before they would come ouer, at last they came to speake with our Captaine. There Taignoagny prayed him that hee would cause the foresayd man to be taken and caried into France. Our Captaine refused to doe it, saying that his King had forbidden him to bring any man or woman into France, onely that he might bring two or three yong boyes to learne the language, but that he would willingly cary him to Newfoundland, and there leaue him in an Island. Our Captaine spake this, onely to assure them, that they should bring Donnacona with them, whom they had left on the other side: which wordes, when Taignoagny heard, hee was very glad, thinking hee should neuer returne into France againe, and

The towne of Sidatin.

therefore promised to come the next day, which was the day of the Holy Crosse, and to bring Donnacona and all the people with him.

How that vpon Holyrood day our Captaine caused a Crosse to be set vp in our Forte: and how the Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia, and others of their company came: and of the taking of the sayd Lord.

Chap. 18.

THE third of May being Holyroode day, our Captaine for the solemnitie of the day, caused a goodly fayre crosse of 35 foote in height to bee set vp, vnder the crosset of which hee caused a shield to be hanged, wherein were the Armes of France, and ouer them was written in antique letters, Franciscus primus Dei gratia Francorum Rex regnat. And vpon that day about noone, there came a great number of the people of Stadacona, men, women and children, who told vs that their Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia were comming, whereof we were very glad, hoping to retaine them. About two of the clocke in the afternoone they came, and being come neere our ships, our Captaine went to salute Donnacona, who also shewed him a merie countenance, albeit very fearefully his eyes were still bent toward the wood. Shortly after came Taignoagny, who bade Donnacona that he should not enter into our Forte, and therefore fire was brought forth by one of our men, and kindled where their Lord was. Our Captaine prayed him to come into our ships to eate and drinke as hee was wont to do, and also Taignoagny, who promised, that after a while he would come, and so they did, and entred into our ships: but first it was told our Captain by Domagaia that Taignoagny had spoken ill of him, and that he had bid Donnacona hee should not come aboord our ships. Our Captaine perceiuing that, came out of the Forte, and saw that onely by Taignoagny his warning the women ran away, and none but men stayed in great number, wherefore he straight commanded his men to lay hold on Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia, and two more of the chiefest whom he pointed vnto: then he commanded them to make the other to retire. Presently after, the said lord entred into the Fort with the Captaine, but by and by

Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia taken.

Taignoagny came to make him come out againe. Our Captaine seeing that there was no other remedy, began to call vnto them to take them, at whose crie and voice all his men came forth, and tooke the sayd Lord with the others, whom they had appointed to take. The Canadians seeing their Lord taken, began to run away, euen as sheepe before the woolfe, some crossing ouer the riuer, some through the woods, each one seeking for his owne aduantage. That done, we retired our selues, and laid vp the prisoners vnder good guard and safety.

How the said Canadians the night following came before our ships to seeke their men, crying and howling all night like Woolues: of the talke and conclusion they agreed vpon the next day: and of the gifts which they gaue our Captaine.

Chap. 19.

THe night following they came before our ships, (the riuer being betwixt vs) striking their breasts, and crying and howling like woolues, stil calling Agouhanna, thinking to speake with him, which our Captaine for that time would not permit, neither all the next day till noone, whereupon they made signes vnto vs, that we had hanged or-killed him. About noone, there came as great a number in a cluster, as euer we saw, who went to hide themselues in the Forest, except some, who with a loud voice would call and crie to Donnacona to speake vnto them. Our Captaine then commanded Donnacona to be brought vp on high to speake vnto them, and bade him be merrie, for after he had spoken, and shewed vnto the King of France what hee had seene in Saguenay and other countreys, after ten or twelue moneths, he should returne againe, and that the King of France would giue him great rewards, Donnacona was very glad, and speaking to the others told it them, who in token of ioy, gaue out three great cryes, and then Donaconna and his people had great talke together, which for want of interpreters, cannot be described. Our Captaine bade Donnacona that hee should cause them to come to the other side of the riuer, to the end they might better talke together without any feare, and that he should assure them: which Donnacona did, and there came a boate full of the chiefest of them to the ships, and there anew began to talke together, giuing great praise to our captaine, and gaue him a present of foure and twenty chaines of Esurgny, for that is the greatest and preciousest riches they haue in this world, for they esteeme more of that, then of any gold or siluer. After they had long talked together, and that their Lord sawe that there was no remedy to auoide his going into France, hee commanded his people the next day, to bring him some victuals to serue him by the way. Our Captaine gaue Donnacona, as a great present, two Frying pannes of copper, eight Hatchets, and other small trifles, as Kniues, and Beades, whereof hee seemed to be very glad, who sent them to his wiues and children. Likewise, he gaue to them that came to speake with Donnacona, they thanked him greatly for them, and then went to their lodgings.

Four and twenty chains of Esurgny.

How the next day, being the fift of May, the same people came againe to speake vnto their Lord, and how foure women came to the shore to bring him victuals.

Chap. 20.

VPon the fift of May, very early in the morning, a great number of the sayd people came againe to speake vnto their Lord, and sent a boate, which in their tongue they call Casnoni, wherein were onely foure women, without any man, for feare their men shonld be retained.

These women brought great store of victuals, as great Millet, which is their corne that they liue withall, flesh, fish, and other things, after their fashion.

These women being come to our shippes, our Captaine did very friendly entertaine them. Then Donnacona prayed our Captaine to tell these women that hee should come againe after ten or tweluc moneths, and bring Connacona to Canada with him: this hee sayd only to appease them, which our Captaine did: wherefore the women, as well by words as signes, seemed to be very glad, giuing our Captaine thanks, and told him, if he came againe, and brought Donnacona with him, they would giue him many things: in signe whereof, each one gaue our Captaine a chaine of Esurgny, and then passed to the other side of the riuer againe, where stood all the people of Stadacona, who taking all leaue of their Lord, went home againe. On Saturday following, being the sixt of the moneth, we departed out of the sayd Port of Santa Croix, and came to the harborough a little beneath the Island of Orleans, about twelue leagues from the Port of the Holy Crosse, and vpon Sonday we came to the Island of Filberds, where we stayed vntil the sixteenth of that moneth, till the fiercenesse of the waters were past, which at that time ranne too swift a course, and were too dangerous to come downe along the riuer, and therefore we stayed till faire weather came. In the meane while many of Dannaconas subeicts came from the riuer of Saguenay to him, but being by Domagaia aduertised, that their Lord was taken to bee carried into France they were all amazed: yet for all that they would not leaue to come to our ships, to speake to Dannacona, who told them that after twelue moneths he should come againe, and that he was very well vsed by the Captaine, Gentlemen, and Mariners. Which when they heard, they greatly thanked our Captaine and gaue their Lord three bundles of Beauers, and Sea Woolues skinnes, with a great knife of red copper that commeth from Saguenay, and other things. They gaue also to our Captaine a chaine of Esurgny, for which our Captaine gaue them ten or twelue Hatchets, and they gaue him hearty thankes, and were very well contented. The next day, being the sixteenth of May, we hoysed sayle, and came from the said Island of Filberds, to another about fifteene leagues from it, which is about fiue leagues in length, and there, to the end we might take some rest the night following, we stayed that day, in hope the next day we might passe and auoide the dangers of the riuer of Saguenay, which are great. That euening we went a land and found great store of Hares, of which we tooke a great many, and therefore we called it the Island of Hares: in the night there arose a contrary winde, with such stormes and tempest, that wee were constrained to returne to the Island of Filberds againe, from whence wee were come, because there was none other passage among the sayde Islandes, and there we stayed till the one and twentieth of that moneth, till faire weather and good winde came againe: and then wee sayled againe, and that so prosperously, that we passed to Honguedo, which passage vntill that time had not bene discouered: wee caused our ships to course athwart Cape Prat which is the beginning of the Port of Chaleur: and because the winde was

The Isle of Orleans.

Isle de Coudres.

A knife of red coper brought from Saguenay.

The Isle of Hares.

good and conuenient, we sayled all day and all night without staying, and the next day we came to the middle of Brions Island, which we were not minded to doe, to the end we might shorten our way. These two lands lie Northwest, and Southeast, and are about fiftie leagues one from another. The said Island is in latitude 47 degrees and a halfe. Vpon Thursday being the twenty sixe of the moneth, and the feast of the Ascension of our Lord, we coasted ouer to a land and shallow of lowe sandes, which are about eight leagues Southwest from Brions Island, aboue which are large Champaignes, full of trees and also an enclosed sea, whereas we could neither see, nor perceiue any gappe or way to enter thereinto. On Friday following, being the 27 of the moneth, because the wind did change on the coast, we came to Brions Island againe, where we stayed till the beginning of Iune, and toward the Southeast of this Island, wee sawe a lande, seeming vnto vs an Island, we coasted it about two leagues and a halfe, and by the way we had notice of three other high Islands, lying toward the Sands: after wee had knowen these things we returned to the Cape of the sayd land, which doeth diuide it selfe into two or three very high Capes: the waters there are very deepe, and the flood of the sea runneth so swift, that it cannot possibly be swifter. That day we came to Cape Loreine, which is in forty seuen degrees and a halfe toward the South: on which cape there is a low land, and it seemeth that there is some entrance of a riuer, but there is no hauen of any worth. Aboue these lands we saw another cape toward the south, we named it Saint Paules Cape, it is at 47 degrees and a quarter.

The Sonday following, being the fourth of Iune, and Whitsonday, wee had notice of the coast lying Eastsoutheast, distant from the Newfoundland about two and twenty leagues: and because the wind was against vs, we went to a Hauen, which wee named S. Spiritus Porte, where we stayed till Tewesday that we departed thence, sayling along that coast vntill we came to Saint Peters Islands. Wee found along the sayd coast many very dangerous Islands and shelues, which lye all in the Eastsoutheast and Westnorthwest, about three and twenty leagues into the sea. Whilest we were in the sayd Saint Peters Islands we met with many ships of France and of Britaine, wee stayed there from Saint Barnabas day, being the eleuenth of the moneth, vntil the sixteenth that we departed thence and came to Cape Rase, and entred into a Port called Rognoso, where we took in fresh water, and wood to passe the sea: there wee left one of our boates. Then vpon Monday, being the nineteenth of Iune, we went from that Port, and with such good and prosperous weather we sailed along the sea, in such sorte, that vpon the sixt of Iuly 1536 we came to the Porte of S. Malo, by the grace of God, to whom we pray, here ending our Nnuigation, that of his infinite mercy he will grant vs his grace and fauour, and in the end bring vs to the place of euerlasting felicitie. Amen.

Here followeth the language of the countrey, and kingdomes of Hochelaga and Canada, of vs called New France: But first the names of their numbers.

Secada	1	Indahir	6
Tigneni	2	Aiaga	7
Hasche	3	Addigue	8
Hannaion	4	Madellon	9
Ouiscon	5	Assem	10

Here follow the names the chiefest partes of men, and other words necessary to be knowen.

the Head	aggonzi
the Browe	hegueniascon
the Eyes	higata
the Eares	abontascon
the Mouth	esahe
the Teeth	esgongay
the Tongue	osnache
the Throat	agonhon
the Beard	hebelim
the Face	hegouascon
the Haires	aganiscon
the Armes	aiayascon
the Flanckes	aissonne
the Stomacke	aggruascon
the Bellie	eschehenda
the Thighes	hetnegradascon
the Knees	agochinegodascon
the Legges	agouguenehondo
the Feete	onchidascon

the Hands	aignoascon
the Fingers	agenoga
the Nailes	agedascon
a Mans member	ainoascon
a Womans member	castaigne
an Eele	esgueny
a Snaile	vndeguezi
a Tortois	heuleuxima
Woods	conda
leaues of Trees	hoga
God	cudragny
giue me some drink	quazahoaquea
giue me to breakfast	quase hoa quascaboa
giue me my supper	quaza hoa quatfriam
let vs goe to bed	casigno agnydahoa
a Man	aguehum
a woman	agruaste
a Boy	addegesta
a Wench	agniaquesta
a Child	exiasta
a Gowne	cabata
a Doublet	caioza
Hosen	hemondoha
Shooes	atha
a Shirt	amgoua
a Cappe	castrua
Corne	osizi
Bread	carraconny
Water	ame
Flesh	quahouascon
Reisins	queion
Damsons	honnesta
Figges	absconda
Grapes	ozoba
Nuttes	quahoya
a Hen	sahomgahoa
a Lamprey	zisto
a Salmon	ondacon
a Whale	ainne honne
a Goose	sadeguenda
a Streete	adde

Cucumber seede	casconda
to Morrowe	achide
the Heauen	quenhia
the Earth	damga
the Sunne	ysmay
the Moone	assomaha
the Starres	stagnehoham
the Winde	cohoha
good morrow	aignag
let vs go to play	casigno caudy
come and speak with me	assigniquaddadia
looke vpon me	quagathoma
hold your peace	aista
let vs go with yͤ boat	casigno casnouy
giue me a knife	buazahca agoheda
a Hatchet	adogne
a Bow	ahenca
a Darte	quaetan
let vs goe a hunting	Casigno donnascat
a Stagge	aionnesta
a Sheepe	asquenondo
a Hare	Sourhanda
a Dogge	agaya
a Towne	canada
the Sea	agogasy
the waues of the sea	coda
an Island	cohena
an Hill	agacha
the yce	honnesca
Snow	camsa
Colde	athau
Hotte	odazani
Fier	azista
Smoke	quea
a House	canoca
Beanes	sahe
Cinnamom	adhotathny
my Father	addathy
my Mother	adanahoe
my Brother	addagrim
my Sister	adhoasseue

They of Canada say, that it is a moneths sayling to goe a lande where Cinnamom and Cloues are gathered.

Here endeth the Relation of Iames Cartiers discouery and Nauigation to the Newfoundlands, by him named New France.

The third voyage of discouery made by Captaine Iaques Cartier, 1540. vnto the Countreys of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay.

KIng Francis the first hauing heard the report of Captaine Cartier his Pilot generall in his two former Voyages of discouery, as well by writing as by word of mouth, touching that which hee had found and seene in the Westerne partes discouered by him in the parts of Canada and Hochelaga, and hauing also seene and talked with the people, which the sayd Cartier had brought out of those Countreys, whereof one was king of Canada, whose name was Donnacona, and others: which after that they had bene a long time in France and Britaine, were baptized at their owne desire and request, and died in the sayd countrey of Britaine. And albeit his Maiestie was aduertized by the sayd Cartier of the death and decease of all the people which were brought ouer by him (which were tenne in number) sauing one little girle about tenne yeeres old, yet he resolued to send the sayd Cartier his Pilot thither againe, with Iohn Francis de la Roche, Knight, Lord of Roberual,* whome hee appointed his Lieutenant and Gouernour in the Countreys of Canada and Hochelaga, and the sayd Cartier Captaine Generall and leader of the shippes, that they might discouer more then was done before in the former voyages, and attaine (if it were possible) vnto the knowledge of the Countrey of Saguenay, whereof the people brought by Cartier, as is declared, made mention vnto the King, that there were great riches, and very good countreys. And the King caused a certaine summe of money to be deliuered to furnish out the sayd voyage with fiue shippes: which thing was performed by the sayd Monsieur Roberual and Cartier. After that they had agreed together to rigge the sayd fiue ships at Saint Malo in Britaine, where the two former voyages had beene prepared and

Ten Sauages brought into France.

Great riches and very good soile in Saguenay, which is beyond yᵉ saults.

---

* Near Boulogne, between that town and Calais.

set forth. And the said Monsieur Roberual sent Cartier thither for the same purpose. And after that Cartier had caused the said fiue ships to be built and furnished and set in good order, Monsieur Roberual came downe to S. Malo and found the ships fallen downe to the roade, with their yards acrosse full ready to depart and set saile, staying for nothing else but the comming of the Generall, and the payment of the furniture. And because Monsieur Roberual the kings lieutenant had not as yet his artillery, powder and munitions, and other things necessary come downe, which he had prouided for the voyage, in the Countreys of Champaigne and Normandie: and because the said things were very necessary, and that hee was loth to depart without them, he determined to depart from S. Malo to Roan, and to prepare a ship or two at Honfleur, whither he thought his things were come: And that the said Cartier shoulde depart with the fiue shippes which he had furnished, and should goe before. Considering also that the said Cartier had receiued letters from the king, whereby hee did expresly charge him to depart and set sayle immediatly vpon the sight and receit thereof, on payne of incurring his displeasure, and to lay all the fault on him. And after the conclusion of these things, and the said Monsieur Roberual had taken muster and view of the gentlemen, souldiers, and mariners which were retained and chosen for the performance of the sayd voyage, hee gaue vnto Captain Cartier full authoritie to depart and goe before, and to gouerne all things as if he had bene there in person: and himselfe departed to Honfleur to make his farther preparation. After these things thus dispatched, the winde comming faire, the foresayd fiue ships set sayle together well furnished and victualled for two yeere, the 23. of May, 1540. And we sailed so long with contrary winds and continuall torments, which fell out by reason of our late departure, that wee were on the sea with our sayd fiue ships full three moneths before wee could arriue at the Port and Hauen of Canada, without euer hauing in all that time 30 houres of good wind to serue vs to keepe our right course: so that our fiue shippes through those stormes lost company one of another, all saue that two kept together, to wit that wherein the Captaine was, and the other wherein went the Viscount of Beaupre, vntill at length at the end of one moneth wee met all together at the Hauen

The kings letters to Cartier.

The great mischiefe of leesing the season.

Carpont Hauen.

of Carpont in Newfoundland. But the length of time which we were in passing betweene Britayne and Newfoundland was the cause that we stood in great neede of water, because of the cattell, aswell Goates, Hogges, as other beastes which we caried for breede in the Countrey, which wee were constrained to water with Sider and other drinke. Now therefore because we were the space of three moneths in sayling on the sea, and staying in Newfoundland, wayting for Monsieur Roberual, and taking in of fresh water and other things necessary, wee arriued not before the Hauen of Saincte Croix in Canada, (where in the former voyage we had remayned eight moneths) vntill the 23. day of August. In which place the people of the Countrey came to our shippes, making shew of ioy for our arriuall, and namely he came thither which had the rule and gouernment of the Countrey of Canada, named Agona, which was appointed king there by Donacona, when in the former voyage we carried him into France. And hee came to the Captaines ship with 6. or 7. boates, and with many women and children. And after the sayd Agona had inquired of the Captaine where Donacona and the rest were, the Captaine answered him, That Donacona was dead in France, and that his body rested in the earth, and that the rest stayed there as great Lords, and were maried, and would not returne backe into their Countrey: the said Agona made no shewe of anger at all these speeches: and I thinke he tooke it so well because he remained Lord and Gouernour of the countrey by the death of the said Donacona. After which conference the said Agona tooke a piece of tanned leather of a yellow skin edged about with Esnoguy (which is their riches and the thing which they esteeme most precious, as wee esteeme gold) which was vpon his head in stead of a crowne, and he put the same on the head of our Captaine, and tooke from his wrists two bracelets of Esnoguy, and put them vpon the Captaines armes, colling him about the necke, and shewing vnto him great signes of ioy: which was all dissimulation, as afterward it wel appeared. The captaine tooke his said crowne of leather and put it againe vpon his head, and gaue him and his wiues certaine smal presents, signifying vnto him that he had brought certaine new things, which afterward he would bestow vpon him: for which the sayd Agona thanked the Captaine.

Transporting of diuers sorts of cattell for breed.

The new king of Canada.

Great dissimulation of a Sauage.

And after that he had made him and his company eat and drinke, they departed and returned to the shore with their boates. After which things the sayd Captaine went with two of his boates vp the riuer, beyond Canada and the Port of Saincte Croix, to view a Hauen and a small riuer, which is about 4. leagues higher: which he found better and more commodious to ride in and lay his ships, then the former. And therefore he returned and caused all his ships to be brought before the sayd riuer, and at a lowe water he caused his Ordinance to bee planted to place his ships in more safetie, which he meant to keepe and stay in the Countrey, which were three: which hee did the day following. and the rest remayned in the roade in the middest of the riuer (In which place the victuals and other furniture were discharged, which they had brought) from the 26. of August vntill the second of September, what time they departed to returne for S. Malo, in which ships he sent backe Mace Iolloberte his brother in lawe, and Steuen Noel his Nephew, skilfull and excellent pilots, with letters vnto the king, and to aduertise him what had bene done and found: and how Monsieur Roberual was not yet come, and that hee feared that by occasion of contrary winds and tempests he was driven backe againe into France.

A good roade 4. leagues aboue Saincte Croix.

The description of the aforesayd Riuer and Hauen.

THe sayd Riuer is small, not past 50. pases broad, and shippes drawing three fathoms water may enter in at a full sea: and at a low water there is nothing but a chanell of a foote deepe or thereabout. On both sides of the said Riuer there are very good and faire grounds, full of as faire and mightie trees as any be in the world, and diuers sorts, which are aboue tenne fathoms higher then the rest, and there is one kind of tree aboue three fathoms about, which they in the Countrey call Hanneda, which hath the most excellent vertue of all the trees in the world, whereof I will make mention hereafter. Moreouer there are great store of Okes the most excellent that euer I saw in my life, which were so laden with Mast that they cracked againe: besides this there are fairer Arables, Cedars, Beeches, and other trees, then grow in France: and hard vnto this wood

Trees aboue 3. fathoms about.

Hanneda the most excellent tree of the world.

Abundance of Vines full of grapes.

on the South side the ground is all couered with Vines, which we found laden with grapes as blacke as Mulberies, but they be not so kind as those of France because the Vines bee not tilled, and because they grow of their owne accord. Moreouer there are many white Thornes, which beare leaues as bigge as oken leaues, and fruit like vnto Medlers. To bee short, it is as good a Countrey to plow and mannure as a man should find or desire. We sowed seedes here of our Countrey, as Cabages, Naueaus,* Lettises and others, which grew and sprung vp out of the ground in eight dayes. The mouth of the riuer is toward the South, and it windeth Northward like vnto a snake: and at the mouth of it toward the East there is a high and steepe cliffe, where we made a way in manner of a payre of staires, and aloft we made a Fort to keepe the nether Fort and the ships, and all things that might passe by the great as by this small riuer. Moreouer a man may behold a great extension of ground apt for tillage, straite and handsome, and somewhat enclining toward the South, as easie to be brought to tillage as I would desire, and very well replenished with faire Okes and other trees of great beauty, no thicker then the Forrests of France. Here we set twenty men to worke, which in one day had laboured about an acre and an halfe of the said ground, and sowed it part with Naueaus or small Turneps, which at the ende of eight dayes, as I said before, sprang out of the earth. And vpon that high cliffe wee found a faire fountaine very neere the sayd Fort: adioyning whereunto we found good store of stones, which we esteemed to be Diamants. On the other side of the said mountaine and at the foote thereof, which is towards the great Riuer is all along a goodly Myne of the best yron in the world, and it reacheth euen hard vnto our Fort, and the sand which we tread on is perfect refined Myne, ready to be put into the fornace. And on the waters side we found certaine leaues of fine gold as thicke as a mans nayle. And Westward of the said Riuer there are, as hath bene sayd, many faire trees: and toward the water a goodly Medow full of as faire and goodly grasse as euer I sawe in any Medowe in

Fruit like Medlers.

Seed sprong out of the ground within 8 dayes.

A great plaine of very good arable ground.

Diamants of Canada.

---

* Turnips. (French, *Navets*).

France: and betweene the said Medow and the Wood are great store of Vines: and beyond the said Vines the land groweth full of Hempe which groweth of it selfe, which is as good as possibly may be seene, and as strong. And at the ende of the sayd Medow within an hundred pases there is a rising ground, which is of a kind of slate stone blacke and thicke, wherein are veines of mynerall matter, which shewe like gold and siluer: and throughout all that stone there are great graines of the sayd Myne. And in some places we haue found stones like Diamants, the most faire, pollished and excellently cut that it is possible for a man to see, when the Sunne shineth vpon them, they glister as it were sparkles of fire.

Excellent and strong hempe.

How after the departure of the two shippes which were sent backe into Britaine, and that the Fort was begun to be builded, the Captaine prepared two boates to go vp the great Riuer to discouer the passage of the three Saults or falles of the Riuer.

THe said Captaine hauing dispatched two ships to returne to carry newes, according as hee had in charge from the king, and that the Fort was begun to be builded, for preseruation of their victuals and other things, determined with the Vicount of Beaupre, and other Gentlemen, Masters, and Pilots chosen for counsayle, to make a voyage with two boates furnished with men and victuals to goe as farre as Hochelaga, of purpose to view and vnderstand the fashion of the Saults of water, which are to be passed to goe to Saguenay, that hee might be the readier in the spring to passe farther, and in the Winter time to make all things needefull in a readinesse for their businesse. The foresaid boates being made ready, the Captaine and Martine de Painpont, with other Gentlemen and the remnant o the Mariners departed from the sayd place of Charlesburg Royal the seuenth day of September in the yeere aforesayd 1540. And the Vicount of Beaupre stayed behind for the garding and gouernement of all things in the Fort. And as they went vp the riuer, the Captaine went to see the Lord of Hochelay, which dwelleth betweene Canada and Hochelaga: which in the former voyage had giuen vnto the said Captaine a little girle, and had oftentimes enformed him of the treasons

The rich countrey of Saguenay situated beyond the Saults which are in 44. deg.

They depart from Charlesburg Royal the 7. of Septem.

which Taignoagny and Domagaya (whom the Captaine in his former voyage had caried into France) would haue wrought against him. In regard of which his curtesie the said Captaine would not passe by without visiting of him, and to let him vnderstand that the Captaine thought himselfe beholding vnto him, hee gaue vnto him two yong boyes, and left them with him to learne their language, and bestowed vpon him a cloake of Paris red, which cloake was set with yealow and white buttons of Tinne, and small belles. And withall hee gaue him two Basons of Laton, and certaine hached and kniues: whereat the sayde Lord seemed highly to reioyce, and thanked the Captaine. This done, the Captaine and his company departed from that place: And wee sailed with so prosperous a wind, that we arriued the eleuenth day of the moneth at the first Sault of water, which is two leagues distant from the Towne of Tutonaguy. And after wee were arriued there, wee determined to goe and passe as farre vp as it was possible with one of the boates, and that the other should stay there till it returned: and wee double manned her to rowe vp against the course or streame of the sayde Sault. And after wee had passed some part of the way from our other boate, wee found badde ground and great rockes, and so great a current, that wee could not possibly passe any further with our Boate. And the Captaine resolued to goe by land to see the nature and fashion of the Sault. And after that we were come on shore, wee founde hard by the water side a way and beaten path going toward the sayde Saultes, by which wee tooke our way. And on the sayd way, and soone after we found an habitation of people which made vs great cheere, and entertained vs very friendly. And after that he had signified vnto them, that wee were going toward the Saults, and that wee desired to goe to Saguenay, foure yong men went along with vs to shewe vs the way, and they brought vs so farre that wee came to another village or habitation of good people, which dwell ouer against the second Sault, which came and brought vs of their victuals, as Pottage and Fish, and offered vs of the same. After that the Captaine had enquired of them as well by signes as wordes, how many more Saults we had to passe to goe to Saguenay, and what distance and way it was thither, this people shewed vs and gaue vs to vnderstand, that

They delight in red cloth.

The 11 of September.

Bad ground and a great current.

Another village of good people which dwell ouer against the second Sault.

wee were at the second Sault, and that there was but one more to passe, that the Riuer was not nauigable to goe to Saguenay, and that the sayd Sault was but a third part farther then we had trauailed, shewing vs the same with certaine little stickes, which they layd vpon the ground in a certaine distance, and afterward layde other small branches betweene both, representing the Saults. And by the sayde marke, if their saying be true, it can be but sixe leagues by land to passe the sayd Saults.

[Here after followeth the figure of the three Saults.]

AFter that we had bene aduertised by the sayde people, of the things abouementioned, both because the day was farre spent, and we had neither drunke nor eaten the same day, we concluded to returne vnto our boats, and we came thither, where we found great store of people to the number of 400 persons or thereabout, which seemed to giue vs very good entertainment and to reioyce of our comming: And therefore our Captaine gaue eche of them certaine small trifles, as combs, brooches of tynne and copper, and other smal toyes, and vnto the chiefe men euery one his litle hatchet and hooke, whereat they made certaine cries and ceremonies of ioy. But a man must not trust them for all their faire ceremonies and signes of ioy, for if they had thought they had bene too strong for vs, then would they haue done their best to haue killed vs, as we vnderstood afterward. This being done, we returned with our boats, and passed by the dwelling of the Lord of Hochelay, with whom the Captaine had left the two youths as hee came vp the riuer, thinking to haue found him: But hee coulde find no body saue one of his sonnes, who tolde the Captaine that hee was gone to Maisouna, as our boyes also told vs, saying that it was two dayes since he departed. But in truth hee was gone to Canada to conclude with Angona what they should doe against vs. And when we were arriued at our Fort, wee vnderstoode by our people, that the Sauages of the Countrey came not any more about our Fort as they were accustomed, to bring vs fish, and that they were in a wonderful doubt and feare of vs. Wherefore our Captaine, hauing bene aduertised by some

400 persons about their boates.

Like those of new Albion.

The sauages are great dissemblers.

The Sauages conspire together against the French.

of our men which had bene at Stadacona to visite them, that there were a wonderfull number of the Countrey people assembled together, caused all things in our fortresse to bee set in good order: &c.

A very great number of Sauages assembled together.

The rest is wanting.

A letter written to M. Iohn Growte student in Paris, by Iaques Noel of S. Malo, the nephew of Iaques Cartier, touching the foresaid discouery.

MAster Growte, your brother in law Giles Walter shewed me this morning a Mappe printed at Paris, dedicated to one M. Hakluyt an Englishman: wherein all the West Indies, the kingdome of New Mexico, and the countreys of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay are contained. I hold that the Riuer of Canada which is described in that Mappe is not marked as it is in my booke, which is agreeable to the booke of Iaques Cartier: and that the sayd Chart doth not marke or set downe The great Lake, which is aboue the Saults, according as the Sauages haue aduertised vs, which dwell at the sayd Saults. In the foresayd Chart which you sent me hither, the Great Lake is placed too much toward the North.* The Saults or falles of the Riuer stand in 44. degrees of latitude: it is not so hard a matter to passe them, as it is thought: The water falleth not downe from any high place, it is nothing else but that in the middest of the Riuer there is bad ground. It were best to build boates aboue the Saults: and it is easie to march or trauell by land to the end of the three Saults: it is not aboue fiue leagues iourney. I haue bene vpon the toppe of a mountaine, which is at the foot of the Saults, where I haue seene the said Riuer beyond the sayd Saultes, which shewed vnto vs to be broader then it was where we passed it. The people of the Countrey aduertised vs, that there are ten dayes iourney from the Saults vnto this Great Lake. We know not how many leagues they make to a dayes iourney. At this present I cannot write vnto you more at large, because the messenger

The Saults are in 44. deg. and easie to passe.

But 5. leagues iourney to passe the 3 Saults.

Ten dayes iourney from the Saults to this great Lake.

---

* This may refer either to Lake St. Peter or Lake Ontario; I should think the latter.

can stay no longer. Here therefore for the present I will ende, saluting you with my hearty commendations, praying God to giue you your hearts desire. From S. Malo in haste this 19 day of Iune. 1587.

Your louing Friend,
IAQVES NOEL.

COsin, I pray you doe me so much pleasure as to send me a booke of the discouery of New Mexico, and one of those new Mappes of the West Indies dedicated to M. Hakluyt the English Gentleman, which you sent to your brother in law Giles Walter. I will not faile to informe my selfe, if there be any meane to find out those descriptions which Captain Cartier made after his two last voyages into Canada.

Vnderneath the aforesaid vnperfite relation that which followeth is written in another letter sent to M. Iohn Growte student in Paris from Iaques Noel of S. Malo, the grand nephew of Iaques Cartier.

I Can write nothing else vnto you of any thing that I can recouer of the writings of Captaine Iaques Cartier my vncle disceased, although I haue made search in all places that I could possibly in this Towne: sauing of a certaine booke made in maner of a sea Chart, which was drawne by the hand of my said vncle, which is in the possession of master Cremeur: which booke is passing well marked and drawne for all the Riuer of Canada, whereof I am well assured, because I myself haue knowledge thereof as farre as to the Saults, where I haue bene: The height of which Saults is in 44. degrees. I found in the sayd Chart beyond the place where the Riuer is diuided in twaine in the midst of both the branches of the said riuer somewhat neerest that arme which runneth toward the Northwest, these words following written in the hand of Iacques Cartier.

By the people of Canada and Hochelaga it was said, That here is the land of Saguenay, which is rich and wealthy in precious stones.

And about an hundred leagues vnder the same I found written these two lines following in the saide Carde enclining toward the Southwest. Here in this Countrey are Cinamon and Cloues, which they call in their language Canodeta.

Touching the effect of my booke whereof I spake vnto you, it is made after the maner of a sea Chart, which I haue deliuered to my two sonnes Michael and Iohn, which at this present are in Canada. If at their returne, which will be God willing about Magdalene tyde, they haue learned any new thing worthy the writing, I will not faile to aduertise you thereof.

Your louing Friend,
IAQVES NOEL.

Here followeth the course from Belle Isle, Carpont, and the Grand Bay in Newfoundland vp the Riuer of Canada for the space of 230. leagues, obserued by Iohn Alphonse of Xanctoigne chiefe Pilote to Monsieur Roberual, 1542.

BElles Isles are in 51 degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$. Belles Isles and Carpont are Northnorthwest and Southsoutheast, and they are ten leagues distant. Carpont is in 52 degrees. Carpont and Bell Isle from the Grand Bay are Northeast and Southwest, and the distance from Bell Isle to the Grand Bay is 7 leagues. The midst of the Grand Bay is in 52 degrees and an halfe, and on the Northside thereof there is a rocke: halfe a league from the Isle, ouer against Carpont toward the East there is a small flat Island, and on the side toward the Northeast there is a flat rocke. And when thou commest out of the harborough of Carpont thou must leaue this rocke on the starreboord side, and also on the larboord side there are two or three small Isles: and when thou commest out on the Northeast side, ranging along the shore toward the West about two pikes length in the midway there is a shold which lyeth on thy starboord side: and saile thou by the North coast, and leaue two partes of the Grand Bay toward the South; because there is a rocke which runneth 2 or 3 leagues into the sea. And when thou art come athwart the hauen of Butes, run along the North shore about one league or an halfe off, for the coast is without all danger; Bell Isle in the mouth of the Grand Bay, and the Isles of Blanc Sablon, which are within the Grand Bay, neere vnto the North shore lie Northeast, West and Southwest, and the distance is 30 leagues. The Grand Bay at the entrance is but 7 leagues broad from land to land vntill it come ouer against the Bay des Chasteaux: and from thence forward it hath not past 5 leagues in breadth. And against Blanc Sablon it is

The Isle of Blanc Sablon or white sand.

8 leagues broad from land to land. And the land on the South shore is all low land along the sea coast. The North shore is reasonable high land, Blanc Sablon is in 51 degrees $\frac{2}{3}$. The Isles of Blanc Sablon and the Isles de la Damoiselle, are Northeast, Westsouthwest, and take a little of the Westsouthwest, and they are distant 36 leagues: these Isles are in 50. deg. $\frac{3}{4}$. And there is a good hauen: and you may enter by an high Cape which lieth along toward the Northeast, and within the distance of a pike and an halfe, because of a rocke which lieth on your larrebord side, and you may ancre in 10 fathome water ouer against a little nooke: and from the great headland vnto the place where thou doest ancre there is not aboue the length of 2 Cables. And if thou wouldest go out by the West side, thou must saile neere the Isle by the starrebord, and giue roome vnto the Isle on the larbord at the comming forth: and when thou art not past a cables length out thou must saile hard by the Isles on the larbord side, by reason of a suncken flatte which lieth on the starrebord, and thou shalt saile so on to the Southsouthwest, vntill thou come in sight of a rocke which shineth, which is about halfe a league in the sea distant from the Isles, and thou shalt leaue it on the larrebord: (and from the Isles of Damoiselle vnto Newfoundland the sea is not in bredth aboue 36. leagues, because that Newfoundland euen vnto Cape Briton runneth not but Northnortheast and Southsouthwest.) Between the Isles de la Damoiselle and the Isles of Blanck Sablon there be many Isles and good harbours: and on this coast there are faulcons and haukes, and certaine foules which seeme to be feasants. The Isles de la Damoiselle and Cape Tienot are Northeast and Westsouthwest and take a little of the Northeast and southwest, and they are distant 18. leagues. Cape Tienot is in 50. deg. and $\frac{1}{4}$. And there the sea is broadest. And it may be to the end of Newfoundland, which is at the entrance of Cape Briton 70 leagues, which is the greatest bredth cf the sea. And there are 6 or 7 Isles between the Isles de la Damoiselle and Cape Tienot. Cape Tienot hath in y^e^ sea 5 or 6 leagues distant from it a suncken Iland dangerous for ships. The Cape Tienot and the midst of the Isle of Ascension are Northeast and southsouthwest, and they are 22. leagues distant, the midst of the Isle of Ascension is in 49 deg. and $\frac{1}{2}$. The said Isle lieth Northwest and Southeast, the Northwest end is in 50. degrees of

The Isle
Ascention,
Assumption
or Natiscotec.

latitude and the Southeast end is in 48. degrees and a halfe and it is about 25. leagues long and 4. or 5. leagues broad: and from the Northwest end of the Isle vnto the firme land of the North side the Sea is not aboue seuen leagues broad, but vnto the firme land on the South side are about 15. leagues. Cape Tienot and the end of the Isle of Ascention toward the Southeast are Northeast and Southwest, and are distant 30. leagues. The said Cape of Tienot and the Northwest end of the Isle of Ascension are East and West, and take a little of the Northeast and Southwest, and they are distant 34. leagues. The Isle of Ascension is a goodly Isle, and a goodly champion land without any hilles, standing all vpon white rocks and Alablaster, all couered with trees vnto the Sea shore, and there are al sorts of trees as there be in France: and there be wild beasts, as beares, Luserns, Porkespicks.* And from the Southeast end of the Isle of Ascension vnto the entrance of Cape Briton is but 50. leagues. The Northwest end of the Isle and the Cape des Monts nostre Dame,† which is on the maine land towards the South, are Northeast and Westsouthwest, and the distance betweene them is 15. leagues. The Cape is in 49. degrees, which is a very high land. The Cape and end of the Isle of Ascension toward the Southeast are East and West and there is 15. leagues distance betweene them. The Bay of Molues or Gaspay‡ is in 48. degrees, and the coast lyeth North and South, and taketh a quarter of the Northeast and Southwest vnto the Bay of Heate :§ and there are 3. Isles, one great one and two smal: from the Bay of Heate vntill you passe the Monts nostre Dame al the land is high and good ground al couered with trees. Ognedoc is a good Bay and lyeth Northnorthwest and Southsoutheast, and it is a good Harbour: and you must saile along the shore on the Northside by reason of the low point at the entrance therof: and when you are passed the poynt bring your selfe to an ancre in 15. or 20. fathoms of water toward the South shore, and here within this Hauen are two riuers, one which goeth

The commendation of the Isle of Ascension.

---

* Hedgehogs.

† Query, Mount Logan.

‡ Cape Gaspe.

§ Chaleur Bay.

toward the Northwest, and the other to the Southwest. And on this coast there is great fishing for Coddes and other fish, where there is more store then is in Newfoundland, and better fish. And here is great store of riuer foule, as Malards, wild Geese, and others: And here are all sorts of trees, Rose trees, Raspesses, Filbrid[*] trees, Apple trees, Peare trees, and it is better here in Sommer then in France. The Isle of Ascension and the 7. Isles which lie on the North shore lie Southeast and Westnorthwest, and are distant 24. leagues. The Cape of Ognedoc and the 7. Isles are Northnorthwest and Southsoutheast, and are distant 35. leagues. The Cape of Monts nostre Dame and the 7. Isles are North and South, and the cut ouer from the one to the other is 25. leagues: and this is the breadth of this Sea, and from thence vpward it beginneth to waxe narrower and narrower. The 7. Isles are in 50. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. The 7. Isles and the poynt of Ongear lie Northeast and Southwest and the distance betweene them is 15. leagues, and betweene them are certaine small Islands: and the point of Ongear and the mountaines Nostre Dame, which are on the South side of the entrance of the riuer, are North and South: and the cut ouer from the one to the other is ten leagues: and this is here the abredth of the Sea. The poynt of Ongear and the riuer of Caen lie East and West, and they are distant 12. leagues. And all the coast from the Isle of Ascension hither is very good ground, wherin growe all sorts of trees that are in France and some fruits. The poynt of Ongear is in 49. degrees and $\frac{1}{4}$. And the riuer of Caen and the Isle of Raquelle lye Northeast and Southwest, and they are distant 12. leagues. The Isle of Raquelle is in 48. degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$. In this riuer of Caen there is great store of fish. And here the Sea is not past 8. leagues broad. The Isle of Raquelle is a very low Isle, which is neere vnto the South shore, hard by a high Cape which is called the Cape of Marble. There is no danger there at all. And betweene Raquelle and the Cape of Marble ships may passe. And there is not from the Isle to the South shore aboue one league, and from the Isle vnto the North shore about foure leagues. The Isle of Raquelle

Greater store and better fish then in Newfoundland.

The mouth of the riuer of Canada twenty fiue leagues broad.

The riuer is here but 10 leagues broad.

The riuer 8 leagues broad.

---

[*] Filbert.

The riuer not past 4 leagues ouer.

Note.

and the entrance of Saguenay are Northeast Westsouthwest, and are distant 14. leagues, and there are betweene them two small Islandes neere the North shore. The entrance of Saguenay is in 48. degrees and $\frac{1}{3}$, and the entrance hath not past a quarter of a league in breadth, and it is dangerous toward the Southwest: and two or three leagues within the entrance it beginneth to waxe wider and wider: and it seemeth to bee as it were an arme of the Sea: And I thinke that the same runneth into the Sea of Cathay,* for it sendeth foorth there a great current, and there doth runne in that place a terrible rase or tyde. And here the riuer from the North shore to the South shore is not past foure leagues in breadth, and it is a dangerous passage betweene both the lands, because there lie bankes of rockes in the riuer. The Isle of Raquelle and the Isle of Hares lye Northeast and Southwest, and take $\frac{1}{4}$ of the East and the West, and they are distant 18. leagues. The entrance of Saguenay and the Isle of Liepueres or Hares lie Northnortheast and Southsouthwest, and are distant 5. leagues. The entrance of Saguenay and the Isle of Raquelle are Northnorthwest, and Southsouthwest, and are distant three leagues. The Isle of Hares is in 48 and $\frac{1}{16}$ of a degree. From the Mountaines of Nostre Dame vnto Canada† and vnto Hochelaga, all the land on the South coast is faire, a lowe land and goodly champaigne, all couered with trees vnto the brink of the riuer. And the land on the North side is higher, and in some places there are high mountaines. And from the Isle of Hares vnto the Isle of Orleans the riuer is not past 4 or 5 leagues broad. Betweene the Isle of Hares and the highland on the North side the sea is not past a league and a halfe broad, and it is very deepe, for it is aboue 100. fathoms deepe in the middest. To the East of the Isle of Hares there are 2 or 3 small Isles and rockes. And from hence to the Isle des Coudres or of Filbeards, all is nothing but Isles and rockes on the South shore: and towards the North the sea is fayre and deepe. The Isle of Hares and the Isle of Filbeards lie northeast, West and Southwest, and they are distant 12 leagues. And you must alwayes run along the high land on the north shore; for on the other shore there is nothing but rocks. And you must passe by the side of the Isle of Filbeards, and the riuer there is not past a quarter of a league broad, and you must sayle in the middest of the chanel: and in the middest runneth the best passage either at an hie or a low water, because the sea runneth there strongly, and there are great dangers of rocks, and you had neede of good ancre and cable. The isle of Filbeards is a small isle, about one league long, and halfe a league broad, but they are all banks of sand. The isle of Filberds stands in 47. deg. and $\frac{3}{4}$. The isle of Filberds and the isle of Orleans lie northeast and southwest, and they are distant 10 leagues, and thou must passe by the high land on the northside about a quarter of a league, because that in the midst of the riuer there is nothing but sholds and rocks. And when thou shalt bee ouer against a round Cape, thou must take ouer to the South shore southwest, and a quarter toward the south; and thou shalt sayle in 5. 6 and 7 fathoms: and there the riuer of Canada beginneth to bee fresh, and the salt water endeth. And when thou shalt be athwart the point of the isle of Orleans, where the riuer beginneth to be fresh, thou shalt sayle in the midst of the riuer, and thou shalt leaue the isle on the starreboord, which is on the right hand: and here the riuer is not past a quarter of a league broad, and hath 20 and 30 fathoms water. And towards the South shore there is a ledge of Isles all couered with trees, and they end ouer against the point of the Isle of Orleans. And the poynt of the Isle of Orleans toward the Northeast is in 47 degrees and one terce of a degree. And the Isle of Orleans is a fayre Isle, all couered with trees euen vnto the riuers side: and it is about 5 leagues long, and a league and an halfe broade. And on the North shore there is another Riuer, which falleth into the mayne Riuer at the ende of the Island: and Shippes may very well passe there. From the middest of the Isle vnto Canada the Riuer runneth West; and from the place of Canada vnto France-Roy the riuer turneth West Southwest: and from the West ende of the Isle to Canada is but one league; and vnto France-Roy 4 leagues. And when thou art come to the end of the Isle thou shalt see a great Riuer which falleth fifteene or twenty fathoms downe from a rocke, and maketh a terrible noyse. The Fort of France-roy stands in 47 degrees, and one sixt part of a degree.

---

* Saguenay River really rises in Lake St. John.

† The word *Canada* in the native tongue meant, as we have seen above, a town, and is probably the modern Rimouski.

The beginning of the fresh water.

The riuer but a quarter of a league broad.

The extension of all these lands, vpon iust occasion is called

Why the countrey is colder in the Winter then France.

A second reason.

The variation of ye compasse.

New France. For it is as good and as temperate as France, and in the same latitude. And the reason wherefore it is colder in the Winter is, because the fresh Riuer is naturally more colde then the Sea; and it is also broad and deepe: and in some places it is halfe a league and aboue in breadth. And also because the land is not tylled, nor full of people, and is all full of Woods, which is the cause of colde, because there is not store of fire nor cattel. And the sunne hath his Meridian as high as the Meridian at Rochel: and it is noone here when the Sunne is at South Southwest at Rochel. And here the north starre by the compasse standeth North northeast. And when at Rochel it is noone, it is but halfe an houre past nine at France-Roy. From the sayde place vnto the Ocean sea and the coast of New France, is not aboue 50 leagues distance. And from the entrance of Norumbega[*] vnto Florida are 300 leagues: and from this place of France-Roy to Hochelaga, are about 80 leagues: and vnto ye Isle of Rasus 30 leagues. And I doubt not but Norumbega entereth into the riuer of Canada, and vnto the Sea of Saguenay. And from the Fort of France-Roy vntill a man come foorth of the Grand Bay is not aboue 230 leagues. And the course is Northeast and West Southwest not aboue 5 degrees and $\frac{1}{3}$ difference: and reckon 16 leagues and an halfe to a degree. By the nature of the climate the lands toward Hocheslaga are still better and better, and more fruitfull. And this land is fitte for Figges and Peares. And I thinke that gold and siluer will be found here, according as the people of the countrey say. These landes lye ouer against Tartarie, and I doubt not but that they stretch toward Asia, according to the roundnesse of the world. And therefore it were good to haue a small Shippe of 70 tunnes to discouer the coast of New France on the backe side of

Gold and siluer like to be found in Canada.

---

[*] The name *Norumbega* had a different meaning at different periods. First, there was the fabulous city of Norumbega, situated on the Penobscot. Secondly, there was the country of Norumbega, embracing Nova Scotia and New England, and at one time reaching from Cape Breton to 30 deg. in Florida. Subsequently it receded to narrower limits and embraced only the region on both sides of the river above named. (Woods, Introduction to Western Planting, p. lii.)

Florida: for I haue bene at a Bay as farre as 42 degrees betweene Norumbega and Florida, and I haue not searched the ende thereof, and I knowe not whether it passe through.* And in all these Countreys there are okes, and bortz, ashes, elmes, arables, trees of life, pines, prussetrees, ceders, great wall nut trees, and wilde nuts, hasel-trees, wilde peare trees, wilde grapes, and there haue bene found redde plummes. And very faire corne groweth there and peason grow of their owne accord, gooseberries and straw berries. And there are goodly Forrests, wherein men may hunt And there are great store of stagges, deere, porkepicks, and the Sauages say there bee Vnicornes. Fowle there are in abundance, as bustards, wilde geese, cranes, turtle doues, rauens, crowes, and many other birds. All things which are sowen there, are not past two or three dayes in coming vp out of the ground. I haue tolde in one eare of corne an hundred and twenty graines, like the corne of France. And ye neede not to sowe your Wheate vntill March, and it will be ripe in the middest of August. The waters are better and perfecter then in France. And if the Countrey were tilled and replenished with people, it would be as hotte as Rochel. And the reason why it snoweth there oftener then in France is, because it raineth there but seldome: for the raine is conuerted into snowes.

A Bay in 42. degrees giuing some hope of a passage.

The cause of the often snowing in Canada.

All things aboue mentioned, are true.

Iohn Alphonse made this Voyage with Monsieur Roberual.

There is a pardon to be seene for the pardoning of Monsieur de Saine terre, Lieutenant of the sayd Monsieur de Roberual, giuen in Canada in the presence of the sayde Iohn Alphonse.

The Voyage of Iohn Francis de la Roche, knight, Lord of Roberual, to the Countries of Canada, Saguenai, and Hochelaga, with three tall Ships, and two hundred persons, both men, women, and children, begun in April, 1542. In which parts he remayned the same summer, and all the next winter.

SIr Iohn Francis de la Roche knight, lord of Roberual, appoynted by the king as his Lieutenant general in the countreis of Canada, Saguenay, and Hochelaga, furnished 3. tall Ships, chiefly at the kings cost: And hauing in his fleete 200. persons, aswel men as women, accompanied with diuers gentlemen of qualitie, as namely with Monsieur Saineterre his lieutenant, l'Espiney his Ensigne, captain Guinecourt, Monsieur Noire Fontaine, Dieu Lamont, Frote, la Brosse, Francis de Mire, la Salle, and Roieze, and Iohn Alfonse of Xanctoigne an excellent pilot, set sayle from Rochel the 16. of April 1542. The same day about noone we came athwart of Chefe de boys, where we were enforced to stay the night following. On Munday the seuenteenth of the sayde Moneth wee departed from Chefe de-boys. The winde serued vs notably for a time: but within fewe dayes it came quite contrary, which hindered our iourney for a long space: For wee were suddenly enforced to turne backe, and to seeke Harborough in Belle Isle, on the coast of Bretaigne, where wee stayed so long, and had such contrary weather by the way, that wee could not reach Newfound lande, vntill the seuenth of Iune. The eight of this Moneth wee entred into the Rode of Saint Iohn, where wee founde seuenteene Shippes of fishers. While wee made somewhat long abode heere, Iaques Cartier and his company returning from Canada, whither hee was sent with fiue sayles the yeere before, arriued in the very same Harbour. Who, after hee had done his duetie to our Generall, tolde him that hee had brought certaine Diamonts, and a quantitie of Golde ore, which was found in the Countrey. Which ore the Sunday next ensuing was tryed in a Furnace, and found to be good.

---

* The Bay of Fundy is probably here alluded to.

Furthermore, hee enformed the Generall that hee could not with his small company withstand the Sauages, which went about dayly to annoy him: and that this was the cause of his returne into France. Neuerthelesse, hee and his company commended the Countrey to bee very rich and fruitfull. But when our Generall being furnished with sufficient forces, commanded him to goe backe againe with him, hee and his company, mooued as it seemeth with ambition, because they would haue all the glory of the discouerie of those partes themselues, stole priuily away the next night from vs, and without taking their leaues departed home for Bretaigne.

Iaques Cartier stole away.

Wee spent the greatest part of Iune in this Harbour of Saint Iohn, partly in furnishing our selues with fresh water, whereof wee stoode in very great neede by the way, and partly in composing and taking vp of a quarell betweene some of our Countreymen and certaine Portugals. At length, about the last of the aforesayde Moneth, wee departed hence, and entred into the Grand Baye, and passed by the Isle of Ascension: and finally arriued foure leagues Westward of the Isle of Orleans. In this place wee found a conuenient Harbour for our shipping, where wee cast anchor, went a shoare with our people, and chose out a conuenient place to fortifie ourselues in, fitte to command the mayne Riuer, and of strong situation against all inuasion of enemies. Thus towarde the ende of Iuly, wee brought our victuals and other munitions and prouisions on shore, and began to trauaile in fortyfying of our selues.

Of the Fort of France-Roy, and that which was done there.

HAuing described the beginning, the middest, and the ende of the Voyage made by Monsieur Roberual in the Countreyes of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, and other Countreyes in the West partes: He sayled so farre, (as it is declared in other bookes) that hee arriued in the sayde Countrey, accompanyed with two hundred persons, souldiers, mariners, and common people, with all furniture necessary for a fleete. The sayde Generall at his first arriuall built a fayre Fort, neere and somewhat Westward aboue Canada, which is very beautifull to beholde, and of great force, situated vpon an high mountaine, wherein there were two courtes of buyldings, a great Towre and another of fortie or fiftie foote long: wherein there were diuers Chambers, an Hall, a Kitchine, houses of office, Sellers high and lowe, and neere vnto it were an Ouen and Milles, and a stooue to warme men in, and a Well before the house. And the buylding was situated vpon the great Riuer of Canada, commonly called France prime, by Monsieur Roberual. There was also at the foote of the mountaine another lodging, part whereof was a great Towre of two stories high, two courtes of good buylding, where at the first all our victuals, and whatsoeuer was brought with vs was sent to be kept: and neere vnto that Towre there is another small riuer. In these two places aboue and beneath, all the meaner sort was lodged.

And in the moneth of August, and in the beginning of September euery man was occupied in such woorke as eche one was able to doe. But the fourteenth of August 1542. September 14.

September, our aforesayde Generall sent backe into France two Shippes which had brought his furniture, and he appoynted for Admirall Monsieur de Saine-terre, and the other captaine was Monsieur Guinecourt, to carie newes vnto the King, and to come backe againe vnto him the yeere next ensuing, furnished with victuals and other things, as it should please the King: and also to bring newes out of France how the King accepted certaine Diamants which were sent him, and were found in this countrey.

The proportion of their victuals.

After these two Shippes were departed, consideration was had how they should doe, and how they might passe out the Winter in this place. First they tooke a view of the victuals, and it was found that they fell out short: and they were scantled so, that in eche messe they had but two loaues weighing a pound a piece, and halfe a pound of biefe. They ate Bacon at Dinner with halfe a pound of butter: and Biefe at supper, and about two handfuls of Beanes without Butter.

On the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday they did eate dry Cod, and sometimes they did eate it greene at dinner with butter, and they ate of Porposes and beanes at supper.

About that time the Sauages brought vs great store of Aloses, which is a fish somewhat redde like a Salmon, to get kniues and other small trifles for them.

In the ende many of our people fell sicke of a certaine disease in their legges, reynes, and stomacke, so that they seemed to bee depriued of all their lymmes, and there dyed thereof about fiftie.

The length of the Winter.

Note that the yce began to breake vp in April.

Monsieur Roberual vsed very good iustice, and punished euery man according to his offence. One whose name was Michael Gaillon, was hanged for his theft. Iohn of Nantes was layde in yrons, and kept prisoner for his offence, and others also were put in yrons, and diuers were whipped, as well men as women: by which meanes they liued in quiet.

The maners of the Sauages.

TO declare vnto you the state of the Sauages, they are people of a goodly stature, and well made, they are very white, but they are all naked: and if they were apparelled as the French are, they would bee as white and as fayre: but they paynt themselues for feare of heat and sunne burning.

In stead of apparell, they weare skinnes vpon them like mantles; and they haue a smal payre of breeches, wherewith they couer their priuities, as well men as women. They haue hosen and shooes of lether excellently made. And they haue no shirts: neither couer they their heads, but their hayre is trussed vp aboue the crowne of their heads, and playted or broyded. Touching their victuals, they eate good meate, but all vnsalted, but they drye it, and afterward they broyle it, as well fish as flesh. They haue no certaine dwelling place, and they goe from place to place, as they thinke they must best finde foode, as Aloses in one place, and other fish, Salmons, Sturgions, Mullets, Surmullets, Barz, Carpes, Eeles, Pinperneaux, and other fresh water fish, and store of Porposes. They feede also of Stagges, wilde Bores, Bugles, Porkespynes, and store of other wilde beastes. And there is as great store of Fowle as they can desire.

So haue they of Ceuola, and Quiuira, and Meta Incognita.

Touching their bread, they make very good: and it is of great myll: and they liue very well; for they take care for nothing else.

They drinke Seale oyle, but this is at their great feasts.

They haue a King in euery Countrey, and are wonderfull obedient vnto him: and they doe him honour according vnto their maner and fashion. And when they trauayle from place to place, they cary all their goods with them in their boates.

Their gouernment.

The weomen nurse their children with the breast, and they sit continually, and are wrapped about the bellies with skinnes of furre.

The voyage of Monsieur Roberual from his Fort in Canada vnto Saguenay, the fifth of Iune, 1543.

MOnsieur Roberual the kings Lieutenant generall in the Countries of Canada, Sagugnay, and Hochelaga, departed toward the said prouince of Saguenay on the Tuesday the 5. day of Iune 1543. after supper: and he with all his furniture was imbarked to make the sayd voyage. But vpon a certaine occasion they lay in the Rode ouer against the place before mentioned: but on the Wednesday about sixe of the clocke in the morning they set sayle, and sayled against the streame: in which voyage their whole furniture was of eight barks, as well great as small, and to the number of threescore and ten persons, with the aforesayd Generall.

The Generall left behinde him in the aforesayde place and Fort thirtie persons to remayne there vntill his returne from Saguenay, which he appoynted to be the first of Iuly, or else they should returne into France. And hee left there behinde him but two Barkes to cary the sayde thirtie persons, and the furniture which was there, while hee stayed still in the Countrey.

And for effectuating hereof, he left as his Lieutenant a gentleman named Monsieur de Royeze, to whom he gaue commission and charged all men to obey him, and to be at the commandement of the sayde Lieutenant.

The victuals which were left for their mayntenance vntill the sayd first day of Iuly, were receiued by the sayd Lieutenant Royeze.

On Thursday the 14. of Iune Monsieur de l'Espiney, la Brosse, Monsieur Frete, Monsieur Longeual, and others, returned from the Generall, from the voyage of Saguenay.

And note that eight men and one Barke were drowned and lost, among whom was Monsieur de Noire Fontaine, and one named la Vasseur of Constance.

On Tuesday the 19. of Iune aforesayd, there came from the Generall, Monsieur de Villeneufe, Talebot, and three others, which brought sixescore pounds weight of their corne, and letters to stay yet vntill Magdalentyde, which is the 22. day of Iuly.

The rest of this Voyage is wanting.

◆

THE VOYAGES AND NAUIGATIONS

OF THE ENGLISH NATION TO VIRGINIA, AND THE SEUERAL DISCOUERIES THEREOF CHIEFLY AT THE CHARGES OF THE HONOURABLE SIR WALTER RALEGH KNIGHT, FROM 33 TO 40 DEGREES OF LATITUDE: TOGETHER WITH THE SUCCESSE OF THE ENGLISH COLONIES THERE PLANTED: AS LIKEWISE A DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTREY, WITH THE INHABITANTS, AND THE MANIFOLD COMMODITIES. WHEREVNTO ARE ANNEXED THE PATENTS, LETTERS, DISCOURSES, &C. TO THIS PART BELONGING.

A DISCOURSE OF WESTERN PLANTING, WRITTEN BY M. RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1584.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

[The following Discourse, one of the most curious and valuable contributions to the History of early discovery in the New World, has remained practically unknown from the date of its composition to the present time. Written, as appears from the title-page, of which I give a copy on page 173, by Hakluyt at the request of Mr. Walter Raleigh,[1] it must, according to the same authority, have been composed between the 27th of April and the middle of September 1584, the former being the date of sailing of Raleigh's two ships there mentioned and the latter the date of their return. The title-page itself must have been added afterwards, as it speaks of "Mr. Walter Raghly, nowe knight," and the 21st chapter of the Discourse seems to have been added at the same time. Its object was evidently to urge Elizabeth to support Raleigh's adventure, in which he was then embarked under a patent granted him on 25th March 1584. It is not, therefore, surprising to find from a letter written by Hakluyt to Sir Francis Walsingham on the 7th April 1585,[2] and from another paper in the Rolls Office, indicated in Mr. Lemon's Calendar of State Papers of the reign of Elizabeth, 1581-90, Vol. cxcv., art. 127, that this Discourse was presented to the Queen by Hakluyt in the early autumn of 1584.[1] Four copies were certainly made of this Discourse—the original, which Hakluyt would probably keep; one for the Queen; one for Walsingham (as appears from the paper in the Record Office mentioned above); and the copy from which the present text is taken, and which alone seems to have contained the 21st chapter. Perhaps this last copy was made for the Earl of Leicester, as the paper above alluded to states that the Earl "hath very earnestly often times writ for it." However this may be, no copy of the Discourse was known to exist till the sale of Lord Valentia's collection, when Mr. Henry Stevens bought the manuscript here published. Its value seems to have been properly appreciated by him, owing perhaps to the following memoranda written in pencil on the second blank leaf, in the handwriting, it is believed, of Lord Valentia:—

---

[1] He was only knighted some time between December 1584 and February 1585.

[2] Public Record Office. Dom. Eliz. Addenda. Vol. xxix., No. 9. This letter was printed in full in the Maine Historical Society's *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, Vol. ii.

"This unpublished manuscript of Hakluyt's is extremely curious.

"I procured it from the family of Sir Peter Thomson.[2]

"The editors of the last edition would have given any money for it, had it been known to have existed."[3]

After fruitless endeavours "to find for it a resting place in some public or private library in America, and subsequently in the British Muesum,"[4] Mr Stevens sent it to Puttick & Simpson's Auction Rooms, where it was knocked down to Sir Henry Phillipps for £44. (May, 1854.)

In the library, then, of Thirlestane House, Cheltenham, did our manuscript lie till 1867, when Dr. Leonard Woods, late President of Bowdoin College, was commissioned by the Governor of Maine, in pursuance of the Resolves of the Legislature in aid of the Maine Historical Society, to procure, during his travels in England, materials for the early History of the State. An application made by Dr. Woods to Sir Thomas Phillipps revealed the existence of Hakluyt's Discourse. Dr. Woods set to work to edit this valuable document, but a fire destroyed most of his materials, and was followed by physical infirmity which forbade literary labour. Dr. Charles Deane's familiarity with the topics suggested by the matter in hand, and his position as a "Collaborateur" of Dr. Woods for some months, at once pointed him out as the right man to do the work to the Standing Committee of the Maine Historical Society. Dr. Deane undertook the task, and an excellent octavo edition of Hakluyt's Discourse appeared in due course, entitled:—

"Documentary History of the State of Maine. Vol. II., containing A Discourse on Western Planting, written in the year 1584, by Richard Hakluyt. Published by the Maine Historical Society, aided by appropriation from the State. Cambridge (Mass.): Press of John Wilson and Son. 1877."

---

[1] See the Introduction by Leonard Woods to the Reprint of Hakluyt's Discourse for the Maine Historical Society.

[2] A great collector of Rare Books, who died in 1770, and whose library was sold in 1815.

[3] This "last edition" is evidently the limited one of Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages of 1809-12, 5 vols. 4to, edited by R. H. Evans and printed by Woodfall.

[4] Stevens's Historical and Geographical Notes, p. 20.

The text of the MS. has been preserved in every essential particular, but, following Dr. Deane's example, some capital letters have had liberties taken with them, and some few abbreviated words have been printed in full. A few corrections have also been made in the quotations from English and foreign writers, where a comparison with the originals has shown such corrections to be necessary. Dr. Deane's notes have been necessarily much shortened, and are distinguished from my own by the initials C.D.

This "extremely curious" manuscript, which by some extraordinary oversight was not included in Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages of 1598-1600, so appropriately called by Froude "the great prose Epic of the modern English nation," and which Evans would, according to Lord Valentia, "have given any money for," for his edition of 1809-12, is now at length inserted in its proper position. This I owe to the courtesy of Dr. Deane to whom I was a perfect stranger, save perhaps in my character of corresponding member of the Nova Scotia Historical Society and of the Oneida Historical Society. To Dr. Deane, therefore, I venture to tender my warmest thanks.—E.G.]

A particuler discourse concerning the greate necessitie and manifolde comodyties that are like to growe to this Realme of Englande by the Westerne discoueries lately attempted, written in the yere 1584. by Richarde Hackluyt of Oxforde, at the requeste and direction of the righte worshipfull Mr. Walter Raghly, nowe Knight, before the comynge home of his twoo barkes, and is devided into XXI chapiters, the titles whereof followe in the nexte leafe.

[The heads of Chapters are omitted
as they are inserted in
their proper places
before each
Chapter.]

The Western Planting.

Cap. I.

That this Westerne discoverie will be greately for thinlargemente of the gospell of Christe, whereunto the princes of the Refourmed Religion are chefely bounde, amongeste whome her Majestie ys principall.

SEinge that the people of that parte of AMERICA from 30. degrees in Florida northewarde unto 63. degrees (which ys yet in no Christian princes actuall possession) are idolaters; and that those which Stephen Gomes broughte from the coaste of NORUMBEGA in the yere 1524.* worshipped the sonne, the moone, and the starres, and used other idolatrie, as it ys recorded in the historie of Gonsaluo de Ouiedo,† in Italian, fol. 52. of the third volume of Ramusius; and that those of Canada and Hochelaga in 48. and 50. degrees worshippe a spirite which they call Cudruaigny, as we reade in the tenthe chapiter of the seconde relation of Jaques Cartier, whoe saieth: This people beleve not at all in God, but in one whome they call Cudruaigny; they say that often he speaketh with them, and telleth them what weather shall followe, whether goodd or badd, &c.,‡ and yet notwithstandinge they are very easie to be perswaded, and doe all that they sawe the Christians doe in their devine service, with like imitation and devotion, and were very desirous to become Christians, and woulde faine have been baptized, as Verarsanus witnesseth in the laste wordes of his relation, and Jaques Cartier in the tenthe chapiter before recited—it remayneth to be thorougnly weyed and considered by what meanes and by whome this moste godly and Christian work may be perfourmed of inlarginge the glorious gospell of Christe, and reducinge of infinite multitudes of these simple people that are in errour into the righte and perfecte way of their saluation. The blessed Apostle Paule, the converter of the Gentiles, Rom: 10. writeth in this manner: Whosoever shall call on the name of the Lorde shall be saved. But howe shall they call on him in whom they have not beleved? and how shall they beleve in him of whom they have not hearde? and howe shall they heare withoute a preacher? and howe shall they preache excepte they be sente? Then it is necessary for the salvation of those poore people which have sitten so longe in darkenes and in the shadowe of deathe, that preachers should be sent unto them. But by whome shoulde these preachers be sente? By them no doubte which have taken upon them the protection and defence of the Christian faithe. Nowe the Kinges and Queenes of England have the name of Defendours of the Faithe.* By which title I thinke they are not onely chardged to mayneteyne and patronize the faithe of Christe, but also to inlarge and advaunce the same. Neither oughte this to be their laste worke, but rather the principall and chefe of all others, accordinge to the comaundemente of our Saviour, Christe, Mathewe 6, Ffirste seeke the kingdome of God and the righteousnes thereof, and all other thinges shalbe mynistred unto you.

---

* Estevan Gomez, a Portuguese pilot, sailed with Magellan on his famous voyage in 1519, but deserted with his ship and crew. In 1525 (*not* 1524) he sailed from Corunna. He coasted Newfoundland as far south as 40 deg. Here he took on board certain Indians and carried them to Spain. (C. D.)

† Born 1478. His *Historia general de las Indias* was not published in its entirety till 1851-55. (C.D.)

‡ It appears from a passage in Chapter xvii. of this Discourse that Hakluyt had seen an original manuscript account of Cartier's second voyage in the Royal Library at Paris.

The Prynces of England called the defenders of the faithe.

Nowe the meanes to sende suche as shall labour effectually in this busines ys, by plantinge one or twoo colonies of our nation upon that fyrme, where they may remaine in safetie, and firste learne the language of the people nere adjoyninge (the gifte of tongues beinge nowe taken awaye), and by little and little acquainte themselves with their manner, and so with discretion and myldenes distill into their purged myndes the swete and lively liquor of the gospel. Otherwise, for preachers to come unto them rashly with oute some suche preparation for their safetie, yt were nothinge els but to ronne to their apparaunte and certaine destruction, as yt happened unto those Spanishe ffryers, that, before any plantinge, withoute strengthe and company, landed in Fflorida, where they were

Plantings fyrste necessarye.

---

* This title was conferred on Henry VIII. by Leo X. by a bull dated the fifth of the Ides of October 1521, for his book "Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Martin Lutherum," etc., printed by Pynson, 1521.

miserablye massacred by the savages.* On the other side, by meane of plantinge firste, the small nation of the Portingales towardes the Southe and Easte have planted the Christian faithe accordinge to their manner, and have erected many bisshoprickes and colledges to traine upp the youthe of the infidels in the same, of which acte they more vaunte in all their histories and chronicles, then of anythinge els that ever they atchieved. And surely if they had planted the gospell of Christe purely, as they did not, they mighte justly have more rejoyced in that deede of theirs, then in the conqueste of the whole contrie, or in any other thinge whatsoever. The like may be saied of the Spaniardes, whoe (as yt is in the preface of the last edition of Osorius de rebus gestis Emanuelis) have established in the West Indies three archebisshopricks, to witt, Mexico, Luna, and Onsco, and thirtene other bisshopricks there named, and have builte above CC. houses of relligion in the space of fyftie yeres or thereaboutes. Now yf they, in their superstition, by meanes of their plantinge in those partes, have don so greate thinges in so shorte space, what may wee hope for in our true and syncere relligion, proposinge unto ourselves in this action not filthie lucre nor vaine ostentation, as they in deede did, but principally the gayninge of the soules of millions of those wretched people, the reducinge of them from darkenes to lighte, from falsehoode to truthe, from dombe idolls to the lyvinge God, from the depe pitt of hell to the highest heauens. In the 16. of the Actes of the Apostles, when Paule soughte to preache in Asia and to goe into Bithinia, the Holy Ghoste suffered him not. But at Troas a vision appered unto him by night. There stoode a man of Macedonia and prayed hym, sayenge: Come into Macedonia and helpe us. And after he had seene the vysion, ymmediatly he prepared to goe into Macedonia, beinge assured that the Lorde had called him to preache the gospell unto them. Even so wee, whiles wee have soughte to goe into other countries (I woulde I might say to preache the gospell), God by the frustratinge of our actions semeth to forbydd us to followe those courses, and the people of AMERICA crye oute unto us, their nexte neighboures, to come and helpe them, and bringe unto them the gladd tidinges of the gospell. Unto the prince and people that shalbe the occasion

---

† Friar Luys Cancel of Balvastro was, with other friars, sent to Florida by Philip II. in 1549, where they were massacred and eaten. (See Eden's version of Gomara's Historia general, cap. xlv. (Woods.)

of this worthie worke, and shall open their cofers to the furtheraunce of this most godly enterprise, God shall open the bottomles treasures of his riches, and fill them with aboundance of his hidden blessinges; as he did to the goodd Queene Isabella, which beinge in extreme necessitie, laied her owne jewells to gage for money to furnishe out Columbus for the firste discovery of the West Indies.

And this enterprise the princes of the relligion (among whome her Majestie ys principall) oughte the rather to take in hande, because the papistes confirme themselves and drawe other to theire side, shewinge that they are the true Catholicke churche because they have bene the onely converters of many millions of infidells to Christianitie. Yea, I myselfe have bene demaunded of them, how many infidells have been by us converted? Whereunto, albeit I alleaged the example of the mynisters which were sente from Geneva with Villegagnon into Bresill,[*] and those that wente with Iohn Ribault into Florida,[†] as also those of our nation that went with Ffrobisher, Sir Fraunces Drake, and Ffenton;[‡] yet in very deede I was not able to name any one infidell by them converted. But God, quoth I, hath his tyme for all men, whoe calleth some at the nynthe, and some at the eleventh houer. And if it please him to move the harte of her Majestie to put her helpinge hande to this godly action, she shall finde as willinge subjectes of all sortes as any other prince in all Christendome. And as for the boastinge of your conversion of such multitudes of infidells, yt may justly be compted rather a perversion, seeinge you have drawen them as it were oute of Sylla into Charibdis, that is to say, from one error into another. Nowe therefore I truste the time ys at hande when by her Majesties forwardnes in this enterprise, not only this obiection and suche like shalbe aunswered by our frutefull labor in Godds harvest amonge the infidells, but also

A question of the adversary.

---

[*] For an account of this earliest colony of Protestantism in America, consult Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, Art. *Villegagnon* and *Richer;* Cotton Mather, *Magnalia*, Book I., Southey's History of Brazil; De Thou, Maimbourg, etc.

[†] Dr. Woods thinks Hakluyt is mistaken in saying ministers went out with Ribault to Florida. It is indeed hardly likely that Coligny would have thus alienated the smypathy of Charles IX.

[‡] Master Wolfall was the name of the minister who accompanied Frobisher, (see vol. xii. of this edition, p. 81), and Master Francis Fletcher was with Drake in his voyage round the world in 1577-80. His notes of the voyage were republished by the Hakluyt Society in 1854.

many inconveniences and strifes amongest ourselves at home, in matters of ceremonies, shalbe ended. For those of the clergye which by reason of idlenes here at home are nowe alwayes coyninge of newe opynions, havinge by this voyadge to set themselves on worke in reducinge the savages to the chefe principles of our faith, will become lesse contentious, and be contented with the truthe in relligion alreadie established by authoritie. So they that shall beare the name of Christians shall shewe themselves worthye of their vocation, so shall the mouthe of the adversarie be stopped, so shall contention amongest brethren be avoyded, so shal the gospell amonge infidells be published.

Cap. II.

That all other Englishe trades are growen beggerly or daungerous, especially daungerous in all the Kinge of Spayne his domynions, where our men are dryven to flinge their bibles and prayer bookes into the sea, and to forsweare and renounce their relligion and conscience, and consequently their obedience to her Majesty.

Barbary.

WEe are nowe to consider the qualitie and condition of all the trades which at this day are frequented by our nation. And firste, to begynne southwarde, and so come to the northe; leavinge Bresill and Guynea where wee have little to doe, let us firste speake of our trade in Barbarie. If any of our shippes tradinge thither be dryven upon the coaste of Spaine, and that proofe may be made that wee have bene there, they make it a very sufficient cause of confiscation of shippe and goodds, and so they thruste our men into the Inquisition, chardging them that they bringe armour, munition, and forbidden merchandize to strengthen the infidells againste these partes of Christendome; which thinge is comitted to printe and confessed by all our marchants tradinge thither. And thoughe our men escape the Spaniardes tyrannie, yet at the deathe of the prince in Barbary, all our mennes goodds there are subjecte to the spoile, the custome of the contrie permitting the people to robbe and rifle until another kinge be chosen, withoute making any kinde of restitution. Besides that inconvenience, the traficque groweth daily to worse termes then heretofore. I omytt to shewe here howe divers have bene undon by their servauntes which have become renegadoes, of whome by the custome of the contrie their masters can have no manner of recovery, neither call them into justice.*

The Domynions of the Kinge of Spayne.

In all the Kinge of Spaines domynions our men are either inforced with wounded consciences to playe the dissemblinge hipocrites, or be drawen to mislike with the state of relligion mainteyned at home, or cruellly made away in the Inquisition. Moreouer, he being our mortall enemye, and his empire of late beinge increased so mightely, and our necessitie of oiles and colours for our clothinge trade being so greate, he may arreste almoste the one halfe of our navye, our traficque and recourse being so greate to his domynions.

For the new trade in Turky, besides the greate expences in mayneteyninge a kind of embassador at Constantinople, and in sendinge of presentes to Selym the Graunde Segnior, and to divers of his insatiable bassoes, our marchantes are faine with large rewardes to gratifie the Knightes of Malta, in whose daunger their shippes must often passe. Moreover that trade is so moche to the detrymente of the State of Venice, and all the other States of Italie, that they are dayly occupied in seekinge howe they may overthrowe the same. Neither is it the leaste incomoditie that our shippes are contynually assaulted by the corsaries and pirates and gallies of Algiers, by which they had a rich shippe, called the Mary Martin, soncke this yere; and the last yere another was taken at Trypoly in Barbary, and the master with another hanged, and the reste made slaves. Besides, the barke Reynoldes was arrested at Malta, and at lengthe with moche adoe delivered.†

France.

To leave the Levant and to come to France, the traficque there of myne owne knowledge‡ is growen to such decaye, partely by the impositions and taxes which are daily devised by the kinges partely by their subtil sleights and devices to confiscate our clothes for insufficient workemanshippe, and partely by their owne labour in makinge more and better clothe then heretofore they were accustomed, that our men for the moste parte are wearye of the contrie, and some of them utterly undone by their subtiil and unconcionable wranglinge. As for all Flaunders and the Lowe Contries, these eightene yeres moste cruell civill warres have so spoiled the traficque there, that there is nothinge but povertie and perill, and that which is worse, there is no hope of any spedy amendemente.

---

* See the accounts of Voyages to Barbary given in Vol. xi. of this Edition.

† See Vol. xi. of this Edition.

‡ Hakluyt was chaplain to the English Ambassador in Paris for five years.

Flaunders.

To come to the Esterlinges and the trades with the cities within the Sounde of Denmarke, they beinge deprived of the olde priviledges of the Stilliarde here in London, have not only offred our men at home many injuries in their cities, but seeke all the meanes they can devise wholy to cutt of all our occupienge that way; and to the same purpose have lately cleane debarred our men of their accustomed and auncient priviledges in all their greate townes. Also the exactions of the Kinge of Denmarke at our passage in and oute by the Sounde to Lubecke, Danske, Elvinge, Rye, Revell, and the Narve, besides the power that he hath to arreste all our shippes within the Sounde at his pleasure, are twoo no small inconveniences and myschefes.

Estlande.

Denmarke.

Our trade into Muscovye ys the laste, which was so chardgeable in the begynnynge, what with the coste of the discoverie, what with presentes to the Emperour, together with the disorderly dealinge of their factors, that it stoode them in fourscore thousande poundes before they broughte it to any goodd passe. And nowe after longe hope of gayne, the Hollanders, as also the men of Diepe, are entred into their trade by the Emperours permission; yea, whereas at the firste our men paid no custome, of late yeres, contrarie to their firste priviledge, they have bene urged to pay yt. Also the chardges of bringinge the Emperours embassador hither, and mayneteyninge him here, and the settinge furthe of her Majesties embassadour thither with presentes to the Emperour, lyenge all upon the poore marchantes neckes, is no easie burden unto their shoulders. And to encrease the some, the Kinge of Denmarke requireth a tribute of them, thoughe they touche not upon any of his domynions. And nowe the Emperour of Russia beinge late deade,* yt is greately feared that the voyadge wilbe utterly ouerthrowen, or els become not worthe the contynuaunce.

Russye.

Thus hauinge regarde unto the premisses, yt behoveth us to —

---

* This is Ivan III., surnamed *the Great;* he asked Queen Elizabeth in marriage in 1579.

seeke some newe and better trade, of lesse daunger and more securitie, of lesse dammage, and of more advauntage; the rather to avoide the wilfull perjurie of suche of our Englishe nation as trade to Spaine and other of Kinge Phillipps domynions, where this oathe followinge ys usually ministred unto the master of our shippes. Firste, he willeth the master to make a crosse with his fore finger and his thombe, layenge one ouer the other crosswise. This beinge don, he saieth these wordes followinge: You shall sweare to speake the truthe of all thinges that shalbe asked of you, and yf you doe not, that God demaunde yt of you: and the Englishe master muste saye, Amen. You shall sweare by that crosse that you bringe no man in your shippe but suche as are goodd christians, and doe beleue as our Catholicke Churche of Rome dothe beleve. Nexte, that you bringe no manner of bookes but suche as are allowed by our Catholicke Churche of Rome; and that you use no manner of prayers but suche as are allowed by our Churche of Rome. What marchandize bringe you; suche and suche. We will and commaunde you and your companie to come on land to masse every Sonday and holy day, upon paine of discommunication. Then they open their chestes, and looke if the master and maryners bringe any bookes with them in their chests. This don, the officers that come with the preestes aske of the master and maryners chese, butter, befe, bacon, and candles, as beggers, and they give it to them for feare they have of them, and so they goe from the shippes with their walletts full of victualls. The master doth pay four ryalls of plate for the barke that bringeth them aboorde to visite them. Thus is wilfull perjurye permitted by the governours if they knowe it. Thus the covetous marchante wilfully sendeth headlonge to hell from day to day the poore subjectes of this realme. The marchant in England cometh here devoutly to the communyon, and sendeth his sonne into Spaine to here masse. These thinges are kepte secrete by the marchantes, and suche as depende upon the trade of marchandize are lothe to utter the same.

Cap. III.

That this westerne voyadge will yelde unto us all the commodities of Europe, Affrica and Asia, as far as wee were wonte to travell, and supplye the wantes of all our decayed trades.

The nexte thinge ys that nowe I declare unto you the comodities of this newe westerne discoverie, and what marchandize are there to be had, and from thence to be expected; wherein firste you are to have regarde unto the scituation of the places which are left for us to be possessed. The contries therefore of AMERICA where unto we have just title, as being firste discovered by Sebastian Gabote, at the coste of that prudente prince Kinge Henry the Seaventh, from Florida northewarde to 67. degrees,* (and not yet in any Christian princes actuall possession,) beinge aunswerable in clymate to Barbary, Egipte, Siria, Persia, Turky, Greece, all the islandes of the Levant sea, Italie, Spaine, Portingale, Fraunce, Flaunders, Highe Almayne, Denmarké, Estland, Poland, and Muscovye, may presently or within a shorte space afforde unto us, for little or nothinge, and with moche more safetie, eyther all or a greate parte of the comodities which the aforesaid contries do yelde us at a very dere hande and with manifolde daungers.

In the first volume of Ramusius, fol. 374, pag. 2.

Firste, therefore, to begyn at the southe from 30. degrees, and to quote unto you the leafe and page of the printed voyadges of those which personally have with diligence searched and viewed these contries. John Ribault writeth thus, in the firste leafe of his discourse, extant in printe bothe in Frenche and Englishe:† Wee entred (saieth he) and viewed the contrie which is the fairest, frutefullest, and pleasauntest of all the worlde, aboundinge in honye, waxe, venison, wilde fowle, fforrestes, woodes of all sortes, palme trees, cipresses, cedars, bayes, the highest and greatest, with also the fairest vines in all the worlde, with grapes accordinge, which naturally withoute arte or mans helpe or trymmynge will growe to toppes of oakes and other trees that be of wonderfull greatness and heighte. And the sighte of the faire meadowes is a pleasure not able to be expressed with tongue, full of herons, curlues, bitters, mallardes, egriphts, woodcockes, and all other kinde of small birdes, with hartes, hinds, bucks, wilde swyne, and all other kind of wilde beastes, as wee perceaved well bothe by their footinge there, and also afterwardes in other places by their crye and roaringe in the nighte. Also there be conies and hares, silkewormes in marvelous nomber, a great deale fairer and better then be our silkewormes. Againe, in the sixte leafe and seconde page; They shewed unto us by signes that they had in the lande golde and silver and copper, whereof wee have broughte some home. Also leade like unto ours, which wee shewed them. Also turqueses and greate aboundance of perles, which as they declared unto us they tooke oute of oysters, whereof there is taken ever alonge the rivers side and amongest the reedes and in the marishes, in so marvelous aboundance as it is scante credible. And wee have perceaved that there be as many and as greate perles found there as in any contrie in the worlde. In the seaventh leafe it followeth thus: The scituation is under 30. degrees, a good clymate, healthfull, and of goodd temperature, marvelous pleasaunte, the people goodd and of a gentle and amyable nature, which willingly will obey, yea be contented to serve those that shall with gentlenes and humanitie goe aboute to allure them, as yt is necessarie for those that be sente thither hereafter so to doe. In the eighth leafe: It is a place wonderful fertile and of stronge scituation, the grounde fatt, so that it is like that it would bringe forthe wheate and all other corne twise a yere. In the ninth leafe yt followeth: Wee founde there a greate nomber of pepper trees, the pepper beinge yet greene and not ready to be gathered. In the tenth leafe: There wee sawe the fairest and the greatest vines with grapes accordinge, and younge trees and small wooddes very well smellinge, that ever weare sene. Thus have you brefely the some of the comodities which were founde by John Ribault and his companye on the coaste of America from 30. to 34. degrees.

---

* When Hakluyt speaks of Florida, he means not only the peninsula so called now, but as far north as 36 degrees. The most northerly European colony in 1584 was situated south of the present town of Savannah. It was probably St. Augustine.

† The work alluded to is Ribault's "The whole and true discouerye of Terra Florida . . . Prynted at London by Rouland Hall for Thomas Hacket. 1563." A copy is in the British Museum. The French version is one of the lost books of the world.

Sylke wormes exceedinge faire.

The gentlenes of the people.

Harvest twise yn the yere.

Pepper groweth here; yt is longe pepper.

Moreouer, Doctor Monardus, that excellent phisition of Civill, writinge of the trees of the West Indies in his booke called Joyfull Newes out of the New founde worlde,* maketh mention of a tree called Sassafras, which the Frenchmen founde in Florida, fol. 46 of his booke, in manner followinge: From the Florida they bringe a woodde and roote of a tree that groweth in those partes, of greate vertues and excellencies, healinge therewith grevous and variable deseases. It may be three yeres paste that I had knowledge of this tree, and a Frenche man that had bene in those partes shewed me a pece of yt, and tolde me marvells of the vertues thereof, and howe many and variable diseases were healed with the water which was made of it, and I judged that, which nowe I doe finde to be true and have seene by experience. He tolde me that the Frenchemen which had bene in the Florida, at the time when they came into those partes had bene sicke the moste of them of grevous and variable diseases, and that the Indians did shewe them this tree, and the manner howe they shoulde vse yt, &c; so they did, and were healed of many evills; which surely bringeth admiration that one onely remedy shoulde worke so variable and marvelous effectes. The name of this tree, as the Indyans terme yt, is called Pauame, and the Frenchemen called it Sassafras. To be brefe, the Doctor Monardus bestoweth eleven leaves in describinge the sovereinties and excellent properties thereof.

---

* This "Joyfull Newes" was a translation by Frampton of the "Historia Medicinal . . . de nuestras Indias," (1574), of Nicholas Monardes, a learned Spaniard, who died in 1578. The English version was published in 1577. (C. D.) A copy is in my library.

The nature and comodities of the reste of the coaste unto Cape Briton I will shewe unto you oute of the printed testymonies of John Verarsanus and Stephen Gomes, bothe which in one yere, 1524. discovered the said contries, and broughte home of the people; Verarsana into Ffraunce, and Gomes into Spaine.

Verarsana, fallinge in the latitude of 34. degrees, describeth the scituation and commodities in this manner: Beyonde this wee sawe the open contrie risinge in heighte above the sandie shoare, with many faire feeldes and plaines full of mightie greate wooddes, some very thicke and some very thynne, replenished with divers sortes of trees, and plesaunte and delectable to beholde as ys possible to ymagine. And your Majestie may not thinke that these are like the wooddes of Hyrcinia, or the wilde desertes of Tartaria, and the northerne coastes, full of fruteles trees; but full of palme, date trees, bayes, and highe cypresses, and many other sortes of trees to us unknowen in Europe, which yelde moste swete savours farr from the shoare; neyther doe wee thincke that they, partakinge of the easte worlde rounde aboute them, are altogether voyde of drugs and spicerye, and other riches of golde, seinge the colour of the lande dothe altogether argue yt. And the lande is full of many beastes, as redd dere, fallowe dere and hares, and likewise of lakes and pooles of freshe water, with greate plentie of fowles convenient for all plesaunte game. This lande is in latitude of 34. degrees with goodd and holesome ayre, temperate, betwene hote and colde; no vehement winds doe blowe in these regions, &c. Againe, in the fourth leafe as it is in Englishe, speakinge of the nexte contrie, he saieth: Wee sawe in this contrie many vines growinge naturally, which springinge upp tooke holde of the trees as they doe in Lumbardye, which, if by husbandmen they were dressed in goodd order, withoute all doubte they woulde yelde excellent wynes; for havinge oftentymes seene the frute thereof dryed, which was swete and pleasaunte and not differinge from oures, wee thinke they doe esteme of the same, because that in every place where they growe, they take away the under braunches growinge rounde aboute, that the frute thereof may ripen the better. Wee founde also roses, violetts, lyllies, and many sortes of herbes and swete and odoriferous flowers. And after, in the sixte leafe, he saithe: Wee were oftentimes within the lande v. or vj. leagues, which wee founde as pleasaunte as is possible to declare, apte for any kinde of husbandrye of corne, wine, and oile. For therein there are plaines 25. or 30. leagues broade, open and withoute any impedymente of trees, of suche frutefulnes that any seede beinge sowen therein will bringe furthe moste excellente frute. Wee entred afterwardes into the wooddes, which wee founde so greate and thicke, that an armye (were it never so greate) mighte have hydd it selfe therein, the trees whereof were oakes, cypresses, and other sortes unknowen in Europe. Wee founde pomi appij, plommes, and nuttes, and many other sortes of frutes to us unknowen. There are beastes in greate aboundaunce, as redd dere and fallowe dere, leopardes and other kindes, which they take with their bowes and arrowes, which are their chefeste weapons. This lande is scituate in the parallele of Rome in 41. degrees and 2. terces. And towardes the ende he saieth: Wee sawe many of the people weare earinges of copper hanginge at their eares. Thus farr oute of the relation of Verarsana.

These apples growe in Italy, and are yellowe like a pipeh.

Nowe to come to Stephen Gomes, which by the commandemente of the Emperor Charles the Fyfte discovered the coaste of Norumbega. These are the wordes of Gonsaluo de Ouiedo in his summarye of the Weste Indies, translated into Italian, con-

cerninge him, fo. 52: Dapoi che vostra Maestà è in questa città di Toledo, arriuò qui nel mese di Nouembre il piloto Stephano Gomez, ilquale nel' anno passato del 1524. per comandamento di vostra Maestà, nauigò alla parte di Tramontana, e trouò gran parte di terra continouata a quella che si chiama dellos Bachallaos, discorrendo à Occidente, e giace in 40. e 41. grado, e cosi poco piu e meno; del qual luogo menò alcuni Indiani, e ne sono al presente in questa città, li quali sono di maggior grandezza di quelli di terra ferma, secondo che communemente sono, perche anchora il detto piloto disse hauer visto molti, che sono tutti di quella medesima grandezza, il color veramente è come quelli di terra ferma; sono grandi arcieri, e vanno coperti di pelle d'animali saluatichi, e d' altri animali. Sono in questa terra eccellenti martori, e zibellini, e altre ricche fodere, delle quali ne portò alcune pelle il detto pilotto. Hanno argento e rame, e secondo che dicono questi Indiani, et con segni fanno intendere, adorano il Sole e la Luna, anche hanno altre idolatrie ed errori, come quelli di terra ferma.

Another Frenche capitaine of Diepe,* which had bene alongeste this coaste, geveth this testymonie of the people and contrie from 46. to 47. degrees, as it is in the thirde volume of viages gathered by Ramusius, fol. 423, pag. secunda: Gli habitatori di questa terra sono genti trattabili, amicheuoli, e piaceuoli. La terra è abbondantissima d'ogni frutto; vi nascono aranci, mandorle, vua saluatica e molte altre sorti d'arbori odoriferi; la terra è detta da paesani suoi Norumbega.

This coaste, from Cape Briton CC. (200) leagues to the south west, was again discovered at the chardges of the cardinall of Bourbon by my frende Stephen Bellinger of Roan, the laste yere, 1583. whoe founde a towne of fourscore houses, covered with the barkes of trees, upon a rivers side, about C. leagues from the aforesaid Cape Briton. He reporteth that the contrie is of the temperature of the coaste of Gascoigne and Guyann. He broughte home a kinde of mynerall matter supposed to holde silver, whereof he gaue me some; a kynde of muske called castor; divers beastes skynnes, as bevers, otters, marternes, lucernes, seales, buffs, dere skynnes, all dressed, and painted on the innerside with divers excellent colours, as redd, tawnye, yellowe, and vermillyon,—all which thinges I sawe; and divers other marchandize he hath which I

Excellent colours for dyenge.

---

* Probably Jean Parmentier, of Dieppe.

saw not. But he told me that he had CCCC. and xl. crownes for that in Roan, which, in trifles bestowed upon the savages stoode him not in fortie crownes. And this yere, 1584. the Marques de la Roche wente with three hundreth men to inhabte, in those partes, whose voyadge was overthrowen by occasion that his greatest shippe of CCC. tonnes was caste away over againste Burwage, and so the enterprize for this yere ceseth.*

The nature and qualitie of thother parte of America from Cape Briton, beinge in 46 degrees unto the latitude of 52. for iij. C. leagues within the lande even to Hochelaga, is notably described in the twoo voyadges of Iacques Cartier. In the fifte chapiter of his seconde relation thus he writeth: From the 19 till the 28 of September wee sailed upp the ryver, neuer loosinge one houre of tyme, all which space wee sawe as goodly a contrie as possibly coulde be wisshed for, full of all sortes of goodly trees, that is to say, oakes, elmes, walnut-trees, cedars, fyrres, asshes, boxe, willoughes, and greate store of vynes, all as full of grapes as coulde be, that if any of our fellowes wente on shoare, they came home laden with them. There are likewise many cranes, swannes, geese, mallardes, fesauntes, partridges, thrusshes, black birdes, turtles, finches, redd brestes, nightingales, sparrowes, with other sortes of birdes even as in Fraunce, and greate plentie and store. Againe in the xi^th^ chapiter of the said relation there ys mention of silver and golde to be upon a ryver that is three monethes saylinge, navigable southwarde from Hochelaga; and that redd copper is yn Saguynay. All that contrie is full of sondrie sortes of woodde and many vines. There is greate store of stagges, redd dere, fallowe dere, beares, and other suche like sorts of bestes, as conies, hares, marterns, foxes, otters, bevers, squirrells, badgers, and rattes excedinge greate, and divers other sortes of beastes for huntinge. There are also many sortes of fowles, as cranes, swannes, outardes, wilde geese, white and graye, duckes, thrusshes, black birdes, turtles, wilde pigeons, lynnetts, finches, redd brestes, stares, nightingales, sparrowes, and other birdes even as in Fraunce. Also, as wee have said before, the said ryver is the plentifullest of fyshe that ever hath bene seene or hearde of, because that from the heade to the mouthe of yt you shall finde all kinde of freshe and salt water fyshe accordinge to their season. There are also many whales, porposes, sea horses, and adhothuis, which is a kinde of fishe which wee have neuer seene nor hearde of before. And in the xiith chapiter thus: We understoode of Donnacona and others that . . . there are people cladd with clothe as wee are, very honest, and many inhabited townes, and that they had greate store of gold and redde copper; and that within the land beyonde the said ryver unto Hochelaga and Saguynay, ys an iland envyroned rounde aboute with that and other ryvers, and that there is a sea of freshe water founde, and, as they have hearde say of those of Saguynay, there was never man hearde of that founde oute the begynnynge and ende thereof. Finally, in the postscripte of the seconde relation, wee reade these wordes: They of Canada saye, that it is a moones sailinge to goe to a land where cynamonde and cloves are gathered.

---

* Not improbably the old seaport of *Brouage*, near La Rochelle, now deserted. This appears to be the only notice extant of an expedition by de La Roche in 1584. For an account of his later expedition, consult Parkman, *Pioneers of France*, pp. 210-212.—C. D.

And nowe, because hitherto I have spoken of the outwarde coaste, I will also alledge the comodities of the inland, in the latitude of 37. degrees, about the citie of Ceuola, usinge the very wordes of Vasques de Coronado, in the thirde chapter of his Relation, written to Don Antonio di Mendoza, Viceroy of Mexico, which sente him thither with many Spaniardes and iiij. C. horses and a thousande Indians to discover those contries.* He, speakinge there of the citie of Ceuola, procedeth in this manner: In questo doue io sto hora alloggiato possono esserui qualche dugento case tutte circondate di muro, e parmi che con l' altre che non sono cosi possono arriuare a cinquecento fuochi. V' è un' altra terra vicina, che è una delle sette, ed è alquanto maggior di questa, e un' altra della medesima grandezza di questa, e l'altre quattro sono alquanto minori, e tutte io le mando dipinte a vostra Signoria con il viaggio, e pergamino doue va la pittura si trouo qui con altri pergamini . . . hanno mantelli dipinti della maniera che io mando a vostra Signoria, non raccolgono bombaso . . . pero ne portano mantelli, come ella vedrà per la mostra; ed è vero che si ritrouo nelle lor case certo bombaso filato: . . . et hanno delle turchine penso in quantità . . . si trouaron in una carta due punte di smeraldi, e certe picciole pierte rotte, che tirano al color di granate, . . .

---

* The full account in English of de Coronado's travels is given by Hakluyt in this collection. Hakluyt probably was ignorant of Spanish, as he always quotes the French or Italian versions.

ed altre pietre di cristallo . . . si trouaron galline . . . son buonissime e maggiori che quelle di Messico. . . . Si trouo buonissima herba ad un quarto di legha di quà. . . . Mangiano le migliori tortelle che io habbia veduto in alcuna parte. . . . Hanno buonissimo sale in grano, che leuano da un lagune che è lunghe una giornata di quà. . . . Vi sono di molti animali, orsi, tigri, leoni, porci spinosi, lepri, conigli, e certi castrati della grandezza d' un cauallo, con corni molto grandi e code picciole. , . . Vi sono delle capre saluatiche, delle quali ho veduto le teste, . . . e le pelli de i cingiali. Vi sono cacciagioni di cerui, pardi, caurioli molto grandi . . . fanno otto giornate verso le champagne al mare di settentrione. Quiui sono certe pelli ben concie, e la concia e pittura gli dan doue uccidon le vacche. In the last chapiter he addeth : Mando a vostra Signoria una pelle di vacca, certe turchine e duoi pendenti d'orecchie delle medesime, e quindici pettini de gl'Indiani, e alcune tauolette guarnite di queste turchine, &c. And for a conclusion he endethe sayenge: In questo luogo s'è trouato alquanto oro ed argento, che quei che s'intendon di miniera non l' han reputato per cattiuo.

And Franciscus Lopez de Gomera, in his Generall Historie of the Indies, fol. 297. and 298. in treatinge of the seconde voyadge of Franciscus Vasques de Coronado from Ceuola to Tigues, from Tigues to Cicuic, and from Cicuic to Quiuira, saieth firste of the contrye about Tigues: Ci sono in quel paese melloni, e cottone bianco e rosso, del quale fanno piu larghi mantelli, che in altre bande delle Indie. And of Quiuira he saieth: è Quiuira in quaranta gradi, è paese temperato di bonissime acque, di molto herbatico, prugne, more, noci, melloni ed vue che maturanno benissimo; e vestono pelle di vacche e caprioli; uiddero per la costa navi che portavano arcatrarzes di oro ed argento per le proe, con mercantie, e credettero ch'erano del Cataio e China: per chè accennavano, che havevano nauigato trenta dì.

Touchinge Newefounde lande, because no man hath better searched it oute, and all the comodities thereof, then those that were there the laste yere, 1583, the space of eightene daies on lande, with Sir Humfry Gilbert,* I will make rehersall thereof, as I finde it comitted to printe in a learned discourse, intituled A

---

* Captain Richard Whitbourne, of Exmouth, in his Preface to " A Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland, " London, 1620, says he was an eyewitness to Sir H. Gilbert's taking possession of the countrey—C. D.

Trve Reporte of the late Discoueries and Possessyon taken in the Righte of the Crowne of England, of the Newfounde Landes, &c.* The wordes are these in the firste leafe: Then Sir Humfry wente to viewe the contrye, beinge well accompanied with moste of his capitaines and souldiers. They founde the same very temperate, but somwhat warmer then England at that time of the yere, replenished with beastes and greate store of fowle of divers kyndes, and fisshes of sondrye sortes, bothe in the salte water and in the freshe, in so greate plentie as mighte suffice to victuall an armye, and they are very easely taken. And in the fifte chapter of the said discourse I reade in this manner: But let us omitte all presumtions, howe vehemente soeuer, and dwell upon the certentie of suche comodities as were discovered and founde by Sir Humfry Gilbert and his assistantes in Newfoundelande, in Auguste laste; ffor there may very easely be made pitche, tarr, rosen, sope asshes, in greate plentie, yea, as it is thoughte, ynoughe to serve the whole realme of every of these kindes; and of trayne oyle suche quantitie as if I shoulde set downe the value that they doe esteme it at, which have bene there, it woulde seme incredible.

To this in effecte agreeth that which one Stephanus Parmenius, a learned Hungarian, borne in Buda, and lately my bedfelowe in Oxforde,† wrote unto me oute of Newfounde lande, beinge of Sir Humfryes companye: Piscium (saieth he, writinge in Latin) inexhausta copia, inde huc commeantibus magnus quæstus. Vix hamus fundum attigit, illicò insigni aliquo onustus est. Terra universa montana et syluestris; arbores vt plurimùm pinus et abietes. Herbæ omnes proceræ, sed rarò à nostris diuersæ. Natura videtur velle niti etiam ad generandum frumentum. Inueni enim gramina et spicas in similitudinem secalis. Et facilè cultura et satione in vsum humanum assuefieri posse videntur. Rubi in siluis vel potiùs fraga arborescentia magna suauitate. Vrsi circa tuguria nonnunquam apparent et conficiuntur. . . . Ignotum est an aliquid metalli subsit montibus, . . . etsi aspectus eorum mineras latentes præ se ferat. Nos Admiralio authores fuimus syluas incendere, quo ad inspiciendam regionem spatium pateret; nec displicebat illi consilium, si non magnum incommodum allaturum videretur. Confirmatum est enim ab

Letters the last yere, in Latin, out of Newfounde lande.

Afterwardes they sett the woodds on fire, which burnte three weekes together.

---

* This work was reprinted in full by Hakluyt in this collection. *See ante.*
† Also reprinted in full in the collection. *See ante.*

idoneis hominibus, cum casu quopiam in alia nescio qua statione id accidisset, septennium totum pisces non comparuisse, exacerbata maris vnda ex terebinthina, quæ conflagrantibus arboribus per riuulos defluebat. Cœlum hoc anni tempore ita feruidum est vt nisi pisces qui arefiunt ad solem assidui inuertantur, ab adustione defendi non possint. . . . Aer in terra mediocriter clarus est. Ad orientem supra mare perpetuæ nebulæ, &c.

Greate heate in Newfounde lande in sommer.

Nowe, to passe from Newfoundelande to 60. degrees, I finde it beste described by Jasper Corterealis,[*] in the thirde volume of the voyadges gathered by Ramusius, fol. 417. There I reade as followeth: Nella parte del mondo nuouo che corre verso Tramontana e maestro all' incontro del nostro habitabile dell' Europa, v' hanno nauigato molti capitani, ed il primo (per quel' che si sa) fù Gasparo Cortereale Portoghese, che del 1500.v' andò con due carauelle, pensando di trouar qualche stretto di mare, donde per viaggio piu breue, che non è l' andare attorno l'Affrica, potesse passare all' Isole delle Spicerie. Esso nauigò tanto auanti, che venne in luogo, doue erano grandissimi freddi, et in gradi 60. di latitudine trouò vn fiume carico di neue, dalla quale gli dette il nome, chiamandolo Rio Neuado, nè gli bastò l'animo di passar più auanti. Tutta questa costa, che corre dal detto Rio Neuado infin' al porto di Maluas leghe 200. ilqual è in gradi 56. la vidde piena di genti, e molto habitato: sopra laqual dismontato prese alcuni per menargli seco, scoperse ancho molte Isole per mezo la detta costa tutte populate, a ciascuna delle quali diede il nome. Gli habitanti sono huomini grandi, ben proportionati, ma alquanto berrettini, e si dipingono la faccia, e tutto il corpo con diuersi colori per galanteria. Portano manigli d' argento e di rame, e si cuoprono con pelli cucite insieme di martori e d' altri animali diversi; il verno le portono col pelo di dentro, e la state di fuori. Il cibo loro per la maggior parte è di pesce piu che d'alcuna altra cosa, massimamente di salmoni, che n'hanno grandissima copia: ed anchora che vi siano diuersi sorti d'vccelli, e di frutti, nondimeno non fanno conto se non del pesce. Le loro habitationi sono fatte di legname, delquale hanno abondantia per esserui grandissimi, ed infiniti boschi, ed in luogo di tegole le cuoprono di pelli di pesci, che ne pigliano grandissimi, e gli

---

[*] This voyage of Cortereale took place in 1500.

scorticano. Vidde molti vccelli, e altri animali, massimamente orsi tutti bianchi.*

The reste of this coaste from 60. to 63. is described by Frobisher,† and in freshe memorye, so that I shall not nede to make repetition thereof.

A singuler commoditie for dyenge of Englishe clothe.

Thinges incident to a navy.

Thus, havinge alleaged many printed testymonies of these credible persons, which were personally betwene 30. and 63. degrees in America, as well on the coaste as within the lande, which affirmed unto the princes and kinges which sett them oute, that they founde there golde, silver, copper, leade, and perles in aboundaunce; precious stones, as turqueses and emrauldes; spices and druggs, as pepper, cynamon, cloves, rubarb, muske called castor, turpentine; silke wormes, fairer then ours of Europe; white and redd cotten; infinite multitudes of all kinde of beastes, with their tallowe and hides dressed and undressed; cochenilio, founde last yere by the men of St. John de Luze, and many other kindes of coulours for clothinge; millions of all kindes of fowles for foode and fethers; salte for fisshinge; excellent vines in many places for wines; the soile apte to beare olyves for oile; all kindes of frutes, as oranges, almondes, filberdes, figges, plomes, mulberies, raspis, pomi appij, melons; all kinde of odoriferous trees and date trees, cipresses, cedars, bayes, sapines, hony and waxe; and in New founde lande aboundaunce of pynes and firr trees, asshes, and other like, to make mastes and deale boordes, pitche, tarr, rosen; and hempe for cables and cordage; and, upp within the Graunde Baye, exceedinge quantitie of all kynde of precious furres (whereof I sawe twentie thousande French crownes worthe the laste yere broughte to Paris to Valeron Perosse and Mathewe Grainer, the kinges skynners); also, suche aboundaunce of trayne oile to make sope, and of fishe as a third part of Europe ys furnished therewith,—I may well and truly conclude with reason and authoritie, that all the comodities of all our olde decayed and daungerous trades in all Europe, Africa, and Asia haunted by us, may in shorte space for little or nothinge, and many for the very workemanshippe, in a manner be had in that part of America which lieth betwene 30. and 60. degrees of northerly latitude, if by our slackness we suffer not the Frenche or others to prevente us.

---

* In all these Italian quotations, the edition by Dr. Deane has the word *e* or *ed* spelled *et*, a curious blunder.

† In a "True Discourse of the late voyages of discoverie," written by George Best, who accompanied Frobisher, London, 1578, and reprinted by the Hakluyt Society.

Prevention to be taken hede of.

Chap. IV.

That this enterprize will be for the manifolde ymployment of nombers of idle men, and for bredinge of many sufficient, and for utteraunce of the greate quantitie of the comodities of our realme.

IT is well worthe the observation to see and consider what the like voyadges of discoverye and planting in the Easte and Weste Indies hath wroughte in the kingdomes of Portingale and Spayne; bothe which realmes, beinge of themselves poore and barren and hardly able to susteine their inhabitaunts, by their discoveries have founde suche occasion of employmente, that these many yeres we have not herde scarcely of any pirate of those twoo nations; whereas wee and the Frenche are moste infamous for our outeragious, common, and daily piracies. Againe, when hearde wee almoste of one theefe amongest them? The reason is, that by these, their new discoveries, they have so many honest wayes to set them on worke, as they rather wante men than meanes to ymploy them. But wee, for all the statutes that hitherto can be devised, and the sharpe execution of the same in poonishinge idle lazye persons, for wante of sufficient occasion of honest employmente, cannot deliver our commonwealthe from multitudes of loyterers and idle vagabondes. Truthe it is, that throughe our longe peace and seldome sicknes (twoo singuler blessinges of Almightie God) wee are growen more populous than ever heretofore; so that nowe there are of every arte and science so many, that they can hardly lyve one by another, nay rather they are readie to eate upp one another; yea many thousandes of idle persons are within this realme, which, havinge no way to be sett on worke, be either mutinous and seeke alteration in the state, or at leaste very burdensome to the commonwealthe, and often fall to pilferinge and thevinge and other lewdnes, whereby all the prisons of the lande are daily pestred

Idle persons mutynous and desire alteration in the state.

and stuffed full of them, where either they pitifully pyne awaye, or els at lengthe are miserably hanged, even xx^{ti}. at a clappe oute of some one jayle. Whereas yf this voyadge were put in execution, these pety theves mighte be condempned for certen yeres in the westerne partes, especially in Newfounde lande, in sawinge and fellinge of tymber for mastes shippes, and deale boordes; in burninge of the firres and pine trees to make pitche, tarr, rosen, and sope ashes: in beatinge and workinge of hempe for cordage; and, in the more southerne partes, in settinge them to worke in mynes of golde, silver, copper, leade, and yron; in dragginge for perles and currall; in plantinge of suger canes, as the Portingales have done in Madera; in mayneteynaunce and increasinge of silke wormes for silke, and in dressinge the same; in gatheringe of cotten whereof there is plentie; in tillinge of the soile there for graine; in dressinge of vines whereof there is greate aboundaunce for wyne; olyves, whereof the soile is capable, for oyle; trees for oranges, lymons, almondes, figges, and other frutes, all which are founde to growe there already; in sowinge of woade and madder for diers, as the Portingales have don in the Azores; in dressinge of raw hides of divers kindes of beastes; in makinge and gatheringe of salte, as in Rochel and Bayon, which may serve for the newe lande fisshinge; in killinge the whale, seale, porpose, and whirlepoole for trayne oile; in fisshinge, saltinge, and dryenge of linge, codde, salmon, herringe; in makinge and gatheringe of hony, wax, turpentine; in hewinge and shapinge of stone, as marble, jeate, christall, freestone, which will be goodd balaste for our shippes homewardes, and after serve for noble buildinges; in makinge of caske, oares, and all other manner of staves; in buildinge of fortes, townes, churches; in powderinge and barrellinge of fishe, fowles, and fleshe, which will be notable provision for sea and lande; in dryinge, sortinge and packinge of fethers, whereof may be had there marvelous greate quantitie.

Besides this, such as by any kinde of infirmitie cannot passe the seas thither, and now are chardgeable to the realme at home, by this voyadge shal be made profitable members, by employinge them in England in makinge of a thousande triflinge thinges, which will be very goodd marchandize for those contries where wee shall have moste ample vente thereof.

And seinge the savages of the Graunde Baye, and all alonge the mightie ryver that ronneth upp to Canada and Hochelaga, are greately delighted with any cappe or garment made of course wollen clothe, their contrie beinge colde and sharpe in the winter, yt is manifeste wee shall finde greate utteraunce of our clothes, especially of our coursest and basest northerne doosens, and our Irishe and Welshe frizes and rugges; whereby all occupations belonginge to clothinge and knittinge shalbe freshly sett on worke, as cappers, knitters, clothiers, wollmen, carders, spyners, weavers, fullers, sheremen, dyers, drapers, hatters and such like, whereby many decayed townes may be repaired.

In somme, this enterprice will mynister matter for all sortes and states for men to worke upon; namely, all severall kindes of artificers, husbandmen, seamen, marchauntes, souldiers, capitaines, phisitions, lawyers, devines, cosmographers, hidrographers, astronomers, historiographers; yea olde folkes, lame persons, women, and younge children, by many meanes which hereby shall still be mynistred unto them, shalbe kepte from idlenes, and be made able by their owne honest and easie labour to finde themselves, withoute surchardginge others. For proofe of the last part of my allegation I will use but onely this one example followinge.

In the yere of our Lorde 1564. at what tyme the Flemishe nation were growen, as yt were, to the fulnes of their wealthe and to the heighte of their pride, and not remembringe what wonderfull gaine they had yerely by the wolles, clothes, and comodities of England, beganne to contempne our nation and to rejecte our clothes and comodities, a subjecte of the then twoo Erles of Emden, a man of greate observation, wrote a notable discourse to the younge erles, to take occasion of that present tyme by offer of large priviledges in Emden to the Englishe men.* In which discourse, the said subjecte, for the better inducemente of the said twoo younge erles, dothe write of his owne knowledge, as he in his discourse affirmeth, and as also by his reporte appereth in the 22d booke of Sleydans Comentaries,† that, anno 1550. Charles the Fifte, then Emperour, would have had the Spanishe Inquisition broughte into Andwerpe and into the Netherlandes; whereaboute there was moche adoe, and that neither the sute of the towne of Andwerpe, nor the requeste of their frendes, could perswade the Emperour from it, till at the laste they tolde him playnely, that if the Inquisition came into Andwerpe and the Netherlandes, that the Englishe marchantes woulde departe oute of the towne and out of his contries; and upon declaration of this suggestion, searche was made what profite there came and comoditie grewe by the haunte of the Englishe marchantes. Then was it founde by searche and enquirie, that within the towne of Andwerpe alone, there were fourtene thousande persons fedde and mayneteyned onely by the workinge of Englishe commodities, besides the gaines that marchantes and shippers with other in the sayd towne did gett, which was the greatest parte of their lyvinge, which were thoughte to be in nombre half as many more; and in all other places of his Netherlandes by the indrapinge of Englishe woll into clothe, and by the workinge of other Englishe comodities, there were thirtie thousande persons more mayneteyned and fedd; which in all amounteth to the nomber of lj.M. persons. And this was the reporte that was geven to this mightie Emperour whereby the towne of Andwerpe and the Netherlandes were saved from the Inquisition. And in the ende of the 45th article of the same discourse, also, he setteth down by particuler accompte howe the subjectes of the same Emperour in the Netherlandes dyd gaine yerely onely by the woll and wollen clothe that came eche yere oute of England, almoste vi.C.M$^{li.}$ I say almoste sixe hundreth thousande poundes sterling, besides the gaines they had for sondry other thinges, that were of marvelous somes.

---

* This is a lost book. Emden was the capital of East Friseland. With reference to the removal of the English merchants at Antwerp to Emden, consult Strype's Life of Grindall, Oxford, cap. ix.

† No less than seven editions of Sleidan's *De quatuor monarchiis* were printed by the Elzeviers alone, a proof of the popularity of the work. An English translation by John Daus was published in London in 1560.

Six hundred thousand pounde gayned yerely by Englishe wolles.

Nowe if her Majestie take these westerne discoveries in hande, and plante there, yt is like that in shorte time wee shall vente as greate a masse of clothe yn those partes as ever wee did in the Netherlandes, and in tyme moche more; which was the opinion of that excellent man, Mr Roberte Thorne, extante in printe in the laste leafe savinge one of his discourse to Doctor Lea,* embassador for King Henry the Eighte, in Spaine, with Charles the Emperour, whose wordes are these: And althoughe (saieth he) wee wente not into the said ilandes of spicerye, for that they are the Emperours or Kinges of Portingale, wee shoulde by the way, and comynge once to the lyne equinoctiall, finde landes no lesse riche of golde and spicerie, as all other landes are under the said lyne equinoctiall; and also shoulde, yf wee may passe under the northe, enjoye the navigation of all Tartarye, which should be no lesse profitable to our comodities of clothe, then those spiceries to the Emperour and Kinge of Portingale

---

* Reprinted in Hakluyt's "Divers Voyages," 1582.

This beinge soe, yt commeth to passe, that whatsoever clothe wee shall vente on the tracte of that firme, or in the ilandes of the same, or in other landes, ilandes, and territories beyonde, be they within the circle articke or withoute, all these clothes, I say, are to passe oute of this realme full wroughte by our naturall subjectes in all degrees of labour. And if it come aboute in tyme that wee shall vente that masse there that wee vented in the Base Contries, which is hoped by greate reason, then shall all that clothe passe oute of this realme in all degrees of labour full wroughte by the poore naturall subjectes of this realme, like as the quantitie of our clothe dothe passe that goeth hence to Russia, Barbarie, Turkye, Persia, &c. And then consequently it followeth, that the like nomber of people alleaged to the Emperour shal be sett on worke in England of our poore sujectes more then hath bene; and so her Majestie shall not be troubled with the pitefull outecryes of cappers, knytters, spynners, &c.

And on the other side wee are to note, that all the comodities wee shall bringe thence wee shall not bringe them wroughte, as wee bringe now the comodities of Fraunce and Flaunders, &c., but shall receave them all substaunces unwroughte, to the ymploymente of a wonderfull multitude of the poore subjectes of this realme in returne. And so to conclude, what in the nomber of thinges to goe oute wroughte, and to come in unwroughte, there nede not one poore creature to steale, to starve, or to begge as they doe.

Objection.
Aunswer.

And to answer objections; where fooles for the swarminge of beggars alleage that the realme is too populous, Solomon saieth, that the honour and strengthe of a prince consisteth in the multitude of the people. And if this come aboute, that worke may be had for the multitude, where the realme hath nowe one thousande for the defence thereof, the same may have fyve thousande. For when people knowe howe to live, and howe to maynetayne and feede their wyves and children, they will not abstaine from mariage as nowe they doe. And the soile thus aboundinge with corne, fleshe, mylke, butter, cheese, herbes, rootes, and frutes, &c., and the seas that envyron the same so infynitely aboundinge in fishe, I dare truly affirme, that if the nomber in this realme were as greate as all Spaine and Ffraunce have, the people beinge industrious, I say, there shoulde be founde victualls ynoughe at the full in all bounty to suffice them all. And takinge order to cary hence thither our clothes made in hose, coates, clokes, whoodes, &c., and to returne thither hides of their owne beastes, tanned and turned into shoes and bootes, and other skynnes of goates, whereof they have store, into gloves, &c., no doubte but wee shall sett on worke in this realme, besides sailers and suche as shalbe seated there in those westerne discovered contries, at the leaste C. M. subjectes, to the greate abatinge of the goodd estate of subjectes of forreine princes, enemies, or doubtfull friends, and this *absque injuria*, as the lawyers say, albeit not *sine damno.* And having a vente of lynnen, as the Spaniardes have in the rest of that firme, wee may sett our people, in making the same, infinitely on worke, and in many other thinges besides; which time will bringe aboute, thoughe nowe, for wante of knowledge and full experience of this trade, wee cannot enter into juste accompte of all particulers.

Cap. V.

That this voyage will be a greate bridle to the Indies of the Kinge of Spaine, and a meane that wee may arreste at our pleasure for the space of tenne weeks or three monethes every yere one or twoo C. saile of his subjectes shippes at the fyshinge in Newfounde Land.

THe cause why the Kinge of Spaine, these three or foure yeres last paste, was at suche intollerable chardges in furnishinge oute so many navies to wynne Tercera, and the other small ilandes of the Azores adjacent to the same, was the opportunitie of the places in interceptinge his West India flete at their returne homewarde, as a matter that toucheth him indeede to the quicke. But the plantinge of twoo or three strong fortes upon some goodd havens (whereof there is greate store) betweene Florida and Cape Briton, woulde be a matter in shorte space of greater domage as well to his flete as to his westerne Indies; for wee shoulde not onely often tymes indaunger his flete in the returne thereof, but also in fewe yeres put him in hazarde in loosinge some parte of Nova Hispania.

Touchinge the fleete, no man (that knoweth the course thereof, comynge oute betwene Cuba and the Cape of Florida, alonge the gulfe or straite of Bahama) can denye that it is caried by the currant northe and northeaste towardes the coaste which wee purpose, God willinge to inhabite; which hapned to them not twoo yeres past, as Mr. Jenynges and Mr. Smithe, the master and masters mate of the shippe called the Toby, belonginge to Bristowe, infourmed me, and many of the chefest merchauntes of that citie, whereof they had particuler advertisement at Cadiz in Spaine a little before by them that were in the same flete the selfe same yere, and were in person driven upon the same coaste, and sawe the people, which they reported to be bigge men, somewhat in makinge like the Hollanders, and lighted on a towne upon a ryvers side, which they affirmed to be above a quarter of a mile in lengthe. Besides the current, it is also a thinge withoute controversie, that all southerne and south easterne windes inforce the Spanish flete returninge home nere or upon the aforesaide coaste, and consequently will bringe them into our daunger, after wee shalbe there strongly setled and fortified.

Wee are moreover to understande that the savages of Florida are the Spaniardes mortall enemyes, and wilbe ready to joyne with us againste them, as they joyned with Capitaine Gourgues, a Gascoigne, whoe beinge but a private man, and goinge thither at his owne chardges, by their aide wonne and rased the three small fortes, which the Spaniardes aboute xx$^{ti.}$ yeres agoe had planted in Florida after their traiterous slaughter of John Ribault; which Gourgues slewe, and hanged upp divers of them on the same trees whereon the yere before they had hanged the Frenche. Yea, one Holocotera, brother to one of the kinges of the savages, leapinge upp on an highe place, with his owne handes slewe a Spanishe canonier as he was puttinge fire to a pece of ordynaunce; which storye is at large in printe sett furthe by Monsieur Poplynier in his book intituled Trois Mondes.

Also, within the lande on the northe side of Nova Hispania, there is a people called Chichimici, which are bigg and stronge men and valiaunte archers, which have contynuall warres with the Spaniardes, and doe greately annoye them. The Spanishe histories which I have reade, and other late discourses, make greate mention of them. Yea, Myles Phillipps, who was xiiij.

yeres in those partes, and presented his whole travell in writinge to her Majestie, confesseth this to be moste certaine.*

Nowe if wee (being thereto provoked by Spanishe injuries) woulde either joyne with these savages, or sende or give them armor, as the Spaniardes arme our Irishe rebells, wee shoulde trouble the Kinge of Spaine more in those partes, then he hath or can trouble us in Ireland, and holde him at suche a bay as he was never yet helde at. For if (as the aforesaide Miles Phillipps writeth) yt be true, that one negro which fledd from his cruell Spanishe master is receaved and made capitaine of multitudes of the Chichimici, and daily dothe grevously afflicte them, and hath almoste enforced them to leave and abandon their silver mynes in those quarters, what domage mighte divers hundreds of Englishe men doe them, being growen once into familiaritie with that valiaunte nation.

And this is the greatest feare that the Spaniardes have, to witt, our plantinge in those partes and joyning with those savages, their neighbours, in Florida, and on the northe side of Nova Hispania. Which thinge an Englishe gentleman, Capitaine Muffett, whoe is nowe in Fraunce, tolde divers tymes this laste winter in my hearinge and others of credite, namely, that when he was in Spaine, prisoner, not longe since, he hearde the threasurer of the West Indies say, that there was no suche way to hinder his master, as to plante upon the coaste nere unto Florida, from whence by greate ryvers any man mighte easely passe farre upp into the lande, and joyne with his enemyes, whereof he stoode in contynuall feare; and said moreover, that that was the occasion why suche crueltie was used towardes John Ribaulte and his companie upon his seekinge to settle there.

Fynally, if wee liste not to come so nere Florida, this is a matter of no small momente, that if we fortifie ourselves about Cape Briton, nere Newfounde land, partely by the strengthe of our fortification, and partely by the aide of our navye of fishermen, which are already comaunders of others there, havinge our double forces thus joyned together, wee shalbe able upon every sooden to cease upon one or twoo hundreth Spanishe and Portingale shipps, which for tenne weekes or three monethes are there on fisshinge every yere. This I say will be suche

The benefite of plantinge aboute Cape Bryton or Newfounde lande.

---

*See Myles Phillips's Voyage, *post*. Also consult Nicholas, *Pleasaunt Historie of the Conquest of the Weast India*, 1578, pp. 378-9.

a bridle to him and suche an advantage vnto us, as wee cannot possibly ymagine a greater. And thus the Frenche served them in the time of Mounsieurs being in Flaunders, caryenge awaye oute of some harborowes three or foure Spanishe and Portingale shippes at ones; and more they woulde have taken, if our Englishmen, and, namely, one of myne acquaintaunce of Ratclife, had not defended them. And hither of necessitie they must yerely repaire, beinge not able to make their provision for land and sea of fishe in any place els, excepte on the coaste of Ireland, and at Cape Blancke in Africa, which twoo are nothinge worth in comparison to this thirde place.

So shall wee be able to crye quittance with the King of Spaine if he shoulde goe aboute to make any generall arreste of our navye, or rather terrifie him from any such enterpryse, when he shall bethincke himself that his navye in Newfounde lande is no lesse in our daunger, then ours is in his domynions wheresoever.

Cap. VI.

That the mischiefe that the Indian treasure wroughte in time of Charles the late Emperor, father to the Spanishe kinge, is to be had in consideration of the Queens most excellent Majestie, leaste the contynuall comynge of the like treasure from thence to his sonne, worke the unrecoverable annoye of this realme, whereof already we have had very daungerous experience.

IT is written in the xxxth. article of the discourse before specified, dedicated to the twoo younge Erles of Emden, as followeth, verbatim: With this greate treasure did not the Emperour Charles gett from the French Kinge the Kingdome of Naples, the Dukedome of Myllaine, and all other his domynions in Italy, Lombardy, Pyemont, and Savoye? With this treasure did he not take the Pope prisoner, and sack the sea of Rome? With this treasure did he not take the Frenche Kinge prisoner, and mayneteyne all the greate warres with Fraunce, since the yere of our Lorde 1540. to the yere of our Lord 1560. as is declared in the 12. and 13. article of his booke? With this treasure hath he not mayneteyned many cities in Italie, as well againste the Pope as againste the Frenche Kinge, as Parma, Florence, and such other? With this treasnre did he not overthrowe the Duke of

Cleave, and take Gilderland, Groyningelande, and other domynions from him, which oughte to be a goode warninge to you all, as it shall be most plainely and truly declared hereafter? With this treasure did he not gett into his handes the Erledome of Lingen in Westfalia? With this treasure did he not cause the Erle of Esones, your subject, to rebell againste your Graces father and againste you? The cause you knowe beste. And what worke this treasure made amongest the princes and townes in Germany, when the Duke of Saxony and the Launtzgrave Van Hessen were taken, Sleydan, our owne countryman, by his Chronicle declareth at large. And did not this treasure, named the Burgundishe asse, walke and ronne in all places to make bothe warr and peace at pleasure? And tooke he nothinge from the Empire then? Yes, truly, to moche, as you shall heare. When the Emperor Charles was firste made Emperour, what were the townes and contries in the Netherlandes that justly or properly came to him by birthe or inheritaunce? There was Brabant, Flaunders, Holland, Zeland, Artoys, and Henego. And yet there is a greate question concerninge Holland, howe the Emperour Charles and his progenitors came by yt, and what homage and duetie they oughte to doe for the same; because thereby the house of Burgundy hath the mouthe of the River Rhene at their commaundemente, which is to the greate losse, domage, and daunger of Germanye, as hereafter shalbe declared. Here be all the contries that belonged to the house of Burgundie when the Emperour Charles was made Emperour. But howe moche hath bene added to the Netherlandes since by him, contrary to his oathe made? That are these townes and contries, as yt appereth in Sleydans Chronicle; viz., Lutzenburge, Lymeburge, Gelderlande, the Erldome of Sutphen, the Citie and Straite of Vtright,* with all the landes in Over Isel, West Frizeland, the Citie of Groninge, and Groininge land. And, as before it is saied, he hath by pollicie gotten into his handes the Erldome of Lingen, standinge in Westfalia; and by the like pollicie, with money, he is become the defender of the Erledome of Esons, which is parcell of your Graces contrie of East Frizeland. All these contries and townes, with the treasure of the Netherlandes, hath he taken from the Empire.

Thus farr procedeth this excellent man in describinge howe

---

* Utrecht.

Charles the Emperour employed his treasure to the afflictinge and oppressinge of moste of the greatest estates of Christendome. The effecte of these treasures which he had oute of the West Indies, Peter Martir of Angleria, in the epistle dedicatory of his Decades to the said Emperour Charles, truly prognosticaied in the begynnynge, before hand, where he writeth thus unto him: Come tnerefore and embrace this newe worlde, and suffer us no longer to consume in desire of your presence. From hence, from hence (I say), moste noble younge Prince, shall instrumentes be prepared for you whereby all the worlde shalbe under your obeysaunce.

And in very deede it is moste apparaunte that riches are the fittest instrumentes of conqveste, and that the Emperour turned them to that use.

Kinge Phillipps injuries offred by his treasures.

To leave the father and come to the sonne, hath not Kinge Phillippe employed his treasure as injuriously to all princes and potentates of Europe? Is it not he that with his Indian treasure corrupted the *Quinqueviri* in Portingale, that in the interregnum were appointed overseers of the comon wealthe, and so hath joyned that kingdome to his, with all the ilandes, townes, domynions belonginge to that crowne? Is it not he that with his treasure hath gon aboute to hier some ungodlye murderer to make away with Don Antonio, one while by open proclamation, and another while *sotto capo*, under hande? Is it not he that by his treasure hathe hired at sondry times the sonnes of Beliall to bereve the Prince of Orange of his life?* And hath he not suborned by hope of rewarde other moste ungodly persons to lay violent handes upon other Christian princes? Hath not he these many yeres geven large pensions to nombers of English unnaturall rebelles? Doth he not support the semynaries of Rome and Rhemes to be thornes in the sides of their owne comon wealthes? Hath not he divers tymes sente forren forces into Ireland, furnished with money, armor, munition, and victualls? Hath not he sente rounde somes of money into Scotland, both to the Kinge and those that are aboute him, to alter the estate there and to trouble oures? And is it not knowen that this Spanishe asse rometh upp and downe laden throughe all Fraunce, and, when it coulde not enter into the papistes gates, yt hath soughte to enter into the courtes of the princes of the Relligion, to renewe the late intermitted civile warres? What it hath done and nowe dothe in all the Empire and the Lowe Contries, and is like to worke in other places unlesse speedy order be taken to hinder it, is described at large by Mounsieur de Aldegonnde, a Germaine gentleman, in a pithie and moste earnest exhortation (extant in Latine, Italian, Frenche, Englishe, and Duche) concerninge the estate of Christendome, together with the meanes to defend and preserve the same, dedicated to all Christian kinges, princes, and potentates.*

---

* These baseless assertions of complicity on the part of Phillip in the attempts on the life of William of Nassau, only prove the bitter prejudices of the Protestant party. I am surprised to find Dr. Deane, in a note on this passage, endorsing Hakluyt's unfounded charges.

Cap. VII.

What speciall meanes may bringe Kinge Phillippe from his highe throne, and make him equall to the princes his neighboures; wherewithall is shewed his weakenes in the West Indies.

FIrste, it is to be considered that his domynions and territories oute of Spaine lye farr distant from Spaine, his chefest force; and farr distante one from another; and are kepte by greate tyrannie; and *quos metuunt oderunt.* And the people kepte in subjection desire nothinge more then freedome. And like as a little passage given to water, it maketh his owne way; so give but a small menne to suche kepte in tyranie, they will make their owne way to libertie; which way may easely be made. And entringe into the consideration of the way how this Phillippe may be abased, I meane firste to begynne with the West Indies, as there to laye a chefe foundation for his overthrowe. And like as the foundation of the strongest holde undermyned and removed, the mightiest and strongest walles fall flatt to the earthe; so this prince, spoiled or intercepted for a while of his treasure, occasion by lacke of the same is geven that all his territories in Europe oute of Spaine slide from him, and the Moores enter into Spaine it selfe, and the people revolte in every forrein territorie of his, and cutt the throates of the proude hatefull Spaniardes, their governours. For this Phillippe already owinge many millions, and of late yeres empaired in credite, bothe by lacke of abilitie of longe tyme to pay the same, and by his shameful losse of his Spaniardes and dishonors in the Lowe Contries, and by lacke of the yerely renewe of his revenewe, he shall not be able to wage his severall garrisons kepte in his severall frontiers, territories, and places, nor to corrupte in princes courtes, nor to doe many feates. And this weyed, wee are to knowe what Phillip ys in the West Indies; and that wee be not abused with Spanish braggs, and made to beleve what he is not; and so, drawen into vain feare, suffer fondly and childishly our owne utter spoile. And therefore wee are to understande that Phillippe rather governeth in the West Indies by opinion, then by mighte; ffor the small manred of Spaine, of itself being alwayes at the best slenderly peopled, was never able to rule so many regions, or to kepe in subjection such worldes of people as be there, were it not for the error of the Indian people, that thincke he is that he is not, and that doe ymagine that Phillippe hath a thousande Spaniardes for every single naturall subjecte that he hath there. And like as the Romaynes, allured hither into Britaine, perced the Iland, and planted here and there in the mouthes of rivers and upon straites, and kepte colonies, as at Westchester upon the River of Dee, at York upon the River of Owse, and upon the Rivers of Thames and Severne, and yet in truthe never enioyed more of the contries rounde aboute then the Englishe, planted at Bulloine and Calice, did of the Frenche soile adjoyninge, nor in effecte had the Brittishe nation at comaundement; even so hath the Spaniarde perced the Indies, and planted here and there very thinlye and slenderlye, withoute havinge the Indian multitude in subjection, or in their townes and fortes any nomber to holde any of them againste the meanest force of a prince; so as in truthe the Spaniarde ys very weake there. And it is knowen to Sir Fraunces Drake, and to Mr. Hawkins, and Miles Phillipps (which Miles lyved xiiij. yeres in Nova Spania), and to dyvers others of her Majesties subjectes besides that have been there, that the ilandes there abounde with people and nations that rejecte the proude and bluddy government of the Spaniarde, and that doe mortally hate the Spaniarde. And they also knowe that the Moores, and suche as the Spaniardes have broughte thither for the mynes and for slavery, have fledd from them into the inlandes, and of them selves maineteine in many places frontier warres againste the Spaniarde, and many tymes so prevaile, and especially of late, that the Spaniardes have bene inforced to sende the Spanishe marchauntes them selves into the warres, althoughe yt be againste the speciall priviledges graunted by Charles, the late Emperour, to the marchauntes, as may plainely appere by Spanishe marchauntes letters taken by Sir Fraunces Drake passinge in the sea of Sur towarde Panama, to be conveyed into Spaine. And it is thoughte that Sir Fraunces Drake and some other Englishe are of so greate credite with the Symerons and with those that mayneteyne those frontier warrs, that he mighte, bringinge thither a fewe capitaines and some of our meaner souldiers late trayned in the Base Contries, with archers and lighte furniture, &c., bringe to passe that, joyninge with those inland people, Kinge Phillippe mighte either be deprived of his governmente there, or at the leaste of the takinge of his yerely benefite of the mynes. Thus with small chardge and fewe men, nowe and then renewinge this matter by a few sailes to be sent thither for the comforte of suche as shalbe there resident, and for the incouragemente of the Symerons, greater effecte may followe then by meetinge with his golden flete, or by takinge of his treasures once or twise at the sea; for by this meanes, or by a platforme well to be sett downe, England may enjoye the benefite of the Indian mynes, or at the leaste kepe Phillippe from possessinge the same.

---

* Marnix de Sainte Aldegonde was born at Brussels in 1538. Died 1598. He was at one time Ambassador to England.—See Motley's United Netherlands, I. 145.—C. D.

Hereunto yf wee adde our purposed westerne discoueries, and there plante and people ryally, and fortifie strongly, and there builde shippes and maineteine a navy in special porte or portes, wee may by the same either encounter the Indian fleete, or be at hande as it were to yelde freshe supplye, courage, and comforte, by men or munition, to the Chichimici and the Symerons, and suche other as shalbe incited to the spoile of the mynes; which in tyme will, if it be not looked to, bringe all princes to weake estate, that Phillippe, either for religion or other cause, dothe hate; as the aforesaide Monsieur de Aldegond, in his pithie and moste earneste exhortation to all Christian kinges, princes, and potentates to beware of Kinge Phillipps ambitious growinge, dothe wisely and moste providently forwarne.

To this may be added (the realme swarming with lustie youthes that be turned to no profitable use), there may be sente bandes of them into the Base Contries in more rounde nombers then are sente as yet. Ffor if he presently prevaile there, at our doores, farewell the traficque that els wee have there (whereof wise men can say moche). And if he settle there, then let the realme saye adewe to her quiet state and safetie.

If these enter into the due consideration of wise men, and if platformes of these thinges be sett downe and executed duelye and with spede and effecte, no doubte but the Spanishe empire falles to the grounde, and the Spanishe kinge shall be lefte bare as Aesops proude crowe, the peacocke, the perot, the pye, and the popingey, and every other birde havinge taken home from him his gorgeous fethers, he will, in shorte space, become a laughinge stocke for all the worlde; with such a mayme to the Pope and to that side, as never hapned to the sea of Rome by the practise of the late Kinge of famous memory, her Majesties father, or by all the former practises of all the Protestant princes of Germanie, or by any other advise layde downe by Monsieur de Aldegond, here after by them to be put in execution. If you touche him in the Indies, you touche the apple of his eye; for take away his treasure, which is *neruus belli*, and which he hath almoste oute of his West Indies, his olde bandes of souldiers will soone be dissolved, his purposes defeated, his power and strengthe diminished, his pride abated, and his tyranie utterly suppressed.

Cap. VIII.

That the lymites of the Kinge of Spaines domynions in the West Indies be nothinge so large as is generally ymagined and surmised, neither those partes which he holdeth be of any such forces as is falsly geven oute by the Popishe clergie and others his fautors, to terrifie the princes of the relligion and to abuse and blynde them.

AS the Secretary of Don Antonio, Kinge of Portingale, called Custodio Etan, tolde me lately at Paris, that the Portingales never had in Guinea, Bresill, and all the Easte Indies above twelve thousande Portingale souldiers whensoever they had moste, which was confirmed by one of the Kinges capitaines borne in Goa, then presente; and that they governed rather by gevinge oute of greate rumors of power and by secrecie, then by any greate force which they had in deede; so the like is to be proved of the Kinge of Spaine in his West Indies; ffor he beinge in those partes exceedinge weake hath nothinge such nombers of people there as is geven oute, neither doe his domynions stretche so far as by the ignoraunte ys ymagined; which hereby easely may appere, seinge he hath no one towne or forte in actuall possession in all Nova Hispania to the northe of the Tropick of Cancer, which standeth in 23. degrees and an halfe, excepte the towne of St. Helen and one or twoo small fortes in Florida; ffor as it is in the mappe of Culiacan, sett oute twoo ẏeres paste with all diligence by Ortelius, Saincte Michael ys the furthest towne nothwarde on the backside of America, and Panuco and Villa Sancti Jacobi are the moste northerly colonies upon the Bay of Mexico that the Spaniardes inhabite; as the aforesaide Ortelius witnesseth in his mapp of those partes sett oute this presente yere, 1584; which three townes above named are under or within the Tropicke of Cancer. And so the Kinge of Spaine hath no footinge beyonde the said tropicke; which is contrary to the opinion of the vulgar sorte, which ymagine, and by some are borne in hande, that all is his from the equinoctiall as farr as the lande stretcheth towardes the pooles.

Againe, that parte from the equinoctiall to the southe ys not inhabited by the Spaniarde any further then unto the Tropicke of Capricorne, as ys to be seene by the mappe of Peru this presente yere, 1584. published by Ortelius; neither is it peopled by the Spaniardes to any purpose savinge onely alonge the sea coaste. And howe weake they are there, and what simple shippinge they have, and howe dayly they be afflicted by the inhabitauntes, Sir Fraunces Drake can tell, and the letters by him intercepted doe declare. One Peter Benzo de Millano, which was fourtene yeres in those partes, writeth, that they holde greate townes, some with tenne, some with sixe, some with foure, and some with twoo souldiers, and that they commaunded that all the Italians, whome they called Levantines in contempte, shoulde departe those contries, fearinge they shoulde reveale their nakednes to the worlde, and encourage others to sett in footinge there.

Seinge then they suffer no people of Europe to inhabite there savinge onely Spaniardes, any reasonable man that knoweth the barenes, desolation, and wante of men in Spaine, together with these eightene yeres civill warres that hath wasted so many thousandes of them in the Lowe Contries, must nedes confesse that they have very simple forces there. The provinces which he holdeth are indeede many, yet more denuded than ever was any empire since the creation of the worlde. Some of his contries are dispeopled, some barren, some so far asonder, also held by tyrannie, that in deed upon the due consideration of the matter, his mighte and greatenes is not suche as *prima facie* yt may seme to be. And weare yt not that he doth possesse suche a masse of treasure oute of the Indies, the Frenche kinge, of one onely kingdome, with his onely people of Fraunce, were able to drive him oute of all his domynions that he hath in the worlde.

The example of Antigonus.

It is written that Antigonus, beinge to fighte againste certaine of his enemyes, they appered a farr of to be so huge and mightie, that his souldiers were halfe afraied to encounter them; but, beinge incouraged by his valour, they easely overthrewe them in a conflicte; whereof he stripped one or twoo, which, beinge turned oute of their bombasted and large apparell, were in deede but very weakelinges and shrimpes; which, when he had shewed unto his souldiers, they were ashamed of themselves that ever they had bene afraied of suche wretches. So when wee shall have looked and narrowly pried into the Spanishe forces in America, wee shalbe doubtles ashamed of ourselves, that wee have all this while bene afraied of those dissemblinge and feble scarr crowes.

This which I say concerninge the weakenes of the Spaniardes in America may more easelie appere by this note followinge, gathered by an excellent Frenche capitaine moste experte and privie to the state and force of the islandes, havens, townes, and fortes of all that parte of America which lieth upon our ocean; which excedinge large coaste beinge so rarely and simply manned and fortified, wee may well assure ourselves that the inlande is moche more weake and unmanned.

Cap. IX.

The names of the riche townes lienge alonge the sea coaste on the north side from the equinoctiall of the mayne lande of AMERICA, under the Kinge of Spaine.

1. OUer againest the ilande of Margarita there is a towne called Cumana, wherein is great store of perle. There be divers boates belonginge to the towne, which onely dragge perles. This towne is the farthest eastwarde which the kinge hath on the

north side of India. It is environed with their enemyes, viz., the Indyans and Caribes. The victualls come from this towne to Margarita.

2. The next towne westwarde is Carakas, which is very riche of golde. This towne standeth upon the sea, and hath some victualls, but not plentie, and is environed likewise with the Indians, their mortall enemyes.

3. The towne Burborowate was destroyed by 50. Frenchemen, and the treasure taken awaye.

4. The nexte towne to the westwarde is called Coro, which hath greate plentie of golde and victualls. This standeth upon the sea. This is a civill contrie, and some of the Indians broughte to a civill governemente.

5. At Rio de Hacha there is a towne called Hacha, where is greate store of perle and silver, but no golde; and not farr from thence there is a perle house. There is plentie of victualls, the contrie civill, and some of the Indians at the Spaniardes comaundement. Mr. John Hawkins told me he won this towne, and was master of yt three daies, in his laste voyadge.

6. Further westwarde is a towne called Santa Maren, alias Marta, where is greate store of golde, but little victualls. This is envyroned with Indians, enemies to the Spaniardes.

7. The nexte towne is Carthagena, where is greate store of silver, golde, and precious stone. This towne hath a nomber of Indians and Symerons to their enemyes. There is also greate store of victualls.

8. The nexte towne thereunto is Nombro di Dios. To this towne cometh all the golde, perle, stone, and jewells that cometh from Chile, Peru, and Panama oute of the Southe Sea. To this towne cometh halfe the fleete, which taketh in halfe their treasure, and goeth to Havana, and so throughe the Gulfe of Bahama unto the Ilandes of Corvo, Flores, and the Azores, and from thence into Spaine. This towne hath no victualls but such as cometh from Panama and the ilandes by sea. By this towne is a gulfe called Gulnata, where the Symerons and Indians have certaine townes, and kepe warres dayly with the Spaniardes as well as the Indians. At the southende of the gulfe there is not paste five legues over lande into the South Sea.

9. The nexte towne is called Vraga, alias Var, where is moche golde and small store of victualls. This is a civill contrie nere to the towne; the nexte is Nicaragua.

10. At Nicaragua is moche golde that cometh out of the Southe Sea, and there is a place where they make their frigotts. There ys little victualls; the people are civill.

11. In the Bay of Hondoras is a towne called Hondoras, alias Tres Islas, where is golde and hides and greate store of victualls. This towne standeth upon an hill very strongly, and is but simply manned. This towne hath within a mile great plentie of Indians, which are at warr with the Spaniardes.

12. Then there is a towne called Porto de Cavallos, where is store of silver, stones, perles, jewells made and sett with precious stones and perles. To this towne come yerely twoo shippes, that goe from thence to the Havana, and so into Spaine with all their riches. This towne is full of victualls. This porte of Cavallos adjoyneth to the Gulfe Dowse.*

13. All the Bay of Mexico is full of Indian townes and full of victualls. There is one towne named Vera Crux, to which towne cometh all their treasure from the citie of Mexico, and from thence to the porte of St. John de Vlloa, from thence to Havana, and so into Spayne.

FLORIDA.

IN Florida the Spaniardes have one towne, called Sancta Helena, where they have perles, silver, and greate store of victualls. The Floridians be a gentle sorte of people, and used somtymes to heade their arrowes with silver.

There is one principall place called Rio de Jordan, alias Rio de Maio, where, in an iland, standeth a forte which was Ribaults; which river ronneth throughe the lande into the Southe Sea, from whence greate plentie of treasure is brought thither. There are small pynnesses that use the same river. It is also thoughte that shippes come from Cathaio to the southwest ende of the said river. This is very full of victualls. There was by Peter Melanda a river cutt from the Citie of Mexico to Rio de Maio,† so that moche treasure is broughte from thence to this forte with small pynnesses.

A speciall note of a passage.

All that parte of America eastwarde from Cumana unto the River of St. Augustine in Bresill, conteyneth in lengthe alongest to the sea side xxj. C. miles, in whiche compasse and track there is neither Spaniarde, Portingale, nor any Christian man, but onely the Caribes, Indians, and saluages. In which places is greate plentie of golde, perle, and precious stones.

---

* Golfo Dulce.

† No such river was ever cut.—C. D.

On the coaste of Bresill is one goodly ile called Trinidada, conteyninge C. xx$^{ti.}$ miles in lengthe, and lxxv. miles in bredthe, and is onely inhabited by gentle Indians and savages borne in the said ilande. In this ilande is greate plentie of maiz, venison, fishe, wooddes, and grasse, with divers faire frutes and other comodities. Yt hath also divers goodly havens to harborowe yn, and greate stoare of tymber for buildinge of shippes. With the kinge of this ilande wee are in league.

The Frenche.

Cap. X.

A brefe declaration of the chefe ilandes in the Baye of Mexico, beinge under the Kinge of Spaine, with their havens and fortes, and what comodities they yelde.

THere ys one ilande, as the fleete cometh into the baye, named Margarita,* wherein is greate store of perle; a riche ilande full of maiz (which is their corne), oxen, shepe, goates, fowle and fishe, greate store of frutes, grasse and woods.

Ouer againste the said islande, northewarde, there is one other iland named St. John de Porto Ricco, which hath store of all manner of victualls and suger.

The nexte is a faire iland called Hispaniola, in some parte well inhabited; havinge one citie called Sancto Domingo, which hath a faire hauen † whereunto many of the shippes of the kinges fleete come, and there devide themselves. Some goe to St. John de Leu, and some to Nombro di Dios and other partes of the mayne lande. This is a frutefull iland for all manner of victuall, hides and suger.

The nexte ilande is called Jamaica, and hath in it great store of victualls.

The nexte is a faire, greate, and longe iland, called Cuba. This iland hath a forte and haven in it called the Havana, which is the key of all India. It is called the key of India, for that the

---

* Off the coast of Venezuela.

† Port-au-Prince.

Spaniardes cannot well returne into Spaine but that they muste touche there for victualls, water, woodde, and other necessaries. It lieth at the mouthe and entraunce into the Gulfe of Bahama. This ilande hath great plentie of victualls, but it is not greately inhabited.

There be divers other ilandes, riche for victualls, as Aeriaba, Corsal, Marigalante,* &c., havinge not in them some xx. some x. Spaniardes a pece.

Thus you see that in all those infinite ilandes in the Gulfe of Mexico, whereof Cuba and Hispaniola are thoughte to be very nere as bigge as England and Ireland, wee reade not of past twoo or three places well fortified, as Sancto Domingo in Hispaniola, and Havana in Cuba. I may therefore conclude this matter with comparinge the Spaniardes unto a drone, or an emptie vessell, which when it is smitten upon yeldeth a greate and terrible sound, and that afarr of; but come nere and looke into them, there ys nothinge in them; or rather like unto the asse which wrapte himselfe in a lyons skynne, and marched farr of to strike terror in the hartes of the other beastes, but when the foxe drewe nere he perceaved his longe eares, and made him a jeste unto all the beastes of the forrest. In like manner wee (upon perill of my life) shall make the Spaniarde ridiculous to all Europe, if with pierceinge eyes wee see into his contemptible weakenes in the West Indies, and with true stile painte hym oute *ad vivum* unto the worlde in his fainte colours.

And if any man woulde objecte, that if by his weakenes he had loste the treasure of the West Indies, yet the riches of the Easte Indies woulde holde upp his heade; I answer, that those contries beinge so farr of, and suche naturall malice beinge betweene the Portingale and the Spaniarde, as greater cannot be, that it is not possible for him to holde those partes no more than the other, wantinge the treasure of the West Indies to supporte his garrisons both there and in Christendome againste his manifolde and mightie enemyes.

---

* It is strange that Hakluyt should omit St. Vincent, Dominica, Guadeloupe, etc., and mention such small islands as Marigalante. The other two islands named are probably Uralua and Curasoa.

◆

Cap. XI.

That the Spaniardes have exercised moste outragious and more then Turkishe cruelties in all the West Indies, whereby they are every where there become moste odious unto them, whoe woulde joyne with us or any other moste willinglye to shake of their moste intolerable yoke, and have begonne to doe yt already in divers places where they were lordes heretofore.

SO many and so monstrous have bene the Spanishe cruelties, suche straunge slaughters and murders of those peaceable, lowly, milde, and gentle people, together with the spoiles of townes, provinces, and kingdomes, which have bene moste ungodly perpretrated in the West Indies, as also divers others no lesse terrible matters, that to describe the leaste parte of them woulde require more than one chapiter, especiall where there are whole bookes extant in printe, not onely of straungers, but also even of their owne contreymen (as of Bartholmewe de las Casas, a bisshoppe in Nova Spania); yea such and so passinge straunge and excedinge all humanitie and moderation have they bene, that the very rehersall of them drave divers of the cruel Spanishe, which had not bene in the West Indies, into a kinde of extasye and maze, so that the sayenge of the poet mighte therein well be verified:—

Quis talia fando,
Myrmidonum Dolopumue aut duri miles Vlissis,
Temperet a lachrimis?

Nevertheless I will repeate oute of that mightie masse and huge heape of massacres some fewe, that of them you may make an estymate of the rest, and consider what small remainder of those moste afflicted Indians have to revolte from the obedience of the Spaniardes, and to shake of from their shoulders the moste intollerable and insupportable yoke of Spaine, which in many places they have already begonne to do of themselves, withoute the helpe of any Christian prynce.

Nowe because these moste outeragious and infinite massacres are put downe by Don Bartholmewe de las Casas, the bisshoppe above mentioned, and dedicated to Kinge Phillippe that nowe ys, which author testifieth that to his inspeakable grefe he was an eye witnesse of many of them, therefore it seemeth best unto me to bringe him in, which in his firste chapiter describeth the same in manner followinge:—

Upon these lambes (meaninge the Indians), so meke, so qualified and endewed of their Maker and Creator, as hath bene said, entred the Spanishe, incontinent. as they knew them, as wolves, as lyons, and as tigres moste cruell, of longe tyme famished; and have not don in those quarters these forty yeres be paste, neither yet doe at this presente, oughte els then teare them in peces, kill them, martir them, afflicte them, tormente them, and destroye them by straunge sortes of cruelties, never either seene or reade or hearde of the like (of the which some shalbe sett downe hereafter); so farr forthe as of above three millions of soules that were in the Ile of Hispaniola, and that wee have seene there, there are not nowe twoo hundreth natives of the contrie. The Ile of Cuba, which is as farr in lengthe as from Valladolid untill Rome, ys at this day, as it were, all waste. St. John's Ile, and that of Jammaica, bothe of them very greate, very fertile, and very faire, are desolate. Likewise the Iles of Lucayos nere to the Ile of Hispaniola, and of the north side unto that of Cuba, in nomber beinge above three score ilandes, together with those which they call the Iles of Geant, one with another greate and little, whereof the very worste is fertiler then the kinges garden at Civill, and the contrie the helthsomest in the worlde. There were in some of these isles more then five hundred thousande soules, and at this day there is not one only creature; for they have bene all of them slaine, after that they had drawen them oute to labor in their myneralls in the Ile of Hispaniola, where there were no more lefte of the inborne natives of that iland. A shippe ridinge for the space of three yeres betwixte these ilandes, to the ende that after the wyninge of this kinde of vintage to gleane and cull the remainder of these folke (for there was a goodd Christian moved with pitie and compassion to converte and wynne unto Christe suche as mighte be founde), there were not founde but eleven persons, which I sawe. Other iles, more than thirtie, nere to the Ile of St. John, have likewise bene dispeopled and massacred. All those iles conteyne above twoo thousande leagues of lande, and are all dispeopled and laid waste.

As touchinge the mayne firme lande, wee are certaine that our Spaniardes, by their cruelties and cursed doinges, have dispeopled and made desolate more then tenne realmes greater then all Spaine, comprisinge therein also Arragon and Portingale; and twise as moche or more lande than there is from Civill to Jerusalem, which are above a thousand leagues; which realmes yet, unto this presente day, remain in a wildernes and utter desolation, havinge bene before time as well peopled as was possible.

We are able to yelde a goodd and perfecte accompte, that there is, within the space of forty yeres, by these said tyranies and devilishe doinges of the Spaniardes, don to deathe unjustly and tyranously more then twelve million soules, men, women, and children. And I verely doe beleive, and thinke I doe not mistake therein, there are deade more then fiftene millions of soules.

Thus havinge hearde of the multitudes of soules slayne, you shall heare the manner of their slaughter.

In the chapiter of Hispaniola it thus followeth:

Nowe after sondry other forces, violences, and tormentes which they wroughte againste them, the Indians perceaved that those were no men descended from heaven. Some of them, therefore, hidd their victualls, others hidd their wives and their children. Some other fledd into the mountaines to seperate themselves afarr of from a nation of so harde natured and ghastly conversation. The Spaniardes buffeted them with their fistes and bastianadoes, pressinge also to lay their handes on the lordes of the townes. And these cases ended in so greate an hazarde and desperatnes, that a Spanishe capitaine durste adventure to ravishe forcibly the wife of the greatest kinge and lorde of this ile. Since which time the Indians began to searche meanes to caste the Spaniardes oute of their landes, and sett themselves in arms. But what kinde of armes! Very weake and feble to withstande or resiste, and of lesse defence. Wherefore all their warres are no more warres, then the playenge of children when as they playe at *jogo de cane* or reedes. The Spaniardes with their horses, speares, and launces, began to comitt murders and straunge cruelties. They entred into townes, burroughes, and villages, sparinge neither children nor olde men, neyther women with childe, neither them that laye in; but they ripped their bellies and cutt them in peces, as if they had bene openinge of lambes shutt upp in their folde. They laied wagers with suche as with one thruste of a sworde, woulde paunche or bowell a man in the middest, or with one blowe of a sworde most readily and moste deliverly cut of his heade, or that woulde best perce his entralls at one stroke. They tooke the little soules by the heeles, rampinge them from their mothers brestes, and crusshed their heades against the cliftes. Others they caste into the rivers, laughinge and mockinge; and when they tombled into the water, they saied: Nowe shifte for thy selfe suche a one's corps. They put others, together with their mothers, and all that they mett, to the edge of the sworde. They made certaine gibbetts longe and loughe, in such sorte that the feete of the hanged one touched in a manner the grounde; every one enoughe for thirtene, in the honour and worshippe of our Saviour and his twelve apostles (as they used to speake), and setting to fire, burned them all quicke that were fastened. Unto all others, whome they used to take and reserve alive, cuttinge of their twoo handes as nere as mighte be, and so lettinge them hange, they saied: Go you with those letters to cary tydinges to those which are fled by the mountaines. They murdred commonly the lordes and nobilitie on this fashion: they made certen grates of perches laid on pitchforkes, and made a little fire underneathe, to the intente that by little and little, yellinge and despairinge in these tormentes, they mighte give up the ghoste. One time I sawe foure or five of the principall lordes roasted and broyled upon these gredyrons; also I thinke that there were twoo or three of the said gredyrons garnished with the like furniture. And for that they cried oute piteously, whiche thinge troubled the capitaine that he coulde not then slepe, he comaunded to strangle them. The serjeant, which was worse then the hangman, that burned them, (I knowe his name and frendes in Civill,) woulde not have them strangled, but hymselfe puttinge bulletts in their mouthes, to the ende they shoulde not crye, put to the fire, until they were softly roasted after his desire. I have seene all the aforesaide thinges and others infinite. And forasmuche as all the people that coulde flee, hidd themselves in the mountaines and, mounted on the toppes of them, fledd from the men, so, withoute all manhodde, emptie of all pietie, behavinge themselves as savage beastes, the slaughterers and murderers of mankinde, they taughte their houndes, fierce doggs, to tear them in peces at the first viewe; and, in the space that one might say a *credo*, assailed and devoured an Indian as if it had bene a swine. These doggs wroughte greate destructions and slaughters. And forasmoche as somtymes (thoughe seldome) the Indian put to death some Spaniardes upon goodd righte and lawe of due justice, they made a lawe betwene them, that for one Spaniarde they had to slaye an hundred Indians.

Bishop Bartholomewe de las Casas an eye wytnes of these cruelties.

And thus farr oute of the large volume of Don Bartholomewe de las Casas, bisshoppe of the citie of Chiape in the West Indies, where he lyved many yeres.*

Johannes Metellus Sequanus.

Will you nowe heare one testymonie of Johannes Metellus Sequanus, whoe was a Papiste and favoured the Spanishe superstition; yet he writes as followeth in the preface of the Historie of Osorius de rebus gestis Emanuelis, fol. 16: At vero vt semel intelligatur quid Indos toties ad res nouas contra Hispanos moliendas, et seditiones tanta pertinacia fouendas impulerit, et quid causæ fuerit cur duo illa Christianæ Reipublicæ summa capita Indicæ nationis libertatem, frementibus quibusdam et inuitis dubio procul militibus Hispanis, sanctissimo suo calculo comprobarint, paucis nouorum dominorum in miseros immanitatem, deinde quorundam inexplebilem auaritiam, et ex his grauiores quosque tumultus, vnde noui orbis pene totius nunquam satis deploranda vastitas est sequuta, perstringam.

Principio quidem illud apud plerosque milites Hispanos, pessimo sane exemplo, in more positum fuit, vti ab oculatis et fide dignis testibus perscriptum est, vt seruos suos grauissime punirent, si mercedem diurnam aut non attulissent, aut pensum in auro argentoue effodiendo non absoluissent, aut si quid leuioris denique delicti perpetrassent. Etenim vesperi reduces, cœnæ loco, primùm vestimentis exuebant, manibus dein pedibusque in transuerso palo reuinciebant: mox chorda bubaloue neruo dirissime verberabant. Sic tractatos, pice oleoue feruenti guttatim perfundebant; salita post aqua corpus abluebant, et in mensa tamdiu relinquebant, quamdiu dolorem ferre posse putarentur. Qui mos animaduertendi ipsis etiam in Christianos seruos domi familiaris esse dicitur. Post carnificinam huiusmodo, si durior dominus illis contigerat, viuos in totam noctem collo tenus defodiebant, presentissimum illud ad plagas remedium esse ludibrio dictitantes. Si quis ex illis præ dolore moreretur, id quod non raro accidit, dominus singula seruorum capita regi in occisorum locum sufficiens, ab homicidij pœna liberabatur.

---

* This quotation is from the English translation, "The Spanish Colonie," London, 1583.

Hanc crudelitatem lege Baionæ, quam dicunt, quidem excusant; sed omnibus impia merito videtur, tanquam omnis pietatis expers. Quamobrem diabolicæ nomen inter Indos iure quidem obtinuit. Ad hanc autem immanitatem in miseros Indos excercendam nonnullos ingenita quædam naturæ sæuities, multis iam bellis exasperata, plerosque habendi sitis, impulit. Hinc Hispanus miles, quasi ad aucupium aut venationem, sic ad prædas hominum agendas, iam inde ab inuento nouo orbe ferri cœpit. Aut igitur bello captos in seruitutem abripiebat, aut ex eorum mancipio magnam sibi pecuniæ vim conflabat, aut eos ad diurnas operas mittebat, quarum mercedem ab ijs quotidie perquam importunus exigebat. Fuere qui seruos fodinis manciparint, in quibus insolito labore fractæ, multæ seruorum myriades periere. Alij mercibus illos permutare soliti sunt, alioue modo distrahere. Idque tam inclementer et auare nonnulli fecerunt, vt Christianæ omnis humanitatis prorsus obliti, e continente abreptos vtriusque sexus hominis, nulla nec ætatis nec valetudinis habita ratione, nauibus in vicinas insulas transportarent. Eorum non pauci qui mari non assueuerant, et in sentinam abdebantur, et fame, fœtore, et squallore crudeliter absorpti sunt. Quid? quod fæminæ complures ex Hispanis grauidæ, vna cum innoxio fœtu pro ancillis sunt venditæ: Atque his quidem modis, militum aliqui ad summas opes peruenerunt. Alij magnas dignitates domi forisque sunt consequuti. Alij rem pecuniariam plurimorum damnis sic auxerunt, vt inuenti sint, qui octo pecudum millia possiderent. Hanc tam insignem nostrum hominum iniustitiam atque tyrannidem fieri non potuit, quin magni statim motus et bella, tam ab ipsis inter se, quam ab incolis in illos excitata sequerentur. After a longe beade roll of moste monstrous cruelties of the Spanishe nation in every place of the West Indies moste heynously committed, he concludeth yt thus: Tanta ergo fuit Hispani militis in India tyrannis, vt ea non solum Indos, verum etiam seruorum Maurorum animos ad rebellionem impulerit. Dicuntur enim in exigua quadam insula ad septem millia defecisse. Quos Hispani initio securos et incautos facilime trucidassent, nisi suo malo vigilantiores factos precibus et pacifica legatione expugnare potius quam armis frustra tentassent. Multa denique fugitiui Mauri in Nominis Dei prouinciæ siluis habitant; qui inita cum incolis amicitia, ferro, flammaque Hispanos vbicunque persequuntur, et inuentos frustatim dilacerant.

This, therefore, I gather of the premisses, that those contries

whereof the Spaniarde ys lorde are partely ruinated, dispeopled, and laid waste by their incredible, and more then barbarous, and savage, endeles cruelties, and partely grevously infested by the Indians, Symerons, Moores, Chichimici revolted; and consequently he is easie to be driven thence, and turned out of all with moche lesser force then is commonly ymagined: for, Nullum violentum est diuturnum; et malus diuturnitatis custos est metus.

The Spanishe monarchy is like unto the monarchy of Alexander the Greate.

And surely the more I thinke of the Spanishe monarchie, the more me thinketh it is like the empire of Alexander the Greate, which grewe upp sooddenly, and sooddenly vpon his deathe was rente and dissolved for faulte of lawfull yssue. In like manner the Kinge of Spaine, nowe 59. yeres of age, as beinge borne in the yere of our Lorde 1526. in the moneth of May, and beinge subjecte to the fallinge sicknes, in common reason can be of no longe life; and leavinge no fitt yssue to wealde so greate a governemente, and a question risinge, whether his younge weake sonne, by his sister's daughter, be lawfull heire, they are like upon his deathe to fall together by the eares amongest themselves; and then, as men moste odious, not onely to the people of the West Indies, but also to all Christendome, and all the worlde beside, ys it not likely that euery province wil seke their libertie? And, to say the truthe, what nation, I pray you, of all Christendome loveth the Spaniarde, the scourge of the worlde, but from the teethe forwarde, and for advauntage? The Italians, which sometime were lordes of the earthe, in greate parte nowe broughte under his vile yoke, doe many wayes shewe the utter mislike of their satanicall arrogancie and insollencies, and in all their playes and comodies bringe in the Spanishe souldier as a ravisher of virgins and wives, and as the boastinge Thraso and *miles gloriosus;* notinge to the worlde their insupportable luxuriousnes, excessive pride, and shamefull vaine glorie. The citie of Rome, beinge sackt by Charles the Emperour, the Pope and Cardinalls taken and ymprisoned, cannot brooke their doinges in their hartes. The Venecians stande daily in feare of them, almoste as moche as of the Turke, and doubte that, if they be not with spede restrained, they will inclose them and use them at their pleasure, beinge on bothe sides become almoste lordes of the mouthe of the Straites of Giberaulter. The Frenche, remembringe the takinge of their kinge prisoner, their crueltie in Florida, the late overthrowe of Strozzi and their fleete, their takinge of Tercera, and other disgraces, hate them for the moste parte worse then scorpions. The Princes of Germanie, the Duke of Saxonie, the Lantsgrave of Hassia, the Duke of Cleve, the Duke Cassimere, have susteyned wronges sufficient to make them his mortall enemies. His innumerable outrages in the Netherlandes have inforced the Flemynges to those termes which nowe they stande at. Their manifolde practises to supplant us of England give us moste occasion to bethincke ourselves, howe wee may abate and pull downe their highe myndes. The poore oppressed prince and people of Portingale doe watche nighte and day when to finde a conuenient occasion of defection. In fine, there is almoste no nation of Europe that may not say againste the Spaniarde with the poet: Distuleratque graues in idonea tempora pœnas; and so, Eum multos metuere necesse est quem multi metuunt; and, Multorum odijs nulla respublica stare diu potest.

Cap. XII.

That the passage in this voyadge is easie and shorte, that it cutteth not nere the trade of any other mightie princes, or nere their contries, that it is to be perfourmed at all times of the yere, and nedeth but one kinde of winde; that Ireland, beinge full of goodd havens on the southe and weste side, is the nerest parte of Europe to yt, which by this trade shalbe in more securitie, and the sooner drawen to more civilitie.

IN this voyadge wee may see by the globe that wee are not to passe throughe the frozen seas, but in a temperate climate unto a contrie muche like to those partes of Gascoigne and Guyen, where heretofore our nation for a longe tyme have inhabited. And it requireth not, as longe voyadges doe, the takinge in of freshe water by the way in divers places, by reason it may be sailed in five or sixe weekes. Whereby the marchante nede [not] to expecte twoo or three yeres for one returne, as in the voyadge of Sir Fraunces Drake, of Fenton and William Hawkins; but may receave twoo returnes every yere in the selfe same shippes, I saye, and well repose themselves at their arryvalls; which thinge I myselfe have seene and understoode in Ffraunce this presente yere don by the Frenchemen; whoe, settinge furthe in January, broughte their bancke fishe which they tooke on the Bancke, forty or three-score leagues from Newefoundelande, to Roan, in greate quantitie, by the ende of May, and afterwarde returned this yere againe to the fisshinge, and are looked for at home towardes the fifte of November. To the spedy perfourmaunce of which voyadge this is a speciall furtheraunce: that whereas moste of our other voyadges of like lengthe require twoo or three sortes of windes at the leaste, one onely winde suffiseth to make this; which was no doubte the cause of the quicke returne of my frende Stephen Bellinger of Roan, whoe departed from Newhaven in January was twelve moneths, arryved at Cape Briton in xx^{ti} daies space, and from thence discouered very diligently CC. leagues towardes Norumbega, and had traficque with the people in tenne or twelue places; founde a towne conteyninge fourescore houses, and returned home, with a diligent description of the coaste, in the space of foure monethes, with many comodities of the contrie, which he shewed me.

Moreover this passage is neither by the Straites of Giberaulter, nor on the coastes of Spaine, Portingall, Fraunce, nor Flaunders, neither by the Sounde of Denmarke, nor Wardhouse in Norwey; so as in takinge our course on the highe seas wee shall not be in daunger of the corsaries in the Levant, nor of the gallies of Barbarie, nor of the Turke, nor of any state of Italie, neither of the Spaniarde, the Frenche, nor the Dane, nor of any other prince nor potentate within the Sounde in the northe, or in the northeaste partes of the worlde.

Wee may also trauell thither and perfourme the same at all tymes of the yere, with the like facilitie as our marchantes of Bristowe, Weymouthe, and other partes of the West Contries travell for woade to the iles of St. Mighell and Tercera (which are halfe the way thither) all the yere longe. For this coaste is never subjecte to the ise, which is never lightly seene to the southe of Cape Razo in Newfounde lande.

Besides this, in our way as wee passe to and froe, wee shall have in tempestes and other necessities the portes of Ireland to our aide, and no nerer coaste of any enemye. Moreover by the ordinary entercourse wee may annoye the enemyes to Ireland, and succour the Queens Majesties faithfull subjects, and drawe the Irishe by little and little to more civilitie; and in shorte tyme wee may yelde them from the coastes of America whatsoever comodities they nowe receave at the handes of the Spaniardes. So the Spaniardes shall wante the ordinarye victualls they receave every yere from thence, whereby they cannot contynue traficque, nor fall so aptly to practize againste our governmente there as heretofore by their trade thither they have don and doe daily, to the greate expences of her Majestie, and no small indaungeringe and troublinge of our state.

And to conclude: in tradinge to these contries wee shall not nede, for feare of the Spanishe bloudy Inquisition, to throwe our bibles and prayer bookes over boorde into the sea before our arryvall at their portes, as these many yeres wee have don and yet doe, nor take suche horrible oathes as are exacted of our men by the Spanishe searchers, to suche dayly wilfull and highe offence of Almightie God, as we are driven to continually in followinge our ordinary trafficque into the Kinge of Spaines dominyons; whereof at large wee have spoken before in the seconde chapiter.

Cap. XIII.

That hereby the revenewes and customes of her Majestie, bothe outewarde and inwarde, shall mightily be inlarged by the toll, excises, and other dueties which withoute expression may be raysed.

THe manifolde testimonies, verbatim alleaged by me in the thirde chapiter, of John Ribault, John Verarsanus, Stephen Gomes, Vasques de Coronado, Jaques Cartier, Gasper Corterialis, and others, which all were the discoverers of the coaste and inlande of America betwene 30 and 63 degrees, prove infallibly unto us that golde, silver, copper, perles, pretious stones, and turqueses, and emraldes, and many other commodities, have bene by them founde in those regions. To which testimonies I shoulde have added many more yf I had not feared to be tedious. Nowe the fyfte parte of all these aforenamed comodities cannot choose but amounte to a greate matter, beinge yerely reserved unto her Majestie, accordinge to the tenor of the patent graunted by King Henry the Seaventh in the xj^th. yere of his raigne to John Gabote and his three sonnes, Lewes, Sebastian, and Sancius; the wordes whereof it shoulde not be amisse here to sett downe, as they are printed in my booke of voyadges. These are the wordes: Ex omnibus fructibus, proficuis, emolumentis, commodis, lucris, et obuentionibus ex huiusmodi nauigatione

prouenientibus, prefatus Joannes et filij ac heredes et eorum deputati teneantur, et sint obligati nobis pro omni viagio suo toties quoties ad portum nostrum Bristolliæ applicuerint (ad quem omnino applicare teneantur et sint astricti), deductis omnibus sumptibus et impensis necessarijs per eosdem factis, quintam partem capitalis lucri facti, siue in mercibus, siue in pecuniis, persoluere.*

What gaines this imposition may turne unto the Crowne of England in shorte tyme wee may more then gesse, havinge but an eye to the Kinge of Spaines revenewes, which he nowe hath out of all his domynions in all the West Indies.

The like in all respectes may be saied of the revenewes of the Crowne of Portingale, which, beinge of itselfe one of the smallest and poorest kingdomes of all Christendome, became in shorte space so riche and honourable soone after their entringe into their southesterne discoveries, traficques, and conquestes, that, before the deathe of their late younge kinge Sebastian, their embassadors woulde strive and chalenge for the chefest place with the embassadores of the greatest kinges of Christendome; as I have hearde it dyvers tymes spoken at Paris at my lordes table by men of greate honour and experience, in which citie moste princes and states of Christendome have their embassadors comonly resident.

To leave them and to come to our nation, I say that amonge other meanes to encrease her Majesties customes this shalbe one, especially that by plantinge and fortifieinge nere Cape Briton, what by the strengthe of our shipps beinge harde at hande, and bearinge the sway already amongest all nations that fishe at Newfoundelande, and what by the fortes that there may be erected and helde by our people wee shall be able to inforce them, havinge no place els to repaire unto so convenient, to pay us suche a contynual custome as shall please us to lay upon them; which imposition of twoo or three hundred shippes laden yerely with sondry sortes of fish, trane oyle, and many kyndes of furres and hides, cannot choose but amounte to a greate matter, beinge all to be levied upon straungers. And this not onely wee may exacte of the Spaniardes and Portingales, but also of the Frenche men, our olde and auncient enemyes. What shoulde I speake of the customes of the greate multitudes of course clothes,

---

* Hakluyt here refers to his "Divers Voyages," published in 1582.

Welshe frise, and Irishe ruggs, that may be uttered in the more northerly partes of the lande amonge the Esquimawes of the Grande Bay, and amonge them of Canada, Saguynay, and Hochelaga, which are subjecte to sharpe and nippinge winters, albeit their somers be hotter moche then oures. Againe, the multitudes of small yron and copper workes, wherewith they are exceedingly delighted, will not a little encrease the customes, being transported oute of the lande. I omitt the rehersall of a thousande other triflinge wares, which, besides they may sett many women, children, and ympotent persons on worke in makinge of them, woulde also helpe to the encreasinge of the customes. Lastly, whatsoever kind of commodyties shoulde be broughte from thence by her Majesties subjectes into the realme, or be thither transported oute of the realme, cannot choose but inlarge the revenewes of the Crowne very mightely, and inriche all sortes of subjectes in generally.

Cap. XIV.

That this action will be for the greate increase, mayneteynaunce, and safetie of our navie, and especially of greate shippinge, which is the strengthe of our realme, and for the supportation of all those occupations that depende upon the same.

IN the Statutes moste providently ordeyned for increase and maineteynaunce of our navigation in the Raignes of Kinge Richarde the Seeonde, Kinge Henry ihe Seaventh, Kinge Henry the Eighth, and her Majestie that nowe ys, thoughe many and sondry rewardes were proposed to encourage our people unto the sea, yet still I fynde complaintes of decaye of the navye, notwithstandinge so many goodly priviledges to mayneteine fisshermen, the ordeyninge of Wendisday to be a newe fishe day for the better utteraunce of their fishe that they shoulne take at sea, yea, albeit there hath bene graunted a certene proportionable allowaunce oute of the exchequer to suche as woulde builde any shippes of burden to serve the prince in tyme of warr, yet very little hath bene done in that behalfe. For, setting the Citie of London aparte, goe your waye into the west parte of England and Wales, and search howe many shippes of CC. tonnes and upwardes those partes can afforde, and you shall finde (God wotteth) no such nomber as at firste you did ymagine. At this day I am assured there are scarce twoo of CC. tones beloninge to the whole citie of Bristowe, and very fewe or none of the like burden alonge the channell of the Severne from Glocester to the Landes Ende on the one side, and Milforde Haven on the other. Nowe, remedie this greate and unknowen wante, no enterprise possibly can be devised more fitt to increase our great shippinge then this Westerne fortifienge and planting. For in this action wee are not to cut over the narrowe seas, in a day or a nighte, betwene Flaunders, Fraunce, or Ireland, in small barkes of xx. or xxxti. tonnes; but wee are to passe over the breste of the maine ocean, and to lye at sea a moneth or six weekes together, whereby wee shall be constrayned of our selves, withoute chardginge of the Prince, to builde greate shippes, as well to avoide the daunger of tempest as also for the commoditie of portage, whereunto the greater shippes in longe voyadges are moste conveniente, which the Portingales and Spaniardes have founde oute by longe experience, whoe for that cause builde shippes of v. vj. vij. viij. C. and a M. tonnes, to sende into their Easterne and Westerne Indies.

The like whereof wee shalbe the rather invited to doe, since by this voyadge wee shall have many thinges for little or nothinge, that are necessarie for the furniture of greate shippinge. For beinge possessed of Newfounde lande, which the last yere was seazed upon in her Majesties name, wee may have tarr, rosen, mastes, and cordage for the very workemanshippe of the same. All which comodities cannot choose but wonderfully invite our men to the buildinge of greate shippinge, especially havinge store of the best shipwrights of the worlde, whereof some, for wante of employmente at home, have bene driven to flye into forren partes, as into Demarke. Moreover, in the judgemente of those that are experte in sea causes, yt will breed more skillfull, connynge, and stowte pilott and maryners then other belonginge to this lande. For it is the longe voyadges (so they be not to excessive longe, nor throughe intemperate clymates, as those of the Portingales into their West Indies) that harden seamen, and open unto them the secretes of navigation; the nature of the windes; the currentes and settinge of the sea; the ebbinge and flowinge of the mayne ocean; the influence of the sonne, the moone, and of the rest of the celestiall planetts, and force which they have at sondry seasons upon that mightie body; whiche skill in sea causes the Emperour Charles the Fyfte, knowinge howe moohe yt did ymporte his state, to the intent that it mighte better encrease amongest the Spaniardes, in great providence erected a lecture of the arte of navigation in Civill, and ordeyned that no man shoulde take chardge to the West Indies that had not hearde the Reader of the same for a certaine space, and, upon due examynation, were allowed as sufficient by him, and others adjoyded unto him as assistantes to examyn matters of experience; which order, if it had bene established in England, such grosse and insufficient felowes as he that caste away the Admirall of Sir Humfreyes company, with an C. persons in her, to the west of Newfounde lande, this tyme twelve moneths, had not bene admittted to take so greate a chardge.

A lecture of the arte of navigation.

But to returne to the increase and mayneteynaunce of our shippes and shippmen; I say that this is not as the voyadge to Muscovy, which is open not paste foure monethes, but may be passed and repassed at our pleasure at all tymes of the yere, and so our maryners may be sett on worke all the yere longe. Neither is the trade likely to prove so small as that of Muscovy, wherein not past tenne shippes at the moste are employed ones a yere. For here there is a greate hope, the contrie beinge as bigge as all Europe, and nothinge in frutefulnes inferior to yt, as I have proved before at large in the thirde chapiter, that wee shall have twoo fleetes as bigge as those of the Kinge of Spaine to his West Indies, imployed twise in the yere at the leaste, especially after our fortifienge in the contrie, the certene place of our factory beinge there established; whereby yt muste nedes come to passe that our navye shalbe mightely increased and mayneteyned, which will not onely be a chefe strengthe and suertie in tyme of warres, as well to offende as defende, but will also be the mayneteynaunce of many masters, maryners, and seamen, whereby they their wyves, and children, shall have their lyvinges, and many cities, townes, villages, havens, and creeks nere adjoyninge unto the sea coaste, and the Queenes subjectes, as brewers, bowchers, smithes, ropers, shipwrights, tailors, shoemakers, and other victuallers and handicraftes men, inhabitinge and dwellinge nere thereaboutes, shall also have by the same greate parte of their lyvinge. For proofe thereof wee nede not to seeke any further then unto oure neighbours of Spaine and Portingale; whoe, since the firste discoverie of their Indies, have not onely mightely inlarged their domynions, marveilously enriched themselves and their subjectes, but have also by juste accompte trebled the nomber of their shippes, masters, and maryners,—a matter of no small moment and importance; insomoche that nowe, of late Kinge Phillippe hath made the Marques de la Cruz, which laste yere wonne Tercera, Graunde Admirall of the Ocean Sea, and Prince d'Oria of Genoa, Admirall in the Levant. A taste of this increase wee have had in our owne selves, even by our trade of fisshinge in Newfoundelande; which, as yt is well knowen, hath bene occasion, that in sondry places of this realme divers tall shippes have bene builte and sett furthe even of late daies; and more would be if, whereas nowe havinge but twoo moneths or tenne weekes of fisshinge, by this newe plantinge they mighte be drawen more south-westerly, where the speciall fisshing places are, bothe for plentie and greateness of fishe; and beinge oute of daunger and ympedimente of yse, they mighte fishe there safely the greatest parte of the yere, and by their nereness unto our fortes there, builte aboute Cape Briton, they mighte yelde succour unto them, and likewise by their neighbourhoode be themselves in more securitie.

Marques de la Cruz Admyrall of the Ocean.

Fynally, their shippes, their goodds, and their persons shoulde not be subjecte to soodden arrestes of straungers, as they are in all other trades of Christendome; but shoulde enloye as greate freedome, libertie, and securitie as they usually doe in their native contrie; the havens, townes, and villages in those partes beinge occupied and possessed by their fellowe subjects; which freedome and liberty will greatly incourage them to contynewe constantly in this newe traficque.

A meane to avoide the sodden arrests of our navy.

Cap. XV.

That spedie plantinge in divers fitt places is moste necessarie upon these laste luckye westerne discoveries, for feare of the danger of beinge prevented by other nations which have the like intention, with the order thereof, and other reasons therewithall alleaged.

HAvinge by Gods goodd guidinge and mercifull direction atchieved happily this presente westerne discoverye, after the seekinge the advauncemente of the kingedome of Christe, the seconde chefe and principall ende of the same is traficque, which consisteth in the vent of the masse of our clothes and other comodities of England, and in receaving backe of the nedeful comodities that wee nowe receave from all other places of the worlde. But forasmoche as this is a matter of greate ymportaunce, and a thinge of so greate gaine as forren princes will stomacke at, this one thinge is to be don, withoute which it were in vaine to goe aboute this; and that is, the matter of plantinge and fortificacion, withoute due consideracion whereof in vaine were it to thinck of the former. And therefore upon the firste said viewe taken by the shippes that are to be sente thither, wee are to plante upon the mouthes of the greate navigable rivers which are there, by stronge order of fortification, and there to plante our colonies. And so beinge firste setled in strengthe with men, armour, and munition, and havinge our navy within our bayes, havens, and roades, wee shall be able to lett the entraunce of all subjectes of forren princes, and so with our freshe powers to encounter their shippes at the sea, and to renewe the same with freshe men, as the soodden feightes shall require; and by our fortes shalbe able to holde faste our firste footinge, and readily to annoye suche weary power of any other that shall seke to arryve; and shalbe able with our navye to sende advertisemente into England upon every soodden whatsoever shall happen. And these fortifications shall kepe the naturall people of the contrye in obedience and goodd order. And these fortes at the mowthes of those greate portable and navigable ryvers may at all tymes sende upp their shippes, barkes, barges, and boates into the inland with all the comodities of England, and returne unto the said fortes all the comodities of the inlandes that wee shall receave in exchange, and thence at pleasure convey the same into England. And thus settled in those fortes, yf the nexte neighboures shall attempte any annoye to our people, wee are kepte safe by our fortes; and wee may, upon violence and wronge offred by them, ronne upon the rivers with our shippes, pynnesses, barkes, and boates, and enter into league with the petite princes, their neighboures, that have alwayes lightly warres one with an other, and so entringe league nowe with the one, and then with the other, wee shall purchase our owne safetie, and make ourselves lordes of the whole.

Contrarywise, withoute this plantinge in due tyme, wee shall never be able to have full knowledge of the language, manners, and customes of the people of those regions, neither shall wee be able thoroughly to knowe the riches and comodities of the inlandes, with many other secretes whereof as yet wee have but a small taste. And althoughe by other meanes wee mighte attaine to the knowledge thereof, yet beinge not there fortified and strongly seated, the French that swarme with multitude of people, or other nations, mighte secretly fortifie themselves before us, hearinge of the benefite that is to be reaped of that voyadge; and so wee shoulde beate the bushe and other men take the birdes; wee shoulde be at the chardge and travell, and other men reape the gaine.

To make this plaine by example, in the sixte leafe of the Italian edition of the Historie of Fernando Cortes, written by Franciscus Lopez de Gomera, is lively described the folly of John Grijalua for his not inhabitinge that goodd and riche contrie of Iucaton; which ymmediatly after he had neglected, the same Fernando Cortes tooke in hande and perfourmed, and gott all the honour and comoditie from him, leaving greate wealthe and honour to his posteritie, and to himself an everlastinge name. The story is thus: Giouan di Grigalua se n'ando a Yucatan, combattete con quelli Indiani di Ciapoton, et se ne ritorno ferito; entro nel fiume di Tauasco, che per questo si chiama ora Grijalua, nel qual riscatto o cambio per cose di poca valuta molto oro, robbe di cottone, et bellissime cose di penne; stette in San Giouanni di Vilhua, piglio possessione di quel paese per il Re, in nome del Gouernatore, Diego Velasquez; et cambio la sua merciaria per pezzi di oro, coperte di cottone et penne; et si hauesse conosciuto la uentura sua, haueria fatto populatione in paese cosi ricco, come lo pregauano li suoi compagni et lui saria stato quello che dipoi il Cortes. Ma tanta uentura non era riseruata per chi non la conosceua ancora che si scusaua che lui non andaua per populare, se non per riscattare o permutare le cose che leuaua del Gouernatore; et discoprire se quella terra di Yucatan era isola o terra ferma. And if any man liste to knowe what intertainment he had of his uncle at his returne for not inhabitinge upon the present occasion, yt followeth in the ende of the same chapiter in these wordes: Et quando arriuo non lo uolse uedere il Gouernatore suo zio, che li fece quello che lui meritaua.

The like story wee have, fol. 298. of Franciscus Lopez de Gomera his Generall Historie of the West Indies, of Vasques de Coronado, which, after excedinge greate chardges bestowed for royall furnishinge furthe upon his voyadge to Ceuola and Quiuira, for wante of courage and for other priuate respectes, neglected plantinge there, had as colde welcome, at his dastardly and unconsiderate returne, of Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy of Mexico, as Grijalua had of his uncle above mentioned. It is written thus of him after his returne from Quiuira:—

Cascò del cauallo in Tiguez Francisco Vasquez, e con il colpo usci di ceruello et disuariaua; questo caso alcuni credettero che fusse finto, altri n'hebbero grandissimo dolore; quelli che l'intendeuano a mala parte stauano male con lui per che non si metteua a popolare. And a little afterwarde: molto dispiacque a Don Antonio di Mendoza che fusero ritornati, per che haueua speso piu di sessanta milla pesi d'oro in quella impresa . . . molti uolsero restare là, ma Francesco Vasquez di Coronado, che ricco era et nuouamente maritato con vna bellissima donna, non volse, dicendo che non si poteriano sustentarsi ne difendere in cosi povero paesa et tanto lontani del soccorso; caminarono presso a tre milla miglia di longo in questa giornata.

Notwithstandinge these colourable excuses and dispraisinges of the contrie, yt is described by relation of his owne companions in this manner in the same leafe: è Quiuira in quaranta gradi è paesa temperato, di bonissime acque, di molto herbatico, purgne, more, noci, et melloni, et vue che maturano benissimo; non c' è cottone, et vestono pelle di vacche e caprioli.

The greate inconvenience of the delaye and neglecte of plantinge with spede of goodd contries newe discoured, beinge well weyed and foreseene by John Ribault, made him to plante and fortefie at his firste voyadge, thoughe it were with but thirtie men; which, that you may the better understande, together with the wise course and choice of place which oughte to be had in plantinge and seatinge at the firste, I will alleage his owne wordes which are in the laste leafe of his firste printed voyadge: Wherefore (my lorde), saith he, I truste you will not thincke it amisse (consideringe the comodities that may be broughte thence) yf we leave a nomber of men there, which may fortifie and provide themselves of thinges necessiarie; for in all newe discoveries it is the chefest thinge that may be don, at the begynnynge to fortifie and people the contrie. I had not so soone set furthe this to our companie, but many of them offred to tary there; yea, with suche a goodd will and jolly courage, that suche a nomber did offer themselves as wee had moche to doe to stay their opportunitie;

and namely, of ourshippe masters and pilotts, and suche as wee woulde not spare. Howebeit, wee lefte there but to the nomber of 30 men in all, gentlemen, souldiers, and maryners, and that at their owne sute and prayer, and of their owne free willes, and by the advice and deliberation of the gentlemen sent on the behalfe of the Prince and yours. And I have lefte unto them for heade and ruler, followinge therein your pleasure, Capitaine Albert de la Pierria, a souldier of longe experience, and the firste that from the begynnynge offred to tary; and further, by their advise, choice, and will, inscaled and fortified them in an iland on the northe side thereof, a place of stronge scituation and commodious, upon a river which wee named Chenonceau, and the habitation and fortres, Charles Forte. After wee had instructed and duly admonished them of what they should doe (as well for their manner of procedinge, as for the goode and lovinge behaviour of them), the xjth. day of the moneth of June last paste wee departed from Porte Royall, &c.

Nowe, to leave the Spaniardes and Frenche and to come to ourselves; seinge it hath pleased Almightie God at this instant to reveale unto her Majestie and the realme that once againe afreshe which was in part discovered by Sebastian Gabote and other this lande to her moste famous grandfather, Kinge Henry the Seaventh, was then lefte of and caste aside and not sufficiently regarded by occasion of the warres of Scotland, as Sebastian himself writes, and so hath bene intermitted for the space of aboute foure score and sixe yeares—if nowe the Queene, her Counsell, and other subjectes, shall never so little delaye the throughe managinge of the cause and enteringe effectually into the action, let them assure themselves that they will come to late, and a day after the faire; ffor as the wise man saieth, *Post est occasio calva*. For, to speake ☞ nothinge of the laste yeres preparation of the Marques de la Roche to inhabite and plante in those partes nowe discovered by oure men, which preparation was luckely overthrowne in respecte of us, by reason that his greatest shippe was cast away upon the trauers of Burwage, the men of St. John de Luze sente the laste yere to soliicite the Frenche Kinge and his Counsell to plante there. And nowe our neighboures, the men of St. Maloe in Brytaine, in the begynnynge of Auguste laste paste of this yere 1584. are come home with five shippes from

The cause why these discoveries went not forward in Kinge Henry the Seavenths tyme.

Canada and the contries upp the Bay of St. Lawrence, and have brought twoo of the people of the contrie home, and have founde suche swete in that newe trade that they are preparinge tenne shippes to returne thither in January nexte, as one John de la Marche and Mr. Pryhouse of Garnesey affirme; which Mr. Pryhouse, beinge yet in London, was at St. Malowe within these weekes, and sawe the twoo savages, the five shippes, and the riche comodities, and understoode of the greate preparation, and lieth nowe at London, in Philpott lane, at the stone house there.

And that it may be knowen that not onely the Frenche affecte this enterprise, but even the Duche longe since thoughte of yt, I can assure you that Abraham Ortelius, the great geographer, told me, at his laste beinge in England, 1577. that if the warres of Flaunders had not bene, they of the Lowe Contries had meant to have discovered those partes of America, and the north west straite, before this tyme. And yt semed that the chefe cause of his comynge to England was to no other ende, but to prye and looke into the secretes of Ffrobishers voyadge; for yt was even then, when Ffrobisher was preparinge for his first returne into the north west.

To conclude: yf wee doe procrastinate the plantinge (and where our men have nowe presently discovered, and founde it to be the best parte of America that is lefte, and in truthe more agreable to our natures, and more nere unto us, than Nova Hispania), the Frenche, the Normans, the Brytons, or the Duche, or some other nation, will not onely prevente us of the mightie Baye of St. Lawrence, where they have gotten the starte of us already, thoughe wee had the same revealed to us by bookes published and printed in Englishe before them,* but also will depriue us of that goodd lande which nowe wee have discovered. Which if they doe (as God defende they shoulde), then it falleth oute that wee shall have our enemyes or doubtfull frendes rounde aboute us, and shall not onely loose a singuler comoditie and inestymable benefite, but also incurr greate daunger and inconvenience in sufferinge Papistes, by plantinge rounde aboute us, to take from us all succours, and to lett them enriche themselves under our noses, to be better able to supplant or overronne us.

---

* This is not the case.

Cap. XVI.

Meanes to kepe this enterprise from overthrowe, and the enterprisers from shame and dishonour.

EUery newe enterprise is in the begynnyinge burdenous, chardgeable, and heavie, and moste comonly hath many greate enemies; which is the cause that many goodd men, much affected to their contrie in wittie excellent enterprises, sincke and fainte under their burden. And because that this enterprise which wee have in hande or in purpose (besides that it is much maliced, specially by our mightie faction of the Papistes), is an enterprize that requireth, beside the favour of the Prince, no small chardge therefore wee are to devise howe the burden may leste tyme reste on the backe of the bearer of the same, that he sincke not under the same, but that he maye stande upp in full strengthe, and goe throughe with ease, fame, and profitt, withoute shame of all the bymedlers and fauters of the same. And entred into consideration hereof, this cometh to mynde: that the firste chardge of the navye to be admitted as for the present deade chardge for the tyme, howe supply of the chardges followinge may be mayneteyned and borne; for in that standeth one greate matter that ymporteth honour, credite, profite, and the whole sequele of the enterprize.

Wee are induced by late plaine examples of the Frenche, that have traficqued in those partes with greate profite, to beleve that upon our plantinge wee shall as yt were defraye as well the firste chardges as the chardges followinge, by the comodities in trafficque that wee shall receave by passinge into the inland by river and otherwise. But admittinge the worse, that the people will neither receave our comodities nor yelde us theirs againe, then wee are to devise of ourselves howe wee may otherwise at the firste countervaile our chardges, and become greate gayners, will or nill the naturall inhabitantes of those regions or others; and that is, by enjoyinge certaine naturall comodities of the landes infinitely aboundinge, in no accompts with them and with us of greate price, which is this way to be broughte aboute.

The soiles there upon the seacoaste, and all alonge the tracte of the greate broade mightie ryvers, all alonge many hundreth miles into the inland, are infinitely full fraughte with swete wooddes of ffyrr, cedars, cypres, and with divers other kindes of

Sawe milles. goodly trees; and settynge upp mylles to sawe them, suche as be common in Poland and in all the north easte regions, wee may with spede possesse infinite masses of boordes of these swete kindes, and these frame and make ready to be turned into goodly chestes, cupboordes, stooles, tables, deskes, &c., upon the returne. And consideringe the present wante of tymber in the realme, aad howe derely the cipres chestes are solde that come from the ilandes of the Levant seas, and lately from the Azores, to Bristoll and the westerne havens, these may be bothe amply and derely vented in all the portes of the realme and of the realmes adjoyninge, consideringe that in this age every man desireth to fill his house with all manner of goodd furniture. So that were there no other peculiar comodities, this onely, I say, were ynoughe to defraye all the chardges of all the begynnynge of the enterprize, and that oute of hande; for suche mylwrightes may easely be procured from suche places where they abounde, and some suche (possible) be in England; for I have herde of a frende of myne, that one suche mill within these xxx$^{ti.}$ yeres was sett upp in Worcestshere by a knighte of that contrie. And one man onely were able to directe a thousande of our common milwrightes in that trade; and carpinters and joyners, the realme may spare thousandes for a nede.

And with like ease and shortenes of time wee may make of the woodes there pitch and tarr, which are thinges fitt for our navie, and marchandizes of goodd vente and of comon neede.

And with like ease wee may make of the wooddes there plentie of sope asshes, a comoditie very dere and of greate and ample vente with us, and elsewhere in forren kingdomes of Europe. Also wee may there prepare for pikes, chasinge staves, oares, halberts, and the like for cullen cleftes for sundry uses, &c. And also wee may there, withoute payeng for the same, have tymber to builde greate navies, and may bringe them into this realme, and have goodd sale of the same.

All this, I say, may be broughte to passe if wee wisely plante, upon our arryvall, aboute the mouthes of greate rivers and in the ilandes of the same; and so wee shall have the starte before the Frenche and all others; and our people, sente thither for the purposes afore[saide], shall be ready to man our shippes to give repulse at the firste to all suche as shall come thither to sett foote to our annoye.

Thus all thinges removed that mighte bringe discouragemente, the firste that tooke the enterprise in hande have wonne greate honour and highe estymation with all degrees in England, and, havinge by these former meanes wonne to defraye all the chardges of the brunte of thenterprise, they stande full able to followe the same withoute cravinge aide of the lingringe marchaunte, and have the possibilitie onely to themselves of the trades of traficque with the people, which they may bringe aboute eyther with curtesie, or by pollicie and force, as by joyninge now with this petite kinge, and nowe with that, &c.

And this once plainely founde and noted in England, what noble man, what gentleman, what marchante, what citezen or contryman, will not offer of himselfe to contribute and joyne in the action, forseeinge that the same tendeth to the ample vent of our clothes, to the purchasinge of riche comodities, to the plantinge of younger brethren, to the employment of our idle people, and to so many noble endes? And greate joyninge in contribution upon so happy begynnynges geveth abilitie to fortifie, to defende all forren force in divers comodious places even at the firste.

Cap. XVII.

That by these colonies the north west passage to Cathaio and China may easely, quickly, and perfectly be searched oute as well by river and overlande as by sea; for proofe whereof here are quoted and alleaged divers rare testymonies oute of the three volumes of voyadges gathered by Ramusius, and other grave authors.

IN the thirde volume of Nauigations and Voyadges, gathered and translated into Italian by Mr. John Baptista Ramusius, fol. 417. pag. 2, I reade of John Verarsanus as followeth: This unhappy ende had this valiaunte gentleman, whoe, if this misfortune had not appened unto him (with the singuler knowledge that he had in sea matters and in the arte of navigation, beinge also favoured with the greate liberalitie of Kinge Fraunces), woulde have discovered and opened unto the worlde that parte also of lande even to the poole. Neither woulde he have contented himselfe with the outeside and sea coaste onely, but woulde have passed further upp within the lande so farr as he coulde have gon. And many that have knowen him and talked with him have told me, that he saied he had in mynde to perswade the Frenche Kinge to sende oute of Fraunce a goodd nomber of people to inhabite certaine places of the said coaste, which be of ayre temperate, and of soile moste fertile, with very faire ryvers, and havens able to receave any navie. The inhabitants of which places mighte be occasion to bringe to passe many goodd effectes: and, amongest other, to reduce those poore, rude, and ignoraunte people to the knowledge of God and true relligion, and to shewe them the manner of husbandrie for the grounde, transportinge of the beastes of Europe into those excedinge large and champion contries; and in time mighte discover the partes within lande, and see if, amongest so many ilandes there be any passage to the Southe Sea, or whither the firme lande of Fflorida contynewe still even to the pole.

Upon occasion of these laste wordes I thinke it not amisse to alleage those testimonies tendinge to the proofe of this longe desired north west passage, which, with no small care these many yeres, I have observed in my readinges and conferences concerninge the same matter.

1. My firste authoritie is in the seconde volume of Ramusius, in the discourse of the discoverie of the ilandes Freseland, Iseland, Engroneland, Drogeo, and Icaria, made in the northe by Sir Nicholas Zeny, Knighte, and Mr. Anthony, his brother, in the yere 1380.* In which discourse, amonge many other thinges tendinge to the proofe of this passage, I finde this recorded: Scoprirono vna isola detta Estotilanda posta in ponente lontana da Frislanda piu di mille miglia; whereof I gather, that whereas still he calieth Estotiland an Ilande, and that it is distant westwarde from Frislande more then a thousande miles, that the sea is open above five hundreth miles further then Frobisher and his companie discouered. Ffor he himself confesseth that he never sailed paste five or sixe hundreth miles to the weste of Ffriselande; and here is mention made, that those fishermen that discouered the iland of Estotiland founde it to be more then a M. miles to the weste of the same.

2. The seconde testimonie to prove this north west passage is in the preface of the aforesaide Ramusius before his thirde volume, where he alleageth, in manner followinge, that which

---

* See the translation of Zeno's Voyages, printed by the Hakluyt Society, and edited by Major.

Sebastian Gabote wrote unto him concerninge this matter: Many yeres paste I was written unto by Sebastian Gabote, our contryman, a Venecian, and a man of greate experience, and very singuler in the arte of navigation and in the knowledge of cosmographie, whoe sailed alonge and beyonde Nova Francia, at the chardges of Kinge Henry the seaventh, Kinge of England; and he signified unto me, that havinge sailed a longe tyme west and by northe beyonde those ilandes unto the latitude of 67. degrees and [an half] under the north pole, on the xj^th^ day of June, and findinge the sea open and withoute any manner of ympedymente, he thoughte verely that he mighte have passed by that way unto Cathaia, which is in the Easte; and he woulde have done yt, if the mutinie of the shipmaster and unruly mariners had not inforced him to returne homewardes from that place. But it semeth (saith Ramusius), that God doth yet reserve to some greate prince the discoverie of this voyadge to Cathaio by this way, which, for the bringinge of the spicerie from India into Europe, woulde be the moste easie and shortest of all others hitherto founde oute. And surely this enterprize woulde be the moste glorious and of moste importaunce of all other that any coulde ymagine, to make their name moche more eternall and ymmortale amonge all ages to come, then these so greate tumultes and troubles of warres, which are to be seene contynually in Europe amonge the miserable and unhappy Christians.

3. Thirdly, the reporte which the people of Hochelaga made to Jacques Cartier, in the xiijth. chapter of his seconde relation, of the river three monethes navigable to the southewarde, dothe not a little confirme the same.

4. Fourthly, the relation of the people of Canada in the xijth. chapiter, followinge on this manner: Moreover they tolde us, and gave us to understande, that there are people cladde with clothe as wee are, and that there are many inhabited townes and goodd people, and that they have greate store of golde and redd copper, and that upp into the lande, beyonde the river firste above mentioned, even to Hochelaga and Saguynay, there is an ile environed aboute with that and other rivers, which beyonde Saguenay entereth into twoo or three greate lakes; also that there is founde a sea of freshe water, the heade and ende whereof there was never man founde that had throughly searched, as farr as they have hearde say of them of Saguenay, for they (as they signified unto us) had not bene there themselves.

5. Fyftly, in the ende of that seconde relation this postscripte is added as a speciall pointe, to witt: that they of Canada say that it is the space of a moone (that is to saye a moneth) to saile to a lande where cynamon and cloves are gathered; and in the Frenche originall which I sawe in the Kinges Library at Paris, in the Abbay of St. Martines,* yt is further put downe, that Donnaconna, the Kinge of Canada, in his barke had traveled to that contrie where cynamon and cloves are had; yea, the names whereby the savages call those twoo spices in their owne language are there put downe in writinge.

6. Sixtly, this passage is likewise proved by the double reporte of Vasques de Coronado. For firste, he beinge at Ceuola, which standeth in 37. degrees and an halfe of northerly latitude within the lande, he had this informacion of the people of that place; Fanno otto giornate verso le campagne al mare di settentrione: whereby I gather that some parte of the northerne sea ys within viij. daies journey of Ceuola. Againe, when he was afterwardes at the towne of Quiuira, which is scituated by the sea side in the latitude of 40. degrees, he founde there shippes with maryners, which had the picture of a birde, called Alcatrazzi, in silver upon their bonnetts and on the forepartes of their shippes,; which signified that they were thirtie daies sailinge to that place; whence it is saied that they muste nedes be of Cathaio or China, seinge that there is none but Spanishe shippinge upon all the coaste of the backside of Noua Spania.

9. Seaventhly, the people of Florida, at the River of May, in 30. degrees, signified to John Ribault and his company, that they mighte saile in boates from thence through the contrie by ryver to Ceuola in xx · daies. These are the wordes, viz.: As wee nowe demaunded of them concerninge the towne of Ceuola (whereof some have written that it is not farr from thence, and is scituated within the lande, and towardes the sea called Mare del Sur), they shewed vs by signes, which wee understoode well ynoughe, that they mighte goe thither with their boates, by rivers, in xx$^{ti.}$ daies.

8. Eightly, Don Antonio di Castillo, embassador to her Majestie from Henry the Kinge of Portingale, tolde me here in London, the yere before his departure, that one Anus Corteriall, Capitaine of the Ile of Tercera, in the yere 1574. sente a shippe

---

* See Introductory note.

to discover the northwest passage, which, arryvinge on the coaste of America in 57. degrees of latitude, founde a greate entraunce very depe and broade, withoute impedimente of ise, into which they passed above xx^{ti.} leagues, and founde it alwayes to tende towardes the southe. The lande lay lowe and plaine on either side. They woulde have gon further, but their victualls drawinge shorte, and beinge but one shippe, they returned backe, with hope at another tyme to make a full searche of the passage, whereof they sawe not small likelyhoode.

9. Nynthly, Don Antonio, Kinge of Portingale,* shewed me in Paris this present somer, a greate olde rounde carde (out of which Postellus tooke the forme of his mappe), that had the northwest straite plainely sett downe in the latitude of 57. degrees.

10. Tenthly, there is a mightie large olde mappe in parchemente, made, as yt shoulde seme, by Verarsanus, traced all alonge the coaste from Florida to Cape Briton, with many Italian names, which laieth oute the sea, making a little necke of lande in 40. degrees of latitude, much lyke the streyte necke or istmus of Dariena. This mappe is nowe in the custodie of Mr. Michael Locke.

11. Eleventhly, there is an olde excellent globe in the Queenes privie gallory at Westminster, which also semeth to be of Verarsanus makinge, havinge the coaste described in Italian, which laieth oute the very selfe same streite necke of lande in the latitude of 40. degrees, with the sea joynninge harde on bothe sides, as it dothe on Panama and Nombre di Dios; which were a matter of singuler importaunce, yf it shoulde be true, as it is not unlikely.

12. Twelvethly, the judgemente of Gerardus Mercator, that excellent geographer, which his sonne, Rumolde Mercator, shewed me in a letter of his, and drewe oute for me in writinge, of wise men is not lightly to be regarded. These were his wordes: Magna tametsi pauca de noua nauigatione scribis, quam miror ante multos annos non fuisse attentatam. Non enim dubium est quin recta et breuis via pateat in occidentem Cathaium vsque. In quod regnum, si recte nauigationem instituant, nobilissimas totius mundi merces colligent, et multis gentibus adhuc idololatris Christi nomen communicabunt. You

---

* The illegitimate son of the Infant Don Luiz and Violante Gomes. Consult Froude, *Hist. of England*, vol. ix.

write (saieth he to his sonne) greate matters, thoughe very brefely, of the newe voyadge, whereat I wonder that it was not these many yeres heretofore attempted; ffor there is no doubte but there is a streighte and shorte waye open into the west, even to Cathaio. Into which kingdome, if they governe their voyadge well, they shall gather the moste noble marchandize of all the worlde, and shall make the name of Christe to be knowen to many idolaters and heathen people.

13. Hereunto agreeth the relation of Monsieur de Leau, an honest gent of Morleux, in Britaine, which tolde me this springe, in the presence of divers Englishe men at Paris, that a man of St. Malowe this laste yere discovered the sea on the back side of Hochelaga.

14. Moreover, the relation of David Ingram confirmeth the same; for, as he avowcheth and hath put it downe in writinge, he traveled twoo daies in the sighte of the North Sea.

15. Againe, the prohibition which Kinge Philippe hath made, that none of his pilotts shall discover to the northe wardes of 45. degrees, may seme chefely to procede of these two causes: the one, leaste passinge further to the northe, they mighte fall upon the open passage from Mare del Sur into our Northerne Sea; the other, because they have not people ynoughe to possesse and kepe the same, but rather in tyme shoulde open a gappe for other nations to passe that waye.

16. Lastly, I will ende with the earnest petition and constant assertion of Ramusius, in his firste volume, fol. 374. where, speakinge of the severall waies by which the spicery, bothe of olde and of late yeres, hath bene broughte into Europe, he useth these speaches in the person of another: Why doe not the princes (saieth he), which are to deale in these affaires, sende furthe twoo or three colonies to inhabite the contrie, and to reduce this savage nation to more civilitie, consideringe what a battle and frutefull soile it is, how replenished with all kinde of graine, howe it is stored with all kinde of birdes and beastes, with such faire and mightie rivers, that Capitaine Cartier and his companie in one of them sailed upp an C. and xx$^{iiij.}$ leagues, findinge the contrie peopled on bothe sides in greate aboundaunce; and, moreover, to cause the gouernours of those colonies to sende furthe men to discouer the northe landes aboute Terra de Labrador, and west north west towardes the seas, which are to saile to the contrie of Cathaio, and from thence to the ilandes of

Molucka. These are enterprises to purchase ymmortal praise, which the Lord Antony de Mendoza, viceroy of Mexico, willinge to put in execution, sente furthe his capitaines, bothe by sea and lande, upon the northwest of Noua Spania, and discovered the kingdomes of the seaven cities aboute Ceuola; and Franciscus Vasques de Coronado passed from Mexico by lande towardes the northwest 2850. miles, in so moche as he came to the sea which lieth betwene Cathaio and America, where he mett with the Cathaian shippes; and, no doubte, if the Frenche men, in this their Nova Francia, woulde have discovered upp further into the lande towardes the west northwest partes, they shoulde have founde the sea and have sailed to Cathaio.

Thus farr Ramusius.

God, which doth all thinges in his due time, and hath in his hande the hartes of all Princes, stirr upp the mynde of her Majestie at lengthe to assiste her moste willinge and forwarde subjectes to the perfourmance of this moste godly and profitable action; which was begonne at the chardges of Kinge Henry the vijth. her grandfather, followed by Kinge Henry the Eighte, her father, and lefte, as it semeth, to be accomplished by her (as the three yeres golden voyadge to Ophir was by Salomon), to the makinge of her realme and subjectes moste happy, and her selfe moste famous to all posteritie. Amen.

Cap. XVIII.

That the Queene of Englandes title to all the West Indies, or at the leaste to as moche as is from Florida to the Circle articke, is more lawfull and righte then the Spaniardes, or any other Christian Princes.

TO confute the generall claime and unlawfull title of the insatiable Spaniardes to all the West Indies, and to prove the justenes of her Majesties title and of her noble progenitours, if not to all, yet at leaste to that parte of America which is from Florida beyonde the Circle articke, wee are to sett downe in true order, accordinge to the juste observation of tyme, when the West Indyes, with the ilandes and continent of the same, were firste discouered and inhabited, and by what nation, and by whome. Then are wee to answer in generall and particulerly to the moste injurious and unreasonable donation graunted by Pope

Alexander the Sixte, a Spaniarde borne, of all the West Indies to the Kinges of Spaine and their successors, to the greate prejudice of all other Christian Princes, but especially to the domage of the Kinges of England.

Ffor the firste pointe, wee of England have to shewe very auncient and auctenticall chronicles, written in the Welshe or Brittishe tongue, wherein wee finde that one Madock ap Owen Guyneth, a Prince of North Wales, beinge wearye of the civill warres and domesticall dissentions in his contrie, made twoo voyadges oute of Wales, and discovered and planted large contries which he founde in the mayne ocean south westwarde of Ireland, in the yere of our Lorde 1170.* This historie is also to be seene in Englishe in printe, in the booke sett furthe this yere of the Prince of Wales, dedicated to Sir Henry Sidney. And this is confirmed by the language of some of those people that dwell upon the continent betwene the Bay of Mexico and the Grande Bay of Newfoundelande, whose language is said to agree with the Welshe in divers wordes and names of places, by experience of some of our nation that have bene in those partes. By this testimonie it appereth, that the West Indies were discovered and inhabited 322. yeres before Columbus made his firste voyadge, which was in the yere 1492.

Secondly, the acceptation of Columbus his offer of the West Indies by Kinge Henry the Seaventh, at the very firste, maketh moche for the title of the Kinges of England, althoughe they had no former interest; which I will here putt downe as I finde it in the eleventh chapiter of the historie of Ferdinandus Columbus of the relation of the life and doinges of his father: This practise, saieth he, of the Kinge of Portingale (which was secretly to deprive him of the honour of his enterprise), beinge come to the knowledge of the Admyrall, and havinge lately buried his wife, he conceaved so greate hatred againste the citie of Lysbone aud the nation, that he determyned to goe into Castile with a younge sonne that he had by his wife, called Diego Colon, which after his fathers deathe succeded in his state. But fearinge, yf the Kinges of Castile also shoulde not consente unto his enterprise, he shoulde be constrayned to begynne againe to make some newe offer of the same to some other Prince, and so longe tyme shoulde be spente therein, he sente into England a brother of his which he had with him, named Bartholmewe Columbus. Nowe Bartholmewe Columbus beinge departed for England, his fortune was to fall into the handes of pyrates, which robbed him, and his other companions that were in his shippe, of all that they had. By which occasion and meanes of his povertie and sicknes, which cruelly afflicted him in a strange contrie, he deferred for a longe space his embassage, till, havinge gotten upp a little money by makinge of seacardes, he began to practize with Kinge Henry the Seaventhe, the father of Kinge Henry the viijth which nowe reigneth; to whome he presented a general carde, wherein these verses were written, which I will rather here put downe for their antiquitie then for their elegancie:

---

* **See Vol. xii. of this collection of Voyages.**

Terrarum quicunque cupis fœliciter oras
Noscere, cuncta decens doctè pictura docebit
Quam Strabo affirmat, Ptolomæus, Plinius atque
Isidorus: non vna tamen sententia cuique.
Pingitur hîc etiam nuper sulcata carinis
Hispanis Zona illa, priùs incognita genti,
Torrida, quæ tandem nunc est notissima multis.

And somewhat more beneath he saied:

Pro authore sive pictore.

Janua cui patriæ est nomen, cui Bartholomæus
Columbus, de terra rubra, opus edidit istud
Londonijs, Anno Domini 1480 atque insuper anno
Octauo, decimáque die cùm tertia mensis
Februarij. Laudes Christo cantentur abundè.*

But to returne to the Kinge of England; I say that after he had sene the generall carde, and that which the Admyrall Columbus offred unto him, he accepted his offer with a cherefull countenaunce, and sente to call him into England. These thinges beinge so, wee nede not to be our owne judges, but are able to prove, as you see, by a forren testimonie of singuler greate aucthoritie, that Christopher Columbus, beinge in Portingale, before he wente into Castile, sente his brother Bartholmewe into England to practise with Kinge Henry the Seaventh aboute the discovery of the West Indies, and that his said brother made his generall seacarde of this secrete voyadge in London, in the yere of our Lorde 1488. the xiijth. of February, above foure yeres before Christopher was sett oute upon his firste voyadge by the Princes of Spaine, Ferdinando and Isabella, which was the thirde of Auguste, 1592. It appereth also, that the onely cause for his slowe dispatche was his fallinge into the handes of pyrates, which spoiled him and his companie of all that they had; whereby he was inforced a longe tyme to worke in London in makinge instrumentes and seacardes to get somewhat aboute him, that he mighte come in some honest furniture to the Kinges presence. Also, that there was no delaye nor wante of goodd will of the Kinges parte to sett furthe the action, whoe willingly condescended to all Columbus demaundes; as is further to be seene in the 60 chapiter of the same historie, where I reade, that Bartholmewe Columbus, havinge agreed with the Kinge of England upon all capitulations, and returninge into Spaine by Fraunce to fetche his brother, when he hearde newes at Paris that he had concluded in the meane season with the Kinge of Spaine, and was entred into the action for him, was not a little vexed for his brothers abusinge the Kinge of England, which had so curteously graunted all his requestes and accepted of his offer. But Christofer, not receavinge so spedy aunswer as he hoped for from his brother oute of England, by reason of his fallinge into pirates handes, as is aforesaide, and not by reason of any slacknes or unwillingnes of the Kinge, in the meane season, for feare of beinge prevented by the Portingales, which once before in secrete manner had gon aboute to take the honour of the action oute of his handes, was stirred, contrary to honesty, to play on bothe handes, and to deal with the Princes of Spaine before he had receaved the Kinge of Englandes resolucion.

---

* See Lamartine's "Columbus" in my *Bibliotheca Curiosa.*

But leavinge this abuse offered to the Kinge of England either by Christopher Columbus or the Kinges of Spaine, in takinge that enterprise oute of his handes which was first sente to him, and never refused by him, and to put the case that Columbus firste discovered parte of the ilandes of Hispaniola and Cuba, yet wee will prove most plainely that a very greate and large parte, as well of the continent as of the ilandes, were firste discovered for the Kinge of England by Sebastian Gabote, an Englishe man, borne in Bristoll, the sonne of John Gabote, a Venesian, in the yere of our Lorde 1496; as an Italian gent, a greate philosopher and mathematitian, witnesseth, which harde the same of his owne mouthe; and there were many then also lyvinge, which wente with him in that voyadge, which coulde have proved him a liar yf it had bene otherwise. These be the very wordes of this gent, which he uttered to certen noblemen of

Venice upon the disputation concerninge the voyadges of the spicerye: Know ye not (quoth he) to this effecte, to goe to finde the Easte Indies by the north west, that which one of your citie hath done, which is so skilfull in the arte of navigacion and cosmographie, that he hath not his like in Spaine at this day? And his sufficiencie hath so greately advaunced him, that the Kinge hath given him the oversighte of all the pilotts that saile to the West Indies, so that withoute his licence they cannot meddle in this arte, by reason whereof they call him the Graund Pilott. This was Segnior Sebastian Gabote, which I wente to see, beinge myselfe in Cyvill certen yeres paste, whome I founde to be a moste curteous and gentle person. After he had made very moche of me, and geven me good entertainment, he shewed me many singularities which he had; and amonge the rest, a greate mappe of the worlde, wherein were marked and described all the particuler navigations as well of the Portingales as of the Castilians. And he declared unto me, that, his father beinge departed from Venyce, he wente to dwell in England for trade of marchandize, and caried him with him to the citie of London, thoughe he were very younge; yet for all that not so younge but that he had studied [letters] of humanitie aud the sphere; moreover, that his father died aboute the tyme that the newes came that Christopher Colon had discovered the coaste of the West Indies, and there was no other talke but of that in the Courte of Kinge Henry the vij$^{th.}$ which reigned then in England. Whereof every man saied, that yt was rather a thinge devine then humaine, to have founde out that way never knowen before, to goe by the west into the easte. This brute of Segnior Columbus did so inflame my harte, that I determyned also to doe some notable thinge. And knowinge by the reason of the sphere, that, in directinge my course righte towarde the north weste, I shoulde shorten the way greately to goe to the Easte Indies, without delaye I gave the Kinges Majestie to understande of myne opinion, which was marveylously well pleased; and he furnished me of twoo shippes, with all thinges necessarie; and this was in the yere 1496. in the begynnynge of somer. And I began to saile towardes the north west, thinckinge to finde no lande savinge that where Cathaio is, and from thence to turne towardes the Indies. But after certaine daies, I discouered lande which ronneth towardes the northe, wherewithall I was excedingly agreved; notwithstandinge I ceassed not to ronne alonge that coaste towardes the northe, to see yf I coulde finde any gulfe which turned towardes the north weste, until I came to the heighte of 56. degrees of our pole. Beinge there, I sawe that the coaste turned towarde the easte, and, beinge oute of hope to finde any straite, I turned backe againe to searche out the said coaste towarde the equinoctiall, with intention alwayes to finde some passage to the Indies; and in followinge this coaste I sailed as farr as that parte which at this present they call Florida; and nowe my victualls failinge and fallinge shorte, I sailed no further, but lefte the coaste there, and sailed into England, where I was no sooner arryved but I founde greate troubles of the people, that were upp in armes by reason of the warres in Scotland; whereby the voyadge to those partes was laide aside for that time, and had in no further consideration.

The reason why the discovery was lefte of in Kinge Henry the Seaventh's tyme.

Upon this relation, Monsieur Popiliniere, being a Frencheman, in his seconde booke, Des Trois Mondes, inferreth these speaches: This, then, was that Gabote which firste discovered Florida for the Kinge of England, so that the Englishe men have more righte thereunto then the Spaniardes, yf to have righte unto a contrie, it sufficeth to have firste seene and discovered the same.

Howbeit, Gabota did more then see the contrie, for he wente on lande on divers places, tooke possession of the same accordinge to his patente, which was graunted to his father, John Gabot, to Lewes, himself, and Sancius, his brethren, beinge to be sene in the Rolles and extant in printe: and, moreover, he broughte home three of the savages of the Indies, as Fabian, in his ancient Chronicle, dothe write, declaringe their apparell, feedinge, and other manners, which, he saieth, he observed himselfe in the Courte at Westminster, where he sawe twoo of them, two yeres after they were broughte into England, in Englishe apparell. Nay, that which is more, Gabota discovered this longe tracte of the firme lande twoo yeres before Columbus ever sawe any parte of the continente thereof. For the firste parte of the firme land, called Paria, and Bocca di Dragone, that is to say, the Dragons Mouthe, beinge to the southe of the iland of Hispaniola, was discovered by him in his thirde voyadge; which, as Peter Martir de Angleria, which was one of the councell of the West Indies, wryteth, was in the yere 1498; which is confirmed by Ferdinandus Columbus, his owne sonne, which was with his father in the voyadge (as Oviedo confesseth, libr. 19. cap. 1.), and wrote a journall of that voyadge, shewinge, in the 67. chapiter of his historie, that his father firste sawe the firme lande the firste of Auguste in the yere 1498. But Gabote made his greate discoverie in the yere 1496. as he testifieth in his relation above mentioned. And the day of the moneth is also added in his owne mappe, which is yn the Queenes privie gallorie at Westminster, the copye whereof was sett oute by Mr. Clemente Adams, and is in many marchantes houses in London. In which mappe, in the chapiter of Newfoundelande, there in Latyn is put downe, besides the yere of our Lorde, even the very day, which was the day of St. John Baptiste; and the firste lande which they sawe they called Prima Visa or Prima Vista: and Mr. Roberte Thorne, in his discourse to Doctor Ley, Kinge Henry the Eights embassador to Charles the Emperour, affirmeth that his father and one Hughe Elliott, of Bristoll, were the firste persons that descried the lande. This case is so clere that the Spaniardes themselves, thoughe full sore against their willes, are constrained to yielde unto us therein. For Franciscus Lopez de Gomera, in the 4. chapiter of his seconde booke of his Generall Historie of the Indies, confesseth that Sebastian was the firste discoverer of all the coaste of the West Indies, from 58. degrees of northerly latitude to the heighte of 38. degrees towardes the equinoctiall. He whiche broughte moste certeine newes of the contrie and people of Baccalaos, saieth Gomera, was Sebastian Gabot, a Venesian, which rigged up ij. shippes at the coste of Kinge Henry the Seaventh of England, havinge greate desire to traficque for the spices as the Portingales did. He carried with him CCC. men, and tooke the way towardes Island from beyonde the Cape of Labrador, untill he founde himselfe in 58. degrees and better. He made relation that, in the moneth of July, it was so colde and the ise so greate, that he durste not passe any further; that the daies were very longe, in a manner withoute any nighte, and for that shorte nighte that they had it was very clere. Gabot, feelinge the colde, turned towardes the west, refreshing himselfe at Baccalaos; and afterwardes he sailed alonge the coaste unto 38 degrees, and from thence he shaped his course to returne into England.

N f land discoverd.

Moreover, this Fraunces Lopez de Gomera acknowledgeth, in his firste booke and xxjth. chapiter of the Generall Historie of the

Indies, that Columbus on his thirde voyadge, sett oute from St. Lucar of Barameda, in Spaine, in the ende of May, *anno* 1497. In which thirde voyadge, at lengthe, after any greate dangers by the way, he arryved in the firme lande of the Indies, towardes the province called Paria, which all the Spanishe authors confesse to have bene the firste of the continent that was discovered for the Kinges of Spaine.

So to conclude; whether wee beleve the testemonie of Peter Martir and Ferdinandus Columbus, which affirme that Christopher Columbus discovered the firme firste *in anno* 1498. a greate and large tracte of the continente of the Indies was discovered by Gabote and the Englishe above twoo yeres before, to witt, in the yere 1496, in the moneths of June and July; or whether wee be contente to yelde to Gomera, which saieth Columbus sett furthe of the discovery of the firme lande, 1497; yet wee of England are the firste discoverers of the continent above a yere and more before them, to witt, 1496. or, as Clement Adams saith, 1494. in the chapiter of Gabbotts mapp *De terra nova*, which is above three yeres before the Spaniarde, or any other for the Kinges of Spaine, had any sighte of any parte of the firme lande of the Indies. At leaste wise, by Gomera his owne confession, from 57. degrees of northerly latitude to 38. towardes the equinoctiall, we have beste righte and title of any Christian. As for the discovery of John Ponce de Leon, beinge *in anno* 1512. yt cannot be prejudiciall to our title, as beinge made sixtene yeres after Gabotes voyadge.

Cap. XIX.

An aunswer to the Bull of the Donation of all the West Indies graunted to the Kinges of Spaines by Pope Alexander the VIth, whoe was himselfe a Spaniarde borne.

WHereas Fraunces Lopez de Gomera, in the 19. chapiter of his firste booke of his Generall Historie of the Indies, putteth downe that Pope Alexander the VIth, of his proper will and of his owne mere motion, with the consente of his Cardinalls, gave of his free grace to the Kinges of Spaine all the iles and firme landes which they shoulde discover towardes the west, and therewithall alledged the Bull itselfe; I aunswer, that no Pope had any lawfull aucthoritie to give any such donation at all. For proofe whereof, I say that, if he were no more than Christes vycar, as Gomera calleth him in that place, then he must needes graunte that the vicar is no greater then his Master. Nowe, our Saviour Christe, beinge requested and entreated to make a lawfull devision of inheritaunce betwene one and his brother, refused to do yt, sayenge, Quis me constituit judicem inter vos? Whoe made me a judge betwene you? What meaneth, then, the Pope, not beinge spoken to nor entreated, of his owne proper will and of his owne mere motion, to meddle in those matters that Christe in no wise, no, not beinge thereunto instantly requested, woulde not have to deale in? Againe, oure Saviour Christe confessed openly to Pilate, that his kingdome was not of this worlde. Why, then, doth the Pope, that woulde be Christes servaunte, take upon him the devision of so many kingdomes of the worlde? If he had but remembred that which he hath inserted in the ende of his owne Bull, to witt, that God is the disposer and distributer of kingdomes and empires, he woulde never have taken upon him the devidinge of them with his line of partition from one ende of the heavens to the other. The historie of the poore boye whome God stirred upp to confounde and deride the Spaniardes and Portingales, when they were devidinge the worlde betwene themselves alone, is so well knowen as I nede not stand to repeate it. But it is the Popes manner alwayes to meddle, as in this matter, so in other thinges, where they have nothinge to doe, and to intrude themselves before they be called. They mighte rather call to mynde the counsell of the goodd apostle, who tolde godly Tymothe, the Bisshoppe of Ephesus, that no man that warreth intangleth himself with the affaires of this presente life, because he woulde please Him that hath chosen him to be a souldier; and then they woulde learne to kepe themselves within the lymites of that vocation and ecclesiasticall function whereunto they are called; which ecclesiasticall function hath nothinge to doe with absolute donation and devidinge of mere temporalties and earthly kingdomes. St. Chrisostome, in his dialogue De dignitate sacerdotali, saieth that the mynisterie is a chardge geven by God to teache withoute armes or force, and that the same is no power to give or to take kingdomes, nor to make lawes for the publique governemente. St. Hillary writes as moche to the Emperour Constantine againste Auxentius, Bisshoppe of Milan. Our Saviour Christe himselfe saieth to his desciples, that while they were in the worlde, they shoulde be broughte before kinges and pollitique magistrates for his names sake. So then they shoulde not be judges and magistrates themselves, especially in the devisions of kingdomes; and, to leave all spitituall men an example, he paid tribute and toll for himselfe and Peter, and submitted himselfe and his apostles under the civill magistrate and politique governemente; yet the Pope, whoe saieth that he is Peters successor, will be a disposer of civill causes and temporall domynions. The apostle saieth, Romaines the 13: Let every soule be submitted unto the higher powers. Nowe, if the Popes will not beleve the worde of God withoute the exposition of the Fathers of the Churche, at leaste let them beleve St. Chrisostome, and give eare to that which he hath written upon this place: That these thinges be comaunded to all men, saieth he, bothe to prestes and monckes, and not onely to secular or laymen, the Apostle declareth, even in the very begynnynge, when he saieth in this manner: Let every soule be subjecte unto their higher powers, thoughe thou were an apostle, thoughe thou were an evangeliste, thoughe thou were a prophet, or thoughe thou were any other whatsoever. For obedience dothe nothinge hinder godlines.

But the Popes woulde prove that they may give and bestowe kingdomes upon whome they please, by Samuels example that annoynted Hazaell Kinge of Siria insteade of Benhadad, and Jehu Kinge of Israell insteade of Jehoram; as, also, by the example of Jehoada, the highe preste, that put the Queene Athalia to deathe, and placed Joas, the younge sonne of Ochosias, in the kingdome. All those examples make nothinge at all in the worlde for them; for neither Samuell, nor Elias, nor Elizeus did any thinge in that matter withoute an expresse commaundement and all circumstances from the mouthe of God himselfe, as appereth moste evidently by their severall histories in the Bible. Samuell also did his comission full sore againste his will; and Elias and Elizeus, with greate feare of their lyves. As for Athalia, she was an usurper, and had cruelly murdered as many of the lawfull inheritours of the kingdome as she coulde possibly lay handes on; and therefore Jehoiada, the highe preste, not of his owne absolute aucthoritie, but by the helpe of the Kinges officers and joyfull consente of all the people, caused her moste justely to be deposed and put to deathe. He was also uncle to the younge Kinge, by mariage of his wife, Jehosheba, which was sister to Ahasai, the father of the younge kinge, and therefore bounde, in conscience and affinitie, to helpe him to his righte and succour him in his mynoritie. Nowe, when the Popes have the like excellent spirite of prophesie, and the like chardges and expresse commaundementes from Gods owne mouthe, in the behalf of some one by name againste some one which God by name woulde have deposed, then they may ymitate them in pronouncinge unto them that God will rente their kingdomes from this or that kinge for his synnes. But none of the Prophetts made bulls or donations in their palaces, under their handes and seales and dates, to bestowe many kingdomes, which they never sawe or knewe, nor what nor howe large they were, or, to say the truthe, whether they were extant *in rerum natura*, as the Pope hath done in gevinge all the West Indies to the Kinges of Spaine. He shoulde firste have don as the prophetts dyd; that is, he shoulde firste have gon himselfe and preached the worde of God to those idolatrous kinges and their people; and then, if they woulde not, by any meanes, have repented, he mighte have pronounced the severe and heavie judgemente of God againste them, shewinge oute of the worde of God that one kingdome is translated from another for the sinnes of the inhabitantes of the same, and that God, in his justice, woulde surely bringe some nation or other upon them, to take vengeaunce of their synnes and wickednes. And thus moche not onely Popes, but also any other godly and zealous bisshope or mynister, may doe, beinge called thereunto by God extraordinarily, or havinge the ordinarye warrante of his worde.

Yea, but the Popes can shewe goodd recordes that they have deposed Emperors, that they have translated empires from one people to another, as that of the Easte unto the Germaines, and that they have taken kingdomes from one nation and geven them to another. In deede, in some respectes, they have done so. But how? They never gave that which was in their actuall possession, yf by any meanes possible they mighte have kepte it themselves. It is an easie matter to cutt large thonges, as wee say, of other men's hides, and to be liberall of other men's goodds. Neither ys it any marvaile thoughe (as Gomera saieth) the Pope gave all the West Indies of his free grace to the Kinge of Spaine, for they never coste him a penye. But he that will be in deede and truthe liberall, he muste give of his owne, and not of other mens. For to take from one that which is his, to give it to another to whom it is not due, ys plaine injurie and no liberalitie, thoughe the gifte were bestowed upon him that were in nede. For as one saieth: Eripere alteri fraudulenter quod alteri des misericorditer, iniustitia quidem est et non eleemosyna —to take from one fraudulently to give to an other mercifully, is no almes nor charitie, but plaine iniquitie. The Pope shoulde rather have sent into the West Indies store of godly pastors of his owne coste freely, then to have geven them and their gooddes wrongfully to be eaten upp and devoured of such insatiable and gredy wolves. He should have remembred the worde of our Saviour, whoe saieth: Beatius est dare quam accipere—it is a blessed thinge to give rather then to receave.

The Popes say they gave Ireland to Kinge Henry the Seconde and his successors; and indeede they have don it in wordes. But when gave they that unto him? Forsoothe after he had faste footinge in it, and when Dermutius, the King of Leynester, had firste offred to make the Kinge his heire. And for all their donation, yf the Kinge had not by his force more then by their gifte holpe himselfe, the Popes donation had stoode him in small stede; neither did the Kinges of Ireland admitt and allowe of the Popes donation. If they had, they woulde never have rebelled so ofte againste the Crowne of England. To conclude this pointe, thoughe wee confesse that the Popes have don this or that, yet yt is no goodd argumente to say that they did it, and therefore it is lawfull, unless they coulde shewe that they did it rightfully. De facto constat, de jure non constat. And they themselves are driven to confess, that their medlinge on this sorte with kingdomes ys not directly, but indirectly. But suche indirecte dealinge is warranted neither by lawe of God nor men.

Nowe to the donation itselfe, wee are firste to consider, whoe it was that was the author thereof; secondly, unto whome it was made; thirdly, what were the causes and inducementes that moved the Pope thereunto; fourthly, the fourme and manner of donation; fyftly, the inhibition of all other Christian Princes, and the penaltie of all them that shoulde doe the contrarye; lastly, the recompence of the Kinges of Spaine to the Sea of Rome for so greate a gifte.

1. Touchinge the firste, the author hereof was Pope Alexander the vjth. whoe, as Platina and Onuphrius and Bale doe write, was himselfe a Spaniarde, and borne in Valencia, of the familie called Borgia, and therefore no marvell thoughe he were ledd by parcialitie to favour the Spanishe nation, thoughe yt were to the

prejudice and domage of all others; whiche foule faulte of his may hereby appeare, that havinge in all the tyme of his Popedome created sixe and thirtie Cardinalles, of those xxxvj. he made xviij. to witt the one halfe, Spaniardes, as Bale dothe testifie, writinge of his life. Nowe let any man be judge, whether that were extreame prrcialitie and ambition, to make Spaine equal in that pointe with all the rest of Christendome. No marvaile therefore, thoughe as in this, so in his donation, he was beyonde all reason caried away with blynde affection to his nation; which faulte of his had bene more to be borne withall, yf it had bene in a private or small matter. But in this so generall and comon cause, yt cannot choose but be altogether intollerable. If any man liste to see this man painted oute further in his colours, let him reade John Bale in his Eighte Century, where he shall finde so many of his badd partes, as a man woulde thinke he coulde not be a fitt man to make a goodd and uprighte judge in so weightie a matter as this.

2. The persons to whome he made this donation were Ferdinando and Isabella, Princes of Spaine, to whome, and to their heires and successors for ever, he confirmed the same, excludinge all other Christian princes. These princes, thoughe otherwise very vertuous and commendable, yet at the tyme of the makinge of this 'donation, were more unable then divers other Kinges of Christendome to accomplishe and bringe the same to effecte, as beinge greately ympoverished with the warres of Granadae, so farr furthe that they were constrained to seke for helpe of Kinge Henry the VIIth. of England, to subdue the Moores in their owne contrie. Yea, Queene Isabella was so poore and bare that she was faine to offer her owne jewells to gage, to borowe money to sett furthe Columbus in his firste voyadge, as it is to be seene in the 14. chapiter of the Historie of Ferdinandus Columbus, his owne sonne, It is also well knowen that the Spaniardes, for wante of people of their owne contrie, have not bene able nowe, in the space of xx^{iiii}. and xij. yeres, to inhabite a thirde or fourthe parte of those excedinge large and waste contries, which are as greate as all Europe and Africke.

3. The inducementes that moved his Holines to graunt these unequall donations unto Spaine were, firste, (as he saieth) his singuler desire and care to have the Christian religion and Catholicque faithe exalted, and to be enlarged and spredd abroade throughoute the worlde, especially in his daies, and that

the salvation of soules shoulde be procured of every one, and that the barbarous nations shoulde be subdued and reduced to the faithe, &c, To this I aunswer that, if he had ment as in deede he saieth, he shoulde not have restrayned this so greate and generall a worke, belonginge to the duetie of all other Christian princes, unto the Kinges of Spaine onely, as thoughe God had no servauntes but in Spaine; or as thoughe other Christian kinges then lyvinge had not as greate zeale and meanes to advaunce Gods glory as they; or howe mente he that every one shoulde put their helpinge hande to this worke, when he defended all other Christian Princes, in paine of his heavie curse and excomunication, to meddle in this action, or to employe their subjectes, thoughe yt were to the conversion of thinhabitauntes in those partes. And whereas, to colour this his donation, he addeth, that the Kinges of Spaine had bene at greate chardge in that discoverie in respect whereof he was induced to deale so franckly with them, yt is evident that the Bull was graunted in the yere 1493. the iiij. of the moneth of May, at what time Columbus had made but one voyadge, wherein he was furnished onely with one small shippe and twoo little caravells, and had, in all his companie, but foure score and tenne men, and the whole voyadge stoode the Kinge of Spaine in 2500. crownes only. So these 2500. crownes were the greate chardges that the Pope speaketh of, that induced him to graunte so large a donation; for that was the uttermoste that Columbus desired, as is to be redd in the 14. chapiter of his owne sonnes historie.

Moreover, where the Pope confesseth he was informed, before the donation of his Bull, that the Kinges of Spaine had purposed, by the aide of God, to subdue and reduce unto the faithe all those landes and Ilandes, with their inhabitantes, whiche Columbus had founde in his firste discovery, in comendinge highly of this their intention, he semeth to confesse that they mighte have pursued that godly action very lawfully withoute makinge of him privy to their enterprice, which they did not in their firste sendinge furthe Columbus. And with what righte he builded and lefte men in Hispaniola at the firste, before the Popes donation, with the selfe same righte he mighte have subdued all that he shoulde afterwardes discover. So, then, the Popes gifte was of no more force, then of that which they mighte have chalenged by their former righte and interest of discoverie. And as for their former zeale and resolution to publishe the Christian faithe in those quarters, which the Pope confesseth to have bene in them before his donation, whoe seeth not that he stirres them uppe to nothinge, but to that which he acknowledgeth to have bene in them already; and so he did nothinge but *actum agere.*

Againe; in that he saieth, that in no other respecte, but moved onely by his mere and francke liberaltie, *and for certeine secrete causes,* he gave unto them all the ilandes and firme landes which already have bene founde, and which shoulde afterwardes be founde, which were then discovered or afterwardes to be discovered, towardes the West and the Southe, drawinge a straighte line from the pole articke to the pole antarticke, whether the ilandes or firme landes founde or to be founde were towardes the Indies or towardes any other quarter; intendinge, nevertheles, that this line be distant an hundred leagues towardes the West and the Southe from the iles which are comonly called the Azores, or those of Cape Verd: to this wee aunswer, that here wee are firste to consider that yt was no marvell that his Holines, beinge a Spaniarde borne, sett aparte all other respectes of justice and equitie, and of his mere motion and francke liberalitie was ready to raise and advaunce his owne nation, with doinge secrete wronge and injurie as moche as in him laye, and more, unto all other Princes of Christendome. For what els can those wordes importe, that he did it also for certen secrete causes, but give us juste cause to suspect that there wanted uprighte, indifferent, and sincere dealinges? And surely, if he had meant uprightly, he woulde have delte more plainely; for truthe seketh no secrete corners. But if you will have me to reveale those secrete causes, to say as the thinge was, they were nothinge else but the feare and jelousie that he had, that Kinge Henry the vij^th. of England, with whome Bartholmewe Columbus had bene to deale in this enterprice, and even aboute this time had concluded with the Kinge upon all pointes and articles, whoe even nowe was readie to sende him into Spaine to call his brother Christopher into England, shoulde put a foote into this action; which, if he had don, he shoulde bothe have share with the Spaniardes in the profitt, and greatly ecclips their honour and glorie. Also, he coulde not choose but be privie to the longe conference that Christopher Columbus had before time with the Kinge of Portingale, and offer which he made firste of all to the said Kinge of this discovery, whoe thoughe at the firste delte doubly with Columbus, and sent other to finde oute that thinge which Columbus offered, yet, they missinge of their purpose, the Kinge of Portingale woulde have employed Columbus, and delte effectually with him to that ende; but he conceavinge a greate displeasure againste the Kinge and his nation for his secrete seekinge to defraude him of his honour, and benefite of his offer, stole prively oute of his realme into Castile. But the Pope, fearinge that either the Kinge of Portingale mighte be reconciled to Columbus, or that he mighte be drawen into England, by interposinge of his usurped aucthoritie, thoughte secretly, by his unlawfull division, to defraude England and Portingale of that benefite. Loe, these were indeede those secrete causes, sodenly, withoute makinge the other Kinges privie, to make his generall and universall donation of all the West Indies to the Kinges of Spaine, by drawinge a lyne of partition from one pole unto another, passinge a hundred leagues westwarde of the Iles of Azores; which division, howe God caused to be deryded by the mouthe of a poor, simple childe, Fraunces Lopez de Gomera, one of the Spaniardes owne historiographers, dothe specially note in manner followinge: Before I finishe this chapiter (saieth he), I will recite, to recreate the reader, that which happened, upon this partition, to the Portingales. As Fraunces de Melo, Diego Lopes of Sequeria, and others, came to this assembly, and passed the river by Quidiana, a little infant that kepte his mothers clothes, which she had washt and honge abroade to drye, demaunded of them, whether they were those that shoulde come to devide the worlde with the Emperour; and as they answered yea, he tooke up his shirte behinde and shewed them his buttocks, sayenge unto them: Drawe your lyne throughe the middest of this place. This, saieth the author, was published in contempte all abroade, bothe in the towne of Badayos and also in the assemblye of these committies. The Portingales were greately angrie therewithall, but the rest turned yt to a jest and laughed yt oute.

But what wise man seeth not that God by that childe laughed them to scorne, and made them ridicullous and their partition in the eyes of the worlde and in their owne consciences, and caused the childe to reprove them, even as the dombe beaste, speakinge with mans voyce, reproved the foolishnes of Balam the Prophett!

4. The fourthe pointe which I purpose to touche, is the forme and manner of the stile of the donation itselfe, after a large preface and connynge preamble; and that begynneth in this manner: Wee therefore, by the aucthoritie of God Almightie,

which is geven to us in the person of Saincte Peter, and which wee enjoye in this worlde as the vicar of Jhesus Christe, give unto you all the ilandes and firme landes, with their seigniories, cities, castells, &c. In which repitition of his donation the seconde time for failinge, he woulde shewe unto the world by what aucthoritie and warrant he gave away from all the Indians their landes, contries, seigniories, cities, castells, places, villages, righte, jurisdictions, and all other appurtenances and thinges belonginge to the same, to the Kinges of Spaine onely, and to their heires and successors for ever. This usurped aucthoritie, as I have plainely confuted and denied in the begynnynge, so nowe, in a worde or twoo, I will shewe, that God never gave unto the Popes any suche aucthoritie. The chefest and greatest aucthoritie that ever was geven by Christe to Peter, is mentioned in the 16. chapiter of St. Mathewe, where Christe saieth unto him: I will give vnto thee the keyes of the Kingdome of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalte binde in earthe shalbe bounde in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalte loose in earthe shalbe loosed in heaven. St. Hierome, expoundinge of this place, saieth, that the priestes or bisshopps duetie and aucthoritie of the keyes, to binde or loose, is to knowe and declare by the holy Scripture, and by the judgemente of the Catholicque Churche, where and whoe he is that hath offended againste the will of God, and whoe beinge once a Christian is fallen from the societie, or gone astraye oute of the pathe and waye of the Churche. These are the trewe keyes and twoo swordes which God hath put into prestes handes. And Peter Lombarde, the Master of the Sentences, one of their owne doctors, is of St. Hieromes opinion. And what aucthoritie in the place above recited Christe comitted unto Peter, the same gave he also unto all the rest of his Apostles, John 20. verse 21. sayenge to them all: Whoesoever synnes yee remitte, they are remitted unto them; and whoesoever synnes yee retaine, they are retained. But that either Peter or any of the Apostles did teache or affirme, that they had aucthoritie to give awaye kingdomes of heathen Princes to those that were so farr from havinge any interest in them, that they knewe not whether there were any suche contries in the worlde or noe, I never reade nor hearde, nor any mane else, as I verely beleve. Which moste injuste and wrongfull dealinge of the Pope was notably confuted by Atabalipa, beinge an infidell. For after Fryer Vincent of

Matth: 16.

Valverde, of the companie and traine of Piçar, had made an oration to him, the some whereof was that he shoulde become a Christyan, and that he shoulde obey the Pope and the Emperor, to whome the Pope had geven his kingdome, Atabalipa, beinge greately insensed, replied, that, seeinge he was nowe free, he woulde not become tributarye, nor thincke that there was any greater lorde then himselfe; but that he was willinge to be the Emperor's frende and to have his acquaintaunce, for that he muste nedes be some greate lorde that sente so many armies abroade into the worlde. He aunswered, moreover, that he woulde not in any wise obey the Pope, seinge he gave away that which belonged to another, moche lesse that he woulde leave his kingdome, that came unto him by inheritaunce, to one which he had never seene in his life. And whereas Fryer Vincent, beinge displeased at his replye, was gladd to seeke any waye to wreake his anger upon him, insomoche as when Atabalipa lett his portesse fall to the grounde, he was so testye that he sett Piçar and his souldiers forwardes, cryenge, Vengeaunce, Christians, vengeaunce! give the chardge upon them; whereby many Indians, withoute resistaunce, or any stroke stricken on their partes, were moste pitefully murdred and massacred, and Atabalipa himselfe taken, and afterwardes trecherously put to deathe; this Frier himselfe, by Gods juste iudgemente, was afterwardes beaten to deathe with clubbes by the inhabitantes of Puna, as he fledd from Don Diego de Almagre, as Fraunces Lopez de Gomera precisely and of purpose noteth, libro 5. cap. 85. of his Generall Historie of the Indies; and, besides him, all the reste of the chefe that were the executioners of his rashe counsell, and of the Popes Donation, came to moste wretched and unfortunate endes, as the aforesaide author there setteth downe in twoo severall chapiters of Considerations, as he calleth them.

Moreover, since the fourme of the donation ronneth not absolutely, but with this condition and chardge moste straightly enjoyned, viz., that the Kinges of Spaine shoulde sende thither sober and godly men, and cause the inhabitantes of those contries discovered or to be discovered to be instructed in the Catholique faithe, and noseled in goodd manners, and that they shoulde carefully applye themselves thereunto; wee answer, that these conditions have bene wonderfully neglected, and that neither the people have bene carefully instructed in relligion nor manners, and consequently that the conditions beinge not perfourmed the donation oughte of righte to be voide. For the Kinges of Spaine have sent suche helhoundes and wolves thither as have not converted, but almoste quite subverted them, and have rooted oute above fiftene millions of reasonable creatures, as Bartholmewe de Casas, the Bisshoppe of Chiapa in the West Indies, a Spaniarde borne, dothe write at large in a whole volume of that argumente. And Gonsalvo de Ouiedo, another of their owne historiographers, and Capitaine of the Castle of Sancto Domingo in Hispaniola, affirmeth the like: For there hath Spaniardes come into these contries, saieth he, which, havinge lefte their consciences and all feare of God and men behinde them, have plaied the partes not of men, but of dragons and infidells, and, havinge no respecte of humanitie, have bene the cause that many Indians, that peradventure mighte have bene converted and saved, are deade by divers and sondrie kindes of deathes. And althoughe those people had not bene converted, yet if they had bene lett to live, they mighte have bene profitable to your Majestie and an aide unto the Christians, and certaine partes of the lande shoulde not wholy have bene disinhabited, which by this occasion are altogether in a manner dispeopled. And they that have bene the cause of suche destruction call this contrie thus dispeopled and wasted, the contrie conquered and pacified; but I call it, quoth Gonsaluo, the contrie which is destroyed and ruyned; yea, so farr have they bene of from drawinge the Indians to the likinge of Christianitie and true Relligion, that the sentence of the Apostle may moste truly be verified of them, whoe saieth: The name of God is blasphemed amonge the Gentiles throughe you; ffor proofe whereof you shall not nede to reade but that which Peter Benzo of Milan hath written, whoe remayned in these Indies, and served in the warres with the Spaniardes againste the Indians for the space of fourtene yeres. This Benzo saieth that the Indians, not havinge studied logicke, concluded very pertinently and categorically, that the Spaniardes, which spoiled their contrie, were more dangerons then wilde beastes, more furious then lyons, more fearefull and terrible then fire and water, or any thinge that is moste outeragious in the worlde. Some also called them the fome of the sea, others gave them names of the beastes which are moste cruell and lyvinge of praye which they have in their contrie. There were some likewise that called them Tuira, as one would say, the Devills goodd grace.

Those thinges beinge thus, whoe seeth not that the Pope is frustrated of the ende which he intended in his Donation, and so the same oughte not to take effecte?

5. Ffiftly, yf yt be true and that the Pope mente goodd earnest, that all Emperours and Kinges which should sende their subjectes or others to discover withoute the Kinge of Spaines leave shoulde be excommunicated by him, why did he not first excommunicate Kinge Henry the Seaventh for sendinge furthe Sebastian Gabota with three hundred Englishemen, whoe by Gomera his owne confession, discovered from 58. degrees in the northe to 38. degrees towardes the equinoctiall? Why did he not the like to Kinge Henry the Eighte for sendinge to discover westwarde, in the xixth. yere of his reigne, while he was yet in obedience to the Churche of Rome? Why was he not offended and incensed againste Queene Mary, whoe suffered her subjectes, in the yere 1556. to seke oute, by the northeaste, the way to Cathaio and China, which are bothe within the pretended lymites of his donation, as John Gaetan and other Spaniardes doe write? Why did he not exercise his censures eccleiasticall againste the Kinge of Ffraunce, Fraunces the Firste, for sendinge furthe Verarsanus twise or thrise, Iaques Cartier twise, and Robervall once, towardes the southwest and northwest? Why was not Henry the Seconde of Fraunce excomunicated for sendinge Villegagnon to inhabite in Brasill under the tropicke of Capricorne? Or Charles the IXth. for aidinge Ribault firste, and after Ladoniere, and a thirde tyme Ribault, to fortifie and inhabite in Florida? Or why did he not thunder againste Emanuell, Kinge of Portingale, for sufferinge Gasper Corterealis twise to seke to finde oute the northweste passage, and one of his brothers another time afterwarde? Or wherefore did he not openly rebuke the Kinge of Denmarke for sufferinge his subjecte, John Scolno, a Dane, in the yere 1500. to seke the Straighte by the northweste, of whome Gemma Frisius and Hieronymo Giraua, a Spaniarde, make mention? Or what shoulde be the reason that all these kinges of England, Fraunce, Portingale and Denmarke, beinge otherwise all at these times in obedience of the Churche of Rome, shoulde, withoute consente as yt were, disanull and neuer make accompte of this Bull of the Pope? which thinge doubtles they woulde never have don, yf they had bene fully perswaded in their consciences, that if any Prince or Emperour, of what estate or condition soever, shoulde attempte the contrary, as it is in the conclusion of the said Bull, he shoulde be assured to incurr the indignation of Almightie God

and of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Pawle. But nowe, seinge all the kinges aforesaide sente all their subjectes to discover beyonde the Popes partition lyne withoute the leave or permission of the Spaniarde, they seme with one accorde to testifie unto the worlde, that they made no reconynge of the breache of that Bull, as of an acte moste unjuste, moste unreasonable, and moste prejudiciall to all other Christian princes of the worlde.

Againe; yt were small charitie in the Popes to curse those Princes that have bene or are willinge to employe their treasures and people in advauncinge the honour and glory of God, and the lawfull enrichinge and benefite of their people. And whatsoeuer Pope shoulde excommunicate or curse any Christian prince for seekinge to reduce to the knowledge of God and to civill manners those infinite multitudes of infidells and heathen people of the West Indies, which the Spaniardes in all this time have not so moche as discovered, moche less subdued or converted, his curse woulde lighte upon his owne heade, and, to those which he cursed undeservedly, woulde be turned to a blessinge.

To be shorte; thoughe Pope Alexander the vjth. by his unequall division, hath so puffed upp and inflamed with pride his moste ambitious and insatiable contrymen, that they are growen to this high conceite of themselves, that they shall shortly attaine to be lordes and onely seigniors of all the earthe, insomoche as Gonsaluo de Ouiedo sticketh not to write to Charles the Emperour, sayenge: God hath geven you these Indies *accio che vostra Maiesta sia uniuersale et unico monarcha del mondo*—to the intente that your Majesty shoulde be the universall and onely monarch of the world; yet God that sitteth in heaven laugheth them and their partitions to scorne, and he will abase and bringe downe their proude lookes, and humble ther faces to the duste; yea, he will make them, at his goodd time and pleasure, to confesse that the earthe was not made for them onely; as he hath already shewed unto the Portingales, which, not longe since, takinge upon them to devide the worlde with lynes, doe nowe beholde the line of Gods juste judgmente drawen over themselves and their owne kingdome and possessions. And nowe, no doubte, many of them remember that the threateninge of the prophet hath taken holde upon them, whoe pronounceth an heavie woe againste all suche as spoile, because they themselves shall at length be spoiled.

6. Finally, to come to the sixte and laste pointe, yf you consider what recompence the Kinges of Spaine have made to the Popes for this so greate a benefite bestowed upon them, you shall easely see and acknowledge with me, that they were either moste ungrateful, or, which is moste likely, that they never thoughte that they helde the Indies as the Popes gifte unto them, or that their title unto those regions depended upon his francke almes or liberalitie; ffor, if they had don soe, they coulde have done no lesse but have geven him the presentation of all archebisshopricks and bisshoprickes, and other greate ecclesiastical promotions in recompence of their former and large curtesie, wherein they have don the flatt contrary, reservinge onely unto themselves the presentation and patronage of all the archebisshopricks and bisshopricks that they have erected in the West Indies; ffor, as Gomera saieth in his 6. booke and 23. chapiter of his Generall Historie of the Indies, the Kinge of Spaine is patrone of all the archebisshopricks, bysshoprickes, dignities, and benefices of the West Indies, and so he onely appointeth and presenteth them, so that he is absolute lorde of the Indies.

This argueth that the Kinges of Spaine never made any greate accompte of the Popes' Donation, but onely to blinde the eyes of the worlde with the sea of Rome; ffor doubtles, if they had acknowledged their tenure to depende, as I saied, of the Popes mere liberalitie, they woulde have don otherwise, and woulde have requited them farr otherwise then by excludinge them quite oute, and makinge themselves absolute patrones of all ecclesiasticall dignities whatsoever.

Cap. XX.

A brefe collection of certaine reasons to induce her Majestie and the state to take in hande the westerne voyadge and the plantinge there.

1. THe soyle yeldeth, and may be made to yelde, all the severall comodities of Europe, and of all kingdomes, domynions, and territories that England tradeth withe, that by trade of marchandize cometh into this realme.

2. The passage thither and home is neither to longe nor to shorte, but easie, and to be made twise in the yere.

3. The passage cutteth not nere the trade of any prince, nor nere any of their contries or territories, and is a safe passage, and not easie to be annoyed by prince or potentate whatsoever.

4. The passage is to be perfourmed at all times of the yere, and in that respecte passeth our trades in the Levant Seas within the Straites of Juberalter, and the trades in the seas within the Kinge of Denmarkes Straite, and the trades to the portes of Norwey and of Russia, &c.; for as in the south weste Straite there is no passage in somer by lacke of windes, so within the other places there is no passage in winter by yse and extreme colde.

5. And where England nowe for certen hundreth yeres last passed, by the peculiar comoditie of wolles, and of later yeres by clothinge of the same, hath raised it selfe from meaner state to greater wealthe and moche higher honour, mighte, and power then before, to the equallinge of the princes of the same to the greatest potentates of this parte of the worlde; it cometh nowe so to passe, that by the greate endevour of the increase of the trade of wolles in Spaine and in the West Indies, nowe daily more and more multiplienge, that the wolles of England, and the clothe made of the same, will become base, and every day more base then other; which, prudently weyed, yt behoveth this realme, yf it meane not to returne to former olde meanes and basenes, but to stande in present and late former honour, glorye, and force, and not negligently and sleepingly to slyde into beggery, to foresee and to plante at Norumbega or some like place, were it not for any thing els but for the hope of the vent of our woll indraped, the principall and in effecte the onely enrichinge contynueinge naturall comoditie of this realme. And effectually pursueinge that course, wee shall not onely finde on that tracte of lande, and especially in that firme northwarde (to whome warme clothe shalbe righte wellcome), an ample vente, but also shall, from the north side of that firme, finde oute knowen and unknowen ilandes and domynions replenished with people that may fully vent the aboundance of that our comoditie, that els will in fewe yeres waxe of none or of small value by forreine aboundaunce, &c.; so as by this enterprice wee shall shonne the ymmynent mischefe hanginge over our heades, that els muste nedes fall upon the realme, without breache of peace or sworde drawen againste this realme by any forreine state; and not offer our auncient riches to scornefull neighboures at home,

nor sell the same in effecte for nothinge, as wee shall shortly, if presently it be not provaided for. The increase of the wolles of Spaine and America is of highe pollicie, with greate desire of our overthrowe, endevoured; and the goodnes of the forren wolles our people will not enter into the consideration of, nor will not beleve aughte, they be so sotted with opinion of their owne; and, yf it be not foresene and some such place of vent provided, farewell the goodd state of all degrees in this realme.

6. This enterprise may staye the Spanishe Kinge from flowinge over all the face of that waste firme of America, yf wee seate and plante there in time, in tyme I say, and wee by plantinge shall lett him from makinge more shorte and more safe returnes oute of the noble portes of the purposed places of our plantinge, then by any possibilitie he can from the parte of the firme that nowe his navies by ordinary courses come from, in this that there is no comparison betwene the portes of the coastes that the Kinge of Spaine dothe nowe possesse and use, and the portes of the coastes that our nation is to possesse by plantinge at Norumbega, and on that tracte faste by, more to the northe and northeaste, and in that there is from thence a moche shorter course, and a course of more temperature, and a course that possesseth more contynuance of ordinary windes, then the present course of the Spanishe Indian navies nowe dothe. And England possessinge the purposed place of plantinge, her Majestie may, by the benefete of the seate, havinge wonne goodd and royall havens, have plentie of excellent trees for mastes, of goodly timber to builde shippes and to make greate navies, of pitche, tarr, hempe, and all thinges incident for a navie royall, and that for no price, and withoute money or request. Howe easie a matter may yt be to this realme, swarminge at this day with valiant youthes, rustinge and hurtfull by lacke of employment, and havinge goodd makers of cable and of all sortes of cordage, and the best and moste connynge shipwrights of the worlde, to be lordes of all those sees, and to spoile Phillipps Indian navye, and to deprive him of yerely passage of his treasure into Europe, and consequently to abate the pride of Spaine and of the supporter of the greate Antechriste of Rome, and to pull him downe in equalitie to his neighbour princes, and consequently to cut of the common mischefes that come to all Europe by the peculiar aboundance of his Indian treasure, and thiss withoute difficultie.

7. This voyadge, albeit it may be accomplished by barke or

smallest pynnesse for advise or for a necessitie, yet for the distaunce, for burden and gaine in trade, the marchant will not for profitts sake use it but by shippes of greate burden; so as this realme shall have by that meane shippes of greate burden and of greate strengthe for the defence of this realme, and for the defence of that newe seate, as nede shall require, and withall greate increase of perfecte seamen, which greate princes in time of warres wante, and which kinde of men are neither nourished in fewe daies nor in fewe yeres.

8. This newe navie of mightie newe stronge shippes, so in trade to that Norumbega and to the coastes there, shall never be subjecte to arreste of any prince or potentate, as the navie of this realme from time to time hath bene in the portes of thempire, in the portes of the Base Contries, in Spaine, Fraunce, Portingale, &c., in the tymes of Charles the Emperour, Fraunces the Frenche kinge, and others; but shall be alwayes free from that bitter mischeefe, withoute grefe or hazarde to the marchaunte or to the state, and so alwaies readie at the comaundement of the prince with mariners, artillory, armor, and munition, ready to offende and defende as shalbe required.

9. The greate masse of wealthe of the realme imbarqued in the marchantes shippes, caried oute in this newe course, shall not lightly, in so farr distant a course from the coaste of Europe, be driven by windes and tempestes into portes of any forren princes, as the Spanishe shippes of late yeres have bene into our portes of the Weste Contries, &c.; and so our marchantes in respecte of a generall safetie from venture of losse, are by this voyadge oute of one greate mischefe.

10. No forren commoditie that comes into England comes withoute payment of custome once, twise, or thrise, before it come into the realme, and so all forren comodities become derer to the subjectes of this realme; and by this course to Norumbega forren princes customes are avoided; and the forren comodities cheapely purchased, they become cheape to the subjectes of England, to the common benefite of the people, and to the savinge of greate treasure in the realme; whereas nowe the realme becomethe poore by the purchasinge of forreine comodities in so greate a masse at so excessive prices.

11. At the firste traficque with the people of those partes, the subjectes of this realme for many yeres shall chaunge many cheape comodities of these partes for thinges of highe valor there

not estemed; and this to the greate inrichinge of the realme, if common use faile not.

12. By the greate plentie of those regions the marchantes and their factors shall lye there cheape, buye and repaire their shippes cheape, and shall returne at pleasure withoute staye or restrainte of forreine prince; whereas upon staies and restraintes the marchaunte raiseth his chardge in sale over his ware; and, buyenge his wares cheape, he may mainteine trade with smalle stocke, and withoute takinge upp money upon interest; and so he shalbe riche and not subjecte to many hazardes, but shalbe able to afforde the comodities for cheape prices to all subjectes of the realme.

13. By makinge of shippes and by preparinge of thinges for the same, by makinge of ,cables and cordage, by plantinge of vines and olive trees, and by makinge of wyne and oyle, by husbandrie, and by thousandes of thinges there to be don, infinite nombers of the English nation may be set on worke, to the unburdenynge of the realme with many that nowe lyve chardgeable to the state at home.

14. If the sea coste serve for makinge of salte, and the inland for wine, oiles, oranges, lymons, figges, &c., and for makinge of yron, all which with moche more is hoped, withoute sworde drawen, wee shall cutt the combe of the Frenche, of the Spanishe, of the Portingale, and of enemies, and of doubtfull frendes, to the abatinge of their wealthe and force, and to the greater savinge of the wealthe of the realme.

15. The substaunces servinge, wee may oute of those partes receave the masse of wrought wares that now wee receave out of Fraunce, Flaunders, Germanye, &c.; and so wee may daunte the pride of some enemies of this realme, or at the leaste in parte purchase those wares, that nowe wee buye derely of the Frenche and Flemynge, better cheape; and in the ende, for the part that this realme was wonte to receave, dryve them out of trade to idlenes for the settinge of our people on worke.

16. Wee shall by plantinge there inlarge the glory of the gospell, and from England plante sincere religion, and provide a safe and a sure place to receave people from all partes of the worlde that are forced to flee for the truthe of Gods worde

17. If frontier warres there chaunce to aryse, and if thereupon wee shall fortifie, yt will occasion the trayninge upp of our youthe in the discipline of warr, and make a nomber fitt for the service

of the warres and for the defence of ous people there and at home.

18. The Spaniardes governe in the Indies with all pride and tyranie; and like as when people of contrarie nature at the sea enter into gallies, where men are tied as slaves, all yell and crye with one voice, *Liberta*, *liberta*, as desirous of libertie and freedome, so no doubte whensoever the Queene of England, a prince of such clemencie, shall seate upon that firme of America, and shalbe reported throughe oute all that tracte to use the naturall people there with all humanitie, curtesie, and freedome, they will yelde themselves to her governemente, and revolte cleane from the Spaniarde, and specially when they shall understande that she hath a noble navie, and that she aboundeth with a people moste valiaunte for theyr defence. And her Majestie havinge Sir Fraunces Drake and other subjectes already in credite with the Symerons, a people or greate multitude alreadye revolted from the Spanishe governmente, she may with them and a fewe hundrethes of this nation, trayned upp in the late warres of Fraunce and Flaunders, bringe greate thinges to passe, and that with greate ease; and this broughte so aboute, her Majestie and her subjectes may bothe enjoye the treasure of the mynes of golde and silver, and the whole trade and all the gaine of the trade of marchandize, that nowe passeth thither by the Spaniardes onely hande, of all the comodities of Europe; which trade of marchandize onely were of it selfe suffycient (withoute the benefite of the rich myne) to inriche the subjectes, and by customes to fill her Majesties coffers to the full. And if it be highe pollicie to mayneteyne the poore people of this realme in worke, I dare affirme that if the poore people of England were five times as many as they be, yet all mighte be sett on worke in and by workinge lynnen, and suche other thinges of marchandize as the trade in the Indies dothe require.

19. The present shorte trades causeth the maryner to be caste of and ofte to be idle, and so by povertie to fall to piracie. But this course to Norumbega beinge longer, and a contynuance of themploymente of the maryner, dothe kepe the maryner from ydlenes and necessitie; and so it cutteth of the principall actions of piracie, and the rather because no riche praye for them to take cometh directly in their course or any thing nere their course.

20. Many men of excellent wittes and of divers singuler giftes, overthrowen by suertishippe, by sea, or by some folly of

youthe, that are not able to live in England, may there be raised againe, and doe their contrie goodd service; and many nedefull uses there may (to greate purpose) require the savinge of greate nombers, that for trifles may otherwise be devoured by the gallowes.

21. Many souldiers and servitours, in the ende of the warres, that mighte be hurtfull to this realme, may there be unladen, to the common profite and quiet of this realme, and to our forreine benefite there, as they may be employed.

22. The frye of the wandringe beggars of England, that growe upp ydly, and hurtefull and burdenous to this realme, may there be unladen, better bredd upp, and may people waste contries to the home and forreine benefite, and to their owne more happy state.

23. If Englande crie oute and affirme, that there is so many in all trades that one cannot live for another, as in all places they doe, this Norumbega (if it be thoughte so goodd) offreth the remedie.

Cap. XXI.

A note of some thinges to be prepared for the voyadge, which is sett downe rather to drawe the takers of the voyadge in hande to the presente consideration, then for any other reason; for that divers thinges require preparation longe before the voyadge, wiihoute the which the voyadge is maymed.

DEAD VICTUALL.

Hoggs fleshe, barrelled and salted, in greate quantitie.
Befe, barrelled, in lesse quantitie.
Stockfishe, Meale in barrells.
Oatemeale, in barrells, nere cowched.
Ryse, Sallett Oile, barrelied Butter.
Cheese, Hony in barrells.
Currans, Raisons of the sonne.
Dried Prunes, Olives in barrells.
Beanes, dryed on the kill.
Pease, dried likewise.
Canary Wines, Hollocke.

Sacks racked.
Vinegar very stronge.
Aqua Vitæ.
Syders of Ffraunce, Spaine, and England.
Bere, brewed specially in speciall tyme.

VICTUALL BY ROOTES AND HERBES.

Turnep Seede.
Radishe.
Naviewes.
Onyons.
Melons.
Cowcombers.
Parseley.
Endiffe.
Orege
Rosemary.
Fennell.
Passeneape Sede.
Cariott.
Garlicke.
Leekes.
Pompions.
Cabage Cole.
Lettis.
Alexander.
Tyme.
Mustard Seede.
Anny Seedes, newe and freshe to be sowen.

THE ENCREASE, RENEWE, AND THE CONTINEWE OF VICTUALL AT THE PLANTINGE PLACES, AND MEN AND THINGES INCIDENT AND TENDINGE TO THE SAME.

Bores, Sowes.
Conies, Bucke and Dowe.
Doves, male and female.
Cockes, Hennes.
Duckes, male and female, for lowe soiles.
Turkies, male and female.
Wheat, Rye, Barley.
Bigge, or Barley Bere.
Oates, Beanes.
Pease, Ffacches.
Three square Graine.
To sowe to vittell by breade and drinke, &c.
Suger cane planters with the plantes.
Vyne planters.
Olyve planters.
Gardiners for herbes, rootes, and for all earthe frutes.

Graffers for frute trees.
Hunters, skilfull to kill wilde beasts for vittell.
Warryners to breede conies and to kill vermyn.
Fowlers.
Sea Fisshers.
Fresh-water Fisshers.
Knytters of netts.
Butchers.
Salters and seasoners of vittell.
Salte makers.
Cookes.
Bakers.
Brewers.
Greyhoundes to kill deere, &c.
Mastives to kill heavie beastes of rapyne and for nighte watches.
Bloude houndes to recover hurte dere.

PROVISIONS TENDINGE TO FORCE.

Men experte in the arte of fortification.
Platformes of many formes redied to carry with you by advise of the best.
Capitaines of longe and of greate experience.
Souldiers well trayned in Fflaunders to joyne with the younger.
Harqubusshiers of skill.
Archers, stronge bowmen.
Bowyers.
Ffletchers.
Arrow head makers.
Bow stave preparers.
Glew makers.
Morryce pike makers, and of halbert staves.
Makers of spades and shovells for pyoners, trentchers, and forte makers.
Makers of basketts to cary earthe to fortes and rampiers.
Pioners and spademen for fortification.
Salte peter makers.
Gonne powder makers.
Targett makers of hornes, defensive againste savages.
Oylethole doublett makers, defensive, lighte and gentle to lye in.

Turners of targetts of elme, and of other toughe woodds lighte.

Shippes, Pynesses, Barkes, Busses with flatt bottoms, furnished with experte Seamen.

Swifte boates and barges to passe by winde and oare, covered with quilted canvas of defence againste shott from the shoare, to perce ryvers for discoverie, and to passe to and froe, offensive and defensive againste savages, devised by Mr. Bodenham of Spaine.

Shipwrights in some nomber to be employed on the timber.

Oare makers, and makers of cable and cordage.

PROVISIONS INCIDENT TO THE FIRSTE TRAFICQUE AND TRADE OF MARCHANDIZE.

Grubbers and rooters upp of cipres, cedars, and of all other faire trees, for to be employed in coffers, deskes, &c., for traficque.

Mattocks, narrowe and longe, of yron, to that purpose.

Millwrights, to make milles for spedy and cheape sawinge of timber and boardes for trade, and firste traficque of suertie.

Millwrights, for corne milles.

Sawyers, for comon use.

Carpinters, for buildinges.

Joyners, to cutt oute the boordes into chests to be imbarqued for England.

Blacksmithes, to many greate and nedefull uses.

Pitche makers.

Tarr makers.

Burners of asshes for the trade of sope asshes.

Cowpers, for barrells to inclose those asshes.

Tallow chandlers, to prepare the tallowe to be incasked for England.

Waxechandlers, to prepare waxe in like sorte.

Diers, to seeke in that firme that riche cochinilho and other thinges for that trade.

Mynerall men.

ARTESANES, SERVINGE OUR FIRSTE PLANTERS, NOT IN TRAFICQUE BUT FOR BUILDINGES.

Brick makers.

Tile makers.

Synkers of walles and finders of springes.

Lyme makers.
Bricklayers.
Tilers.
Thachers with reedes, russhes, broome, or strawe.
Quarrells to digge tile.
Roughe Masons.
Carpinters.
Lathmakers.

ARTESANS, SERVINGE OUR FIRSTE PLANTERS, AND IN PARTE SERVINGE FOR TRAFICQUE.

Barbors.
Launders.
Tailors.
Botchers.
Paile makers.
Burcachiomakers.
Bottlemakers of London.
Shoemakers, coblers.
Tanners, white tawyers.
Buffe skynne dressers.
Shamew skynne dressers.

A PRESENT PROVISION FOR RAISINGE A NOTABLE TRADE FOR THE TIME TO COME.

The knitt wollen cappe of Toledo in Spaine, called *bonetto rugio collerado*, so infinitely solde to the Moores in Barbarie and Affricke, is to be prepared in London, Hereforde, and Rosse, and to be vented to the people, and may become a notable trade of gaine to the marchaunte, and a greate reliefe to oure poore people and a sale of our woll and of our labour; and beinge suche a cappe that every particuler person will buye and may easelie compasse, the sale wil be greate in shorte time, especially if our people weare them at their first arryvall there.

THINGES FORGOTTEN MAY HERE BE NOTED AS THEY COME TO MYNDE, AND AFTER BE PLACED WITH THE REST, AND AFTER THAT IN ALL BE REDUCED INTO THE BEST ORDER.*

That there be appointed one or twoo preachers for the voyadge, that God may be honoured, the people instructed, mutinies the better avoided, and obedience the better used, that the voyadge may have the better successe.

That the voyadge be furnished with Bibles and with Bookes of service. That the bookes of the discoveries and conquests of the Easte Indies be carried with you.

---

* Evidently memoranda added to the Manuscript from time to time.

That the bookes of the discoveries of the West Indies, and the conquests of the same, be also caried, to kepe men occupied from worse cogitations, and to raise their myndes to courage and highe enterprizes, and to make them lesse careles for the better shonnynge of comon daungers in suche cases arisinge. And because men are more apte to make themselver subjecte in obedience to prescribed lawes sett downe and signed by a prince, then to the changeable will of any capitaine, be he never so wise or temperate, never so free from desire of revenge, it is wisshed that it were learned oute what course bothe the Spaniardes and Portingales tooke, in their discoveries, for government, and that the same were delivered to learned men, that had pased most of the lawes of th' empire and of other princes lawes, and that thereupon some speciall orders, fitt for voyadges and begynnynges, mighte upon deliberation be sett downe and allowed by the Queenes moste excellent Majestie and her wise counsell; and, faire ingrossed, mighte in a table be sett before the eyes of suche as goe in the voyadge, that no man poonished or executed may justly complaine of manifeste and open wronge offred.

That some phisition be provided to minister by counsell and by phisicke, to kepe and preserve from sicknes, or by skill to cure suche as fall into disease and distemperature.

A surgeon to lett bloude, and for such as may chaunce, by warres or otherwise, to be hurte, is more nedefull for the voyadge.

An apothecarye to serve the phisition is requisite; and the phisition deinge, he may chaunce (well chosen) to stande in steede of one and thother, and to sende into the realme, by seede and roote, herbes and plantes of rare excellencie.

If suche plentie of honye be in these regions as is saied, yt were to goodd purpose to cary in the voyadge suche of the servauntes of the Russia Companie as have the skill to make the drincke called meth, which they use in Russia and Poland, and nerer, as in North Wales, for their wine; and, if you cannot cary any suche, to cary the order of the makinge of yt in writinge, that it may be made for a nede.

And, before many thinges, this one thinge is to be called, as yt were, with spede to mynde, that the prisons and corners of London are full of decayed marchantes, overthrowen by losse at sea, by usuerers, suertishippe, and by sondry other suche meanes, and dare or cannot for their debtes shewe their faces; and in truthe many excellent giftes be in many of these men, and their goodd giftes are not ymployed to any manner of use, nor are not like of themselves to procure libertie to employe themselves, but are, withoute some speciall meane used, to starve by wante, or to shorten their tymes by thoughte; and for that these men, schooled in the house of adversitie, are drawen to a degree higher in excellencye, and may be employed to greate uses in this purposed voyadge, yt were to greate purpose to use meanes by aucthoritie for suche as maliciously, wrongfully, or for triflinge causes are deteyned, and to take of them and of others that hide their heades, and to employe them; for so they may be relieved, and the enterprice furthered in many respectes.

And, in choice of all artesanes for the voyadge, this general rule were goodd to be observed, that no man be chosen that is knowen to be a Papiste, for the speciall inclynation they have of favour to the Kinge of Spaine.

A moste nedeful note.

That also, of those artesanes which are Protestantes, that where you may have chaunge and choice, that suche as be moste stronge and lusty men be chosen, and suche as can best handle his bowe or his harquebushe; for the more goodd giftes that the goers in the voyadge have, the more ys the voyadge benefited. And therefore (many goinge) yf every mans giftes and goodd qualities be entred into a booke before they be receaved, they may be employed upon any necessitie in the voyadge in this or in that, according as occasion of nede shall require.

FINIS.

The letters patents, granted by the Queenes Maiestie to M. Walter Ralegh now Knight, for the discouering and planting of new lands and Countries, to continue the space of 6. yeeres and no more.

ELizabeth by the grace of God of England, France and Ireland Queene, defender of the faith, &c. To all people to whom these presents shal come, greeting. Know ye that of our especial grace, certaine science, and meere motion, we haue giuen and graunted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successors doe graunt to our trusty and welbeloued seruant Walter Ralegh Esquire, and to his heires and assignes for euer, free liberty and licence from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter, to discouer, search, finde out, and view such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countreis, and territories, not actually possessed of any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, as to him, his heires and assignes, and to euery or any of them shall seeme good, and the same to haue, holde, occupy and enioy to him, his heires and assignes for euer, with all prerogatiues, commodities, iurisdictions, royalties, priuiledges, franchises and preeminences, thereto or thereabouts both by sea and land, whatsoeuer we by our letters patents may grant, and as we or any of our noble progenitors haue heretofore granted to any person or persons, bodies politique or corporate: and the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and all such as from time to time, by licence of vs, our heires and successors, shal goe or trauaile thither to inhabite or remaine, there to build and fortifie, at the discretion of the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, the statutes or act of Parliament made against fugitiues, or against such as shall depart, remaine or continue out of our Realme of England without licence, or any other statute, act, law, or any ordinance whatsoeuer to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And we do likewise by these presents, of our especiall grace, meere motion, and certaine knowledge, for us, our heires and successors, giue and graunt full authoritie, libertie and power to the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and euery of them, that he and they, and euery or any of them, shall and may at all and euery time and times hereafter, haue, take and leade in the sayde voyage, and trauaile thitherward, or to inhabite there with him or them, and euery or any of them, such, and so many of our subiects as shall willingly accompany him or them, and euery or any of them: and to whom also we doe by these presents, giue full libertie and authoritie in that behalfe, and also to haue, take and employ, and vse sufficient shipping and furniture for the transportations, and Nauigations in that behalfe, so that none of the same persons or any of them be such as hereafter shall be restrained by vs, our heires or successors.

And further that the said Walter Ralegh his heires and assignes, and euery of them, shall haue, holde, occupie and enioy to him, his heires and assignes, and euery of them for euer, all the soyle of all such landes, territories, and Countreis, so to be discouered and possessed as aforesayd, and of all such Cities, Castles, Townes, Villages, and places in the same, with the right, royalties, franchises, and iurisdictions, as well marine as other within the sayd landes, or Countreis, or the seas thereunto adioyning, to be had, or vsed, with full power to dispose thereof, and of euery part in fee simple or otherwise, according to the order of the lawes of England, as neere as the same conueniently may be, at his, and their wil and pleasure, to any persons then being, or that shall remaine within the allegiance of vs, our heires and successors: reseruing alwayes to vs, our heires and successors, for all seruices, dueties, and demaunds, the fift part of all the oare of gold and siluer, that from time to time, and at all times after such discouerie, subduing and possessing, shall be there gotten and obteined: All which lands, Countreis, and territories shall for euer be holden of the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, of vs, our heires and successors, by homage, and by the sayd payment of the said fift part, reserued onely for all seruices.

And moreouer, we do by these presents, for vs, our heires and successors, give and grant licence to the said Walter Ralegh, his heires, and assignes, and euery of them, that he, and they, and euery or any of them, shall and may from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter and expulse, repell and resist aswell by sea as by lande, and by all other wayes whatsoeuer, all and euery such person and persons whatsoeuer, as without the especiall liking and licence of the sayd Walter Ralegh, and of his heires and assignes, shall attempt to inhabite within the sayde Countreys, or any of them, or within the space of two hundreth leagues neere to the place or places within such Countreys as aforesayde (if they shall not bee before planted or inhabited within the limits as aforesayd with the subiects of any Christian Prince being in amitie with vs) where the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires, or assignes, or any of them, or his, or their, or any of their associats or company, shall within sixe yeeres (next ensuing) make their dwellings or abidings, or that shall enterprise or attempt at any time hereafter vnlawfully to annoy, eyther by Sea or Lande the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of his or their companies: giuing and graunting by these presents further power and authoritie o the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and every of them from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter, to take and surprise by all maner of meanes whatsoeuer, all and euery those person or persons, with their Shippes, Vessels, and other goods and furniture, which without the licence of the sayde

Walter Ralegh, or his heires, or assignes, as aforesayd, shalbe found traffiquing into any Harbour, or Harbours, Creeke, or Creekes, within the limits aforesayd, (the subiects of our Realmes and Dominions, and all other persons in amitie with vs, trading to the Newfound lands for fishing as heretofore they haue commonly vsed, or being driuen by force of a tempest, or shipwracke onely excepted:) and those persons, and every of them, with their shippes, vessels, goods, and furniture to deteine and possess as of good and lawfull prize, according to the discretion of him the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires, and assignes, and euery, or any of them. And for vniting in more perfect league and amitie, of such Countryes, landes, and territories, so to be possessed and inhabited as aforesayd with our Realmes of England and Ireland, and the better incouragement of men to these enterprises: we doe by these presents, graunt and declare that all such Countries, so hereafter to be possessed and inhabited as is aforesayd, from thencefoorth shall be of the allegiance of vs, our heires and successors. And wee doe graunt to the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and to all, and euery of them, and to all, and euery other person and persons, being of our allegiance, whose names shall be noted or entred in some of our Courts of recorde within our Realme of England, that with the assent of the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, shall in his iourneis for discouerie, or in the iourneis for conquest hereafter travaile to such lands, countreis, and territories, as aforesayd, and to their, and to euery of their heires, that they, and euery or any of them, being eyther borne within our sayde Realmes of England or Irelande, or in any other place within our allegiance, and which hereafter shall be inhabiting within any the Lands, Countryes, or Territories, with such licence, (as aforesayd) shall and may haue all the priuiledge of Denizens, and persons natiue of England, and within our allegiance iu such like ample maner and forme, as if they were borne and personally resident within our said Realme of England, any law, custome, or vsage to the contrary nothwithstanding.

Free Denization graunted.

And forasmuch as vpon the finding out, discouering, or inhabiting of such remote lands, countries, and territories as aforesaid, it shalbe necessary for the safety of all men, that shall aduenture themselues in those iourneyes or voyages, to determine to liue together in Christian peace, and ciuill quietnesse eche with other, whereby euery one may with more pleasure and profit enioy that whereunto they shall atteine with great paine and perill, wee for vs, our heires and successors, are likewise pleased and contented, and by these presents doe giue and grant to the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assigns for euer, that he and they, and euery or any of them, shall and may from time to time for euer hereafter, within the said mentioned remote lands and countries, in the way by the seas thither, and from thence, haue full and meere power and authoritie to correct, punish, pardon, gouerne, and rule by their and euery or any of their good discretions and policies, as well in causes capitall, or criminall, as ciuill, both marine and other, all such our subiects, as shal from time to time aduenture themselues in the said iourneis or voyages, or that shall at any time hereafter inhabite any such lands, countreis, or territories as aforesayd, or that shall abide within 200. leagues of any of the sayde place or places, where the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any of his or their associats or companies, shall inhabite within 6. yeeres next ensuing the date hereof, according to such statutes, lawes and ordinances as shall be by him the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them deuised, or established, for the better gouernment of the said people as aforesaid. So alwayes as the said statutes, lawes, and ordinances may be, as nere as conueniently may bee, agreeable to the forme of the lawes, statutes, gouernment, or pollicie of England, and also so as they be not against the true Christian faith, nowe professed in the Church of England, nor in any wise to withdrawe any of the subiects or people of those lands or places from the alleagance of vs, our heires and successors, as their immediate Soueraign vnder God.

And further, we doe by these presents for vs, our heires and successors, giue and grant ful power and authoritie to our welbeloued Counsailour Sir William Cecill knight, Lord Burghley, or high Treasourer of England, and to the Lorde Treasourer of England, for vs, our heires and successors for the time being, and to the priuie Counsaile of vs, our heires and successors, or any foure or more of them for the time being, that he, they, or any foure or more of them, shall and may from time to time and at all times hereafter, vnder his or their handes or Seales by vertue of these presents, authorise and licence the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them by him and by themselues, or by their, or any of their sufficient Attorneis, Deputies, Officers, Ministers, Factors, and seruants, to imbarke and transport out of our Realme of England and Ireland, and the Dominions thereof, all or any of his or their goods, and all or any the goods of his and their associats and companies, and euery or any of them, with such other necessaries and commodities, of any our Realmes, as to the sayde Lorde Treasurer, or foure or more of the priuie Counsaile, of vs our heires and successors for the time being (as aforesaid) shalbe from time to time by his or their wisedomes, or discretions thought meete and conuenient, for the better reliefe and supportation of him the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires, and assignes, and euery or any of them, and of his or their or any of their associats and companies, any act, statute, law, or any thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Prouided alwayes, and our wil and pleasure is, and wee do hereby declare to all Christian kings, princes, and states, that if the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, shall at any time or times hereafter robbe or spoile by sea or by land, or doe any act of vniust or vnlawfull hostilitie, to any of the subiects of vs, our heires or successors, or to any of the subiects of any the kings, princes, rulers, Gouernors, or estates, being then in perfect league and amitie with vs, our heires and successors, and that vpon such iniurie, or vpon iust complaint of any such Prince, Ruler, Gouernour or estate, or their subiects, wee, our heirs and successors, shall make open Proclamation within any the portes of our Realme of England, that the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and adherents, or any to whom these our Letters patents may extende, shall within the terms to bee limited, by such Proclamation, make full restitution, and satisfaction of all such iniuries done: so as both we and the said Princes, or other so complaining, may hold vs and themselues fully contented: And that if the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, shall not make or cause to be made satisfaction accordingly within such time so to be limitted, that then it shal be lawful to vs, our heires and successors, to put the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the saide places to be discoured (as is aforesaid) or any of them out of our allegeance and protection, and that from and after such time of putting out of protection of the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires, assignes, and adherents, and others so to be put out, and the said places within their habitation, possession and rule, shall be out of our allegeance and protection, and free for all Princes and others to pursue with hostilitie, as being not our subiects, nor by vs any way to be auouched, maintained, or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection, or dominion, or allegeance any way belonging: for that expresse mention of the cleere yeerely value of the certaintie of the premisses, or any part thereof, or of any other gift, or grant by vs, or any our progenitors, or predecessors to the said Walter Ralegh, before this time made in these presents bee not expressed, or any other grant, ordinance, provision, proclamation or restraint, to the contrary thereof, before the time, giuen, ordained, or prouided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoeuer, in any wise notwithstanding. In witnesse whereof, wee haue caused these our letters to be made Patents. Witnesse our selues, at Westminster, the fiue and twentie day of March, in the sixe and twentith yeere of our Raigns. Anno 1584.

The first voyage made to the coasts of America, with two barks, wherein were Captaines M. Philip Amadas, and M. Arthur Barlowe, who discouered part of the Countrey now called Virginia Anno 1584. Written by one of the said Captaines, and sent to sir Walter Ralegh knight, at whose charge and direction, the said voyage was set forth.*

THe 27 day of Aprill, in the yere of our redemption 1584, we departed the West of England, with two barkes well furnished with men and victuals, hauing receiued our last and perfect directions by your letters, confirming the former instructions, and commandements deliuered by your selfe at our leauing the riuer of Thames. And I thinke it a matter both vnnecessary, for the manifest discouerie of the Countrey, as also for tediousnesse sake, to remember vnto you the diurnall of our course, sayling thither and returning: onely I haue presumed to present vnto you this briefe discourse, by which you may iudge how profitable this land is likely to succeede, as well to your selfe, (by whose direction and charge, and by whose seruantes this our discouerie hath beene performed) as also to her Highnesse, and the Common wealth, in which we hope your wisedome wilbe satisfied, considering that as much by vs hath bene brought to light, as by those smal meanes, and number of men we had, could any way haue bene expected, or hoped for.

---

* This is the voyage that was taking place while Hakluyt was writing his Discourse on Planting I have given above.

The tenth of May we arriued at the Canaries, and the tenth of Iune in this present yeere, we were fallen with the Islands of the West Indies, keeping a more South-easterly course then was needefull, because wee doubted that the current of the Bay of Mexico, disbogging betweene the Cape of Florida and Hauana, had bene of greater force then afterwardes we found it to bee. At which Islands we found the ayre very vnwholsome, and our men grew for the most part ill disposed: so that hauing refreshed our selues with sweet water, and fresh victuall, we departed the twelfth day of our arriuall there. These Islands, with the rest adioyning, are so well knowen to your selfe, and to many others, as I will not trouble you with the remembrance of them.

A Southerly course not greatly needful for Virginia.

The second of Iuly, we found shole water, wher we smelt so sweet, and so strong a smel, as if we had bene in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with all kinde of odoriferous flowers, by which we were assured, that the land could not be farre distant: and keeping good watch, and bearing but slacke saile, the fourth of the same moneth we arriued vpon the coast, which we supposed to be a continent and firme lande, and we sayled along the same a hundred and twentie English miles before we could finde any entrance, or riuer issuing into the Sea. The first that appeared vnto vs, we entred, though not without some difficultie, and cast anker about three harquebuz-shot within the hauens mouth, on the left hand of the same: and after thankes giuen to God for our safe arriuall thither, we manned our boats, and went to view the land next adioyning, and "to take possession of the same, in the right of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, as rightfull Queene, and Princesse of the same, and after deliuered the same ouer to your vse, according to her Maiesties grant, and letters patents, vnder her Highnesse great seale. Which being performed, according to the ceremonies vsed in such enterprises, we viewed the land about vs, being,

A sweet smell from the land.

The first riuer.

Iuly 13 possession taken.

Abundance of grapes.

whereas we first landed, very sandie and low towards the waters side, but so full of grapes, as the very beating and surge of the sea ouerflowed them, of which we found such plentie, as well there as in all places else, both on the sand and on the greene soile on the hils, as in the plaines, as well on euery little shrubbe, as also climing towardes the tops of high Cedars, that I thinke in all the world the like abundance is not to be found: and my selfe hauing seene those parts of Europe that most abound, find such difference as were incredible to be written.

The Isle ot Wokokon.

We passed from the Sea side towardes the toppes of those hilles next adioyning, being but of meane higth, and from thence wee behelde the Sea on both sides to the North, and to the South, finding no ende any of both wayes. This lande lay stretching it selfe to the West, which after wee found to bee but an Island of twentie miles long, and not above sixe miles broade. Vnder the banke or hill whereon we stoode, we behelde the vallyes replenished with goodly Cedar trees, and hauing discharged our harquebuz-shot, such a flocke of Cranes (the most part white) arose vnder vs, with such a cry redoubled by many ecchoes, as if an armie of men had showted all together.

This Island had many goodly woodes full of Deere, Conies, Hares, and Fowle, euen in the middest of Summer in incredible abundance. The woodes are not such as you finde in Bohemia, Moscouia, or Hercynia, barren and fruitles, but the highest and reddest Cedars of the world, farre bettering the Ceders of the Açores, of the Indies, or Lybanus, Pynes, Cypres, Sassaphras, the Lentisk, or the tree that beareth the Masticke, the tree that beareth the rine of blacke Sinamon, of which Master Winter brought from the streightes of Magellan, and many other of excellent smell and qualitie. We remained by the side of this Island two whole dayes before we saw any people of the Countrey: the third day we espied one small boate rowing towardes vs having in it three persons: this boat came to the Island side, foure harquebuz-shot from our shippes, and there two of the people remaining, the third came along the shoreside towards vs, and wee being then all within boord, he walked vp and downe vpon the point of the land next vnto vs: then the Master and the Pilot of the Admirall, Simon Ferdinando, and the Captaine Philip Amadas,

Conference with a Sauage.

my selfe, and others rowed to the land, whose comming this fellow attended, neuer making any shewe of feare or doubt. And after he had spoken of many things not vnderstood by vs, we brought him with his owne good liking, aboord the ships, and gaue him a shirt, a hat and some other things, and made him taste of our wine, and our meat, which he liked very wel: and after hauing viewed both barks, he departed, and went to his owne boat againe, which hee had left in a little Coue or Creeke adioyning: assoone as hee was two bow shoot into the water, he fell to fishing, and in lesse then halfe an houre, he had laden his boate as deepe, as it could swimme, with which hee came againe to the point of the lande, and there he diuided his fish into two parts, pointing one part to the ship, and the other to the pinnesse; which, after he had (as much as he might) requited the former benefites receiued, departed out of our sight.

Abundance of fish.

The next day there came vnto vs diuers boates, and in one of them the Kings brother, accompanied with fortie or fiftie men, very handsome and goodly people, and in their behauiour as mannerly and ciuill as any of Europe. His name was Granganimeo, and the king is called Wingina, the countrey Wingandacoa, and now by her Maiestie Virginia. The maner of his comming was in this sort: hee left his boates altogether as the first man did a little from the shippes by the shore, and came along to the place ouer against the ships, followed with fortie men. When he came to the place his seruants spread a long matte vpon the ground, on which he sate downe, and at the other ende of the matte foure others of his companie did the like, the rest of his men stood round about him, somewhat a farre off: when we came to the shore to him with our weapons, hee neuer mooued from his place, nor any of the other foure, nor neuer mistrusted any harme to be offered from vs, but sitting still he beckoned vs to come and sit by him, which we performed: and being set hee made all signes of ioy and welcome, striking on his head and his breast, and afterwardes on ours, to shew wee were all one, smiling and making shewe the best he could of all loue, and familiaritie. After hee had made a long speech vnto vs, wee presented him with diuers things, which hee receiued very ioyfully, and thankefully. None of the companie durst speake one worde all the time: only the foure which were at theother ende, spake one in the others eare very softly.

The arriuall of the kings brother.

The King is greately obeyed, and his brothers and children reuerenced: the King himselfe in person was at our being there, sore wounded in a fight which hee had with the King of the next countrey, called Wingina, and was shot in two places through the body, and once cleane through the thigh, but yet he recouered: by reason whereof and for that hee lay at the chiefe towne of the countrey, being sixe dayes iourney off, we saw him not at all.

After we had presented this his brother with such things as we thought he liked, wee likewise gaue somewhat to the other that satte with him on the matte: but presently he arose and tooke all from them and put it into his owne basket, making signes and tokens, that all things ought to bee deliuered vnto him, and the rest were but his seruants, and followers. A day or two after this, we fell to trading with them, exchanging some things that we had, for Chamoys, Buffe, and Deere skinnes: when we shewed him all our packet of merchandize, of all things that he sawe, a bright tinne dish most pleased him, which hee presently tooke vp and clapt it before his breast, and after made a hole in the brimme thereof and hung it about his necke, making signes that it would defende him against his enemies arrowes: for those people maintaine a deadly and terrible warre, with the people and King adioyning. We exchanged our tinne dish for twentie skinnes, woorth twentie Crownes, or twentie Nobles: and a copper kettle for fiftie skins woorth fiftie Crownes. They offered vs good exchange for our hatchets, and axes, and for kniues and would haue giuen any thing for swordes: but wee would not depart with any. After two or three dayes the Kings brother came aboord the shippes, and dranke wine, and eat of our meat and of our bread, and liked exceedingly thereof: and after a fewe days ouerpassed, he brought his wife with him to the ships, his daughter and two or three children: his wife was very well fauoured, of meane stature, and very bashfull: shee had on her backe a long cloake of leather, with the furre side next to her body, and before her a piece of the same: about her forehead shee had a bande of white Corall, and so had her husband many times: in her eares shee had bracelets of pearles hanging downe to her middle, (whereof wee deliuered your worship a little bracelet) and those were of the bignes of good pease. The rest of her women of the better sort had pendants of copper hanging in either eare, and some o

Trafficke with the Sauages.

Tinne much esteemed.

White corall.
Perles.

the children of the kings brother and other noble men, haue fiue or sixe in either eare: he himselfe had vpon his head a broad plate of golde, or copper, for being vnpolished we knew not what mettall it should be, neither would he by any meanes suffer vs to take it off his head, but feeling it, it would bow very easily. His apparell was as his wiues, onely the women weare their haire long on both sides, and the men but on one. They are of colour yellowish, and their hair black for the most part, and yet we saw children that had very fine aburne and chesnut coloured haire.

After that these women had bene there, there came downe from all parts great store of people, bringing with them leather, corall, diuers kindes of dies, very excellent, and exchanged with us: but when Granganimeo the kings brother was present, none durst trade but himselfe: except such as weare red pieces of copper on their heads like himselfe: for that is the difference betweene the noble men, and the gouernours of countreys, and the meaner sort. And we both noted there, and you haue vnderstood since by these men, which we brought home, that no people in the worlde cary more respect to their King, Nobilitie, and Gouernours, then these doe. The Kings brothers wife, when she came to vs (as she did many times) was followed with forty or fifty women alwayes: and when she came into the shippe, she left them all on land, sauing her two daughters, her nurse and one or two more. The kings brother alwayes kept this order, as many boates as he would come withall to the shippes, so many fires would hee make on the shore a farre off, to the end we might vnderstand with what strength and company he approched. Their boates are made of one tree, either of Pine or of Pitch trees: a wood not commenly knowen to our people, nor found growing in England. They haue no edge-tooles to make them withall; if they haue any they are very fewe, and those it seemes they had twentie yeres since, which, as those two men declared, was out of a wracke which happened vpon their coast of some Christian ship, being beaten that way by some storme and outragious weather, whereof none of the people were saued, but only the ship, or some part of her being cast vpon the sand, out of whose sides they drew the nayles and the spikes, and with those they made their best instruments. The manner of making their boates is thus: they burne downe some great tree, or take such as are winde fallen, and putting gumme and rosen vpon one side thereof, they set fire

Pitch trees.

The manner of making their boates.

into it, and when it hath burnt it hollow, they cut out the coale with their shels, and euer where they would burne it deeper or wider they lay on gummes, which burne away the timber, and by this meanes they fashion very fine boates, and such as will transport twentie men. Their oares are like scoopes, and many times they set with long poles, as the depth serueth.

The Kings brother had great liking of our armour, a sword, and diuers other things which we had: and offered to lay a great box of pearl in gage for them: but we refused it for this time, because we would not make them knowe, that we esteemed thereof, vntill we had vnderstoode in what places of the countrey the pearle grew: which now your Worshippe doeth very well vnderstand.

He was very iust of his promise:. for many times we deliuered him merchandize vpon his word, but euer he came within the day and performed his promise. He sent vs euery day a brase or two of fat Bucks, Conies, Hares, Fish the best of the world. He sent vs diuers kindes of fruites, Melons, Walnuts, Cucumbers, Gourdes, Pease, and diuers rootes, and fruites very excellent good, and of their Countrey corne, which is very white, faire and well tasted, and groweth three times in fiue moneths: in May they sow, in Iuly they reape, in Iune they sow, in August they reape: in Iuly they sow, in September they reape: onely they cast the corne into the ground, breaking a little of the soft turfe with a wodden mattock, or pickeaxe: our selues prooued the soile, and put some of our Pease in the ground, and in tenne dayes they were of fourteene ynches high: they haue also Beanes very faire of diuers colours and wonderfull plentie: some growing naturally, and some in their gardens, and so haue they wheat and oates.

The soile is the most plentifull, sweete, fruitfull and wholsome of all the worlde: there were aboue fourteene seuerall sweete smelling timber trees, and the most part of their vnderwoods are Bayes and such like: they haue those Okes that we haue, but farre greater and better. After they had bene diuers times aboord our shippes, my selfe, with seuen more went twentie mile into the Riuer, that runneth towarde the Citie of Skicoak, which Riuer they call Occam: and the euening following, wee came to an Island which they call Raonoak, distant from the harbour by which we entered, seuen leagues: and at the north end thereof was a village of nine houses, built of Cedar, and fortified round about with sharpe trees, to keepe out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turne pike very artificially; when wee came towardes it, standing neere vnto the waters side, the wife of Granganimeo the kings brother came running out to meete vs very cheerefully and friendly, her husband was not then in the village: some of her people shee commanded to drawe our boate on shore for the beating of the billoe: others she appointed to cary vs on their backes to the dry ground, and others to bring our oares into the house for feare of stealing. When we were come into the vtter roome, hauing fiue roomes in her house, she caused vs to sit downe by a great fire, and after tooke off our clothes and washed them, and dryed them againe: some of the women plucked off our stockings and washed them, some washed our feete in warme water, and shee her selfe tooke great paines to see all thinges ordered in the best maner shee could, making great haste to dress some meate for vs to eate.

After we had thus dryed ourselues, she brought vs into the inner roome, where shee set on the boord standing along the house, some wheate like furmentie, sodden Venison, and roasted, fish sodden, boyled and roasted, Melons rawe, and sodden, rootes of diuers kindes and diuers fruites: their drinke is commonly water, but while the grape lasteth, they drinke wine, and for want of caskes to keepe it, all the yere after they drink water, but it is sodden with Ginger in it, and black Sinamon, and sometimes Sassaphras, and diuers others wholesome, and medicinable hearbes and trees. We were entertained with all loue and kindnesse, and with as much bountie (after their maner) as they could possibly deuise. We found the people most gentle, louing, and faithfull, voide of all guile and treason, and such as liue after the maner of the golden age. The people onely care howe to defende them selues from the cold in their short winter, and to feed themselues with such meat as the soile affoordeth: their meat is very well sodden and they make broth very sweet and sauorie: their vessels are earthern pots, very large, white and sweete, their dishes are wodden platters of sweet timber: within the place where they feede was their lodging, and within that their Idoll, which they worship, of whome they speake incredible things. While we were at meate, there came in at the gates two or three men with their bowes and arrowes from hunting, whom when wee espied, we beganne to looke one towardes another, and offered to reach our weapons: but assoone as shee espied our mistrust, shee was very much

Their Idole.

mooued, and caused some of her men to runne out, and take away their bowes and arrowes and breake them, and withall beate the poore fellowes out of the gate againe. When we departed in the euening and would not tary all night she was very sory, and gaue vs into our boate our supper halfe dressed, pottes and all, and brought vs to our boate side, in which wee lay all night, remoouing the same a prettie distance from the shoare: shee perceiuing our ielousie, was much grieued, and sent diuers men and thirtie women, to sit all night on the banke side by vs, and sent vs into our boates fiue mattes to couer vs from the raine, vsing very many wordes to entreate vs to rest in their houses: but because wee were fewe men, and if wee had miscaried, the voyage had bene in very great danger, wee durst not adventure any thing, although there was no cause of doubt: for a more kinde and louing people there can not be found in the worlde, as farre as we haue hitherto had triall.

Skicoak a great towne.

Beyond this Island there is the maine lande, and ouer against this Island falleth into this spacious water, the great riuer called Occam by the inhabitants on which standeth a towne called Pomeiock, and sixe dayes iourney from the same is situate their greatest citie, called Skicoak, which this people affirme to be very greate: but the Sauages were neuer at it, only they speake of it by the report of their fathers and other men, whom they have heard affirme it to bee aboue one houres iourney about.

A ship cast away.

Into this riuer falleth another great riuer, called Cipo, in which there is found great store of Muskles in which there are pearles: likewise there descendeth into this Occam, another riuer, called Nomopana, on the one side whereof standeth a great towne called Chawanook, and the Lord of that towne and countrey is called Pooneno: this Pooneno is not subject to the king of Wingandacoa, but is a free Lord: beyond this country is there another king, whom they cal Menatonon, and these three kings are in league with each other. Towards the Southwest, foure dayes iourney is situate a towne called Sequotan, which is the Southermost towne of Wingandacoa, neere unto which, sixe and twentie yeres past there was a ship cast away, whereof some of the people were saued, and those were white people, whom the countrey people preserued.

And after ten dayes remaining in an out Island vninhabited, called Wocokon, they with the help of some of the dwellers of

Sequotan, fastened two boates of the countrey together and made mastes vnto them and sailes of their shirtes, and hauing taken into them such victuals as the countrey yeelded, they departed after they had remained in this out Island 3 weekes: but shortly after it seemed they were cast away, for the boates were found vpon the coast cast a land in another Island adioyning: other then these, there was neuer any people apparelled, or white of colour, either seene or heard of amongst these people, and these aforesaid were seene onely of the inhabitantes of Secotan, which appeared to be very true, for they wondred maruelously when we were amongst them at the whitenes of our skins, euer coueting to touch our breasts, and to view the same. Besides they had our ships in maruelous admiration, and all things els were so strange vnto them, as it appeared that none of them had euer seene the like. When we discharged any piece, were it but an hargubuz, they would tremble thereat for very feare, and for the strangenesse of the same: for the weapons which themselues vse are bowes and arrowes: the arrowes are but of small canes, headed with a sharpe shell or tooth of a fish sufficient ynough to kill a naked man. Their swordes be of wood hardened: likewise they vse wooden breastplates for their defence. They haue beside a kinde of club, in the end whereof they fasten the sharpe hornes of a stagge, or other beast. When they goe to warres they cary about with them their idol, of whom they aske counsel, as the Romans were woont of the Oracle of Apollo. They sing songs as they march towardes the battell in stead of drummes and trumpets: their warres are very cruell and bloody, by reason whereof, and of their ciuill dissentions which haue happened of late yeeres amongst them, the people are maruelously wasted, and in some places the countrey left desolate.

Their weapons.

Adioyning to this countrey aforesaid called Secotan beginneth a countrey called Pomouik, belonging to another king whom they call Piamacum, and this king is in league with the next king adioyning towards the setting of the Sunne, and the countrey Newsiok, situate vpon a goodly riuer called Neus: these kings haue mortall warre with Wingina king of Wingandacoa: but about two yeeres past there was a peace made betweene the King Piemacum, and the Lord of Secotan, as these men which we haue brought with vs to England, haue giuen vs to vnderstand: but there remaineth a mortall

Or Pananuaioc.

malice in the Secotanes, for many iniuries and slaughters done vpon them by this Piemacum. They inuited diuers men, and thirtie women of the best of his countrey to their towne to a feast: and when they were altogether merry, and praying before their Idol, (which is nothing els but a meer illusion of the deuill) the captaine or Lord of the town came suddenly vpon them, and slewe them euery one, rescruing the women and children: and these two haue oftentimes since perswaded vs to surprize Piemacum his towne, hauing promised and assured vs, that there will be found in it great store of commodities. But whether their perswasion be to the ende they may be reuenged of their enemies, or for the loue they beare to vs, we leaue that to the tryall hereafter.

Beyond this Island called Roanoak, are maine Islands very plentifull of fruits and other naturall increases, together with many townes, and villages, along the side of the continent, some bounding vpon the Islands, and some stretching vp further into the land.

When we first had sight of this countrey, some thought the first land we saw to bee the continent; but after we entred into the Hauen, we saw before vs another mighty long Sea: for there lyeth along the coast a tracte of Islands, two hundreth miles in length, adioyning to the Ocean sea, and betweene the Islands, two or three entrances: when you are entred betweene them (these Islands being very narrow for the most part, as in most places sixe miles broad, in some places lesse, in fewe more) then there appeareth another great Sea, containing in bredth in some places, forty, and in some fifty, in some twenty miles ouer, before you come vnto the continent: and in this inclosed Sea there are aboue an hundreth Islands of diuers bignesses, whereof one is sixteene miles long, at which we were, finding it a most pleasant and fertile ground, replenished with goodly Cedars, and diuers other sweete woods, full of Corrants, of flaxe, and many other notable commodities, which we at that time had no leasure to view. Besides this Island there are many, as I haue sayd, some of two, or three, of foure, of fiue miles, some more, some lesse, most beautifull and pleasant to behold, replenished with Deere, Conies, Hares, and diuers beasts, and about them the goodliest and best fish in the world, and in greatest abundance.

Roanoak sixteen miles long.

Thus Sir, we haue acquainted you with the particulars of our discouery made this present voyage, as farre foorth as the shortnesse of the time we there continued would affoord vs to take viewe of: and so contenting our selves with this seruice at this time, which wee hope hereafter to inlarge, as occasion and assistance shallbe giuen, we resolued to leaue the countrey, and to apply ourselues to returne for England, which we did accordingly, and arriued safely in the West of England about the middest of September.

And whereas wee haue aboue certified you of the countrey taken in possession by vs, to her Maiesties vse, and so to yours by her Maiesties grant, wee thought good for the better assurance thereof to record some of the particular Gentlemen, and men of accompt, who then were present, as witnesses of the same, that thereby all occasion of cauill to the title of the countrey, in her Maiesties behalfe may be preuented, which otherwise, such as like not the action may vse and pretend, whose names are:

Master Philip Amadas, Master Arthur Barlow,	Captaines.
Willian Greeneuile, Iohn Wood, Iames Browewich, Henry Greene, Beniamin Wood, Simon Ferdinando, Nicholas Petman, Iohn Hewes,	Of the companie.

We brought home also two of the Sauages being lustie men, whose names were Wanchese and Manteo.

The voiage made by Sir Richard Greenuile,* for Sir Walter Ralegh, to Virginia, in the yeere 1585.

The 9. day of April, in the yeere abouesayd, we departed from Plymmouth, our Fleete consisting of the number of seuen sailes, to wit, the Tyger, of the burden of seuen score tunnes, a Flie-boat called the Roe-bucke, of the like burden, the Lyon of a hundred tunnes or thereabouts, the Elizabeth, of fiftie tunnes, and the

---

* This is the same Sir Richard Grenville whose heroic fight in the "Revenge" is so well known.

Dorothie, a small barke: whereunto were also adioyned for speedy seruices, two small pinnesses. The principall Gentlemen of our Companie, were these, M. Ralph Lane, M. Tomas Candish, M. Iohn Arundell, M. Raymund, M. Stukeley, M. Bremige, M. Vincent, and M. Iohn Clarke, and diuers others, whereof some were Captaines, and other some Assistants for counsell, and good directions in the voyage.

The 14. day of Aprill wee fell with Lancerota and Forteuentura, Isles of the Canaries, and from thence we continued our course for Dominica, one of the Antiles of the West India, wherewith we fell the 7. day of May, and the 10. day following wee came to an anker at Cotesa, a little Iland situate neere to the Iland of S. Iohn, where we landed, and refreshed our selues all that day.

The land vpon the Iland of S. Iohn de Porto Rico.

The 12. day of May wee came to an anker in the Bay of Moskito, in the Island of S. Iohn, within a Faulcon shot of the shoare: where our Generall Sir Richard Greeneuil, and the most part of our companie landed, and began to fortifie very neere to the Sea side: the riuer ran by the one side of our forte, and the other two sides were inuironed with woods.

The 13. day we began to build a new pinnesse within the Fort, with the timber that wee then felled in the countrey, some part whereof we fet three miles vp in the land, and brought it to our Fort vpon trucks, the Spaniard not daring to make or offer resistance.

The 16. day there appeared vnto vs out of the woods eight horsemen of the Spaniards, about a quarter of a mile from our Fort, staying about halfe an houre in viewing our forces: but assoone as they saw ten of our shot marching towards them, they presently retired into the woods.

The 19. day Master Candish, who had bene separated from our fleete in a storme in the Bay of Portugall, arriued at Cotesa, within the sight of the Tiger: we thinking him a farre off to have beene either a Spaniard or Frenchman of warre, thought it good to weigh ankers, and to goe roome with him, which the Tiger did, and discerned him at last to be one of our consorts, for ioy of whose comming our ships discharged their ordinance, and saluted him according to the maner of the Seas.

The 22. day twentie other Spanish horsemen shewed themselues to vs vpon the other side of the riuer: who beinge seene, our Generall dispatched 20. footemen towards them, and two horsmen of ours, mounted vpon Spanish horses, which wee before had taken in the time of our being on the Iland: they shewed to our men a flagge of truce, and made signes to haue a parle with vs: whereupon two of our men went halfe of the way vpon the sands, and two of theirs came and met them: the two Spaniards offered very great salutations to our men, but began according to their Spanish proud humors, to expostulate with them about their arriuall and fortifying in their countrey, who notwithstanding by our mens discreet answers were so cooled, that (whereas they were told, that our principall intention was onely to furnish our selues with water and victuales, and other necessaries, whereof we stood in neede, which we craued might be yeelded vs with faire and friendly meanes, otherwise our resolution was to practise force, and to relieue ourselues by the sworde) the Spaniards in conclusion seeing our men so resolute, yeelded to our requestes with large promises of all curtesie, and great faucur, and so our men and theirs departed.

The 23. day our pinnesse was finished, and launched: which being done, our Generall with his Captaines and Gentlemen, marched vp into the Countrey about the space of 4. miles, where in a plaine marsh they stayed expecting the comming of the Spaniards according to their promise, to furnish vs with victuals: who keeping their olde custome for periurie and breach of promise, came not, whereupon our Generall fired the woods thereabout, and so retired to our Fort, which the same day was fired also, and each man came aboord to be ready to set saile the next morning.

The 29.* day wee set saile from Saint Iohns, being many of vs stung before vpon shoare with the Muskitos: but the same night wee tooke a Spanish Frigat, which was forsaken by the Spaniards vpon the sight of vs, and the next day in the morning very early we tooke another Frigat, with good and rich fraight, and diuers Spaniards of account in her, which afterwards wee ransomed for good round summes, and landed them in S. Iohns.

The 26. day our Lieutenant Master Ralph Lane went in one of the Frigats which we had taken, to Roxo Bay vpon the Southwest side of Saint Iohn, to fetch salt, being thither conducted by a Spanish Pilot: as soone as hee arriued there, hee landed with his men to the number of 20. and intrenched himselfe vpon the sandes immediatly, compassing one of their salte hils within the trench: who being seene of the Spaniards, there came downe towardes him two or three troopes of horsemen and footemen, who gaue him the looking, and gazing on, but durst not come neere him to offer any resistance, so that Master Lane maugre their troopes, caryed their salte aboord and laded his Frigat, and so returned againe to our fleete the 27. day, which road at S. Germans Bay. The same day we all departed, and the next day arriued in the Iland of Hispaniola.

---

* Should be 24th.

Iune.

THe 1. day of Iune we anchored at Isabella, on the North side of Hispaniola.

The 3. of Iune, the Gouernour of Isabell, and Captaine of the Port de Plata, being certified by the reports of sundry Spaniards, who had beene well intertained aboord our shippes by our Generall, that in our fleete were many braue and gallant Gentlemen, who greatly desired to see the Gouernour aforesayd, he thereupon sent gentle commendations to our Generall, promising within fewe dayes to come to him in person, which he perfourmed accordingly.

The 5. day the aforesayd Gouernour accompanied with a lusty Fryer, and twenty other Spaniards, with their seruants, and Negroes, came downe to the Sea side, where our ships road at anker, who being seene, our Generall manned immediatly the most part of his boates with the chiefe men of our Fleete, euery man appointed, and furnished in the best sort: at the landing of our Generall, the Spanish Gouernour receiued him very courteously, and the Spanish Gentlemen saluted our English Gentlemen, and their inferiour sort did also salute our Souldiers and Sea men, liking our men, and likewise their qualities, although at the first they seemed to stand in feare of vs, and of so many of our boates whereof they desired that all might not land their men, yet in the end, the courtesies that passed on both sides were so great, that all feare and mistrust on the Spaniards part was abandoned.

In the meane time while our English Generall and the Spanish Gouernour discoursed betwixt them of diuers matters, as of the state of the Countrey, the multitude of the Townes and people, and the commodities of the Iland, our men prouided two banquetting houses couered with greene boughes, the one for the Gentlemen, the other for the seruants. and a sumptuous banquet was brought in serued by vs all in plate, with the sou̅d of trumpets, and consorte of musicke, wherwith the Spaniards were more then delighted. Which banquet being ended, the Spaniardes in recompence of our courtesie, caused a great heard of white buls, and kyne to be brought together from the mountaines, and appoynted for euery Gentleman and Captaine that would ride, a horse ready sadled, and then singled out three of the best of them to bee hunted by horsemen after their maner, so that the pastime grewe very pleasant for the space of three houres, wherein all three of the beasts were killed, whereof one tooke the Sea, and there was slaine with a musket. After this sport many rare presents and gifts were giuen and bestowed on both parts, and the next day wee played the Marchants in bargaining with them by way of trucke and exchange of diuers of their commodities, as horses, mares, kine, buls, goates, swine, sheepe, bull-hides, sugar, ginger, pearle, tobacco, and such like commodities of the Iland.

The 7. day we departed with great good will from the Spaniards from the Iland of Hispaniola: but the wiser sort doe impute this great shewe of friendship, and courtesie vsed towards vs by the Spaniards rather to the force that wee were of, and the vigilancie, and watchfulnesse that was amongst vs, then to any heartie good will, or sure friendly intertainement: for doubtlesse if they had bene stronger then wee, wee might haue looked for no better curtesie at their handes, then Master Iohn Haukins receiued at Saint John de Vllua, or Iohn Oxnam neere the streites of Dariene, and diuers others of our Countrymen in other places.

The 8. day wee ankered at a small Iland to take Seales, which in that place wee vnderstood to haue bene in great quantitie, where the Generall and certaine others with him in the pinnesse were in very great danger to haue beene all cast away, but by the helpe of God they escaped the hasard, and returned aboord the Admirall in safetie.

They land on the Iles of Caicos.

The 9. day we arriued and landed in the Isle of Caycos, in which Iland we searched for salte-pondes, vpon the aduertisement and information of a Portugall: who in deede abused our Generall and vs, deseruing a halter for his hire, if it had so pleased vs.

The 12. we ankered at Guanima, and landed.

The 15. and 16. we ankered and landed at Cyguateo.

The 20. we fell with the maine of Florida.

The 23. we were in great danger of a wracke on a breach called the Cape of Feare.*

They land in Florida.

The 24. we came to anker in a harbour, where we caught in one tyde so much fish as would haue yeelded vs twentie pounds in London: this was our first landing in Florida.

The 26. we came to anker at Wocokon.

The 29. wee weighed anker to bring the Tyger into the harbour, where through the vnskilfulnesse of the Master whose name was Fernando, the Admirall strooke on ground, and sunke.

Iuly.

The 3. we sent word of our arriuing at Wocokon, to Wingina at Roanoak.

The 6. M. Iohn Arundel was sent to the maine, and Manteo with him: and Captaine Aubry and Captaine Boniten the same day were sent to Croatoan, where they found two of our men left there with 30. other by Captaine Reymond, some 20. dayes before.

The 8. Captaine Aubry and Captaine Boniten returned, with two of our men found by them, to vs at Wocokon.

The 11. day the Generall accompanied in his Tilt boate with Master Iohn Arundell, Master Stukeley, and diuers other Gentlemen, Master Lane, Master Candish, Master Hariot, and twentie others in the new pinnesse, Captaine Amadas, Captaine Clarke, with ten others in a shipboat, Francis Brooke, and Iohn White in another ship-boate, passed ouer the water from Wocokon to the maine land victualled for eight dayes, in which voyage we first discouered the townes of Pomeiok, Aquascogoc and Secotan, and also the great lake called by the Sauages Paquique,† with diuers other places, and so returned with that discouery to our Fleete.

The 12. we came to the Towne of Pomeiok.

The 13. we passed by water to Aquascogok.

The 15. we came to Secotan, and were well entertained there of the Sauages.

The 16. wee returned thence, and one of our boates with the Admirall was sent to Aquascogok, to demaund a siluer cup which one of the Sauages had stollen from vs, and not receiuing it according to his promise, wee burnt, and spoyled their corne, and Towne, all the people being fled.

---

* Off Smith's Island.

† Probably Lake Matimuskeet.

The 18. we returned from the discouery of Secotan, and the same day came aboord our Fleete ryding at Wococon.

The 21. our Fleete ankering at Wococon, we weyed anker for Hatoraske.

The 27. our Fleete ankered at Hatorask, and there we rested.

The 29. Grangino brother to king Wingina came aboord the Admirall, and Manteo with him.

The 2. the Admirall was sent to Weapomeiok. August.

The 5. M. Iohn Arundell was sent for England.

The 25. our Generall weyed anker, and set saile for England.

About the 31. he tooke a Spanish ship of 300. tunne richly loaden, boording her with a boate made with boards of chests, which fell asunder, and sunke at the ships side, assoone as euer he and his men were out of it.

September. The 10. of September, by foule weather the Generall then shipped in the prize, lost sight of the Tyger.

October. The 6. the Tyger fell with the Landes end, and the same day came to anker at Falmouth.

The 18. the Generall came with the prize to Plymmouth, and was courteously receiued by diuers of his worshipfull friends.

The names of those as well Gentlemen as others, that remained one whole yeere in Virginia, vnder the Gouernement of Master Ralph Lane.

MAster Philip Amadas, Admirall of the countrey.
Master Edward Stafford.
Master Maruyn.
Captaine Vaughan.
Master Prideox.
Rise Courtney.
Master Thomas Haruie.
Master Anthony Russe.
Master Michael Polison.
Thomas Parre.
Geffery Churchman.
Iohn Taylor.
Master Hariot.
Master Acton.
Thomas Luddington.
Master Gardiner.
Master Kendall.
Robert Holecroft.
Master Hugh Roger.
Master Snelling.
Master Allyne.
Iohn Cage.
William Randes.
William Farthow.
Philip Robyns.

Thomas Philips.
Thomas Foxe.
Edward Nugen.
Iohn Gostigo.
Edward Ketcheman.
Thomas Rottenbury.
Iohn Harris.
Matthew Lyne.
Thomas Wisse.
William Backhouse.
Henry Potkin.
Ioseph Borges.
William Tenche.
Thomas Hulme.
Richard Gilbert.
Iohn Brocke.
Iames Steuenson.
Christopher Lowde.
Iames Mason.
Richard Ireland.
William Philips.
Iames Skinner.
Iohn Chandeler.
Richard Poore.
Marmaduke Constable.
William Wasse.
Daniel.
Richard Humfrey.
Gabriel North.
Richard Sare.
Smolkin.
Robert.
Roger Large.
Francis Whitton.
William Millard.
Edward Seclemore.
Christopher Marshall.
Nicholas Swabber.
Siluester Beching.
Hance Walters.
Thomas Skeuelabs.
Valentine Beale.
Darby Glande.
Edward Kelley.
Erasmus Clefs.
Iohn Linsey.
Roger Deane.
Francis Norris.
Edward Kettell.
Robert Biscombe.
William White.
Dennis Barnes.
Dougham Gannes.
Randall Latham.
Walter Mill.
Steuen Pomarie.
Bennet Harrie.
Charles Steuenson.
Ieremie Man.
Dauid Salter.
Thomas Bookener.
Randall Mayne.
George Eseuen.
Philip Blunt.
Robert Yong.
Thomas Hesket.
Iohn Feuer.
Thomas Taylor.
Iohn Wright.
Bennet Chappell.
Iames Lacie.
Thomas Smart.
Iohn Euans.
Humfrey Garden.
Rowland Griffyn.
Iohn Twit.
Iohn Anwike.
Dauid Williams.
Edward Chipping.
Vincent Cheyne.
Edward Barecombe.
William Walters.

An extract of Master Ralph Lanes letter to M. Richard Hakluyt Esquire, and another Gentleman of the middle Temple, from Virginia.

IN the meane while you shall vnderstand, that since Sir Richard Greenuils departure from vs, as also before, we haue discouered the maine to be the goodliest soyle vnder the cope of heauen, so abounding with sweete trees, that bring such sundry rich and pleasant gummes, grapes of such greatenesse, yet wilde, as France, Spaine nor Italie haue no greater, so many sortes of Apothecarie drugs, such seuerall kindes of flaxe, and one kind like silke, the same gathered of a grasse, as common there, as grasse is here. And nowe within these few dayes we haue found here Maiz or Guinie wheate, whose eare yeeldeth corne for bread 400. vpon one eare, and the Cane maketh very good and perfect sugar, also Terra Samia, otherwise Terra sigillata. Besides that, it is the goodliest and most pleasing Territorie of the world: for the continent is of an huge and vnknowen greatnesse, and very well peopled and towned, though sauagely, and the climate so wholsome, that wee had not one sicke since we touched the land here. To conclude, if Virginia had but horses and kine in some reasonable proportion, I dare assure my selfe, being inhabited with English, no realme in Christendome were comparable to it. For this already we finde, that what commodities soeuer Spaine, France, Italy, or the East partes doe yeeld vnto vs, in wines of all sortes, in oyles, in flaxe, in rosens, pitch, frankensence, corrans, sugers, and such like, these partes, doe abound with the growth of them all, but being Sauages that possess the land, they know no vse of the same. And sundry other rich commodities, that no parts of the world, be they West or East Indies, haue, here wee finde great abundance of. The people naturally are most curteous, and very desirous to haue clothes, bvt especially of course cloth rather then silke, course canuas they also like well of, but copper caryeth the price of all, so it be made red. Thus good M. Hakluyt and M. H. I haue inioyned you both in one letter of remembrance, as two that I loue dearely well, and commending me most heartily to you both I commit you to the tuition of the Almightie. From the New Fort in Virginia, this third of September, 1585.

The rich and manifold commodities of Virginia.

Commodities fit to carie to Virginia.

Your most assured friend.

RALPH LANE.

An account of the particularities of the imployments of the English men left in Virginia by Richard Greeneuill vnder the charge of Master Ralph Lane Generall of the same, from the 17. of August 1585. vntil the 18. of Iune 1586. at which time they departed the Countrey; sent and directed to Sir Walter Ralegh.

THat I may proceede with order in this discourse, I thinke it requisite to diuide it into two parts. The first shall declare the particularities of such partes of the Countrey within the maine, as our weake number, and supply of things necessarie did inable vs to enter into the discouery of.

2 parts of this discourse.

The second part shall set downe the reasons generally mouing vs to resolue on our departure at the instant with the Generall Sir Francis Drake, and our common request for passage with him, when the barkes, pinnesses, and boates with the Masters and Mariners meant by him to bee left in the Countrey, for the supply of such, as for a further time meant to haue stayed there, were caryed away with tempest and foule weather: In the beginning whereof shall bee declared the conspiracie of Pemisapan, with the Sauages of the maine to have cut vs off, &c.

The first part declaring the particularities of the Countrey of Virginia.

FIrst therefore touching the particularities of the Countrey, you shall vnderstand that our discouerie of the same hath beene extended from the Island of Roanoak, (the same hauing bene the place of our settlement or habitation) into the South, into the North, into the Northwest, and into the West.

The vttermost place to the Southward of any discouery was Secotan, being by estimation fourescore miles distant from Roanoak. The passage from thence was through a broad sound within the mayne, the same being without kenning of lande, and yet full of flats and shoalds:* we had but one boate with four oares to passe through the same, which boate could not carry aboue fifteene men with their furniture, baggage, and victuall for seuen dayes at the most: and as for our pinesse, besides that she drew too deep water for that shallow sound, she would not stirre for an oare: for these and other reasons (winter also being at hand) we thought good wholly to leeue the discouery of those parts vntill our stronger supply.

---

* Pamlico Sound.

To the Northward our furthest discouery was to the Chesepians[*] distant from Roanoak about 130. miles, the passage to it was very shallow and most dangerous, by reason of the bredth of the sound, and the little succour that vpon any flawe was there to be had.

The excellencie of the seat of Chesepioock.

But the Territorie and soyle of the Chesepians (being distant fifteene miles from the shore) was for pleasantnes of seat, for temperature of Climate, for fertilitie of soyle and for the commoditie of the Sea, besides multitude of Beares (being an excellent good victuall) with great woods of Sassafras, and Wallnut trees, is not to be excelled by any other whatsoeuer.

There be sundry Kings, whom they call Weroances, and Countreys of great fertility adioyning to the same, as the Mandoages, Tripanicks, and Opossians, which all came to visite the Colonie of the English, which I had for a time appointed to be resident there.

To the Northwest the farthest place of our discouery was to Chawanook distant from Roanoak about 130. miles. Our passage thither lyeth through a broad sound,[†] but all fresh water, and the chanell of a great depth, nauigable for good shipping, but out of the chanell full of shoalds.

The Townes about the waters side situated by the way are these following: Passaquenoke The womans Towne, Chepanoc, Weapomeiok, Muscamunge, and Metackwem: all these being vnder the iurisdiction of the king of Weopomeiok, called Okisco: From Muscamunge we enter into the Riuer,[‡] and iurisdiction of Chawanook: There the Riuer beginneth to straighten vntil it come to Chawanook, and then groweth to be as narrow as the Thames betweene Westminster and Lambeth.

Betwene Muscamunge and Chawanook vpon the left hand as wee passe thither, is a goodly high land, and there is a Towne which we called The blinde Towne, but the Sauages called it

---

[*] Chesapeake Bay.

[†] Albemarle Sound.

[‡] River Meherrin?

Ohanoak, and hath a very goodly corne field belonging vnto it: it is subiect to Chawanook.

The towne of Chawanook able to make 700. men of warre.

Chawanook it selfe is the greatest Prouince and Seigniorie lying vpon that Riuer, and that the Towne it selfe is able to put 700. fighting men into the fielde, besides the force of the Prouince it selfe.

The king of the sayd Prouince is called Menatonon, a man impotent in his lims, but otherwise for a Sauage, a very graue and wise man, and of a very singular good discourse in matters concerning the state, not onely of his owne Countrey, and the disposition of his owne men, but also of his neighbours round about him as well farre as neere, and of the commodities that eache Countrey yeeldeth. When I had him prisoner with me, for two dayes that we were together, he gaue mee more vnderstanding and light of the Countrey then I had receiued by all the searches and Sauages that before I or any of my companie had had conference with: it was in March last past 1586. Amongst other things he tolde me, that going three dayes iourney in a Canoe vp his Riuer of Chawanook, and then descending to the land, you are within foure dayes iourney to passe ouer land Northeast to a certaine kings countrey, whose Prouince lyeth vpon the Sea, but his place of greatest strength is an Island situate, as he described vnto mee, in a Bay, the water round about the Island very deepe.

Pearles in exceeding quantitie.

Out of this Bay hee signified vnto mee, that this King had so greate quantitie of Pearle, and doeth so ordinarily take the same, as that not onely his owne skinnes that hee weareth, and the better sort of his gentlemen and followers are full set with the sayd Pearle, but also his beds, and houses are garnished with them, and that hee hath such quantitie of them, that it is a wonder to see.

He shewed me that the sayd King was with him at Chawanook two yeeres before, and brought him certaine Pearle, but the same of the worst sort, yet was he faine to buy them of him for copper at a deere rate, as he thought. Hee gaue mee a rope of the same pearle, but they were blacke, and naught, yet many of them were very great, and a few amongst a number very orient and round, all which I lost with other things of mine, comming aboord Sir Francis Drake his Fleete; yet he tolde me that the sayd King had great store of Pearle that were white, great, and round, and that his blacke Pearle his men did take out of shallow water, but the white Pearle his men fished for in very deepe water.

It seemed to me by his speach, that the sayd King had traffique with white men that had clothes as we haue, for these white Pearle, and that was the reason that hee would not depart with other then with blacke Pearles, to those of the same countrey.

The king of Chawanook promised to giue me guids to go ouer land into that kings countrey whensoeuer I would: but he aduised me to take good store of men with me, and good store of victuall, for he said, that king would be loth to suffer any strangers to enter into his Countrey, and especially to meddle with the fishing for any Pearle there, and that hee was able to make a great many of men in to the field, which he sayd would fight very well.

Hereupon I resolued with my selfe, that if your supplie had come before the ende of Aprill, and that you had sent any store of boates or men, to haue had them made in any reasonable time, with a sufficient number of men and victuals to haue found vs vntill the newe corne were come in, I would haue sent a small barke with two pinnesses about by Sea to the Northward to haue found out the Bay he spake of, and to haue sounded the barre if there were any, which should haue ridden there in the sayd Bay about that Iland, while I with all the small boates I could make, and with two hundred men would haue gone vp to the head of the riuer of Chawanook with the guids that Menatonon would haue giuen me, which I would haue bene assured should haue beene of his best men, (for I had his best beloued sonne prisoner with me) who also should haue kept me companie in an handlocke with the rest, foote by foote, all the voyage ouer land.

An enterprise of speciall importance.

My meaning was further at the head of the Riuer in the place of my descent where I would haue left my boates, to haue raised a sconse with a small trench, and a pallisado vpon the top of it, in the which, and in the guard of my boates I would haue left fiue and twentie, or thirtie men, with the rest would I haue marched with as much victuall as euery man could haue caried, with their furniture, mattocks, spades and axes, two dayes iourney. In the ende of my march vpon some conuenient plot would I haue raised another sconse according to the former, where I would haue left fiftene or twentie. And if it would haue fallen out conueniently, in the way I would haue raised my saide sconse vpon some Corne fielde, that my company might haue liued vpon it.

Whither M. Ralfe Lane meant to remoue.

And so I would haue holden this course of insconsing euery two dayes march, vntill I had bene arriued at the Bay or Port hee spake of: which finding to bee worth the possession, I would there haue raised a maine fort, both for the defence of the harborough, and our shipping also, and would haue reduced our whole habitation from Roanoak and from the harborough and port there (which by proofe is very naught) vnto this other before mentioned, from whence, in the foure dayes march before specified, could I at al times returne with my company back vnto my boates riding vnder my sconse, very neere whereunto directly from the West runneth a most notable Riuer, and in all those parts most famous, called the Riuer of Moratoc.* This Riuer openeth into the broad Sound of Weapomeiok.† And whereas the Riuer of Chawanook, and all the other Sounds, and Bayes, salt and fresh, shewe no current in the world in calme weather, but are mooued altogether with the winde: This Riuer of Moratoc hath so violent a current from the West and Southwest, that it made me almost of opinion that with oares it would scarse be nauigable: it passeth with many creekes and turnings, and for the space of thirtie miles rowing, and more, it is as broad as the Thames betwixt Green-wich and the Isle of dogges, in some places more, and in some lesse: the current runneth as strong, being entred so high into the Riuer, as at London bridge vpon a vale water.

And for that not onely Menatonon, but also the Sauages of Moratoc themselues doe report strange things of the head of that Riuer, it is thirtie dayes as some of them say, and some say fourtie dayes voyage to the head thereof, which head they say springeth out of a maine rocke in that abundance, that forthwith it maketh a most violent streame: and further, that this huge rock standeth so neere vnto a Sea, that many times in stormes (the winde comming outwardly from the sea) the waues thereof are beaten into the said fresh streame, so that the fresh water for a certaine space, groweth salt and brackish: I tooke a resolution with my selfe, hauing dismissed Menatonon vpon a ransome agreed for, and sent his sonne into the Pinnesse to Roanoak, to enter presently so farre into that Riuer with two double whirries, and fourtie persons one or other, as I could haue victuall to cary vs, vntil we could meete with more either of the Moraroks, or of the Mangoaks, which is another kinde of Sauages, dwelling more to the Westward of the said Riuer: but the hope of recouering more victuall from the Sauages made mee and my company as narrowly to escape staruing in that discouerie before our returne, as euer men did, that missed the same.

---

* River Appomatox?
† James River?

Wingina changeth his name.

For Pemisapan, who had changed his name of Wingina vpon the death of his brother Granganimo, had giuen both the Choanists, and Mangoaks worde of my purpose towarde them, I hauing bene inforced to make him priuie to the same, to bee serued by him of a guide to the Mangoaks, and yet hee did neuer rest to solicite continually my going vpon them, certifying mee of a generall assembly euen at that time made by Menatonon at Chawanook of all his Weroances, and allies to the number of three thousand bowes, preparing to come vpon vs at Roanoak, and that the Mangoaks also were ioyned in the same confederacie, who were able of themselnes to bring as many more to the enterprise: And true it was that at that time the assembly was holden at Chawanook about vs, as I found at my comming thither, which being vnlooked for dido dismay them, as it made vs haue the better hand at them. But this confederacie against vs of the Choanists and Mangoaks was altogether and wholly procured by Pemisapan himselfe, as Menatonon confessed vnto me, who sent them continual word, that our purpose was fully bent to destroy them: on the other side he told me, that they had the like meaning towards vs.

Conspiracie of the Sauages against the English.

Hee in like sort hauing sent worde to the Mangoaks of mine intention to passe vp into their Riuer, and to kill them (as he saide) both they and the Moratoks, with whom before wee were entred into a league, and they had euer dealt kindly with vs, abandoned their Townes along the Riuer, and retired themselues with their * Crenepos, and their Corne within the maine: insomuch as hauing passed three dayes voyage vp the River, wee could not meete a man, nor finde a graine of Corne in any of their Townes: whereupon considering with my selfe that wee had but two dayes victuall left, and that wee were then 160. miles from home, besides casualtie of contrarie windes or stormes, and suspecting treason of our

* Their women.

owne Sauages in the discouerie of our voyage intended, though wee had no intention to bee hurtfull to any of them, otherwise then for our copper to haue had corne of them: I at night vpon the Corps of guard, before the putting foorth of Centinels, aduertised the whole company of the case wee stoode in for victuall, and of mine opinion that we were betrayed by our owne Sauages, and of purpose drawen foorth by them vpon vaine hope to be in the ende starued, seeing all the Countrey fled before vs, and therefore while wee had those two dayes victual left, I thought it good for vs to make our returne homeward, and that it were necessary for vs to get the other side of the Sound of Weopomeiok in time, where wee might be relieued vpon the weares of Chypanum, and the womens Towne, although the people were fled.

Thus much I signified vnto them, as the safest way: neuerthelesse I did referre it to the greatest number of voyces, whether wee should aduenture the spending of our whole victuall in some further viewe of that most goodly Riuer in hope to meete with some better happe, or otherwise to retire our selues backe againe. And for that they might be the better aduised, I willed them to deliberate all night vpon the matter, and in the morning at our going aborde to set our course according to the desires of the greatest part. Their resolution fully and wholy was (and not three founde to bee of the contrary opinion) that whiles there was lefte but one halfe pinte of Corne for a man, wee should not leaue the search of that Riuer, and that there were in the companie two Mastiues vpon the pottage of which with Sassafras leaues (if the worst fell out) the company would make shift to liue two dayes, which time would bring them downe the current to the mouth of the Riuer, and to the entrie of the Sound, and in two dayes more at the farthest they hoped to crosse the Sound and to bee relieued by the weares, which two dayes they would fast rather then be drawen backe a foote till they had seene the Mangoaks, either as friendes or foes. This resolution of theirs did not a little please mee, since it came of themselues, although for mistrust of that which afterwards did happen, I pretended to haue bene rather of the contrary opinion.

And that which made me most desirous to haue some doings with the Mangoaks either in friendship or otherwise to haue had one or two of them prisoners, was, for that it is a thing most notorious to all the countrey, that there is a Prouince to the which the said Mangoaks haue recourse and trafique vp that

Riuer of Moratoc, which hath a marueilous and most strange Minerall. This Mine is so notorious amongst them, as not onely to to the Sauages dwelling vp the said riuer, and also to the Sauages of Chawanook, and all them to the Westward, but also to all them of the maine: the Countreis name is of fame, and is called Chaunis Temoatan.

A marueilous Mineral in the countrey of Caunis Temoatan.

The Minerall they say is Wassador, which is copper, but they call by the name of Wassador euery mettall whatsoeuer: they say it is of the colour of our copper, but our copper is better then theirs: and the reason is for that it is redder and harder, whereas that of Chaunis Temoatan is very soft, and pale: they say that they take the saide mettall out of a riuer that falleth very swift from hie rockes and hils, and they take it in shallow water: the maner is this. They take a great bowle by their description as great as one of our targets, and wrappe a skinne ouer the hollow parte thereof, leauing one part open to receiue in the minerall: that done, they watch the comming downe of the current, and the change of the colour of the water, and then suddenly chop downe the said bowle with the skinne, and receiue into the same as much oare as will come in, which is euer as much as their bowle will holde, which presently they cast into a fire, and foorthwith it melteth, and doeth yeeld in fiue parts at the first melting, two parts of mettall for three partes of oare. Of this mettall the Mangoaks haue so great store, by report of all the Sauages adioyning, that they beautify their houses with greate plates of the same: and this to be true, I receiued by report of all the countrey, and prrticularly by yong Skiko, the King of Chawanooks sonne of my prisoner, who also him selfe had bene prisoner with the Mangoaks, nnd set downe all the particularities to me before mentioned: but he had not bene at Chaunis Temoatan himselfe: for hee said it was twentie dayes iourney ouerland from the Mangoaks, to the said Minerall Countrey, and that they passed through certaine other territories betweene them and the Mangoaks, before they came to the said Countrey.

Vpon report of the premisses, which I was very inquisitive in all places where I came to take very particular information of by all the Sauages that dwelt towardes these parts, and especially of Menatonon himselfe, who in euery thing did very particularly informe mee, and promised me guides of his owne men, who should passe ouer with me, euen to the said Country of Chaunis

Temoatan (for ouerland from Chawanook to the Mangoaks is but one dayes iourney from Sunne rising to Sunne setting, whereas by water it is seuen dayes with the soonest: These things, I say, made me very desirous by all meanes possible to recouer the Mangoaks, and to get some of that their copper for an assay, and therefore I willingly yeelded to their resolution: But it fell out very contrary to all expectation, and likelyhood: for after two dayes trauell, and our whole victuall spent, lying on shoare all night, wee could neuer see man, onely fires we might perceiue made alongst the shoare where we were to passe, and vp into the Country, vntill the very last day. In the euening whereof, about three of the clocke wee heard certaine Sauages call as we thought, Manteo, who was also at that time with me in the boat, whereof we all being very glad, hoping of some friendly conference with them, and making him to answere them, they presently began a song, as we thought, in token of our welcome to them: but Manteo presently betooke him to his piece, and tolde mee that they meant to fight with vs: which word was not so soon spoken by him, and the light horseman ready to put to shoare, but there lighted a vollie of their arrowes amongst them in the boat, but did no hurt (God be thanked) to any man. Immediatly, the other boate lying ready with their shot to skoure the place for our hand weapons to lande vpon, which was presently done, although the land was very high and steepe, the Sauages forthwith quitted the shoare, and betooke themselues to flight: wee landed, and hauing faire and easily followed for a smal time after them, who had wooded themselues we know not where: the Sunne drawing then towards the setting, and being then assured that the next day if wee would pursue them, though we might happen to meete with them, yet wee should be assured to meete with none of their victuall, which we then had good cause to thinke of: therefore choosing for the company a conuenient ground in safetie to lodge in for the night, making a strong Corps of guard, and putting out good Centinels, I determined the next morning before the rising of the Sunne to be going back againe, if possibly we might recoue the mouth of the riuer, into the broad sound, which at my firste motion I found my whole company ready to assent vnto: for they were nowe come to their Dogges porredge, that they had bespoken for themselues if that befell them which did, and I before did mistrust we should hardly escape. The ende was, we came the next day by night to the Riuers mouth within foure or fiue miles of the same, hauing rowed in one day downe the current, much as in foure dayes wee had done against the same: we lodged vpon an Iland, where wee had nothing in the world to eate but pottage of Sassafras leaues, the like whereof for a meate was neuer used before as I thinke The broad sound wee had to passe the next day all fresh and fasting: that day the winde blew so strongly] and the billow so great, that there was no possibilitie of passage without sinking of our boates. This was vpon Easter eue, which was fasted very truely. Vpon Easter day in the morning the winde comming very calme, we entred the sound, and by foure of the clocke we were at Chipanum, whence all the Sauages that we had left there were left, but their weares did yeeld vs some fish, as God was pleased not vtterly to suffer vs to be lost: for some of our company of the light horsemen were farre spent. The next morning wee arriued at our home Roanoak.

I haue set downe this Voyage somewhat particularly, to the ende it may appeare vnto you, (as true it is) that there wanted no great good will from the most to the least amongst vs, to haue perfited this discouerie of the Mine: for that the discouery of a good Mine, by the goodnesse of God, or a passage to the South-sea, or some way to it, and nothing els can bring this Countrey in request to be inhabited by our nation. And with the discouery of either of the two aboue shewed, it will bee the most sweet and healthfullest climate, and therewithall the most fertile soyle (being manured) in the world: and then will Sassafras, and many other rootes and gummes there found make good marchandise and lading for shipping, which otherwise of themselues will not be worth fetching.

Prouided also, that there be found out a better harborough then yet there is, which must be to the Northward, if any there bee, which was mine intention to haue spent this Summer in the search of, and of the Mine of Chawnis Temoatan: the one I would haue done, if the barkes that I should haue had of Sir Frencis Drake, by his honourable courtesie, had not bene driuen away by storme: the other if your supply of more men, and some other necessaries had come to vs in any conuenient sufficiencie. For this riuer of Moratico promiseth great things, and by the opinion of M. Hariots the head of it by the description of the Countrey, either riseth from the Bay of Mexico, or els from very neere vnto the same, that openeth out into the South sea.

And touching the Minerall, thus doeth M. Youghan affirme, that though it be but copper, seeing the Sauages are able to melt it, it is one of the richest Minerals in the world.

Wherefore a good harborough found to the Northward, as before is saide, and from thence foure dayes ouerland, to the Riuer of Choanoak sconses being raised, from whence againe ouerland through the prouince of Choanoak one dayes voyage to the first towne of the Mangoaks vp the riuer of Moratico by the way, as also vpon the said Riuer for the defence of our boats like sconses being set, in this course of proceeding you shall cleare your selfe from al those dangers and broad shallow sounds before mentioned, and gaine within foure dayes trauell into the heart of the maine 200. miles at the least, and so passe your discouery into that most notable countrey, and to the likeliest parts of the maine, with farre greater felicitie then otherwise can bee performed.

Thus Sir, I haue though simply, yet truely set downe vnto you, what my labour with the rest of the gentlemen, and poore men of our company (not without both paine and perill, which the Lord in his mercy many wayes deliuered vs from) could yeeld vnto you, which might haue bene performed in some more perfection, if the Lord had bene pleased that onely that which you had prouided for vs had at the first bene left with vs, or that hee had not in his eternall prouidence now at the last set some other course in these things, than the wisedome of man coulde looke into, which truely the carying away by a most strange and vnlooked for storme of all our prouision, with Barks, Master, Mariners, and sundry also of mine owne company, al hauing bene so courteously supplied by the generall Sir Francis Drake, the same hauing bene most sufficient to haue performed the greatest part of the premisses, must euer make me to thinke the hand of God onely (for some his good purpose to my selfe yet vnknowen) to haue bene in the matter.

The second part touching the conspiracie of Pemisapan, the discouery of the same, and at the last, of our request to depart with Sir Francis Drake for England.

ENsenore a Sauage father to Pemisapan being the onely friend to our nation that we had amongest them, and about the King, died the 20. of April 1586. He alone had before opposed himselfe in their consultations against all matters proposed against vs, which both the King and all the rest of them after Grangemoes death, were very willing to haue preferred. And he was not onely by the meere prouidence of God during his life, a meane to saue vs from hurt, as poysonings and such like, but also to doe vs very great good, and singularly in this.

The King was advised and of himselfe disposed, as a ready meane to haue assuredly brought vs to ruine in the moneth of March 1586. himselfe also with all his Sauages to haue runne away from vs, and to haue left his ground in the Iland vnsowed: which if hee had done, there had bene no possibilitie in common reason, (but by the immediate hande of God) that wee could haue bene preserued from staruing out of hande. For at that time wee had no weares for fish, neither coulde our men skill of the making of them, neither had wee one graine of Corne for seede to put into the ground.

This skill of making weares would be learned.

In mine absence on my voyage that I had made against the Chaonists, and Mangoaks, they had raised a brute among themselues, that I and my company were part slaine, and part starued by the Chaonists, and Mangoaks. One part of this tale was too true, that I and mine were like to be starued, but the other false.

Neuerthelesse vntill my returne it tooke such effect in Pemisapans breast, and in those against vs, that they grew not onely into contempt of vs, but also (contrary to their former reuerend opinion in shew, of the Almightie God of heauen, and Iesus Christ whom wee serue and worship, whom before they would acknowledge and confesse the onely God) now they began to blaspheme, and flatly to say, that our Lorde God was not God, since hee suffered vs to sustaine much hunger, and also to be killed of the Renapoaks, for so they call by that generall name all the inhabitants of the whole maine, of what prouince soeuer. Insomuch as olde Enscnore, neither any of his fellowes, could for his sake haue no more credite for vs: and it came so farre that the king was resolued to haue presently gone away as is aforesaid.

But euen in the beginning of this bruite I returned, which when hee sawe contrary to his expectation, and the aduertisement that hee had receiued: that not onely my selfe, and my company were all safe, but also by report of his owne 3. Sauages which had bene with mee besides Manteo in that voyage, that is to say, Tetepano, his sisters husband Eracano, and Cossiné, that the Chanoists and Mangoaks (whose name and multitude besides their valour is terrible to all the rest of the prouinces) durst not for the most part of them abide vs, and that those that did abide vs were killed, and that we had taken Menatonon prisoner, and brought his sonne that he best loued to Roanoak with mee, it did not a little asswage all deuises against vs: on the other side, it made Ensenores opinions to be receiued againe with greater respects. For he had often before tolde them, and then renewed those his former speeches, both to the King and the rest, that wee were the seruants of God, and that wee were not subiect to bee destroyed by them: but contrarywise, that they amongst them that sought our destruction, shoulde finde their owne, and not bee able to worke ours, and that we being dead men were able to doe them more hurt, then now we could do being aliue: an opinion very confidently at this day holden by the wisest amongst them, and of their old men, as also, that they haue bene in the night, being 100. miles from any of vs, in the aire shot at, and stroken by some men of ours, that by sicknesse had died among them: and many of them holde opinion, that we be dead men returned into the world againe, and that wee doe not remaine dead but for a certaine time, and that then we returne againe.

All these speeches then againe grewe in ful credite with them, the King, and all, touching vs, when hee sawe the small troupe returned againe, and in that sort from those whose very names were terrible vnto them: But that which made vp the matter on our side for that time was an accident, yea rather (as all the rest was) the good prouidence of the Almightie for the sauing of vs, which was this.

Within certaine dayes after my returne from the sayd iourney, Menatonon sent a messenger to visite his sonne the prisoner with me, and sent me certaine pearle for a present, or rather, as Pemisapan tolde mee, for the ransome of his sonne, and therefore I refused them: but the greatest cause of his sending then, was to signifie vnto mee, that hee had commaunded Okisko King of Weopomiok, to yeelde himselfe seruant, and homager, to the great Weroanza of England, and after her to Sir Walter Raleigh: to perfourme which commandement receiued from Menatonon, the sayde Okiosko ioyntly with this Menatonons messenger sent foure and twentie of his principallest men to Roanoak to Pemisapan, to signifie that they were ready to perfourme the same, and so had sent those his men to let mee knowe that from that time forwarde, hee, and his successours were to acknowledge her Maiestie their onely Soueraigne, and next vnto her, as is aforesayd.

All which being done, and acknowledged by them all, in the presence of Pemisapan his father, and all his Sauages in counsell then with him, it did for the time thorowly (as it seemed) change him in disposition toward vs: Insomuch as forthwith Ensenore wanne this resolution of him, that out of hand he should goe about, and withall, to cause his men to set vp weares foorthwith for vs: both which he at that present went in hande withall, and did so labour the expedition of it, that in the end of April he had sowed a good quantitie of ground, so much as had bene sufficient, to haue fed our whole company (God blessing the grouth) and that by the belly, for a whole yere: besides that he gaue vs a certaine plot of ground for our selues to sowe. All which put vs in marueilous comfort, if we could passe from Aprill vntill the beginning of Iuly, (which was to haue bene the beginning of their haruest,) that then a newe supply out of England or else our owne store would well ynough maintaine vs: All our feare was of the two moneths betwixt, in which meane space if the Sauages should not helpe vs with Chassaui, and Chyna, and that our weares should faile vs, (as often they did) we might very well starue, notwithstanding the growing corne, like the staruing horse in the stable, with the growing grasse, as the prouerbe is: which wee very hardly had escaped, but onely by the hand of God, as it pleased him to try vs. For within few dayes after, as before is saide, Ensenore our friend died, who was no sooner dead, but certaine of our great enemies about Pemisapan, as Osacan a Weroance, Tanaquiny and Wanchese most principally, were in hand againe to put their old practises in vre against vs, which were readily imbraced, and all their former deuises against vs, reneued, and new brought in question. But that of staruing vs, by their forbearing to sow, was broken by Ensenore in his life, by hauing made the King all at one instant to sow his ground, not onely in the Iland, but also at Dasamonquepeio in the maine, within two leagues ouer against vs. Neuerthelesse there wanted no store of mischieuous practises among them, and of all they resolued principally of this following.

The beginning of their haruest in Iuly.

The conspiracie of Pemisapan.

First that Okisko king of Weopomeiok with the Mandoages should bee mooued, and with great quantitie of copper intertained to the number of 7. or 8. hundreth bowes, to enterprise the matter thus to be ordered. They of Weopomeiok should be inuited to a certaine kind of moneths minde which they doe vse to solemnise in their Sauage maner for any great personage dead, and should haue bene for Ensenore. At this instant also should the Mandoaks, who were a great people, with the Chesepians and their friends to the number of 700. of them, be armed at a day appointed to the maine of Dasamonquepeio, and there lying close at the signe of fires, which should interchangeably be made on both sides, when Pemisapan with his troupe aboue named should haue executed me, and some of our Weroances (as they called all our principall officers,) the maine forces of the rest should haue come ouer into the Island, where they went to haue dispatched the rest of the company, whom they did imagine to finde both dismayed and dispersed abroad in the Island, seeking of crabs and fish to liue withall. The maner of their enterprise was this.

The forme of the treason.

Tarraquine and Andacon two principall men about Pemisapan, and very lustie fellowes, with twentie more appointed to them had the charge of my person to see an order taken for the same, which they ment should in this sort haue bene executed. In the dead time of the night they would haue beset my house, and put fire in the reedes that the same was couered with: meaning (as it was likely) that my selfe would haue come running out of a sudden amazed in my shirt without armes, vpon the instant whereof they would haue knocked out my braines.

The sufficiencie of our men to deal against the Sauages. 10 to an hundred.

The same order was giuen to certaine of his fellowes, for M. Heriots: so for all the rest of our better sort, all our houses at one instant being set on fire as afore is saide, and that as well for them of the fort, as for vs at the towne. Now to the ende that we might be the fewer in number together, and so bee the more easily dealt withall (for in deed tenne of vs with our armes prepared, were a terrour to a hundred of the best sort of them,) they agreed and did immediatly put it in practise, that they should not for any copper sell vs any victuals whatsoeuer: besides that in the night they should sende to haue our weares robbed, and also to cause them to bee broken, and once being broken neuer to bee repaired againe by them. By this meanes the King stood assured, that I must bee enforced for lacke of sustenance there, to disband my company into sundry places to liue vpon shell fish, for so the Sauages themselues doe, going to Hatorask, Croatoan, and other places, fishing and hunting, while their grounds be in sowing, and their corne growing: which failed not his expectation. For the famine grew so extreeme among vs, our weares failing vs of fish, that I was enforced to sende Captaine Stafford with 20. with him to Croatoan my Lord Admirals Iland to serue two turnes in one, that is to say, to feede himselfe and his company, and also to keepe watch if any shipping came vpon the coast to warne vs of the same. I sent M. Pridiox with the pinnesse to Hatorask, and ten with him, with the Prouost Marshal to liue there, and also to wait for shipping: also I sent euery weeke 16. or 20. of the rest of the company to the maine ouer against vs, to liue of Casada and oysters.

In the meane while Pemisapan, went of purpose to Dasamonquepeio for three causes: The one to see his grounds there broken vp, and sowed for a second crop: the other to withdrawe himselfe from my dayly sending to him for supply of victuall for my company, for hee was afraid to deny me any thing, neither durst hee in my presence but by colour and with excuses, which I was content to accept for the time, meaning in the ende as I had reason to giue him the iumpe once for all: but in the meane whiles, as I had euer done before, I and mine bare all wrongs, and accepted of all excuses.

My purpose was to haue relied my selfe with Menatonon, and the Chaonists, who in trueth as they are more valiant people and in greater number then the rest, so are they more faithfull in their promises, and since my late being there had giuen many tokens of earnest desire they had to ioyne in perfect league with vs, and therefore were greatly offended with Pemisapan and Weopomeiok for making him beleeue such tales of vs.

The third cause of his going to Dasamonquepeio was to dispatch his messengers to Weopomeiok, and to the Mandoages, as aforesaid, : all which he did with great imprest of copper in hand, making large promises to them of greater spoile.

The answere within few dayes after came from Weopomeiok, which was deuided into two parts. First for the King Okisko, who denied to be of the partie for himselfe, or any of his especiall followers, and therefore did immediatly retire himselfe with his force into the maine: the other was concerning the rest of the prouince who accepted of it: and in like sort the Mandoags receiued the imprest.

The day of their assembly aforesaid at Roanoak was appointed the 10. of June: all which the premises were discouered by Skyco, the King Menatonon his sonne my prisoner, who hauing once attempted to run away, I laid him in the bylboes, threatening to cut off his head, whom I remitted at Pemisapans request: whereupon hee being perswaded that hee was our enemie to the death, he did not onely feed him with himselfe, but also made him acquainted with all his practises. On the other side, the yong man finding himselfe as well vsed at my hande, as I had meanes to shew, and that all my company made much of him, he flatly discouered al vnto me, which also afterwards was reueiled vnto me by one of Pemisapans owne men, that night before he was slaine.

These mischiefes being all instantly vpon me and my company to be put in execution, it stood mee in hand to study howe to prevent them, and also to saue all others, which were at that time as aforesaid so farre from me: whereupon I sent to Pemisapan to put suspition out of his head, that I meant presently to go to Croatoan, for that I had heard of the arriual of our fleete, (though I in trueth had neither heard nor hoped for so good adventure,) and that I meant to come by him, to borrow of his men to fish for my company, and to hunt for me at Croatoan, as also to buy some foure dayes prouision to serue for my voyage.

He sent me word that he would himselfe come ouer to Roanoak, but from day to day he deferred, onely to bring the Weopomeioks with him and the Mandoags, whose time appointed was within eight dayes after. It was the last of May 1586 when all his owne Sauages began to make their assembly at Roanoak, at his commandement sent abroad vnto them, and I resolued not to stay longer vpon his comming ouer, since he meant to come with so good company, but thought good to go and visit him with such as I had, which I resolued to do the next day: but that night I meant to giue them in the Iland a camisado,* and at the instant to seize vpon all the canoas about the Island, to keepe him from aduertisements.

---

* Night surprise. So called from having been made by horsemen with white shirts over their armour so as to recognise each other in the darkness.

But the towne tooke the alarme before I meant it to them: the occasion was this, I had sent the Master of the light horsemen, with a fewe with him, to gather vp all the canoas in the setting of the Sun, and to take as many as were going from vs to Dasamonquepeio, but to suffer any that came from thence, to land. He met with a canoa, going from the shore, and ouerthrew the canoa, and cut off two Sauages heads: this was not done so secretly but he was discouered from the shore; whereupon the cry arose: for in trueth they, priuy to their owne villanous purposes against vs, held as good espial vpon vs, both day and night, as we did vpon them.

The slaughter and surprise of the Sauages.

The alarme giuen, they tooke themselues to their bowes, and we to our armes: some three or foure of them at the first were slaine with our shot; the rest fled into the woods. The next morning with the light horsemen and one Canoa taking 25 with the Colonel of the Chesepians, and the Sergeant maior, I went to Dasamonquepeio: and being landed, sent Pemisapan word by one of his owne Sauages that met me at the shore, that I was going to Croatoan, and meant to take him in the way to complaine vnto him of Osocon, who the night past was conueying away my prisoner, whom I had there present tied in an handlocke. Heereupon the king did abide my comming to him, and finding myselfe amidst seuen or eight of his principall Weroances and followers, (not regarding any of the common sort) I gaue the watch-word agreed vpon, (which was, Christ our victory) and immediatly those his chiefe men and himselfe had by the mercy of God for our deliuerance, that which they had purposed for vs. The king himselfe being shot thorow by the Colonell with a pistoll, lying on the ground for dead, and I looking as watchfully for the sauing of Manteos friends, as others were busie that none of the rest should escape, suddenly he started vp, and ran away as though he had not bene touched, insomuch as he ouerran all the company, being by the way shot thwart the buttocks by mine Irish boy with my petronell. In the end an Irish man seruing me, one Nugent, and the deputy prouost, vndertooke him; and following him in the woods, ouertooke him: and I in some doubt least we had lost both the king and my man by our owne negligence to haue beene intercepted by the Sauages, wee met him returning out of the woods with Pemisapans head in his hand.

Pemisapan slaine.

This fell out the first of Iune 1586, and the eight of the same came aduertisement to me from captaine Stafford, lying at my lord Admirals Island, that he had discouered a great fleet of three and twentie sailes: but whether they were friends or foes, he could not yet discerne. He aduised me to stand vpon as good guard as I could.

The ninth of the sayd moneth he himselfe came vnto me, hauing that night before, and that same day trauelled by land twenty miles: and I must truely report of him from the first to the last; hee was the gentleman that neuer spared labour or perill either by land or water, faire weather or foule, to performe any seruice committed vnto him.

He brought me a letter from the Generall Sir Francis Drake, with a most bountifull and honourable offer for the supply of our necessities to the performance of the action wee were entred into; and that not onely of victuals, munition, and clothing, but also of barks, pinnesses, and boats; they also by him to be victualled, manned and furnished to my contentation.

A letter from Sir Francis Drake.

The tenth day he arriued in the road of our bad harborow: and comming there to an anker, the eleuenth day I came to him, whom I found in deeds most honourably to performe that which in writing and message he had most curteously offered, he hauing aforehand propounded the matter to all the captaines of his fleet, and got their liking and consent thereto.

With such thanks vnto him and his captaines for his care both of vs and of our action, not as the matter deserued, but as I could both for my company and myselfe, I (being aforehand prepared what I would desire) craued at his hands that it would please him to take with him into England a number of weake and vnfit men for any good action, which I would deliuer to him; and in place of them to supply me of his company with oare-men, artificers, and others.

That he would leaue vs so much shipping and victuall, as about August then next following would cary me and all my company into England, when we had discouered somewhat, that for lacke of needfull prouision in time left with vs as yet remained vndone.

That it woulde please him withall to leaue some sufficient Masters not onely to cary vs into England, when time should be, but also to search the coast for some better harborow, if there were any, and especially to helpe vs to some small boats and oare-men.

Also for a supply of calieuers, hand weapons, match and lead, tooles, apparell, and such like.

He hauing receiued these my requests, according to his vsuall commendable maner of gouernment (as it was told me) calling his captaines to counsell; the resolution was that I should send such of my officers of my company as I vsed in such matters, with their notes, to goe aboord with him; which were the Master of the victuals, the Keeper of the store, and the Vicetreasurer: to whom he appointed forthwith for me The Francis, being a very proper barke of 70 tun, and tooke present order for bringing of victual aboord her for 100 men for foure moneths, with all my other demands whatsoeuer, to the vttermost.

And further, he appointed for me two pinnesses, and foure small boats: and that which was to performe all his former liberality towards vs, was that he had gotten the full assents of two of as sufficient experimented Masters as were any in his fleet, by iudgment of them that knew them, with very sufficient gings to tary with me, and to employ themselues most earnestly in the action, as I should appoint them, vntill the terme which I promised of our returne into England againe. The names of one of those Masters was Abraham Kendall, the other Griffith Herne.

While these things were in hand, the prouision aforesaid being brought, and in bringing aboord, my sayd Masters being also gone aboord, my sayd barks hauing accepted of their charge, and mine owne officers, with others in like sort of my company with them (all which was dispatched by the sayd Generall the 12 of the sayde moneth) the 13 of the same there arose such an vnwoonted storme, and continued foure dayes, that had like to haue driuen all on shore, if the Lord had not held his holy hand ouer them, and the Generall very prouidently foreseene the woorst himselfe, then about my dispatch putting himselfe aboord: but in the end hauing driuen sundry of the fleet to put to Sea the Francis also with all my prouisions, my two Masters, and my company aboord, she was seene to be free from the same, and to put cleere to Sea.

This storme hauing continued from the 13 to the 16 of the moneth, and thus my barke put away as aforesayd, the Generall comming ashore made a new proffer vnto me; which was a ship of 170 tunne, called The barke Bonner, with a sufficient Master and guide to tary with me the time appointed, and victualled sufficiently to cary me and my company into England, with all prouisions as before: but he tolde me that he would not for any thing vndertake to haue her brought into our harbour, and therefore he was to leaue her in the road, and to leaue the care of the rest vnto my selfe, and aduised me to consider with my company of our case, and to deliuer presently vnto him in writing what I would require him to doe for vs; which being within his power, he did assure me aswell for his Captaines as for himselfe, shoulde be most willingly performed.

Heereupon calling such Captaines and gentlemen of my company as then were at hand, who were all as priuy as my selfe to the Generals offer; their whole request was to me, that considering the case that we stood in, the weaknesse of our company, the small number of the same, the carying away of our first appointed barke, with those two especiall Masters, with our principall provisions in the same, by the very hand of God as it seemed, stretched out to take vs from thence; considering also, that his second offer, though most honourable of his part, yet of ours not to be taken, insomuch as there was no possibility for her with any safety to be brought into the harbour: seeing furthermore, our hope for supply with Sir Richard Greenuill, so vndoubtedly promised vs before Easter, not yet come, neither then likely to come this yeere, considering the doings in England for Flanders, and also for America, that therefore I would resolue my selfe with my company to goe into England in that fleet, and accordingly to make request to the Generall in all our names, that he would be pleased to giue vs present passage with him. Which request of ours by my selfe deliuered vnto him, hee most readily assented vuto: and so he sending immediatly his pinnesses vnto our Island for the fetching away of a few that there were left with our baggage, the weather was so boisterous, and the pinnesses so often on ground, that the most of all we had, with all our Cards, Books and writings were by the Sailers cast ouerboard, the greater number of the fleet being much agrieued with their long and dangerous abode in that miserable road.

From whence the Generall in the name of the Almighty, weying his ankers (hauing bestowed vs among his fleet) for the reliefe of whom hee had in that storme susteined more perill of wracke then in all his former most honourable actions against the Spanyards, with praises vnto God for all, set saile the nineteenth of Iune 1596, and arriued in Portsmouth the seuen and twentieth of Iuly the same yeere.

END OF VOL. XIII., PART I.

PART II.

THE VOYAGES AND NAUIGATIONS

OF THE ENGLISH NATION TO VIRGINIA, AND THE SEUERAL DISCOUERIES THEREOF CHIEFLY AT THE CHARGES OF THE HONOURABLE SIR WALTER RALEGH KNIGHT, FROM 33 TO 40 DEGREES OF LATITUDE: TOGETHER WITH THE SUCCESSE OF THE ENGLISH COLONIES THERE PLANTED: AS LIKEWISE A DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTREY, WITH THE INHABITANTS, AND THE MANIFOLD COMMODITIES. WHEREVNTO ARE ANNEXED THE PATENTS, LETTERS, DISCOURSES, &C. TO THIS PART BELONGING.

(Continued.)

The third voyage made by a ship sent in the yeere 1586, to the reliefe of the Colony planted in Virginia, at the sole charges of Sir Walter Ralegh.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1586 Sir Walter Ralegh at his owne charge prepared a ship of an hundred tunne, fraighted with all maner of things in most plentifull maner, for the supply and reliefe of his Colony then remaining in Virginia: but before they set saile from England it was after Easter, so that our Colony halfe despaired of the comming of any supply: wherefore euery man prepared for himselfe, determining resolutely to spend the residue of their life time in that countrey. And for the better performance of this their determination, they sowed, planted, and set such things as were necessary for their reliefe in so plentifull a maner as might haue sufficed them two yeeres without any further labour. Thus trusting to their owne haruest, they passed the Summer till the tenth of Iune: at which time their corne which they had sowed was within one fortnight of reaping: but then it happened that Sir Francis Drake in his prosperous returne from the sacking of Sant Domingo, Cartagena, and Saint Augustine, determined in his way homeward to visit his countreymen the English Colony then remaining in Virginia. So passing along the coasts of Florida, he fell with the parts where our

English Colony inhabited: and hauing espied some of that company, there he ankered and went aland, where he conferred with them of their state and welfare, and how things had passed with them. They answered him that they liued all; but hitherto in some scarsity: and as yet could heare of no supply out of England: therefore they requested him that hee would leaue with them some two or three ships, that if in some reasonable time they heard not out of England, they might then returne themselues. Which hee agreed to. Whilest some were then writing their letters to send into England, and some others making reports of the accidents of their trauels to ech other, some on land, some on boord, a great storme arose, and droue the most of their fleet from their ankers to Sea, in which ships at that instant were the chiefest of the English Colony: the rest on land perceiuing this, hasted to those three sailes which were appointed to be left there; and for feare they should be left behinde they left all things confusedly, as if they had bene chased from thence by a mighty army: and no doubt so they were; for the hand of God came vpon them for the cruelty and outrages committed by some of them against the natiue inhabitants of that countrey.*

This ship arriued in Virginia.

Immediatly after the departing of our English Colony out of this paradise of the world, the ship abouementioned sent and set forth at the charges of Sir Walter Ralegh and his direction, arriued at Hatorask; who after some time spent in seeking our Colony vp in the countrey, and not finding them, returned with all the aforesayd prouision into England.

Sir Richard Grinuils third voyage.

About foureteene or fifteene dayes after the departure of the aforesayd shippe, Sir Richard Grinuile Generall of Virginia, accompanied with three shippes well appointed for the same voyage, arriued there; who not finding the aforesaid shippe according to his expectation, nor hearing any newes of our English Colony there seated, and left by him anno 1585, himselfe trauelling vp into diuers places of the countrey, aswell to see if he could heare any newes of the Colony left there by him the yeere before, vnder the charge of Master Lane his deputy, as also to discouer some places of the countrey; but after some time spent therein, not hearing any newes of them, and finding the places which they inhabited desolate, yet vnwilling to loose the possesion of the countrey which Englishmen had so long held: after good deliberation, hee determined to leaue some men behinde to reteine possession of the Countrey: whereupon he landed fifteene men in the Isle of Roanoak, furnished plentifully with all maner of prouisions for two yeeres, and so departed for England.

---

* See the different account given above by one of the colonists.

Fifteen men more left in Virginia.

Not long after he fell with the Isles of Açores, on some of which Islands he landed, and spoiled the townes of all such thinges as were woorth cariage, where also he tooke diuers Spanyards. With these and many other exploits done him in this voyadge, aswell outward as homeward, he returned into England.

A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia: of the commodities there found, and to be raised, aswell merchantable as others: Written by Thomas Heriot, seruant to Sir Walter Ralegh, a member of the Colony, and there imployed in discouering a full tweluemonth.

Ralfe Lane one of her Maiesties Esquiers, and Gouernour of the Colony in Virginia, aboue mentioned, for the time there resident, to the gentle Reader wisheth all happinesse in the Lord.

ALbeit (gentle Reader) the credit of the reports in this Treatise contained can little be furthered by the testimony of one as my selfe, through affection iudged partiall, though without desert; neuerthelesse, forasmuch as I haue bene requested by some my particular friends, who conceiue more rightly of me, to deliuer freely my knowledge of the same, not onely for the satisfying of them, but also for the true information of any other whosoeuer, that comes not with a preiudicate minde to the reading thereof: thus much vpon my credit I am to affirme, that things vniuersally are so truely set downe in this Treatise by the authour thereof, an actor in the Colony, and a man no lesse for his honesty then learning commendable, as that I dare boldly auouch, it may very well passe with the credit of trueth euen amongst the most true relations of this age. Which as for mine owne part I am ready any way with my word to acknowledge, so also (of the certaintie thereof assured by mine owne experience) with this publique assertion I doe affirme the same. Farewell in the Lord.

To the Aduenturers, Fauourers, and Welwillers of the enterprise for the inhabiting and planting in Virginia.

SInce the first vndertaking by Sir Walter Ralegh to deale in the action of discouering of that countrey which is now called and knowen by the name of Virginia, many voyages hauing beene thither made at sundry times to his great charge; as first in the yere 1584, and afterwards in the yeres 1585, 1586, and now of late this yeere 1587: there haue bene diuers and variable reports with some slanderous and shameful speeches bruted abroad by many that returned from thence: especially of that discouery which was made by the Colony transported by Sir Richard Grinuile in the yere 1585, being of all others the most principall, and as yet of most effect, the time of their abode in the countrey being a whole yere, when as in the other voyage before they stayed but sixe weeks, and the others after were onely for supply and transportation, nothing more being discouered than had bene before. Which reports haue not done a little wrong to many that otherwise would haue also fauoured and aduentured in the action, to the honour and benefit of our nation, besides the particular profit and credit which would redound to themselues the dealers therein, as I hope by the sequel of euents, to the shame of those that haue auouched the contrary, shall be manifest, if you the aduenturers, fauourers, and welwillers doe but either increase in number, or in opinion continue, or hauing beene doubtfull, renew your good liking and furtherance to deale therein according to the woorthinesse thereof already found, and as you shall vnderstand hereafter to be requisite. Touching which woorthinesse through cause of the diuersity of relations and reports, many of your opinions could not be firme, nor the minds of some that are well disposed be setled in any certainty.

I haue therefore thought it good, being one that haue beene in the discouerie, and in dealing with the naturall inhabitants specially imployed: and hauing therefore seene and knowen more then the ordinary, to impart so much vnto you of the fruits of our labours, as that you may know how iniuriously the enterprise is slandered, and that in publique maner at this present, chiefly for two respects.

First, that some of you which are ignorant or doubtfull of the state thereof, may see that there is sufficient cause why the chiefe enterpriser with the fauour of her Maiesty, notwithstanding such reports, hath not onely since continued the action by sending into the countrey againe, and replanting this last yeere a new Colony, but is also ready, according as the times and meanes will affoord, to follow and prosecute the same.

Secondly, that you seeing and knowing the continuance of the action, by the view hereof you may generally know and learne what the countrey is, and thereupon consider how your dealing therein, if it proceed, may returne you profit and gaine, be it either by inhabiting and planting, or otherwise in furthering thereof.

And least that the substance of my relation should be doubtfull vnto you, as of others by reason of their diuersitie, I will first open the cause in a few words, wherefore they are so different, referring my selfe to your fauourable constructions, and to be adiudged of, as by good consideration you shall finde cause.

Of our company that returned, some for their misdemeanour and ill dealing in the countrey haue bene there worthily punished, who by reason of their bad natures, haue maliciously not onely spoken ill of their Gouernours, but for their sakes slandered the countrey it selfe. The like also haue those done which were of their consort.

Some being ignorant of the state thereof, notwithstanding since their returne amongst their friends and acquaintance, and also others, especially if they were in company where they might not be gainsayd, would seeme to know so much as no men more, and make no men so great trauellers as themselues. They stood so much as it may seeme, vpon their credit and reputation, that hauing bene a tweluemoneth in the countrey, it would haue bene a great disgrace vnto them, as they thought, if they could not haue sayd much, whether it were true or false. Of which some haue spoken of more then euer they saw, or otherwise knew to be there. Other some haue not bene ashamed to make absolute deniall of that, which although not by them, yet by others is most certainly and there plentifully knowen, and other some make difficulties of those things they haue no skill of.

The cause of their ignorance was, in that they were of that many that were neuer out of the Island where we were seated, or not farre, or at the least wise in few places els, during the time of our abode in the country: or of that many, that after gold and siluer was not so soone found, as it was by them looked for, had litle or no care of any other thing but to pamper their bellies: or of that many which had litle vnderstanding, lesse discretion, and more tongue then was needfull or requisite.

Some also were of a nice bringing vp, only in cities or townes, or such as neuer (as I may say) had seene the world before. Because there were not to be found any English cities, nor such faire houses, nor at their owne wish any of their old accustomed dainty food, nor any soft beds of downe or feathers, the country was to them miserable, and their reports thereof according.

Because my purpose was but in briefe to open the cause of the variety of such speeches, the particularities of them, and of many enuious, malicious, and slanderous reports and deuices els, by our owne countreymen besides, as trifles that are not worthy of wise men to be thought vpon, I meane not to trouble you withall, but will passe to the commodities, the substance of that which I haue to make relation of vnto you.

The Treatise whereof, for your more ready view and easier vnderstanding, I will diuide into three speciall parts. In the first I will make declaration of such commodities there already found or to be raised, which will not onely serue the ordinary turnes of you which are and shall be the planters and inhabitants, but such an ouerplus sufficiently to be yeelded, or by men of skill to be prouided, as by way of traffique and exchange with our owne nation of England, will enrich yourselues the prouiders: those that shall deale with you, the enterprisers in generall, and greatly profit our owne countreymen, to supply them with most things which heretofore they haue beene faine to prouide either of strangers or of our enemies, which commodities, for distinction sake, I call Merchantable.

In the second I will set downe all the commodities which we know the countrey by our experience doth yeeld of it selfe for victuall and sustenance of mans life, such as are vsually fed vpon by the inhabitants of the countrey, as also by vs during the time we were there.

In the last part I will make mention generally of such other commodities besides, as I am able to remember, and as I shall thinke behoouefull for those that shall inhabit, and plant there to know of, which specially concerne building, as also some other necessary vses: with a briefe description of the nature and manners of the people of the countrey.

The first part of Merchantable commodities.

SIlke of grasse, or Grasse silke. There is a kind of grasse in the country, vpon the blades whereof there groweth very good silke in forme of a thin glittering skin to be stript off. It groweth two foot and an halfe highe or better: the blades are about two foot in length, and halfe an inch broad. The like groweth in Persia, which is in the selfe same climate as Virginia, of which very many of the Silke works that come from thence into Europe are made. Hereof if it be planted and ordered as in Persia, it cannot in reason be otherwise, but that there will rise in short time great profit to the dealers therein, seeing there is so great vse and vent thereof aswel in our countrey as elswhere. And by the meanes of sowing and planting it in good ground, it will be farre greater, better, and more plentifull then it is. Although notwithstanding there is great store thereof in many places of the countrey growing naturally and wild, which also by proofe here in England, in making a piece of Silke grogran, we found to be excellent good.

Worme silke. In many of our iourneys we founde Silke-wormes faire and great, as big as our ordinary Walnuts. Although it hath not bene our hap to haue found such plenty, as elswhere to be in the countrey we haue heard of, yet seeing that the countrey doth naturally breed and nourish them, there is no doubt but if arte be added in planting of Mulberie trees, and others fit for them in commodious places, for their feeding and nourishing, and some of them carefull gathered and husbanded in that sort, as by men of skil is knowen to be necessary: there wil rise as great profit in time to the Virginians, as thereof doth now to the Persians, Turks, Italians and Spanyards.

Flaxe and Hempe. The trueth is, that of Hempe and Flaxe there is no greate store in any one place together, by reason it is not planted but as the soile doth yeeld of it selfe: and howsoeuer the leafe and stemme or stalke do differ from ours, the stuffe by iudgement of men of skill is altogether as good as ours: and if not, as further proofe should finde otherwise, we haue that experience of the soile, as that there cannot be shewed any reason to the contrary, but that it will grow there excellent well, and by planting will be yeelded plentifully, seeing there is so much ground whereof some may well be applied to such purposes. What benefit heereof may grow in cordage and linnens who cannot easily vnderstand?

Allum. There is a veine of earth along the sea coast for the space of fortie or fiftie miles, whereof by the iudgement of some that haue made triall here in England, is made good Allum, of that kind which is called Roch allum. The richnesse of such a commodity is so well knowen, that I need not to say any thing thereof. The same earth doth also yeeld White coprasse, Nitrum, and Alumen plumeum, but nothing so plentifully as the common Allum, which be also of price and profitable.

Wapeih. A kind of earth so called by the naturall inhabitants, very like to Terra sigillata, and hauing bene refined, it hath bene ound by some of our Physicians and Chyrurgians, to be of the same kinde of vertue, and more effectuall. The inhabitants vse it very much for the cure of sores and wounds: there is in diuers places great plenty, and in some places of a blew sort.

Pitch, Tarre, Rozen and Turpentine. There are those kinds of trees which yeeld them abundantly and great store. In the very same Island where we were seated, being fifteene miles of length, and fiue or sixe miles in breadth, there are few trees els but of the same kinde, the whole Island being full.

Sassafras, called by the inhabitants Winauk, a kind of wood of most pleasant and sweet smell, and of most rare vertues in physicke for the cure of many diseases. It is found by experience to be far better and of more vses then the wood which is called Guaiacum, or Lignum vitæ. For the description, the maner of vsing, and the manifold vertues thereof, I refer you to the booke of Monardes, translated and entituled in English, The joyfull newes from the West Indies.

Cedar. A very sweet wood, and fine timber, whereof if nests of chests be there made, or timber thereof fitted for sweet and fine bedsteds, tables, desks, lutes, virginals, and many things els, (of which there hath bene proofe made already) to make vp fraight with other principall commodities, will yeeld profit.

Wine. There are two kindes of grapes that the soile doth yeeld naturally, the one is small and sowre, of the ordinary bignesse as ours in England, the other farre greater and of himselfe lushious sweet. When they are planted and husbanded as they ought, a principall commodity of wines by them may be raised.

Oile. There are two sorts of Walnuts, both holding oile; but the one farre more plentifull then the other. When there are mils and other deuices for the purpose, a commodity of them may be raised, because there are infinite store. There are also three seuerall kindes of berries in the forme of Oke-akornes, which also by the experience and vse of the inhabitants, we find to yeeld very good and sweet oile. Furthermore, the beares of the countrey are commonly very fat, and in some places there are many. Their fatnesse, because it is so liquid, may well be termed oile, and hath many speciall vses.

Furres. All along the Sea coast there are great store of Otters, which being taken by weares and other engines made for the purpose, wil yeeld good profit. We hope also of Marterne furres, and make no doubt by the relation of the people, but that in some places of the countrey there are store, although there were but two skinnes that came to our hands. Luzernes also we haue vnderstanding of, although for the time we saw none.

Deere skinnes dressed after the manner of Chamoes, or vndressed, are to be had of the naturall inhabitants thousands yerely by way of traffike for trifles, and no more waste or spoile of Deere then is and hath bene ordinarily in time before.

Ciuet-cats. In our trauels there was found one to haue bin killed by a Sauage or inhabitant, and in another place the smel where one or more had lately bene before, whereby we gather, besides then by the relation of the people, that there are some in the country: good profit will rise by them.

Iron. In two places of the countrey specially, one about fourescore, and the other six score miles from the fort or place where we dwelt, we found nere the water side the ground to be rocky, which by the triall of a Minerall man was found to holde iron richly. It is found in many places of the countrey els: I know nothing to the contrary, but that it may be allowed for a good merchantable commodity, considering there the small charge for the labour and feeding of men, the infinite store of wood, the want of wood and decreness thereof in England, and the necessity of ballasting of ships.

Copper. An hundred and fifty miles into the maine in two townes we found with the inhabitants diuers small plates of Copper, that had bene made as we vnderstood by the inhabitants that dwell further into the countrey, where as they say are mountaines and riuers that yeeld also white graines of mettall, which is to be deemed Siluer. For confirmation whereof, at the time of our first arriuall in the countrey, I saw, with some others with me, two small pieces of Siluer grosly beaten, about the weight of a testron, hanging in the eares of a Wiroans or chiefe lord that dwelt about fourescore miles from vs: of whom through inquiry, by the number of dayes and the way, I learned that it had come to his hands from the same place or neere, where I after vnderstood the Copper was made, and the white graines of metall found. The aforesayd Copper we also found by tryall to holde Siluer.

Fiue thousand pearles gathered.

Pearle. Sometimes in feeding on Muscles we found some Pearle: but it was our happe to meet with ragges, or of a pide colour: not hauing yet discouered those places where we heard of better and more plenty. One of our company, a man of skill in such matters, had gathered together from among the Sauage people about fiue thousand: of which number he chose as many as made a faire chaine, which for their likenesse and vniformity in roundnesse, orientnesse, and pidenesse of many excellent colours, with equality in greatnesse, were very faire and rare: and had therefore beene presented to her Maiesty, had we not by casualty, and through extremity of a storme lost them, with many things els in comming away from the countrey.

Sweet gummes of diuers kinds, and many other Apothecary drugges, of which we will make speciall mention, when we shall receiue it from such men of skill in that kinde, that in taking reasonable paines shal discouer them more particularly then we haue done, and then now I can make relation of, for want of the examples I had prouided and gathered, and are now lost, with other things by casualty before mentioned.

Dies of diuers kinds: There is Shoemake well knowen, and vsed in England for blacke: the seede of an herbe called Wasebur, little small roots called Chappacor, and the barke of the tree called by the inhabitants Tangomockonomindge: which dies are for diuers sorts of red: their goodnesse for our English clothes remaine yet to be prooued. The inhabitants vse them only for the dying of haire, and colouring of their faces, and mantles made of Deere skinnes: and also for the dying of rushes to make artificiall works withall in their mats and baskets, hauing no other thing besides that they account of, apt to vse them for If they will not prooue merchantable, there is no doubt but the planters there shall finde apt vses for them, as also for other colours which we know to be there.

Woad: a thing of so great vent and vses amongst English Diers, which can not be yeelded sufficiently in our owne countrey for spare of ground, may be planted in Virginia, there being ground enough. The growth thereof need not to be doubted when as in the Islands of the Açores it groweth plentifully, which are in the same climate. So likewise of Madder.

We carried thither Suger-canes to plant, which being not so well preserued as was requisite, and besides the time of the yeere being past for their setting when we arriued, we could not make that proofe of them as we desired. Notwithstanding, seeing that they grow in the same climate, in the South part of Spaine, and in Barbary, our hope in reason may yet continue. So likewise for Orenges and Limmons. There may be planted also Quinses. Whereby may grow in reasonable time, if the action be deligently prosecuted, no small commodities in Sugers, Suckets, and Marmelades.

Many other commodities by planting may there also be raised, which I leaue to your discreet and gentle considerations: and many also may be there, which yet we haue not discouered. Two more commoditie of great value, one of certeinty, and the other in hope, not to be planted, but there to be raised and in short time to be prouided, and prepared, I might haue specified. So likewise of those commodities already set downe I might haue sayd more: as of the particular places where they are found, and best to be planted and prepared: by what meanes, and in what reasonable space of time they might be raised to profit, and in what proportion: but because others then welwillers might be there withall acquainted, not to the good of the action, I haue wittingly omitted them: knowing that to those that are well disposed, I haue vttered, according to my promise and purpose, for this part sufficient.

The second part of such commodities as Virginia is knowen to yeeld for victuall and sustenance of mans life, vsually fed vpon by the naturall inhabitants; as also by vs, during the time of our abode: and first of such as are sowed and husbanded.

PAgatowr, a kinde of graine so called by the inhabitants: the same in the West Indies is called Mayz: English men call it Guiny-wheat or Turkey-wheat, according to the names of the countreys from whence the like hath beene brought. The graine is about the bignesse of our ordinary English peaze, and not much different in forme and shape: but of diuers colours: some white, some red, some yellow, and some blew. All of them yeeld a very white and sweet flowre: being vsed according to its kinde, it maketh a very good bread. We made of the same in the countrey some Mault, whereof was brewed as good Ale as was to be desired. So likewise by the helpe of Hops, therof may be made as good Beere. It is a graine of maruellous great increase: of a thousand, fifteene hundred, and some two thousand folde. There are three sorts, of which two are ripe in eleuen and twelue weeks at the most, sometimes in tenne, after the time they are set, and are then of height in stalke about sixe or seuen foot. The other sort is ripe in fourteene, and is about tenne foot high, of the stalks some beare foure heads, some three, some one, and some two: euery head conteining fiue, sixe, or seuen hundred graines, within a few more or lesse. Of these graines, besides bread, the inhabitants make victuall, either by parching them, or seething them whole vntill they be broken: or boiling the flowre with water into a pap.

Okingier, called by vs Beanes, because in greatnesse and partly in shape they are like to the beanes in England, sauing that they are flatter, of more diuers colours, and some pide. The leafe also of the stemme is much different. In taste they are altogether as good as our English peaze.

Wickonzowr, called by vs Peaze, in respect of the Beanes, for distinction sake, because they are much lesse, although in forme they little differ: but in goodnesse of taste much like, and are far better then our English Peaze. Both the beanes and peaze are ripe in ten weeks after they are set. They make them victuall either by boiling them all to pieces into a broth, or boiling them whole vntill they be soft, and beginne to breake, as is vsed in England, either by themselues, or mixtly together: sometime they mingle of the Wheat with them: sometime also, being whole sodden, they bruse or punne them in a morter, and thereof make loaues or lumps of doughish bread, which they vse to eat for variety.

Macocquer, according to their seueral formes, called by vs Pompions, Melons, and Gourds, because they are of the like formes as those in England. In Virginia such of seuerall formes are of one taste, and very good, and do also spring from one seed. There are of two sorts: one is ripe in the space of a moneth, and the other in two moneths.

There is an herbe which in Dutch is called Melden. Some of those that I describe it vnto take it to be a kinde of Orage: it groweth about foure or fiue foot high: of the seede thereof they make a thicke broth, and pottage of a very good taste: of the stalke by burning into ashes they make a kinde of salt earth, wherewithall many vse sometimes to season their broths: other salt they know not. We ourselues vsed the leaues for pot-herbs.

There is also another great herbe, in forme of a Marigolde, about sixe foot in height, the head with a floure is a spanne in bredth. Some take it to be Planta Solis: of the seeds hereof they make both a kinde of bread and broth.

All the aforesayde commodities for victuall are set or sowed sometimes in grounds apart and seuerally by themselues, but for the most part together in one ground mixtly: the maner thereof, with the dressing and preparing of the ground, because I will note vnto you the fertility of the soile, I thinke good briefly to describe.

The ground they neuer fatten with mucke, dung, or any other thing, neither plow nor digge it as we in England, but onely prepare it in sort as followeth. A few days before they sowe or set, the men with woodden instruments made almost in forme of mattocks or hoes with long handles: the women with short peckers or parers, because they vse them sitting, of a foot long, and about fiue inches in bredth, doe onely break the vpper part of the ground to raise vp the weeds, grasse, and old stubbes of corne stalks with their roots. The which after a day or two dayes drying in the Sunne, being scrapt vp into small heaps, to saue them labour for carrying them away, they burne into ashes. And whereas some may thinke that they vse the ashes for to better the ground, I say that then they would either disperse the ashes abroad, which wee obserued they do not, except the heaps be too great, or els would take speciall care to set their corne where the ashes lie, which also wee finde they are carelesse of. And this is all the husbanding of their ground that they vse.

Then their setting or sowing is after this maner. First for their corne, beginning in one corner of the plot, with a pedker they make a hole, wherein they put foure graines, with care that they touch not one another (about an inch asunder) and couer them with the molde againe: and so thorowout the whole plot making such holes, and vsing them after such maner, but with this regard, that they make them in ranks, euery rank differing from other halfe a fadome or a yard, and the holes also in euery ranke as much. By this meanes there is a yard spare ground betweene euery hole: where according to discretion here and there, they set as many Beanes and Peaze: in diuers places also among the seeds of Macocquer, Melden, and Planta solis.

The ground being thus set according to the rate by vs experimented, an English acre conteining forty pearches in length, and foure in breadth, doth there yeeld in croppe or ofcome of corne Beanes and Peaze, at the least two hundred London bushels, besides the Macocquer, Melden, and Planta solis; when as in England forty bushels of our Wheat yeelded out of such an acre is thought to be much.

I thought also good to note this vnto you, that you which shall inhabit, and plant there, may know how specially that countrey corne is there to be preferred before ours: besides, the manifold wayes in applying it to victuall, the increase is so much, that small labor and paines is needful in respect of that which must be vsed for ours. For this I can assure you that according to the rate we haue made proofe of, one man may prepare and husband so much ground (hauing once borne corne before) with lesse then foure and twenty houres labour, as shall yeeld him victual in a large proportion for a tweluemoneth, if he haue nothing els but that which the same ground will yeeld, and of that kinde onely which I haue before spoken of: the sayd ground being also but fiue and twenty yards square. And if need require but that there is ground enough, there might be raised out of one and the selfsame ground two haruests or ofcomes: for the sow or set, and may at any time when they thinke good, from the midst of March vntill the end of Iune: so that they also set when they haue eaten of their first croppe. In some places of the countrey notwithstanding they haue two haruests, as we haue heard, out of one and the same ground.

For English corne neuerthelesse, whether to use or not to vse it, you that inhabit may doe as you shall haue further cause to thinke best. Of the growth you need not to doubt: for Barley, Oates, and Peaze, we haue seene proofe of, not being purposely sowen, but fallen casually in the woorst sort of ground, and yet to be as faire as any we haue euer seene heere in England. But of Wheat, because it was musty, and had taken salt water, we could make no triall: and of Rie we had none. This much haue I digressed, and I hope not vnnecessarily: now will I returne againe to my course, and intreat of that which yet remaineth, apperteining to this chapter.

Tabacco.

There is an herbe which is sowed apart by it selfe, and is called by the inhabitants Vppowoc: in the West Indies it hath diuers names, according to the seuerall places and countreys where it groweth and is vsed: the Spanyards generally call it Tabacco. The leaues thereof being dried and brought into pouder, they vsed to take the fume or smoake thereof, by sucking it thorow pipes made of clay, into their stomacke and heade; from whence it purgeth superflous fleame and other grosse humours, and openeth all the pores and passages of the body; by which meanes the vse thereof not onely preserveth the body from obstructions, but also (if any be, so that they haue not bene of two long continuance) in short time breaketh them: whereby their bodies are notably preserued in health, and know not many grieuous diseases, wherewithall we in England are often times afflicted.

This Vppowoc is of so precious estimation amongst them, that they thinke their gods are maruellously delighted therewith: whereupon sometime they make hallowed fires, and cast some of the pouder therein for a sacrifice: being in a storm vpon the waters, to pacifie their gods, they cast some vp into the aire and into the water: so a weare for fish being newly set vp, they cast some therein and into the aire; also after an escape of danger, they cast some into the aire likewise: but all done with strange gestures, stamping, sometime dancing, clapping of hands, holding vp of hands, and staring vp into the heauens, vttering therewithall and chattering strange words and noises.

We our selues, during the time we were there, vsed to sucke it after their maner, as also since our returne, and haue found many rare and wonderfull experiments of the vertues thereof: of which the relation would require a volume by it selfe: the vse of it by so many of late men and women of great calling, as els, and some learned Physicians also, is sufficient witnesse.

And these are all the commodities for sustenance of life, that I know and can remember, they vse to husband: all els that follow, are found growing naturally or wilde.

Of Roots.

OPenauk are a kinde of roots of round forme, some of the bignesse of Walnuts, some farre greater, which are found in moist and marish grounds growing many together one by another in ropes, as though they were fastened with a string. Being boiled or sodden, they are very good meat. Monardes calleth these roots, Beads or Pater nostri of Santa Helena.*

Monardes parte 2. lib. 1. cap. 4.

Okeepenauk are also of round shape, found in dry grounds: some are of the bignesse of a mans head. They are to be eaten as they are taken out of the ground: for by reason of their drinesse they will neither rost nor seethe. Their taste is not so good as of the former roots: notwithstanding for want of bread, and sometimes for variety the inhabitants vse to eat them with fish or flesh, and in my iudgement they do as well as the housholde bread made of Rie here in England.

Kaishucpenauk, a white kinde of roots about the bignesse of hennes egges, and neere of that forme: their taste was not so good to our seeming as of the other, and therefore their place and maner of growing not so much cared for by vs: the inhabitants notwithstanding vsed to boile and eat many.

Tsinaw, a kind of root much like vnto that which in England is called the China root brought from the East Indies. And we know not any thing to the contrary but that it may be of the same kinde. These roots grow many together in great clusters, and do bring foorth a brier stalke, but the leafe in shape farre vnlike: which being supported by the trees it groweth neerest vnto, will reach or climbe to the top of the highest. From these roots while they be new or fresh, being chapt into small pieces, and stampt, is strained with water a iuice that maketh bread, and also being boiled, a very good spoonmeat in maner of a gelly, and is much better in taste, if it be tempered with oile. This Tsinaw is not of that sort, which by some was caused to be brought into England for the China root; for it was discouered since, and is in vse as is aforesayd: but that which was brought hither is not yet knowen, neither by vs nor by the inhabitants to serue for any vse or purpose, although the roots in shape are very like.

Coscushaw some of our company tooke to be that kinde of root which the Spanyards in the West Indies call Cassauy, whereupon also many called it by that name: it groweth in very muddy pooles, and moist grounds. Being dressed according to the countrey maner, it maketh a good bread, ahd also a good spoonmeat, and is vsed very much by the inhabitants. The iuice of this root is poison, and therefore heed must be taken before any thing be made therewithall: either the roots must be first sliced and dried in the Sunne, of by the fire, and then being punned into floure, will make good bread: or els while they are greene they are to be pared, cut in pieces, and stampt: loaues of the same to be layd nere or ouer the fire vntill it be sowre; and then being well punned againe, bread or spoonmeat very good in taste and holesome may be made thereof.

---

* This is no doubt, that most useful vegetable, the potato.

The iuice of Coscushaw is poison.

Habascon is a root of hote taste, almost of the forme and bignesse of a Parsnip: of it selfe it is no victuall, but onely a helpe, being boiled together with other meats.

There are also Leeks, differing little from ours in England, that grow in many places of the countrey; of which, when we came in places where they were, we gathered and eat many, but the naturall inhabitants neuer.

Of fruits.

CHesnuts there are in diuers places great store: some they vse to eat raw, some they stampe and boile to make spoonmeat, and with some being sodden, they make such a maner of dough bread as they vse of their beanes before mentioned.

Walnuts. There are two kinds of Walnuts, and of them infinite store: in many places where are very great woods for many miles together, the third part of trees are Walnut trees. The one kind is of the same taste and forme, or little differing from ours of England, but that they are harder and thicker shelled: the other is greater, and hath a very ragged and hard shell: but the kernel great, very oily and sweet. Besides their eating of them after our ordinary maner, they breake them with stones, and punne them in morters with water, to make a milke which they vse to put into some sorts of their spoonemeat: also among their sodde wheat, peaze, beanes and pompions, which maketh them haue a farre more pleasant taste.

Medlars, a kinde of very good fruit: so called by vs chiefly for these respects: first in that they are not good vntill they be rotten, then in that they open at the head as our Medlars, and are about the same bignesse: otherwise in taste and colour they are farre different; for they are as red as cheries, and very sweet: but whereas the chery is sharpe sweet, they are lushious sweet.

There are iii. kinds of Tunas whereof that which beareth no fruith bringeth foorth the Cochinillo.

Mutaquesunnauk, a kinde of pleasant fruit almost of the shape and bignesse of English peares, but they are of a perfect red colour as well within as without. They grow on a plant whose leaues are very thicke, and full of prickles as sharpe as needles. Some that haue bene in the Indies, where they haue seene that kind of red die of great price, which is called Cochinile, to grow, doe describe this plant right like vnto this of Metaquesunnauk; but whether it be the true Cochinile, or a bastard or wilde kinde, it cannot yet be certified, seeing that also, as I heard, Cochinile is not of the fruit, but found on the leaues of the plant: which leaues for such matter we haue not so specially obserued.

Grapes there are of two sorts, which I mentioned in the merchantable commodities.

Strawberries there are as good and as great as those which we haue in our English gardens.

Mulberies, Applecrabs, Hurts or Hurtleberies, such as we haue in England.

Sacquenummener, a kinde of berries almost like vnto Capers, but somewhat greater, which grow together in clusters vpon a plant or hearbe that is found in shallow waters: being boiled eight or nine houres according to their kinde, are very good meat and holesome; otherwise if they be eaten they will make a man for the time frantike or extremely sicke.

There is a kind of Reed which beareth a seed almost like vnto our Rie or Wheat; and being boiled is good meat.

In our trauels in some places we found Wilde peaze like vnto ours in England, but that they were lesse, which are also good meat.

Of a kinde of fruit or berry in forme of Acornes.

THere is a kinde of berry or acorne, of which there are fiue sorts that grow on seuerall kindes of trees: the one is called Sagatemener, the second Osamener, the third Pummuckoner.

These kinde of acornes they vse to drie vpon hurdles made of reeds, with fire vnderneath, almost after the maner as we dry Malt in England. When they are to be vsed, they first water them vntill they be soft, and then being sod, they make a good victuall, either to eat so simply, or els being also punned to make loaues or lumps of bread. These be also the three kinds, of which I sayd before the inhabitants vsed to make sweet oile.

Another sort is called Sapummener, which being boiled or parched, doth eat and taste like vnto Chesnuts. They sometime also make bread of this sort.

The fift sort is called Mangummenauk, and is the acorne of their kinde of Oake, the which being dried after the maner of the first sorts, and afterward watered, they boile them, and their seruants, or sometime the chiefe themselues, either for variety or for want of bread, do eat them with their fish or flesh.

Of Beasts.

DEere, in some places there are great store: neere vnto the Sea coast they are of the ordinary bignesse of ours in England, and some lesse: but further vp into the countrey, where there is better food, they are greater: they differ from ours onely in this, their tailes are longer, and the snags of their hornes looke backwards.

Conies. Those that we haue seene, and all that we can heare of are of a gray colour like vnto Hares: in some places there are such plenty that all the people of some townes make them mantles of the furre or flue of the skinnes of those which they vsually take.

Saquenuckot and Maquowoc, two kinds of small beasts greater then Conies, which are very good meat. We neuer tooke any of them our selues, but sometime eat of such as the inhabitants had taken and brought vnto vs.

Squirels, which are a grey colour, we haue taken and eaten.

Beares, which are of blacke colour. The beares of this countrey are good meat. The inhabitants in time of Winter do vse to take and eat many: so also sometime did we. They are taken commonly in this sort: In some Islands or places where they are, being hunted for assoone as they haue spiall of a man, they presently run away, and then being chased, they clime and get vp the next tree they can: from whence with arrowes they are shot downe starke dead, or with those wounds that they may after easily be killed. We sometime shot them downe with our calieuers.

I haue the name of eight and twenty seuerall sorts of beasts, which I haue heard of to be here and there dispersed in the countrey, especially in the maine; of which there are onely twelue kinds that we haue yet discouered; and of those that be good meat we know only them before mentioned. The inhabitants sometime kill the Lion, and eat him :* and we sometime as they came to our hands of their Woolues or Wooluish dogs, which I haue not set downe for good meat, least that some would vnderstand my iudgement therein to be more simple then needeth, although I could alleage the difference in taste of those kinds from ours, which by some of our company haue bene experimented in both.

Of Fowle.

TVrkie cocks and Turkie hennes, Stockdoues, Partridges, Cranes, Hernes, and in Winter great store of Swannes and Geese. Of all sorts of fowle I haue the names in the countrey language of fourescoure and sixe, of which number, besides those that be named, we haue taken, eaten, and haue the pictures as they were drawen, with the names of the inhabitants, of seuerall strange sorts of water fowle eight, and seuenteene kinds more of land fowle, although we haue seene and eaten of many more, which for want of leasure there for the purpose could not be pictured: and after we are better furnished and stored vpon further discouery with their strange beasts, fish, trees, plants, and herbs, they shalbe also published.

There are also Parrots, Faulcons, and Marlin hauks, which although with vs they be not vsed for meat, yet for other causes I thought good to mention.

Of Fish.

FOr foure moneths of the yeere, February, March, Aprill and May, there are plenty of Sturgeons. And also in the same moneths of Herrings, some of the ordinary bignesse of ours in England, but the most part farre greater, of eighteene, twenty inches, and some two foot in length and better: both these kinds of fish in those moneths are most plentifull, and in best season, which we found to be most delicate and pleasant meat.

---

* Of course, this is an error.

There are also Trouts, Porpoises, Rayes, Oldwiues, Mullets, Plaice, and very many other sorts of excellent good fish, which we haue taken and eaten, whose names I know not but in the countrey language: we haue the pictures of twelue sorts more, as they were drawen in the countrey, with their names.

The inhabitants vse to take them two maner of wayes: the one is by a kinde of weare made of reeds, which in that country are very strong: the other way, which is more strange, is with poles made sharpe at one end, by shooting them into the fish after the maner as Irish men cast darts, either as they are rowing in their boats or els as they are wading in the shallowes for the purpose.

In the gulfe of California they vse the like fishing.

There are also in many places plenty of these kinds which follow:

Sea-crabs, such as we haue in England.

Oisters, some very great, and some small, some round, and some of a long shape: they are found both in salt water and brackish, and those that we had out of salt water are farre better then the other, as in our countrey.

Also Muscles, Scalops, Periwinkles, and Creuises.

Seekanauk, a kinde of crusty shel-fish, which is good meat, about a foot in bredth, hauing a crusty taile, many legges like a crab, and her eyes in her backe. They are found in shallowes of waters, and sometime on the shore.

There are many Tortoises both of land and sea kinde, their backs and bellies are shelled very thicke; their head, feet, and taile, which are in appearance, seeme ougly, as though they were members of a serpent or venimous beasts; but notwithstanding they are very good meat, as also their egges. Some haue bene found of a yard in bredth and better.

And thus haue I made relation of all sorts of victuall that we fed vpon for the time we were in Virginia, as also the inhabitants themselues, as farre forth as I know and can remember, or that are specially woorthy to be remembred.

* * *

The third and last part of such other things as are behouefull for those which shall plant and inhabite to know of, with a description of the nature and maners of the people of the Countrey.

Of commodities for building and other necessary vses.

THose other things which I am more to make rehearsal of, are such as concerne building, and other mechanicall necessary vses, as diuers sorts of trees for house and ship-timber, and other vses else: Also lime, stone, and bricke, least that being not mentioned some might haue bene doubted of, or by some that are malitious the contrary reported.

Okes there are as faire, straight, tall, and as good timber as any can be, and also great store, and in some places very great.

Walnut trees, as I haue said before very many, some haue bene seene excellent timber of foure and fiue fadome, and aboue fourescore foote streight without bough.

Firre trees fit for masts of ships, some very tall and great.

Rakiock, a kinde of trees so called that are sweete wood, of which the inhabitants that were neere vnto vs doe commonly make their boates or Canoas of the forme of trowes, onely with the helpe of fire, hatchets of stones, and shels: we haue knowen some so great being made in that sort of one tree, that they haue caried well 20. men at once, besides much baggage: the timber being great, tall, streight, soft, light, and yet tough ynough I thinke (besides other vses) to be fit also for masts of ships.

Cedar, a sweete wood good for seelings, chests, boxes, bedsteads, lutes, virginals, and many things els, as I haue also said before. Some of our companie which haue wandered in some places where I haue not bene, haue made certeine affirmation of Cyprus, which for such and other excellent vses is also a wood of price and no small estimation.

Maple, and also Wich-hazle, whereof the inhabitants vse to make their bowes.

Holly, a necessary thing for the making of birdlime.

Willowes good for the making of weares and weeles to take fish after the English maner, although the inhabitants vse onely reedes, which because they are so strong as also flexible, doe serue for that turne very well and sufficiently.

Beech and Ashe, good for caske-hoopes, and if neede require, plowe worke, as also for many things els.

Elme. Sassafras trees.

Ascopo a kinde of tree very like vnto Lawrell, the barke is hot in taste and spicie, it is very like to that tree which Monardes describeth to be Cassia Lignea of the West Indies.

There are many other strange trees whose names I know not but in the Virginian language, of which I am not now able, neither is it so conuenient for the present to trouble you with particular relation: seeing that for timber and other necessary vses, I haue named sufficient. And of many of the rest, but that they may be applied to good vse, I know no cause to doubt.

Nowe for stone, bricke and lime, thus it is. Neere vnto the Sea coast where wee dwelt, there are no kinde of stones to be found (except a few small pebbles about foure miles off) but such as haue bene brought from further out of the maine. In some of our voyages we haue seene diuers hard raggie stones, great pebbles, and a kinde of gray stone like vnto marble of which the inhabitants make their hatchets to cleaue wood. Vpon inquirie wee heard that a little further vp into the Countrey were of all sorts very many, although of quarries they are ignorant, neither haue they vse of any store whereupon they should haue occasion to seeke any. For if euery housholde haue one or two to cracke nuts, grinde shels, whet copper, and sometimes other stones for hatchets, they haue ynough: neither vse they any digging, but onely for graues about three foote deepe: and therefore no marueile that they know neither quarries, nor lime-stones, which both may be in places neerer then they wot of.

In the meane time vntill there be discouery of sufficient store in some place or other conuenient, the want of you which are and shalbe the planters therein may be as well supplied by bricke: for the making whereof in diuers places of the Countrey there is clay both excellent good and plentie, and also by lime made of oyster shels, and of others burnt, after the maner as they vse in the Isles of Tenet* and Shepy, and also in diuers other places of England: Which kinde of lime is well knowen to be as good as any other. And of oyster shels there is plentie ynough: for besides diuers other particular places where are abundance, there is one shallow Sound along the coast, where for the space of many miles together in length, and two or three miles in breadth, the ground is nothing els, being but halfe a foote or a foote vnder water for the most part.

---

* Thanet.

Thus much can I say furthermore of stones, that about 120. miles from our fort neere the water in the side of a hill, was found by a Gentleman of our company, a great veine of hard ragge stonnes, which I thought good to remember vnto you.

Of the nature and maners of the people.

IT resteth I speake a word or two of the naturall inhabitants, their natures and maners leauing large discourse thereof vntil time more conuenient hereafter: nowe onely so farre foorth, as that you may know, how that they in respect of troubling our inhabiting and planting, are not to be feared, but that they shall haue cause both to feare and loue vs, that shall inhabite with them.

They are a people clothed with loose mantles made of deere skinnes, and aprons of the same round about their middle, all els naked, of such a difference of statures onely as wee in England, hauing no edge tooles or weapons of yron or steele to offend vs withall, neither knowe they how to make any: those weapons that they haue, are onely bowes made of Witch-hazle, and arrowes of reedes, flat edged truncheons also of wood about a yard long, neither haue they any thing to defend themselues but targets made of barkes, and some armours made of sticks wickered together with thread.

Iaques Cartier voyage 2. chap. 8.

Their townes are but small, and neere the Sea coast but fewe, some contayning but tenne or twelue houses: some 20. the greatest that we haue seene hath bene but of 30. houses: if they bee walled, it is onely done with barkes of trees made fast to stakes, or els with poles onely fixed vpright, and close one by another.

Their houses are made of small poles, made fast at the tops in round forme after the maner as is vsed in many arbories in our gardens of England, in most townes couered with barkes, and in some with artificiall mats made of long rushes, from the tops of the houses downe to the ground. The length of them is commonly double to the breadth, in some places they are but 12. and 16. yards long, and in other some we haue seene of foure and twentie.

In some places of the Countrey, one onely towne belongeth to the gouernment of a Wiroans or chiefe Lord, in other some two or three, in some sixe, eight, and more: the greatest Wiroans that yet wee had dealing with, had but eighteene townes in his gouernment, and able to make not aboue seuen or eight hundred fighting men at the most. The language of euery gouernment is different from any other, and the further they are distant, the greater is the difference.

Their maner of warres among themselues is either by sudden surprising one an other most commonly about the dawning of the day, or moone-light,* or els by ambushes, or some subtile deuises. Set battles are very rare, except it fall out where there are many trees, where either part may haue some hope of defence, after the deliuery of euery arrow, in leaping behind some or other.

If there fall out any warres betweene vs and them, what their fight is likely to bee, wee hauing aduantages against them so many maner of wayes, as by our discipline, our strange weapons and deuises else, especially Ordinance great and small, it may easily bee imagined: by the experience wee haue had in some places, the turning vp of their heeles against vs in running away was their best defence.

In respect of vs they are a people poore, and for want of skill and iudgement in the knowledge and vse of our things, doe esteeme our trifles before things of greater value: Notwithstanding in their proper maner (considering the want of such means as we haue,) they seeme very ingenious. For although they haue no such tooles, nor any such crafts, Sciences and Artes as wee, yet in those things they doe, they shew excellencie of wit. And by how much they vpon due consideration shall finde our maner of knowledges and crafts to exceede theirs in perfection, and speeed for doing and execution, by so much the more is it probable that they should desire our friendship and loue, and haue the greater respect for pleasing and obeying vs. Whereby may bee hoped, if meanes of good gouernment be vsed, that they may in short time bee brought to ciuilitie, and the imbracing of true Religion.

Some religion they haue already, which although it be farre from the trueth, yet being as it is, there is hope it may be the easier and sooner reformed.

---

* This is quite different from the Indians of South America, who "rarely attacked in the night." (Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, II. cap. X.

They beleeue that there are many gods, which they call Mantoac, but of different sorts and degrees, one onely chiefe and great God, which hath beene from all eternitie. Who as they affirme, when hee purposed to make the world, made first other gods of a principall order, to be as meanes and instruments to be vsed in the creation and gouernment to follow, and after the Sunne, moone, and starres as pettie gods, and the instruments of the other order more principal. First (they say) were made waters out of which by the gods were made all diuersitie of creatures that are visible or invisible.

For mankinde they say a woman was made first, which by the working of one of the gods, conceiued and brought foorth children: And in such sort they say they had their beginning. But how many yeeres or ages haue passed since, they say they can make no relation hauing no letters or other such meanes as we to keepe records of the particularities of times past, but onely tradition from father to sonne.

They thinke that all the gods are of humane shape, and therefore they represent them by images in the formes of men, which they call Kewasowok, one alone is called Kewas: them they place in houses appropriate or temples, which they call Machicomuck, where they worship, pray, sing, and make many times offring vnto them. In some Machicomuck we haue seene but one Kewas, in some two, and in other some three. The common sort thinke them to be also gods.

They beleeue also the immortalitie of the soule, that after this life as soone as the soule is departed from the body, according to the workes it hath done, it is either carried to heauen the habitacle of the gods, there to enioy perpetuall blisse and happinesse or els to a great pitte or hole, which they thinke to be in the furthest parts of their part of the world toward the Sunne set, there to burne continually: the place they call Popogusso.

For the confirmation of this opinion, they tolde me two stories of two men that had bene lately dead and reuiued againe, the one happened but few yeeres before our comming into the Countrey of a wicked man, which hauing bene dead and buried, the next day the earth of the graue being seene to moue, was taken vp againe, who made declaration where his soule had bene, that is to say, very neere entring into Popogusso, had not one of the gods saued him, and gaue him leaue to returne againe, and teach his friends what they should do to auoyd that terrible place of torment. The other happened in the same yeere we were there, but in a towne that was 60. miles from vs, and it was told me for strange newes, that one being dead, buried, and taken vp againe as the first, shewed that although his body had lien dead in the graue, yet his soule was aliue, and had trauailed farre in a long broad way, on both sides whereof grew most delicate and pleasant trees, bearing more rare and excellent fruits, then euer hee had seene before, or was able to expresse, and at length came to most braue and faire houses, neere which he met his father that had bene dead before, who gaue him great charge to goe backe againe, and shew his friendes what good they were to doe to enioy the pleasures of that place, which when he had done he should after come againe.

What subtiltie soeuer be in the Wiroances and priestes, this opinion worketh so much in many of the common and simple sort of people, that it maketh them haue great respect to their Gouernours, and also great care what they doe, to auoyd torment after death, and to enioy blisse, although notwithstanding there is punishment ordeined for malefactours, as stealers, whoremongers, and other sorts of wicked doers, some punished with death, some with forfeitures, some with beating, according to the greatnesse of the facts.

And this is the summe of their Religion, which I learned by hauing speciall familiaritie with some of their priests. Wherein they were not so sure grounded, nor gaue such credite to their traditions and stories, but through conuersing with vs they were brought into great doubts of their owne, and no small admiration of ours, with earnest desire in many, to learne more then wee had meanes for want of perfect vtterance in their language to expresse.

Most things they sawe with vs, as Mathematicall instruments, sea Compasses, the vertue of the load-stone in drawing yron, a perspectiue glasse whereby was shewed many strange sights, burning glasses, wilde firewoorkes, gunnes, hookes, writing and reading, spring-clockes that seeme to goe of themselues, and many other things that wee had were so strange vnto them, and so farre exceeded their capacities to comprehend the reason and meanes how they should be made and done, that they thought they were rather the workes of gods then of men, or at the leastwise they had bene giuen and taught vs of the gods. Which made many of them to haue such opinion of vs, as that if they knew not the trueth of God and Religion already, it was rather to bee had from vs whom God so specially loued, then from a people that were so simple, as they found themselues to be in comparison of vs. Whereupon greater credite was giuen vnto that wee spake of, concerning such matters.

Many times and in euery towne where I came, according as I was able, I made declaration of the contents of the Bible, that therein was set foorth the true and onely God, and his mightie workes, that therein was conteined the true doctrine of saluation through Christ, with many particularities of Miracles and chiefe points of Religion, as I was able then to vtter, and thought fit for the time. And although I told them the booke materially and of it selfe was not of any such vertue, as I thought they did conceiue, but onely the doctrine therein conteined: yet would many be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kisse it, to holde it to their breastes and heads, and stroke ouer all their body with it, to shew their hungry desire of that knowledge which was spoken of.

The Wiroans with whom we dwelt called Wingina, and many of his people would bee glad many times to be with vs at our Prayers, and many times call vpon vs both in his owne towne, as also in others whither hee sometimes accompanied vs, to pray and sing Psalmes, hoping thereby to be partaker of the same effects which we by that meanes also expected.

Twise this Wiroans was so grieuously sicke that he was like to die, and as he lay languishing, doubting of any helpe by his owne priestes, and thinking hee was in such danger for offending vs and thereby our God, sent for some of vs to pray and bee a meanes to our God that it would please him either that he might liue, or after death dwell with him in blisse, so likewise were the requests of many others in the like case.

On a time also when their corne began to wither by reason of a draught which happened extraordinarily, fearing that it had come to passe by reason that in some thing they had displeased vs, many would come to vs and desire vs to pray to our God of England, that he would preserue their Corne, promising that when it was ripe we also should be partakers of the fruit.

There could at no time happen any strange sicknesse, losses, hurts, or any other crosse vnto them, but that they would impute to vs the cause or meanes thereof, for offending or not pleasing vs. One other rare and strange accident, leauing others, wil I mention before I end, which moued the whole Countrey that either knew or heard of vs, to haue vs in wonderfull admiration.

There was no towne where wee had any subtle deuise practised against vs, wee leauing it vnpunished or not reuenged (because we sought by all meanes possible to win them by gentlenesse) but that within a few dayes after our departure from euery such Towne, the people began to die very fast, and many in short space, in some Townes about twentie, in some fourtie, and in one sixe score, which in trueth was very many in respect of their numbers. This happened in no place that we could learne, but where we had bin, where they vsed some practise against vs, and after such time. The disease also was so strange, that they neither knewe what it was, nor how to cure it, the like by report of the oldest men in the Countrey neuer happened before, time out of minde. A thing specially obserued by vs, as also by the naturall inhabitants themselves. Insomuch that when some of the inhabitants which were our friends, and especially the Wiroans Wingina, had obserued such effects in foure or fiue Townes to follow their wicked practises, they were perswaded that it was the worke of our God through our meanes, and that we by him might kill and slay whom we would without weapons, and not come neere them. And thereupon when it had happened that they had vnderstanding that any of their enemies had abused vs in our iourneys, hearing that we had wrought no reuenge with our weapons, and fearing vpon some cause the matter should so rest: did come and intreate vs that we would be a meanes to our God that they as others that had dealt ill with vs might in like sort die, alleadging how much it would bee for our credite and profite, as also theirs, and hoping furthermore that we would doe so much at their requests in respect of the friendship we professed them.

Whose entreaties although wee shewed that they were vngodly, affirming that our God would not subiect himselfe to any such prayers and requests of men: that indeede all things haue bene and were to be done according to his good pleasure as he had ordeined: and that we to shewe our selues his true seruants ought rather to make petition for the contrary, that they with them might liue together with vs, be made partakers of his trueth, and serue him in righteousnesse, but notwithstanding in such sort, that wee referre that, as all other things, to bee done according to his diuine will and pleasure, and as by his wisedome he had ordeined to be best.

Yet because the effect fell out so suddenly and shortly after according to their desires, they thought neuerthelesse it came to passe by our meanes, and that we in vsing such speeches vnto them, did not dissemble the matter, and therefore came vnto vs to giue vs thankes in their maner, that although we satisfied them not in promise, yet in deedes and effect we had fulfilled their desires.

This marueilous accident in all the Countrey wrought so strange opinions of vs, that some people could not tell whether to thinke vs gods or men, and the rather because that all the space of their sicknes, there was no man of ours knowen to die, or that was specially sicke: they noted also that we had no women among vs, neither that we did care for any of theirs.

Some therefore were of opinion that we were not borne of women, and therefore not mortal, but that we were men of an old generation many yeeres past, then risen againe to immortalitie.

Some would likewise seeme to prophecie that there were more of our generation yet to come to kill theirs and take their places, as some thought the purpose was, by that which was already done. Those that were immediatly to come after vs they imagined to be in the aire, yet inuisible and without bodies, and that by our intreatie and for the loue of vs, did make the people to die in that sort as they did, by shooting inuisible bullets into them.

To confirme this opinion, their Phisitions (to excuse their ignorance in curing the disease) would not be ashamed to say, but earnestly make the simple people beleeue, that the strings of blood that they sucked out of the sicke bodies, were the strings wherewithall the inuisible bullets were tied and cast. Some also thought that wee shot them our selues out of our pieces, from the place where wee dwelt, and killed the people in any Towne that had offended vs, as wee listed, howe farre distant from vs soeuer it were. And other some said, that it was the speciall worke of God for our sakes, as we our selues haue cause in some sort to thinke no lesse, whatsoeuer some doe, or may imagine to the contrary, specially some Astrologers, knowing of the Eclipse of the Sunne which we saw the same yeere before in our voyage thitherward, which vnto them appeared very terrible. And also of a Comet which began to appeare but a fewe dayes before the beginning of the saide sicknesse. But to exclude them from being the speciall causes of so speciall an accident, there are further reasons then I thinke fit at this present to be alleadged. These their opinions I haue set downe the more at large, that it may appeare vnto you that there is good hope they may be brought through discreete dealing and gouernment to the imbracing of the trueth, and consequently to honour, obey, feare and loue vs.

And although some of our company towards the ende of the yeere, shewed themselues too fierce in slaying some of the people in some Townes, vpon causes that on our part might easily ynough haue bene borne withall: yet notwithstanding, because it was on their part iustly deserued, the alteration of their opinions generally and for the most part concerning vs is the lesse to be doubted. And whatsoeuer els they may be, by carefulnesse of our selues neede nothing at all to be feared.

The best neuerthelesse in this, as in all actions besides, is to be endeuoured and hoped, and of the worst that may happen notice to be taken with consideration, and as much as may be eschewed.

The conclusion.

NOw I haue (as I hope) made relation not of so few and small things, but that the Countrey (of men that are indifferent and well disposed) may bee sufficiently liked: If there were no more knowen then I haue mentioned, which doubtlesse and in great reason is nothing to that which remaineth to be discouered, neither the soyle, nor commodities. As we haue reason so to gather by the difference we found in our trauailes, for although al which I haue before spoken of, haue bene discouered and experimented not farre from the Sea coast, where was our abode and most of our trauailing: yet sometimes as we made our iourneys further into the maine and Countrey; we found the soile to be fatter, the trees greater and to grow thinner, the ground more firme and deeper mould, more and larger champions, finer grasse, and as good as euer we saw any in England; in some places rockie and farre more high and hilly ground, more plentie of their fruites, more abundance of beastes, the more inhabited with people, and of greater pollicie and larger dominions, with greater townes and houses.

Why may wee not then looke for in good hope from the inner parts of more and greater plentie, as well of other things, as of those which wee haue already discouered? Vnto the Spaniards happened the like in discouering the maine of the West Indies. The maine also of this Countrey of Virginia, extending some wayes so many hundreds of leagues, as otherwise then by the relation of the inhabitants wee haue most certaine knowledge of where yet no Christian prince hath any possession or dealing, cannot but yeelde many kinds of excellent commodities, which we in our discouery haue not seene.

What hope there is els to bee gathered of the nature of the climate, being answerable to the Iland of Iapan, the land of China, Persia, Iury, the Ilands of Cyprus and Candy, the South parts of Greece, Italy and Spaine, and of many other notable and famous Countreys, because I meane not to be tedious, I leaue to your owne consideration.

Whereby also the excellent temperature of the aire there at all seasons, much warmer then in England, and neuer so vehemently hot, as sometimes is vnder and betweene the Tropikes, or neere them, cannot be knowen vnto you without further relation.

This want is hereafter to be supplied.

For the holsomnesse thereof I neede to say but this much: that for all the want of prouisson, as first of English victuall, excepting for twentie dayes, we liued onely by drinking water, and by the victuall of the Countrey, of which some sorts were very strange vnto vs, and might haue bene thought to haue altered our temperatures in such sort, as to haue brought vs into some greuious and dangerous diseases: Secondly the want of English meanes, for the taking of beastes, fish and foule, which by the helpe onely of the inhabitants and their meanes could not bee so suddenly and easily prouided for vs, nor in so great number and quantities, nor of that choise as otherwise might haue bene to our better satisfaction and contentment. Some want also we had of clothes. Furthermore in al our trauailes, which were most specially and often in the time of Winter, our lodging was in the open aire vpon the ground. And yet I say for all this, there were but foure of our whole company (being one hundred and eight) that died all the yeere, and that but at the latter ende thereof, and vpon none of the aforesaid causes. For all foure, especially three, were feeble, weake, and sickly persons before euer they come thither, and those that knew them, much marueled that they liued so long being in that case, or had aduentured to trauaile.

Seeing therefore the aire there is so temperate and holsome, the soyle so fertile, and yeelding such commodities, as I haue before mentioned, the also thither to and fro being sufficiently experimented to be performed twise a yeere with ease, and at any season thereof: And the dealing of Sir Walter Ralegh so liberall in large giuing and granting land there, as is already knowen, with many helpes and furtherances else: (The least that he hath granted hath bene fiue hundreth acres to a man onely for the aduenture of his person) I hope there remaines no cause whereby the action should be misliked.

If that those which shall thither trauaile to inhabite and plant bee but reasonably prouided for the first yeere, as those are which were transported the last, and being there, doe vse but that diligence and care, that is requisit, and as they may with ease: There is no doubt but for the time following, they may haue victuall that are excellent good and plentie ynough, some more English sorts of cattell also hereafter, as some haue bene before and there are yet remayning, may and shall be (God willing) thither transported. So likewise, our kinde of fruites, rootes, and hearbes, may be there planted and sowed, as some haue bene already, and proue well: And in short time also they may raise so much of those sorts of commodities which I haue spoken of, as shall both enrich themselues, as also others that shall deale with them.

And this is all the fruit of our labours, that I haue thought necessary to aduertise you of at this present: What else concerneth the nature and maners of the inhabitants of Virginia, the number with the particularities of the voyages thither made, and of the actions of such as haue beene by Sir Walter Ralegh therein, and there imployed, many worthy to be remembred, as of the first discouerers of the Country, of our Generall for the time Sir Richard Grinuil, and after his departure of our Gouernour there Master Ralph Lane, with diuers others directed and imployed vnder their gouernment: Of the Captaines and Masters of the voyages made since for transportation of the Gouernour and assistants of those already transported, as of many persons, accidents, and things els, I haue ready in a discourse by it selfe in maner of a Chronicle, according to the course of times:

which when time shall be thought conuenient, shall be also published.

Thus referring my relation to your fauourable constructions, expecting good successe of the action, from him which is to be acknowledged the authour and gouernour, not onely of this, but of all things els, I take my leaue of you, this moneth of February 1587.

The fourth voyage made to Virginia with three ships, in yere 1587. Wherein was transported the second Colonie.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1587. Sir Walter Ralegh intending to perseuere in the planting of his Countrey of Virginia, prepared a newe Colonie of one hundred and fiftie men to be sent thither, vnder the charge of Iohn White, whom hee appointed Gouernour, and also appointed vnto him twelue Assistants, vnto whom he gaue a Charter, and incorporated them by the name of Gouernour and Assistants of the Citie of Ralegh in Virginia.

April.

OVr Fleete being in number three saile, viz. the Admirall a shippe of one hundred and twentie Tunnes, a Flie-boate, and a Pinnesse, departed the sixe and twentieth of April from Portsmouth, and the same day came to an ancker at the Cowes in the Isle of Wight, where wee stayed eight dayes.

May.

The fift of May, at nine of the clocke at night we came to Plimmouth, where we remained the space of two dayes.

The 8 we weyed anker at Plimmouth, and departed thence for Virginia.

The 16 Simon Ferdinando, Master of our Admirall, lewdly forsooke our Fly-boate, leauing her distressed in the Bay of Portugal.

Iune.

THe 19 we fell with Dominica, and the same euening we sayled betweene it, and Guadalupe: the 21 the Fly-boat also fell with Dominica.

One of the Isles of the Indies inhabited with Sauages.

Circumspection to be vsed in strange places.

The 22 we came to an anker at an Island called Santa Cruz,* where all the planters were set on land, staying there till the 25 of the same moneth. At our first landing on this Island, some of our women, and men, by eating a small fruit like greene Apples, were fearefully troubled with a sudden burning in their mouthes, and swelling of their tongues so bigge, that some of them could not speake. Also a child by sucking one of those womens breasts, had at that instant his mouth set on such a burning, that it was strange to see how the infant was tormented for the time: but after 24 houres it ware away of it selfe.

Also the first night of our being on this Island, we took fiue great Tortoses, some of them of such bignes, that sixteene of our strongest men were tired with carying of one of them but from the sea side to our cabbins. In this Island we found no watring place, but a standing ponde, the water whereof was so euill, that many of our company fell sicke with drinking thereof: and as many as did but wash their faces with that water, in the morning before the Sunne had drawen away the corruption, their faces did so burne and swell, that their eyes were shut vp, and could not see in fiue or sixe dayes, or longer.

The second day of our abode there, we sent forth some of our men to search the Island for fresh water, three one way, and two another way. The Gouernour also, with sixe others, went vp to the top of an high hill, to viewe the Island, but could perceiue no signe of any men, or beastes, nor any goodnes, but Parots, and trees of Guiacum. Returning backe to our cabbins another way, he found in the discent of a hill, certaine potsheards of sauage making, made of the earth of that Island: whereupon it was iudged, that this Island was inhabited with Sauages, though Fernando had told vs for certaine the contrary. The same day at night, the rest of our company very late returned to the Gouernour. The one company affirmed, that they had seene in a valley eleuen Sauages, and diuers houses halfe a mile distant from the steepe, or toppe of the hill where they stayed. The other company had found running out of a high rocke a very fayre spring of water, whereof they brought three bottels to the company for before that time, wee drank the stinking water of the pond.

---

* One of the Virgin Islands.

The same second day at night Captaine Stafford, with the Pinnesse, departed from our fleete, riding at Santa Cruz, to an Island, called Beake, lying neere S. Iohn, being so directed by Ferdinando, who assured him he should there find great plenty of sheepe. The next day at night, our planters left Santa Cruz, and came all aboord, and the next morning after, being the 25 of Iune we weyed anker, and departed from Santa Cruz.

The seuen and twentieth we came to anker at Cottea, where we found the Pinnesse riding at our comming.

The 28 we weyed anker at Cottea, and presently came to anker at S. Iohns in Musketos Bay,* where we spent three dayes vnprofitable in taking in fresh water, spending in the meane time more beere then the quantitie of the water came vnto.

Iulie.

Musketos Bay, is a harbour vpon the south side of S. Iohns Island, where we take in fresh water.

THe first day we weyed anker at Musketoes Bay, where were left behind two Irish men of our company, Darbie Glauen, and Denice Carrell, bearing along the coast of S. Iohns till euening, at which time wee fell with Rosse Bay. At this place Ferdinando had promised wee should take in salte, and had caused vs before, to make and prouide as many sackes for that purpose, as we could. The Gouernour also, for that hee vnderstood there was a Towne in the bottome of the Bay, not farre from the salt hils, appointed thirty shot, tenne pikes, and ten targets, to man the Pinnesse, and to goe aland for salt. Ferdinando perceiuing them in a readines, sent to the Gouernour, vsing great perswasions with him, not to take in salt there, saying that hee knew not well whether the same were the place or not: also, that if the Pinnesse went into the Bay, she could not without great danger come backe, till the next day at night, and that if in the meane time any storme should rise, the Admirall were in danger to bee cast away. Whilest he was thus perswading, he caused the lead to be cast, and hauing craftily brought the shippe in three fadome and a halfe water, he suddenly began to sweare, and teare God in pieces, dissembling great danger, crying to him at the helme, beare vp hard, beare vp hard: so we went off, and were disappointed of our salt, by his meanes.

The next day sayling along the west end of S. Iohn, the

---

* Now called Crux Bay.

Gouernour determined to go aland in S. Germans Bay, to gather yong plants of Orenges, Pines, Mameas, and Plantanos, to set at Virginia, which we knew might easily be had, for that they grow neere the shore, and the places where they grew, well knowen to the Gouernour, and some of the planters: but our Simon denied it, saying: he would come to an anker at Hispaniola, and there land the Gouernour, and some other of the Assistants, with the pinnesse, to see if he could speake with his friend Alanson, of whom he hoped to be furnished both of cattell, and all such things as we would haue taken in at S. Iohn: but he meant nothing lesse, as it plainely did appeare to vs afterwards.

A pleasant and fruitfull countrey, lying on the west end of S. Iohns Island, where groweth plenty of Orenges, Limons, Plantans, and Pines.

The next day after, being the third of Iuly, we saw Hispaniola, and bare with the coast all that day, looking still when the pinnesse should be prepared to goe for the place where Ferdinando his friend Alanson was: but that day passed, and we saw no preparation for landing in Hispaniola.

The 4. of Iuly, sayling along the coast of Hispaniola, vntill the next day at noone, and no preparation yet seene for the staying there, we hauing knowledge that we were past the place where Alanson dwelt, and were come with Isabella: hereupon Ferdinando was asked by the Gouernour, whether he meant to speake with Alanson, for the taking in of cattell, and other things, according to his promise, or not: but he answered that he was now past the place, and that Sir Walter Ralegh told him, the French Ambassador certified him, that the king of Spaine had sent for Alanson into Spaine: wherefore he thought him dead, and that it was to no purpose to touch there in any place, at this voyage.

The next day we left sight of Hispaniola, and haled off for Virginia, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone.

The sixt day of Iuly we came to the Island Caycos, wherein Ferdinando sayd were two salt pondes, assuring vs that if they were drie we might find salt to shift with, vntill the next supply: but it prooued as true as finding of sheepe at Baque. In this Island, whilest Ferdinando solaced himselfe ashore, with one of the company, in part of the Island, others spent the latter part of that day in other parts of the Iland, some to seeke the salt ponds, some fowling, some hunting Swans, whereof we caught many. The next day early in the morning we weyed anker, leauing

Caycos, with good hope, that the first land that we saw next should be Virginia.

About the 16 of Iuly we fel with the maine of Virginia, which Simon Ferdinando tooke to be the Island of Croatoan, where we came to anker, and rode there two or three dayes: but finding himselfe deceiued, he weyed, and bare along the coast, where in the night, had not Captaine Stafford bene more carefull in looking out, then our Simon Ferdinando, we had bene all cast away vpon the breach, called the Cape of Feare, for we were come within two cables length vpon it: such was the carelesnes, and ignorance of our Master.

The two and twentieth of Iuly wee arriued safe at Hatorask, where our ship and pinnesse ankered: the Gouernour went aboord the pinnesse, accompanied with fortie of his best men, intending to passe vp to Roanoak foorthwith, hoping there to finde those fifteene Englishmen, which Sir Richard Grinuile had left there the yeere before, with whom he meant to haue conference, concerning the state of the Countrey, and Sauages, meaning after he had so done, to returne againe to the fleete, and passe along the coast, to the Bay of Chesepiok where we intended to make our seate and forte, according to the charge giuen vs among other directions in writing, vnder the hande of Sir Walter Ralegh: but assoone as we were put with our pinnesse from the ship, a Gentleman by the meanes of Ferdinando, who was appointed to returne for England, called to the sailers in the pinnesse, charging them not to bring any of the planters backe againe, but to leaue them in the Island, except the Gouernour, and two or three such as he approued, saying that the Summer was farre spent, wherefore hee would land all the planters in no other place. Vnto this were all the saylers, both in the pinnesse, and shippe, perswaded by the Master, wherefore it booted not the Gouernour to contend with them, but passed to Roanoak, and the same night at sunne-set went aland on the Island, in the place where our fifteene men were left, but we found none of them, nor any signe that they had bene there, sauing onely wee found the bones of one of those fifteene, which the Sauages had slaine long before.

An intent to plant in the Bay of Chesepiok.

The three and twentieth of Iuly the Gouernour with diuers of his company, walked to the North ende of the Island, where Master Ralfe Lane had his forte, with sundry necessary and decent dwelling houses, made by his men about it the yeere before, where wee hoped to find some signes, or certaine knowledge of our fifteene men. When we came thither, we found the fort rased downe, but all the houses standing vnhurt, sauing that the neather roomes of them, and also of the forte, were ouergrowen with Melons of diuers sortes, and Deere within them, feeding on those Melons: so wee returned to our company, without hope of euer seeing any of the fifteene men liuing.

The same day order was giuen, that euery man should be employed for the repayring of those houses, which wee found standing, and also to make other new Cottages, for such as should neede.

The 25 our Flyboate and the rest of our planters arriued all safe at Hatoraske, to the great ioy and comfort of the whole company: but the Master of our Admirall Ferdinando grieued greatly at their safe comming: for hee purposely left them in the Bay of Portugal, and stole away from them in the night, hoping that the Master thereof, whose name was Edward Spicer, for that he neuer had bene in Virginia, would hardly finde the place, or els being left in so dangerous a place as that was, by meanes of so many men of warre, as at that time were abroad, they should surely be taken, or slaine: but God disappointed his wicked pretenses.

The eight and twentieth, George Howie, one of our twelue Assistants was slaine by diuers Sauages, which were come ouer to Roanoak, either of purpose to espie our company, and what we were, or else to hunt Deere, whereof were many in the Island. These Sauages being secretly hidden among high reedes, where oftentimes they find the Deere asleep, and so kill them, espied our man wading in the water alone, almost naked, without any weapon, saue only a smal forked sticke, catching Crabs therewithall, and also being strayed two miles from his company, and shot at him in the water, where they gaue him sixteen wounds with their arrowes: and after they had slaine him with their woodden swords, they beat his head in pieces, and fled ouer the water to the maine.

On the thirtieth of Iuly Master Stafford and twenty of our men passed by water to the Island of Croatoan, with Manteo, who had his mother, and many of his kindred dwelling in that Island, of whom wee hoped to vnderstand some newes of our fifteene men, but especially to learne the disposition of the people of the countrey toward vs, and to renew our old friendship with them.

At our first landing they seemed as though they would fight with vs: but perceiuing vs begin to march with our shot towardes them, they turned their backes, and fled. Then Manteo their countrey man called to them in their owne language, whom, assoone as they heard, they returned, and threwe away their bowes and arrowes, and some of them came vnto vs, embracing and entertaining vs friendly, desiring vs not to gather or spill any of their corne, for that they had but little. We answered them, that neither their corne, nor any other thing of theirs, should be diminished by any of vs, and that our comming was onely to renew the old loue, that was betweene vs and them at the first, and to liue with them as brethren and friends: which answer seemed to please them well, wherefore they requested vs to walke vp to their Towne, who there feasted vs after their maner, and desired vs earnestly, that there might bee some token or badge giuen them of vs, whereby we might know them to be our friends, when we met them any where out of the Towne or Island. They told vs further, that for want of some such badge, diuers of them were hurt the yeere before, being found out of the Island by Master Lane his company, whereof they shewed vs one, which at that very instant lay lame, and had lien of that hurt euer since: but they sayd, they knew our men mistooke them, and hurt them instead of Winginos men, wherefore they held vs excused.

August.

THe next day we had conference further with them, concerning the people of Secotan, Aquascogoc, and Pomeiok, willing them of Croatoan to certifie the people of those townes, that if they would accept our friendship, we would willingly receiue them againe, and that all vnfriendly dealings past on both parts, should be vtterly forgiuen and forgotten. To this the chiefe men of Croatoan answered, that they would gladly doe the best they could, and within seuen dayes, bring the Wiroances and chiefe Gouernours of those townes with them, to our Gouernour at Roanoak, or their answere. We also vnderstood of the men of Croatoan, that our man Master Howe was slaine by the remnant of Winginos men dwelling then at Dasamonguepeuk, with whom Wanchese kept companie: and also we vnderstood by them of Croatoan, how that the 15 Englishmen left at Roanoak the yeere before, by Sir Richard Grinuile, were suddenly set vpon, by 30 of the men of Secota, Aquascogoc, and Dasamonguepeuk in manner following. They conueyed themselues secretly behind the trees, neere the houses where our men carelesly liued: and hauing perceiued that of those fifteene they could see but eleuen onely, two of those Sauages appeared to the 11 Englishmen calling to them by friendly signes, that but two of their chiefest men should come vnarmed to speake with those two Sauages, who seemed also to be vnarmed. Wherefore two of the chiefest of our Englishmen went gladly to them: but whilest one of those Sauages traiterously imbraced one of our men, the other with his sworde of wood, which he had secretly hidden vnder his mantell, strooke him on the heade and slew him, ane presently the other eight and twentie Sauages shewed them selues: the other Englishman perceiuing this, fled to his company, whom the Sauages pursued with their bowes, and arrowes, so fast, that the Englishmen were forced to take the house, wherein all their victuall, and weapons were: but the Sauages foorthwith set the same on fire: by meanes wherof our men were forced to take vp such weapons as came first to hand, and without order to runne forth among the Sauages, with whom they skirmished aboue an howre. In this skirmish another of our men was shotte into the mouth with an arrow, where hee died: and also one of the Sauages was shot into the side by one of our men, with a wild fire arrow, whereof he died presently. The place where they fought was of great aduantage to the Sauages, by meanes of the thicke trees, behinde which the Sauages through their nimblenes, defended themselues, and so offended our men with their arrowes, that our men being some of them hurt, retyred fighting to the water side, where their boat lay, with which they fled towards Hatorask. By that time they had rowed but a quarter of a mile, they espied their foure fellowes coming from a creeke thereby, where they had bene to fetch Oysters: these foure they receiued into their boate, leauing Roanoak, and landed on a little Island on the right hand of our entrance into the harbour of Hatorask, where they remayned a while, but afterward departed, whither as yet we know not.

Hauing nowe sufficiently dispatched our businesse at Croatoan, the same day we departed friendly, taking our leaue, and came aboord the fleete at Hatorask.

The eight of August, the Gouernour hauing long expected the comming of the Wiroanses of Pomeiok, Aquascogoc, Secota, and Dasamonguepeuk, seeing that the seuen dayes were past, within which they promised to come in, or to send their answeres by the men of Croatoan, and no tidings of them heard, being certainly also informed by those men of Croatoan, that the remnant of Wingina his men, which were left aliue, who dwelt at Dasamonquepeuk, were they which had slaine George Howe, and were also at the driuing of our eleuen Englishmen from Roanoak, hee thought to deferre the reuenge thereof no longer. Wherefore the same night about midnight, he passed ouer the water, accompanied with Captaine Stafford, and 24 men, wherof Manteo was one, whom we tooke with vs to be our guide to the place where those Sauages dwelt, where he behaued himselfe toward vs as a most faithfull Englishman.

The next day, being the 9 of August, in the morning so early that it was yet darke, we landed neere the dwelling place of our enemies, and very secretly conueyed our selues through the woods, to that side, where we had their houses betweene vs and the water: and hauing espied their fire, and some sitting about it, we presently set on them: the miserable soules herewith amazed, fled into a place of thicke reedes, growing fast by, where our men perceiuing them, shot one of them through the bodie with a bullet, and therewith we entered the reedes, among which we hoped to acquite their euill doing towards vs, but we were deceiued, for those Sauages were our friends, and were come from Croatoan to gather the corne and fruit of that place, because they vnderstood our enemies were fled immediatly after they had slaine George Howe, and for ha te had left all their corne, Tobacco, and Pompions standing in such sort, that al had bene deuoured of the birds, and Deere, if it had not bene gathered in time: but they had like to haue payd deerely for it: for it was so darke, that they being naked, and their men and women apparelled all so like others, wee knew not but that they were al men: and if that one of them which was a Wiroances wife had not had a child at her backe, shee had bene slaine in stead of a man, and as hap was, another Sauage knew master Stafford, and ran to him, calling him by his name, whereby hee was saued. Finding our selues thus disappointed of our purpose, we gathered al the corne, Pease, Pompions, and Tobacco that we found ripe, leauing the rest vnspoyled, and tooke Menatoan his wife, with the yong child, and the other Sauages with vs ouer the water to Roanoak. Although the mistaking of these Sauages somewhat grieued Manteo, yet he imputed their harme to their owne folly, saying to them, that if their Wiroances had kept their promise in comming to the Gouernour at the day appointed, they had not knowen that mischance.

The 13 of August our Sauage Manteo, by the commandement of Sir Walter Ralegh, was christened in Roanoak, and called Lord thereof, and of Dasamonguepeuk, in reward of his faithfull seruices.

The 18 Elenor, daughter to the Gouernour, and wife to Ananias Dare one of the Assistants, was deliuered of a daughter in Roanoak, and the same was christened there the Sonday following, and because this child was the first Christian borne in Virginia, shee was named Virginia. By this time our ships had vnladen the goods and victuals of the planters, and began to take in wood, and fresh water, and to new calke and trimme them for England: the planters also prepared their letters and tokens to send backe into England.

Our two ships, the Lion and the Flyboat almost ready to depart, the 21 of August, there arose such a tempest at Northeast, that our Admirall then riding out of the harbour, was forced to cut his cables, and put to sea, where he lay beating off and on sixe dayes before he could come to vs againe, so that we feared he had bene cast away, and the rather for that at the time that the storme tooke them, the most and best of their sailers were left aland.

At this time some controuersies arose betweene the Gouernour and Assistants, about choosing two out of the twelue Assistants, which should goe backe as factors for the company into England: for euery one of them refused, saue onely one, which all other thought not sufficient: but at length by much perswading of the Gouernour, Christopher Cooper only agreed to goe for England: but the next day, through the perswasion of diuers of his familiar friends, hee changed his minde, so that now the matter stood as at the first.

The next day, the 22 of August, the whole company both of the Assistants and planters came to the Gouernour, and with one voice requested him to returne himselfe into England, for the better and sooner obtaining of supplies, and other necessaries for them: but he refused it, and alleaged many sufficient causes, why he would not: the one was, that he could not so suddenly returne backe againe without his great discredite, leauing the action, and so many whome hee partly had procured through his perswasions, to leaue their natiue countrey, and vndertake tha voyage, and that some enemies to him and the action at his returne into England would not spare to slander falsly both him and the action, by saying, hee went to Virginia, but politikely, and to no other end but to leade so many into a countrey, in which hee neuer meant to stay himselfe, and there to leaue them behind him. Also he alleaged, that seeing they intended to remoue 50 miles further vp into the maine presently, he being then absent, his stuffe and goods might be both spoiled, and most of them pilfered away in the cariage, so that at his returne he should be either forced to prouide himselfe of all suche things againe, or else at his comming againe to Virginia find himselfe vtterly vnfurnished, whereof already he had found some proofe, being but once from them but three dayes. Wherefore he concluded that he would not goe himselfe.

Their meaning to remoue 50 miles into the countrey.

The next day, not onely the Assistants but diuers others, as well women as men, began to renew their requests to the Gouernour againe, to take vpon him to returne into England for the supply, and dispatch of all such things as there were to be done, promising to make him their bond vnder all their handes and seales for the safe preseruing of all his goods for him at his returne to Virginia, so that if any part thereof was spoyled or lost, they would see it restored to him, or his Assignes, whensoeuer the same should be missed and demanded: which bond, with a testimony vnder their hands and seales, they foorthwith made, and deliuered into his hands. The copie of the testimony I thought good to set downe.

"May it please you, her Maiesties subiects of England, we your friends and countrey-men, the planters in Virginia, doe by these presents let you and euery of you to vnderstand, that for the present and speedy supply of certaine our knowen and apparent lackes and needes, most requisite and necessary for the good and happy planting of vs, or any other in this land of Virginia, wee all of one minde and consent, haue most earnestly intreated, and vncessantly requested Iohn White, Gouernour of the planters in Virginia, to passe into England, for the better and more assured help, and setting forward of the foresayd supplies:

and knowing assuredly that he both can best, and wil labour and take paines in that behalfe for vs all, and he not once, but often refusing it, for our sakes, and for the honour and maintenance of the action, hath at last, though much against his will, through our importunacie, yeelded to leaue his gouernement, and all his goods among vs, and himselfe in all our behalfes to passe into England, of whose knowledge and fidelitie in handling this matter, as all others, we doe assure ourselues by these presents, and will you to giue all credite thereunto, the 25 of August 1587.

The Gouernour being at the last through their extreame intreating constrayned to returne into England, hauing then but halfe a dayes respite to prepare himselfe for the same, departed from Roanoak the seuen and twentieth of August in the morning and the same day about midnight, came aboord the Flieboat, who already had weyed anker, and rode without the barre, the Admirall riding by them, who but the same morning was newly come thither againe. The same day both ships weyed anker, and set saile for England : at this weying their ankers, twelue of the men which were in the Flyboate were throwen from the Capstone, which by meanes of a barre that brake, came so fast about them, that the other two barres thereof strooke and hurt most of them so sore, that some of them neuer recouered it; neuerthelesse they assayed presently againe to wey their anker, but being so weakened with the first fling, they were not able to weye it, but were throwen downe and hurt the second time. Wherefore hauing in all but fifteene men aboord, and most of them by this vnfortunate beginning so bruised, and hurt, they were forced to cut their Cable, and leese their anker. Neuerthelesse, they kept company with the Admirall, vntill the seuenteenth of September, at which time wee fell with Coruo, and sawe Flores.

September.

THe eighteenth, perceiuing that of all our fifteene men in the Flyboat there remained but fiue, which by meanes of the former mischance, were able to stand to their labour: and that the Admirall meant not to make any haste for England but to linger about the Island of Tercera for purchase: the Flyboate departed for England with letters, where we hoped by the helpe of God to arriue shortly: but by that time we had continued our course homeward about twentie dayes, hauing had sometimes scarse and variable windes, our fresh water also by leaking almost consumed there arose a storme at Northeast, which for sixe dayes ceased not to blowe so exceeding, that we were driuen further in those sixe then we could recouer in thirteene daies: in which time others of our saylers began to fall very sicke and two of them dyed, the weather also continued so close, that our Master sometimes in foure dayes together could see neither sunne nor starre, and all the beuerage we could make, with stinking water, dregs of beere, and lees of wine which remayned, was but three gallons, and therefore nowe we expected nothing but famine to perish at Sea.

October.

THe 16 of October we made land, but we knewe not what land it was, bearing in with the same land at that day: about sunne set we put into a harbour, where we found a Hulke of Dublin, and a pinnesse of Hampton * riding, but we knew not as yet what place this was, neither had we any boate to goe ashore, vntill the pinnesse sent off their boate to vs with 6 or 8 men, of whom wee vnderstood wee were in Smerwick in the West parts of Ireland: they also relieued vs presently with fresh water, wine and other fresh meate.

Smerwick in the West of Ireland.

The 18 the Gouernour and the Master ryd to Dingen a Cushe,† 5 miles distant, to take order for the new victualing of our Flieboat for England, and for reliefe of our sicke and hurt men, but within foure daies after the Boatswain, the Steward, and the Boatswains mate died aboord the Flieboat, and the 28 the Masters mate and two of our chiefe sailers were brought sicke to Dingen.

Nouember.

THe first the Gouernour shipped himselfe in a ship called the Monkie, which at that time was ready to put to sea from Dingen for England, leauing the Flyboat and all his companie in Ireland. The same day we set sayle, and on the third day we fell with the North side of the lands end, and were shut vp the Seuerne, but the next day we doubled the same for Mounts Bay.

---

* Littlehampton.

† Probably Dingle, County Kerry.

The 5 the Gouernour landed in England at Martasew, neere Saint Michaels mount in Cornewall.

The 8 we arriued at Hampton, where we vnderstood that our consort the Admirall was come to Portsmouth, and had bene there three weekes before: and also that Ferdinando the Master with all his company were not onely come home without purchase, but also in such weaknesse by sicknesse, and death of their chiefest men, that they were scarse able to bring their ship into harbour, but were forced to let fall anker without, which they could not wey againe, but might all haue perished there, if a small barke by a great hap had not come to them to helpe them. The names of the chiefe men that died are these, Roger Large, Iohn Mathew, Thomas Smith, and some other saylers, whose names I knew not at the writing hereof. An. Dom. 1587.

The names of all the men, women and children, which safely arriued in Virginia, and remained to inhabite there. 1587. Anno regni Reginæ Elizabethæ. 29.

IOhn White.
Ananias Dare.
Thomas Steuens.
Dyonis Haruie.
George How.
Nicholas Iohnson.
Anthony Cage.
William Willes.
Cutbert White.
Clement Tayler.
Iohn Cotsmur.
Thomas Colman.
Marke Bennet.
Iohn Stilman.
Iohn Tydway.
Edmond English.
Henry Berry.
Iohn Spendloue.
Thomas Butler.
Iohn Burden.
Thomas Ellis.
Michael Myllet.

Roger Baily.
Christopher Cooper.
Iohn Sampson.
Roger Prat.
Simon Fernando.
Thomas Warner.
Iohn Iones.
Iohn Brooke.
Iohn Bright.
William Sole.
Humfrey Newton.
Thomas Gramme.
Iohn Gibbes.
Robert Wilkinson.
Ambrose Viccars.
Thomas Topan.
Richard Berry
Iohn Hemmington.
Edward Powell.
Iames Hynde.
William Browne.
Thomas Smith.

Richard Kemme.
Richard Tauerner.
Henry Iohnson.
Richard Darige.
Arnold Archard.
William Dutton.
William Waters.
Iohn Chapman.
Robert Little.
Richard Wildye.
Michael Bishop.
Henry Rufoote
Henry Dorrell.
Henry Mylton.
Thomas Harris.
Thomas Pheuens.
Thomas Scot.
Iohn Wyles.
George Martyn.
Martin Sutton.
Iohn Bridger.
Richard Shabedge.
Iohn Cheuen.
William Berde.

Thomas Harris.
Iohn Earnest.
Iohn Starte.
William Lucas.
Iohn Wright.
Mauris Allen.
Richard Arthur.
William Clement.
Hugh Tayler.
Lewes Wotton.
Henry Browne.
Richard Tomkins.
Charles Florrie.
Henry Paine.
William Nichols.
Iohn Borden.
Peter Little.
Brian Wyles.
Hugh Pattenson.
Iohn Farre.
Griffen Iones.
Iames Lasie.
Thomas Hewet.

Women.

Elyoner Dare.
Agnes Wood
Ioyce Archard
Elizabeth Glane.
Audry Tappan.
Emme Merrimoth.
Margaret Lawrence.
Iane Mannering.
Elizabeth Viccars.

Margery Haruie.
Wenefrid Powell.
Iane Iones.
Iane Pierce.
Alis Chapman.
Colman.
Ioan Warren.
Rose Payne.

Boyes and children.

Iohn Sampson.
Ambrose Viccars.
Thomas Humfrey.
George How.
William Wythers.

Robert Ellis.
Thomas Archard.
Thomas Smart.
Iohn Prat.

Children borne in Virginia.

Virginia Dare. Haruie.

Sauages that were in England and returned home into Virginia with them.

Manteo. Towaye.

To the Worshipful and my very friend Master Richard Hakluyt, much happinesse in the Lord.

SIr, as well for the satisfying of your earnest request, as the performance of my promise made vnto you at my last being with you in England, I haue sent you (although in a homely stile, especially for the contentation of a delicate care) the true discourse of my last voyage into the West Indies, and partes of America called Virginia, taken in hand about the end of Februarie, in the yeare of our redemption 1590. And what euents happened vnto vs in this our iourney, you shall plainely perceiue by the sequele of my discourse. There were at the time aforesaid three ships absolutely determined to goe for the West Indies, at the speciall charges of M. Iohn Wattes of London Marchant. But when they were fully furnished, and in readinesse to make their departure, a generall stay was commanded of all ships thorowout England. Which so soone as I heard, I presently (as I thought it most requisite) acquainted Sir Walter Ralegh therewith, desiring him that as I had sundry times afore bene chargeable and troublesome vnto him, for the supplies and reliefes of the planters in Virginia: so likewise, that by his endeuour it would please him at that instant to procure license for those three ships to proceede on with their determined voyage, that thereby the people in Virginia (if it were Gods pleasure) might speedily be comforted and relieued without further charges vnto him. Whereupon he by his good meanes obtained license of the Queenes Maiestie, and order to be taken, that the owner of the 3 ships should be bound vnto Sir Walter Ralegh or his assignes, in 3000 pounds, that those 3 ships in consideration of their releasement should take in, and transport a conuenient number of passengers, with their furnitures and necessaries to be landed in Virginia. Neuerthelesse that order was not obserued, neither was the bond taken according to the intention aforesaid. But rather in contempt of the aforesaid order, I was by the owner and Commanders of the ships denied to haue any passengers, or any thing els transported in any of the said ships, sauing only my selfe and my chest; no not so much as a boy to attend vpon me, although I made great sute, and earnest intreatie aswell to the chiefe Commanders, as to the owner of the said ships. Which crosse and vnkind dealing, although it very much discontented me, notwithstanding the scarsity of time was such, that I could haue no opportunity to go vnto Sir Walter Ralegh with complaint: for the ships being then all in readinesse to goe to the Sea, would haue bene departed before I could haue made my returne. Thus both Gouernors, Masters, and sailers, regarding very smally the good of their countreymen in Virginia; determined nothing lesse then to touch at those places, but wholly disposed themselues to seeke after purchase and spoiles, spending so much time therein, that sommer was spent before we arriued at Virginia. And when we were come thither, the season was so vnfit, and weather so foule, that we were constrained of force to forsake that coast, hauing not seene any of our planters, with losse of one of our ship-boates, and 7 of our chiefest men: and also with losse of 3 of our ankers and cables, and most of our caskes with fresh water left on shore, not possible to be had aboord. Which euils and vnfortunate euents (as wel to their owne losse as to the hinderance of the planters in Virginia) had not chanced, if the order set downe by Sir Walter Ralegh had bene obserued, or if my dayly and continuall petitions for the performance of the same might haue taken any place. Thus may you plainely perceiue the successe of my fift and last voiage to Virginia, which was no lesse vnfortunately ended then frowardly begun, and as lucklesse to many, as sinister to my selfe. But I would to God it had bene as prosperous to all, as noysome to the planters; and as ioyfull to me, as discomfortable to them. Yet seeing it is not my first crossed voyage, I remaine contented. And wanting my wishes, I leaue off from prosecuting that whereunto I would to God my wealth were answerable to my will. Thus committing the reliefe of my discomfortable company the planters in Virginia, to the merciful help of the Almighty, whom I most humbly beseech to helpe and comfort them, according to his most holy will and their good desire, I take my leaue: from my house at Newtowne in Kylmore the 4 of February, 1593.

Your most welwishing friend,
IOHN WHITE.

The fift voyage of M. Iohn White into the West Indies and parts of America called Virginia, in the yeere 1590.

THe 20 of March the three shippes the Hopewell, the Iohn Euangelist, and the little Iohn, put to sea from Plymmouth with two small Shallops.

The 25 at midnight both our Shallops were sunke being towed at the ships stearnes by the Boatswaines negligence.

On the 30 we saw a head vs that part of the coast of Barbary, lying East of Cape Cantyn, and the Bay of Asaphi.

The next day we came to the Ile of Mogador, where rode, at our passing by, a Pinnesse of London called the Mooneshine.

Aprill.

On the first of Aprill we ankored in Santa Cruz rode, where we found two great shippes of London lading in Sugar, of whom we had 2 shipboats to supply the losse of our Shalops.

On the 2 we set sayle from the rode of Santa Cruz for the Canaries.

On Saturday the 4 we saw Alegranza, the East Ile of the Canaries.

On Sunday the 5 of Aprill we gaue chase to a double flyboat, the which, we also the same day fought with, and tooke her, with losse of three of their men slaine, and one hurt.

On Munday the 6 we saw Grand Canarie, and the next day we landed and tooke in fresh water on the Southside thereof.

On the 9. we departed from Grand Canary, and framed our course for Dominica.

The last of Aprill we saw Dominica, and the same night we came to an anker on the Southside thereof.

May.

THe first of May in the morning many of the Saluages came aboord our ships in their Canowes, and did traffique with vs; we also the same day landed and entered their Towne from whence we returned the same day aboord without any resistance of the Saluages; or any offence done to them.

The 2 of May our Admirall and our Pinnesse departed from Dominica leauing the Iohn our Viceadmirall playing off and on about Dominica, hoping to take some Spaniard outwardes bound to the Indies; the same night we had sight of three smal Ilands called Los Santos, leauing Guadaloupe and them on our starboord.

The 3 we had sight of S. Christophers Iland, bearing Northeast and by East off vs.

On the 4 we sayled by the Virgines, which are many broken Ilands, lying at the East ende of S. Iohns Iland: and the same day towards euening we landed vpon one of them called Blanca, where we killed an incredible number of foules: here we stayed but three houres, and from thence stood into the shore Northwest, and hauing brought this Iland Southeast off vs, we put towards night thorow an opening or swatch, called The passage, lying betweene the Virgines, and the East end of S. Iohn: here the Pinnesse left vs, and sayled on the South side of S. Iohn.

The 5 and 6 the Admirall sayled along the North side of S. Iohn, so neere the shore that the Spaniards discerned vs to be men of warre; and therefore made fires along the coast as we sailed by, for so their custome is, when they see any men of warre on their coasts.

The 7 we landed on the Northwest end of S. Iohn, where we watered in a good riuer called Yaguana, and the same night following we tooke a Frigate of tenne Tunne comming from Gwathanelo laden with hides and ginger. In this place Pedro a Mollato, who knewe all our state ranne from vs to the Spaniards.

On the 9 we departed from Yaguana.

The 13 we landed on an Iland called Mona, whereon were 10 or 12 houses inhabited of the Spaniards; these we burned and tooke from them a Pinnesse, which they had drawen a ground and sunke, and caried all her sayles, mastes, and rudders into the woods, because we should not take him away; we also chased the Spaniards ouer all the Iland; but they hid them in caues, hollow rockes, and bushes, so that we could not find them.

On the 14 we departed from Mona, and the next day after wee came to an Iland called Saona, about 5 leagues distant from Mona, lying on the Southside of Hispaniola neere the East end: betweene these two Ilands we lay off and on 4 or 5 dayes, hoping to take some of the Domingo fleete doubling this Iland, as a neerer way to Spaine then by Cape Tyburon, or by Cape S. Anthony.

On Thursday being the 19 our Viceadmirall, from whom we departed at Dominica, came to vs at Saona, with whom we left a Spanish Frigate, and appointed him to lie off and on other fiue daies betweene Saona and Mona to the ende aforesaid; then we departed from them at Saona for Cape Tyburon. Here I was enformed that our men of the Viceadmirall, at their departure from Dominica brought away two young Saluages, which were the chiefe Casiques sonnes of that Countrey and part of Dominica, but they shortly after ran away from them at Santa Cruz Iland, where the Viceadmirall landed to take in ballast.

On the 21 the Admirall came to the Cape Tyburon, where we found the Iohn Euangelist our Pinnesse staying for vs: here we tooke in two Spaniards almost starued on the shore, who made a fire to our ships as we passed by. Those places for an 100 miles in length are nothing els but a desolate and meere wildernesse, without any habitation of people, and full of wilde Bulles and Bores, and great Serpents.

The 22 our Pinnesse came also to an anker in Aligato Bay at cape Tyburon. Here we vnderstood of M. Lane, Captaine of the Pinnesse; how he was set vpon with one of the kings Gallies belonging to Santo Domingo, which was manned with 400 men, who after he had fought with him 3 or 4 houres, gaue ouer the fight and forsooke him, without any great hurt done on eyther part.

The 26 the Iohn our Vizeadmirall came to vs to cape Tyburon and the Frigat which we left with him at Saona. This was the appointed place where we should attend for the meeting with the Santo Domingo Fleete.

On Whitsunday Euen at Cape Tyburon one of our boyes ranne away from vs, and at tenne dayes end returned to our ships almost starued for want of food. In sundry places about this part of Cape Tyburon we found the bones and carkases of diuers men, who had perished (as wee thought) by famine in those woods, being either stragled from their company, or landed there by some men of warre.

Iune.

ON the 14 of Iune we tooke a smal Spanish frigat which fell amongst vs so suddenly, as he doubled the point at the Bay of Cape Tyburon, where we road, so that he could not escape vs. This frigat came from Santo Domingo, and had but three men in her, the one was an expert Pilot, the other a Mountainer, and the thirde a Vintener, who escaped all of prison at Santo Domingo, purposing to fly to Yaguana which is a towne in the West parts of Hispaniola where many fugitiue Spaniards are gathered together.

The 17 being Wednesday Captaine Lane was sent to Yaguana with his Pinnesse and a Frigat to take a shippe, which was there taking in fraight, as we vnderstood by the old Pylot, whom we had taken three dayes before.

The 24 the Frigat returned from Captaine Lane at Yaguana, and brought vs word to cape Tyburon, that Captaine Lane had taken the shippe, with many passengers and Negroes in the same; which proued not so rich a prize as we hoped for, for that a Frenchman of warre had taken and spoyled her before we came. Neuerthelesse her loading was thought worth 1000 or 1300 pounds, being hides, ginger, Cannafistula, Copper-pannes, and Casaui.

Iuly.

THe second of Iuly Edward Spicer whom we left in England came to vs at cape Tyburon, accompanied with a small Pinnesse, whereof one M. Harps was Captaine. And the same day we had sight of a fleete of 14 saile all of Santo Domingo, to whom we presently gaue chase, but they vpon the first sight of vs fled, and separating themselues scattered here and there: Wherefore we were forced to diuide our selues and so made after them vntill 12 of the clocke at night. But then by reason of the darkenesse we lost sight of ech other, yet in the end the Admirall and the Moonelight happened to be together the same night at the fetching vp of the Vizadmirall of the Spanish fleete, against whom the next morning we fought and tooke him, with losse of one of our men and two hurt, and of theirs 4 slaine and 6 hurt. But what was become of our Viceadmirall, our Pinnesse, and Prize, and two Frigates, in all this time, we were ignorant.

The fight was in sight of the Iland of Nauaza.*

The 3 of Iuly we spent about rifling, romaging, and fitting the Prize to be sayled with vs.

The 6 of Iuly we saw Iamayca the which we left on our larboord, keeping Cuba in sight on our starboord.

---

* Novassa, south of the Windward Passage.

Vpon the 8 of Iuly we saw the Iland of Pinos, which lieth on the Southside of Cuba nigh vnto the West end or Cape called Cape S. Anthony. And the same day we gaue chase to a Frigat, but at night we lost sight of her, partly by the slow sayling of our Admirall, and lacke of the Moonelight our Pinnesse, whom Captaine Cooke had sent to the Cape the day before.

On the 11 we came to Cape S. Anthony, where we found our consort the Moonelight and her Pinnesse abiding for our comming, of whom we vnderstood that the day before there passed by them 22 saile, some of them of the burden of 300 and some 400 tunnes loaden with the Kings treasure from the maine, bound for Hauana: from this 11 of Iuly vntill 22 we were much becalmed: and the winde being very scarse, and the weather exceeding hoat, we were much pestered with the Spaniards we had taken: wherefore we were driuen to land all the Spaniards sauing three, but the place where we landed them was of their owne choise on the Southside of Cuba neere vnto the Organes and Rio de Puercos.

The 23 we had sight of the Cape of Florida, and the broken Ilands thereof called the Martires.*

The 25 being S. James day in the morning, we fell in with the Matanças, a head-land 8 leagues towards the East of Hauana, where we purposed to take fresh water in, and make our abode two or three dayes.

On Sunday the 26 of Iuly plying to and fro betweene the Matanças and Hauana, we were espied of three small Pinasses of S. Iohn de Vilua bound for Hauana exceedingly richly loaden. These 3 Pinasses came very boldly vp vnto vs, and so continued vntill they came within musket shot of vs. And we supposed them to be Captaine Harps Pinnesse, and two small Frigats taken by Captaine Harpe: wherefore we shewed our flag. But they presently vpon the sight of it turned about and made all the saile they could from vs toward the shore, and kept themselues in so shallow water, that we were not able to follow them, and therefore gaue them ouer with expence of shot and pouder to no purpose. But if we had not so rashly set out our flagge, we might haue taken them all three, for they would not haue knowen vs before they had beene in our hands. This chase brought vs so far to leeward as Hauana: wherfore not finding any of our consorts at ye Matanças, we put ouer againe to the cape of Florida, and from thence thorow the chanel of Bahama.

---

* Or Florida Keys.

On the 28 the Cape of Florida bare West of vs.

The state of the currents from the cape of Florida to Virginia.

The 30 we lost sight of the coast of Florida, and stood to Sea for to gaine the helpe of the current which runneth much swifter a farre off then in sight of the coast.* For from the Cape to Virginia all along the shore are none but eddie currents, setting to the South and Southwest.

The 31 our three ships were clearely disbocked, the great prize, the Admirall, and the Mooneshine, but our prize being thus disbocked departed from vs without taking leaue of our Admirall or consort, and sayled directly for England.

August.

On the first of August the winde scanted, and from thence forward we had very fowl weather with much raine, thundering, and great spouts, which fell round about vs nigh vnto our ships.

The 3 we stoode againe in for the shore, and at midday we tooke the height of the same. The height of that place we found to be 34 degrees of latitude. Towards night we were within three leagues of the Low sandie Ilands West of Wokokon. But the weather continued so exceeding foule, that we could not come to an anker nye the coast: wherefore we stood off againe to Sea vntill Monday the 9 of August.

On Munday the storme ceased, and we had very great likelihood of faire weather: therefore we stood in againe for the shore: and came to an anker at 11 fadome in 35 degrees of latitude, within a mile of the shore, where we went on land on the narrow sandy Island, being one of the Ilandes, West of Wokokon: in this Iland we tooke in some fresh water and caught great store of fish in the shallow water. Betweene the maine (as we supposed) and that Iland it was but a mile ouer and three or foure foote deepe in most places.

On the 12 in the morning we departed from thence and toward night we came to an anker at the Northeast end of the Iland of Croatoan, by reason of a breach which we perceiued to lie out two or three leagues into the Sea: here we road all that night.

---

* The Gulf Stream.

The 13 in the morning before we wayed our ankers, our boates were sent to sound ouer this breach: our ships riding on the side thereof at 5 fadome; and a ships length from vs we found but 4 and a quarter, and then deeping and shallowing for the space of two miles, so that sometimes we found 5 fadome, and by and by 7, and within two casts with the lead 9, and then 8, next cast 5, and then 6, and then 4, and then 9 againe, and deeper; but 3 fadome was the last, 2 leagues off from the shore. This breach is in 35. degr. and a halfe, and lyeth at the very Northeast point of Croatoan, whereas goeth a fret out of the maine Sea into the inner waters, which part the Ilandes and the maine land.*

Great diuersity of soundings.

The 15 of August towards Euening we came to an anker at Hatorask, in 36 degr. and one third, in fiue fadom water, three leagues from the shore. At our first comming to anker on this shore we saw a great smoke rise in the Ile Raonoak neere the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1587, which smoake put vs in good hope that some of the Colony were there expecting my returne out of England.

Hatorask in 36 degr. and a terce.

The 16 and next morning our 2 boates went a shore, and Captaine Cooke, and Cap. Spicer, and their company with me, with intent to passe to the place at Raonoak where our countrymen were left. At our putting from the ship we commanded our Master gunner to make readie 2 Minions and a Falkon well loden, and to shoot them off with reasonable space betweene euery shot, to the ende that their reportes might bee heard to the place where wee hoped to finde some of our people. This was accordingly performed, and twoe boats put off vnto the shore, in the Admirals boat we sounded all the way and found from our shippe vntill we came within a mile of the shore nine, eight, and seuen fadome: but before we were halfe way betweene our ships and the shore we saw another great smoke to the Southwest of Kindrikers mountes: we therefore thought good to goe to that second smoke first: but it was much further from the harbour where we landed, then we supposed it to be, so that we were very sore tired before wee came to the smoke. But that which grieued vs more was that when we came to the smoke, we found no man nor signe that any had bene there lately, nor yet any fresh water in all this waye to drinke. Being thus wearied

They land.

---

* This is either the Core Bank or Hatteras Bank.

with this iourney we returned to the harbour where we left our boates, who in our absence had brought their caske a shore for fresh water, so we deferred our going to Roanoak vntill the next morning, and caused some of those saylers to digge in those sandie hills for fresh water whereof we found very sufficient. That night wee returned aboord with our boates and our whole company in safety.

The next morning being the 17 of August, our boates and company were prepared againe to goe vp to Roanoak, but Captaine Spicer had then sent his boat ashore for fresh water, by meanes whereof it was ten of the clocke afternoone before we put from our ships which were then come to an anker within two miles of the shore. The Admirals boat was halfe way toward the shore, when Captaine Spicer put off from his ship. The Admirals boat first passed the breach, but not without some danger of sinking, for we had a sea brake in our boat which filled vs halfe full of water, but by the will of God and carefull styrage of Captaine Cooke we came safe ashore, sauing onely that our furniture, victuals, match and powder were much wet and spoyled. For at this time the winde blue at Northeast and direct into the harbour so great a gale, that the Sea brake extremely on the barre, and the tide went very forcibly at the entrance. By that time our Admirals boat was halled ashore, and most of our things taken out to dry, Captaine Spicer came to the entrance of the breach with his mast standing vp, and was halfe passed ouer, but by the rash and vndiscreet styrage of Ralph Skinner his Masters mate, a very dangerous sea brake into their boate and ouerset them quite, the men kept the boat some in it, and some hanging on it, but the next sea set the boat on ground, where it beat so, that some of them were forced to let goe their hold, hoping to wade ashore: but the Sea still beat them downe, so that they could neither stand nor swimme, and the boat twise or thrice was turned the keele vpward, whereon Captaine Spicer and Skinner hung yntill they sunke, and were seene no more. But foure that could swimme a little kept themselues in deeper water and were saued by Captaine Cookes meanes, who so soone as he saw their onersetting, stripped himselfe, and four other that could swimme very well, and with all haste possible rowed vnto them, and saued foure. There were 11 in all and 7 of the chiefest were drowned, whose names were Edward Spicer, Ralph

Captaine Spicer drowned.

Skinner, Edward Kelly, Thomas Beuis, Hance the Surgion, Edward Kelborne, Robert Coleman. This mischance did so much discomfort the saylers, that they were all of one mind not to goe any further to seeke the planters. But in the end by the commandement and perswasion of me and Captaine Cooke, they prepared the boates: and seeing the Captaine and me so resolute, they seemed much more willing. Our boates and all things fitted againe, we put off from Hatorask, being the number of 19 persons in both boates: but before we could get to the place where our planters were left, it was so exceeding darke, that we overshot the place a quarter of a mile: there we espied towards the North ende of the Island the light of a great fire thorow the woods, to which we presently rowed: when wee came right ouer against it, we let fall our Grapnel neere the shore and sounded with a trumpet a Call, and afterwardes many familiar English tunes and Songs, and called to them friendly; but we had no answere, we therefore landed at day-breake, and comming to the fire, we found the grasse and sundry rotten trees burning about the place. From hence we went thorow the woods to that part of the Island directly ouer against Dasamongwepeuk, and from thence we returned by the water side, round about the North point of the Iland, vntill we came to the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1586. In all this way we saw in the sand the print of the Saluages feet of 2 or 3 sorts troaden ye night, and as we entered vp the sandy banke vpon a tree, in the very browe thereof were curiously carued these faire Romane letters C R O : which letters presently we knew to signifie the place, where I should find the planters seated, according to a secret token agreed vpon betweene them and me at my last departure from them, which was, that in any wayes they should not faile to write or carue on the trees or posts of the dores the name of the place where they should be seated; for at my comming alway they were prepared to remoue from Roanoak 50 miles into the maine. Therefore at my departure from them in An. 1587 I willed them, that if they should happen to be distressed in any of those places, that then they should carue ouer the letters or name, a Crosse + in this forme, but we found no such signe of distresse. And hauing well considered of this, we passed toward the place where they were left in sundry houses, but we found the houses taken downe, and the place very strongly enclosed with a high palisado of great trees, with cortynes and flankers very Fortlike, and one of the chiefe trees or postes at the right side of the entrance had the barke taken off, and 5 foote from the ground in fayre Capitall letters was grauen CROATOAN without any crosse or signe of distresse; this done, we entered into the palisado, where we found many barres of iron, two pigges of lead, foure yron fowlers, Iron sacker-shotte, and such like heauie thinges, throwen here and there, almost ouergrowen with grasse and weedes. From thence wee went along by the water side, towards the poynt of the Creeke to see if we could find any of their botes or Pinnesse, but we could perceiue no signe of them, nor any of the last Falkons and small Ordinance which were left with them, at my departure from them. At our returne from the Creeke, some of our Saylers meeting vs, told vs that they had found where diuers chests had bene hidden, and long sithence digged vp againe and broken vp, and much of the goods in them spoyled and scattered about, but nothing left, of such things as the Sauages knew any vse of, vndefaced. Presently Captaine Cooke and I went to the place, which was in the ende of an olde trench, made two yeeres past by Captaine Amadas: wheere wee found fiue Chests, that had bene carefully hidden of the Planters, and of the same chests three were my owne, and about the place many of my things spoyled and broken, and my bookes torne from the couers, the frames of some of my pictures and Mappes rotten and spoyled with rayne, and my armour almost eaten through with rust; this could bee no other but the deede of the Sauages our enemies at Dasamongwepeuk, who had watched the departure of our men to Croatoan; and assoone as they were departed digged vp euery place where they suspected any thing to be buried: but although it much grieued me to see such spoyle of my goods, yet on the other side I greatly ioyed that I had safely found a certaine token of their safe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was borne, and the Sauages of the Iland our friends.

When we had seene in this place so much as we could, we returned to our Boates, and departed from the shoare towards our shippes, with as much speede as we could: For the weather beganne to ouercast, and very likely that a foule and stormie night would ensue. Therefore the same Euening with much danger and labour, we got our selues aboard, by which time the winde and seas were so greatly risen, that wee doubted our Cables and Anchors would scarcely holde vntill Morning: wherefore the Captaine caused the Boate to be manned by fiue lusty men, who could swimme all well, and sent them to the little Iland on the right hand of the Harbour, to bring aboard sixe of our men, who had filled our caske with fresh water: the Boate the same night returned aboard with our men, but all our Caske ready filled they left behinde, vnpossible to bee had aboard without danger of casting away both men and Boates: for this night prooued very stormie and foule.

The next Morning it was agreed by the Captaine and my selfe, with the Master and others, to wey anchor, and goe for the place at Croatoan, where our planters were: for that then the winde was good for that place, and also to leaue that Caske with fresh water on shoare in the Iland vntill our returne. So then they brought the cable to the Captson, but when the anchor was almost apecke, the Cable broke, by meanes whereof we lost another Anchor, wherewith we droue so fast into the shoare, that wee were forced to let fall a third Anchor: which came so fast home that the Shippe was almost aground by Kenricks mounts: so that we were forced to let slippe the Cable ende for ende. And if it had not chanced that wee had fallen into a chanell of deeper water, closer by the shoare then wee accompted of, wee could neuer haue gone cleare of the poynt that lyeth to the Southwardes of Kenricks mount. Being thus cleare of some dangers, and gotten into deeper waters, but not without some losse: for wee had but one Cable and Anchor left vs of foure, and the weather grew to be fouler and fouler; our victuals scarse, and our caske and fresh water lost: it was therefore determined that we should goe for Saint Iohn or some other Iland to the Southward for fresh water. And it was further purposed, that if wee could any wayes supply our wants of victuals and other necessaries, either at Hispaniola, Sant Iohn, or Trynidad, that then we should continue in the Indies all the Winter following, with hope to make 2. rich voyages of one, and at our returne to visit our countreymen at Virginia. The captaine and the whole company in the Admirall (with my earnest petitions) thereunto agreed, so that it rested onely to knowe what the Master of the Moone-light our consort would doe herein. But when we demanded them if they would accompany vs in that new determination, they alleaged that their weake and leake Shippe was not able to continue it; wherefore the same night we parted, leauing the Moone-light to

They leaue the coast of Virginia.

goe directly for England, and the Admirall set his course for Trynidad, which course we kept two dayes.

On the 28. the winde changed, and it was sette on foule weather euery way: but this storme brought the winde West and Northwest, and blewe so forcibly, that wee were able to beare no sayle, but our fore-course halfe mast high, wherewith wee ranne vpon the winde perforce, the due course for England, for that wee were driuen to change our first determination for Trynidad, and stoode for the Ilands of Açores, where wee purposed to take in fresh water, and also there hoped to meete with some English men of warre about those Ilands, at whose hands wee might obtaine some supply of our wants. And thus continuing our course for the Açores, sometimes with calmes, and sometimes with very scarce windes, on the fifteenth of September the winde came South Southeast, and blew so exceedingly, that wee were forced to lye atry* all that day. At this time by account we iudged our selues to be about twentie leagues to the West of Cueruo and Flores, but about night the storme ceased, and fayre weather ensued.

On Thursday the seuenteenth wee saw Cueruo and Flores, but we could not come to anker that night, by reason the winde shifted. The next Morning being the eighteenth, standing in againe with Cueruo, we escryed a sayle a head vs, to whom we gaue chase: but when wee came neere him, wee knew him to be a Spanyard, and hoped to make sure purchase of him: but we vnderstood at our speaking with him, that he was a prize, and of the Domingo fleete already taken by the Iohn our consort, in the Indies. We learned also of this prize, that our Viceadmirall and Pinnesse had fought with the rest of the Domingo fleete, and had forced them with their Admirall to flee vnto Iamaica vnder the Fort for succour, and some of them ran themselues aground, whereof one of them they brought away, and tooke out of some others so much as the time would permit. And further wee vnderstood of them, that in their returne from Iamaica about the Organes neere Cape Saint Anthony, our Viceadmirall mette with two Shippes of the mayne land, come from Mexico, bound for Hauana, with whom he fought: in which fight our Viceadmirals Lieutenant was slaine, and the Captaines right arme strooken off, with foure other of his men slaine, and sixteene hurt. But in the ende he entred, and tooke one of the Spanish shippes, which was so sore shot by vs vnder water, that before they could take out her treasure she sunke; so that we lost thirteene Pipes of siluer which sunke with her, besides much other rich marchandize. And in the meane time the other Spanish shippe being pearced with nine shotte vnder water, got away; whom our Viceadmirall intended to pursue: but some of their men in the toppe made certaine rockes, which they saw aboue water neere the shoare, to be Gallies of Hauana and Cartagena, comming from Hauana to rescue the two Ships; Wherefore they gaue ouer the chase, and went for England. After this intelligence was giuen vs by this our prize, he departed from vs, and went for England.

---

* Heave to.

13. Pipes of siluer.

On Saturday the 19. of September we came to an Ancre neere a small village on the North side of Flores, where we found ryding 5. English men of warre, of whom we vnderstood that our Viceadmirall and Prize were gone thence for England. One of these fiue was the Moonelight our consort, who vpon the first sight of our comming into Flores, set sayle and went for England, not taking any leaue of vs.

On Sunday the 20. the Mary Rose, Admirall of the Queenes fleete, wherein was Generall Sir Iohn Hawkins, stood in with Flores, and diuers other of the Queenes ships, namely the Hope, the Nonpareilia, the Rainebow, the Swift-sure, the Foresight, with many other good merchants ships of warre, as the Edward Bonauenture, the Marchant Royal, the Amitie, the Eagle, the Dainty of sir Iohn Hawkins, and many other good ships and pinnesses, all attending to meete with the king of Spaines fleete, comming from Terra firma of the West Indies.

The 22. of September we went aboard the Raynebow, and towards night we spake with the Swift-sure, and gaue him 3. pieces. The captaines desired our company; wherefore we willingly attended on them: who at this time with 10. other ships stood for Faial. But the Generall with the rest of the Fleete were separated from vs, making two fleetes, for the surer meeting with the Spanish fleete.

On Wednesday the 23. we saw Gratiosa, where the Admiral and the rest of the Queenes fleete were come together. The Admirall put forth a flag of counsel, in which was determined that the whole fleete should go for the mayne, and spred themselues on the coasts of Spaine and Portugal, so farre as conueniently they might, for the surer meeting of the Spanish fleete in those parts.

The 20. we came to Faial, where the Admiral with some other of the fleete ankered, other some plyed vp and downe betweene that and the Pico vntill midnight, at which time the Anthony shot off a piece and weyed, shewing his light: after whom the whole fleete stood to the East, the winde at Northeast by East.

On Sunday the 27. towards Euening wee tooke our leaue of the Admirall and the whole fleete, who stood to the East. But our shippe accompanied with a Flyboat stoode in again with S. George, where we purposed to take in more fresh water, and some other fresh victuals.

On Wednesday the 30. of September, seeing the winde hang so Northerly, that wee could not atteine the Iland of S. George, we gaue ouer our purpose to water there, and the next day framed our due course for England.

October.

THe 2. of October in the Morning we saw S. Michaels Iland on our Starre board quarter.

The 23. at 10. of the clocke afore noone, we saw Vshant in Britaigne.

On Saturday the 24. we came in safetie, God be thanked, to an anker at Plymmouth.[*]

---

[*] Between 1587 and 1602 Raleigh sent out five expeditions to Virginia. To the last he firmly believed in the future of the country.

◆

CERTAINE VOYAGES

TO FLORIDA, AND THE LATER AND MORE PERFECT DISCOUERIES THEREOF, TO WIT, OF ALL THE SEACOASTS, RIUERS, BAYES, HAUENS, ISLES, AND MAINE LANDES FARRE VP INTO THE COUNTREY, AND A REPORT OF SOME COLONIES AND FORTES THERE PLANTED AND DISPLANTED, WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE GOUERNMENT, DISPOSITION AND QUALITIE OF THE NATURALL INHABITANTS, AND A DECLARATION OF THE TEMPERATURE OF THE CLIMATE, AND OF THE MANIFOLDE GOOD COMMODITIES FOUND IN THOSE REGIONS.

To the most Christian King of France, Francis the first.

The relation of Iohn de Verrazzano a Florentine, of the land by him discouered in the name of his Maiestie. Written at Diepe the eight of Iuly, 1524.

I Wrote not to your Maiesty, most Christian king, since the time we suffered the tempest in the north partes, of the successe of the foure Shippes, which your Maiestie sent forth to discouer new lands by the Ocean, thinking your Maiestie had bene already duely enformed thereof. Now by these presents I will giue your Maiestie to vnderstand, how by the violence of the windes we were forced with two ships, the Norman and the Dolphin (in such euill case as they were) to land in Britaine. Where after wee had repayred them in all poynts as was needefull, and armed them very well, we tooke our course along by the coast of Spaine, which your Maiesrie shall vnderstand by the profite that we receiued thereby. Afterwards with the Dolphin alone we determined to make discouerie of new Countries, to prosecute the nauigation we had already begun, which I purpose at this present to recount vnto your Maiestie to make manifest the whole proceeding of the matter.

The 17 of Ianuary the yeere 1524. by the grace of God we departed from the dishabited rocke by the isle of Madêra, apperteining to the king of Portugal, with 50. men, with victuals, weapons, and other ship-munition very well prouided and furnished for 8 moneths: And sayling Westwards with a faire Easterly winde, in 25. dayes we ran 500. leagues, and the 20. of Februarie we were ouertaken with as sharpe and terrible a tempest as euer any saylers suffered: whereof with the diuine helpe and mercifull assistance of Almighty God, and the goodnesse of our shippe, accompanied with the good happe of her fortunate name, we were deliuered, and with a prosperous winde followed our course West and by North. And in other 25. dayes we made aboue 400. leagues more, where we discouered a new land, neuer before seene of any man either ancient or moderne, and at first sight it seemed somewhat low, but being within a quarter of a league of it, we perceiued by the great fires that we saw by the Sea coast, that it was inhabited: and saw that the land stretched to the Southwards. In seeking some conuenient Harborough wherein to anchor and to haue knowledge of the place, we sayled fiftie leagues in vaine, and seeing the land to runne still to the Southwards, we resolued to return back againe towards the North where wee found ourselues troubled with the like difficulty. At length being in despaire to finde any Port, wee cast anchor vpon the coast, and sent our Boate to shore, where we saw great store of people which came to the sea side: and seeing vs approch, they fled away, and sometime would stand still and looke backe, beholding vs with great admiration: but afterwards being animated and assured with signes that we made them, some of them came hard to the Sea side, seeming to reioyce very much at the sight of vs, and marueiling greatly at our apparel, shape and whitenesse, shewing vs by sundry signes where we might most commodiously come aland with our Boat, offering vs also of their victuals to eat. Now I wil briefly declare to your Maiestie their life and maners, as farre as we could haue notice thereof: These people goe altogether naked, except only that they couer their priuie parts with certaine skins of beastes like vnto Martens, which they fasten vnto a narrow girdle made of grasse very artificially wrought, hanged about with tayles of diuers other beastes, which round about their bodies hang dangling downe to their knees. Some of them weare garlands of byrdes feathers.

The Isle of Madêra.

They discouer land.

The people are of colour russet, and not much vnlike the Saracens: their hayre blacke, thicke and not very long, which they tye together in a knot behind and weare it like a litle taile. They are well featured in their limbes, of meane stature, and commonly somewhat bigger then we: broad breasted, strong armed, their legs and other parts of their bodies well fashioned, and they are disfigured in nothing, sauing that they haue somewhat broade visages, and yet not all of them: for we saw many of them wel fauoured, hauing blacke and greate eyes, with a cheerefull and steady looke, not strong of body, yet sharpe witted, nymble and exceeding great runners, as farre as we could learne by experience, and in those two last qualities they are like to the people of the East partes of the world, and especially to them of the vttermost parts of China. We could not learne of this people their maner of liuing, nor their particular customs, by reason of the short abode we made on the shore, our company being but small, and our ship ryding farre off in the Sea. And not farre from these we found another people, whose liuing wee thinke to be like vnto theirs; (as hereafter I wil declare vnto your Maiestie) shewing at this present the situation and nature of the foresayd land. The shore is all couered with small sand, and so ascendeth vpwards for the space of 15 foote, rising in forme of litle hils about 50 paces broad. And sayling forwards, we found certaine small Riuers and armes of the Sea, that fall downe by certaine creekes, washing the shoare on both sides as the coast lyeth. And beyond this we saw the open Countrey rising in height aboue the sandy shoare with many faire fields and plaines, full of mighty great woods, some very thicke, and some thinne, replenished with diuers sorts of trees, as pleasant and delectable to behold, as is possible to imagine. And your Maiesty may not thinke that these are like the woods of Hercynia or the wilde deserts of Tartary, and the Northerne coasts full of fruitlesse trees: But they are full of Palme trees, Bay trees, and high Cypresse trees, and many other sorts of trees vnknowen in Europe, which yeeld most sweet sauours farre from the shoare, the propertie whereof we could not learne for the cause aforesayd, and not for any difficulty to passe through the woods, seeing they are not so thicke but that a man may passe through them. Neither doe we thinke that they partaking of the East world round about them, are altogether voyd of drugs and spicery, and other riches of golde, seeing the colour of the land doth so much argue it.

And the land is full of many beastes, as Stags, Deere and Hares, and likewise of Lakes and Pooles of fresh water, with great plentie of Fowlcs, conuenient for all kinde of pleasant game. This land is in latitude 34. degrees, with good and wholesome ayre, temperature, betweene hot and colde, no vehement windes doe blowe in those Regions, and those that doe commonly reigne in those coasts, are the Northwest and West windes in the summer season, (in the beginning whereof we were there) the skie cleere and faire with very little raine: and if at any time the ayre be cloudie and mistie with the Southerne winde, immediatly it is dissolued and waxeth cleere and fayre againe. The Sea is calme, not boysterous, the waues gentle: and although all the shore be somewhat sholde and without harborough, yet it is not dangerous to the saylers, being free from rocks and deepe, so that within 4. or 5. foote of the shore, there is 20. foote deepe of water without ebbe or flood, the depth still increasing in such vniforme proportion. There is very good ryding at Sea: for any ship being shaken in a tempest, can neuer perish there by breaking of her cables, which we haue prooued by experience. For in the beginning of March (as it is vsuall in all regions) being in the Sea oppressed with Northerne windes, and ryding there, wee found our anchor broken before the earth fayled or mooued at all. We departed from this place, stil running along the coast, which we found to trend toward the East,* and we saw euery where very great fires, by reason of the multitude of the inhabitants. While we rode on that coast, partly because it had no harborough, and for that we wanted water, we sent our boate ashoare with 25. men: where by reason of great and continuall waues that beat against the shoare, being an open Coast, without succour, none of our men could possibly goe ashoare without loosing our boate. Wee saw there many people which came vnto the shoare, making diuers signes of friendship, and shewing that they were content we should come aland, and by trial we found them to be very courteous and gentle, as your Maiestie shal vnderstand by the successe. To the intent we might send them of our things, which the Indians commonly desire and esteeme, as sheetes of paper, glasses, bels, and such like trifles; we sent a young man one of our Mariners ashoare,

The coast trendeth to the East in 34. degrees of latitude.

Courteous and gentle people.

---

* North-East.

who swimming towards them, and being within 3. or 4. yards of the shore, not trusting them, cast the things vpon the shoare: but seeking afterwards to returne, he was with such violence of the waues beaten vpon the shore, that he was so bruised that he lay there almost dead: which the Indians perceiuing, ranne to catch him, and drawing him out, they caried him a litle way off from the sea. The yong man perceiuing they caried him, being at the first dismaied, began then greatly to feare, and cried out piteously: likewise did the Indians which did accompany him, going about to cheere him and to giue him courage, and then setting him on the ground at the foote of a litle hil against the sunne, they began to behold him with great admiration, marueiling at the whitenesse of his flesh: And putting off his clothes, they made him warme at a great fire, not without our great feare which remayned in the boate, that they would haue rosted him at that fire, and haue eaten him. The young man hauing recouered his strength, and hauing stayed a while with them, shewed them by signes that he was desirous to returne to the ship: and they with great loue clapping him fast about with many imbracings, accompanying him vnto the sea, and to put him in more assurance, leauing him alone, went vnto a high ground and stood there, beholding him vntill he was entred into the boate. This yong man obserued, as we did also, that these are of colour inclining to Blacke as the other were, with their flesh very shining, of meane stature, handsome visage, and delicate limmes, and of very litle strength, but of prompt wit: farther we obserued not.

They run 50 leagues farther.

Departing from hence, following the shore which trended somewhat toward the North, in 50. leagues space we came to another land which shewed much more faire and ful of woods, being very great, where we rode at anker: and that we might haue some knowledge thereof, wee sent 20. men aland, which entred into the countrey about 2 leagues, and they found that the people were fled to the woods for feare. They saw onely one olde woman with a young maide of 18. or 20. yeeres old, which seeing our company, hid themselues in the grasse for feare: the olde woman caried two Infants on her shoulders, and behind her necke a child of 8. yeeres old. The young woman was laden likewise with as many: but when our men came vnto them, the women cried out: the olde woman made signes that the men were fledde vnto the woods. Assoone as they saw vs to quiet them and to winne their fauour, our men gaue them such victuals as they had with them, to eate, which the old woman receiued thankfully: but the yong woman disdained them all, and threw them disdainfully on the ground. They tooke a child from the olde woman to bring into France, and going about to take the yong woman which was very beautiful and of tall stature, they could not possibly, for the great outcries that she made, bring her to the sea: and especially hauing great woods to passe thorow, and being farre from the ship, we purposed to leaue her behind, bearing away the child onely. We found those folkes to be more white then those that we found before, being clad with certaine leaues that hang on boughs of trees, which they sewe together with threds of wilde hempe: their heads were trussed vp after the same maner as the former were: their ordinary food is of pulse, whereof they haue great store, differing in colour and taste from ours; of good and pleasant taste. Moreouer they liue by fishing and fowling, which they take with ginnes, and bowes made of hard wood, the arrowes of Canes, being headed with the bones of fish, and other beasts. The beasts in these parts are much wilder then in our Europe, by reason they are continually chased and hunted. We saw many of their boats made of one tree 20. foote long, and 4. foote broad, which are not made with yron or any other kind of metall (because that in all this countrey for the space of 200. leagues which we ranne, we neuer saw one stone of any sort:) they helpe themselues with fire, burning so much of the tree as is sufficient for the hollownesse of the boat; the like they doe in making the sterne and the forepart, vntill it be fit to saile vpon the sea. The land is in situation goodnes and fairenesse like the other: it hath woods like the other, thinne and full of diuers sorts of trees: but not sweete, because the countrey is more Northerly and colde.

They ran along the coast 200. leagues.

They make hollow their Canoas with fire.

We saw in this Countrey many Vines growing naturally, which growing vp, tooke holde of the trees as they doe in Lombardie, which if by husbandmen they were dressed in good order, without all doubt they would yeeld excellent wines: for hauing oftentimes seene the fruit thereof dryed, which was sweete and pleasant, and not differing from ours, wee thinke that they doe esteeme the same, because that in euery place where they growe, they take away

Vines like those of Lombardie.

the vnder branches growing round about, that the fruit thereof may ripen the better.

We found also roses, violets, lilies, and many sorts of herbes, and sweete and odoriferous flowers different from ours. We knewe not their dwellings, because they were farre vp in the land, and we iudge by many signes that we saw, that they are of wood and of trees framed together.

We doe beleeue also by many coniectures and signes, that many of them sleeping in the fields, haue no other couert then the open sky. Further knowledge haue we not of them: we thinke that all the rest whose countreys we passed, liue all affer one maner. Hauing made our aboade three dayes in this countrey, and ryding on the coast for want of harboroughs, we concluded to depart from thence, trending along the shore betweene the North and the East, sayling onely in the daytime, and riding at anker by night. In the space of 100. leagues sayling we found a very pleasant place situated amongst certaine litle hils: from amidst the which hils there ran downe into the sea an exceeding great streme of water, which within the mouth was very deepe, and from the sea to the mouth of the same with the tide which we found to rise 8. foote, any great ship laden may passe vp.

A mighty riuer.

But because we rode at rode at anker in a place well fenced from the wind, we would not venture ourselues without knowledge of the place: and we passed vp with our boat onely into the sayd Riuer, and saw the countrey very well peopled. The people are almost like vnto the others, and are clad with the feathers of fowles of diuers colours: they came towards vs very cheerefully, making great showts of admiration; shewing vs where we might come to land most safely with our boat. We entered vp the sayd river into the land about halfe a league where it made a most pleasant lake about 3 leagues in compasse: on the which they rowed from the one side to the other to the number of 30. of their small boates, wherein were many people which passed from one shore to the other to come and see vs. And behold vpon the sudden (as is woont to fall out in sayling) a contrary flaw of wind comming from the sea, we were inforced to returne to our ship, leauing this lande to our great discontentment, for the great commodity and pleasantnesse thereof, which we suppose is

People clad with feathers of diuers colours.

The pleasantness and riches of the land.

not without some riches, all the hils shewing minerall waters in them. We weyed anker, and sayled toward the East, for so the coast trended, and so alwayes for 50. leagues being in the sight thereof, we discouered an Iland in forme of a triangle, distant from the maine land 10. leagues, about the bignesse of the Iland of the Rhodes: it was ful of hils couered with trees, well peopled, for we saw fires all along the coast: wee gaue it the name of your Maiesties mother, not staying there by reason of the weather being contrary.

The description of Claudia, Iland, tenne leagues from the mayne. Claudia was mother of king Francis.

And we came to another land being 15. leagues from the Iland, where we found a passing good hauen, wherein being entred, we found about 20. small boats of the people, which with diuers cries and wondrings came about our ship, comming no neerer then 50. paces towards vs: they stayed and beheld the artificialnesse of our ship, our shape and apparel: then they all made a loud showt together, declaring that they reioyced. When we had something animated them, vsing their gestures, they came so neere vs, that we cast them certaine bels and glassses, and many toyes, which when they had receiued, they looked on them with laughing, and came without feare aboard our ship. There were amongst these people 2. kings of so goodly stature and shape as is possible to declare: the eldest was about 40. yeeres of age, the second was a young man of 20. yeeres olde. Their apparell was on this maner: the elder had vpon his naked body a Harts skin wrought artificially with diuers branches like damaske: his head was bare with the hayre tyed vp behind with diuers knot: about his necke he had a large chaine, garnished with diuers stones of sundry colours: the yong man was almost apparelled after ye same maner. This is the goodliest people, and of the fairest conditions that we haue found in this our voyage. They exceed vs in bignes: they are of the colour of brasse, some of them incline more to whitenesse: others are of yellow colour, of comely visage, with long and blacke haire, which they are very careful to trim and decke vp: they are blacke and quicke eyed, and of sweete and pleasant countenance, imitating much the old fashion. I write not to your Maiestie of the other parts of their body, hauing al such proportion as apperteineth to any handsome man. The women are of the like conformitie and beautie: very handsome and well fauoured, of pleasaunt countenance, and comely to behold: they are as wel manered and continent as any women, and of good education: they are all naked saue their priuy partes, which they couer with a Deeres skin branched or embrodered as the men vse: there are also of them which weare on their armes very rich skinnes of Luzernes: they adorne their heads with diuers ornaments made of their owne haire, which hang downe before on both sides their brestes: others vse other kinde of dressing themselues like vnto the women of Egypt and Syria, these are of the elder sort: and when they are maried, they weare diuers toyes, according to the vsage of the people of the East, aswell men as women.

Among whom we saw many plates of wrought copper, which they esteeme more then golde, which for the colour they make no account of Azure and Red. The things that they esteeme most of all those which we gaue them, were bels, christall of Azure colour, and other toyes to hang at their eares or about their necke. They did not desire cloth of silke or of golde, much lesse of any other sort, neither cared they for things made of steele and yron, which wee often shewed them in our armour which they made no wonder at, and in beholding them they onely asked the arte of making them: the like they did at our glasses, which when they beheld, they suddenly laught and gaue them vs againe. They are very liberall, for they giue that which they haue: wee became great friends with these, and one day we entred into the Hauen with our ship, whereas before we rode a league off at Sea by reason of the contrary weather. They came in great companies of their small boats vnto the ship with their faces all bepainted with diuers colours, shewing vs that it was a signe of ioy, bringing vs of their victuals, they made signes vnto vs where we might safest ride in the Hauen for the safegard of our ship keeping still our company: and after we were come to an anker, wee bestowed 15 dayes in prouiding our selues many necessary things, whither euery day the people repaired to see our ship bringing their wiues with them, whereof they were very ielous: and they themselues entring abord the ship and staying there a good space, caused their wiues to stay in their boats, and for all the entreatie we could make, offring to giue them diuers things, we could neuer obtaine that they would suffer them to come abord our ship. And oftentimes one of the two kings comming with his queene, and many gentlemen for their pleasure to see vs, they all stayed on shore 200. paces from vs, sending a small boat to giue vs intelligence of their comming, saying they would come to see our ship: this they did in token of safety, and assone as they had answere from vs, they came immediatly, and hauing staied awhile to behold it, they wondered at hearing the cries and noyses of the mariners. The queene and her maids stayed in a very light boat, at an Iland a quarter of a league off, while the king abode a long space in our ship vttering diuers conceits with gestures, viewing with great admiration all the furniture of the ship, demanding the property of euery thing particularly. He tooke likewise great pleasure in beholding our apparell, and in tasting our meats, and so courteously taking his leaue departed. And sometimes our men staying 2 or 3 daies on a litle Iland neere the ship for diuers necessaries (as it is the vse of seamen) he returned with 7 or 8 of his gentlemen to see what we did, and asked vs oftentimes if we meant to make any long abode there, offring vs of their prouision: then the king drawing his bow and running vp and down with his gentlemen, made much sport to gratifie our men: we were oftentimes within the land 5 or 6 leagues, which we found as pleasant as is possible to declare, very apt for any kind of husbandry of corne, wine and oyle: for that there are plaines 25 or 30 leagues broad, open and without any impediment, of trees of such fruitfullnesse, that any seed being sowed therein, wil bring forth most excellent fruit. We entred afterwards into the woods, which we found so great and thicke, that any army were it neuer so great might haue hid it selfe therein, the trees whereof are okes, cipresse trees, and other sortes vnknowen in Europe. We found Pomi appii, damson trees, and nut trees, and many other sort of fruit differing from ours: there are beasts in great abundance, as harts, deere, luzerns, and other kinds which they take with their nets and bowes which are their chiefe weapons: the arrowes which they vse are made with great cunning, and in stead of yron, they head them with flint, with iasper stone and hard marble and other sharp stones which they vse in stead of yron to cut trees, and to make their boates of one whole piece of wood, making it hollow with great and wonderful art, wherein 10 or 12 men may sit commodiously: their oares are short and broad at the end, and they vse them in the sea without any danger, and by maine force of armes, with as great speedines as they list themselues. We saw their houses made in circular or round forme, 10 or 12 paces in compasse, made with halfe circles of timber separate one

Most pleasant and fruitful lands.

The fashion of their houses.

from another without any order of building, couered with mattes of straw wrought cunningly together, which saue them from wind and raine: and if they had the order of building and perfect skil of workmanship as we haue there were no doubt but that they would also make eftsoones great and stately buildings. For all the sea coasts are ful of cleare and glistering stones, and alablaster, and therefore it is full of good hauens and harboroughs for ships. They mooue the foresaid houses from one place to another according to the commodity of the place and season wherin they wil make their abode, and only taking of the mattes, they haue other houses builded incontinent. The father and the whole family dwell together in one house in great number: in some of them we saw 25 or 30 persons. They feed as the other doe aforesaid of pulse which grow in that Countrey with better order of husbandry then in the others. They obserue in their sowing the course of the Moone and the rising of certaine starres, and diuers other customes spoken of by antiquity. Moreouer they liue by hunting and fishing. They liue long, and are seldome sicke, and if they chance to fall sicke at any time, they heale themselues with fire without any phisitian, and they say that they die for very age. They are very pitifull and charitable towards their neighbours, they make great lamentations in their aduersity: and in their miserie, the kinred reckon vp all their felicitie. At their departure out of life, they vse mourning mixt with singing, which continueth for a long space. This is asmuch as we could learne of them. This land is situated in the Paralele of Rome, in 41. degrees and 2. terces: but somewhat more cold by accidentall causes and not of nature, (as I wil declare vnto to your highnesse elsewhere) describing at this present the situation of the foresaid Countrey, which lieth East and West, I say that the mouth of the Hauen lieth open to the South halfe a league broad, and being entred within it betweene the East and the North, it stretcheth twelue leagues: where it waxeth broader and broader, and maketh a gulfe about 20. leagues in compasse, wherein are fiue small Islands very fruitfull and pleasant, full of hie and broade trees, among the which Islandes any great Nauie may ride safe without any feare of tempest or other danger. Afterwards turning towardes the South in the entring

The coast full of good hauens.

Their curing with Tobacco and perfumes.

The description of a notable hauen in 41. deg. and 2. tierces.

into the Hauen on both sides there are most pleasant hils, with many riuers of most cleare water falling into the Sea.

In the middest of this entrance there is a rocke of free stone growing by nature apt to build any Castle or Fortresse there, for the keeping of the hauen. The fift of May being furnished with all things necessarie, we departed from the said coast keeping along in the sight thereof, and wee sailed 150. leagues finding it alwayes after one maner; but the land somewhat higher with certaine mountaines, all which beare a shew of minerall matter, wee sought not to land there in any place, because the weather serued our turne for sailing: but wee suppose that it was like the former, the coast ranne Eastward for the space of fiftie leagues. And trending afterwards to the North, we found another land high full of thicke woods, the trees whereof were firres, cipresses and such like as are wont to grow in cold Countreys. The people differ much from the other, and looke how much the former seemed to be courteous and gentle: so much were these full of rudenesse and ill maners, and so barbarous that by no signes that euer we could make, we could haue any kind of traffike with them. They cloth themselues with Beares skinnes and Luzernes and Seales and other beasts skinnes. Their food, as farre as we coulde perceiue, repairing often vnto their dwellings, we suppose to be by hunting and fishing, and of certaine fruits, which are a kind of roots which the earth yeeldeth of her own accord. They haue no graine, neither saw we any kind or signe of tillage, neither is the land, for the barrennesse thereof, apt to beare fruit or seed. If at any time we desired by exchange to haue any of their commodities, they vsed to come to the sea shore vpon certaine craggy rocks, and we standing in our boats, they let downe with a rope what it pleased them to giue vs, crying continually that we should not approch to the land, demanding immediatly the exchange, taking nothing but kniues, fishookes, and tooles to cut withall, neyther did they make any account of our courtesie. And when we had nothing left to exchange with them, when we departed from them, the people shewed all signes of discourtesie and disdaine, as were possible for any creature to inuent. We were in despight of them 2 or 3 leagues within the land, being in number 25 armed men of vs: And when we went on shore they shot at vs with their bowes making great outcries, and afterwards fled into the woods. We found not in this land

Here the people begin to be more sauage.

any thing notable, or of importance, sauing very great woods and certaine hilles, they may haue some minerall matter in them, because wee saw many of them haue beadstones of Copper hanging at their eares. We departed from thence keeping our course Northeast along the coast, which we found more pleasant champion and without woods, with high mountaines within the land continuing directly along the coast for the space of fiftie leagues, we discouered 32 Islands lying al neere the land, being small and pleasant to the view, high and hauing many turnings and windings betweene them, making many faire harboroughs and chanels as they doe in the gulfe of Venice in Sclauonia, and Dalmatia, we had no knowledge or acquaintance with the people: we suppose they are of the same maners and nature as the others are. Sayling Northeast for the space of 150. leagues we approched to the land that in times past was discouered by the Britons, which is in fiftie degrees. Hauing now spent all our prouision and victuals, and hauing discouered about 700 leagues and more of new Countreys, and being furnished with water and wood, we concluded to returne into France.

Beades of copper.

32 pleasant Islands.

They ran almost to 50. degrees.

Touching the religion of this people, which wee haue found, for want of their language wee could not vnderstand neither by signes nor gesture that they had any religion or lawe at all, or that they did acknowledge any first cause or moouer, neither that they worship the heauen or stars the Sunne or Moone or other planets, and much lesse whither they be idolaters, neither could wee learne whither that they vsed any kind of sacrifices or other adorations, neither in their villages haue they any Temples or houses of prayer. We suppose that they haue no religion at all, and that they liue at their owne libertie. And that all this proceedeth of ignorance, for that they are very easie to be perswaded: and all that they see vs Christians doe in our diuine seruice, they did the same with the like imitation as they saw vs to doe it.

A notable historie containing foure voyages made by certaine French Captaines into Florida: Wherein the great riches and fruitefulnesse of the Countrey with the maners of the people hitherto concealed are brought to light, written all, sauing the last, by Monsieur Laudonniere, who remained there himselfe as the French Kings Lieutenant a yeere and a quarter.

Translated out of French into English
by M. RICHARD HAKLVYT.

To the right honourable Sir Walter Ralegh Knight, Captaine of her Maiesties Gard, Lord Warden of the Stanneries, and her Highnesse Lieutentant generall of the County of Cornewall, R. H. wisheth true felicitie.

SIr, after that this historie, which had bene concealed many yeeres, was lately committed to print and published in France vnder your Name by my learned friend M. Martine Basanier of Paris, I was easily enduced to turne it into English, vnderstanding that the same was no lesse gratefull to you here, then I know it to be acceptable to many great and worthie persons there. And no maruaile though it were very welcome vnto you, and that you liked of the translation thereof, since no history hitherto set forth hath more affinitie, resemblance or conformitie with yours of Virginia, then this of Florida. But calling to minde that you had spent more yeeres in France then I, and vnderstand the French better then my selfe, I forthwith perceiued that you approoued mine endeuour, not for any priuate ease or commoditie that thereby might redound vnto you, but that it argued a singular and especiall care you had of those which are to be employed in your owne like enterprise, whom, by the reading of this my translation, you would haue forewarned and admonished aswell to beware of the grosse negligence in prouiding of sufficiency of victuals, the securitie, disorders, and mutinies that fell out among the French, with the great inconueniencies that thereupon ensued, that by others mishaps they might learne to preuent and auoyde the like, as also might be put in minde, by the reading of the manifolde commodities and great fertilitie of the places herein at large described and so neere neighbours vnto our Colonies, that they

Other mens misfortune ought to be our warning.

might generally bee awaked and stirred vp vnto the diligent obseruation of euery thing that might turne to the aduancement of the action, wherinto they are so cheerefully entred. Many speciall poynts concerning the commodities of these partes, the accidents of the French mens gouernment therein, the causes of their good or bad successe, with the occasions of the abandoning one of their forts, and the surprise of the other by the enemie are herein truely and faithfully recorded: Which because they be quoted by me in the margents, and reduced into a large alphabeticall table, which I haue annexed to the ende of the worke, it shall be needlesse to recken vp againe. And that the rather, because the same with diuers other things of chiefest importance are liuely drawne in colours at your no smal charges by the skillfull painter Iames Morgues,* sometime liuing in the Black-fryers in London (whom Monsieur Chastillion then Admirall of France sent thither with Laudonniere for that purpose) which was an eye-witnesse of the goodnesse and fertility of those regions, and hath put downe in writing many singularities which are not mentioned in this treatise: which since he hath pubished together with the purtratures. These foure voyages I knew not to whom I might better offer then to your selfe, and that for diuers iust considerations. First, for that as I haue sayd before, they were dedicated vnto you in French: secondly because now foure times also you haue attempted the like vpon the selfe same coast neere adioyning: thirdly in that you haue persed† as farre vp into the maine and discouered no lesse secrets in the partes of your aboad, then the French did in the places of their inhabiting: lastly considering you are now also ready (vpon the late returne of Captaine Stafford and good newes which he brought you of the safe arriual of your last Colony in their wished hauen) to prosecute this action more throughly then euer. And heare to speake somewhat of this your enterprise, I affirme, that if the same may speedily and effectually be pursued, it will prooue farre more beneficiall in diuers respects vnto this our realme, then the world, yea many of the wiser sort, haue hitherto imagined. The particular commodities whereof are wel knowen vnto your selfe and some few others, and are faithfully and with great iudgement committed to writing, as you are not ignorant, by one of your followers, which remained

A collection of the commodities of Virginia there about a tweluemonth with your worshipful Lieutenant M. Ralph Lane, in the diligent search of the secrets of those Countreys. Touching the speedy and effectual pursuing of your action, though I wrote well it would demaund a princes purse to haue it throughly followed without lingering, yet am I of opinion, that you shall drawe the same before it be long to be profitable and gainful aswel to those of our nation there remaining, as to the merchants of England that shall trade hereafter thither, partly by certaine secret commodities already discouered by your seruants, and partly by breeding of diuers sorts of beasts in those large and ample regions, and planting of such things in that warme climat as wil best prosper there, and our realme standeth most in need of. And this I find to haue bin the course that both the Spaniards and Portugals tooke in the beginnings of their discoueries and conquests. For the Spaniards at their first entrance into Hispaniola found neither suger-canes nor ginger, growing there, nor any kind of our cattell: But finding the place fit for pasture they sent kine and buls and sundry sorts of other profitable beastes thither, and transported the plants of suger-canes, and set the rootes of ginger: the hides of which oxen, with suger and ginger, are now the chiefe merchandise of that Island. The Portugals also at their first footing in Madera, as Iohn Barros writes in his first Decade, found nothing there but mighty woods for timber, whereupon they called the Island by that name. Howbeit the climate being fauourable, they inriched it by their own industry with the best wines and sugers in the world. The like maner of proceeding they vsed in the Isles of Açores by sowing therin great quantity of Woad. So dealt they in S. Thomas vnder the Equinoctial, and in Brasil and sundry other places. And if our men will follow their steps, by your wise direction I doubt not but that in due time they shall reape no lesse commodity and benefite. Moreouer there is none other likelihood but that her Maiesty, which hath Christned, and giuen the name to your Virginia if need require, will deale after the maner of honourable godmothers, which, seeing their gossips not fully able to bring vp their children themselues, are wont to contribute to their honest education, the rather if they find any towardlines or reasonable hope of goodnesse in them. And if Elizabeth Queene of Castile

---

* *Marginal note.*—The chiefe things worthie obseruation in Florida are drawen in colours by Iames Morgues painter sometime liuing in the Black fryers in London.

† Pierced.

Meanes to raise benefit in new discoueries vsed by the Spaniards and Portugals.

Kine, sugar-canes and ginger transported into Hispaniola and Madera, &c.

Woad and vines planted in the Azores.

and Aragon,* after her husband Ferdinando and she had emptied their cofers and exhausted their treasures in subduing the kingdome of Granada and rooting the Mores, a wicked weed, out of Spaine, was neuerthelesse so zealous of Gods honour, that (as Fernandus Columbus the son of Christopher Columbus recordeth in the history of the deedes of his father) she layd part of her owne iewels, which she had in great account, to gage, to furnish his father foorth vpon his first voyage, before any foot of land of all the West Indies was discouered; what may we expect of our most magnificent and gracious prince ELIZABETH of England, into whose lappe the Lord hath most plentifully throwne his treasures, what may wee, I say, hope of her forwardnesse and bounty in aduancing of this your most honourable enterprise, being farre more certaine then that of Columbus, at that time especially, and tending no lesse to the glorie of God then that action of the Spanyardes? For as you may read in the very last wordes of the relation of Newe Mexico extant nowe in English, the maine land, where your last Colonie meane to seate themselues, is replenished with many thousands of Indians, Which are of better wittes then those of Mexico and Peru, as hath bene found by those that haue had some triall of them: whereby it may bee gathered that they will easily embrace the Gospell, forsaking their idolatrie, wherein at this present for the most part they are wrapped and intangled. A wise Philosopher noting the sundry desires of diuers men, writeth, that if an oxe bee put into a medowe hee will seeke to fill his bellie with grasse, if a Storke bee cast in shee will seeke for Snakes, if you turne in a Hound he will seeke to start a Hare: So sundry men entering into these discoueries propose vnto themselues seuerall endes. Some seeke authoritie and places of commandement, others experience by seeing of the worlde, the most part wordly and transitorie gaine, and that often times by dishonest and vnlawfull meanes, the fewest number the glorie of God and the sauing of the soules of the poore and blinded infidels. Yet because diuers honest and well disposed persons were entred already into this your businesse, and that I know you meane hereafter to send some such good Churchmen thither, as may truely say with the Apostle to the Sauages, wee seeke not yours but you: I conceiue

The aptnesse of the people in the maine of Virginia to embrace Christianitie.

Seneca.

2 Cor. 12. 14.

**Marginal note.*—The great zeal of Elizabeth Queene of Castile and Aragon in aduancing of new discoueries tending to Gods glory.

great comfort of the successe of this your action, hoping that the Lorde, whose power is wont to bee perfected in weaknesse, will blesse the feeble foundations of your building. Only bee you of a valiant courage and faint not, as the Lord sayd vnto Iosue, exhorting him to proceede on forward in the conquest of the land of promise, and remember that priuate men haue happily wielded and waded through as great enterprises as this, with lesser meanes then those which God in his mercie hath bountifully bestowed vpon you, to the singuler good, as I assure my selfe, of this our Common wealth wherein you liue. Hereof we haue examples both domesticall and forreigne. Remember I pray you, what you find in the beginning of the Chronicle of the conquest of Ireland newly dedicated vnto your selfe. Read you not that Richard Stranbow the decayed earle ot Chepstow in Monmuthshire, being in no great fauour of his soueraigne, passed ouer into that Island in the yere 1171. and accompanied onely with certaine of his priuate friends had in short space such prosperous successe, that he opened the way for king Henry the second to the speedy subiection of all that warlike nation to this crowne of England? The like conquest of Brasilia, and annexing the same to the kingdome of Portugall was first begun by mean and priaute men, as Don Antonio de Castillio, Ambassadour here for that realme and by office keeper of all the records and monuments of their discoueries, assured me in this citie in the yere 1581. Now if the greatnes of the maine of Virginia, and the large extension thereof, especially to the West, should make you thinke that the subduing of it were a matter of more difficulty then the conquest of Ireland, first I answere, that as the late experience of that skilfull pilote and Captaine M. Iohn Dauis to the Northwest (toward which his discouery your selfe haue thrise contributed with the forwardest) hath shewed a great part to be maine sea, where before was thought to be maine land, so for my part I am fully perswaded by Ortelius late reformation of Culuacan and the gulfe of California, that the land on the backe part of Virginia extendeth nothing so far westward as is put downe in the maps of those parts. Moreouer it is not to be denied, but that one hundred men will do more now among the naked and vnarmed people in Virginia, then one thousand were able then to do in Ireland

Iosue 1. 6.

The good successe in Ireland of Richard Strangbow earle of Chepstowe.

The happy late discouery of the Northwest of Captaine Dauis.

against that armed and warlike nation in those daies. I say further, that these two yeeres last experience hath plainly shewed, that we may spare 10000. able men without any misse. And these are as many as the kingdome of Portugal had euer in all their garrisons of the Açores, Madera, Arguin, Cape verde, Guinea, Brasill, Mozambique, Melinde, Zocotora, Ormus, Diu, Goa, Malaca, the Molucos, and Macao vpon the coast of China. Yea this I say by the confession of singuler expert men of their own nation (whose names I suppresse for certain causes) which haue bene personally in the East Indies, and haue assured me that their kings had neuer aboue ten thousand natural borne Portugals* (their slaues expected) out of their kingdome remaining in all the aforesaid territories. Which also this present yeere I saw confirmed in a secrete extract of the particular estate of that kingdome and of euery gouernement and office subiect to the same with the seueral pensions thereunto belonging. Seeing therefore we are so farre from want of people, that retyring daily home out of the Lowe Countreyes they go idle vp and downe in swarms for lack of honest intertainment, I see no fitter place to employ some part of the better sort of them trained vp thus long in seruice, then in the inward partes of the firme of Virginia against such stubborne Sauages as shal refuse obedience to her Maiestie. And doubtlesse many of our men will bee glad and faine to accept this condition, when as by the reading of this present treatie they shall vnderstand the fertilitie and riches of the regions confining so neere vpon yours, the great commodities and goodnesse whereof you haue bin contented to suffer to come to light. In the meane season I humbly commend my selfe and this my translation vnto you, and your selfe, and all those which vnder you haue taken this enterprise in hand to the grace and good blessing of the Almighty, which is able to build farther, and to finish the good worke which in these our dayes he hath begun by your most Christian and charitable endeuour. From London the 1. of May 1587.

Your L. humble at commandement. R. HAKLVYT.

The Preface of M. Rene Laudonniere.

THere are two things, which according to mine opinion haue bene the principall causes, in consideration whereof aswell they of ancient times, as those of our age haue bene induced to trauell into farre and remote regions. The first hath beene the naturall desire which wee haue to search out the commodities to liue happily, plentifully, and at ease: be it whither one abandon his naturall Countrey altogether to dwell in a better, or bee it that men make voyages thither, there to search out and bring from thence such things as are there to be found, and are in greatest estimation and in most request in our Countreys. The second cause hath bene the multitude of people too fruitefull in generation, which being no longer able to dwell in their natiue soyles, haue entred vpon their neighbours limites, and oftentimes passing further haue pearced euen vnto the vttermost regions. After this sort the North climate, a fruitfull father of so many nations hath oftentimes sent foorth this way and that way his valiant people, and by this meane hath peopled infinite Countreys: so that most of the nations of Europe drawe their originall from these parts. Contrariwise the more Southerne regions, because they bee too barren by reason of their insupportable heate which raineth in them, neede not any such sending forth of their inhabitants, and haue bene oftentimes constrained to receiue other people more often by force of armes then willingly. All Afrike, Spaine, and Italie can also testifie the same, which neuer so abounded with people that they had neede to send them abroad to inhabite elsewhere: as on the contrary Scythia, Norway, Gotland and France haue done. The posterity of which nations remaineth yet not only in Italy, Spaine and Afrike but also in fruitful and faire Asia. Neuerthelesse I find that the Romans proceeding further, or rather adding vnto these two chiefe causes aforesaid, (as being most curious to plant not onely their ensignes and victories, but also their lawes, customes, and religion in those prouinces which they had conquered by force of armes) haue oftentimes by the decree of their soueraigne Senate sent forth inhabitants, which they called Colonies (thinking by this way to make their name immortall) euen to the vnfurnishing of their own Countrey of the forces which should haue preserued the same in her perfection: a thing which hindred them much more, then aduanced them to the possession of the vniuersal monarchy, whereunto their intention did aspire. For it came to passe that their Colonies here and there being miserably sacked by strange

---

* *Marginal note.*—The kings of Portugal had neuer aboue ten thousand of their naturall subiects in all their new conquered dominions.

Planting of Colonies.

people did vtterly ruin and ouerthrow their Empire. The brinks of the riuer of Rene are yet red, those of Danubius are no lesse bloody, and our France became fat with their blood which they lost. These are the effects and rewards of al such as being pricked forward with this Romanc and tyrannical ambition will goe about thus to subdue strange people: effects, I say, contrary to the profit which those shall receiue, which onely are affectioned to the common benefite, that is to say, to the generall policie of all men, and endeuour to vnite them one with another as well by trafficke and ciuill conuersations, as by military vertues, and force of armes, when as the Sauages will not yeeld vnto their enduours so much tending vnto their profit.

When force of armes is to be vsed.

For this cause princes haue sent forth out of their Dominions certaine men of good actiuity to plant themselues in strange Countreys, there to make their profite to bring the Countrey to ciuilitie, and if it might be, to reduce the inhabitants to the true knowledge of our God: an end so much more commendable, as it is farre from all tyrannical and cruel gouernement: and so they haue alwayes thriued in their enterprises, and by little and little gained the heartes of them which they haue conquered or wonne vnto them by any meanes. Hereof we may gather that sometimes it is good, yea, very expedient to send forth men to discouer the pleasure and commoditie of strange Countreys: But so, that the Countrey out of which these companies are to passe remaine not weakned, nor depriued of her forces: And againe in such sort that the company sent forth be of so iust and sufficient number, that it may not be defeited by strangers, which euery foote endeuour nothing else but to surprise the same vpon the sudden. As within these few daies past the French haue proued to my great griefe, being able by no means possible to withstand the same, considering that the elements, men, and all the fauours which might be hoped for of a faithfull and Christian alliance fought against vs: which thing I purpose to discouer in this present historie with so euident trueth, that the Kings Maiesty my soueraigne prince shall in part be satisfied of the diligence which I haue vsed in his seruice, and mine aduersaries shall find themselues so discouered in their false reports, that they shall haue no place of refuge. But before I begin, I will briefly set downe the situation and description of the land whereunto we haue sailed and where we haue inhabited from the yeere 1561. vnto sixty fiue, to the ende that those things

Nota.

may the more easily be borne away, which I meane to describe in this discourse.

The description of the West Indies in generall, but chiefly and particularly of Florida.

America vnknowen to all antiquity.

Christopher Colon or Columbe.

Americus Vespucius of whom America took the name.

The first generall part of America.

Cabota in the yeere 1597 had discouered all this tract for the crowne of England.

THat part of the earth which at this day we call the fourth part of the world, or America, or rather the West India, was vnknowen vnto our ancestours by reason of the great distance thereof. In like maner all the Westerne Islands and fortunate Isles were not discouered but by those of our age. Howbeit there haue bin some which haue said that they were discouered in the time of Augustus Cæsar, and that Virgil hath made mention thereof in the sixt booke of his Æneidos, when he saith, There is a land beyond the starres, and the course of the yeere and of the Sunne, where Atlas the Porter of Heauen sustaineth the pole vpon his shoulders: neuerthelesse it is easie to iudge that hee meaneth not to speake of this land, whereof no man is found to haue written before his time, neither yet aboue a thousand yeeres after. Christopher Colon did first light vpon this land in the yeere 1592. And fiue yeeres after Americus went thither by the commandement of the king of Castile, and gaue vnto it his owne name, whereupon afterward it was called America. This man was very well seene in the Arte of Nauigation and in Astronomie: whereby hee discouered in his time many lands vnknowen vnto the ancient Geographers. This countrey is named by some, the land of Bresil, and the lande of Parots. It stretcheth it selfe, according vnto Postell, from the one Pole to the other, sauing at the streight of Magellan, whereunto it reacheth 53. degrees beyond the Equator. I will diuide it for the better vnderstanding into three principall parts. That which is toward the Pole Articke on the North is called new France, because that in the yeere 1524. Iohn Verrazzanno a Florentine was sent by King Francis the first, and by Madam the Regent his mother vnto these newe Regions, where he went on land, and discouered all the coast which is from the Tropicke of Cancer, to wit, from the eight and twentieth vnto the fiftieth degree, and farther vnto the North. He planted in this Countrey the Ensignes and Armes of the king of France: so that the Spaniardes themselues which were there afterwarde, haue named this countrey Terra Francesca. The same then extendeth it selfe in Latitude from the 25. degree vnto the 54. toward the North: and in Longitude from 210. vnto 330. The Easterne part thereof is called by the late writers The land of Norumbega, which beginneth at the bay of Gama, which separateth it from the Isle of Canada whither Iaques Carthiers sayled the yeere 1535. About the which there are many Ilands, among which is that which is named Terra de Labrador stretching towarde Groenland. In the Westerne part there are many knowen countreys, as the Regions of Quiuira, Ciuola, Astatlan, and Terlichichimici. The Southerne part is called Florida, because it was discouered on Palme-sunday, which the Spaniardes call Pascha Florida. The Northerne part is altogether vnknowen.

The second part of all America is called newe Spaine. It extendeth from the Tropicke of Cancer in twentie three degrees and a halfe, vnto the ninth degree. In the same is situated the Citie of Themistitan, and it hath many Regions, and many Ilandes adioyning vnto it, which are called the Antilles, whereof the most famous and renoumed are Hispaniola and Isabella, with an infinite number of others. All this land, together with the Bay of Mexico, and all the Ilands aforesayd, haue not in Longitude past seuentie degrees, to wit, from the two hundreth and fortie, vnto three hundreth and ten: it is also long and narrowe as Italie. The third part of America is called Peru, it is very great, and extendeth it selfe in Latitude from the tenth degree vnto the three and fiftieth beyond the Equator, to wit, as I haue sayde before, vnto the streight of Magelan. It is made in fashion like to an egge, and is very well knowen vpon all sides. The part where it is largest hath threescore degrees, and from thence ir waxeth narrower and narrower toward both the endes. In one part of this lande Villegagnon planted right vnder the Tropicke of Capricorne, and he called it France Antarctick, because it draweth toward the pole Antarctick, as our France doeth toward the Arctick.

New France is almost as great as all our Europe. Howbeit the most knowen and inhabited part thereof is Florida, whither many Frenchmen haue made diuers voyages at sundry times, insomuch that now it is the best knowen Countrey which is in all this part of new France. The Cape thereof is as it were a long head of land stretching out into the Sea an hundred leagues, and runneth directly towarde the South: it hath right ouer against it fiue and twentie leagues distant the Isle of Cuba otherwise called Isabella toward the East the Isles of Bahama and Lucaya, and toward the West the Bay of Mexico. The Countrey is flat, and diuided with diuers riuers, and therefore moyst, and is sandie towards the Sea shore. There groweth in those partes great quantitie of Pinetrees, wnich haue no kernels in the aples which they beare. Their woods are full of Oakes, Walnuttrees, blacke Cherrietrees, Mulberry trees, Lentiskes, and Chestnut trees, which are more wild then those in France. There is great store of Cedars, Cypresses, Bayes, Palme trees, Hollies, and wilde Vines, which climbe vp along the trees and beare good Grapes. There is there a kinde of Medlers, the fruit whereof is better then that of France, and bigger. There are also Plum-trees, which beare very faire fruite, but such as is not very good. There are Raspasses, and a little berrie which we call among vs Blues, which are very good to eate. There growe in that Countrey a kinde of Rootes which they call in their language Hasez, whereof in necessitie they make bread. There is also there the tree called Esquine, which is very good against the Pockes and other contagious diseases. The beastes best knowen in this Countrey are Stagges, Hindes, Goates, Deere, Leopards, Ounces, Luserns, diuers sortes of Wolues, wilde Dogs, Hares, Cunnies, and a certaine kinde of beast that differeth little from the Lyon of Africa. The foules are Turkeycocks, Partridges, Parrots, Pigions, Ringdoues, Turtles, Blackbirdes, Crowes, Tarcels, Faulcons, Laynerds, Herons, Cranes, Storkes, wilde Geese, Malards, Cormorants, Hernshawes, white red, blacke, and gray, and an infinite sort of all wilde foule. There is such abundance of Crocodiles, that ofentimes in swimming men are assayled by them: of Serpents there are many sorts. There is found amongst the Sauages good quantitie of Gold and Siluer, which is gotten out of the shippes that are lost vpon the coast, as I haue vnderstood by the Sauages themselues. They vse traffique thereof one with another. And that which maketh me the rather beleeue it, is, that on the coast towarde the Cape, where commonly the shippes are cast away, there is

The trees of Florida.

These are perhaps those which the Sauages call Tunas.

The beasts of Florida.

The foule of Florida.

more store of Siluer then towards the North. Neuerthelesse they say, that in the Mountaines of Appalatcy there are Mines of Copper, which I thinke to be Golde. There is also in this Countrey great store of graynes and herbes, whereof might be made excellent good dyes and paintings of all kindes of colours. And in trueth the Indians which take pleasure in painting of their skins, know very well how to vse the same. The men are of an Oliue colour, of great stature, faire, without any deformitie, and well proportioned. They couer their priuies with the skinne of a Stagge well dressed. The most part of them haue their bodies, armes, and thighes painted with faire deuises: the painting whereof can neuer be taken away, because the same is pricked into their flesh. Their haire is very blacke and reacheth euen downe to their hips, howbeit they trusse it vp after a fashion that becommeth them very well. They are great dissemblers and traitours, valiant of their persons and fight very well. They haue none other weapons but their bowes and arrowes. They make the string of their bow of a gut of a Stag, or of a Stagges skin, which they know how to dresse as well as any man in France, and with as different sorts of colours. They head their arrowes with the teeth of fishes and stone, which they work very finely and handsomly. They exercise their yong men to runne well, and they make a game among themselues, which he winneth that has the longest breath. They also exercise themselues much in shooting. They play at ball in this maner: they set vp a tree in the middest of a place which is eight or nine fathome high, in the top whereof there is set a square mat made of reedes or Bulrushes, which whosoeuer hitteth in playing therat, winneth the game. They take great pleasure in hunting and fishing. The kings of the Countrey make great warre one against the other, which is not executed but by surprise, and they kill all the men they can take: afterward they cut off their heads to haue their haire, which returning home they carry away, to make thereof their triumph when they come to their houses. They saue the women and children and nourish them and keepe them alwayes with them. Being returned home from the warre, they assemble all their subiects, and for ioy three dayes and three nights they make good cheare, they dance and sing, likewise they make the most ancient women of the Countrey to dance, holding the haires of their enemies in

The disposition and maners of the Floridians.

The wearing of their haire.

their hands: and in dancing they sing praises to the Sunne, ascribing vnto him the honour of the victory. They haue no knowledge of God, nor of any religion, sauing of that which they see, as the Sunne and the Moone. They haue their priests to whom they giue great credit, because they are great magicians, great sooth-sayers, and callers vpon diuels. These Priests serue them in stead of Physitions and Chirurgions. They carry alwayes about them a bag full of herbes and drugs to cure the sicke diseased which for the most part are sick of the pocks, for they loue women and maidens exceedingly, which they call the daughters of the Sunne: and some of them are Sodomites. They marry, and euery one hath his wife, and it is lawfull for the King to haue two or three: yet none but the first is honoured and acknowledged for Queene: and none but the children of the first wife inherite the goods and aucthoritie of the father. The women doe all the businesse at home. They keepe not house with them after they know they be with child. And they eate not of that which they touch as long as they haue their flowers.

Many Hermaphrodites which haue the nature of both sexes.

There are in all this Countrey many Hermaphrodites, whice take all the greatest paine, and beare the victuals when they goe to warre. They paint their faces much, and sticke their haire full of feathers or downe, that they may seeme more terrible. The victuals which they carry with them, are of bread, of hony, and of meale made of Maiz parched in the fire, which they keepe without being marred a long while. They carry also sometimes fish, which they cause to be dressed in the smoke. In necessitie they eat a thousand rifraffes, euen to the swallowing downe of coales, and putting sand into the pottage that they make with this meale. When they goe to warre, their King marcheth first, with a clubbe in the one hand, and his bowe in the other, with his quiuer full of arrowes. All his men follow him, which haue likewise their bowes and arrowes. While they fight, they make great cries and exclamations. They take no enterprize in hand, but first they assemble oftentimes their Councell together, and they take very good aduisement before they growe to a resolution. They meete together euery morning in a great common house, whither their King repaireth, and setteth him downe vpon a seate which is higher then the seates of the other: where all of them one after another come and salute him: and the most ancient begin their

Their order in marching to the warre.

salutations, lifting vp both their handes twise as high as their face, saying, ha, he, ya, and the rest answer ha, ha. Assoone as they haue done their salutation, euery man sitteth him downe vpon the seates which are round about in the house. If there be any thing to intreate of, the King calleth the Iawas, that is to say their Priestes, and the most ancient men, and asketh them their aduise. Afterward he commaundeth Cassine to be brewed, which is a drinke made of the leaues of a certaine tree: They drinke this Cassine very hotte: he drinketh first, then he causeth to be giuen thereof to all of them one after another in the same boule, which holdeth well a quart measure of Paris. They make so great account of this drinke, that no man may taste thereof in this assembly, vnlesse hee hath made proof of his valure in the warre. Moreouer this drinke hath such a vertue, that assoone as they haue drunke it, they become all in a sweate, which sweate being past, it taketh away hunger and thirst for foure and twenty houres after. When a King dyeth, they burie him very solemnly, and vpon his graue they set the cuppe wherein he was woont to drinke: and round about the sayde graue they sticke many arrowes, and weepe and fast three dayes together without ceasing. All the kings which were his friends make the like mourning: and in token of the loue which they bare him, they cut of more then the one halfe of their haire, as well men as women. During the space of sixe Moones (so they reckon their moneths) there are certaine women appoynted which bewaile the death of this King, crying with a loude voyce thrise a day, to wit, in the Morning, at Noone, and at Euening. All the goods of this King are put into his house, and afterward they set it on fire, so that nothing is euer more after to be seene. The like is done with the goods of the Priestes, and besides they burie the bodies of the Priests in their houses, and then they set them on fire. They sowe their Maiz twise a yere, to wit, in March and in Iune, and all in one and the same soyle. The sayd Maiz from the time that it is sowed vntill the time that it be ready to be gathered, is but three moneths on the ground. The other 6. moneths they let the earth rest. They haue also faire Pumpions, and very good Beanes. They neuer dung their land, onely when they would sowe, they set the weedes on fire, which grewe vp the 6. moneths, and burne them all. They dig their ground

The drinking of Cassine before they goe to battell.

Their maner of the buriall of Kings.

The buriall of their Priests.

with an instrument of wood which is fashioned like a broad mattocke, wherewith they digge their Vines in France, they put two graines of Maiz together. When the land is to be sowed, the King commaundeth one of his men to assemble his subiects euery day to labour, during which labour the King causeth store of that drinke to be made for them, whereof we haue spoken. At the time when the Maiz is gathered, it is all carried into a common house, where it is distributed to euery man according to his qualitie. They sowe no more but that which they thinke will serue their turnes for sixe moneths, and that very scarcely. For during the Winter they retire themselues for three or foure moneths in the yeere into the woods, where they make little cotages of Palme boughes for their retraite, and liue there of Maste, of fish which they take, of Oisters, of Stagges, of Turkeycockes, and other beastes which they take. They eate all their meate broyled on the coales, and dressed in the smoake, which in their language they call Boucaned. They eate willingly the flesh of the Crocodile: and in deede it is faire and white: and where it not that it sauoureth too much like Muske we would oftentimes haue eaten thereof. They haue a custome among them, that when they finde themselues sicke, where they feele the paine, whereas we cause our selues to be let blood, their Physitions sucke them vntill they make the blood follow.

Their maner of liuing in the Winter.

The women are likewise of good proportion and tall, and of the same colour that the men be of, painted as the men be: Howbeit when they are borne, they be not so much of an Oliue colour, and are farre whiter. For the chiefe cause that maketh them to be of this colour proceedes of annointings of oyle which they vse among them: and they doe it for a certaine ceremonie which I could not learne, and because of the Sunne which shineth hote vpon their bodies. The agilitie of the women is so great, that they can swimme ouer the great Riuers bearing their children vpon one of their armes. They climbe vp also very nimbly vpon the highest trees in the Countrey.

Oile in Florida.

Beholde in briefe the description of the Countrey, with the nature and customes of the Inhabitants: which I was very willing to write, before I entred any further into the discourse of my historie, to the end that the Readers might be the better prepared to vnderstand that, which I meane hereafter to entreate of.

MY Lord Admirall of Chastillon, a noble man more desirous of the publique then of his priuate benefite, vnderstanding the pleasure of the King his prince, which was to discouer new and strange Countreys, caused vessels fit for this purpose to be made ready with all diligence, and men to bee leuied meete for such an enterprise: Among whom hee chose Captaine Iohn Ribault, a man in trueth expert in sea causes: which hauing receiued his charge, set himselfe to Sea the yeere 1562. the eighteenth of Februarie, accompanied onely with two of the kings shippes, but so well furnished with Gentlemen, (of whose number I myselfe was one) and with olde Souldiers, that he had meanes to atchieue some notable thing and worthy of eternall memorie. Hauing therefore sayled two moneths, neuer holding the usuall course of the Spaniards, hee arriued in Florida, landing neere a Cape or Promontorie, which is no high lande, because the coast is all flatte, but onely rising by reason of the high woods, which at his arriuall he called Cape François in honour of our France. This Cape is distant from the Equator about thirtie degrees. Coasting from this place towards the North, he discouered a very faire and great Riuer, which gaue him occasion to cast anker that hee might search the same the next day very early in the morning: which being done by the breake of day, accompanied with Captaine Fiquinuille and diuers other souldiers of his shippe, he was no sooner arriued on the brinke of the shoare, but straight hee perceiued many Indians men and women, which came of purpose to that place to receiue the Frenchmen with all gentlenesse and amitie, as they well declared by the Oration which their king made, and the presents of Chamois skinnes wherewith he honoured our Captaine, which the day following caused a pillar of hard stone to be planted within the sayde Riuer, and not farre from the mouth of the same vpon a little sandie knappe, in which pillar the Armes of France were carued and engraued. This being done hee embarked himselfe againe, to the ende alwayes to discouer the coast toward the North which was his chiefe desire. After he had sayled a certaine time he crossed ouer to the other side of the riuer, and then in the presence of certaine Indians, which of purpose did attend

The first voyage of Iohn Ribault to Florida 1562.

The course of the Spaniards not altogether necessary.

Cape Francois in 30. degrees.

A pillar set vp.

Prayers and thankes to God.

him, hee commaunded his men to make their prayers, to giue thankes to GOD, for that of his grace hee had conducted the French nation vnto these strange places without any danger at all. The prayers being ended, the Indians which were very attentiue to hearken vnto them, thinking in my iudgment, that wee worshipped the Sunne, because wee alwayes had our eyes lifted vp toward heauen, rose all vp and came to salute the Captaine Iohn Ribault, promising to shew him their King, which rose not vp as they did, but remained still sitting vpon greene leaues of Bayes and Palmetrees: toward whom the Captaine went and sate downe by him, and heard him make a long discourse, but with no great pleasure, because hee could not vnderstand his language, and much lesse his meaning.

Presents giuen to Ribault.

The King gaue our Captaine at his departure a plume or fanne of Hernshawes feathers died in red, and a basket made of Palme-boughes after the Indian fashion, and wrought very artificially, and a great skinne painted and drawen throughout with the pictures of diuers wilde beasts so liuely drawen and pourtrayed, that nothing lacked but life. The Captaine to shew himselfe not vnthankfull, gaue him pretie tinne bracelets, a cutting hooke, a looking glasse, and certaine kniues: whereupon the King shewed himselfe to be very glad and fully contented. Hauing spent the most part of the day with these Indians, the Captaine imbarked himselfe to passe ouer to the other side of the Riuer, whereat the king seemed to be very sorie. Neuerthelesse being not able to stay vs, hee commaunded that with all diligence they should take fish for vs: which they did with all speede. For being entred into their Weares or inclosures made of reedes and framed in the fashion of a Labirynth or Mase, they loaded vs with Troutes, great Mullets, Plaise, Turbuts, and marueilous store of other sortes of fishes altogether different from ours.

Their fish weares like those of Virginia.

They passe ouer the riuer.

This done, we entred into our Boates and went toward the other shore. But before we came to the shore, we were saluted with a number of other Indians, which entring into the water to their armepits, brought vs many litle baskets full of Maiz, and goodly Mulberries both red and white: Others offered thamselues to beare vs on shoare, where being landed we perceiued their King sitting vpon a place dressed with boughes, and vnder a little Arbour of Cedars and

Bay trees somewhat distant from the waters side. He was accompanied with two of his sonnes which were exceeding faire and strong, and with a troope of Indians who had all their bowes and arrowes in marueilous good order. His two sonnes receiued our Captaine very graciously: but the king their father, representing I wot not what kinde of grauitie, did nothing but shake his head a little: then the Captaine went forward to salute him, and without any other mouing of himselfe he reteined so constant a kind of grauitie, that hee made it seeme vnto vs that by good and lawfull right hee bare the title of a King. Our Captaine knowing not what to iudge of this mans behauiour, thought he was ielous because wee went first vnto the other king, or else that he was not well pleased with the Pillar or Columne which he had planted. While thus he knew not what hereof to thinke, our Captaine shewed him by signes, that he was come from a farre Countrey to seeke him, to let him to vnderstand the amitie which he was desirous to haue with him: for the better confirmation whereof, hee drewe out of a budget certaine trifles, as certaine bracelets couered as it were with siluer and guilt, which he presented him withall, and gave his sonnes certaine other trifles. Whereupon the King beganne very louingly to entreate both our Captaine and vs. And after these gentle intertainments we went ourselues into the woods, hoping there to discouer some singularities; where were great store of Mulberrie trees white and red, on the toppes whereof there was an infinite number of silkewormes. Following our way wee discouered a faire and great medowe, diuided notwithstanding with diuers Marishes which constrained vs by reason of the water which enuironed it about, to returne backe againe towarde the Riuers side. Finding not the King there, which by this time was gone home to his house, wee entred into our boates and sayled toward our shippes: where after we arriued, we called this Riuer the Riuer of May, because wee discouered it the first day of the sayde moneth.

Soone after we returned to our shippes, wee weighed our ankers and hoysed our sailes to discouer the coast farther forward, along the which wee discouered another faire Riuer, which the Captaine himselfe was minded to search out, and hauing searched it out with the king and inhabitants thereof, hee named it Seine, because it is very like vnto the Riuer of Seine in France. From this Riuer wee retired toward our shippes, where being arriued, we trimmed our sailes to saile further toward the North, and to descry the sigularities of the coast. But wee had not sayled any great way before wee discouered another very faire Riuer, which caused vs to cast anker ouer against it, and to trimme out two Boates to goe to search it out. Wee found there an Ile and a king no lesse affable then the rest, afterwarde we named this Riuer Somme. From thence wee sayled about sixe leagues, after wee discouered another Riuer, which after wee had viewed was named by vs by the name of Loyre. And consequently we there discouered fiue others: whereof the first was named Charente, the second Garonne, the third Gironde, the fourth Belle, the fift Grande: which being very well discouered with such things as were in them, by this time in lesse then the space of three score leagues we had found out many singularities along nine Riuers. Neuerthelesse not fully satisfied we sayled yet further toward the North, following the course that might bring vs to the Riuer of Iordan one of the fairest Riuers of the North, and holding our wonted course, great fogges and tempests came vpon vs, which constrained vs to leaue the coast to beare toward the maine Sea, which was the cause we lost the sight of our Pinnesses a whole day and a night vntill the next day in the morning, what time the weather waxing faire and the Sea calme wee discouered a Riuer which we called Belle a veoir.* After wee had sayled three or four leagues, wee began to espie our Pinnesses which came straight toward vs, and at their arriuall they reported to the Captaine, that while the fogges and wild weather endured they harboured themselues in a mightie Riuer which in bignesse and beautie exceeded the former: wherewithall the Captaine was exceeding ioyfull, for his chiefe desire was to finde out an Hauen to harbour his shippes, and there to refresh our selues for a while. Thus making thitherward wee arriued athwart the sayde Riuer, (which because of the fairenesse and largenesse thereof wee named Port Royall) wee strooke our sailes and cast anker at ten fathom of water: for the depth is such, namely when the Sea beginneth to flowe, that the greatest shippes of France, yea, the Arguzes of Venice may enter in there. Hauing cast anker, the Captaine with his Souldiers went on

The Riuer of Port Royall in 32. degrees of latitude.

---

* Belle à voir.

shoare, and hee himself went first on land: where we found the place as pleasaunt as was possible, for it was all couered ouer with mightie high Oakes and infinite store of Cedars, and with Lentiskes growing vnderneath them, smelling so sweetly, that the very fragrant odor only made the place to seeme exceeding pleasant. As we passed thorow these woods we saw nothing but Turkeycocks flying in the Forrests, Partridges gray and red, little different from ours, but chiefly in bignesse. Wee heard also within the woods the voyces of Stagges, of Beares, of Lusernes, of Leopards, and diuers other sortes of Beastes vnknowen vnto vs. Being delighted with this place, we set ourselues to fishing with nets, and we caught such a number of fish, that it was wonderfull. And amongst other wee tooke a certaine kind of fish which we call Salicoques, which were no lesse then Creuises, so that two draughts of the net were sufficient to feede all the companie of our two ships for a whole day. The Riuer at the mouth thereof from Cape to Cape is no lesse then 3 French leagues broad; it is diuided into two great armes whereof the one runneth toward the West, the other towards the North: And I beleeue in my iudgement that the arme which stretcheth towarde the North runneth vp into the Countrey as farre as the Riuer Iordan, the other arme runneth into the Sea, as it was knowen and vnderstoode by those of our company, which were left behind to dwell in this place. These two armes are two great leagues broad: and in the middest of them there is an Ile, which is poynted towardes the opening of the great Riuer, in which Iland there are infinite numbers of all sortes of strange beasts. There are Simples growing there of so rare properties, and in so great quantitie, that is an excellent thing to behold them. On euery side there is nothing to be seene but Palmetrees, and other sorts of trees bearing blossoms and fruite of very rare shape and very good smell. But seeing the euening approch, and that the Captaine determined to returne vnto the shippes, wee prayed him to suffer vs to passe the night in this place. In our absence the Pilots and chiefe Mariners aduertised the Captaine that it was needefull to bring the shippes further vp within the Riuer, to auoyde the dangers of the windes which might annoy vs, by reason of our being so neere to the mouth of the Riuer: and for this cause the Captaine sent for vs. Being come to our shippes, wee sayled three leagues vp within the Riuer, and there we cast anker. A little while after, Iohn

A passage by a riuer into the Sea.

Ribault saileth 12 leagues vp the Riuer.

Ribault accompanied with a good number of souldiers imbarked himselfe, desirous to sayle further vp into the arme that runneth toward the West, and to search the commodities of the place. Hauing sayled twelue leagues at the least, we perceiued a troope of Indians which assoone as they espied the Pinnesses, they were so afrayd that they fled into the woods leauing behind them a young Lucerne which they were a turning vpon a spit: for which the place was called Cape Lucerne: proceeding foorth on our way, we found another arme of the Riuer, which ranne toward the East, vp which the Captaine determined to sayle and to leaue the great current. A little while after they began to espie diuers other Indians both men and women halfe hidden within the woods: who knowing not that we were such as desired their friendship, were dismayed at the first, but soone after were emboldened, for the Captaine caused store of merchandise to be shewed them openly whereby they knew that we meant nothing but well vnto them; and then they made a signe that he should come on lande, which we would not refuse. At our comming on shoare diuers of them came to salute our Generall according to their barbarous fashion. Some of them gaue him skinnes of Chamois, others little baskets made of Palme leaues, some presented him with Pearles, but no great number. Afterwards they went about to make an arbour to defend us in that place from the parching heate of the Sunne. But wee would not stay as then. Wherefore the Captaine thanked them much for their good will, and gaue presents to each of them: wherewith he pleased them so well before he went thence, that his suddaine departure was nothing pleasant vnto them. For knowing him to bee so liberall, they would haue wished him to haue stayed a little longer, seeking by all meanes to giue him occasion to stay, shewing him by signes that he should stay but that day onely, and that they desired to aduertise a great Indian Lorde which had Pearles in great abundance, and Silver also, all which things should bee giuen vnto him at the Kings arriuall: saying further that in the meane time while that this great Lord came thither, they would lead him to their houses, and shewe him there a thousand pleasures in shooting, and seeing the Stagge killed therefore they prayed him not to denie them their request. Notwithstanding wee returned to our shippes, where after wee had bene but one night, the Captaine in the morning commanded to put into the Pinnesse a pillar of hard stone fashioned like a columne, wherein the armes of the king of France were grauen, to plant the same in the fairest place that he could finde. This done, wee imbarked ourselues, and sayled three leagues towards the West: where wee discouered a little riuer vp which we sayled so long, that in the ende we found it returned into the great current, and in his returne to make a litle Iland separated from the firme land where wee went on shore: and by commandement of the Captaine, because it was exceeding faire and pleasant, there wee planted the Pillar vpon a hillock open round about to the view, and inuironed with a lake halfe a fathom deepe of very good and sweete water. In which Iland wee sawe two Stagges of exceeding bignesse, in respect of those which we had seene before, which we might easily haue killed with our harguebuzes, if the Captaine had not forbidden vs, mooued with the singular fairenesse and bignesse of them. But before our departure we named the little riuer which enuironed this Ile, The Riuer of Liborne. Afterward we imbarked our selues to search another Ile not farre distant from the former: wherein after wee had gone a land, wee found nothing but tall Cedars, the fairest that were seene in this Countrey. For this cause wee called it The Ile of Cedars: so wee returned into our Pinnesse to go towards our shippes.

A Pillar of free stone wherein the Armes of France were grauen, set vp in an Iland in the riuer of Port Royal.

A few dayes afterward Iohn Ribault determined to returne once againe toward the Indians which inhabited that arme of the Riuer which runneth toward the West, and to carrie with him good store of souldiers. For his meaning was to take two Indians of this place to bring them into France, as the Queene had commaunded him. With this deliberation againe wee tooke our former course so farre foorth, that at the last wee came to the selfe same place where at the first we found the Indians, from thence we tooke two Indians by the permission of the king, which thinking that they were more fauoured then the rest, thought themselues very happy to stay with vs. But these two Indians seeing we made no shew at all that we would goe on land, but rather that wee followed the middest of the current, began to be somewhat offended, and would by force haue leapt into the water, for they are so good swimmers that immediatly they would haue gotten into the forestes. Neuerthelesse being acquainted with their humour,

Two Indians taken away.

wee watched them narrowly and sought by all meanes to appease them: which we could not by any meanes do for that time, though we offered them things which they much esteemed, which things they disdained to take, and gaue backe againe whatsoeuer was giuen them, thinking that such giftes should haue altogether bound them, and that in restoring them they should be restored vnto their libertie. In fine, perceiuing that all that they did auayled them nothing, they prayed vs to giue them those things which they had restored, which we did incontinent: then they approched one toward the other and began to sing, agreeing so sweetely together, that in hearing their song it seemed that they lamented the absence of their friendes. They continued their songs all night without ceasing: all which time we were constrained to ly at anker by reason of the tyde that was against vs, but we hoysed sayle the next day very early in the morning, and returned to our ships. Assoone as we were come to our ships, euery one sought to gratifie these two Indians, and to shew them the best countenance that was possible: to the intent that by such courtesies they might perceiue the good desire and affection which we had to remaine their friends in time to come. Then we offered them meate to eate, but they refused it, and made vs vnderstand that they were accustomed to wash their face and to stay vntill the Sunne were set before they did eate, which is a ceremonie common to all the Indians of Newe France. Neuerthelesse in the end they were constrained to forget their superstitions, and to apply themselues to our nature, which was somewhat strange vnto them at the first. They became therefore more iocunde, euery houre made vs a 1000 discourses, being merueilous sory that we could not vnderstand them. A few daies after they began to beare so good wil towards mee, that, as I thinke, they would rather haue perished with hunger and thirst, then haue taken their refection at any mans hand but mine. Seeing this their good wil, I sought to learne some Indian words, and began to aske them questions, shewing them the thing whereof I desired to know the name, how they called it. They were very glad to tell it me, and knowing the desire that I had to learne their language, they encouraged me afterward to aske them euery thing. So that putting downe in writing the words and phrases of the Indian

The dolefull songs of the Indians.

The Indians eat not before the sun be set.

Laudonniers putting down in writing the words and phrases of the Indians speech.

speech, I was able to vnderstand the greatest part of their discourses. Euery day they did nothing but speak vnto me of the desire that they had to vse me wel, if we returned vnto their houses, and cause me to receiue all the pleasures that they could deuise, aswell in hunting as in seeing their very strange and superstitious ceremonies at a certaine feast which they call Toya. Which feast they obserue as straightly as we obserue the Sunday. They gaue me to vnderstand, that they would bring me to see the greatest Lord of this countrey which they called Chiquola, which exceedeth them in height (as they tolde me) a good foote and a halfe. They said vnto me that he dwelt within the land in a very large place and inclosed exceeding high, but I could not learne wherewith. And as farre as I can iudge, this place whereof they spake vnto me, was a very faire citie. For they said vnto me that within the inclosure there was great store of houses which were built very high, wherein there was an infinite number of men like vnto themselues, which made none account of gold, of siluer, nor of pearles, seeing they had thereof in abundance. I began then to shew them al the the parts of heauen, to the intent to learne in which quarter they dwelt. And straightway one of them stretching out his hand shewed me y^t^ they dwelt toward the North, which makes me thinke that it was the riuer of Iordan. And now I remember that in the raigne of the Emperour Charles the fift, certaine Spaniards inhabitants of S. Domingo (which made a voyage to get certaine slaues to work in their mines) stole away by subtilty the inhabitants of this riuer, to the number of 40, thinking to cary them into their New Spaine. But they lost their labour: for in despite they died al for hunger, sauing one that was brought to the Emperor, which a litle while after he caused to be baptised, and gaue him his own name and called him Charles of Chiquola, because he spake so much of this Lorde of Chiquola whose subiect hee was. Also, he reported continually, that Chiquola made his abode within a very great inclosed citie. Besides this proof, those which were left in the first voyage haue certified me, that the Indians shewed them by euident signes, that farther within the land toward the North, there was a great inclosure or citie, where Chiquola dwelt. After they had staied a while in our ships, they began to be sory, and stil demanded of me when they should returne. I made them vnderstand that the Captaines will was to send them home againe, but that first

This seemeth to be La grand Copal.

he would bestow apparell of them, which fewe dayes after was deliuered vnto them. But seeing he would not giue them licence to depart, they resolued with themselues to steale away by night, and to get a litle boat which we had, and by the help of the tyde to saile home toward their dwellings, and by this meanes to saue themselues. Which thing they failed not to doe, and put their enterprize in execution, yet leauing behinde them the apparel which the Captaine had giuen them, and carrying away nothing but that which was their owne, shewing well hereby that they were not void of reason. The Captaine cared not greatly for their departure, considering they had not bene vsed otherwise then well: and that therefore they woulde not estrange themselues from the Frenchmen. Captaine Ribault therefore knowing the singular fairenes of this riuer, desired by all meanes to encourage some of his men to dwell there, well foreseeing that this thing might be of great importance for the Kings seruice, and the reliefe of the Common wealth of France. Therefore proceeding on with this intent he commanded the ankers to be weighed and to set things in order to returne vnto the opening of the riuer, to the ende that if the winde came faire he might passe out to accomplish the rest of his meaning. When therefore we were come to the mouth of the riuer, he made them cast anker, whereupon we stayed without discouering any thing all the rest of the day. The next day he commanded that all the men of his ship should come vp vpon the decke, saying that he had somewhat to say vnto them. They all came vp, and immediately the Captaine began to speake vnto them in this maner.

The 2 Indians escape away.

The benefite of planting.

I thinke there is none of you that is ignorant of how great consequence this our enterprize is, and how acceptable it is vnto our yong King. Therefore my friendes (as one desiring your honour and benefite) I would not faile to aduertise you all of the exceeding good happe which should fall to them, which, as men of valure and worthy courage, would make tryall in this our first discouerie of the benefits and commodities of this new land: which should be, as I assure my selfe, the greatest occasion that euer could happen vnto them, to arise vnto the title and degree of honour. And for this cause I was desirous to propose vnto you and set downe before your eyes the eternall memorie which of right they deserue, which forgetting both their parents and their countrey

The Oration of Iohn Ribault to his company.

haue had the courage to enterprize a thing of such importance, which euen kings themselues vnderstanding to be men aspiring to so high degree magnanmitie and increase of their maiesties, doe not disdaine so wel to regard, that afterwards imploying them in maters of weight and of high enterprize, they make their names immortall for euer. Howbeit, I would not haue you perswade your selues, as many doe, that you shall neuer haue such good fortune as not being knowen neither to the king nor to the Princes of the Realme, and besides descending of so poore a stocke, that few or none of your parents, hauing euer made profession of armes, haue bene knowen vnto the great estates. For albeit that from my tender yeeres I myselfe haue applyed all my industry to to follow them, and haue hazarded my life in so many dangers for the seruice of my prince, yet could I neuer attaine thereunto (not that I did not deserue this title and degree of gouernment) as I haue seene it happen to many others, onely because they descend of a noble race, since more regard is had of their birth then of their vertue. For wel I know that if vertue were regarded ther would more be found worthy to deserue the title, and by good right to be named noble and valiant. I will therefore make sufficient answere to such propositions and such things as you may obiect against me, laying before you the infinite examples which we haue of the Romans: which concerning the point of honour were the first that triumphed ouer the world. For how many finde we among them, which for their so valiant enterprizes, not for the greatnesse of their parentage, haue obtained the honour to tryumph? If we haue recourse vnto their ancestors, wee shall finde that their parents were of so meane condition, that by labouring with their hands they liued very basely. As the father of Ælius Pertinax, which was a poore artisan, his Grandfather likewise was a bond man, as the historiographers do witnes: and neuerthelesse, being moued with a valiant courage, he was nothing dismayed for all this, but rather desirous to aspire vnto high things, he began with a braue stomacke to learne feates of armes, and profited so wel therein, that from step to step he became at length to be Emperour of the Romans. For all this dignitie he despised not his parents: but contrariwise and in remembrance of them, he caused his fathers shop to be couered with a fine wrought marble, to serue for an example to men descended of base and poore linages, to giue them occasion

Ælius Pertinax descending from base parentage became Emperour of Rome.

to aspire vnto high things notwithstanding the meannesse of their ancestors. I wil not passe ouer in silence the excellencie and prowesse of the valiant and renowned Agathocles the sonne of a simple potter, and yet forgetting the contemptible estate of his father, he so applied himselfe to vertue in his tender yeeres, that by the fauour of armes he came to be king of Sicilie: and for all this title he refused not to be counted the sonne of a Potter. But the more to eternize the memory of his parentes and to make his name renowned, he commanded that he should be serued at the Table in vessels of gold and siluer and others of earth: declaring thereby that the dignitie wherein hee was placed came not vnto him by his parents, but by his owne vertue onely. If I shal speake of our time, I will lay before you onely Rusten Bassha, which may be sufficient example to all men: which though he were the sonne of a poore heard-man, did so apply his youth in all vertue, that being brought vp in the seruice of the great Turke, he seemed to aspire to great and high matters, in such sort that growing in yeeres he increased also in courage, so far forth, that in fine for his excellent vertues he married the daughter of the great Turke his Prince. Howe much then ought so many worthy examples to moue you to plant here? Considering also that you shalbe registered for euer as the first that inhabited this strang countrey. I pray you therefore all to aduise your selues thereof, and to declare your mindes freely vnto mee, protesting that I will so well imprint your names in the kinges eares, and the other princes, that your renowme shall hereafter shine vnquenchable through our Realme of France.

Agathocles a potters sonne became king of Sicilie.

Rusten Bassha of an heard-mans sonne through his valure became the great Turkes sonne in law.

He had scarcely ended his Oration, but the greatest part of our souldiers replyed: that a greater pleasure could neuer betide them, perceiuing well the acceptable seruice which by this meanes they shoulde doe vnto their Prince: besides that this thing should be for the increase of their honours: therefore they besought the Captaine, before he departed out of the place, to begin to build them a Fort, which they hoped afterward to finish, and to leaue them munition necessarie for their defence, shewing as it seemed that they were displeased, that it was so long in doing. Wherevpon Iohn Ribault being as glad as might be to see his men so well willing, determined the next

The souldiers answere to Ribaults Oration.

day to search the most fit and conuenient place to be inhabited. Wherefore he embarked himselfe very earely in the morning and commanded them to followe him that were desirous to inhabite there, to the intent that they might like the beter of the place. Hauing sayled vp the great riuer on the North side, in coasting an Isle which ended with a sharpe point toward the mouth of the riuer, hauing sailed a while, he discouered a small riuer, which entred into the Islande, which hee would not faile to search out. Which done, and finding the same deep inough to harbour therein Gallies and Galliots in good number, proceeding further, he found a very open place, ioyning vpon the brinke thereof, where he went on land, and seeing the place fit to build a Fortresse in, and commodious for them that were willing to plant there, he resolued incontinent to cause the bignes of the fortification to be measured out. And considering that there stayed but sixe and twentie there, he caused the Fort to be made in length but sixteene fathome, and thirteene in breadth, with flankes according to the proportion thereof. The meacure being taken by me and Captaine Salles, we sent vnto the shippes for men, and to bring shouels, pickaxes and other instruments necessarie to make the fortification. We trauailed so diligently, that in a short space the Fort was made in some sort defenciable. In which meane time Iohn Ribault caused victuals and warrelike munition to be brought for the defence of the place. After he had furnished them with all such things as they had neede of, he determined to take his leaue of them. But before his departure he vsed this speech vnto Captaine Albert, which he left in this place.

The length and bredth of the fort taken by Laudonnier and Captaine Salles.

Captaine Albert, I haue to request you in the presence of al these men, that you would quit yourselfe so wisely in your charge, and gouern so modestly your small companie which I leaue you, which with so good cheere remaineth vnder your obedience, that I neuer haue occasion but to commend you, and to recount vnto the king (as I am desirous) the faithfull seruice which before vs all you vndertake to doe him in his new France: And you companions, (quoth he to the Souldiers) I beseech you also to esteeme of Captaine Albert as if he were myselfe that stayed here with you, yeelding him that obedience which a true souldier oweth vnto his Generall and Captaine, liuing as brethern one with another without all dissention: and in so doing God wil assist

Ribaults speech to Captaine Albert.

you and bless your enterprises. Hauing ended his exhortation, we tooke our leaues of each of them, and sayled toward our shippes, calling the Forte by the name of Charles-fort, and the Riuer by the name Chenonceau. The next daye we determined to depart from this place being as wel contented as was possible that we had so happily ended our busines, with good hope, if occasion would permitte, to discouer perfectly the riuer of Iordan. For this cause we hoysed our sayles about ten of the clocke in the morning: after wee were ready to depart Captaine Ribault commanded to shoote off our Ordinance to giue a farewel vnto our Frenchmen, which failed not to doe the like on their part. This being done wee sayled toward the North: and then we named this Riuer Porte Royal, because of the largenes and excellent fairenes of the same. After that wee had sailed about 15 leagues from thence, we espied a riuer, whereupon wee sent our pinnesse thither to discouer it. At their returne they brought vs word that they found not past halfe a fathom water in the mouth thereof. Which when we vnderstood, without doing any thing els, we continued our way, and called it the Base or Shallow riuer. As we stil went on sounding we found not past fiue or sixe fathome water, although we were sixe good leagues from the shoare: at length we found not past three fathomes, which gaue vs occasion greatly to muse. And without making any further way we strook our sayles, partly because we wanted water, and partly because the night approched: during which time Captaine Iohn Ribault bethought with himselfe whether it were best for him to passe any farther, because of the eminent dangers which euery houre we sawe before our eyes: or whither he should content himselfe with that which he had certainely discouered, and also left men to inhabite the countrey. Being not able for that time to resolue with himselfe, he referred it vntill the next day. The morning being come he proposed to all the company what was best to be done, to the end that with good aduisement euery man might deliuer his opinion. Some made answere that according to their iudgement he had occasion fully to content himselfe, considering that he could doe no more: laying before his eyes, that he had discouered more in sixe weekes, then the Spaniards had done in two yeres in the conquest of their New Spaine: and that he should do the king very great seruice, if he did bring him newes in so short a time of his happy dis-

The riuer Base 15 leagues Northwards of Port Royall.

couerie. Other shewed vnto him the losse and spoile of his victuals, and on the other side the inconuenience that might happen by the shallow water that they found continually along the coast. Which things being well and at large debated we resolued to leaue the coast forsaking the North, to take our way toward the East, which is the right way and course to our France, where we happily arriued the twentieth day of Iuly the yere 1562.

The state and condition of those which were left behind in Charles-fort.

OUr men after our departure neuer rested, but night and day did fortifie themselues being in good hope that after their fort was finished, they would begin to discouer farther vp within the riuer. It happened one day, as certaine of them were in cutting of rootes in the groues, that they espied on the sudden an Indian that hunted the Deere, which finding himselfe so neere vpon them, was much dismayed, but our men began to draw neere vnto him, and to vse him so courteously, that he became assured and followed them to Charles-fort, where euery man sought to doe him pleasure. Captaine Albert was very ioyfull of his comming, which after he had giuen him a shirt and some other trifles, he asked him of his dwelling: the Indian answered him that it was farther vp within the riuer, and that he was vassal of king Audusta: he also shewed him with his hand the limits of his habitation. After much other talke the Indian desired leaue to depart, because it drew toward night, which Captaine Albert granted him very willingly. Certaine dayes after the Captaine determined to saile toward Audusta, where being arriued, by reason of the honest entertaynment which he had giuen to the Indian, he was so courteously receiued, that the king talked with him of nothing else but of the desire which he had to become his friend: giuing him besides to vnderstand that he being his friend and allie, he should haue the amitie of foure other kings, which in might and authoritie were able to do much for his sake: Besides all this, in his necessitie they might be able to succour him with victuals. One of these kings was called Mayon, another Hoya, the third Touppa, and the fourth Stalame. He told him moreouer, that they would be very glad, when they should vnderstand the newes of his comming, and

Note.

therefore he prayed him to vouchsafe to visit them. The Captaine willingly consented vnto him, for the desire that he had to purchase friends in that place. Therefore they departed the next morning very earely, and first arriued at the house of king Touppa, and afterward went into the other kings houses except the house of king Stalame. He receiued of each of them all the amiable courtesies that might be: they shewed themselues to be as affectioned friends vnto him as was possible, and offered vnto him a thousand small presents. After that he remained by the space of certaine daies with these strange kings he determined to take his leaue: and being come backe to the house of Audusta, he commanded al his men to goe aboord their Pinnesse: for he was minded to goe towardes the countrey of king Stalame, which dwelt toward the North the distance of 15 great leagues from Charles-fort. Therefore as they sailed vp the riuer they entred into a great current, which they followed so farre till they came at the last to the house of Stalame: which brought him into his lodging, where he sought to make them the best cheere he could deuise. He presented immediatly vnto Captaine Albert his bow and arrowes, which is a signe and confirmation of alliance betweene them. He presented him with Chamoys skinnes. The Captaine seeing the best part of the day was now past, tooke his leaue of king Stalame to return to Charles-fort, where hee arriued the day following. By this time the friendship was growne so great betweene our men and king Audusta, that in a manner all things were common betweene him and them: in such sort that this good Indian king did nothing of importance, but he called our men thereunto. For when the time drew neere of the celebrating their feasts of Toya, which are ceremonies most strange to recite, he sent Ambassadours to our men to request them on his behalfe to be there present. Whereunto they agreed most willingly for the desire that they had to vnderstand what this might be. They imbarked themselues therefore and sailed towards the kings house, which was already come forth on the way towards them, to receiue them courteously, to bid them welcome and bring them to his house, where he sought to intreat them the best he might. In the meane while the Indians prepared themselues to celebrate the feast the morrow after, and the king brought them to see the place, wherein the feast should be kept: where they saw many women round about, which laboured by al meanes to make the place cleane

The feast of Toya largely described.

and neat. This place was a great circuit of ground with open prospect and round in figure. On the morrow therefore early in the morning, all they which were chosen to celebrate the feast, being painted and trimmed with rich feathers of diuers colours, put themselues on the way to go from the kings house toward the place of Toya: whereunto when they were come they set themselues in order, and followed three Indians, which in painting and in gesture were differing from the rest: each of them bare a Tabret in their hand, dancing and singing in lamentable tune, when they began to enter into the middest of the round circuit, being followed of others which answered them again. After that they had sung, danced, and turned 3 times, they fel on running like vnbridled horses, through the middest of the thickest woods. And then the Indian women continued all the rest of the day in teares as sad and woful as was possible: and in such rage they cut the armes of the yong girles, which they lanced so cruelly with sharpe shels of Muskles that the blood followed which they flang into the ayre, crying out three times, He Toya. The king Audusta had gathered all our men into his house, while the feast was celebrated, and was exceedingly offended when he saw them laugh. This he did, because the Indians are very angry when they are seene in their ceremonies. Notwithstanding one of our men made such shift that by subtile meanes he gatte out of the house of Audusta, and secretly went and hid himselfe behinde a very thicke bush, where at his pleasure, he might easily discry the ceremonies of the feast. They three that began the feast are named Iawas: and they are as it were three Priestes of the Indian law: to whom they giue credite and beliefe partly because that by kinred they are ordained to be ouer their Sacrifices, and partly also because they be so subtile magicians that any thing that is lost is straightway recouered by their meanes. Againe they are not onely reuerenced for these things, but also because they heale diseases by I wotte not what kinde of knowledge and skill they haue. Those that ran so through the woodes returned in two dayes after: after their returne they began to dance with a cherefull courage in the middest of the faire place, and to cheere vp their good olde Indian fathers, which either by reason of their too great age, or by reason of their naturall indisposition and feeblenesse were not called to the feast. When all these dances were ended, they fell on eating with such a greedinesse,

The Indians trimming of themselues with rich feathers.

that they seemed rather to deuoure their meate then to eate it, for they had neither eaten nor drunke the day of the feast, nor the two dayes following. Our men were not forgotten at this good cheere, for the Indians sent for them all thither, shewing themselues very glad of their presence. While they remained certaine time with the Indians, a man of ours got a yong boy for certaine trifles, and inquired of him, what the Indians did in the wood during their absence: which boy made him vnderstand by signes, that the Iawas had made inuocations to Toya, and that by Magicall Characters they had made him come that they might speake with him and demand diuers strange things of him, which for feare of the Iawas he durst not vtter. They haue also many other ceremonies, which I will not here rehearse for the feare of molesting the reader with a matter of so small importance.

Inuocations of the Iawas or Priests vnto Toya.

When the feast therefore was finished our men returned vnto Charles-fort: where hauing remained but a while their victualles beganne to waxe short, which forced them to haue recourse vnto their neighbours, and to pray them to succour them in their necessitie: which gaue them part of all the victualles which they had, and kept no more vnto themselues then would serue to sow their fieldes. They told them farther that for this cause it was needefull for them to retire themselues into the woods, to liue of Mast and rootes vntill the time or haruest, being as sory as might be that they were not able any farther to ayde them. They gaue them also counsell to goe toward the countrey of King Couexis a man of might and renowme in this prouince, which maketh his aboad toward the South abounding at all seasons and replenished with such quantitie of mill, corne, and beanes that by his onely succour they might be able to liue a very long time. But before they should come into his territories, they were to repayre vnto a king called Ouade the brother of Couexis, which in mill, beanes, and corne was no lesse wealthy, and withall is very liberall, and which would be very ioyfull if he might but once see them. Our men perceiuing the good relation which the Indians made them of those two kings resolued to go thither; for they felt already the necessity which oppressed them. Therefore they made request vnto king Maccou, that it would please him to giue them one of his subiects to guide them the right way thither: whereupon he condescended very willingly,

The Indians manner of liuing in the Winter time of Mast and rootes.

knowing that without his fauour they should haue much ado to bring their interprize to passe. Wherefore after they had giuen order for all things necessary for the voyage, they put themselues to Sea, and sayled so farre that in the end they came into the countrey of Ouade, which they found to be in the riuer Belle. Being there arriued they perceiued a company of Indians, which assoone as they knew of their being there came before them. Assoone as they were come neere them, their guides shewed them by signes that Ouade was in this company, wherefore our men set forward to salute him. And then two of his sonnes which were with him, being goodly and strong men saluted them againe in very good sort, and vsed very friendly entertainment on their part. The king immediatly began to make an Oration in his Indian language of the great pleasure and contentment which he had to see them in that place, protesting that he would become so loyall a friend of theirs hereafter, that he would be their faithfull defendour against all them that would offer to be their enemies. After these speeches he led them toward his house, where he sought to entreate them very courteously. His house was hanged about with Tapistrie of feathers of diuers colours the height of a pike. Moreouer the place where the king tooke his rest was couered with white Couerlettes embroydered with deuises of very wittie and fine workemanship, and fringed round about with a Fringe dyed in the colour of Skarlet. They aduertised the king by one of the guides which they brought with them how that (hauing heard of his great liberalitie) they had put to the Sea to come to beseech him to succour them with victuals in their great want and necessitie: and that in so doing, he should binde them all hereafter to remaine his faithfull friends and loyall defenders against all his enemies. This good Indian assoone ready to doe them pleasure, as they were to demand it, commanded his subiects that they should fill our Pinnesse with mil and beanes. Afterward he caused them to bring him sixe pieces of his Tapistry made like litle couerlets, and gaue them to our men with so liberal a minde, as they easily perceiued the desire which he had to become their friend. In recompence of all these giftes our men gaue him two cutting hookes and certaine other trifles, wherewith he held himselfe greatly satisfied. This being done, our men tooke their leaue of the king, which for their farewell, sayd nothing els but that they should returne if they wanted victuals, and that

The liberalitie of king Ouade.

they might assure themselues of him, that they should neuer want any thing that was in his power. Wherefore they imbarked themselues, and sayled towards Charles-fort, which from this place might be some fiue and twenty leagues distant. But as soone as our men thought themselues at their ease, and free from the dangers whereunto they had exposed themselues night and day in gathering together of victuals here and there: Lo, euen as they were asleepe, the fire caught in their lodgings with such furie, being increased by the winde, that the roome that was built for them before our mens departure, was consumed in an instant, without being able to saue any thing, sauing a little of their victualles. Whereupon our men being farre from all succours, found themselues in such extremitie, that without the ayd of Almighty God, the onely searcher of the hearts of men, which neue forsaketh and thoughts those that seeke him in their afflictions, they had bene quite and cleane out of all hope. For the next day betimes in the morning the King Audusta and King Maccou came thither, accompanied with a very good companie of Indians, which knowing the misfortune were very sorry for it. And then they vttered vnto their subiects the speedy diligence which they were to vse in building another house, shewing vnto them that the Frenchmen were their louing friends, and that they had made it euident vnto them by the gifts and presents which they had receiued: protesting that whosoeuer put not his helping hand vnto the worke with all his might, should be esteemed as vnprofitable, and as one that had no good part in him, which the Sauages feare aboue all things. This was the occasion that euery man began to endeauour himselfe in such sort, that in lesse then 12 houres, they had begun and finished a house which was very neere as great as the former. Which being ended, they returned home fully contented with a few cutting hookes, and hatchets, which they receiued of our men. Within a small while after this mischance, their victualls began to waxe short: and after our men had taken good deliberation, thought and bethought themselues againe, they found that there was no better way for them then to returne againe to the King Ouade and Couexis his brother. Wherefore they resolued to send thither some of their companie the next day following: which with an Indian Canoa sayled vp into the countrey about 10 leagues: afterward they found a very faire and great riuer of fresh water, which they failed not to search out: they found therein great number of

The fort set on fire by casualtie.

Crocodils, which in greatnes passe those of the riuer Nilus: moreouer al along the bankes thereof, there grow mighty high Cypresses. After they had stayed a smal while in this place, they purposed to follow their iourney, helping themselues so wel with the tydes, that without putting themselues in danger of the continuall perill of the Sea, they came into the Countrey of Ouade: of whom they were most courteously receiued. They aduertised him of the occassion wherefore they came againe to visite him, and told him of the mishance, which happened vnto them since their last voyages: how they had not onely lost their houshold stuffe by casualtie of fire, but also their victuals which he had giuen them so bountifully: that for this cause they were so bolde as to come once againe vnto him, to beseech him to vouchsafe to succour them in such neede and necessitie.

Their second iourney to the countrey of Ouade.

After that the King had vnderstood their case, he sent messengers vnto his brother Couexis, to request him vpon his behalfe to send him some of his mill and beanes, which thing he did: and the next morning, they were come againe with victuals, which the king caused to be borne into their Canoa. Our men would haue taken their leaue of him, finding themselues more then satisfied with this liberalitie. But for that day hee would not suffer them, but retained them, and sought to make them the best cheere hee could deuise. The next day very earely in the morning, he tooke them with him to shewe them the place where his corne grewe, and saide vnto them that they should not want as long as all that mil did last. Afterward he gaue them a certaine number of exceeding faire pearles, and two stones of fine Christal, and certaine siluer oare. Our men forgot not to giue him certaine trifles in recompence of these presentes, and required of him the place whence the siluer oare and the Christall came. He made them answere, that it came ten dayes iourney from his habitation vp within the countrey: and that the inhabitants of the countrey did dig the same at the foote of certaine high mountaines, where they found of it in very good quantitie. Being ioyfull to vnderstand so good newes, and to haue come to the knowledge of that which they most desired, they tooke their leaue of the king, and returned by the same saw, by which they came.

The place where christall groweth in very good quantitie ten dayes iourney from the riuer Belle.

Note.

Behold therefore how our men behaued themselues very well hitherto, although they had endured many great mishaps. But misfortune or rather the iust iudgement of God would haue it, that those which could not bee ouercome by fire nor water, should be vndone by their owne selues. This is the common fashion of men, which cannot continue in one state, and had rather to ouerthrow themselues, then not to attempt some new thing dayly. We haue infinite examples in the ancient histories, especially of the Romanes, vnto which number this litle handfull of men, being farre from theyr countrey and absent from their countreymen, haue also added this present example. They entred therefore into partialities and dissentions, which began about a souldier named Guernache, which was a drummer of the French bands: which, as it was tolde me, was very cruelly hanged by his owne captaine, and for a smal fault: which captaine also vsing to threaten the rest of his souldiers which staied behind vnder his obedience, and peraduenture (as it is to be presumed) were not so obedient to him as they should haue bene, was the cause that they fell into a mutinie, because that many times he put his threatnings in execution: wherevpon they so chased him, that at the last they put him to death. And the principall occasion that mooued them thereunto was because he degraded another souldier named La Chere (which he had banished) and because he had not performed his promise: for hee had promised to send him victuals, from 8 dayes to 8 dayes, which thing he did not, but said on the contrary that he would be glad to heare of his death. He said moreouer, that he would chastise others also, and vsed so euil sounding speeches, that honestie forbiddeth me to repeat them.

Mutiny against the captaine, and the causes thereof.

The souldiers seeing his madnes to increase from day to day, and fearing to fall into the dangers of the other, resolued to kil him. Hauing executed their purpose, the went to seeke the banished, which was in a small Iland distant from Charles-fort about 3 leagues, where they found him almost half dead for hunger. When they were come home againe, they assembled themselues together to choose one to be gouernour ouer them whose name was Nicholas Barre a man worthy of commendation, and one who knew so well to quite himselfe of his charge, that all rancour and dissention ceased among them, and they liued peacably one with another. During this time, they began to build a smal Pinnesse, with hope

Captaine Albert slaine by his owne souldiers.

to returne into France, if no succours came vnto them, as they expected from day to day. And though there were no man among them that had any skill, notwithstanding necessitie, which is the maistress of all sciences, taught them the way to build it. After that it was finished, they thought of nothing else sauing how to furnish it with all things necessarie to vndertake the voyage. But they wanted those things that of all other were most needefull, as cordage and sayles, without which the enterprise could not come to effect. Hauing no meanes to recouer these things, they were in worse case then at the first, and almost ready to fall into despayre. But that good God, which neuer forsaketh the afflicted did succour them in their necessitie.

As they were in these perplexities, king Audusta and Maccou came to them, accompanied with two hundred Indians at the least, whom our Frenchmen went forth to meete withall, and shewed the King in what neede of cordage they stood: who promised them to returne within two dayes, and to bring so much as should suffice to furnish the Pinnesse with tackling. Our men being pleased with these good newes and promises, bestowed vpon them certaine cutting hookes and shirts. After their departure our men sought all meanes to recouer rosen in the woodes, wherein they cut the Pine tree round about, out of which they drew sufficient reasonable quantitie to bray the vessell. Also they gathered a kind of mosse which groweth on the trees of this countrey, to serue to calke the same withall. There now wanted nothing but sayles, which they made of their owne shirtes and of their sheetes. Within few dayes after the Indian kings returned to Charles fort with so good store of cordage, that there was found sufficient for tackling of the small Pinnesse. Our men as glad as might be, vsed great liberalitie towards them, and at their leauing of the countrey, left them all the marchandise that remained, leauing them thereby so fully satisfied, that they departed from them with all the contentation in the worlde. They went forward therefore to finish the Brigandine, and vsed so speedie diligence, that within a short time afterward they made it ready furnished with all things. In the meane season the wind came so fit for their purpose that it seemed to inuite them to put to the Sea: which they did without delay, after they had set all their things in order. But before they departed they embarked their artillerie, their forge, and other munitions of warre which Captaine Ribault had left them, and then as much mill as they could gather together. But being drunken with too excessiue ioy, which they had conceiued for their returning into France, or rather depriued of all foresight and consideration, without regarding the inconstancie of the winds, which change in a moment, they put themselues to sea, and with so slender victuals, that the end of their enterprise became vnlucky and vnfortunate.

They put to sea without sufficient victuals.

For after they had sayled the third part of their way, they were surprised with calmes which did so much hinder them, that in three weekes they sailed not aboue fiue and twentie leagues. During this time their victuals consumed, and became so short, that euery man was constrained to eate not past twelue graines of mill by the day, which may be in value as much as twelue peason. Yea, and this felicitie lasted not long: for their victualls failed them altogether at once: and they had nothing for their more assured refuge but their shooes and leather ierkins which they did eat. Touching their beuerage, some of them dranke the sea water, others did drinke their owne vrine: and they remained in such desperate necessitie a very long space, during the which part of them died for hunger. Beside this extreme famine, which did so grieuously oppresse them, they fell euery minute of an houre out of all hope euer to see France againe, insomuch that they were constrained to cast the water continually out, that on all sides entred into their Barke. And euery day they fared worse and worse: for after they had eaten vp their shooes and leather ierkins, there arose so boystrous a winde and so contrary to their course, that in the turning of a hande, the waues filled their vessel halfe full of water and brused it vpon the one side. Being now more out of hope then euer to escape out of this extreme peril, they cared not for casting out of the water which now was almost ready to drowne them. And as men resolued to die, euery one fell down backewarde, and gaue themselues ouer to the will of the waues. When as one of them a little hauing taken heart vnto him declared vnto them how litle way they had to sayle, assuring them that if the winde held, they should see land within three dayes. This man did so encourage them, that after they had throwne the water out of the Pinnesse they remained three dayes without eating or drinking, except it were of the sea water. When the time of his promise was expired, they were more troubled then they were before,

Their victuals vtterly consumed.

They drinke their vrine for want of fresh water.

seeing they could not descry any land. Wherefore in their extreme dispaire certaine among them made this motion that it was better that one man should dye, then that so many men should perish: they agreed therefore that one should die to sustaine the others. Which thing was executed in the person of La Chere, of whom we haue spoken heretofore, whose flesh was diuided equally among his fellowes: a thing so pitiful to recite, that my pen is loth to write it.

Extreme famine.

After so long time and tedious trauels, God of his goodnesse vsing his accustomed fauour, changed their sorow into ioy, and shewed vnto them the sight of land. Whereof they were so exceeding glad, that the pleasure caused them to remaine a long time as men without sence: whereby they let the Pinnesse flote this and that way without holding any right way or course. But a small English barke boarded the vessell, in the which there was a Frenchman which had bene in the first voyage into Florida, who easily knew them, and spake vnto them, and afterward gaue them meat and drinke. Incontinently they recouered their naturall courages, and declared vnto him at large all their nauigation. The Englishmen consulted a long while what were best to be done, and in fine they resolued to put on land those that were most feeble, and to cary the rest vnto the Queene of England, which purposed at that time to send into Florida. Thus you see in briefe that which happened to them which Captaine Iohn Ribault had left in Florida. And now will I go forward with the discourse of mine owne voyage.

The French succoured by an English Barke.

It seemeth hee meaneth the voyage intended by Stukely.

The second voyage vnto Florida, made and Written by Captaine Laudonniere, which fortified and inhabited there two Summers and one whole Winter.

AFter our arriuall at Diepe, at our comming home, from our first voyage (which was the twentieth of Iuly 1562) we found the ciuil warres begun,* which was in part the cause why our men were not succoured, as Captaine Iohn Ribault had promised them: whereof it followed that Captaine Albert was killed by his souldiers, and the countrey abandoned, as heretofore we haue sufficiently discoursed, and as it may more at large be vnderstood by those men which were

The ciuill warres the cause why the Frenchmen were not supplied, which were left behinde in their first voyage.

---

* The massacre of Huguenots at Vassy had taken place on March 1st 1562; the battle of Dreux was fought in December.

there in person. After the peace was made in France,[*] my Lord Admirall de Chastillon shewed vnto the king, that he heard no newes at all of the men which Captaine Iohn Ribault had left in Florida, and that it were pitty to suffer them to perish. In which respect the king was content he should cause 3 ships to be furnished, the one of sixe score tunnes, the other of 100, and the third of 60, to seeke them out, and to succour them.

My Lord Admirall therefore being well informed of the faithfull seruice which I had done, aswell vnto his Maiestie as to his predecessors kings of France, aduertised the king how able I was to doe him seruice in this voyage, which was the cause that he made me chiefe Captaine ouer these 3 shippes, and charged me to depart with diligence to performe his commandement, which for mine owne part I would not gainesay, but rather thinking my selfe happy to haue bene chosen out among such an infinite number of others, which in my iudgement were very well able to haue quitted themselues in this charge, I embarked my selfe at New Hauen the 22 of Aprill 1564, and sayled so, that we fell neere vnto the coast of England: and then I turned towards the South, to sayle directly to the fortunate Islands, at this present called the Canaries, one of which called the Isle Saluage (because as I thinke it is altogether without inhabitants) was the first that our ships passed. Sayling therefore on forward, we landed the next day in the Isle of Teneriffa, otherwise called the Pike, because that in the middest thereof there is an exceeding high mountaine, neere as high as that of Etna, which riseth vp like a pike, into the top whereof no man can go vp but from the middest of May vntill the middest of August, by reason of the ouer great colde which is there all the yere: which is a wonderfull strange thing, considering that it is not past 27 degrees and an half distant from the Equator. We saw it all couered ouer with snow, although it were then but the fift of May. The inhabitants in this Isle being heretofore pursued but by Spaniards, retired themselues into this mountaine, where for a space they made warre with them, and would not submit themselues to their obedience, neither by foule nor faire meanes, they disdained so much the losse of their Island. For those which went thither on the Spaniards behalfe, left their carkases there, so that not so

Laudonniers second voyage to Florida, with three ships the 22 of Aprill 1564.

---

[*] The temporary Peace of Amboise.

much as one of them returned home to bring newes. Notwithstanding in the ende, the inhabitants not able to liue in that place according to their nature, or for want of such things as were necessary for the commoditie of their liuelyhood, did all die there. After I had furnished my selfe with some fresh water, very good and excellent, which sprang out of a rocke at the foote of this mountaine, I continued my course toward the West, wherein the windes fauoured me so well, that 15 dayes after our ships arriued safe and sound at the Antilles: and going on land at the Isle of Martinino, one of the first of them, the next day we arriued at Dominica, twelue leagues distant from the former.

Dominica is one of the fayrest Islands of the West, full of hilles, and of very good smell. Whose singularities desiring to know as we passed, and seeking also to refresh our selues with fresh water, I made the Mariners cast anker, after wee had sayled about halfe along the coast thereof. As soone as we had cast anker, two Indians (inhabitants of that place) sayled toward vs in two Canoas full of a fruite of great excellencie which they call Ananas.* As they approched vnto our Barke, there was one of them which being in some misdoubt of vs, went backe againe on land, and fled his way with as much speede as he could possibly. Which our men perceiued and entred with diligence into the other Canoa, wherein they caught the poore Indian, and brought him vnto me. But the poore fellow became so astonied in beholding vs, that he knew not which way to behaue himselfe, because that (as afterward I vnderstood) he feared that he was fallen into the Spaniards hands, of whom he had bene taken once before, and which, as he shewed vs, had cut of his stones. At length this poore Indian was secure of vs, and discoursed vnto vs of many things, wherof we receiued very small pleasure, because we vnderstood not his minde but by his signes. Then he desired me to giue him leaue to depart, and promised me that he would bring me a thousand presents, whereunto I agreed on condition that he would haue patience vntill the next day, when I purposed to goe on land, where I suffered him to depart, after I had giuen him a shirte, and certaine small trifles, wherwith he departed very well contented from vs.

The place where we went on shore was hard by a very high Rocke, out of which there ran a litle riuer of sweet and excellent good water: by which riuer we stayed certaine dayes to discouer the things which were worthy to be seene, and traffiqued dayly with the Indians: which aboue all things besought vs that none of our men should come neere their lodgings nor their gardens, otherwise that we should giue them great cause of iealousie, and that in so doing, wee should not want of their fruite which they call Ananas, whereof they offered vs very liberally, receiuing in recompence certaine things of small value. This notwithstanding, it happened on a day that certaine of our men desirous to see some new things in these strange countries, walked through the woods: and following still the litle riuers side, they spied two serpents of exceeding bignes, which went side by side ouerthwart the way. My souldiers went before them thinking to let them from going into the woods: but the serpents nothing at all astonied at these gestures glanced into the bushes with fearful hyssings: yet for all that, my men drew their swords and killed them, and found them afterward 9 greate foote long, and as big as a mans leg. During this combate, certaine others more vndiscreete went and gathered their Ananas in the Indians gardens, trampling through them without any discretion: and not therewithall contented, they went toward their dwellings; whereat the Indians were so much offended, that without regarding any thing they rushed vpon them and discharged their shot, so that they hit one of my men named Martine Chaueau, which remained behind. We could not know whether hee were killed on the place, or whether he were taken prisoner: for those of his company had inough to doe to saue themselues without thinking of their companion. Whereof Monsieur de Ottigni my Lieutenant being aduertised, sent vnto me to know whether I thought good that he should lay an ambush for the Indians which had either taken or killed our man, or whether he should go directly to our dwellings to know the trueth. I sent vnto him after good deliberation herevpon, that he should not attempt any thing, and that for diuers occasions: but contrariwise that he should embark himselfe with al diligence, and consequently al they that were on land: which he did with speed. But as he sayled towards our ships he perceiued along the shore a great number of Indians which began to charge them with their arrowes: hee for his part discharged store of shot against them, yet was not able to hurt them, or by any meanes to surprise them: for which cause he quite forsooke them, and came vnto our ship. Where staying vntill the next day morning we set sayle following our wonted course, and keeping the same, we discouered diuerse Isles conquered by the Spaniards, as the Isles of S. Christopher, and of the Saintes, of Monserrate, and La Redonda: Afterward we passed betweene Anguilla and Anegada, sayling toward New France. Where we arriued 15 dayes after, to witte, on Thurseday the 22 of Iune about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, and landed neere a litle riuer, which is 30 degrees distant from the Equator, and 10 leagues aboue Cape François drawing toward the South, and aboue 30 leagues aboue the Riuer of May. After wee had strooken sayle and cast anker athwart the Riuer, I determined to goe on shore to discouer the same. Therefore being accompanied with Monsieur Ottigni, with Monsieur de Arlac mine Ensigne, and a certaine number of Gentlemen and souldiers, I embarked my selfe about 3 or 4 of the clocke in the euening. And being arriued at the mouth of the riuer, I caused the chanell to be sounded, which was found to be very shallow, although that farther within the same the water was there found reasonably deepe, which separateth it selfe into two great armes, whereof one runneth toward the South, and the other toward the North. Hauing thus searched the Riuer, I went on land to speake with the Indians who waited for vs vpon the shore, which at our comming on land came before vs, crying with a loud voyce in their Indian language, Antipola Bonassou, which is as much as to say, as brother, friend, or some such like thing. After they had made very much of vs, they shewed vs their Paracoussy, that is to say, their King and Gouernour, to whom I presented certaine toyes, wherewith he was well pleased. And for mine owne part, I prayse God continually, for the great loue which I haue found in these Sauages, which were sory for nothing, but that the night approached, and made vs retire vnto our ships.

---

* Pine Apples.

Cape François between the riuer of Dolphins and the riuer of May, maketh the distance 30 leagues about which is but 10 leagues ouer land.

For though they endeuoured by al meanes to make vs tary with them, and shewed by signes the desire that they had to present vs with some rare things, yet neuerthelesse for many iust and reasonable occasions I would not stay on shore all night: but excusing my selfe for all their offers, I embarked my selfe againe, and returned toward my ships. Howbeit, before my departure I named this Riuer, the riuer of Dolphines, because

The riuer of Dolphins called Seloy by the Sauages.

that at mine arriuall, I saw there a great number of Dolphines, which were playing in the mouth thereof. The next day the 23 of this moneth (because that toward the South I had not found any commodious place for vs to inhabite, and to build a fort) I gaue commandement to weigh anker, and to hoise our sailes to saile toward the riuer of May, where wee arriued two days after, and cast anker. Afterward going on land, with some number of Gentlemen and Souldiers to know for a certaintie the singularities of this place, we espied the Paracoussy of the countrey, which came towards vs (this was the very same that we saw in the voyage of Captaine Iohn Ribault) which hauing espied vs, cryed very far off, Antipola, Antipola: and being so ioyfull that he could not containe himselfe, he came to meet vs, accompanied then with two of his sonnes, as faire and mightie persons as might be found in al the world, which had nothing in their mouthes but this word, Amy, Amy: that is to say, friend, friend: yea, and knowing those which were there in the first voyage, they went principally to them to vse this speech vnto them. Their was in their trayne a great number of men and women, which stil made very much of vs, and by euident signes made vs vnderstand how glad they were of our arriuall. This good entertainment past, the Paracoussy prayed me to goe see the pillar which we had erected in the voyage of Iohn Ribault (as we haue declared heretofore) as a thing which they made great account of.

Hauing yeelded vnto him and being come to the place where it was set vp, wee found the same crowned with crownes of Bay, and at the foote thereof many little baskets full of Mill which they call in their language Tapaga Tapola.* Then when they came thither they kissed the same with great reuerence and besought vs to do the like, which we would not denie them, to the ende we might drawe them to be more in friendship with vs. This done, the Paracoussy tooke me by the hand, as if he had desire to make me vnderstand some great secret, and by signes shewed me very well vp within the riuer the limits of his dominion, and said that he was called Paracoussy Satourioua, which is as much as King Satourioua. His children haue the selfe same title of Paracoussy: The eldest is named Athore, a man, I dare say, perfect in beautie, wisedome, and honest sobrietie, shewing by his modest grauitie that he deserueth the name which he beareth, besides that he is gentle and tractable. After we had soiourned a certaine space with them, the Paracoussy prayed one of his sonnes to present vnto me a wedge of siluer, which hee did and that with a good wil: in recompence whereof I gaue him a cutting hooke and some other better present: wherewith he seemed to be very well pleased. Afterward we tooke our leaue of them, because the night approched, and then returned to lodge in our shippes. Being allured with this good entertainment I failed not the next day to imbarke my selfe againe with my Lieutenant Ottigni and a number of souldiers to returne toward the Paracoussy of the riuer of May, which of purpose waited for vs in the same place, where the day before we conferred with him. We found him vnder the shadow of an arbour accompanied with fourescore Indians at the least, and apparelled at that time after the Indian fashion, to wit, with a great Harts skinne dressed like Chamois, and painted with deuices of strange and diuers colours, but of so liuely a portrature, and representing antiquity, with rules so iustly compassed, that there is no Painter so exquisite that could finde fault therewith: the naturall disposition of this strange people is so perfect and well guided that without any ayd and fauour of artes, they are able by the helpe of nature onely to content the eye of artizans, yea euen of those which by their industry are able to aspire vnto things most absolute.

---

* *Marginal note.*—The pillar set vp before by Ribault crowned with garlands of Laurell and inuironed with small paniers full of corne, worshipped by the Sauages.

Then I aduertised Paracoussy Satourioua, that my desire was to discouer farther vp into the riuer, but that it should be with such diligence that I would come againe vnto him very speedily: wherewith he was content, promising to stay for me in the place where he was: and for an earnest of his promise, he offered me his goodly skinne, which I refused then, and promised to receiue it of him at my returne. For my part I gaue him certaine small trifles, to the intent to retaine him in our friendship.

Departing from thence, I had not sayled three leagues vp the riuer, still being followed by the Indians, which coasted me a long the riuer, crying still, Amy, Amy, that is to say, friende, friende: but I discouered an hill of meane height, neere which I went on land, hard by the fieldes that were sowed with mil, at one corner whereof there was an house built for their lodging, Grosses.

which keepe and garde the mill: for there are such numbers of Cornish choughes in this Countrey, which continually deuoure and spoyle the mill, that the Indians are constrained to keepe and watch it, otherwise they should be deceiued of their haruest. I rested my selfe in this place for certaine houres, and commanded Monsieur de Ottigni, and my Sergeant to enter into the woodes to search out the dwellings of the Indians: where after they had gone a while, they came vnto a Marish of Reeds, where finding their way to be stopped, they rested vnder the shadow of a mightie Bay tree to refresh themselves a little and to resolue which way to take. Then they discouered, as it were on the suddaine, fiue Indians halfe hidden in the woodes, which seemed somewhat to distrust our men, vntill they said vnto them in the Indian language Antipola Bonassou, to the end that vnderstanding their speech they might come vnto vs more boldely, which they did incontinently. But because they sawe, that the foure that went last, bare vp the traine of the skinne wherewith he that went foremost was apparelled our men imagined that the foremost must needes bee some man of greater qualitie then the rest, seeing that withal they called him Paracoussy, Paracoussy, wherfore, some of our company went towards him, and vsing him courteously shewed him, Monsieur de Ottigni, their Lieutenant, for whom they had made an harbour with Bay and Palme boughes after the Indian fashion, to the ende that by such signes the Sauages might thinke the Frenchmen had companied with such as they at other times.

The curtesie of the Floridians to the French.

The Indian Paracoussy drew neere to the French, and began to make him a long Oration, which tended to no other end, but that he besought the Frenchmen very earnestly to come and see his dwelling and his parents, which they granted him, and straight for pledge of better amitie, he gaue vnto my Lieutenant Ottigni, the very skinne that he was clad with.

Then he tooke him by the hande, leading him right toward the Marishes, ouer which the Paracoussy, Monsieur Ottigni, and certaine other of our men were borne vpon the Indians shouldiers: and the rest which could not passe because of the myre and reedes, went through the woodes, and followed a narrow path which led them foorth vntill they came vnto the Paracoussyes dwelling; out of which there came about fiftie

Indians to receiue our men gallantly, and to feast them after their manner. After which they brought at their entrance a great vessel of earth, made after a strange fashion full of fountaine water cleare and very excellent.

This vessell was borne by an Indian, and there was another younger which bare of this water in another little vessel of wood, and presented thereof to euery one to drinke, obseruing in doing the same, a certaine order and reuerence, which hee made to each of them, to whome hee gaue drinke. Our thirst well quenched by this meanes, and our men beeing sufficiently refreshed, the Paracoussy brought them to his fathers lodging, one of the oldest men that liued vpon the earth. Our men regarding his age, began to make much of him, vsing this speech, Amy, Amy, that is to say, friende, friende, whereat the olde sier shewed himselfe very glad.

Men of exceeding olde age.

Afterward they questioned with him concerning the course of his age: whereunto he made answere, shewing that he was the first liuing originall, from whence fiue generations were descended, as he shewed vnto them by another olde man that sate directly ouer against him, which farre exceeded him in age. And this man was his father, which seemed to be rather a dead carkeis then a liuing body: for his sinewes, his veines, his artiers, his bones, and other parts, appeared so cleerely thorow his skinne, that a man might easily tell them, and discerne them one from another. Also his age was so great, that the good man had lost his sight, and could not speake one onely word but with exceeding great paine. Monsieur de Ottigni hauing seene so strange a thing, turned to the yoonger of these two olde men, praying him to vouchsafe to answere him to that which he demanded touching his age. Then the olde man called a company of Indians, and striking twise vpon his thigh, and laying his hand vpon two of them, he shewed him by signes that these two were his sonnes: againe smiting vpon their thighes he shewed him others not so olde, which were the children of the two first, which he continued in the same maner vntill the fift generation. But though this olde man had his father aliue more olde then himselfe, and that both of them did weare their haire very long, and as white as was possible, yet it was tolde them, that they might yet liue thirtie or fortie yeeres more by the course of nature: although the younger of them both was not lesee then two hundred and

Sauages in Florida of 250. yeres olde.

fiftie yeeres olde. After he had ended his communication, hee commaunded two young Egles to be giuen to our men, which he had bred vp for his pleasure in his house. Hee caused also litle Paniers made of Palme leaues full of Gourds red and blew to be deliuered vnto them. For recompence of which presents he was satisfied with French toyes.

These two olde men caused our men to bee guided backe againe to the place from whence they came, by the young Paracoussy which had brought them thither. And hauing taken leaue of the Paracoussy, they came and sought me out in the place where I stayed, and rehearsed vnto mee all that they had seene, praying mee also that I would rewarde their guide, which so frankely and heartely had receiued them into his house, which I would not faile to doe by any meanes.

Nowe was I determined to search out the qualities of the hill. Therefore I went right to the toppe thereof, where we found nothing else but Cedars, Palme, and Baytrees of so souereigne odour, that Baulme smelleth nothing like in comparison. The trees were enuironed rounde about with Vines bearing grapes in such quantitie, that the number would suffice to make the place habitable. Besides this fertilitie of the soyle for Vines, a man may see Esquine wreathed about the shrubs in great quantitie. Touching the pleasure of the place, the Sea may be seene plaine and open from it, and more then sixe leagues off, neere the Riuer Belle, a man may behold the medowes diuided asunder into Iles and Islets enterlacing one another: Briefly the place is so pleasant, that those which are melancholicke would be enforced to change their humour.

After I had stayed there a while, I imbarked againe my people to sayle towards the mouth of the Riuer, where wee found the Paracoussy, which according to his promise waited for vs. Wherefore to content him, we went on shore, and did him that reuerence that on our part was requisite. Then hee gaue me the skinne so richly painted, and I recompensed him with somewhat of our marchandise. I forgat not to demaund of him the place whence the wedge of siluer came which he had giuen me before; whereunto he made me a very sudden answere, which notwithstanding I vnderstoode not, which he well perceiued. And then he shewed me by euident signes that all of it came from a place more within the Riuer by certaine dayes iourneyes from this place, and declared vnto vs that all that which they had thereof, they gat it by force of armes of the inhabitants of the place, named by them Thimogoa, their most ancient and naturall enemies, as he largely declared. Whereupon when I sawe with what affection he spake when he pronounced Thimogoa, I vnderstoode what he would say. And to bring my selfe more into his fauour, I promised to accompanie him with all my force, if hee would fight against them: which thing pleased him in such sorte, that from henceforth he promised himselfe the victorie of them, and assured mee that hee would make a voyage thither within a short space, would cause store of Mill to be prepared, and would commaund his men to make ready their Bowes, and furnish themselues with such store of arrowes, that nothing should bee wanting to giue battaile to Thimogoa. In fine hee prayed mee very earnestly not to faile of my promise, and in so doing hee hoped to procure mee Golde and Siluer in such good quantitie, that mine affaires shoulde take effect according to mine owne and his desire.

Siluer certain dayes iourney vp within the riuer of May.
Thimogoa mortall enemies to Satourioua.

The matter thus fully resolued vpon, I tooke my leaue of him to returne vnto my shippes, where after wee had rested our selues all the night following, we hoysed sayles the next day very earely in the morning, and sayled towarde the Riuer of Seine, distant from the Riuer of May about foure leagues: and there continuing our course towarde the North, we arriued at the mouth of Somme, which is not past sixe leagues distant from the Riuer of Seine: where wee cast Anker, and went on shoare to discouer that place as wee had done the rest. There wee were gratiously and courteously receiued of the Paracoussy of the Countrey, which is one of the tallest men and best proportioned that may bee founde. His wife sate by him, which besides her Indian beautie, wherewith shee was greatly endewed, had so vertuous a countenance and modest grauitie, that there was not one amongst vs but did greatly conmend her; shee had in her traine fiue of her daughters of so good grace and so well brought vp, that I perswaded my selfe that their mother was their Mistresse, and had taught them well and straightly to preserue their honestie. After that the Paracoussy had receiued vs as I haue sayde, hee commaunded his wife to present mee with a certaine number of bullets of siluer, for his owne part hee presented mee with his bowe and his arrowes, as hee had done vnto Captaine Iohn Ribault in our first voyage, which is a signe of a perpetuall amitie and alliance with those which they honour with suche a kinde of present. In our discoursing with one another, wee entred into speech as touching the exercise of armes. Then the Paracoussy caused a corselet to be set on end, and prayed me to make a proofe of our Harguebuzes and their bowes: but this proof pleased him very little; for assoone as he knew that our Harguebuzes did easily pearce that which all the force of their bowes could not hurt, he seemed to be sorie, musing with himselfe how this thing might be done. Neuerthelesse going about to dissemble in his minde that which his countenance could not doe by any meanes, he began to fall into another matter and prayed vs very earnestly to stay with him that night in his house or lodging, affirming that no greater happinesse could come vnto him then our long abode, which he desired to recompence with a thousand presents.

Laudionniers consultation with his company where it might be best for them to plant.

Neuerthelesse wee could not grant him this poynt, but tooke our leaue of him to returne to our shippes: where soone after I caused all my companie to be assembled, with the Masters and Pilots of my shippes, to consult together of the place whereof wee should make choice to plant our habitation. First I let them vnderstand, howe none of them were ignorant, that the part which was towarde the Cape of Florida, was altogether a marish Countrey, and therefore vnprofitable for our inhabitation: A thing which could yeelde neither profite to the King, nor any contentment or pleasure to vs, if peraduenture we would inhabite there. On the other side if wee passed further toward the North to seeke out Port Royall, it would be neither very profitable nor conuenient: at the least if wee should giue credit to the report of them which remained there a long time, although the Hauen were one of the fairest of the West Indies: but that in this case the question was not so much of the beautie of the place, as of things necessary to sustaine life. And that for our inhabiting it was much more needefull for vs to plant in places plentifull of victuall, then in goodly Hauens, faire, deepe and pleasaunt to the view. In consideration whereof that I was of opinion, if it seemed good vnto them, to seate our selues about the Riuer of May: seeing also that in our first yoyage wee found the same onely among all the rest to abounde in

Maiz and corne, besides the Golde and Siluer that was found there: a thing that put me in hope of some happie discouerie in time to come.

After I had proposed these things, euery one gaue his opinion thereof: and in fine all resolued, namely those which had beene with me in the first voyage, that it was expedient to seate themselues rather on the Riuer of May then on any other, vntill they might heare newes out of France. This point being thus agreed vpon, wee sayled toward the Riuer, and vsed such diligence, that with the fauor of the windes wee arriued there the morrow after about the breake of day, which was on Thursday the 29. of the moneth of Iune. Hauing cast anker, I embarked all my stuffe and the souldiers of my companie, to sayle right toward the opening of the Riuer: wherein we entred a good way vp and found a Creeke of a reasonable bignesse, which inuited vs to refresh our selues a little, while wee reposed our selues there. Afterward wee went on shoare to seeke out a place plaine without trees, which wee perceiued from the Creeke.

But because wee found it not very commodious for vs to inhabite there: wee determined to returne vnto the place which wee had discouered before, when wee had sayled vp the Riuer. This place is ioyning to a mountaine, and it seemed vnto vs more fit and commodious to build a fortresse, then that where we were last. Therefore we tooke our way towards the forests being guided therein by the young Paracoussy which had ledde vs before to his fathers lodging. Afterward we found a large plaine couered with high Pinetrees distant a little from the other: vnder which wee perceiued an infinite number of Stagges which brayed amidst the plaine, athwart the which we passed: then wee discouered a little hill adioyning vnto a great vale very greene and in forme flat: wherein were the fairest meadowes of the world, and grasse to feede cattel. Moreouer it is inuironed with a great number of brookes of fresh water, and high woodes, which make the vale more delectable to the eye. After I had taken the viewe thereof at mine ease, I named it at the request of our souldiers, The Vale of Laudonniere. Thus we went forward. Anon hauing gone a little forward, we met an Indian woman of tall stature, which also was a Hermaphrodite, who came before vs with a great vessel full of cleere fountaine water, wherewith she greatly refreshed vs. For we were exceeding faint by reason of the ardent heate which molested vs as we passed through those high woods. And I beleeue that without the succour of that Indian Hermaphrodite, or rather, if it had not bene for the great desire which we had to make vs resolute of our selues, we had taken vp our lodging all night in the wood. Being therefore refreshed by this meane, wee gathered our spirits together, and marching with a cheerefull courage, wee came to the place which wee had chosen to make our habitation in: whereupon at that instant neere the riuers brinke we strowed a number of boughes and leaues, to take our rest on them the night following, which wee found exceeding sweete, because of the paine which before we had taken in our trauell.

On the morrow about the breake of day, I commaunded a trumpet to be sounded, that being assembled we might giue God thankes for our fauourable and happie arriuall. There we sang a Psalme of thankesgiuing vnto God, beseeching him that it would please him of his grace to continue his accustomed goodnesse toward vs his poore seruants, and ayde vs in all our enterprises, that all might turne to his glory and the aduancement of our King. The prayer ended, euery man began to take courage.

They begin their planting with prayer to God.

Afterward hauing measured out a piece of ground in forme of a triangle, wee indeuoured our selues of all sides, some to bring earth, some to cut fagots, and others to raise and make the rampire, for there was not a man that had not either a shouell, or cutting hooke, or hatchet, as well to make the ground plaine by cutting downe the trees, as for the building of the Fort, which we did hasten w^t such cheerfulnesse, that within few dayes the effect of our diligence was apparant: in which meane space the Paracoussy Satourioua our neerest neighbour, and on whose ground wee built our Fort, came vsually accompanyed with his two sonnes and a great number of Indians to offer to doe vs all courtesie. And I likewise for my part bestowed diuers of our trifles frankely on him, to the end he might know the good will we bare him, and thereby make him more desirous of our friendship, in such sort, that as the dayes increased, so our amitie and friendship increased also.

After that our Forte was brought into forme, I began to build a Grange to retire my munition and things necessarie for the defence of our Fort: praying the Paracoussy to command his subiects to make vs a couering of Palme leaues, and this to the ende that when that was done, I might vnfraight my shippes, and put vnder couerture those things that were in them. Suddenly the Paracoussy commaunded in my presence all the Indians of his companie to dresse the next day morning so good a number of Palme leaues, that the Grange was couered in lesse then two dayes: so that businesse was finished. For in the space of those two dayes, the Indians neuer ceased from working, some in fetching Palme leaues, others in interlacing of them: in such sort that their Kings commandement was executed as he desired.

In Florida they couer their houses with Palme leaues.

Our Fort was built in forme of a triangle. The side toward the West, which was toward the lande, was inclosed with a little trench and raised with turues made in forme of a Battlement of nine foote high: the other side which was toward the Riuer, was inclosed with a Pallisado of plankes of timber after the maner that Gabions are made. On the South side there was a kinde of bastion within which I caused an house for the munition to be built: it was all builded with fagots and sand, sauing about two or three foot high with turfes, whereof the battlements were made. In the middest I caused a great Court to be made of eighteene paces long and broad, in the middest whereof on the one side drawing toward the South I builded a Corps de gard, and an house on the other side toward the North, which I caused to bee raised somewhat too high: for within a short while after the wind beat it down: and experience taught me, that we may not build with high stages in this Countrey, by reason of the windes whereunto it is subiect. One of the sides that inclosed my Court, which I made very faire and large, reached vnto the Grange of my munitions: and on the other side towardes the Riuer was mine owne lodging, round about which were galleries all couered. The principall doore of my lodging was in the middest of the great place, and the other was towarde the Riuer. A good distance from the Fort I built an Ouen to auoyde the danger against fire, because the houses are of Palme leaues, which will soone be burnt after the fire catcheth holde of them, so that with much adoe a man shall haue leasure to quench them. Loe here in briefe the description of our Fourtresse, which I named Caroline in the honour of our Prince King Charles.

The forme of the Fort Caroline.

High building is not good for this Countrey.

Note.

After wee were furnished with that which was most necessarie, I would not lose a minute of an houre, without imploying of the same in some vertuous exercise: therefore I charged Monsieur de Ottigni my Lieutenant, a man in trueth worthy of all honour for his honestie and vertue, to search vp within the Riuer, what this Thimogoa might be, whereof the Paracoussy Satourioua had spoken to vs so often at our comming on shoare. For execution hereof the Paracoussy gaue him two Indians for his guides, which taking vpon them to lead him in this voyage, seemed to goe vnto a wedding, so desirous they were to fight with their enemies.

The first voyage twentie leagues.

Being imbarked they hoised sayle, and hauing sayled about twentie leagues, the Indians which still looked on this side and that side to espie some of their enemies, discouered three Canoas. And immediatly they began to crie Thimogoa, Thimogoa, and spake nothing else but to hasten forward to goe fight with them: which the Captaine seemed to be willing to doe, to content them. When they came to boord them, one of the Indians gat holde of an Halbert, another of an Coutelas in such a rage, that hee would haue leapt into the water to haue fought with them alone. Neuerthelesse Ottigni would not let them doe it, for while hee deferred to boord them, he gaue the others respite to turne the prowes of their Canoas toward the shoare, and so to escape into the woods. Againe the meaning of Ottigni was not to make warre vpon them of Thimogoa, but rather to make them friendes, and to make them thenceforth to liue in peace one with another if it were possible, hoping by this meane to discouer dayly some new thing, and especially the certaine course of the Riuer. For this purpose he caused the barke to retire, wherein were the two Indians his guides, and went with his men towarde the Canoas which were on the Riuers side. Being come vnto them, he put certaine trifles into them, and then retired a good way from them, which thing caused the Indians which were fled away to returne to their boats, and to vnderstand by this signe, that those of our Barke were none of their enemies, but rather come onely to traffique with them. Wherefore being thus assured of vs, they called to our men to come neere vnto them: which they did incontinently and set foote on lande, and spake freely vnto them, with diuers ceremonies ouer long to recount. In the ende Ottigni demaunded of them by signes if they had any Golde or Siluer among them. But they tolde him they had none as then: and that if he would send one of his men with them, they would bring him without danger into a place where they might haue some. Ottigni seeing them so willing, deliuered them one of his men which seemed very resolute, to vndertake this voyage: this fellow stayed with them vnill tenne of the clocke the next morning, so that Captaine Ottigny somewhat offended with his long stay, sayled ten great leagues further vp the Riuer: although he knew not which way he should goe, yet he went so farre vp that hee espied the Boate wherein his souldier was: which reported vnto him, that the Indians would haue carried him three great dayes iourney further, and told him that a King named Mayrra rich in Gold and Siluer, dwelt in those quarters, and that for small quantitie of marchandise enough might be had of him: yet that hee would not hazard himselfe without his leaue, and that he brought but a very little Golde. This being done, our men returned toward our Fort Caroline, after they had left the souldier with the Indians to informe himselfe more and more of such things as he might discouer more at leasure.

Mayrra a king rich in golde and siluer.

Fifteene dayes after this voyage to Thimogoa, I dispatched Captaine Vasseur and my Sergeant also to returne againe into this Countrey, and to seeke out the souldier which remained there in the former voyage. Being therefore imbarked, they sayled two whole dayes: and before they came to the dwelling of the Indians, they found two of them on the Riuers side, which were expressly sent vnto that place to descry whether any of their enemies were come to that part, with intention to surprise them, as they did vsually.

The second voyage.

When they perceiued Captaine Vasseur, they knew incontinently that he was none of their enemies, and therefore made no difficultie to come neere vnto the Barke, and shewed him by signes that the Souldier which they sought was not in that place, but was at that present in the house of King Molloua which was vassall vnto another great King named by them Olata Ouae Vtina: and that if the Captaine would sayle thitherward, hee should come thither very quickly: wherewith he was content, and caused his men to rowe to that part which the Indians shewed him: whereat they were so glad, that they ranne quickly before by land to declare his arriuall, which was at the lodging of king Molloua, after he had rowed not past halfe a league. While king Malloua had ended intertaining Captaine Vasseur and his men, the souldier came in with fiue or sixe pounds weight of siluer which he had trucked and traffiqued with Indians.

This King caused bread to bee made, and fish to bee dressed after the Indian fashion to feast our men: to whom, while they were at meate, hee made a discourse of diuers other kings his friends and allies, reckoning vp to the number of nine of them by name, to wit, Codecha, Chilili, Eclauou, Enacappe, Calany, Anacharaqua, Omittaqua, Aequara, Moquoso: all which with him to the number of more then fortie, hee assured vs to bee the vassals of the most renowned Olata Ouae Vtina.

This done, hee went about likewise to discouer the enemies of Ouae Vtina, in which number he placed at the first the Paracoussy Satourioua Monarch of the confines of the riuer of May, which hath vnder his obeysance thirtie other Paracoussies, whereof there were ten which were all his brethren, and that therefore hee was greatly esteemed in those partes: then hee named three others no lesse puissant then Satourioua, whereof the first dwelt two dayes iourney from his lord Olata Ouae Vtina, and ordinarily made warre vpon him, whose name was Potanou, a man cruell in warre, but pitifull in the execution of his furie. For hee tooke the prisoners to mercy, being content to marke them on the left arme with a great marke like vnto a seale, and so imprinted as if it had bene touched with an hotte yron, then hee let them goe without any more hurt. The two others were named Onatheaqua, and Houstaqua, being great Lords, and abounding in riches, and principally Onatheaqua, which dwelt neere vnto the high mountaines, wherein there was abundance of many rare things, and infinite quantitie of a kinde of slate stone, wherewith they made wedges to cleaue their wood. The occasion which (as he sayd) mooued Pontanou to wage warre against Olata Ouae Vtina, was the feare that he had, lest he and his companions should get of that hard stone in his Countrey, wherewith they headed their arrowes, and could not get it in any neerer place.

An exceeding rich place.

Besides all this, Molloua recited to Captaine Vasseur, that the kings allies the vassals of the great Olata, armed their brests, armes, thighes, legs and foreheads with large plates of gold and siluer: and that by this meanes the arrowes that were discharged vpon them could do them no maner of hurt at all, but rather were broken against them. Hereupon Captaine Vasseur inquired whether the Kings Onetheaqua and Houstaqua were like vnto vs. For by the description that they made of them, he began to doubt whether they were Spaniards or no: but Molloua tolde him that they were not, but that they were Indians like the rest, sauing that they painted their faces with blacke and that the rest as Molloua painted them with red. Then my Lieutenant Vasseur, and my Seargent promised him that one day I should march with my forces into those Countreys, and that ioyning my selfe with his Lord Olata, I would subdue the inhabitants of the highest of those mountaines. Hee was very glad of this speach, and answered that the least of these Kings which hee had named should present vnto the Generall of these succours the height of two foot of gold and siluer, which by force of armes they had already gotten of those two Kings, Onatheaqua, and Houstaqua.

Some paint their faces with blacke, and some with red.

The good cheere being done, and the discourses ended, my men imbarked themselues againe, with intention to bring mee those good newes vnto the Fort Caroline. But after they had sayled a very long while downe the Riuer, and were come within three leagues of vs, the tyde was so strong against them, that they were constrained to goe on lande, and to retire themselues because of the night, vnto the dwelling of a certaine Paracoussy named Molona, which shewed himselfe very glad of their arriuall: for hee desired to know some newes of Thimogoa, and thought that the French men went thither for none other occasion but for to inuade them. Which Captaine Vasseur perceiuing, dissembled so wel, that he made him beleeue that he went to Thimogoa with none other intention, but to subdue them, and to destroy them with the edge of the sworde without mercy, but that their purpose had not such successe as they desired, because that the people of Thimogoa being aduertised of this enterprise, retired into the woods, and saued themselues by flight: that neuerthelesse they had taken some as they were fleeing away, which carried no newes thereof vnto their fellowes.

The Paracoussy was so glad of this relation, that he interrupted him, and asked Vasseur of the beginning and maner of his execution, and prayed him that hee would shew him by signes howe all things passed. Immediatly Francis la Caille the Sergeant of my band tooke his sword in his hand, saying, that with the point thereof he had thrust through two Indians which ranne into the woods, and that his companions had done no lesse for their partes. And that if fortune had so fauoured them, that they had not beene discouered by the men of Thimogoa, they had had a victorie most glorious and worthie of eternall memorie. Hereupon the Paracoussy shewed himselfe so well satisfied, that he could not deuise how to gratifie our men, which hee caused to come into his house to feast them more honourably: and hauing made Captaine Vasseur to sit next him, and in his owne chaire (which the Indians esteeme for the chiefest honour) and then vnderneath him two of his sonnes, goodly and mightie fellowes, hee commanded all the rest to place themselues as they thought good. This done, the Indians came according to their good custome, to present their drinke Cassine to the Paracoussy, and then to certaine of his chiefest friends, and the Frenchmen. Then hee which brought it set the cup aside, and drew out a little dagger stucke vp in the roofe of the house, and like a mad man he lift his head aloft, and ranne apace, and went and smote an Indian which sate alone in one of the corners of the hall, crying with a loud voyce, Hyou, the poore Indian stirring not at all for the blowe, which he seemed to endure patiently. He which held the dagger went quickly to put the same in his former place, and began againe to giue vs drinke as hee did before; but he had not long continued, and had scarce giuen three or foure thereof, but he left his bowle againe, tooke the dagger in his hand, and quickly returned vnto him which hee had strocken before, to whom he gaue a very sore blow on the side, crying Hyou, as he had done before: and then hee went to put the dagger in his place, and set himselfe downe among the rest. A little while after he that had bene stricken fell downe backwards, stretching out his armes and legs, as if hee had bene ready to yeeld vp the latter gaspe. And then the younger sonne of the Paracoussy apparelled in a long white skinne, fell downe at the feete of him that was fallen backward, weeping bitterly halfe a quarter of an houre: after, two other of his brethren clad in like apparell, came about him that was so stricken, and began to sigh pitifully. Their mother bearing a little infant in her armes came from another part, and going to the place where her sonnes were, at the first shee vsed infinite numbers of outcries, the one while lifting vp her eyes to heauen, another while falling downe vnto the ground, shee cryed so dolefully, that her lamentable mournings would haue moued the most hard and stony heart in the world with pitie. Yet this sufficed not, for there came in a companie of young gyrles, which did neuer leaue weeping for a long while in the place where the Indian was fallen downe, whom afterward they tooke, and with the saddest gestures they could deuise, carried him away into another house a little way off from the great hall of the Paracoussy, and continued their weepings and mournings by the space of two long houres: in which meane while the Indians ceased not to drinke Cassine, but with such silence that one word was not heard in the parlour.

Vasseur being grieued that he vnderstood not these ceremonies, demanded of the Paracoussy what these things meant: which answered him slowly, Thimogoa, Thimogoa, without saying any more. Being more displeased then he was before with so sleight an answere, he turned vnto another Indian the Paracoussyes brother, who was a Paracoussy as well as his brother, called Malica, which made him a like answere as hee did at the first, praying him to aske no more of these matters, and to haue patience for that time. The subtil old Paracoussy prayed him within a while after to shew him his sword, which he would not denie him, thinking that hee would haue held the fashion of his weapons: but he soone perceiued that it was to another ende: for the old man holding it in his hand, behelde it a long while on euery place, to see if he could finde any blood vpon it, which might shew that any of their enemies had bene killed: for the Indians are woont to bring their weapons wherewith their enemies haue beene defeated, with some blood vpon them, for a token of their victories. But seeing no signe thereof vpon it, he was vpon the point to say vnto him that he had killed none of them of Thimogoa: when as Vasseu, preuenting that which hee might obiect, declared and shewed vnto him by signes, the maner of his enterprise, adding, that by reason of the two Indians which he had slaine, his sword was so bloudy, that hee was inforced to wash and make it cleane a long while in the Riuer: which the olde man beleeued to be like to be true, and made no maner of replie thereunto.

King Malica.

Vasseur, La Caille, and their other companions went out of the hal to goe into the roome whither they had carried the Indian; there they found the Paracoussy sitting vpon tapestries made of small reedes, which was at meate after the Indian fashion, and the Indian that was smitten hard by him, lying vpon the selfe same tapistry, about whom stoode the wife of the Paracoussy, with all the young damsels which before bewailed him in the hall: which did nothing else but warme a great deal of mosse instead of napkins to rub the Indians side. Hereupon our men asked the Paracoussy againe for what occasion the

They lappe mosse about their woundes and vse it in stead of napkins.

Indian was so persecuted in his presence: hee answered, that this was nothing else but a kinde of ceremonie, whereby they would call to minde the death and persecutions of the Paracoussies their ancestours executed by their enemie Thimogoa: alleaging moreouer that as often as he himselfe, or any of his friends and allies returned from the Countrey, without they brought the heads of their enemies, or without bringing home some prisoner, hee vsed for a perpetuall memorie of his predecessors, to beate the best beloued of his children with the selfe same weapons wherewith they had beene killed in times past: to the ende that by renewing of the wound their death should be lamented afresh. Now when they were thus informed of those ceremonies, they thanked the Paracoussy for their good intertainement which they had receiued, and so setting saile came to me vnto the fort: where they declared all vnto me as I haue recited it heretofore.

The returne of their shippes toward France the 28 of Iuly.

The eight and twentieth day of Iuly our shippes departed to returne into France. And within a while, about two moneths after our arriuall in Florida, the Paracoussy Satourioua sent certaine Indians vnto mee to know whether I would stande to my promise which I had made him at my first arriuall in that Countrey, which was that I should shewe my selfe friend to his friendes, and enemie vnto his enemies, and also to accompany him with a good number of Harquebuzes, when he should see it expedient and should finde a fit occasion to go to warre. Now seeing he rested vpon this promise, hee prayed mee not to deferre the same: seeing also that making accompt thereof, hee had taken such good order for the execution of his enterprise, that he was ready, and was furnished with all things that were necessary for the voyage: I made him answere, that for his amitie I would not purchase the enmitie of the other, and that albeit I would yet notwithstanding I wanted meanes to doe it. For it behoued mee at that present to make prouision of victuals and munition for the defence of my Fort. On the other side, that my Barkes were nothing ready, and that this enterprise would require time: Moreouer, that the Paracoussy Satourioua might holde himselfe ready to depart within three moneths, and that then I would thinke of fulfilling my promise to him.

The Indians caried this answere to their Paracoussy, which was litle pleased with it, because hee could not deferre his execution or expedition, aswell because all his victuals were ready, as also because tenne other Paracoussies were assembled with him for the performance of this enterprise. The ceremonie which this Sauage vsed before hee embarked his armie deserueth not to be forgotten. For when hee was set downe by the Riuers side, being compassed about with tenne other Paracoussies, hee commaunded water to be brought him speedily. This done, looking vp into heauen, hee fell to discourse of diuers things with gestures that shewed him to be in exceeding great choller, which made him one while shake his head hither and thither, and by and by with I wote not what furie to turne his face toward the Countrey of his enemies, and to threaten to kill them. Hee oftentimes looked vpon the Sunne, praying him to graunt him a glorious victory of his enemies. Which when hee had done by the space of halfe an houre, he sprinkled with his hand a litle of the water which hee helde in a vessel vpon the heads of the Paracoussies, and cast the rest as it were in a rage and despite into a fire which was there prepared for the purpose. This done hee cried out thrise, He Thimogoa, and was followed by at least fiue hundred Indians, which were there assembled, which cried all with one voyce, He Thimogoa. This ceremonie, as a certaine Indian tolde mee familiary signified nothing else, but that Satourioua besought the Sunne to graunt vnto him so happy a victory, that he might shed his enemies blood, as he had shed that water at his pleasure. Moreouer that the Paracoussies which were sprinkled with a part of that water, might returne with the heads of their enemies, which is the onely and chiefe triumph of their victories.

The ceremonie which they vse before they goe to warre.

The Paracoussy Satourioua had no sooner ended his ceremonies and had taken a viewe of all his company, but he embarked himselfe, and vsed such diligence with his Almadies or boates, that the next day two houres before the Sunnes set, he arriued on the territories of his enemies about eight or tenne leagues from their villages. Afterward causing them all to goe on land, hee assembled his counsell, wherein it was agreed that fiue of the Paracoussies should saile vp the Riuer with halfe of the troupes, and by the break of day should approch vnto the dwelling of their enemie: for his owne part, that hee would take his iourney through the woods and forrests as secretly as hee coulde: that

Consultation before they assault their enemies.

when they were come thither as well they that went by water as hee which went by land should not faile by the breake of the day to enter into the village, and cut them all to pieces, except the women and little children.

How they vse their enemies which they take in war.

These things which were thus agreed vpon, were executed with as great fury as was possible: which when they had done, they tooke the heads of their enemies which they had slaine, and cut off their haire round about with a piece of their sculles: they tooke also foure and twentie prisoners, which they led away, and retired themselues immediatly vnto their Boates which wayted for them. Being come thither, they beganne to sing praises vnto the Sunne, to whom they attributed their victorie. And afterwards they put the skins of those heads on the end of their iauelings, and went altogether toward the territories of Paracoussy Omoloa, one of them which was in the company. Being come thither, they diuided their prisoners equally to each of the Paracoussies, and left thirteene of them to Satourioua, which straightway dispatched an Indian his subiect, to carry newes before of the victory to them which stayed at home to guard their houses, which immediately beganne to weepe. But assoone as night was some, they neuer left dancing and playing a thousand gambols, in honour of the feast.

Their maner of triumph.

The next day the Paracoussy Satourioua came home, who before he entred into his lodging caused all the haire skuls of his enemies to bee set vp before his doore, and crowned them with branches of Lawrell, shewing by this glorious spectacle the triumph of the victory which hee had obtained. Straight way beganne lamentation and mournings, which assoone as the night beganne were turned into pleasures and dances.

After that I was aduertised of those things, I sent a Souldier vnto Satourioua, praying him to send mee two of his prisoners: which hee denied mee, saying that hee was nothing beholding vnto mee, and that I had broken my promise, against the oath which I had sworn vnto him at my arriuall. Which when I vnderstoode by my Souldier, which was come backe with speede, I deuised howe I might be reuenged of this Sauage, and to make him know how dearly this bolde brauado of his should cost him: therefore I commaunded my Sergeant to prouide mee twentie souldiers to goe with mee to the house of Satourioua: Where after I was come and entred into the hall without any maner of salutation, I went and sate downe by him, and stayed a long while without speaking any woorde vnto him, or shewing him any signe of friendship, which thing put him deeply in his dumpes: besides that certaine Souldiers remained at the gate, to whom I had giuen expresse commaundement to suffer no Indian to goe foorth: hauing stood still about halfe an houre with this countenance, at length I demaunded where the prisoners were which hee had taken at Thimogoa, and commaunded them presently to bee brought vnto mee.

Whereunto the Paracoussy angry at the heart, and astonied wonderfully, stoode a long while without making any answere, notwithstanding at last hee answered me very stoutly, that being afraide to see vs comming thither in such warrelike manner they fled into the woods, and that not knowing which way they were gone, they were not able by any meanes to bring them againe; Then I seemed to make as though I vnderstood not what he saide, and asked for his prisoners againe, and for some of his principall allies. Then Satourioua commaunded his sonne Athore to seeke out the prisoners, and to cause them to be brought into that place, which thing he did within an houre after.

After they were come to the lodging of the Paracoussy, they humbly saluted mee, and lifting vp their hands before me, they would haue fallen downe prostrate as it were at my feet: but I would not suffer them, and soone after ledde them away with me vnto my owne Fort. The Paracoussy being wonderfully offended with this brauado, bethought himselfe by all meanes how hee might be reuenged of vs. But to giue vs no suspition thereof, and the better to couer his intention, hee sent his messengers oftentimes vnto vs bringing alwayes with them some kinde of presents. Among others one day hee sent three Indians, which brought vs two baskets full of great Pompions, much more excellent then those which we haue in France, and promised me in their Kings behalfe, that during mine abode in that Countrey, I should neuer want victuals: I thanked them for their Kings good will, and signified vnto them the great desire which I had, aswell for the benefit of Satourioua, as for the quiet of his Subiects, to make a peace betweene him and those of Thimogoa: which thing coulde not choose but turne to their great benefite, seeing that being allied with the

Excellent Pumpions.

Kings of those parts, hee had an open passage against Onatheaqua his ancient enemie, which otherwise he could not set vpon. Moreouer that Olata Ouae Vtina was so mightie a Paracoussy, that Satourioua was not able to withstand his forces: but being agreed together they might easily ouerthrow all their enemies, and might passe the confines of the farthest Riuers that were towards the South. The messengers prayed mee to haue patience vntil the morowe, at what time they would come againe vnto me to certifie me of their Lords inclination: which they failed not to doe, aduertising me that Paracoussy Satourioua was the gladdest man in the world to treate of this accord (although indeed hee was quite contrary) and that he besought mee to be diligent therein, promising to obserue and performe whatsoeuer I should agree vpon with those of Thimogoa: which things the messengers also rehearsed vnto the prisoners which I had ledde away. After they were departed, I resolued within two dayes to sende backe againe the prisoners to Olata Ouae Vtina, whose subiects they were: but before I embarked them, I gaue them certaine small trifles, which were little kniues or tablets of glasse, wherein the image of King Charles the ninth was drawen very liuely, for which they gaue me very great thankes, as also for the honest entertainment which was giuen them at the Fort Caroline. After this they embarked themselues, with Captaine Vasseur, and with Monsieur de Arlac mine Ensigne, which I had sent of purpose to remaine a certaine time with Ouae Vtina, hoping that the fauour of this great Paracoussy would serue my turne greatly to make my discoueries in time to come. I sent with him also one of my Sergeants, and sixe gallant Souldiers.

A wonderfull lightning the 29. of August.

Thus things passed on this maner, and the hatred of Paracoussy Satourioua against mee did still continue, vntill that on the nine and twentieth of August a lightning from heauen, fell within halfe a league of our Fort, more worthy I beleeue to be wondered at, and to bee put in writing, then all the strange signes which haue bene seene in times past, and whereof the histories haue neuer bene written. For although the medowes were at that season all greene, and halfe couered ouer with water, neuerthelesse the lightning in one instant consumed aboue fiue hundred acres therewith, and burned with the ardent heate thereof all the foules which tooke their pastime in the meddowes, which thing continued for three dayes space, which caused vs not a little to muse, not being able to iudge whereof this fire proceeded: for one while wee thought that the Indians had burnt their houses, and abandoned their places for feare of vs: another while wee thought that they had discouered some shippes in the Sea, and that according to their custome they had kindled many fires here and there, to signifie that their Countrey was inhabited: neuerthelesse being not assured, I determined to sende to Paracoussy Serrany to knowe the trueth thereof. But euen as I was vpon the point to sende one by boate to discouer the matter, sixe Indians came vnto mee from Paracoussy Allimacany, which at their first entrie made vnto mee a long discourse, and a very large and ample oration (after they had presented mee with certaine baskets full of Maiz, of Pompions and of Grapes) of the louing amity which Allimacany desired to continue with mee, and that he looked from day to day when it would please mee to employ him in my seruice. Therefore considering the seruiceable affection that hee bare vnto mee, hee found it very strange, that I thus discharged mine Ordinance against his dwelling, which had burnt vp an infinite sight of greene medowes, and consumed euen downe vnto the bottome of the water, and came so neere vnto his mansion, that hee thought hee saw the fire in his house: wherefore hee besought mee most humbly to commaund my men that they would not shoote any more towards his lodging, otherwise that hereafter he should be constrained to abandon his countrey, and to retire himselfe into some place further off from vs.

The Sauages thinke the lightning to be discharging of the Christians Ordinance.

Hauing vnderstood the foolish opinion of this man, which notwithstanding coulde not choose but be very profitable for vs, I dissembled what I thought thereof for that time, and answered the Indians with a cheerefull countenance, that the relation which they made vnto mee of the obedience of their Paracoussy did please mee right well, because that before hee had not behaued himselfe in such sort towards mee, especially when I summoned him to sende mee the prisoners of great Olata Ouae Vtina which he detained, whereof notwithstanding he made no great accompt, which was the principall cause whereof I had discharged mine Ordinance against him: not that I meant to reach vnto his house (as I might haue done easily, if it had pleased me) but that I was content to shoote the halfe way to make him knowe my force: assuring him furthermore, that on condition that he would

Laudonnier vsed the present occasion to his profite.

continue in his good affection, no more Ordinance should be discharged against him hereafter: and besides that I would become his faithfull protectour against his greatest enemies.

The Indians contented with mine answere returned to assure their Paracoussy, which notwithstanding the assurance withdrewe himselfe from his dwelling twentie or fiue and twentie leagues off and that for the space of more then two moneths. After that three dayes were expired, the fire was quite extinguished. But for two dayes after there followed such an excessiue heate in the aire, that the Riuer neere vnto which we planted our habitation, became so hoat, that I thinke it was almost ready to seeth. For there died so great abundance of fish, and that of so many diuers sorts, that in the mouth of the Riuer onely there were founde dead ynough to haue loaden fiftie Carts, whereof there issued a putrefaction in the aire, which bred many dangerous diseases amongst vs, inasmuch that most of my men fell sicke, and almost ready to ende their dayes. Yet notwithstanding it pleased onr mercifull God so to prouide by his prouidence, that all our men recouered their health without the losse of any one of them.

A wonderfull heate.

Fiftie cart load of fish dead in the Riuer with this heat.

Monsieur de Arlac, Captaine Vasseur, and one of my Sergeants being embarked with their tenne Souldiers about the tenth of September to cary backe the prisoners vnto Vtina, sailed so farre vp the Riuer, that they discouered a place called Mayarqua distant from our Fort about fourescore leagues, where the Indians gaue them good entertainement, and in many other villages which they found. From this place they rowed to the dwelling of Paracoussy Vtina, which after hee had feasted them according to his abilitie and power, prayed Monsieur de Arlac and all his Souldiers to stay a while with him, to ayde and assist him in battaile against one of his enemies, called Potanou, whereunto Monsieur de Arlac consented willingly. And because hee knew not how long he might haue occasion to stay in these parts, hee sent mee Captaine Vasseur and the Barke backe againe, which brought home onely fiue Souldiers with him.

The thirde voyage the tenth of September.

Mayarqua a place 80. leagues vp the Riuer of May.

King Patanou.

Nowe because the custome of the Indians is alwayes to wage war by surprise, Vtina resolued to take his enemie Potanou in the morning by the breake of the day: to

The Indians maner of war.

bring this to passe, hee made his men to trauaile all the night, which might be in number two hundred persons, so well aduised, that they prayed our French-shot to be in the fore-front, the ende (as they saide) that the noyse of their pieces might astonish their enemies: notwithstanding they coulde not march so secretly, but that those of the village of Potanou, distant from the dwelling of Vtina about fiue and twentie leagues, were ware of them: which suddenly employed and bestowed all their endeuour to defend their village enclosed all with trees, and issued out in great companies: but finding themselues charged with shotte, (a thing wherewith they neuer had bene acquainted) also beholding the Captaine of their bande fall downe dead in the beginning of their skirmish, with s shot of an Harquebuse which strooke him in the forehead, discharged by the hande of Monsieur de Arlac, they left the place: and the Indians of Vtina gate into the village, taking men, women, and children prisoners. Thus Paracoussy Vtina obtained the victory by the ayde of our men, which slew many of his enemies, and lost in his conflict one of their companions, wherewith Vtina was very much grieued. Eight or tenne dayes after, sent Captaine Vasseur backe againe with a Barke to fetch home Monsieur de Arlac and his Souldiers, which at their returne brought mee certaine presents from Vtina, as some siluer, a small quantitie of golde painted skinnes, and other things, with a thousand thankes, which the Paracoussy gaue me, which promised that if in any enterprise of importance I should haue neede of his men, he would furnish mee with three hundreth and about.

Two hundreth Indians.

Vtina getteth the victory of Potanou by the helpe of the French.

While I thus trauailed to purchase friends, and to practise one while with one here, an other while with another there, certaine Souldiers of my company were suborned vnder hand by one named la Roquette of the Countrey of Perigort, which put in their heads that hee was a great Magician, and that by the secrets of Art-magicke he had discouered a Mine of golde and siluer farre vp within the Riuer, whereby (vpon the losse of his life,) euery Souldier should receiue in ready Bullion the value of tenne thousand Crownes, beside and aboue fifteene hundred thousand should be reserued for the Kings Maiestie: wherefore they allied themselues with La Roquette and another of his confederates, whose name was Le Genre, in whom

La Roquettes conspiracie.

Monsieur de Genre.

notwithstanding I had great affiance. This Genre exceeding desirous to enrich himselfe in those parts, and seeking to be reuenged, because I would not giue him the carriage of the Paquet into France, secretly enfourmed the Souldiers that were already suborned by La Roquette, that I would depriue them of this great gaine, in that I did set them dayly on worke, not sending them on euery side to discouer the Countreys: therefore that it were a good deede, after they had made mee vnderstande so much, to seeke meanes to dispatch me out of the way, and to choose another Captaine in my place, if I would not giue them victuals according to their disordinate appetite. Hee also brought mee word hereof himselfe, making a large discourse vnto mee of the good affection of the Souldiers, which all besought mee that I would conduct them to the Countrey where the Mine was: I made him answere that all could not goe thither, and that it was necessary before their departure to settle our Fortresse in such estate, that those which which were to stay at home behind should remaine in securitie against the Indians which might surprise them. Furthermore, that their manner of proceeding seemed strange vnto mee, for that they imagined, that the Kings Maiestie was at the charges of our voyage for none other ende, but onely to enrich them at their first arriuall, in as much as they shewed themselues much more giuen vnto couetousnesse, then vnto the seruice of their Prince: But seeing mine answere tended vnto none other ende but to make our Fortresse strong and defensible, they determined to trauaile in the worke, and made an ensigne of olde linnen, which ordinarily they bare vpon the rampart when they went to woorke, alwayes wearing their weapons, which I thought they had done to incourage themselues to worke the better. But as I perceiued afterwards, and that by the confession of Genre sent mee in letters which he writ to mee of that matter, these gentle Souldiers did the same for none other ende, but to haue killed mee and my Lieutenant also, if by chance I had giuen them any hard speeches.

Gieures message to Laudoniere in the Souldiers name.

His answere.

A dangerous practice against the Captaine and his Lieute'nt.

About the twentieth of September, as I came home from the woods and coppises to finish the building of my Fort, (and that according to my vsual maner, I marched first to giue encouragement vnto my Souldiers) I chafed my selfe into such sort, that I fell into a sore and grieuous sicknesse, whereof I thought I should haue died: During which sicknesse, I called Le Genre often vnto mee, as one that I trusted aboue all others, and of whose conspiracies I doubted not any whit at all. In this meane while assembling his complices, sometime in his chamber and sometime in the woods to consult with them, hee spake vnto them to choose another Captaine besides mee, to the intent to put mee to death: but being not able by open force to execute his mischieuous intention, hee gate him vnto mine Apothecarie praying him instantly to mingle in my medicine, which I was to receiue one or two dayes after, some drugge that should make mee pitch ouer the pearch, or at the least that hee would giue him a little Arsenike or Quicke Siluer, which hee himselfe would put into my drinke. But the Apothecarie denied him, as did in like maner Master S. which was Master of the fire-workes. Thus wholly disappointed of both his meanes, hee with certaine others resolued to hide a little barrell of gunne-powder vnderneath my bed, and by a traine to set it on fire.

Laudonniers sicknesse.

Laudonniers Apothecarie.

Vpon these practises a Gentleman which I had dispatched to returne into France, being about to take his leaue of me, aduertised me that Gieure had giuen him a booke full of all kinde of lewde inuectiues and slanders against me, against Monsieur de Ottigny, and against the principal of my company: vpon which occasion I assembled all my Souldiers together, and Captaine Bourdet with all his, which on the fourth of September arriued in the roade, and were come into our Riuer. In their presence I caused the contents of the booke to bee read alowde, that they might beare record of the vntruths that were written against mee. Gieure, which had gotten him into the woods for feare of being taken, (where he liued for a while after with the Sauages by my permission,) writ vnto mee often, and in many of his letters confessed vnto mee, that hee had deserued death, condemning himselfe so farrefoorth, that he referred all to my mercie and pitie.

Captaine Bourdet arriued in Florida the 4. of September.

The seuenth or eighth day of Nouember, after I had caused sufficient prouision of such victuals as were needefull to bee made, I sent two of my men, to wit, La Roche Ferriere, and another towarde King Vtina, to discouer euery day more and more of the Countrey:

The 4. voyage the 7. of Nouember.

where he was the space of fiue or sixe moneths, during which hee discouered many small villages, and among others one named Hostaqua, the King whereof being desirous of my friendship, sent vnto me a quiuer made of Luserns skinne full of arrowes, a couple of bowes, foure or fiue skinnes painted after their maner, and a cheine of Siluer weying about a pounde weight. In recompence of which presents I sent him two whole sutes of apparell, with certaine cutting hookes or hatchets.

After these things therefore in this sort passed, about the tenth of this moneth, Captaine Bourdet determined to leaue mee and returne into France. Then I requested him, yea rather was exceeding importunate with him, to carry home with him some sixe or seuen Souldiers, whom I could not trust by any meanes: which hee did for my sake, and would not charge himselfe with Gieure, which offered him a great summe of money, if it would please him to carry him into France: hee transported him onely to the other side of the Riuer. Three dayes after his departure thirteene Mariners which I had brought out of France suborned by certaine other Mariners which Captaine Bourdet had left me, stole away my Barkes in maner following. These Mariners of Captaine Bourdet put mine in the head, that if they had such Barkes as mine were, they might gaine very much in the Iles of the Antilles, and make an exceeding profitable voyage. Hereupon they beganne deuise howe they might steale away my Barkes, and consulted that when I should command them to goe vnto the village of Sarauahi distant about a league and a halfe from our Fort, and situated vpon an arme of the Riuer, (whither according to my maner I sent them dayly to seeke clay, to make bricke and morter for our houses) they would returne no more, but would furnish themselues with victuals as well as they might possibly: and then would embarke themselues all in one vessell, and would goe their way: as indeede they did. And that which was worse, two Flemish Carpenters, which the saide Bourdet had left mee, stole away the other Barke, and before their departure cut the cables of the Barke, and of the ship boate, that it might goe away with the tyde, that I might not pursue them: so that I remained without either Barke or boate, which fell out as vnluckily for mee as was possible. For I was ready to imbarke my selfe with all speede, to discouer as farre vp our Riuer, as I might by any meanes.

One of his Barks stolne away by his Mariners.

Another of his Barks stolne away by two Carpenters.

Nowe my Mariners, (as I vnderstood afterwards) tooke a Barke that was a passenger of the Spaniards neere the Isle of Cuba, wherein they founde a certaine quantitie of golde and siluer, which they seazed vpon. And hauing this bootie they lay a while at Sea, vntill their victuals beganne to faile them: which was the cause, that oppressed with famine they came vnto Hauana the principall Towne of the Isle of Cuba: whereupon proceeded that mischiefe which hereafter I will declare more at large. When I saw my Barkes returned not at their wonted houre, and suspecting that which fell out in deed, I commanded my Carpenters with all diligence to make a little boat with a flat bottome, to searce those Riuers for some newes of these Mariners. The boate dispatched within a day and a night, by reason that my Carpenters found planks and timber ready sawed to their hands, as commonly I caused my Sawyers to prouide it, I sent men to seeke some newes of my thieues: but all was in vaine. Therefore I determined to cause two great Barkes to be built, ech of which might be thirtie fiue, or thirtie sixe foote long in the keele.

One of these Mariners named Francis Iean betrayed his own countrey men to the Spaniard, and brought them into Florida.

A Saw-mill necessary here.

And now the worke was very well forwarde which I set my workemen about, when ambition and auarice, the mother of all mischiefe, tooke roote in the hearts of foure or fiue souldiers which could not away with the worke and paines taking: and which from henceforward (namely one Fourneaux, and one La Croix, and another called Steuen le Geneuois, the three principall authors of the sedition) beganne to practise with the best of my troupe, shewing them that it was a vile thing for men of honest parentage, as they were, to moyle themselues thus with abiect and base worke, seeing they had the best occasion of the worlde offered them to make themselues all riche: which was to arme the two Barkes which were in building, and to furnish them with good men: and then to saile vnto Peru, and the other Isles of the Antilles, where euery Souldier might easily enrich himselfe with tenne thousand Crownes. And if their enterprise should bee misliked withall in France, they should bee alwayes able, by reason of the great wealth that they should gaine, to retire themselues into Italy, vntill the heate were ouerpassed, and that

The thirde sedition.

By Peru the French meane the coast of Carthagena and Nombre de Dios.

in the meane season some warre would fall out, which would cause all this to be quite forgotten.

This word of riches sounded so well in the eares of my Souldiers, that in fine, after they had oftentimes consulted of their affaires, they grew to the number of threescore and sixe: which to colour their great desire which they had to goe on stealing, they caused a request to bee presented vnto mee by Francis de la Caille Sergeant of my company, contayning in sum a declaration of the small store of victuals that was left to maintaine vs, vntil the time that shippes might returne from France: for remedy whereof they thought it necessary to sende to New Spaine, Peru, and all the Isles adioyning, which they besought mee to be content to graunt. But I made them answere, that when the Barkes were finished, I would take such good order in generall, that by meanes of the Kings marchandise, without sparing mine owne apparell, wee would get victuals of the inhabitants of the Countrey: seeing also that wee had ynough to serue vs for foure moneths to come. For I feared greatly, that vnder pretence of searching victuals, they would enterprise somewhat against the King of Spaines Subiects, which in time to come might iustly bee layde to my charge, considering that at our departure out of France, the Queene had charged me very expresly, to doe no kinde of wrong to the King of Spaines Subiects, nor any thing whereof he might conceiue any ielousie.

The captaines charge at his setting forth.

They made as though they were content with this answere. But eight dayes after, as I continued in working vpon our Fort, and on my Barkes, I fell sicke. Then my seditious companions forgetting all honour and duetie, supposing that they had found good occasion to execute their rebellious enterprise, beganne to practise afresh their former designes, handling their businesse so well, during my sicknesse, that they openly vowed that they would seaze on the Corps de gard, and on the Fort, yea, and force mee also, if I woulde not consent vnto their wicked desire. My Lieutenant being hereof aduertised, came and tolde mee that he suspected some euill practise: and the next day in the morning I was saluted at my gate with men in complet harnesse, what time my Souldiers were about to play mee a shrewde tricke: then I sent to seeke a couple of Gentlemen whom I most trusted, which brought mee word that the Souldiers were determined to come to me to make a request vnto me: But I tolde them that this was not the fashion to present a request vnto a Captaine in this maner, and therefore they should send some few vnto me to signifie vnto mee what they would haue. Hereupon the fiue chiefe authors of the sedition armed with Corslets, their Pistolles in their handes already bent, prest into my chamber, saying vnto mee, that they would goe to New Spaine to seeke their aduenture. Then I warned them to bee well aduised what they meant to doe: but they foorthwith replyed, that they were fully aduised already, and that I must graunt them this request. Seeing then (quoth I) that I am enforced to doe it, I will sende Captaine Vasseur and my Sergeant, which will make answere and giue mee an accompt of euery thing that shall be done in this voyage: And to content you, I thinke it good that you take one man out of euery chamber, that they may accompany Captaine Vasseur and my Sergeant. Whereupon, blaspheming the Name of God, they answered that they must goe thither: and that there lacked nothing, but that I should deliuer them the armour which I had in my custodie, for feare least I might vse them to their disaduantage (being so villanously abused by them :) wherein notwithstanding I would not yeeld vnto them. But they tooke all by force, and caried it out of my house, yea and after they had hurt a Gentleman in my chamber, which spake against their doings, they layd hands on mee, and caried me very sicke, as I was, prisoner into a shippe which rode at ancker in the middest of the Riuer, wherein I was the space of fifteene dayes attended vpon with one man onely without permission for any of my seruants to come to visite mee: from euery one of whom, as also from the rest that tooke my part, they tooke away their armour. And they sent mee a passeport to signe, telling me plainely after I had denied them, that if I made any difficulty, they would all come and cut my throat in the shippe. Thus was I constrained to signe their Passe-port, and forthwith to grant them certaine mariners, with Trenchant an honest and skilfull Pilot. When the barks were finished, they armed them with the kings munition, with powder, with bullets, and artillery, asmuch as they needed, and chose one of my Sergeants for their Captain, named Bertrand Conferrent, and for their Ensigne one named La Croix. They compelled Captaine Vasseur to deliuer them the flag of his ship. Then hauing determined to saile vnto a place of the Antilles called Leauguaue, belonging vnto the king

Laudonniere kept 15. dayes prisoner by his owne souldiers.

of Spaine, and there to goe on land on Christmasse night, with intention to enter into the Church while the Masse was sayd after midnight, and to murder all those that they found there, they set saile the eight of December. But because the greatest part of them by this time repented them of their enterprise, and that now they began to fall into mutinies among themselues, when they came foorth of the mouth of the riuer, the two barks diuided themselues: the one kept along the coast vnto Cuba, to double the Cape more easily, and the other went right foorth to passe athwart the Isles of Lucaya: by reason whereof they met not vntill sixe weekes after their departure. During which time the barke that tooke her way along the coast, wherein one of the chiefe conspiratours named De Orange was Captaine, and Trenchant his Pilot, neere vnto a place called Archaha, tooke a Brigantine laden with a certaine quantity of Cassaui, which is a kinde of bread made of rootes, and yet neuerthelesse is very white, and good to eate, and some little wine, which was not without some losse of their men: for in one assault that the inhabitants of Archaha made vpon them, two of their men were taken, to wit, Steuen Gondeau, and one named Grand Pré, besides two more that were slaine in the place, namely Nicolas Master and Doublet: yet neuerthelesse they tooke the Brigantine, wherein they put all their stuffe that was in their owne Barke, because it was of greater burthen and better of saile then their owne. Afterward they sailed right vnto the Cape of Santa Maria nere to Leauguaue, where they went on land to calke and bray their ship which had a great leake. In this meane while they resolued to saile to Baracou, which is a village of the Isle of Iamaica: where at their arriuall they found a carauel of fifty or three score tunnes burden, which they tooke without any body in it: and after they had made good cheere in the village the space of fiue or sixe dayes, they embarked themselues in it, leauing their second ship: then they returned to the Cape of Tiburon, where they met with a Patach, which they tooke by force after a long conflict. In this Patach the gouernour of Iamaica was taken, with great store of riches, aswell of golde and siluer as of merchandise and wine, and many other things; wherewith our seditious companions not content, determined to seeke more in their carauell, and their gouernour of Iamaica also. After they were come to Iamaica, they missed of another carauel which did saue it selfe in the hauen. The gouernour being fine and subtile, seeing himselfe brought vnto the place which he desired and where he commanded, obtained so much by his faire words, that they which had taken him let him put two little boyes which were taken with him into a little cocke boat, and send them to his wife into the village, to aduertise her that she should make prouision of victuals to send vnto him. But in stead of writing vnto his wife, he spake vnto the boyes secretly that with all diligence she should send the vessels that were in the hauens neere that place to succour and rescue him. Which she did so cunningly, that on a morning about the breake of the day, as our seditious companions were at the hauens mouth (which reacheth aboue two leagues vp within the land) there came out of the hauen a malgualire which maketh saile both forward and backward, and then two great shippes, which might be ech of them of fourescore or an hundred tunnes a piece, with good store of ordinance, and well furnished with men: at whose commming our mutinous fellowes were surprised, being not able to see them when they came, as well because of the darknesse of the weather, as also by reason of the length of the hauen, considering also they mistrusted nothing. True it is that fiue or six and twenty that were in the brigantine discouered these ships when they were nere them, which seeing themselues pressed for want of leasure to weagh their anker, cut their cable, and the trumpeter which was in it aduertised the rest: whereupon the Spanyards seeing themselues descried, discharged a volley of canon shot against the French men, which they followed by the space of three leagues, and recouered their own ships: the brigantine which escaped away, passed in the sight of the Cape des Aigrettes, and the Cape of S. Anthony situate in the Isle of Cuba, and from thence passed within the sight of Hauana; but Trenchant their pilot, and the trumpeter, and certaine other mariners of this brigantine, which were led away by force in this voyage (as elsewhere we haue declared) desired nothing more then to returne to me: wherefore these men agreed together (if peraduenture the wind serued them well) to passe the chanell of Bahama, while their seditious companions were asleepe: which they did accomplish with such good successe, that in the morning toward the breake of the day about the fiue and twentieth of March they arriued vpon the coast of Florida: where knowing the fault which they had committed, in a kinde of mockery they counterfaited the Iudges: but they played not this pranke vntill they had tippled well of the Wine which remained yet in their prize. One counterfeited the Iudge, another presented my person: one other after he had heard the matter pleaded, concluded thus: Make you your causes as good as it pleaseth you, but if when you come to the fort Caroline the Captaine cause you not to be hanged, I will neuer take him for an honest man: others thought that my choller being passed, I would easily forget this matter. Their saile was no sooner descried vpon the coast, but the king of the place named Patica, dwelling eight leagues distant from our fort, and being one of our good friends, sent an Indian to aduertise me that he had descried a shippe vpon the coast, and that he thought it was one of our nation. Hereupon the brigantine oppressed with famine, came to an anker at the mouth of the Riuer of May, when at the first blush we thought they had bene shippes come from France; which gaue vs occasion of great ioy: but after I had caused her to be better viewed, I was aduertised that they were our seditious companions that were returned. Therefore I sent them word by Captaine Vasseur and my Seargeant, that they should bring vp their brigantine before the fortresse: which they promised to doe. Now there was not aboue two leagues distance from the mouth of the riuer where they cast anker vnto the fortresse. The next day I sent the same Captaine and Sergeant with thirty souldiers, because I saw they much delayed their comming. Then they brought them: and because certaine of them had sworne at their departure, that they would neuer come againe within the fort, I well pleased they should keep their oth. For this purpose I waited for them at the riuers mouth, where I made my barks to be built and commanded my Sergeant to bring the foure chiefe authours of the mutiny on shore: whom I caused immediatly to be put in fetters: for my meaning was not to punish the rest, considering that they were suborned, and because my counsell expressly assembled for this purpose had concluded that these foure only should die, to serue for an example to the rest. In the same place I made an Oration vnto them in this maner.

The returne of part of Laudonnieres seditious souldiers.

MY friends, you know the cause why our king sent vs vnto this countrey; you know that he is our naturall Prince, whom we are bound to obey according to the commandement of God, in such sort, that we ought neither to spare our goods nor our liues to do those

Laudonnieres oration to his mutinous souldiers.

things that concerne his seruice: ye know, or at least you cannot be ignorant, that besides this generall and naturall obligation, ye haue this also ioyned thereunto, that in receiuing of him reasonable pay and wages, you are bound to follow those whom he hath established ouer you to be your gouernours, and to command you in his name, hauing for this purpose giuen him an oth of fidelitie, which you cannot by any meanes reuoke for any faire apparance which you haue to doe the contrary: for this is reason that seeing you liue vpon his charges on this condition (this is reason I say) that you should be faithfull vnto him. Notwithstanding you haue had more regard vnto your vnbridled affections then vnto vertue, which inuited you to the obseruance of your oth, in such sort that being become contemners of all honesty, you haue passed your bonds, and thought that all things were lawfull for you. Whereupon it is fallen out, that while you thought to escape the iustice of men, you could not auoid the iudgement of God, which as a thing by no meanes to be auoided hath led you, and in spight of you hath made you to arriue in this place, to make you confesse how true his iudgements are, and that he neuer suffereth so foule a fault to escape vnpunished.

The sentence of death.

After that I had vsed vnto them these or the like speeches, following that which wee had agreed vpon in councell, in respect of the crimes which they had committed, aswel against the kings Maiesty as against mee which was their Captaine, I commanded that they should be hanged. Seeing therefore that there was no starting hole, nor meanes at all to saue themselues from this arrest, they tooke themselues vnto their prayers: yet one of the foure, thinking to raise a mutiny among my souldiers, sayd thus vnto them: What, brethern and companions, will you suffer vs to die so shamefully? And taking the word out of his mouth, I sayd vnto him, that they were not companions of authours of sedition and rebels vnto the kings seruice. Heerevpon the souldiers besought me not to hang them, but rather let them be shot thorow, and then afterward, if I thought good, their bodies might be hanged vpon certaine gibbets along the hauens mouth: which I caused presently to be put into execution. Loe here what was the end of my mutinous souldiers, without which I had alwayes liued peaceably, and enioyed the good desire which I had to make an happy and quiet voyage. But because I haue spoken of nothing but their accident and aduentures

Execution.

which happened vnto them after their departure, without making any mention of our fort, I will returne vnto the matters from which I digressed, to delare that which fell out after their departure. First, I beganne to consider to the ende I might confirme and make myselfe more constant in mine affliction, that these murmurers could not ground their sedition vpon want of victuals: for from the time of our arriuall, euery souldier dayly vnto this day, and besides vntill the eight and twentieth day of February, had a loafe of bread weighing two and twenty ounces. Againe I recounted with my selfe that all new conquest by sea or by land are ordinarily troubled with rebellions, which are easie to be raised, as well in respect of the distance of place, as in respect of the hope that the souldiers haue to make their profit, as we may be well informed both by ancient histories and also by the troubles which lately happened vnto Christopher Columbus, after his first discouery, to Francis Pizarro, and Diego de Almagro in Peru, and to Fernando Cortes. An hundred thousand other things came vnto my minde, to incourage and confirme me. My Lientenant Ortigny, and my Sergeant of my band came to seeke me in the ship, where I was prisoner, and caried me from thence in a barke assoone as our rebels were departed. After I was come vnto the fort I caused all my company that remained, to be assembled in the midst of the place before the Corps de garde, and declared vnto them the faults which they that had forsaken vs had committed, praying them to beare them in memory, to beare witnesse thereof when need should require. Foorthwith I ordained new Captaines to command the troups; and prescribed them an order, according whereunto they were to gouerne themselues from thence forward, and to enter into their watch: for the greatest part of the souldiers, of whom I had the best opinion, were gone away with them. My declaration ended, they promised mee all with one accord to obey mee most humbly, and to doe whatsoeuer I should command them, though it were to die at my feet for the Kings seruice; wherein assuredly they neuer after failed: so that I dare say, after the departure of my mutinous companions I was as well obeyed as euer was Captaine in place where he commanded. The next day after my returne vnto the fort, I assembled my men together againe, to declare vnto them that our fort was not yet finished, and that it was needfull that all of

Laudonniere setteth things in order after his returne out of prison to the fort.

vs should put thereto our helping hands, to assure our selues against the Indians: wherein hauing willingly agreed vnto mee, they raised it all with turfes from the gate vnto the riuer which is on the West side. This done, I set my Carpenters on worke to make another barke of the same bignesse that the others were of: I commanded the Sawyers that they should prepare plancks, the Smithes to prepare yron and nailes, and certaine others to make coales: so that the barke was finished in eighteene dayes. Afterward I made another lesser then the first, the better to discouer vp the riuer. In this meane space the Indians visited me, and brought me dayly certaine presents, as Fish, Deere, Turki-cocks, Leopards, little Beares, and other things according to the place of their habitation. I recompensed them with certaine Hatchets, Kniues, Beads of glasse, Combes, and Looking-glasses. Two Indians came vnto me one day to salute me on the behalfe of their King, whose name was Marracou, dwelling from the place of our fort some forty leagues toward the South, and tolde mee that there was one in the house of King Onathaqua which was called Barbu or the bearded man, and in the house of King Mathiaca another man whose name they knew not, which was not of their nation: whereupon I conceiued that these might be some Christians. Wherefore I sent to all the kings my neighbours to pray them, that if there were any Christian dwelling in their countreys, they would finde meanes that he might be brought vnto mee, and that I would make them double recompense. They which loue rewards, tooke so much paine, that the two men, whereof we haue spoken, were brought vnto the fort vnto me. They were naked, wearing their haire long vnto their hammes as the Sauages vse to do, and were Spanyards borne, yet so well accustomed to the fashion of the countrey, that at the first sight they found our maner of apparell strange. After that I had questioned of certaine matters with them, I caused them to be apparelled, and to cut their haire; which they would not loose, but lapped it vp in a linnen cloth, saying that they would cary it into their countrey to be a testimony of the misery that they had indured in the Indies. In the haire of one of them was found a little gold hidden, to the value of fiue and twenty crownes, which he gaue vnto me. And examining them of the places where they had bene, and how they came thither, they

Reparation of the West side of the fort.

Two Spanyards brought vnto Laudonniere by the Sauages.

answered me that fifteene yeeres past, three shippes, in one of which they were, were cast away ouer against a place named Calos vpon the Flats which are called The Martyres, and that the king of Calos recouered the greatest part of the riches which were in the sayd shippes, trauelling in such sort that the greatest part of the people was saued, and many women; among which number there were three or foure women maried, remaining there yet, and their children also, with this king of Calos. I desired to learne what this king was. They answered me, that he was the goodliest and the tallest Indian of the countrey, a mighty man, a warrier, and hauing many subiects vnder his obedience. They tolde me moreouer, that he had great store of golde and siluer, so farre foorth that in a certaine village he had a pit full thereof, which was at the least as high as a man, and as large as a tunne: all which wealth the Spanyards fully perswaded themselues that they could cause me to recouer, if I were able to march thither with an hundred shot, besides that which I might get of the common people of the countrey, which had also great store thereof. They further also aduertised me, that the women going to dance, did weare about their girdles plates of golde as broad as a sawcer, and in such number that the weight did hinder them to dance at their ease; and that the men ware the like also. The greatest part of these riches was had, as they sayd, out of the Spanish shippes, which commonly were cast away in this straight; and the rest by the traffique which this king of Calos had with the other kings of the countrey: Finally, that he was had in great reuerence of his subiects; and that hee made them beleeue that his sorceries and charmes were the causes that made the earth bring foorth her fruit: and that hee might the easier perswade them that it was so, he retired himselfe once or twise a yeere to a certaine house, accompanied with two or three of his most familiar friends, where hee vsed certaine inchantments; and if any man intruded himselfe to goe to see what they did in this place, the king immediatly caused him to be put to death. Moreouer, they tolde me, that euery yeere in the time of haruest, this Sauage king sacrificed one man, which was kept expresly for this purpose, and taken out of the number of the Spanyards which by tempest were cast away vpon that coast. One of these two declared vnto me, that hee had serued him a long time for a

Calos a place vpon ye Flats called The Martyres neere the Cape of Florida.

Plates of gold as broad as a sawcer.

One of these Spanyards names was Martin Gomes.

messenger; and that oftentimes by his commandement he had visited a king named Oathcaqua, distant from Calos foure or fiue dayes iourney, which alwayes remained his faithfull friend: but that in the midway there was an Island situate in a great lake of fresh water named Sarrope, about fiue leagues in bignesse, abounding with many sorts of fruits, specially in Dates, which growe on the Palme trees, whereof they make a woonderfull traffique; yet not so great as a kinde of root, whereof they make a kinde of meale, so good to make bread of, that it is vnpossible to eate better, and that for fifteene leagues about, all the countrey is fed therewith: which is the cause that the inhabitants of the Isle gaine of their neighbours great wealth and profit: for they will not depart with this root without they be well payed for it. Besides that, they are taken for the most warlike men of all that countrey, as they made good proofe when the king of Calos, hauing made alliance with Oathcaqua, was depriued of Oathcaquaes daughter, which he had promised to him in mariage. He tolde me the whole matter in this sort: As Oathcaqua well accompanied with his people caried one of his daughters, exceeding beautifull, according to the colour of the countrey, vnto king Calos, to giue her vnto him for his wife, the inhabitants of this Isle aduertised of the matter, layed an ambush for him in a place where he should passe, and so behaued themselues that Oathcaqua was discomfited, the betrothed yoong spouse taken, and all the damosels that accompanied her: which they caried vnto their Isle; which thing in all the Indians countrey they esteeme to be the greatest victory: for afterward they marry these virgins, and loue them aboue all measure. The Spanyard that made this relation, tolde mee that after this defeat he went to dwell with Oathcaqua, and had bene with him full eight yeeres, euen vntill the time that he was sent vnto me. The place of Calos is situate vpon a riuer which is beyond the Cape of Florida, forty or fifty leagues towards the Southwest: and the dwelling of Othcaqua is on this side the Cape toward the North, in a place which we call in the Chart Cannaueral, which is in 28 degrees.

King Oathcaqua or Houathca.

The greatest victory among the Floridians.

About the fiue and twentieth of Ianuary Paracoussy Satourioua my neighbour sent me certaine presents by two of his subiects, to perswade me to ioyne with him, and to make warre vpon Ouae Vtina; which was my friend: and further besought me to retire certaine of my men which were with Vtina; for whom if it had not beene, he had oftentimes set vpon him, and defeited him. He besought me heerein by diuers other kings his allies, which for three weekes or a moneths space sent messengers vnto mee to this end and purpose: but I would not grant vnto them that they should make warre vpon him; yea rather contrariwise I endeaured to make them friends; wherein they condescended vnto mee, so farre foorth that they were content to allow of any thing that I would set downe: wherevpon the two Spanyards which of long time knew well the nature of the Indians, warned me that in any case I should not trust vnto them, because that when they shewed good countenance and the best cheere vnto men, then was the time that they would surprise and betray them; and that of their nature they were the greatest traitours and most deepe dissemblers of the world. Besides I neuer trusted them but vpon good ground, as one that had discouered a thousand of their crafts and subtilties, aswell by experience as by reading of the histories of late yeres. Our two barks were not so soone finished, but I sent Captaine Vasseur to discouer along the coast lying toward the North, and commanded him to saile vnto a riuer, the king whereof was called Audusta, which was lord of that place, where those of the yere 1562 inhabited. I sent him two sutes of apparell, with certaine hatchets, kniues, and other small trifles, the better to insinuate my selfe into his friendship. And the better to win him, I sent in the barke with captaine Vasseur a souldier called Aimon, which was one of them which returned home in the first voyage, hoping that king Audusta might remember him. But before they were imbarked I commanded them to make inquiry what was become of another called Rouffi, which remained alone in those parts when Nicholas Masson and those of the first voyage imbarked themselues to returne into France. They vnderstood at their arriuall there, that a barke passing that way had caried away the same souldier: and afterward I knew for a certainty that they were Spaniards which had caried him to Hauana. The king Audusta sent me backe my barke full of mill, with a certaine quantity of beanes, two stags, some skinnes painted after their maner, and certaine pearles of small value, because they were burnt: and sent me word that if I would dwel in his quarters, he would giue

The Floridians great traitours and dissemblers.

Nicholas Masson otherwise called Nicolas Barre.

King Audustas great humanity.

me a great countrey: and that after he had gathered his mill, he would spare me as much as I would haue. In the meane while there came vnto our fort a flocke of stocke-doues in so great number, and that for the space of seuen weeks together, that euery day wee killed with harquebush shot two hundred in the woods about our fort.* After that Captaine Vasseur was returned, I caused the two barks to be furnished againe with souldiers and mariners, and sent them to cary a present from me vnto the widow of king Hiocaia, whose dwelling was distant from our fort about twelue leagues Northward.

The widow of King Hioacaia, or Hihouhacara.

She courteously receiued our men, sent me backe my barks full of mill and acornes with certaine baskets full of the leaues of Cassine, wherewith they make their drinke. And the place where this widow dwelleth is the most plentifull of mill that is in all the coast, and the most pleasant.

This queenes name was Nia Cubicani.

It is thought that the queene is the most beautifull of all the Indians, and of whom they make most account: yea, and her subiects honour her so much, that almost continually they beare her on their shoulders, and will not suffer her to go on foot. Within a few dayes after the returne of my barks, she sent to visit me by her Hiatiqui, which is as much to say, as her interpreter.

The fift voyage vp the riuer of May.

Now while I thought I was furnished with victuals vntill the time that our ships might come out of France (for feare of keeping my people idle) I sent my two barks to discouer along the riuer, and vp toward the head thereof, which went so far vp that they were thirty leagues good beyond a place named Mathiaqua, and there they discouered the entrance of a lake, vpon the one side whereof no land can be seene, according to the report of the Indians, which had oftentimes climed on the highest trees in the countrey to see land, and notwithstanding could not discerne any: which was the cause that my men went no further, but returned backe; and in comming home went to see the Island of Edelona, situated in the midst of the riuer, as faire a place as any that may be seene thorow the world: for in the space of some three leagues, that it may conteine in length and bredth, a man may see an exceeding rich countrey, and maruellously peopled. At the comming out of the village of Edelano to go vnto the riuers side a man must

---

Marginal note.—Peter Martyr writeth cap. 1. decad. 7. that the like flocks of pigeons are in the isles of the Lucayos, passe thorow an alley about three hundred paces long and fifty paces broad: on both sides whereof great tres are planted, the boughes whereof are tied together like an arch, and meet together so artificially that a man would thinke it were an arbour made of purpose, as faire I say, as any in all christendome, although it be altogether natural. Our men departing from this place rowed to Eneguape, then to Chilily, from thence to Patica, and lastly they came vnto Coya: where leauing their barks in a little creeke of the riuer with men to guard them, they went to visit Vtina, which receiued them very courteously: and when they departed from his house, he intreated them so earnestly, that sixe of my men remained with him: of which number there was one gentleman, named Groutald, which after he had abode there about two moneths, and taken great paines to discouer the countrey, with another which I had left a great while there to that intent, came vnto me to the fort, and tolde me that he neuer saw a fairer countrey. Among other things, he reported vnto me that he had seene a place named Hostaqua, and that the king thereof was so mighty, that he was able to bring three or foure thousand Sauages to the field; with whom if I would ioyne and enter into league, we might be able to reduce all the rest of the inhabitants vnto our obedience: besides that this king knew the passages vnto the mountaine of Apalatci, which the French men desired so greatly to atteine vnto, and where the enemy of Hostaqua made his abode; which was easie to be subdued, if so be wee would enter into league together. The king sent me a plate of a minerall that came out of this mountaine, out of the foot whereof there runneth a streame of golde or copper, as the Sauages thinke, out of which they dig vp the sand with an hollow and drie cane of reed vntill the cane be full; afterward they shake it, and finde that there are many small graines of copper and siluer among this sand: which giueth them to vnderstand, that some rich mine must needs be in the mountaine. And because the mountaine was not past fiue or sixe dayes iourney from our fort, lying toward the Northwest, I determined assoone as our supply should come out of France, to remooue our habitation vnto some riuer more toward the North, that I might be nerer therevnto. One of my souldiers whose name was Peter Gamby, which had remained a long space before in this countrey to learne the languages and traffique with the Indians, at the last came to the village of Edelano, where hauing gotten together a certaine quantitie of golde and siluer, and purposing to returne vnto me, he prayed the king of the village to lend him a canoa (which is a vessell made of one whole piece of wood, which the Indians vse to fish withal, and to row vpon the riuers) which this lord of Edelano granted him. But being greedy of the riches which he had, he commanded two Indians, which he had charged to conduct him in the canoa, to murder him and bring him the merchandise and the gold which he had. Which the two traitours villanously executed: for they knockt him on the head with an hatchet, as he was blowing of the fire in the canoa to see the fish. The Paracoussy Vtina sent certeine dayes afterward, to pray me to lend him a dozen or fifteene of my shot, to inuade his enemy Potanou, and sent me word, that this enemy once vanquished, he would make me passage, yea, and would conduct me vnto the mountaines in such sort, that no man, should be able to hinder me. Then I assembled my men to demand their aduice, as I was woont to do in all mine enterprises. The greater part was of opinion, that I should do well to send succour vnto this Paracoussy, because it would be hard for me to discouer any further vp into the countrey without his helpe: and that the Spanyards when they were imployed in their conquests, did alwayes enter into alliance with some one king to ruine another. Notwiihstanding, because I did alwayes mistrust the Indians, and that the more after the last aduertisement that the Spanyards had giuen me, I doubted lest the small number which Vtina demanded might incurre some danger; wherefore I sent him thirty shot vnder the charge of my Lieutenant Ottigny, which stayed not aboue two dayes with Vtina, while he prepared victuals for his voyage, which ordinarily and according to the custome of the countrey are caried by women and yoong boyes, and by hermaphrodites. Vtina setting forward with three hundred of his snbiects, hauing ech of them their bowe and quiuer full of arrowes, caused our thirty shot to be placed in the foreward, and made them march all the day, vntill that the night approching, and hauing not gone past halfe the way, they were inforced to lie all night in the woods, nere a great lake, and there to incampe themselues: they separated themselues by sixe and sixe, making ech of them a fire about the place where their king lay, for whose guard they ordeined a certeine number of those archers, in

Vtina sendeth to Laudonniere for his helpe.

A good note.

Three hundred Indians.

whom he put most confidence. Assoone as day was come, the campe of the Indians marched within three leagues of Potanou: there king Vtina requested my Lieutenant to grant him foure or fiue of his men to go and discouer the covntrey; which departed immediatly, and had not gone farre, but they perceiued vpon a lake, distant about three leagues from the village of Potanou, three Indians which fished in a canoa. Now the custome is that when they fish in this lake, they haue alwayes a company of watchmen, armed with bowes and arrowes to guard the fishers. Our men being hereof aduertised by those of the company, durst not passe any further, for feare of falling into some ambush: wherefore they returned towards Vtina, which suddeuly sent them backe with a greater company to surprise the fishers before they might retire and aduertise their king Potanou of the comming of his enemies. Which they could not execute so politikely, but that two of them escaped; the third also did the best he could to saue himselfe by swimming, in which meane while he was stayed with shot of arrowes, and they drew him starke dead vnto the banks side, where our Indians flayed off the skinne of his head, cut off both his armes in the high way, reseruing his haire for the triumph, which their king hoped to make for the defeat of his enemy. Vtina fearing least Potanou aduertised by the fishers which were escaped, should put himselfe in armes to withstand him valiantly, asked counsell of his Iawa, which is asmuch to say in their language as his Magician, whether it were best to goe any further. Then this Magician made certeine signes, hidious and fearefull to beholde, and vsed certeine words: which being ended, he sayd vnto his king, that it was not best to passe any further, and that Potanou accompanied with two thousand Indians at the least stayed in such and such a place for him, to bidde him battell: and besides this, that all the sayd Indians were furnished with cords to binde the prisoners which they made full account to take.

Iawa signifieth their Priest or Magician.

Potanou accompanied with two thousand Indians.

This relation caused Vtina to be vnwilling to passe any further: whereupon my Lieutenant being as angry as euer he might be, because hee had taken so great paines without doing of any thing of account, sayd vnto him, that hee would neuer thinke well of him nor of his people, if hee would not hazzard himselfe; and that if he would not doe it, at the least, that he would giue him a guide to conduct him and his small company to the place where the enemies were encamped. Heereupon Vtina was ashamed, and seeing the good affection of Monsieur de Ottigny determined to go forward: and he failed not to finde his enemies in the very place which the Magician had named: where the skirmish beganne, which lasted three long houres: wherein without doubt Vtina had beene defeated, vnlesse our harquebusiers had not borne the burthen and brunt of all the battell, and slaine a great number of the souldiers of Potanou, vpon which occasion they were put to flight. Wherewithall Vtina being content for the present, caused his people to retire and returne homeward to the great discontentment of Monsieur de Ottigny, which desired nothing more, then to pursue his victorie. After he was come home to his house he sent messengers to eighteene or twentie villages of other kings his vassals, and summoned them to be present at the feasts and dances which he purposed to celebrate because of his victorie. In the meane while Monsieur de Ottigny refreshed himselfe for two dayes: and then taking his leaue of the Paracoussi, and leauing him twelue of his men to see that Potanou, bethinking himselfe of his late losse, should not come to burne the houses of Vtina, he set forward on his way to come vnto me vnto our Fort, where he vp and told me how euery thing had passed: and withall that he had promised the twelue souldiers, that he would come backe againe to fetch them. Then the kings my neighbours all enemies to Vtina, being aduertised of the returne of my Lieutenant, came to visite me with presents and to enquire how things had passed, praying me all to receiue them into my fauour, and to become enemie to Vtina, which notwithstanding I would not grant them for many reasons that mooued me.

The predic-tion of the Magician found true.

Vtina hath 18 or 20 kings to his Vassals.

The Indians are wont to leaue their houses and to retire themselues into the woods the space of three moneths, to wit Ianuary, February, and March: during which time by no meanes a man can see one Indian. For when they goe on hunting, they make little cottages in the woods, whereunto they retire themselues, liuing vpon that which they take in hunting. This was the cause that during this time, we could get no victuals by their meanes: and had it not beene that I had made good

A custome of the Indians to leaue their houses for 3 or 4 moneths and to liue in the woods.

They looke for succour out of France by the end of April at the vttermost.

prouision thereof, while my men had store, vntill the end of Aprill (which was the time when at the vttermost, we hoped to haue had succour out of France) I should haue beene greatly amazed. This hope was the cause that the souldiers tooke no great care to looke well vnto their victuals, although I deuided equally among them that which I could get abroad in the countrey, without reseruing vnto my selfe any more then the least souldier of al the company. The moneth of May approching and no manner of succour come out of France, we fell into extreme want of victuals, constrained to eate the rootes of the earth and certaine sorrell which we found in the fields. For although the Sauages were returned by this time vnto their villages, yet they succoured vs with nothing but certaine fish, without which assuredly wee had perished with famine. Besides they had giuen vs before the greatest part of their maiz and of their beanes for our marchandise. This famine held vs from the beginning of May vntill the middest of Iune. During which time the poore souldiers and handicraftsmen became as feeble as might be, and being not able to worke did nothing but goe one after nothing in Centinel vnto the clift of an hill, situate very neere vnto the Fort, to see if they might discouer any French ship. In fine being frustrated of their hope, they assembled altogether, and came to beseech me to take some order that they might returne into France, considering that if we let passe the season to embarke our selues, we were neuer like to see our countrey, where it could not be chosen but that some troubles were fallen out, seeing they had broken their promise made vnto vs, and that no succour was come from thence. Thereupon it was consulted and resolued by all the company, that the barke Breton should be trimmed vp, whereof Captaine Vasseur had charge. But because the ship was not bigge enough to receiue vs all, some thought good to build the Brigandine two deckes higher, which our mutinous souldiers had brought backe, and that 25 men should hazard themselues to passe therein into France. The rest being better aduised said that it should be farre better to build a faire ship vpon the keele of the Galiote which I had caused to be made, promising to labour couragiously therupon. Then I enquired of my shipwrights to knowe in what space they could make this shippe readie. They assured the whole company that being furnished with all things necessarie

Extreme famine for sixe weekes space.

they would make it readie by the 8. of August. Immediatly I disposed of the time to worke vpon it, I gaue charge to Monsieur de Ottigny my Lieutenant to cause timber necessary for the finishing of both the vessels to be brought, and to Monsieur de Arlac my Standart-bearer to goe with a barke a league off from the Fort to cut downe trees fit to make plankes, and to cause the sawiers which he carried with him to saw them: and to my Sergeant of the company to cause fifteene or sixteene men to labour in making coales: and to Master Hance keeper of the Artillery, and to the gunner to gather store of rosen to bray the vessels: wherein he vsed such diligence, that in lesse then 3 weekes he gathered 2 hogs-heads of the same together. There remained now but the principal, which was to recouer victuals to sustaine vs while our worke endured: which I vndertooke to doe with ye rest of my company and the Mariners of the ship. To this end I embarked my selfe making vp the thirtieth in my great barke, to make a voyage of forty or fifty leagues, hauing with vs no prouision at all of victuals: whereby it may easily be gathered how simply those of our Fort were prouided. True it is that certaine souldiers being better husbandes then the rest, and hauing made some prouision of mast, solde a little measure thereof for fifteene and twentie sous vnto their companions. During our voyage we liued of nothing else but raspices, of a certaine round graine little and blacke, and of the rootes of palmitos which we got by the riuer sides: wherein after we had sayled a long time in vaine, I was constrained to returne to the Fort: where the souldiers beginning to be wearie of working, because of the extreme famine which did consume them, assembled themselues and declared vnto me, that seeing we could get no victuals of the Indians, it was expedient for the sauing of their liues, to seaze vpon the person of one of the Kings of the Countrey: assuring themselues that one being taken, the subiects would not suffer our men to want victuals. I made them answere that this enterprise was not rashly to be attempted: But that wee ought to haue good regarde vnto the consequence that might insue thereof. Hereupon they replyed vnto me, that seeing the time was past of our succour from France, and that we were resolued to abandon the Countrie, that there was no danger to constraine the Sauages to furnish vs with victuals: which for the present I would not grant vnto them, but promised them assuredly that I would send to aduertise the

Indians that they should bring me victuals for exchange of marchandise and apparell: which they also did for the space of certaine daies, during which they brought of their mast and of their fish: which these Indians being traiterous and mischieuous of nature and knowing our exceeding strange famine, sold vs at so deere a price, for that lesse then nothing they had gotten from vs all the rest of our marchandise which remained. And which was worse, fearing to be forced by vs and seeing that they had gotten all from vs, they came no neere to our Fort then the shot of an Harquebuze. Thither they brought their fish in their little boats, to which our poore souldiers were constrained to goe, and oftentimes (as I haue seene) to giue away the very shirts from their backs to get one fish. If at any time they shewed vnto the Sauages the excessiue price which they tooke, these villaines would answere them roughly and churlishly: if thou make so great account of thy marchandise, eat it, and we will eat our fish: then fell they out laughing and mocked vs with open throat. Whereupon our souldiers vtterly impatient, were oftentimes ready to cut them in pieces, and to make them pay the price of their foolish arrogancy. Notwithstanding considering the importance hereof, I tooke paines to appease the impatient souldier: for I would not by any meanes enter into question with the Sauages, and it suffised me to delay the time. Wherefore I deuised to send vnto Vtina, to pray him to deale so farre foorth with his subiects, as to succour me with mast and maiz: which he did very sparingly, sending me 12 or 15 baskets of mast, and two of pinocks, which are a kind of little greene fruits which grow among the weedes in the riuer, and are as big as cheries: yea, and this was not but by giuing of them in exchange twise as much marchandise and apparell as they were worth. For the subiectes of Vtina perceiued euidently the necessitie wherein we were, and began to vse the like speech vnto vs, as the others did: as it is commonly seene that neede altereth mens affections. While these things were in doing, a certaine breathing space presented it selfe for Vtina gaue me to vnderstand that there was a king his subiect whose name was Astina, which he determined to take prisoner, and to chastise him for his disobedience: that for this cause if I would giue him aide with a certaine number of my souldiers, he would bring them to the village of Astina, where there was meanes to recouer mast and maiz. In the meane season he

The vile nature of the Indians.

excused himselfe vnto me because he had sent me no more maiz, and sent me word that the little store he had left was scarsely sufficient for his seede-corne. Now being relieued, as I thought, by the hope which I had of this offer, I would not faile to send him the men which he had desired of me, which neuerthelesse were very euill intreated: for he deceiued them, and in stead of leading them against Astina, he caused them to march against his other enemies. My Lieutenant which had the charge of this enterprise with Captaine Vasseur, and my Sergeant was determined to be reuenged of Vtina and to cut him to pieces and his people: and had it not bene that they feared to do any thing against my wil, without all doubt they would haue put their enterprise in execution. Therefore they would not passe any further without aduertising me thereof. Wherefore being come backe againe vnto the Fort, angry and pricked deeply to the quicke for being so mocked, they made their complaints vnto me, declaring vnto me that they were almost dead for hunger. They told the whole matter to the rest of the souldiers, which were very glad that they had not entred into that action, and resolued, assembling themselues againe together, to let me vnderstand that they did persist in their first deliberation, which was, to punish the boldnesse and maliciousnes of the Sauages, which they could no longer endure, and were determined to take one of their kings prisoner: which thing I was enforced to grant vnto them to the ende to auoid a greater mischiefe, and the sedition which I foresaw would ensue, if I had made refusall thereof. For, sayd they, what occasion haue you to deny vs, considering the necessitie wherein we are, and the small account that they make of vs. Shall it not be lawfull for vs to punish them for the wrongs which they doe vnto vs, besides that we know apparently how little they respect vs? Is not this sufficient although there were no necessitie at all, since they thus delude vs, and haue broken promise with vs? After I had therefore resolued with them to seaze vpon the person of Vtina, which besides that he had giuen vs occasion hereof, was also most able to help vs to recouer victualls, I departed with fiftie of my best souldiers all embarked in two Barkes and wee arriued in the dominions of Vtina, distant from our Fort about 40 or 50 leagues: then going on shore we drew towards his village situated 6 leagues from the riuer, where we tooke him prisoner, howbeit not without great cries and alarmes, and led him away in our barkes, hauing first signified vnto his Father in law

Vtina taken prisoner in his village by Laudonniere and 50 of his souldiers.

and his chiefe subiects, that in that I had taken him, it was not for any desire that I had to doe him any harme, but onely to relieue my necessitie and want of victuals which oppressed me, and that in case they would helpe me to some, I would find meanes to set him againe at libertie: that in the meane space I would retire myselfe into my Barkes (for I feared least they would there assemble themselues together, and that some mischiefe might thereof insue) where I would stay for him two dayes to receiue his answere: notwithstanding that my meaning was not to haue any thing without exchange of marchandise. This they promised they would doe. And in very deede the very same euening, his wife accompanied with all the women of the village came vnto the riuers brinke, and cryed vnto me to enter into the barke, to see her husband and her sonne, which I held both prisoners. I discouered the next day fiue or sixe hundred Indian archers, which drew neere vnto the riuer side, and came to me to signifie vnto me how that during the absence of their king, their enemie Potanou, being thereof aduertised, was entred into their village and had set all on fire. They prayed me that I would succour them: neuerthelesse in the mean while they had one part of their troope in ambush, with intent to set vpon me if I had come on land, which was easie for me to discerne. For seeing that I refused so to doe, they greatly doubted that they were discouered, and sought by all meanes to remooue out of my minde that euill opinion which I had conceiued of them. They brought mee therefore fish in their little boates and of their meale of Mast, they made also of their drinke which they call cassine, which they sent to Vtina and me.

Now albeit I had gotten this point of them that I held their king prisoner, yet neuerthelesse I could not get any great quantity of victuals for the present: the reason was, because they thought that after I had drawen victuals from them, I would put their king to death. For they measured my wil according to their custome whereby they put death all the men prisoners that they take in warre. And thus being out of all hope of his libertie, they assembled themselues in a great house, and hauing called all the people together they proposed the election of a new king, at which time the Father in lawe of Vtina set one of the kings young sonnes vpon the Royall throne: and tooke such paynes that euery man did him homage by the maior part of the voyces. This election had like to haue bene the cause of great troubles among them.

For there was a kinsman of the kings neere adioyning, which pretended a Title to the kingdome, and in deede he had gotten one part of the subiects: notwithstanding this enterprise could not take effect, forasmuch as by a common consent of the chiefe, it was consulted and concluded, that the sonne was more meete to succeede the Father then any other. Now all this while I kept Vtina with me, to whom I had giuen some of mine apparell to cloth him, as I had likewise done vnto the sonne. But his subiects which before had an opinion that I would haue killed him, being aduertised of the good entertainment which I vsed towards him, sent two men which walked along the riuer, and came to visite him, and brought vs some victuals. These two men at their comming were receiued by me with all courtesie, and entertained according to the victuals which I had. While these things thus passed, there arriued from all quarters many Sauages of the countries adioyning, which came to see Vtina, and sought by all meanes to perswade me to put him to death, offering that if I would do so, they would take order that I should want no victuals. There was also a king my neighbour
Note.
whose name was Saturioua, a subtile and crafty man and one that shewed by proofe that he was greatly practised in affaires. This King sent me ordinarily messengers vnto me, to pray me to deliuer Vtina vnto him: and to win me the more easily, he sent twise seuen or eight baskets of Maiz or of Mast thinking by this means to allure me, and to make me come to composition with him: in the end notwithstanding when he saw he lost his time, he ceased to visite me with ambassages and victuals: and in the meane while I was not able with the same store of victuals which I had, so well to proportion out the trauaile vpon the ships which we built to returne into France, but that in the end we were constrained to endure extreme famine, which continued among vs all the moneth of May:
Note.
for in this latter season, neither Maiz nor Beanes, nor Mast was to be found in the villages, because they had employed all for to sowe their fields, insomuch that we were constrayned to eate rootes, which the most part of our men punned in the morters which I had brought with me to beate already discouered, they sent to aduertise me that as yet they gunnepowder in, and the graine which came to vs from other places: some tooke the wood of Esquine, beate it, and made meale thereof, which they boyled with water, and eate it: others

went with their harquebusies to seeke to kill some foule. Yea this miserie was so great, that one was found that gathered vp among the filth of my house, all the fish bones that he could finde, which he dried and beate into powder to make bread thereof. The effects of this hideous famine appeared incontinently among vs, for our bones eftsoones beganne to cleaue so neere vnto the skinne, that the most part of the souldiers had their skinnes pierced thorow with them in many partes of their bodies: in such sort that my greatest feare was, least the Indians would rise vp against vs, considering that it would haue bene very hard for vs to haue defended our selues in such extreme decay of all our forces, besides the scarsitie of all victuals, which fayled vs all at once. For the very riuer had not such plentie of fish as it was wont, and it seemed that the land and water did fight against vs. Now as we were thus vpon termes of dispayre, about the end of the moneth of May and the beginning of Iune, I was aduertised by certaine Indians that were my neighbours, that in the high Countrey vp aboue the riuer, there was new Maiz, and that that countrey was most forward of all. This caused me to take vpon me to go thither with a certaine number of my men, and I went vp the riuer to a place called Enecaque: where I met the sister of Vtina in a village where she made vs very good cheere and sent vs fish. We found that which was tolde vs to be true: for the maiz was now ripe: but by this good lucke one shrewde turne happened vnto me. For the most part of my souldiers fell sicke with eating more of it then their weakened stomackes could digest. We had also beene the space of foure dayes since we departed from our Fort, without eating any thing, sauing little pinockes, and a little fish, which we got of the fishers which wee met sometimes along the riuer. And yet this was so little that certaine souldiers eate priuily little whelpes which were newly whelped. The next day I purposed to go into ye Ile of Edelano to take the king which had caused one of my men to be slaine, as I haue mentioned before: but being aduertised of my departing out of my Fort, and of the way which I tooke vp the riuer, he feared that I went foorth with a purpose to be reuenged of the euill turne which he played: so that when I came thither I found the houses emptie, for he was retyred a little before with all his people: and I could not by any meanes

New corne by the end of May in Florida.

A little greene fruite that groweth in the riuers as big as cheries.

keepe my souldiers, being angry because they had lost one of their companions, from setting the village on fire. At my departure from thence I passed backe againe by Enecaque, where I gathered as much maiz as I could possibly: which with great diligence I conueied to our Fort to succour my poore men, which I had left in great necessitie. They therefore seeing me a farre off comming, ranne to that side of the riuer where they thought I would come on land: for hunger so pinched them to the heart, that they could not stay vntill the victuals were brought them to the Fort. And that they well shewed assoone as I was come, and that I had distributed that little maiz among them, which I had giuen to ech man, before I came out of the barke: for they eate it before they had taken it out of the huske. But seeing my selfe in this extreme nede, I tooke paines day by day to seeke some villages where there was some food. And as I trauailed this way and that way, it happened that two of my Carpenters were killed by the two sonnes of king Emola, and by one whose name was Casti, as they went on walking to the village called Athore. The cause of this murder was, because they could not refraine themselues as they walked through the fields from gathering a little maiz, which as they were doing, they were taken in the maner: wherof I was presently aduertised by an Indian which a little before had brought me a present from Nia Cubacani Queene of a village, and neighbour to our Fort. Vpon receipt of this aduertisement, I sent my Sergeant with a number of souldiers which found nothing else but the 2 dead corpses, which they buried and returned without doing any other exploit, because the inhabitants were fled away, fearing they should be punished for such a foule fact. As these things thus passed, and that by this time we had almost driuen out the moneth of May, two subiects of king Vtina came vnto me with an Hermaphrodite, which shewed mee that by this time the maiz was ripe in the greatest part of their quarters. Whereupon Vtina signified vnto me that in case I would carrie him home to his house, he would take such good order that I should haue plentie of maiz and beanes: and withall, that the field which he had caused to be sowen for me, should be reserued to my vse. I consulted with my men concerning this matter, and found by the aduice of all my company, that it was best to grant him his request, saying that he had meanes to succour vs with food

Two Carpenters killed for gathering the Indians maiz.

sufficient to serue our turnes for our embarkement, and that therefore I might do well to carry him home. Wherefore I caused the two barkes forthwith to be made readie, wherein I sailed to Patica, a place distant from his village 8 or 9 leagues, where I found no bodie, for they were gotten into the woods, and would not shew themselues, albeit Vtina shewed himselfe vnto them, for as much as they imagined that I should be constrained to let him go. But seeing no body to shew themselues, I was constrained to hazard one of my men which had bene acquainted with the state of the countrie, to whom I deliuered the young sonne of Vtina, and commanded him to goe with diligence to the village of Vtina, vnto his father in law and his wife, to aduertise them that if they would haue their king againe, they should bring me victuals vnto the side of the little riuer whither I was gone. At my mans comming euery one made much of the little childe, neither was there a man that thought not himselfe well appaide to touch him. His father in law and his wife hearing of these newes came presently towards our barkes, and brought bread which they gaue vnto my souldiers, they held me there three dayes, and in the meane while did all that they could to take me: which presently I discouered, and therefore stood diligently vpon my gard. Wherefore perceiuing they could not haue their purpose, and that they were could not helpe me to victuals, and that the corne was not yet ripe. Thus I was constrained to returne and to carry backe Vtina home, where I had much adoe to saue him from the rage of my souldiers: which perceiuing the maliciousnes of the Indians, went about to haue murdered him. Moreouer it seemed they were content that they had gotten the sonne, and that they cared not greatly for the father. Now my hope fayling me on this side, I deuised to send my men to the villages where I thought the maiz was by this time ripe; I went to diuers places, and continued so doing 15 daies after, when as Vtina besought me again to send him vnto his village, assuring himselfe that his subiects would not sticke to giue me victuals: and that in case they refused so to do, he was content that I should do what I thought good with him. I vndertooke this voyage the second time, the two barkes furnished as before. At my comming vnto the little riuer, we found his subiects there, which failed not to come thither with some quantitie of bread, beanes, and fish, to giue my souldiers. Neuerthelesse returning againe to

Patica a village.

their former practise they sought all meanes to entrap me, hoping to cry quittance for the imprisonment of their king, if they might haue gotten the victorie of me. But after that they sawe the small meanes, which they had to annoy me, they returned to intreaties, and offered that if I would giue them their king with certaine of my souldiers, they would conduct them vnto the village, and that the subiects seeing him, would be more willing to giue vs victuals. Which thing notwithstanding I would not grant vnto them (mistrusting their subtilitie, which was not so couert, but that one might espie day at a little hole) vntill they had first giuen me two men in pledge with charge that by the next day they should bring me victuals. Which thing they granted, and gaue mee two men which I put in chaines for feare they should escape away, as I knew well they were instructed to doe. Foure dayes were spent in these conferences, at the end whereof they declared vnto me, that they could not fully and wholly performe their promise: and that the vttermost that they could doe for the present, was to cause ech subiect to bring his burthen of mill. To conclude, they were content to doe so on condition that I would send them their two pledges within ten dayes. As my Lieutenant was ready to depart, I warned him aboue all things to take heede he fell not into the Indians hands: because I knew them to be very subtill and craftie to enterprize and execute any thing to our disaduantage. He departed therefore with his troope, and came to the small riuer whereinto we were accustomed to enter to approch as neere as we could vnto the village of Vtina, being sixe French leagues distant from thence. There he went on shore, put his men in good array, and drew streight towards the great house that was the kings, where the chiefe men of the countrey were assembled, which caused very great store of victuals to be brought now one and then another, in doing whereof they spent notwithstanding three or foure dayes: in which meane while they gathered men together, to set vpon vs in our retreit. They vsed therefore many meanes to holde vs still in breath. For one while they demanded their pledges, another while (seeing my Lieutenant would not yeeld to them, vntill such time as they had brought the victuals vnto the boats; according to the agreement passed betwene vs) they signified vnto him that the women and young children were afraide out of all measure to see fire in their

Desire of reuenge rooted in the sauage.

A necessarie admonition.

The Floridians subtilities.

matches so neere their harquebuses: and that therefore they most earnestly besought them to put them out, that they might more easily get people ynough to carry the victuals, and that they for their partes would leaue their bowes and arrowes, and would be contented that their seruants should carrie them. This second request was as flatly denied them as the former: For it was an easie matter to smel out their intention. But while these things were thus in handling, Vtina by no meanes was to be scene, but hid and kept himselfe secret in a little house apart, where certaine chosen men of mine went to see him shewing themselues agreeued with him for the long delayes of his subiectes: whereunto he answered, that his subiectes were so much incensed against vs, that by no meanes possible he was able to keepe them in such obedience as he willingly would haue done, and that he could not hold them from waging of warre against Monsieur de Ottigny. That he also called to minde, that euen while he was prisoner, at what time our men ledde him into his Countrey to obtaine some victuals, he saw along the high wayes arrowes stucke vp, at the endes whereof long haires were fastened, which was a certaine signe of open warre proclaimed, which arrowes the Captaine also carried with him to the fort. He said further that in respect of the good will he bare to the Captaine, he forewarned his Lieutenant that his subiectes were determined to cut downe the trees, and cause them to fall a thwart the little riuer where the boates were, to keepe them from departing thence, that they might fight with them at their ease, and that if it thus fell out, he assured him for his part he would not be there to meddle in the matter. And that which much more augmented the suspition of warre was, that as my messengers departed from Vtina, they heard the voyce of one of my men which during the voyage had alwayes beene among the Indians, and whom as yet they would neuer render, vntill they had gotten their pledges home. This poore fellow cryed out amaine because two Indians would haue carried him into the woods to haue cut his throat: whereupon he was succoured and deliuered. These admonitions being well vnderstoode, after ripe deliberation thereof Monsieur de Ottigny resolued to retire himselfe the seuen and twentieth of Iuly. Wherefore he set his souldiers in order, and deliuered to ech of them a sacke full of mill: and afterward hee marched toward his barkes, thinking to preuent the enterprise of the

A certaine signe of warre.

sauages. There is at the comming forth of the village a great alley about three or foure hundred paces long, which is couered on both sides with great trees. My Lieutentent disposed his men in this alley and set them in such order as they desired to march: for he was well assured that if there were any ambush, it would be at the comming out of the trees. Therefore he caused Monsieur de Arlac mine Ensigne to march some what before with 8 harquebusiers to discouer whether there were any danger; besides he commanded one of my Sergeants and Corporals to march on the out side of the alley with foure harquebusiers while he himselfe conducted the rest of his company through it. Now as he suspected, so it fell out: for Monsieur de Arlac met with two or three hundred Indians at the end of the alley, which saluted him with an infinite number of their arrowes, and with such furie that it was easie to see with what desire they sought to charge vs. Howbeit they were so well sustained in the first assault which mine Ensigne gaue them, that they which fell downe dead, did somewhat abate the choler of those which remained aliue. This done my Lieutenant hasted to gaine ground in such sort as I haue already said. After he had marched about foure hundred paces, he was charged afresh with a newe troope of Sauages which were in number about 300, which assayled him before, while the rest of the former set vpon him behind. This second assault was so valiantly sustained, that I may iustly say that Monsieur de Ottigny so well discharged his dutie as was possible for a good Captaine to doe. And so it stood them vpon: for he had to deal with such kind of men, as knewe well how to fight and to obey their head which conducted them, and which knewe so well to behaue themselues in this conflict, as if Ottigny had not preuented their practise, he had beene in danger to haue beene defeated. Their maner in this fight was, that when two hundred had shot, they retyred themselues and gaue place to the rest that were behind, and all the while had their eye and foote so quicke and readie, that assoone as euer they saw the harquebuze laide to the cheeke, so soone were they on the ground, and eftsoone vp to answere with their bowes and to flie their way, if by chance they perceiued we went about to take them: for there is nothing that they feare so much, because of our swords and daggers. This conflict continued and

A skirmish betwene the Sauages and the French.

A second fresh charge of Sauages.

The Floridians maner of fight.

lasted from nine of the clocke in the morning, vntill the night departed them. And if Ottigny had not bethought himselfe to cause his men to breake the arrowes which they found in their way, and so to depriue the Sauages of the meanes to beginne againe, without all doubt he should haue had very much to do: for by this mean they lacked arrowes, and so were constrayned to retire themselues. During the time of the conflict they cryed and made signes that they were the Captaines and Lieutenants friends: and that they fought for none other cause but to be reuenged on the Souldiers, which were their mortall enemies. My Lieutenant being come vnto his boates tooke a reuiew of his companie, and found two men wanting which were killed, of whom the one was called Iames Sale, and the others name was Mesurer. He found moreouer 22 of them wounded, which with much adoe he caused to be brought vnto the boates. All the mill that he found among his company came but to two mens burdens, which he deuided equally among them. For assoone as the conflict began, euery man was constrained to leaue his sacke to put his hand to his weapon. In this meane while I remained at the Forte, and caused euery man diligently to trauell, hoping that my Lieutenant would bring vs victuals. But seeing the time consume away, I began to suspect the truth of that which fell out, whereof I was assured immediately after at their returne. Seeing therefore mine hope frustrate on that side, I made my prayer vnto God, and thanked him of his grace which hee had shewed vnto my poore souldiers which were escaped: Afterward I thought vpon newe meanes to obtaine victuals, aswell for our returne into France, as to driue out the time vntill our embarking. I was aduertised by certaine of our company, which vsually went on hunting into the woods and through the villages, that in the village Sarauahi situated on the other side of the riuer, and two leagues distant from the Forte, and in the village Emoloa there were fields wherein the mill was very forward, and that there was thereof in those partes in great abundance. Wherefore I caused my boates to be made ready, and sent my Sergeant thither with certaine Souldiers which vsed such diligenee, that wee had great store of mill. I sent also to the Riuer which the Sauages call Iracana, named by Captaine Ribault the Riuer of Somme, where Captaine Vasseur and my Sergeant arriued with two boates and their ordinary furniture, and found there a great assembly of the

Lords of the Countrey, among whome was Athore the sonne of Satourioua, Apalou, and Tacadocorou, which were there assembled to make merrie: because in this place are the fairest maids and women of the countrey. Captaine Vasseur in my name gaue certaine small trifles to all the Lords, to the Queene, to the maids and women of the villages. Wherevpon the boates were foorthwith laden with mill, after they had made our men as good cheere as they could deuise. The Queene sent me two small Mats so artificially wrought as it was vnpossible to make better. Nowe finding ourselues by this meane sufficiently furnished with victuals, we beganne each of vs in his place, to trauaile and vse such diligence, as the desire to see our natiue countrey might mooue vs. But because two of our Carpenters were slaine by the Indians (as heretofore I mentioned) Iohn de Hais, master Carpenter, a man very worthy of his vocation, repaired vnto me and tolde me that by reason of want of men hee was not able to make me vp the ship against the time that he had promised me: which speech caused a mutinie among the souldiers that very hardly he escaped killing: howbeit I appeased them as well as I could, and determined to worke no more from thencefoorth vpon the shippe, but to content our selues to repaire the Brigandine which I had. So we began to beate downe all the houses that were without the Fort, and caused coles to be made of the timber thereof: likewise the souldiers beate downe the pallisade which was toward the waters side, neither was I euer able to keepe them from doing it. I had also determined to beat downe the Fort before my departure and to set it on fire, for feare least some new-come guest should haue enioyed and possessed it. In the meane while there was none of vs to whom it was not an extreme griefe to leaue a countrey, wherein wee had endured so great trauailes and necessities, to discouer that which we must forsake through our owne countreymens default. For if wee had bene succoured in time and place, and according to the promise that was made vnto vs, the warre which was betweene vs and Vtina, had not fallen out, neither should wee haue had occasion to offend the Indians, which with all paines in the world I entertained in good amitie, aswell with merchandise and apparel, as with promise of greater matters, and with whom I so behaued myself, that

Courtesie and liberalitie the best meanes to deale with the sauages.

The beating downe of the houses without the fort, and the Palisade.

The cause why the French lost Florida.

Eight kings Laudonniers friends and allies.

The principall scope of planters in strange countreys.

although sometimes I was constrained to take victuals in some few villages, yet I lost not the alliance of eight Kings and Lords my neighbours, which continually succoured and ayded me with whatsoeuer they were able to afford. Yea this was the principall scope of all my purposes, to winne and entertaine them, knowing how greatly their amitie might aduance our enterprise, and principally while I discouered the commodities of the countrey, and sought to strengthen my selfe therein. I leaue it to your cogitation to thinke how neere it went to our hearts, to leaue a place abounding in riches (as we were throughly enformed thereof) in comming whereunto, and doing seruice vnto our Prince, we left our owne countrey, wiues, children, parents, and friends, and passed the perils of the sea and were therein arriued, as in a plentifull treasure of all our hearts desire. As ech of vs were much tormented in minde with these or such like cogitations, the third of August I descried foure sayles in the sea, as I walked vpon a little hill, whereof I was exceeding well apaid: I sent immediately one of them which were with me to aduertise those of the Fort thereof, which were so glad of those newes, that one would haue thought them to bee out of their wittes to see them laugh and leape for ioy. After these ships had cast anker, we descried that they sent one of their ship boates to land: whereupon I caused one of mine to be armed with diligence to send to meete them, and to know who they were. In the meane while, fearing lest they were Spaniards, I set my souldiers in order and in readinesse, attending the returne of Captaine Vasseur and my Lieutenant, which were gone to meete them, which brought me word that they were Englishmen: and in trueth they had in their company one whose name was Martine Atinas of Diepe, which at that time was in their seruice, which on the behalfe of Master Iohn Hawkins their Generall came to request mee that I would suffer them to take fresh water, whereof they stood in great neede, signifying vnto me that they had bene aboue fifteene dayes on the coast to get some. Hee brought vnto mee from the Generall two flagons of wine, and bread made of wheate: which greatly refreshed me, forasmuch as for seuen moneths space I neuer tasted a drop of wine: neuerthelesse it was all diuided among the greatest part of my souldiers,

Florida a rich countrey.

Aug. 1565.

M. Iohn Hawkins ye English Generall.

This Martine Atinas had guided the Englishmen vnto our coast, wherewith he was acquainted: for in the yeere 1562 he came thither with me, and therefore the Generall sent him to me. Therefore after I had granted his request, hee signified the same vnto the Generall, which the next day following caused one of his small shippes to enter into the riuer, and came to see me in a great shipboate, accompanied with gentlemen honourably apparelled, yet vnarmed. He sent for great store of bread and wine, to distribute thereof to euery one: On my part I made him the best cheere I could possibly, and caused certaine sheepe and poultry to be killed, which vntill this present I had carefully preserued hoping to store the countrey withall. For notwithstanding all the necessities and sicknesse that happened vnto me, I would not suffer so much as one chicken to be killed: by which meanes in a short time I had gathered together aboue an hundred pullets. Nowe three dayes passed, while the English General remained with me, during which time the Indians came in from all parts to see him, and asked me whether he were my brother: I tolde him he was so, and signified vnto them, that he was come to see me and ayde me with so great store of victuals, that from thence forward I should haue no neede to take any thing of them. The bruite hereof incontinently was spread ouer all the countrey, in such sort as Ambassadours came vnto me from all parts, which on the behalfe of the kings their masters desired to make alliance with me: and euen they, which before sought to make warre against me, came to offer their friendship and seruice vnto me: Whereupon I receiued them and gratified them with certaine presents. The General immediately vnderstood the desire and vrgent occasion which I had to returne into France: whereupon he offred to transport me and all my company home: whereunto notwithstanding I would not agree, being in doubt vpon what occasion he made so large an offer. For I knewe not how the case stood betweene the French and the English: and although hee promised me on his faith to put mee on land in France, before hee would touch in England, yet I stood in doubt least he would attempt somewhat in Florida in the name of his mistresse. Wherfore I flatly refused his offer: whereupon there arose a great mutinie among my souldiers, which sayd that I sought to destroy them

Sheepe and poulterie caried into Florida.

An aduantage wisely taken.

The French mistrusted that the Englishmen would plant in Florida.

all, and that the Brigandine, wherof I spake before, was not sufficient to transport them, considering the season of the yeere wherein wee were. The bruite and mutiny increased more and more: for after that the Generall was returned to his ships, he told certaine gentlemen and souldiers which went to see him, partly to make good cheere with him, hee declared, I say vnto them, that he greatly doubted that hardly we should be able to passe safely in those vessels which we had: and that in case we should enterprise the same, we should no doubt be in great ieopardy: notwithstanding, if I were so contented, he would transport part of my men in his ships, and that he would leaue me a small ship to transport the rest. The souldiers were no sooner come home, but they signified the offer vnto their companions, which incontinently consented together that in case I would not accept the same, they would embarke themselues with him and forsake mee, so that he would receiue them according to his promise. They therefore assembled themselues all together and came to seeke me in my chamber, and signified vnto me their intention, wherunto I promised to answere within one houre after. In which meane space I gathered together the principall members of my company, which after I had broken the matter with them, answered me all with one voyce, that I ought not to refuse this offer, nor contemne the occasion which presented it selfe, and that they could not thinke euill of it in France, if being forsaken, as we were, we aided our selues with such means as God had sent vs. After sundry debatings of this matter, in conclusion I gaue mine aduise, that wee ought to deliuer him the price of the ship which he was to leaue vs, and that for my part I was content to giue him the best of my stuffe, and the siluer which I had gathered in the countrey. Wherupon notwithstanding it was determined that I should keepe the siluer, for feare lest the Queene of England seeing the same, should the rather bee encouraged to set footing there, as before she had desired: that it was far better to carie it into France to giue encouragement vnto our Princes not to leaue off an enterprise of so great importance for our commonwealth, and that seeing wee were resolued to depart, it was farre better to giue him our Artillerie, which otherwise we should be constrained to leaue behinde vs, or to hide it in the ground by reason of the weakenesse of our men,

Siluer found in Florida.

Note.

The great importance of this enterprise.

being not able to embarke the same. This point being thus concluded and resolued on, I went myselfe vnto the English Generall, accompanied with my Lieutenant, and Captaine Vasseur, Captaine Verdier, and Trenchant the Pilot, and my Sergeant, all men of experience in such affaires, and knowing sufficiently how to driue such a bargaine. We therefore tooke a view of the ship which the Generall would sell, whom we drew to such reason, that he was content to stand to mine owne mens iudgement, who esteemed it to be worth seuen hundreth crownes, whereof we agreed very friendly. Wherefore I deliuered him in earnest of the summe, two bastards, two mynions, one thousand of iron, and one thousand of powder. This bargain thus made, he considered the necessity wherin we were, hauing for all our sustenance but mill and water: wherupon being mooued with pitie, he offered to relieue me with 20 barels of meale, sixe pipes of beanes, one hogshead of salt, and a hundred of waxe to make candels. Moreouer forasmuch as he sawe my souldiers goe bare foote, he offered me besides fifty paires of shoes, which I accepted and agreed of a price with him, and gaue him a bill of mine hand for the same, for which vntill this present I am indebted to him. He did more then this: for particularly he bestowed vpon my selfe a great iarre of oyle, a iarre of viniger, a barrell of Oliues, and a great quantitie of Rice, and a barrell of white Biscuit. Besides he gaue diuers presents to the principall Officers of my company according to their qualities: so that I may say that we receiued as many courtesies of the Generall as it were possible to receiue of any man liuing. Wherein doubtlesse he hath wonne the reputation of a good and charitable man, deseruing to be esteemed asmuch of vs all as if he had saued all our liues.

The great humanitie and bounty of Master Iohn Hawkins to the French.

Incontinent after his departure I spared no paine to hasten my men to make biscuits of the meale which he had left me, and to hoope my caske to take in water needfull for the voyage. A man may well thinke what diligence we vsed, in respect of the great desire we had to depart, wherein we continued so well, that the fifteenth day of August the biscuit, the greatest part of our water, and all the souldiers stuffe was brought aboord: so that from that day forward wee did nothing but stay for good windes to driue vs to France: which had freed vs from an infiinite number of mischiefes which afterward we suffred, if they had come as we

The departure of the English Generall.

desired: but it was not Gods good pleasure, as shall appeare hereafter. Being thus in readinesse to set sayle, we bethought ourselues that it would doe well to bring certaine men and women of the countrey into France, to the ende that if this voyage should be taken in hand againe they might declare vnto their Kings the greatnesse of our King, the excellencie of our Princes, the goodnesse of our Countrey, and the maner of liuing of the Frenchmen: and that they might also learne our language, to serue our turnes thereby in time to come. Wherein I tooke so good order, that I found meanes to bring away with me the goodliest persons of all the countrey, if our intentions had succeeded as I hoped they would haue done. In the mean season the Kings my neighbours came often to see and visite me: which, that after they vnderstoode that I would returne into France, demaunded of mee whether I meant to returne againe or no, and whether it should be in short time. I signified vnto them that within tenne Moones (so they call their Moneths) I would visite them againe with such force, that I would be able to make them Conquerors ouer all their enemies. They prayed me that I would leaue them my house, that I would forbid my souldiers to beate downe the Fort and their lodgings, and that I would leaue them a boate to ayde them withall in their warre against their enemies. Which I made as though I would grant vnto them, to the ende I might alwaies remaine their friend vntil my last departure.

The third voyage of the Frenshmen made by Captaine Iohn Ribault vnto Florida.

The arriual of Captaine Iohn Ribault at the Fort the 28 of August 1565.

AS I was thus occupied in these conferences, the winde and the tide serued well to set sayle, which was the eight and twentieth of August, at which instant Captaine Vasseur which commanded in one of my shippes, and Captaine Verdier which was chiefe in the other, now ready to goe foorth, began to descry certaine sayles at sea, whereof they aduertised mee with diligence: whereupon I appointed to arme foorth a boate in good order to goe and discrie and know what they were. I sent also to the Centinels, which I caused to be kept on a little knappe, to cause certaine men to climbe vp to the toppe of the highest trees the better to discouer them. They descried the great boate of the shippes, which as yet

Note.

they could not perfectly discerne, which as farre as they could iudge, seemed to chase my boate, which by this time was passed the barre of the riuer: so that we could not possibly iudge whether they were enemies which would haue caried her away with them: for it was too great a ken to iudge the trueth thereof. Vpon this doubt I put my men in order and in such array as though they had beene enemies: and in deede I had great occasion to mistrust the same: for my boate came vnto their ship about two of the clocke in the afternoone, and sent me no newes all that day long to put me out of doubt who they should be. The next day in the morning about eight or nine of the clocke I saw seuen boates (among which mine owne was one) full of souldiers enter into the riuer, hauing euery man his harquebuze and morion on his head, which marched all in battaile along the cliffes where my centinels were, to whom they would make no kind of answere, notwithstanding all the demandes that were made vnto them, insomuch as one of my souldiers was constrained to bestowe a shot at them without doing hurt neuerthelesse to any of them, by reason of the distance betweene him and the boates. The report hereof being made vnto me, I placed each of my men in his quarter, with full deliberation to defend ourselues, if they had beene enemies, as in trueth we thought them to haue bene: likewise I caused two small field-pieces which I had left me, to be trimmed in such sort, as if in approching to the Fort they had not cryed that it was Captaine Ribault, I had not failed to haue discharged the same vpon them. Afterward I vnderstoode that the cause why they entred in this maner, proceeded of the false reports which had bene made vnto mine Lord Admirall by those which were returned into France in the first shippes. For they had put in his head, that I played the Lord and the King, and that I would hardly suffer that any other saue my selfe should enter in thither to gouerne there. Thus we see how the good name of the most honest is oftentimes assayled by such, as hauing no meanes to win themselues credit by vertuous and laudable endeauours, thinke by debasing of other mens vertues to augment the feeble force of their faint courage, which neuerthelesse is one of the most notable dangers which may happen in a commonwealth, and chiefly among men of warre which are placed in gouernment. For it is very hard yea vtterly vnpossible, that in gouerning of a company of men

False reports of Laudonniere to the Admirall of France.

The danger of backbiting.

gathered out of diuers places and sundry Nations, and namely such as we know them to be in our warres, it is, I say, vnpossible but there will be alwayes some of euil conditions and hard to be ruled, which easily conceiue an hatred against him, which by admonitions and light corrections endeauoureth to reduce them to the discipline of warre. For they seeke nothing else, but for a small occasion grounded vpon a light pretext to sound into the eares of great lords that which mischieuously they haue contriued against those, whose execution of iustice is odious vnto them. And albeit I will not place my selfe in the ranke of great and renowmed Captaines, such as liued in times passed, yet we may iudge by their examples, how hurtfull backbiters haue beene vnto commonwealths. I will onely take Alcibiades for witnesse in the commonwealth of the Athenians, which by this meane was cast into banishment, whereupon his citizens felt the smart of an infinite number of mischiefes: insomuch as in the end they were constrained to call him home againe, and acknowledge at length the fault they had committed in forgetting his good seruices, and rather beleeuing a false report, then hauing had regard vnto so many of his notable exploits which in former time hee had atchieued. But that I loose not my selfe in digressing so farre in this my iustification, I will returne againe to my first course. Being therfore aduertised that it was Captaine Ribault, I went foorth of the Fort to goe to meete him, and to do him all the honour I could by any means, I caused him to be welcommed with the artillery, and a gentle volley of my shot whereunto he answered with his. Afterward being come on shore and receiued honourably with ioy, I brought him to my lodging, reioycing not a little because that in his company I knew a good number of my friends, which I intreated in the best sorte that I was able, with such victuall as I could get in the countrey, and that small store which I had left me, with that which I had of the English Generall. Howbeit I marueiled not a little when as all of them with one voyce began to vtter vnto me these or the like speeches. My Captaine, we praise God that we haue found you aliue, and chiefly because we know that the reports which haue beene made of you are false. These speeches mooued me in such sort, that I would needes out of hand know more, mistrusting some euill. Wherefore hauing accosted Captaine Iohn Ribault, and going both of vs aside

Alcibiades banished by backbiters.

Laudonniers receiuing of Captaine Ribault.

together out of the Fort, he signified vnto me the charge which he had, praying mee not to returne into France, but to stay with him my selfe and my company, and assured me that he would make it well thought of at home. Whereupon I replyed that out of this place I would do him all seruice: that for the present I could not nor ought not to accept this offer, since he was come for no other intent then to occupie the place which I before possessed, that I could haue no credite to be there commanded: that my friends would neuer like of it, and that he would hardly giue me that counsaile, if in good earnest I should demand his aduise therein. He made me answere that he would not command me, that we should be companions, and that he would build another fortresse and that he would leaue mine owne vnto me. This notwithstanding I fully aduertised him that I could not receiue a greater comfort then the newes which he brought me to returne into France: and farther that though I should stay there, yet it must needes be that one of vs both was to command with title of the Kings Lieutenant, that this could not well agree together: that I had rather haue it cast in my teeth to be the poorest begger in the world, then to be commanded in that place, where I had endured so much to inhabite and plant there, if it were not by some great Lord or Knight of the order: and that in these respects I prayed him very hartily to deliuer me the letters which my Lord Admirall had written vnto me, which he performed.

The contents of those letters were these.

Letters of the Lord Admirall vnto Laudonniere.

CAptaine Laudonniere, because some of them which are returned from Florida speake indifferently of the Countrey, the King desireth your presence, to the end, that according to your tryall, he may resolue to bestow great cost thereon, or wholly to leaue it: and therefore I send Captaine Iohn Ribault to bee gouernour there, to whom you shall deliuer whatsoeuer you haue in charge, and informe him of all things you haue discouered. And in a postscript of the letter was thus written. Thinke not, that whereas I send for you, it is for any euill opinion or mistrust that I haue of you, but that it is for your good and for your credit, and assure your selfe that during my life you shall find me your good Master.

CHASTILLON.

Now after I had long discoursed with Captaine Ribault, Captaine la Grange accosted mee, and told me of an infinite number of false reports which had bene made of mee to my great hinderance: and among other things he informed me, that my Lord Admirall tooke it very euill that I had caried a woman with mee: likewise that some bodie had tolde him that I went about to counterfeit the King, and to play the tyrant: that I was too cruell vnto the men that went with mee: that I sought to be aduanced by other meanes then by my Lord Admirall: and that I had written to many Lords of the Court, which I ought not to haue done. Whereunto I answered, that the woman was a poore chambermayd, which I had taken vp in an Inne, to ouersee my houshold businesse, to looke to an infinite sort of diuers beasts, as sheepe and poultrie which I caried ouer with me to store the countrey withall: that it was not meete to put a man to attend this businesse: likewise, considering the length of the time that I was to abide there, mee thought it should not offend any body to take a woman with me, aswell to help my souldiers in their sickenesses, as in mine owne, whereinto I fell afterward. And how necessary her seruice was for vs, ech one at that time might easily perceiue: That all my men thought so well of her, that at one instant there were sixe or seuen which did demand her of mee in mariage; as in very deede one of them had her after our returne. Touching that which was sayd that I playd the King, these reports were made, because I would not beare with any thing which was against the duety of my charge, and the Kings seruice. Moreouer, that in such enterprises it is necessary for a Gouernour to make himselfe knowen and obeyed, for feare least euery body would become a master, perceiuing themselues far from greater forces. And that if the tale-tellers called this rigour, it rather proceeded of their disobedience, then of my nature lesse subiect to cruelty then they were to rebellion. For the two last points, that I had not written to any of the Lords of the Court but by the aduice and commandement of my Lord Admirall, which willed me at my departure to send part of such things as I should find in the countrey vnto the Lords of the Counsel: to the end that being mooued by this meane, they might deale with the Queene mother for the continuance of this enterprise: that hauing bene so small time in the countrey, continually hindred with building

Accusations against him.

Laudonnieres answere thereunto.

of fortresses, and vnlading of my ships, I was not able to come by any newe or rare things to send them, wherupon I thought it best to content them in the meane while with letters, vntill such time as I might haue longer space to search out the Countrey, and might recouer something to sende them: the distribution of which letters I meant not otherwise but to referre to my Lord Admirals good pleasure: that if the bearer had forgot himselfe so farre, as that he had broken the couering of the letters, and presented them himselfe for hope of gaine, it was not my commandement. And that I neuer honoured noble man so much, nor did to any man more willing and faithfull seruice then to my Lord Admirall, nor euer sought aduancement but by his meanes. You see how things passed for this day. The next day the Indians came in from all parts, to know what people these were: to whom I signified that this was he which in the yeere 1562. arriued in this countrey, and erected the pillar which stood at the entrie of the riuer. Some of them knew him: for in trueth he was easie to be knowen by reason of the great bearde which he ware. He receiued many presents of them which were of the villages neere adioyning, among whom there were some that he had not yet forgotten. The kings Homoloa, Serauahi, Alimacani, Malica, and Casti came to visit him and welcome him with diuers gifts according to their manner. I aduertised them that hee was sent thither by the king of France, to remaine there in my roome, and that I was sent for. Then they demanded and prayed him, if it might stand with his good pleasure, to cause the merchandise that hee had brought with him to be deliuered them, and that in fewe daies they would bring him to the mountaines of Apalatcy, whither they promised to conduct me, and that in case they performed not their promise, that they were content to be cut in pieces. In those mountaines, as they sayd, is found redde copper, which they call in their language Sieroa Pira, which is as much to say as red mettall, whereof I had a piece, which at the very instant I shewed to Captaine Ribault, which caused his gold-finer to make an assay thereof, which reported vnto him that it was perfect golde. About the time of these conferences, commings and goings of the kings of the countrey, being weakened with my former trauaile, and fallen into a melancholy vpon the false reports that had bene made of

Fiue Indian kings.

The mountaines of Apalatcy wherein are mines of perfect gold.

Sieroa Pira red mettall.

mee, I fell into a great continuall feuer, which held me eight or nine dayes: during which time Captaine Ribault caused his victuals to be brought on shore, and bestowed the most part thereof in the house which my Lieutenant had built about two hundred pases without the forte: which hee did to the ende they might bee the better defended from the weather, and likewise to the intent that the meale might bee neerer to the bake-house, which I had built of purpose in that place, the better to auoide the danger of the fire, as I sayd before. But loe howe oftentimes misfortune doth search and pursue vs, euen then when we thinke to be at rest! loe see what happened after that captaine Ribault had brought vp three of his small ships into the riuer, which was the fourth of September! Sixe great Spanish ships arriued in the rode, where foure of our greatest ships remained, which cast anker, assuring our men of good amity. They asked how the chiefe captaines of the enterprise did, and called them by all their names and surnames. I report me to you if it could be otherwise but these men before they went out of Spaine must needs be informed of the enterprise and of those that were to execute the same. About the breake of day they began to make toward our men: but our men which trusted them neuer a deale, had hoysed their sayles by night, being ready to cut the strings that tyed them. Wherefore perceiuing that this making toward our men of the Spaniards was not to doe them any pleasure, and knowing wel that their furniture was too smal to make head against them, because that the most part of their men were on shore, they cut their cables, left their ankers, and set saile. The Spaniards seeing themselues discouered, lent them certaine volleis of their great ordinance, made saile after them, and chased them all day long: but our men got way of them still toward the sea. And the Spaniards seeing they could not reach them, by reason that the French ships were better of saile then theirs, and also because they would not leaue the coast, turned backe and went on shore in the riuer Seloy,* which we cal the riuer of Dolphines 8 or 10 leagues distant from the place where we were. Our men therefore finding themselues better of saile then they, followed them to discry what they did, which after they had done, they

Good meanes to auoid the danger of fire.

The Spaniards under mining and surprizing of the French.

---

* *Marginal note.*—The Riuer Seloy or the riuer of Dolphins but 8 or 10 leagues ouer land from the fort: but it is thirty doubling the Cape by sea.

returned vnto the riuer of May, where Captaine Ribault hauing descried them, embarked himselfe in a great boat to know what newes they had. Being at the entry of the riuer he met with the boat of captaine Cousets ship, wherin there was a good number of men which made relation vnto him of all the Spaniards doings: and how the great ship named the Trinitie had kept the sea, and that she was not returned with them. They told him moreouer that they had seen three Spanish ships enter into the riuer of Dolphins, and the other three remained in the rode; farther that they had put their souldiers, their victuals and munition on land. After he vnderstood these newes hee returned to the fortresse, and came to my chamber where I was sick, and there in the presence of the Captaines, La Grange, S. Marie, Ottigny, Visty, Yonuille, and other gentlemen, he propounded, that it was necessary for the kings seruice, to embarke himselfe with all his forces, and with the three ships that were in the rode to seeke the Spanish fleete, whereupon he asked our aduise. I first replyed, and shewed vnto him the consequence of such an enterprise, aduertising him among other things of the perilous flawes of windes that rise on this coast, and that if it it chanced that hee were driuen from the shore, it would be very hard for him to recouer it againe, that in the meane while they which should stay in the Forte should be in feare and danger. The Captaines, Saint Marie, and La Grange declared vnto him farther, that they thought it not good to put any such enterprise in execution, that it was farre better to keepe the land, and do their best indeuour to fortifie themselues: And that after that the Trinitie (which was the principall ship) were returned, there would be much more likelyhood to enterprise this voyage. This notwithstanding he resolued to vndertake it, and that which more is, after he vnderstoode by king Emola, one of our neighbours which arriued vpon the handling of these matters, that the Spaniards in great numbers were gone on shore, which had taken possession of the houses of Seloy, in the most part whereof they had placed their Negroes, which they had brought to labour, and also lodged themselues and had cast diuers trenches about them. Thus for the considerations which he had, and doubting (as he might well doe) that the Spayards would encampe themselues there to molest vs, and in the ende to chase vs out of the Countrey, he resolued and continued in his embarkment,

Dangerous flawes of wind on the coast of Florida in September.

A village and riuer both of that name.

caused a Proclamation to be made, that all souldiers that were vnder his charge should presently with their weapons embarke them, and that his two ensignes should march: which was put in execution. He came into my chamber, and prayed me to lend him my Lieuteuant, mine ensigne, and my sergeant, and to let all my good souldiers, which I had, goe with him, which I denied him, because my selfe being sicke, there was no man to stay in the fort. Thereupon he answered me that I needed not to doubt at all, and that he would returne the morrow after, that in the meane space Monsieur de Lys should stay behind to looke to all things. Then I shewed vnto him that he was chiefe in this Countrey, and that I for my part had no further authoritie: that therefore hee would take good aduisement what hee did, for feare least some inconuenience might ensue. Then he tolde me that he could doe no lesse, then to continue this enterprise, and that in the letter which he had receiued from my Lord Admirall, there was a postcript, which hee shewed mee written in these wordes: Captaine Iohn Ribault, as I was enclosing vp this letter, I receiued a certaine aduice, that Don Pedro Melendes departeth from Spaine to goe to the coast of Newe France: see you that you suffer him not to encroch vpon you, no more then he would that you should encroch vpon him. You see (quoth he) the charge that I haue, and I leaue it vnto your selfe to iudge, if you could do any lesse in this case, considering the certaine aduertisement that we haue, that they are already on lande, and will inuade vs. This stopped my mouth. Thus therefore confirmed or rather obstinate in this enterprise, and hauing regard rather vnto his particular opinion then vnto the aduertisements which I had giuen him, and the inconueniences of the time whereof I had forewarned him, he embarked himselfe the eight of September, and tooke mine ensigne and eight and thirtie of my men away with him. I report mee to those that know what warres meane, if when an ensigne marcheth, any souldier that hath any courage in him will stay behind, to forsake his ensigne: Thus no man of commandement stayed behind with mee, for ech one followed him as chiefe, in whose name straight after his arriuall, all cries and proclamations were made. Captaine Grange, which liked not very well of this enterprise, was vnto the tenth of the month with mee and would not haue gone aborde, if it had not beene for the instant requestes that Captaine Ribault made vnto him,

An aduertisment of my Lord Admiral to Captaine Ribault.

which staid two dayes in the rode attending vntill La Grange was come vnto him: Who being come abord, they set sayle altogether, and from that time forward I neuer saw them more. The very day that he departed, which was the tenth of September, there arose so great a tempest accompanied with such stormes, that the Indians themselues assured me that it was the worst weather that euer was seene on the coast: whereupon two or three dayes after, fearing least our shippes might be in some distresse, I sent for Monsieur du Lys vnto mee, to take order to assemble the rest of our people to declare vnto them what neede wee had to fortifie our selues: which was done accordingly: and then I gaue them to vnderstand the necessity and inconueniences whereinto we were like to fall, aswel by the absence of our ships, as by the neerenesse of the Spanyards, at whose hand we could looke for no lesse then an open and sufficient proclaimed war, seeing they had taken land and fortified themselues so neere vnto vs. And if any misfortune were fallen vnto our men which were at Sea, we ought to make a full account with ourselves that wee were to endure many great miseries, being in so small number, and so many wayes afflicted as we were. Thus euery one promised mee to take paines: and therefore considering that their proportion of victuals was small and that so continuing, they would not bee able to doe any great worke, I augmented their allowance: although that after the arriuall of Captaine Ribault my portion of victuals was allotted vnto mee as vnto a common souldier, neither was I able to giue so much as part of a bottell of wine to any man which deserued it: for I was so farre from hauing meanes to doe so, that the Captaine himselfe tooke two of my boates, wherein the rest of the meale was, which was left me of the biscuits which I caused to bee made to returne into France: so that if I should say that I receiued more fauour at the handes of the Englishmen beeing Strangers vnto mee, I should say but a trueth. Wee beganne therefore to fortifie our selues and to repaire that which was broken downe, principally toward the water side, where I caused three score foote of trees to be planted, to repaire the Palissado with the plankes which I caused to bee taken of the ship that I had builded. Neuerthelesse notwithstanding all our diligence and trauaile, wee were neuer able fully to repaire it by reason of the stormes

A mighty tempest the 10 of Sept.

Laudonnier hardly vsed by Ribault.

Laudonnier and his company begin to fortifie themselues.

which commonly did vs so great annoy, that wee could not finish our inclosure. Perceiuing myselfe in such extremitie I tooke a muster of the men, which captaine Ribault had left me, to see if there were any that wanted weapon: I found nine or tenne whereof not past two or three had euer drawen sword out of the scabbard, as I thinke. Let them which haue bene bold to say, that I had men ynough left me, so that I had meanes to defend my selfe, giue eare a little vnto mee, and if they haue eyes in their heads, let them see what men I had. Of the nine there were foure but yong striplings, which serued Captaine Ribault and kept his dogs, the fift was a cooke: among those that were without the fort, and which were of the foresaid company of Captaine Ribault, there was a Carpenter of threescore yeeres olde, one a Beere-brewer, one olde Crosse-bowe maker, two Shoomakers, and foure or fiue men that had their wiues, a player on the virginals, two seruants of Monsieur du Lys, one of Monsieur de Beauhaire, one of Monsieur de la Grange, and about fourescore and fiue or sixe in all, counting aswel Lackeys as women and children. Behold the goodly troupe so sufficient to defend themselues, and so couragious as they haue esteemed them to be: and for my part I leaue it to others consideration to imagine whether Captaine Ribault woulde haue left them with me to haue borrowed my men, if they had bene such. Those that were left me of mine owne company were about sixeteene or seuenteene that coulde beare armes, and all of them poore and leane: the rest were sicke and maymed in the conflict which my Lieutenant had against Vtina. This view being taken, wee set our watches, whereof wee made two Centinels, that the Souldiers might haue one night free. Then wee bethought our selues of those which might bee most sufficient, amang whome wee choose two, one of whom was named Monsieur Saint Cler, and the other Monsieur de la Vigne, to whom we deliuered candles and Lanterns to goe round about the fort to viewe the watch because of the foule and foggie weather. I deliuered them also a sandglasse or clocke, that the Centinels might not be troubled more one then another. In the meane while I ceased not, for all the foule weather nor my sickenesse which I had, to oversee the Corps de garde. The night betweene the nineteenth and twentieth of September La Vigne kept watch with his company, wherein he vsed all endeauour, although it rayned without ceasing. When the

A muster of the men left in the fort by Ribault.

day was therefore come, and that he saw that it rayned still worse then it did before, hee pitied the Centinels so too moyled and wette: and thinking the Spanyardes would not haue come in such a strange time, hee let them depart, and to say the trueth, he went himselfe vnto his lodging. In the meane while one which had something to doe without the fort, and my trumpet which went vp vnto the rampart perceiued a troupe of Spanyards which came downe from a little knappe. Where incontinently they beganne to cry alarme, and the Trumpetter also: Which assoone as euer I vnderstoode, foorthwith I issued out, with my target and sword in my hand, and gatte mee into the middest of the Court, where I beganne to crie vpon my souldiers. Some of them which were of the forward sort went toward the breach, which was on the Southside, and where the munitions of the artillerie lay, where they were repulsed and slaine. By the selfe same place two ensignes entred, which immediately were planted on the wals. Two other ensignes also entred on the other side toward the West, where there was another breach: and those which were lodged in this quarter, and which shewed themselues, were likewise defeated. And as I went to succour them which were defending the breach on the southwest side, I encountred by chance a great company of Spaniards, which had already repulsed our men and were now entred, which draue me backe vnto the court of the fort: being there I espied with them one called Francis Iean, which was one of the Mariners which stole away my barks, and had guided and conducted the Spanyards thither. Assoone as he sawe me, he began to say, This is the Captaine. This troupe was led by a captaine whose name as I thinke, was Don Pedro Melendes: these made certain pushes at me with their pikes which lighted on my tarket. But perceiuing that I was not able to withstand so great a company, and that the court was already wonne, and their ensignes planted on the ramparts, and that I had neuer a man about me, sauing one only whose name was Bartholomew, I entred into the yard of my lodging, into which they followed me, and had it not bene for a tent that was set vp, I had bin taken: but the Spanyards which followed me were occupied in cutting of the cordes of the tent, and in the meane while I saued my selfe by the

The Spanyards discryed the 20 of September.

The Spaniards enter the fort.

Francis Iean a traitour to his nation.

Don Pedro Melendes captaine of the Spaniards

Laudonniers escape.

breach which was on the West side neere vnto my Lieutenants lodging, and gate away into the woods: where I found certain of my men which were escaped, of which number there were three or foure which were sore hurt. Then spake I thus vnto them: Sirs, since it hath pleased God that this mischance is happened vnto vs, we must needs take the paines to get ouer the marshes vnto the ships which are at the mouth of the riuer. Some would needs go to a little village which was in the woods, the rest followed me through the reedes in the water, where being able to go no farther by reason of my sicknesse which I had, I sent two of my men which were with me, which could swim well, vnto the ships to aduertise them of that which had happened, and to send them word to come and helpe me. They were not able that day to get vnto the ships to certifie them thereof: so I was constrained to stand in the water vp to the shoulders all that night long, with one of my men which would neuer forsake me. The next morning, being scarcely able to draw my breath any more, I betooke me to my prayers with the souldier which was with mee, whose name was Iohn du Chemin: for I felt my selfe so feeble, that I was afraid I should die suddenly: and in trueth if he had not imbraced me in both his armes, and so held me vp, it had not bene possible to saue me. After we had made an ende of our prayers, I heard a voyce, which in my iudgement was one of theirs which I had sent, which were ouer against the ships and called for the ship boat, which was so in deed: and because those of the ships had vnderstanding of the taking of the fort by one called Iohn de Hais, master Carpenter, which fled vnto them in a shallop; they had set saile to run along the coast to see if they might saue any: wherin doubtlesse they did very well their endeuour. They went straight to the place where the two men were which I had sent, and which called them. Assoone as they had receiued them in and vnderstood where I was, they came and found me in a pitifull case. Fiue or sixe of them tooke me and caried me into the shallop: for I was not able by any means to go on foot. After I was brought into the shallop some of the Mariners took their clothes from their backs to lend them me, and would haue caried me presently to their ships to giue me a little Aqua vitæ. Howbeit I would not goe thither, vntill I had first gone with the boat along the reeds,

Iohn du Chemin a faithful seruant.

The diligence of the Mariners to saue them that escaped out of the fort.

to seeke out the poore soules which were scattered abroad, where we gathered vp 18 or 20 of them.

Among these was Iaques Morgues painter sometime liuing in the Blackfryers in London.

The last that I took in was the nephew of the Treasurer le Beau. After we were al come to the ship, I comforted them as well as I could, and sent back the boat againe with speed to see if they could find yet any more. Vpon her returne, the Mariners told mee how that captaine Iames Ribault which was in his ship about two muskets shot distant from the fort, had parled with the Spaniards, and that Francis Iean came vnto his ship, where hee staied a long space, whereat they greatly marueiled, considering hee was the cause of this enterprise, how hee would let him escape.

Francis Iean cause of this enterprise.

After I was come into the ship called the Greyhound, captaine Iames Ribault and captaine Valuot came to see me: and there we concluded to returne into France. Now forasmuch as I found the ship vnfurnished of Captaine, Pilot, Master, and Masters-mate, I gaue aduice to choose out one of the most able men among al the mariners, and that by their owne voices. I tooke also sixe men out of another small ship, which we had sunke because it wanted ballast and could not be saued. Thus I increased the furniture of the ship wherein I was myselfe embarked, and made one, which had bene Masters-mate in the foresaid small ship, Master of mine.

The bad dealing of Iames Ribault.

And because I lacked a pilot, I prayed Iames Ribault that he would grant me one of the foure men that he had in his ship, which I should name vnto him, to serue me for a Pilot: he promised to giue me them, which neuerthelesse he did not at the instant when wee were ready to depart, notwithstanding all the speech I vsed to him, in declaring that it was for the kings seruice. I was constrained to leaue the ship behind me which I had bought of the English Captaine, because I wanted men to bring her away. For captaine Iames Ribault had taken away her furniture: I tooke away her ordinance onely, which was all dismounted, whereof I gaue nine pieces to Iames Ribault to carie into France, the other fiue I put into my ship.

Our returne into France the 25. of September 1565.

The 25 of September wee set sailes to returne into France, and Captain Iames Ribault and I kept company all that day and the next vntill three or foure a clock in the afternoone: but because his ship was better at bowline then ours, he kept him to the wind and left vs the same day. Thus we continued our voyage, wherein we had marueilous flawes of wind. And about the eight and twentieth of October in the morning at the breake of the day we discried the Isle of Flores, one of the Açores, where immediatly vpon our approching to the land we had a mightie gust of wind which came from the Northeast, which caused vs to beare against it foure dayes: afterward the wind came South and Southeast, and was alwayes variable. In all the time of our passage we had none other foode sauing biscuit and water. About the tenth or eleuenth of Nouember, after we had sailed a long time, and supposing we were not farre from land, I caused my men to sound, where they found threescore and fifteene fathoms water, whereat we all reioyced, and praised God because we had sailed so prosperously. Immediatly after I caused them to set saile again and so we continued our way: but forasmuch as we had borne too much toward the Northeast we entred into Saint Georges chanell, a place much feared of all Sailers, and whereas many ships are cast away: But it was a faire gift of God that we entred in it when the weather was cleare. We sailed all the night, supposing wee had bene shot into the narrow Sea betweene England and France, and by the next day to reach Diepe, but we were deceiued of our longing: for about two or three of the clocke after midnight as I walked vpon the hatches, I descried land round about me, whereat wee were astonied. Immediatly I caused them to strike saile and sound: we found we had not vnder vs past 8 fathoms of water, whereupon I commanded them to stay till breake of day: which being come, and seeing my Mariners told me that they knew not this land, I commanded them to approch vnto it. Being neere thereunto I made them cast anker, and sent the boat on shore to vnderstand in what Countrey we were. Word was brought me that we were in Wales a prouince of England. I went incontinently on land, where after I had taken the ayre, a sicknesse tooke mee whereof I thought I should haue dyed. In the meane while I caused the ship to be brought into the bay of a small towne called Swansey, where I found merchants of S. Malo, which lent me money, wherewith I made certaine apparel for my selfe and part of my company that was with me: and because there were no victuals in the ship, I bought two Oxen, and salted them, and a tunne of Beere which I deliuered into his hands which had charge

Laudonniers arriuall in Swansey Bay in Glamorgan shire in South Wales.

of the ship, praying him to cary it into France, which he promised me to doe: for mine owne part I purposed with my men to passe by land, and after I had taken leaue of my Mariners, I departed from Swansey, and came that night with my company to a place called Morgan, where the Lord of the place, vnderstanding what I was, stayed me with him for the space of 6 or 7 dayes, and at my departure mooued with pitie to see me goe on foot, especially being so weake as I was, gaue me a litle Hackny. Thus I passed on my iourney first to Bristoll and then to London, where I went to doe my duty to Monsieur de Foix, which for the present was the kings Ambassador, and holpe me with mony in my necessitie. From thence I passed to Caleis, afterward to Paris, where I was informed that the king was gone to Molins to soiourne there: incontinently, and with all the hast I could possibly make, I gate me thither with part of my company. Thus briefly you see the discourse of all that happened in New France since the time it pleased the kings Maiesty to send his subiects thither to discouer those parts. The indifferent and vnpassionate readers may easily weigh the truth of my doings, and be vpright iudges of the endeuour which I there vsed. For mine owne part I wil not accuse nor excuse any: it sufficeth mee to haue followed the trueth of the history, whereof many are able to beare witnesse, which were there present. I will plainly say one thing, That the long delay that Captaine Iohn Ribault vsed in his embarking, and the 15. daies that he spent in rouing along the coast of Florida, before he came to our fort Caroline, were the cause of the losse that we susteined. For he discouered the coast the 14 of August, and spent the time in going from riuer to riuer, which had bene sufficient for him to haue discharged his ships in, and for me to haue embarked my selfe to returne into France. I wote well that al that he did was vpon a good intent: yet in mine opinion he should haue had more regard vnto his charge, then to the deuises of his owne braine, which sometimes hee printed in his head so deeply, that it was very hard to put them out: which also turned to his vtter vndoing: for hee was no sooner departed from vs, but a tempest tooke him, which in fine wrackt him vpon the coast, where all his shippes were cast away, and he with much adoe escaped drowning, to fall into their hands which cruelly massacred him and all his company.

The courtesie of our Master Morgan.

Monrieur de Foix Ambassador for the French king in England.

The conclusion.

The causes why the French lost Florida.

The fourth voyage of the Frenchmen into Florida, vnder the conduct of Captaine Gourgues, in the yeere, 1567.

CAptaine Gourgues a Gentleman borne in the Countrey neere Bourdeaux incited with a desire of reuenge, to repaire the honour of his nation, borowed of his friends and sold part of his owne goods to set forth and furnish three ships of indifferent burthen with all things necessary, hauing in them an hundred and fiftie souldiers, and fourescore chosen Mariners vnder Captaine Cazenoue his lieutenant, and Francis Bourdelois Master ouer the Mariners. He set forth the 22 of August 1567. And hauing endured contrary winds and stormes for a season, at length hee arriued and went on shore in the Isle of Cuba. From thence he passed to the Cape of Saint Antony at the end of the Ile of Cuba, about two hundred leagues distant from Florida, where the captaine disclosed vnto them his intention which hitherto he had concealed from them, praying and exhorting them not to leaue him being so neere the enemie, so well furnished, and in such a cause: which they all sware vnto him, and that with such courage that they would not stay the full Moone to passe the chanell of Bahama, but speedily discouered Florida, where the Spanyards saluted them with two Canon shot from their fort, supposing that they had beene of their nation, and Gourgues saluted them againe to entertaine them in this errour that hee might surprise them at more aduantage, yet sailing by them, and making as though he went to some other place vntil he sailed out of sight of the place, so that about euening, hee landed 15 leagues from the fort, at the mouth of the Riuer Tacatacourou, which the Frenchmen called Seine, because they thought it to bee like Seine in France. Afterward perceiuing the shore to bee couered with Sauages with their bowes and arrowes, (besides the signe of peace and amitie which he made them from his ships) he sent his Trumpetter, to assure them, that they were come thither for none other ende but to renew the amitie and ancient league of the French with them. The Trumpetter did his message so well (by reason he had bene there before vnder Laudonniere) that he brought backe from king Satourioua, the greatest of all the other kings, a kidde and other meat to refresh vs, besides the offer of his friendship and amitie. Afterward they retired dansing in signe of ioy, to

The chanell of Bahama betweene Florida and the Isles of Lucayos.

The French-mens landing at the riuer Tacatacourou.

aduertise all the kings Satouriouaes kinsmen to repaire thither the next day to make a league of amitie with the Frenchmen. Whereupon in the meane space our generall went about to sound the chanel of the riuer to bring in his ships, and the better to traffike and deale with the Sauages, of whom the chief the next day in the morning presented themselues, namely the great king Satourioua, Tacatacourou, Halmacanir, Athore, Harpaha, Helmacapé, Helicopilé, Molloua, and others his kinsmen and allies, with their accustomed weapons. Then sent they to intreat the French generall to come on shore, which he caused his men to do with their swords and harquebusies, which he made them leaue behind, in token of mutuall assurance, leauing his men but their swords only, after that the Sauages complaining thereof had left and likewise sent away their weapons at the request of Gourgues. This done Satourioua going to meet him, caused him to sit on his right hand in a seat of wood of lentisque couered with mosse made of purpose like vnto his owne. Then two of the company pulled vp the brambles and other weeds which were before them, and after they had made the place very cleane, they all sate round about them on the ground. Afterward Gourgues being about to speake, Satourioua preuented him, declaring at large vnto him the incredible wrongs, and continuall outrages that all the Sauages, their wiues and children had receiued of the Spanyards since their comming into the Countrey and massacring of the Frenchmen, with their continuall desire if we would assist them throughly to reuenge so shamefull a treason, aswell as their owne priuate griefes, for the firme good will they alwayes had borne vnto the Frenchmen. Whereupon Gourgues giuing them his faith, and making a league betweene them and him with an othe gaue them certaine presents of daggers, kniues, looking glasses, hatchets, rings, belles, and such other things, trifles vnto vs, but precious vnto these kings: which moreouer, seeing his great liberality, demanded eche one a shirt of him to weare onely on their festiuall dayes, and to be buried in at their death. Which things after they had receiued, and Satourioua had giuen in recompense to Captaine Gourgues two chaines of siluer graines which hung about his necke, and ech of the kings certaine deere skinnes dressed after their manner, they retired themselues dancing and very iocund, with promise to keep all things secret, and to bring vnto the sayd place good

Complaints of the Sauages against the Spanyards.

companies of their subiects all well armed to be auenged throughly on the Spanyards. In the meane space Gourgues very narrowly examined Peter de Bré borne in Newhauen, which being but a yong stripling escaped out of the fort into the woods while the Spanyards murdered the rest of the French, and was afterward brought vp with Satourioua, which at that time bestowed him on our generall, whose aduise stoode him in great steade: Whereupon he sent to discouer the fort and the estate of the enemies by certaine of his men, being guided by Olotacara Satouriouaes nephew which hee had giuen him for this purpose and for assurance of Estampes a gentleman of Cominges, and others which he sent to descry the state of the enemies. Moreouer he gaue him a sonne of his starke naked as all of them are, and his wife which he loued best of all the rest, of eighteene yeeres olde, apparelled with the mosse of trees, which for 3 dayes space were in the ships, vntill our men returned from discrying the state of the enemie, and the kings had furnished their preparation at their rende-uous. Their marching being concluded, and the Sauages rende-vous being appointed them beyond the riuer Salincani, of our men called Somme, they all dranke with great solemnitie their drinke called Cassine, made of the iuice of certaine hearbs (as they are wont to do, when they go to any place of danger,) which hath such force, that it taketh from them hunger and thirst for 24 houres, and Gourgues was faine to make as though he dranke thereof for company. Afterward they lift vp their handes and sware all that they would neuer forsake him. Olotocara followed him with pike in hand. Being all met at the riuer of Sarauahi, not without great trouble, by reason of the raine and places full of water which they must needes passe, which hindred their passage, they were distressed with famine finding nothing by the way to eat, their bark of prouision being not arriued which was come unto him from the ships, the ouersight and charge whereof he had left vnto Burdelois with the rest of the Mariners. Now he had learned that the Spanyards were foure hundred strong, diuided into three forts builded and flanked, and well fortified vpon the riuer of May, the great fort especially begunne by the French, and afterward repaired by them: vpon the most dangerous and principall landing place whereof, two

Peter de Bré had liued about two yeeres with Satourioua.

Three pledges deliuered to Gourgues by Satourioua.

The estate of the Spanyards in Florida.

leagues lower and neerer towarde the Riuers mouth, they had made two smaller Forts, which were defended, the riuer passing betweene them, with sixe score souldiers, good store of artillery and other munition, which they had in the same. From Saracary vnto these smal forts was two leagues space, which he found very painful, because of the bad waies and continual raines. Afterward he departed from the riuer Catacouru with 10. shot, to view the first fort, and to assault it the next day in the morning by the breake of day, which hee could not doe, because of the foule weather, and darknesse of the night. King Helicopile seeing him out of quiet in that he had failed of his purpose there, assured him to guide him a more easie way, though it were further about. Insomuch as leading him through the woods, he brought him within sight of the fort, where he discerned one quarter which was but begun to bee entrenched. Thus after he had sounded the small riuer that falleth downe thereby, hee stayed vntill ten of the clock in the morning for an ebbe water, that his men might passe ouer there, vnto a place where he had seene a litle groue between the riuer and the fort (that he might not be seene to passe and set his souldiers in array) causing them to fasten their flasks to their Morions, and to hold vp their swords and kaliuers in their hands, for feare least the water, which reached vp to their girdles, should not wet them: where they found such abundance of great oysters, and shels which were so sharpe, that many had their legs cut with them, and many other lost their shoes. Notwithstanding assoone as they were passed ouer, with a French courage they prepared themselues to the assault on the Sunday eue next after Easter day, in April 1568. Insomuch that Gourgues to employ the ardent heat of this good affection, gaue twenty shot to his Lieutenant Cazenoue, and ten Mariners laden with pots and balles of wild fire to burne the gate: and then he assaulted the Fort on another side, after he had made a short speech vnto his men of the strange treasons which the Spanyards had plaid their companions. But being descried as they came holding downe their heads within two hundred paces from the Fort, the Gunner being vpon the terrace of the Fort, after he had cried, Arme, Arme, these be French men, discharged twise vpon them a coluerine, wherein the Armes of France were grauen, which had bin taken from Laudonniere. But as he went about

The riuer of Saracary, or Sarauahi.

The assault and taking of the first Fort.

The valure of Olotocara.

to charge it the third time, Olotocara, which had not learned to keepe his ranke, or rather moued with rage, lept on the platforme, and thrust him through the bodie with his pike and slew him. Whereupon Gourgues aduanced forward, and after he had heard Cazenoue cry, that the Spaniards which issued out armed at the cry of the alarme, were fled, hee drew to that part, and so hemmed them in betweene him and his Lieutenant, that of threescore there escaped not a man, sauing only fifteene reserued vnto the same death which they had put the French vnto. The Spanyards of the other fort in the meane while ceased not to play with their ordinance, which much annoied the assailants: although to answere them they had by this placed and oftentimes pointed the foure pieces found in the first Fort.

The assault and taking of the second fort.

Whereupon Gourgues being accompanied with fourescore shot went abord the barke which met him there to good purpose to passe into the wood neere vnto the Fort, out of which he supposed the Spanyards would issue to saue themselues thorow the benefit of the woods in the great fort, which was not past one league distant from yͤ same.

The Sauages great swimmers.

Afterward the Sauages not staying for the returne of the bark, lept al into the water holding vp their bowes and arrowes in one hand, and swimming with the other, so that the Spaniards seeing both yͤ shores couered with so great a number of men, thought to flee towards the woods: but being charged by the French, and afterward repulsed by the Sauages, toward whom they would haue retired, they were sooner then they would bereft of their liues.

The Spaniards of the second Fort all slaine.

To conclude they al there ended their dayes sauing 15 of those which were reserued to be executed for the example of others. Whereupon Captaine Gourgues hauing caused al that he found in the second fort to be transported vnto the first, where he ment to strengthen himselfe to take resolution against the great Fort, the state whereof hee did not vnderstand: in fine a Sergeant of a band one of the prisoners assured him that they might be there very neere 300 wel furnished vnder a braue Gouernor, which had fortified there, attending farther succours.

Note.

Thus hauing obtained of him the platforme, the height, the fortification and passages vnto it, and hauing prepared eight good lathers, and raised all the Countrey against the Spanyard, that he neither

A notable Spanish subtiltie.

might haue newes, nor succours, nor retract on any side, he determined to march forward. In the meane while the Gouernour sent a Spanyard disguised like a Sauage to spie out the state of the French. And though he were discouered by Olotocara, yet he vsed all the cunning he could possibly to perswade them that he was one of the second fort, out of which hauing escaped, and seeing none but sauages on euery side, he hoped more in yͤ Frenchmens then their mercy, vnto whom he came to yeeld himself disguised like a sauage, for feare lest if he should haue bin knowen, he should haue bin massacred by those Barbarians: but the spie being brought face to face with the sergeant of the band, and conuicted to be one of the great fort, was reserued vntil an other time: after that he had assured Gourgues that the bruit was that he had 2000 Frenchmen with him for feare of whom the 200 and threescore Spaniards which remained in the great fort, were greatly astonied. Whereupon Gourgues being resolued to set vpon them, while they were thus amazed, and leauing his Standard-bearer and a Captaine with fifteene shot to keepe the Fort, and the entry of the Riuer, he caused the Sauages to depart by night to lye in ambush within the woods on both sides of the riuer, then he departed in the Morning, leading the Sergeant and the spy fast bound along with him, to shew him that in deede, which they had only made him vnderstand in paynting. As they marched Olotocara a resolute Sauage which neuer left the Captaine, said vnto him, that he had serued him faithfully, and done whatsoeuer hee had commaunded him, that he was assured to dye in the conflict at the great Fort, wherein neuerthelesse he would not faile, though it were to saue his life: but he prayed him to giue that vnto his wife, if hee escaped not, which he had meant to bestow on him, that shee might bury the same with him, that thereby hee might be better welcome vnto the village of the soules or spirits departed. To whom Captaine Gourgues answered, after he had commended his faithfull valour, the loue toward his wife, and his noble care of immortall honour, that he desired rather to honour him aliue then dead, and that by Gods helpe he would bring him home againe with victorie. After the discouerie of the Fort, the Spaniards were no niggards of their Canon shotte, nor of two double Coluerines, which being mounted vpon a Bulwarke, commaunded all along the Riuer,

The cause why the Floridans bury their goods with them.

which made captaine Gorgues to get to the hill couered with wood, at the foot whereof the Fort beginneth, and the forrest or wood continueth and stretcheth foorth beyond it: so that he had sufficient couerture to approch thereunto without offence. He purposed also to remaine there vntill the Morning, wherein hee was resolued to assault the Spaniards by scalling their walles on the side toward the hill, where the Trench seemed not sufficiently flanked for the defence of the courtains, and from whence part of his men might draw them that were besieged, which should shew themselues to defend the rampart while the rest were comming vp. But the Gonernour hastened his vnhappie destinie, causing threescore shotte to sallie foorth, which passing through the Trenches, aduanced forward to descrye the number and valour of the French, whereof twentie vnder the conduct of Cazanoue, getting betweene the Fort and them which now were issued forth, cut off their repassage, while Gourgues commanded the rest to charge them in the Front, but not to discharge but neere at hand, and so that they might be sure to hitte them, that afterward with more ease they might cut them in pieces with their swordes. So that turning their backes assoone as they were charged and compassed in by his Lieutenant, they remayned all slaine vpon the place. Whereat the rest that were besieged were so astonied, that they knew none other meane to saue their liues but by fleeing into the Wooddes adioyning, where neuerthelesse being incountred againe by the arrowes of the Sauages which lay in wayte there for them (whereof one ranne through the target and body of a Spanyard, which therewithall fell downe starke dead) some were constrayned to turne backe, choosing rather to dye by the hand of the French, which pursued them: assuring themselues that none of them coulde finde any fauour neyther with the one nor the other Nation, whom they had alike and so out of measure cruelly intreated, sauing those which were reserued to be an example for the time to come. The Fort when it was taken, was found well prouided of all necessaries: namely of fiue double Coluerines, and foure Mynions, with diuers other small pieces of all sorts, and eighteene grosse cakes of gunne powder, all sorts of weapons, which Gourgues caused with speede to be imbarked, sauing the powder and other moueables, by reason it was all

Note.

The slaughter of the Spaniards at the third fort.

consumed with fire through the negligence of a Sauage, which in seething of his fish, set fire on a traine of powder which was made and hidden by the Spanyardes, to haue feasted the French at the first assault, thus blowing vp the store house, and the other houses buylt of Pine trees. The rest of the Spaniards being led away prisoners with the others, after that the generall had shewed them the wrong which they had done without occasion to all the French Nation, were all hanged on the boughes of the same trees, whereon the French hung: of which number fiue were hanged by one Spaniard, which perceiuing himselfe in the like miserable estate, confessed his fault, and the iust iudgement which God had brought vpon him. But in stead of the writing which Pedro Melendes had hanged ouer them, importing these words in Spanish, I doe not this as vnto French men, but as vnto Lutherans, Gourgues caused to be imprinted with a searing iron in a table of Firrewood, I doe not this as vnto Spaniardes, nor as vnto Mariners, but as vnto Traitors, Robbers, and Murtherers. Afterward considering he had not inough to keep his Forts which he had wonne, much lesse to store them, fearing also lest the Spaniard which hath Dominions neere adioyning should renew his forces, or the Sauages should preuaile against the French men, vnlesse his Maiestie would send thither, hee resolued to raze them. And indeede, after he had assembled and in the ende perswaded all the Sauage kings so to doe, they caused their subiects to runne thither with such affection, that they ouerthrew all the three Forts flatte euen with the ground in one day. This done by Gourgues, that he might returne to his Shippes which he had left in the Riuer of Seyne called Tacatacourou, fifteene leagues distant from thence, he sent Cazenoue and the artillery by water: afterward with fourescore harquebusiers, armed with corslets, and matches light, followed with fortie Mariners bearing pikes, by reason of the small confidence he was to haue in so many Sauages, he marched by land alwayes in battell ray, finding the wayes couered with Sauages, which came to honour him with presents and prayses, as the deliuerer of all the countries round about adioyning. An old woman among the rest sayd vnto him, that now she cared not any more to dye, since she had seene the Frenchmen once againe in Florida, and the Spaniards chased

The writings hanged ouer the French and Spaniards slaine in Florida.

The three Forts razed.

Great honour done by the Sauages to Gourgues.

out. Briefly being arriued, and finding his ships set in order, and euery thing ready to set sayle, hee counselled the kings to continue in the amitie and ancient league which they had made with the king of France, which would defend them against all Nations: which they all promised, shedding teares because of his departure. Olocotara especially: for appeasing of whom he promised them to returne within twelue Moones, (so they count the yeeres) and that his king would send them an army, and store of kniues for presents, and other things necessary. So that after he had taken his leaue of them, and assembled his men, he thanked God of all his successe since his setting foorth, and prayed to him for an happy returne. The third of May 1568, all things were made ready, the Rendez-uous appoynted, and the Ankers weighed to set sayle so prosperously, that in seuenteene dayes they ranne eleuen hundred leagues: continuing which course they arriued at Rochel the sixt of Iune, the foure and thirtieth day after their departure from the Riuer of May, hauing lost but a small Pinnesse and eight men in it, with a few gentlemen and others which were slaine in the assaulting of the Forts. After the cheere and good intertainment which he receiued of those of Rochel, hee sayled to Burdeaux to informe Monsieur Monluc of the things aboue mentioned, albeit hee was aduertised of eighteene Pinnesses, and a great Shippe of two hundred Tunnes full of Spanyardes, which being assured of the defeat in Florida, and that he was at Rochel, came as farre as Che-de-Bois, the same day that he departed thence, and followed him as farre as Blay (but he was gotten already to Bordeaux) to make him yeeld another account of his voyage, then that, wherewith hee made many Frenchmen right glad. The Catholicke king being afterward informed that Gourgues could not easily be taken, offered a great summe of money to him that could bring him his head, praying moreouer king Charles to doe iustice on him as of the authour of so bloody an act contrary to their alliance and good league of friendshippe. In so much as comming to Paris to present himselfe vnto the King, to signifie vnto him the successe of his Voyage, and the meanes which hee had to subdue this whole Countrey vnto his obedience, (wherein hee offered to imploy his life, and all his goods) hee found his entertainment and answere so contrary to his expectation, that in fine hee was constrayned to hide himselfe

Kniues in great estimation.

The arriuall of Gourgues at Rochel, the sixt of Iune.

a long space in the Court of Roan, about the yeere 1570. And without the assistance of President Marigny, in whose house he remayned certayne dayes, and of the Receiuer of Vacquieulx, which alwayes was his faithful friend, hee had beene in great danger. Which grieued not a litle Dominique de Gourgues, considering the seruices which hee had done aswell vnto him as to his predecessours kings of France. Hee was borne in Mount Marsan in Guyenne, and imployed for the seruice of the most Christian Kings in all the Armies made since these twentie fiue or thirty yeeres: at last he had the charge and honour of a Captaine, which in a place neere vnto Siene, with thirtie Souldyers sustayned the brunt of a part of the Spanish Armie, by which beeing taken in the assault, and hauing all his men cutte in pieces, hee was put into a Galley in token of the good warre and singular fauour which the Spanyard is woont to shew vs. But as the Galley was going toward Sicillie, beeing taken by the Turkeys, ledde away to Rhodes, and thence to Constantinople, it was shortly afterwarde recouered by Romeguas, commaunder ouer the Armie of Malta. By this meane returning home, hee made a Voyage on the coast of Africa, whence hee tooke his course to Bresil, and to the South Sea. At length beeing desirous to repayre the honour of France, he set vpon Florida with such successe as you haue heard. So that being become by his continuall warlike actions both by Land and Sea no lesse valiant Captaine then skilfull Mariner, hee hath made himselfe feared of the Spanyard, and acceptable vnto the Queene of England for the desert of his vertues. To conclude, he dyed in the yeere 1582, to the great griefe of such as knew him.

The birth, life and death of captaine Gourgues.

The relation of Pedro Morales a Spaniard, which sir Francis Drake brought from Saint Augustines in Florida, where he had remayned sixe yeeres, touching the state of those parts, taken from his mouth by Master Richard Hakluyt 1586.

THree score leagues vp from the Northwest from Saint Helena are the mountaines of the golde and Chrystall Mines, named Apalatci.

The riuer of Wateri is thirtie leagues from S. Helena Northward, which is able to receiue any Fleete of ships of great burden, Wateri and Caiowa are two kings, and two riuers to the North of Saint Helena.

Oristou,	Kings and Riuers to the South of Saint Helena.
Ahoia,	
Ahoiaue,	
Isamacon,	
Icosa or Dicosa	

The Spaniards haue killed three hundred of the subiects of Potanou.

The greatest number of Spaniards that haue bene in Florida this sixe yeeres, was three hundred, and now they were but two hundred in both the Forts.

There is a great City sixteene or twentie dayes iourney from Saint Helena Northwestward, which the Spaniards call La grand Copal, which they thinke to bee very rich and exceeding great, and haue bene within the sight of it, some of them.

They haue offered in generall to the King to take no wages at all of him, if he will giue them leaue to discouer this citie, and the rich mountaines, and the passage to a sea or mighty Lake which they heare to be within foure and twenty dayes trauel from Saint Helena, which is in 32. degrees of latitude: and is that riuer which the French called Port-royal.

He saith also that he hath seene a rich Diamond which was brought from the mountaines that lye vp in the countrey Westward from S. Helena. These hils seeme wholy to be the mountaines of Apalatci, whereof the Sauages aduertised Laudonniere, and it may bee they are the hils of Chaunis Temoatam, which Master Lane had aduertisement of.

The relation of Nicholas Burgoignon, aliâs Holy, whom sir Francis Drake brought from Saint Augustine also in Florida, where he had remayned sixe yeeres, in mine and Master Heriots hearing.

THis Nicholas Burgoignon sayth, that betweene S. Augustine and S. Helen there is a Casique whose name is Casicôla, which is lord of ten thousand Indians, and another casique whose name is Dicasca, and another called Touppekyn toward the North, and a fourth named Potanou toward the South, and another called Moscita toward the South likewise. Besides these he acknowledgeth Oristou, Ahoia, Ahoiaue, Isamacon, alledged by the Spaniard.

He further affirmeth, that there is a citie Northwestward from S. Helenes in the mountaines, which the Spaniards call La grand Copal, and is very great and rich, and that in these mountains there is great store of Christal, golde, and Rubies, and Diamonds: And that a Spaniard brought from thence a Diamond which was worth fiue thousand crownes, which Pedro Melendes the marques nephew to olde Pedro Melendes that slew Ribault, and is now gouerner of Florida, weareth. He saith also, that to make passage vnto these mountaines, it is needefull to haue store of Hatchets to giue vnto the Indians, and store of Pickaxes to breake the mountaines, which shine so bright in the day in some places, that they cannot behold them, and therefore they trauell vnto them by night. Also corslets of Cotton, which the Spanyards call Zecopitz, are necessary to bee had against the arrowes of the Sauages.*

He sayth farther, that a Tunne of the sassafras of Florida is solde in Spaine for sixtie ducates: and that they haue there great store of Turkie cocks, of Beanes, of Peason, and that there are great store of pearles.

The things, as he reporteth, that the Floridians make most account of, are red Cloth, or redde Cotton to make baudricks or gyrdles: copper, and hatchets to cut withall.

The Spaniards haue all demaunded leaue at their owne costs, to discouer these mountaines, which the King denyeth, for feare lest the English or French would enter into the same action once knowen.

All the Spaniards would passe vp by the riuer of Saint Helena vnto the mountaines of golde and Chrystall.

The Spaniards entring 50. leagues vp Saint Helena, found Indians wearing golde rings at their nostrels and eares. They found also Oxen, but lesse then ours.

Sixe leagues from Saint Helena toward the North, there is a poynt that runneth farre into the sea, which is the marke to the Seamen to finde Saint Helena and Waterin.

Waterin is a riuer fortie leagues distant Northward from Saint Helena, where any fleete of great ships may ride safely. I take this riuer to be that which we call Waren in Virginia, whither at Christmasse last 1585. the Spaniards sent a barke with fortie men to discouer where we were seated: in which barke was Nicholas Burgoignon the reporter of all these things.

---

* See an account of these cotton breastplates in Prescott's *Mexico.*

The Spaniards of S. Augustine haue slaine three hundred of the subiects of Potanou. One Potassi is neighbour to Potanou. Oratina is he which the French history calleth Olata Outina.

Calauai is another casique which they knowe.

* * *

VIRGINIA

Richly Valued,

BY THE DESCRIPTION OF THE MAINE LAND OF

FLORIDA,

HER NEXT NEIGHBOUR:

OUT OF THE FOURE YEERES CONTINUALL TRAUELL
AND DISCOUERIE, FOR ABOUE ONE THOUSAND
MILES EAST AND WEST,

OF

DON FERDINANDO DE SOTO,

AND SIXE HUNDRED ABLE MEN IN HIS COMPANIE.

WHEREIN ARE TRULY OBSERUED

THE RICHES AND FERTILITIE OF THOSE PARTS,
ABOUNDING WITH THINGS NECESSARIE, PLEASANT
AND PROFITABLE FOR THE LIFE OF MAN:
WITH THE NATURES AND DISPOSITIONS OF THE INHABITANTS:

WRITTEN BY A PORTUGALL GENTLEMAN OF ELUAS, EMPLOIED IN
ALL THE ACTION, AND TRANSLATED OUT OF THE PORTUGESE

BY RICHARD HAKLUYT.

At London:

PRINTED BY FELIX KYNGSTON FOR MATTHEW LOWNES, AND ARE
TO BE SOLD AT THE SIGNE OF THE BISHOPS HEAD
IN PAULS CHURCHYARD.

1609.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOVRABLE,

THE

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL COUNSELLORS,

AND OTHERS THE CHEEREFULL ADUENTURORS FOR THE ADUANCEMENT OF THAT CHRISTIAN AND NOBLE PLANTATION IN VIRGINIA.

THis worke, right Honourable, right Worshipfull, and the rest, though small in shew, yet great in substance, doth yeeld much light to our enterprise now on foot: whether you desire to know the present and future commodities of our countrie; or the qualities and conditions of the Inhabitants, or what course is best to be taken with them.

Touching the commodities, besides the generall report of Cabeça de Vaca to Charles the Emperour (who first trauelled through a great part of the Inland of Florida, next adioyning vpon our Virginia) That Florida was the richest countrie of the world; and that after hee had found clothes made of cotton wooll, he saw gold and siluer, and stones of great value: Chap. 35. I referre you first to the rich mines of gold reported to be in the prouince of Yupaha, and described in the twelfth Chapter of this Treatise to come within our limits: And againe, to the copper hatchets found in Cutifachiqui, standing vpon the Riuer of Santa Helena, which were said to haue a mixture of gold. It seemeth also that the last Chronicler of the West Indies, Antonio de Herrera,* speaking of the foresaid Riuer of Santa Helena, which standeth in 32. degrees and an halfe, alludeth to the prouince of Yupaha, in these words: Decad. 3. lib. 8. cap. 8. Y el oro, y plata, que hallaron, no era de aquella tierra, sino de 60. leguas, adentro al norte, de los pueblos dichos Otapales y Olagatanos, adonde se intiende, que ay minas de oro, plata, y cobre. That is to say, that the gold and siluer which they found, was not of that countrie (of Santa Helena) but 60. leagues distant toward the North, of the townes called Otapales and Olagatanos, where we vnderstand that there are mines of gold, siluer, and copper. By which reckoning these rich mines are in the latitude of 35. degrees and an halfe. I desire you likewise to take knowledge of the famous golden prouince of Chisca, stretching further to the North, whereof the Chap. 15. Cacique of Coste gaue notice to Ferdinando de Soto in the towne of Chiaha, affirming, that there were mines of copper, and of another mettall of the same colour, saue that it was finer, and of a farre more perfect lustre, and farre better in sight, and that they vsed it not so much, because it was softer. And the selfsame thing was before told the Gouernour in Cutifachiqui: who sent two Christians from Chiaha with certaine Indians which knew the countrie of Chisca, and the language thereof, to view it, and to make report of that which they should finde. Chap. 23. We likewise reade not long after, that the Gouernour set forward to seeke a prouince called Pacaha, which hee was informed to bee neere vnto Chisca where the Indians told him, that there was gold. And in another Chap. 24. place hee saith; That from Pacaha hee sent thirtie horsemen and fiftie footmen to the prouince of Caluça, to see if from thence he might trauell to Chisca, where the Indians said, there was a worke of gold and copper. So that here is foure times mention, and that in sundrie places, of the rich and famous golden mines of Chisca, and that they lie beyond the mountaines toward the North, ouer which they were not able to trauell for the roughnes thereof. But what neede I to stand vpon forren testimonies, since Master Thomas Heriot, a man of much iudgement in these causes, signified vnto you all, at your late solemne meeting at the house of the right honourable the Earle of Exeter, how to the Southwest of our old fort in Virginia, the Indians often informed him, that there was a great melting of red mettall, reporting the manner in working of the same. Besides, our owne Indians haue lately reuealed either this or another rich mine of copper or gold in a towne called Ritanoe, neere certaine mountaines lying West of Roanoac.

---

* For a full account of Herrera and his writings, consult Prescott's *Mexico.*

Another very gainfull commoditie is, the huge quantitie of excellent perles, and little babies and birds made of them; that were found in Cutifachiqui. The abundance whereof is reported to be such, that if they would haue searched diuers graues in townes thereabout, they might haue laded many of their horses. Neither are the Turkie stones and cotton wooll found at Guasco to be forgotten, nor passed ouer in silence.

Chap. 14.

But that, which I make no small account of, is, the multitude of Oxen, which, from the beginning of the 16. to the end of the 26. Chapter, are nine seuerall times made mention of, and that along from Chiaha, Coste, Pacaha, Coligoa, and Tulla, still toward the North, to wit, toward vs, there was such store of them, that they could keepe no corne for them: and that the Indians liued vpon their flesh. The haire of these Oxen is likewise said to be like a soft wooll, betweene the course and fine wooll of sheepe: and that they vse them for couerlets, because they are very soft and woolled like sheep: and not so onely, but they make bootes, shooes, targets, and other things necessarie of the same. Besides the former benefits, their young ones may be framed to the yoke, for carting and tillage of our ground. And I am in good hope, that ere it be long we shall haue notice of their being neerer vs, by that which I reade in the Italian relation of Cabeça de Vaca, the first finder of them; which writeth, That they spread themselues within the countrie aboue foure hundred leagues. Moreouer, Vasquez de Coronado, and long after him, Antonio de Espejo (whose voiages are at large in my third volume) trauelled many leagues among these herds of Oxen, and found them from 33. degrees ranging very farre to the North and Northeast.

A fourth chiefe commoditie wee may account to be the great number of Mulberrie trees, apt to feede Silke-wormes to make silke: whereof there was such plentie in many places, that, though they found some hempe in the countrie, the Spaniards made ropes of the barks of them for their brigandines, when they were to put to sea for Noua Hispania.

A fifth is the excellent and perfect colours, as blacke, white, greene, yellow, and red, and the materials to dye withall, so often spoken of in this discourse: among which I haue some hope to bring you to the knowledge of the rich graine of Cochonillio, so much esteemed, and of so great price. I speake nothing of the seuerall sorts of passing good grapes for Wine and Raisons.

Neither is it the least benefit, that they found salt made by the Indians at Cayas, and in two places of the prouince of Aguacay: the manner also how the Inhabitants make it, is very well worth the obseruation. Chap. 31. and 32.

One of the chiefest of all the rest may be the notice of the South Sea, leading vs to Iapan and China, which I finde here twice to be spoken of. Whereof long since I haue written a discourse, which I thinke not fit to be made ouer common. Chap. 31. and 32.

For closing vp this point, The distances of places, the qualities of the soiles, the situations of the regions, the diuersities and goodnesse of the fruits, the seuerall sorts of beasts, the varietie of fowles, the difference betweene the Inhabitants of the mountaines and the plaines, and the riches of the Inland in comparison of the Sea coast, are iudicially set downe in the conclusion of this booke, whereunto for mine owne ease I referre you.

To come to the second generall head, which in the beginning I proposed, concerning the manners and dispositions of the Inhabitants: among other things, I finde them here noted to be very eloquent and well spoken, as the short Orations, interpreted by Iohn Ortiz, which liued twelue yeeres among them, make sufficient proofe. And the author, which was a gentleman of Eluas in Portugall, emploied in all the action, whose name is not set downe, speaking of the Cacique of Tulla, saith, that aswell this Cacique, as the others, and all those which came to the Gouernour on their behalfe, deliuered their message or speech in so good order, that no Oratour could vtter the same more eloquently. But for all their faire and cunning speeches, they are not ouermuch to be trusted: for they be the greatest traitors of the world, as their manifold most craftie contriued and bloody treasons, here set down at large, doe euidently proue. They be also as vnconstant as the wethercock, and most readie to take all occasions of aduantages to doe mischiefe. They are great liars and dissemblers; for which faults often times they had their deserued paiments. And many times they gaue good testimonie of their great valour and resolution. To handle them gently, while gentle courses may be found to serue, it will be without comparison the best: but if gentle polishing will not serue, then we shall not want hammerours and rough masons enow, I meane our old soldiours trained vp in the Netherlands, to square and prepare them to our Preachers hands. To conclude, I trust by your Honours and Worships wise instructions to the noble Gouernour, the worthy experimented Lieutenant and Admirall, and other chiefe managers of the businesse, all things shall be so prudently carried, that the painfull Preachers shall be reuerenced and cherished, the valiant and forward soldiour respected, the diligent rewarded, the coward emboldened, the weake and sick relieued, the mutinous suppressed, the reputation of the Christians among the Saluages preserued, our most holy faith exalted, all Paganisme and Idolatrie by little and little vtterly extinguished. And her reposing and resting my selfe vpon this sweete hope, I cease, beseeching the Almightie to blesse this good work in your hands to the honour and glorie of his most holy name, to the inlargement of the dominions of his sacred Maiestie, and to the generall good of all the worthie Aduenturers and vndertakers. From my lodging in the Colledge of Westminster this 15. of Aprill, 1609.*

By one publikely and anciently deuoted to Gods seruice,
and all yours in this so good action,
RICHARD HAKLUYT.

---

* From this preface it is clear that Hakluyt interested himself in Virginia even after Raleigh's disgrace.

A
RELATION OF SVCH THINGS
AS
DON FERDINANDO DE SOTO,
THE
ADELANTADO OF FLORIDA PASSED IN SEEKING TO CONQUER THE SAID COUNTREY:

WHEREIN IS DECLARED WHO HE WAS, AND WHAT SOME OF
THEM WERE THAT WENT WITH HIM: AND SOME
PARTICULARS AND DIUERSITIES OF THE
COUNTRIE, AND WHATSOEUER THEY
SAW AND HAPPENED VNTO THEM
IN THE SAME.

Chap. I.

Which declareth who Don Ferdinando de Soto was, and how he got the gouernment of Florida.

CAptaine Soto was the son of a Squire of Xerez of Badajoz. He went into the Spanish Indies, when Peter Arias of Auila was Gouernour of the West Indies: And there he was without any thing else of his owne, saue his sword and target: and for his good qualities and valour, Peter Arias made him Captaine of a troope of horsemen, and by his commandement hee went with Fernando Pizarro to the conquest of Peru: where (as many persons of credit reported which were there present) as well at the taking of Atabalipa, Lord of Peru, as at the assault of the citie of Cusco, and in all other places where they found resistance, wheresoeuer hee was present. hee passed all other Captaines and principall persons. For which cause, besides his part of the treasure of Atabalipa, he had a good share: whereby in time he gathered an hundred and foure score thousand Duckets together with that which fell to his part: which he brought into Spaine: whereof the Emperour borrowed a certaine part, which he repaied againe with 60000 Rials of plate in the rent of the silkes of Granada, and all the rest was deliuered him in the Contractation house of Siuil. He tooke seruants, to wit, a Steward, a Gentleman Vsher, Pages, a Gentleman of the Horse, a Chamberlaine, Lakies, and al other officers that the house of a Noble man requireth. From Siuil hee went to the Court, and in the Court, there accompanied him Iohn Danusco of Siuil, and Lewis Moscoso D'Aluarado, Nunno de Touar, and Iohn Rodriguez Lobillo. Except Iohn Danusco, all the rest came with him from Peru: and euery one of them brought fourteene or fifteene thousand Duckets: all of them went well and costly apparelled. And although Soto of his owne nature was not liberall, yet because that was the first time that hee was to shewe himselfe in the Court, he spent frankely, and went accompanied with those which I haue named, and with his seruants, and many other which resorted vnto him. Hee married with Donna Isabella en Bouadilla, daughter of Peter Arias of Auila, Earle of Punno de Rostro. The Emperour made him the Gouernour of the Isle of Cuba, and Adelantado or President of Florida, with a title of Marques of certaine part of the lands, that he should conquer.

Chap. II.

How Cabaça de Vaca came to the Court, and gave relation of the Countrie of Florida: And of the Companie that was assembled in Siuil to goe with Don Ferdinando de Soto.

WHen Don Ferdinando had obtained the gouernment, there came a Gentle man from the Indies to the Court, named Cabeça de Vaco, which had been with the Gouernour Pamphilo de Naruaez which died in Florida, who reported that Naruaez was cast away at sea with all the companie that went with him. And how he with foure more escaped and arriued in Nueua

Espanna: Also he brought a relation in writing of that which he had seene in Florida; which said in some places: In such a place I haue seene this; and the rest which here I saw, I leaue to conferre of betweene his Maiestie and my selfe. Generally he reported the miserie of the Countrie, and the troubles which hee passed: and he tolde some of his kinsfolke, which were desirous to goe into the Indies, and vrged him very much to tell them whether he had seene any rich country in Florida, that he might not tell them, because hee and another, whose name was Orantes, (who remained in Nueua Espanna with purpose to returne into Florida: for which intent hee came into Spaine to beg the gouernment thereof of the Emperour) had sworne not to discouer some of those things which they had seene, because no man should preuent them in begging the same: And hee informed them, that it was the richest Countrie of the world. Don Ferdinand de Soto was very desirous to haue him with him, and made him a fauourable offer: and after they were agreed, because Soto gaue him not a summe of money which he demanded to buy a ship they broke off againe. Baltasar de Gallegos, and Christopher de Spindola, the kinesmen of Cabeça de Vaca, told him, that for that which hee had imparted to them, they were resolued to passe with Soto into Florida, and therefore they prayed him to aduise them what they were best to doe. Cabeça de Vaca told them, that the cause why he went not with Soto was, because hee hoped to beg another gouernment, and that hee was loth to goe vnder the command of another: and that hee came to beg the conquest of Florida: but seeing Don Ferdinando de Soto had gotten it alreadie, for his othes sake hee might tell them nothing of that which they would know: but he counselled them to sell their goods and goe with him, and that in so doing they should doe well. Assoone as he had opportunitie hee spake with the Emperour, and related vnto him whatsoeuer hee had passed and seene, and come to vnderstand. Of this relation made by word of mouth to the Emperour, the Marques of Astorga had notice, and forthwith determined to send with Don Ferdinando de Soto his brother Don Antonio Osorio: and with him two kinsmen of his prepared themselues, to wit, Francis Osorio, and Garcia Osorio. Don Antonio dispossessed himselfe of 60000 Rials of rent which hee held by the Church: and Francis Osorio of a town of Vassals, which he had in the Countrie de Campos. And they made their

Rendezuous with the Adelantado in Siuil. The like did Nunnez de Touar, and Lewis de Moscoso, and Iohn Rodriguez Lobillo, each of whom had brought from Peru fourteene or fifteene thousand Duckets. Lewis de Moscoso carried with him two brethren: there went also Don Carlos, which had married the Gouernours Neece, and tooke her with him. From Badaioz there went Peter Calderan, and three kinsemen of the Adelantado, to wit, Arias Tinoco, Alfonso Romo, and Diego Tinoco. And as Lewis de Moscoso passed through * Eluas, Andrew de Vasconselos spake with him, and requested him to speake to Don Ferdinando de Soto concerning him, and deliuered him certaine warrants which he had receiued from the Marques of Villa real, wherein he gaue him the Captaineship of Ceuta in Barbarie, that he might shew them vnto him. And the Adelantado saw them; and was informed who hee was, and wrote vnto him, that hee would fauour him in all things, and by al meanes, and would giue him a charge of men in Florida. And from Eluas went Andrew de Vasconselos, and Fernan Pegado, Antonio Martinez Segurado, Men Roiz Pereira, Iohn Cordero, Stephen Pegado, Benedict Fernandez, and Aluaro Fernandez. And out of Salamanca, and Iaen, and Valencia, and Albuquerque, and from other partes of Spaine, many people of Noble birth assembled at Siuil: insomuch that in Saint Lucar many men of good account which had sold their goods remained behind for want of shipping, whereas for other known and rich Countries, they are wont to want men: and this fell out by occasion of that which Cabeça de Vaca told the Emperour, and informed such persons as hee had conference withall touching the State of that Countrie. Soto made him great offers: and being agreed to goe with him (as I haue said before) because he would not giue him monie to pay for a ship, which he had brought, they brake off, and he went for Gouernour to the Riuer of Plate. His kinsemen Christopher de Spindola, and Baltasar de Gallegos went with Soto. Baltasar de Gallegos sold houses and vineyards, and rent corne, and ninetie rankes of Oliue trees in the Xarafe of Siuil: Hee had the office of Alcalde Mayor, and tooke his wife with him: and there went also many other persons of account with the President, and had the officers following by great friendship, because they were officers desired of many: to wit, Antonie de Biedma was Factor, Iohn Danusco

Eluas is a Citie in Portugal.

Cabeça de Vaca was the Gouernour of the Riuer of Plate.

was Auditor, and Iohn Gaytan nephew to the Cardinall of Ciguenza had the office of Treasurer.

Chap. III.

How the Portugales went to Siuil, and from thence to S. Lucar: he appointed Captaines ouer the ships, and distributed the people which were to goe in them.

THe Portugales departed from Eluas the 15. of Ianuarie, and came to Siuil the 19. of the same moneth, and went to the lodging of the Gouernour, and entred into a court, ouer the which were certaine galleries where hee was, who came downe and receiued them at the staires, whereby they went vp into the galleries: when he was come vp, he commanded chaires to be giuen them to sit on. And Andrew de Vasconcellos told him who hee and the other Portugales were, and how they all were come to accompany him, and serue him in his voiage. He gaue him thanks, and made shew of great contentment for his comming and offer. And the table being alreadie laid he inuited them to dinner. And being at dinner he commanded his steward to seeke a lodging for them neere vnto his owne, where they might bee lodged. The Adelantado departed from Siuil to Saint Lucar with al the people which were to goe with him: And he commanded a muster to be made, at the which the Portugales shewed themselues armed in verie bright armour, and the Castellans very gallant with silke vpon silke, with many pinkings and cuts. The Gouernour, because these brauaries in such an action did not like him, commanded that they should muster another day, and euery one should come foorth with his armour: at the which the Portugales came as at the first armed with very good armour. The Gouernour placed them in order neere vnto the standard which the ensigne-bearer carried. The Castellanes for the most part did weare very bad and rustie shirts of maile, and all of them head peeces and steele cappes, and very bad lances. And some of them sought to come among the Portugales. So those passed and were counted and enroled, which Soto liked and accepted of, and did accompanie him into Florida; which were in all sixe hundred men. He had alreadie bought seuen ships, and had all necessarie prouision aboord them: he appointed

Sixe hundred men went with Soto into Florida.

Captaines, and deliuered to euery one his ship, and gaue them in a role what people euery one should carrie with them.

Chap. IV.

How the Adelantado with his people departed from Spaine, and came to the Canaries, and afterward to the Antiles.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1538. in the moneth of Aprill, the Adelantado deliuered his shippes to the Captaines which were to goe in them: and tooke for himselfe a new ship, and good of saile, and gaue another to Andrew de Vasconcelos, in which the Portugales went: hee went ouer the barre of S. Lucar on Sunday being S. Lazarus day, in the morning, of the moneth and yeere aforesaid, with great ioy, commanding his trumpets to be sounded, and many shots of the ordinance to be discharged. Hee sailed foure daies with a prosperous wind; and suddenly it calmed: the calmes continued eight daies with swelling seas, in such wise, that wee made no way. The 15. day after his departure from S. Lucar, hee came to Gomera, one of the Canaries, on Easter day in the morning. The Earle of that Island was apparrelled all in white, cloke, ierkin, hose, shooes, and cappe, so that hee seemed a Lord of the Gypses. He receiued the Gouernour with much ioy: hee was well lodged, and all the rest had their lodgings gratis, and gat great store of victuals for their monie, as bread, wine and flesh: and they tooke what was needfull for their ships: and the Sunday following, eight daies after their arriuall, they departed from the Isle of Gomera. The Earle gaue to Donna Isabella the Adelantados wife a bastard daughter that hee had to bee her waiting maid. They arriued at the Antilles, in the Isle of Cuba, at the port of the City of Sant Iago vpon Whitsunday. Assone as they came thither, a Gentleman of the Citie sent to the sea side a very faire roan horse and well furnished for the Gouernour, and a mule for Donna Isabella: and all the horsemen and footemen that were in the towne came to receiue him at the sea-side. The Gouernour was well lodged, visited, and serued of all the inhabitants of that Citie, and all his companie had their lodgings freely: those which desired to goe into the countrie, were diuided by foure and foure, and sixe and sixe in the farmes or granges, according to the abilitie of the owners of the farmes, and were furnished by them with all things necessarie,

Chap. V.

Of the inhabitants which are in the Citie of S. Iago, and in the other townes of the Island: and of the qualitie of the soile, and fruites that it yeeldeth.

THe Citie of S. Iago hath fourescore houses which are great and well contriued. The most part haue their walls made of bords, and are couered with thatch; it hath some houses builded with lime and stone, and couered with tiles. It hath great Orchards and many trees in them, differing from those of Spaine: there be figgetrees which beare figges as big as ones fist, yellow within, and of small taste; and other trees which beare a fruit which they call Ananes, in making and bignes like to a small Pineapple: it is a fruite very sweete in taste: the shel being taken away, the kernel is like a peece of fresh cheese. In the granges abroad in the countrie there are other great pineapples, which grow on low trees, and are like the * Aloetree: they are of a very good smell and exceeding good taste. Other trees do beare a fruit, which they call Mameis of the bignes of Peaches. This the Islanders do hold for the best fruit of the country. There is another fruit which they call Guayabas like Filberds, as bigge as figges. There are other trees as high as a iaueline, hauing one only stocke without any bough, and the leaues as long as a casting dart: and the fruite is of the bignesse and fashion of a Cucumber, one bunch beareth 20. or 30. and as they ripen, the tree bendeth downeward with them: they are called in this countrie Plantanos; and are of a good taste, and ripen after they be gathered, but those are the better which ripen vpon the tree it selfe: they beare fruite but once: and the tree being cut downe, there spring vp others out of the but, which beare fruite the next yeere. There is another fruit; whereby many people are sustained, and chiefly the slaues, which are called Batatas. These grow now in the Isle of Terçera, belonging to the Kingdome of Portugal, and they grow within the earth, and are like a fruit called Iname, they haue almost y$_e$ taste of a chestnut. The bread of this countrie is also made of rootes which are like the Batatas. And the stocke whereon those rootes doe grow is like an Elder tree: they make their ground in little hillocks, and in each of them they thrust 4.

Great figges.

* Erua babosa.

Mameis, an excellent fruit.

Batatas, or Potatos.

The Cassaui root.

or 5. stakes; and they gather the rootes a yeere and an halfe after they set them. If any one, thinking it is a Batata or Potato roote, chance to eate of it neuer so little, he is in great danger of death: which was seene by experience in a souldier, which assone as hee had eaten a very little of one of those rootes, hee died quicklie. They pare these rootes and stamp them and squese them in a thing like a presse: the iuyce that commeth from them is of an euill smell. The bread is of little taste and lesse substance. Of the fruits of Spaine, there are Figges and Oranges, and they beare fruite all the yeere, because the soile is very ranke and fruitfull. In this countrie are many good horses, and there is greene grasse all the yeere. There be many wild oxen and hogges, whereby the people of the Island is well furnished with flesh: Without the townes abroad in the Countrie are many fruites. And it happeneth sometimes that a Christian goeth out of the way and is lost 15. or 20. daies, because of the many paths in the thicke groues that crosse too and fro made by the oxen: and being thus lost, they sustaine them selues with fruites and palmitos: for there be many great groues of Palme trees through all the Island: they yeeld no other fruite that is of any profit. The Isle of Cuba is 300. leagues long from the East to the West, and in some places 30. in others 40. leagues from North to South. It hath 6. townes of Christians: to wit, S. Iago, Baracôa, Bayamo, Puerto de Principes, S. Espirito, and Hauana. Euery one hath betweene 30. and 40. households, except S. Iago and Hauana, which hath about 60. or 80. houses. They haue Churches in each of them, and a Chaplen which confesseth them and saith Masse. In S. Iago is a Monasterie of Franciscan Friars: it hath but few Friers, and is well prouided of almes, because the countrie is rich: The Church of S. Iago hath honest reuenew, and there is a Curat and Prebends and many Priests, as the Church of that Citie, which is the chiefe of all the Island. There is in this countrie much gold, and few slaues to get it: For many haue made away themselues, because of the Christians euill vsage of them in the mines. A steward of Vasques Porcallo, which was an inhabitour in that Island, vnderstanding that his slaues would make away themselues, staid for them with a cudgill in his hand at the place where they were to meete, and told them, that they could neither doe nor thinke any thing, that hee did not know before; and that hee came

Store of good horses.

The length and breadth of Cuba.

A wittie stratagem.

thither to kill himselfe with them, to the end, that if hee had vsed them badly in this world, hee might vse them worse in the world to come: And this was a meane that they changed their purpose, and turned home againe to doe that which he commanded them.

Chap. VI.

How the Gouernour sent Donna Isabella with the ships to Hauana, and he with some of his people went thither by land.

THe Gouernour sent from S. Iago his Nephew Don Carlos with the ships in company of Donna Isabella to tarrie for him at Hauana, which is an hauen in the west part toward the head of the Island, 180. leagues from the Citie of Saint Iago. The Gouernour and those which staied with him bought horses and proceeded on their iournie. The first towne they came vnto was Bayamo: they were lodged foure and foure, and sixe and sixe, as they went in company, and where they lodged they tooke nothing for their diet, for nothing cost them ought saue the Maiz or corne for their horses, because the Gouernour went to visit them from towne to towne, and seased them in the tribute and seruice of the Indians. Bayamo is 25. leagues from the Citie of S. Iago. Neere vnto the towne passeth a great Riuer, which is called Tanto; it is greater then Guadiana, and in it be very great Crocodiles, which sometimes hurt the Indians, or the cattell which passeth the Riuer. In all the countrie are neither Wolfe, Foxe, Beare, Lion, nor Tiger. There are wild dogges which goe from the houses into the woods and feed vpon swine. There be certaine Snakes as bigge as a mans thigh or bigger, they are very slow, they doe no kind of hurt. From Bayamo to Puerto dellos principes are 50. leagues. In al the Iland from towne to towne, the way is made by stubbing vp the vnderwood: and if it bee left but one yeere vndone, the wood groweth so much, that the way cannot be seene, and the paths of the oxen are so many, that none can trauell without an Indian of the Countrie for a guide: for all the rest is very hie and thicke woods. From Puerto dellos principes the Gouernour went to the house of Vasques Porcallo by sea in a bote, (for it was neere the sea) to know there some newes of Donna Isabella, which at that instant (as afterward was knowne) was in great distresse, in so much that the ships lost one another: and two of them fell on the coast of Florida, and all of them endured great want of water and victuals. When the storme was ouer, they met together, without knowing where they were: in the end they descried the Cape of S. Anton, a countrie not inhabited of the Island of Cuba: there they watered; and at the end of 40. daies, which were passed since their departure from the City of S. Iago, they arriued at Hauana. The Gouernour was presently informed thereof, and went to Donna Isabella. And those which went by land which were one hundred and fiftie horsemen, being diuided into two parts, because they would not oppresse the inhabitants, trauelled by S. Espirito, which is 60. leagues from Puerto dellos principes. The food which they carried with them was Caçabe bread, which is that whereof I made mention before: and it is of such a qualitie, that if it be wet, it breaketh presently, whereby it happened to some to eate flesh without bread for many daies. They carried dogges with them, and a man of the Country, which did hunt; and by the way, or where they were to lodge that night, they killed as many hogges as they needed. In this iourney they were well prouided of beefe and porke: And they were greatly troubled with Muskitos, especially in a lake, which is called the mere of Pia, which they had much adoe to passe from noone till night, the water might be some halfe league ouer, and to be swome about a crosse bowe shot, the rest came to the waste, and they waded vp to the knees in the mire, and in the bottome were cockle shels, which cut their feete very sore; in such sort, that there was neither boote nor shoe sole that was hole at halfe way. Their clothes and sandels were passed in baskets of Palme trees. Passing this lake, stripped out of their clothes, there came many muskitos, vpon whose bitting there arose a wheale that smarted very much: they strooke them with their hands, and with the blow which they gaue they killed so many, that the blood did runne downe the armes and bodies of the men. That night they rested very little for them, and other nights also in the like places and times. They came to Santo Espirito, which is a towne of thirtie houses; there passeth by it a little Riuer: it is very pleasant and fruitfull, hauing great store of Oranges and citrons, and fruites of the Countrie: One halfe of the companie were lodged here, and the rest passed forward 25. leagues to another towne called la Trinidad of 15 or 20 households. Here is an hospitall for the poore, and there is none other in all the Island.

And they say, that this towne was the greatest of all the Countrie and that before the Christians came into this land, as a ship passed along the coast, there came in it a very sicke man which desired the Captaine to set him on shore: and the Captaine did so, and the ship went her way: The sicke man remained set on shore in that countrie, which vntill then had not bene haunted by Christians; wherevpon the Indians found him, carried him home, and looked vpon him till he was whole; and the Lord of that towne maried him vnto a daughter of his, and had warre withall the inhabitants round about, and by the industrie and valour of the Christian, he subdued and brought vnder his command all the people of that Island. A great while after, the Gouernour Diego Velasques went to conquer it, and from thence discouered new Spaine: And this Christian which was with the Indians did pacifie them, and brought them to the obedience and subiection of the Gouernour. From this towne della Trinidad vnto Hauana are 80. leagues, without any habitation, which they trauelled. They came to Hauana in the end of March; where they found the Gouernor, and the rest of the people which came with him from Spaine. The Gouernour sent from Hauana Iohn Danusco with a carauele and two brigantines with 50. men to discouer the hauen of Florida; and from thence hee brought two Indians, which he tooke vpon the coast, wherwith (aswell because they might be necessarie for guides and for interpretours, as because they said by signes that there was much gold in Florida) the Gouernour and all the companie receiued much contentment, and longed for the houre of their departure, thinking in himselfe that this was the richest Countrie, that vnto that day had been discouered.

Chap. VII.

How we departed from Hauana, and ariued in Florida, and of such things as happened vnto vs.

BEfore our departure, the Gouernour depriued Nunno de Touar of ye office of Captaine Generall, and gaue it to Porcallo de Figueroa, an inhabitant of Cuba, which was a meane that the shippes were well furnished with victuals: for he gaue a great many loads of Casabe bread, and manie hogges. The

Gouernour tooke away this office from Nonno de Touar, because he had fallen in loue with the daughter of yᵉ Earle of Gomera, Donna Isabellas waighting maid, who, though his office were taken from him, (to returne againe to the Gouernours fauour) though she were with child by him, yet tooke her to his wife, and went with Soto into Florida. The Gouernour left Donna Isabella in Hauana; and with her remained the wife of Don Carlos, and the wiues of Baltasar de Gallegos, and of Nonno de Touar. And hee left for his Lieutenant a Gentleman of Hauana, called Iohn de Roias, for the gouernment of the Island.

On Sunday the 18. of May, in the yeere of our Lord, 1539. the Adelantado or president departed from Hauana in Cuba with his fleete, which were nine vessels, fiue great ships, two carauels, and two brigantines: They sailed seuen daies with a prosperous wind. The 25. day of May, the day de Pasco de Spirito Santo, (which we call Whitson Sonday,) they saw the land of Florida; and because of the shoalds, they came to an anchor a league from the shore. On Friday the 30. of May they landed in Florida, two leagues from a towne of an Indian Lord, called Vcita. They set on land two hundred and thirteene horses, which they brought with them, to vnburden the shippes, that they might draw the lesse water. Hee landed all his men, and only the sea men remained in the shippes, which in eight daies, going vp with the tide euery day a little, brought them vp vnto the towne. Assoone as the people were come on shore, hee pitched his campe on the sea side, hard vpon the Bay which went vp vnto the towne. And presently the Captaine generall Vasques Porcallo with other 7. horsemen foraged the Countrie halfe a league round about, and found sixe Indians, which resisted him with their arrowes, which are the weapons which they vse to fight withall: The horsemen killed two of them, and the other foure escaped; because the countrie is cumbersome with woods and bogs, where the horses stacke fast, and fell with their riders, because they were weake with trauelling vpon the sea. The same night following the Gouernour with an hundred men in the brigantines lighted vpon a towne, which he found without people, because, that assoone as the Christians had sight of land, they were descried, and saw along the coast many smokes, which the Indians had made to giue aduice the one to the other. The

This place was called Baya de Spirito Sancto, being on the West side of Florida, in 29. degrees, ½.

The ships came vp to the towne of Vcita.

next day Luys de Moscoso, Master of the Campe set the men in order, the horsemen in three squadrons, the Vantgard, the Batallion, and the Rerewarde: and so they marched that day, and the day following, compassing great Creekes which came out of the Bay: They came to the towne of Vcita, where the Gouernour was, on Sunday the first of Iune, being Trinitie Sunday. The towne was of seuen or eight houses. The Lordes house stoode neere the shore vpon a very hie mount, made by hand for strength. At another ende of the towne stood the Church, and on the top of it stood a fowle made of wood with gilded eies. Heere were found some pearles of small valew, spoiled with the fire, which the Indians do pierce and string them like beades, and weare them about their neckes and hand wrists, and they esteeme them very much. The houses were made of timber, and couered with Palme leaues. The Gouernour lodged himselfe in the Lords houses, and with him Vasques Porcallo, and Luys de Moscoso: and in others that were in the middest of the towne, was the chiefe Alcalde or Iustice, Baltasar de Gallegos lodged; and in the same houses was set in a place by it selfe, al the prouision that came in the ships: the other houses and the Church were broken down, and euery three or foure souldiers made a little cabin wherein they lodged. The Countrie round about was very fennie, and encombred with great and hie trees. The Gouernor commanded to fel the woods a crossebow shot round about the towne, that the horses might runne, and the Christians might haue the aduantage of the Indians, if by chance they should set vpon them by night. In the waies and places conuenient, they had their Centinelles of footemen by two and two in euery stand, which did watch by turnes, and the horsemen did visit them, and were readie to assist them, if there were any alarme. The Gouernour made foure Captaines of the horsemen, and two of the footemen. The Captaines of the horsemen were, one of them Andrew de Vasconcelos, and another Pedro Calderan de Badaioz: and the other two were his kinsemen, to wit, Arias Tinoco, and Alfonso Romo, borne likewise in Badaioz. The Captaines of the footemen, the one was Francisco Maldonado of Salamanca, and the other Iuan Rodriguez Lobillo. While wee were in this towne of Vcita, the two Indians, which Iohn Danusco had taken on that coast, and the Gouernor caried along with him for guides and interpretours, through carelessnes of two men, which had the charge of them, escaped away one night. For which the Gouernour and all the rest were very sorie, for they had alreadie made some roades, and no Indians could bee taken, because the countrie was full of marish grounds, and in many places full of very hie and thicke woods.

Chap VIII.

Of some inrodes that were made into the Countrie: and how there was a Christian found, which had bin long time in the power of an Indian Lord.

FRom the towne of Vcita, the Gouernour sent the Alcalde Mayor, Baltasar de Gallegos with 40. horsemen and 80. footemen into the Countrie to see if they could take any Indians: and the Captaine Iohn Rodriguez Lobillo another way with 50. footemen the most of them were swordmen and targettours, and the res were shot and crossebowmen. They passed through a countrie full of bogges, where horses could not trauell. Halfe a league from the campe, they lighted vpon certaine cabins of Indians neere a Riuer; The people that were in them leaped into the Riuer; yet they tooke foure Indian women; And twentie Indians charged vs, and so distressed vs, that wee were forced to retire to our campe, being, as they are, exceeding readie with their weapons. It is a people so warlike and so nimble, that they care not awhit for any footemen. For if their enemies charge them, they runne away, and if they turne their backs, they are presently vpon them. And the thing that they most flee, is the shot of an arrow. They neuer stand still, but are alwaies running and trauersing from one place to another; by reason whereof neither crossebow nor arcubuse can aime at them: and before one crossebowman can make one shot, an Indian will discharge three or foure arrowes; and he seldome misseth what hee shooteth at. An arrow, where it findeth no armour, pierceth as deeply as a crossebow. Their bowes are very long, and their arrowes are made of certaine canes like reedes, very heauie, and so strong, that a sharpe cane passeth thorow a target: Some they arme in point with a sharpe bone of a fish like a chisel, and in others they fasten certaine stones like points of Diamants. For the most part when they light vpon an armour, they breake in the place where they are bound together. Those of cane do split and pierce a coate of maile, and are more hurtfull then the other, Iohn Rodriguez Lobillo returned to the campe with sixe men wounded, whereof one died; and brought the foure Indian women which Baltasar Gallegos had taken in the cabins or cotages. Two leagues from the towne, comming into the plaine field, he espied ten or eleuen Indians, among whom was a Christian, which was naked, and scorched with the Sunne, and had his armes razed after the manner of the Indians, and differed nothing at all from them. And assoone as the horsemen saw them they ran toward them. The Indians fled, and some of them hid themselues in a wood, and they ouertooke two or three of them, which were wounded: and the Christian, seeing an horseman runne vpon him with his lance, began to crie out, Sirs, I am a Christian, slay me not, nor these Indians, for they haue saued my life. And straightway he called them, and put them out of feare, and they came foorth of the wood vnto them. The horse men tooke both the Christian and the Indians vp behind them; and toward night came into the Campe with much ioy: which thing being known by the Gouernour, and them that remained in the Campe, they were receiued with the like.

Chap. IX.

How this Christian came to the land of Florida, and who he was: and what conference he had with the Gouernour.

Iohn Ortiz liued 12. yeeres, among the Floridians of Vcita and Moco̧ço.

THis Christians name was Iohn Ortiz, and he was borne in Siuil, of worshipful parentage. He was 12. yeeres in the hands of the Indians. He came into this Countrie with Pamphilo de Naruaez, and returned in the ships to the Island of Cuba, where the wife of the Gouernour Pamphilo de Naruaez was: and by his commandement with 20. or 30. other in a brigandine returned backe againe to Florida: and comming to the port in the sight of the towne, on the shore they saw a cane sticking in the ground, and riuen at the top, and a letter in it: and they beleeued that the Gouernour had left it there to giue aduertisement of himselfe, when he resolued to goe vp into the land: and they demanded it of foure or fiue Indians, which walked along the sea shore: and they bad them by signes to come on shore for it: which against the will of the rest Iohn Ortiz and another did. And assoone as they were on land, from the houses of the towne issued a great number of Indians, which compassed them about, and tooke them in a place where they could not flee: and the other which sought to defend himselfe, they presentlie killed vpon the place, and tooke Iohn Ortiz aliue, and carried him to Vcita their Lord. And those of the brigandine sought not to land, but put themselues to sea, and returned to the Island of Cuba. Vcita commanded to bind Iohn Ortiz hand and foote vpon foure stakes aloft vpon a raft, and to make a fire vnder him, that there he might bee burned: But a daughter of his desired him that he would not put him to death, alleaging, that one only Christian could do him neither hurt nor good, telling him, that it was more for his honour to keepe him as a captiue. And Vcita granted her request, and commanded him to be cured of his wounds: and assoone as he was whole, he gaue him the charge of the keeping of the Temple: because that by night the wolues did cary away the dead corpses out of the same, who commended himselfe to God and tooke vpon him the charge of his temple. One night the wolues gate from him the corpse of a little child, the sonne of a principal Indian; and going after them he threw a darte at one of the wolues and strooke him that carried away the corps, who feeling himselfe wounded, left it, and fell downe dead neere the place: and hee not woting what he had done, because it was night, went backe againe to the Temple: the morning being come, and finding not the bodie of the child, he was very sad. Assoone as Vcita knew thereof, he resolued to put him to death; and sent by the tract, which he said the wolues went, and found the bodie of the child, and the wolfe dead a little beyond: whereat Vcita was much contented with the Christian, and with the watch which hee kept in the Temple, and from thence forward esteemed him much. Three yeeres after hee fell into his hands there came another Lord, called Mocoço, who dwelleth two daies iourny from the Port, and burned his towne. Vcita fled to another towne that he had in another sea port. Thus Iohn Ortiz lost his office and fauour that he had with him.

Mocoço dwelleth two daies iournie from Vcita.

These people being worshippers of the diuell, are wont to offer vp vnto him the liues and blood of their Indians, or of any other people they can come by: and they report, that when he will haue them doe that sacrifice vnto him, he speaketh with them, and telleth them that he is athirst, and willeth them to sacrifice vnto him. Iohn Ortiz had notice by the damsell that had deliuered him from ye fire, how her father was determined to sacrifice him ye day following, who willed him to flee to Mocoço: for shee knew y^t^ he would vse him wel: for she heard say, that he had asked for him, and said hee would bee glad to see him: and because he knew not the way, she went with him halfe a league out of the towne by night, and set him in the way, and returned, because she would not be discouered. Iohn Ortiz trauailed all that night, and by ye morning came vnto a Riuer, which is in the territorie of Mocoço: and there he saw two Indians fishing; and because they were in war with the people of Vcita, and their languages were different, and hee knew not the language of Mocoço, he was afraid, because he could not tell them who hee was, nor how hee came thither, nor was able to answer any thing for himselfe, that they would kill him, taking him for one of the Indians of Vcita, and before they espied him, he came to the place where they had laid their weapons: and assoone as they saw him, they fled toward the towne, and although he willed them to stay, because he meant to do them no hurt, yet they vnderstood him not, and ran away as fast as euer they could. And assone as they came to the towne with great outcrics, many Indians came forth against him, and began to compasse him to shoote at him: Iohn Ortiz seeing himselfe in so great danger, sheilded himselfe with certaine trees, and began to shreeke out, and crie very loud, and to tell them that he was a Christian, and that he was fled from Vcita, and was come to see and serue Mocoço his Lord. It pleased God that at that very instant there came thither an Indian that could speake the language and vnderstood him; and pacified the rest; who told them what hee said. Then ran from thence three or foure Indians to beare the newes to their Lord: who came foorth a quarter of a league from the towne to receiue him; and was very glad of him. He caused him presently to sweare according to the custome of the Christians, that hee would not run away from him to any other Lord: and promised him to entreate him very well; and that if at any time there came any Christians into that countrie, he would freely let him goe, and giue him leaue to goe to them: and likewise tooke his oth to performe the same according to the Indian custome. About three yeeres after certaine Indians, which were fishing at sea two leagues from the towne, brought newes to Mocoço that they had seene ships: and hee called Iohn Ortiz

Mocoço his towne within 2. leagues of the sea.

and gaue him leaue to go his way: who taking his leaue of him, with all the haste he could came to the sea, and finding no ships, he thought it to be some deceit, and that the Cacique had done the same to learne his mind. So he dwelt with Mocoço nine yeeres, with small hope of seeing any Christians. Assoone as our Gouernour arriued in Florida, it was knowne to Mocoço, and straightway he signified to Iohn Ortiz, that Christians were lodged in the towne of Vcita: And he thought he had iested with him, as he had done before, and told him, that by this time he had forgotten the Christians, and thought of nothing else but to serue him. But he assured him that it was so, and gaue him licence to goe vnto them: saying vnto him, that if hee would not doe it, and if the Christians should goe their way, he should not blame him, for hee had fulfilled that which he had promised him. The ioy of Iohn Oritz was so great, that he could not beleeue that it was true: notwithstanding he gaue him thankes, and tooke his leaue of him: and Mocoço gaue him tenne or eleuen principall Indians to beare him companie: and as they went to the port where the Gouernour was, they met with Baltasar de Gallêgos, as I haue declared before. Assoone as he was come to the campe, the Gouernour commanded to giue him a suite of apparell, and very good armour, and a faire horse: and enquired of him, whether hee had notice of any countrie, where there was any gold or siluer: He answered, No, because he neuer went ten leagues compasse from the place where he dwelt: But 30. leagues from thence dwelt an Indian Lord, which was called Parocossi, to whom Mocoço and Vcita, with al the rest of that coast paied tribute, and that hee peraduenture might haue notice of some good countrie: and that his land was better then that of the sea coast, and more fruitfull and plentifull of maiz. Whereof the Gouernour receiued great contentment: and said that he desired no more then to finde victuals, that hee might goe into the maine land, for the land of Florida, was so large, that in one place or other there could not chuse but bee some rich Countrie. The Cacique Mocoço came to the Port to visit the Gouernor and made this speech following.

Paracossi 30. leagues from Puerto de Spirito Santo.

Right hie and mightie Lord, I being lesser in mine owne conceit for to obey you, then any of those which you haue vnder your command; and greater in desire to doe you greater seruices, doe appeare before your Lordship with so much confidence of receiuing fauour, as if in effect this my good will were manifested vnto you in workes: not for the small seruice I did vnto you touching the Christian which I had in my power, in giuing him freely his libertie, (For I was bound to doe it to preserue mine honour, and that which I had promised him:) but because it is the part of great men to vse great magnificences: And I am perswaded, that as in bodily perfections, and commanding of good people, you doe exceede all men in the world, so likewise you doe in the parts of the minde, in which you may boast of the bountie of nature. The fauour which I hope for of your Lordship is, that you would hold mee for yours, and bethinke your selfe to command me any thing, wherein I may doe you seruice.

The Gouernour answereth him, That although in freeing and sending him the Christain, he had preserued his honour and promise, yet he thanked him, and held it in such esteeme, as it had no comparison; and that hee would alwaies hold him as his brother, and would fauour him in all things to the vtmost of his power. Then he commanded a shirt to be giuen him, and other things, where with the Cacique being verie well contented, tooke his leaue of him, and departed to his owne towne.

Chap. X.

How the Gouernour sent the ships to Cuba: and left an hundred men at the Hauen de Spirito Santo, and himself with the rest of his people went into the maine land.

FRom the Port de Spirito Santo where the Gouernour lay, he sent the Alcalde Mayor Baltasar de Gallégos with 50. horsemen, and 30. or 40. footemen to the prouince of Paracoussi, to view the disposition of the countrie, and enforme himselfe of the land farther inward, and to send him word of such things as he found. Likewise he sent his shippes backe to the Iland of Cuba, that they might returne within a certaine time with victuals. Vasques Porcallo de Figueroa, which went with the Gouernour as Captaine Generall, (whose principall intent was to send slaues from Florida, to the Iland of Cuba, where he had his goods and mines;) hauing made some inrodes, and seeing no Indians were to be got, because of the great bogs and thicke woods that were in the Countrie, considering the disposition of the same, determined to returne to Cuba. And though there was some difference between him and the Gouernour, whereupon they neither dealt nor conuersed together with good countenance, yet notwithstanding with louing words he asked him leaue and departed from him. Baltasar de Gallêgos came to the Paracossi: There came to him 30. Indians from the Cacique, which was absent from his town, and one of them made this speech:

Paracossi, the Lord of this prouince, whose vassals we are sendeth vs vnto your worship, to know what it is that you seeke in this his countrie, and wherein he may doe you seruice.

Baltasar de Gallegos said vnto him, that hee thanked them very much for their offer, willing them to warne their Lord to come to his towne, and that there they would talke and confirme their peace and friendship, which he much desired. The Indians went their way, and returned the next day, and said, that their Lord was ill at ease, and therefore could not come, but that they came on his behalfe to see what he demanded. He asked them if they knew or had notice of any rich Countrie where there was gold or siluer. They told them, they did: and that toward the West, there was a prouince which was called Cale; and that others that inhabited other Countries had warre with the people of that Countrie, where the most part of the yeere was sommer, and that there was much gold: and that when those their enemies came to make ware with them of Cale, these inhabitants of Cale did weare hats of gold, in manner of head peeces. Baltasar de Gallegos, seeing that the Cacique came not, thinking all that they said was fained, with intent that in the meane time they might set themselues in safetie, fearing, that if he did let them goe, they would returne no more, commanded the thirty Indians to be chained, and sent word to the Gouernour, by eight horsemen, what had passed: whereof the Gouernour and al that were with him, at the Port de Spirito Santo receiued great comfort, supposing, that that which the Indians reported, might be true. Hee left Captaine Calderan at the Port, with thirtie horsemen, and seuentie footemen, with prouision for two yeeres, and himselfe with all the rest marched into the maine land, and came to the Paracossi, at whose towne Baltasar de Gallegos was: and from thence with all his men tooke the way to Cale. He passed by a little towne called Acela, and came to another called Tocaste: and from thence he went before with 30 horsemen, and 50 footemen toward Cale. And passing by a towne, whence the people were fled, they saw Indians a little from thence in a lake;

to whom the Interpreter spake. They came vnto them and gaue them an Indian for a guide: and hee came to a Riuer with a great current, and vpon a tree, which was in the midst of it, was made a bridge, whereon the men passed: the horses swam ouer by a hawser, that they were pulled by from the otherside: for one, which they droue in without it, was drowned. From thence the Gouernour sent two horsemen to his people that were behind, to make haste after him; because the way grew long and their victuals short. Hee came to Cale, and found the towne without people. He tooke three Indians, which were spies, and tarried there for his people that came after, which were sore vexed with hunger and euill waies, because the Countrie was very barren of Maiz, low, and full of water, bogs, and thicke woods; and the victuals, which they brought with them from the Port de Spirito Santo, were spent. Whersoeuer any towne was found, there were some beetes, and hee that came first gathered them, and sodden with water and salt, did eate them without any other thing: and such as could not get them, gathered the stalkes of Maiz and eate them, which because they were youug, had no Maiz in them. When they came to the Riuer which the Gouernour had passed, they found palmitos vpon lowe Palmetrees like those of Andaluzia. There they met with the two horsemen which the Gouernour sent vnto them, and they brought newes that in Cale there was plentie of Maiz: at which newes they all reioyced. Assoone as they came to Cale, the Gouernour commanded them to gather all the Maiz that was ripe in the field, which was sufficient for three moneths. At the gathering of it the Indians killed three Christains, and one of them which were taken told the Gouernour that within seuen dayes iournie, there was a very great Prouince, and plentifull of Maiz, which was called Apalache. And presently he departed from Cale with 50 horsemen and 60. footemen. He left the master of the Campe Luys de Moscoso with all the rest of the people there, with charge that hee should not depart thence vntill hee had word from him. And because hitherto none had gotten any slaues, the bread that euery one was to eate, he was faine himselfe to beate in a morter made in a piece of timber with a pestle, and some of them did sift the flower through their shirts of maile. They baked their bread vpon certaine tileshares which they set ouer the fire, in such sort as heretofore I haue said they vse to doe in Cuba. It is so troublesome to grind their Maiz, that there were many that would rather not eate it, then grind it: and did eate the Maiz parched and sodden.

Chap. XI.

How the Gouernour came to Caliquen, and carrying from thence the Cacique with him went to Napetuca, where the Indians sought to haue taken him from him, and in an assault many of them were slaine, and taken prisoners.

THe 11. day of August 1539, the Gouernour departed from Cale: hee lodged in a little town called Ytara, and the next day in another called Potano, and the third day at Vtinama, and came to another towne, which they named the towne of Euil peace; because an Indian came in peace, saying, That he was the Cacique, and that he with his people would serue the Gouernour, and that if he would set free 28. persons, men and women, which his men had taken the night before, he would command prouision to be brought him, and would giue him a guide to instruct him in his way: The Gouernour commanded them to be set at libertie, and to keepe him in safegard. The next day in the morning there came many Indians, and set themselues round about the towne neere to a wood. The Indian wished them to carrie him neere them; and that he would speake vnto them, and assure them, and that they would doe whatsoeuer hee commanded them. And when he saw himselfe neere vnto them he brake from them, and ran away so swiftly from the Christians, that there was none that could ouertake him, and all of them fled into the woods. The Gouernour commanded to loose a grayhound, which was alreadie fleshed on them, which passing by many other Indians, caught the counterfait Cacique, which had escaped from the Christians, and held him till they came to take him. From thence the Gouernour lodged at a towne called Cholupaha: and because it had store of Maiz in it, they named it Villa farta. Beyond the same there was a Riuer, on which he made a bridge of timber, and trauelled two daies through a desert. The 17. of August, he came to Caliquen, where he was informed of the Prouince of Apalache: They told him that there Pamphilo de Naruaez had bin there, and that hee tooke shipping, because hee could find no way to goe forward: that there was none other towne at al; but that on both sides was all water. The whole companie were very sad for these newes: and counselled the Gouernour to goe backe to the Port de Spirito Santo, and to abandon the Countrie of Florida, lest hee should perish as Naruaez had done: declaring, that if he went forward, he could not returne backe when he would, and that the Indians would gather vp that small quantitie of Maiz which was left. Whereunto the Gouernour answered, that he would not go backe, till he had seene with his eies that which they reported: saying, that he could not beleeue it, and that wee should be put out of doubt before it were long. And he sent to Luys de Moscoso to come presently from Cale, and that he tarried for him here. Luys de Moscoso and many others thought, that from Apalache they should returne backe; and in Cale they buried their yron tooles, and diuers other things. They came to Caliquen with great trouble; because the Countrie, which the Gouernour had passed by, was spoiled and destitute of Maiz. After all the people were come together, hee commanded a bridge to bee made ouer a Riuer that passed neere the towne. Hee departed from Caliquen the 10. of September, and carried the Cacique with him. After hee had trauelled three daies, there came Indians peaceably, to visit their Lord, and euery day met vs on the way playing vpon flutes: which is a token that they vse, that men may know that they come in peace. They said, that in our way before there was a Cacique, whose name was Vzachil, a kinseman of the Cacique of Caliquen their Lord. waiting for him with many presents, and they desired the Gouernour that he would loose the Cacique. But he would not, fearing that they would rise, and would not giue him any guides, and sent them away from day to day with good words. He trauelled fiue daies, he passed by some smal townes, he came to a towne called Napetuca, the 15. day of September. Thither came 14. or 15. Indians, and besought ye Gouernor to let loose the Cacique of Caliquen their Lord. He answered them that he held him not in prison, but that hee would haue him to accompanie him to Vzachil. The Gouernour had notice by Iohn Ortiz, that an Indian told him how they determined to gather themselues together, and come vpon him, and giue him battell, and take away the Cacique from him. The day that it was agreed vpon, the Gouernour commanded his men to bee in a readines, and that the horsemen should bee readie armed and on horsebacke euery one in his lodging, because the Indians might not see them, and so more confidently come to the towne. There came four hundred Indians in sight of the campe, with their bowes and arrowes, and placed themselues in a wood, and sent two Indians to bid the Gouernour to deliuer them the Cacique. The Gouernour with sixe footemen leading the Cacique by the hand, and talking with him, to secure the Indians, went toward the place where they were: And seeing a fit time, commanded to sound a trumpet: and presently those that were in the towne in the houses, both horse and foot, set vpon the Indians, which were so suddenly assaulted, that the greatest care they had was which way they should flee: They killed two horses; one was the Gouernours, and hee was presently horsed againe vpon another. There were 30. or 40. Indians slaine. The rest fled to two very great lakes, that were somewhat distant the one from the other: There they were swimming, and the Christians round about them. The caliuermen and crossebowmen shot at them from the banke: but the distance being great and shooting afarre off, they did them no hurt. The Gouernour commanded that the same night they should compasse one of the lakes, because they were so great, that there were not men enow to compasse them both: being beset, assoone as night shut in, the Indians, with determination to runne away, came swimming very softly to the banke; and to hide themselues, they put a water lillie leafe on their heads. The horsemen assoone as they perceiued it to stirre, ran into the water to the horses breasts, and the Indians fled againe into the lake. So this night passed without any rest on both sides. Iohn Ortiz perswaded them, that seeing they could not escape, they should yeeld themselues to the Gouernour: which they did, enforced thereunto by the coldnes of the water; and one by one, hee first whom the cold did first ouercome, cried to Iohn Ortiz desiring that they would not kill him, for he came to put himselfe into the hands of the Gouernour. By the morning watch they made an end of yeelding themselues: only 12. principall men, being more honorable and valorous then the rest, resolued rather to die then to come into his hands. And the Indians of Paracossi, which were now loosed out of chaines, went swimming to them, and pulled them out by the haire of their heads, and they were all put in chaines; and the next day were diuided among the Christians for their seruice. Being thus in captiuitie, they determined to rebell; and gaue in charge

A new conspiracie. to an Indian, which was interpretour, and held to be valiant, that assoone as the Gouernour did come to speak with him, hee should cast his hands about his necke, and choke him: Who, when he saw opportunitie, laid hands on the Gouernour, and before he cast his hands about his necke, he gaue him such a blow on the nostrils, that hee made them gush out with blood, and presently all the rest did rise. He that could get any weapons at hand, or the handle wherewith he did grind the Maiz, sought to kill his master, or the first hee met before him: and hee that could get a lance or sword at hand, bestirred himselfe in such sort with it, as though he had vsed it all his life time. One Indian in the market place enclosed betweene 15. or 20. footemen, made a way like a bull with a sword in his hand, till certaine halbardiers of the Gouernour came, which killed him. Another gat vp with a lance to a loft made of canes, which they build to keep their Maiz in, which they call a Barbacoa, and there hee made such a noise, as though tenne men had been there defending the doore: they slew him with a partisan. Two hundred Indians taken. The Indians were in all about two hundred men. They were all subdued. And some of the youngest the Gouernour gaue to them which had good chaines, and were carefull to looke to them that they gat not away. Al the rest he commanded to be put to death, being tied to a stake in the midst of the market place: and the Indians of the Paracossi did shoote them to death.

Chap. XII.[1]

How the Gouernour came to Apalache, and was informed, that within the land, there was much gold.

THe Gouernour departed from Napetuca the 23. of September: he lodged by a Riuer, where two Indians brought him a buck from the Cacique of Vzachil. The next day he passed by a great towne called Hapaluya; and lodged at Vzachil, and found no people in it, because they durst not tarrie for the notice the Indians had of the slaughter of Napetuca. He found in that towne great store of Maiz, French beanes, and * pompions, which is their foode, and that wherewith the Christians there sustained themselues. The Maiz is like

* Aboboras.

course millet, and the pompions are better and more sauorie than those of Spaine. From thence the Gouernour sent two Captaines each a sundry way to seeke the Indians. They tooke an hundred men and women: of which aswel there as in other places where they made any inrodes, the Captaine chose one or two for the Gouernour, and diuided the rest to himselfe, and those that went with him. They led these Indians in chaines with yron collars about their neckes: and they serued to carrie their stuffe, and to grind their Maiz, and for other seruices that such captiues should doe. Sometimes it happened that going for wood or Maiz with them, they killed the Christian that led them, and ran away with the chaine: others filed their chaines by night with a peece of stone, wherewith they cut them, and vse it in stead of yron. Those that were perceiued paid for themselues, and for the rest, because they should not dare to doe the like another time. The women and young boyes, when they were once an hundred leagues from their Countrie, and had forgotten things, they let goe loose, and so they serued; and in a very short space they vnderstood the language of the Christians. From Vzachil the Gouernour departed toward Apalache, and in two daies iournie, hee came to a towne called Axille, and from thence forward the Indians were carelesse, because they had as yet no notice of the Christians. The next day in the morning, the first of October, he departed from thence, and commanded a bridge to bee made ouer a Riuer which hee was to passe. The deepe of the Riuer where the bridge was made, was a stones cast, and forward a crossebow shot the water came to the waste; and the wood, whereby the Indians came to see if they could defend the passage, and disturbe those which made the bridge, was very hie and thicke. The crossebow men so bestirred themselues that they made them giue back: and certaine plancks were cast into the Riuer, whereon the men passed, which made good the passage. The Gouernour passed vpon Wednesday, which was S. Francis his day, and lodged at a towne which was called Vitachuco, subiect to Apalache: he found it burning; for the Indians had set it on fire. From thence forward the countrie was much inhabited, and had great store of Maiz. Hee passed by many granges, like hamlets. On Sunday the 25. of October, he came to a towne, which is called Vzela, and vpon Tuesday to Anaica Apalache, where the Lord of all that Countrie and

Prouince was resident: in which towne the Campemaster, whose office it is to quarter out, and lodge men, did lodge all the companie round about within a league, and halfe a league of it. There were other townes, where was great store of Maiz, Pomions, French Beanes, and Plummes of the Countrie, which are better then those of Spaine, and they grow in the fields without planting. The victuals that were thought necessarie to passe the winter, were gathered from these townes to Anaica Apalache. The Gouernour was informed, that the sea was ten leagues from thence. Hee presently sent a Captaine thither with horsemen and footemen: And sixe leagues on the way, he found a towne, which was named Ochete, and so came to the Sea: and found a great tree felled, and cut into peeces, with stakes set vp like mangers, and saw the skulles of horses. Hee returned with this newes. And that was held for certaine, which was reported of Pamphilo de Naruaez, that there hee had builded the barkes wherewith he went out of the land of Florida, and was cast away at sea. Presently the Gouernour sent Iohn Danusco with 30. horsemen to the port de Spirito Santo, where Calderan was, with order, that they should abandon the port, and all of them come to Apalache. Hee departed on Saturday the 17 of Nouember. In Vzachil and other townes that stood in the way he found great store of people already carelesse. Hee would take none of the Indians, for not hindring himselfe, because it behoued him to giue them no leasure to gather themselues together. Hee passed through the townes by night, and rested without the townes three or foure houres. In tenne daies he came to the Port de Spirito Santo. Hee carried with him 20. Indian women which hee tooke in Ytara, and Potano, neere vnto Cale, and sent them to Donna Isabella in the two carauels, which hee sent from the Port de Spirito Santo to Cuba. And he carried all the footemen in the brigandines, and coasting along the shore, came to Apalache. And Calderan with the horsemen, and some crossebowmen on foot went by land; and in some places the Indians set vpon him, and wounded some of his men. Assoone as he came to Apalache presently the Gouernour sent sawed plankes and spikes to the sea side, wherewith was made a piragua or barke, wherein were embarked 30. men well armed; which went out of the Bay to the Sea, looking for the brigandines. Sometimes they fought with the Indians, which passed along the harbour in their canoes. Vpon Saturday the 29. of Nouember, there came an Indian through the Watch vndiscouered, and set the towne on fire, and with the great wind that blew, two parts of it were consumed in a short time. On Sonday the 28. of December came Iohn Danusco with the brigandines. The Gouernour sent Francisco Maldonado a captaine of footemen with 50 men to discouer the coast Westward, and to seeke some Port, because he had determined to goe by land, and discouer that part. That day there went out eight horsemen by commandement of the Gouernour into the field, two leagues about the towne to seeke Indians: for they were now so emboldened, that within two crossebow shot of yͤ camp, they came and slew men. They found two men and a woman gathering French Beanes: the men, though they might haue fled, yet because they would not leaue the woman, which was one of their wiues, they resolued to die fighting: and before they were slaine, they wounded three horses, whereof one died within a few daies after. Calderan going with his men by the Sea-coast, from a wood that was neere the place, the Indians set vpon him, and made him forsake his way, and many of them that went with him forsooke some necessarie victuals, which they carried with them. Three or foure daies after the limited time giuen by the Gouernour to Maldonado for his going and comming, being alreadie determined and resolued, if within eight daies he did not come to tarrie no longer for him, he came and brought an Indian from a Prouince, which was called Ochus, sixtie leagues Westward from Apalache; where he had found a good Port of good depth and defense against weather. And because the Gouernour hoped to find a good countrie forward he was well contented. And he sent Maldonado for victuals to Hauana, with order, that he should tarrie for him at the Port of Ochus, which hee had discouered, for hee would goe seeke it by land: and if he should chance to stay, and not come thither that summer, that then he should returne to Hauana, and should come again the next summer after and tarrie for him at that port: for he said hee would doe none other thing but goe to seeke Ochus. Francisco Maldonado departed, and in his place for captaine of the footemen remained Iohn de Guzman. "Of those Indians which were taken in Napetuca, the treasurer Iohn Gaytan had a young man, which said, that he was not of that countrie, but of another farre off toward the Sunrising, and that it was long since he had trauelled to see countries; and that his countrie was called

Chap. 11.

Yupaha, and thas a woman did gouern it; and that the towne where she was resident was of a wonderfull bignesse, and that many lords round about were tributaries to her; and some gaue her clothes, and others gold in abundance; and hee told, how it was taken out of the mines, and was moulten and refined, as if hee had seene it done, or the diuel had taught it him." So that all those which knew anything concerning the same, said that it was impossible to giue so good a relation, without hauing seene it; And all of them, as if they had seene it, by the signes that he gaue, beleeued all that hee said to be true.

Chap. XIII.

How the Gouernour departed from Apalache to seeke Yupaha, and of that which happened vnto him.

ON Wednesday the third of March, of the yeere 1540. the Gouernor departed from Anaica Apalache to seeke Yupaha. He commanded his men to goe prouided with Maiz for sixtie leagues of desert. The horsemen carried their Maiz on their horses, and the footemen at their sides; because the Indians that were for seruice, with their miserable life that they lead that winter, being naked and in chaines, died for the most part. Within foure daies iournie they came to a great Riuer; and they made a piragua or ferrie bote, and because of the great current, they made a cable with chaines, which they fastened on both sides of the Riuer; and the ferrie bote went along by it; and the horses swam ouer, being drawne with capstans. Hauing passed the Riuer, in a day and an halfe, they came to a towne called Capachiqui. Vpon Friday the 11. of March, they found Indians in armes. The next day fiue Christians went to seeke morters, which the Indians haue to beate their Maiz, and they went to certaine houses on the backside of the Campe enuironed with a wood: And within the wood were many Indians which came to spie vs; of the which came other fiue and set vpon vs. One of the Christians came running away, giuing an alarme vnto the Campe. Those which were most readie answered the alarme. They found one Christian dead, and three sore wounded. The Indians fled vnto a lake adioyning neere a very thicke wood, where the horses could not enter. The Gouernour departed from Capachiqui, and passed through a desert. On Wednesday the 21. of the moneth he came to a towne called Toalli. And from thence forward there was a difference in the houses. For those which were behind vs were thatched with straw, and those of Toalli were couered with reeds in manner of tiles. These houses are verie cleanly. Some of them had walles daubed with clay, which shewed like a mudwall. In all the cold countrie the Indians haue euery one a house for the winter daubed with clay within and without, and the doore is very little: they shut it by night, and make fire within; so that they are in it as warme as in a stoue: and so it continueth all night that they need not clothes: and besides these, they haue others for summer; and their kitchins neere them, where they make fire and bake their bread: and they haue barbacoas wherein they keepe their Maiz; which is an house set vp in the aire vpon foure stakes, boorded about like a chamber, and the floore of it is of cane hurdles. The difference which Lords or principall mens houses haue from the rest, besides they be greater, is, that they haue great galleries in their fronts, and vnder them seates made of canes in manner of benches: and round about them they haue many lofts, wherein they lay vp that which the Indians doe giue them for tribute, which is Maiz, Deeres skins, and mantles of the Countrie, which are like blankets: they make them of the inner rinde of the barke of trees, and some of a kind of grasse like vnto nettles, which being beaten, is like vnto flaxe. The women couer themselues with these mantles; they put one about them from the wast downeward; and another ouer their shoulder, with their right arme out, like vnto the Egyptians. The men weare but one mantle vpon their shoulders after the same manner: and haue their secrets hid with a Deeres skin, made like a linen breech, which was wont to be vsed in Spaine. The skins are well corried, and they giue them what colour they list, so perfect, that if it be red, it seemeth a very fine cloath in graine, and the blacke is most fine: and of the same leather they make shooes; and they die their mantles in the same colours. The Gouernour departed from Toalli the 24. of March: he came on Thursday at euening to a small Riuer, where a bridge was made whereon the people passed, and Benit Fernandez a Portugall fell off from it, and was drowned. Assoone as the Gouernour had passed the Riuer, a little distance thence he found a towne called Achese. The Indians had no notice of the Christians: they leaped into a Riuer: some men and women were taken; among which was one that vnderstood the youth which guided the Gouernour to Yupaha: whereby that which he had reported was more confirmed. For they passed through Countries of diuers languages, and some which he vnderstood not. The Gouernour sent by one of the Indians that were taken to call the Cacique, which was on the other side of the Riuer. Hee came and made this speech following:

Right high, right mightie, and excellent Lord, those things which seldome happen doe cause admiration. What then may the sight of your Lordship, and your people doe to mee and mine, whom we neuer saw? especially being mounted on such fierce beasts as your horses are, entring with such violence and furie into my Countrie, without my knowledge of your comming. It was a thing so strange, and caused such feare and terrour in our mindes, that it was not in our power to stay and receiue your Lordship with the solemnitie due to so high and renowmed a Prince, as your Lordship is. And trusting in your greatnesse and singular vertues, I doe not onely hope to be freed from blame, but also to receiue fauours: and the first which I demand of your Lordship is, that you will vse me, my Countrie, and subiects as your owne; and the second, that you will tell mee who you are, and whence you come, and whither you goe, and what you seeke, that I the better may serue you therein.

The Gouernour answered him, that hee thanked him as much for his offer and good will, as if hee had receiued it, and as if hee had offered him a great treasure; and told him that he was the sonne of the Sun, and came from those parts where he dwelt, and trauelled through that Countrie, and sought the greatest Lord, and richest Prouince that was in it. The Cacique told him; that farther forward dwelt a great Lord, and that his dominion was called Ocute. He gaue him a guide, and an interpretour for that Prouince. The Gouernour commanded his Indians to bee set free, and trauelled through his Countrie vp a Riuer very well inhabited. He departed from his towne the first of Aprill; and left a very high crosse of Wood set vp in the middest of the market place: and because the time gaue no more leasure, hee declared to him onely, that that crosse was a memorie of ye same, whereon Christ, which was God and man, and created the heauens and the earth, suffered for our saluation: therefore he exhorted them that they should reuerence it: and they made shew as though they would doe so. The fourth of Aprill the Gouernour passed by a towne called Altamaca, and the 10. of the moneth he came to Ocute. The Cacique sent him two thousand Indians with a present, to wit, many conies, and partridges, bread of Maiz, two hens, and many dogs: which among the Christians were esteemed as if they had been fat wethers, because of the great want of flesh meate and salt, and hereof in many places, and many times was great need; and they were so scarse, that if a man fell sicke, there was nothing to cherish him withall: and with a sicknesse, that in another place easilie might haue been remedied, he consumed away till nothing but skinne and bones were left: and they died of pure weaknes, some of them saying, If I had a slice of meate, or a few cornes of salt, I should not die. The Indians want no fleshmeat: for they kill with their arrowes many deere, hennes, conies, and other wild fowle: for they are very cunning at it: which skill the Christians had not: and though they had it, they had no leasure to vse it: for the most of the time they spent in trauell, and durst not presume to straggle aside. And because they were thus scanted of flesh, when sixe hnndred men that went with Soto, came to any towne, and found 30. or 40. dogs, he that could get one and kill it, thought himselfe no small man: and he that killed it, and gaue not his Captaine one quarter, if he knew it, he frowned on him, and made him feele it, in the watches, or in any other matter of labour that was offered, wherein hee might doe him a displeasure. On Monday the 12. of Aprill, the Gouernour departed from Ocute. The Cacique gaue him two hundred Tamenes, to wit, Indians to carrie burdens: hee passed through a towne, the Lord whereof was named Cofaqui, and came to a prouince of an Indian Lord, called Patofa, who, because he was in peace with the Lord of Ocute, and with the other bordering Lords, had many daies before notice of the Gouernour, and desired to see him: He came to visit him, and made this speech following.

Cosaqui.
Patofa.

Mightie Lord, now with good reason I will craue of fortune to requite this my so great prosperitie with some small aduersitie; and I will count my selfe verie rich, seeing I haue obtained that, which in this world I most desired, which is, to see, and bee able to doe your Lordship some seruice. And although the tongue bee the image of that which is in the heart, and that the contentment which I feele in my heart I cannot dissemble, yet is it not sufficient wholly to manifest the same. Where did this your countrie, which I doe gouerne, deserue to be visited of so soueraigne, and so excellent a Prince, whom all the rest of the world ought to obey and serue? And those which inhabite it being so base, what shall be the issue of such happines, if their memorie doe not represent vnto them some aduersitie that may betide them, according to the order of fortune? If from this day forward we may be capable of this benefit, that your Lordship will hold vs for your owne, we cannot faile to be fauoured and maintained in true iustice and reason, and to haue the name of men. For such as are void of reason and iustice, may be compared to brute beastes. For mine owne part, from my very heart with reuerence due to such a Prince, I offer my selfe vnto your Lordship, and beseech you; that in reward of this my true good will, you will vouchsafe to make vse of mine owne person, my countrie and subiects.

The Gouernour answered him, that his offers and good wil declared by the effect, did highly please him, whereof he would alwaies be mindfull to honour and fauour him as his brother. This countrie, from the first peaceable Cacique, vnto the Prouince of Patofa, which were fiftie leagues, is a fat countrie, beautifull, and very fruitfull, and very well watered, and full of good Riuers. And from thence to the Port de Spirito Santo, where wee first arriued in the land of Florida, (which may bee 350. leagues little more or lesse) is a barren land, and the most of it groues of wild Pine-trees, low and full of lakes, and in some places very hie and thicke groues, whither the Indians that were in armes fled, so that no man could finde them, neither could any horses enter into them. Which was an inconuenience to the Christians, in regard of the victuals which they found conueied away: and of the trouble which they had in seeking of Indians to bee their guides.

Chap. XIIII.

How the Gouernour departed from the Prouince of Patofa, and went through a desert, where he and all his men fell into great distresse, and extreme miserie.

IN the towne of Patofa the youth, which the Gouernour carried with him for an interpretour and a guide, began to fome at the mouth, and tumble on the ground, as one possessed with the diuell: They said a Gospell ouer him; and the fit left him. And he said, that foure daies iournie from thence toward the Sunne rising, was the Prouince that he spake of. The Indians of Patofa said, that toward that part they knew no habitation; but that toward the Northwest, they knew a Prouince which was called Coça, a verie plentifull countrie, which had very great townes in it. The Cacique told the Gouernour, that if he would go thither, he would giue him guides and Indians for burdens; and if he would goe whither the youth spake of, that he would likewise giue him those that he needed: and so with louing words and offers of courtesie, they tooke their leaues the one of the other. Hee gaue him seuen hundred Indians to beare burdens. He tooke Maiz for foure daies iournie. Hee trauelled sixe daies by a path which grew narrow more and more, till it was lost altogether: He went where the youth did lead him, and passed two Riuers which were waded: each of them was two crossebowshot ouer: the water came to the stirrops, and had so great a current, that it was needfull for the horsemen to stand one before another, that the footemen might passe aboue them leaning vnto them. He came to another Riuer of a greater current and largenes, which was passed with more trouble, because the horses did swim at the comming out about a lances length. Hauing passed this Riuer, the Gouernor came to a groue of pinetrees, and threatned the youth, and made as though hee would haue cast him to the dogges, because he had told him a lie, saying it was but foure daies iournie, and they had trauelled nine, and euery day 7. or 8. leagues, and the men by this time were growne wearie and weake, and the horses leane through the great scanting of the Maiz. The youth said, that hee knew not where hee was. It saued him that he was not cast to the dogges, that there was neuer another whom Iohn Ortiz did vnderstand. The Gouernour with them two, and with some horsemen and footemen, leauing the Campe in a groue of pinetrees, trauelled that day 5. or 6. leagues to seek a way, and returned at night very comfortlesse, and without finding any signe of way or towne. The next day there were sundrie opinions deliuered, whether they should goe backe, or what they should doe: and because backward the Countrie whereby they had passed was greatly spoiled and destitute of Maiz, and that which they brought with them was spent, and the men were very weake, and the horses

Two swift Riuers.

Another greater Riuer.

likewise, they doubted much whether they might come to any place where they might helpe themselues. And besides this, they were of opinion, that going in that sort out of order, that any Indians would presume to set vpon them, so that with hunger, or with warre, they could not escape. The Gouernour determined to send horsemen from thence euery way to seeke habitation: and the next day he sent foure Captaines, euery one a sundrie way with eight horsemen. At night they came againe, leading their horses, or driuing them with a sticke before; for they were so wearie, that they could not lead them; neither found they any way nor signe of habitation. The next day, the Gouernour sent other foure with as many horsemen that could swim, to passe the Ose and Riuers which they should find, and they had choice horses the best that were in the Campe. The Captaines were Baltasar de Gallegos, which went vp the Riuer; and Iohn Danusco, downe the Riuer: Alfonso Romo, and Iohn Rodriguez Lobillo went into the inward parts of the land. The Gouernour brought with him into Florida thirteene sowes, and had by this time three hundred swine: He commanded euery man should haue halfe a pound of hogs flesh euery day: and this hee did three or foure daies after the Maiz was all spent. With this small quantitie of flesh, and some sodden hearbs, with much trouble the people were sustained. The Gouernour dismissed yͤ Indians of Patofa, because hee had no food to giue them; who desiring to accompanie and serue the Christians in their necessitie, making shew that it grieued them very much to returne, vntill they had left them in a peopled Countrie, returned to their owne home. Iohn Danusco came on Sunday late in the euening, and brought newes that he had found a little towne 12. or 13. leagues from thence: he brought a woman and a boy that he tooke there. With his comming and with those newes, the Gouernour and all the rest were so glad, that they seemed at that instant to haue returned from death to life. Vpon Monday the twentie sixe of Aprill, the Gouernour departed to goe to the towne, which was called Aymay; and the Christians named it the towne of Reliefe. He left where the Camp had lien at the foote of a Pinetree a letter buried, and letters carued in the barke of the pine, the contents whereof was this: Dig heere at the foot of this pine, and you shal find a letter. And this he did, because when the Captaines came, which were sent to seeke some habitation, they

The great increase of swine.

might see the letter, and know what was become of the Gouernour, and which way he was gone. There was no other way to the town, but the markes that Iohn Danusco left made vpon the trees. The Gouernour with some of them that had the best horses came to it on the Monday: And all the rest inforcing themselues the best they could, some of them lodged within two leagues of the towne, some within three or foure, euery one as he was able to goe, and his strength serued him. There was found in the towne a storehouse full of the flowre of parched Maiz; and some Maiz, which was distributed by allowance. Here were foure Indians taken, and none of them would confesse any other thing, but that they knew of none other habitation. The Gouernour commanded one of them to be burned; and presently another confessed, that two daies iourney from thence, there was a Prouince that was called Cutifa Chiqui. Vpon Wednesday came the Captaines Baltasar de Gallegos, Alfonso Romo, and Iohn Rodriguez Lobillo: for they had found the letter, and followed the way which the Gouernour had taken toward the towne. Two men of Iohn Rodriguez companie were lost, because their horses tired: the Gouernour checked him very sore for leauing them behind, and sent to seeke them: and assoone as they came, he departed toward Cutifa Chiqui. In the way three Indians were taken, which said, that the Ladie of that Countrie had notice alreadie of the Christians, and staied for them in a towne of hers. The Gouernour sent by one of them to offer her his friendship, and to aduertise her how he was comming thither. The Gouernour came vnto the towne: and presently there came foure canoes to him; in one of them came a sister of the Ladie, and approching to the Gouernour she said these words:

An Indian burned for his falsehood.

Excellent Lord, my sister sendeth vnto you by me to kisse your Lordships hands, and to signifie vnto you, that the cause why she came not in person, is, that she thinketh to do you greater seruice staying behind, as she doth, giuing order, that with all speed, al her canoes be readie, that your Lordship may passe the Riuer, and take your rest, which shall be presentlie performed.

The Gouernour gaue her thankes, and she returned to the other side of the Riuer. Within a little while the Ladie came out of the towne in a Chaire, whereon certaine of the principall Indians brought her to the Riuer. She entred into a barge, which had the sterne tilted ouer, and on the floore her mat readie laied with two cushions vpon it one vpon another, where she sate her downe; and with her came her principall Indians in other barges, which did wait vpon her. She went to the place where the Gouernour was, and at her comming she made this speech following:

Excellent Lord, I wish this comming of your Lordship into these your Countries, to be most happie: although my power be not answerable to my wil, and my seruices be not according to my desire, nor such as so high a Prince, as your Lordship, deserueth; yet since the good will is rather to be accepted, then all the treasures of the world, that without it are offered, with most vnfaileable and manifest affection, I offer you my person, lands, and subiects, and this small seruice.

Cutifa-Chiqui.

And therewithal she presented vnto him great store of clothes of the Countrie, which shee brought in other canoes; to wit, mantles and skinnes; and tooke from her owne necke a great cordon of perles, and cast it about the necke of the Gouernour, entertaining him with very gracious speeches of loue and courtesie, and commanded canoes to be brought thither, wherein the Gouernour and his people passed the Riuer. Assoone as hee was lodged in the towne, she sent him another present of many hens. This Countrie was verie pleasant, fat, and hath goodly meadows by the Riuers. Their woods are thin, and ful of Walnut trees and Mulberrie trees. They said the sea was two daies iourney from thence. Within a league, and a halfe a league about this towne, was great townes dispeopled, and ouergrowne with grasse; which shewed, that they had been long without inhabitants. The Indians said, that two yeere before there was a plague in that countrie, and that they remooued to other townes. There was in their storehouses great quantitie of clothes, mantles of yarne made of the barkes of trees, and others made of feathers, white, greene red, and yellow, very fine after their vse, and profitable for winter. There were also many Deeres skinnes, with many compartiments traced in them, and some or them made into hose, stockings and shooes. And the Ladie perceiuing, that the Christians esteemed the perles, aduised the Gouernour to send to search certaine graues that were in that towne, and that hee should find many: and that if hee would send to the dispeopled townes, hee might load all his horses. They sought the graues of the towne, and there found fourteene rooues of perles, and little babies and birdes made of them. The people were browne, well made, and well proportioned, and more ciuill then any others that were seene in all the countrie of Florida, and all of them well shod and clothed. The youth told the Gouernour, that hee began now to enter into the land which hee spake of: and some credit was giuen him that it was so, because hee vnderstood the language of the Indians: and hee requested that hee might bee christened, for hee said he desired to become a Christian: Hee was christened, and named Peter; and the Gouernour commanded him to be loosed from a chaine, in which vntill that time he had gone. This countrie, as the Indians reported, had beene much inhabited, and had the fame of a good countrie. And, as it seemeth, the youth which was the Gouernours guide, had heard of it, and that which he knew by heresay, hee affirmed that hee had seene, and augmented at his pleasure. In this towne was found a dagger, and beades, that had belonged to Christians. The Indians reported that Christians had been in the hauen, which was two daies iourney from this towne, many yeeres agoe. Hee that came thither was the Gouernour, the Licenciate Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, which went to conquer this countrie, and at his comming to the Port hee died; and there was a diuision, quarrels and slaughters betweene some principall men which went with him, for the principall gouernment: And without knowing anything of the countrie they returned home to Hispaniola. All the company thought it good to inhabite that countrie, because it was in a temperat climate: And that if it were inhabited, al the shippes of New Spaine, of Peru, Santa Martha, and Tierra firme in their returne for Spaine, might well touch there: because it was in their way; and because it was a good countrie, and sited fit to raise commoditie. The Gouernour, since it was his intent to seeke another treasure, like that of Atabalipa Lord of Peru, was not contented with a good countrie, nor with perles, though many of them were worth their weight in gold. And if the countrie had been diuided among the Christians, those which the Indians had fished for afterward, would haue been of more value; for those which they had, because they burned them in the fire, did leese their colour. The Gouernour answered them, that vrged him to inhabit, That in all the countrie there were not victuals to susteine his men one moneth;

This towne was but two daies iourney from the hauen of Santa Helena. In the yeere 1525. It is in 32. degrees ½.

and that it was needfull to resort to the Port of Ocus, where Maldanado was to stay for them: and that if no richer Countrie were found, they might returne againe to that whensoeuer they would: and in the meane time the Indians would sow their fields, and it would be better furnished with Maiz. He inquired of the Indians, whether they had notice of any great Lord farther into the land. They told him, that 12. daies iournie from thence, there was a Prouince called Chiaha,* subiect to the Lord of Coça. Presently the Gouernour determined to seeke that land. And being a sterne man, and of few words, though he was glad to sift and know the opinion of all men, yet after hee had deliuered his owne, he would not be contraried, and alwaies did what liked himselfe, and so all men did condescend vnto his will. And though it seemed an errour to leaue that Countrie, (for others might haue been sought round about, where the people might haue been sustained, vntill the haruest had been readie there, and the Maiz gathered) yet there was none that would say any thing against him, after they knew his resolution.

Chap. XV.

How the Gouernour departed from Cutifa-Chiqui to seeke the Prouince of Coça; and what happened vnto him in the way.

THe Gouernour departed from Cutifa-Chiqui the third day of May. And because the Indians had reuolted, and the will of the Ladie was perceiued, that if she could, she would depart without giuing any guides or men for burdens, for the wrongs which the Christians had done to the Indians: (for there neuer want some among many of the base sort, that for a little doe put themselues and others in danger of vndoing.) The Gouernour commanded her to be kept in safegard, and carried with him, not with so good vsage as she deserued for the good wil she shewed and good entertainment that she had made him. And he verified that old prouerb which saith; For weldoing I receiue euill. And so he carried her on foot with his bondwomen to looke vnto her. In all the townes where the

---

Marginal note.—Chiaha 12. daies iournie from Santa Helena: and Coste 7. daies iournie from Chiaha: at which towne of Coste, they had an oxe hide; Chap. 16.

Gouernour passed, the Ladie commanded the Indians to come and carrie the burdens from one towne to another. We passed through her Countrie an hundred leagues, in which, as we saw, she was much obeyed. For the Indians did all that she commanded them with great efficacie and diligence. Peter the youth that was our guide, said, that she was not the Ladie her selfe, but a neece of hers, which came to that towne to execute certaine principal men by commandement of the Ladie, which had withheld her tribute: which words were not beleeued, because of the lies which they had found in him before: but they bare with all things, because of the need which they had of him, to declare what the Indians said. In seuen daies space the Gouernour came to a Prouince called Chalaque, the poorest Country of Maiz that was seene in Florida. The Indians fed vpon rootes and herbes which they seeke in the fields, and vpon wild beasts, which they kil with their bowes and arrowes: and it is a verie gentle people. All of them goe naked, and are very leane. There was a Lord, which for a great present, brought the Gouernour two Deeres skins: and there were in that Countrie many wild hennes. In one towne they made him a present of 700. hennes, and so in other townes they sent him those which they had or could get. From this Prouince to another, which is called Xualla, he spent fiue daies: here he found very little Maiz; and for this cause, though the people were wearied, and the horses very weake, he staied no more but two daies. From Ocute to Cutifa-chiqui, may bee some hundred and thirtie leagues, whereof 80. are wildernesse. From Cutifa-chiqui to Xualla, two hundred and fiftie, and it is an hillie Countrie. The Gouernour departed from Xualla toward Guaxule: he passed very rough and hie hilles. In that Iournie, the Ladie of Cutifa-chiqui (whom the Gouernour carried with him, as is afore said, with purpose to carrie her to Guaxule, because her territorie reached thither) going on a day with the bondwomen which lead her, went out of the way, and entred into a wood, saying, she went to ease her selfe, and so she deceiued them, and hid her selfe in the wood; and though they sought her they could not find her. She carried away with her a little chest made of canes in manner of a coffer, which they call Petaca, full of vnbored perles. Some which could iudge of them, said, that they were of great value. An Indian woman that waited on her did carrie them. The Gouernour not to dis-

Chalaque seuen daies iournie from Cutifa-Chiqui.

content her altogether, left them with her, making account that in Guaxule he would ask them of her, when he gaue her leaue to returne: which coffer she carried away, and went to Xualla with three slaues which fled from the Campe, and one horseman which remained behind, who falling sicke of an ague went out of the way, and was lost. This man, whose name was Alimamos, dealt with the slaues to change their euill purpose, and returne with him to the Christians: which two of them did; and Alimamos and they ouertooke the Gouernour 50. leagues from thence in a Prouince called Chiaha; and reported how the Ladie remained in Xualla with a slaue of Andrew de Vasconcellos, which would not come backe with them, and that of a certaintie they liued as man and wife together, and meant to goe both to Cutifa-chiqui. Within fiue daies the Gouernour came to Guaxule. The Indians there gaue him a present of 300. dogges, because they saw the Christians esteeme them, and sought them to feed on them: for among them they are not eaten. In Guaxule, and all that way, was very little Maiz. The Gouernour sent from thence an Indian with a message to the Cacique of Chiaha, to desire him to gather some Maiz thither, that he might rest a few daies in Chiaha. The Gouernour departed from Guaxule, and in two daies iournie came to a towne called Canasagua. There met him on the way 20. Indians euery one laden with a basket full of Mulberries: for there be many, and those very good, from Cutifa-chiqui thither, and so forward in other Prouinces, and also nuts and plummes. And the trees grow in the fields without planting or dressing them, and are as big and rancke, as though they grew in gardens digged and watered. From the time that the Gouernour departed from Canasagua, hee iournied fiue daies through a desert; and two leagues before hee came to Chiaha, there met him 15. Indians loaden with Maiz, which the Cacique had sent; and they told him on his behalfe that he waited his comming with 20. barnes full of it; and farther that himselfe his countrie, and subiects, and al things els were at his seruice. On the 5. day of Iune, the Gouernour entred into Chiaha: The Cacique voided his owne houses, in which he lodged and receiued him with much ioy, saying these words following:

Mightie and excellent Lord, I hold my selfe for so happie a man, in that it hath pleased your Lordship to vse me, that nothing could haue happened vnto me of more contentment, nor that I would haue esteemed so much. From Guaxule your

Lordship sent vnto me, that I should prepare Maiz for you in this towne for two moneths: Here I haue for you 20. barnes full of the choisest that in all the countrie could be found. If your lordship bee not entertained by mee in such sort, as is fit for so hie a Prince, respect my tender age, which excuseth me from blame, and receiue my good will, which with much loyaltie, truth, and sinceritie, I will alwaies shew in any thing, which shall concerne your Lordships seruice.

The Gouernonr answered him, that he thanked him very much for his seruice and offer, and that he would alwaies account him as a brother. There was in this towne much butter in gourds melted like oile: they said it was the fat of beares. There was found also great store of oile of walnuts, which was cleare as butter, and of good taste, and a pot full of honie of bees, which neither before or afterward was seene in all the countrie. The towne was in an Island betweene two armes of a Riuer, and was seated nigh one of them. The Riuer diuided it selfe into those two branches two crossebow shot aboue the towne, and meeteth againe a league beneath the same. The plaine betweene both the branches is sometimes one crosse-bowe shot ouer. The branches are very broad, and both of them may be waded ouer. There were all along them verie good meadowes, and many fields sowne with Maiz. And because the Indians staid in their towns the Gouernour only lodged in the houses of the Cacique, and his people in the fields; where there was euer a tree, euerie one tooke one for himselfe. Thus the camp lay separated one from another, and out of order. The Gouernour winked at it, because the Indians were in peace, and because it was very hot, and the people should haue suffered great extremitie, if it had not bin so. The horses came thither so weake, that for feeblenesse, they were not able to carrie their masters: because that from Cutifa-chiqui, they alwaies trauelled with very little prouender, and were hunger-starued and tired euer since they came from the desert of Ocute. And because the most of them were not in case to vse in battell, though need should require, they sent them to feed in the night a quarter of a league from the Camp. The Christians were there in great danger, because that if at this time the Indians had set vpon them, they had been in euill case to haue defended themselues. The Gouernour rested there thirtie daies, in which time, because the Countrie was very fruitfull, the

The desert of Ocute, chap. 14.

horses grew fat. At the time of his departure, by the importunitie of some, which would haue more then was reason, hee demanded of the Cacique 30. women to make slaues of. Hee answered that hee would conferre with his chiefe men. And before hee returned answere, one night all of them with their wiues and children forsooke the towne, and fled away. The next day the Gouernour purposing to goe to seeke them, the Cacique came vnto him, and at his comming vsed these words vnto the Gouernour:

Mightie Lord, with shame and feare of your Lordship, because my subiects against my will haue done amisse in absenting themselues, I went my way without your license; and knowing the errour which I haue committed, like a loyall subiect, I come to yeeld my selfe into your power, to dispose of mee at your owne pleasure. For my subiects do not obey mee, nor do any thing but what an Vncle of mine commandeth, which gouerneth this Countrie for me, vntill I be of a perfect age. If your lordship will pursue them, and execute on them that, which for their disobedience they deserue, I will be your guide, since at this present my fortune will not suffer me to performe any more.

Certaine townes.

Presently the Gouernour with 30. horsemen, and as many footmen, went to seeke the Indians, and by passing by some townes of the principall Indians which had absented themselues, hee cut and destroyed great fields of Maiz; and went vp the Riuer, where the Indians were in an Island, where the horsemen could not come at them. There he sent them word by an Indian to returne to their towne and feare nothing, and that they should giue him men to carrie burdens, as al those behind had done; for he would haue no Indian women, seeing they were so loth to part with them. The Indians accepted his request, and came to the Gouernour to excuse themselues; and so all of them returned to their towne. A Cacique of a Prouince called Coste, came to this towne to visit the Gouernour. After hee had offered himselfe, and passed with him some words of tendring his seruice and curtesie; the Gouernour asking him whether he had notice of any rich Countrie? he said, yea: to wit, "that toward the North, there was a Prouince named Chisca: and that there was a melting of copper, and of another metall of the same colour, saue that it was finer, and of a farre more perfect colour, and farre better to the sight;

Mines of copper and gold in Chisca toward the North.

and that they vsed it not so much, because it was softer." And the selfe same thing was told the Gouernour in Cutifa-chiqui; where we saw some little hatchets of copper, which were said to haue a mixture of gold. But in that part the Countrie was not well peopled, and they said there were mountaines, which the horses could not passe: and for that cause the Gouernour would not goe from Cutifa-chiqui directly thither: And hee made account, that trauelling through a peopled Countrie, when his men and horses should be in better plight, and hee were better certified of the truth of the thing, he would returne toward it, by mountaines, and a better inhabited Countrie, whereby hee might haue better passage. He sent two Christians from Chiaha with certain Indians which knew the Countrie of Chisca, and the language thereof to view it, and to make report of that which they should find; where he told them that he would tarrie for them.

Chisca is directly North from Cutifa-Chiqui which is within two daies of Santa Helena.

Two Christians sent from Chiaha to seeke Chisca.

Chap. XVI.

How the Gouernour departed from Chiaha, and at Coste was in danger to haue been slaine by the hands of the Indians, and by a stratageme escaped the same: And what more happened vnto him in this iourney, and how he came to Coça.

WHen the Gouernour was determined to depart from Chiaha to Coste, he sent for the Cacique to come before him, and with gentle words tooke his leaue of him, and gaue him certaine things, wherewith he rested much contented: In seuen daies he came to Coste. The second of Iulie he commanded his campe to be pitched two crossebow shot from the towne: and with eight men of his guard he went where he found the Cacique, which to his thinking receiued him with great loue. As hee was talking with him, there went from the campe certaine footemen to the towne to seeke some Maiz, and not contented with it, they ransacked and searched the houses, and tooke what they found. With this despite the Indians began to rise and take their armes: and some of them with cudgils in their hands, ran vpon fiue or sixe Christians, which had done them wrong, and beat them at their pleasure. The Gouernour seeing them al in an vprore, and himselfe among them with so few Christians, to escape their hands vsed a stratagem, farre against his owne disposition, being as hee was very francke and open: and though it grieued him very much that any Indian should be so bold, as with reason, or without reason to despise the Christians, he tooke vp a cudgel, and tooke their parts against his owne men; which was a meanes to quiet them: And presently he sent word by a man very secretly to the Campe, that some armed men should come toward the place where he was; and hee tooke the Cacique by the hand, vsing very mild words vnto him, and with some principall Indians that did accompanie him, he drew them out of the towne into a plaine way, and vnto the sight of the Campe, whither by little and little with good discretion the Christians began to come and to gather about them. Thus the Gouernour led the Cacique, and his chiefe men vntill he entred with them into the Campe: and neere vnto his tent, hee commanded them to be put in safe custodie: and told them, that they should not depart without giuing him a guide and Indians for burthens, and till certaine sicke Christians were come, which he had commanded to come downe the Riuer in canoes from Chiaha; and those also which he had sent to the Prouince of Chisca: (for they were not returned; and he feared that the Indians had slaine the one, and the other.) Within three daies after, those which were sent to Chisca returned, and made report, that the Indians had carried them through a countrie so poore of Maiz, and so rough, and ouer so hie mountaines, that it was impossible for the armie to trauell that way; and that seeing the way grew very long, and that they lingered much, they consulted to returne from a little poore towne, where they saw nothing that was of any profit, and brought an oxe hide, which the Indians gaue them, as thinne as a calues skinne, and the haire like a soft wool, betweene the course and fine wooll of sheepe. The Cacique gaue a guide, and men for burdens, and departed with the Gouernours leaue. The Gouernour departed from Coste the ninth of Iulie, and lodged at a towne called Tali: the Casique came foorth to receiue him on the way, and made this speech:

A wise stratagem.

Excellent Lord and Prince, worthie to be serued and obeyed of all the Princes in the world; howsoeuer for the most part by the outward phisiognomie, the inward vertue may bee iudged, and that who you are, and of what strength was knowne vnto mee before now: I will not inferre hereupon how meane I am in your presence, to hope that my poore seruices will be gratefull and acceptable: since whereas strength faileth, the will doth not cease to be praised and accepted. And for this cause I presume to request your Lordship, that you will be pleased onely to respect the same, and consider wherein you will command my seruice in this your countrie.

The Gouernour answered him, that his good will and offer was as acceptable vnto him, as if he had offered him all the treasures of the world, and that hee would alwaies intreate, fauour, and esteeme him as if he were his owne brother. The Cacique commanded prouision necessarie for two daies, while the Gouernour was there, to be brought thither: and at the time of his departure, he gaue him foure women and two men, which hee had need of to beare burthens. The Gouernour trauelled sixe daies through many townes subiect to the Cacique of Coça: and as he entred into his Countrie many Indians came vnto him euery day from the Cacique, and met him on the way with messages, one going, and another comming. Hee came to Coça vpon Friday, the 26. of Iulie. The Cacique came foorth to receiue him two crossebow shot from the towne in a chaire, which his principall men carried on their shoulders, sitting vpon a cushion, and couered with a garment of Marterns, of the fashion and bignes of a womans huke: hee had on his head a diadem of feathers, and round about him many Indians playing vpon flutes, and singing. Assoone as he came vnto the Gouernour, he did his obeysance, and vttered these words following:

Excellent and mightie Lord, aboue all them of the earth; although I come but now to receiue you, yet I haue receiued you many daies agoe in my heart, to wit, from the day wherein I had first notice of your Lordship; with so great desire to serue you, with so great pleasure and contentment, that this which I make shew of, is nothing in regard of that which is in my heart neither can it haue any kind of comparison. This you may hold for certaine, that to obtaine the dominion of the whole world, would not haue reioyced me so much, as your sight, neither would I haue held it for so great a felicitie. Doe not looke for me to offer you that which is your owne: to wit, my person, my lands, and subiects: onely I busie my selfe in commanding my men with all diligence and due reuerence to welcome you from hence to the towne with playing and singing, where your Lordship shall be lodged and attended vpon by my selfe and them: and all that I possesse, your Lordship shall vse as it were your owne. For your Lordship shall doe mee a verie great fauour in so doing.

The Gouernour gaue him thankes, and with great ioy they both were conferring together, till they came to the towne: and he commanded his Indians to void their houses, wherein the Gouernour and his men lodged. There was in the barnes, and in the fields, great store of Maiz and French Beanes: The Country was greatly inhabited with many great townes, and many sowne fields, which reach from the one to the other. It was pleasant, fat, full of good meadowes vpon Riuers. There were in the fields, many Plum trees, aswell of such as grow in Spaine, as of the Countrie: and wild tall vines, that runne vp the trees; and besides these, there were other low vines with big and sweet grapes; but for want of digging and dressing, they had great kirnels in them. The Gouernour vsed to set a guard ouer the Caciques, because they should not absent themselues, and carried them with him, till he came out of their Countries, because that carrying them along with him, hee looked to find people in the townes, and they gaue him guides, and men to carrie burdens: and before hee went out of their Countries, he gaue them licence to returne to their houses, and to their porters likewise, assoone as he came to any other Lordship, where they gaue him others. The men of Coça seeing their Lord detained, tooke it in euill part, and reuolted and hid themselues in the woods, aswell those of the towne of the Cacique, as those of the other townes of his principall subiects. The Gouernour sent out foure Captaines, euery one his way to seeke them. They tooke many men and women, which were put into chaines: They seeing the hurt which they receiued, and how little they gained in absenting themselues, came againe, promising to do whatsoeuer they were commanded. Of those which were taken prisoners, some principall men were set at libertie, whom the Cacique demanded: and euery one that had any, carried the rest in chaines like slaues, without letting them goe to their Countrie: neither did any returne, but some few, whose fortune helped them with the good diligence which they vsed to file off their chaines by night, or such as in their trauelling could slippe aside out of the way, seeing any negligence in them that kept them: some escaped away with the chaines, and with the burdens, and clothes which they carried.

Chap. XVII.

How the Gouernour went from Coça to Tascaluca.

THe Gouernour rested in Coça 25. daies. He departed from thence the 20. of August to seeke a Prouince called Tascaluca: hee carried with him the Cacique of Coça. He passed that day by a great towne called Tallimuchase, the people were fled: he lodged halfe a league farther neere a brooke. The next day he came to a towne called Ytaua, subiect to Coça. Hee staied there sixe daies because of a Riuer that passed by it, which at that time was very hie; and assoone as the Riuer suffered him to passe, he set forward, and lodged at a towne named Vllibahali. There came to him on the way, on the Caciques behalfe of that Prouince, ten or twelue principall Indians to offer him his seruice; all of them had their plumes of feathers, and bowes and arrowes. The Gouernour comming to the towne with twelue horsemen, and some footemen of his guard, leauing his people a crossebow shot from the towne, entred into it, hee found all the Indians with their weapons: and as farre as he could ghesse, they seemed to haue some euill meaning. It was knowne afterward, that they were determined to take the Cacique of Coça, from the Gouernnour, if hee had requested it. The Gouernour commanded all his people to enter the towne, which was walled about, and neere vnto it passed a small Riuer. The wall, aswell of that, as of others, which afterward wee saw, was of great posts thrust deepe into the ground and very rough, and many long railes as big as ones arme laid acrosse between them, and the wall was about the height of a lance, and it was daubed within and without with clay, and had loope holes. On the other side of the Riuer was a towne, where at that present the Cacique was. The Gouernour sent to call him, and hee came presently. After he had passed with the Gouernour some words of offering his seruices, he gaue him such men for his cariages as he needed, and thirtie women for slaues. In that place was a Christian lost, called Mançano, borne in Salamanca, of noble parentage, which went astray to seeke for grapes, whereof there is great store, and those very good. The day that the Gouernour departed from thence, he lodged at a towne subiect to the Lord of Vllibahali: and the next day hee came to another

Vllibahali walled about.

towne called Toasi. The Indians gaue the Gouernour thirtie women, and such men for his cariages as he needed. Hee trauelled ordinarily 5. or 6. leagues a day when he trauelled through peopled Countries: and going through deserts, he marched as fast as he could, to eschew the want of Maiz. From Toasi, passing through some townes subiect to a Cacique, which was Lord of a prouince called Tallise, hee trauelled fiue daies: He came to Tallise the 18. of September: The towne was great, and situated neere vnto a maine Riuer. On the other side of the Riuer were other townes, and many fields sowne with Maiz. On both sides it was a very plentifull Countrie, and had store of Maiz: they had voided the towne. The Gouernour commanded to call the Cacique; who came, and betweene them passed some words of loue and offer of his seruices, and hee presented vnto him 40. Indians. There came to the Gouernour in this towne a principall Indian in the behalfe of the Cacique of Tascaluca, and made this speech following:

Mightie, vertuous, and esteemed Lord, the great Cacique of Tascaluca my Lord, sendeth by me to kisse your Lordships hands, and to let you vnderstand, that he hath notice, how you iustly rauish with your perfections and power, all men on the earth; and that euerie one by whom your Lordship passeth doth serue and obey you; which he acknowledgeth to be due vnto you, and desireth, as his life, to see, and to serue your Lordship. For which cause by me he offereth himselfe, his lands and subiects, that when your Lordship pleaseth to go through his Countrie, you may be receiued with all peace and loue, serued and obeyed; and that in recompence of the desire he hath to see you, you will doe him the fauour to let him know when you will come: for how much the sooner, so much the greater fauour he shall receiue.

The Gouernour receiued and dispatched him graciously, giuing him beades, which among them were not much esteemed, and some other thinges to carrie to his Lord. And he gaue licence to the Cacique of Coça to returne home to his owne Countries. The Cacique of Tallise gaue him such men for burthens as he needed. And after he had rested there 20. daies, hee departed thence toward Tascaluca. That day when he went from Tallise, hee lodged at a great towne called Casiste. And the next day passed by another, and came to a small towne of Tascaluca; and the next day hee camped in a wood two leagues from the towne where the Cacique resided, and was at that time. And he sent the Master of the Camp, Luys de Moscoso, with 15. horsemen, to let him know how hee was comming. The Cacique was in his lodgings vnder a Canopie: and without doores, right against his lodgings, in an high place, they spread a mat for him, and two cushions one vpon another, where he sat him downe, and his Indians placed themselues round about him, somewhat distant from him, so that they made a place, and a void roome where he sate: and his chiefest men were neerest to him, and one with a shadow of Deeres skinne, which keept the Sunne from him, being round, and of the bignes of a target, quartered with black and white, hauing a rundell in the middest: a farre off it seemed to be of taffata, because ye colours were very perfect. It was set on a small staffe stretched wide out. This was the deuice which hee carried in his warres. He was a man of a very tall stature, of great limmes, and spare, and well proportioned, and was much feared of his neighbours and subiects. He was Lord of many territories and much people: In his countenance hee was very graue. After the Master of the Campe had spoken with him, hee and those that went with him coursed their horses, pransing them to and fro, and now and then toward the place where the Cacique was, who with much grauitie and dissimulation now and then lifted vp his eies, and beheld them as it were with disdaine. At the Gouernours comming, hee made no offer at all to rise. The Gouernour tooke him by the hand, and both of them sate downe together on a seate which was vnder the cloth of estate. The Cacique said these words vnto him:

Mighty Lord, I bid your Lordship right hartily welcome. I receiue as much pleasure and contentment with your sight, as if you were my brother whom I dearly loued: vpon this point it is not needfull to vse many reasons; since it is no discretion to speake that in many wordes, which in few may be vttered. How much the greater the will is, so much more giueth it name to the workes, and the workes giue testimonie of the truth. Now touching my will, by it you shall know, how certaine and manifest it is, and how pure inclination I haue to serue you. Concerning the fauour which you did me, in the things which you sent me, I make as much account of them as is reason to esteeme them: and chiefly because they were yours. Now see what seruice you will command me.

The Gouernor satisfied him with sweet words, and with great breuitie. When hee departed from thence he determined to carrie him along with him for some causes, and at two daies iournie he came to a towne called Piache, by which there passed a great Riuer. The Gouernour demanded canoes of the Indians: they said, they had them not, but that they would make rafts of canes and drie timber, on which he might passe well enough. And they made them with all diligence and speed, and they gouerned them; and because the water went very slow, the Gouernour and his people passed very well.

From the Port de Spirito Santo to Apalache, which is about an hundred leagues, the Gouernour went from East to West: And from Apalache to Cutifa-chiqui, which are 430. leagues, from the Southwest to the Northeast: and from Cutifa-chiqui to Xualla, which are about two hundred and fiftie leagues, from the South to the North: And from Xualla to Tascaluca, which are two hundred and fiftie leagues more, an hundred and ninetie of them he trauelled from East to West, to wit, to the Prouince of Coça: and the other 60. from Coça to Tascaluca from the North to the South.

Hauing passed the Riuer of Piache, a Christian went from his companie from thence to seeke a woman slaue that was runne away from him, and the Indians either tooke him captiue, or slue him. The Gouernor vrged the Cacique that he should giue account of him, and threatened him, that if he were not found, he would neuer let him loose. The Cacique sent an Indian from thence to Mauilla, whither they were trauelling, which was a towne of a principall Indian and his subiect, saying, that he sent him to aduise them to make readie victuals, and men for carriages. But, (as afterward appeared) hee sent him to assemble all the men of warre thither, that hee had in his Countrie. The Gouernour trauelled three daies; and the third day he passed all day through a peopled Countrie: and he came to Mauilla vpon Monday the 18. of October. He went before the Camp with 15. horsemen and 30. footemen. And from the towne came a Christian, whom he had sent to the principall man, three or foure daies before, because he should not absent himselfe, and also to learne in what sort the Indians were: who told him that hee thought they were in an euill purpose: for while hee was there, there came manie people into the towne, and many weapons, and that they made great haste to fortifie the wall. Luys de

Mauilla walled.

Moscoso told the Gouernour, that it would bee good to lodge in the field, seeing the Indians were of such disposition: and hee answered, that he would lodge in the towne, for hee was wearie of lodging in the field. When hee came neere vnto the towne, the Cacique came foorth to receiue him with many Indians playing vpon flutes and singing: And after hee had offered himselfe, hee presented him with three mantels of marterns. The Gouernour, with both the Caciques, and seuen or eight men of his guard, and three or foure horsemen which alighted to accompanie him, entred into the towne, and sat him downe vnder a cloth of estate. The Cacique of Tascaluca requested him, that hee would let him remaine in that towne, and trouble him no more with trauelling: And seeing he would not giue him leaue, in his talke he changed his purpose, and dissemblinglie fained that he would speake with some principall Indians, and rose vp from the place where hee sate with the Gouernour, and entred into a house, where many Indians were with their bowes and arrowes. The Gouernour when he saw he returned not, called him, and he answered, that he would not come out from thence, neither would he goe any farther then that towne, and that if he would goe his way in peace, hee should presently depart, and should not seeke to carrie him perforce out of his Countrie and territorie.

Chap. XVIII.

How the Indians rose against the Gouernour, and what ensued thereupon.

THe Gouernour seeing the determination, and furious answere of the Cacique, went about to pacifie him with faire words: to which he gaue no answere, but rather with much pride and disdaine, withdrew himselfe where the Gouernor might not see him, nor speake with him. As a principall Indian passed that way, the Gouernor called him, to send him word, that hee might remaine at his pleasure in his Countrie, and that it would please him to giue him a guide, and men for carriages, to see if he could pacifie him with mild words. The Indians answered with great pride, that hee would not hearken vnto him. Baltasar de Gallegos, which stood by tooke hold of a gowne of marternes which hee had on; and he cast it ouer his head, and left it in his hands: and because all of them immediatly began to stirre, Baltasar de Gallegos gaue him such a wound with his coutilas, that hee opened him downe the backe, and presently all the Indians with a great crie came out of the houses shooting their arrowes. The Gouernour considering, that if hee tarried there, hee could not escape, and if hee commanded his men to come in, which were without the towne, the Indians within the houses might kill their horses, and doe much hurt, ranne out of the towne, and before hee came out, hee fell twice or thrice, and those that were with him did helpe him vp againe; and he and those that were with him were sore wounded: and in a moment there were fiue Christians slaine in the towne. The Gouernour came running out of the towne, crying out, that euery man should stand farther off, because from the wall they did them much hurt. The Indians seeing that the Christians retired, and some of them, or the most part, more then an ordinary pase, shot with great boldnesse at them, and strooke downe such as they could ouertake. The Indians which the Christians did lead with them in chaines, had laid downe their burthens neere vnto the wall: and assoone as the Gouernour and his men were retired, the men of Mauilla laid them on the Indians backs againe, and tooke them into the towne, and loosed them presently from their chaines, and gaue them bowes and arrowes to fight withall. Thus they possessed themselues of al the clothes and perles, and all that the Christians had, which their slaues carried. And because the Indians had been alwaies peaceable vntill wee came to this place, some of our men had their weapons in their fardels and remained vnarmed. And from others that had entred the towne with the Gouernour they had taken swords and halebards, and fought with them. When the Gouernour was gotten into the field, hee called for an horse, and with some that accompanied him, hee returned and slew two or three Indians: All the rest retired themselues to the towne, and shot with their bowes from the wall. And those which presumed of their nimblenes, sallied foorth to fight a stones cast from the wall: And when the Christians charged them, they retired themselues at their leasure into the towne. At the time that the broile began, there were in the towne a Frier, and a Priest, and a seruant of the Gouernour, with a woman slaue: and they had no time to come out of the towne: and they tooke an house,

Al the clothes and perles of the Christians were lost.

and so remained in the towne. The Indians beeing become Masters of the place, they shut the doore with a field gate: and among them was one sword which the Gouernors seruant had, and with it he set himselfe behind the doore, thrusting at the Indians which sought to come into them: and the Frier and the Priest stood on the other side, each of them with a barre in their hands to beate him downe that first came in. The Indians seeing they could not get in by the doore, began to vncouer the house top. By this time, all the horsemen and footemen which were behind, were come to Mauilla. Here there were sundrie opinions, whether they should charge the Indians to enter the towne, or whether they should leaue it, because it was hard to enter: and in the end it was resolued to set vpon them.

Chap. XIX.

How the Gouernour set his men in order, and entred the towne of Mauilla.

A consultation of the Indians to send away their Cacique.

ASsoone as the battell and the rereward were come to Mauilla, the Gouernour commanded all those that were best armed to alight, and made foure squadrons of footmen. The Indians, seeing how he was setting his men in order, concluded with the Cacique, that hee should goe his way, saying vnto him, as after it was knowne by certaine women that were taken there, that he was but one man, and could fight but for one man, and that they had there among them many principall Indians verie valiant and expert in feates of armes, that any one of them was able to order the people there; and forasmuch as matters of warre were subiect to casualtie, and it was vncertaine which part should ouercome, they wished him to saue himselfe, to the end, that if it fel out that they should end their daies there, as they determined, rather then to be ouercome, there might remaine one to gouerne the Countrie. For all this hee would not haue gon away: but they vrged him so much, that with fifteene or twentie Indians of his owne, hee went out of the towne, and carried away a skarlat cloke, and other things of the Christians goods; as much as hee was able to carrie, and seemed best vnto him. The Gouernour was informed how there went men out of the towne, and hee commanded the horsemen to beset it, and sent in euery squadron of footemen one souldier with a firebrand to set fire on the houses, that the Indians might haue no defense: all his men being set in order, hee commanded an harcubuz to bee shot off. The signe being giuen, the foure squadrons, euery one by it selfe with great furie, gaue the onset, and with great hurt on both sides they entred the towne. The Frier and the Priest, and those that were with them in the house were saued, which cost the liues of two men of account, and valiant, which came thither to succour them. The Indians fought with such courage, that many times they draue our men out of the towne. The fight lasted so long, that for wearinesse and great thirst many of the Christians went to a poole that was neere the wal, to drink, which was all stained with the blood of the dead, and then came againe to fight. The Gouernour seeing this, entred among the footemen into the towne on horseback, with certaine that accompanied him, and was a meane that the Christians came to set fire on the houses, and brake and ouercame the Indians, who running out of the towne from the footemen, the horsemen without draue in at the gates again, where being without all hope of life, they fought valiantly, and after the Christians came among them to handy blowes, seeing themselues in great distresse without any succour, many of them fled into the burning houses, where one vpon another they were smothered and burnt in the fire. The whole number of the Indians that died in this towne, were two thousand and fiue hundred, little more or lesse. Of the Christians there died eighteene; of which one was Don Carlos, brother in law to the Gouernour, and a nephew of his, and one Iohn de Gamez, and Men Rodriguez Portugals, and Iohn Vasquez de Villanoua de Barca Rota, all men of honour, and of much valour: the rest were footemen. Besides those that were slaine, there were an hundred and fiftie wounded with 700. wounds of their arrowes: and it pleased God that of very dangerous wounds they were quickly healed. Moreouer, there were twelue horses slaine, and seuentie hurt. All the clothes which the Christians carried with them to clothe themselues withall, and the ornaments to say Masse, and the perles, were all burnt there: and the Christians did set them on fire themselues; because they held for a greater inconuenience, the hurt which the Indians might doe them from those houses, where they had gathered all those goods together, then the losse of them. Here the Gouernour vnderstood,

The death of 2500. Indians.

that Francisco Maldonado waited for him at the Port of Ochuse, and that it was sixe daies iournie from thence; and he dealt with Iohn Ortiz to keepe it secret, because he had not accomplished that which he determined to doe; and because the perles were burnt there, which he meant to haue sent to Cuba for a shew, that the people hearing the newes, might be desirous to come to that Countrie. He feared also, that if they should haue newes of him without seeing from Florida neither gold nor siluer, nor any thing of value, it would get such a name, that no man would seeke to goe thither, when he should haue neede of people. And so he determined to send no newes of himselfe, vntill hee had found some rich Countrie.

The Port of Ochuse sixe daies iournie from Mauilla.

Chap. XX.

How the Gouernour departed from Mauilla toward Chicaça, and what happened vnto him.

FRom the time that the Gouernour entred into Florida, vntill his departure from Mauilla, there died an hundred and two Christians, some of sicknesse, and others which the Indians slew. He staied in Mauilla, because of the wounded men, eight and twentie daies: all which time he lay in the field. It was a well inhabited and a fat countrie, there were some great and walled townes: and many houses scattered all about the fields, to wit, a crossebow shot or two, the one from the other. Vpon Sonday, the eighteenth of Nouember, when the hurt men were knowne to bee healed, the Gouernour departed from Mauilla. Euery one furnished himselfe with Maiz for two daies, and they trauelled fiue daies through a desert: they came to a Prouince called Pafallaya, vnto a towne, named Taliepataua: and from thence they went to another, called Cabusto: neere vnto it ran a great Riuer. The Indians on the other side cried out, threatning the Christians to kill them, if they sought to passe it. The Gouernour commanded his men to make a barge within the towne, because the Indians should not perceiue it: it was finished in foure daies, and being ended, he commanded it to be carried one night vpon sleds halfe a league vp the Riuer. In the morning there entred into it thirtie men well armed. The Indians perceiued what was attempted, and those which were neerest, came to defend the passage. They resisted what they could, till the Christians came neere them; and seeing that the barge came to the shore, they fled away into the groues of canes. The Christians mounted on horsebacke, and went vp the Riuer to make good the passage, whereby the Gouernour and his companie passed the Riuer. There was along the Riuer some townes well stored with Maiz and French Beanes. From thence to Chicaça the Gouernour trauelled fiues daies through a desert. Hee came to a Riuer, where on the otherside were Indians to defend the passage. He made another barge in two daies; and when it was finished, the Gouernour sent an Indian to request the Cacique to accept of his friendship, and peaceably to expect his comming: whom the Indians that were on the other side the Riuer slew before his face, and presently making a great shout went their way. Hauing passed the Riuer, the next day, being the 17. of December, the Gouernour came to Chicaça, a small towne of twentie houses. And after they were come to Chicaça, they were much troubled with cold, because it was now winter and it snowed, while most of them were lodged in the field, before they had time to make themselues houses. This countrie was very well peopled, and the houses scattered like those of Mauilla, fat and plentifull of Maiz, and the most part of it was fielding: they gathered as much as sufficed to passe the winter. Some Indians were taken, among which was one whom the Cacique esteemed greatly. The Gouernour sent an Indian to signifie to the Cacique, that he desired to see him and to haue his friendship. The Cacique came vnto him, to offer him his person, countrie and subiects, and told him, that he would cause two other Caciques to come to him in peace; who within few daies after came with him, and with their Indians: the one was called Alimamu, the other Nicalasa. They gaue a present vnto the Gouernour of an hundred and fiftie conies, and of the countrie garments, to wit, of mantles and skinnes. The Cacique of Chicaça came to visit him many times; and sometimes the Gouernour sent to call him, and sent him a horse to goe and come. He complained vnto him, that a subiect of his was risen against him, and depriued him of his tribute, requesting his aide against him, for he meant to seeke him in his countrie, and to punish him according to his desert. Which was nothing els but a fained plot. For they determined assoone as the Gouernour was gone with him, and

An Indian stratagem.

the campe was diuided into two parts, the one of them to set vpon the Gouernour, and the other vpon them that remained in Chicaça. Hee went to the towne where he vsed to keepe his residence, and brought with him two hundred Indians with their bowes and arrowes. The Gouernour tooke thirtie horsemen, and eightie footemen, and they went to Saquechuma (for so was the Prouince called of that chiefe man, which he said had rebelled.) They found a walled towne, without any men: and those which went with the Cacique set fire on the houses, to dissemble their treason. But by reason of the great care and heedfullnesse, that was as well in the Gouernors people which hee carried with him, as of those which remained in Chicaça, they durst not assault them at that time. The Gouernour inuited the Cacique, and certaine principall Indians, and gaue them hogges flesh to eate. And though they did not commonly vse it, yet they were so greedie of it, that euery night there came Indians to certaine houses a crossebow shot from the Camp, where the hogges lay, and killed, and carried away as many as they could. And three Indians were taken in the manner. Two of them the Gouernour commanded to be shot to death with arrowes; and to cut off the hands of the other; and he sent him so handled to the Cacique. Who made as though it grieued him that they had offended the Gouernor, and that he was glad that he had executed that punishment on them. He lay in a plaine countrie half a league from the place, where the Christians lodged. Foure horsemen went a straggling thither, to wit Francisco Osorio, and a seruant of the Marques of Astorga, called Reynoso, and two seruants of the Gouernour, the one his page called Ribera, and the other Fuentes his Chamberlaine: and these had taken from the Indians some skinnes, and some mantles, wherewith they were offended and forsooke their houses. The Gouernour knew of it, and commanded them to be apprehended; and condemned to death Francisco Osorio, and the Chamberlaine as principalls, and all of them to losse of goods. The Friers and Priests and other principall persons were earnest with him to pardon Francisco Osorio his life, and to moderate his sentence, which hee would not grant for any of them. While he was readie to command them to be drawne to the market place to cut off their heads, there came certaine Indians from the Cacique to complaine of them. Iohn Ortiz, at the request of Baltasar de Gallegos and other persons changed their words, and told the Gouernour that the

Cacique said he had notice how his Lordship held those Christians in prison for his sake, and that they were in no fault, neither had they done him any wrong, and that if he would do him any fauour he would set them free. And he told the Indians; That the Gouernour said, he had them in prison, and that he would punish them in such sort, that they should bee an example to others. Hereupon the Gouernour commanded the prisoners to be loosed. Assoone as March was come, hee determined to depart from Chicaça, and demanded of the Cacique two hundred men for cariages. He sent him answere, that hee would speake with his principall men. Vpon Twesday the eight of March, the Gouernour went to the towne where he was, to aske him for the men; Hee told him, he would send them the next day. Assoone as the Gouernour was come to Chicaça, he told Luys de Moscoso the Camp-master, that hee misliked the Indians, and that he should keepe a strong watch that night, which hee remembred but a little. The Indians came at the second watch in foure squadrons, euery one by it selfe, and assoone as they were descried, they sounded a drum, and gaue the assault with a great cry, and with so great celeritie, that presently they entred with the scoutes, that were somewhat distant from the Campe. And when they were perceiued of them which were in the towne, halfe the houses were on fire, which they had kindled. That night three horsemen chanced to bee skouts, two of them were of base calling, and the worst men in all the Camp, and the other, which was a nephew of the Gouernour, which vntill then was held for a tall man, shewed himselfe there as great a coward, as any of them: for all of them ran away. And the Indians without any resistance came and set the towne on fire; and taried without behind the doores for the Christians, which ran out of the houses, not hauing any leasure to arme themselues: and as they ran hither and thither amazed with the noise, and blinded with the smoke and flame of the fire, they knew not which way they went, neither could they light vpon their weapons, nor saddle their horses, neither saw they the Indians that shot them. Manie of the horses were burned in the stables, and those which could breake their halters gat loose. The disorder and flight was such, that euery man fled which way he could, without leauing any to resist the Indians. But God (which chastiseth his according to his pleasure, and in the greatest necessities and

March, 1541.

Chicaça set on fire by the Indians.

dangers sustaineth them with his hand,) so blinded the Indians, that they saw not what they had done, and thought that the horses which ran loose, were men on horsebacke, that gathered themselues together to set vpon them. The Gouernour only rod on horsebacke, and with him a souldier called Tapia, and set vpon the Indians, and striking the first he met with his lance, the saddle fell with him, which with haste was euill girded, and so hee fell from his horse. And all the people that were on foote were fled to a wood out of the towne, and there assembled themselues together. And because it was night, and that the Indians thought the horses were men on horsebacke which came to set vpon them, as I said before, they fled; and one onely remained dead, and that was he whom the Gouernour slew with his lance. The towne lay all burnt to ashes. There was a woman burned, who, after shee and her husband were both gone out of their house, went in againe for certaine perles, which they had forgotten, and when she would haue come out, the fire was so great at the doore that shee could not, neither could her husband succour her. Other three Christians came out of their lodgings so cruelly burned, that one of them died within three daies, and the other two were carried many daies each of them vpon a couch betweene staues, which the Indians carried on their shoulders, for otherwise they could not trauell. There died in this hurlieburlie eleuen Christians, and fiftie horses; and there remained an hundred hogges, and foure hundred were burned. If any perchance had saued any clothes from the fire of Mauilla, here they were burned, and many were clad in skinnes, for they had no leasure to take their coates. They endured much cold in this place, and the chiefest remedie were great fires. They spent all night in turnings without sleepe: for if they warmed one side, they freesed on the other. Some inuented the weauing of certaine mats of drie iuie, and did weare one beneath, and another aboue: many laughed at this deuice, whom afterward necessitie inforced to doe the like. The Christians were so spoiled, and in such want of saddles and weapons which were burned, that if the Indians had come the second night, they had ouercome them with little labour. They remooued thence to the towne where the Cacique was wont to lie, because it was in a champion countrie. Within eight daies after, there were many lances and saddles made. There were ash trees in those parts, whereof they made as good lances as in Biscay.

Chap. XXI.

How the Indians set againe vpon the Christians, and how the Gouernour went to Alimamu, beyond which towne in warlike sort they tarried for him in the way.

Vpon Wednesday the 15. of March 1541. after the Gouernour had lodged 8. daies in a plaine, halfe a league from the place which he had wintered in, after he had set vp a forge, and tempered the swords which in Chicaça were burned, and made many targets, saddles, and lances, on Tuesday night, at the morning watch, made Indians came to assault the Campe in three squadrons, euery one by themselues: Those which watched gaue the alarme. The Gouernour with great speed set his men in order in other three squadrons, and leauing some to defend the Campe, went out to incounter them. The Indians were ouercome and put to flight. The ground was champion and fit for ye Christians to take the aduantage of them; and it was now breake of day. But there happened a disorder, whereby there were not past thirtie or fortie Indians slaine: and this it was: that a Frier cried out in the Campe without any iust occasion, To the Campe, To the Campe: Whereupon the Gouernour and all the rest repaired thither, and the Indians had time to saue themselues. There were some taken, by whom the Gouernour informed himselfe of the Countrie, through which he was to passe. The 25. of Aprill, he departed from Chicaça, and lodged at a small towne called Alimamu. They had very little Maiz, and they were to passe a desert of seuen daies iournie. The next day, the Gouernour sent three Captaines euerie one his way with horsemen and footemen to seeke prouision to passe the desert. And Iohn Dannusco the Auditor went with fifteene horsemen, and 40. footemen that way that the Gouernour was to goe, and found a strong fort made, where the Indians staied for him, and many of them walked on the top of it with their weapons, hauing their bodies, thighes and armes okered and died with blacke, white, yellow and red, striped like vnto paines, so that they shewed as though they went in hose and doublets: and some of them had plumes, and others had hornes on their heads, and their faces blacke, and their eies done round about with strakes of red, to seeme more fierce. Assoone as they saw that the Christians approched, with a great crie sounding two drummes with great furie they sallied foorth to receiue them. Iohn Dannusco and those that were with him, thought good to auoid them, and to acquaint the Gouernour therewith. They retired to a plaine place, a crossebowshot from the fort in sight of it, the footemen, the crossebowmen, and targetters placed themselues before the horsemen, that they might not hurt the horses. The Indians sallied out by seuen and seuen, and eight and eight to shoote their arrowes, and retired againe: and in sight of the Christians they made a fire, and tooke an Indian, some by the feete, and some by the head, and made as though they went to cast him into the fire, and gaue him first many knocks on the head: signifying, that they meant so to handle the Christians. Iohn Danusco sent three horsemen to aduertise the Gouernour hereof. He came presently: for his intent was to driue them from thence, saying, that if he did it not, they would be emboldened to charge him another time, when they might doe him more harme. He made the horsemen to alight, and set his men in foure squadrons: The signe being giuen, they set vpon the Indians, which made resistance till the Christians came neere the fort, and assoone as they saw they could not defend themselues, by a place where a brooke passed neere the fort, they ran away, and from the otherside they shot some arrowes: and because at that instant we knew no ford for the horses to passe, they had time enough to get out of our danger. Three Indians were slaine there, and many Christians were hurt, whereof within few daies, there died fifteene by the way. All men thought the Gouernour to bee in fault, because he sent not to see the disposition of the place on the other side of the Riuer, and to know the passage before hee set vpon them. For with the hope they had to saue themselues by flight that way, when they saw none other meanes, they fought til they were broken, and it was an incouragement to defend themselues vntill then, and to offend the Christians without any danger to themselues.

Chap. XXII.

How the Gouernour went from Alimamu to Quizquiz, and from thence to Rio Grande, or the great Riuer.

THree daies after they had sought some Maiz, whereof they found but little store, in regard of that which was needfull, and hat for this cause, as well for their sakes that were wounded, I was needfull for them to rest, as for the great iournie they were to march to come where store of Maiz was: yet the Gouernour was inforced to depart presentlie toward Quizquiz. He trauelled seuen daies through a desert of many marishes and thicke woods: but it might all be trauelled on horseback, except some lakes which they swamme ouer. Hee came to a towne of the Prouince of Quizquiz without being descried, and tooke all the people in it before they came out of their houses. The mother of the Cacique was taken there: and he sent vnto him by an Indian, that he should come to see him, and that he would giue him his mother, and al the people which he had taken there. The Cacique sent him answere againe, that his Lordship should loose and send them to him, and that he would come to visit and serue him. The Gouernour, because his people for want of Maiz were somewhat weake and wearie, and the horses also were leane, determined to accomplish his request, to see if hee could haue peace with him, and so commanded to set free his mother and all the rest, and with louing words dismissed them and sent them to him. The next day, when the Gouernour expected the Cacique, there came many Indians with their bowes and arrowes with a purpose to set vpon the Christians. The Gouernour had commanded all the horsemen to be armed, and on horsebacke, and in a readines. When the Indians saw that they were readie, they staied a crossebowe shot from the place where the Gouernour was neere a brooke. And after halfe an houre that they had stood there stil, there came to the Camp sixe principall Indians, and said, they came to see what people they were, and that long agoe, they had been informed by their forefathers, "That a white people should subdue them: and that therefore they would returne to their Cacique, and bid him come presently to obey and serue the Gouernour:" and after they had presented him with sixe or seuen skinnes and mantles which they brought, they tooke their leaue of him, and returned with the other, which waited for them by the brookeside. The Cacique neuer came againe nor sent other message. And because in the towne where the Gouernour lodged, there was small store of Maiz, he remooued to another halfe a league from Rio Grande, where they found plentie of Maiz: And he went to see the Riuer, and found, that neere vnto it was great store of timber to make barges, and good situation of ground to incampe in. Presently he

An old prophecie.

Another towne.

Rio Grande, or Rio de Espiritu Santo.

remooued himselfe thither. They made houses, and pitched their Campe in a plaine field a crossebow shot from the Riuer. And thither was gathered all the Maiz of the townes, which they had lately passed. They began presently to cut and hew down timber, and to saw plankes for barges. The Indians came presently down the Riuer: they leaped on shore, and declared to ye Gouernor, That they were subiects of a great Lord, whose name was Aquixo, who was Lord of many townes, and gouerned many people on the other side of the Riuer, and came to tell him on his behalfe, that the next day he with al his men would come to see, what it would please him to command him. The next day with speed, the Cacique came with two hundred canoes full of Indians with their bowes and arrowes, painted, and with great plumes of white feathers, and many other colours, with shields in their hands, wherewith they defended the rowers on both sides, and the men of warre stood from the head to the sterne, with their bowes and arrowes in their hands. The canoe wherein the Cacique was, had a tilt ouer the sterne, and hee sate vnder the tilt; and so were other canoes of the principall Indians. And from vnder the tilt where the chiefe man sat, hee gouerned and commanded the other people. All ioyned together, and came within a stones cast of the shore. From thence the Cacique said to the Gouernour, which walked along the Riuers side with others that waited on him, that he was come thither to visit, to honour, and to obey him; because he knew he was the greatest and mightiest Lord on the earth: therefore he would see what he would command him to doe. The Gouernour yeelded him thankes, and requested him to come on shore, that they might the better communicate together. And without any answere to that point, hee sent him three canoes, wherein was great store of fish and loaues, made of the substance of prunes like vnto brickes. After he had receiued al, he thanked him, and prayed him againe to come on shore. And because the Caciques purpose was, to see if with dissimulation he might doe some hurt, when they saw that the Gouernour and his men were in readinesse, they began to goe from the shore: and with a great crie, the crossebowmen which were ready, shot at them, and slue fiue or sixe of them. They retired with great order: none did leaue his oare, though the next to him were slaine; and shielding themselues, they went farther off. Afterward they came many times and landed:

Aquixo, a great Lord on the West side of Rio grande.

and when any of vs came toward them, they fled vnto their canoes, which were verie pleasant to behold: for they were very great and well made, and had their tilts, plumes, paueses, and flagges, and with the multitude of people that were in them, they seemed to be a faire armie of gallies. In thirtie dayes space, while the Gournour remained there, they made foure barges: In three of which hee commanded twelue horsemen to enter, in each of them foure; in a morning, three houres before day, men which hee trusted would land in despight of the Indians, and make sure the passage, or die, and some footemen being crossebowmen went with them, and rowers to set them on the other side. And in the other barge he commanded Iohn de Guzman to passe with the footemen, which was made Captaine in stead of Francisco Maldonado. And because the streame was swift, they went a quarter of a league vp the Riuer along the bancke, and crossing ouer, fell downe with the streame, and landed right ouer against the Camp. Two stones cast before they came to land, the horsemen went out of the barges on horsebacke to a sandie plot very hard and cleere ground, where all of them landed without any resistance. Assoone as those that passed first, were on land on the other side, the barges returned to the place where the Gouernour was: and within two houres after Sunnerising, all the people were ouer. The Riuer was almost halfe a league broad. If a man stood still on the other side, it could not be discerned, whether he were a man or no. The Riuer was of great depth, and of a strong current: the water was alwaies muddie: there came downe the Riuer continually many trees and timber, which the force of the water and streame brought downe. There was great store of fish in it of sundrie sorts, and the most of it differing from the freshwater fish of Spaine, as hereafter shall be shewed.

They passe ouer Rio Grande.

Chap. XXIII.

How the Gouernour departed from Aquixo to Casqui, and from thence to Pacaha: and how this Countrie differeth from that which we had passed.

HAuing passed Rio grande, the Gouernour trauelled a league and an halfe, and came to a great towne of Aquixo, which was dispeopled before hee came thither. They espied thirtie Indians comming ouer a plaine, which the Cacique sent, to discouer the Christians determination: and assoone as they had sight of them, they tooke themselues to flight. The horsemen pursued them, and slue tenne, and tooke fifteene. And because the towne, whither the Gouernour went, was neere vnto the Riuer, he sent a Captaine, with as many men as he thought sufficient to carrie the barges vp the Riuer. And because in his trauelling by land many times he went farre from the Riuer to compasse the creekes that came from it, the Indians tooke occasion to set vpon them of the barges, and put them in great danger, because that by reason of the great current, they durst not leaue the shore, and from the bancke they shot at them. Assoone as the Gouernour was come to the towne, hee presently sent crossebow men downe the Riuer, which came to rescue them: and vpon the comming of the barges to the towne, hee commanded them to bee broken, and to saue the iron for others, when it should bee needfull. Hee lay there one night, and the day following, hee set forward to seeke a Prouince, called Pacaha: which hee was informed to bee neere vnto Chisca, where the Indians told him there was gold. He passed through great townes of Aquixo, which were all abandoned for feare of the Christians. Hee vnderstood by certaine Indians that were taken, that three daies iournie from thence dwelt a great Cacique, whose name was Casqui. Hee came to a small Riuer, where a bridge was made, by which they passed: that day till Sunset, they went all in water, which in some places came to the waste, and in some to the knees. When they saw themselues on dry land, they were very glad, because they feared they should wander vp and downe as forlorne men al night in the water. At noone they came to the first towne of Casqui: they found the Indians carelesse, because they had no knowledge of them. There were many men and women taken, and store of goods, as mantles and skinnes, as well in the first towne, as in another, which stood in a field halfe a league from thence in sight of it; whither the horsemen ran. This Countrie is higher, drier, and more champion, than any part bordering neere the Riuer, that vntill then they had seene. There were in the fields many Walnut trees, bearing soft shelled Walnuts in fashion like bullets, and in the houses they found many of them, which the Indians had laid vp in store. The trees differed in nothing else from those of Spaine, nor from those which we had seene before, but onely that they have a smaller leafe. There were many Mulberrie trees and Plum trees, which bare red plums like those of Spaine, and other gray, somewhat differing, but farre better. And all the trees are all the yeere so fruitfull, as if they were planted in orchards: and the woods were verie thinne. The Gouernour trauelled two daies through the Countrie of Casqui, before hee came to the towne where the Cacique was: and most of the way was alway by champion ground, which was full of great townes, so that from one towne, you might see two or three. He sent an Indian to certifie the Cacique, that hee was comming to the place where he was, with intent to procure his friendship, and to hold him as his brother. Whereunto he answered, That he should be welcome, and that he would receiue him with speciall good wil, and accomplish all that his Lordship would command him. Hee sent him a present vpon the way; to wit, skinnes, mantles, and fish: And after these complements, the Gouernour found all the townes, as he passed, inhabited with people, which peaceablie attended his comming, and offered him skinnes, mantles, and fish. The Cacique accompanied with many Indians came out of the towne, and staied halfe a league on the way to receiue the Gouernour, and when hee came to him, he spake these words following:

Right high, right mighty, and renowned Lord, your Lorship is most hartilie welcome. Assoone as I had notice of your Lordship, of your power, and your perfections, although you came into my Countrie, killing and taking captiues the inhabitants thereof and my subiects: yet I determined to conforme my will vnto yours, and as your owne to interpret in good part all that your Lordship did: beleeuing, that it was conuenient it should be so for some iust respect, to preuent some future matter reuealed vnto your Lordship, and concealed from me. For well may a mischiefe be permitted to auoid a greater, and that good may come thereof: which I beleeue will so fall out. For it is no reason to presume of so excellent a Prince, that the noblenesse of his heart, and the effect of his will would permit him to suffer any vniust thing. My abilitie is so small to serue you as your Lordship deserueth, that if you respect not mine abundant good will, which humblie offereth all kind of seruice, I deserue but little in your presence. But if it bee reason that this be esteemed, receiue the same, my selfe, my Countrie, and subiects for yours, and dispose of me and them at your pleasure. For if

I were Lord of all the world, with the same good will should your Lordship by me be receiued, serued and obeyed.

The Gouernour answered him to the purpose, and satisfied him in few words. Within a while after both of them vsed words of great offers and courtesie the one to the other, and the Cacique requested him to lodge in his houses. The Gouernour, to preserue the peace the better, excused himselfe, saying, that hee would lodge in the fields. And because it was very hot, they camped neere certaine trees a quarter of a league from the towne. The Cacique went to his towne, and came againe with many Indians singing. Assoone as they came to the Gouernour, all of them prostrated themselues vpon the ground. Among these came two Indians that were blind. The Cacique made a speech: to auoid tediousnesse, I will onely tell in few words the substance of the matter. Hee said, that seeing the Gouernour was the sonne of the Sunne, and a great Lord, he besought him to doe him the fauour to giue sight to those two blind men. The blind men rose vp presently, and very earnestly requested the same of the Gouernour. He answered, That in the high heauens was he that had power to giue them health, and whatsoeuer they could aske of him, whose seruant he was: And that this Lord made the heauens and the earth, and man after his owne likenesse, and that he suffered vpon the crosse to saue mankind, and rose againe the third day, and that he died as he was man, and as touching his diuinitie, he was, and is immortall; and that he ascended into heauen, where he standeth with his armes open to receiue all such as turne vnto him: and straightway he comcommanded him to make a verie high crosse of wood, which was set vp in the highest place of the towne; declaring vnto him, that the Christians worshipped the same in resemblance and memorie of that whereon Christ suffered. The Gouernour and his men kneeled downe before it, and the Indians did the like. The Gouernour willed him, that from thencefoorth hee should worship the same, and should aske whatsoeuer they stood in need of, of that Lord that he told him was in heauen. Then he asked him how far it was from thence to Pacaha: He said, one daies iournie, and that at the end of his Countrie, there was a lake like a brooke which falleth into Rio Grande, and that hee would send men before to make a bridge whereby he might passe. The same day that the Gouernour departed thence, he

The chiefe towne of the Cacique of Casqui.

lodged at a towne belonging to Casqui: and the next day hee passed in sight of other townes, and came to the lake, which was halfe a crossebow shot ouer, of a great depth and current. At the time of his comming, the Indians had made an end of the bridge, which was made of timber, laid one tree after another: and on one side it had a course of stakes higher then the bridge, for them that passed to take hold on. The Cacique of Casqui came to the Gouernour, and brought his people with him. The Gouernour sent word by an Indian to the Cacique of Pacaha, that though hee were enemie to the Cacique of Casqui, and though hee were there, yet he would doe him no disgrace nor hurt, if he would attend him peaceablie, and embrace his friendship; but rather would intreate him as a brother. The Indian, which the Gouernour sent, came againe, and said, that the Cacique made none account of that which hee told him, but fled with all his men out at the other side of the towne. Presentlie the Gouernour entred, and ran before with the horsemen, that way, by which the Indians fled; and at another towne distant a quarter of a league from thence, they tooke many Indians: and assoone as the horsemen had taken them, they deliuered them to the Indians of Casqui, whom, because they were their enemies, with much circumspection and reioycing, they brought to the towne where the Christians were: and the greatest griefe they had, was this, that they could not get leaue to kill them. There were found in the towne many mantles, and Deere skinnes, Lions skins, and Beares skinnes, and many Cats skins. Many came so farre poorely apparrelled, and there they clothed themselues: of the mantles, they made them cotes and cassocks, and some made gownes, and lined them with Cats skins; and likewise their cassocks. Of the Deeres skinnes, some made them also ierkins, shirts, hose and shooes: and of the Beare skinnes, they made them verie good clokes: for no water could pierce them. There were targets of raw oxe hides found there; with which hides they armed their horses.

Chap. XXIIII.

How the Cacique of Pacaha came peaceablie to the Gouernour, and the Cacique of Casqui absented himselfe, and came againe to make his excuse, and how the Gouernour made them both friends.

VPon Wednesday, the 19. of Iune, the Gouernour entred into

Pacaha: He lodged in the towne, where the Cacique vsed to reside, which was very great, walled, and beset with towers, and many loopeholes were in the towers and wall. And in the towne was great store of old Maiz, and great quantitie of new in the fields. Within a league and halfe a league were great townes all walled. Where the Gouernour was lodged, was a great lake, that came neere vnto the wall: and it entred into a ditch that went round about the towne, wanting but a little to enuiron it round. From the lake to the great Riuer was made a weare by the which the fish came into it; which the Cacique kept for his recreation and sport: with nets, that were founde in the towne, they tooke as much as they would: and tooke they neuer so much, there was no want perceiued. There was also great store of fish in many other lakes that were thereabout, but it was soft, and not so good as that which came from the Riuer, and the most of it was different from the fresh water fish of Spaine. There was a fish which they call Bagres: the third part of it was head, and it had on both sides the gilles, and along the sides great pricks like very sharpe aules: those of this kind that were in the lakes were as big as pikes: and in the Riuer, there were some of an hundred, and of an hundred and fiftie pounds weight, and many of them were taken with the hooke. There was another fish like barbilles; and another like breames, headed like a delicate fish, called in Spaine besugo,* betweene red and gray. This was there of most esteeme. There was another fish called a pele fish: it had a snout of a cubit long, and at the end of the vpper lip it was made like a peele. There was another fish like a Westerne shad: And all of them had scales, except the bagres, and the pele fish. There was another fish, which sometimes the Indians brought vs, of the bignes of a hog, they call it the Pereo fish: it had rowes of teeth beneath and aboue. The Cacique of Casqui sent many times great presents of fish, mantles, and skinnes. Hee told the Gouernour that he would deliuer the Cacique of Pacaha into his hands. He went to Casqui, and sent many canoes vp the Riuer, and came himselfe by land with many of his people. The Gouernour with 40. horsemen and 60. footemen tooke him along with him vp the Riuer. And his Indians which were in the canoes, discouered where the Cacique of Pacaha was in a little Island, situated betweene two armes of the Riuer. And fiue Christians entred into a canoe, wherein Don Antonio Osorio went before, to see what people the Cacique had with him. There were in the Isle fiue or sixe thousand soules. And assoone as they saw them, supposing that the Indians which were in the other canoes were also Christians, the Cacique, and certaine which were in three canoes, which they had there with them, fled in great haste to the other side of the Riuer: The rest with great feare and danger, lept into the Riuer, where much people was drowned, especially women and little children. Presently the Gouernour which was on land, not knowing what happened to Don Antonio, and those that went with him, commanded the Christians with all speed to enter with the Indians of Casqui in the canoes, which were quickly with Don Antonio in the little Island, where they tooke many men and women, and much goods. Great store of goods, which the Indians had lain vpon hurdles of canes, and rafts of timber to carrie ouer to the other side, draue downe the riuer, wherewith the Indians of Casqui filled their canoes: and for feare lest the Christians would take it from them, the Cacique went home with them downe the Riuer, without taking his leaue of the Gouernour: whereupon the Gouernour was highly offended with him: and presently returned to Pacaha, he ouerran the Countrie of Casqui the space of two leagues, where hee tooke twentie or thirtie of his men. And because his horses were wearie, and he wanted time that day to goe any farther, hee returned to Pacaha, with determination within three or four daies after to inuade Casqui. And presently hee let loose one of the Indians of Pacaha, and sent word by him to the Cacique, that if hee would haue his friendship, he should repaire vnto him, and that both of them would make warre vpon Casqui. And presently came many Indians that belonged to Pacaha, and brought an Indian, in stead of the Cacique, which was discouered by the Caciques brother which was taken prisoner. The Gouernour wished the Indians that their Master himselfe should come: for hee knew very well that that was not hee, and told them, that they could doe nothing which he knew not before they thought it. The next day the Cacique came, accompanied with many Indians, and with a present of much fish, skinnes and mantles. He made a speech that all were all glad to heare, and concluded, saying, That though his Lordship,

---

* "Pez muy comun en los mares setentrionales de Espana, de un pie de largo, comprimido, de color por el lomo azul claro, y por el vientre blanco." (*Diccionario de la Academia.*)—Probably the Sparus of Pliny.

The Cacique of Pacaha cometh to the Gouernour.

without his giuing occasion of offence had done him hurt in his Countrie and subiects, yet hee would not therefore refuse to bee his, and that he would alwaies be at his commandement. The Gouernour commanded his brother to be loosed, and other principall Indians that were taken prisoners. That day came an Indian from the Cacique of Casqui, and said, that his Lord would come the next day to excuse himselfe of the error which he had committed, in going away without licence of the Gouernour. The Gouernour willed the messenger to signifie vnto him that if he came not in his owne person, hee would seeke him himselfe, and giue him such punishment as he deserued. The next day with all speede came the Cacique of Casqui, and brought a present to the Gouernour of many mantles, skinnes, and fish, and gaue him a daughter of his, saying, that he greatly desired to match his blood with the blood of so great a Lord as he was, and therefore he brought him his daughter, and desired him to take her to his wife. Hee made a long and discreet oration, giuing him great commendations, and concluded, saying, that hee should pardon his going away without licence, for that Crosses sake, which he had left with him: protesting that hee went away for shame of that which his men had done without his consent. The Gouernour answered him, that hee had chosen a good patrone; and that if hee had not come to excuse himselfe, hee had determined to seeke him, to burne his townes, to kill him and his people, and to destroy his countrie. To which he replied saying:

My Lord, I and mine are yours, and my countrie likewise is yours: therefore if you had done so, you should haue destroyed your owne countrie, and haue killed your owne people: whatsoeuer shall come vnto me from your hand, I will receiue as from my Lord, as well punishment as reward: And know you, that the fauour which you did me in leauing me the Crosse, I do acknowledge the same to be a very great one, and greater then I haue euer deserued. For you shall vnderstand, that with great droughts, the fields of Maiz of my countrie were withered; and assoone as I and my people kneeled before the Crosse, and prayed for raine, presently our necessitie was relieued.

The Gouernour made him and the Cacique of Pacaha friends; and set them with him at his table to dine with him: and the Caciques fell at variance about the seats, which of them should sit on his right hand. The Gouernour pacified them; telling them that among the Christians, all was one to sit on the one side or on the other, willing them so to behaue themselues, seeing they were with him, that no bodie might heare them, and that euery one should sit in the place that first hee lighted on. From thence he sent thirtie horse men, and fiftie footemen to the Prouince of Caluça, to see if from thence hee might trauel to Chisca, where the Indians said, there was a worke of gold and copper. They trauelled seuen daies iournie through a desert, and returned verie wearie, eating greene plummes and stalkes of Maiz, which they found in a poore towne of sixe or seuen houses. From thence forward toward the North; the Indians said, That the countrie was very ill inhabited, because it was very cold: And that there were such store of Oxen, that they could keepe no corne for them: that the Indians liued vpon their flesh. The Gouernour seeing that toward that part the countrie was so poore of Maiz, that in it they could not be sustained, demanded of the Indians, which way it was most inhabited; and they said, they had notice of a great Prouince, and a verie plentifull countrie, which was called Quigaute, and that it was toward the South.

Great store of Oxen toward the North of Pacaha. This is like Quiuira.

5

Chap. XXV.

How the Gouernour departed from Pacaha to Quigaute, and to Coligoa, and came to Cayas.

THe Gouernour rested in Pacaha fortie daies. In all which time the two Caciques serued him with great store of fish, mantles and skinnes, and stroue who should doe him greatest seruice. At the time of his departure, the Cacique of Pacaha gaue him two of his sisters, saying that in signe of loue that hee might remember him, he should take them for his wiues: the ones name was Macanoche, and the others Mochila; they were well proportioned, tall of bodie, and well fleshed. Macanoche was of a good countenance, and in her shape and physiognimie looked like a Ladie; the other was strongly made. The Casiqui of Casqui commanded the bridge to be repaired, and the Gouernour returned through his Country, and lodged in a field neere his towne, whither hee came with great store of fish, and two women, which hee exchanged with two Christians for shirts.

He gaue vs a guide and men for carriages. The Gouernour lodged at a towne of his, and the next day at another neere a Riuer, whither he caused canoes to be brought for him to passe ouer, and with his leaue returned. The Gouernour tooke his iourney toward Quigaute. The fourth of August, he came to the towne, where the Cacique vsed to keepe his residencie: on the way he sent him a present of many mantles and skinnes, and not daring to stay for him in the towne, he absented himselfe. The towne was the greatest that was seene in Florida. The Gouernour and his people lodged in the one halfe of it; and within few daies, seeing the Indians became liars, he commanded the other halfe to be burned, because it should not bee a shelter for them, if they came to assault him by night, nor an hindrance to his horsemen for the resisting of them. There came an Indian very well accompanied with many Indians, saying, that he was the Cacique. He deliuered him ouer to the men of his guard to look vnto him. There went and came many Indians, and brought mantles and skinnes. The counterfeit Cacique, seeing so little opportunitie to execute his euill thought, as hee went one day abroad talking with the Gouernour, he shewed him such a paire of heeles, that there was no Christian that could ouertake him, and he leaped into the Riuer, which was a crossebow shot from the towne: and assoone as hee was on the other side, many Indians that were thereabout making a great crie began to shoote. The Gouernour passed presently ouer to them with horsemen and footemen, but they durst not tarrie for him. Going forward on his way, hee came to a towne where the people were fled, and a little further to a lake, where the horses could not passe, and on the otherside were many women. The footemen passed, and tooke many of them, and much spoile. The Gouernour came to the Camp: And that night was a spie of the Indians taken by them of the watch. The Gouernour asked him, whether he would bring him where the Cacique was? he said, he would. And he went presently to seeke him with twentie horsemen, and fiftie footemen: and after he had sought him a day, and an halfe, hee found him in a strong wood; And a souldiour not knowing him, gaue him a wound on the head; and he cried out, that he should not kill him, saying, that he was the Cacique: so he was taken, and an hundred and fortie of his men with him. The Gouernour came againe to Quigaute, and willed him to cause his men to come to serue the Christians: and staying some daies for their comming, and seeing they came not, he sent two Captaines, euery one his way on both sides of the Riuer with horsemen and footemen. They tooke many men and women. Now seeing the hurt which they sustained for their rebellion, they came to see what the Gouernour would command them, and passed to and fro many times, and brought presents of cloth and fish. The Cacique and his two wiues were in the lodging of the Gouernour loose, and the halbardiers of his guard did keepe them. The Gouernour asked them which way the Countrie was most inhabited? They said, that toward the South downe the Riuer, were great townes and Caciques, which commanded great Countries, and much people: And that toward the Northwest there was a Prouince neere to certaine mountaines, that was called Coligoa. The Gouernour and all the rest thought good to goe first to Coligoa: saying, that peraduenture the mountains would make some difference of soile, and that beyond them there might be some gold or siluer: As for Quigaute, Casqui, and Pacaha, they were plaine Countries, fat grounds, and full of good medowes on the Riuers, where the Indians sowed large fields of Maiz. From Tascaluca to Rio grande, or the great Riuer, is about 300. leagues: it is a very low Countrie, and hath many lakes. From Pacaha to Quigaute may bee an hundred leagues. The Gouernour left the Cacique of Quigaute in his owne towne: And an Indian, which was his guide, led him through great woods without any way seuen daies iournie through a desert, where, at euery lodging, they lodged in lakes and pooles in verie shold water; there were such store of fish, that they killed them with cudgils; and the Indians which they carried in chaines, with the mud troubled the waters, and the fish being therewith, as it were astonied, came to the top of the water, and they tooke as much as they listed. The Indians of Coligoa had no knowledge of the Christians, and when they came so neere the towne, that the Indians saw them, they fled vp a Riuer, which passed neere the towne, and some leaped into it; but the Christians went on both sides of the Riuer, and tooke them. There were many men and women taken, and the Cacique with them. And by his commandement within three daies came many Indians with a present of mantles and Deeres skinnes, and two oxe hides: And they reported, that 5. or 6. leagues from thence toward the North,

Coligoa neere to certaine mountaines Northwest.

there were many of these oxen, and that because the Countrie was cold, it was euill inhabited: That the best Countrie which they knew, the most plentifull, and most inhabited, was a Prouince called Cayas, lying toward the South. From Quiguate to Coligoa may be 40. leagues. This towne of Coligoa stood at the foote of an hill, on the bank of a meane Riuer, of the bignesse of Cayas, the Riuer that passeth by Estremadura. It was a fat soile and so plentifull of Maiz, that they cast out the old, to bring in the new. There was also great plentie of French beanes and pompions. The French beanes were greater, and better than those of Spaine, and likewise the pompions, and being roasted, they haue almost the taste of chesnuts. The Cacique of Coligoa gaue a guide to Cayas, and staied behind in his owne towne. Wee trauelled fiue daies, and came to the Prouince of Palisema. The house of the Cacique was found couered with Deeres skinnes of Diuers colours and works drawne in them, and with the same in manner of carpets was the ground of the house couered. The Cacique left it so, that the Gouernour might lodge in it, in token that he sought peace and his friendship. But hee durst not tarrie his comming. The Gouernour, seeing he had absented himselfe, sent a Captaine with horsemen and footemen to seeke him. Hee found much people, but by reason of the roughnesse of the Countrie, he tooke none saue a few women and children. The towne was little and scattering, and had very little Maiz. For which cause the Gouernour speedilie departed from thence. Hee came to another towne called Tatalicoya, hee carried with him the Cacique thereof, which guided him to Cayas. From Tatalicoya are foure daies iournie to Cayas. When hee came to Cayas, and saw the towne scattered; hee thought they had told him a lie, and that it was not the Prouince of Cayas, because they had informed him that it was well inhabited: He threatned the Cacique, charging him to tell him where hee was: and he and other Indians which were taken neere about that place, affirmed that this was the towne of Cayas, and the best that was in that Countrie, and that though the houses were distant the one from the other, yet the ground that was inhabited was great, and that there was great store of people, and many fields of Maiz. The towne was called Tanico: he pitched his Campe in the best part of it neere vnto a Riuer. The same day that the Gouernour came thither, he went a league farther with certaine horsemen, and without finding any people, hee found many skinnes in a pathway, which the Cacique had left there, that they might bee found, in token of peace. For so is the custome in that Countrie.

Chap. XXVI.

How the Gouernour discouered the Prouince of Tulla, and what happened vnto him.

THe Gouernour rested a moneth in the Prouince of Cayas. In which time the horses fattened and thriued more, then in other places in a longer time, with the great plentie of Maiz and the leaues thereof, which I thinke was the best that hath been seene, and they dranke of a lake of very hot water, and somewhat brackish, and they dranke so much, that it swelled in their bellies when they brought them from the watering. Vntill that time the Christians wanted salt, and there they made good store, which they carried along with them. The Indians doe carrie it to other places to exchange it for skinnes and mantles. They make it along the Riuer, which when it ebbeth, leaueth it vpon the vpper part of the sand. And because they cannot make it, without much sand mingled with it, they throw it into certaine baskets which they haue for that purpose, broad at the mouth, and narrow at the bottom, and set it in the aire vpon a barre, and throw water into it, and set a small vessell vnder it, wherein it falleth: Being strained and set to boile vpon the fire, when the water is sodden away, the salt remaineth in the bottome of the pan." On both sides of the Riuer the Countrie was full of sowne fields, and there was store of Maiz. The Indians durst not come ouer where wee were: and when some of them shewed themselues, the souldiers that saw them called vnto them; then the Indians passed the Riuer, and came with them where the Gouernor was. He asked them for the Cacique. They said, that he remained quiet, but that he durst not shew himselfe. The Gouernour presently sent him word, that he should come vnto him, and bring him a guide and an interpretour for his iournie, if he made account of his friendship: and if he did not so, he would come himselfe to seeke him, and that it would be the worse for him. Hee waited three daies, and seeing he came not, he went to seeke him, and brought him prisoner with 150. of his men. He asked him whether hee had notice of any great

Cacique, and which way the Countrie was best inhabited. Hee answered, that the best Countrie thereabout was a Prouince toward the South, a day and an halfes iournie, which was called Tulla; and that he could giue him a guide, but no interpretour, because the speech of that Countrie was different from his, and because he and his ancestors had alwaies warres with the Lords of that Prouince; therefore they had no commerce, nor vnderstood one anothers language. Immediatly the Gouernour with certaine horsemen, and 50. footemen, departed toward Tulla, to see if the Countrie were such, as hee might passe through it with all his companie: and assoone as hee arriued there, and was espied of the Indians, the Countrie gathered together, and assoone as 15. or 20. Indians could assemble themselues, they set vpon the Christians: and seeing that they did handle them shrewdly, and that the horsemen ouertooke them when they fled, they gat vp into the tops of their houses, and sought to defend themselues with their arrowes: and being beaten downe from one, they gat vp vpon another. And while our men pursued some, others set vpon them another way. Thus the skirmish lasted so long, that the horses were tired, and they could not make them runne. The Indians killed there one horse, and some were hurt. There were 15. Indians slaine there, and 40. women and boies were taken prisoners. For whatsoeuer Indian did shoot at them, if they could come by him, they put him to the sword. The Gouernour determined to returne toward Cayas, before the Indians had time to gather a head; and presently that euening, going part of ye night to leaue Tulla, he lodged by the way, and the next day came to Cayas: and within three daies after he departed thence toward Tulla with all his companie: He carried the Cacique along with him, and among all his men, there was not one found that could vnderstand the speech of Tulla. He staied three daies by the way, and the day that he came thither, he found the towne abandoned: for the Indians durst not tarrie his comming. But assoone as they knew that the Gouernour was in Tulla, the first night about ye morning watch, they came in two squadrons two seuerall waies, with their bowes and arrowes, and long staues like pikes. Assoone as they were descried, both horse and foot sallied out vpon them, where many of the Indians were slaine: And some Christians and horses were hurt: Some of the Indians were taken prisoners, whereof the Gouernour sent sixe to the Cacique, with their right hands and noses cut off: and sent him word, that if he came not to him to excuse and submit himselfe, that hee would come to seeke him, and that hee would doe the like to him, and as many of his as hee could find, as hee had done to those which hee had sent him: and gaue him three daies respit for to come. And this he gaue them to vnderstand by signes, as well as hee could, for there was no interpretour. At the three daies end, there came an Indian laden with Oxe hides. He came weeping with great sobs, and comming to the Gouernour cast himselfe downe at his feet: He tooke him vp, and he made a speech, but there was none that vnderstood him. The Gouernour by signes commanded him, to returne to the Cacique, and to will him, to send him an interpretor, which could vnderstand the men of Cayas. The next day came three Indians laden with oxe hides; and within three daies after came 20. Indians, and among them one that vnderstood them of Cayas: Who, after a long oration of excuses of the Cacique, and praises of the Gouernour, concluded with this, that he and the other were come thither on the Caciques behalfe, to see what his Lordship would command him to doe, for he was readie at his commandement. The Gouernour and all his companie were verie glad. For in no wise could they trauell without an interpretour. The Gouernour commanded him to be kept safe, and bad him tell the men that came with him, that they should returne to the Cacique, and signifie vnto him, that he pardoned him for that which was past, and thanked him much for his presents and interpretour, which he had sent him, and that he would bee glad to see him, and that he should come the next day to talke with him. After three daies, the Cacique came, and 80. Indians with him: and himselfe and his men came weeping into the Camp, in token of obedience and repentance for the errour passed, after the manner of that Countrie: He brought a present of many oxe hides: which, because the Countrie was cold, were verie profitable, and serued for couerlets, because they were very soft, and wolled like sheepe. Not farre from thence toward the North were many oxen. The Christians saw them not, nor came into the Countrie where they were, because those parts were euil inhabited, and had small store of Maiz where they were bred. The Cacique of Tulla made an oration to the Gouernour, wherein he excused himselfe, and offered him his Countrie, subiects, and person. Aswell this Cacique as the others, and all

The Cacique of Tulla.

Gomara Histor. Gener. cap. 215.

those which came to the Gouernour on their behalfe, deliuered their message or speech in so good order, that no oratour could vtter the same more eloquentlie.

Chap. XXVII.

How the Gouernour went from Tulla to Autiamque, where he passed the winter.

THe Gouernour enformed himselfe of all the Countrie round about; and vnderstood, that toward the West was a scattered dwelling, and that toward the Southeast were great townes, especially in a Prouince called Autiamque, tenne daies iournie from Tulla; which might be about 80. leagues; and that it was a plentifull Countrie of Maiz. And because winter came on, and they could not trauell two or three moneths in the yeere for cold, waters, and snow: and fearing, that if they should stay so long in the scattered dwelling, they could not be susteined; and also because the Indians said, that neere to Autiamque was a great water, and according to their relation, the Gouernour thought it was some arme of the Sea: And because he now desired to send newes of himselfe to Cuba, that some supplie of men and horses might be sent vnto him: for it was aboue three yeeres, since Donna Isabella, which was in Hauana, or any other person in Christendome had heard of him, and by this time he had lost 250. men, and 150. horses) he determined to winter in Autiamque, and the next spring, to goe to the sea coast, and make two brigantines, and send one of them to Cuba, and the other to Nueua Espanna, and that which went in safetie, might giue newes of him: Hoping with the goods which he had in Cuba, to furnish himselfe againe, and to attempt the discouery and conquest toward the West: for he had not yet come where Cabeça de Vaca had been. Thus hauing sent away the two Caciques of Cayas and Tulla, he tooke his iournie toward Autiamque: Hee trauelled fiue daies ouer very rough mountaines, and came to a towne called Quipana, where no Indians could be taken for the roughnesse of the Countrie: and the towne being betweene hilles, there was an ambush laid, wherewith they tooke two Indians; which told them, that Autiamque was sixe daies iournie from thence, and that their was another Prouince toward the South eight daies iournie off, plentiful

Quipana, fiue daies iournie from Tulla.

of Maiz, and very well peopled, which was called Guahate. But because Autiamque was neerer, and the most of the Indians agreed of it, the Gouernour made his iournie that way. In three daies he came to a towne called Anoixi. He sent a Captaine before with 30. horsemen, and 50. footemen, and tooke the Indians carelesse, hee tooke many men and women prisoners. Within two daies after the Gouernour came to another towne called Catamaya, and lodged in the fields of the towne. Two Indians came with a false message from the Cacique to know his determination. Hee bad them tell their Lord, that hee should come and speake with him. The Indians returned and came no more, nor any other message from the Cacique. The next day the Christians went to the towne, which was without people: they tooke as much Maiz as they needed. That day they lodged in a wood, and the next day they came to Autiamque. They found much Maiz laid vp in store, and French beanes, and walnuts, and prunes, great store of all sorts. They tooke some Indians which were gathering together the stuffe which their wiues had hidden. This was a champion Countrie, and well inhabited. The Gouernour lodged in the best part of the towne, and commanded presently to make a fense of timber round about the Campe distant from the houses, that the Indians might not hurt them without by fire. And measuring the ground by pases, hee appointed euery one his part to doe according to the number of Indians which he had: presently the timber was brought by them; and in three daies there was an inclosure made of very hie and thicke posts thrust into the ground, and many railes laid acrosse. Hard by this towne passed a Riuer, that came out of the Prouince of Cayas; and aboue and beneath it was very well peopled. Thither came Indians on the Caciques behalfe with a present of mantles and skinnes; and an halting Cacique, subiect to the Lord of Autiamque, Lord of a towne called Tietiquaquo, came many times to visit the Gouernour, and to bring him presents of such as hee had. The Cacique of Autiamque sent to know of the Gouernour, how long time hee meant to stay in this Countrie? And vnderstanding that he meant to stay aboue three daies, he neuer sent any more Indians, nor any other message, but conspired with the lame Cacique to rebell. Diuers inrodes were made, wherein there were many men and women taken, and the lame Cacique among the rest. The Gouernour respecting the seruices which he had receiued of him,

Autiamque sixe daies iournie from Quipana.

reprehended and admonished him, and set him at libertie, and gaue him two Indians to carrie him in a chaire vpon their shoulders. The Cacique of Autiamque desiring to thrust the Gouernour out of his Countrie, set spies ouer him. And an Indian comming one night to the gate of the inclosure, a soldier that watched espied him, and stepping behind the gate, as he came in, he gaue him such a thrust, that he fell downe; and so he carried him to the Gouernour: and as he asked him wherefore he came, not being able to speake, hee fell downe dead. The night following the Gouernour commanded a souldiour to giue the alarme, and to say that he had seene Indians, to see how ready they would be to answere the alarme. And hee did so sometimes as well there, as in other places, when he thought that his men were carelesse, and reprehended such as were slacke. And as well for this cause, as in regard of doing their dutie, when the alarme was giuen, euery one sought to be the first that should answere. They staied in Autiamque three moneths with great plentie of Maiz, French beanes, Walnuts, Prunes, and Conies: which vntill that time they knew not how to catch. And in Autiamque the Indians taught them how to take them: which was, with great sprindges, which lifted vp their feete from the ground: And the snare was made with a strong string, whereunto was fastened a knot of a cane, which ran close about the neck of the conie, because they should not gnaw the string. They tooke many in the fields of Maiz, especiallie when it freesed or snowed. The Christians staied there one whole moneth so inclosed with snow, that they went not out of the towne: and when they wanted firewood, the Gouernour with his horsemen going and coming many times to the wood, which was two crossebow shot from the towne, made a pathway, whereby the footemen went for wood. In this meane space, some Indians which went loose, killed many conies with their giues, and with arrowes. These conies were of two sorts, some were like those of Spaine, and the other of the same colour and fashion, and as big as great Hares, longer, and hauing greater loines.

Great prouidence.

Chap. XXVIII.

How the Gouernour went from Autiamque to Nilco, and from thence to Guacoya.

VPon Monday the sixt of March 1542, the Gouernour departed from Autiamque to seeke Nilco, which the Indians said was neere the Great riuer, with determination to come to the Sea, and procure some succour of men and horses: for hee had now but three hundred men of warre, and fortie horses, and some of them lame, which did nothing but helpe to make vp the number: and for want of iron they had gone aboue a yeere vnshod: and because they were vsed to it in the plaine countrie, it did them no great harme. Iohn Ortiz died in Autiamque; which grieued the Gouernour very much: because that without an Interpretour hee feared to enter farre into the land, where he might be lost. From thence forward a youth that was taken in Cutifachiqui did serue for Interpretour, which had by that time learned somewhat of the Christians language. The death of Iohn Ortiz was so great a mischiefe for the discouering inward, or going out of the land, that to learne of the Indians, that which in foure words hee declared, they needed a whole day with the youth: and most commonly hee vnderstood quite contrarie that which was asked him: whereby it often happened that the way that they went one day, and sometimes two or three daies, they turned backe, and went astray through the wood here and there. The Gouernour spent ten daies in trauelling from Autiamque to a prouince called Ayays; and came to a towne that stood neere the Riuer that passeth by Cayas and Autiamque. There hee commanded a barge to be made, wherewith he passed the Riuer. When he had passed the Riuer there fell out such weather, that foure daies he could not trauell for snow. Assoone as it gaue ouer snowing, hee went three daies iourney through a Wildernesse, and a countrie so low, and so full of lakes and euill waies, that hee trauelled one time a whole day in water, sometimes knee deepe, sometimes to the stirrup, and sometimes they swamme. He came to a towne called Tutelpinco, abandoned, and without Maiz: there passed by it a lake, that entered into the riuer, which carried a great streame and force of water. Fiue Christians passing ouer it in a periagua, which the Gouernour had sent with a Captaine, the periagua ouerset: some tooke hold on it, some on the trees that were in the lake. One Francis Sebastian, an honest man of Villa noua de Barca Rota, was drowned there. The Gouernour went a whole day along the lake seeking passage, and could finde none, nor any way that did passe to the other side.

The death of Iohn Ortiz, and the great misse of him being their interpretour.

Great snow about the twentith of March.

Comming againe at night to the towne hee found two peaceable Indians, which shewed him the passage, and which way hee was to goe. There they made of canes and of the timber of houses thatched with canes, rafts wherewith they passed the lake. They trauelled three daies, and came to a towne of the territorie of Nilco, called Tianto. There they tooke thirtie Indians, and among them two principall men of this towne. The Gouernour sent a Captaine with horsemen and footmen before to Nilco, because the Indians might haue no time to carrie away the provision. They passed through three or foure great townes; and in the towne where the Cacique was resident, which was two leagues from the place where the Gouernour remained, they found many Indians with their bowes and arrowes, in manner as though they would haue staied to fight, which did compasse the towne; and assoone as they saw the Christians come neere them without misdoubting them, they set the Caciques house on fire, and fled ouer a lake that passed neere the towne, through which the horses could not passe. The next day being Wednesday the 29. of March the Gouernour came to Nilco: he lodged with all his men in the Caciques towne, which stood in a plaine field, which was inhabited for the space of a quarter of a league: and within a league and halfe a league were other very great townes, wherein was great store of Maiz, of French beanes, of Walnuts, and Prunes. This was the best inhabited countrie, that was seene in Florida, and had most store of Maiz, except Coca, and Apalache. There came to the campe an Indian accompanied with others, and in the Caciques name gaue the Gouernour a mantle of Marterns skinnes, and a cordon of perles. The Gouernour gaue him a few small Margarites, which are certaine beades much esteemed in Peru, and other things, wherewith he was very well contented. He promised to returne within two daies, but neuer came againe: but on the contrarie the Indians came by night in canoes, and carried away all the Maiz they could, and made them cabins on the other side of the Riuer in the thickest of the wood, because they might flee if wee should goe to seeke them. The Gouernour seeing hee came not at the time appointed, commanded an ambush to be laid about certaine store-houses neere the lake, whither the Indians came for Maiz: where they tooke two Indians, who told the Gouernour, that hee which came to visit him, was not the Cacique, but was sent by him vnder pretence

The best Countrie of Florida.

to spie whether the Christians were carelesse, and whether they determined to settle in that country or to goe forward. Presently the Gouernour sent a Captaine with footmen and horsemen ouer the riuer; and in their passage they were descried of the Indians, and therefore he could take but tenne or twelue men and women, with whom hee returned to the campe. This Riuer which passed by Nilco, was that which passed by Cayas and Autiamque, and fell into Rio grande, or the Great Riuer, which passed by Pachaha and Aquixo neere vnto the prouince of Guachoyn: and the Lord thereof came vp the Riuer in canoes to make warre with him of Nilco. On his behalf there came an Indian to the Gouernour and said vnto him, That he was his seruant, and prayed him so to hold him, and that within two daies hee would come to kisse his Lordships hands: and at the time appointed he came with some of his principal Indians, which accompanied him, and with words of great offers and courtesie hee gaue the Gouernour a present of many mantles and Deeres skinnes. The Gouernour gaue him some other things in recompense, and honoured him much. Hee asked him what townes there were downe the Riuer? He answered that he knew none other but his owne: and on the other side of the Riuer a prouince of a Cacique called Quigalta. So hee tooke his leaue of the Gouernour and went to his owne towne. Within few daies the Gouernour determined to goe to Guachoya, to learne there whether the Sea were neere, or whether there were any habitation neere, where hee might relieue his companie, while the brigantines were making, which he meant to send to the land of the Christians. As he passed the Riuer of Nilco, there came in canoes Indians of Guachoya vp the streame, and when they saw him, supposing that he came to seeke them to doe them some hurt, they returned downe the Riuer, and informed the Cacique thereof: who with all his people, spoiling the towne of all that they could carrie away, passed that night ouer to the other side of Rio grande, or the Great Riuer. The Gouernour sent a Captaine with fiftie men in sixe canoes downe the Riuer, and went himselfe by land with the rest: hee came to Guachoya vpon Sunday the 17. of April: he lodged in the towne of the Cacique, which was inclosed about, and seated a crossebow shot distant from the Riuer. Here the Riuer is called Tamaliseu, and in Nilco Tapatu, and in Coça Mico, and in the port or mouth Ri.

Foure names of Rio grande.

Chap. XXIX.

Of the message which the Gouernour sent to Quigalta, and of the answere which he returned: and of the things which happened in this time.

AS soone as the Gouernour ccme to Guachoya, hee sent Iohn Danusco with as many men as could goe in the canoes vp the Riuer. For when they came downe from Nilco, they saw on the other side the Riuer new cabins made. Iohn Danusco went and brought the canoes loden with Maiz, French beanes, Prunes, and many loaues made of the substance of prunes. That day came an Indian to the Gouernour from the Cacique of Guachoya, and said, that his Lord would come the next day. The next day they saw many canoes come vp the Riuer, and on the other side of the great Riuer, they assembled together in the space of an houre: they consulted whether they should come or not; and at length concluded to come, and crossed the Riuer. In them came the Cacique of Guachoya, and brought with him manie Indians with great store of Fish, Dogges, Deeres skinnes, and Mantles: And assoone as they landed, they went to the lodging of the Gouernour, and presented him their gifts, and the Cacique vttered these words:

Mightie and excellent Lord, I beseech your Lordship to pardon mee the errour which I committed in absenting my selfe, and not tarrying in this towne to haue receiued and serued your Lordship; since, to obtaine this opportunitie of time, was, and is as much as a great victorie to me. But I feared that, which I needed not to haue feared, and so did that which was not reason to do; But as haste maketh waste, and I remoued without deliberation; so, as soone as I thought on it, I determined not to follow the opinion of the foolish, which is, to continue in their errour; but to imitate the wise and discreet, in changing my counsell, and so I came to see what your Lordship will command me to doe, that I may serue you in all things that are in my power.

The Gouernour receiued him with much ioy, and gaue him thankes for his present and offer. He asked him, whether hee had any notice of the Sea. Hee answered, no, nor of any townes downe the Riuer on that side; saue that two leagues from thence was one towne of a principall Indian a subiect of his; and on the other side of the Riuer, three daies iourney from thence downe the Riuer, was the Prouince of Quigalta, which was the greatest Lord that was in that Countrie. The Gouernour thought that the Cacique lied vnto him, to rid him out of his owne townes, and sent Iohn Danusco with eight horsemen downe the Riuer, to see what habitation there was, and to informe himselfe, if there were any notice of the Sea. Hee trauelled eight daies, and at his returne hee said, that in all that time he was not able to go aboue 14. or 15. leagues, because of the great creekes that came out of the Riuer, and groues of canes, and thicke woods that were along the banks of the Riuer, and that hee had found no habitation. The Gouernour fell into great dumps to see how hard it was to get to the Sea: and worse, because his men and horses euery day diminished, being without succour to sustaine themselues in the country: and with that thought he fell sick. But before he tooke his bed hee sent an Indian to the Cacique at Quigalta to tell him, that hee was the Childe of the Sunne, and that all the way that hee came all men obeyed and serued him, that he requested him to accept of his friendship, and come vnto him; for he would be very glad to see him; and in signe of loue and obedience to bring something with him of that which in his countrie was most esteemed. The Cacique answered by the same Indian:

The Gouernor falleth sick of thought.

That whereas he said he was the Child of the Sunne, if he would drie vp the Riuer he would beleeue him: and touching the rest, that he was wont to visit none; but rather that all those of whom he had notice did visit him, serued, obeyed and paid him tributes willingly or perforce: therefore if hee desired to see him, it were best he should come thither: that if hee came in peace, he would receiue him with speciall good will; and if in warre, in like manner hee would attend him in the towne where he was, and that for him or any other hee would not shrinke one foote backe.

A most wittie and stout answere of the Cacique of Quigalta.

By that time the Indian returned with this answere, the Gouernour had betaken himselfe to bed, being euill handled with feuers, and was much agrieued, that he was not in case to passe presently the Riuer and to seeke him, to see if he could abate that pride of his, considering the Riuer went now very strongly in those parts; for it was neere halfe a league broad, and 16. fathomes deep, and very furious, and ranne with a great current; and on both sides there were many Indians, and his power was not now so great, but that hee had need to helpe himselfe rather by slights then by force. The Indians of Guachoya came euery day with fish in such numbers, that the towne was full of them. The Cacique said, that on a certaine night hee of Quigalta would come to giue battell to the Gouernour. Which the Gouernour imagined that he had deuised, to driue him out of his countrey, and commanded him to bee put in hold: and that night and all the rest, there was good watch kept. Hee asked him wherefore Quigalta came not? He said that hee came, but that he saw him prepared, and therefore durst not giue the attempt: and hee was earnest with him to send his Captaines ouer the Riuer, and that he would aide him with many men to set vpon Quigalta. The Gouernour told him that assoone as he was recouered, himselfe would seeke him out. And seeing how many Indians came daily to the towne, and what store of people was in that countrie, fearing they should al conspire together and plot some treason against him; and because the towne had some open gaps which were not made an end of inclosing, besides the gates which they went in and out by: because the Indians should not thinke he feared them, he let them all alone vnrepaired; and commanded the horsemen to be appointed to them, and to the gates: and all night the horsemen went the round; and two and two of euery squadron rode about, and visited the skouts that were without the towne in their standings by the passages, and the crossebowmen that kept the canoes in the Riuer. And because the Indians should stand in feare of him, hee determined to send a Captaine to Nilco, for those of Guachoya had told him that it was inhabited; that by vsing them cruelly, neither the one nor the other should presume to assaile him; and hee sent Nunnez de Touar with fifteene horsemen, and Iohn de Guzman Captaine of the footmen with his companie in canoes vp the Riuer. The Cacique of Guachoya sent for many canoes and many warlike Indians to goe with the Christians: and the Captaine of the Christians, called Nunnez de Touar, went by land with his horsemen, and two leagues before he came to Nilco hee staied for Iohn de Guzman, and in that place they passed the Riuer by night: the horsemen came first, and in the morning by breake of day in sight of the towne they lighted upon a spie; which assoone as he perceiued the Christians, crying out amaine fled to the towne to giue warning. Nunnez de Touar and his companie made such speed, that before the Indians of the towne could fully come out, they were vpon them: it was champion ground that was inhabited, which was about a quarter of a league. There were about fiue or sixe thousand people in the towne: and, as many people came out of the houses, and fled from one house to another, and many Indians came flocking together from all parts, there was neuer a horseman that was not alone among many. The Captaine had commanded that they should not spare the life of any male. Their disorder was so great, that there was no Indian that shot an arrow at any Christian. The shreekes of women and children were so great, that they made the eares deafe of those that followed them. There were slaine an hundred Indians, little more or lesse: and many were wounded with great wounds, whom they suffered to escape to strike a terror in the rest that were not there. There were some so cruell and butcherlike, that they killed old and young, and all that they met, though they made no resistance: and those which presumed of themselues for their valour, and were taken for such, brake through the Indians, bearing downe many with their stirrops and brests of their horses; and some they wounded with their lances, and so let them goe: and when they saw any youth or woman they tooke them, and deliuered them to the footmen. "These mens sinnes by Gods permission lighted on their own heads: who, because they would seeme valiant, became cruell; shewing themselues extreme cowards in the sight of all men, when as most neede of valour was required, and * afterward they came to a shameful death." Of the Indians of Nilco were taken prisoners, fourescore women and children, and much spoile. The Indians of Guachoya kept back before they came at the towne, and staied without, beholding the successe of the Christians with the men of Nilco. And when they saw them put to flight, and the horsemen busie in killing of them, they hastened to the houses to rob, and filled their canoes with the spoile of the goods; and returned to Guachoya before the Christians; and wondring much at the sharpe dealing which they had seene them vse toward the Indians of Nilco, they told their Cacique all that had passed with great astonishment.

Fiue or sixe thousand people in Nilco.

* Chap. 37.

Chap. XXX.

Of the death of the Adelantado Fernando de Soto: And how Aluarado was elected Gouernour in his stead.

THe Gourernour felt in himselfe that the houre approched, wherein hee was to leaue this present life, and called for the Kings officers, Captaines and principall persons, to whom he made a speech, saying:

That now he was to goe to giue an account before the presence of God of all his life past: and since it pleased him to take him in such a time, and that the time was come that he knew his death, that he his most vnworthie seruant did yeeld him many thankes therefore; and desired all that were present and absent (whom he confessed himselfe to be much beholding vnto for their singular vertues, loue and loyaltie, which himselfe had well tried in the trauels, which they had suffered, which alwaies in his mind he did hope to satisfie and reward, when it should please God to giue him rest, with more prosperitie of his estate,) that they would pray to God for him, that for his mercie he would forgiue him his sinnes, and receiue his soule into eternall glorie: and that they would quit and and free him of the charge which hee had ouer them, and ought vnto them all, and that they would pardon him for some wrongs which they might haue receiued of him: And to auoid some diuision, which vpon his death might fall out vpon the choice of his successour, he requested them to elect a principall person, and able to gouerne, of whom all should like well; and when he was elected, they should sweare before him to obey him: and that he would thanke them very much in so doing; because the griefe that he had, would somewhat be asswaged, and the paine that he felt, because he left them in so great confusion, to wit, in leauing them in a strange Countrie, where they knew not where they were.

Baltasar de Gallegos answered in the name of all the rest: And first of all comforting him, he set before his eies how short the life of this world was, and with how many troubles and miseries it is accompanied, and how God shewed him a singular fauor which soonest left it: telling him many other things fit for such a time. And for the last point, that since it pleased God to take him to himselfe, although his death did justly grieue them much, yet as wel he, as al the rest, ought of necessitie to conforme themselues to the will of God. And touching the Gouernour which he commanded they should elect, he besought him, that it would please his Lordship to name him which he thought fit, and him they would obey. And presently he named Luys de Moscoso de Aluarado his Captaine generall. And presently he was sworne by all that were present and elected for Gouernour. The next day, being the 21. of May, 1542. departed out of this life, the valorous, vertuous, and valiant Captaine, Don Fernando de Soto, Gouernour of Cuba, and Adelantado of Florida: whom fortune aduanced, as it vseth to doe others, that hee might haue the higher fal. He departed in such a place, and at such time, as in his sicknesse he had but little comfort; and the danger wherein all his people were of perishing in that Countrie, which appeared before their eies, was cause sufficient, why euery one of them had need of comfort, and why they did not visit nor accompanie him as they ought to haue done. Luys de Moscoso determined to conceale his death from the Indians, because Ferdinando de Soto had made them beleeue, That the Christians were immortall; and also because they tooke him to be hardie, wise, and valiant: and if they should know that he was dead, they would bee bold to set vpon the Christians, though they liued peaceablie by them. In regard of their diposition, and because they were nothing constant, and beleeued all that was tolde them, the Adelantado made them beleeue, that he knew some things that passed in secret among themselues, without their knowledge, how, or in what manner he came by them: and that the figure which appeared in a glasse, which he shewed them, did tell him whatsoeuer they practised and went about: and therefore neither in word nor deed durst they attempt any thing that might bee preiudiciall vnto him.

The death of Don Ferdinando de Soto the 21. of May, 1542 at Guacoya.

A wittie stratagem.

Assoone as he was dead, Luis de Moscoso commanded to put him secretly in an house, where hee remained three daies: and remoouing him from thence, commanded him to bee buried in the night at one of the gates of the towne within the wall. And as the Indians had seene him sick, and missed him, so did they suspect what might bee. And passing by the place where hee was buried, seeing the earth mooued, they looked and spake one to another. Luys de Moscoso vnderstanding of it, commanded him to be taken vp, by night, and to cast a great deale of sand into the mantles, wherein he was winded vp, wherein hee was carried in a canoe, and throwne into the middest of the Riuer. The Cacique of Guachoya inquired for him, demanding what was become of his brother and Lord, the Gouernour: Luys de Moscoso told him, that hee was gon to heauen, as many other times hee did: and because hee was to stay there certaine daies hee had left him in his place. The Cacique thought with himselfe that he was dead; and commanded two young and well proportioned Indians to be brought thither; and said, that yᵉ vse of that Countrie was, when any Lord died, to kill Indians to wait vpon him, and serue him by the way: and for that purpose by his commandement were those come thither: and prayed Luys de Moscoso to command them to be beheaded, that they might attend and serue his Lord and brother. Luys de Moscoso told him, that the Gouernour was not dead, but gone to heauen, and that of his owne Christian souldiers, he had taken such as he needed, to serue him, and praied him to command those Indians to be loosed and not to vse any such bad custome from thencefoorth: straightway hee commanded them to be loosed, and to get them home to their houses. And one of them would not goe; saying, that hee would not serue him, that without desert had judged him to death, but that hee would serue him as long as hee liued, which had saued his life.

This is also the costome of the old Tartars

Luys de Moscoso caused all the goods of the Gouernor to be sold at an outcrie: to wit, two men slaues, and two women slaues, and three horses, and 700. hogges. For euery slaue or horse, they gaue two or three thousand ducats: which were to be paied at the first melting of gold or siluer, or at the diuision of their portion of inheritance. And they entered into bonds, though in the Countrie there was not wherewith, to pay it within a yeere after, and put in sureties for the same. Such as in Spaine had no goods to bind, gaue two hundred ducats for an hog, giuing assurance after the same maner. Those which had any goods in Spaine, bought with more feare, and bought the lesse. From that time forward, most of the companie had swine, and brought them vp, and fed vpon them; and obserued Fridaies and Saturdaies, and the euenings of feasts, which before they did not. For sometimes in two or three moneths they did eate no flesh, and whensoeuer they could come by it, they did eate it.

Seven hundred hogges.

Chap. XXXI.

How the Gouernour Luys de Moscoso departed from Guachoya, and went to Chaguate; and thence to Aguacay.

Their general resolution to trauell by land Westward.

SOme were glad of the death of Don Ferdinando de Soto, holding for certaine, that Luys de Moscoso (which was giuen to his ease) would rather desire to be among the Christians at rest, then to continue the labours of the warre in subduing and discouering of Countries; whereof they were alreadie wearie, seeing the small profit that insued thereof. The Gouernour commanded the Captaines and principall persons to meet to consult and determine what they should doe. And being informed what peopled habitation was round about, he vnderstood that to the West, the Countrie was most inhabited, and that downe the Riuer beyond Quigalta was vninhabited, and had little store of food. He desired them all, that euerie one would giue his opinion in writing, and set his hand to it: that they might resolue by generall consent, whether they should goe downe the Riuer, or enter into the maine land. All were of opinion, that it was best to go by land toward the West, because Nueua Espanna was that way: holding the voyage by sea more dangerous, and of greater hazard, because they could make no ship of any strength to abide a storme, neither had they Master, nor Pilot, Compasse, nor Chart, neither knew they how farre the sea was off, nor had any notice of it; nor whether the Riuer did make any great turning into the land, or had any great fall the rocks, where all of them might be cast away. And some which had seene the sea-chart, did find, that from the place where they were by the sea coast to Noua Espanna, might bee 400. leagues, little more or lesse; and said, that though they went somewhat about by land in seeking a peopled Countrie, if some great wildernesse which they could not passe did not hinder them, by spending that sommer in trauell, finding prouision to passe the winter in some peopled Countrie, that the next sommer after they might come to some Christian land, and that it might fortune in their trauel by land to find some rich Countrie, where they might doe themselues good. The Gouernour, although he desired to get out of Florida in shorter time, seeing the inconueniences they laid before him, in trauelling by sea, determined to follow that which seemed good to them all. On Monday the fifth of Iune, he departed from Guachoya. The Cacique gaue him a guide to Chaguate, and staied at home in his owne towne. They passed through a prouince called Catalte: and hauing passed a wildernesse of sixe dāies iournie, the twentieth day of ye moneth he came to Chaguate. The Cacique of this Prouince had visited the Gouernour Don Ferdinando de Soto at Autiamque, whither he brought him presents of skinnes, and mantles and salt. And a day before Luys de Moscoso came to his towne, we lost a Christian that was sicke; which hee suspected that the Indians had slaine. Hee sent the Cacique word, that he should command his people to seeke him vp, and send him vnto him, and that he would hold him, as he did, for his friend: and if he did not, that neither he, nor his, should escape his hands, and that hee would set his Countrie on fire. Presently the Cacique came vnto him, and brought a great present of mantles and skinnes, and the Christian that was lost, and made this speech following:

Right excellent Lord, I would not deserue that conceit which you had of me, for all the treasure of the world. What inforced me to goe to visit and serue the excellent Lord Gouernour your father in Autiamque, which you should haue remembred, where I offered my selfe with all loyaltie, faith and loue, during my life to serue and obey him? What then could be the cause, I hauing receiued fauours of him, and neither you nor he hauing done me any wrong, that should mooue me to doe the thing, which I ought not? Beleeue this of mee, that neither wrong, nor any worldly interest, was able to make me to haue done it, nor shall be able to blind me. But as in this life it is a naturall course, that after one pleasure, many sorrowes doe follow: so by your indignation, fortune would moderate the ioy, which my heart conceiueth with your presence; and that I should erre, where I thought surest to haue hit the marke; in harboring this Christian which was lost, and vsing him in such manner, as he may tell himselfe, thinking that herin I did you service, with purpose to deliuer him vnto you in Chaguate, and to serue you to the vttermost of my power. If I deserue punishment for this, I will receiue it at your hands, as from my Lord, as if it were a fauour. For the loue which I did beare to the excellent Gouernour, and which I beare to you hath no limit. And like as you giue me chastisement, so will you also shew me fauour.

And that which now I craue of you is this, to declare your will vnto me, and those things, wherein I may bee able to doe you the most and best seruice.

The Gouernour answered him, that because he did not find him in that towne, hee was incensed against him, thinking he had absented himselfe, as others had done: But seeing he now knew his loyaltie and loue, he would alwaies hold him as a brother, and fauour him in all his affaires. The Cacique went with him to the towne where he resided, which was a daies iournie from thence. They passed through a smal town, where there was a lake, where the Indians made salt: and the Christians made some one day while they rested there, of a brackish water, which sprang neere the towne in ponds like fountaines. The Gouernour staied in Chaguate sixe daies. There he was informed of the habitation that was toward the West. They told him, that three daies iournie from thence was a Prouince called Aguacay: The day that he departed from Chaguate, a Christian, called Francisco de Guzman, the base sonne of a Gentleman of Siuill, staied behind, and went to the Indians, with an Indian woman which he kept as his concubine, for feare he should be punished for gaming debts, that he did owe. The Gouernor had trauelled two daies before he missed him; hee sent the Cacique word to seeke him vp, and to send him to Aguacay, whither he trauelled: which hee did not performe. From the Cacique of Aguacay, before they came into the Countrie, there met him on the way 15. Indians with a present of skinnes, fish and rosted venison. The Gouernour came to his towne on Wednesday, the fourth of Iulie. He found the towne without people, and lodged in it: he staied there about a day; during which, he made some roades, and tooke many men and women. There they had knowledge of the South Sea. Here there was great store of salt made of sand, which they gather in a vaine of ground like peeble stones. And it was made as they make salt in Cayas.

Salt made of salt springs of water.

Chap. XXXII.

How the Gouernour went from Aguacay to Naguatex, and what happened vnto him.

THe same day that the Gouernour departed from Aguacay he lodged in a small towne subiect to the Lord of that prouince. The Campe pitched hard by a lake of salt water; and that euening they made some salt there. The day following hee lodged betweene two mountaines in a thinne groue of wood. The next day hee came to a small towne called Pato. The fourth day after his departure from Aguacay he came to the first habitation of a prouince called Amaye. There an Indian was taken, which said that from thence to Naguatex was a day and a halfes iourney: which they trauelled, finding all the way inhabited places. Hauing passed the peopled countrie of Amaye, on Saturday the 20. of Iulie they pitched their Campe at noone betweene Amaye and Naguatex along the corner of a groue of very faire trees. In the same place certaine Indians were discouered, which came to view them. The horsemen went out to them, and killed six, and tooke two; whom the Gouernour asked, wherefore they came? They said, to know what people hee had, and what order they kept; and that the Cacique of Naguatex their Lord had sent them, and that he, with other Caciques which came to aide him, determined that day to bid him battell. While they were occupied in these questiones and answeres, there came many Indians by two waies in two squadrons: and when they saw they were descried, giuing a great crie they assaulted the Christians each squadron by it selfe: but seeing what resistance the Christians made them, they turned their backes and betooke themselues to flight, in which many of them lost their liues: and most of the horsemen following them in chase, carelesse of the Camp, other two squadrons of Indians, which lay in ambush, set vpon the Christians that were in the Campe, which also they resisted, who also had their reward as the first. After the flight of the Indians, and that the Christians were retired, they heard a great noise a crossebow shot from the place where they were. The Gouernour sent twelue horsemen to see what it was. They found sixe Christians, foure footemen and two horsemen, among many Indians; the horsemen defending the footemen with great labour. These being of them that chased the first two squadrons, had lost themselues, and comming to recouer the Campe fell among those with whom they were fighting: and so they, and those that came to succour them, slew many of the Indians, and brought one aliue to the Campe: whom the Gouernour examined, who they were that came to bid him battell. He told him, that they were the Cacique of Naguatex, and of Amaye, and another of a prouince called Hacanac, a Lord of great Countries and many subiects: and that the Cacique of Naguatex came for Captaine and chiefest of them all. The Gouernour commanded his right arme and nose to be cut off, and sent him to the Cacique of Naguatex, charging him to tell him, that the next day hee would be in his countrey to destroy him; and if hee would withstand his entrance, hee should stay for him. That night he lodged there; and the next day hee came to the habitation of Naguatex, which was very scattering: he inquired where the Caciques chiefe towne was? They told him that it was on the other side of a Riuer, that passed thereby: hee trauelled thitherward, and came vnto it: and on the other side he saw many Indians, that taried for him, making shew as though they would defend the passage. And because hee knew not whether it could bee waded, nor where the passage was; and that some Christians and horses were hurt; that they might haue time to recouer, he determined to rest certaine daies in the towne where he was. So hee pitched his campe a quarter of a league from the Riuer, because the weather was very hot, neere vnto the towne, in a thinne groue of very faire and hie trees neere a brookes side: and in that place were certaine Indians taken; whom hee examined, whether the Riuer were wadeable or no? They said, yea, at some times, and in some places. Within ten daies after he sent two Captaines with fifteene horsemen a peece vpward and downe the Riuer with Indians to shew them where they should goe ouer, to see what habitation was on the other side: And the Indans withstood them both, defending the passage of the Riuer as farre as they were able, but they passed in despite of them: and on the other side of the Riuer they saw great store of victuals; and with these newes returned to the Camp.

August.

They passe the Riuer.

Chap. XXXIII.

How the Cacique of Naguatex came to visite the Gouernour: and how the Gouernour departed from Naguatex and came to Nondacao

The Gouernour sent an Indian from Naguatex where hee lay, to command the Cacique to come to serue and obey him, and that hee would forgiue him all that was past; and if he came not, that he would seeke him, and giue him such punishment as he had deserued for that which he had done against him.

Within two daies the Indian returned, and said that the Cacique would come the next day: which, the same day when he came, sent many Indians before him, among whom there were some principall men: hee sent them to see what countenance they found in the Gouernour, to resolue with himselfe whether hee should goe or not. The Indians let him vnderstand, that he was comming, and went away presently: and the Cacique came within two houres accompanied with many of his men: they came all in a ranke one before another on both sides, leauing a lane in the middest where hee came. They came where the Gouernour was, all of them weeping after the manner of Tulla, which was not farre from thence toward the East. The Cacique made his due obedience, and this speech following:

Tulla not far from Naguatex, Eastward.

Right high and mightie Lord, whom all the world ought to serue and obey, I was bold to appeare before your Lordship, hauing committed so heinous and abominable an act, as only for me to haue imagined, deserued to be punished; trusting in your greatnes, that although I deserue to obtaine no pardon, yet for your owne sake only you will vse clemencie toward me, considering how small I am in comparison of your Lordship; and not to think vpon my weaknesses, which, to my griefe and for my greater good, I haue knowne. And I beleeue that you and yours are immortall; and that your Lordship is Lord of the land of nature, seeing that you subdue all things, and they obey you, euen the very hearts of men. For when I beheld the slaughter and destruction of my men in the battell, which, through mine ignorance, and the counsell of a brother of mine, which died in the same, I gaue your Lordship, presently I repented me in my heart of the error, which I had committed; and desired to serue and obey you: and to this end I come, that your Lordship may chastise and command mee as your owne.

The Gouernour answered him, that he forgaue him all which was past, that from thenceforth hee should do his dutie, and that he would hold him for his friend, and that he would fauour him in all things. Within foure daies hee departed thence, and comming to the Riuer he could not passe, because it was growne very bigge; which seemed to him a thing of admiration, being at that time that it was, and since it had not rained a moneth before. The Indians said, that it increased many times after that manner

The Riuer growne vnpassable in August, at Naguatex.

Coniectures of a Sea to the Northward.

without raining in all the countrie. It was supposed, that it might be the tide that came into it. It was learned that the flood came alway from aboue, and that the Indians of all that countrie had no knowledge of the Sea. The Gouernour returned vnto the place where he had lodged before: and vnderstanding within eight daies after that the Riuer was passable, he departed. He passed ouer and found the towne without people: he lodged in the field, and sent the Cacique word to come vnto him, and to bring him a guide to goe forward. And some daies being past, seeing the Cacique came not, nor sent any bodie, hee sent two Captaines sundrie waies to burne the townes, and to take such Indians as they could finde: They burnt great store of victuals, and took many Indians. The Cacique seeing the hurt that he receiued in his countrie, sent sixe principall Indians with three men for guides which knew the language of the countrie, through which the Gouernour was to passe. Hee departed presently from Naguatex, and within three daies iourney came to a towne of foure or fiue houses, which belonged to the Cacique of that prouince, which is called Nissoone: it was euill inhabited and had little Maiz. Two daies iourney forward the guides which guided the Gouernour, if they were to goe Westward, guided him to the East; and sometimes went vp and downe through very great woods out of the way. The Gouernour commanded them to bee hanged vpon a tree: and a woman that they tooke in Nissoone guided him, and went backe againe to seeke the way. In two daies he came to another miserable towne called Lacane: an Indian was taken in that place, that said, that the countrie of Nondacao was a countrie of great habitation, and the houses scattering the one from the other, as they vse to bee in mountains, and had great store of Maiz. The Cacique came with his men weeping, like them of Naguatex: for this is their vse in token of obedience: hee made him a present of much fish, and offered to doe what he would command him. Hee tooke his leaue, and gaue him a guide to the prouince of Soacatino.

Chap. XXXIV.

How the Gouernour went from Nondacao to Soacatino and Guasco, and passed through a desert, from whence, for want of a guide, and an interpretour, he returned to Nilco.

THe Gouernour departed from Nondacao toward Soacatino, and in fiue daies iournie came to a Prouince called Aays. The Indians which inhabited it, had no notice of the Christians: but assoone as they saw that they entred into their country, they assembled themselues: and as they came together 50. or 100. they came foorth to fight: while some fought, others came and charged our men another way, and while they followed some, others followed them. The fight lasted the greatest part of the day, till they came to their towne. Some horses and men were wounded, but not to any hurt of their trauelling: for there was no wound that was dangerous. There was a great spoile made of the Indians. That day that the Gouernour departed from thence, the Indian that guided him said, that in Nondacao he had heard say, that the Indians of Soacatino had seene other Christians, whereof they all were very glad: thinking it might be true, and that they might haue entred into those parts by Nueua Espanna; and that if it were so, it was in their owne hand to goe out of Florida, if they found nothing of profit: for they feared they should lose themselues in some wildernes. This Indian led him two daies out of the way. The Gouernour commanded to torture him. He said, that the Cacique of Nondacao, his Lord, had commanded him to guide them so, because they were his enemies, and that hee was to doe as his Lord commanded him. The Gouernour commanded him to be cast to the dogs: and another guided him to Soacatino, whither hee came the day following. It was a verie poore Countrie: there was great want of Maiz in that place. Hee asked the Indians, whether they knew of any other Christians. They said, that a little from thence toward the South they heard they were. He trauelled 20. daies through a Countrie euill inhabited, where they suffered great scarcitie and trouble. For that little Maiz which the Indians had, they had hidden and buried in the woods, where the Christians, after they were well wearied with their trauell, at the end of their iournie went to seeke by digging what they should eat. At last, comming to a Prouince that was called Guasco, they found Maiz, wherewith they loaded their horses, and the Indians that they had. From thence they went to another towne called Naquiscoça. The Indians said, they had no notice of any other Christians. The Gouernor commanded to torment them. They said, that they came first to another Lordship, which was called

20. daies trauell toward the South.

Guasco: here they found some Turkie stones and mantles of cotton wooll. Chap. 35.

Naçacahoz, and from thence returned again to the West, from whence they came. The Gouernour came in two daies to Naçacahoz: Some women were taken there: among whom there was one, which said, that she had seene Christians, and had been taken by them, and had run away. The Gouernour sent a Captaine with 15. horsemen to the place where the women said she had seene them, to see if there were any signe of horses, or any token of their being there. After they had gone three or foure leagues the woman that guided them said, that all that she had told them was vntrue. And so they held all the rest that the Indians had said, of seeing Christians in the land of Florida. And, because the Countrie that way was poore of Maiz, and toward the West, there was no notice of any habitation, they returned to Guasco. The Indians told them there, that 10. daies iournie from thence toward the West, was a Riuer called Daycao; whither they went sometimes a hunting and killing of Deere: and that they had seene people on the other side, but knew not what habitation was there. There the Christians tooke such Maiz as they found and could carrie, and, going 10. daies iournie through a wildernesse, they came to the Riuer which the Indians had told them of. Ten horsemen, which the Gouernour had sent before, passed ouer the same, and went in a way that led to the Riuer, and lighted vpon a companie of Indians that dwelt in verie little cabins: who, assoone as they saw them, tooke themselues to flight, leauing that which they had; all which was nothing but miserie and pouertie. The Countrie was so poore, that among them all there was not found halfe a peck of Maiz. The horsemen tooke two Indians, and returned with them to the Riuer, where the Gouernour staied for them. He sought to learne of them what habitation was toward the West. There was none in the Camp that could vnderstand their language. The Gouernour assembled the Captaines and principall persons, to determine with their aduice what they should doe. And the most part said, that they thought it best to returne backe to Rio grande, or the Great Riuer of Guachoya; because that in Nilco and thereabout was store of Maiz: saying, that they would make pinaces that winter, and the next sommer passe down the Riuer to seaward in them, and comming to the Sea they would goe along the coast to Nueua Espanna. For though it seemed a doubtfull thing and difficult, by that which

The Riuer of Daycayo: which seemeth to be the Rio del oro.

they had already alleaged, yet it was the last remedie they had. For by land they could not goe for want of an Interpretour. And they held, that the countrie beyond the Riuer of Daycao, where they were, was that which Cabeça de Vaca mentioned in his relation that he passed of the Indians, which liued like the Alarbes, hauing no setled place, and fed vpon Tunas and rootes of the fields, and wilde beasts that they killed. Which if it were so, if they should enter into it and finde no victuals to passe the winter, they could not chuse but perish. For they were entred alreadie into the beginning of October: and if they staied any longer, they were not able to returne for raine and snowes, nor to sustaine themselues in so poore a countrey. The Gouernour (that desired long to see himselfe in a place where hee might sleepe his full sleep, rather then to conquer and gouerne a countrie where so many troubles presented themselues) presently returned back that same way that he came.

No trauelling by land without an interpretour.

Chap. XXXV.

How they returned to Nilco, and came to Minoya, where they agreed to make ships to depart out of the land of Florida.

WHen that which was determined was published in the Campe, there were many that were greatly grieued at it: for they held the Sea voyage as doubtfull, for the euill meanes they had, and of as great danger, as the trauelling by land: and they hoped to finde some rich countrie before they came to the land of the Christians, by that which Cabeça de Vaca had told the Emperour: and that was this; That after hee had found clothes made of cotton wooll, hee saw gold and siluer, and stones of great value. And they had not yet come where hee had been. For vntill that place hee alwaies trauelled by the Sea coast: and they trauelled farre within the land; and that going toward the West, of necessitie they should come where hee had been. For he said, That in a certain place he trauelled many daies, and entred into

Gold, siluer, and precious stones in Florida.

the land toward the North. And in Guasco they had alreadie found some Turkie stones, and mantles of cotton wooll: which the Indians signified by signes that they had from the West: and that holding that course they should draw neere to the land of the Christians. But though they were much discontented with it, and it grieued many to goe backward, which would rather haue aduentured their liues and haue died in the land of Florida, then to haue gone poore out of it: yet were they not a sufficient part to hinder that which was determined, because the principall men agreed with the Gouernour. And afterward there was one that said, hee would put out one of his owne eyes, to put out another of Luis de Moscoso; because it would grieue him much to see him prosper: because aswell himself as others of his friends had crossed that which he durst not haue done, seeing that within two daies hee should leaue the gouernment. From Daycao, where now they were, to Rio grande, or the Great Riuer, was 150. leagues: which vnto that place they had gone Westward. And by the way as they returned backe they had much adoe to find Maiz to eate: for where they had passed, the countrey was destroyed: and some little Maiz that was left the Indians had hidden. The townes which in Naguatex they had burned (whereof it repented them) were repaired againe, and the houses full of Maiz. This countrie is well inhabited and plentifull. In that place are vessels made of clay, which differ very little from those of Estremoz, or Monte-mor. In Chaguate the Indians by commandement of the Cacique came peaceably, and said, that the Christian which remained there would not come. The Gouernour wrote vnto him, and sent him inke and paper that he might answere. The substance of the words of the letter was to declare vnto him his determination, which was, to goe out of the land of Florida, and to put him in remembrance that he was a Christian, that hee would not remaine in the subiection of Infidels, that he pardoned him the fault which he had done in going away to the Indians, that hee should come vnto him: and if they did stay him, that hee would aduertise him thereof by writing. The Indian went with the letters and came again without any more answere, then, on the back side, his name and his seale, that they might know he was aliue. The Gouernour sent twelue horsemen to seeke

Turkie stones and mantles of cotton wooll found in Guasco.

150. leagues betweene the Riuer of Daycao, and Rio grande.

Fine earthen vessels.

him: but he, which had his spies, so hid himselfe, that they could not find him. For want of Maiz the Gouernour could not stay any longer to seeke him. Hee departed from Chaguate, and passed the Riuer by Aays; going downe by it hee found a towne called Chilano, which as yet they had not seen. They came to Nilco, and found so little Maiz, as could not suffice till they made their ships; because the Christians, being in Guachoya in the seede time, the Indians for feare of them durst not come to sow the grounds of Nilco: and they knew not thereabout any other countrie where any Maiz was: and that was the most fruitfull soile that was thereaway, and where they had most hope to finde it. Euery one was confounded, and the most part thought it bad counsell to come backe from the Riuer of Dacayo, and not to haue followed their fortune, going that way that went ouer land. For by Sea it seemed impossible to saue themselues, vnlesse God would worke a miracle for them: for there was neither Pilot, nor Sea-chart, neither did they know where the Riuer entred into the Sea, neither had they notice of it, neither had they any thing wherewith to make sailes, nor any store of Enequem, which is a grasse whereof they make Okam, which grew there: and that which they found they saued to calke the Pinaces withall, neither had they any thing to pitch them withall: neither could they make ships of such substance, but that any storme would put them in great danger: and they feared much it would fall out with them, as it did with Pamphilo de Naruaez, which was cast away vpon that coast: And aboue all it troubled them most, that they could find no Maiz: for without it they could not bee sustained, nor could doe any thing that they had neede of. All of them were put to great confusion. Their chiefe remedy was to commit themselues to God, and to beseech him that he would direct them the way that they might saue their liues. And it pleased him of his goodnesse, that the Indians of Nilco came peaceablie, and told them, that two daies iourney from thence, neere vnto the Great Riuer, were two townes, whereof the Christians had no notice, and that the prouince was called Minoya, and was a fruitfull soile: that, whether at this present there was any Maiz or no, they knew not, because they had warre with them: but that they would be very glad with the fauour of the Christians to goe and spoyle them. The Gouernour sent a Captaine thither with horsemen and footmen, and the Indians of Nilco with him.

Hee came to Minoya, and found two great townes seated in a plaine and open soile, halfe a league distant, one in sight of another, and in them hee tooke many Indians, and found great store of Maiz. Presently he lodged in one of them, and sent word to the Gouernour what hee had found: wherewith they were all exceeding glad. They departed from Nilco in the beginning of December; and all that way, and before from Chilano, they endured much trouble: for they passed through many waters, and many times it rained with a Northren winde, and was exceeding cold, so that they were in the open field with water ouer and vnderneath them: and when at the end of their daies iourney they found drie ground to rest vpon, they gaue great thanks to God. With this trouble almost all the Indians that serued them died. And after they were in Minoya, many Christians also died: and the most part were sicke of great and dangerous diseases, which had a spice of the lethargie. At this place died Andrew de Vasconcelos, and two Portugals of Eluas, which were very neere him: which were brethren, and by their surname called Sotis. The Christians lodged in one of the townes, which they liked best: which was fensed about, and distant a quarter of a league from the Great Riuer. The Maiz that was in the other towne was brought thither; and in all it was esteemed to bee 6000. hanegs or bushels. And there was the best timber to make ships, that they had seene in all the land of Florida: wherefore all of them gaue God great thankes for so singular a fauour, and hoped that that which they desired would take effect, which was, that they might safely bee conducted into the land of the Christians.

Chap. XXXVI.

How there were seuen Brigandines builded, and how they departed from Minoya.

ASsoone as they came to Minoya, the Gouernor commanded them to gather all the chaines together, which euerie one had to lead Indians in; and to gather al the yron which they had for their prouision, and al the rest that was in the Camp: and to set vp a forge to make nailes, and commanded them to cut downe timber for the brigandines. And a Portugall of Ceuta, who hauing bin a prisoner in Fez, had learned to saw timber with a long saw, which for such purposes they had carried with them, did teach others, which helped him to saw timber. And a Genowis, whom it pleased God to preserue (for without him they had neuer come out of the countrie: for there has neuer another that could make ships but hee) with foure or fiue other Biscaine carpenters, which hewed his plancks and other timbers, made the brigandines: And two calkers, the one of Genua, the other of Sardinia did calke them with the tow of an hearb like hempe, whereof before I haue made mention, which there is named Enequen. And because there was not enough of it, they calked them with the flaxe of the Countrie, and with the mantles, which they rauelled for that purpose. A cooper which they had among them fell sicke, and was at the point of death: and there was none other that had any skill in that trade: it pleased God to send him his health: And albeit he was verie weake, and could not labour; yet 15. daies before they departed, he made for euery brigandine two halfe hogs heads, which the mariners call quarterets, because foure of them hold a pipe of water. The Indians which dwelt two daies iournie aboue the Riuer in a Prouince called Taguante, and likewise those of Nilco and Guacoya, and others their neighbours seeing the brigandines in making, thinking, because their places of refuge are in the water, that they were to goe to seeke them: and because the Gouernour demanded mantles of them, as necessarie for sailes, came many times, and brought many mantles, and great store of fish. And for certaine it seemed that God was willing to fauour them in so great necessitie, moouing the minds of the Indians to bring them: for to goe to take them, they were neuer able. For in the towne where they were, assoone as winter came in, they were so inclosed and compassed with water, y^t they could go no farther by land, then a league, and a league and an half. And if they would go farther, they could carrie no horses, and without them they were not able to fight with the Indians, because they were many: and so many for so many * on foote they had the aduantage of them by water and by land, because they were more apt and lighter, and by reason of the disposition of the Countrie, which was according to their desire for the vse of their warre. They brought also some cords, and those which wanted for cables were made of the

Taguanate two daies iourney aboue Minoya.

The great vse of horses.

---

* Numbers being equal.

barkes of Mulberrie trees. They made stirrops of wood, and made ankers of their stirrops. In the moneth of March, when it had not rained a moneth before, the Riuer grew so big, that it came to Nilco, which was nine leagues off: and on the other side, the Indians said, that it reached other nine leagues into the land. In the towne where the Christians were, which was somewhat high ground, where they could best goe, the water reached to the stirrops. They made certaine rafts of timber, and laid manie boughes vpon them, wheron they set their horses, and in the houses they did the like. But seeing that nothing preuailed, they went vp to the lofts: and if they went out of the houses, it was in canoes, or on horseback in those places where the ground was hiest. So they were two moneths, and could doe nothing, during which time the Riuer decreased not. The Indians ceased not to come vnto the brigantines as they were wont, and came in canoes. At that time the Gouernour feared they would set vpon him. Hee commanded his men to take an Indian secretly of those that came to the towne, and to stay him till the rest were gone: and they tooke one The Gouernour commanded him to bee put to torture, to make him confesse, whether the Indians did practise any treason or no. Hee confessed that the Caciques of Nilco, Guachoya, and Taguanate, and others, which in al were about 20. Caciques, with a great number of people, determined to come vpon him; and that three daies before, they would send a great present of fish to colour their great treason and malice, and on the verie day they would send some Indians before with another present: And these with those which were our slaues, which were of their conspiracie also, should set the houses on fire, and first of all possesse themselues of the lances which stood at the doores of the houses; and the Caciques with all their men should bee neere the towne in ambush in the wood, and when they saw the fire kindled, should come, and make an end of the conquest. The Gouernour commanded the Indian to be kept in a chaine, and the selfesame day that he spake of there came 30. Indians with fish. He commanded their right hands to be cut off, and sent them so backe to the Cacique of Guachoya, whose men they were. He sent him word, that he

The mightie increasing of the Riuer for two moneths space, to wit, all March and April.

The grand conspiracie of the Indians against the Christians.

Note well.

Thirtie Indians of the Cacique of Guachoya haue their right hands cut off.

and the rest should come when they would, for he desired nothing more, and that hee should know, that they thought not any thing which he knew not before they thought of it. Hereupon they all were put in a very great feare: And the Caciques of Nilco and Taguanate came to excuse themselues: and a few daies after came he of Guachoya, and a principall Indian and his subiect, said, he knew by certaine information, That the Caciques of Nilco and Taguanate were agreed to come and make warre vpon the Christians. Assoone as ye Indians came from Nilco, the Gouernour examined them, and they confessed it was true. Hee deliuered them presentiy to the principall man of Guachoya, which drew them out of the towne and killed them. Another day came some from Tanguanate, and confessed it likewise. The Gouernour commanded their right hands and noses to be cut off, and sent them to the Cacique, wherewith they of Guachoya remained very well contented: and they came oftentimes with presents of mantles and fish, and hogs, which bred in the Countrie of some swine that were lost by the way the last yeere. Assoone as the waters were slaked, they perswaded the Gouernour to send men to Taguanate: They came and brought canoes, wherein the footemen were conueied downe the Riuer, and a Captaine with horsemen went by land; and the Indians of Guachoya, which guided him, till they came to Taguanate, assaulted the towne, and tooke many men and women, and mantles, which with those that they had alreadie were sufficient to supplie their want. The brigandines being finished in the moneth of Iune, the Indians hauing told vs, That the Riuer increased but once a yeere, when the snowes did melt, in the time wherein I mentioned it had alreadie increased, being now in sommer, and hauing not rained a long time, it pleased God, that the flood came vp to the towne to seeke the brigandines, from whence they carried them by water to the Riuer. Which, if they had gone by land, had been in danger of breaking and splitting their keeles, and to bee all vndone; because that for want of iron, the spikes were short, and the planckes and timber very weake. The Indians of Minoya, during the time that they were there, came to serue them (being driuen thereunto by necessity) that of the Maiz which they had taken from them

The right hands and noses of traitours cut off.

The Riuer increaseth but once a yeere when the snowes doe melt in March and Aprill.

A miraculous accident.

they would bestow some crummes vpon them. And because the Countrie was fertill, and the people vsed to feed of Maiz, and the Christians had gotten all from them that they had, and the people were many, they were not able to sustaine themselues. Those which came to the towne were so weake and feeble, that they had no flesh left on their bones: and many came and died neere the towne for pure hunger and weaknesse. The Gourernour commanded vpon grieuous punishments to giue them no Maiz. Yet, when they saw that the hogges wanted it not, and that they had yeelded themselues to serue them, and considering their miserie and wretchednes, hauing pity of them, they gaue them part of the Maïz which they had. And when the time of their embarkment came, there was not sufficient to serue their own turnes. That which there was, they put into the brigandines, and into great canoes tied two and two together. They shipped 22. of the best horses, that were in the Camp, the rest they made dried flesh of; and dressed the hogges which they had in like manner. They departed from Minoya the second day of Iulie, 1543.

Chap. XXXVII.

As the Christians went downe the great Riuer on their voyage, the Indians of Quigalta did set vpon them, and what was the successe thereof.

THe day before they departed from Minoya, they determined to dismisse al the men and women of the Countrie, which they had detained as slaues to serue them, saue some hundred, little more or lesse, which the Gouernour embarked, and others whom it pleased him to permit. And because there were many men of qualitie, whom he could not deny that which he granted to others, he vsed a policy, saying, that they might serue them as long as they were in the Riuer, but when they came to the sea, they must send them away for want of water, because they had but few vessels. He told his friends in secret, that they should carrie theirs to Nueua Espanna: And all those whom hee bare no good will vnto (which were the greater number) ignorant of that which was hidden from them, which afterward time discouered, thinking it inhumanitie for so little time of seruice, in reward of the great seruice that they had done them, to carrie them with them, to leaue them slaues to other men out of their owne Countries; left fiue hundred men and women; among whom were many boies and girles, which spake and vnderstood the Spanish tongue. The most of them did nothing but weepe: which mooued great compassion; seeing that all of them with good will would haue become Christians, and were left in state of perdition. There went from Minoya 322. Spaniards in seuen brigandines, well made, saue that the plankes were thin, because the nailes were short, and were not pitched, nor had any decks to keep the water from comming in. In stead of decks they laid planks, whereon the mariners might runne to trim their sailes, and the people might refresh themselues aboue and below. The Gouernour made his Captaines, and gaue to euery one his brigandine, and took their oth and their word, that they would obey him, vntill they came to the land of the Christians. The Gouernour tooke one of the brigandines for himself, which he best liked. The same day that they departed from Minoya, they passed by Guachoya, where the Indians tarried for them in canoes by the Riuer. And on the shore, they had made a great arbour with boughes: They desired him to come on shore; but he excused himselfe, and so went along: The Indians in their canoes accompanied him; and comming where an arme of the Riuer diclined on the right hand, they said, that the Prouince of Quigalta was neere vnto that place, and importuned the Gouernour to set vpon him, and that they would aide him. And because they had said, that he dwelt three daies journie down the Riuer, the Gouernour supposed that they had plotted some treason against him, and there left them; and went downe with the greatest force of the water. The current was very strong, and with the helpe of ores, they went very swiftly. The first day they landed in a wood on the left hand of the Riuer, and at night they withdrew themselues to the brigandines. The next day they came to a towne, where they went on shore, and the people that was in it durst not tarrie. A woman that they tooke there being examined, said, that that towne belonged to a Cacique named Huasene, subiect to Quigalta, and that Quigalta tarried for them below in the Riuer with many men. Certaine horsemen went thither, and found some houses, wherein was much Maiz. Immediately more of them

500. Slaues left in the Countrie.

They sailed downe Rio Grande from Minoya 17. daies before they came to the mouth thereof.

The second day.

Another day.

A town burned.

The third day.

A fleet of an hundred faire and great canoes.

went thither and tarried there one day, in which they did beate out, and tooke as much Maiz as they needed. While they were there, many Indians came from the nether par of the Riuer, and on the other side right against them somewha carelessely set themselues in order to fight. The Gouernour sent in two canoes the crossebowmen that he had, and as many more as could goe in them. They ran away, and seeing the Spaniards could not ouertake them, they returned backe, and tooke courage; and comming neerer, making an outcrie, they threatned them: and assoone as they departed thence, they went after them, some in canoes, and some by land along the Riuer; and getting before, comming to a towne that stood by the Riuers side, they ioyned al together, making a shew that they would tarrie there. Euerie brigandine towed a canoe fastened to their sternes for their particular seruice. Presently there entred men into euerie one of them, which made the Indians to flie, and burned the town. The same day they presently landed in a great field, where the Indians durst not tarrie. The next day there were gathered together an hundred canoes, among which were some that carried 60. and 70. men, and the principall mens canoes had their tilts, and plumes of white and red feathers for their ensignes: and they came within two crossebow shot of the brigandines, and sent three Indians in a small canoe with a fained message to view the manner of the brigandines, and what weapons they had. And comming to the side of the Gouernours brigandine, one of the Indians entred, and said:

That the Cacique of Quigalta his Lord, sent him his commendations, and did let him vnderstand, that all the Indians of Guachoya had told him coucerning himselfe, was false, and that they had incensed him, because they were his enemies; that he was his seruant, and should find him so.

The Gouernour answered him, that he beleeued all that he said was true, and willed him to tell him, that he esteemed his friendship very much. With this answer they returned to the place where the rest in their canoes were waiting for them, and from thence all of them fell downe, and came neere the Spaniards, shouting aloud, and threatning of them. The Gouernour sent Iohn de Guzman, which had been a Captaine of footemen in Florida, with 15. armed men in canoes to make them giue way.

Assoone as the Indians saw them come towards them, they diuided themselues into two parts, and stood still till the Spaniards came nie them, and when they were come neere them, they ioyned together on both sides, taking Iohn de Guzman in the middest, and then they came first with him, and with great furie borded them: And as their canoes were bigger, and many of them leaped into the water to stay them, and to lay hold on the canoes of the Saniards, and ouerwhelme them; so presently they ouerwhelmed them. The Christians fell into the water, and with the weight of their armour sunke downe to the bottome: and some few, that by swimming or holding by the canoe could haue saued themselues, with oares and staues, which they had, they strooke them on the head and made them sinke. When they of the brigandines saw the ouerthrow, though they went about to succour them, yet through the current of the Riuer they could not goe backe. Foure Spaniards fled to the brigandine that was neerest to the canoes; and only these escaped of those that came among the Indians. They were eleuen that died there: among whom Iohn de Guzman was one, and a sonne of Don Carlos, called Iohn de Vargas: the rest also were persons of account and men of great courage. Those that escaped by swimming, said that they saw the Indians enter the canoe of John de Guzman at the sterne of one of their canoes, and whether they carried him away dead or aliue they could not certainly tell.

Eleuen Spaniards drowned.

Chap. XXXVIII.

Which declareth how they were pursued by the Indians.

THe Indians, seeing that they had gotten the victorie, tooke such courage, that they assaulted them in the brigandines, which they durst not doe before. They came first to that brigandine wherein Calderon went for Captaine, and was in the rereward: and at the first volie of arrowes they wounded 25. men. There were only foure armed men in this brigandine: these did stand at the brigandines side to defend it. Those that were vnarmed, seeing how they hurt them, left their oares and went vnder the deck: whereupon the brigandine began to crosse, and to goe where the current of the

25. Spaniards wounded.

The great vse of large targets.

Strong mats a good defence against arrowes.

streame carried it. One of the armed men seeing this, without the commandement of the Captaine, made a footman to take an oare and stirre the brigandine, hee standing before him and defending him with his target. The Indians came no neerer then a bowshot, from whence they offended and were not offended, receiuing no hurt: for in euery brigandine was but one crossebow, and those which wee had were very much out of order. So that the Christians did nothing else but stand for a butte to receiue their arrowes. Hauing left this brigandine they went to another, and fought with it halfe an houre; and so from one to another they fought with them all. The Christians had mattes to lay vnder them, which were double, and so close and strong, that no arrow went thorow them. And assoone as the Indians gaue them leisure, they fensed the brigandines with them. And the Indians seeing that they could not shoote leuell, shot their arrowes at random vp into the aire, which fell into the brigandines, and hurt some of the men: and not therewith contented, they sought to get to them which were in the canoes with the horses. Those of the brigandines enuironed them to defend them, and tooke them among them. Thus seeing themselues much vexed by them, and so wearied that they could no longer endure it, they determined to trauell all the night following, thinking to get beyond the countrie of Quigalta, and that they would leaue them: but when they thought least of it, supposing they had now left them, they heard very neere them so great outcries, that they made them deafe, and so they followed vs all that night, and the next day till noone, by which time we were come into the countrie of others, whom they desired to vse vs after the same manner; and so they did. The men of Quigalta returned home; and the other in fiftie canoes fought with vs a whole day and a night: and they entred one of the brigandines, that came in the rereward by the canoe which she had at her sterne, and tooke away a woman which they found in it, and afterward hurt some of the men of the brigandines. Those which came with the horses in the canoes, being wearie with rowing night and day, lingered behind; and presently the Indians came vpon them, and they of the brigandines tarried for them. The Gouernour resolued to goe on shore and to kill the horses, because of the slow way which they made because of them. Assoone as they saw a place conuenient for it, they

Dried horse-flesh for food.

went thither and killed the horses, and brought the flesh of them to drie it aboord. Foure or fiue of them remained on shore aliue: The Indians went vnto them, after the Spaniards were embarked. The horses were not acquainted with them, and began to neigh, and runne vp and downe, in such sort, that the Indians, for feare of them, leaped into the water: and getting into their canoes went after the brigandines, shooting cruelly at them. They followed vs that euening and the night following till the next day at tenne of the clocke, and then returned vp the Riuer. Presently from a small towne that stood vpon the Riuer came seuen canoes, and followed vs a little way downe the Riuer, shooting at vs: but seeing they were so few that they could do vs but little harme, they returned to their towne. From thence forward, vntill they came to the Sea, they had no encounter. They sailed downe the Riuer seuenteene daies, which may be two hundred and fifty leagues iourney, little more or lesse: and neere vnto the Sea the Riuer is diuided into two armes; each of them is a league and an halfe broad.

Chap. XXXIX.

How they came vnto the sea: and what happened vnto them in all their voiage.

HAlfe a league before they came to the sea, they came to anker to rest themselues there about a day: for they were very weary with rowing and out of heart. For by the space of many daies they had eaten nothing but parched and sodden Maiz; which they had by allowance euery day an headpeece ful by strike for euery three men. While they rode there at anker seuen canoes of Indians came to set vpon those, which they brought with them. The Gouernour commanded armed men to go aboord them, and to driue them farther off. They came also against them by land through a thick wood, and a moorish ground, and had staues with very sharp forked heads made of the bones of fishes, and fought verie valiantly with vs, which went out to encounter them. And the other that came in canoes with their arrowes staid for them that came against them, and at their comming both those that were on land, and those in the canoes wounded some of vs: And seeing vs come neere them, they turned their backs, and like swift horses among footemen gat away from vs; making some returnes, and reuniting themselues together, going not past a bow shot off: for in so retiring they shot, without receiuing any hurt of the Christians. For though they had some bowes, yet they could not vse them; and brake their armes with rowing to ouertake them. And the Indians easily in their compasse went with their canoes, staying and wheeling about as it had been in a skirmish, perceiuing that those that came against them could not offend them. And the more they stroue to come neere them, the more hurt they receiued. Assoone as they had driuen them farther off they returned to the brigandines. They staied two daies there: And departed from thence vnto the place, where the arme of the Riuer entreth into the sea. They sounded in the Riuer neere vnto the Sea, and found 40. fathoms water. They staid there. And the Gouernour commanded al and singular persons to speake their minds touching their voiage, whether it were best to crosse ouer to Nueua Espanna, committing themselues to the hie sea, or whether they should keepe along the coast. There were sundry opinions touching this matter; wherein Iohn Danusco, which presumed much, and tooke much vpon him in the knowledge of nauigation, and matters of the sea, although hee had but little experience, mooued the Gouernour with his talke: and his opinion was seconded by some others. And they affirmed, that it was much better to passe by the hie sea, and crosse the gulfe, which was three of foure parts the lesser trauell, because in going along ye coast, they went a great way about, by reason of the compasse, which the land did make. Iohn Danusco said, that he had seene the seacard, and that from the place where they were, the coast ran East and West vnto Rio de las Palmas; and from Rio de las Palmas to Nueua Espanna from North to South: and therefore in sailing alwaies in sight of land would bee a great compassing about and spending of much time; and that they would be in great danger to be ouertaken with winter before they should get to the land of the Christians: and that in 10. or 12. daies space, hauing good weather, they might bee there in crossing ouer. The most part were against this opinion, and said, that it was more safe to go along the coast, though they staied the longer: because their ships were very weake and without decks, so that a very little storme was enough to cast them away: and if they should be hindred with calmes, or contrarie weather, through the small store of vessels which they had to carrie water in, they should likewise fall into great danger: and that although the ships were such as they might venture in them, yet hauing neither Pilot nor Seacard to guide themselues, it was no good counsell to crosse the gulfe. This opinion was confirmed by the greatest part: and they agreed to go along the coast. At the time wherein they sought to depart from thence, the cable of the anker of the Gouernours brigandine brake, and the anker remained in the Riuer. And albeit, they were neere the shore, yet it was so deepe, that the Diuers diuing many times could neuer find it: which caused great sadnes in the Gouernour, and in all those that went with him in his brigandine: But with a grindstone which they had, and certaine bridles which remained to some of the Gentlemen, and men of worship which had horses, they made a weight which serued in stead of an anker. The 18. of Iuly, they went foorth to sea with faire and prosperous weather for their voiage. And seeing that they were gone two or three leagues from the shore, the Captaines of the other brigandines ouertooke them, and asked the Gouernour, wherefore he did put off from the shore: and that if hee would leaue the coast, he should say so; and he should not do it without the consent of all: and that if hee did otherwise, they would not follow him, but that euery one would doe what seemed best vnto himselfe. The Gouernour answered, that hee would doe nothing without their counsell, but that hee did beare off from the land to saile the better and safer by night; and that the next day when time serued, he would returne to the sight of land againe. They sailed with a reasonable good wind that day and the night following, and the next day till euening song, alwaies in fresh water: whereat they wondred much: for they were very farre from land. But the force of the current of the Riuer is so great, and the coast there is so shallow and gentle, that the fresh water entreth farre into the Sea. That euening on their right hand they saw certaine creekes, whither they went, and rested there that night: where Iohn Danusco with his reasons wonne them at last, that all consented and agreed to commit themselues to the maine Sea, alleaging, as he had done before, that it was a great aduantage, and that their voyage would be much shorter. They sailed two daies, and when they would haue come to sight of land they could not, for the winde blew from the shore. On the fourth day, seeing their fresh water began to faile, fearing necessitie

They landed the 30. of May, 1539. Chap. 7. they went foorth to sea Iuly 18. 1543.

and danger, they all complained of Iohn Danusco, and of the Gouernour that followed his counsell: and euery one of the Captaines said, that they would no more goe from the shore, though the Gouernour went whither he would. It pleased God that the winde changed though but a little; and at the end of foure daies after they had put to sea, being alreadie destitute of water, by force of rowing they got within sight of land, and with great trouble recouered it, in an open roade. That euening the winde came to the South, which on that coast is a crosse winde, and draue the brigandines against the shore, because it blew very hard, and the anchors weake, that they yeelded and began to bend. The Gouernour commanded all men to leape into the water, and going between them and the shore, and thrusting the brigandines into the Sea assoone as the waue was past, they saued them till the winde ceased.

Chap. XL.

How they lost one another by a storme, and afterward came together in a creeke.

IN the bay where they rode, after the tempest was past, they went on shore, and with mattockes, which they had, they digged certain pits, which grew full of fresh water, where they filled all the casks which they had. The next day they departed thence, and sailed two daies, and entred into a creeke like vnto a poole, fenced from the South winde, which then did blow, and was against them: and there they staied foure daies, not being able to get out: and when the Sea was calm they rowed out: they sailed that day, and toward euening the winde grew so strong that it draue them on the shore, and they were sorie that they had put foorth from the former harbour: for assoone as night approched a storme began to rise in the Sea, and the winde still waxed more and more violent with a tempest. The brigandines lost one another: two of them, which bare more into the Sea, entred into an arme of the Sea, which pearced into the land two leagues beyond the place where the other were that night. The fiue which staied behinde, being alwaies a league, and halfe a league the one from the other, met together, without any knowledge the one of the other, in a wilde roade, where the winde

Fresh water is commonlie found by diging in the sands on the sea side.

and the waues droue them on shore: for their anchors did strengthen and came home; and they could not rule their oares, putting seuen or eight men to every oare, which rowed to seaward: and all the rest leaped into the water, and when the waue was past that draue the brigandine on shore, they thrust it againe into Sea with all the diligence and might that they had. Others, while another waue was in comming, with bowles laued out the water that came in ouerboord. While they were in this tempest in great feare of being cast away in that place, from midnight forward they endured an intollerable torment of an infinite swarme of Moskitoes which fell upon them, which assoone as they had stung the flesh, it so infected it, as though they had bin venomous. In the morning the Sea was asswaged and the wind slaked, but not the Muskitoes: ye sailes which were white seemed blacke with them in the morning. Those which rowed, vnless others kept them away, were not able to row. Hauing passed the feare & danger of the storme, beholding the deformities of their faces, and the blows which they gaue themselves to driue them away, one of them laughed at another. They met all together in the creek where the two brigandines were, which outwent their fellowes. There was found a skumme, which they call Copee, which the Sea casteth vp, and it is like pitch, wherewith in some places, where pitch is wanting, they pitch their ships: there they pitched their brigandines. They rested two daies, and then eftsoones proceeded on their voyage. They sailed two daies more, and landed in a Bay or arme of the Sea, where they staied two daies. The same day that they went from thence sixe men went vp in a canoe toward the head of it, and could not see the end of it. They put out from thence with a South winde, which was against them: but because it was little, and for the great desire they had to shorten their voyage, they put out to sea by force of oares, and for all that made very little way with great labour in two daies, and went under the lee of a small Island into an arme of the Sea, which compassed it about. While they were there, there fell out such weather, that they gave God many thankes, that they had found out such an harbour. There was great store of fish in that place, which they tooke with nets, which they had, and hookes. Heere a man cast an hooke and a line into the Sea, and tied the end of it to his arme, and a fish caught it, and drew him into the water vnto the necke: and it pleased God that he remembred

A swarme of grieuous Moskitoes.

himselfe of a knife that he had, and cut the line with it. There they abode fourteen daies: and at the end of them it pleased God to send them faire weather, for which with great deuotion they appointed a procession, and went in procession along the strand, beseeching God to bring them to a land, where they might serue him in better sort.

Chap. XLI.

How they came to the Riuer of Panuco in Nueua Espanna.

IN all the coast wheresoeuer they digged they found fresh water: there they filled their vessels; and the procession being ended, embarked themselues, and going alwaies in sight of the shore they sailed sixe daies. Iohn Danusco said that it would doe well to beare out to seaward: for he had seene the Seacard, and remembred that from Rio de las Palmas forward the coast did runne from North to South, aud thitherto they had runne from East to West, and in his opinion, by his reckoning, Rio de las Palmas could not be farre off, from where they were. That same night they put to sea, and in the morning they saw Palme leaues floting, and the coast, which ranne North and South: from midday forward they saw gerat Mountaines, which vntill then they had not seene: for from this place to Puerto de Spiritu Santo, where they first landed in Florida, was a very plaine and low countrey: and therefore it cannot be descried, vnlesse a man come very neere it. By that which they saw, they thought that they had ouershot Rio de Palmas that night, which is 60. leagues from the Riuer of Panuco, which is in Nueua Espanna. They assembled all together, and some said it was not good to saile by night, lest they should ouershoot the Riuer of Panuco: and others said, it was not well to lose time while it was fauourable, and that it could not be so neere that they should passe it that night: and they agreed to take away halfe the sailes, and so saile all night. Two of the brigandines, which sailed that night with all their sailes, by breake of day had ouershot the Riuer of Panuco without seeing it. Of the fiue that came behind, the first that came vnto it was that wherein Calderan was Captaine. A quarter of a league before they came at it, and before they did see it, they saw the water muddie,

Al the Northside of the Gulfe of Mexico is verie low land, saue in this one place.

and knew it to be fresh water: and comming right against the Riuer, they saw, where it entred into the Sea, that the water brake vpon a shold. And because there was no man there that knew it, they were in doubt whether they should goe in, or goe along, and they resolued to goe in: and before they came vnto tho current, they went close to the shore, and entred into the port: and assoone as they were come in, they saw Indian men and women apparelled like Spaniards: whom they asked in what countrey they were? They answered in Spanish, that it was the Riuer of Panuco, and that the towne of the Christians was 15. leagues vp within the land. The ioy that all of them receiued vpon these newes cannot sufficiently be expressed: for it seemed vnto them, that at that instant they were borne again. And many went on shore and kissed the ground, and kneeling on their knees, with lifting vp their hands and eyes to heauen, they all ceased not to giue God thankes. Those which came after, assoone as they saw Calderon come to an anchor with his brigandine in the Riuer, presently went thither, and came into the hauen. The other two brigandines which had ouershot the place, put to sea to returne backe to seeke the rest, and could not doe it, because the wind was contrarie and the Sea growne: they were afraid of being cast away, and recouering the shore they cast anchor. While they rode there a storme arose: and seeing that they could not abide there, much lesse endure at Sea, they resolued to runne on shore; and as the brigandines were but small, so did they draw but little water; and where they were it was a sandie coast. By which occasion the force of their sailes draue them on shore, without any hurt of them that were in them. As those that were in the port of Panuco at this time were in great ioy, so these felt a double griefe in their hearts: for they knew not what was become of their fellowes, nor in what countrey they were, and feared it was a countrey of Indian enemies. They landed two leagues below the port: and when they saw themselues out of the danger of the Sea, euery one tooke of that which he had, as much as he could carrie on his backe: and they trauelled vp into the countrey, and found Indians, which told them where the fellowes were; and gaue them good entertainement: wherewith their sadnes was turned into ioy, and they thanked God most humbly for their deliuerance out of so many dangers.

The Riuer of Panuca: the towne 15. leagues from the mouth of the Riuer.

Chap. XLII.

How they came to Panuco, and how they were receiued of the inhabitants.

They arriued in the Riuer of Panuco, 1543. Septem. 10.

The description of Panuco.

FRom the time that they put out of Rio Grande to the sea, at their departure from Florida, vntil they arriued in the Riuer of Panuco, were 52 daies. They came into the Riuer of Panuco the 10. of September 1543. They went vp the Riuer with their brigandines. They trauelled foure daies; and because the wind was but little, and many times it serued them not, because of the many turnings which the Riuer maketh, and the great current, drawing them vp by towing, and that in many places: for this cause they made very little way, and with great labour; and seeing the execution of their desire to be deferred, which was to come among Christians, and to see the celebration of diuine seruice, which so long time they had not seene; they left the brigandines with the mariners, and went by land to Panuco. All of them were apparrelled in Deeres skins tanned and died blacke, to wit, cotes, hose, and shooes. When they came to Panuco, presently they went to the Church to pray and giue God thankes, that so miraculously had saued them. The townesmen which before were aduertised by the Indians, and knew of their arriual, caried some of them to their houses, and entertained them, whom they knew, and had acquaintance of, or because they were their Countrimen. The Alcalde Mayor tooke the Gouernour home to his house: and commanded al the rest, assoone as they came, to be lodged 6. & 6. and 10. & 10. according to the habilitie of euery townesman. And all of them were prouided for by their hostes of many hennes and bread of Maiz, and fruites of the Countrie, which are such as be in the Isle of Cuba, whereof, before I haue spoken. The towne of Panuco may containe aboue 70 families; the most of their houses are of lime and stone, and some made of timber, and all of them are thatched. It is a poore Countrie, and there is neither gold nor siluer in it: The inhabitants live there in great abundance of victuals and seruants. The richest haue not aboue 500. crownes rent a yeere, and that is in cotton clothes and hennes and Maiz, which the Indians there seruants doe giue them for tribute. There arriued there of those that came out of Florida, three hundred and eleuen Christians. Presently the Alcalde Mayor sent one of the townesmen in post to aduertise the Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoça, which was resident in Mexico, that of yͤ people that went with Don Ferdinando de Soto to discouer and conquer Florida, three hundred and eleuen men were arriued there, that seeing they were imploied in his Maiesties seruice, he would take some order to prouide for them. Whereat the Viceroy, and all the inhabitants of Mexico wondred. For they thought they were miscarried, because they had trauelled so farre within the maine land of Florida, and had no newes of them for so long a time: and it seemed a wonderfull thing vnto them, how they could saue themselues so long among Infidels, without any fort, wherein they might fortifie themselues, and without any other succour at all. Presently the Viceroy sent a warrant, wherein hee commanded, that whithersoeuer they went, they should giue them victuals, and as many Indians for their carriages as they needed: and where they would not furnish them, they might take those things that were necessarie perforce without incurring any danger of law. This warrant was so readilie obeyed, that by the way before they came to the townes, they came to receiue them with hennes, and victuals.

311. Christians arriued at Panuco.

Chap. XLIII.

Of the fauour which they found at the hands of the Viceroy, and of the inhabitants of the Citie of Mexico.

FRom Panuco to the great Citie Temistitan Mexico is 60. leagues; and other 60. from Panuco to the Port de Vera Cruz, where they take shipping for Spaine, and those that come from Spaine do land to go for Nueua Espanna. These three townes stand in a triangle: to wit, Vera Cruz, to the South, Panuco to the North, and Mexico to the West, 60. leagues assunder. The Countrie is so inhabited with Indians, that from towne to towne, those which are farthest, are but a league, and halfe a league assunder. Some of them that came from Florida, staied a moneth in Panuco to rest themselues, others fifteene daies, and euery one as long as he listed: for there was none that shewed a sower countenance to his guests, but rather gaue them any thing that they had, and seemed to be grieued when they took their leaue. Which was to be beleeued. For the victuals, which the Indians doe pay them for tribute, are more than they can spend: and in that towne is no commerce; and there dwelt but few Spaniards there, and they were glad of their companie. The Alcalde Mayor diuided all the Emperours clothes which he had (which there they pay him for his tribute) among those that would come to receiue them. Those which had shirts of maile left, were glad men: for they had a horse for one shirt of maile: Some horsed themselues: and such as could not (which were the greatest part) tooke their iournie on foote: in which they were well receiued of the Indians that were in the townes, and better serued, then they could haue been in their owne houses, though they had been well to liue. For if they asked one hen of an Indian, they brought them foure: and if they asked any of the Countrie fruit, though it were a league off, they ran presently for it. And if any Christian found himselfe euill at ease, they carried him in a chaire from one towne to another. In whatsoeuer towne they came, the Cacique, by an Indian which carried a rod of Iustice in his hand, whom they call Tapile, that is to say, a sergeant, commanded them to prouide victuals for them, and Indians to beare burdens of such things as they had, and such as were needfull to carrie them that were sicke. The Viceroy sent a Portugall 20. leagues from Mexico, with great store of sugar, raisons of the Sunne, and conserues, and other things fit for sicke folkes, for such as had neede of them: and had giuen order to cloth them all at the Emperours charges. And their approch being knowne by the citizens of Mexico, they went out of the towne to receiue them: and with great courtesie, requesting them in fauour to come to their houses, euery one carried such as hee met home with him, and clothed them euery one the best they could: so that he which had the meanest apparrell, it cost aboue 30. ducats. As many as were willing to come to the Viceroyes house he commanded to be apparelled, and such as were persons of qualitie sate at his table: and there was a table in his house for as many of the meaner sort as would come to it: and he was presently informed who euery one was, to shew him the courtesie that he deserued. Some of the Conquerors did set both gentlemen and clownes at their owne table,

This is the manner of China to carrie men chaires.

and many times made the seruant sit cheeke by cheeke by his master: and chiefly the officers and men of base condition did so: for those which had better education did enquire who euery one was, and made difference of persons: but all did what they could with a good will: and euery one told them whom they had in their houses, that they should not trouble themselues, nor thinke themselues the worse, to take that which they gaue them: for they had bin in the like case, and had bin relieued of others, and that this was the custome of that countrey. God reward them all: and God grant, that those which it pleased him to deliuer out of Florida, and to bring againe into Christendome, may serue him: and vnto those that died in that countrey, and vnto all that beleeue in him and confesse his holy faith, God for his mercie sake grant the kingdome of heauen. Amen.

Chap. XLIV.

Which declareth some diuersities and particularities of the land of Florida: and the fruites, and beasts, and fowles that are in that Countrie.

Port de Spiritu Santo is in 29. degrees ½ on the West side of Florida.

FRom the Port de Spiritu Santo, where they landed when they entred into Florida, to the Prouince of Ocute, which may bee 400. leagues, little more or lesse, is a verie plaine Countrie, and hath many lakes and thicke woods, and in some places they are of wild pinetrees; and is a weake soile: There is in it neither Mountaine nor hill. The Countrie of Ocute is more fat and fruitfull; it hath thinner woods, and very goodly medows vpon the Riuers. Fron Ocute to Cutifachiqui may be 130. leagues; 80. leagues thereof are desert, and haue many groues of wild Pine trees. Through the wildernesse great Riuers doe passe. From Cutifachiqui to Xuala, may be 250. leagues: it is al an hilly Countrie. Cutifachiqui and Xuala stand both in plaine grounde, hie, and haue goodly medows on the Riuers. From thence forward to Chiaha, Coça, and Talise, is plaine ground, dry and fat, and very plentifull of Maiz. From Xuala to Tascaluça may be 250. leagues. From Tascaluça to Rio Grande, or yͤ Great Riuer, may be 300. leagues: the Countrie is low, and full of lakes. From Rio Grande forwarde, the Countrie is hier and more champion, and best peopled of all the land of Florida.

And along this Riuer from Aquixo to Pacaha, and Coligoa, are 150. leagues: the Countrie is plaine, and the woods thinne, and in some places champion, very fruitfull and pleasant. From Coligoa to Autiamque are 250. leagues of hillie Countrie. From Autiamque to Aguacay, may be 230. leagues of plaine ground. From Aguacay to the Riuer of Daycao 120. leagues, all hillie Countrie.

Pagina 27.

From the Port de Spiritu Santo vnto Apalache, they trauelled from East to West, and Northwest. From Cutifachiqui to Xuala from South to North. From Xuala to Coça from East to West. From Coça to Tascaluça, and to Rio Grande, as far as the Prouinces of Quizquiz and Aquixo from East to West. From Aquixo to Pacaha to the North. From Pacaha to Tulla from East to West: and from Tulla to Autiamque from North to South, to the Prouince of Guachoya and Daycao.

Soft Walnuts Eastward from Rio Grande

Hard Walnuts Westward from Rio Grande.

The bread which they eate in all the land of Florida is of Maiz, which is like course millet. And this maiz is common in all the Islandes and West Indies from the Antiles forward. There are also in Florida great store of Walnuts and Plummes, Mulberries, and Grapes. They sow and gather their Maiz euery one their seuerall crop. The fruits are common to all: for they grow abroad in the open fields in great abundance, without any neede of planting or dressing. Where there be Mountaines, there be chestnuts: they are somewhat smaller then the chestnuts of Spaine. From Rio Grande Westward, the Walnuts differ from those that grow more Eaatward: for they are soft, and like vnto Acornes: And those which grow from Rio Grande to Puerto del Spiritu Santo for the most part are hard; and the trees and Walnuts in shew like those of Spaine. There is a fruit through all the Countrie which groweth on a plant like Ligoacan, which the Indians doe plant. The fruit is like vnto Peares Riall: it hath a verie good smell, and an excellent taste. There groweth another plant in the open field, which beareth a fruit like vnto strawberries, close to the ground, which hath a verie good taste. The Plummes are of two kindes, red and gray, of the making and bignesse of nuts, and haue three or foure stones in them. These are better than all the plummes of Spaine, & they make farre better Prunes of them. In the Grapes there is onelie want of dressing: for though they bee big, they have a great Kirnell. All other fruits are very perfect, and lesse hurtfull than those of Spaine.

Beasts. There are in Florida many Beares, and Lyons, Wolues, Deere, Dogges, Cattes, Marterns, and Conies.

Fowles. There be many wild Hennes as big as Turkies, Partridges small like those of Africa, Cranes, Duckes, Pigeons, Thrushes and Sparrowes. There are certaine Blacke birds bigger then Sparrowes, and lesser then Stares. There are Gosse Hawkes, Falcons, Ierfalcons, and all Fowles of prey that are in Spaine.

The Indians are well proportioned. Those of the plaine Countries are taller of bodie, and better shapen, then those of the Mountaines. Those of the Inland haue greater store of Maiz, and commodities of the Countrie, then those that dwell vpon the sea coast. The Countrie along the sea coast is barren and poore: and the people more warlike. The coast runneth from Puerto del Spiritu Santo to Apalache, East and West; and from Apalache to Rio de las Palmas from East to West: from Rio de las Palmas vnto Nueua Espanna from North to South. It is a gentle coast, but it hath many sholdes, and great shelues of sand.

Deo gratias.

This relation of the discouerie of Florida was printed in the house of Andrew de Burgos, Printer and Gentleman of the house of my Lord Cardinall the Infante.

It was finished the tenth of Februarie in the yeere one thousand, fiue hundred, fiftie and seuen, in the noble and most loyall citie of Euora.

SVNDRY VOYAGES

MADE FROM NUEUA GALICIA, AND NUEUA VISCAIA IN NEW SPAINE, TO THE 15. PROUINCES OF NEW MEXICO, AND TO QUIUIRA AND CIBOLA, ALL SITUATE ON THE BACKESIDE OF GUASTECAN, FLORIDA, AND VIRGINIA, AS FARRE AS 37. DEGREES OF NORTHERLY LATITUDE: WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE RIUERS, LAKES, CITIES, TOWNES, NATIONS, FERTILE SOYLE, AND TEMPERATE AYRE IN THOSE PARTES; AND MOST CERTAINE NOTICE OF MANY EXCEEDING RICH SILUER MINES, AND OTHER PRINCIPALL COMMODITIES.

A discourse of the famous Cosmographer Iohn Baptista Ramusius, concerning the three voyages of Frier Marco de Niça, Francis Vasquez de Coronado, and Ferdinando Alorchon next following: taken out of his third volume of Nauigations and Voyages.

THe right honourable Don Antonio de Mendoça being sent by Charles the Emperour to be viceroy of Mexico and Nueua Espanna, and hauing vnderstood that Don Ferdinando Cortez had sent many ships along the coast of Nueua Espanna to discouer countries, and to find out the Isles of the Malucos, began himselfe to desire to do the like, as viceroy of Nueua Espanna; and hereupon they fell out: for Cortez said that he was general and discouerer of the South sea, and that it belonged to him to set forth those voyages. On the other side, the lord Don Antonio alledged that it belonged to him to make that discouery, as being viceroy of Nueua Espanna. So that they fell at great variance, and Cortez returned into Spaine to complaine vnto the Emperour. Don Antonio in the meane season hauing obteined knowledge of the voiage, which Andrew Dorantez (who was one of the company of Pamphilo Naruaez that escaped, as you may reade in the relation of Aluaro Nunnez, called Cabeça de Vaca) made; sent Frier Marco de Niça with a Negro of the said Dorantez to discouer that country. Which Frier Marco de Niça being returned, and hauing informed his lordship of all his discouery, he sent captain Francis Vasquez de Coronado with many Spaniards on horsebacke, and Indians on foot: likewise he sent a fleete by sea, whereof Ferdinando Alorchon was captaine, as may be seene in the relations following.

An extract of a letter of captaine Francis Vasques de Coronado, written to a Secretary of the right noble Don Antonio de Mendoça, viceroy of Nueua Espanna. Dated in Culiacan, the 8. of March 1539.

HE saith that Frier Marcus de Niça arriued in the Prouince of Topira, where he found all the Indians fled vnto the mountaines for feare of the Christians, and that for his sake they came all downe to see him, with great ioy and gladnesse. They are men of good making, and whiter then others, and their women are more beautifull then others of the neighbouring prouinces. There are no great cities there, yet are the houses built of stone, and are very good, and in them they haue great store of gold, which is as it were lost, because they know not what vse to put it to. The people weare Emeralds and other precious iewels vpon their bodies: they are valiant, hauing very strong armour made of siluer, fashioned after diuers shapes of beasts. They worship for their gods such things as they haue in their houses, as namely hearbes, and birdes, and sing songs vnto them in their language, which differeth but litle from that of Culiacan. They told the Frier that they were willing to become Christians, and the Emperors subiects, for they were without a gouernour; with condition that no man should hurt them: and that they would change their golde for such things as they wanted. Commandement was giuen, that they should bee receiued without doing them any displeasure. Neere vnto this countrey there is another Prouince heretofore discouered by our men, where the people go naked without any thing before them: they are very hardly reduced to Christianitie, and they are valiant and stoute. Their houses are couered with straw. They seeke no other riches but to feede cattel. They goe at certaine seasons to their sacrifices into a valley situate in that Prouince, which is inhabited with people, esteemed by those of the countrey as saints and priests, whom they call Chichimecas, which dwell in the woods without houses: and

Store of golde, siluer, and precious stones in Topira.

they eate such things as they of the countrey giue them of almes. They goe naked, and are tanned in the smoke, and tye their priuie member with a string vnto their knee, and the women likewise goe starke naked. They haue certaine temples couered with strawe, with small round windowes full of skuls of dead men; before their temple is a great round ditch, the brim whereof is compassed with the figure of a serpent made of gold and siluer, and with another mixture of vnknowen metals: and this serpent holdeth his tayle in his mouth. They of this valley from time to time cast lots, whose lucke it shal be to be sacrificed, and they make him great cheere, on whom the lotte falleth, and with great ioy they crowne him with flowers vpon a bed prepared in the sayd ditch all full of flowres and sweete hearbes, on which they lay him along, and lay great store of dry wood on both sides of him, and set on fire on eyther part, and so he dyeth. Where he continueth so quietly without being bound, as though hee did something, wherein he tooke great pleasure. And they say that hee is a Saint, and doe worshippe him for that yeere, and and sing prayses, and Hymnes vnto him and afterward set vp his head with the rest in order within those windowes. Also they sacrifice their prisoners, whom they burn in another deeper ditch, and not with the foresayde ceremonies. The Spanyards which are in Xalisco write, that hauing good assistance, they hope that those people will become Christians. The Countrey is very good and fruitfull, and hath great store of good and wholesome waters.

A Letter of Francis Vazquez de Coronado, Gouernour of Nueua Galicia, to the lord Don Antonio de Mendoça, Viceroy of Nueua Espanna. Dated in Saint Michael of Culiacan the 8. of March, 1539.

Of the hard passage from Saint Michael of Culiacan to Topira. The description of that Prouince, and of another neere vnto the same, very rich in gold and precious stones. The number of the people which Vazquez caried with him in his iourney thither; and how greatly Frier Marcus of Niça is honoured by the Indians of Petatlan.

BY the help of God I meane to set forward from this City of S. Michael of Culiacan toward Topira the 10. of April: neither can I any sooner set forward, because the powder and match which your Lordship sendeth mee, cannot be brought thither, before that time, and I thinke it be now in Compostella. Besides this, I am to passe many leagues ouer mightie high mountaines which reach vp to the skyes, and ouer a Riuer, which at this present is so bigge and swollen, that it can in no place be waded ouer. And if I depart at the time aforesayde, they say wee may wade ouer it. They tolde mee that from hence to Topira was not aboue 50 leagues; and I haue learned since that it is aboue foure score leagues. I doe not remember that I haue written to your Lordshippe the information which I haue of Topira: and though I had written thereof vnto you, yet because that since that time I haue learned something more, I thinke it meete to signifie them vnto your Lordshippe in these my letters. It may please your honour therefore to vnderstand, that they tell mee, that Topira is a very populous Prouince, lying betweene two riuers, and that there are aboue 50. inhabited townes therein. And that beyond the same there is another Countrey greater then it, the name whereof the Indians could not tell mee, wherein there is great store of victuals of Maiz, French peason, Axi or Pepper, Melons, and Gourds, and great store of Hennes of the countrey. The people weare on their bodies golde, Emeralds, and other precious stones, and are serued commonly in golde and siluer, wherewith they couer their houses: and the chiefe men weare great chaines of golde well wrought, about their necks and are apparelled with paynted garments, and haue store of wilde kine; and they say they enter not into their countrey, because themselues haue no great store of people: those Indians being many in number, and very valiant. That which here I say, I learned by two other relations of Indians dwelling neere vnto them. I meane to set forward at the time before mentioned, and I carrie with me 150 horsemen, and twelue spare horsemen, and 200. footmen, crosse bowmen, and gunners. I take also with me liue hogs, sheepe and all such things as I can get for money: assure your Lorpship that I meane not to returne to Mexico vntil I be able to informe your honour more perfectly, what the state of this place is: and if I find ought that we may doe good in, I will stay there, vntill I haue aduertised your Lordship, that you may command what you will haue done: and if it fall out so vnluckily, that there is nothing of importance, I will seeke to discouer 100. leagues farther, wherein (I hope in God) there will be

These may seeme to be the Pintados mentioned by Frier Marco de Niza in his 2. Chap.

something found in which your Lordship may imploy all these gentlemen and those which shall come hither hereafter. I thinke I cannot chuse but stay there: and the waters, the seasons, the disposition of the countrey, and other accidents wil direct mee what is best to be done. Frier Marco de Niça entred a good way into the countrey, accompanied with Stephan Dorantez, the 7. of February last past: when I departed from them, I left them with aboue 100. Iudians of Petatlan, and from the time of their comming thither they greatly honoured the father, shewing him all the courtesies they could possibly. I cannot send you, nor describe vnto you his entrance among them better then I have done in all my relations which I wrote in my letters from Compostella, and I signified vnto you all things to the full from the citie of Michael: and though there is but the tenth part of those things it is a great matter. Herewithall I haue sent your Lordship a Letter, which I receiued from him: and I beleeue he may trauel many leagues farther in that sort. He saith, that if he finde any good countrey, he will write to mee thereof: I will not goe thither without informing your Lordship of my iourney. I hope in God that by one way or other wee shall discouer some good thing.

A Letter written by the most honourable Lord Don Antonio de Mendoça, Vice-roy of Nueua Espanna, to the Emperours Maiestie.

Of certaine Noblemen which sought to discouer the end of the firme land of Nueua Espanna toward the North. The arriuall of Vazquez de Coronado with Frier Marco at S. Michael of Culiacan, with commission to the Gouernours of those parts to pacifie the Indians, and not to make them slaues any more.

IN the ships that went last from hence (whereof Michael de Vsnago was Admirall) I wrote vnto your Maiestie, how I sent two Franciscan Friers to discouer the ende of this firme land, which stretcheth to the North. And because their iourney fell out to greater purpose then was looked for, I will declare the whole matter from the beginning. It may please your Maiestie to call to minde how often I wrote vnto your Highnesse, that I desired to know the ende of this Prouince of Nueua Espanna, becavse it is so great a countrey, and that we haue yet no knowledge thereof. Neither had I onely this desire; for Nunno de Guzman departed out of this city of Mexico with 400 horsemen, and 14000. Indians footemen borne in these Indias, being the best men, and the best furnished, which haue beene seene in these parts: and he did so litle with them, that the most part of them were consumed in the enterprize, and could not enter nor discouer any more then already was discouered. After this the saide Nunno Guzman beeing Gouernour of Nueua Galacia, sent Captaines and Horsemen foorth diuers times, which sped no better then he had done. Likewise the Marques de valle Hernando Cortez sent a captaine with 2. ships to discouer the coast, which 2. ships and the captaine perished. After that he sent againe 2. other ships, one of which was diuided from her consort and the Master and certaine mariners slue the captaine, and vsurped ouer the ship. After this they came to an Island, where the Master with certaine mariners going on land, the Indians of the countrey slew them and tooke their boat: and the ship with those that were in it, returned to the coast of Nueua Galacia, where it ran on ground. By the men which came home in this ship, the Marques had knowledge of the countrey which they had discouered: and then, either for the discontentment which hee had with the bishop of Saint Domingo, and with the Iudges of this royal audience in Mexico, or rather because of his so prosperous successe in all things here in Nueua Espanna, without seeking any farther intelligence of the state of that Island, he set forward on that voyage with 3. Sbips, and with certaine footemen and horsemen, not throughly furnished with things necessary; which fell out so contrary to his expectation, that the most part of the people which he carryed with him, dyed of hunger. And although he had ships, and a Countrey very neere him abounding with victuals, yet could hee neuer finde meanes to conquer it, but rather it seemed, that God miraculously did hide it from him: and so he returned home without atchieuing ought else of moment. After this, hauing heere in my company Andrew Dorantez, which is one of those who were in the voyage of Pamphilo Naruaez I often was in hand with him, supposing that he was able to doe your Maiestie great seruice, to imploy him with fortie or fiftie horses, to search out the secret of those parts: and hauing prouided all things necessary for his iourney, and

This was the Port of Santa Cruz in the Isle of California.

spent much money in that behalfe, the matter was broken off, I wot not how, and that enterprise was giuen ouer. Yet of the things which were prouided for that purpose, I had left mee a Negro, which returned from the foresayde voyage of Naruaez, with Dorantez, and certaine slaues which I had bought, and certaine Indians which I had gathered together, who were borne in those North partes, whome I sent with Frier Marco de Niça, and his companion a Franciscan Frier, because they had bene long trauelled, and exercised in those partes, and had great experience in the affaires of the Indies, and were men of good life and conscience, for whom I obtained leaue of their superiours: and so they went with Frances Vazquez de Coronado, gouernour of Nueua Galicia vnto the Citie of Saint Michael of Culiacan, which is the last Prouince subdued by the Spaniards towarde that quarter, being two hundred leagues distant from this Citie of Mexico. Assoone as the Gouernour, and the Friers were come vnto that Citie, hee sent certaine of those Indians which I had giuen him, home into their Countrey, to signifie, and declare to the people of the same, That they were to vnderstand, that your Maiestie had commaunded they should not hereafter bee made slaues, and that they should not be afrayd any more, but might returne vnto their houses, and liue peaceably in them, (for before that time they had bin greatly troubled by the euill dealings which were vsed toward them) and that your Maiestie would cause them to be chastened, which were the causes of their vexation. With these Indians about twentie dayes after returned about 400 men; which comming before the gouernour said vnto him, that they came on the behalfe of al their Countrey-men, to tell him, that they desired to see and know those men which did them so great a pleasure as to suffer them to returne to their houses, and to sow Maiz for their sustenance: for by the space of many yeres they were driuen to flee into the mountaines, hiding themselues like wild beasts, for feare lest they should be made slaues, and that they and all the rest of their people were ready to doe whatsoeuer should bee commaunded them. Whom the gouernour comforted with good wordes, and gaue them victuals, and stayed them with him three or foure dayes, wherein the Friers taught them to make the signe of the Crosse, and to learne the name of our Lorde Iesus Christ, and they with great diligence sought to learne the same. After these dayes hee sent them home againe, willing them not to be afraid, but to be quiet, giuing them apparel, beades, kniues, and other such like things, which I had giuen him for such purposes. The sayde Indians departed very well pleased, and said, that whensoeuer hee would send for them, they and many others would come to doe whatsoeuer he would command them. The entrance being thus prepared, Frier Marco and his companion, with the Negro and other slaues, and Indians which I had giuen him, went forward on their voyage 10. or 12. dayes after. And because I had likewise aduertisement of a certaine Prouince called Topira situate in the mountaines, and had appointed the gouernour Vasquez de Coronado, that he should vse meanes to learne the state thereof: he supposing this to be a matter of great moment, determined himselfe to goe and search it, hauing agreed with the said Frier, that he should returne by that part of the mountaine, to meete with him in a certaine valley called Valle de los Coraçones, beeing 120. leagues distant from Culiacan. The gouernour trauelling into this prouince (as I haue written in my former letters) found great scarcity of victuals there, and the mountaines so craggy, that he could finde no way to passe forward, and was inforced to returne home to Saint Michael: so that aswell in chusing of the entrance, as in not being able to finde the way, it seemeth unto all men, that God would shut vp the gate to all those, which by strength of humane force haue gone about to attempt this enterprise, and hath reuieled it to a poore and bare-footed Frier. And so the Frier beganne to enter into the Land, who because he found his entrance so well prepared, was very well receiued; and because he wrote the whole successe of his voyage, according to the instruction which I had giuen him to vndertake the same, I wil not write any more at large, but send your Maiestie this copy of all such things as he obserued in the same.

A relation of the reuerend father Frier Marco de Niça, touching his discouery of the kingdome of Ceuola or Cibola, situate about 30. degrees of latitude, to the North of Nueua Espanna.

Chap: I.

Frier Marco de Nica departeth from Saint Michael in the Prouince of Culiacan, standing in 24. degrees of Northerly latitude: and comming to the Towne of Petatlan, receiueth many courtesies of the Indians there. Departing from thence, he had information of many Islands, and of a great countrey inhabited with ciuil people; he commeth to Vacupa: where during his aboad, he heard newes of Ceuola, and of the state of the 7. Cities, and of other prouinces, and of the rich Islands of perles, which extend northward vpon the coast.

I Frier Marco de Nica of the order of S. Francis, for the execution of the instruction of the right honourable lord Don Antonio de Mendoça, Vice-roy and Captaine Generall for the Emperors Maiestie in New Spaine, departed from the towne of S. Michael in the prouince of Culiacan on Friday the 7. of March, in the yeere 1539. hauing for my companion Frier Honoratus, and carying with me Stephan a Negro, belonging to Andrew Dorantez, and certaine of those Indians which the sayde lord Vice-roy had made free, and bought for this purpose: whom Frances Vazquez de Coronado gouernour of Nueua Galicia deliuered me, and with many other Indians of Petatlan, and of the towne called Cuchillo, which is some 50. leagues from Petatlan, who came to the valley of Culiacan, shewing themselues to bee exceeding glad, because they were certified by the Indians which had bin set free, whom the said gouernour had sent before to aduertise them of their libertie, that none of them from thenceforth should be made slaues, and that no man should inuade them, nor vse them badly; signifying vnto them, that the Emperors Maiesty had willed and commanded that it should be so. With the foresaid company I went on my voyage vntill I came to the towne of Petatlan, finding all the way great intertainment, and

Petatlan a towne.

prouision of victuals, with roses, flowres, and other such things, and bowers which they made for me of chalke and boughs platted together in all places where there were no houses. In this towne of Petatlan I rested 3. dayes, because my companion Honoratus fell so sicke, that I was constrained to leaue him there behinde.

Then, according to my said instruction, I followed my iourney as the holy Ghost did leade me without any merit of mine, hauing in my company the said Stephan the Negro of Dorantez, and certaine of the Indians which had bin set at liberty, and many of the people of the countrey, which gaue me great intertainment and welcome in all places where I came, and made mee bowers of trees, giuing me such victuals as they had, although they were but small : because (as they said) it had not rained there in 3 yeres, and because the Indians of this countrey sought means rather to hide themselues, then to sowe corne, for feare of the Christians of the Towne of S. Michael, which were wont to make in-roades euen to that place, and to warre vpon them, and to cary them away captiues. In all this way, which may be about 25 or 30. leagues from that part of Petatlan, I saw nothing worthy the noting, saue that there came to seeke me certaine Indians from the Island, where Fernando Cortez the Marques of the valley had bin, of whom I was informed, that it was an Island, and not firme land, as some suppose it to be. They came to ye firme land vpon certaine rafts of wood : and from the maine to the island is but halfe a league by sea, litle more or lesse. Likewise certaine Indians of another Island greater then this came to visit me, which island is farther off, of whom I was informed that there were 30. other smal islands, which were inhabited, but had smal store of victuals, sauing 2. which haue Maiz or corne of the countrey. These Indians had about their necks many great shels which were mother of Pearle. I shewed them pearles which I carryed with me for a shew, and they told me that there were in the Islands great store of them, and those very great : howbeit I saw none of them. I followed my voyage through a desert of 4. dayes iourney, hauing in my company both the Indians of the islands, and those of the mountaines which I had passed, and at the end of this desert I found other Indians which maruelled to see me, because they had no knowledge of any Christians, hauing no traffike nor conuersation with those

The island of Saint Iago.

Agreat island, and 30. small islands, which seeme to be the new islands of California rich in pearles.

Indians which I had passed, in regard of the great desert which was between them. These Indians interteined me exceeding courteously, and gaue me great store of victuals, and sought to touch my garments, and called me Hayota, which in their language signifieth A man come from heauen. These Indians I aduertised by my interpreter, according to my instructions, in the knowledge of our Lord God in heauen, and of the Emperor. In these countries and in all places els by all wayes and meanes possible, I sought information where any Countreys were of more Cities and people of ciuilitie and vnderstanding, then those which I had found: and I could heare no newes of any such: howbeit they tolde mee, that foure or fiue dayes iourney within the Countrey, at the foote of the mountaines, there is a large and mightie plaine, wherein they tolde mee, that there were many great Townes, and people clad in Cotton: and when I shewed them certaine Metals which I carryed with mee, to learne what riche Metals were in the Lande, they tooke the minerall of Golde and tolde mee, that thereof were vesselles among the people of that plaine, and that they carryed certaine round greene stones hanging at their nostrilles, and at their eares, and that they haue certaine thinne plates of that Golde, wherewith they scrape off their sweat, and that the walles of their Temples are couered therewith, and that they vse it in all their household vessels. And because this Valley is distant from the Sea-coast, and my instruction was not to leaue the Coast, I determined to leaue the discouery thereof vntill my returne; at which time I might doe it more commodiously.

A desert foure daies iourney.

This was the valley of Coracones.

Thus I trauelled three dayes iourney through townes inhabited by the sayde people, of whome I was receiued as I was of those which I had passed, and came vnto a Towne of reasonable bignesse, called Vacupa, where they shewed mee great courtesies, and gaue mee great store of good victuals, because the soyle is very fruitfull, and may bee watered. This Towne is fortie leagues distant from the Sea. And because I was so farre from the Sea, it being two dayes before Passion Sunday, I determined to stay there vntill Easter, to informe my selfe of the Islandes, whereof I sayde before that I had information. And so I sent certaine Indians to the Sea by three seuerall wayes, whom I commanded to bring mee some Indians of the Sea-coast, and of some of those Islandes, that

Vacupa a town 40. leagues from the Bay of California.

I might receiue information of them: and I sent Stephan Dorantez the Negro another way, whom I commanded to goe directly Northward fiftie or threescore leagues, to see if by that way hee might learne any newes of any notable thing which wee sought to discouer, and I agreed with him, that if hee found any knowledge of any peopled and riche Countrey which were of great importance, that hee should goe no further, but should returne in person, or should sende mee certaine Indians with that token which wee were agreed vpon, to wit, that if it were but a meane thing, hee should sende mee a white Crosse of one handfull long; and if it were any great matter, one of two handfuls long; and if it were a Countrey greater and better then Nueua Espanna, hee should send mee a great crosse. So the sayde Stephan departed from mee on Passion-sunday after dinner: and within foure dayes after the messengers of Stephan returned vnto me with a great Crosse as high as a man, and they brought me word from Stephan, that I should forthwith come away after him, for hee had found people which gaue him information of a very mighty Prouince, and that he had certaine Indians in his company, which had bene in the sayd Prouince, and that he had sent me one of the said Indians. This Indian told me, that it was thirtie dayes iourney from the Towne where Stephan was, vnto the first Citie of the sayde Prouince, which is called Ceuola. Hee affirmed also that there are seuen great Cities in this Prouince, all vnder one Lord, the houses whereof are made of Lyme and Stone, and are very great, and the least of them with one lofte aboue head, and some of two and of three loftes, and the house of the Lorde of the Prouince of foure, and that all of them ioyne one vnto the other in good order, and that in the gates of the principall houses there are many Turques-stones cunningly wrought, whereof hee sayth they haue there great plentie: also that the people of this Citie goe very well apparelled: and that beyond this there are other Prouinces, all which (hee sayth) are much greater then these seuen cities. I gaue credite to his speach, because I found him to bee a man of good vnderstanding: but I deferred my departure to follow Stephan Dorantes, both because I thought hee would stay for mee, and also to attend the returne of my messengers which I had sent vnto the Sea, who returned vnto me vpon Easter day, bringing with them certaine inhabitants of the Sea-coast, and of two of the Islands. Of whom I vnderstoode,

From Vacupa to Ceuola are 32. dayes iourney.

that the Islandes aboue mentioned were scarce of victuals, as I had learned before, and that they are inhabited by people, which weare shelles of Pearles vpon their foreheads, and they say that they haue great Pearles, and much Golde. They informed mee of foure and thirtie Islandes, lying one neere vnto another: they say that the people on the Sea-coast haue small store of victuals, as also those of the Islandes, and that they traffique one with the other vpon raftes. This coast stretcheth Northward as is to bee seene. These Indians of the Coast brought me certaine Targets made of Cow-hydes very well dressed, which were so large, that they couered them from the head to the very foote, with a hole in the toppe of the same to looke out before: they are so strong, that a Crossebow (as I suppose) will not pierce them.

Great pearles and much gold in the Isles of Califonia, which are 34. in number.

Chap. 2.

He hath new information of the seuen Cities by certain Indians called Pintados, and of three other kingdomes called Marata, Acus, and Totonteac, being Countreys very rich in Turqueses and Hides of cattel. Following his voyage through those countries, he taketh possession thereof for the Emperors Maiestie, and of the Indians is much honoured and serued with victuals.

THe same day came three Indians of those which I called Pintados, because I saw their faces, breasts and armes painted. These dwel farther vp into the countrey towards the East, and some of them border vpon the seuen cities, which sayd they came to see mee, because they had heard of me: and among other things, they gaue me information of the seuen cities, and of the other Prouinces, which the Indian that Stephan sent me had tolde me of, almost in the very same manner that Stephan had sent mee worde; and so I sent backe the people of the sea-coast; and two Indians of the Islandes sayde they would goe with mee seuen or eight dayes.

So with these and with the three Pintados aboue mentioned, I departed from Vacupa vpon Easter Tuesday, the same way that Stephan went, from whom I receiued new messengers with a Crosse of the bignesse of the first which he sent me: which hastened mee forward, and assured me that the land which I sought for, was the greatest and best countrey in all those partes. The sayd messengers told mee particularly without fayling in any one poynt, all that which the first messenger had tolde mee, and much more, and gaue mee more plaine information thereof. So I trauelled that day being Easter Tuesday, and two dayes more, the very same way that Stephan had gone; at the end of which 3 dayes they tolde mee, that from that place a man might trauell in thirtie dayes to the citie of Ceuola, which is the first of the seuen. Neither did one onely tell me thus much, but very many; who tolde me very particularly of the greatnesse of the houses, and of the fashion of them, as the first messengers had informed me. Also they tolde me, that besides these seuen Cities, there are 3. other kingdomes which are called Marata, Acus, and Totonteac. I enquired of them wherefore they trauelled so farre from their houses: They said that they went for Turqueses and Hides of kine, and other things; and that of all these there was great abundance in this Countrey. Likewise I enquired how, and by what meanes they obteined these things: They tolde me, by their seruice, and by the sweat of their browes, and that they went vnto the first citie of the Prouince which is called Ceuola, and that they serued them in tilling their ground, and in other businesses, and that they giue them Hydes of oxen, which they haue in those places, aud turqueses for their seruice, and that the people of this city weare very fine and excellent turqueses hanging at their eares and at their nostrils. They say also, that of these turqueses they make fine workes vpon the principall gates of the houses of this citie. They tolde mee, that the apparell which the inhabitants of Ceuola weare, is a gowne of cotten downe to the foote, with a button at the necke, and a long string hanging downe at the same, and that the sleeues of these gownes are as broad beneath as aboue. They say, they gyrd themselues with gyrdles of turqueses, and that ouer these coates some weare good apparel, others hides of kine very well dressed, which they take to bee the best apparel of that countrey, whereof they haue there great quantitie. Likewise the women goe apparelled, and couered downe to the foote. These Indians gaue me very good intertainment, and curiously enquired the day of my departure from Vacupa, that at my returne they might prouide me of foode and lodging. They brought certaine sicke folkes before mee, that I might heale them, and sought to touch my apparell, and gaue mee certaine Cow-hydes so well trimmed and dressed, that by them a man might coniecture that they were wrought by ciuile people, and all of them affirmed, that they came from Ceuola.

The next day I followed my iourney, and carrying with mee the Pintados, I came to another Village where I was well receiued by the people of the same: who likewise sought to touch my garments, and gaue mee as particular knowledge of the Lande aforesayde, as I had receiued of those which mette mee before: and also tolde mee, that from that place certaine people were gone with Stephan Dorantez, foure or fiue dies iourney. And here I found a great crosse, which Stephan had left me for a signe, that the newes of the good Countrey increased, and left worde, that with all haste they should sende mee away, and that hee would stay for mee at the ende of the first Desert that he mette with. Heere I set vp two Crosses, and tooke possession according to mine instruction, because that the Countrey seemed better vnto mee then that which I had passed, and that I thought it meete to make an acte of possession as farre as that place.

In this maner I trauailed fiue dayes, alwayes finding inhabited places with great hospitalitie and intertainments, and many Turqueses, and Oxe-hides, and the like report concerning the countrey. Heere I vnderstood, that after two dayes iourney I should finde a desert where there is no foode; but that there were certaine gone before to build mee lodgings, and to carrie foode for mee: whereupon I hastened my way, hoping to finde Stephan at the ende thereof, because in that place hee had left worde that he would stay for mee. Before I came to the desert, I mette with a very pleasant Towne, by reason of great store of waters conueighed thither to water the same. Heere I mette with many people both men and women clothed in Cotton, and some couered with Oxe-hydes, which generally they take for better apparell then that of cotton. All the people of this Village goe in Caconados, that is to say, with Turqueses hanging at their nostrilles and eares: which Turqueses they call Cacona. Amongst others the Lord of this Village came vnto me, and two of his brethren very well apparelled in Cotton, who also were in Caconados, each of them hauing his collar of Turqueses about his necke: and they presented vnto mee many wilde beastes, as Conies, Quailes, Maiz, nuttes of Pine trees, and all in great abundance, and offered mee many Turqueses and dressed Oxe-hydes and very fayre vessels to drinke in, and other things:

whereof I would receiue no whit. And hauing my garment of gray cloth, which in Spaine is called çaragoça, the Lord of this Village, and the other Indians touched my gowne with their handes, and tolde mee, that of such Cloth there was great store in Totonteac, and that the people of that Countrey wore the same. Whereat I laughed, and sayde that it was nothing else but such apparell of Cotton as they wore. And they replyed: We would haue thee thinke that we vnderstand, that apparell which thou wearest, and that which we weare are of diuers sortes. Vnderstand thou, that in Ceuola all the houses are full of that apparell which we weare, but in Totonteac there are certaine litle beasts, from whom they take that thing wherewith such apparell as thou wearest, is made. I prayed them to informe mee more playnely of this matter. And they tolde me that the sayde beastes were about the bignesse of the two braches or spaniels which Stephan carryed with him, and they say that there is great store of that cattell in Totonteac.

Store of woollen cloth and sheepe in Totonteac.

Chap. 3.

He entreth into a desert, and the Indians suffer him to want nothing necessary. Following his Voyage, he commeth into a fertile valley, and hath certaine knowledge giuen him (as he had before) of the state of Ceuola, and of Totonteac; and that the coast of the sea in 35. degrees trendeth much to the Westward: and also of the kingdomes of Marata and Acus.

THe next day I entred into the Desert, and where I was to dine, I found bowers made, and victuals in abundance by a riuers side; and at night I found bowers and victuals in like sort, and after that maner I found for 4. dayes trauell: all which time the wildernesse continueth.

A desert of foure dayes iourney.

At the ende of these foure dayes, I entered into a valley very well inhabited with people. At the first Village there mette me many men and women with victuals, and all of them had Turqueses hanging at their nostrils and eares, and some had collars of turqueses like those which the Lord of the Village before I came to the Desert, and his two

A very populous valley.

Collars of turqueses two or three times double.

brethren wore: sauing that they ware them but single about their neckes, and these people weare them three or foure times double, and goe in good apparell, and skinnes of Oxen: and the women weare of the sayd Turqueses at there nostrils and ears, and very good wast-coats and other garments. Heere there was as great knowledge of Ceuola, as in Nueua Espanna of Temistitan, and in Peru of Cuzco: and they tolde vs particularly the maner of their houses, lodgings, streetes and market-places, as men that had bene oftentimes there, and as those which were furnised from thence with things necessary for the seruice of their housholde, as those also had done, which I already had passed. I tolde them it was impossible that the houses should be made in such sort as they informed mee, and they for my better vnderstanding tooke earth or ashes, and powred water thereupon, and shewed me how they layd stones vpon it, and how the buylding grew vp, as they continued laying stones thereon, vntill it mounted aloft, I asked them whether the men of that Countrey had wings to mount vp vnto those loftes: whereat they laughed, and shewed mee a Ladder in as good sort as I my selfe was able to describe it. Then they tooke a Staffe and helde it ouer their heads, and said that the lofts were so high one aboue another. Likewise heere I had information of the woollen cloth of Tontonteac, where they say are houses like those of Ceuola, and better and more in number, and that it is a great Prouince, and hath no gouernour.

Here I vnderstand that the coast of the sea trended much toward the West: for vnto the entrance of this first desert which I passed, the coast still stretched Northward: and because the trending of the coast is a thing of great importance, I was desirous to knowe and see it: and I saw plainely, that in 35. degrees the coast stretcheth to the West, whereat I reioyced no lesse then of the good newes within land, and so I returned backe to proceede in my iourney.

This graduation is mistaken by 6. or 7. degrees at the least.

Through the foresayd valley I trauailed fiue dayes iourney which is inhabited with goodly people, and so aboundeth with victuals, that it sufficeth to feede aboue three thousand horsemen: it is all well watered and like a garden: the burroughs and townes are halfe and a quarter of a league long, and in all these villages, I found very ample report of Ceuola, whereof they made such particular relation vnto me, as people which goe yeerely thither to earne their liuing. Heere I found a man borne in Ceuola, who told me that he came thither, hauing escaped from the gouernour or Lieutenant of the towne; for the Lord of these seuen Cities liueth and abideth in one of those townes called Ahacus, and in the rest he appoynteth lieu-tenants vnder him. This townesman of Ceuola is a white man of a good complexion, somewhat well in yeeres, and of farre greater capacitie then the inhabitants of this valley, or then those which I had left behind me. Hee sayde that he would goe with mee, that I might begge his pardon: and of him I learned many particulars: he tolde me that Ceuola was a great Citie, inhabited with great store of people, and hauing many Streetes and Market-places: and that in some partes of this Citie there are certaine very great houses of fiue stories high, wherein the chiefe of the Citie assemble themselues at certaine dayes of the yeere. He sayeth that the houses are of Lyme and Stone, according as others had tolde mee before, and that the gates, and small pillars of the principall houses are of Turqueses, and all the vessels wherein they are serued, and the other ornaments of their houses were of golde: and that the other sixe Cities are built like vnto this, whereof some are bigger: and that Ahacus is the chiefest of them. Hee sayth that toward the Southeast there is a kingdome called Marata, and that there were woont to be many, and those great Cities, which were all built of houses of Stone, with diuers lofts: and that these haue and doe wage warre with the Lord of the seuen cities, through which warre this kingdome of Marata is for the most part wasted, although it yet continueth and mainteineth warre against the other.

Marata lieth toward the Southeast.

Likewise he saith, that the kingdome called Totonteac lyeth toward the West, which he saith is a very mightie Prouince, replenished with infinite store of people and riches: and that in the sayde Kingdome they weare woollen cloth like that which I weare, and other finer sorts of woollen cloth made of the fleeces of those beastes which they described before vnto me: and that they are a very ciuile people. Moreouer hee tolde me, that there is another great Prouince and kingdome called Acus; for there is Acus, and Ahacus with an aspiration, which is the principall of the seuen cities: and Acus without an aspiration is a kingdome and Prouince of it selfe. He told me also, that the apparel which they weare

Totonteac lyeth West.

in Ceuola is after the same maner as they before had certified me, and that all the inhabitants of the Citie lie vpon beddes raysed a good height from the ground, with quilts and canopies ouer them, which couer the sayde Beds: and hee tolde mee that he would goe with me to Ceuola and farther also, if I would take him with me. The like relation was giuen vnto me in this towne by many others, but not so particularly. I trauelled three dayes iourney through this valley: the inhabitants whereof made mee exceeding great cheere and intertainement. In this valley I saw aboue a thousand Oxe-hides most excellently trimmed and dressed. And here also I saw farre greater store of Turqueses and chaines made thereof, then in all places which I had passed; and they say, that all commeth from the city of Ceuola, whereof they haue great knowledge, as also of the kingdome of Marata, and of the kingdomes of Acus and Totonteac.

Chap. 4.

Of a very great beast with one horne vpon his fore-head; and of the courtesies which the Indians shewed Frier Marcus of Niça, in his Voyage. Also how cruelly Stephan Dorantez and his companions were vsed vpon their arriuall at Ceuola, by the Lorde thereof.

HEre they shewed me an hide halfe as bigge againe as the hide of a great oxe, and tolde me that it was the skin of a beast which had but one horne vpon his forehead, and that this horne bendeth toward his breast, and that out of the same goeth a point right forward, wherein he hath so great strength, that it will breake any thing how strong so euer it be, if he runne against it, and that there are great store of these beasts in that Countrey. The colour of the hide is of the colour of a great Goat-skin, and the haire is a finger thicke. Here I had messengers from Stephan which brought me word, that by this time he was come to the farthest part of the desert, and that he was very ioyfull, because the farther he went, the more perfect knowledge he had of the greatnesse of the countrey, and sent me word, that since his departure from me, hee neuer had found the Indians, in any lye; for euen vnto that very place he had found al in such maner as they had informed him, and hoped that he should find the like at his arriuall in the valley which he was going vnto, as he had found in the villages before passed. I set vp crosses, and vsed those acts and ceremonies, which were to be done according to my instructions. The inhabitants requested me to stay here three or foure daies, because that from this place there were foure dayes iourney vnto the desert, and from the first entrance in the same desert vnto the citie of Ceuola are 15 great dayes iourney more; also that they would prouide victuals for me and other necessaries for that voyage. Likewise they told me, that with Stephan the Negro were gone aboue 300 men to beare him company, and to carry victuals after him, and that in like sort many of them would go with me to serue me, because they hoped to returne home rich. I thanked them, and willed them to set things in order with speede, and so I rested there three dayes, wherein I alwayes informed my selfe of Ceuola, and of as many other things as I could learne, and called many Indians vnto me, and examined them seuerally, and all of them agreed in one tale, and told me of the great multitude of people, and of the order of the streetes, of the greatnesse of the houses, and of the strength of the gates, agreeing altogether with that which the rest before had told me. After three dayes many assembled themselues to goe with me, 30 of the principal of whom I tooke, being very well apparelled, and with chaines of turqueses, which some of them weare fiue or sixe times double, and other people to cary things necessary for them and me, and so set forward on my voyage.

Fifteene daies iourney from the end of the desert to Ceuola or Ciuola.

Thus I entred into the second desert on the 9 of May, and trauelled the first day by a very broad and beaten way, and we came to diner vnto a water, where the Indians had made prouision for me: and at night we came to another water, where I found a house which they had fully made vp for me, and another house stood made where Stephan lodged when he passed that way, and many old cottages and many signes of fire which the people had made that trauelled to Ceuola by this way. In this sort I trauelled 12 dayes iourney being alway well prouided of victuals, of wild beasts, Hares, and Partridges of the same colour and tast with those of Spaine although they are not so big, for they be somewhat lesse.

Here met vs an Indian the sonne of one of the chiefe men tha accompanied mee, which had gone before with Stephan, who came in a great fright, hauing his face and body all couered with sweat, and shewing exceeding sadnesse in his countenance; and he told mee that a dayes iourney before Stephan came to Ceuola he sent his great Mace made of a gourd by his messengers, as he was alwayes woont to send them before him, that hee might knowe in what sort hee came vnto them, which gourd had a string of belles vpon it, and two feathers one white and another red, in token that he demanded safe conduct, and that he came peaceably. And when they came to Ceuola before the Magistrate, which the Lord of the citie had placed there for his Lieutenant, they deliuered him the sayde great gourd, who tooke the same in his hands, and after he had spyed the belles, in a great rage and fury hee cast it to the ground, and willed the messengers to get them packing with speed, for he knew well ynough what people they were, and that they should will them in no case to enter into the citie, for if they did hee would put them all to death. The messengers returned and tolde Stephan how things had passed, who answered them, that it made no great matter, and would needes proceed on his voyage till he came to the citie of Ceuola: where he found men that would not let him enter into the towne, but shut him into a great house which stoode without the citie, and straightway tooke all things from him which hee caried to truck and barter with them, and certaine turqueses, and other things which he had receiued of the Indians by the way, and they kept him there all that night without giuing him meate or drinke, and the next day in the morning this Indian was a thirst, and went out of the house to drinke at a riuer that was neere at hand, and within a little while after he saw Stephan running away, and the people followed him, and slew certaine of the Indians which went in his company. And when this Indian saw these things, he hid himselfe on the banks of the riuer, and afterward crossed the high way of the desert. The Indians that went with me hearing these newes began incontinently to lament, and I thought these heauie and bad newes would cost mee my life, neither did I feare so much the losse of mine owne life, as that I should not bee able to returne to giue information of the greatnesse of that Countrey, where our Lord God might be glorified: but streightway I cut the cords of my budgets which I carried with me ful of merchandise for traffique, which I would not doe till then, nor giue any thing to any man, and began to diuide all that I carried with mee among the principall men, willing them not to be afraid, but to goe forward with me, and so they did. And going on our way, within a dayes iourney of Ceuola wee met two other Indians of those which went with Stephan, which were bloody and wounded in many places: and assoone as they came to vs, they which were with mee began to make great lamentation. These wounded Indians I asked for Stephan, and they aggreeing in all poynts with the first Indian sayd, that after they had put him into the foresayd great house without giuing him meat and drinke all that day and all that night, they tooke from Stephan all the things which hee carried with him. The next day when the Sunne was lance high, Stephan went out of the house, and some of the chiefe men with him, and suddenly came store of people from the citie, whom assoone as hee sawe he began to run away, and we likewise, and foorthwith they shot at vs and wounded vs, and certaine dead men fell vpon vs, and so we lay till night and durst not stirre, and we heard great rumours in the citie, and saw many men and women keeping watch and ward vpon the walles thereof, and after this we could not see Stephan any more, and wee thinke they haue shot him to death, as they haue done all the rest which went with him, so that none are escaped but we onely.

Chap. 5.

The situation and greatnesse of the Citie of Ceuola, and how frier Marcus tooke possession thereof and of other prouinces, calling the same The new kingdome of S. Francis, and how after his departure from thence being preserued by God in so dangerous a voyage, he arriued at Compostella in Nueua Galicia.

HAuing considered the former report of the Indians, and the euill meanes which I had to prosecute my voyage as I desired, I thought it not good wilfully to lose my life as Stephan did; and so I told them, that God would punish those of Ceuola, and that the Viceroy when he should vnderstand what had happened, would send many Christians to chastise them: but they would not beleeue me, for they sayde that no man was able to withstand the power of Ceuola. And herewithall I left them, and went aside two or three stones cast, and when I returned I found an Indian of mine which I had brought from Mexico called Marcus, who wept and sayde vnto me: Father, these men haue consulted to kill vs, for they say, that through your and Stephans meanes their fathers are slaine, and that neither man nor woman of them shall remaine vnslaine. Then againe I diuided among them certaine other things which I had, to appease them, whereupon they were somewhat pacified, albeit they still shewed great griefe for the people which were slaine. I requested some of them to goe to Ceuola to see if any other Indian were escaped, with intent that they might learne some newes of Stephan; which I could not obtaine at their handes. When I saw this, I sayd vnto them, that I purposed to see the citie of Ceuola, whatsoeuer came of it. They sayde that none of them would goe with me. At the last when they sawe mee resolute, two of the chiefe of them sayde they would goe with me: with whome and with mine Indians and interpreters I followed my way, till I came within sight of Ceuola, which is situate on a plaine at the foote of a round hill, and maketh shew to bee a faire citie, and is better seated than any that I haue seene in these partes. The houses are builded in order, according as the Indians told me, all made of stone with diuers stories, and flatte roofes, as farre as I could discerne from a mountaine, whither I ascended to viewe the citie. The people are somewhat white, they weare apparell, and lie in beds, their weapons are bowes, they have Emralds and other jewels, although they esteeme none so much as turqueses, wherewith they adorn the walles of the porches of their houses, and their apparell and vessels, and they vse them in stead of money through all the Countrey. Their apparell is of cotton and of ox hides, and this is their most commendable and honourable apparell. They vse vessels of gold and siluer, for they haue no other metall, whereof there is greater vse and more abundance then in Peru, and they buy the same for turqueses in the prouince of the Pintados, where there are sayd to be mines of great abundance. Of other kingdomes I could not obtaine so particular instruction. Diuers times I was tempted to goe thither, because I knewe I could but hazard my life, and that I had offered vnto God the first day that I began my iourney: in the ende I began to bee afraid, considering in what danger I should put my selfe, and that if I should dye, the knowledge of this countrey should be lost, which in my iudgement is the greatest and the best that hitherto hath beene discouered: and when I told the chiefe men, what a goodly citie Ceuola seemed vnto mee, they answered me that it was the least of the seuen cities, and that Totonteac

Most rich mines of gold and siluer in the prouince of the Pintados.

Totonteac the greatest and most populous prouince.

is the greatest and best of them all, because it hath so many houses and people, that there is no ende of them. Hauing seene the disposition and situation of the place, I thought good to name that Countrey El Nueuo reyno de san Francisco: in which place I made a great heape of stones by the helpe of the Indians, and on the toppe thereof I set vp a small slender crosse because I wanted meanes to make a greater, and sayd that I set vp that crosse and heape in the name of the most honourable Lord Don Antonio de Mendoça Viceroy and Captaine generall of Nueua Espanna, for the Emperour our Lord, in token of possession, according to mine instruction. Which possession I sayd that I tooke in that place of all the seuen cities, and of the kingdomes of Totonteac, of Acus, and of Marata. Thus I returned with much more feare then victuals, and went vntill I found the people which I had left behind mee, with all the speede that I could make, whome I ouertooke in two dayes trauell, and went in their company till I had passed the desert, where I was not made so much of as before: for both men and women made great lamentation for the people which were slaine at Ceuola, and with feare I hastened from the people of this valley, and trauelled tenne leagues the first day, and so I went daily eight or ten leagues, without staying vntill I had passed the second desert. And though I were in feare, yet I determined to go to the great plaine, wherof I said before, that I had information, being situate at the foote of the mountaines, and in that place I vnderstoode that this plaine is inhabited for many dayes iourney toward the East, but I durst not enter into it, considering, that if hereafter wee shoulde inhabite this other Countrey of the seuen cities, and the kingdomes before mentioned, that then I might better discouer the same, without putting my selfe in hazard, and leaue it for this time, that I might giue relation of the things which I had now seene. At the entrance of this plaine I saw but seuen Townes onely of a reasonable bignesse, which were a farre off in a low valley beeing very greene and a most fruitfull soyle, out of which ranne many Riuers. I was informed that there was much golde in this valley, and that the inhabitants worke it into vessels and thinne plates, wherewith they strike and take off their sweat, and that they are people that will not suffer those of the other side of the plaine to traffique with them, and they could not tell me the cause thereof. Here I set vp two crosses, and tooke possession of the plaine and valley in like sort and order, as I did at other places before mentioned. And from thence I returned on my voyage with as much haste as I coulde make, vntill I came to the citie of Saint Michael in the prouince of Culiacan, thinking there to have found Francis Vazquez de Coronado gouernour of Nueua Galicia, and finding him not there, I proceeded on my iourney till I came to the Citie of Compostella, where I found him. I write not here many other particularities, because they are impertinent to this matter: I only report that which I haue seene, and which was told me concerning the Countreys through which I trauelled, and of those which I had information of.

Compostella in 21. degrees of latitude.

EL VIAIE QVE HIZO ANTONIO

DE ESPEIO EN EL ANNO DE OCHENTA Y TRES: EL QUAL CON SUS COMPANNEROS DESCUBRIERON VNA TIERRA EN QUE HALLARON QUINZE PROUINCIAS TODAS LLENAS DE PUEBLOS, Y DE CASAS DE QUATRO Y CINCO ALTOS, A QUIEN PUSIERON POR NOMBRE EL NUEUO MEXICO, POR PARECERSE EN MUCHAS COSAS AL VIEJO. ESTA à LA PARTE DEL NORTE, Y SE CREE QUE POR ELLA, Y POR POBLADO, SE PUEDE VENIR HASTA LLEGAR A LA TIERRA QUE LLAMAN DEL LABRADOR.

Del Nueuo Mexico, y de su descubrimiento, y lo que del se sabe.

A.D. 1583.

New Mexico.

Friar Augustin Ruyz.

YA dixe en el titulo del libro, que el anno de mil y quinientos y ochenta y tres, se auian descubierto quinze Prouincias, aquien los inuentores llamaron El nueuo Mexico en la tierra firme de Nueua Espanna, y prometi de dar noticia del descubrimiento, como lo hare con la mayor breuedad que sea possible, porque si vuiera de poner diffusamente todo lo que vieron y supieron, fuera menester hazer dello nueua historia. La substancia dello es, que el anno de mil y quinientos y ochenta y vno, teniendo noticia vn Religioso de la Orden de sant Francisco, que se llamaua fray Augustin Ruyz, que moraua en el valle de sant Bartholome, por relation de ciertos Indios. Conchos que se comunicauan con otros sus conuezinos llamados Passaguates: que hazia la parte del Norte (caminando siempre por tierra) auia ciertas poblaciones grandes, y nunca sabidas de nuestros Espannoles, ni descubiertas, con zelo de caridad, y de saluacion de las almas, pidio licencia al Conde de Corunna Virey de la dicha Nueua Espanna, y a sus mayores, para yr a ellas, a procurar aprendar su lengua, y sabida, bautizarlos, y predicarles el santo Euangelio. Alcançada

His departure.

la licencia de los sobredichos, tomando otros dos companneros de su mesma Orden, se partio con ocho soldados, que de voluntad le quisieron acompannar, a poner en execution su Christiano y zeloso intento. Los quales a pocos dias de camino toparaon con vna Prouincia, que se llamaua de los Tiguas, distante de las minas de sancta Barbora (de donde començaron la jornoda) dozientas y cinquenta leguas hazia el Norte, en la qual por cierta occasion los naturales le mataron al dicho padre vno de sus dos companneros. El qual, los soldados que yuan com el, viendo, y sintiendo el successo, y temiendo que del se podria seguir otro mayor danno, acordaron de comun consentimiento de boluerse a las minas de donde auian salido, con consideracion de que la gente que yua era muy poca para resistir a los successos que se podian offrecer en tanta distancia de la viuienda de los Espannoles, y tan lexos del necessario socorro. Los dos Religiosos que hauian quedado, no solo no vinieron en su parecer, mas antes viendo la ocasion para poner en execucion su buen desseo, y tanta mies madura para la mesa de Dios, viendo quo no podian persuadir a los soldados a passar adelante en el descubrimiento, se quedaron ellos en la dicha Prouiucia con tres muchachos Indios, y vn mestizo, que auian lleuado consigo, pareciendoles que aunque quedassan solos, estauan alli seguros, por la affabilidad y amor con que los naturales della los tratauan. Llegados los ocho soldades adonde desseauan, embiaron luego la nueua al dicho Virey delo succedido a la ciuidad de Mexico, que dista de las dichas minas de santa Barbora ciento y sesenta leguas. Sintieron mucho los religiosos de sant Francisco la quedada de sus hermanos: y timiendo no los matassen viendo los solos, començaron a mouer los animos de algunos soldados, para que en compannia de otro Religioso de la mesma Orden llamado fray Bernardino Beltran, tornassen à la dicha Prouincia, a sacar de peligro a los dichos dos Religiosos, y proseguir con la empresa començada.

The mines of Barbora 160 leagues from Mexico.

En esta sazon estaua en las dichas minas por cierta ocasion vn vezino de la ciuadad de Mexico, llamado Antonio de Espejo, hombre rico, y de

Antonio de Espejo died in Havana in 1589.

mucho animo y industria, y zeloso del seruicio de la maiestad del Rey Don Philippe nuestro sennor, natural de Cordoua. El qual como enteniesse el desseo delos dichos religiosos, y la importancia del negocio, se offrecio a la jornada y a gastar en ella parte de su hazienda, y a riesgar su vida, siendo le para ello concedida licencia de alguna persona que representasse a su maiestad, la qual procurandola los dichos religiosos, le fue dada por el Capitan Iuan de Ontiueros Alcalde mayor por su magestad en los pueblos que llaman las quatro Cienegas, que son en la gouernacion de la Nueua Vizcaya, setenta leguas de las dichas minas de santa Barbora, assi para que el pudiesse yr, como para que iuntasse la gente y soldados pue pudiesse, para que le acompannassen, y ayudassen a conseguir su Christiano intento.

He sacrifices most of his wealth to assist the expedition.

El dicho Antonio de Espejo tomo el negocio con tantas veras, que en muy pocos dias iuntò los soldados y bastimentos necessarios para hazer la iornada, gastando en ello buena parte de su hazienda: y partio con todos ellos del valle de sant Bartholome a los diez de Nouiembre de mil y quinientos y ochenta y dos, lleuando para lo que se offreciesse ciento y quinze cauallos, y mulas, y muchas armas, municiones, y bastimentos, y alguna gente de seruicio.

Conchos.

Their food.

Their customs.

Endereço su camino hazia el Norte, y a dos jornados topo mucha cantidad de Indios de los que llaman Conchos en Rancherias o poblaciones de casas pagicas. Los quales como lo supiessen, y tuuiessen dello relacion muy de atras, los salieron a recebir con muestras de alegria. La comida destos, y delos de la Prouincia, que es grande, es de carne de conejos, liebres, y venados que matan, y lo ay todo en grandissima cantidad. Tienen mucho maiz, que es el trigo de las Indias, calabaças, y melones, y en abundancia: y ay muchos rios que crian mucha cantidad de pescado muy bueno, y de diuersas suertes: andan casi todos desnudos, y las armas que vsan son arco y flecha, y viuen debaxo de gouierno, y sennorio de Caciques, como los Mexicanos, y no les hallaron Idolos, ni pudieron entender que adorassen à nadie, por lo qual facilmente consintieron en que les pusiessen los Christianos cruzes, y quedaron muy contentos con ellas, despues de auersido informados de los nuestros dela significacion dellas, que se hizo por interpretes que lleuauan, por cuyo medio supieron de otras poblaciones, para adonde los dichos Conchos los guiaron, accompannandolos mas de veinte y quatro leguas, que todas estauan poblades de gente de su nacion, y los salian a recebir de paz, por auiso que embiauan los Caciques de vnos pueblos a otros.

Passaguates.

Andadas las veinte y quatro leguas dichas, toparon otra nacion de Indios, llamados Passaguates, los quales viuian al modo que los ya dichos Conchos sus conuezinos, y hizieron con ellos lo proprio, guiandolos adelante otras quarto jornados, con los auisos de los Caciques, de la manera ya dicha: hallaron los nuestros en este camino muchas minas de plata, al parecer de los que lo entendian, de mucho, y muy rico metal. Vna jornada destas toparon otra nacion, llamada los Tobosos, los quales en viendo el rastro de los nuestros, se huyeron a las sierras, dexando sus casas y pueblos desiertos. Supose despues que algunos annos antes auian acudido por alli ciertos soldados que yuan en busca de minas, y auian lleuado cautiuos a ciertos naturales, lo qual tenia temerosos y abispados a los demas. El Capitan dio orden como los fuessen a llamar, assegurandolos de que no les seria hecho ningun mal, y diose tan buena manna que hizo venir a muchos, aquien regalò, y dio dones, acariciandolos, y declarandoles por el interprete, que no yuan a hazer mal a nadie, con lo qual se boluieron todos a sossegar, y consintieron les pusiessen Cruzes, y declarassen el mysterio dellas, mostrando reciber dello gran contentamiento, en cuya demonstracion los fueron acompannando, como lo auian hecho sus vezinos, hasta que los metieron en tierra problada de otra nacion differente, que distauan de la suya cosa de doze leguas: vsan arco, y flecha, y andan desnudos.

Silver.

Tobosos.

Prosiguese del descubrimiento del Nueuo Mexico.

Iumanos.

LA nacion hasta donde los dicho Tobosos los guiaron se llanaua Iumanos, a quien porotro nombre laman los Espannoles Patarabuyes: tienen vna Prouiucia grande, y de muchos pueblos con mucha gente, y las casas eran con açoteas, y de calicanto, y los pueblos traçados por buen orden: tienen todos los hombres y mugeres los rostros rayados, y los braços, y piernas: es gente corpulenta, y de mas policia, que los que hasta alli auian visto, y teuian muchos mantenimientos, y mucha caça de pie y de buelo, y gran cantitad de pescado, a causa de tener grandes rios que vienen de hazia el Norte, y alguno tan grande como Guadalquiuir, el qual entra en la propria mar del Norte. Tiene muchas lagunas de agur salida que se quaja cierto tiempo del anno, y se haze muy buena sal. Es gente bellicosa, y mostraronlo luego, porque la primera noche que los nuestros assentaron real, les flecharon, y mataron cinco cauallos, hiriendo muy mal otros tantos, y no dexaran ninguno a vida, sino por las guardas que los defendieron. Hecho este mal racado, despoblaron el lugar, y se subieron a vna sierra que estaua cerca, adonde fue luego por la mannana el Capitan con otros cinco soldados bien armados con vn interprete llamado Pedro, Indio de su mesma nacion, y con buenas razones los quieto y dexo de paz, haziendolos baxar a su pueblo y casas, y persuadiendolos a que diestien auiso asus vezinos de que no eran hombres que hazian mal a nadie, ni les yuan a tomar sus haziendas: que lo alcanço facilmente con su prudencia, y con darles a los Caciques algunas sartas de quentas de vidrio que lleuaua para este effeto, y sombreros, y otras ninnerias: con este, y con el buen tratamiento que les hazian, se fueron muchos dellos en compannia de los nuestros algunos dias, caminando siempre por la ribera del rio grande arriba dicho, portoda la qual hauia muchos pueblos di Indios desta nacion, que duraron por espacio de doze jornadas, en todas las quales auisados los vnos Caciques de los otros salian a recebir a los nuestros sin arcos, ni flechas, y les trayan muchos mantenimientos, y otros regalos y dadiuos, en especial cueros y camuças muy bien adereçados, y que no les excedian en esto las de Flandes. Es gente toda vestida y hallaron que tenian alguna lumbre de nuestra sancta Fee, porque

Rio del Norte.

Good salt.

Rio Grande.

Twelve days' journey.

Apalito.

sennalauan a Dios mirando al cielo, y le llaman en sul lengua Apalito, y le conocen por sennor, de cuya larga mano, y misericordia confiessan auer recibido la vida, y el ser natural, y los bienes temporales. Venian muchos dellos y les mugeres y ninnos, a que el Religioso, que diximos que yua con el dicho Capitan y soldados, los santiguasse, y echasse la benedicion: el qual como les preguntasse de quien auian entendido aquel conocimiento de Dios que tenian: respondieron, que de tres Christianos, y vn negro, que auian passado por alli, y detenidose algunos dias en su tierra, que segun las sennas que dieron, eran Aluar Nunnes Cabeça de Vaca, y Dorantes, y Castillo Maldonado, y vn negro, que todos ellos auian escapado de la armida con que entro Panfilo de Narbaez en la Florida, y despues de auer sido muchos dias esclauos, vinieron a dar a estos pueblos, haziendo Dios por medio dellos muchos milagros, y sanando con el tocamento solo de sus manos muchos infermos, por lo qual dexaron gran nombre en toda aquella tierra. Toda esta Prouincia quedo de paz, y muy sossegada, en cuya demonstracion fueron acompannando y siruiendo a los nuestros algunos dias por la orilla del rio que diximos arriba.

A pocas dias toparon con vna gran poblacion de Indios, adonde los salieron a recebir por nueua que tuuieron de sus vezinos, y les sacaron muchas cosas muy curiosas de pluma de differentes colores, y muchas mantas de algodon barretadas de azul y blanco, como las que traen de la China, para rescatarlas, y trocarlas por otras cosas. Yuan todos, assi hombres como mugeres, y ninnos vestidos de camuças muy buenas y bien adobadas, y nancapudieron los nuestros entender que nacion era por falta de interprete que intendiesse su lengua, aunque por sennas tratauan con ellos, à los quales como les mostrassen algunas piedras de metal rico, y les preguntassen si hauiade aquello en su tierra: Respondieron por las mesmas sennas que cinco dias de comino de alli hazia el Poniente, auia de aquello en muy gran cantidad, y que ellos los guiarian para alla, y se lo mostrarian, como lo cumplieron despues, acompannandolos por espacio de veynte y dos leguas, todas pobladas de gente de su mesma nacion: a quien immediatamente se seguia por el mesmo rio arriba otra de mucha mas gente que la de la passada, de quien fueron bien recibidos, y regalados con muchos presentes especialmente de pescado que hauia infinito, a causa de vnas lagunas grandes que cerca de alli hauia, que lo crian en la abundancia dicha. Estuuieron entre estos tres dias, en los quales de dia, y de noche les hizieron muchos bayles a su modo, con particular signification de algeria: no se supo como se llamaua esta nacion por falta de interprete, aunque entendieron que se extendia mucho, y que era muy grande. Entre estos hallaron vn Indio Concho de nacion, que les dixo, y sennalo, que quinze iornadas de alli hazia el Poniente hauia vna laguna muy ancha, y cerca della muy grandes pueblos, y casas de tres y quatro altos, y la gente bien vestida, y la tierra de muchos bastimentos, el qual se offrecio de lleuarlos alla, y holgaran los nuestros dello, y solo lo dexaron de poner en effecto, pro proseguir el intento con que auian començado la jornada, que era yr al Norte a dar socorra a los Religiosos arriba dichos.

Great lakes.

En esta Prouincia lo que particularmente notaron fue, que hauia muy buyen temple, y muy ricas tierras, y mucha caça de pie y buelo, y muchos metales ricos, y otras cosas particulares, y de prouecho.

Rich ores.

Desta Prouincia fueron siguiendo su derrota por espacio de quinze dias, sin topar en todos ellos ninguna gente por entre grandes pinales de pinnas y pinnones, como los de Castilla: al cabo de los quales auiendo caminado a su parecer ochenta leguas, toparon vna pequenna Rancheria, o pueblo de poca gente, y en sus casas, que eran pobres, y de paja, gran cantidad de cueros de venados tan bien aderçados como los de Flandes, y mucha sal bianca, y muy buena. Hizieronles muy buen hospedaje dos dias que alli estuuieron, despues delos quales los acompannaron como doze leguas a vnas poblaciones grandes, caminando siempre por el rio del Norte ya dicho, hasta llegar a la tierra que llaman el Nueuo Mexico. Estaua toda la ribera del dicho rio llena de grandissimas alamedas de alamos blancos

Salt.

y en partes tomauan quatro leguas de ancho, y ansi mesmo de muchos nogales, y parrales como los de Castilla. Auiendo caminado dos dias por estas alamedas y noguerales, toparon diez pueblos que estauan assentados en la ribera del dicho rio por ambas partes, sin otros que se mostrauan mas desuiados, en los quales les parecio auia mucha gente, y la que ellos vieron passauan en numero de diez mil animas. En esta Prouincia los regalaron mucho con recebimientos, y con lleuarlos a sus pueblos, don de les dauan mucha comida, y gallinas de la tierra, y otras cosas, y todo con gran voluntad.

Houses of four stories.

Aqui hallaron casas de quatro altos, y bien edificadas, y con galanos aposentos, y en las mas dellas auia estufas para tiempo de inuierno.

Clothing of the Natives.

Andauan vestitos de algodon, y de cuero de venado, y el traje, assi de los hombres, como de las mugeres, es al modo del de los Indios del reyno de Mexico: y lo que les causo mas estranneza, fue ver que todos ellos, y ellas andauan calçados conçapatos y botas de buen cuero con suelas de vaca, cosa que hazta alli nunca la auian visto. Las mugeres trayan el cabello muy peynado, y compuesto, y sin cosa sobre la cabeça. En todos estos pueblos auia Caciques que los gouernauan como entre los Indios Mexicanos, con Alguaziles para executar sus mandamientos, los quales van por el pueblo, diziendo à vozes la voluntad de los Caciques, y que la pongan por obra.

Idols.

En esta Prouincia hallaron los nuestros muchos Idolos que adorauan, y en especial que tenian en cada casa vn templo para el Demonio, donde le lleuan de ordinario de comer, y otra cosa, que de la manera que entre los Christianos tenemos en los caminos cruzes: assi tienen ellos vnas como capillas, altas, donde dizen, descansa, y se recrea el Demonio, quando va de vn pueblo a otro: las quales estan muy adornadas y pintadas. En todas las sementeras, o labranças, que las tienen muy grandes, tienen a vn lado dellas vn portal con quatro pilares, donde comen los trabajadores, y passan la siesta, porque es la gente muy dada ala labor, y estan de ordinario en ella: es tierra de muchos montes y pinales.

Arms.

Las armas que vsan son arcos muy fueres, y flechas con las puntas de pedernal con que passan vnta cota, y macanas, que son vnos palos de media vara de largo, y llanos todos de pedernales agudos, que bastan a partir pòr medio vn hombre, y ansi mesmo vnas como adargas de cuero de vaca crudio.

Prosiguese del Nueuo Mexico, y de las cosas que en el se vieron.

Tiguas.

DEspues de auer estado en esta Prouincia quatro dias, y a poca distancia toparon con otra, que se llamaua la Prouincia de los Tiguas, en la qual auia diez y seys pueblos: en el vno de los quales, llamado por nombre Poala, hallaron que auian muerto los indios à los dichos dos padres fray Francisco Lopez, y fray Augustin a quien yuan a buscar, y juntamene a tres muchachos, y vn mestizo. Quando los deste pueblo, y sus conuezinos vieron a los nuestros, remordiendo les la propria consciencia, y temiendose que yuan a castigarlos, y tomar vengança de las muertes de los dichos padres, no los osaron esperar, antes dexando sus casas deseirtas se subieron a las sierras mas cercanas, de donde nunca los pudieron hazer baxar, anunque lo procuraron con alagos y mannas. Hallaron en los pueblos y casas muchos mantenimientos, y gran infinidad de gallinas de la tierra, y muchas suertes de metales, y algunos que parecian muy buenos. No se pudo entender claramente que tanta gente fuesse la desta Prouincia, por causa de auerse (como ya dixe) subido a la sierra.

A debate.

Auiendo hallado muertos a los que buscauan, entraron en consulta sobre si se boluerian à la Nueua Vizcaya, de donde hauian salido, o passarian adelante: en lo qual vno diuersos pareceres: pero como alli entendiessen, que a la parte de Oriente de aquella Prouincia, y muy distante de alli hauian grandes pueblos y ricos, hallandose alli tan cerca, acordo el dicho Capitan Antonio de Espejo de consentimiento de Religioso ya dicho, llamado fray Bernardino Beltran, y de la mayor parte de sus soldados, y companneros, de proseguir con el descubrimiento hasta ver en que paraua, para poder der dello noticia cierta y clara a su Megestad, como testigos de vista: y assi conformes determinaron que quedandose alli el Real, fuessen el Capitan con dos companneros en demanda de su desseo, que lo pusieron por obra. Y a dos dias de camino toparon con vna Prouincia donde vieron onze pueblos, y en ellos mucha gente, que a su parecer passaua en numero de quarenta mil animas: era tierra muy fertil y bastecida, cuyos confines estan immediatamente juntas con las tierras de Cibola, donde ay muchas vacas, de cuyos cueros se visten, y de algodon: siguiendo en la manera del gouierno el orden que guarden sus conuezinos: ay sennales de muchas minas ricas, y assi hallauan metales dellas en algunas casas de los Indios, los quales tienen, y adoran Idolos: recibieronlos de paz, y dieron les de comer. Visto esto, y la disposicion de la tierra, se boluieron al real de donde auian salido, a dar noticia a sus companneros de todo lo sobredicho.

Quires.

Llegados al Real (como esta dicho) tuuieron noticia de otra Prouincia, llamada los Quires, que estaua el rio del Norte arriba seys leguas de distancia, y como se partiessen para alla, y llegassen vna legua della, les salieron a recebir de paz mucha cantidad de Indios, y a rogar que se fuessen con ellos a sus pueblos, que como lo hiziessen, fueron muy bien recebidos y regalados. Vieron solamente cinco pueblos en esta Prouincia, en los quales auia muy gran cantidad de gente, y la que ellos vieron passaua de quinze mil animas, y adoran Idolos como sus vezinos. Hallaron en vno destos pueblos vna Vrraca en vna jaula, como se vsa en Castilla, y tira soles, como los que se traen de la China, pintados en ellos el sol y la luna, y muchas estrellas. Donde come tomassen la altura, se hallaron en treynta y siete grados y medio debaxo del Norte.

Cunames.

City of Cia.

Salieron desta Prouincia, y caminando por el proprio rumbo, y a catorze leguas, hallaron otra Prouincia, llamada los Cunames donde vieron otros cinco pueblos, y el principal dellos, y mas grande se llamaua Cia, que era tan grande que tenia ocho placas, cuyas casas eran encaladas, y pintadas de colores, y mejores que las que hauian visto en las Prouincias atras: parecioles que la gente que vieron passauan de veynte mil animas;

hizieron presente a los nuestros de muchas mantas curiosas, y de cosas de comer muy bien guisadas, y juzgaron ser la gente mas curiosa, y de mayor policia, de quantas hasta alli hauian visto, y de mejor gouierno: monstraronles ricos metales, y vnas sierras alli cerca de donde de los sacauan. Aqui tuuieron noticia de otra Prouincia, que staua hazia el Nordueste, que se determinaron de yra ella.

Amejes.

Come vuiessen andado como seys leguas, toparon con la dicha Prouincia, que se llamaua de los Amejes, en la qual hauia siete pueblos muy grandes, y en ellos a su entender mas de treynta mil animas. Vno destos siete pueblos dixeron era muy grande y hermoso, que la dexaron de yr a ver, assi por estar de tras vna sierra, como por temor de algun ruyn successo, si a caso se diuidian los vnos de los otros. Es gente al modo de la Prouincia su vezina, y tan abastada como ella, y de tan buen gouierno.

Acoma.

A quinze leguas desta Prouincia, caminando siempre hazia el Poniente, hallaron vn pueblo grande llamado Acoma, era de mas de seys mil animas, y estaua essentado sobre vno penna alta que tenia mas de cinquenta estados en alto, no teniendo otra entrada sino per vna escalera que estaua hecha en la propria penna, cosa que admiro mucho alos nuestros: toda el agua que en el pueblo auia era de cisternas.

Bellicose Natives.

Vinieron los principales de paz a ver a los Espannoles, y traxeron les muchas mantas, y camu cas muy bien adere cadas, y gran cantidad de bastimentos. Tienen sus sembrados dos leguas de alli, y sacan el agua para regarlos de vn rio pequenno que esta cerca, en cuya ribera vieron muy grandes rosales como los de aca de Castilla. Ay muchas sierras con sennales de metales, aunque no subieron a verlo, por ser los Indios dellas muchos, y muy bellicosos. Estuuieron los nuestros en este lugar tres dias, en vno de los quales los naturales les hizieron vn bayle muy solenne, saliendo a el con galannos vestidos, y con juegos muy ingeniosos, con que holgaron en se estremo.

Veynte y quatro leguas de aqui, hazia el Poniente dieron con vna Prouincia, que se nom-

Zuny or Cibola.

bra en lengua de los naturales Zuny, y la llaman los Espannoles Cibola, ay en ella gran cantidad de Indios, en la qual estuuo Francisco Vazquez Coronado, y dexo muchas Cruzes puestas, y otras sennales de Christianidad que siempre se estauan en pie. Hallaron ansi mesmo tres Indios, Christianos que se auian quedado de aquella jornada, cuyos nombres eran Andres de Cuyoacan, Gaspar de Mexico, y Antonio de Guadalajara, los quales renian casi oluidada su mesma lengua, y sabian muy bien la delos naturales, aunque a pocas bueltas que les hablaron se entendieron facilmente. De quien supieron que sesenta jornadas de alli auia vna laguna, o lago muy grande, en cuyas riberas estauan muchos pueblos grandes y buenos, y que los naturales tenian mucho oro, de lo qual era indicion el traer todos braceletes y orejeras dello: y que como el sobredicho Francisco Vazquez Coronado tuuiesse noticia muy cierta dello, hauia salido desta Prouincia de Cibola para yr alla, y auiendo andado doze jornadas le falto el agua, y se determino de boluer, como lo hizo, con determinacion de tornar otra vez mas de proposito a ello, que despues no lo puso an execucion, porque la muerte le atajo los passos y pensamientos.

A great lake.

Much gold.

Prosiue del Nueuo Mexico.

Another debate.

A La nueua de la riqueza dicha, quiso a cudir el dicho Capitan Antonio de Espejo, y aunque eran de su parecer algunos de sus companneros, la mayor parte, y el Religioso fue de contrario: diziendo, era ya tiempo de boluerse à la nueua Viscaya de donde hauian salido, a dar cuenta de lo que auian visto: que lo pusieron por obra dentro de pocos dias la mayor parte, dexando al Capitan con neue companneros que le quisieron seguir: el qual, despues de hauerse certificado muy por entero de la riqueza arriba dicha, y de mucha abundancia de metales que en ello auia muy buenos, salio con los dichos sus companneros desta prouincia, y caminando hazia el proprio Poniente, despues de hauer andado veinte y ocho leguas, hallaron otra muy grande en la qual les parecio hauia mas de cinquenta mil animas, cuyos moradores como supiessen su llegada, les embiaron vn recado, diziendo, que si no querian que los matassen, no se acercassen mas a sus pueblos: a lo qual respondio el dicho Capitan, que ellos no les yuan a hazer mal, como lo verian, y que assi les rogauan no se pusiessen en lleuar adelante su intento, dando al mensajero algunas cosas de las que lleuaua: el qual supo tan bien obonar a los nuestros, y allanar los pechos alborotados de los Indios, que les dieron lugar de voluntad para que entrassen, que lo hizieron con ciento y cinquenta Indios amigos de la prouincia de Cibola ya dicha, y los tres Indios Mexicanos, de quien queda hecha mencion. Vna legua antes que llegassen al primer pueblo, les salieron a recibir mas de dos mil Indios cargados de bastimentos, a quien el dicho Capitan dio algunas cosas de poco precio, que a ellos les parecio ser de mucho, y las estimaron mas que si fueran de oro. Llegando mas cerca del pueblo, que se llamaua Zaguato, salio a recebirlos gran muche numbre de Indios, y entre ellos los Caciques, haziendo tanta demostracion de plazer y regozijo, que echauan mucha farina de maiz por el suelo, para que la pisassen los cauallos: con esta fiesta entraron en el, y fueron muy bien hospedados, y regalados, que se lo pago en parte el Capitan, con dar a todos los mas principales sombreros, y quentas de vidrio, y otras muchas cosas que lleuaua para semejantes offrecimientos.

Zaguato or Ahuato.

Despacharon luego los dichos Caciques recados a todos los de aquella Prouincia, dandoles noticia de la venida de los huespedes, y de como eran hombres muy corteses, y no les hazian mal: lo qual fue bastante para hazer los venir a todos cargados de presentes para los nuestros, y de que los importunassen, fuessen con ellos a holgarse a sus pueblos, que lo hizieron, aunque siempre con recado de lo que podia succeder. Por lo qual el dicho Capitan vso de vna cautela, y fue dezir a los Caciques, que por quanto los cauallos eran muy brauos, y les auian dicho que los querian matar, seria necessario hazer vn fuerte de calicanto donde meter los para euitar el danno que querian hazer en los Indios. Creyeronlo los Caciques tan de veras que dento de pocas horas juntaron tanta gente que hizieron el dicho fuerte que los nuestros querion con vna presteza increyble. Demas desto, diziendo el Capitan que se queria yr, le traxeron vn presente de 40. mil. mantas de algodon pintadas y blancas, y mucha cantidad de pannos de manos con borlas en las puntas, y otras muchas cosas, y entre ellas metales ricos, y que mostrauan tener mucha plata. Halaron entre estos Indios muy gran noticia de la laguna grande arriba dicha, y conformaron con los otros en lo tocante a las riquezas, y mucha abundantia de oro.

Fiado el Capitan desta gente, y de sus buenos animos, a cordo a cabo de algunos dias de dexar alli cinco de sus companneros con los demas Indios amigos, para que se boluiessen a la prouincia de Zuny con el bagaje, y de yrse el con los quatro que quedauan a la ligera en descubrimento de cierta noticia que tenia de vnas minas muy ricas. Lo qual puesto por obra se partio con las guias que lleuaua, y como vuiesse caminado hazia el proprio Poniente quarenta y cinco leguas, topo con las dichas minas, y saco con sus proprias manos riquissimos metales, y de mucha plata: y as minas, que eran de vna veta muy ancha, estauan en vna sierra adonde se podia subir con facilidad, a causa de hauer para ello camino abierto. Cerca delas auia algunos pueblos de Indios serranos que les hizieron amistad, y los salieron a recebir con Cruzes en las cabeças, y otras sennales de paz. Aqui cerca toparon dos rios razonables, a cuyas orillas hauia muchas patras de vnas muy buenas, y grandes noguerales, y mucho lino como lo de Castilla, y dixeron por sennas que detras de aquellas sierras estaua vno que tenia mas de ocho leguas de ancho, pero no se pudo entender que tan cerca, aunque hizieron demonstracion que corria hazia la mar del Norte, y que en las riberas del de vna y orta banda ay muchas pueblos tan grandes, que en su comparacion a quellos en que est aua eran barrios.

The mines discovered.

A great river.

North Sea.

Despues de hauer tomado toda esta relacion, se partio el dicho Capitan para la Prouincia de Zuny, adonde hauia mendado yr a los dichos companneros: y como llegasse a ella con salud, hauiendo ydo por muy buen camino, hallo con ella a sus cinco companneros, y al dicho padre Fray Bernardino con los soldados que se auian determinado de boluer, como ya diximos, que aun no se auian partido, por ciertas ocasiones: a los quales los naturales hauian hecho muy buen tratamiento, y dadoles todo lo necessario muy complida mente, haziendo despues lo mesmo con el capitan, y los que con el venian, a quien salieron a recebir con demonstracion de alegria, y dieron muchos bastimentos para la jornada que hauian de hazar, rogandoles que boluissen con breuedad, y traxessen muchos Castillas (que assi llaman a los Espannoles) y que a todos les darian de comer. Por lo qual para poderlo hazar con comodidad auian sembrado a quel anno mas trigo y semillas, que en todos los passados.

They resolve to return.

En este tiempo se retificaron en su primera determinacion el dicho religioso, y los soldados arriba dichos, y accordaron de boluerse a la prouincia de donde auian salido con el designio que queda dicho, a quien se junto Gregorio Hernandez que auia sido Alferez en la jornada: los quales partidos, quedando el Capitan con solos ocho soldados, se resoluio de seguir lo començado y correr por el Rio del Norte arriba, que lo puso por obra. Y hauiendo caminado como sesenta leguas hazia la prouincia de los Quires ya dicha, doze leguas de alli hazia la parte del Oriente, hallaron vna prouincia que se llamaua los Hubates, donde los Indios los recibieron de paz, y les dieron muchos mantenimientos, y noticia de que cerca de alli hauia vnas minas muy ricas, que las hallaron, y sacaron dellas metales reluzientes y buenos, con los quales se boluieron al pueblo de donde auian salido. Iuzgaron esta prouincia por de hasta veynte y cinco mil animas, todos muy bien vestidos de mantas de algodon pintadas, y camuças muy bien adere çadas. Tienen muchos montes de pinales y cedros, y las casas de los pueblos son de quatro y cinco altos. Aqui tuuieron noticia que otra prouincia que estaua vna jornada de alli, que se llamaua de los Tamos, en qui hauia mas de quarenta mil animas, donde como llegasen no les quisieron dar de comer los moradores della, ni admitirlos en sus pueblos: por lo qual, y por el peligro en que estauan, y

Hubates.

Tamos.

They return

estar algunos soldados enfermos, y ser tan pocos (como hauemos dicho) se determinaron de yrse saliendo para tierra de Christianos, y lo pusieron en execucion a principio de Iulio del anno de ochenta y tres, siendo guiados por vn Indio que se fue con ellos, y los lleuo por camino differente del que a la venida hauian traydo, por vn rio abaxo, a quien llamaron de las vacas, por auer gran muche dumbre dellas en toda su ribera, por donde caminaron ciento y veynte leguas, topando las ordinariamente: de aqui saheron al rio de los Conchos por donde auian entrado, y del al Valle de Sant Bertholme de donde hauian salido para dar principio al descubrimiento: y ya quando llegaron, hallaron que el dicho fray Bernardino Beltran, y sus companneros auian llegado a saluamento al dicho pueblo muchos dias hauia, y que de alli se auian ydo a la villa de Guadiana. Hizo en este pueblo el dicho Capitan Antonio de Espejo informacion muy cierta de todo lo arriba dicho, laqual embio luego al Conde de Corunna Virey de aquel Reyno, y el a su Magestad, y a los Sennores, de su Real Consejo de las Indias, para que ordenassen lo que fuessen seruidos, que lo han ya hecho con mucho cuydado. Nuestro Sennor de situa de ayudar este negocio, de modo que tantas almas rededimas con su saugre no se condenen, de cuyos buenos ingenios (en que exceden alos de Mexico y Peru, segun se antendio de los que los trataron) se puede presumir, abraçaran con facilidad la ley Euangelica, dexando la idolatria, que agora la mayor parte dellos tiene: quo lo haga Dios como puede para honor y gloria suya, y augmento de la sancto fe Catholica.

1583.

A pious wish.

A briefe relation of two notable voyages, the first made by frier Augustin Ruyz a Franciscan, in the yeere 1581: the second by Antonio de Espejo in the yere 1583: who together with his company discouered a land wherin they found fifteene prouinces all full of townes, conteining houses of foure and fiue stories high, which they named New Mexico; for that in many respects it resembleth the prouince of olde Mexico. This land is situate to the North of Nueua Espanna, and stretcheth from 24 to 34 degrees and better: by the which and by other inhabited lands it is thought that men may trauell euen to Terra de Labrador. Taken out of the history of China written by Frier Iuan Gonzales de Mendoça, and printed in Madrid 1586.

I Haue now declared in the title of this present discourse, that in the yeere 1583 there were discouered fifteene prouinces, which the discouerers called New Mexico, situate on the firme land of Nueua Espanna, and I promised to giue notice of the sayd discouery, which I will do with as much breuity as is possible: for if I should record at large all particulars which they saw and came to the knowledge of, it would require a full history. The substance thereof is as followeth.

The first voyage made by Frier Augustin Ruiz to the prouince de los Tiguas.

In the yere of our Lord 1581, a certaine Franciscan frier called Augustin Ruiz which dwelt in the valley of S. Bartholomew, being informed by the report of certaine Indians called Conchos, which had dealings and conuersation with other of their neighbours called Passaguates; that toward the North, trauelling always by land, there were certaine great townes not hitherto knowen nor discouered by our Spanyards; moved with a zeale of charity and a desire to saue soules, craued licence of the Conde of Corunna as then Viceroy of Nueua Espanna, and of his superiors, to go to the sayd townes, and to indeuour to learne their language, and hauing learned the same to baptise them and to preach the holy Gospel vnto them. After he had obteined licence of the parties aforesayd, taking with him other two companions of his owne order, and eight souldiers, who of their owne good will offered to beare him company, he departed to put in execution his Christian and zealous intent. Who after certeine dayes trauell came vnto a countrey called The prouince de los Tiguas distant from the mines of Santa Barbara, from whence they began their iourney, 250 leagues towards the North: in which prouince the inhabitants, vpon a certaine occasion, slew one of the sayd friers two companions. The souldiers that went with him seeing this mishap, and perceiuing the successe, and likewise fearing, that thereof might happen some greater danger, determined with a common consent to return vnto the mines from whence they departed: considering that their company was too small to resist the dangers that might happen, being so farre distant from the dwellings of the Spanyards, and from all necessary succour. But the two friers which remained aliue did not onely refuse their determination, but rather seeing fit occasion to put their good desire in execution, and so great a haruest ripe for the Lords table, because they could not persuade the souldiers to proceed any further in that discouery, remained behinde in the sayd prouince with three Indian boyes and one Mestiço whom they had carried with them; thinking that although they remained alone, yet should they be there in securitie, by reason of the great affability and loue which the people of that place shewed vnto them.

The chiefe of these 8 soldiers was Francisco Sanchez Xamuzcado which made a map of these prouinces, which being intercepted is come to our hands.

The eight souldiours being returned to their wished home, immediatly sent newes of all that had passed to the Viceroy vnto the city of Mexico, which is distant from the sayd mines of Santa Barbara 160 leagues.

The friers of Sant Francis were much agrieued at the staying of their brethren behinde in the countrey, and fearing least the Sauages would kill them seeing them left alone, they began to mooue the minds of certaine souldiers to make another voyage to the sayd prouince in the company of another Frier of the foresayd Order called Frier Bernardin Beltran, to deliuer the aforesayd two religious men out of danger, and to prosecute their former enterprise.

At the same time there was at the foresayd mines vpon some occasion a citizen of Mexico called Antonio de Espejo, a rich man, and of great courage and industry, and very zealous in the seruice of king Philip his

The second voyage.

souereigne, and was borne in Cordoua. Who vnderstanding the desire of the foresayd friers, and the importance of the action, offered himselfe to go on that voyage, and also to spend part of his substance, and to aduenture his life therein; conditionally that licence might be granted him to the same purpose from some person sufficiently authorised by his Maiestie. Which licence at the sayd friers procurement was granted vnto him by the gouernour Iuan de Ontiueros the kings Alcade mayór or chiefe Iustice in the towns called Las quatro Cienegas situate within the iurisdiction of Nueua Biscaya seuenty leagues from the sayd mines of Santa Barbara; authorizing him both to take in hand the sayd voyage, and also to assemble such people and souldiers as he could, which might accompany and ayde him in the performance of this his Christian intent.

The sayd Antonio de Espejo was so earnest in this matter, that in very few dayes he had gathered a company of souldiers, and made prouision of things necessary for his voyage, spending therein a good part of his substance. And he departed with his whole company from the valley of S. Bartholomew the tenth of Nouember 1582; taking with him (for whatsoeuer should happen) 115 horses and mules, with great store of weapons, munition, and victuals, and some Indians to serue him in his iourney.

Directing his course toward the North, after two dayes iourney he met with great store of the foresayd Indians called Conchos, which dwell in villages or hamlets of cottages couered with straw. Who, assoone as they vnderstood of his approch, hauing newes thereof long before, came foorth to receiue him with shewes of great ioy. The food of this people and of all the rest of that prouince, which is great, are conies, hares, and deere which they kill, of all which they haue great abundance. Also they haue great store of Maiz or Indian wheat, gourds, and melons very good and plentifull: and there are many riuers full of excellent fish of diuers sorts. They goe almost naked, and the weapons that they vse are bowes aad arrowes, and liue vnder the gouernment and lordship of Caçiques like those of Mexico: they found no idols among them, neither could they vnderstand that they worshipped any thing, whereupon they easily consented that the Spanyards should set vp crosses, and were very well content therewith, after they were informed by our friers of the signification thereof, which was done by the interpreters that they caried with them; by whose meanes they vnderstood of other townes;

whither the said Conchos did conduct them, and bare them company aboue foure and twenty leagues, all which way was inhabited with people of their owne nation: and at all places where they came they were peaceably receiued by aduice that was sent by the Caçiques from one towne to another.

Hauing passed the foure and twenty leagues aforesayd, they came vnto another nation of Indians called Passaguates, who liue after the maner of the foresayd Conchos their borderers, and did vnto them as the others had done, conducting them forward other foure dayes iourney, with aduice of the Caciques as before. The Spanyards found in this iourney many mines of siluer, which according to the iudgement of skilfull men, were very plentifull and rich in metall.

Very great and rich siluer mines.

A dayes iourney from thence they met with another nation called Tobosos, who so soone as they beheld the countenance of our people fledde vnto the mountaines, leauing their townes and houses desolate. Afterward wee vnderstood that certeine yeeres past there came vnto that place certaine souldiers to seeke mines, who caried away captiue certaine of the people of the countrey, which caused the rest of them to be so shey and fearefull. The captaine sent messengers to call them backe againe, assuring them that they should not sustaine any harme, and handled the matter so discreetly, that many of them returned, whom he made much of, and gaue them gifts, vsing them kindly, and declaring vnto them by the interpreter, that their comming was not to hurt any man: whereupon they were all quieted, and were content that they should set vp crosses, and declare the mystery of the same, making shew that they were highly pleased therewith. For proofe whereof they accompanied them on their voyage, as their neighbours had done, vntill they had brought them to a countrey inhabited by another nation, which was distant from theirs some 12 leagues. They vse bowes and arrowes and go naked.

The nation vnto which the sayd Tobosos conducted them, is called Iumanos, whom the Spanyards by another name call Patarabueyes: their prouince is very great, conteining many townes and great store of people: their houses are flat-roofed, and built of lime and stone, and the streets of their townes are placed in good order. All the men and women haue their faces, armes and legges raced and pounced: they are a people of great stature, and of better

Iumanos or Patarabueyes.

gouernment, then the rest which they had seene in their former iourneys: and are well prouided of victuals, and furnished with plenty of wilde beasts, fowles and fishes, by reason of mighty riuers which come from the North, whereof one is as great as Guadalquiuir, which falleth into the North sea or bay of Mexico. Here also are many lakes of salt water, which at a certeine time of the yere waxeth hard, and becommeth very good salt. They are a warlike people, and soone made shew thereof: for the first night that our people incamped there, with their arrowes they slew fiue horses, and wounded fiue other very sore, nor would not haue left one of them aliue, if they had not beene defended by our guard. Hauing done this mischiefe, they abandoned the towne, and withdrew themselues to a mountaine which was hard by, whither our captaine went betimes in the morning, taking with him fiue souldiers well armed, and an interpreter called Peter an Indian of their owne nation, and with good persuasions appeased them, causing them to descend to their towne and houses, and persuading them to giue aduice vnto their neighbours, that they were men that would hurt no body, neither came they thither to take away their goods: which he obtained easily by his wisedome, and by giuing vnto the Caciques certeine bracelets of glasse beads, with hats and other trifles, which he caried with him for the same purpose; so by this meanes, and by the good interteinment which they gaue them, many of them accompanied our Spanyards for certeine dayes, alwayes trauelling along the banke of the great riuer abouesayd; along the which there were many townes of the Indians of this nation, which continued for the space of twelue dayes traul, all which time the Caciques hauing receiued aduice from one to another, came forth to interteine our people without their bowes and arrowes, and brought them plenty of victuals, with other presents and gifts, especially hides and chamois-skins wery well dressed, so that those of Flanders do nothing exceed them. These people are all clothed, and seemed to haue some light of our holy faith: for they made signes to God, looking vp towards heauen, and call him in their language Apalito, and acknowledge him for their Lord, from whose bountifull hand and mercy they confesse that they haue receiued their life and being, and these worldly goods. Many of them with their wiues and children came vnto the frier (which the captaine and souldiers brought

Rio turbioso del Norte.

Rio del Norte.

with them) that hee might crosse and blesse them. Who demanding of them, from whom they had receiued that knowledge of God, they answered, from three Christians and one Negro which passed that way, and remained certaine dayes among them, who by the signes which they made, were Aluaro Nunnez, Cabeca de Vaca, and Dorantes, and Castillo Maldonado, and a Negro; all which escaped of the company which Pamphilo de Naruaez landed in Florida; who after they had bene many dayes captiues and slaues, escaped and came to these townes, by whom God shewed many miracles, and healed onely by the touching of their hands many sicke persons, by reason wherof they became very famous in all that countrey. All this prouince remained in great peace and security; in token wherof, they accompanied and serued our men certaine dayes, trauelling along by the great riuer aforesayd.

Pamphilo de Naruaez entred into Florida 1527.

Rio del Norte. Another prouince.

Within few days after they came vnto another great prouince of Indians, from whence they came forth to receiue them, vpon the newes which they had heard of their neighbors, and brought them many curious things made of feathers of diuers colours, and many mantles of cotton straked with blew and white, like those that are brought from China, to barter and trucke them for other things. All of them both men, women and children were clad in chamois skinnes very good and wel dressed. Our people could neuer vnderstand what nation they were for lacke of an interpreter: howbeit they dealt with them by signes; and hauing shewed vnto them certaine stones of rich metall, and inquired whether there were any such in their countrey: they answered by the same signes, that fiue dayes iourney Westward from thence there was great quantity therof, and that they would conduct them thither, and shew it vnto them; as afterward they performed their promise, and bare them company 22 leagues, which was all inhabited by people of the same nation.

Very great quantity of siluer.

Next vnto the foresayd prouince they came vnto another further vp the great riuer aforesayd, being much more populous then the former, of whom they were well receiued, and welcomed with many presents, especially of fish, whereof they haue exceeding great store, by reason of certaine great lakes not far from thence, wherein they are bred in foresayd plenty. They stayed among these people three days; all which time both day and night they made before them many dances, according to their fashion, with signification of speciall ioy. They could not learne the name of this nation for want of an interpreter, yet they vnderstood that it extended very farre, and was very great. Among these people they found an Indian of the foresayd nation of the Conchos, who told them, and shewed them by signes, that fifteene dayes iourney from thence toward the West there was a very broad lake, and nere vnto it very great townes, and in them houses of three or foure stories high, and that the people were well apparelled, and the countrey full of victuals and prouision. This Concho offered himselfe to conduct our men thither, whereat our company reioyced, but left off the enterprise, onely to accomplish their intent for which they vndertook the voyage, which was to go Northward to giue ayd vnto the two friers aforesayd. The chiefe and principall thing that they noted in this prouince was, that it was of very good temperature, and a very rich soile, and had great store of wilde beasts, and wild-fowle, and abundance of rich metals, and other excellent things, and very profitable.

From this prouince they folowed their iourney for the space of fifteene dayes without meeting any people all that while, passing thorow great woods and groues of pine trees bearing such fruit as those of Castile: at the end whereof, having trauelled, to their iudgement, fourescore leagues, they came vnto a small hamlet or village of fewe people, in whose poore cottages couered with straw they found many deeres-skinnes as well dresssd as those of Flanders, with great store of excellent white salt. They gave our men good entertainment for the space of two dayes while they remained there, after which they bare them company about twelue leagues, vnto certaine great townes, alwayes travelling by the riuer called Rio del Norte abouesayd, till such time as they came vnto the countrey called by them New Mexico. Here all along the shore of the sayd riuer grew mighty woods of poplar being in some places foure leagues broad, and great store of walnut trees, and vines like those of Castillia.

Hauing trauelled two dayes thorow the said woods of Poplar and Walnut trees, they came to ten townes situate on both sides of the sayd riuer, besides others which they might see further out of the way, wherein they seemed to be great store of people, and those which they saw were aboue ten thousand persons. In this prouince they received them very courteously, and brought them to their townes, whereas they gaue them plenty of victuals and hennes of the countrey, with many other things, and that with great good will. Here they found houses of foure stories high, very well built, with gallant lodgings, and in most of them were Stooues for the Winter season. Their garments were of Cotton and of deere-skinnes, and the attire both of the men and women is after the maner of the Indians of the kingdome of Mexico. But the strangest thing of all was to see both men and women weare shooes and boots with good soles of neats leather, a thing which they never sawe in any other part of the Indies. The women keepe their haire well combed and dressed, wearing nothing els vpon their heads. In all these townes they had Caciques, which gouerned their people like the Caciques of Mexico, with Sergeants to execute their commandments, who goe thorow the townes proclaiming with a loud voice the pleasure of the Caciques, commanding the same to be put in execution. In this prouince our men found many idols which they worshipped, and particularly they had in euery house an Oratory for the diuell, whereinto they ordinarily cary him meat: and another thing they found, that as it is an vse among the Christians to erect crosses vpon the high wayes, so haue this people certain high chapels, in which they say the diuell vseth to take his ease, and to recreat himselfe as he trauelleth from one towne to another; which chapels are maruellously well trimmed and painted. In all their arable grounds, wherof they haue great plenty, they erect on the one side a little cottage or shed standing vpon foure studdes, vnder which the labourers do eat, and passe away the heat of the day, for they are a people much giuen to labour, and doe continually occupy themselues therein. This countrey is full of mountaines and forrests of Pine trees. The weapons that they vse are strong bowes and arrrowes headed with flints, which will pierce thorow a coat of male, and macanas which are clubs of halfe a yard long, so beset with sharpe flints, that they are sufficient to cleaue a man asunder in the midst: they vse also a kinde of targets made of raw hides.

These high mountains are a cause of the coldness of the countrey.

Hauing remained foure dayes in this prouince, not farre off they came to another called The prouince of Tiguas conteining sixteene townes, in one wherof, called Poala, they vnderstood that the inhabitants had slaine the two fathers aforesayd, to wit, frier Francis Lopez, and frier Augustus Ruyz whom they went to seeke, together with the three Indian boyes, and the mestico. So soone as the people of this towne and their neighbours saw our men there, their own consciences accusing them, and fearing that our men came to punish them, and to be auenged of the death of the foresaid fathers, they durst not abide their comming, but leauing their houses desolate they fled to the mountaines next adioyning, from whence they could neuer cause them to descend, although our men attempted the same by diuers deuises and entisements. They found in the townes and houses good store of victuals, with infinite number of hennes in the countrey, and many sorts of metals, wherof some seemed to be very good. They could not perfectly vnderstand what numbers of people this prouince might conteine, by reason they were fled into the mountains, as I haue said before.

Hauing found those to be slaine which they went to seeke, they entred into consultation, whether they should returne to Nueua Biscaya, from whence they came, or should proceed further in their iourney; whereabout there were diuers opinions: howbeit, vnderstanding there, that toward the Orient or East parts of that prouince, and very far distant from thence, there were great and rich townes: and finding themselues so far on the way, the sayd captaine Antonio de Espeio with the consent of the foresaid frier called Frier Bernardine Beltron, and the greater part of his souldiers and companions determined to proceed on the discouery, till such time as they did see to what end it would come; to the end they might giue certeine and perfect knowledge thereof to his Maiesty, as eye-witnesses of the same. And so with one accord they determined, that while the army lay still there, the captaine and two more of his company should prosecute their desire, which they did accordingly. And within two dayes iourney they came vnto another prouince, where they found eleuen townes, and much people in them, which in their iudgement were aboue forty thousand persons. The country was very fertile and plentifull, whose confines bordered vpon the territories of Cibola, where there are great store of kine, with whose hides and with cotton they apparell themselues, imitating in the forme of their gouern-

This draweth toward Virginia.

ment their next neighbours. In this place are signes of very rich mines, some quantity of the metals whereof they found in the houses of the Indians; which Indians haue and doe worship idols. They receiued our men peaceably, and gaue them victuals. Hauing seene this much, and the disposition of the countrey, they returned to the campe, from whence they departed, to informe their companions of the things aboue mentioned.

Being returned to the campe they had intelligence of another prouince called Los Quires, which stood sixe leagues higher vp the riuer called Rio del Norte. And in their iourney thitherward, being arriued within a league of the place, there came forth very many Indians to receiue them in peace, requesting them to beare them company to their townes: which they did, and were maruellous well interteined and cherished. In this prouince they found fiue townes only. Wherein were great store of people, and those which they saw were aboue 14000 soules, who worship idols as their neighbours do. In one of these townes they found a pie in a cage after the maner of Castile, and certaine shadowes or canopies like vnto those which are brought from China, wherein were painted the Sunne, the Moone, and many Starres. Where hauing taken the height of the pole-starre, they found themselues to be in 37 degrees and ½ of Northerly latitude.

Quires bordering vpon Rio del Norte.

They departed out of this prouince, and keeping still the same Northerly course, fourteene leagues from thence they fouud another prouince called The Cunames, where they saw other fiue townes, the greatest whereof was called Cia, being so large, that it conteined eight market-places, the houses whereof being plaistered and painted with diuers colours, were better then any which they had seene in the prouinces before mentioned: the people which they heere saw, they esteemed to be aboue twenty thousand persons. They presented to our men many curious mantles, and victuals excellently well dressed; so that our men deemed this nation to be more curious, and of greater ciuility, and better gouernment, then any other that hitherto they had seene. They shewed them rich metals, and the mountaines also not farre off whereout they digged them. Heere our people heard of another prouince standing toward the Northwest, wherevnto they purposed to goe.

Cunames, or Punames.

Cia a great city.

Hauing trauelled about sixe leagues, they came to the sayd

Ameies, or Emexes.

prouince, the people whereof were called Ameies, wherin were seuen very great townes, conteining, to their iudgement, aboue thirty thousand soules. They reported that one of the seuen townes was very great and faire, which our men would not go to see, both because it stood behinde a mountaine, and also for feare of some mishappe, if in case they should be separated one from another. This people are like vnto their neighbours of the former prouince, being as well prouided of all necessaries as they, and of as good gouernment.

Acoma or Acoman a towne conteining aboue 6000 persons.

About fifteene leagues from this prouince, trauelling alwayes toward the West, they found a great towne called Acoma, conteining aboue sixe thousand persons, and situate vpon an high rocke which was aboue fifty paces hie, hauing no other entrance but by a ladder or paire of staires hewen into the same rocke, whereat our people maruelled not a little: all the water of this towne was kept in cisternes. The chiefe men of this towne came peaceably to visit the Spanyards, bringing them many mantles and chamois-skinnes excellently dressed, and great plenty of victuals. Their corne-fields are two leagues from thence, and they fetch water out of a small riuer nere thereunto, to water the same, on the brinks whereof they saw many great banks of Roses like those of Castile. Here are many mountaines that beare shewes of mettals, but they went not to see them, because the Indians dwelling vpon them are many in number, and very warlike. Our men remained in this place three dayes, vpon one of the which the inhabitants made before them a very solemne dance, comming foorth in the same with gallant apparell, vsing very witty sports, wherewith our men were exceedingly delighted.

Zuny or Sunne.

Vasquez de Coronado was here 1540 and 1541.

Twenty foure leagues from hence toward the West, they came to a certaine prouince called by the inhabitants themselues Zuny, and by the Spanyards Cibola, containing great numbers of Indians; in which prouince Francisco Vasquez de Coronado had bene, and had erected many crosses and other tokens of Christianity, which remained as yet standing. Heere also they found three Indian Christians which had remained there euer since the said iourny, whose names were Andrew de Culiacan, Gaspar de Mexico, and Antonio de Guadalajara, who had almost forgotten their owne language, but could speake that countrey speech very well; howbeit after some small conference with our men, they easily vnderstood one another. By these three Indians they were informed, that threescore dayes iourney from this place there was a very mighty lake, vpon the bankes whereof stood many great and good townes, and that the inhabitants of the same had plenty of golde, an euident argument wherof was their wearing of golden bracelets and earrings: and also that after the sayd Francis Vasquez de Coronado had perfect intelligence thereof, hee departed out of this prouince of Cibola to goe thither, and that hauing proceeded twelue dayes iourney, he began to want water; and thereupon determined to returne, as he did indeed, with intention to make a second voyage thither at his better opportunity; which afterward he performed not, being preuented of his determined iourney by death.

A mighty lake 60 daies iourney from Cibola.

Vpon the newes of these riches the sayd Captaine Antony de Espeio was desirous to go thither; and though some of his companions were of his opinion, yet the greater part and the frier were of the contrary, saying that it was now high time to returne home to New Biscay from whence they came, to giue account of that which they had seene: which the sayd greater part within few dayes put in execution, leauing the captaine with nine companions onely that willingly followed him: who after hee had fully certified himselfe of the riches abouesayd, and of the great quantity of excellent mettals that were about that lake, departed out of this prouince of Cibola with his companions; and trauelling directly toward the West, after hee had passed 28 leagues, he found another very great prouince, which by estimation conteined aboue 5000 soules: the inhabitants whereof assoone as they vnderstood of their approch, sent them word, vpon paine of death to come no neerer to their townes: whereto the captaine answered, that their comming was in no wise to hurt them, as they should well perceiue, and therefore requested them not to molest him in his intended voyage, and withall gaue to the messenger a reward of such things as they brought with them; who thereupon made so good report of our people, and so appeased the troubled minds of the Indians, that they granted them free accesse vnto their townes, and so they went thither with 15. Indians their friends of the prouince of Cibola aforesaid, and the three Mexican Indians

Another mightie prouince Westward of Cibola 28. leagues, called Mohotze.

before mentioned. When they were come within a league of the first towne, there came forth to meete them aboue 2000. Indians laden with victuals, whom the Captaine rewarded with some things of small value, which they made great accompt of, and esteemed more precious than gold. As they approched neere vnto the towne which was named Zaguato, a great multitude of Indians came forth to meete them, and among the rest their Caçiques, with so great demomonstration of ioy and gladnes, that they cast much meale of Maiz vpon the ground for the horses to tread vpon: with this triumph they entred the towne, where they were very wel lodged and much made of, which the Captaine did in part requite, giuing to the chiefest among them hats, and beads of glasse, with many such trifles, which he caried with him for the like purpose. The said Caciques presently gaue notice to the whole prouince of the arriual of these new guests, whom they reported to bee a courteous people, and such as offered them no harme: which was occasion sufficient to make them all come laden with presents vnto our people, and to intreat them to goe and make merry with them in their townes; which they yeelded vnto, though always with great foresight what might follow. Whereupon the Captaine vsed a certaine policie, making the Caciques beleeue, that forasmuch as his horses were very fierce (for they had told the Indians that they would kill them) therefore it was necessary to make a Fort of lime and stone to inclose them, for the auoyding of such inconueniences as otherwise might happen vnto the Indians by them. This tale was so steadfastly beleeued by the Caciques, that in fiue houres they assembled such store of people together, that with incredible celeritie they built the said Fort which our men required.

Zaguato, or Ahuzto a towne.

A witty policie to be vsed by the English in like cases.

Moreouer, when the Captaine saide that he would depart, they brought vnto him a present of 40000. mantles of cotton, both white and other colours, and great store of hand towels, with tassels at the corners, with diuers other things, and among the rest rich mettals, which seemed to holde much siluer. Among these Indians they learned very much concerning The great Lake aforesaide, whose report agreed wholly with relation of the former, as touching the riches and great abundance of gold about that lake.

The Captaine reposing great confidence in this people and in their good disposition toward him determined after certaine dayes, to leaue there fiue of his companions with the rest of his Indian friends, that they might returne with his cariages to the prouince of Zuni, while himselfe with the foure other which remained should ride in post to discouer certaine very rich Mines, whereof he had perfect information. And putting this purpose in execution he departed with his guides, and hauing traueiled due-west 45. leagues he came vnto the said Mines, and tooke out of the same with his owne hands exceeding rich metals holding great quantitie of siluer: and the mines which were of a very broad veine were in a mountaine whereon they might easily ascend, by reason of an open way that led vp to the same. Neere vnto these mines were certaine townes of Indians dwelling vpon the mountaine whereon they might easily ascend, by reason of an open way that led vp to the same. Neere vnto these mines were certaine townes of Indians dwelling vpon the mountaines, who shewed them friendship, and came forth to receiue them with crosses on their heads, and other tokens of peace. Hereabout they found two riuers of a reasonable bignesse, vpon the banks whereof grew many vines bearing excellent grapes, and great groues of walnut-trees, and much flaxe like that of Castile: and they shewed our men by signes, that behinde those mountaines there was a riuer about 8. leagues broad, but they could not learne how neere it was: howbeit the Indians made demonstration that it ran towards the North sea, and that vpon both sides thereof stood many townes of so great bignesse, that in comparison thereof those wherein they dwelt were but small hamlets

Perhaps this Riuer may fall into the Chesepiouk bay, or into the great lake of Tadoac.

After he had receiued all this information, the said Captaine returned toward the prouince of Zuni, whither he had sent his said companions: and being arrived there in safety, hauing trauailed vpon a very good way, he found in the same place his 5. companions, and the said father Frier Bernardin Beltran, with the souldiers which were determined to returne, as is aforesaid, but vpon certaine occasions were not as yet departed: whom the inhabitants had most friendly treated, and furnished with all things necessary in abundance as afterward likewise they vsed the Captaine, and those that came with him, comming foorth to meete them with shew of great ioy, and giuing them great store of victuals to serue them in their iourney homewards, and requesting them to returne againe with speed, and to bring many Castilians with them (for so they call the Spaniards) to whom they promised food sufficient. For the better performance wherof they sowed that yeere more graine and other fruits, then they had done at any time before.

At this present the Frier and souldiers aforesaid resolued themselues in their former determination, and agreed to returne vnto the prouince from whence they came with intention before mentioned; to seeke the two Friers that were slaine, to whom also Gregorio Hermandez who had bene standard-bearer in the iourney, ioyned himselfe. Who being departed, the Captaine accompanied onely with 8. souldiers, determined to prosecute his former attempt, and to passe vp higher the saide riuer called Rio del Norte, which he did accordingly. And hauing traueiled about 60. leagues toward the prouince of the Quires aforesaid, 12 leagues from thence toward the Orient or East they found a prouince of Indians called Hubates, who receiued them peaceably, and gaue them great store of victuals, informing them also of very rich Mines which they found whereout they got glistering and good metal, and therewith returned to the towne from whence they came. This prouince contained by their estimation 25000. persons all very well apparelled in coloured mantles of cotton, and Chamois-skins very well dressed. They haue many mountaines full of Pines and Cedars, and the houses of their townes are of 4. and 5. stories high. Here they had notice of another prouince distant about one dayes iourney from thence inhabited by certaine Indians called Tamos, and containing aboue 40000. soules: whither being come the inhabitants would neither giue them any victuals, nor admit them into their townes: for which cause, and in regard of the danger wherein they were, and because some of the souldiers were not well at ease, and for that they were so fewe (as we haue said) they determined to departe thence, and to returne toward the land of the Christians, which they put in execution in the beginning of Iuly 1583, being guided by an Indian that went with them, who led them another way then they went forth by, downe a riuer, which they called Rio de las vacas; that is to say, The riuer of oxen, in respect of the great multitudes of oxen or kine that fed vpon the bankes therof, by the which they traueiled for the space of 120. leagues, still meeting with store of the said cattell. From hence they went forward to the riuer of Conchos

Their returne.

by which they entered, and thence to the valley of S. Bartholomew, from whence they first entered into their discouerie. Vpon their coming thither they found that the said Frier Bernaidin Beltran and his company were safely arriued at the said towne many dayes before, and were gone from thence to the towne of Guadiana. In this towne the foresaid captaine Anthony de Espeio made most certaine relation of all that is aforesaid, which relation presently hee sent vnto the Conde of Corunna Vizroy of Nueua Espanna, who sent the same to his Maiestie, and the Lords of his royal counsel in the Indies, to the end they might take such order as they thought best, which they haue already performed with great care and circumspection.

Almighty God vouchsafe his assistance in this busines, that such numbers of soules redeemed by his blood may not vtterly perish, of whose good capacitie, wherein they exceed those of Mexico and Peru (as we be giuen to vnderstand by those that haue delt with them) we may boldly presume that they will easily embrace the Gospel, and abandon such idolatrie as now the most of them doe liue in: which Almightie God graunt for his honour and glory, and for the increase of the holy Catholique faith.

A letter of Bartholomew Cano from Mexico the 30. of May 1590. to Francis Hernandes of Siuil, concering the speedy building of two strong Forts in S. Iohn de Vllua, and in Vera Cruz, as also touching a notable new and rich discouery of Cibola or New Mexico 400. leagues Northwest of Mexico.

IT may please you Sir, to be aduertised that I haue receiued your letters, whereby I vnderstand that our ship with the treasure is safely arriued, God be praised therefore. The frigate arriued here in safetie which brought the letters of Aduise from the King to the Viceroy. She arriued in S. Iohn de Vllua the 29. of May, and departed from S. Lucar in Spaine the 6. of April. By which his Maiestie writeth vnto the Viceroy, what time the Fleete shall depart from hence, and what course they shall take, not as they had wont for to do: by reason that there are great store of men of war abroad at the sea, which mean to encounter with the Fleete. I pray God sende them well to Spaine: for here wee were troubled very sore with men of warre on this coast. His Maiestie hath sent expresse commandement vnto the Marques of Villa Manrique his cosen, Viceroy of Noua Hispania, that immediatly vpon sight of his letters he shall command to be builded in S. Iohn de Vulla, and in Vera Cruz two strong Forts for the defence of these countries, of his Maiesties charges: And that there shalbe garisons in both the Forts for the defence of the ships which ride there, and for the strength of the countrey.

There are departed out of Mexico and other townes hereabout by the commaundement of the Viceroy 500. souldiers Spaniards, vnder the conduct of Rodrigo del Rio the gouernour of Nueua Biscaia which are gone to win a great City called Cibola, which is 400. leagues beyond Mexico to the Northwest, and standeth vp in the maine land. It is by report a very great citie, as bigge as Mexico, and a very rich countrey both of golde Mines and siluer Mines: and the King of the countrey is a mighty King, and he will not become subiect to his Maiestie. There were certaine Spaniards sent to that king from the Viceroy in an ambassage: It is thought that they are slaine, for we can here no newes of them.

500. Spaniards sent to conquer the great citie of Cibola which is 400. leagues from Mexico North westward.

The other newes that I can certifie you of at this instant is, that there is a Iudge of the city of Guadalajara called don Nunno de villa Inscensia lately maried. Also the kings Atturney of Guadalajara maried his daughter of 8. yeres old with a boy of 12. yeres old. But the Viceroy saith that he hath a warrant from his Maiestie, that if any Iudge whatsoeuer dwelling in that kingdome of Guadalajara should mary any sonne in that iurisdiction, that then the said Viceroy is to depriue him of his office. And therefore he went about to depriue the Iudge and the kings Attourney of their offices. Whereupon the people of that prouince would not thereunto consent, nor suffer them to be dismissed of their offices, nor to be arrested, nor caried prisoners to Mexico. When the viceroy had intelligence thereof, and that the Countrey did resist his commandement, and would not suffer them to be apprehended, he sent certaine Captaines with souldiers to goe and apprehend the Iudge, the kings Attourney, and as many as did take their parts. So the citizens of Guadalajara withstood the viceroies forces, and put themselues in defence; and are up in armes against the viceroy: yet they do not rebel against the king, but say: God saue king Philip, and will submit themselues to his Maiestie, but not to the viceroy. So that all the kingdome of Guadalajara is vp in armes, and are all in a mutinie against vs of Mexico. I beseech Almighty God to remedy it, and that it may be qualified in time: or else all Noua Spania wil be vtterly spoiled. I write this thing, because it is publiquely knowen in all places. And thus I rest, from Mexico the 30. of May 1590.

A dangerous rebellion in Guadalajara a prouince of Noua Hispania.

Bartholomew Cano.

The relation of Francis Vasquez de Coronado, Captaine generall of the people which were sent in the name of the Emperours maiestie to the Countrey of Cibola newly discouered, which he sent to Don Antonio de Mendoça Viceroy of Mexico, of such things as happened in his voyage from 22. of Aprill in the yeere 1540. which departed from Culiacan forward, and of such things as hee found in the Countrey which he passed.

Chap. I

Francis Vasquez departeth with his armie from Culiacan, and after diuers troubles in his voyage, arriueth at the valley of the people called Los Caracones, which he findeth barren of Maiz: for obtaining whereof hee sendeth to the valley called The valley of the Lord: he is informed of the greatnesse of the valley of the people called Caracones, and of the nature of those people, and of certaine Islands lying along that coast.

THe 22. of the moneth of Aprill last past I departed from the prouinice of Culiacan with part of the army, and in such order as I mentioned vnto your Lordship, and according to the successe I assured my selfe, by all likelihood that I shall not bring all mine armie together in this enterprise: because the troubles haue bene so great and the want of victuals, that I thinke all this yeere wil not be sufficient to performe this enterprise, and if it should bee performed in so short a time, it would be to the great losse of our people. For as I wrote vnto your Lordship, I was fourescore dayes in trauailing to Culiacan, in all which time I and those Gentlemen my companions which were horsemen, carried on our backs, and on our horses, a little victuall, so that from henceforward wee carried none other needefull apparell with vs, that was aboue a pound weight: and all this notwithstanding, and though wee put our selues to such a small proportion of victuals which wee carried, for all the order that possibly wee could take, wee were driuen to our ships. And no maruayle, because the way is rough and long: and with the carriage of our Harquebuses downe the mountaine and hilles, and in the passage of Riuers, the greater part of our corne was spoyled. And because I send your Lordship our voyage drawen in a Mappe, I will speake no more thereof in this my letter.

This was but 200. leagues from Mexico.

Frier Marcus of Niza.

Thirtie leagues before wee arriued at the place which the father prouininciall tolde vs so well of in his relation, I sent Melchior Diaz before with fifteene horses, giuing him order to make but one dayes iourney of two, because hee might examine all things, against mine arriuall: who trauiled foure dayes iourney through exceeding rough Mountaines where hee found neither victuals, nor people nor information of any things, sauing that hee found two or three poore little villages, containing 20. or 30. cottages a piece, and by the inhabitants thereof hee vnderstoode that from thence forward there were nothing but exceeding rough mountaines which ran very farre, vtterly disinhabited and voyd of people. And because it was labour lost, I would not write vnto your Lordship thereof.

It grieued the whole company, that a thing so highly commended, and whereof the father had made so great bragges, should be found so contrary, and it made them suspect that all the rest would fall out in like sort. Which when I perceiued I sought to encourage them the best I coulde, telling them that your Lordshippe alwayes was of opinion, that this voyage was a thing cast away, and that we should fixe our cogitation vpon those seuen Cities, and other prouinces, whereof wee had knowledge: that there should bee the ende of our enterprise: and with this resolution and purpose wee all marched cheerefully through a very badde way which was not passible but one by one, or else wee must force out with Pioners the path which wee founde, wherewith the Souldiours were not a little offended, finding all that the Frier had sayde to bee quite contrary: for among other things which the father sayde and affirmed, this was one, that the way was plaine and good, and that there was but one small hill of halfe a league in length. And yet in trueth there are mountaines which although the way were well mended could not bee passed without great danger of breaking the horses neckes: and the way was such, that of the cattel which your Lordship sent vs for the prouision of our armie wee lost a great part in the voyage through the roughnesse of the rockes. The lambes and sheepe lost their hoofes in the way: and of those which I brought from Culiacan, I left the greater part at the Riuer of Lachimi, because they could not keepe company with vs, and because they might come softly after vs, foure men on horsebacke remained with them which are nowe come vnto vs, and haue brought vs not past foure and twentie lambes, and foure sheepe, for all the rest were dead with trauailing through that rough passage, although they trauailed but two leagues a day, and rested themselues euery day.

The valley of the people called Caracones.

At length I arriued at the valley of the people called Caracones, the 26. day of the moneth of May: and from Culiacan vntill I came thither, I could not helpe my selfe, saue onely with a great quantitie of Maiz: for seeing the Maiz in the fieldes were not yet ripe, I was constrained to leaue them all behind me. In this valley of the Caracones wee found more store of people then in any other part of the Countrey which wee had passed, and great store of tillage. But I vnderstood that there was store there of in another valley called The Lords valley, which I woulde not disturbe with force, but sent thither Melchior Diaz with wares of exchange to procure some, and to giue the sayde Maiz to the Indians our friendes which wee brought with vs, and to some others that had lost their cattell in the way, and were not able to carry their victuals so farre which they brought from Culiacan. It pleased God that wee gate some small quantitie of Maiz with this traffique, whereby certaine Indians were releiued and some Spanyards.

Valle del Senor.

And by that time that wee were come to this valley of the

The valley de los Caracones distant fiue dayes journey from the Westerne sea.

Seuen or eight Isles, which are the Isles of California.

A ship scene on the sea coast.

Caracones, some tenne or twelve of our horses were dead through wearinesse: for being ouercharged with great burdens, and hauing but little meate, they could not endure the trauaile. Likewise some of our Negros and some of our Indians dyed here: which was no small wante vnto vs for the performance of our enterprise. They tolde me that this valley of the Coracones is fiue dayes journey from the Westerne Sea. I sent for the Indians of the Sea coast to vnderstand their estate, aad while I stayed for them the horses rested: and I stayed there foure dayes, in which space the Indians of the Sea coast came vnto mee: which told mee, that two dayes sayling from their coast of the Sea, there were seuen or eight Islands right ouer against them well inhabited with people, but badly furnished with victuals, and were a rude people: And they told mee, that they had seene a Shippe passe by not farre from the shore: which I wote not what to thinke whether it were one of those that went to discouer the Countrey, or else a Ship of the Portugals.

Chap. 2.

They come to Chichilticale: after they had rested themselues two dayes there, they enter into a Countrey very barren of victuals, and hard to trauaile for thirtie leagues, beyond which they found a Countrey very pleasant, and a riuer called Rio del Lino, they fight with the Indians being assaulted by them, and with victorie vanquishing their citie, they relieued themselues of their pinching hunger.

I Departed from the Caracones, and alwayes kept by the Sea coast as neere as I could iudge, and in very deed I still found my selfe the farther off: in such sort that when I arriued at Chichilticale I found myselfe tenne dayes iourney from the Sea: and the father prouinciall sayd that it was onely but fiue leagues distance, and that hee had seene the same. Wee all conceiued great griefe and were not a little confounded, when we saw that wee found euery thing contrary to the information which he had giuen your Lordship.

The Indians of Chichilticale say, that if at any time they goe to the Sea for fish, and other things that they carry, they goe trauersing, and are tenne dayes iournie in going thither. And I am of opinion that the information which the Indians giue me should be true. The sea returneth toward the West right ouer against the Coracones the space of tenne or twelue leagues. Where I found that your Lordships ships were seene, which went to discouer the hauen of Chichilticale, which father Marcus of Niça sayd to bee in fiue and thirtie degrees. God knoweth what griefe of mind I haue sustained: because I am in doubt that some mishappe is is fallen vnto them: and if they follow the coast, as they sayde they would, as long as their victuals last which they carry with them, whereof I left them store in Culiacan, and if they be not fallen into some misfortune, I hope well in God that by this they haue made some good discouerie, and that in this respect their long staying out may be pardoned.

The Chichilticale is indeede but in 28. deg.

I rested myselfe two dayes in Chichilticale, and to haue done well I should haue stayed longer, in respect that here wee found our horses so tyred; but because wee wanted victuals, we had no leasure to rest any longer: I entred the confines of the desert Countrey on Saint Iohns eue, and to refresh our former trauailes, the first dayes we founde no grasse, but worser way of mountaines and badde passages, then wee had passed alreadie: and the horses being tired, were greatly molested therewith: so that in this last desert we lost more horses than we had lost before: and some of my Indians which were our friends dyed, and one Spanyard whose name was Spinosa; and two Negroes, which dyed with eating certaine herbes for lacke of victuals. From this place I sent before mee one dayes iourney the master of the fielde Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas with fifteene horses to discouer the Countrey, and prepare our way: wherein hee did like himselfe, and according to the confidence which your Lorpship reposed in him. And well I wote he fayled not to do his part: for as I have informed your Lordship, it is most wicked way, at least thirtie leagues and more, because they are inaccessible mountaines.

The 24. of Iune.

But after wee had passed these thirtie leagues, wee found fresh riuers, and grasse like that of Castile, and specially of that sort which we call Scaramoio, many Nutte trees and Mulberrie trees, but the Nutte trees differ from those of Spayne in the leafe: and there was Flaxe,

A godly and fruitfull countrey found.

but chiefly neere the bankes of a certayne riuer which therefore we called El Rio del Lino, that is to say, the riuer of Flaxe: wee found no Indians at all for a dayes trauaile, but afterward foure Indians came out vnto vs in peaceable maner, saying that they werc sent euen to that desert place to signifie vnto vs that wee were welcome, and that the next day all the people would come out to meet vs on the way with victuals: and the master of the fielde gaue them a crosse, willing them to signifie to those of their citie that they should not feare, and they should rather let the people stay in their houses, because I came onely in the name of his Majestie to defend and ayd them.

And this done, Fernando Aluarado returned to aduertise mee that certaine Indians were come vnto them in peaceable maner, and that two of them stayed for my comming with the master of the fielde. Whereupon I went unto them and gave them beades and certaine short clokes, willing them to returne vnto their citie, and bid them to stay quiet in their houses and feare nothing.

A wise forecast.

And this done I sent the master of the field to search whether there were any bad passage which the Indians might keepe against vs, and that hee should take and defend it vntill the next day that I shoulde come thither. So hee went, and found in the way a very bad passage, where wee might haue sustayned very great harme: wherefore there hee seated himselfe with his company that were with him: and that very night the Indians came to take that passage to defend it, and finding it taken, they assaulted our men there, and as they tell mee, they assaulted them like valiant men; although in the ende they retired and fledde away; for the master of the fielde was watchfull, and was in order with his company: the Indians in token of retreate sounded on a certaine small trumpet, and did no hurt among the Spanyards. The very same night the master of the fielde certified mee hereof. Whereupon the next day in the best order that I could I departed in so great want of victuall, that I thought that if wee should stay one day longer without foode, wee should all perish for hunger, especially the Indians, for among vs all we had not two bushels of corne: wherefore it behooued mee to pricke forward without delay. The Indians here and there made fires, and were answered againe afarre off as orderly as wee for

The treason of the Indians.

Great forecast and diligence of the Campemaster.

our liues could haue done, to giue their fellowes vnderstanding, how wee marched and where we arriued.

They arriue at the citie of Cibola.

Assoone as I came within sight of this citie of Grenada, I sent Don Garcias Lopez Campemaster, frier Daniel, and frier Luys, and Fernando Vermizzo somewhat before with certaine horsemen, to seeke the Indians and to aduertise them that our comming was not to hurt them, but to defend them in the name of the Emperour our Lord, according as his maiestie had giuen vs in charge: which message was deliuered to the inhabitants of that countrey by an interpreter. But they like arrogant people made small account thereof; because we seemed very few in their eyes, and that they might destroy vs without any difficultie: and they strooke frier Luys with an arrow on the gowne, which by the grace of God did him no harme.

The arrogancie of the people of Cibola.

Commandement to vse gentlenesse to the Sauages.

In the meane space I arriued with all the rest of the horsemen, and footemen, and found in the fieldes a great sort of the Indians which beganne to shoote at vs with their arrowes: and because I would obey your will and the commaund of the Marques, I woulde not let my people charge them, forbidding my company, which intreated mee that they might set vpon them, in any wise to prouoke them, saying that that which the enemies did was nothing, and that it was not meete to set vpon so fewe people. On the other side the Indians perceiuing that we stirred not, tooke great stomacke and courage vnto them: insomuch that they came hard to our horses heeles to shoote at vs with their arrowes. Whereupon seeing that it was now time to stay no longer, and that the friers also were of the same opinion, I set vpon them without any danger: for suddenly they fled part to the citie which was neere and well fortified, and other vnto the field, which way they could shift: and some of the Indians were slaine, and more had beene if I would haue suffered them to haue bene pursued.

There were 800 men within the towne. Gomara, Hist. gen. cap. 213.

But considering that hereof wee might reape but small profite, because the Indians that were withoute, were fewe, and those which were retired into the citie, with them which stayed within at the first were many, where the victuals were whereof wee had so great neede, I assembled my people, and diuided them as I thought best to assault the citie, and I compassed it about:

and because the famine which wee sustained suffered no delay my selfe with certaine of these gentlemen and souldiers put our selues on foote, and commaunded that the crossebowes and harquebusiers shoulde giue the assault, and shoulde beate the enemies from the walles, that they might not hurt vs, and I assaulted the walles on one side, where they told me there was a scaling ladder set vp, and that there was one gate: but the crossebowmen suddenly brake the strings of their bowes, and the harquebusiers did nothing at all: for they came thither so weake and feeble, that scarcely they coulde stand on their feete: and by this meanes the people that were aloft on the wals to defend the towne were no way hindered from doing vs all the mischiefe they could: so that twise they stroke mee to the ground with infinite number of great stones, which they cast downe: and if I had not beene defended with an excellent good headpiece which I ware, I thinke it had gone hardly with mee: neuerthelesse my companie tooke mee vp with two small wounds in the face, and an arrowe sticking in my foote, and many blowes with stones on my armes and legges, and thus I went out of the battell very weake. I thinke that if Don Garcias Lopez de Cardenas the second time that they strooke mee to the ground had not succoured mee with striding ouer mee like a good knight, I had beene in farre greater danger then I was. But it pleased God that the Indians yeelded themselues vnto vs, and that this citie was taken: and such store of Maiz was found there in, as our necessitie required. The Master of the fielde, and Don Pedro de Touar, and Fernando de Aluarado, and Paul de Melgosa Captaines of the footemen escaped with certaine knocks with stones: though none of them were wounded with arrowes, yet Agoniez Quarez was wounded in one arme with the shot of an arrowe, and one Torres a townesman of Panuca was shot in the face with another, and two footemen more had two small woundes with arrowes. And because my armour was gilded and glittering, they all layd load on mee, and therefore I was more wounded then the rest, not that I did more then they, or put my selfe forwarder then the rest, for all these Gentlemen and souldiers carried themselues as manfully as was looked for at their hands. I am nowe well recouered I thanke God, although somewhat bruised with stones. Likewise in the skirmish which wee had in the fieldes, two or three other

They defend the wals with stones like those of Hochelaga.

souldiers were hurt, and three horses slaine, one of Don Lopez, the other of Viliega and the third of Don Alonso Manrique, and seuen or eight other horses were wounded; but both the men and horses are whole and sound.

Chap. 3.

Of the situation and state of the seuen cities called the kingdome of Cibola, and of the customes and qualities of those people, and of the beasts which are found there.

IT remaineth now to certifie your Honour of the seuen cities, and of the kingdomes and prouinces whereof the Father prouncial made report vnto your Lordship. And to bee briefe, I can assure your honour, he sayd the trueth in nothing that he reported, but all was quite contrary, sauing only the names of the cities, and great houses of stone: for although they be not wrought with Turqueses, nor with lyme, nor brickes, yet are they very excellent good houses of three or foure ou fiue lofts high, wherein are good lodgings and faire chambers with lathers instead of staires, and certaine cellers vnder the ground very good and paued, which are made for winter, they are in manner like stooues: and the lathers which they have for their houses are ail in a maner mooueable and portable, which are taken away and set downe when they please, and they are made of two pieces of wood with their steppes, as ours be. The seuen cities are seuen small townes, all made with these kinde of houses that I speake of: and they stand all within foure leagues together, and they are called the kingdome of Cibola, and euery one of them haue their particular name: and none of them is called Cibola, but altogether they are called Cibola. And this towne which I call a citie, I haue named Granada, as well because it is somewhat like vnto it, as also in remembrance ot your lordship. In this towne where I now remain, there may be some two hundred houses, all compassed with walles, and I think that with the rest of the houses which are not so walled, they may be together fiue hundred. There is another towne neere this, which is one of the seuen, and it is somewhat bigger than this, and another of the same bignesse that this is of, and the other foure are somewhat lesse:

A painter necessarie in a new discouery.

and I send them all painted vnto your lordship with the voyage. And the parchment wherein the picture is, was found here with other parchments. The people of this towne seeme vnto me of a reasonable stature, and wittie, yet they seeme not to bee such as they should be, of that iudgment and wit to builde these houses in such sort as they are. For the most part they goe all naked, except their priuie parts which are couered: and they haue painted mantles like those which I send vnto your Lordship. They haue no cotton wooll growing, because the countrey is colde, yet they weare mantels thereof as your honour may see by the shewe thereof: and true it is that there was found in their houses certaine yarne made of cotton wooll. They weare their haire on their heads like those of Mexico, and they are well nurtured and condicioned: And they haue Turqueses I thinke good quantitie, which with the rest of the goods which they had, except their corne, they had conueyed away before I came thither: for I found no women there, nor no youth vnder fifteene yeeres olde, nor no olde folkes aboue sixtie, sauing two or three olde folkes, who stayed behinde to gouerne all the rest of the youth and men of warre. There were found in a certaine paper two poynts of Emralds, and certaine small stones broken which are in colour somewhat like Granates very bad, and other stones of Christall, which I gaue one of my seruants to lay vp to send them to your lordship, and hee hath lost them as hee telleth me. We found heere Guinie cockes, but fewe. The Indians tell mee in all these seuen cities, that they eate them not, but that they keepe them onely for their feathers. I beleeue them not, for they are excellent good, and greater then those of Mexico. The season which is in this countrey, and the temperature of the ayre is like that of Mexico: for sometime it is hotte, and sometime it raineth: but hitherto I neuer sawe it raine, but once there fell a little showre with winde, as they are woont to fall in Spaine.

Store of Turqueses.

The snow and cold are woont to be great, for so say the inhabitants of the Countrey: and it is very likely so to bee, both in respect to the maner of the Countrey, and by the fashion of their houses, and their furres and other things which this people have to defend them from colde. There is no kind of fruit nor trees of fruite. The Countrey is all plaine, and is on no side

Gomorahist. gen. Cap. 213. sayth that the colde is by reason of the high mountaines.

mountainous: albeit there are some hillie and bad passages. There are small store of Foules: the cause whereof is the colde, and because the mountains are not neere. Heere is no great store of wood, because they haue wood for their fuell sufficient foure leagues off from a wood of small Cedars. There is most excellent grasse within a quarter of a league hence, for our horses as well to feede them in pasture, as to mow and make hay, whereof wee stoode in great neede, because our horses came hither so weak and feeble. The victuals which the people of this countrey haue, is Maiz, whereof they haue great store, and also small white Pease: and Venison, which by all likelyhood they feede vpon, (though they say no) for wee found many skinnes of Deere, of Hares, and Conies. They eate the best cakes that euer I sawe, and euery body generally eateth of them. They haue the finest order and way to grinde that we euer saw in any place. And one Indian woman of this countrey will grinde as muche as foure women of Mexico. They have most excellent salte in kernell, which they fetch from a certaine lake a dayes iourney from hence. They haue no knowledge among them of the North Sea, nor of the Westerne Sea, neither can I tell your lordship to which wee bee neerest; But in reason they should seeme to be nearest to the Westerne Sea: and at the least I thinke I am an hundred and fiftie leagues from thence: and the Northerne Sea should bee much further off. Your lordship may see how broad the land is here. Here are many sorts of beasts, as Beares, Tigers, Lions, Porkespicks, and certaine Sheep as bigge as an horse, with very great hornes and little tailes, I haue seene their hornes so bigge, that it is a wonder to behold their greatnesse. Here are also wilde goates whose heads likewise I haue seene, and the pawes of Beares, and the skins of wilde Bores. There is game of Deere, Ounces, and very great Stagges: and all men are of opinion that there are some bigger then that beast which your Lordship bestowed upon me, which once belonged to Iohn Melaz. They trauell eight dayes iourney vnto certaine plaines lying toward the North Sea. In this countrey there are certaine skinnes well dressed, and they dresse them and paint them where they kill their Oxen, for so they say themselues.

The Westerne sea within 150. leagues from Cibola.

Oxe hides dressed and painted very cunningly.

Chap. 4.

Of the state and qualities of the kingdomes of Totonteac, Marata, and Acus, quite contrary to the relation of Frier Marcus. The conference which they haue with the Indians of the citie of Granada which they had taken, which had fiftie yeres past foreseene the comming of the Christians into their countrey. The relation which they haue of other seuen cities, whereof Tucano is the principall, and how he sent to discouer them. A present of diuers things had in these countreys sent vnto the Viceroy Mendoça by Vasques de Coronado.

THe kingdome of Totonteac so much extolled by the Father prounciall, which sayde that there were such wonderfull things there, and such great matters, and that they made cloth there, the Indians say is an hotte lake, about which are fiue or sixe houses: and that there were certaine other, but that they are ruminated by warre. The kingdome of Marata is not to be found, neither haue the Indians any knowledge thereof. The kingdome of Acus is one onely small citie, where they gather cotton which is called Acucu. And I say that this is a towne. For Acus with an aspiration nor without is no word of the countrey. And because I gesse that they would deriue Acucu of Acus, I say that it is this towne whereinto the kingdom of Acus is conuerted. Beyond this towne they say there are other small townes which are neere to a riuer which I haue seene and haue had report of by the relation of the Indians. I would to God I had better newes to write vnto your lordship: neuer, thelesse I must say the trueth: And as I wrote to your lordship from Culiacan, I am now to aduertise your honour as wel of the good as of the bad. Yet this I would haue to bee assured, that if all the riches and the treasures of the world were heere, I could haue done no more in the seruice of his Maiestie and of your lordshippe, then I haue done in comming hither whither you haue sent mee, my selfe and my companions carrying our victuals vpon our shoulders and vpon our horses three hundred leagues; and many dayes going on foote trauailing ouer hilles and rough mountaines, with other troubles which I cease to mention,

Tadouac seemeth because it is a lake, and endeth in ac to haue some affinitie herewith.

neither purpose I to depart unto the death, if it please his Maiestie and your lordship that it shall be so.

Three dayes after this citie was taken, certaine Indians of these people came to offer mee peace, and brought mee certaine Turqueses and badde mantles, and I received them in his Maiesties name with all the good speaches that I could deuise, certifying them of the purpose of my comming into this countrey, which is in the name of his Maiestie, and by the commaundment of your Lordship, that they and all the rest of the people of this prouince should become Christians, and should knowe the true God for their Lorde, and receiue his Maiestie for their King and earthly Soueraigne: And herewithall they returned to their houses, and suddenly the next day they set in order all their goods and substance, their women and children, and fled to the hilles, leauing their townes as it were abandoned, wherein remained very fewe of them. When I sawe this, within eight or tenne dayes after being recouered of my woundes, I went to the citie, which I sayde to be greater then this where I am, and found there some fewe of them, to whom I sayde that they should not bee afrayd, and that they should call their gouernour vnto mee: Howbeit forasmuch as I can learne or gather, none of them hath any gouernour: for I sawe not there any chiefe house, whereby any preeminence of one ouer another might bee gathered. After this an olde man came, which sayd that hee was their lord, with a piece of a mantle made of many pieces, with whom I reasoned that small while that hee stayed with mee, and hee sayd that within three dayes after, hee and the rest of the chiefe of that towne would come and visite mee, and giue order what course should bee taken with them. Which they did: for they brought mee certaine mantles and some Turqueses. I aduised them to come downe from their holdes, and to returne with their wiues and children to their houses, and to become Christians, and that they would acknowledge the Emperours maiestie for their King and lorde. And euen to this present they keepe in those strong holdes their women and children, and all the goods which they haue. I commaunded them that they should paint mee out a cloth of all the beastes which they knowe in their countrey: And such badde painters as they are, foorthwith they painted mee two cloths, one of their beastes, another of

A citie greater then Granada.

Two tables painted by the Indians, one of beasts another of birdes and fishes.

their birdes and fishes. They say that they will bring their children, that our religious men may instruct them, and that they desire to knowe our lawe: And they assure vs, that aboue fiftie yeeres past it was prophecied among them, that a certaine people like vs should come, and from that part that wee came from, and that they should subdue all that countrey.

An old prophecie that those parts should be subdued by Christians.

That which these Indians worship as farre as hitherto wee can learne, is the water: for they say it causeth their corne to growe, and maintaineth their life; and that they know none other reason, but that their ancesters did so. I haue sought by all meanes possible to learne of the inhabitants of these townes, whether they haue any knowledge of other people, countreys and cities: And they tell mee of seuen cities which are farre distant from this place, which are like vnto these, though they haue not houses like vnto these, but they are of earth, and small: and that among them much cotton is gathered. The chiefe of these townes whereof they haue any knowledge, they say is called Tucano: and they gaue mee no perfect knowledge of the rest. And I thinke they doe not tell me the trueth, imagining that of necessitie I must speedily depart from them, and returne home. But herein they shall soone finde themselues deceiued. I sent Don Pedro de Touar with his companie of footemen and with certaine other horsemen to see this towne: And I would not haue despatched this packet vnto your lordship, vntill I had knowen what this towne was, if I had thought that within twelue or fifteene dayes I might haue had newes from him: for hee will stay in this iourney thirtie dayes at least. And hauing examined that the knowledge hereof is of small importance, and that the colde and the waters approch: I thought it my duety to doe according as your lordship gaue me charge in your instructions, which is, that immediatly vpon mine arriuall here, I should signifie so much vnto your lordship, and so I doe, sending withall the bare relation of that which I haue seene. I haue determined to send round about the countrey from hence to haue knowledge of all things, and rather to suffer all extremitie, then to leaue this enterprise to serue his maiestie, if I may find any thing wherein I may performe it, and not to omit any diligence therein, vntill your lordship send mee order what I shall doe. Wee haue great want of pasture: and your Lordship also shal

They worship the water.

Seuen cities farre from Granada.

The Spaniards victualling in discoueries.

A garment excellently imbroidered with needle worke.

vnderstand, that among all those which are here, there is not one pound of raisins, nor suger, nor oyle, nor any wine, saue only one pinte which is saued to say Masse: for all is spent and spilt by the way. Now your lordship may prouide vs what you thinke needefull. And if your honour meane to send vs cattell, your lordship must vnderstand that they will bee a sommer in comming vnto vs: for they will not be able to come vnto vs any sooner. I would haue sent your lordshippe with this dispatch many musters of things which are in this countrey: but the way is so long and rough, that it is hard for me to doe so: neuerthelesse I send you twelue small mantles, such as the people of the countrey are woont to weare, and a certaine garment also, which seemeth vnto me to bee well made: I kept the same, because it seemed to mee to bee excellent well wrought, because I beleeue that no man euer sawe any needle worke in these Indies, except it were since the Spaniards inhabited the same. I send your Lordshippe also two clothes painted with the beasts of this countrey, although as I haue sayde, the picture be very rudely done, because the painter spent but one day in drawing of the same. I haue seene other pictures on the walles of the houses of this citie with farre better proportion, and better made. I send your honour one Oxe-hide, certaine Turqueses, and two earerings of the same, and fifteene combes of the Indians, and certain tablets set with these Turqueses, and two small baskets made of wicker, whereof the Indians haue great store. I send your Lordship also two rolles which the women in these parts are woont to weare on their heads when they fetch water from their welles, as wee vse to doe in Spaine. And one of these Indian women with one of these rolles on her head, will carie a pitcher of water without touching the same vp a lather. I send you also a muster of the weapons wherewith these people are woont to fight, a buckler, a mace, a bowe, and certaine arrowes, among which are two with points of bones, the like whereof, as these conquerours say, haue neuer beene seene. I can say nothing vnto your lordshippe touching the apparell of their women. For the Indians keepe them so carefully from vs, that hitherto I haue not seene any of them, sauing only two olde women, and these had two long robes downe to the foote open before, and girded to them, and they are buttoned with certaine cordons of cotton.

I requested the Indians to giue me one of these robes, which they ware, to send your honour the same, seeing they would not shewe mee their women. And they brought mee two mantles which are these, which I send you as it were painted: they haue two pendents like the women of Spaine, which hang somewhat ouer their shoulders. The death of the Negro is most certaine: for here are many of the things found which hee carried with him: And the Indians tell me that they killed him here, because the Indians of Chichilticale tolde them that hee was a wicked villaine, and not like vnto the Christians: because the Christians kill no women: and hee killed women; and also he touched their women, which the Indians loue more then themselues; therefore they determined to kill him: But they did it not after such sort as was reported, for they killed none of the rest of those that came with him: neither slewe they the young lad which was with him of of the prouince of Petatlan, but they tooke him and kept him in safe custodie vntill nowe. And when I sought to haue him, they excused themselues two or three dayes to giue him mee, telling mee that hee was dead, and sometimes that the Indians of Acucu had carried him away. But in conclusion when I tolde them that I should bee very angry if they did not giue him mee, they gaue him vnto me. Hee is an interpreter, for though hee cannot well speake their language, yet hee vnderstandeth the same very well. In this place there is found some quantitie of golde and siluer, which those which are skilful in minerall matters esteeme to be very good. To this houre I could neuer learne of these people from whence they haue it: And I see they refuse to tell mee the trueth in all things imagining, as I haue sayde, that in short I would depart hence, but I hope in God they shall no longer excuse themselues. I beseech your lordship to certifie his Maiestie of the successe of his voyage. For seeing wee haue no more then that which is aforesayd, and vntil such time as it please God that wee finde that which wee desire, I meane not to write my selfe. Our Lorde God keepe and preserue your excellencie.

The death of Stephan the Negro.

Gold and siluer found in Cibola.

From the Prouince of Cibola, and from this citie of Granada the third of August 1540. Francis Vasques de Coronado kisseth the hands of your Excellencie.

The rest of this voyage to Acuco, Liguex, Cicuic, and Quiuira, and vnto the Westerne Ocean, is thus written in the generall historie of the West Indies by Francis Lopez de Gomera, Chap. 214.

The Westerne sea discouered.

BEcause they would not returne to Mexico without doing something, nor with emptie hands, they agreed to passe further into the countrey, which was tolde them to bee better and better. So they came to Acuco a towne vpon an exceeding strong hill. And from thence Don Garcias Lopez de Cardenas with his companie of horsemen went vnto the Sea: and Francis Vasques went to Tiguex, which standeth on the banke of a great riuer. There they had newes of Axa and Quiuira. There they sayde was a King whose name was Tartatrax, with a long beard, horie headed, and rich, which was girded with a Bracamart, which prayed vpon a payre of beades, which worshipped a Crosse of golde, and the image of a woman, the Queene of heauen. This newes did greatly reioyce and cheere vp the armie: although some thought it to bee false, and the report of the Friers. They determined to goe thither, with intention to winter in so rich a countrey as that was reported to bee. One night the Indians ranne away, and in the morning they found thirtie horses dead, which put the armie in feare. In their iourney they burnt a certaine towne: And in another towne which they assaulted, they killed certaine Spaniards, and wounded fiftie horses, and the inhabitants drewe into their towne Francis de Ouando wounded or dead, to eate and sacrifice him as they thought, or peraduenture to see more perfectly, what maner of them the Spaniards were: for there was not found there any signe of sacrificing men. Our people layde siege vnto the towne, but could not take it in more then fiue and fortie dayes space. The townesmen that were besieged, dranke snowe in stead of water: and seeing themselues forlorne they made a fire, wherein they cast their mantles, feathers, Turqueses and precious things, that those strangers might not enioy them. They issued out in a squadron with their women and children in the middest, to make way by force, and to saue themselues, but fewe escaped the edge of our swordes and the horses, and a certaine riuer which was neere the towne. Seuen Spaniards were slaine in this conflict, and fourescore were wounded, and many horses: whereby a man may see of what force resolution is in necessitie. Many Indians returned to the towne with the women and children, and defended themselues, vntill our men set fire on the towne. In this countrey there are melons, and white and redde cotton, whereof they make farre larger mantels, then in other parts of the Indies. From Tigues they went in foure dayes iourney to Cicuic, which is a small towne, and foure leagues from thence they met with a new kind of oxen wild and fierce, whereof the first day they killed fourescore, which sufficed the armie with flesh. From Cicuic they went to Quiuira, which after their accompt, is almost three hundred leagues distant, through mighty plaines, and sandie heathes so smooth, and wearisome, and bare of wood, that they made heapes of oxe-dung for want of stones and trees, that they might not lose themselues at their returne: for three horses were lost on that plaine, and one Spaniard, which went from his companie on hunting. All that way and plaines are as full of crookebacked oxen, as the mountaine Serena in Spaine is of sheepe: but there is no people but such as keepe those cattell. They were a great succour for the hunger and want of bread which our people stoode in. One day it rayned in that plaine a great showre of haile, as bigge as Orenges, which caused many teares, weakenesse, and vowes. At length they came to Quiuira and found Tatarrax, whome they sought, an hoarie headed man, naked, and with a iewell of copper hanging at his necke, which was all his riches. The Spaniards seeing the false report of so famous riches, returned to Tiguex, without seeing either crosse or shew of Christianitie: and from thence to Mexico. In the ende of March of the yeere 1542. Francis Vasquez fell from his horse in Tiguex, and with the fall fell out of his wits, and became madde. Which some tooke to bee for griefe, and others thought it to be but counterfeited: for they were much offended with him, because hee peopled not the countrey.

The Spaniards would haue inhabited the countrey.

Quiuira is in fortie degrees: it is a temperate countrey, and hath very good waters, and much grasse, plummes, mulberries, nuts, melons and grapes, which ripen very well. There is no cotton: and they apparell themselues with oxe-hides and deeres skinnes. They sawe shippes on the sea coast, which bare Alcatrarzes or Pellicanes of golde and siluer in their prows, and were laden with marchandises, and they thought them to bee of Cathaya, and China, because they shewed our men by signes that they had sayled thirtie dayes.

Frier Iohn de Padilla stayed behinde in Tigues, with another of his companions called Frier Francis, and returned to Quiuira, with some dozen Indians of Meehuacan, and with Andrew de Campo a Portugall, the gardiner of Francis de Solis : He tooke with him horses and mules with prouision. He tooke sheepe and hennes of Castile, and ornaments to say Masse withall. The people of Quiuira slewe the Friers, and the Portugall escaped with certaine Indians of Mechuacan. Who albeit at that time he escaped death, yet could hee not free himselfe out of captiuitie : for by and by after they caught him againe. But ten moneths after he was taken captiue, hee fled away with a couple of dogs. As hee trauiled, hee blessed the people with a crosse, whereunto they offered much, and wheresoeuer hee came, they giue him almes, lodging, and foode. He came to the countrey of the Chichimechas and arriued at Panuco. When he came to Mexico, hee ware his haire very long, and his beard tyed vp in a lace, and reported strange things of the lands, ruiers and mountaines that he had passed.

Andrew de Campo trauailed from Quiura to Panuco.

It grieued Don Antonio de Mendoca very much that the army returned home : for he had spent aboue threescore thousand pesos of golde in the enterprise, and ought a great part thereof still. Many sought to haue dwelt there ; but Francis Vasquez de Coronado, which was rich, and lately married to a faire wife, would not consent, saying, that they could not maintaine nor defend themselues in so poore a countrey, and so farre from succour. They trauailed aboue nine hundred leagues in this countrey.

The cause why the Spaniards peopled not in Cibola.

The foresayd Francis Lopez de Gomara in his generall historie of the West Indies, Chap. 215. writeth in maner following of certaine great and strange beasts neuer seene nor heard of in our knowen world of Asia, Europe, and Africa : which somewhat resembling our oxen, hauing high bunches on their backes like those on the backes of Camels, are therefore called by him Vacas corcobados, that is to say, Crookebacked oxen, being very deformed and terrible in shewe, and fierce by nature : which notwithstanding for foode, apparell, and other necessarie vses, are most seruiceable and beneficiall to the inhabitants of those countreys. He reporteth also in the same chapter of certaine strange sheepe as bigge as horses, and of dogs which vse to carie burthens of 50. pound weight vpon their backes.

These are much like the people that Captain Frobisher brought into England from Meta Incognita.

ALl the way betweene Cicuic and Quiuira is a most plaine soyle, without trees and stones, and hath but fewe and small townes. The men clothe and shooe themselues with lether ; and the women which are esteemed for their long lockes, couer their heads and secrets with the same. They haue no bread of any kinde of graine, as they say: which I account a very great matter. Their chiefest foode is flesh, and that oftentimes they eate raw, either of custome or for lacke of wood. They eate the fatte as they take it out of the Oxe, and drinke the blood hotte, and die not therewithall, though the ancient writers say that it killeth, as Empedocles and others affirmed, they drinke it also colde dissolued in water. They seeth not the flesh for lacke of pots, but rost it, or to say more properly, warme it at a fire of Oxe-dung : when they eate, they chawe their meate but little, and rauen vp much, and holding the flesh with their teeth, they cut it with rasors of stone, which seemeth to be great bestialitie : but such is their maner of liuing and fashion. They goe together in companies, and mooue from one place to another, as the wilde Moores of Barbarie called Alarbes doe, following the seasons and the pasture after their Oxen.

The description of the oxen of Quiuira.

These Oxen are of the bignesse and colour of our Bulles, but their hornes are not so great. They haue a great bunch vpon their fore shoulders, and more haire on their fore part then on their hinder part ;

and it is like wooll. They haue as it were an horse-manne vpon their backe bone, and much haire and very long from the knees downward. They haue great tuffes of haire hanging downe their foreheads, and it seemeth that they haue beardes, because of the great store of haire hanging downe at their chinnes and throates. The males haue very long tailes, and a great knobbe or flocke at the end: so that in some respect they resemble the Lion, and in some other the Camell. They push with their hornes, they runne, they ouertake and kill an horse when they are in their rage and anger. Finally, it is a foule and fierce beast of countenance and forme of bodie. The horses fleddde from them, either because of their deformed shape, or else because they had neuer seene them. Their masters haue no other riches nor substance: of them they eat, they drink, they apparel, they shooe themselues: and of their hides they make many things, as houses, shooes, apparell and ropes: of their bones they make bodkins: of their sinewes and haire, threed: of their hornes, mawes, and bladders, vessels: of their dung, fire: and of their calues-skinnes, budgets, wherein they drawe and keepe water. To bee short, they make so many things of them as they haue neede of, or as many as suffice them in the vse of this life.

There are also in this countrey other beastes as big as horses, which because they haue hornes and fine wool, they cal them sheepe, and they say that euery horne of theirs weigheth is fiftie pound weight.

There are also great dogs which will fight with a bull, and will carrie fiftie pound weight in sackes when they goe on hunting, or when they remooue from place to place with their flockes and heards.

DIVERS VOYAGES

MADE BY ENGLISHMEN TO THE FAMOUS CITIE OF MEXICO, AND TO ALL OR MOST PART OF THE OTHER PRINCIPALL PROUINCES, CITIES, TOWNES AND PLACES THROUGHOUT THE GREAT AND LARGE KINGDOM OF NEW SPAINE, EUEN AS FARRE AS NICARAGUA AND PANAMA, AND THENCE TO PERU: TOGETHER WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE SPANIARDS FORME OF GOUERNMENT THERE: AND SUNDRY PLEASANT RELATIONS OF THE MANERS AND CUSTOMES OF THE NATURAL INHABITANTS, AND OF THE MANIFOLD RICH COMMODITIES AND STRANGE RARITIES FOUND IN THOSE PARTES OF THE CONTINENT: AND OTHER MATTERS MOST WORTHY THE OBSERUATION.

The voyage of Robert Tomson Marchant, into Noua Hispania in the yeere 1555. with diuers obseruations concerning the state of the Countrey: And certaine accidents touching himselfe.

RObert Tomson borne in the towne of Andouer in Hampshire began his trauaile out of England in An. 1553. in the moneth of March: who departing out of the citie of Bristoll in a good ship called The barke yong, in companie of other Marchants of the sayd citie, within 8. dayes after arriued at Lisbone in Portugall, where the sayd Robert Tomson remained 15. dayes, at the end of which he shipped himselfe for Spaine in the sayd shippe, and within 4. dayes arriued in the bay of Cadiz in Andalusia, which is vnder the kingdome of Spaine, and from thence went vp to the citie of Siuil by land, which is 20. leagues, and there hee repaired to one Iohn Fields house an English Marchant, who had dwelt in the said city of Siuil 18. or 20. yeres maried with wife and children: In whose house the said Tomson remained by the space of one whole yeere or thereabout, for two causes: The one to learn the Castillian tongue, the other to see the orders of the countrey, and the customes of the people. At the end of which time hauing seene the fleetes of shippes come out of the Indies to that citie, with such great quantitie of gold and siluer, pearles, precious stones, suger, hides, ginger, and diuers other rich commodities, he did determine with himselfe to seeke meanes and opportunitie to passe ouer to see that rich countrey from whence such great quantitie of rich commodities came. And it fell out that within short time after, the said Iohn Field (where the sayd Tomson was lodged) did determine to passe ouer into the West Indies, himselfe, with his wife, children, and familie, and at the request of the sayde Tomson, he purchased a licence of the King to passe into the Indies, for himselfe, his wife and children, and among them also for the sayde Tomson to passe with them: so that presently they made preparation of victuall and other necessarie prouision for the voyage. But the shippes which were prepared to perfourme the voyage being all ready to depart, vpon certaine considerations by the kings commandment were stayed and arrested till further should bee knowen of the Kings pleasure. Whereupon the said Iohn Field, with Robert Tomson departed out of Siuil and came down to S. Lucar 15. leagues off, and seeing the stay made vpon the ships of the said fleet, and being not assured when they would depart, determined to ship themselues for the Iles of the Canaries, which are 250. leagues from S. Lucar, and there to stay till the said fleet should come thither: for that is continually their port to make stay at 6. or 8. daies, to take in fresh water, bread, flesh, and other necessaries.

So that in the moneth of February in An. 1555. the sayde Robert Tomson with the said Iohn Field and his companie, shipped themselues out of the towne of S. Lucar in a caruel of the citie of Cadiz, and within 6. dayes they arriued at the port of the Grand Canaria, where at our comming the ships that rode in the said port began to cry out of all measure with loud voyces, in so much that the castle which stood fast by began to shoot at vs, and shot 6. or 7. shot at vs, and strooke downe our maine maste, before we could hoise out our boat to goe on land, to know what the cause of the shooting was, seeing that we were Spanish ships, and were comming into his countrey. So that being on lande, and complaining of the wrong and damage done vnto us; they answered, that they had thought we had bene French rouers, that had come into the said port to do some harme to the ships that were there. For that 8. dayes past there went out of the port a caruell much like vnto ours, laden with sugers and other marchandise for Spaine and on the other side of the point of the sayd Iland, met with a Frenchman of warre, who tooke the said caruell, and vnladed out of her into the said French ship both men and goods. And being demanded of the said Spaniards what other ships remained in the port whence they came, they answered that there remained diuers other ships, and one laden with sugers (as they were) and ready to depart for Spaine: vpon the which newes the Frenchmen put 30. tall men of their ship well appointed into the said caruel which they had taken, and sent her backe againe to the said port from whence she had departed the day before. And somewhat late towards the euening came into the port, not shewing past 3. or 4. men, and so came to an anker hard by the other ships that were in the said port, and being seene by the castle and by the said ships, they made no reconing of her, because they knew her, and thinking that she had found contrary windes at the sea, or had forgot something behinde them, they had returned backe againe for the same, and so made no accompt of her, but let her alone riding quietly among the other ships in the said port: So that about midnight the said caruel with the Frenchmen in her went aboord the other ship that lay hard by laden with sugers, and droue the Spaniards that were in her vnder hatches, and presently let slip her cables and ankers, and set saile and carried her cleane away, and after this sort deceiued them: And they thinking or fearing that we were the like did shoote at vs as they did. This being past, the next day after our arriuall in the sayd port, wee did vnbarke our selues and went on lande vp to the citie or head towne of the great Canaria, where we remained 18. or 20. dayes: and there found certaine Englishmen marchants seruants of one Anthony Hickman and Edward Castelin, marchants of the citie of London that lay there in traffique, of whom wee receiued great courtesie and much good cheere. After the which 20. dayes being past, in the which we had seene the countrey, the people, and the disposition thereof, wee departed from thence, and passed to the next Ile of the Canaries 18. leagues off, called Teneriffe, and being come on land, went vp to the citie called La Laguna, where we remained 7. moneths, attending the comming of the whole fleete, which in the ende came, and there hauing taken that which they had neede of, wee shipped our selues in a ship of Cadiz, being one of the saide fleete, which was belonging to an Englishman maried

English factors in the Grand Canaria.

in the citie of Cadiz in Spaine, whose name was Iohn Sweeting, and there came in the sayd ship for captain also an Englishman maried in Cadiz, and sonne in law to the sayde Iohn Sweeting, whose name was Leonard Chilton: there came also in the said ship another Englishman which had bene a marchant of the citie of Exeter, one of 50. yeeres or thereabout, whose name was Ralph Sarre. So that we departed from the sayd Ilands in the moneth of October the foresayd yeere, 8. ships in our companie, and so directed our course towards the bay of Mexico, and by the way towardes the Iland of S. Domingo, otherwise called Hispaniola. So that within 32. dayes after we departed from the Iles of Canaries wee arriued with our ship at the port of S. Domingo, and went in ouer the barre where our ship knocked her keele at her entrie: and there our ship rid before the towne, where wee went on land, and refreshed our selues 16. dayes, where we found no bread made of wheat, but biscuit brought out of Spaine, and out of the bay of Mexico: for the countrey it selfe doeth yeelde no kinde of bread to make graine withall. But the bread they make there, is certaine cakes made of rootes called Cassaui, which is something substantiall, but it hath but an vnsauorie taste in the eating thereof. Flesh of beefe and mutton they haue great store: for there are men that haue 10000. head of cattell, of oxen, bulles and kine, which they doe keepe onely for the hides; for the quantitie of flesh is so great, that they are not able to spend the hundreth part. Hogs flesh is there good store, very sweete and sauorie, and so holesome, that they giue it to sick folkes to eat in stead of hennes and capons, although they haue good store of poultrie of that sort, as also of Guinycocks and Guinyhens. At the time of our being there, the citie of S. Domingo was not of aboue 500. housholds of Spaniards, but of the Indians dwelling in the suburbs there were more. The countrey is most part of the yere very hot, and very ful of a kind of flies or gnats with long bils, which do pricke and molest the people very much in the night when they are asleepe, in pricking their faces and hands, and other parts of their bodies that lie vncouered, and make them to swel wonderfully. Also there is another kind of small worme which creepeth into the soles of mens feet and especially of the black Moores and children which vse to go barefoot, and maketh their feet to grow as big as a mans head, and doth so ake that it would

Many of our men died of these wormes at the taking of Puertorico.

make one run mad. They haue no remedy for the same, but to open the flesh sometimes 3. or 4. inches and so dig them out. The countrey yeeldeth great store of suger, hides of oxen, buls and kine, ginger, Cana fistula and Salsa perilla: mines of siluer and gold there are none, but in some riuers there is found some smal quantitie of gold. The principal coine that they do trafique withal in that place, is blacke money made of copper and brasse: and this they say they do vse not for that they lacke money of gold and siluer to trade withall out of the other parts of India, but because if they should haue good money, the marchants that deale with them in trade, would cary away their gold and siluer, and let the countrey commodities lie still. And thus much for S. Domingo. So we were comming from the yles of Canaries to S. Domingo, and there staying vntil the moneth of December, which was 3. moneths. About the beginning of Ianuary we departed thence towards the bay of Mexico and new Spaine, toward which we set our course, and so sailed 24. dayes till we came within 15. leagues of S. Iohn de Vllua, which was the port of Mexico of our right discharge: And being so neere our said port, there rose a storme of Northerly windes, which came off from Terra Florida, which caused vs to cast about into the sea againe, for feare least that night we should be cast vpon the shoare before day did breake, and so put our selues in danger of casting away: the winde and sea grew so foule and strong, that within two houres after the storme began, eight ships that were together were so dispersed, that we could not see one another. One of the ships of our company being of the burthen of 500. tun called the hulke of Carion, would not cast about to sea as we did, but went that night with the land, thinking in the morning to purchase the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, but missing the port went with the shoare and was cast away. There were drowned of that ship 75. persons, men, women and children, and 64. were saued that could swim, and had meanes to saue themselues: among those that perished in that ship, was a gentleman who had bene present the yere before in S. Domingo, his wife and 4. daughters with the rest of his seruants and houshold. We with the other 7. ships cast about into the sea, the storme during 10. dayes with great might, boisterous winds, fogs and raine: our ship being old and weake was so tossed, that she opened at the sterne a fadome vnder water, and the best remedy we had was to stop it with beds and pilobiers, and for feare of sinking we threw and lightned into the sea all the goods we had or could come by: but that would not serue. Then we cut our maine mast, and threw all our Ordinance into the sea sauing one piece, which early in a morning when wee thought wee should haue sunke, we shot off, and as pleased God there was one of the ships of our company neere vnto vs, which we saw not by meanes of the great fogge, which hearing the sound of the piece, and vnderstanding some of the company to be in great extremitie, began to make toward vs, and when they came within hearing of vs, we desired them for the loue of God to helpe to saue vs, for that we were all like to perish. They willed vs to hoise our foresaile as much as we could and make towards them, for they would do their best to saue vs, and so we did: And we had no sooner hoised our foresaile, but there came a gale of winde and a piece of a sea, strooke in the foresaile, and caried saile and maste all ouerboord, so that then we thought there was no hope of life. And then we began to imbrace one another, euery man his friend, euery wife her husband, and the children their fathers and mothers, committing our soules to Almighty God, thinking neuer to escape aliue: yet it pleased God in the time of most need when all hope was past, to aide vs with his helping hand, and caused the winde a little to cease, so that within two houres after, the other ship was able to come aboord vs, and tooke into her with her boat man, woman and child, naked without hose or shoe vpon many of our feete. I do remember that the last person that came out of the ship into the boat was a woman blacke Moore, who leaping out of the ship into the boat with a yong sucking childe in her armes, lept too short and fell into the sea, and was a good while vnder the water before the boat could come to rescue her, and with the spreading of her clothes rose aboue water againe, and was caught by the coat and pulled into the boate hauing still her child vnder her arme, both of them halfe drowned, and yet her natural loue towards her child would not let her let the childe goe. And when she came aboord the boate she helde her childe so fast vnder her arm still, that two men were scant able to get it out. So we departed out of our ship and left it in the sea: it was worth foure hundreth thousand ducats, ship and goods when we left it. And within three dayes after we arriued at our port of S. Iohn de Vllua in New Spaine. I do remember that in the great and boysterous storme of this foule weather, in the night, there came vpon the toppe of our maine yarde and maine maste, a certaine little light, much like vnto the light of a little candle, which the Spaniards called the Cuerpo santo, and saide it was S. Elmo, whom they take to bee the aduocate of Sailers. At the which sight the Spaniards fell downe vpon their knees and worshipped it, praying God and S. Elmo to cease the torment, and saue them from the perill that they were in with promising him that on their comming on land, they would repaire vnto his Chappell, and their cause Masses to be saide, and other ceremonies to be done. The friers cast reliques into the sea, to cause the sea to be still, and likewise said Gospels, with other crossings and ceremonies vpon the sea to make the storme to cease: which (as they said) did much good to weaken the furie of the storme. But I could not perceiue it, nor gaue no credite to it, till it pleased God to send vs the remedie and deliuered vs from the rage of the same, His Name be praised therefore. This light continued aboord our ship about three hours, flying from maste to maste, and from top to top: and sometime it would be in two or three places at once. I informed my selfe of learned men afterward what that light should be, and they said, that it was but a congelation of the winde and vapours of the Sea congealed with the extremitie of the weather, which flying in the winde, many times doeth chance to hit on the masts and shrowds of the ships that are at sea in foule weather. And in trueth I do take it to be so: for that I haue seene the like in other ships at sea, and in sundry ships at once. By this men may see how the Papists are giuen to beleeue and worship such vaine things and toyes, as God, to whom all honour doth appertaine and in their neede and necessities do let to call vpon the liuing God, who is the giuer of all good things.

His arriuall at Vera Cruz,

The 16. of April in Anno 1556. we arrived at the port of S. Iohn de Vllua in new Spaine, very naked and distressed, of apparell, and all other things, by meanes of the losse of our foresaid ship and goods, and from thence we went to the new Towne called Vera Cruz, fiue leagues from the said port of S. Iohn de Vllua, marching still by the sea side, where wee found lying vpon the sands great quantitie of mightie great trees with roots and all, some of them of foure, fiue, and sixe cart load by our estimation, which, as the people told vs, were in the great stormy weather, which we endured at sea, rooted out of the ground in Terra

Florida, which is three hundredth leagues ouer by Sea, and brought thither. So we came to the saide Towne of Vera cruz, where wee remained a moneth: and there the said Iohn Field chanced to meete with an olde friend of his acquaintance in Spaine, called Gonçalo Ruiz de Cordoua, a very rich man of the saide Towne of Vera cruz: who hearing of his comming thither with his wife and family, and of his misfortune by Sea, came vnto him and receiued him and all his household into his house, and kept vs there a whole moneth, making vs very good cheere, and giuing vs good entertainment, and also gaue vs that were in all eight persons, of the said Iohn Fields house, double apparell new out of the shop of very good cloth, coates, cloakes, hose, shirts, smocks, gownes for the women, hose, shoes, and al other necesssary apparel, and for our way vp to the Citie of Mexico, horses, moiles, and men, and money in our purses for the expenses by the way, which by our accompt might amount vnto the summe of 400. Crownes. And after wee were entred two dayes iourney into the Countrey, I the saide Robert Tomson fell so sicke of an ague, that the next day I was not able to sit on my horse, but was faine to be caried vpon Indians backes, from thence to Mexico. And when wee came within halfe a dayes iourney of the Citie of Mexico, the saide Iohn Field also fell sicke, and within three dayes after we arriued at the said Citie, hee died: And presently sickened one of his children, and two more of his houshold people, and within eight days died. So that within tenne dayes after we arriued at the Citie of Mexico, of eight persons that were of vs of the saide company, there remained but foure aliue, and I the said Tomson was at the point of death of the sicknes that I got vpon the way, which continued with mee the space of sixe moneths. At the end of which time it pleased Almightie God to restore me my health againe, although weake and greatly disabled. And being some thing strong, I procured to seeke meanes to liue, and to seeke a way how to profite my selfe in the Countrey, seeing it had pleased God to sende vs thither in safetie. Then by friendship of one Thomas Blake a Scottishman borne, who had dwelt and had bene married in the said Citie aboue twentie yeeres before I came to the saide Citie, I was preferred to the seruice of a gentleman a Spaniard dwelling there, a man of great wealth, and one of the first conquerours of the said Citie, whose name

Florida 300. leagues from San Iuan de Vllua.

was Gonçalo Cerezo, with whom I dwelt twelue moneths and a halfe. At the ende of which I was maliciously accused by the Holy house for matters of Religion, and so apprehended and caried to prison, where I lay close prisoner seuen moneths, without speaking to any creature, but to the Iailer that kept the said prison, when he brought me my meat and drinke. In the meane time was brought into the saide prison one Augustin Boacio an Italian of Genoua also for matters of Religion, who was taken at Sacatecas 80. leagues to the Northwest of the Citie of Mexico: At the ende of the said seuen moneths, we were both caried to the high Church of Mexico, to doe open penance upon an high scaffold, made before the high Alter, vpon a Sunday, in presence of a very great number of people, who were at the least fiue or sixe thousand. For there were that came one hundreth mile off, to see the said Auto (as they call it) for that there were neuer none before, that had done the like in the said Countrey, nor could not tell what Lutheranes were, nor what it meant: for they neuer heard of any such thing before. We were brought into the Church, euery one with a S. Benito vpon his backe, which is halfe a yard of yellow cloth, with a hole to put in a mans head in the middest, and cast ouer a mans head: both flaps cast one before, and another behinde, and in the middest of of euery flap, a S. Andrewes crosse, made of red cloth, sowed on vpon the same, and that is called S. Benito. The common people before they sawe the penitents come into the Church, were giuen to vnderstand that wee were heretiques, infidels, and people that did despise God, and his workes, and that wee had bene more like deuils than men, and thought wee had had the fauour of some monsters, or heathen people. And when they saw vs come into the Church in our players coates, the women and children beganne to cry out, and made such a noise, that it was strange to see and heare, saying, that they neuer sawe goodlier men in all their liues, and that it was not possible that there could be in vs so much euill as was reported of vs, and that we were more like Angels among men, then such persons of such euill Religion as by the Priestes and friers wee were reported to be, and that it was great pitie that wee should bee so vsed for so small an offence. So that being brought into the said high Church, and set vpon the scaffold which was made before the high Alter, in the presence of all the people, vntil high Masse was done, and the sermon made by a frier, concerning our matter, they did put vs in all the disgrace they could, to cause the people not to take so much compassion vpon vs, for that wee were heretiques, and people that were seduced of the deuill, and had forsaken the faith of the Catholique Church of Rome, with diuers other reprochfull wordes, which were too long to recite in this place. High Masse and Sermon being done, our offences, as they called them, were recited, euery man what he had said and done, and presently was the sentence pronounced against vs. That was that the said Augustine Boacio was condemned to wear his S. Benito all the dayes of his life, and put into perpetuall prison, where hee should fulfill the same, and all his goods confiscated and lost. And I the saide Tomson to weare the S. Benito for three yeeres, and then to be set at libertie. And for the accomplishing of this sentence or condemnation, we must be presently sent downe from Mexico, to Vera Cruz, and from thence to S. Iohn de Vllua, and there to be shipped for Spaine, which was 65. leagues by land, with strait commandement, that vpon paine of 1000. duckets, the Masters euery one should looke straitly vnto vs, and carry vs to Spaine, and deliver vs vnto the Inquisitors of the Holy house of Siuill, that they should put vs in the places, where we should fulfill our penances, that the Archbishop of Mexico had enioyned vnto us, by his sentence there giuen. For performance of the which, we were sent downe from Mexico, to the Sea side, which was 65. leagues, with fetters upon our feete, and there deliuered to the Masters of the ships, to be carried for Spaine, as before is said. And it was so, that the Italian, fearing that if he had presented himselfe in Spaine before the Inquisitors, that they would haue burned him, to preuent that danger, when wee were comming homeward, and were arriued at the yland of Terçera, one of the ysles of the Açores, the first night that we came into the said port to an ancker, about midnight he found the meanes to get him naked out of the ship into the sea, and swam naked a shoare, and so presently got him to the further side of the yland, where hee found a little Caruel ready to depart for Portugal, in the which he came to Lisbone, and passed into France, and so into England, where hee ended his life in the Citie of London. And I for my part kept still aboord the ship, and came into Spaine, and was deliuered to the Inquisitors of the Holy house of Siuill, where they kept me in close prison, till I had fulfilled the three years of my penance. Which time being expired, I was freely put out of prison, and set at libertie: and being in the Citie of Siuil a casher of one Hugh Typton, an English marchant of great doing, by the space of one yeere, it fortuned that there came out of the Citie of Mexico, a Spaniard, called Iohn de la Barrera, that had bene long time in the Indies, and had got summes of golde and siluer, and with one onely daughter shipped himselfe for to come for Spaine, and by the way chanced to die, and giue all that hee had vnto his onely daughter, whose name was Marie de la Barrera, and being arriued at the Citie of Siuil, it was my chance to marry with her. The marriage was worth to mee 2500. pounds in barres of golde and siluer, besides iewels of great price. This I thought good to speake of, to shew the goodnes of God to all them that put their trust in him, that I being brought out of the Indies, in such great misery and infamy to the world, should be prouided at Gods hand in one moment, of more then in all my life before I could attaine vnto by my owne labour.

After we departed from Mexico, our S. Benitoes were set vp in the high Church of the said Citie, with our names written in the same, according to there vse and custome, which is and will be a monument and a remembrance of vs, as long as the Romish Church doth raigne in that country. The same haue bene seene since by one Iohn Chilton, and diuers others of our nation, which were left in that countrey long since, by Sir Iohn Hawkins. And because it shalbe knowen wherefore it was that I was so punished by the Clergies hande, as before is mentioned, I will in briefe words declare the same.

It is so, that being in Mexico at the table, among many principall people at dinner, they began to inquire of me being an Englishman, whether it were true, that in England they had ouerthrowen all their Churches and houses of Religion, and that all the images of the Saints of heauen that were in them were throwen downe, broken, and burned, and in some places high wayes stoned with them, and whether the English nation denied their obedience to the Pope of Rome, as they had bene certified out of Spaine by their friends. To whom I made answere, that it was so, that in deed they had in England put downe all the Religious houses of friers and monks that were in England, and the images that were in their Churches and other places were taken away, and vsed there no more: for that (as they say) the making of them, and putting of them where they were adored, was cleane contrary to the expresse commandement of Almighty God, Thou shalt not make to thy selfe any grauen image, &c. and that for that cause they thought it not lawfull that they should stand in the Church, which his the house of adoration. One that was at the declaring of these words who was my master Gonsalo Cereso, answered and said, if it were against the commandement of God to haue images in the Churches, that then he had spent a great deale of money in vaine, for that two yeres past he had made in the monastery of Santo Domingo, in the said citie of Mexico, an image of our Lady of pure siluer and golde, with pearles and precious stones, which cost him 7000. and odde pesos, and euery peso is 4.s 8.d. of our money: which indeed was true, for that I haue seene it many times my selfe where it stands. At the table was another gentleman, who presuming to defend the cause more then any other that was there, saide, that they knew well ynough that they made but of stockes and stones, and that to them was no worship giuen, but that there was a certaine veneration due vnto them after they were set vp in the Church, and that they were set there to a good intent: the one, for that they were books for the simple people, to make them vnderstand the glory of the saints that were in heauen, and a shape of them to put vs in remembrance to cal vpon them, to be our intercessors vnto God for vs, for that we are such miserable sinners, that we are not worhty to appeare before God, and that vsing deuotion to saints in heauen, they may obtaine at Gods hands the sooner the thing that we demand of him. As for example, said he, imagin that a subiect hath offended his king vpon the earth in any kind of respect, is it for the party to go boldly to the king in person, and to demand pardon for his offences? No, saith he, the presumption were two great, and possibly he might be repulsed, and haue a great rebuke for his labour. Better it is for such a person to seek some priuate man neere the king in his Court, and make him acquain- with his matter, and let him be a mediator to his Maiesty for him, and for the matter he hath to do with him, and so might he the better come to his purpose, and obteine the thing which he doeth demand: euen so saith he, it is with God and his saints in heauen: for we are wretched sinners, and not worthy to appeare nor present our selues before the Maiesty of God to demand of him the thing that we haue need of: therefore thou hast need to be deuout, and haue deuotion to the mother of God, and the saints of heauen, to be intercessors to God for thee, and so mayest thou the better obtaine of God the thing that thou dost demand. To this I answered, and said, sir, as touching the comparison you made of the intercessors to the king, how necessary they were, I would but aske you this question. Set the case that this king you speake of, if he be so merciful, as, when he knoweth that one, or any of his subiects hath offended him, he send for him to his owne towne, or to his owne house, or palace, and say vnto him, come hither, I know that thou hast offended many lawes, if thou doest know thereof, and doest repent thee of the same, with ful intent to offend no more, I wil forgiue thy trespasse, and remember it no more: said I, if this be done by the kings owne person, what then hath this man need to go seeke friendship at any of the kings priuat seruants hands, but go to the principal, seeing that he is readier to forgiue thee, then thou art to demand forgiuenes at his hands? Euen so is it with our gracious God, who calleth and crieth out vnto vs throughout all the world, by the mouth of his Prophets, Apostles, and by his owne mouth, saying, Come vnto me al ye that labour and are ouer laden, and I wil refresh you: besides 1000. other offers and proffers which hee doth make vnto vs in his holy Scriptures. What then haue we need of the saints helpe that are in heauen, whereas the Lord himself doth so freely offer himselfe vnto vs? At which sayings, many of the hearers were astonied, and said, that by that reason, I would giue to vnderstand, that the inuocation of Saints was to be disanulled, and by the Lawes of God not commanded. I answered, that they were not my words but the words of God himselfe: looke into the Scriptures your selfe, and you shall so finde it. The talk was perceiued to be preiudicall to the Romish doctrine, and therefore it was commanded to be no more entreated of, and all remained vnthought vpon, had it not bene for a villanous Portugal that was in the company, who said, Basta ser Ingles para saber todo esto y mas: who the next day, without imparting any thing to any body, went to the Bishop of Mexico, and his Prouisor, and said, that in a place where he had bene the day before, was an Englishman, who had said, that there was no need of Saints in the Church, nor of any inuocaton of Saints, vpon whose denomination I was apprehended for the same words here rehearsed, and none other thing, and thereupon was vsed, as before is written.

Now to speake somewhat of the description of the countrey, you shall vnderstand, that the port of S. Iohn de Vllua is a very little Island low by the water side, the broadest or longest part thereof not aboue a bow shoote ouer, and standeth within two furlongs of the firme land. In my time there was but one house, and a little Chappel to say masse in, in all the Island: the side to the land wards is made by mans handes, with free-stone and grauel, and is 4. fadome deepe downe right, wherefore the great ships that come in there do ride so neere the shoare of the land, that you may come and goe aland vpon their beake noses, They vse to put great chaines of yron in at their halsers, and an ancker to the land ward, and all little ynough to more well their shippes for feare of the Northerly winds, which come of the coast of Florida, that sometimes haue caried ships, and houses, and all away to the shoare. The king was wont to haue 20. great mightie Negroes, who did serue for nothing else, but onely to repaire the said Island, where the foule weather doeth hurt it. The Countrey all thereabout is very plaine ground, and a mile from the sea side a great wildernes, with great quantitie of red Deere in the same, so that when the mariners of the ships are disposed, they go vp into the wildernes, and do kil of the same, and bring them aboord to eate, for their recreation.

Sant Iuan de Vllua.

From this port to the next towne, which is called Vera Cruz, are 5. leagues almost by the Sea side, till you come within one league of the place, and then you tnrne vp towards the land, into a wood, till you come to a litle riuer hard by the said townes side, which sometimes of the yere is dry without water. The towne of Vera Cruz in my time, had not past 300. housholds, and serued out but for the folke of the ships, to buy and bring there goods aland, and deliuer it to their owners, as also the owners and their factors to receiue there goods of the Masters of the ships. This town standeth also in a very plaine on the one side the riuer, and the otner side is enuironed with much sande blowen from the sea side with the tempest of weather, many times comming vpon that coast. This town also is subiect to great sicknes, and in my time many of the Mariners and officers of the ships did die with those diseases, there accustomed, and especially those that were not vsed to the countrey, nor knew the danger thereof, but would commonly go in the

The way and distance from San Iuan de Vllua to Vera Cruz, is fiue leagues.

Sunne in the heat of the day, and did eat fruit of the countrey with much disorder, and espccially gaue themselues to womens company at their first comming: whereupon they were cast into a burning ague, of the which few escaped.

Venta de Rinconado.

Halfe a dayes iourney from Vera Cruz, towards Mexico, is a lodging of fiue or sixe houses, called the Rinconado, which is a place, where is a great pinacle made of lime and stone, fast by a riuer side, where the Indians were wont to doe their sacrifices vnto their gods, and it is plaine and low ground betwixt that and Vera Crnz, and also subiect to sicknes: but afterward halfe a dayes iourney that you do begin to enter into the high land, you shall find as faire, good, and sweet countrey, as any in the world, and the farther you go, the goodlier and sweeter the the couutrey is, till you come to Pueblo de los Angeles, which may be some 43 leagues from Vera Cruz, which was in my time a towne of 600. housholds, or thereabout, standing in a goodly soile. Betweene Vera Cruz and that you shall come through many townes of the Indians, and villages, and many goodly fields of medow grounds, Riuers of fresh waters, forrests, and great woods, very pleasant to behold. From Pueblo de los Angeles, to Mexico, is 20 leagues of very faire way and countrey, as before is declared. Mexico was a Citie in my time, of not aboue 1500. housholds of Spaniards inhabiting there, but of Indian people in the suburbs of the said city, dwelt aboue 300000. as it was thought, and many more. This City of Mexico is 65 leagues from the North sea, and 75 leagues from the South sea, so that it standeth in the midst of the maine land, betwixt the one sea and the other. It is situated in the middest of a lake of standing water, and enuironed round about with the same, sauing in many places, going out of the Citie, are many broad wayes through the said lake or water. This lake and Citie is enuironed also with great mountaines round about, which are in compasse aboue thirtie leagues, and the said Citie, and lake of standing water, doeth stand in a great plaine in the middest of it. This lake of standing water doeth proceed from the shedding of the raine, that falleth upon the saide mountaines, and so gather themselues together in this place.

All the whole proportion of this Citie doeth stand in a very plaine ground, and in the middest of the said Citie is a square place of a good bow shoote ouer from side to side: and in the middest of the said place is the high Church, very faire and well builded all through, at that time not halfe finished, and round about the said place, are many faire houses built: on the one side, are the houses where Mutezuma the great king of Mexico that was, dwelt, and now there lye alwayes the viceroyes that the king of Spaine sendeth thither euery three yeeres. And in my time there was for viceroy a gentleman of Castil, called Don Luis de Velasco. And on the other side of the saide place, ouer against the same, is the Bishops house, very faire built, and many other houses of goodly building. And hard by the same, are also other very faire houses, built by the Marques de Valle, otherwise called Hernando Cortes, who was hee that first conquered the saide Citie and Countrey, who after the said conquest which hee made with great labour and trauaile of his person, and danger of his life, and being growen great in the Countrey, the King of Spaine sent for him, saying that he had some particular matters to impart vnto him. And when he came home, he could not bee suffered to returne backe againe, as the King before had promised him. With the which, for sorrow that he tooke, he died; and this he had for the reward of his good seruice.

This is to be vnderstood of his second comming into Spaine.

The said Citie of Mexico hath the streetes made very broad, and right, that a man being in the high place, at the one ende of the street, may see at the least a good mile forward, and in all the one part of the streets of the North part of their Citie, there runneth a pretie lake of very cleare water, that euery man may put into his house as much as he will, without the cost of any thing, but of letting in. Also there is a great caue or ditch of water that commeth through the Citie, euen vnto the high place, where come euery morning at the break of the day twentie or thirtie Canoas, or troughes of the Indians, which bring in them all manner of prouision for the citie, which is made, and groweth in the Countrey, which is a very good commoditie for the inhabitants of that place. And as for victuals in the said Citie, of beefe, mutton, and hennes, capons, quailes, Guiny-cockes, and such like, all are very good cheape: To say, the whole quarter of an oxe, as much as a slaue can carry away from the Butchers, for fiue Tomynes, that is, fiue Royals of plate, which is iust two shillings and sixe pence, and a fat sheepe at the Butchers for three Royals, which is 18. pence and no more. Bread is as good cheape as in Spaine, and all other kinde of fruites, as apples, peares, pomegranats, and quinces, at a reasonable rate. The Citie goeth wonderfully forwards in building of Frieries and Nunneries, and Chappels, and is like in time to come, to be the most populous Citie in the world, as it may be supposed. The weather is there always very temperate, the day differeth but one houre of length all the yere long. The fields and the woods are alwayes greene. The woods full of popiniayes, and many other kinde of birdes, that make such an harmonie of singing, and crying, that any man will reioyce to heare it. In the fields are such odoriferous smels of flowers and hearbs, that it giueth great content to the senses. About the Citie of Mexico two, three, or foure leagues off, are diuers townes of Indians, some of 4000. or 6000. housholds, which doe stand in such a goodly soyle, that if Christians had the inhabitation thereof, it would be put to a further benefite. In my time were dwelling and aliue in Mexico, many ancient men that were of the conquerours at the first conquest with Hernando Cortes: for then it was about 36. yeeres agoe, that the said Countrey was conquered.

About Mexico there are diuers Mines of siluer, and also in other places there about, but the principall Mines that are in all New Spaine arc in Sacatecas, 80. leagues from Mexico, and the Mines of S. Martin, thirtie leagues, both to the Westward of Mexico, where is gteat store of gold and siluer. Also there is a place called the Misteca, fiftie leagues to the Northwest, which doth yeeled great store of very good silke, and Cochinilla. Wine and olye there is none growing in the Countrey, but what commeth out of Spaine. Also there are many goodly fruits in that Countrey, whereof we haue none such, as Plantanos Guyaues, Lapotes, Tunas, and in the wilderness great store of blacke cheries, and other wholesome fruites. The Cochinilla is not a worme, or a flye, as some say it is, but a berrie that growteh vpon certaine bushes in the wilde field, which is gathered in time of the yeere, when it is ripe. Also the Indico that doeth come from thence to die blew, is a certaine hearbe that groweth in the wilde fieldes, and is gathered at one time of the yeere, and burnt, and of the ashes thereof, with other confections put thereunto, the said Indico is made. Balme, Salsa perilla, Cana fistula, suger, oxe hides, and many other good and seruiceable things the Countrey doeth yeeld, which are yeerely brought into Spaine, and there solde and distributed to many nations.

ROBERT TOMSON.

A voyage made by M. Roger Bodenham to S. Iohn de Vllua in the bay of Mexico, in the yeere 1564.

A new trade begun in the city of Fez by Roger Bodenham.

I Rodger Bodenham hauing a long time liued in the city of Siuil in Spaine, being there married, and by occasion thereof vsing trade and traffique to the parts of Barbary, grew at length to great losse and hinderance by that new trade begun by me in the city of Fez: whereupon being returned into Spaine, I began to call my wits about mee, and to consider with my selfe by what meanes I might recover and renew my state; and in conclusion, by the ayde of my friends, I procureda ship called The Barke Fox perteining to London, of the eight or nine score tunnes; and with the same I made a voyage to the West India, hauing obteined good fauour with the Spannish merchants, by reason of my long abode, and marriage of the countrey. My voyage was in the company of the Generall Don Pedro Melendes for Noua Hispania: who being himselfe appointed Generall for Terra Firma and Peru, made his sonne Generall for New Spaine, although Pedro Melendes himselfe was the principall man and director in both fleets. We all departed from Cadiz together the last day of May in the yere 1564: and I with my ship being vnder the conduct of the sonne of Don Pedro aforesayd, arriued with him in Noua Hispania, where immediately I tooke order for the discharge of my merchandise at the port of Vera Cruz, otherwise called Villa Rica, to be transported thence to the city of Mexico, which is sixty and odde leagues distant from the sayd port of Villa Rica. In the way are many good townes, as namely, Pueblo de los Angeles, and another called Tlaxcalan. The city of Mexico hath three great causeyes to bring men to it, compassed with a lake, so that it needeth no walles, being so defended by the water. It is a city plentifull of all necessary things, hauing many faire houses, churches, and monasteries. I hauing continued in the countrey the space of nine moneths, returned againe for Spaine with the Spanish fleet, and deliuered the merchandise and siluer which I had in the ship into the Contractation house, and there receiued my fraight, which amounted outwards and homewards to the value of 13000 ducats and more. I obserued many things in the time of my abode in Noua Hispania, aswell touching the commodities of the countrey as the maners of the people both

Spanyards and Indians: but because the Spanish histories are full of these obseruations, I omit them, and referre the readers to the same: onely this I say, that the commodity of Cochinalla groweth in greatest abundance about the towne of Pueblo de los Angeles, and is not there woorth aboue forty pence the pound.

A notable discourse of M. Iohn Chilton, touching the people, maners, mines, cities, riches, forces, and other memorable things of New Spaine, and other prouinces in the West Indies, seene and noted by himselfe in the time of his trauels, continued in those parts, the space of seuenteene or eighteene yeeres.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1561, in the moneth of Iuly, I Iohn Chilton went out of this city of London into Spaine, where I remained for the space of seuen yeres, and from thence I sailed into Noua Hispania, and so trauelled there, and by the South sea, vnto Peru, the space of seuenteene or eighteene yeeres: and after that time expired, I returned into Spaine, and so in the yere 1586 in the moneth of Iuly, I arriued at the foresayd city of London: where perusing the notes which I had taken in the time of my trauell in those yeeres, I haue set downe as followeth.

In the yeere 1568, in the moneth of March, being desirous to see the world. I embarked my selfe in the bay of Cadiz in Andaluzia, in a shippe bound for the Isles of the Canaries, where she tooke in her lading, and set forth from thence for the voyage, in the moneth of Iune, the same yere. Within a moneth after, we fell with the Isle of S. Domingo, and from thence dlrectly to Noua Hispania, and came into the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, which is a little Island standing in the sea, about two miles from the land, where the king mainteineth about 50 souldiers, and captaines, that keepe the forts, and about 150 negroes, who all the yeere long are occupied in carying of stones for building, and other vses, and to helpe to make fast the ships that come in there, with their cables. There are built two bulwarkes at ech ende of a wall, that standeth likewise in the sayde Island, where the shippes vse to ride, made fast to the sayd wall with their cables, so neere, that a man may leape ashore. From this port I iourneyed by land to a towne called Vera Cruz, standing by a riuers side, where all the factours of the Spanish merchants dwell, which receiue the goods of such ships as come thither, and also lade the same with such treasure and merchandize as they returne backe into Spaine. They are in number about foure hundred, who onely remaine there during the time that the Spanish fleet dischargeth, and is loden againe, which is from the end of August to the beginning of April following. And then for the vnwholesomnesse of the place they depart thence sixteene leagues further vp within the countrey, to a towne called Xalapa, a very healthfull soile. There is neuer any woman deliuered of childe in this port of Vera Cruz: for so so soone as they perceiue themselues conceiued with child, they get them into the countrey, to auoid the perill of the infected aire, although they vse euery morning to driue thorow the towne aboue two thousand head of cattell, to take away the ill vapours of the earth. From Xalapa seuen leagues I came to another place, named Perota, wherein are certaine houses builded of straw, called by the name of ventas, the inhabitants whereof are Spaniards, who accustome to harbour such trauellers as are occasioned to iourney that way vp into the land. It standeth in a great wood of Pine and Cedar trees, the soile being very colde, by reason of store of snow which lieth on the mountaines there all the yere long. There are in that place an infinite number of deere, of bignesse like vnto great mules, hauing also hornes of great length. From Perota nine leagues, I came to the Fuentes of Ozumba, which fuentes are springs of water issuing out of certeine rocks into the midst of the high wayes, where likewise are certaine ranges, and houses, for the vses before mentioned. Eight leagues off from this place I came to the city of the Angels, so called by that name of the Spanyards, which inhabit there to the number of a thousand, besides a great number of Indians. This city standeth in very plaine fields, hauing neere adioyning to it many sumptuous cities, as namely the city of Tlaxcalla, a city of two hundred thousand Indians, tributaries to the king, although he exacteth no other tribute of them then a handfull of wheat a piece, which amounteth to thirteene thousand hanneges yeerely as hath appeared by the kings books of account. And the reason why he contenteth himselfe with this tribute, onely for them, is, because they were the occasion that he tooke the city of Mexico, with whom the Tlaxcallians had warre at the same time when the Spanyards came into the countrey. The gouernour of this city is a Spanyard, called among them the Alcade mayór, who

Pueblo de los Angeles eight leagues.

administreth chiefest causes of iustice both vnto the Christians and Indians, referring smaller and lighter vices, as drunkennesse and such like to the iudgement and discretion of such of the Indians as are chosen euery yeere to rule amongst them, called by the name of Alcades. These Indians from fourteene yeeres olde vpwards, pay vnto the king for their yerely tribute one ounce of siluer, and an hannege of maiz, which is valued among them commonly at twelue reals of plate. The widowes among them pay halfe of this. The Indians both of this city, and of the rest, lying about Mexico, goe clothed with mantles of linnen cloth made of cotton wooll, painted thorowout with works of diuers and fine colours. It is distant from the city of the Angels foure leagues to the Northward, and fourteene from Mexico. There is another city a league from it, called Chetula, consisting of more then sixty thousand Indians, tributaries, and there dwell not aboue twelue Spanyards there. From it, about two leagues, there is another, called Acassingo, of aboue fifty thousand Indians, and about eight or twelue Spanyards, which standeth at the foot of the Vulcan of Mexico, on the East side. There are besides these, three other great cities, the one named Tapiaca, a very famous city, Waxazingo, and Tichamachalcho: all these in times past belonged to the kingdome of Tlaxcalla: and from these cities they bring most of their Cochinilla into Spaine. The distance from the city of the Angels, to the city of Mexico is twenty leagues. The city of Mexico is the city of greatest fame in all the Indies, hauing goodly and costly houses in it, builded all of lime and stone, and seuen streets in length, and seuen in breadth, with riuers running thorow euery second street, by which they bring their prouision in canoas. It is situated at the foot of certaine hilles, which conteine in compasse by estimation aboue twenty leagues, compassing the sayd city on the one side, and a lake which is fourteene leagues about on on the other side. Vpon which lake there are built many notable and sumptuous cities, as the city of Tescuco, where the Spanyards built sixe frigats, at that time when they conquered Mexico, and where also Fernando Cortes made his abode fiue or six moneths in curing of the sicknesse of his people, which they had taken at their comming into the countrey. There dwell in this city about sixty thousand Indians, which pay

Tlaxcalla foure leagues northward from los Angeles.

Vulcan is a hill that continually burneth with fire.

Pueblo de los Angeles 20. leagues from Mexico.

tribute to the king. In this city the sayd Fernando built the finest church that euer was built in the Indies, the name whereof is S. Peters.

The voyage from Mexico to Nueua Biscaia.

After I had continued two yeeres in this city, being desirous to see further the countreys, I imployed that which I had, and tooke my voyage towards the prouinces of California, in the which was discouered a certeine countrey by a Biscaine, whose name was Diego de Guiara, and called it after the name of his countrey, New Biscay, where I solde my merchandise for exchange of siluer, for there were there certaine rich mines discouered by the aforesayd Biskaine. Going from Mexico I directed my voyage somewhat toward the Southwest, to certaine mines, called Tamascaltepec, and so trauelled forward the space of twenty dayes thorow desert places vnhabited, till I came to the valley of S. Bartholomew, which ioyneth to the prouince of New Biscay. In all these places the Indians for the most part go naked, and are wilde people. Their common armour is bowes and arrowes: they vse to eate vp such Christians as they come by. From hence departing, I came to another prouince named Xalisco, and from thence to the port of Nauidad, which is 120 leagues from Mexico, in which port arriue alwayes in the moneth of April, all the ships that come out of the South sea from China, and the Philippinas, and there they lay their merchandise ashore. The most part whereof is mantles, made of Cotton wooll, Waxe, and fine platters gilded, made of earth, and much golde.

The Siluer mines of Tamascaltepec.

The hauen where ye ships of China and the Philippinas arriue.

The next Summer following, being in the yeere 1570 (which was the first yeere that the Popes Buls were brought into the Indies) I vndertooke another voyage towards the prouince of Sonsonate, which is in the kingdome of Guatimala, whither I caried diuers marchandize of Spaine, all by land on mules backs. The way thitherward from Mexico is to the city of the Angels, and from thence to another city of Christians 80 leagues off, called Guaxaca, in which there dwelt about 50 Spanyards, and many Indians. All the Indians of this prouince pay their tribute in mantles of Cotton wooll, and Cochinilla, whereof there groweth abundance thorowout this countrey. Neere to this place there lieth a port in the South sea, called Aguatulco, in the which there dwell not aboue three or foure Spanyards, with certaine Negroes, which the king mainteineth there: in which place Sir Francis Drake arriued in the yeere 1579, in the moneth of April, where I lost with his being there aboue a thousand duckets, which he tooke away with much other goods of other merchants of Mexico from one Francisco Gomes Rangifa, factour there for all the Spanish merchants that then traded in the South sea: for from this Port they vse to imbarke all their goods that goe for Peru, and to the kingdome of Honduras. From Guaxaca I came to a towne named Nixapa, which standeth vpon certaine very high hilles in the prouince of Sapotecas, wherein inhabit about the number of twenty Spanyards, by the King of Spaines commandement, to keepe that country in peace: for the Indians are very rebellious: and for this purpose hee bestowed on them the townes and cities that be within that prouince. From hence I went to a city called Tecoantepec, which is the farthest towne to the Eastward in all Noua Hispania, which some time did belong to the Marques de Valle, and because it is a very fit port, standing in the South sea, the king of Spaine, vpon a rebellion made by the sayd Marques against him, tooke it from him, and doth now possesse it as his owne. Heere in the yeere 1572 I saw a piece of ordinance of brasse, called a Demy culuerin, which came out of a ship called the Iesus of Lubec, which captaine Hawkins left in S. Iohn de Vllua, being in fight with the Spanyards in the yeere 1568; which piece they afterwards carried 100 leagues by land ouer mighty mountaines to the sayd city, to be embarked there for the Philippinas. Leauing Tecoantepec, I went still along by the South sea about 150 leagues in the desolate prouince of Soconusco, in which prouince there groweth cacao, which the Christians cary from thence into Noua Hispania, for that it will not grow in any colde countrey. The Indians of this countrey pay the king their tribute in cacao, giuing him four hundred cargas, and euery carga is 24000 almonds, which carga is worth in Mexico thirty pieces of reals of plate. They are men of great riches, and withall very proud: and in all this prouince thorowout, there dwell not twenty Christians. I trauelled thorow another prouince called Suchetepec; and thence to the prouince of Guasacapan: in both which prouinces are very few people, the biggest towne therein hauing not aboue two hundred Indians. The chiefest merchandise there, is cacao. Hence I went to the city of Guatimala, which is the chiefe city of all this kingdome: in this city doe inhabit about

80 Spanyards: and here the king hath his gouernours, and councell, to whom all the people of the kingdome repaire for iustice. This city standeth from the coast of the South sea 14 leagues within the land, and is very rich, by reason of the golde that they fetch out of the coast of Veragua. From this city to the Eastward 60 leagues lieth the prouince Sonsonate, where I solde the merchandize I caried out of Noua Hispania. The chiefest city of this prouince is called S. Saluador, which lieth 7 leagues from the coast of the South sea, and hath a port lying by the sea coast, called Acaxutla, where the ships arriue with the merchandize they bring from Noua Hispania; and from thence lade backe againe the cacao: there dwell here to the number of threescore Spanyards. From Sonsonate I trauelled to Nicoia, which is in the kingdome of Nicaragua, in which port the king buildeth all the shipping that trauell out of the Indies to the Malucos. I went forward from thence to Costa rica, where the Indians both men and women go all naked, and the land lieth betweene Panama, and the kingdome of Guatimala: and for that the Indians there liue as warriers, I durst not passe by land, so that here in a towne called S. Saluador I bestowed that which I caried in annile (which is a kinde of thing to die blew withall) which I caried with me to the port of Cauallos, lying in the kingdome of Honduras, which port is a mighty huge gulfe, and at the comming in on the one side of it there lieth a towne of little force without ordinance or any other strength, hauing in it houses of straw: at which towne the Spanyards vse yeerely in the moneth of August to vnlade foure ships which come out of Spaine laden with rich merchandize, and receiue in heere againe their lading of a kinde of merchandise called Annile and Cochinilla (although it be not of such value as that of Noua Hispania) and siluer of the mines of Tomaangua, and golde of Nicaragua, and hides, and Salsa perilla, the best in all the Indies: all which merchandize they returne, and depart from thence alwayes in the moneth of April following, taking their course by the Island of Iamaica, in which Island there dwell on the West side of it certeine Spanyards of no great number. From this place they go to the cape of S. Anthony, which is the vttermost part of the Westward of the Island of Cuba, and from thence to Hauana lying hard by, which is the chiefest port

Nicoia a port where ye ships which goe to the Philippinas are builded.

Puerto de Cauallos a rich place.

The description of Hauana at large.

The smol force of Hauana.

The commodities of Cuba.

that the king of Spaine hath in all the countreys of the Indies, and of greatest importance: for all the ships, both from Peru, Hunduras, Porto rico, S. Domingo, Iamaica, and all other places in his Indies, arriue there in their returne to Spaine, for that in this port they take in victuals and water, and the most part of their lading: here they meet from all the foresayd places alwayes in the beginning of May by the kings commandement: at the entrance of this port it is so narrow, that there can scarse come in two ships together, although it be aboue sixe fadome deepe in the narrowest place of it. In the North side of the comming in there standeth a tower, in which there watcheth euery day a man to descrie the sailes of ships which hee can see on the sea; and as many as he discouereth, so many banners he setteth vpon the tower, that the people of the towne (which standeth within the port about a mile from the tower) may vnderstand thereof. Vnder this tower there lieth a sandy shore, where men may easily go aland: and by the tower there runneth a hill along by the waters side, which easily with small store of ordinance subdueth the towne and port. The port within is so large that there may easily ride a thousand saile of ships without anker or cable, for no winde is able to hurt them. There inhabit within the towne of Hauana about three hundred Spanyards, and about threescore souldiers, which the king mainteineth there for the keeping of a certeine castle which hee hath of late erected, which hath planted in it about twelue pieces of small ordinance, and is compassed round with a small ditch, wherethorow at their pleasure they may let in the sea. About two leagues from Hauana their lieth another towne called Wanabacoa, in which there is dwelling about an hundred Indians, and from this place 60 leagues there lieth another towne named Bahama, situate on the North side of the Island. The chiefest city of this Island of Cuba (which is aboue 600 leagues in length) is also called Sant Iago de Cuba, where dwelleth a bishop and about two hundred Spanyards; which towne standeth on the South side of the Island about 100 leagues from Hauana. All the trade of this Island is cattell, which they kill onely for the hides that are brought thence into Spaine: for which end the Spanyards mainteine there many negroes to kil their cattell, and foster a great number of hogs, which being killed, and cut into smal pieces, they dry in the Sun, and so make it prouision for the ships which come for Spaine.

Hauing remained in this Island two moneths, L tooke shipping in a frigat, and went ouer to Nombre de Dios, and from thence by land to Panama, which standeth vpon the South sea. From Nombre de Dios to Panama is 17 leagues distance: from which towne there runneth a riuer which is called the riuer of Chagre, which runneth within 5 leagues of Panama, to a place called Cruzes, thorow which riuer they cary their goods, and disimbarke them at the sayd Cruzes, and from thence they are conueyed on mules backs to Panama by land; where they againe imbarke them in certeine small shippes in the South sea for all the coast of Peru. In one of these ships I went to Potossie, and from thence by laud to Cusco, and from thence to Paita.

Here I remained the space of seuen moneths, and then returned into the kingdome of Guatimala, and arriued in the prouince of Nicoia, and Nicaragua. From Nicaragua I trauelled by land to a prouince called Nicamula (which lieth toward the North sea in certaine high mountaines) for that I could not passe thorow the kingdome of Guatimala at that time for waters, wherewith all the Low countreys of the prouince of Soconusco, lying by the South sea, are drowned with the raine that falleth aboue the mountaines, enduring always from April to September: which reason for that they call their Winter. From this prouince I came into another called De Vera Paz, in which the chiefest city is also called after that name, where there dwelleth a bishop aud about forty Spanyardsr Among the mountaines of this countrey toward the North sea, there is a prouince called La Candona, where are Indian men of war which the king can not subdue, for that they haue townes and forts in a great lake of water aboue the sayd mountaines: the most part of them goe naked, and some weare mantles of cotton wooll. Distant from this about 80 leagues, I came into another prouince called the prouince of Chiapa, wherein the chiefest city is called Sacallan, where there dwelleth a bishop and about an hnndred Spanyards· In this couutrey there is great store of Cotten wooll, whereof the Indians make fine linnen cloth, which the Christians buy and carry into Noua Hispania. The people of this prouince pay their tribute to the king all in Cotton wooll and Feathers. Fourteene leagues from this city there is another called Chiapa, where are the finest gennets in all the Indies, which are carried hence to Mexico,

Chiapa 300 leagues from Mexico.

Ecatepec an hill nine leagues high

300 leagues from it. From this city I trauelled still thorow hilles and mountaines, till I came to the end of this prouince, to a hill called Ecatepec, which in English signifieth The hill of winde: for that they say, it is the highest hill that euer was discouered: for from the top of it may be discovered both the North and the South seas; and it is in height supposed to be nine leagues, They which trauell ouer it, lie alwayes at the foot of it ouer night, and begin their iourney about midnight, to trauell to the top of it before the Sunne rise the next day, because the winde bloweth with such force afterwards, that it is impossible for any man to goe vp: from the foot of this hill to Tecoantepec, the first towne of Noua Hispania, are about fifteene leagues. And so from hence I iourned to Mexico.

By and by after I came to Mexico (which was in the yere 1572) in the company of another Spanyard, which was my companion in this iourney, we went together toward the prouince of Panuco, which lieth vpon the coast of the North sea, and within three dayes iourney we entred a city called Mestitlan, where there dwelt twelue Spanyards: the Indian inhabitants there were about thirty thousand. This city standeth vpon certaine hie mountaines, which are very thicke planted with townes very holesome and fruitfull, hauing plentifull fountaines of water running thorow them. The high wayes of these hilles are all set with fruits, and trees of diuers kindes, and most pleasant. In euery towne as we passed thorow, the Indians presented vs with victuals. Within twenty leagues of this place there is another city called Clanchinoltepec, belonging to a gentleman, where there inhabit about fourty thousand Indians; and there are among them eight or nine friers of the order of Saint Augustine, who haue there a Monastery. Within three dayes after we departed from this place, and came to a city called Guaxutla, where there is another Monastery of friers of the same Order: there dwell in this towne about twelue Spanyards. From this place forwards beginneth a prouince called Guastecan, which is all plaine grounds without any hilles. The first towne we came vnto is called Tancuylabo, in which there dwell many Indians, high of stature, hauing all their bodies painted with blew, and weare their haire long downe to their knees, tied as women vse to do with their haire-laces. When they goe out of their doores, they cary with them their bowes and arrowes, being very great archers, going for the most

Salt a principal merchandize.

part naked. In those countreys they take neither golde nor siluer for exchange of any thing, but only Salt, which they greatly esteeme, and vse it for a principall medicine for certaine wormes which breed in their lips and in their gummes. After nine dayes trauell from this place, we came to a towne called Tampice, which is a port towne vpon the sea, wherein there dwell, I thinke, forty Christians, of which number whilest wee abode there, the Indians killed foureteene, as they were gathering of Salt, which is all the trade that they haue in this place: it standeth vpon the entrie of the riuer of Panuco, which is a mighty great riuer; and were it not for a sand that lieth at the mouth of it, ships of fiue hundred tunne might goe vp into it aboue three score leagues. From hence we went to Panuco, foureteen leagues from Tampice, which in times past had bene a goodly city, where the king of Spaine had his gouernour: but by reason that the Indians there destroyed the Christians, it lieth in a maner waste, conteining in it not aboue tenne Christians with a priest. In this towne I fell sicke, where I lay one and forty dayes, hauing no other sustenance then fruit and water, which water I sent for aboue sixe leagues off within the countrey. Here I remained till my companion came to me, which had departed from me another way, reteining in my company onely a slaue, which I brought with me from Mexico. And the last day in Easter weeke my companion came to me, finding me in a very weake state, by reason of the vnholesomenesse of the place. Notwithstanding my weakenesse. I being set on an horse, and an Indian behinde mee to holde mee, we went forward on our voyage all that day till night. The next day in the morning we passed ouer the riuer in a canoa; and being on the other side, I went my selfe before alone: and by reason there met many wayes traled by the wilde beasts, I lost my way, and so trauelled thorow a great wood about two leagus: and at length fell into the hands of ceraine wilde Indians, which were there in certaine cottages made of straw; who seeing me, came out to the number of twenty of them, with their bowes and arrowes, and spake vnto mee in their language, which I vnderstood not: and so I made signes vnto them to helpe mee from my horse; which they did by commandement of their lord, which was there with them: and lighted downe. They caried me vnder one of their cottages, and layed me vpon a mat on the ground: and perceiuing that I could not vnderstand them, they brought vnto mee a little

Indian wench of Mexico, of fifteene or sixteene yeeres of age, whom they commanded to aske me in her language from whence I came, and for what intent I was come among them: for (sayth she) doest thou not know Christian, how that these people will kill and eat thee? To whom I answered, let them doe with me what they will; heere now I am. Shee replied, saying, thou mayest thank God thou art leane; for they feare thou hast the pocks: otherwise they would eate thee. So I presented to the king a little wine which I had with me in a bottle; which he esteemed aboue any treasure: for for wine they will sell their wiues and children. Afterwards the wench asked me what I would haue, and whether I would eat any thing. I answered that I desired a little water to drinke, for that the couutrey is very hote: and shee brought me a great Venice glasse, gilded, full of water. And maruelling at the glasse, I demanded how they came by it. She tolde me that the Casique brough it from Shallapa, a great towne distant 30 leagues from this place on the hilles, whereas dwelt certeine Christians, and certeine friers of the Order of S. Augustine, which this Casique with his people on a night slew; and burning the friers monasterie, among other things reserued this glasse: and from thence also brought me. Hauing now bene conuersant with them about three or four houres, they bid her aske me if I would goe my way. I answered her, that I desired nothing els. So the Casique caused two of his Indians to leade me forward in my way; going before me with their bowes and arrowes, naked, the space of three leagues, till they brought me into an high way: and then making a signe vnto me, they signified that in short time I should come to a towne where Christians inhabited, which was called S. Iago de los valles, standing in plaine fields, walled about with a mud wall: the number of the Christians that dwelt therein, were not aboue foure or fiue and twenty, vnto which the king of Spaine giueth Indians and townes, to keepe the countreys subiect vnto him. Here the Christians haue their mighty mules, which they cary for all the parts of the Indies, and into Peru, for that all their merchandize are carried by this meanes by land. In this towne aforesayd, I found my company which I had lost before, who made no other account of me but that I had beene slaine: and the Christians there likewise maruelled to heare that I came from those kinde of Indians aliue, which was a thing neuer seene nor heard of before: for they take a great pride in killing a Christian, and to weare any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and so are accounted for valiant men. In this towne I remained eighteene dayes, till I recouered my health, and in the meane space there came one Don Francisco de Pago, whom the viceroy Don Henrico Manriques had sent for captaine generall, to open and discouer a certeine way from the sea side to the mines of Secatecas, which were from this place 160 leagues, for to transport their merchandize by that way, leauing the way by Mexico, which is seuen or eight weeks trauell. So this captaine tooke me and my company, with the rest of his souldiers, to the number of forty, which he had brought with him, and fiue hundred Indians, which we tooke out of two towns in this prouince called Tanchipa, and Tamaclipa, all good archers and naked men, and went thence to the riuer de las Palmas, which is of great bignesse, parting the kingdome of Nouá Hispania and Florida: and going still along by this riuer the space of three dayes, seeking passage to passe ouer; and finding none, we were at length inforced to cut timber to make a balsa or raft, which when we had made, we sate on it, the Indians swimming in the water, and thrusting it before them to the other side. Within thirty dayes after, trauelling thorow woods, hiles, and mountaines, we came to the mines of Sacatecas, which are the richest mines in all the Indies, and from thence they fetch most siluer: at which mines there dwelt aboue three hundred Christians: and there our Captaine gaue vs leaue to depart. So we came to the valley of S. Michael toward Mexico; and from thence to Pueblo nouo; and from that place to the prouince of Mechuacan, after which name the chiefest city of that place is called; where there dwelles a bishop, aud aboue an hundred Spanyards in it: it aboundeth with all kind of Spanish fruits, and hath woods full of nut trees, and wild vines. Heere are many mines of copper, and great store of cattell. It lieth 60 leagues from Mexico, whither we came within foure dayes after. The Indians of this countrey are very mighty and big men.

Don Henrico Manriques viceroy of Mexico.

Afterwards I returned another way to the prouince of Sonsonate by Vera Cruz, and so to Rio Aluarado, and from thence to the prouince of Campeche, which lieth on the South side of the bay of Mexico; the chiefe towne of this prouince is called Merida, in which is a bishop and almost 100 Spanyards. The

Indians of this prouince pay all their tribute in mantles of cotton wooll and cacao. There is no port in all this prouince for a ship of 100 tun to ride in, but onely in the riuer of Tabasco, by which riuer this city of Merida standeth. The chiefest merchandize which they lade there in small frigats, is a certeine wood called campeche, (wherewith they vse to die) as also hides and annile. By this there lieth the prouince of Iucatan, nere the Honduras by the North sea coast, where there is also another bishop, and a towne likewise named Iucatan, where there dwell a few Spanyards. They haue no force at all in all this coast to defend themselues withall, saue only that the land is low, and there is no port to receiue any shipping, vnlesse they be frigats, which cary from thence to the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, waxe, cacao, hony, and also mantles of cotton wool, whereof they make there great store, and of which kind of merchandize there is great trade thence to Mexico: of the same also they pay their tribute to the king.

The greatnesse of the king of Spaines tribute out of the West Indies.

The king hath tribute brought him yerely out of the Indies into Spaine betweene nine and ten millions of gold and siluer: for he receiueth of euery Indian which is subiect vnto him (excepting those which do belong to the Incommenderos, which are the children of those Spanyards, who first conquered the land, to whom the king gaue and granted the gouernment of the cities and townes subdued for three liues) twelue reals of plate, and a hannege of maiz, which is a wheat of the countrey, (fiue of them making a quarter of English measure) and of euery widow woman he hath sixe reals, and halfe a hannege of maiz. And so if any Indian haue twenty children in his house, he payeth for euery one of them, being aboue fifteene yeres old, after that rate. This Wheat being duely brought to the gouernour of euery prouince and city, is sold in Mexico by the kings gouernours there every yeere; so that the money receiued for it, is put into the kings Treasurie there, and is so yeerely caried from thence into Spaine. Of the Spanyards which are owners of the mines of gold and siluer, he receiueth the fift part of it, which he calleth his quintas, which being taken out of the heape, there is his armes set on it; for otherwise it may not be brought out of the land into Spaine, vnder paine of death. The marke of siluer, which is eight ounces, when it commeth out of the mines, not hauing the kings seale vpon it,

The quinto.

is woorth three and forty reals of plate, and so it is current: and when they will bring it for Spaine, they cary it to the kings Treasure house, where his seale is set vpon it; and so it is raised in value thereby to threescore and foure reals of plate: and so the king hath for his custome of euery marke of plate one and twenty reals.

From the yere of 1570, which was the yeere that the Popes buls came into the Indies, as is afore mentioned, he hath receiued both of the Indians which are tributaries vnto him, and also of all others belonging to the Incommenderos, of euery one being aboue twelue yeeres of age, foure reals of euery bull. Also they cary other pardons with them into the Indies, for such as be dead, although an hundred yeres before the Spanyards came into the countrey: which pardons the friers in their preachings perswaded the poore Indians to take, telling them that with giuing foure reals of plate for a Masse, they would deliuer their soules out of purgatory. Of the Christians likewise dwelling there he hath foureteene reals for euery bull: and there be certeine buls brought thither for the Christians besides the former, which serue for pardoning all such faults wherein they haue trespassed either against the king, by keeping backe his customes, or one against another by any other injury; for euery hundred crownes whereof a mans conscience doth accuse him that he hath deceiued the king or any other, he must giue ten for a bull, and so after that rate for euery hundred which he hath any way stollen, and so is pardoned the fault. The reuenue of his buls after this maner yeeldeth vnto his treasury yeerely aboue three millions of gold, as I haue bene credibly informed, although of late both the Spanyards and Indians do refuse to take the buls; for that they perceiue he doth make a yeerely custome of it: onely ech Indian taketh one pardon for all his householde, (whereas in former time euery Indian vsed to take one for euery person in his house) and teareth the same into small pieces, and giueth to euery one of his householde a little piece, saying thus, they need now no more, seeing in that which they bought the yeere before they had aboue ten thousand yeres pardon. These pieces they sticke vp in the wall of the houses where they lie. Both the Christians and Indians are weary with these infinite taxes and customes, which of late he hath imposed vpon them, more then in the yeeres

The reuenue of the kings buls and pardons came yerely to three millions.

Rebellions in Noua Hispania by too great exactions.

before: so as the people of both sorts did rebell twise in the time that I was among them, and would haue set vp another king of themselues: for which cause the king hath commanded vpon paine of death, that they should not plant either oile or wine there, but should alwayes stand in need of them to be brought out of Spaine, although there would more grow there in foure yeeres, then there groweth in Spaine in twenty, it is so fertile a countrey.

The reasons which mooue the kings of Spaine to forbid forren traffike in the West Indies.

And the king to keepe the countrey alwayes in subiection, and to his owne vse, hath streightly prouided by lawe, vpon paine of death, and losse of goods, that none of these countreys should traffique with any other nation, although the people themselues doe much now desire to trade with any other then with them, and would vndoubtedly doe, if they feared not the perill ensuing thereupon.

About Mexico, and other places in Noua Hispania, there groweth a certaine plant called magueis, which yeeldeth wine, vineger, hony, and blacke sugar, and of the leaues of it dried they make hempe, ropes, shooes which they vse, and tiles for their houses: and at the ende of euery leafe there groweth a sharpe point like an awle, wherewith they vse to bore or pearce thorow any thing.

Thus to make an end, I haue heere set downe the summe of all the chiefest things that I haue obserued and noted in my seuenteene yeres trauell in those parts.

A relation of the commodities of Noua Hispania, and the maners of the inhabitants, written by Henry Hawkes merchant, which liued fiue yeeres in the sayd countrey, and drew the same at the request of M. Richard Hakluyt Esquire of Eiton in the county of Hereford, 1572.

SAint Iohn de Vllua is an Island not high aboue the water, where as now the Spanyards vpon M. Iohn Hawkins being there, are in making a strong fort. In this place all the ships that come out of Spaine with goods for these parts, do vnlade: for they haue none other port so good as this is. The comming into this place hath three chanels, and the best of all is the Northermost, which goeth by the maine land: and on euery side of the chanels there are many small rocks as big as a small barrell: they wil make men stand in doubt of them, but there is no feare of them. There is another Island there by, called The Island of sacrifices, whereas the Spanyards did in times past vnlade their goods: and for that, they say, there are vpon it spirits or deuils, it is not frequented as it hath bene. In these places the North wind hath so great dominion, that oftentimes it destroyeth many ships and barks. This place is giuen to great sicknesse. These Islands stand in 18 degrees and a halfe, and about the same is great plenty of fish.

Fiue leagues from S. Iohn de Vllua is a faire riuer: it lieth Northwest from the port, and goeth to a little towne of the Spanyards called Vera Cruz, and with small vessels or barks, which they call frigats, they cary all their merchandize which commeth out of Spaine, to the said towne: and in like maner bring all the gold, siluer, cochinilla, hides, and all other things that the shippes cary into Spaine vnto them. And the goods being in Vera Cruz, they carry them to Mexico, and to Pueblo de los Angeles, Sacatecas, and Saint Martin, and diuers other places so farre within the countrey, that some of them are 700 miles off, and some more, and some lesse, all vpon horses, mules, and in waines drawen with oxen, and in carres drawen with mules.

In this towne of Vera Cruz within these twenty yeres, when women were brought to bed, the children new borne incontinently died; which is not now in these dayes, God be thanked.

This towne is inclined to many kinde of diseases, by reason of the great heat, and a certeine gnat or flie which they call a mosquito, which biteth both men and women in their sleepe: and assoone as they are bitten, incontinently the flesh swelleth as though they had bene bitten with some venimous worme. And this musquito or gnat doth most follow such as are newly come into into the countrey. Many there are that die of this annoyance.

This towne is situated vpon the riuer aforesayd, and compassed with woods of diuers maners and sorts, and many fruits, as orenges and limons, guiaues, and diuers others, and birds in them, popiniayes both small and great, and some of them as big as a rauen, and their tailes as long as the taile of a fezant. There are also many other kinde of birds of purple colour, and small munkeys, maruellous proper.

This hote or sicke countrey continueth fiue and forty miles towards the city of Mexico; and the fiue and forty miles being passed, then there is a temperate countrey, and full of tillage: but they water all their corn with riuers which they turn in vpon it. And they gather their Wheat twise a yere. And if they should not water the ground where as their corne is sowen, the country is so hote it would burne all.

Before you come to Mexico, there is a great towne called Tlaxcalla, which hath in it aboue 16000 households. All the inhabitants thereof are free by the kings of Spaine: for these were the occasion that Mexico was woone in so short time, and with so little losse of men. Wherefore they are all gentlemen, and pay no tribute to the king. In this towne is all the cochinilla growing.

Mexico is a great city; it hath more then fifty thousand households, whereof there are not past fiue or sixe thousand houses of Spanyards: all the other are the people of the countrey, which liue vnder the Spanyards lawes. There are in this city stately buildings, and many monasteries of friers and nunnes, which the Spanyards haue made. And the building of the Indians is somewhat beautifull outwardly, and within full of small chambers, with very small windowes, which is not so comly as the building of the Spanyards. This city standeth in the midst of a great lake, and the water goeth thorow all or the most part of the streets, and there come small boats. which they call canoas, and in them they bring all things necessary, as wood, and coales, and grasse for their horses, stones and lime to build, and corne.

This city is subiect to many earthquakes, which oftentimes cast downe houses, and kil people. This city is very well prouided of water to drinke, and with all maner of victuals, as fruits, flesh and fish, bread, hennes and capons, Guiny cocks and hennes, and all other fowle. There are in this city euery weeke three Faires or Markets, which are frequented with many people, aswell Spanyards as the people of the countrey. There are in these Faires or Markets all maner of things that may be inuented, to sell, and in especiall, things of the countrey. The one of these Faires is vpon the Munday, which is called S. Hypolitos faire, aud S. Iames his faire is vpon the Thursday, and vpon Saturday is S. Iohns faire. In this city is alwayes the kings gouernour or viceroy, and there are kept the Termes or Parliaments, And although there be other places of iustice, yet this is aboue all: so that all men may appeale vnto this place, and may not appeale from this city, but onely into Spaine before the king: and it must be for a certeine sum: and if it be vnder that summe, then there is no appellation from them. Many riuers fall into this lake which the city standeth in: but there was neuer any place found wither it goeth out.

The Indiaus know a way to drowne the city, and within these three yeeres they would haue practised the same: but they which should haue bene the doers of it were hanged: and euer since the city hath bene well watched both day and night, for feare lest at some time they might be deceiued: for the Indians loue not the Spanyards. Round about the towne there are very many gardens and orchards of the fruits of the countrey, maruellous faire, where the people haue great recreation. The men of this city are maruellous vicious; and in like maner the women are dishonest of their bodies, more then they are in other cities or townes in this countrey.

There are neere about this city of Mexico many riuers and standing waters, which haue in them a monstrous kinde of fish, which is maruellous rauening, and a great deuourer of men and cattell. He is woont to sleepe vpon the drie land many times, and if there come in the meane time any man or beast and wake or disquiet him, he speedeth well if he get from him. He is like vnto a serpent, sauing that he doth not flie, neither hath he wings.

There is West out of Mexico a port towne which is on the South sea, called Puerto de Acapulco, where as there are shippes which they haue ordinarily for the nauigation of China, which they haue newly found. This port is threescore leagues from Mexico.

There is another port towne which is called Guliacan, on the South sea, which lieth West and by North out of Mexico, and is 200 leagues from the same: and there the Spanyards made two ships to goe seeke the streight or gulfe, which, as they say, is betweene the Newfoundland and Groenland; and they call it the Englishmens streight: which as yet was neuer fully found. They say, that streight lieth not farre from the maine land of China, which the Spanyards account to be maruellous rich.

Toward the North from Mexico there are great store of siluer mines. There is greater quantitie of siluer found in these mines toward the North, then there is any other parts: and as the most men of experience sayde alwayes, they finde the richer mines the more Northerly. These mines are commonly vpon great hilles and stony ground, maruellous hard to be laboured and wrought.

Out of some of the mines the Indians finde a certeine kinde of earth of diuers colours, wherewith they paint themselues in times of their dances, and other pastimes which they vse.

In this countrey of Noua Hispania there are also mines of golde, although the golde be commonly found in riuers, or very neere vnto riuers. And nowe in these dayes there is not so much golde found as there hath bene heretofore.

There are many great riuers, and great store of fish in them, not like vnto our kindes of fish. And there are maruellous great woods, and as faire trees as may be seene, of diuers sorts, and especially firre trees, that may mast any shippe that goeth vpon the sea, oakes and pineapples, and another tree which they call Mesquiquez: it beareth a fruit like vnto a peascod, maruellous sweet, which the wilde people gather, and keepe it all the yere, and eat it in stead of bread.

The Spanyards haue notice of seuen cities which old men of the Indians shew them should lie towards the Northwest from Mexico. They haue vsed and vse dayly much diligence in seeking of them, but they cannot find any one of them. They say that the witchcraft of the Indians is such, that when they come by these townes they cast a mist vpon them, so that they cannot see them.

Pedro Morales and Nicolas Burgignon write the like of Copalla.

They haue vnderstanding of another city which they call Copalla: and in like maner, at my beeing in the countrey, they haue vsed much labour and diligence in the seeking of it: they haue found the lake on which it should stand, and a canoa, the head whereof was wrought with copper curiously, and could not finde nor see any man nor the towne, which to their vnderstanding should stand on the same water, or very neere the same.

The strange oxen of Cibola.

There is a great number of beasts or kine in the countrey of Cibola, which were neuer brought thither by the Spanyards, but breed naturally in the countrey. They are like vnto our oxen, sauing that they haue long haire like a lion, and short hornes, and they haue upon their shoulders a bunch like a camell, which is higher then the rest of their body. They are maruellous wild and swift in running. They call them the beasts or kine of Cibola,

Cibola abandoned.

This Cibola is a city which the Spanyards found now of late, without any people in the same, goodly buildings, faire chimneys, windowes made of stone and timber excellently wrought, faire welles with wheeles to draw their water, and a place where they had buried their dead people, with many faire stones vpon the graues. And the captaine would not suffer his souldiers to brake vp any parte of these graues, saying, he would come another time to do it.

A great riuer near Cibola.

They asked certeine people which they met, whither the people of this city were gone: and they made answer, they were gone downe a riuer, which was there by, very great, and there builded a city which was more for their commodity.

This captine lacking things necessary for himselfe and his men, was faine to return backe againe, without finding any treasure according to his expectation: neirher found they but fewe people, although they found beaten wayes, which had beene much haunted and frequented. The captaine at his comming backe againe, had a great checke of the goueruour, because he had not gone forwards, and seene the end of that riuer.

They haue in the countrey, farre from the sea side, standing waters, which are salt: and in the moneths of April and May the water of them congealeth into salt, which salt is all taken for the kings vs and profit.

Dogs of India described.

Their dogs are all crooked backt, as many are of the countrey breed, and cannot run fast: their faces are like the face of a pig or an hog, with sharpe noses.

In certeine prouinces which are called Guatimala, and Soconusco, there is growing great store of cacao, which is a berry like vnto an almond: it is the best merchandize that is in all the Indies. The Indians make drinke of it, and in like maner meat to eat. It goeth currently for money in any market or faire, and may buy an flesh, fish, bread or cheese, or other things.

There are many kinde of fruits of the countrey, which are very good, as plantans, sapotes, guianes, pinas, aluacatas, tunas, mamios, limons, grapes which the Spanyards brought into the countrey, and also wild grapes, which are of the country, and very small, quinses, peaches, figs, and but few apples, and very small, and no peares: but there are melons and calabaçs or gourds.

There is much hony, both of bees and also of a kind of tree which they call magueiz. This hony of magueiz is not so sweet as the other hony, but it is better to be eaten only with bread, then the other is; and the tree serueth for many things, as the leaues make threed to sowe any kind of bags, and are good to couer and thatch houses, and for diuers other things.

They haue in diuers places of the countrey many hote springs of water: as aboue all other, I haue seen one in the prounice of Mechuacan. In a plaine field without any mountaine, there is a spring which hath much water, and it is so hot, that if a whole quarter of beefe be cast into it, within on halfe houre it will be as well sodden as it will be ouer a fire in halfe a day. I haue seene halfe a sheepe cast in it, and immediately it hath bene sodden, and I haue eaten part of it.

There are many hares, and some conies. There are no partridges, but abundance of quailes.

They haue great store of fish in the South sea, and many oisters, and very great. The people do open the oisters, and take out the meat of them, and dry it as they do any other kinde of fish, and keepe them all the yeere: and when the times serue, they send them abroad into the couutry to sell, as all other fish. They haue no salmon, nor trowt, nor pele, nor crape, tench, nor pike in all the countrey.

There are in the countrey mighty high mountaines, and hilles, and snow upon them: they commonly burne; and twise every day they cast out much smoke and ashes at certeine open places, which are in the tops of them.

There is among the wilde people much manna. I haue gathered of the same, and haue eaten it, and it is good: for the Apothecaries send their seruants at certeine times, to gather of the same for purgations, and other vses.

There are in the mountaines many wilde hogs, which all men kill, and lions and tygres; which tygres do much harm to men that trauell in the wildernesse.

Mines discouered, not found againe.

In this countrey, not long since, there were two poore men that found a maruellous rich mine; and when these men went to make a register of the same (according to the law and custom) before the kings officers, they thought this mine not meet for such men as they were: and violently took the sayd mine for the king; and gaue no part thereof vnto the two poore men. And within certaine dayes the kings officers resorted thither to labor in the mine, and they found two great mighty hilles were come together; so they found no place to worke in. And in the time while I was among them, which was fiue yerees, there was a poore shepheard, who keeping his sheepe, happened to finde a well of quicke-siluer; and he went in like maner to manifest the same, as the custome and maner is; the kings officers dealt in like order as they did with the two poore men that found the rich mine, taking it quite from the shepheard: but when they went to fetch home the quicke-siluer, or part thereof, they could neuer finde it againe. So these things haue bene declared vnto the king, who hath giuen commandement, that nothing being found in the fields, as mines, and such like, shall be taken away from any man. And many other things haue bene done in this countrey, which men might count for great maruels.

The authour fiue yeeres in Nueua Espanna.

There is a great abundance of sugar here, and they make diuers conserues, and very good, and send them to Peru, where as they sell them maruellous well, because they make none in those parts.

The people of the countrey are of good statute, tawny coloured, broad faced, flat nosed, and giuen much to drinke both wine of Spaine and also a certeine kind of wine which they make with hony of Maguiez, and roots, and other things which they vse to put into the same. They call the same wine Pulco. They are soone drunke, and giuen to much beastlinesse, and void of all goodnesse. In their drunkennesse, they vse and commit Sodomy; and with their mothers and daughters they haue their pleasures and pastimes. Whereupon they are defended from the drinking of wines, vpon paines of money, aswell he that selleth the wines as the Indian that drinketh the same. And if this commandement were not, all the wine in Spaine and in France were not snfficient for the West Indies onely.

Description of the Indians person and maners.

They are of much simplicity, and great cowards, voide of all valour, and are great witches. They vse diuers times to take with the diuell, to whom they do certaine sacrifices and oblations: many times they haue bene taken with the same, and I haue seene them most cruelly punished for that offence.

The people of Nueua Espanna great cowards.

The people are giuen to learne all maner of occupations and sciences, which for the most part they learned since the coming of the Spanyards: I say all maner of arts. They are very artificiall in making of images with feathers, or the proportion or figure of any man, in all kind of maner as he is. The finenesse and excellency of this is woonderfull, that a barbarous people as they are, should giue themselues to so fine an arte as this is. They are goldsmiths, blackesmiths, and coppersmiths, carpenters, masons, shoomakers, tailors, sadlers, imbroderers, and of all other kind of sciences: and they will do worke so good cheape, that poore young men that goe out of Spaine to get their liuing, are not set on worke: which is the occasion there are many idle people in the countrey. For the Indian will liue all the weeke with lesse then one groat: which the Spanyard cannot do, nor any man els.

The Indians ignorance from whence they came.

They say, that they came of the linage of an olde man which came thither in a boat of wood, which they call a canoa. But they cannot tell whether it were before the flood or after, neither can they giue any reason of the flood, nor from whence they came. And when the Spanyards came first among them, they did certeine sacrifice to an image made in stone, of their owne inuention. The stone was set vpon a great hill, which they made of bricks of earth: they call it their Cowa. And certeine dayes in the yere they did sacrifice, certeine olde men, and yoong children: and onely beleeued in the Sunne and the Moone, saying, that from them they had all things that were needful for them. They haue in these parts great store of cotton wool, with which they make a maner of linen cloth, which the Indians weare, both men and women, and it serueth for shirts and smocks, and all other kind of garments, which they weare vpon their bodies: and the Spanyards vse it to all such purposes, especially such as cannot buy other. And if it were not for this kind of cloth, all maner of cloth that goeth out of Spaine, I say linnen cloth, would be solde out of all measure.

The wilde Indians.

The wilde people go naked, without any thing vpon them. The women weare the skinne of a deere before their priuities, and nothing els vpon all their bodies. They haue no care for any thing, but onely from day to day for that which they haue need to eat. They are big men, and likewise the women. They shoot in bowes which they make of a cherry tree, and their arrowes are of cane, with a sharpe flint stone in the end of the same; they will pierce any coat of maile: and they kill deere, and cranes, and wilde geese, ducks and other fowle, and wormes, and snakes, and diuers other vermin, which they eat. They liue very long: for I haue seene men that haue beene an hundred yeres of age. They haue but very litle haire in their face, nor on their bodies.

The Indians haue the friers in great reuerence: the occasion is, that by them and by there meanes they are free and out of bondage; which was so ordeined by Charles the emperor: which is the occasion that now there is not so much gold and siluer comming into Europe as there was while the Indians were slaues. For when they were in bondage they could not chuse but doe their taske euery day, and bring their masster so much metall out of their mines: but now they must be well payed, and much intreated to haue them worke. So it hath bene, and is a great hinderance to the owners of the mines, and to the kings quinto or custome.

There are many mines of copper in great quantity, whereof they spend in the countrey as much as serueth their turnes. There is some golde in it, but not so much as will pay the costs of the fining. The quantity of it is such, and the mines are so farre from the sea, that it will not be worth the fraight to cary it into Spaine. On the other side, the kings officers will giue no licence to make ordinance thereof; whereupon the mines lie vnlaboured, and of no valuation.

There is much lead in the countrey; so that with it they couer churches, and other religious houses: wherefore they shall not need any of our lead, as they haue had need thereof in times past.

The pompe and liberalitie of the owners of the mines is maruellous to beholde: the apparell both of them and of their wiues is more to be compared to the apparell of noble persons then otherwise. If their wiues go out of their houses, as vnto the church, or any other place, they goe out with great maiesty, and with as many men and maids as though she were the wife of some noble man. I will assure you, I haue seene a miners wife goe to the church with an hundred men, and twenty gentlewomen and maids. They keepe open house: who will, may come and eat their meat. They call men with a bell to come to dinner and supper. They are princes in keeping of their houses, and bountifull in all maner of things.

Things necessary to mines of siluer and golde.

A good owner of mines must haue at the least an hundred slaues to cary and to stampe his metals; he must haue many mules, and men to keepe the mines; he must haue milles to stampe his metals; he must haue many waines and oxen to bring home wood to fine the oare; he must haue much quicke-siluer, and a maruellous quantity of salt-brine for the metals; and he must be at many other charges. And as for this charge of quicke-siluer, it is a new inuention, which they finde more profitable then to fine their oare wite lead. Howbeit the same is very costly: for there is neuer a hundred of quicke-siluer but costeth at the least threescore pounds sterling. And the mines fall dayly in decay, and of lesse value: and the occasion is, the few Indians that men haue to labour their mines.

There is in New Spaine a maruellous increase of cattle, which daily do increase, and they are of a greater growth then ours are. You may haue a great steere that hath an hundred weight of tallow in his belly for sixteene shillings; and some one man hath 2000 head of cattel of his owne. They sell the hides vnto the merchants, who lade into Spaine as many as may be well spared. They spend many in the countrey in shoes and boots, and in the mines: and as the countrey is great, so is the increase of the cattell woonderfull. In the Island of Santo Domingo they commonly kill the beasts for their hides and tallow; and the fowles eat the carkeises: and so they do in Cuba and Porto Rico, whereas there is much sugar, and cana fistula, which dayly they send into Spaine. They have great increase of sheep in like maner, and dayly do intend to increase them. They have much wooll, and as good as the wooll of Spaine. They make cloth as much as serueth the countrey, for the common people, and send much cloth into Peru. I haue seene cloth made in the city of Mexico, which hath beene solde for tenne pezos a vare, which is almost foure pounds English, and the vare is less then our yard. They haue woad growing in the countrey, and allum, and brasill, and diuers other things to die withall, so that they make all colours. In Peru they make no cloth: but heereafter our cloth will be little set by in these pars, vnlesse it be some fine cloth. The wools are commonly foure shillings euery roue, which is fiue and twenty pounds: and in some places of the countrey that are farre from the places where as they make cloth, it is woorth nothing, and doth serue but onely to make beds for men to lie on.

They make hats, as many as do serue the Countrey, very fine and good, and sell them better cheape, then they can be brought out of Spaine, and in like maner send them into Peru.

Many people are set on worke both in the one and in the other: they spin their wooll as we doe, and in steed of oyle, they haue hogs grease: they twist not their threed so much as wee doe, neither worke so fine a threed. They make no kersies, but they make much cloth, which is course, and sell it for lesse than 12. pence the vare. It is called Sayall.

They haue much silke, and make all maner of sorts thereof, as Taffataes, Sattins, Veluets of all colours, and they are as good as the silkes of Spaine, sauing that the colours are not so perfect: but the blackes are better then the blackes that come out of Spaine.

They haue many horses, and mares, and mules, which the Spaniards brought thither. They haue as good Iennets, as any are in Spaine., and better cheape then they bee in Spaine. And with their mules they cary all their goods from place to place.

There is raine vsually in this Countrey, from the moneth of May, to the midst of October, euery day, which time they call their winter, by reason of the said waters. And if it were not for the waters which fall in these hot seasons, their Maiz, which is the greatest part of their sustenance, would be destroyed. This Maiz is the greatest maintenance which the Indian hath, and also all the common people of the Spaniards. And their horses and mules which labour, cannot be without the same. This graine is substantiall, and increaseth much blood. If the Miners should bee without it, they coulde not labour their mines: for all their seruants eate none other bread, but onely of this Maize, and it is made in cakes, as they make oaten cakes, in some places of England.

An Hanega is a bushel and an halfe.

The Indians pay tribute, being of the age of 20. yeeres, 4. shillings of money, and an hanege of Maiz, which is worth 4. shillings more vnto the king euery yeere. This is payd in all Noua Hispania, of as many as be of the age of 20. yeeres, sauing the citie of Tlascalla, which was made free, because the citizens thereof were the occasion that Cortes tooke Mexico in so little a time.* And although at the first they were freed from painment of tribute, yet the Spaniards now begin to vsurpe vpon them, and make them to till a great field of Maiz, at their owne costes euery yeere for the King, which is as beneficial vnto him, and as great cost vnto them, as though they paid their tribute, as the others doe.

---

* The Republic of Tlascala had at first opposed the Spaniards on their advance to Mexico, but being defeated, became their allies and remained true to them throughout the troublous period of the evacuation and siege of the Capital.

The ships which goe out of Spaine with goods for Peru, goe to Nombre de Dios, and there discharge the said goods: and from thence they be carried ouer the necke of a land, vnto a port towne in the South sea, called Panama, which is 17. leagues distant from Nombre de Dios. And there they doe ship their goods againe and so from thence goe to Peru. They are in going thither three moneths, and they come backe againe in 20. dayes. They haue seldome foule weather, and fewe ships are lost in the South sea. Foure yeeres past, to wit 1568. there was a ship made out of Peru, to seeke Salomons Islands, and they came somewhat to the South of the Equinoctial, and found an Island with many blacke people, in such number that the Spaniards durst not go on land among them. And because they had bene long vpon the voyage, their people were very weake, and so went not on land, to know what commoditie was vpon it. And for want of victuals, they arriued in Noua Hispania, in a port called Puerto de Nauidad, and thence returned backe againe vnto Peru, whereas they were euil entreated, because they had not knowen more of the same Island.

Salomons Islands, sought and found in the South Sea 1588.

They haue in this port of Nauidad ordinarily their ships, which goe to the Islands of China,* which are certaine Islands which they haue found within these 7. yeres. They haue brought from thence gold, and much Cinamom, and dishes of earth, and cups of the same, so fine, that euery man that may haue a piece of them, will giue the weight of siluer for it. There was a Mariner that brought a pearle as big as a doues egge from thence, and a stone, for which the Viceroy would haue giuen 3000 duckets. Many things they bring from thence, most excellent. There are many of these ylands, and the Spaniards haue not many of them as yet:* for the Portugals disturbe them much, and combate with them euery day, saying, it is part of their conquest, and to the maine land they cannot come at any hand. There are

China found by the West.

* This is to be understood of the time when this discourse was written, Anno 1572.

---

* The Philippines.

goodly people in them, and they are great Mariners, richly apparelled in cloth of gold, and siluer, and silke of all sorts, and goe apparelled after the maner of the Turkes. This report make such as come from thence. The men of the maine land haue certeine traffique with some of these ylanders, and come thither in a kind of ships, which they haue with one saile, and bring of such marchandize as they haue need of. And of these things there haue bene brought into New Spaine both cloth of gold and siluer, marueilous to be seene. So by their saying, there is not such a countrey in the whole world. The maine land is from the ylands 190. leagues: and the ylands are not farre from the Malucos Northwards. And the people of these ylands, which the Spaniards haue, say, that if they would bring their wiues and children, that then they should haue among them what they would haue. So there goe women dayly, and the king payeth all the charges of the maried men and their wiues, that go to these ylands. And there is no doubt but the trade will be marueilous rich in time to come. It was my fortune to be in company with one Diego Gutieres, who was the first Pilot that euer went to that countrey of the Phillippinas. Hee maketh report of many strange things in that Countrey, as well riches as other, and saith, if there bee any Paradise vpon earth, it is in that countrey: and addeth, that sitting vnder a tree, you shall haue such sweet smels, with such great content and pleasure, that you shall remember nothing, neither wife, nor children, nor haue any kinde of appetite to eate or drinke, the odoriferous smels wil be so sweete. This man hath good liuings in Noua Hispania, notwithstanding hee will returne thither, with his wife and children, and as for treasure there is abundance, as he maketh mention. In this countrey of Noua Hispania there are many buckes and does, but they haue not so long hornes as they haue here in England. The Spaniards kill them with hand guns, and with greyhounds, and the Indians kill them with their bowes and arrowes, and with the skins they make chamoyce, such as we in England make doublets aud hose of, as good as the skins that are dressed in Flanders, and likewise they make marueilous good Spanish leather of them. There is a bird which is like vnto a Rauen, but he hath some of his feathers white: there is such abundance of them, that they eate all the corrupt and dead flesh

China ships with one saile.

Indian Rauens not killed, to deuoure carrion.

which is in the countrey. Otherwise the abundance of carren is so much, that it would make a marueilous corrupt aire in all the countrey, and be so noisome, that no man could abide it. Therefore it is commanded there shall none of them be killed. These birds are alwayes about cities, and townes, where there is much flesh killed.

Wrongs done to the Indians punished.

The Indians are much favoured by the Iustices of the Countrey, and they call them their orphanes. And if any Spaniard should happen to doe any of them harme, or to wrong him in taking any thing from him, as many times they doe, or to strike any of them, being in any towne, whereas iustice is, they are as well punished for the same, as if they had done it one Spaniard to another. When a Spaniard is farre from Mexico, or any place of iustice, thinking to doe with the poore Indian what he list, considering he is so farre from any place of remedy, he maketh the Indian do what he commandeth him, and if he will not doe it, hee beateth and misuseth him, according to his owne appetite. The Indian holdeth his peace, vntill he finde an opportunitie, and then taketh a neighbour with him, and goeth to Mexico, although it be 20. leagues off, and maketh his complaint. This his complaint is immediately heard, and although it be a knight, or a right good gentleman, he is forthwith sent for, and punished, both by his goods, and also his person is imprisoned, at the pleasure of the Iustice. This is the occasion that the Indians are so tame and ciuil, as they are: and if they should not haue this fauour, the Spaniards would soone dispatch all the Indians, or the Indians would kill them. But they may call them dogs, and vse other euil words, as much they will, and the Indian must needes put it vp, and goe his way.

Iustice ye cause of ciuilitie.

The poore Indians wil go euery day two or three leagues to a faire or market with a childe vpon their necks, with as much fruit or rootes, or some kind of ware, as cotton wooll, or cadis of all colours, as shall be not worth a pennie: and they will mainteine themselues vpon the same. For they liue with a marueillous small matter.

They are in such pouertie, that if you neede to ride into the Countrey, you shall haue an Indian to goe with you all the day with your bed vpon his backe, for one royall of plate: and this you shall haue from one towne to another. Here you are to vnderstand, that all men that traueile by the way, are alwayes wont to carry their beds with them. They are great theeues, and wil steale all that they may, and you shall haue no recompence at their hands.

The apparel of the Indians.

The garments of the women, are in this maner. The vppermost part is made almost like to a womans smocke, sauing that it is as broade aboue as beneath, and hath no sleeues, but holes on eche side one to put out their armes. It is made of linnen cloth made of cotton wooll, and filled full of flowers, of red cadis and blew, and other colours. This garment commeth downe to the knees, and then they haue another cloth made after the same maner, and that goeth rounde about their waste, and reacheth to their shooes and ouer this a white fine sheet vpon their heads, which goeth downe halfe the legge. Their haire is made vp round with an haire lace about their head. And the men haue a small paire of breaches of the same cotton wooll, and their shirts which hang ouer their breeches, and a broad girdle about their middles, and a sheete with flowers vpon their backes, and with a knot vpon one shoulder and an hat vpon their heads, and a paire of shoes. And this is all their apparell, although it be a Casique, which they vse in all the Countrey.

The wals of the houses of the Indians, are but plaine, but the stones are layd so close, that your shall not well perceiue the ioynts betweene one stone and another, they are so finely cut: and by the meanes that the stones are so workmanly done, and finely ioyned together, there is some beautie in their wals. They are marueilous small and light, as Pumie stones. They make their doores very little, so that there can go in but one man at a time. Their windowes, and roomes within their houses are small, and one roome they haue reserued for their friends, when they come to talke one with another, and that is alwayes faire matted, and kept marueilous cleane, and hanged full of images, and their chaires standing there to sit in. They eate their meate vpon the ground, and sleepe on the ground vpon a mat, without any bed, both the gentlemen, and other.

The Indians strike their fire with one sticke in another, aswell the tame people, as the wilde. For they know not how to do it with an yron, and a stone.

Diuers speeches.

In Noua Hispania, euery 10. or 12. leagues they haue a contrary speach, sauing onely about Mexico: so there is a number of speeches in the Countrey.

Mutezuma, and his riches.

Mutezuma which was the last King of this Countrey, was one of the richest princes which haue bene seene in our time, or long before. He had all kinde of beasts which were then in the countrey, and all maner o birdes, and fishes, and all maner of wormes, which creepe vpon the earth, and all trees, and flowers, and herbes, all fashioned in siluer and golde, which was the greatest part of al his treasure, and in these things had he great ioy, as the old Indians report. And vnto this day, they say that the treasure of Mutezuma is hidden, and that the Spaniards haue it not. This King would giue none of his people freedome, nor forgiue any of them that should pay him tribute, though he were neuer so poore. For if it had bene told him that one of his tributaries was poore, and that he was not able to pay his tribute according to the custome, then he would haue him bound to bring at such times as tributes should be payd, a quill full of Lice, saying, hee would haue none free, but himselfe. He had as many wiues or concubines, as hee would haue, and such as liked him. Alwayes whensoeuer he went out of his Court to passe the time, he was borne vpon 4. of his noble mens shoulders set vpon a table, some say, of golde, and very richly dressed with feathers of diuers and many colours and flowers. He washed all his body euery day, were it neuer so cold. And vnto this day so do all the Indians, and especially the women.

The Indians wash themselues euery day.

The Spaniards keepe the Indians in great subjection. They may haue in their houses no sword nor dagger, nor knife with any point, nor may weare vpon them any maner of armes, neither may they ride vpon any horse nor mules, in any sadle nor bridle, neither may they drinke wine, which they take for the greatest paine of all. They haue attempted diuers times to make insurrections, but they haue bene ouerthrowen immediatly by their owne great and beastly cowardlinesse.*

Cannybals.

There remaine some among the wild people, that vnto this day eate one another. I haue seene the bones of a Spaniard that haue been as cleane burnished, as though it had been done by men that had no other occupation.

---

* This cannot be said of the aboriginal Mexicans, as nothing could have surpassed the determination and courage they showed during the great siege of Mexico.

And many times people are caried away by them, but they neuer come againe, whether they be men or women.

They haue in the Sea ylands of red salt in great abundance, whereas they lade it from place to place about the Sea coast: and they spend very much salt with salting their hides and fish: and in their mines they occupie great quantitie. They haue much Alume, and as good as any that is in all the Leuant, so that they neede none of that commoditie. They have also of their owne growing, much Cana fistula, and much Salsa Perilla, which is marueilous good for many kind of diseases.

There are in Florida many Iarrefalcons, and many other kinde of hawkes, which the gentlemen of Noua Hispania send for euery yeere. The Spaniards haue two forts there, chiefly to keepe out the Frenchmen from planting there.

A discourse written by one Miles Philips Englishman, one of the company put on shoare Northward of Panuco, in the West Indies, by M. Iohn Hawkins 1568. conteining many special things of that countrey and of the Spanish gouernment, but specially of their cruelties vsed to our Englishmen and amongst the rest to himselfe for the space of 15. or 16 yeres together, vntil by good and happy means he was deliuered from their bloody hands, and returned into his owne Countrey. An. 1582.*

Chap. I.

Wherein is shewed the day and time of our departure from the coast of England, with the number and names of the ships, their Captaines and Masters, and of our trafique and dealing vpon the coast of Africa.

This fleet consisted of 6 ships

VPon Munday the second of October 1567. the weather being reasonable faire, our Generall M. Iohn Hawkins, hauing commanded all his Captaines and Masters to be in a readinesse to make sail with him, hee himselfe being imbarked in the Iesus, whereof was appointed for Master Robert Barret, hoised saile, and departed from Plymouth vpon his intended voyage for the parts of Africa, and America, being accompanied with fiue other saile of ships, as namely the Mynion, wherein went for Captaine M. Iohn Hampton, and Iohn Garret Master. The William and Iohn, wherein was Captaine Thomas Bolton, and Iames Raunce Master. The Iudith, in whom was Captaine M. Francis Drake afterward knight, and the Angel, whose Master, as also the Captaine and Master of the Swallow I now remember not. And so sayling in company together vpon our voyage vntil the tenth of the same moneth, an extreeme storme then tooke vs neere vnto Cape Finister, which dured for the space of foure dayes, and so separated our ships, that wee had lost one another, and our Generall finding the Iesus to bee but in ill case, was in minde to giue over the voyage, and to returne home. Howbeit the eleuenth of the same mometh the Seas waxing calme, and the winde comming faire, he altered his purpose, and held on the former entended voyage: And so comming to the yland of Gomera being one of the ylands of the Canaries, where according to an order before appointed, we met with all our ships which were before dispersed, wee then took in fresh water and departed from thence the fourth of Nouember, and holding on our course, vpon the eightenth day of the same moneth wee came to an ancker vpon the coast of Africa, at Cape Verde in twelue fadome water; and here our Generall landed certaine of our men, to the number of 160. or thereabout, seeking to take some Negros. And they going vp into the Countrey for the space of sixe miles, were encountred with a great number of the Negros: who with their enuenomed arrowes did hurt a great number of our men, so that they were inforced to retire to the ships, in which conflict they recouered but a few Negros, and of these our men which were hurt with their enuenomed arrowes, there died to the number of seuen or eight in very strange maner, with their mouths shut, so that wee were forced to put stickes and other things into their mouths to keepe them open,* and so afterward passing the time vpon the coast of Guinea, until the twelfth of Ianuary, we obteined by that time the number of 150. Negros. And being ready to depart from the Sea coast, there was a Negro sent as an Ambassadour to our Generall, from a King of the Negros, which was oppressed with other Kings his bordering neighbours, desiring our Generall to graunt him succour and ayde against those his enemies, which our Generall granted vnto, and went himselfe in person a lande, with the number of two hundreth of our men or thereabouts, and the said King which had requested our ayde, did ioyne his force with ours, so that thereby our Generall assaulted, and set fire vpon a Towne of the said King his enemies, in which there was at the least the number of eight or ten thousand Negros, and they perceiuing that they were not able to make any resistance sought by flight to saue themselues, in which their flight there were taken prisoners to the number of eight or nine hundreth, which our Generall ought to haue had for his share: howbeit the Negro King which requested our ayde, falsifying his word and promise, secretly in the night conueyed himselfe away with as many prisoners as he had in his custodie: but our Generall notwithstanding finding himselfe to haue nowe very neere the number of 500. Negros thought it best without longer abode to depart with them, and such marchandize as hee had from the coast of Africa, towards the West Indies,* and therefore commanded with all diligence to take in fresh water and fewel, and so with speed to prepare to depart. Howbeit before we departed from thence, in a storme that wee had, wee lost one of our ships, namely the William and Iohn, of which ship and of her people, we heard no tidings during the time of our voyage.

---

* This account differs in some slight particulars from that given by Sir John Hawkins himself, which will be found in Volume XV. of this edition.

---

* They died of tetanus.

The William and Iohn separated and neuer after met with the fleete.

Chap. 2.

Wherein is shewed the day and time of our departure from the coast of Africa, with the day and time of our arriuall in the West Indies, also of our trade, and trafique there, and also of the great crueltie that the Spaniards vsed towards vs, by the Vice-roy his direction, and appointment, falsifying his faith and promise giuen, and seeking to haue intrapped vs.

ALl things being made in a readinesse, at our Generall his appointment, vpon the thirde day of Februarie 1568. wee departed from the coast of Africa, hauing the weather somewhat tempestuous, which made our passage the more hard; and sayling so for the space of 52. dayes, vpon the 27. of March

---

* All three voyages made by Hawkins to the West, in 1562, 1564 and 1567 were for the purpose of trading in slaves.

1568. we came in sight of an yland called Dominica, vpon the coast of America in the West Indies, situated in 14.* degrees of latitude, and 322. of longitude: from thence our Generall coasted from place to place, euer making trafique with the Spaniards and Indians as hee might, which was somewhat hardly obtained, for that the King had straightly charged all his gouernours in those parts not to trade with any: yet notwithstanding, during the moneths of April and May, our Generall had reasonable trade and trafique, and courteous entertainement in sundry places, as at Margarita, Coraçao, and else where, til we came to Cape de la vela,† and Rio de Hacha,‡ (a place from whence all the pearles doe come:) the gouernour there would not by any meanes permit vs to haue any trade or trafique, nor yet suffer vs to take in fresh water: by meanes whereof our Generall for the auoyding of famine and thirst about the beginning of Iune, was enforced to land two hundreth of our men, and so by maine force and strength to obtaine that which by no faire meanes hee could procure: And so recouering the Towne with the losse of two of our men, there was a secret and peaceable trade admitted, and the Spaniards came in by night, and bought of our Negroes to the number of 200. and vpwards, and of our other merchandize also. From thence we departed for Carthagena, where the Gouernour was so straight, that wee could not obteine any trafique there, and so for that our trade was neere finished, our Generall thought it best to depart from thence the rather for the auoyding of certaine dangerous stormes called the Huricanos, which accustomed to begin there about that time of the yere, and so the 24. of Iuly 1568. we departed from thence directing our course North: and leauing the yland of Cuba vpon our right hand, to the Eastward of vs, and so sayling toward Florida, vpon the 12. of August an extreeme tempest arose, which dured for the space of 8. dayes, in which our ships were most dangerously tossed and beaten hither, and thither, so that we were in continuall feare to be drowned by reason of the shallownes of the coast, and in the end we were constrained to flee for succour to the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, or Vera Cruz, situated in 19. degrees of latitude, and in 279. degrees of longitude, which is the port that serueth for the Citie of Mexico: in our seeking to recouer this port our Generall met by the way three small ships that caried passengers, which hee tooke with him, and so the sixtenth of September 1568. wee entered the saide port of S. Iohn de Vllua. The Spaniards there supposing vs to haue bene the King of Spaines Fleete, the chiefe officers of the Countrey thereabouts came presently aboord our Generall, where perceiuing themselues to haue made an vnwise aduenture, they were in great feare to haue bene taken and stayed: howbeit our Generall did vse them all very courteously. In the said port there were twelue ships which by report had in them in treasure to the value of two hundreth thousand pound, all which being in our Generall his power and at his deuotion, he did freely set at libertie, as also the passengers which he had before stayed, nor taking from any of them all the value of one groat: onely hee stayed two men of credite and accompt, the one named Don Laurenzo de Alua, and the other Don Pedro de Riuera, and presently our Generall sent to the Viceroy to Mexico which was threescore leagues off, certifying him of our arriuall there by force of weather, desiring that forasmuch as our Queene his Soueraigne, was the king of Spaine his louing sister and friend, that therefore hee would, considering our necessities and wants, furnish vs with victuals for our Nauie, and quietly suffer vs to repaire and amend our ships. And furthermore that at the arriual of the Spanish Fleet which was there dayly expected and looked for, to the ende that there might no quarell arise betweene them, and our Generall and his company for the breach of amitie, he humbly requested of his excellencie, that there might in this behalfe some special order be taken. This message was sent away the 16. of September 1568. it being the very day of our arriual there.

---

* Should be 18 degrees.

† In Venezuela.

‡ In Colombia.

Mexico 60. leagues from S. Iuan de Vllua.

The next morning being the seuententh of the same moneth, wee descried 13. saile of great shippes: and after that our Generall vnderstood, that it was the king of Spaines Fleete then looked for, he presently sent to aduertise the Generall hereof, of our being in the sayd port, and giuing him further to vnderstand, that before he should enter there into that harbour, it was requisite that there should passe betweene the two Generals some orders and conditions to bee obserued on either part, for the better contriuing of peace betweene them and theirs, according to our Generals request made vnto the Viceroy. And at this instant our Generall was in a great perplexitie of minde, considering with himselfe that if hee shoulde keepe out that Fleete from entring into the port, a thing which hee was very well able to doe with the helpe of God, then should that Fleete be in danger of present shipwracke and losse of all their substance, which amounted vnto the value of one million and eight hundreth thousand pounds. Againe he saw that if he suffered them to enter, hee was assured that they would practise by all maner of meanes to betray him and his, and on the other side the hauen was so little, that the other Fleete entring, the shippes were to ride one hard aboord of another. Also hee saw that if their Fleete should perish by his keeping of them out, as of necessitie they must if he should haue done so, then stood hee in great feare of the Queene our Soueraignes displeasure in so waightie a cause: therefore did he choose the least euill, which was to suffer them to enter vnder assurance, and so to stand vpon his guard, and to defend himselfe and his from their treasons which we were well assured they would practise, and so the messenger being returned from Don Martin de Henriques, the newe Vice-roy, who came in the same Fleete, and had sufficient authoritie to command in all cases both by Sea and by lande in this prouince of Mexico or new Spaine, did certifie our Generall, that for the better maintenance of amitie betweene the king of Spaine and our Soueraigne, all our requests should bee both fauourably granted, and faithfully perfourmed: signifying further that he heard and vnderstood of the honest and friendly dealing of our Generall, toward the king of Spaines subiects in all places where he had bene, as also in the said port: so that to bee briefe our requests were articled, and set downe in writing. Viz.

It is put downe 6. millions in Sir Iohn Hawkins his relation.

4. Articles concluded vpon, betwixt the English and the Spaniards; although the treacherous Spaniards kept none of them.

1 The first was that wee might haue victuals for our money, and licence to sell as much wares, as might suffice to furnish our wants.

2 The second, that we might be suffered peaceably to repaire our ships.

3 The thirde that the yland might bee in our possession during the time of our abode there, In which yland our Generall for the better safetie of him and his had alreadie planted and placed certaine Ordinance which were eleuen pieces of brasse, therefore he required that the same might so continue, and that no

Spaniard should come to lande in the saide yland, hauing or wearing any kinde of weapon.

4. The fourth and the last, that for the better and more sure performance and maintenance of peace, and of all the conditions, there might twelue gentlemen of credite bee deliuered of either part as hostages.

These conditions were concluded and agreed vpon in writing by the Viceroy and signed with his hand, and sealed with his seale, and 10. hostages vpon either part were receiued. And further it was concluded that the two Generals should meet, and giue faith ech to other for the performance of the premisses. Al which being done, the same was proclaimed by the sound of a trumpet, and commandement was giuen that none of either part should violate or breake the peace vpon paine of death: thus at the ende of three dayes all was concluded, and the Fleete entred the port, the ships saluting one another as the maner of the Sea doth require: the morrow after being Friday we laboured on all sides in placing the English ships by themselues, the Captaines and inferiour persons of either part, offering, and shewing great courtesie one to another, and promising great amity vpon all sides. Howbeit as the sequel shewed, the Spaniards meant nothing lesse vpon their parts. For the Viceroy and gouernour thereabout had secretly at land assembled to the number of 1000. chosen men, and wel appointed, meaning the next Thursday being the 24. of September at dinner time to assault vs, and set vpon vs on all sides. But before I go any further, I thinke it not amisse briefly to discribe the maner of the yland as it then was, and the force and strength, that it is now of. For the Spaniards since the time of our Generals being there, for the better fortifying of the same place, haue vpon the same yland built a faire Castle and bulwarke very well fortified: this port was then at our being there, a little yland of stones, not past three feet aboue water in the highest place, and not past a bow-shotte ouer any way at the most, and it standeth from the maine land, two bowshootes or more: and there is not in all this coast any other place for ships safely to arriue at: also the North windes in this coast are of great violence and force, and vnlesse the shippes bee safely moored in, with their anckers fastened in this yland, there is no remedie, but present destruction and shipwracke. All this our generall wisely foreseeing,

A faire castle and bulwarke builded vpon the yland of San Iuan de Vllua.

did prouide that he would haue the said yland in his custody, or els the Spaniards might at their pleasure, haue but cut our cables, and so with the first Northwinde that blewe, we had had our passport, for our ships had gone a shoore. But to returne to the matter.

The time approching that their treason must be put in practise, the same Thursday morning, some appearance thereof began to shewe it selfe, as shifting of weapons from shippe to shippe, and planting, and bending their Ordinance against our men that warded vpon the lande, with great repaire of people: which apparant shewes of breach of the Viceroyes faith caused our Generall to sende one to the Viceroy, to enquire of him what was meant thereby, which presently sent and gaue order, that the Ordinance aforesayde, and other things of suspicion should bee remooued, returning answere to our Generall in the faith of a Viceroy, that hee would bee our defence and safetie from all villanous treacherie: this was vpon Thursday in the morning. Our Generall not being therewith satisfied, seeing they had secretly conueyed a great number of men aboord a great hulke or ship of theirs of sixe hundreth tunne, which shippe rode hard by the Mynion, hee sent againe to the Viceroy Robert Barret the Master of the Iesus, a man that could speake the Spanish tongue very well, and required that those men might bee vnshipt againe, which were in that great hulke. The Viceroy then perceiuing that their treason was throughly espied, stayed our Master, and sounded the Trumpet, and gaue order that his people should vpon all sides charge vpon our men, which warded on shoore, and else where, which strooke such a mase, and sudden feare among vs, that many gaue place, and sought to recouer our shippes for the safetie of themselues. The Spaniards which secretly were hid in ambush at lande were quickly conueyed ouer to the yland in their long boates, and so comming to the yland, they slewe all our men that they could meete with, without mercy. The Minion which had somewhat before prepared her selfe to auoyd the danger, haled away and abode the first brunt of the 300 men that were in the great hulke: then they sought to fall aboord the Iesus, where was a cruel fight, and many of our men slaine: but yet our men defended themselues, and kept them out: so the Iesus also got loose, and ioyning with the Minion, the fight waxed hote vpon all sides: but they hauing

The value of a Spanish viceroy his faith.

The villanous treacherie of the Spaniards and their crueltie.

woon and got our ordinance on shore, did greatly annoy vs. In this fight there were two great shippes of the Spaniards sunke, and one burnt, so that with their shippes they were not able to harme vs, but from the shore they beat vs cruelly with our owne ordinance, in such sort that the Iesus was very sore spoyled: and suddenly the Spaniards hauing fired two great ships of their owne, they came directly against vs, which bred among our men a marueilous feare. Howbeit the Minion which had made her sayles ready, shifted for her selfe, without consent of the Generall, Captaine or Master, so that very hardly our Generall could be receiued into the Minion: the most of our men that were in the Iesus shifted for themselues, and followed the Minion in the boat, and those which that small boat was not able to receiue, were most cruelly slaine by the Spaniards. Of our ships none escaped sauing the Minion and the Iudith: and all such of our men as were not in them were inforced to abide the tyrannous cruelty of the Spaniards. For it is a certaine trueth, that whereas they had taken certaine of our men ashore, they tooke and hung them vp by the armes vpon high postes vntill the blood burst out of their fingers ends: of which men so vsed, there is one Copstow, and certaine others yet aliue, who by the mercifull prouidence of the almighty, were long since arriued here at home in England, carying still about with them (and shall to their graues) the marks and tokens of those their inhumane and more then barbarous cruell dealings.

Copstowe one of M. Hawkins men returned from Nueua Espanna.

Chap. 3.

Wherein is shewed, how that after we were escaped from the Spaniards, wee were like to perish with famine at the Sea, and how our Generall, for the auoiding thereof was constrained to put halfe of his men on land, and what miseries wee after that sustained amongst the Sauage people, and how againe we fell into the hands of the Spaniards.

AFter that the Viceroy, Don Martin Henriques, had thus contrary to his faith and promise most cruelly dealt with our Generall master Hawkins, at S. Iohn de Vllua, where most of his men were by the Spaniards slaine and drowned, and all his ships sunke and burned, sauing the Minion, and the Iudith, which was a small barke of fiftie tunne, wherein was then Captaine master Francis Drake aforesayd: the same night the said barke lost vs, we being in great necessitie, and inforced to remoue with the Minion two bow-shoote from the Spanish fleete, where we ankered all that night: and the next morning wee weyed anker, and recouered an island a mile from the Spaniards, where a storme tooke vs with a North winde, in which we were greatly distressed, hauing but two cables and two ankers left: for in the conflict before we had lost three cables and two ankers. The morrow after, the storme being ceased and the weather faire, we weied, and set sayle, being many men in number, and but small store of victuals to suffice vs for any long time: by meanes whereof we were in despaire and feare that we should perish through famine, so that some were in minde to yeelde themselues to the mercy of the Spaniards, other some to the Sauages or Infidels, and wandring thus certaine daies in these vnknowen seas, hunger constrained vs to eate hides, cats and dogs, mice, rats, parrats and munkies: to be short, our hunger was so great, that wee thought it sauorie and sweete whatsoeuer wee could get to eate.

And on the eight of October wee came to land againe, in the bottome of the bay of Mexico, where we hoped to haue found some inhabitants, that wee might haue had some reliefe of victuals, and a place where to repaire our ship, which was so greatly bruised, that we were scarse able with our weary armes to keepe foorth the water: being thus oppressed with famine on the one side and danger of drowning on the other, not knowing where to find reliefe, wee began to bee in wonderfull despaire, and wee were of many mindes, amongst whom there were a great many that did desire our Generall to set them on land, making their choise rather to submit themselues to the mercie of the Sauages or Infidels, then longer to hazard themselues at sea, where they very well sawe, that if they should remaine together, if they perished not by drowning, yet hunger would inforce them in the ende to eate one another: to which request our Generall did very willingly agree, considering with himselfe that it was necessary for him to lessen his number, both for the safetie of himselfe and the rest: and thereupon being resolued to set halfe his people ashore that he had then left aliue, it was a world to see how suddenly mens minds were altered: for they which a little before desired to be set on land, were now of another minde, and requested rather to stay: by meanes whereof our Generall was inforced for the more contentation of all mens minds, and to take away all occasions of offence, to take this order: First he made choice of such persons of seruice and account, as were needefull to stay, and that being done, of those which were willing to goe he appointed such as he thought might be best spared, and presently appointed that by the boate they should bee set on shore, our Generall promising vs that the next yeere he would either come himselfe, or else send to fetch vs home. Here againe it would haue caused any stony heart to haue relented to heare the pitifull mone that many did make, and howe loth they were to depart: the weather was then somewhat stormy and tempestuous, and therefore we were to passe with great danger, yet notwithstanding there was no remedy, but we that were appointed to goe away, must of necessitie doe so. Howbeit those that went in the first boat were safely set on shore, but of them which went in the second boate, of which number I my selfe was one, the seas wrought so high, that we could not attaine to the shore, and therefore we were constrained through the cruell dealing of Iohn Hamptone captaine of the Minion, and Iohn Sanders boatswaine of the Iesus, and Thomas Pollard his mate, to leape out of the boate into the maine sea, hauing more then a mile to shore, and so to shift for ourselues, and either to sinke or swimme. And of those that so were (as it were) throwen out, and compelled to leape into the sea, there were two drowned, which were of captaine Blands men.

They were put on land 25 leagues northward of Panuco the 8 of October 1568.

In the euening of the same day, it being Munday the eight of October, 1568, when we were all come to shore, we found fresh water, whereof some of our men drunke so much, that they had almost cast themselues away, for wee could scarse get life of them for the space of two or three houres after: other some were so cruelly swollen, what with the drinking in of the salt water, and what with the eating of the fruit which wee found on land, hauing a stone in it much like an almond (which fruit is called Capule) that they were all in very ill case, so that we were in a maner all of vs both feeble, faint and weake.

The next morning being Tewsday, the ninth of October, we thought it best to trauell along by the sea coast, to seeke out some place of habitation: (whether they were Christians or

Sauages, we were indifferent, so that we might haue wherewithall to sustaine our hungry bodies) and so departing from an hill where we had rested all night, not hauing any drie threed about vs, (for those that were not wet being not throwen into the sea, were thorowly wet with raine, for all the night it rained cruelly :) As we went from the hil, and were come into the plaine, we were greatly troubled to passe for the grasse and weedes that grewe there higher then any man. On the left hand we had the sea, and vpon the right hand great woods, so that of necessitie we must needs passe on our way Westward, through those marshes; and going thus, suddenly we were assaulted by the Indians, a warlike kind of people, which are in a maner as Canibals, although they doe not feede vpon mans flesh as Canibals doe.

Chichimici a warlike and cruell people.

These people are called Chichimici, and they vse to weare their haire long, euen down to their knees, they doe also colour their faces greene, yellow, red and blew, which maketh them to seeme very ougly and terrible to beholde. These people doe keepe warres against the Spaniards, of whom they haue bene oftentimes very cruelly handled: for with the Spaniards there is no mercy. They perceiuing vs at our first comming on land, supposed vs to haue bene their enemies, the bordering Spaniards, and hauing by their forerunners descried what number we were, and how feeble and weake without armour or weapon, they suddenly according to their accustomed maner, when they encounter with any people in warlike sorte, raised a terrible and huge crie, and so came running fiercely vpon vs, shooting off their arrowes as thicke as haile, vnto whose mercy we were constrained to yeeld, not hauing amongst vs any kind of armour, nor yet weapon, sauing one caliuer, and two old rustie swords, whereby to make any resistance, or to saue ourselues: which when they perceiued that wee sought not any other then fauour and mercie at their handes, and that we were not their enemies the Spaniards, they had compassion on vs, and came and caused vs all to sit down: and when they had a while surueyed, and taken a perfect view of vs, they came to all such as had any coloured clothes amongst vs, and those they did strip starke naked, and tooke their clothes away with them, but those that were apparelled in blacke they did not meddle withall, and so went there wayes, and left vs

Our men assailed by the Chichemici.

without doing vs any further hurt, onely in the first brunt they killed eight of our men. And at our departure, they perceiuing in what weake case we were, pointed vs with their hands which way we should go to come to a towne of the Spaniards, which as we afterwards perceiued, was not past ten leagues from thence, vsing these words: Tampice, Tampice Christiano, Tampice Christiano, which is as much (we thinke) as to say in English, at Tampice you shall find the Christians. The weapons that they vse are no other but bowes and arrowes, and their aime is so good, that they very seldome misse to hit any thing that they shoote at. Shortly after they had left vs stript (as aforesayd) we thought it best to diuide our selues into two companies, and so being separated, halfe of vs went vnder the leading of one Anthony Godard, who is yet a man aliue, and dwelleth at this instant in the towne of Plimmouth, whom before we chose to be captaine ouer vs all, and those which went vnder his leading, of which number I Miles Philips was one, trauailed Westward that way which the Indians with their hands had before pointed vs to go. The other halfe went vnder the leading of one Iohn Hooper, whom they did choose for their captain, and with the company that went with him, Dauid Ingram was one, and they tooke their way and trauelled Northward, and shortly after, within the space of two dayes, they were againe incountered with the sauage people, and their captaine Hooper and two more of his company were slaine: then againe they diuided themselues, and some held on their way still Northward, and other some, knowing that we were gone Westward, sought to meet with vs againe, as in truth there was about the number of 25 or 26 of them that met with vs in the space of foure dayes againe, and then we began to reckon amongst our selues, how many wee were that were set on shore, and we found the number to be an hundred and foureteene, whereof two were drowned in the sea, and eight were slaine at the first incounter, so that there remained an hundred and foure, of which 25 went Westward with vs, and 52 to the North with Hooper and Ingram: and as Ingram since hath often told me, there were not past three of their company slaine, and there were but sixe and twenty of them that came againe to vs, so that of the company that went Northward, there is yet lacking, and not certainely heard of, the number of three and twenty men. And verely I doe thinke that there are of them

Eight of our men slaine.

yet aliue, and married in the said countrey, at Cibola, as hereafter I purpose (God willing) to discourse of more particularly, with the reason and causes that make mee so to thinke of them that were lacking, which were Dauid Ingram, Twide, Browne, and sundry others, whose names wee could not remember. And being thus met againe together, we trauelled on still Westward, sometime thorow such thicke woods, that we were inforced with cudgels to breake away the brambles and bushes from tearing our naked bodies: other sometimes we should trauell thorow the plaines, in such high grasse that we could scarse see one another, and as we passed in some places, we should haue of our men slaine, and fall downe suddenly, being strooken by the Indians, which stood behinde trees and bushes, in secret places, and so killed our men as they went by, for wee went scatteringly in seeking of fruites to relieue our selues. We were also oftentimes greatly annoyed with a kind of flie, which in the Indian tongue is called Tequani, and the Spaniards called them Muskitos. There are also in the sayd countrey a number of other kinde of flies, but none so noysome as these Tequanies bee: you shall hardly see them they be so small, for they are scarse so big as a gnat: they will sucke ones blood marueilously, and if you kill them while they are sucking, they are so venimous that the place will swell extremely, euen as one that is stoong with a Waspe or Bee: but if you let them sucke their fill, and to goe away of themselues, then they doe you no other hurt, but leaue behind them a red spot somewhat bigger then a flea-biting. At the first wee were terribly troubled with these kinde of flies, not knowing their qualities, and resistance wee could make none against them, being naked: as for cold wee feared not any, the countrey there is alwayes so warme. And as we trauelled thus for the space of tenne or twelue dayes, our captaine did oftentimes cause certaine to goe vp into the toppes of high trees, to see if they could descrie any towne or place of inhabitants, but they could not perceiue any, and vsing often the same order to climbe vp into high trees, at the length they descried a great riuer that fell from the Northwest into the maine sea, and presently after, we heard an harquebuze shot off, which did greatly incourage vs, for thereby wee knew that we were neere to some Christians, and did therefore hope shortly to finde some succour and comfort, and within the space of one houre after, as we trauelled, we heard a cocke crowe, which was also no small ioy vnto vs, and so we came to the North side of the riuer of Panuco, where the Spaniards haue certaine Salines, at which place it was that the harquebuze was shot off, which before we heard: to which place we went not directly, but missing thereof, we left it about a bowshot vpon our left hand: of this riuer wee dranke very greedily, for wee had not met with any water in sixe dayes before, and as we were here by the riuer side resting our selues, and longing to come to the place where the cocke did crowe, and where the harquebuze was shot off, we perceiued many Spaniards vpon the other side of the riuer, riding vp and downe on horsebacke, and they perceiuing vs, did suppose that we had beene of the Indians their bordering enemies, the Chichimeci: the riuer was not past halfe a bowe shoot ouer: and presently one of the Spaniards tooke an Indian boate called a Canoa, and so came ouer, being rowed by two Indians, and hauing taken the view of vs, did presently rowe ouer backe againe to the Spaniards, who without any delay made out about the number of twenty horsemen, and imbarking themselues in the Canoas, they led their horses by the reines swimming ouer after them, and being come ouer to that side of the riuer where we were, they sadled their horses, and being mounted vpon them with their lances charged, they came very fiercely running at vs. Our captaine Anthony Godard seeing them come in that order, did perswade vs to submit and yeelde our selues vnto them, for being naked, as we at this time were, and without weapon, we could not make any resistance, whose bidding we obeied, and vpon the yeelding of our selues, they perceiued vs to be Christians, and did call for more Canoas, and caried vs ouer by foure and foure in a boat, and being come on the other side, they vnderstanding by our captaine how long we had bene without meate, imparted between two and two a loafe of bread made out of that countrey wheat, which the Spaniards call Maiz, of the bignesse of our halfepenie loaues, which bread is named in the Indian tongue Clashacally. This bread was very sweete and pleasant vnto vs, for we had not eaten any in a long time before: and what is it that hunger doth not make to haue a sauory and delicate taste? And hauing thus parted the bread amongst vs, those which were men they sent afore to the towne, hauing also many Indians inhabitants of that place to garde them: they which were yong, as boyes, and some such also as were feeble, they tooke vp vpon their horses, behind them, and so caried vs to the towne where they dwelt, which was very neere distant a mile from the place where we came ouer.

The Salines of Panuco.

This towne is well situated, and well replenished with all kindes of fruits, as Orenges, Limons, Pomegranates, Apricoks, and Peaches, and sundry others, and is inhabited with a great number of tame Indians, or Mexicans, and had in it also at that time about the number of two hundred Spaniards, men, women, and children, besides Negros. Of their Salines, which lie upon the West side of the riuer, more then a mile distant from thence, they make a great profit, for it is an excellent good merchandize there: the Indians doe buy much thereof, and cary it vp into the countrey, and there sell it to their owne countrey people, in doubling the price. Also much of the Salt made in this place, is transported from thence by sea to sundry other places, as to Cuba, S. Iohn de Vllua, and the other ports of Tamiago, and Tamachos, which are two barred hauens West and by South aboue threescore leagues from S. Iohn de Vllua. When we were all come to the towne, the Gouernor there shewed himselfe very seuere vnto vs, and threatened to hang vs all: and then he demanded what money wee had, which in trueth was very little, for the Indians which we first met withall, had in a maner taken all from vs, and of that which they left, the Spaniards which brought vs ouer, tooke away a good part also: howbeit, from Anthony Godard the Gouernour here had a chaine of gold, which was giuen vnto him at Carthagena, by the Gouernour there, and from others he had some small store of money: so that we accounted that amongst vs all he had the number of fiue hundred Pezos, besides the chaine of gold.

And hauing thus satisfied himselfe, when he had taken all that we had, he caused vs to be put into a little house much like a hogstie, where we were almost smoothered: and before we were thus shut vp into that little coat, they gaue vs some of the countrey wheate, called Mayz, sodden, which they feede their hogs withall. But many of our men which had bene hurt by the Indians at our first comming on land, whose wounds were very sore and grieuous, desired to haue the helpe of their Surgeons to cure their wounds. The gouernour, and most of them all answered, that wee should haue none other Surgeon but the hangman, which should sufficiently heale vs of all our griefes: and thus reuiling vs, and calling vs English dogs, and Lutheran heretikes, we remained the space of three dayes in this miserable state, not knowing what should become of vs, waiting euery houre to be bereaued of our liues.

Chap. 4.

Wherein is shewed how we were vsed in Panuco, and in what feare of death we were there, and how we were caried to Mexico to the Viceroy, and of our imprisonment there and at Tescuco, with the courtesies and cruelties wee receiued during that time, and how in the end wee were by proclamation giuen to serue as slaues to sundry gentlemen Spaniards.

VPon the fourth day after our comming thither, and there remaining in a perplexitie, looking euery houre when we should suffer death, there came a great number of Indians and Spaniards weaponed to fetch vs out of the house, and amongst them we espied one that brought a great many of new halters, at the sight whereof we were greatly amazed, and made no other account but that we should presently haue suffered death, and so crying and calling to God for mercie and forgiuenesse of our sinnes, we prepared our selues, making vs ready to die: yet in the end, as the sequel shewed, their meaning was not so: for when wee were come out of the house, with those halters they bound our armes behind vs, and so coupling vs two and two together, they commanded vs to march on through the towne, and so along the countrey from place to place toward the citie of Mexico, which is distant from Panuco West and by South the space of ninetie leagues, hauing onely but two Spaniards, to conduct vs, they being accompanied with a great number of Indians warding on either side with bowes and arrowes, lest we should escape from them. And trauelling in this order, vpon the second day at night we came vnto a towne which the Indians call Nohele, and the Spaniards call it Santa Maria: in which towne there is a house of white friers, which did very courteously vse vs, and gaue vs hote meat, as mutton and broath, and garments also to couer our selues withal, made of white bayes: we fed very greedily of the meat, and of the Indian fruit, called Nochole, which fruit is long and small, much like in fashion to a little cucumber. Our greedy feeding caused vs to fall sicke of hote burning agues. And here at this place one

Thomas Baker one of our men died of a hurt: for he had bene besore shot with an arrow into the throat at the first incounter.

The next morrow about ten of the clocke, we departed from thence, bound two and two together, and garded as before, and so trauailed on our way toward Mexico, till we came to a towne within forty leagues of Mexico, named Mestitlan, where is a house of blacke friers: and in this towne there are about the number of three hundred Spaniards, both men, women, and children. The friers sent vs meat from the house ready dressed, and the friers, and the men and women vsed vs very courteously, and gave vs some shirts and other such things as we lacked. Here our men were very sicke of their agues, and with eating of another fruit called in the Indian tongue, Guiaccos, which fruit did binde vs so sore, that for the space of tenne or twelue dayes we could not ease our selues. The next morning we departed from thence with our two Spaniards and Indian gard, as aforesayd. Of these two Spaniards the one was an aged man, who all the way did very courteously intreate vs, and would carefully go before to prouide for vs both meat and things necessary to the vttermost of his power: the other was a yong man who all the way trauelled with vs, and neuer departed from vs, who was a very cruell caitiue, and he caried a iaueline in his hand, and sometimes when as our men with very feeblenesse and faintnesse were not able to goe so fast as he required them, he would take his iauelin in both his handes, and strike them with the same betweene the necke and the shoulders so violently, that he would strike them downe; then would he cry, and say, Marchad, marchad Ingleses perros, Luterianos, enemigos de Dios: which is as much to say in English, as March, march on you English dogges, Lutherans, enemies to God. And the next day we came to a towne called Pachuca, and there are two places of that name: as this towne of Pachuca, and the mines of Pachuca, which are mines of siluer, and are about sixe leagues distant from this towne of Pachuca towards the Northwest.

Here at this towne the good olde man our Gouernour suffered vs to stay two dayes and two nights, hauing compassion of our sicke and weake men, full sore against the minde of the yoong man his companion. From thence we tooke our iourney, and trauelled foure or fiue dayes by little villages, and Stantias, which are farmes or dairie houses of the Spaniards, and euer as wee had neede, the good olde man would still prouide vs sufficient of meates, fruites, and water to sustaine vs. At the end of which fiue dayes wee came to a towne within fiue leagues of Mexico, which is called Quoghliclan, were wee also stayed one whole day and two nights, where was a faire house of gray friers, howbeit wee saw none of them. Here wee were told by the Spaniards in the towne, that wee had not past fifteene English miles from thence to Mexico, whereof wee were all very ioyfull and glad, hoping that when we came thither, we should either be relieued, and set free out of bonds, or els bee quickly dispatched out of our liues: for seeing our selues thus caried bound from place to place, although some vsed vs courteously, yet could wee neuer ioy, nor be merrie till wee might perceiue our selues set free from that bondage, either by death or otherwise.

The next morning we departed from thence on our iourney towards Mexico, and so trauelled till wee came within two leagues of it, where there was built by the Spaniards a very faire church, called our Ladyes church, in which there is an image of our Lady of siluer and gilt, being as high, and as large as a tall woman, in which church, and before this image, there are as many lamps of siluer as there be dayes in the yeere, which vpon high dayes are all lighted. Whensoeuer any Spaniards passe by this church, although they be on horse backe, they will alight, and come into the church, and kneele before this image, and pray to our Lady to defend them from all euil; so that whether he be horseman or footman he will not passe by, but first goe into the Church, and pray as aforesayd, which if they doe not, they thinke and beleeue that they shall neuer prosper: which image they call in the Spanish tongue, Nuestra sennora de Guadalupe. At this place there are certain cold baths, which arise, springing vp as though the water did seeth: the water thereof is somewhat brackish in taste, but very good for any that have any sore or wound, to wash themselues therewith, for as they say, it healeth many: and euery yeere once vpon our Lady day the people vse to repair thither to offer, and to pray in that Church before the image, and they say that our Lady of Guadalupe doeth work a number of miracles. About this Church there is not any towne of Spaniards that is inhabited, but certaine Indians doe dwell there in houses of their own countrey building.

Here we were met with a great number of Spaniards on horsebacke, which came from Mexico to see vs, both gentlemen, and men of occupations, and they came as people to see a wonder: we were still called vpon to march on: and so about foure of the clocke in the afternoone of the said day we entered into the citie of Mexico, by the way or street called La calle Santa Catherina: and we stayed not in any place till we came to the house or palace of the Vice Roy, Don Martin Henriques, which standeth in the middest of the city, hard by the market place, called La plaça del Marquese. We had not stayed any long time at this place, but there was brought vs by the Spaniards from the market place great store of meat, sufficient to haue satisfied fiue times so many as we were: some also gaue vs hats, and some gaue vs money: in which place we stayed for the space of two houres, and from thence we were conueyed by water in two large Canoas to an hospital where as certaine of our men were lodged, which were taken before the fight at S. Iohn de Vllua: wee should haue gone to our Ladies hospitall, but that there were also so many of our men taken before at that fight that there was no roome for vs. After our coming thither, many of the company that came with me from Panuco dyed within the space of fourteene dayes: soone after which time we were taken foorth from that place, and put altogether into our Ladies hospitall, in which place we were courteously vsed, and visited oftentimes by vertuous gentlemen and gentlewomen of the citie, who brought vs diuers things to comfort vs withall, as succats and marmilads, and such other things, and would also many times giue vs many things, and that very liberally. In which hospitall we remained for the space of sixe moneths, vntill we were all whole and sound of body, and then we were appointed by the Vice Roy to be caried vnto the towne of Tescuco, which is from Mexico Southwest distant eight leagues:* in which towne there are certaine houses of correction and punishment for ill-people called Obraches, like to Bridewell here in London: into which place diuers Indians are sold for slaues, some for ten yeeres, and some for twelue. It was no small griefe vnto vs when we vnderstood that we should be caried thither, and to bee vsed as slaues, we had rather be put to death: howbeit there was no remedy, but we were caried to the prison of Tescuco, where we were not put to any labour, but were very straitly kept, and

Certaine Englishmen taken prisoners at the fight at Sant Iuan de Vllua.

---

* It is nothing of the kind, being 16 miles East North East of Mexico, on the banks of Lake Tezcuco.

almost famished, yet by the good prouidence of our mercifull God, we happened there to meet with one Robert Sweeting, who was the sonne of an Englishman, borne of a Spanish woman: this man could speake very good English, and by his means wee were holpen very much with victuals from the Indians, as mutton, hennes, and bread. And if we had not bene so relieued, we had surely perished: and yet all the prouision that wee had gotten that way was but slender. And continuing thus straightly kept in prison there for the space of two moneths, at the length wee agreed amongst our selues to breake forth of prison, come of it what would, for we were minded rather to suffer death then longer to liue in that miserable state. And so hauing escaped out of prison, we knew not what way to flie for the safetie of our selues, the night was darke, and it rained terribly, and not hauing any guide, we went we knew not whither, and in the morning, at the appearing of the day, we perceiued our selues to be come hard to the city of Mexico, which is 24 English miles from Tescuco. The day being come we were espied by the Spaniards, and pursued, and taken, and brought before the Vice Roy and head iustices, who threatend to hang vs for breaking of the kings prison. Yet in the end they sent vs into a garden belonging to the Vice Roy, and comming thither, we found there our English gentlemen which were deliuered as hostages when as our General was betrayed at S. Iohn de Vllua, as is aforesaid, and with them wee also found Robert Barret, the Master of the Iesus, in which place we remained labouring and doing such things as we were commanded, for the space of 4 moneths, hauing but two sheepe a day allowed to suffice vs all, being very neere a hundred men, and for bread we had euery man two loaues a day, of the quantity of one halfe-peny loafe. At the end of which foure moneths, they hauing remooued our gentlemen hostages, and the Master of the Iesus to a prison in the Vice Roy his own house, did cause it to be proclaimed, that what gentleman Spaniard soeuer was willing or would haue any English man to serue him, and be bound to keepe him forth comming, to appeare before the Iustices within one moneth after notice giuen, that they should repaire to the said garden, and there take their choice: which proclamation was no sooner made, but the gentlemen came and repaired to the garden amaine, so that happie was he that could soonest get one of vs,

Almost an hundred Englishmen prisoners in Mexico.

Chap. 5.

Wherein is shewed in what good sort, and how wealthily we liued with our masters vntil the comming of the Inquisition, when as againe our sorrows began a fresh: Of our imprisonment in the holy house, and of the seuere iudgement, and sentences giuen against vs, and with what rigour and crueltie the same were executed.

THe gentlemen that thus tooke vs for their seruants or slaues, did new apparell vs through out, with whom we abode, doing such seruice as they appointed vs vnto, which was for the most part to attend vpon them at the table, and to be as their chamberlaines, and to waite vpon them when they went abroad, which they greatly accounted of; for in that countrey no Spaniard will serue one another, but they are all of them attended and serued by Indians weekly, and by Negroes which be their slaues during their life. In this sort we remained and serued in the said citie of Mexico, and thereabouts for the space of a yeere and somewhat longer. Afterwards many of vs were by our masters appointed to go to sundry of their Mines where they had to doe, and to be as ouerseers of the Negroes and Indians that laboured there. In which mines many of vs did profite and gaine greatly: for first we were allowed three hundred Pezos a man for a yeere, which is threescore pound sterling, and besides that the Indians and Negroes which wrought vnder our charge, vpon our well using and intreating of them, would at times as vpon Saturdayes when they had left worke, labour for vs, and blow as much siluer as should be worth vnto vs 3 markes or there abouts, euery marke being worth 6 Pezos, and a halfe of their money, which 19 Pezos and a halfe, is worth 4li. 10s. of our money. Sundry weeks we did gaine so much by this means besides our wages, that many of vs became very rich, and were worth three thousand or foure thousand Pezos, for we liued and gained thus in those Mines some three or foure yeeres. As concerning those Gentlemen which were deliverd as hostages, and that were kept in prison, in the Viceroy his house, after that we were gone from out the garden to serue sundry gentlemen as aforesaid, they remained prisoners in the said house for the space of 4 moneths after their comming thither, at the end whereof the fleete being readie to depart from S. Iohn de Vllua, to goe for Spaine, the said Gentlemen were sent away into Spaine with the fleete, where as I haue heard it credibly reported, many of them died with the cruell handling of the Spaniards in the Inquisition house, as those which haue bene deliuered home after they had suffered the persecution of that house can more perfectly declare. Robert Barret also master of the Iesus, was sent away with the fleete into Spaine the next yeere following, where afterwards he suffered persecution in the Inquisition, and at the last was condemned to be burnt, and with him one more of our men whose name was Iohn Gilbert.

Now after that sixe yeeres were fully expired since our first coming into the Indies, in which time we had bene imprisoned and serued in the said countreys as is before truely declared, In the yeere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred seuenty foure, the Inquisition began to be established in the Indies, very much against the mindes of many of the Spaniards themselues: for neuer vntil this time since their first conquering and planting in the Indies, were they subiect to that bloodie and cruell Inquisition. The chiefe Inquisitor was named Don Pedro Moya de Contreres, and Iohn de Bouilla his companion, and Iohn Sanches the Fischall, and Pedro de los Rios the Secretary: they being come and setled, and placed in a very faire house neere vnto the white Friers, considering with themselues that they must make an entrance and beginning of that their most detestable Inquisition here in Mexico, to the terror of the whole countrey, thought it best to call vs that were Englishmen first in question, and so much the rather, for that they had perfect knowledge and intelligence that many of vs were become very rich, as hath bene alreadie declared, and therefore we were a very good booty and pray to the Inquisitors: so that now againe began our sorrowes a fresh, for we were sent for, and sought out in all places of the countrey, and proclamation made vpon paine of loosing of goods and excommunication that no man should hide or keepe secret any Englishmen or any part of their goods. By means whereof we were all soone apprehended in all places, and all our goods seized and taken for the Inquisitors vse, and so from all parts of the countrey we were conueied and sent as prisoners to the citie of Mexico, and there committed to prison in sundry darke dungeons, where we could not see but by candle light, and were neuer past two together in one place, so that we saw not one another, neither could one of vs tell what was become of another.

Thus we remained close imprisoned for the space of a yeere and a halfe, and others for some lesse time, for they came to prison euer as they were apprehended. During which time of our imprisonment, at the first beginning we were often called before the Inquisitors alone, and there seuerely examined of our faith, and commanded to say the Pater noster, the Aue Maria, and the Creed in Latin, which God knoweth a great number of vs could not say, otherwise then in the English tongue. And hauing the said Robert Sweeting who was our friend at Tescuco alwayes present with them for an interpreter, he made report for vs, y^{t} in our own countrey speech we could say them perfectly, although not word for word as they were in Latin. Then did they proceede to demand of vs vpon our othes what wee did beleeue of the Sacrament, and whether there did remaine any bread or wine after the words of consecration, yea or no, and whether we did not beleeue that the host of bread which the priest did hold vp ouer his head, and the wine that was in the chalice, was the very true and perfect body and blood of our Sauiour Christ, yea or no: To which if we answered not yea, then was there no way but death. Then they would demand of vs what we did remember of our selues, what opinions we had held, or had bin taught to hold contrary to the same whiles we were in England: to which we for the safety of our liues were constrained to say, that we neuer did beleeue, nor had bene taught otherwise then as before we had sayd. Then would they charge vs that we did not tell them the truth, that they knew the contrary, and therefore we should cal our selues to remembrance, and make them a better answer at the next time, or els we should be rackt, and made to confesse the trueth whether we would or no. And so comming againe before them the next time, we were still demanded of our beliefe whiles we were in England, and how we had bin taught, and also what we thought or did know of such of our owne company as they did name vnto vs, so that we could neuer be free from such demands, and at other times they would promise vs, that if we would tell them trueth, then should we haue fauour and be set at libertie, although we very wel knew their fair speeches were but means to entrap vs, to the hazard and losse of our liues: howbeit God so mercifully wrought for vs by a secret means that we had, that we kept vs still to our first answer, and would stil say that we had told the trueth vnto them, and knew no more by our selues nor any other of our fellows then as we had declared, and that for our sinnes and offences in England against God and our Lady, or any of his blessed Saints, we were heartily sory for the same, and did cry God mercy, and besought the Inquisitors for Gods sake, considering that we came into those countreyes by force of weather, and against our wils, and that neuer in all our lives we had either spoken or done any thing contrary to their lawes, that therefore they would haue mercy vpon vs. Yet all this would not serue; for still from time to time we were called upon to confesse, and about the space of 3 moneths before they proceeded to their seuere iudgement, we were al rackt, and some enforced to vtter that against themselves, which afterwards cost them their liues. And thus hauing gotten from our own mouthes matter sufficient for them to proceed in iudgement against vs, they caused a large scaffold to be made in the middest of the maket place in Mexico right ouer against the head church, and 14 or 15 daies before the day of their iudgement with the sound of a trumpet, and the noise of their Attabalies, which are a kind of drummes, they did assemble the people in all parts of the citie: before whom it was then solemnely proclaimed that whosoeuer would vpon such a day repaire to the market place, they should heare the sentence of the holy Inquisition against the English heretikes, Lutherans, and also see the same put in execution. Which being done, and the time approching of this cruell iudgement, the night before they came to the prison where we were, with certaine officers of that holy hellish house, bringing with them certaine fooles coats which they had prepared for vs, being called in their language S. Benitos, which coats were made of yellow cotton and red crosses vpon them, both before and behind: they were so busied in putting on their coats about vs, and bringing vs out into a large yard, and placing and pointing vs in what order we should go to the scaffold or place of iudgmeut vpon the morrow, that they did not once suffer vs to sleepe all that night long. The next morning being come, there was giuen to every one of vs for our breakfast a cup of wine, and a slice of bread fried in honie, and so about eight of the clocke in the morning, we set foorth of the prison, euery man alone in his yellow coat, and a rope about his necke, and a great greene Waxe candle in his hand vnlighted, hauing a Spaniard appointed to goe vpon either side of euery one of vs: and so marching in this order and maner toward the scaffold in the market place, which was a bow

Our men are cruelly rackt.

shoot distant or thereabouts, we found a great assembly of people all the way, and such a throng, that certain of the Inquisitors officers on horseback were constrained to make way, and so comming to the scaffold, we went vp by a paire of stayres, and found seates readie made and prepared for vs to sit downe on, euery man in order as he should be called to receiue his iudgement. We being thus set downe as we were appointed, presently the Inquisitors came vp another paire of staires, and the Viceroy and all the chiefe Iustices with them. When they were set downe and placed vnder the cloth of estate agreeing to their degrees and calling, then came vp also a great number of Friers, white, blacke and gray, about the number of 300 persons, they being set in the places for them appointed. Then was there a solemne Oyes made, and silence commanded, and then presently beganne their seuere and cruell iudgement.

The cruell iudgements of the Spanish Inquisitors vpon our poore countrey-men.

The first man that was called was one Roger the chiefe Armourer of the Iesus, and hee had iudgement to haue three hundred stripes on horsebacke, and after condemned to the gallies as a slaue for 10 yeeres.

After him were called Iohn Gray, Iohn Brown, Iohn Moone, Iames Collier, and one Thomas Browne: these were adiudged to haue 200 stripes on horsebacke, and after to be committed to the gallies for the space of 8 yeeres.

Then was called Iohn Keyes, and was adiudged to have 100 stripes on horsebacke, and condemned to serue in the gallies for the space of 6 yeeres.

Then were seuerally called the number of 53 one after an other, and euery man had his seueral iudgement, some to haue 200 stripes on horseback, and some 100, and condemned for slaues to the gallies, some for 6 yeeres, some for 8 and some for 10.

And then was I, Miles Philips, called, and was adiudged to serue in a monasterie for 5 yeeres, without any stripes, and to weare a fooles coat, or S. Benito, during all that time.

Then were called Iohn Storie, Richard Williams, Dauid Alexander, Robert Cooke, Paul Horsewell and Thomas Hull: these sixe were condemned to serue in monasteries without stripes, some for three yeeres and some for foure, and to weare the S. Benito during all the said time. Which being done, and it now drawing toward night, George Riuelly, Peter Momfrie, and

Cornelius the Irishman, were called and had their iudgement to be burnt to ashes, and so were presently sent away to the place of execution in the market place but a little from the scaffold, where they were quickly burnt and consumed. And as for vs that had receiued our iudgement, being 68 in number, we were caried backe that night to prison againe. And the next day in the morning being good Friday, the yeere of our Lord 1575, we were all brought into a court of the Inquisitors pallace, where we found a horse in a readinesse for euery one of our men which were condemned to haue stripes, and to be committed to the gallies, which were in number 60 and so they being inforced to mount vp on horsebacke naked from the middle vpward, were caried to be shewed as a spectacle for all the peoble to behold throughout the chiefe and principall streetes of the citie, and had the number of stripes to euery one of them appointed, most cruelly laid vpon their naked bodies with long whips by sundry men appointed to be the executioners thereof: and before our men there went a couple of criers which cried as they went: Behold these English dogs, Lutherans, enemies to God, and all the way as they went there were some of the Inquisitors themselues, and of the familiars of that rakehel order, that cried to the executioners, Strike, lay on those English hereticks, Lutherans, Gods enemies: and so this horrible spectacle being shewed round about the citie, they returned to the Inquisitors house with their backes all gore blood, and swollen with great bumps, and were then taken from their horses, and carried againe to prison, where they remained vntill they were sent into Spaine to the gallies, there to receiue the rest of their martirdome: and I and the 6 other with me which had iudgement, and were condemned amongst the rest to serue an apprentiship in the monastery, were taken presently and sent to certaine religious houses appointed for the purpose.

Chap. 6.

Wherein is shewed how we were vsed in the religious houses, and that when the time was expired, that we were adiudged to serue in them, there came newes to Mexico of M. Francis Drakes being in the South Sea, and what preparation was made to take him, and how I seeking to escape, was againe taken, and put in prison at Vera Cruz, and how againe I made mine escape from thence.

I Miles Philips and William Lowe were appointed to the blacke Friers, where I was appointed to be an ouerseer of Indian workmen, who wrought there in building of a new church: amongst which Indians I learned their language of Mexican tongue very perfectly, and had great familiaritie with many of them, whom I found to be a courteous and louing kind of people, ingenious, and of great vnderstanding, and they hate and obhorre the Spaniards with all their hearts, they haue vsed such horrible cruelties against them, and do still keepe them in such subiection and seruitude, that they and the Negros also doe daily lie in waite to practise their deliuerance out of that thraldome and bondage, that the Spaniards doe keepe them in. William Lowe he was appointed to serue the Cooke in the kitchen, Richard Williams and Dauid Alexander were appointed to the Grey Friers, Iohn Story and Robert Cooke to the white Friers: Paul Horsewel the Secretary tooke to be his seruant: Thomas Hull was sent to a Monastery of priests, where afterward he died. Thus we serued out the yeeres that we were condemned for, with the vse of our fooles coates, and we must needs confesse that the Friers did vse very courteously: for euery one of vs had his chamber with bedding and diet, and all things cleane and neat: yea many of the Spaniards and Friers themselues do vtterly abhorre and mislike of that cruell Inquisition, and would as they durst bewaile our miseries, and comfort vs the best they could, although they stood in such feare of that diuelish Inquisition, that they durst not let the left hande know what the right doth. Now after that the time was expired for which we were condemned to serue in those religious houses, we were then brought againe before the chiefe Inquisitor, and had all our fooles coates pulled off and hanged vp in the head church, called Ecclesia Maior, and euery mans name and iudement written thereupon with this addition, An heretike Lutheran reconciled. And there are also all their coates hanged vp, which were condemned to the gallies, with their names and iudgements, and vnderneath his coat, Heretike Lutheran reconciled. And also the coats and names of the three that were burned, whereupon were written, An obstinate heretike Lutheran burnt. Then were we suffered to goe vp and downe the countrey, and to place our selues as we could, and yet not so free, but that we very well knew that there was good espiall alwayes attending vs and all our actions, so that we durst not once speake or looke awry. Dauid Alexander and Robert Cooke returned to serue the Inquisitor, who shortly after maried them both to two of his Negro women: Richard Williams maried a rich widow of Biskay with 4000 Pezos: Paul Horsewell is maried to a Mestisa, as they name those whose fathers were Spaniards, and their mothers Indians, and this woman which Paul Horsewell hath maried, is sayd to be the daughter of one that came in with Hernando Cortes the conquerour, who had with her in mariage foure thousand Pezos, and a faire house: Iohn Storie is maried to a Negro woman: William Lowe had leaue and licence to goe into Spaine where he is now maried: for mine owne part I could neuer throughly settle my selfe to marry in that countrey, although many faire offers were made vnto me of such as were of great abilitie and wealth, but I could haue no liking to liue in that place, where I must euery where see and know such horrible idolatrie committed, and durst not once for my life speake against it: and therefore I had alwayes a longing and desire to this my natiue countrey: and, to returne and serue againe in the Mines where I might haue gathered great riches and wealth, I very well saw that at one time or another I should fall againe into the danger of that diuelish Inquisition, and so be stript of all, with losse of life also, and therefore I made my choice rather to learne to weaue Grogranes and Taffaties, and so compounding with a Silke-weauer, I bound my selfe for three yeeres to serue him, and gaue him an hundred and fiftie Pezos to teach me the science, otherwise he would not haue taught mee vnder seuen yeeres prentiship, and by this meanes I liued the more quiet, and free from suspition. Howbeit I should many times be charged by familiars of that diuelish house, that I had a meaning to runne away into England, and to be an heretike Lutheran againe: To whom I would answere that they had no neede to suspect any such thing in mee, for that they knew all very well that it was impossible for me to escape by any maner of meanes: yet notwithstanding I was called before the Inquisitor, and demaunded why I did not marrie: I answered that I had bound myselfe at an occupation. Well said the Inquisitor, I knowe thou meanest to runne away, and therefore I charge thee here vpon paine of burning as an heretike relapsed, that thou depart not out of this citie, nor come neere to the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, nor to any other port: To the which I answered that I would willingly obey. Yea said he, see thou doe so, and thy fellowes also, they shall haue the like charge.

So I remained at my science the full time, and learned the Art, at the end wherof there came newes to Mexico that there were certaine Englishmen landed with a great power at the port of Acapulco, vpon the South sea, and that they were comming to Mexico to take the spoyle thereof, which wrought a marueilous great feare amongst them, and many of those that were rich began to shift for themselues, their wiues and children: vpon which hurlie burlie the Viceroy caused a generall muster to be made of all the Spaniards in Mexico, and there were found to be the number of 7000 and odde householders of Spaniards in the citie and suburbs, and of single men vnmaried, the number of 3000 and of Mestizoes, which are counted to be the sonnes of Spaniards, borne of Indian women, twenty thousand persons, and then was Paul Horsewel and I Miles Philips sent for before the Viceroy, and were examined if we did know an English man named Francis Drake, which was brother to Captaine Hawkins: to which we answered, that Captaine Hawkins had not any brother but one, which was a man of the age of threescore yeeres or thereabouts, and was now gouernour of Plimmouth in England And then he demanded of vs if we knewe one Francis Drake, and we answered, no.

While these things were in doing, there came newes that all the Englishmen were gone, yet were there eight hundred men made out vnder the leading of seueral Captains, whereof two hundred were sent to the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, vpon the North Sea vnder the conduct of Don Luys Suares, two hundred were sent to Guatimala in the South sea, who had for their captaine Iohn Cortes, two hundred more were sent to Guatulco, a port of the South sea, ouer whom went for captaine Don Pedro de Robles, and two hundred more were sent to Acapulco, the port where it was said that Captaine Drake had bene. And they had for Captaine doctor Robles Alcalde de Corte, with whom I Miles Philips went as interpreter, hauing licence giuen by the Inquisitors. When we were come to Acapulco, we found that Captaine Drake was departed from thence, more then a moneth before we came thither. But yet our captaine Alcalde de Corte there presently embarked himselfe in a small ship of threescore tunne or thereabout, hauing also in companie with him two other small barkes, and not past two hundred men in all, with whom I went as interpreter in his owne ship, which God knoweth was but weake and ill appointed, so that for certaine, if we had met with Captaine Drake, he might easily haue taken vs all: We being imbarked kept our course and ranne Southward towards Panama, keeping still as nigh the shore as we could, and leauing the land vpon our left hand, and hauing coasted thus for the space of eighteene or twentie dayes, and being more to the South then Guatimala, we met at last with other ships which came from Panama, of whom we were certainly informed that he was cleane gone off the coast more then a moneth before: and so we returned backe to Acapulco againe, and there landed, our Captaine being thereunto forced, because his men were very sore sea-sicke: All the while that I was at Sea with them I was a glad man, for I hoped that if we met with master Drake, we should all be taken, so that then I should haue beene freed out of that danger and miserie wherein I liued, and should returne to mine owne countrey of England againe. But missing thereof, when I sawe there was no remedie but that we must needes come on lande againe, little doeth any man know the sorow and griefe that inwardly I felt, although outwardly I was constrained to make faire weather of it. And so being landed, ye next morow after, we began our iourney towardes Mexico, and past these townes of name in our way, as first the towne of Tuatepec, 50 leagues from Mexico, from thence to Washaca, 40 leagues from Mexico: from thence to Tepiaca 24 leagues from Mexico, and from thence to Pueblo de los Angeles, where is a high hill which casteth out fire three times a day, which hill is 18 leagues in maner directly West from Mexico, from thence we went to Stapelapa, 8 leagues from Mexico, and there our captaine and most of his men tooke boat, and came to Mexico againe, hauing bene forth about the space of seuen weekes or thereabouts. Our captaine made report to the Viceroy what he had done, and how farre he had trauelled, and that for certaine he was informed that Captaine Drake was not to be heard of. To which the Viceroy replied and said, Surely we shall haue him shortly come into our hands driuen a land through necessitie in some one place or other, for he being now in these seas of Sur, it is not possible for him to get out of them againe, so that if he perish not at sea, yet hunger wil force him to land. And then againe I was commanded by the Viceroy that I should not depart the citie of Mexico, but alwaies be at my masters house in a readinesse at an houres warning, when soeuer I should be called: for that notwithstanding

The Spanish Viceroy prophecied, but falsely.

within one moneth after certaine Spaniards going to Mecameca, 18 leagues from Mexico, to send away certaine hides and Cochinilla, that they had there at their Stantias or dairie houses, and my master hauing leaue of the Secretarie for me to go with them, I tooke my iourney with them being very well horsed and appointed, and comming thither and passing the time there at Mecameca certaine dayes till we had perfect intelligence that the fleete was readie to depart, I not being past 3 daies iourney from the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, thought it to be the meetest time for me to make an escape, and I was the bolder, presuming vpon my Spanish tongue, which I spake as naturally as any of them all, thinking with my selfe, that when I came to S. Iohn de Vllua, I would get to be entertained as a souldiour, and so go home into Spaine in the same Fleete, and therefore secretly one euening late, the moone shining faire, I conueyed my selfe away, and riding so for the space of two nights and two dayes, sometimes in, and sometimes out, resting very little all that time, vpon the second day at night I came to the towne of Vera Cruz, distant from the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, where the ships rode, but only 5 leagues, and here purposing to rest my selfe a day or two, I was no sooner alighted, but within the space of one halfe houre after, I was by ill hap arrested, and brought before Iustices there, being taken and suspected to be a gentlemans sonne of Mexico, that was runne away from his father, who in trueth was the man they sought for: So I being arrested, and brought before the Iustices, there was a great hurly burly about the matter, euery man charging me that I was the sonne of such a man dwelling in Mexico, which I flatly denied, affirming that I knewe not the man, yet would they not beleeue me, but vrged stil vpon me that I was he that they sought for, and so I was conueied away to prison. And as I was thus going to prison, to the further increase of my griefe, it chanced that at that very instant there was a poore man in the presse that was come to towne to sell hennes, who told the Iustices that they did me wrong, and that in truth he knew very well that I was an Englishman and no Spaniard. They then demanded of him how he knew that, and threatned him that he said so, for that he was my companion, and sought to conuey me away from my father, so that he also was threatned to be laid in prison with me: he for the discharge of himselfe stood stifly in it, that I was an Englishman, and one of captaine Hawkins men, and that he had knowen me weare the S. Benito in the Blacke-friers at Mexico, for 3 or 4 whole yeres together: which when they heard, they forsooke him, and began to examine me a new, whether that speech of his were true, yea or no, which when they perceiued that I could not denie, and perceiuing that I was run from Mexico, and came thither of purpose to conuey my selfe away with the fleete, I was presently committed to prison with a sorrowfull heart, often wishing my selfe that that man which knew me had at that time bene further off: howbeit he in sinceritie had compassion of my distressed estate, thinking by his speech, and knowing of me, to haue set me free from that present danger which he sawe me in: howbeit, contrary to his expectation, I was thereby brought into my extreme danger, and to the hazard of my life, yet there was no remedy but patience perforce. And I was no sooner brought into prison, but I had a great paire of bolts clapt on my legs, and thus I remained in that prison for the space of 3 weekes, where were also many other prisoners which were thither committed for sundry crimes and condemned to the gallies. During which time of imprisonment there, I found amongst those my prison-fellowes some that had knowen me before in Mexico, and truely they had compassion of me, and would spare of their victuals and any thing els that they had to doe me good: amongst whom there was one of them that told me that he vnderstood by a secret friend of his which often came to the prison to him, that I should be shortly sent backe againe to Mexico by wagon, so soone as the fleete was gone from S. Iohn de Vllua, for Spaine. This poore man my prison fellow of himselfe, and without any request made by me, caused his said friend which came often vnto him to the grate of the prison, to bring him wine and victuals, to buy for him 2 kniues which had files in their backes, which files were so wel made that they would serue and suffice any prisoner to file off his irons, and of those kniues or files he brought one to me, and told me that he had caused it to be made for me, and let me haue it at that very price it cost him, which was 2 Pezos, the value of 8.s. of our money: which knife when I had it, I was a ioyfull man, and conueied the same into the foote of my boot, vpon the inside of my left leg, and so within 3 or 4 dayes after that I had thus receiued my knife, I was suddenly called for, and brought before the head Iustice which caused those my irons with the round bolt to be stricken off and sent to a Smiths in the towne, where was a new paire of bolts made ready for me of another fashion, which had a broad iron barre comming betweene the shackles, and caused my hands to be made fast with a paire of manacles, and so was I presently laid in a wagon all alone, which was there readie to depart with sundry other wagons, to the number of 60. towardes Mexico, and they all were laden with sundry merchandise which came in the fleete out of Spaine.

The wagon that I was in was foremost in all the companie, and as we trauelled I being alone in the wagon, began to trie if I could plucke my hands out of the manacles, and as God would, although it were somewhat painefull for me, yet my hands were so slender that I could pull them out, and put them in againe, and euer as we went, when the wagon made most noyse, and the men were busiest, I would be working to file off my bolts, and trauelling thus for the space of 8 leagues from Vera Cruz, we came to an high hill, at the entring vp of which (as God would) one of the wheeles of the waggon wherein I was, brake, so that by that means the other wagons went afore, and the wagon-man that had charge of me set an Indian Carpenter a worke to mend the wheele: and here at this place they baited at an hostrie that a Negro-woman keepes: and at this place, for that the going vp of the hill is very steepe, for the space of two leagues and better, they doe alwaies accustome to take the moiles of 3 or 4 wagons, and to place them altogether for the drawing vp of one wagon, and so to come downe againe, and fetch up others in that order. All which came very well to pass: for as it drew towards night when most of the Wagoners were gone to draw vp their wagons, in this sort I being alone had quickly filed off my bolts, and so espying my time in the darke of the euening before they returned downe the hill againe, I conueyed my selfe into the woods there adioyning, carrying my bolts and manacles with me, and a few biscuits, and two small cheeses. And being come into the woods, I threw my yrons into a thicke bush, and then couered them with mosse and other things, and then shifted for myself as I might all that night. And thus by the good prouidence of Almightie God, I was freed from mine yrons all sauing the collar that was about my necke, and so got my libertie the second time.

Miles Philips his last wonderful escape.

Chap. 7.

Wherein is shewed how I escaped to Guatimala, vpon the South sea, and from thence to the port of Cauallos, where I got passage to goe into Spaine, and of our arriuall at Hauana, and our comming to Spaine, where I was againe like to haue bene committed prisoner, and how through the great mercy of God I escaped, and came home in safetie into England in February 1582.

THe next morning (day light being come) I perceiued by the Sunne rising what way to take to escape their hands, for when I fleede, I tooke the way into the woods vpon the left hand: and hauing left that way that went to Mexico vpon my right hand, I thought to keepe my course as the woods and mountaines lay, still direct South as neere as I could: by meanes whereof I was sure to conuey myselfe farre ynough from that way that went to Mexico. And as I was thus going in the woods, I saw many great fires made to the North not past a league from the mountaine where I was, and trauelling thus in my bootes with mine yron collar about my necke, and my bread and cheese, the very same forenoon I mette with a company of Indians which were hunting of Deere for their sustenance: to whom I spake in the Mexican tongue, and told them how that I had of a long time bin kept in prison by the cruel Spanyards, and did desire them to helpe me to file off mine yron collar, which they willingly did: reioycing greatly with me, that I was thus escaped out of the Spanyards hands. Then I desired that I might haue one of them to guide mee out of those desert mountaines towards the South, which they also most willingly did: and so they brought mee to an Indian towne 8. leagues distant from thence, named Shalapa, where I stayed three dayes, for that I was somewhat sickely. At which towne (with the gold that I had quilted in my dublet) I bought me an horse of one of the the Indians, which cost me 6. pezos. and so trauelling South, within the space of 2. leagues I happened to ouertake a gray Frier, one that I had bene familiar withall in Mexico, whom then I knew to be a zealous good man, and one that did much lament the crueltie vsed against vs by the Inquisitors, and truely hee vsed me very courteously: and I having confidence in him did indeed tel him, that I was minded to aduenture to see if I could get out of the sayd countrey if I could finde shipping, and did therefore pray him of his ayde, direction, and aduise herein, which he faithfully did, not only in directing me which was my safest way to trauaile, but he also of himselfe kept me company for the space of three dayes, and euer as we came to the Indian houses (who vsed and intertained vs well) hee gathered among them in money to the value of 20. pezos, which at my departure from him hee freely gaue vnto mee. So came I to the citie of Guatimala vpon the South sea, which is distant from Mexico about 250. leagues, where I stayed 6. dayes, for that my horse was weake. And from thence I trauailed still South and by East seuen dayes iourney, passing by certaine Indian townes, vntill I came to an Indian towne distant from Mexico, direct South 309. leagues. And here at this towne enquiring to go to the Port de Cauallos in the Northeast sea, it was answered that in trauailing thither I should not come to any towne in 10. or 12. dayes iourney: so heere I hired two Indians to be my guides, and I bought hennes, and bread to serue vs so long time, and tooke with vs things to kindle fire euery night, because of wilde beastes, and to dresse our meate: and euery night when we rested, my Indian guides would make two great fires, betweene the which we placed our selues, and my horse. And in the night time we should heare the Lions roare, with Tigres, Ounces, and other beastes, and some of them we should see in the night, which had eyes shining like fire. And trauailing thus for the space of twelue dayes, wee came at last to the port of Cauallos vpon the East sea, distant from Guatimala South and by East, two hundred leagues, and from Mexico 450. or thereabouts.* This is a good harborough for shippes, and is without either castle or bulwarke. I hauing dispatched away my guides, went downe to the Hauen, where I saw certaine ships loden chiefly with Canary wines, where I spake with one of the Masters, who asked me what Countrey man I was, and I told him that I was borne in Granado, and he said, that then I was his countreyman. I required him that I might passe home with him in his ship, paying for my passage: and he said yea, so that I had a safe conduct, or letter testimonial to shew, that he might incurre no danger; for said he, it may be that you haue killed some man,

---

*** Caballos or Port Cortez is a town of Honduras, on the North Coast, 56 miles north of Santiago.**

or be indebted, and would therefore run away. To that I answered, that there was not any such cause. Wel, in the end we grew to a price, that for 60. pezos he would cary me into Spaine: a glad man was I at this good hap, and I quickly solde my horse, and made my prouision of hennes and bread to serue me in my passage; And thus within 2. dayes after we set saile, and neuer stayed vntill we came to Hauana, which is distant from puerto de Cauallos by sea 500. leagues: where we found the whole fleete of Spaine, which was bound home from the Indies. And heere I was hired for a souldier to serue in the Admiral ship of the same fleete, wherein the General himself went. There landed while I was here 4. ships out of Spaine, being all full of souldiers and ordinance, of which number there were 200. men landed here, and 4. great brasse pieces of ordinance, although the castle were before sufficiently prouided: 200. men more were sent to Campeche, and certaine ordinance: 200. to Florida with ordinance: and 100. lastly to S. Iohn de Vllua. As for ordinance there they haue sufficient, and of the very same which was ours, which we had in the Iesus, and those others which we had planted in the place, where the Vice-roy betrayed M. Hawkins our general, as hath bene declared. The sending of those souldiers to euery of those Ports, and the strengthening of them, was done by commandement from the king of Spaine, who wrote also by them to the general of his fleete, giuing him in charge so to doe, as also directing him what course he should keepe in his comming home into Spaine, charging him in any hand not to come nigh to the yles of Açores, but to keepe his course more to the Northward, aduertising him withal, what number and power of French ships of warre, and other, Don Antonio had at that time at Terçera, and the yles aforesaid: which the general of the fleete wel considering, and what great store of riches he had to bring home with him into Spaine, did in all very duetifully obserue and obey: for in trueth he had in his said fleete 37. saile of ships, and in euery of them there was as good as 30. pipes of siluer one with another, besides great store of gold, Cochinilla, sugars, hides, and Cana Fistula, with other apothecary drugs. This our general, who was called Don Pedro de Guzman, did prouidently take order for, for their most strength and defence, if neede should be, to the vttermost of his power, and commanded vpon paine of death, that neither passenger nor souldier should come aboord without his sword and harquebush, with shot and powder, to the end that they might be the better able to encounter the fleete of Don Antonio, if they should hap to meete with them, or any of them : and euer as the weather was faire, the said general would himselfe go aboord from one ship to another, to see that every man had his ful prouision according to the commandement giuen. Yet to speake truly what I thinke, two good tall ships of warre would have made a foule spoil amongst them. For in all this fleete there were not any that were strong and warlike appointed, sauing only the Admiral, and Vice-admiral: And againe ouer and besides the weaknesse and the ill furnishing of the rest, they were all so deeply laden, that they had not bene able (if they had bene charged) to haue held out any long fight. Wel, thus we set saile, and had a very ill passage home, the weather was so contrary. We kept our course in maner Northeast, and brought our selues to the height of 42. degrees of latitude, to be sure not to meete with Don Antonio his fleete, and were vpon our voyage from the 4. of Iune, vntil the 10. of September, and neuer saw land till we fell with the Arenas Gosdas hard by S. Lucar.* And there was an order taken that none should goe on shoare vntill he had licence: as for me, I was knowen by one in the ship, who told the Master that I was an Englishman, which (as God would) it was my good hap to heare: for if I had not heard it, it had cost me my life. Notwithstanding, I would not take any knowledge of it, and seemed to be mery and pleasant, that we were all come so wel in safety. Presently after, licence came that we should go on shoare, and I pressed to be gone with the first: howbeit, the Master came vnto me, and said, Sirra, you must goe with me to Siuil by water: I knew his meaning well enough, and that he meant there to offer me vp as a sacrifice to the Holy house. For the ignorant zeal of a number of these superstitious Spaniards is such, that they thinke that they haue done God good seruice, when they haue brought a Lutheran heretike to the fire to be burnt: for so do they account of vs. Wel, I perceiuing all this, took vpon me not to suspect anything, but was still iocund and mery: howbeit, I knew it stood me vpon to shift for my selfe. And so wayting my time when the Master was in his cabbin asleepe, I conueyed my selfe secretly downe by the shrowds into the ship boate, and made no stay but cut the rope wherewithal she was moared, and so by the cable haled on shore, where I leapt on land, and let the boate goe whither it would. Thus by the helpe of God I escaped that day, and then neuer stayed at S. Lucar, but went all night by the way which I had seene other take toward Siuil: so that the next morning I came to Siuil, and sought me out a workemaster, that I might fall to my science, which was weauing of taffataes; and being intertained I set my selfe close to my worke, and durst not for my life once to stirre abroad for fear of being knowen: and being thus at my worke, within 4 dayes after I heard one of my fellows say, that he heard there was great inquiry made for an Englishman that came home in the fleete: what an heretique Lutheran (quoth I) was it, I would to God I might knowe him, surely I would present him to the Holy house. And thus I kept still within doores at my worke, and fained my selfe not well at ease, and that I would labour as I might to get me new clothes. And continuing thus for the space of 3. moneths I called for my wages, and bought me all things new, different from the apparell that I did weare at sea, and yet durst not be ouerbold to walke abroad: and after vnderstanding that there were certaine English ships at S. Lucar bound for England, I tooke a boat and went aboord one of them, and desired the Master that I might haue passage with him to goe into England, and told him secretly that I was one of those which Captaine Hawkins did set on shore in the Indies: he very courteously prayed me to haue him excused, for he durst not meddle with me, and prayed me therefore to returne from whence I came. Which when I perceiued, with a sorrowful heart, God knoweth, I tooke my leaue of him, not without watry cheekes. And then I went to S. Mary port, which is 3. leagues from S. Lucar, where I put my selfe to be a souldier to goe in the king of Spaines Gallies, which were bound for Maiorca, and comming thither in the end of the Christmas holidayes, I found there two English ships, the one of London, and the other of the West countrey, which were ready fraighted and stayed but for a faire winde. To the Master of the one, which was of the West countrey went I, and told him that I had bene 2. yeeres in Spaine to learne the language, and that I was now desirous to goe home and see my friends, for that I lacked maintenance: and so hauing agreed with him for my passage, I tooke shipping. And thus through the prouidence of Almighty God, after 16. yeeres absence, hauing sustained many and sundry great troubles

---

* San Lucar de Barrameda, 18 miles north of Cadiz.

He commeth home in an English ship from Maiorca.

and miseries, as by this discourse appeareth, I came home to this my natiue countrey of England in the yeere 1582. in the moneth of February, in the ship called the Landret, and arriued at Poole.

The trauailes of Iob Hortop, which Sir Iohn Hawkins set on land within the bay of Mexico, after his departure from the Hauen of S. Iohn de Vllua in Nueua Espanna, the 8. of October 1568.

NOt vntruely nor without cause said Iob the faithfull seruant of God (whom the sacred Scriptures tell vs, to haue dwelt in the land of Hus) that man being borne of a woman, liuing a short time, is replenished with many miseries: which some know by reading of histories, many by the view of others calamities, and I by experience in my selfe, as this present Treatise insuing shall shew.

It is not vnknowen vnto many, that I Iob Hortop pouder-maker was borne at Bourne, a towne in Lincolnshire, from my age of twelue yeeres brought vp in Redriffe neere London, with M. Francis Lee, who was the Queenes Maiesties powder-maker, whom I serued, vntil I was prest to goe on the 3. voyage to the West Indies, with the right worshipful Sir Iohn Hawkins, who appointed me to be one of the Gunners in her Maiesties ships called the Iesus of Lubeck, who set saile from Plimmouth in the moneth of October 1567. hauing with him another ship of her Maiesties, called the Minion, and foure ships of his owne, namely the Angel, the Swallow, the Iudith, and the William and Iohn. He directed his Vice-admiral, that if foule weather did separate them, to meete at the Iland of Tenerif. After which by the space of seuen dayes and seuen nights, we had such stormes at sea, that we lost our long boats and a pinnesse, with some men: comming to the Isle of Tenerif, there our Generall heard that his Vice-admirall with the Swallow, and the William and Iohn were at the Iland called Gomera, where finding his Vice-admirall, he anchored, tooke in fresh water, and set saile for Cape Blank, where in the way wee tooke a Portugal carauel, laden with fish called Mullets: from thence we sailed to cape Verde. In our course thither we met a Frenchman of Rochel called captaine Bland, who had taken a Portugal carauel, whom our vice admiral chased and tooke. Captaine Drake, now Sir Francis Drake was made master and captaine of the Carauel, and so we kept our way till we came to cape Verde, and there we anchored, tooke our boates, and set souldiers on shore. Our Generall was the first that leapt on land, and with him Captaine Dudley: there we tooke certaine Negroes, but not without damage to our selues. For our Generall, Captaine Dudley, and 8. other of our company were hurt with poysoned arrowes: about nine dayes after, the 8. that were wounded died. Our general was taught by a Negro, to draw the poyson out of his wound with a cloue of garlike, whereby he was cured. From thence wee went to Sierra leona, where be monstrous fishes called Sharkes, which will deuoure men. I amongst others was sent in the Angell with two Pinnesses into the riuer called Calousa, to seeke two Carauels that were there trading with the Negros: wee tooke one of them with the Negros, and brought them away.

A remedie against poysoned arrowes.

In this riuer in ye night time we had one of our pinnesses bulged by a sea-horse, so that our men swimming about the riuer were all taken into the other pinnesses, except two that tooke hold one of another, and were caried away by the sea-horse. This monster* hath the iust proportion of a horse, sauing that his legs be short, his teeth very great, and a span in length: hee vseth in the night to goe on land into the woods, seeking at vnawares to deuoure the Negroes in their cabbins, whom they by their vigilancie preuent, and kill him in this maner. The Negroes keepe watch, and diligently attend their comming, and when they are gone into the woods, they forthwith lay a great tree ouerthwart the way, so that at their returne, for that their legs be so short, they cannot goe ouer it: then the Negroes set vpon them with their bowes, arrowes and darts, and so destroy them.

From thence we entred the riuer called the Casserroes, where there were other Carauels trading with the Negroes, and them we tooke. In this Iland betwixt the riuer and the maine, trees grow with Oisters vpon them. There grow Palmito trees, which bee as high as a ships maine mast, and on their tops grow nuts, wine and oyle, which they call Palmito wine and Palmito oyle. The Plantan tree also groweth in that countrey; the tree is as bigge as a mans thigh, and as high as a firre pole, the leaues

---

*** Hippopotamus.**

thereof be long and broad, and on the top grow the fruit which are called Plantanos: they are crooked and a cubite long, and as bigge as a mans wrist, they growe on clusters: when they be ripe they be very good and daintie to eate: Sugar is not more delicate in taste then they be.

From thence with the Angel, the Iudith, and the two pinnesses, we sailed to Sierra leona, where our Generall at that time was, who with the captaines and souldiers went vp into the riuer called Taggarin, to take a towne of the Negroes, where he found three kings of that countrie with fiftie thousand Negroes besieging the same towne, which they could not take in many yeeres before when they had warred with it. Our General made a breach, entred, and valiantly tooke the towne, wherein we found fiue Portugals which yeelded themselues to his mercie, and hee saued their liues: we tooke and caried thence for traffique to the West Indies 500. Negroes. The three kings droue 7000. Negroes into ye sea at low water, at the point of the land, where they were all drowned in the Oze, for that they could not take their canoas to saue themselues. Wee returned backe againe in our pinnesses to the ships, and there tooke in fresh water, and made ready sayle towards Rio grande. At our comming thither we entred with the Angel, the Iudith, and the 2. pinnesses, and found there seuen Portugal Caruels, which made great fight with vs. In the ende by Gods helpe wee wonne the victory, and droue them to the shore, from whence with the Negroes they fled, and we fetcht the caruels from the shore into the riuer. The next morning M. Francis Drake with his caruel, the Swallow, and the William and Iohn came into the riuer, with captaine Dudley and his souldiers, who landed being but a hundred souldiers, and fought with seuen thousand Negroes, burned the towne, and returned to our Generall with the losse of one man.

In that place there be many muske-cats, which breed in hollow trees: the Negroes take them in a net, and put them in a cage, and nourish them very daintily, and take the muske from them with a spoone

Now we directed our course from Guinea towards the West Indies.

And by the way died Captaine Dudley.

In sayling towards the Indies, the first land that we escryed, was the Iland called Dominica, where at our comming we anchored, and tooke in fresh water and wood for our prouision: which done, we sayled towards the Iland called Margarita, where our Generall in despite of the Spaniards anchored, landed, and tooke in fresh victuals. A mile off the Iland there is a rocke in the sea, wherein doe breede many fowles like vnto Barnacles: in the night we went out in our boates, and with cudgels we killed many of them, and brought them with many of their egs aboord with vs: their egges be as bigge as Turkies egges, and speckled like them. We did eate them, and found them very good meate.

From thence wee sayled to Burboroata, which is in the maine land of the West Indies: there we came in, mored our ships, and taried two moneths trimming and dressing our ships, and in the meane time traded with certaine Spanyards of that countrey. There our Generall sent vs vnto a towne called Placencia, (which stood on a high hil) to haue intreated a Bishop that dwelt there for his fauour and friendship in their lawes, who hearing of our comming, for feare forsooke ye town.

In our way vp the hil to Placencia, wee found a monstrous venemous worme with two heads: his body was as bigge as a mans arme, and a yard long: our master Robert Barret did cut him in sunder with his sword, and it made it as blacke as if it were coloured with ynke.

Heere be many Tygers, monstrous and furious beasts, which by subtiltie deuoure and destroy many men: they vse the traded wayes, and wil shew themselues twise or thrise to the trauellers, and so depart secretly, lurking till they be past, then suddenly and at vnawares they leape vpon them and deuoure them: they had so vsed two of our company, had not one of them looked behind. Our Generall sent three ships vnto the Iland called Coraçao,* to make prouision for the rest, where they remayned vntill his comming. Hee sent from thence the Angel and the Iudith to Rio de Hacha,† where we anchored before the town. The Spaniards shot three pieces at vs from the shore, whom we requited with two of ours, and shotte through the Gouernours house: we wayed anchor, and anchored againe without shot of the towne, where wee rid fiue dayes in despite of the Spanyards, and their shot. In the meane space there came a Caruel of aduise from S. Domingo, whom with the Angel, and the Iudith wee chased and droue to the shore: we fetcht him from thence in spite of 200. Spaniards hargubush shot, and anchored againe before the towne, and rid there with them, till our Generals comming, who anchored, landed his men, and valiantly tooke the Towne, with the losse of one man, whose name was Thomas Surgeon: wee landed and planted on the shore for our safeties, our field ordinance: we droue the Spaniards vp into the country aboue two leagues, whereby they were inforced to trade with our General, to whom he sold most part of his Negros.

---

* Situated 75 miles from the Venezuelan coast.

† At the mouth of the Hacha river, Magdalena State, Columbia.

Rio de la Hacha taken.

In this riuer we killed a monstrous Lagarto or Crocodile in this port at sunne set: seuen of vs went in the pinnesse vp into the Riuer, carying with vs a dogge, vnto whom with ropeyarn we bound a great hooke of steele, with a chaine that had a swiuel, which we put vnder the dogs belly, the point of the hooke comming ouer his back fast bound, as aforesaid: we put him ouer board, and veered out our rope by litle and litle, rowing away with our boate: the Lagarto came and presently swallowed vp the dogge, then did we rowe hard, till we had choked him: he plunged and made a wonderfull stirre in the water: we leapt on shore, and haled him on land: he was 23. foote by the rule, headed like a hogge, in body like a serpent, full of scales as broad as a sawcer: his taile long and full of knots as bigge as a fawcon shotte: he hath foure legs, his feete haue long nailes like vnto a dragon: we opened him, tooke out his guts, flayed him, dried his skinne, and stuffed it with straw, meaning to haue brought it home, had not the ship bin cast away. This monster will cary away and deuoure both men and horse.

From hence we shaped our course to Santa Martha,* where we landed, traded and sold certaine Negroes: there two of our company killed a monstrous adder, going towards his caue with a Conie in his mouth: his body was as bigge as any mans thigh, and seuen foote long, vpon his tayle he had sixteene knottes, euery one as bigge as a great walnut, which they say, doe shew his age: his colour was greene and yellow: they opened him, and found two conies in his belly.

From thence wee sayled to Cartagena,† where we went in, mored our Shippes, and would haue traded with them, but they durst not for feare of the King: wee brought vp the Minion against the Castle, and shotte at the Castle and Towne: then we landed in an Iland, where were many gardens: there in a caue we found certaine Botijos of wine, which wee brought away with vs, in recompence whereof, our Generall commanded to be set on shore woollen and linnen cloth, to the value thereof. From hence by foule weather wee were forced to seeke the Port of Saint Iohn de Vllua. In our way thwart of Campeche we met with a Spaniard, a small ship, who was bound for Santo Domingo: he had in him a Spaniard called Augustin de villa nueua, who was the man that betrayed all the Noble men in the Indies, and cansed them to be beheaded, wherefore he with two Friers fled to S. Domingo: them we tooke and brought with vs into the Port of S. Iohn de Vllua. Our Generall made great account of him, and vsed him like a Noble man: howbeit in the ende he was one of them that betrayed vs. When wee had mored our ships, and landed, we mounted the Ordinance that wee found there in the Ilande, and for our safeties kept watch and warde. The next daye after wee discouered the Spanish fleete, whereof Luçon a Spanyard was Generall: with him came a Spanyard called Don Martin Henriquez, whom the king of Spaine sent to be his Vice-roy of the Indies. He sent a Pinnesse with a flagge of truce vnto our Generall, to knowe of what Countrey those Shippes were that rode there in the King of Spaines Port; who sayd. they were the Queene of Englands ships, which came in there for victuals for their money: wherefore if your Generall will come in here, he shall giue me victuals and all other necessaries, and I will goe out on the one side of the Port, and he shall come in on the other side. The Spanyard returned for answere, that he was a Vice-roy, and had a thousand men, and therefore he would come in. Our Generall sayd, If he be a Vice-roy, I represent my Queenes person, and I am a Vice-roy as well as he: and if he haue a thousand men, my powder and shot will take the better place. Then the Vice-roy after counsell among themselues, yeelded to our Generals demand, swearing by his King and his Crowne, by his commission and authority that he had from his King, that hee would performe it, and thereupon pledges were giuen on both parts. Our Generall bearing a godly and Christian minde, voyde of fraude and deceit, iudged the Spanyards to haue done the like, deliuered to them sixe gentlemen, not doubting to haue

---

* Capital of the State of Magdalena.

† Lat. 10 degrees 25 North; lon. 75.34 West. Capital of Bolivar.

Don Martin de Henriquez the trecherous Vice-roy.

receiued the like from them: but the faithlesse Spanyardes, in costly apparell gaue of the basest of their company, as afterwardes it was well knowen. These things finished, proclamation was made on both sides, that on payne of death no occasion should be giuen, whereby any quarrel should grow to the breach of the league, and then they peaceably entred the port, with great triumph on both sides.

The Spaniards presently brought a great Hulke, a ship of sixe hundred, and mored her by the side of the Minion, and they cut out ports in their other ships, planting their ordinance towards vs, in the night they filled the Hulke with men, to lay the Minion aboord, as the sequel did shew, which made our General doubtful of their dealings: wherefore, for that he could speake the Spanish tongue, he sent Robert Barret aboord the Vice-roy, to knowe his meaning in those dealings, who willed him with his company to come in to him, whom he commanded presently to be set in the bilbowes, and forthwith a Cornet (for a watchword among the false Spaniards) was sounded for the enterprising of their pretended treason against our Generall, whom Augustine de villa noua sitting at dinner with him, should then presently haue killed with a poynado which hee had priuily in his sleeue, was espyed and preuented by one Iohn Chamberlayne, who tooke the poynado out of his sleeue. Our General hastily rose vp, and commanded him to be put prisoner in the Stewards roome, and to be kept with two men. The faithlesse Spanyards, thinking all things to their desire had bene finished, suddenly sounded a Trumpet, and therewith three hundred Spaniards entred the Minion, whereat our General with a loude and fierce voyce called vnto vs, saying, God and Saint George, vpon those traiterous villaines, and rescue the Minion, I trust in God the day shalbe ours: and with that the Mariners and souldiers leapt out of the Iesus of Lubeck into the Minion, and beat out the Spanyards, and with a shot out of her fiered the Spaniards Vice admirall, where the most part of 300. Spanyards were spoyled, and blowen ouer boord with powder. Their Admirall also was on fire halfe an houre: we cut our cables, wound off our ships, and presently fought with them: they came vpon vs on euery side, and continued the fight from ten of the clocke vntill it was night: they killed all our men that were on shore in the Iland, sauing three, which by swimming got aboord the Iesus of

Augustine de villa nueua a most thankelesse traytour.

Lubeck. They sunke the Generals ship called the Angel, and tooke the Swallow: the Spaniards Admirall had aboue threescore shot through her: many of his men were spoyled: four other of their ships were sunke. There were in that fleete, and that came from the shore to rescue them, fifteene hundred: we slew of them fiue hundred and fourtie, as we were credibly informed by a note that came to Mexico. In this fight the Iesus of Lubeck had fiue shotte through her mayne Mast: her foremast was shotte in sunder vnder the hounds with a chayne shotte, and her hull was wonderfully pearced with shotte, therefore it was vnpossible to bring her away. They set two of their owne Shippes on fire, intending therewith to haue burnt the Iesus of Lubeck, which we preuented by cutting our cables in the halse, and winding off by our sternefast.

One of those three was Iob Hortop the reporter hereof.

Four Spanish ships sunke.

The Minion was forced to set saile and stand off from vs, and come to an anker without shot of the Island. Our Generall couragiously cheered vp his souldiers and gunners, and called to Samuel his page for a cup of Beere, who brought it him in a siluer cup, and hee drinking to all men willed the gunners to stand by their Ordinance lustily like men. He had no sooner set the cup out of his hand, but a demy Culuerin shot stroke away the cup and a Coopers plane that stoode by the main mast, and ranne out on the other side of the ship: which nothing dismaid our Generall, for he ceased not to incourage vs, saying, feare nothing, for God, who hath preserued me from this shot, will also deliuer vs from these traitours and villaines. Then Captaine Bland meaning to haue turned out of the port, had his maine mast stroke ouer boord with a chaine shot that came from the shore, wherefore he ankered, fired his ship, tooke his pinnesse with all his men, and came aboord the Iesus of Lubek to our Generall, who said vnto him, that he thought he would not haue runne away from him, he answered, that he was not minded to haue run away from him, but his intent was to haue turned vp, and to haue laid the weathermost ship of the Spanish fleete aboord, and fired his ship in hope therewith to haue set on fire the Spanish fleete, hee said if he had done so he had done well. With this, night came on. Our Generall commanded the Minion, for safegard of her masts to be brought vnder the Iesus of Lubecks lee: he willed M. Francis Drake to come in with the

Iudith, and to lay the Minion aboord, to take in men and other things needfull, and to goe out, and so he did.

At night when the wind came off the shore, wee set sayle, and went out in dispite of the Spanyards and their shot, where wee ankered, with two ankers vnder the Island, the wind being Northerly, which was wonderfull dangerous, and wee feared euery houre to be driuen with the lee shore. In the end when the wind came larger, we waied anker, and set saile, seeking the riuer of Panuco for water, whereof we had very little, and victuals were so scarce, that we were driuen to eate hides, cats, rats, parrats, monkies, and dogges: wherefore our Generall was forced to diuide his company into two parts, for there was a mutinie among them for want of victuals: and some said that they had rather be on the shore to shift for themselues amongst the enemies, then to sterue on ship-boord. He asked them who would go on shore, and who would tarry on ship-boord, those that would goe on shore, he willed to goe on foremast, and those that would tarrie, on baft mast: fourescore and sixteene of vs were willing to depart. Our Generall gaue vnto euery one of vs sixe yards of Roane cloth, and money to them that demanded it. When we were landed, he came vnto vs, where friendly imbracing euery one of vs, he was greatly grieued that he was forced to leaue vs behind him, he counselled vs to serue God, and to loue one another, and thus courteously he gaue vs a sorowful farewell, and promised if God sent him safe home, he would do what he could, that so many of vs as liued should be brought into England, and so he did.

About an hundred Englishmen landed.

Since my returne into England I haue heard that many misliked that he left vs so behind him, and brought away Negroes: but the reason is this, for them he might haue had victuals, or any other thing needfull, if by foule weather hee had bene driuen vpon the Islands, which for gold nor siluer he could not haue had.

And thus our Generall departed to his ship, and we remained on land, where for our safeties, fearing the wild Indians that were about vs, we kept watch all night, and at Sunne rising wee marched on our way, three and three in a ranke, vntill that we came into a fielde vnder a groue, where the Indians came vpon vs, asking vs what people we were, and how we came there. Two of our company, namely Anthony Goddard and Iohn

Cornish, for that they could speake the Spanish tongue, went to them and said wee were Englishmen, that neuer came in that countrey before, and that we had fought with the Spaniards, and for that we lacked victuals, our Generall set vs on shore: they asked vs whither we intended to goe, we said to Panuco. The Captaine of the Indians willed vs to giue vnto them some of our clothes and shirts, which we did: then he bad vs giue them all, but we would not so doe, whereupon Iohn Cornish was then slaine with an arrow, which an Indian boy that stoode by the Captaine shot at him, wherefore hee stroke the boy on the necke with his bow, that he lay for dead, and willed vs to follow him, who brought vs into a great fielde. where we found fresh water: hee bad vs sit downe about the pond and drinke, and he with his company would goe in the meane space to kill fiue or sixe Deere, and bring them vs. We taryed there till three of the clocke, but they came not: there one of our company whose name was Iohn Cooke, with foure other departed from vs into a groue to seeke reliefe, where presently they were taken by the Indians, and stript as naked as euer they were borne, and so returned to vs.

Then we diuided ourselues into two parts, halfe to Anthony Goddard, and the rest to Iames Collier, and thus seuerally we sought for Panuco. Anthony Goddard with his company bid vs farewell, they passed a riuer, where the Indians robbed many of them of their clothes, and so passing on their way, came to a stony hill, where they stayed. Iames Collier with his company that day passed the same riuer, and were also robbed, and one of them slaine by chance: wee came that night vnto the hill, where Anthony Goddard and his company rested, there we remained til morning, and then we marched altogether from thence, entring betweene two groues, where the Indians robbed vs of all our clothes, and left vs naked, they hurt many, and killed eight of vs. Three dayes after we came to another riuer, there the Indians shewed vs the way to Panuco, and so left vs: we passed the riuer into the wildernes, where we made wreaths of greene grasse, which we wound about our bodies, to keepe vs from the Sunne, and gnats of that Countrey. We trauelled there seuen dayes, and seuen nights, before we came to Panuco, feeding on nothing but roots, and Guiauos,* a fruit like figs. At our comming to the

8. Englishmen slaine.

---

* Guavas.

riuer of Panuco two Spanish horsemen came ouer vnto vs in a Canowe: they asked vs how long we had bene in the wildernesse, and where our generall was, for they knewe vs to be of the company that had fought with their countrimen: we told them seuen dayes and seuen nights, and for lacke of victuals our Generall set vs on shore, and he was gone away with his ships. They returned to their Gouernour, who sent them with fiue Canowes to bring vs all ouer, which done, they set vs in aray, where a hundred horsemen with their lances, came forceably vpon vs, but did not hurt vs, they carried vs prisoners to Panuco, where we remained one night. In the riuer of Panuco there is a fish like a calfe, the Spanyards call it a Mollatin, hee hath a stone in his head, which the Indians vse for the disease of the Collicke, in the night he commeth on land and eateth grasse. I haue eaten of it, and it eateth not much vnlike to bacon. From thence we were sent to Mexico, which is 90 leagues from Panuco. In our way thither, 20 leagues from the sea side, I did see white Crabs running vp and downe the sands, I haue eaten of them, and they be very good meat. There groweth a fruit which the Spanyards call Auocottes, it is proportioned like an egge, and as blacke as a cole, hauing a stone in it, and it is an excellent good fruit. There also groweth a strange tree which they call Magueis, it serueth them to many vses, below by the root they make a hole, whereat they do take out of it twise euery day a certeine kind of licour, which they seeth in a great kettle, till the third part be consumed, and that it waxe thick, it is as sweet as any hony, and they do eat it. Within 20. daies after that they haue taken al the licour from it, it withereth, and they cut it down, and vse it as we vse our hempe here in England, which done, they conuert it to many vses: of some part they make mantles, ropes, and threed: of the ends they make needles to sow their saddles, pannels, and other furniture for their horses: of the rest they make tyles, to couer their houses, and they put it to many other purposes.

A manifold Magueis.

And thus we came to Mexico, which is seuen or eight miles about, seated in a great fen, inuironed with 4 hils, it hath but two wayes of entrance, and it is full of creeks, in the which in their Canowes they passe from place to place, and to the Islands there within. In the Indies ordinarily three times a yeere bee wonderfull earthquakes, which put the people in great feare and danger: during the time of two yeeres that I was in Mexico, I saw them sixe times ; when they come they throw downe trees, houses, and Churches. There is a citie 25. leagues from Mexico, called Tlaxcalla, which is inhabited with an hundred thousand Indians, they goe in white shirts, linnen breeches, and long mantles, and the women weare about them a garment much like vnto a flannell petticote. The kings pallace was the first place wee were brought vnto in Mexico, where without we were willed to sit downe. Much people, men, women, and children came wondring about vs, many lamented our misery, and some of their clergy asked vs if we were Christians, we said, we praised God, we were as good Christians as they: they asked how they might know that, we said by our confessions. From thence we were caried in a Canow to a Tanners house, which standeth a little from the citie: the next morning two friers and two priests came thither to vs, and willed vs to blesse our selues, and say our prayers in the Latin tongue, that they might vnderstand vs, many of our company did so, wherevpon they returned to the viceroy, and told him that we were good Christians, and that they liked vs well, and then they brought vs much reliefe, with clothes, our sicke men were sent to their Hospitals, where many were cured, and many died. From the Tanners house we were led to a gentlemans place, where vpon paine of death we were charged to abide, and not to come into the citie, thither we had all things necessary brought vs: on Sundayes and holy dayes much people came, and brought vs great reliefe.

The viceroy practised to hang vs, and caused a paire of new gallowes to be set vp, to haue executed vs, whereunto the noblemen of that countrey would not consent, but prayed him to stay vntil the ship of aduise brought newes from the king of Spaine, what should be done with vs, for they said they could not find any thing by vs, whereby they might lawfully put vs to death.

The viceroy then commanded vs to be sent to an Island there by, and he sent for the Bishop of Mexico, who sent foure priests to the Island, to examine and confesse vs, who said, that the viceroy would burne vs, when wee were examined and confessed according to the lawes of the countrey. They returned to the Bishop, and told him that we were very good Christians. The Bishop certified the viceroy of our examinations and confessions, and said that wee were good Christians, therefore he would not meddle with vs. Then the viceroy sent for our master R. Barret, whom he kept prisoner in his pallace, vntill the fleete was departed for Spaine. The rest of vs he sent to a towne seuen leagues from Mexico called Tescuco, to card wooll among the Indian slaues, which drudgery we disdained, and concluded to beat our masters, and so we did: wherefore they sent to the viceroy, desiring him for Gods sake and our Ladies, to send for vs, for they would not keepe vs any longer, they said that we were deuils and no men.

The viceroy sent for vs, and imprisoned vs in a house in Mexico, from thence he sent Anthony Goddard, and some other of our company with him into Spaine with Luçon, the Generall that tooke vs: the rest of vs staied in Mexico two yeres after, and then were sent prisoners into Spaine, with Don Iuan de Valesco de Varre, admirall and generall of the Spanish fleet, who caried with him in his ship, to be presented to the K. of Spaine, the anatomie of a giant, which was sent from China to Mexico, to the Viceroy Don Martin Henriquez, to bee sent to the king of Spaine for a great wonder. It did appere by the anatomie, that he was of a monstrous size, the skull of his head was neere as bigge as halfe a bushel, his necke-bones, shoulder-plates, arme-bones, and all other lineaments of his other partes, were huge and monstrous to behold, the shanke of his legge from the ankle to the knee, was as long as from any mans ankle vp to his wast, and of bignesse accordingly.

At this time, and in this ship, were also sent to be presented to the king of Spaine, two chestes full of earth with ginger growing in them, which were also sent from China, to be sent to the king of Spaine. The ginger runneth in the ground like to liccoras, the blades grow out of it in length and proportion like vnto the blades of wild garlicke, which they cut euery fifteene dayes, they vse to water them twise a day, as we doe our herbes here in England, they put the blades in their pottage, and vse them in their other meates, whose excellent sauour and tast is very delightfull, and procureth a good appetite.*

A description of ginger.

---

* Ginger is the underground stem (rhizome) of *Zingiber officinal.* The rhizome throws up barren leafy reed-like stems 3 or 4 feet high, and occasionally flowering stems. The flowers are arranged in a cone-shaped spike, each in the axil of a large greenish-yellow bract. The corolla is orange-yellow, divided into three long segments. One of the staminodes forms a large purple three-lobed lip. Ginger is probably a native of tropical Asia, but is now cultivated in all warm countries. The name occurs in a list of imports into Alexandria in the second century, and during the middle ages

When we were shipped in the Port of S. Iohn de Vllua, the Generall called our master Robert Barret and vs with him into his cabbin, and asked vs if wee would fight against Englishmen, if we met them at the sea, we said that we would not fight against our Crowne, but if we met with any other, we would do what we were able. He said if we had said otherwise, he would not haue beleeued vs, and for that we should be the better vsed, and haue allowance as other men had: and he gaue a charge to euery one of vs, according to our knowledge, Robert Barret was placed with the pilote, I was put in the gunners roome, William Cawse with the boat-swaine, Iohn Beare with the quarter-masters, Edward Rider and Geffrey Giles, with the ordinary mariners, Richard the masters boy attended on him and the pilote: shortly after we departed from the port of S. Iohn de Vllua with all the fleete of Spaine, for the port called Hauana: wee were 26. dayes sayling thither. There wee came in, ankered, tooke in fresh water, and stayed 16. dayes for the fleete of Nombre de Dios, which is the fleet that brings the treasure from Peru. 1570.

The Generall of that fleet was called Diego Flores de Valdes. After his comming, when he had watred his ships, both the fleetes ioyned in one, and Don Iuan de Velasco de Varre was the first fifteen daies Generall of both the fleets, who turning through the chanell of Bahama, his pilote had like to haue cast away all the fleet vpon the Cape called Cannaueral, which was preuented by me Iohn Hortop, and our master Robert Barret: for I being in the second watch escried land, and called to Robert Barret, bidding him looke ouer boord, for I saw land vnder the lee-bow of the ship: he called to the boat-swaine, and bid him let flie the fore saile sheat, and lay the helm vpon the lee, and cast the ship about. When we were cast about, we were but in seuen fathome water: we shot off a piece, giuing aduice to the fleet to cast about, and so they did. For this we were beloued of the Generall, and all the fleet. The Generall was in a great rage, and swore by the king, that he would hang his pilote: for he said, that twise before he had almost cast away

---

was evidently an important article of commerce. It is often mentioned in the Old English leech-books of the eleventh century; and during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it was the commonest spice, next to pepper, though 1 lb. of it cost as much as a sheep, 1*s.* 7*d.* (Rogers, "History of Agriculture and Prices in England.")

the Admirall. When it was day, he commanded a piece to be shot off, to call to councill: the other Admirall in his ship came vp to him, and asked what the matter was, he said, that his pilote had cast away his ship and all the fleet, had it not bene for two of the Englishmen, and therefore he would hang him. The other Admirall with many faire words perswaded him to the contrary.

A sea-monster in the shape of a man.

When we came in the height of Bermuda, we discouered a monster in the sea, who shewed himselfe three times vnto vs from the middle vpwards, in which parts hee was proportioned like a man, of the complection of a Mulato, or tawny Indian. The Generall did commaund one of his clearks to put it in writing, and hee certified the King and his Nobles thereof. Presently after this, for the space of sixteene dayes we had wonderful foule weather, and then God sent vs a faire wind, vntill such time as we discouered the Iland called Faial.

On S. Iames day we made rackets, wheeles, and other fireworkes, to make pastime that night, as it is the order of the Spaniards. When we came neere the land, our master R. Barret conferred with vs, to take the pinnesse one night, when we came on the Iland called Terçera, to free our selues from the danger and bondage that we were going into, whereunto we agreed: none had any pinnesse asterne then but our ship, which gaue great courage to our enterprize: we prepared a bagge of bread, and a Botijo of water, which would haue serued vs nine dayes, and prouided our selues to goe: our Master borrowed a small compasse of the Master gunner of the ship, who lent it him, but suspected his intent, and closely made the Generall priuy to it, who for a time dissembled the matter. In the ende seeing our pretense, he called R. Barret, commanding his head to bee put in the stocks, and a great payre of yron bolts on his legs, and the rest of vs to be set in the stocks by the legs. Then he willed a peece to be shot off, and he sent the pinnesse for the other Admirall, and all the captaines, masters, and pilotes of both fleetes to come aboord of him. He commanded the maine-yard to be strooke downe, and to put 2. pullies, on euery yard-arme one; the hangman was called, and we were willed to confesse our selues, for he swore by the king that he would hang vs.

When the other Admiral, and the rest were come aboord, he called them into his counsel-chamber, and told them that he would hang the master of the Englishmen, and all his company. The Admirall, whose name was Diego Flores de Valdes, asked him wherefore: he sayd, that we had determined to rise in the night with the pinnesse, and with a ball of fire-worke to set the ship on fire, and goe our wayes: therefore, sayd he, I will haue you the Captaines, Masters, and Pilotes, to set your hands vnto that, for I sweare by the king that I will hang them, Diego Flores de Valdes answered, I nor the Captaines, Masters, and Pilotes wil not set our hands to that, for hee said, if he had bin prisoner as we were, he would haue done the like himselfe. He counselled him to keepe vs fast in prison, till he came into Spaine, and then send vs to the Contratation house in Siuil, where, if we had deserued death the law would passe on vs, for hee would not haue it said that in such a fleet as that was, sixe men and a boy should take the pinnesse, and goe away, and so he returned to his ship againe.

When he was gone, the Generall came to the maine mast to vs, and swore by the king, that we should not come out of the stocks til we came into Spaine: within 16. dayes after we came ouer the Bar of S. Lucar, and came vp to the Hurcados, then he put vs into a pinnesse in the stocks, and sent vs prisoners to the Contratation house in Siuil. From thence after one yere we brake prison, on S. Steuens day at night, 7. of our company escaped, Robert Barret, I Iob Hortop, Iohn Emerie, Humphrey Roberts, and Iohn Gilbert were taken, and brought backe to the contratation house, where we remained in the stocks till twelfe tide was past. Then our keeper put vp a petition to the Iudge of the contratation house, that we might be sent to the great prison house in Siuil, for that we broke prison, whereupon we were presently led thither, where we remained one moneth, and from thence to the castell of the Inquisition house in Triana, where wee continued one yere: which expired, they brought vs out in procession, euery one of vs hauing a candle in his hand, and the coate with S. Andrewes crosse on our backs: they brought vs vp on an high scaffold, that was set vp in the place of S. Francis, which is in the chiefe street of Siuill: there they set vs downe vpon benches: euery one in his degree, and against vs on another scaffold sate all the Iudges, and the Clergy on their benches: the people wondered, and gazed on vs, some pittying our cases, others said, burne those heretikes. When we had sit there two houres, we had a sermon made to vs: after which one called Bresinia, secretarie to the Inquisition, went vp into the pulpit with the processe, and called Robert Barret and Iohn Gilbert, whom two familiars of the Inquisition brought from the scaffold before the Iudges, where the secretarie read the sentence, which was that they should be burnt, and so they returned to the scaffold, and were burnt.

Robert Barret and Iohn Gilbert burned.

Then I Job Hortop, and Iohn Bone were called, and brought to the place, as before, where we heard our sentence, which was, that we should go to the Gallies, and there row at the oares ende ten yeeres, and then to be brought backe to the Inquisition house, to haue the coate with S. Andrewes crosse put on our backs, and from thence to goe to the euerlasting prison remedilesse, and so we were returned from the scaffold from whence we came. Thomas Marks, and Thomas Ellis were called, and had sentence to serue in the Galleys eight yeeres, and Humphrey Roberts, and Iohn Emery to serue fiue yeeres, and so were returned to the benches on the scaffold, where we sate till foure of clocke in the afternoone. Then we were led againe to the Inquisition house, from whence we were brought. The next day in the morning Bresinia the treasurer came thither to vs, and deliuered to euery one of vs his sentence in writing. I with the rest were sent to the Gallies, where we were chained foure and foure together: euery mans daily allowance was 26 ounces of course blacke bisket and water, our clothing for the whole yeere two shirts, two paire of breeches of course canuas, a red coat of course cloth, soone on, and soone off, and a gowne of haire with a friers hood: our lodging was on the bare boords, and banks of the Gallies, our heads and beards were shauen euery month, hunger, thirst, cold, and stripes we lacked none, til our seueral times expired. And after the time of 12. yeeres, for I serued two yeeres aboue my sentence, I was sent backe to the Inquisition house in Siuill, and there hauing put on the coat with S. Andrewes crosse, I was sent to the euerlasting prison remedilesse, where I wore the coat 4. yeeres, and then vpon great suit, I had it taken off for 50 duckets, which Hernando de Soria treasurer of the kings mint lent me, whom I serued for it as a drudge 7. yeres, and vntil the moneth of October last, 1590. and then I came from Siuill to S. Lucar, where I made meanes to come away in a flie-boat, that was laden

Job Hortop his condemnation.

with wines and salt, which were Flemings goods, the king of Spaines subiects, dwelling in Siuil, maried to Spanish women, and sworne to their king. In this moneth of October last departing from S. Lucar, at sea, off the southermost Cape, we met an English ship, called the Galeon Dudley, who took the Flemming, and me out of him, and brought me to Portsmouth, where they set me on land, the 2. day of December last past, 1590. From thence I was sent by M. Muns the lieutenant of Portsmouth, with letters to the R. honourable the Earle of Sussex, who commanded his secretary to take my name and examination, how long I had bene out of England, and with whom I went, which he did. And on Christmas euen I took my leaue of his honour, and came to Redriffe.

The Computation of my imprisonment.

I suffered imprisonment in Mexico two yeeres.

In the Contratation house in Siuill one yeere.

In the Inquisition house in Triana one yeere.

I was in the Gallies twelue yeeres.

In the euerlastiug prison remediles, with the coat with S. Andrews crosse on my back 4. yeres.

And at libertie I serued as a drudge Hernando de Soria 3. yeeres, which is the full complement of 23. yeeres.

Since my departure from England, vntill this time of my returne, I was fiue times in great danger of death, besides the many perils I was in, in the Gallies.

First in the Port of S. Iohn de Vllua, where being on shore, with many other of our company, which were all slaine sauing I, and two other that by swimming got aboord the Iesus of Lubek.

Secondly, when we were robbed by the wild Indians.

Thirdly, after we came to Mexico, the vice roy would haue hanged vs.

Fourthly, because he could not haue his mind to hang vs, he would haue burnt vs.

Fiftly, the Generall that brought vs into Spaine, would haue hanged vs at sea.

Thus hauing truely set downe vnto you my trauels, misery and dangers, endured the space of 23. yeeres, I ende.

A relation of the Hauen of Tecuanapa, a most conuenient place for building of ships, situate vpon the South sea not farre from Nicaragua, which was sent vnto the viceroy of Mexico or to the king of Spaine: wherein are described the riuers of Ometepec, Tlacamama, and Tlacolula falling into the said Hauen, with the townes, people, and mountaines adioyning to the said riuers, and other things fit for the building and victualling of ships.

THe Port and small harbour of Techuanapa hath in the driest time of Sommer in the chanell little lesse then one fathome at low water, and at full sea one fathome and an halfe: in the time of raine, with the increasing of the land-water it hath three fathoms and more. It lyeth toward the West, and there the Bishopricks of Guaxacan and Tlarcali are separated. From hence toward the point called Punta de Intla and Dordaci there is a Bay 2. leagues distant, which though it be no special harbour, yet vpon an extremity ships may come and ride there, as in times past they haue done. This Bay on the right hand toward the North maketh a lake somewhat large towards the midst of the chanell, and in some parts deepe, but specially on the side of Cuahintla, but on either side it is but shallow. As you passe betweene the sea and certaine great and large woods of orenge trees, and trees of other nature which grow along the sea coast, which are of no great bredth, al the countrey appeareth very open: howbeit on the side of Cuahintla the mountaines haue many creeks and a small lake called Tulaningo, and the countrey cannot be trauelled, except you take the way betweene the sea and the end of this lake, which may be about two leagues of sandy way. And on the North side there is another small creeke. And going by the sands side one quarter of a league, you come to the way that leadeth vnto Quacapotla a mansion of Intla.

The riuer of Ometepec being the principal riuer which commeth to this hauen hath his head in the mountaines of Xicayan de Touer about 24 leagues from this hauen from diuers brooks which come out of the mountaines of Cacatepec, and beneath a towne called Suchistlahuaca litle more then 3. leagues all the brooks ioyne together: and from that place you may passe downe to the sea with Canoas and Lighters; and you might come farther but for the fall of a furious streame or current which runeth between two great rocks, passing from Cocahulapa a mansion of Ometepec vnto Yanguitle a mansion of the said Ometepec. These inconueniences being past (which in my iudement may be about one league) the Riuer is more nauigable, so that you may sayle in the same about 12. leagues. During the space of which 12 leagues, about a league and a halfe distance from the waters side, and in many other parts of the same riuer it hath great quantitie of woods which vse to grow in hot soiles, fit for ship-timber, as Huber-trees, and Suchicuhitil, whereof they of Nicaragua make great profit. Also there be white okes and Tehegurtes in great quantitie, and many other kinds of timber: and in the mountaines there be firre-trees, okes, and cork-trees, which easily may bee caried downe the riuer, because they may be cut some 2, 3, 4, and 5. leagues from the riuer, and may be brought downe to the waters side with the seruice and helpe of those that dwell in the townes thereabout.

At the head of these brooks where the riuer beginneth is the towne which is called Xicaian, belonging to the heires of Francis de Touer y de Guillen, containing about 350 Indians of rude speech and of little policie, being 24. leagues from the sea, little more or lesse. The place it selfe is hot, although the mountaines round about be cold.

Aionapa.

A little from this is the towne of Aioanapa possessed by the heirs of Perez Gomez, hauing in it about 300. Indians of the selfe same speach and qualitie. The countrey is more subiect to heate then cold; yet hath it neere it cold countrey and mountaines. It is distant from Xicaian de Touer 4. leagues, and from the sea 20. leagues.

Sixe leagues downeward toward the South is the towne of Suchistlahuaca on the said riuer, and the inhabitants are of the same speach and qualities. The countrey is more subiect to heate then cold. It is in the charge of Gonzaluo Fernandez a citizen of Mexico, and hath about 150. Indians, and is 15. leagues distant from the sea.

From this towne vnto the towne of Ometepec are 6 leagues. The place is very hoat, and in the same gouernment, and is situate betweene certaine hils one league from the riuer: he and his followers haue vnder them about 700. Indians, which speake the Ayacastecan, Amusgan, and Niciecan tongues, and this place is from the sea nine leagues.

From this towne vnto Ihualapa are two great leagues: it is in the gouernment of the heires of Laurence de Castro, of the foresaid temperature, and the people vse the said language, and are of the like stature: and it standeth three leagues from the riuer, and from the sea ten leagues.

These are the best townes, and of the best traffique that are vpon all this coast. The Indians are rich in Cacao and victuals, and in these townes doe the Indians of Niciecan principally trade. And in the towne of Ihualapa the chiefe Aguazil of the prouince is resident for the most part of the yeere.

More lowe beneath the riuer of Tlacolula, about a league or a league and an halfe from the towne of Ometepec is the towne called Pio, which was wont to be a towne of Tlacolula, and was a frontier towne against the Mexicans. There be in it about 50. Indians of the ancient inhabitants: one Grauiel de Chiauez a citizen of Mexico hath the gouernement thereof: it is 4. leagues from Ihualapa, and 6. from the sea.

A little below this is the towne of Huehuatlan in the selfe same gouernement standing one league from the riuer on certaine high hils: it hath 10. Indians, and is from the sea 5. leagues.

And one league from this towne stands the towne of Cuahacapotla a mansion of Antla or Intla: it hath to the number of 15. Indians; it standeth one league and a halfe from the riuer, and 4. leagues from the mouth thereof.

At the fountaines or heads of the rest of the brooks is the towne of Cacatepec being in the gouernment of Raphael de Treyo: he and his tenants haue vnder them some 700. Indians of Niciecan: it is from the sea some 22. leagues.

The riuer which is called Tlacamama commeth from the mountains of Atoyaque and Amusgos, which are some 17. leagues from the sea. There it maketh a formed riuer, so big, that it is nauigable to the sea with canoas and lighters: I say from a litle below Tolistlahuaca a mansion of Xicaian. It is nauigable 8 moneths in the yeere, and the other 4. not, because that the sands of the plaines do soke and drink vp the water in such wise, that there remaineth so little, that there is no passage: howbeit in small lighters timber may bee brought downe this riuer one league from the place where it is cut, vnto the place that I haue spoken of; whereas bigger vessels may bee made; for nigh vnto that place other brooks and running waters doe ioyne and meet, which make it a maine riuer. It hath nigh vnto it in the mountaines of Atoyaque, Cacatepec, and Amusgos many woods of pine-trees, cork-trees, and okes of great bignesse: and beneath those mountaines in the warme countrey, neere vnto the riuers there is much timber of those sorts which I mentioned before to be about the riuer of Ometepec, which may easily be cut and carried downe vnto Tecuanapa in the time before specified.

This riuer hath likewise townes adioyning to it; the first at the foote of the mountaines is the town of Atoiaque belonging to the king, and to the heires of Pronetto: their language is Niciecan, the countrey hot, the people politique, and it is from the sea 15. leagues. It hath about 200. Indians.

One league from this towne, and 14. from the sea is the towne of Xicaian belonging likewise to the king, and to the heires of Pronetto. They are Niciecan people and very comely, and in a hot countrey. It hath by account 300. Indians. There are resident in it the Vicar and Iustice; it is from the riuer a league and a halfe.

A league from this towne, and 14. from the sea is situate the mansion of Pinotespan subiect to Tututepec, which hath with the manors subiect vnto it 500. Indians.

Two leagues from the towne, and one from Xicayan, and 13. from Tecuanapa, and 3. from the riuer is the towne of Tlacamama: the people are very comely and politique. It containeth some 100. Indians, and belongeth to the king.

More toward the South 5. leagues from the riuer, and two from this towne, and 14. from the sea is the towne called Pinotespan del Rey: They are handsome people, but of slow speach: this towne conteineth about 100. Indians like the former. They be wealthie, because they make great quantitie of salte; for they haue a lake in which salte groweth vnder the water, (a thing repugnant to nature, that two contraries doe grow and are conserued together) whereout they take it in breaking it with stones vpon the ground vnder the water.

It hath also the towne of Amusgos, which is in the gouernment of Fernando de Auila, which may be from Tecuanapa 18. leagues. They speake the Amusgan tongue. The countrey is hotte: it standeth on the highway from Nicieca: it hath 400. Indians, few more or lesse.

These are all the townes of account situate neere this riuer.

Neere vpon this riuer are two farmes, the one belonging to Pedro Brauo, and the other to him that maketh this relation vnto your Excellencie, which may be from the sea some 8. or 9.

leagues all plaine ground. And in this territorie there is but one towne called Quesala situate vpon the riuer, and 6. leagues from the sea; which in times past hath beene a great towne, and now hath but three Indians onely, and it is from the farmes 3. leagues.

The mansion house of Don Mattheo is more toward the South, standing in a mountainous and waste countrey, which aboundeth with cattell being 3. leagues from the riuer; and as farre from Tecuanapa, as from the place where all the cattel is; and the sea that way is from it but one league.

A little below this mansion about 4. leagues, and 7. leagues from the sea, is a garden of Alonso Pedraza which beareth Cacao.

And 2. leagues from this garden, and 6. leagues from the sea standeth the towne of Cuahintlan belonging to the king a towne of 19 housholds, but very rich, for they gather much Cacao and the best in that countrey. They speake the Tlapanecan tongue. This towne hath the sea that way within halfe a league.

Huatulco or Guatulco in 15. deg. and 50. minutes.

And this coast from Cuahintlan to Tecuanapa, and the coast which runneth to Huatulco is a coast of much pearle, for in olde time the Indians gathered much pearle there.

And 2. leagues from Cuahintlan and 4. from Tecuanapa is a garden of Cacao in the landes of Francisco Maldonado, which is called Cacahu-Atoyaque.

These are the things worthy of relation from the head-springs of this riuer of Tlacamama vnto the sea: and this foresaid riuer entreth into the riuer of Ometepec 5. leagues from Tecuanapa.

The riuer of Tlacolula springeth within the boundes of Chilsiztlahuaca subiect to Comastlahuaca a towne of Suchistlahuaca, neere which are many mountaines. This riuer is nauigable little more then 2. leagues before it entreth into the riuer of Ometepec, where it is 5. leagues from the sea.

Hard by it is the towne of Tlacolula abouenamed; and 3. leagues from it is the towne of Azoyoque an olde manour of Tlapa. The towne of Chilsiztlahuaca hath but 3. Indians; and the towne of Azoyoque hath more then 300. Indians. But because in this hauen must bee the building of ships, the prouince of Talpa and Tututepec may stand them in great stead; the prouince of Tututepec being neighbour to the riuer of Tlacamama, and the prouince of Tlapa to the riuer of Tlacolula.

For they may, as I haue sayd, carrie the timber in lighters or rafts downe the riuers, and may vse the Indians in the townes thereabout to fell and draw the same out of the cold mountaines; for in the warm countreys the most is plaine ground, whereas with very fewe men and oxen it may be brought vnto the place where it should be imbarqued.

There may come flat bottomes, and canoas vnto the townes thereabout, and lade themselues with victuals: For they haue already come by that riuer to the rode of Ometepec, and made there prouision at the mansion of Don Mattheo, and at the farmes, at that time when his Maiestie did people the plaines which are betweene these riuers, conteining a large and voyde countrey sufficient for the erecting of 20. manours, being a countrey well furnished with water and pasture without any danger or perill, according to the description hereunto annexed.

This small harbour of Tecuanapa being seene and viewed, seemeth very commodious to build shippes in, by reason of the great abundance of mountaines full of good timber for that purpose, with the commodities of riuers, and with the seruice and victuals from the townes thereabout, which be very good for coast townes.

The desire of him that made this relations, hath bene with zeale to serue your excellencie; who therewithall desireth the Lord God to giue the successe.

CERTAINE VOYAGES

NAVIGATIONS AND TRAFFIQUES BOTH ANCIENT AND OF LATE, TO DIUERS PLACES VPON THE COAST OF BRASIL: TOGETHER WITH A RUTTIER FOR ALL THAT COAST, AND TWO INTERCEPTED LETTERS WHICH REUEALE MANY SECRETS OF THE STATE OF THAT COUNTREY: THE REST OF OUR VOYAGES TO BRASIL WHICH HAUE BENE EITHER INTENDED OR PERFORMED TO THE RIUER OF PLATE, THE STREIGHT OF MAGELLAN, THE SOUTH SEA, OR FARTHER THAT WAY, BEING RESERUED FOR THE GENERALL HEADES NEXT INSUING.*

A briefe relation of two sundry voyages made by the worshipful M. William Haukins of Plimmouth, father to Sir Iohn Haukins knight, late Treasurer of her Maiesties Nauie, in the yeere 1530 and 1532.

OLde M. William Haukins of Plimmouth, a man for his wisedome, valure, experience, and skill in sea causes much esteemed, and beloued of K. Henry the 8, and being one of the principall Sea-captaines in the West parts of England in his time, not contented with the short voyages commonly then made onely to the knowne coasts of Europe, armed out a tall and goodly shippe of his owne of the burthen of 250 tunnes called the Paule of Plimmouth, wherwith he made three long and famous voyages vnto the coast of Brasil, a thing in those dayes very rare, especially to our Nation. In the course of which voyages he touched at the riuer of Sestos vpon the coast of Guinea, where hee traffiqued with the Negros, and tooke of them Elephants teeth, and other commodities which that place yeeldeth: and so arriuing on the coast of Brasil, he vsed there such discretion, and behaued himselfe so wisely with those sauage people, that he grew into great familiarity and friendship with them. Insomuch that in his second voyage, one of the sauage kings of the countrey of Brasil, was contented to take ship with him, and to be transported hither into England: whereunto M. Haukins agreed, leauing behinde in the Countrey as a pledge for his safetie and returne againe, one Martin Cockeram of Plimmouth. This Brasilian king being arriued, was brought vp to London and presented to K. Henry the 8, lying as then at White-hall: at the sight of whom the King and all the Nobilitie did not a litle maruaile, and not without cause: for in his cheekes were holes made according to their sauage maner, and therein small bones were planted, standing an inch out from the said holes, which in his owne Countrey was reputed for a great brauerie. He had also another hole in his nether lip, wherein was set a precious stone about the bignes of a pease: All his apparel, behauiour, and gesture, were very strange to the beholders.

---

* The Voyages of circumnavigation by the Straits of Magellan will be found in Vol. XV. of this Edition.

A king of Brasil brought into England.

Hauing remained here the space almost of a whole yeere, and the king with his sight fully satisfied, M. Hawkins according to his promise and appointment, purposed to conuey him againe into his countrey: but it fell out in the way, that by change of aire and alteration of diet, the said Sauage king died at sea, which was feared would turn to the losse of the life of Martin Cockeram his pledge. Neuerthelesse, the Sauages being fully perswaded of the honest dealing of our men with their prince, restored againe the said pledge, without any harme to him, or any man of the company: which pledge of theirs they brought home againe into England, with their ship fraighted, and furnished with the commodities of the countrey. Which Martin Cockeram, by the witnesse of Sir Iohn Hawkins, being an officer in the towne of Plimmouth, was liuing within these fewe yeeres.*

An ancient voyage of M. Robert Reniger and M. Thomas Borey to Brasil in the yeere of our Lord 1540.

I Haue bene certainly informed by M. Anthony Garrard an ancient and worshipfull marchant of the citie of London, that this commodious and gainefull voyage to Brasil was ordinarily and vsually frequented by M. Robert Reniger, M. Thomas Borey, and diuers other substantial and wealthy marchants of Southampton, about 60. yeeres past, that is to say in the yeere 1540.

---

*This Martin Cockeram is introduced by Kingsley in Chapter XXX. of "Westward Ho!" Indeed the principal incidents of that novel are nothing but extracts from Hakluyt's Collection; in many passages, the only difference being the use of modern phraseology.

A voyage of one Pudsey to Baya in Brasil anno 1542.

ALso the worshipfull M. Edward Cotton of Southampton Esquire gaue mee more particularly to vnderstand, how that one Pudsey of Southampton, a man of good skill and resolution in marine causes, made a voyage in like maner 62. yeeres agoe to Baya de todos los Santos the principall towne of all Brasil, and the seate of the Portugal vice-roy and of the bishop, and that he built a fort not farre distant from that place, in the foresaid yeere 1542.*

A for built in Brasil by the English.

A letter written to M. Richard Staper by Iohn Whithal from Santos in Brasil, the 26. of Iune 1578.

WOrshipfull sir, and welbeloued friend M. Staper, I haue me most heartily commended vnto you, wishing your health euen as mine owne.

These few words may bee to let you vnderstand, that whereas I wrote vnto you not many dayes past by the way of Lisbon, howe that I determined to bee with you very shortly, it is in this countrey offered mee to marry, and to take my choice of three or foure: so that I am about three dayes agoe consorted with an Italian gentleman to marry with his daughter within these foure dayes. This my friend and father in law Signor Ioffo Dore is borne in the citie of Geneua in Italy:† his kindred is well knowen amongst the Italians in London: also hee hath but onely this childe which is his daughter, which hee hath thought better bestowed vpon mee then on any Portugal in all the countrey, and doeth giue with her in marriage to me part of an Ingenio which he hath, that doeth make euery yeere a thousand roues of sugar. This my mariage will be worth to me two thousand duckets, little more or lesse. Also Signor Ioffo Dore my father in law doeth intende to put into my handes the whole Ingenio with sixtie or seuentie slaues, and thereof to make me factor for vs both. I giue my liuing Lord thankes for placing me in such honour and plentifulnesse of all things.

---

* If the voyage of Pudsey took place 62 years before Hakluyt published his third volume, the date of it must have been 1538, not 1542.

† Of course this is intended for Genoa.

Also certaine dayes past I talked with the Prouedor and the Captaine, and they haue certified me, that they haue discouered certaine Mines of siluer and gold, and looke euery day for Masters to come to open the said Mines: which when they be opened will inrich this countrey very much. This place is called S. Vincent, and is distant from you two thousand leagues, and in 24. degrees of latitude on the South side of the Equinoctial line, and almost vnder the Tropike of Capricorne. A countrey it is very healthfull without sicknesse.

Mines of gold and siluer newly discouered at S. Vincent.

Moreouer, I haue talked with the Captaine and Prouedor, and my father in law, who rule all this countrey, for to haue a ship with goods to come from London hither, which haue promised mee to giue mee licence, saying that nowe I am free denizen of this countrey. To cause a ship to come hither with such commodities as would serue this countrey, would come to great gaines, God sending in safety the profite and gaines. In such wares and commodities as you may ship hither from London is for euery one commoditie deliuered here three for one, and then after the proceed may be imployed in white sugar at foure hundred reis the roue.

The voyage to S. Vincent worth three for one outward only.

I meane also to haue a friend in London to send mee a ship of 60. or 70. tunnes, little more or lesse, with such commodities as I shall giue aduise for. This voyage is as good as any Peru-voyage. If you and Master Osborne will deale here, I will deale with you before any other, because of our old friendly friendship in time past. If you haue any stomacke thereto, in the name of God do you espie out a fine barke of seuentie or eightie tunnes, and send her hither with a Portugall Pilot to this port of S. Vincent in Brasil, bordering vpon the borders of Peru.

Also I herewith write vnto you in what forme and maner you shall furnish this voyage both in commodities and otherwise.

First you must lade in the said ship certaine Hampshire and

In what maner a voyage to S. Vincent with a ship of 70. or 80. tunnes is to be made.

Deuonshire karsies: for the which you must let her depart from London in October, and to touch in the Canaries, and there to make sale of the saide karsies, and with the proceed thereof to lade fifteene tunnes of wines that be perfect and good, and sixe dozen of Cordouan skinnes of these colours, to wit, orenge, tawnie, yellow, red, and very fine black. I thinke you shall not finde such colours there. Therefore you must cause them that shall goe vpon this voyage, to take saffron with them, to cause the same skinnes to bee put into the saide colours. Also I thinke you shall finde oyles there. Three hogsheads of sweete oyle for this voyage are very necessary, or a hundred and fiftie iarres of oyle. Also in London you may lade in the said ship these parcels of commodities or wares, as followeth:

In primis, Foure peeces of hollands of middle sort.

Item, One peece of fine holland.

Foure hundred elles of osenbriges very fine.

Foure dozen of sizzors of all sorts.

Sixteene kintals of pitch of the Canaries.

Twentie dozen of great kniues which be made in fardles, of a low price.

Foure dozen of a small sort.

Sixe peeces of bayes of the lowest sort.

One very fine peece of bayes.

Four hundred elles of Manchester-cottons, most blacke, greene, some yellow.

Eight or tenne dozen of hats, the one halfe trimmed with taffata, the other plaine with the bands of Cypresse.

Sixe dozen of course shirts.

Three dozen of doublets of canuas.

Three dozen of doublets of stiched canuas.

One piece of fine Millan-fustian barred.

Sixe dozen of locks for doores and chests.

Sixe thousand of all maner of fish hooks

Four dozen reames of paper.

Two dozen of glasses of diuers sorts.

Two dozen of Venice glasses, the one halfe great, the other middle sort.

Two dozen of mantles of frize, of the lowest price that can be.

Three dozen of frize gownes.

Foure hundred pound of tinne of the vse of Portugall, most smal dishes and trenchers.

Foure pound of silke of all colours.

Twentie pound of spices, cloues, cinamon, pepper, and saffron.

Two kintals of white sope.

Three pound of threed, white, black, and blew.

Three pound of fine white threed.

Item, halfe a dozen of Northerne karsies of diuers colours.

Foure sorting clothes, blew, red, yellow, and green.

Sixe Northerne dozens of diuers colours.

One fine blew cloth of eight pound.

One fine stamell of tenne or twelue pound.

One fine sheeps coloured cloth of twelue pound.

One fine blacke karsie. One fine stamell karsie.

Sixe yards of blacke veluet.

Three barrels of nailes for chests.

Two barrels of nailes for ships and barks.

Sixe kintals of Occom.

Two dozen of veluet girdles without hangers.

Foure yards of taffata red, blacke, and blew, with some greene.

Two dozen of leather girdles.

Sixe dozen of axes, hatches, and small billes to cut wood.

Foure mases of gitterne strings.

Foure hundred or fiue hundreds elles of some linnen cloth that is of a low price to make shirts and sheets.

Foure tonne of yron.

These be such sort of wares as I would you should send. If you meane to deale, or send any ship hither, haue you no doubt, but by the helpe of God I shall put all things in good order according to your contentment and profit: for my father in lawe with the Captaine and Prouedor doe rule this countrey.

My father in law and I shal (God willing) make a good quantitie of sugar euery yeere, which sugar we intend to ship for London from henceforth, if we can get such a trustie and good friend as you to deale with vs in this matter. I pray you presently after the receit of this my letter to write mee answere thereof, and send your letter to M. Holder to Lisbone, and he wil conuey it to me out of hand.

Besides the premisses send sixe yards of skarlet, parchment lace of diuers colours.

Sixe yards of crimosin veluet,

Sixe yards of crimosin satten.

Twelue yards of fine puke blacke.

Here in this countrey in stead of Iohn Whithall they haue called me Iohn Leitoan: so that they haue vsed this name so long time, that at this present there is no remedie but it must remaine so. When you write vnto me, let the superscription be vnto Iohn Leitoan.

Thus I commit you with all yours to the holy Ghost for euer.

If you send this ship, I would haue you giue order that she touch in no part of the coast of Guinie nor any other coast, but to come directly hither to the port of S. Vincent, and from the Canaries let her be dispatched in my name, to wit, Iohn Leitoan.

Also a dozen shirts for my wearing let be sent, if you send the ship.

Item, sixe or eight pieces of sayes for mantles for women, which is the most necessary thing that can be sent.

By your assured friend Iohn Whithall.

A copie of the letters of the Aduenturers for Brasill sent to Iohn Whithall dwelling in Santos, by the Minion of London, Anno 1580. the 24. of October in London.

MAster Whithall, as vnacquainted wee commend vs vnto you, etc. vnderstanding by your friends, M. Iohn Bird, M. Robert Walkaden, and your brother Iames Whithall of certaine letters that they haue receiued of yours from Santos, which wee haue seene and read, wherein from time to time you doe require, and desire them to send a good ship to Santos, with such wares and commodities as you did write for, whereby you did not onely promise that they should haue good intertainment, but also should sell the saide commodities to make three of one outward at the least in euery thing, and that for to relade their ship backe, they should haue of the best, finest, and whitest drie sugars 32. pound of our weight for a ducket at the most. The premises considered, with the great credit that they and we doe giue to your writing and promise, haue caused vs, whose names be hereunder written, to ioyne our selues in company together, and to be at great charges purposely to send this good ship the Minion of London, not onely with such marchandizes as you wrote for, but also with as many other things as we thought might any wayes pleasure you, or profit the country. And we craue of you, that we and our factors may haue so much credite of you, as we haue in you and of your letters, which is to beleeue vs that we haue taken this voyage vpon vs, with no other minde or purpose, then to deale faithfully and truely in the trade by sea and land, so as you shall not onely haue cause to reioyce, and deserue thanks for our comming, but also you wil procure the magistrates there to be bound, as they vse in Galicia, that we may be preserued and defended from all reprisals and imbargements of princes or subiects for any causes or matters whatsoeuer, whereby wee may bee incouraged by them, giuing vs this securitie of good intertainment, to continue the trade yeerely henceforth : and for our parts we promise upon our credits and fidelities, to commit no outrage at the sea nor land, nor suffer any to be done in our company that we may let, but rather to defend and protect all other such peaceable marchants as we are, with their ships and goods.

And to the ende that you and others shall know that wee meane as we say, we haue giuen order to our factors to giue you good hostages for your assurance of our good fidelities: and further we haue sent a testimoniall of our owne true meaning in writing vnder the seales of this honourable Citie of London, which we wil not discredite by our behauiours for all the treasure that you haue: and so we haue written to your magistrates of your port, and others in Spanish, the copy whereof we send you herewith enclosed in English. And if the time should fal out so contrary to our expectations, that there should not be fine white sugar sufficient to lade our ship in due time at Santos, then we pray you direct our factours where they may goe with the shippe in safetie to supply their want, and helpe them to a good sure Pilot for that purpose, and write your letters to your friends where the best sugar is made in their fauors, and helpe our factours to haue a testimoniall from Santos, that they and you traded together friendly, and so departed in good and perfect amitie, and shew them that the iust cause of our comming is to trade as marchants peaceably, and not as Pirates to commit any offence to one or other.

Also we pray you, if there be any store of waxe, or salt-peeter, whereby the price there may yeeld vs as much profit as the white sugars at a ducket the roue, or any other commodity of like profite, then to procure that we may lade it without danger of lawe, be it oare of golde or siluer or whatsoeuer else.

We haue sent you copper cauldrons for your Ingenios, with iron and all other necessaries for your purpose, and artificers to set the same: and as wee haue at your request bene at great charges in sending these men, so we pray you let vs haue lawful fauour in like courtesie to further all our causes. And if any of our Mariners or passengers in any respect of displeasure against their company, or in hope of preferment of mariage or otherwise would procure to tary and dwell there, and leaue his charge and office, that then you will bee a meane to the Iustice that such fugitives should be sent abord the ship as prisoners: for as you know, without our men wee cannot bring home our ship.

Wee haue giuen order to our factours to vse your counsell and helpe in their affaires, and to gratifie you for the same as to your courtesie and faithfull friendship shall appertaine to your good liking: and in the meane time for a token of our good willes towards you, we haue sent you a fieldbed of walnut tree, with the canopy, valens, curtaines, and gilt knops. And if there be any commoditie else that may pleasure you or your friends, wee haue giuen order that they shall haue the refusing of it before any other, giuing for it as it is worth.

And thus to conclude, promising to performe all the foresaide things on our parts in euery condition, we commit you to God, who euer preserue you with all his blessings.

Your louing friends
Christopher Hodsdon.*
Anthonie Garrard.
Thomas Bramlie.
Iohn Bird.
William Elkin.

Certaine notes of the voyage to Brasil with the Minion of London aforesaid, in the yere 1580. written by Thomas Grigs Purser of the said ship.

THe thirde day of Nouember in the yeere abouesaid we departed in the Minion of London from Harwich, from which time no great thing worth the knowledge or regard of others happened vntil the 22. of December the next moneth, which day for our owne learning and vse wee obserued the setting of the Sunne, which was West southwest, we then being vnder the line Equinoctiall, where we found the aire very temperate, and the winde for the most part Southeast and East southeast. The same day we also obserued the rising of the moone, being one day after the full, which rose at East northeast.

---

* For a very curious account of the family of "Hodsdon" or "Hudson," consult the "Life of Henry Hudson" in the publications of the Clarendon Historical Society for 1883.

The first land that wee fell with vpon the coast of Brasill was the yland of S. Sebastian, where we arriued the 14. day of Ianuary in the yeere 1581.*

The 16. day Thomas Babington, and others in our pinnesse, went a shoare to Guaybea, where they met with Iohn Whithall his father and mother in lawe, who hauing receiued letters from thence to be deliuered at Santos, came abord, and then we weyed and set saile, and the 28. day wee arriued at the yland of Santa Catelina, neere the entrance of Santos.

Our course from S. Sebastian was Southwest and by West, and betwixt the Southwest and by West, and West southwest.

This yland of Santa Catelina seemeth at the first to be a part of the yland of Girybia. Wee ankered at nine fathome blacke osie ground.

Vpon the yland there grow many Palmito-trees, but no fresh water is there to be found.

The third day of February we arriued before the towne of Santos, and were there well received and intertained of the Captaine, the kings officers, and all the people.

The fourth day we tooke into our ship a beefe aliue, which for the victualling of the ship, and the refreshing of our men, and to make vs the merrier at Shrouetide.

The eight day we deliuered to M. Iohn Whithall a bedstead with the appurtenances, which were sent to him from our marchants of London.

The 18. day the captaine of Santos came abord our ship, by whom we had knowledge of foure great French ships of warre, that had bene at the riuer of Ienero, which there tooke three Canoas, but were driuen from thence by their castles and forts, and were looked for here at Santos. Whereupon the Captaine requested vs to lend them some armour and artillery, and we lent them twentie caliuers. and two barrels of powder.

The yle of Alcatrarzas or Pelicanes.

The 19. day our skiffe which we had sent to Alcatrarzas, and had bene away sixe dayes, came againe, and brought good store of great and good fish, and tolde vs that there was good store of fish to be taken there by the hooke, and as much wood as we would haue of the Palmito-tree.

---

* South West of Rio de Janeiro.

The 20. day at night Nicholas Gale, one of our company, fell ouer our shippes side, and was drowned in the port of Santos before the towne, where our ship rode at anker.

The 22. day two of the Canoas which the Frenchmen tooke in the riuer of Ienero, returned to Santos, and reported that the foure French ships were past to the southwards, as they thought, for the Straights of Magellan, and so into the South sea.

The 23. day the aforesaid Nicholas Gale, who fell ouerboard two days before, was found againe, and taken vp three miles from our ship, and our company went to his buriall in the Church at Santos.

This day the Captaine and Iustices of Santos wished vs to tary in their road till the last of April, for they had sent a barke of Santos to Baya at the kings charges, to know whether we should haue trade there or no, and this barke could not returne before that time.

About this time there arriued at Fernambuck* a shippe from Portugall, which brought newes that the Islands, Indies, and Portugall it selfe was molested and troubled by the Spaniards, and that the Portugales had both English and Frenchmen to Lisbone to defend them against Spaine.

The 25. day wee sent two of our men, namely Thomas Michael and Simon Thorne to Baya in a barke that went thither from Santos.

The two and twentie day of April our Master and Thomas Babington hauing some talke and conference with the Padres of Santos, they (our men being ready to go to the Riuer of Ienero) tolde them, that they were sorry for our banishment from the Church, and that the Ministrador had written from Rio de Ienero, that forasmuch as these twentie yeres or more the English nation had denied the Church of Rome and her proceedings, therefore the Ministrador commanded that none of vs should come to their Church : the Padres willed vs herein to haue patience, and to take it in good part, and promised to stand our friends in their word and writing, both to the Ministrador and to the bishop at Baya, and further requested all our English company to haue no ill opinion of them.

---

* Pernambuco.

The 28. of April we laded sugars into our ship.

The 21. of May we tooke in fresh victuals from Santos.

The 10. day of Iune we gratified one Iosto Thorno, dwelling in Santos, with some of our English victuals, and intertained him in good sort in our ship, and this day wee were promised to haue a Pilot at Santos to cary vs to Baya.

The 11. day we went to fish, to make prouision for our ship and men, and from that time til the eighteenth day wee fet water, and cut wood for our fire, and trimmed our ship of the harmes and leakes which the wormes had made in her while wee ridde at the yland of S. Sebastian, and in the meane time we departed from before the towne of Santos. Our Master sent his skiffe from the barre of Santos, thinking to haue brought Thomas Babington and William Euet with the Pilot, which wee had tarried for three dayes: and as the skiffe was going, William Euet being by the Riuers side, called to our pinnesse, and sent a letter to our Master,* which Thomas Babington had written, wherein were no newes, but that the Ministrador was arriued at Santos from the Riuer of Ienero, and would speake with our Master, but he willed that whatsoeuer Thomas Babington did write, no credit should be giuen to it. And further he wished vs presently to depart for Sant Sebastian, and there to dispatch our businesse, and then to sende backe for Babington and himselfe to Guaybea, where he (if he were well) would giue his attendance to come abord.

Leaks in the Minion made by wormes.

*Whose name was Stephen Hare.

As we rid two leagues a sea-bord the barre of Santos, wee broke a cable in the open sea, which happened the 15. day of this moneth.

Their departure from Santos.

We arriued at S. Sebastian the 15. day, and there shifted our balast, and had in stones, and halled our ship a ground to stop our leakes, and caried our casks a shoare to be hooped for water, which indeed might better haue bene done in Santos, before the Ministrador came thither: yet we finished all things pertaining to our ship, by the 22 of this moneth, at S. Sebastian.

The first day of Iuly Thomas Babington came abord with William Euet, in our pinnesse, and the rest of our men that went for them: but there was no Pilot brought according to promise to cary vs to Baya.

The things that we obserued and noted in the time of our being at Santos, were these, All such wares and marchandizes as owe no custome in Brasill, their vse is, to set a price vpon the same, how they shalbe sold: which is done by the magistrates of the towne, according to the ordinances of their King.

But for all such marchandizes as do owe custome there, the marchants are to sell them according as they may, to the greatest profit and aduantage that they can.

Concerning the prouince of Peru, wee learned that one part of it by land and water is but twelue dayes iourney from the towne of Santos, and from thence it may be about foure or fiue dayes iourney by water to the maine riuer of Plate.*

From the head of the riuer of Plate, and from their chiefe townes there, they do trade and trafique by land into Peru by waggons, and horses or mules.

The said riuer of Plate is so full of sands and dangers, and the fresh so fierce sometimes, that no shipping dares to deale with it, small barks to their knowledge may go vp it, and not els.

The Portugales here cannot be suffered to vse their Mines of treasure in these parts, vpon paine of death, the contrary being commanded by the king and the Vice-roy, who is as their king in place of authoritie.

About twentie leagues from Santos there is a certaine kinde of wilde Sauages, lying in the mountaines, which are in friendship with the Portugales, and they haue continuall warres with certaine other Sauages that dwell towards the borders of Peru, which is distant from Santos about 400. or 500. leagues. Those Sauages of Peru haue store of gold and siluer, but they knowe not the vse of it.

Looke what Sauages of their enemies they take, they sell them to the Portugales for kniues, combes, axes or hatchets, and other trifles: they will sell one for a pennie-knife to a Portugal, and after two yeeres they are worth twentie or thirtie duckets to the Portugal.

This people haue also continuall warres with the Spaniards: and this was tolde vs by one of those Sauages, which hath dwelt among the Portugales these seuen yeeres, with his master called Sennor Manoel Veloso. And this fellowe would willingly haue come with vs for England.

---

* Paraguay is probably meant. The river of that name, which ultimately flows into the Sea as Rio de la Plata, is about 700 miles distant from Santos.

There are certaine rockes that lie off betweene the yle of Alcatrarzas and S. Sebastian, about two leagues, which are to be taken heed of, which a farre off in faire weather shewe like the sailes of ships.

The yle of Alcatrarzas or Pelicanes dangerous for rocks.

There are other rocks that lie off S. Catelina also fiue leagues to the East and by south into the sea off the yland.

At our comming vp to Santos we found foure fadom and a halfe water in the shallowest place, and the like we found within a league after we were departed from S. Catelina, litle more or lesse, but after you haue runne in the depth of foure fadome and a halfe, about a mile or lesse, then you shall haue it deeper againe more and more.

Before the towne of Santos we rode in eight or tenne fadome water.

A letter of Francis Suares to his brother Diego Suares dwelling in Lisbon, written from the riuer of Ienero in Brasill in Iune 1596. concerning the exceeding rich trade newly begunne betweene that place and Peru, by the way of the Riuer of Plate, with small barks of 30. and 40. tunnes.

SIr, we set saile from Lisbon the fourth of April 1596. and arriued here in this riuer of Ienero the twentie seuenth of Iune next ensuing. And the same day the Visitadores did visit our ship with great ioy, thinking that those commodities which wee brought with vs, had bene for the marchants of this countrey : but it prooued to the contrary.

The pilot brought with him in the sayd shippe two pipes of wine which were taken from him, and solde by the Iustice for foure and twenty reals euery gallon. But I solde mine for two and thirty and sixe and thirty reals the gallon. If I had brought any great store of wine, I should haue made a great gaine of it : for I should haue gotten eight reals for one.

Wine solde at an excessiue rate.

The next day in the morning we went all on shore, and gaue God thanks for our prosperous voyage, and good successe which he had sent vs. And because the gouernour of this countrey was gone from this Towne to another house of his, three leagues vp into the riuer beyond the place where we rode at anker, I desired the captaine of our shippe after dinner, that we might take the shippe boat, and goe to the place where the gouernour did lie. And so going vp the riuer, we met with a canoa which was comming downe the riuer, and going aboord our shippe; which canoa was laden with fresh victuals, and in the same was one Portugall, which met vs, and tolde vs that the gouernour of that captaine shippe had sent vs a present, which we receiued very thankefully, and sent it aboord. And we went vp the riuer, to the place where the gouernour did dwell; and comming to the place where we landed, hard by the riuers side, the gouernour came thither and receiued vs very courteously. So we remained at his house two days, talking of many matters of Portugall: then we departed from him, and came downe the riuer.

Three dayes after, I hired a ware-house by my selfe, and landed my commodities. And now I am selling them as fast as I can; and sell them very well, and to great profit: for I haue sold all our hats. I would I had brought forty or fifty dozen, by reason of the great vtterance of them vp into Peru, and into the new kingdome of Granada, by the way of the riuer of Plate. For here is passage euery three or foure moneths with barks of thirty and forty tunnes a piece, which are laden with sugars, rice, taffataes, hats, and other kindes of commodities of this countrey, which are caried vp the sayd riuer of Plate in the sayd barks, and thence are conueyed vp into Peru. And these barks are but tenne or twelue days going vp the sayd riuer to Peru. And within foure and fiue moneths after, the sayd barkes come downe this riuer againe laden with reals of plate, and bring downe from those places no other commodities but treasure. It is a woonderfull thing to behold the great gaine and profit which is gotten in this riuer and in this countrey. I am ashamed to write it, fearing that I shall not be beleeued. For the imployment of one hundred ducats in spaine, being brought hither, will yeeld twelue hundred and fifteene hundred ducats profit. This trade hath beene vsed but within this yeere. For wee can goe vp to the mines of Potosi, which are the best and the richest mines in all Peru.* If the merchants of Spaine and Portugall did know this trade, they would not send nor venture so much merchandise to Cartagena as

A rich trade from the riuer of Ienero by the riuer of Plate into Peru, etc.

The shortnesse of the returne of the voyage to Peru.

The rich trade was begunne in the yere 1595.

---

* By Peru, Bolivia is here meant. Potosi can be reached from Rio de la Plata by ascending the river Paraguay to its junction with the Pilcomayo, and thence ascending that river.

they doe. For vp this riuer is a great deale the neerer way, and the easier to go to Peru. For the Peruleros or merchants of Peru, which dwell there, come downe to this harbour and riuer of Ienero, and bring with them fifteene thousand and twentie thousand ducats in reals of plate and gold, and imploy it heere in this riuer in commodities: and when heere are no commodities to be had for money in this place, then these merchants of Peru, are constrained to go to Baia and Fernambuc, and there to imploy their money. I would I had brought good store of silks, and not these kinde of commodities which I did bring. For here is more profit to be had a great deale then in the voyage of Angola. For heere with fiue hundred ducats in fiue moneths space a man may get sixe thousand ducats. And this is no fable, but most true, and a great deale more then I can expresse. For a rapier which doeth cost in Spaine foure and twenty and sixe and twenty reals, is sold heere for forty and fifty ducats: a bridle for a horse is solde for fifteene ducats: a lock of a doore and the key is solde for ten ducats: a pound of beniamin is solde for fifteene ducats: a yard of veluet is solde for twenty and fiue and twenty ducats: taffataes are solde for sixe and seuen ducats the vare: an ownce of muske is solde for forty ducats: and all kinde of commodities after this rate. So one thousand ducats of Spanish commodities will gaine tenne thousand ducats. Thus I hope in God to make more profit and gaine this voyage, then in two voyages to Angola: for I haue solde most of my hats for two duckets and a halfe and for three ducats. The rest I will cary to Angola, to helpe to sell the rest of my commodities, which I cannot sell in this riuer. And I haue solde an hundred cubits of broad cloth for fiue hundred and fiue hundred and fifty and sixe hundred reys the cubit. If I would haue solde all my cloth for ready money tolde downe for foure hundred and fifty and fiue hundred reyes, the merchants would haue bought it all of me: but I would sell no more, because I meant to exchange it in Angola for Negros. Howbeit with ready money in hand in Angola a man shall buy better Negros, and better cheape. The captaine of our ship solde all his cloth for ready money for foure hundred and fifty reys the cubit, and thought that he had made a good market, but he hath deceiued himselfe. I solde six broad clothes for fiue hundred and fifty reys the cubit: and I was offered

The voyage of Angola in Africa.

Gaine of ten thousand ducats for the laying out of one thousand.

A trade of buying Negros in Angola.

thirty thousand reys for a cloth. Vineger is solde for two and thirty, sixe and thirty, and forty reals a iarre, by reason there is great store of limmons and orenges in the countrey: but in Angola it is more woorth. Oliues are solde for halfe a reall a piece: wherefore I hope to sell the hogshead for twenty thousand reys. In taffataes and veluets there will be gotten two hundred and fifty and three hundred for one hundred. If I had brought great store, I could haue solde it all at this rate. I haue already gotten great store of reals of plate: for it is tolde mee that money is a good commodity in Angola. But I must imploy some in meale, which is in the grinding. All the rest of my money I will send you by billes of exchange, and some part I wil imploy in sugars: for I haue sent order to Baia for that purpose. For from this place there is no shipping that doth go that way. So these letters I do send by the way of Fernambuc, and haue directed them to my cousin: for I do determine to settle my selfe here in this countrey. There is come downe from Peru, by this riuer of Plate, a merchant called Alonso Ramires, and he hath brought downe with him ten or twelue thousand ducats in reals of plate, and is come downe to this place to build him a ship to returne into Spaine; and there is come in his company a bishop. And thus Iesus Christ send you long health.

Your louing brother Francis Suares.

The well gouerned and prosperous voyage of M. Iames Lancaster, begun with three ships and a galley-frigat from London in October 1594, and intended for Fernambuck, the porte-towne of Olinda in Brasil. In which voyage (besides the taking of nine and twenty ships and frigats) he surprized the sayd port-towne, being strongly fortified and manned; and held possession thereof thirty dayes together (notwithstanding many bolde assaults of the enemy both by land and water) and also prouidently defeated their dangerous and almost ineuitable fireworks. Heere he found the cargazon or freight of a rich East Indian carack; which together with great abundance of sugars, Brasil-wood, and cotton he brought from thence; lading therewith fifteene sailes of tall ships and barks.

IN September 1594 the worshipfull M. Iohn Wats, alderman,

M. Paul Banning, alderman, and others of worship in the city of London, victualled three good ships; to wit, The Consent, of the burden of 240 tunnes or thereabout, The Salomon, of 170 tunnes, and the Virgin, of 60 tunnes: and appointed for commanders in this voyage, M. Iames Lancaster of London, gentleman, admirall of the fleet, M. Edmund Barker of London, viceadmirall, and M. Iohn Audely of Poplar neere London rereadmirall, hauing in their sayd ships to the number of 275 men and boyes.

Being fully furnished with all needfull prouision, wee departed from Blackwall in October following, keeping our owne coast, vntill we came into the West countrey, where we met with such gusts and stormes, that the Salomon spending her mast at the Range of Darmouth, put into harbour; but by the earnest care and industry of the generall and others hauing charge, she was shortly againe prouided. Which done; hauing a pleasant gale for our purpose, we put foorth from Dartmouth the last of Nouember following. But contrary to our expectation, not fifty leagues from our owne coast, we lost the Salomon and the Virgin, by a storme of contrary winde that fell vpon vs: yet being alone, in hope to meet them about the Canaries or Cape Blank, we kept on our course to the Canaries, but could heare no tidings of our consorts, which greatly grieued vs.

Thence we went, bearing for the isle of Tenerif, where in the morning early we had sight of a saile, which being becalmed vnder the shore, was towing with their boat a head, hauing one other at her sterne. For this saile we manned our boat, appointing our men wel for fight, if need should require. The Spaniards seeing our boat come, entred theirs, and leauing the ship, sought to saue themselues by flight: but our men pursued them so fast, that they boorded them, and brought them with their shippe to our Generall. This ship was laden with 80 tunnes of Canary-wine, which came not vnto vs before it was welcome. We kept and manned it, plying that day, and the next night thereabout. The very next morning we had sight of one other; to whome in like maner wee sent our boat: but their gunner made a shot at her, and strooke off a propper yoong mans arme; yet we inforced her to yeeld, and found 40 tunnes of wine in her. The Spaniards hauing their free passage, and an acquaintance for the deliuery of their wines, were all set on shore vpon Tenerif, making a quicke returne of their long voyage intended into the West Indies.

Hence we departed toward Cape Blank; and before wee came thither, we met againe with the Virgin our rereadmirall, whose men tolde vs for very trueth, that the Salomon was returned for England; inforced so to doe, by spending her mast the second time. Which when our men vnderstood, they were all in a maze, not knowing what to doe, and saying among themselues that their force was but small when all our strength were together, and now we had lost the one halfe of our strength, we were not able to performe the voyage: and therefore some of them came to the captain, asking him what he would now do, seeing the Salomon was now lost, the one halfe of our strength, giuing him counsell to beare vp for the West Indies, and proue there to make his voyage, because his first plat for want of strength was cleane ouerthrown. The captaine hearing this new nouelty, as not vnacquainted with the variable pretenses of mariners, made them this answere: Sirs, I made knowen to you all at my comming out of England what I pretended, and that I meant to go to Fernambuck, and although at the present we want one of our ships, yet (God willing) I mean to go forward, not doubting but to meet her at the appointed places, which are either at Cape Blank or the islands of Cape Verde: for I am assured that M. Barker the captaine is so resolute to performe this voyage, that his mast being repaired, he will not faile to meet vs, and it were no wisdome for vs to diuert our course, till we haue sought him at those places where our appointed meeting is: for the diuerting of courses is the ouerthrow of most of our actions. And I hope you will be all contented herewith: for to go any other course then I haue determined (by Gods helpe) I will not be drawen vnto. With these reasons and many others shewed, they rested all satisfied: and at our comming to Cape Blank (God be praised) we met with the Salomon with no small ioy to vs all; and there she had taken of Spaniards and Portugals 24 saile of ships and carauels, fisher-men, and had taken out of them such necessaries as she had neede of. Of these ships our Captaine tooke foure along with him, with another that he had taken himselfe, meaning to imploy them as occasion should serue. At this place he vnderstood one of the pilots of those ships, that one of the caracks that came out of the East Indies, was cast away in the rode of Fernambuc, and that all her goods were layd vpon the Arracife which is the lower towne. Of these newes we were all glad, and reioyced much; for our hopes were very good, seeing such a booty before vs.

Of this good company and happy successe we were all ioyful, and had great hope of the blessing of God in performance of our intended voyage, and so after some parle and making frolike for ioy of our meeting one with the other (praising God for all) we plied for Maio: where coming to anker, our generall and the rest of the captaines went ashore to view the place where we might in best safety set our gallly-frigat together; which frame wee brought from England of purpose to land men in the country of Brasil. Here we discharged our great prize of wine, and set her on fire: but before our coming thither, you shall vnderstand we had sight of four sailes, which was captaine Venner in his ship the Peregrine, and a proper Biskaine which he tooke at Cape Blank, the Welcome of Plymmouth and her pinnesse: all which stood with vs. But they seeing our flags, not expecting such good fellowes as we, did beare from vs all they might; which our people tooke very vnkindly, that being all friends, they would neither enquire, nor tell vs any newes of our friends, but withont making any shew of kindness would so depart. As before I haue said, the choice being made for the place to build the gally-frigat, ashore it was brought, where the carpenters applied their worke, still cheered vnto it by the generals good gifts bestowed among them, and kind vsage of the rest of the commanders, not without great care of the captaine for the safety of them all, by keeping good watch: yet one negligent fellow, which had no knowledge of the countrey, straying from his company, was by the Portugals taken, and very kindly vsed, and brought againe vnto vs: for which good the generall rewarded them well with gifts very acceptable, which they tooke as kindly. While wee were thus busily imployed about the foresayd galley, we descried at sea foure sailes, which we had good hope would haue prooued Indies men, or some to haue brought vs what wee looked for: but they proued captaine Venner with his fleete, as aforesayd, who, seeing vs at anker, ankered also; where spending some time, and being acquainted with our generals determination for landing, consorted with vs, and their bils, according to the maner of the sea, were made and signed on either part, we to haue three parts, and he the fourth, of all that should be taken, whereby our strength was increased, to all our comforts. Three

A gally-frigat caried out of England in pieces.

The gally-frigat set vp.

weeks or thereabouts we stayd in this place before the gally was finished; which done, putting men into her, and fitting her with oares, hauing fourteene banks on a side, a mast and saile, the commandement of her was committed vnto M. Wats, an honest skilful mariner.

From thence we put againe to sea, and went for the ile Braua, where we watered: which done, we made no long stay after, but bent our course as directly as we could for the place, making our first fall with the land to the Southward of Cape S. Augustine; from whence wee plied still to our desired port of Fernambuck, and did so much, that about midnight we came before the harbour; where some plied vp and downe, holding that the best policy, to forebeare the entring till day might giue them light, the harborow being hard, and therefore the more perillous. Our ships being in safety well arriued, God was praised: and the generall in his boat went from ship to ship, willing them to made ready such men as they could spare, with muskets, pikes, billes, bowes, arrowes, and what weapons they had to follow him. Himself, with 80 men from his owne ship, imbarked himselfe in the gally, which carried in her prow a good sacar, and two murdering pieces.

The 29 of March.

Our admiral spent all the night in giuing directions to euery ship to haue their men ready shipped in their boats, for he intended to enter the harborow at the breake of day, and to leaue his ships without, till he had gotten the fort and the towne: for he would not aduenture the ships in, till the harborow was gotten. Also he prouided fiue ships, which he brought from Cape Blank, and put men in them as many as could conueniently saile them, and no more, giuing them charge to enter the harborow with his boats: for at the entrance of the harborow rode three great Holland ships, which our admirall doubted would impeach his going in; and therefore he gaue order to the men of these fiue small ships, which were not aboue 60 tunnes a piece, if the Hollanders did offer any resistance, to run aboord of them, and to set their owne ships on fire, and scape in their boats, which they had for the same purpose, that by this meanes they might not impeach our entrance. But when the morning was come, we were fallen aboue halfe a mile downe to the Northward, below the harborow, which was a great inconuenience vnto vs: so that before wee could get vp againe, the ebbe was come vpon vs, and thereby we were forced to houer before the harborow till two of the clocke in the afternoone, in the sight of all the towne. In this meane time, our ships rode before the fort without the harborow, about a demy-colouering shot off: in the which time passed many shot betweene the fort and the ships, and especially betweene the admirals ship and them: but no great harme was done on either part. All this while our admirall kept the men ready houering in the gally and the boats. The Hollanders that rode in the mouth of the harborow, seeing our resolution, layd out haulsers, and wound themselues out of the way of vs. Our admirall was very ioyfull, and gaue great incouragement to all his men: for, to passe these three great Hollanders, he held it the greatest danger of all. About 12 of the clocke the gouerner of the towne sent a Portugall aboord the admirals ship, to know what he would haue, and wherefore he came. He returned him this answere: That he wanted the caracks goods, and for them he came, and them he would haue, and that he should shortly see. In this processe of time, the townes-men and inhabitants which saw so much shipping, and perceiued vs to be enemies, gathered themselues together, three or foure ensignes of men, esteemed to the number of some sixe hundred at the least. These came to the fort or platforme lying ouer against the entry of the harborow, and there attended our landing: but before our admirall set forward with his boats, he gaue expresse order to all that had charge of gouerning the boats or galley, to run them with such violence against the shore, that they should be all cast away without recouery, and not one man to stay in them, whereby our men might haue no maner of retreat to trust vnto, but onely to God and their weapons.

Now was the time come of the flood, being about two of the clocke in the afternoone, when our admirall set forward, and entered the harborow with the small galley, and all the rest of the boats following him, the Hollanders that rode in the mouth of the harborow, nothing impeached him: but now the fort began to play with their ordinance vpon the galley and the boats; and one of their shot tooke away a great piece of our ensigne out of the galley. But our saile being set, it was no time for vs to make any stay, but with all the force we could we ranne the galley vpon the shore right vnder the fort, within a coits cast of it, with such violence, that we brake her backe; and she suncke presently: for there where we landed, went a breach of the sea, which presensly cast her away. The boats comming after did the like. At our arriuall, those in the fort had laden all their ordinance, being seuen pieces of brasse, to discharge them vpon vs at our landing; which indeed they did: for our admirall leaping into the water, all the rest following him, off came these pieces of ordinance: but almighty God be praised, they in the fort, with feare to see vs land in their faces, had piked their ordinance so steepe downewards with their mouthes, that they shot all their shot in the sand, although, as I sayd before, it was not aboue a coits cast at the most betweene the place wee landed and the face of the fort: so that they only shot off one of our mens armes, without doing any more hurt; which was to vs a great blessing of God: for if those ordinances had bene well leuelled, a great number of vs had lost our liues at that instant. Our admirall seeing this, cried out, incouraging his men, Vpon them, vpon them; all (by Gods helpe) is ours: and they therewith ran to the fort with all violence. Those foure ensignes of men that were set to defend our landing, seeing this resolution, began to go backe, and retire into certeine bushes that were by the same fort; and being followed, fledde thorowe a certaine oaze which was drie, being then but the beginning of the tide: and so abandoned the fort, and left it with their ordinance to vs. This day of our arriuall was their Good-Friday, when by custome they usually whippe themselves: but God sent vs now for a generall scourage to them all, whereby that labour among them might be well spared. The fort being taken with all their ordinance, the admirall waued to the ships, willing them to wey and come in; which they did with all speed, himselfe taking order in leauing certeine men in keeping the sayd fort, and placed the ordinance toward the high towne, from whence hee suspected the greatest danger; and putting his men in order, marched toward the low towne, which was about some fourteene score from the fort: in which towne lay all their merchandize and other goods. Approching to the towne, he entered the same, the people imbarking themselues in carauels and boats, with all the expedition they could. The base towne, of aboue an hundred houses, being thus taken, we found in it great store of merchandizes of all sorts: as Brasil-wood, sugars, Calico-cloth, pepper, cynamon, cloues, mase, nutmegs, with diuers other good things, to the great comfort of vs all. The admirall went vp and downe

The fort of Fernambuck taken.

the towne, and placed at the South end of the same captaine Venner and his company, himselfe and his company in the midst of the towne, and captaine Barker and captaine Addy at the other end of the towne, giuing great charge, that no man vpon paine of great punishment and losse of his shares, should break vp or enter into any ware-house, without order and direction from the admirall. And this commandement was as well kept as euer any was kept, where so great spoile and booty was found: for it was not knowen in all the time of our being there, that any disorder was committed, or any lodge or ware-house broken open, or any spoile was made, or pillaging of any thing; which is a note much to be obserued in such an action: for common mariners and souldiers are much giuen to pillaging and spoiling, making greater account of the same then of their shares.

Order being put in all things, we kept a very sure watch this first night, and the morning being come, our admirall and captaine Venner, with the rest of the captaines, went about the towne, and gaue order for the fortifying of it with all expedition: so that within two dayes it was surrounded with posts and planks, all that part of the towne next the maine land, at least nine foot high; for (God be thanked) we found prouision in the towne sufficient store for it. Now it is to be vnderstood, that this towne is enuironed on the one part by the sea, and on the backside by a riuer that runneth behinde it; so that to come to it by land, you must enter it by a small narrow passage not aboue forty paces ouer at an high water. At this passage we built a fort, and planted in it fiue pieces of ordinance, which we tooke out of the first fort we wan at our comming into the harborow. Now we hauing the towne in possession, our admirall sent for the Hollanders by his chyrurgian, which had bene brought vp in that countrey, a man knowing their conditions, and sober and discreet of his owne cariage. At his first comming aboord of them, they seemed to stand vpon their owne guard and defence, for they were three great and strong ships: but he vsed himselfe so, that they at the last willed him to come into the greatest of their ships, which was aboue 450 tunnes. Then he declared to them our intent of comming thither, and that they should be there as sure from any shew of violence or iniury offered them, as if they were in their owne houses, and if they should thinke so good, his admirall would fraight them for England, if they would be content with fraight reasonable, and as they should agree, and it should be at their owne choise whether to go or not, he would not force them, vnlesse it were to their benefit and good liking. Although this people were somewhat stubburne at the first, as that nation is in these causes, yet being satisfied with good words and good dealing they came aland, and after conference had with the admirall, they were so satisfied, that they went thorow with a fraight: and then we ioyned with them, and they with vs, and they serued vs as truely and as faithfully as our owne people did, both at watch and ward, by sea and all other seruices. Within two dayes after our comming in, about midnight, a great number of Portugals and Indians with them, came downe vpon vs with a very great cry and noise; but God be thanked, we were ready for them: for our admirall supposing some such assault, had prouided all our muskets with haile-shot, which did so gaule both the Indians and the Portugals, that they made them presently retreat. And this is to be noted, that there was both the horse and his rider slaine both with one of these shot. Our men followed them some fiue or sixe score, but no further. We lost in this conflict but onely one man, but had diuers hurt. What was lost of their part, we could not tell, for they had before day, after our retreat, caried away all their dead. Within three or foure dayes after our comming in appeared before the harborow 3 ships and 2 pinnesses, the pinnesses being somewhat nere, discried our flags, and one of them came in, which was a French pinnesse, declaring all the rest to be French bottoms; which our admirall willed should come in: and so they did. These were Frenchmen of war, and came thither for purchase. The captaines came aland, and were welcomed; amongst whom was one captaine Iohn Noyer of Diepe, that the yere before had taken in our admirall at the iland of Mona in the West Indies, where his ship was cast away, comming out of the East Indies. To this man our admirall offered great kindnes, and performed it, and was not vngratefull for his former benefit shewed vnto him. This captaine desired of our admirall to bestow vpon him his ships lading of Fernambuc-wood, which he granted him, and also his pinnesse, and more, gaue him a carauel of about 50 tuns, and bid him lade her with wood also; which with other benefits he gratefully receiued. To the other two captaines he granted their ladings of wood, the one captaine being of Diepe, the other of Rochel. The captain of Diepe confessed that he met Abraham Cocke certein moneths before, Abraham Cocke going for the riuer of Plate, met withall.

and being distressed for want of water, gaue him some, and went with him to a watering place where he had water enough, and so departed from him, saying that his men were very weake. The comming in of these ships did much strengthen vs; for our admiral appointed both these French and the Flemings to keepe watch vpon the riuer by night with their boats, euery boat hauing in her 12 men at the least, and the boats well prouided. This was for feare of fired ships or barks to come downe, which our admirall had great care vnto, and caused our ships to ride by cables and haulsers, at all aduantages to shun them, if by that meanes they should attempt to put vs out of the harborow; giuing commandement to vs that watched in the towne, that what fires soeuer we should espy or see, not one man to start from his watch or quarter, vnlesse we were by himselfe commanded to the contrary. Now this order put in all things, and hauing viewed all the goods in the towne, and thinking our selues sufficiently fortified, we began to vnlade our ships, which came as full laden in as they went foorth, but not with so good merchandize. And this order was taken about the vnlading of them, and also the lading of goods out of the towne: our men were diuided into halues, and the one halfe wrought one day, and the other halfe the other day; alwayes those that wrought not kept the watch with their furniture in their hands and about them, and none stept far off or wandred from his colours, and those that wrought had all their weapons in good order set and placed by them, so that at an instant euery one knew where to go to his furniture: and this was very carefully looked vnto.

The third day after our comming in, came down from the higher towne, which might be about foure miles off vpon a hill, three or foure of the principall gentlemen of the countrey, and sayd that from the bishop, themselues, and the rest, they would haue some conference with our admirall. This newes being brought to the admirall he hung downe his head for a small season; and when he had muzed a while, he answered, I must go aboord of the Flemings vpon busines that importeth me, and therefore let them stay if they will: and so he went and sate there with the Flemings from nine of the clocke till two at the afternoone. In this space diuers messengers went to the admirall, to come away, for these gentlemen stayd. To whom he gaue this answere: Are they not gone yet? And about two of the clocke he came aland, and then they tolde him they were departed. Many of the better sort of our men maruelled, and thought much, because he would not vouchsafe to come and haue conference with such men of account as they seemed to be. But the admiral made them this answere, Sirs, I haue bene brought vp among this people, I haue liued among them as a gentleman, serued with them as a souldier, and liued among them as a merchant, so that I should haue some vnderstanding of their demeanors and nature; and I know when they cannot preuaile with the sword by force, then they deale with their deceiuable tongues; for faith and trueth they haue none, neither will vse any, vnlesse it be to their owne aduantage. And this I giue you warning, that if you giue them parle, they will betray vs; and for my part, of all nations in the world, it would grieue me most to be ouertaken by this nation and the Spaniards: and I am glad it was my fortune to pay them with one of their owne fetches, for I warrant you they vnderstand me better then you thinke they do. And with this I pray you be satisfied; I hope it is for all our goods: for what shall we gaine by parle, when (by the helpe of God) we haue gotten already that we came for, should we venture that we haue gotten with our swords, to see if they can take it from vs by words and policy? there were no wisedome in so doing. You know what it hath cost vs, and how many men lie wounded that be not yet hole of this other nights hurts: and therefore from hencefoorth I giue this commission, that if any be taken, he be sent away with this order, although he come as a friend, that if he or any other approch vs from henceforth, he shalbe hanged out of hand: and other course then this I will not take with them. Which course was followed, for within 3 or 4 dayes after it was performed by two taken in the night: and after that we were neuer troubled with spies; and although diuers slaues came running from their men to vs, by which we vnderstood much of their working and pretences, yet the admirall would enterteine few of them.

In this meane time that we began to worke, the Portugals with the country people were not idle, for seeing vs so busie, about sixe nights after our comming in, they priuily in the night cast vp a trench in the sands about a sacar shot from our ships, minding there to plant ordinance, which would haue offended our ships greatly; and they would not haue bene able to haue rode there to take in their lading, which now began to go aboord of them. The admirall hearing this, about 3 of the clocke in the after noone marshalled our men, and he and all the rest of the captaines marched toward them. The Portugals and Indians perceiuing our comming, began to withdraw themselues within the trench, meaning (as it should appeare) to fight it out there: but we made no stand, neither did it behoue vs, but presently approched the trenches with our muskets and pikes, afore their trenches were thorowly finished: so that by Gods helpe we entered them. And the Portugals and Indians left the place, and left vnto vs 4 good peeces of brasse ordinance, with powder and shot and diuers other necessaries, and among the rest 5 smal carts of that countrey, which to vs were more worth then al the rest we tooke, for the lading of our goods from the towne to the water side: for without them we could not haue told what to haue done, much of our goods being so heauie, that without carts we were not able to weyld them: all these things we brought away and destroyed al those platforms that they had made, and then we had rest with them for certaine dayes, in which we went forward, deuiding our marchandize with captaine Venner according to our consort, and went daily lading them abord, euery ships company according as their turnes fell out, but only the three Dutch ships: for the goods being put into their boats their owne companies laded themselues. And this farther good chance or blessing of God we had to helpe vs, that assoone as we had taken our cartes, the next morning came in a ship with some 60 Negros, 10 Portugal women, and 40 Portugals: the women and the Negroes we turned out of the towne, but the Portugals our Admirall kept to draw the carts when they were laden, which to vs was a very great ease. For the countrey is very hote and ill for our nation to take any great trauell in.

In this towne there is no fresh water to be had, and therefore we were euery 5 or 6 dayes compelled to passe ouer the riuer into the maine land to get fresh water, which after the fiirst or second time the Portugals kept and would haue defended our watering, so that we were driuen to water of force, and at seuerall times some of our men were hurt, and onely two or three slaine, and with this danger we were forced to get our water.

And as they molested vs in our watering, so they slept not in other deuises, but put in practise to burne our ships or remoue them out of the harbour. For within some 20 dayes after our comming in, they had prepared 5 Carauels and filled them with such things as would best take fire and burne: these they brought within a mile or little more of our ships, and there set them on fire, for neerer they could not well come because of our watch of boates, for, as is abouesaid, the Admirall had alwaies 6 boates that kept watch aboue halfe a mile from the ships for feare of such exploytes as these, which was the cause they could not fire them so neere the ships as they would haue done. But these fired Carauels had the tide with them, and also the little winde that blewe was in their favour; which caused them to come downe the streame the faster: which our boats perceiuing made to them with as much expedition as conueniently they could, but the tide and wind both seruing them, they approched toward the ships with great expedition. Our men in the towne began to be in some feare of them, yet no man mooued or started from his quarter more then if there had bene nothing to doe. Also the masters and such as were aboord, were somewhat amased to see 5 so great fires to be comming downe among their ships, but they prepared for to cleere them of it, as well as they could, being prouided afore hande and iudging that some such stratagems would be there vsed, the riuer being very fit therefore. But (God be thanked) who was alwaies with vs and our best defence in this voyage; by whose assistance we performed this so great an attempt with so small forces. Our companie in the boats so played the men when they saw the fires come neere our ships, that casting grapnels with yron chaines on them, as euery boat had one for that purpose, some they towed aground, and some they brought to a bitter or anker, where they rode till all their force was burned out, and so we were deliuered by Gods helpe from this fearefull danger. Within some 6 nights after this, which might be about the 26 day after our comming in and abode there, about 11 of the clocke at night, came driuing downe other 3 great raftes burning with the hugest fires that I haue seene. These were exceeding dangerous, for when our men approched them, thinking to clap their grapnels vpon them, as they had done vpon the Carauels the night before, they were preuented: for there stooke out of the rafts many poles which kept them from the body of the rafts, that they could not come to throw their grapnels into them: and yet they had this inconuenience worse then al the rest which most troubled vs. There stooke out among the poles certaine hollow trunks filled with such prouision of fire workes that they ceased not still (as the fire came downe to those trunks to set them on fire) to spout out such sparkles, that our boats hauing powder in them for our mens vse, durst not for feare of frying themselues with their owne powder come neere those sparkles of the raftes, but seeing them to driue neerer and neerer our ships, they wet certaine clothes and laid vpon their flaskes and bandelers and so ventured vpon them, and with their grapnels tooke holde of them, and so towed them on ground, where they stooke fast and were not burnt out the next day in the morning. Diuerse logs and timbers came driuing along by our ships, and burning, but with our boats we easily defended them. And thus (God be praysed) we escaped the second fires. A third firing was prepared, as a Negro gaue vs to vnderstand, but this we preuented by our departure. For this third firing were very great preparations; and we were credibly informed of certainetie, that this firing should be such as we should neuer be able to preuent, and assuredly these fires be dangerous things and not to be preuented vpon the sudden, vnlesse it be afore prepared for and foreseene. For when it commeth vpon the sudden and vnlooked for, and vnprouided for, it bringeth men into a great amazement and at their wits ende. And therefore let all men riding in riuers in their enemies countrey be sure to looke to be prouided before hand, for against fire there is no resistance without preparation.

Also it is a practise in these hot countreys, where there be such expert swimmers, to cut the cables of ships: and one night it was practised to cut the Admirals cable, and yet the boate rode by the cable with two men in her to watch all the night, and the bwoy onely was cut, but not the cable: but after that night, seeing then our good watch, they neuer after attempted it.

While all these things passed, our ships (God be thanked) thorow the industry of our gouernours, and diligent labour of our men, began to be wholly laden, and all the best marchandize conueyed aboord our ships, so that our Admirall went to depart that night, which was the 31 day after our entrance, or else on the next day at the farthest, and so warning was giuen to all men to make themselues readie. Our Admiral being aboord his ship ye same morning, espyed in the sands right against the place where the ships rode, that there was a small banke of sand newly cast vp, vnder which he perceiued now and then some people to be: presently he tooke his boat and went to the towne and called all the Captaines together, declaring that the enemies were about some pretence right against the ships, consulting whether it were best to sally out and see what they were doing, or depart that euening according to the former determination. The Admirall was of opinion to depart that night, saying it was but folly to seeke warres since we had no neede to doe it: other affirmed, it were good to see what they did, least the winde might be contrarie and the ships not get out, and so our enemies may build vpon vs to our great disaduantage. Well, said the Admiral, the matter is not great, for there can be no danger in this sally, for where they worke it is within Falkonshot of our ships, and if any power should come against you, the ships may play vpon them with 40 pieces of ordinance at the least, so that a bird cannot passe there but she must be slaine. I am somewhat vnwilling you should go, for I haue not bene well these two dayes, and I am not strong to march vpon those heauie sands: they answered all at once, you shall not need to trouble your selfe for this seruice, for you see it is nothing and of no danger, being so neere the ships, doubt you not we will accomplish this seruice well ynough, and returne againe within this houre. The Admirall answered: the danger cannot be great, but yet you shall goe out strong for feare of the worst. And so the Admirall marshalled them 275 men French and English, which were vnder the conduct of Edmund Barker, captaine Barker of Plimmouth, Viceadmirall to captaine Venner, captaine Addy, and the three French captaines all going out together, and they were to march vpon a narrow peece of ground to the place whether they were sent vnto: in the brodest place betwixt the sea and the water on the other side, it is aboue a stones cast for it is a bank of sand lying betweene the riuer and the sea, so they needed not to feare any comming on their backs or on their sides, and before them could no man come, but he must passe by all the ships which no company of men were able to do without present death. The Admirall commanded them at their departure to go no further then the place he sent them to, and so he himselfe went aboord the ships and made readie all the ordinance for feare of the worst, not knowing what might insue, although he saw no danger might follow. Thus we marched quietly till we came to the place we were sent vnto, being right ouer against the ships: out of which place came some dozen shot, which seeing vs come, discharged and ran their wayes with such as were working within the said platforme. So that we came into it and perceiued they had begunne to lay plankes to plant ordinance vpon. Our Admiral commanded, if there were any such thing, to burne the plankes and returne in againe, which we might haue done without hurting of any mans finger: but our leaders were not content to haue performed the seruice committed them in charge, but would needes expresly and against their order march on further to fight with certaine Ensignes almost a mile off, cleane out of the reach of the ordinance of all our ships, and where lay the strength of the whole countrey. When our men began to draw neere those Ensigns of men, the Ensignes seemed to retire with great speed, which our men followed with such great hast that some outrunning other some, our order was broken, and those ensignes retyred themselues into the force of the whole countrey, so that our formost men were in the midst of their enemies yer they were aware, which were slaine yer the rest could come to succour them. The enemies incouraged by this, came also vpon the rest, which presently began to retire, and the enemies followed til they came with the reach of the ordinance of our ships, where they were beaten off and left their pursuit. In this conflict were slaine captain Barker captaine of the Salomon, captaine Cotton ye Admirals Lieutenant, captaine Iohn Noyer a French captaine of Diepe, and another French captaine of Rochel, with M. Iohn Barker and other to the number of 35: for these were the formost and hottest in the pursuit of the Ensignes aforesaid, and by their forwardnes came all to perish. At our returne into the towne the Admiral came to vs much bewayling the death of so many good men as were lost, wondering what we ment to passe the expresse order that was giuen vs. With this losse our men were much danted, but our Admirall began againe to encourage them, declaring that the fortune of the warres was sometimes to win and sometimes to loose. And therewithall he wished euery man to prepare and make himselfe readie: for that night (God willing) he would depart. For all our ships were readie and laden, and he would not stay any further fortune. The euening being come, the ships began to wey and go forth of the harbour, and God be thanked of his goodnesse toward vs who sent vs a faire wind to go foorth withall, so that by 11 of the clocke in the night we were all forth in safety. The enemies perceiuing our departing, planted a peece or two of ordinance, and shot at vs in the night, but did vs no harme. We were at our comming foorth 15 sailes, that is, 3 sailes of Hollanders, the one of 450 tunnes, the other of 350 tunnes, and the third of 300 tunnes, four sailes of French and one ship which the admiral gaue the French Captain, 3 sailes of Captain Venners fleet of Plimmouth, and 4 sailes of our Admirals fleete, all these were laden with marchandizes, and that of good worth. We stayed in this harbour to passe all this businesse but onely 31 dayes, and in this time we were occupied with skirmishes and attempts of the enemie 11. times; in all which skirmishes we had the better, onely this last excepted. To God be the honour and praise of all, &c. The whole fleete being out in safety, the next day in the morning the Admirall gaue order to the whole fleete to saile toward Peraniew* a harbour lying some 40 leagues to the Northward of Fernambucke, and there to take in fresh water and to refresh themselues: and to make prouision for refreshing, our Admirall had sent thither some 6 daies before two French men in a smal pinnesse, which Frenchmen he had prouided from Diepe before his comming out of England for that purpose. For both these two spake the Indians language very perfectly: for at this port of Peraniew and an other called Potaju some 6 leagues to the Northward the Frenchmen haue had trade for brasil-wood, and haue laden from thence by the Indians meanes, who haue fet it for them some 20 leagues into the country vpon their backs, 3 or 4 ships euery yere. Thus we all sailed toward Peraniew, at which place we arriued in the night, so that we were forced to lie off and on with a stiffe gale of wind, in which we lost the most part of our fleete, and they not knowing this coast put off to the sea, and so went directly for England. Our Admirall and some foure saile more with him put into the harborow of Peraniew, and there watered and refreshed himselfe very well, with hens, conies, hares and potatos, with other things, which the two Frenchmen had partly prouided before his comming: this is a very good harborow where ships may ride and refresh very well. But, as I am giuen to vnderstand since our comming from thence, the Portugals haue attempted the place and doe inhabite it, and haue put the French from their accustomed trade. Here hauing watered and refreshed our selues, we put to the sea, plying after the rest of our fleete

Peranjeu 40. leagues northward of Fernambuck.

Peranjeu a very good harbour.

---

* Probably the mouth of the River Pirangi, in the province of Ceara.

which were gone before, which we neuer heard of till our arriuall in England at The downes in the moneth of Iuly, where we vnderstood the rest of our consorts to be passed vp for London, Captaine Venner and his fleete to be at Plimmouth, and the French ships to be safe arriued at Diepe, which to vs was very great comfort. At our setting sayle from The downes, according as the custome is, finding the Queenes ships there, we saluted them with certaine ordinance. The Gunner being carelesse, as they are many times of their powder, in discharging certain pieces in ye gunner roome, set a barrel of powder on fire, which tooke fire in ye gunner roome, blew vp the Admirals caben, slew the gunner with 2 others outright, and hurt 20 more, of which 4 or 5 died. This powder made such a smoke in the ship with the fire that burnt the gunner roome among all the fire workes, that no man at the first wist what to doe: but recalling backe their feare, they began to cast water into the gunner roome in such abundance (for the Queenes ships now and also the other ships that were in our company came presently to our helpe) that (God be praised) we put out the fire and saued all, and no great harme was done to the goods. By this may be seene that there is no sure safety of things in this world. For now we made account to be out of all danger, where behold a greater came vpon vs, then we suffered all the whole voyage. But the almightie be praysed for euer, which deliuered vs out of this and many other in this voyage. Our fire being well put out, and we taking in fresh men (God be praysed) we came to Blacke-wall in safety.

A speciall letter written from Feliciano Cieça de Carualsho the Gouernour of Paraiua in the most Northerne part of Brasil, 1597, to Philip the second king of Spaine, answering his desire touching the conquest of Rio Grande, with the relation of the besieging of the castle of Cabodelo by the Frenchmen, and of the discouerie of a rich siluer mine and diuerse other important matters.

I Receiued your Maiesties letter bearing date the ninth of Nouember 1596, whereby I vnderstande that your Maiestie doth

The king of Spaines resolution to proceed in the discouerie and conqnest of Rio Grande.

determine to proceede in the discouerie and conquest of Rio Grande, according to the relation which was sent your Maiestie by Don Francisco de Sousa, Gouernour generall of this realme of Brasilia: together with a copie of a letter, which your Maiestie sent vnto vs, bearing date the two and twentieth of March 1596. Moreouer I receiued another letter from your Maiestie bearing date the 15 of March 1597. Both which letters were to one effect. It may please your Maiestie to vnderstand that there are diuerse Gentlemen in these countreys of as good abilitie as my selfe, which seeke to liue at home onely for their ease and pleasure, and are not wont to hazard nor venture their bodies, liues, and goods so often times in your Maiesties seruice as I haue done and commonly doe; and can keepe their goods and riches, and not spend nor wast them as I haue done, and dayly doe so wilfully: yet neuerthelesse being spent in your Maiesties seruice, I am very glad thereof. For I and they are alwayes readie at your Maiesties commandement.

The Captaineship of Paraiua standeth in sixe degr. 45 min. of Southerly latitude.

And as concerning your Maiesties commandement in commanding me that I should put to my helping hand in the conquest or Rio Grande: although this Captaineship of Paraiua and countrey where I doe gouerne doth want abilitie for that purpose, yet nevertheless your Maiestie shall always finde me readie to doe your Maiestie the best seruice I can: for it is very well knowen how forward I haue bene alwayes and am in this conquest, and still doe put to my helping hand, as partly your Maiestie doth vnderstand by a letter which I wrote to your Maiesty by my sonne, bearing date the 19 of March 1596 wherein your Maiestie may vnderstand what good seruice I haue alreadie done therein, and always will be readie to my power to doe the like in furthering of the said enterprise.

It may please your Maiestie to vnderstand that the third of Iuly there was brought vnto me a Frenchman a prisoner, who presented himselfe vnto me. And I examining of him, he tolde me that he came running away from certaine French ships men of warre, which came vpon this coast: and he tolde me that he had serued your Maiestie in the warres of France. Likewise he told me that he left me seuen great ships Frenchmen of warre riding at an anker in Rio Grande, and that there were 13 French ships of warre more, which had giuen battery to the castle of

The castle of Cabodelo besieged by the French.

Cabodelo, and landed 350 soldiers all in white armour and the battery continued from Friday vntil the Munday following both by sea and land, and great store of Frenchmen were slaine, and two Captaines of the French. On our side the Captaine of the castle was slaine, and other two Portugals hurt: other harme they had none. There were but twentie Portugals in the castle, and fiue pieces of ordinance. They ment to haue kept the castle, and to haue traded with the Indian people. So seeing they could not take the castle, they hoysed sayles, and went from thence to Rio Grande: and being altogether they are in number 20 saile at an anker in Rio Grande. And some of them determine after they be new trimmed and drest, and haue taken in fresh victuals, and stayed there vntill Easter, then to depart from thence to the Honduras, and so to burne and spoyle some townes thereabout.

The countrey of Petiguar rebelleth against the Portugals.

I certified Manuel Mascarenhas of these informtions by my letters, requesting him to send me with all expedition those souldiers which were in Fernambuck to ayde me, and to defende this Captaineship from the enemie. But the Friers of The Couent would not consent thereunto nor suffer them to be sent vnto me. So I was forced to make shift with those souldiers only which I had in my gouernment and tooke them with me, and marched to the place where the enemies were entrenched, vpon Whitsunday in the euening about three of the clock, hauing in my company a Negro of the countrey of Petiguar, which was our guide, he brought vs where the enemies campe was; and presently I did assault them, and slew great store of them, burning the villages and countrey of these rebels, which did ioine with the Frenchmen, and tooke many of them prisoners. So they told me that there were ten great French ships of warre which were at an anker in Rio Grande.

A rich siluer mine found at Copaoba within sixe dayes iourney of Paraiua.

Likewise I was informed, that there is a Frenchman called Daurmigas, which hath discouered and found great store of siluer in a place called Copaoba.* The siluer hath bene tried and melted, it is very good and fine siluer, and there is great quantitie. The man which told me of this hath beene in the mine, and hath seene it tried and melted. And I haue bene myselfe once in the place: it is but 6 dayes iourney from this Captaineship.

---

* Perhaps Caproba,

Furthermore this Frenchman told me that one Monsieur Mifa a French Captaine, and a kinsman of the gouernour and Vice-admirall of Diepe in Normandie, had one of his armes strooken off at the siege of the castle of Cabodelo ; who is departed from Rio Grande, with determination to come backe hither againe the next yeere in the moneth of Ianuarie following, and to inhabite in this countrey of Paraiba, which is 20 leagues from Fernambuck, because of the great store of siluer, which they haue alreadie found here.

Moreouer I am enformed that a noble man of France called The earle of Villa Dorca doth intend to come vpon this coast with a great fleete from Rochel. It were good that your Maiestie would send into France to knowe the certainetie thereof.

All the Canbals of Petiguar ioyne with the Frenchmen against the Portugals.

The Frenchman likewise told me that all the Canibals of Petiguar have ioyned themselues in companie with certaine Frenchmen, which were cast away in two ships vpon this coast. The one of these ships which were cast away was one Rifoles, and the other ship was this mans. And those Frenchmen which came vpon this coast did ioyne themselues with those Canibals which did rebell, and did diuide themselues into two squadrons. So I sent presently to Manuel Mascarenhas that he should send me aide and munition. But he sent me word againe, that he had none to spare, and that he did purpose with all speede to goe himselfe to Rio Grande ; and that he was not able to furnish himselfe so well as he could wish, nor to bring his souldiers into the field, for lacke of shot, powder, and other munition, which he did want.

Hereupon once more the 29 of Iuly I with my souldiers marched to the enemies campe, and there ioyning battell with the Indian rebels, which ioyned with the Frenchmen that were their leaders, I did set vpon them, and slew great store of them, and tooke fourteene of them prisoners. They doe report the very same newes, which the other Frenchmen did tell me as touching the ships which were in the harbour of Rio Grande ; and how their pretence was to haue come and haue taken vs, and spoyled the countrey.

But now being put to flight and hauing received the overthrow, they can get no victuals to victuall their shippes : which hath bene the cause that they are mightily hindred in their intent, and dare not come any more to attempt vs. And the Indians are so dismayed, that in haste they will haue no more helpe nor aide of the Frenchmen. So by these meanes of necessitie the Indians must submit themselues vnto vs, considering they are quite spoyled and ouerthrowen for a long time. Likewise they haue enformed me touching the siluer mines which are found, that it is most true. For those French shippes which were in Rio Grande haue laden great store of the oare. Wherefore I certified Manuel de Mascarenhas of the Frenchmens newes, and howe euery thing did stand wishing him to make readie foure ships and three hundred souldiers, and so to take the harbour of Rio Grande, being now cleered and voyde of the enemie : and to search out the situation of the place, and where were best to fortifie and to build some fortes for the defence of this riuer, where neede shall require. Hereunto Mascarenhas sent me word, that when he went himselfe, and found it true which hath beene reported touching the siluer mines, that then he would send both men and ships. Therefore your Maiestie must giue order, that the rest of the Gouernours shall ayde and assist me in these warres : otherwise of my selfe I am not able to doe more then I haue alreadie done in defending of this countrey against our enemies which are many.

It may please your Maiestie to be aduertised, that from time to time I haue written vnto Don Francisco de Sousa Gouernor general of this realme, who is in Baia, as concerning these Frenchmen of warre : but he will not answere me to any purpose because I do write vnto him for such things as I doe want, which are shot, powder, men, and munition requisite for your Maiesties seruice and safegard of this captaineship. For here are neither shot, powder ,nor any thing els to defend vs from our enemies ; nor any that wil put to their helping hands for the defence of this countrey, and the service of your Maiestie. And therefore it were needful that your Maiesty should committ the charge and gouernement into the hands of Diego Sierua, with expresse charge that all the captaines and commanders vpon paine of death obey him and be readie at all times to aide and assist him in your seruice. Otherwise this countrey cannot be kept and maintained, hauing so great warres continually as we haue, and are troubled withall. For this Diego Sierua is a very good souldier, and hath good experience ; and is fit to gouerne this countrey. Your Highnesse is also to send his Commission with expresse commandment to follow these wars ; otherwise this countrey cannot be kept, but daily they they will rebell. For here are none that will serue your Maiestie so iustly as he will do: who wil haue a great care in any thing which shal concerne you Maiesties seruice touching the estate of this countrey. For the Gouernour Sousa doth spend your Maiesties treasure in building his owne Ingenios or sugar-milles.

And those Captaines which your Maiestie intendeth to send hither must bring with them shot, powder, and all kind of weapons, furniture, and munition for the defence and safegarde of this countrey, and for the conquest of Rio Grande. For there is no kind of munition in al this countrey to be had, if occasion should serue. It were also good that your Maiestie should send order for the building of a couple of Forts or Castles at Cabadelo, for they be very needefull for the defence of the enemie, which dayly doth warre against this Captaineship. For that man which shall gouerne this countrey, if he be no more fortunate then I haue bene hitherto, shall not misse one time or another, but he shall shall lose all the countrey. If Don Francisco de Sousa had sent me those two hundred and fiftie souldiers which I did send for, which were in garison in the castle of Arrecife, which doe nothing but spend your Maiesties victuals and treasure, and had not sent them to Baiha, where there was no neede, these warres of Petiguar had bene ended long agone, and had saued your Maiesty a great deale of charges which you had spent in folowing of this conquest of Rio Grande. I have chosen one Captaine Iohn de Matas Cardoso to be Gouernour of Cabodelo, who is a very sufficient man,

The countrey of Paraiua in danger dayly to be lost.

Furthermore, it may please your Maiestie to vnderstand, that the chiefest Friers of this Monasterie of S. Antonie haue complained on me to the lord Gouernour generall, and haue caused great strife and debate betweene him and me touching the gouernment and rule of these Indian townes. For the Friers would command and gouerne both the Indians and their townes as well in Ecclesiasticall as Temporall causes, as touching the punishment of the bodies of such as are offenders. But I haue resisted them in your Maiesties name, and haue alleaged, that none but your Maiestie must rule and gouerne them and their countrey, and that the townes appertaine to your Maiestie, and not vnto the Friers. But the Gouernour hath written a letter vnto me, signifying that he hath pronounced a sentence against me in the

A great controuersie touching the gouernment of the Indian townes.

Friers behalfe, which is this. The King our master hath sent a decree and certaine statutes touching the good gouernment and orders to be executed and kept in those Indian townes: and that vpon sight hereof I shall presently banish all the Mamalukes and white men which dwell in any of those Indian townes with all speede, and that none of them from hence forward shall enter into the said villages, without commandement and consent of the said Friers. So this sentence was presented vnto me by the Reuerend father Custodio, Prior of Sant Anton of Brasil, with a further postcript of the gouernour importing these words: I doe likewise charge and commaund you the Gouernour of Paraiua, that presently vpon sight hereof you shall restore those villages and houses which you haue burned and destroyed in the last warres, and likewise the towne of S. Augustine, and that you shall build them againe at your owne proper cost and charges: for the Friers alleage that these townes were giuen them, by a decree sent them from Pope Pius Quintus, that the said Friers should gouerne and rule them.

On the other side I haue pronounced another sentence against the said Friers in your Maiesties name, and for your Maiestie, alleaging that those townes, villages, and subiects appertaine and belong vnto your Maiestie, and that in temporall causes I am to punish those offenders, which shall rebell against your Maiestie: and as touching ecclesiasticall causes that the Vicar of this Cathedrall church shall rule, gouerne and instruct them in the Christian religion. So we both haue appealed vnto your Maiestie herein, and your Maiestie may peruse all our writings, and then determine that which shall be best and most profitable for your Maiesties seruice and enlargement of your crowne. For through these broyles the inhabitants of this Pariaua forsake their houses and dwelling places, and so do some of the Friers, because they cannot be suffered to rule and gouerne.

Also the Indians haue complayned against me, because I haue burned their villages in this last rebellion. Wherefore if your Maiestie doe not send some order for this countrey and see into these cases, it will breed great dissension and rebellion among vs, and we shall be readie to cut one anothers throat before it be long.

Thus I thought good, according to my humble bounden dutie, and for the seruice of your Maiestie and quietnesse of this realme, to certifie your Maiestie the truth of the whole matter; hoping in short time that your Maiestie will send some good order to qualifie these broyles: for there is great hatred and malice among vs. Iesus Christ preserue and keepe the royall person of your Maiestie with long health, as it pleaseth him. From the Captaineship of Paraiua this present 20 of August. 1597.

Feliciano Cieça de Carualsho.

A special note concerning the currents of the sea betweene the Cape of Buena Esperança and the coast of Brasilia, giuen by a French Pilot to Sir Iohn Yorke knight, before Sebastian Cabote; which Pilot had frequented the coasts of Brasilia eighteene voyages.

MEmorandum, that from Cabo de buena Esperança vnto Brasilia the Sunne hath the like dominion ouer the tides there, as the Moone hath ouer our tides here.

And that whensoeuer the Sunne is in any of these signes he gouerneth the tides as followeth.*

The Sunne being in	Taurus Gemini Cancer	the tide hath his course Northwest.
The Sunne being in	Leo Virgo Libra	no current.
The Sunne being in	Scorpio Sagittarius Capricorne	the tide hath his course Southeast.
The Sunne being in	Aquarius Pisces Aries	no current.

A ruttier or course to be kept for him that will sayle from Cabo Verde to the coast of Brasil, and all along the coast of Brasil vnto the riuer of Plate: and namely first from Cabo Verde to Fernambuck.

THe ship that goeth from Cabo Verde to Brasil, must goe

---

* It may be as well to point out that the truth as to the currents of the South Atlantic is as follows:—

From the Cape of Good Hope the current flows North along the West Coast of Africa till it reaches a point somewhat North of the Congo, when it turns to the West. North of Ascension it divides. One portion, the South Equatorial Current, flows North West into the Gulf of Mexico, while the other subdivides, and whilst part flows South West down the coast of South America, the remainder returns by the South of Tristan d'Acunha to the Cape of Good Hope.

Southsoutheast: and when she is within 5 or 6 degrees of the Equinoctial she must go Southeast and by South. And if she haue the ternados, that is thundrings and lightnings, then thou must go altogether South, or that way and by that boord that doth profit thee most. And take this for aduise, that hauing the general winds, and if the wind be at South or Southeast, then go Southwest, or westsouthwest. And if the winde be South, then goe Southwest, and by this way but little, for it is not a way for thy profit, because the more thou goest this way, the more will be thy trouble, because thou mayest not come neerer the coaste of Guinea then 60 or 70 leagues vnto the sholde called Os baixos de Santa Anna. And being this distance from the same, thou shalt cast about the other way towards Brasil, and the wind will be large.

Ye that will sayle to Brasil, must not come within 60 or 70 leagues of the coast of Guinea.

Thou shalt vnderstand that the ship that keepeth this course to Fernambuck, and goeth in October or after, and chanceth to goe to windward of the Isle of Fernando de Loronha, when thou commest to 8 degrees, or 8 and ½,* then thou shalt go West and beare with the land. Thou must take this for a warning, that if going West in 8 degrees thou see land, then looke to the Northward, and thou shalt see certaine white cliffes. Then I aduise thee that thou goe well to the Southward. And this is to bee vnderstoode from October forward, for then the time is most subiect to Northeast and Eastnortheast winds. And if thou find thy selfe in the sayd height aboue mentioned, and seest cliffes, and seest a cape to the Southward, and seest no more land to the South, then make accompt that thou art at Capiguoari: and from thence to Fernambuck thou hast sixe leagues, and hast a good port.

* Of Southerly latitude.

Thou shalt take this for a warning, that if in 8 degrees and a halfe thou see land lying all flat, thou mayest goe neerer it, and be bold till thou come in tenne or twelue fadomes: And then thou shalt see a great grosse land along the sea-coast which is called Capitagua: And being East and West with this land, and, as I haue sayd, in tenne or twelue fadomes water; and the time being from October to Februarie, then thou needest not to feare any thing: but looke to the South and thou shalt see the cape of S. Augustine: and looke to the North and thou shalt see a point, and to the Southeast a point called Punta de Olinda, where Aponiquay standeth. And the land from the cape to the poynt called Punta Olinda lieth North and South.

I aduise thee that if thou be East and West with the cape of Saint Augustine, thou shalt see within the land an high hill, hauing as it were a saddle vpon it like to a camel: And thou shalt see to the Southwards three hills along the sea, and then presently thou shalt see the coaste to lie Northeast and Southwest.

The height of ye cape of S. Augustine, of Olinda and Fernambuck.

Thou shalt vnderstand that from this cape of Saint Augustine, to the towne of Olinda, thou hast nine leagues to the North. And this cape standeth in eight degrees and two third parts, and Olinda standeth in eight degrees and a quarter, and Fernambuck standeth in eight degrees. And this course is to be vnderstood to be obserued and kept, if thou depart from Lisbon in October or Nouember.

In what height they shall seeke land that depart from Lisbon in February or March.

Take this aduise, that if thou depart in February or March from Lisbone, then thou shalt goe to beare with the land in nine degrees, because that from March forwards raigne most commonly Southeast and Southwest windes. And if by this height and course thou bring thyselfe nigh to the shore, feare not to bring thy ship into 18 or 20 fadomes, for all the coast is cleane: and there are no more dangers, but such as the sea doth breake vpon.

How to know the cape of S. Augustine.

And if after thy fall with the land thou haue occasion to goe to the Northward, and so going seest certaine sholdes, doubt not to come for the North, and thou shalt see the cape of Saint Augustine, which lyeth as it were sloaping to the seaward, and hath as it were a Whales head, and hath vpon it a round hill, with many hilles round about it. And if thou come along the sea coast much about the depth aboue mentioned, thou shalt see a little Island called Saint Alexio: And from this Island to the cape of Saint Augustine are foure leagues, and it standeth in eight degrees and three quarters.

The course that a man must keepe to the bay called A Bahia de Todos os Santos, that is to say, The bay of all Saints, which lieth on the foresayd coast of Brasil.

IF thou goe for Bahia de Todos os Santos, thou must keepe the course which I haue already set downe, and shalt obserue the time from March forwards, as also from October forwards. Thou shalt vnderstand that the Bahia de Todos os Santos standeth in 13 degrees and $\frac{1}{3}$: and if thou goe in October or after October, then goe to fall with the land in 12 degrees or 12 and a halfe.

The height of Bahia de Todos os Santos in 13 degrees and one third part.

And take this for a warning, that when thou seest a white land, and long bankes of white sand, which shew much like linnen cloth when it is in whiting, then thou must go along from the North to the South vntill this white land doe end: and thou needest not to feare to goe along the coast, for there are no sholds. Before thou be cleane past the white land or white sands, thou shalt haue sight of an Island that standeth along the bay, I say on the Northside of the bay, which is called Tapaon:* and here the land lieth West and by South.

The situation of the Isle of Tapaon.

When thou art so farre shot as Tapaon, thou shalt see a certaine great tree which is round, and standeth neere the sea vpon the very point of the entrance into Bahia on the Northside.

And marke well that if thou looke to the Southward, and seest no white grounds such as I wrote of before, but that they be all behind thee to the Northward; then when thou seest none to the Southward, thou mayest bee bold to beare in with Bahia. And if when thou goest into Bahia to the Northwest, and seest the sea to breake, feare nothing: for it is the breach of a certaine banke, whereon thou shalt haue alwayes 5 or 6 fadomes water: and this be sure of.

When a man may beare in with Bahia.

Thou shalt vnderstand that if thou come for this place from March to the end of April, I would wish thee not to fall to the Southward of 13 degrees and a halfe. And falling with the land, and not seeing the white sands, thou shalt striue to goe to the Northward. And seeing the land in 13 degrees and a halfe, thou shalt haue sight of an hill along the sea: And if thou be nigh the land, and cannot make it certaine what land it is: thou shalt marke if it bee a round high hill along the sea, that it is O morro de San Paulo, or, The hill of Saint Paul: and it lieth blacke and bare on the top. And from thence to Bahia is tenne leagues.

The distance of O morro de San Paulo from Bahia.

---

* Itaparica.

Rio de Tinsare a very good riuer.

And here along this hill on the Northwest side there is a great riuer called Tinsare: and it is a very good riuer. And in the entrance of Bahia there are sixe or seuen fadomes water in the chanell. And I aduise thee that being in the height of 13 degrees and a halfe, thou come not neere the land, for it hath a bay very dangerous.

And if thou goe from Bahia to Fernambuck, then I aduise thee that thou take good heede of the coast on the Northeast and Southwest, and thou shalt goe East, if the winde will suffer thee to goe East: and so goe thirtie or forty leagues off to the sea.

The height of the bay called A Enseada de Vazabaris.

I aduise thee that thou beare not in with the land of Fernambuck, but in the height of 9 or 10 degrees, because that in 11 degrees thou shalt fall with the bay called A Enseada de Vazabaris. Also if thou come from Portugal and fallest with the land in eleuen degrees, beare not in with it, neither come neere it, for thou mayest hurt thy selfe in so doing: but thou shalt shunne it, and goe to the Southward. For if thou lie to the North thou shalt bring thy selfe into some trouble.

Baia de todos Santos in 13 degrees.

This Bay of All Saints standeth in thirteene degrees. And from thence to Fernambuck thou hast a hundreth leagues: and the coast lyeth Northeast and Southwest. And from thence to Rio das Ilhas,* that is, the riuer of the Islands the coast runneth Northeast and Southwest, I meane taking a quarter of the North and South.

The course for Baia das Ilhas, that is, The bay of the Islands, which lie on the sayd coast of Brasil, and the marks for the finding of them.

Baia das Ilhas lieth in 15 degrees lacking a quarter.

IF thou goe for Baia das Ilhas thou must looke for it in fifteene degrees lacking a quarter.

If thou be minded as I sayd to goe for these Isles, if it bee from March forward, thou shalt fall with the land in 15 degrees and a halfe, and though it be in 15 degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$, it is all the better.

And if thou haue sight of certaine high hilles, that seeme to reach to the skie, these hilles are called As Serras Raiemores. Then hauing sight of these hilles, thou shalt goe along the coast;

---

* At the mouth of the Caxoeira River.

and feare nothing, for there are no sholdes along to the North. And when thou seest the Islands, thou mayest make accompt they be these which thou seekest, for there are no other on al this coast, and thou shalt see a round hil along the sea. Thou shalt vnderstand that on the North side of this hill is the going in of the riuer. But if it chance that thou finde thy selfe in a time that will not suffer thee to goe in, then goe along the Islands giuing them a bredth off. And thou mayest well come to an ankor hard aboord them, for all is cleane ground. And thou shalt finde eight or nine fadomes, and from thence thou mayest goe into the riuer hard aboord the shore. And if it chance that thou goe from the North to the South all along the great Island, thou must keepe thy selfe from the land: and when thou hast brought it Eastnortheast, then thou mayest ankor two cables length from the shore: for all is cleane ground.

In what height a man must fall with this place in time of the Northeast winds.

If thou chance to arriue on this coast in the time of the Northeast windes, thou shalt seeke to fall with the land in foureteene degrees. And if thou see a lowe land, thou mayest make accompt it is the land called Ciemana, and then thou shalt see Mangues: And also thou shalt come along this coast to the South: and when thou seest an ende of the lowe land, then thou shalt finde an high land along the sea like the other that I haue made mention of before, that is, all sandie along the sea coast.

And thou must vnderstand, that where the high land beginneth, there is a little riuer called Rio das Contas, but enter not into it: it hath for a marke to be knowen by as it were a white mouth. And from thence to the Islands thou hast nine leagues. And at the ende of this high land to the Southward of it thou shalt find a great bay within the land, and then thou shalt looke to the Westsouthwest, and shalt see another high land, which lieth as it were in the middest of the bay, and thou shalt there see certaine white houses which are the Ingenios or houses wherein they make sugar of Lucas Giraldo. From thence thou shalt see the Isles being so farre shotte as Rio de Contas. And thou shalt see within the land a round hill which is like Monte de laude, and it hath another copple* on the South side.

---

* Summit.

The course to sayle to Porto Seguro, that is to say, The safe hauen, lying on the foresayd coast of Brasil, and the markes to know the same by.

To auoide Os baixos dos Abrolhos.

IF thou goe for Porto Seguro and goest in the time of the Southeast windes, which is from March forwards, I aduise thee that thou fall not in more degrees then sixteen and a halfe, because of the sholdes called Os baixos dos Abrolhos, which are very dangerous, and stretch very farre into the sea. And also going West from them, that thou keepe thy lead going and be often sounding. And if thou chance to see the land, and an high hill and long withall, much like to The pike, it is the hill that is called Monte Pasqual. And from thence thou must goe to the North, and when thou hast brought it Southwest of thee, then thou mayest beare with the land, but with great care to looke about thee.

The place of comming to an ankor before Porto Seguro, which standeth in 16 deg. and one third.

Marke when thou seest the land and commest to see a red cliffe, then looke to the Southward, and thou shalt see a great smooth coast along the sea, and then on the North side thou shalt descrie Porto Seguro. And going along the coast thou shalt see the towne of Porto Seguro standing vpon the toppe of an hill; which hill is a white rocke: and on the North side of the sayd rocke there is a very hie land. I aduise thee that when thou art East and West with the sayd land, I meane with this rocke, that then thou looke to the Northward, and thou shalt see certaine rocks lying two leagues off into the sea, whereon the sea doth breake, and to the Southward of them thou mayest come to an ankor against the towne, and hast a good place to ride in thirteen fadomes in sight of the towne.

A dangerous riuer in 16 degrees.

And if it be thy chance to arriue in the time of the Northeast winds, and commest in the height of fifteene degrees and two third parts, and seest not certaine hilles, then thou must goe along the coast being in 16 degrees, and vnder the first hie land that thou shalt descrie, thou shalt see certaine sandie bayes along the sea coast: And if thou haue sight of a riuer in this height,* put not thy selfe into it, neither beare with the land, for it hath many sholdes. And off them lie certaine sunken grounds, called Os Baixos de Santo Antonio. And from hence to the Southward lyeth Porto Seguro.

---

* **Santa Cruz.**

I aduise thee that going along the coast to the Southward, and seeing such sholdes, and the sea to breake vpon them, as the other which I last spake of, thou shalt runne along them a sea boord of them : and when thou art at the ende of them, then the towne will beare West of thee: and then thou mayest goe to thine ankoring place as is abouesayd, giuing these sholds a good birth.

The course to the hauen named Baia do Spirito Santo, that is to say, The bay of the holy Ghost, lying on the sayde coast of Brasil, and the markes thereof.

THou shalt vnderstand that the ship that goeth for Spirito Santo,* when it hath doubled the sholdes called Os Baixos dos Abrolhos, and hath brought it selfe in 20 or 19 degrees and a halfe, then it may hall with the land in 18 or 19 degrees and a halfe, and in twentie. And the sayd shippe must goe in this height, because on this coast there are no Monçoins.

Monzoins are certaine set winds with which the tides set.

If thou chance to come in the height of 19 degrees ½ and seest lowe land to the Northwest off thee, then thou art on the North side of Spirito Santo, and thou mayest make accomp that it is the land lying ouer Criquare, and ouer the riuer called Rio dolce, that is the riuer of sweete or fresh water. If thou come along the land thou shalt find certaine high hilles: but trust not the first that thou seest only. For besides the rest thou shalt see a round hie hill which is at the capes end, which is called la Sierra de mestre Aluaro. Take heede that going for this land thou looke to the North and thou shalt see a riuer called Rio dos Reyes Magos: that is, The riuer of the three kings. And comming to the Southward thou shalt see presently the mouth of the bay to open. At the end of this hill on the South side, thou hast a point of a rocke, which is called A punta do Tubaron. And on the South side of the bay it hath two or three blacke hie hilles, and in the middest of the bay thou shalt goe in westward.

Markes on the North side of Spirito Santo.

The situation of la Sierra de Mestre Aluaro.

Rio dos Reyes magos.

---

* A bay to the North of Victoria.

I aduise thee that in going in thou take heede of a sholde which lieth in the mouth of the bay: thou must leaue it to the Southward of thee, and then plie to double a certaine Island which lieth within, and thou must leaue it to the Northward of thee: and when it beareth on the North or Northeast, thou mayest come to an ankor: for all is cleane ground.

A Sierra de Gusriparim in 20 degrees.

And if thou chance to come by this course, and fallest in 20 degrees, and seest many hilles, and one among the rest very high and craggie: it is called A Sierra de Guariparim, that is, the hill of Guaraparim, and seest another hill on the North side, which is called A Sierra de Pero Cam: both these lie on the South side of Spirito Santo. And from these hils thou shalt see a little hill named Guaipel. And when thou seest these hilles, thou shalt see three little Islands together, lying to the Southward: And then from these thou shalt see another rockie, bare and round Island: and to the land off this Island thou shalt see a great bay. If thou wilt thou mayest ankor here safely. And if thou wilt go in, thou shalt bring thy selfe East and West with the hill, and so thou mayest go in. And thou shalt leaue a lowe land to the North of thee, which is called A Ilha de Repouso, that is, the Isle of rest: and this Isle lieth along the coast: and thou mayest be bold to ride betwixt it and the maine, giuing it a breadth off.

From these three Islands to Spirito Santo are 12 leagues: and running Northwards to come to Spirito Santo, thou shalt see another Island, and shalt go a seaboord of it, and by and by the mouth of the bay will open toward thee. And this bay standeth in 20 degrees.

The course from the bay de Spirito Santo to the bay of S. Vincent, and the markes thereof. Also the course from Saint Vincent to the riuer of Plate.

SAiling from Spirito Santo for Saint Vincent, thou mayest goe along the coast, keeping seuen or eight leagues off, and must goe to seeke Cabo Frio, that is, The cold cape. And as thou commest toward Cabo Frio, thou hast a very great bay called Bahia de Saluador, that is, The bay of our Sauiour. And from thence thou hast twelue leagues to Cabo Frio.

And before thou commest to Cabo Frio, thou hast two small Islands. Thou mayest go safely either a sea boord of them, or else betweene them. Thou shalt vnderstand that Cabo Frio hath as it were an Island in the midst of the face or shew thereof, that doth cut off the cape.* Thou mayest ride safely on the West side thereof; for all is cleane ground.

Understand that Cabo Frio standeth in 23 degrees: and from it to Rio de Ienero are twelue leagues, And this riuer of Ienero hath in the mouth thereof 3 or 4 Islands. And if thou wilt go into this riuer de Ienero, thou mayest well goe in betweene two Islands which stand in the entrance of the riuer on the South side: neere vnto this riuer there is a great hill seeming to bee a man with long haire.

And take this for aduice, that if thou be in the height of this riuer, thou shalt see certaine high hilles within the land, which be like vnto organs. And when thou seest these organs, then make accompt thou art right against the riuer: and comming neere the land thou shalt see a certaine Island very round, which lieth to the Southward, and is hie and bare in the top. Thou must know that the mouth of this riuer standeth in 23 degrees and one third part. And from this riuer to Angra, that is to say, The open hauen, thou hast 15 leagues. Goe not neere the land there, except necessitie compell thee.

I aduise thee, that from this riuer that I spake of, I meane from the entrance thereof, thou must goe Westsouthwest, and Southwest, and West and by South. And thou shalt see a great Island called Isla de San Sebastiano, and to the Southward thereof another small Island very high, called the Island of Alcatrarzas, that is to say, The Island of Pellicanes: but come not neere it, for it hath dangerous shoalds. And from hence thou mayest go West, and so thou shalt fall right with the mouth of Saint Vincent, and thou shalt see an Island.† And if thou meane to goe into Saint Vincent thou must leaue this Island to the Westward. And vnderstand that Saint Vincent lieth in foure and twentie degrees. And when thou art in the mouth of this bay, or art neere the mouth of it, then thou shalt see many other Islands, and one among the rest to the seaward. And hauing these sights, thou hast the best markes that bee for these Islands, that I haue told thee of: and this Island lieth Northwest and Southeast with the mouth of S. Vincent.

---

* Papagayos Island.

† Saint Amaro.

From San Francisco to Boca de Ouerniron are 26 leagues, and the coast lieth North and South. Also thou must marke that the riuer of San Francisco hath a great entrance, and 3 small Islands, and to seaward it hath a good road; and the main is high and craggie.

From this Boca de Ouerniron to Ilha de Aruoredo thou hast no great markes be obserued: but this Boca is a very great bay, and this bay is deepe within the Island, and is a good road, and hath many islands, and standeth in 28 degrees. And to the North of this Island vnder the point there is a good road: and there is no other road hereabout but this, and it is vnder the Island.

From hence thou shalt haue sight of the Isle called Santa Catharina, which is a great Island about eight or nine leagues long, and lieth North and South. And hard by euen with this Iland is Porto de Patos, which standest in 29 degrees. And from Porto de Patos to Porto de Don Roderigo are ten or eleuen leagues: and the coast lieth North and South. And from Porto de Don Roderigo to Laguna are 5 leagues. And this is a good harbour for all winds, except the Northeast wind.

From the Laguna to the riuer called Rio de Martin de Sousa are 42 leagues. And the coast is something high, and lieth Northeast and by North, and Southwest and by South: and it hath an Island 2 leagues into the sea, where ships may ride well. And from the Riuer of Martin de Sousa to Rio de San Pedro are 52 leagues, and the coast lieth Northeast and Southwest.

From this riuer of San Pedro there lieth a point of sand a good league off and more, and it lyeth on the Southwest side of the port. And from thence to Cabo de Santa Maria are 42 leagues: and the coast lieth Northeast and Southwest, and all is lowe land.

Also on the Southeast side of Cabo de Santa Maria there lyeth an Isle two leagues off into the sea, and it hath a good harborough betwixt it and the mayne. And note that the mayne is lowe land.

The cape of Santa Maria standeth in 35 degrees, and at the point thereof it hath an Island a league into the sea.

Hereafter followeth a Ruttier from the sayd riuer of Plate to the Streight of Magelane.

THe cape of Santa Maria is in 35 degrees. From thence to the Cape de Santo Antonio, which is on the other side of the riuer, are 30 leagues Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest. And this is the broadest place of the riuer. And this cape is in 36 degrees and a halfe, and it is a blacke grosse land. And thou must marke that 25 leagues a seaboord the mouth of the riuer there lie certaine sands, which he called Baixos de los Castellanos.

He that falleth with the Cape of Santa Maria must take good heede to go Southeast vntill he be in 36 degrees, and from thence Southsoutheast vntill 36 degrees and a halfe, giuing the sayd sholds de los Castellanos a breadth : and also taking heede of the flats of the cape. And when he findeth 40 or 45 fadomes, and russet sand, then he must goe Southwest and by South, vntill he be in 40 degrees : where hee shall finde great store of weeds, which come from the coast, and a man may goe 20 leagues from the shore in this sounding.

Cabo de Arenas Gordas.

Rio de S. Anna.

From the Cape de Santo Antonio to the cape de Arenas Gordas are eight and forty leagues, and the coast lieth Northeast and Southwest, and by East and by West: and in the first eighteene leagues is the riuer called Rio de Santa Anna, which hath at the entrance certaine flats and sholds, giue them a good breadth, and come not nigh them by much, but keepe thy selfe in forty fadomes to goe surely.

Cape de S. André.

From the cape de Arenas Gordas to the cape of Sant André are one and thirty leagues : it lieth Northeast and by East, and Southwest by West: I meane when thou art in the middest with an equall distance from them both. And between both the capes are many bayes and riuers, but all full of sandie sholdes.

Baia Anegada.

From the cape of Sant Andres to the bay called Anegada, that is, The sunken bay, are 30 leagues Eastnortheast, and Westsouthwest. It standeth in 40 degrees, rather lesse then more.

Punta de Tierra Ilana.

Baia sin fondo.

From the bay called Baia Anegada to The point of the plaine land are 25 leagues Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest. This point lyeth in 41 degrees and a halfe, And from this point to Baia sin fondo, that is to say the bottomlesse bay, are 35 leagues Eastnortheast and Westsouthwest. This bay standeth in 42 degrees and a halfe, rather lesse then more.

Cabo redondo. Puerto de los leones.

And from Baia sin fondo to Cabo Redondo, and Puerto de los leones, are 37 leagues Northnortheast and Southsouthwest, somewhat to the North and South. And if thou meane to go out from thence with a compasse about after the maner of a halfe circle or an arch, so thou mayest passe through the Baia sin fondo along the shore : for there is water enough.

Note that from the riuer of Plate to this place is neuer a good harbour for great shipping.

Puerto de los leones in 44 degrees and better. Take good heede of these little rocks.

From this place to Puerto de los leones the coast is cleane, and a man may come nigh vnto the land : And it is a lowe land with white cliffes. This harbour is in 44 degrees. And as a man goeth thither, after he bee in 43 degrees or more, hee must haue a care to looke out for certaine small rockes which lie neere the land, and lie North of the harbour.

Cabo de Matas.

From this harbour to Cabo de Matas, or the cape of shrubs, are 30 leagues North and South, halfe a point to the East, and to the West : and betwixt them there is a great bay very long : And to the Northwest 18 leagues from Cabo redondo is a riuer lying East and West : and it is called Rio de Camarones, or, The riuer of shrimps. You shall know when you fall with this riuer, by seeing many white spots vpon the water, and they are small shrimps.

Rio de Camarones.

Cabo redondo in 45 degrees and a halfe large.

From this riuer to Cabo redondo the coast lieth Northwest and by North, and Southeast and by South. This cape is in 45 degrees and a halfe large.

Cabo Blanco and Baraneas Blancas in 47 degrees.

From this sayd cape to Cabo Blanco and Barancas Blancas that is to say, to The white cape and white cliffes are 32 leagues lying North and by East and South and by West : and they stand in 47 degrees.

From this Cape the coast lyeth towards the North side Northwest about three leagues all full of white cliffes steepe vp : and the last cliffe is the biggest both in length and height, and sheweth to be the saile of a ship when it is vnder saile. These white cliffes are 6 in number, and this Cape hath in the face thereof a certaine round land that sheweth to bee an Island afarre off : and it hath certaine poynts of rockes hard by it. And two Cables length from the land is 25 fathomes water. Aboue these white cliffes the land is plaine and euen ; and it hath certaine woods. There is much people in the countrey: of whom I wish thee to take good heed.

From this Cape the land lyeth North and South; which is the first fall of the Cape: and in the face thereof it hath a poynt of rocks, which shewe themselues. And on the South side of this Cape is a good harbour and road, and there is a Bay in the middest.

A good harbour.

From Cabo and Blanco to Puerto de San Iulian are 37 leagues, and the coast lyeth North and by East and South and by West. This harbour of S. Iulian hath in the entrance certaine high hilles, which afarre off seeme to be towers. On the South part of the entrance the chanell is deepest in the middest: and thou must borrow neerer the North side then to the South. Within the harbour are two Islands: thou must come to an anker hard to them. This hauen lyeth in 49. degrees. And betweene Cabo Blanco and this The Islands of Ascension, and they be eight. From this said harbour to the hill of S. Yues are 35 leagues; the coast lyeth Northeast and Southwest: it is a low land and euen and hath onely one hil, and it is a plaine from one part to the another, and hath certaine cliffes to seaward, and to the Southward, and to the South side it hath certaine little copples: it standeth in 50 degrees large.

The port of Saint Iulian.

Ilhas de Ascensaom.

Morro de Santo Yues, in 50 degrees large.

From the hill of S. Yues to Rio de Cruz are 8 leagues, Northeast and Southwest: and on the Northside of the riuer it hath a very dry land, and in the toppe it is plaine and lyeth two leagues broad layd out along North and South, and the downefall on both sides hath as it were saddles. This Cape hath many poynts of rockes lying 4 leagues into the sea: and when thou hast sight of this land, it is goode for thee to keepe from it a good bredth off. And going from thence thou mayest runne in sight of the land in 25 fathoms.

From Rio de Cruz to Rio de Galegos are 25 leagues, Northeast and Southwest; and it standeth in 52 degrees and $\frac{1}{6}$ of a degree. It hath a certaine high land: and in the highest of the sayd land it is plaine, and to the Northeast it is a pike vp, and hath certaine white cliffes: and on the toppe and something downewarde it is blacke: at the foote of this high land to the Eastward thereof it hath certaine steps like a lather: and to the sea it hath a sharpe poynt that lyeth into this Cape almost halfe a league. To the

Rio de Galegos and the marks thereof.

Southward of this Cape where the lather is, there is a little Bay, which is the entrance of Rio de Galegos, it ebbeth and floweth here 12 fathomes. A man must haue a great care how he goeth in here for the cause abouesaid: but he must keepe himselfe out and not anker in it.

From Rio de Galegos to the Streits of Magelan the coast lyeth Northnorthwest and Southsoutheast: 8 leagues vnto Cabo de la virgin Maria, which is the entrance into the Streit: and 4 leagues before a man come to this Cape there are white cliffes with certaine blacke spots in them; and they be caused with the falling downe of the water. Here is water inough, and thou mayest come to an anker hard aboord the shore, and hast a good defence for a Southwest wind. And the Cape it selfe is the highest land of all, and is like to Cape Saint Vincent in Spaine: and it hath on the east side a ledge of rockes, and a poynt of sand, with diuers sands which shewe themselues at a lowe water: thou must take great heede heere and giue them a good breadth halfe a league or a quarter of a league off, vntill thou bring the Cape Westnorthwest, and then thou mayest stirre away Southwest. And when thou commest to the lower land and into tenne or twelue fathoms, then art thou ouer against la Purificacion. And halfe a league within the land the citie of Nombre de Iesus was builded, East and West with the sayd cape right against a cliffe, which commeth from the sayd Cape, and goeth within the Streits. This Cape standeth in 52 degrees iust,

Ciudad de Nombre de Iesus called by M. Candish Port Famine because he found al the Spaniards famished, and the towne it selfe vtterly abandoned, and ruined.

Where Nombre de Iesus stood.

And this is to be taken for a warning, that he that commeth neere this Cape, and passeth by it as I haue said with the wind at Northeast, or any other wind off the sea inclining to the Southeast, must not come to anker, but presently be sure to passe by: because in Sommer this place is much subiect to Southwest winds, which blow right in: and they put a man from his tackle, and make him to loose his voyage. And from March forwards there blow fauourable winds from the sea to goe from this Cape to enter into the Streits, from this said Cape the Streits go in to the Northwest 14 leagues: and the chanell waxeth narrower and narrower vnto the first Streit which runneth Eastnortheast, and Westsouthwest. And

Southwest winds raigne much here in Sommer.

From March forward the winds are fauourable for the Streits.

comming out of the mouth thereof a man must keepe himselfe a poynt to the Northward, because there be rocks and shoalds. And if you see beds of weeds, take heed of them, and keepe off from them : and after you be past this Streight you must stirre Westsouthwest 8 leagues vnto Cabo de San Gregorio, which is a high white cliffe, and is a good road for any wind from the Northwest to the Southwest. But men must beware and not trust the Indians of this Cape: for they be subtill and will betray a man.

The Indians about Cape de San Gregorio in the Streits are very trecherous.

From this Cape beginneth the second Streit which is called Nuestra Sennora de Gracia, and lyeth Eastnortheast and Westsouthwest 3 leagues. And comming out of this Streit thou shalt see 3 little Islands, lying West off this Streit: thou mayest go betweene them, for there is no danger: prouided alwayes that thou keepe well off from the bayes on both sides, lest thou bee imbayed. And from these Islands thou must keepe forwards in the channell Westsouthwest two leagues: and then the coast lyeth North and South vnto 53 degrees and a halfe, vnto a place called Punta de Santa Anna: and to the Northwest thereof in a corner or nooke (which is one of the rincones or nookes) was the towne builded called La Ciudad del Don Philippe. Thou must come to an anker to the Northward thereof, after thou art past the castle and a great tree.

Rincones.

La Ciudad del Don Philippe: which is now vtterly ruined.

TWO VOYAGES

OF CERTAINE ENGLISHMEN TO THE RIUER OF PLATE SITUATE IN 35 DEGREES OF SOUTHERLY LATITUDE: TOGETHER WITH AN EXACT RUTTIER AND DESCRIPTION THEREOF, AND OF ALL THE MAINE BRANCHES, SO FARRE AS THEY ARE NAUIGABLE WITH SMALL BARKES. BY WHICH RIUER THE SPANIARDS OF LATE YEERES HAUE FREQUENTED AN EXCEEDING RICH TRADE TO AND FROM PERU, AND THE MINES OF POTOSSI, AS ALSO TO CHILI, AND OTHER PLACES.

A report of a voyage of two Englishmen in the company of Sebastian Cabota, intended for the Malucos by the Streights of Magellan, but perfourmed onely to the riuer of Plate in April 1527. Taken out of the information of M. Robert Thorne to Doctor Ley Ambassador for King Henry the eight, to Charles the Emperour, touching the discouery of the Malucos by the North.

This was the fleete wherein Cabot discouered the riuer of Plate, 1526.

Two Englishmen went with Cabot in this discouery.

IN a flote of three ships and a carauel that went from this citie of Siuil armed by the merchants of it, which departed in Aprill last past, I and my partner haue one thousand foure hundred duckets that wee employed in the sayd fleete, principally for that two Englishmen, friendes of mine, which are somewhat learned in Cosmographie, should goe in the same ships, to bring me certaine relation of the situation of the countrey, and to be expert in the nauigation of those seas, and there to haue informations of many other things, and aduise that I desire to know especially. Seeing in those quarters are ships and mariners of that countrey, and cardes by which they saile, though much vnlike ours: that they should procure to haue the sayd cards, and learne how they vnderstand them, and especially to know what nauigation they haue for those Islands Northwards and Northeastward.

For if from the said Islands the sea doth extend without interposition of land to saile from the North point to the Northeast point one thousand seuen hundred or one thousand eight hundred leagues, they should come to The new found Islands that we discouered, and so we should be neerer to the said Spicerie by almost 200 leagues then the Emperour, or the king of Portugall are.

The Islands of the Malucos. The New found Ilands discouered by the English.

An extract out of the discourse of one Lopez Vaz a Portugal, touching the fight of M. Fenton with the Spanish ships, with a report of the proceeding of M. Iohn Drake after his departing from him to the riuer of Plate.

VPon the relation of Pedro Sarmiento concerning the streits of Magellan, that they might be fortified, and for that the king heard, that there were ships in England preparing for the same streits, he commanded Diego Flores de Valdes a noble man of Spaine, to passe thither with 23 ships, and 3500 men to stoppe the passage of the Englishmen.

There went in this fleete the gouernour of Chili, with 500 olde souldiers that came out of Flanders: but this was the vnhappiest fleet of ships that euer went out of Spaine: for before they came from the coast of Spaine a storme tooke them, and cast away fiue of the fleete and in them aboue 800 men, and the rest came into Cadiz. But the king sent them word that they should proceede: and so there went out on the voyage 16 of the shippes, for two more of their fleete were much spoyled by the storme which they had.

Fiue ships of this fleete cast away on the coast of Spaine.

In these sixeteene shippes Pedro Sarmiento was sent to bee gouernour in the straites, and had assigned vnto him 500 men to stay there with him, and hee carried with him, all kinde of Artificers to make him forts, and other necessaries, with great store of ordinance and other munition.

This fleete because it was late, did winter on the coast of Brasil, in the riuer of Ienero: and from thence they went when the winter was past, and about the height of 42 degrees they had a sudden storme, so that Diego Flores beat it vp and downe 22 dayes, in which time hee lost one of the best ships he had, which had in her 300 men and 20 women, that went to inhabit the Streits: and in this ship also was most part of the munition which should haue bene left in the Streits, so in the ende the storme grew to bee so great, that the ships were not able to endure it any longer, but were put backe vnto an Island called Santa Catelina:* and there he found a barke wherein were some fryers going for the riuer of Plate: which friers told him of two great English ships, and a pinnesse, which had taken them, but tooke nothing from them, nor did them any harme, but onely asked them for the king of Spaines ships.

M. Fenton took these fryers.

Hereupon Diego Flores knowing that these English ships would goe for the Streits, determined to goe thither, although it was in the moneth of Februarie, and choosing 10 ships of the 15 that were left, hee left two ships that were not in case to goe to sea at the Iland, and into the other three ships which were old, and shaken with the storme hee put all the women, and sicke men in all the fleete, and sent them to the riuer of Ienero, and he with the other 10 returned againe for the Streits.

The three ships in which the sicke men and women were, went to Brasil, and there they found within the port of S. Vincent the two ships before mentioned.

They woulde haue had the English men to haue gone out of the harbour, and thereupon they fell to fight, and because that these three ships were weake with the storme, and the men that they had were the worst in all the fleete, the Englishmen easily put them to the worst, and sunke one of them, and might haue sunke another, if the Englishmen would: but they minded not the destruction of any man: for that is the greatest vertue that can be in a man, that when hee may doe hurt, yet he will not doe it. So the Englishmen went from this port to Spirito Santo, where they had victuals for their merchandise, and so they went backe for England, without doing of any harme in the Countrey.

A fight betwixt our 2 English ships and three Spanish ships.

They victual at Spirito Santo.

The cause why these English shippes vnder the conduct of M. Fenton went not to the streits, I know not: but some say that they were put backe by foule weather: other some say that it was for feare of the kings ships.

---

* Santa Catherina.

Iohn Drake proceedeth on to the riuer of Plate.

But the pinnesse of these two ships went from them, in which was Captaine Iohn Drake: the cause why they parted I know not, but the pinnesse came into the riuer of Plate, and within fiue leagues of Seale Island, not farre from the place where the Earle of Cumberlands shippes did take in fresh water, shee was cast away vpon a ledge of rockes: but the men were saued in their boat, which were in number 18, who went ashore on the Northside, and went a dayes iourney into the land, and met with the Sauages which are no men-eaters, but take all the Christians that they can, and make them slaues.

Richard Faireweather remayneth in the riuer of Plate.

But the Englishmen fought with them and the Sauages slew fiue of them, and tooke 13 aliue, which were with the Sauages about 15 moneths. But the Master of the pinnesse, whose name was Richard Faireweather being not willing to indure the misery that hee was in, and hauing knowledge that there was a towne of Christians on the other side of the riuer, he in a night called Iohn Drake, and another yong man which was with them, and tooke a very little Canoa, which had but two oares, and so passed to the other side of the riuer, which is about 19 leagues broade, and were three dayes before they could get ouer without meat: and comming to land, they hit vpon an high way that went towardes the Christians: and seeing the footing of horses, they followed it, and at last came to an house where there was corne sowed, and there they met with Indians seruants vnto the Spaniards, which gaue them meate, and clothes to couer them, for they were all naked, and one of the Indians went to the towne, and told them of the Englishmen: so the Captaine sent foure horsemen, who brought them to the towne behind them.

Iohn Drake sent to the Viceroy of Peru.

This Captaine clothed them, and prouided lodging for them, and Iohn Drake dieted at the Captaines table, and they were all very well intreated, the Captaine purposing to send them for Spaine. But the Viceroy of Peru hauing newes hereof, sent for them, and so Iohn Drake was sent to him, but the other two were kept there, because they were married in the countrey, so that I know no more of their affaires.

Vpon this comming of the Englishmen, there were prepared

50 horsemen to goe ouer the riuer to seeke the rest of the Englishmen, and also certaine Spaniards that were among the Sauage people, but I am not certaine, whether they went forward or not.

A ruttier which declareth the situation of the coast of Brasil from the Isle of Santa Catelina vnto the mouth of the riuer of Plata, and all along vp within the sayd riuer, and what armes and mouthes it hath to enter into it, as farre as it is nauigable with small barks.

The Isle of Santa Catelina. Rio Grande.

FRom the Isle of Santa Catelina, (which is in 28 degrees of Southerly latitude) vnto Rio Grande is fortie leagues. This riuer by another name is called Ygai. The Island of Santa Catelina is sixe leagues in length: It hath two small Ilands on the North side betweene the maine land and it: and on the South side it hath a shoald of rockes, which lyeth hidden very neere vnto the poynt of the Isle. You are to passe betweene the firme land and the poynt of the Isle.

Puerto de Biaza, or Laguna.

From Santa Catelina to the hauen of Biaça, which by another name is called la Laguna, are twelue leagues: it is a good hauen within: but you must stay the full sea to enter into it, because it hath shoaldes in the mouth, and it may be knowen by a small Island which lyeth a league into the sea which is called La Isla de Raparo, that is The Island of succour or defence, and you must ride there to search the chanell.

Certaine Ilands 12 leagues distant from the mouth of the riuer of Plate, which are 3 in number.

From this harbour vnto the riuer before named there is no hauen for a ship to harbour it selfe. And Rio Grande hath many shoalds in the mouth thereof. It is a riuer that none but very small shippes can enter into. And this riuer diuideth the countrey of the people called Carios from other nations which are called Guauaes. And from this riuer vnto the entrance of the mouth of the riuer of Plate it is al a plaine land, and very low: you must saile all along two or three leagues into the sea from the shore, vntill you come to certaine Islands* which lye twelue leagues from the mouth of the riuer of Plate.

From Rio Grande vnto these Islands are 68 leagues. And from these Islands vnto the Cape of Saint Marie the coast runneth Northeast and Southwest, somewhat inclining a poynt to the South. The Islands are three, and may be knowen as you come from the sea by two poynts, which shew like the eares of a conie: you may ride betweene them and the maine.

---

* Castillos and Palmarones.

From Rio Grande to the Cape of Saint Marie are 80 leagues: and the Cape may be knowne by one Island which lyeth from it a league and an halfe into the sea. You may sayle betweene the maine and that Island, because there is aboue 8 or 9 fathoms water. The Cape of Saint Mary standeth in 35 degrees of Southerly latitude.

Isla de Lobos.

The Gape of Santa Maria vpon the poynt thereof hath a little hill which standeth ouer against the Isle of Seales. From this coast of Santa Maria you must coast along the land alway on the North shore, and along the same are certaine Bayes. From the Cape vnto the riuer of Solis are tenne leagues, the coast runneth East and West. There standeth an Island ouer against the mouth thereof. From this riuer of Solis vnto Los tres Mogotes which are on the maine land is three leagues. And from Los Mogotes vnto the Isles of Saint Grauiel are other 8 or 9 leagues more; all this distance runneth East and West. These are fiue small Islands: to ride here you must keepe somewhat neere the maine within an harquebuze shot halfe a league before you come at the Islands, and straightway you shall see a crosse + standing on the said land, and there is an harbour for some winds.

The way to enter into the riuer of Plate.

From Saint Grauiel vnto the riuer of Sant Iuan going along the same coast, I say on the North shore, are three leagues: it is very well knowen by the broken cliffe which it hath, which is a white hill. The entrance into this riuer is very dangerous; because it is shallow, and none but very small shippes can enter into the same: the entrance thereof is on the West side very neere the land, great Carackes may ride within the harbour. From this riuer vnto the Isle of Martin Garçia are three leagues: it is one Island alone, and you must sayle along the coast on the North shore: and after you be come vnto the Island, I say, ouer against the same, you shall haue three fathoms water, and on the West side it hath a little creeke where you may ride.

He that desireth to crosse ouer the riuer of Plate vnto the riuer de Buenos Aëres from the Isles of Saint Grauiel, must shape his course Southwest: and the cut ouer is sixeteene leagues and vpon his arriuall on the South shore of the riuer, hee must seeke a chanell of three fathomes water, and straite he must goe along the coast vntill hee come to a broken cliffe and a poynt like vnto the firme land, which is distant from this chanell three or foure leagues: and when thou seest this broken cliffe, keepe thee a league from it. Here vpon this riuer of Buenos Aëres was the first Colonie that Don Pedro de Mendoça planted. This riuer lieth very much hidden: because it is not seene, it is very shallow at a low sea, wherefore you must come in with the first of the flood.

The first Spanish colonie was planted in the riuer of Buenos Aëres.

From the Isle of Martin Garçia vnto certaine small Islands which are called the Isles of Saint Lazarus is two leagues, these are shoalds: and to goe thither you must goe hard aboord the maine, for there goeth the chanell: all this is to be passed on the North shore, and with small barkes, and with good heede.

From the Isle of Martin Garçia to the mouthes of the riuer are eight leagues in passing along on this side to seeke one of the mouthes of the riuer Parana, as it is hereafter described. But you had need first to harbour in a bay, which is in the very cliffe or Barranca, and you must stay for the full sea. And if you fall into the mouth of the riuer which is called Vruay,* you must leaue it on the right hand, I say on the North side. And foorthwith leauing the said mouth forward toward the West, you may enter into the first mouth although it seeme narrow; or rather you may enter into any of the mouthes: for all of them meete together in Parana, which is the maine riuer.

Rio Vruay.

Parana is the great riuer.

And hee that desireth to goe from the Isle of Martin Garçia to the riuer of Palmas, which is the best of all these armes, or mouthes to speake more properly, is to shape his course to the West, and comming ouer to the other shore, and sayling along the coast Northnorthwest hee shall discouer the mouth of this riuer of Palmas: and hee must enter hard by Los Iuncales, which lye on the South side: and afterward within is very deepe sounding. All these mouthes of this riuer which are 5, are full of sholds towards the East aboue the space of two leagues. And if the course of the water were not swift there, you could not enter into them, as I haue already sayd, and you must passe all along with much heede and foresight.

Rio de las Palmas.

And if peradventure you haue passed Cape Saint Marie and are come ouer to Cape Blanco, consider it, that it is so euen and smooth a land, that you can scarcely discerne it a league from the maine, vnlesse it be a very cleare day: and after this sort the coast lieth low vnto the riuer de Buenos Aeres. And from thence the coast lyeth somewhat high vnto the entrance of the riuer de Palmas: all the coast runneth as I sayd before. And all along this coast are naughty people, which eate those which they kill, and many Tygers.

---

* River Uruguay.

Cape Blanco on the South side of the mouth of the riuer of Plate a very low and euen land.

Man-eaters vpon the south shore.

From the Isle of Martin Garçia vnto Saint Saluador is nine or tenne leagues. This is an Island which standeth two leagues within the first mouth: where Sebastian Cabota tooke possession. And this countrey is very well peopled by a people called Carios; and you must beware of all these people: for they are your deadly enemies. The most Southerly mouth of Parana called Rio de Palmas is sixteene leagues long, and it hath many turnings, and many palme or date-trees growing neere it, whereupon it is called The riuer of palme trees: and forthwith it entreth into the riuer Parana, as soone as these sixteene leagues are finished. All the other armes containe likewise sixteene leagues in length, sauing one small or narrow arme, which is called The riuer de los Beguaes; for this containeth fortie leagues in length. From this you must enter by the mouth of the riuer of Palmas vnto Santo Spirito, the way is fiftie leagues: you are to passe still along the cliffes. As you enter on the left hand which is on the West shore vp this riuer there are many Isles, lakes and small riuers, and many Indians which are your enemies.

From Santo Spirito vnto a people which are called Los Tenbuis is fifteene leagues. This is by the narrow arme whereby they passe into the riuer Parana: it is the more because it is the longer way. From the Tenbuis by this narrow arme vpward vnto the Quiloacas, which is another nation, are twentie leagues; and all vp this riuer is great store of people.

From the Quiloacas, to a place where the Spaniards now haue builded a towne, are fifteene leagues. From this towne vnto the people called Los Mequaretas is twentie leagues. Here are many sholds which continue thirtie leagues. All these thirtie leagues are sunken lands: where are many Isles, flats, and nations, which are our enemies.

This towne perhaps may be the towne of Santa Anna, 15. leagues.

From the Mequaretas vnto the people called Mepenes are these thirtie leagues. And from hence begin the coasts of the firme land vnto the mouth of the riuer Paraguai; sauing that there are eight leagues more of sunken ground.

The towne of Piquiri or Picora 170 leagues vp the riuer of Parana.

The citie of Assumption, or Ascension 60 leagues from the mouth of Paraguai.

200. leagues from Assumption subiect to the Spaniard, to the citie of Xaraes.

From the Mepenes vnto the mouth of the riuer of Paraguai are thirtie leagues: it is a riuer that cannot be mistaken although it hath many armes and Islands and dangers, it hath a marke two leagues beneath the mouth on the East side, to wit, an high land, where are 7 points, which we call the 7 currents: and immediately aboue these currents there is an Island as you passe vp the riuer ouer against the poynt aforesaid standeth the mouth of Paraguai. This mouth is very plaine to be found in seeking whereof a man cannot be deceived. From this mouth the riuer of Parana is diuided, which is a very great riuer: and it goeth vnto the towne of Piquiri, which is an hundred and seuentie leagues: and it runneth all this space North and South, and in the way are many flats and shoalds; and great store of people, which are a bad nation, although they be diuided. From the place where these two riuers are diuided, that is to say, from the mouth of Paraguai are sixtie leagues vnto the citie of Assumption. This is a good riuer, and better to sayle then all the rest of the riuers, which are in this countrey. And from this towne to Los Xaraes * are 200. leagues, very well inhabited with people of diuers nations, which serue the Spanyards.

---

* North of Lake Uberaba, in latitude 17 degrees South, and longitude 52½ West.

PART II.

THE FIRST AND SECOND DISCOUERY

OF THE GULFE OF CALIFONIA, AND OF THE SEA-COAST ON THE NORTHWEST OR BACK SIDE OF AMERICA, LVING TO THE WEST OF NEW MEXICO, CIBOLA AND QUIUIRA, TOGETHER WITH SIR FRANCIS DRAKES LANDING AND TAKING POSSESSION VPON NOUA ALBION IN THE BEHALFE OF THE CROWNE OF ENGLAND, AND THE NOTABLE VOYAGE OF FRANCIS GAULE; WHEREIN AMONGST MANY OTHER MEMORABLE MATTERS IS SET DOWNE THE HUGE BREDTH OF THE OCEAN SEA FROM CHINA AND IAPAN TO THE NOTHWEST PARTS OF AMERICA, IN THE 38. AND 40. DEGREES.

A relation of the discouery, which in the Name of God the Fleete of the right noble Fernando Cortez Marques of the Vally, made with three ships; The one called Santa Agueda of 120. tunnes, the other the Trinitie of 35. tunnes, and the thirde S. Thomas of the burden of 20. tunnes. Of which Fleete was Captaine the right worshipfull knight Francis de Vlloa borne in the Citie of Merida. Taken out of the third volume of the voyages gathered by M. Iohn Baptista Ramusio.

Chap. 1.

Francis Vlloa a captaine of Cortez departeth with a Fleete from the port of Acapulco, and goeth to discouer vnknowen lands, he passeth by the coast of Sacatula and Motin, and by tempest runneth to the riuer of Guajaual, from whence he crosseth ouer to the hauen of Santa Cruz, along the coast whereof he discouereth 3. smal Ilands, and within two dayes and an halfe returning to the maine land he discouereth the riuer called Rio de san Pedro y san Pablo, and not far distant from thence two other riuers as big or greater then that of Guadalquiuir which runneth by Siuil, together with their head-springs.

WE imbarked our selues in the hauven of Acapulco on the 8. of Iuly in the yeere of our Lord 1539, calling vpon almighty God to guide vs with his holy hand vnto such places where he might be serued, and

Acapulco in 17. degeees of latitude.

his holy faith aduanced. And we sailed from the said port by the coast of Sacatula and Motin, which is sweete and pleasant through the abundance of trees that grow thereon, and riuers which passe through those countries, for the which wee often thanked God the creatour of them. So sailing along we came to the hauen of S. Iago in the prouince of Colima: but before we arriued there, the maine mast of our ship called Santa Agueda was broken by a storme of winde that tooke vs, so as the ship was forced to saile without her mast vntil we arriued in the said hauen. From the port of Acapulco to this hauen of Colima wee were sayling the space of 20. dayes. Here we stayed to mende our mast and to take in certaine victuals, water, and wood, the space of 27. dayes. And wee departed from the saide hauen the 23. of August, and sayling by the Isles of Xalisco the 27. or 28. of the saide moneth wee were taken with an extreame tempest wherein wee thought we should have perished, and being tossed and weather-beaten, wee ranne as farre as the riuer of Guajalua in the Prouince of Culiacan. In this storme wee lost the pinnessee called Sant Thomas, and because wee had lost her wee crossed ouer to the port of Santa Cruz in California: for while wee were so beaten in the former tempest, the pilot of the Barke signified vnto vs, that he perceiued she beganne to leake, and that already she had received in much water, insomuch that she beganne to founder: whereupon, to helpe her neede, and that we might meete together in a knowen hauen, if by chance the tempest should separate vs, as it did indeed, we willed him to repaire to the hauen of Santa Cruz, where we meant to repaire his harmes and our owne. Wherefore being all arriued in this place of Santa Cruz, wee stayed there fiue dayes and tooke in water, wherein we heard no newes of our Barke which we had lost: Whereupon the Captaine resolued to follow on our voyage; wherefore we set saile the 12. of September, and as we sailed wee saw along the coast of the said hauen 3. Islands, whereof the Captaine made no great accompt, thinking there coulde be no great good found in any of them. These Islands seemed not to be great; wherefore he commanded the Masters and pilotes to proceed on their voyage, and not to leese time without any profit. So sailing ouer the gulfe of California, in two dayes and an halfe we came to the riuer of S. Peter and S. Paul, finding before we entered into the same a small Island in

Santa Cruz in the point of California.

Rio de san Pedro y san Pablo.

the mouth of the Riuer, being 4. or 5. miles distant from the maine. On both sides of the Riuer wee beheld goodly and pleasant great plaines full of many green and beautiful trees, and farther within the land we beheld certaine exceeding high mountaines full of woods very pleasant to beholde. From this riuer wee sailed still along the coast the space of 15 leagues, in which course wee found two other Riuers in our iudgement as great or greater then Guadalquiuir the Riuer of Siuilia in Spaine. Al the coast by these Riuers is plaine as the other which we had passed, with many woods: likewise within the lande appeared great mountaines couered with woods very beautifull to beholde, and beneath in the plaine appeared certaine lakes of water. From these Riuers we sailed 18 leagues, and found very pleasant plaines, and certaine great lakes whose mouthes opened into the Sea: here our Capitane thought good throughly to discouer what those lakes were, and to search whether there were any good hauen for his ships to ride in, or to harbour themselues, if any tempest should arise; and so he commaunded a boat to be hoised out into the Sea, with a Master and fiue or sixe men to view them, and to sound the depth, and bottom of them: who went thither, and found the coast very sholde, and the mouthes of the lakes; whereupon they made no accompt of them, onely because the shore was so shallow, for otherwise the land was very pleasant. Here at euening we saw on the shore 10. or 12. Indians and fires. The aforesaide two Riuers are two leagues distant the one from the other little more or lesse, and are great, as I haue saide, and being in the last of them we went vp to the ship-top, and saw many lakes, and one among the rest exceeding great, and wee supposed that they had their springs out of this great lake, as other Riuers also haue from other lakes, for wee sawe the course of them seuerally each by themselues, hauing goodly woods growing all along their bankes. The currents of these Riuers might be discerned three leagues within the Sea: and at the mouthes of them were many small stakes set vp for markes: the shore here is plaine and sandie, and the countrey very pleasant.

Chap. 2.

Sailing along the coast from the two aforesaid great Riuers, they discouer three mouthes of lakes and a goodly Countrey, they come vnto Cabo Roxo, and take possession of those countreys for the Emperours Maiesty. A discourse of the faire hauens that are on those coastes, and of very many Islands which they saw, before they came to the Cape called Capo de las Plaias.

The coast runneth Northward.

THis day wee sailed along the coast the space of 16. leagues, and in the midst of this voyage there is a Bay very faire of 4. or 5. leagues, hauing certaine bankes or fences in it, in beholding whereof we tooke great pleasure. The night following we road in 20. fadome water. The next day we followed our voyage toward the North, and hauing sailed 3. or 4. leagues we saw 3. mouthes of lakes which entred into the land, where they became like standing pooles. Wee road a league distance from these mouthes in 6. fadome water, to see what they were, and sent our boat with certaine men, to see if there were any entry for our ships: for halfe a league from shore we had not past one or two fadome water. Here our men saw 7. or 8. Indians, and found sundry sorts of greene herbes somewhat differing from those of Nueua Espanna. The Countrey is plaine, but farre within the land they saw great and small hils extending themselues a great way, and being very faire and pleasant to behold. The day following we proceeded on our voyage sayling alwayes in sight of the plaine coast toward the Northwest, in 10. or 15. fadome water. And hauing sailed 6. good leagues we found a Bay on the coast within the land of about 5. leagues ouer, from whence the coast trendeth Northwest, and this day we sailed about 16. leagues. All this coast is plaine, and not so pleasant as that which we had passed: here are certaine small hilles, but not so high as those which we had found before. Thus we sailed all night Northwest, and vntil the next day at noone, at which time we fell with a headland of white sand, where by the height which we tooke that day we found our selues to be in the latitude of 27. degrees and $\frac{3}{4}$. This cape we called Capo Roxo. All the coast is plaine and faire and cleane sand, and we saw within land some few trees not very great, with certaine mountaines and woods 3. or 4. leagues distant from the said cape: and here likewise appeared a mouth of a riuer, which (as far as we could discerne) made certaine lakes vp within the land: from the mouth whereof for the space of a league into the sea it seemed to be very sholde, because the sea did breake very much. Here we saw within the land 3. or 4. riuers. In this sort we sailed on our voiage to the Northward, and because we had not good weather we road that night in a great hauen lying in our way, where on the shore wee saw certaine plaines, and vp within the land certaine hilles not very high: and continuing our course toward the North about 3. leagues from this hauen, we found an Iland of about one league in circuite lying before the mouth of the said hauen. And sailing forward we found an hauen which hath two mouthes into the Sea, into which we entered by the Northermost mouth, which hath 10. or 12. fadome water, and so decreaseth till it come to 5. fadome, where we anckered in a poole which the Sea maketh, which is a strange thing to beholde, for there are so many entrances and mouths of streames and hauens, that we were all astonied at the sight thereof; and these hauens are so excellently framed by nature, as the like are not to bee seene in the world, wherein we found great store of fish. Here we anckered, and the Captaine went on shore, and tooke possession, vsing all such ceremonies as thereunto belong. Here also wee found certaine weares to catch fish made by the Indians, and certaine small cottages, wherein were diuers pieces of earthen pots as finely made as those in Spaine. Here by commandement of the Captaine a Crosse was erected vpon an hil, and it was set vp by Francis Preciado. In this place we saw the Countrey full of fresh and greene grasse, howbeit differing from that of New Spaine, and vp within the Countrey we saw many great and very greene mountaines. This Countrey seemed very goodly and delightsome to all of vs, in regard to the greennesse and beautie thereof, and we iudged it to be very populous within the land. From this hauen we departed and kept our way toward the Northwest with good weather, and began to finde hard by the sea-shore exceeding high mountaines spotted with white, and in them we saw many foules which had their nestes in certaine holes of those rocks, and sailed 10. leagues vntil night, all which night we were becalmed. The next day we followed our course Northwest with good weather: and from that day forward we

The coast runneth Northward.

Fishing weares like those of Virginia.

began to see on the Westerne shore (whereon the foresaid hauen of S. Cruz standeth) certaine Islands or high lands, whereat we reioyced not a little. And so sayling forward we met with an Island about two leagues in bignesse, and on the East shore hauing still the maine land and Islands in sight, we sailed 15. leagues vntil the euening, alwayes finding hard by the sea-coast exceeding high mountaines bare of trees, the land appearing still more plainely vnto vs on the Westerne shore. Whereupon wee began to be of diuers opinions, some thinking that this coast of Santa Cruz was a firme land, and that it ioyned with the continent of Nueua Espanna, others thought the contrary, and that they were nothing else but Islands, which were to the Westward. And in this sort we proceeded forward, hauing the land on both sides of vs, so farre, that we all began to wonder at it. This day we sailed some 15. leagues, and called this Cape Capo de las Plaias.

Some take the land of California to be nothing but Islands.

Chap. 3.

Of the Streight which they discouered on the coast of Capo de las Plaias, and of the pleasant Countrey which they found before they came to the rockes called Los diamantes. Of the wonderfull whitenesse of that Sea, and of the ebbing and flowing thereof: and of the multitude of Islands and lands, which extend themselues Northward from the hauen of Santa Cruz.

THe day following we sailed vntil night with so good weather, that we ran about 20. leagues. All this coast along the shore is full of little hilles without grasse or trees: and that night we anckered in 20. fadome water. The next day we followed our voyage beginning to saile before breake of day Northwestward, and we came into the midst of a Streight or mouth which was 12 leagues broad from one land to the other, which Streight had two Ilands in the midst thereof being 4. leagues distant the one from the other: and here we discerned the countrey to be plaine, and certaine mountaines, and it seemed that a certaine gut of water like a brooke ran through the plaine. This streight (as far as we could perceiue) was very deep, for we could finde no

A Streight of 12. leagues broad, of exceeding depth.

botome: and here we saw the land stretching afarre off from the one shore to the other, and on the Westerne shore of the hauen of S. Cruz, the land was more high with very bare mountaines. The day following we passed on our way toward the North, and sailed some 15. leagues, and in the midst of our way we found a circuit or bay of 6. leagues into the land with many cooues or creeks, and the next day following continuing our course we sailed some 10. leagues, and the coast in this dayes iourney was all of high mountaines naked and bare without any tree. It is very deepe hard by the shore, and that night we were constrained to stay by reason of the contrary winde. The next morning before breake of day we sailed still along the coast to the Northwest vntil euening, and ranne about some 15. leagues. All along this shore wee sawe very goodly mountaines within the land, and many plaines and downes with some few trees, and the sea shore was all sandy. In the midst of this dayes course we found certaine small rockes in the sea 4 leagues distant from the maine, were the said land maketh a great point into the sea, and here we stayed the rest of the night, where we had a very great shower of raine. The day following we proceeded on our voyage, and sailed vntill night by a compasse or turning, some 8. or 9. leagues, and saw within land a few mountaines hauing no trees vpon them, but the Sunne shining alwayes very cleare, as farre as we could descry, they were very great, on the Westerne shore of the hauen of Santa Cruz. Here we stayed all night because we found very shallow water and sawe the sea very white, and in a maner like to chalke, so that we all beganne to marueile thereat. The day following wee went forward againe along the coast Northwestward, and sailed eight leagues, and saw another land which stretched Northwest, and was full of high mountaines. And still continuing this course we searched very diligently to see if there were any passage through betweene both the landes, for right forward wee saw no land. And thus sayling we alwayes found more shallow water, and the Sea thicke, blacke, and very muddie, and came at length into fiue fadome water: and seeing this, wee determined to passe ouer to the land which wee had seene on the other side, and here likewise wee found as little depth and lesse, whereupon we rode all night in fiue fadome water, and wee perceiued the Sea to runne with so great a rage into the land, that it is a thing much

The Streight here runneth Northward.

Small rocks called Los Diamantes.

to be marueilled at, and with the like fury it returned backe againe with the ebbe: during which time wee found 11. fadome water, and the floode and ebbe continued from sixe to sixe houres.

The day following the Captaine and Pilote went vp to the shippes top, and sawe all the lande full of sand in a great round compasse, and ioyning it selfe with the other shore and it was so low, that whereas wee were a league from the same wee could not well discern it, and it seemed that there was an inlet of the mouthes of certaine lakes, whereby the Sea went in and out. There were diuers opinions amongst vs, and some thought that that current entered into those lakes, and also that some great Riuer there might be the cause thereof. And when we could perceiue no passage through, nor could discerne the countrey to be inhabited, the Captaine accompanied with certaine of vs went to take possession thereof. The same day with the ebbe of the Sea wee fell downe from the other coast from the side of Nueua Espanna, though alwayes we had in sight the firme land on the one side of vs, and the other Islands on our left hande, on the side of the port of Santa Cruz situate on the Westerne shore: for on that side there are so many Islands and lands, so farre as we could descry, that it was greatly to be wondered at: for from the said hauen of Santa Cruz, and from the coast of Culiacan we had alwayes in a maner land on both sides of vs, and that so great a countrey, that I suppose if it should so continue further inwarde, there is countrey ynough for many yeeres to conquer. This day wee had the winde contrary, and cast ancker vntil the flood increased which was in the afternoone, and then wee set saile likewise with contrary winde vntill midnigt, and then cast ancker.

The next day wee departed, shaping our course along the coast Southwest, vntill midnight with little winde, and wee sawe within the land high mountaines with some openings, and wee made way some three leagues, and all the next night wee were becalmed, and the next day we continued our course but a little while, for we sailed not aboue fiue leagues, and all the night were becalmed, and sawe the land full of bare and high mountaines, and on our left hande wee descried a plaine countrey, and saw in the night certaine fires.

Chap. 4.

They land vpon an Island to discouer the same, and there they see many fires, which issue out of certaine mountaines, and many Seale-fishes. Here they take an Indian, and can not vnderstand his language. Running along they discouer another Island, and take possession thereof for the Emperours Maiestie, and a great hauen in the firme land, which they call Ancon de Sant Andres, or The hauen of S. Andrew.

THe next day following our course we saw a great hauen with an Island in the sea, within a crossse-bow shoote of the firme land, and in this Island and on the firme land were seene many smokes by the iudgement of all the company; wherefore the captaine thought good that wee should goe on land to know the certainty of these smokes and fires, himselfe taking ten or twelue of vs with a boate in his company: and going on shore in the Island, we found that the smokes proceeded out of certaine mountaines and breaches of burned earth, whereout ascended into the aire certaine cinders and ashes which mounted vp to the middle region of the aire, in such great quantitie, that we could not esteeme lesse then twenty lodes of wood to bee burned for the causing of euery of these smokes, whereat wee were all not a little amazed.

Burning mountaines.

In this Island were such abundance of Seales, as it was wonderful. Here we stayed that day, and killed a great number of these Seales, with whom we had some trouble: for they were so many, and ayded one another so well, that it was strange to behold; for it fell out, that while we were occupied in killing some of them with staues, they assembled twentie or thirty together, and lifting themselues vp assayled vs with their feete in a squadron, and ouerthrew two or three of our company on the ground: whereupon letting goe those which they had in their hands, they and the others escaped vs and went into the sea, howbeit wee killed good store of them, which were so fatte as it was wonderfull: and when we opened some of them to haue their liuers, we found certaine small blacke stones in their bodies, whereat we much marueiled. The next day wee rode at anker here for lacke of good weather to sayle withall: whereupon the Captaine determined to goe on shore with nine or ten of his company, to see whether there were any people there, or any signe of people that had bene there, and they found on the maine land seuen or eight Indians like to Chichimecas, which were gone a fishing, and had a raft of canes; who so soone as they espied vs ranne away and betooke themselues to flight, but being pursued by vs, in the end we tooke one of them, whose language was so strange that wee could by no meanes vnderstand him; his clothing was nothing at all, for he was starke naked. These people caried their water in bottels made of beasts skins, they fished with hookes of bone, and wee found good store of their fishes, whereof we tooke three or foure dozen.

The Indian which we had taken seeing himselfe in our hands did nothing but weepe, but the Captaine called him, and made much of him, giuing him certaine beades, with a hat and certaine hookes of ours, and then let him goe. And it seemed that after hee was returned to his companions, he declared vnto them how we had done him no harme at all, showing them the things which wee had giuen him: whereupon they also determined to come vnto vs to our boate, but because it was now night, and that our shippes were farre from vs, we forced not to stay for them, especially because it was a bad place and a dangerous. This countrey hath on the sea-coast high and bare mountaines with certaine grasse in some places like vnto our broomes, or like vnto woods of rosemary.

The next day wee sayled neere to the coast on the same side, with very scarce winde, and in a manner calme, and ranne not aboue fiue leagues, and all the night following we lay becalmed, and we saw on the shore fiue or sixe fires. The land is high with very high mountaines without grasse, hauing certaine caues in them: the next day also, and part of the night following we were becalmed: and the morrow after we followed our course along the sayd coast, and passed betweene a great Island full of exceeding high mountaines, and the maine land, where we saw a very great hauen in the firme land in which wee ankered to see what it was, and being come to an anker, the Captaine and some of vs went on land the same day to see if there were any people and fresh water, and wee found certaine small cottages couered with drie grasse, with certaine little staues layd ouerthwart, and we went a little way into the countrey which was very baren, by certaine small and streight pathes, and found

Ancon de S. Andres, or The hauhn of S. Andrew in 32 degrees.

a little pond or pit, but drie and without water; and here the Captaine tooke possession for the Marques of the valley* in the name of his Maiestie, and after this we returned to our ship, and that night we sawe foure or fiue fires on the land. The next day the Captaine determined, because hee had seene these fires, to goe on shore, and so with our two boates we went fifteene or twenty of vs vnto certaine crooked strands two leagues from the place where our ships rode, and where we had seene the fires, and we found two Indians of exceeding huge stature, so that they caused vs greatly to wonder; they caried their bowes and arrowes in their hands, and as soone as they saw vs leap on shore they ran away, and wee followed them vnto their dwellings and lodgings, which were certaine cottages and bowers couered with boughs, and there we found great and small steps of many people, but they had no kind of victuals but onely cuttle-fishes which wee found there. The countrey toward the sea side seemed but barren, for we saw neither trees nor greene grasse there, yet were there certaine smal pathes not well beaten, and along the sea-coast we saw many tracts of dogges, hares, and conies, and in certaine small Islands neere vnto the maine we saw Seale-fishes. This hauen is called Ancon de Sant Andres.

Chap. 5.

They discouer a mountainous Island very great, and neere vnto it certaine other Islands with a goodly greene and pleasant countrey. They haue sight of certaine Indians in Canoas of canes, whose language sounded like the Flemish tongue, with whome they could not haue any traffique.

A great Island.

THe next day we proceeded on your voyage, sayling betweene the maine and an Island, which we suppose to be in circuit about a hundreth or eighty leagues, sayling sometimes within one, and sometimes within two leagues of the maine. The soile of this Island is of certaine mountaines not very steepe with caues in them, and as farre as wee could descrie by the coast, there appeared no signe of any plaine countrey. Here from this day forward wee began to bee afraid, considering that wee were to returne to the port of Santa

---

* Hernando Cortez.

Cruz; for it was supposed, that all along this mighty gulfe from the entrance in at Culiacan vntil the returning backe vnto the said hauen, was all firme land, and also because wee had the firme land alwayes on our right hand and it goeth round circlewise vnto the sayd hauen; but many thought and hoped that we should finde some mouth or out-let, whereby we might passe through vnto the other coast. What our successe was we will declare in the relation following.

They returne from the bottome of the gnlf of California.

The next day being Thursday wee sayled with scant winde, for it was almost calme, and passed beyond that great Island, hauing firme land alwayes on our right hand, and coasting (as I sayd) very neere vnto it. The next day likewise we sayled with little winde, it being in a manner calme, and passed neere vnto the shore by certaine round baies, and certaine points which the land made, which was pleasant to behold being somewhat greene, and there seemed to be some creeke there. This Friday at night wee sayled altogether with a fresh gale, and at breake of day wee were betweene the maine land, and an Island on our left hand which was somewhat big, as farre as we could discerne. Here was a great bay in the firme land, and before it was a point which stretched farre into the sea. The firme land seemed to bee much fresher and pleasanter then those lands which we had passed, hauing many bankes and hilles of indifferent height, and beautifull to behold.

The countrey (as farre as wee could discerne) was so pleasant and delightfull, that wee all desired to goe on shore, and to search vp into it two or three dayes iourney, to see whether it were inhabited or not. Wee saw within the land of that bay two fires. The night following being Saturday we sailed continually with a prosperous and fresh gale, and the wind was so great that we drew our bonet to our maine sayle, and sayled so till the morning.

On Sunday the twelfth of October we found our selues altogether inclosed with land, on the right hand with the maine, which compassed vs before and behinde, and on the left hand with an Island of a league and a halfe; and betweene the maine and the Island in the midst of the sea there lay a small Islet, and also betweene the sayd maine and the Island there were two mouthes, through which there appeared a passage whereby afterward we passed through. This maine was much more fresh and greene then the other which wee had passed, and had certaine plaines and points of mountaines of pleasant view, and full of greene grasse. Here all this night we saw two or three villages which were very great, and at breake of day we saw a Canoa or boate made of canes, which came from the land out of a creeke, and wee stood still vntill it came neere vnto vs in the ship, and they began to speake in their language which no man vnderstood, whose pronuntiation was like to the Flemings, and being called they returned with great haste vnto the shore, and we were very sory because our boate had not followed them.

Here happened vnto vs a very strange thing, which was, that as this Indian returned to the shore in certaine of these creekes where a number of his fellow Indians were, as wee viewed that part, we sawe fiue Canoas issue foorth, which came toward vs: whereupon wee stayed to see what they would doe. In the meane while our Admirall came vp vnto vs, which was neere the shore, for she also had seene them, and so being come together we cast anker, expecting what those Canoas would doe. In the meane while our Generall commanded vs to make ready our boate, and to furnish the same with oares and men, to try if we could by any meanes take some of them, that we might come to some knowledge of them, and that wee might giue them some of our trifles, and specially of our hookes and beads to winne their friendship. The Indians with their fiue Canoas approached within one or two stones cast of vs, and then began to speake very loude vnto vs in a very strange language, alwayes standing vpon their guard to retire themselues with speede. When our Captaine saw this, and that they would not come neere vs, but rather retired, he commanded sixe mariners to goe into the boate from the sterne of the ship, and himselfe also went with them with all possible haste toward the Indians. The Indians returned to the shore with so great celeritie, that they seemed to flie in those little Canoas of canes. Neuerthelesse our men vsed such diligence that one of the Canaos was boorded and taken; but the Indian in the Canoa seeing himselfe now taken leapt into the water, and our men followed with their boat to take him, but seeing himselfe within their reach, he ducked with his head vnder their boate, and so deceiued them, and then rose vp againe, and with their oares and with staues they gaue him certaine blowes, to amaze him, but nothing would serue them; for as they were about to lay handes vpon him hee still diued vnder water, and with his hands and feete got neere to the shore: and as hee rose vp aboue the water, he called to his felowes which stood on the shore to behold, crying Belen with a loud voyce, and so they pursued him, and strooke him sometimes being very neere the shore, and he alwayes went calling the rest of his fellowes to come and helpe him, whereupon within a short while after three other Canoas came foorth to succour him, being full of Indians with bowes and arrowes in their handes, crying with a loude voyce, that wee should come on shore: these Indians were of great stature and saluage, fat also and well set, and of a browne colour. Our Captaine perceiuing this, least they should wound any of our people with their arrowes, returned backe, and commanded vs immediately to set sayle, and so foorthwith wee departed.

This day the wind skanted, and we returned to anker in the foresayd place, and our Admirall rode from the firme land toward the Island, and wee which were in the ship called The Trinitie lay neere vnto the maine, and before breake of day wee departed with a fresh gale. And before we disemboqued out of that chanell we saw certaine grasse very high and greene vpon the maine: whereupon a mariner, and the Pilot went vp into the top, and saw the mouth of a riuer which ranne through that greene couutrey into the sea. But because our Admirall was vnder all her sayles farre from vs, we could not tell them of this riuer, where wee would haue taken water, where of we had some neede, and because it was a very good hauen to goe on shore to take it, and therefore without watering we followed our course. On Monday we departed from this hauen which is like vnto a lake, for on all sides we were compassed with land, hauing the continent before, behinde vs, and on our right side, and the Island on our left side, and we passed foorth at those mouthes before mentioned, which shewed an out-let into the open sea. Thus wee sayled along still viewing the situation of the countrey, reioycing all of vs at the sight thereof, for it alwayes pleased vs more and more, still appearing more greene and pleasant, and the grasse which wee found neere vnto the shore was fresh and delectable, but not very high, being (to all our iudgements) not past a spanne long. Likewise the hills which we saw, which were many, and many downes made a very pleasant prospect, especially because we iudged, that there were many valleys and dales betweene them.

Port Belen is a very good hauen.

Chap. 6.

They discouer a very great bay with foure small Islands in it, whereas they take possession. As they sayle along and discouer diuers Islands they come at length to the port of Santa Cruz, where not being able to get any knowledge of those Indians, although they lay in waite for them at a place called The well of Grijalua, they departed thence. They haue a perilous and long tempest, which ceased, after they had seene a light on their shrowdes.

AT our comming out of these openings we began to finde a Bay with a very great hauen, euuironed with diuers small hilles hauing vpon them greene woods and pleasant to behold. In this bay and strand were two small Islands neere vnto the shore, one of the which was like vnto a table about halfe a league in bignes, and the other was a round hill almost as big as the former. These Islands serued vs onely to content our sight, for we passed by them without staying, hauing but a slacke winde on Munday morning : all which day we followed our course with the foresayd slacke winde, and within a while after it became flat contrary, so that we were constrained to anker at the sayd point of the sayd hauen ; and on Tewesday at breake of day we set sayle, but made but little away all the day, because the winde continued contrary, although but very weake. The night following wee were becalmed a little beyond the point of this hauen ; but about midnight wee began to haue a fresh gale, and on Wednesday in the morning wee were seuen leagues distant from that point. This countrey shewed (as it was indeede) more plaine then the rest, with certaine small woody hilles, and within the other point which was before descried, the situation seemed to be more pleasant and delightsome then the rest which we had passed. And at the vttermost end of the point were two small Islets. The sayd Wednesday about nine of the clocke the winde blew a good gale, and we sayled by euening between seuen and eight leagues, and came ouer against a land not very high, where wee saw certaine creekes or breaches not very ragged, into euery of which a riuer seemed to fall, because the soyle was very greene, and had certaine trees growing on it farre-bigger then those which we had found before. Here the Captaine with fiue or sixe men went on shore, and taking possession passed vp one of those riuers, and found the footing of many Indians vpon the sand. On the bankes of that riuer they saw many fruitful trees, as cherry-trees and little apple-trees, and other white trees: they found also in the wood three or foure beasts called Adibes, which are a kind of dogs. The same night we set sayle with the winde off the land, which blew so freshly, that it made vs to strike our foresayle; and on the sixteenth of October at nine of the clocke we came neere vnto a point of certaine high mountaines, on which day being Thursday we made little way, because the winde ceased, but it rose againe in the night, whereupon by the breake of day on Friday wee came before the sayd point being sixe or seuen leagues off. The land seemed to be very mountainous with certaine sharpe points not greatly clad with grasse, but somewhat bare. On our left hand wee saw two Islands, the one of a league and a halfe, the other not so much, and it seemed that we drew neere to the port of Santa Cruz, whereat we were sory because we were alwaies in good hope to find some out-let into the maine Ocean in some place of that land, and that the same port was the same out-let, and also that by the sayd coast we might returne to the foresayd hauen of Santa Cruz, and that we had committed a great error, because we had not certainely sought out the secret, whether that were a Streit or a riuer, which wee had left behind vs vnsearched at the bottome of this great sea or gulfe.

All Friday and the night following we sayled with a scant winde, and on Saturday at breake of day we were betweene two points of land which make a bay, wherein we saw before and behinde foure or fiue great and small Islands. The lande was very mountainous, part whereof was couered with grasse, and part was voide. Within the land appeared more mountaines and hils, and in this place we were come neere vnto the hauen of Santa Cruz, which is all firme land, except it be diuided in the very nooke by some streite or great riuer which parteth it from the maine, which because we had not throughly discouered, all of vs, that were imployed in this voyage were not a little grieued. And this maine land stretcheth so farre in length, that I cannot well expresse it: for from the hauen of Acapulco, which standeth in seuenteene degrees and twentie minutes of latitude, wee had alwayes the coast of the firme land on our right hande, vntill we came to the great current of the white and red sea: and here (as I haue said) we knew not the secret of this current, whether it were caused by a riuer or by a streit: and so supposing that the coast which wee had on our right hand was closed vp without passage, wee returned backe againe, alwayes descending Southward by our degrees, vntill wee returned vnto the sayd hauen of Santa Cruz, finding still along the coast a goodly and pleasant countrey, and still seeing fires made by the Indians, and Canoas made of Canes.* We determined to take in fresh water at the hauen of Santa Cruz, to runne along the outward Westerne coast, and to see what it was, if it pleased God. Here we rested our selues, and eat of the plummes and fruits called Pithaias: and wee entred into the port of Santa Cruz on Sunday the 18 of October and stayed there eight daies to take in wood and water resting our selues all that while, that our men might strengthen and refresh themselues. Our captaine determined to diuide amongst vs certaine garments of taffata, with clokes and saies, and a piece of taffata, and likewise ordained, that wee should goe on land to catch a couple of Indians, that they might talke with our interpreter, and that we might come to the knowledge of their language. Wherevpon thirteene of vs went out of our ship by night, and lay in ambush in a place which is called The well of Grijalua, where we stayed vntill noone betweene certaine secret wayes, and could neuer see or descrie any one Indian: wherefore we returned to our ships, with two mastiue-dogs which we carried with vs to catch the Indians with more ease: and in our returne we found two Indians hidden in certaine thickets, which were come thither to spie what wee did: but because wee and our dogs were weary, and thought not on them, these Indians issued out of the thickets, and fled away, and wee ranne after them, and our dogges saw them not: wherefore by reason of the thicknes of the wilde thistles, and of the thornes and bryars, and because we were weary, we could neuer ouertake them: they left behinde them certaine staues so finely wrought that they

This current is in 32 degrees and the sea is white and red.

This returne is mentioned cap. 5.

The Spaniards vse mastiues to take the Indians.

Read more of these staues cap 10.

---

* This voyage up the great Gulf of California, with the discovery of the mouth of the River Colorado is so accurate in its details, that, with a good map, every portion of the voyager's course can be followed.

were very beautiful to behold, considering how cunningly they were made with a handle and a corde to fling them.

The nine and twentieth of October being Wednesday, we set sayle out of this hauen of Santa Cruz with little winde, and in sayling downe the chanell our shippe called the Trinitie came on ground vpon certaine sholdes: this was at noone at a low water, and with all the remedy that we could vse wee could not draw her off, whereupon wee were constrained to vnderprop her, and to stay the next tide: and when the tide began to increase wee vsed all diligence to draw her off, and could not by any meanes, whereat all the company and the Captaine were not a little grieued: for wee thought wee should haue lost her there, although wee ceased not with all our might to labour with both our boates, and with our cable and capsten. In the ende it pleased God ,about midnight at a full sea with the great force which wee vsed to recouer her, that wee drew her off the sand, for which we gaue God most hearty thankes, and rode at anker all the rest of the night, wayting for day-light for feare of falling into any further danger or mishap. When day was come, wee set forward with a fresh gale, and proceeded on our voyage, directing our prows to the maine sea, to see whether it would please God to let vs discouer the secret of this point. But whether it pleased not his great goodnesse, or whether it were for our sinnes, wee spent eight dayes from this port, before we could double the poynt,* by reason of contrary winds, and great raine, and lightning and darknesse euery night: also the windes grew so raging and tempestuous, that they made us all to quake, and to pray continually vnto God to ayde vs. And hereupon wee made our cables and ankers ready, and the chiefe Pilot commanded vs with all speede to cast anker, and in this sorte we passed our troubles: and whereas wee rode in no securitie, he caused vs foorthwith to weigh our ankers, and to goe whither the wind should driue vs. And in this sorte wee spent those eight dayes, turning backe by night the same way that wee had gone by day, and sometimes making good in the night that which wee had lost in the day, not without great desire of all the company to haue a winde which might set vs forward on our voyage, being afflicted with the miseries which wee indured by reason of the thunders, lightnings, and raine, wherewith we were wet from toppe to toe, by reason of the toyle which we had in weighing and casting of our ankers, as neede required.

---

* Cape St. Lucas.

And on one of these nights, which was very darke and tempestuous with winde and raine, because we thought we should haue perished, being very neere the shore, we prayed vnto God that he would vouchsafe to ayde and saue vs, without calling our sinnes to remembrance. And straightway wee saw vpon the shrowdes of the Trinity as it were a candle, which of itselfe shined, and gaue a light, whereat all the company greatly reioyced, in such sort that wee ceased not to giue thankes vnto God. Whereupon we assured our selues, that of his mercie hee would guide and saue vs, and would not suffer vs to perish, as indeede it fell out; for the next day wee had good weather, and all the mariners sayd, that it was the light of Saint Elmo* which appeared on the shrowdes, and they saluted it with their songs and prayers. These stormes tooke vs betweene the Isles of Saint Iago and Saint Philip, and the Isle called Isla de perlas lying ouer against the point of California supposed to be firme land.

Chap. 7.

Sayling on their way they discouer a pleasant Countrey, and in their iudgement greatly inhabited, and finde the Sea-coast very deepe. They went to discouer or viewe the Isle of perles. And by a current one of their ships is separated from the other, and with great ioy after three dayes they had sight again of her, and following their voyage they discouer certaine great, greene, and pleasant plaines.

WE began to sayle along the coast the seuenth or eight of Nouember, the land alwayes shewing very greene with grasse pleasant to behold, and certaine plaines neere the shore, and vp within the countrey many pleasant hils replenished with wood, and certaine valleys, so that wee were delighted aboue measure, and wondered at the greatnes and goodly view of the countrey: and euery night we saw fires, which shewed that the countrey is greatly inhabited. Thus we proceeded on our voyage vntill the

---

* St. Elmo's light, as it is called, is by no means an unusual phenomenon. It is merely caused by the Electricity in the air.

From hence forward they saile on the westerne or back-side of California.

tenth of the sayd month of Nouember, hauing alwayes the coast of the maine Ocean on our right hand, and the farther we sailed, wee alwayes found the countrey more delightsome and pleasant, as well in beholding the greennes therof, as also in that it shewed certaine plaines and deepe valleys, through which riuers did fall downe into the land, within certaine mountaines, and hilles full of great woods which were not very high, and appeared within the countrey. Here we were 54 leagues distant from California little more or lesse, alwayes toward the Southwest, seeing in the night three or foure fires, whereby it appeareth that the countrey is inhabited, and full of people, for the greatnes of the countrey argueth no lesse: and we supposed that there must needs bee great townes inhabited within the land, although in this poynt we were of diuers opinions. The sea is so deepe on all this coast that we could scarce find ground in 54 fadomes. On the greatest part of the coast there are hilles of very white sand, and it seemeth to be a dangerous coast, because of the great and swift tides which goe there, for the sand sheweth so much for the space of ten or twelue leagues, for so the Pilots affirmed. This day being Saturday the winde increased, and wee had sight of the Isle of Perles, which on this side of the gulfe appeareth with a deepe valley all couered ouer with trees, and sheweth much fairer then on the other side, and wee entred into the Porte of Santa Cruz. From the ninth of Nouember to the fifteenth we sayled not aboue tenne leagues, because we had contrary winds, and great showres; and besides this we had another mischance which did not a little grieue vs: for wee lost company of the ship called The Trinitie, and could neuer see her for the space of three dayes, whereupon wee suspected that shee was returned home vnto New Spaine, or that she was seuered from our company: wherefore we were grieued out of measure to see our selues so left alone, and the Captaine of all others was most sad, though he ceased not to encourage vs to proceede on our voyage, saying that notwithstanding all this wee ought not to leaue off this enterprise which we had begunne, and that though we were left alone we should deserue the greater commendation and credite: whereupon wee all answered him, that wee would not haue him thinke that any of vs would euer be discouraged, but that we would follow him vntill hee should thinke it reasonable that we should not proceede

Isla de perlas.

any further in the enterprise, and that we were in danger of perishing, and that vntill then wee would bee at his commandement: but withall we perswaded him that after he had seene any great difficulty to proceede any further, hee should doe well to returne backe to make relation of our successe to the R. H. lord the Marques de Valle. Hereupon he made an Oration vnto vs wherein he told vs, that he could not beleeue, much lesse could imagine, wherefore the shippe called the Trinitie should returne into Newe Spaine, nor why she should willingly depart from vs, and goe vnto any other place, and that he thought by all reason, that some current had caried her out of our sight, and that through contrary weather and tempests she could not fetch vs vp, and that notwithstanding all that which we had done in the voyage, he had an instruction, that if by chance we were separated one from the other, wee were to take this course to meete again together, namely to returne backe eight or tenne leagues to seeke one another, beyond certaine head-lands which lay out into the sea, and that therefore we should doe well to returne to seeke her vp. This sentence pleased vs all, and so returning to seeke her, we espied her two leagues distance from vs, comming toward us with a fresh gale of winde, whereat we greatly reioyced.

Thus being come together we ankered for that day, because the weather seemed very contrary, and the Captaine chid them for their negligence in sayling, because they had in such sort lost our company; and they excused themselues, that they could doe no lesse, because a current had carried them away aboue three leagues, whereby they could neuer reach vnto vs. The next day being the sixteenth of Nouember wee set forward, but sayled very little, for the North and North west winds were against vs. Here we discouered certaine plaines, in my iudgement very great and greene, and right before vs we could not discerne any mountaines or woods, whereat wee marueiled to see so great a countrey. And wee met an Indian in a Canoa on the shore whereon the sea did breake, who stayed to beholde vs a great while, and oftentimes he lifted vp himselfe to view vs the better, and then returned backe along the coast: we vsed all diligence to see whether he would come out further from the shore, to giue him chase, and to try whether we could catch him, but he very cunningly viewed vs without comming neere vnto vs, and returned to the shore with his Canoa. Heere we saw in the euening but one fire, and wist not whether it were done by the cunning of the Indians, because they would not haue vs know that there were people there, or that it was so indeede. From the said 16 day of Nouember vntill the 24 of the same moneth we could not proceede on our way aboue 12 or 15 leagues: and looking into our Sea-chart, we found our selues distant from the Xaguges of the Port of Santa Cruz about 70 leagues. Now on the 24 day being Munday very early in the morning we beganne to take very good view of that Countrey, and all along the coast we saw many faire plaines with certaine furrowes made in the midst like vnto halfe plaines, the said plaine still appearing vp into the Countrey, with pleasant champions, because the grasse which grew there was very beautifull, short, and greene, and good pasture for cattell. Howbeit because we rode so farre off, we could not perfectly iudge what kind of grasse it was, but it shewed very short and greene, and without thornes. These plaines on the right hand made a bay into a valley which seemed to be a piece of a mountaine: the rest shewed to be al plaines without any thistles or weedes, but full of grasse good for cattel very green and faire as I haue saide.

Chap. 8.

One of their ships by tempest was separated from the other, and afterward meeting with her consort she reporteth that the land stretcheth to the West by the mouth of the great lake. The Pilots are of diuers iudgements touching the state of this coast inhabited by Chichimecas. They enter into an hauen to take in fresh water, and are suddenly assayled by two squadrons of Indians. They defend themselues valiantly, and the Captaine with some of his souldiers are grieuously wounded.

THe 26 of this moneth being Wednesday at night the North wind took vs, which still increased more and more so greatly that it put vs to much trouble, for it continued two dayes, in which the Sea was alwayes boisterous; and this night againe we lost the Trinity being beaten with the North winde aforesaid (and we had sight of her on Munday the 24) wherewith we were all of vs greatly agrieued, both Captaine, Souldiers and Mariners, because we saw we were left alone, and our ship called Santa Agueda wherein we were, was but badly conditioned, and this grieued vs more then the trouble which we had with the boisterousnesse of the Sea, imagining that if we should leese the Trinity, or if any mishap should fall vnto vs, we should not be able to follow our voyage according to our Captaines and our owne desire. This said 24 day being Munday we saw a Countrey with high mountaines toward the Northwest, and it seemed that the land stretched on still forward, whereat we exceedingly reioyced, because we iudged that the lande grew alwayes broader and broader, and that wee should meete with some speciall good thing. Whereupon we desired that it would please God to send vs good weather for our voyage, which hitherto we found alwayes contrary, so that in 26 dayes we sayled not aboue 70 leagues, and that with much trouble, sometimes riding at anker and sometimes sayling, and seeking the remedies and benefite of the shore to auoide perils. In this Countrey which we discouered the 26 day we alwayes saw (as I haue said) along the shore, and within the land, goodly plaines without any tree, in the midst wherof was a lake or gathering together of the Sea-water, which (to our iudgment) was aboue 12 leagues in compasse, and the sea-coast reached to the mountaines before mentioned. And this day we saw our ship called the Trinitie, which rode 2 leagues distant from vs, which so soone as she saw vs, set saile, and we came together and reioyced greatly. They brought vs great quantity of gray fishes, and of another kinde: for at the point of those mountaines they found a fishing which was very wonderfull, for they suffered themselues to be taken by hand: and they were so great that euery one had much adoe to finde roome to lay his fish in. They found also on the said point a fountaine of fresh water which descended from those hilles, and they told vs that at the same place they had found a narrow passage, whereby the Sea entered into the said lake. They comforted vs much with the report of these things, and telling vs, that the lande trended to the West; for the chiefe Pilot thought, and the other Pilot was of the same opinion, that we shoulde finde a good Countrey. This night we set saile to goe to that point to take in fresh water which we wanted, and to see this lake, and to put some men on shore; and after midnight the winde came vpon vs so forcibly at the North that we could not stay there: whereupon wee were constrained to put further into the Sea, and returned the same way backe againe vnto the shore

Land running towards the Northwest.

A wonderfull fishing place like Newfoundland.

with much adoe, and came to an anker a great way short of the place from whence we were driuen: and there we rode vntill Thursday at noone with this bitter North winde, and on Friday about noone, when we most thought it would haue ceased, it beganne to increase againe, which grieued vs not a little seeing the weather so contrary, hoping alwayes that it would cease and that some winde would blow from the shore, whereby we might recouer the point of land to take in fresh water, and to search whether there were any people about that lake. Here we lay from the 26 of the saide moneth till the 29, driuing vp and downe the Sea, winding in by little and little vntill we had gotten vnder the shelter of those mountaines: which being obtayned wee rode the sayd 29 of the moneth halfe a league from those wooddy mountaines, which we had seene in the Sea. We stayed in this place at our ease all the Sunday, and Iuan Castilio the chiefe Pilot went that day in the bote on shore with seuen in his company, and they landed neere the Sea, and on a certaine low ground they found foure or fiue Indians Chichimecas of great stature, and went toward them, who fled away like Deere that had beene chased. After this the Pilot went a little way along the Sea-shore, and then returned to his boate, and by that time he was entered thereinto, he saw about fifteen Indians of great stature also, with their bowes and arrowes which called vnto him with a loude and strong voice, making signes with their bowes: but the Pilot made no account of their gesture, but rather returned to the shippes, and declared what had passed betweene him and the Indians. The same day the Captaine commaunded that our caske should be made readie against the next morning to take in water, for in both the shippes there were abont fiue and twentie buttes emptie. The first of December, and the second day in the morning the Captaine went with both the barkes on shore with some dozen souldiers, and the greatest part of the Mariners which laboured in filling of water, leauing in the shippes as many as were needefull, and as soone as we were come on shore at the watering place the Captaine caused the buttes to be taken out, to the ende they might be filled with water, and while they returned to fetch the barrels and hogsheads of the shippe, the Captaine walked a turne or two vpon the shore for the space of one or two crossebow shoots, and afterwarde we went vp to certaine of those mountaines, to view the disposition of the countrey, and in trueth we found it in that place very bad to our iudgement, for it was very ragged, full of woods and caues, and so stonie, that we had much adoe to goe. Being come vnto the top we found certaine small hilles full of woods, and cliffes that were not so craggie, although very troublesome to climbe vp; and while we looked from these little hilles, we could not discerne any more mountaines, but rather iudged that from that place forward there were great plaines. The Captaine would not suffer us to goe any further, because in those places we had seene certaine Indians which seemed to be spies, and warning vs thereof he commanded vs to retire vnto the shore, where we were to take in water, and to dispatch our businesse quickly, and appointed vs to make certaine pits, that our buts might more easily be filled with water. And setting our Guardes or Centinels, we beganne to fill water. In the meane while the Captaine tooke certaine souldiers, and went to the top of an high hill, from whence he descryed a great part of the Sea, and a lake which is within the land: for the Sea entereth in the space of a league, and there is a good fishing place round about: and the lake was so great, that it seemed vnto vs to be very neere 30 leagues in compasse, for we could not discerne the end thereof. Then we came downe with no lesse trouble then wee had mounted vp vnto the hill, by reason of the steepenesse of the place, and some tumbled downe with no small laughter of the rest. And being come somewhat late to our watering place (for it was then past noone) we set our selues to dinner, alwayes appointing some of our company in Centinell, vntill we were called to dinner, and when some were called two others were appointed in their roomes. And about two of the clocke after dinner, the Captaine and the rest suspecting no danger of assalt of Indians, both because the place seemed not to be fit for it, as also for that we had set our Centinels at the passages; two squadrons of Indians came vpon vs very secretly and couertly, for one came by the great valley through which the water ranne which we tooke, and the other came by a part of that great hill which we had ascended to see the lake, and all of them came so couertly, that our Centinels could neither see nor heare them; and wee had not perceiued them, if a souldier by chance lifting vp his eyes had not sayde, Arme, Arme, my maisters, for many Indians come vpon vs. When we heard this the Capitane leapt vp in a great rage, because the guards were changed out

A sudden assalt of the Indians with stones, arrowes and staues.

of their place: and with his sword and target, being followed by a souldier, whose name was Haro, and afterward by the rest, he and the said souldier went toward a little gate of certaine stones, whither the rest of vs were to follow him: for if the Indians had gotten that place from vs, we should haue incurred great danger, and the greatest part of vs had like to haue beene slaine, and none could haue escaped but such as by chance could haue leapt into the boates, and the tide went so high, that none could be saued but such as were most excellent swimmers. But at length the Captaine bestirred himselfe very nimbly, vsing all celeritie that was possible. Therefore when he and Haro had wonne the gate, the rest of the souldiers gate vp after them, and the Captaine and Haro turned themselues to the Indians and made head against them, and the Indians assailed them with such numbers of stones, arrowes, and iauelins (which was a very strange thing) that they brake in pieces the target which the Captaine had on his arme, and besides that wounded him with an arrow in the bending of his knee, and though the wound was not great, yet was it very painefull vnto him. While they thus stood to withstand their assalt, they strooke Haro which was on the other side so forcibly with a stone, that they threw him flat vpon the ground: and by and by another stone lighted vpon him which shiuered his Target, and they hit the Captaine with another arrow, and shot him quite through one of his eares. Another arrow came and strooke a souldier called Grauiello Marques in the legge, of which he felt great paine and went halting. In the meane space Francis Preciado, and certaine other souldiers came vp and ioyned himselfe with the rest on the left hand of the Captaine, saying vnto him, Sir, withdrawe your selfe, for you be wounded, but be you not dismayed, for they are but Indians and cannot hurt vs. In this wise we beganne to rush in, among them vpon the side of a rocke alwayes gayning ground of them, which greatly encouraged our mindes, and when we beganne to inforce them to retire, we wanne a small wooddy hill, where we sheltered our selues, whereas before they shot vpon vs from aloft, for they were on the higher ground vnder couert in safetie, and then by no meanes we could offend them, but by running forcibly vpon them with our targets on our armes, and our swords in our hands. On the other side, to approach and seeke to ouertake them was a vaine thing, seeing they were as swift as wilde goates. By this time Haro was gotten vp on foot, and hauing clapt a woollen cloth vpon his head, which had bled extremely, he ioyned himselfe vnto vs, of whom we receiued no small aide. In the meane space the Indians fortified themselves on the cragge of a rocke, from whence they did not a little molest vs, and we likewise fortified our selues vpon an hillocke, whereby we descended into their Fort, and there was a small valley betweene them and vs, which was not very deepe from the vpper part. There we were 6 souldiers and two Negroes with the Captaine, and all of vs were of opinion that it was not good to passe that place, least ye Indians being many might destroy vs all, for the rest of our souldiers which were beneath at the foote of the hill, making head against the other squadron of the Indians, kept them from hurting those which tooke in water on the strand and from breaking the buts of water, and being but few, we concluded to stay here, and so we stood still fortifying our selues as well as we could, especially considering that we had no succour on any side; for Berecillo our Mastiue-dogge which should haue aided vs was grieuously wounded with 3 arrowes, so that by no meanes we could get him from vs: this mastiue was wounded in the first assault when the Indians came upon vs, who behaued himselfe very wel, and greatly aided vs; for he set vpon them, and put 8 or 10 of them out of array, and made them run away, leauing many arrowes behind them: but at length (as I haue said) he was so wounded, that by no meanes we could get him to goe from vs to set any more vpon the Indians, and the other two mastiues did vs more harme then good: for when they went against them, they shot at them with their bowes, and we receiued hurt and trouble in defending them. The Captaines legge when he waxed cold was so swolne, that we lapped it vp in a wollen cloth, and he halted much of it: and while the Indians thus stood still, one part of them beganne to dance, sing and shout, and then they began all to lade them selues with stones, and to put their arrowes into their bowes, and to come downe toward vs verie resolutely to assalt vs, and with great out-cries they beganne to fling stones and to shoot their arrowes. Then Francis Preciado turned him to the Captaine and said: Sir, these Indians know or thinke, that we be affeard of them, and in truth it is a great falt to giue them this encouragement, it were better for vs resolutely to set vpon them

The Spaniards vse mastiues in their warres against the Indians. Read more hereof cap. 12.

with these dogs, and to assalt them on this hill, that they may know vs to be no dastards, for they be but Indians and dare not stande vs; and if we can get their Fort vpon the hill, God will giue vs victory in all the rest. The Captaine answered, that he liked well of the motion, and that it was best so to doe, although for any further pursuit vp the hill, he thought we were to take another course. By and by Francis Preciado getting his target on his arme, and his sword in his hand, ranne vnto the other side of the valley, which on that part was not very steepe, crying S. Iago, vpon them my masters, and after him leapt Haro, Tereça, Spinosa, and a Crossebow-man called Montanno, and after them followed the Captaine, though very lame, with a Negro and a souldier which accompanied him, incouraging and comforting them, willing them not to feare. Thus we draue them to the place where they had fortified themselues, and from whence they descended, and we tooke another hill ouer against them within a darts cast of them. And hauing breathed our selues a little, the Captaine came vnto vs, and said Go too my maisters, vpon them before they strengthen themselues on this hill, for now we see plainely that they be affeard of vs, seeing we chase them continually from their Forts: and suddenly 3 or 4 of vs went toward them well couered with targets, vnto the foot of their Fort where they were assembled, and the rest of our company followed vs: the Indians beganne to make head against vs, and to fling many stones vpon vs, and shoot many arrowes, and we with our swords in our hands rushed vpon them in such sort, that they seeing how furiously we set vpon them, abandoned the fort, and ranne downe the hill as swift as Deere, and fled vnto another hill ouer against vs, where the other squadron of the Indians stood, of whom they were rescued, and they began to talke among themselues, but in a low voyce, and ioyned together 6 and 6 and 8 and 8 in a company, and made a fire and warmed themselues, and we stood quietly beholding what they did.

Chap. 9.

After the skirmish the Captaine being wounded, and the rest of the souldiers seeing the Indians depart, returned vnto their ships. The next day taking in fresh water at the saide place he sent mariners to sound the mouth of the lake. Departing thence they came to the port called Baya de Sant Abad, and indured a dangerous storme at sea. And afterward comming neere the shore to take fresh water in the said hauen, they see certaine peaceable Indians.

BY this time it was late and the night approched, and the Indians seeing this, whithin a short while after determined to get them packing, and ech of them or the greatest part tooke firebrandes in their hands, and got them away into craggy places. When the Captaine saw this he commanded vs to returne aboord our boats, it being now darke night, thanking vs all for the good seruice we had done him. And being not able to stand vpon his legge, he leaned with his arme vpon Francis Preciado; and thus we returned to our boats, where with much adoe we got aboord, by reason of the great tide and roughnesse of the sea, so that our boats were filled with euery waue. Thus very weary, wet, and some wounded (as is aforesaid) each man returned vnto his ship, where our beds which we found, and our refreshing, and the cheere we had at supper did not greatly comfort vs in regard of our former trauels. We passed that night in this sort, and the next day being Tuesday the Captaine found himselfe greatly payned with his wounds, and chiefly with that on his leg, because it was greatly swolne with his going vpon it. We lacked 12 buts to fill with water, and the barrels in both the ships, and the Captaine would haue gone out to cause them to be filled, but we would not suffer him, and therefore we left off the businesse for that day. But he appointed that the crossebowes should be made readie, and two speciall good harquebuzes, and the next day being Wednesday very early, he commanded Iuan Castilio chiefe Pilot to goe out with both the botes and with all the souldiers and mariners that he could make, hauing the day before commanded the Trinitie to go as neere the shore as she might, and to make ready some of her ordinance, that if the Indians should shew themselues, they might affright them, and doe them as much hurt as they could. Wherefore on the Wednesday al we that were souldiers, sauing the wounded persons, went on shore with certaine mariners in the best order that we could, and tooke the first hill, where we had fortified our selues, standing all vpon our guard vntill the water was filled, and vntill we were called, during which time not one Indian shewed himselfe. Thus we went aboord when we thought good our selues, at least without any suspition of the Indians, although the tide of the Sea went so high y^t it put vs to great trouble, for oftentimes with great waues it beat into our boats. This was on the Wednesday the 3 of December. And to auoide losse of time the Captaine commanded Juan Castilio the chiefe Pilot to take a boat and certaine mariners as he should thinke good, and to view the mouth of the lake to see whether the entrance were deepe enough for to harbour the ships. He taking the boat of the Admirall with 8 mariners, and ours of the Trinity, went and sounded the mouth, and on the shallowest place of the barre without they found 3 fadome depth, and farther in 4, and vp higher 5, alwayes increasing vnto 10 or 12 fadomes, when they were come into the two points of the said lake, which was a league broad from one point to the other, and all their sounding was exceeding good ground. Then they went ouer to the southeast point, and there they saw a great boat or raft which they indeuoured to take to carrie vnto their ships. In ye meane while they espied certaine cottages, which the Pilot determined to goe and see. And being come neere they saw 3 other raftes with 3 Indians on them distant from the cottages one or two cross-bowes shot, and he leapt on land with 4 or 5 mariners in his companie: and while they behelde those cottages, they saw many Indians descending downe a small hill in warlike manner with their bowes and arrowes, whereupon they detemined to retire to their boats, and to returne to their ships, and they were not gone from the sea shore scarse a stones cast, but the Indians were come vpon them to shoot at them with their arrowes, and because they were vnarmed, they would not fight with them, hauing gone on shore for no other purpose, but to sound the mouth and enterance of that lake. On Thursday the 4 of December we set saile with a fresh gale of winde, and sayled some 8 or 10 leagues, and came vnto certaine mouthes or inlets which seemed to all of vs as though they had beene Ilands, and we entered into one of them, and

A special good hauen.

Baya del Abad is 100 leagues from the point of California.

came into an hauen which we called Baya del Abad all inclosed and compassed with land, being one of the fairest hauens that hath beene seene: and about the same, especially on both sides the lande was greene and goodly to behold; we descryed certaine riuers on that part which seemed greene, and therefore we returned backe, going out at the mouth whereby we came in, alwayes hauing contrary wind: yet the Pilots vsed their best indeuour to make way: and we saw before vs certaine wooddy hils, and beyond them certaine plaines; this we saw from the Friday the 5 of the said moneth, vntill the Tuesday, which was the ninth. As we drew neere to these woods they seemed very pleasant, and there were goodly and large hilles and beyond them towardes the sea were certaine plaines, and through all the countrey we saw these woods. From the day before, which was the Conception of our Lady, we saw many great smokes, whereat we much maruelled, being of diuerse opinions among our selues, whether those smokes were made by the inhabitants of the countrey or no. Ouer against these woods there fell euery night such a dew, that euery morning when we rose, the decke of the ship was so wet, that vntill the sunne was of a good height, we alwaies made the decke durtie with going vpon it. We rode ouer against these woods from the Tuesday morning when we set saile, vntill Thursday about midnight, when a cruell Northwest winde tooke vs, which, whither we would or no, inforced vs to way our anker: and it was so great, that the ship Santa Agueda began to returne backe, vntill her cable broke, and the ship hulled, and suddenly with a great gust the trinket and the mizen were rent asunder, the Northwest winde still growing more and more: within a short while after the maine saile was rent with a mighty flaw of winde, so that we were inforced, both souldiers, captaine, and all of vs, to doe our best indeuor to mend our sailes; and the Trinitie was driuen to do the like, for she going round vpon her anker, when she came a-head of it, her cable broke, so that there we lost two ankers, each ship one. We went backe to seeke Baya del Abad, for we were within 20 leagues of the same, and this day we came within foure leagues of it, and being not able to reach it by reason of contrary windes, we rode vnder the lee of certaine mountaines and hilles which were bare, and almost voide of grasse, neere vnto a strand full

Many great smokes, of which also Francis Gualle maketh mention.

of sandie hilles. Neere vnto this road wee found a fishing-place vnder a point of land, where hauing let downe our lead to see what ground was there, a fish caught it in his mouth, and began to draw it, and he which held the sounding-lead crying and shewing his fellowes that it was caught, that they might helpe him, as soone as he had got it aboue the water, tooke the fish, and loosed the cord of the sounding lead, and threw it againe into the sea, to see whether there were any good depth, and it was caught againe, whereupon he began to cry for helpe, and all of vs made a shout for ioy; thus drawing the fish the rope of the sounding-lead being very great was crackt, but at length we caught the fish which was very faire. Here we stayed from Friday when we arriued there, vntill the Munday, when as it seemed good to our Captaine, that we should repaire to the watering place, from whence we were some sixe leagues distant, to take in 12 buttes of water, which wee had drunke and spent, because he knew not whither we should from thencefoorth finde any water, or no; and though we should finde water, it was doubtfull whither wee should be able to take it by reason of the great tide that goeth vpon that coast. We drewe neere to that place on Munday at night, when as we sawe certaine fires of the Indians. And on Tuesday morning our Generall commaunded that the Trinitie should come as neere our ship and to the shore as it could, that if we had neede, they might helpe vs with their great ordinance: and hauing made 3 or 4 bourds to draw neere the shore, there came 4 or 5 Indians to the sea-side; who stood and beheld while we put out our boat and anker, marking also how our bwoy floated vpon the water; and when our boat returned to the ship, two of them leapt into the sea, and swamme vnto the bwoy, and beheld it a great while; then they tooke a cane of an arrow, and tyed to the sayd bwoy a very faire and shinining sea-oyster of pearles, and then returned to the shore, neere to the watering place.

Chap. 10.

They giue vnto the Indians many trifles which stand vpon the shore to see them, and seeke to parley with them by their interpreter, which was a Chichimeco, who could not vnderstand their language. They go to take fresh water. Francis Preciado spendeth the time with them with many signes, and trucking and being afeard of their great multitude, retireth himselfe wisely with his companions, returning with safety to the ships.

WHen the Captaine and we beheld this, we iudged these Indians to be peaceable people; whereupon the Captaine tooke the boat with 4 or 5 mariners carrying with him certain beades to truck, and went to speake with them. In the meane while he commanded the Indian interpreter our Chichimeco, to be called out of the Admirall that he should parley with them. And the Captaine came vnto the boy, and laid certaine things vpon it for exchange, and made signes vnto the Sauages to come and take them; and an Indian made signes vnto our men with his hands, his armes, and head, that they vnderstood them not, but signified that they should go aside. Whereupon the Captaine departed a smal distance from that place with his boat. And they made signes againe that he should get him further; whereupon we departing a great way off, the saide Indians leapt into the water, came vnto the boy, and tooke those beades, and returned backe againe to land, and then came vnto the other three, and all of them viewing our things, they gaue a bowe and certaine arrowes to an Indian, and sent him away, running with all haste on the shore, and made signes vnto vs that they had sent word vnto their lord what things we had giuen them, and that he would come thither. Within a while after the said Indian returned, running as he did before, and beganne to make signes vnto vs, that his Lord was comming. And while we stayed here, we saw on the shore ten or twelue Indians assemble themselues, which came vnto the other Indians, and by and by we saw another company of 12 or 15 more appeare, who assembled themselues all together. And againe they began to make signes vnto vs, to come foorthwith to our boates, and shewed vs many Oysters of pearles on the top of certaine canes, making signes that they would giue them vs. When we beheld this, the Captaine commanded vs to make readie our boate, and went aboord it with the said mariners, and rowed to a certaine stone in forme of a rocke, which lay in the sea neere vnto the shore. And hither came first 2 or 3 Indians, and layd downe one of those Oysters, and a garland made of Parats feathers, or sparrowes feathers painted red; they layd downe also certaine plumes of white feathers, and others of blew colour. In the mean while we sawe continually Indians assemble to the shore by tenne and tenne, and so by little and little they came in squadrons; and one of them assoone as hee sawe the boat beganne to leape forward and backeward with so great nimblenesse, that doubtlesse he seemed to all of vs a man of great agilitie, and we tooke no small pleasure while we beheld him fetching those gambols: but the rest of the Indians which stood at the mouth of the fresh water ranne toward him, and cryed vnto him, forbidding him to vse those gestures, because we were come thither in peaceable sort, and by this meanes he came with the rest to the watering place, where by little and little in this manner there assembled aboue a hundred of them all in order, with certaine staues with cordes to fling them, and with their bowes and arrowes, and they were all painted. In the meane while our Chicimeco interpreter borne in the Ile of California, was come vnto vs, and the Captaine againe commanded a mariner to strippe himselfe, and to swimme and laye vpon the said rocke certaine belles, and more beades, and when he had layd them there, the Indians made signes that he should goe away; and so they came thither and tooke them, and our men drew neere with their boat. The Captaine commanded the Indian our Chichimeco to speake vnto them, but they could not vnderstand him, so that we assuredly beleeue, that they vnderstand not the language of the Ile of California. This day being Tuesday vntil night the Indians stayed at this watering place, taking some of our beades, and giuing vnto vs their feathers and other things, and when it was very late they departed. The morrow following being Wednesday very early the Captaine commanded that our buttes should be made ready, that before breake of day, and before the Indians should take the hill, which stood ouer the watering place, we might be landed in good order: which was put in execution: for we went on shore with as many as could goe, sauing those that had charge to take in the water, and such as were to stay on ship-boord, which in all were about fourteene or fifteene persons, in as good order as we could deuise: for we were foure crossebowes, two harquebuziers, and eight or nine targets, and the most part of vs carryed very good slings, and euery one eighteene riuerstones, which weapon the Captaine inuented, because the Indians at the first had handled vs very shrewdly with the multitude of stones which they flang at vs: we had nothing to defende vs sauing our targets, and to seeke to winne the fortes from whence they indamaged vs; he therefore thought with these slings, that we might offend them, and we likewise thought well of his opinion, for making tryall of them, we threw very well with them, and much farther than we thought we could haue done: for the slings being made of hempe, we flung very farre with them. Nowe being come to the watering place the sayd Wednesday by breake of day we tooke the fort of the fountaine, which were certaine cragges or rockes hanging ouer the same, betweene which there was an opening or deepe valley through which this water runneth, which is no great quantitie, but a little brooke not past a fadome broad. So standing all in order, other foure or fiue Indians came thither, who as soone as they sawe vs to be come on shore, and to haue gotten the toppe of the watering place, they retired vnto a small hill on the other side, for the valley was betweene them and vs: neither stayed they long before they beganne to assemble themselues as they had done the day before by 10 and 10, and 15 and 15, ranging themselues on this high hill, where they made signes vnto vs. And Francis Preciado craued license of the Generall to parley with these Indians, and to giue them some trifles: wherewith he was contented, charging him not to come too neere them, nor to goe into any place where they might hurt him. Whereupon Francis went vnto a plaine place, vnder the hill where the Indians stood, and to put them out of feare he layd downe his sword and target, hauing onely a dagger hanging downe at his girdle, and in a skarfe which he carried at his necke, certaine beades to exchange with them, combs, fishinghooks and comfits. And he began to goe vp the hill, and to shew them diuerse of his merchandise. The Indians as soone as he had layd those things on the ground, and gone somewhat aside, came downe from the hill and tooke them, and carried them vp, for it seemed that their Lord was among them, to whom they carried

Truck and traffique with the Indians for mother of pearle, and other things.

those trifles. Then they came downe againe, and layd to giue vnto him in the said place, an oyster of pearles, and two feathers like haukes feathers, making signes to Preciado that he should come and take them; which he did, and againe layde there a string of belles, and a great fishhooke, and certaine beades; and they taking the same, layd there againe another oyster of pearle, and certaine feathers: and he layd downe other beads, two fishhookes, and more comfits, and the Indians came to take them vp, and approched much neerer vnto him, then at other times, and so neere that a man might haue touched them with a pike, and then they began to talke together: and 7 or 8 more came downe, vnto whom Francis Preciado made signes, that they should come downe no lower, and they incontinently layd their bowes and arrowes on the ground, and hauing layd them downe came somewhat lower, and there with signes, together with them which came first, they began to parle with him, and required mariners breeches and apparel of him, and aboue all things a red hat pleased them highly, which the saide Francis ware on his head, and they prayed him to reach it vnto them, or to lay it in the place; and after this certaine of them made signes vnto him to knowe whether he would haue a harlot, signifying with their fingers those villanies and dishonest actions, and among the rest they set before him an Indian of great stature dyed wholly with black, with certaine shels of the mother of pearle at his necke, and on his head, and speaking by signes to Francis Preciado touching the foresaid act of fornication, thrusting their finger through a hole, they said vnto him, that if hee would haue a woman, they would bring him one; and he answered, that he liked well of it, and that therefore they should bring him one. In the meane space on the other side where the Generall stood with his company, another squadron of Indians shewed themselues, whereupon the Generall and his company made a stirre, and put themselues in battell array: whereupon Francis Preciado was inforced to come downe from them, to ioyne with the General and his company: and here the Indians which came last began to make signes that we should lay downe something to truck, and that they would giue us some of their shels of mother of pearle, which they brought vpon certaine small stickes, and herewithall they came very neere vnto vs, wherewith we were not well content. And Francis Preciado said vnto the Captaine, that if it pleased him, hee would cause all the Indians to come together and to stay vpon that high hill; and he answered, that it was best to draw them all together, for by this time our men had taken in all their water, and stayed for the boat: whereupon Francis taking a crowne of beades went toward the valley, through which the water ran toward the Indians, and made signes vnto them to call the rest, and to come all together, because he would goe to the olde place, to lay things on the ground for exchange, as at the first; and they answered that he should doe so, and that they had called the others, and that they would doe, as he would haue them, and so they did, for they caused them to come vnto them, which they did, and Francis likewise went alone towards them, in which meane space the Generall commanded his people to get into the boat. Francis comming vnto the place beganne to lay downe his marchandise of traffique, and afterwards made signes vnto them to stay there, because he would goe to the ships to bring them other things, and so he returned to the place where the Captaine was, and found them all got into the boates, sauing the Generall and three or foure others, and the Generall made as though he had giuen other trifles to Preciado to carry vnto the Indians, and when he was gone a little from him, he called him back againe, and all this while the Indians stood still, and being come vnto him, wee went faire and softly to our boates, and got vnto them at our ease, without any thronging, and thence we came aboord our ship.

The Indians seeing vs thus gone aboord came downe to the strand where the brooke of water was, and called vnto vs to come foorth with our boates, and to come on shore, and to bring our beades, and that they would giue vs of their mother of pearles: but we being now set at dinner made no account of them: whereupon they beganne to shoot arrowes at the ship, and although they fell neere vs, yet they did not reach vs. In the meane season certaine mariners went out in the boat, to wey the anker, whereupon the Indians seeing them comming towards them, and bringing them nothing, they beganne in scorne to shew them their buttockes, making signes that they should kisse their bums: and these seemed to be those that came last. The Generall seeing this, commanded a musket to be once or twise shot off, and that they should take their iust ayme. They seeing these shot to be made readie, some of them rose and went to shoot their arrowes at our mariners, which were gone to weigh the ankers, then the Generall commanded the great ordinance speedily to be shot off, whereupon three or foure bullets were discharged, and we perceiued that we had slaine one of them, for we assuredly saw him lye dead vpon the shore: and I thinke some of the rest were wounded. They hearing this noyse, and seeing him dead ranne away as fast as euer they could, some along the shore, and some through the vallies, dragging the dead Indian with them, after which time none of them appeared, saue ten or twelue, which peeped vp with their heads among those rocks; whereupon another piece of ordinance was discharged aloft against the place where they were, after which time we neuer saw any more of them.

Chap. 11.

At the point of the Trinitie they spend three dayes in fishing, and in other pastimes: after which setting sayle they discouer pleasant countries, and mountaines voide of grasse, and an Iland afterward called Isla de los Cedros, or the Ile of Cedars, neere which they suffer sharpe colde and raine, and to saue themselues they returne thither.

IMmediatly we set saile to ioyne with the ship Santa Agueda, which was aboue halfe a league in the high sea from vs, and this was on the Wednesday the seuenteenth of December. Being come together because the windes were contrary, we drew neere to a headland, which wee called Punta de la Trinidad, and here wee stayed fishing, and solacing our selues two or three dayes, although we had alwayes great store of raine. Afterward we beganne to sayle very slowly, and at night we rode ouer against those mountaines where we had left our ankers, and vpon knowledge of the place we receiued great contentment seeing we had sailed some fiue and thirtie leagues from the place where we had taken in water: neither was it any maruell that wee so reioyced, because that the feare which we had of contrary windes caused vs to be so well appayd of the way which we had made. The day of the holy Natiuitie of our Lord, which was on the Thursday the fiue and twentieth of the said moneth, God of his mercy beganne to shew vs fauour in giuing vs a fresh winde almost in the poope, which carried vs beyond those mountaines, for the space of tenne or twelue leagues, finding the coast alwayes plaine: and two leagues within the land, which we coasted along, and betweene these mountaines, there was a great space of plaine ground, which we might easily discerne with our eyes, although others were of another opinion. We beganne from Christmas day to saile slowly with certaine small land-windes, and sayled from morning to night and about seuen or eight leagues, which wee esteemed no small matter, alwayes praying to God to continue this his fauour toward vs, and thanking him for his holy Natiuitie, and all the dayes of this feast the Frier sayd masse in the Admirall, and the father Frier Raimund preached vnto vs, which gaue vs no small comfort, by incouraging vs in the seruice of God.

On Saturday at night being the 27. of the said moneth we ankored neere vnto a point which seemed to be plaine land all along the shore, and within the countrey were high mountaines with certaine woods, which woods and mountaines ranne ouerthwart the countrey, and continued along with certaine small hilles sharpe on the toppe, and certaine little vallies are betweene those mountaines. And in truth to me which with diligent eyes beheld the same both in length and in the breadth thereof, it could not chuse but be a good countrey, and to haue great matters in it, as well touching the inhabiting thereof by the Indians, as in golde and siluer; for there was great likelihood that there is store thereof. This night we saw a fire farre within the lande towards those mountaines, which made vs thinke that the countrey was throughly inhabited. The next day being Sunday and Innocents day, the 28 of the said moneth, at breake of day we set sayle, and by nine or ten of the clocke had sayled three or foure leagues, where we met with a point which stretched towarde the West, the pleasant situation whereof delighted vs much. From the eight and twentieth of December we ranne our course vntill Thursday being Newyeares day of the yeere 1540, and we ran some 40 leagues, passing by certaine inlets and bayes, and certaine high mountains couered with grasse in colour like rosemary: but toward the sea-side very bare and burned, and toward the top were certaine cragges somewhat of a red colour, and beyond these appeared certaine white mountaines, and so all the countrey shewed vnto a point which appeared beyond those burnt white and red mountaines which haue neither any grasse nor tree vpon them, whereat we maruelled not a little. This

Great apearance of gold and siluer.

Newyeares day we sawe neere the maine two small Ilands, and reioyced greatly to see them; for we stood in great feare, that contrary windes would driue vs as farre backe in one day, as we had sayled in tenne, which if they had taken vs, we could not haue withstood them. Wee ranne from the first of Ianuary vntill Munday which were fiue dayes, and the land alwayes stretched Northwest from the mountaines aforesaid.

And on the Sunday we saw a farre off a-head of vs a high land somewhat seuered from the maine shore, and all of vs beganne to dispute whether it were the land which trended toward the Northwest, for that way the Pilots hoped to discouer a better countrey: and the said Munday the fift of Ianuarie we came to this high land beforesaid, and it was two Ilands the one a small one and the other a great one: we coasted these two Ilands some sixe leagues, which were greene, and had on the toppe of them many high slender trees; and the great Iland was twentie leagues in compasse. We coasted in 6 leagues in length without seeing or discouering any other things, but we saw before vs high land which stretched eight or tenne leagues Northward, where we rode on Munday at night. From Thursday being Newyeares day vntill the next Munday we sayled about 35 leagues. And in this course we felt great cold, which grieued vs much, especially being assailed by two or three windie showers, which pinched vs much with colde. We rode ouer against this land two or three nights, hauing it neere vnto vs, alwayes keeping watch by equall houres, one while mariners, and another souldiers, all the night long with great vigilancie. On Tuesday being Twelfe day we came within two or three leagues of this land, which we had descryed the day before, seeming to vs very pleasant for it shewed greene with greene trees of an ordinary bignesse, and we saw many vallies, out of which certaine small mists arose, which continued in them for a long time, whereupon we gathered that they rose out of certaine riuers. The same morning, to our great comfort we saw great smokes, though we were aboue foure leagues distant from them, and the Captaine made no great reckoning to approach neere vnto them, nor to seeke nor serch what the matter was, and perchance because he was not then in the Santa Agueda, but was aboord the Trinitie, as his maner was to come and stay there two or three dayes, as well to passe the time,

Isla de los Cedros mentioned in the 13 chap.

The land trendeth here Northwest 35 leagues.

as to giue order for things that were needfull. In this countrey the winter and raine seemed to be like that of Castile. We rode al night two or three leagues distance from shore, and toward euening we saw fiue or sixe fires, whereat we all reioyced, but did not maruell thereat, because the situation of that countrey shewed to be habitable, being farre, pleasant, and all greene, and likewise because the Iland which we had left behinde vs being (as I haue said) twenty leagues in circuit, made shewe that it was well peopled. On the Wednesday we were 3 or 4 leagues at sea from the land, and began to see two fires more, and therefore we assured our selues that the countrey was very well inhabited; and the farther we sayled, we alwayes found it more ciuill. And for the space of fifty leagues before we came hither we alwayes found swimming on the sea certaine flotes of weedes of a ships length, and of the bredth of two ships, being round and full of gourds, and vnder these weedes were many fishes, and on some of them were store of foules like vnto white sea-meawes. We supposed that these floting weeds did grow vpon some rocke under the water. We were now in 30 degrees of Northerly latitude. We sailed from the 7 of Ianuary vntill the 9 still with contrary windes: and on Fryday about noone there rose a North and Northeastern winde, which forced vs to returne vnder the shelter of that Iland which we left behind vs, from whence we had sayled about twentie leagues. And that Friday at night somewhat late we had sayled backe about twelue leagues of the same, and because it was night wee stayed in the sea, where we and our shippes were not a little troubled, so that all that night none of vs slept a winke, but watched euery one. The next morning betimes being Saturday we proceeded on our voyage, and gate vnder the shelter of the said Iland, riding in thirtie fadome water: and on that side where we ankored we found high and closed mountaines, with heapes of a certaine earth which was all ashes and burned, and in other places skorched and as blacke as coles, and like the rust of yron, and in other places whitish, and here and there small blacke hilles, whereat we maruelled exceedingly, considering that when we passed by, it seemed vnto vs an habitable countrey full of trees, and now we saw not a sticke growing on this side.

Floting weeds for fifty leagues.

Twenty leagues beyond the Ile of Cedar.

All of vs supposed that on the other side toward the firme lande the trees grewe which we sawe, although (as I haue sayde) wee sayled foure or fiue leagues distant from the same.

We stayed here vnder the shelter of these mountaines Saturday, Sunday, and Munday, alwayes hauing the Northren winde so strong, that we thinke if it had caught vs in the sea, wee should haue bene cast away.

Chap. 12.

They enuiron and land vpon the Iland of Cedars, to discouer the same, and to seeke water and wood. They are assailed of the Indians, and many of them wounded with stones: but at length getting the vpper hand, they goe to their cottages, and ranging farther vp into the Iland they find diuerse things which the Indians in their flight had left behind them.

ON Friday the 13 of Ianuary the Captaine commanded vs to hoise out our boates, and to goe on shore, which was done accordingly, and we did row along the shore for the space of a good halfe league and entered into a valley: for (as I said) all this countrey was full of high and bare hils, of such qualitie as I mentioned before: and in this and other small valleys we found some water which was brackish, and not farre from thence certaine cottages made of shrubs like vnto broome: likewise we found the footings of Indians both small and great, whereat we much maruelled that in so rough and wilde a countrey (as farre as we could discerne) there should be people. Here we stayed all day, making foure or fiue pits to take in water which we wanted, which though it were bad, and in small quantitie we refused not; and so the euening being come, we returned to our boates, and so came vnto our ships which rode a good league from the shore. The next day being Wednesday the fourteenth of the said moneth our Generall commanded vs to set saile, and we sailed about the said Iland on the same side which we coasted when we came from Nueua Espanna: for when we arriued on the coast we saw fiue or sixe fires; wherefore he desired to see and learne whether it were inhabited; and at the farthest ende of this inlet or bay where we rode there came out before vs a Canoa, wherein were foure Indians which came rowing with certaine small oares, and came very neere vs to see what we were:

whereupon we tolde our Generall, that it were best to send some of vs out with our boates to take these Indians or some one of them to giue them something that they might thinke vs to be good people: but hee would not consent thereto, because he minded not to stay, hauing then a prety gale of winde, whereby he might saile about this Iland, hoping that afterward we might finde and take some others to speake with them, and giue them what we would to carry on shore; and as we sayled neere the land, we saw a great hill full of goodly trees of the bignesse of the trees and Cypresses of Castile. We found in this Iland the footing of wilde beasts and conies, and saw a peece of pine tree-wood, wherof we gathered, that there was store of them in that countrey. Thus sayling neere vnto the shore, we sawe another Canoa comming toward vs with other foure Indians, but it came not very neere vs, and as we looked forward, we sawe toward a point which was very neere before vs, three other Canoas, one at the head of the point among certaine flattes, and the other two more into the sea, that they might descry vs without comming ouer neere vs. Likewise betweene certaine hilles which were neere the point, there appeared here three and there foure of them, and afterward we saw a small troope of some twentie of them together, so that all of vs reioyced greatly to behold them. On this side the land shewed greene with pieces of plaine ground which was neere the sea, and likewise all those coasts of hils shewed greene, and were couered with many trees, although they grew not very thicke together. Here at euening we rode neere the shore hard vpon the said point, to see if we could speake with those Indians, and likewise to see if we could get fresh water, which now we wanted, and still as soone as we were come to an anker, we saw the Indians shew themselues on land neere vnto their lodgings, comming likewise to descry vs in a Canoa, by sixe and seuen at a time, whereat we maruelled, because we neuer thought that one of those Canoas would hold so many men. In this wise we stayed looking still what would be the successe, and in the place where we rode we were two small leagues distant from the shore, where we found these Indians in their Canoas: whereupon we maruelled not a little to see so great an alteration in so small a distance of countrey, as well because we still discouered pleasant land with trees (whereas on the other side of the isle there were none) as also because it was so well peopled with Indians, which had so many Canoas made of wood, as we might discerne, and not raftes or Balsas, for so they call those floats which are made all flat with canes.

The next day being Thursday the fifteenth of the said moneth about breake of day foure or fiue Indians shewed themselues at the head of that point, who as soone as they had spyed vs retired behind the point, and hid themselues among the bushes vpon certaine small hilles that were there, from whence they issued forth, and couered all the greene hils and mountaines, which were along that coast; whereupon we gathered that they had their dwellings there, in regard of the commoditie of the water and the defence against ill weather and the benefite of fishing. At sun-rising we saw the Indians appeare in greater companies, going vp vnto the hilles in small troopes, and from thence they stood and beheld vs. Immediately we saw fiue or sixe Canoas come out into the sea a good distance from vs, and those which were in them stood often on their tip-toes, to view and descry vs the better. On the other side we stirred not at all for all these their gestures, but stood still riding at anker; and the Generall seemed not to be very willing to take any of them, but this day in the morning very early commanded the Masters mate to conueigh him to our other shippe called the Trinitie. Things passed in this sort, when about ten of the clocke we saw three Canoas lanch farre into the sea to fish very neere vnto vs, whereat we tooke greate pleasure. At 12 of the clocke the Generall returned from the Trinitie and commanded the boat and men to be made readie, as well souldiers as mariners, and that we should goe on shore to see if we could get any wood and water, and catch one of those Indians to vnderstande their language if it were possible: and so all the men that were readie went into the Admirals boate, and went toward the Trinitie which by this time with the other ship had a small gale of winde, wherewith they entered farther within the point, and we discouered the lodgings and houses of the Indians, and saw neere the waters side those fiue or sixe Canoas which at the first came out to view vs, drawen on shore, and ouer against this place the ships cast anker in 30 and 35 fadome water, and we were very neere the land: whereat we maruelled much to find so great depth of water so neere the shore. Being gone abord our botes, we made toward the shore ouer against a village of the Indians, who as soone as they saw vs about to come on land, left an hill whereon they stood to behold what we did, and came downe to the shore, where we were prepared to come on land: but before they came against vs they caused their women and children to fly into the mountaines with their goods, and then came directly towards vs, threatning vs with certaine great staues which they carried in their hands some 3 yardes long and thicker then a mans wrest: but perceiuing that for all this we ceased not to come neere the sea shore to come on land, they began to charge vs with stones and to fling cruelly at vs, and they hit 4 or 5 men, among whom they smote the Generall with two stones. In the meane while the other bote landed a little beneath, whereupon when they saw that they were forced to diuide themselues to keepe the rest of our company from comming on land, they began to be discouraged, and did not assaile the Generals boate so fiercely, who began to cause his people to goe on shore with no small trouble; for albeit he was neere the land, yet as soone as they leapt out of the boat they sunke downe, because they could finde no fast footing; and thus swimming or otherwise as they could, first a souldier called Spinosa got on land, and next to him the General, and then some of the rest, and began to make head against the Indians, and they came hastily with those staues in their hands, for other kinds of weapons we saw none, sauing bowes and arrowes of pinetree. After a short combate they brake in pieces the targets of the Generall, and of Spinosa. In the meane while those of the other boat were gotten on land, but not without much difficultie, by reason of the multitude of stones which continually rained downe vpon them, and they stroke Terazzo on the head a very shrowd blow, and had it not bene for our targets, many of vs had beene wounded, and in great distresse, although our enemies were but few in number. In this maner all our company came on shore with swimming and with great difficultie, and if they had not holpen one another, some of them had bene drowned. Thus we landed, and within a while after those of the other bote were come on land, the Indians betooke themselues to flight, taking their way toward the mountaines, whether they had sent their women, children and goods: on the other side we pursued them, and one of those Indians which came to assaile the Generals boat, was slaine vpon the strand, and two or three others were wounded, and

A skirmish of the Indians fighting with stones.

The great vse of targets against arrowes or stones.

some said more. While we pursued them in this maner our mastiue dogge Berecillo ouertooke one of them not farre from vs (who because we were so wet could not run very fast) and pulled him downe, hauing bitten him cruelly, and doubtlesse he had held him till we had come, vnlesse it had happened that another of his companions had not followed that Indian which the dogge had pulled downe, who with a staffe which he had in his hands gaue the dogge a cruell blow on the backe, and without any staying drew his fellow along like a Deere, and Berecillo was faine to leaue him for paine, neither had he scarse taken the dogge off on him but the Indian got vp, and fled so hastily towarde the mountaine, that within a short while hee ouertooke his fellowe which had saued him from the pawes of the dogge, who (as it appeared) betooke him lustily to his heeles, and thus they came vnto their fellowes which descended not downe to the shore being about some twentie, and they were in all about fiftie or sixtie.

The vse of mastiues in the warre against Indians.

After we had breathed our selues a while, we viewed their houses where they stood, which were certaine cottages couered with shrubs like broome and rosemary, with certaine stakes pight in the ground; and the Generall willed vs to march all together without dispersing of our selues, a little way vp those mountaines, to see if there were any water and wood, because we stood in great neede of them both. And while we marched forward, we saw in certaine little vallies the goods which the women had left there behind them in their flight: for the Indians as soone as they saw vs pursue them ouertooke the women, and for feare charged them to flie away with their children leauing their stuffe in this place. We went vnto this booty, and found good store of fresh-fish, and dried fish, and certaine bags containing aboue 28 pound weight full of dried fish ground to pouder, and many seal-skins, the most part dressed with a faire white graine vpon them, and others very badly dressed. There were also their instruments to fish withall, as hookes made of the prickes of certaine shrubs and trees. Here we tooke the said skins without leauing any one in the place, and then we returned to the sea, because it was now night, or at least very late, and found our botes waiting for vs.

Chap. 13.

A description of the Canoas of the Indians of the Ile of Cedars, and how coasting the same to find fresh water they found some, and desiring to take thereof they went on shore, and were diuersely molested with the weapons of the Indians. They christen an old Indian, and returne vnto their ships.

THe Canoas which they had were certaine thicke trunkes of Cedars, some of them of the thicknesse of two men, and three fadome long, being not made hollow at all, but being laid along and fastened together, they shoue them into the sea, neither were they plained to any purpose, for we found no kind of edge-toole, sauing that there were certaine sharp stones, which we found vpon certaine rockes that were very keene, wherewith we supposed that they did cut and flea those seales. And neere the shore we found certaine water, wherewith we filled certaine bottles made of the skins of those seales, contayning ech of them aboue a great paile of water. The next day our Generall commanded vs to set saile, whereupon sailing with a fresh gale about 2 leagues from the shore of this Island, trending about the same to see the end thereof, and also to approch neere the firme land, to informe our selues of the state thereof, because we had seene 5 or 6 fires, we compassed the same about: for by this meanes we performed 2 or three good actions, namely, we returned to our right course, and searched whether any riuer fell out of the coast of the firme land, or whether there were any trees there, or whether any store of Indians did shew themselues or no.

In this maner proceeding on our way all the Friday being the 16 of January at euening, and seeking to double the point of the Iland, so fierce and contrary a Northren winde encountered vs, that it draue vs backe that night ouer against the lodgings and habitations of the Indians, and here we stayed all Saturday, what time we lost the Trinitie againe, but on Sunday-night being the 18 we saw her againe, and beganne to proceede on our way to compasse that Iland, if it pleased God to send vs good weather.

On Sunday, Munday, and Tuesday (which was the twentieth, of the said moneth of Ianuarie) wee sailed with scarse and contrary windes, and at length came to the cape of the point of the Iland, which we called Isla de los Cedros or the Ile of Cedars, because that on the tops of the mountaines therein, there growes a wood of these Cedars being very tall, as the nature of them is to be.* This day the Trinitie descryed a village or towne of the Indians, and found water: for on Sunday night we had newly lost her, and had no sight of her vntill Tuesday, whenas we found her riding neere the shore, not farre from those cottages of the Indians. And as soone as we had descryed her, we made toward her, and before we could reach her, we espied three Canoas of Indians which came hard aboord the said ship called the Trinitie, so that they touched almost the side of the ship, and gaue them of their fish, and our people on the other side gaue them certaine trifles in exchange, and after they had spoken with them, the Indians went backe to the shore, and at the same instant we came vp vnto the Admirall and rode by them, and they all saluted vs, saying that the Indians were neere them, and telling what had passed betweene them, whereat the Generall and we receiued great contentment. They told vs moreouer, that they had found fresh water, whereby they increased our great ioy, because we stood in much neede thereof, for at the other place of the Indians we could get but a little.

Isla de los Cedros, or the Ile of Cedars in 28 deg. and a quarter.

While we thus rode at ankor, we saw a Canoa with 3 Indians put out into the sea from their cottages, and they went vnto a fishing place, among certaine great and high weedes, which grow in this sea among certaine rockes, the greatest part of which weedes groweth in 15 or 20 fadome depth: and with great celeritie they caught seuen or eight fishes, and returned with them vnto the Trinity, and gaue them vnto them, and they in recompense gaue the Indians certaine trifles. After this the Indians stayed at the sterne of the ship, viewing the same aboue three houres space, and taking the oares of our boat they tryed how they could rowe with them, wherat they tooke great pleasure; and we which were in the Admirall stirred not a whit all this while, to giue them the more assurance, that they should not flie away, but should see that we ment to do them no harme, and that we

These mighty deepe and high weedes are described in the end of this treatise.

---

* The Island still bears this name.

were good people. As soone as we were come to anker, and beheld all that had passed beweene the Indians and those of the Trinity, after the Indians were gone to the shore in their Canoas made of the bodies of trees, the Generall commanded the boat which was without to be brought vnto him: and when it was come, he, and Francis Preciado, and two others went into it, and so we went aboord the Trinity. The Indians seeing people commingout of the other ship into the Trinitie, sent two Canoas vnto the sterne of the ship, and brought vs a bottle of water and we gaue vnto them certain beads, and continued talking with them a little while; but euening approching the aire grew somewhat cold. The Indians returned on shore to their lodgings, and the General and we to our ship. The next day being Wednesday in the morning, the General commanded certaine of vs to take the bote and goe ashore, to see if we could find any brooke or well of fresh water in the houses of the Indians, because he thought it vnpossible for them to dwell there without any water to drinke. The father frier Raimund likewise went out in our company, because the day before seeing the Indians came to the sterne of the shippe and parlying with vs, he thought he might haue spoken a little with them, with the like familiarity. In like sort many mariners and souldiers went out in the boat of the Trinity, and going altogether with their weapons toward the shore, somewhat aboue the lodgings of the Indians, very early in the morning they watched the boats, and perceiued that we would come on land, wherevpon they sent away their women and children with certaine of them, who caried their goods vp into certaine exceeding steepe mountaines and hilles, and 5 or 6 of them came toward vs, which were excellently well made, and of a good stature. Two of them had bowes and arrowes, and other two 2 bastonadoes much thicker then the wrist of a mans hand, and other two with 2 long staues like iauelins with very sharpe points, and approched very neere vs being nowe come on shore. And beginning by signes very fiercely to braue vs, they came so neere vs, that almost they strooke with one of those staues one of our souldiers called Garcia a man of good parentage, but the General commanded him to withdraw himselfe, and not to hurt any of them. In the meane season the General and frier Raimund stept foorth, the frier lapping a garment about his arme, because they had taken vp stones in their hands, fearing that they would do them some mischiefe. Then began both of them to speake vnto them by signes and words, to be quiet, signifying, that they ment them no harme, but only were come to take water; and the frier shewed them a drinking cup; but nothing would serue to make them leaue that bragging and flinging of stones: and the General continuing still in a mind not to hurt them, commanded his men gently to come neere vnto them, and that by signes they should all shew them, that they meant in no wise to hurt them, but that we were come on land onely to take water. On the other side refusing vtterly to take knowledge of these things they still insulted more and more: whereupon Francis Preciado counselled the General to giue him leaue to kill one of them, because all the rest would flee away, wherby at our ease we might take water: but he replied that he would not haue it so, but willed them to looze the two mastiues Berecillo and Achillo: wherefore the dogs were let loose, and as soone as they saw them, they vanished immediately, betaking them to their heels, and running vp those cliffes like goates. Also others which came from the mountains to succour them, betooke themselues to flight. The dogs ouertooke two of them, and bit them a little, and we running after, laid hold on them, and they seemed as fierce as wild and vntamed beasts, for 3 or 4 of vs held either of them, to cherish and pacifie them, and to seeke to giue them some thing: but we auailed not, for they bit vs by the hands, and stooped downe to take vp stones for to strike vs with them. We led them a while in this maner, and came vnto their lodgings, where the Generall gaue a charge, that no man should touch any thing of theirs, commanding Francis Preciado to see that this order was observed, in not taking any thing from them, although in very deed there was little or nothing there, because the women and Indians which were fled had caried al away. Here we found an old man in a caue so extreamly aged as it was wonderful, which could neither see nor go, because he was so lame and crooked. The father frier Raimund sayd, it were good (seeing he was so aged) to make him a Christian; whereupon we christened him. The captaine gaue the Indians which we had taken two paire of eare-rings, and certaine counterfeit diamonds, and making much of them, suffered them to depart at their pleasure, and in this sort faire and softly they returned to the rest of their fellowes in the mountaine. We tooke the matter of that village which was but a small quantiiy, and then the

The great vse of mastiues in pursuit of the Indians.

Generall commanded vs to returne to our ship, because we had eaten nothing as yet, and after our repast we sayled towards a bay which lay beyond that village, where we saw a very great valley, and those of the Trinitie sayd, that they had seene there good store of water, and sufficient for vs; wherefore wee ankered neere vnto that valley. And the Generall went on shore with both the boates, and the men that went on land in the morning with the two fathers frier Raimund, and frier Antony: and passing vp that valley a crossebow-shot, we found a very small brooke of water which neuertheless supplied our necessity for we filled two buts thereof that euening, leauing our vessels to take it with on shore vntill the next morning: and we reioyced not a little that we had found this water, for it was fresh, and the water which we had taken vp before was somewhat brackish, and did vs great hurt both in our bodies and in our taste.

Chap. 14.

They take possession of the Isle of Cedars for the Emperours Maiestie, and departing from thence they are greatly tossed with a tempest of the sea, and returne to the Island, as to a safe harbour.

THe next day being the two and twentieth of Ianuary very early the General commanded vs to go on shore, and that we should haue our dinner brought vs, and should take in the rest of our water, which we did, and filled 17 buts without seeing any Indian at al. The next day going out to fill 8 or 9 vessels which were not yet filled, a great winde at Northwest tooke vs, whereupon they made signes to vs from the ships, that with all haste wee should come on boord againe, for the wind grew still higher, and higher, and the Masters were affraid that our cables would break, thus we were in the open sea.
Therefore being come aboord againe not without Chap 12.
great trouble, we returned backe ouer against the village of the Indians,* where we had slaine the Indian, and because the wind grew more calme about midnight, the Pilots did not cast anker, but hulled vnder the shelter of this Island, which (as I

Isle de los Cedros is the greatest of the 3 Isles of S. Stephan.

haue said) is called The Isle of Cedars, and is one of the 3 Isles of S. Stephan, the greatest and chiefest of them, where the General tooke possession. While we hulled here, about midnight, the next Friday being the 23 of the moneth, without our expectation we had a fresh gale of wind from the Southeast, which was very fauourable for our voyage, and the longer it continued, the more it increased; so that betweene that night and the next day being Saturday the 24 of the said moneth we sailed 18 great leagues. While we were thus on our way, the winde grew so contrary and so tempestuous, that to our great grief we were constrained to coast about with our ships, and returned twenty leagues backe againe, taking for our succour the second time, the point of the lodgings of the Indians, where the foresayd Indian was slaine, and here we stayed Munday, Tewsday, and Wednesday, during which time the Northwest and the North wind blew continually, whereupon we determined not to stirre from thence vntill we saw good weather, and well setled for our voyage: for in this climate these winds doe raigne so greatly, that we feared they would stay vs longer there then we would; and we were so weary of staying, that euery day seemed a moneth vnto vs. Vnder this shelter we rode Thursday, Friday, and Saturday vntill noone, which was the last of Ianuary in the yeere 1540. About noone the wind began to blow softly at Southwest, whereupon the General told the Pilots, that we should doe well to put ouer to the maine land, where with some wind off the shore we might by the grace of God saile somewhat farther. Thus we hoised our sailes, and sailed vntil euening three or foure leagues, for the wind scanted, and wee remained becalmed. The night being come there arose a contrary winde, and we were inforced of necessitie to retire the third time to the same shelter of the Isle of Cedars, where we stayed from the first of February vntil Shrouesunday, in the which meane time we tooke in two buts of water which we had spent. During the space of these eight dayes we sought to make sayle two or three times, but as we went out a little beyond the point of this Isle, we found the wind so boystrous and contrary, and the sea so growen, that of force we were constrained to returne vnder the succour of the Island, and often times wee were in great feare that we should not

Read cap. 11. about the end.

February.

be able to get in thither againe. During this time that we could not proceed on our iourney, we imployed our selues in catching a few fishes for the Lent. From Shrouesunday being the 8 of February, on which day we set sayle, we sayled with a very scant wind, or rather a calme, vntil Shrouetewsday, on which we came within kenne of the firme land, from whence we were put backe these twenty leagues (for in these two dayes and a halfe wee sayled some 20 small leagues) and we lay in sight of the said poynt of the firme land. And on the Tewsday we were becalmed, waiting till God of his mercy would helpe vs with a prosperous wind to proceed on our voyage.

On Shrouesunday at night, to make good cheere withall wee had so great winde and raine, that there was nothing in our ships which was not wet, and very colde ayre. On Ashwednesday at sun-rising we strooke saile neere a point which we fel somewhat short withall in a great bay running into this firme land: and this is the place where we saw fiue or sixe fires, and at the rising of the sunne being so neere the shore that we might well descrie and viewe it at our pleasure we saw it to bee very pleasant, for wee descried as farre as wee could discerne with our eyes, faire valleys and small hilles, with greene shrubs very plesant to behold, although there grew no trees there. The situation shewed their length and breadth. This day was little winde, it being in a manner calme, to our no small griefe: and the father frier Raimund sayd vs a drie masse, and gaue vs ashes, preaching vnto vs according to the time and state wherein we were: with which sermon we were greatly comforted. After noonetide we had contrary wind, which still was our enemie in all our iourney, at the least from the point of the port of Santa Cruz. Here we were constrained to anker in fiue fadome of water, and after wee rode at anker wee began to viewe the countrey, and tooke delight in beholding how goodly and pleasant it was, and neere vnto the sea wee iudged that wee saw a valley of white ground. At euening so great a tempest came vpon vs of winde and raine, that it was so fearfull and dangerous a thing that a greater cannot be expressed; for it had like to haue driuen vs vpon the shore, and the chiefe Pilot cast out another great anker into the sea, yet all would not serve, for both these ankers could not stay the ship. Whereupon all of vs cryed to God for mercy, attending to see how he would dispose of vs; who of his

The point of Santa Cruz otherwise called Punta de Balenas.

great goodnesse, while we were in this danger, vouchsafed a little to slake the tempest, and with great speede the chief Pilot commanded the mariners to turne the capsten, and the Generall commanded and prayed all the souldiers to helpe to turne the capsten, which they were nothing slow to performe : and thus we beganne to weigh our ankers, and in weighing of one which was farre greater then the other, the sea was so boisterous that it forced the capsten in such sorte, that the men which were at it could not rule the same, and it strooke a Negro of the Generals such a blowe, that it cast him downe along vpon the decke, and did the like vnto another mariner and one of the barres strooke our fire-furnace so violently, that it cast it ouerboord into the sea. Yet for all these troubles wee weighed our ankers, and set sayle, and albeit we had great tempests at sea, yet made we no account thereof in respect of the ioy which we conceiued to see our selues freed of the perill of being cast on that shore with our ships, especially seeing it fell out at midnight, at which time no man could haue escaped, but by a meere myracle from God.

Wee sayled vp and downe the sea all Thursday, and vntill Friday in the morning being the fourteeneth day of February, and the waues of the sea continually came raking ouer our deckes. At length, on Saturday morning at breake of day we could finde no remedy against the contrary windes, notwithstanding the Generall was very obstinate to haue vs keepe out at sea, although it were very tempestuous, least we should be driuen to put backe againe, but no diligence nor remedie preuailed : for the windes were so boysterous and so contrary, that they could not be worse, and the sea went still higher, and swelled more and more, and that in such sorte, that we greatly feared wee should all perish. Whereupon the Pilot thought it our best course to returne to the Isle of Cedars, whither wee had repaired three or foure times before by reason of the selfe same contrary windes, for wee tooke this Island for our father and mother, although we receiued no other benefite thereby saue this onely, namely, to repaire thither in these necessities, and to furnish our selues with water, and with some small quantitie of fish..

Being therefore arriued at this Island, and riding vnder the shelter thereof, the contrary windes did alwayes blow very strongly, and here we tooke water which we drunke, and wood for our fewel, and greatly desired, that the windes would bee more fauourable for proceeding on our iourney. And though we rode vnder the shelter of the Isle, yet felt wee the great fury of those windes, and the rage of the sea, and our ships neuer ceased rolling.

At breake of day the twentieth of February, wee found the cable of the Admirall cracked, whereupon, to our great griefe, we were constrained to set sayle, to fall downe lower the space of a league, and the Trinitie came and rode in our company.

Chap. 15.

They goe on land in the isle of Cedars, and take diuers wilde beastes, and refresh and solace themselues. They are strangely tossed with the Northwest winde, and seeking often to depart they are forced, for the auoiding of many mischiefes, to repaire thither againe for harbour.

THe two and twentieth of February being the second Sonday in Lent, the General went on shore with the greatest part of his people and the friers, neere vnto a valley which they sawe before them. And hearing masse on land, certaine souldiers and mariners, with certaine dogges which we had in our company went into the said valley, and we met with certaine deere, whereof we tooke a female, which was little, but fat, whose haire was liker the haire of a wild goat then of a deere, and we found her not to be a perfect deere, for she had foure dugs like vnto a cowe full of milke, which made vs much to marueile. And after we had flayed off her skinne, the flesh seemed more like the flesh of a goate, then of a deere. We killed likewise a gray conie, in shape like vnto those of Nueua Espanna, and another as blacke as heben-wood. In the cottages at the shelter aboue, where we brake our cable, we found many pine-nuts opened, which (in mine opinion) the Indians had gathered together to eate the kernels of them. On Munday the 23 of the said moneth we rode at anker, taking our pleasure and pastime with fishing. And the Northwest winde began to blow, which waxed so great a little before midnight, as it was wonderfull: so that although we were vnder the shelter of the Island, and greatly defended from that wind, yet for all that it was so furious, and the sea became so raging and boisterous, that it greatly shook our ships, and we were in great feare of breaking our cables, whereof (to say the trueth) we had very much neede: for hauing spent longer time in this voyage then we looked for, wee had broken two, and lost two of our best ankers. This furious winde continued vntill the next being Tewsday the 24 when as we went on shore with the friers, who sayd vs masse, recommending our selues to God, beseeching him to vouchsafe to succour and help vs with some good weather that we might proceede on our voyage, to the aduancement of his seruice. And still the winds were so high and outragious, that the deuill seemed to be loosed in the aire. Whereupon the Pilots caused all the masts to be let downe, least they should be shaken with the wind, and tooke off all the shrowds, and likewise caused the cabbens in the sterne to be taken away, that the winds might haue more free passage, for the safetie of the ships: yet for al this they ceased not to be in great trouble. On Tewsday the second of March, about midnight or somewhat after, riding vnder the Island in this distresse, there came a gust of Northwest winde, which made the cable of the Admirall to slip, and the Trinitie brake her cable, and had bene cast away, if God of his mercy had not prouided for vs, together with the diligence which the Pilots vsed, in hoising the sailes of the trinkets and mizzen, wherewith they put to sea, and rode by another anker vntill day, when the men of both the ships went with their boats to seeke the anker vntill noone, which at length they found and recouered, not without great paines and diligence which they vsed in dragging for it, for they were till noone in seeking the same, and had much adoe to recouer it. After this we set vp our shrowdes, and all things necessary to saile, for to proceede on our voyage, if it pleased God, and not to stay alwayes in that place, as lost and forlorne. Thus on the Wednesday two or three houres after dinner wee set saile, with a scarce winde at Southeast, which was fauourable for our course and very scant; and our Pilots and all the rest of vs were in no small feare, that it would not continue long. We began therfore to set forward, although we seemed to see before our eies, that at the end of the Island we should meete with contrary winde at North and Northwest. This day about euening when our ships had discouered the point of this Isle of Cedars, wee began to perceiue those contrary windes, and the sea to go so loftily, that it was terrible to behold. And the farther we went, the more the winds increased, so that they put vs to great distresse, sayling alwayes with the sheates of our mainesaile and trinket warily in our hands, and with great diligence we loosed the ties of all the sailes, to saue them the better, that the wind might not charge them too vehemently. For all this the mariners thought it best to returne backe, and that by no means we should runne farre into the sea, because we were in extreame danger. Whereupon wee followed their counsel, turning backe almost to the place from whence we departed, whereat we were al not a little grieued, because we could not prosecute our voyage, and began to want many things for the furniture of our ships. The 8 of March being Munday about noone the Generall commanded vs to set saile, for a small gale of winde blew from the West, which was the wind whereof we had most need, to follow our voyage, whereat wee were all glad for the great desire which wee had to depart out of that place. Therefore we began to set saile, and to passe toward the point of the Island, and to shape our course toward the coast of the firme lend, to view the situation thereof. And as we passed the Island, and were betwixt it and the maine, the Northwest being a contrary wind began to blow, which increased so by degrees, that we were constrained to let fall the bonets of our sailes, to saue them, striking them very low. And the Trinitie seeing this bad weather returned forthwith vnto the place from whence we departed, and the Admiral cast about all night in the sea, vntill the morning; and the chiefe Pilot considering that by no means we could proceed farther without danger, if we should continue at sea any longer, resolued that we should retire our selues againe to that shelter, where we rode at anker vntill Thursday. And on Friday about noone we set saile againe with a scarce winde, and in comming forth vnto the point of the Island, we met againe with contrary winde at Northwest: whereupon running all night with the firme land, on Saturday in the morning being S. Lazarus day and the 13 of March, we came in sight thereof, in viewing of the which we all reioyced, and we souldiers would very willingly haue gone on shore. This night fel great store of raine like the raine in Castilia, and we were all well wet in the morning, and we tooke great pleasure in beholding the situation of that firme land, because it was greene, and because we had discouered a pleasant valley and plaines of good largenes, which seemed to bee enuironed with a garland of mountains At length for feare of misfortunes, seeing the sea so high, we durst not stay here or approch neere the land, and because we had great want of cables and ankers, we were again constrained to put to sea; and being in the same, and finding the said contrary windes, the Pilots iudged that we had none other remedie, but againe to retire our selues to our wonted shelter. And thus we returned, but somewhat aboue the old place. On Sunday we rode here to the great grief of all the company, considering what troubles we indured, and could not get forward; so that this was such a corrasiue, as none could be more intollerable. This day being come to an anker wee had a mighty gale of wind at Northwest, which was our aduersary and capital enemie, and when day was shut in, it still grew greater and greater, so that the ships rouled much. And after midnight, toward break of day, the Trinitie brake her two cables, which held the two ankers which she had, and seeing her selfe thus forlorne, she turned vp and downe in the sea vntill day, and came and rode neere vs, by one anker which shee had left. This day all of vs went to seeke these lost ankers, and for all the diligence which wee vsed, wee could find but one of them. We rode at anker all day vntill night, when the Trinite againe brake a cable, which certaine rocks had cut asunder: whereupon the General commanded that she should ride no longer at anker, but that shee should turne vp and downe, as she had done before in sight of vs, which she did al day long, and at night she came to an anker ouer against a fresh water somewhat lower, and wee went and rode hard by her. On Palmesunday we went on shore with the fathers, which read the passion vnto vs and said masse, and we went in procession with branches in our hands. And so being comforted, because we had receiued that holy Sacrament, we returned to our ships.

Chap. 16.

Returning to the Isle of Cedars weather-beaten, and with their ships in euil case, they conclude, that the ship called Santa Agueda or Santa Agatha should returne vnto Nueua Espanna. Of the multitude of whales which they found about the point of California: with the description of a weede, which groweth among the Islands of those seas.

HEre we continued vntill the Wednesday before Easter being the foure and twentieth of March, on which day wee consulted together, that because the ships were ill conditioned, and wanted necessary furniture to proceede any further, it were best for vs to returne backe to New Spaine, as also because our clothes were consumed: but the Generall seemed not willing to returne, but to proceed on his voyage: and in fine it was resolued, that seeing both the ships could not proceede forward, as well because they had lost their necessary furnitures, as also that the Santa Agatha had neede of calking, because she receiued much water, and was the worst furnished of the twaine, that shee should returne backe to aduertise the Marques of our successe in this voyage, and what hindred our proceeding, and in what case wee stoode, and howe wee were bereft of our necessary furniture. And because the Trinitie was the swifter ship, and better appointed then the other, it was concluded, that it should be prouided in the best maner that might be, and that the General should proceed on his iourney in her with such companie as he should make choise of, and that the rest should returne at their good leisure. Wherefore vpon this determination we went vnder a point of this Island, because it was a fit place to carene the ship: and in recouering the same we spent Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday till noone, and yet for all that wee could not wel double it, vntil Easter day about noone. Here we ankered very neere the shore, and in a valley we found very excellent fresh water, whereof we made no smal account, and here stayed all the Easter holidayes, to set our selues about the furnishing vp of the Trinity: and after the worke was taken in hand by the two Masters which were very sufficient calkers (one of which was Iuan Castiliano chiefe Pilot, and the other Peruccio de Bermes) they finished the same so well in fiue dayes, as it was wonderfull; for no man could perceiue how any droppe of water could enter into any of the seames. Afterward they mended the other ship from Saturday till Munday, during which time all those were shriuen that had not confessed, and receiued the communion, and it was resolued by charge of the confessors, that all those seale-skins which they had taken from the Indians should bee restored againe; and the Generall gaue charge to Francis Preciado to restore them all, charging him on his conscience so to doe. Thus they gathered them together, and deliuered them into the

The Santa Agueda returneth for Newspaine the 5. of April.

hands of the fathers, to bee kept vntill they returned to the place, where they were to restore them. After this maner on Munday before noone we tooke our leaues of the Generall Francis Vlloa, and of the people that stayed with him, who at our departure shed no small number of teares, and we chose for our captaine in the Santa Agueda master Iuan Castiliano the chiefe pilot, as well of the ship, as of vs all, and set saile the same day being the fift of April, hauing our boat tied at our sterne, till we came ouer against the cottages, whence wee had taken the seale-skins. From the countrey of the Christians and the port of Colima we were now distant some three hundreth leagues, which is the first port where wee determined to touch at. And hauing sailed a league from the Trinitie the captaine Iuan Castiliano commanded vs to salute them with three pieces of great Ordinance, and she answered vs with other three, and afterward we answered one another with two shot apiece.

The Isle of Cedars 300 leagues from Colima.

We sailed on Munday and Tewsday* til noon with contrary wind in sight of the Island, and at noone we had a fresh gale in the poupe, which brought vs ouer against the cottages of the Indians where we tooke away those seal-skins; and there certain souldiers and mariners with the father frier Antony de Melo leapt on shore with the boat, carying the skins with them, and flung them into the sayd cottages out of which they were taken, and so returned to their ship. This day the weather calmed, whereupon we were driuen to cast anker, fearing that we should foorthwith be distressed for want of victuals, if we should stay there any long time: but God which is the true helper prouided better for vs then we deserued or imagined; for as we rode here, after midnight the Wednesday following before ten of the cloke wee had a fauourable gale of winde from the Southeast, which put vs into the sea; whither being driuen, wee had the wind at Northwest so good and constant, that in sixe dayes it brought vs to the cape of the point of the port of Santa Cruz: for which so great blessing of God we gaue vnto him infinite thankes. And here we began to allow our selues a greater proportion of victuals then wee had done before, for wee had eaten very sparingly for feare our victuals would faile vs.

The sixt of Aprill.

The 7 of April.

They saile from the Isle of Cedars to the point of Santa Cruza or California in sixe daies.

Before we came to this point of the hauen of Santa Cruz by sixe or seuen leagues we saw on shore between certaine valleys diuers great smokes. And hauing passed the point of this port, our captaine thought it good to lanch foorth into the maine Ocean: yet although we ran a swift course, aboue 500 whales came athwart of vs in 2 or 3 skulles within one houres space, which were so huge, as it was wonderfull, and some of them came so neere vnto the ship, that they swam vnder the same from one side to another, whereupon we were in great feare, lest they should doe vs some hurt, but they could not because the ship had a prosperous and good winde, and made much way, whereby it could receiue no harme, although they touched and strooke the same.

Punta de Balenas.

Among these Islands are such abundance of those weedes, that if at any time wee were inforced to sayle ouer them they hindred the course of our ships. They growe fourteene or fifteene fadome deepe vnder the water, their tops reaching foure or fiue fadome aboue the water. They are of the colour of yellow waxe, and their stalke groweth great proportionably. This weede is much more beautifull then it is set foorth, and no maruell, for the naturall painter and creator thereof is most excellent.

Read more of these weedes cap. 13.

This relation was taken out of that which Francis Preciado brought with him.

After this ship the Santa Agueda departed from the Generall Vlloa, and returned backe the 5 of April, she arriued in the port of Sant Iago de buena esperança the 18 of the said moneth, and after she had stayed there foure or fiue dayes, she departed for Acapulco: howbeit vntill this present seuenteenth of May in the yeere 1540, I haue heard no tidings nor newes of her.

Sant Iago de Buena esperanza in 19 degrees.

Moreouer after the departure of the Santa Agueda for Nueua Espanna, the General Francis Vlloa in the ship called the Trinitie proceeding on his discouery coasted the land vntill he came to a point called Cabo del Enganno standing in thirty degrees and a halfe of Northerly latitude, and then returned backe to Newspaine, because he found the winds very contrary, and his victuals failed him.

Cabo del Enganno in 30 degrees and a halfe.

The true and perfect description of a voyage performed and done by Francisco de Gualle a Spanish Captaine and Pilot, for the Vice-roy of New Spaine, from the hauen of Acapulco in New Spaine, to the Islands of the Luçones or Philippinas, vnto the Hauen of Manilla, and from thence to the Hauen of Macao in China, and from Macao backe againe to Acapulco, accomplished in the yeere of our Lord, 1584.

Chap. 1.

THe tenth of March in the yeere of our Lorde 1582 wee set sayle out of the Hauen of Acapulco, lying in the countrey of New Spaine, directing our course towards the Islands of the Luçones, or Philippinas West Southwest, running in that maner for the space of twentie fiue leagues, till wee came vnder sixteene degrees, so that wee might shunne the calmes by sayling close by the shoare. From thence forward we held our course West for the space of 30 leagues, and being there, we ran West, and West and by South, for the space of 1800 leagues, to the Iland called Isla del Enganno, which is the furthest Iland lying in the South parts of ye Ilands called De los Ladrones, that is, The Ilands of rouers, or Islas de las Velas, vnder 13. degrees and ½. in latitude Septentrionall, and 164. degrees in longitude Orientall, vpon the fixed Meridionall line, which lyeth right with the Iland of Terçera. From thence we helde our course Westward for the space of 280. leagues, till we came to the point called El capo de Espirito Santo, that is, The point of the holy Ghost, lying in the Iland Tandaya, the first Iland of those that are called Philippinas, Luçones, or Manillas, which is a countrey with fewe hilles, with some mines of brimstone in the middle thereof. From the point aforesayde, wee sailed West for the space of eighteene leagues to the point or entrie of the chanell, which runneth in betweene that Iland and the Iland of Luçon. This point or entrie lieth scarce vnder 12. degrees. All the coast that stretcheth from the entrie of the chanel to the point of El capo del Spirito santo, is not very faire.

Eight leagues from the sayde point lyeth a hauen of indifferent greatnesse, called Baya de Lobos, that is, The Bay of Woolues, hauing a small Iland at the mouth thereof: and within the chanell about halfe a league from the ende of the sayd Iland lyeth an Iland or cliffe, and when you passe by the point in the middle of the chanell, then you haue fiue and twentie fathom deepe, with browne sand: there we found so great a streame running Westward, that it made the water to cast a skum as if it had beene a sande, whereby it put vs in feare, but casting out our lead, wee found fiue and twentie fathom deepe.

From the aforesayd entrie of the chanell North, and North and by East about tenne leagues, lyeth the Island of Catanduanes, about a league distant from the lande of Luçon, on the furthest point Eastward, and from the same entrie of the chanell towards the West and Southwest, lyeth the Iland Capuli about sixe leagues from thence, stretching Westsouthwest, and Eastnortheast, being fiue leagues long, and foure leagues broad: and as wee past by it, it lay Northward from vs vnder twelue degrees and $\frac{3}{4}$. and somewhat high lande. Foure leagues from the aforesayd Iland of Capuli Northwestward lie the three Ilands of the hauen of Bollon in the Iland of Luçones, stretching North and South about foure leagues, distant from the firme lande halfe a league, whereof the furthest Southward lieth vnder thirteene degrees: In this chanell it is twentie fathome deepe, with white sand, and a great streame, running Southeast: we passed through the middle of the chanell. From this chanell wee helde our course Southwest, and Southwest and by West, for the space of twentie leagues, vntill wee came to the West ende of the Iland of Tycao, which reacheth East and West thirteene leagues. This point or hooke lyeth vnder 12. degrees and $\frac{3}{4}$. In the middle betweene this Iland and the Iland Capuli there lie three Ilands called the Faranias, and we ranne in the same course on the Northside of all the Ilands, at the depth of 22. fathom with white sand.

From the aforesayd West point of the Iland Tycao to the point of Buryas it is East and West to sayle about the length of a league or a league and a halfe: we put into that chanell, holding our course South, and South and by West about three leagues, vntill we were out of the chanell at sixteene fathome deepe, with halfe white and reddish sande in the chanell, and at the mouth thereof, whereof the middle lyeth vnder 12. degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$. and there the streames runne Northward.

The Iland of Buryas stretched Northwest and Southeast, and is low lande, whereof the Northwest point is about three leagues from the coast of Luçon, but you cannot passe betweene them with any shippe, but with small foistes and barkes of the countrey. This shallow channell lieth vnder twelue degrees: and running thorow the aforesayd chanell betweene the Ilands Tycao and Buryas, as I sayd before, we sayled Southward about two leagues from the Iland of Masbate, which stretcheth East and West 8. leagues long, being in bredth 4. leagues, and lyeth vnder 12. degrees and ¼. in the middle thereof, and is somewhat high land.

The Isle of Masbate.

From the sayd chanell betweene Tycao and Buryas, wee helde our course Westnorthwest for thirteene leagues, leauing the Iland Masbate on the Southside, and the Iland Buryas on the North side: at the ende of thirteene leagues wee came by an Iland called Banton, which is in forme like a hat, vnder twelue degrees and ⅔. when we had sayled the aforesayd thirteene leagues and eight leagues more, on the South side wee left the Iland called Rebuiam, which stretcheth Northwest, and Northwest and by North, and Southeast, and Southeast and by South, for the space of eight leagues, being high and crooked lande, whereof the North point lyeth vnder twelue degrees and ⅔. and there you finde 35 fathom deepe, with white sand.

From the aforesayd Iland of Banton Southward nine leagues, there beginne and followe three Ilandes, one of them being called Bantonsilla, which is a small Iland in forme of a sugar loafe: the second Crymara, being somewhat great in length, reaching East and West about two leagues: the third Itaa, or the Ile of Goates, hauing certaine houels. By all these Ilands aforesayd you may passe with all sortes of shippes, whereof the foremost lyeth Southward vnder twelue degrees and ¼. From the Iland of Bantonsilla, or small Banton, wee helde our course Northwest for the space of foure leagues, to the chanell betweene Ilands called de Vereies, and the Iland of Marinduque, the Vereies lying on the South side vnder twelue degrees and ¾. (which are two small Ilands like two Frigats) and the Iland Marinduque on the North side vnder twelue degrees, and ¼. which is a great Iland, stretching Westnorthwest, and Eastsoutheast, hauing in length 12. and in bredth 7. leagues. On the North side, with the Iland Luçon it maketh a long and small chanell, running somewhat crooked, which is altogether full of shallowes and sandes, whereby no shippes can passe through it. The furthest point Westward of the same Iland lyeth vnder thirteene degrees and ¼. It is high lande, on the East side hauing the forme of a mine of brimstone or fierie hill, and on the West side the land runneth downewarde at the point thereof being round like a loafe of bread: in the chanell betweene it and the Vereies, there are 18. fathom deepe with small black sand.

From the aforesaid chanell of Vereies and Marinduque, wee helde our course Westnorthwest twelue leagues to the lande of Mindora, to the point or hooke called Dumaryn, lying full vnder thirteene degrees: Fiue leagues forward from the sayde chanell on the South side wee left an Iland called Isla de maestro del Campo, that is, The Iland of the Colonell, lying vnder twelue degrees and $\frac{8}{4}$. which is a small and flat Iland: In this course we had 45 fathom deep white sand.

By this point or end of the Iland Marinduque beginneth the Iland of Myndoro, which hath in length East and West fiue and twentie leagues, and in bredth twelue leagues, whereof the furthest point Southward lyeth vnder thirteene degrees, and the furthest point Northward vnder thirteene degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$. and the furthest point Westward vnder thirteene degrees. This Iland with the Iland of Luçon maketh a chanell of fiue leagues broad, and ten or twelue fathom deepe with muddie ground of diuers colours, with white sande. Fiue leagues forward from Marinduque lyeth the riuer of the towne of Anagacu, which is so shallowe, that no shippes may enter into it. From thence two leagues further lie the Ilands called Bacco, which are three Ilands lying in a triangle, two of them being distant from the land about three hundred cubits, and between them and the land you may passe with small shippes: And from the lande to the other Iland, are about two hundred cubites, where it is altogether shallowes and sandes, so that where the shippes may passe outward about 150. cubites from the lande, you leaue both the Ilands on the South side, running betweene the third Iland and the riuer called Rio del Bacco, somewhat more from the middle of the chanell towardes the Iland, which is about a league distant from the other: the chanell is tenne fathom deepe, with mud and shelles vpon the ground: the riuer of Bacco is so shallowe, that no ships may enter into it. From this Iland with the same course two leagues forward, you passe by the point called El Capo de Rescaseo, where we cast out our lead, and found that a man may passe close by the lande, and there you shall finde great strong streames: and halfe a league forward with the same course, lyeth the towne of Mindoro, which hath a good hauen for shippes of three hundred tunnes. Three leagues Northward from the same hauen lyeth the Iland called Cafaa, stretching from East to West, being hilly ground.

From the sayde towne of Myndora, wee helde our course Westnorthwest eight leagues, till wee came to the poynt or hooke of the sandes called Tulen, lying vpon the Iland of Luçon, which sande or banke reacheth into the Sea halfe a league from the coast: you must keepe about an hundred cubites from it, where you finde eight fathom water, muddie and shellie ground: you runne along by those sandes North, and North and by West for the space of two leagues, till you come to the riuer called Rio de Anasebo: all the rest of the coast called De los Limbones to the mouth or entrie of the Bay called Manilla, (which are foure leagues) is sayled with the same course. The Limbones (which are Ilands so called) are high in forme like a paire of Organs, with good hauens for small shippes, running along by the Limbones: and two leagues beyond them on the South side, wee leaue the Ilands of Fortan, and foure Ilands more, but the three Ilands of Lubao, which are very low, lie vnder 13. degrees and $\frac{1}{3}$. and the Limbones lie in the mouth or entrie of the Bay of Manilla vnder 14. degrees and $\frac{1}{4}$.

From thence we ranne Northwest for the space of sixe leagues to the hauen of Cabite, keeping along by the land lying on the West side, where it is shallowe, and is called Los Baixos del Rio de Cannas, The shallowes of the riuer of Reedes: all along this Bay in the same course, there is from ten to foure fathom deepe.

Being by the point or hooke of Cabite, then wee kept but an hundred paces from it, running Southwest, southsouthwest, and South, vntill we discouered the whole mouth or entrie of the Bay, where we might anker at foure fathom about two hundred cubites from the lande, and then the towne of Manilla was two leagues Northward from vs.*

---

* The Philippine Islands are an archipelago of about 1400 islands, forming a dependency of Spain, lying between 4 deg. 40 min and 20 deg. N. lat., and 116 deg. 40 min. and 126 deg. 30 min. E. lon., and having the China Sea on the west, and the Pacific Ocean on the East. They are very imperfectly known at present, but are estimated to have a total area of 114,000 square miles, and a population of about 10,000,000. The principal islands of the many hundreds of large and small forming the group are—Luzon, Mindanao, Palawan, Mindoro, Panay, Negros, Zebu, Leyte, and Samar.

The Philippines were discovered by Fernando Magalhaens in 1521, in the reign of Philip II., after whom they were named; and in 1564 the Spaniards made a settlement on one of the islands, and founded Manila in 1571. They obtained the possession of this important group almost without bloodshed; and they have preserved it by the extensive diffusion of the Roman Catholic religion among the Malays, who form the greater part of the population. The Spaniards have retained the island ever since, except from 1762 to 1764, during which the English held Manila, and for the release of which the Spaniards paid a ransom of £1,000,000.

Chap. 2.

The course and voyage of the aforesayd Francisco Gualle out of the hauen or roade of Manilla, to the hauen of Macao in China, with all the courses and situations of the places.

SAyling out of the hauen of Cabite, lying in the Bay of Manilla, wee helde our course Westwarde for the space of eighteene leagues, to the point called El Cabo de Samballes: and when wee were eight leagues in our way, wee left the two Ilands Maribillas on the South side, and sailed about a league from them: the point of Samballes aforesayde lyeth vnder foureteene degrees, and $\frac{2}{3}$. being low land, at the end of the same coast of Luçon, on the West side.

From the hooke or point aforesayde, wee ranne North, and North and by West, for the space of fiue and twentie leagues (aboue a league from the coast of Luçon) to the point called Cabo de Bullinao: all this coast and Cape is high and hilly ground, which Cape lyeth vnder sixteene degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$. From this Cape de Bellinao we helde our course North, and North and by East, for 45. leagues to the point called El Cabo de Bojador, which is the furthest lande Northwarde from the Iland Luçon lying vnder 19. degrees.

The Cape de Bullinao being past the lande maketh a great creeke or bough, and from this creeke the coast runneth North to the point of Bojador, being a land full of cliffes and rockes that reach into the Sea, and the land of the hooke or point is high and hilly ground.

From the point of Bojador, wee helde our course Westnorthwest an hundred and twentie leagues, vntill we came to the Iland called A Ilha Branca, or the white Iland, lying in the beginning of the coast and Bay of the riuer Canton vnder two and twentie degrees, hauing foure and twentie fathom browne muddie ground.

From the Iland Ilha Branca, wee helde the aforesayde course of Westnorthwest, for the space of sixteene leagues, to the Iland of Macao lying in the mouth of the riuer of Canton, and it maketh the riuer to haue two mouths or entries, and it is a small Iland about three leagues great.

Chap. 3.

The Nauigation or course of the aforesayd Francisco Gualle out of the hauen of Macao to Newe Spaine, with the situation and stretchings of the same, with other notable and memorable things concerning the same voyage.

WHen we had prepared our selues, and had taken our leaues of our friends in Macao, we set saile vpon the foure and twentieth of Iuly, holding our course Southeast, and Southeast and by East, being in the wane of the Moone: for when the Moone increaseth, it is hard holding the course betweene the Ilands, because as then the water and streames run very strong to the Northwest; wee trauailed through many narrowe channels by night, hauing the depth of eight or ten fathom, with soft muddie ground, vntill wee were about the Iland Ilha Branca, yet we saw it not, but by the height we knew that we were past it.

Being beyond it, we ranne Eastsoutheast an hundred and fiftie leagues, to get aboue the sands called Os Baixos dos Pescadores, and the beginning of the Ilands Lequeos on the East side, which Ilands are called As Ilhas fermosas,* that is to say, The faire Ilands. This I vnderstoode by a Chinar called Santy of Chinchon, and hee sayde that they lie vnder one and twentie degrees and $\frac{3}{4}$. there it is thirtie fathom deepe: and although wee sawe them not, notwithstanding by the height and depth of the water we knew we were past them.

Being past As Ilhas fermosas, or the faire Ilands, wee helde our course East, and East and by North, for two hundred and sixtie leagues, vntill we were past the length of the Ilands Lequeos,† sayling about fiftie leagues from them: the said Chinar tolde me, that those Ilands called Lequeos are very many, and that the haue many and very good hauens, and that the people and inhabitants thereof haue their faces and bodies painted like the Bysayas of the Ilands of Luçon or Philippinas and are apparelled like the Bysayas, and that there also are mines of gold: Hee sayd likewise that they did often come with small shippes and barkes laden with Bucks and Harts-hides, and with golde in graines or very small pieces, to traffique with them of the coast of China,

---

* Formosa.

† The Lu-Tchu *(Chinese)* or Liu-Khiu *(Japanese)* Islands are a chain of 52 Islands belonging to Japan, and stretching S.W. to Formosa.

---

which hee assured mee to bee most true, saying that hee had bene nine times in the small Ilands, bringing of the same wares with him to China: which I beleeued to bee true, for that afterwarde I enquired thereof in Macao, and vpon the coast of China, and found that hee sayde true. The furthest or vttermost of these Ilands stretching Northwarde and Eastwarde, lie vnder nine and twentie degrees.

Being past these Ilands, then you come to the Ilands of Iapon, whereof the first lying West and South, is the Iland of Firando, where the Portugals vse to traffique: they are in length altogether an hundred and thirtie leagues, and the furthest Eastward lieth vnder two and thirtie degrees: we ranne still East, and East and by North, vntill we were past the sayd hundred and thirtie leagues.

All this information I had of the aforesaid Chinar, as also that there I should see some mines of brimstone or fierie hilles, being seuentie leagues beyond them,* and thirtie leagues further I should finde four Ilands lying together, which I likewise found, as hee had tolde mee: And that being in Iapon, he sayd hee had there seene certaine men of a very small stature, with great rolle, of linnen cloth about there heads, that brought golde in small pieces, and some white Cangas of cotton, (which are pieces of cotton-linnen so called by the Chinars) as also salte-fish like the Spanish Atun, or Tunney, which hee sayde came out of other Ilandes Eastward from Iapon: and by the tokens and markes which hee shewed mee, I gessed whereabout those Ilands should bee, and found them not farre from whence he sayd they lay. Hee sayd likewise that all the Ilands of Iapon haue good hauens and chanels, being a Countrey full of Rice, Corne, Fish, and flesh, and that they are an indifferent and reasonable people to traffique with, and that there they haue much siluer.

Other Ilands Eastward of Iapon.

Running thus East, and East and by North about three hundred leagues from Iapon, wee found a very hollowe water, with the streame running out of the North and Northwest, with a full and very broad Sea, without any hinderance or trouble in the way that wee past: and what winde soeuer blewe, the Sea continued

---

* This probably refers to Fusyiama, which can be seen from Tokio, 80 miles away. Its last eruption took place in 1707.

Iapon 900. leagues distant from the coast of America in 37 degrees and an halfe.

all in one sort, with the same hollow water and streame, vntill wee had passed seuen hundred leagues. About two hundred leagues from the coast and land of newe Spaine wee beganne to lose the sayd hollow Sea, and streame: whereby I most assuredly thinke and beleeue, that there you shall finde a chanell or straight passage, betweene the firme lande of newe Spaine, and the Countreys of Asia and Tartaria. Likewise all this way from the aforesayde seuen hundred leagues, we found a great number of Whale-fishes and other fishes called by the Spaniards Atuns or Tunnies, whereof many are found on the coast of Gibraltar in Spaine, as also Albacoras and Bonitos, which are all fishes, which commonly keepe in chanels, straights, and running waters, there to disperse their seede when they breede: which maketh mee more assuredly beleeue, that thereabouts is a chanel or straight to passe through

Read Francis Vlloa chap. 16.

Being by the same course vpon the coast of newe Spaine, vnder seuen and thirtie degrees and ½. wee passed by a very high and faire lande with many trees, wholly without snowe, and foure leagues from the lande, you finde thereabouts many drifts of rootes, leaues of trees, reeds, and other leaues like figge leaues, the like whereof wee found in great abundance in the countrey of Iapon, which they eate: and some of those that wee found, I caused to bee sodden with flesh, and being sodden, they eate like Coleworts: there likewise wee found great store of Seales: whereby it is to bee presumed and certainely to bee beleeued, that there are many riuers, bayes, and hauens along by those coastes to the hauen of Acupulco.

From thence wee ranne Southeast, Southeast and by South, and Southeast and by East, as wee found the winde, to the point called El Cabo de Sant Lucas, which is the beginning of the lande of California, on the Northwest side, lying vnder two and twentie degrees, being fiue hundred leagues distant from Cape Mendoçino.

Hauens lately found out.

In this way of the aforesayde fiue hundred leagues along by the coast, are many Ilands: and although they bee but small, yet without doubt there are in them some good hauens, as also in the firme land, where you haue these hauens following, now lately found out, as that of the Ile of Sant Augustine, lying vnder thirtie degrees and ¾. and the Iland called Isla de Cedros, scarce vnder eight and twenty deg. and ¼. and the Iland lying beneath Saint Martyn, vnder three and twentie degrees and ½. All this coast and countrey, as I thinke, is inhabited, and sheweth to be a very good countrey: for there by night wee sawe fire, and by day smoke, which is a most sure token that they are inhabited.

From the poynt or hooke of Saint Lucas, to the Southeast side of California, wee helde our course Eastsoutheast, for the space of 80. leagues, to the point called El cabo de las corrientes, that is, the Cape of the streames lying vnder 19. degrees and ⅔. And running this course, Northward about a league from vs wee sawe three Ilands called Las tres Marias, (that is to say, The three Maries) running the same course. About foure leagues from the other Ilands, there are other Ilands, reaching about two or three leagues: All this way from the mouth or gulfe of California aforesayd, for the space of the sayd fourescore leagues, there are great streames that run Westward.

From the point or Cape de las Corrientes, we ranne Southeast, and sometimes Southeast and by East, for the space of an hundred and thirtie leagues to the hauen of Acapulco. In this way of an hundred and thirtie leagues, being twentie leagues on the way, we had the hauen of Natiuidad, that is, of the birth of the Virgin Mary: and other eight leagues further, the hauen of Saint Iago, or Saint Iames; and sixe leagues further, the sea Strand called La Playa de Colima, that is, the Strand of Colima. All this coast from California to the hauen of Acapulco is inhabited by people that haue peace and traffique with the Spaniards, and are of condition and qualities like the people of the other places of new Spaine.

The conclusion of the Author of this last voyage.

ALl this description and nauigation haue I my selfe seene, prooued, and well noted in my voyage made and ended in the yeere of our Lord 1584. from great China out of the hauen and riuer of Canton, as I will more at large set it downe vnto your honour, with the longitudes and latitudes thereof, as God shall permit mee time and leysure, whom I beseech to send you long and happie dayes.

And the same was truly translated out of Spanish into lowe Dutch verbatim out of the Originall copy, (which was sent vnto the Viceroy of the Portugall Indies) by Iohn Huyghen Van Linschoten.

The relation of the nauigation and discouery which Captaine Fernando Alarchon made by the order of the right honourable Lord Don Antonio de Mendoça Vizeroy of New Spaine, dated in Colima, an hauen of New Spaine.

Chap. 1.

Fernando Alarchon after he had suffered a storme, arriued with his Fleete at the hauen of Saint Iago, and from thence at the hauen of Aguaiaual: he was in great perill in seeking to discouer a Bay, and getting out of the same he discouered a riuer on the coast with a great current, entring into the same, and coasting along he descried a great many of Indians with their weapons: with signes hee hath traffique with them, and fearing some great danger returneth to his ships.

ON Sunday the ninth of May in the yeere 1540. I set saile with two ships, the one called Saint Peter being Admirall, and the other Saint Catherine, and wee set forward meaning to goe to the hauen of Saint Iago of good hope: but before wee arriued there wee had a terrible storme, wherewith they which were in the ship called Saint Catherine, being more afraid then was neede, cast ouer boord nine pieces of Ordinance, two ankers and one cable, and many other things as needfull for the enterprise wherein we went, as the ship it selfe. Assoone as we were arriued at the hauen of Saint Iago I repaired my losse which I had receiued, prouided my selfe of things necessary, and tooke aboord my people which looked for my comming, and directed my course toward the hauen of Aguaiauall. And being there arriued I vnderstood that the Generall Francis Vazquez de Coronado was departed with all his people: whereupon taking the ship called Saint Gabriel which carried victuals for the armie I led her with mee to put in execution your Lordships order. Afterward I followed my course along the coast without departing from the same, to see if I could find any token, or any Indian which could giue me knowledge of him: and in sailing so neere thé shore I discouered other very good hauens, for the ships whereof Captaine Francis de Vllua was General for the Marquesse de Valle neither sawe nor found them. And when we

These shoalds are the bottome of mar Bermejo, or the Bay of California.

were come to the flats and shoalds from whence the foresaid fleete returned, it seemed as well to me as to the rest, that we had the firme land before vs, and that those shoalds were so perilous and fearefull, that it was a thing to be considered whither with our skiffes we could enter in among them: and the Pilotes and the rest of the company would haue had vs done as Captaine Vllua did, and haue returned backe againe. But because your Lordship commanded mee, that I should bring you the secret of that gulfe, I resolued, that although I had knowen I should haue lost the shippes, I would not haue ceased for any thing to haue seene the head thereof: and therefore I commanded Nicolas Zamorano Pilote maior, and Dominico del Castello that eche of them should take a boate, and their lead in their hands, and runne in among those shoalds, to see if they could find out the chanell whereby the shippes might enter in: to whom it seemed that the ships might saile vp higher (although with great trauell and danger) and in this sort I and he began to follow our way which they had taken, and within a short while after wee found our selues fast on the sands with all our three ships, in such sort that one could not helpe another, neither could the boates succour vs, because the current was so great that it was impossible for one of vs to come vnto another: whereupon we were in such great ieopardie that the decke of the Admirall was oftentimes vnder water, and if a great surge of the sea had not come and driuen our ship right vp, and gaue her leaue as it were to breath a while, we had there bin drowned: and likewise the other two shippes found themselves in very great hazard, yet because they were lesser and drewe lesse water, their danger was not so great as ours. Nowe it pleased God vpon the returne of the flood that the shippes came on flote, and so wee went forward. And although the company would haue returned backe, yet for all this I determined to goe forwarde, and to pursue our attempted voyage: and we passed forward with much adoe, turning our stemmes now this way, now that way, to seeke to find the chanel. And it pleased God that after this sort we came to the very bottome of the Bay: where we found a very mightie riuer, which ranne with so great fury of a streame, that we could hardly saile against it.* In this sort I determined as wel as I

The bottome of the Bay of California.

---

* Rio Colorado.

could to go vp this riuer, and with two boates, leauing the third with the ships, and twenty men, my selfe being in one of them with Roderigo Maldonado treasurer of this fleet, and Gaspar de Castilleia comptroller, and with certaine small pieces of artillerie I began to saile vp the river, and charged all my company, that none of them should stirre nor vse any signe, but he whom I appointed, although wee found Indians. The same day, which was Thursday the sixe and twentieth of August, following our voyage with drawing the boats with halsers we went about some 6 leagues: and the next day which was Friday by the breake of day thus following our way vpward, I saw certaine Indians which went toward certaine cottages neere vnto the water, who assoone as they saw vs, ten or twelue of them rose vp furiously, and crying with a loud voyce, other of their companions came running together to the number of 50 which with all haste carried out of their cottages such things as they had, and layd them vnder certaine shrubs and many of them came running toward that part whether wee approched, making great signes vnto vs that we should goe backe againe, vsing great threatnings against vs, one while running on this side and an other while on that side. I seeing them in such a rage, caused our boates to lanch from the shore into the middes of the riuer, that the Indians might be out of feare, and I rode at anker, and set my people in as good order as I could, charging them that no man should speake, nor make any signe nor motion, nor stirre out of his place, nor should not be offended for any thing that the Indians did, nor should shewe no token of warre: and by this meanes the Indians came euery foote neere the riuers side to see vs: and I gate by little and little toward them where the riuer seemed to be deepest. In this meane space there were aboue two hundred and fiftie Indians assembled together with bowes and arrowes, and with certaine banners in warrelike sort in such maner as those of New Spayne doe vse: and perceiuing that I drewe toward the shore, they came with great cryes toward vs with bowes and arrowes put into them, and with their banners displayed. And I went vnto the stemme of my boate with the interpreter which I carried with me, whom I commanded to speake vnto them, and when he spake, they neither vnderstood him, nor he them, although because they sawe him to be after their fashion, they stayed themselues:

They goe vp the riuer of Buena guia the 26. of August.

and seeing this I drewe neerer the shore, and they with great cryes came to keepe mee from the shore of the riuer, making signes that I should not come any further, putting stakes in my way betweene the water and the land: and the more I lingered, the more people still flocked together. Which when I had considered I beganne to make them signes of peace, and taking my sword and target, I cast them downe in the boate and set my feete vpon them, giuing them to vnderstand with this and other tokens that I desired not to haue warre with them, and that they should doe the like. Also I tooke a banner and cast it downe, and I caused my company that were with mee to sit downe likewise, and taking the wares of exchange which I carried with mee, I called them to giue them some of them: yet for all this none of them stirred to take any of them, but rather flocked together, and beganne to make a great murmuring among themselues: and suddenly one came out from among them with a staffe wherein certayne shelles were set, and entred into the water to giue them vnto mee, and I tooke them, and made signes vnto him that hee should come neere me, which when he had done, I embraced him, and gaue him in recompence certaine beades and other things, and he returning with them vnto his fellowes, began to looke vpon them, and to parley together, and within a while after many of them came toward me, to whom I made signes to lay downe their banners, and to leaue their weapons: which they did incontinently, then I made signes that they should lay them altogether, and should goe aside from them, which likewise they did: and they caused those Indians which newly came thither to leaue them, and to lay them together with the rest. After this I called them vnto me, and to all them which came I gaue some smal trifle, vsing them gently, and by this time they were so many that came thronging about mee, that I thought I could not stay any longer in safety among them, and I made signes vnto them that they should withdraw themselues, and that they should stand al vpon the side of an hill which was there betweene a plaine and the riuer, and that they should not presse to me aboue ten at a time. And immediately the most ancient among them called vnto them with a loud voyce, willing them to do so: and some ten or twelue of them came where I was: whereupon seeing my selfe in some securitie, I determined to goe on land the more to put them out of feare:

A very good course taken to appease unknowen Sauages.

and for my more securitie, I made signes vnto them, to sit downe on the ground which they did: but when they saw that ten or twelue of my companions came a shore after me, they began to be angry, and I made signes vnto them that we would be friends, and that they should not feare, and herewithal they were pacified, and sate down as they did before, and I went vnto them, and imbraced them, giuing them certain trifles, commanding mine interpreter to speake vnto them, for I greatly desired to vnderstand their maner of speech, and the cry which they made at mee. And that I might knowe what maner of foode they had, I made a signe vnto them, that wee would gladly eate, and they brought mee certaine cakes of Maiz, and a loafe of Mizquiqui, and they made signes vnto mee that they desired to see an harquebuse shot off, which I caused to be discharged, and they were all wonderfully afraid, except two or three olde men among them which were not mooued at all, but rather cried out vpon the rest, because they were afrayd: and through the speach of one of these olde men, they began to rise vp from the ground, and to lay hold on their weapons: whom when I sought to appease, I would haue giuen him a silken girdle of diuers colours, and hee in a great rage bitte his nether lippe cruelly, and gaue mee a thumpe with his elbowe on the brest, and turned in a great furie to speake vnto his company. After that I saw them aduance their banners, I determined to returne my selfe gently to my boates, and with a small gale of wind I set sayle, whereby wee might breake the current which was very great, although my company were not well pleased to goe any farther. In the meane space the Indians came following vs along the shore of the riuer, making signes that I should come on land, and that they would giue mee food to eate, some of them sucking their fingers, and others entred into the water with certaine cakes of Maiz, to giue me them in my boate.

Chap. 2.

Of the habite, armour and stature of the Indians. A relation of many others with whom he had by signes traffique, victuals and many courtesies.

IN this sort we went vp two leagues, and I arriued neere a cliffe of an hill, whereupon was an arbour made newly, where they made signes vnto me, crying that I should go thither, shewing me the same with their handes, and telling mee that there was meate to eate. But I would not goe thither, seeing the place was apt for some ambush, but followed on my voyage, within a while after issued out from thence aboue a thousand armed men with their bowes and arrowes, and after that many women and children shewed themselues, toward whom I would not goe, but because the Sunne was almost set, I rode in the middest of the riuer. These Indians came decked after sundry fashions, some came with a painting that couered their face all ouer, some had their faces halfe couered, but all besmouched with cole, and euery one as it liked him best. Others carried visards before them of the same colour which had the shape of faces. They weare on their heads a piece of a Deeres skinne two spannes broad set after the maner of a helmet, and vpon it certaine small sticks with some sortes of fethers. Their weapons were bowes and arrowes of hard wood, and two or three sorts of maces of wood hardened in the fire. This is a mightie people, well feitured, and without any grossenesse. They haue holes bored in their nostrels whereat certaine pendents hang: and others weare shelles, and their eares are full of holes, whereon they hang bones and shelles. All of them both great and small weare a girdle about their waste made of diuerse colours, and in the middle is fastened a round bunch of feathers, which hangeth downe behind like a tayle. Likewise on the brawne of their armes they weare a streit string, which they wind so often about that it becommeth as broad as ones hand. They weare certaine pieces of Deeres bones fastened to their armes, wherewith they strike off the sweate, and at the other certaine small pipes of canes. They carry also certaine little long bagges about an hand broade tyed to their left arme, which serue them also instead of brasers for their bowes, full of the powder of a certaine herbe, whereof they make a certaine beuerage. They haue their bodies traced with coles, their haire cut before, and behind it hangs downe to their wast. The women goe naked, and weare a great wreath of fethers behind them, and before painted and glued together, and their haire like the men. There were among these Indians three or foure men in womens apparell. Nowe the next day being Saturday very

Good forecast.

Pipes and bagges of tobacco.

early I went forward on my way vp the riuer, setting on shore two men for eache boate to drawe them with the rope, and about breaking foorth of the Sunne, wee heard a mightie crie of Indians on both sides of the riuer with their weapons, but without any banner. I thought good to attend their comming, aswell to see what they woulde haue, as also to try whither our interpreter could vnderstand them. When they came ouer against vs they leapt into the riuer on both sides with their bowes and arrowes, and when they spake, our interpreter vnderstoode them not: whereupon I beganne to make a signe vnto them that they should lay away their weapons, as the other had done. Some did as I willed them, and some did not, and those which did, I willed to come neere me and gaue them some things which we had to trucke withall, which when the others perceiued, that they might likewise haue their part, they layd away their weapons likewise. I iudging my selfe to be in securitie leaped on shore with them, and stoode in the middest of them, who vnderstanding that I came not to fight with them, began to giue some of those shels and beades, and some brought me certaine skinnes well dressed, and others Maiz and a roll of the same naughtily grinded, so that none of them came vnto me that brought mee not something, and before they gaue it me going a little way from mee they began to cry out amayne, and made a signe with their bodies and armes, and afterward they approached to giue me that which they brought. And now that the Sunne beganne to set I put off from the shore, and rode in the middest of the riuer. The next morning before break of day on both sides of the riuer wee heard greater cries and of more Indians, which leaped into the riuer to swimme, and they came to bring mee certaine gourdes full of Maiz, and of those wrethes which I spake of before. I shewed vnto them Wheate and Beanes, and other seedes, to see whether they had any of those kindes: but they shewed me that they had no knowledge of them, and wondred at all of them, and by signes I came to vnderstand that the thing which they most esteemed and reuerenced was the Sunne: and I signified vnto them that I came from the Sunne. Whereat they marueiled, and then they began to beholde me from the toppe to the toe, and shewed me more favour then they did before; and when I asked them for food, they brought me such aboundance that I was inforced twise to call for the boates to put

A notable policie.

it into them, and from that time forward of all the things which they brought me they flang vp into the ayre one part vnto the Sunne, and afterward turned towards me to giue mee the other part: and so I was alwayes better serued and esteemed of them as well in drawing of the boats vp the riuer, as also in giuing me food to eat: and they shewed me so great loue, that when I stayed they would have carried vs in their armes vnto their houses: and in no kind of thing they would breake my commandment: and for my suretie, I willed them not to carry any weapons in my sight: and they were so careful to doe so, that if any man came newly thither with them, suddenly they would goe and meete him to cause him to lay them downe farre from mee: and I shewed them that I tooke great pleasure in their so doing: and to some of the chiefe of them I gaue certaine little napkins and other trifles; for if I should haue giuen somewhat to euery one of them in particular, all the small wares in New Spayne would not haue sufficed. Sometimes it fell out (such was the great loue and good wil which they shewed me) that if any Indians came thither by chance with their weapons, and if any one being warned to leaue them behind him, if by negligence, or because he vnderstood them not at the first warning, he had not layd them away, they would runne vnto him, and take them from him by force, and would breake them in pieces in my presence. Afterward they tooke the rope so louingly, and with striuing one with another for it, that we had no need to pray them to doe it. Wherefore if we had not had this helpe, the current of the riuer being exceeding great, and our men that drew the rope being not well acqainted with that occupation, it would haue beene impossible for vs to haue gotten vp the riuer so against the streame. When I perceiued that they vnderstood mee in all things, and that I likewise vnderstoode them, I thought good to try by some way or other to make a good entrance to find some good issue to obtaine my desire: And I caused certaine crosses to be made of certaine small sticks and paper, and among others when I gaue any thing I gaue them these as things of most price and kissed them, making signes vnto them that they should honour them and make great account of them, and that they should weare them at their necks: giuing them to vnderstand that this signe was from heauen, and they tooke them and kissed them, and lifted them vp aloft, and seemed greatly to reioyce thereat when

Swarmes of people.

they did so, and sometime I tooke them into my boate, shewing them great good will, and sometime I gaue them of those trifles which I caried with me. And at length the matter grew to such issue, that I had not paper and stickes ynough to make crosses. In this matter that day I was very well accompanied, vntill that when night approched I sought to lanch out into the riuer, and went to ride in the middest of the streame, and they came to aske leaue of me to depart, saying that they would returne the next day with victuals to visite me, and so by litle and little they departed, so that there stayed not aboue fiftie which made fires ouer against vs, and stayed there al night calling vs, and before the day was perfectly broken, they leapt into the water and swamme vnto vs asking for the rope, and we gaue it them with a good will, thanking God for the good prouision which he gaue vs to go vp the riuer: for the Indians were so many, that if they had gone about to let our passage, although we had bene many more then wee were, they might haue done it.

Chap. 3.

One of the Indians vnderstanding the language of the interpreter, asketh many questions of the originall of the Spaniards, he telleth him that their Captaine is the child of the Sunne, and that he was sent of the Sunne vnto them, and they would haue receiued him for their king. They take this Indian into their boat, and of him they haue many informations of that countrey.

A wise deuise.

IN this manner we sailed vntill Tuesday at night, going as we were wont, causing mine interpreter to speak vnto the people to see if peraduenture any of them could vnderstand him, I perceiued that one answered him, whereupon I caused the boates to be stayed, and called him, which hee vnderstoode, charging mine interpreter that hee should not speake nor answere him any thing else, but onely that which I said vnto him: and I saw as I stood still that that Indian began to speake to the people with great furie: whereupon all of them beganne to drawe together, and mine interpreter vnderstood, that he which came to the boate sayd vnto them, that he desired to knowe what nation we were, and whence wee came, and whither we came out of the water, or out of the earth, or from heauen: And at this speech an infinite number of people came together, which maruelled to see mee speake: and this Indian turned on this side and on that side to speake vnto them in another language which mine interpreter vnderstood not. Whereas he asked me what we were, I answered that we were Christians, and that we came from farre to see them: and answering to the question, who had sent me, I said, I was sent by the Sunne, pointing vnto him by signes as at the first, because they should not take mee in a lye. He beganne againe to ask mee, how the Sunne had sent me, seeing he went aloft in the skie and never stoode still, and seeing these many yeeres neither he nor their olde men had euer seene such as we were, of whome they euer had any kind of knowledge, and that Sunne till that houre had neuer sent any other. I answered him that it was true that the Sunne made his course aloft in the skie, and did neuer stand still, yet neuertheless that they might well perceiue that at his going downe and rising in the morning hee came neere vnto the earth, where his dwelling was, and that they euer sawe him come out of one place, and that hee had made mee in that land and countrey from whence hee came, like as hee had made many others which hee had sent into other parties, and that nowe hee had sent me to visitie and view the same riuer, and the people that dwelt neere the same, that I should speake vnto them, and should ioyne with them in friendshippe, and should giue them things which they had not, and that I should charge them that they should not make warre one against another. Whereunto he answered, that I should tell him the cause why the Sunne had not sent mee no sooner to pacifie the warres which had continued a long time among them, wherein many had beene slaine. I tolde him the cause hereof was, because at that time I was but a child. Then he asked the interpreter whether wee tooke him with vs perforce hauing taken him in the war, or whether he came with vs of his own accord. He answered him that he was with vs of his owne accord, and was very wel appaid of our company. He returned to enquire, why we brought none saue him onely that vnderstood vs, and wherefore we vuderstood not all other men, seeing we were the children of the Sunne: he answered, that the Sunne also had begotten him, and giuen him a language to vnderstand him, and me, and others: that the Sunne knew well that they dwelt there, but that because he had many other businesses, and because I was but yong hee sent me no sooner. And he turning vnto me sayd suddenly: Comest thou therefore hither to bee our Lord, and that wee should serue thee? I supposing that I should not please him if I should haue said yea, answered him, not to be their Lord, but rather to be their brother, aud to giue them such things as I had. He asked me, whether the Sunne had begotten me as he had begotten others, and whether I was his kinsman or his sonne: I answered him that I was his sonne. He proceeded to aske me whether the rest that were with me were also the children of the Sunne, I answered him no, but that they were borne all with me in one countrey, where I was brought vp. Then he cryed out with a loud voyce and sayd, seeing thou doest vs so much good, and wilt not haue vs to make warre, and art the child of the Sunne, wee will all receiue thee for our Lord, and alwayes serue thee, therefore wee pray thee that thou wilt not depart hence nor leaue vs: and suddenly hee turned to the people, and beganne to tell them, that I was the childe of the Sunne, and that therefore they should all chuse me for their Lord. Those Indians hearing this, were astonied beyond measure, and came neerer still more and more to behold me. That Indian also asked mee other questions, which to auoyd tediousnesse I doe not recite: and in this wise we passed the day, and seeing the night approch, I began by all meanes I could deuise to get this fellow into our boat with vs: and he refusing to goe with vs, the interpreter told him that wee would put him on the other side of the riuer, and vpon this condition he entred into our boate, and there I made very much of him, and gaue him the best entertaynement I could, putting him alwayes in securitie, and when I iudged him to be out of all suspition, I thought it good to aske him somewhat of that countrey. And among the first things that I asked him this was one, whether hee had euer seene any men like vs, or had heard any report of them. Hee answered mee no, sauing that hee had sometime hearde of olde men, that very farre from that Countrey there were other white men, and with beardes like vs, and that hee knewe nothing else. I asked him also whether hee knewe a place called Ceuola, and a Riuer called Totonteac, and hee answered mee no. Whereupon perceiuing that hee coulde not giue mee any knowledge of Francis Vazquez nor of his company, I determined to aske him other things of that countrey, and of their maner of life: and beganne

Newes of bearded and white men.

to enquire of him, whether they helde that there was one God, creator of heauen and earth, or that they worshipped any other Idol. And hee answered mee no: but that they esteemed and reuerenced the Sunne aboue all other things, because it warmed them and made their croppes to growe: and that of all things which they did eate, they cast a little vp into the ayre vnto him. I asked him next whether they had any Lorde, and hee sayde no: but that they knewe well that there was a great Lorde, but they knewe not well which way hee dwelt. And I tolde him that hee was in heauen, and that hee was called Iesus Christ, and I went no farther in diuinitie with him. I asked him whether they had any warre, and for what occasion. Hee answered that they had warre and that very great, and vpon exceeding small occasions: for when they had no cause to make warre, they assembled together, and some of them sayd, let vs goe to make warre in such a place, and then all of them set forward with their weapons. I asked them who commanded the armie: he answered the eldest and most valiant, and that when they sayd they should proceede no farther, that suddenly they retired from the warre. I prayed him to tell me what they did with those men which they killed in battell: he answered me that they tooke out the hearts of some of them, and eat them, and others they burned; and he added, that if it had not bene for my comming, they should haue bin now at warre: and because I commanded them that they should not war, and that they should cease from armes, therefore as long as I should not command them to take armes, they would not begin to wage warre against others, and they said among themselues, that seeing I was come vnto them, they had giuen ouer their intention of making warre, and that they had a good mind to liue in peace. He complained of certaine people which dwelt behind in a mountaine which made great war vpon them, and slew many of them: I answered him, that from henceforward they should not need to feare any more, because I had commanded them to be quiet, and if they would not obey my commandement, I would chasten them and kill them. He enquired of me how I could kill them seeing we were so few, and they so many in number. And because it was now late and that I saw by this time he was weary to stay any longer with me, I let him goe out of my boat, and therewith I dismissed him very well content.

The Sunne worshipped as God.

Certaine warlike people behind a mountaine.

Chap. 4.

Of Naguachato and other chiefe men of those Indians they receiue great store of victuals, they cause them to set vp a crosse in their countreys, and hee teacheth them to worship it. They haue newes of many people, of their diuers languages, and customes in matrimony, how they punish adultery, of their opinions concerning the dead, and of the sicknesses which they are subiect vnto.

THe next day betimes in the morning came the chiefe man among them called Naguachato, and wished me to come on land because he had great store of victuals to giue me. And because I saw my selfe in securitie I did so without doubting; and incontinently an olde man came with rols of that Maiz, and certaine litle gourds, and calling me with a loud voyce and vsing many gestures with his body and armes, came neere vnto me, and causing me to turne me vnto that people, and hee himselfe also turning vnto them sayd vnto them, Sagueyca, and all the people answered with a great voyce, Hu, and hee offred to the Sunne a little of euery thing that he had there, and likewise a little more vnto me (although afterward he gaue me all the rest) and did the like to all that were with me: and calling out mine interpreter, by meanes of him I gaue them thanks, telling them that because my boats were litle I had not brought many things to giue them in exchange, but that I would come againe another time and bring them, and that if they would go with me in my boates vnto my ships which I had beneath at the riuers mouth, I would giue them many things. They answered that they would do so, being very glad in countenance. Here by the helpe of mine interpreter I sought to instruct them what the sign of the crosse meant, and willed them to bring me a piece of timber, wherof I caused a great crosse to be made, and commanded al those that were with mee that when it was made they should worship it, and beseech the Lord to grant his grace that so great a people might come to the knowledge of his holy Catholike faith: and this done I told them by mine interpreter that I left them that signe, in token that I tooke them for my brethren, and that they should keepe it for me carefully vntill I returned, and that euery morning at the Sunne rising they should kneele before it, And they tooke it incontinently, and without suffering it to touch the ground, they carried it to set it vp in the middest of their houses, where all of them might beholde it; and I willed them alwayes to worshippe it because it would preserue them from euill. They asked me how deep they should set in the ground, and I shewed them. Great store of people followed the same, and they that stayed behinde inquired of mee, how they should ioyne their handes, and how they should kneele to worship the same; and they seemed to haue great desire to learne it. This done, I tooke that chiefe man of the Countrey, and going to our boates with him, I followed my iourney vp the Riuer, and all the company on both sides of the shoare accompanied me with great good will, and serued me in drawing of our boates, and in halling vs off the sands whereupon we often fel: for in many places we found the riuer so shoald, that we had no water for our boats. As wee thus went on our way, some of the Indians which I had left behind me, came after vs to pray mee that I would throughly instruct them, how they should ioyne their hands in the worshipping of the crosse: others shewed me whether they were well set in such and such sort, so that they would not let me be quiet. Neere vnto the other side of the riuer was greater store of people, which called vnto me very often, that I would receiue the victuals which they had brought me. And because I perceiued that one enuied the other, because I would not leaue them discontented, I did so. And here came before me another old man like vnto the former with the like ceremonyes and offrings: and I sought to learne something of him as I had done of the other. This man said likewise to the rest of the people, This is our lord. Now you see how long ago our ancesters told vs, that there were bearded and white people in the world, and we laughed them to scorne. I which am old and the rest which are here, haue neuer seene any such people as these. And if you wil not beleeue me, behold these people which be in this riuer: let vs giue them therefore meate, seeing they giue vs of their victuals: let vs willingly serue this lord, which wisheth vs so well, and forbiddeth vs to make warre, and imbraceth all of vs: and they haue mouth, handes and eyes as we haue, and speake as we doe. I gaue these likewise another crosse as I had done to the others beneath, and said vnto them the selfe same words: which they

These people are greatly inclined to learne the Christian faith.

The Riuer in diuers places full of shelfes.

listened vnto with a better will, and vsed greater diligence to learne that which I said. Afterward as I passed farther vp the riuer, I found another people, whom mine interpreter vnderstood not a whit: wherefore I shewed them by signes the selfe same ceremonies of worshipping the crosse, which I had taught the rest. And that principal old man which I tooke with me, told me that farthur vp the riuer I should find people which would vnderstand mine interpreter: and being now late, some of those men called me to giue me victuals, and did in all poynts as the others had done, dauncing and playing to shew me pleasure. I desired to know what people liued on the banks of this riuer: and I vnderstood by this man that it was inhabited by 23 languages, and these were bordering vpon the riuer, besides others not farre off, and that there were besides these 23. languages, other people also which hee knewe not, aboue the riuer. I asked him whether euery people were liuing in one towne together: and he answered me, No: but that they had many houses standing scattered in the fieldes, and that euery people had their Countrey seuerall and distinguished, and that in euery habitation there were great store of people. He shewed me a towne which was in a mountaine, and told me that there was there great store of people of bad conditions, which made continual warre vpon them: which being without a gouernour, and dwelling in that desert place, where small store of Maiz groweth, came downe into the playne to buy it in trucke of Deeres skinnes, wherewith they were apparelled with long garments, which they did cutte with rasors, and sewed with needles made of Deeres bones: and that they had great houses of stone. I asked them whether there were any there of that Countrey; and I found one woman which ware a garment like a little Mantle, which clad her from the waste downe to the ground, of a Deeres skin well dressed. Then I asked him whether the people which dwelt on the riuers side, dwelt alwayes there, or els sometime went to dwell in some other place: he answered me, that in the summer season they aboade there, and sowed there; and after they had gathered in their croppe they went their way, and dwelt in other houses which they had at the foote of the mountaine farre from the riuer. And hee shewed me by signes that the houses were of wood com-

Another nation.

People of 23. languages dwelling along this riuer.

Acuco as Gomara writeth is on a strong mountaine.

passed with earth without, and I vnderstood that they made a round house, wherein the men and women liued all together. I asked him whether their women were common or no: he tolde me no, and that hee which was married, was to haue but one wife only. I desired to know what order they kept in marying: and he tolde me, that if any man had a daughter to marry, he went where the people kept, and said, I haue a daughter to marry, is there any man here that wil haue her? And if there were any that would haue her, he answered that he would haue her: and so the mariage was made. And that the father of him which would have her, brought something to giue the yong woman; and from that houre forward the mariage was taken to be finished, and that they sang and danced: and that when night came, the parents tooke them, and left them together in a place where no body might see them. And I learned that brethren, and sisters, and kinsfolk married not together: and that maydes before they were married conuersed not with men, nor talked not with them, but kept at home at their houses and in their possessions, and wrought: and that if by chance any one had company with men before she were married, her husband forsooke her, and went away into other Countreyes: and that those women which fell into this fault, were accompted naughty packs. And that if after they were maried, any man were taken in adultery with another woman, they put him to death: and that no man might haue more that one wife, but very secretly. They tolde mee that they burned those which dyed: and such as remayned widowes, stayed halfe a yeere, or a whole yeere before they married. I desired to know what they thought of such as were dead. Hee told me that they went to another world, but that they had neither punishment nor glory. The greatest sicknesse that this people dye of is vomitiug of blood by the mouth: and they haue Physicions which cure them with charmes and blowing which they make. The apparell of these people were like the former: they carried their pipes with them to perfume themselues, like as the people of New Spaine vse Tabacco. I inquired whether they had any gouernour, and found that they had none, but that every family had their seuerall gouernour. These people haue besides their Maiz certaine gourds, and another corne like vnto Mill: they haue

Dancing and singing at mariages of the Sauages.

They burne their dead.

Pipes to drinke Tabacco with.

Maize, gourds, Mill.

Grindestones, earthern pots, good fish.

grindstones and earthern pots, wherein they boyle those gourds, and fish of the riuer, which are very good. My interpreter could goe no farther then this place: for he said that those which we should find farther on our way, were their enemies, and thefore I sent him backe very well conteuted. Not long after I espied many Indians to come crying with a loude voice, and running after me. I stayed to know what they would haue; and they told me that they had set vp the crosse which I had giuen them, in the midst of their dwellings as I had appointed, but that I was to wit, that when the riuer did ouerflow, it was wont to reach to that place, therefore they prayed mee to giue them leaue to remove it, and to set it in another place where the riuer could not come at it, nor carry it away: which I granted them.

This riuer ouerfloweth his banks at certaine seasons.

Chap. 5.

Of an Indian of that countrey they haue relation of the state of Ceuola, and of the conditions and customes of these people, and of their gouernour: and likewise of the countreys not farre distant from thence, whereof one was called Quicoma, and the other Coama: of the people of Quicoma, and of the other Indians not farre distant they receiue courtesie.

THus sayling I came where were many Indians, and another interpreter, which I caused to come with me in my boat. And because it was cold, and my people were wet, I leapt on shore, and commanded a fire to be made, and as we stood thus warming our selues, an Indian came and strooke me on the arme, pointing with his finger to a wood, out of which I saw two companies of men come w^t^ their weapons, and he told me that they came to set vpon vs: and because I meant not to fall out with any of them, I retired my company into our boats, and the Indians which were with me swam into the water, and saued themselues on the other side of the riuer. In the meane season I inquired of that Indian which I had with me, what people they were that came out of ye wood: and he told me that they were their enemies, and therefore these others at their approch without saying any word leapt into the water: and did so, because they meant to turne backe againe, being without weapons, because they brought none with them, because they vnderstood my wil and pleasure, that they should cary none. I inquired the same things of this interpreter which I had done of the other of the things of that countrey, because I vnderstood that among some people one man vsed to haue many wiues, and among others but one. Now I vnderstood by him, that he had bin at Ceuola, and that it was a moneths iourney from his country, and that from that place by a path that went along that riuer a man might easily trauel thither in xl. daies, and that the occasion that moued him to go thither, was only to see Ceuola, because it was a great thing, and had very hie houses of stone of 3. or 4. lofts, and windowes on ech side; that the houses were compassed about with a wall conteining the height of a man and an halfe, and that aloft and beneath they were inhabited with people, and that they vsed the same weapons, that others vsed, which we had seene, that is to say, bowes and arrowes, maces, staues and bucklers: and that they had one gouernor, and that they were apparelled with mantles, and with oxe-hides, and that their mantles had a painting about them, and that their gouernour ware a long shirt very fine girded vnto him, and ouer the same diuers mantles: and that the women ware very long garments, and that they were white, and went all couered: and that euery day many Indians wayted at the gate of their gouernour to serue him, and that they did weare many Azure or blew stones, which were digged out of a rocke of stone, and that they had but one wife, with whom they were maried, and that when their gouernors died, all the goods that they had were buried with them. And likewise all the while they eate, many of their men waite at their table to court them, and see them eate, and that they eate with napkins, and that they haue bathes. On Thursday morning at breake of day the Indians came with the like cry to the banke of the riuer, and with greater desire to serue vs, bringing me meat to eat, and making me the like good cheere, which the others had done vnto me, hauing vnderstood what I was: and I gaue them crosses, with the self same order which I did vnto the former. And going farther vp the riuer I came to a country where I found better gouernment: for the inhabitants are wholly obedient vnto one only. But returning againe to conferre with mine interpreter

Ceuola 40 dayes iourney from thence by the riuer.

Turqueses in Ceuola.

touching the dwellings of those of Ceuola, he tolde me, that the lord of that countrey had a dog like that which I caried with me. Afterward when I called for dinner, this interpreter saw certaine dishes caried in the first and later seruice, whereupon he told me that the lord of Ceuola had also such as those were, but that they were greene, and that none other had of them sauing their gouernour, and that they were 4, which he had gotten together with that dogge, and other things, of a blacke man which had a beard, but that he knew not from what quarter he came thither, and that the king caused him afterward to be killed, as he heard say. I asked him whether he knew of any towne that was neere vnto that place: he tolde me that aboue the riuer he knew some, and that among the rest there was a lord of a towne called Quicoma, and another of a towne called Coama: and that they had great store of people vnder them. And after he had giuen me this information, he craued leaue of me to returne vnto his companions. From hence I began againe to set saile, and within a dayes sayling I found a towne dispeopled: where assoone as I was entred, by chance there arriued there 500. Indians with their bowes and arrowes, and with them was that principal Indian called Naguachato, which I had left behind, and brought with them certaine conies and yucas: and after I had friendly interteined them all, departing from them, I gaue them license to returne to their houses. As I passed further by the desert, I came to certain cotages, out of which much people came toward me with an old man before them, crying in a language which mine interpreter wel vnderstood, and he said vnto those men: Brethren, you see here that lord; let vs giue him such as we haue, seeing he dooth vs pleasure, and hath passed through so many discourteous people, to come to visit vs. And hauing thus said, he offred to the Sunne, and then to me in like sort as the rest had done. These had certaine great bags and well made of the skins of fishes called Sea-bremes. And I vnderstood that this was a towne belonging vnto the lord of Quicoma, which people came thither onely to gather the fruit of their haruest in summer; and among them I found one which vnderstood mine interpreter very well: whereupon very easily I gaue them the like instruction of the crosse which I had giuen to others behind. These people had cotton, but they were not very carefull to vse the same: because there was none among

This was the Negro that went with Frier Marco de Niza.

them that knew the arte of weauing, and to make apparel thereof. They asked me how they should set vp their crosse when they were come to their dwelling which was in the mountaine, and whether it were best to make an house about it, that it might not be wet, and whether they should hang any thing vpon the armes therof. I said no; and that it sufficed to set it in a place where it might be seene of all men, vntill I returned: and lest peraduenture any men of warre should come that way, they offred mee more men to goe with me, saying that they were naughty men which I should finde aboue; but I would haue none: neuerthelesse 20. of them went with me, which when I drew neere vnto those which were their enemies, they warned mee thereof: and I found their centinels set vpon their guarde on their borders. On Saturday morning I found a great squadron of people sitting vnder an exceeding great arbour, and another part of them without: and when I saw that they rose not vp, I passed along on my voyage: when they beheld this an old man rose vp which said vnto me, Sir, why doe you not receiue victuals to eate of vs, seeing you haue taken food of others? I answered, that I tooke nothing but that which was giuen me, and that I went to none but to such as requested me. Here without any stay they brought me victuals, saying vnto me, that because I entred not into their houses, and stayed all day and all night in the riuer, and because I was the sonne of the Sunne, all men were to receiue me for their lord. I made them signes to sit down, and called that old man which mine interpreter vnderstood, and asked him whose that countrey was, and whether the lord thereof was there, he said yes: and I called him to me; and when he was come, I imbraced him, shewing him great loue: and when I saw that all of them tooke great pleasure at the friendly interteinment which I gaue him, I put a shirt vpon him, and gaue him other trifles, and willed mine interpreter to vse the like speaches to that lord which he had done to the rest; and that done, I gaue him a crosse, which he receiued with a very good wil, as the others did: and this lord went a great way with me, vntill I was called vnto from the other side of the riuer, where the former old man stood with much people: to whom I gaue another crosse, vsing the like speach to them which I had vnto the rest, to wit, how they should vse it. Then following my way, I mette with another great company of people, with whom came that very same olde man whom mine interpreter vnderstood; and when I saw their lord which he shewed vnto me, I prayed him to come with me into my boat, which he did very willingly, and so I went still vp the riuer, and the olde man came and shewed me who were the chiefe lords: and I spake vnto them alwayes with great courtesie, and all of them shewed that they reioyced much thereat, and spake very wel of my comming thither. At night I withdrew my selfe into the midst of the riuer, and asked him many things concerning that country: and I found him as willing and wel disposed to shew them me, as I was desirous to know them. I asked him of Ceuola: and he told me he had bin there, and that it was a goodly thing, and that the lord thereof was very wel obeyed: and that there were other lords thereabout, with whom he was at continual warre. I asked him whether they had siluer and gold, and he beholding certain bels, said they had metal of their colour. I inquired whether they made it there, and he answered me no, but that they brought it from a certain mountaine, where an old woman dwelt. I demanded whether he had any knowledge of a riuer called Totonteac, he answered me no, but of another exceeding mighty riuer, wherein there were such huge Crocodiles, that of their hides they made bucklers, and that they worship the Sunne neither more nor lesse then those which I had passed: and when they offer vnto him the fruits of the earth, they say: Receiue hereof, for thou hast created them, and that they loued him much, because he warmed them; and that when he brake not foorth, they were acolde. Herein reasoning with him, he began somewhat to complaine, saying vnto me, I know not wherefore the Sunne vseth these termes with vs, because he giueth vs not clothes, nor people to spin nor to weaue them, nor other things which he giueth to many other, and he complayned that those of that country would not suffer them to come there, and would not giue them of their corne. I told him that I would remedie this, whereat he remayned very well satisfied.

Ceuola a goodly thing.

Gold and siluer in a mountaine neere Ceuola.

This riuer seemeth to bee Northward by the colde.

Chap. 6.

They are aduertised by the Indians, wherefore the lorde of Ceuola killed the Negro, which went with Frier Marco, and of many other things: And of an old woman called Guatazaca, which liueth in a lake and eateth no food. The description of a beast, of the skinne whereof they make targets. The suspition that they conceiue of them, that they are of those Christians which were seene at Ceuola, and how they cunningly saue themselues.

THe next day which was Sunday before breake of day, began their cry as they were woont: and this was the cry of 2. or 3. sorts of people, which had lyen all night neere the riuers side, wayting for me: and they tooke Maiz and other corne in their mouth, and sprinkled me therewith, saying that that was the fashion which they vsed when they sacrificed vnto the Sunne: afterward they gaue me of their victuals to eat, and among other things, they gaue me many white peason. I gaue them a crosse as I had done to the rest: and in the meane season that old man tolde them great matters of my doing, and poynted me out with his finger, saying, this is the lord, the sonne of the Sunne: and they made me to combe my beard, and to set mine apparel handsomely which I ware vpon my backe. And so great was the confidence that they had in me, that all of them told me what things had passed, and did passe among them, and what good or bad mind they bare one toward another. I asked them wherefore they imparted vnto me all their secrets, and that old man answered mee: Thou art our lord, and we ought to hide nothing from our lord. After these things, following on our way, I began againe to inquire of him the state of Ceuola, and whether he knewe that those of this countrey had euer seene people like vnto vs: he answered me no, sauing one Negro which ware about his legs and armes certain things which did ring. Your lordship is to cal to mind how this Negro which went with frier Marco was wont to weare bels, and feathers on his armes and legs, and that he caried plates of diuers colours, and that it was not much aboue a yeere agoe since he came into those parts. I demanded vpon what occasion

The Negro that went with Frier Marco de Niza slaine.

The cause wherefore Stephan Dorantez the Negro was slaine.

he was killed; and he answered me, That the lord of Ceuola inquired of him whether he had other brethren: he answered that he had an infinite number, and that they had great store of weapons with them, and that they were not very farre from thence. Which when he had heard, many of the chiefe men consulted together, and resolued to kil him, that he might not giue newes vnto these his brethren, where they dwelt, and that for this cause they slew him, and cut him into many pieces, which were diuided among all those chiefe lords, that they might know assuredly that he was dead: and also that he had a dogge like mine, which he likewise killed a great while after. I asked him whether they of Ceuola had any enemies, and he said they had. And he reckoned vnto me 14. or 15. lords which had warre with them: and that they had mantles, and bowes like those aboue mentioned: howbeit he told me that I should find going vp the riuer a people that had no warre neither with their neighbors, nor with any other. He told me that they had 3. or 4. sorts of trees bearing most excellent fruite to eate: and that in a certaine lake dwelt an olde woman, which was much honoured and worshipped of them: and that shee remayned in a litle house which was there, and that she neuer did eate any thing: and that there they made things which did sound, and that many mantles, feathers and Maiz were giuen vnto her. I asked what her name was, and he tolde me that she was called Guatuzaca, and that thereabout were many lords which in their life and death, vsed the like orders which they of Ceuola did, which had their dwelling in the summer with painted mantles, and in the winter dwelt in houses of wood of 2. or 3. lofts hie: and that he had seene all these things, sauing the old woman. And when againe I began to aske him more questions, he would not answere me, saying that he was wearie of me: and many of those Indians comming about me, they said among themselues: Let vs marke him well, that we may knowe him when he commeth back againe. The Monday following, the riuer was beset with people like to them, and I began to request the old man to tell me what people were in that countrey, which told me he thought I would soone forget them: and here he reckoned vp vnto me a great number of lords, and people at the least 200. And discoursing with him of their armour, he said that some of them had certaine

Antonio d'Espejo speaketh of such a great lake.

very large targets of lether, aboue two fingers thicke. I asked him of what beasts skinne they made them: and he discribed vnto me a very great beast, like vnto an Oxe, but longer by a great handfull, with broad feete, the legs as bigge as the thigh of a man, and the head seuen handfuls long, the forehead of three spannes, and the eyes bigger then ones fist, and the hornes of the length of a mans leg, out of which grew sharpe poynts, an handfull long, the forfeete and hinderfeete aboue seuen handfuls bigge, with a wrethed tayle, but very great; and holding vp his armes aboue his head, he said the beast was higher then that. After this hee gaue mee information of another olde woman which dwelt toward the sea side. I spent this day in giuing crosses to those people as I had done vnto the former. This old man that was with me leapt on shore, and fell in conference with another which that day had often called him; and here both of them vsed many gestures in their speach, moouing their armes, and poynting at me. Therefore I sent mine interpreter out, willing him to drawe neere vnto them, and listen what they said; and within a while I called him, and asked him whereof they talked, and he sayd, that he which made those gestures said vnto the other, that in Ceuola there were others like vnto vs with beards, and that they said they were Christians, and that both of them sayd that we were all of one company, and that it were a good deede to kill vs, that those others might haue no knowledge of vs, lest they might come to doe them harme: and that the old man had answered him, this is the sonne of the Sunne, and our lord, he doth vs good, and wil not enter into our houses, although we request him thereunto: he will take away nothing of ours, he wil meddle with none of our women, and that to be short, he had spoken many other things in my commendation and fauour: and for all this the other stedfastly affirmed that we were all one, and that the old man said, Let vs goe vnto him, and aske him whether he be a Christian as the other be, or els the sonne of the Sunne: and the old man came vnto me, and sayd: In the countrey of Ceuola whereof you spake vnto me doe other men like vnto you dwell. Then I began to make as though I wondred, and answered him, that it was impossible; and they assured me that it was true, and that two men had seene them which came

This might be the crooke backed oxe of Quiuira.

The Sauages treasons to be taken heede of.

Certaine newes of the Spanyaads at Ceuola.

from thence, which reported that they had things which did shoote fire, and swords as we had. I asked them whether they had seene them with their owne eyes? and they answered no; but that certaine of their companions had seene them. Then hee asked mee whether I were the sonne of the Sunne, I answered him yea. They said that those Christians of Ceuola said so likewise. And I answered them that it might well be. Then they asked mee if those Christians of Ceuola came to ioyne themselues with me, whether I would ioyne with them: and I answered them, that they needed not to feare any whit at all, for if they were the sonnes of the Sunne as they said, they must needes be my brethren, and would vse towards all men the like loue and courtesie which I vsed: whereupon hereat they seemed to be somewhat satisfied.

Chap. 7.

It is tolde him that they are ten dayes iourney distant from Ceuola, and that there be Christians there, which make warre against the lords of that countrey. Of the Sodomie which those Indians vse with foure young men, appoynted for that seruice, which weare womens apparel. Seeing they could not send newes of their being there to them of Ceuola, they went backe againe downe the riuer to their ships.

Ceuola tenne dayes distant from this place. A desert of ten dayes iourney.

THen I prayed them to tel me how many dayes that kingdom of Ceuola, which they spake of, was distant from that riuer: and that man answered, that there was the space of tenne dayes iourney without habitation, and that he made none accompt of the rest of the way, because there were people to be found. Vpon this aduertisement I was desirous to certifie Captaine Francis Vazquez of my being there, and imparted my mind with my souldiers, among whom I found none that was willing to goe thither, although I offered them many rewards in your lordships name, onely one Negro slaue though with an euil wil offred himselfe vnto me to go thither: but I looked for the comming of those two Indians which they tolde me of, and herewithall we went on our way vp the riuer against the streame in such sort as we had done before. Here that olde man shewed me as a strange thing a sonne of his clad in womans apparel, exercising their office: I asked him how many there were of these among them, and he told me there were foure; and that when any of them died, there was a search made of all the women with child which were in the country, and that the first sonne which was borne of them, was appoynted to doe that duetie belonging vnto women, and that the women clad him in their apparell, saying, that seeing he was to doe that which belonged to them, he should weare their apparel: these yong men may not haue carnall copulation with any woman: but all the yong men of the countrey which are to marrie, may company with them. These men receiue no kind of reward for this incestuous act of the people of that countrey, because they haue libertie to take whatsoeuer they find in any house for their food. I saw likewise certaine women which liued dishonestly among men: and I asked the old man whether they were married, who answered me noe, but they were common women, which liued apart from the married women. I came at length after these discourses to pray them to send for those Indians, which they said had bin at Ceuola, and they told me that they were eight dayes iourney distant from that place, but that notwithstanding there was one among them which was their companion and which had spoken with them, as he met them on the way, whem they went to see the kingdome of Ceuola, and that they told him that he were not best to goe any farther, for he should find there a fierce nation like vs: and of the same qualities and making, which had fought much with the people of Ceuola, because they had killed a Negro of their company saying, Wherefore haue yee killed him? what did he to you? did he take any bread from you, or do you any other wrong? and such like speech. And they said moreouer, that these people were called Christians, which dwelt in a great house, and that many of them had oxen like those of Ceuola, and other litle blacke beastes with wooll and hornes, and that some of them had beasts which they rode vpon, which ran very swiftly; and that one day before their departure, from sunne rising vntill sunne setting these Christians were all day in comming thither, and all of them lodged in that place where others had lodged, and that these two met with two Christians, which asked them whence they were, and whether they had fields sowen with corne; and they told them that they dwelt in a farre country, and that they had corne, and that then they gaue each of them a litle cap, and they gaue them another to cary to their other companions, which they promised to do, and departed quickly. When I vnderstood this, I spoke againe with my company, to see if any one of them would go thither, but I found them vnwilling as at the first, and they layd against me greater inconueniences. Then I called the old man to see if he would giue me any people to goe with me, and victuals to trauel through that wildernes, but he laid before me many inconueniences and dangers, which I might incurre in that voyage, shewing me the danger that there was in passing by a lord of Cumana, which threatned to make warre vpon them, because his people had entred into the others countrey to take a stagge, and that I should not there, fore depart thence without seeing him punished. And when I replied that in any wise I must needes goe to Ceuola, he willed me to surcease from that purpose, for they looked that that lord without al doubt would come to annoy them, and that therefore they could not leaue their countrey naked to goe with me, and that it would be better, that I would make an end of that warre betweene them, and that then I might haue their company to Ceuola. And vpon this point we grew to such variance, that we began to grow into choler, and in a rage he would haue gone out of the boat, but I stayed him, and with gentle speeches began to pacifie him, seeing that it imported mee much to haue him my friend: but for all my courtesies which I shewed him, I could not alter him from his mind, wherein he stil remained obstinate. In the meane while I sent a man away vnto my ships to giue them knowledge of the iourney that I had determined to make. After this I prayed the old man that he would fetch him backe again, because I had determined, that seeing I saw no meanes to be able to go to Ceuola, and because I would stay no longer among those people, because they should not discouer me, and likewise because I meant in person to visit my ships, with determination to returne againe vp the riuer, carying with me other companions, and leaue there some which I had sicke, and telling the olde man and the rest that I would returne, and leauing them satisfied the best I could (although they alwayes said that I went away for feare) I returned downe the riuer: and that way which I had gone against the streame vp the riuer in 15 dayes and an halfe, I made in my returne in 2. dayes and an halfe, because the streame

A desert.

was great and very swift. In this wise going downe the riuer, much people came to the banks, saying, Sir, wherefore doe you leaue vs? what discourtesie hath bin done vnto you? did you not say that you would remayne continually with vs, and be our Lord; And turne backe again? if any man aboue the riuer hath done you any wrong we will goe with our weapons with you and kill him; and such like words ful of loue and kindnes.

He returneth in 2 dayes and an halfe to his ships.

Chap. 8.

When they came to their shippes the Captaine named the coast La Campanna de la Cruz, and builded a Chapel vnto our Lady, and called the riuer El Rio de Buena Guia, and returned vp the same againe? when he came to Quicona and Coama the Lords of those places vsed him very courteously.

VPon mine arriuall at my ships I found all my people in health, although very heauie for my long stay, and because the current had fretted fower of their cables, and that they had lost two ankers which were recouered. After we had brought our ships together, I caused them to bring them into a good harbour, and to giue the carena to the shippe called Sanct Peter, and to mend all that were needfull. And here assembling all my company together, I opened vnto them what knowledge I had receiued of Francis Vasquez; and how it might be that in those sixeteeene dayes space which I was in sayling vp the riuer he might peraduenture haue some knowledge of me, and that I was minded to returne vp the riuer once againe to try if I could finde any means to ioyne myself with him: and although some spake against my determination, I caused al my boates to bee made ready, because the ships had no need of them. I caused one of them to be filled with wares of exchange, with corne and other seedes, with hennes and cockes of Castile, and departed vp the riuer, leauing order that in that prouince called Campanna de la Cruz they should build an Oratorie or Chapell, and called it the Chappell of our Lady de la Buena Guia, and that they should call this riuer Rio de Buena because that is your Lordships Deuise: I carried with me Nicolas Zamorano Pilote

Mark what things the Spaniardes cary with them in newe discoueries.

mayor, to take the height of the pole. And I departed on Tuesday the fourteenth of September, and on Wednesday I came vnto the first dwellings of the first Indians, which came running to hinder my passage, supposing that we had bene other people, for we caried with vs a fifer, and a drummer, and I was clad in other apparell, then I went in before, when they saw me first of all: and when they knew me they stayed, though I could not grow vnto perfect friendship with them, whereupon I gaue some of those seedes which I brought with mee; teaching them how they should sow them: and after I had sayled 3 leagues, my first interpretour came euen to my boat to seeke me with great ioy, of whom I demanded wherefore he had left me, he tolde me that certaine companions of his had led him away. I made him good countenance and better intertainment, because he should beare me companie againe, considering howe much it did importe me to haue him with me. He excused himselfe because he stayed there to bring mee certaine feathers of Parrats, which he gaue me. I asked him what people these were, and whether they had any Lord: hee answered me yea; and named three or foure vnto me, of 24 or 25 names of people which he knew and that they had houses painted within, and that they had trafficke with those of Ceuola, and that in two moones he came into the countrey. He told me moreouer many other names of Lords, and other people, which I haue written downe in a booke of mine, which I will bring my selfe vnto your Lordship. But I thought good to deliuer this brief relation to Augustine Guerriero in this hauen of Colima, that he might send it ouerland to your Lordshippe, to whom I haue many other things to imparte.

Parrats in these parts.

Two moones to Ceuola.

Another booke written of the particulars of that countrey.

But to returne to my iourney, I arrived at Quicama, where the Indians came forth with great ioy and gladnes to receive me, aduertizing me that their Lord waited for my comming; to whom when I was come I found that he had with him fiue or sixe thousand men without weapons, from whom he went aparte with some two hundred onely, all which brought victuals with them, and so he came towards me, going before the rest with great authoritie, and before him and on each side of him were certaine which made the people stand aside, making him way to passe. Hee ware a garment close before and behind and open on both sides, fastened with buttons, wrought with white and blacke checker worke, it was very soft and well made, being of the skinnes of certaine delicate fishes called Sea breams. Assoone as he was come to the waters side his seruants tooke him vp in their armes, and brought him into my boate, where I embraced him and receiued him with great ioy, shewing vnto him much kindnesse: vpon which intertainment his people standing by and beholding the same seemed not a litle to reioyce. This Lord turning himselfe to his people willed them to consider my courtesie, and that he being of his owne accord come vnto me with a strange people, they might see how good a man I was, and with how great loue I had entertained him, and that therefore they should take me for their Lord, and that all of them should become my seruants, and doe whatsoeuer I would command them. There I caused him to sit downe, and to eat certaine conserues of sugar which I had brought with mee, and willed the interpreter to thanke him in my name for the fauour which he had done me in vouchsafing to come to see mee, recommending vnto him the worshipping of the crosse, and all such other things as I had recommended to the rest of the Indians; namely that they should liue in peace, and should leaue off warres, and should continue alwayes good friendes together: he answered that of long time they had continued in warres with their neighbours, but that from thence forward he would command his people that they should giue food to all strangers that passed through his kingdome, and that they should doe them no kinde of wrong, and that if any nation should come to inuade him, he said he would tell them howe I had commanded that they should liue in peace, and if they refused the same, he would defend himselfe, and promised me, that he would neuer goe to seeke warre, if others came not to invade him. Then I gaue him certaine trifles, as well of the seedes which I brought, as of the hens of Castile, wherewith he was not a litle pleased. And at my departure I caryed certaine of his people with me, to make friendship betweene them and those other people which dwelt aboue the Riuer: and here the interpreter came vnto me, to craue leaue to returne home: and I gaue him certaine gifts wherewith he departed greatly satisfied.

The next day I came to Coama, and many of them knew me not, seeing me clad in other aparrel, but the old man which was there as soone as he knew me leapt into the water, saying vnto me, Sir, lo here is the man which you left with me, which came forth very ioyfull and pleasant declaring vnto me the great courtesies which that people had shewed him, saying that they had strouen together who should haue him to his house, and that it was incredible to thinke what care they had at the rising of the Sunne to hold vp their hands and kneele before the Crosse. I gaue them of my seedes and thanked them hartily for the good entertainement which they had shewed my man, and they besought me that I would leaue him with them, which I granted them vntill my return, and he stayed among them very willingly. Thus I went forward vp the Riuer, taking that olde man in my companie, which tolde mee, that two Indians came from Cumana to enquire for the Christians, and that he had answered them that he knew none such, but that he knew one which was the sonne of the Sunne, and that they had perswaded him to ioyne with them to kill mee and my companions. I wished him to lend me two Indians, and I would send word by them, that I would come vnto them, and was desirous of their friendship, but that if they on the contrary would haue warre, I would make such a warre with them, that should displease them. And so I passed through all that people, and some came and asked me, why I had not giuen them Crosses as well as the rest, and so I gaue them some.

Treason of the sauages.

Chap. 9.

They goe on land, and see the people worship the Crosse which they had giuen them. The Captain causeth an Indian to make a draught of the countrey: hee sendeth a Crosse to the Lord of Cumana, and going down the Riuer with the streame, he arriueth at his ships. Of the error of the Pilots of Cortez as touching the situation of this Coast.

THe next day I went on land to see certaine cottages, and I found many women and children holding vp their hands and kneeling before a Crosse which I had giuen them. When I came thither I did the like my self; and conferring with the old man, he began to informe me of as many people and Prouinces as he knew. And when euening was come I called the old man to come and lodge with mee in my boate; hee answered that hee would not goe with mee because I would wearie him with asking him questions of so many matters: I told him that I would request him nothing else but that he would set me downe in a chart as much as he knew concerning that Riuer, and what maner of people those were which dwelt vpon the banckes thereof on both sides: which he did willingly. And then he requested me that I would describe my countrey vnto him, as he had done his vnto me. And for to content him, I caused a draught of certaine things to be made for him. The next day I entred betweene certaine very high mountaines, through which this Riuer passeth with a streight chanel, and the boats went vp against the streame very hardly for want of men to draw the same. Here certaine Indians came and told me, that in the same place there were certaine people of Cumana, and among the rest an enchanter, who enquired which way we would passe; and they telling him that we meant to passe by the Riuer, he set certaine canes on both sides thereof, through which wee passed, without receiuing any kinde of domage which they intended against vs. Thus going forward I came vnto the house of the olde man which was in my company, and here I caused a very high crosse to be set vp, whereupon I engraued certaine letters to signifie that I was come thither: and this I did, that if by chance any of the people of the generall Vasquez de Coronado should come thither, they might haue knowledge of my being there. At length seeing I could not attaine to the knowledge of that which I sought for, I determined to returne backe vnto my ships. And being ready to depart there arriued two Indians, which by meanes of the interpreters of the old man, told me that they were sent to me, and that they were of Cumana, and that their Lord could not come himselfe, because he was farre from that place, but desired me to signifie vnto him what my pleasure was. I told them, that I wished that he would alwayes imbrace peace, and that I was comming to see that countrey, but being inforced to returne backe downe the Riuer I could not now doe it, but that hereafter I would returne, and that in the meane season they should giue that Crosse vnto their Lorde, which they promised me to do, and they went directly to cary him that Crosse with certaine feathers which were on the same. Of these

This Riuer ran much farther vp then he had trauelled.

I sought to vnderstand what people dwelt vpward vpon the bankes of the Riuer, which gaue me knowledge of many people, and told me that the Riuer went farre more vp into the land then I had yet seene, but that they knew not the head thereof, because it was very far into the countrey, and that many other Riuers fell into the same.

Hauing learned thus much the next day morning I returned downe the Riuer, and the day following I came where I had left my Spaniard, with whom I spake, and told him that all things had gone well with me, and that at this time and the former I had gone aboue 30 leagues into the countrey. The Indians of that place inquired of me what the cause was of my departure, and when I would returne; to whom I answered, that I would returne shortly. Thus sayling downe the streame, a woman leapt into the water crying vnto vs to stay for her, and shee came into our boate, and crept vnder a bench, from whence we could not make her to come out: I vnderstood that shee did this, because her husband had taken vnto him another wife, by whom hee had children, saying that she ment not to dwell any longer with him, seeing he had taken another wife. Thus shee and another Indian came with me of their owne accord, and so I came into my ships, and making them ready we proceeded home on our voyage, coasting and oftentimes going on land, and entering a great way into the countrey, to see if I could learne any newes of Captaine Francis Vasquez and his companie; of whom I could haue no other knowledge, but such as I learned in the aforesaide Riuer. I bring with me many actes of taking possession of all that Coast. And by the situation of the Riuer, and the height which I tooke, I finde that that which the Masters and Pilots of the Marquesse tooke is false, and that they were deceiued by 2 degrees, and I haue sayled beyond them aboue 4 degrees. I sayled vp the Riuer 85 leagues, where I saw and learned all the particulars before mentioned, and many other things; whereof when it shall please God to giue me leaue to kisse your Lordships hands, I will deliuer you the full and perfect relation. I thinke my selfe to haue had very good fortune, in that I found Don Luis de Castilia, and Augustine Ghenero in the port of Colima: for the Galiot of the Adelantado came vpon mee, which was there with the rest of his fleet, and commanded me to strike sayle, which seeming a strange thing vnto me, and not vnderstanding in what state things were in Nueua Espanna, I went about to defend my selfe, and not to doe it. In the meane while came Don Luis de Castilia in a boate and conferred with mee, and I lay at anchor on the other side of the hauen where the saide fleete road, and I gaue vnto him this relation (and to auoyd striffe I determined to sayle away by night) which relation I caryed about me briefly written; for I alwayes had a purpose to send the same, as soone as I should touch vpon Nueua Espanna, to aduertise your Lordship of my proceedings.

An extract of a Spanish letter written from Pueblo de los Angeles in Nueua Espanna in October 1597, touching the discouerie of the rich Isles of California, being distant eight dayes sayling from the maine.

WE haue seene a letter written the eight of October 1597, out of a towne called Pueblo de los Angeles situate eighteene leagues from Mexico, making mention of the Ilands of California situate two or three hundreth leagues from the maine land of Nueua Espanna, in Mar del Sur: as that thither haue bene sent before that time some people to conquer them: which with losse of some twentie men were forced backe. After that they had wel visited and found those Islands or countreys to be very rich of gold and siluer mynes, and of very fayre Orientall pearles, which were caught in good quantitie vpon one fathome and an halfe passing in beautie the pearles of the Island Margarita: the report thereof caused the Vice-roy of Mexico to send a citizen of Mexico with two hundreth men to conquer the same. Therein also was affirmed that within eight dayes they could sayle thither from the mayne.

The course which Sir Francis Drake held from the hauen of Guatulco in the South sea on the backe side of Nueua Espanna, to the North-west of California as far as fourtie three degrees: and his returne back along the said Coast to thirtie eight degrees: where finding a faire and goodly hauen, he landed, and staying there many weekes, and discouering many excellent things in the countrey and great shewe of rich minerall matter, and being offered the dominion of the countrey by the Lord of the same, hee tooke possession thereof in the behalfe of her Maiestie, and named it Noua Albion.

WEe kept our course from the Isle of Cano (which lyeth in eight degrees of Northerly latitude, and within two leagues of the maine of Nicaragua, where wee calked and trimmed our ship) along the Coast of Nueua Espanna, vntill we came to the Hauen and Towne of Guatulco, which (as we were informed) had but seuenteene Spaniards dwelling in it, and we found it to stand in fifteene degrees and fiftie minutes.

Assoone as we were entred this Hauen we landed, and went presently to the towne, and to the Towne house, were we found a Iudge sitting in iudgement, he being associate with three other officers, vpon three Negroes that had conspired the burning of the Towne: both which Iudges, and prisoners we tooke, and brought them a shippeboord, and caused the chiefe Iudge to write his letter to the Towne, to command all the Townesmen to auoid, that we might safely water there. Which being done, and they departed, wee ransaked the Towne, and in one house we found a pot of the quantitie of a bushell full of royals of plate, which we brought to our ship.

And here one Thomas Moone one of our companie, took a Spanish gentleman as he was flying out of the Towne, and searching him he found a chaine of Gold about him, and other iewels, which we tooke and so let him goe.

The Portugal Pilote set on land.

At this place our Generall among other Spaniards, set ashore his Portugall Pilote, which he tooke at the Island of Cape Verde, out of a ship of Saint Marie port of Portugall, and hauing set them ashoore, we departed thence.

Our General at this place and time thinking himselfe both in respect of his priuate iniuries receiued from the Spaniards, as also of their contempts and indignities offered to our Countrey and Prince in generall, sufficiently satisfied, and reuenged: and supposing that her Maiestie at his returne would rest contented with this seruice, purposed to continue no longer vpon the Spanish coastes, but began to consider and to consult of the best way for his Countrey.

He thought it not good to returne by the Streights, for two speciall causes: the one, least the Spaniards should there waite, and attend for him in great number and strength, whose handes he being left but one ship, could not possibly escape. The other cause was the dangerous situation of the mouth of the Streits of the South side, with continuall stormes raining and blustring, as he found by experience, besides the shoals and sands vpon the coast, wherefore he thought it not a good course to aduenture that way: he resolued therefore to auoide these hazards, to goe forward to the Islands of the Malucos, and therehence to saile the course of the Portugales by the Cape of Bona Sperança.

Vpon this resolution, he began to thinke of his best way for the Malucos, and finding himselfe, where hee now was, becalmed, hee sawe that of necessitie hee must bee enforced to take a Spanish course, namely to saile somewhat Northerly to get a good winde, and thus much we sayled from the 16 of Aprill after our olde stile till the third of Iune.

The fift day of Iune being in fortie three degrees towardes the pole Arcticke, being speedily come out of the extreame heate, wee found the ayre so colde, that our men being pinched with the same, complayned of the extremitie thereof, and the further we went, the more the colde increased vpon vs, whereupon we thought it best for that time to seeke land, and did so, finding it not mountainous, but low plaine land, and we drew backe againe without landing, til we came within thirtie eight degrees towardes the line. In which height it pleased God to send vs into a faire and good Bay, with a good winde to enter the same.

Sir Francis Drake sayled on the backe side of America, to 43 degrees of Northerly latitude.

38 degrees.

In this Bay wee ankered the seuententh of Iune, and the people of the Countrey, hauing their houses close by the waters side, shewed themselues vnto vs, and sent a present to our Generall.

When they came vnto vs, they greatly wondred at the things which we brought, but our Generall (according to his naturall and accustomed humanitie) curteously intreated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessarie things to couer their nakednesse, whereupon they supposed vs to be gods, and would not be perswaded to the contrary: the presentes which they sent vnto our Generall were feathers, and cals of net worke.

Their houses are digged round about with earth, and haue from the vttermost brimmes of the circle clifts of wood set vpon them, ioyning close together at the toppe like a spire steeple, which by reason of that closenesse are very warme.

A description of the people and Countrey of Noua Albion.

Their bed is the ground with rushes strawed on it, and lying about the house, they haue the fire in the middest. The men goe naked, the women take bulrushes and kembe them after the maner of hempe, and thereof make their loose garments, which being knit about their middles, hang downe about their hippes, hauing also about their shoulders a skinne of Deere, with the haire vpon it. These women are very obedient and seruiceable to their husbands.

After they were departed from vs, they came and visited vs the second time, and brought with them feathers and bags of Tabacco for presents: And when they came to the toppe of the hil (at the bottome whereof wee had pitched our tents) they stayed themselues, where one appointed for speaker, wearied himselfe with making a long oration, which done, they left their bowes vpon the hill and came downe with their presents.

In the meane time the women remaining on the hill, tormented themselues lamentably, tearing their flesh from their cheekes, whereby we perceiued that they were about a sacrifice. In the meane time our Generall, with his companie, went to prayer, and to reading of the Scriptures, at which exercise they were attentiue and seemed greatly to be affected with it: but when they were come vnto vs they restored againe vnto vs those things which before we had bestowed vpon them.

The newes of our being there being spread through the countrey, the people that inhabited round about came downe, and amongst them the king himself, a man of a goodly stature, and comely personage, with many other tall and warlike men: before whose comming were sent two Ambassadours to our Generall, to signifie that their king was comming, in doing of which message, their speech was continued about halfe an howre. This ended, they by signes requested our Generall to send something by their hand to their king, as a token that his comming might bee in peace: wherein our Generall hauing satisfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their king, who marched to vs with a princely Maiestie, the people crying continually after their maner, and as they drewe neere vnto vs, so did they striue to behaue themselues in their actions with comelinesse.

In the fore front was a man of a goodly personage, who bare the scepter, or mace before the king, whereupon hanged two crownes, a lesse and a bigger, with three chaines of a marueilous length: the crownes were made of knit work wrought artificially with feathers of diuers colours: the chaines were made of a bony substance and few be the persons among them that are admitted

These are like chaines of Esurnoy in Canada and Hochelage.

to weare them: and of that number also the persons are stinted, as some ten, some twelue, &c. Next vnto him which bare the scepter, was the king himselfe, with his Guarde about his person, clad with Conie skinnes, and other skinnes: after them followed the naked common sort of people, euery one hauing his face painted, some with white, some with blacke, and other colours, and hauing in their hands one thing or other for a present, not so much as their children, but they also brought their presents.

In the meane time, our Generall gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making against their approching, a very warlike shewe. They being trooped together in their order, and a general salutation being made, there was presently a generall silence. When he that bare the scepter before the king, being informed by another, whome they assigned to that office, with a manly and loftie voice, proclaimed that which the other spake to him in secret, continuing halfe an houre: which ended, and a generall Amen as it were giuen, the king with the whole number of men, and women (the children excepted) came downe without any weapon, who descending to the foote of the hill, set themselues in order.

In comming towards our bulwarks and tents, the scepter bearer began a song, obseruing his measures in a dance, and that with a stately countenance, whom the king with his Garde, and euery degree of persons following, did in like maner sing and dance, sauing onely the women which daunced and kept silence. The General permitted them to enter within our bulwark, where they continued their song and daunce a reasonable time. When they had satisfied themselues, they made signes to our Generall to sit downe, to whom the king, and diuers others made seueral orations, or rather supplication, that he would take their prouince and kingdom into his hand, and become their king, making signes that they would resigne vnto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his subiects. In which to perswade vs the better, the king and the rest, with one consent and with great reuerence, ioyfully singing a song, did set the crowne vpon his head, inriched his necke with all their chaines, and offered vnto him many other things, honouring him by the name of Hioh, adding thereunto as it seemed a signe of triumph: which thing our Generall thought not meete to reiect, because hee knewe not what honour and profite it might

The king resignes his crowne and kingdome to Sir Francis Drake.
Great riches in Noua Albion.

bee to our countrey. Wherefore in the name, and to the vse of her Maiestie, he tooke the scepter, crowne and dignitie of the said Countrey in his hands, wishing that the riches and treasure thereof might so conueniently be transported to the inriching of her kingdome at home, as it aboundeth in the same.

The common sort of the people leauing the king and his Guarde with our Generall, scattered themselues together with their sacrifices among our people, taking a diligent viewe of euery person; and such as pleased their fancie, (which were the yongest) they inclosing them about offred their sacrifices vnto them with lamentable weeping, scratching, and tearing the flesh from their faces with their nayles, whereof issued abundance of blood. But wee vsed signes to them of disliking this, and stayed their hands from force, and directed them vpwardes to the liuing God, whome onely they ought to worshippe. They shewed vnto vs their wounds, and craued helpe of them at our handes, whereupon wee gaue them lotions, plaisters, and ointments agreeing to the state of their griefes, beseeching God to cure their deseases. Euery thirde day they brought their sacrifices vnto vs, vntill they vnderstoode our meaning, that we had no pleasure in them: yet they could not be long absent from vs, but daily frequented our company to the houre of our departure, which departure seemed so grieuous vnto them, that their ioy was turned into sorrow. They intreated vs, that being absent wee would remember them, and by stelth prouided a sacrifice, which we misliked.

Our necessarie businesse being ended, our Generall with his companie traueiled vp into the Countrey to their villages, where we found heardes of Deere by a thousand in a companie, being most large and fat of body.

Abundance of strange conies.

We found the whole countrey to bee a warren of a strange kinde of Conies, their bodyes in bignes as be the Barbary Conies, their heads as the heades of ours, the feet of a Want, and the taile of a Rat being of great length: vnder her chinne on either side a bagge, into the which shee gathereth her meate when she hath filled her belly abroad. The people eate their bodies, and make great account of their skinnes, for their Kings coate was made of them.

Our Generall called this countrey, Noua Albion, and that for two causes: the one in respect of the white bankes and cliffes, which ly towardes the sea: and the other, because it might haue some affinitie with our Countrey in name, which sometimes was so called.

Golde and siluer in the earth of Noua Albion.

There is no part of earth heere to be taken vp, wherein there is not some special likelihood of gold or siluer.

At our departure hence our Generall set vp a monument of our being there; as also of her Maiesties right and title to the same, namely a plate nailed vpon a faire great poste, whereupon was ingrauen her Maiesties name, the day and yeere of our arriuall there, with the free giuing vp of the Prouince and people into her Maiesties hands, together with her highnes picture and armes, in a piece of sixe pence of current English money vnder the plate, where vnder was also written the name of our Generall.

It seemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had neuer bene in this part of the countrey, neither did euer discouer the land by many degrees to the Southwards of this place.

THE DISCOVERIE

OF THE LARGE, RICH, AND BEAUTIFULL EMPIRE OF GUIANA, WITH A RELATION OF THE GREAT AND GOLDEN CITIE OF MANOA (WHICH THE SPANIARDS CALL EL DORADO) AND THE PROUINCES OF EMERIA, AROMAIA, AMAPAIA, AND OTHER COUNTRIES, WITH THEIR RIUERS ADIOYNING. PERFORMED IN THE YEERE 1595 BY SIR WALTER RALEGH KNIGHT, CAPTAINE OF HER MAIESTIES GUARD, LORDE WARDEN OF THE STANNERIES, AND HER HIGHNESSE LIEUTENANT GENERALL OF THE COUNTIE OF CORNE-WALL.

To the right Honourable my singular good Lord and kinsman Charles Howard, Knight of the Garter, Baron and Counceller, and of the Admirals of England the most renowmed: and to the right Honourable Sir Robert Cecyll knight, Counceller in her Highnesse Priuie Councils.

FOr your Honours many Honourable and friendly partes, I haue hitherto onely returned promises, and now for answere of both your adventures, I haue sent you a bundle of papers, which I haue deuided betwene your Lordship, and Sir Robert Cecyll in these two respects chiefly: First for that it is reason, that wastful factors, when they haue consumed such stockes as they had in trust, doe yeeld some colour for the same in their account; secondly for that I am assured, that whatsoeuer shall bee done, or written by me, shall neede a double protection and defence. The triall that I had of both your loues, when I was left of all, but of malice and reuenge, makes me still presume, that you wil be pleased (knowing what litle power I had to performe ought, and the great aduantage of forewarned enemies) to answer that out of knowledge, which others shal but obiect out of malice. In my more happy times as I did especially Hon. you both, so I found that your loues sought mee out in the darkest shadow of aduersitie, and the same affection which accompanied my better fortune, sored not away from me in my many miseries: al which though I can not requite yet I shal euer acknowledge: and the great debt which I haue no power to pay, I can do no more for a time but confesse to be due. It is true that as my errors were great, so they haue yeelded very grieuous effects, and if ought might haue bene deserued in former times to haue conterpoysed any part of offences, the fruit thereof (as it seemeth) was long before fallen from the tree, and the dead stocke onely remained. I did therefore euen in the winter of my life, vndertake these trauels, fitter for bodies lesse blasted with mis-fortunes, for men of greater abilitie, and for minds of better incouragement, that thereby, if it were possible, I might recouer but the moderation of excesse, and the least tast of the greatest plenty formerly possessed. If I had knowen other way to win, if I had imagined how greater aduentures might haue regained, if I could conceiue what farther meanes I might yet vse, but euen to appease so powerful displeasure, I would not doubt but for one yeere more to hold fast my soule in my teeth, till it were performed. Of that litle remaine I had, I haue wasted in effect all herein. I haue vndergone many constructions. I haue been accompanyed with many sorrows, with labour, hunger, heat, sicknes, and perill: It appeareth notwithstanding that I made no other brauado of going to the sea, then was ment, and that I was neuer hidden in Cornewall, or els where, as was supposed. They haue grosly belied me, that foreiudged, that I would rather become a seruant to the Spanish King, then returne, and the rest were much mistaken, who would haue perswaded, that I was too easefull and sensuall to vndertake a iourney of so great trauell. But, if what I haue done, receiue the gracious construction of a painefull pilgrimage, and purchase the least remission, I shall thinke all too litle, and that there were wanting to the rest many miseries. But if both the times past, the present, and what may be in the future, doe all by one grain of gall continue in eternall distast; I doe not then know whether I should bewaile my selfe, either for my too much trauell and expence, or condemne my selfe for doing lesse then that, which can deserue nothing. From my selfe I haue deserued no thankes, for I am returned a begger, and withered, but that I might haue bettred my poore estate, it shall appeare by the following discourse, if I had not onely respected her Maiesties future Honour, and riches. It became not the former fortune in which I once liued, to goe iourneys of picory, it had sorted ill with the offices of Honour, which by her Maiesties grace I hold this day in England, to run from Cape to Cape, and from place to place, for the pillage of ordinaries prizes. Many yeeres since, I had knowledge by relation, of that mighty, rich and beautifull Empier of Guiana, and of that great and golden Citie, which the Spaniards call El Dorado, and the naturals Manoa, which Citie was conquered, reedified, and inlarged by a yonger sonne of Guainacapa Emperour of Peru, at such time as Francisco Piçarro and others conquered the said Empire, from his two elder brethren, Guascar, and Atabalipa, both then contending for the same, the one being fauoured by the Orejones of Cuzco, the other by the people of Caxamalca. I sent my seruant Iacob Whiddon the yere before, to get knowledge of the passages, and I had some light from Captaine Parker, sometime my seruant, and nowe attending on your Lordship, that such a place there was to the Southward of the great Bay of Charuas, or Guanipa: but I found that it was 600 miles farther off then they supposed, and many other impediments to them vnknowen and vnheard. After I had displanted Don Antonio de Berreo, who was vpon the same enterprize, leauing my ships at Trinidad at the Port called Curiapan, I wandred 400 miles into the said countrey by lande and riuer: the particulars I will leaue to the following discourse. The countrey hath more quantity of gold by manifolde, then the best partes of the Indies, or Peru: All the most of the kings of the borders are already become her Maiesties vassals: and seeme to desire nothing more then her Maiesties protection and the returne of the English nation. It hath another ground and assurance of riches and glory, then the voyages of the West Indies, an easier way to inuade the best parts thereof, then by the common course. The king of Spaine is not so impouerished, by taking three or foure Port townes in America, as wee suppose, neither are the riches of Peru, or Nueua Espanna so left by the sea side, as it can bee easily washt away with a great flood, or springtide, or left dry vpon the sandes on a lowe ebbe. The Port townes are fewe and poore in respect of the rest within the lande, and are of litle defence, and are onely rich, when the Fleets are to receiue the treasure for Spaine: and we might thinke the Spaniards very simple, hauing so many horses and slaues, if they could not vpon two dayes warning cary all the golde they haue into the land, and farre enough from the reach of our foote-men, especially the

Indies being (as they are for the most part) so mountanous, so full of woodes, riuers, and marishes. In the Port townes of the Prouince of Veneçuela, as Cumana, Coro and S. Iago (whereof Coro and S. Iago were taken by Captaine Preston, and Cumana and S. Iosepho by vs) we found not the value of one riall of plate in either: but the Cities of Barquasimeta, Valencia, S. Sebastian, Cororo, S. Lucia, Laguna, Maracaiba, and Truxillo, are not so easely inuaded: neither doeth the burning of those on the coast impouerish the king of Spaine any one ducat: and if we sacke the riuer of Hacha, S. Marta, and Cartagena, which are the Portes of Nueuo reyno, and Popayan; there are besides within the land, which are indeed riche and populous the townes and Cities of Merida, Lagrita, S. Christophorò, the great Cities of Pamplon, S. Fe de Bogota, Tunxa and Mozo where the Esmeralds are found, the townes and Cities of Marequita, Velez, la Villa de Leua, Palma, Vnda, Angustura, the great citie of Timana, Tocaima, S. Aguila, Pasto, Iuago, the great Citie of Popaian it selfe, Los Remedios, and the rest. If we take the Ports and villages within the Bay of Vraba in the kingdom or riuers of Dariene, and Caribana, the Cities and townes of S. Iuan de Roydas, of Cassaris, of Antiocha, Caramanta, Cali, and Anserma haue gold enough to pay the kings part, and are not easily inuaded by the way of the Ocean: or if Nombre de Dios and Panama be taken in the Prouince of Castilla del oro, and the villages vpon the riuers of Cenu and Chagre; Peru hath besides those and besides the magnificent cities of Quito and Lima so many ylands, ports, cities, and mines, as if I should name them with the rest, it would seem incredible to the reader: of all which, because I haue written a particular treatise of the West Indies, I wil omit the repetition at this time, seeing that in the said treatise I haue anatomised the rest of the sea-townes, aswel of Nicaragua, Iucatan, Nueua Espanna, and the ylands, as those of the Inland, and by what meanes they may be best inuaded, as far as any meane iudgment can comprehend. But I hope it shal appeare that there is a way found to answer euery mans longing, a better Indies for her Maiestie then the King of Spaine hath any: which if it shal please her highnes to vndertake, I shall most willingly end the rest of my daies in folowing the same: if it be left to the spoile and sackage of common persons, if the loue and seruice of so many nations be dispised, so great riches, and so mighty an empire refused, I hope her maiesty wil yet take my humble desire and my labor therin in gracious part, which, if it had not bin in respect of her highnes future honor and riches, could haue laid hands on and ransomed many of the kings and Casiqui of the country, and haue had a reasonable proportion of gold for their redemption: but I haue chosen rather to beare the burden of pouerty, then reproch, and rather to endure a second traue and the chances therof, then to haue defaced an enterprise of so great assurance, vntil I knew whether it pleased God to put a disposition in her princely and royal heart either to folow or foreslow the same: I wil therefore leaue it to his ordinance that hath only power in all things, and do humbly pray that your honors wil excuse such errors, as without the defence of art, ouerrun in euery part of the folowing discourse, in which I haue neither studied phrase, forme or fashion, that you will be pleased to esteeme mee as your owne (though ouer dearly bought) and I shall euer remaine ready to do you all honour and seruice.

W. R.

¶ To the Reader.

BEcause there haue bin diuers opinions conceiued of the gold oare broght from Guiana, and for y^t^ an Alderman of London and an officer of her Maiesties Mint, hath giuen out that the same is of no price, I haue thought good by the addition of these lines to giue answer aswel to the said malicious slander, as to other obiections. It is true that while we abode at the yland of Trinidad, I was informed, by an Indian, that not far from the Port, where we ancored, there were found certaine mineral stones which they esteemed to be gold, and were thereunto perswaded the rather for that they had seene both English and Frenchmen gather, and imbark some quantities therof: vpon this likelyhood I sent 40. men and gaue order that each one should bring a stone of that mine to make trial of ye goodnes: which being performed, I assured them at their returne that the same was Marcasite, and of no riches or value: notwithstanding diuers, trusting more to their owne sence, then to my opinion, kept of the said Marcasite, and haue tried therof since my returne in diuers places. In Guiana it selfe I neuer saw Marcasite, but al the rocks, mountains, al stones in ye plaines, woods, and by the riuers side are in effect throughshining, and seem marueelous rich, which being tried to be no Marcasite, are the true signes of rich minerals, but are no other then El madre del oro (as the Spaniards terme them) which is the mother of gold, or as it is said by others the scum of gold: of diuers sorts of these many of my company brought also into England, euery one taking ye fairest for the best, which is not general. For mine own part I did not countermand any mans desire, or opinion, and I could haue aforded them litle if I should haue denied them the pleasing of their owne fancies therein: but I was resolued that gold must be found either in graines separate from the stone (as it is in most of the riuers in Guiana) or els in a kind of hard stone, which we call The white spar, of which I saw diuers hils, and in sundry places, but had neither time nor men, nor instruments fit for labour. Neere vnto one of the riuers I found of the said White sparre or flint a very great ledge or banke, which I endeuoured to breake by al the meanes I could, because there appeared on the outside some smal graines of golde, but finding no meane to worke the same vpon the vpper part, seeking the sides and circuit of the said rocke, I found a clift in the same from whence with daggers, and with the head of an axe, we got out some smal quantitie therof, of which kind of white stone (wherin gold engendred) we saw diuers hils and rocks in euery part of Guiana, wherein we traueiled. Of this there haue bin made many trials, and in London it was first assaid by M. Westwood a refiner dwelling in Woodstreet, and it held after the rate of 12000. or 13000. pounds a tunne. Another sort was afterward tried by M. Bulmar and M. Dimock Assay-master, and it held after the rate of 23000 li. a tunne. There was some of it againe tried by M. Palmer comptroller of the Mint, and M. Dimock in goldsmiths hal, and it held after 26900. li. a tun. There was also at the same time, and by the same persons a trial made of the dust of the said mine which held 8. li. 6. ounces weight of gold in the 100: there was likewise at the same time a triall of an image of copper made in Guiana, which held a third part of gold, besides diuers trials made in the countrey, and by others in London. But because there came ill with the good, and belike the said Alderman was not presented with the best, it hath pleased him therefore to scandall all the rest, and to deface the enterprize as much as in him lieth. It hath also bene concluded by diuers, that if there had bin any such oare in Guiana, and the same discouered, that I would haue brought home a greater quantitie thereof: first I was not bound to satisfie any man of the quantitie, but such only as aduentured, if any store had bin returned thereof: but it is very true that had al their mountaines bene of massie gold, it was impossible for vs to haue made any longer stay to haue wrought the same: and whosoeuer hath seene with what strength of stone the best gold oare is inuironed, hee will not thinke it easy to be had out in heapes, and especially by vs, who had neither men, instruments, nor time (as it is said before) to performe the same. There were on this discouery no lesse then 100. persons, who can all witnesse, that when we past any branch of the riuer to view the land within, and staied from our boats but 6. houres, wee were driuen to wade to the eyes, at our returne: and if we attempted the same, the day following it was impossible either to ford it, or to swim it, both by reason of the swiftnesse, and also for that the borders were so pestred with fast woods, as neither boat nor man could find place, either to land or to imbarke: for in Iune, Iuly, August and September, it is impossible to nauigate any of those riuers: for such is the fury of the current, and there are so many trees and woods ouerflowne, as if any boat but touch vpon any tree or stake, it is impossible to saue any one person therein: and yer* we departed the land it ranne with such swiftnes, as wee draue downe most commonly against the wind, little lesse then 100. miles a day: Besides our were no other then whirries, one little barge, a small cockboat, and a bad Galiota, which we framed in hast for that purpose at Trinidad, and those little boats had 9. or 10. men a piece, with all their victuals, and armes. It is further true, that we were about 400. miles from our ships, and had bene a moneth from them, which also we left weakly manned in an open road, and had promised our returne in 15. dayes. Others haue deuised that the same oare was had from Barbary, and that we caried it with vs into Guiana: surely the singularitie of that deuice I doe not well comprehend: for mine owne part, I am not so much in loue with these long voyages, as to deuise, therby to cozen my selfe, to lie hard, to fare worse, to be subiected to perils, to diseases, to ill sauors, to be parched and withered, and withall to sustaine the care and labour of such an enterprize, except the same had more comfort, then the fetching of Marcasite in Guiana, or buying of gold oare in Barbary. But I hope the better sort wil iudge me by themselues, and that the way of deceit is not the way of honour or good opinion: I haue herein consumed much time, and many crownes, and I had no other respect or desire then to serue her Maiestie and my country thereby. If the Spanish nation had bene of like beliefe to these detracters, we should litle haue feared or doubted their attempts, wherewith we now are daily threatned. But if we now consider of the actions both of Charles the 5. who had the maidenhead of Peru, and the abundant treasures of Atabalipa, together with the affaires of the Spanish king now liuing, what territories he hath purchased, what he hath added to the acts of his predecessors, how many kingdoms he hath indangered, how many armies, garisons, and nauies he hath and doth mainteine, the great losses which he hath repaired, as in 88. aboue 100. saile of great ships with their artillery, and that no yere is lesse vnfortunate but that many vessels, treasures, and people are deuoured, and yet notwithstanding he beginneth againe like a storme to threaten shipwrack to vs all: we shall find that these abilities rise not from the trades of sacks, and Siuil oringes, nor from ought els that either Spaine, Portugal, or any of his other prouinces produce: it is his Indian gold that indangereth and disturbeth all the nations of Europe, it purchaseth intelligence, creepeth into counsels, and setteth bound loyaltie at libertie, in the greatest Monarchies of Europe. If the Spanish king can keepe vs from forren enterprizes, and from the impeachment of his trades, either by offer of inuasion, or by besieging vs in Britaine, Ireland, or elsewhere, hee hath then brought the worke of our peril in great forwardnes. Those princes which abound in treasure haue great aduantages ouer the rest, if they once constraine them to a defensiue war, where they are driuen once a yere or oftener to cast lots for their own garments, and from such shal all trades, and entercourse be taken away, to the general losse and impouerishment of the kingdom and common weale so reduced: besides when our men are constrained to fight, it hath not the like hope, as when they are prest and incouraged by the desire of spoile and riches. Farther, it is to be douted how those that in time of victory seeme to affect their neighbor nations, wil remaine after the first view of misfortunes, or il successe; to trust also to the doubtfulnes of a battel, is but a fearefull and vncertaine aduenture, seeing therein fortune is as likely to preuaile, as vertue. It shall not be necessary to alleage all that might bee said, and therefore I will thus conclude, that whatsoeuer kingdome shall be inforced to defend it selfe, may be compared to a body dangerously diseased, which for a season may be preserued with vulgar medicines, but in a short time, and by litle and litle, the same must needs fall to the ground, and be dissolued. I haue therefore laboured all my life, both according to my smal power, and perswasion, to aduance al those attempts, that might either promise return of profit to our selues, or at least be a let and impeachment to the quiet course and plentifull trades of the Spanish nation, who in my weake iudgement by such a warre were as easily indangered and brought from his powerfulnes, as any prince of Europe, if it be considered from how many kingdoms and nations his reuenues are gathered, and those so weake in their owne beings, and so far seuered from mutual succour. But because such a preparation and resolution is not to be hoped for in hast, and that the time which our enemies imbrace, cannot be had againe to aduantage, I wil hope that these prouinces, and that Empire now by me discouered shal suffice to inable her Maiestie and the whole kingdome, with no lesse quantities of treasure, then the king of Spaine hath in all the Indies East and West, which he possesseth, which if the same be considered and followed, ere the Spaniards enforce the same, and if her Maiestie wil vndertake it, I wil be contented to lose her highnesse fauour and good opinion for euer, and my life withall, if the same be not found rather to exceed, then to equal whatsoeuer is in this discourse promised or declared. I will now referre the Reader to the following discourse, with the hope that the perillous and chargeable labours and indeuors of such as thereby seeke the profit and honour of her Maiestie, and the English nation, shall by men of qualitie and vertue receiue such construction, and good acceptance, as themselues would looke to be rewarded withall in the like.

---

* Before.

W. R.

¶ The discouerie of Guiana.

ON Thursday the 6. of February in the yeere 1595. we departed England, and the Sunday following had sight of the North cape of Spaine, the winter for the most part continuing prosperous: we passed in sight of the Burlings, and the Rocke, and so onwards for the Canaries, and fel with Fuerte ventura the 17 of the same moneth, where we spent two or three dayes, and relieued our companies with some fresh meat. From thence we coasted by the Grand Canaria, and so to Tenerif, and stayed there for the Lions whelpe your Lordships ship, and for Captaine Amyas Preston and the rest. But when after 7. or 8. dayes wee found them not, we departed and directed our course for Trinidad with mine owne ship, and a small barke of Captaine Crosses onely (for we had before lost sight of a small Galego on the coast of Spaine, which came with vs from Plimmouth) we arriued at Trinidad the 22. of March, casting ancker at point Curiapan, which the Spaniards call punta de Gallo, which is situate in 8. degrees or there abouts: we abode there 4. or 5. dayes, and in all that time we came not to the speach of any Indian or Spaniard: on the coast we saw a fire, as we sailed from the point Caroa towards Curiapan, but for feare of the Spaniards none durst come to speake with vs. I my selfe coasted it in my barge close abord the shore and landed in euery Coue, the better to know the yland, while the ships kept the chanell. From Curiapan after a fewe dayes we turned vp Northeast to recouer that place which the Spaniards call Puerto de los Espannoles, and the inhabitants Conquerabia, and as before (reuictualling my barge) I left the ships and kept by the shore, the better to come to speach with some of the inhabitants, and also to vnderstand the riuers, watering places, and ports of the yland, which (as it is rudely done) my purpose is to send your Lordship after a few dayes. From Curiapan I came to a port and seat of Indians called Parico, where we found a fresh water riuer, but saw no people. From thence I rowed to another port, called by the naturals Piche, and by the Spaniards Tierra de Brea: In the way betweene both were diuers little brookes of fresh water and one salt riuer that had store of oisters vpon the branches of the trees, and were very salt and well tasted. All their oisters grow vpon those boughs and spraies, and not on the ground: the like is commonly seene in other places of the West Indies, and else where. This tree is described by Andrew Theuet in his French Antarctique, and the forme figured in the booke as a plant very strange, and by Plinie in his 12. booke of his naturall historie. But in this yland, as also in Guiana there are very many of them.

The yle of Trinidad.

At this point called Tierra de Brea or Piche there is that abundance of stone pitch, that all the ships of the world may be therewith loden from thence, and we made trial of it in trimming our shippes to be most excellent good, and melteth not with the Sunne as the pitch of Norway, and therefore for shippes trading the South parts very profitable. From thence wee went to the mountaine foote called Anniperima, and so passing the riuer Carone on which the Spanish Citie was seated, we met with our ships at Puerto de los Espannoles or Conquerabia.

This yland of Trinidad hath the forme of a sheephooke, and is but narrow, the North part is very mountainous, the soile is very excellent and will beare suger, ginger, or any other commoditie that the Indies yeeld. It hath store of deere, wilde porks, fruits, fish and foule: It hath also for bread sufficient maiz, cassaui, and of those rootes and fruites which are common euery where in the West Indies. It hath diuers beastes which the Indies haue not: the Spaniards confessed that they found graines of golde in some of the riuers, but they hauing a purpose to enter Guiana (the Magazin of all rich mettals) cared not to spend time in the search thereof any further. This yland is called by the people thereof Cairi, and in it are diuers nations: those about Parico are called Iaio, those at Punta de Carao are of the Arwacas, and betweene Carao and Curiapan they are called Saluajos, betwene Carao and Punta de Galera are the Nepoios, and those about the Spanish citie terme themselues Carinepagotes: Of the rest of the nations, and of other ports and riuers I leaue to speake here, being impertinent to my purpose, and meane to describe them as they are situate in the particular plot and description of the yland, three parts whereof I coasted with my barge, that I might the better describe it.

The death of Captaine Whiddon.

Meeting with the ships at Puerto de los Espannoles, we found at the landing place a company of Spaniards who kept a guard at the descent, and they offering a signe of peace, I sent Captaine Whiddon to speake with them, whom afterward to my great griefe I left buried in the said yland after my returne from Guiana, being a man most honest and valiant. The Spaniards seemed to be desirous to trade with vs, and to enter into termes of peace, more for doubt of their owne strength then for ought else, and in the ende vpon pledge, some of them came abord: the same euening there stale also abord vs in a small Canoa two Indians, the one of them being a Casique or Lord of the people called Cantyman, who had the yeere before bene with Captaine Whiddon, and was of his acquaintance. By this Cantyman, wee vnderstood what strength the Spaniards had, howe farre it was to their Citie, and of Don Antonio de Berreo the gouernor, who was said to be slaine in his second attempt of Guiana, but was not.

While we remained at Puerto de los Espannoles some Spaniards came abord vs to buy linnen of the company, and such other things as they wanted, and also to view our ships and company, all which I entertained kindly and feasted after our maner: by meanes whereof I learned of one and another as much of the estate of Guiana as I could, or as they knew for those poore souldiers hauing bene many yeeres without wine, a few draughts made them merrie, in which mood they vaunted of Guiana and of the riches thereof, and all what they knewe of the wayes and passages, my selfe seeming to purpose nothing lesse then the enterance or discouerie thereof, but bred in them an opinion that I was bound onely for the reliefe of those English which I had planted in Virginia, whereof the bruite was come among them; which I had performed in my returne, if extremitie of weather had not forst me from the said coast.

I found occasions of staying in this place for two causes: the one was to be reuenged of Berreo, who the yere before 1594. had betraied eight of Captaine Whiddons men, and tooke them while he departed from them to seeke the Edward Bonauenture, which arriued at Trinidad the day before from the East Indies: in whose absence Berreo sent a Canoa abord the pinnesse onely with Indians and dogs inuiting the company to goe with them into the woods to kill a deare, who like wise men in the absence of their Captaine followed the Indians, but were no sooner one harquebuze shot from the shore, but Berreos souldiers lying in ambush had them al, notwithstanding that he had giuen his word to Captaine Whiddon that they should take water and wood safely: the other cause of my stay was, for that by discourse with the Spaniards I dayly learned more and more of Guiana, of the riuers and passages, and of the enterprise of Berreo, by what meanes or fault he failed, and how he meant to prosecute the same.

8 Englishmen betrayed by Antony Berreo.

While wee thus spent the time I was assured by another Casique of the North side of the yland, that Berreo had sent to Margarita and Cumana for souldiers, meaning to haue giuen mee a cassado at parting, if it had bene possible. For although he had giuen order through all the yland that no Indian should come abord to trade with me vpon paine of hanging and quartering, (hauing executed two or them for the same, which I afterwards founde) yet euery night there came some with most lamentable complaints of his crueltie, how he had diuided the yland and giuen to euery souldier a part, that hee made the ancient Casiques which were Lords of the countrey to be their slaues, that he kept them in chaines, and dropped their naked bodies with burning bacon, and such other torments, which I found afterwards to be true: for in the citie after I entred the same there were 5. of ye lords or litle kings (which they cal Casiques in the West Indies) in one chaine almost dead of famine, and wasted with torments: these are called in their owne language Acarewana, and now of the late since English, French and Spanish are come among them, they call themselues Capitaines, because they perceiue that the chiefest of euery ship is called by that name. Those fiue Capitaines in the chaine were called Wannawanare, Carroaori, Maquarima, Tarroopanama, and Aterima. So as both to be reuenged of the former wrong, as also considering that to enter Guiana by small boats, to depart 400. or 500. miles from my ships, and to leaue a garison in my backe interrested in the same enterprize, who also dayly expected supplies out of Spaine, I should haue sauoured very much of the asse: and therefore taking a time of most aduantage I set vpon the Corps du guard in the euening, and hauing put them to the sword, sent Captaine Calfield onwards with 60. souldiers, and my selfe followed with 40. more and so tooke their new City which they called S. Ioseph by breake of day: they abode not any fight after a fewe shot, and all being dismissed but onely Berreo and his companion, I brought them with me abord, and at the instance of the Indians I set their new citie of S. Ioseph on fire.

The Citie of S. Ioseph taken.

Antony Berreo taken prisoner.

The same day arriued Captaine George Gifford with your Lordships ship, and Captaine Keymis whom I lost on the coast of Spaine with the Galego, and in them diuers gentlemen and others, which to our little armie was a great comfort and supply.

We then hasted away towards our purposed discouery, and first I called all the Captaines of the yland together that were enemies to the Spaniards: for there were some which Berreo had brought out of other countreys, and planted there to eate out and wast those that were naturall of the place, and by my Indian interpreter, which I caried out of England, I made them vnderstand that I was the seruant of a Queene, who was the great Casique of the North, and a virgine, and had more Casiqui vnder her then there were trees in that yland: that shee was an enemie to the Castellani in respect of their tyrannie and oppression, and that she deliuered all such nations about her, as were by them oppressed, and hauing freed all the coast of the Northren world from their seruitude, had sent mee to free them also, and withall to defend the countrey of Guiana from their inuasion and conquest. I shewed them her Maiesties picture which they so admired and honoured, as it had bene easie to haue brought them idolatrous thereof.

The like and a more large discourse I made to the rest of the nations both in my passing to Guiana, and to those of the borders, so as in that part of the world her Maiestie is very famous and admirable, whom they now call Ezrabeta Cassipuna Aquerewana, which is as much as Elizabeth, the great princesse or greatest commander. This done we left Puerto de los Espannoles, and returned to Curiapan, and hauing Berreo my prisoner I gathered from him as much of Guiana as he knew.

This Berreo is a gentleman wel descended, and had long serued the Spanish king in Millain, Naples, the Low countreis and elsewhere, very valiant and liberall, and a gentleman of great assurednes, and of a great heart: I vsed him according to his estate and worth in all things I could, according to the small meanes I had.

Sir W. Ralegh passed 400. miles toward Guiana.

I sent Captaine Whiddon the yeere before to get what knowledge he could of Guiana, and the end of my iourney at this time was to discouer and enter the same, but my intelligence was farre from trueth, for the countrey is situate aboue 600. English miles further from the Sea, then I was made beleeue it had bin, which afterward vnderstanding to be true by Berreo, I kept it from the knowledge of my company, who else would neuer haue bene brought to attempt the same: of which 600. miles I passed 400. leauing my ships so farre from mee at ancker in the Sea, which was more of desire to performe that discouery, then of reason, especially hauing such poore and weake vessels to transport our selues in; for in the bottom of an old Galego which I caused to be fashioned like a galley, and in one barge, two whirries, and a shipboat of the Lions whelpe, we caried 100. persons and their victuals for a moneth in the same, being al driuen to lie in the raine and weather, in the open aire, in the burning Sunne, and vpon the hard bords, and to dresse our meat, and to cary all maner of furniture in them, wherewith they were so pestered and unsauory, that what with victuals being most fish, with wette clothes of so many men thrust together, and the heat of the Sunne, I will vndertake there was neuer any prison in England, that could bee found more vnsauorie and lothsome, especially to my selfe, who had for many yeeres before bene dieted and cared for in a sort farre more differing.

If Captaine Preston had not bene perswaded that he should haue come too late to Trinidad to haue found vs there (for the moneth was expired which I promised to tary for him there ere hee coulde recouer the coast of Spaine) but that it had pleased God hee might haue ioyned with vs, and that we had entred the countrey but some ten dayes sooner ere the Riuers were ouerflowen, wee had aduentured either to haue gone to the great Citie of Manoa, or at least taken so many of the other Cities and townes neerer at hand, as would haue made a royall returne: but it pleased not God so much to fauour mee at this time: if it shall be my lot to prosecute the same, I shall willingly spend my life therein, and if any else shalbe enabled thereunto, and conquere the same, I assure him thus much, he shall perfourme more then euer was done in Mexico by Cortez, or in Peru by Piçarro, whereof the one conquered the Empire of Mutezuma, the other of Guascar, and Atabalipa, and whatsoeuer prince shall possesse it, that Prince shall be Lord of more golde, and of a more beautifull Empire, and of more Cities and people, then either the King of Spaine, or the great Turke.

But because there may arise many doubts, and how this Empire of Guiana is become so populous, and adorned with so many great Cities, townes, temples and treasures, I thought good to make it knowen, that the Emperour now reigning is descended from those magnificent princes of Peru, of whose large territories, of whose policies, conquests, edifices, and riches Pedro de Cieça, Francisco Lopez, and others haue written large discourses: for when Francisco Piçarro, Diego Almagro and others conquered the said Empire of Peru, and had put to death Atabalipa sonne to Guaynacapa, which Atabalipa had formerly caused his eldest brother Guascar to bee slaine, one of the yonger sonnes of

Guaynacapa fled out of Peru, and tooke with him many thousands of those souldiers of the Empire called Oreiones, and with those and many others which followed him, he vanquished all that tract and valley of America which is situate betweene the great riuer of Amazones, and Baraquan, otherwise called Orenoque and Marannon.

The Empire of Guiana is directly East from Peru towards the Sea, and lieth under the Equinoctial line, and it hath more abundance of golde then any part of Peru, and as many or moe great Cities then euer Peru had when it flourished most: it is gouerned by the same lawes, and the Emperour and people obserue the same religion, and the same forme and policies in gouernment as were vsed in Peru, not differing in any part: and I haue bene assured by such of the Spaniards as haue seene Manoa the Imperial Citie of Guiana, which the Spaniards call El Dorado, that for the greatnesse, for the riches, and for the excellent seat, it farre exceedeth any of the world, at least of so much of the world as is knowen to the Spanish nation: it is founded vpon a lake of salt water of 200. leagues long like vnto Mare Caspium. And if we compare it to that of Peru, and but read the report of Francisco Lopez and others, it will seeme more then credible: and because we may iudge of the one by the other, I thought good to insert part of the 120. Chapter of Lopez in his generall historie of the Indies, wherein he describeth the Court and magnificence of Guaynacapa, ancestour to the Emperor of Guiana, whose very wordes are these. Todo el seruicio de su casa, mesa, y cozina, era de oro, y de plata, y quando menos de plata, y cobre por mas rezio. Tenia en su recamara estatuas huecas de oro, que parecian gigantes, y las figuaras al propio, y tamanno de quantos animales, aues, arboles, y yeruas produze la tierra, y de quantos peces cria la mar y aguas de sus reynos. Tenia assi mesmo sogas, costales, cestas, y troxes de oro y plata, rimeros de palos de oro, que parecissen lenna raiada para quemar. En fin no auia cosa en su tierra, que no la tuuiesse do oro contrahecha: y aun dizen, que tenian los Ingas vn vergel en vna Isla cerca de la Puna, donde se yuan a holgar, quando querian mar, que tenia la ortaliza, las flores, y arboles de oro y plata, inuencion y grandeza hasta entonces nunca vista. Allende de todo esto tenia infinitissima, cantitad de plata, y oro por labrar en el Cuzco, que se

The statelines of Manoa.

Fran. Lopez de Gomera hist. gen. cap. 120.

perdio por la muerte de Guascar, car los Indios lo escondieron, viendo que los Espannoles se lo tomauan, y embiauan a Espanna. That is, All the vessels of his house, table and kitchin were of gold and siluer, and the meanest of siluer and copper for strength and hardnesse of metall. He had in his wardrobe hollow statues of gold which seemed giants, and the figures in proportion and bignesse of all the beasts, birds, trees and hearbes, that the earth bringeth foorth; and of all the fishes that the sea or waters of his kingdome breedeth. He had also ropes, budgets, chestes and troughs of golde and siluer, heapes of billets of gold, that seemed wood marked out to burne. Finally, there was nothing in his countrey, whereof he had not the counterfait in gold: Yea and they say, The Ingas had a garden of pleasure in an yland neere Puna, where they went to recreat themselues, when they would take the aire of the Sea, which had all kinde of garden-hearbs, flowers and trees of golde and siluer, an inuention, and magnificence till then neuer seene. Besides all this, he had an infinite quantitie of siluer and golde vnwrought in Cuzco which was lost by the death of Guascar, for the Indians hid it, seeing that the Spaniards tooke it, and sent it into Spaine.

And in the 117. chapter Francisco Piçarro caused the gold and siluer of Atabalipa to be weyed after he had taken it, which Lopez setteth downe in these words following. Hallaron cinquenta y dos mil marcos de buena plata, y vn millon y trezientos veinte y seys mil, y quinientos pesos de oro, Which is: They found fiftie and two thousand markes of good siluer, and one million, and three hundred twenty and sixe thousand and fiue hundred pezos of golde.*

Now although these reports may seeme strange, yet if we consider the many millions which are dayly brought out of Peru into Spaine, wee may easily beleeue the same: for we finde that by the abundant treasure of that countrey the Spanish king vexeth all the princes of Europe, and is become, in a few yeeres, from a poore king of Castile, the greatest monarch of this part of the world, and likely euery day to increase, if other princes forslow the good occasions offered, and suffer him to adde this empire to the rest, which by farre exceedeth all the rest: if his golde now endanger vs, hee will then be vnresistable. Such of the Spanyards as afterward endeuoured the conquest thereof (whereof there haue bene many, as shall be declared hereafter) thought that this Inga (of whom this emperour now liuing is descended) tooke his way by the riuer of Amazones, by that branch which is called Papamene: for by that way followed Orellana (by the commandement of Gonzalo Piçarro, in the yere 1542) whose name the riuer also beareth this day, which is also by others called Marannon, although Andrew Theuet doeth affirme that betweene Marannon and Amazones there are 120 leagues: but sure it is that those riuers haue one head and beginning, and the Marannon, which Thuet describeth, is but a branch of Amazones or Orellana, of which I will speake more in another place. It was attempted by Ordas; but it is now little lesse then 70 yeres since that Diego Ordas, a knight of the order of Saint Iago attempted the same: and it was in the yeere 1542 that Orellana discouered the riuer of Amazones; but the first that euer saw Manoa was Iuan Martinez master of the munition to Ordas. At a port called Morequito in Guiana there lieth at this day a great anker of Ordas his ship; and this port is some 300 miles within the land, vpon the great riuer of Orenoque.

---

* These quotations show the riches of *Peru*, not of *El Dorado*. This was the name given by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century to an imaginary region somewhere in the interior of South America, between the Orinoco and the Amazon, where gold and precious stones were supposed to be in such abundance as to be had for merely picking them up. This story was communicated by an Indian cacique to Gonzalo Pizarro, brother of the conqueror, who sent Francisco Orellana down the Amazon River to discover this wonderful land. Orellana followed the course of the Amazon down to the sea, but he did not find El Dorado. The story, however, continued to be credited for many years afterwards.

Iuan Martinez the first that euer saw Manoa.

I rested at this port foure dayes: twenty dayes after I left the ships at Curiapan. The relation of this Martinez (who was the first that discouered Manoa) his successe and ende are to bee seene in the Chancery of Saint Iuan de Puerto rico, whereof Berreo had a copy, which appeared to be the greatest incouragement aswell to Berreo as to others that formerly attempted the discouery and conquest. Orellana after he failed of the discouery of Guiana by the sayd riuer of Amazones, passed into Spaine, and there obteined a patent of the king for the inuasion and conquest, but died by sea about the Islands, and his fleet seuered by tempest, the action for that time proceeded not. Diego Ordas followed the enterprise, and departed Spaine with 600 souldiers, and 30 horse, who arriuing on the coast of Guiana, was slaine

Diego de Ordas went foorth with 600 souldiers 1531.

in a mutiny, with the most part of such as fauoured him, as also of the rebellious part, insomuch as his ships perished, and few or none returned, neither was it certeinly knowen what became of the sayd Ordas, vntill Berreo found the anker of his ship in the riuer of Orenoque; but it was supposed, and so it is written by Lopez, that he perished on the seas, and of other writers diuersely conceiued and reported. And hereof it came that Martines entred so farre within the land, and arriued at that city of Inga the emperour; for it chanced that while Ordas with his army rested at the port of Morequito (who was either the first or second that attempted Guiana) by some negligence, the whole store of powder prouided for the seruice was set on fire; and Martinez hauing the chiefe charge, was condemned by the Generall Ordas to be executed foorthwith: Martinez being much fauoured by the souldiers, had all the meanes possible procured for his life; but it could not be obtened in other sort then this: That he should be set into a canao alone without any victuall, onely with his armes, and so turned loose into the great riuer: but it pleased God that the canoa was caried downe the streame, and that certeine of the Guianians mette it the same euening; and hauing not at any time seene any Christian, nor any man of that colour, they caried Martinez into the land to be woondred at, and so from towne to towne, vntill he came to the great city of Manoa, the seat and residence of Inga the emperour. The emperour after he had beheld him, knew him to be a Christian (for it was not long before that his brethren Guascar and Atabalipa were vanquished by the Spanyards in Peru) and caused him to be lodged in his palace, and well interteined. Hee liued seuen moneths in Manoa, but was not suffered to wander into the countrey any where. He was also brought thither all the way blindfold, led by the Indians, vntill he came to the entrance of Manoa it selfe, and was fourteene or fifteene dayes in the passage. He auowed at his death that he entred the city at Noon, and then they vncouered his face, and that he trauelled all that day till night thorow the city, and the next day from Sun rising to Sun setting yer he came to the palace of Inga. After that Martinez had liued seuen moneths in Manoa, and began to vnderstand the language of the countrey, Inga asked him whether he desired to returne into his owne countrey, or would willingly

Fran. Lopez hist. gen. de las Ind. cap. 87.

The great city of Manao or El Dorado.

abide with him. But Martinez not desirous to stay, obteined the fauour of Inga to depart: with whom he sent diuers Guianians to conduct him to the riuer of Orenoque, all loden with as much golde as they could cary, which he gaue to Martinez at his departure: but when he was arriued neere the riuers side, the borderers which are called Orenoqueponi robbed him and his Guianians of all the treasure (the borderers being at that time at warres, which Inga had not conquered) saue only of two great bottels of gourds, which were filled with beads of golde curiously wrought, which those Orenoqueponi thought had bene no other thing then his drinke or meat, or graine for food, with which Martinez had liberty to passe: and so in canoas hee fell downe from the riuer of Orenoque to Trinidad, and from thence to Margarita, and also to Saint Iuan de puerto rico, where remaining a long time for passage into Spaine, he died. In the time of his extreme sicknesse, and when he was without hope of life, receiuing the Sacrament at the hands of his Confessor, he deliuered these things, with the relation of his trauels, and also called for his calabaças or gourds of the golde beads which he gaue to the church and friers to be prayed for. This Martinez was he that Christened the city of Manoa by the name of El Dorado, and as Berreo informed mee, vpon this occasion: Those Guianians, and also the borderers, and all other in that tract which I haue seene are maruellous great drunkards; in which vice, I thinke no nation can compare with them: and at the times of their solemne feasts, when the emperour carowseth with his captaines, tributaries, and gouernours, the maner is thus: All those that pledge him are first stripped naked, and their bodies anointed all ouer with a kind of white balsamum (by them called curca) of which there is great plenty, and yet very deare amongst them, and it is of all other the most precious, whereof wee haue had good experience: when they are anointed all ouer, certeine seruants of the emperour, hauing prepared golde made into fine powder, blow it thorow hollow canes vpon their naked bodies, vntill they be all shining from the foot to the head: and in this sort they sit drinking by twenties and hundreds, and continue in drunkennesse sometimes sixe or seuen dayes together. The same is also confirmed by a letter written into Spaine, which was intercepted, which M. Robert Duddeley tolde me he had seene. Vpon this sight, and for the abundance of golde

The author of the name of El Dorado.

Sir Robert Duddeley.

which he saw in the city, the images of golde in their temples, the plates, armours, and shields of gold which they vse in the warres, he called it El Dorado. After the death of Ordas and Martinez, and after Orellana, who was imployed by Gonzalo Piçarro, one Pedro de Osua a knight of Nauarre attempted Guiana, taking his way from Peru, and built his brigandines vpon a riuer colled Oia, which riseth to the Southward of Quito, and is very great. This riuer falleth into Amazones, by which Osua with his companies descended, and came out of that prouince which is called Mutylonez: and it seemeth to mee that this empire is reserued for her Maiesty and the English nation, by reason of the hard successe which all these and other Spanyards found in attempting the same, whereof I will speake briefly, though impertinent in some sort to my purpose. This Pedro de Osua had among his troups a Biscain, called Agiri, a man meanly borne, who bare no other office then a sergeant or alferez: but after certaine moneths, when the souldiers were grieued with trauels, and consumed with famine, and that no entrance could be found by the branches or body of Amazones, this Agiri raised a mutiny, of which hee made himselfe the head, and so preuailed, as he put Osua to the sword, and all his followers, taking on him the whole charge and commandement, with a purpose not onely to make himselfe emperour of Guiana, but also of Peru, and of all that side of the West Indies: he had of his party seuen hundred souldiers, and of those many promised to draw in other captaines and companies, to deliuer vp townes and forts in Peru: but neither finding by ye sayd riuer any passage into Guiana, nor any possibility to returne towards Peru by the same Amazones, by reason that ye descent of the riuer made so great a current, he was inforced to disemboque at the mouth of the sayd Amazones, which can not be lesse then a thousand leagues from the place where they imbarked: from thence he coasted the land till he arriued at Margarita: to the North of Mompatar, which is at this day called Puerto de Tyranno, for that he there slew Don Iuan de villa Andreda, gouernour of Margarita when sir Iohn Burgh landed there and attempted the Island. Agiri put to the sword all other in the Island that refused to be of his party, and tooke with him certeine Simerones, and other desperate companions. From thence he went to Cumana, and there slew

Reade Iosephus Acosta.

The voyage of sir Iohn Burgh to the West Indies.

the gouernour, and dealt in all as at Margarita: hee spoiled all the coast of Caracas, and the prouince of Venezuela, and of Rio de la hacha; and as I remember, it was the same yere that sir Iohn Hawkins sailed to Saint Iuan de Vllua in the Iesus of Lubeck: for himselfe tolde me that he met with such a one vpon the coast that rebelled, and had sailed downe all the riuer of Amazones. Agiri from thence landed about Sancta Marta, and sacked it also, putting to death so many as refused to be his followers, purposing to inuade Nueuo reyno de Granada, and to sacke Pamplon, Merida, Lagrita, Tunxa, and the rest of the cities of Nueuo reyno, and from thence againe to enter Peru: but in a fight in the sayd Nueuo reyno he was ouerthrowen, and finding no way to escape, he first put to the sword his owne children, foretelling them that they should not liue to be defamed or vpbraided by the Spanyards after his death, who would haue termed them the children of a traitour or tyrant; and that sithence hee could not make them princes, hee would yet deliuer them from shame and reproche. These were the ends and tragedies of Ordas, Martinez, Orellana, Ozua, and Agiri.

Also soone after Ordas followed Ieronimo Ortal de Saragosa with 130 souldiers, who failing his entrance by sea, was cast with the current on the coast of Paria, and peopled about S. Miguel de Neueri. It was then attempted by Don Pedro de Silua, a Portugues of the family of Ruigomes de Silua, and by the fauour which Ruigomes had with the king, he was set out, but he also shot wide of the marke; for being departed from Spaine with his fleete, he entered by Marannon and Amazones, where by the nations of the riuer, and by the Amazones hee was vtterly ouerthrowen, and himselfe and all his armie defeated, only seuen escaped, and of those but two returned.

1534. Gomar. cap. 84 and 86.

After him came Pedro Hernandez de Serpa, and landed at Cumaná in the West Indies, taking his iourney by land towards Orenoque, which may be some 120 leagues: but yer he came to the borders of the sayd riuer, hee was set vpon by a nation of the Indians called Wikiri, and ouerthrowen in such sort, that of 300 souldiers, horsemen, many Indians, and Negros, there returned but 18. Others affirme, that he was defeated in the very entrance of Guiana, at the first ciuil towne of the empire called Macureguarai. Captaine Preston in taking S. Iago de Leon (which was by him and his companies very resolutely performed, being a great towne, and farre within the land) held a gentleman prisoner, who died in his ship, that was one of the company of Hermandez de Serpa, and saued among those that escaped, who witnessed what opinion is held among the Spanyards thereabouts of the great riches of Guiana, and El Dorado the city of Inga. Another Spanyard was brought aboord me by captaine Preston, who told me in the hearing of himselfe and diuers other gentlemen, that he met with Berreos campemaster at Caracas, when he came from the borders of Guiana, and that he saw with him forty of most pure plates of golde curiously wrought, and swords of Guiana decked and inlayed with gold, feathers garnished with golde, and diuers rarities which he carried to the Spanish king.

After Hernandez de Serpa, it was vndertaken by the Adelantado, Don Gonzales Ximenes de Casada, who was one of the chiefest in the conquest of Nueuo reino, whose daughter and heire Don Antonio de Berreo maried. Gonzales sought the passage also by the riuer called Papamene, which riseth by Quito in Peru, and runneth Southeast 100 leagues, and then falleth into Amazones, but he also failing the entrance, returned with the losse of much labour and cost. I tooke one captaine George a Spanyard that followed Gonzales in this enterprise. Gonzales gaue his daughter to Berreo, taking his oth and honour to follow the enterprise to the last of his substance and life, who since, as he hath sworne to me, hath spent 300000 ducats in the same, and yet neuer could enter so far into the land as my selfe with that poore troupe or rather a handfull of men, being in all about 100 gentlemen, souldiers, rowers, boat-keepers, boyes, and of all sorts: neither could any of the forepassed vndertakers, nor Berreo himselfe, discouer the countrey, till now lately by conference with an ancient king called Carapana, he got the true light thereof: for Berreo came about 1500 miles yer he vnderstood ought, or could finde any passage or entrance into any part thereof, yet he had experience of al these forenamed, and diuers others, and was perswaded of their errors and mistakings. Berreo sought it by the riuer Cassamar,* which falleth into a great riuer called Pato: Pato falleth into Meta, and Meta into Baraquan, which is also called Orenoque.

He tooke his iourney from Nueuo reyno de Granada where he dwelt, hauing the inheritance of Gonzales Ximenes in those parts: he was followed with 700 horse, he draue with him 1000 head of cattell, he had also many women, Indians, and slaues. How all these riuers crosse and encounter, how the countrey lieth and is bordered, the passage of Ximenes and Berreo, mine owne discouery, and the way that I entred, with all the rest of the nations and riuers, your lordship shall receiue in a large Chart or Map, which I haue not yet finished, and which I shall most humbly pray your lordship to secret, and not to suffer it to passe your owne hands; for by a draught thereof all may be preuented by other nations: for I know it is this very yeere sought by the French, although by the way that they now take, I feare it not much. It was also tolde me yer I departed from England, that Villiers the Admirall was in preparation for the planting of Amazones, to which riuer the French haue made diuers voyages, and returned much golde, and other rarities. I spake with the captaine of a French ship that came from thence, his ship riding in Falmouth the same yere that my ships came first from Virginia.

---

* Casanare.

A new and rich trade of the French to the riuer of Amazones.

There was another this yeere in Helford that also came from thence, and had bene foureteene moneths at an anker in Amazones, which were both very rich. Although, as I am perswaded, Guiana cannot be entred that way, yet no doubt the trade of gold from thence passeth by branches of riuers into the riuer of Amazones, and so it doth on euery hand far from the countrey it selfe; for those Indians of Trinidad haue plates of golde from Guiana, and those canibals of Dominica which dwell in the Islands by which our ships passe yerely to the West Indies, also the Indians of Paria, those Indians called Tucaris, Chochi, Apotomios, Cumanagotos, and all those other nations inhabiting neere about the mountaines that run from Paria thorow the prouince of Venezuela, and in Maracapana, and the canibals of Guanipa, the Indians called Assawai, Coaca, Aiai, and the rest (all which shall be described in my description as they are situate) haue plates of golde of Guiana. And vpon the riuer of Amazones, Theuet writeth that the people weare croissants of golde, for of that forme the Guianians most commonly make them: so as from Dominica to Amazones, which is aboue 250 leagues, all the chiefe Indians in all parts weare of those plates of Guiana. Vndoubtedly those that trade Amazones returne much golde, which (as is aforesayd) commeth by trade from Guiana, by some branch of a riuer that falleth from the countrey into Amazones, and either it is by the riuer which passeth by the nations called Tisnados, or by Carepuna. I made inquiry amongst the most ancient and best trauelled of the Orenoqueponi, and I had knowledge of all the riuers betweene Orenoque and Amazones, and was very desirous to vnderstand the truth of those warlike women, because of some it is beleeued, of others not. And though I digresse from my purpose, yet I will set downe that which hath bene deliuered me for trueth of those women, and I spake with a casique or lord of people, that told me he had bene in the riuer, and beyond it also. The nations of these women are on the South side of the riuer in the prouinces of Topago, and their chiefest strengths and retracts are in the Islands situate on the South side of the entrance some 60 leagues within the mouth of the sayd riuer. The memories of the like women are very ancient aswell in Africa and in Asia: In Africa those that had Medusa for queene: others in Scithia nere the riuers of Tanais and Thermodon: we finde also that Lampedo and Marthesia were queenes of the Amazones: in many histories they are verified to haue bene, and in diuers ages and prouinces: but they which are not far from Guiana doe accompany with men but once in a yere, and for the time of one moneth, which I gather by their relation, to be in April: and that time all kings of the borders assemble, and queenes of the Amazones; and after the queenes haue chosen, the rest cast lots for their Valentines. This one moneth, they feast, dance, and drinke of their wines in abundance; and the Moone being done, they all depart to their owne prouinces. If they conceiue, and be deliuered of a sonne, they returne him to the father; if of a daughter they nourish it, and reteine it: and as many as haue daughters send vnto the begetters a present; all being desirous to increase their owne sex and kind: but that they cut off the right dug of the brest, I doe not finde to be true. It was farther tolde me, that if in these warres they tooke any prisoners that they vsed to accompany with those also at what time soeuer, but in the end for certeine they put them to death: for they are sayd to be very cruell and bloodthirsty, especially to such as offer to inuade their territories. These Amazones haue likewise great store of these plates of golde, which they recouer by exchange chiefly for

The seat of the Amazones.

a kinde of greene stones, which the Spanyards call Piedras hijadas, and we vse for spleene stones; and for the disease of the stone we also esteeme them. Of these I saw diuers in Guiana: and commonly euery king or casique hath one, which their wiues for the most part weare; and they esteeme them as great iewels.

But to returne to the enterprise of Bereo, who (as I haue sayd) departed from Nueuo reyno with 700 horse, besides the prouisions aboue rehearsed, he descended by the riuer called Cassanar, which riseth in Nueuo reyno out of the mountaines by the city of Tuuia, from which mountaine also springeth Pato; both which fall into the great riuer of Meta: and Meta riseth from a mountaine ioyning to Pamplon in the same Nueuo reyno de Grenada. These, as also Guaiare, which issueth out of the mountaines by Timana, fall all into Baraquan, and are but of his heads; for at their comming together they lose their names; and Baraquan farther downe is also rebaptized by the name of Orenoque. On the other side of the city and hilles of Timana riseth Rio grande, which falleth in the sea by Sancta Marta. By Cassanar first, and so into Meta, Berreo passed, keeping his horsemen on the banks, where the countrey serued them for to march, and where otherwise, he was driuen to imbarke them in boats which he builded for the purpose, and so came with the current downe the riuer of Meta, and so into Baraquan. After he entred that great and mighty riuer, he began dayly to lose of his companies both men and horse; for it is in many places violently swift, and hath forcible eddies, many sands, and diuers Islands sharp pointed with rocks: but after one whole yeere, iourneying for the most part by riuer and the rest by land, he grew dayly to fewer numbers; for both by sicknesse, and by encountring with the people of those regions, thorow which he trauelled, his companies were much wasted, especially by diuers encounters with the Amapians: and in all this time hee neuer could learne of any passage into Guiana, nor any newes or fame thereof, vntill he came to a further border of the sayd Amapaia, eight dayes iourney from the riuer Caroli, which was the furthest riuer that he entred. Among those of Amapaia, Guiana was famous, but few of these people accosted Berreo, or would trade with him the first three moneths of the six, which he soiourned there. This Amapaia is also maruellous rich in golde (as both Berreo confessed and those of Guiana with whom I had most conference) and is situate vpon Orenoque also. In this countrey Berreo lost 60 of his best souldiers, and most of all his horse that remained in his former yeeres trauell: but in the end, after diuers encounters with those nations, they grew to peace; and they presented Berreo with tenne images of fine golde among diuers other plates and croissants, which, as he sware to me and diuers other gentlemen, were so curiously wrought, as he had not seene the like either in Italy, Spaine, or the Low-countreys: and he was resolued, that when he came to the hands of the Spanish king, to whom he had sent them by his campmaster, they would appeare very admirable, especially being wrought by such a nation as had no yron instruments at all, nor any of those helps which our goldsmiths haue to worke withall. The particular name of the people in Amapaia which gaue him these pieces, are called Anebas, and the riuer of Orenoque at that place is aboue 12 English miles broad, which may be from his out fall into the sea 700 or 800 miles.

This prouince of Amapaia is a very low and a marish ground nere the riuer; and by reason of the red water which issueth out in small branches thorow the fenny and boggy ground, there breed diuers poisonfull wormes and serpents; and the Spanyards not suspecting, nor in any sort foreknowing the danger, were infected with a grieuous kinde of fluxe by drinking thereof; and euen the very horses poisoned therewith: insomuch as at the end of the 6 moneths, that they abode their, of all there troups, there were not left aboue 120 souldiers, and neither horse nor cattell: for Berreo hoped to haue found Guiana by 1000 miles nerer then it fel out to be in the end: by meanes whereof they susteined much want and much hunger, oppressed with grieuous diseases, and all the miseries that could be imagined. I demanded of those in Guiana that had trauelled Amapaia, how they liued with that tawny or red water when they trauelled thither: and they tolde me that after the Sun was neere the middle of the skie, they vsed to fill their pots and pitchers with that water, but either before that time, or towardes the setting of the Sun it was dangerous to drinke of, and in the night strong poison. I learned also of diuers other riuers of that nature among them, which were also (while the Sun was in the Meridian) very safe to drinke, and in the morning, euening, and night woonderfull dangerous and infectiue. From this prouince Berreo hasted away assoone as the Spring and beginning of Summer appeared, and sought his entrance on the borders of Orenoque on the South side; but there ran a ledge of so high and impassable mountaines, as he was not able by any meanes to march ouer them, continuing from the East sea into which Orenoque falleth, euen to Quito in Peru: neither had he meanes to cary victuall or munition ouer those craggie, high, and fast hilles, being all woody, and those so thicke and spiny, and so full of prickles, thornes, and briers, as it is impossible to creepe thorow them: hee had also neither friendship among the people, nor any interpreter to perswade or treat with them: and more, to his disaduantage, the casiques and kings of Amapaia had giuen knowledge of his purpose to the Guianians, and that he sought to sacke and conquer the empire, for the hope of their so great abundance and quantities of golde: he passed by the mouthes of many great riuers, which fell into Orenoque both from the North and South, which I forbeare to name for tediousnesse, and because they are more pleasing in describing then reading.

Many great riuers falling into Orenoque.

Berreo affirmed that there fell an hundred riuers into Orenoque from the North and South, whereof the least was as big as Rio grande, that passed betweene Popayan and Nueuo reyno de Granada (Rio grande being esteemed one of the renowmed riuers in all the West Indies, and numbred among the great riuers of the world:) but he knew not the names of any of these, but Caroli onely; neither from what nations they descended, neither to what prouinces they led; for he had no meanes to discourse with the inhabitants at any time: neither was he curious in these things, being vtterly vnlearned, and not knowing the East from the West. But of all these I got some knowledge, and of many more, partly by mine owne trauell, and the rest by conference: of some one I learned one, of others the rest, hauing with me an Indian that spake many languages, and that of Guiana naturally. I sought out all the aged men, and such as were greatest trauellers, and by the one and the other I came to vnderstand the situations, the riuers, the kingdomes from the East sea to the borders of Peru, and from Orenoque Southward as farre as Amazones or Marannon, and the religions of Maria Tamball, and of all the kings of prouinces, and captaines of townes and villages, how they stood in tearmes of peace or warre, and which were friends or enemies the one with the other, without which there can be neither entrance nor conquest in those parts, nor elsewhere: for by the dissention betweene Guascar and Atabalipa, Piçarro conquered Peru, and by the hatred that the Tlaxcallians bare to Mutezuma, Cortez was victorious ouer Mexico; without which both the one and the other had failed of their enterprise, and of the great honour and riches which they atteined vnto.

The prouince of Emeria inhabited by gentle Indians.

Now Berreo began to grow into dispaire, and looked for no other successe then his predecessor in this enterprise, vntill such time as hee arriued at the prouince of Emeria towards the East sea and mouth of the riuer, where he found a nation of people very fauourable, and the countrey full of all maner of victuall. The king of this land is called Carapana, a man very wise, subtill, and of great experience, being little lesse then an hundred yeeres olde: in his youth he was sent by his father into the Island of Trinidad, by reason of ciuill warre among themselues, and was bred at a village in that island, called Parico: at that place in his youth hee had seene many Christians, both French and Spanish, and went diuers times with the Indians of Trinidad to Margarita and Cumana in the West Indies (for both those places haue euer beene relieued with victuall from Trinidad) by reason whereof he grew of more vnderstanding, and noted the difference of the nations, comparing the strength and armes of his countrey with those of the Christians, and euer after temporized so, as whosoeuer els did amisse, or was wasted by contention, Carapana kept himselfe and his countrey in quiet and plenty: he also held peace with the Caribes or Canibals his neighbours, and had free trade with all nations, whosoeuer els had warre.

Berreo soiourned and rested his weake troupe in the towne of Carapana sixe weeks, and from him learned the way and passage to Guiana, and the riches and magnificence thereof; but being then vtterly disable to proceed, he determined to try his fortune another yere, when he had renewed his prouisions, and regathered more force, which hee hoped for as well out of Spaine as from Nueuo reyno, where hee had left his sonne Don Antonio Ximenes to second him vpon the first notice giuen of his entrance, and so for the present imbarked himselfe in canoas, and by the branches of Orenoque arriued at Trinidad, hauing from Carapana sufficient pilots to conduct him. From Trinidad he coasted Paria, and so recouered Margarita: and hauing made relation to Don Iuan Sermiento the gouernour, of his proceeding, and perswaded him of the riches of Guiana, he obteined from thence fifty souldiers, promising presently to returne to Carapana, and so into Guiana. But Berreo meant nothing lesse at that time; for he wanted many prouisions necessary for such an enterprise, and therefore departed from Margarita, seated himselfe in Trinidad, and from thence sent his camp-master, and his sergeant-maior backe to the borders to discouer the neerest passage into the empire, as also to treat with the borderers, and to draw them to his party and loue; without which, he knew he could neither passe safely, nor in any sort be relieued with victuall or ought els. Carapana directed his company to a king called Morequito, assuring them that no man could deliuer so much of Guiana as Morequito could, and that his dwelling was but fiue dayes iourney from Macureguarai, the first ciuill towne of Guiana.

Now your lordship shall vnderstand, that this Morequito, one of the greatest lords or kings of the borders of Guiana, had two or three yeeres before bene at Cumana and at Margarita, in the West Indies, with great store of plates of golde, which he caried to exchange for such other things as he wanted in his owne countrey, and was dayly feasted, and presented by the gouernours of those places, and held amongst them some two moneths, in which time one Vides gouernour of Cumana wanne him to be his conductour into Guiana, being allured by those croissants and images of golde which hee brought with him to trade, as also by the ancient fame and magnificence of El Dorado: whereupon Vides sent into Spaine for a patent to discouer and conquer Guiana, not knowing of the precedence of Berreos patent, which, as Berreo affirmeth, was signed before that of Vides: so as when Vides vnderstood of Berreo, and that he had made entrance into that territory, and forgone his desire and hope, it was verily thought that Vides practised with Morequito to hinder and disturbe Berreo in all he could, and not to suffer him to enter thorow his signorie, nor any of his companies; neither to victuall, nor guide them in any sort; for Vides gouernour of Cumana, and Berreo, were become mortall enemies, aswell for that Berreo had gotten Trinidad into his patent with Guiana, as also in that he was by Berreo preuented in the iourney of Guiana it selfe: howsoeuer it was, I know not, but Morequito for a time dissembled his disposition, suffered Spanyards, and a frier (which Berreo had sent to discouer

Vides the gouernour of Cumana competitor with Berreo in the conquest of Guiana.

Manoa) to trauell thorow his countrey, gaue them a guide for Macureguaray, the first towne of ciuill and apparelled people, from whence they had other guides to bring them to Manoa the great city of Inga: and being furnished with those things which they had learned of Carapana were of most price in Guiana, went onward, and in eleuen dayes arriued at Manoa, as Berreo affirmeth for certaine: although I could not be assured thereof by the lord which now gouerneth the prouince of Morequito, for he tolde me that they got all the golde they had, in other townes on this side Manoa, there being many very great and rich, and (as he sayd) built like the townes of Christians, with many roomes.

Ten Spanyards arriue at Manoa.

When these ten Spaniards were returned, and ready to put out of the border of Aromaia, the people of Morequito set vpon them, and slew them all but one that swam the riuer, and tooke from them to the value of forty thousand pezos of golde: and one of them onely liued to bring the newes to Berreo, that both his nine souldiers and holy father were benighted in the said prouince. I my selfe spake with the captaines of Morequito that slew them, and was at the place where it was executed. Berreo, inraged heerewithall, sent all the strength he could make into Aromaia, to be reuenged of him, his people, and countrey. But Morequito suspecting the same, fled ouer Orenoque, and thorow the territories of the Saima, and Wikiri, recouered Cumana, where he thought himself very safe, with Vides the gouernour. But Berreo sending for him in the Kings name, and his messengers finding him in the house of one Fashardo on the sudden yer he was suspected, so as he could not then be conueyed away, Vides durst not deny him, aswell to avoid the suspition of this practise, as also for that an holy father was slaine by him and his people. Morequito offered Fashardo the weight of three quintals in golde, to let him escape: but the poore Guianian, betrayed on all sides was deliuered to the camp-master of Berreo, and was presently executed.

Morequito executed.

After the death of this Morequito, the souldiers of Berreo spoiled his territorie, and tooke diuers prisoners, among others they tooke the vncle of Morequito, called Topiawari, who is now king of Aromaia (whose sonne I brought with me into England) and is a man of great vnderstanding and policy: he is aboue an hundred yeeres olde, and yet of a very able body. The Spaniards ledde him in a chaine seuenteene dayes, and made him their guide from place to place betweene his countrey and Emeria, the prouince of Carapana, aforesayd, and he was at last redeemed for an hundred plates of golde, and diuers stones called Piedras Hijadas, or Spleene-stones. Now Berreo for executing of Morequito, and other cruelties, spoiles, and slaughters done in Armonaia, hath lost the loue of the Orenoqueponi, and all the borderers, and dare not send any of his souldiers any further into the land then to Carapana, which he called the port of Guiana: but from thence by the helpe of Carapana he had trade further into the countrey, and alwayes appointed ten Spaniards to reside in Carapanas towne, by whose fauour, and by being conducted by his people, those ten searched the countrey thereabouts, aswell for mines, as for other trades and commodities.

The towne of Carapana is the port of Guiana.

They also haue gotten a nephew of Morequito, whom they haue Christened, and named Don Iuan, of whom they haue great hope, endeuouring by all meanes to establish him in the sayd prouince. Among many other trades, those Spaniards vsed canoas to passe to the riuers of Barema, Pawroma, and Dissequebe, which are on the south side of the mouth of Orenoque, and there buy women and children from the Canibals, which are of that barbarous nature, as they will for three or foure hatchets sell the sonnes and daughters of their owne brethren and sisters, and for somewhat more, euen their owne daughters. Hereof the Spaniards make great profit: for buying a maid of twelue or thirteene yeres for three or foure hatchets, they sell them againe at Margarita in the West Indies for fifty and an hundred pezos, which is so many crownes.

Some fewe Spaniards are now seated in Dissequebe.

The master of my shippe, Iohn Dowglas, tooke one of the canoas which came laden from thence with people to be solde, and the most of them escaped; yet of those he brought, there was one as well fauoured, and as well shaped as euer I saw any in England, afterward I saw many of them, which but for their tawnie colour may be compared to any of Europe. They also trade in those riuers for bread of Cassaui, of which they buy an hundred pound weight for a knife, and sell it at Margarita for ten pezos. They also recouer great store of Cotton, Brasill wood, and those beds which they call Hamcas or Brasill beds, wherein in hot countreyes all the Spaniards vse to lie commonly, and in no other, neither did we our selues while we were there. By meanes of which trades, for ransome of diuers of the Guianians, and for exchange of hatchets and kniues, Berreo recouered some store of golde plates, eagles of golde, and images of men and diuers birdes, and dispatched his campe-master for Spaine, with all that hee had gathered, therewith to leuie souldiers, and by the shew thereof to draw others to the loue of the enterprise. And hauing sent diuers images aswell of men as beasts, birds and fishes, so curiously wrought in gold, he doubted not but to perswade the king to yeeld to him some further helpe, especially for that this land hath neuer beene sacked, the mines neuer wrought, and in the Indies their works were well spent, and the golde drawen out with great labour and charge. He also dispatched messengers to his sonne in Nueuo reyno to leuie all the forces he could, and to come downe the riuer Orenoque to Emeria, the prouince of Carapana, to meet him: he had also sent to Saint Iago de Leon on the coast of the Caracas, to buy horses and mules.

After I had thus learned of his proceedings past and purposed, I told him that I had resolued to see Guiana, and that it was the end of my iourney, and the cause of my comming to Trinidad, as it was indeed, (and for that purpose I sent Iacob Whiddon the yeere before to get intelligence with whom Berreo himselfe had speech at that time, and remembred how inquisitiue Iacob Whiddon was of his proceedings, and of the countrey of Guiana) Berreo was stricken into a great melancholy and sadnesse, and vsed all the arguments he could to disswade me, and also assured the gentlemen of my company that it would be labour lost, and that they should suffer many miseries if they proceeded. And first he deliuered that I could not enter any of the riuers with any barke or pinnesse, or hardly with any ships boat, it was so low, sandy, and full of flats, and that his companies were dayly grounded in their canoas, which drew but twelue inches water. He further sayde, that none of the countrey would come to speake with vs, but would all flie; and if we followed them to their dwellings, they would burne their owne townes: and besides that, the way was long, the Winter at hand, and that the riuers beginning once to swell, it was impossible to stem the current, and that we could not in those small boats by any means cary victuall for halfe the time, and that (which indeed most discouraged my company) the kings and lords of all the borders of

Guiana had decreed that none of them should trade with any Christians for golde, because the same would be their owne ouerthrow, and that for the loue of gold the Christians meant to conquer and dispossesse them of all together.

Many and the most of these I found to be true, but yet I resoluing to make triall of all whatsoeuer happened, directed Captaine George Gifford my vice-admirall to take the Lions whelpe, and captaine Calfield his barke to turne to the Eastward, against the mouth of a riuer called Capuri, whose entrace I had before sent captaine Whiddon, and Iohn Dowglas the master, to discouer, who found some nine foot water or better vpon the flood, and fiue at low water, to whom I had giuen instructions that they should anker at the edge of the shoald, and vpon the best of the flood to thrust ouer, which shoald Iohn Dowglas bwoyed and beckoned for them before: but they laboured in vaine; for neither could they turne it vp altogether so farre to the East, neither did the flood continue so long, but the water fell yer they could haue passed the sands; as wee after found by a second experience: so as now wee must either give ouer our enterprise, or leauing our ships at aduenture foure hundred mile behinde vs, must run vp in our ships boats, one barge, and two wheries. But being doubtfull how to cary victuals for so long a time in such bables, or any strength of men, especially for that Berreo assured vs that his sonne must be by that time come downe with many souldiers, I sent away one King, master of the Lions whelpe, with his ship-boat to trie another branch of a riuer in the bottome of the bay of Guanipa, which was called Amana, to prooue if there were water to be found for either of the small ships to enter. But when he came to the mouth of Amana, he found it as the rest, but stayed not to discouer it thorowly, because he was assured by an Indian, his guide, that the Canibals of Guanipa would assaile them with many canoas, and that they shot poisoned arrowes; so as if he hasted not backe, they should all be lost.

In the mean time, fearing the woorst, I caused all the carpenters we had, to cut downe a Galego boat, which we meant to cast off, and to fit her with banks to row on, and in all things to prepare her the best they could, so as she might be brought to draw but fiue foot, for so much we had on the barre of Capuri at low water. And doubting of Kings returne, I sent Iohn Dowglas againe in my long barge, aswell to relieue him, as also to make a perfect search in the bottome of that bay: for it hath bene held for infallible, that whatsoeuer ship or boat shall fall therein, can neuer disembogue againe, by reason of the violent current which setteth into the sayde bay, as also for that the brize and Easterly winde bloweth directly into the same. Of which opinion I haue heard Iohn Hampton of Plymmouth, one of the greatest experience of England, and diuers other besides that haue traded to Trinidad.

I sent with Iohn Dowglas an old casique of Trinidad for a pilot, who tolde vs that we could not returne againe by the bay or gulfe, but that he knew a by-branch which ran within the land to the Eastward, and that he thought by it we might fall into Capuri, and so returne in foure dayes. Iohn Dowglas searched those riuers, and found foure goodly entrances, whereof the least was as bigge as the Thames at Wolwich; but in the bay thitherward it was shoald, and but sixe foote water: so as we were now without hope of any ship or barke to passe ouer, and therefore resolued to go on with the boats, and the bottome of the Galego, in which we thrust 60 men. In the Lions whelps boat and whery we caried 20. Captaine Calfield in his whery caried ten more, and in my barge other tenne, which made vp a hundred: we had no other meanes but to cary victuall for a moneth in the same, and also to lodge therein as we could, and to boile and dresse our meat. Captaine Gifford had with him master Edward Porter, captaine Eynos, and eight more in his whery, with all their victuall, weapons, and prouisions. Captaine Calfield had with him my cousin Butshead Gorges, and eight more. In the galley, of gentlemen and officers my selfe had captaine Thin, my cousin Iohn Greenuile, my nephew Iohn Gilbert, captaine Whiddon, captaine Keymis, Edward Handcocke, captaine Clarke, lieutenant Hewes, Thomas Vpton, captaine Facy, Ierome Ferrar, Anthony Welles, William Connocke, and aboue fifty more. We could not learne of Berreo any other way to enter but in branches, so farre to wind-ward, as it was impossibe for vs to recouer: for wee had as much sea to crosse ouer in our wheries, as betweene Douer and Calais, and in a great billow, the winde and current being both very strong, so as we were driuen to goe in those small boats directly before the winde into the bottome of the bay of Guanipa, and from thence to enter the mouth of some one of those riuers which Iohn Dowglas had last discouered, and had with vs for pilot an Indian of Barema, a riuer to the South of Orenoque, betweene that and Amazones, whose canoas we had formerly taken as hee was going from the sayd Barema, laden with Cassaui-bread, to sell at Margarita. This Arwacan promised to bring me into the great riuer of Orenoque, but indeed of that which he entred he was vtterly ignorant, for he had not seene it in twelue yeeres before; at which time he was very yoong, and of no iudgement: and if God had not sent vs another helpe, we might haue wandred a whole yere in that labyrinth of riuers, yer wee had found any way, either out or in, especially after wee were past ebbing and flowing, which was in foure dayes, for I know all the earth doeth not yeelde the like confluence of streames and branches, the one crossing the other so many times, and all so faire and large, and so like one to another, as no man can tell which to take: and if wee went by the Sunne or Compasse, hoping thereby to goe directly one way or other, yet that way wee were also caried in a circle amongst multitudes of Islands, and euery Island so bordered with high trees, as no man coulde see any further then the bredth of the riuer, or length of the breach. But this it chanced, that entering into a riuer, (which because it had no name, wee called the riuer of the Red crosse, our selues being the first Christians that euer came therein) the two and twentieth of May, as wee were rowing vp the same, wee espied a small canoa with three Indians, which (by the swiftnesse of my barge, rowing with eight oares) I ouertooke yer they could crosse the riuer, the rest of the people on the banks shadowed vnder the thicke wood, gazed on with a doubtfull conceit what might befall those three which we had taken. But when they perceiued that we offered them no violence, neither entred their canoa with any of ours, nor tooke out of the canoa any of theirs, they then beganne to shew themselues on the banks side, and offered to traffique with vs for such things as they had. And as wee drew neere, they all stayed, and we came with our barge to the mouth of a little creeke which came from their towne into the great riuer.

A wonderfull confluence of streames.

As we abode there a while, our Indian pilot, called Ferdinando, would needs goe ashore their village to fetch some fruits, and to drinke of their artificiall wines, and also to see the place, and know the lord of it against another time, and tooke with him a brother of his, which hee had with him in the iourney: when they came to the village of these people the lord of the Island offered to lay hands on them, purposing to haue slaine them both, yeelding for reason that this Indian of ours had brought a strange nation into their territory, to spoile and destroy them. But the pilot being quicke, and of a disposed body, slipt their fingers, and ran into the woods, and his brother being the better footman of the two, recouered the creekes mouth, where we stayed in our barge, crying out that his brother was slaine: with that we set hands on one of them that was next vs, a very olde man, and brought him into the barge, assuring him that if we had not our pilot againe, we would presently cut off his head. This olde man being resolued that he should pay the losse of the other, cried out to those in the woods to saue Ferdinando our pilot; but they followed him notwithstanding, and hunted after him vpon the foot with the Deere-dogges, and with so maine a crie, that all the woods eckoed with the shout they made: but at the last this poore chased Indian recouered the riuer side, and got vpon a tree, and as we were coasting, leaped downe and swamme to the barge halfe dead with feare. But our good happe was, that we kept the other olde Indian which we handfasted to redeeme our pilot withall; for being naturall of those riuers, we assured our selues hee knew the way better then any stranger could. And indeed, but for this chance, I thinke we had neuer found the way either to Guiana, or backe to our ships: for Ferdinando after a few dayes knew nothing at all, nor which way to turne, yea and many times the old man himselfe was in great doubt which riuer to take. Those people which dwell in these broken islands and drowned lands, are generally called Tiuitiuas; there are of them two sorts, the one called Ciawani, and the other Waraweete.

A description of the mighty riuer of Orenoque or Baraquan.

The great riuer of Orenoque or Baraquan hath nine branches which fall out on the North side of his owne maine mouth: on the South side it hath seuen other fallings into the sea, so it disemboqueth by sixteene armes in all, betweene Ilands and broken ground, but the Ilands are very great, many of them as bigge as the Isle of Wight, and bigger, and many lesse. From the first branch on the North to the last of the South, it is at least 100 leagues, so as the riuers mouth is 300 miles wide at his entrance into the sea, which I take to be farre bigger then that of Amazones. All those that inhabit in the mouth of this riuer vpon the seuerall North branches, are these Tiuitiuas, of which there are two chiefe lords which haue continuall warres one with the other. The Ilands which lie on the right hand, are called Pallamos, and the land on the left, Horotomaka, and the riuer by which Iohn Douglas returned within the land from Amana to Capuri, they call Macuri.

What maner of people the Tiuitiuas are.

These Tiuitiaus are a very goodly people and very valiant, and haue the most manly speech and most deliberate that euer I heard, of what nation soeuer. In the Summer they haue houses on the ground, as in other places: in the Winter they dwell vpon the trees, where they build very artificiall townes and villages, as it is written in the Spanish story of the West Indies, that those people do in the low lands nere the gulfe of Vraba: for betweene May and September the riuer of Orenoque riseth thirty foot vpright, and then are those ilands ouerflowen twenty foot high aboue the leuell of the ground, sauing some few raised grounds in the middle of them: and for this cause they are inforced to liue in this maner. They neuer eat of any thing that is set or sowen: and as at home they vse neither planting nor other manurance, so when they come abroad, they refuse to feed of ought, but of that which nature without labour bringeth forth. They vse the tops of Palmitos for bread, and kill deere, fish, and porks, for the rest of their sustenance. They haue also many sorts of fruits that grow in the woods, and great variety of birds and fowle.

And if to speake of them were not tedious, and vulgar, surely we saw in those passages of very rare colours and formes, not elsewhere to be found, for as much as I haue either seene or read. Of these people those that dwell vpon the branches of Orenoque, called Capuri and Macureo, are for the most part carpenters of canoas, for they make the most and fairest canoas, and sel them into Guiana for golde, and into Trinidad for tobacco in the excessiue taking whereof, they exceed all nations; and not withstanding the moistnesse of the aire in which they liue, the hardnesse of their diet, and the great labours they suffer to hunt, fish and fowle for their liuing in all my life, either in the Indies or in Europe, did I neuer behold a more goodly or better fauoured people or a more manly. They were woont to make warre vpon all nations, especially on the Canibals, so as none durst without a good strength trade by those riuers: but of late they are at peace with their neighbours, all holding the Spaniards for a common enemy. When their commanders die, they vse great lamentation, and when they thinke the flesh of their bodies is putrified, and fallen from the bones, then they take vp the carcase againe, and hang it in the caciques house that died, and decke his scull with feathers of all colours, and hang all his golde plates about the bones of his armes, thighs, and legs. Those nations which are called Arwacas, which dwell on the South of Orenoque, (of which place and nation our Indian pilot was) are dispersed in many other places, and doe vse to beat the bones of their lords into powder, and their wiues and friends drinke it all in their seuerall sorts of drinks.

After we departed from the port of these Ciawani, wee passed vp the riuer with the flood, and ankered the ebbe, and in this sort we went onward. The third day that we entred the riuer, our galley came on ground, and stucke so fast, as we thought that euen there our discouery had ended, and that we must haue left fourescore and ten of our men to haue inhabited like rooks vpon trees with those nations: but the next morning, after we had cast out all her ballast, with tugging and halling to and fro, we got her aflote, and went on. At foure dayes end wee fell into as goodly a riuer as euer I beheld, which was called The great Amana, which ranne more directly without windings and turnings then the other: but soone after the flood of the sea left vs; and being inforced either by maine strength to row against a violent current, or to returne as wise as we went out, we had then no shift but to perswade the companies that it was but two or three dayes worke, and therefore desired them to take paines, euery gentleman and others taking their turnes to row, and to spell one the other at the houres end. Euery day we passed by goodly branches of riuers, some falling from the West, others from the East into Amana, but those I leaue to the description in the Cart of discouery, where euery one shalbe named with his rising and descent. When three dayes more were ouergone, our companies began to despaire, the weather being extreame hote, the riuer bordered with very high trees, that kept away the aire, and the current against vs euery day stronger then other: but we euermore commanded our pilots to promise an ende the next day, and vsed it so long, as we were driuen to assure them from foure reaches of the riuer to three, and so to two, and so to the next reach: but so long we laboured, that many dayes were spent, and wee driuen to drawe our selues to harder allowance, our bread euen at the last, and no drinke at all; and our men and our selues so wearied and scorched, and doubtfull withall, whether wee should euer performe it or no, the heat increasing as we drew towards the line; for wee were now in fiue degrees.

The further we went on (our victuall decreasing and the aire breeding great faintnesse) wee grew weaker and weaker, when wee had most need of strength and abilitie; for hourely the riuer ranne more violently then other against vs, and the barge, wheries, and shippes boat of captaine Gifford and captaine Calfield, had spent all their prouisions; so as we were brought into despaire and discomfort, had wee not perswaded all the company that it was but onely one dayes worke more to atteine the land where wee should be relieued of all wee wanted, and if we returned, that wee were sure to starue by the way, and that the world would also laugh vs to scorne. On the banks of these riuers were diuers sorts of fruits good to eat, flowers and trees of such variety, as were sufficient to make tenne volumes of herbals: we relieued our selues many times with the fruits of the countrey, and sometimes with fowle and fish. Wee saw birds of all colours, some carnation, some crimson, orenge-tawny, purple, watchet, and of all other sorts both simple and mixt, and it was vnto vs a great good passing of the time to beholde them, besides the reliefe we found by killing some store of them with our fowling pieces; without which, hauing little or no bread, and lesse drinke, but onely the thicke and troubled water of the riuer, we had beene in a very hard case.

Our olde pilot of the Ciawani (whom, as I sayd before, wee tooke to redeeme Ferdinando) tolde vs, that if we would enter a branch of a riuer on the right hand with our barge and wheries, and leaue the galley at anker the while in the great riuer, he would bring vs to a towne of the Arwacas, where we should finde store of bread, hennes, fish, and of the countrey wine; and perswaded vs, that departing from the galley at noone, we might returne yer night. I was very glad to heare this speech, and presently tooke my barke, with eight musketiers, captaine Giffords whery, with myselfe and foure musketiers and Captaine Calfield with his whery, and as many; and so we entred the mouth of this riuer: and because we were perswaded that it was so nere, we tooke no victuall with vs at all. When we had rowed three houres, we maruelled we saw no signe of any dwelling, and asked the pilot where the towne was: he tolde vs a little further. After three houres more, the Sun being almost set, we began to suspect that he led vs that way to betray vs; for hee confessed that those Spaniards which fled from Trinidad, and also those that remained with Carapana in Emeria, were ioyned together in some village vpon that riuer. But when it grew towards night; and wee demanded where the place was: hee tolde vs but foure reaches more. When we had rowed foure and foure, we saw no signe; and our poore water-men, euen heart-broken, and tired, were ready to giue up the ghost: for we had now come from the galley neere forty miles.

At the last we determined to hang the pilot; and if wee had well knowen the way backe againe by night, we had surely gone; but our owne necessities pleaded sufficiently for his safety: for it was as darke as pitch, and the riuer began so to narrow it selfe, and the trees to hang ouer from side to side, as wee were driuen with arming swords to cut a passage thorow those branches that couered the water. Wee were very desirous to finde this towne, hoping of a feast, because wee made but a short breakefast aboord the galley in the morning and it was now eight a clocke at night, and our stomacks began to gnawe apace: but whether it was best to returne or goe on, we beganne to doubt, suspecting treason in the pilot more and more: but the poore olde Indian euer assured vs that it was but a little further, but this one turning and that turning: and at the last about one a clocke after midnight wee saw a light; and rowing towards it, wee heard the dogges of the village. When we landed wee found few people; for the lord of that place was gone with diuers canoas aboue foure hundred miles off, vpon a iourney towardes the head of Orenoque to trade for golde, and to buy women of the Canibals, who afterward vnfortunately passed by vs as wee rode at an anker in the port of Morequito in the darke of the night, and yet came so neere vs, as his canoas grated against our barges: he left one of his company at the port of Morequito, by whom wee vnderstood that hee had brought thirty yoong women, diuers plates of golde, and had great store of fine pieces of cotton cloth, and cotton beds. In his house we had good store of bread, fish, hennes, and Indian drinke, and so rested that night, and in the morning after we had traded with such of his people as came downe, we returned towards our gally, and brought with vs some quantity of bread, fish, and hennes.

On both sides of this riuer we passed the most beautifull countrey that euer mine eyes beheld: and whereas all that we had seene before was nothing but woods, prickles, bushes, and thornes, here we beheld plaines of twenty miles in length, the grasse short and greene, and in diuers parts groues of trees by themselues, as if they had beene by all the arte and labour in the world so made of purpose: and still as we rowed, the deere came downe feeding by the waters side, as if they had beene vsed to a keepers call. Vpon this riuer there were great store of fowle, and of many sorts: we saw in it diuers sorts of strange fishes, and of maruellous bignes: but for lagartos it exceeded, for there were thousands of those vgly serpents; and the people call it for the abundance of them, The riuer of Lagartos, in their language. I had a Negro a very proper yoong fellow, who leaping out of the galley to swim in the mouth of this riuer, was in all our sights taken and deuoured with one of those lagartos. In the meane while our companies in the gally thought we had bene all lost, (for wee promised to returne before night) and sent the Lions whelps shippes boat with captaine Whiddon to follow vs vp the riuer; but the next day, after we had rowed vp and downe some fourescore miles, we returned, and went on our way, vp the great riuer; and when we were euen at the last cast for want of victuals, captaine Gifford being before the galley and the rest of the boats, seeking out some place to land vpon the banks to make fire, espied foure canoas comming downe the riuer; and with no small ioy caused his men to trie the vttermost of their strengths, and after a while two of the foure gaue ouer, and ranne themselues ashore, euery man betaking himselfe to the fastnesse of the woods, the two other lesser got away, while he landed to lay hold on these: and so turned into some by-creeke, we knew not whither. Those canoas that were taken, were loaden with bread, and were bound for Margarita in the West Indies, which those Indians (called Arwacas) purposed to cary thither for exchange: but in the lesser there were three Spanyards, who hauing heard of the defeat of their gouernour in Trinidad, and that we purposed to enter Guiana, came away in those canaos: one of them was a cauallero, as the captaine of the Arwacas after tolde vs, another a souldier, and the third a refiner.

A most beautifull countrey.

The riuer of Lagartos, or Crocodiles.

Two canoas taken.

Three Spanyards escaped.

THE DISCOVERIE

OF THE LARGE, RICH, AND BEAUTIFULL EMPIRE OF GUIANA, WITH A RELATION OF THE GREAT AND GOLDEN CITIE OF MANOA (WHICH THE SPANIARDS CALL EL DORADO) AND THE PROUINCES OF EMERIA, AROMAIA, AMAPAIA, AND OTHER COUNTRIES, WITH THEIR RIUERS ADIOYNING. PERFORMED IN THE YEERE 1595 BY SIR WALTER RALEGH KNIGHT, CAPTAINE OF HER MAIESTIES GUARD, LORDE WARDEN OF THE STANNERIES, AND HER HIGHNESSE LIEUTENANT GENERALL OF THE COUNTIE OF CORNE-WALL.

PART II.

In the meane time, nothing on the earth could haue bene more welcome to vs, next vnto gold, then the great store of very excellent bread which we found in these canoas; for now our men cried, Let vs goe on, we care not how farre. After that captaine Gifford had brought the two canoas to the galley, I tooke my barge, and went to the banks side with a dozen shot, where the canoas first ranne themselues ashore, and landed there, sending out captaine Gifford, and captaine Thyn on one hand, and captaine Calfield on the other, to follow those that were fled into the woods: and as I was creeping thorow the bushes, I sawe an Indian basket hidden, which was the refiners basket; for I found in it his quick-siluer, saltpeter, and diuers things for the triall of metals, and also the dust of such ore as he had refined, but in those canoas which escaped there was a good quantity of ore and gold. I then landed more men, and offered fiue hundred pound to what souldier soeuer could take one of those three Spanyards that we thought were landed. But our labours were in vaine in that behalfe; for they put themselues

The Spanish golde-finers basket and other things taken.

into one of the small canoas: and so while the greater canoas were in taking they escaped. But seeking after the Spanyards, we found the Arwacas hidden in the woods, which were pilots for the Spanyards, and rowed their canoas; of which I kept the chiefest for a pilot, and caried him with me to Guiana, by whom I vnderstood where and in what countreyes the Spaniards had laboured for golde, though I made not the same knowen to all: for when the springs began to breake, and the riuers to raise themselues so suddenly, as by no meanes wee could abide the digging of any mine, especially for that the richest are defended with rocks of hard stones, which wee call the White spar, and that it required both time, men, and instruments fit for such a worke, I thought it best not to houer thereabouts, least if the same had beene perceiued by the company, there would haue beene by this time many barks and shippes set out, and perchance other nations would also haue gotten of ours for pilots; so as both our selues might haue beene preuented, and all our care taken for good vsage of the people bene vtterly lost, by those that onely respect present profit, and such violence or insolence offered, as the nations which are borderers would haue changed their desire of our loue and defence into hatred and violence. And for any longer stay to haue brought a more quantity (which I heare hath beene often obiected) whosoeuer had seene or prooued the fury of that riuer after it beganne to arise, and had bene a moneth and odde dayes, as we were, from hearing ought from our shippes, leauing them meanly manned 400 miles off, would perchance haue turned somewhat sooner then we did, if all the mountaines had bene golde or rich stones. And to say the trueth, all the branches and small riuers which fell into Orenoque were raised with such speed, as if we waded them ouer the shooes in the morning outward, we were couered to the shoulders homeward the very same day: and to stay to digge out gold with our nailes, had bene Opus laboris but not Ingenij: such a quantitie as would haue serued our turnes we could not haue had, but a discouery of the Mines to our infinite disaduantage wee had made, and that could haue bene the best profite of farther search or stay: for those Mines are not easily broken, nor opened in hast, and I could haue returned a good quantity of gold ready cast, if I had not shot at another marke, then present profit.

The richest mines defended with the white spar.

This Arwacan Pilot with the rest, feared that wee would haue

The Spaniards diuelish lies.

eaten them, or otherwise haue put them to some cruel death (for the Spaniards, to the end that none of the people in the passage towards Guiana or in Guiana it selfe might come to speach with vs, perswaded all the nations, that we were men-eaters, and Canibals) but when the poore men and women had seen vs, and that wee gaue them meate, and to euery one something or other, which was rare and strange to them, they beganne to conceiue the deceit and purpose of the Spaniards, who indeed (as they confessed) tooke from them both their wiues and daughters dayly, and vsed them for the satisfying of their owne lusts, especially such as they tooke in this maner by strength. But I protest before the Maiestie of the liuing God, that I neither know nor beleeue, that any of our company one or other, by violence or otherwise, euer knew any of their women, and yet we saw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of those very yong, and excellently fauoured, which came among vs without deceit, starke naked.

Nothing got vs more loue amongst them then this vsage: for I suffered not any man to take from any of the nations so much as a Pina, or a Potato roote, without giuing them contentment, nor any man so much as to offer to touch any of their wiues or daughters: which course so contrary to the Spaniards (who tyrannize ouer them in all things) drewe them to admire her Maiestie, whose commaundement I told them it was, and also wonderfully to honour our nation.

A notable course of iustice.

But I confesse it was a very impatient worke to keepe the meaner sort from spoyle and stealing, when wee came to their houses: which because in all I coulde not preuent, I caused my Indian interpreter at euery place when wee departed, to knowe of the losse or wrong done, and if ought were stolen or taken by violence, either the same was restored, and the partie punished in their sight, or else was payed for to their vttermost demand.

They also much wondered at vs, after they heard that we had slaine the Spaniards at Trinidad, for they were before resolued, that no nation of Christians durst abide their presence, and they wondered more when I had made them know of the great ouerthrow that her Maiesties armie and Fleete had giuen them of late yeeres in their owne Countreys.

After we had taken in this supply of bread, with diuers baskets of rootes which were excellent meate, I gaue one of the Canoas to the Arwacas, which belonged to the Spaniards that were escaped, and when I had dismissed all but the Captaine (who by the Spaniards was christened Martin) I sent backe in the same Canoa the olde Ciawan, and Ferdinando my first Pilot, and gaue them both such things as they desired, with sufficient victuall to cary them backe, and by them wrote a letter to the ships, which they promised to deliuer, and performed it, and then I went on with my newe hired Pilot Martin the Arwacan: but the next or second day after, wee came aground againe with our Galley, and were like to cast her away, with all our victuall and provision, and so lay on the sand one whole night and were farre more in despaire at this time to free her then before, because wee had no tide of flood to helpe vs, and therefore feared that all our hopes would haue ended in mishaps: but we fastened an anker vpon the lande, and with maine strength drewe her off: and so the fifteenth day wee discouered afarre off the mountaines of Guiana to our great ioy, and towards the euening had a slent of a Northerly winde that blewe very strong, which brought vs in sight of the great Riuer Orenoque; out of which this riuer discended wherein wee were: wee descried afarre off three other Canoas as farre as wee could descerne them, after whom wee hastened with our barge and wherries, but two of them passed out of sight, and the thirde entered vp the great Riuer, on the right hande to the Westward, and there stayed out of sight, thinking that wee meant to take the way Eastward towards the prouince of Carapana, for that way the Spaniards keepe, not daring to goe vpwards to Guiana, the people in those parts being all their enemies, and those in the Canoas thought vs to haue bene those Spaniards that were fled from Trinidad, and had escaped killing: and when wee came so farre downe as the opening of that branch into which they slipped, being neere them with our barge and wherries wee made after them, and ere they coulde land, came within call, and by our interpreter tolde them what wee were, wherewith they came backe willingly abord vs: and of such fish and Tortugas egges as they had gathered, they gaue vs, and promised in the morning to bring the Lord of that part with them, and to do vs all other seruices they could.

That night we came to an ancker at the parting of the three goodly Riuers (the one was the Riuer of Amana by which we came from the North, and ranne athwart towards the South, the other two were of Orenoque which crossed from the West and ranne to the Sea towardes the East) and landed vpon a faire sand, where wee found thousands of Tortugas egges which are very wholesome meate, and greatly restoring, so as our men were nowe well filled and highly contented both with the fare, and neerenesse of the land of Guiana which appeared in sight.

In the morning there came downe according to promise the Lord of that border called Toparimaca, with some thirtie or fourtie followers, and brought vs diuers sorts of fruites, and of his wine, bread, fish, and flesh, whom wee also feasted as wee could, at least wee dranke good Spanish wine (whereof wee had a small quantitie in bottles) which aboue all things they loue. I conferred with this Toparimaca of the next way to Guiana, who conducted our galley and boates to his owne port, and caried vs from thence some mile and a halfe to his Towne, where some of our Captaines karoused of his wine till they were reasonable pleasant, for it is very strong with pepper, and the iuice of diuers hearbes, and fruites digested and purged, they keepe it in great earthern pots of tenne or twelue galons very cleane and sweete, and are themselues at their meetings and feastes the greatest karousers and drunkards of the world: when wee came to his towne wee found two Casiques, whereof one was a stranger that had bene vp the Riuer in trade, and his boates, people, and wife incamped at the port where wee anckered, and the other was of that countrey a follower of Toparimaca: they lay each of them in a cotten Hamaca, which wee call brasill beds, and two women attending them with sixe cuppes and a little ladle to fill them, out of an earthern pitcher of wine, and so they dranke each of them three of those cups at a time one to the other, and in this sort they drinke drunke at their feastes and meetings.

That Casique that was a stranger had his wife staying at the port where wee anckered, and in all my life I haue seldome seene a better fauoured woman: Shee was of good stature, with black eyes, fat of body, of an excellent countenance, her haire almost as long as her selfe, tied vp againe in pretie knots, and it seemed shee stood not in that awe of her husband, as the rest, for shee spake and discoursed, and dranke among the gentlemen and Captaines, and was very pleasant, knowing her owne comelinesse, and taking great pride therein. I haue seene a Lady in England so like to her, as but for the difference of colour, I would haue sworne might haue bene the same.

The towne of Arowocay.

The great breadth of the riuer Orenoque.

The seat of this Towne of Toparimaca was very pleasant, standing on a little hill, in an excellent prospect, with goodly gardens a mile compasse round aboute it, and two very faire and large ponds of excellent fish adioyning. This towne is called Arowocai: the people are of the nation called Nepoios, and are followers of Carapana. In that place I sawe very aged people, that wee might perceiue all their sinewes and veines without any flesh, and but euen as a case couered onely with skinne. The Lord of this place gaue me an old man for Pilot, who was of great experience and traueile, and knew the Riuer most perfectly both by day and night: and it shall bee requisite for any man that passeth it, to haue such a Pilot, for it is foure, fiue, and sixe miles ouer in many places, and twentie miles in other places, with wonderfull eddies, and strong currents, many great ylands, and diuers sholds, and many dangerous rockes, and besides vpon any increase of winde so great a bilowe, as wee were sometimes in great perill of drowning in the galley, for the small boates durst not come from the shoare, but when it was very faire.

They enter the riuer Orenoque, which runneth East and West.

The next day we hasted thence, and hauing an Easterly winde to helpe vs, we spared our armes from rowing: for after wee entred Orenoque, the Riuer lieth for the most part East and West, euen from the Sea vnto Quito in Peru. This Riuer is nauigable with barkes, litle lesse then a thousand miles, and from the place where we entred, it may be sailed vp in small pinnesses to many of the best parts of Nueuo reyno de Granada, and of Popayan: and from no place may the cities of these parts of the Indies be so easily taken and inuaded as from hence. All that day wee sailed vp a branch of that Riuer, hauing on the left hand a great yland which they call Assapana which may conteine some fiue and twentie miles in length, and sixe miles in breadth, the great body of the Riuer running on the other side of this yland. Beyond that middle branch there is also another yland in the Riuer called Iwana, which is twise as bigge as the yle of Wight, and beyond it, and betweene it and the maine of Guiana, runneth a thirde branch of Orenoque called Arraroopana: all three are goodly branches, and all nauigable for great ships. I iudge the riuer in this place to be at least thirty miles brode, reckoning the ylands which deuide the branches in it, for afterwards I sought also both the other branches.

After wee reached to the head of the yland, called Assapana, a little to the Westward on the right hand there opened a riuer which came from the North, called Europa, and fel into the great Riuer, and beyond it on the same side, wee anckered for that night, by another yland sixe miles long, and two miles broade, which they call Ocaywita: From hence in the morning wee landed two Guianians, which wee found in the Towne of Toparimaca, that came with vs, who went to giue notice of our comming to the Lord of that countrey called Putyma, a follower of Topiawari, chiefe Lord of Aromaia, who succeeded Morequito, whom (as you haue heard before) Berreo put to death: but his towne being farre within the land, he came not vnto vs that day, so as we ankered againe that night neere the bankes of another yland, of bignesse much like the other, which they call Putapayma, ouer against which yland, on the maine lande, was a very high mountaine called Oecope: we coueted to ancker rather by these ylands in the Riuer, then by the maine, because of the Tortugas egges, which our people found on them in great abundance, and also because the ground serued better for vs to cast our nets for fish, the maine bankes being for the most part stonie and high, and the rocks of a blue metalline colour, like vnto the best steele-ore, which I assuredly take it to be: of the same blew stone are also diuers great mountaines, which border this riuer in many places.

The next morning towards nine of the clocke, wee weighed ancker, and the brize increasing, we sailed alwayes West vp the riuer, and after a while opening the land on the right side, the countrey appeared to bee champaine, and the bankes shewed very perfect red. I therefore sent two of the little barges with Captaine Gifford, and with him Captaine Thyn, Captaine Calfield, my cosen Greenuile, my nephew Iohn Gilbert, Captaine Eynus, Master Edward Porter, and my cosen Butshead Gorges, with some fewe souldiers, to march ouer the bankes of that red land, and to discouer what maner of countrey it was on the other side, who at their return founde it all a plaine leuell, as farre as they went or could discerne, from the highest tree they could get vpon: And my old Pilot, a man of great trauell, brother to the Casique Toparimica tolde mee, that those were called the plaines of the Sayma, and that the same leuell reached to Cumana, and Caracas in the West Indies, which are a hundreth and twentie leagues to the North, and that there inhabited foure principall nations. The first were the Sayma, the next Assawai, the thirde and greatest the Wikiri, by whom Pedro Hernandez de Serpa before mentioned was ouerthrowen, as hee passed with three hundred horse from Cumana towards Orenoque, in his enterprize of Guiana: the fourth are called Aroras, and are as blacke as Negros, but haue smooth haire, and these are very valiant, or rather desperate people, and haue the most strong poyson on their arrowes, and most dangerous of all nations, of which poyson I will speake somewhat being a digression not vnnecessary.

Aroras a black people vsing venemous arrowes.

There was nothing whereof I was more curious, then to finde out the true remedies of these poysoned arrowes: for besides the mortalitie of the wound they make, the partie shotte indureth the most insufferable torment in the world, and abideth a most vgly and lamentable death, sometimes dying starke mad, somtimes their bowels breaking out of their bellies: which are presently discoloured as blacke as pitch, and so vnsauory, as no man can endure to cure, or to attend them. And it is more strange to know, that in all this time there was neuer Spaniard either by gift or torment that could atteine to the true knowledge of the cure, although they haue martyred and put to inuented torture I know not how many of them. But euery one of these Indians knew it not, no not one among thousands, but their soothsayers and priestes, who doe conceale it, and onely teach it but from the father to the sonne.

Those medicines which are vulgar, and serue for the ordinarie poyson, are made of the iuice of a roote called Tupara: the same also quencheth marueilously the heate of burning feauers, and healeth inward wounds, and broken veines, that bleed within the body. But I was more beholding to the Guianians then any other: for Anthonio de Berreo tolde mee that hee could neuer attaine to the knowledge thereof, and yet they taught mee the best way of healing as well thereof, as of all other poysons. Some of the Spaniards haue bene cured in ordinary wounds, of the common poysoned arrowes with the iuice of the garlike: but this is a generall rule for all men that shall hereafter trauel the Indies where poisoned arrowes are vsed, that they must abstaine from drinke, for if they take any licour into their body,

The iuice of garlike good against ordinary poyson.

as they shall bee marueilously prouoked thereunto by drought I say, if they drinke before the wound bee dressed, or soone vpon it, there is no way with them but present death.

And so I will returne againe to our iourney which for this thirde day we finished, and cast ancker againe neere the continent or the left hand betweene two mountaines, the one called Aroami, and the other Aio: I made no stay here but till midnight, for I feared hourely least any raine should fall, and then it had bene impossible to haue gone any further vp, notwithstanding that there is euery day a very strong brize, and Easterly winde. I deferred the search of the countrey on Guiana-side, till my returne downe the riuer.

The next day we sailed by a great yland in the middle of the riuer called Manoripano, and as wee walked a while on the yland, while the Galley got a head of vs, there came for vs from the maine a small Canoa with seuen or eight Guianians, to inuite vs to ancker at their port, but I deferred till my returne; It was that Casique to whom those Nepoios went, which came with vs from the towne of Toparimaca: and so the fift day we reached as high vp as the prouince of Aromaia the countrey of Morequito whom Berreo executed, and ankered to the West of an yland called Murrecotima, tenne miles long and fiue broad: and that night the Casique Aramiary, (to whose towne we made our long and hungry voyage out of the riuer of Amana) passed by vs.

The next day wee arriued at the port of Morequito, and anckered there, sending away one of our Pilots to seeke the king of Aromaia, vncle to Morequito slaine by Berreo as aforesaid. The next day following before noone hee came to vs on foote from his house, which was fourteene English miles (himselfe being a hundreth and tenne yeeres olde) and returned on foote the same day, and with him many of the borderers, with many women and children, that came to wonder at our nation, and to bring vs downe victuall, which they did in great plentie, as venison, porke, hennes, chickens, foule, fish, with diuers sorts of excellent fruites and rootes, and great abundance of Pinas, the princes of fruites, that grow vnder the Sunne, especially those of Guiana. They brought vs also store of bread, and of their wine, and a sort of Paraquitos, no bigger then wrennes, and of all other sorts both small and great; one of them gaue mee a beast called by the Spaniards Armadilla, which they call Cassacam, which seemeth to be all barred ouer with smal plates somewhat like to a Rinoceros, with a white horne growing in his hinder parts, as bigge as a great hunting horne, which they vse to winde in stead of a trumpet. Monardus writeth that a little of the powder of that horne put into the eare, cureth deafenesse.

After this olde King had rested a while in a little tent, that I caused to bee set vp, I beganne by my interpreter to discourse with him of the death of Morequito his predecessour, and afterward of the Spaniards, and ere I went any farther I made him knowe the cause of my comming thither, whose seruant I was, and that the Queenes pleasure was, I should vndertake the voyage for their defence, and to deliuer them from the tyrannie of the Spaniards, dilating at large, (as I had done before to those of Trinidad) her Maiesties greatnesse, her iustice, her charitie to all oppressed nations, with as many of the rest of her beauties and vertues, as either I could expresse, or they conceiue: all which being with great admiration attentiuely heard, and marueilously admired, I beganne to sound the olde man as touching Guiana, and the state thereof, what sort of common wealth it was, how gouerned, of what strength and policie, howe farre it extended, and what nations were friendes or enemies adioyning, and finally of the distance and way to enter the same: hee tolde mee that himselfe and his people with all those downe the Riuer towards the Sea, as farre as Emeria, the prouince of Carapana, were of Guiana, but that they called themselues Orenoqueponi, and that all the nations betweene the riuer and those mountaines in sight called Wacarima, were of the same cast and appellation: and that on the other side of those mountaines of Wacarima there was a large plaine (which after I discouered in my returne) called the valley of Amariocapana, in all that valley the people were also of the ancient Guianians.

I asked what nations those were which inhabited on the farther side of those mountaines, beyond the valley of Amariocapana: hee answered with a great sigh (as a man which had inward feeling of the losse of his Countrey and libertie, especially for that his eldest sonne was slaine in a battell on that side of the mountaines, whom hee most entirely loued) that he remembred in his fathers life time when hee was very olde, and himselfe a yong man, that there came downe into that large valley of Guiana, a nation from so farre off as the Sunne slept, (for such were his owne wordes) with so great a multitude as they coulde not bee numbred nor resisted, and that they wore large coates, and hattes of crimson colour, which colour hee expressed, by shewing a piece of red wood, wherewith my tent was supported, and that they were called Orejones, and Epuremei, those that had slaine and rooted out so many of the ancient people, as there were leaues in the wood vpon all the trees, and had nowe made themselues Lords of all, euen to that mountaine foote called Curaa, sauing onely of two nations, the one called Awarawaqueri, and the other Cassipagotos, and that in the last battell fought betweene the Epuremei, and the Iwarawaqueri, his eldest sonne was chosen to carry to the aide of the Iwarawaqueri, a great troupe of the Orenoqueponi, and was there slaine with all his people and friendes, and that hee had now remayning but one sonne: and farther tolde mee that those Epuremei had built a great Towne called Macureguarai at the said mountaine foote, at the beginning of the great plaines of Guiana, which haue no ende: and that their houses haue many roomes, one ouer the other, and that therein the great King of the Orejones and Epuremei kept three thousande men to defend the borders against them, and withall dayly to inuade and slay them: but that of late yeeres since the Christians offered to inuade his territories, and those frontiers, they were all at peace, and traded one with another, sauing onely the Iwarawaqueri, and those other nations vpon the head of the riuer of Caroli, called Cassipagotos, which we afterwards discouered, each one holding the Spaniard for a common enemie.

Orejones are the gentlemen of Peru. Lop. de Gomar. Hist. gen. cap. 119.

After hee had answered thus farre, he desired leaue to depart, saying that hee had farre to goe, that hee was olde, and weake, and was euery day called for by death, which was also his owne phrase: I desired him to rest with vs that night, but I could not intreate him, but hee tolde mee that at my returne from the countrey aboue, hee would againe come to vs, and in the meane time prouide for vs the best he could, of all that his countrey yeelded: the same night hee returned to Orocotona his owne towne, so as hee went that day eight and twentie miles, the weather being very hot, the countrey being situate betweene foure and fiue degrees of the Equinoctial.

Orotona betweene 4. and 5. degrees of Northerly latitude.

This Topiawari is helde for the prowdest, and wisest of all the Orenoqueponi, and so hee behaued himselfe towardes mee in all his answeres at my returne, as I marueiled to finde a man of that grauitie and iudgement, and of so good discourse, that had no helpe of learning nor breede.

The next morning we also left the port, and sailed Westward vp to the Riuer, to view the famous Riuer called Caroli, as well because it was marueilous of it selfe, as also for that I vnderstoode it ledde to the strongest nations of all the frontiers, that were enemies to the Epuremei, which are subiects to Inga, Emporour of Guiana, and Manoa, and that night we ankered at another yland called Caiama, of some fiue or sixe miles in length, and the next day arriued at the mouth of Caroli. When we were short of it as lowe or further downe as the port of Morequito wee heard the great rore and fall of the Riuer, but when wee came to enter with our barge and whirries thinking to haue gone vp some fourtie miles to the nations of the Cassipagotos, wee were not able with a barge of eight oares to row one stones cast in an houre, and yet the Riuer is as broad as the Thames at Wolwich, and wee tried both sides, and the middle, and euery part of the Riuer, so as we incamped vpon the bankes adioyning, and sent off our Orenequepone (which came with vs from Morequito) to giue knowledge to the nations vpon the Riuer of our being there, and that wee desired to see the Lordes of Canuria, which dwelt within the prouince vpon that Riuer, making them know that we were enemies to the Spaniards, (for it was on this Riuer side that Morequito slewe the Frier, and those nine Spaniards which came from Manoa, the Citie of Inga, and tooke from them fourtie thousand pezos of golde) so as the next day there came downe a Lord or Casique called Wanuretona with many people with him, and brought all store of prouisions to entertaine vs, as the rest had done. And as I had before made my comming knowen to Topiawari, so did I acquaint this Casique therewith, and howe I was sent by her Maiestie for the purpose aforesaide, and gathered also what I could of him touching the estate of Guiana, and I founde that those also of Caroli were not onely enemies to the Spaniards, but most of all to the Epuremei, which abound in golde, and by this Wanuretona, I had knowledge that on the head of this Riuer were three mighty nations, which were seated on a great lake, from whence this Riuer descended, and were

The yle of Caiama.

They arriue at the mouth of the riuer Caroli.

called Cassipagotos, Eparagotos, and Arawagots, and that all those either against the Spaniards, or the Epuremei would ioyne with vs, and that if wee entred the land ouer the mountaines of Curaa, we should satisfie our selues with gold and all other good things: he told vs farther of a nation called Iwarawaqueri before spoken off, that held dayly warre with the Epuremei that inhabited Macureguarai the first ciuill towne of Guiana, of the subiects of Inga the Emperour.

Cassipagotos, Eparagotos, and Arawagotos three mighty nations seated on a lake at the head of the riuer Caroli.

Vpon this riuer one Captaine George, that I tooke with Berreo tolde mee there was a great siluer Mine, and that it was neere the banckes of the saide riuer. But by this time as well Orenoque, Caroli, as all the rest of the riuers were risen foure or fiue foote in height, so as it was not possible by the strength of any men, or with any boat whatsoeuer to rowe into the Riuer against the streame. I therefore sent Captaine Thyn, Captaine Greenuile, my nephew Iohn Gylbert, my cosen Butshead Gorges, Captaine Clarke, and some thirtie shotte more to coast the Riuer by land, and to goe to a towne some twentie miles ouer the valley called Amnatapoi, and they found guides there, to goe farther towards the mountaine foote to another great towne called Capurepana, belonging to a Casique called Haharacoa (that was a nephew to olde Topiawari King of Arromaia our chiefest friend) because this towne and a prouince of Capurepada adioyned to Macureguarai, which was a frontier towne of the Empire: and the meane while my selfe with Captaine Calfield, Edward Hancocke, and some halfe a dosen shotte marched ouer land to viewe the strange ouerfals of the riuer of Caroli which rored so farre off, and also to see the plaines adioyning, and the rest of the prouince of Canuri: I sent also Captaine Whiddon, William Connocke, and some eight shotte with them, to see if they coulde finde any Mineral stone alongst the riuer side. When we were come to the tops of the first hilles of the plaines adioyning to the riuer, we behelde that wonderful breach of waters, which ranne downe Caroli: and might from that mountaine see the riuer howe it ranne in three parts, aboue twentie miles off, and there appeared some tenne or twelue ouerfals in sight, euery one as high ouer the other as a Churchtower, which fell with that fury,

Amnatapoi, a towne.

The strange ouerfals of Caroli.

that the rebound of water made it seeme, as if it had bene all couered ouer with a great shower of raine: and in some places wee tooke it at the first for a smoke that had risen ouer some great towne. For mine owne part I was well perswaded from thence to haue returned, being a very ill footeman, but the rest were all so desirous to goe neere the saide strange thunder of waters, as they drew me on by little and little, till wee came into the next valley where we might better discerne the same. I neuer saw a more beautifull countrey, nor more liuely prospects, hils so raised here and there ouer the valleys, the riuer winding into diuers branches, the plaines adioyning without bush or stubble, all faire greene grasse, the ground of hard sand easie to march on, either for horse or foote, the deere crossing in euery path, the birdes towards the euening singing on euery tree with a thousand seuerall tunes, cranes and herons of white crimson, and carnation pearching in the riuers side, the aire fresh with a gentle Easterly winde, euery stone that we stouped to take vp, promised either golde or siluer by his complexion. Your Lordship shall see of many sorts, and I hope some of them cannot bee bettered vnder the Sunne, and yet we had no means but our daggers and fingers to teare them out here and there, the rockes being most hard of that minerall Sparre aforesaid, which is like a flint, and is altogether as hard or harder, and besides the veines lye a fathome or two deepe in the rockes. But we wanted all things requisite saue onely our desires and good will to haue performed more if it had pleased God. To be short, when both our companies returned, each of them brought also seuerall sorts of stones that appeared very faire, but were such as they found loose on the ground, and were for the most part but coloured, and had not any golde fixed in them, yet such as had no iudgement or experience kept al that glistered, and would not be perswaded but it was rich because of the lustre, and brought of those, and of Marquesite with all, from Trinidad, and haue deliuered of those stones to be tried in many places, and haue thereby bred an opinion that all the rest is of the same: yet some of these stones I shewed afterward to a Spaniard of the Caracas, who tolde mee that it was El Madre del oro, that is the mother of golde, and that the Mine was further in the ground.

A most beautifull country.

Abundance of mineral Sparre.

But it shall be found a weake policie in me, either to betray my selfe, or my countrey with imaginations, neither am I so farr in loue with that lodging, watching, care, peril, diseases, ill sauours, bad fare, and many other mischiefes that accompany these voyages, as to woo my selfe againe into any of them, were I not assured that the Sunne couereth not so much riches in any part of the earth. Captaine Whiddon, and our Chirurgion Nicholas Millechap brought mee a kinde of stones like Saphires, what they may proue I know not. I shewed them to some of the Orenoqueponi, and they promised to bring mee to a mountaine, that had of them very large pieces growing Diamond wise: whether it be Christall of the mountaine, Bristol-Diamond, or Saphire I doe not yet know, but I hope the best, sure I am that the place is as likely as those from whence all the rich stones are brought, and in the same height or very neere.

On the left hand of this riuer Caroli are seated those nations which are called Iwarawakeri before remembered, which are enemies to the Epuremei: and on the head of it adioyning to the great lake Cassipa, are situate those other nations which also resist Inga, and the Epuremei, called Cassepagotos, Eparegotos, and Arrawagotos. I farther vnderstood that this lake of Cassipa is so large, as it is aboue one dayes iourney for one of their Canoas to crosse, which may bee some fourtie miles, and that thereinto fall diuers riuers, and that great store of graines of gold are found in the Summer time when the lake falleth by the banckes, in those branches.

Cassipa a great lake.

There is also another goodly riuer beyond Caroli which is called Arui, which also runneth thorow the lake Cassipa, and falleth into Orenoque farther West, making all that land betweene Caroli and Arui an yland, which is likewise a most beautifull countrey. Next vnto Arui there are two riuers Atoica and Caora, and on that branch which is called Caora, are a nation of people, whose heads appeare not aboue their shouldiers; which though it may be thought a meere fable, yet for mine owne part I am resolued it is true, because euery childe in the prouinces of Arromaia and Canuri affirme the same: they are called Ewaipanoma: they are reported to haue their eyes in their shoulders, and their mouthes in the middle of their breasts, and that a long traine of haire groweth backward betweene their shoulders. The sonne of Topiawari, which I brought with me into England told me that they are the most mighty men of all the land, and vse bowes, arrowes, and clubbes thrice as big as any of Guiana, or

Ewaipanoma a strange headless nation.

of the Orenoqueponi, and that one of the Iwarawakeri tooke a prisoner of them the yeere before our arriuall there, and brought him into the borders of Aromaia his fathers countrey. And farther when I seemed to doubt of it, hee told me that it was no wonder among them, but that they were as great a nation, and as common as any other in all the prouinces, and had of late yeeres slaine many hundreds of his fathers people, and of other nations their neighbours, but it was not my chance to heare of them till I was come away, and if I had but spoken one worde of it while I was there, I might haue brought one of them with mee to put the matter out of doubt. Such a nation was written of by Mandeuile, whose reports were holden for fables many yeeres, and yet since the East Indies were discouered. we find his relations true of such things as heretofore were held incredible: whether it be true or no, the matter is not great, neither can there bee any profit in the imagination; for mine owne part I saw them not, but I am resolued that so many people did not all combine, or forthinke to make the report.

When I came to Cumana in the West Indies afterwards by chance I spake with a Spaniard dwelling not farre from thence, a man of great trauell, and after hee knew that I had bene in Guiana, and so farre directly West of Caroli, the first question hee asked me was, whether I had seene any of the Ewaipanoma, which are those without heads: who being esteemed a most honest man of his word, and in all things else, tolde mee that hee had seene many of them: I may not name him, because it may be for his disaduantage, but hee is well knowen to Monsieur Mucherons sonne of London, and to Peter Mucheron merchant of the Flemish shippe that was there in trade, who also heard what he auowed to be true of those people.

The riuer of Casnero.

The fourth riuer to the West of Caroli is Casnero which falleth into Orenoque on this side of Amapaia, and that riuer is greater then Danubius, or any in Europe: it riseth on the South of Guiana from the mountaines which diuide Guiana from Amazones, and I thinke it to bee nauigable many hundreth miles: but wee had no time, meanes, nor season of the yeere, to search those riuers for the causes aforesayd, the Winter being come vpon vs, although the Winter and Summer as touching colde and heate differ not, neither doe the trees euer sensibly lose their leaues, but haue alwayes fruit either ripe or greene, and most of them

The Winter of Guiana.

both blossome, leaues, ripe fruite, and greene at one time: but their Winter onely consisteth of terrible raines, and ouerflowing of the riuers, with many great stormes and gustes, thunder and lightnings, of which we had our fill, ere we returned.

On the North side, the first riuer that falleth into Orenoque is Cari, beyond it on the same side is the riuer of Limo, betweene these two is a great nation of Canibals, and their chiefe towne beareth the name of the riuer, and is called Acamacari: at this towne is a continuall market of women for three or foure hatchets a piece, they are bought by the Arwacas, and by them sold into the West Indies. To the West of Limo is the riuer Pao, beyond it Caturi, beyond that Voari and Capuri which falleth out of the great riuer of Meta, by which Berreo descended from Nueuo reyno de Granada. To the Westward of Capuri is the prouince of Amapaia, where Berreo wintered, and had so many of his people poysoned with the tawny water of the marshes of the Anebas. Aboue Amapaia toward Nueuo reyno fall in Meta, Pato, and Cassanar. To the West of those towards this prouinces of the Ashaguas and Catetios are the riuers of Beta, Dawney, and Vbarro, and toward the frontier of Peru are the prouinces of Thomebamba, and Caxamalca. Adioyning to Quito in the North side of Peru are the riuers of Guiacar and Goauar: and on the other side of the sayd mountaynes the riuer of Papamene which descendeth into Marannon or Amazones passing thorough the prouince Mutylones where Don Pedro de Osua who was slaine by the traytour Agiri before rehearsed, built his brigandines, when he sought Guiana by the way of Amazones.

The Isle of Baraquan.

Betweene Dawney and Beta lyeth a famous Island in Orenoque now called Baraquan (for aboue Meta it is not knowen by the name of Orenoque) which is called Athule, beyond which, ships of burden cannot passe by reason of a most forcible ouerfall, and current of waters: but in the eddy al smaller vessels may be drawen euen to Peru it selfe: But to speake of more of these riuers without the description were but tedious, and therefore I will leaue the rest to the description. This riuer of Orenoque is nauigable for ships little lesse then 1000 miles, and for lesser vessels neere 2000. By it (as aforesayd) Peru, Nueuo reyno, and Popaian, may be inuaded: it also leadeth to the great empire of Inga, and to the prouinces of Amapaia, and Anebas which abound in

Orenoque a mighty riuer by which Peru, Nueuo reyno, and Popaian may be inuaded.

gold: his branches of Cosnero, Manta, Caora descended from the middle land and valley, which lieth betweene the easter prouince of Peru and Guiana; and it falles into the sea betweene Marannon and Trinidad in two degrees and a halfe: all which your Honours shall better perceiue in the general description of Guiana, Peru, Nueuo reyno, the kingdome of Popayan, and Roidas, with the prouince of Veneçuela, to the bay of Vraba, behind Cartagena Westward; and to Amazones Southward. While we lay at ankor on the coast of Canuri, and had taken knowledge of all the nations vpon the head and branches of this riuer, and had found out so many seueral people, which were enemies to the Epuremei, and the new conquerours: I thought it time lost to linger any longer in that place, especially for that the fury of Orenoque began dayly to threaten vs with dangers in our returne: for no halfe day passed, but the riuer beganne to rage and ouerflowe very fearfully, and the raines came downe in terrible showers, and gustes in great abundance: and withall, our men began to crie out for want of shift, for no man had place to bestowe any other apparell then that which he ware on his backe, and that was throughly washt on his body for the most part tenne times in one day: and we had now bene wel neere a moneth, euery day passing to the Westward farther and farther from our shippes. Wee therefore turned towards the East, and spent the rest of the time in discouering the riuer towards the sea, which we had not viewed, and which was not materiall.

They returne

The next day following we left the mouth of Caroli, and arriued againe at the port of Morequito where we were before: for passing downe the streame we went without labour, and against the winde, little lesse then a hundreth miles a day. Assoone as I came to ankor, I sent away one for olde Topiawari, with whom I much desired to haue further conference, and also to deale with him for some one of his countrey, to bring with vs into England, as well to learne the language, as to conferre withall by the way, the time being nowe spent of any longer stay there. Within three houres after my messenger came to him, he arriued also, and with him such a rabble of all sorts of people, and euery one loden with somewhat, as if it had beene a great market or faire in England: and our hungry companies clustered thicke and threefold among their baskets, euery one laying hand on what he liked. After he had rested a while in my tent, I shut out all but our selues, and my interpreter, and told him that I knew that both the Epuremei and the Spaniards were enemies to him, his countrey and nations: that the one had conquered Guiana already, and the other sought to regaine the same from them both : and therefore I desired him to instruct me what he could, both of the passage into the golden parts of Guiana, and to the ciuill townes and apparelled people of Inga. Hee gaue mee an answere to this effect : first that hee could not perceiue that I meant to goe onward towards the citie of Manoa, for neither the time of the yeere serued, neither could hee perceiue any sufficient numbers for such an enterprize : and if I did, I was sure with all my company to bee buried there, for the Emperour was of that strength, as that many times so many men more were too fewe : besides hee gaue mee this good counsell and aduised mee to holde it in minde (as for himselfe hee knewe, hee could not liue till my returne) that I should not offer by any meanes hereafter to inuade the strong parts of Guiana without the helpe of all those nations which were also their enemies : for that it was impossible without those, either to bee conducted, to be victualled, or to haue ought caried with vs, our people not being able to indure the march in so great heate, and trauell, vnlesse the borderers gaue them helpe, to carie with them both their meate and furniture : For hee remembred that in the plaines of Macureguarai three hundreth Spaniards were ouerthrowen, who were tired out, and had none of the borderers to their friendes : but meeting their enemies as they passed the frontier, were enuironed on all sides, and the people setting the long drie grasse on fire, smoothered them, so as they had no breath to fight, nor could discerne their enemies for the great smoke. He tolde me farther that 4 daies iourney from his towne was Macureguarai, and that those were the next and nearest of the subiects of Inga, and of the Epuremei, and the first towne of apparelled and rich people, and that all those plates of gold which were scattered among the borderers and caried to other nations farre and neere, came from the sayd Macureguarai and were there made, but that those of the land within were farre finer, and were fashioned after the images of men, beasts, birds, and fishes. I asked him

The last conference of Sir Walter Ralegh with Topiawari, whose sonne he brought into England.

Counsell to be followed in other conquests.

Macureguarai ye first towne of Guiana, and of rich and apparelled people.

whether hee thought that those companies that I had there with me, were sufficient to take that towne or no? He told me that he thought they were. I then asked him, whether he would assist me with guides, and some companies of his people to ioyne with vs? He answered that he would go himselfe with al the borderers, if the riuers did remaine foordable, vpon this condition that I would leaue with him til my return againe fifty souldiers, which hee vndertooke to victuall: I answered that I had not aboue fiftie good men in all there, the rest were labourers and rowers, and that I had no prouision to leaue with them of powder, shot, apparell, or ought else, and that without those things necessary for their defence, they should bee in danger of the Spaniards in my absence, who I knew would vse the same measure towards mine, that I offered them at Trinidad: And although vpon the motion Captaine Calfield, Captaine Greenuile, my nephew Iohn Gilbert and diuers others were desirous to stay, yet I was resolued that they must needes haue perished, for Berreo expected daylie a supply out of Spaine, and looked also hourely for his sonne to come downe from Nueuo reyno de Granada, with many horse and foote, and had also in Valencia in the Caracas, two hundreth horse ready to march, and I could not haue spared aboue fortie, and had not any store at all of powder, leade, or match to haue left with them, nor any other prouision, either spade, pickeaxe, or ought else to haue fortified withall.

When I had giuen him reason that I could not at this time leaue him such a companie, he then desired mee to forbeare him and his countrey for that time, for he assured mee that I should bee no sooner three dayes from the coast, but those Epuremei would inuade him, and destroy all the remaine of his people and friendes, if hee should any way either guide vs or assist vs against them.

He further alleaged, that the Spaniards sought his death, and as they had already murthered his Nephew Morequito lord of that prouince, so they had him seuenteene dayes in a chaine before hee was king of the countrey, and ledde him like a dog from place to place, vntill he had payde an hundreth plates of golde, and diuers chaines of Spleen-stones for his ransome: and nowe since he became owner of that prouince, that they had many times layd waite to take him, and that they would bee nowe more vehement, when they should vnderstand of his conference with the English, and because, sayd hee, they would the better displant me, if they cannot lay handes on mee, they haue gotten a Nephew of mine called Eparacano, whom they haue Christened Don Iuan, and his sonne Don Pedro, whom they haue also apparelled and armed, by whom they seeke to make a partie against me in mine owne countrey: hee also had taken to wife one Louiana of a strong familie, which are borderers and neighbours, and my selfe now being olde and in the handes of death am not able to trauell nor to shifte, as when I was of yoonger yeeres: hee therefore prayed vs to deferre it till the next yeere, when he would vndertake to draw in all the borderers to serue vs, and then also it would bee more seasonable to trauell, for at this time of the yeere, wee should not bee able to passe any riuer, the waters were and would bee so growen ere our returne.

He farther told me, that I could not desire so much to inuade Macureguarai, and the rest of Guiana, but that the borderers would be more vehement then I, for he yeelded for a chiefe cause that in the warres with the Epuremei, they were spoyled of their women, and that their wiues and daughters were taken from them, so as for their owne parts they desired nothing of the golde or treasure, for their labours, but onely to recouer women from the Epuremei: for hee farther complayned very sadly (as it had beene a matter of great consequence) that whereas they were wont to haue tenne or twelue wiues, they were now inforced to content themselues with three or foure, and that the lords of the Epuremei had fifty or a hundreth: And in truth they war more for women then either for gold or dominion: For the lords of countreys desire many children of their owne bodies, to increase their races and kindreds, for in those consist their greatest trust and strength. Diuers of his followers afterwards desired mee to make haste againe, that they might sacke the Epuremei, and I asked them of what? They answered, of their women for vs, and their gold for you: for the hope of those women they more desire the war, then either for gold, or for the recouery of their ancient territories. For what betweene the subiects of Inga, and the Spaniards, those frontiers are growen thinne of people, and also great numbers are fled to other nations farther off for feare of the Spaniards.

After I receiued this answere of the old man, we fell into consideration, whether it had bene of better aduice to haue entred Macureguaria, and to haue begun a warre vpon Inga at this time, yea or no, if the time of the yeere, and all things else had sorted. For mine owne part (as we were not able to march it for the riuers, neither had any such strength as was requisite, and durst not abide the comming of the Winter, or to tarie any longer from our ships (I thought it were euill counsell to haue attempted it at that time, although the desire of gold will answere many obiections: but it would haue bin in mine opinion an vtter ouerthrow to the enterprize, if the same should be hereafter by her Maiesty attempted; for then (whereas now they haue heard we were enemies to the Spaniards and were sent by her Maiesty to relieue them) they would as good cheap haue ioyned with the Spaniards at our returne, as to haue yeelded vnto vs, when they had proued that we came both for one errant, and that both sought but to sacke and spoile them, but as yet our desire of gold, or our purpose of inuasion is not knowen to them of the empire: and it is likely that if her Maiestie vndertake the enterprize, they will rather submit themselues to her obedience then to the Spaniards, of whose cruelty both themselues and the borderers haue already tasted: and therefore till I had knowen her Maiesties pleasure, I would rather haue lost the sacke of one or two townes (although they might haue beene very profitable) then to haue defaced or indangered the future hope of so many millions, and the great good, and rich trade which England may be possessed of thereby. I am assured nowe that they will all die euen to the last man against the Spaniards in hope of our succour and returne: whereas otherwise if I had either layd handes on the borderers, or ransomed the lords, as Berreo did, or inuaded the subiects of Inga, I know all had beene lost for hereafter.

After that I had resolued Topiawari lord of Aromaia, that I could not at this time leaue with him the companies he desired, and that I was contented to forbeare the enterprize against the Epuremei till the next yeare, he freely gaue me his onely sonne to take with me into England, and hoped, that though hee himselfe had but a short time to liue, yet that by our meanes his sonne should be established after his death: and I left with him one Francis Sparrow, a seruant of Captaine Gifford, (who was desirous to tarie, and could describe a countrey with his pen) and a boy of mine called Hugh Goodwin, to learne the language.

I after asked the maner how the Epuremei wrought those plates of golde, and how they could melt it out of the stone; hee tolde mee that the most of the golde which they made in plates and images, was not seuered from the stone, but that on the lake of Manoa, and in a multitude of other riuers they gathered it in graines of perfect gold and in peeces as bigge as small stones, and that they put it to a part of copper, otherwise they could not worke it, and that they vsed a great earthern pot with holes round about it, and when they had mingled the gold and copper together, they fastened canes to the holes, and so with the breath of men they increased the fire till the metall ran and they cast it into moulds of stone and clay, and so make those plates and images. I haue sent your Honors of two sortes such as I could by chance recouer, more to shewe the maner of them, then for the value: For I did not in any sort make my desire of gold knowen, because I had neither time, nor power to haue a greater quantity. I gaue among them manie more peeces of gold, then I receiued, of the new money of 20 shillings with her Maiesties picture to weare, with promise that they would become her seruants thencefoorth.

Most rich gold ore.

I haue also sent your Honours of the ore, whereof I know some is as rich as the earth yeeldeth any, of which I know there is sufficient, if nothing else were to bee hoped for. But besides that we were not able to tarrie and search the hils, so we had neither pioners, barres, ledges, nor wedges of yron to breake the ground, without which there is no working in mines: but wee saw all the hilles with stones of the colour of gold and siluer, and we tried them to be no Marquesite, and therefore such as the Spaniards call El madre del oro, or, The mother of gold, which is an vndoubted assurance of the generall abundance: and my selfe saw the outside of many mines of the Sparre, which I know to be the same that all couet in this world, and of those, more then I will speake of.

Hauing learned what I could in Canuri and Aromaia, and receiued a faithfull promise of the principallest of those prouinces to become seruants to her Maiestie, and to resist the Spaniards, if they made any attempt in our absence, and that they would draw in the nations about the lake of Cassipa, and those Iwarawaqueri, I then parted from olde Topiawari, and receiued his sonne for a pledge betweene vs, and left with him two of ours as aforesayd. To Francis Sparrowe I gaue instructions to trauell to Macureguarai, with such merchandizes as I left with them, thereby to learne the place, and if it were possible, to goe on to the great citie of Manoa: which being done, we weyed ankor, and coasted the riuer on Guiana side, because wee came vpon the North side, by the launes of the Saima and Wikiri.

Guiana on the South-side.

There came with vs from Aromaia a Cassique called Putijma, that commanded the prouince of Warapana, (which Putijma slewe the nine Spaniards vpon Caroli before spoken of) who desired vs to rest in the Porte of his countrey, promising to bring vs vnto a mountaine adioyning to his towne that had stones of the colour of golde, which hee perfourmed. And after wee had rested there one night, I went my selfe in the morning with most of the Gentlemen of my company, ouer land towards the said mountaine, marching by a riuers side called Mana, leauing on the right hand a towne called Tuteritona, standing in the Prouince of Tarracoa, of the which Wariaaremagoto is principall. Beyond it lieth another towne towards the South, in the valley of Amariocapana, which beareth the name of the sayd valley, whose plaines stretch themselues some sixtie miles in length, East and West, as faire ground, and as beautifull fields, as any man hath euer seene, with diuers copsies scattered here and there by the riuers side, and all as full of deere as any forrest or parke in England, and in euerie lake and riuer the like abundance of fish and foule, of which Irraparragota is lord.

From the riuer of Mana, we crost another riuer in the said beautifull valley called Oiana, and rested our selues by a cleere lake, which lay in the middle of the said Oiana, and one of our guides kindling vs fire with two stickes, wee stayed a while to drie our shirts, which with the heate hong very wette and heauie on our sholders. Afterwards wee sought the ford to passe ouer towards the mountaine called Iconuri, where Putijma foretold vs of the mine. In this lake we saw one of the great fishes, as big as a wine pipe, which they call Manati, being most excellent and holsome meate. But after I perceiued, that to passe the said riuer would require halfe a dayes march more, I was not able my selfe to indure it, and therefore I sent Captaine Keymis with sixe shot to goe on, and gaue him order not to returne to the port of Putijma, which is called Chiparepare, but to take leisure, and to march downe the sayd valley, as farre as a riuer called Cumaca, where I promised to meete him againe, Putijma himselfe promising also to bee his guide: and as they marched, they left the townes of Emparepana and Capurepana, on the right hand, and marched from Putijmas house downe the sayd valley of Amariocapana, and wee returning the same day to the riuers side, saw by the way many rockes, like vnto gold ore, and on the left hand, a round mountaine which consisted of minerall stone.

From hence we rowed downe the streame, coasting the prouince of Parino: As for the branches of riuers which I ouerpasse in this discourse, those shall be better expressed in the description with the mountaines of Aio, Ara, and the rest, which are situate in the prouinces of Parino and Carricurrina. When we were come as farre down as the land called Ariacoa, (where Orenoque deuideth it selfe into three great branches, each of them being most goodly riuers) I sent away captaine Henrie Thin, and captaine Greeneuile with the galley, the neerest way, and tooke with mee captaine Gifford, captaine Calfield, Edward Porter, and captaine Eynos with mine owne barge, and the two wherries, and went downe that branch of Orenoque, which is called Cararoopana, which leadeth towards Emeria the prouince of Carapana, and towards the East sea, as well to finde out captaine Keymis, whome I had sent ouer land, as also acquaint my selfe with Carapana, who is one of the greatest of all the lords of the Orenoqueponi: and when I came to the riuer of Cumaca (to which Putijma promised to conduct captaine Keymis) I left captaine Eynos and master Porter in the sayd riuer to expect his comming, and the rest of vs rowed downe the streame towards Emeria.

In this branch called Cararoopana were also many goodly Islands, some of sixe miles long, some of ten, and some of twenty. When it grew towards sunne-set, we entred a branch of a riuer that fell into Orenoque called Winicapora: where I was enformed of the mountaine of Christall, to which in trueth for the length of the way, and the euill season of the yeere, I was not able to march, nor abide any longer vpon the iourney: wee saw it afarre off and it appeared like a white Church-tower of an exceeding height. There falleth ouer it a mighty riuer which toucheth no part of the side of the mountaine, but rusheth ouer the toppe of it, and falleth to the ground with so terrible a noyse and clamor, as if a thousand great bels were knockt one against

A mighty cataract or ouerfall of water.

another. I thinke there is not in the world so strange an ouerfall, nor so wonderfull to behold: Berreo told mee that there were Diamonds and other precious stones on it, and that they shined very farre off: but what it hath I know not, neither durst he or any of his men ascend to the top of the sayd mountaine, those people adioyning being his enemies (as they were) and the way to it so impassable.

Vpon this riuer of Winicapora wee rested a while, and from thence marched into the countrey to a town called after the name of the riuer, whereof the captaine was one Timitwara, who also offered to conduct mee to the top of the sayd mountaine called Wacarima: But when wee came in first to the house of the sayd Timitwara, being vpon one of their sayd feast dayes, we found them all as drunke as beggers, and the pots walking from one to another without rest: we that were weary, and hote with marching, were glad of the plenty though a small quantitie satisfied vs, their drinke being very strong and headie, and so rested our selues a while; after wee had fedde, we drew our selues backe to our boats, vpon the riuer and there came to vs all the lordes of the countrey, with all such kinde of victuall as the place yeelded, and with their delicate wine of Pinas, and with abundance of hens, and other prouisions, and of those stones which we call Spleenestones.

Wee vnderstood by the chiefetaines of Winicapora, that their lord Carapana was departed from Emeria which was now in sight, and that he was fled to Cairamo, adioyning to the mountains of Guiana, ouer the valley called Amariocapana, being perswaded by those tenne Spaniards which lay at his house, that we would destroy him, and his countrey.

But after these Cassiques of Winicapora and Saporatona his followers perceiued our purpose, and saw that we came as enemies to the Spaniards onely, and had not so much as harmed any of those nations, no though we found them to be of the Spaniards owne seruants, they assured vs that Carapana would be as ready to serue vs, as any of the lords of the prouinces, which we had passed; and that he durst doe no other till this day but entertaine the Spaniards, his countrey lying so directly in their way, and next of all other to any entrance that should be made in Guiana on that side.

And they farther assured vs, that it was not for feare of our comming that he was remooued, but to be acquited of the

Spaniards or any other that should come hereafter. For the prouince of Caironia is situate at the mountaine foote, which deuideth the plaines of Guiana from the countreys of the Orenoqueponi: by meanes whereof if any should come in our absence into his townes, hee would slip ouer the mountaines into the plaines of Guiana among the Epuremei, where the Spaniards durst not follow him without great force.

But in mine opinion, or rather I assure my selfe, that Carapana (being a notable wise and subtil fellow, a man of one hundred yeeres of age, and therefore of great experience) is remooued, to looke on, and if he finde that we returne strong he will be ours, if not, hee will excuse his departure to the Spaniards, and say it was for feare of our comming.

Wee therefore thought it bootlesse to rowe so farre downe the streame, or to seeke any farther of this olde fox: and therefore from the riuer of Waricapana (which lieth at the entrance of Emeria) we returned againe, and left to the Eastward those foure riuers which fall from the mountaines of Emeria into Orenoque, which are Waracayari, Coirama, Akaniri, and Iparoma: below those foure are also these branches and mouthes of Orenoque, which fall into the East sea, whereof the first is Araturi, the next Amacura, the third Barima, the fourth Wana, the fift Morooca, the sixt Paroma, the last Wijmi: beyond them there fall out of the land betweene Orenoque and Amazones 14 riuers which I forbear to name, inhabited by the Arwacas and Canibals.

It is now time to returne towards the North, and wee found it a wearisome way backe from the borders of Emeria, to recouer vp againe to the head of the riuer Carerupana, by which we descended, and where we parted from the galley, which I directed to take the next way to the port of Toparimaca, by which we entred first.

All the night it was stormie and darke, and full of thunder and great showers, so as wee were driuen to keepe close by the bankes in our small boats, being all heartily afraid both of the billow and terrible curent of the riuer. By the next morning we recouered the mouth of the riuer of Cumaca, where we left captaine Eynos and Edward Porter to attend the comming of captaine Keymis ouer land: but when wee entred the same, they had heard no news of his arriuall, which bred in vs a great doubt what might become of him: I rowed vp a league or two farther into the riuer, shooting off pieces all the way, that hee might know of our being there. And the next morning wee heard them answere vs also with a piece: wee tooke them aboord vs, and tooke our leaue of Putijma their guide, who of all others most lamented our departure, and offered to send his sonne with vs into England, if we could haue stayed till he had sent backe to his towne: but our hearts were colde to behold the great rage and increase of Orenoque, and therefore departed, and turned toward the West, til we had recouered the parting of the three branches aforesayd, that we might put downe the streame after the galley.

The next day we landed on the Island of Assapano (which deuideth the riuer from that branch by which we sent downe to Emeria) and there feasted our selues with that beast which is called Armadilla presented vnto vs before at Winicapora, and the day following we recouered the galley at ankor at the port of Toparimaca, and the same euening departed with very foule weather and terrible thunder, and showers, for the Winter was come on very farre: the best was, we went no lesse then 100 miles a day, downe the riuer: but by the way we entred, it was impossible to returne, for that the riuer of Amana, being in the bottome of the bay of Guanipa, cannot be sayled backe by any meanes, both the brize and current of the sea were so forcible: and therefore wee followed a branch of Orenoque called Capuri, which entred into the sea Eastward of our ships, to the end we might beare with them before the wind, and it was not without neede, for we had by that way as much to crosse of the maine sea after we came to the riuers mouth, as betweene Grauelyn, and Douer, in such boats as your Hon. hath heard.

To speake of what past homeward were tedious, either to describe or name any of the riuers, Islands, or villages of the Tiuitivas which dwell on trees: we will leaue all those to the generall mappe: and to be short, when we were arriued at the sea side, then grew our greatest doubt, and the bitterest of all our iourney forepassed, for I protest before God, that we were in a most desperate estate: for the same night which we ankored in the riuer of Capuri, where it falleth into the sea, there arose a mightie storme, and the riuers mouth was at least a league broad, so as we ranne before night close vnder the land with our small boates, and brought the Galley as neere as we could, but she had as much a doe to liue as could be, and there wanted little of her sinking, and all those in her: for mine owne part I confesse, I was very doubt full which way to take, either to goe ouer in the Pestred Galley, there being but sixe foote water ouer the sandes, for two leagues together, and that also in the channell, and she drew fiue: or to aduenture in so great a billow, and in so doubtfull weather, to cross the seas in my barge. The longer we taried the worse it was, and therefore I tooke Captaine Gifford, Captaine Calfield, and my cosen Greeneuile into my barge; and after it cleared vp, about midnight we put our selues to Gods keeping, and thrust out into the sea, leauing the Galley at anker, who durst not aduenture but by day-light: And so being all very sober, and .melancholy, one faintly chearing another to shewe courage, it pleased God that the next day about nine of the clocke, wee descried the Ilande of Trinidad, and stearing for the nearest part of it, wee kept the shore till wee came to Curiapan, where wee founde our shippes at ankor, then which there was neuer to vs a more ioyfull sight.

A rehearsall and description of all the nations and riuers found in this discouerie.

Now that it hath pleased God to send vs safe to our shippes, it is time to leaue Guiana to the Sunne, whom they worshippe, and steare away towardes the North: I will therefore in a fewe wordes finish the discouery thereof. Of the seuerall nations which we found vpon this discouery I will once againe make repetition, and howe they are affected. At our first enterance into Amana, which is one of the outlets of Orenoque, we left on the right hand of vs in the bottome of the bay, lying directly against Trinidad, a nation of inhumaine Canibals, which inhabite the riuers of Guanipa and Berbeese; in the same bay there is also a third riuer which is called Areo, which riseth on Paria side towards Cumana, and that riuer is inhabited with the Wikiri, whose chiefe towne vpon the sayd riuer is Sayma; In this bay there are no more riuers, but these three before rehearsed, and the foure branches of Amana, all which in the Winter thrust so great abundance of water into the sea, as the same is taken vp fresh, two or three leagues from the land. In the passages towardes Guiana (that is, in all those landes which the eight branches of Orenoque fashion into Ilands) there are but one sort of people called Tiuitiuas, but of two castes as they tearme them, the one called Ciawani, the other Waraweeti, and those warre one with another.

On the hithermost part of Orenoque, as at Toparimaca, and Winicapora, those are of a nation called Nepoios, and are of the followers of Carapana, Lord of Emeria. Betweene Winicapora and the port of Morequito which standeth in Aromaia, and all those in the valley of Amariocapana are called Orenoqueponi, and did obey Morequito, and are now followers of Topiawari. Vpon the riuer of Caroli, are the Canuri, which are gouerned by a woman (who is inheritrix of that Prouince) who came farre off to see our Nation, and asked me diuerse questions of her Maiestie, being much delighted with the discourse of her Maiesties greatnesse, and wondering at such reports as we truely made of her Highnesse many vertues: And vpon the head of Caroli, and on the lake of Cassipa, are the three strong Nations of the Cassipagotos. Right South into the land are the Capurepani, and Emparepani, and beyond those adioyning to Macureguarai (the first citie of Inga) are the Iwarawakeri: all these are professed enemies to the Spaniards, and to the rich Epuremei also. To the West of Caroli are diuerse nations of Canibals, and of those Ewaipanoma without heads. Directly West are the Amapaias and Anebas, which are also marueilous rich in gold. The rest towards Peru we wil omit. On the North of Orenoque, betweene it and the West Indies are the Wikiri, Saymi, and the rest before spoken of, all mortall enemies to the Spaniardes. On the South side of the maine mouth of Orenoque, are the Arwacas; and beyond them the Canibals and to the South of them the Amazones.

To make mention of the seuerall beasts, birds, fishes, fruits, flowers, gummes, sweet woods, and of their seuerall religions and customes, would for the first require as many volumes as those of Gesnerus, and for the rest another bundle of Decades. The religion of the Epuremei is the same which the Ingas, Emperours of Peru vsed, which may be read in Cieça, and other Spanish stories, how they beleeue the immortalitie of the soule, worship the Sunne, and burie with them aliue their best beloued wiues and treasure, as they likewise doe in Pegu in the East Indies, and other places. The Orenoqueponi bury not their wiues with them, but their iewels, hoping to inioy them againe. The Arwacas dry the bones of their Lords, and their wiues and friends drinke them in powder. In the graues of the Peruuians the Spaniards found their greatest abundance of treasure: the like also is to be found among these people in euery Prouince. They haue all many wiues, and the Lords fiuefould to the common sort: their wiues neuer eate with their husbands, nor among the men, but serue their husbands at meales, and afterwardes feede by themselues. Those that are past their younger yeeres, make all their bread and drinke, and worke their cotten beds, and doe all else of seruice and labour, for the men doe nothing but hunt, fish, play, and drinke, when they are out of the warres.

I will enter no further into discourse of their maners, lawes and customes: and because I haue not my selfe seene the cities of Inga, I cannot auow on my credit what I haue heard, although it be very likely, that the Emperour Inga hath built and erected as magnificent pallaces in Guiana, as his ancestors did in Peru, which were for their riches and rarenesse most maruellous and exceeding all in Europe, and I thinke of the world, China excepted, which also the Spaniards (which I had) assured me to be true, as also the Nations of the borderers, who being but Saluages to those of the in-land, doe cause much treasure to be buried with them: for I was enformed of one of the Cassiques of the valley of Amariocapana which had buried with him a little before our arriuall, a chaire of golde most curiously wrought, which was made either in Macureguaray adioyning, or in Manao: but if we should haue grieued them in their religion at the first, before they had bene taught better, and haue digged vp their graues, we had lost them all: and therefore I helde my first resolution, that her Maiestie should either accept or refuse the enterprise, ere any thing should be done that might in any sort hinder the same. And if Peru had so many heapes of golde, whereof those Ingas were Princes, and that they delighted so much therein; no doubt but this which now liueth and reigneth in Manao, hath the same honour, and I am assured hath more abundance of golde, within his territorie, then all Peru and the West Indies.

Exceeding commendation of the riuer of Orenoque.

For the rest, which my selfe haue seene, I will promise these things that follow, which I know to be true. Those that are desirous to discouer and to see many nations, may be satisfied within this riuer, which bringeth foorth so many armes and branches leading to seuerall countries and prouinces, aboue 2000 miles East and West, and 800 miles South and North, and of these, the most eyther rich in golde, or in other marchandizes. The common souldier shall here fight for golde, and pay himselfe in steede of pence, with plates of halfe a foote broad, whereas he breaketh his bones in other warres for prouant and penury Those commanders and chieftaines that shoot at honour and abundance, shall finde there more rich and beautifull cities, more temples adorned with golden images, more sepulchres filled with treasure, then either Cortez found in Mexico, or Piçarro in Peru: and the shining glory of this conquest will eclipse all those so farre extended beames of the Spanish nation. There is no countrey which yeeldeth more pleasure to the inhabitants, either for those common delights of hunting, hawking, fishing, fowling, or the rest, then Guiana doth. It hath so many plaines, cleere riuers, abundance of Phesants, Partridges, Quailes, Railes, Granes, Herons, and all other fowle: Deere of all sorts, Porkes, Hares, Lions, Tygers, Leopards, and diuers other sortes of beastes, either for chase, or food. It hath a kind of beast called Cama, or Anta, as bigge as an English beefe, and in great plentie.

To speake of the seuerall sorts of euery kind, I feare would be troublesome to the Reader, and therefore I will omit them, and conclude that both for health, good ayre, pleasure, and riches I am resolued it cannot bee equalled by any region either in the East or West. Moreouer the countrey is so healthfull, as of an hundred persons and more (which lay without shift most sluttishly, and were euery day almost melted with heate in rowing and marching, and suddenly wet againe with great showers, and did eate of all sorts of corrupt fruits, and made meales of fresh fish without seasoning, of Tortugas, of Lagartos or Crocodiles, and of all sorts good and bad, without either order or measure, and besides lodged in the open aire euery night) we lost not any one, nor had one ill disposed to my knowledge, nor found any Calentura, or other of those pestilent diseases which dwell in all hot regions, and so neere the Equinoctiall line.

The holsomenesse of the countrey.

Where there is store of gold, it is in effect needlesse to remember other commodities for trade: but it hath towards the South part of the riuer, great quantities of Brasil-wood, and diuerse berries that die a most perfect crimson and carnation: And for painting, all France, Italy, or the East Indies yeelde none such: For the more the skin is washed, the fairer the colour appeareth, and with which, euen those browne and tawnie women spot themselues, and colour their cheekes. All places yeeld abundance of cotton, of silke, of balsamum, and of those kindes most excellent, and

Excellent dyes.

neuer knowen in Europe, of all sortes of gummes of Indian pepper: and what else the countries may afford within the land we knowe not, neither had we time to abide the triall, and search. The soile besides is so excellent and so full of riuers, as it will carrie sugar, ginger, and all those other commodities, which the West Indies haue.

The short, easie, and commodious nauigation to Guiana.

The nauigation is short, for it may be sayled with an ordinarie winde in sixe weekes, and in the like time backe againe, and by the way neither lee shore, enemies coast, rockes, nor sandes, all which in the voyages to the West Indies, and all other places we are subiect vnto, as the chanell of Bahama, comming from the West Indies, cannot well be passed in the Winter, and when it is at the best, it is a perilous and a fearefull place. The rest of the Indies for calmes, and diseases very troublesome, and the sea about the Bermudas a hellish sea for thunder, lightning, and stormes.

1595.

This very yeere there were seuenteene sayle of Spanish ships lost in the chanell of Bahama, and the great Philip like to haue sunke at the Bermudas was put backe to Saint Iuan de Puerto rico. And so it falleth out in that Nauigation euery yeere for the most part, which in this voyage are not to be feared: for the time of yeere to leaue England is best in Iuly, and the Summer in Guiana is in October, Nouember, December, Ianuarie, Februarie, and March, and then the ships may depart thence in Aprill, and so returne againe into England in Iune, so as they shall neuer be subiect to Winter-weather, either comming, going, or staying there: which for my part, I take to be one of the greatest comforts and incouragements that can be thought on, hauing (as I haue done) tasted in this voyage by the West Indies so many calmes, so much heat, such outragious gustes, foule weather, and contrarie windes.

To conclude, Guiana is a countrey that hath yet her maydenhead, neuer sackt, turned, nor wrought, the face of the earth hath not bene torne, nor the vertue and salt of the soyle spent by manurance, the graues haue not bene opened for golde, the mines not broken with sledges, nor their Images puld downe out of their temples. It hath neuer bene entered by any armie of strength, and neuer conquered or possessed by any christian Prince. It is besides so defensible, that if two forts be builded in one of the Prouinces which I haue seene, the flood setteth in so neere the banke, where the channell also lyeth, that no ship can passe vp but within a Pikes length of the artillerie, first of the one, and afterwards of the other: Which two Forts will be a sufficient guarde both to the Empire of Inga, and to an hundred other seuerall kingdomes, lying within the said riuer, euen to the citie of Quito in Peru.

There is therefore great difference betweene the easiness of the conquest of Guiana, and the defence of it being conquered, and the West or East Indies: Guiana hath but one entrance by the sea (if it hath that) for any vessels of burden: so as whosoeuer shall first possesse it, it shall be found vnaccessible for any enemie, except he come in Wherries, Barges, or Canoas, or else in flat bottomed boates, and if he doe offer to enter it in that manner, the woods are so thicke two hundred miles together vpon the riuers of such entrance, as a mouse cannot sit in a boat vnhit from the banke. By lande it is more impossible to approch, for it hath the strongest situation of any region vnder the sunne, and is so enuironed with impassable mountaines on euery side, as it is impossible to victuall any company in the passage: which hath bene well prooued by the Spanish nation, who since the conquest of Peru haue neuer left fiue yeeres free from attempting this Empire, or discouering some way into it, and yet of three and twentie seuerall Gentlemen, Knights, and Noble men, there was neuer any that knewe which way to leade an army by land, or to conduct shippes by sea, any thing neere the saide countrie. Orellana, of whom the riuer of Amazones taketh name, was the first, and Don Antonio de Berreo (whom we displanted) the last: and I doubt much, whether he himselfe or any of his yet know the best way into the sayde Empire. It can therefore hardly be regained, if any strength be formerly set downe, but in one or two places, and but two or three crumsters or gallies built, and furnished vpon the riuer within: The West Indies haue many portes, watering places, and landings, and nearer then three hundred miles to Guiana, no man can harbour a shippe, except he know one onely place, which is not learned in haste, and which I will vndertake there is not any one of my companies that knoweth, whosoeuer hearkened most after it.

Besides by keeping one good Fort, or building one towne of strength, the whole Empire is guarded, and whatsoeuer companies shall be afterwardes planted within the land, although in twentie seuerall Prouinces, those shall be able all to reunite themselues vpon any occasion eyther by the way of one riuer, or be able to march by land without either wood, bogge, or mountaine: whereas in the West Indies there are fewe townes or Prouinces that can succour or relieue one the other, eyther by land or sea: By land the countries are either desert, mountaynous, or strong enemies: by sea, if any man inuade to the Eastward, those to the West cannot in many moneths turne against the brize and Eastern wind, besides the Spaniards are therein so dispersed, as they are no where strong, but in Nueua Espanna onely: the sharpe mountaines, the thornes, and poysoned prickles, the sandie and deepe wayes in the valleys, the smothering heate and aire, and want of water in other places are their onely and best defence, which (because those nations that inuade them are not victualled or prouided to stay, neither haue any place to friend adioyning) doe serue them in steede of good armes and great multitudes.

The West Indies were first offered her Maiesties grandfather by Columbus a stranger, in whom there might be doubt of deceipt, and besides it was then thought incredible that there were such and so many lands and regions neuer written of before. This Empire is made knowen to her Maiestie by her owne vassall, and by him that oweth to her more duetie then an ordinary subiect, so that it shall ill sort with the many graces and benefites which I haue receiued to abuse her Highnesse, either with fables or imaginations. The countrie is alreadie discouered, many nations wonne to her Maiesties loue and obedience, and those Spaniardes which haue latest and longest laboured about the conquest, beaten out, discouraged and disgraced, which among these nations were thought invincible. Her Maiestie may in this enterprize employ all those souldiers and gentlemen that are younger brethren, and all captaines and chieftaines that want employment, and the charge will be onely the first setting out in victualling and arming them: for after the first or second yeere I doubt not but to see in London a Contractation house of more receipt for Guiana, then there is now in Siuill for the West Indies.

And I am resolued that if there were but a small army a foote in Guiana, marching towards Manoa the chiefe citie of Inga, he would yeeld to her Maiestie by composition so many hundred thousand pounds yeerely, as should both defend all enemies abroad, and defray all expences at home, and that he would besides pay a garrison of three or foure thousand souldiers very royally to defend him against other nations: for he cannot but knowe, how his predecessors, yea how his owne great vncles Guascar and Atabalipa sonnes to Guainacapa Emperour of Peru, were (while they contended for the Empire) beaten out by the Spaniards, and that both of late yeres and euer since the said conquest, the Spaniards haue sought the passages and entrey of his countey: and of their cruelties vsed to the borderers he cannot be ignorant. In which respects no doubt but he will be brought to tribute with great gladnesse, if not, he hath neither shot nor yron weapon in all his Empire, and therefore may easily be conquered.

And I farther remember that Berreo confessed to me and others (which I protest before the Maiestie of God to be true) that there was found among prophesies in Peru (at such time as the Empire was reduced to the Spanish obedience) in their chiefest temples, amongst diuers others which foreshewed the losse of the said Empire, that from Inglatierra those Ingas should be againe in time to come restored, and deliuered from the seruitude of the said Conquerors. And I hope, as we with these few hands haue displanted the first garrison, and driuen them out of the said countrey, so her Maiestie will giue order for the rest, and either defend it, and hold it as tributary, or conquere and keepe it as Empresse of the same. For whatsoeuer Prince shall possesse it, shall be greatest, and if the King of Spaine enioy it, he will become vnresistable. Her Maiestie hereby shall confirme and strengthen the opinions of all nations, as touching her great and princely actions. And where the South border of Guiana reacheth to the Dominion and Empire of the Amazones, those women shall hereby heare the name of a virgin, which is not onely able to defend her owne territories and her neighbours, but also to inuade and conquer so great Empires and so farre remooued.

To speake more at this time, I feare would be but troublesome: I trust in God, this being true, will suffice, and that he which is King of all Kings, and Lord of Lords, will put it into her heart which is Ladie of Ladies to possesse it, if not, I will iudge those men worthy to be kings thereof, that by her grace and leaue will vndertake it of themselues.

* * *

An abstract taken out of certaine Spaniards letters concerning Guiana and the countries lying vpon the great riuer Orenoque: with certaine reports also touching the same.

An aduertisement to the Reader.

THose letters out of which the abstracts following are taken, were surprised at sea as they were passing for Spaine in the yeere 1594. by Captaine George Popham: who the next yeere, and the same that Sir Walter Ralegh discouered Guiana, as he was in a voyage for the West Indies, learned also the reports annexed. All which, at his returne, being two moneths after Sir Walter, as also so long after the writing of the former discourse, hearing also of his discouerie: he made knowen and deliuered to some of her Maiesties most honourable priuie Councell and others. The which seeing they confirme in some part the substance, I meane, the riches of that countrey: it hath bene thought fit that they should be thereunto adioyned. Wherein the Reader is to be aduertised, that although the Spaniards seeme to glorie much of their formall possession taken before Morequito the Lord of Aromaya, and others thereabouts, which throughly vnderstood them not at that time, whatsoeuer the Spaniards otherwise pretend: yet, according to the former discourse, and as also it is related by Cayworaco, the sonne of Topiawary now chiefe Lord of the said Aromaya, who was brought into England by Sir Walter Ralegh, and was present at the same possession and discouerie of the Spaniards mentioned in these letters; it appeareth that after they were gone out of their countrey, the Indians then hauing farther consideration of the matter, and more then coniecture of their intent, hauing knowen and heard of their former cruelties vpon their borderers and others of the Indians elsewhere: At their next comming, there being ten of them sent and imployed for a farther discouery, they were prouided to receiue and entertaine them in an other maner of sort then they had done before; that is to say, they slew them and buried them in the countrey so much sought. They gaue them by that meanes a full and complete possession, the which before they had but begunne. And so they are minded to doe, to as many Spaniards as come after. Other possession they haue had none since. Neither doe the Indians meane, as they protest, to giue them any other. One other thing to be remembred is that in these letters the Spaniards seeme to call Guiana and other countries neere it, bordering vpon the riuer of Orenoque, by the name of Nueua Dorado, because of the great plentie of golde there in most places to be found. Alluding also to the name of El Dorado which was giuen by Martinez to the great citie of Manoa, as is in the former treatise specified. This is all I thought good to aduertise. As for some other matters, I leaue them to the consideration and iudgement of the indifferent Reader.

W. R.

Letters taken at sea by Captaine George Popham. 1594.

Alonso his letter from the Gran Canaria to his brother being commander of S. Lucar, concerning El Dorado.

THere haue bene certaine letters receiued here of late, of a land newly discouered called Nueuo Dorado, from the sonnes of certaine inhabitants of this citie, who were in the discouery: they write of wonderfull riches to be found in the said Dorado, and that golde there is in great abundance: the course to fall with it is fiftie leagues to the windeward of Margarita.

Alonsos letter from thence to certaine Marchantes of Sant Lucar concerning El Dorado.

SIrs, we haue no newes worth the writing, sauing of a discouery lately made by the Spaniardes in a new land called Nueuo Dorado, which is two dayes sayling to the windward of Margarita: there is golde in such abundance, as the like hath not bene heard of. Wee haue it for certaine in letters written from thence by some that were in the discouerie, vnto their parents here in this citie. I purpose (God willing) to bestow tenne or twelue dayes in search of the said Dorado, as I passe in my voyage towards Carthagena, hoping there to make some good sale of our commodities. I haue sent you therewith part of the information of the said discouerie, that was sent to his Maiestie.

Part of the Copie that was sent to his Maiestie, of the discouery of Nueuo Dorado.

IN the riuer of Pato otherwise called Orenoque, in the principall part thereof called Warismero, the 23 of April 1593

Domingo de Vera master of the campe, and Generall for Antonio de Berreo Gouernour and Captaine generall for our lord the king, betwixt the riuers of Pato and Papamene alias Orenoque, and Marrannon, and of the Iland of Trinidad, in presence of me Rodrigo de Carança Register for the sea, commanded all the souldiers to be drawen together and put in order of battaile, the Captaines and souldiers, and Master of the campe standing in the middest of them, said vnto them : Sirs, Souldiers, and Captaines, you vnderstand long since that our General Antonio de Berreo, with the trauell of eleuen yeeres, and expence of more then an hundred thousand pezos of golde, discouered the royall Prouinces of Guiana and Dorado : of the which he tooke possession to gouerne the same, but through want of his peoples health, and necessarie munition, he issued out at the Iland Margarita, and from thence peopled Trinidad. But now they haue sent me to learne out and discouer the wayes most easily to enter, and to people the said Prouinces, and where the campes and armies may best enter the same. By reason whereof I intend so to doe in the name of his Maiestie, and the saide gouernour Antonio de Berreo, and in token thereof I require you Francis Carillo, that you aide mee to aduance this crosse that lieth here on the ground, which they set on end towardes the East, and the said Master of the campe, the captaines and souldiers kneeled downe, and did due reuerence vnto the saide crosse, and thereupon the master of the campe tooke a bowle of water and dranke it off, and tooke more and threw abroad on the gronnd : he also drewe out his sworde and cut the grasse off the ground, and the boughes off the trees saying, I take this possession in the name of the king Don Philip our master, and of his Gouernour Antonio de Berreo : and because some make question of this possession, to them I answere, that in these our actions was present the Cassique or principall Don Antonio, otherwise called Morequito, whose land this was, who yeelded consent to the said possession, was glad thereof, and gaue his obedience to our lord the king, and in his name to the said Gouernour Antonio de Berreo. And the said master of the campe kneeled downe being in his libertie, and all the Captaines and souldiers said, that the possession was well taken, and that they would defend it with their liues, vpon whosoeuer would say the contrary. And the said master of the campe hauing his sword drawen in his hand saide vnto me : Register, that art here present, giue me an instrument or testimoniall to confirme me in this possession, which I haue taken of this land, for the Gouernour Antonio de Bereeo, and if it be needefull I will take it a newe. And I require you all that are present to witnesse the same, and do further declare that I will goe on, taking the possession of all these landes wheresoeuer I shall enter. Signed thus.

Domingo de Vera,
and vnderneath,
Before me Rodrigo de Carança,
Register of the armie.

ANd in prosecution of the said possession, and the discouerie of the way and Prouinces, the 27 of April of the said yeere, the master of the campe entred by little and little with all the campe and men of warre, more then two leagues into the in-land, and came to a towne of a principall, and conferring with him did let him vnderstand by meanes of Antonio Bisante the Interpreter, that his Maiestie and Antonio de Berreo had sent him to take the said possession. And the said frier Francis Carillo by the Interpretor, deliuered him certain things of our holy Catholique faith, to all which he answered, that they vnderstood him well and would become Christians, and that with a very good will they should aduance the crosse, in what part or place of the towne it pleased them, for he was for the Gouernour Antonio de Berreo, who was his master. Thereupon the said master of the campe tooke a great crosse, and set it on ende towarde the East, and requested the whole campe to witnesse it, and Domingo de Vera firmed it thus.

It is well and firmely done.
And vnderneath.
Before me Rodrigo Carança,
Register of the armie.

THe first of May they prosecuted the said possession and discouerie to the towne on Carapana. From thence the said Master of the Campe passed to the towne of Toroco whose principall is called Topiawary being fiue leagues farther within the land then the first Nation, and well inhabited. And to this principall by meane of the Interpretor they gaue to vnderstand that his Maiestie and the said Corrigidor commanded them to take the possession of that lande, and that they should yeelde their obedience to his Maiestie, and to his Corrigidor, and to the master of the campe in his name, and that in token thereof he would place a crosse in the middle of his towne. Whereunto the said Cassique answered they should aduance it with a very good will, and that he remained in the obedience of our lord the king, and of the said Gouernour Antonio de Berreo whose vassall he would be.

The fourth of May we came to a Prouince aboue fiue leagues thence, of all sides inhabited with much people, the principall of this people came and met vs in peaceable maner: and he is called Reuato, he brought vs to a very large house where he entertained vs well, and gaue vs much Golde, and the interpreter asking him from whence that golde was, he answered, From a Prouince not passing a dayes iourney off, where there are so many Indians as would shadowe the sunne, and so much Golde as all yonder plaine will not conteine it. In which Countrey (when they enter into the Borracheras or their drunken feasts) they take of the said Golde in dust and anoynt themselues all ouer therewith to make the brauer shew; and to the end the Golde may couer them, they anoynt their bodies with stamped herbes of a glewy substance: and they haue warre with those Indians. They promised vs that if we would goe vnto them, they would ayde vs; but they were such infinite numbers, as no doubt they would kill vs. And being asked how they gat ye same Gold, they told vs they went to a certaine Downe or playne, and pulled or digged vp the grasse by the roote: which done, they tooke of the earth, putting it in great buckets, which they caried to wash at the riuer, and that which came in powder they kept for their Borracceras or drunken feasts: and that which was in peeces they wrought into Eagles.

The eight of May wee went from thence, and marched about fiue leagues: at the foote of a Hill wee found a principall called Arataco with three thousand Indians, men and women all in peace and with much victuall, as Hennes and Venison in great abundance, and many sortes of wine. Hee intreated vs to goe to his house, and to rest that night in his Towne, being of fiue hundred houses. The interpreter asked whence hee had those Hennes: he sayde they were brought from a mountaine not passing a quarter of a league thence, where were many Indians, yea so many as grasse on the ground, and that these men had the points of their shoulders higher then the Crownes of their heads, and had so many Hennes as was wonderfull ; and if wee would haue any, wee should send them Iewes harpes, for they would giue for euery one two Hennes. Wee tooke an Indian, and gaue him fiue hundred Harpes ; the Hennes were so many that hee brought vs, as were not to be numbered. Wee sayde wee would goe thither ; they tolde vs they were now in their Borracheras or drunken feasts, and would kill vs. Wee asked the Indian that brought the Hennes, if it were true ; hee sayde it was most true. Wee asked him how they made their Borracheras or drunken feasts ; he sayde, they had many Eagles of golde hanging on their breasts, and Pearles in their eares, and that they daunced being all couered with Golde. The Indian sayde vnto vs, if wee would see them, wee should giue him some Hatchets, and he would bring vs of those Eagles The Master of the Campe gaue him one Hatchet (hee would giue him no more because they should not vnderstand we went to seeke golde) he brought vs an Eagle that weighed 27. pounds of good Golde. The Master of the Campe took it, and shewed it to the souldiers, and then threw it from him, making shewe not to regard it. About midnight came an Indian and sayd vnto him, Giue mee a Pickeaxe, and I will tell thee what the Indians with the high shoulders meane to doe. The Interpreter tolde the Master of the Campe, who commanded one to be giuen him : hee then told vs, those Indians were comming to kil vs for our marchandize. Hereupon the Master of the Campe caused his company to bee set in order, and beganne to march. The eleuenth day of May wee went about seuen leagues from thence to a prouince, where wee found a great company of Indians apparelled : they tolde vs that if wee came to fight, they would fill up those Plaines with Indians to fight with vs ; but if we came in peace, we should enter and bee well entertained of them, because they had a great desire to see Christians : and there they told vs of all the riches that was. I doe not heere set it downe, because there is no place for it, but it shall appeare by the information that goeth to his Maiestie : for if it should heere bee set downe, foure leaues of paper would not containe it.

The Letter of George Burien Britton from the sayde Canaries vnto his cousin a Frenchman dwelling in S. Lucar, concerning El Dorado.

SIr, and my very good cousin, there came of late certaine

Letters from a new discouered countrey not farre from Trinidad, which they write, hath Golde in great abundance : the newes seemeth to bee very certaine, because it passeth for good amongst the best of this Citie. Part of the information of the Discouery that went to his Maiestie, goeth inclosed in Alonsos letters ; it is a thing worth the seeing.

The report of Domingo Martinez of Iamaica concerning El Dorado.

HE sayth that in 1593. being at Carthagena, there was a generall report of a late discouery called Nueuo Dorado, and that a litle before his comming thither, there came a Frigat from the said Dorado, bringing in it the portrature of a Giant all of Gold, of weight 47. kintals, which the Indians there held for their Idoll. But now admitting of Christianitie and obedience to the King of Spaine, they sent their sayd Idol vnto him in token they were become Christians, and held him for their King. The company comming in the said Frigat, reported Golde to be there in most abundance, Diamonds of inestimable value, with great store of pearle.

The report of a French man called Bountillier of Sherbrouke,* concerning Trinidad and Dorado.

HE sayth that beeing at Trinidad in 1591. he had of an Indian there a piece of Golde of a quarter of a pound in exchange of a knife ; the sayde Indian tolde him hee had it at the head of that riuer which commeth to Paracoa in Trinidad : and that within the Riuer of Orenoque, it was in great abundance. Also in 1593. beeing taken by the Spanyardes, and brought prisoner into the Iland of Madera (the place for his prison) there came in this meane time a Barke of fortie Tunnes from a new Discouery, with two millions of Golde ; the company whereof reported Golde in that place to bee in great abundance, and called it El Nueuo Dorado. This Frenchman passed from Spaine in the Barke, and hauing a cabben neere a gentlemsn, one of the Discouerers that came from that place in the sayde Barke, had diuers times conference with him, and amongst other things, of the great abundance of Golde in the sayd Dorado, being as they sayd within the riuer of Orenoque.

---

* Probably *Cherbourg*.

Reportes of certaine Merchants of Rio de Hacha, concerning El Nueuo Dorado.

THey sayd (aduancing the kings great treasure in the Indies) that Nueua Reyno yeelded very many Golde mines, and wonderfull rich; but lately was discouered a certaine Prouince so rich in Golde, as the report thereof may seeme incredible, it is there in such abundance, and is called El Nueuo Dorado: Antonio de Berreo made the said discouerie.

The report of a Spanyard, Captaine with Berreo in the discouerie of El Nueuo Dorado.

THat the information sent to the king was in euery poynt truely sayde, that the riuer Orenoque hath seuen mouths, or outlets into the sea, called Las Siete bocas de dragon, that the sayd riuer runneth farre into the land, in many places very broad, and that Anth. de Berreo lay at Trinidad, making head to goe to conquere and people the sayd Dorado.

A Relation of the second Voyage to Guiana, performed and written in the yeeere 1596. by Laurence Keymis Gent.

To the approved, Right Valorous, and worthy Knight, Sir Walter Ralegh, Lord warden of the Stanneries, Captaine of her Maiesties Guard, and her Highnesse Lieutenant generall of the Countie of Cornewall.

I Haue here briefly set downe the effect of this your second Discouerie without any enlargement of made wordes: for in this argument, single speech best beseemeth a simple trueth. Where the affinitie of the matter with your person, leadeth mee to write of your self, vnto your selfe, the small libertie which I haue therein vsed, shall, I doubt not, without offence or sinister construction, be giuen to the cause in hand: which, whether it suffer not detriment, by attributing lesse then of right belongeth; the iudgement bee theirs, that vprightly and indifferently shall weigh the consequents of their euill purpose, who in seeking to detract from the Author of these Discoueries, doe so much as in them lieth, wound, deface, and tread vnder foot the thing it selfe. But this is no nouelty, nor proper only to these our dayes. For long since it hath bin said, Laudes eo vsque sunt tolerabiles, donec ea dicuntur, quæ auditores se quoque facere posse existimant: si maiora proserantur, inuident, non credunt. The feruent zeale and loyalty of your minde in labour with this birth of so honorable expectation, as it hath deserued a recompence farre different, so needeth it not my poore suffrage to endeare the toyle, care and danger that you haue willingly vndergone for the good and aduancement of our weale publique. The praise-worthinesse thereof doeth approue it selfe, and is better read in your liuing doings, then in my dead vnregarded papers. All that I can wish, is that my life were a sufficient pledge, to iustifie, how more easie, and more materiall, the course for Guiana would be then others, which requiring greater charge, yeelde not so large benefit, and are subject to more doubtfull euents. If vnto their wisdomes who sit in place and authority, it shall appear otherwise, and that in following of other attempts there is lesse difficultie, certainer profit, and needfuller offence vnto the enemie: the cost and trauaile which you haue bestowed, shall not, I hope, be altogether lost, if vnto your Honour I can proue how, and where the amend is to be had, maugre the force and preuention of all Spaniards.

Pericles.

Your Lordships to be commanded in all seruice,

LAVRENCE KEYMIS.

To the Fauourers of the Voyage for Guiana.

IN things earnestly desired, though neuer so likely, we are still suspicious: thinking it more credite to our common wisedome, to discredite most noble and profitable indeuours with distrust, then touch to our valours and safeties, to lie wilfully idle. So that howsoeuer an action well and iudicially attempted, bee esteemed halfe performed; yet is this my iealous conceite concerning Guiana, that nothing is begun, before all be ended. In this regarde (gentle Reader) I haue presumed to burthen thine eares with the weake plea of a good cause, and in stead of opening it throughly to thy prudent consideration, to note only mine owne vnsatisfied affection: hoping that because I doe name Guiana vnto thee, thou wilt vouchsafe hoc nomine, to uaile and couer all other my defects in the desert of a good meaning. In publishing this Treatise, my labor principally tendeth to this end; to remoue all fig-leaues from our vnbeliefe, that either it may haue cause to shake off the colourable pretences of ignorance: or if we will not be perswaded; that our selfe-will may rest inexcusable. They that shall apply, and construe this my doing, to serue the Spaniard his turne so wel as our owne; in so much as it may seeme to instruct, warne, and arme him: for their satisfaction herein, they must not be ignorant, that his eyes, in seeing our shipping there, doe as effectually informe him, that many of our hearts are toward that place, as if it should be credibly aduertised by some corrupt hireling, that we thinke, write, and discourse of nothing els. Neither can I imagine, that to conceale our knowledge herein (which to conceale may perhaps proue, and be hereafter taken for worse the paricide) would be of better purpose, then to hood winke our selues, as who would say, No man shall see vs. Besides if the action were wholy to bee effected at her Maiesties charge; then might it at her Highnesse pleasure be shadowed with some other drift, and neuer be discouered, vntill it were acted. But since it craueth the approbation and purses of many Adventurers, who cannot be so prodigall both of their possessions and liues, as voluntarily to run themselues out of breath, in pursuing they know not what; great reason it is, that where assistance is to be asked, due causes be yeelded to perswade and induce them vnto it. The Spaniard is not so simple, vnsetled, and vncertaine in his determinations, as to build them on our breath, or to make our papers his Bulwarks; nor so slow as to expect a precedent of our forwardnes. His proceedings are sufficiently strengthened with the trauailes, reports, and substantial proofes of his own men, that haue aboue 60. yeeres beaten round about this bush. And to say a trueth, the expedition that he hath vsed in sending so many ships in February last to people this country, and disappoint vs; as it doth consequently shew, that he findeth his chiefest force and sinewes to consist in golde: so doeth he thereby plainly to our faces exprobrate our remisnesse and long deliberations, that in 12. moneths space haue done, or sought to doe nothing worthy the ancient fame and reputation of our English nation, interested in so weighty businesse. His late prouision of a new supply of whole families to the number of 600. persons, bound for Guiana, but that it pleased God, that by meanes of that right honourable seruice most resolutely performed in the sea-fight, and sacking of Cadiz, the ships wherein they should haue bin conueyed, were conuerted into ashes: what might it signifie? Certes, as it doth euidently proue, that El Dorado hath vndoubted credit and account in their iudgements: so pointeth it at vs, whilst we only to entertain idle time, sit listening for Guiana newes, and instantly forget it, as if we were nought els, but a pleasing dreame of a golden fancy. If we with our selues shall expostulate, how this commeth to passe, that the aduantage wholy resting on our side, in respect that Berreo was this last yere beaten out, the countrey thoroughly discouered, and the Inhabitants made desirous of her sacred Maiesties happy gouernment; they notwithstanding by entring before vs, haue now gotten yᵉ start of vs: what may we thinke? Shal wee iudge that their natiue countrey is lesse deare, or more wearisome vnto them, then ours is vnto vs? Their Peruleri, who going bare and empty out of Spaine, do againe within 3. or 4. yeres returne from Peru, rich and in good estate, doe apparently disproue all such conceits of them. Shall wee say that they haue more spare men to be imployed in such actions? It is no secret to know the contrary. Are they subiect to penury? In all parts of Christendom, where money is not scant, all other things are plentifull. Or is their land not able to sustain their numbers of people? They buy many slaues to follow their husbandry, and themselues disdaining base idlenes and beggery, do all honour military profession, highly esteeming it in their mercenaries and strangers. Is it then want of ability, in those that are willing, lacke of incouragement, or default of speedy order and direction for those that doe voluntarily offer themselues, their substance, and best indeuour to further this cause; that maketh vs to be thus coated of the Spaniard? The first is no question. The later needeth no answere. The profit then by their example to be gathered, is, not to lose opportunitie by delay, or to seeme feareful and dismayed, where there is no cause of doubt. For as yet their post-haste doeth no way preiudice our aduised leisure in setting forward, since their preparations of Negroes to worke in the mynes, their horses, cattell, and other necessaries may (by the fauour of God) at our first comming, both store vs wᵗ quantities of gold

In Iune 1596.

oare, and ease vs of much trouble, paines, and trauaile. If we should suppose our selues now to liue in the dayes of King Henry the seuenth of famous memory, and the strange report of a West Indies, or new world abounding with great treasure should entice vs to beleeue it: perhaps it might be imputed for some blame to the grauity of wise men, lightly to bee carried with the perswasion and hope of a new found Vtopia, by such a one as Columbus was, being an alien, and many wayes, subiect to suspition. But since the penance of that incredulity lieth euen now heauy on our shoulders; the example forethreatning, I know not what repentance: and that we haue the personal triall of so honourable and sufficient a Reporter, our own Countriman: let it be farre from vs to condemne our selues in that, which so worthily we reproue in our predecessors; and to let our idle knowledge content it selfe with naked contemplation, like a barren wombe in a Monastery. We cannot denie that the chiefe commendation of vertue doth consist in action: we truely say, that Otium is animæ viuæ sepultura: we beleeue, that perfect wisedome in this mobility of all humaine affaires, refuseth not with any price to purchase safetie: and we iustly do acknowledge that the Castilians from bare legged mountainers haue atteined to their greatnesse by labour and industrie. To sleepe then, because it costeth nothing; to imbrace the present time, because it flattereth vs with deceitfull contentment; and to kisse security, saying, What euill happeneth vnto vs? is the plaine high way to a fearefull downfall: from which the Lord in his mercy deliuer vs, and giue vs an vnderstanding heart, in time to see, and to seeke that, which belongeth vnto our peace.

De Guiana carmen Epicum.

WHat worke of honour and eternall name,
For all the world t'enuie and vs t'atchieue,
Filles me with furie, and giues armed hands
To my hearts peace, that els would gladly turne
My limmes and euery sense into my thoughts
Rapt with the thirsted action of my mind?
O Clio, Honors Muse, sing in my voyce,
Tell the attempt, and prophecie th'exploit
Of his Eliza-consecrated sworde,
That in this peacefull charme of Englands sleepe,

Opens most tenderly her aged throte,
Offring to powre fresh youth through all her vaines,
That flesh of brasse and ribs of steele retaines.
Riches, and Conquest, and Renowme I sing,
Riches with honour, Conquest, without blood,
Enough to seat the Monarchie of earth,
Like to Ioues Eagle on Elizas hand.
Guiana, whose rich feete are mines of golde,
Whose forehead knockes against the roofe of Starres,
Stands on her tip-toes at faire England looking,
Kissing her hand, bowing her mightie breast,
And euery signe of all submission making,
To be her sister, and the daughter both
Of our most sacred Maide: whose barrennesse
Is the true fruite of vertue, that may get,
Beare and bring forth anew in all perfection,
What heretofore sauage corruption held
In barbarous Chaos; and in this affaire
Become her father, mother, and her heire.

Then most admired Soueraigne, let your breath
Goe foorth vpon the waters, and create
A golden world in this our yron age,
And be the prosperous forewind to a Fleete,
That seconding your last, may goe before it
In all successe of profite and renowme:
Doubt not but your election was diuine,
(Aswell by Fate as your high iudgement ordred)
To raise him with choise Bounties, that could adde
Height to his height; and like a liberall vine,
Not onely beare his vertuous fruite aloft,
Free from the Presse of squint-eyd Enuies feete,
But decke his gracious Proppe with golden bunches,
And shroude it with broad leaues of Rule oregrowne
From all blacke tempests of inuasion.

Those Conquests that like generall earthquakes shooke
The solid world, and made it fall before them,
Built all their braue attempts on weaker grounds,
And lesse perswasiue likelihoods then this;
Nor was there euer princely Fount so long

Powr'd forth a sea of Rule with so free course,
And such ascending Maiestie as you :
Then be not like a rough and violent wind,
That in the morning rends the Forrests downe,
Shoues vp the seas to heauen, makes earth to tremble,
And toombes his wastfull brauery in the Euen :
But as a riuer from a mountaine running,
The further he extends, the greater growes,
And by his thriftie race strengthens his streame,
Euen to ioyne battell with th'imperious sea
Disdayning his repulse, and in despight
Of his proud furie, mixeth with his maine,
Taking on him his titles and commandes :
So let thy soueraigne Empire be encreast,
And with Iberian Neptune part the stake,
Whose Trident he the triple world would make.

You then that would be wise in Wisdomes spight,
Directing with discredite of direction,
And hunt for honour, hunting him to death.
With whom before you will inherite gold,
You will loose golde, for which you loose your soules ;
You that chuse nought for right, but certaintie,
And feare that valour will get onely blowes,
Placing your faith in Incredulitie.
Sit till you see a wonder, Vertue rich :
Till Honour hauing golde, rob golde of honour,
Till as men hate desert that getteth nought,
They loath all getting that deserues not ought ;
And vse you gold-made men as dregges of men ;
And till your poysoned soules, like Spiders lurking
In sluttish chinckes, in mystes of Cobwebs hide
Your foggie bodies, and your dunghill pride

O Incredulitie, the wit of Fooles,
That slouenly will spit on all things faire,
The Cowards castle, and the Sluggards cradle
How easie t'is to be an Infidel ?

But you Patrician Spirites that refine
Your flesh to fire, and issue like a flame

On braue indeuours, knowing that in them
The tract of heauen in morne-like glory opens,
That know you cannot be the Kings of earth,
(Claiming the rights of your creation)
And let the Mynes of earth be Kings of you ;
That are so farre from doubting likely drifts,
That in things hardest y'are most confident :
You that know death liues, where power liues vnusde,
Ioying to shine in waues that burie you,
And so make way for life euen through your graues ;
That will not be content like horse to hold
A thread-bare beaten way to home affaires :
But where the sea in enuie of your reigne,
Closeth her wombe, as fast as t'is disclosede,
That she like Auarice might swallow all,
And let none find right passage through her rage :
There your wise soules as swift as Eurus lead
Your Bodies through, to profit and renowne,
And skorne to let your bodies choke your soules,
In the rude breath and prisoned life of beastes :
You that herein renounce the course of earth,
And lift your eyes for guidance to the starres,
That liue not for yourselues, but to possesse
Your honour'd countrey of a generall store ;
In pitie of the spoyle rude selfe-loue makes,
Of them whose liues and yours one ayre doth feede,
One soile doeth nourish, and one strength combine ;
You that are blest with sence of all things noble,
In this attempt your compleat woorthes redouble.

But how is Nature at her heart corrupted,
(I meane euen in her most ennobled birth)
How in excesse of Sence is Sence bereft her !
That her most lightening-like effects of lust
Wound through her flesh, her soule, her flesh vnwounded ;
And she must neede incitements to her good,
Euen from that part she hurtes ! O how most like
Art thou (heroike Autor of this Act)
To this wrong'd soule of Nature, that sustainst
Paine, charge, and perill for thy countreys good,
And she must like a bodie numb'd with surfeits,

Feeles not thy gentle applications
For the health, vse, and honour of her powers!
Yet shall my verse through all her case-lockt cares
Trumpet the Noblesse of thy high intent:
And if it cannot into act proceed,
The fault and bitter penance of the fault
Make red some others eyes with penitence,
For thine are cleare; and what more nimble spirits,
Apter to byte at such vnhooked baytes,
Gaine by our losse; that must we needs confesse
Thy princely valure would haue purchast vs.
Which shall be fame eternall to thy name,
Though thy contentment in thy graue desires,
Of our aduancement, faile deseru'd effect.
O how I feare thy glory which I loue,
Least it should dearely grow by our decrease.
Natures that sticke in golden-graueld springs,
In mucke-pits cannot scape their swallowings.

But we shall foorth I know; Golde is our Fate,
Which all our actes doth fashion and create.

Then in the Thespiads bright Propheticke Fount,
Me thinkes I see our Liege rise from her throne,
Her eares and thoughts in steepe amaze erected,
At the most rare endeuour of her power.
And now she blesseth with her woonted Graces
Th' industrious Knight, the soule of this exploit,
Dismissing him to conuoy of his starres.
And now for loue and honour of his woorth,
Our twise-borne Nobles bring him Bridegroome-like,
That is espousde for vertue to his loue
With feasts and musicke, rauishing the aire,
To his Argolian Fleet, where round about
His bating Colours English valure swarmes
In haste, as if Guianian Orenoque
With his Fell waters fell vpon our shore.
And now a wind as forward as their spirits,
Sets their glad feet on smooth Guianas breast,
Where (as if ech man were an Orpheus)
A world of Sauages fall tame before them,

Storing their theft-free treasuries with golde,
And there doth plentie crowne their wealthie fields,
There Learning eates no more his thriftlesse bookes,
Nor Valure Estridge-like* his yron armes.
There Beautie is no strumpet for her wants,
Nor Galique humours putrifie her blood:
But all our Youth take Hymens lights in hand,
And fill eche roofe with honor'd progenie.
There makes Societie Adamantine chaines,
And ioyns their hearts with wealth, whom wealth disioin'd.
There healthfull Recreations strow their meades,
And make their mansions daunce with neighbourhood,
That here were down'd in churlish Auarice.
And there do Pallaces and temples rise
Out of the earth, and kisse th' enamored skies,
Where new Britannia humblie kneeles to heauen,
The world to her, and, both at her blest feet,
In whom the circles of all Empire meete.

G. C.

Ad Thomam Hariotum Matheseos, et vniuersæ Philosophiæ peritissimum, de Guiana Carmen. Dat. Anno. 1595.

MOntibus est Regio, quasi muris, obsita, multis:
  Circumsepit aquis quos Raleana suis.
Intus habet largos Guaiana recessus:
  Hostili gestans libera colla iugo.
Hispanus cliuis illis sudauit, et alsit
  Septem annos, nouies: nec tamen inualuit.
Numen, et omen inest numeris. Fatale sit illi:
  Et nobis virtus sit recidiua, precor.
Gualtero patefacta via est duce et auspice Ralegh
  Mense vno: ô factum hoc nomine quo celebrem?
Nocte diéq; datis velis, remisque laborans,
  Exegit summæ dexteritatis opus.
Scilicet expensis magnis non ille pepercit,
  Communi natus consuluisse bono.
Prouidus excubuit simili discrimine Ioseph:
  Sic fratres, fratrem deseruêre suum:

---

* Ostrich-like.

Fama coloratam designet sibona, vestem :
Vestis Scissa malis sic fuit illa modis.
Mira leges. Auresque animumque tuum arrige. Tellus
Hæc aurum, et gemmas graminis instar, habet.
Ver ibi perpetuum est : ibi prodiga terra quotannis
Luxuriat, sola fertilitate nocens.
Anglia nostra licet diues sit, et vndique fœlix :
Anglia, si confers, indigna frugis erit.
Expertes capitum, volucres piscesque ferásq ;
Prætereo : haud prosunt, quæ nouitate, placent.
Est ibi, vel nusquam, quod quærimus. Ergo petamus :
Det Deus, hanc Canaan possideamus. Amen.

Tui Amantiss. L. K.

The second voyage to Guiana.

MVnday the 26. of January, in the yeere of our Lord 1596. we departed from Portland road, in the Darling of London, hauing in company the Discouerer, a small pinnesse, whom we lost at sea, in foule weather, the Thursday next following. Friday the 13. of February, wee fell with the Canarie Islands, where we expected our pinnesse, according to our appoyntment, seuen or eight dayes. Here we tooke two boats, the one a passenger, we bulged, the other wee towed at our shippe sterne, steering Southsouthwest for the Islands of Cape Verde. Therehence we set saile the 28. of Februarie, keeping a Westsouthwest course. In this passage wee found very smooth seas, faire weather, and steddie winds, blowing ordinarily betweene the East and Northeast poynts. Neere 30. leagues from these Islands, wee came into a growne sea, the swollen waters making a strange noise and hurtling together, as if it might be two strong currents encountring ech other. The 12 of March wee sounded, and had sandie ground in 47. fathome. At midnight in twelue fathom wee came to an anker, the ground sandie oaze. Sunday the 14. towards night, about some sixe leagues from the shore, wee descried a low land in the bottome of a bay. From the 9. of March vntill this time, we kept for the most part a Southsouthwest course. The water in this place is smooth, but muddie, and the colour red or tawny. From the Westermost of the CapeVerde-Islands vnto this Bay I doe estimate the distance to be neere 550. leagues. It seemed to most of our sea-men, to be the very banke of a shoald vpon a lee-shore: the rather because without it, in the cleane greene sea wee had but 7. fathome depth: but after by proofe finding that there is no sudden alteration in any part of the coast, and that the sea is smoothest neere the land, we alwayes at night sought to anker in three or four fathome. And doubtlesse as the hand of God is woonderfull in all his workes: so herein his mercifull prouidence is most admirable, that vpon a lee-shore subiect vnto a perpetuall Easterly gale, neither much wind can endanger shipping, by reason that the foule heauie water is not capable of vehement motion, and the soft light oaze, if they touch, cannot bruise them: nor is there any ieopardie in beeing wind-bound, or imbyed:* for the most forcible windes make the greatest flood-tides, whereby the freshets when they take their ordinarie course of ebbe, doe grow strong and swift, setting directly off to sea against the wind. Wee by turning went cleere of all Bayes: howbeit in this case, as also in the riuers, the vse of a droue sayle seemeth a good and readie helpe. The first place wherein wee ankered, was in the mouth of Arrowari, a faire great riuer. It standeth in one degree and fourtie minutes: for we fell so farre to the Southwardes by your lordships direction. The barre without hath at the least three fathome, at the shoaldest place, when it is lowe ebbe. The depth within is eight and tenne fathome. The water alwayes brackish. We found not any inhabitants in this place neere the sea coast. I omit here to recite the names of the nations that are borderers, their townes, Captaines and commodities that their countreyes doe yeelde, as also the soundings, tydes, and how the coast lyeth etc. thinking it fittest to reduce these disioyned and scattering remembrances to one place. As wee passed we alwayes kept the shore within viewe and stopped the floods, still ankering at night in three or foure fathome. When we came to the North headland of this Bay (which wee named Cape Cecyl) we sawe two high mountaines like two islands, but they ioyne with the mayne. In this tract lying Northnorthwest neere 60. leagues, there fall into the sea these seuerall great riuers, Arrowari, Iwaripoco, Maipari, Coanawini, Caipurogh. Wee ankered in two fathome not farre from these hilles, and filled all our caske with fresh water by the shippe side, for in the sea

A notable obseruation.

---

* Embayed.

thirtie miles from the mouth of any riuer it is fresh and good. This second Bay extendeth it selfe about thirtie leagues to the Westward, and containeth within it these riuers Arcooa, Wiapoco, Wanari, Caparwacka, Cawo, Caian, Wia, Macuria, Cawroor, Curassawini. Here leauing the ship at anker, I tooke into the boate Iohn Prouost, my Indian Interpreter, Iohn Linsey, and eight or nine others, intending to search some of these riuers, and to seeke speech with the Indians. In Wiapoco, at the foote of the Eastermost mountaine, where the riuer falleth into the sea, wee found twentie or thirtie houses, but not inhabited. Wee stayed there but one night. Wanari we ouerpassed, because the entrance is rockie and not deepe. In Caperwacka we sailed some fourtie miles, but could see no Indian. At one of their portes vnder the side of a hill, wee tooke in so much Brasill wood as our boate could carrie. Amongst other trees we cut downe one for an example, which I doe verily beleeue to be the same sort of sinamon, which is found in the streights of Magellan. From Caperwacka wee passed to Cawo, and there met with a Canoa, wherein were two Indians. It was long time before wee could procure them to come neere vs, for they doubted least wee were Spanish. When my interpreter had perswaded them the contrarie, and that wee came from England, they without farther speech or delay, brought vs to Wareo their Captaine, who entertained vs most friendly, and then at large declared vnto vs, that hee was lately chased by the Spaniards from Moruga, one of the neighbour riuers to Raleana, or Orenoque: and that hauing burnt his owne houses, and destroyed his fruites and gardens, hee had left his countrey and townes to bee possessed by the Arwacas, who are a vagabound nation of Indians, which finding no certaine place of abode of their owne, doe for the most part serue and follow the Spanyards. Hee shewed mee that he was of the nation of the Ioas, who are a mightie people, and of a late time were Lords of all the sea coast so farre as Trinidad, which they likewise possessed. Howbeit, that with a generall consent, when the Spaniards first began to borrow some of their wiues, they all agreed to change their habitation, and doe now liue vnited for the most part towards the riuer of Amazones. But the especial cause of his present remooue was, because two or three yeeres past, twentie Spaniards came to his towne, and sought to take his best wife from him: but before they carried her away, hee at time and place of aduantage killed halfe of them: the rest fledde, most of them sore hurt. Now in this case hee thought it best to dwell farre ynough from them. Your Indian pilot Ferdinando, who conducted you by Amana, and now abideth neere the head of Dessekebe, is one of this mans subiects: By whom (as it may seeme) hee hath taken good notice of our princesse and countrey. For hee descended more particularly to inquire what forces were come with vs, assuring me of the Spaniards beeing in Trinidad, and that the Indians our friendes betwixt hope and feare, haue earnestly expected our returne from England these foure or fiue moneths. When I had answered him, that at our departure we left no Spaniards aliue to annoy them; that we now came only to discouer, and trade with them; and that if her Maiestie should haue sent a power of men, where no enemie was to resist, the Indians might perhaps imagine, that wee came rather to inuade, then to defend them: He replied, that this course very wel sorted with the report which they had heard of our Princesse iustice, rare graces, and vertues: the fame of whose power in beeing able to vanquish the Spaniards, and singular goodnesse in vndertaking to succour and defend the afflicted Indians, was now so generall, that the nations farre and neere were all agreed to ioyne with vs, and by all meanes possible to assist vs in expelling and rooting out the Spaniards from all parts of the land: and that we were deceiued, if wee thought this countrey not large ynough to receiue vs, without molestation or intrusion vpon the Indians, who wanted not choise of dwelling places, if they forsooke one to liue in another: but stoode in neede of our presence at all times to ayde them, and maintaine their libertie, which to them is deerer then land or liuing. He then farther desired, that he with his people might haue our fauour against the Arwaccas, who not being content to enioy their groundes and houses, had taken from them many of their wiues and children, the best of whose fortune was, if they liued, to liue in perpetuall slauerie vnder the Spaniards. Wee put him in good hope and comfort thereof. And hee to deserue some part of this friendship, commended vnto vs an elderly man to be our Pilote in bringing vs to Raleana. When we were ready to depart, he demanded whether we wanted any Vrapo, which is the wood, that is vsually carried from these parts to Trinidad in Canoas, and is there sold to the French for trade;

Ferdinando the Indian pilote of sir Walter Ralegh.

he offered, if we would bring our ship neere his port, to put in her lading thereof. But because most of our caske was not yron bound, and in making stowage way to remoue it, would haue bene the losse of our Sider and other drinke; I therefore referred the taking of any quantity to fitter opportunitie; thinking it sufficient at this time, to haue only my boats lading thereof: which afterwards in extremitie of foule weather, before we could get aboord our ship, wee were inforced in a darke night to heaue all ouerboord: thinking our selues happy, to haue recouered thither at seuen dayes ende, with safetie of life onely. All which time we could no where set foote on shore, but rested day and night wet and weatherbeaten in our couertlesse boate, which was sometimes ready to sinke vnder vs. For wee had in this place without comparison more raine, wind, and gustes, then elsewhere at any time. To be briefe, my men became weake and sicke, and if wee had stayed any longer time out, I doubt whether the greatest part of vs had euer come aboord againe. I afterwards vnderstood by my Indian pilot, that this weather is for most part of the yeere vsuall, neere the Island Oncaiarie, which lyeth North from the riuer Capurwacka some sixe leagues into the sea: and that they hold opinion how this Island is kept by some euill spirit: for they verily beleeue, that to sleepe in the day time neere it (except it be after much drinke) is present death. The only season wherein little raine doth fal there, is (as I gathered by their speech, they diuiding all times by their Moones) at our Winter Solstice. The mother-wind of this coast is for the most part to the Northward of the East, except when the Sunne is on this side of the Equinoctiall, for then it often veares Southerly, but most in the night. This our guid is of the Iaos, who doe al marke themselues, thereby to bee knowen from other nations after this maner. With the tooth of a small beast like a Rat, they race some their faces, some their bodies, after diuers formes, as if it were with the scratch of a pin, the print of which rasure can neuer bee done away againe during life. When he had sometime conuersed with our Indians, that went from England with vs, hee became willing to see our countrey. His sufficience, trustinesse, and knowledge is such, that if the pretended voyage for Guiana doe take place, you shall (I doubt not) find him many wayes able to steed your Lordship in your designes and purposes. For besides his precise knowledge of all

Vnseasonable weather about the Isle of Oncaiarie.

the coast, and of the Indian townes and dwellings, he speaketh all their languages, was bred in Guiana, is a sworne brother to Putima, who slewe the Spaniards in their returne from Manao, can direct vs to many golde mines, and in nothing will vndertake more, then hee assuredly will performe.

To the Westward this Bay hath many good roads vnder small Islands, whereof the greatest named Gowateri, is inhabited by the Shebaios: and besides the plenty of foule, fish, fruits, wilde porks and deere, which are there to be had, where Caiane* falles into the sea, (for it standeth in the mouthes of Wia and Caiane) it yeeldes safe and good harbour in foure and fiue fathome for ships of great burthen. On all that coast we found not any like it: wee therefore honoured this place by the name of Port Howard. The road vnder Triangle Islands, which are the Westermost from the rest and stand in fiue degrees, which haue also store of fish, foule, deere and Iwanas, is good, but not comparable with this other, where in all windes and weather, shippes, though they be many, may all ride securely. The hils and high lands are limits to this bay on ech side: for to the Eastward beyond it appeare none at all, and to the Westward of mount Hobbeigh very few. Where the mountaines faile, there Brasill wood is no farther to bee sought for: but in all parts cotton, pepper, silke, and Balsamum trees doe grow in abundance. The rootes of the herbe Wiapassa are here most plentifull: I finde them in taste nothing different from good ginger, and in operation very medicinable against the flixe and headach. These riuers, as also others neerer Raleana, doe all fall out of the plaines of this empire ouer rocks, as the riuer Caroli doeth into Raleana: and in most places within the vtmost hedge of woods, the land within is plaine, voyd of trees, and beareth short grasse like Arromaiaries countrey.

Port Howard otherwise called Gowateri.

Next adoining vnto these, are the riuers Cunanamma, Vracco, Mawara, Mawarparo, Amonna, Marawini, Oncowi, Wiawiami, Aramatappo, Camaiwini, Shurinama, Shurama, Cupanamma, Inana, Guritini, Winitwara, Berbice, Wapari, Maicaiwini, Mahawaica, Wappari, Lemdrare, Dessekebe, Caopui, Pawrooma, Moruga, Waini, Barima, Amacur, Aratoori, Raleana.† From Cape Cecyl to Raleana, the coast trendeth two hundred leagues next hand Westnorthwest. In this varietie of goodly riuers, Amonna among the rest powreth himselfe into the sea in a large and deepe chanell: his swiftnesse suffereth no barre, nor refuseth any shipping of what burthen soeuer they be: within his mouth for good and hopefull respectes is port Burley placed. The inhabitants that dwell Eastward, doe neuer passe lower then Berbice to trade. Aboue Curitini in the woods they gather great quantities of hony. Farther to the Eastward then Dessekebe, no Spaniard euer trauelled. In which respect, and that no sea card that I haue seene at any time, doth in any sort neere a trueth, describe this coast: I thought the libertie of imposing English names to certaine places of note, of right to belong vnto our labours; the rather because occasion thereby offereth it selfe gratefully to acknowledge the honour due vnto them that haue beene, and I hope will still continue fauourers of this enterprize. The Indians to shew the worthinesse of Dessekebe (for it is very large and full of Islands in the mouth) doe call it the brother of Orenoque. It lyeth Southerly into the land, and from the mouth of it vnto the head, they passe in twentie dayes iourney: then taking their prouision they carrie it on their shoulders one dayes iourney: afterwards they returne for their Canoas, and beare them likewise to the side of a lake, which the Iaos call Roponowini, the Charibes, Parime: which is of such bignesse, that they know no difference betweene it and the maine sea. There be infinite numbers of Canoas in this lake, and (as I suppose) it is no other then that, whereon Manoa standeth: In this riuer, which we now call Deuoritia, the Spaniards doe intend to build them a towne. In Moruga it was, that they hunted Wareo and his people, about halfe a yere since. Arromaiarie, who wan so great credit by ouerthrowing the Tiuitiuas of Amana, and making free the passage of that riuer (but now againe liueth in disgrace, by reason that the Charibes of Guanipa haue killed most of his followers, and burnt his townes) was present with them, and tooke away many of the women of that place. Arracurri, another Indian of the nation of the Arwaccas inhabiting in Barima, was likewise present, and conducted the Spaniards to all the Indian dwellings. They were not of Anthonie de Berreo his companie, that followed this chase, but were the Spaniards of Margarita, and the Caraccas,

---

* This is the Cayenne River, and the Island referred to below would then be Wakenaam.

† The Orenoque.

The great lake whereon Manoa or El Dorado standeth.

In September.

This Spaniard vnderstandeth the Guianian language, and is reputed a very sufficient man.

with whom Santiago forsaking his gouernour Berreo, ioyned himselfe. For which fact he now lyeth in fetters at Trinidad, euery day expecting sentence of death. The occasion hereof grew as followeth.

When Berreo, hauing lost his men, was left with Fasshardo at Cumana all alone, as forlorne, and neuer likely to compasse his intended conquest of Guiana: the gouernours of the Caraccas and Margarita consulting together, sent with all speede into Spaine, to aduertise their king, that Berreo was vtterly vnable to follow this enterprise, that he had giuen it ouer, and did now soiorne in his old dayes at Fasshardo his house, minding nothing else but his solace, and recreation. They farther declared, of how great importance this matter was: and that an English gentleman of such reckoning, as they named your lordship to be, hauing bene in Guiana, and vnderstanding so much of the state thereof, and the nations thereunto adioyning, as Topiawarie, being both olde and wise, could informe you of, who also in confirmation of friendship, had giuen you his onely sonne, to whome the inheritance of the countrey did belong after him: there was no other likelihood, but that you, who aduentured so farre, and in such sort as you did, onely to see, and knowe a certainty, would leaue nothing vnattempted to possesse so rich a countrey, and without all doubt would returne presently. That meane time, you had left this aged Sire aliue, to bee a blocke in their way, to whom after his decease, this enterprise by patent did belong, and to bee a weake aduersarie against your selfe, whom at all times you knew easily how to distresse: and that therefore it might bee behoouefull for his maiestie to reuoke Berreo his grant, and to vse their seruice, who were readie and willing without any delay to vndertake the charge. These newes being at large amplified and deliuered to the king: Domingo de Vera, Berreo his Camp-master, who was sent into Spaine, fiue moneths before your arriuall at Trinidad, with a sufficient quantitie of gold gotten out of Guiana, to leuie and furnish 500. men, hauing gotten knowledge of this practise, so solicited this cause in Berreo his behalfe, that present order was giuen for the victualling and manning of tenne ships to be sent to Berreo: and farther, this gold bore such waight, that the king commanded other 18 of his ships to stop at Trinidad, and not to follow their other directions, before they saw that place secured from enemies.

Berreo supposing that these gouernours in sending with such speede into Spaine, meant him no good; to approue his care and constancie, and that he neuer would yeelde vnder the burthen of his aduerse fortune; giuing no time or breath to his aduersaries nor himselfe; returned foorthwith to Carapana his port, onely with fifteene men, being the scattered remnant of those whom you lately dispossessed of Trinidad. These gouernours followed him, and assuring themselues of present imployment from their king, preoccupating the time of their directions to bee returned from Spaine, entered Guiana with their men, with full determination to murther Berreo, and to dispatch all his company. They indeed killed two or three, but Berreo fledde towards Caroli, where hee stayed hoping for succour from his sonne Antonie de Ximenes, to come downe the riuer from Nueuo Reyno de Granada. The Margaritanes with their accomplices busied themselues, some in searching the countrey, others in purueying of victuals out of the riuers that doe lie Eastward, of which number these were, that entred into Moruga with twentie Canoas. Santiago passed vp into Topiawaries countrey, and there tooke Francis Sparrowe sir George Gifford his man prisoner, who with plentie of gold ransomed his life, and is now abiding in Cumana. This done, they all returned to Trinidad, and beganne to builde their towne there, when vnhappily to their small comfort the eight and twentie sayles arriued, and tooke Santiago prisoner. The other Actors in this Enterlude vanished, and in Canoas recouered Margarita and Cumana againe. Eighteene of the said ships leauing all things in good order, departed from Trinidad to follow their other directions: ten doe yet remaine fortifying at Conquerabia, and expecting our comming.

Francis Sparrow taken prisoner.

This particular relation I had from an Indian, seruant to Berreo, that could speake Spanish, whom I tooke in the riuer. He is of the nation of the Iaos, and from a child bred vp with Berreo. I gaue him trade to buy him a Canoa to returne into his countrey, and so left him glad, that hee had met with vs.

Now the Indians of Moruga being chased from their dwellings, doe seeke by all meanes possible to accord all the nations in one, so to inuade the Arwaccas who were guides to the Spaniards, in showing their townes, and betraying them. For they are fully perswaded, that by driuing these Arwaccas, who serue the Spaniards (for a great part of this nation doth also hate, or not know them) out of their territories, and Trinidad, the Spaniards for want of bread, will bee inforced to seeke habitation farther off, or at the least in time consume and be wasted.

They anker within Raleana or Orenoque.

The 6. day of Aprill we came to an anker within the mouth of the riuer Raleana, hauing spent twentie and three dayes in discouerie vpon this coast. The channell of this riuer hath sixe or seuen fathome depth, nine or ten miles off at sea, the barre lyeth farther out, and at low water hath not full two fathome. It highes not aboue fiue foote, except at a spring tyde. Wee ankered in ten fathome the first night: the next morning twelue Canoas came vnto vs, furnished and prouided of victuals after their maner for the warres. Their Captaines names were Anwara, and Aparwa. These Cassiques, when the Spaniards made the last inrode in those parts, were in the inland amonst the Iwarawakeri their neighbours, by which occasion hauing lost some of their wiues (for notwithstanding their profession of Christianitie, some of these Spaniards keepe ten or twelue women, thinking themselues wel and surely blessed, howsoeuer they liue, if their towne and houses be religiously crossed) they kept together 30. Canoas, hoping at our comming which they had now long expected to recouer this losse vpon them and the Arwaccas, who in their absence had done this wrong. They shewed me of this their purpose, and required to be ioyned in league of friendship with vs against our enemies. When of them I had learned so much of the present estate of the countrey, as they did know: they demanded whether we had brought no more forces with vs, but onely one ship? I answered them as before I did the others, that wee now came only to trade, not knowing vntil this present that any Spaniards were in Guiana; that vpon our returne our whole fleete will hasten to set forwardes, and that in the meane time, wee would now visite our friendes, and helpe them so farre as wee could in any thing that wee should finde needefull presently to bee done. After long discourse (for their chiefe man stayed with mee all night) when hee had caused mee to spit in my right hand, with many other ceremonies which they vse in confirming friendshippe, hee went to the shoare, and one of his Canoas hee sent to bring forwardes the other twentie: one other hee caused to goe vp the riuer before vs, to bring intelligence. Then calling together the chiefe of his companie, they made small fyers, and sitting in

Spanish Paganisme.

their Hamacas, or Indian beddes, each one sorted himselfe with his companion, recounting amongst themselues the worthiest deedes, and deaths of their Ancestours, execrating their enemies most despitefully, and magnifying their friendes with all titles of prayses and honour, that may bee deuised. Thus they sitte talking, and taking Tobacco some two houres, and vntill their pipes bee all spent (for by them they measure the time of this their solemne conference) no man must interrupt, or disturbe them in any sort: for this is their religion, and prayers, which they now celebrated, keeping a precise fast one whole day, in honour of the great Princess of the North, their Patronesse and defender. Their Canoas being made ready, they accompanyed vs, and in their way shewed vs, where the shoaldes of the riuer doe lye. By this Captaine I learned that Muchikeri is the name of the Countrey where Macureguerai the first towne of the Empire of Guiana, that lyeth towardes Raleana, is seated in a fayre and exceeding large plaine, belowe the high mountaines, that beare Northwesterly from it, that it is but three dayes iourney distant from Carapana his Porte, and that Manoa is but sixe dayes farther. That they themselues doe passe in three dayes into the Countrey of the Iwarewakeri by the Riuer Amacur, which though it bee not the directest, yet it is the readiest way to Macureguarai, for that which leadeth to Carapana his dwelling, is in some places difficult, and mountainous. That a nation of clothed people, called Cassanari, doe dwell not farre from the place, where the Riuer doeth first take the name of Orenoque, and that farre within, they border vpon a Sea of salt water, named Parime. That a great Riuer, called Macurwini, passeth through their Countrey into Orenoque. That Manao standeth twentie dayes iourney from the mouth Wiapoco: sixeteene dayes from Barima, thirteene dayes from Amacur, and tenne dayes from Aratoori. That the best way vnto it, is not by Macureguerai. That of all others the Charibes that dwell high vp in Orenoque, knowe most the inlande, and of those nations, and they speake no other language, then such as Iohn your Interpreter doeth well vnderstand. Hee certified mee of the headlesse men, and that their mouthes in their breastes are exceeding wide. The name of their nation in the Charibes language is Chiparemai, and the Guianians call them Ewiapanomos. What I haue heard of a sorte of people more monstrous,

Her Maiestie.

They haue eminent heads like dogs, and liue all the day time in the sea, they speake the Charibes language.

I omit to mention, because it is no matter of difficultie to get one of them, and the report otherwise will appeare fabulous. Lastly hee tolde mee of an Inland Riuer, named Cawrooma, adioyning to Aratoori, and that the Quepyn mountaines, where Carapana dwelleth, are hardly accessible. That the Amapagotos haue images of gold of incredible bignesse, and great store of vnmanned horses of the Caracas breed: and they dwell fiue dayes iourney vp the Riuer about Caroli. Wee with our fleete of Canoas were now not farre from Carapanas Port, when our intelligencer returned and informed vs that tenne Spaniardes were lately gone with much trade to Barima, where these Indians dwelt, to buy Gassaui bread; and that within one day two other Canoas of Spaniards were appointed to come by the Riuer Amana, to Carapana his Port.

Vpon this occasion they tooke counsell, and in the ende desired to returne to their houses, least the Spaniardes finding them from home, and imagining that they did purposely absent themselues, shoulde take away their wiues and spoyle their dwellings. They farther resolued if it were possible to cut them off: which afterwardes they did perfourme. For when they were dispersed in their houses seeking Cassaui, suddenly at one time, in all places they were assaulted, and not one of them escaped. Carapana, whose hand was in laying this plot, sent vs this newes, as wee returned downe the Riuer. The two other Canoas that came from Trinidad by Amana, notwithstanding that wee kept a league before the shippe with our boates, sawe the shippe before wee had sight of them, and presently with all speede went to Berreo to aduertize him of our comming. Hee foorthwith dispatched two or three messengers to Trinidad. One of his Canoas mette with our spie, whome the Indians of Barima had left to goe with vs: they rifled him of his victuals, gaue him kniues, and dismissed him.

In eight dayes sayling still before a winde, wee arriued at Topiawaries Porte, in all which time no Indian that wee knew came abourd vs. For the time of our returne promised at your Lordshippes departure from thence being expired; they in dispaire seuered themselues amongst the other nations. Here the Spaniardes haue seated their Rancheria of some twentie or thirtie houses. The high rockie Island, that lyeth in the middest of the Riuer, against the mouth of Caroli, is their Forte or refuge, when they misdoubt safetie in their towne, or hauing notice of any practise against them : but now leauing both towne and Island, they ioyned themselues together, and returning to the mouth of Riuer Caroli, placed there a secret ambush, to defend the passage to those mines, from whence your Oare and white stones were taken the last yeere : Wee all not without griefe to see ourselues thus defeated, and our hungry hopes made voyde, were witnesses of this their remooue. As we road at ancor within musket shot of their Towne, an Indian came vnto vs with lean cheeks, thinne haire, and a squint eye, to informe vs that they were very strong, that Berreo his sonne was with him, that they had but two small Pinnisses at Trinidad, which they dayly looked for to come vp the Riuer, and lastly to viewe our shippe well, and our prouisions, but especially to learne whether Gualtero, Topiawarie his sonne were with vs.

This informers very countenance gaue him to bee suspected, and therefore partlie by threatning, partlie by promise of rewarde wee wonne him to confesse the trueth. Which hee did, assuring vs that Berreo had not full fiftie fiue men with him, whereof twentie came lately from Triuidad, twentie from Nueuo Reyno, and the rest hee brought with him about five moneths since, when hee fledde from Carapana his Porte, and was driuen with his small companie to keepe the aforesaide Island neere Caroli. And that though nowe his number is thus increased yet dareth hee not aduenture at any time to leaue the fast woodes, and to goe but halfe a league from his holde into the plaines. That some fewe of the Arwaccas are abiding with him. That hee dayly looketh for his sonne from Nueuo Reyno, for his Campemaster from Trinidad, and for horses from the Caraccas. That Topiawarie is dead : the Indians of that coast all fledde, and dispersed, excepting the sonne of one Curmatoi, and another woman of account, whome the Spaniardes holde prisoners, for consenting to the death of their nine men, and the holy Fryer in Morekito his time. This Curmatoi is fledde towardes Guanipa, and is a man of speciall note amongst the Indians. That Iwiakanarie Gualtero his neere kinsman, hath helde the Countrey to his vse, by his fathers appointment, euer since your being in the Riuer. That there are tenne ships, and many Spaniardes at Trinidad. That the Indians our friendes did feare, least you with your company were all slaine, and your shippes sunke at Cumanà (for so the Spaniardes noysed

Topiawarie his sonne.

it amongst them,) that some of Gualtero his friendes with Putijma, were in the mountaines not farre from the hill Aio. And that Berreo had sent for sixe peeces of ordinance, which he meant to plant, where they might best command the Riuer.

The common lyes of the Spaniardes.

When wee had stayed here two dayes, considering that where no hope was left of doing good, to abide there in harmes way doing nothing, would be bootlesse : I resolued to seeke Putijma in the mountaines : and turning downe the Riuer with the force of the streame some twentie miles in sixe houres : the next morning with ten shot I went ashoare, intending if the Indians should thinke themselues too weake, with our helpe to displant the Spaniards : to set some of them on worke, for hatchets and kniues to returne vs golde graines, and white stones from such places, as they should be directed vnto. When wee came to the place of their vsuall abode ; wee sawe that they lately had bene there, but could speake with none of them. It may be that feare (which is easie of beliefe) perswaded them that we were Spaniards. Gilbert my Pilot here offered to bring vs either to the myne of white stones neere Winicapora, or else to a gold myne, which Putijma had shewed him, being but one dayes iourney ouerland, from the place where we now stayed at an ancor. I sawe farre off the mountaine adioyning to this gold myne, and hauing measured their pathes neere the same place this last yeere, could not iudge it to bee fifteene miles from vs. I doe well remember howe comming that way with Putijma the yeere before, he pointed to this same mountaine, making signes to haue me goe with him thither. I vnderstood his signes and marked the place, but mistooke his meaning, imagining that he would haue shewed mee the ouerfall of the Riuer Curwara from the mountaines. My Indian shewed me in what sort without digging they gather the gold in the sand of a small riuer, named Macawini, that springeth and falleth from the rockes where this myne is. And farther tolde me, that hee was with Putijma, at what time Morekito was to be executed by the Spaniardes, and that then the chiefe of Morekito his friends were in consultation, to shewe this myne vnto them if so they might redeeme their Captaines life, but vpon better aduise, supposing them in this case to bee implacable, and that this might prooue a meanes to loose not onely their king, but their Countrey also : they haue to this day concealed it from them, being of all others the richest and most plentifull. The aged sort to keepe this from common knowledge, haue deuised a fable of a dangerous Dragon that haunteth this place and deuoureth all that come neere it. But our Indian, if when we returne, we doe bring store of strong wine (which they loue beyond measure) with it will vndertake so to charme this Dragon, that he shall doe vs no harme.

I, that for this ende came from home, and in this iourney had taken much more paines to lesse purpose, would very gladly from this mountaine haue taken so good a proofe to witnes my being in the Countrey: but withall considering that not one Indian of our knowne friends came unto vs: that Don Iuan the cousin of Gualtero, who liueth here a reuolt from the Spaniard, was now in election to bee chiefe commander of all the Indian forces in these partes, cannot in pollicie, for Gualtero his sake, whose inheritance hee sought to vsurpe, bee a fast friend vnto vs: that the Spaniardes abiding in Winicapora (for there were tenne) might well before wee could doe any thing, and returne, cause some others of Berreo his men to ioyne with them, in the way to intercept vs: and forethinking withall, that there being no meanes but our selues, to make knowne our discouerie, if wee returned not; in our misfortune the hope of following this voyage would bee buried: but besides all this, and the respect of such spyals, as the Spaniardes kept to obserue our dooings, foreknowing that if the enemie should by our lingring, stop our passage, which in one or two places of aduantage, fewe of them might easilie doe: it would bee a question howe with our shippe to get out of the Riuer, except first wee could remooue them: I thought it best (all other possibilities set apart) to seeke in time to bee free from the hazard of the aforesaid euill passages.

Whilest wee were searching at the shoare for the Indians, my Barge tooke a Canoa, with three men in her: the one a seruant to Berreo, (as before is mentioned) the other two marchants of Cassaui. They had a letter sent from the Gouernour to bee conueied to Trinidad, which I receiued. There was also a great hatchet, and twentie kniues, wherewith this Indian seruant should buy a Canoa, and hire Indians to cary her vp the Riuer towards Nueuo Reyno. This Canoa forsooth with foure other were to be sent to bring downe Berreo his sonne with all his forces, which nowe haue bene, I thinke, full three yeers in preparing. If fiue such boats be

The small forces of Ximenes.

sufficient to conuoy him, his men and all their prouision: it may seeme, hee commeth with no great strength.

This trans-planting of Indians is worthy of considera-tion.

This seruant as hee was a man of especiall trust, and neere Berreo: so appeared hee to haue some insight in his proceedings. He shewed mee that the Indians, who with these kniues should be hired, were to passe vp so high, as where some of the Cassanari doe dwell in small villages. That Berreo his purpose was, when they came thither to leaue them there, and make them officers ouer the other Indians: and in their places some of the Cassanari should returne, who likewise should be made Iustices and Constables ouer them of Guiana: that from Trinidad he meant to remoue most of the olde inhabitants, that would be tractable; and interpose them amongst the Cassanarians of Guiana, and the Guianians of the Cassanari. That the Arwaccas should wholly possesse Trinidad, and the riuer side of Raleana. That they already were prouided of threescore Negros, to worke the mynes in these places. And that by this meanes Berreo hoped to keepe these seuerall nations in mutual enmitie each against other, all to serue his turne, and neuer to become strong, or likely to ioyne themselues against him. He farther shewed me, that Topiawary, soone after our departure from the riuer, fledde into the mountaines, carying Hugh Godwyn with him, and leauing a Substitute in his Countrey, as aforesaide: and that the next newes they heard of him was, that hee was dead, and the English boy eaten by a Tyger. That the Spaniardes beleeue neither the one nor the other. That about the ende of Iune, when the Riuer shall be impassable, the tenne shippes shall depart from Trinidad. And that Berreo euer since his comming to Guiana, hath spent his time altogether in purueying of victuals, whereof there is such scarsitie, by reason that the Indians forsaking their houses, haue not this halfe yeere planted any of their grounds, so that the Spaniards are inforced to seeke their bread farre off, and content themselues to liue with litle.

In sayling vp the Riuer, wee passed by Toparimacko his Port, which in one place is very shoalde, the chanell lying close aboord the shore. Wee returned therefore another way by the maine riuer on the South side: this branch wee found large, deepe, and without danger. When wee were come neere Carapana his Port, hee sent fiue or six seuerall Canoas, promising this day and the next, that hee would come and speake with vs. Thus wee lingred sixe or seuen dayes, but hee came not. In the ende hee sent one of his aged followers, to certifie vs, that hee was sicke, olde, and weake: that the wayes neere his dwelling are not easie: and that therefore he desired vs to holde him excused for not comming. This olde man dilated vnto vs, that Carapana in hope of our returne, hath euer since your Lordshippes being in that Countrey, kept the mountaines, where the Spaniardes can hardly any way inforce him; that they haue taken from him and his people many of their wiues, because they refused to furnish them weekely with a certaine proportion of bread and victuals: that Don Iuan otherwise called Eparacano hath the commandement of all his subiects, excepting onely a choise guarde of men sufficient to keepe the place hee nowe dwelleth in. That it repenteth him of his ambition, euer to haue sought by the Spaniardes meanes, to haue enlarged his Countreys and people. For true it is, that from the beginning hee was a Lorde of no other then ordinary power amongst them, vntill hee had entered into friendshippe with Berreo: for then the Indians on all sides left some their habitations, and manie their commanders to become his subiectes, that they might haue the priuiledge to trade with the Spaniardes for hatchets and kniues, which are iewels of great price amongst them: that hee nowe sawe no other choise, but that the Indians must, if they will doe well, without farther dissembling of their necessitie, either entertaine vs their friendes, or else giue place to the Spaniardes their enemies. For the plentie of golde that is in this countrey, beeing nowe knowen and discouered, there is no possibilitie for them to keepe it: on the one side they coulde feele no greater miserie, nor feare more extremitie, then they were sure to finde, if the Spaniardes preuayled, who perforce doe take all things from them, vsing them as their slaues, to runne, to rowe, to bee their guides, to cary their burthens, and that which is worst of all, to bee content, for safetie of their liues, to leaue their women, if a Spaniard chance but to set his eye on any of them to fancie her: on the otherside they could hope for, nor desire no better state and vsage, then her Maiesties gracious gouernment, and Princely vertues doe promise, and assure vnto them. For sayde hee, the other yeere, when wee fledde into the mountaines, and measured your doings by the Spaniards in like case, we made no other account, but that your

Commander being able, as hee was, would doubtlesse haue persecuted vs to the vttermost, as the onely maintainers and supporters of your enemies, and would at the least, if hee could not reach vs, take our Townes, and make vs ransome our wiues and children: wee found it farre otherwise, and that none of your well gouerned companie durst offer any of vs wrong or violence, no not by stealth, when unknowne they might haue done it. We then beleeuing it to bee true, that your grand Captaine reported of his Princesse, tooke this for a good proofe of her royall commandement and wisedome, that had framed her subiectes to such obedience, and of your happinesse, that inioyed the benefite thereof: that Carapana weighing the good and friendly course of our proceedings, doeth humbly craue of her Maiestie for himselfe and his people, that with the rest of the Indians, which wholly depende on her Princely regarde towardes them, hee also may inioy her fauourable protection: that hee doeth this, not as a man left vnto himselfe and forsaken by the Spaniardes, but as one that knoweth their iniustice, hateth their cruelties, and taketh it for his best choise, vtterly to disclaime their friendshippe. It may bee pertinent (as surely it is a thing worth the noting) to consider howe this president of your moderation and good order, which to vs seemeth a matter but of small and ordinarie respect, hath both alienated their heartes altogether from the Spaniard, and stirred vp in them true loue and admiration thereof. For as gouernement is the onely bond of common societie: so to men lawlesse, that each one to another are, Omnes hoc iure molesti, quo fortes: To men, I say, that liue in dayly tumultes, feares, doubtes, suspitions, barbarous cruelties, neuer sleeping secure, but alwayes either drunke, or practising one anothers death: to such men as these bee, who wanting discipline, iustice and good order to confirme them in a quiet and peaceable course of liuing, knowing not where to finde it: the sence and sweetnesse thereof is as the dewe of Hermen: it is as the Harmonie of a well tuned Instrument: to bee briefe, it carieth in it selfe not onely a due and worthy commendation; but is auaylable without stroke striking to gaine a kingdome. For the Indians in all partes within and neere Guiana, doe offer their seruice, and promise to prouide victuall, and what else their countrey yeeldeth, desiring onely that some force of men may remaine with them, to deliuer them from oppression and

Carapana a great Lord bordering vpon Guiana craueth her Maiesties protection.

tyrannie. And nowe by generall consent (though hatchets and kniues bee the onely things of request and vsefull vnto them) they haue agreed by no meanes to trade with the Spaniard for any thing.

Farther this old man shewed mee, whence most of their golde commeth, which is formed in so many fashions: whence their Spleene-stones, and others of al sorts are to be had in plentie: where golde is to bee gathered in the sandes of their riuers: from what partes the Spaniards, both by trade, and otherwise, haue returned much gold. This he vttered with Carapana his consent (I doubt not) 'hoping thereby to induce vs to returne againe. For contrarie to their lawe of secrecie, which in this case they doe all generally obserue, sharply punishing the breakers thereof, as enemies vnto their natiue Countrey: I found this man no whit scrupulous, but very free and liberall of speech in all things.

And because we might knowe, that wee should not want handes or helpe, in this or any other our enterprises, if perhaps wee should finde cause to passe vp to the head of this Riuer: hee declared that the Spaniardes haue no Indians to trust vnto but some of the Arwaccas, which since they were not many, could bee but of small force; That the Charibes of Guanipa, the Ciawannas amongst the Tiuitiuas, the Shebaios, Iaos, Amaipagotos, Cassipagotos, Parpagotos, Samipagotos, Serowos, Etaiguinams, Cassamari, with the rest of the nations farre and neere, were all ready, on what side soeuer the Spaniards shall stirre, to fight against them: that the Ptriagotos, through whose countrey they must first passe, are alone sufficient to encounter them, such is the strength of their countrey, and the valure of the men. The Indians holde opinion, that they are notable sorcerers, and inuulnerable. In the mountaines where they dwell, white stones are found of such hardnesse, that by no arte or meanes they can bee pierced; they imagine that these Pariagotos become inuulnerable, by eating these stones. The fable omitted, happily they may prooue good Diamonds.

Then he shewed howe the Iwarewakeri haue nourished grasse in all places, where passage is, these three yeeres, and that it is at this present so high, as some of the trees; which they meane to burne, so soone as the Spaniard shall bee within danger thereof. Lastly, hee shewed mee that Wariarimagoto the Emperours chiefe Captaine for those partes, hath gathered together many thousandes of the Epuremei, to keepe the the borders of the Empire; and that hee lay now on the South side of the mountaines, some one dayes iourney or little more from the Spaniard. To be short, hee certified mee, that they all were resolued not to seeke vpon them (for indeede they feare their shot) but to defend their owne, and to expect our comming. In the meane time they take opportunities, when they finde any of them straggling or deuided from their strength, by litle and litle to lessen their number.

Wariarimagoto one of the Emperour of Guiana his chiefe Captaines vp in armes against the Spaniardes.

The place where wee were at ancor was but one dayes iourney from Carapana: I therefore made motion to this Captaine to stay with two or three of his company aboord the shippe, and to cause his men to bring mee with my Interpreter to Carapana his dwelling: hee answered mee that it were not good so to doe, least perhaps some Spie might informe the Spaniardes thereof, whereby danger would growe to Carapana. For they haue many times vsed many meanes to reconcile him vnto them: but hee from time to time hath dalyed with them, neither professing himselfe their enemie, nor in ought shewing them any friendshippe. Nowe (sayde hee) if the Spaniardes shall by any meanes come to knowledge, that you haue conferred together, they will take this occasion to persecute him with all extremitie, as their open enemie, whom they now neglect, or at the least feare not, as being an harmelesse old man. And for this cause only hath Carapana forborne to come vnto you.

By this I perceiued, that to stay longer for him (though gladly I could haue bene content to spend one seuenights more to speake with him) would be purposelesse. Wherefore hauing assured so many of the Indians as at any time came vnto vs, of our speedie returne, promising them plentie of kniues, beades, and hatchets, if they would reserue their Cassaui, and prouide store of their pieces of golde for vs: I desired this Captaine to bee a meanes that our friends of Trinidad might vnderstand of our being in the Riuer and that we meant to relieue them so soone, as conueniently might bee. Hee promised in Carapana his behalfe, that this should not bee forgotten. One of the Captaines of the Cyawannas, who doe now dwell in the Riuer Arawawo, neere Trinidad, undertooke also without fayle to ascertaine them thereof. I was the more carefull herein, because so many ships being heere, I doubted least they would take order that no Indian should speake with vs. For so indeede it fell out.

This Captaine of the Cyawannas came likewise to ioyne with vs, and had prouided fifteene Canoas for that purpose. Their dwelling was lately in Macureo, where the Spaniardes one night stealing on them, killed twentie of their men, and burnt their houses, because they refused to trade with them for certaine images of golde made with many heades which they had gotten out of Guiana. I sent a present of Yron to Carapana, and then set sayle.

In turning downe the riuer wee spent eight dayes. In many places where the channell lyeth wee found twentie fathome depth: where it is sholdest, wee had two fathome and a halfe, and that but in one or two places. Of the worthinesse of this Riuer, because I cannot say ynough, I will speake nothing. Wee haue presumed to call it by the name of Raleana, because your selfe was the first of our nation that euer entred the same, and I thinke it nothing inferior to Amazones, which is best knowen by the name of Orellana, the first discouerer thereof. By turning onely, without helpe of oares to passe so long away in so short a time, against the winde, may sufficiently prooue, that the chanell is very large, good, and likely to second our hopes in all that wee can desire. Without the mouth of this Riuer, our Pinnesse, the Discouerer, whome wee lost neere the coast of England, came vnto vs. Shee fell with this land somewhat to the Southwarde of Cape Cecyl, and had spent three weekes and odde dayes in ranging alongst the coast, when shee mette with vs. William Downe the master informed mee that they entred, and searched these foure riuers. In Wiapoco they sayled so farre, vntill the rocks stopped their passage. In Caiane they went vp one dayes iourney. In Cunanama they found many inhabitantes. Curitini was the last Riuer they had beene in. Whence, hauing no other meanes to finde Raleana, they were inforced to borrow a Pilot against his will: whom afterwardes I would haue returned with reward to his contentment; but he would not.

The chanel of Raleana, or Orenoque very large and good.

They meete with their Pinnesse.

Our English that to steale the first blessing of an vntraded place, will perhaps secretly hasten thither, may bee beholding to mee for this caueat, if they take notice thereof. They may be assured, that this people, as they no

A good caueat.

way sought our harme, but vsed our men with all kindnesse: so are they impatient of such a wrong, as to haue any of their people perforce taken from them, and will doubtlesse seek reuenge. The example of the like practise vpon the coast of Guinie, in the yeere 1566, and againe at Dominica, where Alderman Wats his shippe hardly escaped being taken, may serue for our warning in like case to looke for no good, before they bee satisfied for this iniury.

When wee had taken aboorde vs such victuals as were in the Pinnesse: wee set fire in her, (for her Rudder could serue her to no longer vse) and stopping the floodes, plyed to windwarde with the ebbe neere the shoare, vntill wee were sixteene leagues to the Eastwarde of the Riuers mouth, and then standing off to Sea, wee fell in twentie foure houres sayling with Punta de Galera the Northeastermost part of Trinidad. But Tabaco island in sight, wee first went thither. This Island is plentifull of all things, and a very good soyle. It is not nowe inhabited, because the Charibes of Dominica are euill neighbours vnto it. They of Trinidad haue a meaning and purpose to flie thither, when no longer they can keepe Trinidad. Their onely doubt is, that when they are seated there, the Spaniard will seeke to possesse it also. The Gouernour of Margarita went lately in a Pinnesse to viewe this Island. Gilbert my Pilot who sometime liued there, noteth it for the best and fruitfullest ground that hee knoweth.

The Isle of Tabago.

Thence wee returned to Punta de Galera and ancored in tenne fathome vnder the North side of the Island some fiue or sixe miles from the sayde point. The flood-tyde striketh alongst the coast to the Eastward very strongly. Wee discharged a peece of ordinance, and afterwards went to the shore in our boat: but no Indian came vnto vs. I would haue sent Iohn of Trinidad to procure some of them to speake with vs: but he was altogether vnwilling, alleaging that their dwellings were farre within the mountaines, and that he knew no part of that side of the Island. From this place we set sayle for Santa Lucia, but fell with Granata, which wee found not inhabited. Saint Vincent we hardly recouered, by turning vnder the lee of the island. The Tabaco of this place is good: but the Indians being Canibals, promising vs store, and delaying vs from day to day, sought onely opportunitie to betray, take, and eate vs, as lately they had deuoured the whole companie of

Most dangerous Canibals.

a French shippe. This their treacherie being by one of their slaues reuealed, from thenceforth they did all forbeare to come vnto vs. To sit downe on their lowe stooles, when they by offering such ease, will seeme to shew curtesie, abodeth death to strangers, that shall trust them. At Matalino or Martinino we found not any inhabitants. Lastly, wee came to Dominica, where we could get no good Tabaco. But hauing intelligence of a Spanish shippe, that was taking in of fresh water, at the Northwest side of the Island, wee wayed ancor to seeke him. Hee discrying vs, stole away by night. The Indians of this place haue determined to remooue, and ioyne with them of Guanipa, against the Spaniardes, who lately dispeopled one of their Islands, and at our being there one of their Canoas returned from Guanipa, and certified vs, that the tenne Spanish shippes at Trinidad doe ride, some of them at Conquerabia, the rest at the small Ilands neere the disemboging place. Herehence we steered North and by East, taking the directest course to shorten our way homewards.

Thus haue I emptied your purse, spending my time and trauell in following your lordships directions for the full discouerie of this coast, and the riuers thereof. Concerning the not making of a voyage for your priuate profite, I pretend nothing. Sorie I am, that where I sought no excuse, by the Spaniardes being there I found my defect remedilesse. And for mine owne part, I doe protest, that if the consideration of the publique good that may ensue, had not ouerpoysed all other hopes and desires: I would rather haue aduentured by such small and weake meanes as I had, to doe well with danger, then to returne onely with safetie. Nowe although in a cause not doubtfull, my allegation is no way needefull: yet because the weightinesse thereof, and the expectation of others, seemeth of due and right to claime something to bee sayde by mee, whome your especiall trust and fauour hath credited and graced with this employment: Pardon it (I beseech your honour) if, where my lampe had oyle, it borrow light also; and my speach, which is altogether vnsauorie, season it selfe with some of the leauen of your owne discourse touching this discouerie. The particular relation of some certaine things I haue reserued, as properly belonging to yourselfe, who onely, as knowing most, can make best vse thereof. So much in generall is here touched, as (I hope) may serue to refresh the memorie of this worthie enterprise in those whome it may concerne, and testifie your care and expence in following the same: that in a second age, when in time trueth shall haue credite, and men wondering at the riches, and strength of this place (which nature it selfe hath maruelously fortified, as her chiefe treasure-house) shall mourne and sigh to holde idle cicles, whilest others reape and gather in this haruest, it bee not sayde, that Sir Walter Ralegh was of all men liuing in his dayes, most industrious in seeking, most fortunate in attaining to the fulnesse of an inestimable publique good: if, knowing that for enuie and priuate respectes, his labours were lessened, his informations mistrusted, his proffers not regarded, and the due honour of his deserts imparted to others; If (I say) seeing, knowing and bearing all this, hee with patience had persisted in so good a way in doing his Princesse, and countrey seruice; and had but perfected his first discouerie by sending a shippe or two for that purpose: for then surely all lets and doubts being remooued, and so large a kingdome, so exceeding rich, so plentiful of all things, as this by his discourse appeared to bee, being offered: no deuises and vaine surmises could haue taken place, no illusions could haue preuailed: it had bene blindnesse and deafenesse in those, that being neere her Maiestie doe spend their dayes in seruing the common weale, not to see, and knowe in so weightie a matter: it had bene malicious obstinacie, impotencie of minde, and more then treason to the common wealth, the matter standing onely vpon acceptance, to seeke either to foreslowe so fit an occasion, or forsake so generall a blessing. This (if) is nowe cut off through a singular and incomparable temper, in ouercomming euill with good.

This your seconde discouerie hath not onely founde a free and open entrance into Raleana, which the Naturals call Orenoque: but moreouer yeeldeth choyse of fourtie seuerall great riuers (the lesser I do not reckon) being for the most part with small vessels nauigable for our marchants and others, that do now finde little profit in setting forth for reprisall, to exercise trade in. To such as shall be willing to aduenture in search of them, I could propose some hope of gold mines, and certaine assurance of peeces of made golde, of Spleene-stones, Kidney-stones, and others of better estimate. But because our beleefe seemeth to bee mated in these greater matters, and a certaintie of smaller profits is the readiest inducement to quicken our weake hopes; I not going so farre as mine owne eyes might warrant mee, doe onely promise in the aforesayd riuers Brasilwood, honey, cotton, Balsamum, and drugs to helpe to defray charges: and further, because without a beginning there can bee no continuance of these benefites vnto our countrey to any that shall be the first vndertakers hereof, I am gladly content to giue such light and knowledge, as by conference with the Indians I haue attained vnto.

My selfe, and the remaine of my fewe yeeres, I haue bequeathed wholly to Raleana, and all my thoughts liue onely in that action. The prosecuting whereof is in it selfe iust, profitable, and necessarie. Iust, because it is intended for the defence of harmlesse people, who fearing thralldome and oppression, desire to protect themselues and their countrey vnder her Maiesties tuition: Profitable, as may bee gathered not onely by many Spanish letters intercepted, but also by the proofes mentioned in the discourse of the first discouerie, and since that, by the Indians owne voluntarie relations; and lastly, by the prouision that the Spaniards doe make to acquite vs thereof. Necessarie it is, as being the onely helpe to put a bitte in the mouth of the vnbrideled Spaniard; the onely way to enter into his treasurie of Nueuo Reyno, and Peru; the onely meanes to animate the wronged Indians, with our assistance to seeke reuenge for the extreme murthers and cruelties, which they haue endured, and to ruinate his naked cities in all those parts of the Inland; whose foundations haue beene layd in the blood of their parents and ancesters.

The forces that the Spaniard hath already sent to Trinidad, to fortifie there, and keepe the passage of this riuer, are an euident argument that the king feareth and doubteth the sequele of this discouerie. For can it bee a small matter? Or hath hee so waste imployment for his men and shipping, that vpon no ground, hee would send eight and twentie shippes, to keepe vs onely from Tabacco: For what els that good is can Trinidad yeelde vs: No doubtlesse, if the returne of Berreo his Campemaster with tenne of these shippes bee compared with precedent aduertisements concerning him: it will appeare more then probable, that the Guiana-golde waged these men and shipping: and that they are nowe more carefull to obtaine this place, then to keepe others, which they haue already gotten, which note, except in matters of extraordinarie account, is not incident to their policie and proceedings. Againe, it cannot bee thought that either it was senselesse madnesse in the gouernours of Margarita, and the Caracas, to bring their states and liues in question, by seeking, contrarie to their kings order, to enter Guiana, and kill Berreo with his followers: or else the abundance of pearle in Margarita, and the golde mines in the Caracas, seeming matters of small account: Guiana onely was in their iudgement, rich, plentifull, and able of it selfe to redeeme their trespasse and offence, howe great soeuer it should bee.

The sundry attemptes and ouerthrowes of the Spaniardes being men of power, and honourable place, in labouring threescore and three yeeres and vpwardes, to inlarge the kingdome of Spaine with this mightie and great empire, doe plainely shewe, that they long time sought a path, where in one moneth a high way was found: that the losse of their liues witnesseth their desires, and the worthinesse of the thing, where to vs the easinesse of obteining discrediteth the greatnes of the attempt: and that if now at the last they doe preuaile, they must holde by tyrannie that which they get by the sword; where then our returne nothing by the Indians is more wished for, nothing expected more earnestly.

Those obiections, which haue beene made by many seeming wise, and the impediments likely to arise, as they haue supposed, are best answered by the vnreproued witnesse of those mens actions. Some haue termed these discoueries fables, and fantasies, as if there had beene no such land or territorie: others allowing both of the place, and that such a kingdome or countrey is discouered, make conclusion, that if it had beene so rich as wee haue supposed, that no doubt the king of Spaine would by this time haue possessed it. But if they consider that the Spanish nation hath already conquered the two empires of Mexico and Peru, with so many other kingdoms and prouinces: wee may very well answere, that his power is not infinite, and that hee hath done well for the time. And yet it is manifest, that this very empire hath beene by all those seuerall Spaniardes (the catalogue of whose names is by it selfe hereunto annexed) at sundry times vndertaken, and neuer perfourmed. Howbeit, the world hath reason to admire their constancie, and their great labours, and wee may well blush at our owne idle, despairefull, and loytering dispositions, that can finde abilitie in another barren, and sterued nation, to possesse so much of the worlde, and can doe nothing but frame arguments against our selues, as vnfit and powerlesse to possesse one prouince already discouered, and of which our nation hath assurance of the people's loue, and that all the Chieftains and principals haue vowed their obedience to her Maiestie; the nauigation being withall so short, dangerlesse, and free from infectious sickenesse. If doubt of perils might moderate the mindes of our men once mooued with steadfast hope, that golde shall bee the reward of their trauels: it may easily bee perceiued, that all those lets and hinderances that can any way bee alleaged, or wrested so much, as but to touch vs, doe deepely and neerely concerne the Spanish king, and in a maner violently withold him from that, which hee notwithstanding carrieth with successe, whilest wee out of season do affect the bare stile, to be named men stayed and circumspect in our proceedings. It is reported, that Calanus the Indian threw downe before Alexander the great, a drie seare peece of leather, and then put his foot on one of the endes of it: the leather being trode downe at that side, rose on all parts else. By this the wise man did shewe vnto him a figure and similitude of his kingdome, which being exceeding large, must of necessitie in all other parts, excepting the place of the kings residence, be alwayes full of stirs, tumults and insurrections. The end afterwards confirmed, that this empire consisting of sundry nations, could not keepe it selfe from dissolution. No potentate liuing hath, or can haue so faithfull and incorrupt counsellers, as bee the examples and histories of forepassed times and ages. Wee may therefore bee bolde to thinke that the Gouernours of the Spanish affaires should minde it, that their kings lustfull desire, and ambitious thoughts to establish ouer all Europe one lawe, one Lord, one religion, are built and erected on a dangerous vngrounded resolution: Considering that many of the neighbour kingdomes being of equall force in men, or greater then hee can make, are settled in a long continued estate, are entire within themselues, and hate to heare the voyce of a stranger. It is not vnlikely that they in this case should lay before their king the fatall destinies of many worthies, that haue beene constrained for wante of sufficient numbers of their naturall subiects, after many yeeres spent in the warres, to retire to their owne countreys, and haue beene glad peaceably to holde their owne Signiories at home, resigning all that vnto others, which they haue gotten abroad by hard aduenture, and much effusion of blood. The King of Spaine cannot but discerne, that his spacious empires and kingdomes being so many, and so farre diuided one from another, are like the members of a monstrous bodie, tyed together with cables only. For take away the traffique of vnnecessarie commodities transported out of Spaine: those huge countreys of the Indies hauing no common linke of affinitie, lawe, language, or religion, and being of themselues able to maintaine themselues without forreine commerce, are not so simple, as not to knowe their owne strength, and to finde, that they doe rather possesse Spaniardes, then that they are possessed by them. Hee cannot bee ignorant that Spaine it selfe is on all sides enuironed with many puissant enemies, mightie and great princes, who knowing it to bee rich without men, confident without reason, proud and aduenturous without meanes sufficient; may happily confederate to chastise him, as an insolent intruder, and disturber of all quietnesse; and going no further then Spaine it selfe may euen there shake the foundation of his long contriued deuises, and in one acte redeeme the time, controll his aspiring humor, and breake the bandes in sunder, that import seruitude, and subuersion to all the dominions of Christendome. Againe his counsell may well informe him, that to dispeople and disable himselfe at home, in hope to obtaine Guiana, being a countrey strong of it selfe, and defended with infinite multitudes of Indian enemies, being rich, and by the inhabitants offered vnto the English: his contempt towardes vs would seeme so intollerable and despightfull, as might bee sufficient to prouoke vs, though otherwise wee had no such inclination; if hee vnprouided of able helpes to effect it, should rest himselfe on a carelesse presumption, that wee cannot, wee dare not, wee will not stirre in a matter that promiseth vs so great benefite, and may so highly offend him. Hee may bee perswaded, that to leaue no other succour or safetie to his nakednesse, but the olde stale practise of spreading rumours, and giuing out false intelligences of preparations to inuade England, thereby to keepe vs at home; or els of hyring and suborning some Machauellian vnder hande by secret conueyance, to stop the course of our proceedings; or lastly, of procuring some wilde outlaw to disquiet our tranquilitie; is but a poore, weake, and vncertaine stay to vpholde his estate by. And yet setting such like driftes aside: what can bee imagined likely to hinder vs from preuailing in Guiana, rather then him, whose disaduantage is to bee encombred with the selfe same, and manifolde more impediments, then can any way bee supposed, with good cause to impeach, or diuorce vs from so profitable an attempt? All this notwithstanding, if the Spanish king not being able to dissemble his desire, or beare the losse of this one kingdome; putting himselfe out of his strength at home, and exposing his people to the hazard of all casualities abroad, bee resolued, whatsoeuer shall happen, not to relinquish Guiana, but to keepe this one yron more in the fire, on no other assurance, but a peremptorie disdaine of preuention: If hee appeare so eagerly bent for Guiana, as if it were enacted for a lawe amongst themselues, Viis et modis to thrust for it, and not to heare, conceiue, or beleeue any thing, that may disswade or deterre from the conquest thereof: it then appertaineth vnto vs, not to inforce those obiections against ourselues, which hee with lesse reason reiecteth as friuolous: since by howe much the more earnest hee is in following this purpose, by so much the lesse cause haue wee to bee diuerted from it. To such as shall bee willing further to wade in this argument; for breuities sake, I doe propose onely this bare assertion: that England and Guiana conioyned, are stronger, and more easily defended, then if England alone should repose her selfe on her owne force, and powerfulnesse. The reasons that might bee inferred to proue this neede no rationall discourse: they are all intimated in the onely example of Spaine it selfe; which without the Indies is but a purse without money, or a painted sheath without a dagger. In summe: it seemeth vnto me, that whereas the difficultie of performing this enterprise hath bene produced for a discouragement: it were a dull conceite of strange weakenes in our selues, to distrust our own power so much, or at least, our owne hearts and courages; as valewing the Spanish nation to be omnipotent; or yeelding that the poore Portugal hath that mastering spirit and conquering industrie, aboue vs: as to bee able to seate himselfe amongst the many mightie princes of the East Indies, to frontire China, to holde in subiection The Phillippians, Zeilan, Calecut, Goa, Ormus, Mozambique, and the rest; the nauigation being so tedious and full of perill: to suffer our selues to bee put backe for worthlesse cyphers, out of place, without account. All which Regions being nowe also by the late conquest of Portugall, entituled to the Spanish king: to whom the Colonies of those parts doe yet generally refuse to sweare fealtie and allegiance: and the care depending on him, not onely in gouerning them in the East, so farre off; but also of ordering and strengthening of those disunited, scattered, and ill guarded empires and prouinces in the West: It might very well bee alleaged to the sayde Spanish king, that it were more wisedome for him to assure and fortifie some part of those already gotten, then to begin the conquest of Guiana, so farre separate from the rest of his Indies: in which hee hath had so many misfortunes, and against whom the naturall people are so impetuously bent, and opposed: were it not, that it exceedeth all the rest in abundance of gold, and other riches. The case then so standing, is it not meere wretchednesse in vs, to spend our time, breake our sleepe, and waste our braines, in contriuing a cauilling false title to defraude a neighbour of halfe an acre of lande: whereas here whole shires of fruitfull rich grounds, lying now waste for want of people, do prostitute themselues vnto vs, like a faire and beautifull woman, in the pride and floure of desired yeeres.

If wee doe but consider, howe vnhappily Berreo his affairs, with his assistants haue of late yeeres, in our owne knowledge succeeded: who can say, if the hand of the Almighty be not against them, and that hee hath a worke in this place, in stead of Papistrie, to make the sincere light of his Gospell to shine on this people? The effecting whereof shall bee a royall crowne of euerlasting remembrance to all other blessings, that from the beginning the Lorde hath plentifully powred on our dread Soueraigne, in an eminent and supreme degree of all perfection. If the Castilians, pretending a religious care of planting Christianitie in those partes, haue in their doings preached nought els but auarice, rapine, blood, death, and destruction to those naked, and sheeplike creatures of God; erecting statues and trophees of victorie vnto themselues, in the slaughters of millions of innocents: doeth not the crie of the poore succourlesse ascend vnto the heauens? Hath God forgotten to bee gracious to the workmanship of his owne hands? Or shall not his iudgements in a day of visitation by the ministerie of his chosen seruant, come on these bloodthirstie butchers, like raine into a fleece of wooll? Aliquando manifesta; aliquando occulta; semper iusta sunt Dei iudicia.

Her Maiestie.

To leaue this digression, It is fit onely for a prince to begin, and ende this worke: the maintenance and ordering thereof requireth soueraigne power, authoritie, and commaundement. The riuer of Raleana giueth open and free passage, any prouision that the Spaniards can make to the countrary notwithstanding, (for once yeerely the landes neere the riuer be all drowned) to conuey men, horse, munition, and victuall for any power of men that shall be sent thither.

I doe speake it on my soules health, as the best testimonie, that I can in any cause yeelde to auerre a trueth, that hauing nowe the second time beene in this countrey, and with the helpes of time and leisure well aduised my selfe vpon all circumstances to bee thought on: I can discerne no sufficient impediment to the contrary, but that with a competent number of men, her Maiestie may to her and her successours enioy this rich and great empire: and hauing once planted there, may for euer, (by the fauour of God) holde and keepe it, Contra Iudæos et Gentes. Subiects, I doubt not, may through her Maiesties gracious sufferance, ioyning their strength together, inuade, spoyle, and ouerunne it, returning with golde and great riches. But what good of perpetuitie can follow thereof? Or who can hope that they will take any other course then such, as tendeth to a priuate and present benefite: considering that an Empire once obteined, is of congruitie, howe, and wheresoeuer the charge shall growe, to bee annexed vnto the crowne? The riches of this place are not fit for any priuate estate: no question they will rather prooue sufficient to crosse and counteruaile the Spaniard his proceedings in all partes of Christendome, where his money maketh way to his ambition.

If the necessitie of following this enterprise doth nothing vrge vs, because in some case better a mischiefe, then an inconuenience: let the conuenience thereof somewhat mooue vs, in respect both of so many Gentlemen, souldiers, and younger brothers, who, if for want of employment they doe not die like cloyed cattell in ranke easefulnesse; are enforced for maintenance sake, sometimes to take shamefull and vnlawfull courses: and in respect of so many handycraftsmen hauing able bodies, that doe liue in cleannesse of teeth and pouertie. To sacrifice the children of Belial vnto the common weale, is not to defile the lande with blood, because the lawe of God doeth not prohibite it, and the execution of iustice requireth it to bee so: but yet if the waterboughes, that sucke and feede on the iuice, and nourishment that the fruitefull branches should liue by, are to bee cut downe from the tree, and not regarded: luckie and prosperous bee that right hande, that shall plant and possesse a soyle, where they may fructifie, increase and growe to good: thrise honourable and blessed bee the memorie of so charitable a deede, from one generation to another.

To conclude, your lordship hath payd for the discouerie and search, both in your owne person and since by mee. You haue framed it, and moulded it readie for her Maiestie, to set on her seale. If either enuie or ignorance, or other deuise frustrate the rest, the good which shall growe to our enemies, and the losse which will come to her Maiestie and this kingdome, will after a fewe yeeres shewe it selfe. Wee haue more people, more shippes, and better meanes, and yet doe nothing. The Spanish king hath had so sweete a taste of the riches thereof, as notwithstanding that hee is lorde of so many empires and kingdomes already, notwithstanding his enterprises of France and Flanders, notwithstanding that hee attended this yeere a home inuasion: yet hee sent twentie eight saile to Trinidad, whereof tenne were for that place and Guiana, and had some other shippes ready at Cadiz, if the same had not beene by my Lordes her Maiesties Generals and your lordship set on fire.

In one worde; The time serueth, the like occasion seldome happeneth in many ages, the former repeated considerations doe all ioyntly together importune vs, nowe, or neuer to make our selues rich, our posteritie happy, our Prince euery way stronger then our enemies, and to establish our countrey in a state flourishing and peaceable. O let not then such an indignitie rest on vs, as to depraue so notable an enterprise with false rumours, and vaine suppositions, to sleepe in so serious a matter, and renouncing the honour, strength, wealth, and soueraigntie of so famous a conquest, to leaue all vnto the Spaniard.

* * *

A Table of the names of the Riuers, Nations, Townes, and Casiques or Captaines that in this second voyage were discouered.

	Riuers.	Nations.	Townes.	Captains.
1	Arowari great.	Arwaos, Paraweas, Charibes.		
2	Iwaripoco very great.	Mapurwanas, Iaos.		
3	Maipari great.	Arricari.		
4	Caipurogh great,	Arricurri.		
5	Arcooa great.	Marowanas, Charibes.		
6	Wiapoco great.	Coonoracki, Wacacoia, Wariseaco.		
7	Wanari.	Charibes.		
8	Capurwacka great.	Charibes.		
9	Cawo great.	Iaos.	Icomana.	Wareo.

1 These are enemies to the Iaos, their money is of white and greene stones. They speake the Tiuitiuas language: so likewise doe the nation of the Arricari, who haue greater store of those moneyes then any others.

2 Here it was as it seemeth, that Vincent Pinçon the Spaniard had his Emeralds. In one of these two riuers certain Frenchmen that suffred shipwrack some 2. or 3. yeres since, doe liue.

3. 4. 5. These with the other two seeme to bee branches of the great riuer of Amazones. When wee first fell with land, wee were, by ye Indians report, but 1. dayes iourney from the greatest riuer, that is on that coast.

6 The first mountaines yt appeare within lande, doe lie on the East side of this riuer. From the mouth thereof, the inhabitants doe passe with their canoas in 20. dayes to the salt lake, where Manao standeth. The water hath many Cata-

Riuers.	Nations.	Townes.	Captains.	
				racts like Caroli, but that they are of greater distance one from another: where it falles into the sea, hils do inclose it on both sides.
10 Wia great.	Maworia, Charib. Wiaco, Ch.	Parammona, great.	Mashwipo.	10 The freshet shoots out into the sea, with great force: the sea doth here sometimes campe high, and breake, as it were full of rocks: but in proofe it is nothing els but the pride and force of the tydes. In this bay, and round about, so far as the mountaines do extend there is great store of Brasill wood, some of it bearing farre darker colour then other some. Here are also many sortes of other good woods.
11 Caiane g. Gowateri a great iland.	Wiaco. Ch. Shebaios.	Canawi. g. Orinikero.	Parawetteo.	
12 Macuria.	Piraos. Ch.			
13 Cawroora.	Arrawacos Charib.			
14 Manmanuri.	Ipaios. Ch.			14 These speake the language of the Indians of Dominica. They are but few, but very cruel to their enemies. For they bind, and eat them aliue peecemeale. This torment is not comparable to the deadly paine that commeth of hurts, or woundes, made by those arrowes that are inuenomed w^t the iuice of ye herbe Wapototo. These Indians because they eate them whome they kill, vse no poyson. The sea coast is nowhere populous, for they haue much wasted themselues, in mutuall warres
15 Cureey.	Shebaios.			
16 Curassiwini.	Shebaios.	Musswara. great.	Ocapanio.	
17 Cunanama.	Iaos. Arwaccas.	Waritappi. great.	Carinamari. Curipotoore.	
18 Vracco. Moruga.	Arwaccas. Arwaccas.		Marwabo. Eramacoa.	
19 Mawari.	Winicinas. Arwaccas.	Iwanama.	Aranacoa.	
20 Mawarpai.	Arwaccas.	Awaricana.	Mahahonero.	

But now in all parts so farre as Orenoque, they liue in league and peace.

Riuers.	Nations.	Townes.	Captains.
21 Amonna very great. Gapellepo. g.	Charibes.	Iaremappo. very great.	
22 Marawini. g.	Paracuttos.		
23 Owcowi.			
24 Wiawiami.			
25 Aramatappo.			
26 Wiapo.			
27 Macuruma.			
28 Carapi.			
29 Vraca.			
30 Chaimawimini great.	Carepini. Charib.		Caponaiarie.
31 Ecrowto.	Vpotommas.		
32 Pawro.	Arwaccas.	Maripoma.	
33 Shurinama. g	Carepini. Chari.		
34 Shurama g.	Carepini.	Cupari.	
35 Northumbria or Cupanama very g.	Char. Arwaccas.		
36 Wioma.			
37 Cushwini.	Neekeari.	Tawrooromene.	Neperwari.
38 Inana. g.	Carepini.	Owaripoori.	
39 Curitini. g.	Arwaccas. Parawianni.	Mawronama.	
40 Winitwari g.		Maiapoore. Cariwacka.	
41 Berbice. g.	Arwaccas.	Aneta. Manacobeece. Eppera. Parawiannos. Lupulee.	Warawaroco.
42 Wapari.	Shebaios. Arwaccas.	Madewini.	Benmurwagh.
43 Maicawini.	Panapi. Arwaccas.	Itewee.	Caporaco. great Cap.
44 Mahawaica.	Arwaccas.	Maburessa g.	
45 Lemerare g.	Wacawaios.	Maburessa g.	
46 * Deuoritia* or Dessekebe very g.	Arwaccas. Iaos. Shebaios. Arwaccas.		

21. Neere the head of this riuer, Capeleppo falleth out of the plaines, and runneth into the Sea with Curitini. Some of the Guianians liue in this riuer.

39. This riuer, as also most of the rest, is not nauigable aboue sixe dayes iourney by reason of rockes. It is tenne dayes iourney to the head, where the Guianians do dwel: hony, yarne or cotton, silke, Balsamum, and Brasil beds are here to bee had in plentie, and so all the coast alongst Eastward. Some images of golde, spleenestones, and others may bee gotten on this coast, but they doe somewhat extraordinarily esteeme of

---

* Marginal note.--So called after the name of the right honourable the Earle of Essex.

	Rivers.	Nations.	Townes.	Captains.
	Matorooni.	Charibes.		
	Coowini.	Maripai.		
	Chipanama.	Wocowaios.		
	Arawanna.	Parawianni.		
	Itorebece.	Iwarewakeri.	Caiaremappo.	
47	Pawrooma.		Waroopana.	
	g.	Iaos.	Maripa.	Macapowa.
	Aripacoro.		Chipariparo.	
	Ecawini.	Panipi.	Towtwi.	Shuracoima.
	Manurawini.		Sarinbugh.	
			Wariwagh.	
48	Moruga. g.	Iaos.	Cooparoore. g.	Manarecowa.
	Piara.	Arwaccas.		
	Chaimeragoro.		Awiapari.	Iarwarema.
			Topoo.	
49	Waini. g.	Charibes.	Tocoopoima. g.	Parana.
50	Barima. g.	Charibes.	Pekwa g.	Anawra.
	Caitooma.	Arwaccas.	Arwakima.	Aparwa.
	Arooca.			Arracurri.
51	Amacur. g.			
52	Aratoori. g.			
	Cawrooma. g.			
	Raleana, or Orenoque.			
	Maipar	Ilands in the mouth of Raleana.		
	Ita caponea			
	Owarecapater.			
	Warucanasso.			

them, because euery where they are current money. They get their Mooneɜ, and other pieces of gold by exchange, taking for each one of their greater Canoas, one piece or image of golde. with three heades, and after that rate for their lesser Canoas, they receiue pieces of golde of lesse value. One hatchet is the ordinarie price for a Canoa. They haue euery where diuers sorts of drugs, gummes, and rootes, which I doubt not by farther trial, will be found medicinable.

NAMES OF POYSONED HEARBS.

Ourari.
Carassi.
Apareepo.
Parapara.

HEARBES GOOD AGAINST POYSON.

Turara.
Cutarapama.
Wapo.
Macatto.

The 29. day of Iune we arriued in Portland road, hauing spent fiue moneths in going, staying, and returning.

Here follow the names of those worthie Spaniards that haue sought to discouer and conquer Guiana: Extracted out of the writings of Iuan de Castellanos clerigo, who compiled the booke intituled, Primera parte de las Elegias de varones illustres de Indias.

THe enterprise of Guiana was vndertaken by Diego de Ordas of the kingdome of Leon, in the yeere 1531. Hee was one of the captaines of Cortes in the conquest of Mexico. This Ordas made his entrance by the riuer of Amana, by which wee entred, and spent fiftie dayes before hee came to the riuer of Orenoque, which we past in fifteene. Hee named the riuer by which hee entred, Viapari; which name it still retaineth in the Spanish descriptions. It lyeth South from Trinidad some fiue leagues. He transported out of Spaine a thousand souldiers. He dyed afterwards at sea in returning for Spaine.

The riuer of Amana by which Sir Walter Ralegh first entred called by Diego de Ordas Viapari: and by Barth. de Casas Iuia Pari.

2. Iuan Cortesso arriued at the riuer of Amazones or Orellana with three hundred men: Hee marched vp into the countrey. But neither hee nor any of his companie did returne againe.

3 Gaspar de Sylua, with his two brothers, departed from Teneriff, accompanied with two hundred men to assist Diego de Ordas. They sought El Dorado by the riuer of Amazones: but staying there a short time, they fell downe to Trinidad, where they all three were buried.

4 Iuan Gonsales set saile from Trinidad to discouer Guiana. He reposed himselfe more on the faith of his guides, then on his small number of men. Hee by triall founde the confines of Guiana, so farre as hee entred, to bee populous, plentifull of victuall, and rich in golde. Vpon such proofes as he brought with him, to make good his report, many others aduentured to follow his steps.

5, 6. Philip de Vren, and after him Pedro de Limpias, who both successively commanded the Almaines, were leaders in this action. Limpias was slaine by an Indian Casique named Porima.

7 Ieronimo de Ortal vndertooke it by the way of Maracapana. After great trauell and his substance all spent, he dyed on the sudden at S. Domingo.

8. 9. Ximenes, brother of Don Ximenes de Quesida the Adelantado, and Pedro de Orsua were both at sundry times in the same conquest.

10 Father Iala, a Frier, taking with him onely one companion, and some Indian guides passed into the prouinces of Guiana. Hee returned with good intelligence, and brought with him Eagles, idols, and other iewels of golde, An. 1560. Hee assayed the second time to pass in like manner, but was slaine by the Indians.

11 Hernandez de Serpa also vndertooke it. The Indians of Cumanawgoto killed him, and defeated his armie.

12 Afterwardes, Diego de Vargas, and his sonne Don Iuan followed this enterprise, and at their first setting out, were slaine by the Indians.

13 Caceres vndertooke this discouery from Nueuo Reyno de Granada. Hee came no neerer to it then Matachines, which borders vpon the sayd kingdome of Granada. Hee rested there and peopled that place.

14 It was also attempted by Alonço de Herera, at two seuerall times. Hee endured great miserie, but neuer entred one league into the countrey. He sought it by Viapari or Amana, and was at last slaine by a nation of Indians called Xaguas.

15 It was also vndertaken by Antonio Sedenno, with whom Herrera and Augustine Delgado ioyned in the conquest of Trinidad, against Bawcunar a famous king of that place. He passed by Maracapana in the yeere 1536 to discouer El Dorado with 500 chosen men. In this iourney hee got much gold, and tooke many Indian prisoners, whom he manacled in yrons; and many of them dyed as they were led in the way. The Tigers being fleshed on those dead carkeisses, assaulted the Spaniards, who with much trouble hardly defended themselues from them. Sedenno was buried within the precinct of the empire neere the head of the riuer Tinados. Most of his people perished likewise.

16 Augustine Delgado searched the countrey to the Southward of Cumanawgoto with 53. footemen, and three horsemen. The warres that were then betweene the Indians of the vale, and those of the mountaines, serued well for his purpose. By which occasion he found meanes to passe so farre, vntill he came to an Indian Casique, named Garamental, who entertained him with all kindnesse, and gaue him for a present some rich iewels of golde, sixe seemely pages, tenne young slaues, and three nymphes very beautifull, which bare the names of three prouinces from whence they were sent to Garamental chiefe commander of all that countrey. Their names were Guanba, Gotoguane, and Maiarare. These prouinces are of an excellent temperature, very healthfull, and haue an admirable influence in producing faire women. The Spaniards afterwardes to requite the manifold curtesies that they receiued in that countrey, tooke and carried away, besides all the golde that they could get, all the Indians

that they could lay holde on: they conueyed them in yrons to Cubagua, and sould them for slaues. Delgado afterwards was shot in the eye by an Indian: of which hurt he died.

17 Diego de Losada succeeded in his brothers place. Hee had many more men; who in the ende wasted themselues in mutinies: those that liued returned to Cubagua.

18 Reynoso vndertooke this iourney: but hauing endured exceeding troubles, in the discomfort of his minde, he gaue it ouer, and was buried in Hispaniola.

19 Pedro de Orsua, in the yeere 1560. sought it with 400. Spaniards by the riuer of Orellana. Hee imbarqued his men in the countrey of the Motijones. As they passed downe the riuer, they found Synamon trees. His men murthered him, and afterward the sayde rebels beheaded lady Anes his wife, who forsooke not her lord in all his trauels vnto death.

20 Frier Francis Montesino was in the prouince of Maracapana with 100. souldiers bound for Guiana, when Lopez Aguirri the tyrant made insurrection in all those parts of the Indies. What became of this intended iourney is not expressed.

In this discouerie of Guiana, you may reade both of Orellana, who discouered the riuer of Amazones An. 1542. and of Berreo, with others that haue trode this maze, and lost themselues in seeking to finde this countrey.

An aduertisement to the Reader.

IN the Breuiarie, the names onely are comprised of such, as being led with the generall fame of Guiana, haue endeuoured to discouer and possesse it. The whole histories are long and cannot suddenly be translated or englished at large, as we in these Elegies finde them. It may perhaps seeme strange and incredible, that so many caualleros should all faile in this one attempt, since in many parts of the Indies, far smaller numbers in shorter time haue performed as great matters, and subdued mighty kingdomes: I haue therefore thought it good here to alleage those reasons, which by circumstance may bee gathered to haue beene chiefe impediments to the Spaniard in this intended search and conquest.

The first may bee the remotenesse or distance of their places of Rendeuous, from El Dorado: which appeare to be foure, Nueuo reyno, the mouth of Amazones or Orellana, Cubagua or the coast of the Caracas, and Trinidad.

1 From Moiobamba, where Orellana hath his head-spring, to his mouth, the Spaniards account it 2000. leagues. Ralcana riseth neere the said mountaines in Moiobamba, and tributeth his waters to the sea, not farre from the other: Guiana is enuironed with these 2 freshwaterseas, where their distance is greatest from their risings, and is besides guarded with impassable mountaines which inclose and defend it on all parts, excepting Topiawaries countrey. It is no maruel then, if the vigor, heart, and life of those Spaniards, who sought it from Nueuo Reyno, were allayed and spent, before they came neere to it, in those long, desolate and vncomfortable wayes.

2 From Cubagua to seeke it by sea in vessels of any burthen, is a worke of far greater labour, then to saile directly from Spaine. And to passe ouer land is a matter of great difficultie, by reason that the Indian nations inhabiting betweene the coast of The Caracas and Guiana, being wearied and harried with the daily incursions of the Spaniards, haue now turned their abused patience into furie, refusing to suffer any forces of men to be led through their countreys. For the Spaniards trauelling in those parts, when they found not gold answerable to their expectation, ouerlaid them with cruelties, tyrannie, and thraldome: forbearing neither men, women, friends, nor foes. Which maner of dealing, though in some part it satisfied their desire of present profit; yet hath it otherwise done them much harme, in hardening and driuing those nations to desperate resolutions.

3 From the mouth of Orellana to seeke entrance with any number of men, and to bore a hole through the mountaines is all one. Neither finde wee, that any seeking it that way, haue at any time boasted of their gaines or pleasurable iourneys.

4 From Trinidad, as the course is shortest, so doeth it promise best likelyhood of successe. Howbeit, impossible it is with any vessell of ordinarie burthen by that way to recouer the riuer of Raleana.

The second, The Spaniards haue bene so farre from helping and furthering one another, or admitting partners or coadiutors in the Guiana-cause, that amongst so many attemptes, from the beginning to the last, I cannot find any one, when they were otherwise likeliest to preuaile, free from discords, mutinies, and cruell murthers amongst themselues.

Thirdly, The Spaniards in this place haue mist that aduantage, which elsewhere hath steeded themselues in all their conquestes: namely, the dissentions and mutuall warres of the Indians. Which of what force it is, may be gathered by the example of Arauco in Chili. For the Indians of that one prouince conteining in circuit not aboue 20 leagues, haue maintained warres aboue these 30. yeeres against all the Spaniards, and in despight of them haue kept their owne countrey, oftentimes discomfiting their enemies in many set battels, burning and destroying some of their strongest townes. The chiefe reason whereof I take to bee, because no Indian nation was enemie vnto them. And howsoeuer the Spaniards vaunt of their redoubted exployts in the Indies: yet doe their owne writings in effect testifie, that without the ayde of the Indians diuided among themselues, Mexico, Peru, and the rest, had neuer beene Spanish.

Lastly, I can impute it to no cause so rightly, as immediatly to the diuine prouidence: for by him princes raigne. And in my beleefe (except we will look to be warned by miracle from heauen) wee need no further assurances, then we already haue to perswade our selues, that it hath pleased God of his infinite goodnesse, in his will and purpose to appoint and reserue this empire for vs.

The thirde voyage set forth by Sir Walter Ralegh to Guiana, with a pinnesse called The Watte, in the yeere 1596. Written by M. Thomas Masham a gentleman of the companie.

VPon Thursday the 14. of October 1596, we set saile from Limehouse vpon the riuer of Thames, and through much contrarietie of winds and other accidents, we made it the 27. of December, before we could get out of Waimouth. The 25. of Ianuarie in the morning we came to the North side of the Island of Grand Canaria, where we hoped to haue gotten a boate to serue vs vpon the coast of Guiana, but the winde was so great that we could not lanch our shalope: so we past along by the roade and the towne, and at length saw a boate lying on shoare, which being too bigge for vs, wee ripped vp, and wooded our selues with her. That day wee descryed a saile, which at length wee found to be a flieboate of Dartmouth, of 200. tunnes, bound to the Island of Mayo for salte. Wee fell in consort with her, and that night stoode for the Southermost part of the Island there to water, where wee stayed all the next day, and watered at the Southsouthwest part thereof. That night wee weyed and stoode away together Southsoutheast, and South and by East, purposing by their perswasion to goe for the riuer Doro. The 28. of Ianuarie wee made the furthermost part of Barbarie; and this morning we met with M. Beniamin Wood with his fleete of 3 sailes bound for the straights of Magellan and China, to wit, The Beare, The Whelpe, and The Beniamin: who told vs that there was no good to be done in the riuer Doro. Whereupon we stood along with them for Cape Blanco, vnto which we came vpon Sunday night next following. And vpon Munday morning the first of Februarie, we saw two ships in a sandie bay: so we stirred in with them, which were Frenchmen bound for the West Indies, and put all into the bay, where wee refreshed our selues with fish, in which there was infinite store, and stayed there vntill Thursday the 5. at which time wee stood vp with the Cape againe, where rode the Frenchman and his pinnesse, who put foorth right afore vs, and another Frenchman and his carauel well manned: So all we 5. English came to an anker by them, where after kinde greeting with many shots out of euery ship both English and French, all our captaines were inuited to a feast aboord the French admirall: where after great cheere and kinde entertainment, it was concluded on all handes to take the Isle of Fogo, if God would giue vs leaue.

M. Beniamin Wood bound for The South Sea.

The same day we all weyed and stoode along for the Isle of Sal, vnto which we came the 8. of Februarie, and ankered altogether at a bay in the West part thereof: in which Island wee had good store of goates and fresh fish. There is no man dwelling vpon the Island that we could see. Wee could finde no fresh water vpon it, but one standing puddle of bad water: it hath foure great mountaines, vpon the 4. corners of it. Here the Frenchmen (as it seemeth being ouercome with drinke, hauing bene aboord our Generall at a feast) being on shoare, one of the gentlemen of their companie was slaine, and their chiefe captaine sorely wounded: by reason whereof, and of the setting together of a pinnesse which they were about, the French admiral and the carauel stayed behind. So wee in the Watte, and the other 6. ships weyed the 10. of Februarie, and stood away for the isle of Maio. This night the other two French shippes that came from

Sal with vs (as it seemeth of purpose, because their consorts were not with them) lost vs. The next morning wee sawe Maio. So wee and the flieboate of Dartmouth compassed the Northermost part of the Island, and master Beniamin Wood in the China-fleete, the Southermost, and came all to an anker together at the Southwest part thereof: where rode sixe sayles of Flemmings lading salte; who had brought their horses and cartes, and wheele-barrowes, and plankes for their barrowes to runne vpon. Here is abundance of salte in this Island made by Gods hande without mans labour. These tolde vs that there were thirtie sayles more, which fell to leeward of Fogo, who, as I heard since, beat it vp with much adoe, and came thither also for salte. This trade may bee very beneficiall to England, considering the dearnesse of salte. Of goates on this Island there is such store, as is incredible, but to those that haue seene them: and it is a wonder howe they liue one by the other, the ground being stonie and barren. It is thought that there are dwelling in it some twentie Mountainiers, which got one of the Flemmings men stragling, and God knoweth what they did with him: for they sawe him no more. This Island is somewhat lowe and round, hauing no great mountaines vpon it.

36 sailes of Flemmings at Maio for salt.

Here ended our determination concerning the inuading of Fogo. And here wee left the flieboat of Dartmouth lading salte, and the China-fleete to refresh themselues with goates, who as I haue heard since had at the village (from whence the Mountainiers were fledde into the furthest partes of the Island and rocks) great store of dryed goates which they carried along with them: which were like to bee a great helpe vnto them in their long voyage. So vpon Saturday the 12 of Februarie at night wee set sayle and stood for the coast of Wiana, which wee were bound for.

Vpon Sunday the twentieth of Februarie wee came into the maine current that setteth from the Cape of Buena Esperança, along the coast of Brasil, and so toward the West Indies, for the most part setting away Northwest.

The Tuesday night following, whereas before our course was Westsouthwest, wee stoode away West and by South: by reason whereof, and of the current that set vs to the Northward, wee were the next day by noone twentie minutes further to the Northward then the day before. So that then we lay away Southwest, because wee were loath to fall to the Northward of our place intended: which if wee should bee put to leeward of, there was small hope left to recouer it.

By Thursday wee were within one degree ½ of the Equinoctiall line: therefore this day wee halled away West and by South, and West among. This night wee sounded, but had no ground at 90 fathoms.

The next day in the morning the colour of the water began to change, and to bee more white, so wee made another sound and had ground at thirtie fathoms, but saw no lande, and in the afternoone wee halled away Westnorthwest, Northwest, and Northnorthwest. In the night wee sounded diuers times, and had twelue, ten, and nine fathoms water.

All Saturday we had a thick red water, and had seuen and eight fathoms both day and night, and vpon Sunday morning by day being the seuen and twentieth of Februarie, wee made the lande which appeared lowe, and trended neerest as wee fell with it, South and by East, North and by West about two degrees ½ toward the North. Right on head of vs was a Cape or head land so that had wee beene shot a little further into the bay, the winde being more Northerly, wee should hardly haue doubled it off. For with much adoe making many boords, and stooping euery tyde, it was the Tuesday following before we cleered our selues of the bay, and recouered the Cape. Nowe the land trended Northwest and by North, and Southeast and by South. And still wee were faine to anker euery tyde sometimes in foure fathoms, and sometimes in three, as farre as wee could see land. So about night we sawe Cape Cecill: and after some two houres came to an anker. Betweene these two Capes the lande lyeth lowe and euen.

Cape Cecil in 3 degrees and a halfe.

Vpon Wednesday morning, hauing the winde large at Eastnortheast, wee layd it away vpon a board into the bay of Wiapoucou and came to an anker in the riuers mouth in two fathoms: ouer the barre there is little water, as 6 and 7 foote and lesse in many places. And this riuer of Wiapoucou standeth almost in 4 degrees to the Northward of the line.

The next morning wee weyed, and standing in with our pinnesse by night, wee got some eight leagues vp the riuer. This day sometimes wee had but 5 foote water and drew 7 foot, but being soft oaze we went cleere: and a little before wee came to anker wee were on ground vpon a rocke, but with some trouble and labour wee got off and had no hurt.

Vpon Friday the 4 of March towards night wee came to the falles. The next day M. Leonard Berrie our captaine, the Master, my selfe and some 5 more, went through the woods, and spent all the day in searching the head of the falles, but could not finde it: for though wee passed by many, yet were there more still one aboue the other. So that finding no Indians in this riuer to buy victuals of, neither any kind of thing that might intice vs to come to so short allowance, as wee must haue done, if wee had spent any long time here, finding it ouer hard to passe the falles, wee fell downe the riuer againe, and by Friday the 11 of March wee cleered our selues of the riuer and bay. This riuer from the mouth to the falles is some 16. leagues, in many places a mile ouer, but for the most part halfe a mile. There are many Islands in it: as are also in most of the riuers vpon the coast. This night wee ankered against Cawo in two fathoms; whereinto wee thought to haue put with our pinnesse: but found the water so shoald, and the sea so growen, that neither with our shippe nor shallope wee durst goe in.

The 7 Ilands.

On Saturday by noone wee came to anker vnder one of tne 7. Islands: vpon which going on shoare wee found neither man nor beast, but great store of yellow plumbes which are good to eate.

Aramatto a great towne.

The Caribes of Wias tractable people.

Vpon Sunday after dinner our Master William Dowle and 6 more went off with our boat to a towne called Aramatto; where they found many inhabitants, and brought victuals and some Tobacco with them, and one Indian named Caprima, who lying aboord all night, the next day being Munday the 14 of March went with our Captaine into Wias, and there traded with the Caribes for such things as they had. And afterward they of Aramatto came off with their canoas to vs, and wee went on shoare to them: and from thence our Captaine sent a canoa with seuen men, which had euery one of them a knife to goe backe to the riuer of Cawo, and to tell Ritimo captaine of that place, that because wee coulde not come to him, wee would stay at Chiana for him, whither wee intreated him to come to vs. So vpon Thursday the 17 wee stoode in for Chiana, and came to an anker without in the bay in 3 fathoms that night: and had the Caribes comming continually to vs with their canoas, which brought vs great store of victuals and some Tabacco, shewing themselues

Chiana a riuer and bay.

very kinde and louing, and came all from their townes, and dwelt on shoare by vs vntill Ritimo came: at whose comming they returned all vp to their townes againe, which was vpon the Sunday following. All this day we feasted him and his traine, and the next day we traffiqued with them for such things as they brought, which was principally tabacco.

After that they had made knowen their mindes of the desire that they had to haue the English come and kill the Spaniards, and to dwell in Orenoque and in the countrey, they departed with their 3 canoas the next day. And wee with the helpe of the Caribes of Chiana, hauing by their meanes from the shoare watered, because the riuers mouth was salte, departed out of the bay the Thursday following, and passing by Macerea, Couroura, and Manamanora, by reason of shoalds, rockes, and great windes, beeing a lee shoare; and for want of a good shalope, wee came to an anker the next day being good Friday in fiue fathoms neere The Triangle Islands called The Careres. And vpon Saturday standing to the Westward, wee stopped against the towne of Maware, which is a little to the Westward of the towne Comanamo: from whence and from the other townes in that bay, which are some 6 or 7, wee had canoas come off to vs as before with such things as they had themselues in vse, with parrots, monkeys, and cotton-wooll, and flaxe. From whence wee departed vpon Munday following the 28 of March 1597.

And passing by the riuers of Euracco and Amano, which openeth but a small riuer, and is shoald off, wee came to Marawinne the next day: And finding a chanell of three, foure, and fiue fathoms, wee stood into the riuer: and the same day came to an anker some 2 leagues in against the mouth of Cooshepwinne, which riuer goeth into Amana. Into which, (vnderstanding that there were Arwaccawes dwelling) this night we sent our boat and came to a towne called Marrac one league in: And finding the people something pleasant, hauing drunke much that day, being as it seemed a festiuall day with them, yet were they very fearefull and ready to run away at the first sight of vs, hauing seldome seene any Christian before. But assoone as Henry our Indian interpreter had tolde them what wee were, and our intent, they came to vs and vsed vs kindely, and brought vs victuals and other things. And the next day their captaine Mawewiron came out into Marawinne, with diuers canoas, and traded with vs, and wee went in

Marawinne a
a riuer.

againe to them on shore, who made very much of vs, and carried vs from house to house, and made vs eate and drinke in euery house which wee came in. And the next day following being the last of March, hauing the captaine of Marrack with vs, wee weyed and stoode into the riuer, and about two of the clocke in the afternoone came to an anker some eight leagues within the riuer, a little short of a towne called Quiparia, the people whereof are Caribes: who, when they sawe vs come toward their towne with our boate, began all to runne into the woods, vntill the captaine of Marrac which was with vs in the boate, leaped ouerboord and swamme on shoare vnto them, and told them that wee were Englishmen, and came in friendship to trade with them.

Vpon whose report they came before night sixe or seuen canoas aboord vs, yet very fearfull, because there was neuer either shippe or Christian seene in that riuer before. The first of Aprill, wee weighed againe, and stood in to the next towne called Macirria: where comming to anker, there came a canoa from Amana to vs, with great store of victuals, which canoa wee bought: and because wee mette with some sholds, we were loath to goe any farther with our Pinnesse: so there wee mored her, and the next day at three of the clocke in the afternoone, eleuen of vs (Master Monax hauing the gouernment of the action, by the Captaines appointment) with Mawerirou, Henry, and William of Cawo, in the canoa which we bought, went into the riuer farther to search it so farre as wee could, and that night gatte some fiue leagues from our shippe. And betweene two villages, Awodwaier and Mapeributto, we tooke vp our lodging in the woods. The third of Aprill, betimes in the morning, we tooke our course still vnto the riuer, and in the afternoone came to one house where wee found many Indians, where wee hired another canoa and foure Indians, into the which I went, and one more of our men, and this night gat twelue leagues farther, and as before, lodged among the wilde beastes.

On Munday the fourth of Aprill, wee came to the falles of this riuer about two in the afternoone: and hauing shotte vp some of the rockes, wee went on shore vpon an island, and there conferred of our farther proceeding. And inquiring of the Indians that wee hired for our Pilots of the last house, whether the falles were passable or not: their first answere was, that they had nothing to eate: but wee being loath to loose so much labour, and the sight of that vpper rich countrey, which wee desired, told them that they should haue victuals of vs (though God knoweth wee had none for our selues) who seeing vs so importunate, sayde farther, that the rockes would kill the canaos: which they sayde because indeed they had no victuals: which by some was taken for sufficient to proceede no farther, and so wee left off, and onely stayed some two houres vpon the island, and with the swiftnesse of the current, fell that night downe 10 leagues againe. Though I for mine owne part offered in that small canoa that I was in, being so leake, that my selfe did nothing but laue out the water, to lead them the way, and if they sawe any danger to mee, they might chuse whether they would come into it or not themselues.

A rich countrey.

For seeing the countrey aboue was rich as wee were informed, that their bowes were handled with golde, (being men of an extraordinarie stature for talnes) wee should haue taken the more paines, and haue fared the harder, vntill wee had gotten vp in the countrey which wee sawe with our eyes: for though wee had not victuals in any sort to cary vs vp, yet the woods doe yeld fruites and the palmito trees afforde meate, whereby wee might haue made shift to liue, vntill wee had come to the inhabitants, by whome we might both bee refreshed with victuals, and also haue reaped that, which might haue done vs good as long as wee had liued.

But to returne to the rest of our voyage: the day after wee went from the falles wee came to our shippe, which was the fifth of Aprill 1597. On Wednesday wee fell with our Pinnesse to Quiparia againe: where we brought her on ground right before the town, and trimmed her with the pitch of the countrey: and vntill wee had done, kept a corps du guard, night and day on shore, which was vpon Saturday following the ninth of Aprill. All the while we were there we had an house of the Caribes, and were kindely vsed of them, and had victuals, and euery thing we needed of them.

Pitch to trim shippes.

And so taking our leaue on Tuesday being the twelfth of Aprill, wee came to the mouth of Cusse-winne, where the Arwaccas of Marrac and of the riuer had prouided and brought to vs such infinite store of potatoes, and Guiney-wheate, that the stewarde sayd wee had no stowage for them; and so they were turned backe, and wee by that meanes came to shorter allowance home ward bound, then (if there had bene any good care) wee needed to haue done.

The riuer of Cusse-winne.

On Fryday the fifteenth of Aprill, wee put foorth of Marawinne, which is some foure leagues ouer, and within one league and an halfe for the most part broad; full of islands, and diuers small riuers running into it: and it is betweene forty and fifty leagues, from the mouth to the falles, and lyeth for the most part South Southwest vp, altering some 3 poynts, being almost streight. And standing along to the Westward, this night we tryed with our mayne coarse and bonnet. On Saturday night we came to an anker, in three fathomes against Sewramo. On Sunday morning we thought to haue gone into Cuppanamo: but sending off our boat and finding vncertaine sounding, sometime 3 fathomes and presently 9 foote, we stood along to Coritine and came into it vpon the Munday being the 18 of Aprill: and the next night wee came to anker against Warrawalle in 10 fathoms. On Wednesday the Indians of the towne hauing hunted a Doe, shee tooke soyle and came neer our ship, and putting off with our boat we tooke her, being like vnto our deere in England, not altogether so fat, but very good flesh and great bodied. In this riuer we met a Barke called the Iohn of London captaine Leigh being in her. And being both fallen downe within some fiue leagues of the mouth of the riuer, vpon intelligence that one Marracon, (whom wee brought along with vs) gaue vs, namely that the riuer Desekebe, in which he dwelt (and wherein there were some three hundred Spaniards, which for the most part now are destroyed and dead) doeth lead so farre into the countrey, that it commeth within a dayes iourney of the lake called Perima, whereupon Manoa is supposed to stand; and that this riuer of Coritine doeth meete with Desekebe vp in the land: by meanes whereof wee make account to goe vp into the countrey, and to haue discouered a passage vnto that rich citie. So hauing concluded both shippes, we stood vp into the riuer againe, and comming to Warawalle the 24 of Aprill there our shippes roade vntill we went vp to Mawranamo to speake with Marracon, to know the trueth of these things: whom when we had found, he verified al that before he had spoken: Master Monax being the man that of Leonard of Cawe tooke all the intelligence: who being brought vp with Antonie Berreo could speake some Spanish and Marracons language also. And besides wee our selues by signes, and drawing the two riuers on the ground, and the meeting of them aloft, did perceiue as much. Now comming

Coritine riuer.

The great lake Perima.

They bring their shippes vp to the Mawranamo.

downe with our boates the sixe and twentieth of Aprill we went vp with our ships to Mawranamo, where we morred them, and taking some twentie out of both, vpon Thursday the eight and twentieth in the afternoone with two shallops and two Canoas, in one of which Henry the Indian was and some twentie Indians more, wee went vp the river; and by night getting some three leagues farther wee lodged in the woods, and the next morning wee with our boate and the two Canoas went into a small riuer called Tápuere, to a towne called Macharibi, thinking to haue had Casaui and other victuals, which they were altogether vnprouided of, by reason that they make no more ready then serueth themselues from hand to mouth, liuing in this towne for the most part by fish. By meanes of going into this riuer, though wee rowed very hard it was noone before we ouertooke the bigger shallop wherein both the Captaines were. This night we came to a towne called Vaperon, where wee stayed all Saturday and the night following, for Casaui: whereof they baked good store for vs being but a fewe left in the towne. For not a moneth before wee came thither, the Waccawaes that dwell aboue the falles came downe to the towne, and slewe some tenne of them, and many of the rest fled away, so that wee found most of the houses emptie. Vpon Sunday morning being May day, wee went from this place, and by night gotte some twelue leagues beyond and being past all townes wee lodged as before in the woods, and the next day came to the falles of the riuer: vp some of which falles we shotte with our boates, and going vpon a rocke there came some nine canoas up the riuer to vs, and would haue gone vp with vs to kill the Waccawayans, because they had killed some of them, as before is said. Whereupon the Captaines and Master Monax tooke aduise: and because nowe they had learned, as they sayde, that fiue dayes iourney farther there was a fall not passable, and that by this meanes they should make the Wacchawayans their enemies, which would turne to our great hurt, when Sir Walter Ralegh should come thither, hauing occasion to vse this riuer, where wee were informed was good store of golde, they resolued to returne, though I yeelded diuers reasons to the contrary. So vpon Tuesday night, we came backe to Vaperon, where we lodged.

And vpon Wednesday the fourth of May, wee came to our shippes: where it was reported that the Spaniardes were gonne out of Desekebe, which was not so: but as it seemed in policie by them giuen out to make our men that wee left in our shippes more careless, that they might the easier haue surprised them in our absence. The next night we had newes brought vs to Mawranamo, where we yet roade, that there were tenne canoas of Spaniardes in the mouth of Coritine; and fearing lest they had intended to come to vs in the night, we fitted all our gunnes and muskets, and kept good watch to preuent them of their purpose; who, as it was afterwards tolde vs, went along the coast to buy bread and other victuals for them in Orenoque, Marowgo, and Desekebe. Vpon Fryday the sixth of May we weighed and made downe the riuer, and vpon Sunday the eight we gat cleare of it.

This riuer is much like vnto Marawynne in bredth, and about fiftie leagues from the mouth to the first falles full of Islandes as the other: in which three riuers, Mano, Tapuere, and Tabuebbi, otherwise Tapuellibi: with sixe Townes, Warrawalle, Mawranamo, Maapuere, Maccharibi, Yohoron, and Vapéron. And so clering our selues of this coast, wee tooke our course to the Islands of the West Indies.

Now I thinke it not amisse to speak something of this countrey. And first touching the climate; though it stand within the Tropick, and something neere to the Equinoctiall, so that the Sunne is twise a yeere ouer their heads and neuer far from them, yet is it temperate ynough in those partes. For besides that wee lost not a man vpon the coast, one that was sicke before hee came there, was nothing sicker for being there, but came home safe, thanks be to God. And for mine owne part, I was neuer better in body in all my life, and in like sort fared it with the rest of the company; for indeed it is not so extreame hote as many imagine. The people in all the lower parts of the countrey goe naked, both men and women, being of seuerall languages, very tractable, and ingenious, and very louing and kinde to Englishmen generally; as by experience we found, and vpon our owne knowledge doe report. In the vpper countreys they goe apparelled, being, as it seemeth, of a more ciuill disposition, hauing great store of golde, as we are certeinely informed by the lower Indians, of whom we had some golde, which they brought and bought in the high countrey of Wiana, being able to buy no more, because they wanted the things which now wee haue left among them. They

Great store of golde in Wiana.

keepe no order of marriage: but haue as many wiues as they can buy, or win by force of their enemies, which principally is the cause of all their warres. For bread there is infinite store of casaui, which is as good bread as a man need to eate, and better then we can cary any thither. We spent not a bit of our owne all the while we were vpon the coast. It is made of a root so called; which they take and scrape, and crush all the iuyce out, being poison; and when it is drie it is as fine floure as our white meale maketh: which drie as it is, without any moisture, they strew vpon a round stone, hauing a still fire vnder it, and so it congealeth to a cake; and when it commeth new off, it eateth like to our new white bread. Besides there is great store of Guiny-Wheat (whereof they make passing good drinke) which after it is once sowed, if you cut off the eare, on the same stalke groweth another.

Passing good drinke made of maiz.

For victuals, wee either did not, or at least needed not to haue spent any of our owne: for there is great store of as good fish in the riuers, as any is in the world. Great store of fowle, of diuers sorts. Tortoise-flesh plentifull, and Tortoise egges innumerable. Deere, swine, conies, hares, cockes and hennes, with potatoes more then wee could spend. Besides, all kinde of fruits, at all times of the yeere: and the rarest fruits of the world, the pine, the plantan, with infinite other variable and pleasant, growing to their handes, without planting or dressing. For commodities, though wee had but small time to search, because wee spent so much time in searching the riuers: yet wee haue brought examples of some, which the countrey yeeldeth in great plenty: as a kinde of long hempe like vnto steele hempe, fine cotton wooll, which the trees yeeld great store of; and wherewith the women make a fine threed, which will make excellent good fustians or stockings. Great store of pitch, diuers sorts of sweet gummes, and West Indian pepper, balsamum, parrots and monkies. Besides diuers other commodities, which in good time may be found out to the benefit of our countrey, and profit of the aduenturers, who as yet hauing ventured much, haue gained litle.

The commodities of Wiana.

Now leauing the riuer of Coritine, passing by Saint Vincent, Santa Lucia, and Matalina, we came to Dominica vpon the Friday following, being the thirteenth of May, hauing lost the barke that came out with vs the Wednesday before. Vpon

They lost captaine Leigh in ye Iohn of London.

Sunday morning, the fifteenth of May, we came to Guadalupe, where wee watered at the souther part of the Island, and hauing done by night, we set saile, and stood away to the Northward, but were becalmed all night, and vntill tenne of the clocke on Munday night: at which time hauing a faire gale at East, and after at Southeast, wee passed along in the sight of Monserate, Antigua, and Barbuda. Vpon the ninth of Iune, being Thursday, we made the Islands of Flores and Coruo: and the eight and twentieth of Iune we made the Lisart, and that night came all safe to Plymmouth, blessed be God.

Betweene the Isle of Barbuda in the West Indies and England we had three mighty stormes, many calmes, and some contrary windes. And vpon the foureteenth of Iune 1597, there being diuers whales playing about our pinnesse, one of them crossed our stemme, and going vnder, rubbed her backe against our keele: but by none of all these we susteined any losse. Thanks be to him that gouerneth all things.

Written by Master
Thomas Masham.

CERTAINE BRIEFE TESTIMONIES

CONCERNING THE MIGHTIE RIUER OF AMAZONES OR ORELLANA, AND OF THE MOST WONDERFULL DOWNEFALL OR CATARACT OF WATERS AT THE HEAD THEREOF, NAMED BY THE SPANIARDS EL PONGO: TOGETHER WITH SOME MENTION OF THE RICH AND STATELY EMPIRE OF DORADO, CALLED BY SIR WALTER RALEIGH AND THE NATURAL INHABITANTS GUIANA, AND OF THE GOLDEN COUNTREY OF PAYTITY NEERE ADIOINING, WITH OTHER MEMORABLE MATTERS: TAKEN OUT OF IOSEPHUS DE ACOSTA* HIS NATURALL AND MORALL HISTORIE OF THE WEST INDIES.

The first Testimonie out of Iosephus de Acosta, lib. 2. cap. 6.

BVt when we intreat of Riuers, that which some men call the riuer of Amazones, others Marannon, others the riuer of Orellana, doeth iustly put to silence all the rest, whereunto our Spaniards haue gone and sayled. And I stand in doubt, whether I may cal it a riuer or a sea. This riuer runneth from the mountaines of Piru, from which it gathereth infinite store of waters, of raine, and riuers, which runneth along, gathering it selfe together, and passing through the great fieldes and plaines of Paytiti, of Dorado, and of the Amazones, and falleth at length into the Ocean sea, and entreth into it almost ouer against the Isles of Margarita and Trinidad. But it groweth so broad, especially towardes the mouth, that it maketh in the middest many and great Isles: and that which seemeth incredible, sayling in the middle chanel of the riuer, men can see nothing but the skie and the riuer, although men say that there are hilles neere the bankes thereof, which can not be kenned, through the greatnesse of the Riuer. Wee vnderstood by very good meanes the wonderfull bredth and largenesse of this Riuer, which iustly may bee called the Emperour of Riuers, to wit by a brother of our companie, which being a boy was there, and sayled it wholy through, being personally present in all the successes of that strange enterance, which Pedro de Orsua made, and in the mutinies and perilous conspiracies of that wicked Diego de Aguirre, out of all which troubles and dangers the Lord deliuered him, to make him one of our societie.

---

* Born *circa* 1540. Died in 1600. He was Provincial of the Jesuits of Peru. His principal works are: *History of the Indies* (here quoted), Seville 1590, 4to.;—and *De Christo revelato*, Rome 1590. 4to.

The second Testimonie out of Iosephus de Acosta, lib. 3. cap. 20.

AMong all the riuers not onely of the West Indies but also of the whole world, the chief is the Riuer of Marannon or of the Amazones, whereof I haue spoken in the second booke. The Spaniards haue diuers times sayled along this riuer, with determination to discouer countries, which according to report, are of great riches, especially that which they call Dorado, and Paytiti. The Adelantado or admirall Iuan de Salians made a very notable entrance, although to small profite. It hath a salt or fall of water which they call El Pongo, which is one of the most dangerous places in the world: for being restrained betweene two exceeding hie diuided mountaines, it maketh a fall of terrible depth, where the water with the great descent maketh such whirlepooles that it seemeth impossible but that it should sink it self there into the ground. For all this the boldnes of men hath attempted to passe the said El Pongo for the greedines to come to that so famous renowmed Dorado. They suffered themselues to bee caryed from aloft, being throwne downe headlong with the furie of the riuer, and sitting fast in their Canoas or boats in which they sayled, although they were ouer-turned in the fal, and they and their Canoas suncke downe to the bottome, yet they rose vp againe aboue the water, and at length with their hands and force gat out of the whirlepooles. The whole army in a maner escaped, sauing a very fewe which were drowned: and which I most maruel at, they handled the matter so well, that they lost not their victuals and powder which they caryed with them. In their returne (for after great trauels and dangers they returned that way againe) they clymed vp ouer one of those aforesaide exceeding high mountaines, creeping vp vpon their hands and feete.

Captaine Pedro de Orsua made another enterance by the selfe same riuer, and after hee was slaine by a mutinie of his people, other captaines followed the discouerie, by the arme that falleth into the North Sea. One of our companie told me (who while he was a secular man was in al that expedition) that they entred vp the Riuer almost an hundred leagues with the tydes, and that when the fresh water and the salt meeteth, which is either almost vnder or very neere the Equinoctial line, the riuer is 70 leagues broad, a thing incredible, and which exceedeth the bredth of the Mediterran sea. Howbeit other in their descriptions make it not past 25 or 30 leagues broad at the mouth.

The Third Testimonie out of Iosephus de Acosta, lib. 3. cap. 25.

IN that part of America, whereof the coasts be thoroughly known, the greater part of the Inland is not knowen, which is that which falleth betweene Piru and Brasil, and there are diuers opinions of some, which say, that it is all sunken land full of lakes and bogges, and of others, which affirme that there are great and florishing kingdomes there, and there they place the Countrey of Paytity, and Dorado, and great Emperours, and say, that there are wonderfull things there. I heard of one of our companie my selfe, a man of credite, that hee had seene great townes, and high wayes as broad and as much beaten, as the wayes betweene Salamanca and Validolid: and this was when the great entrance or discouerie was made by the great riuer of the Amazones or Marannon by Pedro de Orsua, and afterwardes by others that succeeded him: and they supposing that Dorado which they sought, was farther vp in the countrey, did not inhabite there, and afterward returned without discouering Dorado (which they neuer found) and without that great prouince which they left.

* * *

A short description of the riuer of Marannon or Amazones, and the Countries thereabout, as also of the sea of Fresh-water, taken out of an ancient discourse of all the Portes, Creekes, and Hauens of the West Indies, Written by Martin Fernandez de Enciça, and dedicated to Charles the Emperour, Anno 1518.

MArannon lyeth in seuen degrees and a halfe Northward of the Equinoctial, it is a great riuer, and hath more then fifteene leagues in bredth eight leagues within the land. It hath many islands, and in this riuer within the land fortie leagues there is neere to the sayde riuer a mountaine, whereupon growe trees of Incense, the trees be of a good height, and the boughs thereof be like to Plumtrees, and the Incense doeth hang at them, as the yce doeth at the tiles of a house in the winter season when it doeth freeze. In this riuer were taken foure Indians in a smal boat, called in the Indian language a Canoa, that came downe by the riuer, and there were taken from them two stones of Emeralds, the one of them being as great as a mans hand. They sayd that so many dayes iourney going vpward by the riuer, they found a rocke of that stone. Likewise there were taken from them two loaues made of floure, which were like to cakes of Sope, and it seemed that they were kneaded with the licour of Balsamum. All this coast from the Cape of S. Austine vnto Marannon is a cleare coast and deep, but neere to the riuer are certaine sholds towardes the East part. And by the West part the riuer is deepe, and it hath a good entrie. From this riuer Marannon, vnto the riuer which is called The sea of fresh water, are 25 leagues : this riuer hath 40 leagues of bredth at the mouth, and carieth such abundance of water that it entreth more then 20 leagues into the Sea, and mingleth not it selfe with the salt water : this bredth goeth 25 leagues within the land, and after it is diuided into partes, the one going toward the Southeast, and the other towards the Southwest. That which goeth towards the Southeast is very deepe and of much water, and hath a channel half a league of bredth, that a Carack may goe vp through it : and the tydes be so swift, that the ships haue need of good cables. The riuer of this port is very good, and there haue bene some that haue entred 50 leagues within it, and haue seene no mountaines. The Indians of this countrey haue their lips made full of small holes in 4 parts, and through those holes be put small rings, and likewise at their eares : and if any man ask of them where they had their gold, they answer, that going vp by the riuer so many dayes iourney, they found certaine mountaines that had much of it, and from those mountaines they brought it when they would haue it, but they made no great account of it, for they neither buy nor sell, and amongst them is nothing but change. In this countrey they eate bread of rootes, and Maiz, and they eate certaine rootes which they call Aies and Batatas, but the Batatas bee better then the other rootes, and being rawe they haue a smell of Chestnuts : they are to be eaten rosted. These Indians doe make wine of the fruit of Date-trees, which fruit is yellow in colour, and is as great as a little Doues egge, and being in season is good to be eaten, and of it proceedeth good wine, and is preserued for a long time. These kinde of people do make their houses with vpper roomes, and they sleepe in them, as also al their habitation is in the vpper roomes, and that which is belowe, they leaue open : and also they vse certaine mantels of cotten wooll, and these they tie at the endes with ropes, and the one ende of the rope they make fast to one part of the house, and the other ende to the other part of the house : and in these they lye, which bee their beddes, and these kinde of beds bee vsed in all India, and there is not in any part of India any chambers that the people do vse to lodge in aloft from the ground, nor they make any hie roomes, but only in this part of India : and in al other places they make their houses without any loftes or chambers, and they couer their houses with the leaues of date-trees, and of grasse. And from this fresh water sea vnto Paria, the coast lyeth West Northwest, and is so ful of sholds that the ships cannot come neer to the land. There are from this riuer to Paria 250 leagues. In this fresh water sea, the tydes do ebbe and flow as much as they do in Britayne, and it standeth in 6 degrees and a halfe. Paria standeth on the other side of the Equinoctial towards the North, in seuen degrees: In Paria the sea floweth but little, and from Paria towards the West, the sea doth not flow. From the entry of the gulfe of Paria vnto the Cape that lyeth towards the West, are 35 leagues, and from the coast turneth towardes the Northeast other 35 leagues, and from thence the coast turneth toward the West. Before this gulfe standeth the Island of Trinidad, and towards the West doeth appeare the gulfe of Paria like to halfe a round circle, after the fashion of a Diameter, and at the end of this circle is the entery in of Paria, and at this entery there is betweene the land and the Island 8 leagues, and on the other side there is but litle space betweene the Iland and the land, but it is deepe, and hath a good entry: this Iland of Trinidad hath in length 25 leagues, and as many in bredth, and standeth in eight degrees, and is inhabited of many people, and as yet not vnder subiection. Here the Indians do vse to shoote with bowes, and arrowes which are of a fathome in length, made of reeds, which grow in that Countrey, and at the ende of them is artificially ioyned a piece of wood very strong, vnto the which piece of wood at the end of it, they put a bone of a fish, in place of an arrow head: these kinde of bones bee harder then Diamonds, and euery one of them be three or foure fingers long, and they are taken out of a fish that hath three of these bones, one vpon the backe, another vnder euery wing: but that which groweth vpon the backe is the strongest and the greatest. In this Island the people saith that there groweth golde: and in this Island and in Paria growe reedes so great, that they make staues of them and cary of them into Spaine. Likewise there bee Popiniayes very great and gentle, and some of them haue their foreheads yellow, and this sort do quickly learne to speak, and speak much. There be likewise in the gulf of Paria pearles, although not many, but very good and great.

* * *

the West Indies.

THE PRINCIPAL VOYAGES

OF THE ENGLISH NATION TO THE ISLES OF TRINIDAD, MARGARITA, DOMINICA, DESEADA, MONSERRATE, GUADALUPE, MARTININO, AND ALL THE REST OF THE ANTILLES; AS LIKEWISE TO S. IUAN DE PUERTO RICO, TO HISPANIOLA, IAMAICA AND CUBA: AND ALSO TO TIERRA FIRMA, AND ALL ALONG THE COAST AND ISLANDS THEREOF, EUEN FROM CUMANA AND THE CARACAS TO THE NECKLAND OF DARIENE, AND OUER IT TO THE GULFE OF S. MICHAEL AND THE ISLE OF PERLES IN THE SOUTH SEA: AND FURTHER TO CABEÇA CATIUA, NOMBRE DE DIOS, AND VENTA DE CRUZES, TO PUERTO BELO, RIO DE CHAGRE, AND THE ISLE OF ESCUDO, ALONG THE MAINE OF BERAGUA, TO THE CAPE AND GULFE OF THE HONDURAS, TO TRUXILLO, PUERTO DE CAUALLOS, AND ALL OTHER THE PRINCIPALL TOWNES, ISLANDS AND HARBOURS OF ACCOMPT WITHIN THE SAID GULFE, AND VP RIO DOLCE FALLING INTO THIS GULFE, ABOUE 30. LEAGUES: AS ALSO TO THE ISLE OF COCUMEL, AND TO CAPE COTOCHE, THE TOWNE OF CAMPECHE, AND OTHER PLACES VPON THE LAND OF IUCATAN; AND LOWER DOWNE TO S. IUAN DE VLLUA, VERA CRUZ, RIO DE PANUCO, RIO DE PALMAS, ETC. WITHIN THE BAY OF MEXICO: AND FROM THENCE TO THE ISLES OF THE TORTUGAS, THE PORT OF HAUANA, THE CAPE OF FLORIDA, AND THE GULFE OF BAHAMA HOMEWARDS.

WITH THE TAKING, SACKING, RANSOMING, OR BURNING OF MOST OF THE PRINCIPALL CITIES AND TOWNES VPON THE COASTS OF TIERRA FIRMA, NUEUA ESPANNA, AND ALL THE FORESAID ISLANDS; SINCE THE MOST TRAITEROUS BURNING OF HER MAIESTIES SHIP THE IESUS OF LUBEC AND MURTHERING OF HER SUBIECTS IN THE PORT OF S. IUAN DE VLLUA, AND THE LAST GENERALL ARREST OF HER HIGHNESSE PEOPLE, WITH THEIR SHIPS AND GOODS THROUGHOUT ALL THE DOMINIONS OF THE KING OF SPAINE IN THE MONETH OF IUNE 1585. BESIDES THE MANIFOLD AND TYRANNICALL OPPRESSIONS OF THE INQUISITION INFLICTED ON OUR NATION VPON MOST LIGHT AND FRIUOLOUS OCCASIONS.

THE PRINCIPAL VOYAGES OF THE ENGLISH NATION TO THE ISLES OF TRINIDAD, MARGARITA, ETC.

The voyage of Sir Thomas Pert, and Sebastian Cabot, about the eight yeere of King Henry the eight, which was the yere 1516. to Brasil, Santo Domingo, and S. Iuãn de Puerto rico.

THat learned and painefull writer Richard Eden in a certaine Epistle of his to the duke of Northumberland, before a worke which he translated out of Munster in the yeere 1553, called A treatise of new India, maketh mention of a voyage of discouerie vndertaken out of England by sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabota, about the 8. yere of King Henry the eight of famous memorie, imputing the ouerthrow thereof vnto the cowardise and want of stomack of the said Sir Thomas Pert, in maner following. If manly courage, saith he, (like vnto that which hath bene seene and proued in your Grace, as well in forreine realmes, as also in this countrey) had not bene wanting in other in these our dayes, at such time as our soueraigne lord of famous memorie king Henry the 8. about the same yeere of his raigne, furnished and sent out certaine shippes vnder the gouernance of Sebastian Cabot yet liuing and one Sir Thomas Pert, whose faint heart was the cause that the voyage took none effect; if, I say, such manly courage, whereof wee haue spoken, had not at that time beene wanting, it might happily haue come to passe, that that rich treasurie called Perularia, (which is nowe in Spaine in the citie of Siuill, and so named, for that in it is kept the infinite riches brought thither from the newfoundland of Peru) might long since haue beene in the tower of London, to the kings great honour and wealth of this realme. Hereunto that also is to bee referred which the worshipfull M. Robert Thorne wrote to the sayde king Henry the 8. in the yeere 1527. by doctor Leigh his ambassadour sent into Spaine to the Emperour Charles the fift whose wordes bee these. Now rest to be discouered the North parts, the which it seemeth vnto me, is onely your highnes charge and dutie, because the situation of this your realme is thereunto neerest and aptest of all other: and also, for that already you haue taken it in hand. And in mine opinion it will not seeme well to leaue so great and profitable an enterprise, seeing it may

This sir Thomas Pert was Vice-admirall of England, and dwelt in Poplar at Blackwall.

so easily and with so little cost, labour and danger be followed and obteined. Though hitherto your grace haue made thereof a proofe, and found not the commoditie thereby as you trusted, at this time it shalbe none impediment: for there may be now prouided remedies for things then lacked, and the inconueniences and lets remooued, that then were cause your graces desire tooke no full effect: which is, the courses to be changed, and to follow the aforesayd new courses. And concerning the mariners, ships, and prouision, an order may be deuised and taken meete and conuenient, much better then hitherto: by reason whereof, and by Gods grace, no doubt your purpose shall take effect. And whereas in the aforesayd wordes M. Robert Thorne sayth, that he would haue the old courses to bee changed, and the newe courses (to the North) to bee followed: It may plainely be gathered, that the former voyage, whereof twise or thrise he maketh mention, wherein it is like that sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabot were set foorth by the king, was made towarde Brasill and the South parts. Moreouer it seemeth that Gonsaluo de Ouiedo,* a famous Spanish writer alludeth vnto the sayde voyage in the beginning of the 13. chapter of the 19. booke of his generall and natural historie of the West Indies, agreeing very well with the time about which Richard Eden writeth that the foresaid voyage was begun. The authors wordes are these, as I finde them translated into Italian by that excellent and famous man Baptista Ramusius. Nel 1517. Vn Corsaro Inglese, sotto colore di venire à discoprire, se ne venne con vna gran naue alla volta del Brasil nella costiera di Terra ferma, e indi attrauerso à questa isola Spagnuola, e giunse presso la bocca del porto di questa città di S. Domenico, e mandò in terra il suo battello pieno di gente, e chiese licentia di potere qui entrare, dicendo che venia con mercantie a negotiare. Ma in quello instante il castellano, Francesco di Tapia fece tirare alla naue vn tiro d'artiglieria da questo castello, perche ella se ne veniua diritta al porto. Quando gli Inglesi viddero questo si ritirarono fuori, e quelli del battello tosto si raccolsero in naue. E nel vero il Castellan fece errore: perche se ben fosse naue entrata nel porto, non sarebbono le genti potuto smontare à terra senza volontà e

Note.

An English great shippe at Brasill 1517.

---

* Born at Madrid in 1478. He happened to be in *Barcelona* on the return of Columbus in 1493, and was intimate with the explorer. His History was published at Salamanca in 1535, folio.

San Iuan de puerto Rico.

della città e del castello. La naue adunque veggendo come vi era riceuuta, tirò la volta dell' isola di San Giouanni, ed entrata nel porto di San Germano parlarono gli Inglesi con quelli della terra, e dimandarono vettouaglie e fornimenti per la naue, e si lamentarono di quelli di questa città, dicendo che essi non veniuano per fare dispiacere, ma per contrattare, e negotiare con suoi danari e mercantie. Hora quiui hebbero alcune vettouaglie, ed in compensa essi diedero e pagarono in certi stagni lauorati ed altre cose. E poi si partirono alla volta d'Europa, doue si crede, che non gungessero, perche non se ne seppe piu nuoua mai. This extract importeth thus much in English, to wit: That in the yeere 1517. an English Rouer vnder the colour of trauelling to discouer, came with a great shippe vnto the parts of Brasill on the coast of the firme land, and from thence he crossed ouer vnto this Iland of Hispanolia, and arriued neere vnto the mouth of the hauen of this citie of S. Domingo, and sent his shipboate full of men on shoare, and demaunded leaue to enter into this hauen, saying that hee came with marchandise to traffique. But at that very instant the gouernour of the castle Francis de Tapia caused a tire of ordinance to be shot from the castle at the ship, for she bare in directly with the hauen. When the Englishmen sawe this, they withdrew themselues out, and those that were in the shipboate, got themselues with all speede on shipboord. And in trueth the warden of the castle committed an ouersight: for if the shippe had entred into the hauen, the men thereof could not haue come on lande without leaue both of the citie and of the castle. Therefore the people of the ship seeing how they were receiued, sayled toward the Iland of S. Iohn, and entring into the port of S. Germaine, the English men parled with those of the towne, requiring victuals and things needefull to furnish their ship, and complained of the inhabitants of the city of S. Domingo, saying that they came not to doe any harme, but to trade and traffique for their money and merchandise. In this place they had certaine victuals, and for recompence they gaue and paid them with certain vessell of wrought tinne and other things. And afterward they departed toward Europe, where it is thought they arriued not: for wee neuer heard any more newes of them. Thus farre proceedeth Gonsaluo de Ouiedo, who though it please him to call the captain of this great English ship a rouer, yet it appeareth by the Englishmens owne words, that they came to discouer, and by their traffique for pewter vessell and other wares at the towne of S. Germaine in the Iland of S. Iohn de puerto rico, it cannot bee denied but that they were furnished with wares for honest traffique and exchange. But whosoeuer is conuersant in reading the Portugall and Spanish writers of the East and West Indies, shall commonly finde that they account all other nations for pirats, rouers, and theeues, which visite any heathen coast that they haue once sayled by or looked on. Howbeit their passionate and ambitious reckoning ought not to bee preiudiciall to other mens chargeable and painefull enterprises and honourable trauels in discouerie.

A briefe note concerning a voyage of one Thomas Tison an English man, made before the yeere 1526. to the West Indies, and of his abode there in maner of a secret factor for some English marchants, which vnder hand had trade thither in those dayes: taken out of an olde ligier-booke of M. Nicolas Thorne the elder, a worshipfull marchant of Bristol.

IT appeareth out of a certaine note or letter of remembrance, in the custodie of mee Richard Hakluyt, written 1526. by master Nicolas Thorne the elder, a principall marchant of Bristol, vnto his friend and factour Thomas Midnall, and his seruant William Ballard at that time remaining at S. Lucar in Andaluzia: that before the sayd yeere one Thomas Tison an Englishman had found the way to the West Indies, and was there resident: vnto whom the aforesayd M. Nicolas Thorne sent armour and other commodities specified in the letter aforesayd. This Thomas Tison (so farre as I can coniecture) may seeme to haue bene some secret factour for M. Thorne and other English marchants in those remote partes; whereby it is probable that some of our marchants had a kinde of trade to the West Indies euen in those ancient times and before also: neither doe I see any reason why the Spaniards should debarre vs from it at this present.

The first voyage of the right worshipfull and valiant knight sir Iohn Hawkins, sometimes treasurer of her Maiesties nauie Roial, made to the West Indies 1562.

MAster Iohn Haukins hauing made diuers voyages to the Iles of the Canaries, and there by his good and vpright dealing being growen in loue and fauour with the people, informed himselfe amongst them by diligent inquisition, of the state of the West India, whereof hee had receiued some knowledge by the instructions of his father, but increased the same by the aduertisments and reports of that people. And being amongst other particulars assured, that Negros were very good marchandise in Hispaniola, and that store of Negros might easily bee had vpon the coast of Guinea, resolued with himselfe to make triall thereof, and communicated that deuise with his worshipfull friendes of London: namely with Sir Lionell Ducket, sir Thomas Lodge, M. Gunson his father in law, sir William Winter, M. Bromfield, and others. All which persons liked so well of his intention, that they became liberall contributers and aduenturers in the action. For which purpose there were three good ships immediatly prouided: The one called the Salomon of the burthen of 120. tunne, wherein M. Haukins himselfe went as Generall: The second the Swallow of 100. tunnes, wherein went for Captaine M. Thomas Hampton: and the third the Ionas a barke of 40. tunnes, wherein the Master supplied the Captaines roome: in which small fleete M. Hawkins tooke with him not aboue 100. men, for feare of sicknesse and other inconueniences, whereunto men in long voyages are commonly subiect.

Sierra Leona called Tagarin.

With this companie he put off and departed from the coast of England in the moneth of October 1562. and in his course touched first at Teneriffe, where hee receiued friendly intertainement. From thence he passed to Sierra Leona, vpon the coast of Guinea, which place by the people of the countrey is called Tagarin, where he stayed some good time, and got into his possession, partly by the sworde, and partly by other meanes, to the number of 300. Negros at the least, besides other merchandises which that countrey yeeldeth. With this praye hee sayled ouer the Ocean sea vnto the Iland of Hispaniola, and arriued first at the port of Isabella: and there hee had reasonable vtterance of his English commodities, as also of some part of his Negros, trusting the Spaniards no further, then that by his owne strength he was able still to master them. From the port of Isabella he went to Puerto de Plata, where he made like sales, standing alwaies vpon his guard: from thence also hee sayled to Monte Christi another port on the North side of Hispaniola, and the last place of his touching, where he had peaceable traffique, and made vent of the whole number of his Negros: for which he receiued in those 3. places by way of exchange such quantitie of merchandise, that hee did not onely lade his owne 3. shippes with hides, ginger, sugars, and some quantitie of pearles, but he fraighted also two other hulkes with hides and other like commodities, which hee sent into Spaine. And thus leauing the Iland, he returned and disemboqued, passing out by the Ilands of the Caycos, without further entring into the bay of Mexico, in this his first voyage to the West India. And so with prosperous successe and much gaine to himselfe and the aforesayde aduenturers, he came home, and arriued in the moneth of September 1563.

The voyage made by M. Iohn Hawkins Esquire, and afterward knight, Captaine of the Iesus of Lubek, one of her Maiesties shippes, and Generall of the Salomon, and other two barkes going in his companie, to the coast of Guinea, and the Indies of Noua Hispania, begun in An. Dom. 1564.

MAster Iohn Hawkins with the Iesus of Lubek, a shippe of 700. and the Salomon a shippe of 140. the Tiger a barke of 50. and the Swallow of 30. tunnes, being all well furnished with men to the number of one hundreth threescore and tenne, as also with ordinance and victuall requisite for such a voyage, departed out of Plymmouth the 18. day of October, in the yeere of our Lord 1564. with a prosperous winde: at which departing, in cutting the foresail, a marueilous misfortune happened to one of the officers in the shippe, who by the pullie of the sheat was slaine out of hand, being a sorowfull beginning to them all. And after their setting out ten leagues to the sea, he met the same day with the Minion a ship of the Queenes Maiestie, whereof was Captaine Dauid Carlet, and also her consort the Iohn Baptist of London, being bounde to Guinea also, who hailed one the other after the custome of the sea with certaine pieces of ordinance for ioy of their meeting: which done, the Minion departed from him to seeke her other consort the Merlin of London, which was a sterne out of sight, leauing in M. Hawkins companie the Iohn Baptist her other consort.

The Minion, the Iohn Baptist, and the Merlin, bound for Guinea.

Thus sayling forwards on their way with a prosperous winde vntill the 21. of the same moneth, at that time a great storme arose, the winde being at Northeast about nine a clocke in the night, and continued so 23. houres together, in which storme M. Hawkins lost the companie of the Iohn Baptist aforesayd, and of his pinnesse called the Swallow, his other 3. shippes being sore beaten with a storme. The 23. day the Swallow to his no small reioycing, came to him againe in the night, 10. leagues to the Northward of Cape Finister, he hauing put roomer, not being able to double the Cape, in that there rose a contrary winde at Southwest. The 25. the wind continuing contrary, hee put into a place in Galicia, called Ferroll, where hee remained fiue dayes, and appointed all the Masters of his shippes an order for the keeping of good companie in this manner: The small shippes to bee alwayes a head and aweather of the Iesus, and to speake twise a day with the Iesus at least: if in the day the Ensigne bee ouer the poope of the Iesus, or in the night two lights, then shall all the shippes speake with her: If there bee three lights aboord the Iesus, then doeth she cast about: If the weather bee extreme, that the small shippes cannot keepe companie with the Iesus, then all to keepe companie with the Salomon, and foorthwith to repaire to the Iland of Teneriffe, to the Northward of the road of Sirroes; If any happen to any misfortune then to shew two lights, and to shoote off a piece of ordinance. If any lose companie, and come in sight againe, to make three yawes, and strike the Myson three times: Serue God daily, loue one another, preserue your victuals, beware of fire, and keepe good companie.

Good orders for a fleete in a long voyage.

The 26. day the Minion came in also where hee was, for the reioycing whereof hee gaue them certaine pieces of ordinance, after the courtesie of the sea for their welcome: but the Minions men had no mirth, because of their consort the Merline, whome at their departure from Master Hawkins vpon the coast of England they went to seeke, and hauing met with her, kept companie two dayes together, and at last by misfortune of fire (through the negligence of one of their gunners) the powder in the gunners roome was set on fire, which with the first blast strooke out her poope, and therewithall lost three men, besides many sore burned (which escaped by the brigandine being at her sterne) and immediatly, to the great losse of the owners, and most horrible sight to the beholders, she sunke before their eyes.

A dreadfull mischance by fire.

The 20. day of the moneth M. Hawkins with his consorts and companie of the Minion, hauing nowe both the brigandines at her sterne, wayed anker, and set saile on their voyage, hauing a prosperous winde thereunto.

The fourth of Nouember they had sight of the Iland of Madera, and the sixt day of Teneriffe, which they thought to haue beene the Canarie, in that they supposed themselues to haue beene to the Eastward of Teneriffe, and were not: but the Minion being three or foure leagues a head of vs, kept on her course to Teneriffe, hauing better sight thereof then the other had, and by that meanes they parted companie. For M. Hawkins and his companie went more to the West, vpon which course hauing sayled a while, hee espied another Iland, which hee thought to bee Teneriffe, and being not able by meanes of the fogge vpon the hils, to discerne the same, nor yet to fetch it by night, went roomer vntill the morning, being the seuenth of Nouember, which as yet hee could not discerne, but sayled along the coast the space of two houres, to perceiue some certaine marke of Teneriffe, and found no likelyhood thereof at all, accompting that to bee, as it was in deede, the Ile of Palmes: and so sayling forwards, espied another Iland called Gomera, and also Teneriffe, with the which hee made, and sayling all night, came in the morning the next day to the port of Adecia, where he found his pinnesse which had departed from him the sixt of the moneth, being in the weather of him, and espying the pike of Teneriffe all a high, bare thither. At his arriuall somewhat before hee came to anker, hee hoysed out his shippes pinnesse rowing a shoare, intending to haue sent one with a letter to Peter de Ponte, one of the gouernours of the Iland, who dwelt a league from the shoare: but as hee pretended to haue landed, suddenly there appeared vpon the two points of the roade, men leuelling of bases and harguebuzes to them, with diuers others to the number of fourescore, with halberds, pikes, swordes and targets, which happened so contrary to his expectation, that it did greatly amaze him, and the more, because hee was nowe in their danger, not knowing well howe to auoyde it without some mischiefe. Wherefore hee determined to call to them for the better appeasing of the matter, declaring his name, and professing himselfe to bee an especiall friend to Peter de Ponte, and that he had sundry things for him which he greatly desired. And in the meane time, while hee was

The Ile of Palmes.

Gomera and Teneriffe.

thus talking with them, whereby he made them to holde their hands, hee willed the marriners to rowe away, so that at last he gat out of their danger: and then asking for Peter de Ponte, one of his sonnes being Sennor Nicolas de Ponte, came forth, whom hee perceiuing, desired to put his men aside, and he himselfe would leape a shoare, and commune with him, which they did: so that after communication had betweene them of sundry things, and of the feare they both had, master Hawkins desired to haue certaine necessaries prouided for him. In the meane space, while these things were prouiding, hee trimmed the maine mast of the Iesus which in the storme aforesayd was sprung: here he soiourned 7. dayes, refreshing himselfe and his men. In the which time Peter de Ponte dwelling at S. Cruz, a citie 20. leagues off, came to him, and gaue him as gentle intertainment as if he had bene his owne brother. To speake somewhat of these Ilands, being called in olde time Insulæ fortunatæ, by the meanes of the flourishing thereof, the fruitfulnesse of them doeth surely exceede farre all other that I haue heard of: for they make wine better then any in Spaine, they haue grapes of such bignesse, that they may bee compared to damsons, and in taste inferiour to none: for sugar, suckets, raisins of the Sunne, and many other fruits, abundance: for rosine and raw silke, there is great store, they want neither corne, pullets, cattell, nor yet wilde foule: they haue many Camels also, which being young, are eaten of the people for victuals, and being olde, they are vsed for caryage of necessaries: whose propertie is as hee is taught to kneele at the taking of his loade, and vnlading againe: his nature is to ingender backward contrary to other beastes: of vnderstanding very good, but of shape very deformed, with a little bellie, long misshapen legges, and feete very broad of flesh, without a hoofe, all whole, sauing the great toe, a backe bearing vp like a molehill, a large and thin necke, with a little head, with a bunch of hard flesh, which nature hath giuen him in his breast to leane vpon. This beast liueth hardly, and is contented with strawe and stubble, but of force strong, being well able to carrie 500. weight. In one of these Ilands called Fierro, there is by the reports of the inhabitants, a certaine tree that raineth continually, by the dropping whereof the inhabitants and cattell are satisfied with water, for other water haue they none in all the Iland. And it raineth in such abund-

Santa Cruz.

A briefe description of the commodities of the Canarie Ilands.

Fierro.

ance, that it were incredible vnto a man to beleeue such a vertue to bee in a tree, but it is knowen to be a diuine matter, and a thing ordeined by God, at whose power therein wee ought not to maruell, seeing he did by his prouidence as we read in the Scriptures, when the children of Israel were going into the land of promise, feede them with Manna from heauen, for the space of 40. yeeres. Of the trees aforesaid wee saw in Guinie many, being of great height, dropping contiually, but not so abundantly as the other because the leaues are narrower, and are like the leaues of a peare tree. About these Ilands are certaine flitting Ilands, which haue beene oftentimes seene, and when men approched neere them, they vanished: as the like hath bene of these Ilands nowe knowen by the report of the inhabitants, which were not found of long time one after the other: and therefore it should seeme hee is not yet borne to whom God hath appoynted the finding of them. In this Iland of Teneriffe there is a hill called The Pike, because it is piked, which is in height by their reports twentie leagues, hauing both winter and summer abundance of snowe in the top of it: This pike may bee seene in a cleere day fiftie leagues off, but it sheweth as though it were a blacke cloude a great heigth in the element. I haue heard of none to be compared with this in heigth, but in the Indias I haue seene many, and in my iudgement not inferiour to the Pike, and so the Spaniards write.

Trees dropping water in Guinie.

The pike of Teneriffe.

The 15. of Nouember at night we departed from Teneriffe, and the 20. of the same wee had sight of ten Carauals, that were fishing at sea, with whome we would haue spoken, but they fearing vs, fled into a place of Barbarie, called Cape de las Barbas.

Cape de las Barbas.

The twentieth, the ships pinnesse with two men in her, sayling by the ship, was ouerthrowne by the ouersight of them that went in her, the winde being so great, that before they were espied, and the ship had cast about for them, she was driuen halfe a league to leeward of the pinnesse, and had lost sight of her, so that there was small hope of recouerie, had not Gods helpe and the Captaines deligence bene, who hauing wel marked which way the pinnesse was by the Sunne, appointed 24 of the lustiest rowers in the great boate, to rowe to the wind-wardes, and so recouered, contrary to all mens expectations, both the pinnesse and the men sitting vpon the keele of her.

Cape Blanco.

The 25 we came to Cape Blanco, which is vpon the coast of Africa, and a place where the Portugals do ride, that fish there in the moneth of Nouember especially, and is a very good place of fishing, for Pargoes, Mullet, and Dogge fish. In this place the Portugals haue no holde for their defence, but haue rescue of the Barbarians, whom they entertaine as their souldiers, for the time of their being there, and for their fishing vpon that coast of Africa, doe pay a certaine tribute to the king of the Moores. The people of that part of Africa are tawnie, hauing long haire without any apparell, sauing before their priuie members. Their weapons in warres are bowes and arrowes.

Cape Verde in 14 degrees.

The 26 we departed from S. Auis Baye, within Cape Blanco, where we refreshed our selues with fish, and other necessaries: and the 29 wee came to Cape Verde, which lieth in 14 degrees, and a halfe. These people are all blacke, and are called Negros, without any apparell, sauing before their priuities: of stature goodly men, and well liking by reason of their food, which passeth all other Guyneans for kine, goats, pullin, rise, fruits, and fish. Here wee tooke fishes with heades like conies, and teeth nothing varying, of a iolly thickenesse, but not past a foote long, and is not to be eaten without flaying or cutting off his head. To speake somewhat of the sundry sortes of these Guyneans: the people of Cape Verde are called Leophares, and counted the goodliest men of all other, sauing the Congoes, which do inhabite on this side the cape de Buena Esperança. These Leophares haue warres against the Ieloffes, which are borderers by them: their weapons are bowes and arrowes, targets, and short daggers, darts also, but varying from other Negros: for whereas the other vse a long dart to fight with in their hands, they cary fiue or sixe small ones a peece, which they cast with. These men also are more ciuill then any other, because of their dayly trafficke with the Frenchmen, and are of nature very gentle and louing: for while we were there, we tooke in a Frenchman, who was one of the 19 that going to Brasile, in a Barke of Diepe, of 60 tunnes, and being a sea boord of Cape Verde, 200 leagues, the plankes of their Barke with a sea brake out vpon them so suddenly, that much a doe they had to saue themselues in their boats: but by Gods prouidence, the wind being Westerly, which is rarely seene there, they got

The trafficke of the French men at Cape Verde.

to the shore, to the Isle Braua, and in great penurie gotte to Cape Verde, where they remained sixe weekes, and had meate and drinke of the same people. The said Frenchman hauing forsaken his fellowes, which were three leagues off from the shore, and wandring with the Negros too and fro, fortuned to come to the waters side: and communing with certaine of his countreymen, which were in our ship, by their perswasions came away with vs: but his entertainment amongst them was such, that he desired it not: but through the importunate request of his Countreymen, consented at the last. Here we stayed but one night, and part of the day: for the 7 of December wee came away, in that pretending to haue taken Negros there perforce, the Mynions men gaue them there to vnderstand of our comming, and our pretence, wherefore they did auoyde the snares we had layd for them.

The 8 of December wee ankered by a small Island called Alcatrarsa, wherein at our going a shore, we found nothing but sea-birds, as we call them Ganets, but by the Portugals, called Alcatrarses, who for that cause gaue the said Island the same name. Herein halfe of our boates were laden with yong and olde fowle, who not being vsed to the sight of men, flew so about vs, that we stroke them down with poles. In this place the two shippes riding, the two Barkes, with their boates, went into an Island of the Sapies, called La Formio, to see if they could take any of them, and there landed to the number of 80 in armour, and espying certaine made to them, but they fled in such order into the woods, that it booted them not to follow: so going on their way forward till they came to a riuer which they could not passe ouer, they espied on the otherside two men, who with their bowes and arrowes shot terribly at them. Whereupon wee discharged certaine harquebuzers to them againe, but the ignorant people wayed it not, because they knewe not the danger thereof: but vsed a marueilous crying in their fight with leaping and turning their tayles, that it was most strange to see, and gaue vs great pleasure to beholde them. At the last, one being hurt with a harquebuz vpon the thigh, looked vpon his wound and wist not howe it came, because hee could not see the pellet. Here Master Hawkins perceiuing no good to be done amongst them, because we could not finde their townes, and also not knowing how to goe into Rio grande, for want of a Pilote, which was the very occasion of our comming thither: and finding so many sholes, feared with our great ships to goe in, and therefore departed on our pretended way to the Idols.

The 10 of December, we had a Northeast winde, with raine and storme, which weather continuing two dayes together, was the occasion that the Salomon, and Tygre loste our companie: for whereas the Iesus, and pinnesse ankered at one of the Islands called Sambula, the twelfth day, the Salomon and Tygre came not thither till the 14. In this Iland wee stayed certaine daies, going euery day on shore to take the Inhabitants, with burning and spoiling their townes, who before were Sapies, and were conquered by the Samboses, Inhabitants beyond Sierra Leona. These Samboses had inhabited there three yeres before our comming thither, and in so short space haue so planted the ground, that they had great plentie of Mil, Rise, Rootes, Pompions, Pullin, goates, of small frye dried, euery house full of the Countrey fruite planted by Gods prouidence, as Palmito trees, fruites like dates, and sundry other in no place in all that Countrey so aboundantly, whereby they liued more deliciously then other. These inhabitants haue diuerse of the Sapies, which they tooke in the warres as their slaues, whome onely they kept to till the ground, in that they neither haue the knowledge thereof, nor yet will worke themselues, of whome wee tooke many in that place, but of the Samboses none at all, for they fled into the maine. All the Samboses haue white teeth as we haue, farre vnlike to the Sapies which doe inhabite about Rio grande, for their teeth are all filed, which they doe for a brauerie, to set out themselues, and doe iagge their flesh, both legges, armes, and bodies, as workemanlike, as a Ierkin maker with vs pinketh a ierkin. These Sapies be more ciuill then the Samboses: for whereas the Samboses liue most by the spoile of their enemies, both in taking their victuals, and eating them also. The Sapies doe not eate mans flesh, vnlesse in the warre they be driuen by necessitie thereunto, which they haue not vsed, but by the example of the Samboses, but liue onely with fruites, and cattell, whereof they haue great store. This plentie is the occasion that the Sapies desire not warre, except they be thervnto prouoked by the inuasions of the Samboses, whereas the Samboses for want of foode are inforced thereunto, and therefore are not woont onely to take them that they kill, but also keepe those that they take,

The Samboses man-eaters.

The Sapies burie their dead with golde.

vntill such time as they want meate, and then they kill them. There is also another occasion that prouoketh the Samboses to warre against the Sapies, which is for couetousnes of their riches. For whereas the Sapies haue an order to burie their dead in certaine places appointed for that purpose, with their golde about them, the Samboses digge vp the ground, to haue the same treasure: for the Samboses haue not the like store of golde, that the Sapies haue. In this Island of Sambula we found about 50 boates called Almadyes, or Canoas, which are made of one peece of wood, digged out like a trough but of a good proportion, being about 8 yards long, and one in breadth, hauing a beakhead and a sterne very proportionably made, and on the out side artificially carued, and painted red and blewe: they are able to cary twenty or thirty men, but they are about the coast able to cary threescore and vpward. In these canoas they rowe standing vpright, with an oare somewhat longer then a man, the ende whereof is made about the breadth and length of a mans hand, of the largest sort. They row very swift, and in some of them foure rowers and one to steere make as much way, as a paire of oares in the Thames of London.

The Canoas of Affrica.

Their townes are pretily diuided with a maine streete at the entring in, that goeth thorough their Towne, and another ouerthwart street, which maketh their townes crosse wayes: their houses are built in a ranke very orderly in the face of the street, and they are made round, like a douecote, with stakes set full of Palmito leaues, in stead of a wall: they are not much more then a fathome large, and two of height, and thatched with Palmito leaues very close, other some with reede, and ouer the roofe thereof, for the better garnishing of the same, there is a round bundle of reede, pretily contriued like a louer: in the inner part they make a loft of stickes, whereupon they lay all their prouisions of victuals: a place they reserue at their enterance for the kitchin, and the place they lie in is deuided with certaine mattes artificially made with the rine of Palmito trees: their bedsteades are of small staues layd along, and raysed a foote from the ground, vpon which is layde a matte, and another vpon them when they list: for other couering they haue none. In the middle of the town there is a house larger and higher then the other, but in forme alike,

The forme of their townes.

The consultation house or towne-howse.

adioyning vnto the which there is a place made of foure good stancions of woode, and a round roofe ouer it, the grounde also raised round with claye a foote high, vpon the which floore were strawed many fine mats: this is the Consultation-house, the like whereof is in all Townes, as the Portugals affirme: in which place, when they sitte in Counsell the King or Captaine sitteth in the midst, and the Elders vpon the floore by him: (for they giue reuerence to their Elders) and the common sorte sitte round about them. There they sitte to examine matters of theft, which if a man be taken with, to steale but a Portugal cloth from another, hee is sold to the Portugals for a slaue. They consult also, and take order what time they shall goe to warres: and as it is certainely reported by the Portugals, they take order in gathering of the fruites in the season of the yeere, and also of Palmito wine, which is gathered by a hole cut in the top of a tree, and a gourde set for the receiuing thereof, which falleth in by droppes, and yeeldeth fresh wine againe within a moneth, and this diuided part and portion-like to euery man, by the iudgement of the Captaine and Elders, euery man holdeth himselfe contented: and this surely I iudge to be a very good order: for otherwise, whereas scarsitie of Palmito is, euery man would haue the same, which might breed great strife: but of such things, as euery man doeth plant for himselfe, the sower thereof reapeth it to his owne vse, so that nothing is common, but that which is vnset by mans hands. In their houses there is more common passage of Lizardes like Euats, and other greater, of blacke and blew colour, of neere a foote long, besides their tailes, then there is with vs of Mise in great houses. The Sapies and Samboses also vse in their warres bowes, and arrowes made of reedes, with heads of yron poysoned with the iuyce of a Cucumber, whereof I had many in my handes. In their battels they haue target-men, with broad wicker targets, and darts with heades at both endes of yron, the one in forme of a two edged sworde, a foote and an halfe long, and at the other ende, the yron, long of the same length made to counterpease it, that in casting it might flie leuel, rather then for any other purpose as I can iudge. And when they espie the enemie, the Captaine to cheere his men, cryeth Hungry, and they answere Heyre, and with that euery man placeth himselfe in order, for about euery target man three bowemen will

Palmito is a wilde date.

A venemous Cucumber.

couer themselues, and shoote as they see aduantage: and when they giue the onset, they make such terrible cryes, that they may bee heard two miles off. For their beliefe, I can heare of none that they haue, but in such as they themselues imagine to see in their dreames, and so worshippe the pictures, whereof wee sawe some like vnto deuils. In this Island aforesayde wee soiourned vnto the one and twentieth of December, where hauing taken certaine Negros, and asmuch of their fruites, rise, and mill, as we could well cary away (whereof there was such store, that wee might haue laden one of our Barkes therewith) wee departed, and at our departure diuers of our men being desirous to goe on shore, to fetch Pompions, which hauing prooued, they found to bee very good, certaine of the Tygres men went also, amongst the which there was a Carpenter, a young man, who with his fellowes hauing fet many, and caryed them downe to their boates, as they were ready to depart, desired his fellow to tary while he might goe vp to fetch a few which he had layed by for him selfe, who being more licorous then circumspect, went vp without weapon, and as he went vp alone, possibly being marked of the Negros that were vpon the trees, espying him what hee did, perceauing him to be alone, and without weapon, dogged him, and finding him occupyed in binding his Pompions together, came behinde him, ouerthrowing him and straight cutte his throate, as hee afterwardes was found by his fellowes, who came to the place for him, and there found him naked.

Idoles like deuils.

The extreme negligence of one of the companie.

The two and twentieth the Captaine went into the Riuer, called Callowsa, with the two Barkes, and the Iohns Pinnesse, and the Salomons boate, leauing at anker in the Riuers mouth the two shippes, the Riuer being twenty leagues in, where the Portugals roade: hee came thither the fiue and twentieth, and dispatched his businesse, and so returned with two Carauels, loaden with Negros.

The 27. the Captaine was aduertised by the Portugals of a towne of the Negros called Bymba, being in the way as they returned, where was not onely great quantitie of golde, but also that there were not aboue fortie men, and an hundred women and children in the Towne, so that if hee would giue the aduenture vpon the same, hee might gette an hundreth slaues; with the which tydings hee being gladde, because the Portugals shoulde not thinke him to bee of so base a courage, but that hee

Portugals not to be trusted.

Want of circumspection in our men.

durst giue them that, and greater attempts: and being thereunto also the more prouoked with the prosperous successe hee had in other Islands adiacent, where he had put them all to flight, and taken in one boate twentie together, determined to stay before the Towne three or foure houres, to see what hee could doe: and thereupon prepared his men in armour and weapon together, to the number of fortie men well appointed, hauing to their guides certaine Portugals, in a boat, who brought some of them to their death: wee landing boat after boat, and diuers of our men scattering themselues, contrary to the Captaines will, by one or two in a company, for the hope that they had to finde golde in their houses, ransacking the same, in the meane time the Negros came vpon them, and hurte many being thus scattered, whereas if fiue or sixe had bene together, they had bene able, as their companions did, to giue the ouerthrow to 40 of them, and being driuen downe to take their boates, were followed so hardly by a route of Negros, who by that tooke courage to pursue them to their boates, that not onely some of them, but others standing on shore, not looking for any such matter by meanes that the Negros did flee at the first, and our companie remained in the towne, were suddenly so set vpon that some with great hurt recouered their boates: othersome not able to recouer the same, tooke the water, and perished by meanes of the oaze. While this was doing, the Captaine who with a dosen men, went through the towne, returned, finding 200 Negros at the waters side, shooting at them in the boates, and cutting them in pieces which were drowned in the water, at whose comming, they ranne all away: so he entred his boates, and before he could put off from the shore, they returned againe, and shot very fiercely and hurt diuers of them. Thus wee returned backe somewhat discomforted, although the Captaine in a singular wise maner caried himselfe, with countenance very cheerefull outwardly, as though hee did litle weigh the death of his men, nor yet the great hurt of the rest, although his heart inwardly was broken in pieces for it; done to this ende, that the Portugals being with him, should not presume to resist against him, nor take occasion to put him to further displeasure or hinderance for the death of our men: hauing gotton by our going ten Negros, and lost seuen of our best men, whereof M. Field Captaine of the Salomon, was one, and we had 27 of our men hurt. In the same houre while this was doing, there happened at the same instant, a marueilous miracle to them in the shippes, who road ten leagues to sea-ward, by many sharkes or Tiburons, who came about the ships: among which, one was taken by the Iesus, and foure by the Salomon, and one very sore hurt escaped: and so it fell out of our men, whereof one of the Iesus men, and foure of the Salomons were killed, and the fift hauing twentie wounds was rescued, and scaped with much adoe.

The 28 they came to their ships, the Iesus, and the Salomon, and the 30 departed from thence to Taggarin.

The first of Ianuary the two barkes, and both the boates forsooke the ships, and went into a riuer called the Casserroes, and the 6 hauing dispatched their businesse, the two barkes returned, and came to Taggarin, where the two ships were at anker. Not two dayes after the comming of the two ships thither, they put their water caske a shore and filled it with water, to season the same, thinking to haue filled it with fresh water afterward: and while their men were some on shore, and some at their boates, the Negros set vpon them in the boates, and hurt diuers of them, and came to the caskes, and cut of the hoopes of twelue buts, which lost vs 4 or 5 dayes time, besides great want we had of the same: soiourning at Taggarin, the Swallow went vp the riuer about her trafficke, where they saw great townes of the Negros, and Canoas, that had threescore men in a piece: there they vnderstood by the Portugals, of a great battell betweene them of Sierra Leona side, and them of Taggarin: they of Sierra Leona, had prepared three hundred Canoas to inuade the other. The time was appointed not past sixe dayes after our departure from thence, which we would haue seene, to the intent we might haue taken some of them, had it not bene for the death and sicknesse of our men, which came by the contagiousnes of the place, which made vs to make hast away.

A new assult by the Negros.

Very great Canoas.

The contagion of the countrey of Sierra Leona.

The 18 of Ianuarie at night, wee departed from Taggarin, being bound for the West Indies, before which departure certaine of the Salomons men went on shore to fill water in the night, and as they came on shore with their boat being ready to leape on land, one of them espied a Negro in a white coate, standing vpon a rocke, being ready to haue receiued them when they came on shore, hauing in sight of his fellowes also eight or nine, some in one place leaping out, and some in another, but they hid themselues streight againe: whereupon our men doubting they had bene a great companie, and sought to haue taken them at more aduantage, as God would, departed to their ships, not thinking there had bene such a mischiefe pretended toward them, as then was in deede. Which the next day we vnderstood of a Portugal that came downe to vs, who had trafficked with the Negros, by whom hee vnderstood, that the king of Sierra Leona had made all the power hee could, to take some of vs, partly for the desire he had to see what kinde of people we were, that had spoiled his people at the Idols, whereof he had newes before our comming, and as I iudge also, vpon other occasions prouoked by the Tangomangos, but sure we were that the armie was come downe, by meanes that in the euening wee saw such a monstrous fire, made by the watring place, that before was not seene, which fire is the only marke for the Tangomangos to know where their armie is alwayes. If these men had come downe in the euening, they had done vs great displeasure, for that wee were on shore filling water: but God, who worketh all things for the best, would not haue it so, and by him we escaped without danger, his name be praysed for it.

Dominica Island.

The 29 of this same moneth we departed with all our shippes from Sierra Leona, towardes the West Indies, and for the space of eighteene dayes, we were becalmed, hauing nowe and then contrary windes, and some Ternados amongst the same calme, which happened to vs very ill, beeing but reasonably watered, for so great a companie of Negros, and our selues, which pinched vs all, and that which was worst, put vs in such feare that many neuer thought to haue reached to the Indies, without great death of Negros, and of themselues: but the Almightie God, who neuer suffereth his elect to perish, sent vs the sixteenth of Februarie, the ordinary Brise, which is the Northwest winde, which neuer left vs, till wee came to an Island of the Canybals, called Dominica, where wee arriued the ninth of March, vpon a Saturday: and because it was the most desolate place in all the Island, we could see no Canybals, but some of their houses where they dwelled, and as it should seeme forsooke the place for want of fresh water, for wee could finde none there but raine water, and such as fell from the hilles, and remained as a puddle in the dale, whereof wee filled for our Negros. The Canybals of that Island, and also others adiacent are the most desperate warriers that are in the Indies, by the Spaniardes report, who are neuer able to conquer them, and they are molested by them not a little, when they are driuen to water there in any of those Islands: of very late, not two moneths past, in the said Island, a Carauel being driuen to water, was in the night sette vpon by the inhabitants, who cutte their cable in the halser, whereby they were driuen a shore, and so taken by them and eaten. The greene Dragon of Newhauen, whereof was Captaine one Bontemps, in March also, came to one of those Islands, called Granada, and being driuen to water, could not doe the same for the Canybals, who fought with him very desperatly two dayes. For our part also, if we had not lighted vpon the desertest place in all that Island, wee could not haue missed, but should haue bene greatly troubled by them, by all the Spaniards reports, who make them deuils in respect of me.

Canyballs exceeding cruell and to be auoyded.

The tenth day at night, we departed from thence, and the fifteenth had sight of nine Islands, called the Testigos: and the sixteenth of an Island, called Margarita, where wee were entertayned by the Alcalde, and had both Beeues and sheepe giuen vs, for the refreshing of our men: but the Gouernour of the Island, would neither come to speak with our Captaine, neither yet giue him any licence to trafficke: and to displease vs the more, whereas wee had hired a Pilote to haue gone with vs, they would not onely not suffer him to goe with vs, but also sent word by a Carauel out of hand, to Santo Domingo, to the Vice-roy, who doeth represent the kings person, of our arriuall of those partes, which had like to haue turned vs to great displeasure, by the meanes that the same Vice-roy did send word to Cape de la Vela, and to other places along the coast, commanding them that by the vertue of his authoritie, and by the obedience that they owe to their Prince, no man should trafficke with vs, but should resist vs with all the force they could. In this Island, notwithstanding that wee were not within foure leagues of the Towne, yet were they so afraid, that not onely the Gouernour himselfe, but also all the inhabitants forsooke their Towne, assembling all the Indians to them and fled into the mountaines, as wee were partly certified, and also sawe the experience our selues, by some of the Indians comming to see vs who by three Spaniards a horsebacke passing hard by vs, went vnto the

The Testigos Island.
Margarita Island.

Indians, having euery one of them their bowes, and arrowes, procuring them away, who before were conuersant with vs.

Here perceiuing no trafficke to be had with them, nor yet water for the refreshing of our men, we were driuen to depart the twentieth day, and the 2 and twentieth we came to a place in the maine called Cumana, whither the Captaine going in his Pinnisse, spake with certaine Spaniards, of whom he demanded trafficke, but they made him answere, they were but souldiers newely come thither, and were not able to by one Negro: whereupon hee asked for a watring place, and they pointed him a place two leagues off, called Santa Fè, where we found marueilous goodly watering, and commodious for the taking in thereof: for that the fresh water came into the Sea, and so our shippes had aboord the shore twentie fathome water. Neere about this place, inhabited certaine Indians, who the next day after we came thither, came down to vs, presenting mill and cakes of breade, which they had made of a kinde of corn called Maiz, in bignesse of a pease, the eare whereof is much like to a teasell, but a spanne in length, hauing thereon a number of granes. Also they brought down to vs Hennes, Potatoes and Pines, which we bought for beades, pewter whistles, glasses, kniues, and other trifles.

The description of the Indians of Terra firma.

These Potatoes be the most delicate rootes that may be eaten, and doe farre exceed our passeneps or carets. Their pines be of the bignes of two fists, the outside whereof is of the making of a pine-apple, but it is soft like the rinde of a Cucomber, and the inside eateth like an apple, but it is more delicious than any sweet apple sugred. These Indians being of colour tawnie like an Oliue, hauing euery one of them both men and women, haire all blacke, and no other colour, the women wearing the same hanging downe to their shoulders, and the men rounded, and without beards, neither men nor women suffering any haire to growe in any part of their body, but dayly pull it off as it groweth. They goe all naked, the men couering no part of their body but their yard, vpon the which they weare a gourd or piece of cane, made fast with a thrid about their loynes, leauing the other parts of their members vncouered, whereof they take no shame. The women also are vncouered, sauing with a cloth which they weare a handbreadth, wherewith they couer their priuities both before and behind. These people be very small feeders, for trauelling they cary but two small bottels of gourdes, wherein they put in one the iuice of Sorrell whereof they haue great store, and in the other flowre of their Maiz, which being moist, they eate, taking sometime of the other. These men cary euery man his bowe and arrowes, whereof some arrowes are poisoned for warres, which they keepe in a Cane together, which Cane is of the bignesse of a mans arme, other some, with broad heades of iron wherewith they stricke fish in the water: the experience whereof we saw not once nor twise, but dayly for the time we taried there, for they are so good archers that the Spaniards for feare thereof arme themselues and their horses with quilted canuas of two ynches thicke, and leaue no place of their body open to their enemies, sauing their eyes which they may not hide, and yet oftentimes are they hit in that so small a scantling: their poyson is of such a force, that a man being stricken therewith dyeth within foure and twentie howers, as the Spaniards do affirme, and in my iudgement it is like there can be no stronger poyson as they make it, vsing thereunto apples which are very faire and red of colour, but are a strong poyson, with the which together with venemous Bats, Vipers, Adders and other serpents, they make a medley, and therewith anoint the same.

The making of their poyson.

The Indian women delight not when they are yong in bearing of children, because it maketh them haue hanging breastes which they account to bee great deforming of them, and vpon that occasion while they bee yong, they destroy their seede, saying, that it is fittest for olde women. Moreouer, when they are deliuered of a childe, they goe straight to washe themselues, without making any further ceremonie for it, not lying in bed as our women doe. The beds which they haue are made of Gossopine cotton, and wrought artificially of diuers colours, which they cary about with them when they trauell, and making the same fast to two trees, lie therein they and their women. The people be surely gentle and tractable, and such as desire to liue peaceably, or els had it bene vnpossible for the Spaniards to haue conquered them as they did, and the more to liue now peaceably, they being so many in number, and the Spaniards so few.

The maners of the yong women.

From hence we departed the eight and twentie, and the next day we passed betweene the maine land and the Island of Tortuga, a very lowe Island, in the yeere

The Isle of Tortuga.

of our Lorde God one thousande fiue hundred sixty fiue aforesaide, and sayled along the coast vntill the first of Aprill, at which time the Captaine sayled along in the Iesus pinnesse to discerne the coast, and saw many Caribes on shore, and some also in their Canoas, which made tokens vnto him of friendship, and shewed him golde, meaning thereby that they would trafficke for wares. Whereupon he stayed to see the maners of them, and so for two or three trifles they gaue such things as they had about them, and departed: but the Caribes were very importunate to haue them come on shore, which if it had not bene for want of wares to trafficke with them, he would not haue denyed them, because the Indians which we saw before were very gentle people, and such as do no man hurt. But as God would haue it, hee wanted that thing, which if hee had had, would haue bene his confusion: for these were no such kinde of people as wee tooke them to bee, but more deuilish a thousand partes and are eaters and deuourers of any man they can catch, as it was afterwards declared vnto vs at Burboroata, by a Carauel comming out of Spaine with certaine souldiers, and a Captaine generall sent by the king for those Eastward parts of the Indians, who sayling along in his pinnesse, as our Captaine did to descry the coast, was by the Caribes called a shoare with sundry tokens made to him of friendshippe, and golde shewed as though they desired trafficke, with the which the Spaniard beeing mooued, suspecting no deceite at all, went ashore amongst them: who was no sooner a shore, but with foure or fiue more was taken, the rest of his company being inuaded by them saued themselues by flight, but they that were taken, paied their ransome with their liues, and were presently eaten. And this is their practise to toll with their golde the ignorant to their snares: they are bloodsuckers both of Spaniards, Indians, and all that light in their laps, not sparing their owne countreymen if they can conueniently come by them. Their pollicie in fight with the Spaniards is maruellous: for they chuse for their refuge the mountaines and woodes where the Spaniards with their horses cannot follow them, and if they fortune to be met in the plaine where one horseman may ouerrunne 100. of them, they haue a deuise of late practised by them to pitch stakes of wood in the ground, and also small iron pikes to mischiefe their horses, wherein they shew themselues politique warriers. They haue more abundance of golde then all the

The crueltie of the Caribes.

Spaniards haue, and liue vpon the mountaines where the Mines are in such number, that the Spaniards haue much adoe to get any of them from them, and yet sometimes by assembling a great number of them, which happeneth once in two yeeres, they get a piece from them, which afterwards they keepe sure ynough.

Thus hauing escaped the danger of them, wee kept our course along the coast, and came the third of April to a Towne called Burboroata, where his ships came to an ancker, and hee himselfe went a shore to speake with the Spaniards, to whom hee declared himselfe to be an Englishman, and came thither to trade with them by the way of marchandize, and therefore required licence for the same. Vnto whom they made answere, that they were forbidden by the king to trafique with any forren nation, vpon penaltie to forfeit their goods, therefore they desired him not to molest them any further, but to depart as he came, for other comfort he might not looke for at their handes, because they were subiects, and might not goe beyond the law. But hee replied that his necessitie was such, as hee might not so do: for being in one of the Queens Armadas of England, and hauing many souldiers in them, hee had neede both of some refreshing for them, and of victuals, and of money also, without the which hee coulde not depart, and with much other talke perswaded them not to feare any dishonest part of his behalfe towards them, for neither would hee commit any such thing to the dishonour of his prince, nor yet for his honest reputation and estimation, vnlesse hee were too rigorously dealt withall, which he hoped not to finde at their handes, in that it should as well redound to their profite as his owne, and also hee thought they might doe it without danger, because their princes were in amitie one with another, and for our parts wee had free trafique in Spaine and Flanders, which are in his dominions, and therefore he knew no reason why he should not haue the like in all his dominions. To the which the Spaniards made answere, that it lay not in them to giue any licence, for that they had a gouernour to whom the gouernment of those parts was committed, but if they would stay tenne dayes, they would send to their gouernour who was threescore leagues off, and would returne answere within the space appointed, of his minde.

Burboroata.

In the meane time they were contented hee should bring his ships into harbour, and there they would deliuer him any victuals he would require. Whereupon the fourth day we went in, where being one day and receiuing all things according to promise, the Captaine aduised himselfe, that to remaine there tenne dayes idle, spending victuals and mens wages, and perhaps in the ende receiue no good answere from the gouernour, it were meere follie, and therefore determined to make request to haue licence for the sale of certaine leane and sicke Negros which hee had in his shippe like to die vpon his hands if he kept them ten dayes, hauing little or no refreshing for them, whereas other men hauing them, they would bee recouered well ynough. And this request hee was forced to make, because he had not otherwise wherewith to pay for victuals and for necessaries which he should take: which request being put in writing and presented, the officers and towne-dwellers assembled together, and finding his request so reasonable, granted him licence for thirtie Negros, which afterwards they caused the officers to view, to the intent they should graunt to nothing but that were very reasonable, for feare of answering thereunto afterwards. This being past, our Captaine according to their licence, thought to haue made sale, but the day past and none came to buy, who before made shewe that they had great neede of them, and therefore wist not what to surmise of them, whether they went about to prolong the time of the Gouernour his answere because they would keepe themselues blamelesse, or for any other pollicie hee knew not, and for that purpose sent them worde, marueiling what the matter was that none came to buy them. They answered, because they had granted licence onely to the poore to buy those Negros of small price, and their money was not so ready as other mens of more wealth. More then that, as soone as euer they sawe the shippes, they conueyed away their money by their wiues that went into the mountaines for feare, and were not yet returned, and yet asked two dayes to seeke their wiues and fetch their money. Notwithstanding, the next day diuers of them came to cheapen, but could not agree of price, because they thought the price too high. Whereupon the Captaine perceiuing they went about to bring downe the price, and meant to buy, and would not confesse if hee had licence, that he might sell at any reasonable rate, as they were worth in other places, did send for the principals of the Towne, and made a shewe hee would depart, declaring himselfe to be very sory that he had so much troubled them, and also that he had sent for the gouernour to come downe, seeing nowe his pretence was to depart, whereat they marueiled much, and asked him what cause mooued him thereunto, seeing by their working he was in possibilitie to haue his licence.

To the which he replied, that it was not onely a licence that he sought, but profit, which he perceiued was not there to bee had, and therefore would seeke further, and withall shewed him his writings what he payed for his Negros, declaring also the great charge he was at in his shipping and mens wages, and therefore to counteruaile his charges, hee must sell his Negros for a greater price then they offered. So they doubting his departure, put him in comfort to sell better there then in any other place. And if it fell out that he had no licence, that he should not loose his labour in tarying, for they would buy without licence. Whereupon, the Captaine being put in comfort, promised them to stay, so that hee might make sale of his leane Negros, which they granted vnto. And the next day did sell some of them, who hauing bought and payed for them, thinking to haue had a discharge of the Customer, for the custome of the Negros, being the kings duetie, they gaue it away to the poore for Gods sake, and did refuse to giue the discharge in writing, and the poore not trusting their wordes, for feare, least hereafter it might bee demaunded of them, did refraine from buying any more, so that nothing else was done vntill the Gouernours comming downe, which was the fourteenth day, and then the Captaine made petition, declaring that hee was come thither in a shippe of the Queenes Maiesties of England, being bound to Guinie, and thither driuen by winde and weather, so that being come thither, hee had neede of sundry necessaries for the reparation of the said Nauie, and also great need of money for the paiment of his Souldiours, vnto whom hee had promised paiment, and therefore although he would, yet would not they depart without it, and for that purpose he requested licence for the sale of certaine of his Negros, declaring that although they were forbidden to trafique with strangers, yet for that there was a great amitie between their princes, and that the thing perteined to our Queens highnesse, he thought hee might doe their prince great seruice, and that it would bee well taken at his hands, to doe it in this cause. The which allegations with diuers others put in request, were presented vnto the Gouernour, who sitting in counsell for that matter, granted vnto his request for licence.

But yet there fell out another thing which was the abating of the kings Custome, being vpon euery slaue 30. duckets, which would not be granted vnto.

Whereupon the Captaine perceiuing that they would neither come neere his price hee looked for by a great deale, nor yet would abate the Kings Custome of that they offered, so that either he must be a great looser by his wares, or els compell the officers to abate the same kings Custome which was too vnreasonable, for to a higher price hee coulde not bring the buyers: Therefore the sixteenth of April hee prepared one hundred men well armed with bowes, arrowes, harquebuzes and pikes, with the which hee marched to the townewards, and being perceiued by the Gouernour, he straight with all expedition sent messengers to knowe his request, desiring him to march no further forward vntill he had answere againe, which incontinent he should haue. So our Captaine declaring how vnreasonable a thing the Kings Custome was, requested to haue the same abated, and to pay seuen and a halfe per centum, which is the ordinarie Custome for wares through his dominions there, and vnto this if they would not graunt, hee would displease them. And this word being caried to the Gouernour, answere was returned that all things should bee to his content, and thereupon hee determined to depart, but the souldiers and Mariners finding so little credite in their promises, demanded gages for the performance of the premisses, or els they would not depart. And thus they being constrained to send gages, wee departed, beginning our traffique, and ending the same without disturbance.

An hundreth Englishmen in armour.

Thus hauing made traffique in the harborough vntill the 28. our Captaine with his ships intended to goe out of the roade, and purposed to make shew of his departure, because nowe the common sort hauing imployed their money, the rich men were come to towne, who made no shewe that they were come to buy, so that they went about to bring downe the price, and by this pollicie the Captaine knew they would be made the more eger, for feare least we departed, and they should goe without any at all.

The nine and twentie wee being at ancker without the road, a French ship called the Greene Dragon of Newhauen, whereof was Captaine one Bon Temps came in, who saluted vs after the maner of the Sea, with certaine pieces of Ordinance, and we resaluted him with the like againe: with whom hauing communication, he declared that hee had bene at the Mine in Guinie, and was beaten off by the Portugals gallies, and inforced to come thither to make sale of such wares as he had: and further that the like was happened vnto the Minion: besides the Captain Dauie Carlet and a Marchant, with a dozen Mariners betrayed by the Negros at their first arriuall thither, and remayning prisoners with the Portugals; and besides other misaduentures of the losse of their men, happened through the great lacke of fresh water, with great doubts of bringing home the ships: which was most sorrowfull for vs to vnderstand.

The reports of the mishaps of the Minion in Guinie.

Thus hauing ended our trafique here the 4. of May, we departed, leauing the Frenchman behinde vs, the night before the which the Caribes, whereof I haue made mention before, being to the number of 200. came in their Canoas to Burboroata, intending by night to haue burned the towne, and taken the Spaniards, who being more vigilant because of our being there, then their custome was, perceiuing them comming, raised the towne, who in a moment being a horsebacke, by meanes their custome is for all doubts to keepe their horses ready sadled, in the night set vpon them, and tooke one, but the rest making shift for themselues, escaped away. But this one, because he was their guide, and was the occasion that diuers times they had made inuasion upon them, had for his traueile a stake thrust through his fundament, and so out at his necke.

The sixt of May aforesaide, wee came to an yland called Curaçao, where wee had thought to haue anckered, but could not find ground, and hauing let fal an ancker with two cables, were faine to weigh it again: and the seuenth sayling along the coast to seeke an harborow, and finding none, wee came to an ancker where we rode open in the Sea. In this place we had trafique for hides, and found great refreshing both of beefe, mutton and lambes, whereof there was such plentie, that sauing the skinnes, we had the flesh giuen vs for nothing, the plentie whereof was so abundant, that the worst in the ship thought scorne not onely of mutton, but also of sodden lambe, which they disdained to eate vnrosted.

Exceeding plentie of cattle in Curazao.

The increase of cattell in this yland is marueilous, which from a doozen of each sort brought thither by the gouernour, in 25.

yeres he had a hundreth thousand at the least, and of other cattel was able to kil without spoile of the increase 1500. yeerely, which hee killeth for the skinnes, and of the flesh saueth onely the tongues, the rest hee leaueth to the foule to deuour. And this I am able to affirme, not only vpon the Gouernours owne report, who was the first that brought the increase thither, which so remaineth vnto this day, but also by that I saw my selfe in one field, where an hundred oxen lay one by another all whole, sauing the skinne and tongue taken away. And it is not so marueilous a thing why they doe thus cast away the flesh in all the ylands of the West Indies, seeing the land is great, and more then they are able to inhabite, the people fewe, hauing delicate fruites and meates ynough besides to feede vpon, which they rather desire, and the increase which passeth mans reason to beleeue, when they come to a great number: for in S. Domingo an yland called by the finders thereof Hispaniola, is so great quantitie of cattell, and such increase therof, that notwithstanding the daily killing of them for their hides, it is not possible to asswage the number of them, but they are deuoured by wilde dogs, whose number is such by suffering them first to range the woods and mountaines, that they eate and destroy 60000. a yeere, and yet small lacke found of them. And no marueile, for the said yland is almost as bigge as all England, and being the first place that was founde of all the Indies, and of long time inhabited before the rest, it ought therefore of reason to be most populous: and to this houre the Viceroy and counsell royall abideth there as in the chiefest place of all the Indies, to prescribe orders to the rest for the kings behalfe, yet haue they but one Citie and 13. villages in all the same yland, whereby the spoile of them in respect of the increase is nothing.

Great numbers of wilde dogs.

The 15. of the foresaid moneth wee departed from Curaçao, being not a little to the reioycing of our Captaine and vs, that wee had there ended our trafique: but notwithstanding our sweete meate, wee had sower sauce, for by reason of our riding so open at sea, what with blastes whereby our anckers being a ground, three at once came home, and also with contrary windes blowing, whereby for feare of the shore we were faine to hale off to haue anker-hold, sometimes a whole day and a night we turned vp and downe; and this happened not once, but halfe a dozen times in the space of our being there.

The 16. we passed by an yland called Aruba, and the 17. at night anckered sixe houres at the West ende of Cabo de la vela, and in the morning being the 18. weighed againe, keeping our course, in the which time the Captaine sayling by the shore in the pinnesse, came to the Rancheria, a place where the Spaniards vse to fish for pearles, and there spoke with a Spaniard, who tolde him how far off he was from Rio de la Hacha, which because he would not ouershoot, he ankered that night againe, and the 19. came thither; where hauing talke with the kings treasurer of the Indies resident there, he declared his quiet trafique in Burboroata, and shewed a certificate of the same, made by the gouernour thereof, and therefore he desired to haue the like there also: but the treasurer made answere that they were forbidden by the Viceroy and council of S. Domingo, who hauing intelligence of our being on the coast, did sende expresse commission to resist vs, with all the force they could, insomuch that they durst not traffique with vs in no case, alleaging that if they did, they should loose all that they did trafique for, besides their bodies at the magistrates commaundement. Our Captaine replied, that he was in an Armada of the Queenes Maiesties of England, and sent about other her affaires, but driuen besides his pretended voyage, was inforced by contrary windes to come into those parts, where he hoped to finde such friendship as hee should doe in Spaine, to the contrary whereof hee knewe no reason, in that there was amitie betwixt their princes. But seeing they would contrary to all reason go about to withstand his trafique, he would it should not be said by him, that hauing the force he hath, to be driuen from his trafique perforce, but he would rather put it in aduenture to try whither he or they should haue the better, and therefore willed them to determine either to giue him licence to trade, or else to stand to their owne harmes: So vpon this it was determined hee should haue licence to trade, but they would giue him such a price as was the one halfe lesse then he had sold for before, and thus they sent word they would do, and none otherwise, and if it liked him not, he might do what he would, for they were not determined to deale otherwise with him. Whereupon, the captaine waying their vnconscionable request, wrote to them a letter, that they dealt too rigorously with him, to go about to cut his throte in the price of his commodities, which were so reasonably rated, as

La Rancheria.

M. Hawkins his letter to the Treasurer of Rio de la Hacha.

they could not by a great deale haue the like at any other mans handes. But seeing they had sent him this to his supper, hee would in the morning bring them as good a breakfast. And therefore in the morning being the 21. of May, hee shot off a whole Culuering to summon the towne, and preparing one hundred men in armour, went ashore, hauing in his great boate two Faulcons of brasse, and in the other boates double bases in their noses, which being perceiued by the Townesmen, they incontinent in battell aray with their drumme and ensigne displayed, marched from the Towne to the sands, of footemen to the number of an hundred and fiftie, making great bragges with their cries, and weauing vs a shore, whereby they made a semblance to haue fought with vs in deed. But our Captaine perceiuing them so bragge, commanded the two Faulcons to be discharged at them, which put them in no small feare to see, (as they afterward declared) such great pieces in a boate. At euery shot they fell flat to the ground, and as wee approched neere vnto them, they broke their aray, and dispersed themselues so much for feare of the Ordinance, that at last they went all away with their ensigne. The horsemen also being about thirtie, made as braue a shew as might be, coursing vp and downe with their horses, their braue white leather Targets in the one hand, and their iauelings in the other, as though they would haue receiued vs at our landing. But when wee landed, they gaue ground, and consulted what they should doe, for little they thought wee would haue landed so boldly: and therefore as the Captaine was putting his men in aray, and marched forward to haue encountred with them, they sent a messenger on horsebacke with a flagge of truce to the Captaine, who declared that the Treasurer marueiled what he meant to doe to come a shore in that order, in consideration that they had granted to euery reasonable request that he did demaund: but the Captaine not well contented with this messenger, marched forwards. The messenger prayed him to stay his men, and saide, if hee would come apart from his men, the Treasurer would come and speake with him, whereunto hee did agree to commune together, the Captaine onely with his armour without weapon, and the Treasurer on horsebacke with his iaueling, was afraide to come neere him for feare of his armour, which he said was worse than his weapon, and so keeping aloofe communing together, granted in fine to all his requests.

Which being declared by the Captaine to the company, they desired to haue pledges for the performance of all things doubting that otherwise when they had made themselues stronger they would haue bene at defiance with vs: and seeing that now they might haue what they would request, they iudged it to be more wisedome to be in assurance then to be forced to make any more labours about it. So vpon this, gages were sent, and we made our trafique quietly with them. In the mean time while we stayed here, wee watered a good breadth off from the shore, where by the strength of the fresh water running into the Sea, the salt water was made fresh. In this Riuer we saw many Crocodils of sundry bignesses, but some as bigge as a boate, with 4. feete, a long broad mouth, and a long taile, whose skinne is so hard, that a sword wil not pierce it. His nature is to liue out of the water as a frogge doth, but he is a great deuourer, and spareth neither fish, which is his common food, nor beastes, nor men, if he take them, as the proofe thereof was knowen by a Negro, who as hee was filling water in the Riuer was by one of them caried cleane away, and neuer seene after. His nature is euer when hee would haue his prey, to cry and sobbe like a Christian body, to prouoke them to come to him, and then hee snatcheth at them, and thereupon came this prouerbe that is applied vnto women when they weepe, Lachrymæ Crocodili, the meaning whereof is, that as the Crocodile when hee crieth, goeth then about most to deceiue, so doeth a woman most commonly when she weepeth. Of these the Master of the Iesus watched one, and by the banks side stroke him with a pike of a bill in the side, and after three or foure times turning in sight, hee sunke downe, and was not afterward seene. In the time of our being in the Riuers Guinie, wee sawe many of a monstrous bignesse, amongst the which the captaine being in one of the Barkes comming downe the same, shot a Faulcon at one, which very narrowly hee missed, and with a feare hee plunged into the water, making a streame like the way of a boate.

Now while we were here, whether it were of a feare that the Spaniards doubted wee would haue done them some harme before we departed, or for any treason that they intended towards vs, I am not able to say; but then came thither a Captaine from some of the other townes, with a dozen souldiers vpon a time when our Captaine and the treasurer cleared al things betweene them, and were in a communication of debt of the gouernors of

Burboroata, which was to be payd by the said treasurer, who would not answer the same by any meanes. Whereupon certaine words of displeasure passed betwixt the Captaine and him, and parting the one from the other, the treasurer possibly doubting that our Captaine would perforce haue sought the same, did immediately command his men to armes, both horsemen and footemen: but because the Captaine was in the Riuer on the backe side of the Towne with his other boates, and all his men vnarmed and without weapons, it was to be iudged he ment him little good, hauing that aduantage of him, that comming vpon the sudden, hee might haue mischieued many of his men: but the Captaine hauing vnderstanding thereof, not trusting to their gentlenesse, if they might haue the aduantage, departed aboord his ships, and at night returned againe, and demanded amongst other talke, what they ment by assembling their men in that order, and they answered, that their Captaine being come to towne did muster his men according to his accustomed maner. But it is to be iudged to bee a cloake, in that comming for that purpose hee might haue done it sooner, but the trueth is, they were not of force vntill then, whereby to enterprise any matter against vs, by meanes of pikes and harquebuzes, whereof they haue want, and were now furnished by our Captaine, and also 3. Faulcons, which hauing got in other places, they haue secretly conueyed thither, which made them the bolder, and also for that they saw now a conuenient place to do such a feat, and time also seruing thereunto, by the meanes that our men were not onely vnarmed and vnprouided as at no time before the like, but also were occupied in hewing of wood, and least thinking of any harme: these were occasions to prouoke them thereunto. And I suppose they went about to bring it to effect, in that I with another gentleman being in the towne, thinking of no harme towards vs, and seeing men assembling in armour to the treasurers house, whereof I marueiled, and reuoking to minde the former talke betweene the Captaine and him, and the vnreadinesse of our men, of whom aduantage might haue bene taken, departed out of the Towne immediately to giue knowledge thereof, but before we came to our men by a flight-shot, two horsemen riding a gallop were come neere vs, being sent, as wee did gesse, to stay vs least wee should cary newes to our Captaine, but seeing vs so neere our men they

The author of this storie.

stayed their horses, comming together, and suffring vs to passe, belike because wee were so neere, that if they had gone about the same, they had bene espied by some of our men which then immediatly would haue departed, whereby they should haue bene frustrate of their pretence: and so the two horsemen ridde about the bushes to espie what we did, and seeing vs gone, to the intent they might shadow their comming downe in post, whereof suspition might bee had, fained a simple excuse in asking whether he could sell any wine, but that seemed so simple to the Captaine, that standing in doubt of their courtesie, he returned in the morning with his three boats, appointed with Bases in their noses, and his men with weapons accordingly, where as before he caried none: and thus dissembling all iniuries conceiued of both parts, the Captaine went ashore, leauing pledges in the boates for himselfe, and cleared all things betweene the treasurer and him, sauing for the gouernours debt, which the one by no meanes would answere, and the other, because it was not his due debt, woulde not molest him for it, but was content to remit it vntill another time, and therefore departed, causing the two Barkes which rode neere the shore to weigh and go vnder saile, which was done because that our Captaine demanding a testimoniall of his good behauiour there, could not haue the same vntill hee were vnder saile ready to depart: and therefore at night he went for the same againe, and receiued it at the treasurers hand, of whom very courteously he tooke his leaue and departed, shooting off the bases of his boat for his farewell, and the townesmen also shot off foure Faulcons and 30. harquebuzes, and this was the first time that he knew of the conueyance of their Faulcons.

The 31. of May wee departed, keeping our course to Hispaniola, and the fourth of Iune wee had sight of an yland, which wee made to be Iamaica, maruelling that by the vehement course of the Seas we should be driuen so farre to leeward: for setting our course to the West end of Hispaniola we fel with the middle of Iamaica, notwithstanding that to al mens sight it shewed a headland, but they were all deceiued by the clouds that lay vpon the land two dayes together, in such sort that we thought it to be the head land of the sayd yland. And a Spaniard being in the ship, who was a Marchant, and inhabitant in Iamaica, hauing occasion to goe to Guinie, and being by treason taken of the Negros, and afterwards bought by the Tangomangos, was by our Captaine brought from thence, and had his passage to go into his countrey, who perceiuing the land, made as though he knew euery place thereof, and pointed to certaine places which he named to be such a place, and such a mans ground, and that behinde such a point was the harborow, but in the ende he pointed so from one point to another, that we were a leeboord of all places, and found our selues at the West end of Iamaica before we were aware of it, and being once to leeward, there was no getting vp againe, so that by trusting of the Spaniards knowledge, our Captaine sought not to speake with any of the inhabitants, which if he had not made himselfe sure of, he would haue done as his custome was in other places: but this man was a plague not onely to our Captaine, who made him loose by ouershooting the place 2000. pounds by hides, which hee might haue gotten, but also to himselfe, who being three yeeres out of his Couutrey, and in great misery in Guinie, both among the Negros and Tangomangos, and in hope to come to his wife and friends, as he made sure accompt, in that at his going into the pinnesse, when he went to shore he put on his new clothes, and for ioy flung away his old, could not afterwards finde any habitation, neither there or in all Cuba, which we sailed all along, but it fell out euer by one occasion or other, that wee were put beside the same, so that he was faine to be brought into England, and it happened to him as it did to a duke of Samaria, when the Israelites were besieged, and were in great misery with hunger, and being tolde by the Prophet Elizæus, that a bushell of flower should be sold for a sickle, would not belieue him, but thought it impossible: and for that cause Elizæus prophesied hee should see the same done, but hee should not eate thereof: so this man being absent three yeeres, and not euer thinking to haue seene his own countrey, did see the same, went vpon it, and yet was it not his fortune to come to it, or to any habitation, whereby to remaine with his friends according to his desire.

Thus hauing sailed along the coast two dayes, we departed the seuenth of Iune, being made to beleeue by the Spaniard that it was not Iamaica, but rather Hispaniola, of which opinion the Captaine also was, because that which hee made Iamaica seemed to be but a piece of the land, and thereby tooke it rather to be Hispaniola, by the lying of the coast, and also for that being ignorant of the force of the current, he could not beleeue he was so farre driuen to leeward, and therefore setting his course to Iamaica, and after certaine

The deceitfull force of the current.

dayes not finding the same, perceiued then certainly that the yland which he was at before was Iamaica, and that the cloudes did deceiue him, whereof he maruelled not a little: and this mistaking of the place came to as ill a passe as the ouershooting of Iamaica: for by this did he also ouerpasse a place in Cuba, called Santa Cruz, where, as he was informed, was great store of hides to be had: and thus being disappointed of two of his portes, where he thought to haue raised great profite by his trafique and also to haue found great refreshing of victuals and water for his men, hee was now disappointed greatly, and such want he had of fresh water, that he was forced to seeke the shore to obteine the same, which he had sight of after certaine dayes ouerpassed with stormes and contrary windes, but yet not of the maine of Cuba, but of certaine ylands in number two hundred, whereof the most part were desolate of inhabitants: by the which ylands the Captaine passing in his pinnesse, could finde no fresh water vntill hee came to an yland bigger then all the rest, called the yle of Pinas, where wee anckered with our ships the 16. of Iune, and found water, which although it were neither so toothsome as running water, by the meanes it is standing, and but the water of raine, and also being neere the Sea was brackish, yet did wee not refuse it, but were more glad thereof, as the time then required, then wee should haue bene another time with fine Conduit water. Thus being reasonably watered we were desirous to depart, because the place was not very conuenient for such ships of charge as they were, because there were many shoales to leeward, which also lay open to the sea for any wind that should blow: and therefore the captaine made the more haste away, which was not vnneedfull: for little sooner were their anckers weyed, and foresaile set, but there arose such a storme, that they had not much to spare for doubling out of the shoales: for one of the barks not being fully ready as the rest, was faine for haste to cut the cable in the hawse, and loose both ancker and cable to saue herselfe.

Two hundred ylands for the most part not inhabited.

Thus the 17. of Iune, we departed and on the 20. wee fell with the West end of Cuba, called Cape S. Antony, where for the space of three dayes wee doubled along, till wee came beyond the shoales, which are 20. leagues beyond S. Anthony. And the ordinary Brise taking vs, which is the Northeastwinde, put vs the 24. from the shoare,

The Cape of S. Anthony in Cuba.

and therefore we went to the Northwest to fetch wind, and also to the coast of Florida to haue the helpe of the current, which was iudged to haue set to the Eastward: so the 29. wee found our selues in 27. degrees, and in the soundings of Florida, where we kept our selues the space of foure dayes, sailing along the coast as neere as we could, in tenne or twelue fadome water, hauing all the while no sight of land.

The Isles of Tortugas.

Great store of birds.

The fift of Iuly we had sight of certeine Islands of sand, called the Tortugas (which is lowe land) where the captaine went in with his pinnesse, and found such a number of birds, that in halfe an houre he laded her with them; and if they had beene ten boats more, they might haue done the like. These Islands beare the name of Tortoises, because of the number of them, which there do breed, whose nature is to liue both in the water and vpon land also, but breed onely vpon the shore, in making a great pit wherein they lay egges, to the number of three or foure hundred, and couering them with sand, they are hatched by the heat of the Sunne; and by this meanes commeth the great increase. Of these we tooke very great ones, which haue both backe and belly all of bone, of the thicknes of an inch: the fish whereof we proued, eating much like veale; and finding a number of eggs in them, tasted also of them, but they did eat very sweetly. Heere wee ankered sixe houres, and then a fair gale of winde springing, we weyed anker, and made saile toward Cuba, whither we came the sixt day, and weathered as farre as the Table, being a hill so called because of the forme thereof: here we lay off and on all night to keepe that we had gotten to wind-ward, intending to haue watered in the morning, if we could haue done it, or els if the winde had come larger, to haue plied to wind-ward to Hauana, which is an harborow whereunto all the fleet of the Spanyards come, and doe there tary to haue one the company of another. This hill we thinking to haue beene the Table, made account (as it was indeed) that Hauana was but eight leagues to wind-ward, but by the perswasion of a French man, who made the captaine beleeue he knew the table very well, and had beene at Hauana, sayd that it was not the Table, and that the Table was much higher, and neerer to the sea side, and that there was no plaine ground to the Eastward, nor hilles to the Westward, but all was contrary,

A hill called the Table.

The port of Hauana.

and that behinde the hilles to the Westward was Hauana. To which persuasion credit being giuen by some, and they not of the woorst, the captaine was perswaded to goe to leeward, and so sailed along the seuenth and eight dayes, finding no habitation, nor no other Table; and then perceiuing his folly to giue eare to such praters, was not a little sory, both because he did consider what time he should spend yer he could get so far to wind-ward againe, which would haue bene, with the weathering which we had, ten or twelue dayes worke, and what it would haue bene longer he knew not, and (that which was woorst) he had not aboue a dayes water, and therfore knew not what shift to make: but in fine, because the want was such, that his men could not liue with it, he determined to seeke water, and to goe further to leeward, to a place (as it is set in the card) called Rio de los puercos, which he was in doubt of, both whether it were inhabited, and whether there were water or not, and whether for the shoalds he might haue accesse with his ships, that he might conueniently take in the same. And while we were in these troubles, and kept our way to the place aforesayd, almighty God our guide (who would not suffer vs to run into any further danger, which we had bene like to haue incurred, if we had ranged the coast of Florida along as we did before, which is so dangerous (by reports) that no ship escapeth which commeth thither, as the Spanyards haue very wel proued the same) sent vs the eight day at night a faire Westerly winde, whereupon the captaine and company consulted, determining not to refuse Gods gift, but euery man was contented to pinch his owne bellie, whatsoeuer had happened; and taking the sayd winde, the ninth day of Iuly got to the Table, and sailing the same night, vnawares ouershot Hauana; at which place wee thought to haue watered: but the next day, not knowing that wee had ouershot the same, sailed along the coast, seeking it, and the eleuenth day in the morning, by certaine knowen marks, we vnderstood that we had ouershot it 20 leagues: in which coast ranging, we found no conuenient watering place, whereby there was no remedy but to disemboque, and to water vpon the coast of Florida: for, to go further to the Eastward, we could not for the shoalds, which are very dangerous; and because the current shooteth to the Northeast, we doubted by the force thereof to be set vpon them, and therefore durst not approch them: so making but reasonable way the day aforesayd, and all the night, the twelfth day in the morning we fell with the Islands vpon the cape of Florida, which we could scant double by the meanes that fearing the shoalds to the Eastwards, and doubting the current comming out of the West, which was not of that force we made account of; for we felt little or none till we fell with the cape, and then felt such a current, that bearing all sailes against the same, yet were driuen backe againe a great pace: the experience whereof we had by the Iesus pinnesse, and the Salomons boat, which were sent the same day in the afternoone, whiles the ships were becalmed, to see if they could finde any water vpon the Islands aforesaid; who spent a great part of the day in rowing thither, being further off then they deemed it to be, and in the meane time a faire gale of winde springing at sea, the ships departed, making a signe to them to come away, who although they saw them depart, because they were so neere the shore, would not lose all the labour they had taken, but determined to keepe their way, and see if there were any water to be had, making no account but to finde the shippes well enough: but they spent so much time in filling the water which they had found, that the night was come before they could make an end. And hauing lost the sight of the ships, they rowed what they could, but were wholly ignorant which way they should seeke them againe; as indeed there was a more doubt then they knew of: for when they departed, the shippes were in no current; and sailing but a mile further, they found one so strong, that bearing all sailes, it could not preuaile against the same, but were driuen backe: whereupon the captaine sent the Salomon, with the other two barks, to beare neere the shore all night, because the current was lesse there a great deale, and to beare light, with shooting off a piece now and then, to the intent the boats might better know how to come to them.

The state of the current of Florida.

The Iesus also bare a light in her toppe gallant, and shot off a piece also now and then, but the night passed, and the morning was come, being the thirteenth day, and no newes could be heard of them, but the ships and barkes ceased not to looke still for them, yet they thought it was all in vaine, by the meanes they heard not of them all the night past; and therefore determined to tary no longer, seeking for them till noone, and if they heard no newes, then they would depart to the Iesus, who perforce (by the vehemency of the current) was caried almost out of sight; but as God would haue it, now time being come, and they hauing tacked about in the pinnesses top, had sight of them, and tooke them vp: they in the boats, being to the number of one and twenty, hauing sight of the ships, and seeing them tacking about; whereas before at the first sight of them they did greatly reioyce, were now in a greater perplexitie then euer they were: for by this they thought themselues vtterly forsaken, whereas before they were in some hope to haue found them. Truly God wrought maruellously for them, for they themselues hauing no victuals but water, and being sore oppressed with hunger, were not of opinion to bestow any further time in seeking the shippes then that present noone time: so that if they had not at that instant espied them, they had gone to the shore to haue made prouision for victuals, and with such things as they could haue gotten, either to haue gone for that part of Florida where the French men were planted (which would haue bene very hard for them to haue done, because they wanted victuals to bring them thither, being an hundred and twenty leagues off) or els to haue remained amongst the Floridians; at whose hands they were put in comfort by a French man, who was with them, that had remained in Florida at the first finding thereof, a whole yeere together, to receiue victuals snfficient, and gentle entertainment, if need were, for a yeere or two, vntill which time God might haue prouided for them. But how contrary this would haue fallen out to their expectations, it is hard to iudge, seeing those people of the cape of Florida are of more sauage and fierce nature, and more valiant than any of the rest; which the Spanyards well prooued, who being fiue hundred men, who intended there to land, returned few or none of them, but were inforced to forsake the same: and of their cruelty mention is made in the booke of the Decades, of a frier, who taking vpon him to persuade the people to subiection, was by them taken, and his skin cruelly pulled ouer his eares, and his flesh eaten.

In these Islands they being a shore, found a dead man, dried in a maner whole, with other heads and bodies of men: so that these sorts of men are eaters of the flesh of men, aswel as the Canibals. But to returne to our purpose.

The foureteenth day the shippe and barks came to the Iesus, bringing them newes of the recouery of the men, which was not a little to the reioycing of the captaine, and the whole company: and so then altogether they kept on their way along the coast of Florida, and the fifteenth day came to an anker, and so from

M. Hawkins ranged all the coast of Florida.

sixe and twenty degrees to thirty degrees and a halfe, where the French men abode, ranging all the coast along, seeking for fresh water, ankering euery night, because we would ouershoot no place of fresh water, and in the day time the captaine in the ships pinnesse sailed along the shore, went into euery creeke, speaking with diuers of the Floridians, because hee would vnderstand where the French men inhabited; and not finding them in eight and twentie degrees, as it was declared vnto him, maruelled thereat, and neuer left sailing along the coast till he found them, who inhabited in a riuer, by them called the riuer of May, and standing in thirty degrees and better. In ranging this coast along, the captaine found it to be all an Island, and therefore it is all lowe land, and very scant of fresh water, but the countrey was maruellously sweet, with both marish and medow ground, and goodly woods among. There they found sorell to grow as abundantly as grasse, and where their houses were, great store of maiz and mill, and grapes of great bignesse, but of taste much like our English grapes. Also Deere great plentie, which came vpon the sands before them. Their houses are not many together, for in one house an hundred of them do lodge; they being made much like a great barne, and in strength not inferior to ours, for they haue stanchions and rafters of whole trees, and are couered with palmito-leaues, hauing no place diuided, but one small roome for their king and queene. In the middest of this house is a hearth, where they make great fires all night, and they sleepe vpon certeine pieces of wood hewin in for the bowing of their backs, and another place made high for their heads, which they put one by another all along the walles on both sides. In their houses they remaine onely in the nights, and in the day they desire the fields, where they dresse their meat, and make prouision for victuals, which they prouide onely for a meale from hand to mouth. There is one thing to be maruelled at, for the making of their fire, and not onely they but also the Negros doe the same, which is made onely by two stickes, rubbing them one against another: and this they may doe in any place they come, where they finde sticks sufficient for the purpose. In their apparell the men onely vse deere skinnes, wherewith some onely couer their priuy members, other some vse the same as garments

Florida found to be cut into Islands.

The commodities of Florida.

The houses of Florida.

The maner of kindling of fire in Florida.

to couer them before and behind; which skinnes are painted, some yellow and red, some blacke and russet, and euery man according to his owne fancy. They do not omit to paint their bodies also with curious knots, or antike worke, as euery man in his owne fancy deuiseth, which painting, to make it continue the better, they vse with a thorne to pricke their flesh, and dent in the same, whereby the painting may haue better hold. In their warres they vse a sleighter colour of painting their faces, whereby to make themselues shew the more fierce; which after their warres ended, they wash away againe. In their warres they vse bowes and arrowes, whereof their bowes are made of a kind of Yew, but blacker then ours, and for the most part passing the strength of the Negros or Indians, for it is not greatly inferior to ours: their arrowes are also of a great length, but yet of reeds like other Indians, but varying in two points, both in length and also for nocks and feathers, which the other lacke, whereby they shoot very stedy: the heads of the same are vipers teeth, bones of fishes, flint stones, piked points of kniues, which they hauing gotten of the French men, broke the same, and put the points of them in their arrowes heads: some of them haue their heads of siluer, othersome that haue want of these, put in a kinde of hard wood, notched, which pierceth as farre as any of the rest. In their fight, being in the woods, they vse a maruellous pollicie for their owne safegard, which is by clasping a tree in their armes, and yet shooting notwithstanding: this policy they vsed with the French men in their fight, whereby it appeareth that they are people of some policy: and although they are called by the Spanyards Gente triste, that is to say, Bad people, meaning thereby, that they are not men of capacity: yet haue the French men found them so witty in their answeres, that by the captaines owne report, a counseller with vs could not giue a more profound reason.

The women also for their apparell vse painted skinnes, but most of them gownes of mosse, somewhat longer then our mosse, which they sowe together artificially, and make the same surplesse wise, wearing their haire down to their shoulders, like the Indians. In this riuer of May aforesayd, the captaine entring with his pinnesse, found a French ship of fourescore tun, and two pinnesses of fifteene tun a piece, by her, and speaking with the keepers thereof, they tolde him of a fort two leagues vp, which they had built, in

The French fort.

which their captaine Monsieur Laudonniere was, with certeine souldiers therein. To whom our captaine sending to vnderstand of a watering place, where he might conueniently take it in, and to haue licence for the same, he straight, because there was no conuenient place but vp the riuer fiue leagues, where the water was fresh, did send him a pilot for the more expedition thereof to bring in one of his barks, which going in with other boats prouided for the same purpose, ankered before the fort, into the which our captaine went; where hee was by the Generall, with other captaines and souldiers, very gently enterteined, who declared vnto him the time of their being there, which was fourteene moneths, with the extremity they were driuen to for want of victuals, hauing brought very little with them; in which place they being two hundred men at their first comming, had in short space eaten all the maiz they could buy of the inhabitants about them, and therefore were driuen certeine of them to serue a king of the Floridians against other his enemies, for mill and other victuals: which hauing gotten could not serue them, being so many, so long a time: but want came vpon them in such sort, that they were faine to gather acorns, which being stamped small, and often washed, to take away the bitternesse of them, they did vse for bread, eating withall sundry times, roots, whereof they found many good and holesome, and such as serue rather for medecines then for meates alone. But this hardnesse not contenting some of them, who would not take the paines so much as to fish in the riuer before their doores, but would haue all things put in their mouthes, they did rebell against the captaine, taking away first his armour, and afterward imprisoning him: and so to the number of fourescore of them, departed with a barke and a pinnesse, spoiling their store of victuall, and taking away a great part thereof with them, and so went to the Islands of Hispaniola and Iamaica a rouing, where they spoiled and pilled the Spanyards; and hauing taken two carauels laden with wine and casaui, which is a bread made of roots, and much other victuals and treasure, had not the grace to depart therewith, but were of such haughty stomacks, that they thought their force to be such that no man durst meddle with them, and so kept harborow in Iamaica, going dayly ashore at their pleasure. But God which would not suffer such euill doers vnpunished, did indurate their hearts in such sort, that they lingered the time so long, that a ship and galliasse being made

Bread made of acorns.

out of Santa Domingo came thither into the harborow, and tooke twenty of them, whereof the most part were hanged, and the rest caried into Spaine, and some (to the number of fiue and twenty) escaped in the pinnesse, and came to Florida; where at their landing they were put in prison, and incontinent foure of the chiefest being condemned, at the request of the souldiers, did passe the harquebuzers, and then were hanged vpon a gibbet. This lacke of threescore men was a great discourage and weakening to the rest, for they were the best souldiers that they had: for they had now made the inhabitants weary of them by their dayly crauing of maiz, hauing no wares left to content them withall, and therefore were inforced to rob them, and to take away their victual perforce, which was the occasion that the Floridians (not well contented therewith) did take certeine of their company in the woods, and slew them; whereby there grew great warres betwixt them and the Frenchmen: and therefore they being but a few in number durst not venture abroad, but at such time as they were inforced thereunto for want of food to do the same: and going twenty harquebuzers in a company, were set vpon by eighteene kings, hauing seuen or eight hundred men, which with one of their bowes slew one of their men, and hurt a dozen, and droue them all downe to their boats; whose pollicy in fight was to be maruelled at: for hauing shot at diuers of their bodies which were armed, and perceiuing that their arrowes did not preuaile against the same, they shot at their faces and legs, which were the places that the Frenchmen were hurt in. Thus the Frenchmen returned, being in ill case by the hurt of their men, hauing not aboue forty souldiers left vnhurt, whereby they might ill make any more inuasions vpon the Floridians, and keepe their fort withall: which they must haue beene driuen vnto, had not God sent vs thither for their succour; for they had not aboue ten dayes victuall left before we came. In which perplexity our captaine seeing them, spared them out of his ship twenty barrels of meale, and foure pipes of beanes, with diuers other victuals and necessaries which he might conueniently spare: and to helpe them the better homewardes, whither they were bound before our comming, at their request we spared them one of our barks of fifty tun. Notwithstanding the great want that the Frenchmen had, the ground doth yeeld victuals sufficient, if they would

The occasion of the falling out with the Floridians.

The French greatly relieued by M. Hawkins.

haue taken paines to get the same; but they being souldiers, desired to liue by the sweat of other mens browes: for while they had peace with the Floridians, they had for sufficient, by weares which they made to catch the same: but when they grew to warres, the Floridians tooke away the same againe, and then would not the Frenchmen take the paines to make any more. The ground yeeldeth naturally grapes in great store, for in the time that the Frenchmen were there, they made 20 hogsheads of wine. Also it yeeldeth roots passing good, Deere maruellous store, with diuers other beasts, and fowle, seruiceable to the vse of man. These be things wherewith a man may liue, hauing corne or maiz wherewith to make bread: for maiz maketh good sauory bread, and cakes as fine as flowre. Also it maketh good meale, beaten and sodden with water, and eateth like pap wherewith we feed children. It maketh also good beuerage, sodden in water, and nourishable; which the Frenchmen did vse to drinke of in the morning, and it assuageth their thirst, so that they had no need to drinke all the day after. And this maiz was the greatest lacke they had, because they had no labourers to sowe the same, and therefore to them that should inhabit the land it were requisite to haue labourers to till and sowe the ground: for they hauing victuals of their owne, whereby they neither rob nor spoile the inhabitants, may liue not onely quietly with them, who naturally are more desirous of peace then of warres, but also shall haue abundance of victuals proferred them for nothing: for it is with them as it is with one of vs, when we see another man euer taking away from vs, although we haue enough besides, yet then we thinke all too little for our selues: for surely we haue heard the Frenchmen report, and I know it by the Indians, that a very little contenteth them: for the Indians with the head of maiz rosted, will trauell a whole day, and when they are at the Spanyards finding, they giue them nothing but sodden herbs and maiz: and in this order I saw threescore of them feed, who were laden with wares, and came fifty leagues off. The Floridians when the trauell, haue a kinde of herbe dried, who with a cane and an earthen cup in the end, with fire, and the dried herbs put together, doe sucke thorow the cane the smoke thereof, which smoke satisfieth their hunger, and there-

Twentie hogsheads of wine made in Florida, like to the wine of Orleans.

Labourers necessary to inhabit new countreys.

Tobacco and its virtue thereof.

with they liue foure or fiue dayes without meat or drinke, and this all the Frenchmen vsed for this purpose: yet do they holde opinion withall, that it causeth water and fleame to void from their stomacks. The commodities of this land are more then are yet knowen to any man: for besides the land it selfe, whereof there is more then any Christian king is able to inhabit, it flourisheth with medow, pasture ground, with woods of Cedar and Cypres, and other sorts, as better can not be in the world. They haue for apothecary herbs, trees, roots and gummes great store, as Storax liquida, Turpintine, Gumme, Myrrhe, and Frankinsence, with many others, whereof I know not the names. Colours both red, blacke, yellow, and russet, very perfect, wherewith they so paint their bodies, and Deere skinnes which they weare about them, that with water it neither fadeth away, nor altereth colour. Golde and siluer they want not: for at the Frenchmens first comming thither they had the same offered them for little or nothing, for they receiued for a hatchet two pound weight of golde, because they knew not the estimation thereof: but the souldiers being greedy of the same, did take it from them, giuing them nothing for it: the which they perceiuing, that both the Frenchmen did greatly esteeme it, and also did rigourously deale with them, by taking the same away from them, at last would not be knowen they had any more, neither durst they weare the same for feare of being taken away: so that sauing at their first comming, they could get none of them: and how they came by this golde and siluer the French men know not as yet, but by gesse, who hauing trauelled to the Southwest of the cape, hauing found the same dangerous, by means of sundry banks, as we also haue found the same: and there finding masts which were wracks of Spaniards comming from Mexico, iudged that they had gotten treasure by them. For it is most true that diuers wracks haue bene made of Spaniards, hauing much treasure: for the Frenchmen hauing trauelled to the capeward an hundred and fiftie miles, did finde two Spanyards with the Floridians, which they brought afterward to their fort, whereof one was in a carauel comming from the Indies, which was cast away foureteene yeeres ago, and the other twelue yeeres; of whose fellowes some escaped, othersome were slain by the inhabitants. It seemeth they had estimation of their golde and siluer, for it is wrought flat

The variety of commodities in Florida.

Two Spanyards liued long among ye Floridians.

Pieces of Gold grauen among yᵉ Floridans.

Florida esteemed an Island.

This copper was found perfect golde, called by the Sauages, Syeroa phyra.

and grauen, which they weare about their neckes; othersome made round like a pancake, with a hole in the midst, to boulster vp their breasts withall, because they thinke it a deformity to haue great breasts. As for mines either of gold or siluer, the Frenchmen can heare of none they haue vpon the Island, but of copper, whereof as yet also they haue not made the proofe, because they were but few men: but it is not vnlike, but that in the maine where are high hilles, may be golde and siluer as well as in Mexico, because it is all one maine. The Frenchmen obteined pearles of them of great bignesse, but they were blacke, by meanes of rosting of them, for they do not fish for them as the Spanyards doe, but for their meat: for the Spanyards vse to keepe dayly afishing some two or three hundred Indians, some of them that be of choise a thousand: and their order is to go in canoas, or rather great pinnesses, with thirty men in a piece, whereof the one halfe, or most part be diuers, the rest doe open the same for the pearles: for it is not suffered that they should vse dragging, for that would bring them out of estimation, and marre the beds of them. The oisters which haue the smallest sort of pearles are found in seuen or eight fadome water, but the greatest in eleuen or twelue fadome.

Vnicornes hornes, which yᵉ inhabitants call Sounnamma.

The Floridians haue pieces of vnicornes hornes which they weare about their necks, whereof the Frenchmen obteined many pieces. Of those vnicornes they haue many: for that they doe affirme it to be a beast with one horne, which comming to the riuer to drinke, putteth the same into the water before he drinketh. Of this vnicornes horne there are of our company, that hauing gotten the same of the Frenchmen brought home thereof to shew. It is therefore to be presupposed that there are more commodities as well as that, which for want of time, and people sufficient to inhabit the same, can not yet come to light: but I trust God will reueale the same before it be long, to the great profit of them that shal take it in hand. Of beasts in this countrey besides deere, foxes, hares, polcats, conies, ownces, and leopards, I am not able certeinly to say: but it is thought that there are lions and tygres as well as vnicornes; lions especially; if it be true that is sayd, of the enmity betweene them and the vnicornes;* for there is no beast but hath his enemy, as the cony the polcat, a sheepe the woolfe, the elephant the rinoceros; and so of other beasts the like: insomuch, that whereas the one is, the other can not be missing. And seeing I haue made mention of the beasts of this countrey, it shall not be from my purpose to speake also of the venimous beasts, as crocodiles, whereof there is great abundance, adders of great bignesse, whereof our men killed some of a yard and halfe long. Also I heard a miracle of one of these adders, vpon the which a faulcon seizing, the sayd adder did claspe her tail about her; which the French captaine seeing, came to the rescue of the falcon, and tooke her slaying the adder; and this faulcon being wilde, he did reclaim her, and kept her for the space of two moneths, at which time for very want of meat he was faine to cast her off. On these adders the Frenchmen did feed, to no little admiration of vs, and affirmed the same to be a delicate meat. And the captaine of the Frenchmen saw also a serpent with three heads and foure feet, of the bignesse of a great spaniell, which for want of a harquebuz he durst not attempt to slay. Of fish also they haue in the riuer, pike, roch, salmon, trout, and diuers other small fishes, and of great fish, some of the length of a man and longer, being of bignesse accordingly, hauing a snout much like a sword of a yard long. There be also of sea fishes, which we saw coming along the coast flying, which are of the bignesse of a smelt, the biggest sort whereof haue foure wings, but the other haue but two: of these wee sawe comming out of Guinea a hundred in a company, which being chased by the gilt heads, otherwise called the bonitos, do to auoid them the better, take their flight out of the water, but yet are they not able to fly farre, because of the drying of their wings, which serue them not to flie but when they are moist, and therefore when they can flie no further, they fall into the water, and hauing wet their wings, take a new flight againe. These bonitos be of bignesse like a carpe, and in colour like a makerell, but it is the swiftest fish in swimming that is, and followeth her prey very fiercely, not only in the water, but also out of the water: for as the flying fish taketh her flight, so doeth this bonito leape after them, and taketh them sometimes aboue

Faulcons in Florida.

Flying fishes.

---

* This legend accounts for the supporters in our National Arms.

the water. There were some of those bonitos, which being galled by a fishgig, did follow our shippe comming out of Guinea 500 leagues. There is a sea-fowle also that chaseth this flying fish as well as the bonito: for as the flying fish taketh her flight, so doth this fowle pursue to take her, which to beholde is a greater pleasure then hawking, for both the flights are as pleasant, and also more often then an hundred times: for the fowle can flie no way, but one or other lighteth in her pawes, the number of them are so abundant. There is an innumerable yoong frie of these flying fishes, which commonly keepe about the ship, and are not so big as butter-flies, and yet by flying do auoid the vnsatiablenesse of the bonito. Of the bigger sort of these fishes wee tooke many, which both night and day flew into the sailes of our ship, and there was not one of them which was not woorth a bonito: for being put vpon a hooke drabling in the water, the bonito would leape thereat, and so was taken. Also, we tooke many with a white cloth made fast to a hooke, which being tied so short in the water, that it might leape out and in, the greedie bonito thinking it to be a flying fish leapeth thereat, and so is deceiued. We tooke also dolphins which are of very goodly colour and proportion to behold, and no less delicate in taste. Fowles also there be many, both vpon land and vpon sea: but concerning them on the land I am not able to name them, because my abode was there so short. But for the fowle of the fresh riuers, these two I noted to be the chiefe, whereof the Flemengo is one, hauing all red feathers, and long red legs like a herne, a necke according to the bill, red, whereof the vpper neb hangeth an inch ouer the nether; and an egript, which is all white as the swanne, with legs like to an hearn-shaw, and of bignesse accordingly, but it hath in her taile feathers of so fine a plume, that it passeth the estridge his feather. Of the sea-fowle aboue all other not common in England, I noted the pellican, which is fained to be the louingst bird that is; which rather then her yong should want, wil spare her heart bloud out of her belly: but for all this louingnesse she is very deformed to beholde; for she is of colour russet: notwithstanding in Guinea I haue seene of them as white as a swan, hauing legs like the same, and a body like a hearne, with a long necke, and a thick long beak, from the nether iaw whereof downe to the breast passeth a skinne of such a bignesse, as is able to receiue a fish as big as ones thigh, and this her big throat and long bill doeth make her seem so ougly.

Here I haue declared the estate of Florida, and the commodities therein to this day knowen, which although it may seeme vnto some, by the meanes that the plenty of golde and siluer, is not so abundant as in other places, that the coast bestowed vpon the same will not be able to quit the charges: yet am I of the opinion, that by that which I haue seene in other Islands of the Indians, where such increase of cattell hath bene, that of twelue head of beasts in fiue and twenty yeeres, did in the hides of them raise a thousand pound profit yerely, that the increase of cattel only would raise profit sufficient for the same: for wee may consider, if so small a portion did raise so much gaines in such short time, what would a greater do in many yeres? and surely I may this affirme, that the ground of the Indians for the breed of cattell, is not in any point to be compared to this of Florida, which all the yeere long is so greene, as any time in the Summer with vs: which surely is not to be maruelled at, seeing the countrey standeth in so watery a climate: for once a day without faile they haue a shower of raine; which by meanes of the countrey it selfe, which is drie, and more feruent hot then ours, doeth make all things to flourish therein. And because there is not the thing we all seeke for, being rather desirous of present gaines, I doe therefore affirme the attempt thereof to be more requisit for a prince, who is of power able to go thorow with the same, rather then for any subiect.

Meanes to reape a sufficient profit in Florida and Virginia.

From thence wee departed the 28 of Iuly, vpon our voyage homewards, hauing there all things as might be most conuenient for our purpose: and tooke leaue of the Frenchmen that there still remained, who with diligence determined to make as great speede after,* as they could. Thus by meanes of contrary windes oftentimes, wee prolonged our voyage in such manner that victuals scanted with vs, so that we were diuers times (or rather the most part) in despaire of euer comming home, had not God in his goodnesse better prouided for vs, then our deseruing. In which state of great miserie, wee were prouoked to call vpon him by feruent prayer, which mooued him to heare vs, so that we had a prosperous winde, which did set vs so farre shot, as to be vpon the banke of Newfound land, on Saint Bartholomews eue, and we sounded thereupon, finding ground at an hundred and thirty fadoms, being that day somewhat becalmed, and tooke a great number of fresh codde-fish, which greatly relieued vs: and being very glad thereof, the next day we departed, and had lingring little gales for the space of foure or fiue dayes, at the ende of which we sawe a couple of French shippes, and had of them so much fish as would serue vs plentifully for all the rest of the way, the Captaine paying for the same both golde and siluer, to the iust value thereof, vnto the chiefe owners of the saide shippes, but they not looking for any thing at all, were glad in themselues to meete with such good intertainement at sea, as they had at our handes. After which departure from them, with a good large winde, the twentieth of September we came to Padstow in Cornewall, God be thanked, in safetie, with the losse of twentie persons in all the voyage, and with great profit to the venturers of the said voyage, as also to the whole realme, in bringing home both golde, siluer, pearles and other iewels great store. His name therefore be praised for euermore. Amen.

---

* For Laudonnière's own account of Florida, see Vol. XIII., p. 402 of this Edition.

Their arriual in Padstow in the moneth of September, 1565.

The names of certaine Gentlemen that were in this voyage.

M. Iohn Hawkins.
M. Iohn Chester, sir William Chesters sonne.
M. Anthony Parkhurst.
M. Fitzwilliam.
M. Thomas Woorley.
M. Edward Lacie, with diuers others.

The Register and true accounts of all herein expressed hath beene approoued by me Iohn Sparke the younger, who went vpon the same voyage, and wrote the same.

The third troublesome voyage made with the Iesus of Lubec, the Minion, and foure other ships, to the parts of Guinea, and the West Indies, in the yeeres 1567 and 1568 by M. Iohn Hawkins.

THe ships departed from Plimmouth, the second day of October, Anno 1567 and had reasonable weather vntill the seuenth day, at which time fortie leagues North from Cape

Finister, there arose an extreme storme, which continued foure dayes, in such sort, that the fleete was dispersed, and all our great boats lost, and the Iesus our chiefe shippe, in such case, as not thought able to serue the voyage: whereupon in the same storme we set our course homeward, determining to giue ouer the voyage: but the eleuenth day of the same moneth, the winde changed with faire weather, whereby we were animated to followe our enterprise, and so did, directing our course with the Islands of the Canaries, where according to on order before prescribed, all our shippes before dispersed, met at one of those Ilands, called Gomera, where we tooke water, and departed from thence the fourth day of Nouember, towards the coast of Guinea, and arriued at Cape Verde, the eighteenth of Nouember: where we landed 150 men, hoping to obtain some Negros, where we got but fewe, and those with great hurt and damage to our men, which chiefly proceeded of their enuenomed arrowes: and although in the beginning they seemed to be but small hurts, yet there hardly escaped any that had blood drawen of them, but died in strange sort, with their mouthes shut some tenne dayes before they died, and after their wounds were whole; where I my selfe had one of the greatest woundes, yet thanks be to God, escaped. From thence we passed the time vpon the coast of Guinea, searching with all diligence the riuers from Rio grande, vnto Sierra Leona, till the twelfth of Ianuarie, in which time we had not gotten together a hundreth and fiftie Negros: yet nothwithstanding the sicknesse of our men, and the late time of the yeere commanded vs away: and thus hauing nothing wherewith to seeke the coast of the West Indias, I was with the rest of our company in consultation to goe to the coast of the Mine, hoping there to haue obtained some golde for our wares, and thereby to haue defraied our charge. But euen in that present instant, there came to vs a Negro, sent from a king oppressed by other Kings his neighbours, desiring our aide, with promise that as many Negros as by these warres might be obtained, as well of his part as of ours, should be at our pleasure: whereupon we concluded to giue aide, and sent 120 of our men, which the 15 of Ianuarie, assaulted a towne of the Negros of our Allies aduersaries, which had in it 8000 Inhabitants, being very strongly impaled and fenced after their manner, but it was so well defended that our men preuailed not, but lost sixe

A towne of 8000 negros taken.

men and fortie hurt: so that our men sent forthwith to me for more helpe: whereupon considering that the good successe of this enterprise might highly further the commoditie of our voyage, I went my selfe, and with the helpe of the king of our side, assaulted the towne, both by land and sea, and very hardly with fire (their houses being couered with dry Palme leaues) obtained the towne, and put the inhabitants to flight, where we tooke 250 persons, men, women, and children, and by our friend the king of our side, there were taken 600 prisoners, whereof we hoped to haue had our choise: but the Negro (in which nation is seldome or neuer found truth) meant nothing lesse: for that night he remooued his campe and prisoners, so that we were faine to content vs with those fewe which we had gotten ourselues.

No trueth in Negros.

Now had we obtained between foure and fiue hundred Negros, wherewith we thought it somewhat reasonable to seeke the coast of the West Indies, and there, for our Negros, and other our merchandize, we hoped to obtaine, whereof to counteruaile our charges with some gaines, whereunto we proceeded with all diligence, furnished our watering, tooke fuell, and departed the coast of Guinea the third of Februarie, continuing at the sea with a passage more hard, then before had bene accustomed till the 27 day of March, which day we had sight of an Iland, called Dominica, vpon the coast of the West Indies, in fourteene degrees: from thence we coasted from place to place, making our traffike with the Spaniards as we might, somewhat hardly, because the king had straightly commanded all his Gouernours in those parts, by no meanes to suffer any trade to be made with vs: notwithstanding we had reasonable trade, and courteous entertainement, from the Ile of Margarita vnto Cartagena, without any thing greatly worth the noting, sauing at Capo de la Vela, in a towne called Rio de la Hacha (from whence come all the pearles) the treasurer who had the charge there, would by no meanes agree to any trade, or suffer vs to take water, he had fortified his towne with diuers bulwarkes in all places where it might be entered, and furnished himselfe with an hundred Hargabuziers, so that he thought by famine to haue inforced vs to haue put a land our Negros: of which purpose he had not greatly failed, vnlesse we had by force entred the towne: which (after we could by no meanes obtaine his fauour) we were inforced to doe, and so with two hundred men brake

Dominica.

in vpon their bulwarkes, and entred the towne with the losse onely of two men of our partes, and no hurt done to the Spaniards because after their volley of shot discharged, they all fled. Rio de la Hacha taken.

Thus hauing the town with some circumstance, as partly by the Spaniards desire of Negros, and partly by friendship of the Treasurer, we obtained a secret trade: whereupon the Spaniards resorted to vs by night, and bought of vs to the number of 200 Negros: in all other places where we traded the Spaniards inhabitants were glad of vs, and traded willingly.

Cartagena.

At Cartagena the last towne we thought to haue seene on the coast, we could by no meanes obtaine to deale with any Spaniard, the gouernor was so straight, and because our trade was so neere finished we thought not good either to aduenture any landing, or to detract further time, but in peace departed from thence the 24 of Iuly, hoping to haue escaped the time of their stormes which then soone after began to reigne, the which they called Furicanos, but passing by the West end of Cuba, towards the coast of Florida, there happened to vs the 12 day of August an extreme storme which continued by the space of foure dayes, which so beat the Iesus, that we cut downe all her higher buildings, her rudder also was sore shaken, and withall was in so extreme a leake, that we were rather vpon the point to leaue her then to keepe her any longer, yet hoping to bring all to good passe, we sought the coast of Florida, where we found no place nor Hauen for our ships, because of the shalownesse of the coast: thus being in greater despaire, and taken with a newe storme which continued other 3 dayes, we were inforced to take for our succour the Port which serueth the citie of Mexico called Saint Iohn de Vllua, which standeth in 19 degrees: in seeking of which Port we tooke in our way 3 ships which carried passengers to the number of an hundred, which passengers we hoped should be a meane to vs the better to obtaine victuals for our money, and a quiet place for the repairing of our fleete. Shortly after this the 16 of September we entered the Port of Saint Iohn de Vllua and in our entrie the Spaniardes thinking vs to be the fleete of Spaine, the chiefe officers of the Countrey came aboord vs, which being deceiued of their expectation were greatly dismayed: but immediatly when they sawe our demand was

Furicanos.

Storme.

The Spaniards deceiued.

nothing but victuals, were recomforted. I found also in the same Port twelue ships which had in them by the report two hundred thousand pound in gold and siluer, all which (being in my possession, with the kings Iland as also the passengers before in my way thitherward stayed) I set at libertie, without the taking from them the waight of a groat: onely because I would not be delayed of my dispatch, I stayed two men of estimation and sent post immediatly to Mexico, which was two hundred miles from vs, to the Presidentes and Councell there, shewing them of our arriuall there by the force of weather, and the necessitie of the repaire of our shippes and victuals, which wantes we required as friends to king Philip to be furnished of for our money: and that the Presidents and Councel there should with all conuenient speede take order, that at the arriuall of the Spanish fleete, which was dayly looked for, there might no cause of quarrell rise betweene vs and them, but for the better maintenance of amitie, their commandement might be had in that behalfe. This message being sent away the sixteenth day of September at night, being the very day of our arriuall, in the next morning which was the seuenteenth day of the same moneth, we sawe open of the Hauen thirteene great shippes, and vnderstanding them to bee the fleete of Spaine, I sent immediately to aduertise the Generall of the fleete of my being there, doing him to vnderstand, that before I would suffer them to enter the Port, there should some order of conditions passe betweene vs for our safe being there, and maintenance of peace. Now it is to be vnderstood that this Port is made by a little Iland of stones not three foote aboue the water in the highest place, and but a bow-shoot of length any way, this Iland standeth from the maine land two bow shootes or more, also it is to be vnderstood that there is not in all this coast any other place for shippes to arriue in safety, because the North winde hath there such violence, that vnlesse the shippes be very safely mored with their ankers fastened vpon this Iland, there is no remedie for these North windes but death: also the place of the Hauen was so little, that of neccessitie the shippes must ride one aboord the other, so that we could not giue place to them, nor they to vs: and here I beganne to bewaile that which after followed, for now, said I, I am in two dangers, and forced to receiue the one of them. That

Our requests.

The fleete of Spaine.

The maner of the port S. Iohn de Vllua.

North windes perilous.

was, either I must haue kept out the fleete from entering the Port, the which with Gods helpe I was very well able to doe, or else suffer them to enter in with their accustomed treason, which they neuer faile to execute, where they may haue opportunitie, to compasse it by any meanes : if I had kept them out, then had there bene present shipwracke of all the fleete which amounted in value to sixe Millions, which was in value of our money 1800000. li. which I considered I was not able to answere, fearing the Queenes Maiesties indignation in so waightie a matter. Thus with my selfe reuoluing the doubts, I thought rather better to abide the Iutt of the vncertainty, then the certaintie. The vncertaine doubt I account was their treason which by good policie I hoped might be preuented, and therefore as chusing the least mischiefe I proceeded to conditions. Now was our first messenger come and returned from the fleete with report of the arriuall of a Viceroy, so that hee had authoritie, both in all this Prouince of Mexico (otherwise called Nueua Espanna) and in the sea, who sent vs word that we should send our conditions, which of his part should (for the better maintenance of amitie betweene the Princes) be both fauourably granted, and faithfully performed with many faire wordes how passing the coast of the Indies he had vnderstood of our honest behauiour towardes the inhabitants where we had to doe, aswell elsewhere as in the same Port, the which I let passe: thus following our demand, we required victuals for our money, and licence to sell as much ware as might furnish our wants, and that there might be of either part twelue gentlemen as hostages for the maintenance of peace : and that the Iland for our better safetie might be in our owne possession, during our abode there, and such ordinance as was planted in the same Iland which were eleuen peeces of brasse : and that no Spaniard might land in the Iland with any kind of weapon : these conditions at the first he somewhat misliked, chiefly the guard of the Iland to be in our owne keeping, which if they had had, we had soone knowen our fare: for with the first North winde they had cut our cables and our ships had gone ashore : but in the ende he concluded to our request, bringing the twelue hostages to ten, which with all speede of either part were receiued, with a writing from the Viceroy signed with his hande and sealed with his seale of all the conditions concluded, and forthwith a trumpet

1800 thousand pond.

Faire wordes beguiled.

Our requests.

The peace concluded.

blowen with commandement that none of either part should be meane to violate the peace vpon paine of death: and further it was concluded that the two Generals of the fleetes should meete, and giue faith ech to other for the performance of the premisses which was so done. Thus at the end of 3 dayes all was concluded and the fleete entered the port, saluting one another as the maner of the sea doth require. Thus as I said before, Thursday we entred the port, Friday we saw the fleete, and on Munday at night they entered the Port: then we laboured 2. daies placing the English ships by themselues, and the Spanish ships by themselues, the captaines of ech part and inferiour men of their parts promising great amity of al sides: which euen as with all fidelitie it was ment on our part, so the Spaniards ment nothing lesse on their parts, but from the maine land had furnished themselues with a supply of men to the number of 1000, and ment the next Thursday being the 23 of September at dinner time, to set vpon vs on all sides. The same Thursday in the morning the treason being at hand, some appearance shewed, as shifting of weapon from ship to ship, planting and bending of ordinance from the ships to the Iland where our men warded, passing too and fro of companies of men more then required for their necessary busines, and many other ill likelihoods, which caused vs to haue a vehement suspition, and therewithall sent to the Viceroy to enquire what was ment by it, which sent immediatly straight commandement to vnplant all things suspicious, and also sent word that he in the faith of a Viceroy would be our defence from all villanies. Yet we being not satisfied with this answere, because we suspected a great number of men to be hid in a great ship of 900 tunnes, which was mored next vnto the Minion, sent againe to the Viceroy the master of the Iesus which had the Spanish tongue, and required to be satisfied if any such thing were or not. The Viceroy now seeing that the treason must be discouered, foorthwith stayed our master, blew the Trumpet, and of all sides set vpon vs: our men which warded a shore being stricken with sudden feare, gaue place, fled, and sought to recouer succour of the ships; the Spaniardes being before prouided for the purpose landed in all places in multitudes from their ships which they might easily doe without boates, and slewe all our men ashore without mercie, a fewe of them escaped aboord the Iesus. The great ship which had by

A Viceroy false of his faith.

The treason brake foorth.

the estimation three hundred men placed in her secretly, immediatly fell aboord the Minion, but by Gods appointment, in the time of the suspicion we had, which was onely one halfe houre, the Minion was made readie to auoide, and so leesing her hedfasts, and hayling away by the sternefastes she was gotten out: thus with Gods helpe she defended the violence of the first brunt of these three hundred men. The Minion being past out, they came aboord the Iesus, which also with very much a doe and the losse of manie of our men were defended and kept out. Then there were also two other ships that assaulted the Iesus at the same instant, so that she had hard getting loose, but yet with some time we had cut our head-fastes, and gotten out by the stern-fastes. Nowe when the Iesus and the Minion were gotten about two shippes length from the Spanish fleete, the fight beganne so hotte on all sides that within one houre the Admirall of the Spaniards was supposed to be sunke, their Viceadmirall burned, and one other of their principall ships supposed to be sunke, so that the shippes were little able to annoy vs.

The Minion escaped hardly.

The Iesus escaped hardly.

Sharpe wars.

3. ships of the Spaniards consumed.

Then it is to be vnderstood, that all the Ordinance vpon the Ilande was in the Spaniardes handes, which did vs so great annoyance, that it cut all the mastes and yardes of the Iesus in such sort that there was no hope to carrie her away: also it sunke our small shippes, whereupon we determined to place the Iesus on that side of the Minion, that she might abide all the batterie from the land, and so be a defence for the Minion till night, and then to take such reliefe of victuall and other necessaries from the Iesus, as the time would suffer vs, and to leaue her. As we were thus determining, and had placed the Minion from the shot of the land, suddenly the Spaniards had fired two great shippes which were comming directly with vs, and hauing no meanes to auoide the fire, it bredde among our men a maruellous feare, so that some sayd, let vs depart with the Minion, other said, let vs see whether the winde will carrie the fire from vs. But to be short, the Minions men which had alwayes their sayles in a readinesse, thought to make sure worke, and so without either consent of the Captaine or Master cut their saile, so that very hardly I was receiued into the Minion.

A hard case.

The most part of the men that were left aliue in the Iesus, made shift and followed the Minion in a small boat, the rest which the little boate was not able to receiue, were inforced to abide the mercie of the Spaniards (which I doubt was very little) so with the Minion only and the Iudith (a small barke of 50 tunne) we escaped, which barke the same night forsooke vs in our great miserie: we were now remooued with the Minion from the Spanish ships two bowshootes, and there rode all that night: the next morning we recouered an Iland a mile from the Spaniardes, where there tooke vs a North winde, and being left onely with two ankers and two cables (for in this conflict we lost three cables and two ankers) we thought alwayes vpon death which euer was present, but God preserued vs to a longer time.

Small hope to be had of tyrants.

A storme.

The weather waxed reasonable, and the Saturday we set saile, and hauing a great number of men and little victuals our hope of life waxed lesse and lesse: some desired to yeeld to the Spaniards, some rather desired to obtaine a place where they might giue themselues to the Infidels, and some had rather abide with a little pittance the mercie of God at Sea: so thus with many sorowful hearts we wandred in an vnknowen Sea by the space of 14 dayes, till hunger inforced vs to seek the land, for hides were thought very good meat, rats, cats, mice and dogs, none escaped that might be gotten, parrats and monkeyes that were had in great price, were thought there very profitable if they serued the turne one dinner: thus in the end the 8 day of October we came to the land in the botome of the same bay of Mexico in 23 degrees and a halfe, where we hoped to haue found inhabitants of the Spaniards, reliefe of victuals, and place for the repaire of our ship, which was so sore beaten with shot from our enemies and brused with shooting off our owne ordinance, that our wearie and weake armes were scarce able to defende and keepe out water. But all things happened to the contrary, for we found neither people, victuall, nor hauen of reliefe, but a place where hauing faire weather with some perill we might land a boat: our people being forced with hunger desired to be set on land, whereunto I consented.

Small hopes of life.

Hard choice.

Miseries.

And such as were willing to land I put them apart, and such as were desirous to goe homewardes, I put apart, so that they were indifferently parted a hundred of one side and a hundred of the other side: these hundred men we set a land with all diligence in this little place beforesaid, which being landed, we determined there to take in fresh water, and so with our little remaine of victuals to take the sea.*

The next day hauing a land with me fiftie of our hundreth men that remained for the speedier preparing of our water aboord, there arose an extreame storme, so that in three dayes we could by no meanes repaire aboord our ship: the ship also was in such perill that euery houre we looked for shipwracke.

The greatest miserie of all.

But yet God againe had mercie on vs, and sent faire weather, we had aboord our water, and departed the sixteenth day of October, after which day we had faire and prosperous weather till the sixteenth day of Nouember, which day God be praysed we were cleere from the coast of the Indies, and out of the chanell and gulfe of Bahama, which is betweene the Cape of Florida, and the Ilandes of Lucayo. After this growing neere to the colde countrey, our men being oppressed with famine, died continually, and they that were left, grew into such weakenesse that we were scantly able to manage our shippe, and the winde being always ill for vs to recouer England, we determined to goe with Galicia in Spaine, with intent there to relieue our companie and other extreame wantes. And being arriued the last day of December in a place neere vnto Vigo called Ponte Vedra, our men with excesse of fresh meate grew into miserable diseases, and died a great part of them. This matter was borne out as long as it might be, but in the end although there were none of our men suffered to goe a land, yet by accesse of the Spaniards, our feeblenesse was knowen to them. Whereupon they ceased not to seeke by all meanes to betray vs, but with all speede possible we departed to Vigo, where we had some helpe of certaine English ships and twelue fresh men, wherewith we repaired our wants as we might, and departing the 20 day of Ianuary 1568 arriued in Mounts bay in Cornewall the 25 of the same moneth, praised be God therefore.

If all the miseries and troublesome affaires of this sorowfull voyage should be perfectly and throughly written, there should neede a painefull man with his pen, and as great a time as he had that wrote the liues and deathes of the Martyrs.

---

* Two accounts, the one by Miles Philips, the other by Job Hortop, two of the men set ashore by John Hawkins, will be found in Vol. XIV. of this Edition, pages 187 and 226. This narrative, with those of Philips and Hortop, has been extensively used by Charles Kingsley throughout his "Westward Ho!"

IOHN HAWKINS.

◆

A

DISCOVERY

OF

THE BARMVDAS,

OTHERWISE CALLED THE

ILE OF DIVELS:

BY

SIR THOMAS GATES, SIR GEORGE SOMMERS,

AND

CAPTAYNE NEWPORT,

WITH DIUERS OTHERS.

SET FORTH FOR THE LOUE OF MY COUNTRY,

AND ALSO

FOR THE GOOD OF THE PLANTATION IN VIRGINIA.

SIL. IOURDAN.

London:

PRINTED BY IOHN WINDET, AND ARE TO BE SOLD BY ROGER
BARNES IN S. DUNSTANES CAURCH-YARD IN FLEETE-
STREETE, VNDER THE DIALL.
1610.

TO THE.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL

Master John Fitz-James, Esquire,

ONE OF HIS MAIESTIES CHIEFE IUSTICES OF PEACE

WITHIN THE

COUNTIE OF DORSET.

Sir, amongst all the sinnes, that humane nature doth stand possest with, ingratitude doth challenge a propertie in man, although it bee a thing repugnant to reason, and disagreeing with all mutuall societie. To free myself from this vitium naturæ, I am bold in these fewe lines to dedicate my loue to you: for it were too tedious to vse many wordes, where good wil is the bond of loue. This smal gift I would intreate you to accept, if not for the quantitie, yet for the qualitie. From London the thirteenth of October, 1610.

Your Worships to command

SIL. IOURDAN.

A
DISCOVERY
OF THE
Barmvdas,
OTHERWISE CALLED
THE ILE OF DIVELS.

I Being in ship called the seauenture, with Sir Thomas Gates, our Gouernour, Sir George Sommers, and Captaine Newport, three most worthy honoured Gentlemen, (whose valour and fortitude the world must needes take notice off, and that in most honourable designes) bound for Virginia, in the height of thirty degrees of northerly latitude, or thereabouts: we were taken with a most sharpe and cruell storme vpon the fiue and twentieth day of Iuly, Anno 1609, which did not only separate vs from the residue of our fleete, (which were eight in number) but with the violent working of the Seas, our ship became so shaken, torne, and leaked, that shee receiued so much water, as couered two tire of hogsheads aboue the ballast; that our men stoode vp to the middles, with buckets, baricos, and kettles, to baile out the water, and continually pumped for three dayes and three nights together, without any intermission; and yet the water seemed rather to increase, then to diminish: in so much that all our men, being vtterly spent, tyred, and disabled for longer labour, were euen resolued, without any hope of their liues, to shut vp the hatches, and to haue committed themselues to the mercy of the sea, (which is said to be mercilesse) or rather to the mercy of their mighty God and redeemer, (whose mercies exceed all his works) seeing no helpe, nor hope, in the apprehension of mans reason, that any mothers child could escape that ineuitable danger, which euery man had proposed and digested to himselfe, of present sinking. So that some of them hauing some good and comfortable waters in the ship, fetcht them, and drunke one to the other, taking their last leaue one of the other, vntill their more ioyfull and happy meeting, in a more blessed world; when it pleased God out of his most gracious and mercifull prouidence, so to direct and guide our ship, (being left to the mercy of the sea) for her most aduantage: that Sir George Sommers (sitting vpon the poope of the ship,) where he sate three dayes and three nights together, without meales meate, and little or no sleepe, coursing the shippe to keepe her as vpright as he could, (for otherwise shee must needes instantly haue foundred) most wishedly happily discryed land; whereupon he most comfortably encouraged the company to follow their pumping, and by no meanes to cease bayling out of the water with their buckets, baricos, and kettles; whereby they were so ouer wearied, and their spirits so spent with long fasting, and continuance of their labour, that for the most part they were fallen asleepe in corners, and wheresoeuer they chanced first to sit or lie: but hearing news of land, wherewith they grew to bee somewhat reuived, being carried with wil and desire beyond their strength, euery man busled vp, and gathered his strength and feeble spirits together, to performe as much as their weake force would permit him: through which weake meanes, it pleased God to worke so strongly as the water was staide for that little time, (which as we all much feared, was the last period of our breathing) and the ship kept from present sinking, when it pleased God to send her within halfe an English mile of that land that Sir George Sommers had not long before discryed: which were the Ilands of the Barmudas. And there neither did our ship sincke, but more fortunately in so great a misfortune fell in betweene two rockes, where shee was fast lodged and locked, for further budging: whereby we gayned, not only sufficient time, with the present helpe of our boate, and skiffe, safely to set, and conuey our men ashore (which were one hundred and fifty in number) but afterwards had time and leasure to saue some good part of our goodes and prouision, which the water had not spoyled, with all the tackling of the ship, and much of the yron about her, which were necessaries not a little auaileable, for the building and furnishing of a new ship and pinnis, which we made there, for the transporting and carrying of vs to Virginia. But our deliuery was not more strange in falling so opportunely, and happily vpon the land, as our feeding and preseruation, was beyond our hopes, and all mens expectations most admirable. For the Ilands of the Barmudas, as euery man knoweth that hath heard or read of them, were neuer inhabited by any Christian or heathen people, but euer esteemed, and reputed, a most prodigious and inchanted place, affording nothing but gusts, stormes, and foule weather; which made euery Nauigator and Mariner to auoide them, as Scylla and Charibdis; or as they would shunne the Deuill himselfe; and no man was euer heard, to make for the place, but as against their wils, they haue by stormes and dangerousnesse of the rocks, lying seauen leagues into the sea, suffered shipwracke; yet did we finde there the ayre so temperate and the Countrey so aboundantly fruitful of all fit necessaries, for the sustentation and preseruation of mans life, that most in a manner of all our prouisions of bread, beare, and victuall, being quite spoyled, in lying long drowned in salt water, notwithstanding we were there for the space of nine monethes (few dayes ouer or vnder) not only well refreshed, comforted, and with good satiety contented, but of the aboundance thereof, prouided vs some reasonable quantity and proportion of prouision, to carry vs for Virginia, and to maintaine ourselues, and that company we found there, to the great releefe of them, as it fell out in their so great extremities, and in respect of the shortnesse of time, vntill it pleased God, that by my Lords comming thither, their store was better supplyed, and greater, and better prouisions wee might haue made, if we had had better meanes for the storing and transportation thereof. Wherefore my opinion sincerely of this Island is, that whereas it hath beene, and is still accounted, the most dangerous, infortunate, and most forlorne place of the world, it is in truth the richest, healthfullest, and pleasing land, (the quantity and bignesse thereof considered) and meerely naturall, as euer set foote vpon: the particular profits and benefits whereof, shal be more especially inserted, and hereunto annexed, which euery man to his owne priuate knowledge, that was there, can auouch and iustifie for a truth. Vpon the eight and twentieth day of Iuly 1609. (after the extremity of the storme was something qualified) we fell vpon the shore at the Barmudas; where after our generall Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Sommers, and Captaine Newport, had by their prouident carefulnesse landed all their men, and so much of the goods, and prouisions out of the ship, as was not vtterly spoyled, euerie man disposed and applyed himselfe, to search for, and to seeke out such releefe and sustentation, as the Country afforded: and Sir George Sommers, a man inured to extremities, (and knowing what thereunto belonged) was in this seruice, neither idle nor backward, but presently by his careful industry, went and found out sufficient, of many kind of fishes, and so plentifull thereof, that in halfe an houre, he tooke so many great fishes with hookes, as did suffice the whole company one day. And fish is there so aboundant, that if a man steppe into the water, they will come round about him; so that men were faine to get out for feare of byting. These fishes are very fat and sweete, and of that proportion and bignesse, that three of them will conneniently lade two men: those we called rock fish. Besides there are such aboundance of mullets that with a seane might be taken at one draught one thousand at the least, and infinite store of pilchards, with diuers kindes of great fishes, the names of them vnknowne to me: of crayfishes very great ones, and so great store as that there hath beene taken in one night with making lights, euen sufficient to feede the whole company a day. The Countrey affordeth great aboundance of Hogs, as that there hath beene taken by Sir George Sommers, who was the first that hunted for them, to the number of two and thirtie at one time, which he brought to the company in a boate, built by his owne hands. There is fowle in great number vpon the Ilands, where they breed, that there hath beene taken in two or three houres, a thousand at the least; the bird being of the bignesse of a good Pidgeon, and layeth egges as bigge as Hen egges vpon the sand, where they come and lay them dayly, although men sit downe amongst them; that there hath beene taken vp in one morning, by Sir Thomas Gates men, one thousand of egges: and Sir George Sommers men, comming a little distance of time after them, haue stayed there whilst they came and layed their eggs amongst them, that they brought away as many more with them; with many young birds very fat and sweet. Another Sea fowle there is that lyeth in little holes in the ground, like vnto a cony-hole, and are in great numbers, exceeding good meate, very fat and sweet (those we had in the winter) and their eggs are white, and of that bignesse, that they are not to be knowne from Hen egges. The other birds egges are speckled, and of a different colour: there are also great store and plenty of Herons, and those so familiar and tame, that wee beate them downe from the trees with stones and staues, but such were young Herons: besides many White Herons, without so much as a blacke or gray feather on them; with other small birds so tame and gentle, that a man walking in the woods with a sticke, and whistling to them, they wil come and gaze on you, so neare that you may strike and kill many of them with your sticke; and with singing and hollowing you may doe the like. There are also great store of Tortoses, (which some call Turtles) and those so great, that I haue seene a bushel of egges in one of their bellies, which are sweeter then any Henne egge: and the Tortose it selfe, is all very good meate, and yeeldeth great store of oyle, which is as sweete as any butter; and one of them will suffice fifty men a meale, at the least: and of these hath beene taken great store, with two boates, at the least forty in one day. The Country yeeldeth diuers fruits, as prickled peares, great aboundance, which continue greene vpon the trees all the yeare; also great plentie of Mulberries, white and red: and on the same are great store of silke-wormes, which yeeld tods of silke, both white and yellow, being some course, and some fine. And there is a tree called a Palmito tree, which hath a very sweet berry, vpon which the hogs doe most feede; but our men finding the sweetnesse of them, did willingly share with the hogs for them, they being very pleasant and wholsome, which made them carelesse almost of any bread with their meate; which occasioned vs to carry in a manner all that store of flower and meale, we did or could saue for Virginia. The head of the Palmito tree is very good meate, either raw or sodden, it yeeldeth a head which waigheth about twenty pound, and is farre better meate, then any cabbidge. There are an infinite number of Cedar trees, (the fairest I thinke in the world) and those bring forth a very sweet berry and wholsome to eate. The Country (for as much as I could find my self, or heare by others) affords no venimous creature or so much as a Rat or Mouse, or any other thing vnwholsome. There is great store of Pearle, and some of them very faire, round and Orientall; and you shall finde at least one hundred seede of Pearle in one Oyster; there hath beene likewise found, some good quantity of Amber Greece, and that of the best sort. There are also great plenty of Whales, which I conceaue are very easie to be killed, for they come so vsually, and ordinarily to the shore, that we heard them oftentimes in the night a bed; and haue seene many of them neare the shore, in the day time. There was borne upon the Bermudas, at the time of our being there two children, the one a man child, there baptised, by the name of Barmudas; and a woman child, baptised by the name of Barmuda: as also there was a marriage betweene two English people vpon that Iland. This Iland, I meane the mayne Iland, with all the broken Ilandes adiacent, are made in the forme of a half Moone, but a little more rounder and diuided into many broken Ilands, and there are many good harbours in it, but wee could finde one especiall place to goe in, or rather to goe out from it, which was not altogether free from some danger, and that lyeth on the South-east side, where there is three fathoms water, at the entrance therof, but within sixe, seauen, or eight fathoms at the least, where you may safely lie land-locked, from the danger of all winds and weathers, and more to the trees. The comming into it, is so narrow and straight betweene the rocks, as that it will with small store of munition be fortified, and easily defended, with all aduantage the place affords, against the forces of the Potentest King of Europe. There are also plenty of Haukes, and very good Tobacco, as I thinke, which through forgetfulnesse, I had almost omitted: now hauing finished and rigged our ship, and pinnis, the one called the Deliuerance, the pinnis the Patience, wee prepared and made our selues ready, to ship for Virginia, hauing powdred some store of hogs flesh, for prouision thither, and the company thereof, for some reasonable time: but were compelled to make salt there for the same purpose, for all our salt was spent and spoyled, before wee recouered the shore. Wee carryed with vs also a good portion of Tortose oyle, which either for frying or baking did vs very great pleasure, it being very sweete, nourishing, and wholsome: the greatest defects we found there, was tarre and pitch for our ship, and pinnis, in steede whereof wee were forced to make lime there of a hard kinde of stone, and vse it: which for the present occasion and necessity, with some wax we found cast vp by the Sea, from some shipwracke, serued the turne to pay the seames of the pinnis Sir George Sommers built, for which hee had neither pitch nor tarre: so that God in the supplying of all our wants, beyond all measure, shewed himselfe still mercifull vnto vs, that we might accomplish our intended voyage to Virginia, for which I confidently hope, hee doth yet reserue a blessing in store, and to the which I presume, euery honest and religious heart will readily giue their amen. When all things were made ready, and commodiously fitted, the winde comming faire, wee set saile and put off from the Barmudas, the tenth day of May, in the yeare 1610. and arriued at Iames towne in Virginia, the foure and twentieth day of the same Moneth: where wee found some threescore persons liuing. And being then some three weeks or thereabouts passed, and not hearing of anye supply, it was thought fitting by a generall consent, to vse the best meanes for the preseruation of all those people that were liuing, being all in number two hundred persons. And so vpon the eight of Iune one thousand sixe hundred and ten, wee vnbarked at Iames Towne: not hauing aboue fourteene dayes victaile, and so were determined to direct our course for New-found-land, there to refresh vs, and supply our selues with victaile, to bring vs home; but it pleased God to dispose otherwise of vs, and to giue vs better meanes. For being all of vs shipped in foure pinnices, and departed from the towne, almost downe half the Riuer, wee met my Lord De La Warre comming vp with three ships, well furnished with victaile, which reuiued all the company, and gaue them great content. And after some few dayes, my Lord vnderstanding of the great plenty of hogges and fish, was at the Barmudas, and the necessity of them in Virginia, was desirous to send thither, to supply himselfe with those things, for the better comforting of his men, and the plantation of the Country. Whereupon Sir George Sommers being a man best acquainted with the place, and being willing to doe seruice vnto his Prince and Country: without any respect of his owne priuate gaine: And being of threescore yeares of age at the least, out of his worthy and valiant minde, offered himselfe to vndertake to performe with Gods help that dangerous voyage for the Barmudas, for the better releefe and comfort of the people in Virginia, and for the better plantation of it, which offer my Lord De La Warre, very willingly and thankfully accepted: and so vpon the nineteenth of Iune, Sir George Sommers imbarked himself at Iames towne in a small barge of thirty tonne, or thereabout, that he built at the Barmudas: wherein he laboured from morning vntill night, as duelie as any workeman doth labour for wages, and built her all with Cedar, with little or no yron worke at all; hauing in her but one boult, which was in the Kilson: notwithstanding thanks be to God, shee brought vs in safety to Virginia, and so I trust he will protect him, and send him well backe againe, to his hearts desire, and the great comfort of all the company there.

The Barmudas lyeth in the height of two and thirty degrees and a halfe, of Northerly latitude, Virginia bearing directly from it, West North West, two hundred and thirty leagues.

FINIS.

The first voyage attempted and set foorth by the expert and valiant captain M. Francis Drake himselfe, with a ship called the Dragon, and another ship and a Plnnesse, to Nombre de Dios, and Dariene, about the yeere 1572, Written and recorded by one Lopez Vaz a Portugall borne in the citie of Eluas, in maner follow, which Portugale, with the discourse about him, was taken at the riuer of Plate by the ships set foorth by the Right Honourable the Earle of Cumberland, in the yeere 1586.

THere was a certaine English man named Francis Drake, who hauing intelligence how the towne of Nombre de Dios in Nueua Espanna, had but small store of people remaining there, came on a night, and entred the Port with foure Pinnesses, and landed about 150 men and leauing 70 men with a trumpet, in a Fort which was there, with the other 80 he entred the towne, without doing any harme, till he came to the market place, and there discharged his caliuers, and sounded a trumpet very loud, and the other which he had left in the Fort answered him after the same maner, with the discharging their caliuers, and sounding their trumpets: the people hereupon not thinking of any such matter, were put in great feare, and waking out of their sleepe fled all into the mountaines, inquiring one of another what the matter should be, remaining as men amazed, not knowing what that vprore was which happened so suddenly in the towne. But 14 or 15 of them ioyning together with their harquebuzes, went to the market place to know what they were that were in the towne, and in a corner of the market place they did discouer the Englishmen, and seeing them to be but fewe, discharged their caliuers at those Englishmen: their fortune was such that they killed the Trumpetter, and shot one of the principall men thorow the legge, who seeing himselfe hurt, retyred to the Fort, where the rest of their company was left: they which were in the Fort sounded their Trumpet, and seeing that they in the towne did not answere them, and hearing the caliuers, thought that all they in the towne had bene slaine, and thereupon fled to their Pinnesses: the English captaine comming to the Fort, and not finding his men which he left there, he and his were in so great feare, that leauing their furniture behind them, and putting off their hose, they swamme, and waded all to their Pinnesses, and so went with their ships againe out of the Port.

Thus this English Captaine called Francis Drake, departed from Nombre de Dios, and slew onely one man in the towne which was looking out of a windowe to see what the matter was, and of his men had onely his Trumpetter slaine.

But he being discontented with the repulse which he had receiued there, came to the sound of Dariene, and hauing conference with certaine Negros which were fled from their masters of Panama, and Nombre de Dios, the Negros did tell him, that certaine Mules came laden with gold and siluer from Panama to Nombre de Dios, who in companie with these Negros went thereupon on land, and stayed in the way where the treasure should come with an hundred shot, and so tooke two companies of mules, which came onely with their driuers mistrusting nothing, and he carried away the gold onely, for they were not able to carrie the siluer through the mountaines. And two dayes after he came to the house of Crosses, where he killed sixe or seuen marchants, but found no golde nor siluer but such marchandize: so he fired the house, where was burnt aboue 200000 Duckets in Marchandize, and so went to his ship againe: and within halfe an houre after he was a ship-boord, there came downe to the sandes three hundred shot of the Spaniards in the sight of his ships, of purpose to seeke him, bnt he cared little for them being out of their reach, and so departed with his treasure.

The valiant exploit of M. Francis Drake betwixt Panama and Nombre de Dios.

M. Francis Drake burnt the house of Crosses.

The voyage of Iohn Oxnam of Plimmouth, to the West India, and ouer the straight of Dariene into the South Sea. Anno 1575. Written by the foresaid Lopez Vaz in the said discourse.

THere was another Englishman, who hearing of the spoyle that Francis Drake had done vpon the coast of Nueua Espanna, and of his good aduenture and safe returne home, was thereby prouoked to vndertake the like enterprise, with a ship of 140 tunnes, and 70 men, and came thither, and had also conference with the foresaide Negros: and hearing that the golde and siluer which came vpon the Mules from Panama to Nombre de Dios, was now conducted with souldiers, he determined to do that which neuer any man before enterprised: and landed in that place where Francis Drake before had had his conference with the Negros. This man couered his ship after he had brought her aground with boughes of trees, and hid his great Ordinance in the ground, and so not leauing any man in his ship, he tooke two small pieces of ordinance, and his caliuers, and good store of victuals, and so went with the Negros about twelue leagues into the maine land, to a riuer that goeth to the South sea, and there he cut wood and made a Pinnesse, which was fiue and fortie foote by the keele, and hauing made this Pinnesse, he went into the South sea, carrying sixe Negros with him to be his guides, and so went to the Iland of Pearles, which is fiue and twentie leagues from Panama, which is in the way that they come from Peru to Panama, and there he was ten dayes without shewing himselfe to any man, to see if he might get any ship that came from Peru: At last, there came a small Barke by, which came from Peru from a place called Quito, which he tooke and found in her sixtie thousand pezos of golde, and much victuals. But not contenting himselfe with this prize, hee stayed long without sending away his prize or any of the men, and in the ende of sixe dayes after, hee tooke another Barke which came from Lima, in which he tooke an hundred thousand pezos of siluer in barres, with the which hee thought to haue gone, and entred the riuer, but first he went into the Islands to see if he could find any pearles: where he found a few, and so returned to his pinnesse againe, and so sailing to the riuer from whence he came, and comming neere to the mouth of the sayd riuer, hee sent away the two prizes that hee tooke, and with his pinnesse he went vp the riuer. The Negros that dwelt in the Island of pearls, the same night that he went from them, went in Canoas to Panama, and the Gouernour within two dayes sent foure barkes with 100 men, 25 men in euery one, and Negros to rowe with the captain Iohn de Ortega, which went to the Island of pearles, and there had intelligence, which way the English men were gone, and following them he met by the way the ships which the English men had taken, of whom he learned, that the English men were gone vp the riuer, and he going thither, when he came to the mouth of the riuer, the captaine of Panama knew not which way to take, because there were three partitions in the riuer, to goe vp in, and being determined to goe vp the greatest of the three riuers, he saw comming downe a lesser riuer many feathers of hennes, which the Englishmen had pulled to eate, and being glad thereof, hee went vp that riuer where hee saw the feathers, and after that he had bene in that riuer foure daies, he descried the Englishmens pinnesse vpon the sands, and comming to her, there were no more then sixe Englishmen, whereof they killed one, and the other fiue escaped away, and in the pinnesse he found nothing but victuals: but this captaine of Panama not herewith satisfied, determined to seeke out the Englishmen by land, and leauing twenty men in his pinnesses, hee with 80 shot went vp the countrey: hee had not gone halfe a league, but hee found a house made of boughs, where they found all the Englishmens goods, and the gold and siluer also, and carying it backe to their pinnesses, the Spaniards were determined to goe away, without following the English men any further.

But at the end of three dayes, the English captaine came to the riuer with all his men, and aboue 200 Negros, and set vpon the Spaniards with great fury: But the Spaniards hauing the aduantage of trees which they stood behind, did easily preuaile, and killed eleuen Englishmen, and fiue Negros, and tooke other seuen Englishmen aliue, but of the Spaniards, two were slaine and fiue sore hurt.

A skirmish between the English men, and the Spaniards.

Among other things, the Spaniards enquired of the Englishmen which they tooke, why they went not away in fifteene dayes liberty which they had. They answered, that their captaine had commanded them to carie all that golde and siluer which they had, to the place where they had left their shippe, and they had promised him to carie it, although they made three or foure iourneys of it, for hee promised to giue them part of it besides their wages, but the mariners would haue it by and by, and so their captaine being angry because they would not take his word, fell out with them, and they with him, in so much that one of the company would haue killed the Captaine, so that the Captaine would not haue them to carie the treasure, but sayd hee would seeke Negros to carie it, and so he went and sought for Negros, and bringing those Negros to carie it, hee met with the fiue English men that hee had left in his pinnesse which ranne from the Spaniards, and the rest also which ran from the house, and they told him what the Spaniards had done, and then making friendship with all his men, hee promised them halfe of all the treasure if they got it from the Spaniards, and the Negros promised to helpe him with their bowes and arrowes, and there upon they came to seeke the Spaniards, and now that some of his company were killed and taken, hee thought it best to returne to his ship, and to passe backe for England. The Spanish captaine hearing this, hauing buried the dead bodies, and hauing gotten all things into his barkes, and taking the English men and their pinnesse with him, he returned to Panama: so the voyage of that English man did not prosper with him, as hee thought it would haue done.

The English betrayed to the Spaniards

Nowe when the foure barkes were come to Panama, they sent aduice also to Nombre de Dios, and they of Nombre de Dios sent also from them other foure barkes which (as the Spaniards say) found the English ship where she was hid, and brought her to Nombre de Dios: and that the Viceroy of Peru not thinking it good to suffer fiftie English men to remaine in the countrey, sent a seruant of his called Diego de Frees, with a hundreth and fiftie shot into the mountaines to seeke them out, who found them making of certaine Canoas to goe into the North sea, and there to take some barke or other: some of them were sicke, and were taken, and the rest fled with the Negros, who in the end betrayed them to the Spaniards, so that they were brought to Panama. And the Iustice of Panama asked the English captain whether hee had the Queenes licence, or the licence of any other Prince or Lord for his attempt. And he answered he had none, whereupon hee and all his company were condemned to dye, and so were all executed, sauing the Captaine, the Master, the Pilot, and fiue boyes which were caried to Lima, and there the Captaine was executed with the other two, but the boyes be yet liuing.

The death of Iohn Oxnam.

The King of Spaine hauing intelligence of these matters, sent 300 men of warre, against those Negros which had assisted those English men, which before were slaues vnto the Spaniards, and as before is sayd, fled from their masters vnto those mountaines, and so ioyned themselues to the English men, to the ende they might the better reuenge themselues on the Spaniards.

At the first comming of these 300 souldiers, they tooke many of the Negros, and executed great iustice vpon them: But after a season, the Negros grew wise and wary, and preuented the Spaniards, so that none of them could be taken.

The Spaniards of that countrey maruelled much at this one thing, to see that since the conquering of this land, there haue bene many Frenchmen, that haue come to those Countreys, but neuer saw English men there but onely those two of whom I haue spoken. And although there haue many Frenchmen bene on the coast, yet neuer durst they put foote vpon land, only those two Englishmen aduentured it, and did such exploits, as are before remembred.

All these things comming to the hearing of the king of Spaine, he prouided two Gallies well appointed to keepe those coastes: and the first yeere they tooke sixe or seuen French ships. And after that this was knowen, there were no more Englishmen or Frenchmen of warre that durst aduenture to approch the coast, vntill this present yeere 1586, that the aforesayd Francis Drake, with a strong fleete of 24 ships arriued there, and made spoile of Santo Domingo, Carthagena, and S. Augustine, things that are knowen to all the worlde. But it is likely that if the King of Spaine liue, he will in time prouide sufficient remedy to keepe his countreys and subiects from the inuasion of other nations.*

The English mens comming to the Indies, caused the king of Spaine to build gallies to keep the Seas.

---

* It is interesting to compare this account with that which Kingsley puts into the mouth of Salvation Yeo in "Westward Ho!"

The voyage of Master Andrew Barker of Bristol, with two ships the one called the Ragged staffe, the other the Beare, to the coast of Terra firma, and the Bay of Honduras in the West Indies, in the yeere 1576. Wherein the reasons are premised which mooued him to set forth this voyage against the Spaniards: collected out of certaine notes and examinations touching this enterprise by M. Richard Hakluyt.

FIrst of all Andrew Barker hauing abode in one of the Canary Islands called Tenerif for a certaine time, and returning home left behind him Charles Chester (the sonne of Dominic Chester merchant of Bristol) to learn the language. Now the sayd Andrew Barker forthwith vpon his arriual in England, in Nouember, 1574, fraighted a small ship (named the Speedwell of Bristol) to goe for the Canaries with cloth and other merchandise of great value. He sent also one Iohn Drue of Bastable as his Factor to make sale and dispose of the said goods, who when he arriued at Tenerif, landed the marchandize, and sent home the barke with some small quantity of wine, making account to sell the sayd wares to greater aduantage in prouiding wines and sugar for the lading of another ship, which Andrew Barker had appointed to send thither. Also according to this his purpose ye said Andrew in March following sent a ship called the Christopher of Dartmouth, captaine whereof was one Henry Roberts of Bristol: who when he had landed in Tenerif, and was in good hope to find the lading of his ship in a readines, contrary to his expectation, was suddenly cast into prison: the Spaniards alleadging that Andrew Barker was accused to the inquisition by Charles Chester, whereupon his goods were confiscat, his factor Iohn Drue, was attached, and he also (the said captaine Roberts) being as they supposed Barkers partner, was in like sort to be imprisoned. In fine all the foresaid commodities appertaining to the said Andrew and his brother M. Iohn Barker and others to the value of 1700 pound and vpwards (as it doth appeare by proofes of record in the Admiralty) were vtterly lost, being confiscat to the said inquisition. Howbeit captaine Roberts by the meanes of a frier was deliuered out of prison (which cost him all the merchandize he brought with him in his ship) and so returned with dead fraight to the summe of 200 pound that afterwards Andrew Barker discharged. In recompense of which iniurie (for that no suite preuaileth against the inquisition of Spaine) and also to recouer his losse of the Spaniards themselues, at his owne charge with the help of his friends hee furnished two barkes for the West Indies, the greater of which barkes was called the Ragged staffe, himselfe being captaine, and Philip Roche Master thereof, the other named the Beare had one William Coxe of Limehouse for her Master and captaine. And thus all our company being imbarked at Plimmoth on Whitsonday in the beginning of Iune, we set forward, and in our course we met with a ship of London, and afterwards with another ship, but tooke nothing from either of them. Our first arriual was at one of the Island of Cape Verde, named Del sal, vz. the Isle of salt, where we tooke certain fishes called Tortoises, and there we remained one night and halfe the day following. And from thence wee came to the Isle of Maio, being distant from Isla del sal, 14 or 15 leagues, where we tooke in fresh water and traffiqued with certaine Portugals inhabiting in that place, of whom we had some victuals for kniues and beades: and there we remained one day and one night: but our trumpetter was trecherously slaine by those Portugals, in reuenge of which murther we set on fire two of their small villages. From this Island wee shaped our course ouer the maine Ocean toward the West Indies, and arriued happily at the Island of Trinidad, and had conference with certaine Indians inhabitants thereof, who gaue vs very friendly and courteous entertainement: and here we set vp a pinnesse which we caried forth in the Ragged staffe, and traffiqued with the foresayd Indians for victuals. And after we had spent sixe dayes in this place we departed, and arriued next at the Isle of Margarita, where we tooke a small Spanish ship hauing in her certaine pitch and 30 tuns of Canarie wines whereof we reserued 4 or 5 tunnes to our selues, dismissing them without any further damage. Thence (hauing remained there a day) wee set saile to the Island of Curaçao, where we remained a day and a night, and tooke in fresh water, at what time by the inhabitants of that Island (being few of them Spaniards, and the most part Indians) 14 of our men were treacherously hurt, but none slaine. And from thence we departed for the maine land Southwards, to a certain bay, and there we abode 3 daies, but nothing of any reckoning was there atchieued. From thence we arriued at

Isla dal sal.

Two villages burnt.

The Isle of Curazao.

Cape de la Vela, where grewe a contention betweene our Captaine M. Andrew Barker, and his Master Philip Roche, vpon comparisons made betweene them concerning the knowledge of Nauigation, and about other quarels, which quarels afterward were an occasion of further mischiefe. Hence we sailed to the bay of Tulu (which is about 18 leagues Southwestward from Carthagena) where wee tooke a Frigat and certaine treasure therein to the value of 500 pound, namely barres of gold, and lingots of siluer, and some quantity of corriento or coyne in rials of plate, and certaine greene stones called Emerauds, whereof one very great, being set in gold, was found tied secretly about the thigh of a frier. Here hauing stayed three dayes, and now being pursued by Spanish men of warre, wee departed with the sayd treasure, and left the Frigat behind vs, all which treasure at that instant was committed to the keeping of our captaine Andrew Barker. From thence we passed to Nombre de Dios, and so foorth to the mouth of the riuer of Chagre 18 leagues distant from Nombre de Dios towards the Northwest. There we landed 10 of our men, who trauelled vp into the woods three or foure daies to seeke the Simerons, (which are certaine valiant Negros fled from their cruel masters the Spaniards, and are become mortall enemies, ready to ioyne with the English and French against them) but in their search they could find none of them. And though our men returned all free from peril of the enemie, yet the most part of the sayd ten persons presently fell sicke, and diuers other of our company: so that within 14 dayes 8 or 9 of our men died of a disease called there the Calentura, which is a hote and vehement feuer. And passing betweene Chagre and Veragua, we tooke a Frigat, and some quantity of golde wee found therein. In this Frigat were 23 Spaniards whom wee set on shore, and two Flemings, them we brought into England with vs: wee had therein also foure cast pieces of Ordinance, 3 harquebuzes on crocke, 16 Spanish caliuers, and a booke of Nauigation: and in this Frigat some of our company came homeward into England. Thus passing forward in our course, we came to Veragua, where captaine Barker, and Philip Roche his Master, fought upon the foresayd quarel, in which combat the captaine was hurt a little in the cheeke. Here we sanke our Admirall the Ragged staffe, because of her great leakage, and imbarked part of our company in the Spanish Frigat,

Simerons rebels to the Spaniards.

which immediately before we had surprised. From hence (by the direction of certain Indians) we sayled into the gulfe of the Honduras: there we took a barke wherein were rials of plate, to the value of 100 pound, Maiz or Indian wheat, hennes, beefe and other small things. In this barke also were certaine Spaniards, whereof one was the Scriuano or secretary of Carthagena, who (being a man of some note) was put to his ransome, which was payd in gold: the rest were dismissed freely. And after passing by diuers Islands, we arriued a an Island called S. Francisco, being in the mouth of the great bay, called the Honduras. And within two dayes next after our arriual there, William Coxe and diuers others (which for certaine causes shalbe namelesse) came aboard the ship wherein the captaine then was, and disposessed him as well of the sayd ship, as of the treasure in the same, and forthwith put our captaine with violence on shore, where he and one Germane Weiborne fought together, and were both wounded. After this our captaine desirous to come on boord, was resisted by the persons aforesayd, who answered him that he should not come on boord till they were ready to depart. Our men had appointed ten persons of their company for the keeping of this Island of S. Francisco: but about brake of the day, on a certaine morning, sixtie Spaniards arriuing secretly in the Island, surprised our people on the sudden, what time there were thirtie of our men on shore: in which surprise, they slew our captaine, M. Andrew Barker with eight others, namely, one Wilde of Bristol, and Michael our Chirurgian, Richard of Bristol, Thomas Sampoole, Thomas Freeman, Thomas Nightingale, Robert Iackson, Walter Newton; and the captaines boy and one other were hurt. Now after that William Coxe, and the rest (which were aboord the barke) perceiued that the captaine, and some others were slain, he receiued them that were liuing into the ship, hauing before that time refused some of them. After this misfortune they went to an Island distant from thence a league, where Coxe deuided a chaine of gold (which was found in the captaines chest after his death) amongst the company. After this Coxe went in a pinesse (which wee tooke at the Isle of Sant Francisco) with certaine others of our men in a skyffe, to the towne of Truxillio, in the bay of Honduras, which towne they surprised, and had therein

The bay of Honduras.

A conspiracie against the Captaine.

M. Andrew Barker and 8 other slaine by the Spaniards.

The towne of Truxillo sacked by the English.

The death of Philip Roche master of the Ragged staffe. Their arriual in the Isle of Sillie.

Certaine Ordinance of Iohn Oxnam recouered from the Spaniards.

wine and oyle as much as they would, and diuers other good things, but no gold nor siluer, nor any other treasure which they would confesse. But before they could returne to their company, those that were in the barkes were had in chase by men of warre, whereby they were inforced euery man to shift for himselfe: so for haste they left those that were in the skiffe (being 8 persons) in the bay of Honduras: what became of them afterward God knoweth. Hereupon we determined to saile for England, and being in the maine sea homeward bound, about 60 leagues from the Isle of S. Francisco, the Frigat wherein was the treasure for the aduenturers, and that which pertained to the captaine to the value of 2000 pound, being ouerset with sayle, with a flaw of wind was ouerthrowen, and all the goods therein perished: therein also were 14 persons drowned, and nine saued, whereof William Coxe and William Gillam were two. After this Philip Roche, Master of the Admirall called the Ragged staffe, died. And thus at length, (by the helpe of God) we arriued in the Isle of Silly neere Cornwall where we left our Frigat which we built new vpon the shore of the Honduras, hauing in her at our landing ten botisios of oyle, and the foure cast Peeces that were in Iohn Oxnams Frigat (which the yeere before was taken in the streit of Dariene) three harquebuzes on crocke, certaine caliuers, and certaine treasure: Where William Cox and Andrew Browne deuided the treasure amongst their company, deliuering to some fiue pound, to some sixe pound, to some seuen pound, to some more, as euery man was thought to haue deserued. The barke and the rest of the Ordinance was left in the Island, to the vse of Andrew Browne. Diuers of our company, vpon our arriuall at Plimmouth were committed to prison at the suite of M. Iohn Barker of Bristol, brother vnto our Captaine M. Andrew Barker, as accessaries to our captains death, and betrayers of him vnto the enemie. And after straight examination of many of vs, by letters of direction from her Maiesties priuie Counsell, the chiefe malefactors were onely chastised with long imprisonment, where indeede before God they had deserued to die: whereof some, although they escaped the rigor of mans law, yet could they not auoide the heauy iudgement of God, but shortly after came to miserable ends. Which may be example to others to shew themselues faithfull and obedient in all honest causes to their captaines and gouernours.

Parescer de Don Aluaro Baçan, marques de Santa Cruz, tocante la Armada de Francisco Draque, estando en las yslas de Vayona: Hecha en Lisboa a 26 de Otubre, estilo de Espanna de 1585.

LO que paresce, que podra hazer el Armada Inglese, en caso que quiere passar a las Indias, y entrar en el mar del Sur, (como lo ha hecho otra vez Francisco Draque) con las treynta y dos naues y galeones, y muchas lanchas y vergantines deremo que trae, y cinco mil hombres de guerra, que es el numero que a los de Vayona parescio que venian en el armada, es lo siguiente.

Leuera su derotta al Rio de Ienero, que es en la costa del Brasil en 23 grados de la parte del Sur de la Linea. Es puerto capaz de muchos nauios y muy seguro, adonde se tiene agua, lenna, y carne: y tam bien podra tomar harina de Maiz en vn lugar dos o tres leguas del dicho puerto, que se dize San Vincente. Y por ser camino per las yslas de la Madera, Canaria, y Cabo Verde, podra sa quear estas yslas, dandole el tiempo lugar a ello.

Desde Vaiona a la ysla de Madera con los vientos Nortes, que aora correran (passados los vientos de Vallee, que aora reynan, por estar la costa de Espanna llouida) yra la Armada en seis dias; de alli a las Canarias en quatro, y de las Canarias a Cabo verde en ocho, que son per todos diez y ocho dias: y tardera mas lo que se tuuiere en saquear las yslas.

De Cabo Verde al rio de Ienero tardera quarenta dias, que vernan a ser todos dos meses: por manera, que estando el Armada todo este mes en Galicia, podra ser en el rio de Ienero en fin de Deziembre.

Lugar por hazar vn fuerte.

A la entrada de la baia del Rio de Ianero ay vna baxa, adonde con facilidad se hara vn fuerte, en que pueden estar mas que quinientos hombres: y pon endole su artilleria, guardera el puerto, y el fuerte quedara assalado, que por la vna parte del sudueste y nordeste tiene los dos canales, por donde entran los nauios en el puerto: En el qual podra Francisco Draque concertar su Armada, y dexar alli alguna gente, y partir con la que le paresciere, para entrar en el Mar del Sur, y yr en seguimiento de su viaje al Estrecho de Magallanes (que es quinientas y cinquenta leguas de aquel puerto, y esta en cinquenta y dos grados y medio de parte del Sur) y entrar por el

Lima es ciudad de dos mil vezinos, pero facil a tomar.

Estrecho a la Mar del Sur por todo el mes de Febrero; y yr a la ciudad de los Reys o Lima, que esta en la costa, y es de dos mil vezinos: y por no ser gente de guerra, ni puesta en milicia, y lugar abierto sin fortaleza, ni artilleria, le podra tomar y saquear, y yr se apoderando de la tierra; pues tomando los nauios, que ay en aquella mar, no les podra entrar socorro de Espanna.

Y es de creer que se preuerra a tomar a Panama.

La segunda viaje.

No queriendo hazar este viaje repartira su armada en dos vandas, y saqueare la ysla de San Domingo, Puerto Rico, y la costa de Tierra firma, hasta Cartagena y Nombre de Dios. Y desde el rio de Chagre, que es xv. leguas de Nombre de Dios, podra meter la Infanteria en lanchas de remo, y en las varcas de carga y descarga en a quel rio, que son mas de cinquenta, y llegar hasta la Venta de Cruzes, que es cinco leguas de Panama, que, por ser lugar abierto, sera facil a saquear.

Panama lugar abierto y facil a saquear.

Y tambien corre peligro la Hauana; que aunque tiene fortaleza, es chica y flaca, y sacando artilleria en tierra, la tomaran con facilidad.

Y de mas de los dannos que podran hazer, conforme a este discorso, no sera el menor, cortar el hilo a la nauigacion de las Indias, a tomar las flotas, si alli fueren.

Lo que Conuernia hazar para reparar estos dannos.

DEspachar carauelas con grandissima diligencia a los virreys y gouernadores de las Indias, auertiendo les de la Nueua de la Armada Inglese, para que esten preuenidos, y se ponganen orden. Aunque, segun el numero de las Naues que han salido de Inglatierra, tengo por sin duda, hauran passado de aquellas partes alguna banda dellas, hasta Tierra nueua. Porque la Reyno a tenido cuidado de embiar y tomar las naos de la Pesqueria del Baccalao: Y assi es de creer sin duda lo de las Indias.

Y teniendo se consideracion a que, por lo que se intiende de Inglatierra, han solido mas de ochenta nauios con los de Armada: Conuernia que su Magestad mandasse iuntar otra para buscar la Inglese, y combatir con ella, ordinando que los galeones que tiene la corona deste Reino, y los que tiene su Magestad en el Rio de Seuilla se aderescan de yr apposito, dandoles carena, para che estubiessen a punto a qualquier viaje, por largo que fuesse: y que assi mismo se embaraçe vn galeon del Duque de Florencia, que esta muy bien armado y artillado, y a partido de Alicante ara, Cadiz, y complimiento hasta quarenta naos gruesas, que se hallaran en Viscaia y Guiposcoa: y que adereçadas, artilladas y puestas en orden, como conuiene, se auituallen por ocho meses, y que desde luego se leuanten hasta mil marineros de Catalunna y Genoa para departir en las naues, y se trayen, como se hizo para la armada de la Terçera: y que assi mismo se leuanten seys mil soldados, dando condutas para mas gente, que esta, para que aya este numero de seruicio.

Tambien conuernia, que de Viscaia venga para esta Armada 20 patazes, y veynte Azabras de Castro. Que las patazes sean de 50 hasta 60 toneladas: y las Azabras, como las que vinieran a la Iornada de la Terçera.

Que se poruea el artilleria, poluere, y cuerda, y plomo necessario, arcabuzes, mosquetas, y picas de respito para la guardia de la costa.

Conuerne hazar otra armada de dos naos cada 400 toneladas, y otras quatro de a dozientas, y quatro patazes, y mil soldados, de mas de la gente de mar.

Auiendo visto y considerado, que en dos meses han hecho tantos dannos los Ingleses con los nauios de mercantes que nauegan por estos mares, y que es de creer que haran lo mismo en las flotas que fueren y vinieren de las Indias, conuernia, que, como para la ordenança en tiempo de paz, lleua la armada las naos Capitana y Almirante, que lleuassen aora otras dos mas por lo menos en cada flota: y no por esto se ha de dexar de asegurar las con Armada.

Todas estas preuenciones, me paresce, se deuen hazer, para solo lo que toca la Armada Inglese, y otros nauios que han salido de aquel Reyno.

Pero en caso que Don Antonio Veniese con la Armada, y quisiese intentar lo d'este Reyno, seran menester las preuenciones siguientes.

QVe se apercibiesen el conde de Benauente, Marques de Soria, conde de Altamira conde de Monte Rey, Marques de Cerraluo, y los de mas Sennores y Caualleros, a quien se dio orden que estubiesen a punto, quando se vino a este Reyno.

Que se exercibiese tam bien la gente de las Ciudades de Toro,

Zamora, Salamanca, cuidar para socorrer a la parte dentro Doro y Minno. Y las de Estremadura y Seuilla para socorrer esta Ciudad de Lisbona, y su Comarca.

Que se auituallen los castillos desta ciudad, ribera, y comarca, y proucan de poluere, cuerda, y plomo, y lo demas tocante el artilleria, como lo he pedido en las relaciones, que he embiado a su Magestad en 7 de março deste anno 1585. Que se proucan las galeras por quatro meses: y vengan otras sys de Espanna, a este Rio con 120 soldados por galera, para que los pueden repartir, en las ocho que estan aca. Y en caso que esto se ay, que la armada Inglesa no passe a las Indias, y se occupen en lo deste Reyno, porque haure nauios de Ingleses, que acuden a lo vno y a lo otro, sera forçoso hazer otra armada para lo de las Indias, de doze naos, quatro patajes, y mil y quinjentos soldados.

Todo esto, me paresce, conuiene al sornicio de su Maiestad, se preuenga y apercibiese con mucha diligencia y cuidado, proueiendo del dinero necessario para ello, sin que se aguarde lo vno a lo otro, sino que todo se haga sin deserirlo: Remitiendo me en todo a mejor parescer. Hecha en Lisboa a 26 de Otubre de 1585. Annos.

The opinion of Don Aluaro Baçan, Marques of Santa Cruz, and high Admiral of Spaine, touching the armie of sir Francis Drake lying at the Isles of Bayona in Galicia, written in Lisbon the 26 of October after the account of Spaine in the yere 1585.

THat which it seemeth vnto me, that the English army may doe if they seeke to passe vnto the West Indies, and enter into the South sea (as Francis Drake hath done once before) with their thirty ships and galeons, and many pinnesses and shalops with oares, which they haue with them, and 5000 men of warre, which they of Bayono thinke to be in the fleete, is as followeth.

The damage which may be done by passing by the riuer of Ienro into the South sea.

They may take their course to the riuer of Ienero, which is on the coast of Brasil in 23 degrees to the south of the Equinoctial line. It has an hauen capable of many ships and very safe, where there is water, wood and flesh; and likewise Drake may haue corne of Maiz in a towne two or three leagues from the sayd hauen, which is called S. Vincente.

And because the course is by the Isles of Madera, the Canaries, and Cape verde, he may sacke those Islands, the time seruing him for that purpose.

From Bayona to the Isle of Madera, with the Northerne winds which now wil begin to blow, when the Westerne winds be past, which presently doe blowe because that it beginneth to raine on the coast of Spaine, the fleete may run in 6 daies, and from thence to the Canaries in foure, and from the Canaries to the Isles of Cape Verde in eight, which all together make eighteene dayes: and he may stay as much time more as shall serue him to sacke the Islands in.

We may saile from Cape Verde to the riuer of Ienero In 40 dayes. which in the whole amount vnto two moneths. So that the fleete remaining all this moneth of October on the coast of Galicia, it may come to the riuer of Ienero in the end of December.

At the entry of the bay of the riuer of Ienero there is a flat low Island where a fort may very easily be made, wherein aboue 500 men may be left: and placing his artillery therein, he may keepe the hauen, and the fort wil be able to hold out of assault, because that on the Southwest and Northeast sides are two chanels whereby the ships come into the hauen: wherein Francis Drake may repaire his army, and leaue there some people, and depart with so much of the rest as shal seeme good vnto him to enter into the South sea, and go on vpon his voyage to the streight of Magelan, which is 550 leagues from the foresaid hauen, and standeth in 52 degrees and a halfe toward the South, and may enter by the streight into the South sea all the moneth of February, and so may to goe to the citie of Lima, otherwise called the citie de los Reys, which standeth on the sea coast hauing two thousand inhabitants in it. But in respect that they be no warlike people nor exercised in armes, and because the place is open and without fortresse and artillery, he may take and sacke it, and make himselfe master on the land, and afterward taking those ships which are in that sea, our people can haue no succour of ships out of Spaine, but by streight of Magelan, which is a long way about.

A fort may be builded on an Island in the mouth of the riuer of Ienero.

The citie of Lima easie to bee taken though it haue 2000 inhabitants.

The ships in the South few may be burnt.

It is also very credible that he will be able to take Panama.

If he seeke not to take this course he may diuide his army into two parts, and sacke the Isle of S. Domingo, Puerto Rico, the coast of Tierra firma vnto Cartagena and Nombre de Dios.

The second course which indeede Drake tooke.

And from the riuer of Chagre, which is fifteene leagues from Nombre de Dios, he may send his footemen in shalop with oares and in the vessels which carrie goods vp and downe the riuer, whereof there are aboue fiftie there, and passe vp to the lodging of the Crosses, called in Spanish Venta de Cruzes, which is fiue leagues from Panama, which because it is an vnwalled towne may easlly be taken.

Panama being an open place is easie to be taken.

And Hauana also will bee in great danger, which albeit it haue a fortresse, yet it is but little and weake, and bringing his great ordinance on shore hee may take the same with great facilitie.

Hauana easie to be taken.

And besides these domages which he may do according to this discourse, it will not be the least to cut off the nauigation of the West Indian fleet, if they chance to be there.

What course is to be taken to preuent these mischiefes.

TO dispatch Carauels with all possible diligence to the viceroyes and gouernours of the Indias, aduertising them of the newes of the English army, that they may be prouided, and make themselues ready for them. Albeit, considering the number of ships which haue bene set foorth out of England, I assure my selfe, that some part of them are gone out of those parts vnto Newfoundland. For the Queene hath taken carefull order to send to intercept the ships of the fishermen that goe to Baccalaos. And it is likewise to bee thought that shee hath done the like for the intercepting of the fleet of the Indies.

Sir Barnard Drake tooke 17. sailes of the Spanish and Portugall fishers returning from Newfoundland, 1585.

And considering that according to our intelligence out of England, aboue fourescore shippes, and the army of Drake haue bene set foorth from thence, it is meete that his maiestie should prepare another army to seeke the English fleete, and to fight with it, commanding that the Galeons which belong to the crowne of Portugall, and those of his maiestie which lye in the riuer of Siuill bee prepared to send against them, and to giue them the Carena, that they may bee in a readinesse for any voyage howe long soeuer it bee: Aud likewise to arrest a Galeon of the Duke of Florence, which is very well armed and furnished with great ordinance, and passed lately from Alicante toward Cadiz, and to make vp the number of fortie great shippes, which are to bee had in Biscay and Guipuscoa: and that beeing rigged, armed and set in good order, they be vic-

His intelligence was too true, as I found in the office of the Admiralty.

Fortie great ships to be prouided.

tualled for eight moneths, and that foorthwith there bee leuied a thousand mariners of Catalunna and Genoa to bee diuided among the Fleete, and bee conducted, as they were for the Fleete of Terçera: furthermore that sixe thousande souldiers bee leuied, giuing commaundement to presse a greater number, to the ende that these may bee able men for seruice.

1583. Terzera was won by the Marqnes of Santa Cruz.

Moreouer it is needfull for this armie that 20. pataches be brought from Biscay, and 20. Azabras from Castro. That the pataches bee from 50. to 60. tunnes: and that the Azabras bee like those which were in the expedition to Terçera.

That sufficient prouision be made of artillerie, powder, match, and lead, and harquebuzes, muskets, and chosen pikes for the keeping of the coast.

It is also meete to prouide another army of two ships of 400. tunnes a piece, and other foure of 200. tunnes, and foure pataches and a thousand souldiers, besides mariners.

Another army of ten sailes.

Hauing seene and considered that the Englishmen with their marchants ships onely that trauerse these seas haue made such hauocke in two moneths, and that it is to bee thought that they will doe the like against the fleetes which goe and come from the Indies: it is expedient, that as by order in time of peace the fleete hath an Admirall and Viceadmirall, that now it should haue two more at the least in eche Fleete: and neuerthelesse they are to bee wafted home with an armie.

The Indian fleete to be strengthened with 4. ships of warre.

In mine opinion all there prouisions ought to bee made onely in regard of the English army, and the rest of the ships which haue bene set out of that kingdome.

But in case that Don Antonio should come with an armie, and should seeke to inuade this kingdome, these prouisions following would be needefull.

THat warning be giuen to the Conde de Beneuenta, to the Marques de Soria, to the Conde of Altamira, to the Conde of Monterey, to the Marquesse of Zerraluo, and the rest of the Lordes and Knights, which are to haue order to bee in a readinesse, against hee come vnto this kingdome.

What prouision is to be made if Don Antonio should come with an army.

That the people also be trained of the cities of Toro, Zamora, and Salamanca, to bee ready to succour the countrey betweene the riuers of Doro and Minno: and the people of Estremadura and Siuilla are likewise to bee trained to be ready to succour the citie of Lisbon, and the countrey about the same.

Also that the castles of this citie, riuer and territorie be victualled and prouided of gunpowder, match and lead, and al things else belonging to the artillerie, as I haue requested in the relations which I sent vnto his maiestie the 7. of March of this present yeere 1585.

An army of 14. gallies to be prouided.

That the gallies be furnished for foure moneths: and that sixe more bee brought from Spaine to this riuer of Lisbon with an hundred and twentie souldiers for ech gallie, that they may be diuided among the eight gallies which remaine here.

Another army of 12. great ships, 4 pataches, and 1500 souldiers.

And in case it fall out that the armie of the English goe not for the Indies, but occupie themselues vpon this kingdome, (for there may be English ships, which may attend the one and the other) we shal be enforced to make another armie, besides that for the Indies, of twelue ships, foure pataches, and a thousand fiue hundred souldiers.

In mine opinion all this is meet for his maiesties seruice to be foreseene to be made ready with great diligence, and care, and to prouide money needfull for the same, without neglecting the one or the other, but that all these things be done without delay: Referring my selfe in all things to those of wiser iudgement. Written in Lisbon the 26 of October, 1585.

A summarie and true discourse of sir Francis Drakes West Indian voyage, begun in the yeere 1585. Wherein were taken the cities of Saint Iago, Santo Domingo, Cartagena, and the towne of Saint Augustine in Florida; Published by M. Thomas Cates.

THis worthy knight for the seruice of his Prince and countrey hauing prepared his whole fleete, and gotten them downe to Plimmouth in Deuonshire, to the number of fiue and twenty saile of ships and pinnesses, and hauing assembled of souldiers and mariners, to the number of 2300. in the whole, embarked them and himselfe at Plimmouth aforesaid, the 12. day of September 1585. being accompanied with these men and charge, which hereafter follow;

Master Christopher Carleil Lieutenant general, a man of long experience in the warres as well by sea as land, who had formerly caried high offices in both kindes in many fights, which he discharged alwaies very happily, and with great good reputation.

Anthonie Powel Sergeant Maior.

Captaine Matthew Morgan, and Captaine Iohn Sampson, Corporals of the field.

These officers had commandement ouer the rest of the land-Captaines, whose names hereafter follow.

Captaine Anthony Plat.
Captaine Edward Winter.
Captaine Iohn Goring.
Captaine Robert Pew.
Captaine George Barton.
Captaine Iohn Merchant.
Captaine William Cecill.
Captaine Walter Bigs.
Captaine Iohn Hannam.
Captaine Richard Stanton.

Captaine Martine Frobisher Vice admirall, a man of great experience in sea-fearing actions, who had caried the chiefe charge of many ships himselfe, in sundry voyages before, being now shipped in the Primrose.

Captaine Francis Knolles, Reere admirall in the Galeon Leicester.

Master Thomas Vennor Captaine in the Elizabeth Bonaduenture vnder the Generall.

Master Edward Winter Captaine in the Aide.

Master Christopher Carleil the Lieutenant generall, Captaine of the Tygar.

Henry White Captaine of the sea Dragon.
Thomas Drake Captaine of the Thomas.
Thomas Seelie Captaine of the Minion.
Baily Captaine of the Barke of Talbot.
Robert Crosse Captaine of the Bark Bond.
George Fortescue Captaine of the Barke Bonner.
Edward Carelesse Captaine of the Hope.
Iames Erizo Captaine of the White Lyon.
Thomas Moone Captaine of the Francis.
Iohn Riuers Captaine of the Vantage.
Iohn Vaugham Captaine of the Drake.
Iohn Varney Captaine of the George.
Iohn Martin Captaine of the Beniamin.
Edward Gilman Captaine of the Skout.
Richard Hawkins Captaine of the Galiot called the Ducke.
Bitfield Captaine of the Swallow.

After our going hence, which was the foureteenth of September, in the yeere of our Lord 1585. and taking our course towards Spaine, wee had the winde for a fewe dayes somewhat skant, and sometimes calme. And being arriued neere that part of Spaine, which is called the Moores, wee happened to espie diuers sailes, which kept their course close by the shore, the weather being faire and calme. The General caused the Viceadmirall to goe with the pinnesses well manned to see what they were, who vpon sight of the said pinnesses approching neere vnto them, abandoned for the most part all their ships (being Frenchmen) laden all with salt, and bound homewards into France, amongst which ships (being all of small burden) there was one so wel liked, which also had no man in her, as being brought vnto ye general, he thought good to make stay of her for the seruice, meaning to pay for her, as also accordingly he performed at our returne: which barke was called the Drake. The rest of these ships (being eight or nine) were dismissed without any thing at all taken from them. Who being afterwardes put somewhat farther off from the shore, by the contrariety of the wind, we happened to meet with some other French ships, full laden with Newland fish, being vpon their returne homeward from the said Newfoundland : whom the Generall after some speech had with them (and seeing plainly that they were Frenchmen) dismissed, without once suffering any man to go aboord of them.

The day following standing in with the shore againe, we discried another tall ship of twelue score tunnes or thereaboutes, vpon whom Master Carliel the Lieutenant generall being in the Tygar, vndertooke the chase, whom also anon after the Admirall followed, and the Tygar hauing caused the said strange ship to strike her sailes, kept her there without suffering any body to go aboord vntill the Admirall was come vp: who forthwith sending for the Master, and diuers others of their principall men, and causing them to be seuerally examined, found the ship and goods to be belonging to the inhabitants of S. Sebastian in Spaine, but the mariners to bee for the most part belonging to S. Iohn de Luz, and the Passage. In this ship was great store of dry Newland fish, commonly called with vs Poore Iohn, whereof afterwards (being thus found a lawfull prize) there was distribution made into all the ships of the fleet, the same being so new and good, as it did very greatly bestead vs in the whole course

The Isles of Baiona.

of our voyage. A day or two after the taking of this ship, we put in within the Isles of Bayon, for lacke of fauourable wind: where wee had no sooner ankered some part of the fleete, but the Generall commanded all the pinnesses with the shipboats to be manned, and euery man to be furnished with such armes as were needful for that present seruice; which being done, the Generall put himselfe into his gallie, which was also well furnished, and rowing towards the city of Bayon, with intent, and the fauour of the Almighty to surprise it, before we had aduanced one halfe league of our way, there came a messenger being an English merchant from the Gouernour, to see what strange fleet we were, who came to our General, conferred a while with him; and after a small time spent, our Generall called for Captaine Sampson, and willed him to go to the Gouernour of the citie, to resolue him of two points. The first, to know if there were any warres betweene Spaine and England. The second, why our marchants with their goods were embarged or arrested. Thus departed captain Sampson with the said messenger to the citie, where he found the gouernor and people much amazed of such a sudden accident.

The Generall with the aduice and counsell of M. Carleil his Lieutenant generall, who was in the galley with him, thought not good to make any stand, till such time as they were within the shot of the citie, where they might bee ready vpon the returne of Captaine Sampson, to make a sudden attempt if cause did require before it were darke.

Captaine Sampson returned with his message in this sort. First, touching peace or warres the Gouernour said he knew of no warres, and that it lay not in him to make any, hee being so meane a subieet as he was. And as for the stay of the merchants with their goods, it was the kings pleasure, but not with intent to endomage any man. And that the kings counter-commandement was (which had bene receiued in that place some seuennight before) that English merchants with their goods should be discharged: for the more verifying wherof, he sent such merchants as were in the towne of our nation, who traffiqued those parts: which being at large declared to our General by them, counsell was taken what might best be done. And for that the night approched, it was thought needful to land our forces, which was done in the shutting vp of the day, and hauing quartered our selues to our most aduantage, with sufficient gard vpon euery strait, we thought to rest our selues for that night there. The Gouernour sent vs some refreshing, as bread, wine, oyle, apples, grapes, marmalad and such like. About midnight the weather beganne to ouercast, insomuch that it was thought meeter to repaire aboord, then to make any longer abode on land, and before wee could recouer the Fleete, a great tempest arose, which caused many of our shippes to driue from their anker-hold, and some were forced to sea in great perill; as the barke Talbot, the barke Hawkins, and the Speedewell, which Speedwel was onely driuen into England, the others recouered vs againe: the extremitie of the storme lasted three dayes, which no sooner began to asswage, but M. Carleil our Lieutenant generall was sent with his owne shippe and three others: as also with the gallie and with diuers pinnesses, to see what he might doe aboue Vigo, where he tooke many boates and some carauels, diuersly laden with things of small value, but chiefly with household stuffe, running into the high countrey, and amongst the rest, he found one boat laden with the principal church-stuffe of the high Church of Vigo, where also was their great crosse of siluer, of very faire embossed worke, and double gilt all ouer, hauing cost them a grert masse of money. They complained to haue lost in all kinds of goods aboue thirty thousand duckets in this place.

The next day the Generall with his whole fleete went from vp the Isles of Bayon, to a very good harbour aboue Vigo, where M. Carleil stayed his comming, aswell for the more quiet riding of his ships, as also for the good commoditie of fresh watering, which the place there did afourd full well. In the meane time the Gouernour of Galicia had reared such forces as hee might, his numbers by estimate were some two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, and marched from Bayon to this part of the countrey, which lay in sight of our fleete, where making a stand, he sent to parley with our Generall, which was granted by our Generall, so it might bee in boats vpon the water: and for safetie of their persons, there were pledges deliuered on both sides: which done, the Gouernour of Galicia put himselfe with two others into our Viceadmirals skiffe, the same hauing bene sent to the shore for him, and in like sort our Generall went in his owne skiffe; where it was by them agreed, we should furnish our selues with fresh water, to be taken by our owne people quietly on the land, and haue all other such necessaries, paying for the same, as the place would affourd.

When all our businesse was ended, wee departed, and tooke our way by the Islands of Canaria, which are esteemed some three hundred leagues from this part of Spaine, and falling purposely with Palma, with intention to haue taken our pleasure of that place, for the full digesting of many things into order, and the better furnishing our store with such seuerall good things as it affourdeth very abundantly, we were forced by the vile Sea-gate, which at that present fell out, and by the naughtinesse of the landing place, being but one, and that vnder the fauour of many platformes well furnished with great ordinance, to depart with the receit of many of their Canon-shot, some into our ships, and some besides, some of them being in very deede full Canon high. But the only or chiefe mischiefe was the dangerous sea-surge, which at shore all alongst plainly threatned the ouerthrow of as many pinnesses and boates, as for that time should haue attempted any landing at all.

Now seeing the expectation of this attempt frustrated by the causes aforesayd, we thought it meeter to fall with the Isle Hierro, to see if we could find any better fortune: and comming to the Island, we landed a thousand men in a valley vnder a high mountaine, where we stayed some two or three houres, in which time the inhabitants, accompanied with a yong fellow borne in England, who dwelt there with them, came vnto vs, shewing their state to be so poore, that they were all ready to starue, which was not vntrue: and therefore without any thing gotten, we were all commanded presently to imbarke, so as that night wee put off to sea Southsoutheast along towards the coast of Barbary.

Vpon Saturday in the morning, being the 13. of Nouember, we fell with Cape Blanke, which is a low land and shallow water, where we catched store of fish, and doubling the Cape, we put into the Bay, where we found certaine French ships of warre, whom wee entertained with great courtesie, and there left them. This afternoone the whole fleete assembled, which was a little scattered about their fishing, and put from thence to the Isles of Cape Verde, sailing till the 16. of the same moneth in the morning, on which day we discried the Island of S. Iago, and in the euening we ankered the fleet between the towne called the Playa or Praya, and S. Iago, where we put on shore 1000. men or more, vnder the leading of M. Christopher Carleil Lieutenant general, who directed the seruice most like a wise commander.

The place where we had first to march did affourd no good order, for the ground was mountainous and full of dales, being a very stony and troublesome passage; but such was his industrious disposition, as he would neuer leaue, vntill wee had gotten vp to a faire plain, where we made stand for the assembling of the army. And when we were al gathered together vpon the plaine, some 2 miles from the town, the lieutenant general thought good not to make attempt til daylight: because there was not one that could serue for guid or giuing knowledge at al of yͤ place. And therefore after hauing wel rested, euen halfe an houre before day, he commanded the army to be diuided into 3 speciall parts, such as he appointed, wheras before we had marched by seueral companies, being therunto forced by the badnesse of the way as is aforesaid.

Now by the time wee were thus ranged into a very braue order, daylight began to appeare, and being aduanced hard to the wall, we saw no enemie to resist, whereupon the Lieutenant generall appointed Captaine Sampson with thirtie shot, and Captaine Barton with other thirtie, to gee downe into the towne which stood in the valley vnder vs, and might very plainely bee viewed all ouer from that place where the whole Army was now arriued: and presently after these Captaines was sent the great ensigne, which had nothing in it but the plaine English crosse, to be placed towardes the Sea, that our Fleet might see Saint Georges cross florish in the enemies fortresse. Order was giuen that all the ordinance throughout the towne and vpon all the platformes, which were aboue fiftie pieces all ready charged, should be shot off in honour of the Queenes Maiesties coronation day, being the seuenteenth of Nouember, after the yeerely custome of England, which was so answered againe by the ordinance out of all the ships in the fleete which now was come nere, as it was strange to heare such a thundering noise last so long together. In this meane while the Lieutenant generall held still the most part of his force on the hill top, till such time as the towne was quartered out for the lodging of the whole armie: which being done euery captaine tooke his own quarter, and in the euening was placed such a sufficient gard vpon euery part of the towne that we had no cause to feare any present enemie.

The citie of Iago taken and possessed for 14. dayes.

Thus we continued in the citie the space of 14. dayes, taking such spoiles as the place yeelded, which were for the most part, wine, oyle, meale, and some such like things for victuall, as vineger, oliues, and some such other trash, as merchandise for their Indians trades. But there was not found any treasure at all, or any thing else of worth besides.

The situation of S. Iago is somewhat strange, in forme like a triangle, hauing on the East and West sides two mountaines of rocke and cliffe, as it were hanging ouer it, vpon the top of which two mountaines were builded certaine fortifications to preserue the towne from any harme that might bee offered, as in a plot is plainely shewed. From thence, on the South side of the towne is the maine sea, and on the north side, the valley lying betweene the foresayd mountaines, wherein the towne standeth: the said valley and towne both do grow very narrow, insomuch that the space betweene the two cliffes of this end of the towne is estimated not to be aboue 10. or 12. score ouer.

In the middest of the valley commeth downe a riueret, rill, or brooke of fresh water, which hard by the sea side maketh a pond or poole, whereout our ships were watered with very great ease and pleasure. Somewhat aboue the towne on the North side betweene the two mountains, the valley waxeth somewhat larger then at the townes end, which valley is wholly conuerted into gardens and orchards well replenished with diuers sorts of fruites, herbes and trees, as lymmons, orenges, sugar-canes, cochars or cochos nuts, plantans, potato-rootes, cucumbers, small and round onions, garlike, and some other things not now remembered, amongst which the cochos nuts, and plantans are very pleasant fruites, the saide cochos hath a hard shell and a greene huske ouer it, as hath our walnut, but it farre exceedeth in greatnesse, for this cochos in his greene huske is bigger than any mans two fistes: of the hard shell many drinking cups are made here in England, and set in siluer as I haue often seene.

Next within this hard shell is a white rine resembling in shewe very much euen as any thing may do, to the white of an egge when it is hard boyled. And within this white of the nut lyeth a water, which is whitish and very cleere, to the quantity of halfe a pynt or thereaboutes, which water and white rine before spoken of, are both of a very coole fresh tast, and as pleasing as any thing may be. I haue heard some hold opinion, that it is very restoratiue.

The plantan groweth in cods, somewhat like to beanes, but is bigger and longer, and much more thicke together on the stalke, and when it waxeth ripe, the meate which filleth the rine of the cod becommeth yellow, and is exceeding sweat and pleasant.

In this time of our being there hapened to come a Portugall to the Western fort, with a flag of truce, to whom Captaine Sampson was sent with Captaine Goring, who comming to the said messenger, he first asked them what nation they were, they answered Englishmen, hee then required to knowe if warres were betweene England and Spaine, to which they answered that they knew not, but if he would goe to their Generall he could best resolue him of such particulars, and for his assurance of passage and repassage, these Captaines made offer to ingage their credits, which he refused for that he was not sent from his Gouernor. Then they told him, if his Gouernor did desire to take a course for the common benefit of the people and countrey, his best way were to come and present himselfe vnto our noble and mercifull Gouernour sir Francis Drake, whereby hee might bee assured to find fauour, both for himselfe and the inhabitantes, Otherwise within three dayes wee should march ouer the land. and consume with fire all inhabited places, and put to the sword all such liuing soules as wee shoulde chance vpon : so thus much he tooke for the conclusion of his answere, and departing, hee promised to returne the next day, but we neuer heard more of him.

Vpon the foure and twentieth of Nouember, the Generall accompanied with the lieutenant generall and sixe hundred men marched foorth to a village twelue miles within the land, called Saint Domingo, where the Gouernour and the Bishoppe with all the better sort were lodged, and by eight of the clocke wee came to it, finding the place abandoned, and the people fled into the mountaines : so we made stand a while to ease our selues, and partly to see if any would come to speake to vs.

After we had well rested our selues, the Generall commaunded the troupes to march away homewards, in which retreat the enemie shewed themselues, both horse and foote, though not such force as durst encounter vs : and so in passing sometime at the gase with them, it waxed late and towards night before we could recouer home to S. Iago.

On Munday the sixe and twentieth of Nouember, the Generall commaunded all the pinnesses with the boates to vse all diligence to imbarke the Armie into such shippes as euery man belonged. The Lieutenant generall in like sort commanded

Captaine Goring and Lieutenant Tucker, with one hundred shot to make a stand in the market place, vntill our forces were wholly imbarked, the viceadmiral making stay with his pinnesse and certaine boats in the harbour, to bring the sayd last companie aboord the ships. Also the Generall willed forthwith the gallie with two pinnesses to take into them the company of Captaine Barton, and the company of Captaine Bigs, vnder the leading of captaine Sampson, to seeke out such munition as was hidden in the ground, at the towne of Praya or Playa, hauing bene promised to be shewed it by a prisoner, which was taken the day before.

The Captaines aforesayd comming to the Playa, landed their men, and hauing placed the troupe in their best strength, Captaine Sampson tooke the prisoner, and willed him to shewe that hee had promised, the which he could not, or at least would not: but they searching all suspected places, found two pieces of ordinance, one of yron, an other of brasse. In the afternoone the Generall ankered with the rest of the Fleet before the Playa, comming himselfe ashore, willing vs to burne the towne and make all haste aboord, the which was done by sixe of the clocke the same day, and our selues imbarked againe the same night, and so we put off to Sea Southwest.

But before our departure from the towne of S. Iago, wee established orders for the better gouernment of the Army, euery man mustered to his captaine, and others were ministered to acknowledge her Maiestie supreme Gouernour, as also euery man to doe his vttermost endeuour to aduance the seruice of the action, and to yeeld due obedience vnto the directions of the Generall and his officers. By this prouident counsell, and laying downe this good foundation before hand, all things went forward in a due course, to the atchieuing of our happy enterprise.

A wise course to be imitated in all great actions.

In all the time of our being here, neither the Gouernour for the king of Spaine, (which is a Portugall) neither the Bishop, whose authoritie is great, neither the inhabitants of the towne, or Island euer came at vs (which we expected they should haue done) to intreate vs to leaue them some part of their needfull provisions, or at the least, to spare the ruining of their towne at our going away. The cause of this their vnreasonable distrust (as I doe take it) was the fresh remembrance of the great wrongs they had done to old M. William Hawkins of Plimmouth, in the

The treason of the Portugals against M. William Hawkins.

voyage he made 4. or 5. yeeres before, when as they did both breake their promise, and murthered many of his men, whereof I iudge you haue vnderstood, and therefore it is needlesse to be repeated. But since they came not at vs, we left written in sundry places, as also in the spittle house, (which building was only appointed to be spared) the great discontentment and scorne we tooke at this their refraining to come vnto vs, as also at the rude maner of killing, and sauage kind of handling the dead body of one of our boyes found by them stragling al alone, from whom they had taken his head and heart, and had stragled the other bowels about the place, in a most brutish and beastly maner.

In reuenge whereof at our departing we consumed with fire all the houses, as well in the countrey which we saw, as in the towne of S. Iago.

From hence putting off to the West Indies, wee were not many dayes at Sea, but there beganne among our people such mortalitie, as in fewe dayes there were dead aboue two or three hundred men. And vntil some seuen or eight dayes after our comming from S. Iago, there had not died any one man of sicknesse in all the fleete: the sicknesse shewed not his infection wherewith so many were stroken, vntill we were departed thence, and then seazed our people with extreme hot burning and continuall agues, whereof very fewe escaped with life, and yet those for the most part not without great alteration and decay of their wittes and strength for a long time after. In some that died were plainely shewed the small spots, which are often found vpon those that be infected with the plague: wee were not aboue eighteene dayes in passage betweene the sight of Saint Iago aforesaid, and the Island of Dominica, being the first Island of the West Indies that we fell withall, the same being inhabited with sauage people, which goe all naked, their skinne coloured with some painting of a reddish tawney, very personable and handsome strong men, who doe admit litle conuersation with the Spanyards: for as some of our people might vnderstand them, they had a Spaniard or twaine prisoners with them, neither doe I thinke that there is any safetie for any of our nation, or any other to be within the limits of their commandement, albeit they vsed vs very kindly for those few houres of time which wee spent with them, helping our folkes to fill and carry on their bare shoulders fresh water from the riuer to our ships boates, and fetching from their houses great store of Tabacco, as also a kind of bread which they fed on, called Cassaui, very white and sauourie, made of the rootes of Cassaui. In recompence whereof, we bestowed liberall rewards of glasse, coloured beades, and other things, which we had found at Saint Iago, wherewith (as it seemed) they rested very greatly satisfied, and shewed some sorrowfull countenance when they perceiued that we would depart.

From hence wee went to another Island Westward of it, called Saint Christophers Island, wherein we spent some dayes of Christmas, to refresh our sicke people, and to cleanse and ayre our ships. In which Island were not any people at all that we could heare of.

In which time by the General it was aduised and resolued, with the consent of the Lieutenant generall, the Vice-admiral, and all the rest of the Captaines to proceede to the great Islande of Hispaniola, as well for that we knewe ourselues then to bee in our best strength, as also the rather allured thereunto, by the glorious fame of the citie of S. Domingo, being the ancientest and chiefe inhabited place in all the tract of Countrey thereabouts. And so proceeding in this determination, by the waye we mette a small Frigat, bound for the same place, the which the Vice-admirall tooke: and hauing duely examined the men that were in her, there was one found, by whom wee were aduertised, the Hauen to be a barred Hauen, and the shore or land thereof to bee well fortified, hauing a Castle thereupon furnished with great store of Artillerie, without the danger whereof was no conuenient landing place within ten English miles of the Citie, to which the sayd Pilot tooke vpon him to conduct vs.

All things being thus considered on, the whole forces were commanded in the Euening to embarke themselues in Pinnesses, boats, and other small barkes appoynted for this seruice. Our souldiers being thus imbarked, the Generall put himselfe into the barke Francis as Admirall, and all this night we lay on the sea, bearing small saile vntill our arriuall to the landing place, which was about the breaking of the day and so we landed, being Newyeeres day, nine or ten miles to the Westwards of that braue Citie of S. Domingo: for at that time nor yet is knowen to vs any landing place, where the sea-surge doth not threaten to ouerset a Pinnesse or boate. Our Generall hauing seene vs all landed in safetie, returned to his Fleete, bequeathing vs to God, and the good conduct of Master Carliell our Lieutenant Generall: at which time, being about eight of the clocke, we began to march, and about noone time, or towards one of the clocke, we approched the towne, where the Gentlemen and those of the better sort, being some hundred and fiftie braue horses or rather more, began to present themselues; but our small shot played vpon them, which were so susteined with good proportion of pikes in all parts, as they finding no part of our troope vnprepared to receiue them (for you must vnderstand they viewed all round about) they were thus driuen to giue vs leaue to proceed towards the two gates of the towne, which were the next to the seaward. They had manned them both, and planted their ordinance for that present, and sudden alarme without the gate, and also some troopes of small shot in Ambuscado vpon the hie way side. We diuided our whole force, being some thousand or twelue hundred men into two partes, to enterprise both the gates at one instant, the Lieutenant Generall hauing openly vowed to Captaine Powell (who led the troope that entred the other gate) that with Gods good fauour he would not rest vntill our meeting in the market place.

Their ordinance had no sooner discharged vpon our neere approch, and made some execution amongst vs, though not much, but the Lieutenant generall began forthwith to aduance both his voice of encouragement, and pace of marching; the first man that was slaine with the ordinance being very neere vnto himselfe: and thereupon hasted all that hee might, to keepe them from the recharging of the ordinance. And notwithstanding their Ambuscados, we marched or rather ran so roundly in to them, as pell mell wee entred the gates, and gaue them more care euery man to saue himselfe by flight, then reason to stand any longer to their broken fight. Wee forthwith repayred to the market place: but to be more truely vnderstood, a place of very faire spacious square ground, whither also came as had bene agreed Captain Powell with the other troope: which place with some part next vnto it, we strengthened with Barricados, and there as the most conuenient place assured ourselues, the Citie being farre too spacious for so small and weary a troope to vndertake to guarde. Somewhat after midnight, they who had the guard of the Castle, hearing vs busie about the gates of the said Castle, abandoned the same: some being taken prisoners, and some fleeing away by the helpe of boates to the other side of the Hauen, and so into the countrey.

The citie of S. Domingo taken.

The next day we quartered a litle more at large, but not into the halfe part of the towne, and so making substantiall trenches, and planting all the ordinance, that ech part was correspondent to other, we held this towne the space of one moneth.

In the which time happened some accidents, more then are well remembred for the present, but amongst other things, it chanced that the Generall sent on his message to the Spaniards a Negro boy with a flagge of white, signifiying truce, as is the Spanyards ordinarie maner to doe there, when they approch to speake to vs: which boy vnhappily was first mette withall by some of those, who had bene belonging as officers for the King in the Spanish Galley, which with the Towne was lately fallen into our hands, who without all order or reason, and contrary to that good vsage wherewith wee had intertained their messengers, furiously strooke the poore boy thorow the body with one of of their horsemens staues: with which wound the boy returned to the General, and after hee had declared the maner of this wrongfull crueltie, died forthwith in his presence, wherewith the Geuerall being greatly passioned, commaunded the Prouost Martiall, to cause a couple of Friers then Prisoners, to be caried to the same place where the boy was stroken, accompanied with sufficient guard of our souldiers, and there presently to be hanged, dispatching at the same instant another poore prisoner, with this reason wherefore this execution was done, and with this message further, that vntill the party who had thus murdered the Generals messenger were diliuered into our hands, to receiue condigne punishment, there should no day passe, wherein there should not two prisoners be hanged, vntil they were all consumed which were in our hands.

Whereupon the day following, hee that had bene Captaine of the kings Galley, brought the offender to the townes ende, offering to deliuer him into our hands; but it was thought to be a more honourable reuenge to make them there in our sight, to performe the execution themselues: which was done accordingly.

During our being in this towne, as formerly also at S. Iago there had passed iustice vpon the life of one of our owne company for an odious matter, so heere likewise was there an Irishman hanged, for the murthering of his Corporall.

In this time also passed many treaties betweene their Commissioners and vs, for ransome of their Citie; but vpon disagreements we still spent the early mornings in fiering the outmost houses: but they being built very magnificently of stone, with high loftes, gaue vs no small trauell to ruine them. And albeit for diuers dayes together we ordeined ech morning by day breake, vntill the heat began at nine of the clocke, that two hundred Mariners did nought else but labour to fire and burne the said houses within our trenches, whilst the souldiers in a like proportion stood forth for their guard: yet did wee not, or could not in this time consume so much as one third part of the towne: which towne is plainely described and set forth in a certaine Map. And so in the end, what wearied with firing, and what hastened by some other respects, wee were contented to accept of fiue and twentie thousand Ducats of fiue shillings sixe pence the peece, for the ransome of the rest of the towne.

Most vnsatiable Spanish ambition.

Amongst other things which happened and were found at S. Domingo, I may not omit to let the world know one very notable marke and token of the vnsatiable ambition of the Spanish king and his nation, which was found in the kings house, wherein the chiefe gouernour of that Citie and Countrey is appoynted alwayes to lodge, which was this: In the comming to the Hall or other roomes of this house, you must first ascend vp by a faire large paire of staires; at the head of which staires is a handsome spacious place to walke in, somewhat like vnto a gallery: wherein vpon one of the wals, right ouer against you as you enter the said place, so as your eye cannot escape the sight of it, there is described and painted in a very large Scutchion the armes of the king of Spaine, and in the lower part of the said Scutchion, there is likewise described a Globe, conteining in it the whole circuit of the sea and the earth, whereupon is a horse standing on his hinder part within the globe, and the other fore-part without the globe, lifted vp as it were to leape, with a scroll painted in his mouth, wherein was written these words in Latin, Non sufficit orbis: which is as much to say, as the world sufficeth not. Whereof the meaning was required to be knowen of some of those of the better sort that came in commision to treate vpon the ransome of the towne, who would shake their heads, and turne aside their countenance in some smyling sort, without answering any thing, as greatly ashamed thereof. For by some of our company it was tolde them, that if the Queene of England would resolutely prosecute the warres against the king of Spaine, hee should be forced to lay aside that proude and vnreasonable reaching vaine of his:

for hee should finde more then inough to doe to keepe that which hee had alreadie, as by the present example of their lost towne they might for a beginning perceiue well inough.

Now to the satisfying of some men, who maruell greatly that such a famous and goodly builded Citie so well inhabited of gallant people, very braue in their apparell (whereof our souldiers found good store for their reliefe) should afoord no greater riches then was found there: herein it is to be vnderstood that the Indian people, which were the naturals of this whole Island of Hispaniola (the same being neere hand as great as England) were many yeeres since cleane consumed by the tyrannie of the Spaniards, which was ye cause, that for lacke of people to worke in the Mines, the golde and siluer Mines of this Island are wholy giuen ouer, and thereby they are faine in this Island to vse Copper money, whereof was found very great quantitie. The chiefe trade of this place consisteth of Sugar and Ginger, which groweth in the Island, and of Hides of oxen and kine, which in this waste countrey of the Island are bredde in infinite numbers, the soyle being very fertile: and the sayd beasts are fedde vp to a very large grouth, and so killed for nothing so much, as for their Hides aforesayd. Wee found heere great store of strong wine, sweete oyle, vineger, oliues, and other such like prouisions, as excellent Wheate-meale packed vp in winepipes and other caske, and other commodities likewise, as Woollen and Linnen cloth, and some Silkes: all which prouisions are brought out of Spaine, and serued vs for great reliefe. There was but a little Plate or vessed of Siluer, in comparison of the great pride in other things of this towne, because in these hotte Countreys they vse much of those earthen dishes finely painted or varnished, which they call Porcellana, which is had out of the East India: and for their drinking, they vse glasses altogether, whereof they make excellent good and faire in the same place. But yet some plate we found, and many other good things, as their houshold garniture very gallant and rich, which had cost them deare, although vnto vs they were of small importance.

From Saint Domingo we put ouer to the maine or firme land, and going all alongst the coast, we came at the last in sight of Cartagena, standing vpon the sea side, so neere, as some of our barks in passing alongst, approched within the reach of their Culuerin shot, which they had planted vpon certaine platformes. The Harbour mouth lay some three miles toward the Westward of the towne, whereinto wee entred about three or foure of the clocke in the afternoone without any resistance of ordinance, or other impeachment planted vpon the same. In the Euening wee put our selues on land towards the harbour mouth, vnder the leading of Master Carliell our Lieutenant Generall, who after hee had digested vs to march forwarde about midnight, as easily as foote might fall, expresly commanded vs to keepe close by the sea-wash of the shore for our best and surest way, whereby we were like to goe through, and not to misse any more of the way, which once wee had lost within an houre after our first beginning to march, through the slender knowledge of him that tooke vpon him to be our guide, whereby the night spent on, which otherwise must haue bene done by resting. But as we came within some two miles of the towne, their horsemen which were some hundred, met vs, and taking the alarme, retired to their townward againe vpon the first volley of our shot that was giuen them; for the place where wee encountred being wooddy and bushy euen to the water side was vnmeete for their seruice.

At this instant we might heare some pieces of Artillerie discharged, with diuers small shot towards the harbour, which gaue vs to vnderstand, according to the order set downe in the Euening before by our Generall, that the Vice-admirall accompanied with Captaine Venner, Captaine White, and Captaine Crosse, with other sea Captaines, and with diuers Pinnesses and boates should giue some attempt vnto the little Fort standing on the entrie of the inner Hauen, neere adioyning to the towne, though to small purpose, for that the place was strong, and the entry very narrow was chained ouer: so as there could be nothing gotten by the attempt, more than the giuing of them an alarme on that other side of the Hauen being a mile and a halfe from the place we now were at. In which attempt the Vice-admirall had the rudder of his skiffe stroken through with a Saker shot, and a litle or no harme receiued elsewhere.

The troopes being now in their march, halfe a myle behither the Towne or lesse, the ground we were on grewe to bee streight, and not aboue fiftie paces ouer, hauing the maine Sea on the one side of it, and the harbour-water or inner sea (as you may tearme it) on the other side, which in the plot is plainely shewed. This streight was fortified cleane ouer with a stone wall and a ditch without it: the sayd wall being as orderly built with flanking in euery part, as can be set downe. There was only so much of this streight vnwalled, as might serue for the issuing of the horsemen, or the passing of caryage in time of neede: but this vnwalled part was not without a very good Barricado of winebuts or pipes, filled with earth, full and thicke as they might stand on ende one by another, some part of them standing euen within the maine sea.

This place of strength was furnished with sixe great peeces, Demi-culuerins, and Sakers, which shotte directly in front vpon vs as wee approched. Now without this wall vpon the inner side of the streight, they had brought likewise two great Galleis with their prowes to the shore, hauing planted in them eleuen peeces of ordinance, which did beate all crosse the streight, and flanked our comming on. In these two Galleis were planted three or foure hundred small shot, and on the land in the guard onely of this place, three hundred shot and pikes.

They in this their full readinesse to receiue vs, spared not their shot both great and small. But our Lieutenant generall, taking the aduantage of the darke (the day light as yet not broken out) approched by the lowest ground, according to the expresse direction which himselfe had formerly giuen, the same being the sea-wash shore, where the water was somewhat fallen, so as most of all their shot was in vaine. Our Lieutenant generall commanded our shot to forbeare shooting vntill we were come to the wall side, and so with pikes roundly together we approched the place, where we soone found out the Barricados of pipes or buts, to be the meetest place for our assault, which, notwithstanding it was well furnished with pikes and shot, was without staying attempted by vs: downe went the buts of earth, and pell mell came our swordes and pikes together, after our shot had first giuen their volley, euen at the enemies nose. Our pikes were somewhat longer then theirs, and our bodies better armed; for very few of them were armed: with which advantage our swordes and pikes grew too hard for them, and they driuen to giue place. In this furious entry, the Lieutenant generall slewe with his owne hands the chiefe Ensigne bearer of the Spaniards, who fought very manfully to his liues end.

We followed into the towne with them, and giuing them no leasure to breath, we wanne the Market-place, albeit they made head, and fought a while before we got it, and so wee being once seazed and assured of that, they were content to suffer vs to lodge within their towne, and themselues to goe to their wiues, whom they had caryed into other places of the countrey before our comming thither.

At euery streetes end they had raised very fine Barricados of earth-workes, with trenches without them, as well made as euer we saw any worke done: at the entring whereof was some litle resistance, but soone ouercome it was, with few slaine or hurt. They had ioyned with them many Indians, whom they had placed in corners of aduantage, all bowmen, with their arrowes most villanously empoysoned, so as if they did but breake the skinne, the partie so touched died without great maruell: some they slew of our people with their arrowes: some they likewise mischieued to death with certaine pricks of small sticks sharply pointed, of a foote and a halfe long, the one ende put into the ground, the other empoysoned, sticking fast vp, right against our comming in the way, as we should approch from our landing towardes the towne, whereof they had planted a wonderfull number in the ordinary way: but our keeping the sea-wash shore missed the greatest part of them very happily.

I ouerpasse many particular matters, as the hurting of Captaine Sampson at sword blowes in the first entring, vnto whom was committed the charge of the pikes of the Vantguard by his lot and turne, as also of the taking of Alonso Brauo the chiefe commander of that place by Captaine Goring, after the said captaine had first hurt him with his sword: vnto which Captaine was committed the charge of the shot of the sayd Vantguard.

Alonso Brauo the gouernour of Cartagena taken.

Captaine Winter was likewise by his turne of the Vantguard in this attempt, where also the Lieutenant generall marched himselfe: the said Captaine Winter through a great desire to serue by land, hauing now exchanged his charge by sea with Captaine Cecil for his band of footemen.

Captaine Powell the Sergeant maior had by his turne the charge of the foure companies which made the battaile.

Captaine Morgan, who at S. Domingo was of the Vantguard, had now by turne his charge vpon the companies of the Rereward.

Euery man as well of one part as of another, came so willingly on to the seruice, as the enemie was not able to endure the furie of such hot assault.

We stayed here sixe weekes, and the sicknesse with mortalitie before spoken of still continued among vs, though not with the same furie as at the first: and such as were touched with the sayde sicknesse, escaping death, very few or almost none could recouer their strength: yea, many of them were much decayed in their memorie, insomuch that it was growen an ordinarie iudgement, when one was heard to speake foolishly, to say he had bene sicke of the Calentura, which is the Spanish name of their burning Ague: for as I tolde you before, it is a very burning and pestilent ague. The originall cause thereof, is imputed to the Euening or first night ayre, which they tearme La serena, wherein they say and hold very firme opinion, that who so is then abroad in the open ayre, shall certainly be infected to the death, not being of the Indian or naturall race of those countrey people: by holding their watch, our men were thus subiected to the infectious ague, which at S. Iago was most dangerous and deadly of all other places.

With the inconuenience of continuall mortalitie, we were forced to giue ouer our intended enterprise, to goe with Nombre de Dios, and so ouerland to Panama, where we should haue strooken the stroke for the treasure, and full recompence of our tedious trauailes. And thus at Cartagena we tooke our first resolution to returne homewardes: the forme of which resolution I thought good here to put downe vnder the principall Captaines hands, as followeth.

A resolution of the Land-captaines, what course they thinke most expedient to bee taken. Giuen at Cartagena xxvij. of Februarie 1585.

WHereas it hath pleased the Generall to demaund the opinions of his Captaines what course they thinke most expedient to be now vndertaken, the Land-captaines being assembled by themselues together, and hauing aduised hereupon, doe in three points deliuer the same.

The first, touching the keeping of the towne against the force of the enemie, either that which is present, or that which may come out of Spaine, is answered thus.

WE holde opinion, that with this troope of men which we haue presently with vs in land-seruice, being victualled and munitioned, wee may well keepe the Towne, albeit that of men able to answere present seruice, we haue not aboue 700. The residue being some 150. men by reason of their hurts and sicknesse are altogether vnable to stand vs in any stead: wherefore hereupon the Sea-captaines are likewise to giue their resolution, how they will vndertake the safetie and seruice of the Shippes vpon the arriuall of any Spanish Fleete.

The second poynt we make to be this, whether it bee meete to goe presently homeward, or els to continue further tryall of our fortune in vndertaking such like enterprises as we haue done already, and thereby to seeke after that bountifull masse of treasure for recompence of our trauailes, which was generally expected at our comming forth of England: wherein we answere.

THat it is well knowen how both we and the souldiers are entered into this action as voluntarie men, without any imprest or gage from her Maiestie or any body els: and forasmuch as we haue hitherto discharged the parts of honest men, so that now by the great blessing and fauour of our good God there haue bin taken three such notable townes, wherein by the estimation of all men would haue bene found some very great treasures, knowing that S. Iago was the chiefe citie of all the Islands and traffiques thereabouts, S. Domingo the chiefe citie of Hispaniola, and the head gouernment not only of that Iland, but also of Cuba, and of all the Ilands about it, as also of such inhabitations of the firme land, as were next vnto it, and a place that is both magnificently builded, and interteineth great trades of marchandise: and now lastly the citie of Cartagena, which cannot be denied to be one of the chiefe places of most especiall importance to the Spaniard of all the cities which be on this side of the West India: we doe therefore consider, that since all these cities, with their goods and prisoners taken in them, and the ransoms of the said cities being all put together, are found farre short to satisfie that expectation which by the generality of the enterprisers was first conceiued: And being further aduised of the slendernesse of our strength, whereunto we be now reduced, as well in respect of the small number of able bodies, as also not a litle in regard of the slacke disposition of the greater part of those which remaine, very many of the better mindes and men being either consumed by death, or weakened by sicknes and hurts: And lastly, since that as yet there is not laid downe to our knowledge any such enterprise as may seeme conuenient to be vndertaken with such few as we are presently able to make, and withall of such certaine likelihoode, as with Gods good successe which it may please him to bestow vpon vs, the same may promise to yeeld vs any sufficient contentment: We doe therefore conclude hereupon, that it is better to hold sure as we may the honour already gotten, and with the same to returne towards our gracious Soueraigne and Countrey, from whence if it shall please her Maiestie to set vs foorth againe with her orderly meanes and intertainment, we are most ready and willing to goe through with any thing that the vttermost of our strength and indeuour shall be able to reach vnto: but therewithal wee doe aduise and protest that it is farre from our thoughts, either to refuse, or so much as to seeme to be wearie of any thing, which for the present shalbe further required or directed to be done by vs from our Generall.

The third and last poynt is concerning the ransome of this citie of Cartagena, for the which, before it was touched with any fire, there was made an offer of some xxvij. or xxviij. thousand pounds sterling.

Thus much we vtter herein as our opinions agreeing (so it be done in good sort) to accept this offer aforesayde, rather then to breake off by standing still vpon our demands of one hundred thousand poundes, which seemes a matter impossible to bee performed for the present by them, and to say trueth, wee may now with much honour and reputation better be satisfied with that summe offered by them at the first (if they will now bee contented to giue it) then wee might at that time with a great deale more, inasmuch as we haue taken our full pleasure both in the vttermost sacking and spoyling of all their householde goods and marchandize, as also in that we haue consumed and ruined a great part of their Towne with fire. And thus much further is considered herein by vs, that as there bee in the Voyage a great many poore men, who haue willingly aduentured their liues and trauailes, and diuers amongst them hauing spent their apparell and such other little prouisions as their small meanes might haue giuen them leaue to prepare, which being done vpon such good and allowable intention as this action hath alwayes caried with it, meaning, against the Spanyard our greatest and most dangerous enemie;

so surely wee cannot but haue an inward regarde so farre as may lye in vs, to helpe eyther in all good sort towards the satisfaction of this their expectation, and by procuring them some little benefite to incourage them and to nourish this readie and willing disposition of theirs both in them and in others by their example against any other time of like occasion. But because it may bee supposed that heerein wee forgette not the priuate benefite of our selues, and are thereby the rather mooued to incline our selues to this composition, wee doe therefore thinke good for the clearing of our selues of all such suspition, to declare heereby, that what part or portion soeuer it bee of this ransome or composition for Cartagena, which should come vnto vs, wee doe freely giue and bestowe the same wholy vpon the poore men, who haue remayned with vs in the Voyage, meaning as well the Sayler as the Souldier, wishing with all our hearts it were such or so much as might seeme a sufficient rewarde for their painefull indeuour. And for the firme confirmation thereof, we haue thought meete to subsigne these presents with our owne hands in the place and time aforesayd.

Captaine Christopher Carliell Lieutenant Generall.
Captaine Goring. Captaine Sampson. Captaine Powell &c.

But while wee were yet there, it happened one day, that our watch called the Centinell, vpon the Church-steeple, had discouered in the Sea a couple of small Barkes or Boates, making in with the Harbour of Cartagena, whereupon Captaine Moone and Captaine Varney, with Iohn Grant the Master of the Tyger, and some other Sea-men, embarked themselues in a couple of small Pinnesses, to take them before they should come nigh the shore, at the mouth of the Harbour, lest by some stragling Spanyards from the Lande, they might bee warned by signes from comming in: which fell out accordingly, notwithstanding all the diligence that our men could vse: for the Spanish Boates, vpon the sight of our Pinnesses comming towardes them, ranne themselues ashore, and so their men presently hidde themselues in bushes hard by the Sea side, amongst some others that had called them by signes thither. Our men presently without any due regarde had to the qualitie of the place, seeing no man of the Spaniards to shew themselues, aboorded the Spanish

Barkes or Boates, and so standing all open in them, were suddenly shotte at by a troope of Spanyardes out of the bushes: by which volley of shotte there were slaine Captain Varney, which dyed presently, and Captaine Moone, who dyed some fewe dayes after, besides some foure or fiue others that were hurt: and so our folkes returned without their purpose, not hauing any sufficient number of souldiers with them to fight on shore. For those men they caryed were all Mariners to rowe, few of them armed, because they made account with their ordinance to haue taken the Barkes well enough at sea, which they might full easily haue done, without any losse at all, if they had come in time to the harbour mouth, before the Spaniards boates had gotten so neere the shore.

During our abode in this place, as also at S. Domingo, there passed diuers courtesies betweene vs and the Spaniards, as feasting, and vsing them with all kindnesse and fauour: so as amongst others there came to see the Generall, the Gouernour of Cartagena, with the Bishop of the same, and diuers other Gentlemen of the better sort.

This towne of Cartagena we touched in the out parts, and consumed much with fire, as we had done S. Domingo vpon discontentments, and for want of agreeing with vs in their first treaties touching their ransome, which at the last was concluded between vs, should be 100. and 10000. Ducats for that which was yet standing, the Ducat valued at fiue shillings sixe pence sterling.

This towne though not halfe so bigge as S. Domingo, giues as you see, a farre greater ransome, being in very deede of farre more importance, by reason of the excellencie of the Harbour, and the situation thereof, to serue the trade of Nombre de Dios and other places, and is inhabited with farre more richer Merchants. The other is chiefly inhabited with Lawyers and braue Gentlemen, being the chiefe or highest appeale of their suites in law of all the Islands about it, and of the maine land coast next vnto it. And it is of no such accompt as Cartagena, for these and some other like reasons, which I could giue you, ouer long to be now written.

The warning which this towne receiued of our comming towards them from S. Domingo, by the space of twentie dayes before our arriuall here, was cause that they had both fortified and euery way prepared for their best defence. As also that they had caried and conueyed away all their treasure and principall substance.

The ransome of an hundred and ten thousand Ducats thus concluded on, as is aforesaid, the same being written, and expressing for nothing more then the towne of Cartagena, vpon the payment of the sayd ransome, we left the said towne, and drewe some part of our souldiers into the Priorie or Abbey, standing a quarter of an English mile belowe the towne vpon the harbour water-side, the same being walled with a wall of stone, which we told the Spaniards was yet ours, and not redeemed by their composition: whereupon they finding the defect of their contract, were contented to enter into another ransome for all places, but especially for the sayde house, as also the Blocke house or Castle, which is vpon the mouth of the inner harbour. And when wee asked as much for the one as for the other, they yeelded to giue a thousand Crownes for the Abbey, leauing vs to take our pleasure vpon the Blocke house, which they sayd they were not able to ransome, hauing stretched themselues to the vttermost of their powers: and therefore the sayd Blockehouse was by vs vndermined, and so with gunne powder blowen vp in pieces.

While this latter contract was in making, our whole Fleete of ships fell downe towards the harbour mouth, where they anchored the third time, and imployed their men in fetching of fresh water aboord the ships for our voyage homewards, which water was had in a great well, that is in the Island by the harbour mouth: which Island is a very pleasant place as hath bene seene, hauing in it many sorts of goodly and very pleasant fruites, as the Orenge trees and others, being set orderly in walkes of great length together. Insomuch as the whole Island being some two or three miles about, is cast into grounds of gardening and orchards.

The Island of Cares.

After sixe weekes abode in this place, we put to sea the last of March, where after two or three dayes a great ship which we had taken at S. Domingo, and thereupon was called The new yeeres gift, fell into a great leake, being laden with ordinance, hides, and other spoyles, and in the night she lost the company of our Fleete; which being missed the next morning by the Generall, hee cast about with the whole Fleete, fearing some great mischance to bee happened vnto her, as in very deede it so fell out: for her leake was so great, that her men were all tyred with pumping. But at the last hauing found her and the Barke Talbot in her company, which stayed by great hap with her, they were ready to take their men out of her, for the sauing of them. And so the General being fully aduertised of their great extremitie, made saile directly backe againe to Cartagena with the whole Fleete, where hauing staied eight or ten dayes more, about the vnlading of this ship, and the bestowing thereof and her men into other Ships, we departed once againe to Sea, directing our course towards the Cape S. Antony, being the Westermost part of Cuba, where wee arriued the seuen and twentieth of April. But because fresh water could not presently be found, we weyed anchor, and departed, thinking in few dayes to recouer the Matanças, a place to the Eastward of Hauana.

After wee had sailed some fourteen dayes, wee were brought to Cape S. Anthony againe, through lacke of fauourable wind: but hen our scarcity was growen such, as neede made vs looke a litle, better for water, which we found in sufficient quantitie, being indeede, as I iudge, none other then raine water newly fallen, and gathered vp by making pits in a plot of marrish ground, some three hundred pases from the sea side.

A most commendable example of diligence in a Generall.

I doe wrong if I should forget the good example of the Generall at this place, who to encourage others, and to hasten the getting of fresh water aboord the ships, tooke no lesse paine himselfe then the meanest; as also at S. Domingo, Cartagena, and all other places, hauing alwayes so vigilant a care and foresight in the good ordering of his Fleete, accompanying them, as it is sayde with such wonderfull trauell of body, as doubtlesse had he bene the meanest person, as hee was the chiefest, he had yet deserued the first place of honour: and no lesse happy doe we account him, for being associated with Master Carliel his Lieutenant generall, by whose experience, prudent counsell, and gallant performance he atchieued so many and happy enterprises of the warre, by whom also he was very greatly assisted, in setting downe the needfull orders, lawes, and course of iustice, and the due administration of the same vpon all occasions.

After three dayes spent in watering our Ships, wee departed now the second time from this Cape of S. Anthony the thirteenth of May, and proceeding about the Cape of Florida, wee neuer touched any where; but coasting alongst Florida, and keeping the shore still in sight, the 28. of May early in the Morning wee descried on the shore a place built like a Beacon, which was in deede a scaffold vpon foure long mastes raised on ende, for men to discouer to the seaward, being in the latitude of thirtie degrees, or very neere thereunto. Our Pinnesses manned, and comming to the shore, wee marched vp alongst the riuer side, to see what place the enemie held there: for none amongst vs had any knowledge thereof at all.

Here the Generall tooke occasion to march with the companies himselfe in person, the Lieutenant generall hauing the Vantguard; and going a mile vp or somewhat more by the riuer side, we might discerne on the other side of the riuer ouer against vs, a Fort which newly had bene built by the Spaniards: and some mile or thereabout aboue the Fort was a little Towne or Village without walles, built of woodden houses, as the Plot doeth plainely shew. Wee forthwith prepared to haue ordinance for the batterie: and one peece was a litle before the Euening planted, and the first shot being made by the Lieutenant generall himselfe at their Ensigne, strake through the Ensigne, as wee afterwards vnderstood by a French man, which came vnto vs from them. One shot more was then made, which strake the foote of the Fort wall, which was all massiue timber of great trees like Mastes. The Lieutenant generall was determined to passe the the riuer this night with 4. companies, and there to lodge himselfe intrenched as neere the Fort, as that he might play with his muskets and smallest shot vpon any that should appeare, and so afterwards to bring and plant the batterie with him: but the helpe of Mariners for that sudden to make trenches could not be had, which was the cause that this determination was remitted vntill the next night.

In the night the Lieutenant generall tooke a little rowing Skiffe, and halfe a dozen well armed, as Captaine Morgan, and Captaine Sampson, with some others besides the rowers, and went to view what guard the enemie kept, as also to take knowledge of the ground. And albeit he went as couertly as might be, yet the enemie taking ye Alarme, grew fearefull that the whole force was approching to the assault, and therefore with all speede abandoned the place after the shooting of some of their peeces. They thus gone, and hee being returned vnto vs againe, but nothing knowing of their flight from their Fort, forthwith came a French man being a Phipher (who had bene prisoner with them) in a litle boate, playing

Nicholas Borgoignon.

on his Phiph the tune of the Prince of Orenge his song; and being called vnto by the guard, he tolde them before he put foote out of the boate what he was himselfe, and how the Spaniards were gone from the Fort, offering either to remaine in hands there, or els to returne to the place with them that would goe.

Vpon this intelligence, the Generall, the Lieutenant generall, with some of the Captaines in one Skiffe, and the Vice-admirall with some others in his Skiffe, and two or three Pinnesses furnished of souldiers with them, put presently ouer towards the Fort, giuing order for the rest of the Pinnesses to follow. And in our approch, some of the enemie bolder then the rest, hauing stayed behinde their company, shot off two peeces of ordinance at vs: but on shore wee went, and entred the place without finding any man there.

When the day appeared, we found it built all of timber, the walles being none other but whole Mastes or bodies of trees set vp right and close together in maner of a pale, without any ditch as yet made, but wholy intended with some more time; for they had not as yet finished al their worke, hauing begunne the same some three or foure moneths before: so as, to say the trueth, they had no reason to keepe it, being subiect both to fire, and easie assault.

The platforme whereon the ordinance lay, was whole bodies of long pine trees, whereof there is great plentie, layd a crosse one on another, and some litle earth amongst. There were in it thirteene or fourteene great peeces of Brasse ordinance, and a chest vnbroken vp, hauing in it the value of some two thousand pounds sterling by estimation of the kings treasure, to pay the souldiers of that place, who were a hundred and fiftie men.

The Fort thus wonne, which they called S. Iohns Fort, and the day opened, we assayed to goe to the towne, but could not by reason of some riuers and broken ground which was betweene the two places: and therefore being enforced to imbarke againe into our Pinnesses, wee went thither vpon the great maine riuer, which is called as also the Towne, by the name of S. Augustin.

At our approching to land, there were some that began to shew themselues, and to bestow some few shot vpon vs, but presently withdrew themselues. And in their running thus away, the Sergeant Maior finding one of their horses ready sadled and brideled, tooke the same to follow the chase; and so ouergoing all his company, was (by one layd behind a bush) shotte through the head: and falling downe therewith, was by the same and two or three more, stabbed in three or foure places of his body with swords and daggers, before any could come neere to his rescue. His death was much lamented, being in very deede an honest wise Gentleman, and a souldier of good experience, and of as great courage as any man might be.

In this place called S. Augustin, we vnderstood the king did keepe, as is before said, one hundred and fiftie souldiers, and at another place some dozen leagues beyond to the Northwards, called S. Helena, he did there likewise keepe an hundred and fiftie more, seruing there for no other purpose, then to keepe all other nations from inhabiting any part of all that coast; the gouernemeut whereof was committed to one Pedro Melendez Marquesse, nephew to that Melendez the Admiral, who had ouerthrowen Master Iohn Hawkins in the bay of Mexico some seuenteene or eighteene yeeres agoe. This Gouernour had charge of both places, but was at this time in this place, and one of the first that left the same.

Heere it was resolued in full assembly of Captaines, to vndertake the enterprise of S. Helena, and from thence to seeke out the inhabitation of our English countreymen in Virginia, distant from thence some sixe degrees Northward.

When wee came thwart of S. Helena, the sholds appearing dangerous, and we hauing no Pilot to vndertake the entrie, it it was thought meetest to goe hence alongst. For the Admirall had bene the same night in foure fadome and a halfe, three leagues from the shore: and yet wee vnderstood by the helpe of a knowen Pilot, there may and doe goe in Ships of greater burthen and draught then any we had in our Fleete.

We passed thus alongst the coast hard aboord the shore, which is shallow for a league or two from the shore, and the same is lowe and broken land for the most part.

The ninth of Iune vpon sight of one speciall great fire (which are very ordinarie all alongst this coast, euen from the Cape of Florida hither) the Generall sent his Skiffe to the shore, where they found some of our English countreymen (that had bene sent thither the yeere before by Sir Walter Ralegh) and brought them aboord: by whose direction wee proceeded along to the place which they make their Port. But some of our ships being of great draught vnable to enter, anchored without the harbour in a wilde roade at sea, about two miles from shore.

From whence the General wrote letters to master Ralfe Lane, being gouernour of those English at Virginia, and then at his Fort about sixe leagues from the Rode in an Island which they call Roanoac, wherein especially he shewed how ready he was to supply his necessities and wants, which he vnderstood of, by those he had first talked withall.

The morow after, Master Lane himselfe and some of his company comming vnto him, with the consent of his captaines he gaue them the choice of two offers, that is to say: Either he would leaue a ship, a pinnesse, and certaine boates with sufficient Masters and Mariners, together furnished with a moneths victuall, to stay and make farther discouery of the countrey and coastes, and so much victuall likewise as might be sufficient for the bringing of them all (being an hundred and three persons) into England, if they thought good after such time, with any other thing they would desire, and that he might be able to spare.

Or els if they thought they had made sufficient discouerie already, and did desire to returne into England, he would giue them passage. But they, as it seemed, being desirous to stay, accepted very thankfully and with great gladnesse, that which was offred first. Whereupon the ship being appointed and receiued into charge by some of their owne company sent into her by Master Lane, before they had receiued from the rest of the Fleete the prouision appoynted them, there arose a great storme (which they sayd was extraordinary and very strange) that lasted three dayes together, and put all our Fleete in great danger, to bee driuen from their anchoring vpon the coast. For we brake many Cables, and lost many Anchors: and some of our Fleete which had lost all (of which number was the ship appointed for Master Lane and his company) was driuen to put to sea in great danger, in auoyding the coast, and could neuer see vs againe vntill we mette in England. Many also of our small Pinnesses and boates were lost in this storme.

Notwithstanding after all this, the Generall offred them (with consent of his Captaines) an other ship with some prouision, although not such a one for their turnes, as might haue bene spared them before, this being vnable to be brought into their Harbour. Or els if they would, to giue them passage into England, although he knew we should performe it with greater difficultie then he might haue done before.

But Master Lane with those of the chiefest of his company which hee had then with him, considering what should be best for them to doe, made request vnto the General vnder their hands, that they might haue passage for England: the which being graunted, and the rest sent for out of the countrey and shipped, we departed from that coast the 18. of Iune.

And so, God bee thanked, both they and wee in good safetie arriued at Portesmouth the 28. of Iuly 1586. to the great glory of God, and to no small honour to our Prince, our Countrey, and our selues.

The totall value of that which was gotten in this voyage is esteemed at three score thousand pounds, whereof the companies which haue trauelled in the voyage were to haue twentie thousand pounds, the aduenturers the other fortie. Of which twentie thousand pounds (as I can iudge) will redound some sixe pouuds to the single share.

We lost some seuen hundred and fiftie men in the voyage: aboue three parts of them onely by sicknesse.

The men of name that dyed and were slaine in this voyage, which I can presently call to rememberance, are these.

Captaine Powel.
Captaine Varney.
Captaine Moone.
Captaine Fortescue.
Thomas Tucker a Lieutenant.
Alexander Starkey a Lieutenant.
Master Escot a Lieutenant.
Master Waterhouse a Lieutenant.
Master George Candish.

Captaine Bigges.
Captaine Cecill.
Captaine Hannam.
Captaine Greenefield.

Master Nicholas Winter.
Master Alexander Carliell.
Master Robert Alexander.
Master Scroope.
Master Iames Dier.
Master Peter Duke.

With some other, whom for haste I cannot suddenly thinke on.

The ordinance gotten of all sorts Brasse and Iron, were about two hundred and forty peeces, whereof the two hundred and some more were brasse, and were thus found and gotten.

At S. Iago some two or three and fiftie peeces.

In S. Domingo about fourscore, whereof was very much great ordinance, as whole Canon, Demi-canon, Culuerins, and such like.

In Cartagena some sixtie and three peeces, and good store likewise of the greater sort.

In the Fort of S. Augustin were foureteene peeces.

The rest was Iron ordinance, of which the most part was gotten at S. Domingo, the rest at Cartagena.

A relation of the ports, harbors, forts and cities in the West Indies which haue bene surueied, edified, finished, made and mended with those which haue bene builded, in a certaine suruey by the king of Spaine his direction and commandement: Written by Baptista Antonio, surueyour in those parts for the said King. Anno 1587.

Santa Marta.

FIrst Santa Marta the principall Citie of the Bishopricke or Dioces of the coast of Tierra firma, or the firme land,* lieth in 10. degrees and ½, the city being situated vpon a sandy bay adioyning vnto the sea side, conteineth in it about 30. housholds; all the houses being made of canes, and couered ouer with Palmito trees, and some of them be couered with tyle.

Santa Marta situate in 10. degrees and a halfe.

They haue traffike with none, but with the Indians of the said country, which doe bring vnto the citie for to sell earthen Pots and Pipkins, and Couerlits of Cotton wooll, and great earthen Iarres. Also they doe traffique to Cartagena. It is a countrey which hath but small store of cattel, because it is all mountainous, and hath small store of people. There is a very good harbour before the said towne, inuironed with mighty hils and great rocks, which reach euen vnto the sea side, the which hie land doth greatly succour the harbour, as also two Ilands which lie about ¾ of a league on the North side: so that although they be subiect to Easterly winds, and that with great stormes, yet they doe no great harme to goe on land. Within this Harbour there is a place which is called La Caldera, where in times past they were woont to trimme and carene their Shippes. As touching the Harbour, there is no cause to fortifie it, nor to make any account of it, by reason there is no trade nor traffique to this place from any other places, according as I haue certified your Maiestie thereof. And also because here are but few dwellers or inhabitants, and loosing euery day so many as it doeth, by reason that it is euery day robbed and spoyled by the enemie. But if your Maiestie would command that the fleete of Noua Hispania might direct their course to this Harbour being in their way, and here to water and refresh themselues, all the Pilotes doe say that the Fleete may proceede on their Voyage from this place, still going before the winde, and so goe to the Cape of Saint Anthony which lieth on the Iland of Cuba, and from thence goe their direct course to Noua Hispania ; and by this meanes the Fleete should haue no occasion to passe so many dangers as they doe, by reason of the Huricanos or stormy windes which many times do come vpon them, when they are vpon the coast of Hispaniola : and this is the cause that there are so many ships cast away, as your Maiestie doeth well know.

---

* South West of Cape Aguja.

A new course to Noua Hispania, by the way of Santa Marta lesse subiect to danger then the ordinary course.

And as concerning this course according as I haue certified your Maiestie, they shall come into no danger at all, nor shall make any further way about ; so by this meanes both the Fleetes may come from Spaine in company, and then come to S. Marta, and the Fleete of Noua Hispania may come into this Harbour, and the Fleete which doeth goe vnto the firme land, may goe directly to Cartagena as they doe. Then your Maiestie may send to fortifie the said Harbour, and the fortification must be thus : That on the morro or mount which is in the entring in of the said harbour, there be built a litle Fort, and so to plant some small quantitie of ordinance. And hard by on the South side, there to build a litle Towre, and another Sconce, where wee may plant some more ordinance. So by this meanes not onely the Shippes may ride heere in securitie, but also it will be a defence for those which dwell heere in the Towne : and the better to effect this purpose, there is hard by the Towne great store of Lyme, Stone, Sande, and Tymber, if occasion should serue.

Cartagena.

CArtagena is a Citie, and the principall place of the Bishopricke ; it lyeth fourtie leagues from Santa Marta : it standeth in scant 11. degrees. The sayd Citie is situated vpon a sandy banke or bay like vnto an Iland : it hath about 450. dwellers therein. There are very faire

Cartagena situate in 11 degrees scant.

buildings therein: as concerning their houses, they are made of stone, and there are three Monasteries, of which two of them are of Friers which are within the city, the one called Santo Domingo, and the other called Santo Augustin, and the other which is called Saint Francis, which standeth without the citie about 30. paces off. And for to goe vnto the said Frierie, you must goe vpon the Causey made of stone, and water on both sides. This citie hath great trade out of Spaine, and out of the new kingdome of Granada, and out of the Ilands there adioyning, from Peru, and from all the coast of this firme land, and of the fishing of the pearles of Rio de la Hacha, and of Margarita: it is a very sound countrey.

This Citie hath a very good Harbour, and sufficient to receiue great store of Ships: this said harbour hath two entrances in, the one of them lyeth halfe a league from the Citie, where all the Ships doe enter into the sayd Harbour: the mouth or entring in of the sayde Harbour is 1400. yardes or paces in bredth, and very deepe water. The other entring in which is called La boca chica, or little mouth, lyeth a league beyond this place to the westwards. It is 900. yards in bredth, and in the entring in thereof there lieth a channel in the midst of it, which is 200 yards broad, and 20. or 15. fadome water, some places more, some lesse. And to enter into the Harbour you must go through this channel, and the land doth double in and out. And at the entring in of the sayde Harbour, after you haue past this Channell, you must beare vp to the shoareward neere vnto the Iland of Cares, and looke how much is ouerplus more than the two hundred yardes of the Channell, all the rest are certaine ledges of Rockes, couered with two or three foote water vpon the toppe of them, some places more, and some lesse. So the ships which must enter in at the mouth, must bring very good Pilots with them, which must be very skilfull: yet all this will not serue, but they must carry their Boate before, and sound with their Lead to know where the best place of the Channell lyeth for them to goe in, so it will be small hinderance to any shippe that shall enter, neither yet danger at all of sinking.

Francis Drake.

There are three places about the sayde Citie, where the enemie may giue an attempt by Land. The one of them is where the enemie did enter in and landed, which is a sandy Bay, and on the one side of the Bay is the Sea, and on the other side a great Lake which goeth towards the Harbour. The sandy bay or banke, on the one side is 500. yardes broad, all sandy ground without any trees. So that the enemie which giueth the assault in this place must be constrayned to march all alongst this sandie Bay, the enemie lying open these 500. yardes, which reach vntill you doe come to the trench : And on the backside other 500. yardes, till you doe come vnto the Citie.

The sayde sandie bay or banke is 130. yardes broad, where the trench is builded. And in this place this Citie hath bene taken by the enemie twise. Wherefore heere wee haue driuen in a great many of woodden stakes, which goe downe into the sea 50. yardes deepe : and this wee haue done, because this is a very dangerous and filthy coast. And below in the bottome of the Valley there we haue builded a little Sconce, where we may plant 3. or 4. peeces of ordinance. And likewise wee haue made a deepe ditch, which doeth answere to both parts of the sea : so on this side the Citie is very strong and sufficient. For this was the place whereof the Citizens were most afrayde.

The other entring is lower downe by the sayde sandy Bay, which is called Cienaga, or The fenne del Roreado. This is another place which is on the sayd sandy bay, which is 300. yardes broad from the one place downe to the sea. And on the other side there lyeth the Cienaga, which is a certaine plat of ground that is ouerflowen with water all the yeere long. So that the enemie which shall come this way to winne the Citie, must come marching ouer land a good way vpon a sandie banke or Bay, where the Sea lyeth on the one side, and a groue or boske of wood on the other side, and through a plat of ground which is ouerflowen with water, but not all couered. So in this place wee haue made a Fort or Sconce with certaine Flanckers belonging therunto. And I haue caused a deepe ditch to be digged of 60. foote in bredth, so that the Sea doeth come to that plat or place which is ouerflowen. And in this order we haue stopt this passage so that the Citie standeth in maner like vnto an Iland. There is 2600. yardes distance from this place to the other trench where the enemie Francis Drake did land last.

The entring in of this Harbour is by the bridge and Causey which doeth goe from the Citie to S. Francis ; the sayd Causey is 300. yardes in length, and 12. yardes in bredth ; and the water is on both the sides of the saide Causey : so this is the strongest place of all the rest of the three places. Also in this place there is order taken to make a draw bridge, and vpon the top of the said bridge to build a platforme, and plant ordinance vpon it : and on both sides of the bridge there are certaine trenches made, where our men may be close kept.

At the point of this land called ycacos, which is in the entring in of the harbour towards S. Anna, we haue made a Fort of timber fouresquare of 300. foote euery way, and trencht, where wee may plant 15. or 16. peeces of ordinance, and keepe 50. men in garison, and behinde the bourdes on the backside of the timbers, a Barricado of earth or mudde wall being foure foote in thicknesse, and behinde the mud-wall sand : so this Fort will bee of great importance for safegard of this Harbour, because all the Shippes which doe enter into this Harbour doe come close to this place where it is strongest, so that sometimes one may cast a stone into the ships when they are comming in : and when any shippe of warre or Pirate will giue any attempt to enter into this Harbour, there is order giuen that the two galleys shall go forth, and put themselues behinde the Fort with their prows to the sea, and so shooting at their enemies in the forepart of the ship, and then the Fort answering likewise with their ordinance at the side of the shippe, and at their tackling, so the enemie being in the Harbour all vnrigged, they must of necessitie be constrained to lye houering within the Harbour, or els they must driue vpon the rockes called the Ismo, or els vpon those rocks which are couered with the sea at the Iland of Cares.

The gallies of Cartagena.

And put case that in this place, we can doe no good by this meanes, and that the enemie will venture to come in with their long boates and Pinnesses through this narrow mouth ; then we are to haue in a readinesse 4. Frigats to ayde and helpe the gallies, and to row with oares, and so to go to the narrow mouth, and there to stay in the channell. And forasmuch as the entring in is so dangerous, according as I haue certified your Maiestie, there can no ship come into this harbour, but we must needes sinke them ; so that these defences shall not onely bee annoyance to the enemie, but also animate and encourage the inhabitants of this citie : for they haue beene and are in such feare of the enemie, and Pirates, that if wee had not made these fortifications, strengthened the citie in this order, and put some souldiers in garison, the citizens would haue fledde, and forsaken this citie : for all the perswasions made to them by the gouernour coulde not perswade them to the contrary, but they would bee gone, if it had not beene for this fortification, and yet for all this wee haue much to doe to make them to stay here : so nowe by reason of these souldiers which shall come hither, the people of the citie haue taken heart of grasse : so I haue tolde them that your maiestie will command that this citie and the Harbour shall be better fortified and made stronger, and all this which I haue caused to be builded, is with that money which I haue borowed of the citizens.

As touching the safegard and defence of this harbour, if your maiestie so please, here may we builde a very faire and strong castle with foure bulwarks, on the poynt of the Ycacos which doth lie on the side where the citie is builded, because, all the shippes which doe come to this harbour, must come close abord this shore, so neere, that wee may cast a stone into them, and so ouertake any ship. So likewise if the shippes will goe on the other shore, then they doe goe in greater danger, because of those shoalds and ledges of rockes, and so are often cast away. And forasmuch as those ships which here doe arriue are brought hither by Easterly winds, and sometimes with those winds which come out from the sea, and therefore perforce must giue a good birth off otherwise they cannot enter into this harbour, therefore of necessity they must come so close to the shore : And on the other side where the Island of Cares standeth, there may wee builde another tower foure-square, and plant some foure or fiue pieces of ordinance, and this will serue for the night, if occasion be offered that any small shippe or barke should come in here, or any pinnesse in the night, to doe any harme, or to attempt to burne any Fleete which shoulde ride here at an anker within this harbour : so the fort beeing on the one side, and the tower on the other side, keeping good watch, there can no shippe nor barke come into this harbour, but they will bee espied.

In the narrow mouth at the entring in the other way towardes the Island of Cares, where the channell doth runne neere the shore, as I haue alreadie certified your maiestie, there may another castle be made, and there foure or fiue pieces of ordinance planted, and some sixe or eight men to keepe watch and ward : this being done, your maiestie shall haue this citie very well fortified, by reason it is of such importance for the seruice of your maiestie and the trade of all Spaine and Peru, and all the Indies : for this is the principall fort of all this countrey.

Ouer against this point of the Ycacos, in the Isle of Cares, hard by the water side, there are great store of stones, free stones, and other stones to make lyme, and wood to burne the stones withall for the lyme, and great part of the stones doe lie about the water: so the wood will cost but the cutting of it downe, and the working of it, and with little paines taking it will be brought to good perfection, for wee haue alreadie made triall thereof, for there was neuer building that went to decay after it hath bene made, nor perished by the sea: so the charge hereof will be but litle or nothing.

And for to put this in practise to build a fort, it is needefull that your maiestie should send hither and to many other places, where any fort shall be made, some store of Negros, and to this place would be sent 150 Negros brought from Guyney: and if the Negros of Hauana are not to bee imployed there, nor those which are in Saint Iuan de Vllua, it may please your maiestie to cause them to bee sent for to this place, for most of them be artificers, some masons, bricklayers, smithes and sawyers, and to send some masons from Spaine to teach our men these occupations. And after these fortifications are ended and all furnished, then the Negros may be solde to great profit, for a Negro that is of any occupation is sold here for 600. and 700. pezos.

Nombre de Dios.

NOmbre de Dios is builded vpon a sandy Bay hard by the sea side, it is a citie of some thirtie housholdes or inhabitants: their houses are builded of timber, and most of the people which are there be foreiners, they are there to day and gone to morrow: it is full of woods and some places of the land are ouerflowen with water continually by reason of much raine which doth fall vpon the hils. It is a very bad harbour, neither is there any good water: and it is subiect to Northerly winds and Easterly windes, which continually doe blow vpon this coast: many of the great ships which doe come to this place doe vnlade halfe their commodities betweene the two ledges of rockes, for that there is but little water in the harbour: and after that a ship hath vnladen halfe of her goods, then shee goeth to the second rocke, as it doth appeare by the platforme, but the small ships come neere vnto another rocke on the West side. If the winde chance to come to the North and Northwest, and that it ouerblowe, then such great ships as then be in the roade must of force more themselues with sixe cables a head, especially in a storme, and neuerthelesse sometimes they are driuen ashore and so cast away, and all because they dare not vier cable ynough, because of so many shelues and rockes which are in both those places: also the shippes doe roule very much in the harbour, by reason in foule weather the Sea will be mightily growen, which is the cause that their cables do oftentimes breake, and their ruthers are vnhanged, the cause thereof is by reason the shippes doe ride but in little water, yet goeth there a great sea.

The citie is builded and situated very well if it were a good harbour, it standeth vpon the Eastside vpon a rocke where they may builde a very good fort, according to the platforme for the safegard of this harbour: but seeing it is but a bad hauen and shallow water, therefore I doe thinke that it is not needefull for your maiestie to be at any charges in fortifying that place, but onely a trench to be made of earth or clay, so that these townesmen may defend themselues from danger of 3. or 4. ships.

The citie of Panama is eighteene leagues from Nombre de Dios, the wayes are exceeding bad thitherwards; yet notwithstanding all the siluer is brought this way to Nombre de Dios, as well your maiesties treasure as other marchandize; so likewise the most part of those commodities which are caried to Peru, and the rest of the marchandize are carried to the riuer of Chagre which is some 18 leagues from this citie and it is brought vp by this riuer within fiue leagues of Panama vnto an Inne or lodge called Venta de Cruzes, and from this place afterwards they are transported to Panama vpon Mules. The high way which goeth from Nombre de Dios to Panama may be very wel mended, only to remooue this way and to stop it quite vp, and so to make it againe vpon the side of a mountaine. This citie lieth in nine degrees and one tierce, and if your maiestie will giue order that this citie should be plucked downe and newly builded againe in Puerto Bello, then you are to make a new way through the mountaines of Capira, by reason it may not be frequented and because the high wayes are very bad: with little charges they may be broken and so shut vp, and the chanell of this harbour may bee stopt with the timber of those old ships which are laid vp here euery yeere, and then afterwards may be cast a great number of stones into the same, and so by this meanes to damme vp the harbour: and here is a great want of stones to ballast the shippes: wherefore they are faine to goe to an Island three leagues from Cartagena called Isla de los Bastimentos, and

Nombre de Dios in 9. deg. and one tierce.

this is a thing very needfull for this Countrey, as by experience I haue seene.

Puerto Bello.

PVerto Bello lieth fiue leagues from Nombre de Dios Westward: It is a very good harbour and sufficient to receiue great store of ships, and hath very good ankering, and fresh water: for neere the shore you shall find some sixe fathome water, and in the middest of the same harbour you shall find twelue fathome, very good and cleane ground or sand, without eyther banks or rockes. There are twelue small riuers or brookes of water which doe belong to this harbour, and so doe meete all together: so that the fleete may at all times prouide themselues of fresh water so much as shall serue their turnes. And likewise there is in this place great store of timber to build shippes. Also the harbour hath no danger at all in comming in, but onely when the wind is Westerly, which is seldome seene vpon this coast. The windes which doe most blowe vpon this coast are Northerly windes, and they are more dangerous and hurtfull then the Easterly windes are. Within this harbour there lieth a small creeke safe from all winds that can blow. This creek is about fiue hundred yards long, and so many in breadth, and in the entring in of this creekes mouth it is some 300. yardes broad, and foure fathome and a halfe of water: and entring farther in, sixe fathome, all oaze and muddie ground: so that if a ship should chance to strike or come aground, shee could take no harme being soft oaze; also it doth ebbe and flow according as I haue certified your maiestie already.

And likewise the comming in and going out of this harbour is very good: and with all kinde of weather a shippe may set saile from this place except with a Westerly wind: and all this coast is very cleane where a shippe at all times may come to anker without the harbours mouth. This harbour is inuironed round about with woods: and at the ende of this harbour there is certaine land which is ouerflowen with water: it may bee easily dryed vp and walled round about, so this land will serue very well to feede cattell. For that is the chiefest thing which doth belong to any citie or towne, and of this pasture ground there is great want in Nombre de Dios, for there is no pasture at all to breede cattell, for all kinde of flesh which is spent in this place is brought from Panama: so towards the South there is a very good place, where the citie may bee newe built on a certaine plaine ground which lieth at the foot of certaine mountaines, which bee not very high; and in this place there runne three little riuers of fresh water very sweete and good, and here is good arable ground to till and to sow Maiz and other kinds of graine. Also in this circuite there are great stones to make lyme, and these stones must needes prooue very good as I doe thinke, but we neuer had any triall thereof.

This harbour hath all things necessary to builde a citie, where your maiestie may haue your armies and fleetes of shippes to ride at anker in safetie without danger of loosing: and it is a very healthful countrey, and where the citie shall be builded it is all stony ground: and forasmuch as the raine water which doth fall from the mountaines may doe hurt vnto the citie, there at the foote of the mountaine wee will make a great pond to receiue in all the water which doth fall from the mountaines, and so from thence to goe into the sea, as more at large your maiestie may see by my platforme.

If it would pleaae your maiestie, it were good that the citie of Nombre de Dios might bee brought and builded in this harbour: it would not bee very chargeable vnto the citizens by reason that all their houses are made of timber, and they may benefite themselues with the same againe, and likewise with the tyles of their houses: the greatest charge will be to land timber and to cut downe the mountaine of wood.

If it please your maiestie that the sayd citie of Nombre de Dios should bee builded in this harbour the first thing which must be finished is to make vp this high way, and so to pull downe the Church which is in Nombre de Dios, and the Contraction house, and so newe build it in this harbour: and then to command all the fleetes of shippes from time to time to come and vnlade their goods in this said Puerto Bello: And that those marchants and factors of Spaine which are lygers in Panama and Nombre de Dios shall come to this harbour and builde anew their warehouses for receiuing of their goods. So by these meanes in short time it will be greatly inhabited with people: also the fleete shall not passe so many dangers as they dayly doe in Nombre de Dios: neither will there so many people die as there dayly doe in Nombre de Dios: and the cause thereof is, that those labouring men which doe vse to vnlade those marchandize, are all the whole day wading in the water vp to the armepits to bring the packs of cloth and other commodities aland ; for there is no landing place where there can come any boates to land any goods close to the shore, so this wading and the parching of the Sunne is the cause why so many doe dye of a burning feuer. There are but 60. dwelling houses in Nombre de Dios, and but thirtie dwellers which doe continually dwell there, and the rest doe goe to Panama after the fleete is gone, and then this Towne doeth remayne desolate, euery man forsaking it because it is so full of diseases.

In the entring in of this harbour for the more securitie thereof and defence of the towne it is needfull to build vpon the toppe of the mount which lyeth to the Northward, a little fort fouresquare that will hold foure or fiue pieces of ordinance, and to appoynt sixe men to watch and ward; and this beeing done wee shall haue no occasion to make any more defence, by reason the countrey is full of rocks and filthy wayes, and all full of woods round about the harbour.

And so likewise on the other side to builde a little tower in maner of a fort, with eight pieces of ordinance and fiue and twentie souldiers to keepe it. And this will bee of more importance because it must be builded on the towne side. And a little beyond this place on the Northside there lyeth a creeke, where there is a very good ankering in eight fathome water : so this fort beeing builded in this place it will defend the harbour and offend the enemy : and will defend the coast along and a poynt of the land which doth runne from the East to the West, and reacheth to the Iland of Buena Ventura. And put case that the fort which is builded on the other side doth decay, or be taken by the enemy, with this other fort wee may defend the citie very well, if the enemy should chance to come into the harbour, and bee succoured and holpen by the citizens, and twenty musketters being planted vpon a mount which lieth ouer the fort, will bee sufficient to defende vs from a good many of our enemies, that shoulde come to assault vs, because all the countrey is full of rockes and stones, and full of mountaines. So from this wood there may a way be made to goe to the citie, and to ioyne with that way which shall goe to Panama ; and this may bee done with small charges. This harbour doth lie in nine degrees and one tierce, and if occasion shoulde serue wee may stop vp the way which doth goe to Capira, and the rest of the wayes which goe from Nombre de Dios to Venta de Cruzes, according as it is certified me by the Negros called Simerons ; for they told me that this way would not bee very troublesome. Although in the Winter it is reported that here is good store of water in this place, which in the Sommer is all dryed vp, and where these waters are, there we may builde a causey, to which purpose there are great quantities of stones and timber very seruiceable : so this way may bee made with that treasure which your maiestie doeth receiue of the auerages and customes of Nombre de Dios and Panama, which doth amount vnto twelue or fourteene thousand pezos yeerely : and an order might be taken for the same, that the sayd money may serue for the building and repairing of these wayes.

Panama.

PAnama is the principall citie of this Dioces: it lieth 18. leagues from Nombre de Dios on the South sea, and standeth in 9. degrees. There are 3. Monasteries in this said city of fryers : also there is a College of Iesuits, and the royal audience or chancery is kept in this citie.

This citie is situated hard by the sea side on a sandy bay : the one side of this citie is enuironed with the sea, and on the other side it is enclosed with an arme of the sea which runneth vp into the land 1000. yards.

Panama hath 350 houses.

This citie hath three hundred aud fiftie houses, all built of timber, and there are sixe hundred dwellers and eight hundred souldiers with the townesmen, and foure hundred Negros of Guyney, and some of them are freemen : and there is another towne which is called Santa Cruz la Real of Negros Simerons, and most of them are imployed in your maiesties seruice, and they are 100. in number, and this towne is a league from this citie vpon a great riuers side, which is a league from the sea right ouer against the harbour of Pericos. But there is no trust nor confidence in any of these Negros, and therefore we must take heede and beware of them, for they are our mortall enemies.

Negros Simerons mortall enemies to the Spanyards.

There are three sundry wayes to come to this citie, besides the sea, where the enemy may assault vs. The one is at the bridge which is builded vpon the riuer : and on the one side of this, there lieth a creeke : so on this side the citie is very strong, because it is all soft muddie ground, for in no way they cannot goe vpon it. And right ouer against it there lieth a riuer which is in maner like vnto a ditch or moate ; and on the other side of the Riuer there lieth a great Lake or Pond which is full of water all the Winter, and part of the Sommer, so that on this side the city is very strong, for with very small store of souldiers this place might bee kept verie well.

The greatest danger for the surprising of this citie is the way that doth come from Nombre de Dios : for all this way is playne ground and no woods : and 2000 yardes from this citie there lieth a riuer called Lauanderas, where the women doe vse to wash their linnen : and this riuer doth goe into the creeke, according as I haue certified your maiestie : and being once past this riuer, there is a causey which goeth directly vnto them. The other way which doth go towards the citie is lower downe towards the sea at a stone bridge lying vpon the way which goeth to the harbour of Perico. These two wayes cannot be kept nor resisted, because it is all plaine ground and medowes.

The best way to take Panama.

Vpon the East side of this citie there are your maiesties royall houses builded vpon a rocke ioining hard to the Sea side, and they doe as well leane towards the sea as the land. The royall audience or chancerie is kept here in these houses, and likewise the prison. And in this place all your maiesties treasure is kept. There dwelleth in these houses your maiesties Treasurer, the Lord President, and 3. Iudges, and master Atturney. All these doe dwell in these houses, and the rest of your maiesties officers : which are sixe houses besides those of the Lord President, the which are all dwelling houses, and all adioining together one by another along vpon the rockes. And they are builded all of timber and bourdes, as the other houses are. So where the prison standeth and the great hall, these two places may bee very well fortified, because they serue so fitly for the purpose, by reason they are builded towardes the sea, and that there lye certaine small rocks, which at a lowe water are all discouered and drie, and some of them are seene at a high water. Right ouer these houses to the Eastwardes there lyeth an Island about fiue hundred yardes from these houses, and the Island is in forme of a halfe moone ; and in this order it runneth all alongst very neere the maine land : so ouer against these houses there lyeth the harbour where all the shippes doe vse to ride at an anker, after that they haue discharged and vnladen their marchandize. For when they haue their lading

An Island in the harbour of Panama.

aboord, there can come in none but small Barkes, and at a lowe water the shippes are all aground and drie, and so is all the space some thirtie yardes from those houses. Right ouer against them standeth the citie.

When newes were brought to this citie of those Pirates which were come vpon this coast, the Lord President and Iudges commanded that there should a sconce bee made, and trenched round about, made all of timber for the defence of this citie against the enemie, and to keepe your maiesties treasure. So your officers caused Venta de Cruzes to be fortified, and likewise Chagre, and Quebrada, and fortified the garrison of Ballano: for all these are places where the enemy may land, and by this meanes spoyle all this countrey.

Places good to land in.

1. Place. There are three sundry places where this citie may without difficulty be taken and spoyled by the Pirates. The first is on the North seas in a certaine place which lyeth foureteene leagues from Nombre de Dios, the place is called Acle to the Eastwards, where once before certaine men of warre haue entred into those seas.

This was Oxenham.

2. Place. The other place is Nombre de Dios, although this is a bad place and naughtie wayes, and full of waters and a very dirtie way: for three partes of the yeere the countrey people doe trauell vpon those waters, and another very badde way, which is the going vp of certaine rockes and mountaines which they must climbe, called the mountaines of Capira, which are of height three quarters of a league, so in this place with very small store of souldiers wee can defend our selues from the fury of the enemie, so these dwellers doe say that in Sommer the wayes are very good without either dirt or water.

3. Place. The other entrance is vp the riuer of Chagre, which riuers mouth lyeth eighteen leagues from Nombre de Dios to the Westwards falling into the North sea, and this is the place which the citizens of Panama doe most feare, for they may come vp this riuer to Venta de Cruzes; and so from thence march to this citie, which is but fiue leagues off. So vp this riuer there goe boates and barkes which doe cary 320. Quintals waight. These are they which carry the most part of the marchandize which doe come from Spaine to be transported to Peru, and from Venta de Cruzes it is carried to Limaret which is three leagues off that place, and the dwellers doe report that it is

The place of most aduantage for the English.

a very good way: and if any men of warre will attempt to come into these seas, they may very easily come vp this riuer as farre as Venta de Cruzes, and from thence march vnto this citie, and if the enemy will, they may bring their pinnesses, ready made in foure quarters, and so taken in sunder, may afterwards set them together againe: as it is reported that Francis Drake hath vsed it once before when he came that voyage; and so he may attempt vs both by sea and land. And forasmuch as the most part of these people are marchants, they will not fight, but onely keepe their owne persons in safetie, and saue their goods; as it hath bene sene heretofore in other places of these Indies.

So if it will please your maiesty to cause these houses to bee strongly fortified, considering it standeth in a very good place, and if any sudden alarms shoulde happen, then the citizens with their goods may get themselues to this place, and so escape the terrour of the enemy: and so this will be a good securitie for all the treasure which doth come from Peru. So all the Pirats and rebels, which haue robbed in these parts, haue gone about what they can to stoppe this passage, and so by this meanes to stoppe the trade of Spaine, and to set souldiers in this place, for to intercept and take your maiesties treasure, whereby none might be caried into Spaine. Therefore it behooueth your maiestie to fortifie these places very strongly.

These places being fortified in this maner, your maiesty shal haue al your gold and siluer brought home in safetie which commeth from Peru. And all those commodities which are laden in Spaine may come safe to this place. And if perchance any rebels should rise in these parts, which would rebel against your maiestie, which God forbid, and if they should chance to ioyn with any of these pirats, hauing this place so wel fortified, and Puerto Bello in ye North parts, and so to send some garrison your maiestie needs not to feare: for here in this harbor are alwayes 10 or 12 barks of 60 or 50 tunnes apiece, which do belong to this harbor. So if any of these places shalbe intercepted, then your maiestie hath no other place fitter then this to land your maiesties souldiers, for then they haue but 18. leagues to march by land, and presently they may be shipped to supply these places which shal stand in most need of them. In al the coast of Peru there is no harbour that hath any shipping but onely this place, and the citie of Lima, where there are some ships and barks. The harbour being thus open without any

Rebellion feared in the West Indies.

defence, a man of war may very easily come to this place, as I haue certified your maiestie, thorow the streits of Magellane, and arriue at that instant, when those barks do come from Peru with your maiesties gold and siluer, for sometimes they bring 5 or 6 millions in those barks ; so the enemy may come and take al their treasure, and not leese one man, because here is not one man to resist him, therefore this place being thus fortified, the treasure may be kept in the fort. There is a trench made round about your maiesties houses which are builded of timber : the President and Iudges did cause it to be made, for that here was newes brought that there were certaine men of warre, and pirats comming for these parts. So this trench is thus maintained vntil such time as your maiesties pleasure is to the contrary, and in such wise that your souldiers may fight lying behind the trench : so there is order giuen to build a platforme vpon the plaine ground, and so to plant such ordinance in those places, as shall be thought most conuenient.

If it wil please your maiestie, here we may make a sconce or fort toward the land side, and so trench it round about and build it with stone, because here is a place and al things readie for the same purpose ; and by this meanes the citie would be securely kept : as for the sea there is no danger at al, by reason that the water doth ebbe and flow twise a day, and then when it is ebbing water it wil be al ozy and muddy ground and rocks, so that in no wise at a low water the enemy can wade ouer the mud to come to this city, and it reacheth from the Island til you come to the bridge called Paita. Two leagues from this city there lieth a harbor called Perico downe to the Westward : this is a very sure harbor by reason of 3. Islands which do ioyne in maner of a halfe moone, they lie halfe a league from the maine, the Islands do enclose the harbor round about, the harbor is a very high land, and the Ilands are but reasonable high, there is good store of fresh water : also there hath neuer any ship bene cast away in this harbour, for there is 7. fathome water at ful sea, and 3 or 4 fathome at lower water, and very good ground for their ankering, and when they will trimme their ships they may hale them ashore. All those ships and barks which come from Peru with gold, siluer or any other kind of commodities, do first come to an anker in this harbour, and if they haue a contrary weather they cannot come into the harbour of Panama ; and for so much as the harbour hath no defence for the safegard of the ships, if a man of warre should

Nota.

chance to come into the harbour, all the barks with the treasure may be very easily taken. And likewise these barks and ships which do nauigate in the South seas carrie not so much as one piece of ordinance or a rapier to defend them withall. From this place to Venta de Cruzes is not passing 5 leagues; so that if any pinnesse should happen to arriue there, no doubt but they might robbe and take al your treasure which is in those barks, by reason that from the shore they cannot be rescued nor holpen, because it is an Island and refuge for all ships and barks. If it would please your maiestie here might some fort or defence bee made in the middlemost Island, and some ordinance planted, and this might bee made with little charges, because in the said Island there are all kinde of necessaries fit for that purpose, so by this meanes your maiestie may haue both the harbour and the citie very well kept.

And likewise there is another entring into the South sea which is called the riuer of Francisca, which lieth on this side of the Cabeça de Catiua, and this riuer doth come into another riuer which is called Caracol, and is fiue leagues from this citie; and once before these Simerons brought into this place certaine Frenchmen.

The riuer of Chagre.

These fiue leagues are very good ground or champion countrey.

THe riuer of Chagre lieth in 9. degrees and one tierce. The mouth of this riuer is in the North seas 18. leagues from Nombre de Dios, and 13. leagues from Puerto Bello: there is caryed vp this riuer certaine quantitie of those merchandize which are vnladen at Nombre de Dios which come from Spaine. From the mouth of this riuer to Venta de Cruzes are eighteene leagues. From this place where the barkes vnlade their commodities, they are carried vpon mules to Panama, which is but fiue leagues off from this place.

This riuer hath great store of water in the Winter. And the barkes which belong to this riuer are commonly of 320. Quintals that is of 16. tunnes in burthen: but in the Summer there is but small store of water: so then the barkes haue much to doe to get vp this riuer; and in many places these barkes are constrained to vnlade their commodities; and are drawen by mens strength and force a good way vp the riuer, and therefore if it would please your maiestie to command that all those goods may be first vnladen in Puerto Bello, and there to build a litle castle in the mouth of the said riuer, and at the foote of the castle to build a storehouse to vnlade and keepe all the sayd goods, and there to build other barks of lesse burthen: then these would serue for Summer, and the great barks for the Winter.

If it would please your maiestie, there might a very good high way be made on the one side of the riuer, and so they might bee towed, for it may bee made and not with much cost because it is all plaine ground, and there is growing vpon the sayd riuer great store of timber and trees which doe lie ouerthwart the said Riuer; so that they are very cumbersome and great annoiance vnto the said boates, aswell those that go vp the said Riuer, as also that doe come downe the said Riuer.

And therefore if it might please our maiestie to command, that Puerto bello might be inhabited, and the towne made neerer the Riuers side, euerything would be a great deale better cheape, if the commodities were carried vp the Riuer: for it is a great danger to cary them vp by land, for it is daily seene that the mules do many times fail and brake their necks with their lading upon their backs, as well the treasure as other kinde of commodities, because it is such a bad way. And your maiestie might be at this charges and spend your reuenewes of Nombre de Dios and Panama, which do yerely yield 12 or 14 thousand pezos, and this being once done it would be a great ayd and benefit to those, which doe trade and trafficke, and to those merchantes which doe send their goods ouer-land, and ease them much of paine and purse, because the other is a most filthy way, as any is in the world.

A briefe remembrance of a voyage made in the yeere 1589 by William Michelson Captaine, and William Mace of Ratcliffe, Master of a ship called the Dogge, to the Bay of Mexico in the West India.

THe aforesaide ship called the Dogge, of the burthen of threescore and ten tunnes was furnished, and armed forth with the number of fortie men: it departed from the coast of England in the moneth of May, directly for the West India: It fell with the Bay of Mexico, and there met with diuers Spanish ships at sundry times, whereof three fel into her lapse and were forced to yeeld vnto the mercie of the English: the last that they met within the Bay was a Spanish man of warre, whom the English chased, and after three seuerall fightes, vpon three diuers dayes, pressed him so farre that he entreated a parle, by putting out a flagge of truce: the parle was granted, and certaine of the Spaniards came aboord the English. Where after conference about those maters that had passed in the fight betwixt them, they receiued reasonable intertainement and a quiet farewell. The Spanish, as if they had ment to requite the English courtesie, inuited our men to their shippe, who perswading themselues of good meaning of the Spanish, went aboord: but honest and friendly dealing was not in their purpose, suddenly they assaulted our men, and one with a dagger stabde Rodger Kingsnod the English Pilote to the heart and slewe him, and others were serued with the like sauce, onely William Mace the Master and others, notwithstanding al the prepared trappes of the enemie, lept ouerboord into the sea, and so came safe to their own ship: and directing his course for England, arriued at Plimouth the tenth day of September, 1589, laden with wines, yron, Roans, which is a kinde of linnen cloth, and other rich commodities, looking for the arriuall of the rest of his consorts, whereof one and the principall hath not long since obtained his Port. Thus much in generall termes onely I haue as yet learned, and receiued touching this voyage, extracted out of letters sent from the aforesaid William Mace, to Master Edward Wilkinson of Towre-hill in London. My principall intention by this example is to admonish our nation of circumspection in dealing with that subtill enemie, and neuer to trust the Spanish further, then that their owne strength shall be able to master them: for otherwise whosoeuer shall through simplicitie trust their curtesie, shall by tryall taste of their assured crueltie.

Spanish treason.

CERTAINE SPANISH LETTERS

INTERCEPTED BY SHIPPES OF THE WORSHIPFULL MASTER IOHN WATTES WRITTEN FROM DIUERSE PLACES OF THE ISLANDES AND OF THE MAINE LAND AS WELL OF NUEUA ESPANNA, AS OF TIERRA FIRMA AND PERU, CONTAINING MANY SECRETS TOUCHING THE AFORESAID COUNTREYS, AND THE STATE OF THE SOUTH SEA, AND THE TRADE TO THE PHILIPPINAS.

A relation of a memorable fight made the 13. of Iune 1591. against certaine Spanish ships and gallies in the West Indies, by 3. ships of the honorable sir George Carey knight, then marshall of her Maiesties houshold, and captaine of the Isle of Wight, now lord Hunsdon, lord Chamberlaine, and captaine of the honourable band of her Maiesties Pensioners.

THe 13. of Iune 1591. being Sunday, at 5. of the clocke in the morning we descried 6. saile of the king of Spaine his ships. Foure of them were armadas, (viz. the Admirall and viceadmirall of 700. tuns apeece, and the other 2. of 600. apeece) and the other 2. were smal ships, each of them about 100. tuns. We met w^t^ them off the Cape de Corrientes, which standeth on the Iland of Cuba. The sight of the foresaid ships made vs ioyfull, hoping that they should make our voyage. But assoone as they descryed vs, they made false fires one to another and gathered their fleet together, lying all close by a wind to the Southwardes. We therefore at 5. of the clock in the morning (the wind being at East) hauing made our prayers to almighty God, prepared our selues for the fight: And (in hope they had bene of the Cartagena fleete) wee bare vp with our admirall and viceadmiral, to determine of the combate for the better direction thereof. Our parle being ended, our admiral, viceadmiral, and the Hopewel gaue their admiral the prow, bringing themselues to leeward of him. We in the Content bare vp with their viceadmiral, and (ranging along by his broadside aweather of him) gaue him a voley of muskets and our great ordinance: then comming vp with another small ship ahead of the former, we hailed her in such sort, that shee payd roome. Thus being in fight with the little ship, we saw a great smoke come from our admiral, and the Hopewel and Swallow forsaking him with all the sailes they could make: whereupon bearing vp with our admiral (before we could come to him) we had both the small ships to windward of vs, purposing (if we had not bene too hotte for them) to haue layd vs aboord. Thus (the fight continuing between vs and them 3. houres) we were forced to stand to the Northwards, the Hopewel and the Swallow not comming in all this while to ayd vs, as they might easily haue done. Our admirall by this time being in fight with their viceadmiral, and another great ship of theirs, stood off to sea with his topgallant saile, and all the sailes he could make: then might the Hopewel and the Swallow haue payd roome to second him, but they failed him as they did vs, standing off close by a wind to the Eastward. All this time we were forced to the Northwards with 2. of their great ships and one of there small. They hauing a loom gale (wee being altogether becalmed) w^t^ both there great ships came vp faire by vs, shot at vs, and on the sudden furled their spritsailes and mainsailes, thinking that wee could not escape them. Then falling to prayer, we shipped our oars that we might rowe to shore, and anker in shallow water where there great ships could not come nie vs, for other refuge we had none. Then I. of their smal ships being manned from I. of their great, and hauing a boat to rowe themselues in, shipped her oars likewise and rowed after vs, thinking w^t^ there small shot to haue put vs from our oars, vntil ye great ships might come vp with vs: but by ye time she was within musket shot, the Lord of his mercie did send vs a faire gale of wind at the Northwest off the shore. What time (they being all to leeward of vs) wee stood to the East. The small ship was vnder our lee within Falcon shot, and another great shippe lay to the Westward, so that wee could no way possibly escape them vpon that boord: then (we thinking to auoyd them by casting about to the Westwards) the other great shippe gate vnder our lee, and the small ship on our weather quarter, purposing to make vs pay roome with the great ship, by force of her small and great shot. Then (we being lerboord tacked, and they sterboord) we made her spring her looffe, and by a fortunate shot which our gunner made, pierced her betwixt winde and water. Hereupon shee was forced to lay herselfe vpon the carena, and to stand with one of the other ships for ayde. Afterward (commending our selues to almightie God in prayer, and giuing him thankes for the winde which he had sent vs for our deliverance) we looked forth and descryed two saile more to the offen: these we thought to haue bene the Hopewell, and the Swallow that had stoode in to ayde vs: but it prooued farre otherwise, for they were two of the kings gallies. Nowe hauing a loome gale of winde, wee shipped our oars, and rowed off the shore: and our watch was no sooner set, but we espied one gallie vnder our lee hard by vs, boging vp with vs. Then (because it was euening) one of the great ships discharged sixe great shot at vs, to the ende the gallies should knowe that wee were the shippe they looked for. Then the gallie came vp, and (hailing vs of whence our shippe was) a Portugall which wee had with vs, made them answere, that wee were of the fleete of Tierra firma, and of Siuil: with that they bid vs amaine English dogs, and came vpon our quarter star-boord: and giuing vs fiue cast pieces out of her prowe, they sought to lay vs aboord: but we so galled them with our muskets, that wee put them from our quarter. Then they winding their gallie, came vp into our sterne, and with the way that the gallie had, did so violently thrust in the boordes of our Captaines cabbin, that her nose came into it, minding to giue vs all their prowe, and so to sinke vs. But wee being resolute, so plyed them with our small shot, that they could haue no time to discharge their great ordinance: and when they began to approch, wee heaued into them a ball of fire, and by that meanes put them off: whereupon they once againe fell asterne of vs, and gaue vs a prowe. Then hauing the second time put them off, we went to prayer, and sang the first part of the 25. Psalme, praysing God for our safe deliuerance. This being done, we might see 2. gallies and a frigat all three of bending themselues together to encounter vs: hereupon we (eftsoones commending our estate into the hands of God) armed our selues, and resolued (for the honour of God, her Maiestie, and our countrey) to fight it out till the last man. Then shaking a pike of fire in defiance of the enemie, and weauing them amaine, we bad them come aboord: and an Englishman in the gallie made answer, that they would come aboord presently. So managing ourselues to our furniture, and euery moment expecting the assault, wee heard them parle to this effect, that they determined to keepe vs companie till the morning, and then to make an end with vs: then giuing vs another shot from one of the gallies, they fell asterne. Thus our fight continued with the shippes and with the gallies, from seuen of the clock in the morning til eleuen at night. Howbeit God (which neuer faileth them that put their trust in him) sent vs a gale of winde about two of the clocke in the morning at East-northeast, which was for the preuenting of their crueltie, and the sauing of our liues. Also (the Lord be praised for it) in all this dangerous fight, wee had not one man slaine, and but 2. hurt: but our sayles and ropes were so rent with their shot, that it was wonderfull to behold: our maine mast also was shot cleane through, whereby wee were in exceeding great danger. Thus our consortes forsooke vs, and left vs in these extremities. The next day being the 14. of Iune in the morning, wee sawe all our aduersaries to lee-ward of vs, and they espying vs, chased vs till 10. of the clocke, and then seeing they could not preuaile, gaue vs ouer. So that day about 5. of the clocke in the afternoone, we bare vp to the Southwest, in hope to finde our consortes, but we had no sight of them at that time, nor afterward. Then stoode we in all that night for the Cape of S. Anthonie, hoping there to see our Admirall according to his direction. The 15. day of Iune early in the morning, we descryed the Spanish fleete againe, being within 5. leagues of Cape S. Anthonie. Then (hauing no sight of our consortes) wee stoode for the place according to the direction of our owner sir George Carey, where we did plie for the space of 23. dayes, and neuer could see any saile but two frigats, which wee gaue chase vnto the 24. of Iune, and could not fet them vp. Thus wee giue God most humble thankes for our safe diliuerance from tne cruell enemie, which hath beene more mightie by the prouidence of God, then any tongue can expresse: to whom bee all prayse, honour, and glory, both now and euer, Amen.

Appendix.

THe barke called The Content had but one Minion, one Falcon, one Saker, and 2. portbases she continued fight (from seuen in the morning til sunset,) with 3. armadas of 600. and 700. tunnes apiece, and one small shippe of 100. tunnes, not being aboue musket shot from any of them. And before the sunne was set, there came vp to her two of the kings gallies. Besides, the Armadas shot their great ordinance continually at her, not so few as 500. times. And the sides, hull, and mastes of the Content were sowed thicke with musket bullets. Moreouer, all their sheats, tops and shrowdes were almost cut in sunder with their great and small shot. There passed from the galies (each whereof came thrise vp to her, and discharged fiue great pieces at a time, out of euery their prowes forthright, within three yards of her poope) through her maine saile 19. great shot, through her maine top-saile foure: through her fore-saile seuen: through her fore-top-saile fiue: and through her maine maste one. The vpper part of the Content was hurt in fiue places. Onely 13. men continued this fight, the rest being in holde.

A frigat of the Spaniards (being afterward taken) confessed, that there were in the gallies aboue 40. Spaniards slaine, and many were hurt in that combate.

The names of those 13. persons that continued the fight.

Nicolas Lisle, Captaine.
M. Major, Lieutenant.
William King, Master.
Iohn Barwick, Mrs. mate.
William Clement, gunner.
Thomas Houldships, Bote-swaine.
Charles Creame.
Thomas Godfrey.
Giles Thornton.
Iohn Pells.
Iohn Bourel.
Ralph Grey.
William Heore.

The names of the rest be these following.

Iohn Pie.
Iohn Smith.
Iohn White.
Iohn Butcher.
Iohn Brooke.
Iohn Twopenie.
Edmund Giggs.
William Bateman.
William White.
Laurence Shellie.

A true report of a voyage vndertaken for the West Indies by M. Christopher Newport Generall of a fleete of three shippes and a pinnesse, viz. The golden Dragon Admirall, whereof was Captaine M. Newport himselfe; The Prudence Vice-admirall, vnder the conduct of Captaine Hugh Merrick; The Margaret vnder Captaine Robert Fred; and the Virgin our pinnesse vnder Captaine Henry Kidgil: Begun from London the 25. of Ianuarie 1591. Written by M. Iohn Twitt of Harewich, Corporall in the Dragon. In which voyage they tooke and burnt vpon the coast of Hispaniola, within the bay of Honduras, and other places, 3. towne, and 19. saile of shippes and frigats.

THe 12. day of Februarie An. 1591. we set saile from Douer roade, and hauing a prosperous winde, the 27. day of the same moneth wee fell with Cape Cantin on the coast of Barbarie, and on the 28. wee arriued at Santa Cruz roade, where hauing refreshed our selues some 3. or 4. dayes, we put off to sea againe, and about the 5. of March wee passed by the Ilands of the Canaries: and hauing a fauourable wind, the 4. of April An. 1592. we fell with Dominica in the West Indies: where making stay a day or two, wee bartred with the Saluages for certaine commodities of theirs, viz. Tabacco, hennes, Potato rootes, &c.

Passing from thence to a watering place on the other side of the cliffe, wee tooke a Portugall ship of Lisbone of 300. tuns, which came from Guinie, and was bound for Cartagena, wherein were 300. Negros young and olde. Which ship we tooke along with vs to S. Iuan de Puerto rico, where we landed the marchant and one Spaniard more within a league of the towne, and anding some 20. or 30. musketiers, some 20. horsemen made towards vs; but wee retired to our boates without any seruice done.

The 9. we lay houering all day before the towne, the castle making a shot or two at vs.

The reason why wee set the Portugall marchant aland there was, for that he hoped to helpe vs to some money for his Negros there, but he falsified his worde with vs, so that passing along to the Westermost ende of the sayde Iland, about some 9. or 10 leagues from the towne wee landed the Negros, and sunke their ship.

The 11. of Aprill we passed from thence to Mona some 15. leagues off, where we landed: there were on the Iland about 19. soules, the children of an olde Portugall, and his wife who affourded vs such fruits as their Iland yeelded, vis. swines flesh, Potato rootes, &c.

From thence along wee passed to Saona, a long Iland and very fruitfull, replenished with store of wilde beastes and swine, where we landed, hunted, and trained our men.

Passing from hence Westward along the South coast of Hispaniola, wee descryed a frigat, which wee chased and tooke; wherein were 22. iarres of copper-money, being bound for S. Iuan de Puerto rico, to buy wine there.

The next day we tooke 2. small frigats more, but nothing of any value in them.

The 15. of Aprill at night wee sacked a towne in the sayde

Iland of Hispaniola called Ocoa, where was an Ingenio, wherein we found sugar and poultrie great store, but the people had discouered our ships ouer night, and were fled into the mountaines. This town standeth a league from the seaside, consisting of some fortie or fiftie houses. They brought vs much cattell, and two wayne loades of sugar, to ransome the towne. While this action was perfourmed, Robert Freed of Harwich, captaine of the Margaret, tooke two frigats with certaine Spaniards on the other side of the bay, which came to lade sugar there at an Ingenio.

After we had here refreshed our selues, wee stood along for Cape Tiburon, where we watered: and making no stay there, about the 23. of Aprill wee left our shippes in a faire road-sted vnder an Iland not inhabited, and with our frigats which wee had taken before, wherein wee shipped all our strength which possibly wee could affourd, leauing onely so fewe aboord our shippes as could hardly if neede had bene, haue wrought them; we passed along by the sayd Iland to the Northwest part of Hispaniola, to a towne called Yaguana; where the 27. in the morning 2. houres before day we landed; but wee were discouered by meanes of a frigat that lay laden with victuals, bound for Carthagena, the men of which frigat recouering on lande before vs, gaue an alarme to the towne, who were presently vp in armes to the number of a hundred and fiftie horses. Wee marched notwithstanding along to the towne hauing a Spaniard for our guide, where by that time the day brake, we were before the towne, where vpon a faire greene making a stand, we were encountred by the horsemen hauing no strength of foote, but certaine few loose shot which lay in a low valley at the entrie of the towne. The horsemen charged vs very fiercely, but seeing they could not preuaile, brought in a droue before them of two hundred beastes or more: and so forcibly thinking to haue broken our array, it pleased God to cause their cattell to returne backe vpon themselues: and thus their owne deuice sorted out to their owne detriment. In this skirmish wee slewe their gouernour, a man very hardy, and of great valure.

This towne standeth from the waters side a league.

In the end, by reason of the Spaniards brags which they gaue out, (as by the life of their wiues and children, &c. that not one of vs should goe aboord againe) a greater doubt of intercepting of vs and of our boates was stroken into our captaines hearts then needed: and so for that time we retired to our boates not entring the towne, and so passed with our boates to our ships againe; where the same night our captaine determined to goe vp with our shippes, but it fell so calme, that all the next day vntill night we could not get vp, and they hauing discouered vs, baricadoed vp their way, and conueyed all that they had into the mountaines, leauing their houses onely bare and naked, notwithstanding we landed, and with great difficultie wee passed their baricados with the losse of two men at both conflicts, entred their towne and fired it, leauing not an house vnburnt, being a towne of three streetes hauing about 150. housholds.

The same night wee passed with our boates to a small village called Aguaua, where we found excellent fruites of the countrey, which by reason of their cowardly brags wee also set on fire.

Being thus frustrated of our pretended voyage, we stoode for the bay of Honduras, and about the ninth of May we discouered in the afternoone a saile thwart of the bay of Truxillo, with whom we stoode, and hauing a Spanish flagge out, they mistrusted vs not, vntill we had almost fet them vp: and then wee went off with our boate, and tooke them within shot of the castle, and with our boates wee went and fet three or foure frigats which rode afore the towne, the castle playing vpon vs with their ordinance.

They thought some fleete had bene come from Spaine, for so they expected.

Our captaine hauing vnderstanding by the Spaniards, that there were three shippes more at Puerto de Cauallos, stood along that night for that place, but it fell out to bee so calme, that it was the fifteenth day of May or euer wee came there, the shippes hauing peraduenture discouered vs, stole alongst the shoare towards Truxillo, so that being voyde of that hope, we landed; the inhabitants forsaking the towne, fled into the mountaines. Wee remained in the towne all night, and the next day till towards night: where we found 5. or 6. tuns of quick siluer, 16. tuns of old sacke, sheepe, young kids, great store of poultrie, some store of money, and good linnen, silkes, cotton cloth, and such like; we also tooke three belles out of their church, and destroyed their images. The towne is of 200 houses, and wealthy; and that yere there were foure rich ships laden from thence: but we spared it, because wee found other contentment. And hauing taken our pleasure of the towne, as aforesayd, wee returned aboord our ships, standing backe againe for Truxillo, we discouered one of the shippes which was laden at Puerto de Cauallos: but they had espied vs before, as it should seeme; for they had conueyed away as much as possibly they could ashore, and set their ship on fire; which so soone as we had discried, we made to her with our boats, and quenched the fire, and loaded vp with hides the shippe which we tooke at our first comming; for she had but a thousand hides in her, and certeine iaraes of balsamum: which being accomplished, wee sunke the shippe with the rest of the goods, and so stood alongst againe for Truxillo. It fell out to be so calme, that we were two and twenty dayes sailing backe that we had sailed in sixe dayes, which was about forty leagues: so that when we came before Truxillo, which was about the sixth of Iune, we found another of the ships there, but close vnder the castle, her ruther vnhanged, her sailes taken from the yards, &c., notwithstanding we entered her, but they had placed such a company of musketiers vnder a rampire, which they had made with hides and such like, that it was too hote for vs to abide, and so betaking vs to our shippes againe, and standing out of the bay into the sea, wee discouered great store of shot intrenched in those places where they suspected we would haue landed. That night there fell such a storme of raine, thunder, lightening and tempestuous weather, that our ships were dispersed either from other. And hauing determined all of vs to meet at a certeine Island, where wee purposed to water and refresh our selues; by meanes of the storme and other contagious weather which followed, we were frustrated of that hope.

We had lost our prize, and certeine frigats with the men. Two of our shippes went to seeke our prize and our men: and other two of vs came homeward. And so we parted, not hearing either of other vntill we came into Edgland.

Our place of meeting should haue beene at the Tortugas neere vnto the point of Florida, but the Golden dragon and the Prudence were put to leeward of this place: neuerthelesse wee fell with certeine islands within the point of Florida, where the captaine of the Dragon M. Christopher Newport sent his pinnesse on shore with certeine shot to seeke for fresh water, where wee found none; but fouud the Sauages very courteous vnto vs, who came brest high into the sea, and brought vs a line to hall in our boat on shore, and shewed vs that vp into the land Northward was fresh water, and much golde. And one Michael Bagge of Ipswich boatswaines mate of the Dragon, had giuen him by one of the Sauages for an olde rusty hatchet, a piece of golde wound hollow, and about the bignesse and value of an English angell, which the Sauage ware hanging about his knee, with two pieces of fine siluer plate, whereof one the sayd Sauage gaue Iohn Locke masters mate of the Dragon, being foureteene groats in value, for an olde knife; the other piece he gaue to one William Wright a sailer, for an olde knife: which pieces of siluer were in forme like vnto the bosse of a bridle. These Sauages were farre more ciuill than those of Dominica: for besides their courtesie, they couered their priuities with a platted mat of greene straw, about three handfuls deepe, which came round about their waste, with the bush hanging downe behinde.

The next day in the morning very early, there came a frigat of the iland of Cuba of 30 tunnes, put in by weather, which was bound for Hauana, wherein were fifty hogges; to which we gaue chase all that day, passing the gulfe of Bahama, and about fiue of the clocke in the afternoone, after a shot or two made at her, shee yeelded vnto vs: wee hoisted out our boat, and went aboord, where we found some fiue Spanyards, fiue and fifty hogs, and about some two hundred weight of excellent tabacco rolled vp in seynes. We lightened them of their hogges and tabacco, and sent the men away with their frigat.

In this voyage we tooke and sacked foure townes, seuenteene frigats, and two ships, whereof eight were taken in the bay of the Honduras; of all which we brought but two into England: the rest we sunke, burnt, and one of them we sent away with their men. And to make vp the full number of twenty, the Spaniards themselues set one on fire in the bay of the Honduras, lest we should be masters of it.

We shaped our conrse from Florida homeward by the isle of Flores one of the Açores, where we watered, finding sir Iohn Burgh there, who tooke vs to be Spanyards, and made vp vnto vs; with whom wee ioyned in the taking the mighty Portugall caracke called Madre de Dios, and our captaine M. Christopher Newport with diuers of vs was placed in her as captaine by the Generall sir Iohn Burgh to conduct her into England, where we arriued in Dartmouth the seuenth of September 1592.

The voyaye made to the bay of Mexico by M. William King Captaine, M. Moore, M. How, and M. Boreman Owners, with the Salomon of 200 tunnes, and the Iane Bonauenture of 40 tunnes of Sir Henry Palmer, from Ratcliffe the 26 of Ianuary 1592.

THe Salomon was manned with an hundred men, all mariners, and the Iane with sixe and twenty, all likewise mariners. Wee came first to the Downes in Kent, and neuer strooke saile in passing thence, vntill we came to Cape S. Vincent on the coast of Portugall. From thence we shaped our course to Lancerota one of the Canarie islands, where we landed three score men, and fetched a carauell out of an harborow on the South side, and from a small Island we tooke a demy-canon of brasse in despight of the inhabitants, which played vpon vs with their small shot at our first landing: of whom we slew three; and gaue them the repulse. Thence we went to the Grand Canaria, where we boorded a barke lying at anker: out of which wee were driuen by great store of shot from the Island. From thence wee directed our course for the West Indies, and fell with the isle of Dominica about the tenth of April. There at a watering place we tooke a shippe of an hundred tunnes come from Guiny, laden with two hundred and seuenty Negros, which we caried with vs to S. Iuan de Puerto Rico, and there comming thorow El passaje, we gaue chase to a frigat which went in to S. Iuan de Puerto Rico, and in the night we sent in our shallope with foureteene men. And out of the harborow wee tooke away an English shippe of seuenty tunnes, laden with threescore tunnes of Canary-wines, in despight of the castle and two new bulwarks, being within caliuer shot. These two prizes we caried away to the Westermost part of the island, and put the Negros, except fifteene, all on land in a Spanish carauell which the Iane Bonauenture tooke: and we caried away one of the former prizes, and set fire on the other. We passed thence by the isle of Mona, where we watered, and refreshed our selues with potatos and plantans, and so came to the isle of Saona: and from thence arriued at the mouth of the riuer of Santo Domingo. And as we sailed to Cape Tiburon, three leagues to the Westward of Santo Domingo we tooke a boat of fifteene tunnes, which had certeine iarres of malosses or vnrefined sugar, with three men; which men with their boat wee caried with vs to Cape Tiburon, which, in respect of seruice done vnto vs in furnishing vs with fresh water, we dismissed. Thus contrary to other Englishmens courses we shaped ours to the Southward of Iamaica, and our shallop with 12 men ranged the coast but found nothing. Thence we ranged the three islands of the Caimanes, and landed at Grand Caiman, being the Westermost, where we found no people, but a good riuer of fresh water; and there we turned vp threescore great tortoises; and of them we tooke our choise, to wit, fifteene of the females, which are the best and fullest of egges, whereof two serued an hundred men a day. And there with stones we might kill turtle doues, wilde geese, and other good fowles at our pleasures. Thence we came to Cape de Corrientes on Cuba to water, and from thence to Cape S. Antonio, and so went ouer for the Tortugas, without taking of any new prize: and thence cut ouer to Rio de puercos on the coast of Cuba. There we tooke a small barke of twenty tunnes, with foure men and forty liue hogs, with certeine dried porke cut like leather ierkins along, and dried hogs tongues and neats tongues, and 20 oxe hides. Then passing thence, within foure dayes we tooke a ship of 80 tunnes laden with hides, indico, and salso perilla, North of an headland called Corugna: thence the current set vs to the East to the old chanel. There we tooke a frigat of 20 tunnes, hauing certeine pieces of Spanish broad cloth and other small pillage: there continuing off the Matanças 12 dayes, with the winde so Westerly that we could hardly recouer Hauana in the moneth of May. Here we tooke two boats laden with tortoises, which we sunke, sauing some of the tortoises, and setting the men on shore. Then at length we recouered vp to Hauana, where we came so neere to the forts, that for one houres fight they ouer-reached vs with their long ordinance. Then came out the two gallies, hauing 27 banks on a side, and fought with vs another houre; which for that time left vs by reason of the increasing of the winde. Then passing alongst nine leagues to the Westward we found out an excellent harbour, hauing three fadome water at the flood, able within to receiue a thousand saile, where we found hog-houses, which they terme coralles, and tooke away certeine hogs and pigs. As we came out of this harbour, the weather being calme, we were incountered by the gallies, which had followed vs, and fought with them three houres, oftentimes

Preseruing of hogs-flesh.

The excellent hauen of Cauannas.

within caliuer shot: but wee made such spoile of their men and oares, that they beganne to be weary, and gaue vs ouer, with their great losse. Here within foure dayes after, as we lay to the Northward sixe leagues off this harbour of Cauannas, we met with master captaine Lane, Generall of master Wats his fleet, and captaine Roberts, in the Exchange, a ship of Bristol, of an hundred and forty tunnes, and master Beniamin Wood with his foure ships which were set out by my lord Thomas Howard with Captain Kenel of Limehouse captaine of the Cantar of Weymouth. All we being heere together espied a ship of some 50 tunne, which we chased with there boats; but my shallope first boorded her, and tooke her: which had in her sacke, Canary-wine, muscadell, tent in iarres, and good store of oile in iarres. The ship we vnladed and burned: the men ran on shore. Hence wee came altogether, being about 13 sailes, before Hauana; but passing by we gaue chase to a ship of 60 tun, which entred into an harbour a league to the Northwest of Hauana, which with boats was boorded, and found to be of Puerto de Cauallos in the bay of Honduras, laden with tanned hides, salsa perilla, Indico, raw hides, and good store of balsamum: and she had foure chests of gold, which they got on land before we could come to them. We brought this ship into England. Thus spending a seuennight in lying off and on for purchase, and finding nothing come, I set saile for England, and arriued at Douer about the tenth of Nouember 1592.

A briefe note of a voyage to the East Indies, begun the 10 of April 1591, wherein were three tall ships, the Penelope of Captaine Raimond, Admirall, the Merchant royall, whereof was Captaine, Samuel Foxcroft, Vice admirall, the Edward Bonauenture, whereof was Captaine, M. Iames Lancaster, Rere admirall, with a small pinnesse. Written by Henry May, who in his returne homeward by the West Indies suffered shipwracke vpon the isle of Bermuda, whereof here is annexed a large description.

THe tenth of April 1591 we departed from Plimmouth with the ships aforesayd. In May following wee arriued at Grand Canaria one of the fortunate Islands. Also toward the end this moneth we tooke a Portugall shippe being bound for Brasil, within three degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, which serued greatly to our refreshing. The 29 of Iuly following we came to Aguada Saldania a good harbour neere the cape of Buona Sperança, where we stayed about a moneth with the Merchant royall, which by reason of sicknesse in our fleet was sent home for England with diuers weake men. Here we bought an oxe for a knife of three pence, a sheepe for a broken knife or any other odde trifle, of the people which were Negros, clad in cloaks or mantles of raw hides, both men and women. The 8 of September the Penelope and the Edward Bonauentura weyed anker, and that day we doubled the cape of Buona Sperança. The 12 following we were taken with an extreame tempest or huricano. This euening we saw a great sea breake ouer our Admirall the Penelope, and their light strooke out: and after that we neuer saw them any more. In October following we in the Edward fell with the Westermost part of the isle of S. Laurence about midnight, knowing not where we were. Also the next day we came to an anker at Quitangone a place on the maine land of Africa, which is two or three leagues to the Northward of Moçambique, where the Portugals of the isle of Moçambique fetch all their fresh water. Here we tooke a pangaia, with a Portugall boy in it; which is a vessell like a barge, with one matsaile of Coco nut leaues. The barge is sowed together with the rindes of trees, and pinned with woodden pinnes. In this pangaia we had certeine corne called millio, hennes, and some fardels of blew Calicut cloth. The Portugall boy we tooke with vs, and dismissed the rest. From this place we went for an island called Comoro, vpon the coast of Melinde, which standeth about 11 degrees to the South of the equinoctial: in which island we stayed all Nouember, finding the people blacke and very comly, but very treacherous and cruell: for the day before we departed from thence they killed thirty of our men on shore, among whom was William Mace our master, and two of his mates; the one of them being in the boat with him to fetch water, the other being on shore against our ship; they hauing first betrayed our boat. From hence we went for the isle of Zanzibar, on the coast of Melinde, whereas wee stayed and Wintered vntill the beginning of February following.

A Portugall ship taken.

They double the cape of Buena Esperanza.

Quitagone nere Mozambique.

They Winter at the isle of Zanzibar.

The second of February 1592 wee weyed anker, and set saile directly for the East Indies; but hauing calmes and contrary windes wee were vntill the moneth of Iune before wee could recouer the coast of India neere Calicut; whereby many of our men died for want of refreshing. In this moneth of Iune we came to an anker at the isles of Pulo pinaom, whereas we stayed vntill the first day of September, our men being very sicke, and dying apace. This day we set saile, and directed our course for Malaca: and wee had not bene farre at sea, but wee tooke a shippe of the kingdome of Pegu of some fourescore tunnes with wooden ankers, and about fiftie men in her, with a pinnesse of some eighteene tunnes at her stearne, both laden with pepper. But their pinnesse stole from vs in a gust in the morning. Here we might haue taken two shippes more of Pegu laden likewise with pepper and rice. In this moneth also we tooke a great Portugall ship of six or seuen hundred tun, laden chiefly with victuals, chests of hats, pintados, and Calicut clothes. Besides this we tooke another Portugall ship of some hundred tun, laden with victuals, rice, Calicos, pintados, and other commodities. These ships were bound for Malaca with victuals: for those of Goa, of S. Thomas, and of other places in the Indies doe victuall it, because that victuals there are very scarce.

In the moneth of Nouember 1592 we shaped our course for the island of Nicubar lying certeine leagues to the Northwest of the famous island of Sumatra; whereas within short time wee came to anker: and here wee had very good refreshing: for after wee arriued there, the people (whom we found in religion Mahumetans) came aboord vs in their canoas, with hennes, cocos, plantans, and other fruits: and within two dayes they brought vnto vs reals of plate, giuing vs them for Calicut cloth: which reals they found by diuing in the sea, which were lost not long before in two Portugall ships which were bound for China and were cast away there. This was the furthest place that we were at to the Southeast: and heere because our company by this time was much wasted and diminished, we resolued to turne backe to the isle of Zeilan. Wherefore we weyed anker in the moneth of Nouember, and arriued at Zeilan about the end of the same moneth. In this island groweth great store of excellent cinamom, and the best diamonds in the world. Here our captaine meant to stay to make vp our voyage: whereof hee conceiued great hope, by

They returne homeward.

certeine intelligence which wee had receiued: but the company, which were in all but 33 men and boyes, being in a mutiny, and euery day ready to go together by the eares (the captaine being sicke and like for to die) would not stay, but would needs go home.

The 8 of December 1592 we set saile homeward, but some 15 dayes before we had sight of the cape of Good hope, we were forced to share our bread, by reason we had certeine flies in our ship, which deuoured most part of our bread before we were aware; so that when we came to sharing, we had but 31 pound of bread a man to cary vs into England, with a small quantity of rice a day.

The last of March 1593 we doubled the cape of Bona Sperança.

In April next ensuing we came to anker at the island of S. Helena, whereas we found an English man a tailer, which had bene there 14 moneths before we came thither: so we sending our boat on shore with some ten men, they found this English man in the chapell; who by reason of the heat of the climat was inforced to keepe himselfe out of the Sun. Our company hearing one sing in the chapell, supposing it had bene some Portugall, thrust open the doore, and went in vnto him: but the poore man seeing so many come in vpon him on the sudden, and thinking them to be Portugals, was first in such a feare, not hauing seene any man in 14 moneths before, and afterwards knowing them to be Englishmen, and some of them of his acquaintance, in such ioy, that what betweene excessiue sudden feare and ioy, he became distracted of his wits, to our great sorrowes. Here we found of his drying some 40 goats. The party had made him for want of apparell two sutes of goates skinnes with the hairy side outwards, like vnto the Sauages of Canada. Here we stayed all this moneth. This man liued vntill we came to the West Indies, and then he died.

The strange force of sudden feare and sudden ioy.

In the moneth of Iune we arriued at the island of Trinidad in the West Indies, hoping there to finde refreshing; but we could not get any, by reason that the Spanyards had taken it. Here we were imbayed betweene the island and the maine; and for want of victuals the company would haue forsaken the ship: whereupon the captaine was inforced to sweare euery man not to forsake the ship vntill we should see further occasion. Out of this bay, called Boca de Dragone, it pleased God to deliuer vs; from whence we directed our course for the isle of S. Iuan de Puerto rico, but fell with the small isle of Mona, where we abode some fifteene dayes, finding in that place some small refreshing. And heere arriued a ship of Caen in Normandy, whereof was captaine one Monsieur Charles de la Barbotiere, who greatly refreshed vs with bread and other prouision, which we greatly wanted. And so we tooke our leaues the one of the other.

In Iuly hauing foule weather at Mona, we were forced to wey anker, and to set saile, directing our course for Cape Tiburon: and in doubling of the cape we had a gust from the shore, which caried away all our sailes from the yards: so that we had left but one new forecourse to helpe our selues withall: which canuas the afordsayd Frenchman did help vs withall. Also hauing doubled the foresayd cape in the distresse aforenamed, the forsayd captain de la Barbotiere with his pinnesse gaue chase vnto vs againe; who being come nere vnto vs, I went aboord him, certifying him what distresse we were in. The gentleman replied to me againe, that there was not any thing in his shippe, but what he could spare he would helpe vs withall. So to conclude, we agreed with him for canuas. Moreouer, he sayd, that if we would go with him to an harbour called *Gonnauy, which is to the Northward of Cape Tiburon, that then he would helpe vs with fresh victuals enough. Whereupon I returned aboord our ship, and certified our captaine of all: who made it knowen vnto the company; which no sooner heard of it, but they would all go in, So here we staied with the aforesaid Frenchman 15 dayes: but small refreshing we could get, because the Spaniards stood in some feare of the Frenchman of war, supposing our ship to be a Portugal, and that we were his prize: neuerthelesse hee certified them to the contrary. And in staying so long with him, and hauing little refreshing, our company began to be in a mutiny, aud made report that the captaine and I went aboord the Frenchman but to make good cheere, and had not any care of them: but I protest before God, that our care was to get victuals wherby we might haue bene gone from him. But in the meane time a great part of our company had conspired to take away the Frenchmans pinnesse, and with her to boord the man of warre. While these things were in complotting, one of their consorts went aboord the Frenchman, and certified him of all the conspiracy. Wherevpon the captaine

Or Guanaba.

of the French ship sent for our captaine and me to come aboord to dinner: and we stayed with him all the afternoone, being inuited vnto supper: and being at supper, he himselfe would not a great while come to vs: but at length hee came. At his comming wee asked of him what newes. Who answered vs, that that either we must depart from him or els he must goe seeke some other harborow. Whereupon I tolde captaine Lancaster; who prayed me to tell him that rather then we would be any hindrance vnto him, we would be gone. But in the mean time, while we were thus talking together, the Frenchman weyed and set saile: which we perceiued, and asked him what he meant by it. He replied to the captaine and me, that he kept vs for his security, and that our men had purposed as is aforesayd. When he came thwart our shippe, it blew a prety gaile of winde: the boat being a stern of them, hauing in her two Moores and two men of Pegu, which we had giuen them, brake away. Then was the Frenchman worse then before, and did threaten vs very sore that we should pay his voyage. In the meantime the Edward seeing vs past, weyed and set saile to go for England: and they did share among them all the captaines victuals and mine, when they saw the Frenchman keepe vs as prisoners. So the next morning we went to seeke out the Frenchmans pinnesse: which being at Laguna we shot off a piece, and so she came to vs, hauing in her three more of our company, Edmund Barker our lieutenant, and one Iohn West, and Richard Lucland one of the mutinous crew. The which I told the Frenchman of; and he could not deny, but that there was such a thing pretended. Then I was put into the French pinnesse to seeke their boat: and in the mean time they would go to see if they could ouertake our shippe. And the next day we should meet againe at Cape S. Nicolas: so the next morning we met together all three of vs, but heard no newes of his boat. So he hauing Spanyards and Negros aboord of vs, requested to haue them. Our captaine desired him to send his boat aboord our shippe, and he should haue them with all his heart. So with much adoe he sent his boat and had them. Then he demanded of them, if his boat were not aboord the ship. They answered no. So that then Monsieur de la Barbotiere was satisfied: and then we were great friends againe, to all our ioyes.

The 12 of August 1593 our captaine was sent aboord our ship: but before his departure he requested the captaine of the French ship that he would giue mee passage home with him, to certifie the owners what had passed in all the voyage, as also of the vnrulinesse of the company. And this day we tooke our leaues the one of the other; the Edward for England: and we bare in for Gonnauy, where afterwards we found the Frenchmans boat.

They wrack-ed vpon Bermuda the 17 of December 1593.

The descrip-tion of the isle of Bermuda.

The last of Nouember 1593 Monsieur de la Barbotiere departed from a port called Laguna in Hispaniola. The 17 of December next insuing it was his fortune to haue his ship cast away vpon the Northwest part of the isle of Bermuda about midnight; the pilots making themselues at noone to be to the Southward of the island twelue leagues, certified the captaine that they were out of all danger. So they demanded of him their wine of heigth: the which they had. And being, as it should seeme, after they had their wine, carelesse of their charge which they tooke in hand, being as it were drunken, through their negligence a number of good men were cast away: and I being but a stranger among 50 and odde Frenchmen and others, it pleased God to appoint me to be one of them that were saued, I hope to his seruice and glory. We made account at the first that we were cast away hard by the shore, being hie clifs, but we found our selues seuen leagues off: but with our boat and a raft which we had made and towed at our boats sterne, we were saued some 26 of vs; among whom were no English but myselfe. Now being among so many strangers, and seeing not roome for the one halfe, I durst neither presse into the boat, nor vpon the raft, for feare lest they should haue cast me ouer boord, or els haue killed me: so I stayed in the ship which was almost full of water, vntill the captaine being entered the boat, called me vnto him being at hand, for that it stood vpou life or death; and so I presently entred, leauing the better halfe of our company to the mercy of the sea. After this we rowed all the day vntill an houre or two before night yer we could come on land, towing the raft with the boat. When we came on shore, being all the day without drinke, euery man tooke his way to see if he could finde any: but it was long before any was found. At length one of the pilots digging among a company of weeds fonnd fresh water to all our great comforts, being only raine water: and this was all the fresh water that we found on shore. But there are in this Island many fine bayes, wherin if a man did dig, I thinke there might be found store of fresh water. This Island is diuided all into broken Islands; and the greatest part I was vpon, which might be some 4 or 5 miles long, and two miles and a halfe ouer; being all woods, as Cedar and other timber, but Cedar is the chiefest. Now it pleased God before our ship did split, that we saued our carpenters tooles, or els I thinke we had bene there to this day: and hauing recouerd the aforesaid tooles, we went roundly about the cutting downe of trees, and in the end built a small barke of some 18 tun, for the most part with tronnels and very few nails. As for tackling we made a voyage aboord the ship before she split, and cut downe her shrowds, and so we tackled our barke, and rigged her. In stead of pitch we made lime, and mixed it with the oile of tortoises; and assonne as the carpenters had calked, I and another, with ech of vs a small sticke in our hands, did plaister the morter into the seames, and being in April, when it was warm and faire weather, we could no sooner lay it on, but it was dry, and as hard as a stone. In this moneth of April, 1594, the weather being very hot, we were afraid our water should faile vs; and therefore made the more haste away: and at our departure we were constrained to make two great chests, and calked them, and stowed them on ech side of our maine mast, and so put in our prouision of raine-water, and 13 liue tortoises for our food, for our voyage which we intented to Newfoundland. In the South part of this Island of Bermuda there are hogs, but they are so leane that you can not eat them, by reason the Island is so barren: but it yeeldeth great store of fowle, fish and tortoises. And to the Eastward of the Island are very good harbours, so that a shippe of 200 tun may ride there land-locked, without any danger, with water enough. Also in this Island is as good fishing for pearles as is any in the West Indies, but that the place is subiect to foule weather, as thundering, lightning and raine: but in April and part of May we had very faire and hot weather. The 11 of May it pleased God to set vs cleere of the Island, to the no little ioy of vs all, after we had liued in the same almost the space of 5 moneths. And the 20 of May we fell with the land nere to Cape Briton, where we ran into a fresh water riuer, whereof there be many, and tooke in wood, water, and ballast.

The sauing of the carpenters tooles was their preseruation.

A bark strangely built and furnished.

Hogs in Bermuda.

Good harbors in ye East part of Bermuda.

An excellent fishing for pearles in Bermuda.

The people nere Cape Briton vse traffike of rich furres.

And here the people of the countrey came vnto vs, being clothed all in furs, with the furred side vnto their skins, and brought with them furres of sundry sorts to sell, besides great store of wild ducks: so some of our company hauing saued some small beads, bought some of their ducks. Here we stayed not aboue foure houres, and so departed. This should seeme to be a very good countrey. And we saw very fine champion ground, and woods. From this place we ranne for the banke of Newfoundland, whereas we met with diuers, but none would take in a man of vs, vntill it pleased God that wee met with a barke of Falmouth, which receiued vs all for a little time; and with her we tooke a French ship, wherein I left captain de la Barbotiere my deere friend, and all his company, and stayed myselfe aboord the English barke: and hauing passage in the same, in the moneth of August I arriued at Falmouth 1594.

A voyage of the honourable Gentleman M. Robert Duddeley, now knight, to the Isle of Trinidad, and the coast of Paria: with his returne home by the Isles of Granata, Santa Cruz, Sant Iuan de puerto rico, Mona, Zacheo, the shoalds called Abreojos, and the isle of Bermuda. In which voyage he and his company tooke and sunke nine Spanish ships, wherof one was an armada of 600 tunnes. Written at the request of M. Richard Hakluyt.

HAuing euer since I could couceiue of any thing bene delighted with the discoueries of nauigation, I fostered in my selfe that disposition till I was of more yeres and better ability to vndertake such a matter. To this purpose I called to me the aduise of sufficient seamen, and principally vndertooke a voyage for the South seas; but by reason that many before had miscaried in the same enterprise, I could not be suffered to hazard more of her Maiesties subiects vpon so vncerteine a ground as my desire: which made me by constraint (great charges already by me defrayed) to prepare another course for the West Indies, without hope there to doe any thing woorth note: and so common is it indeed to many, as it is not woorth the registring. Neuerthelesse, I haue yeelded to your former importunity, and sent you this my iournall to supply a vacant roome amongst your more important discourses.

Nowe being prouided for this last enterprize, rather to see some practise and experience, then any wonders or profite, I weighed ancker from Southampton road the sixth of Nouember 1594. But the winde falling scant, it was the 17. day of the same moneth before I could put into the Sea. Vpon this day my selfe in the Beare a shippe of 200. tunnes my Admirall, and Captaine Munck in the Beares whelpe vice-admirall, with two small pinnesses called the Frisking and the Earewig passed through the Needles, and within two dayes after bare in with Plimmouth. My busines at this port-towne dispatched, I set saile; whither againe by contrary winds to my great misfortune, I was inforced to returne backe. I might call it misfortune; for by this meanes vtterly (for all the voyage) lost my vice-admirall; which was the cause likewise of loosing mine owne pinnesse, which three were the principall stay of my voyage. For at this last leauing of England in a storme I lost mine owne pinnesse, as is before said. Notwithstanding all these crosses all alone I went wandering on my voyage, sailing along the coast of Spaine within view of Cape Finister, and Cape S. Vincent, the North and South capes of Spaine. In which space hauing many chases, I could meete with none but my countreymen or countreys friends. Leaving these Spanish shores I directed my course the 14. of December towards the isles of the Canaries.* Here I lingered 12 dayes for two reasons: The one, in hope to meete my vice-admiral: The other, to get some vessel to remoue my pestered men into, who being 140. almost in a ship of 200. tunnes, there grew many sicke. The first hope was fustrated, because my vice-admiral was returned into England with two prizes. The second expectation fell out to our great comfort: for I tooke two very fine Carauels vnder the calmes of Tenerif and Palma, which both refreshed and amended my company, and made me a Fleete of 3. sailes. In the one Carauel called the Intent, I made Beniamin Wood Captaine, in the other, one Captaine Wentworth. Thus cheared as a desolate traueller with the company of my small and newe erected Fleete, I continued my purpose for the West Indies, and first for Cape Blanco in Africa vpon the deserts of Libya. My last hope was to meete my lost ship, and withall to renue my victuals vpon the Canthers, which are Portugal fishermen: but the Canthers had bene so frighted by Frenchmen, as I could get none. Riding vnder this White Cape two daies, and walking on shore to view the countrey, I found it a waste, desolate, barren, and sandie place, the sand running in drifts like snow and being very stony; for so is all the countrey sand vpon stone (like Arabia deserta, and Petrea) and full of blacke venemous lizards, with some wilde beasts and people which be tawny Moores, so wilde, as they would but call to my Carauel from the shore, who road very neere it. But not desirous to make any longer aboad in this place, by reason of the most infectious serenas or dewes that fall all along these coasts of Africa, I caused my Master Abraham Kendall to shape his course directly for the isle of Trinidad in the West Indies; which after 22. dayes, we descried, and the first of February came to an anker vnder a point thereof called Curiapan, in a bay which was very full of pelicans, and I called it Pelicans bay. About 3. leagues to the Eastwards of this place we found a mine of Marcazites which glister like golde (but all is not gold that glistereth) for so we found the same nothing worth, though the Indians did assure vs it was Caluori, which signifieth gold with them. These Indians are a fine shaped and a gentle people, al naked and painted red, their commanders wearing crownes of feathers. These people did often resort vnto my ship, and brought vs hennes, hogs, plantans, potatoes, pinos, tobacco, and many other pretie commodities, which they exchanged with vs for hatchets, kniues, hookes, belles, and glasse buttons. From this bay I fell downe lower to a place called Paracoa, where I desired rather to ride, because it was a conuenient place to water, balast, ground, and graue my Carauels. Then I commanded al my men to lye on shore, after I had caused to be made for them a little skonce like an halfe moone for their defence, being iealous of the Spaniards, of whose estate I could gather no certaintie, till from Margarita Antonie Berreo for his defence had gotten some 300. souldiers, a greater number then I was able to encounter withall, hauing then but 50. men, because my Carauels before their comming were sent away.

---

* *Marginal Note.*—This M. Benismin Wood was in the end of the yeere 1596. sent forth with two ships, and certaine pinnesses vpon a voyage for the South seas and for China, at the charges of this honourable gentleman Sir Robert Dudley. A description of Cape Blanço in Africa.

The ysle of Trinidad descried.

Punta de Curispan.

Paracoa or Parico.

They inskonce themselues.

The Simerones of the yland traded with me still in like sort. And the Spaniards now prouided for me, began to send messengers to me in kindnesse. Notwithstanding though I had no reason to assault them, because they were both poore and strong, yet for my experience and pleasure I marched 4 long marches vpon the yland, and the last from one side of the yland to the other, which was some 50. miles: going and comming through a most monstrous thicke wood (for so is most part of the yland) and lodging my selfe in Indian townes. The country is fertile, and ful of fruits, strange beasts, and foules, whereof munkeis, babions and parats were in great abundance. Being much delighted with this yland, and meaning to stay here some time about discouering the maine right against the same (the entrance into the empire of Guiana) being shewed the discouery thereof by Captaine Popham, who receiued the discouery of the said empire from one captaine Harper, which being a prisoner learned of the Spaniards at the Canaries in the self same maner almost, as sir Walter Ralegh very discreetly hath written. The intelligence of Harper, I conceiue, the Captaine hath yet to shew in Spanish. This discouery of Guiana I greatly desired: yet least I should aduenture all occasions vpon it onely, I sent my two Carauels from me the 17. day of February, to try their fortunes in the Indies, not appointing any other place to meet but England, furnishing them with all the prouision that I could spare, and diuiding my victuals equally with them, knowing they were able to do more good in the Indies then greater ships. The Carauels being gone, I began to enquire priuately of the Sauages concerning the maine ouer against vs, and learned that the names of the kingdomes ioyning to the Sea-coast were in order these. The kingdom of Morucca, the kingdome of Seawano, the kingdome of Waliame, the kingdom of Caribes, the kingdome of Yguirie, and right against the Northermost part of Trinidad, the maine was called The high land of Paria, the rest a very lowe land. Morucco I learned to bee full of a greene stone called Tacarao, which is good for the stone. In Seawano I heard of a Mine of gold to be in a towne called Wackerew, the Capitaines name Semaracon.

A treasonable practize of the Spaniards.

They march from side of the yland to the other.

Captaine Harpers intelligence of Guiana.

His two Carauels sent to range the Indias.

Seawano called perhaps in sir Walter Raleghs discouery Ciawani.

Sir Walter Ralegh speaketh of Saima, and Wikiri in his discouery.

Of Waliame I will speake last, because therein I made most discouery. The Caribes I learned to be man-eaters or Canibals, and great enemies to the Islanders of Trinidad. The kingdome of Yguiri I heard to be full of a metall called by the Indians Arara, which is either copper (as I could learne) or very base gold. In the high land of Paria I was informed by diuers of these Indians, that there was some Perota, which with them is siluer, and great store of most excellent Cane-tabacco. But lastly to come to Waliame, it is the first kingdome of the empire of Guiana. The great wealth which I vnderstood to be therein, and the assurance that I had by an Indian, mine interpreter, of a golden Mine in a towne of this kingdome called Orocoa, in the Riuer (as he called it) of Owrinoicke was much to be esteemed. This Indian spake Spanish, and whatsoeuer he knew, he reueiled it to my selfe onely by a priuate interpreter, not in words alone, but offered vpon paine of life to be guide himselfe to any place that he spake of. This discouery of the Mine I mentioned to my company, who altogether mutined against my going, because they something feared the villany of Abraham Kendal, who would by no meanes go. I then wanted my lost pinnesse, and was constrained to send 14. men in my shipboat for this discouery, with most of the discreetest men in my ship, and gaue them their directions to follow, written vnder mine owne hand. They went from me, and entred into one of the mouthes by the broken lands, which riuer goeth vnder the name of the great Riuer Orenoque, the foreland whereof was called Capulio bearing South and by West, wanting a fourth part, from the point of Curiapan aforesaid, being 4. leags distant. They found the maine (as China is reported) full of fresh Riuers running one into another, abounding with fish, and a land al woody, seeming to haue great store of strange beasts and foules, and very populous. They entred into a small riuer called Cabota, the people named Veriotaus, a courteous people. The next riuer they passed was called Mana in the kingdome of Tiuitiuas, where the king offered to bring a Canoa full of this golden oare, and to this purpose sent a Canoa, which returned and brought my men this answere, that Armago Captaine of the towne of Orocoa and the Mine refused them, but if they would come thither, hee himselfe would make them answere.

This Indians name was Balthaser, who afterward gaue our men the slip at their greatest need.

The riuer of Amana and the kingdome of Tiuitiuas are both mentioned by Sir Walter Ralegh.

Vpon this my boat went, and at his appointed place hee met them with some 100. men in Canoas, and told them that by force they should haue nothing but blowes, yet if they would bring him hatchets, kniues, and Iewes-harps, he bid them assure me, he had a Mine of gold, and could refine it, and would trade with me: for token whereof, he sent me 3. or 4. Croissants or halfe moones of gold weighing a noble a piece or more, and two bracelets of siluer. Also he told them of another rich nation, that sprinkled their bodies with the poulder of golde, and seemed to be guilt, and farre beyond them a great towne called El Dorado, with many things. My men being satisfied, and thinking their company too fewe to stay among these Sauages, and their victuall spent, returned. This Balthazar my Indian their guide ranne from them: which distresse caused them to borrow of Armago newe guides, who brought them home another way through a Riuer called Braha by the high land of Paria, and so to my ship. They accompanied Orocoa 150. miles distant, so they rowed in my boate aboue 250. miles. Their absence from mee was 16. dayes, making but one nights aboad any where. The report of this made mee attempt my company to goe with them againe. But nowe they were worse then before; for vnlesse I would haue gone my selfe alone, not one man would goe with me (no albeit I had had commission to hang or kill them) for my men came home in very pitifull case almost dead for famine; and indeed such was their misery, as they dranke not in three dayes, for so long they were out of the fresh Riuer, before they recouered the shippe, and yet the boat was filled with as much victuall, as it could holde.

A people sprinkled with poulder of gold.

In this time of my boates absence there came to me a pinnesse of Plimmouth, of which Captaine Popham before named was chiefe, who gaue vs great comfort. And if I had not lost my pinnesses, wherein I might haue caried victuals and some men, we had discouered further the secrets of those places. Also this Captaine and I stayed some sixe or eight dayes longer for Sir Walter Raleigh (who, as wee surmized, had some purpose for this discouery) to the ende, that by our intelligence and his boates we might haue done some good: but it seemed he camed he came not in sixe or eight weekes after. So Captaine Popham and I helde it not conuenient to stay any longer: therefore new watering our

Captaine Pophams arriual.

They depart from the yle of Trinidad.

A prize taken North of the yle of Granata.

They disemboque by the yle of Zacheo.

The sholds called Abreojos, that is, Open thine eyes, or Looke out.

our selues at Paracoa, we set saile to see further of the Indies, leauing the yle of Trinidad the 12. day of March. The 13. I tooke a small prize of sackes 25. leagues to the Northward of an yland which I sailed by, called Granata. This prize refreshed vs well: yet meaning to sel her at the yle of Saint Iuan de Puerto rico and shaping our course thither by the ylands of Santa Cruz and Infierno, I coasted all the South side of the said yle of S. Iohn, till I came to an ancker at Cape Roxo: where riding 14. dayes to expect S. Domingo men, which oftentimes fall with the yland of Mona, and finding none (neither would the Spaniards of S Iuan de puerto rico buy my prize) I vnladed her, tooke in the goods, and after burned her. This ended, I disemboqued (where fewe Englishmen had done before, by reason of the great dangers betweene this yland of S. Iuan de puerto rico and Hispaniola) by a little yland called Zacheo. And after carefully doubling the shouldes of Abreojos, I caused the Master, (hearing by a Pilote, that the Spanish fleete ment now to put out of Hauana) to beare for the Meridian of the yle of Bermuda, hoping there to finde the fleete dispersed. The fleete I found not, but foule weather enough to scatter many fleetes; which companion left mee not in greatest extremitie, till I came to the yles of Flores and Cueruo: whither I made the more haste, hoping to meete some great Fleete* of her Maiestie my souereigne, as I had intelligence, and to giue them aduise of this rich Spanish fleet: but finding none, and my victuals almost spent, I directed my course for England.

A fight of two dayes with a Spanish Armada of 600. tunnes.

Returning alone, and worse manned by halfe then I went foorth, my fortune was to meete a great Armada of this fleete of some 600. tunnes well appointed, with whom I fought board and board for two dayes, being no way able in all possibilitie with fiftie men to board a man of warre of sixe hundreth tunnes. And hauing spent all my powder I was constrained to leaue her, yet in such distresse without sailes and mastes, and hull so often shot through with my great Ordinance betweene winde and water, that being three hundred leagues from land, I dare say, it was impossible for her to escape sinking. Thus leauing her by necessitie in this miserable estate, I made for England, where I arriued at S. Iues in Cornewall aboue the latter ende of May

1595, escaping most dangerously in a great fogge the rocks of Silly.

Thus by the prouidence of God landing safely, I was kindely intertained by all my friends, and after a short time learned more certaintie of the sinking of that great shippe, being also reputed rich by diuers intelligences out of Spaine: which we then supposed not, and were doubtfull whether she had bin of Biscay or S. Iohn de Luz in France laden with fish onely from Newfoundland.

In this voyage I and my fleete tooke, sunke, and burnt nine Spanish ships; which was losse to them, though I got nothing.

Here follow certaine wordes of the language of Trinidad which I obserued at my being there.

GVttemock.	A man.
Tabairo, Dabarah, Or Dabarra.	The heare of ones head.
Dessie	The forehead·
Dasereth, or Dacosi	An eye.
Dalacoack	The mouth.
Archeh	The teeth.
Daria	The gummes.
Desire	The lips.
Dill	The tongue.
Dudica	The eares.
Dacan	A hand.
Dacabbo	The palme of the hand.
Dadena	The wrist.
Dacurle	A knee.
Daddano	The calfe of the legge.
Dabodda	The toes.
Dacutti	The feete.
Cattie	The moone.
Tauraroth	A rope.
Arkeano	A paire of cizers.
Weeuah	The heauen.
Harowa	A stone good for the headache.
Mointiman	Yron or steele.
Howa	Munkeis in generall.

Carotta	A thing like pappe.
Sakel	It is well, or I am well.
Techir	A bracelet.
Bodad	A boxe or chest.
Mentinie	A tree.
Addehegaeno	A glasse.
*Calcouri	Gold.
Perota	Siluer.
Tacorao	A green stone.
Arrara	Copper.
Caulpiri	A white stone.
Casparo	A sword.
Tibetebe	Cockles.
Marrahabo	A bow.
Semaro	An arrow.
Huculle	A bow-string.
Halete	A Potato roote.
Caerwoda	A sweete root.
Maurisse	Wheat.
Queca	A basket.
Yeddola	A knife.
Sambolers	A hat.
Byou	A pipe.
Callit	Bread.
†Oronuie	Water.
Arguecona	A paire of cizzers.
Heldaro	A spoone.
Hemachugh	A bread which they eate.
Hicket	Fire.
Walrowa	A parrot.
Vreit	Tabacco.
Barudda	A combe.
Addoth	A sticke.
Barrennaire	A button, or beads.

Curaballa and Sibath, for 2 sundry stones: but Sibath in general signifieth a stone.

Tolletillero	Bels.
Vllasso	A Tuny-fish.

---

* It is before in this voyage called Calourie.

† The name of the riuer Orenoque may seeme to be deriued from this word.

Bohery	A flying fish.
Bara	Water.
Haddalle	The Sunne.
Babage-Canoaseen	The maner of the Indians hailing of a ship, calling it after the name of their Canoas.
Non quo, Or Non quapa	I know not, Or I cannot tell.

The victorious voyage of Captaine Amias Preston now knight, and Captaine George Sommers to the West India, begun in March 1595. Wherein the yle of Puerto Santo, the yle of Coche neere Margarita, the fort and towne of Coro, the stately city of S. Iago de Leon were taken, sacked and burned, and the towne of Cumana ransomed, and Iamaica entred. Written by Robert Dauie one of the company.

CAptaine Amias Preston, and captaine Sommers, both valiant gentlemen and discreet commanders, lying ready with two tall ships, the Ascension and the Gift, and a small pinnesse at Plimmouth, for the space of a moneth attending the comming of captaine Iones their consort, which in al that time, through the bad dealing of those which he put in trust, could not make his ship in readines, according to his appointment, the 12. of March 1595. set forward on their voyage for the West Indies. We with captaine Iones in the Derling, and Captaine Prowse in the Angel, followed after them the 19. of the said moneth. The last of March, captaine Preston by giuing chase to a saile, was separated from captaine Sommers, and his pinnesse, so that they vtterly lost sight of ech other: whereupon captain Preston in his ship alone, resolued to surprise the yle of Puerto santo, and shortly after came before the same. This yland standeth in the Northerly latitude of 33. degrees, and lieth to the Northward of the yle of Madera, and is inhabited by old souldiers, which the kings of Portugal were wont to reward for their former olde seruices by placing of them there. This yland is rich in corne, wine, and oile: and hath good store of sheep, asses, goats and kine: they haue also plenty of foules, fishes, and fruits. Captaine Preston comming before this yland with one ship only sought with 2. long boats to land his men and to force the same: but the people were on shore in warlike array, with baricados and trenches made, ready to withstand them. Whereupon, considering the great danger, and disaduantage of the place, he caused his people to returne abord againe, and the next morning 3 or 4 houres before day, he landed in a place of greater security, with 60 men onely, who lay closely in a chapel, to defend themselues from the raine til break of the day, and so marched forward vpon the backs of their enemies, which kept their baricados vpon the shore. By this time the enemie was 500 strong. But, being so suddenly surprised, after some resistance of our muskets, when they saw our pikes approch, and had tasted somewhat of their force they began to flee into certaine thickets, and shrubs, thinking from thence to gall our men: but with very litle or no losse at all, our men dislodged them of that place also. Hereupon, they all fled toward the chiefe towne of the yland: but once againe they thought to make a new stand at a certaine house by the way, from whence they were repulsed by captaine Roberts. So in the flight part of them were slaine, and an ensigne, which one captaine Haruey an English man had lost not long before, was recouered: and the chiefe towne it selfe was by our men wholly woon and possessed. But before the entrance of our men they had conueighed their wiues, their children, and the rest of their goods into an exceeding high hil which standeth neere the towne, and could not be conquered, but with exceeding losse. Although they sent diuers times to redeeme their towne, which was very faire and large, yet in regard of their crueltie and treachery, which they vsed towards Captaine Haruey and his people, captaine Preston would shew them no fauour, but vtterly burnt their towne to ashes, and sent his men to wast the rest of their villages of the yland, preferring the honour and iust reuenge of his country men, before his owne priuate gaine, and commodity. And so with small pillage and great honour he retired in safetie and all his small company with him, from the conquered yland vnto his ship. But we in our ship met not with him, vntill the 12. of April following. We therefore in the Derling pursuing our voiage, had sight of the yles of the Canaries the 6 of April, and the 8 of the same, we watered on the Southeast side of the grand Canaria. There we met with cap. Sommers, and his pinnesse, and 3 ships of Hampton, in one whereof was cap. Willis. The 9 of April we al departed for Tenerif to seeke captaine Preston: and standing

The yle of Puerto Santo taken and the chiefe towne in it burnt.

They water vpon the grand Canaria.

ouer towards Tenerif, the 9 day at night I came into captaine Sommers ship. The 10 in the morning we brake our maine yard, yet we recouered Tenerif, and the same day towards night we ankered vnder the southside of the same. There I went aland in our boat, and found 3 or 4 fisher boats, and brought one of them off. The rest bulged themselues. Here we rode to mend our yard til the 11 at night: then we set saile to find captaine Amias Preston: and standing towards Gomera, the 12 in the morning we had sight of him. Then we thought to haue landed in Gomera: but the wind blew so much, that we could not. So we departed altogether with ioy the 13 of April, and set our course for the West Indies. And the 8 of May next ensuing, we arriued at the yland of Dominica. In all which time nothing happened vnto vs sauing this, that the 18 day of April at midnight, our admiral lost her long boat in towing. We staied at Dominica till the 14 of May, to refresh our sicke men. Here the Indians came vnto vs in canoas made of an whole tree, in some wherof were 3 men, in some 4 or 6, and in others 12 or 14, and brought in them plantans, pinos, and potatos, and trucked with vs, for hatchets, kniues, and small beadstones. Here in refreshing of our men, we found an hot bath hard ioyning to a cold riuer side: wherein our sicke men bathed themselues and were soone recouered of their sicknesses. This is a goodly yland, and something high land, but al ouergrowen with woods. The 14 we departed from thence, and the 16 sailing Southwestward, we had sight of Granada, but landed not there. The 17 we arriued at the Testigos and ankered there, and consorted with the 3 ships of Hampton, wherin captaine Willis was. The 18 we landed our men and tooke view and muster of all, and the same night set saile away. The 19 we had sight of Margarita, where the Spaniards by their Indians fish for pearle: we stood in very neere the rode, but saw nothing there. Therefore we went no further in, but stood from it againe. The same day toward night, we had sight of a litle yland, betweene Margarita and the maine, called Coche. We came neere it in the night with our ships within some 3 leagues, and there ankered vnder the maine side, and about midnight we manned our pinnesses and boats, and in the morning about breake of day, we landed on the yland, wherein are few or none inhabitants, but they commonly come from Margarita in boats on the Munday,

An excellent holesome hot bath found in Dominica.

The yles called Testigos.

and remaine there fishing for pearles vntill the Saturday, and then returne and cary al that they haue taken to Margarita. Here we tooke some few Spaniards and Negros their slaues with them, and had some smal quantitie of pearls. We remained on this Iland the 20 and 21, in which time we went a fishing with our seine, and tooke good store of mullets and other fish, and amongst the rest drew ashore in the seine a fish called by the Spanyards Lagarto, and by the Indians Caiman, which is indeed a Crocodile, for it hath 4 feete and a long taile, and a wide mouth, and long teeth, and wil deuour men. Some of these Lagartos are in length 16 foot, some 20 foot, and some 30 foot: they haue muske in them, and liue as wel on the land, as in the water. The 21 of May we departed for Cumana, thinking to haue gotten in that night to haue landed: but the current striketh so strong out of the bay, that we could not recouer the towne till day light. In the morning we espied 2 sailes before the towne, but could not fetch them. Here we plied too and againe in the sound all the forenoone, but could not get vp so farre as the towne. These 2 sailes came roome to vs, after they saw that we were at an anker, and came somewhat neere vs, and sent their skyphs abord our admiral. They were 2 flieboats of Middleburgh which traded there, and had secretly aduertised the country of our comming, to our great hinderance: but we knew it not at our first arriuall. Here they of Cumana perceiuing that we would land, came to parle with vs, and tolde vs, if we would land, we might easily take the towne, for they ment not to withstand vs, but that they had caried all their goods into the mountaines, but if we would not land to burne and spoile the towne, they would giue vs some reasonable ransome, and any victuals that we wanted. So our general agreed with them, receiued their ransome, and departed without landing. But at our first arriual in this bay, our generals long boat was sent forth wel manned, and tooke 3 Carauels, but found litle or nothing of value in them: sauing in one were some sides of bacon, and some maiz and Guiny-wheat. Here we staied til the 23. of May, and in the euening we set saile, and departed from thence. And the 26 of the same we thought to haue landed at a fort that standeth by the sea-coast in the Caracos, as you go for S. Iago. This is a marueilous high

Certaine Spaniards and Negros taken in the yle of Coche where they fish for pearle.

The towne of Cumana ransomed.

land, as high as the pike of Tenerif. We could not land here ouer night, by reason of the roughnes of the sea, which goeth in that place, and there is but one litle creeke against the fort, to come in with your boat. So, we perceiuing no fit place to land, by reason of the sea, stood away some league to the West-ward, about a litle head-land, there we ankered al night: and the 27 in the morning we all landed in safety, none resisting vs. Then we presently set ourselues in aray, and marched toward the fort, and tooke it without any resistance. Here we remained al the rest of this day vntill the 28, about three of the clock in the afternoone. We found nothing in this fort but a litle meale, or 2 or 3 tunnes of wine, which by reason of some disorder amongst the company ouercharging themselues with the wine, our general for the most part caused to be spilt. While we remained here, some of our company ranging the woods, found the gouernor of the fort where he lay asleepe, brought him to our general: who examined him touching the state of the citie of S. Iago de Leon. Who declared vnto vs that they had newes of our comming a moneth before, and that they of the towne had made preparation for our coming: and that if we did go the common beaten way, it was neuer possible for vs to passe, for that they had made in the midst of the way betweene this fort and the said city, an exceeding strong baricado on the top of a very high hil, the passage being not aboue 25 or 30 foot in bredth, and on each side maruellous steep-vpright, and the woods so thicke that no man could passe for his life: which indeed at our returning backe we found to be true. Vpon which speeches our generall demanded of him if there were not any other way: who answered, there is another way maruellous bad and very ill to trauel, which the Indians do commonly vse: but he thought that the Spaniards had stopt the same, by cutting downe of great trees and other things, as indeed they had. This Spaniard was a very weake and sickly man not able to trauel, so our general sent him abord his ship, and there kept him. In the taking of our three small Carauels at Cumana, we had a Spaniard in one of them that had traueled these wayes to the citie of S. Iago. He told vs he would cary vs thither by any of both these wayes, if afterward we would set him at libertie: the which was granted. While we remained at the fort by the waters side, the Spaniards came downe vnto

A fort nere the Caracos taken.

Al our actions betrayed by dangerous spies out of England.

vs by the great and beaten way on horsebacke, who being discouered, our generall sent out to meete them captaine Roberts with some 40 or 50 musketeirs, who came to skirmish with them, but they would not stay. The same day in the afternoone we marched forth toward S. Iago, and tooke the Indians way called The vnknowen way. In our march we came to diuers Indians houses, which we neuer hurt, but passed by and left them vntouched: but the Indians were all fled into the woods, and other places, we know not whither. We marched vntil it was night ouer such high mountaines, as we neuer saw the like, and such a way as one man could scarse passe alone. Our general being in the forward, at length came whereas a riuer descended downe ouer the mountaines, and there we lodged all that night. Here in going this way, we found the Spanish gouernors confession to be true: for they had baricadoed the way in diuers places with trees, and other things in such sort, that we were driuen to cut our way through the woods by Carpenters, which we caried with vs for that purpose. The next day being the 29 of May early in the morning we set forward to recouer the tops of the mountaines: but (God knoweth) they were so extreeme high and so steep-vpright, that many of our souldiers fainted by the way: and when the officers came vnto them, and first entreated them to goe, they answered, they could goe no further. Then they thought to make them goe by compulsion, but all was in vaine: they would goe a little and then lie downe, and bid them kill them, if they would, for they could not nor would not goe any further. Whereby they were enforced to depart, and to leaue them there lying on the ground. To be short, at length with much ado we gat the top of the mountaines about noone: there we made a stand til all the company was come vp, and would haue stayed longer to haue refreshed our men: but the fogge and raine fell so fast, that wee durst not stay. So wee made hast to descend towards the towne out of the fogge and raine: because that in these high mountaines by report of the Spaniards themselues, it doeth almost continually raine. Assoone as we were descended downe neere halfe the way to the towne the raine ceased, and going downe a little further, on the toppe of a hill we saw the towne not farre distant from vs. Here we all cleared our muskets: and when our colours came in sight, we discharged a second volee of shot to the great discouragement of the enemie. Thus we marched on a round pace. The enemie was in readinesse a little without the towne to encounter vs on horsebacke. Being nowe fully descended from the mountaines wee came into a faire plaine champion fielde, without either hedge, bush or ditch, sauing certaine trenches which the water had made, as it descendeth from the mountaines. Here we set our selues in a readinesse, supposing the enemie would haue encountered vs: but hauing pitched our maine battell, and marching forward a good round pace, captaine Beling, and captaine Roberts tooke ech of them some loose shoot, and marched in all hast toward the enemie before the maine battel, wherein was our generall with cap. Sommer and came to skirmish with them: but it was soone ended: for the enemie fled. One Spaniard was slaine in this skirmish, and not any one of our companies touched either with piece or arrow, God be thanked. We soone marched into the towne, and had it without any more resistance: but there we found not the wealth that we expected: for they had conueyed all into the mountaines, except such goods as they could not easily cary, as wine, and iron, and such things. By three of the clocke in the afternoone the 29 of May, we entred the citie. Here we remained vntil the 3 of Iune without anie great disturbance, sauing sometime by night they would come on horsebacke hard vnto our Corps du guard, and finding vs vigilant, and ready for them, would depart againe.

The Citie of S. Iago de Leon taken the 29. of May.

The first of Iune, there came a Spaniard neere vnto vs alone: the Corps du guard perceiuing him, called our General, who soone came towards him: but before he approched, the Spaniard made signes that he should lay aside his armes: which he refused to doe, but promised as he was a souldier, if he would come, hee should haue free passage. Vpon which promise hee came to him on horse-back, and our General brought him within the towne, and there communed with him. Who demanded what he ment to do with the towne: he answered that he meant to remaine there and keepe it; or if he did depart from it he would burne it. The Spaniard then demanded, what the ransome of it should be. Our General required 30000 ducats. Whereunto he replied that it was very much. So hauing had some other conference together, hee shewed him that hee had bene a souldier in Flanders a long time, and now was sent thither by his kings commandment.

Among other things our General demanded of him, what the reason was they had not walled the citie, being so faire a thing as that was. The Spaniard replied, that hee thought it to bee stronger walled than anie citie in the world, meaning by those huge and high mountains which the enemie must passe ouer before he can approach it; which we found very true. Thus with many other faire speeches, he tooke his leaue for that day, and told our Generall, that he would go speake with the gouernour: (but it might be himselfe, for any thing we know) howbeit because our General had granted him free comming and going, he suffered him to depart: who before his departure, requested to haue a token of our General, that he might shew to the Gouernour how he had spoken with vs, or else he doubted, that he would not beleeue him. Wherupon our General gaue him a piece of 12 pence: so he departed and promised the next day by ten of the clocke to returne vnto vs with an answere: in which meane time nothing befel. The next day being the 2 of Iune, at his houre appointed, he returned w^t^ his Indian running by his horses side. So he was brought to the Generall, and there remained till after dinner, and dined in his company in the gouernours house that was. The dinner ended, with the best entertainment which could be giuen him, they communed again about the ransome of the citie. Our General proposed his old demand of 30000 ducats. The Spaniard first proffered him 2000, then 3000, last of all 4000, and more he would not giue. Our General counting it a small summe of money among so many, did vtterly refuse it. So the Spaniard departed. But before his departure our general told him, that if he came not to him again before the next day noone, with the ransome which he demanded he would set all on fire. That whole day past, and the night also without any thing of moment, except some shew of assault, by their approching towards our Corps du guard, and retiring backe again. The 3 day being come, in the morning some of our company went forth, a league or more from the towne, and some two leagues and more vnto certaine villages thereabout, and set them on fire: but the enemy neuer came to resist them, so they returned backe againe safe into the towne, and brought certaine Indian prisoners with them, among whom there was one which spake broken Spanish, which being examined, confessed vnto vs of his own accord, how the General had sent

Certain villages about Sant Iago fired.

to the other towns thereabout for aide, and that he thought they would be there with him that day. When we vnderstood this, we grew into some distrust of the Spaniards trechery, and thought vpon the messenger, how he had vsed long delayes with vs: whereupon we were commanded presently, euery man to make ready to depart, and to fire the citie: which forthwith was done. And after we had seene it all on fire, and burnt to ashes, we tooke our leaues and so departed, and marched away that day being the 3 of Iune, not that way we came, but by the great beaten way. And when we had marched halfe the way towards the waters side, we came vnto that strong baricado which they had made, and there lay all that night. Here we found the Spanish captaines word to be true which we tooke at the fort by the waters side: for this baricado was oi such force, that 100 men in it wel furnished, would haue kept backe from passing that way 100000: first by reason of the huge and high mountaines, next the steepenes of them, on both sides, last of all in regard of the fine contriuing of it with the large trenches, and other munitions, which I cease to recite. The fourth day of Iune in the morning wee departed from thence: but before our departure, wee ouerthrew on the one side of the steepe hill two bases of yron, which we found there planted by the enemie, and so set forward toward our ships, and by 12 of the clocke came to the waters side, and there remayned in the fort which wee had taken before, vntill the fift day at night: in which time we laded some small quantity of hides, and Salsa-perilla, which we found there at our first landing. So the fift day at night we departed from thence, to goe to a towne called Coro: but before we departed, wee set fire in the fort, and all the Indians houses that were about it, and burnt them. Then we set sayle, and standing along the coast, our Spanish guide signified vnto vs, that there were foure sayles of ships about fiue leagues from thence, in a place called Checherebiche, and Caio, and Maio. So the 6 day in the morning we were thwart of the place, and there our generall sent away his long boate with captaine Sommers, vnto those places, where they found 3 of the ships: but the Spaniards had conueyed their sailes ashore into the woodes, so that they could not bring them off, but set fire in them and burnt them. From hence we stood along the shore, sailing vntill the ninth day

The citie of S. Iago burned.

A fort and certain Indians houses by the waters side burnt.

Three Spanish ships burnt.

of Iune, on which day toward the euening we imbarked ourselues in our pinnesses and small carauels, to land at Coros: but we had none that knew the place certainely: wherefore we ankored that night some two leagues to the Eastward of it, and in the morning I went on land, and nine more with me, to see if we could discouer the towne, but we could not, wee went aboue a league vp into the countrey, but could not see any village or towne. So returning backe, wee met our Generall, with diuers others which came ashore with him, with whom we marched into the countrey againe, but could see nothing, and so returned. At the water side captaine Prowse died. There we remained all that day on land, by reason the wind blew so much that wee could not get aboord vntill the euening. After our comming aboord a boat which we sent into the bay, returned and brought vs newes, that there rode a barke within the bay, and by all likelyhood the towne should be there. So presently our Generall went into the bay with the Derling and some of the small carauels. The tenth day in the morning, the rest of our shipping came into the bay, and our men landed the same day, about 10 or 11 of the clocke in the night, and so marched on toward the towne: but in the way they had made baricados, and kept them very strongly. Notwithstanding the courage of our men was such, as that they feared nothing, and forced them to leaue their forces, and flie. Hauing wonne this baricado they there remained vntill the next day being the 11 of Iune, and then early in the morning they marched on towards the towne, where by the way, the enemie often times came to skirmish with them, but alwayes fled. In fine they wan the towne without any great losse of men, God be thanked. Hauing gotten the town, they found nothing in it at all; for they had intelligence from Sant Iago, how wee had vsed them before, which caused them to conuey all their goods into the mountaines and woods: finding nothing in it, our Generall caused it to be set on fire, thinking it not good to remaine there, but to returne againe, backe to the ships: and the greatest cause was by reason of the departure of captaine Sommers: who the day before in a most furious tempest, being in the pinnesse, with some 50 men at anker, had his cables broken and lost all his ankers, and so was faine to put to sea to saue himselfe, otherwise they had bene in danger of perishing.

A baricado woon.

The towne of Coros taken and burnt.

Thus our General and his company, returned backe againe the twelfth day and imbarked themselues, and departed away with all speede to seeke captaine Sommers. The 13 toward night, hee came where captaine Sommers was, and found him riding, but not by anie ankers, but by two bases, which they had made for to stay their barke by: at which meeting the company was very glad. Then they determined to go into a mighty great bay, to a towne called Laguna: but the bay was so deepe and should withall, that we returned backe againe, after wee had stood in two daies and a night. So we sayled ouer toward the Isle of Hispaniola the sixteenth of Iune: and the twentieth day we saw it. The 21 we ankored vnder Cape Tiburon. Here we watered, and stayed vntill the 25 of the same. After our departure out of the bay of Laguna, a great sicknes fell among our fleete, and there died about eighty men of the same. This sicknesse was the fluxe of the bellie, which is a common disease in that countrey. We remayned about this Island vntill the eight and twentieth of this moneth. Then we departed from thence, and the second of Iuly arriued at the Island of Iamaica. Before our comming hither, the three ships of Hampton had forsaken vs, and left our company. And the Derling wherein was captaine Iones, was sent to discouer some other secret matter, in which discouery the valiant gentleman ended his life. So our whole fleete was now but our generall, with captaine Sommers, and a small pinnesse. We stayed at this Isle of Iamaica vntil the sixt of Iuly, in which meane time we landed to see if we could kill any beeues, but we could not, they were so wild: here is great store of them, and great plenty of fresh-fish. We departed hence the 6 of Iuly, and passed by the Islands, called Caimanes, and the Isle de Pinos, and the 12 of the said moneth by Cape de Corrientes where we watered, and the same night, wee set saile towards the cape of S. Anthony, being the westermost part of the Isle of Cuba. The 13 day in the morning we were vnder this cape, and the same day we met with the honourable knight, Sir Walter Ralegh, returning from his paineful and happie discouery of Guiana, and his surprise of the Isle of Trinidad. So with glad hearts, wee kept him and his fleete of three ships company till the twentieth day at night, what time we lost them. In all which time nothing of moment fell out, saue that we gaue chase to a couple of frigats, but could not fetch them.

The death of captaine Iones.

Afterward we plyed to recouer Hauana, vntill the fiue and twentieth of Iuly: then we set our course for the head of the Martyrs, the 27 we were in sight of them. The 28 we entred the gulfe of Bahama: then we set our course homeward toward Newfoundland, but we could not fetch it, but were on the Banke, and tooke fish there the 20 day of August. The same night we set saile to come home, by reason the wind was contrary to goe in with Newfoundland. So the tenth day of September, we arriued in safety (God be thanked) in Milford hauen in Wales, hauing performed so long a voyage in the space of sixe moneths, or somewhat lesse.

The voyage truely discoursed, made by sir Francis Drake, and sir Iohn Hawkins, chiefly pretended for some speciall seruice on the Islands and maine of the West Indies, with sixe of the Queenes ships, and 21 other shippes, and barkes, containing 2500 men and boyes, in the yeere 1595. In which voyage both the foresayd knights died by sicknesse.

Wee brake ground out of the sound of Plimmouth on Thursday the 28 of August, and that night ankored againe in Causon* bay, where we rode till Friday. Then we set sayle and stoode Southwest: and about three of the clocke the next morning the Hope, wherein sir Thomas Baskeruil went, strake vpon the Edy stone, and shot off a piece, but after cleared herselfe wel enough.

On Munday at sixe of the clocke in the morning the landes end bare Northwest and by North, and then we stoode away Southwest and by South for the coast of Spaine.

The 8 of September we tooke two small Flemish flieboats bound for Barbary: which we caried a while with vs and afterward dismissed them without doing them any harme: onely wee learned newes of them, and stayed them from discrying our fleete to the enemie.

The 26 we saw Forteuentura, being one of the Islands of the Canaries.

The 27 being Saturday by breake of day we had ouer-shot the chiefe towne of Grand Canaria to the Northeast, and then stood about for it againe, and by nine of the clocke were at anker fayre before the fort to the Eastward of the towne some league. At one of the clocke wee offred to land one thousand and foure hundreth men in the sandie bay betwixt the fort and the towne: But by our detracting of the time they had made a bulwarke in the sandie bay and planted Ordinance: so that by reason thereof, and the great breach of the sea that went then on shore we were not able to land without endangering our whole forces, which our General would not doe. There were of Spaniards horsemen and footmen some 900, which played vpon vs out of their trenches, most of them being shot. At the time of our landing there went by commandement of our Generals within musket shot of the shore, and rode there at ankor some three hours, the Salomon, the Bonauenture, the Elizabeth Constance, the Phenix, the Iuell, the Little Iohn, the Delight, the Pegasus, the Exchange, the Francis, the carauell, and the two catches: But when the Generall sir Francis Drake gaue ouer the landing being in his barge, the ships weighed being in some danger, and stoode off againe to the great ships. Then we went to the West end of the Island and there watered: where captaine Grimston going vp the hill with 6 or 7 in his company was set vpon by the herdmen, who with their dogs and staues killed the captaine with three or foure of his company: the rest were sore wounded: the Salomons Chirurgian taken prisoner, who disclosed our pretended voyage as much as in him lay: so as the Viceroy sent a carauel of aduiso into the Indies, vnto all such places as wee did pretend to goe to. Howbeit they had intelligence from the king of all our voyage the eight of August, which was three weekes before we set foorth of England: as also by a Fleming that had seene all our prouision at London.

---

* Causand Bay, near Torquay.

The 28. being Sunday at ten of the clocke at night wee set saile, and stood away Southwest and Southsouthwest some 200. leagues, vntill we came in the height of the Islands of Cape Verde, and then more Westerly for Martinino, one of the Islands of the West Indies, which we saw the 27 of October: but the night before we had a storme, in which sir Francis with foure or fiue other ships bearing on head of the fleete was separated. Then we stood for Dominica, an Island full of inhabitants of the race of the Canibals, not past ten leagues distant from Martinino. In it groweth great store of Tabacco: where most of our English and French men barter kniues, hatchets, sawes, and such like yron tooles in trucke of Tabacco.

Before we came to Dominica our Generall Sir Francis Drake altered his course, and went for Marigalante, which we had sight of the 28 day, and came to an anker on the Northeast side a saker shot off the shore in 13 fathomes water faire sholding. There the Generall went on shore in his barge, and by chance met a Canoa of Dominicans, to the people whereof he gaue a yellow wastcoate of flanell and an handkerchiefe; and they gaue him such fruits as they had, and the Dominicanes rowed to Dominica againe. They came thither to fetch some fruits which they sowe and plant in diuers places of that Island, which they keepe like gardens.

The next morning by breake of day we weyed and stoode betweene the Todos Santos, which are 4 or 5 little Islands betweene Guadalupe and Dominica. There is nothing vpon these Islands but wood. We came to the Southeast side of Guadalupe and there ankered hard aboord the shore: the Southwest side of the Island is deepe water and good ankorage: where that day sir Iohn Hawkins came to vs againe standing vp from the South side of Dominica. There we watered, washed our ships, set vp our pinnesses, and refreshed our souldiers on shore.

The 30 captaine Wignol in the Francis, a barke of 35 tunnes, being the sternmost of sir Iohn Hawkins fleete was chased by fiue of the king of Spaines frigats or Zabras being ships of 200 tunnes a piece, which came of purpose with 3. other Zabras for the treasure of S. Iuan de Puerto rico: The Francis going roome with them, supposing they had bene our owne fleete, was by them taken in sight of our carauel. They left the Francis driuing in the sea with 3 or 4 hurt and sicke men, and tooke the rest of our men into their ships, as the prisoners which wee tooke at S. Iuan de Puerto rico told vs.

The 4 of Nouember we began to vnlade the Richard, one of our victuallers, which was by the next day vnladen, vnrigged and then sunken. Then we stood Northwest and by North: and the next morning saw the Ilands of Monserrata, Redonda, Estazia, S. Christopher and Saba. The biggest of these Islands is not past 8. leagues long. There is good ankorage in 8, 7, and 5 fadomes water, faire white sand. Then wee stood away Southwest, and on the 8 in the morning being Saturday came to an anker some 7 or 8 leagues off within certain broken Ilands called Las Virgines, which haue bene accounted dangerous: but we found there a very good rode, had it bene for a 1000 sails of ships in 14, 12, and 8 fadomes faire sand and good ankorage, high Islands on either side, but no fresh water that we could find: here is much fish to be taken with hookes and nets: also we stayed on shore and fowled. Here sir Iohn Hawkins was extreme sicke; which his sicknes began vpon newes of the taking of the Francis. The 18 day wee weyed and stoode North and by East into a lesser sound, which sir Francis in his barge discouered the night before, and ankored in 13 fadoms, hauing hie steepe hils on either side, some league distant from our first riding.

The 12 in the morning we weied and set sayle into the sea due South through a small streit but without danger, and then stode West and by North for S. Iuan de Puerto rico, and in the after noone left the 3 small Islands called the passages to the Southward of vs, and that night came vp to the Eastermost end of S. Iohn, where sir Iohn Hawkins departed this life: vpon whose decease sir Thomas Baskeruil presently went into the Garland. At 2 of the clocke we came to anker at the estermost side of the chiefe towne called Puerto rico in a sandie bay 2 miles off: where we receiued from their forts and places where they planted Ordinance some 28 great shot, the last of which strake the admirall through the mizen, and the last but one strake through her quarter into the sterage, the Generall being there at supper, and strake the stoole from vnder him, but hurt him not, but hurt at the same table sir Nicholas Clifford, M. Browne, captaine Stratford, with one or two more. Sir Nicholas and master Browne died of their hurts.

The death of sir Iohn Hawkins.

Then wee set sayle and stood to the Eastward, and at midnight tacked about to the West, and in the morning came to an anker before the point without the towne, a little to the Westwards by the 3 Islands.

The 13 we rode still vntill night, when in the beginning with twenty fiue pinnesses, boats and shallops manned and furnished with fire-workes and small shot wee went into the rode within the great castels, and in despite of them fired the fiue Zabras of frigats, all ships of two hundreth tunnes the piece or more, quite burning the Kereadmirall downe to the water, which was the greatest shippe of them all, and also mightily spoiled the admirall and viceadmirall, notwithstanding the castles and ships gaue vs a hundreth eighty and fiue great shot, besides small shot abundance. They had also sunke a great shippe in the mouth of the chanell

The fight at S. Iuan de Puerto rico.

and rafted it ouer with her mastes almost to the very fortes and castles, so as they thought it impregnable. The frigats had in each of them twenty pieces of brasse, and a hundreth barrels of powder. Their chiefe lading that they brought thither was silke, oyle, and wine. The treasure which they went to fetch which was brought thither in a ship called the Vigonia, was conueyed into the strongest and surest castell of defence; being, as one of the prisoners confessed, three millions of ducats or fiue and thirty tunnes of siluer. Also they had sent all the women, children, and vnable persons into the woods, and left none but souldiers and fighting men in the towne. The fight on our side was resolute, hote, and dangerous: wherein wee lost some forty or fifty men, and so many were hurt. There was also great death of the Spaniards aboord the frigats, with burning, drowning, and killing, and besides some taken prisoners.

The 14 we rode stil, being within shot of the vttermost castell: but they fearing the next night we would come in againe, began to warpe vp the other 4 frigats, beginning first with the Admirall: which whether by chance or their owne willes we sawe to sinke; and as wee suppose so did they with all the rest, or else by stealth got vp farther within their chiefest forces.

The 15 also we rode still, and at afternoone wee espied a carauell comming from the castell point: but before our pinnesses could fetch her vp, she ranne on shore, where our boates could not come at her because of the breach, and also many of the Ilanders came downe to guard her with shot. The beginning of this night we weyed, and stoode one houre to the East, and then tacked about to the West.

The 16 being Sunday, and the 17 also we were becalmed.

The 18 we ankered a little to the Southward of the Southwest point of the Island, giuing the point a birth because of a shoald of sand that lieth some two cables length off, there we rode in foure, fiue, and sixe fadomes faire white sand, where wee set vp more pinnesses, washed our ships, and refreshed our men on shore. Here the Generall tooke a pinnesse of Hispaniola with diuers letters, signifying that two Englishmen of warre had done great hurt along their Island.

The 20 the Generall rowed to the Phenix, the Delight and the carauell, and caused them to wey and anker right against the mouth of a fresh riuer in two fadomes water in ozie sand to the Southward of the other ships some league or more. The

Generall went into this riuer three or foure leagues vp, and tooke horses in the countrey. Sir Thomas Baskeruil rowed vp the riuer, and stayed there all night, and went vp into the land three or foure leagues.

The 23 wee discharged a barke called the Pulpit and burnt her: and at three of the clocke that afternoone, when we were ready to set saile, there came aboord the Defiance our Admiral, a Spaniard with his wife, who feared some great torment for not hauing repaired to the towne according to the Generals commandement of that Island, who had commanded that all able men of the fleete should repaire to the towne to defend it against vs. Then we stood againe West and by North because of a ledge of rocks that lie sunke 4 or 5 leagues off the Southside of the Island.

The 25 we stood away southwest, and saw Mona being a lowe flat Island betweene Hispaniola and S. Iuan de Puerto rico. That day the Exchange of captaine Winter spent her boultsprite: and in the beginning of the night the Phenix was sent backe to seeke her: which by Gods help that night met with her, and kept her company vntil the next morning, then taking in a small cable from her for a towe: but by 9 that morning she spent her maine mast and split her foreyard, breaking also her tow: so as they were faine to saue some trifles out of her and the men, and to sinke the hull. Then we stood away South, and South and by West after the fleete: and the 26 in the morning had sight of the fleete againe.

The 29 we had sight of the Island called Curaçao within eight leagues of the maine, and on the Northwest side came to an anker in very deepe water hard aboord the shore without any danger: but the Generall weyed presently and stoode away Northwest and by West, and Northnorthwest for the maine, and that night saw Aruba, being somewhat a lesse Island then the other: we left it some three leagues to the Southward of vs.

On Sunday morning being the last of Nouember wee saw three or foure little Islands called the Monjes, betwixt Aruba and the next North point of the maine. At 12 of the clocke we sawe the maine, where we saw a great current setting to the Westward, and also the water changing very white. The Phenix, the carauell, and one of the catches kept within, and at midnight came vnder Cape de la Vela, and made a fire, whereby the rest of our fleete came to anker vnder the Cape, where is a very good rode, faire sholding and sandie ground, fourteene, twelue, and tenne fadoms neere the shore. The Cape is a bare land without trees or shrubs, and falleth in eight or ten leagues Southeast and Northwest: and a saker shot off the point standeth a little Island like Mewestone neere Plimmouth, but somewhat bigger. In the morning the first of December wee imbarked all our souldiers for Rio de la Hacha, which is a towne twenty leagues to the Westwards, one of the ancientest in all the maine although not very bigge: but it standeth in a most fertile and pleasant soyle. Our men tooke it by ten of the clocke in the night. The ships bearing all that night and the day before in 5 and 6 fadomes, the lesser ships in two fadomes and an halfe water: the Phenix went so neere the shore by the Generals commandement, that shee strake on ground, but got off againe. There lieth to the Eastward of the towne a mile or thereabout a shold of sand: therefore giue a birth some halfe league or more before you come right against the town. There wee came to anker in two fadomes, but the great ships rode off in fiue and sixe fadomes. There is a fresh riuer about a bow shot to the Eastward of the towne; whereinto our pinnesses could scarce enter by reason of a barre of sand in the riuers mouth, but within it is nauigable for barkes of twenty or thirty tunnes some sixe or eight leagues vp.

Rio de la Hacha taken.

The sixth day the Spaniards came in to talke about the ransome of the towne, but not to the Generall his liking: and that night Sir Thomas Baskeruil marched vp into the countrey to ouerrunne those parts: and the Generall the same night with some hundreth and fiftie men went by water sixe leagues to the Eastward, and tooke the Rancheria a fisher towne, where they drag for pearle. The people all fled except some sixteene or twenty souldiers, which fought a little, but some were taken prisoners, besides many Negros, with some store of pearles and other pillage. In the houses we refreshed ourselues, and were all imbarked to come away, and then had sight of a brigandine or a dredger, which the Generall tooke within one houres chase with his two barges: she had in her Indie-wheat, which we call Maiz, and some siluer and pearle, but of small value.

La Rancheria taken.

On Saturday the seuenth, master Yorke captaine of the Hope dyed of sicknes, and then master Thomas Drake the Generals brother was made captaine of the Hope, and master Ionas

Bodenham captaine of the Aduenture, and master Charles Cæsar captaine of the Amitie.

The tenth day the Spaniards concluded for the ransome of the towne for 24000 ducats, and one prisoner promised to pay for his ransome 4000 ducats.

The fourteenth day they brought in the townes ransome in pearles, but rated so dear as the Generall after conference with them, misliking it, sent it backe againe, giuing them foure houres respite to cleere themselues with their treasure.

The sixteenth the gouernour came into the towne about dinner, and vpon conferenc with the Generall told him plainely, that he cared not for the towne, neither would he ransome it: and that the pearle was brought in without his command or consent, and that his detracting of time so long was onely to send the other townes word, that were not of force to withstand vs, whereby they might conuey all their goods, cattell, and wealth into the woods out of danger. So the General gaue the gouernour leaue to depart according to promise, hauing two houres to withdraw himselfe in safety.

The seuenteenth Sir Thomas Baskeruil with the Elizabeth Constance, the Phenix, the carauel with foure or fiue pinnesses went some fiue leagues to the Westward, and landing, marched some foure leagues vp into the countrey to a place called Tapia, which he tooke and burned certain villages and ferme houses about it. He had some resistance as he passed ouer a riuer, but had but one man hurt, which he brought aboord aliue with him: he marched one league farther and burnt a village called Sallamca, and so returned with some prisoners, the souldiers hauing gotten some pillage.

The 18 the Rancheria, and the towne of Rio de la Hacha were burnt cleane downe to the ground, the Churches and a Ladies house onely excepted, which by her letters written to the Generall was preserued. That day we set sayle and fell to leeward, to meete with Sir Thomas Baskeruil.

The 19 we weighed and stood to leeward for Cape de Aguja, which the twentieth at sunne rising we saw. It is a Cape subiect much to flawes, by reason it is a very hie land: and within the cape lieth an Island within the mouth of the sound, which hath a white cliffe or spot in the Westnorthwest part of the Island. The land all about the cape riseth all in homocks or broken steepie hils. A league Southwest within that, (for so falleth the land thereabout) there standeth on the top of a cliffe a watch-house: and a little within that a small Island: you may goe in betweene the maine and it, or to leeward if you lust: and hard within that is the rode and towne of Santa Martha which at 11 of the clocke we tooke, the people all being fled except a few Spaniards, Negros and Indians which in a brauado at our landing gaue vs some 30 or 40 shot, and so ran away.

Santa Martha taken.

That night their Lieutenant generall was taken and some little pillage brought in out of the woods: for in the town nothing was left but the houses swept clean. In all the main is not a richer place for gold: for the hops were mixt with the earth in euery place, and also in the sand a little to the leewards of the towne. In the bay wee had a bad rode by reason of a small moone, for euery small moone maketh foule weather all the maine along.

The 21, the Generall caused the towne to be burnt, and all the ships to wey, and stood out, many of the souldiers being imbarked where the Generall had appointed, in the small ships which rode neerest the shore. We lost that night the company of the Phenix, captaine Austin, Peter Lemond, and the Garlands pinnesse, which stood along the shore, and being chased off by gallies out of Carthagena Peter Lemond with nine of our men was taken, the rest came safe to our fleete.

The 26 we saw the Ilands some 12 leagues to the Eastward of Nombre de Dios standing in toward the shore, but toward night we stood to the offin vntill the next day.

The 27 we came into the mouth of Nombre de Dios, and by one of the clocke tooke the towne, the people being all fled except some 100 Spaniards, which kept the Fort, and played vpon vs, hauing in the fort some 3 or 4 small pieces of ordinance, and one of them brake in discharging at vs. They gaue vs also a voley of small shot: but seeing our resolution in running vpon them they all fled and tooke the woods.

Nombre de Dios taken.

The towne was bigge, hauing large streetes, houses very hie, all built of timber, but one Church very faire and large, wrought all of timber likewise. Nothing was left in the towne of value: there was a shew in their shops of great store of marchandises that had bene there. There was a mill aboue the towne, and vpon the toppe of another hill in the woods stood a little watch-house, where we tooke twentie sowes of siluer, two barres of gold, some money in coyne, besides other pillage.

The towne was situated in a waterie soile, and subiect much to raine, very vnhealthly as any place in the Indies, hauing great store of Orenges, plantans, cassauy-roots, and such other fruits; but very dangerous to be eaten for breeding of diseases. To the eastwarde of the towne within the bay runneth out a fresh riuer of excellent good water, with houses, and all about it gardens: halfe a league from hence due East into the countrey was an Indian towne, whither as we marched a little before our comming away with an hundred men they had broken downe a bridge to hinder our passage, where they lay in ambush with some twentie or thirtie small shot, and bowes and arrowes, set vpon vs, and killed Lieutenant Iones, hurt three or foure and so fled into the woods, ranne before vs and fired their owne towne, and then fled farther into the woods: our men fired diuerse other houses in pursuing them and so returned again: our Generall with Sir Thomas being in the Riuers mouth with thirtie or fortie men filling water about some myle from vs.

An Indian towne fired.

The road of Nombre de Dios is a faire road: but on each side, as you come to ride before the towne, lyeth a ledge of rockes, but there is no danger because they are in sight. You may ride betweene them in three or foure fadome water, and without if you will in eight or ten fadomes, where neither Castle nor Fort can annoy you. The name of Nombre de Dios was greater then their strength. For they had no Castle nor Fort, but onely the little fort aforesaid standing on the top of an hill, although they might haue made it stronger if they would.

The 29 sir Thomas Baskeruil with 750 armed men, besides Chirurgians and prouand boyes, went for Panama.

The last of December the Generall burned halfe the towne, and the first of Ianuarie burnt the rest, with all the Frigats, Barks and Galiots, which were in the harbour and on the beach on shore, hauing houses built ouer them to keepe the pitch from melting.

The second of Ianuary sir Thomas returned with his souldiers both weary and hungry, hauing marched more then halfe the way to the South sea. The Spaniards played diuers times vpon vs both outward and homeward in the woods, the way being cut out of the woods and rockes both very narrow, and full of myre and water. The march was so sore as neuer Englishman marched before. Hauing marched some 10 leagues in a maruellous straite way, vpon the top of an hill, through which we must needes passe, the Spaniards had set vp a Fort and kept it with some 80 or 90 men, who played vpon vs as we came vp, before wee were aware of them, and so killed some twentie or more of vs, amongst whom was Captaine Marchant, quarter-master Generall, and Ensigne Sampson, Maurice Williams one of her Maiesties guard, besides diuerse were hurt, as M. Captaine Nicholas Baskeruil a valiant gentleman, with diuers others. Then sir Thomas had perfect knowledge that they must passe two such Forts more, if he got that, besides Panama to be very strong, the enemie knowing of our comming long before.

Also our souldiers had no victuals left, nor any meanes to get more: which considerations caused sir Thomas to returne and giue ouer his attempt. As he marched thitherward he tooke an Indian and sent him to Nombre de Dios with letters of his returne and proceeding.

The 5 we set saile at 12 of the clocke, and stood to the Westward.

The Ile of Escudo.

The 10 we saw an Iland lying Westward some 30 leagues called Escudo, where wee came to anker on the Southside in 12 fadoms water, faire sand and good ankorage. If you come into the Easterne point, giue it a birth, because of a ledge of rockes, that lyeth out there from the end of the Island: comming to anker we sawe a roader, who seeing vs, set sayle, but that night with our Pinnesses we tooke him, he had nothing in him but a little maiz. The men being examined by the Generall confessed him to be an Aduisor sent from Nombre de Dios to all the ports along the coast Westward. This Iland lyeth 9 or 10 leagues from the maine, and is not past two leagues long full of wood, and hath great store of fresh water in euery part of the Iland, and that very good. It is a sickly climat also, and giuen to much raine: here we washed our ships, and set vp the rest of our Pinnesses.

The 15 day Captaine Plat died of sicknesse, and then sir Francis Drake began to keepe his cabin, and to complaine of a scowring or fluxe.

The 23 we set saile and stood vp again for Puerto Bello, which is but 3 leagues to the Westwards of Nombre de Dios.

The death of sir Francis Drake.

The 28 at 4 of the clocke in the morning our Generall sir Francis Drake departed this life, hauing bene extremely sicke of a fluxe, which began the night before to stop on him. He vsed some speeches at or a little before his death, rising and apparelling himselfe, but being brought to bed againe within one houre died. He made his brother Thomas Drake and captaine Ionas Bodenham executors, and M. Thomas Drakes sonne his heire to all his lands, except one manor which he gaue to captaine Bodenham.

The same day we ankored at Puerto Bello, being the best harbour we found al long the maine both for great ships and small. There standeth a saker shot off the shore at the Easterne point a little Iland: and there is betwixt the maine and that 5 or 6 fadomes: but the best comming in is the open mouth betwixt that Iland and another Iland that lyeth to the westward with a range of rocks.

In Puerto Bello were but 8 or 10 houses besides a great new house which they were in building for the Gouernour that should haue bene for that place: there was also a very strong Fort all to the waters side with flankers of great trees and stones filled with earth betweene: and had not our comming disappointed their pretence, they would haue made it one of the strongest places in all the maine. There they ment to haue builded a great towne. We found there three pieces of brasse ordinance sunke in the sea, which we weighed vp, all the people were fled and their goods carried away.

Vp within this bay there was a little village but of no force, where we found a great fresh riuer, our men rowing vp some two leagues found pillage, as wine and oyle, and some small quantitie of yron. After our comming hither to anker, and the solemne buriall of our Generall sir Francis in the sea: Sir Thomas Baskeruill being aboord the Defiance, where M. Bride made a sermon, hauing to his audience all the captaines in the fleete, sir Thomas commanded all aboord the Garland, with whom he held a Councell, and there shewing his Commission was accepted for General, and captain Bodenham made captaine of the Defiance, and M. Sauill captaine of ye Aduenture.

The 27 died captaine Iosias of the Delight, and captaine Egerton a Gentleman of the Foresight, and Iames Wood chiefe chirurgion of the fleete out of the Garland.

The 28 died Abraham Kendall out of the Saker. At this place we watered againe, washed our ships and made new sailes, it being by the Generall and all the captaines agreed, that if we could by any meanes turne vp againe for Santa Martha, we should, if not, to goe directly for England. Here also we tooke in some balast as our neede required.

The 6 of Februarie the Elizabeth of M. Wattes was discharged and sunke, and that day the Pegasus iolly was going on shore for water, carying no guarde: The Spaniards perceiuing it came downe vpon them, killed two of them, and tooke 2 or 3 prisoners, and so ranne vp into the woods againe.

The seuenth the Delight and captaine Edens frigat were discharged and sunke because they were old and leaked, and the Queenes ships wanted Saylers.

That day our men being mustered we had sicke and whole 2000. And the next day we set on shore all our prisoners as Spaniards and Negros. But before at our first comming to Puerto Bello sir Thomas sent two of those Spaniards to Nombre de Dios and to Panama to fetch ransome for some of the chiefest prisoners, but they neuer returned againe. As we were setting saile there came one with a flagge of truce, and told the General that they had taken 18 of our men, and that they were well vsed adding that if he would stay 8 or 10 dayes longer they should be brought from Panama. We supposed this to haue bene but a delay to haue kept vs there while the kings forces had come about by sea, as they dayly expected. We set saile the 8 of Februarie, turning vp for Santa Martha, and the 14 day we saw the Ilands of Baru some 14 leagues to the Westward of Carthagena: The Generall that night told vs he would stand in for the towne of Baru in the bay: but that night blew so much winde and continued that small moone, that the same night we lost the Foresight, and the next day standing againe to make the land which we had made, we lost companie of the Susan Parnel, The Helpe, and the Pegasus. Then the next day we put ouer for Cape S. Antonie, and gaue ouer Santa Martha.

The 25 we saw the Iland of Grand Cayman some 30 leagues to the Nothwestward of Iamaica, being a low sandie Iland, hauing many tortoyses about it.

The 26 we saw the hie land of Cuba to the Eastward of the broken Ilands, to the East of the Iland of Pinos, and were imbayed in among those dangerous places. But perceiuing it, we stood out againe Southsoutheast and so got cleere, and then stood away West and by North for the Ile of Pinos, which we saw the first of March. It is a low land with wood and fresh water to the Western end. If you come in with the middest of it you shall see rise vp aboue the rest of the land 8 or 9 round homockes, and the Westermost hath three in one.

Being shot forth with the West end, and standing in for to water we espyed 20 sayle of ships, about one in the afternoone. This was a third part of the fleete which the king sent for Carthagena, the rest of the fleete being gone for the Honduras. They were in all 60 sailes sent onely to meete our fleete, being commanded wheresoeuer they heard we were, to come vpon vs with all their three forces. This fleete which we met withall came standing for Cape de los Corrientes, and had bene refreshed at Hauana.

As soon as they discried vs, they kept close vpon a tacke thinking to get the winde of vs: but we weathered them. And when our Admirall with all the rest of our fleet were right in the winds eye of them, sir Thomas Baskeruil putting out the Queens armes, and all the rest of our fleete their brauerie, bare roome with them, and commanded the Defiance not to shoot, but to keepe close by to second him. The Viceadmirall of the Spaniards being a greater ship than any of ours, and the best sayler in all their fleete loofed by and gaue the Concord the two first great shot, which she repayed presently againe, thus the fight began. The Bonauenture bare full with her, ringing her such a peale of ordinance and small shot withall, that he left her with torne sides. The Admirall also made no spare of powder and shot. But the Defiance in the middest of the Spanish fleete thundering of her ordinance and small shot continued the fight to the end. So that the Viceadmirall with 3 or 4 of her consorts were forced to tacke about to the Eastward, leauing their admirall and the rest of the fleete, who came not so hotly into the fight as they did. The fight continued two houres and better. At sunne set all the fleete tacked about to the Eastward, we continued our course to the Westward for cape de los Corrientes, supposing we should haue met with more of their consorts. In this conflict in the Defiance we had fiue men slaine, three Englishmen, a Greeke and a Negro. That night some halfe houre after their fleete keeping vpon their weather quarter, we saw a mightie smoke rise out of one of their great ships which stayed behind: which happened by meanes of powder as we thinke, and presently after she was all on a light fire, and so was consumed and all burnt, as we might well perceiue.

The next day being the second of March in the morning by breake of day we were hard aboord Cape de los Corrientes, which is a bare low cape, hauing a bush of trees higher then the rest some mile to the Eastward of the cape. All Cuba is full of wood on the Southside. The Spanish fleete which then were but 14, no more then we were, kept still vpon our weather quarter, but dared not to come roome with vs although our Admirall stayed for them. As soone as we had cleered our selues of the Cape 3 of their best saylers came roome with the Salomon, which was so neere the land that she could not double the Cape, but tacked about to the Eastward, and so was both a sterne and also to leeward of all our fleete. But when we saw the Spaniards working, the Defiance tacked about to rescue her: which the Spaniards seeing, and hauing not forgotten the fight which she made the night before, they loofed vp into the middest of their fleete againe, and then all the fleete stayed vntill the Salomon came vp: and so stood along for Cape S. Antonio, which wee came in sight of by two in the afternoone, being a low cape also, and to the Southwest a white sandie bay where 3 or 4 ships may very well water. There is a good road for North and Easterly windes: there the Spaniardes began to fall a sterne. That night wee stood away a glasse or two Northwest, and Northnorthwest, and Northeast, and in the morning-watch South, and in the morning had sight of Cuba about the East part of the Organes, which are dangerous rocks lying 8 leagues off vpon the North part of Cuba, presently assoone as you passe Cape S. Anthonie: then we stood to the Eastward of the land, the winde at Southsouthwest, and at 6 at night had foule weather but after were becalmed all night. The 5 the winde came scant. The 7. we sawe a hie land like a crowne, which appeareth so 13 or 14 leagues to the Westward of Hauana, and another place in Cuba called the table, 8 leagues to the Eastward of the crowne. The land ouer Hauana maketh two small mountaines like a womans breasts or paps. Here we found no great current vntill we came to the Gulfe of Bahama.

The 10 we saw the Cape of Florida being but a reasonable low land and broken Ilands to the Southward of the Cape. And at two in the afternoone we lost sight of the land 12 leagues to the Northward of the Cape. After we had disemboqued, we stood West till midnight, and were in 28 degrees, and then stood Northeast till the 13 at night, when we were in 31 degrees. And after the wind scanted with a great storme, in which we lost the Bonauenture, and the Little Iohn, they bearing on head. Then we stood with our larbord tacked Eastsoutheast.

The 19 we were in 29 degrees our course Eastnortheast. The 21 we had a great stormie gale of winde and much raine but large. And then all the rest of our fleete fell asterne except the Hope, which bare a head: so that there kept no more with the Admirall, but the Defiance, the Aduenture, and the Phenix.

The 28 we were in 39 degrees, and stood away for Flores, which the 8 of April we saw, and the 9 came to an anker on the Southside, where we watered because the Defiance when we came in had but two buts of water. We bartered with the Portugals for some fresh victuals, and set here on shore at our comming away out of the Admirall our two Portugall Pilots; which sir Francis Drake caried out of England with him.

The 10 being Easter-eue at night we set saile the winde seruing vs to lie some slent in our course. That night and Easter day we had much raine: the winde came vp at Northeast, wee beate it vp some 30 leagues to the Eastward, and then about to the West, and so againe to the East, and tryed, and the next boord to the West. On Thursday towards night, being the 16 wee had sight of Coruo againe, wee tryed all that night: and on Friday towards night we came to an anker to the Westward of the point of Santa Cruz vnder Flores: but before midnight we draue, and set saile the next day standing away northeast. About three of the clocke in the afternoone the winde came vp againe at North. On Sunday the 19 by two of the clocke in the afternoone we had made 20 leagues an East way: and then the winde came vp a good gale at Northwest, and so Northeast with a flowne sheete we made the best way we could: but being dispersed by bad weather we arriued about the beginning of May in the West parts of England. And the last ships which came in together to Plimmouth were the Defiance, the Garland, the Aduenture, and the Phenix.

A letter sent from Hauana in Cuba from the general of the fleete Iohn de Orimo to the king of Spaine the 18 of October 1590, touching the building of certaine excellent Frigats, &c.

It may please your maiestie that at the date hereof one of the

Frigates was lanched: and three more will be ready against the fleete depart from hence. They are very bigge and excellent of sayle, which will carie 150 men a piece with souldiers and mariners, And hauing good ordinance, there are fewe or none of our enemies that can offend vs. For wee shall both leaue and take at all times when we list. But it behooueth your maiestie to send both souldiers and mariners to man the Frigats. For we haue great want of souldiers and mariners, with tackling, ankers, powder, shot, caliuers, and all kinde of furniture for them. For these things are not here to bee had for money: and likewise to send some great ordinance for the Zabras. For the merchants ships are so weake and so vnprouided, that they haue almost none to defend themselues. Also we shall be constrained to giue the carena againe vnto al the ships; for they are very weake by reason of the long voyage: and the mariners and souldiers are wearie with their long trauelling and keeping of them here. Thus if it would please your maiestie to command with all expedition that these souldiers and mariners with all kinde of other furniture might be sent vs, then the fleete may set forward and so proceede on their voyage. God preserue your Catholike royal maiestie. From Hauana the 20 of October 1590.

Your maiesties seruant, whose royall feet I kisse.
IOHN DE ORIMO General of your Fleete.

A Letter sent from the Gouernour of Hauana Iohn de Trexeda, to the King of Spaine, the twentieth of October 1590, touching the wants of that place.

The newe fortification in Hauana.

BY three shippes which departed from this Harbout since the Fleetes arriuall here, I haue giuen your maiestie at large to vnderstand, what hath happened as much as I can, and what thing is here to be done in this citie, and what your maiestie must prouide. And now once againe I will returne to put your maiestie in minde thereof. I beseech your maiestie to command to be prouided and to be sent hither two hundred Negros, if you will haue this fortification to goe forwardes: because your maiestie is here at great charges with the master workeman and the Officers. And for want of Pioners the worke goeth not forwardes. For as the worke goeth dayly forward and increaseth farther and farther, so we want men to worke, and to garde it, and likewise to keep it. We dare no meddle with those of the Galies. And likewise it may please your maiestie to send new working tooles of yron, according to a remembrance which I haue sent to your maiestie of late, which doeth signifie our wants more at large.

Souldiers sent to Hauana.

A fort vpon an hill.

Likewise it is needeful that your maiestie should send powder and match to furnish these forts. And likewise to send money to pay those souldiers which are newly come hither, and for that companie of souldiers which were sent from Mexico to this place. For it behooueth your maiestie not to haue them as yet left, till such time as the defences about the forts bee finished, and that which is in building vpon the hill, which will be ended very shortly if you send the Negros and yron tooles.

Fiue Frigats made at Hauana. Iohn de Orimo General of the fleete.

The excellency of the great Frygates built in Cuba.

Likewise I haue certified your maiestie, that with all speed I am making ready of the fiue Frigates, that they may cary all the treasure. Also Iohn de Orimo seeing that it is of so great importance to haue them dispatched, doeth furnish mee with some money, although somewhat scantly, vntill such time as your maiestie doth send him some order therefore. I beseech you to command it to bee done ; considering the great charges and expences that we are at here, as by the accounts your Maiestie shall more at large perceiue, what hath bene spent. These Frigats will be made an end of without all doubt by the moneth of Februarie : but as yet their tackling and sayles are not here arriued : but I doe stay the comming thereof euery day, according as the Duke of Medina and Iohn de Ibarra haue written vnto me, that those ships which should bring the same were ready to depart from thence. All these things it behooueth your Maiestie to send in time : for I can assure your Maiestie that you shall not haue vpon the sea such good shippes as these are. For as touching the other ships of the fleete, which are in this harbour, it is not conuenient to venture the siluer in them. This counsell your Maiestie shall not take of mee, for I am a souldier, and haue but small skill in nauigation. But euery day it is tolde me openly and in secret by many of the pilots, captaines, masters and mariners.

As touching the copper, I haue put it in practise twise more, Copper mines newly found in Cuba.

and haue made proofe thereof: wherein there hath bene more spent, then I was willing there should haue bene, because I haue gotten no fruit thereof: I know not the cause, but that it is not done effectually by those that haue the working thereof. Therefore I beseech your Maiestie to send me that same founder which I wrote to your Maiestie heretofore of. Our Lord keepe your Maiestie many yeeres. From Hauana the 20 of October, 1590.

Your Maiesties seruant, whose royall feete I kisse,
IOHN DE TREXEDA gouernour of Hauana.

A letter sent to Don Petro de Xibar one of his Maiesties priuie Counsel of the West Indies, from Don Diego Mendez de Valdes Gouernour of S. Iuan de Puerto Rico the 20 of Nouember 1590, touching the state of that Citie and Island.

I Receiued your honours letter the 20 of Februarie, whereby I receiued great content, to heare that your honour is in good health. As touching the imprisonment of our cousin Don Pedro de Valdes, it doeth grieue me to the very soule. I beseech God to send him his libertie: and likewise the imprisonment of Diego Flores de Valdes grieueth me very much: I pray God to send good iustice. The M. of the fielde Iuan de Texela, and the M. workeman Iuan Baptista Antonio arriued here in safetie, and haue viewed this Citie with all the circuite round about and the situation as I haue informed his maiestie thereof. They haue marked a place to build a strong fort, whereat the countrey remaineth very well contente. And it standeth in a good situation, and in a conuenient place on a high mount which doeth lye vpon the entering in of the Harbour, and so cutteth ouer to a point of land, leauing in the Fort as much space as wil containe 3000 persons, without ioyning thereunto any part of the coast. So the M. del campo hath named the fort Cita della. He left me great store of yron work, tooles, eight workemen, and 200 Negros, which are the kings. And the Island doth finde 400 pioners which are continually at worke. His maiestie hath sent me a warrant to spend the

Pedro de Valdes, prisoner in England.

Iohn Baptista Antonio the generall Ingenour of the West Indies.

A strong fort newly builded in S. Iuan de puerto Rico.

---

* *Sic* in original. Probably intended to be "Cita bella."

prouision of the Island, and to take those rents which his maiestie hath here, and to certifie his maiestie what there is wanting for the maintaining of the workmen and that they may haue all things necessary. So I haue sent to Nueua Espanna, for such things as are here wanting. I haue written to the M. of the field, which is gone to Hauana, informing him that it doeth greatly import that the worke with all expedition should go forward, seeing that it is begun for the defence of the Island. And we doe defend it as well as we can from the enemie, in respect of the great danger which otherwise might happen, if the enemie should come and finde it begun, and not ended. And likewise that his maiestie would send me that which I do request. And the most principal thing of al is, to send more Negros. And sending me all these things which be neeedful, I trust in God I shal in short time build vp the fort, to defend vs from the enemie. The fort must be builded triangle wise: for it will reach into the bay: and we shal be able to plant in the same 40 pieces of good ordinance, Canon, Demi-cannon, and Coluerine. The M. of the field, hath promised to send me some from Hauana. For that he is determined to cast some there, by reason of the great store of copper, which now of late is found in Hauana: for here we haue as yet but small store of ordinance to defend vs. I looke for 5 Canons which his maiestie should send from Spaine, with shot and powder, and al kinde of weapons, because that here is great want in the Island. His maiestie hath sent the whole number of 200 souldiers, and in the companie there came two captaines. The corps de Guard is kept in the market place: and twise in a moneth I muster all the men in the Iland, and finde very neere 1500 fighting men, and 80 horsemen. The forte when it is ended will be the strongest that his maiestie hath in all the Indies. And now the people of the countrey sleepe in security. For commonly before, the Englishmen would come and beard vs to the hauens mouth. God keepe your honour, and send you long health. From Puerto Rico the 20 of Nouember 1590.

The Gouernour Diego Mendez de Valdes.

This fort was taken by the Earle of Cumberland, 1598.

Copper mines found neere Hauana.

200 souldiers sent to S. Iuan de Puerto Rico.

1500 fighting men in S. Iuan de Puerto Rico Island.

The boldnes of the English.

A letter to Iohn Lopez Canauate, Alderman in the towne of Canauate in Spaine written from his seruant Iuan de Porua Canauates, from Hauana the seuenteenth of October 1590, touching the state of the said place.

THis is to giue you to vnderstand, that since my departure from S. Lucar I haue written vnto you twise of my arriual here, and what successe I haue had. And nowe you shall vnderstand that I am determined to goe for Nueua Espanna. For I stay but opportunitie of time. For here is great watch dayly kept and great looking to the souldiers in keeping of them together, for running away. But neuerthelesse I hope in God, to finde some friend to convey mee away from hence. This countrey is so close and narrow, that if a man steale not away hidden in some shippe, it is not possible for him to escape, nor to goe a league out of the towne, no way but by sea. And because the harbour is so close, it is the best harbour and the surest in the world. The harbour is made in this order. The entrie in towarde the land is by a narrow streight chanel, which continueth as long as a caliuer shot, and from that place the riuer openeth broader and broader: There are in the entring in, two points which make with the lande, whereupon are newly builded two strong forts, which are fortified with very great store of ordinance: besides another strong and famous Forte which is in the Citie, so that it is impossible to take it. There are in these three Fortes, a thousand souldiers in Garison. And likewise here are two galies to keepe the coast. Yet for all this, the audacious Englishmen being without all shame are not afraid to come and dare vs at our owne doores. Our iourney to goe for England is most certaine in the yeere 1592. Here are making with great expedition 18 ships, which are called Frigats for that effect. They are very strong shippes, and will drawe but very litle water, whereby they may enter amongst the shoulds on the banckes of Flanders: they are builded the higher because here is great store of timber and excellent good and incorruptible. It is reported that the fleete will depart from hence in February, by reason that at that time the Englishmen are not departed out of their owne countrey. And thus I rest, from this

The souldiers run away from Hauana.

The boldnes of the English.

18 ships builded in Cuba against England.

Island of S. Christopher in Hauana this present day on S. Lukes euen; the 17 of October 1590.

Your Worships seruant, IOHN DE PORVA CANAVATES.

A letter from Mexico, of Sebastian Biscaino to his father Antonio Biscaino in Corchio in Spaine, touching the great profit of the trade to China, and somewhat of M. Thomas Candish Written the 20 of Iune 1590.

HAuing written to your worship by a friend of mine at large, nowe I will bee somewhat short. And this is only to giue you to vnderstand, that foure moneths past, I came from China, and landed in Acapulco, 70 leagues from Mexico, which is the harbour where the ships that goe downe to China lye: and all the marchants of Mexico bring all their Spanish commodities downe to this harbour, to ship them for that countrey. It is one of the best harbours in all Nueua Espanna; and where the ships may ride more safely without all kinde of danger. For it lyeth vnder a necke of land, and behind a great point. And in this harbour here are foure great ships of Mexico of 600 and 800 tunnes a piece, which onely serue to cary our commodities to China, and so to returne backe againe. The order is thus. From hence to China is aboue two thousand leagues farther than that from hence to Spaine. And from hence their two first ships depart at one time to China: and are 13 or 14 moneths returning backe againe. And when those two ships are returned, then the other twaine two moneths after depart from hence. They goe nowe from hence very strong with souldiers. I can certify you of one thing; That 200 ducates in Spanish commodities, and some Flemish wares which I caried with me thither, I made worth 1400 ducates there in the countrey. So I make account that with those silkes, and other commodities which I brought with me from thence to Mexico, I got 2500 ducates by he voyage: and had gotten more, if one packe of fine silkes had not bene spoiled with salt water. So as I sayd, there is great gaine to be gotten if that a man returne in safetie. But the yeere 1588 I had great mischance, comming in a ship from China to Nueua Espanna: which being laden with rich commodities, was taken by an Englishman which

Acapulco the harbour where the ships lie that goe for China.

From Acapulco, to China aboue 2000 leagues.

Flemish wares good in China.

A wonderful gaine.

M. Thomas Candish.

robbed vs and afterward burned our ship, wherein I lost a great deale of treasure and commodities.

If I should write to you of the state of this countrey of China, and of the strange things which are there, and of the wealth of the countrey, I were not able to do it, in an whole quire of paper. Onely I may certify you, that it is the goodliest countrey, and the richest, and most plentifull in all the world. For here are great store of golde mynes, siluer mynes, and pearle, great store of cotten cloth: for the countrey people weareth nothing else but fine cotten cloth, which is more accepted then silkes. For here is great store of silkes, and they are good cheape. All kinde of victuals, as bread, flesh, wines and hennes and all kindes of foules, are very plentifull. Here are great store of fresh riuers. The people are very louing. Here are very faire cities and townes with costly buildings, better then those in Spaine. And the countrey people go very richly apparelled both in silkes and gold. But here we haue order from the king of Spaine, that a Spaniard may not dwell in China aboue 3 yeres, and afterwards they must returne againe into Nueua Espanna, and other souldiers must come in their places. The countrey is very vnwholesome for vs Spaniards. For within these 20 yeres of 14000, which haue gone to the Philippinas, there are 13000 of them dead and not past 1000 of them left aliue. There is a place in China which is an harbour, called Macaran, which the king hath giuen to the Spaniards freely: which shall be the place where the ships shall come and trafficke. For in this harbour there is a great riuer which goeth vp into the maine land, vnto diuers townes and cities, which are neere to this riuer. And thus troubling you no farther I rest. From Mexico the 20 of Iune 1590.

Gold mynes, siluer mynes and Pearles, in China.

Fine linnen cloth greatly esteemed in China.

Not aboue one thousand Spaniards in the Philippinas.

Your obedient sonne, SEBASTIAN BISCAINO.

A Letter of Bartholomew Canoto Peter de Tapia in Siuill, from Mexico the 30 of May 1590, touching the state of Nueua Espanna, and the fleet of that yeere.

BEcause I haue answered your letters which I haue receiued in the last Fleet, as touching that matter I haue no more to say. The occasion of my writing vnto you at this time, is to giue you to vnderstand, that those commodities which came in the last Fleet, were sold at the first good cheape, and those that bought them, got much by them. For now at this instant white Roan cloth is solde for 8 or 9 reals a vare. The cause of this was, by reason there came a carauel of Aduise from Hauana; which brought vs newes, how the armie that his maiestie did send for England, was all spoiled and cast away: and therefore they of Spaine did write that there would come no Fleet from Spaine hither this yeere: And this is the cause that all linnen cloth is very deere in these parts. Wines also are very deere: for they are sold for 90 and 100 deminas a pipe. When the Frigats departed from hence in August last 1589. Cochinilla was sold at that instant for 50 pesos the quintall; and now it is sold for 55 pesos. And since that newes came from Spaine in a carauel of S. Lucar, that it was solde there for 72 ducates the quintall, there are laden in this Fleet 14000 Arouas of Cochinilla, and 7000 Arouas more were laden in the Frigats which departed before the Fleet. There is laden in the Fleet great quantitie of treasure, more then hath bene sent to Spaine these many yeeres, both for the Kings and the Vice-royes account. And the marchants and gentlemen of all these prouinces doe send great quantitie to supply the Kings wants: for that his maiestie hath written to the Vice-roy and to the gentlemen of these countreyes to ayde him with much money towardes the maintenance of his warres against France and other places, and therefore they haue sent good store: God send it well to Spaine. There are likewise laden aboord the Fleet to the number of 100000. hides, and great store of other kindes of this countrey commodities. So that the Fleet goeth very richly laden. Quicke siluer is here very deere, for here is almost none to bee had for any money to worke in the gold mynes: for without Quicke siluer wee cannot refine our gold. And no man vpon paine of death may bring any from Spaine hither; but all must come for the Kings account: and so the King doeth sell it here: there is exceeding great gaine therein. And thus I rest: From Mexico, the 30 of May 1590.

BARTHOLOMEW CANO.

A letter of Frier Alonso new elected Bishop of Mechuacan, to the king of Spaine, written in Peru in the citie de los Reyes the first of March 1590, touching the state of Arica a chiefe Hauen in Peru.

VPon Christmas euen the yeere 1589, I receiued your maiesties commission in Potossi. For which I am and shall be continually bound to pray for your maiesties long health, for the great benefits which your maiestie hath bestowed vpon me, in sending me to Mechuacan: whereby my great trauell and paines may be recompenced, which I haue taken with that vngrateful and desperate people of the riuer of Plate, which they haue bene the occasion of, in dealing so badly with me their Pastour, which haue counselled them, that they should haue a great care to serue God, and be dutifull to your maiestie, according as euery good and true subiect ought to do. Now for this gift which your maiestie hath bestowed on me, I most humbly kisse your maiesties handes a thousand times. Thus presently I departed from Potossi somewhat sickely, to accomplish that which your maiestie hath commanded me. So I arrriued at Lima in safetie the first of February by the way of Arica, which is an hauen towne, where they imbarke all the barres of siluer. And there I haue seene what is done, and what they haue prouided against the Englishmen in that hauen: which is; That there is a litle fort made hard by the waters side, with certaine small pieces of ordinance in the said fort to offend the enemie, if occasion should serue that they should offer to come into the harbour and offer any violence. But the principall thing of all that we want is to haue souldiers, foote men, and horsemen. For according as I am informed, here want 100 men which should keepe the coast, if they should offer to land and march vp into the countrey. And likewise the people of this countrey haue told me, that if vpon an high mount which is here in the harbour neere to the hauens mouth, on the Southside of the harbour where the sea doth beat, there were two or three great Canons planted on the top of the hill, (where very good watch is continually kept) from that place they may reach to doe the enemie great hurt, a league into the sea. The new Vice-roy Don Garcia Vrtado de Mendoça, worthy of that dignitie, is in great fauour with al those of these

100 men wanting.

realmes : for that he is a great solliciter both by sea and land in all kinde of diligence, not loosing one houre in your seruice, and that which he hath in charge. With as much speed as may be I will depart from hence to Mechuacan, to serue that church and your maiestie : and there I will remaine according to your maiesties commandement, with the bulles or indulgences. Our Lord keepe your maiesty many yeres in his holy seruice. From the city de los Reyes the first of March 1590.

Frier Alonso bishop of Mechuacan.

A letter from Don Iohn de Miramontes Suasola to Don Iohn Garcias de Penalosa from Arica on the coast of Peru the tenth of March 1590.

AFter my long trauell and badde successe, my fortune brought mee to the Indies ; where being void of all hope, and full of griefe, I am become a souldier : a thing in this countrey which is most hated of all other things, not onely of men, but of the wilde beastes : and is an occupation which is chosen of idle persons. The occasion of this is, that there haue bene in these seas, and yet are certeine English rouers : and in seeking of them I haue trauelled these three yeres : the one of the yeres a souldier, and the other two yeeres I haue gone for captaine and ensigne-bearer. And at this time here is arriued Don Garcias Vrtado de Mendoça viceroy of these realmes : who hath chosen me to be chiefe ensigne-bearer of an army which departed from hence to scoure the coast. For here we haue newes of the enemy, which is comming vpon the coast : for wee haue stayed for their comming these foure moneths the same way which they must come, in a hauen called Arica, which is the first entry of Peru. So I haue 90 pezos a moneth, besides other profits, at nine reals the pezo ; and foure shares at nine reals the pezo. So that I haue 1800 pezos euery yere of pay : for the viceroy is my dere friend, and maketh great account of me. And I haue alwayes 400 ducats in my chest to goe like a man. I beseech God to send vs quietnesse. But yet it is the part of a gentleman to serue the king his master in these actions. And thus I rest. From the harbour of Arica the tenth of March 1590.

English men in the South sea sought 3 yeres.

This was M. Chidleys fleet, whereof the Delight was in the streights of Magelan in Ianuary and Feb. 1589.

I kisse your worships hands,
and am at your commandement
Don Iohn de Miramontes Suasola.

This was M. Iohn Chidleys fleet.

There are foure great galeons of 350 tunnes a piece, which are in Arica men of warre, with a Generall, Admirall, Viceadmirall, with great store of souldiers which keepe this hauen: for the viceroy hath intelligence that there are certeine Englishmen of war comming thither. This hauen of Arica is the best harbour in all the South sea: for all the siluer which commeth from the mines of Potossi, is shipt in this harbour, and so brought to Lima. And likewise all the commodities which come from Spaine, and all the kings quick-siluer, is vnladen in this harbour, and so caried to the city of Lima and other places, where the mines of siluer are.

A letter of the Licentiate Christopher Vslano to Gonsaluo de Solana in the city of Encisa in Spaine, written from the city of Potossi in Peru the 20 of Iuly 1590, touching a great plague in Peru, and the shortnesse of the passage from the riuer of Plate into Potossi in Peru.

Famine.

THe last yeere 1588 I receiued letters from your worship and from my sister: and since that time I haue receiued none, nor in the fleet which came to Cartagena 1589. And this yere 1590 there hath bene great want of corne in this kingdome of Potossi: for that there hath beene no raine in this kingdome of long time. For in March the husbandmen vse to sowe their corne: and in Aprill Winter doth begin. And if in Aprill there be no raine, the corne which is sowen will consume away: and so for want of raine we haue had two badde yeres of corne. And likewise here hath bene in these countreys of Potossi, and in the city De la paz, great sicknesse among the Indians, Mullatos, and Mestiços, called the small pocks, and a certeine plague, which hath destoyed all this countrey. And there haue no olde people died, nor Spanyards, but onely this countrey people, from one yeere to 30 yeeres of age: so for want of Indians we can not worke in the mines. This sicknesse runneth al along the coast of Peru, and hath passed into the streights of Magallanes, whence we haue newes that those souldiers which were sent from Spain thither to build those forts are most of them dead, and especially the workemen which came to make the forts. The General Don Diego de Abolos hath written to his maiesty to send more souldiers and more workemen, whereby these three forts might be builded according to the kings commandement.

This sicknesse came first from Cartagena to this countrey, which is 1000 leagues distant: and, as I sayd, it hath gone all Peru ouer, to the vtter vndoing of this countrey: I pray God to cease it. I pray you when you write any letters to mee, send them in those shippes which come to Sainct Thomé, and take in Negros. And there are great store of ships which goe to Sainct Thomé for Negros, and it is but 15. dayes sailing ouer a gulfe to Brasill. And from Brasill their shippes bring their Negros to a hauen called The hauen of Buenos Aeres, which is within the entrance of the mightie riuer of Plate. And from this harbour all kinde of Spanish and Portugall commodities are caried to this citie of Potossi in carts and on horses: for it is but 10. or 12. dayes iourney, and the countrey is very plaine for carts to trauaile. And from Potossi to this harbour is great store of treasure brought to buy that countrey commodities, and so they are shipped for Portugall: and the ships go and come againe in short time. If his maiestie will consent that we may haue traffique from Spaine to this harbour, it will be veey profitable: and in fiue or sixe moneths I shall heare from you, and you shall doe the like from me. And by the way of Cartagena it is sometime 2 yeres before we can receiue your letters from Spaine. By this way my brother may write, and so by this meane the letters may speedily come to my hand. And thus I rest. From this citie of Potossi the 20 of Iuly 1590.

Peru vtterly vndone with the plague.

A short passage from Buenos Aeres in the riuer of Plate to Peru.

The tediousnesse of the way by Cartagena to Peru.

The Licenciate CHRISTOPHER VSLANO.

A letter of Steuen de Tresio to Alonso Martines Vaca in Siuil from Panama the 21. of August 1590. touching the kings desire to borrow money vpon priuie seales, and the want of the countrey.

It may please your worship to vnderstand, that I haue receiued a packet of letters from you, wherein you write vnto me of the great miseries and the calamities of Spaine. And I promise you that these countreys are in no lesse. For here is great want of corne and other kind of prouision: for here is almost none to be had for any money, by reason that from Lima there is no shipping come with maiz. Here wee haue had newes from Spaine of the great prouision which is making ready for those great wars which his maiestie is in preparing, and of the great sums of money that his maiestie standeth in neede of: So that it doth put vs all that are dwellers here in such a perplexitie and confusion, that we know not what we shall doe. I pray God his maiestie take not away our money which wee haue sent to Spaine in the fleete. For here are marchants that haue sent some 200000. pezos, some 100000. pezos, some 60000. some more some lesse, to haue it imployed in commodities of that countrey. Although the king hath sent hither his scedule or bill of assignement signed and sealed by his maiestie, which hath bene proclaimed here: The contents whereof are, That what man soeuer marchant or other will send their money into Spaine in that fleete, his maiestie will not take away any part or portion thereof, (which in so doing will bee a great comfort vnto vs all) yet here we were in doubt that hee would take it from vs all. Newes from the citie of Lima as yet we haue none: But I can certifie your worshippe, that all things are very deere here, and that we stand in great extremitie for want of victuals; and likewise we haue great want of money Also here is order come from the king with certaine priuie seales for to lend his maiestie money, for that hee hath great neede thereof. This countrey at this instant is very poore, and there are none that can lend the king at this time any money at all, by reason that this lande is left so vnprouided of money: But wee are looking for great store of money, which is to come from Lima and from the Valles.

Priuie seales to borrow money sent into Peru.

Abundance of money to come from Lima and from The Valles.

From Panama the 12. of August 1590.

STEVEN DE TRESIO.

A letter of the Licientiate Iohn de Labera to the Licentiate Alonso Sapata de Henao in Castile in Calamea de la Sorengo, written from S. Fee de Bogota in the new kingdom of Granada, the 10. of May 1590. touching the rich siluer mines of Marequita newly found out, and the long way thither by the riuer of Magdalena.

WIth other letters which I dispatched from hence in August 1589. I wrote vnto your worship by 2. or 3. wayes: but I know not whether you haue receiued them or no. Presently after I departed to the gouernment of Popayan, which ioyneth with the citie of Quito in the coast of Peru, in companie of the gouernors lieutenant Don Diego Ordonez de Lara of Salamanca. But I was faine to forsake his companie, by reason I fell sicke in the citie of Marequita, where they haue discouered the great siluer mines : which citie is aboue 200. leagues from Cartagena : where I remained a certaine time very sicke. And because this countrey is extreme hotte, and I euery day grew worse and worse, I was faine to trauaile 30. leagues further vp into the maine land to a citie called S. Fee in the new kingdom of Granada, being on the coast of Peru : which is a cold countrey : where I am admitted a procurator, for that the Royal audience is kept in this citie. So I finde my selfe very healthy of bodie, by reason this countrey is full of all kind of victuals, very good and very plentifull, as bread, cheese, bacon, beefe, great store of hennes, and great store of comfeitures. Onely here is want of golde : so that this countrey will be vtterly vndone, if the mines of Marequita help not to restore the same again : whereof there is good hope : for here is great store of metall already found, and the workmen are in hand to refine the said metal : so that we are in good hope that great store of siluer will be found in these mines of great value and profite to his maiestie. This riner is called the great riuer of Magdalena. There is a fish in the riuer called Cayman, which followeth after the canoas : and if it can reach any man in the canoa, it will haile him out and deuoure him. All night they lie in the sand on shore. In this riuer as we are going vp, there is at certaine seasons great store of lightning and thunder, with such abundance of raine, as though the skies would fall downe : and so it doth continue from midnight vntil morning : so that we are faine to go aboord the canoas, and with certaine broad leaues which grow in the countrey, the mariners make a couering to cast ouer the wares which are laden in the canoas : and it doth keepe both the raine and sunne from vs which are passengers. The canoas are drawen vp this riuer of Magdalena by maine force of the mariners in rowing and haling them with ropes. There are 7. or 8. Indians commonly which guide these canoas, besides the master which keepeth the helme, and the passengers. We are commonly two moneths in going vp this riuer. It is 150. leagues to the landing place. And there the marchants vnlade their marchandise, which serue for all the

Great store of metal found in the newe mines of Marequita.

cities and townes which are in this newe kingdome of Granada. And the marchants lade the canoas backe againe from thence with great store of siluer and golde which is gotten out of the mines for Cartagena, and there it is shipped for Spaine. And likewise here is great quantity of treasure laden in the sayd canoas which is for the kings custome and other ducties which are paid : But they are but a moneth or three weekes going downe the riuer to Cartagena. These are the richest mines in all Peru. And thus I rest.

From Santa Fee de Bogota in the new kingdome of Granada in Peru the 10 of May 1590.

The Licentiate IOHN DE LABERA.

A letter of Hieronymo de Nabares to the licenciat Iohn Alonso dwelling in Valladolid, written from Panama to Siuil the 24 day of August 1590. touching the gainefulnes of the trade to the Philippinas, and the extreme feare they haue of the Englishmen.

NOt long agone I wrote to your worship from Panama by the way of Hauana : giuing you to vnderstand of my being here, and of the state of these countreys. After I departed from Spaine, in 37. dayes wee arriued at Cartagena : and from thence I tooke shipping to goe to Nombre de Dios, which is 80. leagues from Cartagena : and in 4. dayes wee got thither. And from thence I went to Panama : where I haue remained these 20. dayes, till the shippes goe for the Philippinas. My meaning is to carie my commodities thither : for it is constantly reported, that for euery hundred ducats a man shall get 600. cleerely. Wee must stay here in Panama from August till it be Christmasse. For in August, September, October and Nouember it is winter here, and extreme foule weather vpon this coast of Peru, and not nauigable to goe to the Philippinas, nor to any place else in the South sea. So that at Christmasse the ships begin to set on their voyage for those places : and then in these parts the summer beginneth with very faire weather, and alwayes we shall haue the windes with vs. For in Iuly vntil October here is terrible thundering and lightening with extreme raines, so that it is not possible to go any way in this countrey. Here are

The gaeat profite of the trade to the Philippinas.

in Panama 10. great ships of 500, 400, 300, and 200. tuns apiece, and some 15. barkes which vse commonly to saile in the South sea to Lima, to the Valles, to Arica, and to the Philippinas. This countrey in the summer is so extreme hotte, that it is not possible to trauel in the day time : it standeth in 8. deg. and ½. and all this coast is in 9. and 10. deg. Here is great store of adders, snakes and toades, which are in the houses, but they doe but small hurt. Here bread, wine, and bacon are very deere, by reason the countrey doth not yeeld it : for it is brought from Peru. A li. of bread is worth here 2. rials of plate : a quart of wine is solde for 4. rials : for none groweth here. Here are very few sheep, and those extreme deere. The only food here for flesh, are oxen, kine, buls and heffkers : you may buy 20. li. of beefe for one rial of plate. Their smallest money of siluer is a rial of plate, and very few of them, but all pieces of 4. and 8. For the siluer mines which dayly be found in Peru be wonderfull to bee spoken of. If a man did not see the siluer made, hee would neuer beleeue it : for the very earth which commeth out of the mines, and is afterward washed, being but 3. or 4. yeres on a mount, yeeldeth great store of siluer afterward againe. But as here we get much, so our charge in meat, drinke and apparell doth cost very much. As for fruite here is none that is good, but onely muske melons, and they are sold for 6. or 8. rials apeece. I can certifie your worship of no newes, but only, that all this countrey is in such extreme feare of the Englishmen our enemies, that the like was neuer seene nor heard of : for in seeing a saile, presently here are alarmes in all the countrey. I pray you to write vnto me as touching the wars that his Maiestie hath with our enemies, and howe his Maiestie doth preuaile. And thus I rest. From Panama in the firme land the 28. of Aug. 1590.

Twenty li. of beefe may bee bought for sixe pence in Peru.

The Englishmen extremely feared in Peru.

HIERONYMO DE NABARES.

A Libell of Spanish lies written by Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, Generall of the king of Spaines Armada, concerning some part of the last voyage of sir Francis Drake; together with a confutation of the most notorious falsehoods therein contained, and a declaration of the truth by M. Henrie Sauile Esquire: and also an approbation of both by sir Thomas Baskeruil Generall of her Maiesties Armada after the decease of sir Francis Drake.

To the courteous Reader.

WHereas Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, Generall of the Spanish fleete, hath by his printed letters published to the world diuerse vntruthes, concerning our fleete and the commanders thereof, seeking thereby his owne glorie, and our disgrace; I haue taken vpon me (though of many least able) to confute the same, the rather for that the printed copie came first into my hands, hauing myselfe bene Captaine of one of her Maiesties ships in the same voyage. Take this therefore (gentle Reader) as a token of my dutie and loue to my countrey and countrey-men, and expect onely a plaine truth, as from the pen of a souldier and Nauigator: Which if you take in good part, you may draw me hereafter to publish some greater labour.

HENRY SAVILE.

THe true copie of a letter found at the sacking of Cadiz, written by Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, Generall of the king of Spaine his Nauie in the West Indies, sent vnto Doctor Peter Florez, President of the contractation house for the Indies, and by him put in print with priuilege: wherein are declared many vntruthes, and false reports, tending to the disgrace of the seruice of her Maiesties Nauie, and the commanders thereof, lately sent to the West Indies, vnder the command of sir Francis Drake, and sir Iohn Hawkins Generals at the sea; and sir Thomas Baskeruill Generall at land; with a confutation of diuers grosse lies and vntruthes, conteyned in the same letter: together with a short relation of the fight, according to the truth.

Copia de vna carta, que embio Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, General de la Armada de su Magestad, embiada al Doctor Pedro Florez Presidente de la casa de la contratacion de las Indias: en que trata del sucesso de la Armada de Ynglatierra, despues que partio de Panama, de que fue por General Francisco Draque, y de su muerte.

DE Cartagena di cuenta a vuestra Merced como sali del puerto de la ciudad de Lisbona, en busca de la armada Ynglesa, aunque por la mucha priessa, no se pudieron reparar tanbien los Galeones como fuera necessario, y con el tiempo se perdio uno, y por desgracia se quemo vn Filibote, y auiendo andado muchos dias en busca del enemigo, hasta que llegue a Cartagena, donde auiendo tomado el parecer de Don Pedro de Acunna Gouernador y capitan general de aquella ciudad, porque tenia mucha necessidad de agua, y reparar los Nauios por que venian faltos della, me detuue en aquel puerto, adonde tuve noticia por vn Auiso, que Francisco Draque murio en Nombre de Dios, de pena, de auer perdido tantos Baxeles y gente, aunque despues se supo mas por estenso. Y auiendo dado a vuestro Merced cuenta de lo que hasta alli a sucedido, agora la doy de que sali de aquel puerto a dos de Março, y tome la derrota de la Hauana, donde entendi hallarlo: y auiendo hecho la diligencia posible, Lunes à onze del dicho mes, alas dos despues de medio dia, al salir de la Ysla de Pinos, en la ensenada de Guaniguanico, tope con el, que yua con catorze Nauios muy buenos: fueme arrimando a el, aunque tenia el viento por suyo, y el Almiranta que yua mas al viento con otros dos Nauios commenço arrimarsele, y aunque vino sobre ella con todos los suyos tres vezes, no fue parte acercarsele paraque quisiesse enuestir: los que estauamos mas apartados fuymos dando bordos acercandonos hasta jugar la artilleria, Mosqueteria, y Arcabuzeria de los mas dellos, en lo qual el recibio muy conocido danno, el lo hizo con el artilleria como suele, y particularmente el Almiranta, y en reconociendo la voluntad con que a el nos arrimauamos, con mas diligencia de lo que se puede creer se desembaraço de todos, poniendose en huyda, dando las velas, dexando en la mar todas las Lanchas que traya. Yo le segui con nueue Nauios toda la noche, y con quatro mas todo el dia, hasta hazerle doblar el cabo de Sant Anton, y tomar la derrota de la Canal de Bahama, conforme a las instruciones de su Magestad: siruio de poco el ver me con menos numero de Nauios, ni todas las diligencias que se hizieron, para que se inclinase a esperar ni abordar, ni tirar vn arcabuz, ni vna pieça, porque el se dio la diligencia que pudo, porque sus Nauios los auia reduzido a la mitad, y los mejores, y estos acabaua de reparar en Puerto Bello, donde se estuvo mas de quarenta dias, y ansi venian muy reparados; y yo saque los mios desbaratados, que no me dio el tiempo lugar para adereçarlos. A que nauego dos meses y medio, y traygo la capitana, que desde que parti de Cartagena no an parado las bombas, y el dia que sali se me Io arrimo vna Zabra con esta necessidad; la Almiranta y los demas Nauios vienen con el mismo trabajo, pero sin embargo, por lo que yo vi en los enemigos; era muy conocida la ventaja que nos hazia, y mucha dicha seria apoderarse del, sino es hallarlo sobre el Ferro. Con todo esso me an dexado vn Nauio muy bueno en las manos con muy buena gente, la qual dize como murio el Draque en Nombre de Dios, y que va por general de la dicha armada Ynglesa el Coronel Quebraran, y por el poco lugar que se a dado no an podido tomar Agua, lenna, ni carne, y van de manera que no se como an de llegar a Ynglatierra. Entre la gente deuen de ser ciento y quarenta, y quinze nobles capitanes de lo mejor de alli, y algunos ricos, segun se echa de ver en ellos. No se ofrece otra cosa: nuestro sennor guarde a vuestra Merced, como puede, y yo desseo. De la Hauana. 30 de Março, de 1596. Annos.

Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda.

EL Licenciado Don Iuan Bermudes y Figueroa, Teniente mayor de Assistente desta ciudad de Seuilla y su tierra, que hago officio de Assistente della por ausencia de su Sennoria del Conde de Priego, Doy licencia a Rodrigo de Cabrera, para que pueda imprimir la Relacion de la muerte de Francisco Draque. La qual haga por dos meses, y por ellos no lo imprima otro alguno. So pena de diez mil marauedis para la camara de su Magestad. Fecha en Seuilla a quinze de Mayo, de mil y quinientos y nouenta y seys annos.

El Licenciado Don Iuan Bermudez y
Figueroa. Por su mandado, Gregoria
de Gutierez, Escriuano.

The Spanish letter Englished.

The Copie of a letter which Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, Generall of the king of Spaine his armie, sent vnto Doctor Peter Florez, President of the contractation house for the Indies, wherein he maketh mention of the successe of the English armie, after they departed from Panama, whereof was General Francis Drake, and of his death.

FRom Cartagena I gaue relation vnto your Worship how I departed from the citie of Lisbone, in the pursuite of the English armie: although for the great haste the Galeons could not be so well repaired as was needfull, and with foule weather one was lost, and a Fly-boat was burnt. And hauing sayled many dayes in pursuite of the enemie, vntill I arriued at Cartagena, and there taking the aduise of Don Pedro de Acunna, Gouernour of the citie, and Captaine generall (for wee had great neede of water, and to repaire our shippes) we stayed in that port: whereas I had intelligence by an Indian that Francis Drake died in Nombre de Dios, for very griefe that he had lost so many Barkes and men, as was afterwards more manifestly knowen. Thus hauing giuen you a relation of all that happened hitherto, now I let you vnderstand, that I left this Port the second of March, and tooke our course towardes Hauana, where I thought to haue found the English fleete. And hauing vsed all the diligence possible, vpon Munday the eleuenth of the said moneth, about two of the clocke in the afternoone, at the end of the Isle of Pinos, in the entrance of Guaniguanico, I met with the English fleete, being fourteene very good ships: I drew towardes them although they had the winde of vs, and our Admirall who bore vp towards the winde, with other two ships beganne to draw neere them, and although we set thus vpon them, three times with all their ships, yet would they not set againe vpon vs, and those of our men which were farthest off cryed to them amaine, being both within shot of artillerie, muskets, and caliuers, whereby they receiued euident hurt by vs: They plyed their great ordinance according to their manner, and especially their Viceadmirall, and seeing our resolution how sharpe we were bent towards them, they with all expedition and speede possible prepared to flie away, hoysing sailes and leauing their boates for haste in the sea: but I followed them, with nine ships all the night following, and with foure more the next day, till I made them double the Cape of S. Antonie, and to take the course towards the Chanell of Bahama, according to the instructions from his Maiestie. It little auailed vs to be seene, with lesse number of ships, neither yet all the diligence we could vse, could cause them to stay or come neere vs, nor to shoot off one harquebuze or peece of artillerie, for they fled away as fast as they could, and their shippes were halfe diminished, and that the best part of them; the rest they repaired in Puerto Bello, whereas they were about fortie dayes, and so by that meanes they were all well repayred; and our shippes were very foule, because the time would not permit vs to trim them: I haue sayled 2 moneths and a halfe in the Admirall, since we departed from Cartagena, we haue not repaired their pumpes nor clensed them: and the same day I departed thence, there came vnto me a small Pinnesse in the like distresse: our Viceadmirall and the rest of our ships haue the like impediment, but no great hinderance vnto vs, for ought I could perceiue by our enemies: It is manifest what aduantage they had of vs, and by no meanes was it possible for vs to take them, vnlesse we could haue come to haue found them at an anker. Neuerthelesse they left vs one good shippe behinde for our share, well manned, which tolde me that Drake died in Nombre de Dios, and that they haue made for Generall of the English fleete the Colonel Quebraran: and also by meanes of the small time, being straightly followed by vs, they had no opportunitie to take either water, wood or flesh, and they are also in such bad case, that I know not how they will be able to arriue in England. The number of men we haue taken are about an hundred and fortie, and fifteene noble captaines of their best sort, and some of them rich, as well may appeare by their behauiour: I haue no other thing to write at this time. Our Lord keepe you who best can, and as I desire. From Hauana the 30 of March, 1596.

DON BERNALDINO DELGADILLO DE AVELLANEDA.

THe Licenciat Don Iohn Bermudas of Figueroa Lieutenant of the Assistants of the citie of Siuill, and the Prouince thereof, who doth supply the office of the Assistant in the absence of the Right honourable the Earle of Priego, giueth licence to Roderigo de Cabriera to imprint the Relation of the death of Francis

Drake, which onely he may do for two moneths, and no other to imprint the same within the said terme, vpon paine of tenne thousand Marauedis for his Maiesties chamber. Giuen in Siuill the 15 of May 1596.

The Licenciat Don Iohn Bermudes of Figueroa.
By his Assigne Gregorie Gutierez Notarie.

THis letter of the Generall Don Bernaldino sent into Spaine declaring the death of Sir Francis Drake and their supposed victorie, was altogether receiued for an vndoubted trueth, and so pleasing was this newes vnto the Spaniards, that there was present commandement giuen to publish the letter in print, that all the people of Spaine might be partakers of this common ioy: the which letter printed in Siuill, bearing date the 15 of May, 1596 came to the hands of Henrie Sauile Esquire, who being employed in that seruice for the West Indies, and Captaine of her Maiesties good shippe the Aduenture, vnder the conduct of sir Francis Drake, and sir Iohn Hawkins, hath caused the said printed letter to be translated into English. And that the impudencie of the Spanish Generall may the more plainely appeare, the sayde Henrie Sauile doth answere particularly to euery vntrueth in the same letter contayned, as hereafter followeth.

The answere to the Spanish letter.

First the Generall doth say, that Francis Drake died at Nombre de Dios, as he had intelligence by an Indian.

The Generals first newes, and his best newes is in part lying newes.

THe Generall sent this newes into his countrey confirmed with his hand and seale of Armes: it is the first newes in his letter, and it was the best newes that he could send into Spaine. For it did ease the stomackes of the timorous Spaniards greatly to heare of the death of him whose life was a scourge and continuall plague vnto them: But it was a point of great simplicitie, and scarcely beseeming a Generall to tie the credite of his report locally to any place vpon the report of a silly Indian slaue. For it had bene sufficient to haue sayd, that Francis Drake was certainly dead, without publishing the lie in print, by naming Nombre de Dios: for it is most certaine sir Francis Drake died twixt the Iland of Escudo, and Puerto Bello: but the Generall being rauished with the suddaine ioy of this report as a man that hath escaped a great danger of the enemie, doth breake out into an insolent kinde of bragging of his valour at Sea, and heaping one lie vpon another, doth not cease vntill he hath drawen them into sequences, and so doth commende them vnto Peter the Doctor, as censor of his learned worke.

Secondly, the Generall doth write vnto the Doctor, that Francis Drake died for very griefe that he had lost so many barkes and men.

A Thing very strange that the Generall or the Indian, whom hee doth vouch for his lie, should haue such speculation in the bodie of him whom they neuer saw, as to deliuer for truth vnto his countrie, the very cause or disease whereof hee died: and this second report of his is more grosse then the first. For admit the mistaking of the place might be tolerable; notwithstanding, this precise affirming the cause of his death doth manifestly prooue that the Generall doth make no conscience to lie. And as concerning the losse of any Barkes or men in our Nauie, by the valour of the Spaniard before Sir Francis Drake his death, we had none (one small pinnesse excepted) which we assuredly know was taken by chance, falling single into a fleete of fiue Frigats (of which was Generall Don Pedro Telio) neere vnto the Iland of Dominica, and not by the valour of Don Bernaldino: the which fiue Frigats of the kings afterwardes had but ill successe, for one of them we burnt in the harbour of S. Iuan de Puerto rico, and one other was sunke in the same harbour, and the other three were burnt amongst many other shippes at the taking of Cadiz. This I thinke in wise mens iudgements will seeme a silly cause to make a man sorrowe to death. For true it is, sir Francis Drake died of the fluxe which hee had growen vpon him eight dayes before his death, and yeelded vp his spirit like a Christian to his creatour quietly in his cabbin. And when the Generall shall suruey his losse, he shall finde it more then the losse of the English, and the most of his, destroyed by the bullet: but the death of Sir Francis Drake was of so great comfort vnto the Spaniard, that it was thought to be a sufficient amendes, although their whole fleete had bene vtterly lost.

Don Bernaldino doth lie impudently.

The successe of the kings fiue Frigats.

The certaine cause whereof sir Francis Drake died.

Thirdly, the Generall doth say of his owne credite, and not by intelligence from any Indian or other, that on the eleuenth of March last he met the English fleete at the Ile of Pinos, being fourteene good shippes: who although they had the winde of him, yet he set vpon them three times with all their shippes: but the English Fleete fled, and refused to fight, shooting now and then a shot, but especially the Viceadmirall.

THis third lie of the Generall Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda (whose name for the prolixitie thereof may be drawen somewhat neere the length of a cable) hath no colour of protection, but it hath a iust proportion in measure to the lies of olde Bernardino de Mendoça his countreyman, concerning the ouerthrowe of hir Maiesties Nauie in the yeere one thousand fiue hundred eightie and eight. For except Don Bernaldino the Generall did purpose to winne the whetstone from Don Bernardino de Mendoça the olde Spanish lyer; I cannot coniecture why he should write to his countrey for a truth, that he chased the English Nauie with nine shippes, and did three seuerall times giue the onset to the English fleete, who being fourteene good shippes (as he saith) did flie and refuse to fight; considering that the Spanish Viceadmirall (if he be liuing) and many other can witnesse the contrarie: who fighting like a true valiant man, departed from the fight with a torne and battered shippe to saue her from sinking. Neither can I imagine that there is any one in the Spanish Fleete (Don Bernaldino excepted) that will say they were lesse then twentie sayle of shippes when they met the English fleete: and the Spanish Nauie can witnesse that they receiued such store of bullets from the English fleete, that they were glad to depart, and in despight of them the English nauie did holde their determined course: And taking a viewe of the Spanish fleete the next day, their number was not aboue thirteene ships, which did argue that they were either sunke or fled to harbour to saue themselues.

A payre of Spanish liers.

The Spanish Viceadmirall a man of valour.

The number of Spanish ships after the fight.

Fourthly, the General saith, that the English fleete fled away, and left their * oares for hast behind them in the sea.

IT was strange that they should leaue behinde them oares in the sea, sithence there was not in the English fleete either Galley or Galliasse, which required the vse of oares: as for the oares of their ship-boates and other such small vessels, they had stowed them aboord their shippes, and were no impediment vnto them, but most necessarie for them to vse, and therefore not likely they would cast them ouerboord: But it is more likely, that the Generall fell into some pleasant dreame at Sea, wherein he did see a false apparition of victorie against the English, and for lacke of matter did set this downe in his letter for newes to his countrey: It is sinne to belie the Deuill, and therefore the Generall shall haue his right: the letter is so well contriued, and yet with no great eloquence, but with such art, that there are not many more lines, then there are lies, which shewed that there are wonderfull and extraordinarie gifts in the Generall: but I am perswaded if Don Bernaldino had thought that his letter should haue beene printed, he would haue omitted many things conteined in the letter: for the Doctor did vse him somewhat hardly in shewing the letter openly, and more in suffering it to bee printed: for friendes may like good fellowes send lies one to the other for recreation, and feed their friends with some small taste thereof, so it be kept close, without danger to incurre the title of a lying Generall: But as the matter is now handled through the simplicitie of the Doctor, I cannot see but the Generall Don Bernaldino is like to carrie the title equally twixt both his shoulders.

---

* *Marginal note.*—The translation of the Spanish word Lanchas is here mistaken.

This lie was made in the Generals own forge.

Fiftly, the Generall doth say in his printed letter, that notwithstanding all the diligence he could vse, he could not cause the English fleete to stay nor come neere them, nor discharge one harquebuze or peece of artillerie, but fled away as fast as they could.

ANd this lie also he doth not receiue by intelligence from any other, but himselfe was an eye-witnesse in the action which made him bold to sende this with the rest into his countrey for current newes; but herein Don Bernaldino was more bolde than wise, for the torne and battered sides of his Galeons, being compared with her Maiesties shippes, and others that serued in that fight, doe declare, that his ships receiued at least two bullets for one. Neither can it be concealed but his owne countreyman (if any do

The torn sides of the Spanish ships doe condemne Don Bernaldino of lying.

fauour truth) may easily see the losse, and late reparations, done vnto the kings fleete, sithence they did encounter with the English Nauie, whensoeuer they that remaine shall arriue in Spaine. But the Generall seemeth to be a very good proficient in his profession, and waxeth somewhat bold, treading the true steps of olde Bernardino de Mendoça: and yet Mendoça was somewhat more warie in his lies, for he had sometime the colour of intelligence to shadowe them: but the Generall growing from boldnesse to impudencie maketh no scruple to say, that the English Nauie fled as fast as they could without discharging any harquebuze or peece of artillerie, when as the battered sides of his ships doe returne the lie to his face: For in this conflict Don Bernaldino did behaue himselfe so valiantly, that he was alwayes farthest off in the fight, and had so great care of his owne person, that he stoode cleare from the danger of musket or any smal shot, and durst not approch: whereas our Generall was the foremost, and so helde his place, vntill by order of fight other shippes were to haue their turnes, according to his former direction: who wisely and politikely had so ordered his vangarde, and rereward, and as the manner of it was altogether strange to the Spaniarde, so might they haue bene without all hope of victorie, if their Generall had bene a man of any iudgement in sea-fights: I knowe no reason why the English Nauie should flie from him: for the Spaniarde may put all the gaine in his eye that euer he did winne from the English: Peraduenture some silly nouice of our countrey meeting the Generall in Spaine, and hearing a repetition of so many sillables in one name, as Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, might thinke them to be wordes of coniuration, and for feare of raysing a spirit, might flie from him as from the Deuill: or some simple Indian slaue hearing the like repetition of his long and tedious name, might suppose it to be an armie of Spaniards, and for feare runne away: but the commanders and captaines of the English Nauie were men of such resolution, that no Spanish bragges could dismay them (for they haue often met them with their Pikes in their Spanish beardes) nor the countenance of Don Bernaldino quaile them, although hee were acowtred in his gilt leather buskins, and his Toledo rapier.

The order of the English Nauie.

The Spaniard cannot bragge of his gaine.

Spanish brags are of no value with the English.

Sixtly the Generall saith in his letter, that notwithstanding their flying away so fast, the English left them one good ship well manned, who tolde him that Drake dyed in Nombre de Dios: in which ship were one hundred and fortie men, and fifteene noble captaines of the best sort.

THe Generall Don Bernaldino, like a resolute Spaniarde hauing already gone ouer his shooes, maketh no danger to wade ouer his bootes also: and as he hath begunne, so hee doth conclude. I maruaile that he did not in writing his discourse remember this old saying: that is A liar ought to haue a good memorie: It were much better for him in mine opinion to reuoke the testimonie which he saith he had from the Englishmen, concerning Sir Francis Drake his death at Nombre de Dios, and stand to the intelligence receiued from the silly Indian slaue, as it appeareth in his first lie: for without all doubt there is no English man that will say (if he haue his right senses) that he dyed at Nombre de Dios, for they all knowe the contrarie: neither can the General auouch that he receiued intelligence from any English man, that after the death of Sir Francis Drake they did elect for Generall Colonel Quebraran (as he doth most falsely affirme in the latter ende of his vaine and friuolous letter) seeing that this name was strange and vnkowen to any in the English Nauie. Neither do I imagine that any of those which the Generall saith he had taken, were so forgetfull, as not to remember their Generals name. But without all doubt this addition of so new and strange a name to the English Generall, doth prooue that Don Bernaldino is not unfurnished of a forge and storehouse of lies, from whence as from an euerflowing fountaine, he sendeth forth lies of al sorts sufficient for his own store, and great plentie to furnish his friends: the Generall was much beholding to his godfathers who gaue him the name Bernaldino, which we in English doe take to be plaine Barnard, which name hath as it were a kinde of priuilege from being sharpely reprehended, when the partie is thought to erre: for it is a common saying amongst the schoolemen that Bernardus non videt omnia, viz. Barnard seeth not all things, (when he doth dissent from their opinions) the which fauour we could be content to yeeld to Bernaldino for the name sake, if he were not taken with so many manifest and impudent lies: neither doe I thinke that

Don Bernaldino his rare gift in coyning a new and strange name.

Sennor Bernaldino will say, that he sawe all that he hath written, be it spoken in councell for shaming the Generall: for is there any man so voide of reason as to thinke, that any Englishman being demanded of his Generals name, would write or speake Quebraran for Baskeruil. So much difference there is in the sound of the sillables, as there is no affinitie at all, or likelihood of truth. But such are the Generals rare gifts, (be it spoken to his small prayse) that we Englishmen must of force confesse, that the General hath giuen a proud onset to carrie the whetstone from Sennor Bernaldino de Mendoça: neither will the hundred and fortie men and fifteene noble Captaines (which he saith he did take, of whom he might haue bene rightly informed of their Generals name) acquit him of lying forgerie, for giuing the name of Quebraran to the English Generall. As for the good shippe well manned, which he saith the English left them after the fight, I am perswaded he hath no man to witnesse that lie, for the ship was separated by weather from the English fleete in the night, thirteene dayes before the fight with the Spanish Nauie, and neuer to any mans knowledge came more in sight of the English fleete. If the Spanish ship by chance did take the saide well manned ship (as they call her) I doubt not but they haue the ship, the hundred and forty men, and the fifteene noble Captaines to shew: But euermore I gesse the Spanish reckoning will fall short when it is examined, for the fifteene noble Captaines will prooue, (as I take it) but three, whose losse I grieue to thinke on: Neither did the Spaniards gaine them by valour, or we loose or leaue them for cowardise, as most vntruely this bragging lier hath certified. But the Generall like a prouident man, to make his fame and credite the greater with his Prince and countrey, taketh vpon him (amongst other miracles performed before the English fleete) by way of amplification to make small matters seeme great as a little shooe to serue a great foote, and finding that it can hardly be brought to passe, he doth so stretch the leather with his teeth that it is readie to break: and yet notwithstanding al this will not serue; for the printing of the letter doth marre the play, and bringeth such matter in question, as the Generall doth wish might be concealed, and were he not of so drie and

The difference twixt Quebraran and Baskeruill.

The Generall maketh great brags in taking a distressed ship which is supposed not to strike one blow.

The 15 noble Captaines contrary to the Generals lying occupation, wil prooue but three.

cholerick a complexion, as commonly Spaniards are, he would blush for very shame in publishing so impudently such manifest vntruthes. For sithence his meeting with the English fleete at the Ile of Pinos, there hath bene by the worthie English Generals an honourable expedition from England into the Continent of Spaine, where amongst other exploities hauing taken the citie of Cadiz, in the sacke thereof was found some of Don Bernaldino his printed letters: which comming to the handes of a captaine that serued in Sir Francis Drakes last voyage to the West Indies, he hath thought very fit (in regard of the slanders to the English Nauie contained in the saide letter) to quote the errors, that the truth onely may appeare, to all such as haue a desire to be rightly informed of such accidents as befell them in this late voyage to the West Indies: and this may suffise to shew Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda his great iudgement in amplifying small matters, or of nothing to make in shewe somewhat. And now hauing thus farre informed you of the trueth in reproofe of the slanderous, false, and vntrue reports of this glorious lying Generall, with a true disproofe to some of the grossest of his lies, I will leaue him with the rest of his lying letter, and the circumstances therein contained to your censures: who in discretion may easily discerne the same: And haue here following plainely and truely set downe the course and order of our whole fight after we met.

The first discouery of the Generals printed letter.

The meeting of our English Nauie and the Spanish fleete, and the order of our encounter.

MVnday the first of March, according to our computation, wee descryed the Iland of Pinos, where hailing in for the Westerne part thereof, thinking there to haue watered, being within foure leagues off it Southerly, sent in three of our Pinnesses ro discouer the harbour, and to sound afore vs, about one of the clocke in the afternoone; the same day we discouered a fleete of twentie sailes, and deeming them to be the Spanish fleete, we kept our loofe to to get the winde, but their Viceadmirall with diuers other ships went about to cut off our Pinnesses: so that our Generall with some other of our shippes, was forced to tacke about vpon the larbourd tacke, and so ranne in towardes the lande keeping the

The first discouery of the Spanish fleete.

winde, so as we recouered our Pinnesses; which forced the enemies shippes to tacke about, and to take the aide of their fleete, and being come neere vnto them they shot at vs; we still approched, hauing our close fights vp, our flags, ensignes and streamers displayed, our men orderly placed in each quarter, but forbare our fight vntill our Generall beganne, and gaue vs warning to come in and fight, by shooting off a great peece, according to his former directions: so being within musket shot, the Viceadmirall of the Spanish fleete came neerest vnto vs, to whom our Viceadmirall Iohn Traughton Captaine of the Elizabeth Bonaduenture gaue fight, betwixt whom there was the greatest voley of small shot changed that lightly hath bene heard at Sea, which continued a long halfe houre. In which time the Spanish fleete came in to fight. Our Generall Sir Thomas Baskeruill being in the Garland (whereof Humphrey Reignolds was Captaine, being the next shippe vnto the Elizabeth Bonaduenture) bare vp to the enemie, playing with his great ordinance hotly vntill he came within musket shot. Ionas Bodenham Captaine of the Defiance, and Henrie Sauile Captaine of the Aduenture, came likewise in to fight with them. After the Garland being withtn musket shot played her part, and made good fight for the space of an houre, The Defiance bare vp likewise and had her turne: after came the Aduenture againe with musket shot, who hauing changed many a great bullet with them before, renewed his fight, and continued it an houre with small shot. Then came Thomas Drake Captaine of the Hope, who last of all had his turne. Thus had all the Queens shippes their course: The marchants ships with other small vessels being without the Queens ships, shot, when they saw opportunitie. After the enemie finding no good to be done (being well beaten) fell from vs, the Aduenture playing vpon them with her great ordinance, made three of the last shot at them: their Viceadmirall with diuers others of their ships, were so beaten that they left off the fight, and were forced to lie in the winde, for that they durst not lie of either boord by reason of thier many and great leakes, which they had receiued by our great shot. The Generall with the rest of their fleete tacking about, fell in our wake, thinking to get the winde, which in the beginning wee

The incounter betwixt the English and the Spanish ships.

The Spanish Viceadmirall can witnesse, what successe they had in this fight.

The English admirall carried his Cresset light, notwithstanding the enemie was vpon his broad side.

sought to hinder. But our Generall seeing that in holding the winde we should shoot our selues into the bay, gaue them the winde. All that night they kept themselues vpon our brode side, notwithstanding our Admiral carried his cresset-light all night, hauing great care of our smallest shippes. This fight continued about foure houres till it was neere night, in the which fight, thankes be to God, there were slaine so few persons of our English fleete, as I thinke the like conflict hath not bene performed with so little losse of men: What harme befell the Spaniards in their fleete I leaue to your iudgements. Yet our eyes can witnesse their ships were sore beaten and raked thorough, whereby there was such falling backe and lying by the lee to stoppe their leakes, as some of them were driuen to haste away, and rather to runne on shore to saue themselues then sinke in the Sea: besides within two houres after our fight with them, we sawe one of their great shippes on fire which burnt into the Sea, and all the sterne of another of their ships blowen vp: And in the morning a shippe of our fleete was runne so neere the land, that to double the Cape de los Corrientes he must of necessitie tacke about and fall in the wake of the enemie, which caused our Generall in the Garland and the Defiance to tacke about; which two ships forced the three ships of the enemies (which were put foorth to take our shippe, or else to cause her runne on ground) to returne to their fleete to saue themselues, hoysing all their sayles for haste: This morning they were faire by vs hauing the winde of vs, being but thirteen sayle of their twentie to be seene: then we stroke our toppe sayles thinking to haue fought with them againe, which they perceiuing tacked about from vs, and after that neuer durst nor would come neere vs: What became of the rest of their fleete wee knowe not, but true it was that they were in great distresse mightily beaten and torne, by hauing receiued many bullets from vs. All this day wee had sight of them, but they shewed little will to fight or come neere vs, so we keeping our course West, and by North, about sixe of the clocke at night lost the sight of them. And this is a true discourse of our fight with the Spanish fleete. The which the author hereof will iustifie with the aduenture of his life, against any Spaniarde seruing in that action, that shall contradict the same.

The English receiued little losse in this conflict.

The remainder of the Spanish fleete were but thirteene sayles.

HENRY SAVILE.

Thomas Baskeruil knight, his approbation to the former twofold discourse of Captaine Sauile.

I Thomas Baskeruill knight, Generall of her Maiesties late Indian armada in the late conflict had betweene the Spanish fleete and vs, hauing perused the Spanish letter written by Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, Generall of the king of Spaines Nauie, and also hauing perused captaine Henrie Sauile his answeres vnto the sixe exceptions in the Generals letter, with his discourse of the manner of our fight with the Spanish fleete, doe say that the said Henrie Sauile hath answered the letter, and set downe the order of the fight sincerely according to truth, for testimonie of which I haue hereunto set my hand.

And if Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda the Generall shall take any exceptions to this my approbation, or stand in the iustification of his lying letter written to Doctor Peter Florez, President of the Contractation house for the Indies, and by him for Bernaldinos glorie lately put in print: I then say that he falsely lyed, and that I will maintaine against him with whatsoeuer armes he shall make choyce of. And because of the kingdomes wherein we abide are enemies (by reason of which there is no meanes in either of then, to maintaine that I haue written) let him make choise of any indifferent kingdome of equall distance from either realme, and I will there be readie to maintaine as much as I haue written: But if by my imployments into France I be so stayed by her Maiesties commandements, that I cannot out of that realme meete him in any other, I cannot see why he should take any exception to that, considering the equalitie of the place, and that the Armies of both our princes be there resident.

THOMAS BASKERVILE.

A true relation of the voyage vndertaken by Sir Anthony Sherley Knight in Anno 1596 intended for the Ile of San Tomé, but performed to S. Iago, Dominica, Margarita, along the coast of Tierra firma, to the Ile of Iamaica, the bay of the Honduras, 30 leagues vp the Rio Dolce, and homewarde by Newfoundland. With the memorable exploytes atchieued in all this voyage.

WE departed from Hampton the 23 of Aprill with nine ships and a gallie. The Beuice Admirall being 300 tunnes, the Galeon Viceadmirall being 240 tunnes. The George Rere-admirall being 160 tunnes. The Archangel being 250 tunnes. The Swanne 200 tunnes, the George Noble being 140 tunnes, the Wolfe 70 tunnes, the Mermayde 120 tunnes, the Little Iohn 40 tunnes the Galley and a Pinnesse. All which ships we sufficiently victualled and furnished for ten monethes, with all necessaries fit for the voyage. They were also manned with souldiers and saylers, exceeding well appointed with all furniture necessarie for the intended purpose of our Generall to the full number of 900. ratably and orderly distributed into euery ship. We arriued at Plimmouth the 29 of Aprill, where wee found the Right honourable Earle of Essex readie for the attempt of his Cadiz Action, with whom our Generall left three ships and 500 souldiers well victualed and furnished. So the 21 of May we departed from Plimmouth with the Beuice, the Gallion, the George, the George Noble, the Wolfe and the Galley and Pinnesse, determining our voyage for the Ile of S. Tomé. But if our whole force had remayned with vs our Generals purpose was to haue first sackt the Madera Ile, and so to haue proceeded for S. Tomé. The 27 of May we arriued vpon the coast of Spaine, coasting all the shore, hoping to meete with some of the kings ships. From thence we past in sight of the coast of Barbary, and came to Masagant, within shot of the Fort, which our Generall reported to be an excellent fortification, where the Spaniard is in strong garrison. And bending our course for the Canarie Iles there purposing to water, our galley lost her rudder; so our Generall directed the George Noble to goe for the Ile Mogador, there to repaire the Gallies wants. Between which place and the Canarie Iles we tooke a fly-bote of two hundred tunnes bound for Brasill, hauing nothing aboord her but some small portion of victuals for their reliefe. The captaine of this Flybote tooke vpon him to be a perfect Pilot of S. Tomé, and willingly consented to stay with vs, being a Fleming. Hauing watered at the Canaries, by the counsell of this Fleming we shaped our course for the Iles of Cape Verde, he assuring vs that we should there meet the fleete of Saint Tomé, for the yeere was so farre past, that we knewe they were all departed from S. Tomé.

The Fort of Masagants.

A Flieboat taken.

The first of Iuly we fell with the Isle Maio, where wee saw small hope of any fleete to bee expected, and therefore departed for Cape Verde, the appointed place for the George noble to meete vs: where we arriued the fift of Iuly, and there found him. And so instantly we proceeded for our voyage, because the yeere was farre spent. At this place most vnfortunately our General fell exceeding sicke, and we wanting water were enforced to goe with a place named Pescadores in 10 degrees of North latitude, where we had many skirmishes with the barbarous Negros. Our Generall now hopelesse of life, and we all dismayed and comfortlesse through that his exceeding extremity, hauing his memory very perfit, he called all his Captaines, Masters, and officers vnto him, vnto whom he made a very pithie and briefe speech, tending to this purpose: That as we were Christians and all baptised and bred vp vnder one and the true faith, so wee should liue together like Christians in the feare and seruice of God: And as we were the subiects of our most excellent soueraigne, and had vowed obedience vnto her: so we should tend all our courses to the aduancement of her dignity, and the good of our countrey, and not to enter into any base or vnfit actions. And because we came for his loue into this action that for his sake we would so loue together as if himselfe were still liuing with vs, and that we would follow (as our chiefe commander) him vnto whom vnder his hand he gaue commission to succeede himselfe: all which with solemne protestation we granted to obey. Then for that the yere was past, and finding the cost of Guynea most tempestuous, hee saw in reason that the bay of Æthiopia would be our vtter ouerthrow, and infect vs all to death: whereupon he aduised vs to be respectiue of our selues, and to diuert our purpose from S. Tomé, either for Brazil or the West India, yeelding many reasons that it was our best course: but we all with one voice desired to proceede for S. Tomé. And so departing from this contagious filthy place, we directed our course for S. Tomé, but could by no means double the sholds of Madrabomba, but very dangerously ran into shold water, still hoping of the best. In fine we were enforced to beare vp and take some other course; for the time wasted, our men fell sicke, and the coast was contagious alwayes raging and tempestuous. The water falling from the heauens did stinke, and did in 6 houres turne into maggots where it fell either among our clothes, or in wads of Ocombe.

A most contagious and filthy place.

So by a general consent it was held to be our best course to goe for the West India; and so much the rather, because we had good pilots for that place, who vndertooke more then was after performed. So we bent our course for the Isles of Cape Verde, and arriuing at the Isle of S. Iago the 30 of August, we presently landed at Praia, where we found a smal barke in the rode laden with wine and meale.

The towne of Praya vpon the Isle of S. Iago taken.

After we were departed from this vile coast of Guyny our Generall to our great comforts began to recouer strength; so that being now at Praia, he was able to land with vs. In our landing the people made a shew of great resistance, but we entred the towne without hindrance, being a very pretie towne, hauing a small fort in it, with 6 or 8 cast pieces.

A description of the town of S. Iago taken by sir Francis Drake 1585.

Being here on shore, and finding nothing left in the towne, diuers of our company were very importunate with our Generall, that he would go to the citie of S. Iago being 6 miles off: through their importunitie he yeelded consent, and so we marched towards the citie with 280 souldiers. As we passed by the Negros and herdsmen, they would crie vnto vs Guarda S. Iago. That night we lost our way, and lay vnder a hedge. The next morning the Ordinance of S. Iago was shot off to giue vs notice where the towne was: so wee marched towards it at the breake of the day. The countrey then being all spred ouer with people made shew of feare only to draw vs into the town: but we farther marched with our colours flying by the drumme. The gentelmen would come gallopping by vs and viewing vs very much. But when we came in sight of the towne, we could see no way how to get into it, but by one little path downe a very steepe hill, only man by man to go downe. The strength and situation of this towne was sufficient to haue danted a man of very good courage, for it standeth between two steepe cliffes strongly housed, and three exceeding good forts commanding the whole, the chiefest and best standing vpon the top of the hill right ouer the towne: so that from thence with muskets they command euery streete, the other 2 forts standing by the waters side, all three commanding the rode, and these two euery streete in the towne. Vpon the front of the towne the sea beateth, the rest standeth betweene two mighty cliffes, not accessible but by one small path, by which wee were enforced to goe. Our Generall seeing himselfe thus straighted, and perceiuing the drift of the Portugals was to draw him into this trench, and knowing wel that he could not returne as we came, by reason of many straights and aduantageable places, with an excellent resolution (like vnto himselfe) cryed out, all courage my hearts: assure yourselues that the deuice of the Portugals shall serue our turne this day ; for they will suffer vs quietly to passe downe into their supposed trappe, and then will pursue vs, then which nothing can happen better. The day is ours now shew your selues as I know you will: and so presently we descended into the trench. And being downe the enemy pursued with a mighty crie, and all the cliffes on both sides were beset full of men; shot, and stones we wanted none from them on euery side in great plenty: for this naturall trench was not halfe a musket shot ouer. Those that attempted our Rereward by our Generals policie were so receiued that they made a stand, and neuer more came neere vs. We had now halfe a mile to the towne, into the which when wee came, wee were receiued with the streetes full of souldiers, who ioyned with vs at the push of the pike. But their captaine and diuers of them being slaine (feare possessing them) they fled: and our Generall pursuing with such furious speedej did so dismay them that they fled the towne, and third of August we possessed both the lower forts.

The town of S. Iago taken by Sir Anthony Sherley.

Being now masters of the towne, we presently by the Generals direction (whose skill, spirit, and diligence can neuer haue sufficient commendation) baricadoed up all the streets, and brought our selues into a very conuenient strength. After we had bene six houres in the towne the Portugals still comming in great multitudes to the vpper fort, began to sally downe vpon vs, and to assault vs at euery baricado: so that in the first assault they slew and wounded eighty of our men, to our very great weakening. But they had small cause of triumph, for their losse was thrise more than ours: but they still prosecuted their assault, not giuing vs time either to sleepe or eate, so that we were in exceeding extremitie; for their forces did dayly increase to the number of three thousand persons: but we dayly lost of our poore number. Whilest we were thus keeping the towne, our ships came about vnto vs, who receiued many dangerous shot from the vpper castle. Our Generall finding himselfe thus streighted, and discreetely looking into the policie and strength of the enemy, and scarse able to defend any one assault more, sent to the forts and to his ships that about ten of the clocke in the darke of the night they should shoote at the vpper fort with all possible diligence, and send all the boates ashore, which was accordingly perfourmed. And wee likewise keeping a tumult in the towne, the enemie supposing that our purpose was to assault the vpper fort (which God knowes was most impregnable for vs) retyred from their plotted purpose for the defence thereof. So we in a souldierlike order with very good safety departed the towne, although the Portugals hauing espied our Generals policie came very furiously vpon the back of vs, after we had kept it two dayes and two nights.

Isla del Fuego.

In the rode of S. Iago we tooke a ship with wine and cloth, which did greatly refresh our men. From hence we sayled to an Isle called Fuego, being a very small Isle, with a very high hill in the midst of it, which continually burneth: this Isle is inuincible by nature, high cliffed round about, yet by diligent search we found a small path where wee landed our men with exceeding much difficulty, and so were masters of the Isle the eleuenth of September, where wee tooke in water, but the Isle yeelded vs nothing but miserable infection. One night wee had a showre of ashes which fell so thicke into our ships from that burning hill of Fuego, that you might write your name with your finger vpon the vpper decke.

Departing from this place the twentieth of September, we shaped our course for Dominica an Isle in the West India: but before we came thither our men fell generally downe, so that the hole could not relieue the sicke, the disease was so vile that men grew lothsome vnto themselues, franticke and desperately rauing, among whom our good Generals part was not the least; for his disease was vehement, the griefe of his mind, the lamentation of his men, and the losse of those whom he loued were to him torments more then durable: all which with patience and humilitie in prayer he humbled himselfe vnto. But had not his mind bene inuincible and his desires aboue the ordinary course of men, it had bene impossible that life should now haue rested in him: but God (I hope) hath preserued him to some exceeding good purpose.

Two excellent hote bathes.

Arriuing at Dominica the seuenteenth of October, with all our men sicke and feeble, wee found there two hote bathes, wherein our weake men washing themselues were greatly comforted: and the Indians of this place vsed vs with great kindnesse, so that we were all perfectly well before we departed from this place. For here we stayed vntil the 25 of Nouember. From Dominica we sayled to Margarita, betweene the Isle and the maine, thinking to meete with the perle dredgers, but wee found them not. And comming to the point of Araia in the road of Cumaná, we sawe a Flemish ship riding; the marchant and men whereof came aboord vs, and brought with them my lord Admirals passe. By which meanes our General would in no sort meddle with them, yet they were very rich. Departing thence by Cape Coadera, going for Cape de la Vela at the Isle Buenaire our Fliboat was cast away, and some of the men lost, but the most part saued. Coasting all the shore from Cape de la Vela, being bound for S. Martha, we tooke a small frigat laden with Guiny corne, the eleuenth of September: she had in her money to the valew of 500 pound, linnen cloth and China silke, all which our General bestowed vpon his company to comfort them after their long sustained miseries: Out of which frigat we had 2 good pilots for those coasts: for our pilot, that promised many things before we came thither, was now absent in the Woolfe, who, we thinke, did wilfully loose vs. Arriuing at S. Martha, two leagues West from the town in a faire bay, we landed the 12 of September, and so marched to the towne being often times encountered by the way, and in a narrow way at our descent downe a hill, they had placed two cast pieces of brasse, which we recouered, and so entred the towne, the enemie flying before vs. While we abode in this towne, there came one Don Martin de Castiila, a gentleman of good education and a very great traueller, who knew the whole state of the West India, Malucos, and Philippinas: he had bene in China, and made many relations to our Generall, his purpose was to saue the towne from burning, wherin he preuailed, but ransome I know of none we had: for this gentleman made many great protestations of great pouerty to be in that place. So wee departed, onely taking their ordinance, and a prisoner lost there by sir Francis Drake, with some reliefe of victuals. Hauing stayed there al the time of Christmas, we departed thence on Newyeres day, with termes of great content to our General in the Spaniards great submission vnto him, for they were now within a league of vs with 700 souldiers. And being challenged by him to defend their towne like men of worth, they did notwithstanding intreat fauour with great humilitie.

Santa Marta taken.

Whilest we were at S. Martha, the Wolfe came againe vnto vs: so wee shaped our course for Iamaica, and missing the rode, were constrained to saile round about the Isle, a thing not before done. In this place the Wolfe absolutely againe forsooke vs with the smal barke that we tooke at S. Iago, and returned for England with hard newes of our ruine, but by Gods fauourable help wee arriued in the road of Iamaica the 29 of Ianuary, which is very dangerous to enter by reason of the sholds and rocks that lie before it. Here we landed and marched 6 miles into the country, where the towne standeth; the people all on horsebacke made shew of great matters, but did nothing. Now being masters of the towne and whole Isle, the people submitted themselves to our Generals mercy: and here they prouided for vs great store of dried beefe, and Cassaui meale, a base food, yet the best that the countrey yeeldeth, to continue at sea. This Isle is a marueilous fertil Isle, and is as a garden or store house for diuers parts of the maine. It is full of plaine champion ground, which in the rest of the Indies we haue not seene: it aboundeth with beeues and Cassaui, besides most pleasant fruits of diuers sorts. We haue not found in the Indies a more pleasant and holsome place. During the time that we remained in this Isle the captaine of the Isle came often aboord vs, we hauing pledges for the security of their promise. They were in fine at our Generals deuotion, to dispose of al things, and in all things as he pleased, so that now we were as one people and in one peace together. Being almost ready to depart, M. captaine Parker of Plimmouth came into the rode in his ships boat the second of March, with whom our Generall consorted to goe for the bay of Honduras, where by his perswasion we had great hope of a very good voyage. And departing from Iamaica the 6 of March, we sailed to Cape de Corrientes in Cuba, to looke for a barke of M. Parkers for our better strength: but not finding her, we went for the cape of Honduras, where we proposed to entrap the watch, and so to sacke the towne of Truxillo, but the watch discouering vs, made great fires, and the towne presently shot off a great piece, and answered with fires. Notwithstanding the next day being the 31 of March we brought our ships vnder the fort, and landed our men, but it was a vaine purpose: for the towne is not to be taken but by exceeding multitudes, for it is inuincible by nature. It standeth vpon the top of a very steepe

The Ile and chief towne of Iamaica taken.

hill, bordering close to the sea: so enuironed with woods of such exceeding thicknes, that there is no passage among the trees, which if they were gone, yet there is no climbing vp the hill, only hauing one narrow lane to go into the towne; at the end whereof is a great gate very strongly fortified, so that it is not to be approched vnto, so that with the losse of some few men, we retired from this enterprise, being altogether impossible to be atchieued by our few and weake men.

Puerto de Caualles taken.

We departed from Truxillo the second of April and went for Puerto de Cauallos lower down in the bay, stil nourishing our hope of good successe: and comming thither found it reasonably fortified, but wee presently preuailed and tooke it the 7 of April, being the most poore and miserable place of all India. Now our hopes were all frustrate and no likelihood remayning how we could by any meanes make a voiage: our General reseruing vnto himselfe his silent inward impatience, laboured to doe some memorable thing. And in fine concluded by Rio Dolce to search with his boats some narrow passage or Isthmos for the South sea, alleaging that if hee could but finde a boat there, it should serue him to great purpose; against which there could be no reasonable contradiction. All his chiefest seamen consented hereunto, but especially the Captaine of the Admirall. So sayling with the ships to Cape de tres puntas in the bottome of the bay, there leauing the ships well mored the tenth of Aprill he departed with his boats for Rio Dolce, which in many Charts hath his passage through the land. Vp this riuer by many vncertaine windings we passed 30 leagues and better, where we found a strong built fort, a towne, and diuers store-houses: but for money or merchandize we found none. Wee learned by the miserable people that we tooke, that the South sea was 20 leagues from the nerest of that riuer, and that it was 50 leagues to Guatimala, 40 leagues to Sonsonate, and 30 leagues to Sacatocaluca, being townes which we hoped to marched vnto: so that now we were in worse case then before: for we were fallen sicke with the vnwholesomenesse of this ayre, and our victuals so wasted, as that we were desperate how to recouer our countrey. Whereupon with most vnwilling minds we returned to our shipping, and with all possible expedition weyed, and so laboured vpon the tacke to turne out of this very deepe bay, being 60 leagues within the point of

Guatimala, Sonsonate, and Sacatocaluca.

Their returne.

land. Being out of the bay, wee shaped our course for Cape S. Anthony. Our General, whose restles spirit continually laboured to auoide the frownes of fortune, had now plotted with the Beuice and Galeon to goe for Newfoundland, and there to reuictual, and to haue fresh men, of which we stood in good assurance, and so to depart for the streits of Magellan, and so by his very good policie would haue concluded his voyage in the East India, which plat I thinke it vnnecessary here to reueale, being put in principall trust by him.

Being thwart Hauana, by what chance I know not, but all his ships forsooke him the 13 of May, and here in a desperate place he was left desperately alone. The George departed by consent with his letters, the Galeon I know not how: but our misery in the Admirall was very great, for there was not one in the ship that was euer before in the Indies, besides our miserable want of victuals, the danger of the place, and the furious current of the chanel. Notwithstanding we were enforced without stay to disemboque: which happily being performed, we shaped our course for Newfoundland. And by Gods mercy we arriued there the fifteenth of Iune, not hauing one houres victuals to spare, and there by our countreymen we were well refreshed: where we stayed till the 24 of Iune, still expecting the Galeon, for the execution of this his last purpose: but she not comming, and that plat ouerthrowen, we returned for England, where we found the right honourable the Erle of Essex bound to the seas, with whom wee presently departed in his lordships ship, to doe him our humble seruice.

A voyage of Master William Parker of Plimmouth gentleman, to Margarita, Iamaica, Truxillo, Puerto de Cauallos situate within the bay of Honduras, and taken by sir Anthony Sherley and him, as likewise vp Rio dolce: with his returne from thence, and his valiant and happie enterprize vpon Campeche the chiefe towne of Iucatan, which he tooke and sacked with sixe and fifty men, and brought out of the harbour a Frigat laden with the kings tribute, and surprised also the towne of Sebo.

IN the yeere 1596, Master William Parker of Plimmouth gentlemen being furnished with a tall shippe and a barke at his owne charges, the ship called the Prudence of one hundreth and twenty tunnes, wherein himselfe went captaine, and the barke called the Aduenture of fiue and twentie tunnes, whereof was captain one Richard Hen, departed from the foresayd hauen of Plimmouth in the moneth of Nouember, hauing one hundreth men in his company.

Sixe English men redeemed.

The first place where wee touched in the West Indies was the Isle of Margarita on the coast of Tierra firma, where wee tooke a Spanish gentlemen and others, who for his ransome set at libertie Master Iames Willis, and fiue other Englishmen which were prisoners in Cumanà, who otherwise were neuer like to haue come from thence. Thus passing from thence, wee sayled ouer to the Isle of Iamaica, where the second of March we met with sir Anthony Sherley, who before our comming had taken the chiefe towne in the Island, and was now almost in a readines to depart. And here consorting our selues with him, we departed from Iamaica the sixt of March, and resolued to set vpon the strong towne of Truxillo neere the mouth of the bay of the Honduras. And hauing sayled to Cape de Corrientes vpon Cuba, to seeke a barke of mine for our better strength; but not finding her, we went for the cape of Honduras, where wee purposed to intrap the watch, and so to haue sacked the towne of Truxillo. But the watch discouering vs, made great fires, and the towne presently shot off a great piece, and answered with fires. Nothwithstanding, the next day being the one and thirtieth of March, wee brought our ships vnder the fort, and landed our men: but it was a vaine purpose, for the towne is inuincible by nature, and standeth vpon the top of a very steepe hill close to the sea, enuironed with woods of such exceeding thicknes, that there is no passage through the trees: there is also but one very narrow and steep lane to goe into the towne, at the end whereof is a gate very strongly fortified: so that it is not to be approached vnto, vnless it be vpon the sudden, and with surprize of the watch: wherefore with the losse of some few men wee retired from this enterprize.

Truxillo assailed.

Puerto de Caua11os taken.

From hence we passed vp farther into the gulfe the second of April, with intention to inuade the towne of Puerto de Cauallos, where wee arriued the seuenth of April, and tooke the same, finding it well fortified, but nothing answering our expectation for wealth. Whereupon Sir Anthony Sherley and I being hitherto frustrate of our hopes, They passe aboue 30. leags vp Rio dolce.

resolued here to enter vp to the bottome of Rio dolce, and to passe ouerland vnto the South sea. Wherefore wee set forward, and entred aboue thirty leagues vp the sayd Rio dolce, thinking to haue passed ouerland with two companies of men, and to haue caried a pinnesse in sixe quarters to be set together with skrewes, and therein to haue embarked our selues in the South sea, and there for a time to haue tried our fortune; and to haue returned ouerland to the bay of Honduras. But this our diligence tooke no effect, because of the huge highnes of the mountaines, and the length of the way, being more then was giuen out at the first Then with much griefe we returned out to Truxillo, where I departed from Sir Anthony Sherley.

Cabo de Cotoche.

Cape desconscido.

On Easter euen 1597.

After my departure from this worthy knight, I set my course for Cape de Cotoche which lieth on the East part of Iucatan from whence I ranged al the North coast of the said promontory of Iucatan, vntill I came vnto Cape Desconoscido, where I put 56 of my men into a Periago, or long Indian Canoa; and leauing my ship sixe leagues from the towne of Campeche at three of the clocke in the morning I landed hard by the monasterie of San Francisco, and tooke the sayd towne of Campeche, with the captaine and Alcalde, finding therein fiue hundreth Spaniards, and in two townes close adioyning to the same eight thousand Indians. The multitude of the Spaniards which fled vpon my first assault by ten of the clocke in the morning assembling together renued their strength, and set furiously vpon me and my small company. In which assault I lost some sixe of my men, and my selfe was shot vnder the left brest with a bullet, which bullet lieth still in the chine of my backe. Being thus put vnto our shifts wee deuised on the sudden a newe stratagem: for hauing diuers of the townesmen prisoners, we tied them arme in arme together, and placed them in stead of a baricado to defend vs from the fury of the enemies shot. And so with ensigne displayed, taking with vs our sixe dead men, wee retired with more safetie to the hauen, where we tooke a frigat which rode ready fraught with the kings tribute in siluer and other good commodities, which were presently to bee transported to S. Iuan de Vllua, and brought the same and our Periago or Canoa to my ship, which lay in two fadome water sixe leagues from the town,

To the value of 5000 pound.

being not able to come any neerer for the sholds vpon that coast. Ouer against the place where our ship rode, stoode a towne of 300 or 400 Indians called Sebo, which we likewise tooke, where wee found Champeche-wood good to dye withall, and waxe, and hony. This done we left this coast, and turned vp to Cape de Cotoche againe, and ankored euery day at noone, because of the brizes, and in turning vp I lost my barke called the Aduenture, which was taken by 2 frigats of warre, which were manned out from Campeche: wherein Captaine Hen and thirteen of my men were taken, and afterward executed, as since we vnderstand by some Spanish prisoners that were taken in those parts. After we had stayed fiue weekes on this coast, we shaped our course for Hauana, where finding nothing, we disemboqued, and came along by the Isle of Bermuda, and crossed ouer to The banke neere Cape Race in 22 fadomes: and from thence sayling for England, we fel with Sillie about the first of Iuly, and within two days after arriued at Plimmouth, where we found the Right honorable the Erle of Essex setting forth with a great fleet for the Isles of the Açores.

Sebo an Indian towne taken.

An excellent ruttier for the Islands of the West Indies, and for Tierra firma, and Nueua Espanna.

IF a man depart from the barre of S. Lucar in Summer time, hee must steere Southwest vntil hee hath sight of Punta de Naga, which is in the Isle of Tenerif. The markes to know it be these. An high point sloping to the sea, and at the Easter point it hath two down falles like particions, and they shew to be separated from the maine of the Island and stand in 28 degrees and a halfe. And if thou wilt haue sight of the Grand Canaria, and findest thy selfe with Punta de Naga, thou shalt then steere Southwest and by South, and so thou shalt haue sight of Canaria which standeth in 28 degrees. And thou must come to ankor on the Sotuheast side of the Island. But I aduise thee, if it be in winter time, that thou keepe another course, and that as followeth.

The course that a man must keepe departing in winter for the Indies from Sant Lucar.

DEparting from Sant Lucar in winter thou shalt goe West and by South keeping along the coast, because if thou goe farre from the coast, thou shalt meete with the wind off the sea vntill thou be as high shot as Cape Cantin, which is a low flat cape with the sea. And thou salt see a great wood before thou come at this cape, called Casa del Cauallero. And from thence thou shalt steere thy olde course, that is Southwest and by South for the Isles of Alegrança, and Lancerota; and when thou art North and South with Alegrança, thou shalt steere thence Southwest, and so thou shalt see the Canaria, which is a round high land, and standeth in twentie eight degrees.

A great wood before you come at Cape Cantin.

What thou must doe if a contrary wind take thee fiftie leagues off the shore.

WHen thou art fifty leagues shot on thy way into the sea Southwest off, and there thou chance to meete with a contrary winde off the sea, and if it force thee to put roome, then thou shalt steere Northeast and by East, and shalt hall with sight of Cabos del Plata, which shew when thou art a seaboord so farre as thou mayest descrie them, to be like two points of white sand: and if it be cleere thou shalt see within the land certain high hilles lying Northwest and by West called las Sierras de Zahara, and being three leagues from land thou shalt haue thirtie fadomes water, and sand: And from thence to the bay of Cadiz thou shalt goe along Northwest by the coast: and if thou be in thirtie or fortie fadomes, thou shalt haue oaze; but if thou bee in lesse then thirtie fadomes, thou shalt haue other sounding; which if it chance, then thou art against S. Pedro. And if it bee by day thou shalt see the Ermitage of Sant Sebastian, which seemeth to be a shippe vnder sayle. And thou shalt goe into the bay taking heede of the Puercos, giue them a good birth off. And if thou chance to bee benighted when thou fallest with the bay, and wouldest goe into the bay, thou shalt carie thy lead in thy hand, and be sounding: and finding thy selfe in rockie ground, thou halt steere North because of shunning the Puercos: and yet giue not too great a birth because of The Diamant, and so thou mayest goe in, sounding when thou thinkest good. And being benighted and then not East and West with the bay, and if thou doest not goe into it, then make the largest boord thou canst keeping off till day.

Los Puercos.

If thou be at the Canaries and wouldest sayle to Nueua Espanna, thou shalt sayle foure and twenty houres South because of the calmes of Fierro. And from thence thou shalt goe Westsouthwest, vntill thou finde thy selfe in twenty degrees. And then thou must goe West and by South, which is the course for the Isle Deseada. And from Deseada thou shalt goe West and by North, because of the variation of the compasse. And falling with Desead thou shalt finde it to rise low with the sea: and it standeth in 15 degrees. And the eastermost part is the sharpest, and smaller then the West point.

The Isle Deseada in the West Indies standeth in 15 degrees of latitude.

And if thou art going for Tierra firma, thou shalt goe West and by South vntill thou come to Dominica, and there on the Northwest side is a riuer, where thou mayest water. The marks to know it bee a certaine high land full of hilles. And seeing it when thou art farre off to the seward, it maketh in the middest a partition; so that a man would thinke it diuided the Island in two parts. And this Island standeth in 14 degrees and a halfe.

I aduise thee that if thou wouldest goe for Nueua Espanna, and so doest passe betweene Guadalupe and Monserate to the Westward, that being thus open off the entrance betwixt them thou shalt go Westnorthwest, and so shalt haue sight of Santa Cruz, which standeth in seuenteene degrees and a halfe. And the markes to show it be these. It is an Island not very high, and lyeth East and West, and at the East end it is lower then at the West end.

And going forward on thy course thou shalt runne Westnorthwest, and so thou shalt goe to haue sight of the Isle of San Iuan de Puerto rico, which is an Iland lying East and West, and standeth in eighteen degrees. And the markes be these. That on the West end it is lowest, and the Eastermost is the highest. And if thou fall with the middest of the Island, then thou shalt goe a long it to the West vnto Cabo Roxo, which is the end of the Isle. And from thence the coast runneth North to Punta Aguada. Cape Roxo hath certaine red cliffes. Thou must steere West and by South from Cape Roxo to find Mona, and so thou shalt haue sight of Mona. And the marks thereof be these, it is a low land lying East and West: and on the East end it is highest, it hath a slope towards the sea, and standeth in 18 degrees, rather lesse than more. And if it be by day, then thou shalt runne West and shalt see Saona:

which is an Island lying without Hispaniola, and lyeth East and West, and is full of trees; and hath certaine sandy bayes. And if it bee cleere weather thou shalt see within the land of Hispaniola certaine hie hils called las Sierras de Yguey. And being benighted vpon Mona, then thou shalt steere West and by South, because of certaine certaine shoalds that lye off Saona: but hauing day light and no sight of land, thou shalt loofe vp Northwest and so passe by it, and as thou goest along the coast of Hispaniola, and seest the sea to be cast vp into the aire, then thou shalt be about 10 leagues off the harbour of Santo Domingo, and these mountings vp are called The Spoutes.

Los Buffaderos or The spoutes.

But I aduise thee, that if thou bee benighted when thou fallest with Santo Domingo, then thou must keepe the hils called Sierras de las minas viejas to the Northwest. And if thou wouldest goe into Santo Domingo, and meetest there with a forcible Northerly wind, then the best way is to runne East till it be day. And hauing daylight thou shalt cast about, and so thou must ply to wind-ward vntill the Northerly wind be done: and when it is past, make all the saile thou canst to hale with the sight of Calle de las Damas: and when thou hast sight thereof thou shalt lye with thy stemme with a sandie Bay, which lyeth on the other side: and thou must take in thy maine saile, and go so till thou bring thy selfe open with the midst of the riuer; and so hauing opened the riuer, thou must go with great care in the middest of the same, with all thy sailes vp, except thy maine saile, and thou must haue thy boat out, if it be needefull to sound or to tow thy ship, if she cast too much to the loofe, for the currents will cast here to the loofe: wherefore bee sure to haue thy boat out to helpe thy steerage: and this is the way whereby thou must worke.

The course from Santo Domingo to go for Nueua Espanna.

I Aduise thee that if thou wilt goe from Santo Domingo for Nueua Espanna, thou shalt goe Southwest and by South, and so thou shalt haue sight of Punta de Niçao, which is a low point, and is the end of the hilles called Sierras de las minas Vieias, and towards the Northwest of them thou shalt see a lowe land, and to goe into Hocoa thou shalt stirre from this poynt of Niçao Westnorthwest, and thou shalt see the point of Puerto Hermoso, and the Bay that it

Punta de Nizao.

maketh: and thou must be sure to keepe neere the shore to find a good road, and feare not to go neere the land: for all is deepe water, and cleare ground, and let not fall thine anker til thou be past all the riuers; and beware of the land, for if thou ride much without, thy anker wil come home, because it is rocky and flatte ground. And thou must be ready, that when thine anker commeth home, thou haue thy moarings readie in thy boat to carry on shore with foure or fiue men, and if thou thinke good, thou mayest let them fall on land with a rope. And when thou art come to anker thou mayest send on shore to moare, so shalt thou be best moared.

The course from Hocoa to Nueua Espanna.

GOing from Hocoa to Nueua Espanna thou shalt stirre Southwest: and this way thou shalt find the Isles Beata, and Alto velo: Beata hath these marks: It is a low land with the sea, and full of trees: and on the East side an high land or cliffe; and Alto velo hath these markes. A blacke round land, and the Eastermost part thereof is highest, and it hath a downefall. When thou art North and South with * then thou shalt go West, vntill thou be so farre shot as the Frailes: and from thence goe West and by North, and keeping this course thou shalt haue sight of Cape Tiburon. And if by keeping this course thou haue sight of a little Island, thou mayest make account it is the Isle of Baque: and it is hard to the land, and from thence thou shalt go West, keeping thy selfe out vntill thou double a poynt that maketh as it were a great Bay, and then thou must go West and by North, till thou come to Cape Tiburon, that hath a round blacke land, and in some part thereof certaine white cliffes.

Cape de Tiburon.

I aduise thee that when thou art against Cape de Tiburon, thou stirre Northwest, and so thou shalt haue sight of Cuba, which lyeth East and West: and thou shalt see certaine hilles which are called Sierras del Cobre, and in the highest of them is the harbour of S. Iago de Cuba: and finding thy selfe so, thou mayest runne West vnto Cape de Cruz. And before thou seest Cape de Cruz thou shalt see the hils called Sierras de Tarquino, and from these hils to Cape de Cruz the land waxeth lower and

---

* Blank in original.

lower, and it is lowest of all at the Cape it selfe. And if thou chance to haue the water troubled, as though thy ship did raise vp the sand from the ground, be not afraid: for this place is called The nine fathoms: for thou shalt find no lesse water vpon it, and it is the shallowest water that thou shalt haue.

Thou must marke that Cape de Cruz maketh an ende of the coast that commeth from the East to the West, and beginneth the course that goeth North and South, and standeth in 19. degrees, rather more then lesse.

From Cape de Cruz thou must stirre Westnorthwest: and this way thou shalt haue sight of the Isle de Pinos, and if thou haue faire weather, then thou must goe Northwest and by West, because of the currents that will set thee out to sea. And keeping this course thou shalt haue sight of an high land. I tell thee it is the marke of the Isles called los Iardines, and is commonly called the land of Zagueio: and then thou shalt goe West and by South: and if it bee by night, then goe Westsouthwest vntill thou haue brought thy selfe out from The Iardines. And being by day thou shalt keepe off the land, and shalt goe Westnorthwest, and so thou shalt see the Isle de Pinos.

The markes to know the Cape de Santo Antonio.

THe headland called Capo de Santo Antonio is a lowe land, and full of trees, and vpon the Cape it selfe it hath two or three woods, and the coast lyeth Northwest and Southeast. And thou must also take good heed that thou haue sight on the same coast of a white sandie Bay; and it is on the same coast that lyeth Northwest and Southeast. And these be the markes from Punta de las Arenas thou shalt haue a great Bay, being so long, that if thou be not very neere the shore thou canst not see land, it is so low. And if thou see not the land well, it will shew to be a tuft of trees. And the Cape of S. Anthony standeth in 22. degrees.

Cape de Sant Anton in 22 degrees.

A ruttier that a man must keepe from Dominica to Martinino and so to Tierra firma.

I Aduise thee that going from Martinino or Dominica, if thou wouldest goe for Margarita, that thou stirre South and by West because of the great currents that goe here, and set Northwest.

And by this course thou shalt find the Testigos, which be 4 or 5 Islands: and if thou wilt not goe so much to windward, then thou shalt see Frailes, which bee three small Islands. And if thou wilt goe into the harbour of Manpater, it is presently in doubling of the point on the East side to the Southward. And being minded to go for puerto de Iuan Griego, which lieth on the North-side, then go neere the land, and along the coast of the West, and presently thou shalt haue sight of of puerto de Iuan Griego; it standeth in 11. degrees.

The Testigos.

Frailes.

Puerto de Iuan Griego.

I aduise thee that going from Matalino, which standeth in 13. degrees, if thou wouldest goe to Cartagena, thou shalt goe West and by South, and by this way thou shalt haue sight of the Isles of Curaçao and Aruba, which stand in 12. degrees: from these Islands thou shalt go West; and when thou art North and South with Monjes thou shalt see them to be three little white Ilands, and they are white because of the multitude of birds that are there: they stand in a triangle. From thence thou shalt goe West, if it be by day, and so shalt haue sight of Coquebacoa that standeth in 12. degrees. And being by night, then goe Northwest: and by day thou shalt cast to goe for the land againe Westsouthwest. Coquebacoa hath a certaine poynt not very high, and within this poynt thou shalt see in the inland certain hilles which bee called las Sierras de Auite.

Curazao.
Aruba.

Monjes three litle Islands.

Coquebacao.

Going from this point of Coquebacoa thou shalt run West, and shalt run along the coast, and shalt go to haue the sight of Baya honda and Portete, which is a low land euen with the sea.

Baia honda.
Portete.

The Cape de la Vela lieth with a redde shewe not very high; and without this Cape about a league there is a little coppled rocke. A man may be bold to go betwixt this rocke and the maine.

Cape de la vela.

And going from this Cape to haue sight of Cape del Aguja thou must stirre Southwest, and thou shalt haue sight of the Ancones which lye at the ende of the hilles called Sierras Neuadas. And then presently thou shalt see the Cape del Aguja: the marks whereof are these: It is a low Cape, and vpon it is a copple not very high, and there beginneth the high land of the Sierras Neuadas, or snowy mountaines.

Cape del Aguja.

Take this for a warning that if thou goe for Cape de la Vela by night by the course abouesayd, and commest into a whitish water, then sound and thou shalt find 40. fathoms, and thy sound will be certaine smal sandy white oaze, and some smal weeds. And then thou mayest make account that thou art North and South with the riuer called Rio de Palominos, which commeth out of the midst of the Sierras Neuadas. And being benighted thou shalt go Westnorthwest, or West and by North vntil day: and being day then thou mayest hale in with sight of the land Southwest, because thou mayest be sure to come right in with it.

Rio de Palominos.

If thou goe from Cape del Aguja for Cartagena, if it bee by day, thou shalt goe West and by South, and shalt goe to haue sight of Morro Hermoso, that is The faire mountaine, which lyeth to the Westward of Rio grande. And being alone, and with a good ship of saile, and drawing towards night, then thou must come to anker behind Morro hermoso: and after the first watch thou must set saile, and go out West and by North, because thou must be sure to keepe a seaboord from the Island de Arenas, which lyeth 2 leagues to seaward right against Samba.

Morro hermoso.

Rio grande.

Isla de Arenas.

Samba or Zamba.

And if thou goe from Cape del Aguja by night thou shalt goe West and by North: and so thou shalt goe without the force of the water of Rio Grande. And being by day thou shalt goe along the coast, and shalt see Morro hermoso, which, as I haue sayd, lyeth to the West of Rio Grande, and hath for markes, a face of a blacke land not very hie, and it is round. And if thou depart by day from Morro hermoso, thou must goe West, and must take heede, as I sayde before, of the Isle de Arenas, which lyeth North and South of Samba. Samba hath for marke as it were a gallie towed. And going this way by day, thou shalt see El buio del Gato which is an high land with certaine white cliffes to the seaward: and also more to the West thou shalt see the poynt called Punta de la Canoa, which is a low land euen with the water: and there endeth the coast which lyeth East and West. And the Bay that goeth to Cartagena beginneth here, and lyeth Northeast and Southwest.

El Buio del Grato.

Punta de la canoa.

Cartagena.

And take this for a warning, that if thou be benighted against Samba, thou shalt take in thy sailes, and lye off to the offward vntil midnight without any saile abroad vntil midnight: and from midnight forward thou shalt lye so into the land without sayle: and if in the breake of day thou see no land, then goe Southwest, and if this way thou haue sight of certaine white cliffes, make account it is Buio del Gato. Take this for a warning, if thy ship bee great come not nigh the land in the Bay: I meane thou mayest not with a great ship come nigh the land from the poynt de la Canoa vntill thou come to Cartagena, because in many places there are not aboue 3 or 4 fathoms at the most. In all this Bay there is no hie land but the Gallie, which is right ouer the harbour of Cartagena.

The land marks of Cartagena.

And if it chance that any man come for this place that neuer was here before, then let him looke for a little hill like a towed gallie lying East and West, and all the land is low, and seemeth to be full of trees. Hauing these sights, then make account thou art against Cartagena, and to goe in thou hast nothing to be afraid of: but keepe thyselfe hard aboord the poynt of Ycacos: and then when thou commest to double the poynt del Iudeo, giue a breadth off, because there is a shoald.

The poynt of Ycacos.
A shoald.

A shoald halfe a league to the sea.

I aduise there that if thou be benighted when thou art at The poynt de la canos, and wouldest enter into Cartagena by night, that thou take good heede of a shoald that lyeth halfe a league to the sea, and so thou shalt goe in 8 fathoms, and sandie ground. And when thou findest thyselfe in deepe water, as in 30 fathoms and more, then the harbour will bee open before thee. And if thou haue any fresh Northerne winds, then loose vp to the seaward, and lye with thy stemme Eastsoutheast, and so thou mayest goe in East through the middest of the chanell: and though it bee by night, yet thou mayest goe in safely, because it is all cleere. And if the night be cleere thou shalt haue sight of the Island called Cares, and it is an high land.

The Isle of Cares.

Sal Medina.
Cabeza de Catiua.
Rio de Francisco.

Comming from Cartagena to goe for Nombre de Dios in the time of the Northerne winds, thou must bring thy selfe to the offward of Sal medina: and thence stirre West till thou bring thy selfe North and South with Cabeça de Catiua: and then goe Southwest and by West, and thou shalt so fall with Rio de Francisco. It hath for markes a certaine land not very high, and within the land certaine high hils lying East and West. And on the

West of the riuer of Francisco thou shalt see certaine cliffes that bee sixe leagues from Nombre de Dios, inclining toward the sea.

I aduise thee that going this course aboue written; if thou see 3 or 4 Isles lying lowe with the sea, and also lying East and West, thou mayest make account that they be the Islands de Catiua, and then runne West, and so thou shalt go along the coast. And if thou see by this way a poynt of low land, make account it is Punta de Samblas: and vpon it thou shalt see a row of hie rockie hils, and they be the mountaines of Santa Cruz.

The Isles of Catiua.

Punta de Samblas.

Sierras de Santa Cruz.

If thou come from Cartagena to go to Nombre de Dios in the time of the sea winds when thou art out from Sal Medina, thou shalt goe West and by North, that thou mayest haue sea-roome, and take the Brisas or Northerne winds when they come: and goe till thou be North and South with the harbour of Nombre de Dios: and from thence goe Southwest, and if by this way thou see a row of high hils on a coast that lyeth Northeast and Southwest, make account they are Sierras de las minas Viejas, which minas Viejas lie North and South with the harbour of Velo alto. Hauing kept this course abouesaid, and hauing sight of the former marke, thou mayest account that thou art on the West side of Nombre de Dios.

Sierras de las minas viejas

Puerto de velo alto.

Nombre de Dios.

Furthermore when thou hast sight of an high land, and thou bee North and South with it, and in the toppe thereof thou seest as it were a litle table, if it be highest toward the East, then make account that thou art North and South with Nombre de Dios, I say, with the harbour of Nombre de Dios, and this hill is called Sierra de Capira. And if thou wilt goe into the harbour, thou must keepe thy prow right against this hill, and comming neerer to the shore, thou shalt see a ledge of rockes, and it is without, and thou mayest goe in what depth thou thinkest good, or at which place thou findest most water in. And to the West of the harbour thou shalt see two or three Islands called Islas de los Bastimentos.

Sierra de Capira.

A ledge of rocks.

Isla de los Bastimentos.

Take this for a warning, if thou come out of Nombre de Dios in the time of the Brisas or Northerne winds, and wouldest goe for Cartagena, thou shalt come out in the morning, and shalt go Northnorthwest vntill 3 of the clocke at afternoone, and then cast about to the

The course to goe back from Nombre de Dios to Cartagena.

land, vntill thou be hard aboord the shore, and so thou must go turning vntill thou hast doubled Cabeça de Catiua and hauing doubled it then ply to windward all that thou mayest: and if thou be Eastnortheast off it then thou shalt haue sight of the Ilands of Baru, which are 3 or 4 Islands lying low, and are all full of trees: and then presently thou shalt haue sight of the gallie that is ouer Cartagena, and it is like a gallie towed.

Islas de Baru.

I aduise thee, that if thou come for Cartagena in the time aboue sayde, and commest from Cabeça de Catiua, if the wind will not suffer thee to lye but West, then going thus if thou seest a great high Island full of mountaines, and on the North side thereof thou see a ledge of rocks two leagues into the sea, thou mayest be sure it is Isla fuerte; but if thou see not the rocks, giue them a good breadth: and if thou wilt come to anker, thou mayest ride well on the West side of them, betwixt the mane and them in fifteene fathomes; and the sounding is clay. And if thou wilt go betweene this and the Islands of Saint Barnardo to goe into Cartagena, thou mayest goe safely. And if any man aske thee how thou knowest the Islands of Baru and San Barnardo, thou mayest answere truely, that the Isles of San Barnardo are full of high hilles, and certaine sandie bayes to seaward; and the sayd Isles haue a good depth two or three leagues to the sea: and this depth is called The Bacilla. And these are all the markes for the Islandes of San Barnardo. And touching the Isles of Baru, they bee 3 or 4 little Islands and very euen with the sea, and full of trees, and there is no good depth about them, but hard aboord them.

Isla ſuerte.

A ledge of rocks.

Islas de San Barnardo.

La Bacilla.

A ruttier from Cartegena to Hauana in Cuba.

COmming from Cartagena to goe to Hauana, thou must goe Northnorthwest vntill thou be in foureteene degrees: and then forwardes thou shalt goe with great care to anker euery night, and when it is day set sayle. And this is to bee done in this place because of the shoalds of Serrana: and so thou mayest proceede with a care to anker when thou commest about Seranilla, or neere to it, which is in fifteene degrees and a halfe. And vpon it

The shoalds of Serrana.

Seranilla.

thou shalt see a lowe flatte land lying Northeast and Southwest: and the sea beateth vpon it round about, except that on the Southeast part it hath certaine shelues of sand, and on the West side it hath a certain litle copple, which from sea seemeth to bee a shippe vnder sayle: and being Northeast and Southwest off it, scant a league from the shoald commeth out on the West side a certayne shoald, whereupon the sea doth alwayes beate

I aduise thee that if thou canst not passe on the West side, then thou must goe betwixt the sayd little copple that is like a sayle and the shoald; for the passage is good. But if thou depart from the Serranilla to the Northwest, and seest a lowe land with the sea, and certaine white sandy bayes, and on the West side seest a low land, and on the Eastside a little coast lying East and West, thou mayest make account it is Cape de Corrientes.

Cape de Corrientes.

And if thou goe from Cape de Corrientes for Cape de Santo Antonio, thou must goe Westnorthwest, and so thou shalt goe with the Cape. The marks be a low land full of trees with certaine white sandie bayes: and vpon the Cape itselfe thou shalt see two thicke groues of great trees, and they be vpon the Cape itselfe.

To go from the Cape de Sant Antonio for Hauana in the time of the North winds, thou shalt goe Northwest vntill thou be cleere of all the shoalds of the Cape, and then hale thy bowlines, and go as neere the wind as thou canst possibly, vntill thou bring thy selfe vnto 24. degrees, and there sound, and thou shalt find it the Tortugas, and thy sounding will be white sand.

The Tortuges.

Thou must take heede what is said in the Chapter before: for he that writ the same hath seene it, and bene witnesse to this: that comming from Seranilla, and stirring North and by East he had sight of an Island standing in 16 degees, and it is on the shoalds of Cape de Camaron. And from thence, if thou haue the wind large, goe North-east and by East, because of the variation of the compass, and thou shalt make thy way Eastnortheast, and thou shalt fall with Isla de Pinos. This I say, because the currents set sometime West: and so it fell out to bee true in March, Anno Domini 1582. I tell thee farther, that wee came out from this aforesayd Isle stirring north and

Seranilla.
An Iland in 16 degrees.
Baxos de Cabo de Camaron.
The variation of the compasse.
Isla de Pinos.
The currents set here sometimes West.

by East, for the wind would not suffer vs to lye neere the East, and one euening at Sunne going downe we fell with a land, that had the same markes to our iudgement with the Cape de Corrientes: and because night was at hand, we wrought to double Cape de Sant Antonio, stirring West: and about midnight we had land all high right a head, and the coast lying Southwest: and then we cast and lay Northeast till day: And being day, wee saw the land all a head, and we plied to windward to the East, and kept it a larboord till we had brought it Southwest. And to be short, we went here on land in the same place that we first fell with in the euening before: and it was an Island called Coçumel, lying on the coast of Iucatan. And this Island was the land which we saw first, seeming by the marks to be the Cape de Corrientes. Wee came to an anker about the middest of the Island, rather to the Norther then the Souther part: there we fonnd a towne of Indians, who gaue vs all things which we needed for our money: and we carried our Astrolabs on shore and tooke the height in 19. degrees and one tierce. A man may goe betweene this Island and the coast of Iucatan, and the Cape de Catoche at pleasure Northeast; and the water wil set in thy fauour: and thou must go till thou be in 24. degrees, and so thou shalt haue the sounding of the Tortugas.

Isle de Cozumel.

The latitude of Cozumel in 19. deg. and one tierce.

Las Tortugas.

The course to be kept from the Cape de Santo Antonio for Nueua Espanna.

IF thou goe from the Cape de Santo Antonio for Nueua Espanna, and beeing late, thou shalt stirre Westnorthwest till thou be in the height of 24. degrees: and from thence thou shalt stirre something to the West, vntil thou bring thy selfe North and South with the litle Iland called Vermeja: and when thou art so, thou shalt go Southwest, and by this way thou shalt find Villa Rica, which is in 19 degrees and a halfe, and the signes be these. Thou shalt find a ledge of high hils lying Northeast and Southwest. But if thou chance to fall with a coast that lyeth North and South, then thou mayest account that it is about the low ground of Almeria which hath these markes. It is a land

The little Isle called Vermeja.

Marks of Villa Rica.

The low ground of Almeria.

Las Sierras de Papalo.

not very high, and it is full of little copples. And if thou haue cleare weather, thou shalt see within the land certaine high hils which are called the hils of Papalo.

Saint Paul.

Monte de Carneros.

Casa de Buytron.

The castle of S. Iuan de Vllua.

The hospitall.

And I aduise thee that beeing so farre shotte as the poynt called Punta del gada, which is the ende of all those hilles of Villa Rica, thou mayest stirre thence South and by West, and thou shalt goe along the coast, and shalt see a lowe land, and with this land thou shalt fall, going for Saint Paul, and being so farre shotte as Saint Paul, if thou wilt goe into the harbour, thou must stirre Southwest: and this is the course that thou must keepe being shotte into the Bay. And thou shalt goe along the coast of the lowe land in sight thereof: and keeping this course thou shalt see on the other side a blacke hill, and it is called Monte de Carneros. Take this for a note, that it lyeth ouer the house of Buytron: and as thou doestcome neerer to the poynt of rockes, thou must bee sure to keepe the lead going, and shalt haue foure fathomes and a halfe or fiue fathomes and so thou mayest goe through the middest of the chanell. And comming against the castle, thon shalt giue it some breadth off towards the Arrecife or rocke: and hauing doubled the castle, thou shalt goe from thence and shalt bring thy selfe to an anker hard by the Herreria, which is a cleane Bay, and thou shalt ride against the hospitall.

I aduise thee that if thou be benighted when thou art neere to S. Paul, and meetest with a Northerly wind after midnight, that then thy best way is to bring thy selfe into thy coarses, and lye by, plying to windward, and to seaward in 20. fathomes which depth thou shalt haue neere the shore, to the Northward: and being day, then goe in with the harbour as thou canst best, obseruing what is abouesaid.

The riuer of Almeria.

And I aduise thee that if thou come from Villa Rica, and findest thy selfe in 20. degrees and a halfe, and seest no land, and seest that the water doth alter, thou shalt sound 60. fathomes water: and if in this depth thou hast oaze, make account thou art East and West with the riuer of Almeria. This course is from the Cape of Santo Antonio to Nueua Espanna without or asea- boord the Alacranes or Scorpions.

Now followeth how to worke, if a man come betwixt the Alacranes and the maine.

Alacranes or Scorpions.

The triangle.

Surta or Zarza.

IF thou goe from the Cape de Santo Antonio and wouldest goe for Nueua Espanna within the Alacranes, thou must stirre West and by South, and by this way thou shalt bring thy selfe in 20. fathoms and if thou keep this course findest less water, then go West and by North, and that way thou shalt bring thy selfe into 20. fathomes againe, vntill thou haue brought thy selfe North and by South with the triangle. And being North and South with the triangle, then thou shalt be also North and South with Surta: from thence thou shalt goe Southwest: and by this course thou shalt haue sight of the high hils of S. Martin, which are certaine high hils lying Northwest and Southeast, and they haue a partition in the midst, and to the Northwest they be highest: and on the Southeast, part within the land, thou shalt see something on high land, called Pan de Minsapa, that is, the lofae of Minsapa, which is a round loafe not very high.

The hils of S. Martin stand in 18. degrees lesse one fift part.

I aduise thee, that when thou fallest with Saint Martin, and wouldest go with Saint Iohn de Vllua, then thou shalt goe Westnorthwest: and this is the course that thou must keepe, if thou bee farre off at sea, I meane so farre off as thou mayest well descrie the hils of S. Martin.

Rio de Medelin.

But if thou be neere to the land, then thou must goe Northwest and by West, and thou shalt so come along the coast, and thou shalt find the coast to bee low land: and comming this course thou shalt haue sight of certaine little hilles not very high: then thou shalt fall with the poynt called Punta de Antoni Serro: and these hilles lye ouer the riuer of Medelin. And if when thou art East and West, with the Volcan or hill that casteth out fire, any man doe aske thee, where the harbour of Sant Iuan de Vllua is, thou mayest truely answere, West and by South, and it standeth in 18. degrees and a halfe.

The course to be kept from Nueua Espanna to the maine of Spaine in Europe.

COmming from S. Iuan de Vllua to goe for Spaine, thou shalt stirre Northeast vntill thou be in 24. degrees: and so beeing thou shalt goe East vntill thou bring thy selfe in the soundings of the Tortugas, and thy ground wil be white sand. I aduise thee, that if it be by night, thou goe East; and finding the water to waxe shoalder, then goe Southwest, with a care to keepe thy lead going, vntill thou loose ground, and come into great depth, because thou mayest fall to the North of the Tortugas. And going from this sound for Hauana thou must stirre Southsoutheast, because of the currents that carrie thee to the East. And if by this way thou haue sight of an hie land, that seemeth to be like a loafe, make account it is the loafe of Cabanas. And to the East of this loafe thou shalt see a land that hath a plaine. It sheweth to be low, euen with the sea, and as smooth as the sea: and from this land to the East the land is lower and lower. And from thence to Hauana thou must goe East. And if the wind will not let thee go that course, thou must turne vp till thou be vpon the harbour of Hauana.

The Tortugas.

The currents to the East.

Pan de Cabanas.

Hauana.

The marks of this point of Hauana be these, that on the East side it hath an hie blacke land, which is sloping to the sea, with a litle white tower on the top thereof: and as thou goest into the port, thou must keepe neere the high blacke land, and when thou art hard to it, strike thy toppe sayles in signe of peace to the castle, least it shoote at thee.

What course the Spaniards keepe from Hauana to Spaine.

IF from Hauana thou wouldest set thy course for Spaine, thou must goe Northeast, and shalt so haue sight of the Martyres, which stand in 24. degrees and a halfe. And the coast lieth East and West. The marks be these, it sheweth like heads of trees, and in some places certaine rocks with white sandy bayes. And if the wind be large, thou mayest go East and by South vntill thou see the coast to lye Northeast and Southwest: and if the wind be scant, then goe turning vp: and take good heed that euery euening at

Los Martyres

Sunne going downe thou haue sight of the land, and so thou must do being in the chanell, vntill thou bring thy selfe into the middest of the chanell: and thou must lye off from the going downe of the sunne, vntill the ende of the first watch with thy coarses alone, without any more sayle; and from midnight forwards cast about, and lye the other way with the like sayle vntill day: and thus thou must doe vntill thou bring thy selfe into the chanel. And if being in the Chanel thou finde the winde large, thou shalt stirre Northeast, with a care to goe cleane off the sholds of the Mimbres or the Osiars. And if being in the Chanel thou meete with the wind at North, then thou must turne with a little saile 4. glasses one way, and 4. another, as thou thinkest good. And if thou canst not beare sayle, then thou mayest goe with all thy sayles downe, except when thou wouldest cast about, thou mayest loose some small sayle to winde thy ship.

The sholds of Mimbres, that is, of Osiars.

I aduise thee, that when thou art come out of the Chanel, thou shalt be in 28. degrees. And if it be in Summer, thou shalt goe Northeast vntill thou be in 39. degrees and ½, which is the height of Flores: and thou shalt goe to the Northward of Bermuda. And if thou thinke good to go in more degrees, to haue the seawinds, thou shalt goe by the same height, as I haue sayd: and if thou shalt finde the winde off the sea, thou hast no neede to goe in more heights: and from thence thou shalt goe East and by South: and thou must goe thus because of the variation of the Compasse. And thus thou shalt find the isles of Flores and Cueruo, which stand in 39. degrees ½, and in 40. large. These markes be these.

The chanell reacheth to 28. degrees.

La Bermuda.

The variation of the Compasse.

Thou mayest goe from betwixt Flores and Cueruo, and must goe East Southeast, and so thou shalt haue sight of the Island of Sayles, which is the Island of S. George. And beeing at the land thou shalt goe along it, and when thou hast doubled a certaine litle Headland that lyeth in the East poynt, then thou shalt stirre East and by North, and East. And thus going, thou shalt haue sight of Terçera, which is in 39. degrees. The markes bee these. And behinde a certaine blacke land something high, which is called el Brasil, standeth the Citie called Angra. Going from Terçera, thou shalt runne East Northeast, untill thou bring thy selfe

Flores and Cueruo.

Saint George.

Terzera.

The Cape of S. Vincent

The windes are alwayes at Northwest in the summer.

The markes of Cape S. Vincent.

The Asagresal.

The Cape of Saint Mary.

Northwest, and Southeast with the Cape of Saint Vincent. And thou mayest worke thus being in summer: for alwayes thou shalt haue the windes at Northwest. And beeing Northwest and Southeast with this Cape, thou shalt stirre Southeast and by East, and thou shalt so fall with the land 6. or 7. leagues to the windward off the Cape on the coast, which lyeth North and South: then thou shalt goe along the coast to the South, vntill thou see the Cape. And the Cape standeth in 37. degrees: the markes be these. It is a Cape not very hie, and is blacke, sloping to the sea. And from thence thou shalt double the Asagresal Southeast; and so running, thou shalt then goe East vnto the Cape of S. Mary: and from this Cape goe East Northeast, and so thou shalt runne to haue sight of Arenas Gordas: and then thou shalt see presently a little hill towardes the East which is called Cabeça de Pedro Garcia. And if thou be benighted, and comming into 8. or 9. fathoms, then I wish thee to come to anchor, vntill it be day, and then call for a Pilote, that may by some meanes carie thee into harbour.

The course in winter from the chanel of Bahama.

The variation of the Compasse.

Many lost vpon Bermuda by negligence.

The Isle of S. Marie.

Faial.

I aduise thee, if in the Winter time thou bee shot out of the narrowest of the Channel of Bahama, and wouldest goe for Spaine, that thou must goe East Northeast, vntill thou be in 30. degrees rather lesse then more; and then thou mayest goe East and by South, because of the variation of the Compasse. And stirring hence East Southeast, thou shalt goe on the Southside of Bermuda: and must goe with great care, because many haue bene lost heere about this Island, because of their negligence. And when thou art sure thou art past this Island, then goe East Northeast, vntill thou bee in the height of seuen and thirtie degrees: which is in the height of the Island of Saint Marie. And going thus, and not seeing Land, but seeing the Sea to breake, make account it is the rocks called Las Hormigas. And if thou thinke good to goe to Faial, thou shalt goe till thou be in 38. degrees ½ scant, and then thou shalt goe East, and so shalt thou haue sight of Faial. The markes of it be these.

Comming out from Faial, and leauing all the Islandes, then all goe East and by South vntill thou bring thy selfe in 37. degrees, which is the height of Cape Saint Vincent: and then goe East, and thou shalt see the Cape hauing the markes aforesayd. And from Cape S. Vincent thou must goe East Southeast, till thou be Northeast, and Southwest, with the barre of S. Lucar: and then goe Northeast for the Barre.

The barre of S. Lucar.

Take this for a warning, that if going in 37. degrees thou haue not sight of Cape S. Vincent, and has sight of certaine hie hils make accompt they are Sierras de Monchico.

Sierras de Monchico.

I aduise thee, that if thou stand in feare of men of warre about the Cape S. Vincent, then goe in 36 degrees $\frac{1}{3}$. And finding thy selfe within the Cape, if thou see many signes of greene weedes, then cast about to the North Northeast, and by this way finding land, and the same shewing white, be sure it is the castle of Aimonte.

To auoyde men of warre.

The castle of Aimonte.

A ruttier for the old Chanel from the East point of Cuba by the North side thereof to Hauana.

GOing from the Cape of S. Nicolas, thou shalt goe North Northwest, but thou must keepe to windward off the poynt, that thou mayest weather it, and it is called the poynt of Mayaci: and it is a very low land and smooth: and aboue vp within the land about a league it hath a long Hill, which is not very high but flat. And from that point to Baracoa is 7. leagues.

The cape of S. Nicolas on the East ende of Cuba.

Punta de Mayaci.

And being disposed to goe into Baracoa, keepe the weather-shore all along, vntill thou open the Harbour. And to knowe if thou bee open of the Harbour, looke vpon the South side; and thou shalt see an Hill by it selfe, which maketh as it were a crowne vpon it. And if thou come along, it maketh as it were a Fort with Ports about it: And this is the marke if thou come out of the Sea. And this Hill is North and South of the Harbour, ouer the Harbour of Baracoa. And if thou wilt goe in, thou must take heede of a Shoald which lyeth on the East side, and thou must keepe the West side: and goe not much from the Shoald, because the foote of the Shoald that shooteth Westward

Baracoa.

A shold on the East side of Baracoa.

hath 5. fathoms water. And when thou art within the Shoalds, thou must goe a litle within them, and then let fall an anchor: aud looke that thou come not much on the East side, for it is shoaldie.

Cayo de Moa.

This worde Cayo in the Biskayne tongue signifieth a flat or a shoald.

And comming out from Baracoa, being to passe through the old chanel, you shal set your course Northwest vntil you come with the Cayo de Moa, or the shoald of Moa, vntill you thinke you are Northeast and Southwest with it, or till you thinke you are gone 12. leagues: and you shal know that you are vpon Cayo de Moa. For before you come at it by 2. leagues or more, you shall vnderstand that it hath a poynt of lowe land, and vpon the poynt it hath a Palme tree; which tree you shall see alwayes, before you see the point: and it is like a sayle. From thence to the Pracellas or Flats you shall stirre Northwest two parts of your way, that you haue to runne from Cayo de Moa to the sayd Pracellas or Flats, and the one halfe part of the way North Northwest and by West. And this way you shall see The Pracellas or Flats in a cleane place of the shoald aboue the water, for all the breach of the sea. The Mosowes bee from the Pracell West, and you shall leaue them to windward.

The Mosowes.

And if you will goe with the Pracellas or Flats, you shall finde 4. or 5. fathomes: and you may goe sure without danger a Northwest course vntill you come in 7. fathomes. And if you will goe vpon the Shoald, you shall goe vpon that depth, vntill you haue runne 40. or 45. leagues: And from thence you shall set your course Southwest, tiil you see the Flattes of the maine land. You shall then see to the Westward a rocke diuided into 3. partes, which is called the Camoloquea. And looke that when you come from the Pracellas Southwest, you haue certaine Flats before you: take heede of them that you fall not by night with them by foure leagues, for feare of the Mecala: and you shall set your course West Northwest vntill day: and when it is day, you must beare close aboord the shore, and then you shall see a flat Island with many broken sands, which is called Cropeda, and lyeth but a little out of the trade way, somewhat to the Northward. Off that you shall see 2. Rocks of stone, which are the poynt of all the Flats:

Camoloquea.

The Flats of Mecala to be auoyded.

Cropeda a flat Island.

2. Rockes of stone.

And two leagues from them on the mayne land you shall see a poynt which sheweth like broken land. This is called the poynt of Caucus. And from that poynt to Matanças on the North side of Cuba are 12. leagues, and your course lieth West and by North: and then you must borrow vpon the land all that you can, because of the currents: for the currents will cary you into the Channell. And being at Matanças, you must runne all along the shore, because of the currents. Remember that when you see one league before you a Rocke, and a Shoald, that hath vpon it but 2. fathomes water; and your marke if you come out of the sea is an Hil, and the Hil is not very hie, it standeth East and West, and vpon it are some little risings and they are not very high, and vpon these risings stand two round homocks close together, you shall see the Teates of Hauana.

Punta de Caucus.

Matanzas.

The currents.

The Teates of Hauana.

To know along the shore when you are against the Harbour of Xaroca, the markes are these. A little to the Westward one league, you shall see along the shore a Hill that is broken, and that broken Hil is ouer the Harbour of Xaroca: and then a little more to the Westward a league, there is another broken Hill. And you shall see that North and South from these broken hils is a Flat off. And from that to Hauana is 7. leagues: and it is all cleane ground, and you may goe along the shore till you come to Hauana. To know the harbour of Hauana, you shall see before you come at it one litle rocke of stone not very hie, and smooth toward the sea: vpon the rocke standeth a litle white tower, wherein they keepe watch. And then if you haue the winde large, you shall see the harbour open, and then you may beare in with it.

The harbour of Xaroca.

Markes to know the harbour of Hauana.

Your shippe being of great burthen, when you are within, then keepe on the West side, because on the East side, on the West end of the Rocke aforesayde, there lieth a ledge to the Westward which hath but three or foure fathoms ½ vpon it. If your ship be of small burthen, you may run along the weather shore, vntill you come right against the Castle; and then halfe the Bay ouer you may come to an anchor.

Howe to worke comming through the olde Chanell, if you be not minded to goe ouer the Pracellas or shoalds.

Caio de Moa.

IF you will come through the olde Chanel, when you come as hie as the Shoalds, comming vpon your course from the Caio de Moa, as I told you, keepe 2. leagues from the Pracel or shoald: and then set our course West vnto the low islands of the firme land. And vpon this course you shal ken the Flats on the point of Caio Romana: and within it is one Flat higher then the other, and smooth vpon, and in the middest it maketh as it were broken land; and when you are in the chanel in the day time, you must take heede you come no neere the shore by 2. leagues, and by your sounding no neerer then 3. fathoms. And you must take heede stil when ye night commeth to keepe 2. or three leagues off for feare of the shoalds. And in the night you must goe Northwest as is aforesaid. And also you must take heed that you keepe in the middle of the chanel, as nere as you can toward the shoald. And finding much wind and being beknighted, from midnight till day stirre West Northwest, and when it is towards day, then you may edge towards the Flats as is aforesaid.

Caio Romano.

And as you stirre hence one day and one night from Caio Romano to the inwards of the Chanell, you shall see the firme land of Cuba, and other markes: and among the rest, a round hamocke, which you may easily know. It is called Alcane de Barasoga. And from thence to Sauano and to Basquo is 6. leagues, and likewise Hauana 6. leagues. And from thence to crosse vnder the Forts is 45. leagues. And stirre hence vpon your course aforesaid. And if you haue gone from Barasoga 30. leagues, you shall see none of the Flats of Mecala: And giue them a bredth off two or three leagues, and keepe your course West Northwest, as aforesayd, vntill it be day, and presently you may edge round to the Flats. And thus stirring, keepe your course vntill you see the hilles of Camaloqua.

Alcane de Barasoga.

Sauano Basquo.

The Flats of Mecala.

Take heede of that which is here sayd, for it hath litle reason

Sierras de. Camaloqua.

Caio de Moa.

And looke that when you come from Caio de Moa, along the Pracel or shoald by night close by it, you shall not see what land it is, till it be day; and in the Morning you shall set your course as is aforesayd vntill you see the shoald, and in seeing it, you may stirre on your course as is aboue mentioned, vntill you come to Hauana.

Pracellas.

Hauana.

For to set your course from the point of Mance to Caio Romano, when you are North and South with the point of Mance, you shall stirre thence West Northwest, vntil you thinke you be Northeast and Southwest with the hill of Hama. And this hill is an high hill and smooth to the seaside. And from this hill to Caio Romano you shall stirre Northwest and by West: and vpon this course you may be bolde to see Caio Romano. An the marke of this Flat is, that it maketh an hie land and smooth vpon the top: and in the middest of it, it sheweth as it were broken. And when you come to it, you must take heede you come not neere it by 2. leagues, because it is fowle. And looke that you bring not yourselfe too neere the hill of Hama by night. For you must take heede of Caio Romano to keepe off it vntill Morning: in the Morning you may goe your course vntill you see it, and then set your course, as is abouesaid.

Punta de Mance.

Sierra del Hama.

Caio Romano.

The markes of the Flat of Caio Romano.

A principal ruttier conteining most particular directions to saile from S. Lucar in Andaluzia by the Isles of the Canaries, the small Isles called Las Antillas, along the South parts of the Isles of S. Iuan de Puerto rico, Hispaniola and Cuba: and from Cabo de Corrientes, or Cabo de S. Anton without and within the litle Isles called Los Alacranes, to the port of S. Iuan de Vllua in Nueua Espanna: and the course from thence backe againe by Hauana, and through the Chanell of Bahama to Spaine: together with the Speciall markes of all the Capes, Islands, and other places by the way; and a briefe declaration of their latitudes and longitudes.

IF you depart from the barre of S. Lucar de Barameda toward the West Indias in the Summer time, you must stirre away Southwest vntill you come to the head-land called Punta de Naga vpon the Isle of Tenerif. But if your departure be from the sayd barre in the Winter, you must stirre away Southwest and by South, vntill you come to the height of

Punta de Naga.

Cape Cantin on the coast of Barbarie: the markes and signes wherof be these following.

The markes to know Cape Cantin.

CApe Cantin is a lowe Cape and small to the sea ward, and maketh a snowt like the nose of a galley, and hath vpon the top of the poynt a Heath or shrubby place, and on the toppe thereof stand two homocks, that to the sea-ward being higher then the other; but that on the Souther side sheweth like a tower: and his Cape is in 32. degrees and ½.

And he that wil seeke from this Cape to discouer Punta de Naga beforesayd, must stirre away Southwest and by West, vntill hee bring himselfe Northeast and Southwest with the same point, and then he must stirre away South to fetch the said point.

The signes of Punta de Naga.

THe said point or Head-land is an high point of Land, and plaine vpon the toppe like a table, and without it there are two litle rockie Islands; and vpon the North side of the said point is another point called Punta de hidalgo, and vpon the top thereof are 2. picked rockes like vnto the eares of a Hare.

Punta de hidalgo.

The course from the Canaries to the West Indise.

IF you set saile from any of the Islands of the Canaries for the West Indias, you must stirre away 30. or 40 leagues due South, to the ende you may auoid the calmes of the Island of Fierro: and being so farre distant from the said Island, then must you stirre away West Southwest, vntill you finde your selfe in 20. degrees, and then saile West and by South vntill you come to 15. degrees and ½. And from thence stirre away West and by North; and so shall you make a West way by reason of the Northwesting of the Compasse: which West way will bring you to the Island of Deseada.

The calmes of Fierro.

The variation of the compasse.

The markes of the Island of Deseada.

THis Island Deseada lieth East Northeast, and West Southwest, hauing no trees vpon it, and it is proportioned like a Galley, and the Northeast ende thereof maketh a lowe nose like the snowt of a galley ; and by comming neere it, and passing by the Norther ende thereof, you shall perceiue white broken patches like heapes of sand with red strakes in them : and the Southwest end of this Island maketh like the tilt of a galley. And this Island standeth in 15. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$.

Deseada in 15. degrees and a halfe.

Markes of the Island of Monserate.

MOnserate is an high Island, and round, full of trees, and vpon the East side thereof you shall perceiue certain white spots like sheetes : and being vpon the South side at the very point of the Island, somewhat off the land, it maketh like a little Island : and putting your selfe either East or West from that point, in the midst thereof will appeare a great broken land.

Markes of the Island of Marigalanta.

MArigalanta is a smooth Island, and full of wood or trees, and as it were of the fashion of a galley vpon her decke : and being on the Southeast side about halfe a league off you shall make certaine hamocks of blacke stones, and certaine white patches : but on the West side appeare faire white sandy shores or plaines.

Markes of the Isle of Dominica.

THe Island of Dominica lieth Northwest and Southeast, and vpon the Northwest side it sheweth more high : and if you come neere it at full sea, it will shew like two Islands, but by comming neerer vnto it, you shall perceiue it to be but one : and vpon the Southeast side you shall make or see a plaine and long point, and vpon the same point appeareth a cliffe like to the cliffe of Cape Tiburon ; and vpon the North side a litle from the land it sheweth like a litle Island, and upon the top thereof is, as it were, an high steeple, and vpon the Norther side you shall perceiue it like many white sheetes.

Markes of the Island of Guadalupe.

THe Island of Guadalupe lieth on the West of Deseada, and vpon the Southwest part thereof appeare many hie mountaines, but vpon the East side it maketh certaine tables, which are called the high part of Guadalupe. And this Island is cut North and South; so that the Canoas of India do passe from the North to the South of it, as if it were two Islandes.

Markes of the Isle of Matalina, or Martinino.

Warlike and dangerous Indians like those of Dominica.

THe Isle of Matalina is high and full of mountaines, hauing in the midst thereof 3. homocks: the middlemost homocke being highest sheweth like the great bowle of an hat. And vpon the North side it appeareth like three little Islands. And in this Island there are warlik Indians like those of Dominica.

Markes of the three small Islands called Islas de Los Santos, or the Islands of Saintes.

LOs Santo are 3 Islandes lying one close by another vpon the South side of Guadalupe. For to go with S. Iuan de Puerto rico you must stirre away Northwest, vntill you fall with the Isle of Saba.

Markes to know the Isle of Saba.

SAba is a litle Island, and round about it you shall see the bottome; but feare not, for there is no danger but that which you shall see; and round about it, it maketh as it were certaine heapes of white sand; and by the side thereof it sheweth like a Ship vnder saile: but follow that direction that I haue giuen, and you shall see La virgin gorda.

Markes to know the Isle called La virgin gorda.

LA virgin gorda is an high Island and round, and seeing it, you shall espie all the rest of the Virgines which lye East and

West one from another, and are bare without any trees. You may goe about by them vntil you see a litle gray Island, which you shal see by it selfe by the Virgines; and comming neere to the sayd Island, ouer that you shall by and by rayse sight of the white litle Island, which seemeth like a ship vnder saile. And if you will passe betweene this litle white Island or bare rocke, and the greene Island, you must beware that you leaue the white Island on the larbourd side of you, and come no neerer it then a Calieuershot, and so shall you passe through 12. fadome-water: and then stirre away Northnorthwest, and so shall you enter into the Hauen of Puerto rico: and if you chance to passe the sayd Island by night, goe by the foresaid direction, vntill the first watch be out, and then take in your sayles, and so driue vntill it bee neere day: and then hoise sayles, and stirre away Southwest, seeking the sayde Port: and when you come to the entring within, you must stay till 10. of the clocke for the sea-turne. And know, that hauing the Loguilo at Southwest, then shall the Harbour be off you North and South.

These. the 2 white and the gray Islands are rather bare rockes in the sea, for so doeth farrallon the Spanish word signifie. But I interprete it Island, because all the rocks separated from the bigger Islands are sayd to be litle Islands. This white and bare Island is made white by the dung of birds and seafoules that resort vnto it.

Directions from Monserate to Santo Cruz.

HE that departeth from Monserate to Santa Cruz, must stirre away Westnorthwest: and by the same course you shall seaze vpon S. Iuan de Puerto rico.

Markes to know the Isle of Santa Cruz.

SAnta Cruz is an Island not very high, all full of homocks: and comming with it at full sea, it will shew like the Virgines: and vpon the East side there are two homocks higher then all the rest. And by this course you may goe to the Isle of S. Iuan de Puerto rico; and hauing found it, you may sayle along the South coast East and West, vntill you come to Cabo Roxo.

Markes to know Cape Roxo.

CApe Roxo is a low cape and trayling to the sea-ward, hauing certaine heapes of broken ground thereon, which are like a homocke, and at full sea the same sheweth like a litle Island from the land by it selfe, but comming neere vnto it, it will make all a whole land.

Directions from Cabo roxo to the Isle of Mona.

IF you will seeke Mona from Cape roxo, you must stirre away West and by North.

Markes of the Isle of Mona.

THe Isle of Mona is a low, round, and smooth Island, lying lowe by the sea, and full of trees: and to goe from thence to the Isle of Saona you must stirre away West, and if you fall with it in the night season, and come any thing neere the land, then stirre away West and by South, vntill it be neere day, that you may keepe your selfe by the land; and if so be that in the Morning you see it not, then stirre away Northwest, and so shall you finde it: and if it be faire weather, and you perceiue that the current hath set you to the Southwest, then stirre away Northnorthwest, and so shall you goe cleare off the land.

Markes of the Isle of Saona.

IF you chance to see the Isle of Saona, it is an Island smooth with the sea, and lyeth Northeast and Southwest, and you shall see the trees before you see the Island: and on the Southwest end of this Island appeareth a great high banke of white sand which is called the head of Saona. And if you would come to an anchor, you may, for all is cleare ground. And to go from this Island to Santa Catelina, you must stirre away Northwest.

Markes of the Isle of Santa Catelina.

SAnta Catelina is a litle lowe Island all full of low rockes euen from the water, and hath not any trees, and it is close by the land; and if you doe not run along the coast of Hispaniola, you shall not see it: and from that Island to goe to Saint Domingo, you shall sayle along as the land lyeth, West and by North: and before you come to the point called Causedo, you shall see certaine holes in rockes, which lye alongst as the rocks doe that cast vp the water, which will shew like to the spouting of Whales. And a litle a head off that, you shall see the point of Andresa: and ahead thereof the poynt of Causedo. This poynt of Causedo lyeth lowe close by the water, and passing thereby, the coast will make to thee Northwest and Southeast and from thence to S. Domingo are 5. leagues. And if the winde chop vp at North vpon you, by meanes whereof you should be cast off from the coast of Port, and that you happen to see the olde Mines (called Sierras de las minas viejas) beare Northwest off you, and The teates which are within the land be open of you, then shal you be North and South with the harbour; and if The old Mines beare North off you, then shall you be below the harbour.

These rockes are called Los Buffaderos, or the spoutes.

The point of Causedo.

San Domingo.

Sierras de las minas viejas.

Directions from Saint Domingo to Nueua Espanna.

IF you will sayle from Saint Domingo in Hispaniola to Nueua Espanna, stirre away Southsouthwest, vntil you come vp as farre as the point of Niçao: and from thence stirre away Westsouthwest, and so you shall finde the Isle of Beata. And if you saile from this point of Niçao for Ocoa, you must passe along the coast West and by North, vntill you come to Puerto Hermoso, or The beautifull hauen, which is 18. leagues distant from Saint Domingo: and if you proceede from Puerto Hermoso for Nueua Espanna, you must stirre away Southsouthwest, vntill you looke out for Beata and Alto velo.

The point of Nisao.

The Isle of Beata.

Ocoa.

Puerto hermoso.

The Isle of Alto Velo.

Markes of the Isle of Beata.

BEata is a small Island and not very high: you may passe along the outside thereof, and there is no danger but that you may see; and by and by you shall raise Alto velo: and from thence you must stirre away West and by South, to giue a birth from the Islands called Los Frailes, or The Friers. And when you are as farre a head as the Frailes, then you must stirre away West and by North, and so shall you goe right with Bacoa, and before you come to it, you shall see high craggie cliffes, and at

Los Frailes.

Bacoa.

Las sierras de donna Maria.

Isla Baque.

the descending of them white paths like great sheetes; these high craggie mountaines are called Las sierras de donna Maria. And before you come to the sayde point of Bacoa, you shall discouer a little low Island euen with the Sea, and full of trees, which is called Isla Baque.

Directions from Isla Baque to Cape Tiburon.

Cape Tiburon.

The Isle of Nauaza.

IF you will goe from the Island Baque, or from the point of Bacoa for Cape Tiburon, or to the isle of Nauaza, you must stirre away Westnorthwest, and edge in somewhat to the Northwest, and you shall passe betweene Nauaza and Cape Tiburon.

Markes of Cape Tiburon, which is the Western cape of Hispaniola.

CApe Tiburon lyeth sliding downe to the Seaward, and maketh a sharpe cliffe like the snout of a Tiburon or sharke-fish; and vpon the top thereof it appeareth like white wayes with certaine gullets or draines vpon it, which are caused by the passage of the water from the mountaine in the Winter time.

Markes of the Isle of Nauaza

NAuaza is a little round Island full of trees or shrubs, and it lyeth East and West from Cape Tiburon, and from this small Island to go for Sierras de Cobre, or The mountaines or mines of Copper vpon the Southeast part of Cuba, you must stirre away Northnorthwest.

Directions from Cape Tiburon to Cabo de Cruz in Cuba.

Sierras de Cobre.

Sierras de Tarquino.

IF you will saile from Cape Tiburon to Cape de Cruz in Cuba, you must stirre away Northwest, and you shall see the Sierras or mountaines de Cobre; and from thence you may goe along the coast West towardes Cabo de Cruz; and before you come at it you shall see The great Tarquino, and from this Tarquino you shall haue to Cape de Cruz 30. leagues, and this great Tarquino is the highest land vpon all that coast; and then by and by you shall see the lesser Tarquino, from whence to the foresayd Cape you haue 12. leagues, and so shall you goe discouering the coast, vntill you come to Cabo de Cruz.

Markes of Cabo de Cruz.

CApe de Cruz is a low Cape full of shrubs; and from thence Westward you shall see no land; for the distance or bay is great between the sayd Cape and the Isles called Los Iardines.

Directions from Cape de Cruz to Isla de Pinos.

IF you sayle from Cape de Cruz to seeke the Island of Pinos, you must stir away Westnorthwest. And note, that if in this course you happen to sounde, doe not feare; for you haue nine fathoms. If also going this course, you meete with certaine little Islands vpon the larboord side, which are called The Caimanes, or The crocodiles, hauing sight of them, stir away Northwest, and so shall you finde the Island of Pinos. And if by seeing the sayde Islands called Caimanes you are amazed, you shall knowe by the latitude, whither they bee The Iardines or no: for if you finde your selfe in one and twentie degrees, then bee you sure they are The Iardines, and then stir out againe South, till you bee cleare of them; and when you haue brought them North of you, then you may stirre away West, if it bee by day; if it bee by night, West and by South, till you see the Island of Pinos.

Los Caimanes.

Los Iardines.

The markes of Isla de Pinos.

THe Island of Pinos stretcheth it selfe East and West, and it is full of homocks, and if you chance to see it at full sea, it will shewe like 3. Islands, as though there were diuers soundes betweene them, and that in the midst is the greatest; and in rowing with them, it will make all a firme lande: and vpon the East side of these three homocks it will shewe all ragged; and on the West side of them will appeare vnto you a lowe point euen with the sea, and oftentimes you shall see the trees before you shall discerne the point.

Directions from the Isle of Pinos to Cape de Corrientes.

IF you saile from the foresayde Isle of Pinos to Cape de

Corrientes, stir away West and by North; and before you come to the sayd Cape vpon the Northside of you, you shall see certaine mountaines all full of homocks, which are called Las Sierras de Guanaguarico, and that vpon the West part hath more homocks then that on the other.

Las Sierras de Guanaguarico.

Markes of Cape de Corrientes.

CApe de Corrientes is a lowe Cape, though not so low as the other part of the land that lyeth along by it: for it is more lowe, and hath vpon it 4. or 5. great splats like vnto oxen, and the very point of the Cape is all white sand: and from thence Westward you shall discerne no land, for it maketh a great bay: and from hence you must saile to Cape de Sant Anton.

Markes of Cape de Sant Anton.

THe cape of Sant Anton is lowe by the sea, and all full of shrubs or trees: and you shall see within the land a lake of fresh water; and if you want water, there you may water: and vpon the North side of the said Cape you shall discerne a palme tree higher then the rest of the trees, and it sheweth round like a bowle at the top, like to the top of a ship: and North from the Cape are certaine sholdes which are 2. or 3. leagues long.

A conuenient watering place.

Directions from the Cape de S. Anton to Nueua Espanna on the outside of the small Islands called Los Alacranes or The Scorpions.

IF you will sayle from Cape Sant Anton to Nueua Espanna with a North winde, then stirre away Westnorthwest from 21. to 22. degrees, and then sound vpon the pracel or flat; and if you see by this direction, that you holde water, then stir away Northwest, vntil you lose the ground; and then follow your course againe, vntill you haue brought yourselfe into 24. degrees and ½. and then saile West vntill you bring your selfe North and South with the Isle of Vermeja, or The red Isle: then stir away Southwest, and by this way you shall finde Villa rica on the coast of Nueua Espanna. And if by going this course you be in 19. degrees and ½. and chance not

The Isle Vermeja. Villa rica.

to see the lande, then stir away West vntill you see Villa rica, and from thence saile you South for the harbour of S. Iuan de Vllua: and if you should be neere the land you must stir South and by West towardes the same harbour. And if you chance to see the Volcan or burning hill to beare west and by South from you, then know, that the harbour of S. Iuan de Vllua shalbe East and west off you.

S. Iuan de Vllua.

A volcan or burning hill.

Markes of Villa rica.

VIlla rica standeth in 19. degres and ½. and the signes thereof are certaine high hiles full of homocks of many heads, which haue on the top of them certain white patches after the maner of white beaten wayes; and these hils lie Northeast and Southwest. And if you doubt whether these be the Sierras or hils of S. Martin, wet your lead or sound, and if you finde bottome, they are the Sierras of Villa rica: and saile you to the landward, and looke by how much you come neerer the land, so much will they seeme lower vnto you: but so doe not the hilles of S. Martin; for the neerer you come to them, the higher will they appeare to you and likewise if they be the hilles of S. Martin, you shall not finde bottome, but euen at land it selfe.

Sierras de Sant Martin.

Sierras de Villa rica.

Markes of Rio de las palmas, and of the riuer of mountaines called Rio de las montannas.

Rio de las Palmas.
Rio de las montannas.

IF you should chance to fall with Rio de las palmas, or The riuer of palmes, or els with the riuer of Mountaines, it is all a plaine lande, and full of trees and certaine woodie homocks, and among them certaine heapes of sand, and all this along by the sea side: and if you went by land to the riuer of Panuco, you shall haue many mouthes or openings of plaias strands, where also are many lizas or oazy places, which stretch to Rio Hermoso.

You must beware what part soeuer you happen of this coast to fall withall, to discouer it, and although you knowe it, you must sound the depth; because if the windes bee Easterly, the current setteth there much to the North: but if you should be 40. leagues at sea, then this current setteth to the Northeast.

Rio de Panuco.

Rio Hermoso, or The beautifull riuer.

The current of the bay of Mexico (the winde being at the East) setteth to the North and 40. leagues from the shore to the Northeast.

Markes of Rio Hermoso or The beautifull riuer.

IF you wil seeke the riuer called Rio Hermoso, looking well within the land, you shal see three homocks of an high hill, and those two which are to the landward within, are rounder then the other which is neerest the sea, for that it is longer and bigger, and lyeth North and South, and you shall be 4. leagues at sea when you shall see them: and they are called The sierras, or mountaines of Tamaclipa; and from thence to the riuer of Panuco there is no high land, but all lowe and euen with the sea, and full of palme trees and other trees.

The mountaines of Tamaclipa.

Markes of the riuer of Panuco.

IF you fall with the riuer of Panuco (between which and the foresayde Villa rica standeth the Island called Isla de Lobos or The Isle of seales) the markes bee these. From the mouth of the riuer it maketh a great bay without, and at the ende of this bay vpon the Northside there is oazy, low, and bare ground altogether without trees, and at the out ende of the oazy lowe place vpon the West side it maketh a low homock like to a Lizards head: and when you see the aforesayde cliffe, you shall bee in the opening of the mouth of the sayd riuer, then you shall see a little low tower hauing on the top of it a crosse, which the fishermen call Marien: and this barre hath on it 2. fathom water, and 2. and ½. and you neede not to staye for the tyde, for that it floweth not there: and that you may the better knowe whether you bee in this bay which I haue mentioned, or not, you shall see certaine hils at West Southwest, which are called Las sierras de Tarquia; and forthwith also you shall see the oazy place that I speake of, which goeth to the mouth of the riuer where standeth a towne called S. Luis de Tampice, and from thence to Panuco you haue 9. leagues by land.

No tide at the riuer of Panuco.

Las sierras de Tarquia.

S. Luis de Tampice.

The markes of Isla de lobos, or The Isle of seales.

ISla de lobos is a small Island nothing so big as the carde doth shew it, and in it is a litle groue or wood of palme trees, and all the rest of the Island is without trees, and round about it are sundry playas or strandes, and it is inclosed round about with arraçifes or shoalds, and chiefly toward the maine lande. And from thence to Cape Roxo or the red Cape are 3. leagues. And if you will come to anker at this Island to water, for that there is water in it, you may ride on all the South side close by the poynt that stretcheth to the Westward, and you may passe by the East side of it, and ride in 22. fathom, and vntill you come to 15. fathoms, all is cleane ground.

Cabo Roxo.

A watering place.

Markes of the riuer of Tuspa.

IF you fall with the riuer of Tuspa, you must beware the sholdes which run 5. or 6. leagues into the sea: and vpon this riuer of Tuspa within the lande there are high hilles which lie Northeast and Southwest, and haue their ending vpon the bay of Cassones: and vpon the riuer you shall perceiue a white cliffe, which will shew vnto you like the castle of S. Iuan de Vllua.

The bay of Cassones.

Markes of the riuer of S. Peter and S. Paul.

IF you chance to fall with the bay of Cassones, and vpon the riuer of S. Peter and S. Paul, take heede: for the sayd bay is a deepe bay, and the hilles of Tuspa haue their ending vpon this bay. And in the mouth of this riuer of S. Peter and S. Paul are two homockes of white sand, the Westermost being bigger then that on the Northeast. And by and by you shall perceiue the water to change white which commeth out of the riuer, and sounding you shall finde sande mixed with clay vpon your lead; and looke vpon the West side, and you shall see the Sierras or mountaines of S. Paul, which are two, and that on the North side is higher then the other.

All these are vpon the coast of Tabasco.

Las sierras de S. Pablo.

Markes of Almeria.

IF you should chance to fall or come vpon the plaines of Almeria, it is a lande full of many homocks, some with tuftes of trees on them, and some bare with white sand, and in 60. fathoms

Punta delgada, or The slender point.

you shall haue clay or oaze, and in 30. fathom to the landward sand. And from thence to Punta de hidalgo or Punta delgada the coast lyeth Northeast and Southwest.

Soundings of Villa rica.

IF you fall with Villa Rica in 30. fathoms, you shall finde clay or oaze, and in some places stones, and neere the lande you shall haue sand: and vpon the port of S. Iuan de Vllua you shall haue in some places clay or oaze, and in some places herring bones, and in other places mase and* ; and vpon the rocks called Cabeças anegadas you shall haue small blacke sande at 17. fathom two leagues from land. And if you see a coast that lieth Northest and Southwest, and another Northwest and Southeast, you shall be vpon S. Paul: and if you should be vpon Cabeças anegadas, you shall finde in 30. fathoms great sande and blacke, and in 28. fathoms you shall haue the sand white like the shauings of free stone: and from S. Paul to the barre of Vera Cruz it is clay or oaze, and from thence to S. Iuan de Vllua you haue many deeps, which at one sounding bring you clay, and at another sand, and at another clay and mase together, and herring bones: and in some 35. or 40. fathom you shal finde rockie ground, and in some places sand, and in some other places herring bones: and we call this Comedera de pescado, or The foode of fishes.

Cabeças anegadas are sunken heads or rocks vnder water.

Comedera de Pescado.

The course from Cabo de Corrientes and Cabo de S. Anton vpon the West end of Cuba, towards Nueua Espanna, within the Isles called Los Alacranes, or The Scorpions.

Cabo de Corrientes.

IF you saile from Cape de Corrientes towarde Nueua Espanna on the inside of The Alacranes, you must stir West: and when you thinke you haue sailed 35. or 40. leag. you shall sound vpon the pracel, and you shall come vpon many bristlings of waters, which if it were faire weather, would seeme a skull of fish. And before you come out of the bristlings, if you sound you shal haue depth as I haue sayd. If you goe from Cape de S. Anton by the inside of

Cabo de S. Anton.

---

* Blank in original.

The Alacranes, you must stir away West and by South, and you shall finde sounding in the same order as I haue sayd: you shall haue white sand, and neere the land you shall finde it like the shauings and peckings of free stone, and white sand like houre-glasse-sand, and sometimes periwinkles or small shelles. Also if you sound in deepe water, and on the sudden finde rockes, then knowe that you are vpon The Alacranes, and then stir away Westsouthwest vntill you finde cleane ground, and til you bring your selfe into 18. or 20. fathoms. And if you goe deeping your water, then stir away West, and by these depths you shall go sounding; then taking your heigth by sunne or starre, you must beware that you passe not 21. degrees and $\frac{1}{3}$. or 21. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. at the most; and in this heigth, and at 18. or 20. fathoms you shall follow your way: and if you deepen water, edge to the Northwestward, and if you alter more your depth, edge to the Southwestward, vntill you haue gotten so farre ahead as Cape Sisal, and discouered the coast of Campeche, which coast lyeth North and South, and you shal take vp on your lead white sande like houreglasse sand, and sometime periwinkles or small shelles; and by and by you shall goe increasing depth, vntil you lose it, and so shal you passe between the Triangle and the Sandy Iland.

Cape Sisal vpon the coast of Campeche in Iucatan.

Or Isla de Arenas.

The course betweene the Triangle and the Sandy Island to S. Iuan de Vllua.

WHen you haue lost your depth, stirre away Southwest to fetch the Sierras or hils of S. Martin: and to knowe the hils of S. Martin, there are 2. hils stretching Northeast and Southwest, and the Southwest is greater then that on the Northeast, but the Northermost hill is higher, and maketh on the top a flat point and very high, and without it, it hath an Island which is called Roca partida, or The clouen rock: and if it be cleare, on the Southwest side an high lande like a top-saile will appeare, and then shall you bee North and South with The Pan or Loafe of Nisapa. Note, that these Sierras or Hilles of Sant Martin are all blacke and full of trees, and make no shewe as Villa rica doth: And marke this, that by how much you come neerer them, so

Sierras de S. Martin.

Roca partida.

Or Minsapa.

much the higher will they shewe vnto you: neither shall you finde any bottome till you bee at the very shoare.

The course from Roca partida or The clouen rocke to S. Iuan de Vllua.

IF you depart from Roca partida or The clouen rocke for Sant Iuan de Vllua, you must stir away Westnorthwest, and so shall you fetch or fall with the point of Anton Mislardo: and if you happen to sound vpon The sunken rocks called Cabeças anegadas, you shall haue black sand and 17. fathom water, and you shall bee but a league from the land, and if you bee 2. leagues from the land, you shall haue 34. fathoms.

Or Antonisorro.

The course from Sant Iuan de Vllua in the bay of Mexico to Spaine in Europe.

IF you depart from S. Iuan de Vllua to Hauana, you must stir away Northest vntil you bring your selfe in 25. degrees, and from thence you must stir away East from the little Islands called Las Tortugas, vntill you haue the sounding of them; and if you finde white sande very small, you shall bee East and West with them, and if your sounding bee shellie ground and periwinkles, or small shelles, or skales, then shall you be Northeast and Southwest, and the shelles or skales must bee red, and if at some time you take vp blacke sande, then are you North and South with the sayd Tortugas.

Las Tortugas.

Markes of The Tortugas.

IF you chance to fall with The Tortugas, they are 5. or 6. little Islands of white sand, lowe and close by the sea, sauing one which hath on it some shrubs or bushes of trees: and they are in 25. degrees.

The course from the Tortugas toward Hauana.

IF you depart from the Tortugas towards Hauana with a fresh winde, you must stir away Southwest: and if it be faire weather, and a small gale of winde, then stir South, that the current may not drawe you in, nor set you too much to the Westward: and if you fall with Los Organos, they are a ranke of high and low hilles with many sharpe heads like vnto Organ-pipes, and at the entring thereof on the South side is Rio de puercos, or The riuer of hogs; and at the further ende is the deepe bay called Baya honda, and there is the round loafe or heape called El pan de baya honda, that is to say, The loafe of the deepe bay: and from this place vntill you come to Cape de S. Anton all is sholdes and flats 4. or 5. leagues into the sea, euen as farre as the sayde Cape: and from Baya honda or The deepe bay to Hauana, all the coast is full of high and lowe hilles, which they call La Quadrilla de sierras, which is as much to say, as A companie of hilles together like souldiers on a heape; and more to the Eastward you shall descry an high hill which is called El pan de Cabannas. And if you fall with Hauana, you shall see on the Southwest side an hill called La meza de Marien, or the Table of Marien; and if it be cleare, you shall see lower to the Westwarde the heape or loafe that is called El pan de Cabannas. You must note, that about Hauana it is all lowe land euen with the sea, till you come to Mesa de Marien, and looke well within the lande, and you shall see 2. little round trees like to the teates of womens breasts; and bringing your selfe North and South, you shall be with the harborough of Hauana, and then shall you soone perceiue the tower that is vpon the cliffes of Hauana.

The hilles called Los Organos vpon Cuba neere Hauana.

Rio de Puercos.

Baya honda.

La Quadrilla de sierras.

El pan de Cauannas.

La mesa de Marien.

The tower of Hauana.

Markes of the hauen or port called Puerto de Marien.

PVerto de Marien is a harbour that you may enter into without any danger or feare, but at the entrance thereof you must borrow on the West side, by reason of the rockes and shelues, and when you are within, then borrow on the East shoare, and leaue the other side, and so shall you enter safe: and from this place to Hauana is all lowe lande. Note, that if you ouerpasse the harborough of Hauana to the Eastward, or if the current hath set you past it by meanes of calmes, then shall you perceiue at full sea vpon the coast certaine broken places like the enterances of harbours, because the lande is lowe; and comming neere the shoare you

Note.

Chipiona a towne standing vpon the coast of Andaluzia next vnto S. Lucar.

El pan de Matanzas.

Barrancas also signifie creeks or broken entrances of landes.

shall see in some places of the coast Playas or strandes of sande which shew like vnto Chipiona: and looking Eastward along the sea coast, you shall see a round loafe which is called El pan de Matanças: and also you shall perceiue in certaine places round white heapes of sande called Barrancas. If you will recouer Hauana, go along the coast close by the lande, for the current runneth very swift in the chanell, and there is no feare but of that which you may see; for all the coast is cleane ground.

The course from Hauana to Spaine.

Cabeza de los Martires. Which Martires are a number of small Ilands lying ahead the Cape of Florida.

Los Mimbres.

The markes of Pan de Matanzas.

Punta de los Puercos.

The furious current in the chanell of Bahama.

IF you will saile from Hauana to Spaine, you must stirre away Northeast, till you come to the head of The Martires called La Cabeça de los Martires. If it chance before you come to the said head, that the winde should chop vp at North on you, then stand to Eastward, vntill you bring your selfe as farre ahead as Matanças; then cast about to the West, to discouer the lande of The Martires, or of Florida, that the current may not set you on The Mimbres: and if by chance you see The Pan de Matanças at ful sea, it hath these markes following. It is a round heape or loafe, and high withall, and on the Westerne side thereof, appeareth a rocke like to the head of a Tortoise: and between this Pan and the hilles of Seluco, there will appeare vnto you a great broken lande, like as it were sunken places, and vpon the East side of this Pan toward Punta de los Puercos it is all lowe lande, and you shall see no high lande at all: and being so farre shot, that this Pan de Matanças shall beare Westnorthwest and Southsoutheast off you, and being desirous also to auoyde the furie of the current of the chanell of Bahama, stir away Northnortheast, and by this course you shall passe the chanell, and win the coast of Florida.

Markes of the head of The Martires called Cabeza de los Martires.

THe head of The Martires are three heapes of white sande full of trees, and that in the midst hath on the top a crowne, as it were of white sande, and is higher and bigger then the other two: and to know whether you be entred into the chanell, marke well how the coast lyeth off you; and if you perceiue that the coast beareth off you East and West, you are not in the chanell; but if the coast should beare off you Northeast and Southwest, then are you in the chanell; and taking your heigth you shall know: for if you finde your selfe in 24. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$, then you are East and West with the head of The Martires: and if you see the coast beare off you Northeast and Southwest, (as I haue sayde) stir away 4. or 5. leagues from the landward right off: and then stir away Northeast: and being in 28. degrees and a halfe, you shall be shot out of the chanell, and then shall you be East and West with Cape de Cannaueral, or The Cape of Reedes.

Directions to know whether you be in the chanell of Bahama or no.

Cabo de Cannaueral in 28. deg. and a halfe.

The course to come through the chanell of Bahama homeward for Spaine.

IF in the Winter you should passe through the chanell of Bahama for Spaine, stirre away the first Sangradura or course Eastnortheast, and afterward East and by North, and so shall you passe by the South side of Bermuda: and you must take heede that you goe these foure hundred or fiue hundred leagues, because you shall not come neere the said Isle of Bermuda; and when you are gone this course, then put your selfe in what height you will, and make your way as you will your selfe. But if you passe the chanell in the Summer time towards Spaine, stir away Eastnortheast, and you shall passe by the North side of Bermuda; and when you haue brought your selfe in 35. degrees, stirre East and by North, vntill you bring yourselfe to 25. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$, and from thence stir away East for the Isle of Fayal or of Flores.

The course in Winter.

The Isle of Bermuda.

The course in the Summer more Northerly.

Markes to know the Isle of Fayal.

THe Island called Fayal vpon the Scuthwest side, maketh an high hill or loafe like to the top of Brasilla in the Island of Terçera; and behinde that high Pike or loafe is an harbour called Puerto Pini, and vpon the East side it maketh a little plaine Island; and vpon the North side there standeth a rocke or Island by it selfe. And from this Island being one of the Açores, you may shape your course to which of the Islands you please, or to any other place which you know.

Puerto Pini.

Markes to know the Isle of Flores.

IF you happen to fall with Flores first, by this you shall know it: the Island lyeth Northeast, and Southsouthwest, and the West ende thereof maketh a rocke or cliffe like the cliffe of Tiburon; and comming neere the lande, you shall see two little Islands neere the point of the lande; and to the Northward of this cliffe or rocke a little from the land you may ride and water; and betweene that and the village, in euery bay you may likewise ride and water: and you shall see the water run into the sea in euery part that you look on.

Now followeth the course and direction to saile from Passage on the Northeast part of S. Iuan de Puerto rico, vnto Hauana, by the North side of the Isle of Hispaniola, and by The old chanell.

El Passaje a place on the Northeast part of the Isle of S. Iuan de Puerto rico.

IF you depart from S. Iuan de Puerto rico to seeke Cabo del Enganno, you must stirre away Westnorthwest, and so shall you see a round heape or loafe in the sea, which lieth on the Southwest side of the gulfe of Semana; and from thence it beginneth about the hill of the Cape del Enganno, and this is the mouth of the gulfe. And if it should be neere night when you see this lande, stir away Northwest with a small sayle, because of certaine rockes called Las Ouejas, or The Sheppe: and in the morning cast about to see the land to the Southward; and if when you see the land, it seemeth vnto you a small island at full sea like a round mountaine, then is it the The cape del Enganno: and from thence stir away West and by North toward Cabo Franco.

Cabo del Emganno the most Easterly Cape of Hispaniola. Or Saman.

Las Ouejas.

Markes of Cabo Franco.

Cabo Franco. CAbo Franco is a low Cape euen with the sea, and hath these markes [*] And from thence stir away West, and you shall see an high mountaine, and on the top thereof a cloudie homock like the top of a hat: and at the foote of this hill is the hauen or harbour called El puerto de plata And if you will goe into this port, you must leaue the Island on the West side, and then take heede of that which you see, and borrow on the castles side. And from thence to goe with the olde chanell, you must stirre away Northwest, vntill you come out of sight of lande, and then stir away West and by North, and so shall you goe with the lande of Baracoa, and here are hilles very high, which make the teates which looke like 3. crownes. And you shall passe betweene the Isle of Tortugas or Hinagua, and the Island of Iaico; and from thence run alongst the coast Northeast and Southwest; and hauing doubled the outmost high hill or mountaine, you shall see in the midst thereof a round hill, and vpon the Southwest side by the sea you shall see a lowe euen lande foure or fiue leagues long, and a lowe point, and this point of the hill is called Las sierras de Cabanca; and then beginneth the bay of Cayo Romano: and ahead the sierras you shall see a rounde loafe which is in the midst of the same bay, and ahead of that you shall see a hill flat on the top like a table sixe or seuen leagues, which hill is not very high, and from these hilles to Cayo Romano you haue fiue and thirtie leagues, and you must stirre the one halfe of the course Northwest, and the other halfe Northwest and by West, and so shall you make or see the sayd Cayo Romano vpon the larboord side of you. Note, that from Cayo Romano to Cabo de Cruz you haue three leagues, and they lie North and South one from another.

El Puerto de Plata.

Baracoa.

Isla de Tortugas otherwise called Hinagua.

The Isle of Iaico.

Las sierras de Cabanca.

Cayo Romano. This word Cayo in the Biscaian tongue signifieth a flat or a shold.

Cabo de Cruz.

Markes of Cayo Romano.

CAyo Romano is an high Island, and lyeth Northeast and

---

[*] Blank in original.

This Island lyeth 100. leagues from Hauana.

Southwest, and stretcheth it selfe as it were 4. leagues; and comming on it Northeast and Southwest, it maketh a loafe or round heape or homock; in the midst there are two saddles, as wee terme them, or lowe partitions, the one on the one side, and the other on the other side; and comming with it North and South, it maketh all one lowe send or saddle in the midst. And if night should come on you at this Cayo Romano, enter not the chanell, because in the mid way is an Isle, flat, or Cayo, which lyeth North and South with Cayo Romano, and it is called Cayo de la Cruz: and at full sea you shall discerne a heath, which this Cayo hath in the midst of it, which is like to a saile; but al night beare but your foresaile a glasse one way and another glasse the other way vntill it be day, and then enter the chanell, and leaue these Cayos, on the larbourd side of you. Note, that if you bee within sight of the Parcel, and see two litle Islands of white sand, that then you are on the cantell of the Parcel: and if you goe more a head coasting the Parcell, about fifteene leagues, you shall see three Islands full of trees, which are called Las Anguillas and all these three Islands beare North and South one from another. Item from Cayo de Cruz to Hauana, if it be by day, stir away West Northwest; but if it be by night, then stir a point more to the Westward: and if in this course you chance to see the Parcell, feare not; for in the lowest water there are sixe fathomes; then cast about to the Southwestward to get out about two glasses, and then stir away Westnorthwest vntill it be day and so shall you goe by the Cayos: and in this course you must keepe twentie foure leagues or thereabout. And from this Cayo de Cruz sixe or seuen leagues lyeth another Cayo vpon the Northeast and by North, which is great and white, and all euen; But the point on the Southwest is smaller, and vpon the said point is a shrub or bush which sheweth like a saile: also there is a banke of white sand along by the sea-side, which in the middest thereof maketh a cliff full of trees that seemeth like a sadle: and vpon the Northeast side (for on this maner the coast lyeth along from the Cape) going by the chanell you shal see certaine hilles eighteene or twentie leagues long lying Northest and Southwest being all saddle-like: and bringing the poynt Southwest off you, you shall be in the middest of the chanell: and from thence you haue as

The great Parcel.

Las Anguillas.

Another Cayo 6 or 7 leagues from Cayo de Cruz.

farre to Matanças as to Cayo Romano. Likewise from thence on the side of Hauana you shall see certaine hilles which shewe to be three, and ly Northeast and Southwest, and that on the Southwest is highest: they are called Las Sierras de Guana: and North and South from them lyeth a flat, which is called Cayo de Nicola, which stretched out two leagues into the Sea, and in the middle of the sayde flatte there is a little Island of white sand: and from thence you must sayle to Cruz del Padre.

El puerto de Matanzas or The hauen of slaughters.

Las Sierras de Guana.

Cruz del Padre.

Markes of Cruz del Padre.

CRuz del Padre is a Cape all broken in pieces: and from thence you must stir away Northeast, because of the Bay that is there, called the Bay of Conell, and this Bay, stretcheth to the Bay of Caos, which is within 20 leagues of the sayd poynt: and then stir away West Northwest to goe with the Port of Matanças, and with the hilles of Camoniaca.

La Baia de Conel.

La Baia de Caos, or Cayos.

Markes of the hilles of Camoniaca.

THe hilles of Camoniaca ly Northwest and Southeast, and the Southeast side is lowe land and euen: also vpon the Northeast side it is euen land, and runneth towards the Bay of Matanças, and in the middle of these hilles there is one high hill, and vpon the Northeast side there appeareth a round heape: and if you see this hill at West Southwest, the Pan or round heape of Matanças will beare off you West and by South.

Of Camelóquea.

Markes of the round hill called El pan de Matanças.

This Pan is a round heape standing on a lowe land: and if you bring yourselfe North and South with it, it will make you two saddles: and on the West side it maketh a great parted lande as it were sinking with the sea. Note that wheresoeuer you shall goe to seeke the Tortugas, and shall come with the coast and finde it beare off you Northeast and Southwest, I aduise you to goe along the coast to the Southwestward: you may not deepen more then fortie fiue fathomes, for if you doe, you shall cast your selfe without the Tortugas.

Note. Also you must note, that if by chance you finde your selfe shotte betweene the Tortugas, and the Martyres, and that you cannot goe on the out-side of the sayde Tortugas, then cause one to goe to the top, to see if you can descry them, and if you cannot see them, stir away Southwest vntill you see them; and hauing gotten sight of them, sounde, and you shall finde eighteene or ninteene fathomes: and so sholding stir away South and by West, and goe by this course. And feare you not the sholding, for you shall meete with 12. fathomes, and shall haue blacke sand in your sounding. And going neerer to the ende of the said Tortugas (for hee that is on the toppe shall see them all) as you passe by, you shall finde but eight fathomes, and stony ground, and that is the sholdest water you shall haue. And you shall passe by a bustling of a tyde, that shoules out of the chanel that way; but you neede not feare any thing for you shall haue no lesse then eight fathome water: and being past the said bustling but a minion shot, you shal loose the ground and be in the chanell.

An aduertizment.

WHen you shall passe this course, goe not out of sight of the Tortugas. And if you will goe from thence to Hauana, hauing a faire winde, stir away Southwest because the current may not set you off: and if with a fresh winde and Northerly, then stir away Southerly.

Here follow the latitudes of the headlandes, Capes, and Islands, as well of Madera, The Canaries, and The West Indies, as of the Açores and the Isles of Cabo Verde.

	Degrees of Latitude.
THe island called Puerto Santo standeth in	33
The isle of Madera standeth in	32½
The isle Saluaja in	30
The isle of Alagrança in	29½
The isle Fuerte ventura in	28½
The Grand Canaria in	28½
The isle of Palma, and the point called Punta de Naga in Tenerif in	28½
The isle of Gomera in	27½

The latitudes of the Islands of the West Indies.

The island of Fonçeca standeth in		11¼
The Isle Tabago in	skant	11
The Barbudos in		13
The isle of Trinidad vpon the North side in		10
The isle of Granata in		11¼
The isle of Sant Vincent in		12
The isle of santa Lucia in		12¾
The isle of Dominica in		14
The isle of Matalina or Martinino in		14½
The isle of Marigalante in		15
The isle of Deseada in		15½
The isle of Monserate in		16
The isle called La Antigua in		17
The isle called La Baruada in		17
The isle of S. Bartholomew in		17
The isle of S. Martin in		17½
The isle called La Anguilla in	skant	18
The isle of Sombrero in		18½
The isle Amegado in		18⅔
The isle called La isla de Avez in		15½
The isles called Las Virgines in		18
The Isle of Santa Cruz in		17
The isle of S. Juan de Puerto rico	On the North side in	18½
	On the South side in	17¼
Cape del Enganno vpon the East part of Hispaniola in		18½
The point of the isle of Saona in		17½
The Cape called Punta de Niçao neere S. Domingo in Hispaniola in		17½
The Isle Beata on the South side of Hispaniola in		17
The point of Bacao on the South side of Hispaniola in		17½
Cape Tiburon vpon the West part of Hispaniola, and the isle of Nauaza in		18⅓
The isle of Iamaica	On the South side in	17¼
	On the North side in	18½
Cape de Cruz on the South side of Cuba in		20
The 3 Isles called Caimanes, or Crocodiles, South of Cuba, in		19¼
The dangerous isles called Los Iardines South of Cuba in		21
The isle of Pinos in		21

Cape de Corrientes vpon the Southwest part of Cuba in	21½
Cabo de sant Anton being the most westerly Cape of Cuba in	22
The litle isles called Los Alacranes, or the Scorpions, in	22
The isles called Nigrillos in	23½
Isla de Lobos, or The isle of seales neere the maine of Nueua Espanna, in	22
The Cape of Iucatan called Cabo de Catoche in	21
The island called Isla de Ranas in (*large*)	21½

The latitudes of certaine places vpon the coast of Nueua Espanna, and of diuers other places lying in the way from thence to Spaine.

Villa rica standeth in	19½
Sant. Iuan de Vllua in	18¾
From Sant Iuan de Vllua sayling to the Tortugas you must sound in	27½
The small isles called Las Tortugas stand in	25
The Port of Hauana vpon the Northwest part of Cuba in	23½
The head of the Martyrs lying before the Cape of Florida in	25
The Mimbres are in	26½
The Chanel of Bahama in	27½
The Cape de Cannaueral vpon the coast of Florida in	28⅓
The Isle of Bermuda in	33
The *isle of Iohn Luis or Iohn Aluarez in	41¼

The latitudes of the Isles of the Açores.

The isle of Flores standeth in	39½
The isle of Cueruo in	40
The isle of Fayal in	38½
The isle of Pico and the isle of Sant George both in	38½
The isle of Terçera in	39
The isle of Graciosa in	39½
The isle of Santa Maria in	37
The isle of sant Michael in	38
Cape sant Vincent vpon the coast of Spaine	37
The Rocke in	39
The Burlings in	40

---

* **This is a very commodious Isle for vs in our way to Virginia.**

Bayona in	42½
Cape Finister in	43½
The enterance of the streights of Gibraltar is in	36
Cape Cantin vpon the coast of Barbarie in	32½
Cape Bojador vpon the coast of Barbarie in (*large*)	27
Rio del oro, or The riuer of Gold, in	23½
Cabo de Barbas in	22
Cabo blanco, or the white Cape in	20¾

The latitude of the isles of Cabo verde.

The isles of Sant Anton, Sant Vincent, Santa Lucia, and Sant Nicolas stand all in	18⅓
Isla del Sal, or the isle of salt, in	17¼
The isle called Buena vista in	16
The isle of Sant Iago in	15

The latitudes of diuers Islands, Capes, and other places, from the Isle of Margarita vpon the coast of Cumana Westward along the coast of Tierra Firma.

The isles of Aruba, Curaçao, and Buinaro stand all in	12
The isle of Margarita in	11
The islandes called Los Testigos in	11¼
The coast of Baya Honda to Cape de la Vela lyeth East and West in	12
Cape del Aguja in	11⅓
The rockes of Seranna in	14
The Roncador in	13½
The isle of Santa Catelina in	13½
The isle of Sant Andrew in	12½
The seranilla in	15½
The isle of Centanilla or Santanilla in	17¼
Cape Camaron on the maine, South of the enterance of the Honduras	16
Ganaba in	16¾
Genaza in	16½

Here followeth a declaration of the Longitudes, or Western and Eastern distances, from Spaine to Newe Spaine in America, and from thence backe againe to Spaine.

		Leagues.
	From Sal Medina vpon the Coast Andaluzia till you bring your selfe North and South with Cape Cantin vpon the Coast of Barbary	85
	From Sal Medina to the island of Gran Canaria	200
	From the Gran Canaria to Deseada	850
	From Deseada to Monserate	20
	From Monserate to Santa Cruz	58
	From Santa Cruz to Cape Roxo the Southwest Cape of Sant Iuan de Puerto Rico	45
	From Cape Roxo to Saona	25
	From Saona to sant Domingo	25
	From sant Domingo to Ocoa	18
	From Ocoa to Beata	20
	From Beata to the isle Baque	43
	From the isle Baque to Nauaza	33
	From Nauaza to sant Iago of Cuba	32
	From sant Iaga of Cuba to Cabo de Cruz	34
	From Cabo de Cruz to the first Cayman	40
	From the first Cayman to the middle Cayman	6
	From the middle Cayman to the great Cayman	12
	From the Great Cayman to the isle of Pinos	48
	From Cabo de Cruz to the isle of Pinos by the forsaid course	106
	From the Isle of Pinos to Cabo de Corrientes	19
	From Cabo de Corrientes to Cabo de sant Anton	20
The course from Cabo de sant Anton to sant Iuan de Vllua by the outside or north of the Isles called Alacranes.	From Cabo de sant Anton to the Nigrillos	106
	From the Nigrillos, vntill you bring your selfe North and South with the isle Vermeja	25
	From the isle Vermeja to Villa Rica	96
	From Villa Rica to Sant Iuan de Vllua	12
The course from Cabo de Corrientes to sant Iuan de Vllua on the inside or South of the Alacranes.	From Cabo de Corrientes to the first sounding	45
	From the first sounding till you come so farre a head as the island called Isla de Ranas	80
	From Isla de Ranas vnto	—

The longitudes from New Spaine, backe againe to Spaine.

From Saint Iuan de Vllua to the Tortugas - -	280
From the Tortugas to Hauana - - - -	36
From Hauana to the head of the Martyrs - -	36
From the head of the Martyrs to the Mimbres - -	30
From the Mimbres to Bahama - - - -	22
From the head of the Martyrs to Cabo de Cannnaueral -	62
From Cabo de Cannauerall to Bermuda - - -	350
From Burmuda to the Isle of Iohn Luis or Iohn Aluarex	320
From the Isle of Iohn Luis or Aluarez to Flores - -	300
From Flores to Fayal - - - -	28
From Fayal to Terçera - - - - -	28
From Terçera to Saint Michael - - - -	28
From Saint Michael to Cape Saint Vincent - -	218
From Terçera to Cape Saint Vincent - - -	256
From Cape S. Vincent to Cabo de santa Maria vpon the coast of Algarbe. - - - - -	22
From Cabo de santa Maria to Sal Medina in Andaluzia -	32

Voyages of the English Nation round the World.

THE TWO FAMOVS VOYAGES

HAPPILY PERFOURMED ROUND ABOUT THE WORLD, BY SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, AND M. THOMAS CANDISH ESQUIRE, TOGETHER WITH THE REST OF OUR ENGLISH VOYAGES INTENDED FOR THE SOUTH SEA, THE KINGDOMES OF CHILI, PERU, THE BACKE SIDE OF NUEUA ESPANNA, THE MALUCOS, THE PHILIPPINAS, THE MIGHTIE EMPIRE OF CHINA, THOUGH NOT SO HAPPILY PERFOURMED AS THE TWO FORMER: WHEREUNTO ARE ANNEXED CERTAINE RARE OBSERUATIONS TOUCHING THE PRESENT STATE OF CHINA, AND THE KINGDOME OF CORAY, LATELY INUADED BY QUABACONDONO THE LAST MONARCH OF THE 66. PRINCEDOMES OF IAPAN.

The famous voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South sea, and therehence about the whole Globe of the earth, begun in the yeere of our Lord, 1577.

THe 15. day of Nouember, in the yeere of our Lord 1577. M. Francis Drake, with a fleete of fiue ships and barkes, and to the number of 164. men, gentlemen and sailers, departed from Plimmouth, giuing out his pretended voyage for Alexandria: but the wind falling contrary, hee was forced the next morning to put into Falmouth hauen in Cornewall, where such and so terrible a tempest tooke vs, as few men haue seene the like, and was in deed so vehement, that all our ships were like to haue gone to wracke: but it pleased God to preserue vs from that extremitie, and to afflict vs onely for that present with these two particulars: The mast of our Admirall which was the Pellican, was cut ouer boord for the safegard of the ship, and the Marigold was driuen ashore, and somewhat bruised: for the repairing of which damages wee returned againe to Plimmouth. and hauing recouered those harmes, and brought the ships againe to good state, we set forth the second time from Plimmouth, and set saile the 13. day of December following.

The 25. day of the same moneth we fell with the Cape Cantin, vpon the coast of Barbarie, and coasting along, the 27. day we found an Island called Mogador, lying one mile distant from the maine, betweene which Island and the maine, we found a very good and safe harbour for our ships to ride in, as also very good entrance, and voyde of any danger.

The Isle of Mogador on the coast of Barbarie.

On this Island our Generall erected a pinnesse, whereof he brought out of England with him foure already framed. While these things were in doing, there came to the waters side some of the inhabitants of the countrey, shewing foorth their flags of truce, which being seene of our Generall, hee sent his ships boate to the shore, to know what they would: they being willing to come aboord our men left there one man of our company for a pledge, and brought two of theirs aboord our ship, which by signes shewed our General, that the next day they would bring some prouision, as sheepe, capons and hennes, and such like: whereupon our Generall bestowed amongst them some linnen cloth and shooes, and a iaueling, which they very ioyfully receiued, and departed for that time.

The next morning they failed not to come againe to the waters side, and our Generall againe setting out our boate, one of our men leaping ouer rashly ashore, and offering friendly to imbrace them, they set violent hands on him, offering a dagger to his throte if hee had made any resistance, and so laying him on a horse, caried him away: so that a man cannot be too circumspect and warie of himselfe among such miscreants.

Our pinnesse being finished, wee departed from this place the 30. and last day of December, and coasting along the shore, wee did descrie, not contrary to our expectation, certaine Canters which were Spanish fishermen, to whom we gaue chase and tooke three of them, and proceeding further we met with 3. Carauels and tooke them also.

The 17. day of Ianuary we arriued at Cape Blanco, where we found a ship riding at anchor, within the Cape, and but two simple Mariners in her, which ship we tooke and caried her further into the harbour, where we remained 4. dayes, and in that space our General mustered, and trayned his

Ianuarie.

men on land in warlike maner, to make them fit for all occasions.

In this space we tooke of the Fishermen such necessaries as wee wanted, and they could yeeld vs, and leauing heere one of our litle barkes called the Benedict, wee tooke with vs one of theirs which they called Canters, being of the burden of 40. tunnes or thereabouts.

All these things being finished, wee departed this harbour the 22. of Ianuarie, carying along with vs one of the Portugall Carauels which was bound to the Islands of Cape Verde for salt, whereof good store is made in one of those Islands.

The Isle of Mayo.

The master or Pilot of that Carauel did aduertise our Generall that vpon one of those Islands called Mayo, there was great store of dryed Cabritos, which a few inhabitants there dwelling did yeerely make ready for such of the kings Ships as did there touch, beeing bound for his countrey of Brasile or elsewhere. Wee fell with this Island the 27. of Ianuary, but the Inhabitants would in no case traffique with vs, being thereof forbidden by the kings Edict: yet the next day our Generall sent to view the Island, and the likelihoodes that might be there of prouision of victnals, about threescore and two men under the conduct and gouernment of Master Winter and Master Doughtie, and marching towards the chiefe place of habitation in this Island (as by the Portugall wee were informed) hauing trauailed to the mountaines the space of three miles, and arriuing there somewhat before the day breake, wee arrested our selues to see day before vs, which appearing, we found the inhabitants to be fled: but the place, by reason that it was manured, wee found to be more fruitfull then the other part, especially the valleys among the hils.

Ripe grapes in Winter.

Here we gaue our selues a litle refreshing, as by very ripe and sweete grapes, which the fruitfulnesse of the earth at that season of the yeere yeelded vs: and that season being with vs the depth of Winter, it may seeme strange that those fruites were then there growing: but the reason thereof is this, because they being betweene the Tropike and the Equinoctiall, the Sunne passeth twise in the yeeere through their Zenith ouer their heads, by meanes whereof they haue two Summers, and being so neere the heate of the line, they neuer lose the heate of the Sunne so much, but the fruites haue their increase and continuance in the midst of Winter. The Island is wonderfully stored with goates and wild hennes, and it hath salt also without labour, saue onely that the people gather it into heapes, which continually in great quantitie is increased vpon the sands by the flowing of the sea, and the receiuing heate of the Sunne kerning the same, so that of the increase thereof they keepe a continuall traffique with their neighbours.

The description of the tree that beareth Cocos.

Amongst other things we found here a kind of fruit called Cocos, which because it is not commonly knowen with vs in England, I thought good to make same description of it.

The tree beareth no leaues nor branches, but at the very top the fruit groweth in clusters, hard at the top of the stemme of the tree, as big euery seuerall fruite as a mans head: but hauing taken off the vttermost barke, which you shall find to bee very full of strings or sinowes, as I may terme them, you shall come to a hard shell which may holde a quantitie in liquor a pint commonly, or some a quart, and some lesse: within that shell of the thicknesse of halfe an inch good, you shall haue a kinde of hard substance and very white, no lesse good and sweete then almonds: within that againe a certaine cleare liquor, which being drunke, you shall not onely finde it very delicate and sweete, but most comfortable and cordiall.

After wee had satisfied our selues with some of these fruites, wee marched further into the Island, and saw great store of Cabritos aliue, which were so chased by the inhabitants, that wee could doe no good towards our prouision, but they had layde out as it were to stoppe our mouthes withall, certaine olde dryed Cabritos, which being but ill, and small and few, wee made no account of.

Or goates.

Being returned to our ships, our Generall departed hence the 31. of this moneth, and sayled by the Island of S. Iago, but farre enough from the danger of the inhabitants, who shot and discharged at vs three peeces, but they all fell short of vs, and did vs no harme. The Island is fayre and large, and as it seemeth, rich and fruitfull, and inhabited by the Portugals, but the mountaines and high places of the Island are sayd to be possessed by the Moores, who hauing bin slaues to the Portugals, to ease themselues, made escape to the desert places of the Island, where they abide with great strength.

The Isle of S. Iago.

Being before this Island, we espied two ships vnder sayle, to the one of which wee gaue chase, and in the end boorded her

A prize, and Nuno da Silua a Portugal Pilot taken.

with a ship-boat without resistance, which we found to be a good prize, and she yeelded vnto vs good store of wine: which prize our General committed to the custodie of Master Doughtie, and reteining the Pilot, sent the rest away with his Pinnesse, giuing them a Butte of wine and some victuals, and their wearing clothes, and so they departed.

The Isle of Fogo.

The same night wee came with the Island called by the Portugals, Ilha del fogo, that is, the burning Island: in the Northside whereof is a consuming fire, the matter is sayde to be of Sulphure, but notwithstanding it is like to be a commodious Island, because the Portugals haue built, and doe inhabite there.

Vpon the South side thereof lyeth a most pleasant and sweete Island, the trees whereof are alwayes greene and faire to looke vpon, in respect whereof they call it Ilha Braua, that is, the braue Island. From the banks thereof into the sea doe run in many places reasonable streames of fresh water easie to be come by, but there was no conuenient roade for our ships: for such was the depth, that no ground could be had for anchoring, and it is reported, that ground was neuer found in that place, so that the tops of Fogo burne not so high in the ayre, but the rootes of Braua are quenched as low in the sea.

Being departed from these Islands, we drew towards the line, where wee were becalmed the space of 3. weekes, but yet subiect to diuers great stormes, terrible lightnings and much thunder: but with this miserie we had the commoditie of great store of fish, as Dolphins, Bonitos, and flying fishes, whereof some fell into our shippes, wherehence they could not raise againe for want of moisture, for when their wings are drie, they cannot flie.

April 33. Degrees.

From the first day of our departure from the Islands of Cape Verde, wee sayled 54. dayes without sight of land, and the first land that we fell with was the coast of Brasil, which we saw the fifth of April in ye height of 33. degrees towardes the pole Antarctike, and being discouered at sea by the inhabitants of the countrey, they made vpon the coast great fires for a sacrifice (as we learned to the deuils, about which they vse coniurations, making heapes of sande and other ceremonies, that when any ship shall goe about to stay vpon their coast, not onely sands may be gathered together in shoalds in euery place, but also that stormes and tempests may arise, to the casting away of ships and men, whereof (as it is reported) there haue bene diuers experiements.

The seuenth day in a mightie great storme both of lightning rayne and thunder, wee lost the Canter which we called the Christopher: but the eleuenth day after, by our Generals great care in dispersing his ships, we found her againe, and the place where we met, our General called the Cape of Ioy, where euery ship tooke in some water. Heere wee found a good temperature and sweete ayre, a very faire and pleasant countrey with an exceeding fruitfull soyle, where were great store of large and mightie Deere, but we came not to the sight of any people: but traueiling further into the countrey, we perceiued the footing of people in the clay-ground shewing that they were men of great stature. Being returned to our ships, we wayed anchor, and ranne somewhat further, and harboured our selues betweene a rocke and the maine where by meanes of the rocke that brake the force of the sea, we rid very safe, and vpon this rocke we killed for our prouision certaine sea-wolues, commonly called with vs Seales.

The Cape of Ioy.

From hence we went our course to 36. degrees, and entred the great riuer of Plate, and ranne into 54. and 55. fadomes and a halfe of fresh water, where wee filled our water by the ships side: but our Generall finding here no good harborough, as he thought he should, bare out againe to sea the 27. of April, and in bearing out we lost sight of our Flieboate wherein master Doughtie was, but we sayling along, found a fayre and reasonable good Bay wherein were many, and the same profitable Islands, one whereof had so many Seales, as would at the least haue laden all our Shippes, and the rest of the Islands are as it were laden with foules which is wonderfull to see, and they of diuers sortes.

Their entrance into the riuer of Plate.

Abundance of Seales.

It is a place very plentifull of victuals, and hath in it no want of fresh water.

Our General after certaine dayes of his abode in this place, being on shore in an Island, the people of the countrey shewed themselues unto him, leaping and dauncing, and entred into traffique with him, but they would not receiue any thing at any mans hands, but the same must bee cast vpon the ground. They are of cleane, comely, and strong bodies, swift on foote, and seeme to be very actiue.

The eighteenth day of May our Generall thought

May.

it needfull to haue a care of such Ships as were absent, and therefore indeuouring to seeke the Flieboate wherein master Doughtie was, we espied her againe the next day: and whereas certaine of our ships were sent to discouer the coast and to search an harbour, the Marygold and the Canter being imployed in that businesse, came vnto vs and gaue vs vnderstanding of a safe harbour that they had found, wherewith all our ships bare, and entred it, where we watered and made new prouision of victuals, as by Seales, whereof we slew to the number of 200. or 300. in the space of an houre.

The Flie-boat cast off and burnt.

Here our Generall in the Admirall rid close aboord the Flieboate, and tooke out of her all the prouision of victuals and what els was in her, and halling her to the Lande, set fire to her, and so burnt her to saue the iron worke: which being a doing, there came downe of the countrey certaine of the people naked, sauing only about their waste the skinne of some beast with the furre or haire on, and something also wreathed on their heads: their faces were painted with diuers colours, and some of them had on their heads the similitude of hornes, euery man his bow which was an ell in length, and a couple of arrowes. They were very agill people and quicke to deliuer, and seemed not to be ignorant in the feates of warres, as by their order of ranging a few men, might appeare. These people would not of a long time receiue any thing at our handes; yet at length our Generall being ashore, and they dauncing after their accustomed maner about him, and hee once turning his backe towards them, one leapt suddenly to him, and took his cap with his golde band off his head, and ran a litle distance from him and shared it with his fellow, the cap to the one, and the band to the other.

The people of the countrey.

Hauing dispatched all our businesse in this place, wee departed and set sayle, and immediatly vpon our setting foorth we lost our Canter which was absent three or foure dayes: but when our General had her againe, he tooke out the necessaries, and so gaue her ouer neere to the Cape of Good hope.

The cape of Good hope.

Iune.

Port S. Iulian.

The next day after being the twentieth of Iune, wee harboured our selues againe in a very good harborough, called by Magellan Port S. Iulian, where we found a gibbet standing vpon the maine, which we supposed to be the place where Magellan did execution vpon some of his disobedient and rebellious company.

The two and twentieth day our General went ashore to the maine, and in his companie. Iohn Thomas, and Robert Winterhie, Oliuer the Master gunner, Iohn Brewer, Thomas Hood, and Thomas Drake, and entring on land, they presently met with two or three of the countrey people, and Robert Winterhie hauing in his hands a bowe and arrowes, went about to make a shoote of pleasure, and in his draught his bowstring brake, which the rude Sauages taking as a token of warre, began to bend the force of their bowes against our company, and droue them to their shifts very narrowly.

In this Port our Generall began to enquire diligently of the actions of M. Thomas Doughtie, and found them not to be such as he looked for, but tending rather to contention or mutinie, or some other disorder, whereby (without redresse) the successe of the voyage might greatly haue bene hazarded: whereupon the company was called together and made acquainted with the particulars of the cause, which were found partly by master Doughties owne confession, and partly by the euidence of the fact, to be true: which when our Generall saw, although his priuate affection to M. Doughtie (as hee then in the presence of vs all sacredly protested) was great, yet the care he had of the state of the voyage, of the expectation of her Maiestie, and of the honour of his countrey did more touch him, (as indeede it ought) then the priuate respect of one man: so that the cause being thoroughly heard, and all things done in good order as neere as might be to the course of our lawes iu England, it was concluded that M. Doughtie should receiue punishment according to the qualitie of the offence: and he seeing no remedie but patience for himselfe, desired before his death to receiue the Communion, which he did at the hands of M. Fletcher our Minister, and our Generall himselfe accompanied him in that holy action: which being done, and the place of execution made ready, hee hauing embraced our Generall and taken his leaue of all the companie, with prayer for the Queenes maiestie and our realme, in quiet sort laid his head to the blocke, where he ended his life. This being done, our Generall made diuers speaches to the whole company, perswading vs to vnitie, obedience, loue, and regard of our voyage; and for the better confirmation thereof, willed euery

M. Thomas Doughtie executed.

man the next Sunday following to prepare himselfe to receiue the Communion, as Christian brethren and friends ought to doe, which was done in very reuerent sort, and so with good contentment euery man went about his businesse.

August.

The streight of Magellan.

The 17. day of August we departed the port of S. Iulian, and the 20. day we fell with the streight or freat of Magellan going into the South sea, at the Cape or headland whereof we found the bodie of a dead man, whose flesh was cleane consumed.

The 21. day we entred The streight, which we found to haue many turnings, and as it were shuttings vp, as if there were no passage at all, by meanes whereof we had the wind often against vs, so that some of the fleete recouering a Cape or point of land, others should be forced to turne backe againe, and to come to an anchor where they could.

In this streight there be many faire harbors, with store of fresh water, but yet they lacke their best commoditie: for the water is there of such depth, that no man shal find ground to anchor in, except it bee in some narow riuer or corner, or betweene some rocks, so that if any extreme blasts or contrary winds do come (whereunto the place is much subiect) it carieth with it no small danger.

The land on both sides is very huge and mouutainous, the lower mountains whereof, although they be monstrous and wonderfull to looke vpon for their height, yet there are others which in height exceede them in a strange maner, reaching themselues aboue their fellowes so high, that betweene them did appeare three regions of cloudes.

These mountaines are couered with snow: at both the Southerly and Easterly partes of the streight there are Islands, among which the sea hath his indraught into the streights, euen as it hath in the maine entrance of the freat.

This streight is extreme cold, with frost and snow continually; the trees seeme to stoope with the burden of the weather, and yet are greene continually, and many good and sweete herbes doe very plentifully grow and increase vnder them.

The bredth of the streights of Magellan.

The bredth of the streight is in some place a league, in some other places 2. leagues, and three leagues, and in some other 4. leagues, bnt the narowest place hath a league ouer.

The 24. of August we arriued at an island in the streights, where we found great store of foule which could not flie, of the bignesse of geese, whereof we killed in lesse then one day 3000. and victualled our selues throughly therewith.

Abundance of foule in the streight.

The 6. day of September we entred the South sea at the Cape or head shore.

September.

The seuenth day wee were driuen by a great storme from the entring into the South sea two hundred leagues and odde in longitude, and one degree to the Southward of the Streight: in which height, and so many leagues to the Westward, the fifteenth day of September fell out the Eclipse of the Moone at the houre of sixe of the clocke at night: but neither did the Eclipticall conflict of the Moone impayre our state, nor her clearing againe amend vs a whit, but the accustomed Eclipse of the Sea continued in his force, wee being darkened more then the Moone seuen fold.

From the Bay (which we called The Bay of seuering of friends) we were driuen backe to the Southward of the streights in 57. degrees and a terce: in which height we came to an anker among the Islands, hauing there fresh and very good water, with herbes of singular vertue. Not farre from hence we entred another Bay, where wee found people both men and women in their Canoas, naked, and ranging from one Island to another to seeke their meat, who entered traffique with vs for such things as they had.

57. Degrees and a terce of Southerly latitude.

Botero writeth that another hath found this place all Islands.

We returning hence Northward againe, found the 3. of October three Islands, in one of which was such plentie of birdes as is scant credible to report.

The 8. day of October we lost sight of one of our Consorts wherein M. Winter was, who as then we supposed was put by a storme into the streights againe, which at our returne home wee found to be true, and he not perished, as some of our company feared.

M. Winter separated and returned.

Thus being come into the height of The streights againe, we ran, supposing the coast of Chili to lie as the generall Maps haue described it, namely Northwest, which we found to lie and trend to the Northeast and Eastwards, whereby it appeareth that this part of Chili hath not bene truely hitherto discouered, or at least not truely reported for the space of 12. degrees at the least, being set downe either of purpose to deceiue, or of ignorant coniecture.

The trending of the coast of Chili.

The Isle la Mocha in 38 degrees and 30. minutes.

We continuing our course, fell the 29. of Nouember with an Island called la Mocha, where we cast anchor, and our General hoysing out our boate, went with ten of our company to shore, where wee found people, whom the cruell and extreme dealings of the Spaniards haue forced for their owne safetie and liberty to flee from the maine, and to fortifie themselues in this Island. We being on land, the people came downe to vs to the water side with shew of great courtesie, bringing to vs potatoes, rootes, and two very fat sheepe, which our Generall receiued and gaue them other things for them. and had promise to haue water there: but the next day repayring againe to the shore, and sending two men aland with barrels to fill water, the people taking them for Spaniards (to whom they vse to shew no fauour if they take them) layde violent hands on them, and as we thinke, slew them.

The port of Valparizo in 33. degreees 40. minutes.

Our Generall seeing this, stayed here no longer, but wayed anchor, and set sayle towards the coast of Chili, and drawing towards it, we mette neere to the shore an Indian in a Canoa, who thinking vs to haue bene Spaniards, came to vs and tolde vs, that at a place called S. Iago, there was a great Spanish ship laden from the kingdome of Peru: for which good newes our Generall gaue him diuers trifles, whereof he was glad, and went along with vs and brought vs to the place, which is called the port of Valparizo.

Wine of Chili.

When we came thither, we found indeede the ship riding at anker, hauing in her eight Spaniards and three Negros, who thinking vs to haue bene Spaniards and their friends, welcommed vs with a drumme, and made ready a Bottija of wine of Chili to drinke to vs: but as soone as we were entred, one of our company called Thomas Moone began to lay about him, and strooke one of the Spanyards, and sayd unto him, Abexo Perro, that is in English, Goe downe dogge. One of these Spaniards seeing persons of that quality in those seas, all to crossed, and blessed himselfe: but to be short, wee stowed them vnder hatches all soue one Spaniard, who suddenly and desperately leapt ouer boord into the sea, and swamme ashore to the towne of S. Iago, to giue them warning of our arriual.

The towne of S. Iago taken.

They of the towne being not aboue 9. housholds, presently fled and abandoned the towne. Our generall manned his boate, and the Spanish ships boate, and went to the Towne, and being come to it, we rifled it, and came to a small chappell which wee entred, and found therein a siluer chalice, two cruets, and one altar-cloth, the spoyle whereof our Generall gave to M. Fletcher his minister.

Wine of Chili.

We found also in this towne a warehouse stored with wine of Chili, and many boords of Cedar-wood, all which wine we brought away with vs, and certaine of the boords to burne for fire-wood: and so being come aboord, wee departed the Hauen, having first set all the Spaniards on land, sauing one Iohn Griego, a Greeke borne, whom our Generall caried with him for his Pilot to bring him into the hauen of Lima.

Iohn Griego a Pilot taken.

Gold of Baldiuia.

When we were at sea, our Generall rifled the ship, and found in her good store of the wine of Chili, and 25000. pezoes of very pure and fine gold of Baldiuia, amounting in value to 37000. ducats of Spanish money, and aboue. So going on our course, wee arriued next at a place called Coxuimbo, where our Generall sent 14. of his men on land to fetch water: but they were espied by the Spaniards, who came with 300. horsemen and 200. footemen, and slewe one of our men with a piece, the rest came aboord in safetie, and the Spaniards departed: wee went on shore againe, and buried our man, and the Spaniards came downe againe with a flag of truce, but we set sayle and would not trust them.

Coquimbo in 29 degrees 30 minutes.

Tarapaza.

From hence we went to a certaine port called Tarapaça, where being landed, we found by the Sea side a Spaniard lying asleepe, who had lying by him 13. barres or siluer, which weighed 4000. ducats Spanish: we tooke the siluer, and left the man.

Not farre from hence going on land for fresh water, we met with a Spaniard and an Indian boy driuing 8. Llamas or sheepe of Peru which are as big as asses; euery of which sheepe had on his backe 2. bags of leather, each bagge conteining 50. li. weight of fine siluer: so that bringing both the sheepe and their burthen to the ships, we found in all the bags 800. weight of siluer.

Arica in 18. deg. 30. min.

Here hence we sailed to a place called Arica, and being entred the port, we found there three small barkes which we rifled, and found in one of them 57 wedges of siluer, each of them weighing about 20 pound weight, and euery of these wedges were of the fashion and bignesse of a brickbat. In all these 3. barkes we found not one person: for they mistrusting no strangers, were all gone aland to the towne, which consisteth of about twentie houses, which we would haue ransacked if our company had bene better and more in number. But our Generall contented with the spoyle of the ships, left the Towne and put off againe to sea and set sayle for Lima, and by the way met with a small barke, which he boorded, and found in her good store of linnen cloth, whereof taking some quantitie, he let her goe.

Lima in 11. deg. 50. minutes.

To Lima we came the 13. day of February, and being entred the hauen, we found there about twelue sayle of ships lying fast moored at an anker, hauing all their sayles caried on shore; for the masters and marchants were here most secure, hauing neuer bene assaulted by enemies, and at this time feared the approch of none such as we were. Our generall rifled these ships, and found in one of them a chest full of royals of plate, and good store of silkes and linnen cloth, and tooke the chest into his owne ship, and good store of the silkes and linnen. In which ship hee had newes of another ship called the Cacafuego which was gone towards Paita, and that the same shippe was laden with treasure: whereupon we staied no longer here, but cutting all the cables of the shippes in the hauen, we let them driue whither they would, either to sea or to the shore, and with all speede we followed the Cacafuego toward Paita, thinking there to haue found her: but before wee arriued there, she was gone from thence towards Panama, whom our Generall still pursued, and by the way met with a barke laden with ropes and tackle for ships, which hee boorded and searched, and found in her 80. li. weight of golde, and a crucifixe of gold with goodly great Emerauds set in it which he tooke, and some of the cordage also for his owne ship.

From hence we departed, still following the Cacafuego, and our Generall promised our company, that whosoeuer could first descrie her, should haue his chaine of gold for his good newes. It fortuned that Iohn Drake going vp into the top, descried her about three of the clocke, and about sixe of the clocke we came to her and boorded her, and shotte at her three peeces of ordinance, and strake downe her Misen, and being entered, we found in her great riches, as iewels and precious stones, thirteene chests full of royals of plate, foure score pound weight of golde, and sixe and twentie tunne of siluer. The place where we tooke this prize, was called Cape de San Francisco, about 150. leagues from Panama.

The rich ship called Cacafuego taken.

The Pilots name of this Shippe was Francisco, and amongst other plate that our Generall found in this ship, he found two very faire guilt bowles of siluer, which were the Pilots: to whom our Generall sayd: Senior Pilot, you haue here two siluer cups, but I must needes haue one of them: which the Pilot because hee could not otherwise chuse, yeelded vnto, and gaue the other to the steward of our Generals ships.

Cape de San Francisco in 1. degree to the North.

When this Pilot departed from vs, his boy sayde thus vnto our Generall: Captaine, our ship shall be called no more the Cacafuego, but the Cacaplata, and your shippe shall bee called the Cacafuego: which pretie speach of the Pilots boy ministred matter of laughter to vs, both then and long after.

When our General had done what hee would with this Cacafuego, hee cast her off, and wee went on our course still towardes the West, and not long after met with a ship laden with linnen cloth and fine China-dishes of white earth, and great store of China-silks, of all which things wee tooke as we listed.

China-silks and Porcellan.

The owner himselfe of this ship was in her, who was a Spanish Gentleman, from whom our Generall tooke a Fawlcon of golde, with a great Emeraud in the breast thereof, and the Pilot of the ship he tooke also with him, and so cast the ship off.

This Pilot brought vs to the hauen of Guatulco, the towne whereof, as he told vs had but 17. Spaniards in it. Assoone as we were entred this hauen, wee landed, and went presently to the towne, and to the Towne-house, where we found a Iudge sitting in iudgement, being associate with three other officers, vpon three Negros that had conspired the burning of the towne: both which Iudges and prisoners we tooke, and brought them a shipboord, and caused the chiefe Iudge to write his letter to the Towne, to command all the townesmen to auoid, that we might safely water there. Which being done, and they departed, we ransaked the Towne, and in one house we found a pot of the quantitie of a bushell, full of reals of plate, which we brought to our ship.

Guatulco.

And here one Thomas Moone one of our company, tooke a Spanish Gentleman as hee was flying out the towne, and searching him, he found a chaine of golde about him, and other iewels, which he tooke, and so let him goe.

At this place our General among other Spaniards, set ashore

The Portugal Pilote set on land.

The Island of Canno.

his Portugall Pilote, which hee tooke at the Islands of Cape Verde, out of a ship of S. Mary port of Portugall: and hauing set them ashore, we departed hence, and sailed to the Island of Canno, where our Generall landed, and brought to shore his owne ship, and discharged her, mended, and graued her, and furnished our ship with water and wood sufficiently.

A ship with a gouernour for the Islands of Philippinas.

And while wee were here, we espied a shippe, and set saile after her, and tooke her, and found in her two Pilots and a Spanish Gouernour, going for the Islands of the Philippinas: wee searched the shippe, and tooke some of her marchandizes, and so let her goe. Our Generall at this place and time, thinking himselfe both in respect of his priuate iniuries receiued from the Spaniards, as also of their contempts and indignities offered to our countrey and Prince in generall, sufficiently satisfied, and reuenged: and supposing that her Maiestie at his returne would rest contented with this seruice, purposed to continue no longer vpon the Spanish coasts, but began to consider and to consult of the best way for his Countrey.

He thought it not good to returne by the Streights, for two speciall causes: the one, lest the Spaniards should there waite, and attend for him in great number and strength, whose hands, hee being left but one ship, could not possibly escape. The other cause was the dangerous situation of the mouth of the streights in the South sea, where continuall stormes reigning and blustering, as he found by experience, besides the shoalds and sands vpon the coast, he thought it not a good course to aduenture that way: he resolued therefore to auoyde these hazards, to goe forward to the Islandes of the Malucos, and therehence to saile the course of the Portugals by the Cape of Buena Esperança.

Vpon this resolution, hee beganne to thinke of his best way to the Malucos, and finding himselfe where he now was becalmed, he saw that of necessitie hee must be forced to take a Spanish course, namely to sayle somewhat Northerly to get a winde. Wee therefore set saile, and sayled 600. leagues at the least for a good winde, and thus much we sailed from the 16. of April, till the 3. of Iune.

Iune.

The 5. day of Iune, being in 43. degrees towards the pole Arctike, we found the ayre so colde, that our men being grieuously pinched with the same, complained of the extremitie thereof, and the further we went, the more the colde increased vpon us. Whereupon we thought it best for that time to seeke the land, and did so, finding it not mountainous, but low plaine land, till wee came within 38. degrees towards the line. In which height it pleased God to send vs into a faire and good Baye, with a good winde to enter the same.*

Sir Francis Drake sayled on the back-side of America to 43. degrees of Northerly latitude 38. Degrees.

In this Baye wee anchored, and the people of the Countrey hauing their houses close by the waters side, shewed themselues vnto vs, and sent a present to our Generall.

A description of the people and Countrey of Noua Albion.

When they came vnto vs, they greatly wondred at the things that wee brought, but our Generall (according to his naturall and accustomed humanitie) courteously intreated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessary things to couer their nakednesse, whereupon they supposed vs to be gods, and would not be perswaded to the contrary: the presents which they sent to our Generall, were feathers, and calles of net-worke.

The houses are digged round about with earth, and haue from the vttermost brimmes of the circle, clifts of wood set vpon them, ioyning close together at the toppe like a spire steeple, which by reason of that closenesse are very warme.

Their beds is the ground with rushes strowed on it, and lying about the house, haue the fire in the midst. The men goe naked, the women take bulrushes, and kembe them after the manner of hempe, and thereof make their loose garments, which being knit about their middles, hang down about their hippes, hauing also about their shoulders a skinne of Deere, with the haire vpon it. These women are very obedient and seruiceable to their husbands.

After they were departed from vs, they came and visited vs the second time, and brought with them feathers and bags of Tabacco for presents: And when they came to the top of the hill (at the bottome whereof we had pitched our tents) they staied themselues: where one appointed for speaker wearied himselfe with making a long oration, which done, they left their bowes vpon the hill, and came down with their presents.

A long oration.

---

* Now called Sir Francis Drake's Bay, north of the Golden Gate.

In the meane time the women remaining on the hill, tormented themselues lamentably, tearing their flesh from their cheekes, whereby we perceiued that they were about a sacrifice. In the mean time our Generall with his company went to prayer, and to reading of the Scripture, at which exercise they were attentiue, and seemed greatly to be affected with it: but when they were come vnto vs, they restored againe unto vs those things which before we bestowed vpon them.

The newes of our being there being spread through the Countrey, the people that inhabited round about came downe, and amongst them the King himselfe, a man of goodly stature, and comely personage, with many other tall and warlike men: before whose comming were sent two Ambassadors to our Generall, to signifie that their King was comming, in doing of which message, their speach was continued about halfe an houre. This ended, they by signes requested our Generall to send some thing by their hand to their king, as a token that his comming might be in peace: wherein our Generall hauing satisfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their King, who marched to vs with a princely maiestie, the people crying continually after their manner, and as they drew neere vnto vs, so did they striue to behaue themselues in their actions with comlinesse.

In the fore-front was a man of a goodly personage, who bare the scepter or mace before the King, whereupon hanged two crownes, a lesse and a bigger, with three chaines of a marueilous length: the crownes were made of knit worke wrought artificially with fethers of diuers colours: the chaines were made of a bonie substance, and few be the persons among them that are admitted to weare them: and of that number also the persons are stinted, as some ten, some 12. etc. Next vnto him which bare the scepter, was the King himselfe, with his Guard about his person, clad with Conie skins, and other skins: after them followed the naked common sort of people, euery one hauing his face painted, some with white, some with blacke, and other colours, and hauing in their hands one thing or another for a present, not so much as their children, but they also brought their presents.

Chaines like those of Canada.

In the meane time our Generall gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making against their approching, a very warre-like shew. They being trooped together in their order, and a generall salutation being made, there was presently a generall silence. Then he that bare the scepter before the King, being informed by another, whom they assigned to that office, with a manly and loftie voyce proclaymed that which the other spake to him in secrete, continuing halfe an houre: which ended, and a generall Amen as it were giuen, the King with the whole number of men and women (the children excepted) came downe without any weapon, who descending to the foote of the hill, set themselues in order.

In comming towards our bulwarks and tents, the scepter-bearer began a song, obseruing his measures in a daunce, and that with a stately countenance, whom the King with his Guarde, and euery degree of persons following, did in like maner sing and daunce, sauing onely the women, which daunced and kept silence. The General permitted them to enter within our bulwarke, where they continue their song and daunce a reasonable time. When they had satisfied themselues, they made signes to our General to sit downe, to whom the King, and diuers others made seueral oration, or rather supplication, that hee would take their prouince and kingdome into his hand, and become their King, making signes that they would resigne vnto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his subiects. In which, to perswade vs the better, the King and the rest, with one consent, and with great reuerence, ioyfully singing a song, did set the crowne vpon his head, inriched his necke with all their chaines, and offred vnto him many other things, honouring him by the name of Hioh, adding thereunto as it seemed, a signe of triumph: which thing our Generall thought not meete to reiect, because he knew not what honour and profit it might be to our Countrey. Wherefore in the name, and to the vse of her Maiestie he tooke the scepter, crowne, and dignitie of the said Countrey into his hands, wishing that the riches and treasure thereof might so conueniently be transported to the inriching of her kingdom at home, as it aboundeth in ye same.

The King resignes his crowne and kingdome to Sir Francis Drake.

The common sorte of people leauing the King and his Guarde with our Generall, scattered themselues together with their sacrifices among our people, taking a diligent viewe of euery person: and such as pleased their fancie, (which were the yongest) they inclosing them about offred their sacrifices vnto them with lamentable weeping, scratching, and tearing the flesh from their faces with their nailes, whereof issued abundance of blood. But wee vsed signes to them of disliking this, and stayed their hands from force, and directed them vpwards to the liuing God, whom onely they ought to worship. They shewed vnto vs their wounds, and craued helpe of them at our hands, whereupon he gaue them lotions, plaisters, and oyntments agreeing to the state of their griefes, beseeching God to cure their diseases. Euery third day they brought their sacrifices vnto vs, vntill they vnderstood our meaning, that we had no pleasure in them: yet they could not be long absent from vs, but dayly our company to the houre of our departure, which departure seemed so greeuous vnto them, that their ioy was turned into sorrow. They intreated vs, that being absent we would remember them, and by stealth prouided a sacrifice, which we misliked.

The like they did in Hochelaga.

Our necessarie businesse being ended, our Generall with his company trauailed vp in the Countrey to their villages, where we found herdes of Deere by 1000. in a company, being most large, and fat of body.

Great herdes of Deere.

We found the whole Countrey to bee a warren of a strange kinde of Connies, their bodies in bignesse as be the Barbary Connies, their heads as the heads of ours, the feete of a Want, and the taile of a Rat being of great length: vnder her chinne is on either side a bag, into the which she gathereth her meate, when she hath filled her bellie abroad. The people eate their bodies, and make great accompt of their skinnes, for their Kings coate was made of them.

Abundance of strange conies.

Our Generall called this Countrey Noua Albion, and that for two causes: the one in respect of the white bankes and cliffes, which lie towards the sea: and the other, because it might haue some affinitie with our Countrey in name, which sometime was so called.

Noua Albion.

There is no part of earth heere to be taken vp, wherein there is not some probable shew of gold and siluer.*

Golde and siluer in the earth of Noua Albion.

At our departure hence our Generall set vp a monument of our being there, as also of her Maiesties right and title to the same, namely a plate, nailed vpon a faire great poste, whereupon was engrauen her Maiesties name, the day and yeere of our arriuall there, with the free giuing vp of the prouince and people into her Maiesties hands, together with her highnesse picture and armes, in a peece of sixe pence in current English money whereunder was also written the name of our Generall.

---

* Curious this statement appears, referring as it does to California.

It seemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had neuer bene in this part of the Countrey, neither did euer discouer the land by many degrees, to the Southwards of this place.

After we had set saile from hence, wee continued without sight of land till the 13. day of October following, which day in the morning wee fell with certaine Islands 8. degrees to the Northward of the line, from which Islands came a great number of Canoas, hauing in some of them 4. in some 6. and in some also 14. men, bringing with them cocos, and other fruites. Their Canoas were hollow within, and cut with great arte and cunning being very smooth within and without, and bearing a glasse as if it were a horne daintily burnished, hauing a prowe, and a sterne of one sort, yeelding inward circle-wise, being of a great height, and full of certaine white shels for a brauerie, and on each side of them lie out two peeces of timber about a yarde and a halfe long, more or lesse, according to the smalnesse, or bignesse of the boate.

Their departure. October. Certaine Islands in 8. degrees.

Strange Canoas, like those of Iaua.

This people haue the nether part of their eares cut into a round circle, hanging downe very lowe vpon their cheekes, whereon they hang things of a reasonable weight. The nailes of their hands are an ynche long, their teeth are as blacke as pitch, and they renewe them often by eating of an herbe, with a kinde of powder which they alwayes carrie about them in a cane for the same purpose

Leauing this Island, the night after we fell with it, the 18. of October we lighted vpon diuers others, some wherof made a great shew of Inhabitants.

Islands.

Wee continued our course by the Islands of Tagulada, Zelon, and Zewarra, being friends to the Portugals, the first whereof hath growing in it great store of Cinnamon.

The 14. of Nouember we fell with the Islands of Maluco, which day at night (hauing directed our course to runne with Tydore) in coasting along the Island of Mutyr, belonging to the King of Ternate, his Deputie or Vice-king seeing vs at sea, came with his Canoa to vs without all feare, and came aboord, and after some conference with our Generall, willed him in any wise to runne in with Ternate, and not with Tydore, assuring him

The Isle of Ternate.

that the King would bee glad of his comming, and would be ready to doe what he would require, for which purpose he himselfe would that night be with the King, and tell him the newes, with whom if he once dealt, hee should finde that as he was a King, so his word should stand: adding further, that if he went to Tydore before he came to Ternate, the King would haue nothing to doe with vs, because hee held the Portugall as his enemie: whereupon our Generall resolued to runne with Ternate, where the next morning early we came to anchor, at which time our Generall sent a messenger to the king with a veluet cloke, for a present, and token of his comming to be in peace, and that he required nothing but traffique and exchange of marchandize, whereof he had good store, in such things as he wanted.

The king of Ternate offreth himselfe and his kingdome to the seruice of the Queene of England.

In the meane time the Vice-king had bene with the king according to his promise, signifying vnto him what good things he might receiue from vs by traffique; whereby the King was mooued with great liking towards vs, and sent to our Generall with speciall message, that hee should haue what things he needed, and would require with peace and friendship, and moreouer that hee would yeeld himselfe, and the right of his Island to bee at the pleasure and commandement of so famous a Prince as we serued. In token whereof he sent to our Generall a signet, and within short time after came in his owne person, with boates, and Canoas to our ship, to bring her into a better and safer roade then she was in at present.

In the meane time, our Generals messenger beeing come to the Court, was met by certaine noble personages with great solemnitie, and brought to the King, at whose hands hee was most friendly and graciously intertained.

The great and strange Canoas of the King of Ternate.

The King purposing to come to our ship, sent before 4. great and large Canoas, in euery one whereof were certaine of his greatest states that were about him, attired in white lawne of cloth of Calicut, hauing ouer their heads from the one ende of the Canoa to the other, a couering of thinne perfumed mats, borne vp with a frame made of reedes for the same vse, vnder which euery one did sit in his order according to his dignitie, to keepe him from the heate of the Sunne, diuers of whom beeing of good age and grauitie, did make an ancient and fatherly shew. There were also diuers yong and comely men attired in white, as were the others: the rest were souldiers, which stood in comely order round about on both sides, without whom sate the rowers in certaine galleries, which being three on a side all along the Canoas, did lie off from the side thereof three or foure yardes, one being orderly builded lower then another, in euery of which galleries were the number of 4. score rowers.

These Canoas were furnished with warlike munition, euery man for his part hauing his sword and target, with his dagger, besides other weapons, as launces, caliuers, darts, bowes and arrowes: also euery Canoa had a small cast base mounted at the least one full yarde vpon a stocke set vpright.

Thus comming neere our shippe, in order they rowed about vs, one after another, and passing by, did their homage with great solemnitie, the great personages beginning w^t^ great grauitie and fatherly countenances, signifying that ye king had sent them to conduct our ship into a better roade.

Soone after the King himselfe repaired, accompanied with 6. graue and ancient persons, who did their obeisance with marueilous humilitie. The king was a man of tall stature, and seemed to be much delighted with the sound of our musicke, to whom as also to his nobilitie, our Generall gaue presents, wherewith they were passing well contented.

The King of Ternate came to visite Sir Francis Drake.

At length the King craued leaue of our Generall to depart, promising the next day to come aboord, and in the meane time to send vs such victuals, as were necessarie for our prouision: so that the same night we receiued of them meale, which they call Sagu, made of the tops of certaine trees, tasting in the mouth like sowre curds, but melteth like sugar, whereof they make certaine cakes, which may be kept the space of ten yeeres, and yet then good to be eaten. We had of them store of rice, hennes, vnperfect and liquid sugar, sugar canes, and a fruite which they call Figo, with store of cloues.

Sagu a kinde of meale.

The King hauing promised to come aboord, brake his promise, but sent his brother to make his excuse, and to intreate our Generall to come on shoare, offering himselfe pawne aboord for his safe returne. Whereunto our Generall consented not, vpon mislike conceiued of the breach of his promise, the whole company also vtterly refusing it. But to satisfie him, our Generall sent certaine of his Gentlemen to the Court, to accompany the

Kings brother, reseruing the Vice-king for their safe returne. They were receiued of another brother of the kings, and other states, and were conducted with great honour to the Castle. The place that they were brought vnto was a large and faire house, where were at the least 1000. persons assembled.

A castle in Ternate.

The King being yet absent, there sate in their places 60. graue personages, all which were said to be of the kings Counsel. There were besides 4. graue persons, apparelled all in red, downe to the ground, and attired on their heads like the Turkes, and these were said to be Romanes, and Ligiers there to keepe continual traffike with the people of Ternate. There were also 2. Turks Ligiers in this place, and one Italian. The king at last came in guarded with 12. launces couered ouer with a rich canopy, with embossed gold. Our men accompanied with one of their Captaines called Moro, rising to meete him, he graciously did welcome, and intertaine them. He was attired after the maner of the Countrey, but more sumptuously then the rest. From his waste downe to the ground, was all cloth of golde, and the same very rich: his legges were bare, but on his feete were a paire of shoes, made of Cordouan skinne. In the attire of his head were finely wreathed hooped rings of gold, and about his necke he had a chaine of perfect golde, the linkes whereof were great, and one folde double. On his fingers hee had sixe very faire iewels, and sitting in his chaire of estate, at his right hand stood a page with a fanne in his hand, breathing and gathering the ayre to the King. The fanne was in length two foote, and in bredth one foote, set with 8. saphyres, richly imbrodered, and knit to a staffe 3. foote in length, by the which the Page did hold, and mooue it. Our Gentlemen hauing deliuered their message, and receiued order accordingly, were licensed to depart, being safely conducted backe againe by one of the kings Counsell.

Romanes and Turks Ligiers in Ternate.

The maiestic of the King.

This Island is the chiefest of all the Islands of Maluco, and the King hereof is King of 70. Islands besides. The king with his people are Moores in religion, obseruing certaine new Moones, with fastings: during which fasts, they neither eat nor drinke in the day, but in the night.

Ternate the chiefest of the Maluco-isles.

After that our Gentlemen were returned, and that we had heere by the fauour of the king receiued all neceesary things that the place could yeeld vs: our General considering the great distance, and how farre he was yet off from his Countrey, thought it not best here to linger the time any longer, but waying his anchors, set out of the Island, and sayled to a certaine litle Island* to the Southwards of Celebes, where we graued our ship, and continued there in that and other businesses 26. dayes. This Island is throughly growen with wood of a large and high growth, very straight and without boughes, saue onely in the head or top, whose leaues are not much differing from our broome in England. Amongst these trees night by night, through the whole lana, did shew themselues an infinite swarme of fiery wormes flying in the ayre, whose bodies beeing no bigger then our common English flies, make such a shew and light, as if euery twigge or tree had bene a burning candle. In this place breedeth also wonderfull store of Bats, as bigge as large hennes: of Crayfishes also heere wanted no plentie, and they of exceeding bignesse, one whereof was sufficient for 4. hungry stomacks at a dinner, beeing also very good, and restoring meate, whereof we had experience: and they digge themselues holes in the earth like Conies.

A litle Island to the Southward of Celebes.

Fiery worms.

Bats. Crauishes.

When wee had ended our businesse here, we waied, and set saile to runne for the Malucos: but hauing at that time a bad winde, and being amongst the Islands, with much difficnltie wee recouered to the Northward of the Island of Celebes, where by reason of contrary winds not able to continue our course to runne Westwards, we were inforced to alter the same to the Southward againe, finding that course also to be very hard and dangerous for vs, by reason of infinite shoalds which lie off, and among the Islands: whereof wee had too much triall to the hazard and danger of our ships and liues. For of all other dayes vpon the 9. of Ianuarie, in the yeere 1579. wee ranne suddenly vpon a rocke, where we stucke fast from 8. of the clocke at night, til 4. of the clocke in the afternoone the next day, being indeede out of all hope to escape the danger: but our Generall as hee had alwayes hitherto shewed himselfe couragious, and of a good confidence in the mercie and protection of God: so now he continued in the same, and lest he should seeme to perish wilfully, both he, and we did our best

Ianuarie in anno 1579.

Their danger vpon a rocke.

---

* Is Floris meant?

indeuour to saue our selues, which it pleased God so to blesse, that in the ende we cleared our selues most happily of the danger.

Cloues.
The helpe of a current in the deliuerie.

We lighted our ship vpon the rockes of 3. tunne of cloues, 8. peeces of ordinance, and certaine meale and beanes, and then the winde (as it were in a moment by the speciall grace of God) changing from the starreboord to the larboord of the ship, we hoised our sailes, and the happy gale droue our ship off the rocke into the sea againe, to the no litle comfort of all our hearts for which we gaue God such prayse and thanks, as so great a benefite required.

Februarie.
Barateue Island.

The 8. of Februarie following, wee fell with the fruitfull Island of Barateue, hauing in the meane time suffered many dangers by windes and shoalds. The people of this Island are comely in body and stature, and of a ciuill behauiour, iust in dealing, and courteous to strangers, whereof we had the experience sundry wayes, they being most glad of our presence, and very ready to releeue our wants in those things which their Countrey did yeelde. The men goe naked, sauing their heads and priuities, euery man hauing something or other hanging at their eares. Their women are couered from the middle downe to the foote, wearing a great number of bracelets vpon their armes, for some had 8. vpon each arme, being made some of bone, some of horne, and some of brasse, the lightest whereof by our estimation waied two ounces apeece.

Linen-cloth good marchandize.

With this people linnen-cloth is good marchandize, and of good request, whereof they make rols for their heads, and girdles to weare about them.

Their Island is both rich and fruitfull: rich in golde, siluer, copper, and sulphur, wherein they seeme skilfull and expert, not onely to trie the same, but in working it also artificially into any forme and fashion that pleaseth them.

Nutmegs and long Peper growing in Barateue.

Their fruits be diuers and plentifull, as nutmegs, ginger, long pepper, lemmons, cucumbers, cocos, figu, sagu, with diuers other sorts: and among all the rest, wee had one fruite, in bignesse, forme, and huske, like a Bay berry, hard of substance, and pleasant of taste, which being sodden, becommeth soft, and is a most good and wholsome victuall, whereof we tooke reasonable store, as we did also of the other fruits and spices: so that to confess a trueth, since the time that we first set out of our owne Countrey of England, we happened vpon no place (Ternate onely excepted) wherein we found more comforts and better meanes of refreshing.

Commendation of the Island of Barateue.

At our departure from Barateue, we set our course for Iaua maior, where arriuing, we found great courtesie, and honourable entertainment. This Island is gouerned by 5. Kings, whom they call Raiah: as Raiah Donaw, and Raiah Mang Bange, and Raiah Cabuccapollo, which liue as hauing one spirite, and one minde.

Iaua Maior.

Of these fiue we had foure a shipboord at once, and two or three often. They are wonderfully delighted in coloured clothes, as red and greene: their vpper parts of their bodies are naked, saue their heads, whereupon they weare a Turkish roll, as do the Maluccians: from the middle downward they weare a pintado of silke, trailing vpon the ground, in colour as they best like.

Red and greene clothes much esteemed.

The Maluccians hate that their women should bee seene of strangers: but these offer them of high courtesie, yea the kings themselues.

The manners of the people of Iaua.

The people are of goodly stature, and warlike, well prouided of swords and targets, with daggers, all being of their owne worke, and most artificially done, both in tempering their mettall, as also in the forme, whereof we bought reasonable store.

They haue an house in euery village for their common assembly: euery day they meete twise, men, women, and children, bringing with them such victuals as they thinke good, some fruites, some rice boiled, some hennes roasted, some sagu, hauing a table made 3. foote from the ground, whereon they set their meate, that euery person sitting at the table may eate, one reioycing in the company of another.

They boyle their rice in an earthen pot, made in forme of a sugar loafe, being ful of holes, as our pots which we water our gardens withall, and it is open at the great ende, wherein they put their rice drie, without any moisture. In the meane time they haue ready another great earthen pot, set fast in a fornace, boiling full of water, whereinto they put their pot with rice, by such measure, that they swelling become soft at the first, and by their swelling stopping the holes of the pot, admit no more water to enter, but the more they are boiled, the harder and more firme substance they become, so that in the end they are a firme and good bread, of the which

A strange fashion of boyling rice.

with oyle, butter, sugar, and other spices, they make diuers sorts of meates very pleasant of taste, and nourishing to nature.

The French pocks. The French pocks is here very common to all, and they helpe themselues, sitting naked from ten to two in the Sunne, whereby the venemous humour is drawen out. Not long before our departure, they tolde vs, that not farre off there were such great Ships as ours, wishing vs to beware: vpon this our Captaine would stay no longer.

From Iaua Maior we sailed for the cape of Good Hope, which was the first land we fell withall: neither did we touch with it, or any other land, vntill we came to Sierra Leona, vpon the coast of Guinea: notwithstanding we ranne hard aboord the Cape, finding the report of the Portugals to be most false, who affirme that it is the most dangerous Cape of the world, neuer without intolerable stormes and present danger to trauailers, which come neere the same. The Cape of Buena Esperanza not so dangerous as the Portngals haue giuen out.

This Cape is a most stately thing, and the fairest Cape we saw in the whole circumference of the earth, and we passed by it the 18. of Iune.

Sierra Leona. From thence we continued our course to Sierra Leona, on the coast of Guinea, where we arriued the 22. of Iuly, and found necessarie prouisions, great store of Elephants, Oisters vpon trees of one kinde, spawning and increasing infinitely, the Oister suffering no budde to grow. We departed thence the 24. day. Oister-trees.

We arriued in England the third of Nouember 1580. being the third yeere of our departure.

The names of the Kings or Princes of Iaua at the time of our English mens being there.

Raia Donaw.
Raia Rabacalpa.
Raia Bacabatra.
Raia Tymbanton.
Raia Mawgbange.
Raia Patimara.

Certaine wordes of the naturall language of Iaua, learned and obserued by our men there.

Sabuck, silke.
Sagu, bread of the Countrey.
Larnike, drinke.

Paree, ryce in the huske.
Braas, sodden ryce.
Calapa, Cocos.
Cricke, a dagger.
Catcha, a looking glasse.
Arbo, an oxe.
Vados, a goate.
Cabo, golde.
Gardange, a plantane.
Hiam, a henne.
Seuit, linnen cloth.
Doduck, blew cloth.
Totopps, one of their caps.
Gula, blacke sugar.
Tadon, a woman.
Bebeck, a ducke.
Aniange, a deere.
Popran, oyntment.
Coar, the head.
Endam, raine.
Ionge, a shippe.
Chay, the sea.
Sapelo, ten in number.
Dopolo, twentie.
Treda, no.
Lau, vnderstand you.
Bayer, goe.
Adadizano, I will fetch it.
Suda, ynough.

The relation of a Voyage made by a Pilot called Nuno da Silua for the Vice-roy of new Spaine, the 20. of May, in the yere of our Lord 1579. in the citie of Mexico, from whence it was sent to the Vice-roy of the Portugall-Indies: wherein it is set down the course and actions passed in the Voyage of Francis Drake that tooke the aforesayd Nuno da Silua at S. Iago, one of the Islands of Cabo Verde, and caried him along with him through the Streights of Magellan, to the Hauen of Guatulco in new Spaine, where he let him goe againe.

1579.

NVno de Silua borne in Porto, a Citizen and inhabitant of

Guaia, saith, that hee departed out of his house in the beginning of Nouember in the yeere of our Lorde 1577. taking his course to Cabo Verde, or the greene Cape, where he anchored with his Shippe close by the Hauen of the Island of Sant Iago, one of the Islandes of Cabo Verde aforesayde, beeing the nineteenth of Ianuary in the yeere of our Lord 1578. And lying there, there came sixe ships, which seemed to be Englishmen, wheroof our Admirall boorded his ship, and by force with his men tooke him out of his ship, bringing him in the boate aboord the Admirals shippe, leauing some of his best men aboord his ship: and although the fortresse of the Island shot foure or fiue times at them, yet they hurt not the Englishmen: who hauing done, set saile from thence to the Island of Braua, taking with them the ship of the sayd Nuno da Silua: being there, they filled certaine vessels with fresh water: from thence holding thelr course inward to sea, hauing first with a boat set the men of Nuno da Siluas ship on land, onely keeping Nuno da Silua in his ship, as also his ship with the wines that were therein. And Nuno da Silua saith, the cause why they kept him on boord was, because they knew him to bee a pilot for the coast of Brasilia, that hee might bring them to such places in those countreys as had fresh water.

Being put off from the Island of Braua, they helde their course to the land of Brasilia, which they descried vpon the first of Aprill, vnder the height of thirtie degrees: and without landing or taking in fresh water, they helde on their course to Rio de la Plata, that is, The riuer of siluer, lying vnder fiue and thirtie degrees, little more or lesse: where they went on land, and prouided themselues of fresh water.

Rio de Plata.

From thence they helde on their course till they came vnder nine and thirtie degrees, where they ankered: and beeing there, they left two of their sixe shippes behinde them, and sailed but foure in companie (that of Nuno da Silua being one) till they came to the Bay called Baya de las Islas, that is, The Bay of the Islands, lying vnder nine and fortie degrees, where it is sayde, that Magellan lay and wintered there with his shippe, when hee first discouered the Streight, which now holdeth his name. Into this Bay the twentieth of Iune they entred, and there ankered so close to the land, that they might send to it with a harquebuse shot: and there they sawe the land to bee inhabited with Indians,

Bay de las Islas.

that were apparelled with skinnes, with their legges from the knees downeward, and their armes from the elbowes downeward naked, all the rest of their bodies beeing clothed, with bowes and arrowes in their handes, being subtill, great, and well formed people, and strong and high of stature: where sixe of the Englishmen went on land to fetch fresh water, and before they leapt on land, foure of the Indians came vnto their boate, to whome the Englishmen gaue bread and wine: and when the Indians had well eaten and drunke, they departed thence: and going somewhat farre from them, one of the Indians cryed to them, and sayde: Magallanes, Esta he minha Terra, that is, Magallanes, this is my countrey: and because the Englishmen followed them, it seemed the Indians fledde vpward into the land, and beeing somewhat farre off, they turned backe againe, and with their arrowes slewe two of the English shippers, one being an Englishman, the other a Netherlander: the rest came backe againe and saued themselues in the boate, wherewith they presently put off from the shore. Here they stayed till the seuenteenth of August, vpon the which day they set saile, running along by the coast about a league and a halfe from the land, (for there it is all faire and good ground, at twentie, and fiue and twentie fathome deepe) and were about foure or fiue dayes before they came to the mouth or entrie of the Streight: but because the wind was contrary, they stayed till the 24 of August before they entred.

The description of The streight of Magellan.

The entrie or mouth of the Streight is about a league broad, on both sides being bare and flatte land: on the North side they sawe Indians making great fires, but on the South side they saw no people stirring. The foure and twentieth day aforesayd, they beganne to enter into the Streight, with an Eastnortheast wind. This streight may bee about an hundred and tenne leagues long, and in bredth a league. About the entry of the Streight, and halfe way into it, it runneth right foorth without any windings or turnings: and from thence about eight or tenne leagues towardes the ende, it hath some boutes and windings, among the which there is one so great a hooke or headland, that it seemed to runne into the other land: and there it is lesse then a league broad from one land to the other: and from thence forward it runneth straight out againe: And although you finde some crookings, yet they are nothing to speake of. The issue of the streight lieth West, and about eight or tenne leagues before you come to the ende, then the Streight beginneth to bee broader, and it is all high land to the ende thereof, after you are eight leagues within the Streight, for the first eight leagues after you enter is low flat land, as I sayd before : and in the entrie of the Streight you finde the streame to runne from the South sea to the North sea.

And after they began to saile in with the Eastnortheast wind, being entred they passed along without any let or hinderance either of wind or weather: and because the high land on both sides lay couered with snow, and that all the Streight is faire and cleare, they helde their course a harquebuse-shot in length from off the North side, hauing nine and tenne fathome depth, with with good ground, as I said before, where (if neede require) a man may anker: the hilles on both sides being full of trees, some of the hilles and trees reaching downe to the sea side in some places hauing plaine and euen land : and there they sawe not any great riuers, but some small riuers that issued out of the riffes and breaches of the land : and in the countrey where the great Cape or crooking is, on the South side they saw certaine Indian fishermen in their Canoas or skiffs, being such as they saw first on the North side, but more people they saw not on the South side.

Being out of the Streight on the other side, vpon the sixt of September of the aforesaid yeere, they held their course Northwest for the space of three dayes, and the third day they had a Northeast wind, that by force draue them Westsouthwest, which course they held for the space of ten or twelue dayes with few sailes vp : and because the wind began to be very great, they tooke in all their sailes, and lay driuing till the last of September.

This was the Elizabeth M. Iohn Winters ship.

The 24 day of the same moneth hauing lost the sight of one of their shippes which was about an hundred tunne, then againe they hoysed sayle because the winde came better, holding their course Northeast for the space of seuen dayes, and at the ende of the sayde seuen dayes, they had the sight of certayne Islands, which they made towards for to anker by them, but the weather would not permit them: and being there, the wind fell Northwest: whereupon they sailed Westsouthwest.

The next day they lost the sight of another ship of their company, for it was very foule weather, so that in the ende the Admirals shippe was left alone, for the ship of Nuno da Silua was left in the Bay where they wintered before they entered into the Streights : and with this foule weather they ranne till they were vnder seuen and fiftie degrees, where they entred into a hauen of an Island, and ankered about the length of the shot of a great piece from the land, at twentie fathome deepe, where they stayed three or foure dayes, and the wind comming Southward, they weyed anker, holding their course Northward for the space of two daies, and then they espied a small vnhabited Island, where being arriued, they stroke sailes, and hoised out their boate, and there they tooke many birds and Seales.

They were driuen vnto 57. degrees of Southerly latitude.

The next day they set saile againe, holding their course North-northeast, and North, to another Island lying fiue or sixe leagues from the firme land, on the North side of the Streight, where they ankered about a quarter of a league from the land, in twelue fathome water. This Island is small and lowe land, and full of Indians, the Island being altogether possessed and inhabited by them, where they hoysed out their boate, wherein the Admirall and twelue Englishmen entred, going to fetch fresh water, and to seeke for victuals : and being landed vpon the Island, the Indians in exchange of other things, brought two Spanish sheepe, and a little Maiz or rootes whereof they make bread, and because it was late, they returned againe vnto their ship, without doing any other thing for that day.

The Isle of Mocha in 38. deg. 30. min.

The next day the said Captaine with the aforesaid twelue men being harquebusiers, rowed to land againe, and set two of their company on shore with their vessels to fetch fresh water, and by the place where they should fill their water there lay certaine Indians secretly hidden, that fell vpon the two Englishmen and tooke them : which they in the boat perceiuing, went out to helpe them, but they were so assailed with stones and arrowes, that all or the most part of them were hurt, the Captaine himselfe being wounded with an arrow on the face, and with an other arrow in the head, whereby they were constrained to turne backe againe, without once hurting any of the Indians, and yet they came so neere the boate, that they tooke foure of their oares from them. This done, they set saile againe, running along the coast with a South winde, sailing so for the space of sixe dayes, passing by the hauen called Sant Iago, and put into another hauen, and there they tooke an Indian that lay fishing in a Canoa, giuing him linnen and butchers chopping kniues with other

Sir Francis Drake wounded.

trifles, and not long after there came another Indian aboord their shippe called Felippe, and he spake Spanish, he gaue the English Captaine notice of a certaine shippe that lay in the hauen of Sant Iago, which they had left sixe leagues behind them: with that intelligence the Indian being their guide, the next day they set saile and went to the aforesayd hauen of S. Iago, and entring therein, they tooke the said shippe, wherein they found a thousand seuen hundred and 70 Botijas or Spanish pots full of wine, and other things: which hauing done, they lept on land, where they tooke certaine sackes with meale, with whatsoeuer they could find; they tooke likewise the ornaments and the reliques out of the Church, wherewith they departed from thence, taking the aforesayd shippe, with two men (that they found in her) with them, and so departed from that hauen, which lyeth vnder 32 degrees and a halfe, running along by the coast till they came vnder one and thirtie, and thirtie degrees: which was the place where they had appointed to meete, and there to stay for ech other, if by tempest or foule weather they chanced to be separated, and so loose eche others company.

The hauen of S. Iago in 32 degrees and a halfe.

And comming vnder thirtie degrees, they found a very good hauen, whereinto they entred, and ankered at sixe fathome deepe, the shot of a great peece from the land, which was right ouer against a riuer, where they tooke in sixe pipes of fresh water; and to defend them that fetched the water, they set twelue men vpon the land, and being busied in filling of their water, they espied a company of men comming towards them, whereof halfe of them were Spaniards, being about two hundred and fifty horsemen, and as many footemen, but they had no sooner espied them, but they presently entred into the boat, and escaped away, loosing but one man.

The same night they set saile againe with both their ships, running along the coast about ten leagues farther, where they tooke in some fresh water, but because they perceiued certaine horsemen, they departed without lading any more water.

From thence they followed on their course along the coast for the space of 30. leagues, where they entred into a desert or vnhabited hauen: yet they went not on land, for euery day they saw people vpon the shore, and there they made out a smal pinnesse, the peeces wherof they brought ready framed out of England, and hauing prepared it, they launched it into the water, wherein the Captaine with fifteene men entred with the chiefe boatesman called Iohn the Greeke, (being Master of the ship which they had taken in the hauen of S. Iago,) wherewith they went to see if they could find the two shippes that they had lost by stormie weather, as I sayd before: and likewise thinking to goe on land to fill certaine vessels with fresh water, they durst not venture, for they saw people on all sides of the shore: so that in the ende they returned againe without hearing of the other ships: being there, they tooke all the ordinance out of their ship, and new dressed and rigged her: which done, they put a small peece of ordinance into the pinnesse, wherewith they set saile againe, following on their course.

Hauing sailed thirteene dayes, they came to an Island lying about the shotte of a base from the land, where they ankered, and there they found foure Indian fishermen in two Canoas who told them that on the firme land they might haue fresh water, but they vnderstanding that there was not much, and that it was somewhat within the land, would not spend any time about it, but set saile againe, leauing the fishermen with their Canoas, following on their course along by the shore.

The next day being somewhat further, they espied certaine Indian fishermen that were vpon the land in their houses, which the English captaine perceiuing, presently entred into his pinnesse, and rowed on land, where he tooke three of the said fishermen, taking with halfe of the fish that lay packed vpon the shore ready to be laden, with the which Indians and booty, they came on boord againe.

The next day following, they saw a barke laden with fish that belonged to the Spaniards, with foure Indians in it. This barke with the Indians and the fish they tooke, and bound the Spanish ship to their sterne, and so drewe it after them, leauing the said Indians within it, who by night vnbound the barke, and secretly made away with barke and fish, and were no more seene. The next day the Captaine went into the pinnesse, and because he saw certaine houses vpon the shore, he made thither, and being on land, he found two men in them, one whereof he tooke, leauing the other behind, and there he found three thousand pezos of siluer, (euery pezo being the value of a ryall of eight,) and seuen Indian sheepe, and hennes, and tooke al whatsoeuer they found: wherewith they departed from thence, following on their course. And two dayes after they came to the hauen called

Arica.

Arica, where they found two ships, the one laden with goods and Spanish wares, out of the which they tooke only two hundred Botijas, or Spanish pots with wine, and out of the other seuen and thirty barres of siluer, which are peeces of ten or twelue pound eche barre, and thinking to leape on shore (with two barks that they found in the said hauen, with about seuen and thirty harquebuses and bowes) they perceiued on the land certaine horsemen comming towards them, whereupon they left off their pretence, and tooke wlth them a Negro that they found in the barks, with whom they returned aboord.

The next day in the morning, they burnt the ship, that was laden with the Spanish wares, and tooke the other with them, passing forward with it on their course, the Captaine sailing along the shore with his pinnesse, and the ship keeping about a league from him to seaward, to seeke for a ship wherof they had intelligence: and hauing in that maner sailed about fiue and forty leagues, they found the ship that lay at anker in a hauen, who about two houres before had bene aduertised of an English pirate or sea-rouer, and had discharged eight hundred barres of siluer out of her, and hidden it on the land, which siluer belonged to the king of Spaine, of the which siluer the Englishmen had receiued some intelligence, but they durst not go on land, because there were many Indians and Spaniards that stood to gard it, and they found nothing in the ship but three pipes of water: the ship they tooke with them, and being about a league in the sea, they hoysed vp all her sailes and let her driue, doing the like with the ship that they had taken in Arica, as also the other of Sant Iago, which likewise they let driue, following on their course with their owne ship, and the pinnesse.

Calao de Lima.

Being seuen or eight leagues from the hauen of Calao de Lyma, they espied three ships, and boording one of them, they tooke three men out of her, and so held on their course towards Calao de Lyma, where they entred, being about two or three houres within night, sailing in betweene all the ships that lay there, being seuenteene in number: and being among the ships, they asked for the ship that had laden the siluer, but when answere was made them, that the siluer was layd on land, they cut the cables of the ships, and the masts of two of the greatest ships, and so left them. At the same time there arriued a ship from Panama laden with wares and merchandise of Spaine, that ankered close by the English ship, which was, while the English Captaine sought in the other ships for the siluer. Assoone as the ship of Panama had ankered, there came a boat from the shore to search it: but because it was in the night, they let it alone till morning, and comming to the English ship, they asked what ship it was: whereupon one of the Spanish prisoners (by the English Captaines commandement) answered and said it was the ship of Michael Angelo, that came from Chili: which they of the boat hearing sent a man on board, who climing vp, light vpon one of the great peeces, wherewith he was afraid, and presently stept backe againe into the boat (because the shippes that lay there, and that sailed in those countreys, vsed to carry no great shot) and therewith they were abashed, and made from it: which the ship of Panama hearing, that was newly come in, shee iudged it to be a rouer, and therewith cutting her cables, shee put to sea, which the Englishmen perceiuing, shipped certaine men in their pinnesse, followed her: and being hard by her, they badde her strike, which they of the ship refused to doe, and with a harquebuse shot killed one of the Englishmen, wherewith they turned againe into their shippe, and presently set saile, following after the ship, which not long after they ouertooke: which they of the shippe perceiuing hoysed out their boate, and leaping into it, rowed to the land, leauing the shippe with all the goods, which the Englishmen presently tooke, and with her sayled on their course.

The next day they saw a boat with sailes making towards them, whereby they presently mistrusted it to be a spie, and not long after they perceiued two great ships comming towards them, which made the English thinke they came to fight with them, whereupon they let the shippe of Panama driue, therein leauing Iohn the Greeke, with the two men that they had taken the same day that they entred into the Calao de Lyma, as I sayde before, and presently hoysed all their sailes, and sailed forward, not once setting eye againe vpon the aforesayde ships, for they made towards the ship of Panama, which the Englishmen let driue. From thence they sailed againe along the coast, following on their course: and hauing sailed certaine dayes, they met a frigate that went towards Lyma, laden with wares and merchandises of the countrey, from whence the Englishmen tooke a lampe and a fountaine of siluer, and asked the pilote being a Spaniard, if they met not with a ship, that they vnderstood should be laden with siluer, but the one Pilote saide he met her not, and the other said he saw her about three dayes before. This frigat came not to the ship, but the pinnesse, wherein the Captaine sailed, for the pinnesse ranne close by the shore, and the ship kept a league and a halfe from the lande: whereupon they let the frigate goe, following on their course.

Payta.

Two dayes after, they came to the hauen called Payta, where they found a ship laden with Spanish wares, which the pinnesse boorded, and tooke without any resistance: for assoone as the Spaniards perceiued the Englishmen, they presently made to land with their boate, and two of them lept into the sea, none staying in the shippe, but the Master, Pilote, and some Negros, out of the which shippe the Englishmen tooke the pilote, and all the bread, hennes and a hogge, and so sailed forward with the ship: but being about two harquebuse shot to seaward, they let it goe againe, not taking any thing out of it, and asking after the ship, which they sought for, they told them that about two dayes before she departed from that place, wherewith they followed on their course, and before night they met with a ship of Panama, which they presently boorded, but tooke nothing from her but onely a Negro, and so left it, holding on their course.

The next day being the first of Februarie, they met another ship that sailed to Panama, laden with fish and other victuals, and fortie barres of siluer, and some gold, but I know not how much, which they tooke, and sent the passengers (with two friers that were in her) in a boate to land. The next day they hanged a man of the ship, because hee would not confesse two plates of golde that he had taken, which after they found about him: which done, they let the ship driue, following on their course.

A pretie deuice to make their ship saile more swiftly.

The first of March towards noone, they espied the ship laden with siluer, being about foure leagues to seaward from them: and because the English ship was somewhat heauie before, whereby it sailed not as they would haue it, they tooke a company of Botijas or Spanish pots for oyle, and filling them with water, hung them by ropes at the sterne of the ship to make her sayle the better: and the shippe that sayled towardes Panama made towards the English shippe to know what shee was, thinking it to bee one of the shippes that used to saile along the coastes, and to traffique in the countrey: and beeing hard by her, the English Captaine badde them strike, but the other refusing to doe it, with a great peece hee shot her mast ouerboord, and hauing wounded the Master with an arrowe, the shippe presently yeelded, which they tooke, and sayled with her further into the sea, all that night and the next day and night, making all the way they could.

The third day being out of sight of the land, they beganne to search the ship, and to lade the goods out of her into their ship, which was a thousand three hundred barres or peeces of siluer, and fourteene chestes with ryals of eight, and with gold: but what quantitie it was I know not, onely the passengers sayd that there was great store, and that three hundred barres of the siluer belonged to the king, the rest belonged to certaine merchants. That done, they let the ship with the men saile on their course, putting the three pilots in her that they brought with them, so that as then they had none but their owne men aboord, being the sixth of March, and from thence they held their course towards the land of Nicaragua.

Nicaragua.

The thirteenth of March, either the day before or after, in the morning, they descried land, not being very high, being a small Island two leagues from the firme land, and there they found a small Bay, wherein they ankered at fiue fathome deepe close by the land, and there they stayed till the twentie day. Vpon the which day there passed a Frigate close by the Island, which with their pinnesse they followed, and taking her, brought her to the English ship which frigate was laden with Salsaperilla, and Botijas or pots with butter and hony, and with other things. The English Captaine went on boord, and cast the Salsaperilla on the and, leauing all the rest of the wares in the frigate, and then he put all his peeces into the frigate, that so he might lay his ship on shore, to new calke and trimme her, which continued till the three and twentie or foure and twentie of March. Which done, and hauing made prouision of wood and fresh water, they held on their course along by the coast, sayling Westward, taking the said frigat and her men with them, and hauing sailed two dayes, they tooke their men out of her, and set them in the pinnesse, among the which were foure sailers, that meant to sayle to Panama, and from thence to China, whereof one they tooke, with the letters and patents that he had about him,

The Island of Canno.

The first sight of Nueua Espanna.

They calke and trimme their ship at the Ile of Canno ouer against Nicaragua.

Sea-charts of the South sea taken.

among the which were the letters of the king of Spaine, sent to the gouernour of the Philippinas, as also the sea-cards wherewith they should make their voyage, and direct themselues in their course.

And so sailing vntill the sixth of Aprill, about euening they discouered a shippe that held two leagues to seaward from the land: and before the next day in the morning they were hard by her, and suddenly fell vpon her while her men slept, and presently made the men enter into their ships, among the which was one Don Franciso Xarate. Which done, they followed on their course with the sayd ship, out of the which they tooke certaine packes and other wares, but I know not what it was. They likewise tooke a Negro out of it, and three dayes after they both let the ship and men goe whether they woulde, setting therein the two saylers that should goe for China, which they had taken in the frigate, keeping only one sailer to shewe them where they should find fresh water, to the which ende they tooke the emptie vessels with them to fill with water, and so kept on their course to the hauen of Guatulco where they put in, being vpon Munday the thirteenth of Aprill, and hauing ankered, they stayed there tilll the sixe and twentie of Aprill: and about three or foure houres within the night, they set sayle, holding their course Westward, and an houre or two before they let Nuno da Silua goe, putting him into another ship, that lay in the hauen of Guatulco.

They arriue at Guatulco. Aprill 13. Stilo nouo.

Nuno da Silua set on land.

From thence forward the Englishmen passed on their voyage, to the Islands of Malucos, and from thence they passed by the Cape de Buena Esperança, and so to England, as it is well knowen, so that this is onely the description of the voyage that they made, while the said pilote Nuno da Silua was with them.

Hereafter followeth the copie of a letter written by sir Francis Drake (being in the South sea of New Spaine, in his ship called The Pellican or the golden Hinde with the ship of Sant Iohn de Anton, which hee had taken) to his companions in the other shippes that were of his company, and by foule weather separated from him, as I said before: The contents whereof were these:

Master Winter, if it pleaseth God that you should chance to meete with this ship of Sant Iohn de Anton, I pray you vse him well, according to my word and promise giuen vnto them, and if you want any thing that is in this ship of Sant Iohn de Anton, I pray you pay them double the value for it, which I will satisfie againe, and command your men not to doe her any hurt: and what composition or agreement we haue made, at my returne into England I will by Gods helpe perfourme, although I am in doubt that this letter will neuer come to your hands: notwithstanding I am the man I haue promised to be: Beseeching God, the Sauiour of all the world, to haue vs in his keeping, to whom onely I giue all honour, praise and glory. What I haue written, is not only to you M. Winter, but also to M. Thomas, M. Charles, M. Caube, and M. Anthonie, with all our other good friendes, whom I commit to the tuition of him that with his blood redeemed vs, and am in good hope, that we shal be in no more trouble, but that he will helpe vs in aduersitie, desiring you for the Passion of Christ, if you fall into any danger, that you will not despaire of Gods mercie, for hee will defend you and preserue you from all danger, and bring vs to our desired hauen, to whom bee all honour, glory, and praise for euer and euer. Amen. Your sorrowfull Captaine, whose heart is heauy for you:

FRANCIS DRAKE.

The admirable and prosperous Voyage of the Worshipfull Master Thomas Candish of Trimley in the Countie of Suffolke Esquire, into the South sea, and from thence round about the circumference of the whole earth, begun in the yeere of our Lord 1586, and finished 1588. Written by Master Francis Pretty lately of Ey in Suffolke, a Gentleman employed in the same action.

WEe departed out of Plimmouth on Thursday the 21 of Iuly 1586. with 3. sayles, to wit, The Desire a ship of 120. tunnes, The Content of 60. tuns, and the Hugh gallant a barke of 40. tunnes: in which small Fleete were 123. persons of all sortes with all kinde of furniture and victuals sufficient for the space of two yeeres, at the charges of the worshipfull Master Thomas Candish of Trimley in the Countie of Suffolke Esquire, beeing our Generall.

On Tuesday the 26. of the same moneth, we were 45. leagues from Cape Finis terræ where wee mette with 5. sayles of Biskaynes comming from the Grande Bay in New-found-land, as we supposed, which our Admirall shot at, and fought with them 3. houres, but wee tooke none of them by reason the night grew on.

5. Great Biskaine ships fought withal.

August. The first of August wee came in sight of Forteuentura, one of the Isles of the Canaries, about ten of the clocke in the morning.

Rio del oro. On Sunday being the 7. of August, we were gotten as high as Rio del oro on the coast of Barbarie.

Cape Blanco. On Munday the 19. we fell with cape Blanco: but the winde blew so much at the North, that we could not get vp where the Canters doe vse to ride and fish: therefore wee lay off 6. houres West Southwest, because of the sand which lieth off the cape Southwest and by South. A dangerous sand.

The 15 day of the same moneth we were in the height of cape Verde by estimation 50. leagues off the same.

The 18. Sierra leona did beare East off vs, beeing 45. leagues from vs: and the same day the winde shifted to the Northwest, so that by the 20. day of the sayd moneth we were in 6. degrees ½ to the Northward, from the Equinoctiall line:

The 23. we put roome for Sierra leona, and the 25. day wee fell with the poynt on the South side of Sierra leona, which Master Brewer knew very well, and went in before with the Content which was Vice-admirall. and we had no lesse then 5. fathoms water when we had least, and had for 14. leagues in Southwest all the way running into the harbour of Sierra leona 16. 14. 12. 10 and 8. fathoms of water. Sierra leona.

The 26. of the said moneth we put into the harborough, and in going in we had by the Southermost point when we had least 5. fathoms water faire by the rocke as it lieth at the said point, and after we came, 2 or 3. cables length within the said rocke, we neuer had lesse then 10. fathoms, vntill wee came vp to the roade, which is about a league from the poynt, borrowing alwayes on the South side vntill you come vp to the watering place, in which Baye is the best roade: but you must ride farre into the Baye, because there run marueilous great tydes in the offin, and it floweth into the road next of any thing at a Southeast and by East moone.

It is out of England to this place 930. leagues; which wee ranne from the 21. of Iuly to the 26. of this moneth of August.

On Saturday being the 27. day there came 2. Negros aboord our Admiral from the shore, and made signes vnto our Generall that there was a Portugal ship vp within the harborongh: so the Hugh Gallant beeing the Rere-admirall went vp 3. or 4. leagues, but for want of a Pilot they sought no farther: for the harborough runneth 3. or 4. leagues vp more, and is of a marueilous bredth and very dangerous, as we learned afterward by a Portugal.

On Sunday the 28. the General sent some of his company on shore, and there as they played and daunced all the forenoone among the Negros, to the end to haue heard some good newes of the Portugal ship, toward their comming aboord they espied a Portugal which lay hid among the bushes, whom we tooke and brought away with vs the same night: and he tolde vs it was very dangerous going vp with our boates for to seeke the ship that was at the towne. Whereupon wee went not to seeke her, because we knew he told vs the trueth: for we bound him and made him fast, and so examined him. Also he told vs that his ship was there cast away, and that there were two more of his company among the Negros: the Portugals name was Emmanuel, and was by his occupation a Calker, belonging to the Port of Portugal.

A Portugal taken.

On Munday morning being the 29. day, our Generall landed with 70. men or thereabout, and went vp to their towne, where we burnt 2. or 3. houses, and tooke what spoyle wee would, which was but litle, but al the people fled: and in our retiring aboord in a very litle plaine at their townes ende they shot their arrowes at vs out of the woods, and hurt 3. or 4. of our men; their arrowes were poysoned, but yet none of our men miscaryed at that time, thanked be God. Their towne is marueilous artificially builded with mudde walles, and built round, with their yards paled in and kept very cleane as well in their streetes as in their houses. These Negros vse good obedience to their king, as one of our men sayd, which was with them in pawne for the Negros which came first. There were in their towne by estimation about one hundred houses.

Poysoned arrowes.

The description of their towne.

The first of September, there went many of our men on shore at the watering place, and did wash shirts very quietly all the day: and the second day they went againe, and the Negros were in ambush round about the place: and the carpenter of the Admiral going into the wood to doe some speciall businesse, espied them by good fortune. But the Negros rushed out vpon our men so suddenly, that in retiring to our boates many of them were hurt: among whom one William Pickman a souldier was shot into the

September.

Many of our men hurt by Negros.

William Pickman dieth of a poysoned arrow. This poyson is the iuyce of an hearbe.

thigh, who plucking the arrow out, broke it, and left the head behinde; and he told the Chirurgions that he plucked out all the arrow, because he would not haue them lance his thigh: whereupon the poyson wrought so that night, that hee was marueilously swollen, and all his belly and priuie parts were as blacke as ynke, and the next morning he died, the peece of the arrow with the poyson being plucked out of his thigh.

2 Buffes.

The third day of the sayd moneth, diuers of our fleete went vp 4. myles within the harbour with our boate, and caught great store of fish, and went on shore and tooke Limmons from the trees, and comming aboord againe saw two Buffes.

Their departure from Sierra leona.

The 6. day we departed from Sierra leona, and went out of the harborough, and stayed one tide 3. leagues from the point of the mouth of the Harborough in 6. fathoms, and it floweth South Southwest.

The Isles of Madrabumba inhabited by Negros.

On Wednesday being the 7. of the same moneth wee departed from one of the Isles of Cape Verde, aliàs the Isles of Madrabumba, which is 10. leagues distant from the poynt of Sierra leona: and about fiue of the clocke the same night we anchored 2. miles off the Iland in 6. fathoms water, and landed the same night, and found Plantans only vpon the Ilande.

A towne.

The 8. day one of our boats went out and sounded round about the Iland, and they passed through a sound at the west end of the Iland, where they found 5. fathoms round about the Iland, vntil they came vnto the very gutte of the sound, and then for a cast or two they had but two fathoms, and presently after 6. fathoms, and so deeper and deeper. And at the East ende of the Iland there was a towne, where Negros doe vse at sometimes, as we perceiued by their prouision.

Fresh water.

There is no fresh water on all the South side, as we could perceiue, but on the North side three or foure very good places of fresh water: and all the whole Island is a wood, saue certaine litle places where their houses stand, which are inuironed round about with Plantan-trees, whereof the fruit is excellent meat. This place is subiect marueilous much to thunder, raine, and lightning in this moneth. I thinke the reason is, because the sunne is so neere the line Equinoctiall.

On Saturday the tenth wee departed from the sayde Iland about 3. of the clocke in the afternoone, the winde being at the Southwest.

October.
Cape Frio in Brasil.

The last of October running West Southwest about 24. leagues from Cape Frio in Brasile, we fell with a great mountaine which had an high round knoppe on the top of it standing from it like a towne, with two litle Ilands from it.

Nouember.
S. Sebastians Iland.

The first of Nouember wee went in betweene the Iland of Saint Sebastian and the mayne land, and had our things on shore, and set vp a Forge, and had our caske on shore: our coopers made hoopes, and so we remayned there vntill the 23. day of the same moneth: in which time we fitted our things, built our Pinnesse, and filled our fresh water. And while our Pinnesse was in building, there came a Canoa from the riuer of Ienero, meaning to goe to S. Vincent, wherein were sixe naked slaues of the Countrey people, which did rowe the Canoa, and one Portugal. And the Portugal knewe Christopher Hare Master of the Admirall, for that Master Hare had bene at Saint Vincent in the Minion of London in the yeere 1581. And thinking to haue Iohn Whithal the Englishman which dwelleth at Saint Vincent come vnto vs, which is twentie leagues from this Harborough with some other, thereby to haue had some fresh victuals, we suffered the Portugal to goe with a letter vnto him, who promised to returne or send some answere within ten dayes, for that we told him we were Marchants, and would traffique with them: but we neuer receiued answere from him any more; and seeing that he came not according to appoyntment, our businesse being dispatched wee weyed anchor, and set sayle from S. Sebastian on the 23. of Nouember.

The riuer of Ienero.

December.
48. Degrees.

The 16. day of December we fell with the coast of America in 47. degrees $\frac{1}{3}$. the land bearing West from vs about 6. leagues off: from which place we ran along the shore, vntill we came into 48. degrees. It is a steepe beach all along.

Port Desire.

The 17. day of December in the afternoone we entred into an harborough, where our Admirall went in first: wherefore our Generall named the said harborough Port Desire: in which harborough is an Iland or two, where there is wonderful great store of Seales, and another Iland of birds which are grey guls. These Seales are of a wonderful great bignesse, huge, and monstrous of shape, and for the fore-part of their bodies cannot be compared to any thing better then to a lion: their head, and necke, and fore-parts of their bodies are full of rough haire: their feete are in manner of a finne, and in forme like vnto a mans hand: they breed and cast euery moneth, giuing their yong milke, yet continually get they their liuing in the sea, and liue altogether vpon fish: their yong are marueilous good meate, and being boyled or rosted, are hardly to be knowen from lambe or mutton. The olde ones be of such bignesse and force, that it is as nuch as 4. men are able to doe to kill one of them with great cowle-staues: and hee must be beaten downe with striking on the head of him: for his body is of that bignesse that foure men could neuer kill him, but only on the head. For being shotte through the body with an Harquebubuze or a Musket, yet he will goe his way into the sea, and neuer care for it at the present. Also the fowles that were there, were very good meate, and great store of them: they haue burrowes in the ground like conies, for they cannot flie. They haue nothing but downe vpon their pinions: They also fish and feede in the sea for their lining, and breede on shore.

Seales strange in shape and hugenesse.

Yong Seales are very good meate.

Foules breeding in burrowes like conies.

We call these foules Pengwins.

This harborough is a very good place to trimme ships in, and to bring them on ground, and graue them in: for there ebbeth and floweth much water: therefore wee graued and trimmed all our ships there.

They graue and trimme their ships.

The 24. of December being Christmas Euen, a man and a boy of the Rere-admirall went some fortie score from our ships vnto a very faire greene valley at the foote of the mountaines, where was a litle pitte or well which our men had digged and made some 2. or 3. dayes before to get fresh water: for there was none in all the Harborough; and this was but brackish: therefore this man and boy came thither to wash their linnen: and beeing in washing at the sayde Well, there were great store of Indians which were come downe, and found the sayd man and boy in washing. These Indians being diuided on eche side of the rockes, shotte at them with their arrowes and hurt them both, but they fledde presently, beeing about fiftie or threescore, though our Generall followed them but with 16. or 20. men. The mans name which was

A man and a boy hurt by negligence.

hurt was Iohn Garge, the boyes name was Lutch: the man was shot cleane through the knee, the boy into the shoulder: either of them hauing very sore wounds. Their arrowes are made of litle canes, and their heads are of a flint stone, set into the cane very artificially: they seldome or neuer see any Christians: they are as wilde as euer was a bucke or any other wilde beast: for wee followed them, and they ranne from vs as it had bene the wildest thing in the worlde. Wee tooke the measure of one of their feete, and it was 18. inches long. Their vse is when any of them dye, to bring him or them to the cliffes by the sea-side, and vpon the toppe of them they burie them, and in their graues are buryed with them their bowes and arrowes, and all their iewels which they haue in their life time, which are fine shelles which they finde by the sea side, which they cut and square after an artificiall maner; and all is layd vnder their heads. The graue is made all with great stones of great length and bignesse, being set all along full of the dead mans dartes which he vsed when he was liuing. And they colour both their darts and their graues with a red colour which they vse in colouring of themselues.

A kinde of gyants.

The 28 of December we departed out of the Port of Desire, and went to an Iland which lieth 3. leagues to the Southward of it; where we trimmed our saued pengwins with salt for victual all that and the next day, and departed along the coast Southwest and by South.

Their departure from port Desire.

The 30. day we fell with a rocke which lieth about 5. leagues from the land, much like vnto Ediestone which lieth off the sound of Plimouth, and we sounded, and had 8. fathoms rockie ground, within a mile thereof: the rocke bearing West Southwest. Wee went coasting along Scuth Southwest, and found great store of Seales all along the coast. This rocke standeth in 48. degrees ½. to the Southward of the line.

The 2. day of Ianuarie we fell with a very faire white Cape, which standeth in 51. degrees, and had 7. fathoms water a league off the land.

Ianuary 1587.

The third day of the foresayd moneth we fell with another great white cape, which standeth in 52. degrees and 45. minutes: from which cape there runneth a lowe beach about a league to the Southward, and this beach reacheth to the opening of the dangerous Streight of Magellan, which is in diuers places 5. or 6.

leagues wide, and in two seuerall places more narrow. Vnder this Cape we anchored and lost an anchor, for it was a great storme of foule weather, and lasted three dayes very dangerous.

They enter the Streights the 6. of Ianuarie.

The 6. day we put in for the Streights.

A Spaniard taken in the Streights of Magellan.

The Barke Iohn Thomas one of sir Francis Drakes consortes.

The 7. day betweene the mouth of the Streights and the narrowest place thereof, wee tooke a Spaniard whose name was Hernando, who was there with 23. Spaniards more, which were all that remayned of foure hundred, which were left there three yeeres before in these streights of Magellan, all the rest being dead with famine. And the same day wee passed through the narrowest of the Streights, where the aforesayd Spanyard shewed vs the hull of a small Barke, which we iudged to be a Barke called The Iohn Thomas. It is from the mouth of the streights vnto the narrowest of the Streights 14. leagues, and the course lieth West and by North. The mouth of the streights standeth in 52. degrees.

From the narrowest of the Streights vnto Pengwin Iland is 10. leagues, and lyeth West Southwest somewhat to the Southward, where wee anchored the 8. day, and killed and salted great store of Pengwins for victuals.

King Philips citie left desolate in the Streights of Magellan, which our Generall called Port famine.

The ninth day wee departed from Pengwin Ilande, and ranne South Southwest to King Philips citie which the Spaniards had built: which Towne or citie had foure Fortes, and euery Fort had in it one cast peece, which peeces were buryed in the ground, the cariages were standing in their places vnburied: wee digged for them and had them all. They had contriued their Citie very well, and seated it in the best place of the Streights for wood and water: they had builded vp their Churches by themselues: they had Lawes very seuere among themselues, for they had erected a Gibet, whereon they had done execution vpon some of their company. It seemed vnto vs that their whole liuing for a great space was altogether vpon muskles and lympits: for there was not any thing else to bee had, except some Deere which came out of the mountaines downe to the fresh riuers to drinke. These Spaniards which were there, were onely come to fortifie the Streights, to the ende that no other nation should haue passage through into the South sea sauing onely their owne: but as it appeared, it was not Gods will so to haue it. For during the time that they were there, which was two yeeres the least, they could neuer haue any thing to growe or in any wise prosper. And on the other side the Indians oftentimes preyed vpon them, vntill their victuals grewe so short, (their store being spent whch they had brought with them out of Spaine, and hauing no meanes to renew the same) that they dyed like dogges in their houses, and in their clothes, wherein we found them still at our comming, vntill that in the ende the towne being wonderfully taynted with the smell and the sauour of the dead people, the rest which remayned aliue were driuen to burie such things as they had there in their towne either for prouision or for furniture, and so to forsake the towne, and to goe along the sea-side, to seeke their victuals to preserue them from steruing, taking nothing with them, but euery man his harquebuze and his furniture that was able to cary it (for some were not able to cary them for weakenesse) and so liued for the space of a yeere and more with rootes, leaues, and sometimes a foule which they might kill with their peece. To conclude, they were determined to haue trauailed towards the riuer of Plate, only being left aliue 23. persons, whereof two were women, which were the remainder of 4. hundred. In this place we watered and woodded well and quietly. Our Generall named the towne Port famine: it standeth in 53. degrees by obseruation to the Southward.

God enemie to the Spaniards.

Port famine in 53 degrees.

The 14. day we departed from this place, and ran South southwest, and from thence southwest vnto cape Froward 5. leagues West Southwest, which Cape is the Southermost part of all the streights, and standeth in the latitude of 54. degrees. From which cape we ran West and by north 5. leagues, and put into a bay or Coue on the south side, which we called Muskle-Coue, because there were great store of them: we ridde therein 6. dayes, the wind being still Westerly.

Cape Froward in 54 degrees.

Muskle Coue.

The 21. day of Ianuarie we departed from Muskle-coue, and went Northwest and by West 10. leagues to a very faire sandie Baye on the North side, which our Generall called Elizabeth Baye, and as wee ridde there that night, one of our men dyed which went in the Hugh Gallant, whose name was Grey, a Carpenter by his occupation, and was buryed there in that Baye.

Elizabeth Bay.

The most brutish Sauages that euer were seene.

The 22. wee departed from Elizabeth Bay in the afternoone, and went about 2. leagues from that place where there was a fresh water riuer, where our Generall went vp with the ship-boate about three myles, which riuer hath very good and pleasant ground about it, and it is lowe and champion soyle, and so we saw none other ground els in all the Streights but that was craggie rocks and monstrous high hilles and mountaines. In this riuer are great store of Sauages which wee sawe, and had conference with them: They were men-eaters, and fedde altogether vpon rawe flesh, and other filthie foode: which people had preyed vpon some of the Spaniardes before spoken of. For they had gotten kniues and peeces of Rapiers to make dartes of. They vsed all the meanes they could possibly to haue allured vs vp farther into the riuer, of purpose to haue betrayed vs, which being espyed by our Generall, hee caused vs to shoote at them with our harquebuzes, whereby we killed many of them. So wee sayled from this riuer to the Chanell of Saint Ierome, which is 2 leagues off.

The Chanel of Saint Ierome.

Februarie 1587.

From this riuer of Saint Ierome about three or foure leagues, wee ranne West vnto a Cape which is on the North side: and from that Cape vnto the mouth of the Streights the course lyeth Northwest and by West, and Northwest. Betweene which place and the mouth of the Streights to the Southward we lay in Harborough vntill the three and twentieth of Februarie, by reason of contrary windes and most vile and filthie fowle weather, with such rayne and vehement stormie windes which came downe from the mountaines and high hilles, that they hazarded the best cables and anchors that we had for to holde, which if they had fayled, wee had bene in great danger to haue bene cast away, or at least famished. For during this time, which was a full moneth, we fedde almost altogether vpon muskles, and limpits, and birds, or such as we could get on shore, seeking euery day for them, as the fowles of the ayre doe, where they can finde foode, in continuall raynie weather.

The streights of Magellan are about 90 leagues long.

There is at euery myle or two myles ende an Harborough on both sides of the land. And there are betweene the riuer of Saint Ierome and the mouth of the Streights going into the South sea about 34. leagues by estimation. So that the length of the whole Streights is about 90. leagues. And the said mouth of the

Streights standeth in the same height that the entrance standeth in when we passe out of the North sea, which is about 52. degrees and ⅔ to the Southward of the line.

The Westerne mouth of the Streights is in 52 degrees and 2 terces.

The 24. day of February wee entred into the South sea: and on the South side of the going out of the Streights is a faire high Cape with a lowe poynt adioyning vnto it: and on the North side are 4. or 5. Ilands, which lye 6. leagues off the mayne, and much broken and sunken ground about them: by noone the same day wee had brought these Ilands East of vs 5 leagues off; the winde being Southerly.

Their entrance into the South sea the 24 of Februarie.

Ilands in the South sea called Las Anegadas.

The first of March a storme tooke vs at North, which night the ships lost the company of the Hugh Gallant, beeing in 49. ½ and 45. leagues from the land. This storme continued 3. or 4. dayes, and for that time we in the Hugh Gallant being separated from the other 2. ships, looked euery houre to sinke, our barke was so leake, and ourselues so diluered and weakened with freeing it of water, that we slept not in three dayes and three nights.

March 1. Extreme danger of the Hugh Gallant by a great leake.

The 15. of March in the morning the Hugh Gallant came in betweene the Iland of S. Mary and the mayne. where she met with the Admiral and the Content, which had rid at the Iland called La Mocha 2. dayes, which standeth in the Southerly latitude of 38. degrees: at which place some of our men went on shore with the Vice-admirals boate, where the Indians fought with them with their bowes and arrowes, and were marueilous warie of their Caliuers. These Indians were enemies to the Spaniards, and belonged to a great place called Arauco, and tooke vs for Spaniards, as afterward we learned.

The Ile of Mocha in 38 degrees not subiect to the Spaniards.

This place which is called Arauco is wonderfull rich, and full of gold mynes, and yet could it not be subdued at any time by the Spaniards, but they alwayes returned with the greatest losse of men. For these Indians are marueilous desperate and carelesse of their liues to liue at their owne libertie and freedome.

Arauco is the richest place in the South sea for golde, and is not subdued by the Spaniards as yet.

The 15. day aforesayde in the afternoone wee weighed anchor, and ranne vnder that West side of Saint Marie Iland, where

Saint Marie Iland in 37 degrees and 1. terce, which is subdued to the Spaniards.

we ridde very well in 6. fathoms water, and very faire ground all that night.

The 16. day our Generall went on shore himselfe with 70. or 80. men euery one with his furniture: there came downe to vs certaine Indians with two which were the principals of the Iland to welcome vs on shore, thinking we had bin Spaniards, for it is subdued by them: who brought vs vp to a place where the Spaniards had erected a Church with crosses and alters in it. And there were about this Church 2. or 3. store houses, which were full of wheate and barley ready threshed and made vp in cades of strawe to the quantitie of a bushel of corne in euery cade. The wheate and barly was as faire, as cleane, and euery way as good as any we haue in England. There were also the like cades ful of potato rootes, which were very good to eate, ready made vp in the store houses for the Spaniards against they should come for their tribute. This Iland also yeeldeth many sorts of fruits, hogs, and hens. These Indians are held in such slauery by them, that they dare not eate a hen or an hogge themselues. But the Spaniards haue made them all in that Iland Christians. Thus we fitted our selues here with corne asmuch as we would haue, and as many hogges as we had salt to powder them withall, and great store of hennes, with a number of bags of Potato rootes, and about 500. dried dogge-fishes, and Guinie wheate, which is called Maiz. And hauing taken as much as we would haue, yet we left maruellous great store behind vs. Our General had the two principals of the Iland aboord our shippe, and prouided great cheere for them, and made them merie with wine: and they in the ende perceiuing vs to bee no Spaniards, made signes, as neere as our Generall could perceiue, that if wee would goe ouer vnto the mayne land vnto Arauco, that there was much Golde, making vs signes that we should haue great store of riches. But because we could not vnderstand them, our Generall made some haste, and within 2. or three dayes we furnished our-selues.

A Church with crosses and altars.

The Indians of S. Mary Iland made all Christians.

Arauco rich in golde.

The 18. day in the morning we departed from this place, and ran all that day Northnortheast about 10. leagues, and at night lay with a short sayle off and on the coast.

The 19. wee ranne in East Northeast with the land, and bare in with a place called The Conception, where wee anchored vnder an Iland, and departed the next morning without going on land.

The Conception.

The 20. wee departed from The Conception, and went into a litle Baye which was sandie, where we saw fresh water and cattell, but we stayed not there.

The 30. day we came into the Bay of Quintero, which standeth in 33. degrees and 50. minutes.

Quintero standeth in 33 degrees 50 minutes.

The said day presently after we were come vnto an ancre in the Bay, there was a Neteherd or one that kept cattle which lay vpon the poynt of the hill asleepe, which when he awaked and had espied three shippes which were come into the Bay, before wee could get on shore, he had caught an horse which was feeding by, and rode his way as fast as euer hee might: and our Generall with 30. shot with him went on shore. He had not bene on land one houre, but there came 3. horsemen with bright swords towards vs so hard as they might ride, vntil they came within some twentie or thirtie score of vs, and so stayed, and would come no neerer vnto vs: so our Generall sent vnto them a couple of our men with their shotte, and one Fernando, which was the Spaniard that wee had taken vp at the mouth of the Streights, which was one of the 400. that were sterued there. But the Spaniards would not suffer our men to come neere with their shot, but made signes that one of our men should come alone vnto them: so the said Fernando the Spaniard went vnto them, and our two men stood not farre from them. They had great conference, and in the end Fernando came backe from them, and told our Generall that he had parled with them for some victuals, who had promised as much as we would haue. Our general sent him backe againe with another message and another shotte with him: and being come neere vnto them, they would not suffer any more than one to approch them, whereupon our men let the Spaniard goe vnto them alone himselfe: who being some good distance from them, they stayed but a small time together, but that the said Fernando leaped vp behind one of them and rid away with them, for all his deepe and damnable othes which he had made continually to our general and all his company neuer to forsake him, and to die on his side before he would be false. Our Generall seeing how he was dealt withall, filled water all that day with good watch, and caried it aboord: and night being come,

The periurie of a Spaniard.

he determined the next day to send into the countrey to find their towne, and to haue taken the spoyle of it, and to haue fired it if they could haue found it.

Our men march 7. or 8. miles into their enemies land.

The last of March Captaine Hauers went vp into the Countrey with 50. or 60. men with their shot and furniture with them, and we trauailed 7. or 8. miles into the land: and as we were marching along, we espied a number of herdes of cattell, of kine and bullockes which were wonderfull wilde: we saw also great store of horses, mares, and coltes which were very wilde and vnhandled: there is also great store of hares and conies, and plenty of partriges and other wild foules. The countrey is very fruitful with faire fresh riuers all along full of wilde foule of all sorts. Hauing trauailed so farre that we could goe no further for the monstrous high mountaines, we rested our selues at a very fayre fresh Riuer running in and alongst faire lowe medowes at the foote of the mountaines, where euery man drunke of the Riuer, and refreshed themselues. Hauing so done, we returned to our Ships the likest way that we thought their Towne should bee: so wee trauailed all the day long, not seeing any man, but we mette with many wilde dogges: yet there were two hundred horsemen abroad that same day by meanes of the Spaniard which they had taken the day before from vs, who had tolde them that our force was but small, and that wee were wonderfully weake; who though they did espie vs that day, yet durst they not giue the on-sette vpon vs. For wee marched along in array, and obserued good order, whereby wee seemed a great number more then we were, vntill we came vnto our ships that night againe.

The next day being the first of Aprill 1587, our men went on shoare to fill water at a pit which was a quarter of a mile from the waters side: and being earely hard at their businesse were in no redinesse. In which meane while there came powring downe from the hilles almost 200 horsemen, and before our people could returne to the rockes from the watering place, twelue of them were cut off, part killed, and part taken prisoners, the rest were rescued by our souldiers which came from the rocks to meete with them, who being but fifteene of vs that had any weapons on shoare, yet we made the enemie retire in the end with losse of some foure and twentie of their men, after we had skirmished with them an houre,

24 Spaniards slaine.

The names of our men that were slaine were these.

Out of the Admirall.
Thomas Lucas of London, souldier.
Richard Wheeler of London.
Robert Pitcher of Norfolke, souldier.
Iohn Langston of Gloucestershire.
William Kingman of Dorsetshire, souldier.
William Hilles of Cornewall.

Killed out of the vice admirall.
1 William Dyet of Weymouth.
2 Laurence Gamesby, of Newcastle.

Killed out of the Hugh Gallant.
1 Henry Blackenals of Weymouth.
2 Williams Steuens of Plymmouth, gunner.
3 William Pitte of Shereborne in Dorsetshire.
4 Humphrey Derricke of London.

After the losse of these men, wee rid in the roade, and watered in despight of them with good watch and ward, vntill the fift of the sayd moneth.

The fift day wee departed out of this bay of Quintero: and off from the bay there lyeth a little Iland about a league distant, whereon there are great store of penguins and other fowles; wherof we tooke to serue our turnes, and sailed away North and North and by West: for so lyeth the coast along in this place.

A little Iland full of penguins.

The fifteenth wee came thwart of a place called Morro moreno, which standeth in 23 degrees ½, and is an excellent good harborough; and there is an Iland which maketh it an harborough: and a ship may go in at either end of the Iland: here we went with our General on shore to the number of 30 men: and at our going on shore vpon our landing, the Indians of the place came downe from the rockes to meete with vs, with fresh water and wood on their backes. They are in maruellous awe of the Spaniards, and very simple people, and liue maruellous sauagely: For they brought vs to their bidings about two miles from the harborough, where wee saw their women and lodging, which is nothing but the skin of some beast layd vpon the ground: and ouer them

Morro moreno in 23. degrees and a halfe.

in stead of houses, is nothing but fiue or sixe sticks layd acrosse, which stand vpon two forkes with stickes on the ground and a fewe boughes layd on it. Their diet is raw fish, which stinketh most vilely. And when any of them die, they burie their bowes and arrowes with them, with their canoa and all that they haue: for wee opened one of their graues, and saw the order of them.

Most artificiall boates.

Tribute payd in fish.

Their canoas or boates are maruellous artificially made of two skinnes like vnto bladders, and are blowen full at one ende with quilles: they haue two of these bladders blowen full, which are sowen together and made fast with a sinew of some wild beast; which when they are in the water swell, so that they are as tight as may bee. They goe to sea in these boates, and catch very much fish with them, and pay much of it for tribute vnto the Spaniards: but they vse it maruellous beastly.

A barke taken, which they called The George.

Arica standeth in 18 degrees 22 minutes.

A ship taken.

Great store of wine found.

The 23 in the morning we tooke a small barke which came out of the Arica road, which we kept and called The George: the men forsooke it, and went away with their boate. Our admirals pinnesse followed the boate, and the Hugh Gallants boate tooke the barke: our admirals pinnesse could not recouer the boat before it got on shoare, but went along into the road of Arica, and layd aboord a great shippe of an hundreth tunnes riding in the road right afore the towne, but all the men and goods were gone out of it, onely the bare ship was left alone. They made three or foure very faire shots at the pinnesse as shee was comming in, but missed her very narrowly with a Minion shot which they had in the fort. Whereupon wee came into the road with the Admirall and the Hugh Gallant: but the Content which was viceadmirall was behinde out of sight: by meanes whereof, and for want of her boate to land men withall wee landed not: otherwise if we had bene together, our Generall with the companie would resolutely haue landed to take the towne, whatsoeuer had come of it. The cause why the Content stayed behind was, that shee had found about 14 leagues to the Southward of Arica, in a place where the Spaniards had landed, a whole ships lading of botijas of wine of Castillia, whereof the sayd Content tooke into her as many as shee could conueniently carrie, and came after vs into the road of Arica the same day. By this time we perceiued that the towne had gathered all their power together, and also conueyed all their treasure away, and buried it before wee were come neere the towne: for they had heard of vs. Nowe because it was very populous with the ayde of one or two places vp in the land, our Generall sawe there was no landing without losse of many men: wherefore hee gaue ouer that enterprise. While wee rid in the road they shot at vs, and our ships shot at them againe for euery shot two. Moreouer, our pinnesse went in hard almost to the shoare, and fetched out another barke which rid there in despight of all their forts though they shot still at the pinnesse, which they could neuer hit. After these things our Generall sent a boate on shoare with a flag of truce to knowe if they would redeeme their great shippe or no; but they would not: for they had receined speciall commandement from the viceroy from Lima, not to buy any shippe, nor to ransome any man vpon paine of death. Our Generall did this in hope to haue redeemed some of our men, which were taken prisoners on shoare by the horsemen at Quintero, otherwise hee would haue made them no offer of parley.

Another barke taken in the road.

The 25 riding stil in the said road, we spied a saile comming from the Southward, and our Generall sent out his pinnesse to meete her, with all our boates; but the towne made such signes from the hill with fires and tokens out of the watch-house, that before our pinnesse could get to them, they ran the barke on shoare two miles to the Southward of the towne; but they had small leasure to carrie any thing with them; but all the men skaped, among whom there were certaine friers: for wee sawe them in their friers weedes as they ran on shoare: many horsemem came from the towne to rescue them, and to carrie them away, otherwise wee had landed and taken or killed them. So wee went aboord the barke as she lay sunke, and fetched out the pillage: but there was nothing in it of any value, and came aboord our shippes againe the same night; and the next morning wee set the great shippe on fire in the road, and sunke one of the barkes, and carried the other along with vs, and so departed from thence, and went away Northwest.

The fourth barke taken.

A watch-house.

The 27 day wee tooke a small barke, which came from S. Iago neere vnto Quintero, where wee lost our men first. In this barke was one George a Greeke, a reasonable pilot for all the coast of Chili. They were sent to

The first barke of aduise taken.

the citie of Lima with letters of aduiso of vs, and of the losse of our men. There were also in the sayde barke one Flemming and three Spaniards : and they were all sworne and receiued the Sacrament before they came to sea by three or foure friers, that if wee should chance to meete them, they should throw those letters ouer boord : which (as wee were giuing them chase with our pinnesse) before wee could fetch them vp, they had accordingly throwen away. Yet our Generall wrought so with them, that they did confesse it : but hee was faine to cause them to bee tormented with their thumbes in a wrinch, and to continue them at seuerall times with extreme paine. Also hee made the old Flemming beleeue that hee would hang him ; and the rope being also about his necke hee was pulled vp a little from the hatches, and yet hee would not confesse, chusing rather to die, then hee would bee periured. In the end it was confessed by one of the Spaniards, whereupon wee burnt the barke, and carried the men with vs.

A good mind if he had bene in a good cause.

The third of May wee came into a bay where are three little townes, which are called Paracca, Chincha, and Pisca, where some of vs landed and tooke certaine houses, wherein was bread, wine, figs and hennes : but the sea went so high, that wee could not land at the best of the townes without sinking of our boats, and great hazard of vs all. This place standeth in thirteene degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$ to the Southward of the line.

The bay of Pisca in 13. deg. ⅔.

The fift of May wee departed from this harbour, leauing the Content our viceadmirall within at an Iland of seales, by which meanes at that time wee lost her companie.

An Iland of seales.

The ninth wee gaue chase to a saile, namely, Our admirall, The Hugh Gallant, and The George which wee had taken before comming out of the roade of Arica ; The content which was our viceadmirall being still lost : but wee could not fetch it. The George made after it, but lost it that night.

The tenth day the Hugh Gallant (in which barke I Francis Pretie was) lost companie of our admirall.

The eleuenth we which were in the Hugh Gallant put into a bay which standeth in 12 degrees $\frac{2}{3}$, in which bay wee found a riuer of fresh water about eight of the clocke at night ; and though we were but of small force, and no more but one barke and 18 men in it, yet

The Hugh Gallant lost companie of the fleete, and met not vntill the seuenteenth.

wee went on shoare to fill water; where hauing filled one boates lading, while our boate was in going aboord, two or three of our companie which were on shoare, as they were going a little from the watering place with their furniture about them, espied where there were foure or fiue hundred bagges of meale on an heape couered with a fewe reedes. So that night we filled water and tooke as much meale as wee thought good: which fell out well for vs that were then lost and stoode in neede of victuals: and by breake of day in the morning wee came aboord, and there stayed and rode vntill the afternoone In which meane time the towne seeing vs ride there still, brought downe much cattell to the sea side to haue intised vs to come on shoare: but wee sawe their intent, and weyed anker and departed the twelft day.

400 bags of meale found.

The 13 day at night wee put into a bay which standeth in 9 degrees and ⅓, where wee sawe horsemen: and that night wee landed, namely, M. Bruer Captaine, my selfe Francis Pretie, Arthur Warford, Iohn Way Preacher, Iohn Newman, Andrew Wyght, William Gargefield, and Henry Hilliard. And we 8 onely, hauing euery man his harquebuze and his furniture about him, marched three quarters of a mile along the sea side where wee found a boate of fiue or sixe tunnes haled vp drie on the shoare about a cables length from the water: and with extreme labour wee lanched the barke; when it was on flote Captaine Bruer and I went in, while the rest of our companie were fetching their things: but suddenly it was readie to sinke And the Captaine and I stoode vp to the knees lading out water with our targets; but it sunke downe faster then wee were able to free it, insomuch as in the end wee had much adoe to saue our selues from drowning. When wee were out, wee stood in great feare that our owne boate wherein wee came on shoare was sunke: for wee could no where see it. Howbeit the Captaine commanded them to keepe it off, for feare of the great surge that went by the shoare. Yet in the end wee spied it, and went aboord by two and two, and were driuen to wade vp to the armeholes 60 paces into the sea before wee could get into the boate by reason of the shoaldnesse: and then departed the foureteenth day in the morning.

A bay in 9. degrees and ⅓.

Iohn Way a preacher.

The 16 we tooke with the Hugh Gallant, being but sixteene men of vs in it, a great shippe which came from Guaianil, which

A ship of 300. tunnes taken after halfe an houres fight.

Seuen degrees of Southerly latitude.

was called The Lewis, and was of the burthen of three hundred tuns, hauing foure and twentie men in it, wherein was pilot one Gonsaluo de Ribas, whom wee carried along with vs, and a Negro called Emmanuel. The shipppe was laden with nothing but timber and victuals: whereof wee left her seuen leagues from the land very leake and ready to sinke in 7 degrees to the Southward of the line: wee sunke her boate aad tooke away her foresaile and certaine victuals.

They met their fleete againe.

Two rich ships taken.

One shippe worth 20000 pounds.

The 17 of May wee met with our admirall againe, and all the rest of our fleete. They had taken two ships, the one laden with sugar, molosses, maiz, Cordouan-skinnes, montego de Porco, and many packes of pintados, many Indian coates, and some marmalade, and 1000 hennes: and the other ship was laden with wheate-meale, and boxes of marmalade. One of these ships which had the chief marchandise in it, was worth twentie thousand pounds, if it had bene in England or in any other place of Christendome where wee might haue solde it. Wee filled all our ships with as much as wee could bestow of these goods: the rest wee burnt and the ships also; and set the men and women that were not killed on shoare.

The bay of Paita in 5 degrees 4 min.

A new fort in building.

The towne of Paita taken and burnt.

The 20 day in the morning wee came into the road of Paita, and being at an anker, our Generall landed with sixtie or seuentie men, skirmished with them of the towne, and draue them all to flight to the top of the hill which is ouer the towne, except a few slaues and some other which were of the meaner sort, who were commanded by the gouernours to stay below in the towne, at a place which is in building for a fort, hauing with them a bloodie ensigne, being in number about one hundred men. Nowe as wee were rowing between the ships and the shoare, our gunner shot off a great peece out of one of the barkes, and the shot fel among them, and draue them to flie from the fort as fast as they might runne, who got them vp vpon an hill, and from thence shot among vs with their small shot. After wee were landed, and had taken the towne, wee ran vpon them, and chased them so fiercely vp the hilles for the space of an houre that wee draue them in the ende away perforce, and being got vp the hilles, wee found where they had layd all their stuffe which they had brought out of the towne, and had hidden it there vpon the mountaines. We also found the quantitie of 25 pounds weight in siluer in pieces of eight rials, and abundance of houshold stuffe and storehouses full of all kinde of wares: but our Generall would not suffer any man to carrie much cloth or apparell away, because they should not cloy themselues with burthens: for hee knew not whether our enemies were prouided with furniture according to the number of their men: for they were fiue men to one of vs: and wee had an English mile and an halfe to our ships. Thus wee came downe in safetie to the towne, which was very well builed, and maruellous cleane kept in euery streete, with a town-house or Guild hall in the middest, and had to the number of two hundred houses at the least in it. Wee set it on fire to the ground, and goods to the value of fiue or sixe thousand pounds: there was also a barke riding in the roade which wee set on fire, and departed, directing our course to the Iland of Puna.

25 pounds weight in siluer.

The towne of Paita had 200 houses in it.

A barke set on fire.

The 25 day of May we arriued at the Iland of Puna, where is a very good harbour, where we found a great shippe of the burthern of 250 tunnes riding at an anker with all her furniture, which was readie to bee haled on ground: for there is a speciall good place for that purpose. Wee sunke it, and went on shoare where the lord of the Iland dwelt, which was by the waters side, who had a sumptuous house maruellous well contriued with very many singular good roomes and chambers in it: and out of euery chamber was framed a gallerie with a stately prospect into the sea on the one side, and into the Iland on the other side, with a maruellous great hall below, and a very great storehouse at the one ende of the hall, which was filled with botijas of pitch and bash to make cables withall: for the most part of the cables in the South sea are made vpon that Iland. This great Casique doth make all the Indians vpon the Iland to worke and to drudge for him: and hee himselfe is an Indian borne, but is married to a maruellous faire woman which is a Spaniard, by reason of his pleasant habitation and of his great wealth.

The Iland of Puna within 1 degree the Equinoctial to the South.

A great ship burnt.

Great store of cables made in Puna.

This Spanish woman his wife is honoured as a Queene in the

Iland, and neuer goeth on the ground vpon her feete: but holdeth it too base a thing for her: But when her pleasure is to take the ayre, or to goe abroad, shee is alwayes carried in a shadowe like vnto an horse-litter vpon foure mens shoulders, with a veile or canopie ouer her for the sunne or the winde, hauing her gentlewomen still attending about her with a great troope of the best men of the Iland with her. But both shee and the lorde of the Iland with all the Indians in the towne were newly fled out of the Iland before wee could get to an anker, by reason wee were becalmed before wee could get in, and where gone ouer vnto the maine lande, hauing carried away with them to the summe of 100000 crownes, which wee knew by a captaine of the Iland an Indian, which was left there with some other vpon the Iland vnder him, whom wee had taken at sea as wee were comming into the road, being in a balsa or canoa for a spie to see what wee were.

The 27 our General himselfe with certaine shot and some targettiers went ouer into the maine vnto the place where this foresayde Indian captaine which wee had taken had tolde vs that the Casique, which was the lord of all the Iland, was gone vnto, and had caried all his treasure with him: but at our comming to the place which wee went to lande at, wee found newly arriued there foure or fiue great balsas, which were laden with plantans, bags of meale, and many other kinds of victuals. Our Generall maruelled what they were and what they meant, asking the Indian guide and commanding him to speake the trueth vpon his life: being then bound fast, hee answered being very much abashed, as well as our companie were, that hee neither knewe from whence they should come, nor who they should bee: for there was neuer a man in any one of the balsas: and because hee had told our Generall before, that it was no easie matter to take the sayd Casique and all his treasure, and that there were but three or foure houses standing in a desert place and no resistance, and that if hee found it not so, hee should hang him. Againe being demaunded to speake vpon his life what he thought these Balsas should bee, he answered that hee could not say from whence they should come, except it were to bring 60 souldiers, which hee did heare were to go to a place called Guaiaquil, which was about 6 leagues from the saide yland, where two or three of the kings shippes were on the stocks in

The towne of Guaiaquil.

building, where are continually an hundred souldiers in garisons who had heard of vs, and had sent for sixtie more for feare of burning of the shippes and towne. Our Generall not any whit discouraged either at the sight of the balsas vnlooked for, or for hearing of the threescore souldiers not vntill then spoken of, with a braue courage animating his companie in the exployte, went presently forward, being in the night in a most desert path in the woods, vntill such time as hee came to the place; where, as it seemed, they had kept watch either at the waters side, or at the houses, or else at both, and were newly gone out of the houses, hauing so short warning, that they left the meate both boyling and rosting at the fire and were fledde with their treasure with them, or else buried it where it could not bee found, being also in the night. Our companie tooke hennes and such things as wee thought good, and came away.

A little Iland neere vnto Puna.

The 29 day of May our Generall went in the ship-boate into a little Iland there by, whereas the sayd Casique which was the lord of Puna, had caused all the hangings of his chambers, which were of cordouan leather all guilded ouer, and painted very faire and rich, with all his houshold stuffe, and all the ships tackling which was riding in the road at our comming in, with great store of nailes, spikes of yron, and very many other things to be conueyed: all which wee found, and brought away what our Generall thought requisite for the ships businesse.

The Ile of Puna is almost as big as the Ile of Wight.

Cotton trees.

This Iland is very pleasant for all things requisite, and fruitful: but there are no mines of gold nor siluer in it. There are at the least 200 houses in the towne about the Casiques pallace, and as many in one or two townes more vpon the Iland, which is almost as bigge as the Ile of Wight in England. There is planted on the one side of the Casiques house a faire garden, with all herbes growing in it, and at the lower end a well of fresh water, and round about it are trees set, whereon bombasin cotton groweth after this maner: The tops of the trees grow full of cods, out of which the cotton groweth, and in the cotton is a seede of the bignesse of a pease, and in euery codde there are seuen or eight of these seedes: and if the cotton bee not gathered when it is ripe, then these seedes fall from it, and spring againe.

There are also in this garden fig-trees which beare continually, also pompions, melons, cucumbers, radishes, rosemarie and thyme, with many other herbes and fruits. At the other end of the house there is also another orchard, where grow orenges sweete and sower, limons, pomegranates and lymes, with diuers other fruits.

An excellent orchard.

There is very good pasture ground in this Iland; and withall many horses, oxen, bullockes, sheepe very fat and faire, great store of goates which be very tame, and are vsed continually to bee milked. They haue moreouer abundance of pigeons, turkeys, and ducks of a maruellous bignesse.

There was also a very large and great church hard by the Casiques house, whither hee caused all the Iudians in the Iland to come and heare masse: for he himselfe was made a Christian when he was maried to the Spanish woman before spoken of, and vpon his conuersion he caused the rest of his subiects to be Christened. In this church was an high altar with a crucifixe, and fiue belles hanging in the nether end thereof. We burnt the church and brought the belles away.

By this time wee had haled on ground our admirall and had made her cleane, burnt her keele, pitched and tarred her, and had haled her on flote againe. And in the meane while continually kept watch and ward in the great house both night and day.

The second grauing of their ships.

The second day of Iune in the morning, by and by after breake of day, euery one of the watch being gone abroad to seeke to fetch in victuals, some one way, some another, some for hennes, some for sheepe, some for goats, vpon the sudden there came down vpon vs an hundred Spanish souldiers with muskets and an ensigne, which were landed on the other side of the Iland that night, and all the Indians of the Iland with them, euery one with weapons and their baggage after them: which was by meanes of a Negro, whose name was Emmanuel, which fled from vs at our first landing there. Thus being taken at aduantage we had the worst: for our companie was not past sixteene or twentie; whereof they had slaine one or two before they were come to the houses: yet we skirmished with them an houre and an halfe: at the last being sore ouercharged with multitudes, we were driuen down from the hill to the waters side, and there kept them play a while, vntil in the end Zacharie Saxie, who with his halberd had kept the way of the hill, and slaine a couple of them, as hee

The first skirmish with the Spaniards.

Zacharie Saxie slaine honorably.

breathed himselfe being somewhat tired, had an honourable death and a short: for a shot strooke him to the heart: who feeling himselfe mortally wounded cryed to God for mercie, and fell downe presently dead. But soone after the enemie was driuen somewhat to retire from the bankes side to the greene: and in the ende our boate came and carried as many of our men away as could goe in her, which was in hazard of sinking while they hastened into it: And one of our men whose name was Robert Maddocke was shot through the head with his owne peece, being a snap-hance, as hee was hasting into the boate. But foure of vs were left behinde which the boate could not carrie: to wit, my selfe Francis Pretie, Thomas Andrewes, Steuen Gunner, and Richard Rose: which had our shot readie and retired our selues vnto a cliffe, vntill the boate came againe, which was presently after they had caried the rest abourd. There were sixe and fortie of the enemies slaine by vs, whereof they had dragged some into bushes, and some into olde houses, which wee found afterward. Wee lost twelue men in maner following.

Robert Maddock slaine with his owne peece.

46 Spaniards and Indians slaine.

Slaine by the enemie.

1. Zacharie Saxie.
2. Neales Iohnson.
3. William Geirgifield.
4. Nicolas Hendie.
5. Henry Cooper.

Robert Maddocke, killed with his peece.

Henry Mawdly, burnt.

Drowned.

1. Edward the gunners man.
2. Ambrose the munitian.

Taken prisoners.

1. Walter Tilliard.
2. Edward Smith.
3. Henry Aselye.

The selfe same day being the second of Iune, we went on shoare againe with seuentie men and had a fresh skirmish with the enemies, and draue them to retire, being an hundred Spaniards seruing with muskets, and two hundred Indians with bowes, arrowes and darts. This done, wee set fire on the towne and burnt it to the ground, hauing in it to the number of three hundred houses: and shortly after made hauocke of their fieldes, orchards and gardens, and burnt foure great ships more which were in building on the stockes.

The second skirmish with the Spaniards.

The chiefe towne in Puna burnt.

The third of Iune the Content which was our viceadmirall was haled on ground, to graue at the same place in despight of the Spaniards: and also our pinnesse which the Spaniards had burned, was new trimmed.

The fift day of Iune wee departed out of the roade of Puna, where wee had remained eleuen dayes, and turned vp for a place which is called Rio dolce, where wee watered: at which place also wee sunke our rereadmirall called The Hugh Gallant for want of men, being a barke of fortie tunnes.

They arriued at Puna the 25 of May.

The Hugh Gallant a barke of 40 tuns sunke.

The tenth day of the same moneth wee set the Indians on shoare, which we had taken before in a balsa as we were comming into the road of Puna.

The eleuenth day wee departed from the sayd Rio dolce.

Rio dolce.

The twelft of Iune wee doubled the Equinoctial line, and continued our course Northwarde all that moneth.

The first of Iulie wee had sight of the coast of Nueua Espanna, being foure leagues distant from land in the latitude of ten degrees to the Northward of the line.

The ninth of Iulie wee tooke a new ship of the burthen of 120 tunnes, wherein was one Michael Sancius, whom our Generall tooke to serue his turne to water along the coast: for hee was one of the best coasters in the South sea. This Michael Sancius was a Prouensal, borne in Marseils, and was the first man that tolde vs newes of the great ship called The Santa Anna, which wee afterward tooke comming from the Philippinas.

Michael Sancius a Marsilian.

There were sixe men more in this new shippe: we tooke her sailes, her ropes, and firewood, to serue our turnes, set her on fire, and kept the men.

A great new ship burnt.

The tenth we tooke another barke which was going with aduise of vs and our ships all along the coast, as Michael Sancius tolde vs: but all the companie that were in the barke were fledde on shoare. None of both these ships had any goods in them. For they came both from Sonsonate in the prouince of Guatimala; the new shippe, for feare we should haue taken her in the road, and the barke, to carie newes of vs along the coast; which barke also we set on fire.

The second barke of aduise taken.

Sonsonate in the prouince of Guatimala.

A barke burnt.

The 26 day of Iuly wee came to an anker at 10 fathoms in the riuer of Copalita, where we made account to water. And the same night wee departed with 30 men in the pinnesse, and rowed to Aguatulco, which is but two leagues from the aforesayd riuer: and standeth in 15 degrees 40 minutes to the Northward of the Equinoctial line.

The riuer of Copalita.

Aguatulco in 15 degrees and 40 minutes Northward.

The 27 in the morning by the brake of day wee came into the roade of Aguatulco, where we found a barke of 50 tunnes, which was come from Sonsonate laden with cacaos and anile which they had there landed: and the men were all fled on shoare. Wee landed there, and burnt their towne, with the church and custome-house which was very faire and large: in which house were 600 bags of anile to dye cloth; euery bag whereof was worth 40 crownes, and 400 bags of cacaos; euery bag whereof is worth ten crownes. These cacaos goe among them for meate and money. For 150 of them are in the value one rial of plate in ready payment. They are very like vnto an almond, but are nothing so pleasant in taste: they eate them, and make drink of them. This the owner of the shippe tolde vs. I found in this towne before wee burnt it, a flasket full of boxes of balme. After we had spoyled and burnt the towne, wherein there were some hundred houses, the owner of the shippe came downe out of the hilles with a flag of truce vnto vs, which before with the rest of all the townesmen was run away at our first comming; and at length came abourd our pinnesse vpon Captaine Hauers worde of safe returne. We carried him to the riuer of Copalita where our shippes rode: and when hee came to our Generall, hee caused him to bee set on shoare in safetie the same night, because hee came vpon the captaines word.

A barke burnt.

Anile.

Cacaos.

Aguatulco a towne of 100 houses burnt.

Cacaos goe for money in Nueua Espanna.

The 28 day we set saile from Copalita, because the sea was so great there, that wee could not fill water, and ran the same night into the roade of Aguatulco.

Our Generall entred two miles into the maine land with 30 men.

The 29 our Generall landed and went on shoare with thirtie men two miles into the woods, where wee tooke a Mestizo, whose name was Michael de Truxillo, who was customer of that towne, and wee found with him two chambers full of his stuffe: wee brought him and his stuffe abourd. And whereas I say he was a Mestizo, it is to be vnderstood that a Mestizo is one which hath a Spaniard to his father and an Indian to his mother.

Our departure from Aguatulco.

The second day of August, we had watered, and examined the said Mestizo, and set him on shore againe and departed from the port of Aguatulco the same night, which standeth as I sayd before in 15 degrees and 40 minuts to the Northward of the lyne.

Here wee ouerslipped the hauen of Acapulco, from whence the shippes are set foorth for the Philippinas.

Puerto de Natiuidad in 19 degrees.

The foure and twentieth day of August, our Generall with 30 of vs went with the pinnesse vnto an hauen called Puerto de Natiuidad, where wee had intelligence by Michael Sancius that there should bee a pinnesse, but before wee could get thither the sayde pinnesse was gone to fish for pearles 12 leagues farther, as we were informed by certaine Indians which we found there. We tooke a mullato in this place, in his bedde, which was sent with letters of aduise concerning vs along the coast of Nueua Galicia, whose horse wee killed, tooke his letters, left him behinde, set fire on the houses, and burnt two newe shippes of 200 tunnes the piece, which were in building there on the stockes, and came abourd of our shippes againe..

The third poste of aduise taken.

Puerta de Natiuidad burnt.

Two new ships burnt.

The riuer of Sant Iago.

Pearles taken.

The sixe and twentie day of August, wee came into the bay of S. Iago, where wee watered at a fresh Riuer, along which riuer many plantans are growing: here is great abundance of fresh fish. Heere also certaine of our companie dragged for pearles and caught some quantitie.

The second of September wee departed from Sant Iago at foure of the clocke in the euening. This bay of Sant Iago standeth in nineteene degrees and eighteene minuts to the Nortward of the lyne.

The 3 of September wee arriued in a litle bay a league to the Westwarde off Port de Nauidad called Malacca, which is a very good place to ride in: and the same day about twelue of the clocke our Generall landed with thirtie men or there about, and went vp to a towne of Indians which was two leagues from the road, which towne is called Acatlan: there were in it about 20 or 30 houses and a Church, which we defaced and came aboord againe the same night. All the people were fled out of the towne at the sight of vs.

The bay of Malacca.

The towne of Acatlan burnt.

The fourth of September, wee departed from the roade of Malacca, and sayled along the coast.

The 8 we came to the roade of Chaccalla, in which bay there are two litle houses by the waters side. This bay is 18 leagues from the Cape de los Corrientes.

The road of Chaccalla.

The 9 in the morning our Generall sent vp Captaine Hauers with fortie men of vs before day, and Michael Sancius being our guide, wee went vnto a place about two leagues vp into the countrey in a most villainous desart path through the woods and wildernesse; and in the ende we came to a place where wee tooke three housholders with their wiues and children and some Indians, one carpenter which was a Spaniard, and a Portugall, wee bound them all and made them to come to the sea side with vs.

Our Generall made their wiues to fetch vs Plantans, Lymmons, and Oranges, Pine-aples and other fruites whereof they had abundance, and so let their husbandes depart, except Sembrano the Spanish Carpenter, and Diego the Portugal; and the tenth day wee departed the roade.

The twelfth day wee arriued at a little Island called the Isle of Sant Andrewe, on which there is great store of fowle aud wood: where wee dryed and salted as many of the fowles as we thought good: wee also killed there abundance of seales, and Iguanos, which are a kinde of Serpents, with foure feete, and a long sharpe tayle, strange to them which haue not seene them; but they are very good meate. Wee ridde here vntill the seuenteenth day, at which time wee departed.

The Isle of Sant Andrew.

Iguanos good meate.

The 24 day wee arriued in the roade of Massatlan, which standeth in 23 degrees ½, iust vnder the tropicke of Cancer: It is a very great riuer within, but

Massatlan in 23 degrees, and a halfe.

is barred at the mouth: and vpon the North side of the barre without, is good fresh water: but there is very euill filling of it; because at a low water it is shoald halfe a mile off the shoare. There is great store of fresh fish in that bay: and good fruites vp into the countrey, whereof wee had some, though not without danger.

An island a league Northwards of Massatlan.

The seuen and twentieth day of September, wee departed from the roade of Massatlan and ran to an island which is a league to the Northward the sayd Massatlan, where wee trimmed our ships and new built our pinnesse: and there is a litle island a quarter of a league from it, on which are seales; where a Spanish prisoner whose name was Domingo, being sent to wash shirtes with one of our men to keepe him, made a scape, and swam to the maine, which was an English mile distant: at which place we had seen 30 or 40 Spaniards and Indians which were horsemen, and kept watch there, which came from a towne called Chiametla, which was 11 leagues vp into the countrey, as Michael Sancius told vs. We found vpon the island where we trimmed our pinnesse, fresh water by the assistance of God in that our great neede by digging two or three foote deepe in the sande, where no water nor signe of water was before to be perceiued. Otherwise we had gone backe 20 or 30 leagues to water: which might haue bene occasion that we might haue missed our prey wee had long wayted for. But God raysed one Flores a Spaniard, which was also a prisoner with vs, to make a motion to digge in the sands. Now our Generall hauing had experience once before of the like, commanded to put his motion in practise, and in digging three foote deepe wee found very good and fresh water. So we watered our ships, and might haue filled a thousand tunnes more, if we had would.

The escape of one Domingo a Spaniards.

Chiametla.

Fresh water at 2 or 3 foote deepe in the sand.

We stayed in this island vntill the 9 day of October, at which time we departed at night for the cape of S. Lucar, which is on the West side of the point of California.

The cape of S. Lucar on the point of California.

Aguada Segura.

The 14 of October we fell with the cape of S. Lucar, which cape is very like the Needles at the isle of Wight: and within the cape is a great bay called by the Spaniards Aguada Segura: into which bay falleth a faire fresh riuer, about which many Indians vse to keepe: wee watered in the riuer and lay off and on from the saide cape of S. Lucar vntill the fourth of Nouemberr, and had the windes still Westerly.

The 4 of Nouember the Desire and the Content, wherein were the number of* Englishmen onely liuing, beating vp and downe vpon the headland of California, which standeth in 23 degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$ to the Northward, betweene seuen and 8 of the clocke in the morning one of the company of our Admirall which was the trumpeter of the ship going vp into the top espied a sayle bearing in from the sea with the cape, whereupon hee cryed out with no small ioy to himselfe and the whole company, A sayle, a sayle, with which cheerefull word the master of the ship and diuers others of the company went also vp into the maine top, who perceiuing the speech to be very true gaue information vnto our Generall of these happy newes, who was no lesse glad then the cause required : whereupon he gaue in charge presently vnto the whole company to put all things in readines, whtch being performed we gaue them chase some 3 or 4 houres, standing with our best aduantage and working for the winde. In the afternoone we gat vp vnto them, giuing them the broad side with our great ordinance and a volee of small shot, and presently layed the ship aboord, whereof the king of Spaine was owner, which was Admiral of the south sea, called the S. Anna, and thought to bee 700 tunnes in burthen. Now as we were ready on their ships side to enter her, being not past 50 or 60 men at the vttermost in our ship, we perceiued that the Captaine of the said ship had made fights fore and after, and layd their sailes close on their poope, their mid ship, with their fore castle, and hauing not one man to be seene, stood close vnder their fights, with lances, iauelings, rapiers, and targets, and an innumerable sort of great stones, which they threw ouerboord vpon our heads and into our ship so fast and being so many of them, that they put vs off the shippe againe, with the losse of 2 of our men which were slaine, and with the hurting of 4 or 5. But for all this we new trimmed our sailes, and fitted euery man his furniture, and gaue them a fresh encounter with our great ordinance and also with our small shot, raking them through and through, to the killing and maiming of many of their men. Their Captaine still like a valiant man with his company stood very stoutly vnto his close

California in 23 degrees and two thirds.

The fight betweene the great S. Anna and vs.

The second encounter.

---

* Blank in original.

fights, not yeelding as yet: Our General encouraging his men a fresh with the whole noyse of trumpets gaue them the third encounter with our great ordinance and all our small shot to the great discomforting of our enemies raking them through in diuers places, killing and spoiling many of their men. They being thus discomforted and spoiled, and their shippe being in hazard of sinking by reason of the great shot which were made, wherof some were vnder water, within 5 or 6 houres fight set out a flagge of truce and parled for mercy, desiring our Generall to saue their liues and to take their goods, and that they would presently yeeld. Our Generall of his goodnes promised them mercy, and willed them to strike their sayles, and to hoyse out their boate and to come aboord: which newes they were full glad to heare of, and presently strooke their sailes, hoysed their boat out, and one of their cheife marchants came aboord vnto our Generall and falling downe vpon his knees, offered to haue kissed our Generals feete, and crauied mercie: our General most graciously pardoned both him and the rest vpon promise of their true dealing with him and his company concerning such riches as were in the shippe: and sent for the Captaine and their pilote, who at their comming vsed the like duetie and reuerance as the former did.

The third encounter.

The great S. Anne yeeldeth.

The General of his great mercy and humanitie, promised their liues and good vsage. The sayd Captaine and Pilote presently certified the Generall what goods they had within boord, to wit, an hundreth and 22 thousand pezos of golde: and the rest of the riches that the ship was laden with, was in silkes, sattens, damasks, with muske and diuers other marchandize, and great store of al maner of victuals with the choyse of many conserues of all sortes for to eate, and of sundry sorts of very good wines. These things being made knowne to the Generall by the aforesaide Captaine and Pilote, they were commanded to stay aboord the Desire, and on the 6 day of Nouember following wee went into an harbour which is called by the Spaniards, Aguada Segura, or Puerto Segura.

One hundreth and two and twenty thousand pezos of gold. A pezo is 8s.

The marchandise in the great ship.

Here the whole company of the Spaniardes, both men and women to the number of 190 persons were set on shore: where they had a fayre riuer of fresh water, with great store of fresh fish, foule, and wood, and also many hares and conies vpon the maine land.

The Spaniardes set on shore to the number of 190.

Our generall also gaue them great store of victuals, of garuansos, peason, and some wine. Also they had all the sailes of their shippe to make them tents on shore, with licence to take such store of plankes as should bee sufficient to make them a barke. Then we fell to hoysing in of our goods, sharing of the treasure, and alotting to euery man his portion. In diuision whereof the eight of this moneth, many of the company fell into a mutinie against our Generall, especially those which were in the Content, which neuerthelesse were after a sort pacified for a time.

Mutinie against the Generall.

On the 17 day of Nouember, which is the day of the happy Coronation of her Maiestie, our Generall commanded all his ordinance to be shot off, with the small shot both in his owne shippe where himselfe went, and also in the Content, which was our Vice-admirall. This being done, the same night we had many fireworkes and more ordinance discharged, to the great admiration of all the Spaniards which were there: for the most part of them had neuer seene the like before.

This ended, our Generall discharged the Captaine, gaue him a royall reward, with prouision for the defence against the Indians and his company, both of swords, targets, pieces, shot and powder to his great contentment: but before his departure, he tooke out of this great shippe two yong lads borne in Iapon, which could both wright and reade their owne language, the eldest being about 20 yeers olde was named Christopher, the other was called Cosmus, about 17 yeeres of age, both of very good capacitie. He tooke also with him out of their ship, 3 boyes borne in the isles of Manilla, the one about 15, the other about 13, and the yongest about 9 yeeres old. The name of the eldest was Alphonso, the second Anthony de Dasi, the third remaineth with the right honourable the Countesse of Essex. He also tooke from them, one Nicholas Roderigo a Portugall, who hath not onely bene in Canton and other parts of China, but also in the islands of Iapon being a countrey most rich in siluer mynes, and hath also bene in the Philippinas.

Two boys of Iapon.

Three boys of Manilla.

Nicholas Roderigo, a Portugall.

Hee tooke also from them a Spaniard whose name was Thomas de Ersola, which was a very good Pilote from Acapulco and the coast of Nueua Espanna vnto the Islands of Ladrones, where the Spaniardes doe put

A Spanish Pilote.

Acapulco is the hauen whence they set foorth to the Philippinas.

Good watering at the Ladrones.

The winde Eastnortheast.

in to water, sayling betweene Acapulco and the Philippinas: in which isles of Ladrones, they finde fresh water, plantans, and potato rootes: howbeit the people be very rude and heathens. The 19 day of Nouember aforesaid, about 3 of the clock in the afternoone, our General caused the kings shippe to be set on fire, which hauing to the quantitie of 500 tunnes of goods in her we saw burnt vnto the water, and then gaue them a piece of ordinance and set sayle ioyfully homewards towards England with a fayre winde, which by this time was come about to Eastnortheast: and night growing neere, we left the Content a sterne of vs, which was not as yet come out of the road. And here thinking she would haue ouertaken vs, we lost her companie and neuer saw her after. Wee were sayling from this hauen of Aguada Segura in California vnto the iles of Ladrones the rest of Nouember, and all December, and so forth vntil the 3 of Januarie 1588, with a faire winde for the space 45 dayes: and we esteemed it to be between 17 and 18 hundred leagues.

The Content whereof Steuen Hare was master, left behind in the road.

The island of Guana one of the Ladrones in 13 degrees and two-thirds.

Commodities of the isles of Ladrones.

The 3 day of Ianuary by sixe of the clocke in the morning wee had sight of one of the islands of Ladrones called the island of Guana, standing in 13 degrees $\frac{2}{3}$ toward the North, an sayling with a gentle gale before the winde by 1 or 2 of the clocke in the afternoone, wee were come vp within 2 leagues of the island, where we met with 60 or 70 sailes of canoas full of Sauages, who came off to sea vnto vs, and brought with them in their plantans, cocos, potato rootes, and fresh fish, which they had caught at sea, and helde them vp vnto vs for to truck or exchange with vs; which when we perceiued, we made fast litle pieces of old iron vpon small cords and fishing lines, and so vered the iron vnto their canoas, and they caught hold of them and tooke off the iron, and in exchange of it they would make fast vnto the same line either a potato roote, or a bundle of plantans, which we haled in: and thus our company exchanged with them vntil they had satisfied themselues with as much as did content them: yet we could not be rid of them. For afterward they were so thicke about the ship, that it stemmed and brake 1 or 2 of their canoas: but the men saued themselues being in euery canoa 4, 6, or 8 persons all naked and excellent swimmers and diuers. They are of a tawny colour and marueilous fat, and bigger ordinarily of stature then the most part of our men in England, wearing their haire marueilous long: yet some of them haue it made vp and tyed with a knot on the crowne, and some with 2 knots, much like vnto their images which wee saw them haue carued in wood, and standing in the head of their boates like vnto the images of the deuill. Their canoas were as artificially made as any that euer wee had seene: considering they were made and contriued without any edge-toole. They are not aboue halfe a yard in bredth and in length some seuen or eight yardes, and their heades and sternes are both alike, they are made out with raftes of canes and reedes on the starrebordside, with maste and sayle: their sayle is made of mattes of sedges, square or triangle wise: and they saile as well right against the winde, as before the winde: These Sauages followed vs so long, that we could not be ridde of them: vntil in the end our General commanded some halfe dozen harquebuzes to be made ready; and himselfe strooke one of them and the rest shot at them: but they were so yare and nimble, that we could not discerne whether they were killed or no, because they could fall backward into the sea, and preuent vs by diuing.

The colour and stature of the people of the isles of Ladrones.

Their images. Artificial canoas.

Canoas sayling right against the winde.

The nimblenes of the people of the Ladrones.

The 14 day of Ianuary lying at hull with our ship all the middle watch, from 12 at night vntil foure in the morning, by the breake of day wee fell with an headland of the isles of the Philippinas, which is called Cabo del Spirito Santo which is of very great bignes and length, high land in the middest of it, and very low land as the Cape lyeth East and West, trending farre into the sea to the westward. This cape or island is distant from the ile of Guana, one of the Ladrones, 310 leagues. We were in sayling of this course eleuen dayes with skant windes and some foule weather, bearing no sayle two or three nights. This island standeth in 13 degrees, and is a place much peopled with heathen people, and all woodie through the whole land: and it is short of the chiefest island of the Philippinas called Manilla about 60 leagues. Manilla is well planted and

Cabo del Spirito Santo, one of the isles of the Philippinas in 13 degrees.

From Guana an isle of The Ladrones to Cabo del Spirito Santo is 310 leagues.

The description of the town of Manilla.

Trade from Acapulco to Manilla.

Marchants of China.

Marchants called Sanguelos.

Siluer exchanged waight for waight for golde.

inhabited with Spaniards to the number of sixe or seuen hundred persons: which dwell in a towne vnwalled, which hath 3 or 4 small blocke houses, part made of wood, and part of stone beeing indeede of no great strength: they haue one or two small Gallies belong to the towne. It is a very rich place of golde and many other commodities; and they haue yeerely trafficke from Acapulco in Nueua Espanna, and also 20 or 30 shippes from China and from the Sanguelos, which bring them many sorts of marchandize. The marchants of China and the Sanguelos are part Moores and part heathen people. They bring great store of gold with them, which they trafficke and exchange for siluer, and giue waight for waight. These Sanguelos are men of marueilous capacitie in deuising and making all maner of things, especially in all handie craftes and sciences: and euery one is so expert, perfect, and skilfull in his facultie, as fewe or no Christians are able to goe beyond them in that which they take in hand. For drawing and imbrodering vpon satten, silck, or lawne, either beaste, fowle, fish or worme, for liuelines and perfectnes, both in silke, siluer, gold, and pearle, they excell. Also the 14 day at night wee entred the streights betweene the island of Luçon, and the island of Camlaia.

The island of Capul at which our men stayed 9 dayes.

The fifteenth of Ianuary wee fell with an island called Capul, and had betwixt the sayd island and another island but an narrowe passage, and a marueilous rippling of a very great tyde with a ledge of rockes lying off the poynt of the island of Capul: and no danger but water ynough a fayre bredth off: and within the point a fayre bay and a very good harborough in foure fathomes water hard aboord the shore within a cables length. About 10 of the clocke in the morning wee came to an anker.

One of the chiefe gouernours of the island came aboord vs.

Our shippe was no sooner come to an anker, but presently there came a canoa rowing aboord vs, wherein was one of the chiefe Casiques of the island whereof there be seuen, who supposing that we were Spaniardes, brought vs potato rootes, which they call camotas, and greene cocos, in exchange whereof we gaue his company pieces of linnen to the quantitie of a yard for foure Cocos, and as much linnen for a basket of potato rootes of a quart in quantitie; which rootes are very good meat, and excellent sweete either rosted or boyled.

This Casiques skinne was carued and cut with sundry and many strakes and deuises all ouer his body. We kept him still aboord and caused him to send those men which brought him aboord backe to the island to cause the rest of the principals to come aboord: who were no sooner gone on shore, but presently the people of the island came downe with their cocos and potato rootes, and the rest of the principals likewise came aboord and brought with them hennes and hogges: and they vsed the same order with vs which they doe with the Spaniardes. For they tooke for euery hog (which they cal Balboye) eight rials of plate, and for euery henne or cocke one riall of plate. Thus we rode at anker all that day, doing nothing but buying rootes, cocos, hennes, hogges, and such things as they brought, refreshing our selues marueilously well.

Hennes and hogges.

The treason of the Spanish Pilote reuealed. The copy of the Spanish Pilotes letter to the gouernour of Manilla, which was found in his cheste, and translated by Timothy Shotton.

The same day at night beeing the fifteenth of Ianuary 1588, Nicolas Roderigo the Portugal, whom we tooke out of the great Santa Anna at the Cape of California, desired to speake with our General in secret: which when our General vnderstood, he sent for him, and asked him what he had to say vnto him. The Portugal made him this answer, that although he had offended his worship heretofore, yet nowe hee had vowed his faith and true seruice vnto him, and in respect thereof neither could nor would conceal such treason as was in working against him and his company: and that was this. That the Spaniard which was taken out of the great sant Anna for a Pilote, whose name was Thomas de Ersola, had written a letter, and secretly sealed it and locked it vp in his cheste, meaning to conuey it by the inhabitants of this island to Manilla, the contents whereof were: That there had bene two English ships along the coast of Chili, Peru, Nueua Espanna, and Nueua Galicia, and that they had taken many shippes and marchandize in them, and burnt diuers townes, and spoiled all that euer they could come vnto, and that they had taken the kings ship which came from Manilla and all his treasure, with all the marchandize that was therein; and had set all the people on shore, taking himselfe away perforce. Therefore he willed them that they should make strong their bulwarks with their two Gallies, and all such prouision as they could possibly make. He farther signified, that wee were riding at an island called Capul. which was at the end of the island of Manilla, being but one shippe with small force in it, and that the other ship, as he supposed, was gone for the North-west passage, standing in 55 degrees: and that if they could use any meanes to surprize vs being there at an anker, they should dispatch it: for our force was but small, and our men but weake, and that the place where we roade was but 50 leagues from them. Otherwise if they let vs escape, within fewe yeeres they must make account to haue their towne besieged and sacked with an armie of English. This information being giuen, our Generall called for him, and charged him with these things, which at the first he vtterely denyed: but in the ende, the matter being made manifest and knowen of certaintie by especiall tryall and proofes, the next morning our General willed that he should be hanged which was accordingly performed the 16 of Ianuary.

Capul adioyning vpon the South isle of Manilla.

The North-west passage.

50 leagues from Manilla.

The Spanish Pilote hanged for his treacherie.

We roade for the space of nine dayes about this of Capul, where we had diuerse kindes of fresh victuals, with excellent fresh water in euery bay, and great store of wood. The people of this island go almost all naked and are tawny of colour. The men weare onely a stroope about their wastes, of some kinde of linnen of their owne weauing, which is made of plantan leaues, and another stroope comming from their backe vnder their twistes which couereth their priuie parts, and is made fast to their girdles at their nauels.

The maner of the people of Capul.

These people vse a strange kind of order among them, which is this. Euery man and man-childe among them hath a nayle of Tynne thrust quite through the head of his priuie part, being split in the lower ende and riuetted, and on the head of the nayle is as it were a crowe: which is driuen through their priuities when they be yong, and the place groweth vp againe, without any paine to the child: and they take this nayle out and in, as occasion serueth: and for the truth thereof we our selues haue taken one of these nailes from a sonne of one of the kings which was of the age of 10 yeeres, who did weare the same in his priuie member.

A strange thing.

This custome was granted at the request of the women of the countrey, who finding their men to be giuen to the fowle sinne of Sodomie, desired some remedie against that mischiefe, and obteined this before named of the magistrates. Moreoner all the males are circumcised, hauing the foreskinne of their flesh cut away. These people wholly worship the deuill, and often times haue conference with him, which appeareth vnto them in most vgly and monstrous shape.

Circumcision.

On the 23 day of Ianuary, our Generall M. Thomas Candish caused al the principals of this island, and of an hundred islands more, which he had made to pay tribute vnto him (which tribute was in hogges, hennes, potatoes and cocos,) to appeare before him, and made himselfe and his company knowne vnto them, that they were English men, and enemies to the Spaniardes: and thereupon spredde his Ensigne and sounded vp the drummes, which they much maruelled at: to conclude, they promised both themselues and all the islands thereabout to ayde him, whensoeuer hee shoulde come againe to ouercome the Spaniardes. Also our Generall gaue them, in token that wee were enemies to the Spaniardes, money backe againe for all their tribute which they had payed: which they tooke marueilous friendly, and rowed about our shippe to shewe vs pleasure marueilous swiftly: at the last our generall caused a saker to be shot off, whereat they wondered, and with great contentment tooke their leaues of vs.

The inhabitants of Capul with all the islands adioyning promise to ayde the English against the Spaniards.

The next day being the twentie foure of Ianuarie, wee sette sayle aboute sixe of the clock in the morning, and ran along the coast of the island of Manilla, shaping our course Northwest betweene the isle of Manilla, and the isle of Masbat.

Our departure from the island of Capul.

The isle of Masbat.

The 28 day in the morning about 7 of the clocke, riding at an anker betwixt 2 islands, wee spied a Frigat vnder her two coarses, comming out betweene 2 other islands, which as we imagined came from Manilla, sayling close aboord the shore along the maine island of Panama: we chased this frigat along the shore, and gat very fast vpon it, vntil in the end we came so neere that it stood in to the shore close by a winde, vntill shee was becalmed and was driuen to stricke her sayle, and banked vp with her oares: wherevpon we came vnto an anker with our ship, a league and an halfe from the place where the Frigate rowed in; and manned our boat with halfe a dozen shot and as many men with swords, which did row the

The island of Panama.

boat: thus we made after the Frigate which had hoysed saile and ran into a riuer, which we could not find. But as we rowed along the shore, our boate came into very shallow water, where many weares and sticks were set vp in diuers places in the sea, from whence 2 or 3 canoas came forth, whereof one made somewhat neere vnto vs, with 3 or 4 Indians in it: we called vnto them, but they would not come neerer vnto vs, but rowed from vs: whom wee durst not followe too farre for feare of bringing our selues to much to the leewarde of our ship. Here, as we looked about vs, we espied another Balsa or canoa of a great bignes which they which were in her, did set along as we do vsually set a barge with long staues or poles, which was builded vp with great canes, and below hard by the water made to row with oares; wherein were 5 or 6 Indians and one Spaniard: nowe as wee were come almost at the Balsa, wee ran a ground with our boate; but one or two of our men leaped ouer-boord and freed it againe presently, and keeping thwarte her head, we layed her aboord and tooke in to vs the Spaniard, but tne Indians leaped into the sea and diued and rose farre off againe from vs. Presently vpon the taking of this canoa, there shewed vpon the sand a band of souldiers marching with an ensigne hauing a red Crosse like a flagge of England, which were about 50 or 60 Spaniardes, which were lately come from Manilla to that towne which is called Ragaunin a Barke to fetch a new shippe of the kings, which was building in a riuer within the bay, and stayed there but for certain yrons that did serue for the rudder of the said ship, which they looked for euery day.

Markes of shallow water.

A Balsa is a great canoa.

A Spaniard of Manilla taken.

50 or 60 Spaniards shew themselues.

A newe shippe of the kings in building.

This band of men shot at vs from the shore with their muskets, but hyt none of vs, and wee shot at them againe: they also manned a Frigate and sent it out after our boat to haue taken vs, but we with saile and oares went from them: and when they perceiued that they could not fetch vs, but that they must come within danger of the ordinance of our ship, they stood in with the shore againe and landed their men, and presently sent their Frigate about the point, but whether we knew not. So we came aboord with this one Spaniard, which was neither souldier nor sayler, but one that was come among the rest from Manilla, and had bene in the

They manned out a Frigate after vs.

hospital there a long time before, and was a very simple soule, and such a one as could answere to very little that hee was asked, concerning the state of the countrey. Here wee roade at anker all that night, and perceiued that the Spaniards had dispersed their band into 2 or 3 parts, and kept great watch in seueral steedes with fires and shooting off their pieces. This island hath much plaine ground in it in many places, and many fayre and straight trees do grow vpon it, fit for to make excellent good mastes for all sorts of ships. There are also mynes of very fine gold in it which are in the custodie of the Indians. And to the South-ward of this place, there is another very great island, which is not subdued by the Spaniards, nor any other nation. The people which inhabite it are all Negros; and the island is called the island of Negros: and is almost as bigge as England, standing in 9 degrees: the most part of it seemeth to be very lowe land, and by all likelihood is very fruitfull.

An hospitall in Manilla.

Mynes of very fine gold in the Island of Panama.

The island of Negros in 9 degrees.

The 29 day of Ianuary aboute sixe of the clocke is the morning we set saile, sending our boate before vntil it was two of the clocke in the afternoone, passing all this time as it were through a strait betwixt the said 2 islands of Panama, and the island of Negros, and about 16 leagues off we espied a fayre opening, trending Southwest and by South, at which time our boate came aboord, and our Generall sent commendations to the Spanish captaine which wee came from the euening before by the Spaniard which we tooke, and willed him to prouide good store of gold: for he meant for to see him with his company at Manilla within fewe yeeres, and that he did but want a bigger boate to haue landed his men, or else hee would haue seene him then: and so caused him to be set on shore.

Their departure from the Philippinas.

The 8 day of February by 8 of the clocke in the morning we espied an island neere Gilolo, called Batochina, which standeth in one degree from the Equinoctial line Northward.

Batochina.

The 14 day of February we fell with 11 or 12 very small islands, lying very low and flat, full of trees, and passed by some islands which be suncke and haue the dry sands lying in the maine sea. These islands neere the Malucoes, stand in three degrees and 10 min. to the South-ward of the lyne.

10 or 12 small ylands in 3 degrees 10 min. to the Southward.

Islands in 4 degrees southward of the line.

The death of captaine Hauers.

On the 17 day, one Iohn Gameford a Cooper dyed, which had bene sicke of an olde disease a long time. The 20 day wee fell with certaine other islands which had many small islands among them, standing 4 degrees to the South-ward of the lyne. On the 21 day of Februarie, being Ashwednesday Captaine Hauers dyed of a most feruent and pestilent ague, which held him furiously some 7 or 8 dayes, to the no small griefe of our Generall and of all the rest of the company, who caused two Falcons and one Sacre to be shot off, with all the small shotte in the ship, who after he was shrowded in a sheete and a prayer sayd, was heued ouer bord with great lamentation of vs all. Moreouer, presently after his death my selfe with diuers others in the ship fell marueilously sicke, and so continued in very great paine for the space of three weekes or a moneth by reason of the extreeme heat and vntemperatnesse of the Climate.

March 1588. Our arriual at Iaua maior.

The Morisco or Arabian tongue common in Iaua

The first day of March hauing passed through the Straights of Iaua minor and Iaua maior, wee came to an ancker vnder the South west parts of Iaua maior: where wee espied certaine of the people which were fishing by the sea side in a bay which was vnder the yland. Then our Generall taking into the ship-boat certaine of his company, and a Negro which could speake the Morisco tongue, which hee had taken out of the great S. Anna, made toward those fishers, which hauing espied our boat ranne on shoare into the wood for feare of our men: but our Generall caused his Negro to call vnto them: who no sooner heard him call, but presently one of them came out to the shore side and made answere. Our Generall by the Negro enquired of him for fresh water, which they found, and caused the fisher to goe to the King and to certifie him of a shippe that was come to haue trafique for victuals, and for diamants, pearles, or any other riche iewels that hee had: for which he should haue either golde or other marchandise in exchange. The fisher answered that we should haue all maner of victuals that wee would request. Thus the boat came abord againe. Within a while after wee went about to furnish our shippe throughly with wood and water.

About the eighth of March two or three Canoas came from the towne vnto vs with egges, hennes, fresh fish, oranges, and lymes, and brought worde wee should haue had victuals more plentifully, but that they were so farre to bee brought to vs where wee ridde. Which when our Generall heard hee weighed ancker and stoode in neerer for the towne: and as wee were vnder saile wee mette with one of the kings canoas comming towarde vs: whereupon wee shoke the shippe in the winde and stayed for the canoa vntill it came abord of vs, and stoode into the bay which was hard by and came to an ancker. In this canoa was the Kings Secretarie, who had on his head a piece of died linen cloth folded vp like vnto a Turkes Tuliban: he was all naked sauing about his waste, his breast was carued with the broad arrowe vpon it; hee went barefooted: he had an interpretour with him, which was a Mestizo, that is, halfe an Indian and halfe a Portugall, who could speake very good Portugese. This Secretarie signified vnto our Generall that he had brought him an hogge, hennes, egges, fresh fish, sugar-canes and wine: (which wine was as strong as any aquauitæ, and as cleare as any rocke water:) he tolde him farther that hee would bring victuals so sufficiently for him, as hee and his company would request, and that within the space of foure dayes. Our Generall vsed him singularly well, banquetted him most royally with the choyce of many and sundry conserues, wines both sweete and other, and caused his Musitians to make him musicke. This done our Generall tolde him that hee and his company were Englishmen; and that wee had bene at China and had had trafique there with them, and that wee were come thither to discouer, and purposed to goe to Malaca. The people of Iaua tolde our Generall that there were certaine Portugals in the yland which lay there as Factours continually to trafique with them, to buy Negros, cloues, pepper, sugar, and many other commodities. This Secretarie of the King with his interpretour lay one night abord our shippe. The same night, because they lay abord, in the euening at the setting of the watch, our Generall commanded euery man in the shippe to prouide his harquebuze and his shotte, and so with shooting off 40. or 50. small shot and one Sacre, himselfe set the watch with them. This was no small marueile vnto these heathen people, who had not commonly seene any shippe so furnished with men and Ordinance. The next morning wee dismissed the Secretarie and his interpretour with all humanitie.

A King of Iaua his Secretary.

Niper wine.

Cloues, pepper, and many other commodities in Iaua maior.

The fourth day after, which was the 12. of March, acccording to their appointment came the Kings canoas; but the winde being somewhat skant they could not get abord that night, but put into a bay vnder the yland vntill the next day, and presently after the breake of day there came to the number of 9. or 10. of the Kings canoas so deepely laden with victuals as they could swim, with two great liue oxen, halfe a skore of wonderfull great and fat hogges, a number of hennes which were aliue, drakes, geese, eggs, plantans, sugar canes, sugar in plates, cocos, sweet oranges and sowre, lymes, great store of wine and aquauitæ, salt to season victuals withall, and almost all maner of victuals else, with diuers of the Kings officers which were there. Among all the rest of the people in one of these canoas came two Portugales, which were of middle stature, and men of marueilous proper personage; they were each of them in a loose ierkin, and hose, which came downe from the waste to the ancle, because of the vse of the Countrey, and partly because it was Lent, and a time for doing of their penance, (for they accompt it as a thing of great dislike among these heathens to weare either hose or shoes on their feete:) they had on ech of them a very faire and a white lawne shirt, with falling bands on the same, very decently, onely their bare legs excepted. These Portugales were no small ioy vnto our Generall and all the rest of our company: For we had not seene any Christian that was our friend of a yeere and an halfe before. Our Generall vsed and intreated them singularly well, with banquets and musicke: They told vs that they were no lesse glad to see vs, then wee to see them, and enquired of the estate of their countrey, and what was become of Don Antonio their King, and whether hee was liuing or no: for that they had not of long time bene in Portugall, and that the Spaniards had alwayes brought them worde that hee was dead. Then our Generall satisfied them in euery demaund; Assuring them, that their King was aliue, and in England, and had honourable allowance of our Queene, and that there was warre betweene Spaine and England, and that we were come vnder the King of Portugall into the South sea, and had warred vpon the Spaniards there, and had fired, spoiled, and sunke all the ships along the coast that we could meete withall, to the number of eighteene or twentie sailes. With this report they were sufficiently satisfied.

Nine or 10. of the Kings canoas.

Two Portugales in Iaua.

Enquirie of Don Antonie.

On the other side they declared vnto vs the state of the yland of Iaua. First the plentifulnes and great choise and store of victuals of all sorts, and of all maner of fruits as before is set downe: Then the great and rich marchandize which are there to be had. Then they described the properties and nature of the people as followeth. The name of the King of that part of the yland was Raia Bolamboam, who was a man had in great maiestie and feare among them. The common people may not bargaine, sell, or exchange any thing with any other nation without speciall licence from their king: and if any so doe, it is present death for him. The King himselfe is a man of great yeeres, and hath an hundred wiues, his sonne hath fiftie. The custome of the countrey is, that whensoeuer the king doeth die, they take the body so dead and burne it and preserue the ashes of him, and within fiue dayes next after, the wiues of the said king so dead, according to the custome and vse of their countrey, euery one of them goe togther to a place appointed, and the chiefe of the women, which was neerest vnto him in accompt, hath a ball in her hand and throweth it from her, and to the place where the ball resteth, thither they goe all, and turne their faces to the Eastward, and euery one with a dagger in their hand, (which dagger they call a Crise, and is as sharpe as a rasor) stab themselues to the heart, and with their hands all to bee-bath themselues in their owne blood, and falling grouelling on their faces so ende their dayes. This thing is as true as it seemeth to any hearer to be strang.

The state of Iaua.

Raia Bolamboam.

The wiues kill themselues after their husbands death.

A strange order.

The men of themselues be very politique and subtile, and singularly valiant, being naked men, in any action they vndertake, and wonderfully at commandement and feare of their king. For example: if their king command them to vndertake any exploit, be it neuer so dangerous or desperate, they dare not nor will not refuse it, though they die euery man in the execution of the same. For hee will cut off the heads of euery one of them which returne aliue without bringing of their purpose to passe: which is such a thing among them, as it maketh them the most valiant people in all the Southeast parts of the world: for they neuer feare any death. For being in fight with any nation, if any of them feeleth himselfe hurt with launce or sword, he will willingly runne himselfe vpon the weapon quite through his body to procure his death the more speedily, and in this desperate sort ende his dayes, or ouercome his enemie. Moreouer, although the men be tawny of colour and go continually naked, yet their women be faire of complexion and go more apparelled.

Faire women in Iaua.

After they had thus described the state of the yland, and the orders and facions of the people; they tolde vs farther, that if their king Don Antonio would come vnto them, they would warrant him to haue all the Malucos at commandement, besides China, Sangles, and the yles of the Philippinas, and that hee might be assured to haue all the Indians on his side that are in the countrey. After we had fully contented these Portugals, and the people of Iaua which brought vs victuals in their Canoas, they tooke their leane of vs with promise of good entertainement at our retnrnes, and our Generall gaue them three great pieces of Ordinance at their departing. Thus the next day being the 16. of March we set saile towards the Cape of good hope, called by the Portugals Cabo de buena Esperança on the Southermost coast of Africa.

Don Antonio might be receiued as King in the East Indies.

They depart from Iaua the 16 of March 1588.

The rest of March and all the moneth of April wee spent in trauersing that mightie and vaste sea, between the yle of Iaua and the maine of Africa, obseruing the heauens, the Crosier or South-pole, the other starres, the foules, which are markes vnto the Sea men of faire weather, foule weather, approching of lands or ylands, the winds, the tempests, the raines and thunders, with the alterations of tides and currents.

The 10. day of May we had a storme at the West, and it blew so hard that it was as much as the ship could stirre close by vnder the wind: and the storme continued al that day and al that night.

The next day being the 11. of May in the morning one of the company went into the top, and espied land bearing North, and North and by West off vs, and about noone wee espied land to beare West off vs, which as we did imagine was the cape of Buena Esperança, whereof indeed we were short some 40. or 50. leagues: and by reason of the skantnesse of the winde we stood along to the Southeast vntill midnight; at which time the winde came faire, and we haled along Westward.

The 12. and 13. dayes we were becalmed, and the sky was very hazie and thicke vntil the 14. day at three of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time the sky cleared, and we espied the land againe which was the cape called Cabo Falso, which is short of the Cape de buena Esperança 40 or 50 leagues. This Cape is very easie to be knowen. For there are right ouer it three very high hilles standing but a smal way one off another, and the hiest standeth in the middest, and the ground is much lower by the seaside. The Cape of Good hope beareth West and by South from the said Cabo Falso.

Cabo Falso.

The 16. day of May about 4. of the clocke in the afternoone the winde came vp at East a very stiffe gale, which helde vntill it was Saturday with as much winde as euer the ship could goe before: at which time by sixe of the clocke in the morning wee espied the promontorie or headland, called the Cape de Buena Esperança, which is a reasonable hie land, and at the Westermost point a little off the maine do shew two hammocks, the one vpon the other, and three other hammocks lying further off into the sea, yet low land betweene and adioyning vnto the sea.

They double the Cape de Bona Speranaza.

This cape of Buena Esperança is set down and accompted for two thousand leagues from the yland of Iaua in the Portugall sea carts: but it is not so much almost by an hundred and fiftie leagues, as we found by the running of our ship. We were in running of these eighteene hundred and fiftie leagues iust nine weekes.

From Iaua to the Cape of Bona Speranza is but 1850 leagues.

The eight day of Iune by breake of day we fel in sight of the yland of S. Helena, seuen or eight leagues short of it, hauing but a small gale of winde, or almost none at all: insomuch as we could not get vnto it that day, but stood off and on all that night.

Iune 1588.

The next day being the 9. of Iune hauing a pretie easie gale of wind we stood in with the shore, our boat being sent away before to make the harborough; and about one of the clocke in the afternoone we came vnto an ancker in 12 fathoms water two or three cables length from the shore, in a very faire and smooth bay vnder the Northwest side of the yland.

They anker at the yland of S. Helena the 9. of Iune.

This yland is very high land, and lieth in the maine sea standing as it were in the middest of the sea betweene the maine land of Africa, and the maine of Brasilia and the coast of Guinea: And is in 15. degrees and 48. minuts to the Southward of the Equinoctiall line,

S. Helena is in the latitude of 15. degrees 48. min. to the Southward.

and is distant from the Cape of Buena Esperança betweene 5. and 6. hundreth leagues.

The same day about two or three of the clocke in the afternoone wee went on shore, where wee found a marueilous faire and pleasant valley, wherein diuers handsome buildings and houses were set vp, and especially one which was a Church, which was tyled and whited on the outside very faire, and made with a porch, and within the Church at the vpper end was set an altar, whereon stood a very large table set in a frame hauing in it the picture of our Saviour CHRIST vpon the Crosse and the image of our Lady praying, with diuers other histories curiously painted in the same. The sides of the Church were all hanged with stained clothes hauing many deuises drawen in them.

There are two houses adioyning to the Church, on each side one, which serue for kitchins to dresse meate in with necessary roomes and houses of office: the couerings of the said houses are made flat, whereon is planted a very faire vine, and through both the saide houses runneth a very good and holsome streame of fresh water.

There is also right ouer against the saide Church a faire causey made up with stones reaching vnto a valley by the sea-side, in which valley is planted a garden, wherein grow great store of pompions and melons: And vpon the saide causey is a frame erected whereon hange two bells wherewith they ring to Masse; and hard vnto it is a Crosse set vp, which is squared, framed and made very artificially of free stone, whereon is carued in cyphers what time it was builded, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1571.

This valley is the fairest and largest lowe plot in all the yland, and it is marveilous sweete and pleasant, and planted in euery place either with fruite trees, or with herbes. There are fig trees, which bear fruit continually, and marueilous plentifully: for on euery tree you shal haue blossoms, greene figs, and ripe fiigs, all at ones: and it is so all the yere long: the reason is that the yland standeth so neere the Sunne. There be also great store of lymon trees, orange trees, pomegranate trees, pomecitron trees, date trees, which beare fruite as the fig trees do, and are planted carefully and very artificially with very pleasant walkes vnder and between them, and the said walkes bee ouershadowed with the leaues of the trees: and in euery voyde place is planted parceley, sorell, basill, fenell,

The great store of diuers excellent fruits in S. Helena.

annis seede, mustard seede, radishes, and many speciall good hearbes : and the fresh water brook runneth through diuers places of this orchard, and may with very small paines be made to water any one tree in the valley.

This fresh water streame commeth from the tops of the mountaines, and falleth from the cliffe into the valley the height of a cable, and hath many armes out of it, which refresh the whole yland, and almost euery tree in it. The yland is altogether high mountaines and steepe valleis, except it be in the tops of some hilles, and downe below in some of the valleis, where marueilous store of all these kinds of fruits before spoken of do grow : there is greater store growing in the tops of the mountaines then below in the valleis : but it is wonderfull laboursome and also dangerous traueiling vp vnto them and downe againe, by reason of the height and steepenesse of the hilles.

Abundance of partridges in S. Helena.

There is also vpon this yland great store of partidges, which are very tame, not making any great hast to flie away though one come very neere them, but onely to runne away, and get vp into the steepe cliffes : we killed some of them with a fowling piece. They differ very much from our partridges which are in England both in bignesse and also in colour. For they be within a little as bigge as an henne, and are of an ashe colour, and liue in couies twelue, sixteen, and twentie together : you cannot go ten or twelue score but you shall see or spring one or two couies at the least.

Great store of fesants.

There are likewise no lesse store of fesants in the yland, which are also marueilous bigge and fat, surpassing those which are in our countrey in bignesse and in numbers of a company. They differ not very much in colour from the partridges before spoken of.

Turkies in great quantitie.

Wee found moreouer in this place great store of Guinie cocks, which we call Turkies, of colour blacke and white, with red heads : they are much about the same bignesse which ours be of in England : their egges be white, and as bigge as a Turkies egge.

Exceeding numbers of goats.

There are in this yland thousands of goates, which the Spaniards call Cabritos, which are very wilde : you shall see one or two hundred of them together, and sometimes yon may beholde them going in a flocke almost a mile long. Some of them, (whether it be the nature of the breed of them, or of the countrey I wot not) are as big as an asse, with a maine like an horse and a beard hanging downe to the very ground : they wil clime vp the cliffes which are so steepe that a man would thinke it a thing vnpossible for any liuing thing to goe there. We tooke and killed many of them for all their swiftnes: for there be thousands of them vpon the mountaines.

Plentie of swine.

Here are in like maner great store swine which be very wilde and very fat, and of a maruellous bignes: they keepe altogether vpon the mountaines, and will very seldome abide any man to come neere them, except it be by meere chance when they be found asleepe, or otherwise, according to their kinde, be taken layed in the mire.

We found in the houses at our comming 3. slaues which were Negros, and one which was borne in the yland of Iaua, which tolde vs that the East Indian fleete, which were in number 5. sailes, the least whereof were in burthen 8. or 900. tunnes, all laden with spices and Calicut cloth, with store of treasure and very rich stones and pearles, were gone from the saide yland of S. Helena but 20. dayes before we came thither.

This yland hath bene found of long time by the Portugals, and hath bene altogether planted by them, for their refreshing as they come from the East Indies. And when they come they haue all things plentiful for their reliefe, by reason that they suffer none to inhabit there that might spend vp the fruit of the yland, except some very few sicke persons in their company, which they stand in doubt will not liue vntill they come home, whom they leaue there to refresh themselues, and take away the yeere following the other Fleete if they liue so long. They touch here rather in their comming home from the East Indies, then at their going thither, because they are throughly furnished with corne when they set out of Portugal, but are but meanely victualled at their comming from the Indies, where there groweth little corne.

Our departure from S. Helena.

The 20. day of Iune hauing taken in wood and water and refreshed our selues with such things as we found there, and made cleane our ship, we set saile about 8. of the clocke in the night toward England. At our setting saile wee had the winde at Southeast, and we haled away Northwest and by west. The winde is commonly off the shore at this yland of S. Helena.

Iuly 1588.

On Wednesday being the thirde day of Iuly we went away Northwest the winde being still at Southeast; at which time we were in 1. degree and 48. minuts to the Southward of the Equinoctial line.

The twelfth day of the said moneth of Iuly it was very little winde, and toward night it was calme and blew no winde at all, and so continued vntill it was Munday being the 15. day of Iuly.

On Wednesday the 17. day of the abouesaid moneth wee had the winde skant at West northwest. Wee found the wind continually to blow at East, and Northeast, and Eastnortheast after we were in 3. or 4. degrees to the Northward; and it altered not vntill we came betweene 30. and 40. degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctial Line.

On Wednesday the 21. day of August the wind came vp at Southwest a faire gale: by which day at noone we were in 38. degrees of Northerly latitude.

On Friday in the morning being the 23. day of August, at foure of the clocke we haled East, and East and by South for the Northermost ylands of the Açores.

Coruo and Flores, two ylands of the Azores.

On Saturday the 24. day of the said moneth by 5. of the clocke in the morning we fel in sight of the two ylands of Flores and Coruo, standing in 39. degrees and ½, and sailed away Northeast.

The third of September we met with a Flemish hulke which came from Lisbone, and declared vnto vs the ouerthrowing of the Spanish Fleete, to the singuler reioycing and comfort of vs all.

The 9. of September, after a terrible tempest which carried away most part of our sailes, by the mercifull fauour of the Almightie we recouered our long wished port of Plimmouth in England, from whence we set foorth at the beginning of our voyage.

Certaine rare and special notes most properly belonging to the voyage of M. Thomas Candish next before described; concerning the heights, soundings, lyings of lands, distances of places, the variation of the Compasse, the iust length of time spent in sayling betweene diuers places, and their abode in them, as also the places of their harbour and anckering, and the depths of the same, with the obseruation of the windes on seuerall coastes. Written

by M. Thomas Fuller of Ipswich, who was Master in The desire of M. Thomas Candlish in his foresaid prosperous voyage about the world.

A note of the heights of certaine places on the coast of Barbarie.

INprimis Cape Cantin standeth in the latitude of	32. degr. 4. min.
Item the yland of Mogador standeth in	31. degr. 30. min.
Item Cape d’oro standeth in	30. degr. 20. min.
Item the ylands of the Canaries about	28. degr.
Item Cape Bojador standeth in	27. degr. 30. min.
Item Cape Verde standeth in	14. degr. 30. min.
Item the Cape of Sierra Liona in	8. degr.
Item an yland called Ilha Verde in	7. degr. 30. min.

A note of the heights of certaine places from the coast of Brasill to the South sea.

INprimis Cape Frio standeth in the latitude of	23. degr. 30. min.
Item the yland of S. Sebastian in	24. degr.
Item Port desire standeth in	47. degr. 50. min.
Item Seales bay standeth in	48. degr. 20. min.
Item Port S. Iulian standeth in	50. degr.
Item The white riuer standeth in	50. degr. 30. min.
Item Cape Ioy standeth in	52. degr. 40. min.
Item Port famine within the Straights of Magellan standeth in	53. degr. 50. min.
Item Cape froward within the Straights of Magellan standeth in	54. degr. 15. min.
Item Cape desire in the entring into the South sea standeth in	53. degr. 10. min.

A note of the heights of certaine places on the coast of Chili and Peru in the South sea.

INprimis the yland of Mocha standeth in the latitude of	38. degr. 30. min.
Item the yland of S. Mary in	37. degr. 15. min.

Item the bay of * Valpares in	33. degr. 40. min.
Item the bay of Quintero in	33. degr. 20. min.
Item Coquimbo in	29. degr. 30. min.
Item Morro moreno in	23. degr. 20. min.
Item Arica standeth in	18. degr. 30. min.
Item the bay of Pisca standeth in	13. degr. 30. min.
Item the bay of Lima standeth in	11. degr. 50. min.
Item Santos standeth in	9. degr. 20. min.
Item the bay of Cherrepe in	6. degr. 30. min.
Item the bay of Paita in	5. degr; 4. min.
Item the yland of Puna, in	2. degr. 50. min.
Item Cape Sant Francisco to the North of the Equinoctiall, in	1 degr.

A note of the height of certaine places to the Northwards of the Equinoctiall line, on the coast of New Spaine.

INprimis, Panama standeth in the latitude of	9. degres.
Item the yland called Isla de Canoas in	9. degr. 10. min.
Item Cape Blanco, in	10. degr. 10. min.
Item Rio Lexo, in	12. degr. 40. min.
Item † Aguatulco, in	15. degr. 50. min.
Item, Acapulco in	17. degr. 20. min.
Item Sant Iago, in	18. degr. 50. min.
Item Cape de los Corrientos in	20. degr. 30. min.
Item the bay of Xalisco, in	21. degr. 30. min.
Item the ylands of the ‡ Maries, in	21. degr. 20. min.
Item the yland of Saint Andrew, in	22. degr.
Item the ylands of Ciametlan, in	23. degr. 40. min.
Item, that the Cape of Santa Clara on the point of California is in	23. degrees.

A note of the heights of certaine places beginning from the ylands of the Ladrones and passing by the Philippinas, the Malucos, Iaua minor, Iaua maior, the Cape of Bona Sperança, and the yle of Santa Helena.

INprim. one of the ylands of the Ladrones called Guana standeth in	13. degr. 50. min.

---

* *Marginal note.*—Valparizo.

† *Marginal note.*—Or, Guatulco.

‡ *Marginal note.*—Las tres Marias.

Item Cape De Spirito Santo on the yle of Luçon Standeth in	13. degr.	
Item the yland of Capul in . . .	12. degr.	30. min.
Item that the yland of Seboyon standeth in	12. degr.	
Item that the Easterly end of the yland of * Pannay is in	11. degr.	
Item that the opening betweene the South head of Pannay and the south head of Isla de los Negros is in . .	10. degr.	10. min.
Item that the South-head of Isla de los Negros is in	9. degr.	10. min.
Item that the North-head of the yland Mindanao is in	7. degr.	50. min.
Item the South head of Mindanao called Cape Cannel is in	6. degr.	40. min.
Item the Cape of Batochina is in . .		10. min.
† Item that 12. small ylands stand in .	3. degr.	
Item the latitude of two other ylands is in	4. degr.	10. min.
Item the Westerly head of Iaua minor is towards the South in . . .	8. degr.	30. min.
Item the Easterly head of Iaua maior is towards the South in . . .	8. degr.	20. min.
Item Malaca standeth to the Northward in	2. degr.	
Item Cape Falso on the promontory of Africa, standeth in	34. degr.	20. min.
Item the Cape of Bona Sperança standeth in . . . . . - . .	34. degr.	40. min.
Item the yland of Santa Helena standeth in	15. degr.	40. min.
Item the Cape of S. Augustine standeth Southwards in	8. degr.	40. min.

Soundings on the Coast of Barbarie from Rio del Oro vnto Cape Blanco.

INprimis about 3. leagues off Rio del Oro you shall haue very faire shoulding, fine white sand 18. fathoms, and so alongst vnto Cape Blanco two or three leagues off the shore you shall haue 18. and 20. fathoms. And when you come within one league of the Cape you shall haue twelue or thirteene fathoms,

---

* *Marginal note.*—Or Panuma.

† *Marginal note.*—To the Southwards of the Line.

browne sand, very faire shoulding. And if you will hall in with Cape Blanco, beware you come not within seuen or eight fathoms of the Cape: for there lyeth a sand off the Cape.

Also about 7. or eight leagues off the Cape lyeth a long should next hand Southwest and by South off the Cape.

Soundings on the coast of Guiny.

ITem, Going vnto Sierra Leona, hauing the cape Eastnortheast off you, 7. leagues off you shall haue 22 fadome browne sand. And halling in you shall finde very faire shoalding. You may be bold to borrow on the Southermost: but take heed of a rocke that lyeth in the faire way a good birth off the shore, but there is no feare of it: for it lieth aboue the water, and is distant two miles off the South shore.

Item, you may be bolde to borrow hard by the rocks; for on the North side going in there lieth one long sand which runneth Southeast and Northwest, and lieth distant from the South shore 2 leagues. And you shall anker in 14 or 15 fadoms hard by the shore.

Also going vnto the island called Ilha Verde, the which iland lieth 10 leagues to the Southward of Sierra Leona, the course is Southsouthwest, and Northnortheast: and you shall haue betweene them 9 or 10 fadome. And if you will anker at the sayd iland, you shall haue 5 or 6 fadome hard by the shore.

Also you must haue especiall care of a great current that setteth alongst the coast of Guiny to the Eastward.

Item, And if you be bound vnto the Southwards, you must go Westsouthwest off, for feare of the shoald that is called Madera Bomba, the which shoald is to the Southwards of the iland.

Soundings on the coast of Brasil.

ITem, Vnto the Northwards of Cape Frio, the cape bearing southwest off you, about 17 or 18 leagues off you shall haue 45 fadoms streamy ground: and running Southwest, you shall find 32 fadoms blacke sand: and then running Westsouthwest into a deepe bay, which lieth tenne leagues to the Northward of the cape, you shall haue 22 fadoms oaze: that depth you shall haue all alongst, except you be farre into the bay; and then you shall haue 16 fadoms all oazie.

Item, To the Northwards of Cape Frio, about 6 or 7 leagues, you shall haue many small islands.

Item, To the Northwards of the cape 6. leagues, you shall haue two small islands one mile distant the one from the other, and they are distant from the maine fiue leagues. And betweene those ilands and the cape you shall haue very many islands hard aboord the maine.

Item, The cape bearing West two leagues off, you shall haue 55 fadoms oaze. Also you shall know when you are shot about the cape vnto the Southwards, by deeping of the water.

Also if you will go for S. Sebastian from the cape, you must go West and South, and Westsouthwest among. And the distance from the cape vnto S. Sebastian is 50 leagues. And being shot into the bay anything near the shore, you shall have 24 fadoms all oazie.

And halling in for S. Sebastian, you shall know it by two little islands which be round: and those ilands lie from the iland of S. Sebastian next hand East and by South; and are distant the one from the other about foure leagues.

Also off the Southermost end of S. Sebastian, there lieth one iland about 6 leagues off; which island is called the Alcatrarza, and there lie foure little islands about it. Also you may know it by the trending of the land vnto the Southwards.

Item, If you will go in at the Nothermost end of S. Sebastian, you must take heed of a sand that lies on the Northeast part of the island: but you may be bolde to borrow on the iland: for the sand lieth on the maine side. Also you may anker on the Nothermost part of the iland in tenne fadoms; and the maine is distant from you where you shall ride two leagues off.

Item, if you will come in at the Southermost end of the iland of S. Sebastian, your course from the Alcatrarza is Southwest and Northeast, and their distance is 6 leagues the one from the other.

Item, Vnto the Southwards of the riuer of Plate, being in the latitude of 45 degrees and 60 leagues off the maine, you shall haue shoalding in 60 fadoms or 65 fadoms oazie sand: and then halling in for the shore Westsouthwest 16 leagues, you shall haue 50 fadoms oaze, and you shall haue faire shoalding all along.

Item, In the latitude of 47⅓ you shall see about one mile in length, not passing one league off the shore, a ledge of broken gronnd, but no danger. Also you shall haue very faire shoalding all along the coast; and the land lying South and North vntill you come vnto port Desire, which standeth in 48 degrees.

Item, If you will go into port Desire, on the North side there lieth one ledge of rocks about a league distant from the shore Also on the North side at the mouth of the harborow, there lie a couple of rocks, which are at halfe flood vnder water: but be holde to borrow on the Southermost shore; for there is no danger; and you shall haue no lesse than 6 fadoms water at low water, the harborow lying East and West. Also you may know the harborow by one little iland that lieth Southeast off the mouth of the harborow, and it is distant 4 leagues. Furthermore you may know the harborow by an high rocke that standeth on the South side; and this rocke is very much like a watch tower. Also if you be any thing in, you may anker in 5 fadoms at a low water.

Item, It floweth there South and North, and higheth at spring tides 3 fadoms and an halfe water; and in the offing the flood setteth to the Northward.

Item, In the latitude of 48 degrees 50 minuts you shall haue 44 fadoms blacke sand about 5 leagues off: and about 3 leagues off you shall haue 25 fadoms, and great shingle stones.

Item, In the latitude of 49 degrees ½ you shall haue sounding in 38 fadoms oazie sand.

Item, In the latitude of 51 degrees 10 minuts you shall haue soundings 4 leagues from the shore in 44 fadoms small blacke stones.

Soundings within the entrance of the Streights.

ITem, About two leagues from the Northermost shore you shall haue 38 fadoms blacke sand, and all along you shall haue deepe water, not lesse then 18 or 20 fadoms in the faire way.

Soundings on the coast of Chili in the South sea.

ITem, In the latitude of 36 degrees you shall haue soundings in 13 fadoms, 2 miles from the land browne sand.

Item, In the latitude of 35 degrees, you shall haue soundings one league off from the land in 10 fadoms white sand.

Soundings on the coast of New Spaine in the South sea.

ITem, In the latitude of 14 degrees to the North of the line, you shall haue soundings 4 leagues from the land in 30 fadoms, browne sand.

Item, From the latitude of 14 degrees vnto the latitude of 15 degrees, you shall haue faire shoalding 3 leagues from the land.

Soundings on the coast of Africa vnto the Eastward of the cape of Buena Esperanca 40 leagues.

ITen, To the Eastwards of the cape of Buena Esperanca 40 leagues, in the latitude of 34 degrees and 10 minuts, 8 leagues from the land, you shall haue 65 fadome, and browne sand.

A note of the lying of the land vnto the Southward of Port Desire.

INprimis, Seales bay standeth vnto the Southwards of Port Desire 12 leagues Southsouthwest. Furthemore, vnto the Southwards of Seales bay 3 leagues, you shall haue very low land. Also more vnto the Southwards of Seales bay 7 leagues, in the heighth of 48 degrees 40 minuts, you shall see a rocke 5 leagues off the shore, the land lying Southwest and by South.

Item, In the latitude of 49 degrees ½, you shall see a small flat Iland, about a league and an halfe off the shore, the land lying Southwest and by South. Furthermore, from the latitude of 49 degrees ½ vnto the latitude of 50 degrees, the land lieth South and by West, and is high land.

Item, From the latitude of 50 degrees vnto the latitude of 50 degrees 40 minuts, the land lieth Southwest and by South. Furthermore, from the latitude of 50 degrees 40 minuts vnto the latitude of 52 degrees 17 minuts, the land lieth South and by West, North and by East.

Item, In the sayd latitude of 52 degrees 17 minuts, there goeth in an harborow, which is to be knowen by a long beache that lieth on the South side of the harborow. Moreouer, the sayd harborow standeth 12 leagues vnto the Northwards of Cape Ioy. Furthermore from the latitude of 52 degrees 17 minuts, vnto the latitude of 52 degrees 40 minuts (in which heighth standeth Cape Ioy) the land lieth Southsoutheast, and Northnorthwest.

Item, Comming from the Northwards, you shall see before you come to Cape Ioy, a very long beach, about the length of 8 leagues, being 5 leagues short of the cape vnto the Northwards. Also vnto the Southwards of the cape, you shall see another beach about a league long, adioyning hard vnto the cape : about which beach is the entrance of the Streights of Magellan, the which Straights are in breadth sixe leagues ouer, from the cape vnto the South shore, lying South and by East.

The entrance of the streight.

Item, From Cape Ioy, being the entrance of the streight of Magellan, vnto the first narrow passage of the sayd streight; the course is West and by North, and East and by South, and are distant 18 leagues; the land being in breadth from the one side to the other one league.

Item, From the first narrow vnto the second narrow passage, the course is West and by South, and East and by North; and the distance is 12 leagues: and in breadth the one side is from the other about two leagues ouer.

Item, From the second narrow vnto the islands that be called Elizabeth, Bartholomew, and Penguin islands, the distance is 5 leagues, and the course is Southwest and Northeast: the islands being distant a league and an halfe the one from the other.

Item, From the sayd islands vnto Port Famine is 16 leagues: the course is Southsouthwest, and Northnortheast. Moreouer, from Port Famine vnto Cape Froward, the course is South and by West, and North and by East: and they are distant 8 leagues asunder.

The end of the streight.

Item, From Cape Froward vnto S. Ieromes riuer, is 16 leagues: the course is Northwest and Southeast. Also from S Ieromes riuer vnto the vttermost land on the South side, the which is called Cabo Deseado, the course is Northwest and somewhat to the Northward, and are distant 30 leagues. So the whole length of the streight of Magellan, is 105 leagues.

A note of the lying of the lands in the South sea.

INprimis, There stand in the latitude of 52 degrees and 50 minuts, three or foure, ilands, about 8 leagues from Cabo Deseado: the course is Northnorthwest, and Southsoutheast. And those ilands stand in the mouth of the streight of Magellan, at the going into the South sea.

Item, From the latitude of 52 degrees 50 minuts, vnto the latitude of 51 degrees, the land lieth Northnortheast and Southsouthwest.

Item, From the latitude of 50 degrees vnto the latitude of 38 degrees and 30 minuts, the land lieth Northeast and by North, Southwest and by South.

Item, From the latitude vnto the latitude of 38 degrees and 30 minuts, the land lieth Northeast by North, Southwest by South.

Item, From the latitude of 38 degrees 30 minuts vnto the latitude of 37 degrees 14 minuts, the land lieth North and South.

Item, From the iland of S. Marie, being in the latitude of 37 degrees 14 min. vnto the height of 36 degrees 14 minuts, in which height standeth The bay of Conception, the course is Northeast and Southwest, and the distance 12 leagues.

The bay of Conception.

Item, From the latitude of 36 degrees 40 minuts vnto the latitude of 35 degrees 20 minuts, the land lieth Northeast and by North, Southwest and by South.

Item, From the latitude of 35 degrees 20 minuts vnto the latitude of 33 degrees 30 minuts, the land lieth Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest.

Item, In the latitude of 34 degrees you shall see about fiue miles off from the shore a banke of sand, on the which you shall have but shoald water.

Item, From the latitude of 33 degrees 20 minuts vnto the latitude of 29 degrees 20 minuts, the land lieth Northnortheast and Southsouthwest.

33 deg. 20 mi. In which hight standeth Quintero.

Item, From the latitude of 29 degrees 20 minuts vnto the latitude of 27 degrees 40 minuts the land lieth Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest.

27 deg. 40 mi. In which hight standeth Copaipo.

Item, In the latitude of 29 degrees 20 minuts, there is two ilands distant 4 leagues asunder, and about one league from the maine.

Item, From the latitude of 27 degrees 40 minuts vnto the latitude of 23 degrees 30 minuts, the land lieth North and by East, South and by West.

Item, From the latitude of 25 degrees vnto the latitude of 23 degrees and 30 minuts, the land is very high.

23 deg. 30 mi. In which height standeth Morro moreno.

Item, From the latitude of 23 degrees vnto the latitude of 22 degrees, the land lieth Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest.

Item, From the latitude of 22 degrees vnto the latitude of 18 degrees and 30 minuts, the land lieth North and by East, South and by West.

18. deg. 30. mi. In which height standeth Arica.

Item, From the latitude of 18 degrees 30 minuts, vnto the latitude of 18 degrees, the land lieth Northwest and by West, Southeast and by East.

Item, From the latitude of 18 degrees vnto the latitude of 13 degrees 30 minuts, the land lieth Northwest and Southeast: in which height there lie two or three ilands, which ilands lie off a place where are two townes called Paraca, and Pisca.

13. deg. 13. mi. In which height standeth Paraca and Pisca.

Item, From the latitude 13 degrees 30 minuts, vnto the latitude of 11 degrees 50 minuts, the land lieth Northnorthwest, and Southsoutheast.

Item, From the latitude of 11 degrees 50 minuts, vnto the latitude of 6 degrees, the land lieth North and by West, South and by East. Also you shall see two ilands, which be called The Ilands of Lobos, that stand in the latitude of 6 degrees.

11. deg. 50, mi. In which height stand the ilands of Lobos.

Item, From the latitude of 6 degrees, vnto the latitude of 5 degrees, the land lieth Northwest and by West, Southeast and by East.

5 degrees in which height standeth Paita.

Item, From the latitude of 5 degrees vnto the latitude of 4 degrees, the land lieth Northwest and Souteast: in which height of 4 degrees standeth Cape Blanco.

Item, From the latitude of 4 degrees vnto the latitude of 2 degrees 50 minuts (in which latitude of 2 degrees 50 minuts standeth the iland of Puna) the course is Northeast and Southwest.

2. deg. 52. min. In which standeth the iland of Puna.

A note of the distance betweene certeine places on the coasts of Chili and Peru.

IN primis, From the iland of Mocha vnto the iland of S. Mary, the course is North and South, and the distance is 25 leagues.

Leagues 25.

Item, From the iland of S. Mary vnto the bay of Conception, the course is Northeast and Southwest, and the distance is 12 leagues.

Leagues 12.

Item, From the bay of Conception vnto the port of Valpariso, Leagues 80.

the course is Northnortheast and Southsouthwest, and the distance is 80 leagues.

Leagues 7.

Item, From the port of Valpariso vnto the bay of Quintero, the course is Northeast and by North, and Southwest and South, and the distance is 7 leagues. In which bay of Quintero there lieth one small iland.

Leagues 72.

Item, From the bay of Quintero vnto the bay of Coquimbo, the course is Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest, and the distance is 72 leagues: in which height stand two ilands.

Leagues 55.

Item, From the bay of Coquimbo vnto the bay of Copiapo, the course is Northnortheast and Southsouthwest, and the distance is 55 leagues: in which height standeth one iland.

Leagues 70.

Item, From the bay of Copiapo vnto the bay of Morro moreno, the course is Northnortheast and Southsouthwest, and the distance is 70 leagues.

Leagues 90.

Item, From the bay of Moreo moreno, vnto the bay of Arica, the course is North and by East, South and by West, and the distance is 90 leagues : in which bay of Arica standeth one small iland.

Leagues 120.

Item, From the bay of Arica vnto the bay of Parraca, the course is Northwest and Southeast, and the distance is 120 leagus: in which bay of Parraca stand three or foure ilands.

Leagues 35

Item, From the bay of Parraca, vnto the bay of Lima, the course is Northwest and by North, Southeast and by South, and the distance is 35 leagues: in the bay of Lima is one iland.

Leagues 90.

Item, From the bay Lima vnto the bay of Cherrepe, the course is North and by West, South and by East, and the distance is 90 leagues.

Leagues 45.

Item, From the bay of Cherrepe vnto the bay of Paita it is 45 leagues, the course is 20 leags Westnorthwest vnto two ilands that be called The ilands of Lobos, and from thence vnto the bay of Paita it is 25 leagues, the course is North and by East.

Leagues 25.

Item, From Paita vnto Cape Blanco, the course is North and by West, South and by East, and the distance is 25 leagues.

Item, From Cape Blanco vnto the iland of Puna, the course is

Eastnortheast and Westsouthwest, and the distance is 25 leagues: and you shall see one iland that is called Santa Clara, which standeth 10 leagues to the Southward of Puna. Leagnes 25. Leagues in all are 751.

A note of certeine places vnto the Northwards of the Line.

IN primis, From Cape Blanco vnto Cape S. Laurence, the course is North and by East, South and by West, and the distance 60 leagues. Leagues 60.

Item, From Cape S. Lorenço vnto Cape S. Francisco, the course is North and by East, South an by West, and the distance is 40 leagues. Leagues 40.

Item, From Cape S. Franciso vnto the cape that is called Cape Blanco, which cape is on the coast of New Spaine, the course is Northnortheast and Southsouthwest, and the distance is 160 leagues: and you shall have a great currrent that setteth out of the bay of Panama; and the sayd current setteth South out. Leagues 160.

Item, From Cape Blanco vnto the Port de Veles, the course is Northeast and Southwest, and the distance 8 leagues. Leagues 8.

Item, From Port de Veles, vnto the port of S. Iohn, the course is Northwest and Southeast, and the distance is 17 leagues. Leagues 17.

Item, From the port of S. Iohn vnto Rio Lexo, the course is Northwest, and Southeast, and the distance is 40 leagues. Leagues 40.

Item. From Rio Lexo vnto the gulf of Fonsecco, the course is Westnorthwest, and Eastsoutheast, and they are distant 14 leagues. Leagues 14.

Item, In the mouth of Rio Lexo there lieth one iland, and you must goe in on the Northwest part of that iland; on the which iland you may be bolde for to borrow on: and you must goe from that iland Southeast vp.

Item, That in the gulf of Fonsecco, you shall haue lying ten ilands, whereof three be peopled with Indians, whereon you may haue water, wood, and salt.

Item, On the West side of the gulfe of Fonsecco there is one towne of Indians, which is called Mapal, in which towne there is great store of beeues.

Item, From the riuer Lexo vnto the bay of Sonsonate, the course is East and West, and the distance is 60 leagues. Leagues 60.

Item, From the bay of Sonsonate vnto the port of Aguatulco, the course is Northwest and by West, Southeast and by East, and the distance is 160 leagues. Leagues 160.

Item, From the bay of Coppeleto vnto the port of Aguatulco it is 2 leagues, the course is West and by North, East and by South. Leagues 2.

Item, From the port of Aguatulco vnto the port of Angeles, the course is East and West, and they are distant 12 leagues. Leagues 12.

Item, From the port of Aguatulco vnto the port of Acapulco, the course is West and by North, East and by South, and the distance is 78 leagues. Leagues 78.

Item, From the port of Acapulco vnto the port of S. Iago, the course is West and by North, East and by South, and the distance is 80 leagues. Leagues 80.

Item, From the port of S. Iago vnto the port of Natiuidad, the course is East and West, and the distance is 7 leagues. Leagues 7.

Item, From the port of Natiuidad vnto port of the islands of Chiametla, the course is East and West, and the distance is 10 leagues. Leagues 10.

Item, From the ilands of Chiametla vnto Cape de los Corrientes, the course is Northwest and by West, Southeast and by East, and the distance is 30 leagues. Leagues 30.

Item, From the Cape de los Corrientes vnto the bay of Xalisco, the course is Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest, and the distance is 18 leagues. Leagues 18.

Item, From the bay of Xalisco vnto the port of Chiametlan, the course is Northnortheast and Southsouthwest, and the distance is 30 leagues. Leagues 30.

Item, From the Cape de los Corrientes vnto the ilands called Las tres Marias, the course is Northwest and Southeast, and the distance is 20 leagues. Leagues 20.

Item, From the Cape de los Corrientes vnto the cape of Santa Clara on the point of California, the course is Westnorthwest, and Eastsoutheast, and the distance is 108 leagues. Leagues 108.

A note from the coast of America vnto the Westwards.

Item, From the cape Santa Clara vnto the ilands of the Ladrones, the course is West and by South, East and by North, and the distance betweene them is 1850 leagues.

Leagues 1850.

Item, That the Southermost iland of the Ladrones standeth in the latitude of 12 degrees and 10 minuts, and from thence vnto the Nothermost iland, the course is Northnortheast and Southsouthwest, and the distance betweene them is 200 leagues: and the said Nothermost iland standeth in 21 degrees 10 minuts.

Item, From one of the ilands of the Ladrones, which standeth in the latitude of 13 degrees and 50 minuts, which iland is called Guaihaime, vnto the Cape de Spirito santo, which cape is vpon one of the ilands of the Philippinas, the course is West and to the Southwards, and the distance is 320 leagues.

Or Guana.

Leagues 320.

Item, From the cape of Spirito santo vnto the mouth of the enterance of the Streights of the Philippinas, the course is West and by North, East and by South, and the distance is 15 leagues.

Leaguas 15.

Item, From the mouth of the Streights vnto the iland of Capul, the course is Southwest and by West 6 leagues.

Leagues 6.

Item, From the iland of Capul vnto the North head of the iland called Masbat, the course is Northwest and Southeast, and the distance between them is 15 leagues.

Leagues 15.

Item, From the North head of the iland called Masbat vnto the iland called Seboion, the course is Westsouthwest and Eastnortheast, and the distance betweene them is 15 leagues.

Leagues 15.
Leagues in all 2414.

A note of our course kept from the iland Seboion vnto the Southwards.

ITem, From the iland of Seboion vnto the East end of the iland callled Pannay, the course is Southeast, and by South, Northwest and by West, and the distance is 22 leagues.

Leagues 22.

Item, That off the Easter end of the iland of Pannay there lie certaine small ilands, vnto the number of 12 or more, and you shall haue shoald water among them.

Item, From the Easter end of Pannay vnto a bay that is called Leagues 18. The bay of Lago grande, on the same iland, the course is Westsouthwest, and Eastnortheast, and the distance is 18 leagues.

Item, From the bay of Lago grande vnto three small ilands that stand in the latitude of 10 degrees, the course is South and by West 12 leagues. Furthermore, from those three ilands vnto the Westermost end of Ysla de los Negros, the course is South-Leagues 10. west and Northeast 10 leagues, where we were cleere of the ilands of the Philippinas.

Item, From the South end of Ysla de los Negros vnto the Leagues 30. North head of the iland called Mindanao, the course is South and North, and the distance is 30 leagues.

Item, From the North end of Mindanao vnto the South head of the sayd iland, which is called Cape Cannal, the course is Leagues 26. South and by West, North and by East, and the distance is 26 leagues.

Item, From the cape of Cannal betweene the South and the Leagues 12. Westsouthwest about 10 or 12 leagues off you shall haue great store of small ilands, about the number of 24 or more.

Item, From the cape of Cannal vnto the cape of Batochina, Leagues 100. the course is Southsouthwest, and Northnortheast, and the distance is 100 leagues, and betweene them setteth a great current vnto the Eastward.

Item, From the cape of Batochina vnto the West head of Iaua Leagues 200. minor, the course is Southwest and by South, Northeast and by North, and the distance betweene them is 220 leagues.

Item, From the West end of Iaua minor vnto the East end of Iaua maior, the course is West and by North, and East and by Leagues 18. South, and the distance betweene them is 18 leagues: * This is the ile of Baly. in the which course there lieth one * iland betweene them, which iland is in length 14 leagues.

Item, From the East end of Iaua maior vnto the cape of Buena Leagues 1800. Esperança, the course is West and by South, and Westsouthwest, and the distance betweene them is 1800 leagues.

Leagues 30. Item, That Cape Falso standeth 30 leagues to the

Eastward of Cape de Buena Esperança, and off the sayd Cape Falso you shal haue shoalding 20 leagues off in 80 or 90 fadoms, and the course is from Cape Falso vnto the cape of Buena Esperança Westnorthwest and Eastsoutheast.

Leagues in all are 2292.

A note of the distance and course from the cape of Buena Esperanza vnto the Northwards.

ITem, From the cape of Buena Esperança vnto the iland of Santa Helena, the course is Northwest, and Northwest and by West, and the distance betweene them is 600 leagues.

Leagues 600.

Item, From the iland of Santa Helena vnto the iland of Flores, the course betweene them is Northnorthwest, and Northwest and by North, and the distance betweene them is 1200 leagues.

Leagues 1200.

Item, From the iland of Flores vnto the lands end of England, the course is betweene the Eastnortheast, and the Northeast and by East, and the distance betweene them is foure hundred and fifty leagues.

A note of the variation of our Compasse.

IN primis, The variation of our compasse on the coast of New Spaine in the South sea in the latitude of 12 degrees, was one point to the Eastwards.

Item, the variation of our compasse betweene the cape of California and the ilands of the Philippinas, was one point and an halfe vnto the Eastward, that was, that the North did stand North and by East, and halfe a point vnto the East.

Item, The variation of our compasse betweene the ilands of Maluco and the cape of Buena Esperança, was two points and an halfe at the most to the Westward, that was, that the Northnortheast was our North.

A note of our time spent in sailing betweene certeine places out of England, 1586.

IN primis, We were sailing betweene England and the coast of Guinea from the 21 day of Iuly vnto the 26 day of August vnto the hauen called Sierra leona, where we watered and stayed vntill the 6 day of September.

Of our abode tenne dayes where we watered.

Item, Wee departed from the coast of Guinea for the coast of Brasil the 26 day of October, being sixe leagues to the Northwards of Cape Frio: and from thence wee were sailing vnto the iland of S. Sebastian vntill the 31 and last day of October, where we watered and set vp our pinnesse: and we ankered on the Northwest part of the iland in tenne fadoms, and stayed there vntill the 23 day of Nouember.

Of our abode foure and twenty dayes where we watered.

Item, The 23 day of Nouember we departed from the iland of Sant Sebastian, keeping our course South and by West vnto the port that is called Port Desire, where we arriued the 17 day of December; in which port we graued our shippe: and we stayed there vntill the 28 day of December, where we ankered in 5 fadoms.

Of our abode eleuen dayes, where we graued our ships.

Item, The eight and twentieth day of December wee departed from the Port of Desire toward the Streight of Magellan, where we arriued the third day of Ianuary: and wee remained in the Streights vntill the foure and twentieth day of February; where we watered in many places on the South side, hauing the winde all that while betweene the Westsouthwest and the Northwest.

Of our abode two and fiftie dayes where we watered.

Item, We departed out of the Streights the 24 day of February toward the iland of Mocha, which island we had sight of the 14 day of March.

Item, The 14 day of March at night we ankered in the bay of Marroccos; where we rode in 9 fadoms water.

Item, The 15 day of March we ankered in the iland of Saint Marie, on the North part of the island in eight fadoms water, blacke sand, where we stayed foure dayes.

Of our abode foure dayes

Item, The 19 day of March we departed from the island of Saint marie, and the same day we ankered in the bay of Conception, where we stayed vntill the next day: and there we rode in ten fadoms water, shingle stones.

Item, The 20 day of March we departed from the bay of Conception, and the thirtieth day of March we arriued in the bay of Quintero, where we watered: and there the first day of April we had twelue of our men slaine, being on land for water: and we stayed there sixe dayes: and we ankered in 7 fadoms water, white sand.

Of our abobe 6 dayes, where we watered.

Item, We departed from the bay of Quintero the 5 day of April, and we arriued at the bay of Africa the 24 day of April, and we ankered in 7 fadoms water.

Of our abode three dayes.

Item, The 27 day of April we departed from the bay of Africa, and the third day of May we arriued in the bay of Pisca, and we ankered in 4 fadoms water in oaze.

Of our abode two dayes.

Item, The 5 day of May we departed from the bay of Pisca, and the 12 day we ankered in the bay of Cherrepe, where we ankered in 7 fadoms water, in white sand.

Of our abode sixe dayes.

Item, The 18 day of May we departed from the bay of Cherrepe, and the 20 day of May we arriued in the bay of Payta, where we ankered in 6 fadoms water.

Of our abode one day.

Item, The 20 day of May we departed from the bay of Paita, and the 26 day of May we ankered at the iland of Puna, and we ankered in 5 fadoms.

Item, From the iland of Puna we departed the fourth day of Iune vnto Rio dolce in the main, where we watered, and we ankered in 10 fadoms water, browne sand.

Of our abode 9 daies, where we watered.

Item, The 12 day of Iune we departed from the place where we watered, being bound for the coast of New Spaine, and the 29 day of Iuly wee arriued in the port of Aguatulco, where wee watered, and ankered in 6 fadomes water.

Of our abode 8 dayes, where we watered.

Item, The 3 day of August we departed from the port of Aguatulco, and the 26 day of August we arriued at the port of S. Iago, where we watered, and stayed there vntill the second day of September, and ankered in 6 fadoms.

Of our abode 7 daies, where we watered.

Item, The 2 of September we departed from the port of S. Iago, and the 3 day of September we put into a port one league vnto the Westwards of Natiuidad, where we ankered in 8 fadoms water.

Of our abode one day.

Item, The 4 day of September wee departed from the port of Natiuidad, and the 7 day of September we put into the bay of Xalisco, where we ankered in 9 fadoms water, and the 10 day of September we departed from the bay of Xalisco, and the 12 day of September we ankered at the island of S. Andrew, where we ankered in 17 fathoms water.

Of our abode three dayes.

Item, The 17 day of September we departed from the island of S. Andrew, and the 24 day of September we put into the bay of Chaimetlan, where we ankered in 8 fadoms water, and the 26 of September we departed from the bay of Chiametlan, and the 28 day wee ankered vnder the islands of Chiametlan in 4 fadoms.

Of our abode fiue dayes.

Of our abode 2 dayes, where we watered.

Item, The 9 day of October wee departed from the islands of Chiametlan, and crossing ouer the mouth of Mar vermejo, the 14 day of October we had sight of the Cape of California.

Of our abode twelue dayes, where we watered.

Item, The 15 day of October we lay off the cape of S. Lucas, and the 4 day of Nouember we tooke the great and rich ship called Santa Anna, comming from the Philippinas: and the 5 day of Nouember we put into the port of S. Lucas, where we put all the people on shore, and burnt the Santa Anna: and we ankered in 12 fadoms water.

Of our abode 14 dayes, where we watered.

Item, The 19 day of Nouember we departed from the port of S. Lucas, and the 3 day of Ianuary wee had sight of one of the islands of the Ladrones, which island is called The island of *Iwana, standing in the latitude of 13 degrees and 50 minuts.

*Guana.

Item, The 3 day of Ianuary we departed from the iland of Iwana, and the 14 day of Ianuarie we had sight of the cape of Spirito santo, and the same day we put into the Streights of the Philippinas: and the 15 day of Ianuary we ankered vnder the iland of Capul, on the which iland we watered and wooded.

Of our abode nine dayes.

Item, The 24 of Ianuary we departed from the iland of Capul, and the 28 day of Ianuary we arriued in the bay of Lago grande, which bay is in the island of Pannay, where there were Spaniards building of a new ship.

Spaniards building of a new ship in the Philippinas.

Item, The 29 of Ianuary wee departed from the bay of Lago grande, and the same day at night wee were cleere from the islands of the Philippinas, shaping our course towards the ilands of Maluco.

Item, From the 29 day of Ianuary vnto the first day of March, we were nauigating between the West end of the island of Pannay and the West end of the island of Iaua minor.

Dayes 30.

Item, The first day of March wee passed the Streights at the West head of the island of Iaua minor, and the 5 day of March we ankerd in a bay at the Wester end of Iaua maior, where wee watered, and had great store of victuals from the towne of Polambo.

Of our abode eleuen dayes, where we watered.

Item, The 16 day of March wee departed from the island of Iaua maior, and the 11 day of May we had sight of the land 40 leagues vnto the Eastwards of the cape of Buena Esperança, the land being low land.

Iaua maior. Dayes 56. The cape of Buena Esperanza.

A note from the cape of Buena Esperança vnto the Northwards.

Item, The 21 day of May wee departed from the cape of Buena Esperança, and the 8. day of Iune we ankered on the Northwest part of the iland of Santa Helena, where we watered, and made our abode 12 dayes.

Of our abode twelue dayes, where we watered.

Item, The 20 day of Iune at night wee departed from the island of Santa Helena, and the 4 day of Iuly we passed vnder the Equinoctiall line.

Dayes, 14.

Item, The 20 day of Iune at night wee departed from the island of Santa Helena, and the 25 day of August in the morning wee had sight of the islands of Flores and Coruo in the latitude of 40 degrees.

The space of our nauigation betweene those Ilands was threescore and fiue dayes.

Item, The 9 day of September 1588 wee arriued, after a long and terrible tempest, in the Narrow seas, in the hauen of Plimmouth in safetie, by the gracious and most mercifull protection of the Almighty, to whom therefore be rendered immortall praise and thankesgiuing now and for euer. Amen.

A note of our ankering in those places where we arriued after our departure from England 1586.

IN primis, Wee ankered in the harborow of Sierra leona in 10 fadoms water: and a Northwest winde in that rode is the woorst that can blow.

Fadoms 10.

Item, You may anker vnder the island that is called Ilha Verde in 6 fadoms water: and the winde being at the Westnorthwest is the woorst winde that can blow.

Fadoms 6.

Fadoms 10. Item, You may anker vnder the island of S. Sebastian on the Northwest part in 10 fadoms: and a Westsouthwest winde is the woorst winde.

Fadoms 5. Item, You may anker in Port Desire in 5 fadoms water, and a West and by South winde is the woorst.

Fadoms 7. Item, You may anker vnder Cape Ioy without the mouth of the Streights of Magellan in 7 fadoms water.

Fadoms 25. Item, You may anker within the Straights of Magellan, vntill you come vnto the first narrowing in 25 or 30 fadoms water, in the mid way of the Streights.

Fadoms 16. Item, You may anker in the second narrow of the Streights in 16 fadoms water.

Fadoms 7. Item, You may anker vnder Penguin island on which side you please in 6 or 7 fadoms water.

Fadoms 6. Item, You may anker in Port Famine in 5 or 6 fadoms water, and a Southsoutheast winde is the woorst.

Fadoms 12. Item, You may anker in Muskle coue, which coue is on the South side, and is 7 leagues to the Southwards of Cape Froward, and you shall ride in 12 fadoms.

Fadoms 8. Item, You may anker in Elizabeth bay, which bay is on the North side of the Streights in 8 fadoms water.

Item, From Elizabeth bay vnto Cabo deseado, you may anker on both sides of the Streights in many places.

A note of our ankering after we were entered into the South sea.

Fadoms 8. IN primis, You may anker in the bay of Mocha in 7 or 8 fadoms water, and there a Northeast winde is the woorst.

Fadoms 9. Item, You may anker on the North side of S. Mary island in 9 fadoms water: and there a Northwest winde is the woorst winde.

Fadoms 9. Item, You may anker in the bay of Conception vnder one small island in 9 fadoms water, and a Northnorthwest winde is the woorst winde in that bay.

Fadoms 7. Item, You may anker in the bay of Quintero in 7 fadoms water, and a Northnorthwest wind is the worst winde.

Item, You may anker in the bay of Arica in 6 fadoms, and in that bay a Westnorthwest winde is the worst winde. Fadoms 6.

Item, You may anker in the bay of Pisca and Paraca in fiue fadoms: and in that bay a Nortanorthwest winde is the woorst. Fadoms 5.

Item, You may anker in the bay of Cherepe in 8 fadoms, and there from the Northwest vnto the Southeast it is open. Fadoms 8.

Item, You may anker in the bay of Paita in 7 fadoms water: and there a Northnortheast wind is the woorst winde. Fadoms 7.

Item, you may anker in the Northeast part of the island of Puna in 4 fadoms: and a Northeast winde is the woorst. Fadoms 4.

Item, You may anker at Rio dolce, where wee watered vnto the Eastwards of the island of Puna in 10 fadoms. Fadoms 10.

A note of what depths we ankered in on the coast of New Spaine.

ITem, You may anker in the port of Aguatulco in sixe fadoms water: and a Southsouthwest winde is the woorst. Fadoms 6.

Item, You may anker in the port of S. Iago in 6 fadoms water: and a Westsouthwest winde is the woorst. Fadoms 6.

Item, You may anker in port of Natiuidad in 8 fadoms water: and a Southeast winde is the woorst. Fadoms 8.

Item, You may anker on the bay of Xalisco in 9 fadoms water: and a Westsouthwest winde is the woorst. Fadoms 9.

Item, You may anker on the Northwest part of the island of S. Andrew in 17 fadoms water. Fadoms 17.

Item, You may anker vnder the island of Chiametlan in 4 fadoms water: and a Southeast winde is the woorst. Fadoms 4.

Item, You may anker in port of S. Lucas an the Cape of California in 12 fadoms water: and a Southeast winde is the woorst. Fadoms 12.

A note of what depths we ankered in, among the iands of the Philippinas.

Fadoms 6.

ITem, You may anker on the Southwest part of the island of Capul in 6 fadoms water: and a Westsouthwest winde is the woorst.

Fadoms 10.

Item, You may anker all along the South part of the island of Panna in shoald water, in the depth of 10 or 12 fadoms.

Item, You may anker in the bay of Lago grande in seuen fadoms water, which bay is on the South side of the island of Panna.

Fadoms 16.

Item, You may anker at the East end of Iaua maior in 16 fadoms water, and an Eastsoutheast winde is the woorst.

Fadoms 12.

Item, You may anker on the North part of the island of Santa Helena in 12 fadoms water.

A note of our finding of the winds for the most part of our voyage 1586.

IN primis, From the 21 day of Iuly vnto the 19 day of August we found the winde at Northnortheast, being in the latitude of 7 degrees.

To yᵉ Sout side of the Equinoctiall.

Item, From the 19 day of August vnto the 28 day of September, wee found the wind for the most part betweene the West and Southwest being in 24 degrees.

Item, From the 28 day of September vnto the 30 day of October, we found the windes betweene the Northeast and the Eastnortheast

Item, From the 23 of Nouember, from the island of S. Sebastain, vnto the 30 day of Nouember, we found the winde betweene the Southeast and the Southsoutheast, being in 36 degrees.

Item, From the 30 day of Nouember vnto the 6 day of December, we found the windes to be betweene the West and the Southwest.

Item From the 6 day of December vnto the first day of Ianuary, we found the winds for the most part betweene the North and the Northeast, being then in the latitude of 52 degrees.

Item, From the first day of Ianuary vnto the 23 day of February, we found the windes to be betweene the Northwest and Westsouthwest, wee being all that time in the Streights of Magellan.

Item, From the 23 day of February vnto the first day of March we found the winds to be betweene the South and the Southeast, being then in the South sea in the latitude of 48 degrees.

Item, From first day of March vnto 7 day of March, we found the winde to be at the North and the Northnortheast in the latitude of 43 degrees.

Item, From the 7 day of March vnto the 14 day of March, wee found the windes to be betweene the South and the Southwest, in the latitude of 37 degrees.

Item, From the 14 day of March vnto the 28 day of May, we found the winds to be betweene the South and the Southwest, in the latitude of 3 degrees to the South of the Line. 1587.

A note of the varying of our windes to the North of the Equinoctiall line on the coast of New Spaine.

ITem, From the 28 day of May vnto the 5 day of Iuly, we found the winds for the most part to be betweene the Southsoutheast and the Southsouthwest, being in the latitude of 10 degrees to the Northward of the Line on the coast of New Spaine.

Item, From the 4 day of Iuly vnto the 14 day of October, we found the windes for the most part to be at the Eastnortheast in the latitude of 23 degrees Northward, and almost under the tropicke of Cancer.

A note of the windes which we found betweene the coast of New Spaine and Islands of the Philippinas on the coast of Asia.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1587 we departed from the cape of Santa Clara on the coast of California the 19 day of Nouember, and we found the winds to be betweene the East and the Eastnortheast, vntill the 29 day of Ianuary; departing then from the ilands of the Philippinas, being in the latitune of 9 degrees.

Item, From the 29 day of Iannary vnto the 19 day of March, wee found the windes for the most part betweene the Northnortheast and the Northwest being then among the Ilands of Maluco, in the latitude of 9 degrees.

Item, From the 19 day of March vnto the 20 day of May, wee found the windes for the most part betweene the South and the Eastsoutheast, being then between the Ilands of Maluco, and the cape of Buena Esperança, in the latitude of 34 degrees to the South of the Line.

Item, From the 20 day of May vnto the 11 day of Iuly, we found the winds for the most part betweene the South and the Southeast, being then betweene the cape of Buena Esperança, and 15 degrees vnto the Southward of the line.

Item, From the 11 day of Iuly vnto the 18 day of August, we found the winds for the most part betweene the Northeast and Eastnortheast, being then betweene the latitude of 15 degrees to the Southward of the line, and 38 degrees vnto the Northwards of the line.

A letter of M. Thomas Candish to the right honourable the Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlaine, one of her Maiesties most honourable Priuy Councell, touching the successe of his voyage about the world.

RIght honourable, as your fauour heretofore hath bene most greatly extended towards me, so I humbly desire a continuance thereof: and though there be no meanes in me to deserue the same, yet the vttermost of my seruices shall not be wanting, whensoeuer it shall please your honour to dispose thereof. I am humbly to desire your honour to make knowen vnto her Maiesty the desire I haue had to doe her Maiesty service in the performance of this voyage. And as it hath pleased God to giue her the victory ouer part of her enemies, so I trust yer long to see her ouerthrow them all. For the places of their wealth, whereby they haue mainteined and made their warres, are now perfectly discouered : and if it please her Maiesty, with a very small power she may take the spoile of them all. It hath pleased the Almighty to suffer mee to circompasse the whole globe of the world, entring at the Streight of Magellan, and returning by the cape de Buena Esperança. In which voyage I haue either discouered or brought certetne intelligence of all the rich places of the world that euer were knowen or discouered by any Christian. I nauigated alongst the coast of Chili, Peru, and

Nueua Espanna, where I made great spoiles: I burnt and sunke 19 sailes of ships small and great. All the villages and townes that euer I landed at, I burnt and spoiled: and had I not bene discouered vpon the coast, I had taken great quantitie of treasure. The matter of most profit vnto me was a great ship of the kings which I tooke at California, which ship came from the Philippinas, being one of the richest of merchandize that euer passed those seas, as the kings register and merchants accounts did shew: for it did amount in value to * in Mexico to be solde. Which goods (for that my ships were not able to conteine the least part of them) I was inforced to set on fire. From the cape of California, being the vttermost part of all Nueua Espanna, I nauigated to the Islands of the Philippinas hard vpon the coast of China; of which countrey I haue brought such intelligence as hath not bene heard of in these parts. The statelinesse and riches of which countrey I feare to make report of, least I should not be credited: for if I had not knowen sufficiently the incomparable wealth of that countrey, I should haue bene as incredulous thereof, as others will be that haue not had the like experience. I sailed along the Ilands of the Malucos, where among some of the heathen people I was well intreated, where our countrey men may haue trade as freely as the Portugals, if they will themselues. From thence I passed by the cape Buena Esperança, and found out by the way homeward the iland of S. Helena, where the Portugals vse to relieue themselues: and from that iland God hath suffered me to returne into England. All which seruices with myselfe I humbly prostrate at her Maiesties feet, desiring the Almightie long to continue her reigne among vs: for at this day she is the most famous and victorious prince that liueth in the world.

Thus humbly desiring pardon of your honour for my tediousnesse, I leaue your lordship to the tuition of the Amighty. Plimmouth this ninth of September 1588.

Your honours most humble to command,

THOMAS CANDISH.

Certeine notes or references taken out of the large map of China, brought home by M. Thomas Candish 1588.

THe great kingdome of the Mogores is vpon the Northwest,

---

* Blank in original.

and falleth vpon Tanassarin beyond Malac, and ioyneth vpon Bengala: they are men of warre, and vse no fight but on horsebacke: they go in their apparell like Portugals.

2 A city, wherein is captaine a Chinian, a man very deformed, hauing vnder him many men of warre: he maketh warre both against the Tartarians, and the Mogores; lying betweene them: and lieth without the circuit of the wall.

3 Certeine hils, beyond which the Tartarians do inabit, who heretofore were great friends with the Chinians, and now mainteine continuall warres against them, so great, that sometimes there are slaine in a battell 100000 of men adioyning vpon Moscouie: and they haue in their warres all kinde of armour.

4 The prouince of Cansas hath 4 great cities, and 20 small cities, and 77 townes and castles: it conteineth in length 55 leagues, it hath 362000 houses of great men that pay tribute, and 13900 men of warre: and hath 47000 horses, which are the kings, kept for his defence.

It is as colde at Paquin as in Flanders.

5 The great city of Paquin, where the king doth lie, hath belonging to it 8 great cities, and 18 small cities, with 118 townes and castles: it hath 418789 houses of great men, which pay tribute, it hath horsemen for the warre 258100. This city is in the latitude of 50 degrees to the Northwards, being there as colde as it is vsually in Flanders.

6 The great city of Canton, wherein are many men of warre, to keepe that passage from the Tartars.

7 The prouince of Soychin hath 7 great cities, and 16 small, with 12 townes and castles, and one great city, to which many doe repaire to fight agpinst the Tartars: it hath 17 leagues in length, and hath 164118 great houses, which pay tribute, and 96000 men of warre.

The prouince of Santo hath 6 great cities, and 14 small, with 90 townes and castles: it is 82 leagues long, and hath 77555 great houses, which pay tribute, 63808 horsemen, and 31000 footmen of warre.

9 The prouince of Oyman hath 7 great cities, and 13 small, and 90 townes and castles, being 470 leagues long, and 13295 8great houses that pay tribute, 82800 men of warre. Out of this city commeth copper, quicke-siluer, and blacke lead.

10 The prouince of * Cutchew hath 8 great cities, and 12 small, and 83 townes, which make armor to fight with the Iawes, which do inhabit beyond Cauchinchina : it is 100 leagues broad, and hath 32920 horsemen and footmen, with 405670 great houses which pay tribute, whereof the men of warre are payed.

*Or Quicheu.

11 The prouince of Languyn hath 14 great cities, and 17 small, and 95 townes and castles : it is 120 leagues ouer, and hath 962818 great houses which pay tribute, it hath 208900 men of warre, whereof there are 52500 Tartar horsemen that take wages.

12 The prouince of Vquam hath 14 great cities, and 19 small, 150 townes and castles, and is 210 leagues broad, and 53161 houses that pay tribute, and 71600 men of warre.

13 The prouince of Som hath 7 great cities, and 11 small, and 105 townes and castles, and is 200 leagues broad, and hath houses that pay tribute 139567, and men of warre 345632.

14 The prouince of Essiren hath 11 great cities, and 75 small, and 80 townes and castles, and is 440 leagues broad, and hath great houses that doe pay tribute 1242135, and 339000 men of warre.

15 This lake lieth behinde Siam, and before Champa, and doth ioyne with the Lappians, and from thence commeth all the water that serueth the kingdome of China : and the Indians and the Chinians doe report this lake to be the whole world, and so they paint the sea, the moone, and the starres within it.

16 The prouince of Cansay hath 13 cities, and a chiefe citie, and 73 townes and castles, and is 260 leagues broad, and hath great houses that pay tribute 1393629, and 12700 men of warre.

17 The prouince of Cuausa hath 12 great cities, 45 small, and 51 townes and castles : it is 260 leagues broad, and hath great houses that pay tribute 1306390, and men of warre both footmen and horsemen 100100.

18 The prouince of Vanam hath 13 great cities, and 36 small, and 34 townes and castles, and is 88 leagues broad, with 589296 great houses that pay tribute, and 15100 men of warre.

19 The prouince of Fuckin hath 8 great cities, and one principall city and 54 townes and castles, and two great cities of garrison, to keepe watch vpon the Iapons, and is 200 leagues broad, and hath 5009532 great houses that pay tribute, and 4003225 men of the kings guard.

Garisons against the Iapons.

20 The prouince of Canton hath 40 great cities, and 7 small, and 77 townes and castles, and a city that putteth forth hundreds of ships for the keeping of Cauchinchina, and is 280 leagues in breadth, and hath 483384 great houses which pay tribute, and 39400 men of warre.

21 The port of Cauchinchina standeth in the latitude of sixteene degrees and a halfe to the Northward.

22 The citie Champa standeth in foureteene degrees to the Northwards of the Eqninoctiall.

23 The prouince of Enam hath 7. great cities, and 13. small and 90. townes and castles, and is 88. leagues broad, and hath 589296 great houses that pay tribute, and 15100. souldiers.

Horsemen 454528.
Footmen 7459057.
The totall summe 7923785.

A briefe relation of a voyage of the Delight a ship of Bristoll one of the consorts of M. Iohn Chidley esquire and M. Paul Wheeler made vnto the Straight of Magellan: with diuers accidents that happened vnto the company during their 6 weekes abode there: Begun in the yeere 1586. Written by W. Magoths.

The fift of August 1589. the worshipfull M. Iohn Chidley of Chidley in the county of Deuon esquire, with M. Paul Wheele and Captaine Andrew Mericke set forth from Plimmouth with three tall ships, the one called The wild man of three hundred tunnes, wherein went for General the aforesaid M. Iohn Chidley and Benjamin Wood as Master, the other called The white Lion, whereof M. Paul Wheele was captaine and Iohn Ellis Master, of the burthen of 340 tunnes: the third The Delight of Bristoll, wherein went M. Andrew Merick as Captaine, and Robert Burnea Master, with two pinnesses of 14. or 15. tunnes a piece. The Generall in his ship had 180. persons: M. Paul Wheel had 140, in our owne ship we were 91. men and boyes. Our voyage was intended by the Streight of Magellan for The South Sea, and chiefly for the famous prouince of Arauco on the coast of Chili. We kept company together to the yles of the Canaries and so forward to Cape

M. Chidleys voyage intended partly for Arauco in Chili.

Blanco standing neere the Northerly latitude of 20. degrees on the coast of Barbarie, where some of our people went on shoare finding nothing to their content. Within 12. dayes after our departure from this place The Delight, wherein I William Magoths was, lost the company of the other two great ships, and the two small pinnesses. Howbeit we constantly kept our course according to our directions along the coast of Brasil, and by the Riuer of Plate, without touching anywhere on land vntill we came to Port desire in the latitude of 48 degrees to the Southward of the Equinoctial. Before we arriued at this place there died of our company by Gods visitation of sundry diseases 16. persons. Wee stayed in the harborough 17. dayes to graue our ship and refresh our wearied people, hoping here to haue met with our consorts: which fell out contrary to our expectations. During our abode in this place we found two little springs of fresh water, which were vpon the Northwesterly part of the land, and lighted vpon good store of seales both old and young. From hence we sailed toward the Streight of Magelan, and entered the same about the first of Ianuary. And comming to Penguin yland within the Streight we tooke and salted certaine hogsheads of Penguins, which must be eaten with speed: for wee found them to be of no long continuance: we also furnished our selues with fresh water. And here at the last sending off our boat to the yland for the rest of our prouision, wee lost her and 15. men in her by force of foule weather; but what became of them we could not tel. Here also in this storme we lost two anckers. From hence we passed farther into the Streight, and by Port famine we spake with a Spaniard, who told vs that he had liued in those parts 6. yeeres, and that he was one of the 400. men that were sent thither by the king of Spaine in the yere 1582. to fortifie and inhabit there, to hinder the passage of all strangers that way into the South sea. But that and the other Spanish colonie being both destroyed by famine, he said he had liued in an house by himselfe a long time, and relieued himselfe with his caleeuer vntil our comming hither. Here we made a boat of the bords of our chests; which being finished wee sent 7. armed men in the same on land on the North shore, being wafted on land by the

Cabo Blanco.

The Delight looseth the company of the rest of the Fleet.

Port desire.

Two springs of fresh water found at Port desire.

They enter into the Streight of Magelan.

They loose 15. of their men by tempest.

A Spaniard taked at Port-famine.

Seuen of our men killed by the treason of the Sauages on the North shore.

They passed 7. or 8. times ten leagues Westward of Cape Froward.

They returne homeward.

The yle of S. Sebastian in 24. degr. of southerly latitude on the coast of Brasil.

They land at Monuille de Hage 8. miles West of Cherbourg.

Sauages with certaine white skinnes; who as soone as they came on shore were presently killed by an 100. of the wilde people in the sight of 2. of our men, which rowed them on shoare, which two onely escaped backe againe to vs with the boat. After this traiterous slaughter of our men, we fell backe againe with our ship to the Northeastward of Port famine to a certaine road, where we refreshed our selues with muskles, and tooke in water and wood. At this time wee tooke in the Spaniard aforesaid, and so sailed forward againe into the Streight. Wee passed 7. or 8. times 10. leagues Westward beyond Cape Froward, being still encountered with mightie Northwest winds. These winds and the current were so vehement against vs, that they forced vs backe asmuch in two houres, as we were getting vp in 8. houres. Thus after wee had spent 6 weekes in the Streight striuing against the furie of the elements, and hauing at sundry times partly by casualtie, and partly by sicknes lost 38. of our best men, and 3. housekeeping anckers, and nowe hauing but one ancker left vs, and small store of victuals, and, which was not the least mischiefe, diuers of our company raising dangerous mutinies: we consulted, though somewhat with the latest, for the safeguard of our liues to returne while there was some small hope remayning: and so set saile out of The Streight homeward about the 14. of Februarie 1590. We returned backe againe by The riuer of Plate; and sailing neere the coast of Brasill we met with a Portugal ship of 80. tunnes, which rode at an ancker vpon the coast, who as soone as she descried vs to chase her, incontinently weyed, and ran her selfe on ground betweene the yland of S. Sebastian and the maine land. But we for want of a good boat, and by reason of the foule weather, were neither able to bord her, nor to goe on shore. Thence in extreeme misery we shaped our course for the yles of Cape Verde, and so passing to the yles of the Açores, the Canaries being something out of our course; the land that wee mette withall in our Narrow sea was the yle of Alderney. And hauing now but sixe men of all our company left aliue, the Master and his two mates and chiefe Mariners being dead, wee ran in with Monuille de Hage eight miles to the West of Cherbourg in Normandie. Where the next day after our comming to an ancker, hauing but one in all left, being the last of August

1590. by the foule weather that rose the ancker came home, and our ship draue on the rocks: And the Normans which were commanded by the gouernor of Cherbourg (who came downe to vs that night) to haue layd out another ancker for her, neglecting his commandement, suffered her miserably to be splitted, with desire to enrich themselues by her wracke. Within few dayes after this last mischance foure of vs being Englishmen departed from Cherbourgh, and passed home for England in a barke of Weymouth, leauing the two strangers there behinde vs.

The wracke of the ship by the malice of the Normans.

They arriue in England.

The names of vs sixe that returned of all our company were these.

1. William Magoths of Bristol.
2. Richard Bush.
3. Iohn Reade.
4 William Hodgkins of Westburie neere Bristol.

The two strangers.

5 Gabriel Valerosa a Portugal.
6 Peter, a Briton.

A petition made by certaine of the company of the Delight of Bristol vnto the Master of the said ship Robert Burnet, one of the consorts of M. Chidley, being in the Streights of Magellan the 12 of Feeruary 1589.

WE haue thought good to shew vnto you (being our Master) our whole mindes and griefes in writing: that whereas our Captaine Matthew Hawlse, and Walter Street doe beginne to take into the Captaines cabin this 12 of Febr. both bread and butter, (such as was put in for the prouision of the shippe and company) only to feed themselues, and a few others, which are of their messe: meaning thereby rather to sterue vs, then to keepe vs strong and in health: And likewise vpon the same, hee hath taken into his cabin certaine furniture, as swords, caleeuers, and musquets: We therefore not well knowing their intents herein, except by certaine wordes cast out vnwares, wee may coniecture, that your death which God forbid, by them hath bene determined: doe all most humbly desire you being our Master, and hauing charge of the shippe, and vs, this present voyage committed vnto you, to consider: First, that by Gods visitation wee haue lost 16. men, and that so much the rather because they were not alotted such necessary prouision, as was in the ship to be had. Also to consider the great losse of 15. of our men with our boat at Penguin-yland within the Streights of Magellan: and of 7. good and seruiceable men besides neere Port famine: and of three anckers, and our Carpenter. Ouer and besides all these calamities to consider how you haue (without all reason and conscience) bene ouerthwarted, disgraced, and outcountenanced by your mate Street, and Matthew Hawlse: Also what danger you now are subiect vnto, your death hauing bene so often conspired, and what danger we should be in, if it were (which God forbid) effected. Furthermore, to weigh with your selfe the great want of many necessaries in our ship: namely that we haue but 6. sailers, (besides your selfe and your mate Street, whom wee dare not trust,) Also that wee haue but one ancker, likewise the lacke of our boate and a Carpenter, of ropes, of pitch, treynailes, bolts, and plankes, and the want of a skilfull Chirurgian. And whereas a view being taken of our prouision there was found but fiue moneths victuals, of bread, meale, greets, and pease, and also but three moneths victuals of beefe, penguins and porke, three hogsheads of wine, ten gallons of aquauitæ (whereof the sicke men could not get any to relieue them,) foure hogsheads of syder and 18. flitches of bacon, &c. the company hath but three flitches. Also the said Captaine Hawlse and Street haue taken and seased vpon 17. potts of butter, with certaine cheese, and an hogshead of bread at a time, and haue bene thereof possessed to their owne priuate vses: And haue not onely immoderately spent the companies prouision in butter, cheese, acquauitæ, &c. but haue also consumed those sweete meates, which were layed vp in the shippe onely for the reliefe of sicke persons (themselues being healthy and sound, and withholding the said meates from others in their sickenesse) and euen at this time also (by reason of the small store of our prouision, wee being enforced to come to a shorter allowance) they the saide Captaine Hawlse and your mate Street, doe finde themselues agrieued at the very same allowance, wherewith other men are well contented. And although (besides our ordinary allowance, and more then all the rest of the company) they only haue their breakefasts permitted vnto them, yet they complaine that the company goeth about to famish them, whereas indeed they doe what lyeth in them to famish the company by feeding themselues fat, which doe no labour at all. These things being well weighed, you ought likewise to consider the long time that wee haue lien here in these Streights of Magellan, hauing bene at, and seuen or eight times, ten leagues beyond Cape Froward, we haue had but a small gale of winde with vs: neither could wee come to an ancker, the water being so deepe: and (you know) the place is so dangerous, that wee were once embayed, and could scarce get out againe: And likewise, What fogges and mists are here already? Much more here wil be, the winter and darke nights being at hand, and we hauing not so much as a boate to seeke out any roade to ride in, sauing a small weake boate made of mens chestes, in which it is not conuenient to goe on shoare in a forreine countrey, where wee must goe with force: and hauing but one ancker left vs, there is but little hope of life in vs, as you may sufficiently iudge, if wee should lose either the saide ancker or our boate, and therefore wee dare not put the same in danger for feare of loosing them. Also wee hauing lien here these sixe weekes and vpward, the winde hath continued in the North-west directly against our course, so that wee can no way hope to get through the Streights into the South sea this yeere, and if we could yet our prouision is not sufficient, hauing spent so much thereof, in this our lingring aboade. Nay wee haue scarcely victuals ynough to cary vs home into England, if they bee not vsed sparingly, and with very good gouernment. Therefore wee doe againe most humbly desire you to consider and haue regard vnto the premisses, as you tender your owne safetie and the safetie of vs which remaine aliue, that wee may (by Gods helpe) returne backe into England, rather than die here among wilde and sauage people: for if wee make any longer abode in this place, it will bee (without all doubt) to the vtter decay and losse, both of our selues, and of the shippe: and in returning backe, it may please God, that we may finde our fifteene men, and our boat at Penguin-yland (although this bee contrary to the mindes of Matthew Hawlse, and your mate Street) and hauing found them, wee doe not despaire in Gods mercie, but that in our returne home-ward, hee will send vs purchase sufficient, if wee would ioyne our selues together in prayer, and loue one another. And thus doing (as wee shalbe bound) euen so wee will heartily pray for the continuance of your good estate, and wel-fare, and for the length of your dayes, to the pleasure of Almightie God.

Lastly, wee doe most humbly beseech you to consider, that (after the losse of so many men and all the casualties aforesaid, as we were taking in of water by Port Famine, our boate-swaine, the hooper, and William Magoths being on shoare) Matthew Hawlse did hallow to haue them in all the haste come on-bord: saying therewithall these words: He that will come in this voyage, must not make any reckoning to leaue two or three men on shore behinde him, whereas we had so lately lost all the foresaide men, hauing then but sixe sailers left vs on-bord. Also the saide Matthew Hawlse did cary a pistoll for the space of two dayes secretly vnder his gowne, intending therewithall to haue murthered Andrew Stoning, and William Combe, as by confession of Hawlse his man, William Martin, it is manifest: for the saide William Martine reported vnto two of his friends, viz. Richard Hungate, and Emanuel Dornel, that he kneeled vpon his knees one whole houre before Matthew Hawlse in his owne cabin, desiring him, for Gods cause, not to kill either of them, especially because the saide Stoning and Martin came both out of one towne. Also the saide Hawlse, at our second time of watering in the place aforesaid, came into the Gunners roome to speake with you (your selfe with the master Gunner Thomas Browne, and his mate William Frier being then present) demanding of you, if he should send certaine men to Port famine being two leagues from the ship by land. Thomas Browne answered him presently, that he should send none, for feare least the wind might arise, and by that meanes we should loose so many of our men more: to whom Matthew Hawlse replied that it was not material, for that he had made choyce of a company for the very same purpose, whose names were Emmanuel Dornel, Richard Hungate, Paul Carie, Iohn Dauis, Gabriel Valerosa, a Poetugall, and Peter a Britaine, and the Spaniard which we had taken in at the same place, at our first time of watering. And thus we end, desiring God to send vs well into our natiue countrey. In witnesse whereof wee haue subscribed our names.

The Spaniard taken in at Port Famine.

Thomas Browne, Gunner,
John Morrice, &c.

The last voyage of the worshipfull M. Thomas Candish esquire, intended for the South sea, the Philippinas, and the coast of China, with 3. tall ships, and two barks: Written by M. Iohn Iane, a man of good obseruation, imployed in the same, and many other voyages.

THe 26 of August 1591, wee departed from Plimmouth with 3. tall ships, and two barkes, The Galeon wherein M. Candish went himselfe being Admiral, The Roebucke vice-admirall whereof M. Cocke was Captaine, The Desire Rere-admirall whereof was Captaine M. Iohn Dauis (with whom and for whose sake I went this voyage) The Blacke pinnesse, and a barke of M. Adrian Gilbert, whereof M. Randolfe Cotton was Captaine.

Baya de Saluador.

A barke taken.

Cabo Frio. Isla de Placencia.

Isle de S. Sebastian.

The towne of Santos taken.

The 29. of Nouember wee fell with the bay of Saluador vpon the coast of Brasil 12. leagues on this side Cabo Frio, where wee were becalmed vntill the second of December: at which time wee tooke a small barke bound for the Riuer of Plate with sugar, haberdash wares, and Negros. The Master of this barke brought vs vnto an yle called Placencia thirtie leagues West from Cabo Frio, where wee arriued the fift of December, and rifled sixe or seuen houses inhabited by Portugales. The 11. wee departed from this place and the fourteenth we arriued at the yle of S. Sebastian: from whence M. Cocke and Captaine Dauis presently departed with the Desire and the blacke pinnesse, for the taking of the towne of Santos. The 15. at euening we anckered at the barre of Santos, from whence we departed with our boates to the towne; and the next morning about nine of the clocke wee came to Santos, where being discouered, wee were inforced to land with 24 gentlemen, our long boat being farre a sterne, by which expedition wee tooke all the people of the towne at Masse both men and women, whom wee kept all that day in the Church as prisoners. The cause why master Candish desired to take this towne was to supply his great wants: For being in Santos, and hauing it in quite possession, wee stood in assurance to supply all our needes in great abundance. But such was the negligence of our gouernour master Cocke, that the Indians were suffered to carry out of the towne whatsoeuer they would in open viewe, and no man did controll them: and the next day after wee had wonne the towne, our prisoners were all set at libertie, onely foure poore old men were kept as pawnes to supply our wants. Thus in three dayes the towne that was able to furnish such another Fleete with all kinde of necessaries, was left vnto vs nakedly bare, without people and prouision.

Eight or tenne dayes after master Candish himselfe came thither, where hee remained vntill the 22. of Ianuary, seeking by intreatie to haue that, whereof we were once possessed. But in conclusion wee departed out of the towne through extreeme want of victuall, not being able any longer to liue there, and was glad to receiue a few canisters or baskets of Cassaui meale; so that in euery condition wee went worst furnished from the towne, then when wee came vnto it. The 22 of Ianuary we departed from Santos, and burnt Sant Vincent to the ground. The 24. we set saile, shaping our course for the Streights of Magellan.

The towne of S. Vincent burnt.

The seuenth of February we had a great storme, and the eighth our Fleete was separated by the fury of the tempest. Then our Captaine called vnto him the Master of our ship, whom hee found to be a very honest and sufficient man, and conferring with him he concluded to goe for Port Desire, which is in the Southerly latitude of 48. degrees; hoping that the Generall would come thither, because that in his voyage he had found great reliefe there. For our Captaine could never get any direction what course to take in any such extremities, though many times hee had intreated for it, as often I haue heard him with griefe report. In sayling to this port by good chance we met with The Roe-bucke, wherein master Cocke had endured great extremities, and had lost his boate, and therefore desired our Captaine to keepe him company, for hee was in very desperate case. Our Captaine hoised out his boate, and went abord him to know his estate, and returning tolde vs toe hardnesse thereof, and desired the Master and all the company to be carefull in all their watches not to loose The Roe-bucke, and so wee both arriued at Port Desire the sixth of March.

They arriue at Port Desire.

The 16. of March The Black pinnesse came vnto vs, but master Gilberts barke came not, but returned home to England, hauing their Captaine abord the Roe-bucke without any prouision more then the apparell that hee wore, who came from thence abord our ship to remaine with our Captaine, by reason of the great friendship betweene them. The 18. the Galeon came into the

M. Adrain Gilberts barke returneth for England.

A pinnesse built at Santos.

road, and Mr Candish came into the harborough in a boat which he had made at sea; for his long boat and light-horseman were lost at sea, as also a pinnesse which he had built at Santos.: and being abord the Desire he tolde our Captaine of all his extremities, and spake most hardly of his company, and of diuers gentlemen that were with him, purposing no more to go abord his owne ship, but to stay in the Desire. We all sorrowed to heare such hard speaches of our good friends; but hauing spkoen with the gentlemen of the Galeon wee found them faithfull, honest, and resolute, in proceeding, although it pleased our Generall otherwise to conceiue of them.

They fall with the Streight of Magellan.

The 20. of March we departed from Port Desire, master Candish being in the Desire with vs. The eight of April 1592, wee fell with the Streights of Magellan, induring many furious stormes betweene Port Desire and the Streight. The 14. we passed through the first Streight. The 16. we passed the second Streight being ten leagues distant from the first. The 18. we doubled Cape Froward, which Cape lieth in 53. degrees and ½. The 21. wee were inforced by the fury of the weather to put into a small cooue with our ships, 4. leagues from the said Cape, vpon the South shoare, where wee remained vntil the 15. of May. In the which time wee indured extreeme stormes, with perpetual snow, where many of our men died with cursed famine, and miserable cold, not hauing herewith to couer their bodies, nor to fill their bellies, but liuing by muskles, water, and weeds of the sea, with a small reliefe of the ships store in meale sometimes. And all the sicke men in the Galeon were most vncharitably put a shore into the woods in the snowe, raine, and cold, when men of good health could scarcely indure it, where they ended their liue in the highest degree of misery, master Candish all this while being abord the Desire. In these great extremities of snow and cold, doubting what the ende would be, he asked our Captaines opinion, because he was a man that had good experience of the Northwest parts, in his 3. seuerall discoueries that way, imployed by the merchants of London. Our Captaine tolde him, that this snowe was a matter of no long continuance, and gaue him sufficient reason for it, and that thereby hee could not much be preiudiced or hindered in his proceeding. Notwithstanding he called together all the company, and tolde them, that he purposed not to stay in the Streights, but to depart vpon some other voyage, or else to returne againe for Brasil. But his resolution was to goe for the Cape of Buena Esperança. The company answered, that if it pleased him, they did desire to stay Gods fauour for a winde, and to indure all hardnesse whatsoeuer, rather then to giue ouer the voyage, considering they had bene here but a smal time, and because they were within fourtie leagues of the South sea, it grieued them now to returne; notwithstanding what hee purposed that they would performe. So hee concluded to goe for the Cape of Buena Esperança, and to giue ouer this voyage. Then our Captaine, after master Candish was come abord The Desire from talking with the company, tolde him, that if it pleased him to consider the great extremitie of his estate, the slendernesse of his prouisions, with the weakenesse of his men, it was no course for him to proceed in that newe enterprize: for if the rest of your shippes (said hee) bee furnished answerable to this, it is impossible to performe your determination: for wee haue no more sailes then mates, no victuals, no ground-tackling, no cordage more then is ouer our head, and among seuentie and fiue psrsons, there is but the Master alone that can order the shippe, and but foureteene saylers. The rest are gentlemen, seruingmen. and artificers. Therefore it will be a desperate case to take so hard an enterprize in hand. These perswasions did our Captaine not onely vse to master Candish, but also to master Cocke. In fine vpon a petition deliuered in writing by the chiefe of the whole company, the Generall determined to depart out of The Streights of Magellan, and to returne againe for Santos in Brasil.

They returne from the Streights of Magellan.

So the 15. of May wee set saile, the Generall then being in the Galeon. The eighteenth wee were free of the Streights, but at Cape Froward it was our hard hap to haue our boat sunke at our sterne in the night, and to be split and sore spoiled, and to loose all our ores.

The occasion of losing the Generall.

The twentieth of May being thwart of Port Desire, in the night the Generall altered his course, as wee suppose, by which occasion wee lost him: for in the euening he stood close by a winde to seaward, hauing the winde at Northnortheast, and wee standing the same way, the winde not altering, could not the next day see him: so that we then perswaded our selues, that hee was gone for Port Desire to relieue himselfe, or that hee had sustained some mischance at Sea, and was gone thither to remedy it. Whereupon our Captaine called the Generals men vnto him, with the rest, and asked their opinion what was to bee done. Euery one sayde, that they thought that the Generall was gone for Port Desire. Then the Master being the Generals man, and carefull of his masters seruice, as also of good iudgement in Sea-matters, tolde the company howe dangerous it was to goe for Port Desire, if wee shoulde there misse the Generall: for (saide hee) wee haue no boate to lande our selues, nor any cables nor anckers that I dare trust in so quicke streames as are there: yet in all likelyhood concluding that the Generall was gone thither, wee stayed our course for Port Desire, and by chance mette with the Blacke pinnesse, which had likewise lost the Fleete, being in very miserable case: so wee both concluded to seeke the Generall at Port Desire.

They come againe to Port Desire the 26. of May.

The sixe and twentieth day of May we came to Port Desire, where not finding our General, as we hoped, being most slenderly victualled, without sailes, boate, ores, nailes, cordage, and all other necessaries for our reliefe, wee were strooken into a deadly sorrow. But referring all to the prouidence and fatherly protection of the Almightie, wee entered the harbour, and by Gods fauour found a place of quiet roade, which before wee knewe not. Hauing mored our shippe with the pinnesses boate, wee landed vpon the South shore, where wee found a standing poole of fresh water, which by estimation might holde some tenne tunnes, whereby wee were greatly comforted. From this poole wee fet more then fortie tunnes of water, and yet wee left the poole as full as wee found it. And because at our first being in this harbour wee were at this place and found no water, we perswaded our selues that God had sent it for our reliefe. Also there were such extraordinary low ebbes as we had neuer seene, whereby wee got muskles in great plentie. Likewise God sent about our shippes great abundance of smelts, so that with hookes made of pinnes euery man caught as many as hee coulde eate: by which meanes wee preserued our ships victuals, and spent not any during the time of our abode here.

A quiet road.

A poole of fresh water on the South side of Port Desire.

Abundance of muskles and smelts.

Our Captaine and Master falling into the consideration of our estate and dispatch to goe to the Generall, found our wants so great, as that in a moneth wee coulde not fitte our shippe to set saile. For wee must needes set vp a Smiths forge, to make boltes, spikes, and nayles, besides the repairing of our other wants. Whereupon they concluded it to bee their best course to take the pinnesse, and to furnish her with the best of the company, and to goe to the Generall with all expedition, leauing the shippe and the rest of the company vntill the Generals returne; for hee had vowed to our Captaine, that hee would returne againe for the Streights, as hee had tolde vs. The Captaine and Master of the pinnesse being the Generals men were well contented with the motion.

A dangerous mutiny.

But the Generall hauing in our shippe two most pestilent fellowes, when they heard of this determination they vtterly misliked it, and in secret dealt with the company of both shippes, vehemently perswading them, that our Captaine and Master would leaue them in the countrey to be deuoured of the Canibals, and that they were mercilesse and without charitie: whereupon the whole company ioyned in secret with them in a night to murther our Captaine and Master, with my selfe, and all those which they thought were their friendes. There were markes taken in his caben howe to kill him with muskets through the shippes side, and bullets made of siluer for the execution, if their other purposes should faile. All agreed hereunto, except it were the bote-swaine of our shippe, who when hee knew the matter, and the slender ground thereof, reueiled it vnto our Master, and so to the Captaine. Then the matter being called in question, those two most murtherous fellowes were found out, whose names were Charles Parker and Edward Smith.

The Captaine being thus hardly beset in perill of famine, and in danger of murthering, was constrained to vse lenitie, and by courteous meanes to pacifie this furie: shewing, that to doe the Generall seruice, vnto whom he had vowed faith in this action, was the cause why hee purposed to goe vnto him in the pinnesse, considering, that the pinnesse was so necessary a thing for him, as that hee could not bee without her, because hee was fearefull of the shore in so great shippes. Whereupon all cried out with cursing and swearing, that the pinnesse should not goe vnlesse the shippe went. Then the Captaine desired them to shewe themselues Christians, and not so blasphemously to behaue themselues, without regard or thankesgiuing to God for their great deliuerance, and present sustenance bestowed vpon them, alleaging many examples of Gods sharpe punishment for such ingratitude; and withall promised to doe any thing that might stand with their good liking. By which gentle speaches the matter was pacified, and the Captaine and Master at the request of the company were content to forgiue this great treachery of Parker and Smith, who after many admonitions concluded in these wordes: The Lord iudge betweene you and mee: which after came to a most sharpe reuenge euen by the punishment of of the Almightie. Thus by a generall consent it was concluded not to depart, but there to stay for the Generals returne. Then our Captaine and Master, seeing that they could not doe the Generall that seruice which they desired, made a motion to the company, that they would lay downe vnder their handes the losing of the Generall, with the extremities wherein we then stoode: whereunto they consented, and wrote vnder their handes as followeth.

The testimoniall of the companie of The Desire touching their losing of their Generall, which appeareth to haue beene vtterly against their meanings.

THe 26 of August 1591 wee whose names bee here vnder written, with diuers others departed from Plimmouth under M. Thomas Candish our Generall, with 4 ships of his, to wit, The Galeon, The Robuck, The Desire, and the Black pinnesse, for the performance of a voyage inro The South sea. The 19 of Nouember we fell with the bay of Saluador in Brasil. The 16 of December we tooke the towne of Santos, hoping there to reuictuall our selues, but it fell not out to our contentment. The 24 of Ianuary we set saile from Santos, shaping our course for The Streights of Magellan. The 8 of Februarie by violent stormes the sayde fleete was parted: The Robuck and The Desire arriued in Porte Desire the 6 of March. The 16 of March The Black pinnesse arriued here also: and the 18 of the same our admirall came into the roade; with whom we departed the 20 March in poore and weake estate. The 8 of Aprill 1592 we entred the Streights of Magellan. The 21 of Aprill wee ankered beyond Cape Froward, within 40 leagues of The South sea, where wee rode vntill the 15 of May. In which time wee had great store of snowe, with some gustie weather, the wind continuing still at Westnorthwest against vs. In this time wee were inforced for the preseruing of our victuals, to liue the most part vpon muskles, our prouision was so slender; so that many of our men died in this hard extremitie. Then our General returned for Brasil there to winter, and to procure victuals for this voyage against the next yeere. So wee departed The Streights the 15 of May. The 21 being thwart of Port Desire 30 leagues off the shoare, the wind then at Northeast and by North, at fiue of the clocke at night lying Northeast, wee suddenly cast about lying Southeast and by South, and sometimes Southeast: the whole fleete following the admirall, our ship coming vnder his lee shot ahead him, and so framed saile fit to keepe companie. This night we were seuered, by what occasion wee protest wee know not, whether wee lost them or they vs. In the morning we only saw the Black pinnesse, then supposing that the admirall had ouershot vs. All this day wee stoode to the Eastwards, hoping to find him, because it was not likely, that he would stand to the shoare againe so suddenly. But missing him towards night, we stood to the shoareward, hoping by that course to finde him. The 22 of May at night we had a violent storme, with the winde at Northwest, and wee were inforced to hull, not being able to beare saile, and this night we perished our maine tressle-trees, so that wee could no more vse our maine top-saile, lying most dangerously in the sea. The pinnesse likewise receiued a great leake, so that wee were inforced to seeke the next shoare for our reliefe. And because famine was like to bee the best end, wee desired to goe for Port Desire, hoping with seales and penguins to relieue our selues, and so to make shift to followe the Generall, or there to stay his comming from Brasil. The 24 of May wee had much winde at North. The 25 was calme, and the sea very loftie, so that our ship had dangerous foule weather. The 26 our fore-shrowdes brake, so that if wee had not beene neere the shoare, it had beene impossible for vs to get out of the sea. And nowe being here mored in Port Desire, our shroudes are all rotten, not hauing a running rope whereto wee may trust, and being prouided onely of one shift of sailes all worne, our top sailes not able to abide any stresse of weather, neither haue wee any pitch, tarre, or nailes, nor any store for the supplying of these wantes; and wee liue onely vpon seales and muskles, hauing but fiue hogsheads of pork within bourd, and meale three ounces for a man a

The maner how they lost their General.

day, with water for to drinke. And forasmuch as it hath pleased God to separate our fleete, and to bring vs into such hard extremities, that only now by his mere mercy we expect reliefe, though otherwise we are hopelesse of comfort, yet because the wonderfull workes of God in his exceeding great fauour toward vs his creatures are farre beyond the scope of mans capacitie, therefore by him we hope to haue deliuerance in this our deepe distresse. Also forasmuch as those upon whom God will bestow the fauour of life, with returne home to their countrey, may not onley themselues remaine blamelesse, but also manifest the trueth of our actions, wee haue thought good in Christian charitie to lay downe vnder our hands the trueth of all our proceedings euen till the time of this our distresse.

Giuen in Port Desire the 2 of Iune 1592. Beseeching the almightie God of his mercie to deliuer vs from this miserie, how or when it shall please his diuine Maiestie.

Iohn Dauis Captaine.
Randolph Cotton.
Iohn Pery.
William Maber gunner.
Charles Parker.
Roaland Miller.
Edward Smith.
Thomas Purpet.
Matthew Stubbes.
Iohn Ienkinson.
Thomas Edwards.
Edward Granger.
Iohn Lewis.
William Hayman.
George Straker.
Thomas Walkie.
William Wyeth.
Richard Alard.
Stephen Popham.
Alexander Cole.

Thomas Watkins.
George Cunington.
Iohn Whiting.
Iames Ling.
The Boat-swain.
Ffancis Smith.
Iohn Layes.
The Boat-swaines mate.
Fisher.
Iohn Austin.
Francis Copstone.
Richard Garet.
Iames Euersby.
Nicolas Parker.
Leonard.
Iohn Pick.
Benjamin.
William Maber.
Iames Not.
Christopher Hauser.

After they had deliuered this relation vnto our captaine vnder their handes, then wee began to trauell for our liues, and wee built vp a smiths forge, and made a colepit, and burnt coles, and there wee made nailes, boltes, and spikes, others made ropes of

An Isle neere Port Desire abounding with seales and penguins.

a peece of our cable, and the rest gathered muskles, and tooke smeltes for the whole companie. Three leagues from this harborough there is an Isle with foure small Isles about it, where there are great abundauce of seales, and at the time of the yeere the penguins come thither in great plentie to breede. Wee concluded with the pinnesse, that she should sometimes goe thither to fetch seales for vs; vpon which condition wee would share our victuals with her man for man; whereunto the whole companie agreed. So wee parted our poore store, and she laboured to fetch vs seales to eate, wherewith wee liued when smeltes and muskles failed: for in the nepe streames we could get no muskles. Thus in most miserable calamitie wee remained vntil the sixt of August, still keeping watch vpon the hils to looke for our Generall, and so great was our vexation and anguish of soule, as I thinke neuer flesh and blood endured more. Thus our miserie dayly increasing, time passing. and our hope of the Generall being very colde, our Captaine and Master were fully perswaded, that the Generall might perhaps goe directly for The Streights, and not come to this harborough: whereupon they thought no course more conuenient then to goe presently for The Streights, and there to stay his comming, for in that place hee could not passe, but of force wee must see him: whereunto the companie most willingly consented, as also the Captaine and master of the pinnesse; so that vpon this determinatian wee made all possible speede to depart.

They depart the second time from Port Desire for the Streights of Magellan.

The sixt of August we set saile, and went to Penguin-isle, and the next day wee salted twentie hogsheads of seales, which was as much as our salt could possibly doe, and so wee departed for The Streights the poorest wretches that euer were created. The seuenth of August towarde nighte wee departed from Penguin-isles, shaping our course for The Streights, where wee had full confidence to meete with our Generall. The ninth wee had a sore storme, so that wee were constrained to hull, for our sailies were not to indure any force. The 14 wee were driuen in among certaine Isles neuer before discouered by any knowen relation, lying fiftie leagues or better from the shoare East and Northerly from the Streights: in which place, vnlesse it had pleased God of his wonderfull mercie to haue ceased the winde, wee

Certaine Isles neuer before discouered fiftie leagues northeast of the Streights.

must of necessitie haue perished. But the winde shifting to the East, wee directed our course for The Streights, and the 18 of August wee fell with the Cape in a very thicke fogge; and the same night we ankered ten leagues within the Cape. The 19 day wee passed the first and the second Streights. The 21 day wee doubled Cape Froward. The 22 we ankered in Saluage cooue, so named, because wee found many Saluages there: notwithstanding the extreme colde of this place, yet doe all these wilde people go naked, and live in the woods like Satyrs, painted and disguised, and flie from you like wilde deere. They are very strong, and threw stones at vs, of three or foure pound waight an incredi table distance. The 24 in the morning wee departed from this cooue, and the same day we came into the Northwest reach, which is the last reach of the Streights. The 25 we ankered in a good cooue, within fourteene leagues of the South sea: in this place we purposed to stay for the General, for the streight in this place is scarce three miles broad, so that he could not passe but we must see him. After we had stayed here a fortnight in the deep of winter, our victuals consuming, (for our Seals stunke most vily, and our men died pitifully through cold and famin, for the greatest part of them had not clothes to defend the extremitie of the winters cold) being in this heauie distresse, our captaine and Master thought it the best course to depart from the Streights into the South sea, and to go for the isle of Santa Maria, which is to the Northward of Baldiuia in 37 degrees and a quarter, where we might haue reliefe, and be in a temperate clime, and their stay for the Generall, for of necessity he must come by that Isle. So we departed the 13 of September, and came in sight of the South sea. The 14 we were forced backe againe, and recouered a cooue 3 leagues within the streights from the South sea. Againe we put foorth, and being 8 or 10 leagues free of the land, the wind rising furiously at Westnorthwest, we were inforced againe into the streights only for want of sails; for we neuer durst beare saile in any stresse of weather, they were so weake: so againe we recouered the cooue three leagues within the streights, where we indured most furious weather, so that one of our two cables brake, whereby we were hopeles of life. Yet it

The first and second Srreight.

Cape Froward

Saluage cooue

The northwest or last reach of the Streights.

Their fiirst entrance into ye South sea.

They enter the South sea the second time.

pleased God to calme the storme, and wee vnriued our sheates, tackes, halliers, and other ropes, and mored our ship to the trees close by the rockes. We laboured to recouer our ankor againe, but could not by any means, it lay so deepe in the water, and as we thinke cleane couered with oaze. Now had we but one ankor which had but one whole Flouke, a cable spliced in two places, and a piece of an olde cable. In the middest of these our troubles it pleased God that the wind came faire the first of October; whereupon with all expedition wee loosed our morings, and weighed our ankor, and so towed off into the chanel; for wee had mended our boate in Port Desire, and had fiue oares of the pinnesse. When we had weighed our ankor, we found our cable broken, onely one stand helde: then wee praysed God; for we saw apparently his mercies in preseruing vs. Being in the chanel, we riued our ropes, and againe rigged our ship, no mans hand was idle, but all laboured euen for the last gaspe of life. Here our company was deuided; some desired to go againe for Port Desire, and there to be set on shore, where they might trauell for their liues, and some stood with the Captaine and Master to proceed. Whereupon the Captaine sayd to the Master: Master, you see the wonderfull extremitie of our estate, and the great doubts among our companie of the truth of your reports, as touching reliefe to be had in the South sea: some say in secret, as I am informed, that we vndertake these desperate attempts through blind affection that we beare to the General. For mine owne part I plainely make knowen vnto you, that the loue which I bare to the Generall caused mee first to enter into this action, whereby I haue not onely heaped vpon my head this bitter calamity now present, but also haue in some sort procured the dislike of my best friends in England, as it is not vnknowen to some in this company. But now being thus entangled by the prouidence of God for my former offences (no doubt) I desire, that it may please his diuine Maiestie to show vs such mercifull fauour, that we may rather proceed, then otherwise: or if it be his wil, that our mortall being shal now take an ende, I rather desire that it may bee in proceeding then in returning. And because I see in reason, that the limits of our time are now drawing to an end, I do in Christian charity intreat you all, first to forgiue me in whatsoeuer I have bin grieuous vnto you; secondly that you wil rather pray for our General, then vse hard speeches of him; and let vs be fully perswaded, that not for his cause and negligence, but for our own offences against the diuine Maiesty we are presently punished; lastly, let vs forgiue one another and be reconciled as children in loue and charity, and not think vpon the vanities of this life: so shall we in leauing this life liue with our glorious redeemer, or abiding in this life, find fauour with God. And now (good master) forasmuch as you haue bin in this voyage once before with your master the general, satisfie the company of such truths, as are to you best knowen; and you the rest of the generals men, which likewise haue bin with him in his first voyage if you hear any thing contrary to the truth, spare not to reprooue it, I pray you. And so I beseech the Lord to bestow his mercy vpon vs. Then the master began in these speeches: Captain your request is very reasonable, and I referre to your iudgment my honest care, and great pains taken in the generals seruice, my loue towardes him, and in what sort I haue discharged my duety, from the first day to this houre. I was commanded by the general to follow your directions, which hitherto I haue performed. You all knowe, that when I was extreamely sicke, the General was lost in my mates watch, as you have well examined: sithens which time, in what anguish and griefe of minde I haue liued, God onely knoweth, and you are in some part a witnesse. And nowe if you thinke good to returne, I will not gainesay it: but this I assure you, if life may be preserued by any meanes, it is in proceeding. For at the Isle of Santa Maria I doe assure you of wheate, porke, and rootes enough. Also I will bring you to an Isle, where Pelicans bee in great abundance, and at Santos wee shall haue meale in great abundance, and at Santos, wee shall haue meale in great plenty, besides all our possibilitie of intercepting some shippes vpon the coast of Chili and Peru. But if wee returne there is nothing but death to be hoped for: therefore do as you like, I am ready, but my desire is to proceede. These his speeches being confirmed by others that were in the former voyage, there was a generall consent of proceeding; and so the second of October we put into the South sea, and were free of all land. This night the winde began to blowe very much at Westnorthwest, and still increased in fury, so that wee were in great doubt what course to take: to put into the Streights wee durst not for lacke of ground-tackle: to beare sayle wee doubted, the tempest was so furious, and our sayles so

This Santos standeth vpon the coast of Peru in 9 deg. of Southerly latitude.

They enter the South sea the third time.

bad. The pinnesse came roome with vs, and tolde vs that shee had receiued many grieuous Seas, and that her ropes did euery houre fayle her, so as they could not tell what shift to make : wee being vnable in any sort to helpe them, stood vnder our coarses in view of the lee-shore, still expecting our ruinous end.

The black pinnesse lost in the South sea.

The fourth of October the storme growing beyond all reason furious, the pinnesse being in the winde of vs, strake suddenly ahull, so that we thought shee had receiued some grieuous sea, or sprung a leake, or that her sayles failed her, because she came not with vs : but we durst not hull in that vnmercifull storme, but sometimes tried vnder our maine coarse, sometime with a haddock of our sayle, for our ship was very leeward, and most laboursome in the sea. This night wee lost the pinnesse, and neuer saw her againe.

The fift, our foresayle was split, and all to torne: then our Master tooke the mizzen, and brought it to the foremast, to make our ship worke, and with our spritsaile we mended our foresayle, the storme continuing without all reason in fury, while haile, snowe, raine, and winde such and so mighty, as that in nature it could not possibly be more, the seas such and so lofty, with continuall breach, that many times we were doubtfull whether our ship did sinke or swimme.

The tenth of October being by the accompt of our Captaine and Master very neere the shore, the weather darke, the storme furious, and most of our men hauing giuen ouer to trauell, we yeelded ourselues to death, without further hope of succour. Our captaine sitting in the gallery very pensiue, I came and brought him some Rosa solis to comfort him ; for he was so cold, that he was scarce able to mooue a ioint. After he had drunke, and was comforted in heart, hee began for the ease of his conscience to make a large repetition of his forepassed time, and with many grieuous sighs he concluded in these words : Oh most glorious God, with whose power the mightiest things among men are matters of no moment, I most humbly beseech thee, that the intollerable burthen of my sinnes may through the blood of Iesus Christ be taken from me : and end our daies with speedy, or shew vs some mercifull signe of thy loue and our preseruation. Hauing thus ended, he desired me not to make knowen to any of the company his intollerable griefe and anguish of minde, because they should not thereby be dismayed. And so suddenly, before I went from him the Sunne shined cleere ; so that he and the Master both obserued the true eleuation of the Pole, whereby they knew by what course to recouer the Sreights. Wherewithall our captaine and Master were so reuiued, and gaue such comfortable speeches to the company, that euery man reioiced, as though we had receiued a pleasant deliuerance. The next day being the 11 of October, we saw Cabo Deseado being the cape on the South shore (the North shore is nothing but a company of dangerous rocks, Isles, and sholds.) This cape being within two leages to leeward off vs, our master greatly doubted, that we could not double the same: whereupon the captaine told him: You see there is no remedy, either we must double it, or before noon we must die: therefore loose your sails, and let vs put it to Gods mercy. The master being a man of good spirit resolutely made quicke dispatch and set saile. Our sailes had not bene halfe an houre aboord, but the footrope of our foresaile brake, so that nothing held but the oylet holes. The seas continually brake ouer the ships poope, and flew into the sailes with such violence, that we still expected the tearing of our sayles, or ouersetting of our ship, and withall to our vtter discomfort, wee perceiued that wee fell still more and more to leeward, so that wee could not double the cape: wee were nowe come within halfe a mile of the cape, and so neere the shore, that the countersuffe of the sea would rebound against the shippes side, so that wee were much dismayed with the horror of our present ende. Beeing thus at the very pinch of death, the winde and Seas raging beyond measure, our Master veared some of the maine sheate; and whether it was by that occasion, or by some current, or by the wonderfull power of God, as wee verily thinke it was, the ship quickened her way, and shot past that rocke, where wee thought shee should haue shored. Then between the cape and the poynt there was a little bay; so that wee were somewhat farther from the shoare: and when we were come so farre as the cape, wee yeelded to death: yet our good God the Father of all mercies deliuered vs, and wee doubled the cape about the length of our shippe, or very little more. Being shot past the cape, we presently tooke in our sayles, which onely God had preserued vnto vs: and when we were shot in betweene the high lands, the wind blowing trade, without any inch of sayle, we spooned before the sea, three men being not able to guide the helme, and in sixe houres wee were put

The Cape Deseado most dangerously doubled, after they had been nine dayes in the South sea.

fiue and twenty leagues, within the Streights, where wee found a sea answerable to the Ocean.

In this time we freed our ship from water, and after wee had rested a little, our men were not able to mooue; their sinewes were stiffe, and their flesh dead, and many of them (which is most lamentable to bee reported) were so eaten with lice, as that in their flesh did lie clusters of lice as big as peason, yea and some as big as beanes. Being in this miserie we were constrained to put into a cooue for the refreshing our men. Our Master knowing the shore and euery cooue very perfectly, put in with the shore, and mored to the trees, as beforetime we had done, laying our ankor to the seaward. Here we continued vntil the twentieth of October; but not being able any longer to stay through extremitie of famine, the one and twentieth we put off into the chanell, the weather being reasonable calme: but before night it blew most extremely at Westnorthwest. The storme growing outrageous, our men could scarcely stand by their labour; and the Streights being full of turning reaches we were constrained by discretion of the Captaine and Master in their accounts to guide the ship in the hell-darke night, when we could not see any shore, the chanell being in some places scarse three miles broad. But our captaine, as wee first passed through the Streights drew such an exquisite plat of the same, as I am assured it cannot in any sort be bettered: which plat hee and the Master so often perused, and so carefully regarded, as that in memorie they had euery turning and creeke, and in the deepe darke night without any doubting they conueyed the ship through that crooked chanell: so that I conclude, the world hath not any so skilfull pilots for that place, as they are: for otherwise wee could neuer haue passed in such sort as we did.

An excellent plat of the Streights of Magellan.

The 25 wee came to an Island in the Streights named Penguin-isle, whither wee sent our boate to seeke reliefe, for there were great abundance of birds, and the weather was very calme; so wee came to an ankor by the Island in seuen fadomes. While our boate was at shore, and we had great store of Penguins, there arose a sudden storme, so that our ship did driue ouer a breach and our boate sanke at the shore. Captaine Cotton and the Lieutenant being on shore leapt in the boate, and freed the same, and threw away all the birdes, and with great difficultie recouered the ship: my selfe also was in the boate the same time, where for my life I laboured to the best of my power. The ship all this while driuing vpon the lee-shore, when wee came aboord, we helped to set sayle, and weighed the ankor: for before our comming they could scarse hoise vp their yardes, yet with much adoe they set their fore-coarse. Thus in a mighty fret of weather the seuen and twentieth day of October wee were free of the Streights, and the thirtieth of October we came to Penguin-isle being three leagues from Port Desire, the place which wee purposed to seeke for our reliefe.

Penguin-isle within three leagues of Port Desire.

When wee were come to this Isle wee sent our boate on shore, which returned laden with birdes and egges; and our men sayd that the Penguins were so thicke vpon the Isle, that shippes might be laden with them; for they could not goe without treading vpon the birds, whereat we greatly reioiced. Then the captaine appointed Charles Parker and Edward Smith, with twenty others to goe on shore, and to stay vpon the Isle, for the killing and drying of those Penguins, and promised after the ship was in harborough to send the rest, not onely for expedition, but also to saue the small store of victuals in the shippe. But Parker, Smith, and the rest of their faction suspected, that this was a diuise of the Captaine to leaue his men on shore, that by these meanes there might bee victuals for the rest to recouer their countrey: and when they remembered, that this was the place where they would haue slaine their Captaine and Master, surely (thought they) for reuenge hereof will they leaue vs on shore. Which when our Captaine vnderstood, hee vsed these speeches vnto them: I vnderstand that you are doubtful of your security through the peruerenesse of your owne guilty consciences: it is an extreame griefe vnto me, that you should indulge mee bloodthirstie, in whome you haue seene nothing but kinde conuersation: if you haue found otherwise, speake boldly, and accuse mee of the wrongs that I haue done; if not, why do you then measure me by your owne vncharitable consciences? All the company knoweth indeed, that in this place you practized to the vtmost of your powers, to murther me and the master causeles, as God knoweth, which euil in this place we did remit you: and now I may conceiue without doing you wrong, that you againe purpose some euil in bringing these matters to repetition: but God hath so shortened your confederacie, as that I nothing doubt you: it is for your Masters sake that I haue forborne you in your vnchristian practizes: and here I protest before God, that for his sake alone I will yet indure this iniury, and you shall in no sorte be preiudiced, or in any thing be by me commanded: but when we come into England (if God so fauour vs) your master shall knowe your honesties; in the meane space be voide of these suspicions, for, God I call to witnes, reuenge is no part of my thought. They gaue him thanks, desiring to go into the harborough with the ship, which he granted. So there were ten left vpon the Isle, and the last of October we entred the harborough. Our Master at our last being here hauing taken carefull notice of euery creeke in the riuer, in a very conuenient place, vpon sandy oaze, ran the ship on ground, laying our ankor to seaward, and with our running ropes mored her to stakes vpon the shore, which hee had fastened for that purpose; where the ship remained till our departure.

They enter Port Desire the third time.

The third of Nouember our boat with water, wood, and as many as shee could carry, went for the Isle of Penguins: but being deepe, she durst not proceed, but returned againe the same night. Then Parker, Smith, Townesénd, Purpet, with fiue others, desired that they might goe by land, and that the boate might fetch them when they were against the Isle, it being scarce a mile from the shore. The captaine bade them doe what they thought best, aduising them to take weapons with them: for (sayd he) although we haue not at any time seene people in this place, yet in the countrey there may be Sauages. They answered, that here were great store of Deere, and Ostriches; but if there were Saluages, they would deuoure them: notwithstanding the captaine caused them to cary weapons, calieures, swordes, and targets: so the sixt of Nouember they departed by land, and the bote by sea; but from that day to this day wee neuer heard of our men. The 11 while most of our men were at the Isle, onely the Captaine and Master with sixe others being left in the ship, there came a great multitude of Saluages to the ship, throwing dust in the ayre, leaping and runniug, like brute beasts, hauing vizards on their faces like dogs faces, or else their faces are dogs faces indeed. We greatly feared least they would set the ship on fire, for they would suddenly make fire, whereat we much maruelled: they came to windward

Penguin Isle scarce a mile from the maine.

Nine men lost.

A great multitude of Saluages with vizrads, or faces like unto dogs faces.

of our ship, and set the bushes on fire, so that we were in a very stinking smoke: but as soone as they came within our shot, we shot at them, and striking one of them in the thigh they all presently fled, so that we neuer heard nor saw more of them. Hereby we iudged that these Canibals had slaine our 9 men. When we considered what they were that thus were slaine, and found that they were the principall men that would haue murthered our Captaine and Master, with the rest of their friends, we saw the iust iudgement of God, and made supplication to his diuine Maiesty to be mercifull vnto vs. While we were in this harborough, our Captaine and Master went with the boat to discouer how farre this riuer did run, that if neede should enforce vs to leaue our ship, we might know how farre we might go by water. So they found, that farther than 20 miles they could not go with the boat. At their returne they sente the boate to the Isle of Penguins; whereby wee vnderstood that the Penguins dryed to our hearts content, and that the multitude of them was infinite. This Pengnin hath the shape of a bird, but hath no wings, only two stumps in the place of wings, by which he swimmeth vnder water with as great swiftnes as any fish. They liue vpon smelts, whereof there is great abundance vpon this coast: in eating they be neither fish nor flesh: they lay great eggs, and the bird is of a reasonable bignes, very neere twise so big as a ducke. All the time that wee were in this place, we fared passing well with egs, Penguins, yong Seales, young Gulles, besides other birds, such as I know not: of all which we had great abundance. In this place we found an herbe called Scuruygrasse, which wee fried with egs, vsing traine oyle in stead of butter. This herbe did so purge ye blood, that it tooke away all kind of swellings, of which many died, and restored vs to perfect health of body, so that we were in as good case as when we came first out of England. We stayed in this harbour vntil the 22 of December, in which time we had dried 20000 Penguins: and the Captaine, the Master, and myselfe had made some salt, by laying salt water upon the rocks in holes, which in 6 daies would be kerned. Thus God did feed vs euen as it were with Manna from heauen.

The riuer of Port Desire but 20 miles passable by boate.

The great benefit of the herbe called Scuruygrasse.

They stayed 7 weeks in Port Desire.

A pretty deuise to make salt.

The 22 of December we departed with our ship for the Isle, where with great dificulty, by the skilful industry of our Master we got 14000 of our birds, and had almost lost our captaine in labouring to bring the birds aboord: and had not our Master bene very expert in the set of those wicked tides, which run after many fashions, we had also lost our ship in the same place: but God of his goodnes hath in all our extremities bene our protector. So the 22 at night we departed with 14000 dried Penguins, not being able to fetch the rest, and shaped our course for Brasil.

A poore allowance of victuals.

Now our captaine rated our victuals, and broughs vs to such allowance, as that our victuals might last sixe moneths; for our hope was, that within sixe moneths we might recouer our countrey, though our sailes were very bad. So the allowance was two ounces and a halfe of meale for a man a day, and to haue so twise a weeke, so that 5 ounces did seure for a weeke. Three daies a weeke we had oile, three spoonfuls for a man a day; and 2 dayes in a weeke peason, a pint betweene 4 men a day, and euery day 5 Penguins for 5 men, and 6 quartes of water for 4 men a day. This was our allowance; wherewtth (we praise God) we liued, though weakly, and very feeble. The 30 of Ianuary we arriued at the Ile of Placencia in Brasil, the first place that outward bound we were at: and hauing made the sholde, our ship lying off at sea, the Captaine with 24 of the company went with the boat on shore, being a whole night before they could recouer it. The last of Ianuary at sun-rising they suddenly landed, hoping to take the Portugales in their houses, and by that meanes to recouer some Casaui-meale, or other victuals for our men with 23 shot went againe to the gardens, being 3 miles from vs vpon the North shore, and fetched Cazaui roots out of the ground, to relieue our company instead of bread; for we spent not of our meale while we staied here. The 5 of February being Munday, our captaine and master hasted the company to their labour; so some went the Coopers to gather hoopes, and the rest laboured aboord. This night many of our men in the ship dreamed of murther and slaughter: In the morning they reported their dreames, one saying to another; this night I dreamt, that thou wert slaine; another answered, and I dreamed, that thou wert slaine: and this was general through the ship. The captaine hearing this, who likewise had dreamed very strangely himselfe, gaue very streight charge, that those which went on shore should take weapons with them, and saw them himselfe delluered into the boat, and sent

The Isle of Placencia in Brasill.

Ominous and fore-warning dreames.

some of purpose to guard the labourers. All the forenoone they laboured in quietnesse, and when it was ten of the clocke, the heat being extreme, they came to a rocke neere the woods side (for al this countrey is nothing but thick woods) and there they boyled Cazauiroots, and dined: after dinner some slept, some washed themselues in the sea, all being stripped to their shirts, and no man keeping watch, no match lighted, not a piece charged. Suddenly, as they were thus sleeping and sporting, hauing gotten themselues into a corner out of sight of the ship, there came a multitude of Indians and Portugales vpon them, and slew them sleeping: onely two escaped, one very sore hurt, the other not touched, by whom we vnderstsod by this miserable massacre: with all speed we manned our boat, and landed to succour our men; but we found them slaine, and laied naked on a ranke one by another, with their faces vpward, and a crosse set by them: and withall we saw two very great pinnesses come from the riuer of Ianero very ful of men; whom we mistrusted came from thence to take vs: because there came from Ienero souldiers to Santos, when the Generall had taken the towne and was strong in it. Of 76 persons which departed in our ship out of England, we were now left but 57, hauing lost 13 in this place, with their chiefe furniture, as muskets, caliuers, powder, and shot. Our caske was all in decay, so that we could not take in more water than was in our ship, for want of caske, and that which we had was maruellous ill conditioned: and being there mored by trees for want or cables and ankers, we still expected the cutting of our morings, to be beaten from our decks with our owne furniture, and to be assayled by them of Ianero: what distresse we were now driuen into, I am not able to expresse. To depart with 8 tunnes of water in such bad caske was to sterue at sea, and in staying our case was ruinous. These were hard choises; but being thus perplexed, we made choice rather to fall into the hands of the Lord, then into the hands of men: for his exceeding mercies we had tasted, and of the others cruelty we were not ignorant. So concluding to depart, the 6 of February we were off in the chanell, with our ordinance and small shot in a readines, for any assalt that should come, and hauing a small gale of winde, we recouered the sea in most deepe distresse. Then bemoning our estate one to another, and recounting oure all our extremities, nothing grieued vs more, then the losse of

Thirteene men lost at the Ile of Placencia by their owne extreme negligence.

our men twise, first by the slaughter of the Canibals at Port Desire, and at this Ile of Placencia by the Indians and Portugals. And considering what they were that were lost, we found that al those that conspired the murthering of our captaine and master were now slain by saluages, the gunner only excepted. Being thus at sea, when we came to cape Frio, the winde was contrary; so that 3 weekes we were grieuously vexed with crosse windes, and our water consuming, our hope of life was very small. Some desired to go to Baya, and to submit themselues to the Portugales, rather to die for thirst: but the captaine with faire perswations altered their purpose of yeelding to the Portugales. In this distresse it pleased God to send vs raine in such plenty, as that we were well watered, and in good comfort to returne. But after we came neere vnto the sun, our dried Penguins bagan to corrupt, and there bred in them a most lothsome and vgly worme of an inch long. This worme did so mightily increase, and deuoure our victuals, that there was in reason no hope how we should auoide famine, but be deuoured of these wicked creatures: there was nothing that they did not deuour, only yron excepted: our clothes, boots, shooes, hats, shirts, stockings: and for the ship they did so eat the timbers, as that we greatly feared they would vndoe vs, by gnawing through the ships side. Great was the care and diligence of our captaine, master, and company to consume these vermine, but the more we laboured to kill them, the more they increased; so that at the last we conld not sleepe for them, but they would eate our flesh, and bite like Mosquitos. In this wofull case, after we had passed the Equinoctiall toward the North, our men began to fall sick of such a monstrous disease, as I thinke the like was neuer heard of: for in their ankles they began to swell; from thence in two daies it would be in their breasts, so that they could not draw their breath, and then fell into their cods; and their cods and yardes did swell most grieuously, and most dreadfully to behold, so that they could neither stand, lie, nor goe. Whereupon our men grew mad with griefe. Our captain with extreme anguish of his soule, was in such wofull case, that he desired only a speedie end, and though he were scarce able to speake for sorrow, yet he peaswaded them to patience, and to giue God thankes, and like dutifull children to accept of his chastisement. For all this diuers grew raging

Cabo Frio 30 leagues east off the Ile of Placencia.

A most strange and noisome kind of worme bred of vnsalted Penguins.

mad, and some died in most lothsome and furious paine. It were incredible to write our misery as it was: there was no man in perfect health, but the captaine and one boy. The master being a man of good spirit with extreme labour bore out his griefe, so that it grew not vpon him. To be short, all our men died except 16, of which there were but 5 able to mooue. The captaine was in good health, the master indifferent, captaine Cotton and myselfe swolne and short winded, yet better then the rest that were sicke, and one boy in health: vpon vs 5 only the labour of the ship did stand. The captaine and master, as occasion serued, would take in, and haue out the top-sailes, the master onely attended on the sprit-saile, and all of us at the capsten without sheats and tacks. In fine our miserie and weaknesse was so great, that we could not take in, nor haue out a saile: so our top-saile and sprit-sailes were torn all in pieces by the weather. The master and captaine taking their turnes at the helme, were mightily distressed and monstrously griued with the most wofull lamentation of our sick men. Thus as lost wanderers vpon the sea, the 11 of Iune 1593, it pleased God that we arriued at Bear-hauen in Ireland, and there ran the ship on shore: where the Irish men helped vs to take in our sailes, and to more our ship for flooting: which slender paines of theirs cost the captaine some ten pounds before he could haue the ship in safetie. Thus without victuals, sailes, men, or any furniture God onely guided vs into Ireland, where the captaine left the master and three or four of the company to keepe the ship; and within 5 dayes after he and certaine others had passage in an English fisher-boat to Padstow in Cornewall. In this maner our small remnant by Gods onely mercie were preserued, and restored to our countrey, to whom be all honour and glory world without end.

They arriue at Bear-hauen in Ireland the 11 of Iune 1593.

The letters of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie sent in the yere 1596 vnto the great Emperor of China by M. Richard Allot and M. Thomas Bromefield marchants of the citie of London, who were embarqued in a fleet of 3 ships, to wit, The Beare, The Beares whelpe, and the Beniamin; set forth principally at the charges of the honourable knight Sir Robert Duddely, and committed vnto the command and conduct of M. Beniamin Wood, a man of

approoued skill in nauigation: who, together with his ships and company (because we haue heard no certaine newes of them since the moneth of February next after their departure) we do suppose, may be arriued vpon some part of the coast of China, and may there be stayed by the said Emperour, or perhaps may haue some treacherie wrought against them by the Portugales of Macao, or the Spaniards of the Philippinas.

ELizabetha Dei gracia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regina, veræ et Christianæ fidei contra omnes falsò Christi nomen profitentes inuictissima propugnatrix &c. Altissimo, Serenissimóq; Principi, potentissimo magni regni Chinæ dominatori, summo in illis Asiæ partibus Insulísq; adiacentibus imperatori, et magno in orientalibus mundi regionibus Monarchæ, salutem, multósq; cum omni optimarum rerum copia et affluentia lætos et fœlices annos. Cum honesti et fideles subditi nostri, qui has literas nostras ad serenitatem vestram perferunt, Richardus Allott et Thomas Bromefield, ciuitatis nostræ Londini in dicto nostro regno Angliæ mercatores, impensè a nobis efflagitauerint, vt eorum studia ad imperij vestri regiones (commercij gracia) nauigandi commendarimus: Cúmq; regni vestri fortitèr prudentérq; administrati fama, per vniuersam terrarum orbem disseminata et diuulgata, subditos hos nostros inuitauerit, non solum vt dominationis vestræ regiones inuisant, sed vt regni vestri legibus et institutis, dum in illis mundi partibus commorati fuerint, regendos se et moderandos permittant, prout mercatores decet, pui mercimoniorum commutandorum causa ad tam longè dissitas, nec adhuc nostro orbi satis cognitas regiones, penetrare cupiunt, illud vnum spectantes, vt mercimonia sua, mercimoniorumq; quorundam, quibus ditionis nostræ regiones abundant, exemplaria quædam siue specimina, serenitatis vestræ subditorúmq: vestrorum conspectui offerant, et diligenter cognoscere studeant, si quæ aliæ sint apud nos merces quæ vestro vsui inseruiant, quas honesto et vbique terrarum licito commercij ritu alijs mercibus (quarum in imperij vestri regionibꝰ tam artis quam naturæ beneficio magna copia est) commutare possint. Nos æquissimis honestorum hominum precibus acquiescentes, quia, nihil ex iustissimo hoc mercaturæ vsu incommodi siue dispendij oriturum, sed plurimun potius emolumenti vtriusq; regni tum principibus tum subditis prouenturm existimamus, dum earum rerum quibus abundamus exportatione, et aliarum quibus egemus inuectione, æquissimis precijs iuuari vtrinque et locapletari possimus; Serenissimam Maiestatem vestram rogamus, vt subditis his nostris cum mercimoniorum vendendorum et permutandorum gratia, ad imperij vestri stationes, portus, loca, oppida, ciuitates accesserint, eundi, redeundi, et cum subditis vestris negotiandi, plena et libera fiat potestas: Illſsq; huiusmodi libertates, immunitates, et priuilegia, quæ aliorum principum subditis, apud vos mercaturam exercentibus, concedi solent, serenitatis vestræ clementa inuiolata conseruentur; et nos vicissim, non tantùm omnia amicæ principis officia serenitati vestræ deferemus, sed ad maiorem communis inter nos subditosq; nostros amicitiæ et commercij propagationem, subditis vestris omnibus et singulis, si serenissimæ Maiestati vestraæ ita visum fuerit, plenam et integram in ditionis nostræ quascunq: regiones veniendi, commorandi, negotiandi, et reuertendi, potestatem per præsentes has literas nostras libentissimé concedimus. Quæ omnia et singula regij nostri sigilli appositone communiri fecimus. Deus opt. max. cœli et terræ conditor, regiam Maiestatem vestram diutissimé seruet incolumem. Datæ in Palatio nostro Grenouic. xj. mensis Iulij Anno Christi 1596. annòq; nostri regni xxxviij

The same in English.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, the most mightie defendresse of the true and christian faith against all that falsely professe the name of Christ &c. To the most high and soueraigne Prince the most puissant Gouernour of the great kingdome of China, the chiefest Emperour in those parts of Asia and of the Ilands adioyning, and the great monarke of the orientall regions of the world; wisheth health, and many ioyfull and happy yeeres, with all plenty and abundance of things most acceptable. Whereas our honest and faithfull subiects which bring these letters vnto your Highnesse, Richard Allot and Thomas Bromefield, marchants of our citie of London in our foresaid kingdome of England, haue made most earnest suit vnto vs, that we would commend their desires and endeuours of sayling to the regions of your Empire for traffiques

sake : whereas also the fame of your kingdome so strongly and prudently gouerned, being dispersed and published ouer the face of the whole earth, hath inuited these our subiects not onely to visite your Hignnesie dominions, but also to permit themselues to be ruled and gouerned by the lawes and constitutions of your kingdome during the time of their aboad in those partes of the world, as it becommeth marchants, who for exchange of marchandize are desirous to trauell vnto regions so farre distant and not hitherto sufficiently knowen vnto these nations of the world, hauing this regard onely, that they may present their wares and certaine examples or musters of diuers kinds of marchandizes, wherewith the regions of our dominions do abound, vnto the view of your Highnesse and of your subjects, and that they may in deuor to know, whether here be any other marchandize with vs fit for your vse, which (according to the honest and lawfull custome of traffique in all countries) they may exchange for other commodities, whereof in the parts of your Empire there is great plentie both naturall and artificiall : We yeelding vnto the most reasonable requests of these honest men, because we doe suppose that by this most iust intercourse of traffique, no inconuenience nor losse, but rather most exceeding benefite will redound vnto the Princes and subiects of both kingdomes, while by the carrying foorth of those commodities wherewith we abound, and the bringing home of others which we want, wee may on either side at most easie rates helpe and inrich one another; doe craue of your most soueraigne Maiestie, that these our subiects, when they shall come for traffiques sake vnto any the stations, portes, places, townes or cities of your Empire, they may haue full and free libertie of egresse and regresse, and of dealing in trade of marchandize with your subiects, may by your Highnesse clemency most firmely enioy all such freedomes, inmunities, and priuileges, as are vsually granted to the subiects of other Princes which exercise traffique in your dominions; and we on the other side will not onely performe all the offices of a well-willing Prince vnto your Highnesse, but also for the greater increase of mutuall loue and commerce betweene vs and our subiects, by these present letters of ours doe most willingly grant vnto all and euery your subiects (if it shall seeme good vnto your Highnesse) full and entire libertie vnto any of the partes of our dominions to resort, there to abide and traffique, and thence to returne. All and euery of which premisses we haue caused to be confirmed by annexing hereunto our royall seale. God most mercifull and almighty, the Creator of heauen and earth, continually protect your kingly Maiestie. Giuen in our palace at Greenwich the 11 of the moneth of Iuly, in the yeere of Christ 1596, and the eight and thirtie yeere of our reigne.

THREE SEVERALL TESTIMONIES.

CONCERNING THE MIGHTY KINGDOM OF CORAY, TRIBUTARY TO THE KING OF CHINA, AND BORTHERING VPON HIS NORTHEAST FRONTIERS, CALLED BY THE PORTUGALES CORIA, AND BY THEM ESTEEMED AT THE FIRST AN ILAND, BUT SINCE FOUND TO ADIOYNE WITH THE MAINE NOT MANY DAYES IOURNEY FROM PAQUI THE METROPOLITAN CITIE OF CHINA. THE MORE PERFECT DISCOUERY WHEREOF AND OF THE COAST OF TARTARIA NORTHWARD, MAY IN TIME BRING GREAT LIGHT (IF NOT FULL CERTAINTIE) EITHER OF A NORTHWEST OR A NORTHEAST PASSAGE FROM EUROPE TO THOSE RICH COUNTRIES. COLLECTED OUT OF THE PORTUGALE IESUITIES YEERELY IAPONIAN EPISTLES DATED 1590, 1591, 1592, 1594, ETC.

The first testimony containing a resolute determination of Quabacondono, the great Monarch of all Iapan, to inuade and conquere China by the way of Coray, being a country diuided from the Iles of Iapan onely by an arme of the sea about twentie leagues broad, and abounding with victuals and all other necessaries for the maintenance of the warres. Out of the Epistles of father Frier Lewis Frois, dated 1590.

QVabacondono hauing subdued all the petie kingdomes of Iapan, in the yeere of our Lord 1590 (as father Frier Lewis

Frois writeth in his Iaponian Epistles of the foresaid yeere) grew so proud and insolent that he seemed another Lucifer; so farre foorth, that he made a solemne vow and othe, that he would passe the sea in his owne person to conquere China: and for this purpose hee made great preparations, saying, that since hee is become Lorde of all Iapan, he hath nothing now to doe but to conquere China, and that although he should end his life in that enterprize, he is not to giue ouer the same. For he hopeth to leaue behinde him hereby so great fame, glorie, and renowne, as none may be comparable thereunto. And though hee could not conquere the same, and should ende his life in the action, yet should he always remaine immortall with this glory. And if God doth not cut him off, it is thought verily, that hee will thoroughly attempt the same. And for his more secure passage thither, hee is determined to leaue behinde him two Gouerneurs (after his maner) in the parts of Miaco, with the administration of Finqua; and of those of his Monarchie he saith that he will take with him all the great Iaponish Lords, or at the least all his principall subiects, and leaue in his dominions such guard and garisons as shall seeme best vnto him. And so hauing passed the winter, he meaneth to come to these partes of of Ximo, for from hence he is to set forth his armie, and to passe to the land of Coray, which the Portugales call Coria, being diuided from Iapan with an arme of the sea. And although the Portugales in times past thought that it was an Ile or Peninsula, yet is it firme lande, which ioyneth vnto the kingdome of Paxuſ. And he hath now stricken such a terror with his name in the countrey of Coray, that the king thereof hath sent his ambassadors hither to yeelde vnto him a kind of homage, as he required; which ambassadors are now in the city of Miaco. And by this Peninsula of Coray he may passe with his army by land in fewe dayes iourney vnto the citie of Paquſ, being the principall citie where the king of China hath his residence. And as the Chinians be weake, and the people of Iapan so valiant and feared of them, if God doth not cut him off in this expedition, it may fall out acccording to his expectation.

Ximo.

Coray continent land with Paqui.

From Coray an armie may passe by land in few dayes to Paqui the chiefe citie of China.

But whatsoeuer become of China, it is held for a certaintie, that his comming will cause great alterations in these partes of Ximo, especially in this kingdom of Figen, wherein are the prince domes of Arima and Omura, and all the force of our Christianity: and he told Don Protasio when he was with him once before, that he would make him a great man in China, and that he would remooue these lordes, and deliuer their gouernments vnto lordes that were Gentiles; which would be the ruine of all this Christianity; neither should wee haue any place wherein to remaine. For, as it is the custome of Iapan in the alterations of estates and kingdomes (which they call Cuningaia) to remooue all the nobilitie and gentry, and to leaue onely the base people and labourers, committing them to the gouernment of Ethnicks, wee shall hereby also leese our houses, and the Christians shall be dispersed with their lords; whom sometimes he handleth in such sort, that he giueth them nothing to susteine themselues, and so they remaine with all their followers, as men banished, and vtterly ruined.

The second Testimonie containing the huge leuies and preparations of Quabacondono, as also his warres and conquests and the successe thereof in the kingdome of Coray Together with a description of the same kingdom, and of their trafficke and maner of gouernment: and also of the shipping of China, Iapan, and Coray, with mention of certaine isles thereunto adjacent, and other particulars very memorable. Out of the Epistles of the aforesaid Father Fryer Luis Frois dated 1591, and 1592.

ABout this time Quabacondono determining to put his warre against China in execution, assembled sundry of his nobles and captaines, vnto whom he declared his intent; who, albeit they were all of a quite contrary opinion, yet all of them without any pretense of difficulty approued his determination. For he had giuen out that he would not abstaine from this warre, althongh his owne sonne should rise from death to life and request him; yea whosoeuer would mooue any impediment or difficulty in that matter, hee would put him to death. Wherefore for certaine moneths there was nothing in all places to be seene, but prouision of ships, armour, munition, and other necessaries for the warres. Quabacondono making a catalogue of all the lordes and nobles his subiects, willed euery one of them (not a man excepted) to accompany him in this expedition, inioyning and appointing to each one, what numbers they should bring. In all these kingdomes of

Ximo he hath nominated 4 of his especiall fauourites; whom (to all mens admiration) he will haue to be heads ouer all these new kingdomes, notwithstanding that here are 4 others farre more mighty then they. Of whom (by Gods good prouidence) two are Christians, to wit, Augustine Eucunocamindono gouernour of half the kingdom of Finga, and Cainocami the son of Quambioindono gouernour of the greater part of the kingdome of Bugen. The other two are Ethniques, namely Toranosque gouernour of the halfe of the kingnom at Finga and Augustins mortall enemie; and Iconocomi gouernour of the residue of the kingdome of Bugen, and an enmie both to Augustine and Cainocami. And Quabacondon hath commanded all the Christian lordes of Feximo to follow Christian gouernours Whereupon the lord Protasiuo there with 2000 souldiers; and Omurandono the lord of Ceuxima and Augustins sonne in law, which lately became a Christian with a thousand. Also he appointed that the gouernours of Firando and Goto should follow Augustine, who albeit they were Gentiles, had many Christians to their subiects. Wherefore Augustine was to conduct 15000 souldiers, besides mariners, slaues and other base people to carry the baggage of the army all which being as great a number as the former so sonne as they arriue in the kingdome of Coray, were made souldiers, and bore armes. Vnto the said Augustine, Quabacondono, in token of singular fauour, granted the first assault or inuasion of the kingdome of Coray, to wit, that he onely with his forces might enter the same, the other lordes remaining in Ceuxima (which is 18 leagues distant from Coray) till they should be aduertized from Augustine: which thing procured vnto Augustine great enuie and disdaine from them all; howbeit (as you shall forthwith vnderstand) it proouced in the end most honourable vnto him. The other Christian gouernour Cainocami being but a yong man of 23 yeeres, he commanded the king of Bungo to follow with 6000 souldiers; so that with the 4000 which hee had before, his number amounted vnto 10000, besides mariners and others which caried burthens. This was most ioyfull newes to vs, and to all the Christians. Of the Ethnick lords Quabacondono appointed the gouernour of Riosogo together with Foranosuque to march with 8000: and likewise the king of Saçeuma and Iconocami with as many. And amongst all he gaue the first chiefe place vnto Augustine. All the other souldiers of Iapan hee caused to accompanie his owne person: the number of all together (as appeared out of a written catalogue) amounting to three hundreth thousand persons; of whom two hundreth thousand were souldiers.

A description of Coray.

The order prescribed in this whole armie was, that first they should make their entrance by the kingdome of Coray, which is almost an island, one ende whereof ioyneth vpon the maine lande of China; which though it be a seuerall kingdome of it selfe, yet is it subiect and tributarie vnto the king of China. And because this kingdom of Coray is diuided but by an arme of the sea from Iapan, Quabacondono determined to subdue the same, for that it so aboundeth with victuals, that from thence he might the easier inuade China. While all things were preparing, it was commanded, that at the chiefe port of Ximo called Nangoia, being twelue leagues distant from Firando, there should be erected a mightie great castle; where Quabacondono with all his fleet was minded to stay, till newes were brought of the successe of the aforesaid 4 gouernours or captaines. Hee appointed also another castle to bee built in Fuchinoxima, which is another island situate betweene Nangoia and Ceuxima. And he built a third castle in Ceuxima, that his passage might be the more commodious. The charge of building these castles he imposed vpon the 4 aforesaid gouernours, and commanded the other lords of Ximo rheir associates to assist them; all which so applyed that busines, that in 6 moneths space it was wholly finished. The castle of Nangoia was enuironed with a double wall of square and beautifull stone, with broad and deepe ditches like vnto Miacò. The innermost wall being lesse then the other two was 100 fathom square, within the compasse whereof wer so many houses built both for the lordes, and their followers, and also for marchants shoppes, and victualers houses, distinguished with broad and direct streetes, that it seemed a faire towne. But (that which was much more admirable) all the way from Miaco to Nangoia, at the ende of euery dayes iounrney, all the lords and gouercours, at the commandement of Quabacondono, built each one within his iurisdiction new and stately palaces from the ground, so that for 20 dayes together he lodged euery night with all his traine in one of those palaces. And because these things were done at the very same time when the expedition into the kingdome of Coray was in the hand, all Iapan was so grieuiously oppressed (Quabacondono in the meane while being at no charge) as it was most intollerable. Yet is it incredible how ready euery one is to do him seruice: which appeareth by these magnificient stately buildings reared vp in so short a space, which in Europe would haue required a long time and huge expences. In the meane season it was commonly giuen out, that this enterprize of Quabacondono would haue most vnfortunate successe, as being a matter wrought by constraint. and that it would be an an occasion of manifold dissentions in Iapan : for no man there was, but misliked of this warre : yea, all the libertie ; howbeit there is none as yet found, which dare put his hand to that businesse. Wherefore they were all (though to their great griefe and lamentation) violently constrained to prosecute their enterprize. But Quabacondono being voyde of all anxiety, to the ende hee might encourage his followers, boasted that hee would make great alterations of kingdomes, and would bestow vpon them kingdoms of Coray and China ; and vnto the lord Protasius hee hath promised 3 kingdomes : but he with all the other lords giuing him great thankes, had much rather retaine a smal portion of their estate in Iapan, then to hunt after all those kingdomes which he promiseth.

And whereas Quabacondo had by proclamation published, that he would personally be present at Nangoia the 3 moone of this yeere ; troups and armies of men began to resort from all the quarters of Iapan to these parts. Now were our afflictions renewed. For so long as Quabacondono remained at Miaca, we might stay in these parts of Ximo without any danger : but after he began to come this way, it seemed impossible for our state to continue whole and sound, and we were put into no small perplexitie. For the Christian lordes aduised vs, that sithence Quabacondono was come so neere, all our companie that liued in the Colledge, in the house of Probation, and in the Seminary, should depart to some other place. And the Christians from Miaco writ dayly vnto vs, that wee shoulde pull downe our houses and Churches at Omura, Arima, and Cansaco and that the fathers of Europe should return vnto Nangasaque in the secular habite of Portugals, but that the Iaponian Fryers should retire themselues vnto seueral houses of Christians, that so they might al remaine safe and out of danger. But this remedy, as it was too grieuous and subiect to many difficulties, so did it afford vs but small comfort. In brief the Father visitor talking of this matter with Eucunocamindono, the lord Protasius, and Omurandono, before their expedition toward the kingdom of Coray, found them, as before, in the same fortitude of minde, being constant in their first opinion: neither would they giue any other counsel or direction, then that the fathers should keepe themselues secret, and should only forsake their houses at Arima, and Omura, wherein the Toni or great lordes would haue some of their kinsemen remaine. It was also thought conuenient, that the number of the Seminary should bee diminished, and that of 90 there should onely remaine 50 in our scholes, namely such as studied the Latine tongue. With the Father Visitour there came vnto Nangasaque certaine Fathers and Friers, which were said to be of Fungo and Firando. Eor the sayde Father vnder the name of a Legate might retaine them with him more openly.

About this time Quabacondono, that hee might with some pastime recreate his Nobles which accompanied him; and also might declare, with how great confidence and securitie of minde hee tooke vpon him this expedition for China; and likewise to obscure the most renowmed fame of a certaine hunting and hawking performed of olde by that mightie Prince Ioritono, who was Emperour ouer all Iapan; hee determined to ordaine (as it were) another royall court of diuers kindes of fowle. Whereupon beeing accompanied with many great lordes and others, he departed to the kingdome of Oiaren, where his game had so good successe, that hee caught aboue 30000. fowles of all sortes; amongst which were many falcons. Howbeit, for Quabacondono his greater recreation, and for the more solemnitie of the game, there were also added many dead fowles, which the Iaponians with certaine poulders or compositions know how to preserue sweet in their feathers a long time. This game beeing ended, Quabacondono returned with great pompe vnto Maicò: before whom went great multitudes which carried those thousandes of fowles vpon guilded canes. Next after these followed many horsemen sumptuously attired, carying a great number of Falcons and other birdes. After them were lead many horses by the reines, most richly trapped. Next of all were brought Coscis or Littiers very stately adorned: after which was carryed Quabacondono himselfe in a Littier of another fashion, like vnto those which in India are called Palanchins, which was made in China, with most curious and singular workemanship, and was presented vnto him

A meane to keepe dead birds sweete in their feathers a long time.

by the Father Visitour, and seemeth exceedingly to content him, for that in all actions of solemnitie hee vseth the same. Last of all followed a great troope of Princes and Nobles brauely mounted on horsebacke, and gorgeously attired, thereby the more to delight Quabacondono, who in triumphant sort beeing welcomed by the way, with the shoute and applause of infinite swarmes of people, entred the citie of Maicò.

Now when the time of sayling towardes China approached, Quabacondono determined first to proclayme his nephew Inangondono his successour, and gouernour of all Iapan, to the ende hee might supply his owne roome in the time of this warre. And therefore he commanded the Dairi to transferre vnto his sayd nephew the dignitie belonging to himselfe, calling him by the name of Taicusama, that is to say, Great lord. Which dignitie was in such sort translated, that albeit he assigned vnto his nephew large reuenues, together with that princely title, yet himselfe remained the very same that he was before. The day of the sayd translation being appointed, hee summoned all the Princes of Iapan to appeare, and to sweare obedience vnto this his nephew: Who with the great pompe going vnto the Dairi to receiue that dignitie at his hande, had surrendered vnto him the Castle of Maicò, and the palaces of Quabacondono to dwell in.

Thus at the beginning of the third moone, he set forward on his iourney to Nangoia, hauing before giuen order, that Augustine should passe ouer inro the kingdome of Coray, and that his other Captaines should remayne in Ceuxima. Wherefore the twentieth day of the third Moone hee came vnto Nangoia, where the companies of the other orders beeing numbered, were founde to bee 200000. persons, besides those that were conducted by the foure foresayde gouernours. In the meane season Augustine with his forces, and with a Fleete of eight hundred Ships, arriued at Coray. In whose armie the lord Protasius excelled all others; for though hee had but the leading of 2000. souldiers, yet for the goodnesse of his armour, and the beautie of his ships, he was admired of all men. At their very first entrance they wonne 2. castles of the kingdome of Coray by maine force, wherein the Corayans reposed great confidence; for they were enuironed with mighty high walles, and defended with great multitudes of souldiers, and with a kinde of gunnes of 2. spannes and ½.

A Fleete of 800 ships.

Small gunnes charged with forked arrowes.

long, which in stead of bullets discharged with a terrible noise wooden arrowes headed with forked points of yron: but the sayd gunnes beeing able to hurt but a small distance off, and the Iaponians being furnished with brazen ordinance vnknowen vnto the Corayans, they presently draue them from their walles, and with ladders made for the same purpose of great canes, they forthwith scaled the same, and planted their ensignes thereon; the Corayans indeed for a short time making resistance, but after a while betaking themselues to dishonourable flight, 5000 men of their part being slaine, and of Augustines but 100. and 400 wounded. Augustine perceiuing that the Corayans could not endure any long assault, determined to take vpon himselfe, and his armie the whole burthen and honour of this warre, and not staying for the gouernours his associates, to march vp into the heart of the kingdome, and the principall City; vnto which determination all the lordes that were with him gaue their consent. This was (no doubt) a bolde, yea, and in some sort, a rash enterprise of Augustine: but yet it argueth a wise and valiant minde in him. But this long delay was so greeuous to the Captaines which in Ceuxima expected the successe of the warre, that before they heard any newes at all concerning the surprize of the two Castles, they brought Augustine in suspition among their friends, that hee ambitiously affected the honour of the whole warre. Which thing beeing knowen vnto Quabacondono, he was so troubled in mind euen before he came to Nangoia, that suddenly hee commaunded the other Captaines to set sayle from Ceuxima. But when Quabacondo was come to Nangoia, and heard newes of the two Castles taken, and that Augustine pursuing the victorie proceeded on towards the Miaco, that is to say, The kingly citie of Coray, and was determined to inuade the same also (all which Augustine himselfe wrote, requested him to send the other captains and commanders to assayle the kingdome on all sides, and to furnish the castles which he had taken and should take, with garisons of souldiers, because as yet he had not men enough to hold those fortresses which he had wonne) he was surprized with such vnspeakable ioy, as he affirmed openly, that in all Iapan he had no subiect comparable to Augustine: and that neither Nabunanga, nor himselfe euer knewe any man indued with so valiant and couragious a mind. I (saith he) knowing against whom and with what forces I waged

The significa-tion of Macio.

warre, subdued by litle and litle all Iapan vnto me: but Augustine in so short a time and with so small forces, hath boldely set his foote in a forren region, and with most glorious victory hath subdued the mightie kingdome of Coray. Wherefore (quoth he) I will reward him with many kingdomes, and wil make him next vnto my selfe the greatest Prince in all Iapan. Hee added farther, that now his owne sonne seemed to bee risen from the death; and that whosoeuer durst either disgrace or extenuate the deedes of Augustine, he would grieuously punish him, not respecting whether hee did it vpon reason or malice. By this speach the name and report of Augustine grew so honourable amongst all men, that those which most enuied his estate, durst not speake one ill worde of him, but highly commended him before Quabacondono.

This kingdome of Coray extendeth in length about 100. and in bredth 60 leagues. And albeit the inhabitants in nation, language, and strength of body (which maketh the people of China to dread them) be different from the Chinians, yet because they pay tribute to the king of China, and exercise traffique with his subiects, they doe after a sort imitate the Lawes, apparell, customes, and gouernement of the Chinians. They border on one side vpon the Tartars, and other nations, with whom sometimes they haue peace, and sometimes warre: but with the Chinians they haue continuall peace. They are speciall good bow-men; but at other weapons, because they haue but few, and those bad, they are nothing so skilfull. Wherefore they are not comparable to the Iaponians, who by reason of their warres are continually exercised in armes, and are by nature more couragious and valiant, being furnished with yron-peeces, with lances, and with excellent swordes. Onely in shipping they are inferiour to the Corayans and Chinians, by reason of the hugenesse of their Ships which they vse vpon the sea. Wherefore, if they were to ioyne battels by sea, there is no doubt but that both the foresayde Nations would be too hard for them. But now because they knewe nothing of the comming of the Iaponian armie, or for that they doubted that their sea-forces were the stronger, or els because God was determined to punish them, he suffered them to be destitute of all the defence of their shipping, so that the Iaponians without any resistance landed vpon their dominions.

The length and bredth of Coray.

The people of Coray and China stronger in shipping then they of Iapan.

Now the fame of Augustines victory causing the armie notably to increase, and the Mariners, and many others which caryed burthens (as they were trained vp in warre from their childhood) bearing armes, while the Corayan captiues supplied their baser offices: so great a terrour possessed all the people of Coray, where Augustine came, that all the castles and fortresses which hee passed by were forsaken by their garisons, and all men fled for refuge to the principall city. And while other commanders and Christians sent from Ceuxima and Nangoia shaped their course for Coray, Augustine had pitched his campe neere vnto the foresaid principall citie: of the which being come within 3. dayes iourney, he was encountered by 20000. men; whom at the very first assault, hauing slaine 3000. of them, hee put to flight. But approching very neere vnto the citie, and hauing passed a riuer, hee maintained a valiant conflict at a certaine narrow passage against 80000. Corayans, 8000. whereof were slaine, and a great number drowned in the riuer. Heere while Augustine appointed all his troopes to remayne for two dayes, to the end they might somewhat refresh their wearie limmes, the king of Coray seeing himselfe besieged by his enemy, and that many other Iaponian lordes with strong armies inuaded his kingdome on all sides, determined to haue his citie strengthened with garisons, and to retire himselfe into the in-land of China. Which by reason of the abundance of horses that he had, he was able right commodiously to performe. Whereupon the second or third day after, Augustine without any resistance entred the head-city, being presented with great store of victuals and gifts by them that remained therein. Thus Augustine, with other captaines his associates, became lord of the principall citie, and wonne all the honour of the victory vnto himselfe: for albeit by this time the other captaines were come from Ceuxima, and many from Nangoia, yet they found all things performed to their hands.

The king of Coray fleeth out of his principall citie.

Quabacondono being aduertised of this second victory, yeelded as much honour vnto Augustine as he could possibly deuise, speaking so highly to the commendation both of him, and of other Captaines his associates, as if but the tenth part of his faire promises come to effect, they shall be farre greater then they are, and Augustine (next vnto himselfe) shall be the principall person in all Iapan. And now he is become so famous in the Court, and throughout the whole kingdome of Iapan, that at all their meetings and assemblies there is no talke but onely of the valour and fortitude of Augustine, who in twentie dayes space hath subdued so mightie a kingdome to the Crowne of Iapan. And all the Nobles account him a most happy man, being astonished at the immortall renowne which he hath attained vnto by this exploite: yea, and Quabacondono sent forthwith vnto him, as vnto the conquerour and vanquisher of the Corayans, in token of great honour, a two-edged sword and a horse, which among the Iaponians is a pledge of the most peerelesse honour that can possibly be done to a man: and this very gift did Nabunanga in times past send vnto Quabacondono, when hee had in any battel wonne any kingdome from Morindono. And by this great euent the power of the Christians God, and his prouidence towards his children is knowen not onely to the Christians, but euen to the very Ethnicks themselues, for that in the heate of such extreme persecution it hath pleased his diuine Maiestie to lay the honour of all this warre vpon Christian lords. Wherefore we doubt not, but they wil proue more mighty and famous then euer they were.

Hence it commeth to passe that the Portugals ship come from China, hath wintered in Iapan: by which occasion the presence of the father Visitour hath bene a great comfort not onely to vs, but to all the other Christians, who in regarde of the departure of so many men with Quabacondono and his captaines to the warres, thought they should haue bene left vtterly forsaken and destitute, had not the father Visitour, in whom they reposed all their confidence, remayned here. But the singular prouidence and loue of God towards vs appeared in this, that hee would haue the sayd Ship, contrary to their vsuall custome, to winter in Iapan. For when Quabacondono hauing obteined that victorie, was determined to returne vnto Ximo, they were all shrowded vnder the protection of the foresayd Father; who hearing that hee was entred into Nangoia, caused Frier Iohn Rodorigues and the gouernour of the Portugal ship to salute and welcome him. For the Christians of Miacò, which succeeded in their roomes that went for Coray, aduised him in their letters so to doe.

And it was very acceptable to Quabacondon to see the Portugals captaine General attended vpon by so many Portugals sumptuously attired, and comming with so many shippes in the company of Frier Iohn Rodoriguez: and hee asked the Frier how the father Visitour did? And whether the presents to the

Vice-roy liked him? As also, that hee tooke it in very good part that the Father had wintered in Iapan, and that the Frier should stay with him. Afterward writing an answere to the father, he declared therein the great fauour which he bore to the captaine of the ship. Whom, hauing familiarly entertained him for the space of 2. houres, hee dismissed with euident tokens of good will. After the Captaines returne, Frier Rodoriguez staying behinde aboue a moneth, attempted very often to speake with Quabacondono, of whom hee was alwayes most kindely vsed. Afterward by reason of sicknesse hee returned to Nangasque; whereupon Quabacondono demaunded why he was not cured at the same place where himselfe remained? Iacuino answered, that beeing a stranger, he was to bee cured with such diet and medicines, as were not there to bee had: with which answere hee was satisfied. Hence it is, that by often conferences which were made by reason of the ambassage, Quabacondono waxeth euery day more courteous and affable. And yet for all this, new occasions of troubles and affiictions are not cut off: for certaine it is, that Quabacondono hath giuen out, that if he haue good successe with his warre against China, he will make great alterations of estates, in assigning the kingdomes of Coray and China to the Christian princes, and placing in their roomes Ethnick lordes throughtout Iapan: which thing might redound to the ruine and destruction of all Christianite heere, neither should the Christians finde in Iapan any place of refuge. And albeit Augustine had certainely informed the father Visitour of the sayde alteration of estates, and Iacuine had written vnto Augustine, that Quabacondono had fully determined to alter the states or gouernments of Ximo, and so consequently the state of Augustine, and of the Christian princes of Arima and Omura; yea, and that the said two princes had notice thereof: yet almightie God with the eyes of his infinitie mercy had vouchsafed to regard the prayers of his faithfull seruants (who for this cause were most perplexed and sorrowfull) and to prouide this remedy following.

The Corayans hauing intelligence, that their king and the forces which he carried with him were in safety, went the greatest part of them, with as much victuals as they could get, and hidde themselues in the mountains and woods, remaining there with such hate and indignation against the Iaponians, that with promise of safe conduct they could by no meanes be drawen out of their starting holes. Whereof albeit the Iaponians haue all the castles and places of defence in their owne possession, yet because they want people to tille the ground, and to doe them other necessary seruices, they cannot chuse but forgoe all that which they haue woon. Moreouer the common high wayes are so pestered with theeues and murtherers, that vnlesse the Iaponians march in whole troopes all together, they are suddenly oppressed with swarmes of Corayans issuing foorth of the woods. Many of the Corayans also haue retired themselues vnto the neighbour-islands, from whence with numbers of great ships, to the mighty losse of the Iaponians, they assaile their small and weake ones, and haue already sunke many of them. Wherefore all the Iaponian lords which remaine in Coray haue written vnto Quabacondono, that his army must for a certaine time in no wise remoue from the place where it is, for auoyding such imminent dangers as in proceeding further it may incurre. Vpon these aduertisements, Quabacondono, being ready to take his iourney to Coray, to deuide the whole kingdome, was hindered from his purpose, and sent most friendly letters to all his nobles, willlng them to be of good cheere, for that he would not deale about altering of their estates, till 3. yeres were expired: whereupon they were eased of exceeding great care and grief. For albeit there is no great trust to be giuen to his words, yet we hope that this yere he will not meddle: what he will doe afterward, God knoweth. In Coray at this present there are aboue 200000, Iaponian souldiers, who at the commandement of Quabacondono are diuided throughout the whole kingdom. Augustine lieth vpon the very extreame frontiers of China: but because the Chinians are seperated from the kingdome of Coray with a mighty riuer of 3. leagues broad, and abound with great ships, and haue planted innumerable troopes of men vpon the shore, the successe of the warre remayneth most doubtfull and vncertaine. Neither doe wee know whether the Iaponians will proceede any farther this yeere or no.

Ilands neere vnto Coray.

A mighty riuer of 3. leags broad.

The third testimony of Coray, signifying (amonst other notable and politicall obseruations) the later success of the warres of Iapan against Coray: and to what end Quabacondono still mainteineth garisons in that kingdome. Out of the Epistles of Father Organtino Brixiano, bearing date from Iapan Anno 1594.

THe whole Empire of Iapan is now in the handes of this king

Quabacondono: and (which hath not bene knowen since the first creation thereof) there is not the bredth of one foote throughout all the whole Island, which is not absolutely subiect vnto him. And hee reigneth in so great peace and tranqnilitie, that if his successors follow the same course of gouernment, there is no likelihood of future sedation or perturbation in any of the kingdoms. And doubtles the meanes which he vseth to establish continuall peace and concord among the Iaponians, are very great and effectual.

One is, that after he hath passed his pubilque promise, he neuer putteth any of his aduersaries to death, which his predecessoor Nabunanga performed not: for he hauing subdued any kingdom, would put all the lords and gouernours to the sword. But this king granteth vnto them not onely life, but also yerely reuenues, whereby to maintaine themselues in an honest and meane estate: in which regarde they all rest contented, and willingly submit themselues.

Another is, in that he hath brought the husbandmen and pesants (by whose assistance and wealth all the pety-kingdoms were after a sort susteined) vnto such extreme pouerty, that they haue scarce wherewithall to keepe life and soule together: as likewise hee hath bereaued them of all kinde of weapons.

The third is, because hee hath most streightly forbidden all contentions, seditions, frayes, and skirmishes. For whosoeuer be found culpable of this crime, they dye euery man of them on both parties. If any escape by flight, their kinsefolks are punished, in their stead; and for lacke of them, their seruants: and for defalt of both their next neighbours. If many were guilty, many are punished and suffer death: but hence it commeth to passe, that many innocent persons are constrained to die. And this seueritie is the cause, why there are at this present so seldome frayes and contentions in Iapan.

The fourth is, that in administring of iustice hee is most vpright, without all respect either to his owne kindred, or to his ancient captaines, or the blood royall, or any of the Bonzij, bee they neuer so famous: and being once aduertized of a crime, hee pardoneth no man. And albeit himselfe is exceedingly addicted to women, yet will he permit none of his subiects to haue any concubines. For which cause not many dayes agoe, hee banished a Bouzio of great wealth, being in alliance and dignitie most neere vnto himselfe. And being informed that all the Bonzij of

Miaco kept concubines, hee would haue put them all to death, had not the gouernour of Miaco promised, that hee would vndertake to keepe them from offending any more in that kinde. Wherefore hee caused all the Bonzij euery moneth to bee sworne, that they should liue honestly vpon paine of death: as also hee hath sworne the heads or superiors of all their religious houses vnder paine of death, to giue vp their names whom they most suspect of the foresayd crime. Hence it is, that all of them (if you regard their outward estate) liue in extreme feare.

The fift is, for that hee suffreth none of his souldiers, nor his great lordes to liue in idlenesse. If there be no warres for their imployment, hee occupieth them in building of stately palaces, and in raising new fortresses, or in repairing and strengthening of olde, and also in performing other notable workes, to the ornament of Iapan, and to his owne lasting honour. So that at this present neere vnto Miaco there are thirtie thousand men imployed about the building of one castle; and in the citie of Bozacca aboue an hundred thousand: which imployments afforde them neither place nor time to practise any rebellions.

The sixt is his altering of gouernments: for hee remooueth his gouernours from one extreme part of Iapan to another.

The seuenth, for that vnto his souldiers (besides the ordinarie pay continually allotted vnto them for their seruice) in time of warre hee alloweth victuals at his owne costes. Wherof it commeth to passe, that hee effecteth whatsoeuer hee thinkes good by their meanes. Neither hath hee hitherto waged any warre, wherein his enemie was not vanquished, according to his owne desire: this late warre of China onely excepted, which farre surmounted all his forces. Howbeit in the kingdome of Coray hee maintaineth as yet great garisons, as well to keepe his honour, as to constraine the Chinians to sue for peace.

The warres of Iapan against Coray and China.

The eighth is, in that hee curbeth and restraineth persons of ambitious and aspiring mindes, who (as hee coniectureth) after his death might worke some inouations in the common wealth, or disturbe the kingdomes.

The ninth is, because hee hath on no side within foure or fiue dayes iourney of Miaco, any mightie or industrious captaine or gouernour.

The tenth and last is, for that hee hath brought his yeercly reueuues to two millions of gold.

By these courses and meanes, wee are in good hope that firme peace will bee established in all these kingdomes, and also that a fit way will be prepared, for the conuersion of all the great lordes vnto Christian religion.

A briefe note concerning an extreme Northerne prouince of Iapan called Zuegara, situate thirtie dayes iourney from Miaco, which argueth the Isle of Iapan to be of greater extension Northward, then it is ordinarily described in maps, or supposed to be: together with mention of a certaine nation of Tartars called Ieza inhabiting on the maine to the North of China, neuer heard of in these parts before: taken out of an Epistle written 1596 from Iapan by Fryer Luis Frois vnto Claudius Aquauiua, &c. Printed in Latine at Mentz in Germanie 1599.

NOt many dayes ago was baptized a certaine honourable personage called Iohn Vongui the sonne of Taigarandono, who is gouernour of a certaine princedome situate on the borders of Iapan towardes the North, being distant from Miaco thirtie dayes iourney.

And after a fewe lines it followeth.

The Isle of Matcumai.

Iezi a nation of Tartars dwelling on the contineat to the North of China vsing cloth.

This Taigorandono being the most Northerly gouernour in all Iapan hath traffique with the Iezi, who are a nation of Tartars, which from the maine continent resort vnto the Isle of Mateumai, being about twelue or fifteene leagues distant from the foresayd Northerly princedome of Zuegara; where they sell fishes, the skinnes of beasts, and certaine herbes of the sea vsed by the Iaponians for foode, with other such like commodities. On the other side the said Iezi Tartari buy of the Iaponians, cloth to make them garments, with weapons and other instruments. These Tartars (they say) are a most barbarous kinde of people, of a browne colour, with long haire on their heads and beardes like the Moscouites: they liue by hunting and fishing, and neglect husbandry. This Northerly princedome of Zuegara (as the sayd gouernour reported to our Fathers) aboundeth with excellent grapes both black and white, which without the labour of man grow naturally in all places, and he promised the Fathers to bring some of these vines to Miaco, that they might be planted there.

Aduertisements touching the shippes that goe from Siuil to the Indies of Spaine; together with some notes of the Contractation house in Siuil.

The Pilot.

YOur Pilot must be examined in the Contractation house, and allowed by such as be appointed for the examination of Pilots, that hee bee a sufficient man to take the charge in hand, and that which belongeth thereunto, and to gouerne and lead the same ship directly by his onely commandement to such ports as are conuenient for the voyage that hee taketh in hand.

The Master.

You must haue a Master, that must giue in sureties to the value of 6000 dukats: and such as be his sureties must be landed men, and their lands worth to the value of that summe aforesayd, if the said ship be betweene three or foure hundred tunnes. And if shee bee more or lesse of burthen, then he must giue sureties of a greater summe or lesse, according to the proportion of her burden.

He shall in all his voyage giue a iust and true accompt of all such goods, and marchandizes, as shall in all that voyage come into the ship: as also of such plate and money, as shalbe registred in the Kings Register, appertayning to the King, or any other particular marchant: and if any default be, hee or his sureties are to pay all such losses as thereof shall growe: as also to see the mariners payed well and truely, the third part of all such fraights, as the sayde shippe shall get going and comming.

The ship being fraighted by her merchants, the Master shall take order that there be sufficient mariners abourd her to take in such lading from time to time, as the marchant shall send to her: And also the Purser must be a man sufficient of abilitie to take, and to giue account of all such goods, marchandize, siluer and golde, as shall come in and out of the sayd shippe that present voyage, as also giue sureties of 1500 dukats at the least to come backe from the Indies in the said shippe, and not to tarrie there, if hee liue.

The Purser.

A Romager.

The Master must prouide a perfect mariner called a Romager, to raunge, and bestow all marchandize in such place as is conuenient: and that it be not put in place, where if may perish for lack that it be not fast, sure, and drie, according to the qualitie and forme of the sayd marchandize.

When it is all bestowed, and the shippe able to beare no more, The Masters mate.

than a mariner called the Countermaster, or Masters mate, hath charge to locke fast the hatches, that none of the marchants wines, or oyles, or any other kind of marchandize be robbed or spoyled by the mariners. And if it fortnne that any bee spoyled, then the mariners are to pay for it out of the third part of all the whole fraight of the shippe that doth appertaine to the sayd marchants.

The chiefe Iudges of the Contractation house.

Visitors being skilfull mariners.

The names and markes of men taken.

The shippe being laden, goeth to the port wherehence she saileth to goe towards the Indies called S. Lucar, and there one of the chiefe Iudges of the Contractation house commeth downe to dispatch the shippes that goe together in that fleete. And that Iudge goeth abourd euery ship, and with him hee doth carrie an expert mariner or two called Visitors of the shippes, to know whether the sayd shippe or ships be well tackled: whether they haue men sufficient: and in euery ship euery mans name is taken, and if he haue any marke in the face, or hand or arme, it is written by a Notarie (as well as his name) apperteining to the Contractation house, appointed for these causes. Also the Master is bound to bring backe euery mariner againe, and to leaue none behinde him there, vpon great paines, vnlesse he be a passenger appointed by the King at the court, and bringeth his licence from thence for the same purpose.

The Pragmatics or orders of the Contractation house.

The ship must be well appointed with ordinance of brasse, and yron, according to The orders of their house, of that there must want nothing, and euery ship is appointed according to her burthen in all kinde of artillerie, as peeces of brasse and yron, hand guns, cross-bowes, pikes, swords, daggers, targets, and for all ordinance, double shot, with powder, with new cables and ankers sufficient for the voyage. And moreouer it is ordeined, that the shippes haue double sailes, that is, that they bee thorowly sayled, and moreouer all newe sayles of fore-sayle, and maine-sayle, of coarse, and bonnet newe made, and kept in some driefat or chest in the same ship; that if the weather take the one from them, the other may be in readines.

Prouisiod of victuals vpon othe.

Euery ship must haue their master sworne before the sayd Iudge of the Contractacion, that all this is in a readinesse in the shippe, as also so many newe pipes of fresh water, so many buttes of good rackt wine, so many kintals of bread, so many iarres of oyle, so many iarres of Botijas of vineger, so much flesh, so much fish, and such quantitie of euery kinde of victuall, as the burthen of the shippe requireth, wherein euery shippe according to her greatnesse is appointed by The ordinances of the house: Also so many gunners, so many mariners, so many gromettes, so many pages, and so many souldiers. Then all these aforesaide matters being vnder Register by the notarie and all things prepared for the voyage, the Iudge doeth command the masters to hoyse vp the yards acrosse vnto the howndes of the mastes; and many times, if they perceiue the shippe to be walty and ouerladen, as many couetous masters doe, then hee hangeth the boates in the fore and maine tackle, to see whether the sayd shippe will make any helde downewarde, in laying downe her side: if she doe helde, he commandeth barkes abourd, to discharge her of such lading, as is thought to be too much in her: and there can no ship depart before they cary the Register of the said Iudges, howe that shee goeth by their order: and euery shippe carieth her owne Register, and in the Register the quantitie of al the goods that are laden in her, and if there be any more goods, they be forfayted in the Indies, both shippe and goods.

The Register of euery ship.

The masters are bound to keepe the course that the Admiral doeth leade, and euery shippe to follow her, and shee must goe alwayes in the Sea before all the rest of the fleete, and by night cary light, that all may knowe where she goeth. The viceadmirall must come behinde all, and so euery shippe in the fleete before here if any be ill of sayle, all are bounde to fit their sayles in such order, that they goe no faster than she doeth.

The two ships of warre to waft the fleet in time of peace.

The Admiral and the viceadmiral goe neuer but halfe laden, but very well armed of men, and artillery, three times double and more than any of the other haue: because they may help to defend all the rest, if neede doe require: and the dead freight of these two shippes is alwayes borne vpon the whole goods that are laden in the fleete, as also at the least there be two hundred souldiers in euery of these two shippes besides the mariners, great gunners, gromettes, and other officers.

The voyages bee so appointed, that alwayes they goe and come in the best of Summer, and bee there all the winter in the ports to discharge their lading and recharge backe againe.

Note.

The ships that are Admirall and viceadmirall be neither the greatest nor the smallest shippes, but of 3 hundreth or 4 hundreth tunnes at the most: but they be very good saylers, and strong chosen for the purpose, to sayle well and to beare good store of ordinance. In these two shippes are alwayes going and comming, two good knights men of warre, and Captaines and souldiers expert in the warres.

A Captaine in euery ship.

And in euery other ship is a Captaine, which ruleth in all causes of controuersie, or fights in the seas; the Pilot directeth onely in gouernment and leading the shippe to her port.

All the Captaines. Masters, Pilots, Maryners, and passengers, and all others bee obedient to the two shippes, so appoynted to passe: they doe, as in all other commandments what is by them appoynted, hauing power to hang, or doe any iustice vpon any man, as to them seemeth good at sea, and this is the last commandment vpon payne of death, if the General please.

Sixe Iudges.

Concerning the Contractation house, there are therein sixe Iudges of the highest sort.

Four visitours.

The reader of the arte of Nauigation.

There are visitours of shippes, as it is sayd before, to see whether the ships goe in order well, and sufficient in al things: and what manner of men the Masters of the ships and Pilots are, whether they be able to answere to all such articles, as the reader is able to obiecte vnto them, in matters of Nauigation: if they be not found sufficient, they are not admitted to take charge.

The booke of orders called in Spanish Pragamatica, common in writing amongtionable the masters.

The master must knowe whether the ship be sufficiently calked, tackled, and furnished in all things accordingly, as with mastes, sayles, cables, ankers, and all other necessary furniture: that at such time as any of the high iudges with their ordinary visitours appointed for such causes doe come, there be nothing found out of order or lacking, according to The booke of orders, which euery shippe proportionable to her burthen ought to haue, which is not vnknowen to any of the masters, being in writing common among them: and all the charge giuen to the Master and Pilot serueth only to conduct the ship from port to port.

The counter Master, or masters mate is obedient in all things whereunto hee shall bee commanded by the master and Pilote, and at his commandement are all the maryners of the ship.

The shippes commonly goe deeper laden from Spaine, then our shippes doe in any voyage.

The order of the Carena giuen to the ships that goe out of Spaine, to the Indies.

THe shippe of what burthen soeuer shee bee must giue a Carena, as they call it in the Spanish tongue, which is in English, shee must be thoroughly calked, and fortified, as well with carpenters to set knees into her, and any other tymbers appertaining to the strengthening of a shippe, as with calking: which is to put occam into her sides; and that kinde of calking is not used, as ours is here in England; but first before they put in any threede of occam, they with certaine crooked yrons, with an hammer in one hande, and the crooked yron in the other, doe forcibly pull out all the olde threede that hath bene in the shippe the voyage before, and so driue in new.

If the seame of the shippe be worne to any bredth, as many olde shippes be, by reason of often raking them, vpon that seame there is clapt a piece of caste leade, nayled vpon the calking, and seame with speciall nayles, which leade is caste a handes bredth, and as thinne as may bee for the same purpose, and at euery voyage it is taken off and renued, and by that meanes their shippes are very stanch a yeere or two.

Calking with thinne plates of lead.

The Carenero or the Calker doeth giue in suerties, that if the shippe so cast ouer, as they doe commonly vse to cast them, in such sort as any man may goe drie vpon the keele, as I haue done, and without any butte, pipe, or any other kinde of timber vnder her sides, more then with counter-poyze of stones in her, made within certaine timber as though it were a cheste; and with the stones the Carenero doeth bring her as hee will, high and low, leaning, or rysing: and if shee miscarrie in her Carena, then is the Carenero bound, if it bee either by fire, water, or sinking, or any other misfortune, to pay for the valew of the ship.

The Calker or Carenero.

The Carena of a shippe of one hundred tunnes being done so substantially as they vse to doe it, will cost two hundred Duckets, of two hundred tunnes, foure hundred Duckets, of three hundred tunnes, sixe hundred Duckets, and so according to the greatnesse of the shippe.

It would be done here in England for one third part of the money, by reason that the necessaries that goe to it are better cheape here by much, and the calkers farre better cheape by two parts.

This Carena may not be giuen at any hand but in a riuer where no tempest can arise, as in this riuer of London in such a place, where at al times the sayd ship may ride aflote: it may not be done at any dangerous harbour, where the winde may bring vp the waues of the Sea, neither where the Sea may heaue and set.

The calking of Siuill is so substantially done, that in one day one calker doeth not throughly calke past one yarde and an halfe in one seame, or two yardes at the most, and to that he doeth, the master calker is at hand to ouersee him, and this done, the Carenero doeth with his ballest set her vpright, and so shee beginneth to lade.

Examen de los maestros y Pilotos, que nauegan en las flotas de Espanna para las Indias del mar oceano, escrito por Pedro Dias Piloto, natural de la Isla de la Palma, 1586.

Alonso de Chiavez Piloto mayor.

PRimeramente pide al Piloto mayor, que es al presente Alonso de Chiauez, que lo admita al examen, por quanto es natural y sufficiente para ello.

Manda el Piloto mayor, que haga enformacion, de como es marinero, y platico de aquella parte, de que se quiere examinar. Luego presenta cinco o seis testigos de los Pilotos examinados, de como es buen marinero, y sufficiente para ser Piloto, y como es natural de los Reynos de Espanna; y que no es de casta de Moro, ni Iudeo, ni Negro.

Rodrigo Zamorano Cathedratico.

Y hecha la enformacion, presenta la al Piloto mayor. Y visto el Piloto maior la enformacion ser buena, manda que el Cathedratico Rodrigo Zamorano lo admita a la Cathedra. Y alli se juntan a vezes quatorze o quinez que pretende examinarse, y acuden alli a vna casa, que El Cathedratico tiene para aquello efeto, a las ocho de la mannana, y estan dos oras, y otras dos a la tarde. El Cathedratico tiene por costumbre de leer en la Cathedra vna ora, y otra ora ocupan en preguntarse los vnos a los otros muchas cosas conuenientes a la arte de nauegar en presencia del Cathedratico. Y el que no responde a proposito, El Catheratico le emienda, y le dize de la

manera que es cade cosa. Y este estudio dura dos meses, en los quales no ha de falta de ir dos vezes al dia, como dicho.

La Sala del examen.

Y despues de auer oido la Cathedra estos dos meses, van a la Sala del Examen, que es en la Contratacion. Y alli esta el Piloto mayor, y los de mas pilotos, qui son por lo menos veinte cinco: y alli estando todos assentados por su orden, manda el Piloto mayor, que lean las enformaciones; y despues de auer leidas las enformaciones o testimonios, pregunta el piloto maior al piloto y maestro, que se quiere examiner, de que parte de las Indias se quiere examinar? Y luego el piloto responde, que de Nueua Espanna, o de Nombre de Dios. Y otros, que no son platicos de estas tierras, dizen, que de Santo Domingo, y Puerto rico, y Cuba, y luego demanda el Piloto maior, que tienda la carta en la mesa, y en presencia de los demas pilotos parta de la barra de San Lucar para las Islas de Canaria, y de alli para las Indias, hasta Llegar a aquella parte de donde se examina, y buelue para Espanna, a tornar, a la Barra de San Lucar, de donde partio.

Y el Piloto mayor le preguntas Que si yendo nauegando por la mar le diese vn viento contrario, que remedio haria para que su nao no trabajasse tanto en la mar? Y el le responde lo mejor que entiende. Luego le pregunta vno de los pilotos por las reglas del Sol, y de la Estrella del norte, y que cuenta le hara en todo tiempo del anno? A lo qual ha de responder el piloto que se examina a todo aquello que le preguntaren. Y luego le pregunta otro por las sennas de las tierras que estuuieren en el camino, hasta Llegar al puerto de donde se examina. Y luego pregunta otro, que si con tormenta se le quebrasse los arboles, Que remedio haria? Y otros le preguntan, Que si la nao abriesse vn agua, a donde peligrassen las vidas, que remedio haria para tomarla con menos riesgo? Y otros le preguntan, que si le faltasse el timon, que remedio haria? Y otros le preguntan por la cuenta de la Luna, y de las mareas. Y otros le preguntan, Que si lo tomasse vn corsario, y lo dexasse sin carta y sin astrolabio, y etros instrumentos para tomar la altura del Sol y de la Estrella del norte, que orden tendria para hazer los? Otros le preguntan otras preguntas necessarias a vn marinero, que quiere ser piloto. A todo esto esta attento, respondiendo a todo. Y despues que todos le an preguntado todo lo necessario, le mandan. que salga fuera de la sala, paraque a solas dé cada vno su boto debaxo de iuramento en vn libro, que promenten de dezir verdad. Y luego

La manera de elecion de los maestros. y lotos.

Carta del examen.

ponen dentro de vn vaso de plata, que alli esta para aquel efeto, tantas hauas, y tantos garuanços como ai pilotos dentro de la sala : y va cada vno por su orden ; ye el que le parece que es sufficiente, saca vna haue, y el que le parece, que no lo es, saca vn garuanço. Y despues que todos an sacado, mira el piloto mayor los botos que tiene ; y si halla que tiena tantos botos en su fauor como en contrario, manda que haga otro viaje : y si tiene mas botos en su fauor, que en contrario, luego le dan vna carta del examen firmada del piloto mayor, y del Cathedratico, y del Escriuano, y sellada con el sello de la Contratacion. Y teniendo esta carta, luego da de presente al piloto mayor, y al Cathedratico para guantes y gallanas, conforme que cada vno puede, que es de ordinario dos o tres ducados. Y luego se puede concertar por piloto en qualquier nauio que quisiere, paro ayuella parte dedonde se examino. Y si hallare en las Indias algun nauio que tenga piloto no examinado, lo puede botar fuera, y venir el piloto examinado en el nauio por el mismo concierte, que el otro piloto tenia hecho.

Sueldo de los Tilotos.

Suelen Llevar los pilotos de partido y concierte por vn viaje de yr y boluer, conforme que es el nauio. Si es de ciento tonelladas, dozientos ducados, y dozientos y cinquenta ; y si es de quatrocientas o de quinientas Lleua de partido ; y mas, todos los dias que estuuiere en tierra, quatro reales para su comida. Y las naos grandes siempre Lleuan los pilotos mas viejos, porque el son mas experimentados y mejores pilotos que los mançebos. que comiençan a nauegar, y a ser pilotos.

Maestros y sus officios.

El piloto no tiene mas trabajo ni mas cuidado que en la nauegacion : porque los maestros de los nauios tienen cuidado de fretar, y adereçer sus naos, y pagar a los marineros, y hazer todo lo que es menester para su nao : porque el piloto no viene a la nao, si no es quando los visitadores vienen a visitarla, si tiene todo lo necessario para el viage.

Los quatro visitadores, y su officio.

Prematica.

Los visitadores son quatro hombres qui estan puestos por el rey, y estos son hombres muy entendidos, y vienen a visitar los nauios, antes que tomen carga, por ver si estan bien adereçados para hazer el viage. Y despues que estan los nauios cargados, bueluen otra vez a visitarlos, por ver si tienen todas las cosas necessarias, conforme a la Prematica ; y si tienen todos los marineros, y bastimentos, y poluere, y artilleria, y balas, y todo lo de mas necessario para es viaje. Y si alguna cosa les falta, les mandan con graues penal que lo compren, antes que salgan del puerto.

Escriuano y su officio.

Suelen Lleuar los nauios que uan a las Indias vn escriuano que tiene cargo de tomar por memoria todas las mercaderias que se cargan en la nao, y tomar las marcas, para por ellas entregar la carga a sus duennos, despues de auer acabado su viaje : y sirue tanbien, si un hombre caesse enformo, para hazer testamiento y otros recaudos que se suelen hazer delante un escriuano : y gana por su sueldo en un viaje tanto como dos marineros.

Primero nauio de auiso.

Segundo nauio de auiso.

Tiene el general de las flotas por costumbre, despues que Llega a las Indias, de embiar vn navio de aviso, para dar relacion al rey, de como ha Llegado. Y despues que estan prestas para partir despacha otrio nauio de auiso, para hazer relacion, de como estan ya prestas para partir, con otras particularidades.

Dos naos de guerra.

Van en las flotas dos naos grandes, la vna por Capitana, y la otra por Almiranta, cada vna de seiscientas y de sietecientas tonelladas, que no Lleuan mas que bastimentos y soldados para defensa de la defensa de la demas flota : y Lleua cada vna como docientos soldados : y estas se pagan de las mercaderias que vienen en la flota a vno por ciento, y algunas vezes a vno y medio por ciento.

Ay en la casa de la Contratacion de Seuilla vna tabla que sirue de Arançel, escrita con letras de oro ; en que stan aualiadas todas las mercaderias que se embarcan para las Indias.

EN esta tabla se puede saber quantas botijas hazen vna tonellada de vino y quantos quintales y quantos bariles, y quantos coffres sea vna tonellada.

Y todas mercaderias estan alli taxadas, para pagar los derechos al rey, y el flete al maestro.

Y alli esta puesto que ningun maestro puede Lleuar a las Indias ningun passegero, ni frayle, ni clerigo, ni otras personas, ni estranieros de los reynos de Espanna, sin licencia del Rey.

Y mas, que no puerde Lleuar mercaderias fuera de la Prematica, y todo lo que Lleuaren, lo Lleuen registrado, so pena de la vida.

Y mas, que ningun maestro ni piloto puede Lleuar instru-

mentos que no sean firmados por el piloto mayor Alonço de Chiaues, y el cosmografo Cathedratico Roderigo Zamorano: como son la carta, el astrolbio, la balestilla, ye el regimiento.

Y mas, que yendo en la compannia de la flota, obedescan al General, y no hagan mas de lo que el mandare, so pena de la vida.

The same in English.

The examination of the Masters and Pilots which saile in the Fleetes of Spaine to the West Indies: Written in the Spanish tongue by Pedro Dias a Spanish pilot taken by Sir Richard Grinville 1585.

FIrst they make suit vnto the Pilot maior (who at this present is called Alonço de Chiauez) that he would admit them to examination, because they are naturall Spaniards, and sufficient for the same.

Hereupon the Pilot maior commandeth the party to be examined, to giue information that he is a mariner, and well practized in those parts, about which hee desireth to be examined. And then immediately he bringeth fiue or sixe pilots before examined to giue testimonie that he is a good mariner, and sufficient to become a pilot, that he is a Spaniard borne, and that he is not of the race of the Moores, Iewes or Negros.

The witnesse of fiue or sixe pilots.

The pilots admission to the lectures of the Kings reader.

Hauing made this information, hee presenteth it vnto the Pilot maior. And the Pilot maior seeing the information to be good, willeth the Kings publique reader of nauigation (who is now Zamorano) to admit him to his lectures. Whither there doe resort foureteene or fifteene persons that desire to be examined: and they come to a certaine house which the Kings reader hath appointed vnto him for the same purpose, at eight of the clocke in the morning: and then they stay two houres, and two houres likewise in the afternoone: in one of which houres Zamorano readeth vnto them, and in the other they aske one another many particulars concerning the art of nauigation in the presence of the said King's reader: and him that answereth not to the purpose the sayd reader instructeth more perfectly, and telleth how euery thing is.

They heare the Kings readers lectures two houres a day for two moneths.

And this exercise continueth two moneths, during which time the examinates must not faile to bee present twise in a day, as is aforesaid.

The hall of examination.

And hauing heard the Kings reader those two moneths, they resort then vnto the hall of examination which is in the Contractation house, where there are assembled the Pilot maior and diuers other pilots, to the number of 25 at the least; who all sitting there in order, the pilot maior demandeth of him that would be examined, of what part of the Indies he desireth to be examined: Whereto the examinate answereth, that he would bee examined concerning Nueua Espanna or of Nombre de Dios and Tierra Firma. And others that are not experienced in those partes, craue to be examined of Santo Domingo, Puerto rico and Cuba.

The maner of the yong pilots examination.

Then the Pilot maior commandeth the examinate to spread a sea-chart vpon the table, and in the presence of the other pilots to depart or shewe the course from the barre of Sant Lucar to the Canarie Islands, and from thence to the Indies, till he come to that place whereof he is to bee examined, and then also to returne backe to the barre of Sant Lucar in Spaine, from whence he departed. Also the Pilot maior asketh him, if when he saileth vpon the sea, hee be taken with a contrary wind, what remedie he is to vse, that his ship be not too much turmoiled vpon the sea: And the examinate answereth him aswell as he can.

Then one of the other pilotes opposeth him about the rules of the Sunne and of the Northstarre, and how hee ought to vse the declination of the Sunne at all times of the yeere: whom the examinate is bound to answere in euery thing that hee demandeth. Then another asketh him of the signes and markes of those lands which lye in his way to that hauen whereof he is examined. And then another demandeth, that if his mastes should be broken by tempest, what remedy he would vse: Others aske him, if his ship should take a leake, to the hazarding of the liues of himselfe and his company, what remedy, if his rudder should chance to faile: Others oppose him about the account of the Moone and of the tides: Others aske him if a Pirate should take him and leaue him destisute of his Chart, his Astrolabe, and his other instruments seruing to take the height of the Sunne and of the starre, what course he would take in that extremitie: Others demand other questions needfull for a mariner to know, which desireth to be a pilot. Vnto all which the examinate is very attentiue, and answereth to euery particular.

The maner of their election.

After they haue all asked him so much as they think expedient, they bid him depart out of the hall, to the ende that euery one of them may seuerally bee sworne vpon a booke, that they will speake the trueth. Then they put into a certaine vessell of siluer standing there for the same purpose so many beanes and so many peason as there are pilots within the hall: and euery one putting his hand into the vessell in order, he that thinketh the partie examined to be sufficient, taketh vp a beane, and he that thinketh him not sufficient, taketh vp a pease. And after that all haue taken out what they please, the Pilot maior looketh what voyces the examinate hath: and if he finde him to haue as many voyces for him as against him, he commandeth him to make another voyage: but if he hath more voyces for him then against him, then they giue him letters testimoniall of his examination signed by the Pilot maior, by the Kings reader, and the secretary, and sealed with the seale of the Contractation house. And vpon the receipt of these letters testimoniall, the new pilot giueth a present vnto the Pilot maior, and the Kings reader, for their gloues and hennes, euery one according to his abilitie, which is ordinarily some two or three ducats.

Letters testimoniall of euery new pilots examination and approbation, vnder the hands of the Pilot maior, the Kings reader, and the secretary, and seale of the Contractation house.

And then he may take vpon him to be pilot in any ship whatsoeuer, vnto that place for which he was examined: and if he finde in the Indies any ship vnder the charge of a pilot not before examined, hee may put him out of his office, and may himself take charge of that ship for the same wages that the other pilot agreed for.

The pilots wages for making a voyage outward and homeward is according to the burthen of the ship. If shee be of 100 tunnes, hee hath 200 or 250 ducats: and if shee bee of 400 or 500 tunnes, he taketh for his wages 500 or 550 ducates: and if shee be bigger he hath a greater allowance: ouer and besides all which, he hath euery day while he remaineth on land, foure reales for his diet. And the greater shippes are alwayes committed vnto the more ancient pilots, because they are of greater experience and better skill, then the yonger sort which newly take vpon them to be pilots.

The pilot vndertaketh no farther travell nor care, but in directing the course or nauigation: for the masters of the ships take charge of the freighting and preparing their ships, and to pay the mariners, and to doe all things needfull for the ship; for the pilot commeth not vnto the shippe, vntill the visitours come to visitie the same, to see whether he hath all things necessary for the voyage.

Foure Visitours.

The visitours are foure men which are appoynted by the King, and these are men of great vnderstanding: and they come to visitie the shippes before they take in their lading, to see whether they be well prepared to make the voyage. And after the ships bee laden, they returne again to visitie them the second time to see whether they haue all things necessary, according to the orders of the Contractation house: and whether they haue all their mariners, victuals, pouder, shot, and ordinance, and all other things necessary for the voyage. And if they want any thing, they charge them vpon grieuous penalties, to prouide the same before they set out of the hauen

The orders of the Contractation house.

The ships that goe to the Indies are wont eche of them to haue with them a Notarie, whose charge is to keepe a note of rememberance of all the marchandize which is laden in the ship, and to take the marks thereof, therby to deliuer the commodities in the ship to their particular owners, after they haue finished their voyage, and he serueth likewise to make willes, and other instruments, which are wont tó be made by a Notarie, if any man chanceth to fall sicke. And his wages in eche voyage is as much as the wages of two mariners.

The first barke of Auiso.

The Generall of the fleetes vseth continually, after hee is arriued in the Indies, to send into Spaine a barke of Auiso, to aduertise the King of the state of his arriuall; And after the fleetes be ready to come home, he dispatcheth another pinnesse of Auiso to certify them how the fleetes are now ready to set saile, with other particularities. There go with the fleetes two great ships, the one as Admirall, the other as Viceadmirall, of the burthen of 400 or 500 tunnes, which carry nothing but victuals and souldiers for the wafting of the rest of the fleete, and these are payed out of the marchancize which come in the Fleete, after the rate of one in the hundred, and sometime at one and an halfe in the hundred.

The second barke of Auiso.

There is in the Contractation house of Siuil a table which serueth for an Arançel or table of rate or taxation, written in letters of gold, wherein the values of all kind of marchandize, which are embarqued for the Indies, are set downe.

A table of rates, &c. set vp in the Contractation house.

BY this table a man may know how many Botijas or how many packes, or how many quintals, or how many barrels, or how many chests make a tunne.

And all marchandize haue their rates set downe, to pay the King his customes and the Master his due fraight.

And therein is set vp in writing that no Master may carry any passenger to the Indies without licence, especially no learned men, nor any fryer, or clergymen, nor any body else without licence, of the King: nor any strangers not born in the Kingdomes of Spaine. Moreouer, that they may not carry away any marchandize not comprized in the foresaid orders, vnder paine of death: and that all goods which they carry with them, they ought to carry the same registered; vnder paine of death.

Furthermore, that no Master nor pilot may carry any Chart, nor Astrolabe, nor Crosse-staffe, nor regiment, without they bee signed and sealed by the Pilot maior Alonco de Chiauez and the Cosmographer the Kings reader Rodrigo Zamorano.

Moreouer, that going in company with the fleete, they doe and obey all such things, as their Generall shall command them, vnder paine of death.

Written by me Pedro Dias borne in the Isle of Palma one of the Canaries, vpon the request and gratification of M. Richard Hayluyt, in February 1586.

The voyage of M. Iohn Winter into the South sea by the Streight of Magellan, in consort with M. Francis Drake, begun in the yeere 1577. By which Streight also he returned safely into England the second of Iune 1579. contrary to the false reports of the Spaniards which gaue out, that the said passage was not repasseable: Written by Edward Cliffe Mariner.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1577. the 19. of September there went out of the riuer of Thamis ouer the lands ende one good and newe ship called the Elizabeth, of 80. tunnes in burthen: in company whereof went also a small pinnesse being twelue tunnes in burthen called the Benedict. The sayd ship with her pinnesse arriued at Plimmouth: in which hauen were three ships more, one halled the Pellican in burthen 120. tunnes, being Admirall of the fleete: a barke called the Marigold in burthen thirty tunnes, with a flieboat of 50 tunnes. These ships had in them 164 men, and were victualled and furnished with all kind of necessary prouision to make a voyage into the South sea. Wee set sayle the 15 of Nouember, but were put into Falmouth by contrary winds: and afterward were constrained to put backe againe to Plimmouth to repaire the great hurt which diuers of our fleete had sustained in that tempest: and at length the 13 of December wee set forword from thence vpon our voyage.

They set forward from Plimmouth the 13. of December.

The fiue and twentie of December we had sight of Cape Cantin: this Cape lyeth in the latitude of 32. degrees and 30. minutes vpon the coast of Barbarie, neere to a towne called Asaphi. The land all along this coast is hie and great mountaines. Sayling from the sayd Cape Southsouthwest about 18 leagues, wee found a little Island called Mogador an English mile distant from the maine, we sent our boat to sound the depth, and at the returne thereof we vnderstood by our men that the hauen was without danger, hauing fiue fathomes of water fast by the rocks entring in vpon the poynt of the Island: wherefore wee entred in with our whole fleete the 27 of December. The Moores that were on the maine seeing our ships there, came from the mountaines to beholde vs: whom our Generall M. Francis Drake espying, shewed to them a white flagge in token of friendship, and sent his boat to shore with one of our men, which not long before had bene captiue in the countrey, and partly vnderstoode their language, to talke with them. When the boate came to shore, the sayd man went on land to them: to whom they shewed many tokens of friendship, casting vp their eyes to heauen, and after looking downe vpon the ground, as though they had sworne by heauen and earth, promising peace. That done two of them came aboord to our Generall, and our man stayed on shore for a pledge.

Cape Cantin.

Asaphi.

Magador an Island on the coast of Barbary.

These two Moores, after they had made good cheere, and receiued certaine gifts of our Generall went to shore againe, and our man came aboord also. But the craftie slaues hauing deuised to betray vs, came the next day along the sea side with certain camels as though they had brought some merchandize to traffique with vs: to whom our General sent certaine of our men in the boat to learne what they had brought, giuing charge that none of them should goe on land. But the boate being neere the shore one of our men more hastie than wise lept to shore: whom the Moores immediatly tooke by force, and setting him on horsebacke caried him away into the mountaines, so that we saw him no more after that time. In the meane time wee set vp a Pinnesse in the island, whereof wee brought 4 loose out of England: which being finished, the last of December wee weighed, and came out of the North part of the island, the same way that wee came in: for the South chanel is dangerous, hauing but 8 foote at low water, and is full of rockes. This island standeth in 31 degrees ½ of latitude, being one league in circuite, not inhabited; and hath infinite number of doues vpon it.

Foure loose Pinnesses brought out of England.

Mogador in 31 degrees and an halfe.

At Sea wee met with a contrary winde, so that wee beate off and on, till the 4 of Ianuarie 1578, at which time a more fauourable winde began to blowe at Northeast, and then wee set our course Southsouthwest, till on the 7 of Ianuarie wee came as high as Cape de Guer, which standeth in 30 degrees of latitude. Here our new Piunesse tooke 3 Spanish fisher boates, called Cantars along with vs, till the 10 of the sayd moneth, at which time wee found our selues in 27 degrees 5 min. being 10 leagues Westsouthwest from Cape Bojador, which lieth on the maine land of Africa. From thence we ran South and by West, vntill the 13 day at noone, at which time wee had sight of Rio del Oro, where our Pinnesse tooke a Portugall carauel. The 15, the Marigold tooke a carauel about de las Barbas. And thence we ran along the coast being low sandie land, till we arriued at Cape Blanco. This Cape sheweth it selfe like the corner of a wall vpright from the water, to them which come from the Northwardes: where the North pole is eleuated 20 degrees 30 min. And the Crociers being the guards of the South pole, be raised 9 degrees 30 min. The said Crociers be 4 starres, representing the forme of a crosse, and be 30 degrees in latitude from the South pole;

Cape de Guer in 30 degrees

Cape Bojador in 27 degrees 4 min.

Cape de las Barbas.

Cape Blanco in 20 degrees 30 min.

and the lowest starre of the sayd Crociers is to be taken, when it is directly vnder the vppermost; and being so taken as many degrees as it wanteth of 30, so many you are to the Northwards of the Equinoctial: and as many degrees as be more then 30, so many degrees you are to the Southwards of the Equinoctial. And if you finde it to be iust 30 then you be directly vnder the line.

Within the sayd Cape Blanco wee tooke one ship more, all the men being fled away, saue two. We brought this ship with all the rest which wee had taken before, into our harbour, 5 leagues within the Cape, where we washed and trimmed our shlps, and went to sea againe the 22 of Ianuarie, leauing all the Spaniards there with their ships, sauing one Cantar, for which our Generall gaue them the Benedict. In which course wee ran continually to the Southwest, vntill the 26 day, when wee found the North poyle raysed 15 degrees 15 min. hauing the winde Northeast or Eastnortheast, which is common on that coast. For it doeth blow for the most part continually from the shore: and we kept the sayd course, vntill wee came neere the island Bonauista, within 2 leagues off the shore; so that we haled off againe Northwest, the space of one houre, and then ran Southwest againe, till day light the 27 of Ianuarie: from which time wee ran Southsouthwest, vntill 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time we approched neere the island of Mayo, being high and hilly land, sauing that the North part of the island stretcheth out it selfe, a league into the sea very lowe. Wee came to anker vnder the West part of this island the 28 day of Ianuarie, and stayed there vntill the 30 of the same. During which time, our General appointed M. Iohn Winter and M. Thomas Doughtie, to goe ouer to the East part of the island with 70 men, to get some fresh victuals. And as wee marched through the island, about the middest thereof, we found one house hauing a garden belonging to it, in which wee found ripe grapes, also ripe gourds, and melons, in the most dead time of our Winter. Wee found also a tree which beareth the fruite Cocos, which is bigger then a mans head, hauing within the vtter coate, which is about 3 inches thicke, a certaine nut as bigge as two fists, and hath within a white substance, cleauing fast to the shell, which is halfe an inche thick, very pleasant to taste, and within that a certaine hollownesse or voyde place, wherein is contained a pure and pleasant water in taste,

The Isle of Maio.

Ripe grapes in Ianuarie.

The Cocos tree,

and as some thinke, maruellous comfortable. As we passed through this island the inhabitants fledde into the mountaines, so that we could haue no talke with them.

But we vnderstood by the Portugals which came with vs, that they were but seruants to those of S. Iago, to keepe their cattell and goates, which bee very plentifull in this island: but we found them so wilde, that we could take none sauing some yong kiddes; wherefore wee returned backe againe to our shippes. The Portugals had salted their Welles neere to the sea, so that we could not water.

Then our Generall commanded euery man aboord: afterward we weighed, and ranne ouer to Sant Iago the same night, being 10 leagues distant from thence: which seemed to bee a fruitefull island and well peopled. For we sawe 3 townes on the shore: two of which shot at vs, as we passed along. Our General made a shot at one of them againe. And sayling along the shore, at the South part of the island, wee tooke a Portugal shippe laden with wine and other commodities. This island hath 15 degrees in latitude.

The isle of Fogo.

From hence wee ran Southsouthwest to the Isle of Fogo, so called, because it casteth continually flames of fire and smoake out of the top thereof, all the whole island being one high mountaine. Two leagues West from the isle of Fogo, is another island called Braua, where the sea is aboue 120 fathoms deepe neere to the shore, so that we could not anker for the depth of the sea, by reason whereof we were constrained to depart without water Here the Generall discharged the Portugals, giuing vnto them our Pinnesse which we built at Mogador: with wine, breade, and fish, and so dismissed them the first of Februarie, taking one of their companie along with him, called Nonnez de Silua. The 2 of February wee set off from Braua and directed our course Southsoutheast, running so vntill the 9 of February, being within 4 degrees of the Equinoctial: at which time, wee had the ayre troubled with thunder and lighting, notwithstanding calme with extreme heate, and diuers times great showers of raine.

Braua.

Nonnez de Silua.

The 17 day wee were right vnder the line, which is the most feruent place of the burnt Zone: where in the middest of February we susteined such heat, with often thunder and lightings, that wee did sweat for the most part continually, as though wee had beene in a stoue, or hote-house. Here wee saw flying fishes in great abundance, some a foote long, some lesse. Their fynnes wherewith they fly be as long as their bodies. They be greatly pursued by the Dolphine and Bonitoes, whom as soone as the flying fishes espie, immediatly they mount out of the sea in great numbers, and fly as long as their fynnes continue moyst: and when they be dry, they fall downe into the sea againe. And here is to bee noted, that after we came within 4 degrees of the Equinoctial, vntill we were much past it, no day did passe without great store of raine.

Flying fishes.

Continuall raine at certeine seasons neere the Equinoctial.

From hence wee directed our course towards the Southsouthwest vntill the 5 of Aprill, at which time, wee had a very sweet smell from the land. The same day at noone wee sounded, and found the sea to be 32 fathomes deepe, the ground being soft oaze: and shortly after we had but 28 fathomes, being 31 degrees and 30 min. beyond the Equinoctial, towarde the South pole: and wee had sight of the land about 3 of the clocke in the afternoon the same day. This land is very low neere the sea; and hie mountaines vp within the countrie

Land in 31 degoees 30 min. to the South of the Equinoctial

From hence we ran towardes the Southsouthwest, vntill the 14 of Aprill; when wee found a little island, lying neere the maine land of Cape Sant Marie, by which is the enterance into the riuer of Plate, being in 35 degrees of Southerly latitude. From this island we ran 7 or 8 leauges along the maine, where we came to an anker vnder a Cape which our General called Cape Ioy. Here euery ship tooke in fresh water. Then we departed and ran about 15 leauges towards the Westsouthwest where we found a deepe bay. In the bottome of this bay is a long recke, not far from the maine: which rocke so breaketh the force of the sea, that shippes may ride commodiously vnder the same for Southerly windes. Hither came all our fleet to anker, the 19 of Aprill, and roade there vntill the 20 day at night. Here wee killed some seales. And from thence wee ran about 20 leagues, where we found the water very much troubled and fresh, and wee ran in so farre that we had but 3 fathomes water. Here wee tooke in fresh water, and ranne ouer to the Southward, and fell with the land which lyeth on the South part of the riuer of Plate, the 27 day. This land lyeth Southsouthwest and North-

Cape Sant Marie at the mouth of the riuer of Plate.

northeast, and is shold 3 or 4 leagues into the sea. Here our fly-boat lost our companie in the night.

From hence we ran toward the Southwest, hauing much foule weather and contrary windes, vntill the 12 of May: and then wee sounded and had 28 fathomes, with blacke sande and small stones, and had sight of the land the same morning about 10 of the cloke. This land is 47 degrees in latitude. Our Generall named this land, Cape Hope. We came to anker there, about 3 leagues from the shore the same night. The next morning our Generall, went to the maine in a boate: by meanes whereof hee had bene in great danger, if the Marigold had not weighed, and ran in with the shore, and so tooke vp the boate and men: for there arose such foule weather, with a thicke myst and a Southeast winde, that they were not able to recouer their shippes againe which rode without: which were forced to weigh and runne to sea. The Prize weighed the 13 at night, and ran to the Southwards: the other stayed vntill the 14 in the morning and then ran to sea, not being able to ride.

Cape of Hope in 47 degrees.

In the mean time while the Marigold rode vnder the shore, our Generall with certaine of his men went on land, where they sawe two naked men, sauing that they had a certaine skinne wrapt about their shoulders and rowles vpon their heads. To whom our General shewed a white cloth, in signe of friendship, who with certaine gestures of their bodies and handes, shewed the like to him againe, speaking likewise and making a noyse, which our men could not vnderstand, but they would in no case come neere our men. Our Generall went the next day to the same place againe: but he had no sight of the foresaid men or any other. Howbeit hee found certaine foules, as Ostriches, aud other sea foules, which the sayd men had newly killed, and laid them on an heape together, as though they had done that for our men of purpose. There was also a certeine bagge with litle stones of diuers colours, which together with the victuals of our General brought aboord, and then weighed, and came to sea the 15 of the sayd moneth: where all the rest of the fleete meete with him, saue the Prize, and the fly-boat. The 16 day wee ran into a bay to the Southwardes of Cape Hope, where we roade al that night. The next morning our Generall weighed, and ran without the cape to the Northwardes, and sent the Elizabeth towardes the South to look

Ostriches and sea foules.

for the Prize: leauing the Marigold and the Canter to search if in the bay they could finde any fit harbor for our ships. The same day being the 14 of May, our General met with the fly boat (which lost vs the 27 of April) and brought her into the saide bay. The 18 in the morning we had word from the ships, that they had found a safe harbour and we weighed and ran in, the same day being Whitsunday. The Elizabeth weighed and put forth again to sea, the 20 day, to looke for the Prize, and not finding her came in the next day. In the meane time our General discharged the fly boat, and ran her vpon the maine, where we broke her vp for fire-wood. In the mean while there came about 30 of the countrey people downe to the sea side: and when they were within 100 pases of our men, they set themselues in array very orderly casting their companie into the forme of a ring, euery man hauing his bowe and arrowes: who (when they had plight a staffe on the ground, with certeine glasses, beads, and other trifles) returned backe. Then the countrey people came and tooke them and afterward approched neerer to our men, shewing themselues very pleasant, insomuch that M. Winter daunced with them. They were exceedingly delighted with the sound of the trumpet, and vialles. They be of a meane stature, wel limmed, and of a duskish, tawnie, or browne colour. Some of them hauing their faces spotted with diures colours, as red, white, and blacke. Their apparel is a certaine skinne (wherein they wrap themselues) not reaching so low as to couer their priuy members, all the rest of their bodies be naked, sauing that they weare certaine roules vpon their heads. whose ends hang ouer their shoulders. Euery one beareth his blow, being an ell in length, and arrowes made of reeds, hauing heads, framed very strangely and cunningly of a flint stone. They be much giuen to mirth and iollity, and are very sly, and ready to steale any thing that comes within their reach: for one of them snatched our Generals cap from his head (as he stouped) being of skarlet with a golden band: yet he would suffer no man to hurt any of them. They eate rawe flesh, for we found seales bones, the raw flesh whereof they had gnawen with their teeth like dogs. In this bay we watered, and victualed with seales: for there is such plentie that we slew aboue 200 in the space of one houre vpon a little island.

The description of certaine sauages.

The 3 day of Iune we departed from thence, and being at sea we were put backe againe to Cape Hope, where we discharged our Canter and let her float in the sea. Afterward wee ran to the 50 degree of the South pole, where wee met with the winde Southerly, and so turned backe againe to the Northward. And as we ran along the shore, we met our Prize the 19 of Iune, which we lost the 13 of May. The day following we found a harbour, into the which we entered with all our fleet the same day. This port is 49 degrees and an halfe in latitude, and I suppose it to be the same which Magellan named Port S. Iulian: for we found a gybbet on an hil, whereupon they were executed that did conspire against Magellan, and certaine bones also of their dead bodies. The 22 of this moneth our Generall going to shore vpon the maine with 7 or 8 of his men, met with 3 of the Patagons hauing bowes and arrowes, who came neere to our men making them signes to depart. Whereupon a gentleman being there present, and hauing a bowe and arrowes, made a shot to the end to shew them the force of our bowes, with which shot his string broke: whereupon the Patagons presumed to encounter them, directing their arrowes first at our M. Gunner, who had a caliuer ready bent to shot at them but it would not take fire: and as he leuelled his peece one of them shot him through the breast, and out at the backe, wherewith he fell downe starke dead. Also the gentleman that shot the arrow was so wounded that hee dyed the 2 day after and with the other was buryed in a litle island lying in the said port. Our men left the slaine man on shore till night, and then fetched him in a boat. In the meane time the Patagons had stript him of all his clothes, and viewed his body laying his clothes vnder his head, and so left him vntouched, sauing that they had stucke the English arrow in his left eye. These men be of no such stature as the Spaniardes report, being but of the height of English men: for I haue seene men in England taller then I could see any of them. But peraduenture the Spaniard did not thinke that any English men would haue come thither so soone to haue disproued them in this and diuers others of their notorious lies: wherefore they presumed more boldly to abuse the world. The last of Iune M. Thomas Doughty was brought to his answere, was accused, and conuicted of certaine articles, and by M. Drake condemned. He was beheaded the 2 of Iuly 1578, whose body was buried in the said island, neer to them

The port of Sant Iulian.

Two of our men slaine by the Patagons.

The execution of M. Thomas Doughtie.

which were slaine. We wintered in this port two moneths, during which time we had such weather as is commonly in England in the depth of winter, or rather colder. After we had trimmed vp our ships, and made prouision of fewell and fresh water, we departed thence with 3 ships the 17 of August about noone. And the 20 of the said moneth we seazed Cape Victorie, by the which Cape is the way into the South sea, called The streights of Magellan, the first discouerer thereof. Wee found the mouth of the streights to bee 52 degrees ⅓ Southward of Equinoctiol. In this streight, we found the sea to haue no such current as some doe imagine, (following the course of the primum mobile from East to West) but to eb and flow as ordinarily as vpon other coasts, 5 fathoms vpright. The flood riseth out of the East ocean, and stretcheth it selfe so far into the streights, that it meeteth the flood of the South sea neere about the midst of the streights, where it bendeth like an elbow, tending to the West-north-west into the South Sea, whereas the East part from the mouth of the streights to this elbow lyeth South-west and by West, or South-west to 53 degrees and ⅓. 30 leagues within the streights there be 3 islands. To the greatest our general gaue to the name of Elizabeth: to the 2 Bartholomew, because we found it on S. Bartholomewes day: the 3 he named S. Georges island Here we staied one day and victualled our selues with a kinde of foule which is plentifull in that isle, and whose flesh is not farre vnlike a fat goose here in England: they haue no wings, but short pineons which serue their turne in swimming. Their colour is somewhat blacke mixt with white spots vnder their belly, and about their necke. They walke so vpright, that a farre off a man would take them to be litle children. If a man aproch any thing neere them, they run into holes in the ground (which be not very deepe) whereof the island is full. So that to take them we had staues with hookes fast to the ends, wherewith some of our men pulled them out, and others being ready with cudgels did knocke them on the head, for they bite so cruellie with their crooked bils, that none of vs was able to handle them aliue. The land on both parts is very high: but especially toward the South sea, monstrous high hils and craggy rocks do exalt themselues, whose tops be all hoary with snowe,

The entrance of the streight of Magellan.

Ordinarie flood and ebbe in the streight.

Abundance of sea foules on S. Georges island in the streight of Magellan.

in the moneths of August, September, and October. Notwithstanding the lower partes of the hilles are replenished and beautified with impenetrable thicke woods of strange and vnknowvn trees, flourishing all the yere long. Here we made prouision of fewel and fresh water, and passed by Cape Deseado into the South sea the 6 of September. And running along towards the North-west about 70 leagues, the winde turned directly against vs, with great extremitie of foule weather, as raine, haile, snow, and thicke fogs which continued so more then 3 weeks, that we could beare no saile, at which time we were driuen 57 degr. to the south pole. The 15 of September the moone was there ecclipsed, and began to be darkened presently after the setting of the sunne, about 6 of the clocke at night, being then Equinoctial vernal in that countrey. The said ecclipse happened the 16 day in the morning before one of the clocke in England, which is about sixe houres difference, agreeing to one quarter of the world, from the Meridian of England towards the West. The last of September being a very foule night, and the seas sore growne, we lost the Marigold, the Generals shippe and the Elizabeth running to the East-ward to get the shore, whereof we had sight, the 7 of October, falling into a very dangerous bay, full of rocks: and there we lost companie of M. Drake the same night. The next day very hardly escaping the danger of the rocks, we put into the streights againe, where we ankered in an open bay for the space of 2 dayes, and made great fiers on the shore, to the end that if M. Drake should come into the streights, hee might finde vs. After wee went into a sound, where we stayed for the space of 3 weekes and named it The port of Health, for the most part of our men being very sicke with long watching, wet, cold, and euill diet, did here (God be thanked) wonderfully recouer their health in short space. Here we had very great muscles (some being 20 inches long) very pleasant meate, and many of them full of seed-pearles.

Cape Deseado where they entred into the South sea.

They were driuen to 57 degrees Southward.

They loose M. Drakes company.

We came out of this harbour the first of Nouember giuing ouer our voiage by M. Winters compulsion (full sore against the mariners minds) who alleged, he stood in despaire, as well to haue winds to serue his turne for Peru, as also of M. Drakes safetie. So we came backe againe

The voyage giuen ouer.

through the streights to S. Georges Island, where we tooke of the foules before named, and after departed.

And thus wee passed by Cape Victorie out of the streights the 11 of Nouember, directing our conrse to the North-east, till the last of this moneth. What time wee arriued at an island which lyeth at the mouth of the riuer of Plate. Vpon this island there is such an infinite number of seales, as may seeme incredible to any man that hath not bene there, some of them being 16 foote long, not fearing the presence of men: for the most of our men were vpon the island, for the space of 15 dayes to set vp a Pinnesse, during which time the seales would come and slepe by them, and rather resist our men, then giue place, vnlesse mortall blowes forced them to yeelde.

They returned out of The streight the 11 of Nouember, hauing entred into The south sea the 6 of September.

When our Pinnesse was built, we went to another island, where wee did water, and afterward departed the first of Ianuarie 1579, and ran towards the North till the 20 of the said moneth, and then we arriued at an island which lieth on the coast of Brasil, neere to a towne called sant Vincent inhabited by the Portugals. The sayd towne lyeth 24 degrees Southwarde, almost vnder the Tropicke of Capricorne. Here, by reason of foule weather we lost our Pinnesse, and 8 men in her, and neuer saw them since. Here also our ship was in great danger, by the meanes of a strong current, which had almost cast vs vpon the shore before wee were aware, insomuch that we were constrained to anker in the open sea, and brake our cable and lost an anker, and presently let fal another anker; in weighing whereof our men were sore spoiled. For the capstan ranne about so violently with the rising of the shippe in the sea, that it threwe the men from the barres, and brake out the braines of one man: one other had his legge broken, and diuers others were sore hurt. At last wee gote vp our anker and set sayle, and ran into a place called Tanay, where we roade vnder an island and tooke in wood and water.

Sant Vincent in Brasil in 24 degrees.

A dangerous current.

Tanay a place in Brasil.

And while we stayed here, there came 3 Portugals aboord vs in a canoa, to knowe what wee would haue, or of what countrey we were. To whom our Captaine made answre: that we were Englishmen, and had brought commodities for their countrey, if they would trafficke with vs: whereat they greatly marueiled.

For they saide that they neuer heard of any English ship to haue bene in that countrey before; and so they went to land againe, hauing one of our men with them to speak to the Gouernour of the towne, and we kept one of them for a pledge. Shortly after there came another canoa aboord vs with one Portugal and al the rest naked men of the countrey: of whom we had two small Oxen, one yong Hogge, with certaine hennes: also Pome-cytrons, limons, oranges, and other fruites of the countrey. For the which our Captaine gaue to them, linnen cloth, combes, kniues, and other trifles. In the meane time the Gouernour of the towne, sent word that we should haue nothing, vnlesse we would bring our shippe into the hauen. Whereunto our Captaine would in no case consent: for all their practise was to haue gotten vs within their danger, neuertheles we came somewhat neere the towne with our ship, as though wee would haue gone in; but we neuer meant it.

The isle of Sant Sebastian about the Tropicke of Capricorne.

Here we tooke in our man; and set the Portugal pledge on land. After that we went to an iland called the isle of Sant Sebastian; where wee tooke fish. Here the Portugals had betrayed vs, if a Brasillian one of their slaues had not bene. For he stole from them, and shewed vnto vs by signes, that the Portugala were comming with their canoas to take vs, as it fell out in deed: for the next morning they shewed themselues with 12 or 16 canoas, some of them hauing 40 men in them. The same night two of our men ran away with our boat to the Portugals. And thus wee came away from thence toward our owne countrey the 17 of March: and had sight of the Cape of sant Augustine, lying in 8 degrees to the Southward of the line. After that we had sight of an island lying within 3 degrees of the Equinoctial, called the isle of Fernando de Loronha. We crossed the Equinoctial the 13 of April, and had sight of the North starre the 19 of the sayd moneth.

Cape Sant Augustine.

The isle of Fernando de Loronha.

The sea of Weedes neere the Tropicke of Cancer.

The 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 of May, wee sayled through the sea of Weedes, about the space of 100 leagues, being vnder the Tropicke of Cancer. From whence we kept our course towards the North-east, vntill wee had the pole raysed 47 degrees. The 22 of May we ranne East-northeast.

The 29 we sounded and had 70 fathomes with white oaze;

hauing the North pole raysed 51 degrees. The 30 of May we had sight of S. Iues on the North side of Corne-wall, and the 2 of Iune 1579 we arriued at Ilfoord-combe in Deuon-shire.

Their arriual at Ilfoord-combe in Deuonshire.

And thus after our manifold troubles and great dangers in hauing passed the streights of Magellan into the South Sea with our Generall M. Francis Drake, and hauing bene driuen with him downe to the Southerly latitude of 57 degrees, and afterward passing backe by the same streights againe, it pleased God to bring vs safe into our owne natiue countrey to enioy the presence of our deare friendes and kinesfolkes, to whom bee prayse, honour, and glory, for euer and euer. Amen.

EDWARD CLIFFE.
Mariner.

Instructions giuen by the right honourable the Lordes of the Counsell, to M. Edward Fenton Esquire,* for the order to be obserued in the voyage recommended to him for the East Indies and Cathay. Aprill 9. 1582.

FIrst you shall enter as Captaine Generall, into the charge and gouernment of these shippes, viz. the Beare Gallion, the Edward Bonauenture, the Barke Francis, and the small Frigate or Pinnesse.

2 Item you shall appoint for the furnishing of the vessels in the whole, to the number of 200 able persons, accompting in that number the Gentlemen and their men, the Ministers, Chirurgians, Factors, &c. which sayd number is no way to be exceeded, whereof as many as may be, to be sea-men; and shal distribute them into euery vessell, as by aduise here before your going shal be thought meete: Prouided that you shall not receiue vnder your charge and gouernement, any disordered or mutinous person, but that vpon knowledge had, you shall remooue him before your departure hence, or by the way as soone as you can conueniently auoide him, and receiue better in his place.

3 Item, for the more and better circumspect execution, and determination in any waightie causes incident in this voyage, we will that you shall take vnto you for assistants, Captaine Hawkins, captain Ward, M. Nicholas Parker, M. Maddox, M. Walker, M.

---

* Had been the companion of Frobisher.

Euans, Randolph Shaw, Matthew Talboys, with whom you shall consult and conferre in all causes, matters, and actions of importance, not prouided for in these instructions touching this seruice, now in hand. And in all such matters, so handled, argued and debated, wee thinke that conuenient alwayes to be executed, which you shall thinke meetest with the assent also of any 4 of them, the matter hauing bene debated, and so assented vnto, in the presence of your said assistants. And in case that such conference and debating the opinions of the aforesaid Assistants be found in effect any way to differ, then it is thought meete, that all such matters so argued vpon, shall rest to bee put in execution in such sort as you shal thinke most meetest, hauing the assent of any 4 of them, as aforesaid. And if any of these Assistants shal die, then the number of the one halfe of the Suruiuours to ioyne with the General captaine for consent in all things aforesaid.

4 Of all which your assemblies and consultations, for the matters aforesaid, we thinke it very conuenient, that a particular and true note should be kept, for which cause we appoint master Maddox minister, and if he should decease, then the Generall with halfe the Assistants Suruiuours, to name one to keepe a booke of all such matters as shall bee brought in consultation, and of all such reasons as shall be propounded by any person, either on the one side, or on the other: what was resolued on, and by whose consent, who dissented there from, and for what causes In which book he shall in the beginning of the note of euery such assembly, set downe particularly the day, and the place, if it may, the names of the persons then present, and vpon what occasion the sayd consultation was appointed or holden, and shall haue to euery acte, the handes of the General, and of all, or so many of the said Assistants as will subscribe: which booke the said master Maddox, or the other vpon his decease appointed in his place shall keepe secrete, and in good order to bee exhibited vnto vs, at your returne home.

5. Item, if there happen any person or persons imployed in this seruice, of what calling or condition, hee or they shall be, should conspire, or attempt priuatly or publikely, any treason, mutinie, or oiher discord, either touching the taking away of your own life, or any other of authoritie vnder you, whereby her Maiesties seruice in this voiage might bee ouerthrowne, or impugned: we will therefore, that vpon iust proofe made of any such treason, mutinie, or any other discord attempted as aforesaid, the same

shalbe punished by you, or your Lieutenans, according to the qualitie and enormitie of the fact. Prouided alwayes, and it shall not bee lawfull neither for you, nor for your Lieutenant to proceede to the punishment of any person by losse of life or lim, vnlesse the partie shall be iudged to haue deserued it by the rest of your Assistants, as is before expressed, or at the least by foure of them. And that which shall concerne life to be by the verdict of twelue men of the company employed in this voyage, to be impanelled for that purpose, with the obseruation of the forme of our countrey lawes in that behalfe, as neere as you may. Prouided, for it shall not appeare, that the forbearing of the execution by death, shall minister cause to increase the facte of the offender, then it were better to conuince the partie of his facte, by the othes of 12 indifferent persons, and to commit him to hard imprisonment, vntill the returne. And aswell of the factes committed by any, as also of the proofe thereof, and of the opinions of you, and your Assistants, and the maner of the punishment, the Register shall make a particular and true note, in the booke of your consultation, as is before appointed.

6 Item, you shall not remooue Captaine William Hawkins your lieutenant, master Captaine Luke Ward your viceadmiral, or captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, nor captaine Carlile from his charge by land, whom we will not to refuse any such seruice as shall be appointed to him by the Generall and the councill, nor any captaine of other vessels from their charges, but vpon iust cause duely prooued, and by consent of your Assistants, or of foure of them at the least.

M. Carlisle vpon occasion was not in this voyage.

7 Item, for the succession of the Generall, gouernour of this whole voyage, if it should please God to take him away, it is thought meete that there should bee the names of such Gentlemen secretly set downe to succeede in his place one after the other, which are seuerally written in parchment, included in bals of waxe, sealed with her Maiesties signet, put into two coffers locked with three seuerall locks, whereof one key is to bee in the custodie of Captaine Luke Ward, the other of William Hawkins, the third of master Maddox the Minister, and the same two coffers to bee put into two seuerall shippes, videlicet, the one coffer in the Gallion, in the custodie of the Generall, the other in the Edward Bonauenture in the custodie of the Viceadmirall : the same two coffers vpon any such casualtie of the Generals death by consent of the Assistants which shall ouerliue, to bee opened, and the partie therein

named to succeede in the place, who shall thereupon take vpon him the charge in the said voiage according to these instructions, in such sort as if they had bene specially directed vnto him, and the rest of the companie so to take and repute him in euery respect, as they will answere to the contrary. But if it shall so fall out, (as we hope it will) that there shall bee no such neede, but that that the Generall doe continue still, then shall you at your returne deliuer backe the sayd coffers and bals of waxe sealed in such sort as they be, without opening them, vnlesse it be in the case aforesayd.

8 You shall make a iust and true inuentorie in euery ship and vessell appointed for this voyage of all the tackle, munition, and furniture belonging to them at their setting foorth hence, and of all the prouisions whatsoeuer, and one copie thereof vnder your hand, and vnder the hands of your Vice-admirall and lieutenant, to be deliuered to the Earle of Leicester, and the other to the gouernour of the companie for them before your departure hence, and the like to bee done at your returne home of all things then remaining in the sayd ships and vessels, with a true certificate how and by what meanes any parcell of the same shall haue bene spent or lost.

The gouernour of this companie.

9 Item, you shall vse all diligence possible to depart from Southampton with your sayd ships and vessels before the last of this present moneth of Aprill, and so go on your course by Cape de buena Esperançar not passing by the streight of Magellan either going or returning, except vpon great occasion incident, that shall be thought otherwise good to you, by the aduise and consent of your sayd Assistants or foure of them at the least.

They are inioyned to go by the Cape of Buena Esperanza.

10 Item, you shall not passe to the Northeastward of the 40 degree of latitude at the most, but shall take your right course to the Iles of the Malucos for the better discouery of the Northwest passage, if without hinderance of your trade, and within the same degree you can get any knowledge touching that passage, whereof you shall do wel to be inquisitiue, as occasion in this may serue.

11 Item, you shall haue speciall regard after your departure from the coast of England, so to order your course, as that your ships and vessels lose not one another, but keepe companie together both outward and homeward. And lest if they happen to seuer the one from the other by tempest or otherwise, it shall not bee

amisse that you should appoint to the Captaines and Masters certaine places, wherein you will stay certaine dayes. And euery ship passing aforehand, and not hnowing what is become of the other ships, to leaue vpon euery Promontorie or Cape a token to stand in sight, with a writing lapped in leade to declare the day of their passage. And if any wilfulnesse or negligence in this behalfe shall appeare in any person or persons that shall haue charge of any of the ships or vessels aforesayd, or if they or any of them shall doe otherwise then to them appertaineth, you shall punish such offenders sharpely to the example of others.

12 Item, we do straightly enioine you, and consequently all the rest imployed in this voyage in any wise, and as you and they will answere the contrary at your comming home by the lawes of this realme, that neither going, tarrying abroad, nor returning, you doe spoyle or take any thing from any of the Queenes Maiesties friends or allies, or any Christians, without paying iustly for the same, nor that you vse any maner of violence or force against any such, except in your owne defence, if you shall be set vpon or otherwise be forced for your owne safegard to do it.

13 Item, wee will that you deale altogether in this voyage like good and honest merchants, traffiquing and exchanging ware for ware, with all courtesie to the nations you shall deale with, as well Ethniks as others, and for that cause you shall instruct all those that shall goe with you, that whensoeuer you or any of you shall happen to come in any place to conference with the people of those parts, that in all your doings and theirs, you and they so behaue your selues towards the sayd people, as may rather procure their friendship and good liking toward you by courtesie, then to moue them to offence or misliking, and especially you shall haue great care of the performance of your word and promise to them.

Strange people to be brought home.

14 Item wee will, that by the aduise of your Assistants, in places where you and they shall thinke most fit, you settle if you can a beginning of a further trade to be had hereafter: and from such places doe bring ouer with you some fewe men and women if you may, and doe also leaue some one or two, or more, as to you and your Assistsnts shall seeme conuenient of our nation with them for pledges, and to learne the tongue and secrets of the countreys, hauing diligent care that in deliuering and taking of hostages, you deliuer not personages of more value then you receiue, but rather deliuer meane persons vnder colour of men of value, as the

Infidels do for the most part vse. Prouided that you stay not longer to make continuance of further trade, then shall be expedient for good exchange of the warres presently carried with you.

15 Item you shall haue care, and giue generall warning, that no person of what calling soeuer hee be, shall take vp, or keepe to himselfe or his priuate vse, any stone, pearle, golde, siluer, or other matter of commoditie, to be had or found in places where you shall come, but hee the said person so seasad of such stone, pearle, golde, siluer, or other commoditie shall with all speede, or so soone as he can, detect the same, and make deliuerie thereof to your selfe, or your Viceadmirall, or Lieutenant, and all the recompense he is to haue for his seruice in this voyage by the Factor appointed for this voyage, vpon paine of forfeiture of all the recompence he is to haue for his seruice in this voyage, by share or otherwise: and further to receiue such punishment, as to you and your Assistants, or the more part of them shal seeme good, and otherwise to be punished here at his returne, if according to the qualitie of his offence it shalbe thought needfull.

16 Item, if the Captaines, Marchants or any others shall haue any apparell, iewels, chaines, armour, or any other thing whatsoeuer, which may bee desired in countreys where they shall traffique, that it shall not bee lawfull for them or any of them to traffique, or sell any thing thereof for their priuate accompt: but the same shall be prized by the most part of those that shall bee in commission in the places where the same may be so required, rated at such value, as it may bee reasonably worth in England, and then solde to the profite of the whole voyage, and to goe as in aduenture for those to whom it doeth appertaine.

17 Item you your selfe shall in the Gallion keepe one booke, and the Facters appointed for the same shippe another, wherein shall bee a iust accompt kept, aswell of the marchandise carried hence, as of these you shall bring home. And aswell at your setting foorth, as from time to time, as exchange shalbe made, you shall set your hand to their booke, and they theirs to yours, and the like order shal you see that the Captaine and the Factors in the Edward Bonauenture shall vse in their ship, and the other Captaines and Factors in each other vessell.

18 Item you shall giue straight order to restraine, that none shall make any charts or descriptions of the sayd voyage, but such

as shall bee deputed by you the Generall, which sayd charts and descriptions, wee thinke meete that you the Generall shall take into your hands at your returne to this our coast of England leauing with them no copie, and to present them vnto vs at your returne: the like to be done if they finde any charts or maps in those countreys.

19 Item you shall at your returne so direct your course, that all the ships vnder your gouernment may come home together, and arriue here in the riuer of Thames, if it may conueniently be. And wheresoeuer in this Realme you, or any of the shippes shall arriue, you shall giue speciall and straight order, that no person of what condition soeuer he be, shall vnlade, or bring on land, or forth of the vessels in which he came, any part or parcel of marchandize, or matter of commoditie brought in any of the said vessels, vntill we being certified of your at their arriuall, shall giue further order and direction therein, vnder the penalties and forfeitures expressed in the fifteenth article, against such as shall retaine any thing to their priuate vse, as in the sayd article is further expressed.

20 Item, to the intent that all such persons as shall go with you in this voyage, may better vnderstand what they ought to do, and what to auoid, wee thinke it requisite, that aswell out of these, as otherwise with the aduise of your Assistants and Masters of the ships, you shall cause some conuenient order to bee set downe in writing for their better gouernment both at sea and land, if they shall happen to goe on lande aay where: and the same to bee openly read and made knowen vnto them, to the intent they may vnderstand how to behaue themselues, and vpon any fault committed, not to haue any excuse to pretend ignorance, and so auoid such punishment as it is requisite to haue ministred for the keeping of them in good order.

21 And to the end God may blesse this voyage with happie and prosperous successe, you shall haue no especiall care to see that reuerence and respect bee had to the Ministers appointed to accompanie you in this voyage, as appertaineth in their place and calling, and to see such good order as by them shall be set downe for reformation of life and maners, duely obeyed and perfourmed, by causing the transgressours and contemners of the same to be seuerely punished, and the Ministers to remooue sometime from one vessell to another.

22. Prouided alwayes, that the whole direction and gouernment

of the people, life and limme excepted, as in the fift article, acd the course of this voyage, shall bee wholly at your disposition, except in the course by the Streight of Magellan, either outward or homeward, and in your passage by the Northward of 40 degrees in latiude, wherein you shall follow directions set downe in the nine and ten articles, as also in the displacing of the Captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, and other captaines, wherin you shall followe the order appointed in the sixt article: Prouided that wee meane not by this article to derogate any thing from the authoritie of your assistants established in the third article, or in any other article of these instructions.

23 Item, in all occasions and enterprises that may fall out to bee vpon the lande, wee will that Captaine Carlile shall haue the generall and chiefe charge thereof.

M. Carlile vpon occasion was not in this voyage.

24 And finally wee require you and euery of you to haue a due regard to the obseruation and accomplishment of these our ihstructions, and of all such othet things, as may any kind of way tend to the furtherance and benefite of this seruice committed to your charge.

The voyage intended towards China, wherein M. Edward Fenton was appointed Generall: Written by M. Luke Ward his Viceadmiral, and Captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, begun Anno Dom. 1582.

THe second of April I departed with the Edward Bonauenture from Blackwall, and the 19 of the same arriued in Nettle roade at Hampton, where I found riding the Gallion Leicester: and so remaining there till the first of May, wee set saile thence in the forenoone, being of vs in the whole fleete foure saile.

1 The Gallion Leicester of 400 tunnes Admirall, whereof was Generall Captaine Edward Fenton, and William Hawkins the yonger lieutenant Generall in her, and Christopher Hall, Master.

2 The Edward Bonauenture of 300 tuunes, Viceadmirall, whereof was Captaine Luke Ward, and Thomas Perrie Master.

3 The Francis of fortie tunnes, whereof was Captaine Iohn Drake, and William Markam Master.

4 The Elizabeth of fiftie tunnes, whereof was Captaine Thomas Skeuington and Ralph Crane Master.

We spent by meanes partly of businesse, and partly of contrary windes, the moneth of May vpon the coast, and then leauing the land wee put off to sea, and proceeded on our voyage intended by the grace of God for China: vntill the moneth of August following, nothing fell out much worthy the knowledge of the worlde, which is not common to all nauigants, but about the beginning of August aforesayd, being somewhat neere the coast of Guinie, vpon the shooting off a peece and the putting out of a flag in the Admiral, I went on boord, and M. Walker, M. Shaw, M. Geffreis, our Master and Pilot with me, where the generall counsel was assembled to consider of two points, viz.

The first, whether it were necessarie to water presently or not, which was thought very needful of all men, and so concluded.

The second, where the best and aptest place was to water in, which was thought of the greater number to be at Sierra leona on the coast of Guinie, which was also concluded, and by the Master and Pilots agreed to goe hence Southeast, which determined, wee returned aboord.

The 3 day wee went Southeast and Eastsoutheast, till sixe a clocke at night that wee sawe the lande of Guinie, which bare Northeast of vs about 12 leagues off, which seene, wee sounded, and had no ground: then went I and our Master and Pilot aboord the Admirall, and after many debatements concluded to run in Northeast by East, and at eleuen at night wee came aboord againe, and went all night Northeast by East.

The 4 at eight a clocke in the forenoone wee weee within 2 leagues of tne lande, which bare off vs Northeast, which rose like a hill full of woods, and on each side low land: wee being perswaded by our pilots that it was the entrance into Sierra leona, went in Northeast vntill we were within an halfe league of the shoar, and had brought the South point Southeast by east off vs. At eleuen a clocke finding it a bay and not Sierra leona, wee brought our tacks aboord, and stoode along West by North and West larboord tacked.

Ih this time our Admirals pinnesse rowed in, and went on land vpon the South side of the bay, and the Elizabeths boate with her. They found houses of boughes, and in one of the houses the tongue of a beast, and a bullocks tongue fresh killed; also a lake with plentie of fresh water, and fresh-water-fish in it had by the sea side: they found drie pomegranates, and pease like nuts, with other vnknowen fruites vnder the trees. The Elizabeth ranne in, and brought the South point South by West of her, and ankered within Faulcon shot of the shore in seuen fathom oaze, where they tooke fish with hookes, while hee stayed for the boates.

The 4 all the afternoone wee ran along the coast (which lyeth Northwest and by North, and Southeast by South) West, and within a point one way or the other, seeing the lande vnder our lee three or foure leagues off, and all night likewise.

They arriue in the riuer of Sierra Ieona.

The 9 at three a clock in the morning our Admiral shot off a peece, and at foure wee weyed and went hence Northeast. At fiue in the morning wee saw the land along, and the Island which wee saw the night before, and diuers other Islands about it, and so ran in Northeast vntill we had brought ourselues thwart of the riuer, and then ran in East about sixe at night, being a league within the riuer. Our Admirall shot off a peece, and there wee ankered in eight fathom sand. Being at anker, I manned our boate and would haue gone aboord the Admirall, but could not, the flood was bent so strong, and she rode halfe a mile beneath vs in the tyde, but we had no tide.

Trees hung with oysters.

The 10 in the morning at fiue a clocke I sent our skiffe with our pilot in her to find a roade, and a watring place: in the meane iime at sixe a clocke we set saile with our ship, and being calme wee towed with our boat untill ten, and then ankered a mile short of the watering place. After dinner I went on land with my skiffe to find timber to fish our maste, and searching along the shoare we found a good watring place: and further seeking in the wood, which all the countrey is full of, and of diuers sorts, we found Limmon trees full of fruits: also trees growing by the water side, with the stalkes hung full of oysters and great periwinkles, and crabs amongst them: wee found drie pomegranates with many other fruits vnknowen to vs. In the meane time our Admirall and the Edward with the barkes, hauing a gale at West, set saile, and ran vp and ankered in the rode before the accustomed watering

Their trafique here with the Portugals.

The 22 day certaine Portugals which had bene with vs before, came down and brought some other Portugals and Negros with them in a shippe-boat, wherein they brought vs 80 mewes of rice, 500 and odde weight of Elephants teeth, and a Negro boy, which boy they gaue the Generall, and the rice and teeth for the Elizabeth, which wee solde them, with all her tackle and sailes, hauing neede of the rice, because our meale which wee brought out of England was decayed and naught, whereof wee had into the Edward 30 bushels, which is a mewe and a halfe : the Francis had 5 bushels, and the Gallion had the rest. And wee had 200 weight of Elephants teeth, and the Gallion 300 and a halfe, and sixe pound. During this time we sent our skiffe with the Admiralls pinnesse vp the riuer to meete with a Gundall, which the Portugals had sent for fresh victuals for vs: who not finding her, returned at night: All this day I with M. Walker remained aboord with the Admirall, and after their dinner and supper wee ended our businesse, and returned aboord, hauing had many good speaches with the Portugals.

The 26 day being Sunday, Captaine Hawkins, M. Maddox, M. Hall, M. Bannister, Captaine Drake, M. Euans, M. Hoode, and others came aboord and heard the Sermon, and dined with me : after dinner wee went on shoare to the lower point where we followed the footing of an Elephant, but saw him not, and so spent the time to and fro till supper time, and then came aboord, and supped together, which done, each man departed to his abode.

Sickenesse by eating some fruite in Guinea.

This night I was very sicke, (and so were all they that were on shoare with mee,) with eating of a fruite in the countrey, which wee found on trees, like nuts: whereof some did eate foure, some fiue, some sixe, and more, but wee vomited and scoured vpon it without reason.

The 27 day in the afternoone the olde Greeke Francisco came aboord to me, with request that hee might haue the Francis boate to goe vp for his owne boate which was not come downe, with whom I talked of this Countrey and Countrey-people, vntill fiue of the clocke at night that the flood was come, and then I went aboorde to the Admirall, and got his consent, and sent themselues in her: viz. Ferdinando the Portugall Master, and his Negro: In the meane time I sent foure of my men to watch in the Elizabeth all night.

The 28 day in the morning at foure a clocke I sent my skiffe with the Admirals pinnesse down to the west point to fish, who came aboorde againe at one in the afternoone, and brought as much fish as all our companies could eate.

During the time that our boates were a fishing, came downe the riuer a canoa and the Portugals former boate, with hennes, orenges, plantans, which they presented the Generall and mee with : and also the rest of the rice due to vs

The Portugals presents.

M. Euans one of our marchants.

for the payment of the Elizabeth. For the partitions whereof I went aboord the Admirall, where I dined. After dinner M. Euans began to barter away certaine of the ships commodities with the Negros, without acquainting the Generall or any other vntill hee had done, whereof grewe more wordes then profite, as by the bookes of marchandise appeareth. Which done I came aboord, and had two of the Portugals to supper with mee. About two of the clocke in the morning we had a Ternado, and much raine.

They search the countrey.

The 29 about 4 a clocke in the morning, I in my skiffe, and Captaine Parker in his pinesse, went downe to the West point, and there wee landed with 11 men in all well furnished, and searched the woods, plaines and plashes, after an Elephant, finding the haunt, footing, and soyle of many newly done, yet wee saw none of them. Wee saw hogs, goates or fawnes, and diuers sorts of fowles very wilde: and hauing trauelled about 2 leagues, about noone we returned to the point, where wee landed, and met our boates which had beene at sea, and taken plentie of good fish: there we refreshed ourselues with such victuals as wee had, and came aboord our seuerall ships, where I found the Portugals and Negros, who had dined, and after supped aboord with mee.

The 2 of September we set saile at sixe of the clock in the morning, and went out West betweene 7 and 10 fathom, with a pretie gale at East till 8, then it waxed calme, wee being shot out of the harbour a league and a halfe. It continued calme this day till one in the afternoone, and then it blewe vp at Westsouthwest a good gale, so wee stood off Northnorthwest, and Northwest till 5 in the afternoone, then wee ankered in 12 fathom, being 6 leagues off the point West by North.

They returne to Sierro leono againe.

The 3 day about 8 a clocke in the forenoone, the Generall came aboord to mee, complaining that his maine cross-trees were broken, and therefore determined to goe into Sierra leona againe when the winde blewe: at 12 at noone wee set saile, and went in Eastsoutheast, and Southsoutheast, being carried to the Northward with the flood. And at 7 at night wee ankered in eight fathom three leagues off the entrance, Westsouthwest.

Trafique with 3 other Portugals, viz.

The 12 day came downe the riuer a boate with three other Portugals, with whom the General bargained, to let them haue 3 barrels of salt for 5 barrels of rice, and after that rate to exchange for 40 barrels, which hee acquainted mee with: afterwards I dined among the Portugals with him: after dinner I went on shoare to the ouen, and to the carpenters. After I had bene on shoare and seene the worke there, I returned aboord, and there supped with mee the General, M. Maddox, Captaine Hawkins, and seuen Portugals: after supper each man returned to his place.

1 Lewis Henriques a dweller here aboue 20 yeeres.
2 Matthew Fernandos Captaine.
3 Pedro Vaz pilot.

The 13 in the afternoone, the Portugals came againe aboord me, and brake their fast with me: after I sent by them vp the riuer in my skiffe 12 barrels of salt, and gaue them a bottell of wine for one of the sauage Queenes.

The 15 after dinner, the Master, M. Walker, and I, accompanied with 12 other, trauelled ouer a good deale of ground to finde some cattell, but found none: and comming thorow the Oyster bay, I found of my company and of the Admirals together rosting of oysters: and going from them, Thomas Russell one of my companie sawe a strange fish named Vtelif, which had fought with a crocodile, and being hurt came neere the shoare, where hee waded in, and by the taile drew him a lande, and there slewe him, and sent the Generall the hinder halfe of him: the head part I kept, in whose nose is a bone of two foot long, like a sword with three and twentie pricks of a side, sharpe and strange: The bodie wee did eate, and it was like a Sharke.

They enter vp to search the countrey.

A sword-fish killed.

The 30 and last day of September the Francis cooke came aboord about seuen a clocke in the forenoone from fishing with my net, and brought among other fish, a Sea-calfe (as wee called it) with haire and lympits, and barnacles vpon him, being seuen foote long, foure foote nine inches about: which to see I sent for the Generall, and such as pleased to come see it out of the Admirall, who came and brought with him M. Maddox, Captaine Hawkins, Captaine Parker, and most part of his companie, who hauing viewed the beast, which was ougly being aliue, it being flayed, opened, and dressed, prooued an excellent, faire, and good meate, broyled, rosted, sodde rnd baked, and sufficed all our companies for that day.

A strange fish taken.

The first day of October in the morning, wee tooke in to make vp our full complement of rice twentie barrels for the twelue barrels of salt, deliuered the Portugall Lewis Henriques before.

The 2 day about sixe a clocke in the morning, wee set saile hauing little winde : the Captaine with the Master, and other of their companie of the Portugals came aboord me, complaining that the carsey by them receiued for the foure Negros of the Generall, was not sufficient for their payment, whereupon I gaue them scarlet caps, and other things to their content, who finding themselues well pleased, departed away in the Gundall, and we hauing little winde, got downe thwart of the fishing bay, and there came to anker about nine a clocke the same forenoone.

The third day about two a clocke in the morning wee set saile, and went hence Southwest by West till two in the afternoone then being little wind : at fiue wee ankered sixe leagues East-southeast of the Southermost part of the land in fifteene fathom, and there wee rode till eight a clocke at night, and set saile with a stiffe gale at Northeast, which sometime blewe, and sometime was little winde, and so continued all night.

The first day of Nouember in the forenoone, wee tooke in our maine saile to mend it: in the meane time, the Admirall came vp by vs, and desiring mee with my Master, and M. Blackcoller to come aboord to him about certaine conference, hee sent his boate for vs, where by him was propounded, whether it were best for vs to stand on with the coast of Brasil as wee did, or else to stand about starboord tacked to the Eastwards : whereupon diuers of their charts and reckonings were shewed : by some it appeared, wee were a hundred and fifteene leagues, by some a hundred and fiftie leagues, by some a hundred and fortie leagues, and some a great deale further short of Brasil, next hand North-east of vs: but all agreed to bee within twentie minutes of the line, some to the North, some to the South of the line.

After many debatements, it was agreed by most consent to stand on for the coast of Brasil, except the wind changed, and there to doe, as weather should compell vs. In this consultation, we had speaches of courses, and places of meeting, if by misfortune wee should bee separated, wherein was no full order concluded, but that we should speake euery night with the Admirall, if wee conueniently might, and so to appoint out course from time to time, if wee lost companie, to stay fifteene dayes in the riuer of Plate, and from thence to goe for the streights, and there to ride, and water, and trimme our ships.

The 12 in the afternoone M. Maddox, M. Hall, M. Bannister, and others came aboord to visite M. Walker. After a time of abode with him, they returned to the gallion all againe, except M. Maddox who remained with M. Walker here aboord.

This night M. Maddox and I, behelde many constellations in the firmament, and set downe certaine newe starres raised to the Southwards. All day and night wee went South, and South by East among.

The seuenteenth day in the afternoone wee shot off three peeces of ordinance in honour of our Queenes Maiestie. This day after dinner came master Maddox, and Captaine Drake with others to take their leaue of Master Walker, as I with all my company had done before, supposing him past hope of recouerie. At foure of the clocke, finding ourselues in nineteene degrees to the Southwards of the line, and cleare of the shoalds called by vs Powles, wee went hence Southsouthwest all night following.

19 degrees of Southerly latitude.

The 18 day being Sunday, after dinner the Generall, M. Maddox, Captaine Parker, and many other came aboord, and visited M. Walker : which done, they dranke, and departed aboord againe. All this day and night, we went our course Southwest by South, with a franke gale.

The 19 day about noone, the Sun was in our Zenith, being declined to the Southwards 21 degrees, and 33 minutes, where wee found the aire fresh and temperate, as in England in Iune, when a fresh gale of winde doeth blow in the heate of of the day, but the euening, the night, and the morning are more fresh and colder here, then it is in England either in Iune or Iulie.

Cold euenings.

The first of December, about sixe of the clocke in the morning, wee sawe lande on the coast of Brasil, in the height of 28 degrees or there abouts, which bare Northwest, and was eight leagues from vs very high land. Wee stood in with it, being much winde, and comming neere, found diuers Islands: and seeing the Francis would not come roome nor run ahead vs, wee stood in with the shore, and sounded in 30 fathom oaze three leagues off the lande, bearing from the Westnorthwest to the Northnorthwest of vs, and so stoode still till it shoalded orderly into seuen fathom, within a mile of a head

Diuers Ilands.

land: then perceiuing a breach ouer our bowe, and no hope of a good harbour, in that place, wee bare vp roome, and our Admirall after vs, whom wee haled: then hee tolde vs hee would seeke harbour to leewards, requiring me to go ahead. Then seeing the barke was asterne, I hoised out my skiffe, skiffe, and set her maste and saile, taking her ging, and Tobias one of my masters mates with mee, and ranne before the shippe, sounding in 15 fathome faire sand, leauing a ledge of rockes, asea-boord of vs; so the ships and the barke looffed vp vnder a headland, and ankered in eight fathom, halfe a mile off the lande, hauing brought the headland which lyeth in 27 degrees 50 minutes Southsoutheast off them, and the North land Northeast off them.

The latitude of 27 degrees 50 minutes.

I stoode on with the skiffe, hoping to finde a better harbour to leeward three leagues, but it prooued not so: wherefore I returned, and in my way aboord I met with a rocke in the sea, where we landed, and killed good store of fowle, and after I went aboord the Admirall, where I presented him with fowle, and returned aboord to supper.

In this time our boates had bene aland, and found water, ballaste, and two decayed houses, as they tolde me, and our men aboord hooked-fresh fish. This night we rode quietly.

A bay.

The second, being Sunday, our masters moared our ships further into the bay. We brought the South point Southeast off vs, and the North land Northeast: and so rid.

Wels made by our men.

After dinner captaine Parker, with my boat, and company, went a land, and there placed pipes, and made three wels. In the mean time, I accompanied with M. Hawkins, M. Maddox, M. Cotton, and diuers of mine owne people, landed farther within the bay, and found two riuers of fresh water, and a good fishing place. Presently I sent aboord for my net, with which at one draught we drew 600 great mullets, and 5 great basses; the like draught was neuer seene with so small a net: with which we went aboord, giuing to the admirall 240, to the Francis, 80, and the rest our company spent, and gaue almighty God thanks for his great goodnesse.

An exceeding great draught of fish.

The woods set on fire by our men.

All this while was captaine Parker and others gone into the land, and fired the woods; which burned extremely.

The third day in the morning our carpenter calked without boord, and the master and others tooke vp all the merchandize in the sterne sheets to the keele, and there put downe a boats loding of stone: and seeing the merchandize wel conditioned, stowed the same againe. In the mean time, my selfe and others in our boats, scraped off the wormes, and washed the rudder, and part of one side of our ship.

After dinner, the master, pilot, and I went ashore, and obserued the Sunne at noone, which being past, with our net we drew plenty of diuers sorts of fishes, and went from that bay to the watering place: from thence, aboord the generall, which had taken physicke, and gaue them and the Francis fish for their companies, and so went aboord, where our company had romaged aforemast; so that this afternoone we tooke in two boats more lading of stones afore mast.

A saile seene and taken.

The sixit day in the morning, before sixe of the clocke, we saw a saile which went towards the Southwards, the admirall not hauing knowledge thereof I went aboord, and certified him; who appointed me to goe and bring her in, and to take captaine Parker and some of the gallions men into the Francis, and the admirals skiffe with vs; so we gaue her chase, and tooke her sixe leagues to the leewards of the place we rode in. Then not being able to fetch the rode againe, we ankered in the sea. I intending to come away in the pinnesse, and leaue the Francis, and the prize together, being ready to depart, the winde blew at South a stout gale, and raine; so that about sixe of the clocke, we ankered in the rode, where our ships rid.

After we had taken them, and that captaine Parker and I were aboord, we had much talke with them before they came to the ships; and being ankered there, the chiefe men were caried abord the general, which was a gentleman, named Don Francisco de Torre Vedra, nephew to the gouernour of the riuer of Plate, named Don Iohn de Torre Vedra.

Richard Carter an Englishman taken in the prize.

The number of 21 in the prize.

We found an Englishman, named Richard Carter borne in Limehouse, who had bene out of England foure and twenty yeres, and hath bene nere twelue yeres dwelling in the riuer of Plate, at a towne named Ascension, three hundred leagues vp in the riuer, whither they were now determined to go and inhabit, hauing two women, and two yong children, seuen friers, the rest boyes, and sailers, to the number of one and twenty persons.

The olde frier was had in great reuerence among the rest: insomuch that they called him the Holy Father. He was abiding in no place; but as visitour he went visiting from monastery to monastery.

The substance of all the speeches was, that the Spanish fleet was before the streights of Magellan, as they thought; for they were departed sixe weeks past from the riuer of Ienero, where they had beene seuen moneths to refresh and Winter; and that these were not of that company, but came out of Spaine the 26 of May 1582 in a barke of fourescore tun, and fourescore persons, of purpose for the riuer of Plate. The friers being eighteene in number, could not agree, and their barke was a ground at Spirito santo, like to be lost: therefore the old frier bought this small barke of 46 tun, at a port named Spirito santo, in Brasill; and so diuided themselues: and comming from thence, lost company at sea: but they thought they were before at the riuer of Plate. After his speeches, I went and appointed (by the generals order) men to remaine aboord the prize with captaine Parker, and brought one of the Portugales sailes away with me, and came aboord, where I found that our men had filled water all day.

The 7 in the morning the generall sent for me; where he shewed me and M. Maddox certeine articles which the friers and mariners Spaniards were examined of; which tended altogether to the knowledge of the Spanish fleets intent, and of the meanes whereby we might be discouered by the way of the riuer of Plate by land to Peru. In this time came the rest: after whose comming it was debated, whether it were best to take the boat and people with vs or not. Which was not determined; but referred till further examination.

Then was it determined to passe by the streights, notwithstanding the Spaniards were there, but not to set vp forge, nor to build pinnesse, but water, and so thorow.

The eight day afore noone M. Walker and I went aboord the admirall to dinner, where was determined to discharge the Spanish barke, named Our lady of pity, and all the men, except Richard Carter the English man, and Iohn Pinto a Portugall, which dwelled at the riuer of Plate. After dinner, the generall appointed mee and captaine Hawkins to see them all set aboord their ship, and to receiue from them certeine necessaries, which willingly they imparted with vs, and to leaue them satisfied. Which done, I returned aboord.

The Spanish barke determined.

The 9 day being Sunday, in the morning, I sent M. Shaw and M. Geffries aboord the admirall, to peruse the Spaniards letters: wherein they found the estate of the fleet which was in the streights of Magellan, as by the note thereof appeareth.

About ten of the clocke the generall, M. Maddox, captaine Hawkins, and captaine Parker, came aboord of me. The generall began to reproue my quarter master and grudging of victuall for the Francis. Which was answered: and he well satisfied. Then sent I for the olde frier and Don Francisco; who all dined with me: and after dinner, the Spaniards hauing receiued the canoa, which was suncke, aland, and stones to ballast them, which my boat caried them, and all other things to their liking and content, they departed from me. The generall also departed, and his company, who being gone, I diuided the sugar and ginger among my people, which the Spaniards gaue vs: and after spent the day in ordinary businesse.

The 10 day in the morning, our skiffe went a fishing, whereof we eat as much to supper as serued the company: the rest we salted for store, and to proue if they would take salt or not.

The 11 day, betimes in the morning, our skiffe went againe to fish, and tooke great plentie. About seuen of the clocke I went aland, taking with me the master, and others of our best men, to the number of 22 persons, and trauelled to the place where our people before had found many great iars of earth, and decayed habitations of the Indians, and trees, being dead and withered, of sweet wood. From that place we saw ouer the tops of a narrow wood, a faire plaine, which at the request of the master and the rest, I went with them to see. We passed thorow a thicke and perillous wood, before we came to the supposed plaine: and when we came to it, we found the lowest part thereof higher then any of our heads, and so mossy vnder foot, that we slipped to the knees many steps, which so wearied vs, that for my part, I was very sicke, and so hasted aboord, leauing the master with 15 men, which cut a tree of sweet wood, and brought many pieces thereof aboord.

Things found in the island.

About 3 afternoone, M. Walker and many of our men being ashore, the winde came faire, and we layed out a warpe to the Northeast, and began to winde ahead. After we layed out another warpe with a bend, and wound to the plat, and so rid by it with one anker all night.

They leaue the harbour in 27 degrees and 50 min.

The 12 day about fiue a clocke in the morning, we set saile, and as we ran out betwixt the ledge of rocks and the maine, in eight fadom water, as we were cutting our anker, the cattrope, stopper, and all brake; so that we were glad to let slip all the cable, and cast off our boat and skiffe to wey the same. After we had stood out a good way, the admirall was vnder saile: then cast we about and went roome with the admirall which weaued vs, who sent in his pinnesse and the Francis to helpe out our boats; so by the helpe of the admirals pinnesse, with her saile, we had our boat sooner, and about 12 a clocke at noone had taken in the anker, cable, our long boat, skiffe, and all, and put out all our sailes bearing after the admirall, which went hence South by east. About sixe a clocke at night, being thicke weather, we lost sight of the land, being foure leagues off, or thereabout. All night it was but little winde: yet went we our course South by west.

The 13 day about seuen afore noon, the wind blew at Southsoutheast, and was very foggy; with which gale we stood in larboord tacked West, till ten a clocke the same forenoone. Then had we sight of the land ahead, all along (for it waxed cleere weather) it sheweth a farre off like white cliffes, but is all sandy hilles, and bayes along the sea side. At one a clocke afternoone we were in 16 fadome water, and within halfe a league of the shore, where we saw seuerall fires made by the Indians to giue warning to the other people within the land, as we supposed. Then we cast about, and stood off Southeast by east till midnight, that the winde came large: then went we our course South by west till next morning.

The 14 day we went our course South by west, hauing sight of the land at sixe a clocke in the morning about seuen leagues off: and so went till sixe at night, that wee saw land againe seuen leagues off West, and the winde shifted to the South. Then we cast about, and stood out Eastsoutheast at seuen at night for a while: then came vp the winde at Northwest, and blew agood.

The 15 day in the morning, the admirall was ahead, as farre as we could almost see her, by whose default I know not: and being litsle winde, we could not get to her till foure of the clocke after noone; then we hayled her, and stood in betweene the Southsouthwest and the Southwest till sixe at night, that the wind was variable, and foule weather. Then we cast about, and sounded in 23 fadome soft oaze, and stood off a while Northeast;

and presently cast about againe, and went South by East larboord tacked, and Southsoutheast among all night: finding at foure in the morning 15 fadome sand.

The 20 day, about ten a clocke after noone, we went aboord the admirall; viz. M. Walker, the master, the pilot, the two merchants, and my selfe, being directed so to doe by the Generall. Vpon our comminig the generall was going to dinner, where wee also dined with him. Hauing dined, the generall called vs his assistants into his cabbin, and there deliuered to vs in writing two demands, to be by vs considered vpon, and he to haue our opinions therein.

The effects of the demands were these.

1 Whether it was best for vs to aduenture our selues to passe the streights of Magellan or not; considering the force of the enemie, which we knew to be there before vs: and also that our determination was there to set vp our pinnesse, make yron hoops, carene our ships, and do all our necessary businesses for the full accomplishment of our voyage.

2 If that course were not thought best, which way were meetest for vs to take.

To the first we were of opinion, that it were good to heare the opinions of captaine Hawkins, captaine Drake, and the two pilots, which had passed the streights, and knew the harbours, and likest places to be fortified, and inhabited or not, who were called, and the three masters with them. Their opinions were as diuers as their names; and as much differed, as before this time they were wont vsually to doe: onely they all agreed in this one point, that it was impossible for vs to passe the streights without seeing, and incountring with the ships, although the fortification of the land did not annoy vs: which being long and thorowly debated, and their opinions with the three masters demanded, which accorded not scant any one with other, they were dismissed.

Then the generall receiued the opinions of vs his assistants, beginning with the yoongest in authority first: which when he had heard them all ouer, and being set downe in writing vnder our hands, he tooke deliberation till after supper to giue his determination.

When we had all supped, then he sent for vs downe into his cabbin, and deliuered in writing his determination, (which was) to victuall, and furnish our selues on this coast, before he proceeded any further; and named two places, The riuer of Plate, or S. Vincent, to be chosen.

Richard Carter the English man taken in the prize, caried along with them.

For the better deciphering of the riuer of Plate, and the commodities thereof, was called before vs, Richard Carter, which doth dwell there; who could not assure vs of any wine, except we could stay foure moneths for it: but other victuals plenty. The riuer is shoale and dangerous, the roade seuen leagues from any towne, or place of commodity: which considered, with the trechery that might from thence be vsed, into the streights by sea, and into Peru by land, we all concluded to go to S. Vincent, which place is inhabited with Portugals, and where in honest sort we might conueniently haue all our businesse done.

They returne in the latitude of 33.

With this resolution we tooke our leaues about eight a clocke at night, and being come aboord, presently bare vp, and went roome, hauing all the day before beat vp the winde larboord-tacked Eastsoutheast till at night: after it was a little winde all night, we went North next hand.

The 21 day, after seruice, I declared vnto my company the intent of our returne to the port of S. Vincent, wherewith they were well satisfied, being before doubtfull that we should not proceed, but returne without performance of our voyage. It continued calme all day till six at night, then we went Northwest by west till eight at night, and then we cast about, and stood off Eastsoutheast, and East by south all night with a good gale.

Iohn Drake in yᵉ Francis went to the riuer of Plate, where in his ship was cast away, but the men gat to land, and liued 15 moneths among the Sauages.

The 22 in the morning we missed the Francis, which by all presumption went roome in the beginning of the night.

Infinite number of fish.

The 25 day, being Christmasse day, it was little winde in the forenoone till ten a clocke; then it blew a fresh gale, with which wee went our course Northnortheast, and North, and North by west, till midnight Then being in shoaled water, wee cast about, and lay Southsoutheast, and Southeast by south, an houre; and seeing our admirall came not after vs, we cast about backe againe, and presently met him: so we went both together next hand Southsoutheast all the rest of the night. This afternoone we saw the skin of fishes so thicke in the sea, that it seemed a waterr troubled with trampling of horses; which was thicke, and slimb: for we had taken vp some of it.

The 17 day of Ianuary, about seuen a clocke, the master, M. Blaccoller, and I went in our skiffe, and rowed, and sounded round about an ile, and found 16 fadoms within a stones cast hard aboord the shore, and faire ground: after we landed, and found nothing but woods and bushes, and strange wormes: we saw a faulcon, and one other small bird, and therefore named it Faulcon ile: it is a mile about, with a rocke on the East side, which lieth close to it, and it is in sight without danger. After we came aboord, and dined; at two a clocke we set saile, with winde Southeast, and ran in Northeast a while, till the winde scanted: then we went in Northnortheast, till we were in seuen fadome and a halfe of water, within a league of shore: then we cast about, and stood off Southsoutheast all night, till sixe a clocke the next morning.

A small Iland which our men called Faulcon isle.

The 18 day about three a clocke, afore day, we saw our admirall againe, and kept her company till day.

The 19 day, being within a league of the Citron ile, about eight a cloke afore noone, we went aboord the general, viz. M. Walker, the master, the pilot. and my selfe, reioycing of our good meeting, who tolde me of their euill roade, where they lost an anker, a cable, and a haulser, and how the day before, their pinnesse was ashore on the same iland, and found fowle, and water there, whither now they had sent their boat and pinnesse for more water, where I know they had small store.

Citron isle.

I also taking captaine Parker, the master, and M. Wilks with me, went ashore, and trauelled to the top of the ile, which is wooded, and high grasse, but euill water, and little on it, but yoong fowle plenty, and dangerous comming to them. By this time (I hauing set the isles, and headlands about in sight with a compasse) came a small gale at Southsoutheast; then our admirall shot off a piece for the boats, and hence I went, and dined aboord with him, and came after aboord, and went in Northnortheast and Northeast till morning: at which time wee were within a league of the Isle, entering before S. Vincent, but knew not how much water was vpon the barre to go out.

Their arriuall at S. Vincent.

The 20 day in the morning, being calme, the generals pinnesse

Three canoas of Portugals and Indians.

came into the shore, with intent to sound the entrance, but seeing three canoas, with ech at the least twenty men, whereof the greater part were naked Indians, which rowed, the rest Portugals they returned aboord again. The canoas came with a flag of truce within calling of our ship, and we shewed them the like, asking what we were, and of what nation: at length one Portugall went aboord the admirall, by whom the generall sent a letter to the gouernour, crauing a pilot to bring in our ship of courtesie, and to haue traffique. About noone, hauing the winde at South, we bare in Northwest, and so to the Northeast, as the chanell trended: but comming into seuen fadome water, we ankered, vntill our boats had sounded the barre. During which time, I went aboord the admirall, to conferre with him about our proceedings.

After I had stayed a while aboord the admirall, the generall came aboord with me, where we published vnto all my company very good rules for their behauiour and profit, to their great satisfaction: after he went downe into my cabbin, where with all his assistanrs he conferred of diuers particulars of our voyage: by which time our boat being returned from sounding, we departed, and set saile, following our skiffes, and with our ships got within the barre into seuen fadome: then being becalmed, we ankered againe before a sandy bay, wherein stands a castle and houses: we rid within musket shot of it: and ankered about foure a clocke afternoone.

A castle.

Then went I forwards with my skiffe vnto a further point, sounding along. Before my returne, the generall had sent for me to supper; and thither I went: but being ready to sit downe, there came out to vs a canoa, wherein were ten Indians and two Christians; the one an ancient Genouois, the other a Portugall; who came aboord, and there receiued a small banket, declaring their comming was to vnderstand our intents, and what we sought: who being satisfied, departed with a farewell of three great pieces from ech ship.

The 21 day about three a clocke afternoone, came a canoa, with the old Genouois named Ioseph Dory, a Fleming named Paul Badeues, and Steuen Repose a Portugall, and brought a letter from the gouernour, and withall, answere of feare and doubts of vs, &c. After many speeches and requests, a banket was made them, and the generall in his pinnesse with his musicke, and

Iohn Whithall an Englishman which dwelleth at Santos, hath married this Ioseph Dories daughter.

trumpets; and I in my skiffe with trumpets, drum and fife, and tabor and pipe, accompanied them a mile vp the riuer: at going off, we saluted them with a volley of three great pieces out of ech ship: and after vs came captaine Parker with the admirals long boat, and certeine shot in the same, to attend on the Generall.

The 22 day betimes in the morning, I went aboord the admirall to conferre about the sending of some token and present to the gouernor, which was by all the assistants determined to send him three yards of fine skarlet, and three yards of fine murry-cloth; and to Ioseph Dory the old Genouois, Steuen Repose the Portugall, and to Paul Badeues the Fleming, ech of them three yardes of fine blacke cloth, which our merchants went vp to Santos withall in the admirals skiffe, about nine a clocke aforenoone.

Santos.

Also this forenoone, we being minded to goe vp higher with our ships into harbour, I aduised them to goe view the place, and sound the road before we went vp; which we did: where were found the place both vnconuenient, and the road woorse: and so we returned, and left the first determination. This day we tooke downe our main-tops, and top-mast, and all the shrowds.

About two a clocke after noone or merchants returned with their presents, not hauing beene at the towne, because Steuen Repose by the way met them on the riuer, and aduised them to stay vntill there had beene word sent to the gouernour, who was vnwilling to speake with them yet, but shortly would send their answere.

The rest of this forenoone we spent in communication about the appointing of a pursuer for the Edward. Also we signed an assent for comming to this place: about which thing grew foule speeches betweene the generall and his lieutenant, after the olde custome.

Then went wee to supper: and being at supper, certaine Indians came aboord, and brought the generall a strange crow, and potatos, and sugar canes, to whom he gaue looking glasses, great pinns, and biscuit: and so we departed, being late. Also this afternoone I ran ouer towards S. Vincent, and sounded the bay a league ouer, and found the chanell and flats, and returned aboord againe within two houres, hauing a good gale of winde.

The Indians presents.

The chanell of S. Vincent sounded.

The 23 day our skiffe went to fish, and tooke prety store: we sent our main-top ashore to be mended, and many of our men to wash their cloaths; also I went myselfe with them aland, to take order that no man should any wayes offend the Indians. In the mean time the general with all the rest of the chiefest gentlemen, came ashore, and viewed the place, and appointed out she fittest roome to set vp our smithes forge, and ouens to make our biscuits, and place for our coopers to trim our water caske.

Portable ouens to bake in.

The 24 day at foure of the clocke, before day, we heard one call for a boat on the North shore, to whom I sent my skiffe, who brought aboord one named Iohn Whithall, an Englishman, which is maried here in this place, and with him two of his Indians; whom I enterteined vntill I sent word to the generall to prepare himselfe to receiue him: in which time he and I talked of many seuerall particulars.

Iohn Whithall.

About sixe a clocke I conueyed him aboord the admirall: there he discouered vnto vs what had bene done at the towne, as fortification, and sending their wiues away, &c. aduising vs to receiue no more delayes, but to come vp presently before the towne with our ships.

Good counsel by the aforesayd Englishman giuen to our men.

About ten a clocke came a came a canoa, and brought downe Ioseph Dory and Steuen Repose, who tolde vs that on Saturday the gouernour would meete our generall and talke with him, praying vs in the meane time to vse our ordinary businesse of cooperage, carpenters worke, filling water, fishing, and washing, &c. but not to set vp forge, nor ouen, vntill speech had with the gouernour. After this answere, we dined together aboord the gallion: after dinner we left the messengers sitting in the cabbin, and went vpon the poope; where the generall demanded the aduice of his assistants, whether it were not best to stay these men while we had them or not, or whether it were best to go vp with our ships to the towne or no.

Whereunto ech man paused to make answere: wherefore I deliueren my opinion; which was, that we were forbidden to vse violence to any nation for trade.

Secondly, I considered that diuers of our nation, worshipfull merchants, and now aduenturers in this this voyage, had set out the Minion hither, and begun a trade, which with our forcible dealing might be spoiled, and our nation brought in hatred.

The Minion of London sometime in Brasil for traffique.

Lastly, that with force we were not like to atteine so much commodity, as we were in possibility to haue with courtesie.

Heereupon all was concluded, and they suffered to passe away: to whom the generall gaue the three cloake-clothes, to Ioseph Dory, to Paul Baudeuese, and to Steuen Repose, to ech of them one, which were before cut out for them: and so friendly we and they departed about two a clocke after noone.

Three Spanish ships discouered.

About foure of the clocke this afternoone we saw three saile of ships come bearing in about the point, which assoone as they saw vs, ankered vpon the barre, and put themselues in readinesse, sending from one ship to another with their boats, and blowing off their ordinance, meaning to take vs: and we before night, getting our men and other necessaries from the shore, which were busie on land, armed our ships to defend our selues. Then went I aboord the admirall to know what he meant to do: who determined to set his watch in warlike sort; and so he did: for after the trumpets and drum had sounded, he shot off a great piece, as they before had done; and presently the viceadmirall shot at me, whom I answered with another, and so ceased. We then set vp our main-top, and top-mast, rigged before eleuen of the clocke the same night. In the meane while they let slip their ankers and cables, and came driuing and towing with their boats in vpon vs, meaning to haue boorded vs: and being neere our admirall, he halled them; who refused to tell of whence they were, thinking by spending of time to get aboord of him: to whom I called still to beware, and to shoot at them in time.

The fight betwixt the English and Spanish ships at S. Vincent.

At length he did flie at them, yet was glad to let an anker and cable slip to auoid them: then came they all driuing downe thwart my haulse, so that I was faine to let slip an anker and cable to shun the gallion. All this while the ordinance and small shot plied of all parts, and I was faine to send the gallion my skiffe with a haulser to ride by, for shee was loose and with the flood draue vp within me. Then was the viceadmirall on my broad side, who was well payed before, yet I left not galling of him, til I thought our powder spent in vaine to shoot at him, he was so torne, and broken downe by vs. About foure of the clocke it rained so fast, that we could scant discerne one the other, the Moone being gone downe, yet rid the admirall, and the rereadmirall, but a little ahead of vs: during which time, we paused, and made ready all our munition.

The Spanish viceadmirall sunke by the English.

This Greeke tolde the Generall y^t there were 600 and odde in the 3 Spanish ships.

The 25 day, by day-light, we saw the viceadmirall sunke hard by vs, so that his yards which were hoised acrosse, and his tops, and that ouer head, was aboue water: most of their men were gotten away in their boats, sauing about fortie persons which hung in the shrowds, and toppes, whom I aduised our generall to send for away, and had made ready, and well manned our pinnesses; but being vpon the way going, the generall called them backe, and would not suffer them to goe. There were three of their boats also going for them from their ships; at whom I shot, and made them retire, and leaue them vpon the shrowds. At length our generall sent for two of the men away: which his pinnesse brought to him; the one was heaued ouer boord, because he was sore hurt, not like to liue; and he was a Marsillian; the other was a Greeke, borne in Zante, boatswaine of the viceadmirall: the rest of the men, some swam away vpon rafts, some were drowned, and some remained still hanging on her. By this time it was faire day-light, and I called to our generall to wey, and driue downe to them, who required mee to goe first and anker on their quarter, and he would follow, and anker on their bowes. I weyed, and went downe, and ankered by them; yet not so nere as I meant, for the ebbe put me off to the Northwards. There rid I alone, spending shot at them, and they both at me, foure houres, before our admiralls anker would come vp; during which time, I had some spoile done; but when our admirall came, she had her part, and eased me very well.

At length our admirall began to warpe away, and being come without me set saile, and began to stand out into the sea: I went aboord of him to know his pleasure. Who determined to get out of shot; but could not, because the winde scanted on them. The Edward before she could get vp her ankers, endured many more shot, after the gallion was further off a good way then she, and sometime the gallion had two or three. Thus we ended about two of the clocke after noone: the rest of this day and part of the night, we spent in mending, fitting, and putting our ordinance and furniture in order for the next morning, thinking they would haue bene with vs.

The 26 day in the morning we could not see them, because they were gone vp the riuer: wee manned our boats and pinnesses, and weyed two ankers and one cable, that they let slip the night before: as our men were weying the third anker, the bwoy-rope brake, and so we lost that anker. Our admirall had an anker of twelue hundred, and a good cable of eleuen inches, and we had an anker of sixe hnndred, with a piece of basse cable, and bwoy-rope nothing worth.

After dinner I went aboord the admirall, to confer with him, who determined to go off to sea, and thither I caried Senor Pinto to interpret the Indian language, with an Indian named Peter, which fled from the bay where we rid in a canoa, and brought with him a Spaniards caliuer, flaske, and touch boxe, to goe with vs, whom our admirals boat met, and brought him aboord to the admirall. Hee tolde vs that the Spaniards had brought many dead men on land, and buried them, and also landed many hurt men in their bay, and that there were certaine Spaniards gone ouer thorow the woods to looke after vs. Then the Generall, captaine Hawkins, and master Maddox came aboord of mee to viewe my hurt men, and harmes of my shippe, both men, shippe, and tackle; and I also went aboord him to peruse his hurts, who had but one man, a sailer, slaine.

The 28 day in the morning died Lancelot Ashe, of a hurt; who departed very godly. This day we stood to the Northwards: and in getting in our ankers and skiffe, we were put 3 leagues to leeward of Fiddle ile, but the gallion rid still.

The 29 day in the morning, seeing my selfe put to sea from the admirall, I assembled master Walker, master Shawe, master Ieffries, the master, the masters mate, and the pilot, to whom I shewed that I was desirous to goe backe to seeke our admirall, whereunto the master, pilot, and masters mate answered directly, that wee could not fetch the ile where wee left them, and to meete them in going backe it was very vnlikely and to vs dangerous many wayes, aswell for falling into the laps of the Spaniards, as to be put on a lee shoare: whereupon all the rest aduised me to stand off into the sea, whereunto I assented, remembring withal, that time spent consumed victuall, and howe long wee had beaten vp and downe in the same bay before, to get in with calmes and contrary windes.

Where the gallion and the Edward Bonanenture were seuered, and neuer met afterward.

Thus wee concluded that M. Walker should set downe each mans opinion, and we set to our handes, and from hencefoorth hee to keepe a Register of all our proceeding, as M. Maddox did abord the Admirall.

The first day of February, wee went East by touth, and East southeast with a stoute gale : and went the same course the 3. 4. and 5. dayes following.

M. Walker the preacher dieth.

The 5. day about 10. a clocke in the forenoone M. Walker died, who had bene weake and sicke of the bloodie flixe 6. dayes, wee tooke a view of his things, and prised them, and heaued him ouer bord, and shot a peece for his knell.

The 14. day I called into my cabbin the two marchants, the Master and the Pilot, shewing them our wants of victuals and other necessaries : whereupon they and I concluded, that it was best for vs to returne to our countrey, with as litle losse of time and expense of victuals as might be, being without hope of reliefe vpon this coast, and yet to keepe the coast of Brasil to friend for feare of extremitie.

The 17. day in the morning hauing much raine, wee saued aboue two tunne of water, of which we were very glad.

Variation of the Compasse.

The 18. day I obserued the variation of the compasse, which varied one point, and a halfe to the Southwards, by our ordinary compasse of London.

The second day of March the Master, Pilot, and I agreed to fetch the yle of Fernando Loronha.

From the 3. day to the 10. day we went West, and by South, and ran in for the shoare.

The 10. day we saw the land, which was sandie hilles with woods on it.

The 11. day seeking to goe a shoare, we sawe foure men, weaued to vs with a white shirt, and we weaued to them with a flagge of truce : At length one of them swamme to our boats side, and there lay in the Sea talking with vs, almost an houre : in the ende, being partly perswaded by Pinto, who talked with them in the Indian-tongue, and partly entised with such trifles as I shewed him, hee came into our Skiffe, and called to his companions on shoare, who came abord swimming : wee deliuered them certaine barricos to fetch vs them full of fresh water : after, there came downe 40. Indians, boyes, women, and men, and with them a French boy, but the former Indians deceiued vs of our barricos. Whereupon Pinto and Russell swamme a shoare to seeke water, but found none.

The same day wee sailed to a place where boats might land, and I went a land in my Skiffe, and found the Indians, and Frenchman which were with mee the day before, and they brought our three barricos full of fresh water: for which I rewarded them with some trifles. In the meane time our boat went ashoare, and our men with some of the Indians brought vs twentie barricos more of fresh water, and I my selfe went to shoare and brought 23. hennes of India.

The 12. day betimes in the morning, wee maned our boate and Skiffe, and tooke some trifling things to shoare, and barricos: at our first arriuall the rude Indians flocked together, wading to the Skiffe wherein I was, begging, and wondering about vs: First I caused them to fetch 27. barricos of water, whom I rewarded with small bells, &c. In the meane time they brought hens to me, wading to the Skiffe, for I kept my selfe alwayes afloat, and for their hens I gaue them a knife, and a smal looking glasse. All this while M. Blackcoller our Pilot, Thomas Russel, Marke Thawghts were still on shoare, and would not tarry abord: In the ende, fearing some treacherie, because all the Indians were slipped on shoare from mee, I called our men away, and suddenly they layed handes on our men ashoare, and with their bowes shot thicke at vs in the boats, and waded into the water to vs, laying hands on our Skiffe, yet God of his mercie deliuered vs from their hands, with the losse of fiue men slaine, and others hurt.

Treason of the Indians.

Thus we got abord with 40. hens, ducks, turkies, and parrats, and three hogsheads of water: and I caried a French man abord with mee, named Iaques Humphrey, who was by chance in the boat with me when this fray began.

Iaques Humfrey a Frenchman saued.

The 17. day we tooke three sharks in the morning.

From that day to the first of April, wee went our course, sometime with raine, and sometime with variable windes, and so till the 4. of April: which day we saw 4. birds with long tailes, which houered about the ship, and in the afternoone we saw and tooke vp many weedes which draue thicke in the sea, which we iudged to be driuen with the East windes from the yles of Cape verde.

From this day till the 11. day we went our course sometime Northwest according to the winds: vpon this 11. day George Coxe one of our Carpenters, hauing the night before broken vp the hold, and stolne wine, and drunken himselfe drunke, being taken in the roome, lept ouerbord out of the beake head, and so drowned himselfe.

A desperate act.

The 12. day we spied our foremast to be perished in the hownes, and durst not beare our foretop saile vpon it, but went hence with one saile, next hand, North all day and night.

From hence to the 20. day we went Northeast and by North. This day I obserued the variation of the compasse: and I noticed that the South point of the compasse caried more than halfe a point to the Westwards.

Variation of the compasse.

The 25. day of May wee went betweene the East northeast, and the Northeast with a small gale till fiue a clocke in the afternoone: then had we sight of land, which rose ragged to the Northwards like broken land, we being about fiue leagues off: that yle bare Northeast by North of vs, and the Northermost part bare North by East of vs, with a rocke a sea bord: we then sounded, and had fiftie and fiue fadome gray sand, and maze great store in it: so wee stood in Northeast till eight a clocke, and then behelde it againe being within foure leagues of it, bearing as before, but wee coulde not make it, for some thought it to bee the foreland of Fontenay, some iudged it the yle of Vssant: then we sounded againe in 55. fadome browne sand, and little maze in it: at eight a clocke at night we went about, and stoode off South southwest one watch, then the wind shrinked to the Southwest, that we could lye but South southwest sixe glasses, so that at three a clocke wee cast about, and lay Northwest sixe glasses, and North northwest a watch being then eight a clocke the next day.

The 26. day wee lay as nigh as wee coulde betweene the North and the North northeast, and saw the same land againe, and made it to bee the foreland of Fontenay, and the ragges to bee the Seames, which bare now East Northeast of vs: and wee stoode on till tenne a clocke, then being within two leagues of the rockes and lesse, wee cast about and stoode off Southwest, because wee could not double the vttermost rockes: when we were about we draue to the Southwards very faste, for the ebbe set vs West southwest, and being spring tides, it horsed vs a pace to leewards, for the space of one houre: then with the flood which was come, we draue againe to windewards: at twelue at noone it was calme till 6. afternoone, then wee stoode about larbord tacked, South southwest one watch, then at midnight wee cast about and stoode ouer North till foure aforenoone.

The 27. day hauing brought the land East southeast of vs, we made it to be Sylly being before deceiued, and went hence East by North to double Crimsbie, leauing The bishop and his clearks to the Southwestwards, which we before tooke to be The Seames.

The yle of Sylly.

At 7. a clocke in the afternoone we sawe the lands end of England, which bare East by North off vs, and is 7. leagues off from Sylly.

The 29. day at sixe a clocke beforenoone we had brought the Ramhead North of vs, and were within a league of it, and went in Northeast next hand, being thicke and foggie, and little winde: so that at eleuen a clocke we got in within the yland, and there by mistaking of a sounding, our ship came aground betweene the yle and the maine, and there sate till 4. a clocke in the afternoone that it was halfe flood.

We came to Plimmouth.

The 30. day about 9. a clocke, with much adoe I furnished away P. Ieffries, M. Symberbe, and William Towreson with letters, after dined at M. Blaccollers, and made many salutations with diuers geentlemen.

The 31. I wrought abord all day, and put our ship and things in order: Afternoone I hauing pitie of some poore men of Milbrooke, which were robbed the night before by a pirate named Purser, which rid in Cawson bay, I consented to goe out with the Edward in company of a small shippe which they had furnished to bee their Master, so about fiue of the clocke in the afternoone, came a hundreth men of theirs abord of mee: About twelue a clocke wee set saile, and by three afore day wee were gotten to the windwards of him, then hee set saile, and went hence to the Eastwards, and outsailed vs, because our consort would not come neere him: after a small chase which we gaue him to no effect, wee returned into our old road, and ihere moared the ship about nine of the clocke in the forenoone, and hence went all the Milbrooke men againe ashore from mee. And thus I ended a troublesome voyage.

1583.

The voyage set out by the right honourable the Earle of Cumberland, in the yere 1586. intended for The South sea, but performed no farther then the latitude of 44. degrees

to the South of the Equinoctial, Written by M. Iohn Sarraccoll marchant in the same voyage.

THe 26 day of Iune, in the yeere 1586. and in the 28. yeere of the Queenes maiesties raigne, wee departed from Grauesend in two ships; the Admirall called The red dragon, and the other The barke Clifford, the one of the burden of 260. tunnes, with 130. men, and the other of the burden of 130. tunnes, with 70. men: the Captaine of the Admirall was M. Robert Withrington, Of the vice-admirall M. Christopher Lister, both being furnished out at the costs and charges of the right honorable the Erle of Cumberland, hauing for their masters two brethren, the one Iohn Anthonie, and the other William Anthonie.

The 24. of Iuly wee came into the sound of Plimmouth, and being there constrained by Westerly winds, to stay till the 17. of August, wee then departed with another ship also for our Rear-admirall called the Roe, whereof M. Hawes was Captaine, and a fine pinnesse also called the Dorothie, which was sir Walter Raleghs. We foure being out in the sea, met the 20. of August, with 16. sailes of hulkes in the Sleeue, who named themselues to bee men of Hamborough, laden and come from Lisbone. Our Admirall hailed their Admirall with courteous wordes, willing him to strike his sailes, and to come abord to him onely to know some newes of the countrey, but hee refused to do so, onely stroke his flag and tooke it in. The vice-admirall of the hulkes being a head, would neither strike flagge nor saile, but passed on without budging, whereupon our Admirall lent him a piece of Ordinance, which they repayed double, so that we grew to some little quarel, whereupon one of the sternemost hulkes, being as I suppose more afraid then hurt, stroke amaine, our Admirall being neere him, laid him abord, and entered with certaine of his men, how many I know not, for that we were giuing chase to the Windermost men, thinking our Admirall would haue come vp againe to vs, to haue made them all to haue stroke; but the weather growing to be very thicke and foggie, with small raine, he came not vp but kept with another of the hulkes which Captaine Hawes had borded and kept all night, and tooke out of her some prouision that they best liked. They learned of the men that were in the hulke, that there were 7. hulkes laden in Lisbone with Spaniards goods, and because their lading was very rich, they were determined to go about Ireland, and so they let her goe again like a goose with a broken wing.

The next day after being the 21. day, wee espied 5. sailes more, which lay along to the Eastwards, but by reason of the night which then was neere at hand, wee could hardly come to them. Yet at last we hailed one of the biggest of them, and they tolde vs that they were al of Hamborough : but another saide shee was of Denmarke, so that indeede they knew neither what to say, nor what to do. Our Admirall being more desirous to folow his course, then to linger by chasing the hulks, called vs from pursuing them with his trumpet, and a piece of Ordinance, or els wee would haue seene what they had bene, and wherewith they had bene laden.

The 22. day because of contrary winde wee put into Dartmouth all 4. of vs, and taried there seuen dayes.

The 29. we departed thence and put out to Sea, and began our voyage, thinking at the first to haue runne along the coast of Spaine, to see if wee could haue mette with some good prize to haue sent home to my Lord : but our Captaine thought it not the best course at the last, but rather kept off in the sea from the coast. And vpon Saturday the 17. of September wee fell with the coast of Barbarie, and the 18. halled in with the roade of Santa Cruz. The 21. day wee fell with one of the ylands of the Canaries, called Forteuentura. In running alongst this yland, we espied vpon a hill by the water side, one wauing with a white flagge, whereupon wee manned both our boates, and sent them towards the shoare, to vnderstand what newes. They found them to bee two ragged knaues and one horseman, and they tolde vs that Lanzarota was taken, and spoyled in August by the Turkes : when we saw they had nothing else to say, we left them, and proceeded on our course and fell againe with the coast of Barbarie.

Lanzarota spoiled by the men of Algiers.

The 25. day of September about 10. of the clocke we fell with Rio del Oro, stand iust vnder our Tropike ; we anckered in the mouth of it in 8. fadom, the entrance of it is about 2 leagues ouer. And the next day our Captaine with the boate searched the riuer, and found it to be as broad 14. or 15. leagues vp, as at the entrie of it, but found no towne nor habitation, sauing that there came downe two poore men, and one of them spake good

Rio del Oro, in 23 degrees and a halfe.

Trade of the French-men in Rio del Oro.

Spanish, and told our Captaine, that certaine French men vsed to come thither, and laded some oxe hides, and goats hides, but other commoditie there was none. We departed thence the 27 day, and the last day of the moneth being calme we went abord our General, and there consented to goe for Sierra Leona, to wood and water. [From thence till the 10. of October wee were much becalmed with extreme hot weather, much lightning, and great store of raine. This 10. day we sounded, finding a great current as we supposed by the ripling water, which after wee found to be an ordinary tide, the flood setting to the Northwest, and the ebb Southeast, and here we had but 18. fathome water, and no lande to bee seene; it was on the Southermost part of the showles, that lie in about 11. degrees, but halling off againe, it presently deeped vnto 50. fathome and after halling Southeast and by East, and East southeast, we sounded, but had no gronnd in 120. fathome.

Sierra Leona.

The 21. of October wee fell with land vpon the coast of Guinea, in the height of 8. degrees, a very high land, but of no great length: it was the high land ouer Sierro Leona. Wee drewe in to the land, and found neere the shoare more water then in the offing: at the Northren end of the high land we anckered about a mile, and somewhat more from the shoare in 11. fathome. To goe into the harbour of Sierra Leona we did borow vpon the South side, hauing no ground in 10. fathome, halfe a mile from the shoare.

Vpon the Northside of this harbour is very shoale water, but on the Southside no feare, more then is to be seene.

The 25. day being Sunday wee came to an ancker in the bay of fresh water, and going ashoare with our boate, wee spake with a Portngal, who told vs that not farre off there were Negros inhabiting, and that in giuing to the king a Botija of wine, and some linnen cloth, hee would suffer vs to water and wood at our pleasure. But our Captaines thinking it not good to giue any thing for that which they might take freely, landed, and certaine of our men with them, whereupon the Portugall and the Negros ranne all away into the woods. Then wee returned againe into our boates, and presently went and landed in another place, thinking to haue fetcht a walke, and so to come to our boats againe. But wandering through a little wood, we were suddenly and vnawares vpon a towne of the Negros, whereupon they strooke vp their drumme, giuing

A towne of the Negroes.

withall a great showt, and off went their arrowes, as thicke as haile. Wee were in number about 30. caleeuers, and 20. with our weapons, which wee also let flie into the woods among them, and what hurt wee did, we know not.

Then we returned to our boates, and tooke wood and water at our pleasure, and reasonable store of fish, and amongst the rest we halled vp a great foule monster, whose head and backe were so hard, that no sword could enter it: but being thrust in vnder the belly in diuers places, and much wounde, he bowed a sword in his mouth, as a man would do a girdle of leather about his hande, and likewise the yron of a boare speare. He was in length about nine foote, and had nothing in his belly, but a certaine quantitie of small stones, to the value of a pottell.

A strange monster.

The fourth of Nouember we went on shore to a towne of the Negros, which stoode on the Southeast side of the harbour, about a Sacar shot from the roade, which we found to be but lately built: it was of about two hundreth houses, and walled about with mightie great trees, and stakes so thicke, that a rat could hardly get in or out. But as it chanced, wee came directly vpon a port which was not shut vp, where we entred with such fiercenesse, that the people fled all out of the towne, which we found to bee finely built after their fashion, and the streetes of it so intricate, that it was difficult for vs to finde the way out, that we came in at. Wee found their houses and streets so finely and cleanly kept, that it was an admiration to vs all, for that neither in the houses nor streets was so much dust to bee found, as would fill an egge shell. We found little in their houses, except some matts, goards, and some earthen pots. Our men at their departure set the towne on fire, and it was burnt (for the most part of it) in a quarter of an houre, the houses being couered with reed and straw.

Another great and fine towne of the Negros.

A towne burnt.

After this wee searched the countrey about it, where wee found in diuers plaines good store of rice in stacks, which our men did beate out, and brought a bord in the huske, to the quantitie of 14. or 15. tunnes in both our ships.

Rice in stacks.

The 17. day of Nouember wee departed from Sierra Leona, directing our course for the Straights of Magellan. In this harbour diuers of our men fell sicke of a disease in the belly, which for the time was extreeme, but (God bee thanked) it was but of small continuance. Wee founde also in diuers places o the woods, images set vpon pinnes, with diuers things before them, as eggs, meale, rice, round shot of stones, and diuers other things, such as the barbarous people had to offer vp.

Idoles.

When wee came neere to the Line, wee found it nothing so hot as it is at Sierra Leona, by reason of the great winde and raine.

About the 24. of Nouember one or two of our men died, and others also were sicke of a Calentura.

The second day of Ianuary we had a little sight of land, being about the height of 28. degrees to the Southward of the Line.

The 4. day wee fell with the shoare high and bold, being in 30. degrees, and terse, little more or lesse. All of it to the Northward was a high land, but to the Southward it did presently faile, and was a very low and all sandie. About sixe leagues from the shore wee sounded, and had about fifteene or sixteene fathome water, and blacke sandie oze. We thought to haue gone to the shoare, and to haue watered, but we could not discerne any good harbour, and therefore we cast off to seaward againe.

They fall with an high land in 30 degrees ½.

The 12. day wee found our selues in 32. degrees 27. minutes. From the day of the Natiuitie of Christ, till the 13. day of this moneth, although the Sunne was very neere vnto vs, yet we found no want of winds but variable as in England, and not so hot but that a mans shoulders might wel digest a frize gowne, and his bellie the best Christmas cheere in England, yet wee for our parts had no want, but such as might content honest men.

The tenth day being about 8. leagues from the shoare, and a little short of the Riuer of Plate, it was my good happe to espie a saile, which was a small Portugal bound for the Riuer to a towne called Santa Fee; and from thence by horse and carts, the marchants, and part of their goods were to be transported into Peru. This shippe being about the burthen of 45. or 50. tunnes, wee tooke that day about three of the clocke, wherein there was for Master or Pilote an Englishman called Abraham Cocke borne in Lee. We examined him and the rest concerning the state of the Riuer, and

A Portugal ship taken, wherein was for Pilot Abraham Cocke an Englishman, left there before by the Minion of London 1581.

they told vs that there were in the Riuer fiue townes, some 70. housholds, and some of more. The first towne was about 50. leagues vp the Riuer called Buenos Ayres, the rest some 46. some 50. leagues one from another, so that the vppermost towne called Tucauian is 230 leagues from the entrance of the Riuer, In these townes is great store of corne, cattell, wine, and sundry fruits, but no money of gold or siluer; they make a certaine kinde of slight cloth, which they giue n trucke of sugar, rice, Marmalade, and Sucket, which where the commodities that this shippe had.

Fiue townes. vpon the riuer of Plate.

They had abord also 45. Negros, whereof euery one in Peru yeeldeth 400. duckets a piece, and besides these, there were as passengers in her, two Portugall women and a childe.

The 11. day wee espied another saile, which was the consort of this Portugall, and to him also we gaue chase, and tooke him the same day: He was of the burthen of the other, and had in him good store of sugar, Marmalade, and Succats, with diuers other things, which we noted downe our booke. In this ship also we found about 35. Negro women, and foure or fiue friers, of which one was an Irish man, of the age of three or foure and twentie yeeres, and two Portugal women also, which were borne in the riuer of Ienero. Both these ships were bought in Brasil, by a yong man which was Factor for the bishop of Tucaman, and the friers were sent for by that bishop to possesse a new Monasterie, which the bishop was then a building. The bookes, beads, and pictures in her, cost (as one of the Portugals confessed) aboue 1000. duckats.

Another Portugal ship taken.

An Irish frier taken.

The bishop of Tucaman in the riuer of Plate.

Of these ships we learned, that M. Iohn Drake who went in consort with M. Fenton, had his Barke cast away a little short of the Riuer of Plate, where they were taken captiues by the Sauages, all sauing them which were slaine in the taking: the Sauages kept them for a time, and vsed them very hardly, yet at the last Iohn Drake and Richard Faireweather, and two or three more of their company with them got a Canoa, and escaped, and came to the first towne of the Spaniards. Faireweather is maried in of the townes, but Iohn Drake was carried to Tucaman by the Pilot of this ship, and was liuing, and in good health the last yeere. Concerning this voyage of the Portugals they tolde vs

The newes of M. Iohn Drake.

Richard Faireweather.

that it was the thirde voyage that was made into the Riuer of Plate these 30. yeeres.

Seale-ylands and Greene yland.

The 12. of Ianuary wee came to the Seale yland, and the 14. day to the Greene yland, where going in we found hard abord the manie 8. fathome, 7. and 6. and neuer lesse then fiue fathome. There lies a ledge of rocks in the faire way, betwixt the yland and the maine, so that you must bee sure to borrow hard abord the maine, and leaue the ledge on the larbord side.

Buenos Ayres.

Santa Fee.

One of the Portugals which wee caried along with vs in our shippe seemed to be a man of experience, and I entred into speach with him concerning the state of the Riuer: hee told mee that the towne of Buenos Ayres is from the Greene yland about seuentie leagues, standing on the Southside of the Riuer, and from thence to Santa Fee is 100. leagues, standing on the same side also. At which towne their shippes doe discharge all their goods into small Barkes, which rowe and towe vp the Riuer to another towne called Ascension, which is from Santa Fee 150. leagues, where the boats discharge on shoare, and so passe all the goods by carts and horses to Tucaman, which is in Peru.

The towne of Ascension stands in a very fertile place, reaping corne twise in the yeere, with abundance of wine, cattell, and fruits. In the townes of Ascension and Tucaman a rapier of 20. rials of plate is worth 30. duckats, a boxe of Marmalade 20. duckats: a looking glasse a foote ouer is worth 30. li. pictures in tables of 14. inches, 30. and 40. li. a piece.

The 16 day wee went from Greene yland to the watering place, which is about a league to the Westward, where wee tooke in about 18. tunnes of water, and the 22 day came againe to Seale yland to make prouision of Seales, where a storme arose, which put vs in some danger, by the breaking of our anckers and cables, and the winde blew so colde, that wee much marueiled at it, considering the height of the place. I must needes in this place finde fault with our selues and the whole company, that riding in this Riuer 16. dayes, the chanell was not sounded, nor the way made perfect.

The 29. day wee tooke into our ship one Miles Philips, which was left in the West Indies by M. Hawkins.

The first of February I tooke the Sunne in 38. degrees. And the 3. day I tooke it againe and found it to be in 41. degrees.

The 7. day of February our Captaine master Lister being in one of the prizes, hoysed ouer bord his Gundelo, and went abord the Admirall, and being there they sent their Gundelo abord vs, for our Master, master Collins and my selfe, and at our comming we were called into the Captaines cabbin, where were set in counsell for matters touching the state of our voyage, these men whose names are vnder written.

Master Robert Withrington Captaine of the Admirall.
Master Christopher Lister Captaine of The barke Clifford.
Iohn Anthonie, Master of the Admirall.
Thomas Hood Pilot for the Streights.
William Anthonie, Master of the barke Clifford.
Dauid Collins. Tristram Gennings.
Master William Withrington.
Master Beumond Withrington.
Master Wasnes. Master Norton.
Master Wilkes. Master Harris.
Thomas Anthonie.
Nicholas Porter.
The Master Gunner:
And Alexander Gundie, his mate.
Iohn Sarracol.

This company being all assembled together, the Master of the Admiral declared that the cause of our assembly was to determine after good aduise, what course or way were best and most likely to all mens iudgements to be taken. First for the good preferment of my Lords voyage, then the health of our men, and lastly the safeguard of our shippes, and further shewed his minde to vs all in these wordes, as neere as I could cary them away.

M. Iohn Anthonie.

MY masters, my Lords determination touching this our voyage is not vnknowen vnto you all, hauing appointed it to be made, and by the grace of God to be performed by vs for the South sea. But for as much as wee doe all see the time of the yeere to bee farre spent, as also the windes to hang contrary, the weather drawes on colder and colder, the nights longer and longer, our bread so consumed that we haue not left aboue two moneths bisket, our drinke in a manner all spent, so that we haue nothing but water, which in so cold a countrey as the Streights, if we should get in, and bee forced there to winter, would no doubt be a great weakening to our men, and a hazard of the ouerthrow of the voyage: These things considered, both our Captaine, Master Hood, and I doe rather thinke it good for the wealth of our voyage, the health of our men, and safetie of our ships, to goe roome with the coast of Brasill, where by Gods grace wee shall well victuall our selues, both with wine, which is our greatest want, and other necessaries.

Besides, it is giuen vs here to vnderstand by the Portugals which we haue taken, that there is no doubt, but that by Gods helpe and our endeuour, wee shall bee able to take the towne of Baya, at our pleasure, which if wee doe put in practise, and doe not performe it, being somewhat aduised by them, they offer to loose their liues. And hauing by this meanes victualled our selues, wee may there spend vpon the coast some three or foure moneths, except in the meane time wee may happen vpon some good thing to content my Lord, and to purchase our owne credits: otherwise, wee may take the Spring of the yeere, and so proceede, according to my lords directions. And assure your selues (by the assistance of God) wee will not returne without such benefite by this voyage, as may redound to my lords profite, and the honour of our countrey. Nowe if there bee any of you that can giue better course and aduise, then this which I haue deliuered, let him speake, and wee will not onely heare him, but thanke him for his counsell, and followe it.

A resolute and worthy speech of captaine Lister.

To this speech of M. Anthony, M. Lister our captaine answered in this sort: M. Withrington, and M. Anthony, both, you know, that the last words that my lord had with vs in such a chamber were, that in any case we should follow our voyage only for the South sea, except by the way, we might perchance meete with such a purchase, as that wee might returne with 6000 pounds: and therefore I see no safetie, howe wee may dare offer to goe backe againe, being so neere the Streights as we are: for my part I neither dare nor wil consent vnto it, except we be further forced, then yet we are. My accompt is this, that he that dieth for this yeere is excused for the next, and I rather choose death, then to returne in disgrace with my lord.

Hereunto both the captaine and master of the Admirall replied that they were all of that mind: yet notwithstanding, that in going roome the voyage was in better possibilitie to bee performed, then in wintring either in the Streights, or at Port S. Iulian, all things considered. And so agreeing, and concluding all in one, they were determined presently to beare vp.

The next day being the 8 of February, there fell out many and diuers speeches on each part concerning the altering of our course, some would continue for the Streights, and other some would not. Whereupon a viewe was taken in both ships of victuals, and reasonable store was found for both companies: and the winde withall comming to the North, we determined to take out of the prizes the best necessaries that were in them, and and so cast them off, and to pile for the Streights.

All this time we held on our course, and the 15 day wee found our selues in the height of 44 degrees, but then the winde came to the South with much raine, wind, cold, and other vntemperate weather, continuing in that sort fiue or sixe dayes, in which time we hulled backe againe in the height of 42 degrees.

They returne being in the latitude of 44 degrees.

Sunday being the 20 of February, our Admirall being something to the leeward of vs, and the storme somewhat ceased, put aboord his flag in the mizen shrowds, as a token that hee would speake with vs, and thereupon we bare roome with him, and hauing halled one another, captaine Withrington shewed the disposition of all his company, which was rather to goe roome with the coast of Brasil, then to lie after that sort in the sea with foule weather and contrary winds. Our captaine on the other side shewed the contrary disposition of his men, and company, willing notwithstanding to proceede: but in the ende, both the shippes fell asunder, and our captaine sayd, Seeing then there is no remedie, I must be content, though against my will.

The 21 day the weather grew faire, and the wind good at the South for the Streights, yet our Admirall bare roome still, we supposing hee would haue taken the benefit of the time: whereupon our whole company began to thinke of the inconueniences that would arise by deuiding our selues, and losing our Admirall, being very willing to continue their course, and yet not without the company of the Admiral. And then wee began to cast about after him, and at the last bare with him, and he tolde vs, that vpon a second viewe of the victuals, hee found their store so slender, and their want so great, that there was no remedy for them but to seeke some meanes to be relieued, which was the onely cause that hee bare Northward. This speech made vs of the barke to enter into a new consultation: and we found many of our men weake, and all our calieuers not seruiceable, and the Smiths that should mend them to be in the Admiral. We considered also, that by breaking of company, eche ship should be the more weakened: wee continued in this consultation til the foure and twentieth day, and in all that time found master captaine Lister most desirous to accomplish, and to fulfill the voyage, and not willing in any case to turne his ship, but that the desire which we all had to continue in consort with our Admirall, made vsto thinke well of his company, and in fine an agreement and conclusion was thus made on all sides, to follow the Admiral, without any more talke of the Streights till the Spring.

A final resolution to returne.

March.

The 10 day of March, it fell out so vnfortunately, that Samuel Teller our masters mate, fell ouerboord, and so perished, we being not able by any meanes to recouer him.

The eight and twentieth day being in the height of one and twenty degrees, wee espied a saile, which wee iudged came out of the Streights, and had rich lading, but the night being at hand, we lost her very vnluckily, and the next day could haue no sight of her.

The rode of Camana.

The fifth day of April we fel with the land of Brasilia, in the height, as I iudge, of sixteen degrees and a tierce, and our Captaine went then aboord the Admirall, where they concluded to sende the pinnesse and our boate on shore for fresh water, because wee stoode in neede of it, which did so with eighteene good men, and three or foure tunne of water caske. They were from vs till the eighth day in the morning, at which time we espied them againe, and that day we came all together into the roade of Camana, where there came a Canoa aboord vs, and one of the chiefest Portugals that belonged to the place. Here wee tooke in beefes, hogs, water and wood at our pleasure, hauing almost no man able to resist vs, but some of our Portugals stole from vs in the Canoa.

They come into the riuer of Baya.

The 11 day wee entred into the hauen of Baya, where wee were receiued at the point comming in, with two great pieces of Ordinance, which discharged bullets at vs fiue times a piece, but they lost shot and powder, and did vs no harme. After wee had passed the point, wee halled in for the roade as close as the windwould permit vs, but could not come so neere as we desired, and therefore we came to an ankor a faire birth off the towne, not without great store of shotte from thence, but yet our harme was none at all for ought they could doe.

At our comming in, wee found in the road eight ships and one carauel, of the which one was a hulke or double flie boat of the burden of two hundred and fifty tunnes, hauing in her 24 pieces of good Ordinance: shee with the rest of the ships, together with the towne, gaue vs shot, and shot, but not one touched so much as any of our sayles. And least wee should seeme in the meane time to be idle, we repayed for euery shot of theirs, two three sometimes at the ships and the towne together.

The next day at night wee thought to haue halled in with the ships, and to haue fetched out some of them: but the wind blew then off the shore, so that wee could not possible doe it. And againe the next day at night we concluded to goe with our owne two boates, and two other boats of the countrey which we had taken before, which went with carauel-sailes, into the roade, and accordingly performed the same, notwithstanding the shot of the enemie. The Moone did shine, and gaue very good light, and in we went with our carauels and boates, and the shot came about our eares as thicke as haile: but the Portugals and the rest perceiuing vs no whit at all to shrinke or be dismayed, forsooke their ships, and began to prouide to saue themselues, some with their boats, some by swimming, and so wee entred the ships with a great showte, and found few to resist vs: but yet the shore not being a cables length from vs, they did so plie both their great and small ordinance at vs, that it much annoyed vs: But yet for all that we made light of their shot, and our men of the barke Clifford entred the Admirall and Vice-admirall, and our Admirals men entred two other ships of the like burden, and presently euery one cut the cables in the hause, and so by the helpe of God in despite of them all, wee brought away foure of them. The least whereof was of the burthen of 130 tunnes.

They take 4 ships out of the harbour of Baya, notwithstanding the shot of the enemie.

In this broile the hulke shotte at vs many times, but did not hurt at all: but at the last comming by the hulke towing our new prizes, we halled them and demanded whence they were, they answered vs of Flushing, and then we commanded him to wey ankor, and to come after vs: And not daring to refuse it, he did so, and brought with him a carauel with fortie or fiftie buts of wine in her, and another small barke which had little or nothing in her: and rode by vs

A hulke of Flushing.

as one of our company, and was a ship of the burthen of two hundreth and fifty tunnes. Our hard happe was to find no great matter, either of marchandize or victuals in these ships, sauing in one of them we found foure buts of wine, in another two, in another one, and some fish, and all the rest of their lading was on shore.

All this was done vpon Easter eeue, and we gaue thanks to God, that we had sped so well : and that very night there came a boate from the towne, with a Dutch merchant, and one Portugal, to offer some ransome for the ships, as they sayd, but as I iudge rather to espie our strength : we kept them that night aboord, and the next day we sent them to our Admiral.

The next day being Easter day arose a very great storme, insomuch that our carauel which we first tooke brake from vs, and one of our new prizes also, by meanes of the breaking of her cable, slipt away : whereupon, although the winde was great, and the sea troublesome, yet wee sent certaine of our men in our boat, to recouer them if they might, but we feare, that the rage of the weather hath caused vs to leese both our men and prizes.

In the middest of this storme, our two Spaniards which wee tooke in the riuer of Plate, seeing vs all busie about our prizes, beganne to thinke howe they might escape our handes, and suddenly slipt both out of one of the cabbins windowes, and by swimming got a shoare, a thing which seemed to vs impossible, considering the outrage of the weather.

This storme continued long, and preuented vs of making our intended attempt against the towne, hauing as much to doe as possibly we might, in keeping our ships and prizes from running ashore, and falling into the hands of those that stood gaping greedily for our ruine.

The 19 day the storme being a little ceased, wee all weyed and came to an Island that lyeth next Northwest from the bay, and the twentieth day we went on shore, and our carpenters set vp our pinnesse.

The 23 day the people of the countrey came downe amaine vpon vs, and beset vs round, and shot at vs with their bowes and arrowes, but in short time wee caused them to retire, and many of them were caried away by the helpe of their fellowes, although wee had some of our men hurt with some of their arrowes.

The 24 day we receiued out of the carauel twelue buts of wine and foure barels of oyle, and halfe a quarter.

The 26 of April our pinnesse was lanched: and the same day came downe vnto vs a great number of Portugals and Indians, with whom we skirmished the space of two houres to their cost.

The second day of May the Admirals boate went a shore with 14 men to fill water, and presently being on shore, they were intrapped with two or three hundred Indians which assaulted them, and slew one or two of our men, but the rest escaped notwithstanding the number of the enemie, and came safe againe with water to the ship. We suffered this losse by meere negligence, and want of circumspection.

Grosse negligence.

The 5 day the captaine of the Admiral himselfe tooke a small barke, his owne little carauel, our pinnesse and the Dutchmans boate, and at night went on shore to get victuals, amongst the bullocks which were in the fields: and in the morning they were gone so farre, that they were out of sight. Which being perceiued by the enemie, they presently made ready their galley for Admiral, with four carauels, with as many men in them as possibly could thrust in and stand one by another: and they bare ouer with the North shore to meete with our pinnesse and boats: whereupon our men fell into great danger, although M. Lister our captaine disswaded M. Withrington from that attempt, by laying before him the danger both of himselfe and vs also, being so far one from the other. But being once gone, there was no remedie but they were to abide whatsoeuer might happen: we in the barke Clifford, although we were weakely left, yet perceiuing the Galley to make after our men, weyed and pursued the galley, as neere the shore as we could conueniently come for want of water: the hulke also weyed and came after vs to follow the enemie, but the enemie with his oares got sight of our pinnesse and boats before wee could, and bare directly with them: which being espied of our men, and they seeing no way to auoide them, made themselues ready (notwithstanding the great oddes) to fight it out like men, and to liue and die together. The course that they tooke for their best aduantage vpon the sudden, was this: they went all into the pinnesse, and made fast the Dutchmans boat to one side, and the small carauel to the other side, and so waited the comming of the enemie, giuing them first of all a piece of Ordinance for their welcome, which they presently repaied againe with a piece out of the prowe of the galley, and presently

A galley at Baya.

after, with three or foure small brasse pieces, charged with haile-shot, and so giuing a mighty shoute, came all aboord together, crying, entrad, entrad: but our men receiued them so hotely, with small shot and pikes, that they killed them like dogs. And thus they continued aboord them almost a quarter of an hour, thinking to haue deuoured our men, pinnesse and all. And surely to mans iudgment, no other thing was likely in regard of their great number, and the fewnes of our men, and they at the first thought all was their owne: but God, who is the giuer of all victories, so blessed our small company, and so strengthened their armes and mindes to fight, that the enemie hauing receiued a mighty foyle, was glad to ridde himselfe from their handes: and whereas at their entrance, wee esteemed them to be no lesse then betwixt two hundred and three hundred men in the galley, we could scarse perceiue twenty men at their departure stand on their legs, but the greater part of them was slaine, many deadly wounded, their oares broken, and she departed from our men, hanging vpon one side, (as a Sowe that hath lost her left eare) with the number of dead and wounded men that lay one vpon another. And whereas their comming aboord was in a great brauado, with drumme, shouting, and crying, they departed without either noise or speech.

A maruellous defeate of the Portugals by a few of our men.

We lost in this conflict of our men, three onely, which were Alexander the Master Gunners mate, Laurence Gambrel, a proper yoong man of Hampton, and another that was master Benmans man. Some also were hurt with the arrowes of the enemie, but the wounds were curable: and thus it pleased Almighty God, of his great goodnes, to giue victory to 50 or 60 Englishmen, against sixe or seuen hundred Portugals and Indians, for which we ceased not to giue such dutifull thanks to his Maiestie, as so miraculous a victory required.

Now touching the purpose of our men, who made that attempt for fresh victuals, their labour was nothing lost, but in despite of the enemie they brought to our ships 16 or 17 yong bullockes, which was to our great comforts and refreshing. As for vs that were in our ship, we could not come neere them by two miles, or more, to giue them any aid, yet we suppose that the countenance of our ships was an incouragement to our men, and some maner of feare to the enemie.

Now whereas our opinion concerning the number of the Portugals and Indians which were slaine, as aforesayd, was grounded at that time vpon our probable coniecture, not being able otherwise to come to the knowledge thereof: you shall vnderstand that the next night after the fight there came aboord vs two Indians vpon a Gyngatho, who were runne away from their masters, and they told vs for a very good trueth, that the gallie went out from the towne with foure hundreth men in her, but there came not backe to the towne again aliue aboue thirty of them all: and I amongst the rest being desirous to know of one of them what the newes was at the towne, he answered me with great laughter: Todo esta cacado en Tierra.

Aboue 360 Portugals and Indians slain.

The twelfth day I was sent for to come aboord the admirall, about the hulke: where vpon the complaint of the Dutchmen, master Withrington entred into bond to them for the paiment of their fraight, but how my lord would like that bond of debt at our returne, I knowe not. I gaue him my aduise and counsell to get his bond againe into his hands.

The thirteenth day our captaine sent our ship certaine victuals vnto the Admirall, as one butte of dight rise, two chests of cleane rise, one barrell of oatemeale, one barrell of peason, and one barrell of oile, because they were somewhat scanted of victuals, and we at this time were to haue out of the Admirall our part of fiue and twenty chests of fine sugar, and more, of eight chests, and sixe chests that were taken in the Bay of Todos Santos, at the Ingenios, more of one hundreth and thirty hats, and other diuers pillages, which were taken in the prizes, and at the shore.

The foureteenth day being Monday, it was concluded amongst vs all, not to leaue the towne of Baya so, but notwithstanding the time that they had to strengthen themselues and the towne, yet to giue an attempt for the winning of it: and therefore wee prouided our pinnesses, carauels, and boates for the enterprise: and as we were departing from our shippes, the winde turned directly contrary to our course, so that our determination for that time was broken, and wee returned againe to our ships: and to say the trueth, if the weather and winde had serued, our attempt had bene very desperate, considering the number of Portugals and Indians which were then gathered together, to the number of seuen or eight thousand, and their artillery vpon the shore, playing vpon us: but neuerthelesse we had proceeded, if the winds had fauoured vs.

The 16 day we went to certaine Ingenios of the Portugals, where we found the people fled and we entered their houses without resistance. We found in their purging house 1000 pots of sugar, some halfe purged, some a quarter, and some newly put into the pots: so that euery man tooke his pot of sugar for their prouision, and set all the rest on fire.

The 17 day wee all weyed to goe to another Ingenio, to see if wee could find there better sugar, and in the way we met with a prize, which was a carauel, which wee found driuing with the weather, and entred her, and had in her onely three Faulcons of yron, which our pinnesse brought away, and set the ship on fire. Dalamor in the small prize ran so farre in, that hee brought his ship on ground, where shee lay three or foure houres, till such time as there came from the towne fiue carauels full of men, which being perceiued of vs, our captaine with our men went to him to ayde him. The carauels came within Faulcon shot of vs, but durst come no neerer, lest they might haue tasted of the like banket, that they receiued the last time. About halfe flood came the galley againe, and three carauels more, but before they came, the barke was a floate, and set sayle: and then they all went to gard their Ingenios, which we had purposed to visit: but the night comming on, perswaded vs to the contrary.

They returne againe to Baya.

The 19 day we set sayle to goe into the roade of Baya againe, with our pinnesses, and a flag of truce, to see if we could recouer our foure men, which remained aliue of those ten, that perished in our boate, of whom we spake before, which foure were vnfortunately fallen into their hands: but they at our approaching neere the towne, shot at vs, and wee as ready as they, gaue them in all 27 shot, and so ankored a little from the towne, to see what they would doe.

The 20 day riding still before the towne, our Admirall sent a Negro ashore, with letters from the Portugals, that wee had prisoners aboord: the effect of which letters was, that if we might haue our men released and deliuered vs, they should haue theirs from our ships.

The next day in the morning, in stead of their bloody flagge, they put vp two white flagges, and sent a Gingatho off to vs with two Indians, with letters of answere from the Gouernour; but they would not consent in any case that we should haue our men, and willed their Portugals to take their captiuitie patiently, for they would not redeeme them: a motion they made in their letters, to buy againe one of their prizes, which we had taken out of the rode: but our admirall answered them, no, seeing they detained our men, wee would keepe both their men, and ships too. The same euening we weyed, and came out of the hauen, halfe a league to seaward.

The 22 we set saile to sea, and the 23 came to an Island twelue leagues to the Southward of Baya, to wood, and water.

An Island 12 leagues to the South of Baia.

The 24 day being aboord with our pinnesses, we met with a Canoa, wherein was one Portugall, and sixe Indians: we shot at the Canoa, and killed an Indian, and tooke the Portugall, and one of the Indians, and brought them aboord our shippes: we there examined them, and the Portugal confessed that there was a shippe laden with meale, and other victuals, bound for Fernambuck, but put into a creeke, because she durst not goe along the coast, hearing of our shippes. Whereupon we manned both our pinnesses, and tooke the Portugall with vs, to goe and seeke the same ship, but that night we could not find her.

The 26 day we went againe, and found her, being halled vp into a creeke, where a man would haue thought a shippe boate could not haue entred: wee found her indeede laden with meale principally: but she had also in her fourteene chests of sugar, of which two were in powder, and twelue in loaues. This ship was of the burden of one hundred and twenty tunnes, and a new ship, this being the first voyage that euer she made, and as the Portugall confessed, she was fraighted for Fernambuck, but the men of Baya hauing great want of bread, bought both the ship and her lading, and so thought to stay her in this creeke, till we were gone off the coast: but it was our good hap to disappoint their pretense, and to fetch her from thence, where they thought her as safe as if she had bene at Lisbon.

A new Portugal ship taken in a creeke.

The 28 day we deuided the meale amongst vs, according to the want of euery ship.

The 30 day, 16 or 17 Dutchmen went with their boate from the hulke to shoare, to fill water: and vpon a sudden they were assaulted with fifty or sixty Portugals, and so many more Indians armed with shot and other weapons, aud they slew their Master and Purser, and the rest were hurt, but yet escaped with their liues: a good warning for vs to bee circumspect, and carefull in our landing.

A good warning for vs to be circumspect in landing.

The last day of May wee cast off one of our prizes, which wee called the George, and our Admirall and the hulke tooke the men and other necessaries out of her, into them. The same day the Portugals which had hurt the Dutchmen came to the shore, and dared vs to come on land: wherevpon wee went into our pinnesses with fortie shot: but the cowardly villanes ranne all away to the hils, from the water side: but master Lister with nine men followed them, and they fled still before them, and durst not stay their approch: so they came backe againe, and wee filled water quietly, and at our pleasure.

Iune.

The third day of Iune our captaine master Lister, hauing a great desire for the performance of this voyage, according to my Lords direction, went to our admirall, and requested him to giue him sixe buts of wine, one barrell of oile, three or foure barrels of flesh, and to haue Thomas Hood and seuen or eight seamen for some of our landmen, and by Gods help he with the barke Clifford, would alone proceed for the South sea: but the admirall mightily withstoode his motion, and would grant no iote of his particular requests.

An offer of captaine Lister to go with his one ship only for the South sea.

The 7 of Iune, hauing no vse at all of our prizes, we burnt one, and cast off another, and filled our owne ships with the necessaries of them.

The 3 day wee put off to sea, but yet with much adoe came againe to our ankoring place, because of the weather.

The 10 day the admirall sent for vs to come aboord him, and being come, hee opened a Carde before all the company, and tolde vs that my lords voyage for the South sea was ouerthrowen for want of able men, and victuals, and that therefore hee thought it best to plie for some of the Islands of the West India, or the Açores, to see if they could meete with some good purchase, that might satisfie my lord. These wordes were taken heauily of all the company, and no man would answere him, but kept silence, for very griefe to see my lords hope thus deceiued, and his great expenses and costs cast away. The common sort seeing no other remedie, were contented to returne as well as he.

The 16 day wee espied a saile, whereupon our pinnese, and Dalamar gaue her chase, and put her ashore vpon the Island, where the men forsooke her, and ran away with such things as they could conueniently carie: our pinnesse boorded her, and found little in her: they tooke out

Another pinnesse taken.

of her nine chests of sugar, and one hogge, and 35 pieces of pewter, and so left her vpon the sands.

From this time forward we began to plie Northwards, and the first of Iulie fell with the land againe, where we fished, and found reasonable good store. I took the latitude that day, and found our selues in 10 degrees 22 minutes.

Iuly.

They returned Northward.

The 7 day we determined to fall with Fernambuck, and wee came so neere it, that Dalmor (as he told vs) espied some of the ships that were in the harbour : yet notwithstanding we all fell to leeward of the riuer, and could not after that, by any meanes recouer the height of it againe : but we ceased not on all parts to endeuour the best we could, and oftentimes lost company for a day or two, one of another, but there was no remedie, but patience, for to Fernambuck we could not come, hauing so much ouershot it to the Northward, and the wind keeping at the South and Southwest.

The 20 day I tooke the Sunne in 5 degrees 50 minuts, which was 2 degrees to the Northward of Fernambuck, and the further we went, the more vntowardly did the rest of our ships worke, either to come into hauen, or to keepe company one with another. And truely I suppose, that by reason of the froward course of the Admirall, he meant of purpose to lose vs : for I know not how the neerer we endeuoured to be to him, the further off would he beare from vs, and wee seeing that, kept on our owne course, and lookt to our selues as well as we could.

Fernambuck in the Southerly latitude of 7 deg. 50 min.

The 24 day our whole company was called together to consultation, for our best course : some would goe for the West India, some directly North for England ; and in conclusion, the greater part was bent to pile for our owne countrey, considering our necessities of victuals and fresh water, and yet if any place were offered vs in the way, not to omit it, to seeke to fill water.

The 26 day in the morning we espied a lowe Island but we lost it againe, and could desire it no more. This day we found our selues in 3 degrees and 49 minutes.

A lowe Island in 3 degrees and 49 minutes.

The 27 day we searched what water we had left vs, and found but nine buts onely, so that our captaine allowed but a pinte of water for a man a day, to preserue it as much as might be, wherewith euery man was content, and we were then in number fiftie men and boyes.

August.

The first of August we found our selues 5 degrees to the Nortward of the line, all which moneth we continued our course homeward, without touching any where: toward the end whereof, a sorrowfnl accident fell out in our hulke, which being deuided from vs in a calme, fell afire by some great negligence, and perished by that meanes in the seas, wee being not able any wayes to helpe the ship, or to saue the men.

The hulk of Flushing burnt with all the men by negligence.

The 4 day of September, we had brought our selues into the height of 41 degrees and 20 minutes, somewhat to the Northwards of the Islands of the Açores: and thus bulting vp and downe with contrary winds, the 29 of the same moneth, we reached the coast of England, and so made an end of the voyage.

A discourse of the West Indies and South sea written by Lopez Vaz a Portugal, borne in the citie of Eluas, continued vnto the yere 1587. Wherein among diuers rare things not hitherto deliuered by any other writer, certaine voyages of our Englishmen are truely reported: which was intercepted with the author thereof at the riuer of Plate, by Captaine Withrington and Captaine Christopher Lister, in the fleete set foorth by the right Honorable the Erle of Cumberland for the South sea in the yeere 1586.

FRancis Drake an Englishman being on the sea, and hauing a knowledge of the small strength of the towne of Nombre de Dios, came into the harborough on a night with foure pinnesses, and landed an hundreth and fifty men: and leauing one halfe of his men with a trumpet in a fort which was there, hee with the rest entred the towne without doing any harme till hee came at the market place: and there his company discharging their caliuers, and sounding their trumpets (which made a great noyse in the towne) were answered by their fellowes in the forte, who discharged and sounded in like maner. This attempt put the townesmen in such extreme feare, that leauing their houses, they fled into the mountaines, and there bethought themselues what the matter should be in the

This voyage was made in the yeere 1572.

towne, remaining as men amazed at so sudden an alarme. But the Spaniards being men for the most part of good discretion ioyned foureteene or fifteene of them together with their pieces, to see who was in the towne: and getting to a corner of the market place they discouered the Englishmen, and perceiuing that they were but a few, discharged their pieces at them; and their fortune was such, that they slew the trumpetter, and shot the captaine (whose name was Francis Drake) into the legge: who feeling himself hurt retired toward the Fort, where he had left the rest of his men: but they in the Fort sounded their trumpet, and being not answered againe, and hearing the caliuers discharged in the towne, thought that their fellowes in the towne had bene slaine, and thereupon fled to their Pinnesses. Now Francis Drake (whom his men carried because of his hurt) when he came to the fort where he left his men and saw them fled, he and the rest of his company were in so great feare, that leauing their furniture behinde them, and putting off their hose, they swamme and waded all to their Pinnesses, and departed forth of the harbour, so that if the Spaniards had followed them, they might haue slaine them all. Thus Captaine Drake did no more harme at Nombre de Dios, neither was there in this skirmish any more then one Spaniarde slaine, and of the Englishmen onely their Trumpetter, whom they left behind with his trumpet in his hand.

From hence the coast lieth all along till you come to Cartagena. Betweene Nombre de Dios and Cartagena is a great sound or gulfe, where the first Spaniardes that euer dwelt vpon the firme land built and inhabited the towne of Dariene: howbeit they abode not long there, because of the vnholesomenesse of the place.

But Captaine Drake being discontent with the repulse that the men of Nombre de Dios gaue him, went with his Pinnesses into the said bay or sound of Dariene, where hauing conference with certaine Negros which were ranne away from their masters of Panamà and Nombre de Dios, he was informed that at the very same time many mules were comming from Panamà to Nombre de Dios laden with gold and siluer. Vpon this newes Francis Drake taking with him an hundred shot, and the said Negros stayed in the way till the treasure came by, accompanied and guarded onely by those that droue the mules, who mistrusted nothing at all. When captaine Drake met with them, he tooke away their golde: but the siluer he left behinde, because he could not carrie it ouer the mountaines. And two dayes after this he went to the house of crosses called by the Spaniards Venta de Cruzes, where all the merchants leaue their goods where hee slew sixe or seuen of the marchants, but found neither gold nor siluer, but great store of marchandize: and so he fired the said house, with all the goods, which were iudged to be worth aboue two hundred thousand ducats. Thus not finding golde in this house to satisfie his minde, hee burned the marchants goods, and foorthwith recouered his Pinnesses: where fortune so fauoured his proceedings, that he had not bene aboord halfe an houre, but there came to the sea side aboue three hundred souldiers, which were sent of purpose to take him: but God suffered him to escape their hands, to be a farther plague vnto the Spaniards.

Venta de cruzes.

Also another Englishman named Iohn Oxenham hearing what spoyle Captaine Drake had done vpon that coast, made a voyage thither to enterprize the like. His ship was of burthen about an hundred an twentie tunnes, and he was accompanied with seuentie persons: he had conference also with the foresaid Negros, but being abuertized that the treasure was conducted by souldiers, he determined with himselfe to doe that which neuer any man before durst vndertake to doe. For being most resolute of his purpose, and not looking nor forecasting what danger might ensue of this bold entererprize, he landed his men in the same place where Captaine Drake was, and halling his ship to shore, cut downe boughes of trees, and couered his ship with them, and hid vp his great ordinance in the ground. Thus leauing not one man in his ship, he tooke two small peeces of ordinance, and his calieuers, and good store of victuals, with all other neccessaries for his intended voyage. And he went with the Negros aboue twelue leagues vp into the maine land, vnto a riuer that runneth into the South sea: and by this riuer in a wood he cut downe timber, and built a Pinnesse, which was 45 foote long by the keele: which Pinnesse being finished, he went downe the riuer and passed into the South sea, carrying sixe Negros with him for his guides, and he arriued at the Iland of Pearles being 25 leagues distant from Panamâ. This Iland lieth in the South sea, as they saile from Peru to Panama, and here he stayed ten dayes, before he conld take any shipping, but

Iohn Oxenham anno 1575.

A riuer running into the South sea.

at length there came a small barke from a place called Quito in Peru: this barke he tooke, and found in her 60000 pezos of golde, with much wine and bread: and not being content with this, he stayed a long while, before he would sende away his prize or any of his men. Shortly after he tooke another barke that came from Lima, wherein he found 100000 pezos of siluer in barres, which being all aboord his Pinnesse, he shaped his course toward the riuer from whence he came: but before his departure he landed on the foresaid Iland to finde pearles, and went to a small towne of the Iland inhabited by Negros, for the same purpose: where finding but small store, he returned to his Pinnesse, and comming neere vnto the riuer he sent away his two prizes, and with his Pinnesse entered vp the riuer. The Negros of the Iland of perles, so soone as the Englishmen, were departed, posted in their Canoas to Panama, to signifie vnto the Gouernour what they had done. Whereupon the Gouernour with two dayes after sent out foure barkes and an hundred souldiers, and Negros to rowe, the captaine of which souldiers was called Iuan de Ortega; who went first to the Iland of pearles, and there had knowledge which way the Englishmen did take, and in pursuing them he met with the two prizes taken by the Englishmen, which tolde him that they were going vp the riuer. But when he was come to the entrance of the riuer, he knew not which way to take, because the riuer ranne into the sea by three mouthes, and not all at one. Therefore being determined with himselfe to passe vp the greatest of the three, he saw comming downe with the streame many feathers of hens out of one of the lesser mouthes: which mouth he entered, and sayling foure dayes vp the same, hee descryed the Englishmens pinnesse lying vpon the sand, and comming to boord her, they found in her no more but sixe Englishmen, of which they killed one, and the other 5 fled, and hauing thoroughly ransacked the said pinnesse, they could finde nought in her, but victuals. The Spaniards seeing this, determined to seeke out the Englishmen by land, and leauing about twentie men to keepe their barks they marched with eightie shot vp into the countrey, and halfe a league from the riuer they found a little house made with boughes, where the Englishmen had left all their treasure; which the Spaniards tooke and carried backe to their barkes, meaning not to follow the Englishmen any further: but the English captaine with all his men, and aboue 200 Negros followed the

Spaniards vnto the riuers side, and set vpon them with great fury : howbeit the Spaniards lying behind the bushes did easily put the English to flight, and they tooke seuen of them aliue, and slewe eleuen and fiue Negros : so the Spaniards returned with the losse of two men and fiue or sixe hurt. Then they asked those Englishmen which they had taken prisoners, why they departed not with their treasure, hauing fifteene dayes libertie? They answered, that their captaine had commanded them to carry all that golde and siluer vnto the place where their ship was, and they were agreed to carry it, although they made three or foure iourneys, for he promised to giue them part of the treasure beside their wages, but the mariners would needes haue it by and by; whereat the captaine being angry, because they put so small trust in his word, would not suffer his saylers to carrie it, but said he would get Negros to serue his turne, and so these were the Negros aforesaid, whom he had brought to carry away the golde and siluer : but by the way he met with the fiue Englishmen which fled from the pinnesse, who told him of the Spaniards; and then he made friends with all his men, and got the Negros to take his part : but hauing the ouerthrow, and his best men being slaine and taken prisoners, he thought to haue returned to his ship, and so to haue gone to England. The Spanish captaine hauing heard this discourse of the English prisoners, buried the deed bodies, embarking all things, and with the Englishmen and their pinnesse returned backe vnto Panama. Thus was the Englishmens voyage ouerthrowen.

Now so soone as the foure barkes and the pinnesse were arriued at Panama, the Gouernour of that place sent a messenger ouerland to Nombre de Dios, to aduertise the townesmen, where the Englishmens ship lay : whereupon they of Nombre de Dios manned out foure ships and went into the bay of Dariene where the Englishmen had left their ship, which they tooke away with them to Nombre de Dios, with all her ordinance; so that the poore Englishmen were left in the mountaines very naked and destitute of all comfort : for the Spaniards had taken out of the foresayd house of boughes all their tools and other necessaries, so that they could by no meanes haue any succour : whereas otherwise they might haue builded another pinnesse, and prouided better for themselues to have returned for their owne countrey.

These newes comming to the eares of the Viceroy of Peru, he thought it not conuenient to suffer those fiftie Englishmen which were yet aliue, to continue in the mountaines among the said Negros. Wherefore he sent a seruant of his called Dieco de Frees with 150 shot to seeke them, who at length found them making of Canoas to take some one small barke or other that sayled to and againe in the North sea, whereby they might the better shift for themselues: but before they had finished their pretended worke, the Spanish souldiers set vpon them, and tooke fifteene of them that were sicke: but the rest fled, whom the Spaniards pursued among the mountaines, and in the end the Negros betraied them, and they were all taken and carried to Panama. Where the Iustice asked the English captaine, whither he had the Queenes license, or that the license of any other Prince or Lord? And he answered that he had none, but that he came of his owne proper motion. Which being knowen to the Iustice, the Captaine and his companie were condemned and were all put to death at Panama, sauing the Captaine himselfe, the Master, and the Pilot, and fiue boyes, which were carried to Lima, where the Captaine and the two other men were executed, but the boyes are yet liuing.

Warre made against the Negros.

The king of Spaine hauing intelligence of these matters, sent 300 men of warre against those Negros who had assisted the Englishmen, which Negros before were slaues vnto the Spaniards, and (as is aforesaide) fled from their masters into those mountaines, and so ioyned themselues to the Englishmen, thinking by that meanes to be reuenged of the Spaniards crueltie.

At the first comming of these three hundred souldiers they tooke many of the Negros, and did great iniustice on them according to the qualitie of their offences. But after a season the Negros grew wise and wary, and preuented the Spaniards so, that none of them could be taken. Whereof the king being aduertised by his Captaines, as also how the countrey was full of mountaines and riuers, and very vnhealthfull, insomuch that his souldiers died, he wrote vnto his said Captaines to make an agreement with those Negros, to the ende the countrey might be in quiet. And so they came to agreement with the Captaines of the Negros, and all was appeased. Afterward the Negros inhabiting two places which the Spaniardes allotted vnto them, the kings pardon was proclaimed vnto all those which before the day of the proclamation thereof had runne from their Masters, vpon condition that from that day forward, whatsoeuer other fugitiue Negros should resort vnto them, they should returne them home either dead or aliue, if not, that they should pay for them. Vpon these conditions, and to make all quiet in the mountaines, all things were concluded and agreed vpon. So that now the Negros dwell in great townes, where they haue Spaniardes for their teachers, and a Spaniard for their Iudge, and with this they holde themselues very well contented, and are obedient vnto their rulers.

Frenchmen.

The Spaniards since they conquered those parts haue seene many Frenchmen on that coast, but neuer any Englishmen in that place, saue those two onely which I haue mentioned. And although the Frenchmen haue come strong, yet durst they neuer put foot on shore as the English did. But the king of Spaine hearing that Englishmen as well as Frenchmen beganne to haunt that coast, caused two gallies to be made and well appointed, to keepe the coast. The first yeere that they were made they tooke sixe or seuen French ships. So soone as this was knowen there vsed fewe English or French men of warre to come on the coast, vntill this yeere 1586. when as the aforesaid Francis Drake came with a strong fleete of about foure and twentie ships, and did such harme as is well knowen vnto all Christendome. (But (God sparing the king of Spaine life) hee will sufficiently prouide to keepe his subiectes from the inuasions of other Nations.

Seuen French ships taken by the gallies.

Sir Francis Drakes voyage to S. Iago, Sant Domingo, Cartagena, and S. Augustine.

Now to go forward with our begunne discourse, the next towne vpon this coast beyond Nombre de Dios is Cartagena: it standeth in a more heathfull place, and is a greater towne then the other, bordering vpon a better countrey, which aboundeth with plentie of victuals, and hauing a very good port for the harbour of ships: and it is called Cartagena, because it resembleth very much the citie of Cartagena in Spaine. It containeth aboue foure hundred households. It is very rich by reason of the ships staying there, when they goe or come from Spaine. And if the ships chance to winter before they goe home into Spaine, then they lie at Cartagena. Also it is greatly enriched by the merchandize, which is there discharged to be carryed to the new kingdome of Granada, from which kingdome much golde is brought vnto Cartagena. This new kingdome of Granada is two hundred leagues within the land:

Cartagena.

neither can they trauel from Cartagena to this kingdome by land, because of the mountaines and standing waters, which lie in the way, so that they are faine to carry their goods vp a riuer called the great riuer of Magdalen. They can goe with their barkes but two hundred leagues vp this riuer; for although it be large and very deepe, yet there runneth so swift a current, that the barkes are constrained to discharge their goods at a place in the riuer called Branco de Malambo, into small canoas which rowe close by the shores side. In this riuer are great abundance of Crocodiles, so huge and terrible to behold, that such as neuer sawe them before are very fearefull at the first sight of them, for if a man chance to put his hand or foote into the water, they will streightway catch at them. In some places this riuer is very vnhealthfull, and full of noysome wormes; but the first place thereupon which the Spaniards doe inhabite called Mompox is exceedingly healthfull. The countrey adioyning vpon this riuer they call The new kingdome of Granada, because the captaine called Cesada which first conquered the same, and inhabited there, was borne at Granada in Spaine: for it is the vse of the Spanish captaines, when they haue conquered any Prouince of the Indies, to call it after the name of the place where they themselues were borne. This new kingdome of Granada is very fruitfull, and bringeth forth much corne and other victuals, and hath many gold-mines, and great quantitie of emeralds, whereof they send so many into Spaine, that now they are become little worth: but before these countreys were found, they were in great estimation. Here are also dwelling many of the Indian people so meeke and gentle of nature, that they are called flies. This land is very plaine and holesome, and the inhabitants are giuen to peace.

Nueuo reyno de Granada.

Rio grande della Magdalena.

Branco de Malambo.

Mompox.

From this kingdome they trauell to another countrey called La gouernacion de Popayan; it is rich of golde, and withall very fruitfull, but fuller of mountaines then the new kingdom of Granada, and hath fewer Indians dwelling in it, but those that are there are full of courage and very valiant, which caused the Spaniardes to make great warre before they could ouercome them. In this prouince there are 13 townes of Spaniards, and in The new kingdome of Granada there are nine townes of Spaniards.

Popayan.

From this countrey of Popayan they trauell along till they come to the first inhabitants of Peru dwelling in a towne which ioyneth vpon the South sea called Quito. This towne I will leaue any further to speake of till I come particularly to intreate of Peru. Onely I haue spoken of the two foresaid Prouinces, to the intent you might know, that there is a passage by land from Carthagena to Peru, which is about fiue hundred leagues through; so that besides the two hundred leagues which they goe vp the riuer, the other three hundred leagues is a countrey well inhabited and without danger to trauell in, iusomuch that oftentimes postes are sent too and fro. But because it is so long a iourney, marchants vse not to trauell that way, but when they are inforced so to doe. If any forren Nation should become Lordes of the South sea, the king of Spain might haue his treasure conueyed vnto this towne of Cartagena from Peru, and so into Spaine. For in times past there being a rebellion in Peru made by the Spaniardes against their king, he sent his power to suppresse them through these Prouinces. This I write onely for that I knowe some Englishmen haue thought, that in taking the South sea, or Panama or Nombre de Dios from the king of Spaine, his treasure of Peru could not be conueyed vnto him, and that the king could not succour Peru, if it wanted helpe. Howbeit I doe here most certainely assure you, that there be many wayes to Peru.

Quito.

A passage ouer land from Cartagena to Peru.

But now I will returne to my former discourse. Vpon the seacoast of Tierra firma Eastward from Cartagena standeth a little towne called Santa Martha, betweene which towne and Cartagena the mightie riuer of Magdalen before named falleth into the sea with such a strong current, that by reason thereof it is knowen 20 leagues from the shore. Santa Martha is a very poore towne, because it hath often bene robbed by the French, and hath no trade but with a fewe Indians that dwell therabout. Here beginneth that wonderfull long ridge of high mountaines couered with snow, which streatching through many countreys, runneth along the kingdomes of Peru and Chili, and continueth to the very streights of Magellan. These mountaines are seene with snow vpon their tops aboue thirtie leagues into the sea. At the foote of these wilde mountaines there is a valley called Tagrona, which is the richest place that is knowen thereabout: but because

Santa Martha.

A mightie ridge of mountaines.

the countrey adioyning is so mountainous, and the inhabitants so many and of so good a courage, shooting poysoned arrowes which are present death to such as are wounded with the same; therefore it lyeth as yet vnconquered, notwithstanding it hath cost many Spanish captaines their liues.

Passing along the coast of Tierra firma to the East of Santa Martha, there is an other small towne of aboue an hundred houses called Rio de Hacha.

Rio de Hacha.

This towne is somewhat rich by reason of the pearles which they get there. Also they haue a trade with the Indians for some small quantitie of golde. From hence they goe along the coast to Cabo de la Vela, which because it is of the same propertie with Rio de Hacha before mentioned, I omit to speake of it.

Cabo de la Vela.

Vpon this coast there is a lake or gulfe which openeth into the sea, at the mouth whereof they gather great store of pearles.

Great store of pearles.

Beyond this place there is another poore towne, which hath sixe or seuen times beene spoyled by the Frenchmen. From hence there lyeth an high way to the newe kingdome of Granada, but it is aboue seuen hundred leagues in length, this way is trauelled very seldome, because the Indians will vsually set vpon the trauellers. More vp into the land the countrey lyeth plaine, and there is some golde, and a fewe townes inhabited with Spaniardes, whereof I haue had but small notice, and therefore I let them passe. The next place of any account is the Iland of Margarita, where there are but fewe Spaniardes inhabitant.

The Ile of Margarita.

This Iland of Margarita is very small, and lyeth foure leagues from the maine land: it hath heretofore bene very rich of golde and pearles, and so would haue continued till this present day, had it not beene spoyled by men of warre, because it standeth so farre from the maine land, notwithstanding they yet gather good store of pearles. Vpon this Island are bred better horses and mules then in any other part of the Indies, therefore they carry them from hence to Peru, albeit they haue great store of horses in Peru, but not so good.

Excellent mules and horses.

And because we haue begunne to speake of the Iland of Margarita, you are to vnderstand, that to the North of the foresaid coast of Tierra firma lie aboue seuentie Ilands being all very little, except Cuba, Hispaniola, and Boriquen, or Sant Iuan de Puerto rico, which

More then 70. Ilands.

Ile of Boriquen, although it bee not very great, yet is it inhabited by the Spaniards. The other smaller Ilands haue bene inhabited by the Indians, and haue had good store of gold, pearles, and emeraldes; but the Spaniards haue destroyed most of those Indians from off the earth, and in many of those Ilands there is nothing of any value, wherefore I haue small cause to intreate any further of them. But Hispaniola is an Iland of great bignesse, and hath bene very full of people, and abounded with mines of golde and with pearles, but now all is wasted away. It was at the Spaniards first coming thither, as full of inhabitants as any place of that bignesse in the whole world, yet now there are none left: for they were men of so hard a heart, that they murthered themselues rather then they would serue the Spaniards: for being men vnder so small ciuill gouernment as they were, neuer was there any people knowen of so resolute and desperate mindes: for oftentimes a great number of them being together ouer night, they should be found all dead before the morning: such extreme hate did this brutish people beare against the Spaniards, that they chose rather to die the death, then to indure their insolencies. It happened on a time, that a Spaniard calling certaine Indians to worke in the mines (which labour of all others did most grieue them) they, rather then they would goe, offered to lay violent hands on themselues: which the Spaniard perceiuing sayd vnto them: seeing you will hang your selues rather then goe and worke, I likewise will hang my selfe and will beare you company. because I will make you worke in an other world: but the Indians hearing this, replied, we will willingly worke with you here, to the intent you may not goe with vs into another world: so vnwilling were they of the Spaniards companie. So that of all the inhabitantes of this Iland there were none that escaped death, saue onely these fewe, which came to passe by the meanes of this one Spaniarde, otherwise they would haue hanged themselues also. Some of these people are yet liuing, but very few. This Iland of Hispaniola is for the most part called The Ile of Sant Domingo, because the chiefe citie thereof is so called, which was the first citie in all the West Indies that was inhabited.

Hispaniola.

The Indians killed themselues, rather then they would serue the tyrannous Spaniards.

A pretty iest.

There are in this citie aboue eight hundred fire-houses of good building inhabited by Gentlemen of great wealth. This Iland is vnhealthfull, for it raineth here the most part of the yeere. The

Sugar, hides, copper-mines.

riches that now this Iland affordeth are sugar (for here are many Ingenios or sugar-houses) and great store of hides by reason of the abundance of cattell; there are copper mines also, which is the cause that they haue such store of copper-money, for their gold mines be all exhausted and the golde which they haue commeth from other places. This Iland being (as is beforesaide) destitute of the first inhabitants, and the Spaniardes lacking men to worke in their Ingenios, and to looke vnto their cattell, they were forced to bring Negros thither out of Guinea, where they haue so increased, that the Iland is nowe as full of them, as it was of the naturall inhabitants; so that the Spaniardes carrie Negros from this Iland to the maine lande and there sell them. The chiefest victuall that they haue in this Iland, is a kinde of roote called Iuca, which being eaten as it commeth new out of the ground is present death: but first they boyle it and after presse it, and the liquor that is strained therefrom is deadly poyson: howbeit this roote being pressed so dry, that there remaineth no moisture in it, they mingle and temper the same with water, and so make cakes therof, which are very sauory and good to eat, and this is all the bread which they haue in those Ilands. There go from hence yerely into Spaine 7 or 8 ships at the least full fraighted with sugar aud hides.

Negros mightily increased.

A root called Iuca.

Neere vnto Hispaniola lyeth another greater Iland called Cuba, it is like vnto Hispaniola, although there is not so much sugar. The principall towne of this Ilande is called Hauana, which hath an excellent harborough belonging thereunto. The townesmen are very rich by reason of the fleetes that come from Nueua Espanna, and Tierra firma which touch there; for the safeguarde of which fleetes and of the towne it selfe there is a castle built neere the said harborough kept with Spanish souldiers; neither is there any castle or souldiers in all the Ilands but onely here. There is also another Iland inhabited with Spaniards called Boriquen or Sant Iuan de Puerto rico. It is but little, yet euery way as plentifull as the other two are; and therfore I omit to speake thereof.

The Ile of Cuba.

But now to prosecute my discourse of the port-townes vpon the maine land: Eastwarde and Southward from Margarita there are no townes inhabited by Spaniards or Portugals, till you come to Fernambuck vpon the coast of

Fernambuck.

Brasil; notwithstanding that betweene the sayd Iland and Fernambuck runneth the mightie riuer of Marannon, whereof (both because of the greatnesse and the riches contayned therein) I must needes make some relation, in regarde I haue promised to speake of euery place that is of any value in all the Indies. This riuer is one of the greatest in the world, and was first found when as the Spaniardes sought out the other coast: but none can passe vp this riuer because of the greatnesse of the current which commeth downe, as also there are many shelues of sand lying in the mouth thereof: wherby it was long before the riches in and about this riuer were knowen, vntill such time as the kingdome of Peru was conquered: at which time a Captaine called Gonsalo Pizarro passing through the countrey of Peru came at length into a lande which they named La Canela, because there groweth great store of Sinamome, but not altogether so good as that which commeth from the East Indies. The sayd Captaine proceeding farther into the countrey came at length to a mightie riuer, where he sawe the countrey people rowing in their Canoas, and bringing golde to buy and sell with the Spaniards. Captaine Pizarro seeing this, was desirous to finde out the ende of this riuer, but he could not trauell by lande because of the high mountaines: wherefore he made a small Barke or Pinnesse to goe and discouer from whence the saide Indians brought their golde, and sent in the saide Pinnesse a Captaine vnder him called Orellana, who with fiftie men went downe the riuer, but could not returne to their Generall Pizarro, because of the great current which was very strong against them, forcing them to passe along the riuer, and to enter into the Sea, and so they sayled on forwarde to the foresaide Ile of Margarita: but as they passed downe this riuer they found it well inhabited with Indians, which were possessed of great store of golde. These men with their Pinnesse were passing downe this riuer eight moneths, for the riuer lyeth very crooked, which maketh a long way by water, neither durst the Spaniardes euer lande, because they sawe the countrey so full of people, but they tooke many Canoas, wherein they had great store of victuals, and some golde.

The great riuer of Marannon.

Gonsalo Pizarro.

La Canela.

The great riuer of **Marannon or Orellana.**

Orellana sent downe the riuer of Marannon with fiftie men.

Now this Orellana comming vnto Margarita with these good newes and riches, determined not to returne vnto his Captaine Pizarro which sent him, but tooke his way from thence to the king of Spaine, and presented him with the golde that he had brought out of the riuer: whereupon the king sent him with a fleete of shippes and sixe hundred men to inhabite the sayd riuer: but because of the great current and sholdes that are therein, hee left the most part of his men and shippes, and with those that remained he went vnto certaine Ilands hard by the riuer, and built him Pinnesses; but the countrey being very vnhealthfull, himselfe and many of his men dyed, and the residue went euery man which way pleased him best. The fame of this riuer was straightway spread through Spaine and Portugal, insomuch that a Gentleman of Portugall called Lewis de Melo asked license of Don Iuan the third, then king of Portugall to goe and conquere the sayd riuer: for from the mouth of this riuer to the mouth of the riuer of Plate, is that part of America which the kings of Portugall (according to the partition made betweene them and the kings of Spaine) doe holde: so that the king of Portugall hauing this riuer in his part gaue it to the saide Lewis de Melo to conquere: who taking tenne ships and eight hundred men (among which many were gentlemen) and comming to the mouth of this riuer, lost all the said ships sauing two, in one of the which was Lewis de Melo himselfe: also the most of the men that were in the ships cast away were saued and got to the shore, and so went by lande to the Iland of Magarita from whence they were dispersed throughout all the Indies.

Lewis de Melo.

Thus these two fleetes of ships being so vnfortunately cast away, neuer durst any Captaine afterward attempt by sea to conquer the sayde riuer. Howbeit from the kingdome of Nueua Granada before mentioned there haue gone two or three Captaines by land to discouer it, for a rumour went ouer all the countrey of the great riches contained in this riuer; whereupon the Spaniards named it El Dorado, that is to say, The golden riuer. It is thought that God will not haue this riuer to be knowen, for that one Captaine by lande had most of his people slaine by those of the countrey, and others for want of victuals returned. So that none of all these came to any plaine discouery, till a few yeeres past a Captaine of the countrey of Nauarre called Pedro de Orzua, who went from Peru almost the same way that Gonsalo Pizarro had before discouered, and was accompanied with about

El Dorado.

Pedro de Orzua.

some seuen hundred Spaniards, it being a great maruell how he could get so many, amongst whom were many Gentlemen and old souldiers of Peru, who caused diuers mutinies and insurrections, as hereafter I will more at large declare, which mutinous souldiers were the cause of their captaines death. Howbeit with all these men captaine Pedro de Orzua came vnto the head of the riuer: but you must vnderstand, that this riuer is nourished not onely with the waters and freshets that come from the mountaines of Peru, but also by all the riuers betweene the Equinoctiall and sixteene degrees of Southerly latitude, which fall thereinto and cause it to be so great. Nowe at the head of this riuer the sayde Captaine Pedro de Orzua made fifteeene Pinnesses with many Canoas, wherein he caried aboue two thousand Indians to helpe him, with many horses and other prouision, as meaning to inhabite there: for it was not possible for him to carry all his prouision by lande, because the mountaines be very great, there being also betweene them many small riuers which fall into this great riuer aboue twentie leagues out of the land. So this captaine hauing all his things in good order went downe the riuer with his whole company, and at length from among the mountaines to a plaine countrey where the Indians dwelt; and there he held a councell, determining in the same place to build a towne and to fortifie it very strongly, to the end he might leaue all his stuffe there, and such men as were not souldiers. And so they began to build the said towne, and wrought vpon it all the winter: where because it raineth much, and withall is very hot, sicknes and want of victuals began to to preuaile amongst them, wherupon the souldiers fell a murmuring among themselues. For comming out of Peru, which is one of the fruitfullest and richest countries of the world, they were more inclined to haue their fill of bread and meat then to apply their bodies to labour: which was the cause that albeit the countrey in which they now were, was exceeding fruitfull, and that they saw with their eyes most euident apparances of golde, and also that vp into the countrey it seemed to be much better; yet for all this they murmured and would needes returne for Peru from whence they came. In the company of these men there was a souldier of Biskay called Lopez de Agira, a very little man of bodie and lame of one of his legs, but very valiant and of good experience in the warres. This man hauing bene one of the principall mutiners

Lopez de Agira, his dangerous conspiracie.

in Peru, could not here giue ouer his old wont, but asked his fellow-souldiers, what they went to seeke for in those wild deserts whither they were brought: For (said he) if you seeke riches, there are enough in Peru, and there is bread, wine, flesh, and faire women also; so that it were better to conquer that, and to take it out of the handes of the Spaniardes, and that it were no hard enterprize, because all the souldiers and poore men of Peru would turne vnto them, and that that were a better course, then to goe and conquere the sauage people in those mountaines: so that once hauing the gouernment of Peru, the king of Spaine should be inforced to agree with them: if not (sayd he) we shall not lacke them that will succour vs, to haue the riches of Peru. By these perswasions he brought many souldiers to be of his minde, and conspired also with a young gentleman of Siuill called Don Fernando de Gusman (who was in loue with a young woman which the captaine Pedro de Orzua had, and therefore the sooner agreed vnto the wicked intent of Agira) to murther the captaine. Who on a night being asleepe in his bed, the said conspirators and their faction entered into his bed-chamber, and there stabbed him with their daggers; which being done, they slew also all the Captaines that were his friends, and therewithall made a great out cry, saying, God saue the king, God saue the king: whereupon all the campe was in an vprore. Then Lopez de Agira made vnto the souldiers a long oration, and got them all to consent vnto him, some by force, and some because they durst not say to the contrary, and others of their good will, and so in the end they all agreed to his determined purpose. Then made they Fernando de Gusman their head, and Agira was made a captaine. This done, because the people should the better hold their opinion, he did as great a villany as euer any Spaniard committed: for he made an alter, whereon he and all the souldiers renounced their seruice vnto the king of Spaine, and so as people without a king, chose the said Don Fernando to be their king, and did homage vnto him. These matters being thus finished they consulted among themselues which should be the best way for them to goe to Peru? For they could not goe vp the riuer, by which they came downe, in regarde of the strong current, and going backe ouerland they should be very weake for want of horsemen: wherefore they determined to goe downe the riuer. Then saide Lopez de Agira,

Pedro de Orzua murthered.

Don Ferdinando de Gusman proclaimed king of Peru.

that they would carry nothing with them but the pinnesses and souldiers which should fight, and that it were best to leaue behind them all the Indians which they brought from Peru, with the women and the sicke men. Whereunto the Generall Don Ferdinando would not agree, because he knew that when they were gone the people of the countrey would kill them all. Lopez de Agira hearing this, and longing to be chiefe gouernour himselfe, tooke vnto him 30 of his owne countreymen of his disposition, and on the sudden slew Don Fernando, whom not many dayes before he had sworne to obey: and now by his subtill practises, being withall eloquent in his talke, he caused the souldiers to appoint himselfe their gouernour, and made them beleene that all the cruelties committed were for their saueguard: neither did the tyrannie of this wretched man here ende. He was borne in Biskay a countrey neere vnto France, wherefore I beleeue him rather to haue beene a Frenchman then a Spaniard, for that in the heart of a Spaniard could not be so much crueltie as this man shewed. Now being ready to goe his way, he determined not to carry with him any gentlemen or persons of qualitie, and therefore he slew all such persons; and then departing onely with the common souldiers, he left behind him all the Spanish women and sicke men, with all other creatures. If I should rehearse all the cruell murthers of this wicked man one by one, I should be ouer tedions vnto you. Onely in fewe words I say, that this man proceeded downe the riuer, hauing with him onely foure hundred men: but before he passed the riuer, and was come to Margarita, he had no more left but two huudred and thirty men, for the rest hee had put to death, and left on shore among the people of the countrey: all which tyranny he vsed, because he euer stood in feare of his life; for had he seene at any time but two souldier talking together, he would streight suspect that they were conspiring of his death, and therefore he vsed the practises abouesaide. And he neuer went any way, but that hee had in his company thirtie Biscaines of his owne will and minde readie to execute his cruell purposes.

Fernando de Gusman slaine.

A new massacre.

As these souldiers with their Captaine came downe the riuer, they sawe many Canoas with golde in them passing too and fro, and people on both sides of the riuer, and in their passage many times they landed,

Great store of gold in the riuer of Marannun.

and got good store of golde and victuals. Now also did they find that to be true which Orellana had reported, namely that there were Amazones, that is to say, women that fight in the warres with bowes and arrowes: but these women fight to aide their husbands, and not by themselues alone without the companie of men, as Orellana reported. There were of the women vpon diuers partes of this riuer, who seeing the Spaniardes fighting with their husbandes came in succour to them, and shewed themselues more valiant then their husbandes; for which cause it was named, The riuer of Amazones. The Spaniardes intent was onely to passe downe the riuer, neither sought they at all to discouer the Inland, and yet they tooke good store of golde, putting it into one of their Pinnesses, where Lopez de Agira himselfe was embarked, which Pinnesse at the mouth of the riuer was cast away, but he himselfe escaped, because he had not as yet fulfilled his bloodie minde. And when he was come to the Ilande of Margarita, the Gouernour thereof supposing he had beene one of the kings loyall captaines, receiued him with pinnesses, and brought good store of victuals vnto him. But he putting the sayd Gouernour immediatly to death, landed on the Iland, and tooke it and two shippes that were there, and constrained likewise an hundred and fiftie men, which he there found, to goe with him, besides others that went voluntarily, carrying from thence good store of victuales, and many horses also. And then he returned to the maine land, saying, that with his small forces hee would subdue the whole Indias: imagining belike that all the olde souldiers and poore people, at the first sight of him, would turne to his side and take his part. Howbeit he was foulely deceiued: for before he had marched two dayes iourney vp into the land, the Gouernour of Nueua Granada came against him with a power of men: but Lopez de Agira hoping that other souldiers would haue ioyned themselues vnto him, whereby his strength might haue beene the more, was quite frustrate of his expectation: for euen his owne men left him, and tooke part with the kings Captaine. Nowe seeing himselfe thus left destitute of his souldiers, and voide of all helpe, he committed a more vnnaturall bloody act then euer Nero the tyrant did, for he murthered his owne daughter being but sixeteene yeeres of age, which he had brought with him out of

Amazones women which helpe their husbands in the warres.

Good store of golde.

Lopez de Agiri arriueth at Margarita 1568.

Peru: the cause why he killed her was, that she might not become a concubine to villaines, nor be called the daughter of a traytor: and these words he vsed vnto her, so soone as he had giuen her her deaths wound: but before he could finish this cruell act, the souldiers came vpon him, and cut him in pieces, also his daughter died of her wound in that place.

Great riches hidden within the riuer of Marannon.

Thus haue you heard the miserable ende of this bloodie caitife: in regarde of whose treacherous and mischieuous and mischieuous dealing the king would neuer since suffer this riuer to bee throughly discouered; so that the riches and treasure of the said riuer remaine vnknowen euen vntill this present day.

The coast of Brasill, why it was so called and by whom it was at the first discouered.

Now leauing to discouse any longer of this riuer of Marannon, all the coast betweene the saide riuer and the riuer of Plate, is called The coast of Brasill, taking that name from a kinde of wood in the same countrey called Brasill-wood, whereof there is great store in those partes. This coast of Brasill was first discouered by Pedro Aluarez Cabral, in the second voyage which the king of Portugall caused to be made to the East Indies: and the foresayde Pedro Aluarez tooke possession of this land for the king of Portugall: whereupon the king Don Emanuel hearing newes thereof sent presently shippes to discouer the whole countrey, and found it to be part of America otherwise called The West Indies: for which cause there grewe some controuersie betweene him and the king of Spaine: but being kinsmen and great friends one to another, they agreed in the end, that the king of Portugall should holde all the countrey that he had discouered, the which was (as I haue said) from the riuer of Marannon to the riuer of Plate; albeit the Spaniards affrme, that it stretcheth no further then the Iland of Santa Catelina; whereupon there haue risen many controuersies betweene the Portugales and Spaniardes, which haue cost many men their liues.

There came into the said riuer of Plate in the yeere 1587 two English ships and a Pinnesse of the right Honourable the Earle of Cumberland, which were bound for the staeights of Magellan, and ankored ten leagues within the said riuer before a little Iland, lying hard by another called Seal Iland. On which Iland the Captaine of one of the ships called Christorpher Lister and his whole company landing, found the king of Portugales armes grauen on a rocke by the sea side; which are thought to haue beene there engrauen by one Martin Alonso de Souza, who was sent by the king Don Emanuel to discouer this coast. Therefore I thinke the Portugales haue reason for that which they alleage concerning the extension of the said coast of Brasil. Wherefore the king of Portugall gaue this land to diuerse of his gentlemen to inhabite. Most of the naturall inhabitants of this countrey are very rude, and goe starke naked both men and women, and are man-eaters: for which cause they make warres one against another to get men to eate: they are stout and good bow-men. The first place inhabited on this coast beyonde the riuer of Marannon is called Fernambuck so named by the Indians, but in Portugall it is called Villa de Olinda. Before you come to this place there is a port called Paraiua, vnto which port not many yeeres past the Frenchmen hearing of the troubles which were then in Portugall resorted, and built there a fort; whereunto certaine French ships made yeerely voyages to lade Brasill-wood. But they of Fernambuck, with the helpe of the Spaniardes, went and burnt fiue French shippes within the port, and tooke the fort it selfe, and the Frenchmen that were there fled part into the mountaines, and part of them were slaine; so that since that time the Spaniardes haue inhabited there till this present. Nowe to returne to Fernambuck inhabited by a Portugall Captaine called Duarte Coelio, it is the greatest towne in all the coast, and hath aboue three thousand houses in it, with seuentie Ingenios for sugar, and great store of Brasill-wood and abundance of cotton, yet are they in great want of victuals: for all their victuals come either from Portugall or from some places vpon the coast of Brasill. The harbour of this towne is a barred harbour, and fit onely for small barkes: this place belongeth as yet vnto the sonne of Duarte Coelio. Beyond this towne lyeth the Cape of Sant Augustin, and next thereunto is the riuer of Sant Francisco, which is a great riuer. Betweene this riuer and Baya it is all a wildernesse inhabited with saluages, for whomsoeuer they take they kill and eate him. The towne of Baha belongeth to the king, and therefore the gouernour of all the coast keepeth his residence in the same, as also the bishop. It containeth 1000

Fernambuck.

A fort built by the Frenchmen at Paraiua.

Paraius now inhabited by Spaniards.

Fernambuck containeth 3000 houses.

Cape S. Augustin.

Rio de Sant Francisco.

Bayha a towne of 1000 houses.

houses, and 40 Ingenios for sugar, and hath much cotton, but no Brasill-wood at all. The sea runneth vp into the countrey here 14 or 15 leagues, where they get some yeres good store of Amber-griese. Here is great plentie of victuals, and although the countrey be hot, yet it is healthfull, and the aire wholesome.

As Ilhas.

The next towne vpon the coast called As Ilhas, or The Iles, is but a small towne, containing not aboue 150 houses, and but three Ingenios for sugar. Most of the inhabitants are labouring men, which vse to carry victuals in their small barkes vnto Fernambuck: their Lord is called Lucas Giraldo.

Puerto Seguro.

The next place vnto this is called Puerto Seguro: it consisteth of 4 small townes, which containe not in all aboue 300 houses. The inhabitants of this towne also liue by carrying of victuals along the coast; and the towne it selfe belongeth to the Duke de Auero. Hard by this port begin the sholdes which they call Abrolhos; and these sholdes lie aboue 25 leagues into the sea.

The sholdes called Abrolhos.

Espirito Santo.

The next habitation of Christians beyond these sholdes is Espirito Santo which consisteth of two townes, both of them contayning about 300 houses: and they belong to a gentleman called Vasques Fernandes de Coutinho.

Rio de Ienero.

From hence you passe along the coast to the riuer of Ienero, which hath about three hundred houses. In this place the Frenchmen first inhabited, whose Captaine was called Monsieur de Villigagnon. The said Captaine made here a fort, and planted good ordinance thereon, and laded euery yeere great store of Brasill-wood from hence, and had great friendship with the saluage people, who did him good seruice, by reason whereof the Frenchmen reaped much benefite out of this countrey. But the king of Portugall sent out a power against the Frenchmen, who first tooke the French shippes by sea, and then landed and besieged the fort, and at length tooke it, and the Captaine thereof: vnto whom, because he was a gentle person, and neuer hurt the Portugales, they gaue thirtie thousand ducats for his ordinance, and for all other things that were in the fort, and so sent him for France. Since which time the Portugales haue inhabited this riuer. There are at this present onely two Ingenios, but great store of Brasill-wood, with plentie of victuals, From this riuer of Ienero they passe along the coast to Sant Vincente, which hath 4 townes, the greatest whereof is called Santos, and consisteth of 400 houses, there are also three Ingenios. A fewe yeeres past there came two English ships into this harbour which were going for the Streights of Magellan. Who being in this port, there came thither three of the king of Spaines ships, and fought with the Englishmen, but the Englishmen sunk one of their ships, and therefore the king commanded a fort to be made, to the ende that no English shippes that were bound for the streights of Magellan should victuall there, the which fort standeth on the mouth of the harbour. This countrey belongeth to a Gentleman called Martin Alonso de Souza: this is the last inhabited place vpon all the coast of Brisill. This coast of Brasill is very full of mountaines, and hath much raine falling vpon it, for which cause they cannot goe from towne to to towne by land: all the habitations of this countrey are by the sea side. From Sant Vincente the coast is all mountainous, till you come to the Ile of Santa Catelina, and from this Iland till you come euen to the straights of Magellan, the coast is very plaine and without woods.

These English men were M. Fenton and Luke Ward.

A fort built at the riuer of Sant Vincente against the English.

The Iland of Santa Catelina.

Hauing proceeded thus farre, it will not be amisse to speake somewhat of the riuer of Plate, which in one of the greatest riuers in all the world: for at the mouth it is aboue fiue and twentie leagues from land to land: and the Spaniards haue gone vp in it aboue sixe hundred leagues, and could not attaine the head thereof. The first Spaniard that entered this riuer, and inhabited the same was called Solis, who passed vp 100 leagues into it, and called it by the name of Rio de la Plata, that is to say, The riuer of siluer, because of the fine and cleare water that is in it, for I haue not heard of any siluer that euer was found there. The saide Solis returned into Spaine, without any further serach into this riuer: howbeit another Captaine called Sebastian Cabota went vp this riuer 150 leagues, and built a fort, which fort standeth vntill this present: where leauing his ships, he went higher vp the riuer in smal Pinnesses, and all along as he went he found many Indians: but finding neither gold nor siluer, nor ought else of any great value, he returned to his ships, and sayled for Spaine. Not many yeeres after a certaine Gentle-

Rio de la Plata.

Sebastian Cabota.

man called Don Pedro de Mendoça furnished forth a great fleete of ships, wherein were shipped a thousand men, fortie mares, and twentie horses, with all other creatures to inhabite this riuer: and comming thither he went vp into the countrey to see what riches he could there finde, leauing all his stuffe, cattle, and prouision at a place called Buenos Ayeres, so named in regard of the freshnesse of the ayre, and the healthfulnesse of his men, during their abode there: this place was eightie leagues within the riuer, and here he landed first: at this place the riuer is aboue seuen leagues broad, and very low land on both sides without trees. This riuer is very often subiect to great and sudden stormes, so that with a storme this Don Pedro lost eight of his ships, and in the rest he returned for Spaine, saying to his men, that he would goe seeke victuals, and so left the greater part of them behinde. In his way homeward he died, and the poore men which he left behind him, for the most part of them died of hunger also, because in that place there were very few Indians, and therefore but small store of victuals, onely they liued by hunting of Deere, and by fishing. Of all the men that Don Pedro left behind him there were but two hundred remaining aliue, who in the ship-boates went higher vp the riuer, leauing in the place called Buenos Ayeres their mares and horses: but it is a wonder to see, that of thirty mares and seuen horses which the Spaniards left there, the increase in fortie yeeres was so great, that the countrey is 20 leagues vp full of horses; whereby a man may coniecture the goodnesse of the pasture, and the fruitfulnesse of the soile. The Spaniards that went this riuer passed three hundred leagues, and found the countrey ful of Indians: who had great plenty of victuals, among whom the Spaniards dwelt as their friends, and the Indians bestowed their daughters in mariage upon them, and so they dwelt altogether in one towne, which the Spaniards called La Ascension, and it standeth on the North side of the riuer. The foresaid Spaniardes were twentie yeres in this place, before any newes of their inhabiting vpon this riuer was brought into Spaine: but waxing olde, and fearing that when they were dead, their sons which they had begotten in this countrey being very many, should liue without the knowledge of any Christians: they determined among themselues to build a ship and to send newes into Spaine with letters vnto the king of all

Buenos Ayeres.

The wonderfull increase of a few horses and mares.

La Ascension 300 leagues the riuer of Plate.

things that had passed among them, vpon that riuer. These newes being brought to the king, hee sent three ships, with a Bishop and certaine Priests, and Friers, and more men and women to inhabite, with all kind of cattell, when this succour was come, they inhabited in two places more on the North side of the riuer, and trauelled three hundred leagues beyond the Ascension: but finding neither gold nor siluer, they returned backe againe vnto the Ascension. The people are so multiplyed in this citie, that now it is one of the greatest in all the Indias, and containeth aboue two thousand houses. The countrey adioyning is exceeding fruitfull, abounding with all kinds of victuals, and with sugar and cotton. From this citie of Ascension 150 leagues towards the mouth of the riuer standeth another towne which they call Santa Fe, on the South side of the said riuer, from which towne there lyeth an open high way leading into the land of Peru, so that when I come to intreat of Peru I wil speake of this way, and declare who first found it. Also fiue yeeres past they haue inhabited anew the towne of Buenos Ayres on the South side of the riuer, to the end they might haue trade from the coast of Brasill, but their fortune was such, that the very first time they went to Brasill, and would haue returned againe to the riuer of Plate, they were taken by two ships of England that were going for the streights of Magellan.

Santa Fe.

Two English ships, whereof M. Fenton was Generall 1582.

The coast along from the riuer to the streights of Magellan hath not bene perfectly discouered, either by sea or lande, sauing onely certaine portes which they haue found, sayling to the streights. Wherefore passing them ouer, I will here intreat of the saide streights, and declare who was the first finder of them, as likewise what was the cause why they were sought for. The Portugales therefore hauing first found and conquered the East Indies, and discouered the coast of China, with the Ilands of the Malucos, (all which places abound with gold, precious stones, silkes, and other rich commodities) and bringing home the foresaide riches in their ships into Portugall: there grewe by this meanes great enuie betweene the Portugales and their neighbours the Spaniardes; insomuch that the Councell of Spaine saide vnto the Emperour Charles the fift being then their king, that the Portugales would be Lordes of all the riches of the world. Vpon which wordes beganne a controuersie betweene the Emperour and the king of Portugall: but they being great friends before, and also kinsmen, agreed immediately to part the whole world betweene them, in such wise as I for my part conld neuer vnderstand the certaintie thereof. The world being thus diuided, a Portugal-gentleman called Fernando Magellanes borne in a place of Portugall called Punta de la barte, being of a good house, and very wel seene in cosmographie, and an excellent Pilot, as also being offended with Don Emanuel his Soueraigne, departed out of Portugall into Spaine, and affirmed to the Councell of Spaine, that the Isles of the Malucos were in that part of the worlde which was allotted to the king of Spaine, and that he would finde a shorter way thither then the Portugales tooke, and layed before them such infallible reasons, that the Councell giuing credite vnto his wordes sent him to sea with fiue ships and 400 men all very well appointed. With these fiue ships setting saile from S. Lucar, he came to the coast of Brasill, where at that time two places were inhabited by Portugales, and so sayling on along that coast he passed by the riuer of Plate, which riuer was discouered a little before by Solis. And notwithstanding many stormes, and great mutinies among his companie, he came at length vnto 48 degrees, to the Southwards of the riuer of Plate: where he found an harbour, which he named Puerto de Sant Iulian, and wintered there: and there also he hanged 5 men, and put on shore a Priest, because they would haue made the company to stand against their captaine, and so to haue returned backe againe. But in the end hauing pacified his men, he put to sea, and within 5 dayes after he found the streights, which by him were so much desired: but before he entered the said streights there befell such a mutinie in one of his ships, that the same ship returned backe againe. And so himselfe with the other foure ships entering the streights, one of the said foure with all the men therein was cast away at the very entrance: which losse notwithstanding he proceeded on with the other three ships, and passing many troubles and dangers in this long discouery, ceased not to prosecute his intended voyage. This discouery was at the first thought very profitable vnto the Spaniards, but of late it hath prooued very hurtfull vnto them by means of certaine coasters which haue sayled the selfe same course. These streights stand

Fernando Magellanes.

Porte S. Iulian.

The discouery of the streights of Magellan.

The Southerly latitude of the straights of Magellan.

in 52 degrees and a halfe of Southerly latitude. Also here is to be noted, that it is colder to the Southward of the line then to the Northward: in such wise, that in forty degrees to the Southward the cold is more sharpe, then in fiftie degrees to the North: experience doth alwaies shew the same: for it is as colde euen in the streights of Magellan, as it is in sixty degrees of Northerly latitude. Howbeit the colde is not the cause why nauigators frequent not the same, but the Westerly and Southerly windes, which blowe most furiously on that coast, and that oftentimes out of the very mouth of the streights, and so continue for the most part of the yeere. Also there runneth sometimes such a strong current, that if the winde and it goe all one way, the cables cannot holde, neither can the ship withstand the force thereof. For which cause, and also for that there is no harbour, till you be passed 30 leagues into the said streights, most part of the ships that haue gone thither haue indured many troubles before they could come to the streights, and being come to the mouth thereof they haue bene hindered by the current and winde, and so haue bene put backe againe. And to the end you may vnderstand the truth, I will declare vnto you all the shippes that haue past through the said streights, since Magellan first found them, vnto this present yeere of 1586, when I haue once ended my discourse of Magellan his owne voyage. Nowe you are by the way to vnderstande, that the North side of the entrance of these streights is plaine lande without any wood or trees: here are likewise some Indians though not many, yet are they very mightie men of bodie of ten or eleuen foot high, and good bow-men, but no man-eaters, neither haue they any victuals, but such as they get by hunting and fishing; they couer their bodies with the skinnes of beasts that they kill, to defend them from the colde: neither was there euer to this day any siluer or golde found among them or in their countrey. These Streights (they say) extend in length from East to West about an hundred and twentie leagues. At the middle of these streights on the North side are many mountaines couered with snow, which mountaines stretch from thence along the frontiers of Chili, Peru, and Nueuo reino de Granda, euen vnto the shore of the North sea at Santa Martha, as I haue before signified. It is a wonder to behold the exceeding heigth

Patagones.

The length of the streights of Magellan.

A mighty ridg of mountaines.

of these mountaines, and the way which they continue couered with snow, for euen vnder the Equinoctiall line they haue as much snowe vpon their tops as in 52 degrees. Also it is worthy the remembrance, that all this countrey towarde the South sea is very fruitfull, and the people very discreete and gentle: but all the coast towardes Brasill vpon the North sea is poore, whereas neuer yet was found any commoditie of account, and the people themselues are very cruell and saluage; for the will of God is, that good and ciuill men should inhabite fruitfull countries. And for the better vnderstanding hereof you must note, that all the land lying betweene the said ridge of mountaines and the South sea is called by the names of Chili, Peru, and Nunuo reino de Granada, which are the best and richest countreys in all the world: and most part of the land from the said mountaines to the North sea is called Brasill, being a mountainous countrey, where as yet was neuer found either golde or siluer. From the said mountaines in the middle of the streights the land riseth high, till you come to the end of the streights where you enter into the South sea, in which place next the South sea the streights are very dangerous, by reason of the sholdes and rocks that lie on the North side. Thus Magellan after he had entered the South sea, within 60 dayes came to the Iles of Malucos, without touching at any land vntill he came thither: and so seeking there to lade his ships at an Iland inhabited by Moores, he was by them treacherously slaine. Now the Spaniards being too few for the managing of all three ships, because many of them were dead, partly with sicknes, and partly with the hardnesse of the voiage, determined to abandon one of their said ships, and so manned the other two: which two being laden with spices and other riches knew not what course they were best to take: howbeit at length it was determined, that one of these two ships should go for Nueuo Espanna, and the other for the cape of Buena Esperança, and so for Spaine. The ship that went for Spaine was called The Victorie, the Pilot whereof was a Biscain named Iuan Sebastian del Cano, to whom the king gaue great rewardes, and appointed him the globe for his armes, whereon was written: Primus omnium circundi disti me: that is, thou art the first man that euer sayled about me.

Chili, Peru, and Nueuo reino de Granada.

But of late there are found diuerse rich mines.

The death of Magellan.

Sebastian del Cano the first man that euer sayled about the world.

And albeit this voyage was so long and troublesome as is before mentioned, yet many others haue attempted the same. And the next that sought to passe the said streights of Magellan were two ships of Genoa, which comming as farre as the mouth of the streights were by a a mightie storme driuen backe againe, and one of them, whose master was called Pancaldo, put into the riuer of Plate, and was cast away about Buenos Aeres, where to this day part of the said ship is to be seene, and some of the men are yet liuing in the riuer among the Spaniards: and the other ship returned to Genoa againe.

Two ships of Genoa.

Also there was a bishop of Placencia in Spaine, who coueting riches, set foorth a fleet of foure sailes, to passe the streights, and so to goe for the Malucos: and getting license of the Emperour he sent his said 4 ships toward the streights which had very faire windes till they came thither: but being entered 20 leagues within the streights, a storme of Westerly windes tooke them, and droue 3 of them on shore, and the fourth backe into the sea, which (the storme being past) returned into the streights to seeke for his consorts and found many men going on the shores side, but the ships were beaten all to pieces. So they on land called vnto the ship; but the captaine thereof, considering that his ship was but little, and that he had but small store of victuals, would not go to them on shore, but proceeded on his voyage, and passed the streights. And because he was alone he would not saile to the Malucos, but went for the coast of Peru to the citie of Lima, where the ship remaineth vnto this day, The men of the other three ships, which were left in the streights being to the number of two hundred and fiftie (whose Captaine being kinsman to the bishop of Placencia was called * Queros) were neuer heard of vntill this present day, it being fortie yeres since they were left there. A yeare after this, certaine marchants of the Groine in Galicia set foorth other three ships, which ships also came to the streights mouth, where one of them was cast away with all the men, and the other two returned for Spaine.

A third voyage to ye streights.

* Gonsaluo de Ouiedo, parte 2. lib. calleth this Captaine Zamargo.

A fourth voyage to the streights.

A fift and sixt voiage to the streights of Magellan.

Also I haue had intelligence of certaine Portugall ships, which being come to the mouth of the Streights lost two of their Pinnesses which they

Two French ships sent for the streights of Magellan.

sent to discouer the land, and then returned back. And after these, two French ships were sent from the riuer of Ienero by Monsieur de Villegagnon, but being come to the latitude of 45. degrees, they were driuen backe by a storme of contrary winds. After all this the gouernour of Chili called Don Garcia de Mendoça sonne to the Marques of Cadnette determining to discouer the sayd Streights from the South sea, sent from Chili two ships vnder the conduct of a captaine called Latherelio: but the danger to seeke these Streights by the South sea is more then by the North sea, because all the stormes of the North sea come from the land, but in the South sea all the windes and stormes come off the sea, and force the ships to run vpon the leeshore, insomuch that the sayd two ships were cast away in fiftie degrees.

Sir Francis Drakes voyage about yͤ world.

The seeking of these Streights of Magellan is so dangerous and the voyage so troublesome, that it seemeth a matter almost impossible to be performed, insomuch that for the space of thirty, yeeres no man made account thereof; vntill of late one Francis Drake an Englishman (of whom I haue before spoken) seeing he could doe no good on the maine lande of the West Indies to benefite himselfe, because of the galleys of Cartagena that kept the coast, determined to seeke the Streights of Magellan, and to passe into the South sea. And so hauing prouided two ships and three pinnesses in England, he proceeded on his voyage, and comming to the Islandes of Cape Verde tooke a Portugal shippe laden with wine, the Pilot whereof being a Poatugal called Nuno da Sylua, hee caried along with him, who was a great helpe and furtherance vnto him in his voyage. And this which I shall here say, I had in writing of the Portugall pilot himselfe.

The cause why M. Douty was beheaded.

From the Islands of Cape Verde the sayd Francis Drake sailed vnto Port Sant Iulian, where he wintered: and there also hee put to death a gentleman of his company, because hee would haue returned home. This port I take to bee accursed, for that Magellan likewise put some to death there for the like offence.

Sir Francis Drake driuen into 57 degrees of Southerly latitude.

This Francis Drake putting out of the sayd port, entred the Streights, and within twelue dayes gotte into the South sea. And two dayes after there arose such a storme of Westerly windes (which are vsuall in those parts) that he lost his pinnesse, and his Viceadmirall master Iohn Winter was driuen backe againe into the

Streights, who passing many dangers returned home into England. But Francis Drake himselfe ranne with this storme into seuen and fifty degrees of Southerly latitude, where hee found an Island with a good harborough, and fresh water, and stayed at the same Island two moneths to repayre his ships: and then, the weather beeing faire, he proceeded on his voyage, and came to the coast of Chili to an Island called La Mocha; where hee went on shore, and talked with the Indians: but when hee would haue returned vnto his boate they shotte their arrowes at him, and killed two of his men, and hee himselfe was wounded in the face.

La Mocha in 38 deg 30 min. ouer against the prouince of Arauco.

Going from thence hee passed by the towne of Concepcion not knowing the place, and so to Valparizo, which is the port of Sant Iago, where hee found a ship laden with a kind of victuals and wine, and had in her besides threescore thousand pezos of gold, euery pezo being worth eight shillings sterling: and taking this ship with him hee went from thence to another port called Coquimbo: where seeing many cattell on the land, he sent presently some of his men with calieuers to kill of the sayd cattell: but being espied of the Spaniards that dwelt in the towne, they sent twelue horsemen to see what they were that killed their cattell, for they knew them not: and comming neere vnto them, the Englishmen fled to their boates, but the horsemen ouertooke one of them who had a halbard in his hand, whom the Spaniards thought to haue taken: but hee with his halbard killing one of their horses was himselfe runne through with a lance, and so the Spaniards carried him dead with them into the towne. The next day the newes came to Sant Iago, that they were Englishmen, and how they had taken the shippe out of the harbour of Valparizo: whereupon they of Sant Iago sent a Post by land to giue warning vnto them of Peru. Howbeit by reason that the countrey betweene this place and Peru is not inhabited for the space of two hundreth leagues, and many huge and colde mountaines couered with snow lie in the way, the Poste was so long in perfourmance of this iourney, that captaine Drake was vpon the coast of Peru a moneth before the sayd Post came thither: neither could they send any newes by sea, because they were destitute of shipping.

The towne of Concepcion.
Valparizo.

The port of Coquimbo in 29 deg. 30. min.

Captaine Drake departing from Coquimbo sayled to another porte not inhabited, where he set vp a pinnesse. And going

Los Pescadores.

from thence, the next place where he touched was a porte vpon the coast of Peru called los Pescadores: and there hee landed, and in one of the fishermens houses found of a Spaniards three thousand pezos of siluer in little barres.

Arica in 18 deg.

From hence he went to another port called Arica, which being the next towne to Chili that the Spaniards haue in all Peru, containeth an hundreth houses: and this is the porte where they discharge their merchandize that passe from Lima to Potossi, and to all other cities within the land, and likewise at this place they were woont to embarke all the siluer which they carried for Panama. At this port of Arica he found a ship that had in her thirteene thousand pezos of siluer, which hauing taken out, he burned the sayd ship, and after thought to haue landed, but seeing both horsemen and footemen on shore hee would not, but proceeded on his voyage. Since captaine Drake was at this porte they carie their siluer by land to Lima, and lade no more treasure here, but onely discharge the merchants goods that come from Spaine hither. Also they haue built a forte at this place for the better safety of the inhabitants, and haue planted it with ten pieces of Ordinance, and euery summer there lie in garison an hundred souldiers besides the townesmen. From hence he sayled to another porte called Chuli: in which port was a ship that had three hundred thousand pezos of siluer in barres: but they had sent horsemen from Arica to giue aduertizement of Drakes being on the coast, which newes came but two houres to the towne before his arriuall at the sayd porte: whereupon the Master of the shippe hauing no leisure to carie his siluer on shore, was forced to throwe it into the sea in sixe fadome water, where his ship road, and so to runne on shore in the shippes boate. And captaine Drake comming aboord the ship was told by an Indian, that the Master had throwen the siluer ouerboord. Wherfore seeing that newes began to run of him from towne to town he stayed not here, but ran along the coast: and because he would haue no lets, he cast off the ship which he had taken at Sant Iago, with neuer a man in her, which ship was neuer heard of after. And so without staying any where he shaped his course for Lima, and comming to the harborough of Lima called El Callao, being two leagues distant from Lima it selfe, for Lima standeth vp into the

Chuli.

El Callao de Lima.

land) hee arriued there one day, before the newes of him was brought to Lima, and found the men in the ships without suspicion. And as hee entred into the port, there came in also a ship from Panama laden with merchandize, and hee sent his pinnesse to take her: but the men forsaking the ship betooke them to their boate, and went on shore: and as the Englishmen followed the boat, a Spaniard that was therein shot a piece, and slew one of captaine Drakes men in the pinnesse. Wherefore hee followed the boat no farther, but went with his pinnesse into the harbour among fourteene saile of ships that lay there, in all which ships there was not a man that had so much as a sword or a piece to molest him, wherefore hee did with lesse feare go from ship to ship, asking them if there were any ships gone for Panama; for he knew wel, that the ships which goe for Panama carie both siluer and gold, neither sought he for any thing else, for there were marchandize enough for him in those ships, if hee had bene desirous to haue had the same. So they told him that three dayes past there was a ship gone for Panama which caried all the merchants siluer thither. Whereupon he presently set saile towards Panama; for when hee came into this port it was about midnight, so that the Spaniards could not see what ships he had. At last the newes came to Lima vnto the Viceroy of Peru, that there were enemies in the harbor, but they knew not what they were. Wherefore the Viceroy and all the people were in great feare, lest some Spaniards had made a mutinie, and put themselues in armes: and so the next morning himselfe accompanied with 2000 horsemen and footmen came from the citie down to the waters side, and finding some of the Englishmens arrowes that were shot at the boat, out of which their man was slain, they knew them to be Englishmen: and then they were al in quiet, seeing it was but one ship, for as yet the ship lay becalmed 3 dayes before the towne. Whereupon they forthwith prouided 2 ships with 200 men in them, to boord captaine Drake, or els to burne his ship; and after the ships went 2 small pinnesses, because that if any of the ships should be sunke, they might saue the men. But it was a day and a halfe before these things could be made ready, and in the end going foorth they found ye English ship still becalmed, and the calme was such, that the Spaniards could not come at them. The same night, the wind blowing a fresh gale, the Spaniards returned into the harbour, and captaine Drake set forward to Panama. The cause of the Spaniards returne was, for that they had no Ordinance, nor victuals to tarry any longer out.

Three ships sent after captaine Drake.

Then the Viceroy caused sixe pieces of Ordinance to bee made, neither could hee make any more, in regard of the shortness of time: so with these pieces of Ordinance, and three shippes, and two hundred and fifty men in them hee sent after captaine Drake; who after hee had winde stayed no where, nor tooke any ships at all, notwithstanding hee met with many comming from Panama laden with merchandize, but still hee inquired after the shippe that was gone to Panama before him:

A rich prize taken by sir Francis Drake at Cape S. Francisco situate one degree to ye north of the Equinoctial.

of which ship he had sight about the cape of Sant Francisco, the Master whereof was a Biskaine, called Iuan de Anton: who seeing this ship of the Englishmens, thought that the Viceroy of Peru had sent him some message, and therefore strooke all his sailes: but so soone as hee might discerne the shippe somewhat better, hee would then faine haue gone his way, for hee knew that it was none of that coast, and then hee began to hoise his sailes, but could by no meanes get from Captaine Drake because hee was within the reach of his great Ordinance, for the Spaniards not hauing so much as a rapier to defend themselues, were soone constrained to yeelde.

Read Nuno da Syluа concerning this treasure.

There were in this shippe aboue eight hundred and fifty thousand pezos of siluer, and forty thousand pezos of gold, all which siluer and golde was customed; but what store of treasure they had besides vncustomed I knowe not, for many times they cary almost as much more as they pay custome for; otherwise the king would take it from them, if they should be knowen to haue any great summe; wherefore euery shippe carieth his bill of cnstome, that the king may see it. All this treasure that captaine Drake tooke was merchants and other mens goods, sauing one hundred and eighty thousand pezos of the kings. He had also out of this ship good store of victuals with other necessaries. which were to bee carried for Panama, and was fiue dayes taking out of such things as hee needed. This done, he sayled from hence to the coast of Nueua Espanna without going to Panama. Surely this was a great plague of God iustly iuflicted vpon vs for our sinnes: for the taking of these ships is an especiall cause of all the dangerous warres that are likely to ensue betweene Spaine and England.

Now the ships that were sent by the Viceroy of Peru from Lima after Francis Drake, arriued at Cape Sant Franciso twenty dayes after hee had taken the foresayd shippe, and had intelligence by a ship comming from Panama, which they met at the sayd cape, that Francis Drake had taken the ship with siluer, and was not gone for Panama. Whereupon the captaine of the three ships thinking that captaine Drake had bene gone for the Streights of Magellan, directed his course that way to seeke him.

Captaine Drake carried from the coast of Peru eight hundreth sixty sixe thousand pezos of siluer, which is as much as eight hundred sixty sixe quintals, at 100 pound weight the quintal, euery quintal being worth one thousand and two hundreth ducats of Spaine; all which summe amounteth to a million and thirtie nine thousand two hundreth ducats. Besides this siluer hee carried away a hundred thousand pezos of gold, that is ten quintals, each quintal being valued at a thousand fiue hundreth Spanish ducats, which last summe amounteth to an hundreth and fifty thousand ducats: ouer and besides the treasure in the sayd ship which was vncustomed (the value whereof I cannot learne) consisting of pearles, precious stones, reals of plate, and other things of great worth.

The island of Cano.

With all this purchase he sayled toward Nueua Espanna; and at an Island lying before that coast called the Island of Cano hee discharged all things out of his shippe and graued her, and remained there ten dayes. From thence hee went along the coast of Nueua Espanna, where hee tooke certaine ships laden with spices, silkes, and veluets, but no golde nor siluer, for there was none to bee had on this coast. And here at Guatulco he set on shore his Portugal-pilot, which hee tooke at one of the islands of Cape Verde. But what course he kept from this coast till he came into England I know not of certainety, and therefore I will not meddle therewithall.

The foresayd three ships which were sent in pursuit of captaine Drake, returned backe againe to Lima without doing of ought. All which notwithstanding, the Viceroy of Peru determined to send two ships to the Streights of Magellan, either to meete with captaine Drake there, or else to see if they could fortifie the sayd Streights against such ships as might afterward attempt to passe through the same. And albeit this was thought a most dangerous voyage, and impossible to be perfourmed, by reason of the sholds on that side of the Streights, yet sent he forth the two said ships. The Admirall being a ship of an hundreth tunnes, and the other of eighty tunnes, and hauing one hundreth and twenty men in them both, sayled from Lima vnder the conduct of Pedro Sarmiento, who was then accompted the best nanigator in all Peru. These ships after their departure touching on the coast to take in victuals, were nine moneths before they came to the latitude of the Streights, and there were they encountred with a cruel storme: but Pedro Sarmiento being a man of good courage, bare in with the land in this storme, and in a night hee was put into the streights, not knowing how nor which way; and the other ship running farther into the sea, sayled to 58 degrees of Southerly latitude. The storme being past, this other shippe found many Islands neere vnto the main land, and so returned with faire weather all along the shore, neither could they find any other way to enter the Streights, but onely that which Magellan discouered: notwithstanding that others affirme the contrary, saying that the Streights be full of Islands to the Southwards: but they may be deceiued, for if there be any other Streight, it is beyond 58 degrees, and hath neuer bene seene by any man: for this ship was farthest to the Southwards of all that euer I heard of: for Francis Drake being driuen by the tempest no farther then 57 degrees could not know so much as this other; which ship from hence returned backe to Lima. But Pedro Sarmiento entered the Streights, where his men falling into a mutinie would haue returned to Lima: whereupon hanging one of them he proceeded on his voyage for Spaine. Where being arriued, he told the king that there were two narrow places in the Streights where he might build a forte, and that there was a very good countrey abounding with great store of riches and other necessaries, and very well inhabited with Indians. Vpon whose wordes, and for that there were more ships making ready in England to passe the sayd Streights, the king sent Diego Flores de Valdez with 23 ships and 3500 men, and a new gouernour to Chili with fiue hundred old souldiers newly come out of Flanders. These ships had the hardest hap of any that euer went out of Spaine since the

Pedro Sarmiento sent from Lima to the Streits of Magellan.

58 degrees of Southerly latitude discouered.

Many Islands discouered to the South of the Streights.

Pedro Sarmiento perswadeth ye king of Spaine to fortifie the Streights of Magellan.

Indias were first discouered: for that before they could get cleere of the coast of Spaine, a storme tooke them, and cast away fiue of them, and aboue eight hundred men, and the residue of the fleete put into Cadiz. Notwithstanding which hard successe, the king sent them word that they should proceede: and so they did with sixteene sailes only, for two other of their ships were so shaken with the storme, that they could not goe foorth. In these sixteene saile of ships Pedro Sarmiento was sent to be gouernour in the Streights: he caried with him all kind of artificers, to build forts, and other necessaries, with great store of Ordinance and munition. This fleete because it set late foorth, wintered on the coast of Brasil in the riuer of Ienero. Winter being past, they set sayle from hence, and about the height of 42 degrees they had such a storme, that Diego Flores was faine to beate it vp and downe about 22 dayes; in which storme was sunke one of his best ships, and in her three hundred men and twenty women that went to inhabite the streights, and most part of the munition that should haue bene left in the streights were all cast away. In the ende the storme grew so intollerable, that the ships not being able to endure it any longer were constrained to put backe againe vnto an Island called Santa Catelina: and there he found a barke wherein where certaine friers going for the riuer of Plate, which friers told him of two great English ships and a pinnesse that had taken them, but tooke nothing from them, nor did any harme, but onely asked them for the king of Spaines ships. Now Diego Flores supposing that these English ships would go to the streights, was himselfe determined to go to the streights also, though it was in the moneth of February: and choosing tenne shippes of the fifteene that were left, he sent three of the residue that were old and shaken with the storme (wherein he put all the women and sicke men that were in the fleete) backe againe to the riuer of Ienero; leauing the other two shippes, which were not able to brooke the sea, at the foresayd Island; and so himselfe with the sayd ten ships returned againe for the streights.

Now the three ships wherein the sicke men and the women were embarked, came to the port of Sant Vincent: where finding the two foresayd English ships, and vrging them to auoide the harbour, the English entred combat with them: and by reason that these three ships were weakened with former tempests, and were manned with the refuse of all the Spanish fleete, the

Two English ships vnder the conduct of M. Fenton and M. Luke Ward.

Englishmen easily put them to the worst, and sunke one of them, and might also haue sunke another, if they had bene so minded; but they desired not the destruction of any man: and doubtlesse it is the greatest valour that any man can shew, that when hee may doe hurte, he will not. Hereupon the Englishmen departed from this porte vnto Espirito Santo, where they had victuals for their merchandize: and so they returned home to England without doing any harme in the countrey. The cause why these Captaines went not to the streights I know not: some say, that they were put backe by foule weather, others suppose that it was for feare of the kings ships: but the pinnesse that belonged to these shippes wherein Iohn Drake went as captaine, departed from them: the cause why he did so, is vnknowen: but this pinnesse entred the riuer of Plate, and within fiue leagues of Seale-island, not farre from the place where the Erle of Cunberlands ships tooke in fresh water, it was cast away vpon a ledge of rockes; but the men were all saued in the boate. Who being eighteene in number went on shore vpon the Northside of the Island, and passing tenne dayes iourney vp into the lande, they met with certaine Saluage people, which are no man-eaters, but take all the Christians that they can get, and make them their slaues: howbeit the Englishmen fought with them, and being too fewe in number, fiue of them were slaine, and the other thirteene taken prisoners, who remained with the Saluages about fifteene moneths.

Espirito Santo.

Iohn Drake.

But the Master of the pinnesse called Richard Faireweather, being loath any longer to indure that miserie wherein hee was, and hauing knowledge of a towne of Christians on the other side of the riuer, called on a night Iohn Drake, and another yoong man which was with them, and tooke a Canoa being very little, and hauing but two oares, and passed therewith on the other side of the riuer, which is full nine leagues broade; and being three dayes before they could get ouer, they were much pined for lacke of meate. But comming to land, they hit vpon an high way that went towards the Christians: and spying the footing of horses, they followed it, and at last came to an house, neere vnto the which corne was sowed. And there they met with Indians that were seruants to the Spaniards, who gaue them foode, and clothes to couer them withall, for they were all naked. And one of the sayd Indians went to the towne, and caried newes of the Englishmen: whereupon the captaine of the towne sent out foure horsemen, which brought them to the towne behinde them, and the sayd captaine clothed them, and prouided lodging for them, and Iohn Drake sate at the captaines owne table, and hee intreated them all very well, thinking to send them for Spaine. But the Viceroy of Peru hearing this newes sent for them, and they sent him Iohn Drake; but the other two they kept, because they were maried in the countrey. Thus much concerning their affaires. Vpon these newes also there were prepared fifty horsemen to goe ouer the riuer, both to seeke the rest of the Englishmen, and certaine Spaniardes which were amongst those Saluage people; but I am not assured whether they went forward or no.

The gouernor of Chili passeth thither by the riuer of Plate.

Nowe let vs returne to Diego Flores: who passing from the Island of Santa Catelina towards the streights of Magellan in the middle of February, and comming to the height of the riuer of Plate, sent the gouernour of Chili with three ships vp the riuer to Buenos Ayres, that hee might from thence passe ouerland to Chili. Of these three ships two were lost, but the men and prouisions were saued; and the third returned for Spaine. Then Diego Flores with the other seuen ships proceeded on to the latitude of 52. degrees, whereas the mouth of the Streights beginneth: but because it was the ende of March, which there is the latter ende of summer, the countrey was so full of snow, and withall there arose such a sudden storme, that he could not set Sarmiento and his men on shore, but was constrained the second time to returne vnto the riuer of Ienero vpon the coast of Brasil; where he heard newes of the English ships by the two Spanish ships that escaped from them. Vpon which newes he left his lieutenant Diego de Ribera, and Pedro Sarmiento, that they might the next yeere returne for the streights. And so Diego Flores himselfe with foure ships which were yet remaining vnto him, and other foure which the king sent to succour him, set forth to seeke the Englishmen; but hauing runne along all the coast of Brasil hee could not finde them, because they were directly gone for England. Whereupon shaping his course vnto a port called Paraiua, and finding there fiue French ships, he burnt three and tooke two, and ths fort also which the Frenchmen had built, and put Spaniardes therein, but the Frenchmen fledde into the mountaines to the Saluages This done hee returned for Spaine.

Foure ships more sent to Diego Flores.

Fiue French ships taken at Paraiua.

In the meane season his Lieutenant Diego de Ribera, and Pedro Sarmiento had the next yeere so good fortune, that they arriued safely in the streights with all their ships, and set on shore foure hundreth men: but because the ships boate could not land, being once laden, they ran that ship, which had all the victuals and munition in her, on shore in a bay, and as the water did ebbe they tooke all things out of her. This being done, Diego de Ribera left Sarmiento with foure hundreth men, thirtie women, and a ship, with victuals for eight moneths: and with the other three shippes hee returned, hauing remained in the Streights but eight dayes. Nowe Pedro Sarmiento built a towne at the mouth of the Streights on the North side, placing therein an hundreth and fiftie men: and from thence he went by land, and sent the ship further into the streights, and fiftie leagues within the Streights, at the narrowest place of all, where there is a very good porte, hee built another towne, which he named The towne of king Philip; and would also haue made a forte, and planted Ordinance for the defence of The Streights: but the snowe and Winter was so intollerable, that hee could not bring it to perfection. Whereupon taking about 25 mariners with him into the foresayd ship, hee sayd hee would goe see howe his other people did, and so hee sayled to the Streights mouth, vnto the towne which was first built; where hauing continued, a day or two, he sayd that a storme put him from the Streights by force and brake his cables; but his men affirmed the contrary, that himselfe cut his cables (God knoweth the trueth) and so he passed to the riuer of Ienero; and not finding there any succour come from the king, he sayled to Fernambuck, crauing ayde of the captaine to furnish him with victuals. And so the captaine presently fraighted his ship with victuals and clothes for his people left in the Streights, and so sailed thitherward. But between Cape S. Augustin and Baya the wind came off the sea with such violence, that it forced the ship to run on shore; where Sarmiento had three of his men drowned, and he with the rest hardly escaped: and so this ship was lost with all the prouision in her.

Pedro Sarmiento left in ye streits of Magellan with 400 men and 30 women.

Nombre de Iesus builded.

Ciudad del rey Philippe builded.

From thence hee passed by land to Baya where the gouernour of Brasil bought him a barke that lay in the harbour, lading the same with victuals and clothes for Sarmientos colonie. With this prouision and diuers other necessaries for his people hee tooke his voyage for the Streights, and comming to the height of foure and forty degrees, hee met on the sudden with such a furious storme, that he was forced to throw his fraight ouerboord, and also to returne to the riuer of Ienero. Where staying a whole yeere for succour from the king, there came not so much as a letter from him. For the king was sore displeased at Pedro Sarmiento, because hee made him beleeue that the narrowest place of the Streights was but a mile ouer: and that it might bee fortified so that a boat could not passe: whereas Diego de Ribera, and others certified the king, that it was abouc a league broade, and that if a ship came with winde and current, all the Ordinance in the world could not hurte it. Wherefore the king thought that Pedro Sarmiento had deceiued him, in making him to lose so many men, and so much charges to no effect. And the gouernour of Baya seeing that the king wrote not vnto him, would giue no more succour: so that Sarmiento was constrained to make a voyage for Spaine in the same shippe, wherein hee last sayled toward the Streights: and it is sayd that hee was taken in the way by Englishmen, and carried into England. This Sarmiento hath caried the name to be the best Nauigator in all Spaine, and that hee hath sayled the furthest of all others. After all this the captaine of the riuer of Ienero sent a smal ship with victuals for the Streightes, which was put backe also in fortie degrees. And this is all the discouery of the Streights of Magellan, made as well by Spaniards as other nations vnto this present yeere 1586. It is foure yeeres since these poore and miserable Spaniards were left in the Streights, from which time there hath no succour gone vnto them, so God he knoweth whether they be dead or aliue.

Pedro Sarmiento was taken by sir Walter Raleghs barkes 1586.

Master Candish found but 22 men liuing of them.

Thus according to my promise I haue declared vnto you to the vttermost of my knowledge, all things concerning the Indias, as farre as the very Streights of Magellan; thinking to haue proceeded along the coast, as at the first; but that the doings of captaine Drake and other captaines which attempted to passe the sayd Straights haue caused mee to bee the longer in this my pretended worke. Howbeit now let vs proceede on forward from the Streights to the coast of Chili: the distance betweene which two places no man hath trauelled by land, in regard of the huge mountaines couered with snow that lie in the way: yea I may well say, that it hath not often bene trauelled by sea; for that all the ships which haue passed that way haue at the least gone thirty leagues off the shore, to auoide the sholds and many little Islands that lie neere the maine land; and therefore the inland of that coast remaineth as yet vnknowen.

Castro vpon the coast of Chili.

The first towne after you haue passed the Streights standeth on the coast of Chili, and is called Castro, being situate vpon the worst place of all the coast, for there is but small store of golde with scarcitie of victuals, and a sharpe colde ayre. The harbour belonging to this towne is compassed about with so many sholdes, that it will serue but to receiue small barkes onely. The next towne to this is Baldiuia.

Baldiuia.

A description of the prouince Chili.

But before I passe any farther I will heere describe vnto you the situation and quality of Chili. This countrey stretcheth in length from North to South aboue two hundreth leagues, conteining in breadth but fiue and twenty leagues at the most.

Riuers rich of golde.

From the great ridge of mountaines lying to the East of Chili runne very many riuers into the sea, which riuers are the cause of diuers valleys the fruitfullest in all the worlde, where bread, wine, and other victuals mightily abound: and the sayd riuers are also very rich of gold. But to declare in fewe wordes the excellencie of this prouince, I say that it might well bee called an earthly paradise, saue that it lacketh one onely commodity, and that is peace. It was first discouered on this maner: the Spaniards hauing conquered the kingdome of Peru, (as I will hereafter shewe vnto you) found in the sayd kingdome great store of golde; and asking the Indians from whence it came, they answered, from Chili. Vpon which newes Don Diego de Almagro being one of the principall captaines that conquered Peru made a voyage with three hundreth horsemen toward Chili, being constrained in his way to goe ouer part of the snowy mountaines, which way his Indian guides conducted him, to the ende that himselfe and all his companie might die for colde. Howbeit the Spaniards, though they lost some of their horses, came to the first towne of Chili called Copiapo being situate vpon the first plaine at the entrance of the sayd prouince. But hauing newes that the Indians were risen against the Spaniards of Peru

Copiapo the next towne of Chili vnto Peru.

and had inclosed them, hee returned backe without going any farther.

Nowe this captaine Don Diego de Almagro being slaine in the warres of Peru, another called Don Pedro de Baldiuia marching into Chili with foure hundreth horses, easily conquered that halfe of the countrey which was subiect to the kings of Peru. For knowing that Peru, being the chiefe countrey of their Emperour, was ouercome by the Spaniards, they also immediately yeelded their lande vnto them. But the other halfe as it was the richest and the fruitfullest part, so God had peopled it with the most valiant and furious people in all America.

El estado de Arauco.

The prouince which they inhabite called El Estado de Arauco is but a small prouince about 20 leagues in length, and is gouerned by ten principall men of the countrey, out of which tenne they chuse the valiantest man for their generall in the warres. The kings of Peru in times past could neuer conquere this part of Chili, nor yet any other kings of the Indians. The weapons vsed by these people of Arauco are long pikes, halbards, bowes and arrowes: they also make them iacks of seale-skinnes, and head-pieces: in times past the heads of their halbards and pikes were of brasse, but now they haue gotten store of yron. They pitch their battels in maner like the Christians: for putting their pikemen in rankes, they place bowmen among them, and marshall their troupes with discretion and great valour. Now the Spaniards comming into this prouince sent word vnto them by other Indians, saying that they were the children of God, and came to teach them the word of God, and that therefore they ought to yeelde themselues vnto them; if not, they would shoot fire among them and burne them. These people not fearing the great wordes of the Spaniards, but desiring to see that which they had heard reported, met them in the field, and fought a most cruell battell: but by reason of the Spaniards great ordinance, and caliuers, they were in the end put to flight. Now these Indians thinking verily that the Spaniards were the children of God, because of their great ordinance which made such a noise, and breathed out such flames of fire yeelded themselues vnto them. So the Spaniards hauing diuided this prouince made the Indians to serue their turnes for getting of gold out of the mines, which they enioyed in such abundance, that hee which had least had 20000 pezos, but

El estado de Arauco.

Captaine Baldiuia himselfe had 300000 pezos by the yeere. The fame of these riches in the end was spred as farre as Spaine; from whence soone after resorted many Spaniards to the land of Chili, whom Captaine Baldiuia caused to inhabite sixe townes: to wit, Villa nueua de la Serena called in the Indian tongue Coquimbo; the second Sant Iago which the Indians call Mapocha; the third La Concepcion called by the Indians Penco; the fourth La Imperial; the fift Baldiuia; and the sixt La Villa Rica. Also he built a fort in the middle of all the land, wherein hee put ordinance and souldiers: howbeit all this their good successe continued not long: for the Indians in short time perceiuing that the Spaniards were but mortall men as well as they, determine to rebell against them; wherefore the first thing that they did, they carried grasse into the said fort for the Spaniards horses, and wood also for them to burne, among which grasse the Indians conueyed bowes and arrowes with great clubs. This done, fiftie of the Indians entered the fort, betooke themselues to their bowes, arrowes, and clubs, and stood in the gate of the sayd fort: from whence making a signe vnto other of their nation for helpe, they wanne the fort, and slewe all the Spaniards. The news of this ouerthrow comming to the towne of Concepcion where Captaine Baldiuia was, hee presently set foorth with two hundred horsemen to seeke the Indians, taking no more men with him, becsuse he was in haste. And in a plaine he met the Indians, who comming of purpose also to seeke him, and compassing him about, slew most part of his company, the rest escaping by the swiftnesse of their horses: but Baldiuia hauing his horse slaine vnder him was taken aliue Whom the Indians wished to be of a good courage, and to feare nothing; for the cause (said they) why we haue taken you, is to giue you gold ynough. And hauing made a great banquet for him, the last seruice of all was a cuppe full of melted gold, which the Indians forced him to drinke, saying Now glut thy selfe with gold, and so they killed him. This Baldiuia was a most valiant man who had beene an olde souldier in the warres of Italy, and at the sacking of Rome.

Villa nueua de la Serena, La Concepcion, Sant Iago, La Imperiall, Baldiuia, La Villa rica, the first sixe townes that were inhabited in Chili.

A stratageme of the Indians of Chili against the Spaniards.

The death of Baldiuia.

Pedro de villa grande.

Vpon this discomfiture the Spaniards choose for their Captaine one Pedro de Villa grande; who assembling all the Spaniards in Chili, and taking with him tenne peeces of ordinance, marched against those Indians; but with so badde successe, that he lost not onely the field and many of his men, but also those ten peeces of ordinance which hee brought. The Indians hauing thus gotten the victorie, went streightway against the towne of Concepcion, from whence the Spaniards fled for feare, and left the towne desolate. And in this maner where the Spaniards chased by the Indians out of the countrey of Arauco. But newes hereof being brought to the Marques of Cannete viceroy of Peru, hee sent his sonne Don Garcia de Mendoça against those Indians, with a great power of horsemen, and footmen, and store of Artillerie. This nobleman having subdued Chili againe, and slaine in diuers battels above 40000 Indians, and brought them the second time vnder the Spaniards subiection, newly erected the said fort that stoode in the midst of the land, inhabited the towne of Concepcion againe, and built other townes for the Spaniards: and so leauing the land in peace, hee returned for Peru. But yet hee was cleane departed out of the land the Indians rebelled againe, but could not doe so much mischiefe as they did before, because the Spaniards tooke better heede vnto them. From that time vntill this present there hath bene no peace at all: for notwithstanding many Captaines and souldiers haue done their vttermost, yet can they not bring that people wholly in subiection. And although the Spaniards haue in this prouince eleuen townes and two bishopricks, yet haue they little ynough to maintain themselues, by reason of the warres; for they spend all the golde that the land yeeldeth in the maintenance of their souldiers: which would not bee so, if they had peace, for then they might worke in all their mines.

Don Garcia Mendoza.

Eleuen townes and two bishopricks in Chili.

Thus hauing spoken somewhat of the situation of Chili, and of the troublesome conquest therof, I will returne to my former discourse where I left. Baldiuia therefore being of 150 houses hath twise bene burnt and spoyled by the Indians; so that now it is waxen poore, but before the Indians sacked it, it was very rich: and it standeth vp a riuer foure leagues from the sea. Passing from hence you come to the plaine countrey of Arauco being situate ouer against the Island La Mocha, on which Island the Indians that inhabite belong to the maine land.

A description of the townes of Chili Baldiuia.

The prouince of Arauco situate in 38 deg. and a halfe.

La Concepcion.

Hauing passed this plaine of Arauco, the next towne of the Spaniards that you come vnto is La Concepcion which hath beene the greatest and the richest towne in all Chili; but by reason that the Indians haue burned the same foure times, it is now growen very poore, and hath small store of people: it contayneth about some two hundred houses. And because it adioyneth vpon the plaine of Arauco, where these valiant Indians bee, therefore this towne is enuironed about with a strong wall, and hath a fort built hard by it; and here are 500 souldiers continually in garrison. Betweene this place and Valparizo, the Indians call the coast by the name of Mapocha. Sant Iago it selfe standing 25 leagues vp into the countrey, is the principall towne of all Chili, and the seate of the gouernour: it consisteth of about 800 houses. The port of Valparizo whither the goods come from Lima by shipping, hath about twentie houses standing by it. The next towne neere the sea side beyond this is Coquimbo, which standeth two leagues vp into the land, and containeth about 200 houses. Next vnto Coquimbo standeth a port-towne called Copiapo inhabited altogether by Indians which serue the Spaniards: and here a gentleman which is gouernour of the towne hath an Ingenio for sugar: at this place endeth the whole prouince of Chili. Here also the mountaines ioyning hard vpon the sea are the cause why all the land betweene Copiapo and Peru, containing 160 leagues, lyeth desolate.

Valparizo which is the port of S. Iago standeth in 33. deg. 40 min.

Coquimbo standeth in 29. deg. 30. min.

Copiapo.

The first towne on the coast of Peru called Atacama is inhabited by Indians which are slaues vnto the Spaniards. But before I passe any farther I will here also declare vnto you the first discouerie of Peru with other matters thereto belonging, and then will I returne to the sea-coast againe: and to the ende you may vnderstand mee the better, I will begin with Panama. After that the Spaniards had inhabited the North side of this maine land, passing ouer the mountaines they discouered the South sea: where because they found Indian people with gold and pearles, they built a towne eighteene leagues to the West of Nombre de Dios hard vpon the sea-side, and called it Panama. From hence they discouered along the coast of Nueua Espanna: and for that Nueua Espanna

A description of Peru.

was at the same time inhabited by Spaniards, there beganne a trade from thence to Panama: but from Panama by sea to the coast of Peru they could not trade in a long time, because of the Southerly winds blowing on this coast almost all the yeere long, which are a hinderance to shippes sayling that way: and by land the passage was impossible, in regard of mountaines and riuers: yea it was fifteene yeeres before they passed the Island of Pearles, which is but twentie leagues from Panama. There were at this time in Panama two men, the one called Francisco Piçarro borne in the citie of Truxillo in Spaine, a valiant man, but withall poore: the other called Diego de Almagro was very rich. These men got a company vnto them, and prouided two Carauels to discouer the coast of Peru: and hauing obtained licence of the gouernour of that place, Francisco Piçarro set foorth with the two foresayd carauels and 100 men, and Diego de Almagro stayed in Panama to send him victuals and other necessaries. Now Francisco Piçarro sayling along the coast met with much contrary winds and raine, which put him to great trouble; and he began also after a while to lacke victuals, for hee was sailing of that in eight moneths which they now passe in fifteene dayes, and not knowing the right course hee ranne into euery riuer and bay that hee saw along the coast; which was the chiefe cause that hee stayed so long on his voyage: also thirtie of his company dyed by reason of the vnhealthfulnesse of the coast. At last hee came to an Island called by him Isla del Gallo, being situate from the maine land sixe leagues. From hence he sent one of his ships to Panama for a new supply of victuals and of men: which ship being departed, 40 of his men that remained behind made a mutiny, and passed vp into the countrey, meaning to returne by land to Panama, but in the way they all perished, for they were neuer heard of vntill this day. So that Francisco Piçarro was left vpon the said Island onely with thirteene men: who although he had his ship there in which he might haue returned, yet would he rather die then goe backe; and his 13 men also were of his opinion, notwithstanding that they had no other victuals, but such as they had from the maine land in the night season. Thus he continued nine moneths, before any succour was brought him from Panama: but in the end his ship returned with 40 men onely and victuals: whereupon hee prosecuted his voyage till he came to the first plaine countrey of Peru called Tumbez, where he

Isla del Gallo.

found a fort made by the king of Peru against the Indians of the mountaines. Wherefore Piçarro and his men were very glad in that they had found a people of so good vnderstanding and discretion, being rich also in gold and siluer and well apparelled. At this port of Tumbez hee tooke 30000 pezos of golde in trucke of marchandize: and hauing too few men to proceede any further, hee carried two Indians with him to learne the language and returned backe for Panama. Vpon this discouery Francisco Piçarro thought it expedient to trauell into Spaine to craue of the king the conquest of this land. Whither being come, the king granted his request. And with the money which he carried ouer with him he hired a great number of men with a fleete of ships, and brought also along with him foure of his brethren very valiant and hardy men. And being come to Panama he straightway went on his voyage for Peru, being accompanied with his partner Diego de Almagro. They sailed first to the Island called Isla del Gallo; where Francisco Piçarro and his brethren went on land, and left Diego de Almagro in the ships. And the whole number which afterward landed on the maine land were 60 horsemen and 120 footemen, with two great field-peeces.

The riuer of Peru.

But before we proceede any farther, we thinke it not amisse to describe vnto you the situation of Peru, and the naturall disposition of the inhabitants: This countrey was called Peru by the Spaniards, of a riuer so named by the Indians, where they first came to the sight of gold. From which riuer standing vnder the line, till you come to Copiapo the first towne on the coast of Chili, stretcheth the land of Peru, for the space of eight hundred leagues: vpon sixe hundred whereof from Atacama to Tumbez did neuer drop of raine fall, since the flood of Noah: and yet it is the fruitfullest land for all kind of victuals and other necessaries for the sustentation of mans life that is to be found in all the world besides. The reason why it raineth not in this land is because it beeing a plaine countrey and very narrow and low, situate betweene the Equinoctiall and the tropique of Capricorne, there runneth on the West frontier not aboue twentie leagues from the sea called Mar del Sur Eastward thereof, a mighty ridge of high mountaines couered with snow, the height of which mountaines so draweth the moisture of the cloudes vnto it selfe, that no raine falleth vpon the vallies of Peru.

The cause why it raineth not in Peru.

From these mountaines issue great store of riuers into the South sea, with the waters whereof drawen by certaine sluces and chanels they moisten their vineyardes and corne-fields, and by this meanes the land is so exceeding fruitfull. Betweene these mountaines and the mountaines of Chili that stretch vnto the Streits of Magellan, lyeth a plaine of 60 leagues ouer, being so cold that it yeeldeth no Wheat, but good store of other victuals. This countrey of Peru is full of people well apparelled and of ciuill behauiour. It hath many mines of gold and more of siluer, as also great store of copper, and tinne mines, with abundance of salt peter, and of brimstone to make gun-powder. There are likewise cattell of all sorts, among which there is a beast in shape somewhat resembling a camel, but no bigger then a steere of a yeere olde; they serue to carry burthens, their flesh being good to eate, and their wooll apt for many purposes. This beast is accounted the most profitable of al others for the vse of man: howbeit the Spaniards since their first comming haue replenished this countrey with horses, kine, sheepe, and goates, and likewise with plentie of wheat. So that in fewe words this land hath abundance of riches and victuals, and is the healthfullest place in the world. There were in times past kings of this land which were mighty Monarchs, whose dominions stretched 1200. leagues, and their lawes were very ciuill, saue that they were worshippers of the Sunne. At what time the Spaniards first entred this land there were two brethren of the blood royall which stroue who should haue the kingdome, the one called Guascar, and the other Atabalipa. Nowe Guascar had possession of all the mountaines and the lands within them: and Atabalipa was lord of all the sea coast and of the valleys situate betweene the said mountaines and the sea. The Indians seeing the Spaniards at the first arriue vpon the shore called them Vera coche, which in their language signifieth, The fome of the sea. Also Atabalipa the Indian prince sent vnto them to know what they did in his land, and what they sought for: the Spaniards made answere that they were the messengers of a great lord, and that they came to speake with the prince himselfe: who sent them word that they should come with a very good will; and so Atabalipa stayed for them at a citie called Caxamalca, being thirtie leagues

Gold, sfluer, copper, tinne, salt-peter and brimstone.

The sheepe of Peru called Llamas.

Atabalipa and Guascar two brethren competitours for the empire of Peru.

distant from the sea side. Whither being come, they found the Indian prince sitting in a chariot of gold, carried vpon mens shoulders, and accompanied with aboue 60000 Indians all ready armed for the warres. Then the Spaniards tolde them that they were sent from an Emperour (vnto whom the Pope had giuen all that land) to conuert them vnto the Christian faith. Whereunto Atabalipa answered, that hee would gladly be friends with the Emperour, because he was so great a Monarch, but in no case with the Pope, because he gaue to another that which was none of his owne.

Now while they were thus in talke, the Spaniards discharging their two field-peeces, and their caliuers, set vpon the Indians, crying Sant Iago. The Indians hearing the noise of the ordinance and small shot, and seeing the fire, thought that flames of fire had bene come downe from heauen vpon them; whereupon they fledde, and left their prince as a booty for the Spaniards. Whom they at the first intreated very gently, wishing him not to feare, for that their comming was onely to seeke for golde and siluer. During the time of Atabalipas imprisonment, his Captaines had slaine his brother Guascar, and had subdued all the mountaines and plaine countreys. Vpon which newes Atablipa told the Spaniards, that if they would release him, hee would giue them all that they should demaund. This communication hauing continued a whole day, at length a souldier named Soto sayd vnto Atabalipa; what wilt thou giue vs to set thee free? The prince answered, I will giue whatsoeuer you will demand. Whereunto the souldier replied, thou shalt giue vs this house full of gold and siluer thus high, lifting vp his sword, and making a stroke vpon the wall. And Atabalipa sayde, that if they would grant him respite to send into his kingdome, he would fulfill their demand. Whereat the Spaniards much marueiling, gaue him three moneths time, but he had filled the house in two moneths and an halfe, a matter scarce credible, yet most true: for I know about twentie men that were there at that time, who all affirme, that it was aboue tenne millions of gold and siluer. Howbeit for all this they let not the prince goe, but thought that in killing of him they should become lords of the whole land, and so the Spaniards on a night strangled him. But God the righteous iudge seeing this villanous act, suffered none of those Spaniards to dye by the course of nature, but brought them to euill and shamefull ends.

Vpon the newes of these great riches there came store of people out of Spaine, and inhabited many places in this countrey. The king in recompence of the good seruices of the two foresayd partners, appoynted Diego de Almagro gouernour of halfe the land, and Francisco Piçarro of the other halfe, whom also hee made a Marques. But these two consorts in parting of a land belonging vnto other men, fell at variance and sharpe warre betweene themselues: and at length Piçarro hauing slaine Almagro got all the land into his owne hands. Howbeit this prosperitie of Piçarro continued not long: for a bastard-sonne of Diego de Almagro, to bee reuenged of his fathers death, slew Piçarro, for which acte he lost his head. In this controuersie betweene these two partners were slaine also two brothers of Piçarro, and the third was carried prisoner into Spaine and there dyed in prison: but the fourth called Gonsaluo Piçarro rebelled with the whole countrey and became a cruell tyrant, vanquishing many of the Emperours Captaines in battell, and possessing the countrey in peace for two yeeres: howbeit being in the ende ouercome hee lost his head like a traitour. And thus dyed they all an euill death that were causes of the death of that innocent king Atabalipa. And yet there are mutinies raised oftentimes by the Spaniards, but the Indians neuer rebelled, after they had once peace granted vnto them. The Indian people of this land are parted among the Spaniards, some being slaues vnto the gentlemen that conquered their land, other some to others, and the residue to the king: and these Indians pay eche man for his tribute seuen pezos of fine golde, which is about tenne ducats and a halfe. There are in this countrey aboue fortie cities and townes inhabited by the Spaniards: also they haue here erected nine bishopricks and one archbishopricke.

Nine bishopricks, and one archbishopric in Peru.

Now after this countrey was fully conquered and brought in good order, certaine Spaniards being desirous to discouer the land on the other side of the snowy mountaines, found a very wholesome countrey, and there inhabited. The sayd prouince situate behinde the mountaines is called the prouince of Tucuman, wherein are fiue townes inhabited by the Spaniards, the last of them called Cordoua, from which towne vnto Santa Fee situate vpon the riuer of Plate it is seuentie leagues. The towne of Santa Fee was built in that place, to seeke a way to Peru by the

The prouince of Tucuman.

Cordoua.

riuer of Plate. And from hence downe the sayde riuer to Buenos Ayres are 120 leagues, and from Buenos Ayres vnto Seal-island ou haue 40 leagues.

Now hauing put downe all that I know concerning the countrey of Peru, and of the way from the riuer of Plate vnto Tucuman, I will returne vnto Atacama, the Southermost towne vpon the coast of Peru, where I left. From this towne of Atacama till you come to Arica, all the coast is inhabited by Indians subiect vnto the Spaniards. But since Captaine Drake was here they have built towers by the sea side, whereon, seeing any saile that they doe mistrust, they presently make smokes, and so from tower to tower they warne all the countrey. Hauing before spoken of Arica all that I can, I will now proceed to the next port called Camana being a towne of Spaniards and containing about two hundred houses. Here they make store of wine, and haue abundance of figges and reisins. The next towne called Acari containeth about three hundred houses, and here is made the best and greatest store of wine in all Peru. From hence passing along the coast you come to El Calao the port of Lima consisting of about two hundred houses: and here was a strong fort built since Captaine Drake was vpon the coast. The citie of Lima standing two leagues within the land, and containing two thousand houses, is very rich, and of more trade then all the cities of Peru besides: and this citie is the seat of the viceroy, the archbishop, and the inquisition.

Atacama.

Camana.

Acari.

El Calao.

Lima.

Next vnto this standeth a small towne of the Spaniards by the sea called Santa: and next vnto Santa is another small towne of Christians called Cannete. From hence they saile vnto a rich citie called Truxillo, being one of the principall townes of Peru, and containing about fiue hundred houses. Then followeth Paita, which hath to the number of two hundred houses. Leauing this towne they passe to Guaiaquil which standeth fortie leaguss vp into a great bay or riuer, at the entrance of which riuer standeth Tumbez a towne of the Indians. All this coast along from Atacama to Tumbez it neuer raineth, as I haue before said: so that all the houses in their townes are not tyled, but couered with bourdes to keepe off the heate of the Sunne, for they feare no raine at all. Guaiaquil is the first place

Santa.

Cannete.

Truxillo.

Paita.

Guaiaquil.

Tumbez.

where it raineth, and here they gather Salsaperilla. Here is also great store of timber, and at this place they build many shippes. Hence the sayle along the coast to a small and poore towne called Puerto Viejo, which in times past hath bene rich with emralds: but now since these stones in regard of their plenty are growen nothing worth, this towne likewise is waxen very poore. Below this village standeth another called La Buena Ventura: but whosoeuer go thither must needs meet with euill fortune, the place it selfe is so waterish and vnholsome. Here abide not aboue 20 men, who serue onely to transport goods vnto a citie standing fiftie leagues within the maine, in a prouince called La gouernacion de Popaian. From Buena ventura and Popaian till you come to Panama there is no other towne, by reason of the high mountaines, the manifold riuers, and the vnholesomenesse of the countrey. In this place doe inhabite the Negros that runne from their masters, and vpon these mountaines was Oxnam the English Captaine and his men taken, as is before mentioned. Beyond these mountaines standeth the citie of Panama, being a rich place, by reason that all the treasure which commeth from Peru is brought thither, and it consisteth of about foure hundred houses. The coast running along betweene this city and Nueua Espanna is called Costa rica.

Salsaperilla.

Ships built at Guaiaquil.

Puerto Viejo a place where Emralds abound.

La Buena ventura.

La gouernacion de Popaian.

Negros fled from their masters.

Panama.

Costa rica.

Next vnto Costa rica, which is a mountainous and desolate place, lieth the coast of Nicaragua, being inhabited by the Spaniards, and hauing many good ports belonging to it, and is frequented with trade and marchandize; but hauing no knowledge of the situation thereof, nor of the townes therein contained, I surcease to speake any more of it.

The prouince of Nicaragua.

A certaine viceroy of Nueua Espanna called Don Luis de Velasco caused certaine ships to be built for the discouery of the Mulucos and of the coast of China: which shippes in sayling thitherward found certaine Islands 80 leagues distant from the maine land, which the Spaniards, according to the name of their king, called The Philippinas: and hauing one of these Islands called Manilla, inhabited with a barbarous kind of people, they built a fort and a towne thereupon, from whence

The discouery of the Philippinas.

The Isle of Manilla.

they haue trade with the people of China. Vnto these Islands they haue foure great ships that vsually trade, two of them continually going, and two comming: so that such spices and silkes as the Portugals bring home out of the East Indies, the very same doe the Spaniards bring from these Islands and from China, for Mexico the chiefe citie of Nueua Espanna. The principall port-townes of the coast of Nueua Espanna are Guatulco, and Acapulco.

The discouery of the Isles of Salomon.

Cloues, ginger, and sinamon.

The Isle of Quadalcanal.

All the viceroyes and gouernours that the king of Spaine sendeth for Peru and Nueua Espanna haue a custome, for the obtaining of his fauour, to seeke and discouer new countreys. But the greatest and most notable discouerie that hath bene from those parts now of late, was that of the Isles of Salomon, which were found in maner following. The Licenciate Castro being gouernour of Peru sent foorth a fleete of shippes to discouer certaine Islands in the South sea vpon the coast of Peru, appointing as Generall of the same fleete a kinsman of his called Aluares de Mendanio, and Pedro Sarmiento as lieutenant, and in the Viceadmirall went Pedro de Ortega. This fleete departing forth of the hauen of Limo, and sayling 800 leagues Westward off the coast of Peru, found certaine Islands in eleuen degrees to the South of the Equinotial inhabited with a kind of people of a yellowish complexion, and all naked, whose weapons are bowes and arrowes, and darts. The beasts that they saw here were hogges and little dogges, and they found some hennes. Here also they found a muster of cloues, ginger, and sinamon, although the sinamon were not of the best; and heere appeared vnto them likewise some shewe of golde. The first Island that the Spaniards discouered, they named Santa Izabella; and here they built a small pinnesse, with the which and with their ships boate they found out betweene nine and fifteene degrees of Southerly latitude eleuen great Islands being one with another of 80 leagues in compasse. The greatest Island that they discouered was according vnto the first finder called Guadalcanal, on the coast whereof they sayled 150 leagues, before they could knowe whether it were an Island or part of the maine land: and yet they know not perfectly what to make of it, but thinke that it may be part of that continent which stretcheth to the Streights of Magellan; for they coasted it to eighteen degrees and could not find the ende thereof.

The gold that they found was vpon this Island or maine land of Guadalcanal, whereas they landed and tooke a towne, finding small graines of golde hanged vp in the houses thereof. But because the Spaniards vnderstood not the language of the countrey, and also for that the Indians were very stout men, and fought continually against them, they could neuer learne from whence that gold came, nor yet what store was in the land.

These Indians vsed to go to sea in great Canoas that will carrie 100 men a piece, wherein they haue many conflicts one against another: howbeit vnto the Christians they could doe no great hurt; for that with a small pinnesse and two falcons a fewe may ouercome 100 of them. At this place foureteene men mistrusting nothing, rowed to land, to take in fresh water, whome on the sudden certaine Indians in foure Canoas set vpon, tooke the ships boat, and slewe all the men therein: wherefore a man cannot goe on shore too strong, nor yet be too wary in a strange land. Hereupon the Spaniards went on shore in their pinnesse, and burnt the towne, and in this towne they found the small graines of gold before mentioned. They were discouering of these Islands from one to another about foureteene moneths, at the ende of which time (because that vpon the coast where they were, the wind continuing still in one place, might bee an occasion of longer tarying) they consulted which way to returne. Southward they must not goe for feare of great tempests which are that way vsuall: wherefore sayling to the North of the line, they fell with the coast of Nueua Espanna; on which coast they met with such terrible stormes, that they were forced to cut their maine masts ouer-bourd, and to lye nine moneths beating it vp and downe in the sea, before they could get into any harborow of the Christians. In which time by reason of euill gouernment, and for lacke of victuals and fresh water, most of the men in the Admirall dyed; for fiue whole dayes together they had neither water nor meate: but in the other ships they behaued themselues so well, that the greater part of them came safe vnto the land. He that passeth the Streights of Maggellan, or saileth from the coast of Chili directly for the Malucos must needs runne in sight of some of these Islands before spoken of. At which Islands lying so conueniently in the way to the Malucos you may furnish your selfe with plenty of victuals, as hogges, hennes, excellent almonds, potatos, sugar-canes, with diuers

A towne burnt.

Abundance of good victuals vpon the Isles of Salomon.

other sortes fit for the sustenance of any man in great abundance. Also among these Islands you shall haue some quantity of gold, which the Indians will giue you in truck for other commodities.

A new rich trade for gold, cloues, ginger, and sinamon.

For the Spaniards in their discouery of these Islands not seeking or being desirous of gold, brought home notwithstanding 40000 pezos with them, besides great store of cloues and ginger, and some sinamon also which is not so good as in other places. The discouerer of these Islands named them the Isles of Salomon, to the ende that the Spaniards supposing them to bee those Isles from whence Salomon fetched gold to adorne the temple at Ierusalem, might bee the more desirous to goe and inhabite the same. Now the same time when they thought to haue sent colonies vnto these Islands, Captaine Drake entered the South sea; whereupon commandement was giuen, that they should not be inhabited, to the ende that such Englishmen, and of other nations as passed the Streights of Magellan to goe to the Malucos might haue no succour there, but such as they got of the Indian people.

Why these Isles were called The Isles of Salomon.

* * *

MISCELLANEOUS.

To the Right Honorable Sir Robert Cecill knight,[*] Principall Secretarie to her Maiestie, Master of the Court of Wards and Liueries, the woorthy Chancellour of the Vniuersitie of Cambridge, and one of her Maiesties most honorable priuie Counsell.

RIght Honorable, while I went about to publish our English Voyages and Discoueries, I was aduised by master WALTER COPE, a gentleman of rare and excellent parts, to draw them into a short sum, adding that in his opinion that course woulde prooue most acceptable to the world, especially to men of great action and employment. Although in that worke then vnder the presse I could not conueniently alter my course, yet holding his aduise, as in many things else, so in this for sound and very good, I heere present vnto your Honour a briefe Treatie most agreeable to the same. The authour whereof was one Antonie Galuano, a Portugall gentleman : of whose pietie towards God, equitie towarde men, fidelity to his Prince, loue to his countrey, skill in sea causes, experience in Histories, liberalitie towards his nation, vigilance, valour, wisedome and diligence in restoring and settling the decaied state of The Isles of Maluco, (where he remained sixe or seuen yeeres gouernour,) if it please your honour to read

---

[*] *The Discoveries of the World, from their first Originall, vnto the yeere of our Lord, 1555. Briefly Written in the Portugall tongue, by Antonie Galvano, Gouernour of Ternate, the Chiefe Island of the Malucos. Corrected, Quoted, and now published in English by Richard Hakluyt, sometimes student of Christchurch in Oxford. Londini, Impensis G. Bishop. 1601.*

Fernando Lopez de Castagneda, or Ioannes Maffeius in their Histories of the East Indies, you shall finde more written in his singular commendation, then a large Epistle can well comprehend.

THE WORKE THOUGH SMALL IN BULKE CONTAINETH SO MUCH RARE AND PROFITABLE MATTER, AS I KNOW NOT WHERE TO SEEKE THE LIKE, WITHIN SO NARROW AND STREITE A COMPASSE. For heerein is orderly declared, who were The first Discouerours of the world since the time of the flood: by what waies from age to age the spicerie, drugs, and riches of the East were conueied into the West: what were the causes of the alterations of those courses, as namely the changes of Empires and gouernments: The ceasing of all trafficke for many yeeres by The Gothes inuasion of the Romane Empire: The rising vp of The Mahumetane sect; with their ouerrunning of Afrike and Spaine: The renewing againe, after many yeeres disturbance, of the trafficke and entercourse of the East Indies; first by the Califas of the aforesaid sect: and eftsoones by The Venetians, Ienowais and Florentines. Then followeth the taking of Ceuta in Barbarie by Iohn the first king of Portugall of that name in the yeere of our Lord 1415. whose third sonne Don Henry (which he had by the vertuous Ladie Philippa, daughter of Iohn of Gante, and sister to Henry the fourth, king of England) was the first beginner of all the Portugall discoueries, and continued the same for the space of fortie and three yeeres euen to his dying day. By whose encouragement the kings of Portugall found out with much patience and constancie the last way of the bringing the Spicerie into Europe by The Cape of Buona Sperança; and for these hunderd yeeres past haue become the chiefe Lords of the riches of the Orient. By emulation of which their good endeuours, The Antiles and The west Indies began to be discouered by The kings of Spaine. The infancies of both which most important enterprises, The progresse of the same from time to time, the discoueries of Islands, riuers, baies and harbours, of many rich prouinces, kingdomes, and countries; The erecting of castles in sundry conuenient Islands and places, with the drawing of trafficke vnto the same, where, when, by whom, and by whose authority is heere succinctly and faithfully recorded. So that if it please your Honour at your conuenient leisure to take a sea card or a mappe of the world, and carie your eie vpon the coast of Africa from Cape de Non, lying on the mayne in 29. degrees of northerly latitude, and follow the shore about the Cape of Buona Sperança till you come to the mouth of The Redde Sea, and passing thence along by the countrey of Arabia crosse ouer to India, and doubling Cape Comory compasse the gulfe of Bengala, and shooting by the citie of Malacca through The streite of Cincapura, coast al the south of Asia to the northeast part of China, and comprehend in this view all the Islands from The Açores and Madera in the West, to The Malucoes, The Phillippinas, and Iapan in the East: you shall heere finde by order, who were the first discouerours, conquerours and planters in euery place: as also the natures and commodities of the soyles, togither with the forces, qualities, and conditions of the inhabitants. And that which I mention of the Orient, is likewise to be vnderstood of The Occident.

Now touching the translation, it may please you sir, to be aduertised that it was first done into our language by some honest and well effected marchant of our nation, whose name by no meanes I could atteine vnto, and that as it seemeth many yeeres ago. For it hath lien by me aboue twelue yeeres. In all which space though I haue made much inquirie, and sent to Lisbon, where it seemeth it was printed, yet to this day I could neuer obtaine the originall copie; whereby I might reforme the manifold errours of the translator. For whereas a good translator ought to be well acquainted with the proprietie of the tongue out of which, and of that into which he translateth, and thirdly with the subiect or matter it selfe: I found this translator very defectiue in all three; especially in the last. For the supplying of whose defects I had none other remedie, but to haue recourse vnto the originall histories, (which as it appeereth are very many, and many of them exceeding rare and hard to come by) out of which the authour himselfe drewe the greatest part of this discourse. And in very deede it cost me more trauaile to search out the grounds thereof, and to annexe the marginall quotations vnto the worke, then the translation of many such bookes would haue put me vnto. Of which quotations there is yet a farther vse; to wit, that such as haue leasure sufficient, and are desirous to reade these things more at large, (for breuitie oftentimes breedeth obscuritie) may fully satisfie their desires by hauing recourse by the helpe thereof to the pure fountaines, out of which those waters which are drawne are for the most part most sweete and holsome. Now if any man shall maruel, that in these Discoueries of The World for the space almost of fower thousand yeeres here set downe, our nation is scarce fower times mentioned: Hee is to vnderstand, that when this authour ended this discourse, (which was about the yeere of Grace 1555.) there was little extant of our mens trauailes. And for ought I can see, there had no greater matter yet come to light, if my selfe had not vndertaken that heauie burden, being neuer therein entertained to any purpose, vntill I had recourse vnto your selfe, by whose speciall fauour and bountifull patronage I haue bene often much encouraged, and as it were reuiued. Which trauails of our men, because as yet they be not come to ripenes, and haue been made for the most part to places first discoured by others; when they shall come to more perfection, and become more profitable to the aduenturers will then be more fit to be reduced into briefe epitomes, by my selfe or some other endued with an honest zeale of the honour of our countrey. In the meane season nothing doubting of your fauourable acceptation of this my labour, I humbly beseech the authour of all goodnes to replenish and enrich you with his best blessings, long to protect and preserue your Honour to the profitable seruice of her Maiestie, and to the common benefit and good of the Realme. From London this 29. of October 1601.

Your Honors Chaplein, in all dutie

most readie to be commanded,

Richard Hakluyt.

Francis de Sousa Tauares vnto the high and mighty Prince
Don Iohn Duke of Aueiro.

ANtonie Galuano vpon his death bed left vnto me in his testament among his papers this booke. And because I am certaine hee ordained it to bee presented vnto your Grace, I haue thought good herein to fulfill his wil and testament, though in other things I haue done nothing, the fault remaining not in me. And by all reason this treatie ought to be set foorth by a Portugall, seeing it intreateth of the variable waies from whence the pepper and spices came in times past into our partes, and also of all the nauigations and discoueries in the olde time: In both of which things the Portugals haue most trauailed. In this treatie and in nine or ten bookes of things touching Maluco and India (which the Cardinall willed me to giue to Damian de Goes, saying that he should content me, for otherwise I could not deliuer them) this true Portugall occupied himselfe against the vnfortunate and sorrowfull times which he had been in (which were all ended before all our daies and times:) for when he receiued the captainship and fortresses of Maluco, all the kings and gouernours of all the Ilands about being agreed to make war against the Portugals, vntill such time as they might driue them all out of the countrey, he fought against them all with onely 130. Portugals, when they were all together, and strong in Tidore; and he gaue them the ouerthrow and killed their king, and one Ternate, the principall author of that war, and he tooke from them their fortresse: so vpon this victorie they submitted themselues, and came vnder the obeisance and seruice of our king of Portugall. Herein two things happened of great admiration: The first, that all the kings and gouernours of Maluco agreed togither against vs, a thing that neuer fell out, nor yet credible to be like to happen: for they are euer at variance among themselues: The second, that the captaine of Maluco with onely his ordinarie soldiers should haue the victorie against so many being all together. For sometimes it happeneth that some of the captaines of Maluco with many extraordinarie soldiers besides their ordinarie, yea and with the aide of al the Kings and Lords of Maluco in their fauour and aide went against one King onely of them, and came backe againe with losse. So there may be reckoned three notable things done in India, I say of qualitie: (but of more quantitie and importance there haue been others): which were the taking of Muar by Emmanuel Falcon, and the winning of Bitam by Peter Mascarenas, and this, whereof we presently treate. For all these three deedes seemed to be impossible to be atchieued, considering the small quantitie of soldiers which the captaines had in giuing the enterprise against so many; with the order and maner by them ordained how and which waies to obtaine their purpose as well by their enemies as by themselues. And they could not be atchieued otherwise but by vsing a meane and order not thought of at the first by the Portugals, nor yet euer suspected by their enimies. And, besides

Anthonie Galuano Captaine of Maluco.

Variance vsually among the kings of Maluco.

this, his father and fower of his brethren were all slaine in the kings seruice: And he now being the last of his linage, caried with him into Maluco woorth ten thousand crusadoes, which he spent not in idlenes, nor yet in play, but onely in bringing of many kings and innumerable townes vnto our holy faith, and in the preseruing of Maluco, employing all his power and strength that all the cloues might come vnto the hands of the kings highnes: which with Maluco yeelded vnto him euery yeere fiue hundred thousand crusadoes; being all to his great preiudice, let, and hinderance. For if he had gathered cloues for himselfe, as the captaines of Maluco haue done and doe, then he had come home very rich. But when he came home into Portugall in great hope (such is the simplicitie of the best natures) to be rewarded for his good seruice, and to be more fauoured and honored, then if he had brought home with him an hundred thousand crusadoes, he was greatly deceiued. For he found neither fauour, nor yet honor, but onely among the poore and miserable, to wit, in an hospitall: where he was kept seuenteene yeeres vntill the hower of his death; and there he had allowed vnto him his winding sheete to burie him in: and the brotherhood of the Couent prepared for his buriall as for a poore courtier cast off by all men, leauing himselfe indebted in two thousaud crusadoes, whereof part came out of India, and part thereof many of his friends had lent him to maintaine him in the hospitall: for in all these seuenteene yeeres he had not of his highnes for to helpe himselfe with so much as a riall of plate, nor yet I of the bookes which I deliuered receiued any thing to discharge his will with. Yet for all this, euen as vpon the prosperitie of his victories he neuer made any boast, so likewise in his aduersities his stomacke did nothing abate his hart. As there are good proofes that with so many and so continuall disgraces as he suffered, he neuer vnto the hower of his death left off to raise and to augment the yeerely rent vnto a Counto: which some made strange and would not giue eare vnto: So that euen as he wss extreme painfull in the performance of his seruice, so he was the like in the things sounding vnto the perfecting of the same, which was the cause that he was brought vnto the state that he died in. For he could not see the qualitie of the time, but onely those of his great seruice, by reason of the great charges that it stood him in. And his saying was, that he was

Good seruice full ill rewarded.

A Counto is 50000. crusadoes.

borne, not for to say that his constellation was in the wars victorious, but in the ouercomming of kings by the arte of warfare, readines in resoluing, prudence in conseruing, and great loialtie and patience with many seruices vnto his king and master. In which of all these he had most contentation it cannot easily be determined. Wherefore your noble Grace may see, that this treatie and the others were made with sighes and afflictions which his inferiour will might haue raised vp in him against his superior reason. Neither was he willing to take for his remedie that which that great Turke Zelim sonne to the great Mahumet did, (for he tooke Constantinople and died in Rome) who vsed to make himselfe drunke, because he would not remember the great estate which he lost: nor yet would he giue eare vnto those things which many of his friends would tell him, wishing he would settle his mind out of the kingdome: (for otherwise he should neuer be able to liue: whereunto he answered, that in this point he would rather be compared vnto the great Timocles the Athenian, then to be like the excellent Romane Coriolanus. Which is a goodly example of a true and faithfull Portugall. (Though it were not so as I doe say, yet I doe heare, that the hospitals be full of the most faithfull subiects to their prince and countrey.) Wherefore by all reason this treatie ought to be if your Grace fauoured, setting apart all ouersights, if there be any, in this worke of the author: I being not able to attaine vnto the vnderstanding of the contrary. God prosper your Grace with long life and increase of honour.

Or rather Themistocles.

An excellent treatise of Antonie Galvano, Portugall, containing the most ancient and moderne discoueries of the world, especially by nauigation, according to the course of times from the flood vntill the yeere of grace 1555.

WHile I had a desire to gather together some olde and some new discoueries, which haue beene made by sea and by lande, with their iust times and situations; they seemed to be two things of so great difficultie, that being confused in the authors of them, I determined once to desist from any such purpose. For touching the course of time the Hebrewes declare, that from the beginning of the world to the flood were 1656 yeeres. The Seuentie Interpreters make mention of 2242. And S. Augustine reckoneth 2262.* In the situations likewise there may be differences. For there neuer sailed together in one fleete at sea from ten pilots to the number of 100. but that some of them found themselues by reckoning in one longitude and other some in another. But considering better with my selfe, that the difficulties are opened, and the differences amended by others of more exact iudgement and vnderstanding therein, I purposed notwithstanding to proceede in this worke of Discoueries.

Some there be that say, that the world hath fully beene discouered: and they alleage this reason, that as it hath beene peopled and inhabited, so it might be frequented, and nauigable, and the rather for that the men in that age were of a longer life, and of lawes and languages almost one.

There be others of a contrarie opinion to this, holding that all the earth could not be knowne, nor the people conuersant one with another. For though it had beene so once, yet the same would haue beene lost againe by the malice of men, and the want of iustice among the inhabitants of the earth. But bicause the best and most famous discoueries were made by sea, and that principally in our times, I desire to knowe, who were the first discouerers since the time of the flood.

Contrarie opinions touching the discouerie of the world.

Who were the first discouerers since the flood.

Some affirme that they were the Greekes, others say, the Phœnicians, others also the Egyptians. The people of India agree not hereunto; affirming that they were the first that sailed by sea: namely the Tabencos, which now we call the Chinois. And they alleage for the proofe of this, that they be ye Lords of the Indiaes euen vnto the Cape of Bona Sperança, and the island of S. Laurence, which is inhabited by them, and al along the sea: as also the Iauaes, Timores, Celebes, Macasares, Malucos, Borneos, Mindanaos, Laçones, Lequeos, Iapones, and other Islands being many in number, and the firme lands of Cauchin-China, Laos, Bramas, Pegu, Arracones, till you come vnto Bengala: And besides this, New Spaine, Peru, Brasill, the Antiles, with the rest adioyning vnto them, as appeereth by the fashions and maners of the men and women, and by their proportions, hauing small eies, flat noses, with other proportions

The people of China say they were the first sailers by sea.

The inhabitants of the West Indies descended from China.

---

* Augustine de Ciuit. Dei, lib. 15. cap. 20.

to be seene. And to this day many of these Ilands and countreies are called by the names of Batochina, Bocho-China, which is as much to say, as the countreies of China. Further it appeereth by histories, that the arke of Noe rested vpon the north parts of the mountaines of Armenia, which stands in 40. degrees and vpwards: and that immediately thereupon Scythia was first peopled, for that it is an high land, and appeered first after the flood. And seeing the prouince and countrey of the Tabencos is one of the chiefest of all Tartarie, as they report, it is to be thought that they were of the most ancient inhabitants, and men of the most ancient nauigations, the seas being as calme as the riuers be in those parts lying betweene the Tropicks, where the daies and nights do not much differ, as well in the howers, as in ye temperature: where there blow no outragious windes, to cause the waters to rise or to be troubled. And by late experience it is found, that the small barks wherein they saile haue onely a great high bough in the middest of the barke, standing in steed both of mast and saile, and the master holdeth onely an oare in his hand to stirre withall: and so they saile swiftly along the coast; and the rest of the passengers sit onely vpon certaine poles, which are fastened in the barke, which they call Catamarones, and so they passe without rowing.

The seas betweene the Tropicks very calme.

An high bough in steed of mast and saile.

It is further said, that the people of China were sometimes Lords of the most part of Scythia, and sailed ordinarily along that coast, which seemeth to reach vnto 70. degrees toward the north. Cornelius Nepos is the author of this; * who particularly affirmeth, that in the time that Metellus the fellowe consul of Afranius, was Proconsul in France, the king of Sueuia sent vnto him certaine Indians, which came thither in a ship from this countrey, comming by the north and by the flats of Germanie.† And it is probable that they were people of China, for that they from 20. 30. and 40. degrees vpwards haue strong ships and clynchers, that can well brooke the seas, and indure the cold and intemperature of such northerly regions. As for Cambaia there is shipping also in it, and the people by report haue vsed the seas many yeeres: but it seemeth not that they were any of them

---

* Pomponius Mela, lib. 3.
† Plinius, lib. 2. cap. 67.

which came into France: for that they trafficke onely to Cairo, and are men in deed of little trafficke and lesse clothing.

As for those which escaped the destruction of the flood, they were therewith so amazed, that they durst not descend into the plaines and lowe countreies, but kept the hils. And we reade of Nimrode, who 130. yeeres after the flood built the Tower of Babell, intending thereby to saue himselfe, if there should come any more such floods.*

Therefore it seemeth, that they which first came to be sailers were those which dwell in the east in the prouince of China: although others contrariwise hold them which dwell in the west as in Syria, to haue vsed the trade of the sea soonest after the flood. But this contention about the antiquitie of nauigation I leeue to the Scythians and Egyptians, who were at great variance and difference in this matter: for each of them chalenged vnto themselues the honour of the first sea trauaile.† But omitting all iars and differences thereabouts, I will apply my selfe to my purposed discourse, and speake of that which histories haue left in record.

Berosus.

The first nauigation after the flood 143.

THere be some wel seene in Antiquities, which say that in the 143. yeere after the flood, Tubal came by sea into Spaine, whereby it seemeth that in those times nauigations were vsed into our parts out of Ethiopia.

And they also say farther, that not long after this, the Queene Semyramis went against the Indians in that riuer whereof they tooke their name, and therein gaue battaile vnto the king Stabrobates, wherein he lost a thousand ships.‡ Which being credible by the ancient historie, prooueth manifestly that in those parts, in those times were many ships, and the seas frequented in good numbers.

In the 650. yeere after the flood there was a king in Spaine named Hesperus, who in his time as it is reported went and discouered as far as Cape Verde, and the Island of S. Thomas, whereof he was prince: § And Gonsaluo Fernandes of Ouiedo the Chronicler of Antiquities affirmeth, that in his time the

---

* Ioseph Antiquit. Iudaic. lib. 1. ca. 5.

† Iustinus lib. 1.

‡ Diodorus Siculus lib. 2. cap. 5.

§ Berosus.

Islands of the West Indies were discouered, and called somewhat after his name Hesperides: and he alleageth many reasons to prooue it, reporting particularly that in 40. daies they sailed from Cape Verde vnto those Islands.*

There are others † that say that the like was done from this Cape vnto the Islands of S. Thomas, and the Isle De Principe, and that they be the Hesperides, and not the Antiles: And they doe not differ far from reason: seeing in those times and many yeeres after they did vse to saile onely along the coast, not passing through the maine Ocean sea: for they had neither altitude nor compasse then in vse, nor any mariners so expert.

The ancient nauigation was along the coast, and not far into the maine Ocean.

It cannot be denied, but that there were many countries, Islands, Capes, Isthmos, and points, which now are grown out of knowledge; because the names of them are found in histories. But the age of the world and force of waters haue wasted and consumed them, and separated one countrey from another, both in Europe, Asia, Africa, New Spaine, Peru, and other places.

Length of time and force of waters haue much altered the situation of manie places.

Plato saith in his dialogue of Timæus, that there were in ancient times in the Ocean sea Atlanticke certaine great Islands and countries named Atlantides greater then Afrike and Europe: and that the kings of those parts were Lords of a great part of this our countrey: but with certaine great tempests the sea did ouerflow it, and it remained as mud and shingle; so that in a long time after no ships could passe that way.

Plato in Timæo.

It is also recorded in histories,‡ that fast by the Island of Cadiz towards the Straights of Gibraltar there was a certaine Island which was called Aphrodisias, well inhabited and planted with many gardens and orchards, and yet at this day we haue no knowledge of this Aphrodisias, but only a bare mention of it in ancient authors. The said Island of Cadiz is further said to haue been so large and big, that it did ioine with the firme land of Spaine.

The Islands of the Açores were sometimes a point of the

---

* Gonsaluo Fernandes de Ouiedo lib. 2. cap. 3.

† Generalis Hist. Plinius lib. 6. cap. 31.

‡ Plinius lib. 4. cap. 22.

The Islands of the Açores somtimes ioined to the firme land.

mountaines of Estrella, which ioine vnto the sea ouer the towne of Syntra: And also from Sierra Verde or the greene mountaine, which adioineth vnto the water, hard by the citie of Sasin in the land of Cucu (which is the selfe same Island of Muchin, where Algarbe is) come the Islands of Porto Santo and Madera.

All Islands haue their rootes running from the maine land.

For it is held as a true and vndoubted veritie, that all Islands haue their roots running from the firme land, though they be neuer so farre from the continent: for otherwise they could not stand firme.

There are other histories[*] which say, that from Spaine vnto Ceuta in Barbarie men sometimes trauailed on foote vpon drie land, and that the Islands of Sardinia and Corsica did ioine the one with the other, as also did Sicilia with Italie, and Negroponto with Græcia.

Huls of ships and ankers found on mountaines farre within land.

We reade also that there were found hulles of ships, ankers of iron, and other memorials of shipping vpon the mountaines of Sussa farre within the land: where as it seemeth now no salt water or sea euer came.

In India also, and in the land of Malabar, although now there be great store of people, yet many writers affirme that it was once a maine sea vnto the foote of the mountaines; and that the Cape of Comarim, and the Island of Zeilan were all one thing: As also that the Island of Samatra did ioine with the land of Malacca by the flats of Caypasia; and not farre from thence there stands now a little Island, which few yeeres past was part of the firme land that is ouer against it.

Furthermore it is to be seene, how Ptolemey in his tables doth set the land of Malacca to the south of the line in three or fower degrees of latitude, whereas now it is at the point thereof, being called Ientana, in one degree on the north side, as appeereth in the Strait of Cincapura, where daily they doe passe through vnto the coast of Sian and China, where the Island of Aynan standeth, which also they say did ioine hard to the land of China: and Ptolemey placeth it on the north side far from the line, standing now aboue 20. degrees from it towards the North, as Asia and Europe now stand.

---

[*] Eratosthenes apud Strabonem lib. 1. pag. 26.

Well it may be that in time past the land of Malacca and China did end beyond the line on the south side, as Ptolemey doth set them foorth: because it might ioine with the point of the land called Ientana, with the Islands of Bintan, Banca, and Salitres being many that waies, and the land might be all slime and oaze; And so y point of China, might ioine with the Islands of the Luçones Borneos, Lequeos, Mindanaos, and others which stand in this parallele: they also as yet hauing in opinion that the Island of Samatra did ioine with Iaua by the chanell of Sunda, and the Islands of Bali, Aujaue, Cambaua, Solor, Hogaleao, Maulua, Vintara, Rosalaguin, and others that be in this parallele and altitude did all ioine with Iaua; and so they seeme outwardly to those that descrie them. For at this day the Islands stand so neere the one to the other, that they seeme all but one firme land; and whosoeuer passeth betweene some of them, may touch with their hand the boughs of the tree on the one and on the other side also. And to come neerer to the matter, it is not long since, that in the east the Islands of Banda, were diuers of them ouerflowen and drowned by the sea: And so likewise in China about nine score miles of firme ground is now become a lake, as it is reported. Which is not to be thought maruellous; considering that which Ptolemey and others haue written in such cases; which here I omit, to returne to my purpose.

At this Isle of Bali the Hollanders were 1596. and haue largely described it.

Nine score miles firme ground lately drowned in China.

After the flood 800. yeeres we reade that the citie of Troy was builded by the Dardans; and that before that time they brought out of the Indies into Europe by the Red sea, spices, drugs, and many other kindes of marchandises, which were there more abundant, then now they be. Whereunto if credit may be giuen, we may conceaue that the sea was of old haunted and frequented, seeing that then they of the East had so much and so great trafficke with them of the West, that they brought their marchandise vnto an hauen which was named Arsinoe, being that which at this day is called Suez, standing in 30. degrees on the north part of the Arabian Gulfe. It is also by authors † farther written, that from this hauen of Arsinoe or Suez, these marchandises were carried by Carauans or great com-

800. yeeres after the flood was trade of spices by the Red sea.

Arsinoe, now called Suez.

---

† Plinius lib. 6. cap. 29.

panies of carriers vpon camels, asses, and mules, vnto the Leuant sea vnto a city called Cassou, standing on the coast in 32 degrees of latitude, yeelding vnto euery degree 17. leagues and an halfe, as the maner is. And there are by account from the one sea to the other 35. leagues, or 105. miles.* These carriers, by reason of the heate of the countrey, trauailed in the night onely, directing themselues by stars and by marks of postes and canes, which they vsed to sticke in the ground as they went. But after that, because this course and iourney had many inconueniences, they changed and altered the same twise, to finde out the most commodious way.

900. yeeres after the flood.

900. yeeres or there about after the flood, and before the destruction of Troy, there was a king in Egypt called Sesostris, who perceiuing that the former courses and passages for the carrying of marchandises by men and beasts, were chargeable to the one and most painfull to the other,† prouided to haue a way or streame cut out of the land from the Red sea vnto an arme of the riuer Nilus which runneth vnto the Citie Heroum ; that by the meanes thereof ships might passe and repasse with their marchandises from India into Europe, and not be discharged till they came into Italie.‡ So that this Sesostris was the first king, which built great caracks to trauaile this way. But this enterprise for all that tooke little effect. For if it had, Africa had then been made as an Island all compassed with water, being no more ground betweene sea and sea, then the space of 20. leagues or 60. miles.

The lake Mæotis. Shipping of great antiquitie in the Germaine sea.

About this time the Græcians gathered an army or fleete, which now is called Argonautica, whereof Iason and Alceus were captains general.§ Some say they went from the Isle of Creta, others from Græcia. But whence soeuer they departed they sailed through the Proponticke sea, and Saint Georges Sléeue vnto the Euxine sea, where some perished, and Iason thereupon returned backe into Greece. Alceus reported that he was driuen with a tempest to the lake Mæotis, where he was forsaken of al his company, and they which escaped with great trauaile, passed through by land vnto the Ocean sea of Almaine, where they tooke shipping, passing the coasts of Saxonie, Frisland, Holland,

---

* Strabo lib. 17. pag. 560.

† Strabo lib. 17.

‡ Plinius lib. 6. cap. 29.

§ Diodorus Siculus lib. 4. cap. 4.

Flanders, France, Spaine, Italie, and so returned vnto Peloponesus and Greece, discouering the most part of the coast of Europe.

Strabo, alleaging Artistonicus the Grammarian, sheweth* that after the destruction of Troy Menelaus the king came out of the straights of the Leuant seas into the sea Atlanticke and coasted Africa and Guinea, and doubled the Cape of Bona Esperança, and so in time arriued in India. Of which voyage of his there may be many more particulars gathered out of the histories. This Mediterrane sea was also sometimes called The Adriaticke, The Ægæan, and the Herculean sea, with other names, according to the lands, coasts and Islands which it passeth by, running into the great sea Atlanticke, along the coast of Africa.

In the yeere 1300, after the flood† Solomon caused a nauie to be prepared on the Red sea, at an hauen called Ezeon Geber, to saile to the East India, where by opinion stande the Islands called Tharsis and Ophir. This nauie was three yeeres on this voyage, and then returned, and brought with them gold, siluer, cypres &c. Whereby it seemeth that those places, and Islands were those, which now be called the Luçones, Lequeos, and Chinaes. For we know few other parts from whence some of those things are brought, or wherein nauigation was so long since vsed.

It is left vs also in histories,‡ that a king of Egypt called Neco, desiring greatly to ioyne the Red sea with the riuer Nilus, commanded the Phœnicians to saile from the straight of Mecca to the farther ende of the Mediterrane sea, to see if it did make any turne backe againe vnto Egypt. Which commandement they obeied, sailing towards the south all along the coast and countrey of Melinde, Quiloa, Sofala, till they came to the Cape of Bona Esperança, finding the sea continually on the left hand: But when they had doubled the Cape, and found the coast continually on the right hand, they marueiled much at it. Notwithstanding they continued their course forward toward the north al along the coast of Guiney and the Mediterrane sea, till they came backe againe into Egypt, whence they first went out. In which discouerie they remained two yeeres. And these are thought to be the first, that compassed by sea all the coast of Afrike, and sailed round about it.

---

*Strabo lib. 1. pag. 26.

†1. of Kings 9. 2. Chron. 8.

‡Herodotus lib. 4.

In the yeere 590. before the incarnation of Christ there went out of Spaine a fleete of Carthaginian marchants[*] vpon their owne proper costs and charges, which sailed toward the west through the high seas to see if they could finde any land : and they sailed so farre, that they found at last the Islands, which we now call the Antiles and Noua Spagna: which Gonzalo Fernandes de Ouiedo saith[†] were then discouered, although Christopher Columbus afterwards by his trauaile got more exact knowledge of them, and hath left vs an euident notice where they be. But all these historians, which wrote of these Antiles before, as of doubtfull and vncertaine things, and of places vndiscouered, doe now plainly confesse the same to be the countrey of Noua Spagna.

In the yeere 520. before the incarnation, and after the setting out of the aforesaid army, Cambyses king of Persia tooke Egypt,[‡] after whom succeeded Dorius the sonne of Histaspis, and he determined to make an ende to the enterprise which king Sesostris had begun, if they had not told him that the Red sea was higher then the land of Egypt, and that by means of the salt sea comming into the riuer Nilus, all the prouince would haue been lost and vndone for hunger and thirst. For the fresh water of the riuer Nilus doth ouerflowe the whole countrey, and the inhabitants haue no other water then that for their drinke: whereupon he left his first purpose of prosecuting that enterprise.

A digression.

Now by the way I shall not swarue much from my matter, if I speak a word or two of some things incident to this discourse. The Egyptians say[§] that they had in their countrey certaine vermine like vnto rats, whereof many be halfe like earth and the other halfe like a vermine. One kinde of them keepe the water, and another kinde the land. For my part I thinke that these be they, which breake the serpents egges, whereof there are many in the riuer Nilus. which also be called Crocodiles: which in times past by report were so inchanted, that thereby they could not hurt any person. But when they were deliuered from their inchantment made by the Egyptians arte,[¶] and letters, then they endeuoured to kill people, wilde beasts and cattell, doing very much harme, specially those which liue in the water, which oftentimes come to the land, and liuing altogether on land become very strong poison. The people beyond the citie of Cairo vse to fish for them and eate them, and they take their heads, and set them vpon the walles of their citie.

---

[*] Aristoteles lib. de mirandis in natura auditis.

[†] Gonzalo Fernandes de Ouiedo lib. 2. cap. 3. of his generall historie.

[‡] Diodorus Siculus lib. 1 cap. 3.

[§] Plinius lib. 9. cap. 58. de muribus Nili.

[¶] Ioannes Leo Africanus lib. 9. cap. de Nilo.

Of these Crocodiles it is written,* that they lay themselues along by the riuer with their mouthes open, and that there come vnto them certaine white birds, little bigger then thursshes, which flie into the mouth of the Crocodile, and picke out the filthines which is betweene his teeth, and in his iawes, wherewith he is greatly pleased;† but for all that the Crocodile would close his mouth and deuoure the bird, if nature had not prouided the bird a sharpe pricke as it were, growing out of his head, wherewith he pricketh the Crocodile in the mouth; which causeth him to gape wide, and so the bird flieth away without harme; yet there come by and by other of those birds, which make an end of cleansing his mouth.

Hippopotami.

Ibis.

In the same riuer there are also many beasts, like vnto horses; and vpon the land certaine fowles like vnto cranes, which warre continually with serpents, that come thither from Arabia, and kill many of them. Which birds as also the vermine, which eate the egges of the Crocodiles, are greatly esteemed of the Egyptians.

But now to returne to my matter, and to proceede in the discoueries; In the yeere 485. before the incarnation of Christ Xerxes the king of Persia commanded Sataspis his nephew to goe and search, and discouer India: who according to the precept vndertooke the voyage, and went through the straight of Gibralter, and passed the promontorie of Africa, which now we call the Cape of Bona Sperança, standing southward betwixt 34. and 35. degrees in latitude, and being weary of so great a nauigation turned from thence backe againe, as Bartholomew Dias did in our daies.

Before the comming of Christ 443. yeeres Himilco and Hanno his brother Carthaginian captaines gouerning that part of Spaine, which is now called Andaluzia, departed from thence each one with his nauie.‡ Himilco sailing towards the north discouered the coasts of Spaine, France, England, Flanders and Germanie. And some write farther, that he sailed vnto Gotland, and came to the Island of Thule, or Island, standing vnder the circle Arcticke in 24. degrees from the north pole, and continued in his nauigation two yeeres, til he came vnto this Island, where the day hath in Iune 22. houres, and in December the night also hath 22. houres, whereby it is there woonderfully cold.

---

*Plinius lib. 8. cap. 25.

†Ioannes Leo Africanus lib. 9.

‡Plinius lib. 2. cap. 67.

Now the other brother Hanno tooke his course towarde Africa and Guiney, and he discouered the Fortunate Islands, which we call the Canaries, and besides these he discouered others, as the Dorcades, Hesperides, and the Gorgades, which now be called the Isles of Cape Verde.* There he with his company went along the coast till they doubled the Cape of Bona Sperança, and taking their course towards the land, they went along by it vnto another Cape named Aromaticum, which is now called Guardafu, standing southeast from Cape Verde in 14. degrees toward the north; and he came to the coast of Arabia standing in 16. and 17. degrees; and was fiue yeeres in this voiage, before he returned backe into Spaine. There be others that say, that he passed not beyond Sierra Leona, but peopled it, and afterwards discouered as far as the line. But it seemeth he made a full nauigation, because he spent so much time in his trauaile. It is reported that the inhabitants of the Cape of Bona Sperança are great witches, and inchanters of certaine snakes, which they bring to such seruice, and commandement, that they keepe their Churches and Churchyards, gardens, orchards, barnes, and cattel as well from wilde beasts, as from theeues. For if they see any to doe or to intend hurt, the snake windes her selfe to him or them, holding them as prisoners, and commanding her yoong ones to call their masters vntill they be taken. If the theeues be many, or the wilde beastes of so much strength, that they dare not meddle with them, then they goe vnto the house of him with whom they doe liue: and if it be in the night time, they giue so many strokes, that at the last they doe awake them, to cause them to prouide for their defence.

The nauigation of Hanno in Greeke herevnto agreeth.

Enchanted snakes.

A certaine Italian called Alosius Cadamusta writeth, that he being in the discouerie of Guiney in the kingdome of Budimol lay in the house of Bisborol his sonnes sonne; and lying in his bed he heard a great noise and many blowes giuen about the house; whereupon Bisborol rose, and went out: and when he came againe, Cadamusta demanded of him, where he had been; and he answered that he had been with his Cobras or snakes which called him. In the Indies there be many of these kinde of snakes, and some full of poison, which notwithstanding the Indian people vse to carrie about their necks, and put them into their bosomes and vnder their armes: which at some soundes that the people make will daunce, and doe diuers things at commandement.

---

* Plinius lib. 6. cap. 31.

There was a Portugall that sometime told me, that beyond the Cape of Bona Sperança towards Sofala, Quiloa, and Melinde, where he had been, there were certaine birds, which would come to the Black Moores at their call, and according as the Moores did remooue, so the birds would doe, from one tree to another: and they vsed to follow them till they did light vpon some tree from whence they could not remooue. And as the Negros went vp the trée they should finde waxe and honie thereupon, not knowing whether it grewe there naturally or not. In the same countrey also vnder ground in Ant holes they did finde much honie and waxe, which the Antes did make, being somewhat bitter. Vpon the sea coast also they found certaine fishes, which commonly went vpright in the waters hauing their faces and natures of women, which the fishermen of those places were acquainted with.

Odericus writeth the like of one that brought multitudes of partridges to Trapezunda.

Mermaides.

In the yeere 355. before Christ it is said that the Spanyards sailed through the maine sea till they came vnto the flats of India, Arabia, and those coasts adioyning, whereunto they caried diuers marchandises, which trade they vsed in great ships.* And sailing to the northwest they came vnto certaine flats, which with the flowing of the sea were couered, and with the ebbe were discouered finding there many Tunnies of great bignes, where they commonly vsed to fish them to their great profit, because they were the first vntill that time that they had seene, and were greatly esteemed.†

The time of Alexander Magnus, as appeereth by the ages of the world, was before the comming of Christ 324 yeeres: we all know that he was borne in Europe: but he trauailed into Asia and Africa, and passed through Armenia, Assyria, Persia, and Bactria, standing northerly in 44. degrees of latitude, which is the farthest countrey in longitude wherein he was in all his iourneyes. From thence he descended into India by the mountaines of Imaus, and the valleyes of Paropanisus, and prepared a nauie in the riuer Indus, and therewith passed into the Ocean sea, where he turned by the lands of Gedrosia, Caramania, and Persia, vnto the great citie of Babylon, leauing Onesicritus and Nearcus captaines of his fleete, which afterwards came vnto him by the straight of the Persian sea, and vp the riuer of Euphrates, leauing that countrey and coast discouered.

---

* Aristotel. de mirandis in natura auditis.

† Strabo lib. 2. pag. 68. de Gaditanorum longinqua nauigatione et ingentibus nauibus.

After this, Ptolemey raigned king of Egypt, who by some is reputed to haue been bastard sonne vnto Philip father of the foresaid Alexander the great.* This Ptolemey imitating the forenamed kings Sesostris and Darius, made a trench or ditch of an hundred foote broad and of thirty foote deepe, and ten or twelue leagues in length till he came to The bitter Welles, pretending to haue his worke run into the sea from a mouth of the riuer Nilus, called Pelusium, passing nowe by the citie Damiata. But this thing tooke none effect; for that the Red sea was thought to be higher by three cubits then the land of Egypt, which would haue ouerflowed all the countrey, to the ruine and losse thereof.

In the yeere 277. before the incarnation succeeded in the gouernment of the kingdome one Philadelphus,† who brought to passe that the marchandises should come out of Europe to the citie of Alexandria vpwards by the riuer Nilus vnto a city named Coptus, and from thence to be conueyed by land to a hauen standing vpon the Red sea called Myos-Hormos; which way was trauailed in the night, the pilots directing themselues by the stars, which were expert in that practise. And because water was scant that way, they vsed to carry it with them for all the companie, till at the last to auoide that trouble they digged very deepe wels, and made large cisterns for the receipt of raine water, by which the way furnished with that commoditie, which at the first it wanted, grewe in continuance of time to be the more frequented.

Coptus. Myos-Hormos now Cosir on the Red sea.

But whereas the straight way was dangerous by reason of flats and islands, the aforesaid king Philadelphus with his armies went on the side of Troglodytica, and in an hauen called Berenice caused the ships to arriue which came out of India, being a place of more suretie and lesse perill; from whence they might easily carrie the warres to the citie of Coptus, and so to Alexandria. And by this meane Alexandria grew so famous and rich, that in those daies there was no citie of the world comparable to it. And to speak briefly and particularly of the abundance of trafficke there vsed, it is left written for an assured truth, that in the time of king Ptolemey Auletes father vnto Cleopatra, it yeelded in customes vnto him yeerly seuen millions and a halfe of gold, although the trafficke was not then scant twenty yeeres old, by way of that citie.*

---

* Plinius lib. 6. cap. 29.

† Strabo lib. 17. pag. 560. and 561.

The cause of the greatnes of Alexandria.

But after that this prouince and countrey became subiect to the Emperours of Rome, as they were greater in power, and neerer in couetousnes, so they enhansed the customes: so that within a little time the citie yeelded double the foresaide summe.† For the traffike grew so exceeding great, that they sent euery yeere into India 120 ships laden with wares, which began to set saile from Myos-Hormos about the middle of Iuly, and returned backe againe within one yeere.‡

The marchandise which they did carry amounted vnto one million two hundred thousand crownes, and there was made in returne of euery crowne an hundred. In so much that by reason of this increase of wealth the matrones or noble women of that time and place, spent infinitely in decking themselues with precious stones, purple, pearles, muske, amber, and the like: whereof the writers and historians of that age speake very greatly.§

Cornelius Nepos, alleaged by Plinie,‖ maketh a report of a king of Egypt, that raigned in his time called Ptolemæus Lathyrus, from whom one Exodus fled vpon occasion, and the better to auoid and escape his hands he passed through the Arabicke gulfe, and the sea, all along the coast of Africa and the Cape of Bona Sperança, till he came vnto the Island of Cadiz: and this nauigation by that course was in those daies as often vsed as now it is, if we may giue credit to the histories. Which appeereth the more manifest by this, that Caius Cæsar the sonne of Augustus going into Arabia did finde in the Red sea certaine peeces of those ships, which came thither out of Spaine. It was a vse also along after those daies to passe to India by land. For so did the kings of the Soldans, and the princes of Bactria, and other famous captaines, who trauailing thither and into Scythia by land, had the view of those prouinces and countreys, so farre till they came that way vnto the West, and to the seas thereof on the north part, whereunto many marchants then did trauaile. Marcus Paulus Venetus writeth much hereof. And although at the first his booke was taken for a fabulous thing, yet now there is better credit giuen vnto it, for that by the late experiences of the trauailers and marchants of these daies into those parts, the names of the countreyes, cities and townes, with their situations, latitudes and commodities are now found true, as he and other historiographers of that time haue reported.

---

* Strabo lib. 17. pag. 549.
† Strabo lib. 17. pag. 549.
‡ Plinius lib. 6. cap. 23.
§ Plinius lib. 12. cap. 18.
‖ Plinius lib. 2. cap. 67.

Paulus Venetus commended

In the 200. yeere before the incarnation it is written, that the Romanes sent an armie by sea into India against the great Can of Cathaia, which passing through the straight of Gibraltar, and running to the northwest, found right ouer against the Cape Finisterre ten Islands, wherein was much tinne: And they may be those which were called the Cassiterides, and being come to 50. degrees of latitude they found a Straight; and passing through it towards the west, they arriued in the Empire of India, and fought with the king of Cathay, and so came backe againe vnto the citie of Rome. Which thing howsoeuer it may seeme either possible, true or not true, yet so I finde it left to vs recorded in the histories of that time.

Cassiterides.

The north-west passage, though the latitude be somewhat mistaken.

What histories may these be?

In the 100. yeere after the incarnation of Christ the Emperour Traiane prepared an armie by sea vpon the riuers Euphrates and Tigris, and departed from them, and sailed to the Islands of Zyzara, and passing the straight of Persia entered into the Ocean sea and sailed towards India all along the coast till he came to that place where Alexander had been, and there he tooke certaine ships which came from Bengala, of whom he learned the state of the countrey.* But because he was then in the yeeres and wearie with his trauaile, but especially because he found there small reliefe for his armie, he returned backe.

---

* Xiphilinus in vita Traiani.

After that the Romanes had gotten the most part of the world, there were in that age made many, and notable discoueries. But then came the Gothes, Moores, and other barbarous nations, and destroied all. For in the yeere 412. after the incarnation of Christ, they tooke the citie of Rome: And the Vandales came out of Spaine and conquered Africa.

Rome taken by the Gothes 412.

And in the yeere 450. the king called Atila destroied many cities in Italie: at which time the citie of Venice began. And in this age the Frankes and Vandals entered into France.

The originall of Venice 450.

In the yeere 474. the Empire of Rome was lost, and fell from the Romanes to the Gothes.

And after this came the Lombards into Italie, namely in the yeere 560.

Also about this time the sect of the Arrians preuailed greatly: and at this time one Merline of England was famous for his prophecies.

To be short, in the yeere 611. sproong vp the Mahumetane sect and Morisco regiment, which by force inuaded both Africa and Spaine.

The sect of Mahumet began anno 611.

By all this it may appeere, that in that age all the world was in hurly burly, and all places very tumultuous. In so much that trafficke and marchandise ceased: for no nation durst trade one with another by sea or land: nothing as then remained stedfast neither in monarchies nor kingdomes, signiories, religions, lawes, artes, sciences, nor nauigation.* Nor so much as the records and writings of such things did remaine, but were all burnt and consumed by the barbarous crueltie and vnbrideled power of the Gothes: who became so courteous and ambitious, that they purposed of themselues to begin a new world, and to root out the memorie, and blot out the knowledge of all other nations besides.

Trafficke and nauigation cease.

But they that succeeded after these times in the gouernment of things, perceiuing the great and huge losse, that the Christian world had by the want of trafficke and ceasing of nauigation, whereby those commodities and marchandises could not be spent, which before went ordinarily from one nation to another by the vse of trade: to the end that this decay and losse might be repaired, and the treasures of the East might be imparted with the West, as it was woont in the times of quietnes and peaceable liuing, they began to deuise a way to passe to India, which was not as the former way was by the Red sea and the riuer Nilus, but a way of farther sailing and farther length and cost also. For they brought their ware vp the riuer Indus, and there vnladed it, carying it by land through the countrey of Paropanisus by Carauans vnto the prouince of Bactria,* and then shipped it in barks on the riuer Oxus, which falleth into the Caspian sea, and so sailed ouer that sea vnto an hauen of the riuer Rha named Citracan or Astracan, and so vpwards in the said riuer which now is called Volga: and as it appeereth they carried it to the citie of Nouogrode in the prouince of Resan, which now belongeth to the great Duke of Moscouia, standing toward the north in 54. degrees of latitude: and therehence they trauailed ouer land vnto the prouince of Sarmatia vnto the riuer Tanais, which is the diuision of Europe from Asia; where they againe laded it in barks, and caried it downe the riuer, into the lake Mæotis, and to the citie of Caffa, which in ancient time was called Theodosia, which then belonged to the Genowais, who came thither for those wares in their galliasses or great ships.

---

* Ramusius 1. vol. fol. 372. pag. 2.

A way by the riuer Oxus, the Caspian sea, Volga, and ouer land to Caffa.

It is also left written, that the trade this way endured vntill the reign of Commedita Emperour of Armenia, who prouided for a better course, and commanded this trafficke of the spices to be conueied by the Caspian sea, and so through the kingdome of Hiberia, which now is called Georgiana,† and from thence they entred by the riuer Phasis, now Phasso, into Pontus Euxinus, and so vnto the city of Trapezunda standing in 40. and odde degrees of northerly latitude. And to that place came shipping for the marchandises out of Europe and Africa.

The marte of spices at Trapezunda.

It is further left recorded concerning this way of trafficke,‡ that Nicanor determined or had already begun to open aboue 120. miles of land, which lieth betweene the Caspian sea and Pontus Euxinus, that they might come and goe by water with their spices, drugs, and other commodities, there vsed. But in the meane time this mischiefe happened, that Ptolemey Ceraunus killed him, and by his death this worthy and famous enterprise ceased without effect.

---

* Ramusius 1. vol. fol. 373.

† Strabo lib. 11.

‡ Strabo lib. 11. Plinius lib. 6. cap. 11.

Another way to Boghar, and so by carauans into Persia by the riuer Ganges.

Or Laor.

Samarcande.

But the other way being also at last lost by reason of the wars of the Turks, it pleased God to open another way to these marchandises from the Isle of Samatra, the citie of Malacca, and the Island of Iaua vnto Bengala, and so carrying them vp the riuer Ganges vnto the citie of Agra; from whence they trauailed ouer land vnto another citie standing neere the riuer Indus named Boghar, where they discharged, bicause the citie of Cabor standeth too farre within the land, being the principall citie of the Mogores. From thence they went forward to the great citie of Samarcand standing in the countrey of Bactria: and there the marchants of India, Persia, and Turkie met, bringing thither their seuerall commodities, as cloth of gold, veluets, chamolets, scarlet, and woollen clothes, which were carried to Cathay and the great kingdome of China: wherehence they brought againe gold, siluer, precious stones, pearles, silke, muske, and many other things of great value, and much rubarbe. After this these marchandise, drugs, and spiceries were carried in ships vpon the Indian sea vnto the streight of Ormus, and to the riuers Euphrates and Tigris; and were vnladen in the citie of Balsara standing in 31. degrees towards the north, and from thence they were caried ouer land vnto the cities of Aleppo, Damascus, and Barutti standing on the same side in 35. degrees: And there the Venetian gallies or galliasses, which transported pilgrims into the holy land, came and receiued of those goods.

Woollen cloth good marchandise for Cathay.

The way by Ormus and Balsara and so to Aleppo and Barutti.

In the yeere 1153. in the time of Fredricke Barbarossa it is written that there came to Lubec a citie of Germanie one Canoa with certaine Indians, like vnto a long barge: which seemed to haue come from the coast of Baccalaos, which standeth in the same latitude that Germanie doth: The Germanies greatly woondered to see such a barge, and such people, not knowing from whence they came, nor vnderstanding their speech, especially because there was then no knowledge of that countrey, as now there is: it may be credible that though the boate was small in respect of those huge seas, yet the winde and water might bring them thither: as we see in these our daies, that the Almadie which is but a small boate commeth notwithstanding from Quiloa, Mosambique, and Sofala to the Island of S. Helena, being a small spot of land standing in the maine Ocean off the coast of Bona Sperança so farre separated.

In the yeere 1300. after the comming of Christ the great Soldan of Cayro* commanded that the spiceries and drugs, and marchandises of India should be carried through the Red sea, as it was vsed before;† at which time they vnladed on the Arabian side, at the hauen of Iuda, and carried them vnto the house at Mecca, and the carriers of it were the pilgrims. So that each Prince vsed a custome to augment the honour, and increase the profite of his countrey. And these Soldans had speciall regarde to Cayro, from whence the warres were carried vnto the countreys of Egypt, Lybia, Africa, the kingdomes of Tunez, Tremessen, Fez, Marocco, Suz: and some of it was carried beyond the mountaines of Atlas vnto the citie of Tombuto, and the kingdome of the Ialophos; vntill afterwards that the Portugals did bring it about the Cape of Bona Sperança vnto the citie of Lisbone, as in place conuenient we purpose to shew more at large.

Tombuto.

In the yeere 1344. king Peter the fourth of that name reigning in Arragon, the Chronicles of his time report, that one Don Luis of Cerda, sonne vnto the sonne of Don Iohn of Cerda, craued aide of him to goe and to conquere the Isles of the Canaries, standing in 28. degrees of latitude to the north, because they were giuen vnto him by Pope Clement the sixt, which was a French man. Whereby in those daies there grew a knowledge of those Islands in all Europe, and specially in Spaine: for such great Princes would not begin nor enterprise things of such moment without great certaintie.

The Canarie Islands.

The Island of Madera discouered by Macham an Englishman.

About this time also the Island of Madera was discouered by an Englishman called Macham: who sailing out of England into Spaine, with a woman of his, was driuen out of his direct course by a tempest and arriued in that Island, and cast his anker in that hauen, which now is called Machico after the name of Macham. And bicause his louer was then seasicke, he there went on land with some of of his companie, and in the meane time the ship weyed and put to sea, leauing him there: whereupon his louer for thought died. Macham which greatly loued her, built in the Island a chappell or hermitage to burie her in, calling it by the name of Iesus Chappell: and wrote or graued vpon the stone of her tombe his name and hers, and the occasion whereupon they arriued there. After this he made himselfe a boate all of a tree, the trees being there of a great compasse about, and went to sea in it with those men of his companie that were left with him, and fell with the coast of Africke without saile or oare, and the Moores among whom he came tooke it for a miracle, and presented him vnto the king of that countrey: and that king also admiring the accident, sent him and his company vnto the king of Castile.

---

* Ioannes Leo Africanus.

† Ramusius 1. vol. fol. 373.

In the yeere 1395. king Henrie the third of that name reigning in Castile, the information which Macham gaue of this Island, and also the ship wherein he went thither, mooued many of France and of Castile to goe and discouer it, and the great Canarie: And they which went were principally the Andaluzes, the Biscaines, and the Guepuscoes, carrying with them many people and horses. But I know not whether the charge of that voiage was theirs or the kings. But by whom soeuer it was set out, they seeme to be the first that discouered the Canaries and landed in them: where also they tooke 150 of the Islanders prisoners. Concerning the time of this discouerie, there is some difference among the writers: for some affirme this to be in the yeere 1405.

The first discouerie of the Canaries by the Christians 1405.

The first beginning of the Portugall Discoueries.

THe Chronicles of Portugall haue this record, That after the incarnation of Christ 1415. king Iohn the first of that name king of Portugall, departed from the citie of Lisbon with the Prince Don Duarte or Edward, and Don Peter. and Don Henry his sonnes, with other Lords, and nobles of his realme, and sailed into Africa, where he tooke the great citie of Ceuta, standing on the north side thereof betweene 35. and 36. degrees in latitude: which was one of the principall causes of the enlarging of the dominions of Portugall.

The first conquest of the Portugalls in Barbarie 1415.

This victory was gotten by the helpe of the English as Walsingham writeth.

When they were come from thence, Henry the kings third sonne, desirous to enlarge the kingdome and to discouer strange and vnknowne countreyes, being then in Algarbe, gaue direction for the discouery of the coast of Mauritania. For in those daies none of the Portugals had euer passed the Cape de Non, standing in 29. degrees of latitude.* And for the better accomplishing of this discouerie, the aforesaid Don Henry prepared a fleete, and gaue commandement to the chiefe captaines to proceede in discouerie from the aforesaide Cape forward: Which they did. But when they came to another Cape named Bojador, there was not one of them, that durst goe farther or beyond it: at which fearefull and cowardly faintnes of theirs the Prince was exceedingly displeased.

Cape de Non.

Cape Bojador.

In the yeere 1417. king Iohn the second reigning in Castile, and his mother Ladie Katharine then vsing the gouernment, one Monsieur Ruben of Bracamonte which was then Admirall of France craued the conquest of the Islands of the Canaries, with the title to be king of them, for a kinsman of his called Monsieur Iohn Betancourt: which being granted him by the Queene, and farther also partly furnished out, he departed from Siuill with a good armie: But the chiefe or principall cause that mooued him to enter into this action, was to discouer and perfectly to take a view of the Island of Madera, whereof Macham before had giuen so much information. But for all that he went vnto the Canaries, and carried with him a Frier called Mendo to be as Bishop thereof, admitted by Pope Martine the fift. When they were landed they wonne Lancerota, Forteuentura, Gomera, and Ferro: from whence they sent into Spaine many slaues, honie, waxe, Camfora, or Camfire, hides, Orchall, figs, Sanguis Draconis, and other marchandises, whereof they made good profit: And this armie also as they report, discouered Porto Santo. The Island that they inhabited was Lancerota, where they built in it a castle of stone for their better defence and securitie.

The Canarie Islands conquered.

Porto Santo.

In the yeere 1418. one Iohn Gonzales Zarco, and Tristam Vaz Teixera, † householde gentlemen vnto Don Henry the kings ‡ third sonne, perceiuing the desire that their master had to discouer new countreyes, and willing in that course to doe him some seruice, craued of him a barke, and licence to vndertake the action: which they obtained, and sailed to the coast of Africa: where they were ouertaken with a terrible tempest; but they were succoured by falling with the land, and entring into an hauen called Santo, where they landed, and remained two yeeres.

---

* Iohn de Barros Asiæ decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 2.

† Iohn de Barros decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 2.

‡ Henry was the 5th son. EDITOR.

In the yeere 1420. they discouered the Island of Madera,[*] where they founde the chappell and the stone and tombe, whereupon the foresaide Macham had grauen his name. There are others that write that a certain Castillian perceiuing the desire and fauour to nauigation which Don Henry had, told him that they had found the Island of Porto Santo; which being but a small thing they made no reckoning of it. Don Henry sent Bartholomew Perestrello, Iohn Gonzales Zarco, Tristam Vaz Teixera, and by the signes and likelyhoods that they had receiued, they went to Porto Santo, and there remained two yeeres: and after that, namely in the yeere 1420. they sailed also to the Island of Madera, where they found the memoriall and monument of the aforesaide Macham the English man.

The chappell built by Macham found in Madera.

Porto Santo.

As for Monsieur Betancourt, who entred into the conquest of the Canaries as is aboue mentioned, he was slaine in the middest of the action, and left behind him for his heire a kinseman of his called Monsieur Menante, who after that sold the said Islands of the Canaries vnto one Peter Barba of Siuill. There are other which speake otherwise, and say that Monsieur Iohn Betancourt went into France to prepare a new armie about this conquest, and left there a nephew of his; who because he heard no more of his vncle, and sawe that he could not maintaine the warres any longer, he solde the Canaries to Don Henry the king of Portugals third sonne, for a certaine thing that he gaue him in the Island of Madera.

The Canarie Islands sold ouer to a Spanyard.

In the yeere 1424. they write that the saide Don Henry prepared a nauie and armie to conquer these Islands,[†] wherein there went as captaine Generall, one Don Fernando de Castro; and by reason of the valiantnes and warlike behauiour of the people they had the repulse: whereupon Don Ferdinando, considering the great charge, and little or no good successe, he gaue ouer the action, and returned backe againe. After this

---

[*] Barros decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 3.

[†] Barros decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 12.

Don Henry resigned ouer these Islandes to the crowne of Castile, in consideration of the aides which Betancourt had receiued. But the Castillians agree not vnto this report. For they say that neither the kings of Portugall, nor Don Henry would render the Islands, till they came in question before Pope Eugenius the fourth; who fully vnderstanding the matter, gaue the conquest of the Islands by order of iudgement vnto the king of Castile in the yeere 1431. whereupon this contention ceased touching the title of the Canaries betweene the kings of Portugall and of Castile.

The Canaries came to the crowne of Spaine in the yeere 1431.

These Islands being in number seuen, were called by the name of Fortunatæ, standing in 28 degrees to the north: where the longest day is but 13. howers, and the longest night as much, lying distant from Spaine 200. leagues, and from the coast of Africa 18. leagues. The people were idolaters, and did eate their flesh raw for want of fire: they had no iron, and sowed without any toole: they tilled and raised the ground with oxe hornes, and goats hornes. Euery Island did speake a seuerall language. They tooke many wiues, and knew them not carnally vntill they had deliuered them to the superiours. They had diuers other Paganish customes: but now the Christian faith is planted among them.

The ancient maners of the Canarians.

The commodities of the Canaries.

The commodities of these Islands are wheate, barley, sugar, wine, and certaine birdes called Canarie birdes, much esteemed in Spaine and other places.

In the Island of Ferro they haue none other water, but that which proceedeth in the night from a tree, compassed with a cloud, whence water issueth, seruing the whole island both men and cattell, a thing notorious and knowne to very many.

A tree yeelding abundance of water in Ferro.

In the yeere 1428. it is written that Don Peter the king of Portugals eldest* sonne was a great traueller. He went into England, France, Almaine, and from thence into the Holy land, and to other places; and came home by Italie, taking Rome and Venice, in his way: from whence he brought a map of the world, which had all the parts of the world and earth described. The streight of Magelan was called in it The Dragons taile: The Cape of Bona Sperança,

A most rare and excellent map of the world.

---

* Edward was the eldest, and Peter the third son. EDITOR.

The forefront of Afrike, and so foorth of other places: by which map Don Henry the kings third sonne was much helped and furthered in his discoueries.

A great helpe to Don Henry in his discoueries.

It was tolde me by Francis de Sosa Tauares, that in the yeere 1528. Don Fernando the kings sonne and heire did shewe him a map, which was found in the studie of Alcobaza, which had been made 120. yeeres before, which map did set foorth all the nauigation of the East Indies, with the Cape of Bona Sperança according as our later maps, haue described it. Whereby it appeereth, that in ancient time there was as much or more discouered, then now there is. Notwithstanding all the trauaile, paines and expences in this action of Don Henry, yet he was neuer wearie of his purposed discoueries.* At length there was a seruant of his called Gilianes that first passed the Cape Bojador, a place before terrible to all men: and he brought word that it was not so dangerous, as it was reported: for on the other side of it he went on land, and in maner of taking possession, set in the ground a crosse of wood, to be as a marke and token afterwards of his discouery so farre.

As much discouered in ancient time as now is.

Cape Bojador first passed. Anno 1132.

In the yeere 1433. in the moneth of August Don Iohn died, and his sonne Don Duratc or Edward succeeded him in the kingdome.

The death of Don Iohn the first of Portugall.

In the yeere 1434 Don Henry set out one Alfonso Gonsales Baldaia, and Gilianes aforesaid, and they went to another Cape, † which was beyond the former, and going on land perceiued the countrey to be inhabited: and because they were desirous to satisfie Don Henry with as much relation and knowledge as they could get, they continued their voiage, and went forward, till they came to a certaine point of land, from whence they turned backe againe.

In the yeere 1438. king Edward, whom the Portugals call Don Duarte died, and Don Alphonso the prince being yoong, Don Peter his vncle gouerned the kingdome.

The death of Don Duarte king of Portugall.

In the yeere 1441. Don Henry sent out two ships, and the captaines were in the one Tristan, and Antonie Gonsales in the other.‡ Being put to sea they tooke a prise vpon

---

* Barros decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 4.

† Barros decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 5.

‡ Barros decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 6.

Cape Blanco.

the coast, and sailed on to Cape Blanco, that is the White Cape, standing in 20. degrees, and informed Don Henry of the state of the countrey by the Moores which they brought from thence. Whereupon he sent one Fernan Lopez de Siuado to giue knowledge thereof to Pope Martine trusting to make these things commodious to Holy Church. Vpon which knowledge the Pope granted indulgences and euerlasting pardon, and all other things demanded of him, vnto those which should die in this enterprise.

Indulgences granted to encourage to this surprise.

After this in the yeere 1443. Don Henry commanded Antonie Gonsales to carrie backe the slaues which he had brought, and to ransome them in their countrey:* Which he did, and the Moores gaue them in trucke for them againe blacke Moores with curled haire, and some gold; so that now that place is called Rio de Oro, that is the Golden Riuer; whereby the desire of the discouerie might be the more increased.

Rio de Oro, why so called.

Not long after he sent out another named Nunnez Tristan, who came vnto the Islands of Arguin, where he tooke more slaues, and brought them to Portugall in the yeere 1444.

The Islands of Arguin.

Hereupon also one Lansarote, a groome of Don Gilians chamber, with others associated with him, armed out certaine ships, which went coasting til they came to the Islands of Garze, where they tooke two hundred slaues: which were the first that were brought from thence to Portugall.

The Islands of Garze.

In the yeere 1445. there went as captaine of a barke one Gonsalo de Syntra,† an esquire belonging to Don Henry into those parts; and he went on land, where was taken sixe or seuen more of his company, which place was therefore called after his name, Angra, de Gonsaluo de Syntra. This was the first losse, which the Portugals receiued in their discoueries.

Angra de Gonsaluo de Syntra.

In the yeere following Don Henry sent out three carauels, wherein went as captaines Antonie Gonsales, Diego Aloizio, and Gomes Perez, who had their direction, not to enter into Rio de Oro, nor to beare themselues disorderly, but to trauaile in peace, and to conuert as many infidels as they could to Christianitie.

---

* Barros decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 7.

† Barros decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 9.

But none of these things were performed by them; for they returned without doing any memorable act.

In the same yeere 1446. another esquire belonging to the king of Portugall called Denis Fernandes of the citie of Lisbon, entred into these discoueries,* more to winne fame then to reape commoditie by them. And he being in his voiage came to the riuer of Sanaga, standing betweene 15. and 16. degrees of latitude towards the north, where he tooke certaine Negroes; and not contented therewith, he went forward and discouered Cape Verde, standing in 14. degrees on the same side; and there he set vp vpon the land a crosse of wood, and then returned with great contentation.

The riuer of Sanaga.

Cape Verde.

In the yeere 1447. one Nunnez Tristan went foorth to discouer in a carauell,† and he passed the aforesaid Cape Verde, and Rio Grande, and went past it vnto another standing beyond it in 12. degrees, where he was also taken with 18. Portugals more: but the ship came home againe in safetie, conducted by fower or fiue which escaped the hands of the Negroes.

Rio Grande.

In this yeere also 1447. it happened that there came a Portugall ship through the streight of Gibraltar; and being taken with a great tempest, was forced to runne westwards more then willingly the men would, and at last they fell vpon an Island which had seuen cities, and the people spake the Portugall toong, and they demanded if the Moores did yet trouble Spaine, whence they had fled for the losse which they receiued by the death of the king of Spaine, Don Roderigo.

The Island of seuen cities.

The boateswaine of the ship brought home a little of the sand, and sold it vnto a goldsmith of Lisbon, out of the which he had a good quantitie of gold.

Don Pedro vnderstanding this, being then gouernour of the realme, caused all the things thus brought home, and made knowne, to be recorded in the house of Iustice.

There be some that thinke, that those Islands whereunto the Portugals were thus driuen, were the Antiles, or Newe Spaine, alleaging good reasons for their opinion, which here I omit, because they serue not to my purpose. But all their reasons seeme to agree, that they should be that countrey, which is called Noua Spagna.

---

* Barros decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 9. and cap. 13.

† Barros decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 14.

Don Alfonso king of Portugall come to age.

The Açores first inhabited.

In the yeere 1449. the king Don Alfonso gaue licence vnto his vncle Don Henry to inhabit the Islands of the Açores, which were long before discouered.

Alacazer taken.

And in the yeere 1458. this king went into Africa,* and there he tooke the towne called Alcaçer.

The Castle of Arguin builded. Ibidem.

And in the yeere 1461. he commanded Signior Mendez a gentleman of his house to build the castle of Arguin, whereof he gaue vnto him the gouernment as to his lieutenant.

The Isles of Cape Verde discouered by three Genowais.

In the yeere 1462. there came into the realme of Portugall three Genowais † of good parentage, the chiefe of whom was called Antonie de Noli, and of the other two, the one was his brother, the other was his nephew, and each of these had his seuerall ship, crauing libertie of Don Henry to discouer the Islands of Cape Verde, which was granted them. Others say, that the places which they discouered, were those, which Antiquitie called the Gorgades, Hesperides, and Dorcades: but they named them Mayo, Sainct Iago, and Sainct Philip, because they discouered them on those Saints daies: but they are also called by some the Islands of Antonio.

The death of Don Henry 1463. Sierra Leona.

In the yeere following 1463. this good nobleman Don Henry died, leauing from Cape De Non discouered vnto the mountaine called Sierra Leona, standing on this side the line in 8. degrees of latitude, where no man had beene before that time.

The countrey of Guiney let out to farme.

In the yeere 1469. the king of Portugall did let out for yeerely rent the trade of Guiney vnto one called Fernan Gomez,‡ which countrey afterwards was called The Mine. He let it out for fiue yeeres, for two hundred thousand Reyes by the yeere (which is of our English money 138.*l.* 17.*s.* 9.*d.* ob.) and added vnto his lease this condition, that euery yeere he should discouer a hundred leagues.

In the yeere following, which was 1470. this king went into

---

* Barros decad. 1. lib. 2. cap. 1.

† Barros decad. 1. lib. 2. cap. 1.

‡ Barros decad. 1. lib. 2. cap. 2.

Africa[*] with his sonne Prince Iohn, where they tooke the towne of Arzila, and the people of the citie of Tanger fled out for feare, and that he tooke also. It seemeth that good fortune followeth a couragious attempt.

Arzila taken. Tanger taken.

In the yeere 1471. Fernan Gomes gaue commandement that the coast should be discouered as it lay.[†] Which was vndertaken by Iohn de S. Aren, and Iohn de Scouar; and they went and found the Mine in 5. degrees of latitude.

La Mina.

And the next yeere, which was 1472. one Fernando da Poo discouered the Island now called after his name.[‡] Also about this time the Islands of Sainct Thomas, and Del Principe were discouered, standing vnder the line, with the firme land also, wherein is the kingdome of Benin, reaching to the Cape de Santa Catarina, standing on the south side of the line in 3. degrees. The man that made this discouerie was a seruant of the kings, and his name was Sequeira.

The Isle de Fernan de Poo. Sainct Thome. Rha del Principe. Benin. Cape de Santa Catarina.

Many suppose, that then also there were those places, countreyes and Islands discouered, which before were neuer knowne to vs since the flood.

In the yeere 1480. the valiant king Don Alphonso died, and left many things woorthy of memorie behinde him; and his sonne Don Iohn the second succeeded him.[§] Who in the yeere 1481. gaue direction for the building of the castle De Mina to one Diego d'Azambuxa; who did so, and was made captaine of it.

Don Iohn the second. Castell de Mina built.

In the yeere 1484. the foresaid king Iohn sent out one Diego Caon[¶] a knight of his Court to discouer: and he went to the Riuer of Congo, standing on the south side in 7. or 8. degrees of latitude; where he erected a pillar of stone with the royall armes and letters of Portugall, wherein he wrote the commandement that he had receiued from the king, with the time and day of his being there. From thence he went vnto a riuer neere the Tropicke of Capricorne, setting still vp pillars of stone where he thought it

Rio de Congo. Discouerie neere vnto the Tropick of Capricorne.

---

[*] Ibidem.
[†] Ibidem.
[‡] Ibidem.
[§] Barros decad. 1. lib. 3. cap. 2.
[¶] Barros decad. 1. lib. 3. cap. 3.

An ambassadour from the king of Congo.

conuenient, and so came backe againe vnto Congo, and to the king of that countrey: who thereupon sent an ambassadour and men of credite into Portugall.

In the next yeere or the second following, one Iohn Alonso d'Aueiro came from the kingdome of Benin, and brought home pepper with a taile; which was the first of that kinde seene in Portugall.

Pepper of Benin.

Pedro de Couillan and Alfonso de Payua sent to discouer India.

In the yeere 1487. king Iohn sent to discouer India ouer land.* In which iourney went one Pedro de Couillan a seruant of the kings, and Alfonso de Payua, because they could speake the Arabian Toong. They went out in the moneth of May, and the same yeere they tooke shipping at Naples, and arriued in the Isle of Rhodes, and lodged in the house that was prouided for the Portugall knights of that order: from thence they went to Alexandria, and so to Cayro, and thence to the hauen of Toro in the companie of the Carauans or carriers which were Moores. There they tooke shipping, and being on the Red sea they arriued at the citie of Aden, and there they seperated themselues: for Alfonso de Payua went towards Æthiopia, and Pedro de Couillan into India. Who came vnto the cities of Cananor and Calicut, and came backe vnto Goa: where he tooke shipping vnto Sofala, being on the coast of Africa in the southerne latitude of 20. degrees, to see the mines that were of so great name. From Sofala he turned backe to Mosambique, and vnto the cities of Quiloa, Mombaza, and Melinde, till he came backe againe vnto the citie of Aden: where he and Alfonso de Payua deuided themselues: and thence he sailed againe through the Red sea vnto the citie of Cayro, where he thought to haue met with his companion: but there he heard that he was dead by the letters that he receiued from king Iohn his master; in which letters he was farther commanded to trauaile into the countrey and dominions of Presbytery Iohn.

The voiage of Pedro de Couillan vnto the countrey of Prete Ianni.

Vpon this commandement he prouided for his farther iourney, and from Cairo went backe againe to the hauen of Toro, and from thence to Aden, where he had been twise before: and there hearing of the fame of the citie of Ormuz, he determined to goe thither; and therefore went along the coast of Arabia vnto the Cape Razalgate standing vnder the Tropicke of Cancer, and from thence he went to Ormuz, standing in 27. degrees on that side. There he learned and vnderstood of the streigth of Persia, and of that countrey: and entred there into the Red sea, and passed ouer to the realme of the Abassini, which commonly is called Presbyter Iohns countrey or Æthiopia: and there he was detained till the yeere 1520. when there came thither the ambassadour Don Roderigo de Lima: This Pedro de Ccuillan was the first Portugall that euer knew and saw the Indias and those seas, and other places adioyning thereunto.

---

* Barros decad. 1. lib. 3. cap. 5.

Cape Razalgate.

Pedro de Couillan the first Portugall that came into the East India and Æthiopia by the Red sea.

In the yeere 1490. the king sent vnto Congo one Gonzalo de Sosa a gentleman with three ships, and in them sent home the ambassadour of Congo, which was sent into Portugall, whom Diego Caon had brought from thence:* who at his being in Portugall was baptised both himselfe and others of his companie.

The aforesaid Gonzalo de Sosa died in that iourney by the way, and in his roome they chose his nephew Ruy de Sosa for their captaine; and so being come vnto Congo, the king was very glad of their comming, and yeelded himselfe, and the greater part of his realme to be baptized: whereof the Portugals had good cause to reioyce, seeing by them so many Infidels were conuerted from gentilitie and paganisme to Christianitie.

A great part of the kingdome of Congo baptized.

The first beginning of the Discoueries of the Spanyards, with the continuation of the Discoueries of the Portugals.

IN the yeere 1492. in the time of Don Ferdinando king of Castile, he being at the siege of Granada, dispatched one Christopher Columbus a Genoway with three ships to goe and discouer Noua Spagna: who first had offered his seruice for a westerne discouerie vnto king Iohn of Portugall; but he would not entertaine him.

---

* Barros decad. 1. lib. 3. cap. 9.

The first that in sailing are thought to haue observed latitudes.

The Isle of Guanahany first discouered.

He being sufficiently furnished for this enterprise departed from the towne of Palos the third day of August, hauing with him as captaines and pilots Martin Alfonso Pinzon, Francis Martinez Pinzon, Vincent Yannes Pinzon, and Bartholomew Columbus his brother, with 120. persons more in his companie : and some affirme that they were the first that sailed by latitudes. They tooke the Canaries in their way, and there refreshed themselues; taking their course thence towards Cipango : but finding the sea by the way full of weeds they were amazed, and with great feare arriued at the Antiles, the tenth day of October, and the first Island that they descried was called Guanahany: where they went on land, and tooke possession of it, and named it San Saluador. This Island standeth in 25. degrees of northerly latitude. And after that they found many islands, which they called the Princes because they were the first that they had discouered.

Lucaios Islands.

The Sauages of those parts call these Islands by the name of And they doe stand on the north side almost vnder the Tropicke of Cancer. As for the Island of S. Lucaios, hauing in deede seuerall names for them. Iames or Iamaica, it standeth betweene 16. and 17. degrees.

Cuba.

Hispaniola.

Thence they went to the Island which the naturals of the countrey call Cuba, and the Spanyards call it Ferdinandina, bicause their kings name was Ferdinando, standing in 22. degrees : from whence the Indians conducted them vnto another Island, which they call Hayti, and the Spanyards call it Isabella, in the memorie of the Queene of Castile, which was so called, and they named it also Hispaniola. In that Island the Admirall ship of Columbus was cast away : of the timber and planks whereof they made a forte, wherein they left 38 men, and a captaine called Roderigo de Arana, to learne the language and customes of the countrey. They brought from thence musters and shewes of gold, pearles, and other things, which that countrey yeelded; and ten Indians also, whereof sixe died, the rest were brought home and baptized.

Hereupon there grewe such a common desire of trauaile among the Spanyards, that they were ready to leape into the sea to swim, if it had been possible, into those new found parts. The aforesaid company of Columbus at their comming home tooke in their way the Isles of the Açores, and the 4. day of March in the yeere 1493. they entred into the bay of Lisbon: which discouerie pleased not the king of Portugall. Whereupon rose a contention betweene those two kings.

Contention betweene the kings of Spaine and Portugall.

Christopher Columbus being arriued went presently into Castile with the newes of all things, and acquainted the king Fernando, with the discontentednes of the king of Portugall: whereupon he and the Queene Isabella his wife sent streight word thereof vnto Pope Alexander the 6. whereat he and the Italians were in great admiration, maruailing that there was any more land besides that which was vnder the Romanes. But the end of this matter was this: Alexander the Pope gaue these countreies by his iudgement vnto the kingdomes of Leon and Castile; with this condition, That they should labour to extirpate idolatrie, and plant the Holy faith in those countreyes.

The bull of donation.

Fernando the king hauing receiued this answere, was glad of it, and sent Christopher Columbus againe on the former voiage, hauing made him admirall, and giuen him other honors, with particular armes, and a posie written about his armes to this effect.*

For Castile and for Leon
A new world found out Colon.

In the yeere 1493. the 25. of the moneth of October Christopher Columbus went backe vnto the Antiles, and from Cadiz he tooke his course, hauing in his companie 17. ships, and 1500. men in them, with his brethren Bartholomew Columbus, and Diego Culumbus, with other knights, gentlemen, men of law, and religious men, with chalices, crosses, rich ornamaments, and with great power and dignitie from Pope Alexander; and the 10. day after their setting foorth, they arriued at the Canaries; and from thence in 25. or 30. daies they sailed vnto the Antiles; and the first Island that they saw standeth in 14. degrees towards the north, due west from Cape Verde on the coast of Africa. They say that the distance from thence to the Canaries is 800. leagues. The name they gaue it was Deseada, that is the Desired or wished Island, for the great desire which

Columbus second voiage.

Deseada discouered.

---

* Gomara historiæ general. lib. 1. cap. 17.

Caribas.

the companie had to come to sight of land. After that they discouered many more which they named the Virgines, which the naturals of the countrey call the Caribas, for that the men of that countrey are good warriers, and shoote well in bowes. They poison their arrowes with an herbe, whereof he that is hurt dieth, biting himselfe like as a mad dog doth.

Boriequen or S. Iohn de porto ricco.

Iamaica.

From these Islands and others they went vnto the principall Island there, which they of the countrey doe call Boriquen, and the Spanyards call it S. Iohn, and thence to Hispaniola or Isabella, where they found all the men dead which there they had left. Here the Admirall left the most part of the people to plant it, and appointed his brethren to be gouernours there: and so tooke two ships, and went to discouer the other side of the Island of Cuba, and from thence to Iamaica. All these Islands stand from 16. vnto 20. degrees of northerly latitude. In the meane time that the Admirall sailed about, his brethren and they that were left with them were much troubled, because the Sauages did rise against them. So that Christopher Colon went backe againe into Spaine, to tell the king and Queene of his aduentures.

The first line of partition.

In the yeere 1494. and in the moneth of Ianuarie there was an agreement made of the differences which were betweene the two kings of Spaine and Portugall. For the which agreement there were sent out of Portugall Ruy de Sosa, and Don Iohn his sonne, and the Doctor Ayres de Almada: and for the king of Spaine there were Don Henry Henriques, Don Iohn de Cardenas, and the Doctor Maldonado. All these met in the towne of Tordesillas, and they deuided the world from the north to the south by a meridian which standeth west from the Islands of Cape Verde 300. leagues: so that the one halfe which lay vnto the east should belong vnto Portugall, and that which lay to the west to the king of Spaine, whereby notwithstanding libertie to trauell was left equall vnto both.

The death of Don Iohn the second.

In the yeere following 1495. Iohn king of Portugall died, and Emmanuel his cosen began to reigne.

The great discouerie of Iohn Cabota and the English.

In the yeere 1496. there was a Venetian in England called Iohn Cabota, who hauing knowledge of such a new discouerie as this was, and perceiuing by the globe, that the Islands before spoken of stood almost in the same latitude with his countrey, and much neerer to England then to Portugall, or to Castile, he acquainted king Henrie the seuenth then king of England with the same, wherewith the saide king was greatly pleased, and furnished him out with two ships and three hundred men: which departed and set saile in the spring of the yeere, and they sailed westward til they came in sight of land in 45. degrees of latitude towards the north, and then went straight northwards till they came into 60. degrees of latitude, where the day is 17. howers long, and the night is very cleere and bright. There they found the aire cold, and great Islands of ice, but no ground in an hundred fathoms sounding: and so from thence finding the land to turne eastwards they trended along by it discouering all the Bay and riuer named Deseado, to see if it passed on the other side: Then they sailed backe againe till they came to 38. degrees toward the Equinoctiall line, and from thence returned into England. There be others which say, that he went as far as the Cape of Florida, which standeth in 25. degrees.

This is to the south of the Chesepian Bay.

In the yeere 1497. The king of Spaine Don Fernando sent out Christopher Columbus with sixe ships, and he himselfe prouided two ships at his owne cost, and sending his brother before, he made saile from the Bay of Cadiz, carrying with him his sonne Don Diego Colon.* It was then reported that he went to take the Island of Madera, because he mistrusted the French men, and therefore sent thither three ships: others say it was to the Canaries. But howsoeuer it was, this is true, that he and three more went vnto the Islands of Cape Verde, and ran along by the line, finding great calmes and raine, and the first land which they came vnto of the Antiles was an Island standing in 9. degrees of latitude towards the north ioining fast vnto the maine land, which they called La Trinidada; and so he entred into the Gulfe of Paria, and came out of the mouth which they name Bocca de Dragone, or the Dragons mouth: and they tooke their course hard by the coast, where they found three small Islands, which they named Los Testigos, that is to say, The Witnesses, beyond which standeth the Island of Cubagua, where is great fishing of muscle pearles: where also, as they say, there

Columbus third voiage.

Trinidada.

---

* Gomara historiæ general. lib. 1. cap. 21.

springeth a Well of oile: and beyond that Island they came to the Isles of Frailes, Roques, Aruba, and Curaçao, with other small ones all along the Bay: and they came to the point of Cabo de Vela, and discouered along the coast almost 200. leagues, from whence they crossed ouer to Hispaniola, hauing had also sight of the Island called Beata.

In this same yeere 1497. on the 20. day of the moneth of Iune one Vasques de Gama sailed from Lisbon by the king Emmanuels commandement to India with 3. ships, wherein there went for captaines Vasques de Gama, Paulus de Gama his brother, and Nicolas Coello with 120. men;[*] with whom also there went one ship laden only with vittailes, and in 14. daies they came vnto Cape Verde, vnto the Island of Saint Iago, where they refreshed themselues, and from thence they went along the coast beyond the Cape of Bona Sperança, whereupon they erected certaine pillars of stone, and so came vnto Mosambique standing 15. degrees to the south of the line, where they staied not long, but went from thence to Mombaza, and vnto Melinde: where the king of that place gaue them pilots, which conducted them into India, in which discouerie they found out Los Baxos do Padua, that is to say, the flats of Padua.

The Cape of Bona Sperança.

In the yeere 1498. in the moneth of May they came to an anker before the citie of Calicut, and Panana, where they remained all the winter: and the first day of September they set saile towards the north discouering the coast all along till they came to the Island of Angediua, which standeth on that side in 15. degrees of latitude, where they came to an anker in the beginning of October, and so they departed from Angediua in Februarie in the yeere 1499. and came in sight of the coast of Africa about Melinde towards the north 3. or 4. degrees, and from thence they sailed vnto the said citie, and so vnto Mosambique againe, and to the Cape of Bona Sperança sailing along by the coast, and then they came to the Island of Cape Verde, and last of al to the citie of Lisbon in the moneth of September, hauing been in the voiage 26. monethes.[†]

In the yeere 1499 on the 13 day of the moneth of Nouember there departed from Palos one Vincent Yannez Pinson and his nephew Aries Pinson with fower ships well appointed at their owne cost and charges, to discouer the new world vnder the licence of the king of Castile, and with commandement not to touch there, where the Admirall Columbus had beene. And so they went to the Islands of Cape Verde, and passed the line to the southward, and discouered the Cape of Saint Augustine standing on that side in 8 degrees of latitude, and there they wrote on the rinders of pine trees the names of the king and Queene, also the yeere and day when they arriued there. They fought with the people of Brasil, but got nothing, they tooke their course all along the coast towards the west vnto the riuer Maria Tambal and at that time they had taken thirty and odde prisoners. The chiefe places where they touched were the Cape of S. Augustine, and the angle or point of S. Luke, and Tierra de los Humos, the riuers of Marannon, and of the Amazones, and Rio dolce, or the Sweete riuer, and other places along the coast: and they came to ten degrees of latitude on the north side, where they lost two ships and their companie, and remained in that voiage of discouery ten moneths, and 15. daies.

---

[*] Barros decad. 1. lib. 4. cap. 2. and to the end of the 11. chapter.

[†] Gomara historiae general. lib. 1. cap. 22.

The Cape of S. Augustine.

Rio de Maria Tambal.

The riuers of Marannon, Amazones and Rio Dolce.

In the yeere 1500. and in the moneth of March one Pedro Aluarez Cabral sailed out of Lisbon with 13. ships, with commandement not to come neere the coast of Africa to shorten his way; and he losing the sight of one of his ships, went to seeke her, and in seeking of her lost his course, and sailed till he came within sight of land.* The Generall was so long in seeking his ship, that the companie were wearie of it and entreated him to leaue his enterprise. The next day they fell in sight of the coast of Brasil: whereupon the Generall commanded a barke to goe to land and seeke an hauen: which they did, and found a good and safe hauen, and they named it Puerto Seguro, that is to say, The Safe hauen, standing on the south side in 17. degrees of latitude. From thence they sailed towardes the Cape of Bona Sperança, and Melinde, and crossed ouer to the riuer of Cochin, which before was not knowne, where they laded themselues with pepper, and at their returne Sancho de Thouar discouered the citie of Sofala vpon the coast of Africa.

Puerto Seguro in Brasil.

In this same yeere 1500. it is reported that Gaspar Cortereal craued a generall licence of the king Emmanuel to discouer the New found land. Here went from the Island Terçera with two ships well appointed at his owne cost, and he sailed vnto that climate which standeth vnder the north in 50. degrees of latitude, which is a land nowe called after his name; and he came home in safetie vnto the citie of Lisbon; And making another time this voiage, the ship was lost wherein he went, and the other came backe into Portugall. Wherefore his brother Michael Cortereal went to seeke him with three ships well appointed at his owne cost; and when they came vnto that coast, and found so many entrances of riuers, and hauens, euery ship went into her seuerall riuer, with this rule and order, that they all three should meete againe the 20. day of August. The two other ships did so, and they seeing that Michael Cortereal was not come at the day appointed, nor yet afterwards in a certaine time, returned backe into the realme of Portugall, and neuer heard any more newes of him, nor yet any other memorie. But that countrey is called The land of Cortereall vnto this day.

---

* Barros decad. 1. lib. 5. cap. 2.

Many entrances of riuers in the northwest.

In the yeere 1501. in the moneth of March Iohn de Noua departed from the citie of Lisbon with fower ships, and passed the line on the south side into 8. degrees of latitude, and he discouered an Island, which he called the Isle de Ascension: * And he went vnto Mosambique, and to Melinde, and from thence he crossed ouer vnto the other side, where they tooke lading, and so came back and doubled the Cape, and found an Island called Santa Helena, being but a small thing, but yet of great importance in respect of the situation thereof.

The Isle of Santa Helena.

In this same yeere 1501. and in the moneth of May there departed out of Lisbon three ships vpon the commandement of Emmanuel the king to discouer the coast of Brasill: and they sailed in the sight of the Canaries, and from thence to Cape Verde, where they refreshed themselues in the towne of Bezequiche, and passed from thence beyond the line southward and fell with the land of Brasill in fiue degrees of latitude, and so went forward till they came in 32 degrees little more or lesse, according as they accounted it, and from thence they came backe in the moneth

Brasil discouered to 32. degrees.

---

*Barros decad. 1. lib. 5. cap. 10.

of Aprill, because it was there at that time cold and tempestuous. They were in that voiage fifteene monethes, and came to Lisbon againe in the beginning of September 1502.

In the yeere 1502. one Alfonso Hoieda went to discouer Terra firma, and followed his course till he came to the prouince of Vraba.*

The next yeere following also one Roderigo Bastidas of Siuil went out with two carauels at his owne cost, and the first land of the Antiles that he saw was an Island which he named Isla Verde, that is, the Greene Island, standing fast by the Island of Guadalupe, towards the land: and from thence they tooke their course towards the west to Santa Martha, and Cape De la Vela and to Rio Grande, or the Great riuer, and they discouered the hauen of Zamba, the Coradas, Carthagena, and the Islands of S. Barnard, of Baru, and Islas de Arenas, and went forward vnto Isla fuerte, and to the point of Caribana standing at the end of the Gulfe of Vraba, where they had sight of the Farrallones standing on the other side hard by the riuer of Darien, and from Cape De la Vela vnto this place are two hundred leagues: and it standeth in 9. degrees and two parts of latitude. From thence they crossed ouer vnto the Island of Iamaica, where they refreshed themselues. In Hispaniola they graued their ships because of the holes which certaine wormes of the water had eaten in the planks. In that countrey they got fower hundred markes of golde, although the people there be more warlike then in Noua Spania: for they poison their arrowes which they shoote.

The fourth voiage of Columbus.

In this same yeere 1502. Christopher Columbus entred the fourth time into his discouerie with fower ships at the commandement of Don Fernando to seeke the Streight, which as they said did diuide the land from the other side, and he carried with him Ferdinando his sonne.† They went first to the Island of Hispaniola, to Iamaica, to the riuer Azua, to the Cape of Higueras, and vnto the Islands Gamares, and to the Cape of Hunduras, that is to say, the Cape of the Depthes: from thence they sailed towards the east vnto the Cape Gracias a Dios, and discouered the prouince and riuer of Veragua, and Rio Grande, and others, which the Indians call

---

* Gomara historiæ general. lib. 2.

† Gomara historiæ general. lib. 1. cap. 24.

Hienra. And from thence he went to the riuer of Crocodiles, which now is called Rio de Chagres, which hath his springs neere the South sea, within fower leagues of Panama, and runneth into the North Sea: and so he went vnto the Island which he called Isla de Bastimentos, that is the Isle of Victuailes, and then to Puerto Bello, that is the Faire hauen, and so vnto Nombre de Dios, and to Rio Francisco, and so to the hauen of Retrete, and then to the Gulfe of Cabesa Cattiua, and to the Islands of Caperosa, and lastly to the Cape ot Marble, which is two hundred leagues vpon the coast: from whence they began to turne againe vnto the Island of Cuba, and from thence to Iamaica, where he grounded his ship being much spoiled and eaten with wormes.

The Cape of marble.

In this yeere also 1502 Don Vasques de Gama being now Admirall went againe into India with 19. or 20. Carauels.* He departed from Lisbon the tenth day of Februarie, and by the last day of that moneth he came to an anker at Cape Verde, and from thence he went vnto Mosambique, and was the first that crost from that Island into India: and he discouered another in 4. degrees of latitude, which he called the Island of the Admirall, and there he tooke his lading of pepper and drugs, and left there one Vincent Sodre to keepe the coast of India with fiue ships.

The Island of Mosambique.

These were the first Portugals, that with an armie did run along the coast of Arabia Fœlix. It is there so barren, that their cattell and camels are onely maintained with drie fish brought from the sea; whereof there is such plenty and abundance, that the cats of the countrey doe vse to take them.

Cattell and camels fed with dried fish.

In the yeere following, as it is reported, one Antonie de Saldania discouered the Island which in old time was called Coradis, and now Socotora, and the Cape of Guardafu, which adioineth vnto that countrey.

Cape de Guardafu.

In the yeere 1504. Roderigo de Bastidas obtained licence of king Ferdinando, and by the meanes of Iohn de Ledesma and others of Siuill armed and furnished out two ships, hauing for his pilot one Iohn de Cosa of Saint Marie Port, and he went to discouer that part of Tierra firma where now standeth Carthagena, being in ten degrees and a halfe of

Carthagena.

---

* Barros decad. 1. lib. 6. cap. 2.

northerly latitude. And it is said that they found the captaine Luis de la Guerra: and they together tooke land in the Isle of Codego, where they tooke sixe hundred persons of the Sauages: And going farther along the coast they entred into the Gulfe of Vraba, where they found sand mingled with gold, being the first that was brought to the king Don Ferdinando: from thence they returned to the citie of Santo Domingo laden with slaues without victuailes, because they of the countrey would not bargaine with them, which grew to their great trouble and griefe.

Codego.

In the later end of this yeere died Ladie Isabella Queene of Castile: Which Queene while she liued would not suffer any man of Arragon, Catalunja, Valencia, nor any borne in the countrey of Don Fernando her husband to enter into these discoueries, saue those which were their seruants, or by speciall commandement, but only the Castillians, Biscaines, and those which were of her owne Signiories, by whom all the lands aforesaid were discouered.

The death of Queene Isabella 1504.

In the yeere 1505. vpon our Lady day in March Francisco Almedia Viceroy of India tooke his course with 22. sailes towards India as now is accustomed.* He came vnto the citie of Quiloa, where he built a fort, appointing one Peter Fereira to be captaine thereof: and beyond Melinde he trauersed to the Island of Angediua, where he placed as captaine one Emmanuell Passauia. In Cananor also he built another fort, giuing the captainship of it to Laurence de Brito. In Cochin he did the like, where Don Alfonso de Noronia was made captaine. This yeere one Peter de Anhaya did build the fortresse of Sofala, whereof also himselfe was made captaine.

A fort built in Quiloa.

Angediua possessed.

Forts builded in Cananor and in Cochin.

A fort builded in Sofala.

In the later end of this yeere the Viceroy commanded his sonne, whose name was Don Laurenço to make some entrie vpon the Islands of Maldiua, and with contrarie weather he arriued at the Islands, which of ancient time were called Traganæ, but the Moores called them Ytterubenero, and we call them Ceilan: where he went on land, and made peace with the people there, and afterward came backe vnto Cochin, sailing along the coast and fully discouering it. In the middest of this

Ceilan.

---

* Barros decad. 1. lib. 8. cap. 3.

Island there stands a rocke of stone very high hauing the signe of the foote of a man vpon the top of it, which they say to be the footstep of Adam, when he went vp into the heauens, and the Indians haue it in great reuerence.

The death of Philip the first king of Spaine 1506.

The death of Christopher Columbus.

In the yeere 1506. after the death of the Queene of Spaine, king Philip and Queene Ioan his wife came into Spaine to take possession thereof, and king Don Fernando went into Arragon being his owne patrimonie. In this same yeere the said king Philip died, and then Fernando came againe to gouerne Spaine, and he gaue licence vnto all Spanyards to goe vnto the New land, and to the Antiles, but not to the Portugals. In this yeere and in the moneth of May Christopher Columbus died, and his sonne Don Diego Columbus succeeded in his roome.

Bezequiche is by Cape Verde.

The Isles of Tristan de Acunna in 37 degrees.

Samatra discouered.

The inland of S. Laurence discouered.

In the yeere 1506. and entring into the moneth of March Tristan de Acunna and Alfonso de Albuquerque went into India with 14. ships in their companie,* and sailed till they came to an anker at the towne of Bezequiche, where they refreshed themselues: and before they came to the Cape of Bona Sperança in 37. degrees they found certaine Islands which now are named the Isles of Tristan de Acunna, where they had such a tempest that therewithall the fleete was dispersed. Tristan de Acunna and Alfonso de Albuquerque went vnto Mosambique, and Aluaro Telez ran so far that he came to the Island of Samatra, and so backe againe vnto the Cape of Guardafu; hauing discouered many Islands, sea, and land neuer seene before that time of any Portugall. Emmanuel Telez de Meneses was also driuen without the great Island of S. Laurence, and he ran along the coast thereof, and arriued at last at Mosambique, and there met with Tristan de Acunna, who was the first captaine that wintred there; and by them it was told, that in this Island was much Ginger, Cloues and siluer: whereupon he went and discouered much of it within the land; but finding nothing he came backe againe vnto Mosambique; from whence he sailed vnto Melinde, and ran along that coast and entred into Braua, and from thence they crost ouer to the Island of Socotora, where they built a fortresse, and made one Don Antonio de Noronia captaine thereof.

---

* Barros decad. 2. lib. 1. cap. 1.

A fortresse builded in Socotora.

In the yeere 1507. in the moneth of August Tristan de Acunna tooke shipping for India, and Alfonso de Albuquerque remained there with fiue or sixe ships to keepe the coast and entrie of the Streight;* but being not therewith satisfied he tooke his course ouer vnto Arabia, and running along that coast he doubled the Cape of Rosalgate standing vnder the Tropicke of Cancer.

The Cape of Rosalgate.

In the yeere 1509. one Diego Lopez de Sequeira went out of Lisbon with fower sailes vnto the Island of Saint Laurence, and continued in his voiage almost a yeere,† and in the moneth of May the same yeere he arriued in Cochin, where the Viceroy gaue him one ship more: and in the beginning of the moneth of September he tooke his course vnto Malacca passing betweene the Islands of Nicubar, and many others: He went also to the land of Samatra to the cities of Pedir and Pacem, and all along by all that coast vnto the Island of A Poluoreira, and the flats of Capacia: and from thence he went ouer vnto Malacca standing in 2. degrees of latitude towards the north: but in that citie the people killed and tooke as prisoners some of his men: and thereupon he turned backe againe into India, hauing discouered in this voiage fiue hundred leagues. This Island of Samatra is the first land wherein we knew mans flesh to be eaten by certaine people which liue in the mountaines called Bacas, who vse to gilde their teeth. They hold opinion that the flesh of the blacke people is sweeter then the flesh of the white. The buffes, kine, and hennes which are in that countrey are in their flesh as blacke as any inke. They say that there are certaine people there called Daraqui Dara, which haue tailes like vnto sheepe; and some of their welles yeeld oile.

The Isle of S. Laurence.

The Islands of Nicubar.

Samatra.

Malacca.

Rarities in Samatra.

People hauing tailes like sheepe.

The king of Pedir is reported to haue a riuer in his land running with oile: which is a thing not to be maruelled at, seeing it is found written, that in Bactria there is also a well of oile: it is farther said that there groweth here a tree, the iuice

---

* Barros decad. 2. lib 2. cap. 1.

† Barros decad. 2. lib. 4. cap 3.

Gold coined in Samatra.

whereof is strong poison, and if it touch the blood of a man, he dieth immediately: but if a man doe drinke of it, it is a soueraigne remedie against poison, so seruing both for life and death. Here also they doe coine peeces of gold, which they call Drachmas, brought into the land as they say by the Romanes: which seemeth to haue some resemblance of truth: because that from that place forward there is no coined gold: but that which is thus coined doth run currant in the buying of marchandise and other things.

Castilia del oro.

The booke of the Bachiler Ancisco of these discoueries.

In the yeere 1508. one Alfonso de Hoieda with the fauour of Don Fernando purposed to goe vnto Terra firma to conquer the prouince of Darien.* He went forth at his owne charges, and discouered The Firme land, where it is called Vraba, which he named Castilia del Oro, that is Golden Castilia, bicause of the gold which they found among the sand along the coast: And they were the first Spanyards that did this. Alfonso de Hoieda went first from the Island of Hispaniola and the citie of San Domingo with fower ships and three hundred soldiers, leauing behinde him the bachiler Ancisco, who afterwards compiled a booke of these discoueries. And after him there went also one ship with victuals, munition, and 150. Spanyards. He went on land at Carthagena: but there the people of the countrey tooke, slewe and eate 70. of his soldiers, whereupon he grew very weake.

In this yeere 1508. one Diego de Niquesa prepared seuen ships in the port of Beata † to goe vnto Veragua, and carried in them almost 800. men. When he came to Carthagena he found there Alfonso de Hoieda sore spoiled with his former losse: but then they both ioined together, and went on land and auenged themselues of the people. And in this voiage Diego de Niqueso went and discouered the coast called Nombre de Dios, and went vnto the sound of Darien, and called it Puerto de Misas, which is vpon the riuer of Pito.‡ When they were come vnto Veragua, he went on shore with his armie, his souldiers being out of hope to returne to Hispaniola. Alfonso de Hoieda began a fortresse in Caribana against the Caribes; which was the first towne that the

---

* Gomera historiæ general lib. 3. cap. 7.

† Beata is a prouince in the West part of Hispaniola.

‡ Gomara gen. hist. lib. 3. cap. 6.

Spanyards builded in the Firme land: and in Nombre de Dios they built another, and called it Nuestra Sennora de la Antigua. They builded also the towne of Vraba. And there they left for their captaine and lieutenant one Francis Pissarro, who was there much troubled. They builded other townes also, whose names I here omit. But these captaines had not that good successe which they hoped for.

Nuestra Sennora de la antigua builded.

In the yeere 1509. the second Admirall Don Diego Columbus went into the Island of Hispaniola with his wife and household: And she being a gentlewoman carried with her many other women of good families, which were there married, and so the Spanyards and Castillians began to people the countrey: for Don Fernando the king had giuen them licence to discouer and people the townes of Hispaniola; so that the same place grew to be famous and much frequented. The foresaid Admirall also gaue order to people the Island of Cuba, which is very great and large, and placed there as his lieutenant one Diego Velasques, who went with his father in the second voiage.

Many gentlewomen went to dwell in Hispaniola.

Cuba peopled.

In the yeere 1511. in the moneth of April Alfonso de Albuquerque went from the citie of Cochin vnto Malacca.* In which yeere and moneth the Chineans went from Malacca into their owne countrey,† and Alfonso sent with them for master a Portugall called Duarte Fernandes, with letters also and order vnto the king of the Mantias, which now is called Sian standing in the South. They passed through the streight of Cincapura, and sailed towards the north, went along the coast of Patane vnto the citie of Cay, and from thence to Odia which is the chiefe citie of the kingdome, standing in 14. degrees of northerly latitude. The king greatly honoured and welcomed Duarte Fernandes, being the first Portugall that he had seene, and with him he sent backe ambassadours to Albuquerque. They passed ouer land towards the west vnto the citie of Tanaçerim standing vpon the sea on the other side in 12. degrees, where they imbarked themselues in two ships, and sailed along the coast vnto the citie of Malacca, leauing it all discouered.

The Streight of Cincapura.

Odia the chiefe citie of Sian.

Tanaçerim.

The people of this countrey of Sian are people that eate of all kinde of beastes or vermine. They haue a delight to carrie round bels within the skin of their priuie members: which is forbidden to the king and the religious people. It is said that of all other people of those parts they be most vertuous and honest. They commend themselues much for their chastitie and pouertie. They bring no hennes nor doues vp in their houses. This kingdome hath in length 250. leagues, and in bredth 80. Of this only kingdome the king may bring foorth into the field thirtie thousand elephants, when he goeth to warre, besides those which remaine in the citie for the garde of them. The king much esteemeth a white elephant, and a red one also, that hath eies like vnto flaming fire.

---

* Barros decad. 2. lib. 5. cap. 10. and lib. 6. cap. 2.

† Barros decad. 2. lib. 6. cap. 5.

M. Ralph Fitch which had beene in this countrey brought diuers of these bels into England.

There is in this countrey a certaine small vermine, which vseth to cleaue fast to the trunke of the elephant, and draweth the blood of the elephant, and so he dieth thereof. The skull of this vermine is so hard, that the shot of an handgun cannot enter it; they haue in their liuers the figures of men and women, which they call Toketa, and are much like vnto a mandrake. And they affirme that he which hath one of them about him cannot die with the stroke of any iron. They haue also wilde kine in this countrey, in the heads of whome they finde stones, which are of virtue to bring good hap and fortune to marchants.

The liuer of a little beast good against any wound of iron.

Pegu.

Pera.

After that Duarte Fernandes had been with the Mantales or people of Sian, Alfonso, de Albuquerque sent thither a knight called Ruy Nunnez de Acunna with letters and ambassage vnto the king of the Seguies, which we call Pegu. He went in a Iunco of the countrey in sight of the Cape Rachado, and from thence went vnto the citie of Pera which standeth fast by the riuer Salano, and many other villages standing all along this riuer, where Duarte Fernandes had beene before vnto the cities of Tanaçerim and of Martauan, standing in 15. degrees toward the north, and the citie of Pegu standeth in 17. This was the first Portugall, which trauailed in that kingdome: and he gaue good information of that countrey, and of the people, which vse to were bels in their priuities euen as the Mantales doe.

Master Ralph Fitch saw this in Pegu also.

In the end of this yeere 1511. Alfonso de Albuquerque sent three ships to the Islands of Banda, and Maluco.* And there went as Generall of them one Antonio de Breu, and with him also went one Francis Serrano: and in these ships there were 120. persons. They passed through the Streight of Saban, and along the Island of Samatra, and others, leauing them on the left hand, towards the east: and they called them the Salites. They went also to the Islands of Palimbam and La Suparam; from whence they sailed by the noble Island of Iaua, and they ran their course east, sailing betweene it and the Island of Madura. The people of this Island are very warlike and strong, and doe little regard their liues. The women also are there hired for the warres: and they fall out often together, and kill one another, as the Mocos doe, delighting onely in shedding of blood.

---

* Barros decad. 2. lib. 6. cap. 7.

The Isles of Banda and Maluco.

The Salites.

Iaua.

Madura.

Beyond the Island of Iaua they sailed along by another called Bali: and then came also vnto others called Aujaue, Cambaba, Solor, Galao, Mallua, Vitara, Rosalanguin, and Arus, from whence are brought delicate birds, which are of great estimation because of their feathers: they came also to other Islands lying in the same parallele on the south side in 7. or 8. degrees of latitude. And they be so nere one to the other, that they seeme at the first to be one entire and maine land. The course by these Islands is aboue fiue hundred leagues. The ancient Cosmographers call all these Islands by the name Iauos: but late experience hath found their names to be very diuers, as you see. Beyonde these there are other Islands toward the north, which are inhabited with whiter people going arraied in shirts, doublets and slops like vnto the Portugals, hauing also money of siluer. The gouernours among them doe carrie in their hands red staues, whereby they seeme to haue some affinitie with the people of China. There are other Islands and people about this place, which are redde; and it is reported that they are of the people of China.

Bali.

Or Galium.
Or Aru.

Gouernours carrying red staues like those of China.

Antonie de Breu and those that went with him tooke their course toward the north, where is a smal Island called Gumnape or Ternate, from the highest place whereof there fall continually into the sea flakes or streames like vnto fire; which is a woonderfull thing to behold. From thence they went to the Islands of Burro and Amboino, and came to an anker in an hauen of it called Guliguli, where they went on land and tooke a village standing by the riuer, where they found dead men hanging in the houses; for the people there are eaters of mans flesh. Here the Portugals burnt the ship wherein Francis Serrano was, for she was old and rotten. They went to a place on the other side standing in 8. degrees toward the south, where they laded cloues, nutmegs, and mace in a Iunco or barke which Francis Serrano bought here.

They say that not farre from the Islands of Banda there is an Island, where there breedeth nothing else but snakes, and the most are in one caue in the middest of the land. This is a thing not much to be woondered at; for as much as in the Leuant sea hard by the Isles of Maiorca and Minorca there is another Island of old named Ophiusa, and now Formentera, wherein there is great abundance of these vermine: and in the rest of the Islands lying by it there are none.

Maluco.

In the yeere 1512. they departed from Banda toward Malacca, and on the baxos or flats of Luçapinho Francis Serrano perished in his Iunke or barke, from whence escaped vnto the Isle of Mindanao nine or ten Portugals which were with him, and the kings of Maluco sent for them. These were the first Portugals that came to the Islands of Cloues, which stand from the Equinoctiall line towardes the north in one degree, where they liued seuen or eight yeeres.

Monstrous men.

The Island of Gumnape now called Ternate is much to be admired, for that it casteth out fire. There were some princes of the Moores and couragious Portugals which determined to go neere to the firie place to see what it was; but they could neuer come neere it. But Antonie Galuano hearing of it, vndertooke to goe vp to it, and did so, and found a riuer so extreme cold, that he could not suffer his hand in it, nor yet put any of the water in his mouth: and yet this place standeth vnder the line, where the sunne continually burneth. In these Islands of Maluco there is a kinde of men that haue spurres on their ankles like vnto cocks. And it was told me by the king of Tydore, that in the Islands of Batochina there were people who had tailes, and had a thing like vnto a dug between their cods, out of the which there came milke. There are smal hennes also which lay their egges vnder the ground aboue a fathome and an halfe, and the egges are bigger then ducks egges, and many of these hennes are blacke in their flesh. There are hogs also with hornes, and parats which prattle much, which they call Noris. There is also a riuer of water so hot, that whatsoeuer liuing creature commeth into it, their skins will come off, and yet fish breede in it. There are crabs which be very sweete, and so strong in their clawes, that they will breake the iron of a pikeaxe. There be others also in the sea little and hairie, but whosoeuer eateth of them dieth immediately. There be likewise certaine oisters, which they doe call Bras, the shels whereof haue so large a compasse, that they doe Christen in them. In the sea also there are liuely stones, which doe grow and increase like vnto fish, whereof very good lime is made: and if they let it lie when it is taken out of the water, it looseth the strength and it neuer burneth after. There is also a certaine tree, which beareth flowers at the sunne set, which fall downe as soone as they be growne. Their is a fruit also, as they say, whereof if a woman that is conceaued of childe eateth, the childe by and by moooueth. There is further a kinde of herbe there growing, which followeth the sunne, and remoooueth after it, which is a very strange and maruailous thing.

The flowers of Xistus and Arbor tristis are such.

In the yeere 1512 in the moneth of Ianuarie Alfonsus de Albuquerque went backe from Malaca vnto Goa,* and the ship wherein he went was lost, and the rest went from his companie. Simon de Andrada, and a few Portugals were driuen vnto the Islands of Maldiua, being many and full of palme trees: and they stand lowe by the water: which staied there till they knew what was become of their gouernour. These were the first Portugals that had seene those Islands, wherein there growe Cocos, which are very good against all kinde of poison.

The Isles of Maldiuia.

In this yeere 1512.† there went out of Castile one Iohn de Solis borne in Lisbon, and chiefe pilot vnto Don Fernando. And he hauing licence went to discouer the coast of Brasill. He tooke the like course that the Pinsons had done: he went also to the Cape of S. Augustine, and went forwards to the south, coasting the shore and land, and he came vnto The Port de Lagoa: and in 35. degrees of southerly latitude he found a riuer which they of Brasill call Parana-guaçu, that is,

Iohn de Solis.

---

* Barros decad. 2. lib. 7. cap. 1.

† According to Herrera this was in 1508. "In the year 1508," says he, "John Diaz de Solis, and Vincent Yanez Pinzon sailed from Sevil, in the two Caravels the King had fitted out, and from the Islands of Cabo Verde passed over directly to Cape St. Augustin, and proceeding thence to the Southward, coasting along the Continent, came into about forty degrees of South Latitude, erecting Crosses wheresoever they landed, and took possession in the most solemn Manner." See Herrera's History of the West Indies. Vol. i. p. 332.

The great Water. He sawe there signes of siluer, and therefore called it Rio de Plata, that is, The riuer of siluer. And it is said that at that time he went farther because he liked the countrey well: but he returned backe againe into Spaine, and made account of all things to Don Fernando, demaunding of the king the gouernment thereof which the king granted him. Whereupon he prouided three ships and with them in the yeere 1515. he went againe into that kingdome; but he was there slaine.* These Solisses were great discouerers in those partes, and spent therein their liues and goods.

Rio de Plata.

In the same yeere 1512 Iohn Ponce of Leon, which had beene gouernour of the Isle of S. Iohn armed two ships and went to seeke the Isle of Boyuca, where the naturals of the countrey reported to be a Wel, which maketh old men yoong. Whereupon he laboured to finde it out, and was in searching of it the space of sixe moneths, but could finde no such thing. He entred into the Isle of Bimini; and discouered a point of the firme land standing in 25. degrees towards the north vpon Easter day, and therefore he named it Florida.† And because the land seemed to yeeld gold and siluer and great riches, he begged it of the king Don Fernando, but he died in the discouerie of it, as many more haue done.‡

Bimini Islands.

Florida.

In the yeere 1513. Vasco Nunnes de Valboa hearing speech and newes of The south sea, determined to goe thither, although his companie dissuaded him from that action.§ But being a man of good valure with those soldiers that he had, being 290. he resolued to put himselfe into that ieopardie. He went therefore from Dariene the first day of September, carrying some Indians of the countrey with him to be his guides, and he marched ouerthwart the land sometimes quietly, sometimes in war: and in a certaine place called Careca he found Negroes captiues with curled haire. This Valboa came to the sight of the South Sea on the 25. day of the said moneth, and on Saint Michaels day came vnto it: where he imbarked himselfe against the will of Chiapes, who was the Lord of that coast, who wished him not to doe so,

The South sea discouered.

---

* Pet. Martyr. decad. 3 cap. 10.

† Pet. Martyr. decad. 2 cap. 10. Gomara historiæ general lib. 2. cap. 10.

‡ Martyr. decad. 3. cap. 10.

§ Pet. Martyr. decad. 3. cap. 1.

because it was very dangerous for him. But he desirous to haue it knowne, that he had beene vpon those seas, went forwards, and came backe againe to land in safetie, and with great contentment, bringing with him good store of gold, siluer, and pearles, which there they tooke. For which good seruice of his Don Ferdinando the king greatly fauoured and honoured him.

This yeere 1513. in the moneth of Februarie Alfonsus de Albuquerque went from the citie of Goa towards the streight of Mecha with twenty ships.* They arriued at the citie of Aden and battered it, and passed forward and entred into the Streight. They say that they saw a crosse in the element and worshipped it. They wintered in the Island of Camaran. This was the first Portugall captaine that gaue information of those seas, and that of Persia, being things in the world of great account.

The streight of Mecha or of the Red sea discouered.

The Isles of Camaran.

In the yeere 1514. and in the moneth of May there went out of Saint Lucar one Pedro Arias de Auila at the commandment of Don Ferdinando.† He was the fourth gouernour of Castillia del Gro or Golden Castile: for so they named the countreyes of Dariene, Carthagena, and Vraba, and that countrey which was newly conquered. He carried with him his wife the Lady Elizabeth and 1500 men in seuen ships; and the king appointed Vasco Nunnez de Valboa gouernour of the South Sea and of that coast.

In the beginning of the yeere 1515. the gouernour Pedro Arias de Auila sent one Gaspar Morales with 150 men vnto the Gulfe of S. Michael to discouer the Islands of Tararequi Chiapes, and Tumaccus. There was a Casique Valboas friend which gaue him many Canoas or boates made of one tree to rowe in, wherein they passed vnto the Island of pearles: the Lord whereof resisted them at their comming on land. But Chiapes and Tumaccus did paciefie him in such order, that the captaine of the Isle had them home vnto his house, and made much of them, and receiued baptism at their hands, naming him Pedro Arias after the gouernours name, and he gaue vnto them for this a basket full of pearles waying 110. pounds, whereof some were as big as hasell nuts of 20. 25. 26. or 31. carats: and euery carat is fower graines.‡ There was

The Island of Tararequi or of pearles in the south sea.

---

* Barros decad. 2. lib. 7. cap. 7.

† Pet. Martyr. decad. 3. cap. 5.

‡ Martyr. decad. 3. cap. 10. Gomara historiæ general. lib 6. cap. 2.

giuen for one of them 1200 ducats. This Island of Tararequi standeth in 5. degrees of latitude towardes the north.

In this yeere 1515. in the moneth of March the gouernuor sent one Gonsaluo de Badaios with 80. soldiers to discouer new lands, and they went from Dariene to Nombre de Dios, where came vnto them one Lewis de Mercado with fiftie men more, which the gouernour sent to aide him.* They determined to discouer toward the South, saying that the countrey was the richest. They tooke with them Indians to be their guides, and going along the coast they found slaues marked with irons as the Portugals doe vse; and hauing marched a good way through the countreyes with great trauaile gathered together much golde and fortie slaues to doe them seruice: but one Casique named Pariza did set vpon them and slue and tooke the most part of them.

The gouernour hearing of these newes, the same yeere 1515. sent foorth his sonne Iohn Arias de Auila to be reuenged and to discouer also by sea and by land: They went westward to Cape de Guerra standing in little more than sixe degrees towards the north, and from thence vnto Punta de Borica, and to Cape Blanco or the White Cape standing in 8. degrees and an halfe: they discouered 250. leagues as they affirme, and peopled the citie of Panama.

Cape de Guerra. Punta de Borica. Cape Blanco. Panama peopled.

In this very yeere 1515. in the moneth of May Alfonsus de Albuquerque gouernour of India sent from the citie of Ormuz one Fernando Gomes de Lemos as ambassadour vnto Xec or Shaugh Ismael king of Persia:† and it is declared that they trauailed in it 300. leagues, and that it is a pleasant countrey like vnto France. This Xec or Shaugh Ismael went on hunting and fishing for troutes, whereof there are many. And there be the fairest women in all the world. And so Alexander the great affirmed, when he called them The women with golden eies. And this yeere this woorthy Viceroy Alfonsus de Albuquerque died.

An ambassage to Ismail king of Persia.

In the yeere 1416. and one hundred yeeres after the taking of Ceuta in Barbarie, Lopes Souares being gouernour of India, there was a dispatch made by the commandement of the kings highnes vnto one Fernando Perez de Andrada to passe to the great countrey and kingdome of China. He went from the citie of Cochin in the moneth of April. They receiued pepper, being the principal marchandise to be sold in all China of any value: And he was farther commanded by the king Don Emmanuel to goe also to Bengala with his letter and dispatch to a knight called Iohn Coelo. This was the first Portugall, as farre as I know, which drunke of the water of the riuer Ganges.

---

* Pet. Martyr. decad. 3. cap. 10.

† Barras decad. 2. lib. 10. cap. 5. Osorius lib. 10. pag. 277.

Pepper a principall marchandise in China.

The death of Fernando king of Spaine.

This yeere 1516. died Don Fernando king of Spaine.

In the yeere 1517. this Fernando Perez went vnto the citie of Malacha, and in the moneth of Iune he departed from thence towards China with eight sailes fower Portugals and the other Malayans.* He arriued in China: And because he could not come on land without an ambassage, there was one Thomas Perez which had order for it: and he went from the citie of Canton, where they came to an anker: They went by land fower hundred leagues, and came vnto the citie of Pekin, where the king was, for this prouince and countrey is the biggest that is in the worlde. It beginneth at Sailana in twentie degrees of latitude towards the north, and it endeth almost in 50. degrees. Which must be 500. leagues in length: and they say that it containeth 300 leagues in bredth. Fernando Perez was 14. moneths in the Isle Da Veniaga, learning as much as he could of the countrey, according as the king his master had commanded him. And although one Raphael Perestrello had beene there in a Iunke or barke of certaine marchants of Malaca, yet vnto Fernando Perez there ought to be giuen the praise of this discouerie: as well for that he had commandement for the king, as in discouering so much with Thomas Perez by land, and George Mascarenhas by sea, and for coasting vnto the citie of Foquiem standing in 24. degrees of latitude.

China discouered.

Canton. Or Pakin.

Illha da Veniaga or Tama according to Osorius.

Foquiem.

In this same yeere 1517. Charles, which afterward was Emperour, came into Spaine, and tooke possession thereof. And in the same yeere Francis Fernandes de Cordoua, Christopher Morantes, and Lopez Ochoa armed three ships at their owne proper charges

The comming of Charles the fift into Spaine.

---

* Osorius. lib. 11. fol. 312.

from the Island of Cuba.* They had also with them a barke of Diego Velasques, who then was gouernour: They came on land in Iucatan standing in 20. degrees of latitude at a point which they called Punta de las Duennas, that is to say, The point of the Ladies, which was the first place wherein they had seen Temples and buildings of lime and stone. The people here goe better apparelled then in any other place. They haue crosses which they worship, setting them vpon their tombes when they be buried. Whereby it seemeth that in times past they had in that place the faith of Christ among them. And some say that thereabouts were The seuen Cities. They went round about it towards the north which is on the right hand: from whence they turned backe vnto the Island of Cuba with some examples of gold, and men which they had taken. And this was the first beginning of the discouerie of New Spaine.

Iucatan.

The seuen cities.

In the yeere 1518. Lopez Suares commanded Don Iohn de Silueira to goe to the Islands of Maldiua: and he made peace with them: † and from thence he went to the citie of Chatigam situated on the mouth of the riuer Ganges vnder the Tropicke of Cancer. For this riuer, and the riuer Indus, which standeth an hundred leagues beyond the citie of Diu, and that of Canton in China doe all fall into the sea vnder one parallele or latitude. And although before that time Fernan Perez had been commanded to goe to Bengala, yet notwithstanding Iohn de Silueira ought to beare away the commendation of this discouerie: because he went as captaine generall, and remained there longest, learning the commodities of the countrey, and maners of the people.

Chatigam in Bengala.

In the said yeere 1518. the first day of May Diego Velasques gouernour of the Island of Cuba sent his nephew Iohn de Grisalua with fower ships and two hundred soldiers to discouer the land of Iucatan.‡ And they founde in their way the Island of Cosumel standing towards the north in 19. degrees, and named it Santa Cruz, because they came to it the third of May. They coasted the land lying vpon the left hand of the Gulfe, and came to an Island called Ascension, because they came vnto it vpon Ascension day: They went vnto the end of it standing in 16. degrees of latitude: from whence they came backe because they could finde no place to goe out at: and from hence they went round about it to another riuer, which they called The riuer of Grisalua standing in 17. degrees of latitude: the people thereabout troubled them sore, yet notwithstanding they brought from thence some gold and siluer and feathers, being there in great estimation, and so they turned backe againe to the Island of Cuba.

---

* Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 3. cap. 2.

† Castagneda lib. 4. cap. 36. and 37. Osorius lib. 11. fol. 315. pag. 2.

‡ Pet. Martyr. decad. 4. cap. 3. Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 14. & cap. 17.

The Isle of Ascension.
The Bay of Hunduras.
Rio de Grisalua.

In the same yeere 1518. one Francis Garay armed three ships in the Isle of Iamaica at his owne charges,* and went towards the point of Florida standing in 25. degrees towards the north, seeming to them to be an Island most pleasant, thinking it better to people Islands than the firme land, because they could best conquere them and keepe them. They went there on land, but the people of Florida killed many of them, so that they durst not inhabite it. So they sailed along the coast, and came vnto the riuer of Panuco, standing 500. leagues from the point of Florida in sailing along the coast: but the people resisted them in euery place. Many of them also were killed in Chila, whom the Sauages flaied and eate, hanging vp their skinnes in their Temples in memoriall of their valiantnes. Notwithstanding all this Francis de Garay went thither the next yeere and begged the gouernment of that countrey of the Emperour, because he sawe in it some shew of gold and siluer.

Panuco.

In the yeere 1519. in the moneth of Februarie Fernando Cortes went from the Island of Cuba to the land which is called Noua Spania with 11. ships and 550. Spanyards in them. The first place where he went on land was the Island of Consumel; † where they immediately destroied all the Idols, and set crosses on the altars and the images of the virgine Marie. From this Island they went and arriued on the firme land of Iucatan, at the point De las Duennas, or the point of Ladies, ‡ and went thence to the riuer of Tauasco, and set vpon a citie fast by called Potoncian inuironed with wood, and the houses were built with lime and stone,

Tauasco.
Potoncian now called Victoria.

---

* Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 12. & 61.

† Pet. Martyr. decad. 4. cap. 6.

‡ Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 18. &c.

and couered with tile : they fought there egarly ; and there appeered vnto them S. Iames on horsebacke, which increased their courage. They called that citie Victoria : and they were the first people which were subdued to the Spanyards obedience in all Newe Spaine. From hence they went discouering the coast till they came to a place named S. Iohn de Vllhua, distant as they said from Mexico where the king Mutiçuma was, 60. or 70. leagues : and there was a seruant of his that gouerned that prouince, named Tendilli, which gaue them good entertainment, although they vnderstood not one another. But Cortes had 20. women, whereof one was called Marine borne in that countrey : They were the first that were baptized in New Spaine. And from that time forward Marine and Aguiler serued as interpreters. Tendilli presently gaue knowledge of this vnto Muteçuma, that a kinde of bearded people were arriued in his countrey : for so they called the Castillians. But he was troubled vpon that newes : for his Gods, (which are to be thought to be diuels) had told him, that such people as the Spanyards were should destroy his law and countrey, and be Lords thereof. And therefore he sent gifts vnto Cortes, in value 20. thousand ducats, but would not come to him.

S. Iohn de Vllhua.

Because S. Iohn de Vllhua was then no place for a nauie to ride in, Cortes sent Francis de Monteio, and the pilot Antonie Alaminos in two brigandines to discouer that coast ; who came to a place where they might ride without danger. They came to Panuco standing in 23. degrees northward : from whence they came backe vpon an agreement to goe vnto Culuacan being an hauen of more safetie.* They set saile, but Cortes went by land westward with the most part of his men on horsebacke, and they came vnto a citie called Zempoallan, where they were well receiued. And from thence he went to another towne called Chiauitztlan ; with the Lord of which towne as with all the countrey besides he made league to be against Muteçuma. And when he knew that his ships were come, he went vnto them, and there builded a towne, and called it Villa rica de la vera cruz. From whence he sent vnto Charles the Emperour a present, and made report of all that he had done, and how he determined to goe to Mexico, and to visite

Villa rica de la vera Cruz.

---

* Gomara historiæ general. lib. 2. eap. 21. 22. 23. 24.

Muteçuma: and besought the Emperour to giue him the gouernment of that countrey. And because his people should not rise in mutinie, as they began, he destroyed all his ships.

Cortes presently went from Villa rica de la vera Cruz, leauing there 150 Spanish horsemen, and many Indians to serue them; and the villages round about became his friends. He went vnto the citie of Zempoallan: there he heard newes that Francis Garay, was on the coast with four ships to come on land:* And by subtiltie he got nine of his men; of whom he vnderstood, that Garay had beene in Florida, and came vnto the riuer Panuco, where he got some golde, determining to stay there in a towne which is now called Almeria.

Cortes ouerthrew the idols in Zempoallan, and the tombes of their kings, whome they worshipped as Gods, and tolde them that they were to worship the true God.† From thence he went toward Mexico the 16. day of August 1519. and trauailed three daies iourney, and came to the citie of Zalapan, and to another beyond it named Sicuchimatl, where they were well receiued, and offered to be couducted to Mexico, because Muteçuma had giuen such commandement. Beyond this place he passed with his companie a certaine hill of three leagues high, wherein there were vines. In another place they found aboue a thousand loades of wood ready cut; and beyond they met with a plaine countrey, and in going through the same, he named it Nombre de Dios. At the bottome of the mountaine he rested in a towne called Teuhixuacan, and from thence they went through a desolate countrey, and so came to another mountaine that was very colde and full of snow, and they lay in a towne named Zaclotan: And so from towne to towne they were well receiued and feasted till they came into another realme named Tlaxcallan, which waged warre against Muteçuma, and being valiant they skirmished with Cortes; but in the end they agreed and entred into league with him against the Mexicans: and so they went from countrey to countrey till they came within sight of Mexico. The king Muteçuma fearing them, gaue them good entertainment with lodging and all things necessarie: and they were with this for a time contented: but mistrusting that he and his should be slaine, he tooke Muteçuma prisoner and

Tlaxcallan.

Muteçuma prisoner.

---

* Gomara historiæ general. lib. 2. cap. 61.

† Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 25.

brought him to his lodging with good garde. Cortes demanded how farre his realme did extend, and sought to know the mines of gold and siluer that were in it, and how many kings neighbours to Muteçuma dwelled therein, requiring certaine Indians to be informed thereof, whereof he had eight prouided: and he ioined to them eight Spanyards, and sent them two and two into fower countreys, namely into Zuçolla, Malinaltepec, Tenich, and Tututepec. They which went vnto Zuçolla went 80. leagues: for so much it was from Mexico thither: They which went to Malinaltepec, were 70. leagues, seeing goodly countries, and brought examples of gold, which the naturals of the countrey tooke out of great riuers: and all this prouince belonged vnto Muteçuma.

Tututepec.

The countrey of Tenich and vp the riuer were not subiect to Muteçuma, but had warre with him, and would not suffer the Mexicans to enter into their territorie. They sent ambassadors vnto Cortes with presents, offering him their estate, and amitie; whereof Muteçuma was nothing glad. They which went to Tututepec standing neere the South sea did also bring with them examples of gold, and praised the pleasantnes of the countrey, and the multitude of good harbours vpon that coast, shewing to Cortes a cloth of cotton wooll all wouen with goodly workes, wherein all the coast with the hauens and creekes were set forth. But this thing then could not be prosecuted by reason of the comming of Pamphilus de Naruaez into the countrey, who set all the kingdome of Mexico in an vprore.*

Pamphilus de Naruaez.

In this yeere 1519. the tenth day of August one Fernande de Magallanes departed from Siuill with fiue ships toward the Islands of Maluco:† he went along the coast of Brasill till he came vnto the riuer of Plate, which the Castillians had before discouered. From thence therefore he began his discouerie, and came vnto an hauen which he called The Porte of Saint Iulian standing in 49. degrees, and there he entred and wintred: they endured much cold by reason of snow and ice: the people of that countrey they found to be of great stature, and of great strength, taking men by the legs and renting them in the middest as easily as one of vs will rent an hen: they liue by fruits and

The discouerie of Magallanes from the riuer of Plate forward.

---

* Gomera hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 48.

† Gomera hist. gen. lib. 4. cap. 2.

---

hunting. They call them Patagones, but the Brasilians doe call them Morcas.

Patagones.

In the yeere 1520. in the beginning of the moneth of September growing then somewhat temperate they went out of the port and riuer of Saint Iulian, hauing lost in it one of their ships, and with the other fower he came vnto the Streights named after the name of Magallanes standing in 52. degrees and a halfe. From thence one of the ships returned backe vnto Castile, whereof was captaine and pilot one Stephen de Porto a Portugall, and the other three went forward, entring into a mightie sea called Pacificum, without seeing any inhabited land till they came in 13. degrees towards the north of the Equinoctiall: in which latitude they came vnto Islands which they called Los Iardines, and from thence they sailed to the Archipelagus of S. Lazarus, and in one of the Islands called Matan Magallanes was slaine,[*] and his ship was burnt, and the other two went vnto Borneo, and so from place to place they went backe vntill they came to the Islands of Malucos, leauing many others discouered, which I rehearse not, because I finde not this voiage exactly written.[†]

Los Iardines.

About this time Pope Leo the tenth sent one Paulus Centurio as ambassadour to the great Duke of Moscouie to wish him to send into India an armie along the coast of Tartarie.[‡] And by the reasons of this ambassadour the said Duke was almost persuaded vnto that action, if other inconueniences had not letted him.

In the same yeere 1520. in Februarie Diego Lopes de Sequeira gouernour of India went towards the Streight of Mecha and carried with him the ambassadour of Presbyter Iohn, and Roderigo de Lima who also went as ambassadour to him. They came vnto the Island of Maçua standing in the Red sea, on the side of Africa in 17. degrees towards the north: where he set the ambassadours on land, with the Portugals that should goe with them. Peter de Couillan had beene there before, being sent thither by king Iohn the second of Portugall; but yet Francis Aluarez gaue principall light and knowledge of that countrey.[§]

Maçua.

---

[*] Gomera hist. gen. lib. 4. cap. 3.

[†] Pet. Martyr. decad. 5. cap. 7.

[‡] Gomar. lib. 4. cap. 17. Ramusius 1. vol. fol. 374.

[§] Ramusius 1. vol. fol. 190.

In the yeere 1520. the licentiate Lucas Vasques de Aillon and other inhabitants of S. Domingo furnished two ships,* and sent them to the Isles of Lucoyos to get slaues, and finding none they passed along by the firme land beyond Florida vnto certaine countreys called Chicora and Gualdape, vnto the riuer Iordon and the Cape of Saint Helena standing in 32. degrees toward the north. They of the countrey came downe to the sea side to see the ships, as hauing neuer before seene the like: The Spanyards went on land where they receiued good entertainment, and had giuen vnto them such things as they lacked. But they brought many of them into their ships and then set saile and brought them away for slaues: but in the way one of their ships sunke, and the other was also in great hazard. By this newes the Licentiate Aillon knowing the wealth of the countrey, begged the gouernment thereof of the Emperour, and it was giuen him: whither he went to get money to pay his debt.

Chicora.
Gualdape.

About this time Diego Velasques gouernour of Cuba hearing the good successe of Cortes, and that he had begged the gouernment of New Spaine, which he held to be his, he furnished out thither against Cortes 18. ships with 1000. men and 80. horses, whereof he sent as generall one Pamphilus de Naruaez.† He came vnto the towne called Villa rica de la vera Cruz, where he tooke land, and commanded those of the countrey to receiue him as gouernour thereof; But they tooke his messenger prisoner, and sent him to Mexico where Cortes was. Which thing being knowne of Cortes, he wrote letters vnto Naruaez not to raise any vprore in the countrey which he had discouered, offering him obedience if he had any commission from the Emperour; but he corrupted the people of the countrey with money: Whereupon Cortes went from Mexico and tooke Naruaez prisoner in the towne of Zampoallan, and put out one of his eies.

Naruaez being thus taken prisoner, his armie submitted themselues to Cortes, and obeied him. Whereupon presently he dispatched 200. soldiers vnto the riuer of Garay, and he sent Iohn Vasquez de Leon with other two hundred vnto Cosaalco, and withall sent a Spanyard with the newes of his victorie vnto Mexico. But the Indians being in the meane time risen, hurt the messenger. Which being

The reuolt of the Mexicans in absence of Cortes.

---

* Gomara hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 7.

† Gomara hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 48.

knowne to Cortes, he mustered his men, and found a thousand footemen and two hundred horsemen, with the which he went towards Mexico, where he found Peter de Aluarado, and the rest which he had left there aliue and in safetie, wherewith he was greatly pleased, and Muteçuma made much of him. But yet the Mexicans ceased not but made warre against him: and the warre grew so hot that they killed their king Muteçuma with a stone, and then there rose vp another king such an one as pleased them, till such time as they might put the Spanyards out of the citie, being no more than 504 footemen, and fortie horsemen.[*] The Spanyards with great losse being driuen out of Mexico, retired themselues with much adoe to Tlaxcallan, where they were well receiued: and so they gathered together 900. Spanyards, 80. horsemen, and two hundred thousand Indians, their friends, and allies: and so they went backe againe to take Mexico in the moneth of August in the yeere 1521.

Muteçuma slaine.

Cortes obtaining still more and more victories determined to see further within the countrey:[†] and for this purpose in the yeere 1521. and in October he sent out one Gonsalo de Sandoual with 200. footemen and 35. horsemen, and certaine Indians his friends vnto Tochtepec and Coazacoalco, which had rebelled, but at length yeelded. And they discouered the countrey, and built a towne 120. leagues from Mexico, and named it Medelin, and another towne they made naming it Santo Spirito fower leagues from the sea vpon a riuer; and these two townes kept the whole countrey in obedience.

Tochtepec.
Coazacoalco.

This yeere 1521. in December Emmanuel king of Portugall died, and after him his sonne king Iohn the 3. reigned.[‡]

Emmanuels death.

In the yeere 1521 there went from Maluco one of the Magellans ships laden with cloues: they victualed themselues in the Island of Burro,[§] and from thence to Timor which standeth in 11 degrees of southerly latitude. Beyond this Island one hundred leagues they discouered certaine Islands and one named Eude, finding the places from

Burro.
Timor.
Eude.

---

[*] Gomera hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 50.
[†] Gomera hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 60.
[‡] Osorius lib. 12. fol. 366.
[§] Gomara historiæ general. lib. 4. cap. 8.

thence forward peopled. Afterward passing without Samatra they met with no land till they fell with the Cape of Bona Sperança, where they tooke in fresh water and wood: So they came by the Islands of Cape Verde, and from thence to Siuill, where they were notably receiued, as well for the cloues that they brought, as that they had compassed about the world.

In the yeere 1522. in Ianuarie one Gilgonzales armed fower ships in the Island of Tararequi standing in the South sea with intent to discouer the coast of Nicaragua,* and especially streight or passage from the South sea into the North sea. And sailing along the coast he came vnto an hauen called S. Vincent, and there landed with 100. Spanyards and certaine horsemen, and went within the land 200. leagues, and he brought with him 200. pesoes of gold, and so came backe againe to S. Vincent: where he found his pilot Andrew Nigno, who was as far as Tecoantepec in 16. degrees to the north, and had sailed three hundred leagues: from whence they returned to Panama, and so ouer land to Hispaniola.†

In the same yeere 1522. in the moneth of Aprill the other ship of Magallanes called The Trinitie went from the Island of Tidore, wherein was captaine Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, shaping their course toward Noua Spania:‡ and because winde was scant they stirred toward the northeast into 16. degrees, where they found two Islands, and named them the Isles of Saint Iohn, and in that course they came to another Island in 20. degrees, which they named La Griega, where the simple people came into their ships. of whom they kept some to shew them in Noua Spania:§ They were in this course fower monethes, vntill they came into 42. degrees of northerly latitude, where they did see sea fishes called Seales and Tunies. And the climate seemed vnto them comming newly out of the heat, to be so cold and vntemperate, that they could not well abide it, and therefore they turned backe againe to Tidore, being thereunto enforced also by contrarie windes. These were the first Spanyards which had beene in so high a latitude toward the north. And there they found

Two Islands in 16. degrees of northerly latitude.

42 degrees of northerly latitude.

---

* Gomara hist. gen. lib. 6. cap 4.

† Gomara historiæ general. lib. 6. cap. 12.

‡ Castagneda Historia delle Indie Orientali lib. 6. cap. 41.

§ Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 4. cap. 8. and 12.

one Antonie de Britto building a fortresse, which tooke from them their goods, and sent 48. of them prisoners to Malaca.

In this yeere 1522 Cortes desirous to haue some hauens on the South sea, and to discouer the coast of Noua Spania, on that side, whereof he had knowledge in Muteçuma his time,* (bicause he thought by that way to bring the drugs from Maluco and Banda, and the spicerie from Iaua, with lesse trauaile and danger) he sent fower Spaniards with their guides to Tecoantepec, Quahutemallan, and other hauens: where they were wel receiued, and brought some of the people with them to Mexico: And Cortes made mnch of them; and afterwards sent ten pilots thither to search the seas there about. They went 70. leagues in the sea but found no hauen. One Casique or Lord called Cuchataquir vsed them well, and sent with them to Cortes 200. of his men with a present of gold and siluer, and other things of the countrey: and they of Tecoantepec did the like: and not long after, this Casique sent for aide to Cortes against his neighbours which did warre against him.

The South sea first searched by Cortes his pilots.

In the yeere 1523. Cortes sent vnto him for his aide Peter de Aluarado, with two hundred soldiers footemen, and fortie horsemen,† and the Caciques of Tecoantepec and Quahutemallan asked them for the monsters of the sea which came thither the yeere past, meaning the ships of Gil Gonsales de Auila, being greatly amazed at the sight of them, and woondring much more when they heard, that Cortes had bigger than those: and they painted vnto them a mighty Carake with sixe masts, and sailes and shroudes, and men armed on horsebacke. This Aluarado went through the countrey and builded there the city of Sant Iago or Saint Iames, and a towne which he called Segura leauing certaine of his people in it.

A wittie stratageme.

Sant Iago built.

In the same yeere 1523. in the moneth of May Antonie de Britto being captaine of the Isles of Maluco sent his cosen Simon de Breu to learne the way by the Isle of Borneo to Malaca: They came in sight of the Islands of Manada and Panguansara:‡ They went through the straight of Treminao and Taguy: and to the

---

* Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 6. cap. 12.

† Gomar hist. gen. lib. 6. cap. 12.

‡ Castagneda hist. delle Indie Orientali lib. 6. c. 42.

The Islands of S. Michael. Borneo. Islands of Saint Michael standing in 7. degrees, and from thence discouered the Islands of Borneo, and had sight of Pedra branca or the White stone, and passed through the straight of Cincapura, and so to the citie of Malaca.

In this same yeere 1523. Cortes went with 300. footemen and 150. horsemen and 40000. Mexicans to Panuco both to discouer it better, and also to inhabite it,* and withall to be reuenged vpon them which had killed and eaten the soldiers of Francis Garay. They of Panuco resisted him, but Cortes in the end ouerthrew them, and conquered the countrey: And hard by Chila vpon the riuer he built a towne and named it Santo Stephano del puerto, leauing in it 100. footemen, and thirtie horsemen and one Peter de Valleio for lieutenant. Santo Stephano del puerto. This iourney cost him 76. thousand Castillians, besides the Spanyards, horses, and Mexicans which died there.

In this yeere 1523. Francis de Garay made nine ships and two brigandines to goe to Panuco and to Rio de las Palmas to be there as gouernour: † for that the Emperour had granted vnto him from the coast of Florida vnto Panuco, in regard of the charges, which he had beene at in that discouerie. He carried with him 850. soldiers, and 140. horses, and some men out of the Island of Iamaca, where he furnished his fleet with munition for the warre: and he went vnto Xagua an hauen in the Island of Cuba, where he vnderstood that Cortes had peopled the coast of Panuco: and that it might not happen vnto him as it did to Pamphilus de Naruaez, he determined to take another companion with him, and desired the Doctor Zuazo to goe to Mexico and procure some agreement betweene Cortes and him. And they departed from Xagua each one about his busines. Zuazo came in great ieoperdie, and Garay went not cleere without. Garay arriued in Rio de las Palmas on S. Iames his day, and then he sent vp the riuer one Gonsaluo de Ocampo, who at his returne declared that it was an euill and desert countrey: but notwithstanding Garay went there on land with 400. footemen and some horsemen; and he commanded one Iohn de Grijalua to search the coast, and he himselfe marched by land towards Panuco, and passed a riuer which he named Rio Montalto; he entred into a great towne where they

Rio de las Palmas.

Rio Montalto.

---

* Gomara hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 61.

† Gomara hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 61. and en la Conquista de Mexico,

found many hennes, wherewith they refreshed themselues, and he tooke some of the people of Chila which he vsed for messengers to certaine places: And after great trauaile comming to Panuco they found no victuailes there by reason of the warres of Cortes and the spoile of the soldiers. Garay then sent one Gonçalo de Ocampo to Sant Isteuan del puerto to know whether they would receiue him or no. They had a good answere. But Cortes his men priuily by an ambushment tooke 40. of Garayes horsemen, alleaging that they came to vsurpe the gouernment of another: and besides this misfortune he lost fower of his ships: whereupon he left off to proceede any farther.

Chila.

While Cortes was preparing to set forward to Panuco: Francis de las Casas, and Roderigo de la Paz arriued at Mexico with letters patents, where the Emperour gaue the gouernment of Nueua Spagna and all the countrey which Cortes had conquered to Cortes, and namely Panuco.* Whereupon he staied his iourney. But he sent Diego de Ocampo with the said letters patents, and Pedro de Aluarado with store of footemen and horsemen. Garay knowing this thought it best to yeeld himselfe vnto Cortes his hands, and to go to Mexico; which thing he did hauing discouered a great tract of land.

In this yeere 1523. Gil Gonçales de Auila made a discouerie,† and peopled a towne called San Gil de buena vista standing in 14. degrees toward the north, and almost in the bottome of the Bay called the Ascension or the Honduras. He began to conquere it because he best knew the secrets thereof, and that it was a very rich countrey.

In this yeere 1523. the sixt day of december Peter de Aluarado went from the citie of Mexico by Cortes his commandement to discouer and conquere Quahutemallan, Vtlatlan, Chiapa, Xochnuxco, and other townes toward the South sea.‡ He had with him three hundred soldiers, 170. horsemen foure field peeces, and some noble men of Mexico, with people of the countrey to aide him as well in the warre, as by the way being long. He went by Tecoantepec to Xochnuxco, and other places aboue said with great trauaile and losse of his men: but he discouered and subdued all the countrey. There are in those parts certaine hils

---

* Gomar. en la. Conquesta de Mexico fol. 226.

† Gomara en la Conquista de Mexico fol. 242.

‡ Gomara en la Conquista de Mexico fol. 229. et in sequentibus.

Oile distilling out of hils.

Sant Iago de Quahutemallan.

that haue Alume in them, and out of which distilleth a certaine liquor like vnto oile, and sulphur or brimstone, whereof the Spanyards made excellent gunpowder.* He trauailed 400. leagues in this voiage, and passed certaine riuers which were so hot, that they could not well endure, to wade through them. He builded a citie calling it Sant Iago de Quahutemallan. Peter de Aluarado begged the gouernment of this countrey, and the report is that it was giuen him.

Villa del Espiritu santo.

In the yeere 1523. the 8. day of December Cortes sent Diego Godoy with 100. footemen and 80. horsemen, two field peeces and many of his friends Indians vnto the towne Del Espiritu santo:† He ioined himselfe with the captaine of that towne, and they went to Chamolla the head citie of that prouince, and that being taken all the countrey grew quiet.

In the yeere 1524. in Februarie Cortes sent one Roderigo Rangel with 150. Spaniards and many of the Tlaxcallans and Mexicans against the Zapotecas and Nixticas ‡ and vnto other prouinces and countreys not so well discouered: they were resisted at the first, but quickly put the people to the woorst, and kept them for euer after in subiction.

In this same yeere 1524. one Roderigo de Bastidas was sent to discouer, people, and gouerne the countrey of Santa Martha:§ where he lost his life because he would not suffer the soldiers to take the spoile of a certaine towne. They ioined with Peter Villa forte, and he being sometimes his entire friend did helpe to kill him with daggers lying in his bed. Afterward Don Pedro de Lugo, and Don Alfonso his sonne were gouernours of that place, which vsed themselues like couetous tyrants; whereof grew much trouble.

In this same yeere also 1524.¶ after that the Licenciate Lucas Vasques de Aillon had obtained of the Emperour the gouernment of Chicora, he armed for that purpose certaine ships from the citie of Santo Domingo and went to discouer the countrey, and to inhabite it: but he was lost with all his companie, leauing nothing done woorthy of memorie. And I cannot tell how it commeth to passe, except it be by the iust iudgement of God, that of so much gold and precious stones as haue beene gotten in the Antiles by so many Spaniards, little or none remaineth, but the most part is spent and consumed, and no good thing done.

---

* Ibidem fol. 230.

† Gomara en la Conquista de Mexico fol. 233.

‡ Gomara en la Conquista de Mexico. fol. 234.

§ Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 3. cap. 21.

¶ Gomara. hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 7.

In this yeere 1524. Cortes sent one Christopher de Olid with a fleete to the Island of Cuba to receiue the vitailes and munition which Alonso de Contrares had prepared and to discouer and people the countrey about Cape De Higueras and the Honduras ;[*] and to send Diego Hurtado de Mendoça by sea, to search the coast from thence euen to Darien to finde out the Streit which was thought to run into the South sea, as the Emperour had commanded. He sent also two ships from Panuco to search along the coast vnto Florida. He commanded also certaine brigandines to search the coast from Zacatullan vnto Panama. This Christopher de Olid came to the Island of Cuba, and made a league with Diego Velasquez against Cortes, and so set saile and went on land hard by Puerto de Cauallos standing in 10. degrees to the north, and built a towne which he called Triumpho de la Cruz. He tooke Gil Gonzales de Auila prisoner, and killed his nephew and the Spaniards that were with him all sauing one childe, and shewed himselfe an enemie to Cortes, who had spent in that expedition thirty thousand Castellans of gold to doe him pleasure withall.

Cortes vnderstanding hereof the same yeere 1524. and in the moneth of October he went out of the citie of Mexico to seeke Christopher de Olid to be reuenged of him, and also to discouer, carrying with him three hundred Spanish footemen and horsemen, and Quahutimoc king of Mexico, and other great Lords of the same citie.[†] And comming to the towne called La villa del Espiritu santo, he required guides of the Lords of Tauasco and Xicalanco : and they sent him ten of their principall men for guides : who gaue him also a map of cotton wooll, wherein was painted the situation of the whole countrey from Xicalanco vnto Naco, and Nito, and euen as farre as Nicaragua, with their monntaines, hils, fields, meadowes, vallies, riuers, cities and townes. And Cortes in the meane time

An excellent large map of cotton wooll.

---

[*] Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 65. et en la Conquista de Mexico fol. 243.

[†] Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 66. et en la Conquista de Mexico fol. 246 et 251.

sent for three ships which were at the hauen of Medelin to follow him along the coast.

In this yeere 1524. they came to the citie of Izancanac, where he vnderstood that the king Quahutimoc and the Mexicans that were in his companie were conspired against him and the Spanyards: [*] for the which he hanged the king and two others of the chiefe: and so came to the citie of Mazatlan, and after that to Tiaco the head citie of a prouince so called standing in the middest of a lake: and here about they began to finde the traine of the Spanyards, which they went to seeke, and so they went to Zuzullin, and at length came to the towne of Nito: from Nito Cortes with his owne companie and all the Spanyards that he found there departed to the shore or strand called La Baia de Sant Andres, and finding there a good hauen he builded a towne in that place and called it Natividad de nuestra Senora.[†] From hence Cortes went to to the towne of Truxillo standing in the hauen of the Honduras, where the Spanyards dwelling there did entertaine him well: and while he was there, there arriued a ship which brought newes of the stirre in Mexico in Cortes his absence: where upon he sent word to Gonsalo de Sandoual to march with his companie from Naco to Mexico by land toward the South sea vnto Quahutemallan,[‡] because that is the vsuall plaine and safest way, and he left as captaine in Truxillo Fernando de Saavedra his cosen: and he himselfe went by sea along the coast of Iucatan to Chalchicoeca now called Sant Iuan de Vllhua, and so to Medellin, and from thence to Mexico, where he was well receiued, hauing beene from thence 18. monethes, and had gone fiue hundred leagues trauailing often out of his way, and enduring much hardnes.

Natiuidad de Nuestra Sennora.

Truxillo.

Honduras.

In the yeere 1525. Francis Pizarro and Diego de Almagro went from Panama to discouer Peru standing beyond the line towarde the South, which they called Nueua Castilia.[§] The gouernour Pedro Arias would not entermeddle with this expedition, because of the euill newes which his captaine Francis Vezarra had brought.

---

[*] Gomara hist. gen. lib. 2. cap 67. 68. et en la Conquista de Mexico fol. 257.

[†] Gomar. in the Conquest of Mexico fol. 268.

[‡] Gomara in the Conquest of Mexico fol. 270. and 273,

[§] Gomara hist. gen. lib. 5. cap. 1. et 2. Peru.

Francis Pizarro went first in a ship hauing with him 124. soldiers, and Almagro went after him in another ship with 70. men. He came to Rio de San Iuan standing in three degrees where he got two thousand pesoes of gold; and not finding Pizarro, he went to seeke him, repenting his doings by reason of a mishap that he had. But he went first to an Island called Isla del Gorgona, and afterward to another called Isla del Gallo, and to the riuer called Rio del Peru standing in two degrees northward, whereof so many famous countreyes take their name. From thence they went to Rio de San Francisco, and to Cabo de Passaos, where they passed the Equinoctiall line, and came to Puerto Vejo standing in one degree to the south of the line: from whence they sailed to the riuers of Chinapanpa, Tumbez, and Payta standing in 4. or 5. degrees, where they had knowledge of king Atabalipa and of the exceeding wealth and riches of his palace. Which newes mooued Pizarro speedily to returne home againe to Panama, and so into Spaine, and to request the gouernment of that countrey of the Emperour: which he also obtained. He had spent aboue three yeeres before in this discouerie not without enduring great trauaile and perils.

Rio del Peru.

Puerto vejo.

In the same yeere 1525. there was sent out of Spaine a fleete of seuen ships, whereof was captaine generall Don Garsia de Loaisa to the Islands of Maluco.[*] They went from the citie of the Groine and passed by the Islands of the Canaries, and went to Brasill, where they found an Island in two degrees: and named it S. Matthew: and it seemed to be inhabited, because they found in it orenge trees, hogs, and hennes in caues, and vpon the rindes of most of the trees there were grauen Portugall letters, shewing that the Portugals had beene there 17. yeeres before that time. A patache or pinnesse of theirs passed the streight of Magellane hauing in her one Iohn de Resaga, and ran all along the coast of Peru and Noua Spagna:[†] They declared all their successe vnto Cortes, and told him, that frier Garsia de Loaisa was passed to the islands of cloues. But of this fleete the Admirall onely came thither, wherein was captaine one Martine Mingues de Carchoua: for Loaisa and the other captaines died by the way.

The Isle of S. Mathew.

---

[*] Pet. Martyr. decad. 8. cap. 9. Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 4. cap. 12.

[†] Gomara in the Conquest of Mexico pag. 281.

All the Moores of Maluco were found well affectioned to the Spaniards.

In the same yeere 1525. the pilot Stephen Gomes went from the port of the Groine toward the north to discouer the streight vnto the Malucos by the north, to whom they would giue no charge in the fleete of frier Garsia de Loaisa.[*] But yet the Earle Don Fernando de Andrada, and the Doctor Beltram, and the merchant Christopher de Sarro furnished a gallion for him, and he went from the Groine in Galicia to the Island of Cuba, and to the point of Florida, sailing by day because he knew not the land. He passed the bay Angra, and the riuer Enseada, and so went ouer to the other side. It is also reported that he came to Cape Razo in 46. degrees to the north: from whence he came backe againe to the Groine laden with slaues. The newes hereof ran by and by through Spaine; that he was come home laden with cloues as mistaking the word: and it was carried to the Court of Spaine: but when the truth was knowne it turned to a pleasant iest. In this voiage Gomes was ten monethes.

In this yeere 1525. Don George de Meneses captaine of Maluco, and with him Don Garcia Henriques sent a foyst to discouer land towards the north, wherein went as captaine one Diego de Rocha, and Gomez de Sequeira for pilot. In 9. or 10. degrees they found certaine Islands standing close together, and they called them the Islands of Gomes de Sequeira, he being the first pilot that discouered them. And they came backe againe by the Island of Batochina.

The Isle of Batochina by Gilolo.

In the yeere 1526. there went out of Siuill one Sebastian Cabota a Venetian by his father,[†] but borne at Bristol in England, being chiefe pilote to the Emperour, with fower ships toward Maluco. They came to Pernambuco, and staied there three moneths for a winde to double the Cape of Saint Augustine. In the Bay of Patos or of ducks the Admirall ship perished; and being without hope to get to the Isles of Maluco they there made a pinnesse to enter vp the riuer of Plate, and to search it. They ran 60. leagues vp before they came to the barre: where they left their great ships, and with their small pinnesses passed vp the riuer Parana, which the inhabitants count to be the principall riuer. Hauing rowed vp 120. leagues, they made a fortresse and staied there about a

Rio Parana.

---

[*] Pet. Martyr. decad. 8. pag. 601. Gomara historiæ general. lib. 1. cap. 5.

[†] Gomara historiæ general. lib. 3. cap. 39.

Rio Paragioa.

The fountaine of the Riuer of Plata.

The biggest riuers proceede from lakes.

yeere: and then rowed further till they came to the mouth of another riuer called Paragioa, and perceiuing that the countrey yeelded gold and siluer they kept on their course, and sent a brigandine before; but those of the countrey tooke it: and Cabote vnderstanding of it thought it best to turne backe vnto their forte, and there tooke in his men which he had left there, and so went downe the riuer where his ships did ride, and from thence he sailed home to Siuill in the yeere 1530. leauing discouered about two hundred leagues within this riuer, reporting it to be very nauigable, and that it springeth out of a lake named Bombo. It standeth in the firme lande of the kingdome of Peru, running through the vallies of Xauxa, and meeteth with the riuers Parso, Bulcasban, Cay, Parima, Hiucax, with others which make it very broad and great. It is said also, that out of this lake runneth the riuer called Rio de San Francesco; and by this meane the riuers come to be so great. For the riuers that come out of lakes are bigger then those which proceede from a spring.

The Isle of Xamo or Malhado.

In the yeere 1527. one Pamphilus de Naruaez went out of S. Lucar de Barmeda to be generall of the coast and land of Florida as farre as Rio de las Palmas,* and had with him fiue ships, 600. soldiers, 100. horses, besides a great summe and quantitie of victuailes, armour, clothing and other things. He could not goe on land where his desire was, but went on land somewhat neere to Florida with three hundred of his companie, some horses, and some victuailes, commanding the ships to goe to Rio de las Palmas; in which voiage they were almost all lost: and those which escaped passed great dangers, hunger and thrist in an Island called Xamo and by the Spaniards Malhada being very drie and barren, where the Spaniards killed one another, and the people also of the countrey did the like. Naruaez and those which went with him sawe some golde with certaine Indians, and he demanded of them where they gathered it: and they answered that they had it at Apalachen. They therefore searched this gold, and in searching came to the saide towne, where they found no gold nor siluer: they saw many Bay trees, and almost all other kinde of trees with beasts, birds, and such like. The men and women of this place are high and strong, very light and so swift runners, that they will take deere at their pleasure, and will not grow wearie though they run a whole day. From Apalachen they went to a towne called Aute; and from thence to Xamo a poore countrey with small sustinance. These people bring vp their children very tenderly, and make great lamentation when any of them dieth; they neither weepe nor lament at the death of any olde bodie. Here the people desired the Spanyards to cure their sicke folks, for they had many diseased: and certaine of the Spanyards being in extreme pouertie assaied it, and vsed praier, and it pleased God that they did indeede recouer as well those that were hurt, as those which were otherwise diseased; in so much, that one which was thought verily to be dead, was by them restored to life, as they themselues reporte. They affirme that they passed through many countries and many strange people differing in language, apparell, and customes. And because they plaied the physitions, they were as they passed greatly esteemed and held for Gods, and the people did no hurt vnto them, but would giue them part of such things as they had. Therefore they passed quietly, and trauailed so farre till they came to a people, that vse continually to liue in heards with their cattel as the Arabians doe. They be poore, and eate snakes, lisards, spiders, ants, and al kinde of vermine, and herewith they liue so well contented that commonly they sing and dance. They buie the women of their enimies, and kill their daughters, because they would not haue them marrie with them, whereby they might increase. They trauailed through certaine places, where the women gaue sucke vnto their children til they were ten or twelue yeeres of age; and where certaine men being Hermaphrodities doe marrie one another. These Spaniards trauailed aboue 800. leagues; and there escaped aliue in this iourney not aboue seuen or eight of them. They came vpon the coast of the South sea vnto a citie called Saint Michael of Culuacan standing in 23. degrees and vpward toward the north.

---

* Ramusius 3. vol. fol. 310.

This yeere 1527. when Cortes vnderstood by the pinnesse aforesaide that Don Garcia de Loaisa was passed by the Streight of Magelan toward the Island of cloues, he prouided three ships to goe seeke him, and to discouer by that way of Newe Spaine as farre as the Isles of Maluco.* There went as gouernour in those ships one Aluaro de Saavedra Ceron, cosen vnto Cortes, a man fit for that purpose. He made saile faom Ciuatlanejo, now named S. Christoper standing in 20. degrees toward the north on All Saints day. They arriued at the Islands which Magelan named The Pleasures: and from thence sailed to the Islands, which Gomes de Sequeira discouered, and not knowing thereof they named them Islas de los Reyes, that is to say, The Isles of the kings, because they came vnto them on Twelfe day. In the way Saavedra lost two ships of his company, of which they neuer after heard newes. But from Island to Island he still sailed and came to the Island of Candiga, where he bought two Spanyards for 70. ducats, which had beene of the companie of Frier Loaisa, who was lost thereabout.

---

* Gomar hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 72. and in the Conquest of Mexico fol. 281.

In the yeere 1528. in March Saavedra arriued at the Islands of Maluco, and came to an anker before the Isle of Gilolo: he found the sea calme and winde at will, without any tempests: and he tooke the distance from thence to Noua Spagna to be 2050. leagues. At this time Martin Yniguez de Carquiôano died, and Fernando de la Torre was chosen their Generall, who then was in the citie of Tidore, who had there erected a gallows and had fierce warre with Don George de Meneses captaine of the Portugals: and in a fight which they had the fourth day of May Saavedra tooke from him a galiotte and slew the captaine thereof called Fernando de Baldaya, and in Iune he returned towards New Spaine, hauing with him one Simon de Brito Patalin and other Portugals, and hauing beene certaine moneths at sea, he was forced backe vnto Tidore, where Patalin was beheaded and quartered, and his companions hanged.

In this yeere 1528. Cortes sent two hundred footemen and 60. horsemen, and many Mexicans to discouer and plant the countrey of the Chichimecas, for that it was reported to be rich of gold.* This being done he shipped himselfe, and came into Castile with great pompe, and brought with him 250000. marks of gold and siluer: and being come to Toledo where the Emperour then lay, he was entertained according to his deserts, and the Emperour made him Marques Del Valle, and married him to the Lady Iane de Zuniga daughter vnto the Earle de Aguilar, and then the Emperour sent him backe againe to be Generall of New Spaine.

In the yeere 1529. in May Saavedra returned backe againe

---

* Gomera hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 73.

Noua Guinea.

towards New Spaine, and he had sight of a land toward the South in two degrees, and he ran East along by it aboue fiue hundred leagues till the end of August.* The coast was cleane and of good ankerage, but the people blacke and of curled haire; from the girdle downward they did weare a certaine thing plaited to couer their lower parts. The people of Maluco call them Papuas, because they be blacke and friseled in their haire: and so also doe the Portugals call them.

Os Papuas are blacke people with frisled haire.

Saavedra hauing sailed 4. or 5. degrees to the South of the line, returned vnto it, and passed the Equinoctiall towards the north, and discouered an Iland which he called Isla de los Pintados, that is to say, The Isle of painted people: for the people thereof be white, and all of them marked with an iron: and by the signes which they gaue he conceaued that they were of China. There came vnto them from the shore a kinde of boate full of these men, making tokens of threatnings to the Spanyards; who seeing that the Spanyards would not obey them, they began to skirmish with slinging of stones, but Saavedra would suffer no shot to be shot at them, because their stones were of no strength, and did no harme.

Isla de los Pintados.

A little beyond this Island in 10. or 12. degrees, they found many small low Islands full of palme trees and grasse, which they called Los Iardines, and they came to an anker in the middest of them, where they taried certaine daies. The people seemed to descend from them of China, but by reason of their long continuance there they become so brutish, that they haue neither law, nor yet giue themselues to any honest labour. They weare white clothing which they make of grasse. They stand in maruailous feare of fire, because they neuer saw any. They eate Cocos in steede of bread, breaking them before they be ripe, and putting them vnder the sand, and then after certaine daies they take them out and lay them in the sunne, and then they will open. They eate fish which they take in a kinde of boate called a Parao, which they make of pine wood, which is driuen thither at certaine times of the yeere, they know not how, nor from whence, and the tooles wherewith they make their boates are of shels.

Los Iardines.

Flote wood.

Saavedra perceiuing that the time and weather was then somewhat better for his purpose, made saile towards the firme land and citie of Panama, where he might vnlade the cloues and marchandise which he had, that so in cartes it might be carried fower leagues to the riuer of Chagre, which they say is nauigable running out into the North sea not far from Nombre de Dios, where the ships ride, which come out of Spaine: by which way all kinde of goods might be brought vnto them in shorter time, and with lesse danger, then to saile about the Cape of Bona Sperança. For from Maluco vnto Panama they saile continually betweene the Tropickes and the line: but they neuer found winde to serue that course, and therefore they came backe againe to Maluco very sad, because Saavedra died by the way: who if he had liued meant to haue opened the land of Castillia del Oro and New Spaine from sea to sea. Which might haue beene done in fower places: namely from the Gulfe of S. Michael to Vraba, which is 25. leagues, or from Panama to Nombre de Dios being 17. leagues distance: or through Xaquator a riuer of Nicaragua, which springeth out of a lake three or fower leagues from the South sea, and falleth into the North sea;[*] whereupon doe saile great barks and crayers. The other place is from Tecoantepec through a riuer to Verdadera Cruz in the Bay of the Honduras, which also might be opened in a streight. Which if it were done, then they might saile from the Canaries vnto the Malucos vnder the climate of the Zodiake in lesse time and with much lesse danger, then to saile about the Cape de Bona Sperança, or by the streight of Magelan, or by the Northwest. And yet if their might be found a streight there to saile into the sea of China, as it hath beene sought, it would doe much good.

---

* Gomera hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 72.

Fower narrow passages from sea to sea in the West Indies.

The northwest passage very beneficiall.

In this yeere 1529, one Damian de Goes a Portugal being in Flanders, after that he had trauailed ouer all Spaine, was yet desirous to see more countreyes, and fashions, and diuersities of people; and therefore went ouer into England and Scotland, and was in the courts of the kings of those parts: and after that came againe into Flanders, and then trauailed through Zealand, Holland, Brabant, Luxenburge, Suitzerland, and so through the cities of Colen, Spyres, Argentine, Brasill, and other parts of Alemaine, and then came backe againe into Flanders: and from thence he went into France through Picardie, Normandie,

---

[*] Gomara hist. gen. lib. 4. cap. 14.

Champaine, Burgundie, the dukedome of Borbon, Gascoigne Languedoc, Daulphinie, the dukedome of Sauoy, and passed into Italy into the dukedome of Millaine, Ferrara, Lombardie, and so to Venice, and turned backe againe to the territorie of Genoa, and the dukedome of Florence through all Tuscane : and he was in the citie of Rome, and in the kingdome of Naples from the one side to the other.

From thence he went into Germanie to Vlmes, and other places of the Empire to the dukedome of Sueuia and of Bauier, and the Archdukedome of Austrich, the kingdome of Boeme, the dukedome of Morauia, and the kingdome of Hungarie, and so to the confines of Græcia. From thence he went to the kingdome of Poland, Prussia, and the dukedome of Liuonia, and so came into the great dukedome of Moscouia. From whence he came backe into High Alemayne, and through the countreyes of the Lantzgraue, the dukedome of Saxonie, the countreyes of Denmarke, Gotland, and Norway, trauailing so farre, that he found himselfe in 70. degrees of latitude towards the North. He did see, speake and was conuersant with all the kings, princes, nobles and chiefe cities of all Christendome in the space of 22. yeeres : So that by reason of the greatnes of his trauell, I thought him a man woorthy to be here remembered.

In the yeere 1529. or 1530. one Melchior de Sosa Tauarez went from the citie of Ormuz vnto Balsera and the Islands of Gissara with certaine ships of warre, and passed vp as farre as the place, where the riuers Tygris and Euphrates meete one with the other. And although other Portugals had discouered and sailed through that streight, yet neuer any of them sailed so farre vpon the fresh water till that time, when he discouered that riuer from the one side to the other, wherein he saw many things which the Portugals knew not.

Not long after this one Ferdinando Coutinho a Portugall came vnto Ormuz, and being desirous to see the world, he determined to goe into Portugall from thence ouer land to see Asia and Europe ; And to doe this the better he went into Arabia, Persia, and vpwards the riuer Euphrates the space of a moneth ; he saw many kingdomes and countreies, which in our time had not beene seene by the Portugals : He was taken prisoner in Damasco, and afterward crost ouer the prouince of Syria, and came vnto the citie of Alepo. He had beene at the holy Sepulchre in Ierusalem, and in the citie of Cayro, and at Constantinople with the Great Turke ; and hauing seene his court he passed ouer vnto Venice, and from thence into Italie, France, Spaine, and so came againe to Lisbon. So that he and Damian de Goes were in our time the most noble Portugals, that had discouered and seene most countreyes and realmes of their owne affections.

In the same yeere 1530. little more or lesse, one Francis Pisarro, which had been in Spaine to obtaine the gouernment of Peru, turned backe againe to the citie of Panama with all things that he desired: * he brought with him fower brethren, Ferdinand, Iohn, Gonzaluo, and Francis Martines de Alcantara: They were not well receiued by Diego de Almagro, and his friends ; for that Pisarro had not so much commended him to the Emperour as he looked for, but omitted the discouerie, wherein he lost one of his eies, and spent much : yet in the end they agreed, and Diegro de Almagro gaue vnto Pisarro 700. pezoes of golde, victuailes and munition, wherewith he prepared himselfe the better for his iourney.

Not long after this agreement Francis Pisarro and his brethren went in two ships with the most of their soldiers and horses ; but he could not arriue at Tumbez as he was minded, and so they went on land in the riuer of Peru ; and went along the coast with great paines, because there was many bogs and riuers in their way, wherein some of his men were drowned : They came to the towne of Coache, where they rested, where they found much gold and emeraulds, of which they brake some to see if they were perfect. From thence Pisarro sent to Diego de Almagro twentie thousand pezoes of gold to send him men, horses, munition, and victuailes ; and so he went on his iourney to the hauen named Porto Viego : and thither came vnto him one Sebastian de Benalcazer, with all such things as he had sent for, which pleased and pleasured him very much.

Much gold and emeraulds.

In the yeere 1531. he hauing this aide, passed ouer into a rich Island called Puna, where he was well receiued of the gouernour: † yet at last he conspired to kil him and all his men : but Pisarro preuented him, and tooke many of the Indians, and bound them with chaines of gold and siluer. The gouernour caused those that kept his wiues to haue their noses,

The Isle of Puna.

---

* Gomara hist. gen. lib. 5. cap. 3.

† Gomara hist. gen. lib. 5. cap. 4.

armes, and priuie members to be cut off, so iealous was he.* Here Pisarro aboue sixe hundred men prisoners belonging to the king Attabalipa, who waged warre against his eldest brother Guascar to winne reputation. These he set at libertie and sent them to the citie of Tombez, who promised to be a meane that he should be well receiued in those partes. But when they saw themselues out of bondage, they forgat their promise, and incited the people against the Spaniards. Then Pisarro sent three Spaniards to Tombez to treate for peace, whome they tooke and slew and sacrificed, and their priestes wept not for pitie but of custome. Pisarro hearing of this cruell fact, passed ouer to the maine, and set vpon the citie one night suddenly and killed many of them, so that they presented him with gifts of gold and siluer and other riches, and so became friends. This done, he builded a towne vpon the riuer of Cira, and called it Saint Michael of Tangarara, which was the first towne inhabited by Christians in those parts; whereof Sebastian de Benalcazar was appointed captaine. Then he searched out a good and sure hauen for his ships, and found that of Payta to be an excellent harbour.

S. Michael of Tangarara.

Payta an excellent harbour in 5. degrees to the South of the line.

In this same yeere 1531. there went one Diego de Ordas to be gouernour in the riuer of Maragnon, with three ships, sixe hundred soldiers, and 35. horses. He died by the way, so that the intention came to none effect.† After that in the yeere 1534. there was sent thither one Hierome Artal with 130. soldiers, yet he came not to the riuer, but peopled Saint Michael de Neueri, and other places in Paria. Also there went vnto this riuer Maragnon a Portugall gentleman named Aries Dacugna, and he had with him ten ships, nine hundred Portugals, and 130. horses. He spent much, but he that lost most was one Iohn de Barros. This riuer standeth in three degrees toward the South, hauing at the entrance of it 15. leagues of breadth and many Islands inhabited, wherein grow trees that beare incence of a greater bignes then in Arabia, gold, rich stones, and one emeraud was found there as big as the palme of a mans hand. The people of the countrey make their drinke of a kinde of dates, which are as big as quinces.

The famous riuer Maragnon.

Iohn de Barros factor of the house of India.

---

* Gomara hist. gen. lib. 5. cap. 5.

† Gomara historiæ general. lib. 3. cap. 37.

In the yeere 1531. one Nunnez de Gusman went from the citie of Mexico towards the northwest to discouer and conquer the countreies of Xalisco, Ceintiliquipac, Ciametlan, Toualla, Cnixco, Ciamolla, Culhuacan, and other places.* And to doe this he caried with him 250. horses, and fiue hundred soldiers. He went through the countrey of Mechuacan, where he had much gold, ten thousand marks of siluer, and 6000. Indians to carrie burdens. He conquered many countreyes, called that of Xalisco Nueua Galicia, because it is a ragged countrey, and the people strong. He builded a citie which he called Compostella, and another named Guadalajara, because he was borne in the citie of Guadalajar in Spaine. He likewise builded the townes de Santo Espirito, de la Conception, and de San Miguel standing in 24. degrees of northerly latitude.

Nueua Galicia.

In the yeere 1532. Ferdinando Cortes sent one Diego Hurtado de Mendoça vnto Acapulco 70. leagues from Mexico, where he had prepared a small fleete to discouer the coast of the South sea as he had promised the Emperour.† And finding two ships readie, he went into them, and sailed to the hauen of Xalisco, where he would haue taken in water and wood: but Nunnez de Gusman caused him to be resisted, and so he went forward: but some of his men mutined against him, and he put them all into one of the ships, and sent them backe into New Spaine. They wanted water, and going to take some in the bay of the Vanderas, the Indians killed them. But Diego Hurtado sailed 200 leagues along the coast, yet did nothing woorth the writing.

In the yeere 1533. Francis Pisarro went from the citie of Tumbes to Caxamalca, where he tooke the king Attabalipa, who promised for his ransome much gold and siluer:‡ and to accomplish it there went to the citie of Cusco standing in 17. degrees on the South side Peter de Varco, and Ferdinando de Sotto, who discouered that iourney being 200. leagues all causies of stone, and bridges was made of it, and from one iourney to another, lodgings made for the Yngas: for so they call their kings. Their armies are very great and monstrous. For they bring aboue an hundred thousand fighting men to the field. They lodge vpon these causies; and haue there prouision sufficient and necessarie, after the vse and custome of China, as it is said. Ferdinando Pisarro with some horsemen went vnto Paciacama 100. leagues from Caxamalca, and discouered that prouince: And comming backe he vnderstood how Guascar brother to Attabalipa was by his commandement killed, and how that his captaine Ruminaguy rose vp in armes with the citie of Quito.* After this Attabalipa was by the commandement of Pisarro strangled.

---

* Gomara hist. gen. lib. 6. cap. 16.

† Gomara hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 74.

‡ Gomara hist. gen. lib. 5. cap. 6. 7. & 8.

Guascar slaine.

Attabalipa strangled.

In the yeere 1534. Francis Pisarro seeing that the two kings were gone, began to enlarge himselfe in his signiories, and to build cities, forts, and townes to haue them more in subiection. Likewise he sent Sebastian de Benalcazar the captaine of S. Michael of Tangarara against Ruminaguy vnto Quito.† He had with him two hundred footemen and 80. horsemen : He went discouering and couquering 120. leagues from the one citie to the other east not farre from the Equinoctiall line: where Peter Aluarado found mountaines full of snow, and so cold, that 70 of his men were frosen to death.‡ When he came vnto Quito, he began to inhabite it, and named it S. Francis. In this countrey there is plentie of wheate, barlie, cattell and plants of Spaine, which is very strange. Pisarro went straight to the citie of Cusco, aud found by the way the captaine Quisquiz risen in armes, whome shortly he defeated.§ About this time there came vnto him a brother of Attabalipa named Mango, whom he made Ynga or king of the countrey. Thus marching forward on his iourney after certaine skirmishes he tooke that exceeding rich and wealthie citie of Cusco.

Cruell snowe vnder the line.

Cusco taken.

In this same yeere 1534. a Briton called Iaques Cartier with three ships went to the land of Corterealis, and the Bay of Saint Laurence, otherwise called Golo Quadrato, and fell in 48 degrees and an halfe towards the north ; and so he sailed till he came vnto 51. degrees hoping to haue passed that way to China, and to bring thence drugs and other marchandise into France. The next yeere after he made another voiage into those partes, and found the countrey abounding with victuailes, houses, and good habitations, with many and great riuers. He sailed in one riuer toward the

The bay of S. Laurence discouered.

---

* Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 5. cap. 11.

† Gomara historiæ general. lib. 5. cap. 18.

‡ Gomara historiæ general. lib. 5. cap. 19.

§ Gomara hist. gen. lib 5. cap. 16.

southwest 300. leagues and named the countrey thereabout Noua Francia: at length finding the water fresh he perceiued he could not passe through to the South sea, and hauing wintered in those partes, the next yeere following he returned into France.

In the yeere 1535. or in the beginning of the yeere 1536. Don Antonie de Mendoça came vnto the citie of Mexico as Viceroy of New Spaine.* In the mean while Cortes was gone for more men to commence his discouerie, which immediately he set in hand sending foorth two ships from Tecoantepec which he had made readie. There went as captaines in them Fernando de Grijalua, and Diego Bezerra de Mendoça, and for pilots there went a Portugal named Acosta, and the other Fortunio Ximenez a Biscaine. The first night they deuided themselues. Fortunio Ximenez killed his captaine Bezerra and hurt many of his confederacie: and then he went on land to take water and wood in the Bay of Santa Cruz, but the Indians there slue him, and aboue 20, of his companie. Two mariners which were in the boate escaped, and went vnto Xalisco, and told Nunnez de Gusman that they had found tokens of pearles: he went into the ship, and so went to seeke the pearles: he discouered along the coast aboue 150. leagues. They said that Ferdinando de Grijalua sailed three hundred leagues from Tecoantepec without seeing any land, but onely one Island which he named The Isle of Saint Thomas, because he came vnto it on that Saints day: it standeth in 20 degrees of latitude.

Plaia de Santa Cruz.

The Isle of S. Thomas.

In this yeere 1535. Pisarro builded the citie de los Reyes vpon the riuer of Lima. The inhabitants of Xauxa went to dwell there, because it was a better countrey, standing in 12. degrees of southerly latitude.† In this same yeere 1535. he caused the citie of Truxillo to be builded on a riuers side vpon a fruitfull soile, standing in 8. degrees on that side. He built also the citie of Saint Iago in Porto Viejo: besides many others along the sea coast and within the land: where there breede many horses, asses, mules, kine, hogs, goates, sheepe, and other beasts; also trees and plants, but principally rosemary, oranges, limons, citrons, and other sower fruits, vines, wheate,

Lima builded.

Truxillo.

S. Iago de Porto viejo.

---

* Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 74. & lib. 2. cap. 98.

† Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 4. cap. 23. Lib. 5. cap. 22.

barlie, and other graines, radishes and other kinde of herbage and fruits brought out of Spaine thither to be sowne and planted.

In the same yeere 1535. one Diego de Almagro went from the citie of Cusco to the prouinces of Arequipa and Chili, reaching beyond Cusco, towards the South vnto 30. degrees.* This voiage was long, and he discouered much land, suffering great hunger, cold, and other extremities, by reason of the abundance of ice, which stoppeth the running of the riuers; so that men and horses die in those parts of the colde. About this time Ferdinando Pisarro came out of Spaine to the citie de los Reyes, and brought with him the title of Marquisate of Atanillos for his brother Francis Pisarro, and vnto Diego de Almagro he brought the gouernment of 100. leagues ouer and besides that which was discouered, and named it The New kingdome of Toledo.† Ferdinando Pisarro went straight to the citie of Cusco: and one Iohn de Rada went to Almagro into Chili with the Emperours patents.‡

Diego de Almagro hauing receiued the letters patents which the Emperour had sent him, went straight from Chili vnto Cusco, to haue it seeing it did appertaine vnto him. Which was the cause of a ciuill warre. They were mightily oppressed with want of victuailes and other things in this their returne, and were enforced to eate the horses, which had died fower moneths and a halfe before, when they passed that way.

The fortresse of Diu.

Badu king of Cambaia.

In this same yeere 1535. Nunnez Dacunna being gouernour of India, while he was making a fortresse at the citie of Diu he sent a fleete to the riuer of Indus, being from thence 90. or 100. leagues towards yᵉ north vnder the Tropicke of Cancer. The Captaines name was Vasques Perez de San Paio: also he sent another armie against Badu the king of Cambaia, the captaine whereof was Cosesofar a renegado. They came to the barre of that mighty riuer in the moneth of December, of the water whereof they found such trial as Quintus Curtius writeth of it when Alexander came thither.

In this yeere 1535. one Simon de Alcazaua went from Siuill with two ships and 240. Spaniards in them.§ Some say they went to New Spaine, others that they went to Maluco, but others also say to China, where they had beene with Ferdinando Perez de Andrada. Howsoeuer it was, they went first vnto the Canaries, and from thence to the streight of Magelan, without touching at the land of Brasil or any part at all of that coast. They entred into the streight in the moneth of December with contrarie windes and cold weather. The soldiers would haue had him turne backe againe, but he would not. He went into an hauen on the South side in 53. degrees: There the captaine Simon of Alcazaua commanded Roderigo de Isla with 60. Spanyards to goe and discouer land: but they rose vp against him and killed him, and appointed such captaines and officers as pleased them, and returned. Comming thwart of Brasil they lost one of their ships vpon the coast, and the Spanyards that escaped drowning were eaten by the Sauages. The other ship went to Saint Iago in Hispaniola, and from thence to Siuill in Spaine.

---

* Gomara hist. gen. lib. 5. cap. 24, Chili.

† Lib. 5. cap. 25.

‡ Lib. 5. cap. 27.

§ Gomara hist. gen. lib. 4. cap. 13.

In this same yeere 1535. Don Pedro de Mendoça went from Cadiz towards the riuer of Plate with twelue ships, and had with him two thousand men: which was the greatest number of ships and men, that euer any captaine carried into the Indies.* He died by the way returning homewards. The most part of his men remained in that riuer, and builded a great towne containing now two thousand houses, wherein great store of Indians dwell with the Spanyards. They discouered and conquered the countrey till they came to the mines of Potossi and to the towne La Plata, which is 500. leagues distant from them.

The riuer of Plata runneth vp to Potossi.

In the yeere 1536. Cortes vnderstanding that his ship wherein Fortunio Ximenez was pilote was seazed on by Nunnez de Guzman, he sent foorth three ships to the place where Guzman was, and he himselfe went by land well accompanied, and found the ship which he sought all spoiled and rifled.† When his three other ships were come about, he went aboord himselfe with the most part of his men and horses, leauing for captaine of those which remained on land one Andrew de Tapia. So he set saile, and comming to a point the first day of May he called it Saint Philip, and an Island that lieth fast by it he called Sant Iago. Within three daies after he came into the bay where the pilot Fortunio Ximenez was killed, which he called

Saint Iago Isle.

---

* Gomara historiæ general. lib. 3. cap. 39.

† Gomara hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 74. & 98.

La plaia de Santa Cruz.

La plaia de Santa Cruz, where he went on land, and commanded Andrew de Tapia to discouer. Cortes tooke shipping againe and came to the riuer now called Rio de San Pedro y San Paulo, where by a tempest the ships were separated, one was driuen to the bay de Santa Cruz, another to the riuer of Guajaual, and the third was driuen on shore hard by Xalisco, and the men thereof went by land, to Mexico.

Rio de S. Pedro y san Paulo.

Cortes long expected his two ships that he wanted: but they not comming he hoised saile and entered into the Gulfe now called Mar de Cortes, Mar Vermejo, or the Gulfe of California, and shot himselfe 50. leagues within it: where he espied a ship at and sailing towards her he had beene lost, if that ship had not succored him. But hauing graued his ship, he departed with both the ships from thence.* Hee bought victuals at a decree rate at Saint Michael of Culhuacan; and from thence he went to the hauen of Santa Cruz, where he heard that Don Antonio de Mendoça was come out of Spaine to be Viceroy. He therefore left to be captaine of his men one Francis de Vlloa, to send him certaine ships to discouer the coast. While he was at Acapulco messengers came vnto him from Don Antonio de Mendoça the Viceroy, to certifie him of his arriuall: and also he sent him the coppie of a letter, wherein Francis Pisarro wrote, that Mango Ynga was risen against him, and was come to the citie of Cusco with an hundred thousand fighting men, and that they had killed his brother Iohn Pisarro, and aboue 400. Spaniards and 200. horses, and he himselfe was in danger, so that he demanded succour and aide. Cortes being informed of the state of Pisarro, and of the arriuall of Don Antonio de Mendoça because he would not as yet be at obedience; First he determined to sende to Maluco to discouer that way a long vnder the Equinoctial line, because The Islands of Cloues stand vnder that paralele: And for that purpose he prepared 2. ships with prouisions, victuals, and men, besides all other things necessarie. He gaue the charge of one of these ships to Ferdinando de Grijalua, and of the other vnto one Aluarado a Gentlemen. They went first to Saint Michael de Tangarara in Peru to succour Francis Pisarro, and from thence to Maluco all along neere the line as they were commanded. And it is de-

Mar Vermejo or the Gulfe of Californie.

---

* Gomara in the conquest of Mexico folio 290. 291. 292.

clared that they sailed aboue a thousand leagues without sight of land, on the one side nor yet on the other of the Equinoctiall. And in two degrees toward the north they discouered one Island named Asea, which seemeth to be one of the Islands of Cloues: 500. leagues little more or lesse as they sailed, they came to the sight of another which they named Isla de los Pescadores. Going still in this course they sawe another Island called Hayme towards the south, and another named Apia: and then they came to the sight of Seri: turning towards the north one degree, they came to anker at another Island named Coroa, and from thence they came to another vnder the Meousum, and from thence vnto Bufu standing in the same course.

Isla de los Pescadores.

The people of all these Islands are blacke, and haue their haire frisled, whom the people of Maluco do call Papuas. The most of them eate mans flesh, and are witches, so giuen to diuilishnes, that the diuels walk among them as companions. If these wicked spirits do finde one alone, they kill him with cruell blowes or smoother him. Therefore they vse not to goe, but when two or three may be in a companie. There is heere a bird as bigge as a Crane: he flieth not, nor hath any wings wherewith to flee, he runneth on the ground like a Deere: of their small feathers they do make haire for their idols. There is also an herbe, which being washed in warme water, if the leafe thereof be laide on any member and licked with the toong, it will draw out all the blood of a mans body: and with this leafe they vse to let themselues blood.

Os Papuas.

These seeme to be like Ostriches.

From these Islands they came vnto others named the Guelles standing one degree towards the north, east, and west from the Isle Terenate, wherein the Portugals haue a fortresse: these men are haired like the people of the Malucoes. These Islands stande 124. leagues from the Island named Moro; and from Terenate betweene 40. and 50. From whence they went to the Isle of Moro, and the Islands of Cloues, going from the one vnto the other. But the people of the countrey would not suffer them to come on lande, saying vnto them: Go vnto the fortresse where the captain Antonie Galuano is, and we will receiue you with a good will: for they would not suffer them to come on land without his licence: for he was factor of the countrey as they named him. A thing worthie to be noted, that those of the

Moluccæ.

Antonie Galuano, the author of this booke.

countrey were so affectioned to the Portugals, that they would venture for them their liues, wiues, children and goods.

The case now is much altered.

In the yeere 1537. the licenciate Iohn de Vadillo gouernour of Cartagena, went out with a good armie from a porte of Vraba called Saint Sebastian de buena Vista,* being in the gulfe of Vraba, and from thence to Rio verde, and from thence by land without knowing any way, nor yet hauing any carriages, they went to the end of the countrey of Peru, and to the towne La plata, by the space of 1200. leagues: a thing worthie of memorie. For from this riuer to the mountaines of Abibe the countrey is full of hils, thicke forrests of trees, and many riuers: and for lacke of a beaten way, they had pierced sides. The mountaines of Abibe as it is recorded haue 20. leagues in bredth. They must be passed ouer in Ianuarie, Februarie, March, and Aprill. And from that time forward it raineth much, and the riuers will be so greatly encreased, that you cannot passe for them. There are in those mountaines many heards of swine, many dantes, lyons, tygers, beares, ounses, and great cats, and monkies, and mightie snakes and other such vermine. Also there be in these mountaines abundance of partridges, quailes, turtle doues, pigeons, and other birdes and foules of sundrie sorts. Likewise in the riuers is such plentie of fish, that they did kill of them with their staues: and carrying canes and nets they affirme that a great army might be sustained that way without being distressed for want of victuals. Moreouer they declared the diuersities of the people, toongs, and apparell that they obserued in the countries, kingdomes, and prouinces which they went through, and the great trauels and dangers that they were in till they came to the towne called Villa de la Plata, and vnto the sea thereunto adioyning. This was the greatest discouerie that hath beene heard of by land, and in so short a time. And if it had not beene done in our daies, the credite thereof would haue beene doubtfull.

La Plata.

The mountaines of Abibe.

Villa de la Plata.

In the yeere 1538. there went out of Mexico certaine friers of the order of Saint Francis towards the north to preach to the Indians the Catholicke faith.† He that went farthest was one frier Marke de Nizza, who passed through Culuacan, and came to the prouince of Sibola, where he found seuen cities: and the farther he went, the richer he found the countrie of gold, siluer, precious stones, and sheepe bearing very fine wool. Vpon the fame of this welth the viceroy don Antonio de Mendoça, and Cortes, determined to send a power thither. But when they could not agree thereupon Cortes went ouer into Spaine in the yeere 1540. where afterward he died.

---

* Pedro de cieça parte primera de la Chronica del Peru cap. 9. et cap. 107.

† Ramusius 3 vol. fol. 356.

Frier Marke de Nizza.

In this yeere 1538. began the ciuil warre betweene Pisarro and Almagro, wherein at the last Almagro was taken and beheaded.

In the same yeere 1538. Antonie Galuano being chiefe captaine in the isles of Maluco sent a ship towards the north,* whereof one Francis de Castro was captaine, hauing commandement to conuert as many as he could to the faith. He himselfe christened many, as the lords of the Celebes, Macasares, Amboynos, Moros, Moratax, and diuers other places. When Francis de Castro arriued at the Island of Mindanao, sixe kings receiued the water of Baptisme, with their wiues, children and subiects: and the most of them Antonie Galuano gaue commandement to be called by the name of Iohn, in remembrance that king Iohn the third raigned then in Portugall.

Antonie Galuano chiefe captaine of Maluco author of this worke.

The Portugals and Spaniards which haue beene in these Islands affirme, that their be certaine hogs in them, which besides the teeth which they haue in their mouthes, haue other two growing out of their snouts, and as many behinde their eares of a large span and a halfe in length. Likewise they say there is a tree, the one halfe whereof, which standeth towards the east is a good medicine against all poyson, and the other side of the tree which standeth toward the west is very poison; and the fruite on that side is like a bigge pease; and there is made of it the strongest poyson that is in all the world. Also they report that there is there another tree, the fruite whereof whosoeuer doth eate, shall be twelue houres besides himselfe, and when he commeth againe vnto himselfe he shall not remember what he did in the time of his madnes. Moreouer there are certaine crabs of the land, whereof whoeuer doth eate shall be a certaine space out of his wits. Likewise the countrey people declare that there is a stone in these Islands whereon whosuer sitteth shall be broken in his bodie. It is farther to be noted, that the people of these Islands do gild their teeth.

---

* Gomara hist. gen. lib. 5. cap. 34.

The bottome of the gulfe of California discouered.

California doubled.

In the yeere 1539. Cortes sent three ships with Francis Vlloa to discouer the coast of Culuacan northward. They went from Acapulco, and touched at S. Iago de buena sperança, and entred into the gulfe that Cortes had discouered,[*] and sailed till they came in 33. degrees, which is almost the farthest end of that gulfe, which place they named Ancon de Sant Andres, because they came thither on that saints daie: Then they came out a long the coast on the other side, and doubled the coast of California and entred in betweene certaine Islands and the point and so sailed along by it, till they came to 32 degrees, from thence they returned to newe Spaine, enforced thereunto by contrarie windes and want of victuals; hauing beene out about a yeere. Cortes according to his account, spent 200000. ducates in these discoueries.

The distance betweene America and China in 32. degrees is 1000. leagues.

Metl an excellent tree.

From Cabo del Enganno to another cape called Cabo de Liampo in China there are 1000. or 1200. leagues sayling. Cortes and his captaines discouered new Spaine, from 12. degrees to 32. from south to the north, being 700. leagues, finding it more warme then cold, although snow do lie vpon certaine mountaines most part of the yeere.[†] In new Spaine there be many trees, flowers and fruits of diuers sorts and profitable for many things. The principall tree is named Metl. It groweth not very high nor thicke. They plant and dresse it as we do our vines. They say it hath fortie kinde of leaues like wouen clothes, which serue for many vses. When they be tender, they make conserues of them, paper, and a thing like vnto flaxe: they make of it mantles, mats, shooes, girdles, and cordage. These trees haue certaine prickles so strong and sharpe, that they sewe with them. The roots make fire and ashes, which ashes make excellent good lie. They open the earth from the root and scrape it, and the iuice which commeth out is like a sirrupe. If you do seeth it, it will become honie; if you purifie it it will be sugar. Also you may make wine and vineger thereof. It beareth the Coco. The rinde rosted and crushed vpon sores and hurts healeth and cureth. The iuice of the tops and roots mingled with incense are good against poyson, and the biting of a viper. For these manifold benefits it is the most profitable tree knowne to growe in those parts.

---

[*] Gomara hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 74. and Ramusius 3 vol. fol. 339.

[†] Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 6. cap. 17.

Also there be there certaine small birds named Vicmalim, their bill is small and long. They liue of the dewe, and the iuice of flowers and roses. Their feathers be verie small and of diuers colours. They be greatly esteemed to worke golde with. They die or sleepe euerie yeere in the moneth of October sitting vpon a little bow in a warme and close place: they reuiue or wake againe in the moneth of April after that the flowers be sprung, and therefore they call them the reuiued birds.

Ths reuiued birds.

Likewise there be snakes in these parts, which sound as though they had bels when they creepe. There be other which engender at the mouth, euen as they report of the viper. There be hogges which haue a nauell on the ridge of their backs, which as soone as they be killed and cut out, will by and by corrupt and stinke.

Besides these there be certaine fishes which make a noyse like vnto hogs, and will snort, for which cause they be named snorters.

Snorting fishes.

In the yeere 1538. and 1539. after that Diego de Almagro was beheaded, the Marques Francis Pisarro was not idle.* For he sent straight one Peter de Baldiuia with a good companie of men to discouer and conquere the countrey of Chili. He was wel receiued of those of the countrey, but afterwards they rose against him and would haue killed him by treason. Yet for all the warre that he had with them, he discouered much land, and the coast of the sea toward the southeast, till he came into 40. degrees and more in latitude. While he was in these discoueries he heard newes of a king called Leucengolma, which commonly brought to the field two hundred thousand fighting men against another king his neighbour, and that his Leucengolma had an Island, and a temple therein with two thousand priestes: and that beyond them were the Amazones, whose Queene was called Guanomilla, that is to say, The golden heauen.† But as yet there are none of these things discouered.

Chili.

This might be the temple in the lake of Titicaca.

---

* Gomara hist. gen. lib. 5. cap. 35.

† Cieça cap. 103.

About this time Gomez de Aluarado went to conquer the prouince of Guanuco: and Francis de Chauez went to subdue the Conchincos, which troubled the towne of Truxillo, and the countreys adioyning. Peter de Vergara went to the Bracamores, a people dwelling toward the north from Quito. Iohn Perez de Vergara went against the Ciaciapoians: Alfonsus de Mercadiglio went vnto Mulubamba. Ferdinando and Gonzaluo Pisarros went to subdue Collao, a countrey very rich in gold. Peter de Candia went to the lower part of Collao. Peranzures also went to conquer the said countrey. And thus the Spanyards dispersed themselues, and conquered aboue seuen hundred leagues of countrey in a very short space, though not without great trauailes and losse of men.

The countreyes of Brasill and Peru stand east and west almost 800. leagues distant. The neerest is from the Cape of Saint Augustine vnto the hauen of Truxillo: for they stand both almost in one parallele and latitude. And the farthest is 950. leagues, reckoning from the riuer of Peru to the streits of Mageilan, which places lie directly north and south, through which countrey passe certaine mountaines named the Andes, which diuide Brasill from the empire of the Ingas. After this maner the mountaines of Taurus and Imaus diuide Asia into two parts: which mountaines begin in 36. and 37. degrees of northerly latitude at the end of the Mediterran sea ouer against the Isles of Rhodes and Cyprus, running still towards the East vnto the sea of China. And so likewise the mountaines of Atlas in Africa diuide the tawnie Moores from the blacke Moores which haue frisled haire, beginning at mount Meies about the desert of Barca, and running along vnder the Tropicke of Cancer vnto the Atlanticke Ocean.

The mountaines of Andes.

The mountains of the Andes be high, ragged, and in some places barren without trees or grasse, whereon it raineth and snoweth most commonly. Vpon them are windes and sudden blastes; there is likewise such scarcitie of wood, that they make fire of turffes, as they do in Flanders. In some places of these mountaines and countries the earth is of diuers colours, as blacke, white, red, greene, blew, yellow, and violet, wherewith they die colours without any other mixture. From the bottomes of these mountaines spring many small and great riuers, principally from the

Earth of diuers colours good to dy withall.

east side, as appeereth by the riuers of the Amazones, of S. Francis, of Plata, and many others which runne through the countrey of Brasil, being larger then those of Peru, or those of Castilia del oro. There grow on these mountaines many turneps, rapes, and other such like rootes and herbes. One there is like vnto Aipo or Rue which beareth a yellow flower, and healeth all kinde of rotten sores, and if you apply it vnto whole and cleane flesh it will eate it vnto the bone: so that it is good for the vnsound and naught for the whole.

They say there be in these mountaines tigers, lions, beares, woolues, wilde cats, foxes, Dantes, Ounces, hogs and deere: birdes as well rauenous as others, and the most part of them are blacke, as vnder the North both beastes and birdes be white. Also there be great and terrible snakes which destroied a whole armie of the Ingas passing that way, yet they say that an olde woman did inchant them in such sort that they became so gentle, that a man might sit vpon one of them. The countrey of Peru adioining vnto the mountaines of Andes westward toward the sea, and containing 15. or 20. leagues in bredth is all of very hot sand, yet fresh bringing foorth many good trees and fruites because it is well watered: where there growe abundance of flags, rushes, herbes, and trees so slender and loose, that laying your hands vpon them the leaues will fall off. And among these herbes and fresh flowers the men and women liue and abide without any houses or bedding, euen as the cattell doe in the fields: and some of them haue tailes. They be grosse, and weare long haire. They haue no beards, yet haue they diuers languages.

Those which liue on the tops of these mountaines of Andes betweene the cold and the heate for the most part be blinde of one eie, and some altogether blinde, and scarce you shall finde two men of them together, but one of them is halfe blinde. Also there groweth in these fields, notwithstanding the great heate of the sand good Maiz, and Potatos, and an herbe which they name Coca, which they carrie continually in their mouthes (as in the East India they vse another herbe named Betele) which also (they say) satisfieth both hunger and thirst. Also there are other kindes of graines and rootes whereon they feede. Moreouer there is plentie of wheate, barly, millet, vines, and fruitful trees, which are brought out of Spaine and planted there. For all these things prooue well in this countrey, because it is so commodiously watered.

An herbe named Coca which satisfieth hunger and thirst.

Also they sow much cotton wooll, which of nature is white, red, blacke, greene, yellow, orange tawnie, and of diuers other colours.

Likewise they affirme, that from Tumbez southward it doth neither raine, thunder, nor lighten, for the space of fiue hundred leagues of land: but at some times there falleth some little shower. Also it is reported, that from Tumbez to Chili there breede no peacocks, hennes, cocks, nor eagles, falcons, haukes, kites, nor any other kinde of rauening fowles, and yet there are of them in all other regions and countreies: but there are many duckes, geese, herons, pigeons, partriges, quailes, and many other kindes of birdes. There are also a certaine kinde of fowle like vnto a ducke which hath no wings to flie withall, but it hath fine thinne feathers which couer all the body. Likewise there are bitters that make war with the seale or sea wolfe: for finding them out of the water they will labour to picke out their eies, that they may not see to get to the water againe, and then they doe kill them. They say it is a pleasant sight to behold the fight betweene the said bitters and seales. With the beards of these seales men make cleane their teeth, because they be wholesome for the toothach. There are certaine beasts which those of the countrey call Xacos, and the Spanyards sheepe, because they beare wooll like vnto a sheepe, but are made much like vnto a deere, hauing a saddle backe like vnto a camel. They will carrie the burthen of 100. weight. The Spanyards ride vpon them, and when they be wearie they will turne their heads backward, and void out of their mouthes a woonderful stinking water.

Xacos a kinde of great sheep that men ride vpon.

From the riuer of Plata and Lima southward there breede no crocodiles nor lizards, no snakes, nor any kinde of venemous vermine, but great store of good fishes breede in those riuers. On the coast of Saint Michael in the South sea there are many rocks of salt couered with eggs. On the point of Saint Helena are certaine Well springs which cast foorth a liquor, that serueth in stead of pitch and tarre. They say that in Chili there is a fountaine, the water whereof will conuert wood into stone. In the hauen of Truxillo there is a lake of fresh water, and the bottome thereof is of good hard salt. In the Andes beyond Xauxa there is a riuer of fresh water, in the bottome whereof there lieth white salt. Also they affirme by the report of those of the countrey, that there haue dwelt giants in Peru, of whose statures they found in Porto viejo. and in the hauen of Truxillo, bones and iaws with teeth, which were three and fower fingers long.

In the yeere 1540. the captaine Ferdinando Alorchon went by the commandment of the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoça with two ships to discouer the bottome of the gulfe Calfornia, and diuers other countries.*

In this yeere 1540. Gonsaluo Pisarro went out of the citie of Quito to discouer the countrey of Canell or Cinamome, a thing of great fame in that countrey. He had with him two hundred Spanyards horsemen and footemen, and three hundred Indians to carrie burthens. He went forward till he came to Guixos, which is the farthest place gouerned by the Ingas : † where there happened a great earthquake with raine and lightning, which sunke 70. houses. They passed ouer cold and snowie hils, where they found many Indians frozen to death, maruelling much of the great snowe that they found vnder the Equinoctiall line. From hence they went to a prouince called Cumaco where they tarried two moneths because it rained continually. And beyond they sawe the Cinamome trees, which be very great, the leaues thereof resembling bay leeues, both leaues, branches, rootes, and all tasting of Cinamome. The rootes haue the whole taste of Cinamome. But the best are certaine knops like vnto Alcornoques or acornes, which are good merchandise. It appeereth to be wilde Cinamome, and there is much of it in the East Indies, and in the Islands, of Iaoa or Iaua.

Cinamom trees.

Wild Cinamom in the Islands of Iaua.

Coca.

From hence they went to the prouince and citie of Coca, where they rested fifty daies. From that place forwards they trauailed along by a riuers side being 60. leagues long, without finding of any bridge, nor yet any foorde to passe ouer to the other side. They found one place of this riuer, where it had a fall of 200. fathoms deepe, where the water made such a noise, that it would make a man almost deafe to stand by it. And not far beneath this fall, they say they found a chanell of stone very smooth, of two hundred foote broad, and the riuer runneth by : aud there they made a bridge to passe ouer on the other side, where they went to a countrey called Guema,

El pongo, a mighty fall of a riuer.

---

* Ramusius 3. vol. fol. 363.

† Gomara hist. gen. lib. 5. cap. 36.

which was so poore, that they could get nothing to eate but onely fruits and herbes. From that place forward they found a people of some reason, wearing certaine clothing made of cotton wooll, where they made a brigandine, and there they found also certaine Canoas, wherein they put their sicke men, and their treasure and best apparell, giuing the charge of them to one Francis de Orellana: and Gonsaluo Pizarro went by land with the rest of the companie along by the riuers side, and at night went into the boates, and they trauailed in this order two hundred leagues as it appeereth. When Pizarro came to the place where he thought to finde the brigandine and Canoas, and could haue no sight of them nor yet heare of them, he thought himselfe out of all hope, because he was in a strange countrey without victuales, clothing or any thing else: wherefore they were faine to eate their horses, yea and dogs also, because the countrey was poore and barren, and the iourney long, to goe to Quito. Yet notwithstanding taking a good hart to themselues they went on forwards in their iourney, trauailing continually 18. monethes, and it is reported, that they went almost 5. hundred leagues, wherein they did neither see sunne nor any thing else whereby they might be comforted, wherefore of two hundred men which went foorth at the first, there returned not backe past ten vnto Quito, and these so weake, ragged, and disfigured that they knew them not. Orellana went fiue hundred or sixe hundred leagues downe the riuer, seeing diuers countreyes and people on both sides thereof, among whom he affirmed some to be Amazones. He came into Castile, excusing himselfe, that the water and streames draue him downe perforce. This riuer is named The riuer of Orellana, and other name it the riuer of the Amazones, because there be women there which liue like vnto them.

Rio de Orellana.

In the yeere 1540. Cortes went with his wife into Spaine where he died of a disease seuen yeeres after.

In the yeere 1541. it is recorded that Don Stephan de Gama gouernour of India sailed toward the streit of Mecca. He came with al his fleete vnto an anker in the Island of Maçua, and from thence vpwards in small shipping he went along the coast of the Abassins and Ethiopia, till he came to the Island of Suachen, standing in 20. degrees towardes the north, and from thence to the hauen of Cossir, standing in 27. degrees, and so he crossed ouer to the citie of Toro standing on the shore of Arabia, and along by it he went vnto Suez, which is the farthest ende of the streit, and so he turned backe the same way, leauing that countrey and coast discouered so far as neuer any other Portugall captaine had done, although Lopez Suarez gouernour of India went to the hauen of Iuda, and the hauen of Mecca standing on the coast of Arabia in 23. degrees of latitude, and 150. leagues from the mouth of the streit. Don Stephan de Gama crossing ouer from Cossir to the citie of Toro, as it is reported found an Island of Brimstone, which was dispeopled by the hand of Mahumet, wherein many crabs doe breede, which increase nature: wherefore they be greatly esteemed of such as are vnchaste. Also they say that there are in this streit many roses which open when women are in their labour.

Suez.

An Island of Brimstone in the Red sea.

Iohn Leo writeth in the very end of his Geographie which he made of Africa, that there is in the mountaines of Atlas a roote called Surnag, ouer which if a maid chance to make water shee shall leese her virginitie.

In the same yeere 1541. Don Diego de Almagro killed the Marques Francis Pizarro, and his brother Francis Pizarro, and his brother Francis Martinez of Alcantara in the citie de los Reyes, otherwise called Lima, and made himselfe gouernour of that countrey.

In the yeere 1540. the Viceroy Don Antony de Mendoza sent one Francis Vasquez de Corodado by land vnto the prouince of Sibola, with an armie of Spaniards and Indians.* They went out of Mexico, and came to Culuacan, and from thence to Sibola, which standeth in 30. degrees of latitude. They required peace with the people and some victuals, being thereof destitute. But they answered that they vsed not to giue any thing to those that came vnto them in warlike manner. So the Spaniard assalted the towne and tooke it, and called it Nueua Granada, because the generall himselfe was borne in Granada. The soldiers found themselues deceiued by the words of the Friers, which had beene in those parts before; and because they woulde not returne backe to Mexico againe with emptie hands, they went to the towne of Acuco, where they had knowledge of Axa and Quiuira, where there was a king very rich, that did worship a crosse of golde, and the picture of the queene of Heauen. They indured many extremities in this iourney, and

Sibola.

---

* Gomara hist. gen. lib. 6. cap. 17.

the Indians fled away from them, and in one morning they found thirtie of their horses dead. From Cicuic they went to Quiuira, which was two hundred leagues off, according to their account, passing all through a plaine countrey, and making by the way certaine hillocks of cowe dung, because thereby they might not loose their way in their returne. They had there haile-stones as bigge as Oranges. Now when they were come to Quiuira, they found the king called Tatarrax, which they sought for, with a iewell of copper hanging about his necke, which was all his riches. They saw neither any crosse, nor any image of the queene of Heauen, nor any other token of Christian religion.* It is written of this countrey that it is but smally inhabited, principally in the plaine and champion places, because the men and women goe in herds with their cattell, whereof they haue great plentie, euen as the Arabians doe in Barbarie, and they remooue from place to place, euen as the season serueth, and the pastures to feede their cattle. In these parts are certaine beasts almost as bigge as horses, they haue very great hornes, and they beare wooll like vnto sheepe, and so the Spaniards call them. They haue abundance of oxen verie monstrous, being camel backed, and hauing long beards, and on their necke long manes like vnto horses. They liue with eating of these oxen and drinking of their blood, and apparell themselues with the skins of the same. The most part of the flesh that they do eate is rawe, or euill rosted, for they lacke pots to seeth it in. They cut their meat with certaine kniues made of flint stone. Their fruite are damsons, hasel-nuts, walnuts, melons, grapes, pines, and mulberies. There be dogges so bigge, that one of them alone will hold a bull, though he be neuer so wilde. When they remooue, these dogs do carrie their children, wiues, and stuffe vpon their backes, and they are able to carrie fiftie pound waight. I passe ouer many things, because the order which I follow will not permit me to be long.

Quiuira.

Sheepe as big as horses.

Dogs carying 50 pound waight on their backs.

In the yeere of our Lord 1542. one Diego de Freitas being in the realme of Siam, and in citie of Dodra as captaine of a ship, there fled from him three Portugals in a Iunco (which is a kind of ship) towards China. Their names were Antony de Mota,

---

* Gomara hist. gen. lib. 6. cap. 18. and 19.

Francis Zeimoro, and Antony Pexoto, directing their course to the citie of Liampo, standing in 30. and odde degrees of latitude. There fell vpon their sterne such a storme, that it set them off the land, and in a fewe daies they sawe an Island towards the east standing in 32. degrees, which they do name Iapan, which seemeth to be the Isle of Zipangri, whereof Paulus Venetus maketh mention, and of the riches thereof. And this Island of Iapan hath gold, siluer, and other riches.

Iapan discouered by chance.

In this yeere 1542. Don Antonio de Mendoça Viceroy of Nueua Spagna, sent his captaines and pilots to discouer the coast of Cape dei Enganno, where a fleete of Cortez had been before. They sailed till they came to a place called Sierras Neuadas, or The snowie mountaines, standing in 40. degrees towards the north, where they saw ships with marchandises, which carried on their stems the images of certaine birdes called Alcatrarzi, and had the yards of their sailes gilded, and their prowesse laid ouer with siluer.[*] They seemed to be of the Isles of Iapan, or of China; for they said that it was not aboue thirtie daies sailing vnto their countrey.

In the same yeere 1542. Don Antony de Mendoça sent vnto the Islands of Mindanao a fleete of sixe ships with fower hundred soldiers, and as many Indians of the countrey, the generall whereof was one Rui Lopez de villa Lobos, being his brother in law and a man in great estimation.[†] They set saile from the hauen of Natiuidad standing in 20. degrees towards the north, vpon All Saints eeue, and shaped their course towards the west. They had sight of the Island of S. Thomas, which Hernando de Grijalua had discouered, and beyond in 17. degrees they had sight of another Island which they named La Nublada, that is, The cloudie Island. From thence they went to another Island named Roca partida, that is, The clouen Rocke. The 3. of December they found certaine Baxos or flates of sixe or seuen fathoms deepe. The 15. of the same moneth they had sight of the Islands, which Diego de Roca, and Gomez de Sequeira, and Aluaro de Saauedra had discouered, and named them Los Reyes, because they came vnto them on Twelfe day. And beyond them they found other Islands in 10. degrees all standing round, and in the midst of

Saint Thomas.

Los Reyes.

---

[*] Gomara hist. gen. lib. 6. cap. 15.

[†] Gomara bist. gen. lib. 4. cap. 13. Ramusius 1. vol. fol. 375, pag. 2.

them they came to an ancker, where they tooke fresh water and wood.

In the same same yeere 1542. Don Diego de Almagro was slaine in Peru by the hands of one Don Vaca de Castro.

In the yeere 1543. in Ianuarie they departed from the foresaid Islands with all the fleete, and had sight of certaine Islands, out of which there came vnto them men in a certaine kinde of boats, and they brought in their hands crosses, and saluted the Spaniards in the Spanish toong saying, Buenas dias, Matelotes, that is to say, Good morrow, companions; whereat the Spaniards much marueiled, being then so farre out of Spaine, to see the men of that countrey with crosses, and to be saluted by them in the Spanish toong, and they seemed in their behauiour to incline somewhat to our Catholique faith. The Spaniards not knowing, that many thereabout had beene Christened by Francis de Castro, at the commandement of Antony Galuano some of them named these Islands, Islas de las cruzes, and others named them Islas de los Matelotes.

In the same yeere 1543. the first of February Rui Lopez had sight of that noble Island Mindanao standing in 9. degrees: they could not double it nor yet come to an ancre as they would, because the christened kings and people resisted them, hauing giuen their obedience to Antonie Galuano, whom they had in great estimation, and there were fiue or sixe kings that had receiued baptisme, who by no meanes would incurre his displeasure. Rui Lopez perceiuing this, and hauing a contrary winde, sailed along the coast to finde some aide; and in 4. or 5. degrees he found a small Island which they of the countrey call Sarangam, which they tooke perforce, and in memory of the vizeroy who had sent them thither they named it Antonia, where they remained a whole yeere, in which time there fell out things worthie to be written; but because there are more histories that intreat of the same I leaue them, meaning to medle with the discoueries onely.

In the same yeere 1543. and in the moneth of August the generall Rui Lopez sent one Bartholomew de la Torre in a smal ship into new Spaine, to acquaint the vizeroy don Antonio de Mendoça with all things. They went to the Island of Siria, Gaonata, Bisaia, and many others, standing in 11. and 12. degrees towards the north, where Magellan had beene, and Francis de Castro also, who there baptized many, and the

Spaniards called them Philippinas in memory of the prince of Spaine.* Here they tooke victuals and wood, and hoised sailes, they sailed for certaine daies with a fore-winde, till it came vpon the skanting, and came right vnder the tropique of Cancer. The 25 of September they had sight of certaine Islands, which they named Malabrigos, that is to say, The euil roads. Beyond them they discouered Las dos Hermanas, that is The two sisters. And beyond them also they saw 4. islands more, which they called los Volcanes. The second of October they had sight of Farfana, beyond which there standeth an high pointed rock, which casteth out fire at 5. places. So sayling in 16. degrees of northerly latitude, from whence they had come, as it seemeth wanting winde, they arriued againe at the Islands of the Philippinas. They had sight of 6. or 7. Islands more, but they ankered not at them. They found also an Archepelagus of Islands well inhabited with people, lying in 15. or 16. degrees: the people be white, and the weomen well proportioned, and more beautifull and better arraied than in any other place of those parts hauing many iewels of gold, which was a token, that there was some of that metal in the same countrie. Here were also barkes of 43. cubits in length, and 2. fathomes and a halfe in bredth, and the plankes 5. inches thicke, which barkes were rowed with oares. They told the Spaniards, that they vsed to saile in them to China, and that if they would go thither they should haue pilots to conduct them, the countrie not being aboue 5. or 6. daies sayling from thence. There came vnto them also certaine barkes or boates handsomely decked, wherein the master and principall men sate on high, and vnderneath were very blacke moores with frizled haire: and being demanded where they had these black moores, they answered, that they had them from certaine Islands standing fast by Sebut, where there were many of them, a thing that the Spaniards much maruailed at, because from thence it was aboue 300. leagues to the places where the black people were. Therefore it seemed, that they were not naturally borne in that climate, but that they be in certaine places scattered ouer the whole circuite of the world. For euen so they

The Philippinas.

Malabrigos.

Las dos Hermanas.

Sixe or seuen Islands more.

An Archipelagus of Islands.

Pilots for China.

---

* The relation of Iohn Gaietan in the first vol. of Ramusius fol. 376.

be in the Islands of Nicobar and Andeman, which stand in the gulfe of Bengala, and from thence by the space of 500. leagues we doe not know of any blacke people. Also Vasco Nunez de Valboa declareth that as he went to discouer The South sea, in a certaine land named Quareca he found black people with frizled haire, whereas there were neuer any other found either in Noua Spagna, or in Castilia del Oro, or in Peru.

In the yeere 1544. Don Gutierre de Vargas bishop of Placenza sent a fleete from the city of Siuil vnto the streights of Magellan:* which is reported to haue been done by the counsel of the vizeroy Don. Antonie de Mendoça his cousin. Some suspected, that they went to Maluco, others to China, others, that they went onely to discouer the land betwixt the streite and the land of Peru on the other side of Chili, because it was reported to be very rich in gold and siluer. But this fleete by reason of contrary windes could not passe the streit, yet one small barke passed the same, and sailed along the coast, and discouered all the land, till he came vnto Chirimai, and Arequipa, which was aboue 500. leagues, for the rest was already discouered by Diego de Almagro, and Francis Pizarro, and their captaines and people at diuers times. By this it appeereth, that from The streit of the Equinoctial line on both sides is wholly discouered.

The Isle of Moro.

Antonie Galuano gon out of the Malucas.

In the yeere 1545, and in the moneth of Ianuarie Rui Lopez de villa Lobos, and Giraldo with the Castillians came to the Island of Moro, and the citie of Camafo, where they were well receiued of the kings of Gilolo and Tidore, and of the people of the countrey (because Antony Galuano was gone) and put the Captaine Don George de Castro to great trouble, as appeered by those things which passed between him and the Portugals, and the great expences whereunto he put the fortresse.

Os Papuas.

Nueua Guinea.

In the same yeere 1545. Rui Lopez de villa Lobos sent from the Island of Tidore another ship towards New Spaine by the south side of the line, wherein was captaine one Inigo Ortez de Rotha, and for pilot one Iaspar Rico. They sailed to the coast of Os Papuas, and ranged all along the same, and because they knew not that Saauedra had beene there before, they chalenged the honor and fame of that discouerie. And because the people there were blacke and had frisled haire, they named it Nueua Guinea. For the memorie of Saauedra as then was almost lost. As all things else do fall into obliuion, which are not recorded and illustrated by writing.

---

* Gomara hist. gen. lib. 4. cap. 14.

In this yeere 1545. and in the moneth of Iune, there went a Iunk from the citie of Borneo, wherein went a Portugall called Peter Fidalgo, and by contrary windes he was driuen towards the north; where he founde an Island standing in 9. or 10, degrees, that stretched it selfe to 22. degrees of latitude, which is called The Isles of the Luçones, because the inhabitants thereof were so named. It may haue some other name and harborowes, which as yet we know not: it runneth from the north vnto the southwest, and standeth betweene Mindanao and China. They say they sailed along by it 250. leagues, where the land was fruitfull and well couered, and they affirme, that there they will giue two Pezos of gold for one of siluer: and yet it standeth not farre from the countrey of China.

The Isle of Luçones.

Siluer more esteemed then gold.

In the yeere 1553. there went out of England certaine shipping, and as it appeered they sailed northward along the coast of Norway and Finmark, and from thence east, till they came betweene 70. and 80. degrees vnto Moscouie, for so far one of the ships went: but I know not what became of the rest: and this was the last discouerie made vntil this time. From this lande of Moscouie eastward you saile vnto Tartary, and at the farther end of it standeth the countrey and prouince of China. It is said that betweene China and Tartary there is a wall aboue 200. leagues in length, standing neere vnto 50. degrees of latitude.

Moscouie discouered by sea, by the English.

Now I gather by all the precedent discoueries, that the whole earth is in circuite 360. degrees according to the Geometrie thereof: and to euery degree the ancient writers allow 17. leagues and a halfe, which amount vnto 6300. leagues yet I take it that euery degree is iust 27. leagues. Howsoeuer it be, all is discouered and sailed from the east vnto the west almost euen as the sunne compasseth it: but from the south to the north there is great difference; for towardes the north pole there is found discouered no more than 77. or 78. degrees, which come to 1326. leagues: and towards the south pole there is discouered from the Equinoctial to 52. or 53. degrees, that is, to the streit which Magellan passed through, which amounted to about 900. leagues; and putting both these saide maine sums togither, they amount to 2226. leagues. Now take so many out of 6300. leagues, there remaineth as yet vndiscouered north and south aboue the space of 4000. leagues.

FINIS.

A large Charter granted by K. Edward the 4 in the second yere of his reigne, to the marchants of England resident especially in the Netherland, for their chusing of a master and gouernor among themselues, which gouernment was first appointed vnto one William Obray: with expresse mention, what authoritie he should haue.

EDward by the grace of God king of France, and of England, and lord of Ireland, to al those which shal see or heare these letters, sendeth greeting, and good wil. Know ye, that whereas, we haue vnderstood, as well by the report of our louing and faithfull Counsellors, as by the common complaint and report of all men, that many vexations, griefs, debates, discords, annoyes, dissentions, and damages, haue heretofore bene done, moued, committed, and happened, and do daily fal out and happen among the common marchants and mariners, our subiects of our realmes of France and England, and our lordships of Ireland and Wales, and of other our dominions, seigneuries, and territories, because that good discretion and authority hath not bin obserued among our saide subiects, which abide, frequent, conuerse, remain, inhabit, and passe, aswel by sea as by land, into ye parts of Brabant, Flanders, Henault, Holland, Zeland, and diuers other countreis and seigneuries belonging aswell to the high and mighty prince, our most deere and louing cousin ye Duke of Burgoine, of Brabant, earle of Flanders, &c. as being in the obedience and dominion of other lords, which are in friendship, alliance, and good wil with vs: and that it is to be doubted that through the saide inconuenience and occasion, many discommodities may ensue and fal out in time to come (which God forbid) vnles we should prouide conuenient remedie in this behalfe for our subiects aforesaid: wherefore we desiring most effectually and heartily to auoide the mischiefe of the saide inconueniences and to prouide conuenient remedy for the same, to the end that the said common marchants and mariners and others our subiects of our said realms and dominions, which at this present and hereafter shal haunt and frequent ye said countries, may be iustly and lawfully ruled, gouerned, and intreated by right and equity in the countries aforesaid, and that equity, reason, and iustice may be ministred vnto them and euery of them, according as the cases shal require, we being wel assured and hauing ful confidence, in the discretion, faithfulnes, wisdome, experience, and good diligence of our most deare and welbeloued subiect Will. Obray our seruant, and in regard of the good, faithfull, and acceptable seruices, which he hath done vs in our realm and among our subiects in times past, and hoping that he wil do also hereafter, we haue made, ordained, constituted, committed, and established, and by the tenour of these presents, of our special grace, ful power, and authority royall, we ordaine, appoint, commit, and establish, (during our pleasure) to

1462.

be gouernour, iudge, warden of iustice, and the appurtenances and appendances therof, which we haue or may haue ouer our said common subiects the marchants trauailing hereafter as wel by sea as by land, and abiding in the said countries of Brabant, Flanders, Henault, Holland, Zeland, and other countreis beyond the sea, as is aforesaide, together with the wages, rights, profits, and emoluments heretofore accustomed, and as the said Will. Obray at other times hath had and receiued of our said subiects, when he had, vsed, and exercised the said office of gouernor, and also with other such rights and profits, as hereafter shal more plainly be declared. And furthermore for our parts we haue giuen him, and by these presents do giue him, as much as in vs lieth, during our pleasure, ful power, authority, and special commandement, to gouerne, rule, and cause to be gouerned and ruled with good iustice by himselfe, or by his sufficient lieuetenants or deputies, all and euery our foresaid subiects the commom marchants and mariners comming, remaining, frequenting, passing, and repairing from henceforth into the said countreis of Brabant, Flanders, Henault, Holland, Zeland, and other countreyes beyond the sea, as it is said, and to keep and cause to be kept, to exercise and maintein, for vs and in our place, the said office of gouernour, and to doe all such things which a faithfull gouernour ought to do, and to take knowledge and administration of the causes of the said common marchants and mariners, our subiects, and of euery of them, and of their causes and quarels moued, or hereafter to be moued in the countreis aforesaid, or within the limits and borders thereof, and to doe them full and speedy iustice. And to reforme, cause reformation, gouerne, appease, and pacifie all contentions, discords, questions, or debates between those our said subiects moued, or to be moued: and to right, redresse, repaire, restore, and amend all transgressions, domages, enterprises, outrages, violences and iniuries committed, or to be committed: and likewise to require, to aske, demand, and receiue restitutions, reparations, restaurations, and amends of our said subiects the common marchants and mariners, or of their factors in the countreis aforesaid. And that, whensoeuer and as often as it shal please the said gouernor or his deputies, they may in some conuenient and honest place within the said countreis make or cause to be made, somon, and hold in our name iurisdictions, courts, and assemblies: and in our said name take administration and knowledge of causes, as it is aforesaide, and to hold and keepe pleas, for and in our behalfe, and to make agreements, mediatours, and vmpires, to iudge, to make decrees, and to minister iustice, to ordaine, appoint, censure, and constraine our saide subiects to sweare and take all kinde of oathes, which order of iustice and custome require and affoorde, and to enioy our authoritie, and to vse, execute and accomplish, by way of equitie and iustice, and to doe, or cause to be done all execution and exercise of law and iustice; and to ordain, appoint, and establish sixe sergeants or vnder, to doe the executions and arrests of our said court, by the commandement of the said gouernour or of his deputies, or at the request of the partie or otherwise, according as the case shall require by their aduise, and to discharge and displace the said sergeants, as shall seeme good vnto him, as often and whensoeuer as it shall please him, and change them, and appoint and set others in their roomes, and to require returne and answere of the court, whensoeuer need shal be, of all causes, quarels, and businesses in regard of the said office belonging vnto vs and to our said subiects the common marchants and mariners at all times, and as often as the case shall permit and require: and generally and specially to doe as much for vs and in our stead, in the cases before mentioned, and which hereafter shalbe declared, as we could doe or cause to be done, could say or require, if we were there present in our owne person. Moreouer wee will, and by the tenour of these presents wee giue and graunt vnto the saide gouernour, and to our saide subiects the common marchants and mariners, that as oft and whensoeuer it please them, they may meet and assemble in some honest and conuenient place, and by the consent of the saide gouernour to choose and appoynt among them at their pleasure, freely and without danger, certaine sufficient and fit persons to the number of twelue or vnder, which we wil haue to be named Iusticers, vnto the which Iusticers so elected by the saide gouernour and our saide subiects, as it is said, and to euery of them, we giue and graunt especiall power and authoritie to sitte and assist in court, with the said gouernour or his lieutenants, for their aide and assistance, and to heare the griefs, complaints, and demands of our said subiects their suites, pleas, and the state of their causes and quarels whatsoeuer moued or to be moued vnto the ende of their cause, and at the request of the saide gouernour, his lieutenants, or any of them, to say, propound, and plainely to expresse and declare their opinions, according to right and conscience, vpon the causes brought before them and by the parties vttered and declared, and well, lawfully, and faithfully to counsell and aduise the saide gouernour or his lieutenants, to order and censure, iudge and determine, the ende the same iustly and equally, according as the case shall permit and require. And furthermore we wil, that all iust and reasonable statutes, lawes, ordinances, decrees, and constitutions made and established, or to be made and established, in the countreys aforesaide, by the consent of the said gouernour, and of the said Iusticers, shalbe corrected, amended, and made, as they shall see to bee expedient in this behalfe, for the better gouernment of the estate of the common marchants and mariners our saide subiects, and shalbe held as ratified, firme, acceptable and approued; and from henceforth we accept, admit, allow and approue them for ratified and confirmed, there to be firmely and inuiolably obserued, kept and obeyed. And also, of our farther fauour and grace wee will and we grant, that by the consent of our said gouernour, our said subiects the common marchants and mariners may make and set downe in the said countreis, by their common consent, as often as they shall thinke good for their better gouernment and estate, such iust and reasonable lawes, statutes, ordinances, decrees, constitutions, and customes, as they shall thinke expedient in this behalfe: which we command to be kept as ratified, confirmed, allowed, and approued, auailable and established. Prouided alwaies, that they do not nor seeke any thing preiudicial to this present power and authoritie giuen and graunted by vs to the saide gouernour, in any poynt or article heerein comprised, by any meanes or way whatsoeuer: in which case if they shoulde doe any thing, or ought should happen, we wil that it shal take no place, force, vigour, strength, nor vertue: neither that it shalbe of any effect, but it shalbe abolished, disanulled, and vtterly frustrate; and as abolished, disanulled, and vtterly frustrated, from this time forward, wee holde and take it, and will hereafter hold and take the same. And so to doe, and put in execution in our name, we haue and doe giue full and absolute power, and speciall authority to our said seruant William Obray, and to his said lieutenants. And likewise, to the end that ye course of marchandise may be kept in good estate, and that by order of iustice a firme and constant rule may be set downe among those our said subiects and marchants, we haue ordained and do ordaine, haue consented and doe consent and by these presents haue giuen and do giue ful power and especiall authority to our said seruant Will. Obray gouernour aforesaid, that at al time and times when he shal think good, he may ordaine, elect, chuse, and appoint, in the countreis aforesaid, such ministers, officers, and seruitours as hereafter shalbe named, and such others as he shal think necessary, and to discharge them, and to change them, and set others in their roomes, at his good will and pleasure, vnto such a number as he shall thinke good and reasonable for the time being to be employed: as namely correctors or brokers as many as he shal thinke good, to make and to witnes the bargaines which are made or to be made, betweene our said subiects and others with whom they shal haue to do or to deale in the foresaid countreis: and also as many alnagers to alner and measure al kinds of marchandises which they shal buy or sel by the yard: and also as many weighers to weigh the marchandise which shalbe sold or bought by weight: and also so many folders to fold their clothes, and so many packers to pack their packs, and to make their fardels, maunds, and baskets, and other things needefull for the defence and preseruation of their marchandize. Al which ministers, officers, and seruitors, so chosen, elected, charged, admitted, and established by the saide gouernour, as is saide, may take their wages for their paines and attendances vpon the said marchants, according to the custome of the said countreis, and as they haue bene accustomed to take of the said marchants before these presents by vs giuen and graunted. And hereupon we haue giuen and doe giue expresse charge and commandement by vs and in our names to all our said subiects common marchants and mariners, and to euery of them which shall frequent, come, remaine, passe, repaire, or inhabite within the countries aforesaid, that they shall not make contract or bargaine, sell or buy, nor shall not cause any contract or bargaine to be made, nor in the said countries sell or buy any maner of wares, goods, or marchandises, secretely nor openly, by way of fraude, barat, or deceite whatsoeuer, with any person or persons, of what estate, countrey, or condition soeuer they be, without he hath some of the said brokers at the bargain making, to present, report, and to testifie the said contracts or bargains before the said gouernour or others, if need require, and strife or contention should grow thereof betweene them : nor to packe or cause to be packed any goods or marchandises belonging vnto them, in packs, bales, or fardels, coffers, chests, maunds, dryfats, or rowles, without hauing some deputy present thereat : nor to take nor cause to be taken or set on worke in the said countries, any other brokers, alnagers, weighers, folders, or packers, then the aforesaid so chosen, admitted, established, and ordained by the saide gouernour, and hereto authorized in our name, as it is said, vnder paine of falling into, and incurring of our displeasure, and of forfeiture, and confiscation of all such goods, wares, and marchandises, which shalbe found to haue passed by other hands or order, then that or those which are before mentioned : the fourth part of which forfeitures and confiscations shall be imployed to the repairing and maintenance of two chappels founded to the honour of Saint Thomas of Canterburie by our saide subiects, in the townes of Bruges in Flanders, and of Middleborough in Zeland ; the other fourth part to vs, and our vse ; the third fourth part to our said cousin of Burgundie, or the natural Lord of the countrey wherein the saide goods shall be found ; and the fourth part to him or them, which shall discouer, detect, or finde out the saide fraude. And also that none of our said subiects shall vnlade or cause to be vnladen, vnder any colour nor otherwise, nor vnpacke, in the countries abouesaide, no kinde of wares, goods, nor marchandises whatsoeuer, which they shall bring or cause to bee brought into the countreyes aforesaide, comming out of our countreyes, dominions, or obeysance, without first and beforehand they make the gouernour or his deputies acquainted with their arriuall, and craue leaue, and deliuer, shewe, and declare their cockets, thal it may duely appeare, that the saide goods and marchandises haue truely and lawfully payde vnto vs our rights and customes, and to vnpacke them but in the presence of the saide gouernour, his lieutenants or deputies, vpon paine of forfaiture, and confiscation of the saide goods, in maner and forme before declared in the foresaide article. And if it bee found by the visitation of the saide gouernour, his lieutenants or deputies, that any goods, wares, or marchandises whatsoeuer be arriued and discharged in the countries aforesaid, belonging to our saide subiects, not lawfully customed and acquited towarde vs of our right and custome, for which they cannot nor are not able to make any due proofe of our letters of coquet as is mentioned, or if they finde any other fraud: we will, we ordaine, and we grant, that the sayd gouernour, his lieutenants or deputies may seaze vpon the sayd goods on our behalfe, and may confiscate and forfeit the same, distributing the same into foure parts in maner aforesayd. And also wee will, that euery one of the sayd packes, fardels, baskets, maunds, cofers, tunnes, bales, roules, and other furnitures and geare, wherein the sayd marchandises shalbe packed, to be sent out of the said countries, shall not be laden vpon ships, carts, nor horses, to come into our dominion, without being first sealed with a seale ordayned by vs and giuen by the sayd gouernour, vpon paine to be forfayted, applyed, and confiscated to vs and into our hand, if they be found vnsigned and not sealed with the seale. And for euery piece of marchandise which shall be sealed with the sayd seale, they shall pay to the sayd sealer two pence of grosse money of Flanders, which shall goe to the profite of the sayd gouernour. And forasmuch as according to right and conscience, we ought not to vse the labour, trauels, nor seruice of any man, without waging, paying, and fully contenting him according to reason and equity, especially when we doe appoint any person or persons to doe or cause to be done so great trauels, labours, busines, and executions, as these which are contayned in this present charter, aswell for the benefit and profit of vs and our selues, as for the holesome, perfect, and good gouernment of our sayd subiects: we by the good aduise and deliberation of the sayd lords of our priuie counsell, haue granted and giuen, and as before, doe grant and giue, of our sayd grace, to the sayd Willian Obray our sayd seruant and gouernour abouenamed, during our pleasure, for part of his wages and fee of the sayd office, one pennie of our money of England of the value of a liuer of grosse money of Flanders, vpon al and singuler the goods, wares and marchandises of our sayd subiects frequenting the sayd countreis, to be leuyed, gathered, receiued, and payed vnto the sayd William Obray or to his deputies, vpon the sayd wares and marchandises belonging vnto our sayd subiects buying and selling, or which they shall cause to sell, buy, put away, trucke or exchange in the countreyes abouesaid, aswel of the goods and marchandises which they shall bring or cause to be brought into the sayd countries: as of all other goods which they shall lade and carie, or cause to bee carried and conueyed out of those countreis into our dominion or elsewhere into any other part whatsoeuer. And to cause the same to be gathered, receiued, leauied, and payed, we haue giuen, and by these presents doe giue full power and speciall authoritie vnto the sayd William Obray, and to his lieutenants and deputies aforesayd, to leauy, gather, and cause to bee leauied and receiued the sayd money, in forme and maner aboue mentioned, to his profite and vse, during our pleasure: and to enioy and vse the same as his proper goods, without any contradiction, constraining and arresting if neede bee, as well on land, as on water, our said subiects, their sayd goods, and euery of them, by way of law and iustice, and to cause them to yeelde and pay the sayd money, vpon the said goods and marchandises, as is aforesayd. For such is our pleasure. and so will we haue it done without contradiction or impeachment to him and his, during our pleasure. And also we will that the said William Obray, ouer and aboue that which is sayd, shall take, gather, and receiue of our sayd subiects from henceforth yearely, during our pleasure, all such and like wages and profits, as he had and receiued of our sayd subiects, in the yeare 1458, when hee held and exercised the said office of gouernour, without diminishing or rebating any thing thereof, notwithstanding this present augmentation made, increased, and done vnto him, of our grace and fauour: and that he shall gather, take, and receiue the same in such forme and manner, as the other money aboue mentioned is to be gathered. And to the ende that the sayd William Obray may haue and take possession, season, and entrance of the said office of gouernour in our name wè haue and doe place him, by the deliuery of these presents, in possession, season, and entrance of the said office, and of the rights, profits, stipends, wages and monies aforesayd, to begin to exercise the sayd office of gouernour in our name, the first day of May next ensuing after the date of these presents, for the sayd William Obray to hold and exercise, practise and vse the same, during our pleasure, with the sayd wages, moneys, rights, andprofites aboue mentioned, without any contradiction or impeachment. And all and singular our subiects the common marchants and mariners, which shall be contrary, rebellious, and disobedient to the sayd gouernour so ordayned by vs, to his said lieutenants, to the sayd iusticers, so chosen, or to any of them, or to any of the statutes, lawes, decrees, sentences, ordinances, and customes, offiices, gifts, and grants abouesayd, let them grieuously be punished by the sayd gouernour or his lieutenants, in this behalfe, according to the quantity of their offences, and the exigencie of the cases. We doe sommon, command, straitly and expresly enioine by these presents all and euery our saide subiects, that vnto the sayd gouernour so by vs ordained, to his lieutenants, attorneies or deputies, and also to the said iusticers, officers, and ministers, in all and euerie the things aforesaid, and others any waie concerning in this behalfe our said ordinances, their gouernment and rule, the circumstances and dependances thereon that they giue their attendance, counsayle, comfort, obedience, and aide, diligently without fault or difficultly, surely, safely, fully and peaceably: without doing, inferring, or inflicting, or suffering to be done, inferred, or inflicted to them or any of them in body or goods, any disturbance or impeacement, in any maner whatsoeuer: but rather if any thing bee done vnto them contrary and to the preiudice of these presents, they shall remoue and cause the same to be remooued, and that which shall be hindered they shall set at free deliuerance, vpon payne to fall into and to incurre our high displeasure. For such is our pleasure and so will wee haue it, notwithstanding anie letters falsely crept in, obtayned, or to be obtayned contrary hereunto. And you our subiects, the common marchants and mariners, so behaue your selues, that you may receiue commendation of vs for your good obedience, knowing that such as shall be found doing or to haue done the contrary, we will see them so punished without redemption, that they shall bee an example to all rebellious persons. We pray and most instantly require in the ayde of equitie all others our friends, allies, and well-willers, aswell princes and potentates, as their iusticers,, officers, lieutenants, deputies, commissaries, and subiects, and euery of them, in regard of equitie; that they would vouchsafe, and that it would please them to giue, doe, and lend comfort, ayde, assistance, and prisons if neede require, to our sayd gouernour, his lieutenants, commissaries, deputies, iusticers, and others our officers and ministers aforesaid: and herein wee pray them on our behalfe, and in our owne name. And it may please them herein to doe so much, that we may haue occasion to thanke them, and to accompt our selues beholding for the same: and as they would that we should do for them in the likematter, or in a greater: which we will willingly doe, if we be required thereunto by them. In witnesse whereof we haue caused these our letters to bee made patents. Witnes our selues at Westminister, the sixteenth of April, in the second yere our reigne.